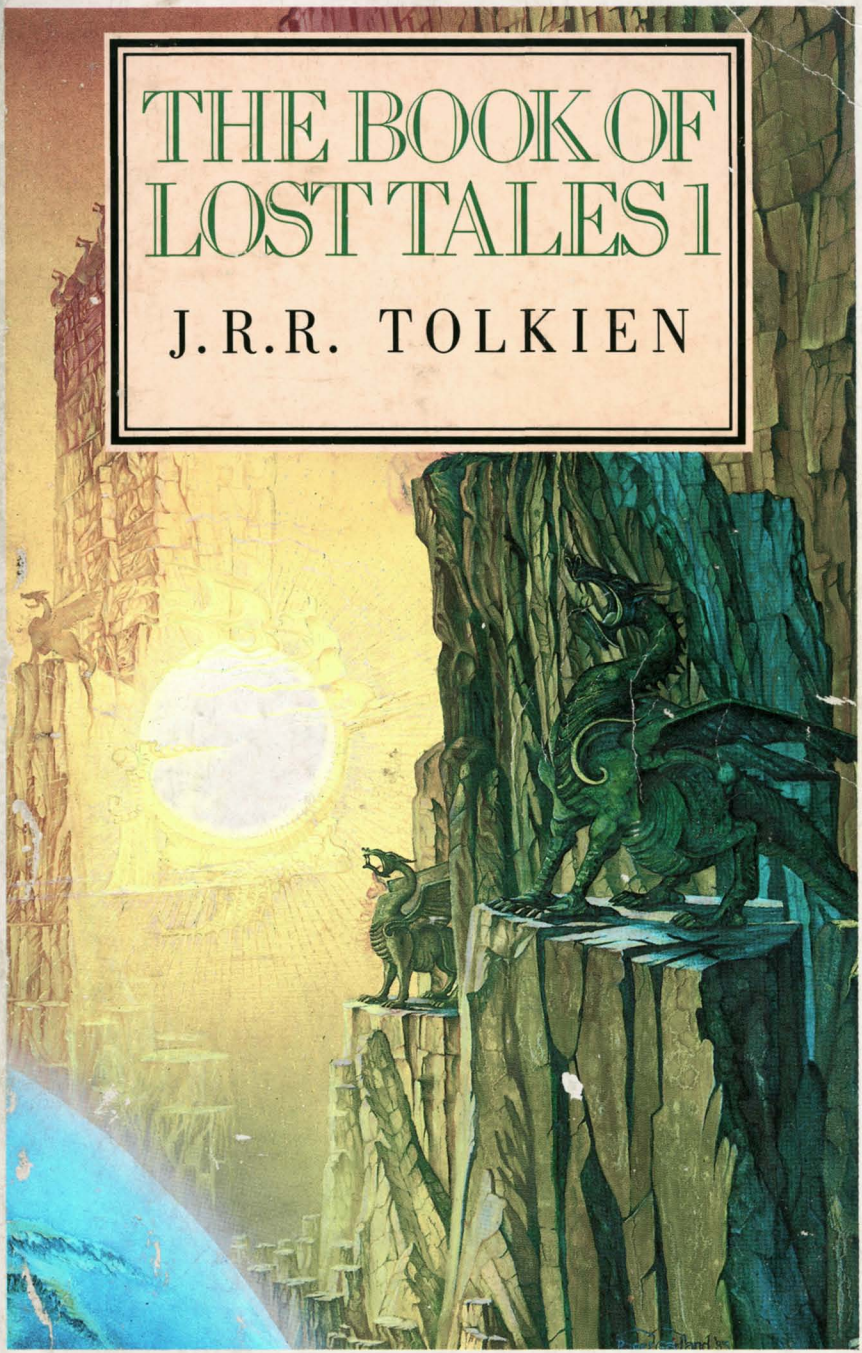
THE BOOK OF LOST TALES 1

J.R.R. TOLKIEN



The Book of Lost Tales was the first major work of imagination by J. R. R. Tolkien, begun in 1916-17 when he was 25 years old, and left incomplete several years later. It stands at the beginning of the entire conception of Middle-earth and Valinor, for the *Lost Tales* were the first form of the myths and legends that came to be called *The Silmarillion*. Embedded in English legend and English association, they are set in the narrative frame of a great westward voyage over the Ocean by a mariner named Eriol (or Ælfwine) to Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle, where Elves dwelt; from them he learned their true history, the *Lost Tales of Elfinesse*. In the *Tales* are found the earliest accounts and original ideas of Gods and Elves, Dwarves, Balrogs, and Orcs; of the Silmarils and the Two Trees of Valinor; of Nargothrond and Gondolin; of the geography and cosmography of the invented world.

The Book of Lost Tales will be published in two volumes; this first part contains the Tales of Valinor, and the second will include Beren and Lúthien, Túrin and the Dragon, and the only full narratives of the Necklace of the Dwarves and the Fall of Gondolin. Each tale is followed by a commentary in the form of a short essay, together with the texts of associated poems, and each volume contains extensive information on names and vocabulary in the earliest Elvish languages.

THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE-EARTH

I
THE BOOK OF LOST TALES, PART ONE

II
THE BOOK OF LOST TALES, PART TWO

III
THE LAYS OF BELERIAND
(in preparation)

J. R. R. TOLKIEN

THE BOOK OF LOST TALES

PART I

Edited by Christopher Tolkien

London
UNWIN PAPERBACKS
Boston Sydney

First published in Great Britain by George Allen & Unwin 1983
Fourth impression 1984
First published by Unwin Paperbacks 1985
Reprinted 1985, 1986 (twice), 1987 (twice), 1988, 1989 (twice)

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UNWIN HYMAN LIMITED
15–17 Broadwick Street
London W1V 1FP

Allen & Unwin Australia Pty Ltd
8 Napier Street, North Sydney, NSW 2060, Australia

Allen & Unwin New Zealand Pty Ltd with the Port Nicholson Press
Compusales Building, 75 Ghuznee Street, Wellington, New Zealand

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Tolkien, John R. R.
The book of lost tales
Pt. 1
I. Title II. Tolkien, Christopher
823'.912[F] PR6039.032
ISBN 0–04–823231–5

Set in Imprint by Bedford Typesetters Ltd
and printed in Great Britain by Cox & Wyman Ltd, Reading

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FOREWORD

The Book of Lost Tales, written between sixty and seventy years ago, was the first substantial work of imaginative literature by J. R. R. Tolkien, and the first emergence in narrative of the Valar, of the Children of Ilúvatar, Elves and Men, of the Dwarves and the Orcs, and of the lands in which their history is set, Valinor beyond the western ocean, and Middle-earth, the 'Great Lands' between the seas of east and west. Some fifty-seven years after my father ceased to work on the *Lost Tales*, *The Silmarillion*,* profoundly transformed from its distant forerunner, was published; and six years have passed since then. This Foreword seems a suitable opportunity to remark on some aspects of both works.

The Silmarillion is commonly said to be a 'difficult' book, needing explanation and guidance on how to 'approach' it; and in this it is contrasted to *The Lord of the Rings*. In Chapter 7 of his book *The Road to Middle-earth* Professor T. A. Shippey accepts that this is so ('*The Silmarillion* could never be anything but hard to read', p. 201), and expounds his view of why it should be. A complex discussion is not treated justly when it is extracted, but in his view the reasons are essentially two (p. 185). In the first place, there is in *The Silmarillion* no 'mediation' of the kind provided by the hobbits (so, in *The Hobbit*, 'Bilbo acts as the link between modern times and the archaic world of dwarves and dragons'). My father was himself well aware that the absence of hobbits would be felt as a lack, were 'The Silmarillion' to be published – and not only by readers with a particular liking for them. In a letter written in 1956 (*The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, p. 238), soon after the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*, he said:

> I do not think it would have the appeal of the L.R. – no hobbits! Full of mythology, and elvishness, and all that 'heigh stile' (as Chaucer might say), which has been so little to the taste of many reviewers.

In 'The Silmarillion' the draught is pure and unmixed; and the reader is worlds away from such 'mediation', such a deliberate collison (far more than a matter of styles) as that produced in the meeting between King Théoden and Pippin and Merry in the ruins of Isengard:

> 'Farewell, my hobbits! May we meet again in my house! There you shall sit beside me and tell me all that your hearts desire: the deeds of

* When the name is printed in italics, I refer to the work as published; when in inverted commas, to the work in a more general way, in any or all of its forms.

your grandsires, as far as you can reckon them . . .'

The hobbits bowed low. 'So that is the King of Rohan!' said Pippin in an undertone. 'A fine old fellow. Very polite.'

In the second place,

> Where *The Silmarillion* differs from Tolkien's earlier works is in its refusal to accept novelistic convention. Most novels (including *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*) pick a character to put in the foreground, like Frodo and Bilbo, and then tell the story as it happens to him. The novelist of course is inventing the story, and so retains omniscience: he can explain, or show, what is 'really' happening and contrast it with the limited perception of his character.

There is, then, and very evidently, a question of literary 'taste' (or literary 'habituation') involved; and also a question of literary 'disappointment' – the '(mistaken) disappointment in those who wanted a second *Lord of the Rings*' to which Professor Shippey refers. This has even produced a sense of outrage – in one case formulated to me in the words 'It's like *the Old Testament*!': a dire condemnation against which, clearly, there can be no appeal (though this reader cannot have got very far before being overcome by the comparison). Of course, 'The Silmarillion' was intended to move the heart and the imagination, directly, and without peculiar effort or the possession of unusual faculties; but its mode is inherent, and it may be doubted whether any 'approach' to it can greatly aid those who find it unapproachable.

There is a third consideration (which Professor Shippey does not indeed advance in the same context):

> One quality which [*The Lord of the Rings*] has in abundance is the Beowulfian 'impression of depth', created just as in the old epic by songs and digressions like Aragorn's lay of Tinúviel, Sam Gamgee's allusions to the Silmaril and the Iron Crown, Elrond's account of Celebrimbor, and dozens more. This, however, is a quality of *The Lord of the Rings*, not of the inset stories. To tell these in their own right and expect them to retain the charm they got from their larger setting would be a terrible error, an error to which Tolkien would be more sensitive than any man alive. As he wrote in a revealing letter dated 20 September 1963:
>
> > I am doubtful myself about the undertaking [to write *The Silmarillion*]. Part of the attraction of The L.R. is, I think, due to the glimpses of a large history in the background: an attraction like that of viewing far off an unvisited island, or seeing the towers of a distant city gleaming in a sunlit mist. To go there is to destroy the magic, unless new unattainable vistas are again revealed. (*Letters*, p. 333)

To go there is to destroy the magic. As for the revealing of 'new unattainable vistas', the problem there – as Tolkien must have thought many times – was that in *The Lord of the Rings* Middle-earth was already old, with a vast weight of history behind it. *The Silmarillion*, though, in its longer form, was bound to begin at the beginning. How could 'depth' be created when you had nothing to reach further back to?

The letter quoted here certainly shows that my father felt this, or perhaps rather one should say, at times felt this, to be a problem. Nor was it a new thought: while he was writing *The Lord of the Rings*, in 1945, he said in a letter to me (*Letters*, p. 110):

> A story must be told or there'll be no story, yet it is the untold stories that are most moving. I think you are moved by *Celebrimbor* because it conveys a sudden sense of endless *untold* stories: mountains seen far away, never to be climbed, distant trees (like Niggle's) never to be approached – or if so only to become 'near trees' . . .

This matter is perfectly illustrated for me by Gimli's song in Moria, where great names out of the ancient world appear utterly remote:

> The world was fair, the mountains tall,
> In Elder Days before the fall
> Of mighty kings in Nargothrond
> And Gondolin, who now beyond
> The Western Seas have passed away . . .

'I like that!' said Sam. 'I should like to learn it. *In Moria, in Khazad-dûm.* But it makes the darkness seem heavier, thinking of all those lamps.' By his enthusiastic 'I like that!' Sam not only 'mediates' (and engagingly 'Gamgifies') the 'high', the mighty kings of Nargothrond and Gondolin, Durin on his carven throne, but places them at once at an even remoter distance, a magical distance that it might well seem (*at that moment*) destructive to traverse.

Professor Shippey says that 'to tell [the stories that are only alluded to in *The Lord of the Rings*] in their own right and expect them to retain the charm they got from their larger setting would be a terrible error'. The 'error' presumably lies in the holding of such an expectation, if the stories were told, not in the telling of the stories at all; and it is apparent that Professor Shippey sees my father as wondering, in 1963, whether he should or should not put pen to paper, for he expands the words of the letter, 'I am doubtful myself about the undertaking', to mean 'the undertaking to write *The Silmarillion*'. But when my father said this he was not – most emphatically not – referring to the work itself, which was in any case already written, and much of it many times over (the allusions in *The Lord of the Rings* are not illusory): what was in question for him, as he said

earlier in this same letter, was its *presentation*, in a publication, *after* the appearance of *The Lord of the Rings*, when, as he thought, the right time to make it known was already gone.

> I am afraid all the same that the presentation will need a lot of work, and I work so slowly. The legends have to be worked over (they were written at different times, some many years ago) and made consistent; and they have to be integrated with The L.R.; and they have to be given some progressive shape. No simple device, like a journey and a quest, is available.
>
> I am doubtful myself about the undertaking . . .

When after his death the question arose of publishing 'The Silmarillion' in some form, I attached no importance to this doubt. The effect that 'the glimpses of a large history in the background' have in *The Lord of the Rings* is incontestable and of the utmost importance, but I did not think that the 'glimpses' used there with such art should preclude all further knowledge of the 'large history'.

The literary 'impression of depth . . . created by songs and digressions' cannot be made a criterion by which a work in a wholly different mode is measured: this would be to treat the history of the Elder Days as of value primarily or even solely in the artistic use made of it in *The Lord of the Rings*. Nor should the device of a backward movement in imagined time to dimly apprehended events, whose attraction lies in their very dimness, be understood mechanically, as if a fuller account of the mighty kings of Nargothrond and Gondolin would imply a dangerously near approach to the bottom of the well, while an account of the Creation would signify the striking of the bottom and a definitive running-out of 'depth' – 'nothing to reach further back to'.

This, surely, is not how things work, or at least not how they need work. 'Depth' in this sense implies a relation between different temporal layers or levels within the same world. Provided that the reader has a place, a point of vantage, *in the imagined time* from which to look back, the extreme oldness of the extremely old can be made apparent and made to be felt continuously. And the very fact that *The Lord of the Rings* establishes such a powerful sense of a real time-structure (far more powerful than can be done by mere chronological assertion, tables of dates) provides this necessary vantage-point. To read *The Silmarillion* one must place oneself imaginatively at the time of the ending of the Third Age – within Middle-earth, looking back: at the temporal point of Sam Gamgee's 'I like that!' – adding, 'I should like to know more about it'. Moreover the compendious or epitomising form and manner of *The Silmarillion*, with its suggestion of ages of poetry and 'lore' behind it, strongly evokes a sense of 'untold tales', even in the telling of them; 'distance' is never lost. There is no narrative urgency, the pressure and fear of the immediate and unknown event. We do not actually see the Silmarils as we see the Ring. The maker

of 'The Silmarillion', as he himself said of the author of *Beowulf*, 'was telling of things already old and weighted with regret, and he expended his art in making keen that touch upon the heart which sorrows have that are both poignant and remote'.

As has now been fully recorded, my father greatly desired to publish 'The Silmarillion' together with *The Lord of the Rings*. I say nothing of its practicability at the time, nor do I make any guesses at the subsequent fate of such a much longer combined work, quadrilogy or tetralogy, or at the different courses that my father might then have taken – for the further development of 'The Silmarillion' itself, the history of the Elder Days, would have been arrested. But by its posthumous publication nearly a quarter of a century later the natural order of presentation of the whole 'Matter of Middle-earth' was inverted; and it is certainly debatable whether it was wise to publish in 1977 a version of the primary 'legendarium' standing on its own and claiming, as it were, to be self-explanatory. The published work has no 'framework', no suggestion of what it is and how (within the imagined world) it came to be. This I now think to have been an error.

The letter of 1963 quoted above shows my father pondering the mode in which the legends of the Elder Days might be presented. The original mode, that of *The Book of Lost Tales*, in which a Man, Eriol, comes after a great voyage over the ocean to the island where the Elves dwell and learns their history from their own lips, had (by degrees) fallen away. When my father died in 1973 'The Silmarillion' was in a characteristic state of disarray: the earlier parts much revised or largely rewritten, the concluding parts still as he had left them some twenty years before; but in the latest writing there is no trace or suggestion of any 'device' or 'framework' in which it was to be set. I think that in the end he concluded that nothing would serve, and no more would be said beyond an explanation of how (within the imagined world) it came to be recorded.

In the original edition of *The Lord of the Rings* Bilbo gave to Frodo at Rivendell as his parting gift 'some books of lore that he had made at various times, written in his spidery hand, and labelled on their red backs: *Translations from the Elvish, by B.B.*' In the second edition (1966) 'some books' was changed to 'three books', and in the *Note on the Shire Records* added to the Prologue in that edition my father said that the content of 'the three large volumes bound in red leather' was preserved in that copy of the Red Book of Westmarch which was made in Gondor by the King's Writer Findegil in the year 172 of the Fourth Age; and also that

> These three volumes were found to be a work of great skill and learning in which . . . [Bilbo] had used all the sources available to him in Rivendell, both living and written. But since they were little used by Frodo, being almost entirely concerned with the Elder Days, no more is said of them here.

In *The Complete Guide to Middle-earth* Robert Foster says: '*Quenta Silmarillion* was no doubt one of Bilbo's *Translations from the Elvish* preserved in the Red Book of Westmarch.' So also I have assumed: the 'books of lore' that Bilbo gave to Frodo provided in the end the solution: they were 'The Silmarillion'. But apart from the evidence cited here, there is, so far as I know, no other statement on this matter anywhere in my father's writings; and (wrongly, as I think now) I was reluctant to step into the breach and make definite what I only surmised.

The choice before me, in respect of 'The Silmarillion', was threefold. I could withhold it indefinitely from publication, on the ground that the work was incomplete and incoherent between its parts. I could accept the nature of the work as it stood, and, to quote my Foreword to the book, 'attempt to present the diversity of the materials – to show "The Silmarillion" as in truth a continuing and evolving creation extending over more than half a century'; and that, as I have said in *Unfinished Tales* (p. 1), would have entailed 'a complex of divergent texts interlinked by commentary' – a far larger undertaking than those words suggest. In the event, I chose the third course, 'to work out a single text, selecting and arranging in such a way as seemed to me to produce the most coherent and internally self-consistent narrative'. Having come, at length, to that decision, all the editorial labour of myself and of Guy Kay who assisted me was directed to the end that my father had stated in the letter of 1963: 'The legends have to be worked over . . . and made consistent; and they have to be integrated with the L.R.' Since the object was to present 'The Silmarillion' as 'a completed and cohesive entity' (though that could not in the nature of the case be entirely successful), it followed that there would be in the published book no exposition of the complexities of its history.

Whatever may be thought of this matter, the result, which I by no means foresaw, has been to add a further dimension of obscurity to 'The Silmarillion', in that uncertainty about the age of the work, whether it is to be regarded as 'early' or 'late' or in what proportions, and about the degree of editorial intrusion and manipulation (or even invention), is a stumbling-block and a source of much misapprehension. Professor Randel Helms, in *Tolkien and the Silmarils* (p. 93), has stated the question thus:

> Anyone interested, as I am, in the growth of *The Silmarillion* will want to study *Unfinished Tales*, not only for its intrinsic value but also because its relationship to the former provides what will become a classic example of a long-standing problem in literary criticism: what, really, *is* a literary work? Is it what the author intended (or may have intended) it to be, or is it what a later editor makes of it? The problem becomes especially intense for the practising critic when, as happened with *The Silmarillion*, a writer dies before finishing his work and leaves more than one version of some of its parts, which then find publication elsewhere. Which version will the critic approach as the 'real' story?

But he also says: 'Christopher Tolkien has helped us in this instance by honestly pointing out that *The Silmarillion* in the shape that we have it is the invention of the son not the father'; and this is a serious misapprehension to which my words have given rise.

Again, Professor Shippey, while accepting (p. 169) my assurance that a 'very high proportion' of the 1937 'Silmarillion' text remained into the published version, is nonetheless elsewhere clearly reluctant to see it as other than a 'late' work, even the latest work of its author. And in an article entitled 'The Text of *The Hobbit*: Putting Tolkien's Notes in Order' (English Studies in Canada, VII, 2, Summer 1981) Constance B. Hieatt concludes that 'it is very clear indeed that we shall never be able to see the progressive steps of authorial thinking behind *The Silmarillion*'.

But beyond the difficulties and the obscurities, what is certain and very evident is that for the begetter of Middle-earth and Valinor there was a deep coherence and vital interrelation between all its times, places, and beings, whatever the literary modes, and however protean some parts of the conception might seem when viewed over a long lifetime. He himself understood very well that many who read *The Lord of the Rings* with enjoyment would never wish to regard Middle-earth as more than the mise-en-scène of the story, and would delight in the sensation of 'depth' without wishing to explore the deep places. But the 'depth' is not of course an illusion, like a line of imitation book-backs with no books inside them; and Quenya and Sindarin are comprehensive structures. There are explorations to be conducted in this world with perfect right quite irrespective of literary-critical considerations; and it is proper to attempt to comprehend its structure in its largest extent, from the myth of its Creation. Every person, every feature of the imagined world that seemed significant to its author is then worthy of attention in its own right, Manwë or Fëanor no less than Gandalf or Galadriel, the Silmarils no less than the Rings; the Great Music, the divine hierarchies, the abodes of the Valar, the fates of the Children of Ilúvatar, are essential elements in the perception of the whole. Such enquiries are in no way illegitimate in principle; they arise from an acceptance of the imagined world as an object of contemplation or study valid as many other objects of contemplation or study in the all too unimaginary world. It was in this opinion and in the knowledge that others shared it that I made the collection called *Unfinished Tales*.

But the author's vision of his own vision underwent a continual slow shifting, shedding and enlarging: only in *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* did parts of it emerge to become fixed in print, in his own lifetime. The study of Middle-earth and Valinor is thus complex; for the object of the study was not stable, but exists, as it were 'longitudinally' in time (the author's lifetime), and not only 'transversely' in time, as a printed book that undergoes no essential further change. By the publication of 'The Silmarillion' the 'longitudinal' was cut 'transversely', and a kind of finality imposed.

★

This rather rambling discussion is an attempt to explain my primary motives in offering *The Book of Lost Tales* for publication. It is the first step in presenting the 'longitudinal' view of Middle-earth and Valinor: when the huge geographical expansion, swelling out from the centre and (as it were) thrusting Beleriand into the west, was far off in the future; when there were no 'Elder Days' ending in the drowning of Beleriand, for there were as yet no other Ages of the World; when the Elves were still 'fairies', and even Rúmil the learned Noldo was far removed from the magisterial 'loremasters' of my father's later years. In *The Book of Lost Tales* the princes of the Noldor have scarcely emerged, nor the Grey-elves of Beleriand; Beren is an Elf, not a Man, and his captor, the ultimate precursor of Sauron in that rôle, is a monstrous cat inhabited by a fiend; the Dwarves are an evil people; and the historical relations of Quenya and Sindarin were quite differently conceived. These are a few especially notable features, but such a list could be greatly prolonged. On the other hand, there was already a firm underlying structure that would endure. Moreover in the history of the history of Middle-earth the development was seldom by outright rejection – far more often it was by subtle transformation in stages, so that the growth of the legends (the process, for instance, by which the Nargothrond story made contact with that of Beren and Lúthien, a contact not even hinted at in the *Lost Tales*, though both elements were present) can seem like the growth of legends among peoples, the product of many minds and generations.

The Book of Lost Tales was begun by my father in 1916–17 during the First War, when he was 25 years old, and left incomplete several years later. It is the starting-point, at least in fully-formed narrative, of the history of Valinor and Middle-earth; but before the *Tales* were complete he turned to the composition of long poems, the *Lay of Leithian* in rhyming couplets (the story of Beren and Lúthien), and *The Children of Húrin* in alliterative verse. The prose form of the 'mythology' began again from a new starting-point* in a quite brief synopsis, or 'Sketch' as he called it, written in 1926 and expressly intended to provide the necessary background of knowledge for the understanding of the alliterative poem. The further written development of the prose form proceeded from that 'Sketch' in a direct line to the version of 'The Silmarillion' which was nearing completion towards the end of 1937, when my father broke off to send it as it stood to Allen and Unwin in November of that year; but there were also important side-branches and subordinate texts composed in the 1930s, as the *Annals of Valinor* and the *Annals of Beleriand* (fragments of which are extant also in the Old English translations made by Ælfwine (Eriol)), the cosmological account called *Ambarkanta*, the

* Only in the case of *The Music of the Ainur* was there a direct development, manuscript to manuscript, from *The Book of Lost Tales* to the later forms; for *The Music of the Ainur* became separated off and continued as an independent work.

Shape of the World, by Rúmil, and the *Lhammas* or 'Account of Tongues', by Pengolod of Gondolin. Thereafter the history of the First Age was laid aside for many years, until *The Lord of the Rings* was completed, but in the years preceding its actual publication my father returned to 'The Silmarillion' and associated works with great vigour.

This edition of the *Lost Tales* in two parts is to be, as I hope, the beginning of a series that will carry the history further through these later writings, in verse and prose; and in this hope I have applied to this present book an 'overriding' title intended to cover also those that may follow it, though I fear that 'The History of Middle-earth' may turn out to have been over-ambitious. In any case this title does not imply a 'History' in the conventional sense: my intention is to give complete or largely complete texts, so that the books will be more like a series of editions. I do not set myself as a primary object the unravelling of many single and separate threads, but rather the making available of works that can and should be read as wholes.

The tracing of this long evolution is to me of deep interest, and I hope that it may prove so to others who have a taste for this kind of enquiry: whether the major transformations of plot or cosmological theory, or such a detail as the premonitory appearance of Legolas Greenleaf the keen-sighted in the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin*. But these old manuscripts are by no means of interest only for the study of origins. Much is to be found there that my father never (so far as one can tell) expressly rejected, and it is to be remembered that 'The Silmarillion', from the 1926 'Sketch' onwards, was written as an abridgement or epitome, giving the substance of much longer works (whether existing in fact, or not) in a smaller compass. The highly archaic manner devised for his purpose was no fustian: it had range and great vigour, peculiarly apt to convey the magical and eerie nature of the early Elves, but as readily turned to the sarcastic, sneering Melko or the affairs of Ulmo and Ossë. These last approach at times a comic conception, and are delivered in a rapid and lively language that did not survive in the gravity of my father's later 'Silmarillion' prose (so Ossë 'fares about in a foam of business' as he anchors the islands to the sea-bed, the cliffs of Tol Eressëa new-filled with the first sea-birds 'are full of a chattering and a smell of fish, and great conclaves are held upon its ledges', and when the Shoreland Elves are at last drawn over the sea to Valinor Ulmo marvellously 'fares at the rear in his fishy car and trumpets loudly for the discomfiture of Ossë').

The *Lost Tales* never reached or even approached a form in which my father could have considered their publication before he abandoned them; they were experimental and provisional, and the tattered notebooks in which they were written were bundled away and left unlooked at as the years passed. To present them in a printed book has raised many thorny editorial problems. In the first place, the manuscripts are intrinsically very difficult: partly because much of the text was written rapidly in pencil and is now in places extremely hard to read, requiring a magnifying

glass and much patience, not always rewarded. But also in some of the *Tales* my father erased the original pencilled text and wrote a revised version over it in ink – and since at this period he used bound notebooks rather than loose sheets, he was liable to find himself short of space: so detached portions of tales were written in the middle of other tales, and in places a fearsome textual jigsaw puzzle was produced.

Secondly, the *Lost Tales* were not all written progressively one after the other in the sequence of the narrative; and (inevitably) my father began a new arrangement and revision of the *Tales* while the work was still in progress. *The Fall of Gondolin* was the first of the tales told to Eriol to be composed, and the *Tale of Tinúviel* the second, but the events of those tales take place towards the end of the history; on the other hand the extant texts are later revisions. In some cases nothing earlier than the revised form can now be read; in some both forms are extant for all, or a part, of their length; in some there is only a preliminary draft; and in some there is no formed narrative at all, but only notes and projections. After much experimentation I have found that no method of presentation is feasible but to set out the *Tales* in the sequence of the narrative.

And finally, as the writing of the *Tales* progressed, relations were changed, new conceptions entered, and the development of the languages *pari passu* with the narrative led to continual revision of names.

An edition that takes account of such complexities, as this does, rather than attempt to smooth them artificially away, is liable to be an intricate and crabbed thing, in which the reader is never left alone for a moment. I have attempted to make the *Tales* themselves accessible and uncluttered while providing a fairly full account, for those who want it, of the actual textual evidences. To achieve this I have drastically reduced the quantity of annotation to the texts in these ways: the many changes made to names are all recorded, but they are lumped together at the end of each tale, not recorded individually at each occurrence (the places where the names occur can be found from the Index); almost all annotation concerned with content is taken up into, or boiled down into, a commentary or short essay following each tale; and almost all linguistic comment (primarily the etymology of names) is collected in an Appendix on Names at the end of the book, where will be found a great deal of information relating to the earliest stages of the 'Elvish' languages. In this way the numbered notes are very largely restricted to variants and divergences found in other texts, and the reader who does not wish to trouble with these can read the *Tales* knowing that that is almost all that he is missing.

The commentaries are limited in their scope, being mostly concerned to discuss the implications of what is said within the context of the *Tales* themselves, and to compare them with the published *Silmarillion*. I have eschewed parallels, sources, influences; and have mostly avoided the complexities of the development between the *Lost Tales* and the published work (since to indicate these even cursorily would, I think, be distracting), treating the matter in a simplified way, as between two fixed points. I do

not suppose for one moment that my analyses will prove either altogether just or altogether accurate, and there must be clues to the solution of puzzling features in the *Tales* which I have failed to observe. There is also included a short glossary of words occurring in the *Tales* and poems that are obsolete, archaic, or rare.

The texts are given in a form very close to that of the original manuscripts. Only the most minor and obvious slips have been silently corrected; where sentences fall awkwardly, or where there is a lack of grammatical cohesion, as is sometimes the case in the parts of the *Tales* that never got beyond a first rapid draft, I have let them stand. I have allowed myself greater freedom in providing punctuation, for my father when writing at speed often punctuated erratically or not at all; and I have gone further than he did in consistency of capitalisation. I have adopted, though hesitantly, a consistent system of accentuation for Elvish names. My father wrote, for instance: *Palûrien, Palúrien, Palurien*; *Ōnen, Onen*; *Kôr, Kor*. I have used the acute accent for macron, circumflex, and acute (and occasional grave) accents of the original texts, but the circumflex on monosyllables – thus *Palúrien, Ónen, Kôr*: the same system, at least to the eye, as in later Sindarin.

Lastly, the division of this edition into two parts is entirely due to the length of the *Tales*. The edition is conceived as a whole, and I hope that the second part will appear within a year of the first; but each part has its own Index and Appendix on Names. The second part contains what are in many respects the most interesting of the *Tales*: *Tinúviel, Turambar* (Túrin), *The Fall of Gondolin*, and the *Tale of the Nauglafring* (the Necklace of the Dwarves); outlines for the *Tale of Eärendel* and the conclusion of the work; and *Ælfwine of England*.

I

THE COTTAGE OF LOST PLAY

On the cover of one of the now very battered 'High School Exercise Books' in which some of the *Lost Tales* were composed my father wrote: *The Cottage of Lost Play, which introduceth [the] Book of Lost Tales*; and on the cover is also written, in my mother's hand, her initials, E.M.T., and a date, Feb. 12th 1917. In this book the tale was written out by my mother; and it is a fair copy of a very rough pencilled manuscript of my father's on loose sheets, which were placed inside the cover. Thus the date of the actual composition of this tale could have been, but probably was not, earlier than the winter of 1916–17. The fair copy follows the original text precisely; some further changes, mostly slight (other than in the matter of names), were then made to the fair copy. The text follows here in its final form.

Now it happened on a certain time that a traveller from far countries, a man of great curiosity, was by desire of strange lands and the ways and dwellings of unaccustomed folk brought in a ship as far west even as the Lonely Island, Tol Eressëa in the fairy speech, but which the Gnomes[1] call Dor Faidwen, the Land of Release, and a great tale hangs thereto.

Now one day after much journeying he came as the lights of evening were being kindled in many a window to the feet of a hill in a broad and woody plain. He was now near the centre of this great island and for many days had wandered its roads, stopping each night at what dwelling of folk he might chance upon, were it hamlet or good town, about the hour of eve at the kindling of candles. Now at that time the desire of new sights is least, even in one whose heart is that of an explorer; and then even such a son of Eärendel as was this wayfarer turns his thoughts rather to supper and to rest and the telling of tales before the time of bed and sleep is come.

Now as he stood at the foot of the little hill there came a faint breeze and then a flight of rooks above his head in the clear even light. The sun had some time sunk beyond the boughs of the elms that stood as far as eye could look about the plain, and some time had its last gold faded through the leaves and slipped across the glades to sleep beneath the roots and dream till dawn.

Now these rooks gave voice of home-coming above him, and with

a swift turn came to their dwelling in the tops of some high elms at the summit of this hill. Then thought Eriol (for thus did the people of the island after call him, and its purport is 'One who dreams alone', but of his former names the story nowhere tells): 'The hour of rest is at hand, and though I know not even the name of this fair-seeming town upon a little hill here I will seek rest and lodging and go no further till the morrow, nor go even then perchance, for the place seems fair and its breezes of a good savour. To me it has the air of holding many secrets of old and wonderful and beautiful things in its treasuries and noble places and in the hearts of those that dwell within its walls.'

Now Eriol was coming from the south and a straight road ran before him bordered at one side with a great wall of grey stone topped with many flowers, or in places overhung with great dark yews. Through them as he climbed the road he could see the first stars shine forth, even as he afterwards sang in the song which he made to that fair city.

Now was he at the summit of the hill amidst its houses, and stepping as if by chance he turned aside down a winding lane, till, a little down the western slope of the hill, his eye was arrested by a tiny dwelling whose many small windows were curtained snugly, yet only so that a most warm and delicious light, as of hearts content within, looked forth. Then his heart yearned for kind company, and the desire for wayfaring died in him – and impelled by a great longing he turned aside at this cottage door, and knocking asked one who came and opened what might be the name of this house and who dwelt therein. And it was said to him that this was Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva, or the Cottage of Lost Play, and at that name he wondered greatly. There dwelt within, 'twas said, Lindo and Vairë who had built it many years ago, and with them were no few of their folk and friends and children. And at this he wondered more than before, seeing the size of the cottage; but he that opened to him, perceiving his mind, said: 'Small is the dwelling, but smaller still are they that dwell here – for all who enter must be very small indeed, or of their own good wish become as very little folk even as they stand upon the threshold.'

Then said Eriol that he would dearly desire to come therein and seek of Vairë and Lindo a night's guest-kindliness, if so they would, and if he might of his own good wish become small enough there upon the threshold. Then said the other, 'Enter', and Eriol stepped in, and behold, it seemed a house of great spaciousness and very great delight, and the lord of it, Lindo, and his wife, Vairë, came

forth to greet him; and his heart was more glad within him than it had yet been in all his wanderings, albeit since his landing in the Lonely Isle his joy had been great enough.

And when Vairë had spoken the words of welcome, and Lindo had asked of him his name and whence he came and whither he might be seeking, and he had named himself the Stranger and said that he came from the Great Lands,[2] and that he was seeking whither-so his desire for travel led him, then was the evening meal set out in the great hall and Eriol bidden thereto. Now in this hall despite the summertide were three great fires – one at the far end and one on either side of the table, and save for their light as Eriol entered all was in a warm gloom. But at that moment many folk came in bearing candles of all sizes and many shapes in sticks of strange pattern: many were of carven wood and others of beaten metal, and these were set at hazard about the centre table and upon those at the sides.

At that same moment a great gong sounded far off in the house with a sweet noise, and a sound followed as of the laughter of many voices mingled with a great pattering of feet. Then Vairë said to Eriol, seeing his face filled with a happy wonderment: 'That is the voice of Tombo, the Gong of the Children, which stands outside the Hall of Play Regained, and it rings once to summon them to this hall at the times for eating and drinking, and three times to summon them to the Room of the Log Fire for the telling of tales,' and added Lindo: 'If at his ringing once there be laughter in the corridors and a sound of feet, then do the walls shake with mirth and stamping at the three strokes in an evening. And the sounding of the three strokes is the happiest moment in the day of Littleheart the Gong-warden, as he himself declares who has known happiness enough of old; and ancient indeed is he beyond count in spite of his merriness of soul. He sailed in Wingilot with Eärendel in that last voyage wherein they sought for Kôr. It was the ringing of this Gong on the Shadowy Seas that awoke the Sleeper in the Tower of Pearl that stands far out to west in the Twilit Isles.'

To these words did Eriol's mind so lean, for it seemed to him that a new world and very fair was opening to him, that he heard naught else till he was bidden by Vairë to be seated. Then he looked up, and lo, the hall and all its benches and chairs were filled with children of every aspect, kind, and size, while sprinkled among them were folk of all manners and ages. In one thing only were all alike, that a look of great happiness lit with a merry expectation of further mirth and joy lay on every face. The soft light of candles too was

upon them all; it shone on bright tresses and gleamed about dark hair, or here and there set a pale fire in locks gone grey. Even as he gazed all arose and with one voice sang the song of the Bringing in of the Meats. Then was the food brought in and set before them, and thereafter the bearers and those that served and those that waited, host and hostess, children and guest, sat down: but Lindo first blessed both food and company. As they ate Eriol fell into speech with Lindo and his wife, telling them tales of his old days and of his adventures, especially those he had encountered upon the journey that had brought him to the Lonely Isle, and asking in return many things concerning the fair land, and most of all of that fair city wherein he now found himself.

Lindo said to him: 'Know then that today, or more like 'twas yesterday, you crossed the borders of that region that is called Alalminórë or the "Land of Elms", which the Gnomes call Gar Lossion, or the "Place of Flowers". Now this region is accounted the centre of the island, and its fairest realm; but above all the towns and villages of Alalminórë is held Koromas, or as some call it, Kortirion, and this city is the one wherein you now find yourself. Both because it stands at the heart of the island, and from the height of its mighty tower, do those that speak of it with love call it the Citadel of the Island, or of the World itself. More reason is there thereto than even great love, for all the island looks to the dwellers here for wisdom and leadership, for song and lore; and here in a great *korin* of elms dwells Meril-i-Turinqi. (Now a *korin* is a great circular hedge, be it of stone or of thorn or even of trees, that encloses a green sward.) Meril comes of the blood of Inwë, whom the Gnomes call Inwithiel, he that was King of all the Eldar when they dwelt in Kôr. That was in the days before hearing the lament of the world Inwë led them forth to the lands of Men: but those great and sad things and how the Eldar came to this fair and lonely island, maybe I will tell them another time.

'But after many days Ingil son of Inwë, seeing this place to be very fair, rested here and about him gathered most of the fairest and the wisest, most of the merriest and the kindest, of all the Eldar.[3] Here among those many came my father Valwë who went with Noldorin to find the Gnomes, and the father of Vairë my wife, Tulkastor. He was of Aulë's kindred, but had dwelt long with the Shoreland Pipers, the Solosimpi, and so came among the earliest to the island.

'Then Ingil builded the great tower[4] and called the town Koromas, or "the Resting of the Exiles of Kôr", but by reason of that tower it is now mostly called Kortirion.'

Now about this time they drew nigh the end of the meal; then did Lindo fill his cup and after him Vairë and all those in the hall, but to Eriol he said: 'Now this which we put into our cups is *limpë*, the drink of the Eldar both young and old, and drinking, our hearts keep youth and our mouths grow full of song, but this drink I may not administer: Turinqi only may give it to those not of the Eldar race, and those that drink must dwell always with the Eldar of the Island until such time as they fare forth to find the lost families of the kindred.' Then he filled Eriol's cup, but filled it with golden wine from ancient casks of the Gnomes; and then all rose and drank 'to the Faring Forth and the Rekindling of the Magic Sun'. Then sounded the Gong of the Children thrice, and a glad clamour arose in the hall, and some swung back big oaken doors at the hall's end – at that end which had no hearth. Then many seized those candles that were set in tall wooden sticks and held them aloft while others laughed and chattered, but all made a lane midmost of the company down which went Lindo and Vairë and Eriol, and as they passed the doors the throng followed them.

Eriol saw now that they were in a short broad corridor whose walls half-way up were arrassed; and on those tapestries were many stories pictured whereof he knew not at that time the purport. Above the tapestries it seemed there were paintings, but he could not see for gloom, for the candle-bearers were behind, and before him the only light came from an open door through which poured a red glow as of a big fire. 'That,' said Vairë, 'is the Tale-fire blazing in the Room of Logs; there does it burn all through the year, for 'tis a magic fire, and greatly aids the teller in his tale – but thither we now go,' and Eriol said that that seemed better to him than aught else.

Then all that company came laughing and talking into the room whence came the red glow. A fair room it was as might be felt even by the fire-flicker which danced upon the walls and low ceiling, while deep shadows lay in the nooks and corners. Round the great hearth was a multitude of soft rugs and yielding cushions strewn; and a little to one side was a deep chair with carven arms and feet. And so it was that Eriol felt at that time and at all others whereon he entered there at the hour of tale-telling, that whatso the number of the folk and children the room felt ever just great enough but not large, small enough but not overthronged.

Then all sat them down where they would, old and young, but Lindo in the deep chair and Vairë upon a cushion at his feet, and Eriol rejoicing in the red blaze for all that it was summer stretched nigh the hearthstone.

Then said Lindo: 'Of what shall the tales be tonight? Shall they be of the Great Lands, and of the dwellings of Men; of the Valar and Valinor; of the West and its mysteries, of the East and its glory, of the South and its untrödden wilds, of the North and its power and strength; or of this island and its folk; or of the old days of Kôr where our folk once dwelt? For that this night we entertain a guest, a man of great and excellent travel, a son meseems of Eärendel, shall it be of voyaging, of beating about in a boat, of winds and the sea?'[5]

But to this questioning some answered one thing and some another, till Eriol said: 'I pray you, if it be to the mind of the others, for this time tell me of this island, and of all this island most eagerly would I learn of this goodly house and this fair company of maids and boys, for of all houses this seems to me the most lovely and of all gatherings the sweetest I have gazed upon.'

Then said Vairë: 'Know then that aforetime, in the days of[6] Inwë (and farther back it is hard to go in the history of the Eldar), there was a place of fair gardens in Valinor beside a silver sea. Now this place was near the confines of the realm but not far from Kôr, yet by reason of its distance from the sun-tree Lindelos there was a light there as of summer evening, save only when the silver lamps were kindled on the hill at dusk, and then little lights of white would dance and quiver on the paths, chasing black shadow-dapples under the trees. This was a time of joy to the children, for it was mostly at this hour that a new comrade would come down the lane called Olórë Mallë or the Path of Dreams. It has been said to me, though the truth I know not, that that lane ran by devious routes to the homes of Men, but that way we never trod when we fared thither ourselves. It was a lane of deep banks and great overhanging hedges, beyond which stood many tall trees wherein a perpetual whisper seemed to live; but not seldom great glow-worms crept about its grassy borders.

'Now in this place of gardens a high gate of lattice-work that shone golden in the dusk opened upon the lane of dreams, and from there led winding paths of high box to the fairest of all the gardens, and amidmost of the garden stood a white cottage. Of what it was built, nor when, no one knew, nor now knows, but it was said to me that it shone with a pale light, as it was of pearl, and its roof was a thatch, but a thatch of gold.

'Now on one side of the cot stood a thicket of white lilac and at the other end a mighty yew, from whose shoots the children fashioned bows or clambered by his branches upon the roof. But in the lilacs every bird that ever sang sweetly gathered and sang. Now the walls

of the cottage were bent with age and its many small lattice windows were twisted into strange shapes. No one, 'tis said, dwelt in the cottage, which was however guarded secretly and jealously by the Eldar so that no harm came nigh it, and that yet might the children playing therein in freedom know of no guardianship. This was the Cottage of the Children, or of the Play of Sleep, and not of Lost Play, as has wrongly been said in song among Men – for no play was lost then, and here alas only and now is the Cottage of Lost Play.

'These too were the earliest children – the children of the fathers of the fathers of Men that came there; and for pity the Eldar sought to guide all who came down that lane into the cottage and the garden, lest they strayed into Kôr and became enamoured of the glory of Valinor; for then would they either stay there for ever, and great grief fall on their parents, or would they wander back and long for ever vainly, and become strange and wild among the children of Men. Nay, some even who wandered on to the edge of the rocks of Eldamar and there strayed, dazzled by the fair shells and the fishes of many colours, the blue pools and the silver foam, they drew back to the cottage, alluring them gently with the odour of many flowers. Yet even so there were a few who heard on that beach the sweet piping of the Solosimpi afar off and who played not with the other children but climbed to the upper windows and gazed out, straining to see the far glimpses of the sea and the magic shores beyond the shadows and the trees.

'Now for the most part the children did not often go into the house, but danced and played in the garden, gathering flowers or chasing the golden bees and butterflies with embroidered wings that the Eldar set within the garden for their joy. And many children have there become comrades, who after met and loved in the lands of Men, but of such things perchance Men know more than I can tell you. Yet some there were who, as I have told, heard the Solosimpi piping afar off, or others who straying again beyond the garden caught a sound of the singing of the Telelli on the hill, and even some who reaching Kôr afterwards returned home, and their minds and hearts were full of wonder. Of the misty aftermemories of these, of their broken tales and snatches of song, came many strange legends that delighted Men for long, and still do, it may be; for of such were the poets of the Great Lands.[7]

'Now when the fairies left Kôr that lane was blocked for ever with great impassable rocks, and there stands of a surety the cottage empty and the garden bare to this day, and will do until long after the Faring Forth, when if all goes well the roads through Arvalin

to Valinor shall be thronged with the sons and daughters of Men. But seeing that no children came there for refreshment and delight, sorrow and greyness spread amongst them and Men ceased almost to believe in, or think of, the beauty of the Eldar and the glory of the Valar, till one came from the Great Lands and besought us to relieve the darkness.

'Now there is alas no safe way for children from the Great Lands hither, but Meril-i-Turinqi hearkened to his boon and chose Lindo my husband to devise some plan of good. Now Lindo and I, Vairë, had taken under our care the children – the remainder of those who found Kôr and remained with the Eldar for ever: and so here we builded of good magic this Cottage of Lost Play: and here old tales, old songs, and elfin music are treasured and rehearsed. Ever and anon our children fare forth again to find the Great Lands, and go about among the lonely children and whisper to them at dusk in early bed by night-light and candle-flame, or comfort those that weep. Some I am told listen to the complaints of those that are punished or chidden, and hear their tales and feign to take their part, and this seems to me a quaint and merry service.

'Yet all whom we send return not and that is great grief to us, for it is by no means out of small love that the Eldar held children from Kôr, but rather of thought for the homes of Men; yet in the Great Lands, as you know well, there are fair places and lovely regions of much allurement, wherefore it is only for the great necessity that we adventure any of the children that are with us. Yet the most come back hither and tell us many stories and many sad things of their journeys – and now I have told most of what is to tell of the Cottage of Lost Play.'

Then Eriol said: 'Now these are tidings sad and yet good to hear, and I remember me of certain words that my father spake in my early boyhood. It had long, said he, been a tradition in our kindred that one of our father's fathers would speak of a fair house and magic gardens, of a wondrous town, and of a music full of all beauty and longing – and these things he said he had seen and heard as a child, though how and where was not told. Now all his life was he restless, as if a longing half-expressed for unknown things dwelt within him; and 'tis said that he died among rocks on a lonely coast on a night of storm – and moreover that most of his children and their children since have been of a restless mind – and methinks I know now the truth of the matter.'

And Vairë said that 'twas like to be that one of his kindred had found the rocks of Eldamar in those old days.

NOTES

1 *Gnomes*: the Second Kindred, the *Noldoli* (later *Noldor*). For the use of the word *Gnomes* see p. 43; and for the linguistic distinction made here see pp. 50–1.
2 The 'Great Lands' are the lands East of the Great Sea. The term 'Middle-earth' is never used in the *Lost Tales*, and in fact does not appear until writings of the 1930s.
3 In both MSS the words 'of all the Eldar' are followed by: 'for of most noble there were none, seeing that to be of the blood of the Eldar is equal and sufficient'; but this was struck out in the second MS.
4 The original reading was 'the great Tirion', changed to 'the great tower'.
5 This sentence, from 'a son meseems . . .', replaced in the original MS an earlier reading: 'shall it be of Eärendel the wanderer, who alone of the sons of Men has had great traffic with the Valar and Elves, who alone of their kindred has seen beyond Taniquetil, even he who sails for ever in the firmament?'
6 The original reading was 'before the days of', changed to 'in the first days of', and then to the reading given.
7 This last phrase was an addition to the second MS.

Changes made to names in *The Cottage of Lost Play*

The names were at this time in a very fluid state, reflecting in part the rapid development of the languages that was then taking place. Changes were made to the original text, and further changes, at different times, to the second text, but it seems unnecessary in the following notes to go into the detail of when and where the changes were made. The names are given in the order of their occurrence in the tale. The signs > and < are used to mean 'changed to' and 'changed from'.

Dor Faidwen The Gnomish name of Tol Eressëa was changed many times: *Gar Eglos* > *Dor Edloth* > *Dor Usgwen* > *Dor Uswen* > *Dor Faidwen*.

Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva In the original text a space was left for the Elvish name, subsequently filled in as *Mar Vanwa Taliéva*.

Great Lands Throughout the tale *Great Lands* is an emendation of *Outer Lands*, when the latter was given a different meaning (lands West of the Great Sea).

Wingilot < *Wingelot*.

Gar Lossion < *Losgar*.

Koromas < *Kormas.*
Meril-i-Turinqi The first text has only *Turinqi*, with in one place a space left for a personal name.
Inwë < *Ing* at each occurrence.
Inwithiel < *Gim Githil*, which was in turn < *Githil.*
Ingil < *Ingilmo.*
Valwë < *Manwë.* It seems possible that *Manwë* as the name of Lindo's father was a mere slip.
Noldorin The original reading was *Noldorin whom the Gnomes name Goldriel*; *Goldriel* was changed to *Golthadriel*, and then the reference to the Gnomish name was struck out, leaving only *Noldorin.*
Tulkastor < *Tulkassë* < *Turenbor.*
Solosimpi < *Solosimpë* at each occurrence.
Lindelos < *Lindeloksë* < *Lindeloktë Singing Cluster* (*Glingol*).
Telelli < *Telellë.*
Arvalin < *Harmalin* < *Harwalin.*

Commentary on *The Cottage of Lost Play*

The story of Eriol the mariner was central to my father's original conception of the mythology. In those days, as he recounted long after in a letter to his friend Milton Waldman,* the primary intention of his work was to satisfy his desire for a specifically and recognizably *English* literature of 'faerie':

> I was from early days grieved by the poverty of my own beloved country: it had no stories of its own (bound up with its tongue and soil), not of the quality that I sought, and found (as an ingredient) in legends of other lands. There was Greek, and Celtic, and Romance, Germanic, Scandinavian, and Finnish (which greatly affected me); but nothing English, save impoverished chap-book stuff.

In his earliest writings the mythology was anchored in the ancient legendary history of England; and more than that, it was peculiarly associated with certain places in England.

Eriol, himself close kin of famous figures in the legends of North-western Europe, came at last on a voyage westward over the ocean to Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle, where Elves dwelt; and from them he learned 'The Lost Tales of Elfinesse'. But his rôle was at first to be more important in the structure of the work than (what it afterwards became) simply that of a man of later days who came to 'the land of the Fairies' and there acquired

* *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, ed. Humphrey Carpenter, 1981, p. 144. The letter was almost certainly written in 1951.

lost or hidden knowledge, which he afterwards reported in his own tongue: at first, Eriol was to be an important element in the fairy-history itself – the witness of the ruin of Elvish Tol Eressëa. The element of ancient English history or 'historical legend' was at first not merely a framework, isolated from the great tales that afterwards constituted 'The Silmarillion', but an integral part of their ending. The elucidation of all this (so far as elucidation is possible) must necessarily be postponed to the end of the *Tales*; but here something at least must be said of the history of Eriol up to the time of his coming to Tol Eressëa, and of the original significance of the Lonely Isle.

The 'Eriol-story' is in fact among the knottiest and most obscure matters in the whole history of Middle-earth and Aman. My father abandoned the writing of the *Lost Tales* before he reached their end, and when he abandoned them he had also abandoned his original ideas for their conclusion. Those ideas can indeed be discerned from his notes; but the notes were for the most part pencilled at furious speed, the writing now rubbed and faint and in places after long study scarcely decipherable, on little slips of paper, disordered and dateless, or in a little notebook in which, during the years when he was composing the *Lost Tales*, he jotted down thoughts and suggestions (see p. 171). The common form of these notes on the 'Eriol' or 'English' element is that of short outlines, in which salient narrative features, often without clear connection between them, are set down in the manner of a list; and they vary constantly among themselves.

In what must be, at any rate, among the very earliest of these outlines, found in this little pocket-book, and headed 'Story of Eriol's Life', the mariner who came to Tol Eressëa is brought into relation with the tradition of the invasion of Britain by Hengest and Horsa in the fifth century A.D. This was a matter to which my father gave much time and thought; he lectured on it at Oxford and developed certain original theories, especially in connection with the appearance of Hengest in *Beowulf*.*

From these jottings we learn that Eriol's original name was *Ottor*, but that he called himself *Wǽfre* (an Old English word meaning 'restless, wandering') and lived a life on the waters. His father was named *Eoh* (a word of the Old English poetic vocabulary meaning 'horse'); and Eoh was slain by his brother *Beorn* (in Old English 'warrior', but originally meaning 'bear', as does the cognate word *björn* in Old Norse; cf. Beorn the shape-changer in *The Hobbit*). Eoh and Beorn were the sons of *Heden* 'the leather and fur clad', and Heden (like many heroes of Northern legend) traced his ancestry to the god Wóden. In other notes there are other connections and combinations, and since none of this story was written as a coherent narrative these names are only of significance as showing the direction of my father's thought at that time.

Ottor Wǽfre settled on the island of Heligoland in the North Sea, and

* J. R. R. Tolkien, *Finn and Hengest*, ed. Alan Bliss, 1982.

he wedded a woman named *Cwén* (Old English: 'woman', 'wife'); they had two sons named 'after his father' *Hengest* and *Horsa* 'to avenge Eoh' (*hengest* is another Old English word for 'horse').

Then sea-longing gripped Ottor Wæfre: he was a son of *Eärendel*, born under his beam. If a beam from Eärendel fall on a child new-born he becomes 'a child of Eärendel' and a wanderer. (So also in *The Cottage of Lost Play* Eriol is called both by the author and by Lindo a 'son of Eärendel'.) After the death of Cwén Ottor left his young children. Hengest and Horsa avenged Eoh and became great chieftains; but Ottor Wæfre set out to seek, and find, Tol Eressëa, here called in Old English *se uncúþa holm*, 'the unknown island'.

Various things are told in these notes about Eriol's sojourn in Tol Eressëa which do not appear in *The Book of Lost Tales*, but of these I need here only refer to the statements that 'Eriol adopted the name of *Angol*' and that he was named by the Gnomes (the later Noldor, see below p. 43) *Angol* 'after the regions of his home'. This certainly refers to the ancient homeland of the 'English' before their migration across the North Sea to Britain: Old English *Angel*, *Angul*, modern German *Angeln*, the region of the Danish peninsula between the Flensburg fjord and the river Schlei, south of the modern Danish frontier. From the west coast of the peninsula it is no very great distance to the island of Heligoland.

In another place *Angol* is given as the Gnomish equivalent of *Eriollo*, which names are said to be those of 'the region of the northern part of the Great Lands, "between the seas", whence Eriol came'. (On these names see further under *Eriol* in the Appendix on Names.)

It is not to be thought that these notes represent in all respects the story of Eriol as my father conceived it when he wrote *The Cottage of Lost Play* – in any case, it is said expressly there that *Eriol* means 'One who dreams alone', and that 'of his former names the story nowhere tells' (p. 14). But what is important is that (according to the view that I have formed of the earliest conceptions, apparently the best explanation of the very difficult evidence) this was still the leading idea when it was written: *Eriol came to Tol Eressëa from the lands to the East of the North Sea.* He belongs to the period preceding the Anglo-Saxon invasions of Britain (as my father, for his purposes, wished to represent it).

Later, his name changed to *Ælfwine* ('Elf-friend'), the mariner became an Englishman of the 'Anglo-Saxon period' of English history, who sailed west over sea to Tol Eressëa – he sailed from England out into the Atlantic Ocean; and from this later conception comes the very remarkable story of *Ælfwine of England*, which will be given at the end of the *Lost Tales*. But in the earliest conception he was not an Englishman of England: England in the sense of the land of the English did not yet exist; for the cardinal fact (made quite explicit in extant notes) of this conception is that *the Elvish isle to which Eriol came was England* – that is to say, Tol Eressëa would become England, the land of the English, at the end of the story. Koromas or Kortirion, the town in the centre of Tol Eressëa

to which Eriol comes in *The Cottage of Lost Play*, would become in after days Warwick (and the elements *Kor-* and *War-* were etymologically connected);* Alalminórë, the Land of Elms, would be Warwickshire; and Tavrobel, where Eriol sojourned for a while in Tol Eressëa, would afterwards be the Staffordshire village of Great Haywood.

None of this is explicit in the written *Tales*, and is only found in notes independent of them; but it seems certain that it was still present when *The Cottage of Lost Play* was written (and indeed, as I shall try to show later, underlies all the *Tales*). The fair copy that my mother made of it was dated February 1917. From 1913 until her marriage in March 1916 she lived in Warwick and my father visited her there from Oxford; after their marriage she lived for a while at Great Haywood (east of Stafford), since it was near the camp where my father was stationed, and after his return from France he was at Great Haywood in the winter of 1916–17. Thus the identification of Tol Eressëan Tavrobel with Great Haywood cannot be earlier than 1916, and the fair copy of *The Cottage of Lost Play* (and quite possibly the original composition of it) was actually done there.

In November 1915 my father wrote a poem entitled *Kortirion among the Trees* which was dedicated to Warwick.† To the first fair copy of the poem there is appended a prose introduction, as follows:

> Now on a time the fairies dwelt in the Lonely Isle after the great wars with Melko and the ruin of Gondolin; and they builded a fair city amidmost of that island, and it was girt with trees. Now this city they called Kortirion, both in memory of their ancient dwelling of Kôr in Valinor, and because this city stood also upon a hill and had a great tower tall and grey that Ingil son of Inwë their lord let raise.
>
> Very beautiful was Kortirion and the fairies loved it, and it became rich in song and poesy and the light of laughter; but on a time the great Faring Forth was made, and the fairies had rekindled once more the Magic Sun of Valinor but for the treason and faint hearts of Men. But so it is that the Magic Sun is dead and the Lonely Isle drawn back unto the confines of the Great Lands, and the fairies are scattered through all the wide unfriendly pathways of the world; and now Men dwell even on this faded isle, and care nought or know nought of its ancient days. Yet still there be some of the Eldar and the Noldoli‡ of old who linger in the island, and their songs are heard about the shores of the land that once was the fairest dwelling of the immortal folk.

* The great tower or *tirion* that Ingil son of Inwe built (p. 16) and the great tower of Warwick Castle are not identified, but at least it is certain that Koromas had a great tower because Warwick has one.

† This poem is given, in three different texts, on pp. 33–43. – A poem written at Étaples in the Pas de Calais in June 1916 and entitled 'The Lonely Isle' is explicitly addressed to England. See *Letters*, p. 437, note 4 to letter 43.

‡ For the distinction between *Eldar* and *Noldoli* see pp. 50–1.

> And it seems to the fairies and it seems to me who know that town and have often trodden its disfigured ways that autumn and the falling of the leaf is the season of the year when maybe here or there a heart among Men may be open, and an eye perceive how is the world's estate fallen from the laughter and the loveliness of old. Think on Kortirion and be sad – yet is there not hope?

Both here and in *The Cottage of Lost Play* there are allusions to events still in the future when Eriol came to Tol Eressëa; and though the full exposition and discussion of them must wait until the end of the *Tales* it needs to be explained here that 'the Faring Forth' was a great expedition made from Tol Eressëa for the rescue of the Elves who were still wandering in the Great Lands – cf. Lindo's words (p. 17): 'until such time as they fare forth to find the lost families of the kindred'. At that time Tol Eressëa was uprooted, by the aid of Ulmo, from the sea-bottom and dragged near to the western shores of the Great Lands. In the battle that followed the Elves were defeated, and fled into hiding in Tol Eressëa; Men entered the isle, and the fading of the Elves began. The subsequent history of Tol Eressëa is the history of England; and Warwick is 'disfigured Kortirion', itself a memory of ancient Kôr (the later Tirion upon Túna, city of the Elves in Aman; in the *Lost Tales* the name Kôr is used both of the city and the hill).

Inwë, referred to in *The Cottage of Lost Play* as 'King of all the Eldar when they dwelt in Kôr', is the forerunner of Ingwë King of the Vanyar Elves in *The Silmarillion*. In a story told later to Eriol in Tol Eressëa Inwë reappears as one of the three Elves who went first to Valinor after the Awakening, as was Ingwë in *The Silmarillion*; his kindred and descendants were the *Inwir*, of whom came Meril-i-Turinqi, the Lady of Tol Eressëa (see p. 50). Lindo's references to Inwë's hearing 'the lament of the world' (i.e. of the Great Lands) and to his leading the Eldar forth to the lands of Men (p. 16) are the germ of the story of the coming of the Hosts of the West to the assault on Thangorodrim: 'The host of the Valar prepared for battle; and beneath their white banners marched the Vanyar, the people of Ingwë . . .' (*The Silmarillion*, p. 251). Later in the *Tales* it is said to Eriol by Meril-i-Turinqi that 'Inwë was the eldest of the Elves, and had lived yet in majesty had he not perished in that march into the world; but Ingil his son went long ago back to Valinor and is with Manwë'. In *The Silmarillion*, on the other hand, it is said of Ingwë that 'he entered into Valinor [in the beginning of the days of the Elves] and sits at the feet of the Powers, and all Elves revere his name; but he came never back, nor looked again upon Middle-earth' (p. 53).

Lindo's words about the sojourn of Ingil in Tol Eressëa 'after many days', and the interpretation of the name of his town Koromas as 'the Resting of the Exiles of Kôr', refer to the return of the Eldar from the Great Lands after the war on Melko (Melkor, Morgoth) for the deliverance of the enslaved Noldoli. His words about his father Valwë 'who went with

Noldorin to find the Gnomes' refer to an element in this story of the expedition from Kôr.*

It is important to see, then, that (if my general interpretation is correct) in *The Cottage of Lost Play* Eriol comes to Tol Eressëa *in the time after* the Fall of Gondolin and the march of the Elves of Kôr into the Great Lands for the defeat of Melko, when the Elves who had taken part in it had returned over the sea to dwell in Tol Eressëa; but *before the time* of the 'Faring Forth' and the removal of Tol Eressëa to the geographical position of England. This latter element was soon lost in its entirety from the developing mythology.

★

Of the 'Cottage' itself it must be said at once that very little light can be cast on it from other writings of my father's; for the entire conception of the Children who went to Valinor was to be abandoned almost without further trace. Later in the *Lost Tales*, however, there are again references to Olóre Mallë. After the description of the Hiding of Valinor, it is told that at the bidding of Manwë (who looked on the event with sorrow) the Valar Oromë and Lórien devised strange paths from the Great Lands to Valinor, and the way of Lórien's devising was Olórë Mallë, the Path of Dreams; by this road, when 'Men were yet but new-wakened on the earth', 'the children of the fathers of the fathers of Men' came to Valinor in their sleep (pp. 211, 213). There are two further mentions in tales to be given in Part II: the teller of the *Tale of Tinúviel* (a child of Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva) says that she saw Tinúviel and her mother with her own eyes 'when journeying by the Way of Dreams in long past days', and the teller of the *Tale of Turambar* says that he 'trod Olórë Mallë in the days before the fall of Gondolin'.

There is also a poem on the subject of the Cottage of Lost Play, which has many of the details of the description in the prose text. This poem, according to my father's notes, was composed at 59 St John's Street, Oxford, his undergraduate lodgings, on 27–28 April 1915 (when he was 23). It exists (as is constantly the case with the poems) in several versions, each modified in detail from the preceding one, and the end of the poem was twice entirely rewritten. I give it here first in the earliest form, with changes made to this in notes at the foot of the page, and then in the final version, the date of which cannot be certainly determined. I suspect that it was very much later – and may indeed have been one of the revisions made to old poems when the collection *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil* (1962) was being prepared, though it is not mentioned in my father's correspondence on that subject.

The original title was: *You and Me / and the Cottage of Lost Play* (with

* A little light on Lindo's references to the ringing of the Gong on the Shadowy Seas and the Sleeper in the Tower of Pearl will be shed when the story of Eärendel is reached at the end of the *Tales*.

an Old English rendering *Þæt húsincel ærran gamenes*), which was changed to *Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva, The Cottage of Lost Play*; in the final version it is *The Little House of Lost Play: Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva,* The verse-lines are indented as in the original texts.

You & Me
and the Cottage of Lost Play

You and me – we know that land
  And often have been there
In the long old days, old nursery days,
  A dark child and a fair.
Was it down the paths of firelight dreams
  In winter cold and white,
Or in the blue-spun twilit hours
Of little early tucked-up beds
  In drowsy summer night,
That You and I got lost in Sleep
  And met each other there –
Your dark hair on your white nightgown,
  And mine was tangled fair?

We wandered shyly hand in hand,
  Or rollicked in the fairy sand
And gathered pearls and shells in pails,
  While all about the nightingales
    Were singing in the trees.
We dug for silver with our spades
  By little inland sparkling seas,
Then ran ashore through sleepy glades
  And down a warm and winding lane
  We never never found again
    Between high whispering trees.

The air was neither night or day,
  But faintly dark with softest light,
When first there glimmered into sight
  The Cottage of Lost Play.
'Twas builded very very old
  White, and thatched with straws of gold,
  And pierced with peeping lattices
    That looked toward the sea;

1 You and I
3 In the long old days, the shining days,
15 in the golden sand
23 That now we cannot find again
25 night nor day
29 New-built it was, yet very old,

And our own children's garden-plots
Were there – our own forgetmenots,
  Red daisies, cress and mustard,
    And blue nemophilë.
O! all the borders trimmed with box
Were full of favourite flowers – of phlox,
Of larkspur, pinks, and hollyhocks
    Beneath a red may-tree:
And all the paths were full of shapes,
Of tumbling happy white-clad shapes,
    And with them You and Me.
And some had silver watering-cans
  And watered all their gowns,
Or sprayed each other; some laid plans
  To build them houses, fairy towns,
    Or dwellings in the trees;
And some were clambering on the roof;
  Some crooning lonely and aloof;
And some were dancing fairy-rings
  And weaving pearly daisy-strings,
    Or chasing golden bees;
But here and there a little pair
With rosy cheeks and tangled hair
  Debated quaint old childish things – *
    And we were one of these.

37 And all the borders
43 That laughed with You and Me.
47 little towns
56 Debated ancient childish things

Lines 58–65 (p. 30) were subsequently rewritten:

But why it was there came a time
When we could take the road no more,
  Though long we looked, and high would climb,
  Or gaze from many a seaward shore
To find the path between sea and sky
  To those old gardens of delight;
And how it goes now in that land,
  If there the house and gardens stand,
    Still filled with children clad in white –
      We know not, You and I.

* This seems to echo the lines of Francis Thompson's poem *Daisy*:

Two children did we stray and talk
  Wise, idle, childish things.

My father acquired the Works of Francis Thompson in 1913 and 1914.

And why it was Tomorrow came
  And with his grey hand led us back;
And why we never found the same
  Old cottage, or the magic track
  That leads between a silver sea
And those old shores and gardens fair
Where all things are, that ever were –
  We know not, You and Me.

This is the final version of the poem:

The Little House of Lost Play
Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva

We knew that land once, You and I,
  and once we wandered there
in the long days now long gone by,
  a dark child and a fair.
Was it on the paths of firelight thought
  in winter cold and white,
or in the blue-spun twilit hours
of little early tucked-up beds
  in drowsy summer night,
that you and I in Sleep went down
  to meet each other there,
your dark hair on your white nightgown
  and mine was tangled fair?

We wandered shyly hand in hand,
small footprints in the golden sand,
and gathered pearls and shells in pails,
while all about the nightingales
  were singing in the trees.
We dug for silver with our spades,
and caught the sparkle of the seas,
then ran ashore to greenlit glades,
and found the warm and winding lane
that now we cannot find again,
  between tall whispering trees.

The air was neither night nor day,
an ever-eve of gloaming light,
when first there glimmered into sight
  the Little House of Play.
New-built it was, yet very old,

62 That leads between the sea and sky
63 To those old shores
65 We know not, You and I.

white, and thatched with straws of gold,
and pierced with peeping lattices
that looked toward the sea;
and our own children's garden-plots
were there: our own forgetmenots,
red daisies, cress and mustard,
and radishes for tea.
There all the borders, trimmed with box,
were filled with favourite flowers, with phlox,
with lupins, pinks, and hollyhocks,
beneath a red may-tree;
and all the gardens full of folk
that their own little language spoke,
but not to You and Me.

For some had silver watering-cans
and watered all their gowns,
or sprayed each other; some laid plans
to build their houses, little towns
and dwellings in the trees.
And some were clambering on the roof;
some crooning lonely and aloof;
some dancing round the fairy-rings
all garlanded in daisy-strings,
while some upon their knees
before a little white-robed king
crowned with marigold would sing
their rhymes of long ago.
But side by side a little pair
with heads together, mingled hair,
went walking to and fro
still hand in hand; and what they said,
ere Waking far apart them led,
that only we now know.

It is notable that the poem was called *The Cottage*, or *The Little House of Lost Play*, whereas what is described is the Cottage of the Children in Valinor, near the city of Kôr; but this, according to Vairë (p. 19), 'the Cottage of the Play of Sleep', was 'not of Lost Play, as has wrongly been said in song among Men'.

I shall not attempt any analysis or offer any elucidation of the ideas embodied in the 'Cottages of the Children'. The reader, however he interprets them, will in any case not need to be assisted in his perception of the personal and particular emotions in which all was still anchored.

As I have said, the conception of the coming of mortal children in sleep to the gardens of Valinor was soon to be abandoned in its entirety, and

in the developed mythology there would be no place for it – still less for the idea that in some possible future day 'the roads through Arvalin to Valinor shall be thronged with the sons and daughters of Men'.

Likewise, all the 'elfin' diminutiveness soon disappeared. The idea of the Cottage of the Children was already in being in 1915, as the poem *You and Me* shows; and it was in the same year, indeed on the same days of April, that *Goblin Feet* (or *Cumaþ þá Nihtielfas*) was written, concerning which my father said in 1971: 'I wish the unhappy little thing, representing all that I came (so soon after) to fervently dislike, could be buried for ever.'* Yet it is to be observed that in early notes Elves and Men are said to have been 'of a size' in former days, and the smallness (and filminess and transparency) of the 'fairies' is an aspect of their 'fading', and directly related to the domination of Men in the Great Lands. To this matter I shall return later. In this connection, the diminutiveness of the Cottage is very strange, since it seems to be a diminutiveness peculiar to itself: Eriol, who has travelled for many days through Tol Eressëa, is astonished that the dwelling can hold so many, and he is told that all who enter it must be, or must become, very small. But Tol Eressëa is an island inhabited by Elves.

I give now three texts of the poem *Kortirion among the Trees* (later *The Trees of Kortirion*). The very earliest workings (November 1915) of this poem are extant,† and there are many subsequent texts. The prose introduction to the early form has been cited on pp. 25–6. A major revision was made in 1937, and another much later; by this time it was almost a different poem. Since my father sent it to Rayner Unwin in February 1962 as a possible candidate for inclusion in *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil*, it seems virtually certain that the final version dates from that time.‡

I give the poem first in its pre-1937 form, when only slight changes had yet been made. In one of the earliest copies it bears a title in Old English: *Cor Tirion þǽra béama on middes*, and is 'dedicated to Warwick'; but in another the second title is in Elvish (the second word is not perfectly legible): *Narquelion la . . tu y aldalin Kortirionwen* (i.e. 'Autumn (among) the trees of Kortirion').

* He had been asked for his permission to include the poem in an anthology, as it had been several times previously. See Humphrey Carpenter, *Biography*, p. 74, where (a part only) of the poem is printed, and also his bibliography *ibid.* (year 1915).

† According to my father's notes, the original composition dates from November 21–28, 1915, and was written in Warwick on 'a week's leave from camp'. This is not precisely accurate, since letters to my mother survive that were written from the camp on November 25 and 26, in the second of which he says that he has 'written out a pencil copy of "Kortirion"'.

‡ In his letter my father said: '*The Trees* is too long and too ambitious, and even if considered good enough would probably upset the boat.'

Kortirion among the Trees

The First Verses

O fading town upon a little hill,
  Old memory is waning in thine ancient gates,
The robe gone gray, thine old heart almost still;
  The castle only, frowning, ever waits
And ponders how among the towering elms
The Gliding Water leaves these inland realms
  And slips between long meadows to the western sea –
Still bearing downward over murmurous falls
  One year and then another to the sea;
And slowly thither have a many gone
Since first the fairies built Kortirion.

O spiry town upon a windy hill
  With sudden-winding alleys shady-walled
(Where even now the peacocks pace a stately drill,
  Majestic, sapphirine, and emerald),
Behold thy girdle of a wide champain
Sunlit, and watered with a silver rain,
  And richly wooded with a thousand whispering trees
That cast long shadows in many a bygone noon,
  And murmured many centuries in the breeze.
Thou art the city of the Land of Elms,
Alalminórë in the Faery Realms.

Sing of thy trees, old, old Kortirion!
Thine oaks, and maples with their tassels on,
Thy singing poplars; and the splendid yews
That crown thine agéd walls and muse
  Of sombre grandeur all the day –
Until the twinkle of the early stars
Is tangled palely in their sable bars;
Until the seven lampads of the Silver Bear
Swing slowly in their shrouded hair
  And diadem the fallen day.
O tower and citadel of the world!
When bannered summer is unfurled
Most full of music are thine elms –
A gathered sound that overwhelms
  The voices of all other trees.
Sing then of elms, belov'd Kortirion,
How summer crowds their full sails on,
Like clothéd masts of verdurous ships,
A fleet of galleons that proudly slips
  Across long sunlit seas.

The Second Verses

Thou art the inmost province of the fading isle
  Where linger yet the Lonely Companies.
Still, undespairing, do they sometimes slowly file
  Along thy paths with plaintive harmonies:
The holy fairies and immortal elves
That dance among the trees and sing themselves
  A wistful song of things that were, and could be yet.
They pass and vanish in a sudden breeze,
  A wave of bowing grass – and we forget
Their tender voices like wind-shaken bells
Of flowers, their gleaming hair like golden asphodels.

Spring still hath joy: thy spring is ever fair
  Among the trees; but drowsy summer by thy streams
Already stoops to hear the secret player
  Pipe out beyond the tangle of her forest dreams
The long thin tune that still do sing
The elvish harebells nodding in a jacinth ring
  Upon the castle walls;
Already stoops to listen to the clear cold spell
  Come up her sunny aisles and perfumed halls:
A sad and haunting magic note,
  A strand of silver glass remote.

Then all thy trees, old town upon a windy bent,
Do loose a long sad whisper and lament;
For going are the rich-hued hours, th'enchanted nights
When flitting ghost-moths dance like satellites
  Round tapers in the moveless air;
And doomed already are the radiant dawns,
The fingered sunlight dripping on long lawns;
The odour and the slumbrous noise of meads,
When all the sorrel, flowers, and pluméd weeds
  Go down before the scyther's share.
Strange sad October robes her dewy furze
In netted sheen of gold-shot gossamers,
And then the wide-umbraged elm begins to fail;
Her mourning multitudes of leaves go pale
  Seeing afar the icy shears
  Of Winter, and his blue-tipped spears
Marching unconquerable upon the sun
Of bright All-Hallows. Then their hour is done,
And wanly borne on wings of amber pale
They beat the wide airs of the fading vale
  And fly like birds across the misty meres.

The Third Verses

Yet is this season dearest to my heart,
  Most fitting to the little faded town
With sense of splendid pomps that now depart
  In mellow sounds of sadness echoing down
The paths of stranded mists. O! gentle time
When the late mornings are bejewelled with rime,
  And the blue shadows gather on the distant woods.
The fairies know thy early crystal dusk
  And put in secret on their twilit hoods
Of grey and filmy purple, and long bands
Of frosted starlight sewn by silver hands.

They know the season of the brilliant night,
  When naked elms entwine in cloudy lace
The Pleiades, and long-armed poplars bar the light
  Of golden-rondured moons with glorious face.
O fading fairies and most lonely elves
Then sing ye, sing ye to yourselves
  A woven song of stars and gleaming leaves;
Then whirl ye with the sapphire-wingéd winds;
  Then do ye pipe and call with heart that grieves
To sombre men: 'Remember what is gone –
The magic sun that lit Kortirion!'

Now are thy trees, old, old Kortirion,
Seen rising up through pallid mists and wan,
Like vessels floating vague and long afar
Down opal seas beyond the shadowy bar
  Of cloudy ports forlorn:
They leave behind for ever havens throng'd
Wherein their crews a while held feasting long
And gorgeous ease, who now like windy ghosts
Are wafted by slow airs to empty coasts;
  There are they sadly glimmering borne
  Across the plumbless ocean of oblivion.
Bare are thy trees become, Kortirion,
And all their summer glory swiftly gone.
The seven lampads of the Silver Bear
Are waxen to a wondrous flare
  That flames above the fallen year.
Though cold thy windy squares and empty streets;
Though elves dance seldom in thy pale retreats
(Save on some rare and moonlit night,
A flash, a whispering glint of white),
  Yet would I never need depart from here.

The Last Verse

I need not know the desert or red palaces
Where dwells the sun, the great seas or the magic isles,
The pinewoods piled on mountain-terraces;
And calling faintly down the windy miles
Touches my heart no distant bell that rings
In populous cities of the Earthly Kings.
Here do I find a haunting ever-near content
Set midmost of the Land of withered Elms
(Alalminórë of the Faery Realms);
Here circling slowly in a sweet lament
Linger the holy fairies and immortal elves
Singing a song of faded longing to themselves.

★

I give next the text of the poem as my father rewrote it in 1937, in the later of slightly variant forms.

Kortirion among the Trees

I

O fading town upon an inland hill,
Old shadows linger in thine ancient gate,
Thy robe is grey, thine old heart now is still;
Thy towers silent in the mist await
Their crumbling end, while through the storeyed elms
The Gliding Water leaves these inland realms,
And slips between long meadows to the Sea,
Still bearing downward over murmurous falls
One day and then another to the Sea;
And slowly thither many years have gone,
Since first the Elves here built Kortirion.

O climbing town upon thy windy hill
With winding streets, and alleys shady-walled
Where now untamed the peacocks pace in drill
Majestic, sapphirine, and emerald;
Amid the girdle of this sleeping land,
Where silver falls the rain and gleaming stand
The whispering host of old deep-rooted trees
That cast long shadows in many a bygone noon,
And murmured many centuries in the breeze;
Thou art the city of the Land of Elms,
Alalminórë in the Faery Realms.

Sing of thy trees, Kortirion, again:
The beech on hill, the willow in the fen,
The rainy poplars, and the frowning yews
Within thine agéd courts that muse
  In sombre splendour all the day;
Until the twinkle of the early stars
Comes glinting through their sable bars,
And the white moon climbing up the sky
Looks down upon the ghosts of trees that die
  Slowly and silently from day to day.
O Lonely Isle, here was thy citadel,
Ere bannered summer from his fortress fell.
Then full of music were thine elms:
Green was their armour, green their helms,
  The Lords and Kings of all thy trees.
Sing, then, of elms, renowned Kortirion,
That under summer crowds their full sail on,
And shrouded stand like masts of verdurous ships,
A fleet of galleons that proudly slips
  Across long sunlit seas.

II

Thou art the inmost province of the fading isle,
  Where linger yet the Lonely Companies;
Still, undespairing, here they slowly file
  Along thy paths with solemn harmonies:
The holy people of an elder day,
Immortal Elves, that singing fair and fey
  Of vanished things that were, and could be yet,
Pass like a wind among the rustling trees,
  A wave of bowing grass, and we forget
Their tender voices like wind-shaken bells
Of flowers, their gleaming hair like golden asphodels.

Once Spring was here with joy, and all was fair
  Among the trees; but Summer drowsing by the stream
Heard trembling in her heart the secret player
  Pipe, out beyond the tangle of her forest dream,
The long-drawn tune that elvish voices made
Foreseeing Winter through the leafy glade;
  The late flowers nodding on the ruined walls
Then stooping heard afar that haunting flute
  Beyond the sunny aisles and tree-propped halls;
For thin and clear and cold the note,
As strand of silver glass remote.

Then all thy trees, Kortirion, were bent,
And shook with sudden whispering lament:
For passing were the days, and doomed the nights
When flitting ghost-moths danced as satellites
Round tapers in the moveless air;
And doomed already were the radiant dawns,
The fingered sunlight drawn across the lawns;
The odour and the slumbrous noise of meads,
Where all the sorrel, flowers, and pluméd weeds
Go down before the scyther's share.
When cool October robed her dewy furze
In netted sheen of gold-shot gossamers,
Then the wide-umbraged elms began to fail;
Their mourning multitude of leaves grew pale,
Seeing afar the icy spears
Of Winter marching blue behind the sun
Of bright All-Hallows. Then their hour was done,
And wanly borne on wings of amber pale
They beat the wide airs of the fading vale,
And flew like birds across the misty meres.

III

This is the season dearest to the heart,
And time most fitting to the ancient town,
With waning musics sweet that slow depart
Winding with echoed sadness faintly down
The paths of stranded mist. O gentle time,
When the late mornings are begemmed with rime,
And early shadows fold the distant woods!
The Elves go silent by, their shining hair
They cloak in twilight under secret hoods
Of grey, and filmy purple, and long bands
Of frosted starlight sewn by silver hands.

And oft they dance beneath the roofless sky,
When naked elms entwine in branching lace
The Seven Stars, and through the boughs the eye
Stares golden-beaming in the round moon's face.
O holy Elves and fair immortal Folk,
You sing then ancient songs that once awoke
Under primeval stars before the Dawn;
You whirl then dancing with the eddying wind,
As once you danced upon the shimmering lawn
In Elvenhome, before we were, before
You crossed wide seas unto this mortal shore.

Now are thy trees, old grey Kortirion,
Through pallid mists seen rising tall and wan,
Like vessels floating vague, and drifting far
Down opal seas beyond the shadowy bar
  Of cloudy ports forlorn;
Leaving behind for ever havens loud,
Wherein their crews a while held feasting proud
And lordly ease, they now like windy ghosts
Are wafted by slow airs to windy coasts,
  And glimmering sadly down the tide are borne.
Bare are thy trees become, Kortirion;
The rotted raiment from their bones is gone.
The seven candles of the Silver Wain,
Like lighted tapers in a darkened fane,
  Now flare above the fallen year.
Though court and street now cold and empty lie,
And Elves dance seldom neath the barren sky,
Yet under the white moon there is a sound
Of buried music still beneath the ground.
  When winter comes, I would meet winter here.

I would not seek the desert, or red palaces
  Where reigns the sun, nor sail to magic isles,
Nor climb the hoary mountains' stony terraces;
  And tolling faintly over windy miles
To my heart calls no distant bell that rings
In crowded cities of the Earthly Kings.
  For here is heartsease still, and deep content,
Though sadness haunt the Land of withered Elms
(Alalminórë in the Faery Realms);
  And making music still in sweet lament
The Elves here holy and immortal dwell,
And on the stones and trees there lies a spell.

★

I give lastly the final poem, in the second of two slightly different versions; composed (as I believe) nearly half a century after the first.

The Trees of Kortirion

I

Alalminórë

O ancient city on a leaguered hill!
  Old shadows linger in your broken gate,

Your stones are grey, your old halls now are still,
  Your towers silent in the mist await
Their crumbling end, while through the storeyed elms
The River Gliding leaves these inland realms
  And slips between long meadows to the Sea,
Still bearing down by weir and murmuring fall
  One day and then another to the Sea;
And slowly thither many days have gone
Since first the Edain built Kortirion.

Kortirion! Upon your island hill
  With winding streets, and alleys shadow-walled
Where even now the peacocks pace in drill
  Majestic, sapphirine and emerald,
Once long ago amid this sleeping land
Of silver rain, where still year-laden stand
  In unforgetful earth the rooted trees
That cast long shadows in the bygone noon,
  And whispered in the swiftly passing breeze,
Once long ago, Queen of the Land of Elms,
High City were you of the Inland Realms.

Your trees in summer you remember still:
The willow by the spring, the beech on hill;
The rainy poplars, and the frowning yews
Within your aged courts that muse
  In sombre splendour all the day,
Until the firstling star comes glimmering,
And flittermice go by on silent wing;
Until the white moon slowly climbing sees
In shadow-fields the sleep-enchanted trees
  Night-mantled all in silver-grey.
Alalminor! Here was your citadel,
Ere bannered summer from his fortress fell;
About you stood arrayed your host of elms:
Green was their armour, tall and green their helms,
  High lords and captains of the trees.
But summer wanes. Behold, Kortirion!
The elms their full sail now have crowded on
Ready to the winds, like masts amid the vale
Of mighty ships too soon, too soon, to sail
  To other days beyond these sunlit seas.

II

*Narquelion**

Alalminórë! Green heart of this Isle
  Where linger yet the Faithful Companies!
Still undespairing here they slowly file
  Down lonely paths with solemn harmonies:
The Fair, the first-born in an elder day,
Immortal Elves, who singing on their way
  Of bliss of old and grief, though men forget,
Pass like a wind among the rustling trees,
  A wave of bowing grass, and men forget
Their voices calling from a time we do not know,
Their gleaming hair like sunlight long ago.

A wind in the grass! The turning of the year.
  A shiver in the reeds beside the stream,
A whisper in the trees – afar they hear,
  Piercing the heart of summer's tangled dream,
Chill music that a herald piper plays
Foreseeing winter and the leafless days.
  The late flowers trembling on the ruined walls
Already stoop to hear that elven-flute.
  Through the wood's sunny aisles and tree-propped halls
Winding amid the green with clear cold note
Like a thin strand of silver glass remote.

The high-tide ebbs, the year will soon be spent;
And all your trees, Kortirion, lament.
At morn the whetstone rang upon the blade,
At eve the grass and golden flowers were laid
  To wither, and the meadows bare.
Now dimmed already comes the tardier dawn,
Paler the sunlight fingers creep across the lawn.
The days are passing. Gone like moths the nights
When white wings fluttering danced like satellites
  Round tapers in the windless air.
Lammas is gone. The Harvest-moon has waned.
Summer is dying that so briefly reigned.
Now the proud elms at last begin to quail,
Their leaves uncounted tremble and grow pale,
  Seeing afar the icy spears

* With the name *Narquelion* (which appears also in the title in Elvish of the original poem, see p. 32) cf. *Narquelië* 'Sun-fading', name of the tenth month in Quenya (*The Lord of the Rings*, Appendix D).

Of winter march to battle with the sun.
When bright All-Hallows fades, their day is done,
And borne on wings of amber wan they fly
In heedless winds beneath the sullen sky,
And fall like dying birds upon the meres.

III

*Hrívion**

Alas! Kortirion, Queen of Elms, alas!
This season best befits your ancient town
With echoing voices sad that slowly pass,
Winding with waning music faintly down
The paths of stranded mist. O fading time,
When morning rises late all hoar with rime,
And early shadows veil the distant woods!
Unseen the Elves go by, their shining hair
They cloak in twilight under secret hoods
Of grey, their dusk-blue mantles gird with bands
Of frosted starlight sewn by silver hands.

At night they dance beneath the roofless sky,
When naked elms entwine in branching lace
The Seven Stars, and through the boughs the eye
Stares down cold-gleaming in the high moon's face.
O Elder Kindred, fair immortal folk!
You sing now ancient songs that once awoke
Under primeval stars before the Dawn;
You dance like shimmering shadows in the wind,
As once you danced upon the shining lawn
Of Elvenhome, before we were, before
You crossed wide seas unto this mortal shore.

Now are your trees, old grey Kortirion,
Through pallid mists seen rising tall and wan,
Like vessels vague that slowly drift afar
Out, out to empty seas beyond the bar
Of cloudy ports forlorn;
Leaving behind for ever havens loud,
Wherein their crews a while held feasting proud
In lordly ease, they now like windy ghosts
Are wafted by cold airs to friendless coasts,
And silent down the tide are borne.
Bare has your realm become, Kortirion,

* Cf. *hrívë* 'winter', *The Lord of the Rings*, Appendix D.

Stripped of its raiment, and its splendour gone.
Like lighted tapers in a darkened fane
The funeral candles of the Silver Wain
  Now flare above the fallen year.
Winter is come. Beneath the barren sky
The Elves are silent. But they do not die!
Here waiting they endure the winter fell
And silence. Here I too will dwell;
  Kortirion, I will meet the winter here.

IV

*Mettanyë**

I would not find the burning domes and sands
  Where reigns the sun, nor dare the deadly snows,
Nor seek in mountains dark the hidden lands
  Of men long lost to whom no pathway goes;
I heed no call of clamant bell that rings
Iron-tongued in the towers of earthly kings.
  Here on the stones and trees there lies a spell
Of unforgotten loss, of memory more blest
  Than mortal wealth. Here undefeated dwell
The Folk Immortal under withered elms,
Alalminórë once in ancient realms.

★

I conclude this commentary with a note on my father's use of the word *Gnomes* for the *Noldor*, who in the *Lost Tales* are called *Noldoli*. He continued to use it for many years, and it still appeared in earlier editions of *The Hobbit*.†

In a draft for the final paragraph of Appendix F to *The Lord of the Rings* he wrote:

> I have sometimes (not in this book) used 'Gnomes' for *Noldor* and 'Gnomish' for *Noldorin*. This I did, for whatever Paracelsus may have thought (if indeed he invented the name) to some 'Gnome' will still

* *Mettanyë* contains *metta* 'ending', as in *Ambar-metta*, the ending of the world (*The Return of the King*, VI.5).

† In Chapter 3, *A Short Rest*, 'swords of the High Elves of the West' replaced 'swords of the elves that are now called Gnomes'; and in Chapter 8, *Flies and Spiders*, the phrase 'There the Light-elves and the Deep-elves and the Sea-elves went and lived for ages' replaced 'There the Light-elves and the Deep-elves (or Gnomes) and the Sea-elves lived for ages'.

suggest knowledge.* Now the High-elven name of this people, Noldor, signifies Those who Know; for of the three kindreds of the Eldar from their beginning the Noldor were ever distinguished both by their knowledge of things that are and were in this world, and by their desire to know more. Yet they in no way resembled the Gnomes either of learned theory or popular fancy; and I have now abandoned this rendering as too misleading. For the Noldor belonged to a race high and beautiful, the elder Children of the world, who now are gone. Tall they were, fair-skinned and grey-eyed, and their locks were dark, save in the golden house of Finrod . . .

In the last paragraph of Appendix F *as published* the reference to 'Gnomes' was removed, and replaced by a passage explaining the use of the word *Elves* to translate *Quendi* and *Eldar* despite the diminishing of the English word. This passage – referring to the Quendi as a whole – continues however with the same words as in the draft: 'They were a race high and beautiful, and among them the Eldar were as kings, who now are gone: the People of the Great Journey, the People of the Stars. They were tall, fair of skin and grey-eyed, though their locks were dark, save in the golden house of Finrod . . .' Thus these words describing characters of face and hair were actually written of the Noldor only, and *not* of all the Eldar: indeed the Vanyar had golden hair, and it was from Finarfin's Vanyarin mother Indis that he, and Finrod Felagund and Galadriel his children, had their golden hair that marked them out among the princes of the Noldor. But I am unable to determine how this extraordinary perversion of meaning arose.†

* Two words are in question: (1) Greek *gnōmē* 'thought, intelligence' (and in the plural 'maxims, sayings', whence the English word *gnome*, a maxim or aphorism, and adjective *gnomic*); and (2) the word *gnome* used by the 16th-century writer Paracelsus as a synonym of *pygmaeus*. Paracelsus 'says that the beings so called have the earth as their element . . . through which they move unobstructed as fish do through water, or birds and land animals through air' (*Oxford English Dictionary* s.v. *Gnome*[2]). The *O.E.D.* suggests that whether Paracelsus invented the word himself or not it was intended to mean 'earth-dweller', and discounts any connection with the other word *Gnome*. (This note is repeated from that in *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, p. 449; see the letter (no. 239) to which it refers.)

† The name *Finrod* in the passage at the end of Appendix F is now in error: Finarfin was Finrod, and Finrod was Inglor, until the second edition of *The Lord of the Rings*, and in this instance the change was overlooked.

II

THE MUSIC OF THE AINUR

In another notebook identical to that in which *The Cottage of Lost Play* was written out by my mother, there is a text in ink in my father's hand (and all the other texts of the *Lost Tales* are in his hand, save for a fair copy of *The Fall of Gondolin**) entitled: *Link between Cottage of Lost Play and (Tale 2) Music of Ainur.* This follows on directly from Vairë's last words to Eriol on p. 20, and in turn links on directly to *The Music of the Ainur* (in a third notebook identical to the other two). The only indication of date for the *Link* and the *Music* (which were, I think, written at the same time) is a letter of my father's of July 1964 (*Letters* p. 345), in which he said that while in Oxford 'employed on the staff of the then still incomplete great Dictionary' he 'wrote a cosmogonical myth, "The Music of the Ainur" '. He took up the post on the Oxford Dictionary in November 1918 and relinquished it in the spring of 1920 (*Biography* pp. 99, 102). If his recollection was correct, and there is no evidence to set against it, some two years or more elapsed between *The Cottage of Lost Play* and *The Music of the Ainur.*

The *Link* between the two exists in only one version, for the text in ink was written over a draft in pencil that was wholly erased. In this case I follow the *Link* with a brief commentary, before giving *The Music of the Ainur.*

'But,' said Eriol, 'still are there many things that remain dark to me. Indeed I would fain know who be these Valar; are they the Gods?'

'So be they,' said Lindo, 'though concerning them Men tell many strange and garbled tales that are far from the truth, and many strange names they call them that you will not hear here'; but Vairë said: 'Nay then, Lindo, be not drawn into more tale-telling tonight, for the hour of rest is at hand, and for all his eagerness our guest is way-worn. Send now for the candles of sleep, and more tales to his head's filling and his heart's satisfying the wanderer shall have on the morrow.' But to Eriol she said: 'Think not that you must leave our house tomorrow of need; for none do so – nay, all may remain while a tale remains to tell which they desire to hear.'

Then said Eriol that all desire of faring abroad had left his heart

* The actual title of this tale is *Tuor and the Exiles of Gondolin*, but my father referred to it as *The Fall of Gondolin* and I do likewise.

and that to be a guest there a while seemed to him fairest of all things. Thereupon came in those that bore the candles of sleep, and each of that company took one, and two of the folk of the house bade Eriol follow them. One of these was the door-ward who had opened to his knocking before. He was old in appearance and grey of locks, and few of that folk were so; but the other had a weather-worn face and blue eyes of great merriment, and was very slender and small, nor might one say if he were fifty or ten thousand. Now that was Ilverin or Littleheart. These two guided him down the corridor of broidered stories to a great stair of oak, and up this he followed them. It wound up and round until it brought them to a passage lit by small pendent lamps of coloured glass, whose swaying cast a spatter of bright hues upon the floors and hangings.

In this passage the guides turned round a sudden corner, then going down a few dark steps flung open a door before him. Now bowing they wished him good sleep, and said Littleheart: 'dreams of fair winds and good voyages in the great seas', and then they left him; and he found that he stood in a chamber that was small, and had a bed of fairest linen and deep pillows set nigh the window – and here the night seemed warm and fragrant, although he had but now come from rejoicing in the blaze of the Tale-fire logs. Here was all the furniture of dark wood, and as his great candle flickered its soft rays worked a magic with the room, till it seemed to him that sleep was the best of all delights, but that fair chamber the best of all for sleep. Ere he laid him down however Eriol opened the window and scent of flowers gusted in therethrough, and a glimpse he caught of a shadow-filled garden that was full of trees, but its spaces were barred with silver lights and black shadows by reason of the moon; yet his window seemed very high indeed above those lawns below, and a nightingale sang suddenly in a tree nearby.

Then slept Eriol, and through his dreams there came a music thinner and more pure than any he heard before, and it was full of longing. Indeed it was as if pipes of silver or flutes of shape most slender-delicate uttered crystal notes and threadlike harmonies beneath the moon upon the lawns; and Eriol longed in his sleep for he knew not what.

When he awoke the sun was rising and there was no music save that of a myriad of birds about his window. The light struck through the panes and shivered into merry glints, and that room with its fragrance and its pleasant draperies seemed even sweeter than before; but Eriol arose, and robing himself in fair garments laid ready for him that he might shed his raiment stained with travel went forth

and strayed about the passages of the house, until he chanced upon a little stairway, and going down this he came to a porch and a sunny court. Therein was a lattice-gate that opened to his hand and led into that garden whose lawns were spread beneath the window of his room. There he wandered breathing the airs and watching the sun rise above the strange roofs of that town, when behold the aged door-ward was before him, coming along a lane of hazel-bushes. He saw not Eriol, for he held his head as ever bent towards the earth, and muttered swiftly to himself; but Eriol spake bidding him good morrow, and thereat he started.

Then said he: 'Your pardon, sir! I marked you not, for I was listening to the birds. Indeed sir you find me in a sour temper; for lo! here I have a black-winged rogue fat with impudence who singeth songs before unknown to me, and in a tongue that is strange! It irks me sir, it irks me, for methought at least I knew the simple speeches of all birds. I have a mind to send him down to Mandos for his pertness!' At this Eriol laughed heartily, but said the door-ward: 'Nay sir, may Tevildo Prince of Cats harry him for daring to perch in a garden that is in the care of Rúmil. Know you that the Noldoli grow old astounding slow, and yet have I grey hairs in the study of all the tongues of the Valar and of Eldar. Long ere the fall of Gondolin, good sir, I lightened my thraldom under Melko in learning the speech of all monsters and goblins – have I not conned even the speeches of beasts, disdaining not the thin voices of the voles and mice? – have I not cadged a stupid tune or two to hum of the speechless beetles? Nay, I have worried at whiles even over the tongues of Men, but Melko take them! they shift and change, change and shift, and when you have them are but a hard stuff whereof to labour songs or tales. Wherefore is it that this morn I felt as Ómar the Vala who knows all tongues, as I hearkened to the blending of the voices of the birds comprehending each, recognising each well-loved tune, when *tiripti lirilla* here comes a bird, an imp of Melko – but I weary you sir, with babbling of songs and words.'

'Nay, not so,' quoth Eriol, 'but I beg of you be not disheartened by one fat imp of an ousel. If my eyes deceive not, for a good age of years you have cared for this garden. Then must you know store of songs and tongues sufficient to comfort the heart of the greatest of all sages, if indeed this be the first voice that you have heard therein, and lacked its interpretation. Is it not said that the birds of every district, nay almost of every nest, speak unalike?'

''Tis said so, and said truly,' quoth Rúmil, 'and all the songs of Tol Eressëa are to be heard at times within this garden.'

'More than heart-content am I,' said Eriol, 'to have learned that one fair tongue which the Eldar speak about this isle of Tol Eressëa – but I marvelled to hear you speak as if there were many speeches of the Eldar: are there so?'

'Aye,' said Rúmil, 'for there is that tongue to which the Noldoli cling yet – and aforetime the Teleri, the Solosimpi, and the Inwir had all their differences. Yet these were slighter and are now merged in that tongue of the island Elves which you have learnt. Still are there the lost bands too that dwell wandering sadly in the Great Lands, and maybe they speak very strangely now, for it was ages gone that that march was made from Kôr, and as I hold 'twas but the long wandering of the Noldoli about the Earth and the black ages of their thraldom while their kin dwelt yet in Valinor that caused the deep sundering of their speech. Akin nonetheless be assuredly Gnome-speech and Elfin of the Eldar, as my lore teacheth me – but lo! I weary you again. Never have I found another ear yet in the world that grew not tired ere long of such discourse. "Tongues and speeches," they will say, "one is enough for me" – and thus said Littleheart the Gong-warden once upon a time: "Gnome-speech," said he, "is enough for me – did not that one Eärendel and Tuor and Bronweg my father (that mincingly ye miscall Voronwë) speak it and no other?" Yet he had to learn the Elfin in the end, or be doomed either to silence or to leave Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva – and neither fate would his heart suffer. Lo! now he is chirping Eldar like a lady of the Inwir, even Meril-i-Turinqi our queen herself – Manwë care for her. But even these be not all – there is beside the secret tongue in which the Eldar wrote many poesies and books of wisdom and histories of old and earliest things, and yet speak not. This tongue do only the Valar use in their high counsels, and not many of the Eldar of these days may read it or solve its characters. Much of it I learnt in Kôr, a lifetime gone, of the goodness of Aulë, and thereby I know many matters: very many matters.'

'Then,' quoth Eriol, 'maybe you can tell me of things that I greatly desire to know since the words by the Tale-fire yester-eve. Who be the Valar – Manwë, Aulë, and the ones ye name – and wherefore came ye Eldar from that home of loveliness in Valinor?'

Now came those two to a green arbour and the sun was up and warm, and the birds sang mightily, but the lawns were spread with gold. Then Rúmil sat upon a seat there of carven stone grown with moss, and said he: 'Very mighty are the things that you ask, and their true answer delves beyond the uttermost confines of the wastes of time, whither even the sight of Rúmil the aged of the Noldoli

may not see; and all the tales of the Valar and the Elves are so knit together that one may scarce expound any one without needing to set forth the whole of their great history.'

'Yet', said Eriol, 'tell me, Rúmil, I beg, some of what you know even of the first beginnings, that I may begin to understand those things that are told me in this isle.'

But Rúmil said: 'Ilúvatar was the first beginning, and beyond that no wisdom of the Valar or of Eldar or of Men can go.'

'Who was Ilúvatar?' said Eriol. 'Was he of the Gods?'

'Nay,' said Rúmil, 'that he was not, for he made them. Ilúvatar is the Lord for Always who dwells beyond the world; who made it and is not of it or in it, but loves it.'

'This have I never heard elsewhere,' said Eriol.

'That may be,' said Rúmil, 'for 'tis early days in the world of Men as yet, nor is the Music of the Ainur much spoken of.'

'Tell me,' said Eriol, 'for I long to learn, what was the Music of the Ainur?'

Commentary on the Link between The Cottage of Lost Play and The Music of the Ainur

Thus it was that the *Ainulindalë* was first to be heard by mortal ears, as Eriol sat in a sunlit garden in Tol Eressëa. Even after Eriol (or Ælfwine) had fallen away, Rúmil remained, the great Noldorin sage of Tirion 'who first achieved fitting signs for the recording of speech and song' (*The Silmarillion* p. 63), and *The Music of the Ainur* continued to be ascribed to him, though invested with the gravity of a remote time he moved far away from the garrulous and whimsical philologist of Kortirion. It is to be noted that in this account Rúmil had been a slave under Melko.

Here the Exile of the Noldor from Valinor appears, for it is to this that Rúmil's words about the march from Kôr undoubtedly refer, rather than to Inwë's 'march into the world' (pp. 16, 26); and something is said also of the languages, and of those who spoke them.

In this link-passage Rúmil asserts:

(1) that the *Teleri*, *Solosimpi*, and *Inwir* had linguistic differences in the past;

(2) but that these dialects are now merged in the 'tongue of the island Elves';

(3) that the tongue of the *Noldoli* (Gnomes) was deeply sundered through their departure into the Great Lands and their captivity under Melko;

(4) that those Noldoli who now dwell in Tol Eressëa have learnt the tongue of the island Elves; but others remain in the Great Lands. (When Rúmil spoke of 'the lost bands that dwell wandering sadly in the Great

Lands' who 'maybe speak very strangely now' he seems to have been referring to remnants of the Noldorin exiles from Kôr who had not come to Tol Eressëa (as he himself had done), rather than to Elves who never went to Valinor.)*

In the *Lost Tales* the name given to the Sea-elves afterwards called the *Teleri* – the third of the three 'tribes' – is *Solosimpi* ('Shoreland Pipers'). It must now be explained that, confusingly enough, the first of the tribes, that led by King Inwë, were called the *Teleri* (the *Vanyar* of *The Silmarillion*). Who then were the *Inwir*? Eriol was told later by Meril-i-Turinqi (p. 115) that the Teleri were those that followed Inwë, 'but his kindred and descendants are that royal folk the Inwir of whose blood I am.' The Inwir were then a 'royal' clan *within the Teleri*; and the relation between the old conception and that of *The Silmarillion* can be shown thus:

	Lost Tales		*The Silmarillion*
I	Teleri (including Inwir)		Vanyar
II	Noldoli (Gnomes)		Noldor
III	Solosimpi	..	Teleri

In this link-passage Rúmil seems to say that the 'Eldar' are distinct from the 'Gnomes' – 'akin nonetheless be assuredly Gnome-speech and Elfin of the Eldar'; and 'Eldar' and 'Noldoli' are opposed in the prose preamble to *Kortirion among the Trees* (p. 25). Elsewhere 'Elfin', as a language, is used in opposition to 'Gnomish', and 'Eldar' is used of a word of form in contradistinction to 'Gnomish'. It is in fact made quite explicit in the *Lost Tales* that the Gnomes were themselves Eldar – for instance, 'the Noldoli, who were the sages of the Eldar' (p. 58); but on the other hand we read that after the Flight of the Noldoli from Valinor Aulë 'gave still his love to those few faithful Gnomes who remained still about his halls, yet did he name them thereafter "Eldar"' (p. 176). This is not so purely contradictory as appears at first sight. It seems that (on the one hand) the opposition of 'Eldar' or 'Elfin' to 'Gnomish' arose because Gnomish had become a language apart; and while the Gnomes were certainly themselves Eldar, their language was not. But (on the other hand) the Gnomes had long ago left Kôr, and thus came to be seen as not 'Koreldar', and therefore not 'Eldar'. The word *Eldar* had thus narrowed its meaning, but might at any moment be expanded again to the older sense in which the Noldoli were 'Eldar'.

If this is so, the narrowed sense of *Eldar* reflects the situation in after days in Tol Eressëa; and indeed, in the tales that follow, where the

* On the other hand it is possible that by 'the lost bands' he did in fact mean the Elves who were lost on the journey from the Waters of Awakening (see p. 118); i.e. the implication is: 'if the sundering of the speech of the Noldoli from that of the Eldar who remained in Valinor is very deep, how much more so must be the speech of those who never crossed the sea'.

narrative is concerned with the time before the rebellion of the Noldoli and their departure from Valinor, they are firmly 'Eldar'. *After* the rebellion, in the passage cited above, Aulë would not call the Noldoli who remained in Valinor by that name – and, by implication, he would not call those who had departed 'Eldar'.

The same ambiguity is present in the words *Elves* and *Elfin*. Rúmil here calls the language of the Eldar 'Elfin' in opposition to 'Gnomish'; the teller of the *Tale of Tinúviel* says: 'This is my tale, and 'tis a tale of the Gnomes, wherefore I beg that thou fill not Eriol's ear with thy Elfin names', and in the same passage 'Elves' are specifically opposed to 'Gnomes'. But, again, in the tales that follow in this book, *Elves* and *Eldar* and *Eldalië* are used interchangeably of the Three Kindreds (see for instance the account of the debate of the Valar concerning the summoning of the Elves to Valinor, pp. 116–18). And finally, an apparently similar variation is seen in the word 'fairy'; thus Tol Eressëa is the name 'in the fairy speech', while 'the Gnomes call it Dor Faidwen' (p. 13), but on the other hand Gilfanon, a Gnome, is called 'one of the oldest of the fairies' (p. 175).

It will be seen from Rúmil's remarks that the 'deep sundering' of the speech of the Elves into two branches was at this time given an historical basis wholly different from that which afterwards caused the division. Here, Rúmil ascribes it to 'the long wandering of the Noldoli about the Earth and the black ages of their thraldom while their kin dwelt yet in Valinor' – in later terms, 'the Exile of the Noldor'. In *The Silmarillion* (see especially pp. 113, 129) the Noldor brought the Valinórean tongue to Middle-earth but abandoned it (save among themselves), and adopted instead the language of Beleriand, *Sindarin* of the Grey-elves, who had never been to Valinor: Quenya and Sindarin were of common origin, but their 'deep sundering' had been brought about through vast ages of separation. In the *Lost Tales*, on the other hand, the Noldor still brought the Elvish speech of Valinor to the Great Lands, but they retained it, and there it itself changed and became wholly different. In other words, in the original conception the 'second tongue' only split off from the parent speech through the departure of the Gnomes from Valinor into the Great Lands; whereas afterwards the 'second tongue' separated from the 'first tongue' near the very beginning of Elvish existence in the world. Nonetheless, Gnomish *is* Sindarin, in the sense that Gnomish is *the actual language* that ultimately, as the whole conception evolved, became that of the Grey-elves of Beleriand.

With Rúmil's remarks about the secret tongue which the Valar use and in which the Eldar once wrote poetry and books of wisdom, but few of them now know it, cf. the following note found in the little *Lost Tales* pocket-book referred to on p. 23:

> The Gods understood the language of the Elves but used it not among themselves. The wiser of the Elves learned much of the speech of the

Gods and long treasured that knowledge among both Teleri and Noldoli, but by the time of the coming to Tol Eressëa none knew it save the Inwir, and now that knowledge is dead save in Meril's house.

Some new persons appear in this passage. Ómar the Vala 'who knows all tongues' did not survive the *Lost Tales*; a little more is heard of him subsequently, but he is a divinity without much substance. Tuor and Bronweg appear from the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin*, which was already written; *Bronweg* is the Gnomish form of *Voronwë*, that same Voronwë who accompanied Tuor from Vinyamar to Gondolin in the later legend. Tevildo Prince of Cats was a demonic servant of Melko and the remote forerunner of Sauron; he is a principal actor in the original story of Beren and Tinúviel, which was also already written (the *Tale of Tinúviel*).

Littleheart the Gong-warden, son of Bronweg, now receives an Elvish name, *Ilverin* (an emendation from *Elwenildo*).

The Music of the Ainur

The original hastily pencilled and much emended draft text of *The Music of the Ainur* is still extant, on loose sheets placed inside the cover of the notebook that contains a fuller and much more finished text written in ink. This second version was however closely based on the first, and changed it chiefly by additions. The text given here is the second, but some passages where the two differ notably are annotated (few of the differences between the two texts are in my opinion of much significance). It will be seen from passages of the first draft given in the notes that the plural was originally *Ainu*, not *Ainur*, and that *Ilúvatar* was originally *Ilu* (but *Ilúvatar* also occurs in the draft).

Then said Rúmil:

'Hear now things that have not been heard among Men, and the Elves speak seldom of them; yet did Manwë Súlimo, Lord of Elves and Men, whisper them to the fathers of my father in the deeps of time.[1] Behold, Ilúvatar dwelt alone. Before all things he sang into being the Ainur first, and greatest is their power and glory of all his creatures within the world and without. Thereafter he fashioned them dwellings in the void, and dwelt among them, teaching them all manner of things, and the greatest of these was music.

Now he would speak propounding to them themes of song and joyous hymn, revealing many of the great and wonderful things that he devised ever in his mind and heart, and now they would make music unto him, and the voices of their instruments rise in splendour about his throne.

Upon a time Ilúvatar propounded a mighty design of his heart to the Ainur, unfolding a history whose vastness and majesty had never been equalled by aught that he had related before, and the glory of its beginning and the splendour of its end amazed the Ainur, so that they bowed before Ilúvatar and were speechless.

Then said Ilúvatar: "The story that I have laid before you, and that great region of beauty that I have described unto you as the place where all that history might be unfolded and enacted, is related only as it were in outline. I have not filled all the empty spaces, neither have I recounted to you all the adornments and things of loveliness and delicacy whereof my mind is full. It is my desire now that ye make a great and glorious music and a singing of this theme; and (seeing that I have taught you much and set brightly the Secret Fire within you)[2] that ye exercise your minds and powers in adorning the theme to your own thoughts and devising. But I will sit and hearken and be glad that through you I have made much beauty to come to Song."

Then the harpists, and the lutanists, the flautists and pipers, the organs and the countless choirs of the Ainur began to fashion the theme of Ilúvatar into great music; and a sound arose of mighty melodies changing and interchanging, mingling and dissolving amid the thunder of harmonies greater than the roar of the great seas, till the places of the dwelling of Ilúvatar and the regions of the Ainur were filled to overflowing with music, and the echo of music, and the echo of the echoes of music which flowed even into the dark and empty spaces far off. Never was there before, nor has there been since, such a music of immeasurable vastness of splendour; though it is said that a mightier far shall be woven before the seat of Ilúvatar by the choirs of both Ainur and the sons of Men after the Great End. Then shall Ilúvatar's mightiest themes be played aright; for then Ainur and Men will know his mind and heart as well as may be, and all his intent.

But now Ilúvatar sat and hearkened, and for a great while it seemed very good to him, for the flaws in that music were few, and it seemed to him the Ainur had learnt much and well. But as the great theme progressed it came into the heart of Melko to interweave matters of his own vain imagining that were not fitting to that great theme of Ilúvatar. Now Melko had among the Ainur been given some of the greatest gifts of power and wisdom and knowledge by Ilúvatar; and he fared often alone into the dark places and the voids seeking the Secret Fire that giveth Life and Reality (for he had a very hot desire to bring things into being of his own); yet he found it not,

for it dwelleth with Ilúvatar, and that he knew not till afterward.[3]

There had he nonetheless fallen to thinking deep cunning thoughts of his own, all of which he showed not even to Ilúvatar. Some of these devisings and imaginings he now wove into his music, and straightway harshness and discordancy rose about him, and many of those that played nigh him grew despondent and their music feeble, and their thoughts unfinished and unclear, while many others fell to attuning their music to his rather than to the great theme wherein they began.

In this way the mischief of Melko spread darkening the music, for those thoughts of his came from the outer blackness whither Ilúvatar had not yet turned the light of his face; and because his secret thoughts had no kinship with the beauty of Ilúvatar's design its harmonies were broken and destroyed. Yet sat Ilúvatar and hearkened till the music reached a depth of gloom and ugliness unimaginable; then did he smile sadly and raised his left hand, and immediately, though none clearly knew how, a new theme began among the clash, like and yet unlike the first, and it gathered power and sweetness. But the discord and noise that Melko had aroused started into uproar against it, and there was a war of sounds, and a clangour arose in which little could be distinguished.

Then Ilúvatar raised his right hand, and he no longer smiled but wept; and behold a third theme, and it was in no way like the others, grew amid the turmoil, till at the last it seemed there were two musics progressing at one time about the feet of Ilúvatar, and these were utterly at variance. One was very great and deep and beautiful, but it was mingled with an unquenchable sorrow, while the other was now grown to unity and a system of its own, but was loud and vain and arrogant, braying triumphantly against the other as it thought to drown it, yet ever, as it essayed to clash most fearsomely, finding itself but in some manner supplementing or harmonising with its rival.

At the midmost of this echoing struggle, whereat the halls of Ilúvatar shook and a tremor ran through the dark places, Ilúvatar raised up both his hands, and in one unfathomed chord, deeper then the firmament, more glorious than the sun, and piercing as the light of Ilúvatar's glance, that music crashed and ceased.

Then said Ilúvatar: "Mighty are the Ainur, and glorious, and among them is Melko the most powerful in knowledge; but that he may know, and all the Ainur, that I am Ilúvatar, those things that ye have sung and played, lo! I have caused to be – not in the musics that ye make in the heavenly regions, as a joy to me and a play unto

yourselves, alone, but rather to have shape and reality even as have ye Ainur, whom I have made to share in the reality of Ilúvatar myself. Maybe I shall love these things that come of my song even as I love the Ainur who are of my thought,[4] and maybe more. Thou Melko shalt see that no theme can be played save it come in the end of Ilúvatar's self, nor can any alter the music in Ilúvatar's despite. He that attempts this finds himself in the end but aiding me in devising a thing of still greater grandeur and more complex wonder: – for lo! through Melko have terror as fire, and sorrow like dark waters, wrath like thunder, and evil as far from my light as the depths of the uttermost of the dark places, come into the design that I laid before you. Through him has pain and misery been made in the clash of overwhelming musics; and with confusion of sound have cruelty, and ravening, and darkness, loathly mire and all putrescence of thought or thing, foul mists and violent flame, cold without mercy, been born, and death without hope. Yet is this through him and not by him; and he shall see, and ye all likewise, and even shall those beings, who must now dwell among his evil and endure through Melko misery and sorrow, terror and wickedness, declare in the end that it redoundeth only to my great glory, and doth but make the theme more worth the hearing, Life more worth the living, and the World so much the more wonderful and marvellous, that of all the deeds of Ilúvatar it shall be called his mightiest and his loveliest."

Then the Ainur feared and comprehended not all that was said, and Melko was filled with shame and the anger of shame; but Ilúvatar seeing their amaze arose in glory and went forth from his dwellings, past those fair regions he had fashioned for the Ainur, out into the dark places; and he bade the Ainur follow him.

Now when they reached the midmost void they beheld a sight of surpassing beauty and wonder where before had been emptiness; but Ilúvatar said: "Behold your choiring and your music! Even as ye played so of my will your music took shape, and lo! even now the world unfolds and its history begins as did my theme in your hands. Each one herein will find contained within the design that is mine the adornments and embellishments that he himself devised; nay, even Melko will discover those things there which he thought to contrive of his own heart, out of harmony with my mind, and he will find them but a part of the whole and tributary to its glory. One thing only have I added, the fire that giveth Life and Reality" – and behold, the Secret Fire burnt at the heart of the world.

Then the Ainur marvelled to see how the world was globed amid the void and yet separated from it; and they rejoiced to see light, and found it was both white and golden, and they laughed for the pleasure of colours, and for the great roaring of the ocean they were filled with longing. Their hearts were glad because of air and the winds, and the matters whereof the Earth was made – iron and stone and silver and gold and many substances: but of all these water was held the fairest and most goodly and most greatly praised. Indeed there liveth still in water a deeper echo of the Music of the Ainur than in any substance else that is in the world, and at this latest day many of the Sons of Men will hearken unsatedly to the voice of the Sea and long for they know not what.

Know then that water was for the most part the dream and invention of Ulmo, an Ainu whom Ilúvatar had instructed deeper than all others in the depths of music; while the air and winds and the ethers of the firmament had Manwë Súlimo devised, greatest and most noble of the Ainur. The earth and most of its goodly substances did Aulë contrive, whom Ilúvatar had taught many things of wisdom scarce less than Melko, yet was there much therein that was nought of his.[5]

Now Ilúvatar spake to Ulmo and said: "Seest thou not how Melko hath bethought him of biting colds without moderation, yet hath not destroyed the beauty of thy crystal waters nor of all thy limpid pools. Even where he has thought to conquer utterly, behold snow has been made, and frost has wrought his exquisite works; ice has reared his castles in grandeur."

Again said Ilúvatar: "Melko hath devised undue heats, and fires without restraint, and yet hath not dried up thy desire nor utterly quelled the music of thy seas. Rather behold now the height and glory of the clouds and the magic that dwells in mist and vapours; listen to the whisper of rains upon the earth."

Then said Ulmo: "Yea truly is water fairer now than was my best devising before. Snow is of a loveliness beyond my most secret thoughts, and if there is little music therein, yet rain is beautiful indeed and hath a music that filleth my heart, so glad am I that my ears have found it, though its sadness is among the saddest of all things. Lo! I will go seek Súlimo of the air and winds, that he and I play melodies for ever and ever to thy glory and rejoicing."

Now Ulmo and Manwë have been great friends and allies in almost all matters since then.[6]

Now even as Ilúvatar spake to Ulmo, the Ainur beheld how the

world unfolded, and that history which Ilúvatar had propounded to them as a great music was already being carried out. It is of their gathered memories of the speech of Ilúvatar and the knowledge, incomplete it may be, that each has of their music, that the Ainur know so much of the future that few things are unforeseen by them – yet are there some that be hidden even from these.[7] So the Ainur gazed; until long before the coming of Men – nay, who does not know that it was countless ages before even the Eldar arose and sang their first song and made the first of all the gems, and were seen by both Ilúvatar and the Ainur to be of exceeding loveliness – there grew a contention among them, so enamoured did they become of the glory of the world as they gazed upon it, and so enthralled by the history enacted therein to which the beauty of the world was but the background and the scene.

Now this was the end, that some abode still with Ilúvatar beyond the world – and these were mostly those who had been engrossed in their playing with thoughts of Ilúvatar's plan and design, and cared only to set it forth without aught of their own devising to adorn it; but some others, and among them many of the most beautiful and wisest of the Ainur, craved leave of Ilúvatar to dwell within the world. For said they: "We would have the guarding of those fair things of our dreams, which of thy might have now attained to reality and surpassing beauty; and we would instruct both Eldar and Men in their wonder and uses whenso the times come that those appear upon Earth by your intent, first the Eldar and at length the fathers of the fathers of Men." And Melko feigned that he desired to control the violence of the heats and turmoils he had set in the Earth, but of a truth purposed deep in his heart to usurp the power of the other Ainur and make war upon Eldar and Men, for he was wroth at those great gifts which Ilúvatar had purposed to give to these races.[8]

Now Eldar and Men were of Ilúvatar's devising only, nor, for they comprehended not fully when Ilúvatar first propounded their being, did any of the Ainur dare in their music to add anything to their fashion; and these races are for that reason named rightly the Children of Ilúvatar. This maybe is the cause wherefore many others of the Ainur, beside Melko, have ever been for meddling with both Elves and Men, be it of good or evil intent; yet seeing that Ilúvatar made the Eldar most like in nature if not in power and stature to the Ainur, while to Men he gave strange gifts, their dealings have been chiefly with the Elves.[9]

Knowing all their hearts, still did Ilúvatar grant the desire of the Ainur, nor is it said he was grieved thereat. So entered these great

ones into the world, and these are they whom we now call the Valar (or the Vali, it matters not).[10] They dwelt in Valinor, or in the firmament; and some on earth or in the deeps of the Sea. There Melko ruled both fires and the cruellest frost, both the uttermost colds and the deepest furnaces beneath the hills of flame; and whatso is violent or excessive, sudden or cruel, in the world is laid to his charge, and for the most part with justice. But Ulmo dwells in the outer ocean and controls the flowing of all waters and the courses of rivers, the replenishment of springs and the distilling of rains and dews throughout the world. At the bottom of the sea he bethinks him of music deep and strange yet full ever of a sorrow: and therein he has aid from Manwë Súlimo.

The Solosimpi, what time the Elves came and dwelt in Kôr, learnt much of him, whence cometh the wistful allurement of their piping and their love to dwell ever by the shore. Salmar there was with him, and Ossë and Ónen to whom he gave the control of the waves and lesser seas, and many another.

But Aulë dwelt in Valinor and fashioned many things; tools and instruments he devised and was busied as much in the making of webs as in the beating of metals; tillage too and husbandry was his delight as much as tongues and alphabets, or broideries and painting. Of him did the Noldoli, who were the sages of the Eldar and thirsted ever after new lore and fresh knowledge, learn uncounted wealth of crafts, and magics and sciences unfathomed. From his teaching, whereto the Eldar brought ever their own great beauty of mind and heart and imagining, did they attain to the invention and making of gems; and these were not in the world before the Eldar, and the finest of all gems were Silmarilli, and they are lost.

Yet was the greatest and chief of those four great ones Manwë Súlimo; and he dwelt in Valinor and sate in a glorious abode upon a throne of wonder on the topmost pinnacle of Taniquetil that towers up upon the world's edge. Hawks flew ever to and fro about that abode, whose eyes could see to the deeps of the sea or penetrate the most hidden caverns and profoundest darkness of the world. These brought him news from everywhere of everything, and little escaped him – yet did some matters lie hid even from the Lord of the Gods. With him was Varda the Beautiful, and she became his spouse and is Queen of the Stars, and their children were Fionwë-Úrion and Erinti most lovely. About them dwell a great host of fair spirits, and their happiness is great; and men love Manwë even more than mighty Ulmo, for he hath never of intent done ill to them nor is he so fain of honour or so jealous of his power as that ancient one

of Vai. The Teleri whom Inwë ruled were especially beloved of him, and got of him poesy and song; for if Ulmo hath a power of musics and of voices of instruments Manwë hath a splendour of poesy and song beyond compare.

Lo, Manwë Súlimo clad in sapphires, ruler of the airs and wind, is held lord of Gods and Elves and Men, and the greatest bulwark against the evil of Melko.'[11]

Then said Rúmil again:

'Lo! After the departure of these Ainur and their vassalage all was quiet for a great age while Ilúvatar watched. Then on a sudden he said: "Behold I love the world, and it is a hall of play for Eldar and Men who are my beloved. But when the Eldar come they will be the fairest and the most lovely of all things by far; and deeper in the knowledge of beauty, and happier than Men. But to Men I will give a new gift, and a greater." Therefore he devised that Men should have a free virtue whereby within the limits of the powers and substances and chances of the world they might fashion and design their life beyond even the original Music of the Ainur that is as fate to all things else. This he did that of their operations everything should in shape and deed be completed, and the world fulfilled unto the last and smallest.[12] Lo! Even we Eldar have found to our sorrow that Men have a strange power for good or ill and for turning things despite Gods and Fairies to their mood in the world; so that we say: "Fate may not conquer the Children of Men, but yet are they strangely blind, whereas their joy should be great."

Now Ilúvatar knew that Men set amid the turmoils of the Ainur would not be ever of a mind to use that gift in harmony with his intent, but thereto he said: "These too in their time shall find that all they have done, even the ugliest of deeds or works, redounds at the end only to my glory, and is tributary to the beauty of my world." Yet the Ainur say that the thought of Men is at times a grief even to Ilúvatar; wherefore if the giving of that gift of freedom was their envy and amazement, the patience of Ilúvatar at its misuse is a matter of the greatest marvelling to both Gods and Fairies. It is however of one with this gift of power that the Children of Men dwell only a short time in the world alive, yet do not perish utterly for ever, whereas the Eldar dwell till the Great End[13] unless they be slain or waste in grief (for to both of these deaths are they subject), nor doth eld subdue their strength, except it may be in ten thousand centuries; and dying they are reborn in their children, so that their number minishes not, nor grows. Yet while the Sons of Men will

after the passing of things of a certainty join in the Second Music of the Ainur, what Ilúvatar has devised for the Eldar beyond the world's end he has not revealed even to the Valar, and Melko has not discovered it.'

NOTES

1 This opening sentence is lacking in the draft.

2 The reference to the setting of the Secret Fire within the Ainur is lacking in the draft.

3 This passage, from 'Now Melko had among the Ainur . . .', is developed from one much briefer in the draft: 'Melko had among the Ainu fared most often alone into the dark places and the voids [*added afterwards*: seeking the secret fires].'

4 The words 'my song' and 'my thought' were in the text as written in reversed positions, and were emended afterwards in pencil to the reading given. At the beginning of the text occurs the phrase: 'Before all things he sang into being the Ainur first.' Cf. the opening of the *Ainulindalë* in *The Silmarillion*: 'The Ainur . . . that were the offspring of his thought.'

5 There is no reference here in the draft to Manwë or Aulë.

6 This sentence concerning the friendship and alliance of Manwë and Ulmo is lacking in the draft.

7 This passage was quite different in the draft text:

> And even as Ilu was speaking to Ulmo the Ainu beheld how the great history which Ilu had propounded to them to their amazement and whereto all his glory was but the hall of its enactment – how it was unfolding in myriad complexities even as had been the music they played about the feet of Ilu, how beauty was whelmed in uproar and tumult and again new beauty arose therefrom, how the earth changed and stars went out and stars were kindled, and the air swept about the firmament, and the sun and moon were loosened on their courses and had life.

8 This sentence concerning Melko is lacking in the draft.

9 In the draft this paragraph reads:

> Now Eldar and Men were of Ilu's devising alone, nor had any of the Ainu nor even Melko aught to do with their fashioning, though in truth his music of old and his deeds in the world mightily affected their history thereafter. For this reason maybe, Melko and many of the Ainu out of good or evil mind would ever be for meddling with them, but seeing that Ilu had made the Eldar too alike in nature if not in stature to the Ainu their dealings have been chiefly with Men.

The conclusion of this passage seems to be the only place where the second text is in direct contradiction of the draft.

10 The draft has: 'and these are they whom ye and we now call the Valur and Valir.'

11 The entire passage following the mention of the Solosimpi and 'their love to dwell ever by the shore' is lacking in the draft.

12 For this passage the draft has:

> "... but to Men I will appoint a task and give a great gift." And he devised that they should have free will and the power of fashioning and designing beyond the original music of the Ainu, that by reason of their operations all things shall in shape and deed be fulfilled, and the world that comes of the music of the Ainu be completed unto the last and smallest.

13 'whereas the Eldar dwell for ever' draft text.

Changes made to names in *The Music of the Ainur*

Ainur Always *Ainu* in the draft text.

Ilúvatar Usually *Ilu* in the draft text, but also *Ilúvatar*.

Ulmo In the draft text Ulmo is thus named but also *Linqil* (corrected to *Ulmo*).

Solosimpi < *Solosimpë*.

Valar or Vali Draft text *Valur and Valir* (these appear to be masculine and feminine forms).

Ónen <*Ówen*.

Vai <*Ulmonan*.

Commentary on *The Music of the Ainur*

A linking passage continues the text of *The Music of the Ainur* and leads into the story of *The Building of Valinor* without any break in the narrative; but I postpone this link until the next chapter. The actual written text is likewise continuous between the two tales, and there is no suggestion or indication that the composition of *The Building of Valinor* did not follow that of *The Music of the Ainur*.

In later years the Creation myth was revised and rewritten over and over again; but it is notable that in this case only and in contrast to the development of the rest of the mythology there is a direct tradition, manuscript to manuscript, from the earliest draft to the final version: each text is directly based on the one preceding.* Moreover, and most

* For comparison with the published text in *The Silmarillion* it should be noted that some of the matter of the early version does not appear in the *Ainulindalë* itself but at the end of Chapter 1, *Of the Beginning of Days* (pp. 39–42).

remarkably, the earliest version, written when my father was 27 or 28 and embedded still in the context of the Cottage of Lost Play, was so evolved in its conception that it underwent little change of an essential kind. There were indeed very many changes, which can be followed stage by stage through the successive texts, and much new matter came in; but the fall of the original sentences can continually be recognized in the last version of the *Ainulindalë*, written more than thirty years later, and even many phrases survived.

It will be seen that the great theme that Ilúvatar propounded to the Ainur was originally made somewhat more explicit ('The story that I have laid before you,' p. 53), and that the words of Ilúvatar to the Ainur at the end of the Music contained a long declaration of what Melko had brought about, of what he had introduced into the world's history (p. 55). But by far the most important difference is that in the early form the Ainur's first sight of the World was in its actuality ('even now the world unfolds and its history begins', p. 55), not as a Vision that was taken away from them and only given existence in the words of Ilúvatar: *Eä!* Let these things Be! (*The Silmarillion* p. 20).

Yet when all differences have been observed, they are much less remarkable than the solidity and completeness with which the myth of the Creation emerged at its first beginning.

In this 'Tale', also, many specific features of less general import make their appearance; and many of them were to survive. Manwë, called 'lord of Gods and Elves and Men', is surnamed *Súlimo*, 'ruler of the airs and wind'; he is clad in sapphires, and hawks of penetrating sight fly from his dwelling on Taniquetil (*The Silmarillion* p. 40); he loves especially the Teleri (the later Vanyar), and from him they received their gifts of poetry and song; and his spouse is Varda, Queen of the Stars.

Manwë, Melko, Ulmo, and Aulë are marked out as 'the four great ones'; ultimately the great Valar, the *Aratar*, came to be numbered nine, but there was much shifting in the membership of the hierarchy before this was reached. The characteristic concerns of Aulë, and his particular association with the Noldoli, emerge here as they were to remain, though there is attributed to him a delight in 'tongues and alphabets', whereas in *The Silmarillion* (p. 39), while this is not denied, it seems to be implied that this was rather the peculiar endowment and skill of the Noldorin Elves; later in the *Lost Tales* (p. 141) it is said that Aulë himself 'aided by the Gnomes contrived alphabets and scripts'. Ulmo, specially associated with the Solosimpi (the later Teleri), is here presented as more 'fain of his honour and jealous of his power' than Manwë; and he dwells in Vai. Vai is an emendation of Ulmonan; but this is not simply a replacement of one name by another: Ulmonan was the name of Ulmo's halls, which were in Vai, the Outer Ocean. The significance of Vai, an important element in the original cosmology, will emerge in the next chapter.

Other divine beings now appear. Manwë and Varda have offspring, Fionwë-Úrion and Erinti. Erinti later became Ilmarë 'handmaid of Varda'

(*The Silmarillion* p. 30), but nothing was ever told of her (see p. 202). Fionwë, his name long afterwards changed to Eönwë, endured to become the Herald of Manwë, when the idea of 'the Children of the Valar' was abandoned. Beings subordinate to Ulmo, Salmar, Ossë, and Ónen (later Uinen) appear; though these all survived in the pantheon, the conception of Maiar did not emerge for many years, and Ossë was long numbered among the Valar. The Valar are here referred to as 'Gods' (indeed when Eriol asked 'are they the Gods?' Lindo replied that they were, p. 45), and this usage survived until far on in the development of the mythology.

The idea of Elvish rebirth in their own children is here formally stated, and the different fates of Elves and Men. In this connection, the following curious matter may be mentioned. Early in the text just given (p. 53) occurs the sentence: 'It is said that a mightier [music] far shall be woven before the seat of Ilúvatar by the choirs of both Ainur *and the sons of Men* after the Great End'; and in the concluding sentence of the text: 'Yet while *the sons of Men* will after the passing of things of a certainty join in the Second Music of the Ainur, what Ilúvatar has devised for the Eldar beyond the world's end he has not revealed even to the Valar, and Melko has not discovered it.' Now in the first revision of the *Ainulindalë* (which dates from the 1930s) the first of these sentences was changed to read: '. . . by the choirs of the Ainur *and the Children of Ilúvatar* after the end of days'; whereas the second remained, in this essential, unchanged. This remained the case right through to the final version. It is possible that the change in the first passage was unintentional, the substitution of another common phrase, and that this was never subsequently picked up. However, in the published work (pp. 15, 42) I left the two passages as they stand.

III

THE COMING OF THE VALAR AND THE BUILDING OF VALINOR

As I have already noticed, the next tale is linked to *The Music of the Ainur* without narrative break; and it has no title in the text. It is contained in three separate books (the *Lost Tales* were written in the most bewildering fashion, with sections from different tales interleaved with each other); and on the cover of the book that has the opening section, following on *The Music of the Ainur*, is written: 'containeth also the Coming of the Valar and beginneth the Building of Valinor'. The text is in ink, written over an erased pencil manuscript.

Then when Rúmil finished and fell silent Eriol said after a pause: 'Great are these tidings and very new and strange in my ears, yet doth it seem that most whereof you have yet told happened outside this world, whereas if I know now wherefrom comes its life and motion and the ultimate devising of its history, I would still hear many things of the earliest deeds within its borders; of the labours of the Valar I would know, and the great beings of most ancient days. Whereof, tell me, are the Sun or the Moon or the Stars, and how came their courses and their stations? Nay more – whence are the continents of the earth, the Outer Lands, the great seas, and the Magic Isles? Even of the Eldar and their arising and of the coming of Men I would listen to your tales of wisdom and wonder.'

Then answered Rúmil: 'Nay, but your questions are nigh as long and wordy as my tales – and the thirst of your curiosity would dry a well deeper than even my lore, an I let you drink and come again unstinted to your liking. Indeed you know not what you ask nor the length and complexity of the stories you would hear. Behold, the sun is well above the roofs and this is no hour of the day for the telling of tales. Rather is it time already, and something more, for the breaking of the fast.' With these words Rúmil went down that lane of hazels, and passing a space of sunlight entered the house at great speed, for all that he looked ever before his toes as he went.

But Eriol sat musing in that arbour, pondering what he had heard, and many questions came into his mind that he desired to ask, until he forgot that he fasted still. But now comes Littleheart and another bearing covers and fair linen, and they say to him: 'It is the words of

Rúmil the Sage that you are fainting in the Arbour of the Thrushes for hunger and for weariness of his garrulous tongue – and thinking that very like to be, we are come to aid thee.'

Then Eriol thanked them, and breaking his fast spent the remainder of that fair day hidden in the quiet alleys of that garden deep in thought; nor did he have lack of pleasance, for although it seemed enclosed within great stone walls covered with fruit-trees or with climbing plants whose golden and red blossoms shone beneath the sun, yet were the nooks and corners of the garden, its coppices and lawns, its shady ways and flowering fields, without end, and exploration discovered always something new. Nonetheless even greater was his joy when that night again the toast was drunk to the 'Rekindling of the Magic Sun' and the candles held aloft and the throng went once more to the room where the Tale-fire burnt.

There said Lindo: 'Is it to be tales, as of custom, again this night, or shall it be musics and the singing of songs?' And the most said songs and music, and thereat skilled ones arose who sang old melodies or maybe roused dead minstrelsy of Valinor to life amid the flicker of that firelit room. Some too spake poesies concerning Kôr, and Eldamar, short snatches of the wealth of old; but soon the song and music died down and there was a quiet, while those there thought of the departed beauty and longed eagerly for the Rekindling of the Magic Sun.

Now at length spake Eriol to Lindo, saying: 'One Rúmil the doorward, and, methought, a great sage, did this morning in the garden relate to me the beginning of the world and the coming of the Valar. Now fain would I hear of Valinor!'

Then said Rúmil, for he sat upon a stool in a deep-shadowed nook: 'Then with the leave of Lindo and of Vairë I will begin the tale, else will you go on asking for ever; and may the company have pardon if they hear old tales again.' But Vairë said that those words concerning the oldest things were far from stale yet in the ears of the Eldar.

Then said Rúmil:

'Behold, Manwë Súlimo and Varda the Beautiful arose. Varda it was who at the playing of the Music had thought much of light that was of white and silver, and of stars. Those twain gathered now wings of power to themselves and fared swiftly through the three airs. Vaitya is that which is wrapped dark and sluggish about the world and without it, but Ilwë is blue and clear and flows among the stars, and last came they to Vilna that is grey and therein may the birds fly safely.

With them came many of those lesser Vali who loved them and

had played nigh them and attuned their music to theirs, and these are the Mánir and the Súruli, the sylphs of the airs and of the winds.

Now swiftly as they fared Melko was there before them, having rushed headlong flaming through the airs in the impetuosity of his speed, and there was a tumult of the sea where he had dived and the mountains above him spouted flames and the earth gaped and rocked; but Manwë beholding this was wroth.

Thereafter came Ulmo and Aulë, and with Ulmo were none, save Salmar only who was after known as Noldorin, for good though the heart of that mighty one he thought ever deep thoughts alone, and was silent and aloof and haughty even to the Ainur; but with Aulë was that great lady Palúrien whose delights were richness and fruits of the earth, for which reason has she long been called Yavanna among the Eldar. About them fared a great host who are the sprites of trees and woods, of dale and forest and mountain-side, or those that sing amid the grass at morning and chant among the standing corn at eve. These are the Nermir and the Tavari, Nandini and Orossi, brownies, fays, pixies, leprawns, and what else are they not called, for their number is very great: yet must they not be confused with the Eldar, for they were born before the world and are older than its oldest, and are not of it, but laugh at it much, for had they not somewhat to do with its making, so that it is for the most part a play for them; but the Eldar are of the world and love it with a great and burning love, and are wistful in all their happiness for that reason.

Now behind those greatest chieftains came Falman-Ossë of the waves of the sea and Ónen his consort, and with them the troops of the Oarni and Falmaríni and the long-tressed Wingildi, and these are the spirits of the foam and the surf of ocean. Now Ossë was a vassal and subordinate to Ulmo, and was so for fear and reverence and not for love. Behind him there came Tulkas Poldórëa rejoicing in his strength, and those brethren the Fánturi, Fantur of Dreams who is Lórien Olofántur, and Fantur of Death who is Vefántur Mandos, and those twain also who are named Tári for they are ladies of great worship, queens of the Valar. The one was the spouse of Mandos, and is known to all as Fui Nienna by reason of her glooms, and she is fain of mourning and tears. Many other names has she that are spoken seldom and all are grievous, for she is Núri who sighs and Heskil who breedeth winter, and all must bow before her as Qalmë-Tári the mistress of death. But lo, the other was the spouse of Oromë the hunter who is named Aldaron king of forests, who shouts for joy upon mountain-tops and is nigh as lusty as that

perpetual youth Tulkas. Oromë is the son of Aulë and Palúrien, and that Tári who is his wife is known to all as Vána the fair and loveth mirth and youth and beauty, and is happiest of all beings, for she is Tuilérë or as the Valar said Vána Tuivána who bringeth spring, and all sing her praises as Tári-Laisi mistress of life.

Yet even when all these had crossed the confines of the world and Vilna was in uproar with their passing, there came still hurrying late Makar and his fierce sister Meássë; and it had been better had they not found the world but remained for ever with the Ainur beyond Vaitya and the stars, for both were spirits of quarrelsome mood, and with some other lesser ones who came now with them had been the first and chief to join in the discords of Melko and to aid in the spreading of his music.

Last of all came Ómar who is called Amillo, youngest of the great Valar, and he sang songs as he came.

Then when all these great spirits were gathered together within the confines of the world Manwë spake to them, saying: "Lo now! How may the Valar abide in this fair place or be happy and rejoice in its goodness, if Melko be suffered to destroy it, and make fire and turmoil, so that we have not where to sit in peace, nor may the earth blossom or the designs of Ilúvatar come to being?"

Then all the Valar were angered with Melko, and Makar alone spoke against Manwë; but the rest chose certain of their number to seek out the wrongdoer, and these were Mandos and Tulkas, Mandos for that of his dread aspect was Melko more in fear than of aught else save it were the strength of Tulkas' arm, and Tulkas was the other.

Now those two sought him out and constrained him to come before Manwë, and Tulkas whose heart misliked the crooked guile of Melko gave him a blow with his fist, and he abode that then but did not forget. Yet did he speak the Gods fair, and said how he did scant harm, revelling only a while in the newness of the world; nor, said he, would he ever seek to do aught against the lordship of Manwë or the dignity of those chiefs Aulë and Ulmo, nor indeed to the hurt of any beside. Rather was it his counsel that each of the Valar should now depart and dwell amid those things that he loved upon Earth, nor should any seek to extend his sway beyond its just boundaries. In this there was some covert reflection upon Manwë and Ulmo, but of the Gods some took his words in faith and would use his advice, but others distrusted; and in the midst of their debate Ulmo arose and went to the Outermost Seas that were set beyond the Outer Lands. He loved not high words nor concourse of folk, and in those

deep waters moveless and empty he purposed to dwell, leaving the governance of the Great and lesser seas to Ossë and Ónen his vassals. Yet ever of his magic deep in his outermost sea-halls of Ulmonan he controlled the faint stirrings of the Shadowy Seas, and ruled the lakes and springs and rivers of the world.

Now this was the manner of the Earth in those days, nor has it since changed save by the labours of the Valar of old. Mightiest of regions are the Great Lands where Men do dwell and wander now, and the Lost Elves sing and dance upon the hills; but beyond their westernmost limits lie the Great Seas, and in that vast water of the West are many smaller lands and isles, ere the lonely seas are found whose waves whisper about the Magic Isles. Farther even than this, and few are the boats of mortal men that have dared so far, are set the Shadowy Seas whereon there float the Twilit Isles and the Tower of Pearl rises pale upon their most western cape; but as yet it was not built, and the Shadowy Seas stretched dark away till their uttermost shore in Eruman.

Now the Twilit Isles are reckoned the first of the Outer Lands, which are these and Eruman and Valinor. Eruman or Arvalin is to the southward, but the Shadowy Seas run even to the edges of Eldamar to the north; yet must ships sail farther to reach these silver strands, for beyond Eruman stand the Mountains of Valinor in a great ring curving westward, and the Shadowy Seas to north of Eruman bend a vast bay inward, so that waves beat even upon the feet of the great cliffs and the Mountains stand beside the sea. There is Taniquetil glorious to behold, loftiest of all mountains, clad in purest snow, and he looks from the bay's head southward across Eruman and northward across the Bay of Faëry; indeed all the Shadowy Seas, even the sails of ships upon the sunlit waters of the great ocean and the throngs about westward havens in the lands of Men could afterward be seen therefrom, albeit that distance is counted out in unimagined leagues. But as yet the Sun had not risen and the Mountains of Valinor had not been raised, and the vale of Valinor lay wide and cold. Beyond Valinor I have never seen or heard, save that of a surety there are the dark waters of the Outer Seas, that have no tides, and they are very cool and thin, that no boat can sail upon their bosom or fish swim within their depths, save the enchanted fish of Ulmo and his magic car.

Thither is he now gone, but the Gods hold council concerning the words of Melko. It was the rede of Aulë and of his wife Palúrien, for they were the most grieved by the mischief of Melko's turmoils and trusted his promises not at all, that the Gods should not separate as

he bid, lest he take it into his heart perchance to attack them singly or do hurt to their possessions. "Is he not," said they, "more powerful than any one of us save Manwë only? Rather let us build a dwelling wherein we may abide in joy together, faring only at need to the care and survey of our goods and fiefs. There even such as be of other mind may dwell at times, and find rest and pleasance after labours in the world." Now Aulë's mind and fingers itched already to be making things, and he urged this matter the more for that; and to most of the Gods it seemed a good counsel, and they fared about the world seeking a place to dwell in. Those were the days of Gloaming (Lomendánar), for light there was, silver and golden, but it was not gathered together but flowed and quivered in uneven streams about the airs, or at times fell gently to the earth in glittering rain and ran like water on the ground; and at that time Varda in her playing had set but a few stars within the sky.

In this dimness the Gods stalked North and South and could see little; indeed in the deepest of these regions they found great cold and solitude and the rule of Melko already fortified in strength; but Melko and his servants were delving in the North, fashioning the grim halls of Utumna, for he had no thought to dwell amongst the others, howso he might feign peace and friendship for the time.

Now because of the darkness Aulë suaded Melko to build two towers to the North and South, for he purposed to set upon them mighty lamps one upon each. These did Aulë himself fashion of gold and silver, and the pillars were raised by Melko and were very tall, and shone like pale blue crystal; and when Aulë smote them with his hand they rang like metal. They sprang up through the lower air even to Ilwë and the stars, and Melko said they were of an imperishable substance of great strength that he had devised; and he lied, for he knew that they were of ice. That one of the North he named Ringil and of the South Helkar, and the lamps were made ready and set upon them, being filled with gathered light, silver to the North and golden to the South. This light had Manwë and Varda gathered lavishly from the sky, that the Gods might the better explore the regions of the world, and choose the fairest for their home.

Now in that flaming light did they fare East and West, and East was a waste of tumbled lands and West great seas of darkness, for indeed they were gathered now upon those Twilit Isles and stood there gazing westward, when lo! the lamps to North and South flickered and fell, and as they fell the waters rose about the isles. Now these things they did not then understand, but it so happened that the blaze of those lights had melted the treacherous ice of the

pillars of Melko, Ringil and Helkar, and great floods of water had poured from them into the Shadowy Seas. So great was their thaw that whereas those seas were at first of no great size but clear and warm, now were they black and wide and vapours lay upon them and deep shades, for the great cold rivers that poured into them. Thus were the mighty lamps unseated from on high and the clangour of their fall shook the stars, and some of their light was spilled again into the air, but much flowed upon the earth and made fires and deserts for its great volume ere it gathered into lakes and pools.

Then was the time of first night and it was very long; but the Valar were sorely wroth at the treachery of Melko and were like to be whelmed in the shadowy seas that now arose and sucked about their feet, covering many of the islands in their waves.

Then Ossë, for Ulmo was not there, gathered to him the Oarni, and putting forth their might they dragged that island whereon stood the Valar westward from the waters till they came to Eruman, whose high shores held the angry flood – and that was the first tide.

Then said Manwë: "Now will we make a dwelling speedily and a bulwark against evil." So they fared over Arvalin and saw a wide open space beyond, reaching for unknown leagues even to the Outer Seas. There, said Aulë, would be a place well suited to great building and to a fashioning of realms of delight; wherefore the Valar and all their folk first gathered the most mighty rocks and stones from Arvalin and reared therewith huge mountains between it and that plain which now they name Valinor, or the land of the Gods. Aulë indeed it was himself who laboured for seven ages at Manwë's bidding in the piling of Taniquetil, and the world rumbled in the gloom and Melko heard the noises of their labour. By reason of their great masonry is Erumáni now very broad and bare and of a marvellous level, for they removed all the stone and rock that was there; but the Mountains of Valinor are rugged and of impregnable height. Seeing at length that these towered mightily between Valinor and the world the Gods drew breath; but Aulë and Tulkas fared abroad with many of their folk and brought back all they might of marbles and good stones, of iron and gold and silver and bronze and all manner of substances. These they heaped amid the plain, and straightway Aulë began to labour mightily.

At last he says: "It is ill working in this gloom, and 'twas an evil deed of Melko's that brought to ruin those fair lamps." But Varda answering said: "Still is there much light remaining both in the airs and that which floweth spilled upon the earth", and she wished to gather new store and set a beacon on Taniquetil. But Manwë

suffered not more radiance to be gleaned from heaven, for that the dark was already that of night, but at his asking Ulmo rose from his deeps and fared to the blazing lakes and the pools of brilliance. Therefrom he drew rivers of light into vast vessels, pouring back waters in their place, and with these he got him back to Valinor. There was all the light poured into two great cauldrons that Aulë fashioned in the gloom against his return, and those are called Kulullin and Silindrin.

Now in the midmost vale they digged two great pits, and those are leagues asunder yet nigh together beside the vastness of that plain. In the one did Ulmo set seven rocks of gold brought from the most silent deeps of the sea, and a fragment was cast thereafter of the lamp that had burned awhile upon Helkar in the South. Then was the pit covered with rich earths that Palúrien devised, and Vána came who loveth life and sunlight and at whose song the flowers arise and open, and the murmur of her maidens round her was like to the merry noise of folk that stir abroad for the first time on a bright morning. There sang she the song of spring upon the mound, and danced about it, and watered it with great streams of that golden light that Ulmo had brought from the spilled lakes – yet was Kulullin almost o'erflowing at the end.

But in the other pit they cast three huge pearls that Ossë found in the Great Sea, and a small star Varda cast after them, and they covered it with foams and white mists and thereafter sprinkled lightly earth upon it, but Lórien who loveth twilights and flittering shadows, and sweet scents borne upon evening winds, who is the lord of dreams and imaginings, sat nigh and whispered swift noiseless words, while his sprites played half-heard tunes beside him like music stealing out into the dark from distant dwellings; and the Gods poured upon that place rivers of the white radiance and silver light which Silindrin held even to the brim – and after their pouring was Silindrin yet well nigh full.

Then came Palúrien, even Kémi the Earth-lady, wife of Aulë, mother of the lord of forests, and she wove spells about those two places, deep enchantments of life and growth and putting forth of leaf, blossoming and yielding of fruit – but she mingled no word of fading in her song. There having sung she brooded for a great while, and the Valar sat in a circle about, and the plain of Valinor was dark. Then after a time there came at last a bright gleam of gold amid the gloom, and a cry of joy and praise was sent up by the Valar and all their companies. Behold from that place that had been watered from Kulullin rose a slender shoot, and from its bark pale gold

effulgence poured; yet did that plant grow apace so that in seven hours there was a tree of mighty stature, and all the Valar and their folk might sit beneath its branches. Of a great shapeliness and goodly growth was that stock, and nought was there to break its smooth rind, which glowed faintly with a yellow light, for a vast height above the earth. Then did fair boughs thrust overhead in all directions, and golden buds swelled from all the twigs and lesser branches, and from these burst leaves of a rich green whose edges shone. Already was the light that that tree gave wide and fair, but as the Valar gazed it put forth blossom in exceeding great profusion, so that all its boughs were hidden by long swaying clusters of gold flowers like a myriad hanging lamps of flame, and light spilled from the tips of these and splashed upon the ground with a sweet noise.

Then did the Gods praise Vána and Palúrien and rejoice in the light, saying to them: "Lo, this is a very fair tree indeed, and must have a name unto itself," and Kémi said: "Let it be called Laurelin, for the brightness of its blossom and the music of its dew," but Vána would call it Lindeloksë, and both names remain.

Now was it twelve hours since Lindeloksë had first sprouted, and at that hour did a glint of silver pierce the yellow blaze, and behold the Valar saw a shoot arise in that place whereto the pools of Silindrin had been poured. It had a bark of tender white that gleamed like pearls and it grew even as swiftly as had Laurelin, and as it grew the glory of Laurelin abated and its blossom shone less, till that tree glowed only gently as in sleep: but, behold, the other waxed now to a stature even as lofty as Laurelin, and its stock was yet more shapely and more slender, and its rind like silk, but its boughs above were thicker and more tangled and its twigs denser, and they put forth masses of bluish green leaves like spearheads.

Then did the Valar stare in wonder, but Palúrien said: "Not yet has this tree ceased its growing", and behold as she spake it blossomed, and its blossoms did not hang in clusters but were like separate flowers growing each on fine stems that swung together, and were as silver and pearls and glittering stars and burnt with a white light; and it seemed as if the tree's heart throbbed, and its radiance wavered thereto waxing and waning. Light like liquid silver distilled from its bole and dripped to earth, and it shed a very great illumination about the plain, yet was that not as wide as the light of the tree of gold, and by reason also of its great leaves and of the throb of its inward life it cast a continual flutter of shadows among the pools of its brightness, very clear and black; whereat Lórien could not contain his joy, and even Mandos smiled. But Lórien said: "Lo! I

will give this tree a name and call it Silpion", and that has ever been its name since. Then Palúrien arose and said to the Gods: "Gather ye now all the light that drips in liquid shape from this fair tree and store it in Silindrin, and let it fare thence but very sparingly. Behold, this tree, when the twelve hours of its fullest light are past, will wane again, and thereat will Laurelin blaze forth once more; but that it may not be exhausted water it ever gently from the cauldron of Kulullin at the hour when Silpion grows dim, but to Silpion do ye in the same manner, pouring back the gathered light from deep Silindrin at every waning of the tree of gold. Light is the sap of these trees and their sap is light!"

And in these words did she signify that albeit these trees must needs be watered with light to have sap and live, yet of their growth and being did they ever make light in great abundance still over and beyond that which their roots sucked in; but the Gods hearkened to her bidding, and Vána caused one of her own maidens, even Urwen, to care ever for this task of watering Laurelin, while Lórien bade Silmo, a youth he loved, to be ever mindful of the refreshing of Silpion. Wherefore is it said that at either watering of the trees there was a wondrous gloaming of gold and silver and mingled lights great beauty ere one tree quite faded or the other came to its full glory.

Now because of the bright trees had Aulë light in plenty for his works, and he set about many tasks, and Tulkas aided him much, and Palúrien mother of magic was at his side. First upon Taniquetil was a great abode raised up for Manwë and a watchtower set. Thence did he speed his darting hawks and receive them on his return, and thither fared often in later days Sorontur King of Eagles whom Manwë gave much might and wisdom.

That house was builded of marbles white and blue and stood amid the fields of snow, and its roofs were made of a web of that blue air called *ilwë* that is above the white and grey. This web did Aulë and his wife contrive, but Varda spangled it with stars, and Manwë dwelt thereunder; but in the plain in the full radiance of the trees was a cluster of dwellings built like a fair and smiling town, and that town was named Valmar. No metal and no stone, nor any wood of mighty trees was spared to their raising. Their roofs were of gold and their floors silver and their doors of polished bronze; they were lifted with spells and their stones were bound with magic. Separate from these and bordering upon the open vale was a great court, and this was Aulë's house, and it was filled with magic webs woven of the light of Laurelin and the sheen of Silpion and the glint of stars; but others there were made of threads of gold and silver and

iron and bronze beaten to the thinness of a spider's filament, and all were woven with beauty to stories of the musics of the Ainur, picturing those things that were and shall be, or such as have only been in the glory of the mind of Ilúvatar.

In this court were some of all the trees that after grew upon the earth, and a pool of blue water lay among them. There fruits fell throughout the day, thudding richly to the earth upon the grass of its margin, and were gathered by Palúrien's maids for her feasting and her lord's.

Ossë too had a great house, and dwelt therein whenso a conclave of the Valar was held or did he grow weary of the noise of the waves upon his seas. Ónen and the Oarni brought thousands of pearls for its building, and its floors were of sea-water, and its tapestries like the glint of the silver skins of fishes, and it was roofed with foam. Ulmo dwelt not in Valmar and fared back after its building to the Outer Seas, and did he have need ever of sojourn in Valinor he would go as guest to the halls of Manwë; – but this was not often. Lórien too dwelt far away, and his hall was great and dimly lit and had wide gardens. The place of his dwelling he called Murmuran, which Aulë made of mists gathered beyond Arvalin upon the Shadowy Seas. 'Twas set in the South by the feet of the Mountains of Valinor upon the confines of the realm, but its gardens wandered marvellously about, winding nigh to the feet of Silpion whose shining lit them strangely. They were full of labyrinths and mazes, for Palúrien had given Lórien great wealth of yewtrees and cedars, and of pines that exuded drowsy odours in the dusk; and these hung over deep pools. Glowworms crept about their borders and Varda had set stars within their depths for the pleasure of Lórien, but his sprites sang wonderfully in these gardens and the scent of nightflowers and the songs of sleepy nightingales filled them with great loveliness. There too grew the poppies glowing redly in the dusk, and those the Gods called *fumellar* the flowers of sleep – and Lórien used them much in his enchantments. Amidmost of those pleasances was set within a ring of shadowy cypress towering high that deep vat Silindrin. There it lay in a bed of pearls, and its surface unbroken was shot with silver flickerings, and the shadows of the trees lay on it, and the Mountains of Valinor could see their faces mirrored there. Lórien gazing upon it saw many visions of mystery pass across its face, and that he suffered never to be stirred from its sleep save when Silmo came noiselessly with a silver urn to draw a draught of its shimmering cools, and fared softly thence to water the roots of Silpion ere the tree of gold grew hot.

Otherwise was the mind of Tulkas, and he dwelt amidmost of Valmar. Most youthful is he and strong of limb and lusty, and for that is he named Poldórëa who loveth games and twanging of bows and boxing, wrestling, running, and leaping, and songs that go with a swing and a toss of a well-filled cup. Nonetheless is he no wrangler or striker of blows unprovoked as is Makar, albeit there are none of Valar or Úvanimor (who are monsters, giants, and ogres) that do not fear the sinews of his arm and the buffet of his iron-clad fist, when he has cause for wrath. His was a house of mirth and revelry; and it sprang high into the air with many storeys, and had a tower of bronze and pillars of copper in a wide arcade. In its court men played and rivalled one another in doughty feats, and there at times would that fair maiden Nessa wife of Tulkas bear goblets of the goodliest wine and cooling drinks among the players. But most she loved to retire unto a place of fair lawns whose turf Oromë her brother had culled from the richest of all his forest glades, and Palúrien had planted it with spells that it was always green and smooth. There danced she among her maidens as long as Laurelin was in bloom, for is she not greater in the dance than Vána herself?

In Valmar too dwelt Noldorin known long ago as Salmar, playing now upon his harps and lyres, now sitting beneath Laurelin and raising sweet music with an instrument of the bow. There sang Amillo joyously to his playing, Amillo who is named Ómar, whose voice is the best of all voices, who knoweth all songs in all speeches; but whiles if he sang not to his brother's harp then would he be trilling in the gardens of Oromë when after a time Nielíqui, little maiden, danced about its woods.

Now Oromë had a vast domain and it was beloved by him, and no less by Palúrien his mother. Behold, the groves of trees they planted upon the plain of Valinor and even upon the foothills of the mountains have no compare on Earth. Beasts revelled there, deer among the trees, and herds of kine among its spaces and wide grass-lands; bison there were, and horses roaming unharnessed, but these strayed never into the gardens of the Gods, yet were they in peace and had no fear, for beasts of prey dwelt not among them, nor did Oromë fare to hunting in Valinor. Much indeed as he loves those realms yet is he very often in the world without; more often even than Ossë and as often as Palúrien, and then does he become the greatest of all huntsmen. But in Valmar his halls are wide and low, and skins and fells of great richness and price are strewn there without end upon the floor or hung upon the walls, and spears and bows and knives thereto. In the midst of each room and hall a living tree grows and

holds up the roof, and its bole is hung with trophies and with antlers. Here is all Oromë's folk in green and brown and there is a noise of boisterous mirth, and the lord of forests makes lusty cheer; but Vána his wife so often as she may steals thence. Far away from the echoing courts of that house lie her gardens, fenced stoutly from the wilder lands with whitethorn of great size that blossoms like everlasting snow. Its innermost solitude is walled with roses, and this is the place best beloved of that fair lady of the Spring. Amidmost of this place of odorous air did Aulë set long ago that cauldron, gold Kulullin, filled ever with the radiance of Laurelin like shining water, and thereof he contrived a fountain so that all the garden was full of the health and happiness of its pure light. Birds sang there all the year with the full throat of spring, and flowers grew in a riot of blossom and of glorious life. Yet was none ever of that splendour spilled from the vat of gold save when Vána's maidens led by Urwen left that garden at the waxing of Silpion to water the roots of the tree of flame; but by the fountain it was always light with the amber light of day, as bees made busy about the roses, and there trod Vána lissomly while larks sang above her golden head.

So fair were these abodes and so great the brilliance of the trees of Valinor that Vefántur and Fui his wife of tears might not endure to stay there long, but fared away far to the northward of those regions, where beneath the roots of the most cold and northerly of the Mountains of Valinor, that rise here again almost to their height nigh Arvalin, they begged Aulë to delve them a hall. Wherefore, that all the Gods might be housed to their liking, he did so, and they and all their shadowy folk aided him. Very vast were those caverns that they made stretching even down under the Shadowy Seas, and they are full of gloom and filled with echoes, and all that deep abode is known to Gods and Elves as Mandos. There in a sable hall sat Vefántur, and he called that hall with his own name Vê. It was lit only with a single vessel placed in the centre, wherein there lay some gleaming drops of the pale dew of Silpion: it was draped with dark vapours and its floors and columns were of jet. Thither in after days fared the Elves of all the clans who were by illhap slain with weapons or did die of grief for those that were slain – and only so might the Eldar die, and then it was only for a while. There Mandos spake their doom, and there they waited in the darkness, dreaming of their past deeds, until such time as he appointed when they might again be born into their children, and go forth to laugh and sing again. To Vê Fui came not much, for she laboured rather at the distilling of salt humours whereof are tears, and black clouds she wove and

floated up that they were caught in the winds and went about the world, and their lightless webs settled ever and anon upon those that dwelt therein. Now these tissues were despairs and hopeless mourning, sorrows and blind grief. The hall that she loved best was one yet wider and more dark than Vê, and she too named it with her own name, calling it Fui. Therein before her black chair burnt a brazier with a single flickering coal, and the roof was of bats' wings, and the pillars that upheld it and the walls about were made of basalt. Thither came the sons of Men to hear their doom, and thither are they brought by all the multitude of ills that Melko's evil music set within the world. Slaughters and fires, hungers and mishaps, diseases and blows dealt in the dark, cruelty and bitter cold and anguish and their own folly bring them here; and Fui reads their hearts. Some then she keeps in Mandos beneath the mountains and some she drives forth beyond the hills and Melko seizes them and bears them to Angamandi, or the Hells of Iron, where they have evil days. Some too, and these are the many, she sends aboard the black ship Mornië, who lieth ever and anon in a dark harbour of the North awaiting those times when the sad pomp winds to the beach down slow rugged paths from Mandos.

Then, when she is laden, of her own accord she spreads her sable sails and before a slow wind coasts down those shores. Then do all aboard as they come South cast looks of utter longing and regret to that low place amid the hills where Valinor may just be glimpsed upon the far off plain; and that opening is nigh Taniquetil where is the strand of Eldamar. No more do they ever see of that bright place, but borne away dwell after on the wide plains of Arvalin. There do they wander in the dusk, camping as they may, yet are they not utterly without song, and they can see the stars, and wait in patience till the Great End come.

Few are they and happy indeed for whom at a season doth Nornorë the herald of the Gods set out. Then ride they with him in chariots or upon good horses down into the vale of Valinor and feast in the halls of Valmar, dwelling in the houses of the Gods until the Great End come. Far away are they from the black mountains of the North or the misty plains of Arvalin, and music and fair light is theirs, and joy.

And lo! Now have I recounted the manner of the dwellings of all the great Gods which Aulë of his craftsmanship raised in Valinor, but Makar and his fierce sister Meássë built them a dwelling of themselves, aided only by their own folk, and a grim hall it was.

Upon the confines of the Outer Lands did it stand, nor was it

very far from Mandos. Of iron was it made, and unadorned. There fought the vassals of Makar clad in armour, and a clash there was and a shouting and a braying of trumps, but Meássë fared among the warriors and egged them to more blows, or revived the fainting with strong wine that they might battle still; and her arms were reddened to the elbow dabbling in that welter. None of the Gods fared ever there, save Tulkas, and did they seek to visit Mandos they went thither by circuitous paths to avoid passing nigh to that clamorous hall; but Tulkas would at times wrestle there with Makar or deal sledge-blows among the fighters, and this he did that he might not grow soft in his fair living, for he loved not that company nor in sooth did they love him and his great unangered strength. Now the battle of the courts of Makar was waged unceasingly save when men gathered in the halls for feasting, or at those times when Makar and Meássë were far abroad hunting together in the black mountains wolves and bears. But that house was full of weapons of battle in great array, and shields of great size and brightness of polish were on the walls. It was lit with torches, and fierce songs of victory, of sack and harrying, were there sung, and the torches' red light was reflected in the blades of naked swords. There sit often Makar and his sister listening to the songs, and Makar has a huge bill across his knees and Meássë holds a spear. But in those days ere the closing of Valinor did these twain fare mostly about the Earth and were often far from the land, for they loved the unbridled turmoils which Melko roused throughout the world.

Therefore is Valinor now built, and there is great peace there, and the Gods in joy, for those quarrelsome spirits dwell not much among them, and Melko comes not nigh.'

Then said a child among the company, a great drinker-in of both tales and poesies: 'And would that he had never come there since, and would that I might have seen that land still gleaming new as Aulë left it.' Now she had heard Rúmil tell his tale before and was much in thought of it, but to the most of the company it was new, even as it was to Eriol, and they sat amazed. Then said Eriol: 'Very mighty and glorious are the Valar, and I would fain hear yet more of those oldest days, did I not see the glimmer of the Candles of Sleep that fare now hither'; but another child spoke from a cushion nigh Lindo's chair and said: 'Nay, 'tis in the halls of Makar I would fain be, and get perchance a sword or knife to wear; yet in Valmar methinks 'twould be good to be a guest of Oromë', and Lindo laughing said: ''Twould be good indeed,' and thereat he arose, and the tale-telling was over for that night.

NOTES

Changes made to names in *The Coming of the Valar and the Building of Valinor*

Ónen < *Ówen* (at the first occurrence only; subsequently *Ónen* is the name as first written).

Eruman and *Arvalin* The names of this region were originally written *Habbanan* and *Harmalin*, but were emended throughout the tale (except in two cases where *Habbanan* was overlooked) to *Eruman* (once *Erumáni*, p. 70) and *Arvalin*. (In the last three occurrences *Habbanan* > *Arvalin*, whereas in the earlier ones *Habbanan* > *Eruman*; but the difference is presumably without significance, since the names *Habbanan* / *Harmalin* and later *Eruman* / *Arvalin* were interchangeable.) In *The Cottage of Lost Play* the changes were *Harwalin* > *Harmalin* > *Arvalin* (p. 22).

Lomendánar < *Lome Danar*.

Silindrin < *Telimpë* (*Silindrin*) (at the first occurrence only; subsequently *Silindrin* is the name as first written).

Lindeloksë < *Lindelótë* (cf. p. 22).

Commentary on *The Coming of the Valar and the Building of Valinor*

The abundant instruction provided by Rúmil on this occasion is best discussed in sections, and I begin with:

(i) The Coming of the Valar and their encounter with Melko (pp. 65–7)

The description of the entry of the Valar into the world was not retained, though the account of them in this passage is the ultimate origin of that in the *Valaquenta* (*The Silmarillion* pp. 25–9): not, however, by continuous manuscript progression. The passage is of much interest, for here appear all at once many figures of the mythology who were to endure, beside others who were not. It is remarkable how many of the names of the Valar in the earliest writings were never afterwards displaced or reshaped: *Yavanna*, *Tulkas*, *Lórien*, *Nienna*, *Oromë*, *Aldaron*, *Vána*, *Nessa*, first appearing in this tale, and *Manwë*, *Súlimo*, *Varda*, *Ulmo*, *Aulë*, *Mandos*, *Ossë*, *Salmar*, who have appeared previously. Some were retained in a modified form: *Melkor* for *Melko*, *Uinen* (which appears already later in the *Lost Tales*) for *Ónen*, *Fëanturi* for *Fánturi*; while yet others, as Yavanna *Palúrien* and Tulkas *Poldórëa*, survived long in the 'Silmarillion' tradition before being displaced by *Kementári* (but cf. *Kémi* 'Earth-lady' in this

tale) and *Astaldo*. But some of these early Valar had disappeared by the next stage or phase after the *Lost Tales*: Ómar-Amillo, and the barbaric war-gods Makar and Meássë.

Here appear also certain relations that survived to the latest form. Thus Lórien and Mandos were from the beginning 'brethren', each with his special association, of 'dreams' and 'death'; and Nienna stood from the beginning in a close relationship with them, here as 'the spouse of Mandos', though afterwards as the sister of the Fëanturi. The original conception of Nienna was indeed darker and more fearful, a death-goddess in close association with Mandos, than it afterwards became. Ossë's uncertain relations with Ulmo are seen to go back to the beginnings; but Ulmo's haughtiness and aloofness subsequently disappeared, at least as a feature of his divine 'character' explicitly described. Vána was already the spouse of Oromë, but Oromë was the son of Aulë and (Yavanna) Palúrien; in the later evolution of the myths Vána sank down in relation to Nienna, whereas Oromë rose, becoming finally one of the great Valar, the *Aratar*.

Particularly interesting is the passage concerning the host of lesser spirits who accompanied Aulë and Palúrien, from which one sees how old is the conception of the Eldar as quite dissimilar in essential nature from 'brownies, fays, pixies, leprawns', since the Eldar are 'of the world' and bound to it, whereas those others are beings from before the world's making. In the later work there is no trace of any such explanation of the 'pixie' element in the world's population: the Maiar are little referred to, and certainly not said to include such beings as 'sing amid the grass at morning and chant among the standing corn at eve'.*

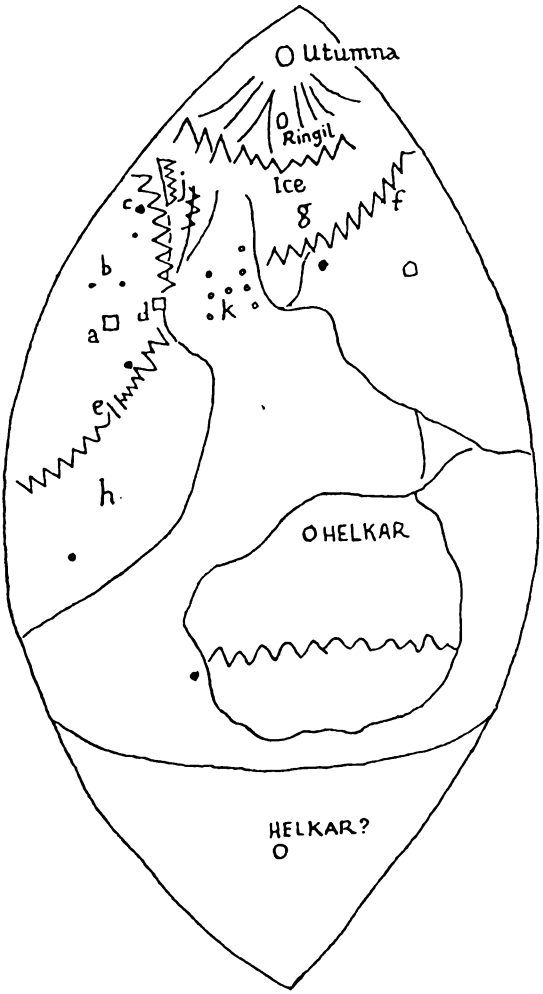
Salmar, companion of Ulmo, who has appeared in *The Music of the Ainur* (p. 58), is now identified with Noldorin, who was mentioned by Vairë in *The Cottage of Lost Play* (p. 16); such of his story as can be discerned will appear later. Subsequent writings say nothing of him save that he came with Ulmo and made his horns (*The Silmarillion* p. 40).

In the later development of this narrative there is no mention of Tulkas (or Mandos!) going off to round up Melkor at the very outset of the history of the Valar in Arda. In *The Silmarillion* we learn rather of the great war between the Valar and Melkor 'before Arda was full-shaped', and how it was the coming of Tulkas from 'the far heaven' that routed him, so that he fled from Arda and 'brooded in the outer darkness'.

* Cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 30: 'With the Valar came other spirits whose being also began before the world, of the same order as the Valar but of less degree. These are the Maiar, the people of the Valar, and their servants and helpers. Their number is not known to the Elves, and few have names in any of the tongues of the Children of Ilúvatar.' An earlier version of this passage reads: 'Many lesser spirits they [the Valar] brought in their train, both great and small, and some of these Men have confused with the Eldar or Elves; but wrongly, for they were before the world, but Elves and Men awoke first in the world after the coming of the Valar.'

(ii) The earliest conception of the Western Lands, and the Oceans

In *The Cottage of Lost Play* the expression 'Outer Lands' was used of the lands to the east of the Great Sea, later Middle-earth; this was then changed to 'Great Lands' (p. 21). The 'Outer Lands' are now defined as



The earliest map

the Twilit Isles, Eruman (or Arvalin), and Valinor (p. 68). A curious usage, which often appears in the *Lost Tales*, is the equation of 'the world' with the Great Lands, or with the whole surface of the earth west of the Outer Lands; so the mountains 'towered mightily between Valinor and the world' (p. 70), and King Inwë heard 'the lament of the world' (p. 16).

It is convenient to reproduce here a map (p. 81), which actually appears in the text of a later tale (that of *The Theft of Melko and the Darkening of Valinor*). This map, drawn on a manuscript page with the text written round it, is no more than a quick scribble, in soft pencil, now rubbed and faded, and in many features difficult or impossible to interpret. The redrawing is as accurate as I can make it, the only feature lost being some indecipherable letters (beginning with M) preceding the word *Ice*. I have added the letters *a*, *b*, *c*, etc. to make the discussion easier to follow.

Utumna (later Utumno) is placed in the extreme North, north of the lamp-pillar Ringil; the position of the southern pillar seems from this map to have been still undecided. The square marked *a* is obviously Valmar, and I take the two dots marked *b* to be the Two Trees, which are stated later to have been to the north of the city of the Gods. The dot marked *c* is fairly clearly the domain of Mandos (cf. p. 76, where it is said that Vefántur Mandos and Fui Nienna begged Aulë to delve them a hall 'beneath the roots of the most cold and northerly of the Mountains of Valinor');* the dot to the south of this can hardly represent the hall of Makar and Meássë, since it is said (pp. 77–8) that though it was not very far from Mandos it stood 'upon the confines of the Outer Lands'.

The area which I have marked *h* is Eruman / Arvalin (which ultimately came to be named Avathar), earlier *Habbanan* / *Harmalin* (*Harwalin*), which are simple alternatives (see p. 79).

Later, in a map of the world made in the 1930s, the western shore of the Great Sea bends in a gentle and regular curve westward from north to south, while the Mountains of Valinor bend in virtually the reverse of the same curve eastward,)(; where the two curves come together at their midpoints are Túna, and Taniquetil. Two areas of land in the shape of elongated Vs thus extend northward and southward from the midpoint, between the Mountains and the Sea, which draw steadily away from each

* In *The Silmarillion* (p. 28) the halls of Mandos stood 'westward in Valinor'. The final text of the *Valaquenta* actually has 'northward', but I changed this to 'westward' in the published work (and similarly 'north' to 'west' on p. 52) on the basis of the statement in the same passage that Nienna's halls are 'west of West, upon the borders of the world', but are near to those of Mandos. In other passages it is clear that Mandos' halls were conceived as standing on the shores of the Outer Sea; cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 186: 'For the spirit of Beren at her bidding tarried in the halls of Mandos, until Lúthien came to say her last farewell upon the dim shores of the Outer Sea, whence Men that die set out never to return'. The conceptions of 'northward in Valinor' and 'on the shores of the Outer Sea' are not however contradictory, and I regret this piece of unwarranted editorial meddling.

other; and these are named Eruman (to the northward) and Arvalin (to the southward).

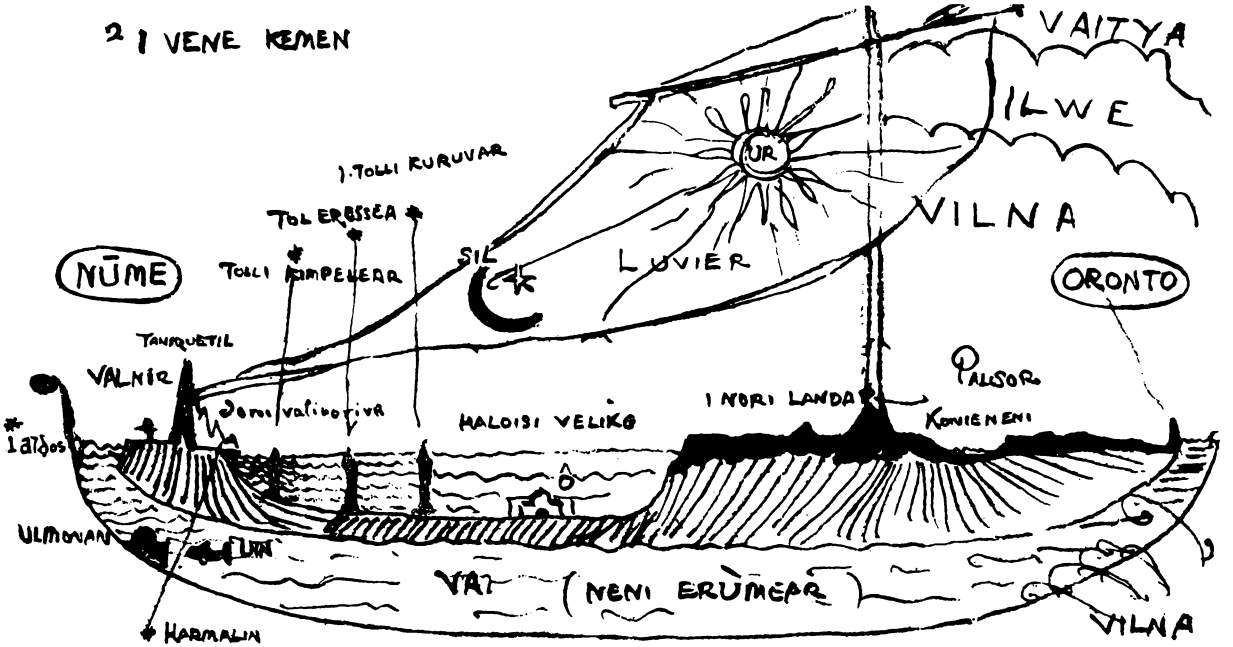
In the little primitive map the line of the mountains is already thus, and it is described in the text as 'a great ring curving westward' (the curve is westward if the extremities are considered rather than the central portion) But the curve of the coast is different. Unhappily the little map is here very obscure, for there are several lines (marked *j*) extending northwards from Kôr (marked *d*), and it is impossible to make out whether marks on them are directions for erasure or whether they represent parallel mountain-chains. But I think that in fact these lines merely represent variant ideas for the curve of the Mountains of Valinor in the north; and I have little doubt that at this time my father had no conception of a region of 'waste' north of Kôr and east of the mountains. This interpretation of the map agrees well with what is said in the tale (p. 68): 'the Shadowy Seas to north of Eruman bend a vast bay inwards, so that waves beat even upon the feet of the great cliffs, and the Mountains stand beside the sea', and 'Taniquetil looks from the bay's head southward across Eruman and northward across the Bay of Faëry'. On this view the name *Eruman* (later *Araman*), at first an alternative to *Arvalin*, was taken over for the northern waste when the plan of the coastal regions became more symmetrical.

It is said in the tale (p. 68) that 'in that vast water of the West are many smaller lands and isles, ere the lonely seas are found whose waves whisper about the Magic Isles'. The little circles on the map (marked *k*) are evidently a schematic representation of these archipelagoes (of the Magic Isles more will be told later). The Shadowy Seas, as will emerge more clearly later, were a region of the Great Sea west of Tol Eressëa. The other letters on the map refer to features that have not yet entered the narrative.

In this tale we meet the important cosmological idea of the Three Airs, Vaitya, Ilwë, and Vilna, and of the Outer Ocean, tideless, cold, and 'thin'. It has been said in *The Music of the Ainur* (p. 58) that Ulmo dwells in the Outer Ocean and that he gave to Ossë and Ónen 'control of the waves and lesser seas'; he is there called 'the ancient one of Vai' (emended from Ulmonan). It is now seen that *Ulmonan* is the name of his halls in the Outer Ocean, and also that the 'lesser seas' controlled by Ossë and Ónen include the Great Sea (p. 68).

There exists a very early and very remarkable drawing, in which the world is seen in section, and is presented as a huge 'Viking' ship, with mast arising from the highest point of the Great Lands, single sail on which are the Sun and Moon, sailropes fastened to Taniquetil and to a great mountain in the extreme East, and curved prow (the black marks on the sail are an ink-blot). This drawing was done fairly rapidly in soft pencil on a small sheet; and it is closely associated with the cosmology of the *Lost Tales*.

I give here a list of the names and words written on the drawing with,


2 I VENE KEMEN
VAITYA
ILWE
UR
VILNA
I. TOLLI KURUVAR
TOL ERESSEA
TOLLI KIMPELEAR
SIL
LUVIER
NŪME
ORONTO
TANIQUETIL
VALNIR
Jorni valinoriva
HALOISI VELIKO
I NORI LANDA
PALISOR
KONIENENI
Ô
ULMONAN
LIN
VAI (NENI ERÙMEAR)
HARMALIN
VILNA

so far as possible, their meanings (but without any etymological detail, for which see the Appendix on Names, where names and words occurring only on this drawing are given separate entries).

I Vene Kemen This is clearly the title of the drawing; it might mean 'The Shape of the Earth' or 'The Vessel of the Earth' (see the Appendix on Names, entry *Glorvent*).

Nūme 'West'.

Valinor; *Taniquetil* (The vast height of Taniquetil, even granting the formalisation of this drawing, is noteworthy: it is described in the tale as being so high that 'the throngs about westward havens in the lands of Men could be seen therefrom' (p. 68). Its fantastic height is conveyed in my father's painting, dating from 1927–8 (*Pictures by J. R. R. Tolkien*, no. 31).)

Harmalin Earlier name of *Arvalin* (see p. 79).

i aldas 'The Trees' (standing to the west of Taniquetil).

Toros valinoriva *Toros* is obscure, but in any case the first letter of the first word, if it is a T, is a very uncharacteristic one. The reference seems to be to the Mountains of Valinor.

Tolli Kimpelear These must be the Twilit Isles, but I have found no other occurrence of *Kimpelear* or anything similar.

Tol Eressëa 'The Lonely Isle'.

I Tolli Kuruvar 'The Magic Isles'.

Haloisi Velike 'The Great Sea'.

Ô 'The Sea'. (What is the structure at the sea-bottom shown below the name *Ô*? It must surely be the dwelling of Ossë beneath the Great Sea that is referred to in the next tale (p. 106).)

I Nori Landar Probably means 'The Great Lands'.

Koivienéni The precursor of *Cuiviénen*, the Waters of Awakening.

Palisor The land where the Elves awoke.

Sil 'Moon'.

Ûr 'Sun'.

Luvier 'Clouds'.

Oronto 'East'.

Vaitya, *Ilwë*, and *Vilna* appear in the three layers described in the tale (p. 65), and *Vilna* reappears in the bottom right-hand corner of the drawing. There is nothing said in the *Lost Tales* to explain this last feature, nor is it at all evident what is represented by the curled lines in the same place (see p. 86).

Ulmonan The halls of Ulmo.

Uin The Great Whale, who appears later in the *Tales*.

Vai The Outer Ocean.

Neni Erùmear 'Outermost Waters'=*Vai*.

It is seen from the drawing that the world floats in and upon Vai. This is indeed how Ulmo himself describes it to the Valar in a later tale (p. 214):

> Lo, there is but one Ocean, and that is Vai, for those that Ossë esteemeth as oceans are but seas, waters that lie in the hollows of the rock . . . In this vast water floateth the wide Earth upheld by the word of Ilúvatar . . .

In the same passage Ulmo speaks of the islands in the seas, and says that ('save some few that swim still unfettered') they 'stand now like pinnacles from their weedy depths', as is also well seen in the drawing.

It might seem a plausible idea that there was some connection (physical as well as etymological) between *Vai* and *Vaitya*, the outermost of the Three Airs, 'wrapped dark and sluggish about the world and without it' (at a later point in the *Tales*, p. 181, there is a reference to 'the dark and tenuous realm of Vaitya that is outside all'). In the next 'phase' of the mythical cosmology (dating from the 1930s, and very clearly and fully documented and illustrated in a work called *Ambarkanta*, The Shape of the World) the whole world is contained within *Vaiya*, a word meaning 'fold, envelope'; Vaiya 'is more like to sea below the Earth and more like to air above the Earth' (which chimes with the description of the waters of Vai (p. 68) as very 'thin', so that no boat can sail on them nor fish swim in them, save the enchanted fish of Ulmo and his car); and in Vaiya below the Earth dwells Ulmo. Thus Vaiya is partly a development of Vaitya and partly of Vai.

Now since in the earliest word-list of the Qenya tongue (see the Appendix on Names) both *Vaitya* ('the outermost air beyond the world') and *Vai* ('the outer ocean') are derived from a root *vaya-* 'enfold', and since Vaitya in the present tale is said to be 'wrapped about the world and without it', one might think that Vaitya-Vai already in the early cosmology was a continuous enfolding substance, and that the later cosmology, in this point, only makes explicit what was present but unexpressed in the *Lost Tales*. But there is certainly no actual suggestion of this idea in any early writing; and when we look again at the drawing it seems untenable. For Vai is obviously *not* continuous with Vaitya; and if the appearance of Vilna in the bottom of the drawing is taken to mean that the Earth, *and* the ocean Vai in and on which it floats, were contained within the Three Airs, of which we see the reappearance of the innermost (Vilna) below the earth and Vai, then the suggestion that Vaitya–Vai were continuous is still more emphatically confounded.

There remains the baffling question of the representation of the world as a ship. In only one place is there a suggestion that my father conceived the world in such a way: the passage that I have cited above, in which Ulmo addresses the Valar on the subject of Vai, concludes:

> O Valar, ye know not all wonders, and many secret things are there *beneath the Earth's dark keel*, even where I have my mighty halls of Ulmonan, that ye have never dreamed on.

But in the drawing Ulmonan is not beneath the ship's keel, it is within

the ship's hull; and I am inclined to think that Ulmo's words 'beneath the Earth's dark keel' refer to the shape of the Earth itself, which is certainly ship-like. Moreover, close examination of the original drawing strongly suggests to me that the mast and sail, and still more clearly the curved prow, *were added afterwards*. Can it be that the shape of the Earth and of Vai as he had drawn them – with the appearance of a ship's hull – prompted my father to add mast, sail, and prow as a *jeu d'esprit*, without deeper significance? That seems uncharacteristic and unlikely, but I have no other explanation to offer.*

(iii) The Lamps (pp. 69–70)

In this part of the narrative the tale differs remarkably from the later versions. Here there is no mention of the dwelling of the Valar on the Isle of Almaren after the making of the Lamps (*The Silmarillion* p. 35), nor of course of the return of Melko from 'outside' – because here Melko not only did not leave the world after entering it, but actually himself made the pillars of the Lamps. In this story, though Melko was distrusted by some, his guileful co-operation (even to the extent of contributing names for the pillars) was accepted, whereas in the later story his hostility and malice were known and manifest to the Valar, even though they did not know of his return to Arda and the building of Utumno until too late. In the present tale there is a tricksiness, a low cunning, in Melko's behaviour that could not survive (yet the story of his deceitful making of the pillars out of ice survived into the versions of the 1930s).

Later, it was the Lamps themselves that were named (ultimately, after intervening forms had been devised and discarded, *Illuin* the northern Lamp and *Ormal* the southern). In *The Silmarillion* Ringil (containing *ring* 'cold') survived only as the name of Fingolfin's sword, but Helcar is that of the Inland Sea which 'stood where aforetime the roots of the mountain of Illuin had been' (p. 49). In the present tale Helkar was the name of the southern, not the northern, pillar. Now *helkar* meant 'utter cold' (see the Appendix on Names), which shows that Helkar was originally in the extreme south (as it is in one of the two positions given for it on the little map, p. 81), just as Ringil was in the extreme north. In the tale there is no mention of the formation of Inland Seas at the fall of the Lamps; this idea appeared later, but it seems virtually certain that it arose from the story of the melting pillars of ice.

There is no later reference to the building of the Mountains of Valinor from great rocks gathered in Eruman / Arvalin, so that the region became flat and stoneless.

* If this is so, and if *I Vene Kemen* means 'The Earth-Ship', then this title must have been added to the drawing at the same time as the mast, sail, and prow. – In the little notebook referred to on p. 23 there is an isolated note: 'Map of the Ship of the World.'

(iv) The Two Trees (pp. 71–3)

This earliest account of the uprising of the Two Trees illuminates some elements of later versions more concentrated in expression. The enduring feature that the ground beneath Silpion (Telperion) was 'dappled with the shadows of his fluttering leaves' (*The Silmarillion* p. 38) is seen to have had its origin in the 'throbbing of the tree's heart'. The conception of light as a liquid substance that 'splashed upon the ground', that ran in rivers and was poured in cauldrons, though not lost in the published work (pp. 38–9), is here more strongly and physically expressed. Some features were never changed, as the clustered flowers of Laurelin and the shining edges of its leaves.

On the other hand there are notable differences between this and the later accounts: above all perhaps that Laurelin was in origin the Eldar Tree. The Two Trees had here periods of twelve hours, not as later seven;* and the preparations of the Valar for the birth of the Trees, with all their detail of physical 'magic', were afterwards abandoned. The two great 'cauldrons' Kulullin and Silindrin survived in the 'great vats like shining lakes' in which Varda hoarded 'the dews of Telperion and the rain that fell from Laurelin' (*ibid.* p. 39), though the names disappeared, as did the need to 'water' the Trees with the light gathered in the vats or cauldrons – or at any rate it is not mentioned later. Urwen ('Sun-maiden') was the forebear of Arien, Maia of the Sun; and Tilion, steersman of the Moon in *The Silmarillion*, who 'lay in dreams by the pools of Estë [Lórien's wife], in Telperion's flickering beams', perhaps owes something to the figure of Silmo, whom Lórien loved.

As I noted earlier, 'in the later evolution of the myths Vána sank down in relation to Nienna', and here it is Vána and (Yavanna) Palúrien who are the midwives of the birth of the Trees, not as afterwards Yavanna and Nienna.

As regards the names of the Trees, *Silpion* was for long the name of the White Tree; *Telperion* did not appear till long after, and even then *Silpion* was retained and is mentioned in *The Silmarillion* (p. 38) as one of its names. *Laurelin* goes back to the beginning and was never changed, but its other name in the *Lost Tales*, *Lindeloksë* and other similar forms, was not retained.

(v) The Dwellings of the Valar (pp. 73 ff.)

This account of the mansions of the Valar was very largely lost in the subsequent versions. In the published work nothing is told of Manwë's dwelling, save the bare fact that his halls were 'above the everlasting snow, upon Oiolossë, the uttermost tower of Taniquetil' (p. 26). Here

* Palúrien's words (p. 73) 'This tree, *when the twelve hours of its fullest light are past*, will wane again' seem to imply a longer space than twelve hours; but probably the period of waning was not allowed for. In an annotated list of names to the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* it is said that Silpion lit all Valinor with silver light 'for half the twenty-four hours'.

now appears Sorontur King of Eagles, a visitor to Manwë's halls (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 110: 'For Manwë to whom all birds are dear, and to whom they bring news upon Taniquetil from Middle-earth, had sent forth the race of Eagles'); he had in fact appeared already in the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin*, as 'Thorndor [the Gnomish name] King of Eagles whom the Eldar name Ramandur', Ramandur being subsequently emended to Sorontur.

Of Valmar and the dwellings of the Valar in the city scarcely anything survived in later writing, and there remain only phrases here and there (the 'golden streets' and 'silver domes' of Valmar, 'Valmar of many bells') to suggest the solidity of the original description, where Tulkas' house of many storeys had a tower of bronze and Oromë's halls were upheld by living trees with trophies and antlers hung upon their trunks. This is not to say that all such imagining was definitively abandoned: as I have said in the Foreword, the *Lost Tales* were followed by a version so compressed as to be no more than a résumé (as was its purpose), and the later development of the mythology proceeded from that – a process of re-expansion. Many things never referred to again after the *Lost Tales* may have continued to exist in a state of suspension, as it were. Valmar certainly remained a city, with gates, streets, and dwellings. But in the context of the later work one could hardly conceive of the tempestuous Ossë being possessed of a house in Valmar, even if its floor were of seawater and its roof of foam; and of course the hall of Makar and Meássë (where the life described owes something to the myths of the Unending Battle in ancient Scandinavia) disappeared with the disappearance of those divinities – a 'Melko-faction' in Valinor that was bound to prove an embarrassment.

Several features of the original descriptions endured: the rarity of Ulmo's visits to Valmar (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 40), the frequency with which Palúrien and Oromë visit 'the world without' (*ibid.* pp. 29, 41, 47), the association of the gardens of Lórien with Silpion and of the gardens of Vána with Laurelin (*ibid.* p. 99); and much that is said here of the divine 'characters' can be seen to have remained, even if differently expressed. Here also appears Nessa, already as the wife of Tulkas and the sister of Oromë, excelling in the dance; and Ómar-Amillo is now named the brother of Noldorin-Salmar. It appears elsewhere (see p. 93) that Nielíqui was the daughter of Oromë and Vána.

(vi) The Gods of Death and the Fates of Elves and Men (pp. 76–7)

This section of the tale contains its most surprising and difficult elements. Mandos and his wife Nienna appear in the account of the coming of the Valar into the world at the beginning of the tale (p. 66), where they are named 'Fantur of Death, Vefántur Mandos' and 'Fui Nienna', 'mistress of death'. In the present passage it is said that Vefántur named his dwelling Vê by his own name, whereas afterwards (*The Silmarillion* p. 28) he was

called by the name of his dwelling; but in the early writing there is a distinction between the region (Mandos) and the halls (Vê and Fui) within the region. There is here no trace of Mandos as the 'Doomsman of the Valar', who 'pronounces his dooms and his judgements only at the bidding of Manwë', one of the most notable aspects of the later conception of this Vala; nor, since Nienna is the wife of Mandos, has Vairë the Weaver, his wife in the later story, appeared, with her tapestries that portray 'all things that have ever been in Time' and clothe the halls of Mandos 'that ever widen as the ages pass' – in the *Lost Tales* the name Vairë is given to an Elf of Tol Eressëa. Tapestries 'picturing those things that were and shall be' are found here in the halls of Aulë (p. 74).

Most important in the passage concerning Mandos is the clear statement about the fate of Elves who die: that they wait in the halls of Mandos until Vefántur decrees their release, to be reborn in their own children. This latter idea has already appeared in the tale of *The Music of the Ainur* (p. 59), and it remained my father's unchanged conception of Elvish 'immortality' for many years; indeed the idea that the Elves might die only from the wounds of weapons or from grief was never changed – it also has appeared in *The Music of the Ainur* (*ibid.*): 'the Eldar dwell till the Great End unless they be slain or waste in grief', a passage that survived with little alteration in *The Silmarillion* (p. 42).

With the account of Fui Nienna, however, we come upon ideas in deep contradiction to the central thought of the later mythology (and in this passage, also, there is a strain of another kind of mythic conception, in the 'conceits' of 'the distilling of salt humours whereof are tears', and the black clouds woven by Nienna which settle on the world as 'despairs and hopeless mourning, sorrows and blind grief'). Here we learn that Nienna is the judge of Men in her halls named *Fui* after her own name; and some she keeps in the region of Mandos (where is her hall), while the greater number board the black ship Mornië – which does no more than ferry these dead down the coast to Arvalin, where they wander in the dusk until the end of the world. But yet others are driven forth to be seized by Melko and taken to endure 'evil days' in Angamandi (in what sense are they dead, or mortal?); and (most extraordinary of all) there are a very few who go to dwell among the Gods in Valinor. We are far away here from the Gift of Ilúvatar, whereby Men are not bound to the world, but leave it, none know where;* and this is the true meaning of Death (for

* Cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 104: 'Some say that they [Men] too go to the halls of Mandos; but their place of waiting there is not that of the Elves, and Mandos under Ilúvatar alone save Manwë knows whither they go after the time of recollection in those silent halls beside the Outer Sea.' Also *ibid.* p. 186: 'For the spirit of Beren at her bidding tarried in the halls of Mandos, unwilling to leave the world, until Lúthien came to say her last farewell upon the dim shores of the Outer Sea, whence Men that die set out never to return.'

the death of the Elves is a 'seeming death', *The Silmarillion* p. 42): the final and inescapable exit.

But a little illumination, if of a very misty kind, can be shed on the idea of Men, after death, wandering in the dusk of Arvalin, where they 'camp as they may' and 'wait in patience till the Great End'. I must refer here to the details of the changed names of this region, which have been given on p. 79. It is clear from the early word-lists or dictionaries of the two languages (for which see the Appendix on Names) that the meaning of *Harwalin* and *Arvalin* (and probably *Habbanan* also) was 'nigh Valinor' or 'nigh the Valar'. From the Gnomish dictionary it emerges that the meaning of *Eruman* was 'beyond the abode of the Mánir' (i.e. south of Taniquetil, where dwelt Manwë's spirits of the air), and this dictionary also makes it clear that the word *Mánir* was related to Gnomish *manos*, defined as 'a spirit that has gone to the Valar or to Erumáni', and *mani* 'good, holy'. The significance of these etymological connections is very unclear.

But there is also a very early poem on the subject of this region. This, according to my father's notes, was written at Brocton Camp, Staffordshire, in December 1915 or at Étaples in June 1916; and it is entitled *Habbanan beneath the Stars*. In one of the three texts (in which there are no variants) there is a title in Old English: *þā gebletsode* ['blessed'] *felda under þām steorrum*, and in two of them *Habbanan* in the title was emended to *Eruman*; in the third *Eruman* stood from the first. The poem is preceded by a short prose preamble.

Habbanan beneath the Stars

Now Habbanan is that region where one draws nigh to the places that are not of Men. There is the air very sweet and the sky very great by reason of the broadness of the Earth.

In Habbanan beneath the skies
Where all roads end however long
There is a sound of faint guitars
And distant echoes of a song,
For there men gather into rings
Round their red fires while one voice sings –
And all about is night.

★

Not night as ours, unhappy folk,
Where nigh the Earth in hazy bars,
A mist about the springing of the stars,
There trails a thin and wandering smoke
Obscuring with its veil half-seen
The great abysmal still Serene.

★

A globe of dark glass faceted with light
Wherein the splendid winds have dusky flight;
Untrodden spaces of an odorous plain
That watches for the moon that long has lain
And caught the meteors' fiery rain –
Such there is night.

★

There on a sudden did my heart perceive
That they who sang about the Eve,
Who answered the bright-shining stars
With gleaming music of their strange guitars,
These were His wandering happy sons
Encamped upon those aëry leas
Where God's unsullied garment runs
In glory down His mighty knees.

★

A final evidence comes from the early Qenya word-list. The original layer of entries in this list dates (as I believe, see the Appendix on Names) from 1915, and among these original entries, under a root *mana* (from which *Manwë* is derived), is given a word *manimo* which means a soul who is in *manimuine* 'Purgatory'.

This poem, and this entry in the word-list, offer a rare and very suggestive glimpse of the mythic conception in its earliest phase; for here ideas that are drawn from Christian theology are explicitly present. It is disconcerting to perceive that they are still present in this tale. For in the tale there is an account of the fates of dead Men after judgement in the black hall of Fui Nienna. Some ('and these are the many') are ferried by the death-ship to (Habbanan) Eruman, where they wander in the dusk and wait in patience till the Great End; some are seized by Melko and tormented in Angamandi 'the Hells of Iron'; and some few go to dwell with the Gods in Valinor. Taken with the poem and the evidence of the early 'dictionaries', can this be other than a reflection of Purgatory, Hell, and Heaven?

This becomes all the more extraordinary if we refer to the concluding passage of the tale of *The Music of the Ainur* (p. 59), where Ilúvatar said: 'To Men I will give a new gift and a greater', the gift that they might 'fashion and design their life beyond even the original Music of the Ainur that is as fate to all things else', and where it is said that 'it is one with this gift of power that the Children of Men dwell only for a short time in the world alive, yet do not perish utterly for ever . . .' In the final form given in *The Silmarillion* pp. 41–2 this passage was not very greatly changed. The early version does not, it is true, have the sentences:

> But the sons of Men die indeed, and leave the world; wherefore they are called the Guests, or the Strangers. Death is their fate, the gift of Ilúvatar, which as Time wears even the Powers shall envy.

Even so, it seems clear that this central idea, the Gift of Death, was already present.

This matter I must leave, as a conundrum that I cannot solve. The most obvious explanation of the conflict of ideas within these tales would be to suppose *The Music of the Ainur* later than *The Coming of the Valar and the Building of Valinor*; but as I have said (p. 61) all the appearances are to the contrary.

Lastly may be noticed the characteristic linguistic irony whereby *Eruman* ultimately became *Araman*. For *Arvalin* meant simply 'near Valinor', and it was the other name *Eruman* that had associations with spirits of the dead; but *Araman* almost certainly simply means 'beside Aman'. And yet the same element *man-* 'good' remains, for *Aman* was derived from it ('the Unmarred State').

Two minor matters in the conclusion of the tale remain to be noticed. Here Nornorë is the Herald of the Gods; afterwards this was Fionwë (later Eonwë), see p. 63. And in the reference to 'that low place amid the hills where Valinor may just be glimpsed', near to Taniquetil, we have the first mention of the gap in the Mountains of Valinor where was the hill of the city of the Elves.

On blank pages near the end of the text of this tale my father wrote a list of secondary names of the Valar (as Manwë *Súlimo*, etc.). Some of these names appear in the text of the *Tales*; those that do not are given in the Appendix on Names under the primary names. It emerges from this list that Ómar-Amillo is the twin of Salmar-Noldorin (they are named as brothers in the tale, p. 75); that Nielíqui (p. 75) is the daughter of Oromë and Vána; and that Melko has a son ('by Ulbandi') called Kosomot: this, it will emerge later, was Gothmog Lord of Balrogs, whom Ecthelion slew in Gondolin.

IV
THE CHAINING OF MELKO

Following the end of Rúmil's tale of *The Coming of the Valar and the Building of Valinor* there is a long interlude before the next one, though the manuscript continues without even interrupting the paragraph. But on the cover of the notebook *The Chaining of Melko* is given as a separate title, and I have adopted this. The text continues in ink over an erased pencil manuscript.

That night Eriol heard again in his sleep the music that had so moved him on the first night; and the next morning he went again into the gardens early. There he met Vairë, and she called him *Eriol*: 'that was the first making and uttering of that name'. Eriol told Vairë of the 'dream-musics' he had heard, and she said that it was no dream-music, but rather the flute of Timpinen, 'whom those Gnomes Rúmil and Littleheart and others of my house call Tinfang'. She told him that the children called him Tinfang Warble; and that he played and danced in summer dusks for joy of the first stars: 'at every note a new one sparkles forth and glisters. The Noldoli say that they come out too soon if Tinfang Warble plays, and they love him, and the children will watch often from the windows lest he tread the shadowy lawns unseen.' She told Eriol that he was 'shier than a fawn – swift to hide and dart away as any vole: a footstep on a twig and he is away, and his fluting will come mocking from afar'.

'And a marvel of wizardry liveth in that fluting,' said Eriol, 'if that it be indeed which I have heard now for two nights here.'

'There be none,' said Vairë, 'not even of the Solosimpi, who can rival him therein, albeit those same pipers claim him as their kin; yet 'tis said everywhere that this quaint spirit is neither wholly of the Valar nor of the Eldar, but is half a fay of the woods and deils, one of the great companies of the children of Palúrien, and half a Gnome or a Shoreland Piper.[1] Howso that be he is a wondrous wise and strange creature, and he fared hither away with the Eldar long ago, marching nor resting among them but going always ahead piping strangely or whiles sitting aloof. Now does he play about the gardens of the land; but Alalminórë he loves the best, and this garden best of all. Ever and again we miss his piping for long months, and we say: "Tinfang Warble has gone heart-breaking in the Great Lands, and many a one in those far regions will hear his piping in the dusk outside tonight." But on a sudden will his flute be heard again at an

hour of gentle gloaming, or will he play beneath a goodly moon and the stars go bright and blue.'

'Aye,' said Eriol, 'and the hearts of those that hear him go beating with a quickened longing. Meseemed 'twas my desire to open the window and leap forth, so sweet was the air that came to me from without, nor might I drink deep enough, but as I listened I wished to follow I know not whom, I know not whither, out into the magic of the world beneath the stars.'

'Then of a sooth 'twas Timpinen who played to you,' said Vairë, 'and honoured are you, for this garden has been empty of his melody many a night. Now, however, for such is the eeriness of that sprite, you will ever love the evenings of summer and the nights of stars, and their magic will cause your heart to ache unquenchably.'

'But have you not all heard him many times and often, that dwell here,' said Eriol, 'yet do not seem to me like those who live with a longing that is half understood and may not be fulfilled.'

'Nor do we so, for we have *limpë*,' said she, '*limpë* that alone can cure, and a draught of it giveth a heart to fathom all music and song.'

'Then,' said Eriol, 'would I might drain a goblet of that good drink'; but Vairë told him that that might only be if he sought out Meril the queen.

Of this converse of Eriol and Vairë upon the lawn that fair daytide came it that Eriol set out not many days thereafter – and Tinfang Warble had played to him many times by dusk, by starry light and moongleam, till his heart was full. In that was Littleheart his guide, and he sought the dwellings of Meril-i-Turinqui in her *korin* of elms.

Now the house of that fair lady was in that very city, for at the foot of the great tower which Ingil had built was a wide grove of the most ancient and beautiful elms that all that Land of Elms possessed. High to heaven they rose in three lessening storeys of bright foliage, and the sunlight that filtered through was very cool – a golden green. Amidst of these was a great green sward of grass smooth as a web of stuffs, and about it those trees stood in a circle, so that shades were heavy at its edge but the gaze of the sun fell all day on its middle. There stood a beautiful house, and it was builded all of white and of a whiteness that shone, but its roof was so o'ergrown with mosses and with houseleek and many curious clinging plants that of what it was once fashioned might not be seen for the glorious maze of colours, golds and red-russets, scarlets and greens.

Innumerable birds chattered in its eaves; and some sang upon the housetops, while doves and pigeons circled in flights about the *korin*'s borders or swooped to settle and sun upon the sward. Now

all that dwelling was footed in flowers. Blossomy clusters were about it, ropes and tangles, spikes and tassels all in bloom, flowers in panicles and umbels or with great wide faces gazing at the sun. There did they loose upon the faintly stirring airs their several odours blended to a great fragrance of exceeding marvellous enchantment, but their hues and colours were scattered and gathered seemingly as chance and the happiness of their growth directed them. All day long there went a hum of bees among those flowers: bees fared about the roof and all the scented beds and ways; even about the cool porches of the house. Now Littleheart and Eriol climbed the hill and it was late afternoon, and the sun shone brazen upon the western side of Ingil's tower. Soon came they to a mighty wall of hewn stone blocks, and this leaned outward, but grasses grew atop of it, and harebells, and yellow daisies.

A wicket they found in the wall, and beyond was a glade beneath the elms, and there ran a pathway bordered of one side with bushes while of the other flowed a little running water whispering over a brown bed of leafy mould. This led even to the sward's edge, and coming thither said Littleheart pointing to that white house: 'Behold the dwelling of Meril-i-Turinqui, and as I have no errand with so great a lady I will get me back again.' Then Eriol went over the sunny lawn alone until he was nigh shoulder-high in the tall flowers that grew before the porches of the door; and as he drew near a sound of music came to him, and a fair lady amid many maidens stepped forth as it were to meet him. Then said she smiling: 'Welcome, O mariner of many seas – wherefore do you seek the pleasure of my quiet gardens and their gentle noise, when the salt breezes of the sea and the snuff of winds and a swaying boat should rather be your joy?'

For a while Eriol might say nought thereto, being tongue-tied by the beauty of that lady and the loveliness of that place of flowers; yet at length he muttered that he had known sea enough, but of this most gracious land he might never be sated. 'Nay,' said she, 'on a day of autumn will come the winds and a driven gull, maybe, will wail overhead, and lo! you will be filled with desire, remembering the black coasts of your home.'[2] 'Nay, lady,' said Eriol, and now he spoke with eager voice, 'nay, not so, for the spirit that flutes upon twilit lawns has filled my heart with music, and I thirst for a draught of *limpë*!'

Then straightway did the smiling face of Meril grow grave, and bidding her maidens depart she prayed Eriol follow her to a space nigh to the house, and this was of cool grass but not very short. Fruit-trees grew there, and about the roots of one, an apple-tree of

great girth and age, the soil was piled so that there was now a broad seat around its bole, soft and grass-covered. There sat Meril and she gazed upon Eriol and said: 'Know you then what it is that you ask?' and he said: 'I know nought save that I desire to know the soul of every song and of all music and to dwell always in fellowship and kinship with this wondrous people of the Eldar of the Isle, and to be free of unquenchable longing even till the Faring Forth, even till the Great End!'

But Meril said: 'Fellowship is possible, maybe, but kinship not so, for Man is Man and Elda Elda, and what Ilúvatar has made unalike may not become alike while the world remains. Even didst thou dwell here till the Great End and for the health of *limpë* found no death, yet then must thou die and leave us, for Man must die once. And hearken, O Eriol, think not to escape unquenchable longing with a draught of *limpë* – for only wouldst thou thus exchange desires, replacing thy old ones with new and deeper and more keen. Desire unsatisfied dwells in the hearts of both those races that are called the Children of Ilúvatar, but with the Eldar most, for their hearts are filled with a vision of beauty in great glory.' 'Yet, O Queen,' said Eriol thereto, 'let me but taste of this drink and become an agelong fellow of your people: O queen of the Eldalië, that I may be as the happy children of Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva.' 'Nay, not yet can I do that,' said Meril, 'for 'tis a graver matter far to give this drink to one who has known life and days already in the lands of Men than for a child to drink who knows but little else; yet even these did we keep a long while ere we gave them the wine of song, teaching them first much lore and testing their hearts and souls. Therefore I bid you now bide still longer and learn all that you may in this our isle. Lo, what do you know of the world, or of the ancient days of Men, or of the roots which those things that now are have far back in time, or what of the Eldalië and all their wisdom, that you should claim our cup of youth and poesy?'

'The tongue of Tol Eressëa do I know, and of the Valar have I heard, and the great world's beginning, and the building of Valinor; to musics have I hearkened and to poesy and the laughter of the Elves, and all I have found true and good, and my heart knows and it saith to me that these shall I always henceforth love, and love alone' – thus answered Eriol, and his heart was sore for the refusal of the Queen.

'Yet nothing do you know of the coming of the Elves, of the fates wherein they move, nor their nature and the place that Ilúvatar has given to them. Little do you reck of that great splendour of their

home in Eldamar upon the hill of Kôr, nor all the sorrow of our parting. What know you of our travail down all the dark ways of the world, and the anguish we have known because of Melko; of the sorrows we have suffered, and do yet, because of Men, of all the fears that darken our hopes because of Men? Know you the wastes of tears that lie between our life in Tol Eressëa and that time of laughter that we knew in Valinor? O child of Men who wouldst be sharer of the fates of the Eldalië, what of our high desires and all those things we look for still to be – for lo! if you drink this drink all these must you know and love, having one heart with us – nay, even at the Faring Forth, should Eldar and Men fall into war at the last, still must you stand by us against the children of your kith and kin, but until then never may you fare away home though longings gnaw you – and the desires that at whiles consume a full-grown man who drinketh *limpë* are a fire of unimagined torture – knew you these things, O Eriol, when you fared hither with your request?'

'Nay, I knew them not,' said Eriol sadly, 'though often have I questioned folk thereof.'

'Then lo!' said Meril, 'I will begin a tale, and tell you some of it ere the long afternoon grows dim – but then must you fare hence again in patience'; and Eriol bowed his head.

'Then,' said Meril, 'now I will tell you of a time of peace the world once knew, and it is known as "Melko's Chains".[3] Of the Earth I will tell you as the Eldar found it and of the manner of their awakening into it.

Behold, Valinor is built, and the Gods dwell in peace, for Melko is far in the world delving deep and fortifying himself in iron and cold, but Makar and Meássë ride upon the gales and rejoice in earthquakes and the overmastering furies of the ancient seas. Light and beautiful is Valinor, but there is a deep twilight upon the world, for the Gods have gathered so much of that light that had before flowed about the airs. Seldom now falls the shimmering rain as it was used, and there reigns a gloom lit with pale streaks or shot with red where Melko spouts to heaven from a fire-torn hill.

Then Palúrien Yavanna fared forth from her fruitful gardens to survey the wide lands of her domain, and wandered the dark continents sowing seed and brooding upon hill and dale. Alone in that agelong gloaming she sang songs of the utmost enchantment, and of such deep magic were they that they floated about the rocky places and their echoes lingered for years of time in hill and empty plain, and all the good magics of all later days are whispers of the memories of her echoing song.

Then things began to grow there, fungus and strange growths heaved in damp places and lichens and mosses crept stealthily across the rocks and ate their faces, and they crumbled and made dust, and the creeping plants died in the dust, and there was mould, and ferns and warted plants grew in it silently, and strange creatures thrust their heads from crannies and crept over the stones. But Yavanna wept, for this was not the fair vigour that she had thought of – and thereupon Oromë came to her leaping in the dusk, but Tuivána would not leave the radiance of Kulullin nor Nessa the green swards of her dancing.

Then Oromë and Palúrien put forth all their might, and Oromë blew great blasts upon his horn as though he would awake the grey rocks to life and lustihead. Behold, at these blasts the great forest reared and moaned about the hills, and all the trees of dark leaf came to being, and the world was shaggy with a growth of pines and odorous with resinous trees, and firs and cedars hung their blue and olive draperies about the slopes, and yews began the centuries of their growth. Now was Oromë less gloomy and Palúrien was comforted, seeing the beauty of the first stars of Varda gleaming in the pale heavens through the shadows of the first trees' boughs, and hearing the murmur of the dusky forests and the creaking of the branches when Manwë stirred the airs.

At that time did many strange spirits fare into the world, for there were pleasant places dark and quiet for them to dwell in. Some came from Mandos, aged spirits that journeyed from Ilúvatar with him who are older than the world and very gloomy and secret, and some from the fortresses of the North where Melko then dwelt in the deep dungeons of Utumna. Full of evil and unwholesome were they; luring and restlessness and horror they brought, turning the dark into an ill and fearful thing, which it was not before. But some few danced thither with gentle feet exuding evening scents, and these came from the gardens of Lórien.

Still is the world full of these in the days of light, lingering alone in shadowy hearts of primeval forests, calling secret things across a starry waste, and haunting caverns in the hills that few have found: – but the pinewoods are yet too full of these old unelfin and inhuman spirits for the quietude of Eldar or of Men.

When this great deed was done then Palúrien would fain rest from her long labours and return to taste the sweet fruits of Valinor, and be refreshed beneath the tree of Laurelin whose dew is light, and Oromë was for beechwoods on the plains of the great Gods; but Melko who long time had delved in fear because of the wrath of the

Valar at his treacherous dealing with their lamps burst forth now into a great violence, for he had thought the world abandoned by the Gods to him and his. Beneath the very floors of Ossë he caused the Earth to quake and split and his lower fires to mingle with the sea. Vaporous storms and a great roaring of uncontrolled sea-motions burst upon the world, and the forests groaned and snapped. The sea leapt upon the land and tore it, and wide regions sank beneath its rage or were hewn into scattered islets, and the coast was dug into caverns. The mountains rocked and their hearts melted, and stone poured like liquid fire down their ashen sides and flowed even to the sea, and the noise of the great battles of the fiery beaches came roaring even through the Mountains of Valinor and drowned the singing of the Gods. Then rose Kémi Palúrien, even Yavanna that giveth fruits, and Aulë who loveth all her works and the substances of the earth, and they climbed to the halls of Manwë and spake to him, saying that all that goodliness was going utterly to wreck for the fiery evil of Melko's untempered heart, and Yavanna pleaded that all her agelong labour in the twilight be not drowned and buried. Thither, as they spake, came Ossë raging like a tide among the cliffs, for he was wroth at the upheaval of his realm and feared the displeasure of Ulmo his overlord. Then arose Manwë Súlimo, Lord of Gods and Elves, and Varda Tinwetári was beside him, and he spake in a voice of thunder from Taniquetil, and the Gods in Valmar heard it, and Vefántur knew the voice in Mandos, and Lórien was aroused in Murmuran.

Then was a great council held between the Two Trees at the mingling of the lights, and Ulmo came thither from the outer deeps; and of the redes there spoken the Gods devised a plan of wisdom, and the thought of Ulmo was therein and much of the craft of Aulë and the wide knowledge of Manwë.

Behold, Aulë now gathered six metals, copper, silver, tin, lead, iron, and gold, and taking a portion of each made with his magic a seventh which he named therefore *tilkal*,* and this had all the properties of the six and many of its own. Its colour was bright green or red in varying lights and it could not be broken, and Aulë alone could forge it. Thereafter he forged a mighty chain, making it of all seven metals welded with spells to a substance of uttermost hardness and brightness and smoothness, but of *tilkal* he had not sufficient to add more than a little to each link. Nonetheless he made two manacles of *tilkal* only and four fetters likewise. Now the chain was

* Footnote in the manuscript: '*T*(*ambë*) *I*(*lsa*) *L*(*atúken*) *K*(*anu*) *A*(*nga*) *L*(*aurë*). *ilsa* and *laurë* are the 'magic' names of ordinary *telpë* and *kulu*.'

named *Angaino*, the oppressor, and the manacles *Vorotemnar* that bind for ever, but the fetters *Ilterendi* for they might not be filed or cleft.

But the desire of the Gods was to seek out Melko with great power – and to entreat him, if it might be, to better deeds; yet did they purpose, if naught else availed, to overcome him by force or guile, and set him in a bondage from which there should be no escape.

Now as Aulë smithied the Gods arrayed themselves in armour, which they had of Makar, and he was fain to see them putting on weapons and going as to war, howso their wrath be directed against Melko. But when the great Gods and all their folk were armed, then Manwë climbed into his blue chariot whose three horses were the whitest that roamed in Oromë's domain, and his hand bore a great white bow that would shoot an arrow like a gust of wind across the widest seas. Fionwë his son stood behind him and Nornorë who was his herald ran before; but Oromë rode alone upon a chestnut horse and had a spear, and Tulkas strode mightily beside his stirrup, having a tunic of hide and a brazen belt and no weapon save a gauntlet upon his right hand, iron-bound. Telimektar his son but just war-high was by his shoulder with a long sword girt about his waist by a sîlver girdle. There rode the Fánturi upon a car of black, and there was a black horse upon the side of Mandos and a dappled grey upon the side of Lórien, and Salmar and Ómar came behind running speedily, but Aulë who was late tarrying overlong at his smithy came last, and he was not armed, but caught up his long-handled hammer as he left his forge and fared hastily to the borders of the Shadowy Sea, and the fathoms of his chain were borne behind by four of his smithy-folk.

Upon those shores Falman-Ossë met them and drew them across on a mighty raft whereon he himself sat in shimmering mail; but Ulmo Vailimo was far ahead roaring in his deep-sea car and trumpeting in wrath upon a horn of conches. Thus was it that the Gods got them over the sea and through the isles, and set foot upon the wide lands, and marched in great power and anger ever more to the North. Thus they passed the Mountains of Iron and Hisilómë that lies dim beyond, and came to the rivers and hills of ice. There Melko shook the earth beneath them, and he made snow-capped heights to belch forth flame, yet for the greatness of their array his vassals who infested all their ways availed nothing to hinder them on their journey. There in the deepest North beyond even the shattered pillar Ringil they came upon the huge gates of deep Utumna, and Melko shut them with great clangour before their faces.

Then Tulkas angered smote them thunderously with his great fist, and they rang and stirred not, but Oromë alighting grasped his horn and blew such a blast thereon that they fled open instantly, and Manwë raised his immeasurable voice and bade Melko come forth.

But though deep down within those halls Melko heard him and was in doubt, he would not come, but sent Langon his servant and said by him that "Behold, he was rejoiced and in wonder to see the Gods before his gates. Now would he gladly welcome them, yet for the poverty of his abode not more than two of them could he fitly entertain; and he begged that neither Manwë nor Tulkas be of the two, for the one merited and the other demanded hospitality of great cost and richness. Should this not be to their mind then would he fain hearken to Manwë's herald and learn what it were the Gods so greatly desired that they must leave their soft couches and indolence of Valinor for the bleak places where Melko laboured humbly and did his toilsome work."

Then Manwë and Ulmo and all the Gods were exceeding wroth at the subtlety and fawning insolence of his words, and Tulkas would have started straightway raging down the narrow stairs that descended out of sight beyond the gates, but the others withheld him, and Aulë gave counsel that it was clear from Melko's words that he was awake and wary in this matter, and it could most plainly be seen which of the Gods he was most in fear of and desired least to see standing in his halls – "therefore," said he, "let us devise how these twain may come upon him unawares and how fear may perchance drive him into betterment of ways." To this Manwë assented, saying that all their force might scarce dig Melko from his stronghold, whereas that deceit must be very cunningly woven that would ensnare the master of guile. "Only by his pride is Melko assailable," quoth Manwë, "or by such a struggle as would rend the earth and bring evil upon us all," and Manwë sought to avoid all strife twixt Ainur and Ainur. When therefore the Gods had concerted a plan to catch Melko in his overweening pride they wove cunning words purporting to come from Manwë himself, and these they put in the mouth of Nornorë, who descended and spoke them before the seat of Melko. "Behold," said he, "the Gods be come to ask the pardon of Melko, for seeing his great anger and the rending of the world beneath his rage they have said one to another: 'Lo! wherefore is Melko displeased?' and one to another have answered beholding the tumults of his power: 'Is he not then the greatest among us – why dwells not the mightiest of the Valar in Valinor? Of a surety he has cause for indignation. Let us get us to Utumna and beseech him to dwell in

Valinor that Valmar be not empty of his presence.' To this," said he, "Tulkas alone would not assent, but Manwë bowed to the common voice (this the Gods said knowing the rancour that Melko had for Poldórëa) and now have they come constraining Tulkas with violence to beg thee to pardon them each one and to fare home with them and complete their glory, dwelling, if it be thy pleasure, in the halls of Makar, until such time as Aulë can build thee a great house; and its towers shall overtop Taniquetil." To this did Melko answer eagerly, for already his boundless pride surged up and drowned his cunning.

"At last do the Gods speak fair words and just, but ere I grant their boon my heart must be appeased for old affronts. Therefore must they come putting aside their weapons at the gate, and do homage to me in these my deep halls of Utumna: – but lo! Tulkas I will not see, and if I come to Valinor then will I thrust him out." These things did Nornorë report, and Tulkas smote his hands in wrath, but Manwë returned answer that the Gods would do as Melko's heart desired, yet would Tulkas come and that in chains and be given to Melko's power and pleasure; and this was Melko eager to grant for the humiliation of the Valar, and the chaining of Tulkas gave him great mirth.

Then the Valar laid aside their weapons at the gates, setting however folk to guard them, and placed the chain Angaino about the neck and arms of Tulkas, and even he might scarce support its great weight alone; and now they follow Manwë and his herald into the caverns of the North. There sat Melko in his chair, and that chamber was lit with flaming braziers and full of evil magic, and strange shapes moved with feverish movement in and out, but snakes of great size curled and uncurled without rest about the pillars that upheld that lofty roof. Then said Manwë: "Behold, we have come and salute you here in your own halls; come now and be in Valinor."

But Melko might not thus easily forgo his sport. "Nay first," said he, "wilt thou come Manwë and kneel before me, and after you all the Valar; but last shall come Tulkas and kiss my foot, for I have in mind something for which I owe Poldórëa no great love." Now he purposed to spurn Tulkas in the mouth in payment of that buffet long ago, but the Valar had foreseen something of this and did but make play of humiliation that Melko might thereby be lured from his stronghold of Utumna. In sooth Manwë hoped even to the end for peace and amity, and the Gods would at his bidding indeed have received Melko into Valinor under truce and pledges of friendship, had not his pride been insatiate and his obstinacy in evil unconquerable. Now however was scant mercy left for him within their

hearts, seeing that he abode in his demand that Manwë should do homage and Tulkas bend to those ruthless feet; nonetheless the Lord of Gods and Elves approaches now the chair of Melko and makes to kneel, for such was their plan the more to ensnare that evil one; but lo, so fiercely did wrath blaze up in the hearts of Tulkas and Aulë at that sight that Tulkas leapt across the hall at a bound despite Angaino, and Aulë was behind him and Oromë followed his father and the hall was full of tumult. Then Melko sprang to his feet shouting in a loud voice and his folk came through all those dismal passages to his aid. Then lashed he at Manwë with an iron flail he bore, but Manwë breathed gently upon it and its iron tassels were blown backward, and thereupon Tulkas smote Melko full in his teeth with his fist of iron, and he and Aulë grappled with him, and straight he was wrapped thirty times in the fathoms of Angaino.

Then said Oromë: "Would that he might be slain" – and it would have been well indeed, but the great Gods may not yet be slain.[4] Now is Melko held in dire bondage and beaten to his knees, and he is constrained to command all his vassalage that they molest not the Valar – and indeed the most of these, affrighted at the binding of their lord, fled away to the darkest places.

Tulkas indeed dragged Melko out before the gates, and there Aulë set upon each wrist one of the Vorotemnar and upon each ankle twain of the Ilterendi, and *tilkal* went red at the touch of Melko, and those bands have never since been loosened from his hands and feet. Then the chain is smithied to each of these and Melko borne thus helpless away, while Tulkas and Ulmo break the gates of Utumna and pile hills of stone upon them. And the saps and cavernous places beneath the surface of the earth are full yet of the dark spirits that were prisoned that day when Melko was taken, and yet many are the ways whereby they find the outer world from time to time – from fissures where they shriek with the voices of the tide on rocky coasts, down dark water-ways that wind unseen for many leagues, or out of the blue arches where the glaciers of Melko find their end.

After these things did the Gods return to Valmar by long ways and dark, guarding Melko every moment, and he gnawed his consuming rage. His lip was split and his face has had a strange leer upon it since that buffet dealt him by Tulkas, who even of policy could not endure to see the majesty of Manwë bow before the accursed one.

Now is a court set upon the slopes of Taniquetil and Melko arraigned before all the Vali[5] great and small, lying bound before the silver chair of Manwë. Against him speaketh Ossë, and Oromë

and Ulmo in deep ire, and Vána in abhorrence, proclaiming his deeds of cruelty and violence; yet Makar still spake for him, although not warmly, for said he: "'Twere an ill thing if peace were for always: already no blow echoes ever in the eternal quietude of Valinor, wherefore, if one might neither see deed of battle nor riotous joy even in the world without, then 'twould be irksome indeed, and I for one long not for such times!" Thereat arose Palúrien in sorrow and tears, and told of the plight of Earth and of the great beauty of her designs and of those things she desired dearly to bring forth; of all the wealth of flower and herbage, of tree and fruit and grain that the world might bear if it had but peace. "Take heed, O Valar, that both Elves and Men be not devoid of all solace whenso the times come for them to find the Earth"; but Melko writhed in rage at the name of Eldar and of Men and at his own impotence.

Now Aulë mightily backed her in this and after him many else of the Gods, yet Mandos and Lórien held their peace, nor do they ever speak much at the councils of the Valar or indeed at other times, but Tulkas arose angrily from the midst of the assembly and went from among them, for he could not endure parleying where he thought the guilt to be clear. Liever would he have unchained Melko and fought him then and there alone upon the plain of Valinor, giving him many a sore buffet in meed of his illdoings, rather than making high debate of them. Howbeit Manwë sate and listened and was moved by the speech of Palúrien, yet was it his thought that Melko was an Ainu and powerful beyond measure for the future good or evil of the world; wherefore he put away harshness and his doom was this. For three ages during the displeasure of the Gods should Melko be chained in a vault of Mandos by that chain Angaino, and thereafter should he fare into the light of the Two Trees, but only so that he might for four ages yet dwell as a servant in the house of Tulkas, and obey him in requital of his ancient malice. "Thus," said Manwë, "and yet but hardly, mayst thou win favour again sufficient that the Gods suffer thee to abide thereafter in an house of thine own and to have some slight estate among them as befitteth a Vala and a lord of the Ainur."

Such was the doom of Manwë, and even to Makar and Meássë it seemed good, albeit Tulkas and Palúrien thought it merciful to peril. Now doth Valinor enter upon its greatest time of peace, and all the earth beside, while Melko bideth in the deepest vaults of Mandos and his heart grows black within him.

Behold the tumults of the sea abate slowly, and the fires beneath the mountains die; the earth quakes no more and the fierceness of

the cold and the stubbornness of the hills and rivers of ice is melted to the uttermost North and to the deepest South, even to the regions about Ringil and Helkar. Then Palúrien goes once more out over the Earth, and the forests multiply and spread, and often is Oromë's horn heard behind her in the dimness: now do nightshade and bryony begin to creep about the brakes, and holly and ilex are seen upon the earth. Even the faces of the cliffs are grown with ivies and trailing plants for the calm of the winds and the quietude of the sea, and all the caverns and the shores are festooned with weeds, and great sea-growths come to life swaying gently when Ossë moves the waters.

Now came that Vala and sat upon a headland of the Great Lands, having leisure in the stillness of his realm, and he saw how Palúrien was filling the quiet dusk of the Earth with flitting shapes. Bats and owls whom Vefántur set free from Mandos swooped about the sky, and nightingales sent by Lórien from Valinor trilled beside still waters. Far away a nightjar croaked, and in dark places snakes that slipped from Utumna when Melko was bound moved noiselessly about; a frog croaked upon a bare pool's border.

Then he sent word to Ulmo of the new things that were done, and Ulmo desired not that the waters of the inner seas be longer unpeopled, but came forth seeking Palúrien, and she gave him spells, and the seas began to gleam with fish or strange creatures crawled at bottom; yet the shellfish and the oysters no-one of Valar or of Elves knows whence they are, for already they gaped in the silent waters or ever Melko plunged therein from on high, and pearls there were before the Eldar thought or dreamed of any gem.

Three great fish luminous in the dark of the sunless days went ever with Ulmo, and the roof of Ossë's dwelling beneath the Great Sea shone with phosphorescent scales. Behold that was a time of great peace and quiet, and life struck deep roots into the new-made soils of Earth, and seeds were sown that waited only for the light to come, and it is known and praised as the age of "Melko's Chains".'

NOTES

1 The following passage was added here, apparently very soon after the writing of the text, but was later firmly struck through:

> The truth is that he is a son of Linwë Tinto King of the Pipers who was lost of old upon the great march from Palisor, and wandering in Hisilómë found the lonely twilight spirit (Tindriel) Wendelin dancing in a glade of beeches. Loving her he was content to leave

his folk and dance for ever in the shadows, but his children Timpinen and Tinúviel long after joined the Eldar again, and tales there are concerning them both, though they are seldom told.

The name *Tindriel* stood alone in the manuscript as written, but it was then bracketed and *Wendelin* added in the margin. These are the first references in the consecutive narrative to Thingol (Linwë Tinto), Hithlum (Hisilómë), Melian (Tindriel, Wendelin), and Lúthien Tinúviel; but I postpone discussion of these allusions.

2 Cf. the explanation of the names *Eriol* and *Angol* as 'ironcliffs' referred to in the Appendix on Names (entry *Eriol*).

3 Associated with the story of the sojourn of Eriol (Ælfwine) in Tol Eressëa, and the 'Lost Tales' that he heard there, are two 'schemes' or synopses setting out the plan of the work. One of these is, for much of its length, a résumé of the *Tales* as they are extant; the other, certainly the later, is divergent. In this second scheme, in which the voyager is called Ælfwine, the tale on the second night by the Tale-fire is given to 'Evromord the Door-ward', though the narrative-content was to be the same (The Coming of the Gods; the World-fashioning and the Building of Valinor; the Planting of the Two Trees). After this is written (a later addition): 'Ælfwine goes to beg *limpë* of Meril; she sends him back.' The third night by the Tale-fire is thus described:

> The Door-ward continues of the Primeval Twilight. The Furies of Melko. Melko's Chains and the awakening of the Elves. (How Fankil and many dark shapes escape into the world.) [Given to Meril but to be placed as here and much abridged.]

It seems certain that this was a revision in intention only, never achieved. It is notable that in the actual text, as also in the first of these two 'schemes', Rúmil's function in the house is that of door-ward – and Rúmil, not Evromord, was the name that was preserved long after as the recounter of The Music of the Ainur.

4 The text as originally written read: 'but the great Gods may not be slain, though their children may and all those lesser people of the Vali, albeit only at the hands of some one of the Valar.'

5 *Vali* is an emendation from *Valar*. Cf. Rúmil's words (p. 58): 'they whom we now call the Valar (or Vali, it matters not).'

Commentary on *The Chaining of Melko*

In the interlude between this tale and the last we encounter the figure of Timpinen or Tinfang. This being had existed in my father's mind for some years, and there are two poems about him. The first is entitled *Tinfang Warble*; it is very brief, but exists in three versions. According to a note by my father the original was written at Oxford in 1914, and it was

rewritten at Leeds in '1920–23'. It was finally published in 1927 in a further altered form, which I give here.*

Tinfang Warble

O the hoot! O the hoot!
How he trillups on his flute!
O the hoot of Tinfang Warble!

Dancing all alone,
Hopping on a stone,
Flitting like a fawn,
In the twilight on the lawn,
And his name is Tinfang Warble!

The first star has shown
And its lamp is blown
to a flame of flickering blue.
He pipes not to me,
He pipes not to thee,
He whistles for none of you.
His music is his own,
The tunes of Tinfang Warble!

In the earliest version Tinfang is called a 'leprawn', and in the early glossary of the Gnomish speech he is a 'fay'.

The second poem is entitled *Over Old Hills and Far Away*. This exists in five texts, of which the earliest bears an Old English title as well (of the same meaning): *Ȝeond fyrne beorgas ȝ heonan feor*. Notes by my father state that it was written at Brocton Camp in Staffordshire between December 1915 and February 1916, and rewritten at Oxford in 1927. The final version given here differs in many details of wording and in places whole lines from earlier versions, from which I note at the end a few interesting readings.

Over Old Hills and Far Away

It was early and still in the night of June,
And few were the stars, and far was the moon,
The drowsy trees drooping, and silently creeping
Shadows woke under them while they were sleeping.

I stole to the window with stealthy tread
Leaving my white and unpressed bed;
And something alluring, aloof and queer,
Like perfume of flowers from the shores of the mere

* Publication was in a periodical referred to in the cutting preserved from it as 'I.U.M[agazine]').

That in Elvenhome lies, and in starlit rains
Twinkles and flashes, came up to the panes
Of my high lattice-window. Or was it a sound?
I listened and marvelled with eyes on the ground.
For there came from afar a filtered note
Enchanting sweet, now clear, now remote,
As clear as a star in a pool by the reeds,
As faint as the glimmer of dew on the weeds.

Then I left the window and followed the call
Down the creaking stairs and across the hall
Out through a door that swung tall and grey,
And over the lawn, and away, away!

It was Tinfang Warble that was dancing there,
Fluting and tossing his old white hair,
Till it sparkled like frost in a winter moon;
And the stars were about him, and blinked to his tune
Shimmering blue like sparks in a haze,
As always they shimmer and shake when he plays.

My feet only made there the ghost of a sound
On the shining white pebbles that ringed him round,
Where his little feet flashed on a circle of sand,
And the fingers were white on his flickering hand.
In the wink of a star he had leapt in the air
With his fluttering cap and his glistening hair;
And had cast his long flute right over his back,
Where it hung by a ribbon of silver and black.

His slim little body went fine as a shade,
And he slipped through the reeds like a mist in the glade;
And he laughed like thin silver, and piped a thin note,
As he flapped in the shadows his shadowy coat.
O! the toes of his slippers were twisted and curled,
But he danced like a wind out into the world.

He is gone, and the valley is empty and bare
Where lonely I stand and lonely I stare.
Then suddenly out in the meadows beyond,
Then back in the reeds by the shimmering pond,
Then afar from a copse where the mosses are thick
A few little notes came trillaping quick.

I leapt o'er the stream and I sped from the glade,
For Tinfang Warble it was that played;
I must follow the hoot of his twilight flute

Over reed, over rush, under branch, over root,
And over dim fields, and through rustling grasses
That murmur and nod as the old elf passes,
Over old hills and far away
Where the harps of the Elvenfolk softly play.

Earlier readings:

1–2 'Twas a very quiet evening once in June –
And I thought that stars had grown bright too soon –

Cf. the prose text, p. 94: 'The Noldoli say that [the stars] come out too soon if Tinfang Warble plays'.

8 from the shores of the mere] by the fairies' mere

9 Elvenhome] emendation made on the text of the final version, replacing 'Fairyland'.

24 Till the stars came out, as it seemed, too soon.

Cf. the note to line 2.

25–6 They always come out when he warbles and plays,
And they shine bright blue as long as he stays.

Cf. the prose text, p. 95: 'or will he play beneath a goodly moon and the stars go bright and blue.'

54 Elvenfolk] emendation made on the text of the final version, replacing 'fairies'.

★

The first part of this story of *The Chaining of Melko* came to have a very different form in later versions, where (*The Silmarillion* p. 35) it was during the sojourn of the Valar on the Isle of Almaren, under the light of the Two Lamps, that 'the seeds that Yavanna had sown began swiftly to sprout and to burgeon, and there arose a multitude of growing things great and small, mosses and grasses and great ferns, and trees whose tops were crowned with cloud'; and that 'beasts came forth and dwelt in the grassy plains, or in the rivers and the lakes, or walked in the shadows of the woods'. This was the Spring of Arda; but after the coming of Melkor and the delving of Utumno 'green things fell sick and rotted, and rivers were choked with weeds and slime, and fens were made, rank and poisonous, the breeding place of flies; and forests grew dark and perilous, the haunts of fear; and beasts became monsters of horn and ivory and dyed the earth with blood'. Then came the fall of the Lamps, and 'thus ended the Spring of Arda' (p. 37). After the building of Valinor and the arising of the Two Trees 'Middle-earth lay in a twilight beneath the stars' (p. 39), and Yavanna and Oromë alone of the Valar returned there at times: 'Yavanna would walk there in the shadows, grieving because the growth and promise of the Spring of Arda was stayed. And she set a sleep upon many things that had arisen in the Spring, so that they should not

age, but should wait for a time of awakening that yet should be' (p. 47). 'But already the oldest living things had arisen: in the seas the great weeds, and on earth the shadow of great trees; and in the valleys of the night-clad hills there were dark creatures old and strong.'

In this earliest narrative, on the other hand, there is no mention of the beginning of growth during the time when the Lamps shone (see p. 69), and the first trees and low plants appeared under Yavanna's spells in the twilight after their overthrow. Moreover in the last sentence of this tale 'seeds were sown', in that time of 'quiet dusk' while Melko was chained, 'that waited only for the light to come'. Thus in the early story Yavanna sows in the dark with a view (it seems) to growth and flowering in later days of sunlight, whereas in all the subsequent versions the goddess in the time of darkness sows no more, but rather lays a sleep on many things that had arisen beneath the light of the Lamps in the Spring of Arda. But both in the early tale and in *The Silmarillion* there is a suggestion that Yavanna foresees that light will come in the end to the Great Lands, to Middle-earth.

The conception of a flowing, liquid light in the airs of Earth is again very marked, and it seems that in the original idea the twilight ages of the world east of the sea were still illumined by the traces of this light ('Seldom now falls the shimmering rain as it was used, and there reigns a gloom lit with pale streaks', p. 98) as well as by the stars of Varda, even though 'the Gods have gathered so much of that light that had before flowed about the airs' (*ibid.*).

The renewed cosmic violence is conceivably the precursor of the great Battle of the Powers in the later mythology (*The Silmarillion* p. 51); but in this earliest tale Melko's upheavals are the cause of the Valar's visitation, whereas the Battle of the Powers, in which the shape of Middle-earth was changed, resulted from it. In *The Silmarillion* it was the discovery of the newly-awakened Elves by Oromë that led the Valar to the assault on Utumno.

In its rich narrative detail, as in its 'primitive' air, the tale told by Meril-i-Turinqi of the capture of Melko bears little relation to the later narrative; while the tone of the encounter at Utumna, and the treacherous shifts of the Valar to ensnare him, is foreign to it likewise. But some elements survived: the chain Angainor forged by Aulë (if not the marvellous metal *tilkal* with its most uncharacteristically derived name), the wrestling of Tulkas with Melko, his imprisonment in Mandos for 'three ages', and the idea that his fortress was not destroyed to its foundations. It emerges too that the clement and trustful character of Manwë was early defined; while the reference to Mandos' seldom speaking is possibly a foreshadowing of his pronouncing his judgements only at the bidding of Manwë (see p. 90). The origin of nightingales in the domain of Lórien in Valinor is already present.

Lastly, it may seem from the account of the journey of the Valar in this tale that Hisilómë (which survived without any further change as the

Quenya name of Hithlum) was here a quite distinct region from the later Hithlum, since it is placed *beyond* the Mountains of Iron: in *The Silmarillion* the Mountains of Iron are said to have been reared by Melkor 'as a fence to his citadel of Utumno': 'they stood upon the borders of the regions of everlasting cold, in a great curve from east to west' (p. 118). But in fact the 'Mountains of Iron' here correspond to the later 'Mountains of Shadow' (*Ered Wethrin*). In an annotated list of names accompanying the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* the name *Dor Lómin* is thus defined:

> *Dor Lómin* or the 'Land of Shadow' was that region named of the Eldar *Hisilómë* (and this means 'Shadowy Twilights') . . . and it is so called by reason of the scanty sun which peeps little over the Iron Mountains to the east and south of it.

On the little map given on p. 81 the line of peaks which I have marked *f* almost certainly represents these mountains, and the region to the north of them, marked *g*, is then Hisilómë.

The manuscript continues, from the point where I have ended the text in this chapter, with no break; but this point is the end of a section in the mythological narrative (with a brief interruption by Eriol), and the remainder of Meril-i-Turinqi's tale is reserved to the next chapter. Thus I make two tales of one.

V

THE COMING OF THE ELVES AND THE MAKING OF KÔR

I take this title from the cover of the book (which adds also 'How the Elves did fashion Gems'), for as I have already remarked the narrative continues without a new heading.

Then said Eriol: 'Sad was the unchaining of Melko, methinks, even did it seem merciful and just – but how came the Gods to do this thing?'

Then Meril[1] continuing said:

'Upon a time thereafter was the third period of Melko's prisonment beneath the halls of Mandos come nearly to its ending. Manwë sat upon the top of the mountain and gazed with his piercing eyes into the shades beyond Valinor, and hawks flew to him and from him bearing many great tidings, but Varda was singing a song and looking upon the plain of Valinor. Silpion was at that time glimmering and the roofs of Valmar below were black and silver beneath its rays; and Varda was joyous, but on a sudden Manwë spake, saying: "Behold, there is a gleam of gold beneath the pine-trees, and the deepest gloaming of the world is full of a patter of feet. The Eldar have come, O Taniquetil!" Then Varda arose swiftly and stretched her arms out North and South, and unbraided her long hair, and lifted up the Song of the Valar, and Ilwë was filled with the loveliness of her voice.

Then did she descend to Valmar and to the abode of Aulë; and he was making vessels of silver for Lórien. A bason filled with the radiance of Telimpë[2] was by his side, and this he used cunningly in his craft, but now Varda stood before him and said: "The Eldar have come!" and Aulë flung down his hammer saying: "Then Ilúvatar hath sent them at last," and the hammer striking some ingots of silver upon the floor did of its magic smite silver sparks to life, that flashed from his windows out into the heavens. Varda seeing this took of that radiance in the bason and mingled it with molten silver to make it more stable, and fared upon her wings of speed, and set stars about the firmament in very great profusion, so that the skies grew marvellously fair and their glory was doubled; and those stars

that she then fashioned have a power of slumbers, for the silver of their bodies came of the treasury of Lórien and their radiance had lain in Telimpë long time in his garden.

Some have said that the Seven Stars were set at that time by Varda to commemorate the coming of the Eldar, and that Morwinyon who blazes above the world's edge in the west was dropped by her as she fared in great haste back to Valinor. Now this is indeed the true beginning of Morwinyon and his beauty, yet the Seven Stars were not set by Varda, being indeed the sparks from Aulë's forge whose brightness in the ancient heavens urged Varda to make their rivals; yet this did she never achieve.

But now even as Varda is engaged in this great work, behold, Oromë pricks over the plain, and drawing rein he shouts aloud so that all the ears in Valmar may hear him: "*Tulielto! Tulielto!* They have come – they have come!" Then he stands midway between the Two Trees and winds his horn, and the gates of Valmar are opened, and the Vali troop into the plain, for they guess that tidings of wonder have come into the world. Then spake Oromë: "Behold the woods of the Great Lands, even in Palisor the midmost region where the pinewoods murmur unceasingly, are full of a strange noise. There did I wander, and lo! 'twas as if folk arose betimes beneath the latest stars. There was a stir among the distant trees and words were spoken suddenly, and feet went to and fro. Then did I say what is this deed that Palúrien my mother has wrought in secret, and I sought her out and questioned her, and she answered: 'This is no work of mine, but the hand of one far greater did this. Ilúvatar hath awakened his children at the last – ride home to Valinor and tell the Gods that the Eldar have come indeed!' "

Then shouted all the people of Valinor: "*I·Eldar tulier* – the Eldar have come" – and it was not until that hour that the Gods knew that their joy had contained a flaw, or that they had waited in hunger for its completion, but now they knew that the world had been an empty place beset with loneliness having no children for her own.

Now once more is council set and Manwë sitteth before the Gods there amid the Two Trees – and those had now borne light for four ages. Every one of the Vali fare thither, even Ulmo Vailimo in great haste from the Outer Seas, and his face is eager and glad.

On that day Manwë released Melko from Angaino before the full time of his doom, but the manacles and the fetters of *tilkal* were not unloosed, and he bore them yet upon wrist and ankle. Great joy blindeth even the forewisdom of the Gods. Last of all came Palúrien Yavanna hasting from Palisor, and the Valar debated concerning the

Eldar; but Melko sat at the feet of Tulkas and feigned a glad and humble cheer. At length it is the word of the Gods that some of the new-come Eldar be bidden to Valinor, there to speak to Manwë and his people, telling of their coming into the world and of the desires that it awakened in them.

Then does Nornorë, whose feet flash invisibly for the greatness of their speed, hurtle from Valinor bearing the embassy of Manwë, and he goes unstaying over both land and sea to Palisor. There he finds a place deep in a vale surrounded by pine-clad slopes; its floor is a pool of wide water and its roof the twilight set with Varda's stars. There had Oromë heard the awaking of the Eldar, and all songs name that place Koivië-néni or the Waters of Awakening.

Now all the slopes of that valley and the bare margin of the lake, even the rugged fringes of the hills beyond, are filled with a concourse of folk who gaze in wonder at the stars, and some sing already with voices that are very beautiful. But Nornorë stood upon a hill and was amazed for the beauty of that folk, and because he was a Vala they seemed to him marvellously small and delicate and their faces wistful and tender. Then did he speak in the great voice of the Valar and all those shining faces turned towards his voice.

"Behold O Eldalië, desired are ye for all the age of twilight, and sought for throughout the ages of peace, and I come even from Manwë Súlimo Lord of the Gods who abides upon Taniquetil in peace and wisdom to you who are the Children of Ilúvatar, and these are the words he put into my mouth to speak: Let now some few of you come back with me – for am I not Nornorë herald of the Valar – and enter Valinor and speak with him, that he may learn of your coming and of all your desires."

Great was the stir and wonder now about the waters of Koivië, and its end was that three of the Eldar came forward daring to go with Nornorë, and these he bore now back to Valinor, and their names as the Elves of Kôr have handed them on were Isil Inwë, and Finwë Nólemë who was Turondo's father, and Tinwë Lintö father of Tinúviel – but the Noldoli call them Inwithiel, Golfinweg, and Tinwelint. Afterward they became very great among the Eldar, and the Teleri were those who followed Isil, but his kindred and descendants are that royal folk the Inwir of whose blood I am. Nolemë was lord of the Noldoli, and of his son Turondo (or Turgon as they called him) are great tales told, but Tinwë[3] abode not long with his people, and yet 'tis said lives still lord of the scattered Elves of Hisilómë, dancing in its twilight places with Wendelin his spouse, a sprite come long long ago from the quiet gardens of Lórien; yet

greatest of all the Elves did Isil Inwë become, and folk reverence his mighty name to this day.

Behold now brought by Nornorë the three Elves stood before the Gods, and it was at that time the changing of the lights, and Silpion was waning but Laurelin was awakening to his greatest glory, even as Silmo emptied the urn of silver about the roots of the other Tree. Then those Elves were utterly dazed and astonied by the splendour of the light, whose eyes knew only the dusk and had yet seen no brighter things than Varda's stars, but the beauty and majestic strength of the Gods in conclave filled them with awe, and the roofs of Valmar blazing afar upon the plain made them tremble, and they bowed in reverence – but Manwë said to them: "Rise, O Children of Ilúvatar, for very glad are the Gods of your coming! Tell us how ye came; how found ye the world; what seemeth it to you who are its first offspring, or with what desires doth it fill you."

But Nólemë answering said: "Lo! Most mighty one, whence indeed come we! For meseems I awoke but now from a sleep eternally profound, whose vast dreams already are forgotten." And Tinwë said thereto that his heart told him that he was new-come from illimitable regions, yet he might not recollect by what dark and strange paths he had been brought; and last spake Inwë, who had been gazing upon Laurelin while the others spake, and he said: "Knowing neither whence I come nor by what ways nor yet whither I go, the world that we are in is but one great wonderment to me, and methinks I love it wholly, yet it fills me altogether with a desire for light."

Then Manwë saw that Ilúvatar had wiped from the minds of the Eldar all knowledge of the manner of their coming, and that the Gods might not discover it; and he was filled with deep astonishment; but Yavanna who hearkened also caught her breath for the stab of the words of Inwë, saying that he desired light. Then she looked upon Laurelin and her heart thought of the fruitful orchards in Valmar, and she whispered to Tuivána who sat beside her, gazing upon the tender grace of those Eldar; then those twain said to Manwë: "Lo! the Earth and its shadows are no place for creatures so fair, whom only the heart and mind of Ilúvatar have conceived. Fair are the pine-forests and the thickets, but they are full of unelfin spirits and Mandos' children walk abroad and vassals of Melko lurk in strange places – and we ourselves would not be without the sight of this sweet folk. Their distant laughter has filtered to our ears from Palisor, and we would have it echo always about us in our halls and pleasaunces in Valmar. Let the Eldar dwell among us, and

the well of our joy be filled from new springs that may not dry up."

Then arose a clamour among the Gods and the most spake for Palúrien and Vána, whereas Makar said that Valinor was builded for the Valar – "and already is it a rose-garden of fair ladies rather than an abode of men. Wherefore do ye desire to fill it with the children of the world?" In this Meássë backed him, and Mandos and Fui were cold to the Eldar as to all else; yet was Varda vehement in support of Yavanna and Tuivána, and indeed her love for the Eldar has ever been the greatest of all the folk of Valinor; and Aulë and Lórien, Oromë and Nessa and Ulmo most mightily proclaimed their desire for the bidding of the Eldar to dwell among the Gods. Wherefore, albeit Ossë spake cautiously against it – belike out of that ever-smouldering jealousy and rebellion he felt against Ulmo – it was the voice of the council that the Eldar should be bidden, and the Gods awaited but the judgement of Manwë. Behold even Melko seeing where was the majority insinuated his guileful voice into the pleading, and has nonetheless since those days maligned the Valar, saying they did but summon the Eldar as to a prison out of covetice and jealousy of their beauty. Thus often did he lie to the Noldoli afterwards when he would stir their restlessness, adding beside all truth that he alone had withstood the general voice and spoken for the freedom of the Elves.

Maybe indeed had the Gods decided otherwise the world had been a fairer place now and the Eldar a happier folk, but never would they have achieved such glory, knowledge, and beauty as they did of old, and still less would any of Melko's redes have benefited them.

Now having hearkened to all that was said Manwë gave judgement and was glad, for indeed his heart leaned of itself to the leading of the Eldar from the dusky world to the light of Valinor. Turning to the three Eldar he said: "Go ye back now to your kindreds and Nornorë shall bring you swiftly there, even to Koivië-néni in Palisor. Behold, this is the word of Manwë Súlimo, and the voice of the Valar's desire, that the people of the Eldalië, the Children of Ilúvatar, fare to Valinor, and there dwell in the splendour of Laurelin and the radiance of Silpion and know the happiness of the Gods. An abode of surpassing beauty shall they possess, and the Gods will aid them in its building."

Thereto answered Inwë: "Fain are we indeed of thy bidding, and who of the Eldalië that have already longed for the beauty of the stars will stay or rest till his eyes have feasted on the blessed light of Valinor!" Thereafter Nornorë guided those Elves back to the bare margins of Koivië-néni, and standing upon a boulder Inwë spake the

embassy to all those hosts of the Eldalië that Ilúvatar waked first upon the Earth, and all such as heard his words were filled with desire to see the faces of the Gods.

When Nornorë returning told the Valar that the Elves were indeed coming and that Ilúvatar had set already a great multitude upon the Earth, the Gods made mighty preparation. Behold Aulë gathers his tools and stuffs and Yavanna and Tuivána wander about the plain even to the foothills of the mountains and the bare coasts of the Shadowy Seas, seeking them a home and an abiding-place; but Oromë goeth straightway out of Valinor into the forests whose every darkling glade he knew and every dim path had traversed, for he purposed to guide the troops of the Eldar from Palisor over all the wide lands west till they came to the confines of the Great Sea.

To those dark shores fared Ulmo, and strange was the roaring of the unlit sea in those most ancient days upon that rocky coast that bore still the scars of the tumultuous wrath of Melko. Falman-Ossë was little pleased to see Ulmo in the Great Seas, for Ulmo had taken that island whereon Ossë himself had drawn the Gods to Arvalin, saving them from the rising waters when Ringil and Helkar thawed beneath their blazing lamps. That was many ages past in the days when the Gods were new-come strangers in the world, and during all that time the island had floated darkly in the Shadowy Seas, desolate save when Ossë climbed its beaches on his journeys in the deeps; but now Ulmo had come upon his secret island and harnessed thereto a host of the greatest fish, and amidmost was Uin the mightiest and most ancient of whales; and he bid these put forth their strength, and they drew the island mightily to the very shores of the Great Lands, even to the coast of Hisilómë northward of the Iron Mountains whither all the deepest shades withdrew when the Sun first arose.

Now Ulmo stands there and there comes a glint in the woods that marched even down to the sea-foam in those quiet days, and behold! he hears the footsteps of the Teleri crackle in the forest, and Inwë is at their head beside the stirrup of Oromë. Grievous had been their march, and dark and difficult the way through Hisilómë the land of shade, despite the skill and power of Oromë. Indeed long after the joy of Valinor had washed its memory faint the Elves sang still sadly of it, and told tales of many of their folk whom they said and say were lost in those old forests and ever wandered there in sorrow. Still were they there long after when Men were shut in Hisilómë by Melko, and still do they dance there when

Men have wandered far over the lighter places of the Earth. Hisilómë did Men name Aryador, and the Lost Elves did they call the Shadow Folk, and feared them.

Nonetheless the most of the great companies of the Teleri came now to the beaches and climbed therefrom upon the island that Ulmo had brought. Ulmo counselled them that they wait not for the other kindreds, and though at first they will not yield, weeping at the thought, at last are they persuaded, and straightway are drawn with utmost speed beyond the Shadowy Seas and the wide bay of Arvalin to the strands of Valinor. There does the distant beauty of the trees shining down the opening in the hills enchant their hearts, and yet do they stand gazing back across the waters they have passed, for they know not where those other kindreds of their folk may be, and not even the loveliness of Valinor do they desire without them.

Then leaving them silent and wondering on the shore Ulmo draws back that great island-car to the rocks of Hisilómë, and behold, warmed by the distant gleam of Laurelin that lit upon its western edge as it lay in the Bay of Faëry, new and more tender trees begin to grow upon it, and the green of herbage is seen upon its slopes.

Now Ossë raises his head above the waves in wrath, deeming himself slighted that his aid was not sought in the ferrying of the Elves, but his own island taken unasked. Fast does he follow in Ulmo's wake and yet is left far behind, for Ulmo set the might of the Valar in Uin and the whales. Upon the cliffs there stand already the Noldoli in anguish, thinking themselves deserted in the gloom, and Nóleme Finwë who had led them thither hard upon the rear of the Teleri went among them enheartening them. Full of travail their journey too had been, for the world is wide and nigh half across it had they come from most distant Palisor, and in those days neither sun shone nor moon gleamed, and pathways were there none be it of Elves or of Men. Oromë too was far ahead riding before the Teleri upon the march and was now gone back into the lands. There the Solosimpi were astray in the forests stretching deep behind, and his horn wound faintly in the ears of those upon the shore, from whence that Vala sought them up and down the dark vales of Hisilómë.

Therefore now coming Ulmo thinks to draw the Noldoli swiftly to the strand of Valinor, returning once again for those others when Oromë shall have led them to the coast. This does he, and Falman beholds that second ferrying from afar and spumes in rage, but great is the joy of the Teleri and Noldoli upon that shore where the lights are those of late summer afternoons for the distant glow of Lindeloksë. There may I leave them for a while and tell of the strange happenings

that befell the Solosimpi by reason of Ossë's wrath, and of the first dwelling upon Tol Eressëa.

Fear falls upon them in that old darkness, and beguiled by the fair music of the fay Wendelin, as other tales set forth more fully elsewhere, their leader Tïnwë Linto was lost, and long they sought him, but it was in vain, and he came never again among them.[4] When therefore they heard the horn of Oromë ringing in the forest great was their joy, and gathering to its sound soon are they led to the cliffs, and hear the murmur of the sunless sea. Long time they waited there, for Ossë cast storms and shadows about the return of Ulmo, so that he drove by devious ways, and his great fish faltered in their going; yet at the last do they too climb upon that island and are drawn towards Valinor; and one Ellu they chose in place of Tinwë, and he has ever since been named the Lord of the Solosimpi.[5]

Behold now less than half the distance have they traversed, and the Twilit Isles float still far aloof, when Ossë and Ónen waylay them in the western waters of the Great Sea ere yet the mists of the Shadowy Seas are reached. Then Ossë seizes that island in his great hand, and all the great strength of Uin may scarcely drag it onward, for at swimming and in deeds of bodily strength in the water none of the Valar, not even Ulmo's self, is Ossë's match, and indeed Ulmo was not at hand, for he was far ahead piloting the great craft in the glooms that Ossë had gathered, leading it onward with the music of his conches. Now ere he can return Ossë with Ónen's aid had brought the isle to a stand, and was anchoring it even to the sea-bottom with giant ropes of those leather-weeds and polyps that in those dark days had grown already in slow centuries to unimagined girth about the pillars of his deep-sea house. Thereto as Ulmo urges the whales to put forth all their strength and himself aids with all his godlike power, Ossë piles rocks and boulders of huge mass that Melko's ancient wrath had strewn about the seafloor, and builds these as a column beneath the island.

Vainly doth Ulmo trumpet and Uin with the flukes of his unmeasured tail lash the seas to wrath, for thither Ossë now brings every kind of deep sea creature that buildeth itself a house and dwelling of stony shell; and these he planted about the base of the island: corals there were of every kind and barnacles and sponges like stone. Nonetheless for a very great while did that struggle endure, until at length Ulmo returned to Valmar in wrath and dismay. There did he warn the other Valar that the Solosimpi may not yet be brought thither, for that the isle has grown fast in the most lonely waters of the world.

There stands that island yet – indeed thou knowest it, for it is called "the Lonely Isle" – and no land may be seen for many leagues' sail from its cliffs, for the Twilit Isles upon the bosom of the Shadowy Seas are deep in the dim West, and the Magic Isles lie backward in the East.

Now therefore do the Gods bid the Elves build a dwelling, and Aulë aided them in that, but Ulmo fares back to the Lonely Island, and lo! it stands now upon a pillar of rock upon the seas' floor, and Ossë fares about it in a foam of business anchoring all the scattered islands of his domain fast to the ocean-bed. Hence came the first dwelling of the Solosimpi on the Lonely Island, and the deeper sundering of that folk from the others both in speech and customs; for know that all these great deeds of the past that make but a small tale now were not lightly achieved and in a moment of time, but rather would very many men have grown and died betwixt the binding of the Islands and the making of the Ships.

Twice now had that isle of their dwelling caught the gleam of the glorious Trees of Valinor, and so was it already fairer and more fertile and more full of sweet plants and grasses than the other places of all the world beside where great light had not been seen; indeed the Solosimpi say that birches grew there already, and many reeds, and turf there was upon the western slopes. There too were many caverns, and there was a stretching shoreland of white sand about the feet of black and purple cliffs, and here was the dwelling even in those deepest days of the Solosimpi.

There Ulmo sate upon a headland and spake to them words of comfort and of the deepest wisdom; and all sea-lore he told them, and they hearkened; and music he taught them, and they made slender pipes of shells. By reason of that labour of Ossë there are no strands so strewn with marvellous shells as were the white beaches and the sheltered coves of Tol Eressëa, and the Solosimpi dwelt much in caves, and adorned them with those sea-treasures, and the sound of their wistful piping might be heard for many a long day come faintly down the winds.

Then Falman-Ossë's heart melted towards them and he would have released them, save for the new joy and pride he had that their beauty dwelt thus amidmost of his realm, so that their pipes gave perpetual pleasure to his ear, and Uinen[6] and the Oarni and all the spirits of the waves were enamoured of them.

So danced the Solosimpi upon the waves' brink, and the love of the sea and rocky coasts entered in their hearts, even though they gazed in longing towards the happy shores whither long ago the Teleri and Noldoli had been borne.

Now these after a season took hope and their sorrow grew less bitter, learning how their kindred dwelt in no unkindly land, and Ulmo had them under his care and guardianship. Wherefore they heeded now the Gods' desire and turned to the building of their home; and Aulë taught them very much lore and skill, and Manwë also. Now Manwë loved more the Teleri, and from him and from Ómar did they learn deeper of the craft of song and poesy than all the Elves beside; but the Noldoli were beloved most by Aulë, and they learned much of his science, till their hearts became unquiet for the lust of more knowing, but they grew to great wisdom and to great subtlety of skill.

Behold there is a low place in that ring of mountains that guards Valinor, and there the shining of the Trees steals through from the plain beyond and gilds the dark waters of the bay of Arvalin,[7] but a great beach of finest sand, golden in the blaze of Laurelin, white in the light of Silpion, runs inland there, where in the trouble of the ancient seas a shadowy arm of water had groped in toward Valinor, but now there is only a slender water fringed with white. At the head of this long creek there stands a lonely hill which gazes at the loftier mountains. Now all the walls of that inlet of the seas are luxuriant with a marvellous vigour of fair trees, but the hill is covered only with a deep turf, and harebells grow atop of it ringing softly in the gentle breath of Súlimo.

Here was the place that those fair Elves bethought them to dwell, and the Gods named that hill Kôr by reason of its roundness and its smoothness. Thither did Aulë bring all the dust of magic metals that his great works had made and gathered, and he piled it about the foot of that hill, and most of this dust was of gold, and a sand of gold stretched away from the feet of Kôr out into the distance where the Two Trees blossomed. Upon the hill-top the Elves built fair abodes of shining white – of marbles and stones quarried from the Mountains of Valinor that glistened wondrously,[8] silver and gold and a substance of great hardness and white lucency that they contrived of shells melted in the dew of Silpion, and white streets there were bordered with dark trees that wound with graceful turns or climbed with flights of delicate stairs up from the plain of Valinor to topmost Kôr; and all those shining houses clomb each shoulder higher than the others till the house of Inwë was reached that was the uppermost, and had a slender silver tower shooting skyward like a needle, and a white lamp of piercing ray was set therein that shone upon the shadows of the bay, but every window of the city on the hill of Kôr looked out toward the sea.

Fountains there were of great beauty and frailty and roofs and pinnacles of bright glass and amber that was made by Palúrien and Ulmo, and trees stood thick on the white walls and terraces, and their golden fruit shone richly.

Now at the building of Kôr the Gods gave to Inwë and to Nólemë a shoot each of either of those glorious trees, and they grew to very small and slender elfin trees, but blossomed both eternally without abating, and those of the courts of Inwë were the fairest, and about them the Teleri sang songs of happiness, but others singing also fared up and down the marble flights and the wistful voices of the Noldoli were heard about the courts and chambers; but yet the Solosimpi dwelt far off amid the sea and made windy music on their pipes of shell.

Now is Ossë very fain of those Solosimpi, the shoreland pipers, and if Ulmo be not nigh he sits upon a reef at sea and many of the Oarni are by him, and hearkens to their voice and watches their flitting dances on this shore, but to Valmar he dare not fare again for the power of Ulmo in the councils of the Valar and . . . . . the wrath of that mighty one at the anchoring of the islands.

Indeed war had been but held off by the Gods, who desired peace and would not suffer Ulmo to gather the folk of the Valar and assail Ossë and rend the islands from their new roots. Therefore does Ossë sometimes ride the foams out into the bay of Arvalin[9] and gaze upon the glory on the hills, and he longs for the light and happiness upon the plain, but most for the song of birds and the swift movement of their wings into the clear air, grown weary of his silver and dark fish silent and strange amid the deep waters.

But on a day some birds came flying high from the gardens of Yavanna, and some were white and some black and some both black and white; and being dazed among the shadows they had not where to settle, and Ossë coaxed them, and they settled about his mighty shoulders, and he taught them to swim and gave them great strength of wing, for of such strength of shoulder he had more than any [?other] being and was the greatest of swimmers; and he poured fishy oils upon their feathers that they might bear the waters, and he fed them on small fish.

Then did he turn away to his own seas, and they swam about him or fared above him on low wing crying and piping; and he showed them dwellings on the Twilit Isles and even about the cliffs of Tol Eressëa, and the manner of diving and of spearing fish they learned there, and their voices became harsh for the rugged places of their life far from the soft regions of Valinor or wailing for the music of

the Solosimpi and sighing of the sea. And now have all that great folk of gulls and seamews and petrels come into their kingdom; and puffins are there, and eider-duck, and cormorants, and gannets, and rock-doves, and the cliffs are full of a chattering and a smell of fish, and great conclaves are held upon their ledges, or among spits and reefs among the waters. But the proudest of all these birds were the swans, and these Ossë let dwell in Tol Eressëa, [?flying] along its coasts or paddling inland up its streams; and he set them there as a gift and joy to the Solosimpi. But when Ulmo heard of these new deeds he was ill-pleased for the havoc wrought amid the fishes wherewith he had filled the waters with the aid of Palúrien.

Now do the Solosimpi take great joy of [?their] birds, new creatures to them, and of swans, and behold upon the lakes of Tol Eressëa already they fare on rafts of fallen timber, and some harness thereto swans and speed across the waters; but the more hardy dare out upon the sea and the gulls draw them, and when Ulmo saw that he was very glad. For lo! the Teleri and Noldoli complain much to Manwë of the separation of the Solosimpi, and the Gods desire them to be drawn to Valinor; but Ulmo cannot yet think of any device save by help of Ossë and the Oarni, and will not be humbled to this. But now does he fare home in haste to Aulë, and those twain got them speedily to Tol Eressëa, and Oromë was with them, and there is the first hewing of trees that was done in the world outside Valinor. Now does Aulë of the sawn wood of pine and oak make great vessels like to the bodies of swans, and these he covers with the bark of silver birches, or . . . . . with gathered feathers of the oily plumage of Ossë's birds, and they are nailed and [?sturdily] riveted and fastened with silver, and he carves prows for them like the upheld necks of swans, but they are hollow and have no feet; and by cords of great strength and slimness are gulls and petrels harnessed to them, for they were tame to the hands of the Solosimpi, because their hearts were so turned by Ossë.

Now are the beaches upon the western shores of Tol Eressëa, even at Falassë Númëa (Western Surf), thronged with that people of the Elves, and drawn up there is a very great host indeed of those swanships, and the cry of the gulls above them is unceasing. But the Solosimpi arise in great numbers and climb into the hollow bodies of these new things of Aulë's skill, and more of their kin fare ever to the shores, marching to the sound of innumerable pipes and flutes.

Now all are embarked and the gulls fare mightily into the twilit sky, but Aulë and Oromë are in the foremost galley and the mightiest, and seven hundred gulls are harnessed thereto and it gleams with

silver and white feathers, and has a beak of gold and eyes of jet and amber. But Ulmo fares at the rear in his fishy car and trumpets loudly for the discomfiture of Ossë and the rescue of the Shoreland Elves.

But Ossë seeing how these birds have been to his undoing is very downcast, yet for the presence of those three Gods and indeed for his love of the Solosimpi that had grown by now very great he molested not their white fleet, and they came thus over the grey leagues of the ocean, through the dim sounds, and the mists of the Shadowy Seas, even to the first dark waters of the bay of Arvalin.

Know then that the Lonely Island is upon the confines of the Great Sea. Now that Great Sea or the Western Water is beyond the westernmost limits of the Great Lands, and in it are many lands and islands ere beyond their anchorage you reach the Magic Isles, and beyond these still lies Tol Eressëa. But beyond Tol Eressëa is the misty wall and those great sea glooms beneath which lie the Shadowy Seas, and thereon float the Twilit Isles whither only pierced at clearest times the faintest twinkle of the far gleam of Silpion. But in the westernmost of these stood the Tower of Pearl built in after days and much sung in song; but the Twilit Isles are held the first of the Outer Lands, which are these and Arvalin and Valinor, and Tol Eressëa is held neither of the Outer Lands or of the Great Lands where Men after roamed. But the farthest shore of those Shadowy Seas is Arvalin or Erumáni to the far south, but more northerly do they lap the very coasts of Eldamar, and here are they broader to one faring west. Beyond Arvalin tower those huge Mountains of Valinor which are in a great ring bending slowly west, but the Shadowy Seas make a vast bay to the north of Arvalin running right up to the black feet of the mountains, so that here they border upon the waters and not upon the lands, and there at the bay's innermost stands Taniquetil, glorious to behold, loftiest of all mountains clad in purest snow, looking across Arvalin half south and half north across that mighty Bay of Faëry, and so beyond the Shadowy Seas themselves, even so that all the sails upon the sunlit waters of the Great Sea in after days (when the Gods had made that lamp) and all the throngs about the western havens of the Lands of Men could be seen from its summit; and yet is that distance counted only in unimagined leagues.

But now comes that strange fleet nigh these regions and eager eyes look out. There stands Taniquetil and he is purple and dark of one side with gloom of Arvalin and of the Shadowy Seas, and lit in glory of the other by reason of the light of the Trees of Valinor. Now where the seas lapped those shores of old their waves long ere their

breaking were suddenly lit by Laurelin were it day or by Silpion were it night, and the shadows of the world ceased almost abruptly and the waves laughed. But an opening in the mountains on those shores let through a glimpse of Valinor, and there stood the hill of Kôr, and the white sand runs up the creek to meet it, but its feet are in green water, and behind the sand of gold fares away farther than eye can guess, and indeed beyond Valinor who has heard or seen anything save Ulmo, yet of a certainty here spread the dark waters of the Outer Seas: tideless are they and very cool, and so thin that no boat can float upon their bosom, and few fish swim beneath their depths.

But now upon the hill of Kôr is a running and a joyous concourse, and all the people of the Teleri and Noldoli fare out of the gates and wait to welcome the coming of the fleet upon the shore. And now those ships leave the shadows and now are caught in the bright gleam about the inner bay, and now are they beached high and the Solosimpi dance and pipe, and mingle with the singing of the Teleri and the Noldoli's faint music.

Far behind lay Tol Eressëa in silence and its woods and shores were still, for nearly all that host of sea-birds had flown after the Eldar and wailed now about the shores of Eldamar: but Ossë dwelt in despondency and his silver halls in Valmar abode long empty, for he came no nearer to them for a great while than the shadow's edge, whither came the wailing of his sea-birds far away.

Now the Solosimpi abode not much in Kôr but had strange dwellings among the shoreland rocks, and Ulmo came and sat among them as aforetime in Tol Eressëa, and that was his time of greatest mirth and gentleness, and all his lore and love of music he poured out to them, and they drank it eagerly. Musics did they make and weave catching threads of sound whispered by waters in caverns or by wave-tops brushed by gentle winds; and these they twined with the wail of gulls and the echoes of their own sweet voices in the places of their home. But the Teleri and Inwir gathered [?harvest] of poesy and song, and were oftenest among the Gods, dancing in the skiey halls of Manwë for the joy of Varda of the Stars, or filling the streets and courts of Valmar with the strange loveliness of their pomps and revelry; for Oromë and for Nessa they danced upon green swards, and the glades of Valinor knew them as they flitted among the gold-lit trees, and Palúrien was very merry for the sight of them. Often were the Noldoli with them and made much music for the multitude of their harps and viols was very sweet, and Salmar loved them; but their greatest delight was in the courts of Aulë, or in their own dear

homes in Kôr, fashioning many beautiful things and weaving many stories. With paintings and broidered hangings and carvings of great delicacy they filled all their city, and even did Valmar grow more fair beneath their skilful hands.

Now is to tell how the Solosimpi fared often about the near seas in their swanships, or drawn by the birds, or paddling themselves with great oars that they had made to the likeness of the webs of swan or duck; and they dredged the sea-beds and won wealth of the slim shells of those magic waters and uncounted store of pearls of a most pure and starry lustre: and these were both their glory and delight and the envy of the other Eldar who longed for them to shine in the adornment of the city of Kôr.

But those of the Noldoli whom Aulë had most deeply taught laboured in secret unceasingly, and of Aulë they had wealth of metals and of stones and marbles, and of the leave of the Valar much store too was granted to them of the radiance of Kulullin and of Telimpë held in hidden bowls. Starlight they had of Varda and strands of the bluest *ilwë* Manwë gave them; water of the most limpid pools in that creek of Kôr, and crystal drops from all the sparkling founts in the courts of Valmar. Dews did they gather in the woods of Oromë, and flower-petals of all hues and honeys in Yavanna's gardens, and they chased the beams of Laurelin and Silpion amongst the leaves. But when all this wealth of fair and radiant things was gathered, they got of the Solosimpi many shells white and pink, and purest foam, and lastly some few pearls. These pearls were their model, and the lore of Aulë and the magic of the Valar were their tools, and all the most lovely things of the substance of the Earth the matters of their craft – and therefrom did the Noldoli with great labour invent and fashion the first gems. Crystals did they make of the waters of the springs shot with the lights of Silpion; amber and chrysoprase and topaz glowed beneath their hands, and garnets and rubies they wrought, making their glassy substance as Aulë had taught them but dyeing them with the juices of roses and red flowers, and to each they gave a heart of fire. Emeralds some made of the water of the creek of Kôr and glints among the grassy glades of Valinor, and sapphires did they fashion in great profusion, [?tingeing] them with the airs of Manwë; amethysts there were and moonstones, beryls and onyx, agates of blended marbles and many lesser stones, and their hearts were very glad, nor were they content with a few, but made them jewels in immeasurable number till all the fair substances were well nigh exhausted and the great piles of those gems might not be concealed but blazed

in the light like beds of brilliant flowers. Then took they those pearls that had and some of wellnigh all their jewels and made a new gem of a milky pallor shot with gleams like echoes of all other stones, and this they thought very fair, and they were opals; but still some laboured on, and of starlight and the purest water-drops, of the dew of Silpion, and the thinnest air, they made diamonds, and challenged any to make fairer.

Then arose Fëanor of the Noldoli and fared to the Solosimpi and begged a great pearl, and he got moreover an urn full of the most luminous phosphor-light gathered of foam in dark places, and with these he came home, and he took all the other gems and did gather their glint by the light of white lamps and silver candles, and he took the sheen of pearls and the faint half-colours of opals, and he [?bathed] them in phosphorescence and the radiant dew of Silpion, and but a single tiny drop of the light of Laurelin did he let fall therein, and giving all those magic lights a body to dwell in of such perfect glass as he alone could make nor even Aulë compass, so great was the slender dexterity of the fingers of Fëanor, he made a jewel – and it shone of its own . . . . . .[10] radiance in the uttermost dark; and he set it therein and sat a very long while and gazed at its beauty. Then he made two more, and had no more stuffs: and he fetched the others to behold his handiwork, and they were utterly amazed, and those jewels he called Silmarilli, or as we say the name in the speech of the Noldoli today Silubrilthin.[11] Wherefore though the Solosimpi held ever that none of the gems of the Noldoli, not even that majestic shimmer of diamonds, overpassed their tender pearls, yet have all held who ever saw them that the Silmarils of Fëanor were the most beautiful jewels that ever shone or [?glowed].

Now Kôr is lit with this wealth of gems and sparkles most marvellously, and all the kindred of the Eldalië are made rich in their loveliness by the generosity of the Noldoli, and the Gods' desire of their beauty is sated to the full. Sapphires in great [?wonder] were given to Manwë and his raiment was crusted with them, and Oromë had a belt of emeralds, but Yavanna loved all the gems, and Aulë's delight was in diamonds and amethysts. Melko alone was given none of them, for that he had not expiated his many crimes, and he lusted after them exceedingly, yet said nought, feigning to hold them of lesser worth than metals.

But now all the kindred of the Eldalië has found its greatest bliss, and the majesty and glory of the Gods and their home is augmented to the greatest splendour that the world has seen, and the Trees shone on Valinor, and Valinor gave back their light in a thousand scintilla-

tions of splintered colours; but the Great Lands were still and dark and very lonesome, and Ossë sat without the precincts and saw the moongleam of Silpion twinkle on the pebbles of diamonds and of crystals which the Gnomes cast in prodigality about the margin of the seas, and the glassy fragments splintered in their labouring glittered about the seaward face of Kôr; but the pools amid the dark rocks were filled with jewels, and the Solosimpi whose robes were sewn with pearls danced about them, and that was the fairest of all shores, and the music of the waters about those silver strands was beyond all sounds enchanting.

These were the rocks of Eldamar, and I saw them long ago, for Inwë was my grandsire's sire[12]; and [?even] he was the eldest of the Elves and had lived yet in majesty had he not perished in that march into the world, but Ingil his son went long ago back to Valinor and is with Manwë. And I am also akin to the shoreland dancers, and these things that I tell you I know they are true; and the magic and the wonder of the Bay of Faëry is such that none who have seen it as it was then can speak without a catch of the breath and a sinking of the voice.'

Then Meril the Queen ceased her long tale, but Eriol said nought, gazing at the long radiance of the westering sun gleaming through the apple boles, and dreaming of Faëry. At length said Meril: 'Fare now home, for the afternoon has waned, and the telling of the tale has set a weight of desire in my heart and in thine. But be in patience and bide yet ere ye seek fellowship with that sad kindred of the Island Elves.'

But Eriol said: 'Even now I know not and it passes my heart to guess how all that loveliness came to fading, or the Elves might be prevailed to depart from Eldamar.'

But Meril said: 'Nay, I have lengthened the tale too much for love of those days, and many great things lie between the making of the gems and the coming back to Tol Eressëa: but these things many know as well as I, and Lindo or Rúmil of Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva would tell them more skilfully than I.' Then did she and Eriol fare back to the house of flowers, and Eriol took his leave ere the western face of Ingil's tower was yet grown grey with dusk.

NOTES

1 The manuscript has *Vairë*, but this can only be a slip.

2 The occurrence of the name *Telimpë* here, and again later in the tale, as also in that of *The Sun and Moon*, is curious; in the tale of *The*

Coming of the Valar and the Building of Valinor the name was changed at its first appearance from *Telimpë* (*Silindrin*) to *Silindrin*, and at subsequent occurrences *Silindrin* was written from the first (p. 79).

3 The manuscript has *Linwë* here, and again below; see under *Tinwë Linto* in 'Changes made to names' at the end of these notes.

4 This sentence, from 'and beguiled . . .', was added after, though not to all appearance much after, the writing of the text.

5 This sentence, from 'and one Ellu . . .', was added at the same time as that referred to in note 4.

6 The first occurrence of the form *Uinen*, and so written at the time of composition (i.e. not corrected from *Ónen*).

7 *Arvalin*: thus written at the time of composition, not emended from *Habbanan* or *Harmalin* as previously.

8 When my father wrote these texts, he wrote first in pencil, and then subsequently wrote over the top of it in ink, erasing the pencilled text – of which bits can be read here and there, and from which one can see that he altered the pencilled original somewhat as he went along. At the words 'glistened wondrously', however, he abandoned the writing of the new text in ink, and from this point we have only the original pencilled manuscript, which is in places exceedingly difficult to read, being more hasty, and also soft and smudged in the course of time. In deciphering this text I have been in places defeated, and I use brackets and question-marks to indicate uncertain readings, and rows of dots to show roughly the length of illegible words.

It is to be emphasized therefore that from here on there is only a *first draft*, and one written very rapidly, dashed onto the page.

9 *Arvalin:* here and subsequently emended from *Habbanan*; see note 7. The explanation is clearly that the name *Arvalin* came in at or before the time of the rewriting in ink over the pencilled text; though further on in the narrative we are here at an earlier stage of composition.

10 The word might be read as 'wizardous'.

11 Other forms (beginning *Sigm-*) preceded *Silubrilthin* which cannot be read with certainty. Meril speaks as if the Gnomish name was the form used in Tol Eressëa, but it is not clear why.

12 'my grandsire's sire': the original reading was 'my grandsire'.

Changes made to names in *The Coming of the Elves and the Making of Kôr*

Tinwë Linto < *Linwë Tinto* (this latter is the form of the name in an interpolated passage in the preceding tale, see p. 106 note 1). At two subsequent occurrences of *Linwë* (see note 3 above) the name was

not changed, clearly through oversight; in the two added passages where the name occurs (see notes 4 and 5 above) the form is *Tinwë* (*Linto*).

Inwithiel < *Gim-githil* (the same change in *The Cottage of Lost Play*, see p. 22).

Tinwelint < *Tintoglin*.

Wendelin < *Tindriel* (cf. the interpolated passage in the previous tale, p. 106 note 1).

Arvalin < *Habbanan* throughout the tale except once, where the name was written *Arvalin* from the first; see notes 7 and 9 above.

Lindeloksë < *Lindelótë* (the same change in *The Coming of the Valar and the Building of Valinor*, see p. 79).

Erumáni < *Harwalin*.

Commentary on *The Coming of the Elves and the Making of Kôr*

I have already (p. 111) touched on the great difference in the structure of the narrative at the beginning of this tale, namely that here the Elves awoke *during* Melko's captivity in Valinor, whereas in the later story it was the very fact of the Awakening that brought the Valar to make war on Melkor, which led to his imprisonment in Mandos. Thus the ultimately very important matter of the capture of the Elves about Cuiviénen by Melkor (*The Silmarillion* pp. 49–50) is necessarily entirely absent. The release of Melko from Mandos here takes place far earlier, before the coming of the Elvish 'ambassadors' to Valinor, and Melko plays a part in the debate concerning the summons.

The story of Oromë's coming upon the newly-awakened Elves is seen to go back to the beginnings (though here Yavanna Palúrien was also present, as it appears), but its singular beauty and force is the less for the fact of their coming being known independently to Manwë, so that the great Valar did not need to be told of it by Oromë. The name *Eldar* was already in existence in Valinor before the Awakening, and the story of its being given by Oromë ('the People of the Stars') had not arisen – as will be seen from the Appendix on Names, *Eldar* had a quite different etymology at this time. The later distinction between the *Eldar* who followed Oromë on the westward journey to the ocean and the *Avari*, the Unwilling, who would not heed the summons of the Valar, is not present, and indeed in this tale there is no suggestion that any Elves who heard the summons refused it; there were however, according to another (later) tale, Elves who never left Palisor (pp. 231, 234).

Here it is Nornorë, Herald of the Gods, not Oromë, who brought the three Elves to Valinor and afterwards returned them to the Waters of Awakening (and it is notable that even in this earliest version, given more

than the later to 'explanations', there is no hint of how they passed from the distant parts of the Earth to Valinor, when afterwards the Great March was only achieved with such difficulty). The story of the questioning of the three Elves by Manwë concerning the nature of their coming into the world, and their loss of all memory of what preceded their awakening, did not survive the *Lost Tales*. A further important shift in the structure is seen in Ulmo's eager support of the party favouring the summoning of the Elves to Valinor; in *The Silmarillion* (p. 52) Ulmo was the chief of those who 'held that the Quendi should be left free to walk as they would in Middle-earth'.

I set out here the early history of the names of the chief Eldar.

Elu Thingol (Quenya *Elwë Singollo*) began as *Linwë Tinto* (also simply *Linwë*); this was changed to *Tinwë Linto* (*Tinwë*). His Gnomish name was at first *Tintoglin*, then *Tinwelint*. He was the leader of the Solosimpi (the later Teleri) on the Great Journey, but he was beguiled in Hisilómë by the 'fay' (*Tindriel* >) *Wendelin* (later *Melian*), who came from the gardens of Lórien in Valinor; he became lord of the Elves of Hisilómë, and their daughter was *Tinúviel*. The leader of the Solosimpi in his place was, confusingly, *Ellu* (afterwards *Olwë*, brother of Elwë).

The lord of the Noldoli was *Finwë Nólemë* (also *Nólemë Finwë*, and most commonly simply *Nólemë*); the name *Finwë* remained throughout the history. In the Gnomish speech he was *Golfinweg*. His son was *Turondo*, in Gnomish *Turgon* (later Turgon became Finwë's grandson, being the son of Finwë's son Fingolfin).

The lord of the Teleri (afterwards the Vanyar) was (*Ing* >) *Inwë*, here called *Isil Inwë*, named in Gnomish (*Gim-githil* >) *Inwithiel*. His son, who built the great tower of Kortirion, was (*Ingilmo* >) *Ingil*. The 'royal clan' of the Teleri were the Inwir. Thus:

Lost Tales (later forms of names)	*The Silmarillion*
Isil Inwë (Gnomish Inwithiel) lord of the Teleri	Ingwë lord of the Vanyar
(his son Ingil)	
Finwë Nólemë (Gnomish Golfinweg) lord of the Noldoli	Finwë lord of the Noldor
(his son Turondo, Gnomish Turgon)	(his grandson Turgon)
Tinwë Linto (Gnomish Tinwelint) lord of the Solosimpi, later lord of the Elves of Hisilómë	Elwë Singollo (Sindarin Elu Thingol) lord of the Teleri, later lord of the Grey-elves of Beleriand
Wendelin	Melian
(their daughter Tinúviel) ..	(their daughter Lúthien Tinúviel)

Ellu, lord of the Solosimpi after the loss of Tinwë Linto

Olwë, lord of the Teleri after the loss of his brother Elwë Singollo

★

In *The Silmarillion* (p. 48) is described the second star-making of Varda before and in preparation for the coming of the Elves:

> Then Varda went forth from the council, and she looked out from the height of Taniquetil, and beheld the darkness of Middle-earth beneath the innumerable stars, faint and far. Then she began a great labour, greatest of all the works of the Valar since their coming into Arda. She took the silver dews from the vats of Telperion, and therewith she made new stars and brighter against the coming of the First-born . . .

In the earliest version we see the conception already present that the stars were created in two separate acts – that a new star-making by Varda celebrated the coming of the Elves, even though here the Elves were already awakened; and that the new stars were derived from the liquid light fallen from the Moon-tree, Silpion. The passage just cited from *The Silmarillion* goes on to tell that it was at the time of the second star-making that Varda 'high in the north as a challenge to Melkor set the crown of seven mighty stars to swing, Valacirca, the Sickle of the Valar and sign of doom'; but here this is denied, and a special origin is claimed for the Great Bear, whose stars were not of Varda's contriving but were sparks that escaped from Aulë's forge. In the little notebook mentioned on p. 23, which is full of disjointed jottings and hastily noted projects, a different form of this myth appears:

> The Silver Sickle
> The seven butterflies
> Aulë was making a silver sickle. Melko interrupted his work telling him a lie concerning the lady Palúrien. Aulë so wroth that he broke the sickle with a blow. Seven sparks leapt up and winged into the heavens. Varda caught them and gave them a place in the heavens as a sign of Palúrien's honour. They fly now ever in the shape of a sickle round and round the pole.

There can be no doubt, I think, that this note is earlier than the present text.

The star Morwinyon, 'who blazes above the world's edge in the west', is Arcturus; see the Appendix on Names. It is nowhere explained why Morwinyon-Arcturus is mythically conceived to be always in the west.

Turning now to the Great March and the crossing of the ocean, the

origin of Tol Eressëa in the island on which Ossë drew the Gods to the western lands at the time of the fall of the Lamps (see p. 70) was necessarily lost afterwards with the loss of that story, and Ossë ceased to have any proprietary right upon it. The idea that the Eldar came to the shores of the Great Lands in three large and separated companies (in the order Teleri – Noldori – Solosimpi, as later Vanyar – Noldor – Teleri) goes back to the beginning; but here the first people and the second people each crossed the ocean alone, whereas afterwards they crossed together.

In *The Silmarillion* (p. 58) 'many years' elapsed before Ulmo returned for the last of the three kindreds, the Teleri, so long a time that they came to love the coasts of Middle-earth, and Ossë was able to persuade some of them to remain (Círdan the Shipwright and the Elves of the Falas, with their havens at Brithombar and Eglarest). Of this there is no trace in the earliest account, though the germ of the idea of the long wait of the lastcomers for Ulmo's return is present. In the published version the cause of Ossë's rage against the transportation of the Eldar on the floating island has disappeared, and his motive for anchoring the island in the ocean is wholly different: indeed he did this at the bidding of Ulmo (*ibid.* p. 59), who was opposed to the summoning of the Eldar to Valinor in any case. But the anchoring of Tol Eressëa as a rebellious act of Ossë's long remained an element in the story. It is not made clear what other 'scattered islands of his domain' (p. 121) Ossë anchored to the sea-bottom; but since on the drawing of the World-Ship the Lonely Isle, the Magic Isles, and the Twilit Isles are all shown in the same way as 'standing like pinnacles from the weedy depths' (see pp. 84–6) it was probably these that Ossë now established (though Rúmil and Meril still speak of the Twilit Isles as 'floating' on the Shadowy Seas, pp. 68, 125).

In the old story it is made very clear that Tol Eressëa was made fast far out in the mid-ocean, and 'no land may be seen for many leagues' sail from its cliffs'. That was indeed the reason for its name, which was diminished when the Lonely Isle came to be set in the Bay of Eldamar. But the words used of Tol Eressëa, 'the Lonely Isle, that looks both west and east', in the last chapter of *The Silmarillion* (relatively very little worked on and revised), undoubtedly derive from the old story; in the tale of *Ælfwine of England* is seen the origin of this phrase: 'the Lonely Island looking East to the Magic Archipelago and to the lands of Men beyond it, and West into the Shadows beyond which afar off is glimpsed the Outer Land, the kingdom of the Gods'. The deep sundering of the speech of the Solosimpi from that of the other kindreds, referred to in this tale (p. 121), is preserved in *The Silmarillion*, but the idea arose in the days when Tol Eressëa was far further removed from Valinor.

As is very often to be observed in the evolution of these myths, an early idea survived in a wholly altered context: here, the growth of trees and plants on the westward slopes of the floating island began with its twice lying in the Bay of Faëry and catching the light of the Trees when the Teleri and Noldoli disembarked, and its greater beauty and fertility

remained from those times after it was anchored far away from Valinor in the midst of the ocean; afterwards, this idea survived in the context of the light of the Trees passing through the Calacirya and falling on Tol Eressëa near at hand in the Bay of Eldamar. Similarly, it seems that Ulmo's instruction of the Solosimpi in music and sea-lore while sitting 'upon a headland' of Tol Eressëa after its binding to the sea-bottom was shifted to Ossë's instruction of the Teleri 'in all manner of sea-lore and sea-music' sitting on a rock off the coast of Middle-earth (*The Silmarillion* p. 58).

Very noteworthy is the account given here of the gap in the Mountains of Valinor. In *The Silmarillion* the Valar made this gap, the Calacirya or Pass of Light, only after the coming of the Eldar to Aman, for 'even among the radiant flowers of the Tree-lit gardens of Valinor they [the Vanyar and Noldor] longed still at times to see the stars' (p. 59); whereas in this tale it was a 'natural' feature, associated with a long creek thrust in from the sea.

From the account of the coming of the Elves to the shores of the Great Lands it is seen (p. 118) that Hisilómë was a region bordering the Great Sea, agreeing with its identification as the region marked *g* on the earliest map, see pp. 81, 112; and most remarkably we meet here the idea that Men were shut in Hisilómë by Melko, an idea that survived right through to the final form in which the Easterling Men were rewarded after the Nirnaeth Arnoediad for their treacherous service to Morgoth by being confined in Hithlum (*The Silmarillion* p. 195).

In the description of the hill and city of Kôr appear several features that were never lost in the later accounts of Tirion upon Túna. Cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 59:

> Upon the crown of Túna the city of the Elves was built, the white walls and terraces of Tirion; and the highest of the towers of that city was the Tower of Ingwë, Mindon Eldaliéva, whose silver lamp shone far out into the mists of the sea.

The dust of gold and 'magic metals' that Aulë piled about the feet of Kôr powdered the shoes and clothing of Eärendil when he climbed the 'long white stairs' of Tirion (*ibid.* p. 248).

It is not said here whether the shoots of Laurelin and Silpion that the Gods gave to Inwë and Nólemë, which 'blossomed both eternally without abating', were also givers of light, but later in the *Lost Tales* (p. 213), after the Flight of the Noldoli, the Trees of Kôr are again referred to, and there the trees given to Inwë 'shone still', while the trees given to Nólemë had been uprooted and 'were gone no one knew whither.' In *The Silmarillion* it is said that Yavanna made for the Vanyar and the Noldor 'a tree like to a lesser image of Telperion, save that it did not give light of its own being'; it was 'planted in the courts beneath the Mindon and there flourished, and its seedlings were many in Eldamar'. Thence came the Tree of Tol Eressëa.

In connection with this description of the city of the Elves in Valinor I give here a poem entitled *Kôr*. It was written on April 30th, 1915 (two days after *Goblin Feet* and *You and Me*, see pp. 27, 32), and two texts of it are extant: the first, in manuscript, has a subtitle 'In a City Lost and Dead'. The second, a typescript, was apparently first entitled *Kôr*, but this was changed to *The City of the Gods*, and the subtitle erased; and with this title the poem was published at Leeds in 1923.* No changes were made to the text except that in the penultimate line 'no bird sings' was altered already in the manuscript to 'no voice stirs'. It seems possible, especially in view of the original subtitle, that the poem described Kôr after the Elves had left it.

Kôr

In a City Lost and Dead

A sable hill, gigantic, rampart-crowned
Stands gazing out across an azure sea
Under an azure sky, on whose dark ground
Impearled as 'gainst a floor of porphyry
Gleam marble temples white, and dazzling halls;
And tawny shadows fingered long are made
In fretted bars upon their ivory walls
By massy trees rock-rooted in the shade
Like stony chiselled pillars of the vault
With shaft and capital of black basalt.
There slow forgotten days for ever reap
The silent shadows counting out rich hours;
And no voice stirs; and all the marble towers
White, hot and soundless, ever burn and sleep.

★

The story of the evolution of sea-birds by Ossë, and of how the Solosimpi went at last to Valinor in ships of swan-shape drawn by gulls, to the chagrin of Ossë, is greatly at variance with the account in *The Silmarillion* (p. 61):

> Through a long age they [the Teleri] dwelt in Tol Eressëa; but slowly their hearts were changed, and were drawn towards the light that flowed out over the sea to the Lonely Isle. They were torn between the love of the music of the waves upon their shores, and the desire to see

* Publication was in a magazine called *The Microcosm*, edited by Dorothy Ratcliffe, Volume VIII no. 1, Spring 1923.

> again their kindred and to look upon the splendour of Valinor; but in the end desire of the light was the stronger. Therefore Ulmo, submitting to the will of the Valar, sent to them Ossë, their friend, and he though grieving taught them the craft of ship-building; and when their ships were built he brought them as his parting gift many strong-winged swans. Then the swans drew the white ships of the Teleri over the windless sea; and thus at last and latest they came to Aman and the shores of Eldamar.

But the swans remained as a gift of Ossë to the Elves of Tol Eressëa, and the ships of the Teleri retained the form of the ships built by Aulë for the Solosimpi: they 'were made in the likeness of swans, with beaks of gold and eyes of gold and jet' (*ibid.*).

The passage of geographical description that follows (p. 125) is curious; for it is extremely similar to (and even in some phrases identical with) that in the tale of *The Coming of the Valar and the Building of Valinor*, p. 68. An explanation of this repetition is suggested below. This second version gives in fact little new information, its chief difference of substance being the mention of Tol Eressëa. It is now made clear that the Shadowy Seas were a region of the Great Sea west of Tol Eressëa. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 102) the conception had changed, with the change in the anchorage of Tol Eressëa: at the time of the Hiding of Valinor

> the Enchanted Isles were set, and all the seas about them were filled with shadows and bewilderment. And these isles were strung as a net in the Shadowy Seas from the north to the south, before Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle, is reached by one sailing west.

There is a further element of repetition in the account of the gap in the Mountains of Valinor and the hill of Kôr at the head of the creek (p. 126), which have already been described earlier in this same tale (p. 122). The explanation of this repetition is almost certainly to be found in the two layers of composition in this tale (see note 8 above); for the first of these passages is in the revised portion and the second in the original, pencilled text. My father in his revision had, I think, simply taken in earlier the passage concerning the gap in the Mountains, the hill and the creek, and if he had continued the revision of the tale to its end the second passage would have been excised. This explanation may be suggested also for the repetition of the passage concerning the islands in the Great Sea and the coast of Valinor from the tale of *The Coming of the Valar and the Building of Valinor*; but in that case the implication must be that the revision in ink over the original pencilled manuscript was carried out when the latter was already far ahead in the narrative.

In *The Silmarillion* the entire account of the making of gem-stones by the Noldoli has become compressed into these words (p. 60):

> And it came to pass that the masons of the house of Finwë, quarrying in the hills after stone (for they delighted in the building of high towers), first discovered the earth-gems, and brought them forth in countless myriads; and they devised tools for the cutting and shaping of gems, and carved them in many forms. They hoarded them not, but gave them freely, and by their labour enriched all Valinor.

Thus the rhapsodic account at the end of this tale of the making of gems out of 'magic' materials – starlight, and *ilwë*, dews and petals, glassy substances dyed with the juice of flowers – was abandoned, and the Noldor became miners, skilful indeed, but mining only what was there to be found in the rocks of Valinor. On the other hand, in an earlier passage in *The Silmarillion* (p. 39), the old idea is retained: 'The Noldor also it was who first achieved the making of gems.' It need not be said that everything was to be gained by the discretion of the later writing; in this early narrative the Silmarils are not strongly marked out from the accumulated wonder of all the rest of the gems of the Noldoli's making.

Features that remained are the generosity of the Noldor in the giving of their gems and the scattering of them on the shores (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 61: 'Many jewels the Noldor gave them [the Teleri], opals and diamonds and pale crystals, which they strewed upon the shores and scattered in the pools'); the pearls that the Teleri got from the sea (*ibid.*); the sapphires that the Noldor gave to Manwë ('His sceptre was of sapphire, which the Noldor wrought for him', *ibid.* p. 40); and, of course, Fëanor as the maker of the Silmarils – although, as will be seen in the next tale, Fëanor was not yet the son of Finwë (Nólemë).

★

I conclude this commentary with another early poem that bears upon the matter of this tale. It is said in the tale (p. 119) that Men in Hisilómë feared the Lost Elves, calling them the Shadow Folk, and that their name for the land was *Aryador*. The meaning of this is given in the early Gnomish word-list as 'land or place of shadow' (cf. the meanings of *Hisilómë* and *Dor Lómin*, p. 112).

The poem is called *A Song of Aryador*, and is extant in two copies; according to notes on these it was written in an army camp near Lichfield on September 12th, 1915. It was never, to my knowledge, printed. The first copy, in manuscript, has the title also in Old English: *Án léoþ Éargedores*; the second, in typescript, has virtually no differences in the text, but it may be noted that the first word of the third verse, 'She', is an emendation from 'He' in both copies.

A Song of Aryador

In the vales of Aryador
By the wooded inland shore
Green the lakeward bents and meads
Sloping down to murmurous reeds
That whisper in the dusk o'er Aryador:

'Do you hear the many bells
Of the goats upon the fells
Where the valley tumbles downward from the pines?
Do you hear the blue woods moan
When the Sun has gone alone
To hunt the mountain-shadows in the pines?

She is lost among the hills
And the upland slowly fills
With the shadow-folk that murmur in the fern;
And still there are the bells
And the voices on the fells
While Eastward a few stars begin to burn.

Men are kindling tiny gleams
Far below by mountain-streams
Where they dwell among the beechwoods near the shore,
But the great woods on the height
Watch the waning western light
And whisper to the wind of things of yore,

When the valley was unknown,
And the waters roared alone,
And the shadow-folk danced downward all the night,
When the Sun had fared abroad
Through great forests unexplored
And the woods were full of wandering beams of light.

Then were voices on the fells
And a sound of ghostly bells
And a march of shadow-people o'er the height.
In the mountains by the shore
In forgotten Aryador
There was dancing and was ringing;
There were shadow-people singing
Ancient songs of olden gods in Aryador.'

VI

THE THEFT OF MELKO AND THE DARKENING OF VALINOR

This title is again taken from the cover of the book containing the text; the narrative, still written rapidly in pencil (see note 8 to the last chapter), with some emendations from the same time or later, continues without a break.

Now came Eriol home to the Cottage of Lost Play, and his love for all the things that he saw about him and his desire to understand them all became more deep. Continually did he thirst to know yet more of the history of the Eldar; nor did he ever fail to be among those who fared each evening to the Room of the Tale-fire; and so on a time when he had already sojourned some while as a guest of Vairë and Lindo it so passed that Lindo at his entreaty spake thus from his deep chair:

'Listen then, O Eriol, if thou wouldst [know] how it so came that the loveliness of Valinor was abated, or the Elves might ever be constrained to leave the shores of Eldamar. It may well be that you know already that Melko dwelt in Valmar as a servant in the house of Tulkas in those days of the joy of the Eldalië; there did he nurse his hatred of the Gods, and his consuming jealousy of the Eldar, but it was his lust for the beauty of the gems for all his feigned indifference that in the end overbore his patience and caused him to design deep and evilly.

Now the Noldoli alone at those times had the art of fashioning these beautiful things, and despite their rich gifts to all whom they loved the treasure they possessed of them was beyond count the greatest, wherefore Melko whenever he may consorteth with them, speaking cunning words. In this way for long he sought to beg gifts of jewels for himself, and maybe also catching the unwary to learn something of their hidden art, but when none of these devices succeeded he sought to sow evil desires and discords among the Gnomes, telling them that lie concerning the Council when the Eldar were first bidden to Valinor.[1] "Slaves are ye," he would say, "or children, an you will, bidden play with toys and seek not to stray or know too much. Good days mayhap the Valar give you, as

ye say; seek but to cross their walls and ye shall know the hardness of their hearts. Lo, they use your skill, and to your beauty they hold fast as an adornment of their realms. This is not love, but selfish desire – make test of it. Ask for your inheritance that Ilúvatar designed for you – the whole wide world to roam, with all its mysteries to explore, and all its substances to be material of such mighty crafts as never can be realised in these narrow gardens penned by the mountains, hemmed in by the impassable sea."

Hearing these things, despite the true knowledge which Nólemë had and spread abroad, there were many who hearkened with half their hearts to Melko, and restlessness grew amongst them, and Melko poured oil on their smouldering desires. From him they learnt many things it were not good for any but the great Valar to know, for being half-comprehended such deep and hidden things slay happiness; and besides many of the sayings of Melko were cunning lies or were but partly true, and the Noldoli ceased to sing, and their viols fell silent upon the hill of Kôr, for their hearts grew somewhat older as their lore grew deeper and their desires more swollen, and the books of their wisdom were multiplied as the leaves of the forest. For know that in those days Aulë aided by the Gnomes contrived alphabets and scripts, and on the walls of Kôr were many dark tales written in pictured symbols, and runes of great beauty were drawn there too or carved upon stones, and Eärendel read many a wondrous tale there long ago, and mayhap still is many a one still there to read, if it be not corrupted into dust. The other Elves heeded these things not over much, and were at times sad and fearful at the lessened gladness of their kinsmen. Great mirth had Melko at this and wrought in patience biding his time, yet no nearer did he get to his end, for despite all his labours the glory of the Trees and the beauty of the gems and the memory of the dark ways from Palisor held back the Noldoli – and ever Nólemë spake against Melko, calming their restlessness and discontents.

At length so great became his care that he took counsel with Fëanor, and even with Inwë and Ellu Melemno (who then led the Solosimpi), and took their rede that Manwë himself be told of the dark ways of Melko.

And Melko knowing this was in great anger against the Gnomes, and going first before Manwë bowed very low, and said how the Noldoli dared murmur to his ears against Manwë's lordship, claiming that in skill and beauty they (whom Ilúvatar had destined to possess all the earth) far surpassed the Valar, for whom they must labour unrecompensed. Heavy was Manwë's heart at these words, for he

had feared long that that great amity of the Valar and Eldar be ever perchance broken, knowing that the Elves were children of the world and must one day return to her bosom. Nay, who shall say but that all these deeds, even the seeming needless evil of Melko, were but a portion of the destiny of old? Yet cold was the Lord of the Gods to the informer, and lo! even as he questioned him further the embassy of Nólemë came thither, and being granted leave spake the truth before him. By reason of the presence of Melko perchance they spoke somewhat less skilfully in their own cause than they might, and perchance even the heart of Manwë Súlimo was tainted with the poison of Melko's words, for that venom of Melko's malice is very strong and subtle indeed.

Howbeit, both Melko and the Noldoli were chidden and dismissed. Melko indeed was bidden get him back to Mandos and there dwell awhile in penitence, nor dare to walk in Valmar for many moons, not until the great festival that now approached had come and gone; but Manwë fearing lest the pollution of their discontent spread among the other kindreds commanded Aulë to find other places and thither lead the Noldoli, and build them a new town where they might dwell.

Great was the sorrow upon the hill of Kôr when those tidings were brought thither, and though all were wroth with the treachery of Melko, yet was there now a new bitterness against the Gods, and the murmuring louder than before.

A little stream, and its name was *Híri*, ran down from the hills, northward of the opening to the coast where Kôr was built, and it wandered thence across the plain no one knew whither. Maybe it found the Outer Seas, for north of the roots of Silpion it dived into the earth and there was a rugged place and a rock-ringed dale; and here the Noldoli purposed to abide, or rather to await the passing of wrath from Manwë's heart, for in no way as yet would they accept the thought of leaving Kôr for ever.

Caves they made in the walls of that dale, and thither they bore their wealth of gems, of gold and silver and fair things; but their ancient homes in Kôr were empty of their voices, filled only with their paintings and their books of lore, and the streets of Kôr and all the ways of Valmar shone still with [?gems] and carven marbles telling of the days of the happiness of the Gnomes that cometh now upon its waning.

Now Melko gets him gone to Mandos, and far from Valinor he plans rebellion and vengeance upon both Gnomes and Gods. Indeed, dwelling for nigh three ages in the vaults of Mandos Melko had made

friends to himself of certain gloomy spirits there and perverted them to ill, promising them great lands and regions on the Earth for their [?having] if they aided him when he called on them in need; and now he gathers them to him in the dark ravines of the mountains about Mandos. Thence sends he spies, invisible as fleeting shades when Silpion is in bloom, and learns of those doings of the Noldoli and of all that passes in the plain. Now soon after it chanced indeed that the Valar and Eldar held a great feast, even that one that Manwë had spoken of, bidding Melko rid Valmar of his presence at that time; for know that they made merry on one day every seventh year to celebrate the coming of the Eldar into Valinor, and every third year a lesser feast to commemorate the coming of the white fleet of the Solosimpi to the shores of Eldamar; but at every twenty-first year when both these feasts fell together they held one of the greatest magnificence, and it endured for seven days, and for this cause such years were called "Years of Double Mirth";* and these feasts all the Koreldar wherever they now may be in the wide world still do celebrate. Now that feast that approacheth is one of Double Mirth, and all the hosts of the Gods and Elves made ready to celebrate it most gloriously. Pomps there were and long processions of the Elves, dancing and singing, that wound from Kôr to Valmar's gates. A road had been laid against this festival from the westward gate of Kôr even to the turrets of the mighty arch which opened in the walls of Valmar northward towards the Trees. Of white marble it was and many a gentle stream flowing from the far mountains crossed its path. Here it would leap into slender bridges marvellously fenced with delicate balustrades that shone like pearls; scarcely did these clear the water, so that lilies of great beauty growing upon the bosom of the streams that fared but gently in the plain thrust their wide blossoms about its borders and iris marched along its flanks; for by cunning delving runnels of clearest water were made to flow from stream to stream bordering that whole long way with the cool noise of rippling water. At places mighty trees grew on either side, or at places the road would open to a glade and fountains spring by magic high into the air for the refreshment of all who sped that way.

Now came the Teleri led by the white-robed people of the Inwir, and the throbbing of their congregated harps beat the air most sweetly; and after them went the Noldoli mingling once more with their own dear folk by Manwë's clemency, that his festival might be duly kept, but the music that their viols and instruments awoke was now more sweetly sad than ever before. And last came the people

* Added in the margin here: *Samírien.*

of the shores, and their piping blent with voices brought the sense of tides and murmurous waves and the wailing cry of the coast-loving birds thus inland deep upon the plain.

Then was all that host marshalled before the gate of Valmar, and at the word and sign from Inwë as one voice they burst in unison into the Song of Light. This had Lirillo[2] written and taught them, and it told of the longing of the Elves for light, of their dread journey through the dark world led by the desire of the Two Trees, and sang of their utmost joy beholding the faces of the Gods and their renewed desire once more to enter Valmar and tread the Valar's blessed courts. Then did the gates of Valmar open and Nornorë bid them enter, and all that bright company passed through. There Varda met them, standing amid the companies of the Mánir and the Súruli, and all the Gods made them welcome, and feasts there were in all the great halls thereafter.

Now their custom was on the third day to robe themselves all in white and blue and ascend to the heights of Taniquetil, and there would Manwë speak to them as he thought fit of the Music of the Ainur and the glory of Ilúvatar, and of things to be and that had been. And on that day would Kôr and Valmar be silent and still, but the roof of the world and the slope of Taniquetil shine with the gleaming raiment of the Gods and Elves, and all the mountains echo with their speech – but afterward on the last day of merriment the Gods would come to Kôr and sit upon the slopes of its bright hill, gazing in love upon that slender town, and thereafter blessing it in the name of Ilúvatar would depart ere Silpion came to bloom; and so would end the days of Double Mirth.

But in this fateful year Melko dared of his blasphemous heart to choose that very day of Manwë's speech upon Taniquetil for the carrying out of his designs; for then would Kôr and Valmar and the rock-ringed dale of Sirnúmen be unguarded: for against whom indeed had Elf or Vala need to guard in those old days?

Creeping then down with his dark people on the third day of Samírien, as that feast was named, he passed the dark halls of Makar's abode (for even that wild Vala had gone to Valmar to honour the time, and indeed all of the Gods went there saving Fui and Vefántur only, and Ossë even was there, dissembling for those seven days his feud and jealousy with Ulmo). Here does a thought come to Melko's heart, and he arms himself and his band stealthily with swords very sharp and cruel, and this was well for them: for now do they all steal into the vale of Sirnúmen where the Noldoli had their present dwelling, and behold the Gnomes by reason of the

workings in their hearts of Melko's own teaching had become wary and suspicious beyond the wont of the Eldar of those days. Guards of some strength were set over the treasures there that went not to the feast, albeit this was contrary to the customs and ordinances of the Gods. Now is there suddenly bitter war awake in the heart of Valinor and those guards are slain, even while the peace and gladness upon Taniquetil afar is very great – indeed for that reason none heard their cries. Now Melko knew that it was indeed war for ever between himself and all those other folk of Valinor, for he had slain the Noldoli – guests of the Valar – before the doors of their own homes. With his own hand indeed he slew Bruithwir father of Fëanor,[3] and bursting into that rocky house that he defended laid hands upon those most glorious gems, even the Silmarils, shut in a casket of ivory. Now all that great treasury of gems he despoiled, and lading himself and all his companions to the utmost he seeks how he may escape.

Know then that Oromë had great stables and a breeding ground of good horses not so far from this spot, where a wild forest land had grown up. Thither Melko steals, and a herd of black horses he captures, cowing them with the terror that he could wield. Astride those his whole company of thieves rides far away, after destroying what things of lesser value they deemed it impossible to carry thence. Making a wide circuit and faring with the speed of hurricanes such as only the divine horses of Oromë ridden by the children of the Gods could compass they pass far to the west of Valmar in the untracked regions where the light of the Trees was thin. Long ere the folk had come down from Taniquetil and long ere the end of the feast or ever the Noldoli fared back to find their homes despoiled, Melko and his [?thieves] were ridden to the deep south, and finding there a low place in the hills they passed into the plains of Eruman. Well might Aulë and Tulkas bemoan their carelessness in leaving that low place long ago when they reared those hills to fend all evil from the plain – for that was the place where they were accustomed to enter Valinor after their quarryings in the fields of Arvalin.[4] It is said indeed that this riding in a half-circle, laborious and perilous as it was, was at first no part of Melko's design, for rather had he purposed to get to northward over the passes nigh to Mandos; but this he was warned might not be done, for Mandos and Fui never left those realms, and all the ravines and chasms of the northward mountains were infested with their folk, nor for all his gloom was Mandos any rebel against Manwë or an abetter of evil deeds.

Far to the north if one may endure the colds as Melko could it

is said in ancient lore that the Great Seas narrow to a little thing, and without aid of ships Melko and his company might thus have got into the world safely; but this was not done, and the sad tale took its appointed course, or the Two Trees might yet have shone and the Elves sung still in Valinor.

At length that daytide of festival is over and the Gods are turned back towards Valmar, treading the white road from Kôr. The lights twinkle in the city of the Elves and peace dwells there, but the Noldoli fare over the plain to Sirnúmen sadly. Silpion is gleaming in that hour, and ere it wanes the first lament for the dead that was heard in Valinor rises from that rocky vale, for Fëanor laments the death of Bruithwir; and many of the Gnomes beside find that the spirits of their dead have winged their way to Vê. Then messengers ride hastily to Valmar bearing tidings of the deeds, and there they find Manwë, for he has not yet left that town for his abode upon Taniquetil.

"Alas, O Manwë Súlimo," they cry, "evil has pierced the Mountains of Valinor and fallen upon Sirnúmen of the Plain. There lies Bruithwir sire of Fëanor[5] dead and many of the Noldoli beside, and all our treasury of gems and fair things and the loving travail of our hands and hearts through many years is stolen away. Whither O Manwë whose eyes see all things? Who has done this evil, for the Noldoli cry for vengeance, O most [?just] one!"

Then said Manwë to them: "Behold O Children of the Noldoli, my heart is sad towards you, for the poison of Melko has already changed you, and covetice has entered your hearts. Lo! had ye not thought your gems and fabrics[6] of better worth than the festival of the folk or the ordinances of Manwë your lord, this had not been, and Bruithwir go-Maidros and those other hapless ones still had lived, and your jewels been in no greater peril. Nay, my wisdom teaches me that because of the death of Bruithwir and his comrades shall the greatest evils fall on Gods and Elves, and Men to be. Without the Gods who brought you to the light and gave you all the materials of your craft, teaching your first ignorance, none of these fair things you love now so well ever would have been; what has been done may again be done, for the power of the Valar does not change; but of more worth than all the glory of Valinor and all the grace and beauty of Kôr is peace and happiness and wisdom, and these once lost are harder to recapture. Cease then to murmur and to speak against the Valar, or to set yourselves in your hearts as equals to their majesty; rather depart now in penitence knowing

full well that Melko has wrought this evil against you, and that your secret trafficking with him has brought you all this loss and sorrow. Trust him not again therefore, nor any others that whisper secret words of discontent among you, for its fruit is humiliation and dismay."

And the embassy was abashed and afraid and went back unto Sirnúmen utterly cast down; yet was Manwë's heart heavier than theirs, for things had gone ill indeed, and yet he foresaw that worse would be; and so did the destinies of the Gods work out, for lo! to the Noldoli Manwë's words seemed cold and heartless, and they knew not his sorrow and his tenderness; and Manwë thought them strangely changed and turned to covetice, who longed but for comfort, being like children very full of the loss of their fair things.

Now Melko findeth himself in the wastes of Arvalin and knoweth not how he may escape, for the gloom there is very great, and he knoweth not those regions that stretch there unto the utmost south. Therefore he sent a messenger claiming the inviolable right of a herald (albeit this was a renegade servant of Mandos whom Melko had perverted) over the pass to Valinor, and there standing before the gates of Valmar[7] he demanded audience of the Gods; and it was asked of him whence he came, and he said from Ainu Melko, and Tulkas would have hurled stones at him from the walls and slain him, but the others as yet suffered him not to be mishandled, but despite their anger and loathing they admitted him to the great square of gold that was before Aulë's courts. And at the same hour riders were sent to Kôr and to Sirnúmen summoning the Elves, for it was guessed that this matter touched them near. When all was made ready the messenger took stand beside the needle of pure gold whereon Aulë had written the story of the kindling of the Tree of gold (in Lórien's courts stood one of silver with another tale), and on a sudden Manwë said: "Speak!" and his voice was as a clap of wrathful thunder, and the courts rang, but the envoy unabashed uttered his message, saying:

"The Lord Melko, ruler of the world from the darkest east to the outer slopes of the Mountains of Valinor unto his kinsmen the Ainur. Behold, in compensation for divers grievous affronts and for long times of unjust imprisonment despite his noble estate and blood that he has at your hands suffered, now has he taken, as is due to him, certain small treasures held by the Noldoli, your slaves. Great grief is it to him that of these he has slain some, in that they would do him hurt in the evil of their hearts; yet their blasphemous intent will he now put from memory, and all the past injuries that ye the

Gods have wrought him will he so far forget as once again to show his presence in that place that is called Valmar, if ye will hearken to his conditions and fulfil them. For know that the Noldoli shall be his servants and shall adorn him a house; moreover of right he does demand –" but hereon even as the herald lifted up his voice yet louder swelling with his words of insolence, so great became the wrath of the Valar that Tulkas and several of his house leapt down and seizing him stopped his mouth, and the place of council was in uproar. Indeed Melko had not thought to gain aught but time and the confusion of the Valar by this embassage of insolence.

Then Manwë bid him unhand the herald, but the Gods arose crying with one voice: "This is no herald, but a rebel, a thief, and a murderer." "He hath defiled the sanctity of Valinor," shouted Tulkas, "and cast his insolence in our teeth." Now the mind of all the Elves was as one in this matter. Hope they had none of the recovery of the jewels save by the capture of Melko, which was now a matter beyond hope, but they would have no parley with Melko whatsoever and would treat him as an outlaw and all his folk. (And this was the meaning of Manwë, saying that the death of Bruithwir would be the root of the greatest evil, for it was that slaying that most inflamed both Gods and Elves.)[8]

To this end they spoke in the ears of Varda and Aulë, and Varda befriended their cause before Manwë, and Aulë yet more stoutly, for his heart was sore too for the theft of so many things of exquisite craft and workmanship; but Tulkas Poldórëa needed no pleading, being hot with ire. Now these great advocates moved the council with their words, so that in the end it is Manwë's doom that word he sent back to Melko rejecting him and his words and outlawing him and all his followers from Valinor for ever. These words would he now speak to the envoy, bidding him begone to his master with them, but the folk of the Vali and the Elves would have none of it, and led by Tulkas they took that renegade to the topmost peak of Taniquetil, and there declaring him no herald and taking the mountain and the stars to witness of the same they cast him to the boulders of Arvalien so that he was slain, and Mandos received him into his deepest caves.

Then Manwë seeing in this rebellion and their violent deed the seed of bitterness cast down his sceptre and wept; but the others spake unto Sorontur King of Eagles upon Taniquetil and by him were the words of Manwë sent to Melko: "Begone for ever, O accursed, nor dare to parley more with Gods or Elves. Neither shall thy foot nor that of any who serve thee tread the soil of Valinor again

while the world endures." And Sorontur sought out Melko and said as he was bidden, and of the death of his envoy he told [?too]. Then Melko would have slain Sorontur, being mad with anger at the death of his messenger; and verily this deed was not in accord with the strict justice of the Gods, yet was the anger of those at Valmar sorely tempted; but Melko has ever cast it against the Gods most bitterly, twisting it into a black tale of wrong; and between that evil one and Sorontur has there ever since been hate and war, and that was most bitter when Sorontur and his folk fared to the Iron Mountains and there abode, watching all that Melko did.

Now Aulë goeth to Manwë and speaketh enheartening words, saying how Valmar still stands and the Mountains are high and a sure bulwark against evil. "Lo! if Melko sets once more turmoils in the world, was he not bound in chains aforetime, and so may be again: – but behold, soon will I and Tulkas fill that pass that leads to Erumáni and the seas, that Melko come not ever that way hither again."

But Manwë and Aulë plan to set guards about all those mountains until such time as Melko's deeds and places of abode without become known.

Then does Aulë fall to speech with Manwë concerning the Noldoli, and he pleads much for them, saying that Manwë wrought with anxiety has done hardly by them, for that of Melko in sooth alone is the evil come, whereas the Eldar are not slaves nor servants but beings of a wondrous sweetness and beauty – that they were guests for ever of the Gods. Therefore does Manwë bid them now, an they will, go back to Kôr, and, if they so desire, busy themselves in fashioning gems and fabrics anew, and all things of beauty and cost that they may need in their labour shall be given to them even more lavishly than before.

But when Fëanor heard this saying, he said: "Yea, but who shall give us back the joyous heart without which works of loveliness and magic cannot be? – and Bruithwir is dead, and my heart also." Many nonetheless went then back to Kôr, and some semblance of old joy is then restored, though for the lessened happiness of their hearts their labours do not bring forth gems of the old lustre and glory. But Fëanor dwelt in sorrow with a few folk in Sirnúmen, and though he sought day and night to do so he could in no wise make other jewels like to the Silmarils of old, that Melko snatched away; nor indeed has any craftsman ever done so since. At length does he abandon the attempt, sitting rather beside the tomb of Bruithwir, that is called the Mound of the First Sorrow,* and is well named for

* In the margin are written Gnomish names: '*Cúm a Gumlaith* or *Cúm a Thegranaithos*'.

all the woe that came from the death of him who was laid there. There brooded Fëanor bitter thoughts, till his brain grew dazed by the black vapours of his heart, and he arose and went to Kôr. There did he speak to the Gnomes, dwelling on their wrongs and sorrows and their minished wealth and glory – bidding them leave this prison-house and get them into the world. "As cowards have the Valar become; but the hearts of the Eldar are not weak, and we will see what is our own, and if we may not get it by stealth we will do so by violence. There shall be war between the Children of Ilúvatar and Ainu Melko. What if we perish in our quest? The dark halls of Vê be little worse than this bright prison . . . ."[9] And he prevailed thus upon some to go before Manwë with himself and demand that the Noldoli be suffered to leave Valinor in peace and set safely by the Gods upon the shores of the world whence they had of old been ferried.

Then Manwë was grieved by their request and forbade the Gnomes to utter such words in Kôr if they desired still to dwell there among the other Elves; but then changing from harshness he told them many things concerning the world and its fashion and the dangers that were already there, and the worse that might soon come to be by reason of Melko's return. "My heart feels, and my wisdom tells me," said he, "that no great age of time will now elapse ere those other Children of Ilúvatar, the fathers of the fathers of Men, do come into the world – and behold it is of the unalterable Music of the Ainur that the world come in the end for a great while under the sway of Men; yet whether it shall be for happiness or sorrow Ilúvatar has not revealed, and I would not have strife or fear or anger come ever between the different Children of Ilúvatar, and fain would I for many an age yet leave the world empty of beings who might strive against the new-come Men and do hurt to them ere their clans be grown to strength, while the nations and peoples of the Earth are yet infants." To this he added many words concerning Men and their nature and the things that would befall them, and the Noldoli were amazed, for they had not heard the Valar speak of Men, save very seldom; and had not then heeded overmuch, deeming these creatures weak and blind and clumsy and beset with death, nor in any ways likely to match the glory of the Eldalië. Now therefore, although Manwë had unburdened his heart in this way hoping that the Noldoli, seeing that he did not labour without a purpose or a reason, would grow calmer and more trustful of his love, rather were they astonished to discover that the Ainur made the thought of Men so great a matter, and Manwë's words achieved the opposite of his wish; for Fëanor in his misery twisted them into an evil

semblance, when standing again before the throng of Kôr he spake these words:

"Lo, now do we know the reason of our transportation hither as it were cargoes of fair slaves! Now at length are we told to what end we are guarded here, robbed of our heritage in the world, ruling not the wide lands, lest perchance we yield them not to a race unborn. To these foresooth – a sad folk, beset with swift mortality, a race of burrowers in the dark, clumsy of hand, untuned to songs or musics, who shall dully labour at the soil with their rude tools, to these whom still he says are of Ilúvatar would Manwë Súlimo lordling of the Ainur give the world and all the wonders of its land, all its hidden substances – give it to these, that is our inheritance. Or what is this talk of the dangers of the world? A trick to deceive us; a mask of words! O all ye children of the Noldoli, whomso will no longer be house-thralls of the Gods however softly held, arise I bid ye and get you from Valinor, for now is the hour come and the world awaits."

In sooth it is a matter for great wonder, the subtle cunning of Melko – for in those wild words who shall say that there lurked not a sting of the minutest truth, nor fail to marvel seeing the very words of Melko pouring from Fëanor his foe, who knew not nor remembered whence was the fountain of these thoughts; yet perchance the [?outmost] origin of these sad things was before Melko himself, and such things must be – and the mystery of the jealousy of Elves and Men is an unsolved riddle, one of the sorrows at the world's dim roots.

Howso these deep things be, the fierce words of Fëanor got him instantly a mighty following, for a veil there seemed before the hearts of the Gnomes – and mayhap even this was not without the knowledge of Ilúvatar. Yet would Melko have been rejoiced to hear it, seeing his evil giving fruit beyond his hopes. Now however that evil one wanders the dark plains of Eruman, and farther south than anyone had yet penetrated he found a region of the deepest gloom, and it seemed to him a good place wherein for the time to hide his stolen treasure.

Therefore he seeks until he finds a dark cavern in the hills, and webs of darkness lie about so that the black air might be felt heavy and choking about one's face and hands. Very deep and winding were those ways having a subterranean outlet on the sea as the ancient books say, and here on a time were the Moon and Sun imprisoned afterward;[10] for here dwelt the primeval spirit Móru whom even the Valar know not whence or when she came, and the

folk of Earth have given her many names. Mayhap she was bred of mists and darkness on the confines of the Shadowy Seas, in that utter dark that came between the overthrow of the Lamps and the kindling of the Trees, but more like she has always been; and she it is who loveth still to dwell in that black place taking the guise of an unlovely spider, spinning a clinging gossamer of gloom that catches in its mesh stars and moons and all bright things that sail the airs. Indeed it was because of her labours that so little of that overflowing light of the Two Trees flowed ever into the world, for she sucked light greedily, and it fed her, but she brought forth only that darkness that is a denial of all light. Ungwë Lianti the great spider who enmeshes did the Eldar call her, naming her also Wirilómë or Gloomweaver, whence still do the Noldoli speak of her as Ungoliont the spider or as Gwerlum the Black.

Now between Melko and Ungwë Lianti was there friendship from the first, when she found him and his comrades straying in her caves, but Gloomweaver was ahungered of the brightness of that hoard of jewels so soon as she saw them.

Now Melko having despoiled the Noldoli and brought sorrow and confusion into the realm of Valinor through less of that hoard than aforetime, having now conceived a darker and deeper plan of aggrandisement; therefore seeing the lust of Ungwë's eyes he offers her all that hoard, saving only the three Silmarils, if she will abet him in his new design. This she granteth readily, and so came all that treasury of most lovely gems fairer than any others that the world has seen into the foul keeping of Wirilómë, and was wound in webs of darkness and hidden deep in the caverns of the eastern slopes of the great hills that are the southern boundary of Eruman.

Deeming that now is the time to strike while Valinor is yet in uproar nor waiting for Aulë and Tulkas to block the passage in the hills, Melko and Wirilómë crept into Valinor and lay hidden in a valley of the foothills until Silpion was in bloom; but all the while was Gloomweaver spinning her most lightless webs and ill-enchanted shades. These she lets float down so that in place of the fair silver light of Silpion all about the western plain of Valinor there creeps now a dim uncertain darkness and faint lights waver in it. Then does she throw a black cloak of invisibility about Melko and herself and they steal across the plain, and the Gods are in wonder and the Elves in Kôr are afraid; nonetheless they do not as yet suspect the hand of Melko in this, thinking rather it is some work of Ossë's, who at times with his storms caused great mists and darkness to be wafted off the Shadowy Seas, encroaching even the bright airs of Valinor;

though in this he met the anger both of Ulmo and of Manwë. Then Manwë sent forth a sweet westerly breath wherewith he was accustomed at such times to blow all sea-humours back eastward over the waters, but such gentle breathing availed nothing against the woven night heavy and clinging that Wirilómë had spread far abroad. Thus was it that unmarked Melko and the Spider of Night reached the roots of Laurelin, and Melko summoning all his godlike might thrust a sword into its beauteous stock, and the fiery radiance that spouted forth assuredly had consumed him even as it did his sword, had not Gloomweaver cast herself down and lapped it thirstily, plying even her lips to the wound in the tree's bark and sucking away its life and strength.

By accursed fortune this deed was not straightway marked, for it was the time of Laurelin's accustomed deepest repose; and now behold, never more would it wake to glory, scattering beauty and joy upon the faces of the Gods. Because of that great draught of light suddenly pride surged in Gwerlum's heart, and she heeded not Melko's warnings, but sate herself now nigh to the roots of Silpion and spouted forth evil fumes of night that flowed like rivers of blackness even to the gates of Valmar. Now Melko takes the weapon that remains to him, a knife, and will injure the bole of Silpion as much as time will allow; but a Gnome called Daurin (Tórin) wandering from Sirnúmen in great boding of ill sees him and makes for him, crying aloud. So great was the onrush of that impetuous Gnome that ere Melko is aware he has hewn at Wirilómë where in the likeness of a spider she sprawls upon the ground. Now the slender blade that Daurin wielded came from the forge of Aulë and was steeped in *miruvor*, or never had he done harm to that secret [?being], but now he cleaves one of her great legs, and his blade is stained with her black gore, a poison to all [?things] whose life is light. Then Wirilómë writhing throws a thread about him and he may not get free, and Melko ruthless stabs him. Then wresting that bright slender blade from his dying grasp he thrusts it deep into Silpion's trunk, and the poison of Gwerlum black upon it dried the very sap and essence of the tree, and its light died suddenly to a dismal glow lost in impenetrable dusk.

Then did Melko and Wirilómë turn in flight, nor is it too soon, for some that were behind Daurin seeing his fate fled in terror both to Kôr and Valmar, stumbling madly in the darkness, but indeed already the Valar are riding forth upon the plain speeding as fast as may be yet too late to defend the Trees which they now know to be in danger.

Now do those Noldoli confirm their fears, saying how Melko is indeed the author of the mischief, and they have but one desire and that is to lay hands upon him and his accomplices ere they can escape beyond the mountains.

Tulkas is in the van of that great hunt leaping surefooted in the dimness, and Oromë may not keep up with him, for even his divine steed cannot rush as headlong in the gathering night as does Poldórëa in the fire of his wrath. Ulmo hears the shouting in his house in Vai, and Ossë [?thrusteth] his head above the Shadowy Seas and seeing no longer any light come down the valley of Kôr he leaps upon the beach of Eldamar and runs in haste to join the Ainur in their hunt. Now is the only light place left in Valinor that garden where the golden fountain sprang from Kulullin, and then were Vána and Nessa and Urwen and many maids and ladies of the Valar in tears, but Palúrien girds her lord as he stands impatiently, and Varda has ridden forth from Taniquetil by her lord's side bearing a blazing star before him as a torch.

Telimektar son of Tulkas is with those noble ones, and his face and weapons gleam as silver in the dark, but now all the Gods and all their folk ride this way and that, and some have [?hasty] torches in their hands, so that the plain is full of pale wandering lights and the sound of voices hallooing in the dusk.

Even as Melko speeds away a vanguard of the chase sweeps by the Trees, and well nigh the Vali faint for anguish at the ruin they see there; but now Melko and certain of his comrades, aforetime children of Mandos, are separated from Ungwë, who wrapped in night gets her gone southward and over the mountains to her home, nor does that chase ever draw nigh to her; but the others flee northward with great speed, for Melko's comrades have knowledge of the mountains there, and hope to get [?him] through. There came a place at length where the shadow-veils were thin and they were viewed by a scattered band of the Vali, and Tulkas was amongst them; who now with a great roar leaps at them. Indeed it might have come to battle upon the plain betwixt Tulkas and Melko had not the distance been overgreat, so that even as Tulkas gained to within spearcast of Melko a belt of mist took the fugitives again and the mocking laugh of Melko seems to come first from one side and then from the other, now from his elbow almost, now from far ahead, and Tulkas turns wildly about and Melko slips away.

Then Makar and Meássë rode in all haste north with their folk, arousing Mandos and ordering the guarding of the mountain paths, but either Makar was too late or Melko's cunning defeated him –

and the mind of Makar was not oversubtle, for no glimpse of that Ainu did they see, though assuredly he did escape that way, and worked much evil after in the world, yet none are there whom I have heard tell ever of the manner of his perilous flight back to the ice-kingdoms of the North.'

NOTES

1 See p. 117.
2 *Lirillo* appears in the list of secondary names of the Valar referred to on p. 93 as a name of Salmar-Noldorin.
3 'father of Fëanor' is the final reading after a prolonged hesitation between 'son of Fëanor' and 'brother of Fëanor'.
4 For the story of the taking of rock and stone from Arvalin (Eruman) for the raising of the Mountains of Valinor see p. 70.
5 'sire of Fëanor' is an emendation from 'son of Fëanor'; see note 3.
6 After the word 'fabrics' there stood the following sentence, which was struck through: 'which the Gods could an they listed have created in an hour' – a sentence notable in itself and also for its excision.
7 The MS page beginning with the words 'before the gates of Valmar' and ending with 'unabashed uttered his message, saying' is written round the little world-map reproduced and described on pp. 81 ff.
8 In this part of the tale the manuscript consists of detached passages, with directions from one to another; the place of this sentence is not perfectly clear, but seems most probably to belong here.
9 The dots are in the original.
10 'afterward' is an emendation from 'of old'. A question mark is written in the margin against this sentence.

Changes made to names in *The Theft of Melko and the Darkening of Valinor*

Ellu Melemno < *Melemno* (in Chapter V, p. 120, in an added sentence, the leader of the Solosimpi is *Ellu*).
Sirnúmen < *Numessir* (at the first two occurrences; subsequently *Sirnúmen* was the form first written).
Eruman < *Harmalin* (pp. 145, 152), < *Habbanan* (p. 151).
Arvalin < *Harvalien* < *Habbanan* (p. 145), < *Harvalien* < *Harmalin* (p. 147); *Arvalien* thus first written p. 148.
Bruithwir replaces an earlier name, probably *Maron*.
Bruithwir go-Maidros < *Bruithwir go-Fëanor*. *go-* is a patronymic, 'son of'. See notes 3 and 5 above.

Móru This name could equally well be read, as also at its occasional occurrences elsewhere, as *Morn* (see the Appendix on Names). It replaces here another name, probably *Mordi*.

Ungoliont < *Gungliont*.

Daurin (*Tórin*) The original reading at the first occurence was *Fëanor*, changed to (?)*Daurlas . . . . . akin to Fëanor*, and then to *a Gnome called Daurin* (*Tórin*). The subsequent occurrences of *Daurin* are emendations of *Fëanor*.

Commentary on *The Theft of Melko and the Darkening of Valinor*

The story of the corruption of the Noldoli by Melko was ultimately told quite differently; for there entered the matter of the strife between Finwë's sons Fëanor and Fingolfin (*The Silmarillion* p. 69), of which in the tale there is no trace, and where in any case Fëanor is not the son of Finwë Nólemë but of one Bruithwir. The primary motive in the later story of Melkor's desire for the Silmarils (*ibid.* p. 67) is here represented only by a lust for the gems of the Noldoli in general: it is indeed a remarkable feature of the original mythology that though the Silmarils were present they were of such relatively small importance. There is essential agreement with the later story in its being the Noldoli at whom Melko aimed his attack, and there is a quite close, if limited, similarity in the arguments he used: the confinement of the Elves in Valinor by the Valar, and the broad realms in the East that were rightly theirs – but notably absent from Melko's words is any reference to the coming of Men: this element is in the tale introduced later and quite differently, by Manwë himself (p. 150). Moreover the particular association of the Noldoli with the evil Vala arises from his desire for their gems: in *The Silmarillion* (p. 66) the Noldor turned to him for the instruction he could give, while the other kindreds held aloof.

From this point the narratives diverge altogether; for the secret evil of Melkor was in *The Silmarillion* laid bare as a result of the enquiry held into the quarrel of the Noldorin princes, whereas here its revelation came about more simply from the anxiety of Finwë Nólemë about the unrest of his people. The later story is of course far superior, in that Melkor was sought by the Valar as a known enemy as soon as his machinations were uncovered (though he escaped), whereas in the tale, despite there being now every evidence that he was by no means reformed, he was merely told to go and think things over in Mandos. The germ of the story in *The Silmarillion* of Fëanor's banishment to Formenos, where he was accompanied by Finwë, is present, though here the entire people of the Noldoli are ordered to leave Kôr for the rugged dale northwards where the stream Híri plunged underground, and the command to do so

seems to have been less a punishment meted out to them by Manwë than a precaution and a safeguard.

In connection with the place of the banishment of the Noldoli, here called *Sirnúmen* ('Western Stream'), it may be mentioned that in an isolated note found in the little book referred to on p. 23 it is stated: 'The river of the second rocky dwelling of the Gnomes in Valinor was *kelusindi* and the spring at its source *kapalinda*.'

Very remarkable is the passage (p. 142) where Manwë is said to know that 'the Elves were children of the world and must one day return to her bosom'. As I have noticed earlier (p. 82) 'the world' is often equated with the Great Lands, and this usage occurs repeatedly in the present tale, but it is not clear to me whether this sense is intended here. I incline to think that the meaning of the phrase is that at 'the Great End' the Eldar, being bound to the Earth, cannot return with the Valar and spirits that were 'before the world' (p. 66) to the regions whence they came (cf. the conclusion of the original *Music of the Ainur*, p. 60).

Coming to the account of the theft of the jewels, the structure of the narrative is again radically different from the later story, in that there Melkor's attack on the Noldor of Formenos, the theft of the Silmarils and the slaying of Finwë, was accomplished *after* his meeting with Ungoliant in the South and the destruction of the Two Trees; Ungoliant was with him at Formenos. Nor in the earliest version is there any mention of Melko's previous visit to Formenos (*The Silmarillion* pp. 71–2), after which he passed through the Calacirya and went northwards up the coast, returning later in secret to Avathar (Arvalin, Eruman) to seek out Ungoliant.

On the other hand the great festival was already the occasion for Melko's theft of the Silmarils from the dwelling of the Noldoli, though the festival was wholly different in having a purely commemorative purpose (see *The Silmarillion* pp. 74–5), and it was a necessary part of that purpose that the Solosimpi should be present (in *The Silmarillion* 'Only the Teleri beyond the mountains still sang upon the shores of the sea; for they recked little of seasons or times . . .').

Of Melko's dark accomplices out of Mandos (some of them said to be 'aforetime children of Mandos', p. 154) there is no trace later, nor of his theft of Oromë's horses; and while Melko is here said to have wished to leave Valinor by passes over the northern mountains, but to have thought better of it (leading to a reflection on what might have been the fate of Valinor had he not), in the later story his movement northwards was a feint. But it is interesting to observe the germ of the one in the other, the underlying idea never lost of a northward and then a southward movement, even though it takes place at a different point in the narrative and has a different motivation.

Interesting also is the emergence of the idea that a close kinsman of Fëanor's – only after much hesitation between brother and son becoming

fixed on the father – was slain by Melkor in the dwelling of the Noldoli, Sirnúmen, precursor of Formenos; but the father had yet to be identified with the lord of the Noldoli.

In this passage there are some slight further geographical indications. The Two Trees stood to the north of the city of Valmar (p. 143), as they are shown on the map (see pp. 81–2); and, again in agreement with the map, the Great Lands and the Outer Lands came very close together in the far North (p. 146). Most notably, the gap in the Mountains of Valinor shown on the map and which I marked with the letter *e* is now explained: 'the low place in the hills' by which Melko and his following passed out of Valinor into Arvalin-Eruman, a gap left by Tulkas and Aulë for their own entry into Valinor at the time of the raising of the mountains (p. 145).

Of the next part of this tale (pp. 146–9) almost nothing survived. Manwë's lecture to the Noldoli disappeared (but some of its content is briefly expressed at another place in the narrative of *The Silmarillion*, p. 68: 'The Noldor began to murmur against [the Valar], and many became filled with pride, forgetting how much of what they had and knew came to them in gift from the Valar'). Manwë's naming of Fëanor's father Bruithwir by the patronymic *go-Maidros* is notable: though the name *Maidros* was subsequently to be that of Fëanor's eldest son, not of his grandfather, it was from the outset associated with the 'Fëanorians'. There is no trace later of the strange story of the renegade servant of Mandos, who brought Melko's outrageous message to the Valar, and who was hurled to his death from Taniquetil by the irrepressible Tulkas in direct disobedience to Manwë; nor of the sending of Sorontur to Melko as the messenger of the Gods (it is not explained how Sorontur knew where to find him). It is said here that afterwards 'Sorontur and his folk fared to the Iron Mountains and there abode, watching all that Melko did'. I have noticed in commenting (pp. 111–12) on *The Chaining of Melko* that the Iron Mountains, said to be south of Hisilómë (pp. 101, 118), there correspond to the later Mountains of Shadow (*Ered Wethrin*). On the other hand, in the *Tale of the Sun and Moon* (p. 176) Melko after his escape from Valinor makes himself 'new dwellings in that region of the North where stand the Iron Mountains very high and terrible to see'; and in the original *Tale of Turambar** it is said that Angband lay beneath the roots of the northernmost fastnesses of the Iron Mountains, and that these mountains were so named from 'the Hells of Iron' beneath them. The statement in the present tale that Sorontur 'watched all that Melko did' from his abode in the Iron Mountains obviously implies likewise that Angband was beneath them; and the story that Sorontur (Thorondor) had his eyries on Thangorodrim before he removed them to Gondolin survived long in the 'Silmarillion' tradition (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 43 and note 25). There is thus, apparently, a contradictory usage of the term

* The actual title of this tale is *The Tale of Turambar and the Foalókë*, the *Foalókë* being the Dragon.

'Iron Mountains' within the *Lost Tales*; unless it can be supposed that these mountains were conceived as a continuous range, the southerly extension (the later Mountains of Shadow) forming the southern fence of Hisilómë, while the northern peaks, being above Angband, gave the range its name. Evidence that this is so will appear later.

In the original story the Noldoli of Sirnúmen were given permission (through the intercession of Aulë) to return to Kôr, but Fëanor remained there in bitterness with a few others; and thus the situation of the later narrative – the Noldor in Tirion, but Fëanor at Formenos – is achieved, with the element absent of Fëanor's banishment and unlawful return to the city of the Elves. An underlying difference to be noted is that in *The Silmarillion* (pp. 61–2) the Vanyar had long since departed from Tirion and gone to dwell on Taniquetil or in Valinor: of this there is no suggestion in the old tale; and of course there is the central structural difference between the early and late narratives – when Fëanor raises his standard of rebellion the Trees are still shining in Valinor.

In the tale, a good while seems to elapse after the loss of the treasures of the Noldoli, during which they set to work again with lessened joy and Fëanor sought in vain to remake the Silmarils: this element must of course disappear in the later, much tauter structure, where Fëanor (refusing to hand over the Silmarils to the Valar for the healing of the Trees and not yet knowing that Melko has taken them) knows without attempting it that he cannot remake them any more than Yavanna can remake the Trees.

The embassage of Fëanor and other Noldoli to Manwë, demanding that the Gods ferry them back to the Great Lands, was excised, and with it Manwë's remarkable instruction to them concerning the coming of Men – and his expressed reluctance to have the Eldar return to 'the world' while Men were still in their infancy. No such idea is represented in *The Silmarillion* as being in Manwë's mind (nor is there any suggestion that Manwë's knowledge was so great); and indeed, where in the old story it was Manwë's very description of Men and account of his policy with regard to them that gave rise to Fëanor's rhetoric against them, and which gave strong colour to his assertion of the Valar's true motive for bringing the Eldar to Valinor, in *The Silmarillion* (p. 68) these ideas are a part of the lies of Melkor (I have noticed above that in Melko's persuasions of the Noldoli in the tale there is no reference to the coming of Men).

An otherwise unknown element in the Music of the Ainur is revealed in Manwë's words: that the world shall come in the end for a great while under the sway of Men. In the original version there are several suggestions in reflective asides that all was fated: so here 'the jealousy of Elves and Men' is seen as perhaps a necessary part of the unfolding of the history of the world, and earlier in the tale (p. 142) it is asked: 'Who shall say but that all these deeds, even the seeming needless evil of Melko, were but a portion of the destiny of old?'

But for all the radical changes in the narrative the characteristic note of Fëanor's rhetoric remained; his speech to the Noldoli of Kôr rises in

the same rhythms as his speech by torchlight to the Noldor of Tirion (*The Silmarillion* pp. 82–3).

In the story of Melko and Ungoliont it is seen that essential elements were present *ab initio*: the doubt as to her origin, her dwelling in the desolate regions in the south of the Outer Lands, her sucking in of light to bring forth webs of darkness; her alliance with Melko, his rewarding her with the gems stolen from the Noldoli (though this was differently treated later), the piercing of the Trees by Melko and Ungoliont's sucking up the light; and the great hunt mounted by the Valar, which failed of its object through darkness and mist, allowing Melko to escape out of Valinor by the northward ways.

Within this structure there are as almost always a great many points of difference between the first story and the later versions. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 73) Melkor went to Avathar because he knew of Ungoliant's dwelling there, whereas in the tale she found him wandering there seeking a way of escape. In the tale her origin is unknown, and though this element may be said to have remained in *The Silmarillion* ('The Eldar know not whence she came', *ibid.*), by the device of 'Some have said . . .' a clear explanation is in fact given: she was a being from 'before the world', perverted by Melkor, who had been her lord, though she denied him. The original idea of 'the primeval spirit Móru' (p. 151) is made explicit in an entry in the early word-list of the Gnomish language, where the name *Muru* is defined as 'a name of the Primeval Night personified as Gwerlum or Gungliont'.*

The old story markedly lacks the quality of the description in *The Silmarillion* of the descent of Melkor and Ungoliant from Mount Hyarmentir into the plain of Valinor; and there too the great festival of the Valar and Eldar was in progress at the time: here it is long since over. In *The Silmarillion* the assault on the Trees came at the time of the mingling of the lights (p. 75), while here Silpion was in full bloom; and the detail of the account of the destruction of the Trees is rendered quite different through the presence of the Gnome Daurin, afterwards abandoned without trace. Thus in the old story it is not actually said that Ungoliont drank the light of Silpion, but only that the tree died from her poison on Daurin's blade, with which Melko stabbed its trunk; and in *The Silmarillion* Ungoliant went to 'the Wells of Varda' and drank them dry also. It is puzzling that the Gnome was first named Fëanor, since he was slain by Melko. It would seem that my father was at least momentarily entertaining the idea that Fëanor would play no part in the story of the Noldoli in the Great Lands; but in outlines for a later tale (pp. 238-9) he died in Mithrim. In this passage is the first appearance of *miruvor*, defined in the early Qenya word-list as 'nectar, drink of the Valar'; with this cf. *The Road Goes Ever On*, p. 61, where my father stated that it was the name given by the Valar to the drink poured at their festivals,

* In the tale (see p. 156) the name *Gungliont* was originally written, but was emended to *Ungoliont*.

and compared it to the nectar of the Olympian Gods (in the translation of *Namárië* he rendered *miruvórë* 'nectar', *ibid.* p. 58).

Most important of the differences in the tale is the immediate return of Ungoliont to her lair in the south, so that all the story in *The Silmarillion* (pp. 80–1) of 'the Thieves' Quarrel', the rescue of Melkor by the Balrogs, and Ungoliant's coming into Nan Dungortheb, is absent from the narrative in the *Lost Tales*; the surrender of the gems of the Noldoli to Ungoliont takes place in the early version at the time of her first meeting with Melko – in *The Silmarillion* he did not then possess them, for the attack on Formenos had not yet taken place.

VII
THE FLIGHT OF THE NOLDOLI

There is no break in Lindo's narrative, which continues on in the same hastily-pencilled form (and near this point passes to another similar notebook, clearly with no break in composition), but I have thought it convenient to introduce a new chapter, or a new 'Tale', here, again taking the title from the cover of the book.

'Nonetheless the Gods did not give up hope, but many a time would meet beneath the ruined tree of Laurelin and thence break and scour the land of Valinor once more unwearingly, desiring fiercely to avenge the hurts done to their fair realm; and now the Eldar at their summons aided in the chase that labours not only in the plain but toils both up and down the slopes of the mountains, for there is no escape from Valinor to west, where lie the cold waters of the Outer Seas.

But Fëanor standing in the square about Inwë's house in topmost Kôr will not be silenced, and cries out that all the Noldoli shall gather about him and hearken, and many thousands of them come to hear his words bearing slender torches, so that that place is filled with a lurid light such as has never before shone on those white walls. Now when they are gathered there and Fëanor sees that far the most of the company is of the kin of the Noldor[1] he exhorts them to seize now this darkness and confusion and the weariness of the Gods to cast off the yoke – for thus demented he called the days of bliss in Valinor – and get them hence carrying with them what they might or listed. "If all your hearts be too faint to follow, behold I Fëanor go now alone into the wide and magic world to seek the gems that are my own, and perchance many great and strange adventures will there befall me more worthy of a child of Ilúvatar than a servant of the Gods."[2]

Then is there a great rush of those who will follow him at once, and though wise Nólemë speaks against this rashness they will not hear him, and ever the tumult groweth wilder. Again Nólemë pleads that at least they send an embassy to Manwë to take due farewell and maybe get his goodwill and counsel for their journeying, but Fëanor persuades them to cast away even such moderate wisdom, saying that to do so were but to court refusal, and that Manwë would

forbid them and prevent them: "What is Valinor to us," say they, "now that its light is come to little – as lief and liever would we have the untrammeled world." Now then they arm themselves as best they may – for nor Elves nor Gods in those days bethought themselves overmuch of weapons – and store of jewels they took and stuffs of raiment; but all their books of their lore they left behind, and indeed there was not much therein that the wise men among them could not match from memory. But Nólemë seeing that his counsel prevailed not would not be separated from his folk, and went with them and aided them in all their preparations. Then did they get them down the hill of Kôr lit by the flame of torches, and so faring in haste along the creek and the shores of that arm of the Shadowy Sea that encroached here upon the hills they found the seaward dwellings of the Solosimpi.

The next short section of the text was struck through afterwards, the words 'Insert the Battle of Kópas Alqalunten' written across it, and replaced by a rider. The rejected section reads:

The most of that folk were gone a-hunting with the Gods, but some of those that remained they suaded to cast in their lot with them, as already had some of the Teleri, but of the Inwir none would hearken to their words. Now having nigh as many maids and women as of men and boys (albeit many especially of the youngest children were left in Kôr and Sirnúmen) they were at a loss, and in this extremity, being distraught with sorrows and wildered in mind, the Noldoli did those deeds which afterwards they most bitterly rued – for by them was the displeasure laid heavily on all their folk and the hearts even of their kindred were turned against them for a while.

Coming upon Cópas where was a haven of great quiet beloved of the Solosimpi they seized all the ships of that people and embarked thereon their womenfolk and children and some few [?others] wherewith were those of the Solosimpi who had joined them, for these had a skill in navigation. In this way marching endlessly along the beach that grew wilder and more evil going as it trended to the North, while the fleet coasted beside them not far out to sea, it has been said to me that the Noldoli got them from Valinor; however I know not the matter deeply, and maybe there are tales known to none of the Gnome-kin that relate more clearly the sad happenings of that time. Moreover have I heard say

The rider that replaces this passage was written carefully and very legibly in ink on separate sheets, at how great an interval of time I cannot say.

The Kinslaughter
(Battle of Kópas Alqalunten)

The most of that folk were gone a-hunting with the Gods, but many there were gathered about the beaches before their dwellings and dismay was abroad among them, yet still were no few busy about the places of their ships, and the chief of these was that one they named Kópas, or more fully Kópas Alqaluntë, the Haven of the Swanships.* Now Swanhaven was like a bason of quiet waters, save that towards the eastward and the seas the ring of rocks that enclosed it sank somewhat, and there did the sea pierce through, so that there was a mighty arch of living stone. So great was this that save of the mightiest ships two might pass therethrough, one going out maybe and another seeking inward to the quiet blue waters of the haven, nor would the mast-tops come nigh to grazing on the rock. Not much of the light of the Trees came thither aforetime by reason of the wall, wherefore was it lit ever with a ring of lamps of gold, and lanterns there were too of many colours tokening the wharves and landings of the different houses; but through the arch the pale waters of the Shadowy Seas might distantly be glimpsed, lit faintly with the shining of the Trees. Very beautiful was that harbour to gaze upon, what time the white fleets came shimmering home and the troubled waters broke the mirrored radiance of the lamps into rippling lights, weaving strange patterns of many twinkling lines. But now were all those vessels lying still, and a deep gloom was settled on the place at the fading of the Trees.

Of the Solosimpi none would hearken to the wild words of the Noldoli, save a few that might be counted on two hands; and so did that folk wander unhappily northward along the shores of Eldamar, even till they came to the cliff-tops that gazed down upon Swanhaven, and therefrom had the Solosimpi of old cut winding stairs in the rock leading down to the harbour's edge. Now northward thence the way was very rugged and evil, and the Noldoli had with them nigh as many maids and women as of men and boys (albeit many especially of the youngest children were left in Kôr and in Sirnúmen and many tears were shed thereat); wherefore were they now at a loss, and in this extremity, distraught with sorrows and wildered in mind, they here wrought those deeds which afterwards they have most bitterly

* In the margin is written *Ielfethýþ*. This is Old English, representing the interpretation of the Elvish name made by Eriol in his own language: the first element meaning 'swan' (*ielfetu*), and the second (later 'hithe') meaning 'haven, landing-place'.

repented – for by them was for a while the displeasure of the Gods laid heavily upon all their folk and the hearts even of the Eldalië were turned against them.

Behold, the counsel of Fëanor is that by no means can that host hope to win swiftly along the coast save by the aid of ships; "and these," said he, "an the shore-elves will not give them, we must take". Wherefore going down to the harbour they essayed to go upon those ships that there lay, but the Solosimpi said them nay, yet for the great host of the Gnome-folk they did not as yet resist; but a new wrath awoke there between Eldar and Eldar. So did the Noldoli embark all their womenfolk and children and a great host beside upon those ships, and casting them loose they oared them with a great multitude of oars towards the seas. Then did a great anger blaze in the hearts of the Shoreland Pipers, seeing the theft of those vessels that their cunning and long labours had fashioned, and some there were that the Gods had made of old on Tol Eressëa as has been recounted, wondrous and magic boats, the first that ever were. So sprang up suddenly a voice among them: "Never shall these thieves leave the Haven in our ships", and all those of the Solosimpi that were there ran swiftly atop of the cliff-wall to where the archway was wherethrough that fleet must pass, and standing there they shouted to the Gnomes to return; but these heeded them not and held ever on their course, and the Solosimpi threatened them with rocks and strung their elfin bows.

Seeing this and believing war already to be kindled came now those of the Gnomes who might not fare aboard the ships but whose part it was to march along the shores, and they sped behind the Solosimpi, until coming suddenly upon them nigh the Haven's gate they slew them bitterly or cast them in the sea; and so first perished the Eldar neath the weapons of their kin, and that was a deed of horror. Now the number of the Solosimpi that fell was very many, and of the Gnomes not a few, for they had to fight hard to win their way back from those narrow cliff-top paths, and many of the shore-land folk hearing the affray were gathered in their rear.

At length however it is done, and all those ships have passed out to the wide seas, and the Noldoli fared far away, but the little lamps are broken and the Haven is dark and very still, save for the faint sound of tears. Of like kind were all the works of Melko in this world.

Now tells the tale that as the Solosimpi wept and the Gods scoured all the plain of Valinor or sat despondent neath the ruined Trees a great age passed and it was one of gloom, and during that

time the Gnome-folk suffered the very greatest evils and all the unkindliness of the world beset them. For some marched endlessly along that shore until Eldamar was dim and forgotten far behind, and wilder grew the ways and more impassable as it trended to the North, but the fleet coasted beside them not far out to sea and the shore-farers might often see them dimly in the gloom, for they fared but slowly in those sluggish waves.

Yet of all the sorrows that walked those ways I know not the full tale, nor have any told it, for it would be an ill tale, and though the Gnomes relate many things concerning those days more clearly than I can, yet do they in no wise love to dwell upon the sad happenings of that time and will not often awake its memory. Nonetheless have I heard it said

The inserted rider ends here and we return to the original roughly-pencilled text:

that never would they have made the dreadful passage of the Qerka-ringa[3] had they or yet been subject to weariness, sickness, and the many weaknesses that after became their lot dwelling far from Valinor. Still was the blessed food of the Gods and their drink rich in their veins and they were half-divine – but no *limpë* had they as yet to bring away, for that was not given to the fairies until long after, when the March of Liberation was undertaken, and the evils of the world which Melko poisoned with his presence soon fell upon them.'

'Nay, if thou wilt forgive me bursting in upon thy tale,' quoth Eriol, 'what meaneth thy saying "the dread passage of the Qerka-ringa"?'

'Know then,' said Lindo, 'that the trend of the coasts of Eldamar and those coasts that continue that strand northward beyond the wide haven of Kópas is ever to the East, so that after uncounted miles, more northward even than the Mountains of Iron and upon the confines of the Icy Realms, the Great Seas aided by a westerly bend of the shores of the Great Lands dwindle to a narrow sound. Now the passage of that water is of impassable peril, for it is full of evil currents and eddies of desperate strength, and islands of floating ice swim therein, grinding and crashing together with a dread noise and destroying both great fish and vessels, do any ever dare to venture there. In those days however a narrow neck, which the Gods after destroyed, ran out from the western land almost to the eastern shores, yet it was of ice and snow [?pillared] and torn into gaps and cliffs and was all but untraversable, and that was the

Helkaraksë or Icefang,[4] and it was a remnant of the old and terrible ices that crept throughout those regions ere Melko was chained and the North became clement for a while, and it maintained itself there by reason of the narrowness of the seas and the [?jamming] of the ice-isles floating down from the deepest North whither winter had withdrawn. Now that strip of water that flowed still between Icefang's tip and the Great Lands was called Qerkaringa or Chill Gulf.[5]

Had Melko indeed known of the Gnomes' wild attempt to cross it he might have overwhelmed them all in that ill place or done whatso he willed, but many months had gone since he himself had fled perchance by that very way, and he was now far afield. Say I not well, Rúmil, with regard to these things?'

'Thou hast told the true tale,' said Rúmil, 'yet hast thou not said how ere they came to Helkaraksë the host passed by that place where Mornië is wont to be beached, for there a steep and rugged path winds down from Mandos deep in the mountains that the souls whom Fui sends to Arvalin must tread.[6] There did a servant of Vefántur spy them and asking what might that wayfaring mean pled with them to return, but they answered him scornfully, so that standing upon a high rock he spoke to them aloud and his voice came even to the fleet upon the waves; and he foretold to them many of the evil adventures that after came to them, warning them against Melko, and at last he said: "Great is the fall of Gondolin", and none there understood, for Turondo son of Nólemë[7] was not yet upon the Earth. But the wise men stored his sayings, for Mandos and all his people have a power of prophecy, and these words were treasured long among them as the Prophecies of Amnos, for thus was the place where they were spoken called at that time, which now is Hanstovánen[8] or the beaching place of Mornië.

After that the Noldoli journeyed slowly, and when the awful isthmus of Helkaraksë was before them some were for ferrying all the host, part at a time, across the sea, venturing rather over the perilous waters than seeking to find passage over the gulfs and treacherous crevasses of the isthmus of ice. This they tried, and a great ship was lost with all aboard by reason of a certain fearsome eddy that was in the bay nigh where Helkaraksë jutted from the western mainland; and that eddy at times spins around like a vast top and shrieks with a loud wailing noise most terrible to hear, and such things as approach are sucked down to its monstrous deep and crushed there upon jags of ice and rock; and the name of the eddy is Wiruin. Wherefore are the Noldoli in great anguish and perplexity, for even could they find a way through the terrors of the Helkaraksë,

behold they cannot even so reach the inner world, for still there lies that gap at the far end, and though but narrow the screech of water rushing therethrough can be heard thus far away, and the boom of ice splitting from the cape came to them, and the crash and buffet of the ice-isles that thrust down from the North through that dreadful strait.

Now the presence of those floating isles of ice no doubt was due to the presence of Melko once more in the far North, for winter had retreated to the uttermost North and South, so that almost it had no foothold in the world remaining in those days of peace that are called Melko's Chains; but nonetheless it was this very activity of Melko that in the end proved the salvation of the Noldoli, for behold they now are constrained to lead all their womenfolk and the mariners of their host out of the ships, and there on those bleak shores they beach them and set now a miserable encampment.

Songs name that dwelling[9] the Tents of Murmuring, for there arose much lamentation and regret, and many blamed Fëanor bitterly, as indeed was just, yet few deserted the host for they suspected that there was no welcome ever again for them back to Valinor – and this some few who sought to return indeed found, though this entereth not into this tale.

When their woes are now at the blackest and scarce any look for return of any joy again, behold winter unfurls her banners again and marches slowly south clad in ice with spears of frost and lashes of hail. Yet so great is the cold that the floating ice packs and jams and piles like hills between the end of Helkaraksë[10] and the Eastern land, and in the end does it become so strong that the current moves it not. Then abandoning their stolen ships they leave their sorrowful encampment and strive to cross the terrors of the Qerkaringa. Who shall tell of their misery in that march or of those numbers who were lost, falling into great pits of ice where far below hidden water boiled, or losing their way until cold overcame them – for evil as it was so many and desperate things befell them after in the Great Lands that it was lessened in their minds to a thing of less worth, and in sooth tales that told of the leaving of Valinor were never sweet in the ears of the Noldoli after, were they thralls or citizens of Gondolin. Yet even so such things may not slay the Gnome-kin, and of those there lost still 'tis said some wander sadly there among the icehills, unknowing of all things that have befallen their folk, and some essayed to get them back to Valinor, and Mandos has them, and some following after found in long days their unhappy kin again. Howso it be, a gaunt and lessened band indeed did in the end reach the

rocky soil of the Eastern lands, and there stood looking backward over the ice of Helkaraksë and of Qerkaringa at the spurs of hills beyond the sea, for far away in the gathering southward mists rose those most glorious heights of Valinor, fencing them for ever from their kindred and their homes.

Thus came the Noldoli into the world.'

And with those words of Rúmil's the story of the darkening of Valinor was at an end.

'Great was the power of Melko for ill,' saith Eriol, 'if he could indeed destroy with his cunning the happiness and glory of the Gods and of the Elves, darkening the light of their hearts no less than of their dwelling, and bringing all their love to naught! This must surely be the worst deed that ever he has done.'

'Of a truth never has such evil again been done in Valinor,' said Lindo, 'but Melko's hand has laboured at worse things in the world, and the seeds of his evil have waxen since those days to a great and terrible growth.'

'Nay,' said Eriol, 'yet can my heart not think of other griefs, for sorrow at the destruction of those most fair Trees and the darkness of the world.'

NOTES

1 The manuscript seems certainly to have the form *Noldor* here. – It is to be remembered that in the old story the Teleri (i.e. the later Vanyar) had not departed from Kôr; see p. 159.

2 At the top of the manuscript page and fairly clearly referring to Fëanor's words my father wrote: 'Increase the element of the desire for Silmarils'. Another note refers to the section of the narrative that begins here and says that it 'wants a lot of revision: the [?thirst ?lust] for jewels – especially for the sacred Silmarils – wants emphasizing. And the all-important battle of Cópas Alqaluntë where the Gnomes slew the Solosimpi must be inserted.' This note was then struck through and marked 'done', but only the latter direction was in fact followed: this is the rider on the Kinslaughter given on pp. 164–6.

3 Against this my father wrote in the margin: '*Helkaraksë* Icefang *Qerkaringa* the water'; see note 5.

4 *Helkaraksë or Icefang*: earlier reading *Qerkaringa*; see note 5.

5 This passage, from '"Know then," said Lindo . . .', replaces an earlier version which I do not give, for it contains almost nothing that is not in the replacement; and the last sentence of the replacement is a later addition still. It is to be noted however that in the first version the neck of land is called *Qerkaringa* (as also in the replacement passage at first, see note 4), with the remark that 'the name has also

been given to the sound beyond'. This then was the earlier idea: *Qerkaringa* the name primarily of the neck of land, but extended also to the sound (presumably at that stage *querka* did not mean 'gulf'). My father than decided that *Qerkaringa* was the name of the sound and introduced the name *Helkaraksë* for the neck of land; hence the marginal annotation given in note 3 above. At this point he added the last sentence of the replacement passage, 'Now that strip of water that flowed still between Icefang's tip and the Great Lands was called Qerkaringa or Chill Gulf', and emended *Qerkaringa* in the body of the passage (note 4) to *Helkaraksë or Icefang*, carrying this change through the rest of the tale (on p. 169 *of Qerkaringa* > *of Helkaraksë and of Qerkaringa*).

6 For the path down from Mandos, the black ship Mornië, and its journey down the coast to Arvalin, see pp. 77, 90 ff.

7 Turondo or Turgon, son of Nólemë, has been named previously, p. 115.

8 The reading *Hanstovánen* is slightly uncertain, and another name 'or . . . . . *Mornien*' follows it. See under 'Changes made to names' below.

9 After the word 'dwelling' there is a space left for the insertion of an Elvish name.

10 MS *Qerkaringa* unemended, but clearly the western promontory (the Icefang) is referred to, and I therefore read *Helkaraksë* in the text (see note 5).

Changes made to names in *The Flight of the Noldoli*

Helkaraksë < *Qerkaringa* (for the details of, and the explanation of this change see note 5 above).

Arvalin < *Habbanan.*

Amnos < *Emnon* < *Morniento.*

Hanstovánen The name of 'the beaching place of Mornië' was first written *Mornielta* (last letters uncertain), then *Vane* (or *Vone*) *Hansto*; this latter was not struck out, but the form in the text (which may also be read as *Hanstavánen*) seems to be the final one. After *Hanstovánen* follows 'or . . . . . *Mornien*'.

Commentary on *The Flight of the Noldoli*

In this 'tale' (in reality the conclusion of the long tale of 'The Theft of Melko and the Darkening of Valinor' told by Lindo and finished by

Rúmil) is found the oldest account of the departure of the Gnomes out of Valinor. Here the Gods continue the vain pursuit and search long after Melko has escaped, and moreover are aided in it by the Eldar (including the Solosimpi, who as the later Teleri portrayed in *The Silmarillion* would hardly have left their shores and their ships). Fëanor's return to Kôr and his haranguing of the Noldoli (and, in this account, others) by the light of their torches is seen to be an original feature; but his sons have not yet appeared, nor indeed any of the Noldorin princes descended from Finwë save Turondo (Turgon), of whom it is specifically stated (p. 167) that he was 'not yet upon the Earth'. There is no Oath of Fëanor, and the later story of the divided counsels of the Noldor appears only in the attempt of Nólemë (Finwë) to calm the people – Nólemë thus playing the later part of Finarfin (*The Silmarillion* p. 83). In *The Silmarillion*, after the Kinslaying at Alqualondë and the Prophecy of the North, Finarfin and many of his people returned to Valinor and were pardoned by the Valar (p. 88); but here those few who went back found there was no welcome for them, or else 'Mandos has them' (p. 168).

In the rejected section given on p. 163, which was replaced by the account of the battle of Kópas Alqualunten, the reference to 'those deeds which afterwards the Noldoli most bitterly rued' must be simply to the theft of the ships of the Solosimpi, since there is no suggestion of any worse actions (in the replacement passage almost the same words are used of the Kinslaying). The actual emergence of the idea that the Noldoli were guilty of worse than theft at Kópas is seen in a note in the little book (see p. 23) that my father used to jot down thoughts and suggestions – many of these being no more than single sentences, or mere isolated names, serving as reminders of work to be done, stories to be told, or changes to be made. This note reads:

> The wrath of the Gods and Elves very great – even let some Noldoli slay some Solosimpi at Kópas – and let Ulmo plead for them (? if Ulmo so fond of the Solosimpi).

This was struck through and marked 'done', and the recommendation here that Ulmo should plead for the Noldoli is found in the tale of *The Hiding of Valinor* (p. 209).

In the description of Kópas the 'mighty arch of living stone' survived into the 'arch of living rock sea-carved' in the much briefer description of Alqualondë in *The Silmarillion* (p. 61); and we see here the reason for the Haven's being 'lit with many lamps' (*ibid.*) – because little light came there from the Two Trees on account of the rock-wall around it (though the darkness of Alqualondë is implied by the statement in *The Silmarillion* that it 'lay upon the confines of Eldamar, north of the Calacirya, where the light of the stars was bright and clear').

The events at the Haven were differently conceived in detail from the later story, but still with much general agreement; and though the storm

raised by Uinen (*ibid.* p. 87) does not appear in the original version, the picture of the Noldoli journeying northward some along the shore and some in the vessels remained.

There are interesting indications of the geography of the northern regions. There is no suggestion of a great wasteland (later Araman) between the northern Mountains of Valinor and the sea, a conclusion reached earlier (p. 83), and supported incidentally by the accounts of the steep path from Mandos in the mountains down to the beaching place of the black ship Mornië (pp. 77, 167). The name *Helkaraksë*, 'Icefang', first appearing in emendations to the text and given to the neck or promontory running out from the western land, was afterwards re-applied to what is here called *Qerkaringa*, the strait filled with ice-floes that 'grind and crash together'; but this was when the *Helcaraxë*, 'the Grinding Ice', had come to have a quite different geographical significance in the much more sophisticated world-picture that my father evolved during the next 'phase' of the mythology.

In *The Silmarillion* (p. 87) there is a suggestion that the speaker of the Prophecy of the North was Mandos himself 'and no lesser herald of Manwë', and its gravity, indeed its centrality in the mythology, is far greater; here there is no suggestion of a 'doom' or 'curse', but only a foretelling. This foretelling included the dark words 'Great is the fall of Gondolin'. In the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* (but in an interpolated sentence very possibly later than the present tale) Turgon, standing upon the stairs of his palace amid the destruction of the city, uttered these same words, 'and men shuddered, for such were the words of Amnon the prophet of old'. Here *Amnon* (rather than *Amnos* as in the present text, itself an emendation from *Emnon*) is not a place but a person (the servant of Vefántur who uttered the prophecy?). In the little notebook referred to above occurs the following jotting:

> Prophecy of Amnon. Great is the fall of Gondolin. Lo Turgon shall not fade till the lily of the valley fadeth.

In some other notes for the *Lost Tales* this takes the form:

> Prophecy of Amnon. 'Great is the fall of Gondolin' and 'When the lily of the valley withers then shall Turgon fade'.

In these notes *Amnon* might be either place or person. The 'lily of the valley' is Gondolin itself, one of whose Seven Names was *Losengriol*, later *Lothengriol*, which is translated 'flower of the vale or lily of the valley'.

There is an interesting statement in the old story (p. 166) that the Noldoli would never have passed the ice if they had yet been subject to the 'weariness, sickness, and the many weaknesses that after became their lot dwelling far from Valinor', but 'still was the blessed food of the Gods and their drink rich in their veins and they were half-divine'. This is

echoed in the words of *The Silmarillion* (p. 90) that the Noldor were 'but new-come from the Blessed Realm, and not yet weary with the weariness of Earth'. On the other hand it was specifically said in the Prophecy of the North (*ibid.* p. 88) that 'though Eru appointed you to die not in Eä, *and no sickness may assail you*, yet slain ye may be, and slain ye shall be,' &c.

Of the treachery of the Fëanorians, sailing away in the ships and leaving the host of Fingolfin on the shores of Araman, there is of course in the old story no trace; but the blaming of Fëanor was already present ('the Tents of Murmuring', p. 168). It is a remarkable aspect of the earliest version of the mythology that while so much of the narrative structure was firm and was to endure, the later 'genealogical' structure had scarcely emerged. Turgon existed as the son of (Finwë) Nólemë, but there is no suggestion that Fëanor was close akin to the lord of the Noldoli, and the other princes, Fingolfin, Finarfin, Fingon, Felagund, do not appear at all, in any form, or by any name.

VIII
THE TALE OF THE SUN AND MOON

The *Tale of the Sun and Moon* is introduced by an 'Interlude' (as it is called in the manuscript) in which there appears, as a guest at Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva, one Gilfanon of Tavrobel. This interlude exists also in a rejected earlier version.

The tale itself is for most of its length a manuscript in ink over an erased pencilled original, but towards its end (see note 19) it becomes a primary manuscript in ink with the pencilled draft extant in another book.

The *Tale of the Sun and Moon* is very long, and I have shortened it in places in brief paraphrase, without omitting any detail of interest. (A note of my father's refers to this tale as 'in need of great revision, cutting-down, and [?reshaping]'.)

Gilfanon a·Davrobel

Now it is not to be thought that as Eriol hearkened to many tales which spake of divers sorrows of the Elves that the thirst for *limpë* grew less within him, for it was not so, and ever as the throng sat about the Tale-fire he was an eager questioner, seeking to learn all the history of the folk even down to those days that then were, when the elfin people dwelt again together in the isle.

Knowing now therefore something of the glorious fashion of their ancient home and of the splendour of the Gods, he pondered often on the coming of the days of Sunlight and of Moonsheen, and of the doings of the Elves in the world without, and of their adventures there with Men ere Melko compassed their estrangement; wherefore one night he said, sitting before the Tale-fire: 'Whence be the Sun and Moon, O Lindo? For as yet have I heard only of the Two Trees and their sad fading, but of the coming of Men, or of the deeds of the Elves beyond Valinor has no one told me.'

Now there happened that night to be present a guest both at their board and at their tale-telling, and his name was Gilfanon, and all named him beside Gilfanon a·Davrobel,[1] for he came from that region of the isle where stands the Tower of Tavrobel beside the rivers,[2] and about it dwelt the Gnome-folk still as one people, naming the places in their own tongue. That region was Gilfanon wont to

name the fairest of all the isle, and the Gnome-kin its best folk, albeit ere the coming of the folk thither long had he dwelt away from the Noldoli, faring with Ilkorins in Hisilómë and Artanor,[3] and thereto had he become as few Elves did a great friend and companion of the Children of Men of those days. To their legends and their memories he added his own knowledge, for he had been deep-versed in many lores and tongues once in the far days of Kôr, and experience had he beside of many very ancient deeds, being indeed one of the oldest of the fairies[4] and the most aged that now dwelt in the isle, albeit Meril held the title of Lady of the Isle by reason of her blood.

Therefore said Lindo now, answering Eriol: 'Behold, Gilfanon here can tell thee much of such matters, and it were well if you fared hence away with him to sojourn awhile in Tavrobel. – Nay, look not thus,' he laughed, seeing Eriol's face, 'for we do not banish thee yet – but of a sooth he who would drink of *limpë* were wise first to seek the guestkindliness of Gilfanon, in whose ancient house – the House of the Hundred Chimneys, that stands nigh the bridge of Tavrobel[5] – may many things be heard of both past and that are to come.'

'Methinks,' said Gilfanon to Eriol, 'that Lindo seeks to rid himself of two guests at once; howso he may not do so yet, for I purpose to stay in Kortirion a sennight yet, and moreover to feast at his good board meanwhile, and stretch me by the Tale-fire too – thereafter maybe thou and I will fare away and thou shalt see the full loveliness of the fairies' isle – but now let Lindo raise up his voice and tell us yet more of the splendour of the Gods and their works, a theme that never wearies him!'

At that was Lindo well-pleased, for of a truth he loved to tell such tales and sought often an occasion for recalling them, and said he: 'Then will I tell the story of the Sun and Moon and of the Stars, that Eriol may hearken to his desire,' and Eriol was well pleased, but Gilfanon said: 'Speak on, my Lindo – yet lengthen not the tale for ever.'

Then did Lindo lift up his voice,[6] and it was the most pleasant to hearken to of all tale-tellers, and he said:*

'A tale I tell of that time of the first flight of the Gnomes, and behold they are but newly fled. Now came that grievous news to the Gods and the other Elves, and at first none believed. Nonetheless the tidings came still unto them, and by many different messengers. Some were of the Teleri, who had heard the speech of Fëanor in the square of Kôr and had seen the Noldoli depart thence with all

* Written in the margin: 'Beginning of The Sun and Moon'.

the goods they might convey; others were of the Solosimpi, and these brought the dire tidings of the swanships' rape and the dread kinslaughter of the Haven, and the blood that lay on the white shores of Alqaluntë.

Lastly came some hotfoot from Mandos who had gazed upon that sad throng nigh the strands of Amnor, and the Gods knew that the Gnomes were far abroad, and Varda and all the Elves wept, for now seemed the darkness black indeed and that more than the outward light of the fair Trees was slain.

Strange is to tell that albeit Aulë had loved the Noldoli above all the Elves and had taught them all they knew and given them great stores of wealth, now was his heart most turned against them, for he deemed them ingrate in that they had bidden him no farewell, and for their ill deeds among the Solosimpi he was grieved to the heart. "Speak not," said he, "the name of the Noldoli ever again unto me," and albeit he gave still his love to those few faithful Gnomes who remained still about his halls, yet did he name them thereafter "Eldar".

But the Teleri and the Solosimpi having wept at first, when the onslaught of the Haven became known to all dried their tears and horror and anguish held their hearts, and they too spake seldom of the Noldoli, save sadly or in whispers behind closed doors; and those few of the Noldoli that remained behind were named the Aulenossë or kindred of Aulë, or were taken into the other kindreds, and the Gnome-folk has no place or name remaining now in all Valinor.

Now is it to tell that after a great while it seemed to Manwë that the hunt of the Gods availed nothing, and that surely Melko is now escaped out of Valinor; wherefore he sent Sorontur into the world, and Sorontur came not back for long, and still Tulkas and many others ranged the land, but Manwë stood beside the darkened Trees and his heart was very heavy as he pondered deep and gloomily, but at that time could he see little light of hope. Suddenly there is a sound of wings in that place, for Sorontur King of Eagles is come again on strong wings through the dusk, and behold alighting on the boughs of darkened Silpion he tells how Melko is now broken into the world and many evil spirits are gathered to him: "but," quoth he, "methinks never more will Utumna open unto him, and already is he busy making himself new dwellings in that region of the North where stand the Iron Mountains very high and terrible to see. Yet O Manwë Lord of the Air, other tidings have I also for thy ear, for lo! as I winged my way homeward hither over the black seas and over the unkindly lands a sight I saw of greatest wonder and amaze:

a fleet of white ships that drifted empty in the gales, and some were burning with bright fires, and as I marvelled behold I saw a great concourse of folk upon the shores of the Great Lands, and they gazed all westward, but some were still wandering in the ice – for know, this was at that place where are the crags of Helkaraksë and the murderous waters of Qerkaringa flowed of old, which now are stopped with ice. Swooping methought I heard the sound of wailing and of sad words spoken in the Eldar tongue; and this tale do I bring to thee for thy unravelling."

But Manwë knew thereby that the Noldoli were gone for ever and their ships burned or abandoned, and Melko too was in the world, and the hunt of no avail; and belike it is in memory of those deeds that it has ever been a saying in the mouths of Elves and Men that those burn their boats who put all hope from them of change of mind or counsel. Therefore now Manwë lifted up his unmeasurable voice calling to the Gods, and all those about the wide lands of Valinor hearkened and returned.

There first came Tulkas weary and dust-covered, for none had leapt about that plain as he. Seven times had he encompassed all its width and thrice had he scaled the mountain-wall, and all those measureless slopes and pastures, meads and forests, he had traversed, burnt by his desire to punish the spoiler of Valinor. There came Lórien and leaned against the withered bole of Silpion, and wept the wrack of his quiet gardens by the trampling hunt; there too was Meássë and with her Makar, and his hand was red for he had come upon twain of Melko's comrades as they fled, and he slew them as they ran, and he alone had aught of joy in those ill times. Ossë was there and his beard of green was torn and his eyes were dim, and he gasped leaning on a staff and was very much athirst, for mighty as he was about the seas and tireless, such desperate travail on the bosom of Earth spent his vigour utterly.

Salmar and Ómar stood by and their instruments of music made no sound and they were heavy of heart, yet not so bitterly as was Aulë, lover of the earth and of all things made or gained by good labour therefrom, for of all the Gods he had loved Valmar most wholly and Kôr and all their treasures, and the smile of the fair plains without, and its ruin cut his heart. With him was Yavanna, Earth-queen, and she had hunted with the Gods and was spent; but Vána and Nessa wept as maidens still beside the founts of gold Kulullin.

Ulmo alone came not to the Trees, but went down to the beach of Eldamar, and there he stood gazing into the gloom far out to

sea, and he called often with his most mighty voice as though he would draw back those truants to the bosom of the Gods, and whiles he played deep longing music on his magic conches, and to him alone, lest it be[7] Varda lady of the stars, was the going of the Gnomes a greater grief than even the ruin of the Trees. Aforetime had Ulmo loved the Solosimpi very dearly, yet when he heard of their slaughter by the Gnomes he grieved indeed but anger hardened not his heart, for Ulmo was foreknowing more than all the Gods, even than great Manwë, and perchance he saw many of the things that should spring from that flight and the dread pains of the unhappy Noldoli in the world, and the anguish wherewith they would expiate the blood of Kópas, and he would that it need not be.

Now when all were thus come together, then spake Manwë to them and told the tidings of Sorontur and how the chase had failed, but at that time the Gods were wildered in the gloom and had little counsel, and sought each one his home and places of old delight now dead, and there sat in silence and dark pondering. Yet some fared ever and anon out upon the plain and gazed wistfully at the faded Trees as though those withered boughs would one day burgeon with new light: but this came not to pass, and Valinor was full of shadows and of gloom, and the Elves wept and could not be comforted, and the Noldoli had bitter sorrow in the northern lands.

Thereafter in a great time it pierced the grief and the weariness of the Gods that light is gone from Valinor for ever, and that never again will those Trees bloom again at their appointed times. Only the light of the stars remained, save where a glow lay about the fountain of Kulullin playing still or a pale gleam lingered nigh deep Telimpë,[8] vat of dreams. Yet even these were dimmed and tarnished, for the Trees bore dew no more for their replenishment.

Wherefore does Vána arise and seek Lórien, and with them go Urwendi and Silmo[9] and many of both Vali and the Elves; and they gather much light of gold and silver in great vessels and fare sadly to the ruined Trees. There singeth Lórien most wistful songs of magic and enchantment about the stock of Silpion, and he bid water his roots with the radiance of Telimpë; and this was lavishly done, albeit small store thereof remained now in the dwellings of the Gods. In like manner doth Vána, and she sings old golden songs of the happier days, and bids her maidens dance their bright dances even such as they were used to dance upon the sward of the rose-gardens nigh Kulullin, and as they danced she flooded the roots of Laurelin with streams from out her golden jars.

Yet all their singing and enchantment is of little worth, and

though the roots of the Trees seem to drink all that they may pour yet can they see no stir of life renewed nor faintest gleam of light; nor withered leaf glows with sap nor blossom lifts its drooping stem. Indeed in the frenzy of their grief they had poured out all the last remaining stores of brightness that the Gods retained, had not of a fortune Manwë and Aulë come upon them in that hour, being drawn thither by their singing in the gloom, and stayed them, saying: "Lo, O Vána, and thou O Lórien, what is this rashness? And wherefore did ye not first take counsel of your brethren? For know ye not that that which ye spill unthinking upon the earth is become more precious than all the things the world contains; and when it is gone perchance not all the wisdom of the Gods may get us more."

Then Vána said: "Pardon, O Manwë Súlimo, and let my sorrow and my tears be my excuse; yet aforetime did this draught fail never to refresh the heart of Laurelin, and she bare ever in return a fruit of light more plentiful than we gave; and methought the Gods sat darkly in their halls and for the weight of their grief essayed no remedy of their ills. But behold now have Lórien and I put forth our spells and nought may they avail," and Vána wept.

Now was it the thought of many that those twain Lórien and Vána might not avail to heal the wounds of Laurelin and Silpion, in that no word of the Earth-lady, mother of magics, was mingled in their spells. Therefore many said: "Let us seek Palúrien, for of her magic maybe these Trees shall again know some portion of their ancient glory – and then if light be renewed Aulë and his craftsmen may repair the hurts of our fair realm, and happiness will be once more twixt Erumáni and the Sea"[10] – but of the darkness and ill days that had long been without the hills few recked or thought.

Now therefore they called for Yavanna, and she came and asked them what they would, and hearing she wept and spake before them, saying: "Know ye, O Valar, and ye sons and daughters of the Eldar, Children of Ilúvatar, first offspring of the forests of the Earth, that never may these Two Trees bloom again, and others like them may not be brought to life for many many ages of the world. Many things shall be done and come to pass, and the Gods grow old, and the Elves come nigh to fading, ere ye shall see the rekindling of these Trees or the Magic Sun relit," and the Gods knew not what she meant, speaking of the Magic Sun, nor did for a long while after. But Tulkas hearing said: "Why speakest thou these words, O Kémi Palúrien, for foretelling is not thy wont, and that of evil least of all?" And others there were who said: "Ay, and never before has Kémi

the Earth-lady been hard of counsel or lacked a spell of deepest virtue," and they besought her to put forth her power. But Yavanna said: " 'Tis of fate and the Music of the Ainur. Such marvels as those Trees of gold and silver may even the Gods make but once, and that in the youth of the world; nor may all my spells avail to do what ye now ask."

Then said Vána: "How then sayest thou, Aulë, mighty contriver, who art called *i·Talka Marda* – Smith of the World – for the might of thy works, how are we to obtain light that is needful to our joy? For what is Valinor without light, or what art thou an thou losest thy skill, as, meseems, in this hour thy spouse has done?"

"Nay," said Aulë, "light may not be fashioned by smithcraft, O Vána-Laisi, nor can any even of the Gods devise it, if the sap of the Trees of wonder be dried for ever." But Palúrien answering also said: "Lo, O Tuivána, and ye beside of the Vali and of the Elves, think ye only and always of Valinor, forgetting the world without? – for my heart saith to me that already were it time for the Gods to take up once more the battle for the world and expel therefrom the powers of Melko ere they be waxen to o'erwhelming strength." But Vána comprehended not Palúrien's mind, thinking only of her Tree of gold, and she abode ill-content; but Manwë and Varda, and with them Aulë and Yavanna, fared thence, and in secret conclave they took deep and searching counsel one of another, and at the last they bethought them of a rede of hope. Then did Manwë call together all the folk of Valinor once more; and that great throng was gathered even in Vána's bower amidst her roses, where Kulullin's fountains were, for the plain without lay now all cold and dark. There came even the leaders of the Elves and sat at the feet of the Gods, nor had that before been done; but when all were come together Aulë arose and said: "Hearken ye all. A rede has Manwë Súlimo Valatúru* to declare, and the mind of the Earth-lady and of the Queen of the Stars is therein, nor yet is my counsel absent."

Then was there a great silence that Manwë might speak, and he said: "Behold O my people, a time of darkness has come upon us, and yet I have it in mind that this is not without the desire of Ilúvatar. For the Gods had well-nigh forgot the world that lies without expectant of better days, and of Men, Ilúvatar's younger sons that soon must come. Now therefore are the Trees withered that so filled our land with loveliness and our hearts with mirth that wider desires came not into them, and so behold, we must turn now

* In margin: 'also *Valahiru*'.

our thoughts to new devices whereby light may be shed upon both the world without and Valinor within."

Then told he them concerning those stores of radiance they still possessed; for of silver light they had no great store save only that that yet lay in Telimpë, and a lesser measure that Aulë had in basons in his smithy. Some indeed had the Eldar lovingly saved in tiny vessels as it flowed and wasted in the soils about the stricken bole, but it was little enough.

Now the smallness of their store of white light was due to many causes, in that Varda had used greatly of it when she kindled mighty stars about the heavens, both at the coming of the Eldar and at other times. Moreover that Tree Silpion bore dew of light less richly far than Laurelin had been wont to do, and nonetheless, for it was less hot and fiery-subtle, did the Gods and Elves have need of it always in their magic crafts, and had mingled it with all manner of things that they devised, and in this were the Noldoli the chief.

Now golden light not even the Gods could tame much to their uses, and had suffered it to gather in the great vat Kulullin to the great increase of its fountains, or in other bright basons and wide pools about their courts, for the health and glory of its radiance was very great. 'Tis said indeed that those first makers of jewels, of whom Fëanor has the greatest fame, alone of the Eldar knew the secret of subtly taming golden light to their uses, and they dared use their knowledge but very sparingly, and now is that perished with them out of the Earth. Yet even of this golden radiance was there no unfailing source, now that Laurelin dripped her sweet dew no more. Of this necessity did Manwë shape his plan, and it was caught from that very sowing of the stars that Varda did of yore; for to each of the stars had she given a heart of silver flame set in vessels of crystals and pale glass and unimagined substances of faintest colours: and these vessels were some made like to boats, and buoyed by their hearts of light they fared ever about Ilwë, yet could they not soar into the dark and tenuous realm of Vaitya that is outside all. Now winged spirits of the utmost purity and beauty – even the most ethereal of those bright choirs of the Mánir and the Súruli who fare about the halls of Manwë on Taniquetil or traverse all the airs that move upon the world – sate in those starry boats and guided them on mazy courses high above the Earth, and Varda gave them names, but few of these are known.

Others there were whose vessels were like translucent lamps set quivering above the world, in Ilwë or on the very confines of Vilna and the airs we breathe, and they flickered and waned for the stirring

of the upper winds, yet abode where they hung and moved not; and of these some were very great and beautiful and the Gods and Elves among all their riches loved them; and thence indeed the jewel-makers catch their inspiration. Not least did they love Morwinyon of the west, whose name meaneth the glint at dusk, and of his setting in the heavens much has been told; and of Nielluin too, who is the Bee of Azure, Nielluin whom still may all men see in autumn or in winter burning nigh the foot of Telimektar son of Tulkas whose tale is yet to tell.

But lo! (said Lindo) the beauty of the stars hath drawn me far afield, and yet I doubt not in that great speech, the mightiest Manwë ever spake before the Gods, mention he made of them yet more loving than was mine. For behold, he desired in this manner to bring the hearts of the Gods to consider his design, and having spoken of the stars he shaped thus his final words: "Behold," said Manwë, "this is now the third essay of the Gods to bring light into dark places, and both the Lamps of the North and South, and the Trees of the plain, Melko hath brought to ruin. Now in the air only hath Melko no power for ill, wherefore it is my rede that we build a great vessel brimming with golden light and the hoarded dews of Laurelin, and this do set afloat like a mighty ship high above the dark realms of the Earth. There shall it thread far courses through the airs and pour its light on all the world twixt Valinórë and the Eastern shores."

Now Manwë designed the course of the ship of light to be between the East and West, for Melko held the North and Ungweliant the South, whereas in the West was Valinor and the blessed realms, and in the East great regions of dark lands that craved for light.

Now it is said (quoth Lindo) that, whereas certain of the Gods of their divine being might, an they wished, fare with a great suddenness of speed through Vilna and the low airs, yet might none even of the Valar, not Melko himself, nor any other save Manwë and Varda and their folk alone avail to pass beyond: for this was the word of Ilúvatar when he sped them to the world at their desire, that they should dwell for ever within the world if once they entered it, nor should leave it, until its Great End came, being woven about it in the threads of its fate and becoming part thereof. Yet more, to Manwë alone, knowing the purity and glory of his heart, did Ilúvatar grant the power of visiting the uttermost heights; and breathing the great clear Serene which lies so far above the world that no finest dust of it, nor thinnest odour of its lives, nor faintest echo of its song or sorrow comes there; but far below it gleams palely beneath the stars and the shadows of the Sun and Moon faring back and forth

from Valinor flutter upon its face. There walks Manwë Súlimo often far out beyond the stars and watches it with love, and he is very near the heart of Ilúvatar.

But this has ever been and is yet the greatest bitterness to Melko, for in no wise of himself could he now forsake the bosom of the Earth, and belike ye shall yet hear how mightily his envy was increased when the great vessels of radiance set sail; but now is it to tell that so moving were the words and so great their wisdom that[11] the most part of the Gods thought his purpose good, and they said: "Let Aulë busy himself then with all his folk in the fashioning of this ship of light", and few said otherwise, though 'tis told that Lórien was little pleased, fearing lest shadow and quiet and secret places ceased to be, and of a surety Vána might think of little else for the greatness of her vain desire to see the rekindling of the Trees.

Then said Aulë: "The task ye set me is of the utmost difficulty, yet will I do all that I may therein," and he begged the aid of Varda the starfashioner, and those twain departed and were lost in the gloom a great while.

The narrative continues with an account of the failure of Aulë and Varda to devise any substance that was not 'too gross to swim the airs or too frail to bear the radiance of Kulullin'; and when this was made known Vána and Lórien asked that, since Manwë's design had failed, he should command Yavanna to attempt the healing of the Trees.

At length therefore did Manwë bid Yavanna to put forth her power, and she was loath, but the clamour of the folk constrained her, and she begged for some of the radiance of white and gold; but of this would Manwë and Aulë spare only two small phials, saying that if the draught of old had power to heal the Trees already had they been blooming, for Vána and Lórien had poured it unstintingly upon their roots. Then sorrowfully Yavanna stood upon the plain and her form trembled and her face was very pale for the greatness of the effort that her being put forth, striving against fate. The phial of gold she held in her right hand and the silver in her left, and standing between the Trees she lifted them on high, and flames of red and of white arose from each like flowers, and the ground shook, and the earth opened, and a growth of flowers and plants leapt up therefrom about her feet, white and blue about her left side and red and gold about her right, and the Gods sat still and in amaze. Then going she cast each phial upon its proper Tree and sang the songs of unfading growth and a song of resurrection after death and withering; and suddenly she sang no more. Midway she stood between the

Trees and utter silence fell, then there was a great noise heard and none knew what passed, but Palúrien lay swooning on the Earth; but many leapt beside her and raised her from the ground, and she trembled and was afraid.

"Vain, O children of the Gods," she cried, "is all my strength. Lo, at your desire I have poured my power upon the Earth like water, and like water the Earth has sucked it from me – it is gone and I can do no more." And the Trees stood still gaunt and stark, and all the companies wept beholding her, but Manwë said: "Weep not, O children of the Gods, the irreparable harm, for many fair deeds may be yet to do, and beauty hath not perished on the earth nor all the counsels of the Gods been turned to nought"; but nonetheless folk left that place in sorrow, save Vána only, and she clung to the bole of Laurelin and wept.

Now was the time of faintest hope and darkness most profound fallen on Valinor that was ever yet; and still did Vána weep, and she twined her golden hair about the bole of Laurelin and her tears dropped softly at its roots; and even as the dew of her gentle love touched that tree, behold, a sudden pale gleam was born in those dark places. Then gazed Vána in wonder, and even where her first tears fell a shoot sprang from Laurelin, and it budded, and the buds were all of gold, and there came light therefrom like a ray of sunlight beneath a cloud.

Then sped Vána a little way out upon the plain, and she lifted up her sweet voice with all her power and it came trembling faintly to the gates of Valmar, and all the Valar heard. Then said Ómar: "'Tis the voice of Vána's lamentation," but Salmar said: "Nay, listen more, for rather is there joy in that sound," and all that stood by hearkened, and the words they heard were *I·kal'antúlien*, Light hath returned.

Loud then was the murmur about the streets of Valmar, and folk sped thronging over the plain, and when they beheld Vána beneath the Tree and the new shoot of gold then suddenly did a song of very mighty praise and joy burst forth on every tongue; and Tulkas said: "Lo, mightier have the spells of Yavanna proved than her foretelling!" But Yavanna gazing upon Vána's face said: "Alas, 'tis not so, for in this have my spells played but a lesser part, and more potent has the gentle love of Vána been and her falling tears a dew more healing and more tender than all the radiance of old: yet as for my foretelling, soon wilt thou see, O Tulkas, if thou dost but watch."

Then did all the folk gaze on Laurelin, and behold, those buds opened and put forth leaves, and these were of finest gold and of

other kind to those of old, and even as they watched the branch bore golden blossom, and it was thronged with flowers. Now as swiftly as its blossoms opened full it seemed a gust of wind came suddenly and shook them from their slender stems, blowing them about the heads of those that watched like jets of fire, and folk thought there was evil in that; but many of the Eldar chased those shining petals far and wide and gathered them in baskets, yet save such as were of golden threads or of other metals these might not contain those ardent blooms and were all consumed and burnt, that the petals were lost again.

One flower there was however greater than the others, more shining, and more richly golden, and it swayed to the winds but fell not; and it grew, and as it grew of its own radiant warmth it fructified. Then as its petals fell and were treasured a fruit there was of great beauty hanging from that bough of Laurelin, but the leaves of the bough grew sere and they shrivelled and shone no more. Even as they dropped to earth the fruit waxed wonderfully, for all the sap and radiance of the dying Tree were in it, and the juices of that fruit were like quivering flames of amber and of red and its pips like shining gold, but its rind was of a perfect lucency smooth as a glass whose nature is transfused with gold and therethrough the moving of its juices could be seen within like throbbing furnace-fires. So great became the light and richness of that growth and the weight of its fruitfulness that the bough bent thereunder, and it hung as a globe of fires before their eyes.

Then said Yavanna to Aulë: "Bear thou up the branch, my lord, lest it snap and the fruit of wonder be dashed rudely to the ground; and the greatest ruth would that be, for know ye all that this is the last flame of life that Laurelin shall show." But Aulë had stood by as one lost in sudden thought since first that fruit came to ripening, and he answered now saying: "Very long indeed did Varda and I seek through the desolate homes and gardens for materials of our craft. Now do I know that Ilúvatar has brought my desire into my hand." Then calling to Tulkas to aid him he severed the stem of that fruit, and they that behold gasped and were astonied at his ruthlessness.

Loudly they murmured, and some cried: "Woe to him that ravishes anew our Tree," and Vána was in great ire. Yet did none dare to draw nigh, for those twain Aulë and Tulkas might scarcely bear up even upon their godlike shoulders that great globe of flame and were tottering beneath it. Hearing their anger indeed Aulë stayed, saying: "Cease ye of little wisdom and have a patience," but

even with those words his foot went astray and he stumbled, and even Tulkas might not bear that fruit alone, so that it fell, and striking stony ground burst asunder. Straightway such a blinding radiance leapt forth as even the full bloom of Laurelin had not yielded of old, and the darkened eyes of the Vali were dazzled so that they fell back stunned; but a pillar of light rose from that place smiting the heavens that the stars paled above it and the face of Taniquetil went red afar off, and Aulë alone of all those there was unmoved by sorrow. Then said Aulë: "Of this can I make a ship of light – surpassing even the desire of Manwë," and now Varda and many others, even Vána, understood his purpose and were glad. But they made a mighty corbel of twisted gold, and strewing it with ardent petals of its own bloom they laid therein the halves of the fruit of noon and uplifting it with many hands bore it away with much singing and great hope. Then coming to the courts of Aulë they set it down, and thereupon began the great smithying of the Sun; and this was the most cunning-marvellous of all the works of Aulë Talkamarda, whose works are legion. Of that perfect rind a vessel did he make, diaphanous and shining, yet of a tempered strength, for with spells of his own he overcame its brittleness, nor in any way was its subtle delicacy thereby diminished.

Now the most ardent radiance poured therein neither spilled nor dimmed, nor did that vessel receive any injury therefrom, yet would it swim the airs more lightly than a bird; and Aulë was overjoyed, and he fashioned that vessel like a great ship broad of beam, laying one half of the rind within the other so that its strength might not be broken.

There follows an account of how Vána, repenting of her past murmurings, cut short her golden hair and gave it to the Gods, and from her hair they wove sails and ropes 'more strong than any mariner hath seen, yet of the slenderness of gossamer'. The masts and spars of the ship were all of gold.

Then that the Ship of the Heavens might be made ready unto the last, the unfading petals of the latest flower of Laurelin were gathered like a star at her prow, and tassels and streamers of glancing light were hung about her bulwarks, and a flash of lightning was caught in her mast to be a pennant; but all that vessel was filled to the brim with the blazing radiance of gold Kulullin and mingled therein drops of the juices of the fruit of noon, and these were very hot, and thereafter scarcely might the bosom of the Earth withhold her, and she leapt at her cords like a captive bird that listeth for the airs.

Then did the Gods name that ship, and they called her Sári which

is the Sun, but the Elves Úr which is fire;[12] but many other names does she bear in legend and in poesy. The Lamp of Vána is she named among the Gods in memory of Vána's tears and her sweet tresses that she gave; and the Gnomes call her Galmir the gold-gleamer[13] and Glorvent the ship of gold, and Bráglorin the blazing vessel, and many a name beside; and her names among Men no man has counted them.

Behold now it is to be told how while that galleon was a-building others nigh to where the Two Trees once grew fashioned a great bason and folk laboured mightily at it. Its floor they made of gold and its walls of polished bronze, and an arcade of golden pillars topped with fires engirdled it, save only on the East; but Yavanna set a great and nameless spell around it, so that therein was poured the most of the waters of the fruit of noon and it became a bath of fire. Indeed is it not called Tanyasalpë, the bowl of fire, even Faskalanúmen, the Bath of the Setting Sun, for here when Urwendi after returned from the East and the first sunset came on Valinor the ship was drawn down and its radiance refreshed against new voyagings on the morrow while the Moon held High Heaven.

Now the making of this place of fire is more wondrous than seems, for so subtle were those radiances that set in the air they spilled not nor sank, nay rather they rose and floated away far above Vilna, being of the utmost buoyancy and lightness; yet now did nought escape from Faskalan which burnt amid the plain, and light came to Valinor therefrom, yet by reason of the deepness of the bason it fared not far abroad and the ring of shadows stood close in.

Then said Manwë, looking upon the glory of that ship as it strained to be away: "Who shall steer us this boat and guide its course above the realms of Earth, for even the holy bodies of the Valar, meseems, may not for long endure to bathe in this great light."

But a great thought came into the heart of Urwendi, and she said that she was not adread, and begged leave to become the mistress of the Sun and to make herself ready for that office as Ilúvatar set it in her heart to do. Then did she bid a many of her maidens follow her, even of those who had aforetime watered the roots of Laurelin with light, and casting aside their raiment they went down into that pool Faskalan as bathers into the sea, and its golden foams went over their bodies, and the Gods saw them not and were afraid. But after a while they came again to the brazen shores and were not as before, for their bodies were grown lucent and shone as with an ardour within, and light flashed from their limbs as they moved, nor might any raiment endure to cover their glorious bodies any more. Like

air were they, and they trod as lightly as does sunlight on the earth, and saying no word they climbed upon the ship, and that vessel heaved against its great cords and all the folk of Valinor might scarce restrain it.

Now at last by Manwë's command do they climb the long slopes of Taniquetil and draw i·Kalaventë the Ship of Light along with them, nor is that any great task; and now do they stand on the wide space before great Manwë's doors, and the ship is on the western slope of the mountain trembling and tugging at its bonds, and already so great is its glory become that sunbeams pour out over the shoulders of Taniquetil and a new light is in the sky, and the waters of the Shadowy Seas beyond are touched with such fire as they never yet had seen. In that hour 'tis said that all creatures that wandered in the world stood still and wondered, even as Manwë going spake to Urwendi and said: "Go now, most wondrous maiden washed in fire, and steer the ship of divine light above the world, that joy may search out its narrowest crannies and all the things that sleep within its bosom may awake";[14] but Urwendi answered not, looking only eagerly to the East, and Manwë bade cast the ropes that held her, and straightway the Ship of the Morning arose above Taniquetil and the bosom of the air received it.

Ever as it rose it burned the brighter and the purer till all Valinor was filled with radiance, and the vales of Erúmáni and the Shadowy Seas were bathed in light, and sunshine was spilled on the dark plain of Arvalin, save only where Ungweliantë's clinging webs and darkest fumes still lay too thick for any radiance to filter through.

Then all looking up saw that heaven was blue, and very bright and beautiful, but the stars fled as that great dawn came upon the world; and a gentle wind blew from the cold lands to meet the vessel and filled its gleaming sails, and white vapours mounted from off the misty seas below toward her, that her prow seemed to cleave a white and airy foam. Yet did she waver not, for the Mánir that fared about her drew her by golden cords, and higher and higher the Sun's great galleon arose, until even to the sight of Manwë it was but a disc of fire wreathed in veils of splendour that slowly and majestically wandered from the West.

Now ever as it drew further on its way so grew the light in Valinor more mellow, and the shadows of the houses of the Gods grew long, slanting away towards the waters of the Outer Seas, but Taniquetil threw a great westering shadow that waxed ever longer and deeper, and it was afternoon in Valinor.'

Then said Gilfanon laughing: 'Nay, but, good sir, you lengthen

the tale mightily, for methinks you love to dwell upon the works and deeds of the great Gods, but an you set not a measure to your words our stranger here will live not to hear of those things that happened in the world when at length the Gods gave to it the light they so long had withholden – and such tales, methinks, were a variety pleasing to hear.'

But Eriol had of a sooth been listening very eagerly to the sweet voice of Lindo, and he said: 'But a little while agone, a day perchance the Eldar would esteem it, did I come hither, yet no longer do I love the name of stranger, neither will Lindo ever lengthen the tale beyond my liking, whatsoever he tells, but behold this history is all to my heart.'

But Lindo said: 'Nay, nay, I have indeed more to tell; yet, O Eriol, the things that Gilfanon hath upon his lips are well worth the hearing – indeed never have I nor any here heard a full count of these matters. As soon therefore as may be will I wind up my tale and make an end, but three nights hence let us have another tale-telling, and it shall be one of greater ceremony, and musics there shall be, and all the children of the House of Lost Play shall here be gathered together at his feet to hear Gilfanon relate the travail of the Noldoli and the coming of Mankind.'

Now these words mightily pleased Gilfanon and Eriol, and many beside were glad, but now doth Lindo proceed:

'Know then that to such vast heights did the Sunship climb, and climbing blazed ever hotter and brighter, that ere long its glory was wider than ever the Gods conceived of when that vessel was still harboured in their midst. Everywhere did its great light pierce and all the vales and darkling woods, the bleak slopes and rocky streams, lay dazzled by it, and the Gods were amazed. Great was the magic and wonder of the Sun in those days of bright Urwendi, yet not so tender and so delicately fair as had the sweet Tree Laurelin once been; and thus whisper of new discontent awoke in Valinor, and words ran among the children of the Gods, for Mandos and Fui were wroth, saying that Aulë and Varda would for ever be meddling with the due order of the world, making it a place where no quiet or peaceful shadow could remain; but Lórien sat and wept in a grove of trees beneath the shade of Taniquetil and looked upon his gardens stretching beneath, still disordered by the great hunt of the Gods, for he had not had the heart for their mending. There the nightingales were silent for the heat danced above the trees, and his poppies were withered, and his evening flowers drooped and gave no scent; and Silmo stood sadly by Telimpë that gleamed wanly as still waters rather than the shining dew of Silpion, so overmastering was the

great light of day. Then Lórien arose and said to Manwë: "Call back your glittering ship, O Lord of the Heavens, for the eyes of us ache by reason of its flaming, and beauty and soft sleep is driven far away. Rather the darkness and our memories than this, for this is not the old loveliness of Laurelin, and Silpion is no more." Nor were any of the Gods utterly content, knowing in their hearts that they had done a greater thing than they at first knew, and never again would Valinor see such ages as had passed; and Vána said that Kulullin's fount was dulled and her garden wilted in the heat, and her roses lost their hues and fragrance, for the Sun then sailed nearer to the Earth than it now does.

Then Manwë chid them for their fickleness and discontent, but they were not appeased; and suddenly spake Ulmo, coming from outer Vai: "Lord Manwë, neither are their counsels nor thine to be despised. Have ye then not yet understood, O Valar, wherein lay much of the great beauty of the Trees of old? – In change, and in slow alternation of fair things, the passing blending sweetly with that which was to come."

But Lórien said suddenly: "O Valatúru, the Lord of Vai speaketh words wiser than ever before, and they fill me with a great longing," and he left them thereupon and went out upon the plain, and it was then three daytimes, which is the length of three blossomings of Laurelin of old, since the Ship of Morning was unmoored. Then for four daytimes more sate Lórien beside the stock of Silpion and the shadows gathered shyly round him, for the Sun was far to the East, beating about the heavens where it listed, since Manwë had not as yet ruled its course and Urwendi was bidden fare as seemed good to her. Yet even so Lórien is not appeased, not though the darkness of the mountains creep across the plain, and a mist bloweth in from off the sea and a vague and flitting twilight gathers once more in Valinor, but long he sits pondering why the spells of Yavanna wrought only upon Laurelin.

Then Lórien sang to Silpion, saying that the Valar were lost 'in a wilderness of gold and heat, or else in shadows full of death and unkindly glooms,' and he touched the wound in the bole of the Tree.

Lo, even as he touched that cruel hurt, a light glowed faintly there as if radiant sap still stirred within, but a low branch above Lórien's bowed head burgeoned suddenly, and leaves of a very dark green, long and oval, budded and unfolded upon it, yet was all the Tree beside bare and dead and has ever been so since. Now it was at

that time seven times seven days since the fruit of noon was born upon Laurelin, and many of the Eldar and of the sprites and of the Gods were drawn nigh, listening to Lórien's song; but he heeded them not, gazing upon the Tree.

Lo, its new leaves were crusted with a silver moisture, and their undersides were white and set with pale gleaming filaments. Buds there were of flowers also upon the bough, and they opened, but a dark mist of the sea gathered about the tree, and the air grew bitterly cold as it never before had been in Valinor, and those blossoms faded and fell and none heeded them. One only was there at the branch's end that opening shone of its own light and no mist or cold harmed it, but indeed waxing it seemed to suck the very vapours and transform them subtly to the silver substance of its body; and it grew to be a very pale and wondrous glistering flower, nor did even the purest snow upon Taniquetil gleaming in the light of Silpion outrival it, and its heart was of white flame and it throbbed, waxing and waning marvellously. Then said Lórien for the joy of his heart: "Behold the Rose of Silpion", and that rose grew till the fruit of Laurelin had been but little greater, and ten thousand crystal petals were in that flower, and it was drenched in a fragrant dew like honey and this dew was light. Now Lórien would suffer none to draw near, and this will he rue for ever: for the branch upon which the Rose hung yielded all its sap and withered, nor even yet would he suffer that blossom to be plucked gently down, being enamoured of its loveliness and lusting to see it grow mightier than the fruit of noon, more glorious than the Sun.

Then snapped the withered bough and the Rose of Silpion fell, and some of its dewy light was roughly shaken from it, and here and there a petal was crushed and tarnished, and Lórien cried aloud and sought to lift it gently up, but it was too great. Therefore did the Gods let send to Aulë's halls, for there was a great silver charger, like to a table of the giants, and they set the latest bloom of Silpion upon it, and despite its hurts its glory and fragrance and pale magic were very great indeed.

Now when Lórien had mastered his grief and ruth he spake the counsel that Ulmo's words had called to his heart: that the Gods build another vessel to match the galleon of the Sun, "and it shall be made from the Rose of Silpion," said he, "and in memory of the waxing and waning of these Trees for twelve hours shall the Sunship sail the heavens and leave Valinor, and for twelve shall Silpion's pale bark mount the skies, and there shall be rest for tired eyes and weary hearts."

This then was the manner of the shaping of the Moon, for Aulë would not dismember the loveliness of the Rose of Silver, and he called rather to him certain of those Eldar of his household who were of the Noldoli of old[15] and had consorted with the jewel-makers. Now these revealed to him much store of crystals and delicate glasses that Fëanor and his sons[16] had laid up in secret places in Sirnúmen, and with the aid of those Elves and of Varda of the stars, who gave even of the light of those frail boats of hers to give limpid clearness to their fashioning, he brought to being a substance thin as a petal of a rose, clear as the most transparent elfin glass, and very smooth, yet might Aulë of his skill bend it and fashion it, and naming it he called it *vírin*. Of *vírin* now he built a marvellous vessel, and often have men spoken of the Ship of the Moon, yet is it scarce like to any bark that sailed or sea or air. Rather was it like an island of pure glass, albeit not very great, and tiny lakes there were bordered with snowy flowers that shone, for the water of those pools that gave them sap was the radiance of Telimpë. Midmost of that shimmering isle was wrought a cup of that crystalline stuff that Aulë made and therein the magic Rose was set, and the glassy body of the vessel sparkled wonderfully as it gleamed therein. Rods there were and perchance they were of ice, and they rose upon it like aëry masts, and sails were caught to them by slender threads, and Uinen wove them of white mists and foam, and some were sprent with glinting scales of silver fish, some threaded with tiniest stars like points of light – sparks caught in snow when Nielluin was shining.

Thus was the Ship of the Moon, the crystal island of the Rose, and the Gods named it Rána, the Moon, but the fairies Sil, the Rose,[17] and many a sweet name beside. Ilsaluntë or the silver shallop has it been called, and thereto the Gnomes have called it Minethlos or the argent isle and Crithosceleg the disc of glass.

Now Silmo begged to sail upon the oceans of the firmament therein, but he might not, for neither was he of the children of the air nor might he find a way to cleanse his being of its earthwardness as had Urwendi[18] done, and little would it have availed to enter Faskalan had he dared essay it, for then would Rána have shrivelled before him. Manwë bade therefore Ilinsor, a spirit of the Súruli who loved the snows and the starlight and aided Varda in many of her works, to pilot this strange-gleaming boat, and with him went many another spirit of the air arrayed in robes of silver and white, or else of palest gold; but an aged Elf with hoary locks stepped upon the Moon unseen and hid him in the Rose, and there dwells he ever since and tends that flower, and a little white turret has he

builded on the Moon where often he climbs and watches the heavens, or the world beneath, and that is Uolë Kúvion who sleepeth never. Some indeed have named him the Man in the Moon, but Ilinsor is it rather who hunts the stars.

Now is to tell how the plan that Lórien devised was changed, for the white radiance of Silpion is by no means so buoyant and ethereal as is the flame of Laurelin, nor *virin* so little weighty as the rind of the bright fruit of noon; and when the Gods laded the white ship with light and would launch it upon the heavens, behold, it would not rise above their heads. Moreover, behold, that living Rose continued to give forth a honey as of light that distills upon the isle of glass, and a dew of moonbeams glistens there, yet rather does this weigh the vessel than buoy it as did the increase of the Sunship's flames. So is it that Ilinsor must return at times, and that overflowing radiance of the Rose is stored in Valinor against dark days – and it is to tell that such days come ever and anon, for then the white flower of the isle wanes and scarcely shines, and then must it be refreshed and watered with its silver dew, much as Silpion was wont of old to be.

Hence was it that a pool was builded hard by the dark southern wall of Valmar, and of silver and white marbles were its walls, but dark yews shut it in, being planted in a maze most intricate about it. There Lórien hoarded the pale dewy light of that fair Rose, and he named it the Lake Irtinsa.

So comes it that for fourteen nights men may see Rána's bark float upon the airs, and for other fourteen the heavens know it not; while even on those fair nights when Rána fares abroad it showeth not ever the same aspect as doth Sári the glorious, for whereas that bright galleon voyageth even above Ilwë and beyond the stars and cleaveth a dazzling way blinding the heavens, highest of all things recking little of winds or motions of the airs, yet Ilinsor's bark is heavier and less filled with magic and with power, and fareth never above the skies but saileth in the lower folds of Ilwë threading a white swathe among the stars. For this reason the high winds trouble it at times, tugging at its misty shrouds; and often are these torn and scattered, and the Gods renew them. At times too are the petals of the Rose ruffled, and its white flames blown hither and thither like a silver candle guttering in the wind. Then doth Rána heave and toss about the air, as often you may see him, and mark the slender curve of his bright keel, his prow now dipping, now his stern; and whiles again he sails serenely to the West, and up through the pure lucency of his frame the wide Rose of Silpion is seen, and some say the aged form of Uolë Kúvion beside.

Then indeed is the Ship of the Moon very fair to look upon, and the Earth is filled with slender lights and deep quick-moving shadows, and radiant dreams go with cool wings about the world, but Lórien has ruth amid his gladness, because his flower bears yet, and will for ever, the faint marks of its bruising and its fall; and all men can see them clearly.

But[19] lo,' saith Lindo, 'I run on ahead, for yet have I only told that the silver ship is newly built, and Ilinsor yet but first stepped aboard – and now do the Gods draw that vessel once again up the steep sides of old Taniquetil singing as they go songs of Lórien's folk that long have been dumb in Valinor. Slower was that wayfaring than the lifting of the Ship of Morn, and all the folk strain lustily at the ropes, until Oromë coming harnesses thereto a herd of wild white horses, and thus comes the vessel to the topmost place.

Then behold, the galleon of the Sun is seen afar beating golden from the East, and the Valar marvel to descry the glowing peaks of many a mountain far away, and isles glimmering green in seas once dark. Then cried Ossë: "Look, O Manwë, but the sea is blue, as blue wellnigh as Ilwë that thou lovest!" and "Nay," said Manwë, "envy we not Ilwë, for the sea is not blue alone, but grey and green and purple, and most beauteous-flowered with foaming white. Nor jade nor amethyst nor porphyry set with diamonds and with pearls outrival the waters of the Great and little seas when the sunlight drenches them."

So saying Manwë sent Fionwë his son, swiftest of all to move about the airs, and bade him say to Urwendi that the bark of the Sun come back awhile to Valinor, for the Gods have counsels for her ear; and Fionwë fled most readily, for he had conceived a great love for that bright maiden long ago, and her loveliness now, when bathed in fire she sate as the radiant mistress of the Sun, set him aflame with the eagerness of the Gods. So was it that Urwendi brought her ship unwilling above Valinor, and Oromë cast a noose of gold about it, and it was drawn slowly down upon the Earth, and behold, the woods upon Taniquetil glowed once more in the mingled light of silver and of gold, and all were minded of the ancient blending of the Trees; but Ilsaluntë paled before the galleon of the Sun till almost it seemed to burn no more. So ended the first day upon the world, and it was very long and full of many marvellous deeds that Gilfanon may tell; but now the Gods beheld the evening deepen over the world as the Sunship was drawn down and the glow upon the mountains faded, and the sparkle of the seas went out. Then the primeval darkness crept out again once more from many stealthy lairs, but Varda was

glad to see the steady shining of the stars. Far upon the plain was Sári drawn, and when she was gone Ilsaluntë was haled upon the topmost peak so that his white lucency fell out thence over the wide world and the first night was come. Indeed in these days darkness is no more within the borders of the world, but only night, and night is another and a different thing, by reason of the Rose of Silpion.

Now however does Aulë fill the brimming vessel of that flower with white radiance, and many of the Súruli white-winged glide beneath and bear it slowly up and set it among the company of the stars. There does it swim slowly, a pale and glorious thing, and Ilinsor and his comrades sit them upon its rim and with shimmering oars urge it bravely through the sky; and Manwë breathed upon its bellying sails till it was wafted far away, and the beat of the unseen oars against the winds of night faded and grew faint.

Of this manner was the first rising of the Moon above Taniquetil, and Lórien rejoiced, but Ilinsor was jealous of the supremacy of the Sun, and he bade the starry mariners flee before him and the constellate lamps go out, but many would not, and often he set sail in chase of them, and the little ships of Varda fled before the huntsman of the firmament, and were not caught: – and that,' said Lindo, 'is all, methinks, I know to tell of the building of those marvellous ships and their launching on the air.'[20]

'But,' said Eriol, 'nay, surely that is not so, for at the tale's beginning methought you promised us words concerning the present courses of the Sun and Moon and their rising in the East, and I for one, by the leave of the others here present am not minded to release you of your word.'

Then quoth Lindo laughing, 'Nay, I remember not the promise, and did I make it then it was rash indeed, for the things you ask are nowise easy to relate, and many matters concerning the deeds in those days in Valinor are hidden from all save only the Valar. Now however am I fain rather to listen, and thou Vairë perchance will take up the burden of the tale.'

Thereat did all rejoice, and the children clapped their hands, for dearly did they love those times when Vairë was the teller of the tale; but Vairë said:

'Lo, tales I tell of the deep days, and the first is called *The Hiding of Valinor*.'

NOTES

1 The manuscript has here *Gilfan a·Davrobel*, but in the rejected

earlier version of this passage the reading is *Gilfanon a·Davrobel*, suggesting that *Gilfan* was not intentional.

2 See pp. 24–5 on the relation of Tavrobel to the Staffordshire village of Great Haywood. At Great Haywood the river Sow joins the Trent.

3 In the rejected version of this 'interlude' Gilfanon's history is differently recounted: 'he was long before an Ilkorin and had dwelt ages back in Hisilómë'; 'he came to Tol Eressëa after the great march [i.e. Inwë's 'march into the world', the great expedition from Kôr, see p. 26], for he had adopted blood-kinship with the Noldoli.' – This is the first occurrence of the term *Ilkorin*, which refers to Elves who were 'not of Kôr' (cf. the later term *Úmanyar*, Elves 'not of Aman'). *Artanor* is the precursor of Doriath.

4 Gilfanon, a Gnome, is here called the oldest of the *fairies*; see p. 51.

5 No explanation of 'the House of the Hundred Chimneys', near the bridge of Tavrobel, is known to me, but I have never visited Great Haywood, and it may be that there was (or is) a house there that gave rise to it.

6 The rejected form of the 'interlude' is quite different in its latter part:

> Therefore said Lindo in answer to Eriol: 'Behold, Gilfanon here can tell you much of such matters, but first of all must you be told of the deeds that were done in Valinor when Melko slew the Trees and the Gnomes marched away into the darkness. 'Tis a long tale but well worth the hearkening.' For Lindo loved to tell such tales and sought often an occasion for recalling them; but Gilfanon said: 'Speak on, my Lindo, but methinks the tale will not be told tonight or for many a night after, and I shall have fared long back to Tavrobel.' 'Nay,' said Lindo, 'I will not make the tale overlong, and tomorrow shall be all your own.' And so saying Gilfanon sighed, but Lindo lifted up his voice . . .

7 'lest it be': this curious expression is clear in the manuscript; the usage seems wholly unrecorded, but the meaning intended must be 'unless it be', i.e. 'to him alone, unless also to Varda . . .'

8 On *Telimpë* as the name of the 'Moon-cauldron', rather than *Silindrin*, see pp. 79 and 129 note 2.

9 See pp. 73, 88. At previous occurrences the name is *Urwen*, not *Urwendi*.

10 'twixt Erumáni and the Sea': i.e., the Outer Sea, Vai, the western bound of Valinor.

11 The passage beginning 'For behold, he desired in this manner . . .' on p. 182 and continuing to this point was added on a detached sheet and replaced a very much shorter passage in which Manwë briefly declared his plan, and nothing was said about the powers of the Valar. But I do not think that the replacement was composed significantly later than the body of the text.

12 The earlier reading here was: 'Then did the Gods name that ship, and they called her Ûr which is the Sun', etc.

13 The earlier reading here was: 'and the Gnomes call her Aur the Sun, and Galmir the goldgleamer', etc.

14 An isolated note refers to the coming forth of more wholesome creatures when the Sun arose (i.e. over the Great Lands), and says that 'all the birds sang in the first dawn'.

15 The Aulenossë: see p. 176.

16 This is the first appearance of the Sons of Fëanor.

17 Earlier reading: 'the silver rose'.

18 *Urwendi*: manuscript *Urwandi*, but I think that this was probably unintended.

19 From this point the text of the *Tale of the Sun and Moon* ceases to be written over an erased pencilled original, and from the same point the original text is extant in another book. In fact, to the end of the *Tale of the Sun and Moon* the differences are slight, no more than alterations of wording; but the original text does explain the fact that at the first occurrence of the name *Gilfanon* on p. 189 the original reading was *Ailios*. One would guess in any case that this was a slip, a reversion to an earlier name, and that this is so is shown by the first version, which has, for 'many marvellous deeds that Gilfanon may tell' (p. 194), 'many marvellous deeds as Ailios shall tell'.

20 From this point the second version diverges sharply from the first. The first reads as follows:

> And that is all, methinks,' said Lindo, 'that I know to tell of those fairest works of the Gods'; but Ailios said: 'Little doth it cost thee to spin the tale, an it be of Valinor; it is a while since ye offered us a . . . . . tale concerning the rising of the Sun and Moon in the East, and a flow of speech has poured from thee since then, but now art thou minded to [?tease], and no word of that promise.' Of a truth Ailios beneath his roughness liked the words of Lindo as well as any, and he was eager to learn of the matter.
>
> 'That is easy told,' said Lindo . . .

What follows in the original version relates to the matter of the next chapter (see p. 220 note 2).

Ailios here claims that a promise made by Lindo has not been fulfilled, just as does Eriol, more politely, in the second version. The beginning of the tale in the first version is not extant, and perhaps as it was originally written Lindo did make this promise; but in the second he says no such thing (indeed Eriol's question was 'Whence be the Sun and Moon?'), and at the end of his tale denies that he had done so, when Eriol asserts it.

Changes made to names in *The Tale of the Sun and Moon*

Amnor < *Amnos* (*Amnos* is the form in *The Flight of the Noldoli*, < *Emnon*; the form *Amnon* also occurs, see p. 172).

For changes in the passage on the names of the Sun see notes 12 and 13.
Gilfanon < *Ailios* (p. 189, at the first occurrence only, see note 19).
Minethlos < *Mainlos*.
Uolë Kúvion < *Uolë Mikúmi*, only at the second occurrence on p. 193; at the first occurrence *Uolë Mikúmi* was left unchanged, though I have given *Uolë Kúvion* in the text.
Ship of Morning < *Kalaventë* (p. 190; *i·Kalaventë* 'the Ship of Light' occurs unemended in the text on p. 188).
the Sunship's flames < *the flames of Kalaventë* (p. 193).
Sári < *Kalavénë* (pp. 193, 195. *Kalavénë* is the form in the original version, see note 19).

Commentary on *The Tale of the Sun and Moon*

The effect of the opening of this tale is undoubtedly to emphasize more strongly than in the later accounts the horror aroused by the deeds of the Noldoli (notable is Aulë's bitterness against them, of which nothing is said afterwards), and also the finality and absoluteness of their exclusion from Valinor. But the idea that some Gnomes remained in Valinor (the Aulenossë, p. 176) survived; cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 84:

> And of all the Noldor in Valinor, who were grown now to a great people, but one tithe refused to take the road: some for the love that they bore to the Valar (and to Aulë not least), some for the love of Tirion and the many things that they had made; none for fear of peril by the way.

Sorontur's mission and the tidings that he brought back were to be abandoned. Very striking is his account of the empty ships drifting, of which 'some were burning with bright fires': the origin of Fëanor's burning of the ships of the Teleri at Losgar in *The Silmarillion* (p. 90), where however there is a more evident reason for doing so. That Melko's second dwelling-place in the Great Lands was distinct from Utumna is here expressly stated, as also that it was in the Iron Mountains (cf. pp. 149, 158); the name *Angamandi* 'Hells of Iron' has occurred once in the *Lost Tales*, in the very strange account of the fate of Men after death (p. 77). In later accounts Angband was built on the site of Utumno, but finally they were separated again, and in *The Silmarillion* Angband had existed from ancient days before the captivity of Melkor (p. 47). It is not explained in the present tale why 'never more will Utumna open to him' (p. 176), but doubtless it was because Tulkas and Ulmo broke its gates and piled hills of stone upon them (p. 104).

In the next part of the tale (pp. 177 ff.) much light is cast on my father's early conception of the powers and limitations of the great Valar. Thus

Yavanna and Manwë (brought to this realization by Yavanna?) are shown to believe that the Valar have done ill, or at least failed to achieve the wider designs of Ilúvatar ('I have it in mind that this [time of darkness] is not without the desire of Ilúvatar'): the idea of 'selfish', inward-looking Gods is plainly expressed, Gods content to tend their gardens and devise their devisings behind their mountains, leaving 'the world' to shape itself as it may. And this realization is an essential element in their conceiving the making of the Sun and Moon, which are to be such bodies as may light not only 'the blessed realms' (an expression which occurs here for the first time, p. 182) but all the rest of the dark Earth. Of all this there is only a trace in *The Silmarillion* (p. 99):

> These things the Valar did, recalling in their twilight the darkness of the lands of Arda; and they resolved now to illumine Middle-earth and with light to hinder the deeds of Melkor.

Of much interest also is the 'theological' statement in the early narrative concerning the binding of the Valar to the World as the condition of their entering it (p. 182); cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 20:

> But this condition Ilúvatar made, or it is the necessity of their love, that their power should thenceforward be contained and bounded in the World, to be within it for ever, until it is complete, so that they are its life and it is theirs.

In the tale this condition is an express physical limitation: none of the Valar, save Manwë and Varda and their attendant spirits, could pass into the higher airs above Vilna, though they could move at great speed within the lowest air.

From the passage on p. 178, where it is said that Ulmo, despite his love for the Solosimpi and grief at the Kinslaying, was yet not filled with anger against the Noldoli, for he 'was foreknowing more than all the Gods, even than great Manwë', it is seen that Ulmo's peculiar concern for the exiled Eldar – which plays such an important if mysterious part in the development of the story – was there from the beginning; as also was Yavanna's thought, expressed in *The Silmarillion* p. 78:

> Even for those who are mightiest under Ilúvatar there is some work that they may accomplish once, and once only. The Light of the Trees I brought into being, and within Eä I can do so never again.

Yavanna's reference to the Magic Sun and its relighting (which has appeared in the toast drunk in the evening in the Cottage of Lost Play, pp. 17, 65) is obviously intended to be obscure at this stage.

There is no later reference to the story of the wastage of light by Lórien and Vána, pouring it over the roots of the Trees unavailingly.

Turning to Lindo's account of the stars (pp. 181–2), *Morwinyon* has appeared in an earlier tale (p. 114), with the story that Varda dropped it 'as she fared in great haste back to Valinor', and that it 'blazes above the world's edge in the west'; in the present tale Morwinyon (which according to both the Qenya and Gnomish word-lists is Arcturus) is again strangely represented as being a luminary always of the western sky. It is said here that while some of the stars were guided by the Mánir and the Súruli 'on mazy courses', others, including Morwinyon and Nielluin, 'abode where they hung and moved not'. Is the explanation of this that in the ancient myths of the Elves there was a time when the regular apparent movement of all the heavenly bodies from East to West had not yet begun? This movement is nowhere explained mythically in my father's cosmology.

Nielluin ('Blue Bee') is Sirius (in *The Silmarillion* called *Helluin*), and this star had a place in the legend of Telimektar son of Tulkas, though the story of his conversion into the constellation of Orion was never clearly told (cf. *Telumehtar* 'Orion' in *The Lord of the Rings* Appendix E, I). Nielluin was Inwë's son Ingil, who followed Telimektar 'in the likeness of a great bee bearing honey of flame' (see the Appendix on Names under *Ingil* and *Telimektar*).

The course of the Sun and Moon between East and West (rather than in some other direction) is here given a rationale, and the reason for avoiding the South is Ungweliant's presence there. This seems to give Ungweliant a great importance and also a vast area subject to her power of absorbing light. It is not made clear in the tale of *The Darkening of Valinor* where her dwelling was. It is said (p. 151) that Melko wandered 'the dark plains of Eruman, and farther south than anyone yet had penetrated he found a region of the deepest gloom' – the region where he found the cavern of Ungweliant, which had 'a subterranean outlet on the sea'; and after the destruction of the Trees Ungweliant 'gets her gone southward and over the mountains to her home' (p. 154). It is impossible to tell from the vague lines on the little map (p. 81) what was at this time the configuration of the southern lands and seas.

In comparison with the last part of the tale, concerning the last fruit of Laurelin and the last flower of Silpion, the making from them of the Sun and Moon, and the launching of their vessels (pp. 183–95), Chapter XI of *The Silmarillion* (constituted from two later versions not greatly dissimilar the one from the other) is extremely brief. Despite many differences the later versions read in places almost as summaries of the early story, but it is often hard to say whether the shortening depends rather on my father's feeling (certainly present, see p. 174) that the description was too long, was taking too large a place in the total structure, or an actual rejection of some of the ideas it contains, and a desire to diminish the extreme 'concreteness' of its images. Certainly there is here a revelling in materials of 'magic' property, gold, silver, crystal, glass, and above all light conceived as a liquid element, or as dew, as honey, an element that can be bathed in and gathered into vessels, that has quite

largely disappeared from *The Silmarillion* (although, of course, the idea of light as liquid, dripping down, poured and hoarded, sucked up by Ungoliant, remained essential to the conception of the Trees, this idea becomes in the later writing less palpable and the divine operations are given less 'physical' explanation and justification).

As a result of this fullness and intensity of description, the origin of the Sun and Moon in the last fruit and last flower of the Trees has less of mystery than in the succinct and beautiful language of *The Silmarillion*; but also much is said here to emphasize the great size of the 'Fruit of Noon', and the increase in the heat and brilliance of the Sunship after its launching, so that the reflection rises less readily that if the Sun that brilliantly illumines the whole Earth was but one fruit of Laurelin then Valinor must have been painfully bright and hot in the days of the Trees. In the early story the last outpourings of life from the dying Trees are utterly strange and 'enormous', those of Laurelin portentous, even ominous; the Sun is astoundingly bright and hot even to the Valar, who are awestruck and disquieted by what has been done (the Gods knew 'that they had done a greater thing than they at first knew', p. 190); and the anger and distress of certain of the Valar at the burning light of the Sun enforces the feeling that in the last fruit of Laurelin a terrible and unforeseen power has been released. This distress does indeed survive in *The Silmarillion* (p. 100), in the reference to 'the prayers of Lórien and Estë, who said that sleep and rest had been banished from the Earth, and the stars were hidden'; but in the tale the blasting power of the new Sun is intensely conveyed in the images of 'the heat dancing above the trees' in the gardens of Lórien, the silent nightingales, the withered poppies and the drooping evening flowers.

In the old story there is a mythical explanation of the Moon's phases (though not of eclipses), and of the markings on its face through the story of the breaking of the withered bough of Silpion and the fall of the Moonflower – a story altogether at variance with the explanation given in *The Silmarillion* (*ibid.*). In the tale the fruit of Laurelin also fell to the ground, when Aulë stumbled and its weight was too great for Tulkas to bear alone: the significance of this event is not made perfectly clear, but it seems that, had the Fruit of Noon not burst asunder, Aulë would not have understood its structure and conceived that of the Sunship.

To whatever extent the great differences between the versions in this part of the Mythology may be due to later compression, there remain a good many actual contradictions, of which I note here only some of the more important, in addition to that concerning the markings on the Moon already mentioned. Thus in *The Silmarillion* the Moon rose first, 'and was the elder of the new lights as was Telperion of the Trees' (*ibid.*); in the old story the reverse is true both of the Trees and of the new lights. Again, in *The Silmarillion* it is Varda who decides their motions, and she changes these from her first plan at the plea of Lórien and Estë, whereas here it is Lórien's very distress at the coming of Sunlight that leads to the

last blossoming of Silpion and the making of the Moon. The Valar indeed play different roles throughout; and here far greater importance attaches to the acts of Vána and Lórien, whose relations with the Sun and Moon are at once deeper and more explicit than they afterwards became, as they had been with the Trees (see p. 71); in *The Silmarillion* it was Nienna who watered the Trees with her tears (p. 98). In *The Silmarillion* the Sun and Moon move nearer to Arda than 'the ancient stars' (p. 99), but here they move at quite different levels in the firmament.

But a feature in which later compression can be certainly discerned is the elaborate description in the tale of the Moon as 'an island of pure glass', 'a shimmering isle', with little lakes of the light from Telimpë bordered with shining flowers and a crystalline cup amidmost in which was set the Moonflower; only from this is explicable the reference in *The Silmarillion* to Tilion's steering 'the island of the Moon'. The aged Elf Uolë Kúvion (whom 'some indeed have named the Man in the Moon') seems almost to have strayed in from another conception; his presence gives difficulty in any case, since we have just been told (p. 192) that Silmo could not sail in the Moonship because he was not of the children of the air and could not 'cleanse his being of its earthwardness'. – An isolated heading 'Uolë and Erinti' in the little pocket-book used among things for suggestions of stories to be told (see p. 171) no doubt implies that a tale was preparing on the subject of Uolë; cf. the Tale of Qorinómi concerning Urwendi and Erinti's brother Fionwë (p. 215). No traces of these tales are to be found and they were presumably never written. Another note in the pocket-book calls Uolë Mikúmi (the earlier name of Uolë Kúvion, see p. 198) 'King of the Moon'; and a third refers to a poem 'The Man in the Moon' which is to be sung by Eriol, 'who says he will sing them a song of a legend touching Uolë Mikúmi as Men have it'. My father wrote a poem about the Man in the Moon in March 1915, but if it was this that he was thinking of including it would have startled the company of Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva – and he would have had to change its references to places in England which were not yet in existence. Although it is very probable that he had something quite different in mind, I think it may be of interest to give this poem in an early form (see p. 204).

As the mythology evolved and changed, the Making of the Sun and Moon became the element of greatest difficulty; and in the published *Silmarillion* this chapter does not seem of a piece with much of the rest of the work, and could not be made to be so. Towards the end of his life my father was indeed prepared to dismantle much of what he had built, in the attempt to solve what he undoubtedly felt to be a fundamental problem.

Note on the order of the Tales

The development of the *Lost Tales* is here in fact extremely complex. After the concluding words of *The Flight of the Noldoli*, 'the story of the

darkening of Valinor was at an end' (p. 169), my father wrote: 'See on beyond in other books', but in fact he added subsequently the short dialogue between Lindo and Eriol ('Great was the power of Melko for ill . . .') which is given at the end of *The Flight of the Noldoli*.

The page-numbering of the notebooks shows that the next tale was to be the *Tale of Tinúviel*, which is written in another book. This long story (to be given in Part II), the oldest extant version of 'Beren and Lúthien', begins with a long *Link* passage; and the curious thing is that this *Link* begins with the very dialogue between Lindo and Eriol just referred to, in almost identical wording, and this can be seen to be its original place; but here it was struck through.

I have mentioned earlier (p. 45) that in a letter written by my father in 1964 he said that he wrote *The Music of the Ainur* while working in Oxford on the staff of the Dictionary, a post that he took up in November 1918 and relinquished in the spring of 1920. In the same letter he said that he wrote '"The Fall of Gondolin" during sick-leave from the army in 1917', and 'the original version of the "Tale of Lúthien Tinúviel and Beren" later in the same year'. There is nothing in the manuscripts to suggest that the tales that follow *The Music of the Ainur* to the point we have now reached were not written consecutively and continuously from *The Music*, while my father was still in Oxford.

At first sight, then, there is a hopeless contradiction in the evidence: for the *Link* in question refers explicitly to the Darkening of Valinor, a tale written *after* his appointment in Oxford at the end of 1918, but is a link to the *Tale of Tinúviel*, which he said that he wrote in 1917. But the *Tale of Tinúviel* (and the *Link* that precedes it) is in fact a text in ink written over an erased pencilled original. It is, I think, certain that this *rewriting* of *Tinúviel* was considerably later. It was linked to *The Flight of the Noldoli* by the speeches of Lindo and Eriol (the link-passage is integral and continuous with the *Tale of Tinúviel* that follows it, and was not added afterwards). At this stage my father must have felt that the *Tales* need not necessarily be told in the actual sequence of the narrative (for *Tinúviel* belongs of course to the time after the making of the Sun and Moon).

The rewritten *Tinúviel* was followed with no break by a first form of the 'interlude' introducing Gilfanon of Tavrobel as a guest in the house, and this led into the *Tale of the Sun and Moon*. But subsequently my father changed his mind, and so struck out the dialogue of Lindo and Eriol from the beginning of the *Link* to *Tinúviel*, which was not now to follow *The Flight of the Noldoli*, and wrote it out again in the other book at the end of that tale. At the same time he rewrote the Gilfanon 'interlude' in an extended form, and placed it at the end of *The Flight of the Noldoli*. Thus:

Flight of the Noldoli	Flight of the Noldoli
Words of Lindo and Eriol	Words of Lindo and Eriol

Tale of Tinúviel
Gilfanon 'interlude'
Tale of the Sun and Moon and the Hiding of Valinor
Gilfanon 'interlude' (rewritten)
Tale of the Sun and Moon and the Hiding of Valinor

That the rewriting of *Tinúviel* was one of the latest elements in the composition of the *Lost Tales* seems clear from the fact that it is followed by the first form of the Gilfanon 'interlude', written at the same time: for Gilfanon replaced Ailios, and Ailios, not Gilfanon, is the guest in the house in the earlier versions of the *Tale of the Sun and Moon* and *The Hiding of Valinor*, and is the teller of the *Tale of the Nauglafring*.

The poem about the Man in the Moon exists in many texts, and was published at Leeds in 1923;* long after and much changed it was included in *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil* (1962). I give it here in a form close to the earlier published version, but with a few (mostly very minor) alterations made subsequently. The 1923 version was only a little retouched from the earliest workings – where it has the title "Why the Man in the Moon came down to soon: an East Anglian phantasy"; in the first finished text the title is 'A Faërie: Why the Man in the Moon came down too soon', together with one in Old English: *Se Móncyning*.

Why the Man in the Moon
came down too soon

The Man in the Moon had silver shoon
And his beard was of silver thread;
He was girt with pale gold and inaureoled
With gold about his head.
Clad in silken robe in his great white globe
He opened an ivory door
With a crystal key, and in secrecy
He stole o'er a shadowy floor;

Down a filigree stair of spidery hair
He slipped in gleaming haste,
And laughing with glee to be merry and free
He swiftly earthward raced.
He was tired of his pearls and diamond twirls;
Of his pallid minaret
Dizzy and white at its lunar height
In a world of silver set;

* '*A Northern Venture:* verses by members of the Leeds University English School Association' (Leeds, at the Swan Press, 1923). I have not seen this publication and take these details from Humphrey Carpenter, *Biography*, p. 269.

And adventured this peril for ruby and beryl
And emerald and sapphire,
And all lustrous gems for new diadems,
Or to blazon his pale attire.
He was lonely too with nothing to do
But to stare at the golden world,
Or strain for the hum that would distantly come
As it gaily past him whirled;

And at plenilune in his argent moon
He had wearily longed for Fire –
Not the limpid lights of wan selenites,
But a red terrestrial pyre
With impurpurate glows of crimson and rose
And leaping orange tongue;
For great seas of blues and the passionate hues
When a dancing dawn is young;

For the meadowy ways like chrysoprase
By winding Yare and Nen.
How he longed for the mirth of the populous Earth
And the sanguine blood of men;
And coveted song and laughter long
And viands hot and wine,
Eating pearly cakes of light snowflakes
And drinking thin moonshine.

He twinkled his feet as he thought of the meat,
Of the punch and the peppery brew,
Till he tripped unaware on his slanting stair,
And fell like meteors do;
As the whickering sparks in splashing arcs
Of stars blown down like rain
From his laddery path took a foaming bath
In the Ocean of Almain;

And began to think, lest he melt and stink,
What in the moon to do,
When a Yarmouth boat found him far afloat,
To the mazement of the crew
Caught in their net all shimmering wet
In a phosphorescent sheen
Of bluey whites and opal lights
And delicate liquid green.

With the morning fish – 'twas his regal wish –
They packed him to Norwich town,
To get warm on gin in a Norfolk inn,
And dry his watery gown.
Though Saint Peter's knell waked many a bell
In the city's ringing towers
To shout the news of his lunatic cruise
In the early morning hours,

No hearths were laid, not a breakfast made,
And no one would sell him gems;
He found ashes for fire, and his gay desire
For chorus and brave anthems
Met snores instead with all Norfolk abed,
And his round heart nearly broke,
More empty and cold than above of old,
Till he bartered his fairy cloak

With a half-waked cook for a kitchen nook,
And his belt of gold for a smile,
And a priceless jewel for a bowl of gruel,
A sample cold and vile
Of the proud plum-porridge of Anglian Norwich –
He arrived so much too soon
For unusual guests on adventurous quests
From the Mountains of the Moon.

It seems very possible that the 'pallid minaret' reappears in the 'little white turret' which Uolë Kúvion built on the Moon, 'where often he climbs and watches the heavens, or the world beneath'. The minaret of the Man in the Moon survives in the final version.

The Ocean of Almain is the North Sea (*Almain* or *Almany* was a name of Germany in earlier English); the Yare is a Norfolk river which falls into the sea at Yarmouth, and the Nene (pronounced also with a short vowel) flows into the Wash.

IX
THE HIDING OF VALINOR

The link to this tale, which is told by Vairë, has been given at the end of the last (p. 195). The manuscript continues as in the latter part of *The Tale of the Sun and Moon* (see p. 197 note 19), with an earlier draft also extant, to which reference is made in the notes.

'Lo, tales I tell of the deep days, and the first is called *The Hiding of Valinor*.

Already have ye heard,' said she, 'of the setting forth of the Sun and Moon upon their wayward journeyings, and many things are there to tell concerning the awakening of the Earth beneath their light; but hear now of the thoughts and deeds of the dwellers in Valinor in those mighty days.

Now is it to tell that so wide were the wanderings of those boats of light that the Gods found it no easy thing to govern all their comings and their goings as they had purposed at the first, and Ilinsor was loath to yield the heaven to Urwendi, and Urwendi set sail often before Ilinsor's due return, being eager and hot of mood. Wherefore were both vessels often far afloat at one and the same time, and the glory of them sailing most nigh to the very bosom of the Earth, as often they did at that time, was very great and very terrible to see.

Then did a vague uneasiness begin to stir anew in Valinor, and the hearts of the Gods were troubled, and the Eldar spake one to another, and this was their thought.

"Lo, all the world is grown clear as the courtyards of the Gods, straight to walk upon as are the avenues of Vansamírin or the terraces of Kôr; and Valinor no longer is safe, for Melko hates us without ceasing, and he holds the world without and many and wild are his allies there" – and herein in their hearts they[1] numbered even the Noldoli, and wronged them in their thought unwittingly, nor did they forget Men, against whom Melko had lied of old. Indeed in the joy of the last burgeoning of the Trees and the great and glad labour of that fashioning of ships the fear of Melko had been laid aside, and the bitterness of those last evil days and of the Gnome-folk's flight was fallen into slumber – but now when Valinor had

peace once more and its lands and gardens were mended of their hurts memory awoke their anger and their grief again.

Indeed if the Gods forgot not the folly of the Noldoli and hardened their hearts, yet more wroth were the Elves, and the Solosimpi were full of bitterness against their kin, desiring never more to see their faces in the pathways of their home. Of these the chief were those whose kin had perished at the Haven of the Swans, and their leader was one Ainairos who had escaped from that fray leaving his brother dead; and he sought unceasingly with his words to persuade the Elves to greater bitterness of heart.

Now this was a grief to Manwë, yet did he see that as yet his design was not complete, and that the wisdom of the Valar must needs be bent once more to the more perfect government of the Sun and Moon. Wherefore he summoned the Gods and Elves in conclave, that their counsel might better his design, and moreover he hoped with soft words of wisdom to calm their anger and uneasiness ere evil came of it. For clearly he saw herein the poison of Melko's lies that live and multiply wherever he may cast them more fruitfully than any seed that is sown upon the Earth; and already it was reported to him that the ancient murmuring of the Elves was begun anew concerning their freedom, and that pride made some full of folly, so that they might not endure the thought of the coming of Mankind.

Now then sat Manwë in heavy mood before Kulullin and looked searchingly upon the Valar gathered nigh and upon the Eldar about his knees, but he opened not his full mind, saying to them only that he had called them in council once more to determine the courses of the Sun and Moon and devise an order and wisdom in their paths. Then straightway spake Ainairos before him saying that other matters were deeper in their hearts than this, and he laid before the Gods the mind of the Elves concerning the Noldoli and of the nakedness of the land of Valinor toward the world beyond. Thereat arose much tumult and many of the Valar and their folk supported him loudly, and some others of the Eldar cried out that Manwë and Varda had caused their kindred to dwell in Valinor promising them unfailing joy therein – now let the Gods see to it that their gladness was not minished to a little thing, seeing that Melko held the world and they dared not fare forth to the places of their awakening even an they would. The most of the Valar moreover were fain of their ancient ease and desired only peace, wishing neither rumour of Melko and his violence nor murmur of the restless Gnomes to come ever again among them to disturb their happiness; and for such reasons they also clamoured for the concealment of the land. Not the

least among these were Vána and Nessa, albeit most even of the great Gods were of one mind. In vain did Ulmo of his foreknowing plead before them for pity and pardon on the Noldoli, or Manwë unfold the secrets of the Music of the Ainur and the purpose of the world; and long and very full of that noise was that council, and more filled with bitterness and burning words than any that had been; wherefore did Manwë Súlimo depart at length from among them, saying that no walls or bulwarks might now fend Melko's evil from them which lived already among them and clouded all their minds.

So came it that the enemies of the Gnomes carried the council of the Gods and the blood of Kópas began already its fell work; for now began that which is named the Hiding of Valinor, and Manwë and Varda and Ulmo of the Seas had no part therein, but none others of the Valar or the Elves held aloof therefrom, albeit Yavanna and Oromë her son were uneasy in their hearts.

Now Lórien and Vána led the Gods and Aulë lent his skill and Tulkas his strength, and the Valar went not at that time forth to conquer Melko, and the greatest ruth was that to them thereafter, and yet is; for the great glory of the Valar by reason of that error came not to its fullness in many ages of the Earth, and still doth the world await it.[2]

In those days however they were unwitting of these things, and they set them to new and mighty labours such as had not been seen among them since the days of the first building of Valinor. The encircling mountains did they make more utterly impassable of their eastern side than ever were they before, and such earth-magics did Kémi weave about their precipices and inaccessible peaks that of all the dread and terrible places in the mighty Earth was that rampart of the Gods that looked upon Eruman the most dire and perilous, and not Utumna nor the places of Melko in the Hills of Iron were so filled with insuperable fear. Moreover even upon the plains about their eastward . . .[3] were heaped those impenetrable webs of clinging dark that Ungweliantë sloughed in Valinor at the Trees' destroying. Now did the Gods cast them forth from their bright land, that they might entangle utterly the steps of all who fared that way, and they flowed and spread both far and wide, lying even upon the bosom of the Shadowy Seas until the Bay of Faëry grew dim and no radiance of Valinor filtered there, and the twinkling of the lamps of Kôr died or ever it passed the jewelled shores. From North to South marched the enchantments and inaccessible magic of the Gods, yet were they

not content; and they said: Behold, we will cause all the paths that fare to Valinor both known and secret to fade utterly from the world, or wander treacherously into blind confusion.

This then they did, and no channel in the seas was left that was not beset with perilous eddies or with streams of overmastering strength for the confusion of all ships. And spirits of sudden storms and winds unlooked-for brooded there by Ossë's will, and others of inextricable mist. Neither did they forget even the long circuitous ways that messengers of the Gods had known and followed through the dark wildernesses of the North and the deepest South; and when all was done to their mind Lórien said: "Now doth Valinor stand alone, and we have peace," and Vána sang once more about her garden in the lightness of her heart.

Alone among all did the hearts of the Solosimpi misgive them, and they stood upon the coasts nigh to their ancient homes and laughter came not easily again amongst them, and they looked upon the Sea and despite its peril and its gloom they feared it lest it still might bring evil into the land. Then did some of them going speak to Aulë and to Tulkas who stood nigh, saying: "O great ones of the Valar, full well and wondrously have the Gods laboured, yet do we think in our hearts that something is yet lacking; for we have not heard that the way of the escape of the Noldoli, even the dread passage of Helkaraksë's cliffs, is destroyed. Yet where the children of the Eldar have trodden so may the sons of Melko return, despite all your enchantments and deceits; neither are we in peace at heart by reason of the undefended sea."

Thereat did Tulkas laugh, saying that naught might come now to Valinor save only by the topmost airs, "and Melko hath no power there; neither have ye, O little ones of the Earth". Nonetheless at Aulë's bidding he fared with that Vala to the bitter places of the sorrow of the Gnomes, and Aulë with the mighty hammer of his forge smote that wall of jagged ice, and when it was cloven even to the chill waters Tulkas rent it asunder with his great hands and the seas roared in between, and the land of the Gods was sundered utterly from the realms of Earth.[4]

This did they at the Shoreland Elves' behest, yet by no means would the Gods suffer that low place in the hills beneath Taniquetil that lets upon the Bay of Faëry to be piled with rocks as the Solosimpi desired, for there had Oromë many pleasant woods and places of delight, and the Teleri[5] would not endure that Kôr should be destroyed or pressed too nearly by the gloomy mountain walls.

Then spake the Solosimpi to Ulmo, and he would not listen to

them, saying that never had they learnt such bitterness of heart of his music, and that rather had they been listening to whispers of Melko the accursed. And going from Ulmo some were abashed, but others went and sought out Ossë, and he aided them in Ulmo's despite; and of Ossë's labour in those days are come the Magic Isles; for Ossë set them in a great ring about the western limits of the mighty sea, so that they guarded the Bay of Faëry, and albeit in those days the huge glooms of that far water overreached all the Shadowy Seas and stretched forth tongues of darkness towards them, still were they themselves surpassing fair to look upon. And such ships as fare that way must needs espy them or ever they reach the last waters that wash the elfin shores, and so alluring were they that few had power to pass them by, and did any essay to then sudden storms drove them perforce against those beaches whose pebbles shone like silver and like gold. Yet all such as stepped thereon came never thence again, but being woven in the nets of Oinen's[6] hair the Lady of the Sea, and whelmed in agelong slumber that Lórien set there, lay upon the margin of the waves, as those do who being drowned are cast up once more by the movements of the sea; yet rather did these hapless ones sleep unfathomably and the dark waters laved their limbs, but their ships rotted, swathed in weeds, on those enchanted sands, and sailed never more before the winds of the dim West.[7]

Now when Manwë gazing in sorrow from high Taniquetil saw all these things done he sent for Lórien and for Oromë, thinking them less stubborn of heart than the others, and when they were come he spoke earnestly with them; yet he would not that the labour of the Gods be undone, for he thought it not altogether ill, but he prevailed on those twain to do his bidding in certain matters. And in this manner did they so; for Lórien wove a way of delicate magic, and it fared by winding roads most secret from the Eastern lands and all the great wildernesses of the world even to the walls of Kôr, and it ran past the Cottage of the Children of the Earth[8] and thence down the "lane of whispering elms" until it reached the sea.

But the gloomy seas and all the straits it bridged with slender bridges resting on the air and greyly gleaming as it were of silken mists lit by a thin moon, or of pearly vapours; yet beside the Valar and the Elves have no Man's eyes beheld it save in sweet slumbers in their heart's youth. Longest of all ways is it and few are there ever reach its end, so many lands and marvellous places of allurement and of loveliness doth it pass ere it comes to Elfinesse, yet smooth is it to the feet and none tire ever who fare that way.

Such,' then said Vairë, 'was and still is the manner of Olórë Mallë, the Path of Dreams; but of far other sort was the work of Oromë, who hearing the words of Manwë went speedily to Vána his wife, and begged of her a tress of her long golden hair. Now the hair of Vána the fair had become more long and radiant still since the days of her offering to Aulë, and she gave to Oromë of its golden threads. Then did he dip these in the radiance of Kulullín, but Vána wove them cunningly to a leash immeasurable, and therewith Oromë strode swiftly to the gatherings of Manwë on the mountain.

Then calling loudly that Manwë and Varda and all their folk come forth he held before their eyes his thong of gold, and they knew not his purpose; but Oromë bid them cast their eyes on that Hill that is called Kalormë standing hugely in the lands most distant from Valinor, and is held most lofty save Taniquetil, yet seemeth therefrom a dim thing fading afar off. Even as they watched Oromë stepped back, and putting all his cunning and his strength thereto he made a mighty cast, and that golden cord sped in a curve through the sky until its noose caught Kalormë's topmost pinnacle. Then by the magic of its making and the cunning of Oromë's hand it stayed a bright golden curve and neither drooped nor sagged; but Oromë fastened its hither end to a pillar in Manwë's courts, and turning to those who gazed upon him said: "Who then listeth to wander in the Great Lands, let him follow me," and thereat he set foot upon the thong and sped like the wind out over the gulf even to Kalormë, while all upon Taniquetil were silent in amaze. Now did Oromë loosen the thong from Kalormë's peak and run as swiftly back, ravelling it as he came, until once more he stood before Manwë. Then said he: "Lo, O Súlimo Lord of the Airs, a way I have devised whereby any of the Valar of good heart may fare whithersoever they list in the Great Lands; for whither they wish I will cast my slender bridge, and its hither end wilt thou securely guard."

And of this work of Oromë's came that mighty wonder of the heavens that all men look upon and marvel at, and some fear much, pondering what it may portend. Yet doth that bridge wear a different aspect at different times and in various regions of the Earth, and seldom is it visible to Men and Elves. Now because it glistens most marvellously in the slanting rays of the Sun, and when the rains of heaven moisten it it shines most magically therein and the gold light breaks upon its dripping cords to many hues of purple, green, and red, so do men most often name it the Rainbow, but many other names have they fashioned also, and the fairies call it Ilweran the Bridge of Heaven.

Now living Men may not tread the swaying threads of Ilweran and few of the Eldar have the heart, yet other paths for Elves and Men to fare to Valinor are there none since those days save one alone, and it is very dark; yet is it very short, the shortest and swiftest of all roads, and very rough, for Mandos made it and Fui set it in its place. Qalvanda is it called, the Road of Death, and it leads only to the halls of Mandos and Fui. Twofold is it, and one way tread the Elves and the other the souls of Men, and never do they mingle.[9]

'Thus,' said Vairë, 'was the Hiding of Valinor achieved, and the Valar let slip the chance of a glory more splendid and enduring even than that great glory which was theirs and still is. Nonetheless are there still very mighty tidings of those days to tell, of which perchance I may now recount to you a few; and one I will name *The Haven of the Sun.*

Behold, now are the hearts of all set at rest by the truce[10] of Manwë and the Valar, and while the Gods feast in Valmar and the heaven is full of the ungoverned glory of the Ships of Light the Elves go back at last to rebuild the happiness of Kôr; and there they seek to forget all the sorrows and all the labours that had come among them since the Release of Melko. Now does Kôr become the fairest and most delicate-lovely of all the realms of Valinor, for in the courtyard of Inwë those two elfin trees shone still tenderly; and they were shoots of the glorious Trees now dead given by the Gods to Inwë in the first days of that town's building. Others too had been given to Nólemë, but these were uprooted and were gone no one knew whither, and more had there never been.[11]

Yet even though the Elves trusted the Valar to shield the land and weave protection about them, and though the days of sorrow faring into the past grew dim, still could they not yet utterly shake away the memory of their unhappiness; nor did they ever so. until after the magic way of Lórien was complete and the children of the fathers of the fathers of Men first were suffered to come there in sweet sleep; then did a new joy burn very brightly in their hearts, but these things were not yet come to pass and Men were yet but new-wakened on the Earth.

But Manwë and Ulmo knowing their hour was come held high councils for their protection. Many designs they made therein, and they were weighed down by the thought of Melko and the wandering of the Gnomes; yet did the other folk of Valinor trouble themselves little with such matters yet. Nonetheless Manwë ventured to speak once more to the Valar, albeit he uttered no word of Men, and he

reminded them that in their labours for the concealment of their land they had let slip from thought the waywardness of the Sun and Moon. Now it was the fear of Manwë lest the Earth become unbearable by reason of the great light and heat of those bright things, and Yavanna's heart was in accord with him in that, but the most of the Valar and the Elves saw good in his design because in the lifting of the Sun and Moon to higher paths they thought to set a final end to all their labours, removing those piercing beams more far, that all those hills and regions of their abode be not too bright illumined, and that none might ever again espy them afar off.

Wherefore said some: "Let us send now messengers to discover the fashion of the world in the uttermost East beyond even the sight of Manwë from the Mountain of the World." Then arose Oromë: "That I can tell you, for I have seen. In the East beyond the tumbled lands there is a silent beach and a dark and empty sea." And the Gods marvelled at these tidings, yet never before had any save Oromë listed to see or hear such things, not even Yavanna the Earth-lady. Nought do I say of Ulmo Vailimo, Lord of Vai, for of a truth all such matters he knew from the beginning of the Earth. Now therefore did that ancient one follow Oromë, expounding to the Valar what was the secret nature of the Earth, and he said:

"Lo, there is but one Ocean, and that is Vai, for those that Ossë esteemeth as oceans are but seas, waters that lie in the hollows of the rock; but Vai runneth from the Wall of Things unto the Wall of Things whithersoever you may fare. Now to the North is it so cold that even its pale waters are frozen to a depth beyond thought or sounding, and to the South is such utter darkness and deceit by reason of Ungoliont[12] that none save I alone may find a way. In this vast water floateth the wide Earth upheld by the word of Ilúvatar, for nought else or fish or bark will swim therein to whom I have not spoken the great word that Ilúvatar said to me and bound them with the spell; but of the wide Earth is even Valinor a part, and the substance of the Earth is stone and metal, and the seas are pools in its hollows, and the islands save some few that swim still unfettered stand now like pinnacles from their weedy depths. Know then that somewhat nearer stands Valinor to the great Wall of Things wherein Ilúvatar hath enclosed us than doth that furthest Eastern shore: and this do I know, for diving beneath the world often have I visited those unharboured beaches; for lo, O Valar, ye know not all wonders, and many secret things are there beneath the Earth's dark keel, even where I have my mighty halls of Ulmonan, that ye have never dreamed on."

But said Manwë: "True is that, O Ulmo Vailimo; but what is it to our present purpose?" And Ulmo answered: "Lo, I will take Aulë the Smith with me and convey him safe and swift beneath the waters of Vai in my deep-sea car, even to the Eastern shores, and there will he and I build havens for the Ships, and from the East hereafter shall they arise and give their fullest light and glory to Men who need them, and to the unhappy Noldoli, following one the other over the sky, and coming home to Valinor. Here, when their hearts wax faint by reason of their journeyings, shall they rest awhile upon the Outer Seas and Urwendi bathe in Faskalan and Ilinsor drink of the quiet waters of the Lake Irtinsa, ere ever they return again."

Now this speech had Manwë and Ulmo designed in collusion, and the Valar and Eldar hearkened for divers reasons as before; wherefore was Aulë sped now with Ulmo, and they builded great havens in the East beside the soundless sea; and the haven of the Sun was wide and golden, but the haven of the Moon was set within the same harbourage, and it was white, having gates of silver and of pearl that shone faintly so soon as the Sun sank from the heavens into Valinor; at that hour do those gates open of themselves before the issuing Moon, but none of the Eldar have seen these things save Uolë Kúvion, and he has told no tale.

Now at first the Valar purposed to draw the Sun and Moon beneath the Earth, hallowing them with Ulmo's spell that Vai harm them not, each at its appointed time; yet in the end they found that Sári[13] might not, even so, safely come beneath the world, for it was too frail and lissom; and much precious radiance was spilled in their attempts about the deepest waters, and escaped to linger as secret sparks in many an unknown ocean cavern. These have many elfin divers, and divers of the fays, long time sought beyond the outmost East, even as is sung in the song of the Sleeper in the Tower of Pearl.[14]

Indeed for a while mishap fell even upon bright Urwendi, that she wandered the dark grots and endless passages of Ulmo's realm until Fionwë found her and brought her back to Valinor – but the full tale is called the Tale of Qorinómi and may not here be told.[15]

Thus came it that the Gods dared a very great deed, the most mighty of all their works; for making a fleet of magic rafts and boats with Ulmo's aid – and otherwise had none of these endured to sail upon the waters of Vai – they drew to the Wall of Things, and there they made the Door of Night (Moritarnon or Tarn Fui as the Eldar name it in their tongues). There it still stands, utterly black and huge against the deep-blue walls. Its pillars are of the mightiest basalt

and its lintel likewise, but great dragons of black stone are carved thereon, and shadowy smoke pours slowly from their jaws. Gates it has unbreakable, and none know how they were made or set, for the Eldar were not suffered to be in that dread building, and it is the last secret of the Gods; and not the onset of the world will force that door, which opens to a mystic word alone. That word Urwendi only knows and Manwë who spake it to her; for beyond the Door of Night is the outer dark, and he who passes therethrough may escape the world and death and hear things not yet for the ears of Earth-dwellers, and this may not be.

In the East however was the work of the Gods of other sort, for there was a great arch made, and, 'tis said, 'tis all of shining gold and barred with silver gates, yet few have beheld it even of the Gods for the wealth of glowing vapours that are often swathed about it. Now the Gates of Morn open also before Urwendi only, and the word she speaks is the same that she utters at the Door of Night, but it is reversed.

So comes it that ever now, as the Ship of the Moon leaves his haven in the East and his gates of pearl, Ulmo draws the galleon of the Sun before the Door of Night. Then speaks Urwendi the mystic word, and they open outward before her, and a gust of darkness sweeps in but perishes before her blazing light; and the galleon of the Sun goes out into the limitless dark, and coming behind the world finds the East again. There doth Sári filled with the lightness of the morning ride through the gates and Urwendi and her maidens make a sound of golden horns, and dawn is spilt upon the eyes of Men.[16]

Yet many a time and oft a tiny star-ship of Varda that has dipped into the Outer Seas, as often they will, is sucked through that Door of Night behind the Sun; and some track her galleon through the starless vast back unto the Eastern Wall, and some are lost for ever, and some glimmer beyond the Door until the Sunship issues forth again.[17] Then do these leap back and rush up into the sky again, or flee across its spaces; and this is a very beautiful thing to see – the Fountains of the Stars.

Behold, the Moon dares not the utter loneliness of the outer dark by reason of his lesser light and majesty, and he journeys still beneath the world and many are the chances of that way; wherefore is it that he is often less timely than the Sun and is more fickle. Sometimes he comes not after Sári at all, and other times is late and maketh but a little voyage or even dares the heavens while Urwendi still is there. Then smile the Gods wistfully and say: "It is the mingling of the lights once more."[18]

Long was this indeed the manner of the ships' guidance, and long was it after those days that the Gods grew afraid once more for the Sun and Moon because of certain tidings of those days, which perchance may after be told; and because of their fear a new and strange thing befell. Now the manner of this mayhap I may tell before I make an end; and it is called *The Weaving of the Days and Months and of the Years.*

For know that even as the great Gods sat in conclave pondering how they might fetter the lamps of heaven ever to their hand and guide their goings even as a charioteer doth guide his galloping horses, behold three aged men stood before them and saluted Manwë.

But Manwë asked them who they were, "for well I know," quoth he, "that ye are not of the glad folk that dwell in Valmar or the gardens of the Gods," and the Valar marvelled how they came unaided to their land. Now those men were of strange aspect, seeming aged beyond count albeit of strength untamed. And one that stood at the left was exceeding small and short, and another amidmost of middle stature, and the third was long and tall; and the first had short hair and a small beard, and the other's was neither long nor short, but the beard of the third swept the earth before his feet as he walked. Now after a while he that was short and small spake in answer to Manwë, and he said: "Brothers are we; and men of exceeding subtle craft"; and the other answered: "Lo, Danuin, Ranuin, and Fanuin are we called,* and I am Ranuin, and Danuin has spoken." Then said Fanuin: "And we will offer thee our skill in your perplexity – yet who we are and whence we come or whither we go that we will tell to you only if ye accept our rede and after we have wrought as we desire."

Then some of the Gods said them nay, fearing a trick (even perhaps of Melko), and others would grant their request, and such was the counsel that in the end prevailed because of the great perplexity of the time. Then did those three Danuin and Ranuin and Fanuin beg that a room might be set apart for them; and this was done in Aulë's house. There did they spin and weave in secret, and after a space of twice twelve hours Danuin came forth and spake to Manwë, saying: "Behold my handicraft!"; and none knew his intent, for his hands were empty. But when the Ship of the Sun returned then went Danuin to her stern, and laying his hand thereon he bid Ulmo draw her, as was his wont, over the waters to the Door of Night; and when Ulmo was gone a little way from the further

* In the margin is written *Dōgor Mōnaþ* 7 *Missére*, Old English words meaning 'Day, Month, and Year'.

shore of Valinor Danuin stepped back, and behold Ulmo might not draw the Sunship further, not though he put forth all his strength. Then were Manwë and Ulmo and all that beheld afraid, but Danuin after released the Sun and went from among them, and they might not find him; but after twenty nights and eight came forth Ranuin and he said also: "Behold my handicraft!" and yet no more could be seen in his outstretched hands than before in those of Danuin. Now Ranuin waited until Ilinsor brought the Rose of Silpion unto Valinor, and then going he set his hands against a jag of glass upon that isle, and thereafter might no man stir Ilinsor's bark far from Ranuin against his will; but again Ranuin spake no word and went from among them; then Rána was released, but Ranuin no man could find.

Now the Gods pondered long what this might portend, but nought more betid until thirteen times had Rána waxed and waned. Then came forth Fanuin, and he bid the Gods detain Ilinsor that at Sári's coming both ships might stand in Valinor at once. But when this was done he begged aid of the Gods, "for," said he, "I have fashioned somewhat of great weight that I would fain show to you, yet cannot of my own strength hale it forth." And seven of the stoutest from the halls of Tulkas went to the place of Fanuin's labouring and could not see aught therein; but he bid them stoop, and them seemed they laid hands upon a mighty cable and staggered beneath it as they laid it upon their shoulders, yet could they not see it.

Then going unto Sári and to Rána in turn Fanuin moved his hands as though he were making fast a great rope to each of those vessels; but when all was done he said to Manwë: "Lo, O Súlimo Lord of the Gods, the work is wrought and the ships of light are set in the unbreakable fetters of time, which neither ye, nor they, may ever break, nor may they escape therefrom, albeit these fetters are invisible to all beings that Ilúvatar has made; for nonetheless are they the strongest of things."

Then suddenly behold Danuin and Ranuin stood beside him, and Danuin going to Manwë placed in his hand a slender cord, but Manwë saw it not. "Herewith," said Danuin, "O Manwë Súlimo, canst thou govern the goings and comings of the Sun, and never may she be brought beyond the guidance of your hand, and such is the virtue of this cord that the goings and returnings of the Sun shall be accounted the most timely and inevitable of all things on Earth." Thereafter did Ranuin in like manner, and behold Manwë felt a stout rope within his palm invisible. "Herewith," said Ranuin, "shalt thou hold and steer the wayward Moon, as well as may be,

and so great is the virtue of the 'thong of Ranuin' that even the fickle and untimely Moon shall be a measure of time to Elves and Men." Lastly did Fanuin bid bear his mighty cable's end to Manwë, and Manwë touched it, and it was made fast to a great rock upon Taniquetil (that is called therefore Gonlath), and Fanuin said: "Now doth this mightiest cable hold both the Moon and Sun in tow; and herewith mayest thou coordinate their motions and interweave their fates; for the rope of Fanuin is the Rope of Years, and Urwendi issuing through the Door of Night shall wind it all tangled with the daycord's slender meshes, round and about the Earth until the Great End come – and so shall all the world and the dwellers within it, both Gods and Elves and Men, and all the creatures that go and the things that have roots thereon, be bound about in the bonds of Time."

Then were all the Gods afraid, seeing what was come, and knowing that hereafter even they should in counted time be subject to slow eld and their bright days to waning, until Ilúvatar at the Great End calls them back. But Fanuin said: "Nay, it is but the Music of the Ainur: for behold, who are we, Danuin, Ranuin, and Fanuin, Day and Month and Year, but the children of Aluin, of Time, who is the oldest of the Ainur, and is beyond, and subject to Ilúvatar; and thence came we, and thither go we now." Then did those three vanish from Valinor; but of such is the framing of the moveless courses of the Sun and Moon, and the subjection of all things within the world to time and change.

But as for the Ships of Light themselves, behold! O Gilfanon and all that hearken, I will end the tale of Lindo and Vairë concerning the building of the Sun and Moon with that great foreboding that was spoken among the Gods when first the Door of Night was opened. For 'tis said that ere the Great End come Melko shall in some wise contrive a quarrel between Moon and Sun, and Ilinsor shall seek to follow Urwendi through the Gates, and when they are gone the Gates of both East and West will be destroyed, and Urwendi and Ilinsor shall be lost. So shall it be that Fionwë Úrion, son of Manwë, of love for Urwendi shall in the end be Melko's bane, and shall destroy the world to destroy his foe, and so shall all things then be rolled away.'[19]

And thus ended Vairë, and the great tale fell silent in the room.

NOTES

1 'they': original reading 'the Solosimpi'.

2 The rejected draft text of the tale to this point is remarkably brief, and reads as follows (following on from Ailios' remarks given on p. 197, note 20):

> 'That is easy told,' said Lindo; 'for the murmurings that I have spoken of grew ever louder, and came to speech at that council which was now summoned to fix the courses of the Sun and Moon; and all the ancient grievance that had flamed before at Melko's instigation concerning the freedom of the Elves – even that strife that ended in the Exile of the Noldoli – grew sore again. Yet were few now in pity of the Gnomes, and such of the Eldar whom the newlit world allured dared not for the power of Melko break from Valinor; wherefore in the end the enemies of the Gnomes, despite all that Ulmo might say or plead, and despite the clemency of Manwë, carried the counsels of the Gods – and so came that which stories name the [Closing ›] Hiding of Valinor. And the Gods went not at that time forth to fight Melko, and their greatest opportunity for glory and eternal honour was let slip, [even as the Music of Ilúvatar had foreboded – and they little understood it – and who knows if the salvation of the world and the freeing of Men and Elves shall ever come from them again? Some there are who whisper that it is not so, and hope dwelleth only in a far land of Men, but how so that may be I do not know.]

The concluding passage is thus bracketed in the manuscript, with a question-mark against it.

3 The word looks like 'east'. The word 'eastward' was added to the text, and it may be that my father intended to change 'east' to 'eastward edge' or something similar.

4 Here 'Earth' is clearly used, if strangely so, in the same way as is 'the world', to mean the Great Lands as distinguished from the Outer Lands of the West.

5 The Teleri (i.e. the later Vanyar) had not in the old story departed from Kôr (see p. 159).

6 Originally *Ówen* and then *Ónen*, the name of Ossë's wife has already appeared in the final form *Uinen* (pp. 121, 192); but *Oinen* here is clear, and clearly intended.

7 In the draft text the account of the Hiding of Valinor is very brief, and moves on quickly to the Path of Dreams. The webs of darkness laid on the eastward slopes of the mountains were not those 'sloughed in Valinor' by Ungweliantë, but are merely compared to 'the most clinging that ever Ungweliantë wove'. Helkaraksë and the Magic Isles are only mentioned in a marginal direction that they are to be included.

8 'Earth' is again used in the sense of the Great Lands (see note 4). The draft has here 'Children of the World'.

9 While there are no differences of any substance in the account of the Olórë Mallë in the two texts, in the first there is no mention of Oromë's

Path of the Rainbow. – An isolated note, obviously written before the present Tale, says: 'When the Gods close Valinor . . . Lórien leaves a path across the mountains called Olórë Mallë, and Manwë the Rainbow where he walks to survey the world. It is only visible after rain, for then it is wet.'

10 'truce': earlier reading 'compromise'. It is notable how Manwë is portrayed as *primus inter pares* rather than as ruler over the other Valar.

11 On the Trees of Kôr see pp. 123, 135.

12 See p. 200.

13 *Sári* is here (and subsequently) the name as written, not an emendation from *Kalavénë*, the name in the draft texts of *The Sun and Moon* and *The Hiding of Valinor* (see p. 198). The reading of the draft in this place is 'the Sunship', itself an alteration from 'the ships', for my father first wrote that neither ship could safely be drawn beneath the Earth.

14 The Sleeper in the Tower of Pearl is named in *The Cottage of Lost Play*, p. 15. The song of the sleeper is virtually certainly the poem *The Happy Mariners*, originally written in 1915 and published in 1923 (see Humphrey Carpenter, *Biography*, Appendix C, p. 269); this will be given in two versions in connection with the materials for the *Tale of Eärendel* in the second part of the *Lost Tales*. The poem contains a reference to the boats that pass the Tower of Pearl, piled 'with hoarded sparks of orient fire / that divers won in waters of the unknown Sun'.

15 The original draft has here: 'but that is the tale of Qorinómi and I dare not tell it here, for friend Ailios is watching me' (see p. 197, notes 19 and 20).

16 The draft text had here at first: 'and the galleon of the Sun goes out into the dark, and coming behind the world finds the East again, but there there is no door and the Wall of Things is lower; and filled with the lightness of the morning Kalavénë rides above it and dawn is split upon the Eastern hills and falls upon the eyes of Men.' Part of this, from 'but there there is no door', was bracketed, and the passage about the great arch in the East and the Gates of Morn introduced. In the following sentence, the draft had 'back over the Eastern Wall', changed to the reading of the second text, 'back unto the Eastern Wall'. For the name *Kalavénë* see p. 198.

17 I.e., until the Sunship issues forth, through the Door of Night, into the outer dark; as the Sunship leaves, the shooting stars pass back into the sky.

18 The second version of this part of Vairë's tale, 'The Haven of the Sun', follows the original draft (as emended) fairly closely, with no differences of any substance; but the part of her tale that now follows, 'The Weaving of the Days and Months and Years', is wholly absent from the draft text.

19 This concluding passage differs in several points from the original version. In that, Ailios appears again, for Gilfanon; the 'great foreboding' was spoken among the Gods 'when they designed first to build the Door of Night'; and when Ilinsor has followed Urwendi through the Gates 'Melko will destroy the Gates and raise the Eastern Wall beyond the [?skies] and Urwendi and Ilinsor shall be lost'.

Changes made to names in *The Hiding of Valinor*

Vansamírin < *Samírien's road* (*Samírien* occurs as the name of the Feast of Double Mirth, pp. 143-4).

Kôr < *Kortírion* (p. 207). Afterwards, though *Kôr* was not struck out, my father wrote above it *Tûn*, with a query, and the same at the occurrence of *Kôr* on p. 210. This is the first appearance in the text of the *Lost Tales* of this name, which ultimately gave rise to *Túna* (the hill on which Tirion was built).

Ainairos < *Oivárin*.

Moritarnon, *Tarn Fui* The original draft of the tale has '*Móritar* or *Tarna Fui*'.

Sári The original draft has *Kalavénë* (see p. 198 and note 13 above).

At the first occurrence of the names of the three Sons of Time the sequence of forms was:

Danuin < *Danos* < an illegible form *Dan*..
Ranuin < *Ranos* < *Ranoth* < *Rôn*
Fanuin < *Lathos* < *Lathweg*
Throughout the remainder of the passage: *Danuin* < *Dana; Ranuin* < *Ranoth; Fanuin* < *Lathweg*.

Aluin < *Lúmin*.

Commentary on *The Hiding of Valinor*

The account of the Council of the Valar and Eldar in the opening of this tale (greatly developed from the preliminary draft given in note 2) is remarkable and important in the history of my father's ideas concerning the Valar and their motives. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 102) the Hiding of Valinor sprang from the assault of Melkor on the steersman of the Moon:

> But seeing the assault upon Tilion the Valar were in doubt, fearing what the malice and cunning of Morgoth might yet contrive against them. Being unwilling to make war upon him in Middle-earth, they remembered nonetheless the ruin of Almaren; and they resolved that the like should not befall Valinor.

A little earlier in *The Silmarillion* (p. 99) reasons are given for the unwillingness of the Valar to make war:

> It is said indeed that, even as the Valar made war upon Melkor for the sake of the Quendi, so now for that time they forbore for the sake of the Hildor, the Aftercomers, the younger Children of Ilúvatar. For so grievous had been the hurts of Middle-earth in the war upon Utumno that the Valar feared lest even worse should now befall; whereas the Hildor should be mortal, and weaker than the Quendi to withstand fear and tumult. Moreover it was not revealed to Manwë where the beginning of Men should be, north, south, or east. Therefore the Valar sent forth light, but made strong the land of their dwelling.

In *The Silmarillion* there is no vestige of the tumultuous council, no suggestion of a disagreement among the Valar, with Manwë, Varda and Ulmo actively disapproving the work and holding aloof from it; no mention, equally, of any pleading for pity on the Noldor by Ulmo, nor of Manwë's disgust. In the old story it was the hostility of some of the Eldar towards the Noldoli, led by an Elf of Kópas (Alqualondë) – who likewise disappeared utterly: in the later account there is never a word about the feelings of the Elves of Valinor for the exiled Noldor – that was the starting-point of the Hiding of Valinor; and it is most curious to observe that the action of the Valar here sprang essentially from indolence mixed with fear. Nowhere does my father's early conception of the *fainéant* Gods appear more clearly. He held moreover quite explicitly that their failure to make war upon Melko then and there was a deep error, diminishing themselves, and (as it appears) irreparable. In his later writing the Hiding of Valinor remained indeed, but only as a great fact of mythological antiquity; there is no whisper of its condemnation.

The blocking-up and utter isolation of Valinor from the world without is perhaps even more strongly emphasized in the early narrative. The cast-off webs of Ungweliant and the use to which the Valar put them disappeared in the later story. Most notable is the different explanation of the fact that the gap in the encircling heights (later named the Calacirya) was not blocked up. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 102) it is said that the pass was not closed

> because of the Eldar that were faithful, and in the city of Tirion upon the green hill Finarfin yet ruled the remnant of the Noldor in the deep cleft of the mountains. For all those of elven-race, even the Vanyar and Ingwë their lord, must breathe at times the outer air and the wind that comes over the sea from the lands of their birth; and the Valar would not sunder the Teleri wholly from their kin.

The old motive of the Solosimpi (> Teleri) wishing this to be done (sufficiently strange, for did the Shoreland Pipers wish to abandon the

shores?) disappeared in the general excision of their bitter resentment against the Noldoli, as did Ulmo's refusal to aid them, and Ossë's willingness to do so in Ulmo's despite. The passage concerning the Magic Isles, made by Ossë, is the origin of the conclusion of Chapter XI of *The Silmarillion*:

> And in that time, which songs call *Nurtalë Valinoréva*, the Hiding of Valinor, the Enchanted Isles were set, and all the seas about them were filled with shadows and bewilderment. And these isles were strung as a net in the Shadowy Seas from the north to the south, before Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle, is reached by one sailing west. Hardly might any vessel pass between them, for in the dangerous sounds the waves sighed for ever upon dark rocks shrouded in mist. And in the twilight a great weariness came upon mariners and a loathing of the sea; but all that ever set foot upon the islands were there entrapped, and slept until the Change of the World.

It is clear from this passage in the tale that the Magic Isles were set to the east of the Shadowy Seas, though 'the huge glooms . . . . stretched forth tongues of darkness towards them'; while in an earlier passage (p. 125) it is said that beyond Tol Eressëa (which was itself beyond the Magic Isles) 'is the misty wall and those great sea-glooms beneath which lie the Shadowy Seas'. The later 'Enchanted Isles' certainly owe much as a conception to the Magic Isles, but in the passage just cited from *The Silmarillion* they were set in the Shadowy Seas and were in twilight. It is possible therefore that the Enchanted Isles derive also from the Twilit Isles (pp. 68, 125).

The account of the works of Tulkas and Aulë in the northern regions (p. 210) does not read as perfectly in accord with what has been said previously, though a real contradiction is unlikely. On pp. 166-7 it is plainly stated that there was a strip of water (Qerkaringa, the Chill Gulf) between the tip of the 'Icefang' (Helkaraksë) and the Great Lands at the time of the crossing of the Noldoli. In this same passage the Icefang is referred to as 'a narrow neck, which the Gods after destroyed'. The Noldoli were able to cross over to the Great Lands despite 'that gap at the far end' (p. 168) because in the great cold the sound had become filled with unmoving ice. The meaning of the present passage may be, however, that by the destruction of the Icefang a much wider gap was made, so that there was now no possibility of any crossing by that route.

Of the three 'roads' made by Lórien, Oromë, and Mandos there is no vestige in my father's later writing. The Rainbow is never mentioned, nor is there ever any hint of an explanation of how Men and Elves pass to the halls of Mandos. But it is difficult to interpret this conception of the 'roads' – to know to what extent there was a purely figurative content in the idea.

For the road of Lórien, Olóre Mallë the Path of Dreams, which is

described by Vairë in *The Cottage of Lost Play*, see pp. 18, 27 ff. There Vairë told that Olóre Mallë came from the lands of Men, that it was 'a lane of deep banks and great overhanging hedges, beyond which stood many tall trees wherein a perpetual whisper seemed to live', and that from this lane a high gate led to the Cottage of the Children or of the Play of Sleep. This was not far from Kôr, and to it came 'the children of the fathers of the fathers of Men'; the Eldar guided them into the Cottage and its garden if they could, 'lest they strayed into Kôr and became enamoured of the glory of Valinor'. The accounts in the two tales seem to be in general agreement, though it is difficult to understand the words in the present passage 'it ran past the Cottage of the Children of the Earth and *thence* down the "lane of whispering elms" *until it reached* the sea'. It is very notable that still at this stage in the development of the mythology, when so much more had been written since the coming of Eriol to Tol Eressëa, the conception of the children of Men coming in sleep by a mysterious 'road' to a cottage in Valinor had by no means fallen away.

In the account of Oromë's making of the Rainbow-bridge, the noose that he cast caught on the summit of the great mountain Kalormë ('Sun-rising-hill') in the remotest East. This mountain is seen on the 'World-Ship' drawing, p. 84.

The story that Vairë named 'The Haven of the Sun' (pp. 213 ff.) provides the fullest picture of the structure of the world that is to be found in the earliest phase of the mythology. The Valar, to be sure, seem strangely ignorant on this subject – the nature of the world that came into being so largely from their own devising, if they needed Ulmo to acquaint them with such fundamental truths. A possible explanation of this ignorance may be found in the radical difference in the treatment of the Creation of the World between the early and later forms of *The Music of the Ainur*. I have remarked earlier (p. 62) that originally the Ainur's first sight of the world was already in its actuality, and Ilúvatar said to them: 'even now the world unfolds and its history begins'; whereas in the developed form it was a vision that was taken away from them, and only given existence in the word of Ilúvatar: *Eä!* Let these things Be! It is said in *The Silmarillion* (p. 20) that

> when the Valar entered into Eä they were at first astounded and at a loss, for it was as if naught was yet made which they had seen in vision, and all was but on point to begin and yet unshaped . . .

and there follows (pp. 21–2) an account of the vast labours of the Valar in the actual 'construction' of the world:

> They built lands and Melkor destroyed them; valleys they delved and Melkor raised them up; mountains they carved and Melkor threw them down; seas they hollowed and Melkor spilled them . . .

In the old version there is none of this, and one gains the impression (though nothing is explicit) that the Valar came into a world that was already 'made', and unknown to them ('the Gods stalked north and south and could see little; indeed in the deepest of these regions they found great cold and solitude . . .', p. 69). Although the conception of the world was indeed derived in large measure from their own playing in the Music, its reality came from the creative act of Ilúvatar ('We would have the guarding of those fair things of our dreams, which of thy might have now attained to reality', p. 57); and the knowledge possessed by the Valar of the actual properties and dimensions of their habitation was correspondingly smaller (so we may perhaps assume) than it was afterwards conceived to be.

But this is to lean rather heavily on the matter. More probably, the ignorance of the Valar is to be attributed to their curious collective isolation and indifference to the world beyond their mountains that is so much emphasized in this tale.

However this may be, Ulmo at this time informed the Valar that the whole world is an Ocean, Vai, on which the Earth floats, 'upheld by the word of Ilúvatar'; and all the seas of the Earth, even that which divides Valinor from the Great Lands, are hollows in the Earth's surface, and are thus distinct from Vai, which is of another nature. All this we have already seen (pp. 84 ff.); and in an earlier tale something has been said (p. 68) of the nature of the upholding waters:

> Beyond Valinor I have never seen or heard, save that of a surety there are the dark waters of the Outer Seas, that have no tides, and they are very cool and thin, that no boat can sail upon their bosom or fish swim within their depths, save the enchanted fish of Ulmo and his magic car.

So here Ulmo says that neither fish nor boat will swim in its waters 'to whom I have not spoken the great word that Ilúvatar said to me and bound them with the spell'.

At the outer edge of Vai stands the Wall of Things, which is described as 'deep-blue' (p. 215). Valinor is nearer to the Wall of Things than is the eastern shore of the Great Lands, which must mean that Vai is narrower in the West than in the East. In the Wall of Things the Gods at this time made two entrances, in the West the Door of Night and in the East the Gates of Morn; and what lies beyond these entrances in the Wall is called 'the starless vast' and 'the outer dark'. It is not made clear how the outer air ('the dark and tenuous realm of Vaitya that is outside all', p. 181) is to be related to the conception of the Wall of Things or the Outer Dark. In the rejected preliminary text of this tale my father wrote at first (see note 16 above) that in the East 'the Wall of Things is lower', so that when the Sun returns from the Outer Dark it does not enter the eastern sky by a door but 'rides above' the Wall. This was then changed, and the idea of the Door in the Eastern Wall, the Gates of Morn, introduced; but the

implication seems clear that the Walls were originally conceived like the walls of terrestrial cities, or gardens – walls with a top: a 'ring-fence'. In the cosmological essay of the 1930s, the *Ambarkanta*, the Walls are quite other:

> About the World are the *Ilurambar*, or Walls of the World. They are as ice and glass and steel, being above all imagination of the Children of Earth cold, transparent, and hard. They cannot be seen, nor can they be passed, save by the Door of Night.
>
> Within these walls the Earth is globed: above, below, and upon all sides is *Vaiya*, the Enfolding Ocean. But this is more like to sea below the Earth and more like to air above the Earth.

See further p. 86.

The Tale of Qorinómi (p. 215) was never in fact told – in the first version of the present tale (see note 15 above) it seems that Vairë would have liked to tell it, but felt the beady eye of the captious Ailios upon her. In the early Qenya word-list *Qorinómi* is defined as 'the name of the Sun', literally 'Drowned in the Sea', the name being a derivative from a root meaning 'choke, suffocate, drown', with this explanation: 'The Sun, after fleeing from the Moon, dived into the sea and wandered in the caverns of the Oaritsi.' *Oaritsi* is not given in the word-list, but *oaris* = 'mermaid'. Nothing is said in the *Lost Tales* of the Moon giving chase to the Sun; it was the stars of Varda that Ilinsor, 'huntsman of the firmament', pursued, and he was 'jealous of the supremacy of the Sun' (p. 195).

The conclusion of Vairë's tale, 'The Weaving of Days, Months, and Years', shows (as it seems to me) my father exploring a mode of mythical imagining that was for him a dead end. In its formal and explicit symbolism it stands quite apart from the general direction of his thought, and he excised it without trace. It raises, also, a strange question. In what possible sense were the Valar 'outside Time' before the weavings of Danuin, Ranuin, and Fanuin? In *The Music of the Ainur* (p. 55) Ilúvatar said: 'even now the world unfolds *and its history begins*'; in the final version (*The Silmarillion* p. 20) it is said that

> The Great Music had been but the growth and flowering of thought in the Timeless Halls, and the Vision only a foreshowing; but now they had entered in at the beginning of Time . . .

(It is also said in *The Silmarillion* (p. 39) that when the Two Trees of Valinor began to shine there began the Count of Time; this refers to the beginning of the measurement of Time from the waxing and the waning of the Trees.)

In the present tale the works of Danuin, Ranuin, and Fanuin are said to be the cause of 'the subjection of all things within the world to time and change'. But the very notion of a history, a consecutive story, self-

evidently implies time and change; how then can Valinor be said only now to come under the necessity of change, with the ordering of the motions of the Sun and Moon, when it has undergone vast changes in the course of the story of the *Lost Tales*? Moreover the Gods now know 'that ***hereafter*** even they should in counted time be subject to slow eld and their bright days to waning'. But the very statement (for instance) that Ómar-Amillo was 'the youngest of the great Valar' who entered the world (p. 67) is an assertion that the other Valar, older than he, were 'subject to eld'. 'Age' has of course for mortal beings two aspects, which draw always closer: time passes, and the body decays. But of the 'natural' immortality of the Eldar it is said (p. 59): 'nor doth eld subdue their strength, unless it may be in ten thousand centuries'. Thus they 'age' (so Gilfanon is 'the most aged that now dwelt in the isle' and is 'one of the oldest of the fairies', p. 175), but they do not 'age' (do not become enfeebled). Why then do the Gods know that 'hereafter' they will be 'subject to slow eld' – which can only mean ageing in the latter sense? It may well be that there is a deeper thought here than I can fathom; but certainly I cannot explain it.

Finally, at the end of all the early writing concerning it, it may be remarked how major a place was taken in my father's original conception by the creation of the Sun and the Moon and the government of their motions: the astronomical myth is central to the whole. Afterwards it was steadily diminished, until in the end, perhaps, it would have disappeared altogether.

X

GILFANON'S TALE: THE TRAVAIL OF THE NOLDOLI AND THE COMING OF MANKIND

The rejected draft text of *The Hiding of Valinor* continues a little way beyond the end of Vairë's tale, thus:

> Now after the telling of this tale no more was there of speaking for that night, but Lindo begged Ailios to consent to a tale-telling of ceremony to be held the next night or as soon as might be; but Ailios would not agree, pleading matters that he must needs journey to a distant village to settle. So was it that the tale-telling was fixed ere the candles of sleep were lit for a sevennight from that time – and that was the day of Turuhalmë[1] or the Logdrawing. "Twill be a fitting day,' saith Lindo, 'for the sports of the morning in the snow and the gathering of the logs from the woods and the songs and drinking of Turuhalmë will leave us of right mood to listen to old tales beside this fire.'

As I have noticed earlier (p. 204), the original form of the *Tale of the Sun and Moon* and *The Hiding of Valinor* belonged to the phase before the entry of Gilfanon of Tavrobel, replacing Ailios.

Immediately following this rejected draft text, on the same manuscript page, the text in ink of the *Tale of Turambar* (Túrin) begins, with these words:

> When then Ailios had spoken his fill the time for the lighting of candles was at hand, and so came the first day of Turuhalmë to an end; but on the second night Ailios was not there, and being asked by Lindo one Eltas began a tale . . .

What was Ailios' tale to have been? (for I think it certain that it was never written). The answer becomes clear from a separate short text, very rough, which continues on from the discussion at the end of *The Hiding of Valinor*, given above. This tells that at length the day of Turuhalmë was come, and the company from Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva went into the snowy woods to bring back firewood on sleighs. Never was the Tale-fire allowed to go out or to die into grey ash, but on the eve of Turuhalmë it sank always to a smaller blaze until Turuhalmë itself, when great logs were brought into the Room of the Tale-fire and being blessed by Lindo with ancient magic roared and flared anew upon the hearth. Vairë blessed the door and lintel

of the hall and gave the key to Rúmil, making him once again the Doorward, and to Littleheart was given the hammer of his gong. Then Lindo said, as he said each year:

> 'Lift up your voices, O Pipers of the Shore, and ye Elves of Kôr sing aloud; and all ye Noldoli and hidden fairies of the world dance ye and sing, sing and dance O little children of Men that the House of Memory resound with your voices . . .'

Then was sung a song of ancient days that the Eldar made when they dwelt beneath the wing of Manwë and sang on the great road from Kôr to the city of the Gods (see pp. 143-4).

It was now six months since Eriol went to visit Meril-i-Turinqi beseeching a draught of *limpë* (see pp. 96–8), and that desire had for a time fallen from him; but on this night he said to Lindo: 'Would I might drink with thee!' To this Lindo replied that Eriol should not 'think to overpass the bounds that Ilúvatar hath set', but also that he should consider that 'not yet hath Meril denied thee thy desire for ever'. Then Eriol was sad, for he guessed in his deepest heart that 'the savour of *limpë* and the blessedness of the Elves might not be his for ever'.

The text ends with Ailios preparing to tell a tale:

'I tell but as I may those things I have seen and known of very ancient days within the world when the Sun rose first, and there was travail and much sorrow, for Melko reigned unhampered and the power and strength that went forth from Angamandi reached almost to the ends of the great Earth.'

It is clear that no more was written. If it had been completed it would have led into the opening of *Turambar* cited above ('When then Ailios had spoken his fill . . .'); and it would have been central to the history of the Great Lands, telling of the coming of the Noldoli from Valinor, the Awakening of Men, and the Battle of Unnumbered Tears.

The text just described, linking *The Hiding of Valinor* to Ailios' unwritten tale, was not struck out, and my father later wrote on it: 'To come after the Tale of Eärendel and before Eriol fares to Tavrobel – after Tavrobel he drinks of *limpë*.' This is puzzling, since he cannot have intended the story of the Coming of Men to follow that of Eärendel; but it may be that he intended only to use the substance of this short text, describing the Turuhalmë ceremonies, without its ending.

However this may be, he devised a new framework for the telling of these tales, though he did not carry it through, and the revised account of the arranging of the next tale-telling has appeared in the *Tale of the Sun and Moon*, where after Gilfanon's interruption (p. 189) it was agreed that three nights after that on which *The Sun and Moon* and *The Hiding of Valinor* were told by Lindo and Vairë there should be a more ceremonial occasion, on which Gilfanon should relate 'the travail of the Noldoli and the coming of Mankind'.

Gilfanon's tale follows on, with consecutive page-numbers, from the second version of Vairë's tale of *The Hiding of Valinor*; but Gilfanon here tells it on the night following, not three days later. Unhappily Gilfanon was scarcely better served than Ailios had been, for if Ailios scarcely got started Gilfanon stops abruptly after a very few pages. What there is of his tale is very hastily written in pencil, and it is quite clear that it ends where it does because my father wrote no more of it. It was here that my father abandoned the *Lost Tales* – or, more accurately, abandoned those that still waited to be written; and the effects of this withdrawal never ceased to be felt throughout the history of 'The Silmarillion'. The major stories to follow Gilfanon's, those of Beren and Tinúviel, Túrin Turambar, the Fall of Gondolin, and the Necklace of the Dwarves, had been written and (in the first three cases) rewritten; and the last of these was to lead on to 'the great tale of Eärendel'. But that was not even begun. Thus the *Lost Tales* lack their middle, and their end.

I give here the text of Gilfanon's Tale so far as it goes.

Now when Vairë made an end, said Gilfanon: 'Complain not if on the morrow I weave a long tale, for the things I tell of cover many years of time, and I have waited long to tell them,' and Lindo laughed, saying he might tell to his heart's desire all that he knew.

But on the morrow Gilfanon sat in the chair and in this wise he began:

'Now many of the most ancient things of the Earth are forgotten, for they were lost in the darkness that was before the Sun, and no lore may recover them; yet mayhap this is new to the ears of many here that when the Teleri, the Noldoli, and the Solosimpi fared after Oromë and afterward found Valinor, yet was that not all of the race of the Eldalië that marched from Palisor, and those who remained behind are they whom many call the Qendi, the lost fairies of the world, but ye Elves of Kôr name Ilkorins, the Elves that never saw the light of Kôr. Of these some fell out upon the way, or were lost in the trackless glooms of those days, being wildered and but newly awakened on the Earth, but the most were those who left not Palisor at all, and a long time they dwelt in the pine-woods of Palisor, or sat in silence gazing at the mirrored stars in the pale still Waters of Awakening. Such great ages fared over them that the coming of Nornorë among them faded to a distant legend, and they said one to another that their brethren had gone westward to the Shining Isles. There, said they, do the Gods dwell, and they called them the Great Folk of the West, and thought they dwelt on firelit islands in the sea; but many had not even seen the great waves of that mighty water.

Now the Eldar or Qendi had the gift of speech direct from Ilúvatar, and it is but the sunderance of their fates that has altered them and made them unlike; yet is none so little changed as the tongue of the Dark Elves of Palisor.[2]

Now the tale tells of a certain fay, and names him Tû the wizard, for he was more skilled in magics than any that have dwelt ever yet beyond the land of Valinor; and wandering about the world he found the . . .[3] Elves and he drew them to him and taught them many deep things, and he became as a mighty king among them, and their tales name him the Lord of Gloaming and all the fairies of his realm Hisildi or the twilight people. Now the places about Koivië-néni the Waters of Awakening are rugged and full of mighty rocks, and the stream that feeds that water falls therein down a deep cleft . . . . a pale and slender thread, but the issue of the dark lake was beneath the earth into many endless caverns falling ever more deeply into the bosom of the world. There was the dwelling of Tû the wizard, and fathomless hollow are those places, but their doors have long been sealed and none know now the entry.

There was . . . . a pallid light of blue and silver flickering ever, and many strange spirits fared in and out beside the [?numbers] of the Elves. Now of those Elves there was one Nuin, and he was very wise, and he loved much to wander far abroad, for the eyes of the Hisildi were become exceeding keen, and they might follow very faint paths in those dim days. On a time did Nuin wander far to the east of Palisor, and few of his folk went with him, nor did Tû send them ever to those regions on his business, and strange tales were told concerning them; but now[4] curiosity overcame Nuin, and journeying far he came to a strange and wonderful place the like of which he had not seen before. A mountainous wall rose up before him, and long time he sought a way thereover, till he came upon a passage, and it was very dark and narrow, piercing the great cliff and winding ever down. Now daring greatly he followed this slender way, until suddenly the walls dropped upon either hand and he saw that he had found entrance to a great bowl set in a ring of unbroken hills whose compass he could not determine in the gloom.

Suddenly about him there gushed the sweetest odours of the Earth – nor were more lovely fragrances ever upon the airs of Valinor, and he stood drinking in the scents with deep delight, and amid the fragrance of [?evening] flowers came the deep odours that many pines loosen upon the midnight airs.

Suddenly afar off down in the dark woods that lay above the valley's bottom a nightingale sang, and others answered palely afar

off, and Nuin well-nigh swooned at the loveliness of that dreaming place, and he knew that he had trespassed upon Murmenalda or the "Vale of Sleep", where it is ever the time of first quiet dark beneath young stars, and no wind blows.

Now did Nuin descend deeper into the vale, treading softly by reason of some unknown wonder that possessed him, and lo, beneath the trees he saw the warm dusk full of sleeping forms, and some were twined each in the other's arms, and some lay sleeping gently all alone, and Nuin stood and marvelled, scarce breathing.

Then seizèd with a sudden fear he turned and stole from that hallowed place, and coming again by the passage through the mountain he sped back to the abode of Tû; and coming before that oldest of wizards he said unto him that he was new come from the Eastward Lands, and Tû was little pleased thereat; nor any the more when Nuin made an end of his tale, telling of all he there saw – "and methought," said he, "that all who slumbered there were children, yet was their stature that of the greatest of the Elves."

Then did Tû fall into fear of Manwë, nay even of Ilúvatar the Lord of All, and he said to Nuin:

Here *Gilfanon's Tale* breaks off. The wizard Tû and the Dark Elf Nuin disappeared from the mythology and never appear again, together with the marvellous story of Nuin's coming upon the forms of the Fathers of Mankind still asleep in the Vale of Murmenalda – though from the nature of the work and the different degrees of attention that my father later gave to its different parts one cannot always distinguish between elements definitively abandoned and elements held in 'indefinite abeyance'. And unhappy though it is that this tale should have been abandoned, we are nonetheless by no means entirely in the dark as to how the narrative would have proceeded.

I have referred earlier (p. 107, note 3) to the existence of two 'schemes' or outlines setting out the plan of the *Lost Tales*; and I have said that one of these is a résumé of the *Tales* as they are extant, while the other is divergent, a project for a revision that was never undertaken. There is no doubt that the former of these, which for the purposes of this chapter I will call 'B', was composed when the *Lost Tales* had reached their furthest point of development, as represented by the latest texts and arrangements given in this book. Now when this outline comes to the matter of *Gilfanon's Tale* it becomes at once very much fuller, but then contracts again to cursory references for the tales of Tinúviel, Túrin, Tuor, and the Necklace of the Dwarves, and once more becomes fuller for the tale of Eärendel. It is clear, therefore, that B is the preliminary form, according to the method that my father regularly used in those days, of *Gilfanon's Tale*, and indeed the part of the tale that was written

as a proper narrative is obviously following the outline quite closely, while substantially expanding it.

There is also an extremely rough, though full, outline of the matter of *Gilfanon's Tale* which though close to B has things that B does not, and vice versa; this is virtually certainly the predecessor of B, and in this chapter will be called 'A'.

The second outline referred to above, an unrealized project for the revision of the whole work, introduces features that need not be discussed here; it is sufficient to say that the mariner was now Ælfwine, not Eriol, and that his previous history was changed, but that the general plan of the *Tales* themselves was largely intact (with several notes to the effect that they needed abridging or recasting). This outline I shall call 'D'. How much time elapsed between B and D cannot be said, but I think probably not much. It seems possible that this new scheme was associated with the sudden breaking-off of *Gilfanon's Tale*. As with B, D suddenly expands to a much fuller account when this point is reached.

Lastly, a much briefer and more cursory outline, which however adds one or two interesting points, also has Ælfwine instead of Eriol; this followed B and preceded D, and is here called 'C'.

I shall not give all these outlines *in extenso*, which is unnecessary in view of the amount of overlap between them; on the other hand to combine them all into one would be both inaccurate and confusing. But since A and B are very close they can be readily combined into one; and I follow this account by that of D, with C in so far as it adds anything of note. And since in the matter of *Gilfanon's Tale* the outlines are clearly divided into two parts, the Awakening of Men and the history of the Gnomes in the Great Lands, I treat the narrative in each case in these two parts, separately.

There is no need to give the material of the outlines in the opening passage of *Gilfanon's Tale* that was actually written, but there are some points of difference between the outlines and the tale to be noted.

A and B call the wizard-king Túvo, not Tú; in C he is not named, and in D he is Tú 'the fay', as in the tale. Evil associations of this being appear in A: 'Melko meets with Túvo in the halls of Mandos during his enchainment. He teaches Túvo much black magic.' This was struck out, and nothing else is said of the matter; but both A and B say that it was after the escape of Melko and the ruin of the Trees that Túvo entered the world and 'set up a wizard kingship in the middle lands'.

In A, only, the Elves who remained behind in Palisor are said to have been of the people of the Teleri (the later Vanyar). This passage of *Gilfanon's Tale* is the first indication we have had that there were any such Elves (see p. 131); and I incline to think that the conception of the Dark Elves (the later Avari) who never undertook the journey from the Waters of Awakening only emerged in the course of the composition of the *Lost Tales*. But the name *Qendi*, which here first appears in the early narratives, is used somewhat ambiguously. In the fragment of the written tale, the

words 'those who remained behind are they whom many call the Qendi, the lost fairies of the world,[5] but ye Elves of Kôr name Ilkorins' seem an altogether explicit statement that Qendi=Dark Elves; but a little later Gilfanon speaks of 'the Eldar or Qendi', and in the outline B it is said that 'a number of the original folk called Qendi (the name Eldar being given by the Gods) remained in Palisor'. These latter statements seem to show equally clearly that *Qendi* was intended as a term for all Elves.

The contradiction is however only apparent. *Qendi* was indeed the original name of all the Elves, and *Eldar* the name given by the Gods and adopted by the Elves of Valinor; those who remained behind preserved the old name *Qendi*. The early word-list of the Gnomish tongue states explicitly that the name *Elda* was given to the 'fairies' by the Valar and was 'adopted largely by them; the Ilkorins still preserved the old name *Qendi*, and this was adopted as the name of the reunited clans in Tol Eressëa'.[6]

In both A and B it is added that 'the Gods spoke not among themselves the tongues of the Eldalië, but could do so, and they comprehended all tongues. The wiser of the Elves learned the secret speech of the Gods and long treasured it, but after the coming to Tol Eressëa none remembered it save the Inwir, and now that knowledge has died save in the house of Meril.' With this compare Rúmil's remarks to Eriol, p. 48: 'There is beside the secret tongue in which the Eldar wrote many poesies and books of wisdom and histories of old and earliest things, and yet speak not. This tongue do only the Valar use in their high counsels, and not many of the Eldar of these days may read it or solve its characters.'

Nuin's words to Tû on the stature of the sleepers in the Vale of Murmenalda are curious. In A is added: 'Men were almost of a stature at first with Elves, the fairies being far greater and Men smaller than now. As the power of Men has grown the fairies have dwindled and Men waxed somewhat.' Other early statements indicate that Men and Elves were originally of very similar stature, and that the diminishing in that of the Elves was closely related to the coming of, and the dominance of, Men. Nuin's words are therefore puzzling, especially since in A they immediately precede the comment on the original similarity of size; for he can surely only mean that the sleepers in Murmenalda were very large by comparison with the Elves. That the sleepers were in fact children, not merely likened in some way to children, is made clear in D: 'Nuin finds the Slumbrous Dale (Murmenalda) where countless sleeping children lie.'

We come now to the point where the narrative is carried forward only in the outlines.

The Awakening of Men according to the earlier outlines

The wizard Túvo told Nuin that the sleepers he had found were the new Children of Ilúvatar, and that they were waiting for light. He forbade

any of the Elves to wake them or to visit those places, being frightened of the wrath of Ilúvatar; but despite this Nuin went there often and watched, sitting on a rock. Once he stumbled against a sleeper, who stirred but did not wake. At last, overcome by curiosity, he awakened two, named Ermon and Elmir; they were dumb and very much afraid, but he taught them much of the Ilkorin tongue, for which reason he is called Nuin Father of Speech. Then came the First Dawn; and Ermon and Elmir alone of Men saw the first Sun rise in the West and come over to the Eastward Haven. Now Men came forth from Murmenalda as 'a host of sleepy children'.

(In the tale of *The Hiding of Valinor* it was long after the first rising of the Sunship from Valinor that its Haven in the East was built; see pp. 214–15. It is interesting that the first Men, Ermon and Elmir, were woken by Nuin before the first rising of the Sun, and although it was known to Túvo that Men were 'waiting for light' no connection is made between Nuin's act and the Sunrise. But of course one cannot judge the inner tenor of the narrative from such summaries. It is notable also that whereas the tongue of the Elves, in origin one and the same, was a direct gift of Ilúvatar (p. 232), Men were born into the world without language and received it from the instruction of an Ilkorin. Cf. *The Silmarillion*, p. 141: 'It is said also that these Men [the people of Bëor] had long had dealings with the Dark Elves east of the mountains, and from them had learned much of their speech; and since all the languages of the Quendi were of one origin, the language of Bëor and his folk resembled the Elven-tongue in many words and devices.')

At this point in the story the agents of Melko appear, the Úvanimor, 'bred in the earth' by him (Úvanimor, 'who are monsters, giants, and ogres', have been mentioned in an earlier tale, p. 75); and Túvo protected Men and Elves from them and from 'evil fays'. A makes mention of Orcs besides.

A servant of Melko named 'Fúkil or Fangli' entered the world, and coming among Men perverted them, so that they fell treacherously upon the Ilkorins; there followed the Battle of Palisor, in which the people of Ermon fought beside Nuin. According to A 'the fays and those Men that aided them were defeated', but B calls it an 'undecided battle'; and the Men corrupted by Fangli fled away and became 'wild and savage tribes', worshipping Fangli and Melko. Thereafter (in A only) Palisor was possessed by 'Fangli and his hosts of Nauglath (or Dwarves)'. (In the early writings the Dwarves are always portrayed as an evil people.)

From this outline it is seen that the corruption of certain Men in the beginning of their days by the agency of Melko was a feature of the earliest phase of the mythology; but of all the story here sketched there is no more than a hint or suggestion, at most, in *The Silmarillion* (p. 141): '"A darkness lies behind us," Bëor said; "and we have turned our backs upon it, and we do not desire to return thither even in thought."'[7]

The Awakening of Men according to the later outline

Here it is told at the beginning of the narrative that Melko's Úvanimor had escaped when the Gods broke the Fortress of the North, and were wandering in the forests; Fankil servant of Melko dwelt uncaptured in the world. (Fankil=Fangli / Fúkil of A and B. In C he is called 'child of Melko'. Fankil has been mentioned at an earlier point in D, when at the time of the Awakening of the Elves 'Fankil and many dark shapes escaped into the world'; see p. 107, note 3.)

Nuin 'Father of Speech', who went again and again to Murmenalda despite the warnings of Tû (which are not here specified), woke Ermon and Elmir, and taught them speech and many things else. Ermon and Elmir alone of Mankind saw the Sun arising in the West, and the seeds of Palúrien bursting forth into leaf and bud. The hosts of Men came forth as sleepy children, raising a dumb clamour at the Sun; they followed it westward when it returned, and were grievously afraid of the first Night. Nuin and Ermon and Elmir taught them speech.

Men grew in stature, and gathered knowledge of the Dark Elves,[8] but Tû faded before the Sun and hid in the bottomless caverns. Men dwelt in the centre of the world and spread thence in all directions; and a very great age passed.

Fankil with the Dwarves and Goblins went among Men, and bred estrangement between them and the Elves; and many Men aided the Dwarves. The folk of Ermon alone stood by the fairies in the first war of Goblins and Elves (Goblins is here an emendation from Dwarves, and that from Men), which is called the War of Palisor. Nuin died at the hands of the Goblins through the treachery of Men. Many kindreds of Men were driven to the eastern deserts and the southern forests, whence came dark and savage peoples.

The hosts of Tareg the Ikorin marched North-west hearing a rumour of the Gnomes; and many of the lost kindreds joined him.

The History of the Exiled Gnomes according to the earlier outlines

The Gnomes, after the passage of Helkaraksë, spread into Hisilómë, where they had 'trouble' with the ancient Shadow Folk in that land – in A called 'fay-people', in B '*Úvalear* fays'. (We have met the Shadow Folk of Hisilómë before, in the tale of *The Coming of the Elves*, p. 119, but there this is a name given by Men, after they were shut in Hisilómë by Melko, to the Lost Elves who remained there after straying on the march from Palisor. It will be seen in the later outlines that these Shadow Folk were an unknown people wholly distinct from Elves; and it seems therefore that the name was preserved while given a new interpretation.)

The Gnomes found the Waters of Asgon* and encamped there; then took place the Counting of the Folk, the birth of Turgon with 'prophecies', and the death of Fëanor. On this last matter the outlines are divergent. In A it was Nólemë, called also Fingolma, who died: 'his bark vanishes down a hidden way – said to be the way that Tuor after escaped by. He sailed to offer sacrifice in the islanded rock in Asgon.' (To whom was he sacrificing?) In B, as first written, it was likewise 'Fingolma (Nólemë)' who died, but this was emended to Fëanor; 'his bark vanished down a hidden [way] – said to be that opening that the Noldoli after enlarged and fashioned to a path, so that Tuor escaped that way. He sailed to the Islanded Rock in Asgon because he saw something brightly glitter there and sought his jewels.'

Leaving Asgon the Gnomes passed the Bitter Hills and fought their first battle with Orcs in the foothills of the Iron Mountains. (For the Iron Mountains as the southern border of Hisilómë see pp. 111–12, 158-9.) In the *Tale of Tinúviel* Beren came from Hisilómë, from 'beyond the Bitter Hills', and 'through the terrors of the Iron Mountains', and it thus seems clear that the Bitter Hills and the Iron Mountains may be equated.)

The next camp of the Gnomes was 'by Sirion' (which here first appears); and here the Gnomes first met the Ilkorins – A adding that these Ilkorins were originally of the Noldoli, and had been lost on the march from Palisor. The Gnomes learned from them of the coming of Men and of the Battle of Palisor; and they told the Ilkorins of the tidings in Valinor, and of their search for the jewels.

Now appears for the first time Maidros son of Fëanor (previously, in the tale of *The Theft of Melko*, the name was given to Fëanor's grandfather, pp. 146, 158). Maidros, guided by Ilkorins, led a host into the hills, either 'to seek for the jewels' (A), or 'to search the dwellings of Melko' (B – this should perhaps read 'search for the dwellings of Melko', the reading of C), but they were driven back with slaughter from the doors of Angamandi; and Maidros himself was taken alive, tortured – because he would not reveal the secret arts of the Noldoli in the making of jewels – and sent back to the Gnomes maimed. (In A, which still had Nólemë rather than Fëanor die in the Waters of Asgon, it was Fëanor himself who led the host against Melko, and it was Fëanor who was captured, tortured, and maimed.)

Then the Seven Sons of Fëanor swore an oath of enmity for ever against any that should hold the Silmarils. (This is the first appearance of the Seven Sons, and of the Oath, though that Fëanor had sons is mentioned in the *Tale of the Sun and Moon*, p. 192.)

The hosts of Melko now approached the camp of the Gnomes by Sirion, and they fled south, and dwelt then at Gorfalon, where they made the acquaintance of Men, both good and bad, but especially those of Ermon's folk; and an embassy was sent to Túvo, to Tinwelint (i.e. Thingol,

* later Lake Mithrim.

see p. 132), and to Ermon.[9] A great host was arrayed of Gnomes, Ilkorins, and Men, and Fingolma (Nólemë) marshalled it in the Valley of the Fountains, afterwards called the Vale of Weeping Waters. But Melko himself went into the tents of Men and beguiled them, and some of them fell treacherously on the rear of the Gnomes even as Melko's host attacked them; others Melko persuaded to abandon their friends, and these, together with others that he led astray with mists and wizardries, he beguiled into the Land of Shadows. (With this cf. the reference in the tale of *The Coming of the Elves* to the shutting of Men in Hisilómë by Melko, p. 118.)

Then took place 'the terrible Battle of Unnumbered Tears'. The Children of Úrin* (Sons of Úrin, A) alone of Men fought to the last, and none (save two messengers) came out of the fray; Turgon and a great regiment, seeing the day lost, turned and cut their way out, and rescued a part of the women and children. Turgon was pursued, and there is a reference to 'Mablon the Ilkorin's sacrifice to save the host'; Maidros and the other sons of Fëanor quarrelled with Turgon – because they wanted the leadership, A – and departed into the south. The remainder of the survivors and fugitives were surrounded, and swore allegiance to Melko; and he was wrathful, because he could not discover whither Turgon had fled.

After a reference to 'the Mines of Melko' and 'the Spell of Bottomless Dread' (the spell that Melko cast upon his slaves), the story concludes with 'the Building of Gondolin' and 'the estrangement of Men and Elves in Hisilómë, owing to the Battle of Unnumbered Tears': Melko fostered distrust and kept them spying on each other, so that they should not combine against him; and he fashioned the false-fairies or Kaukareldar in their likeness, and these deceived and betrayed Men.[10]

Since the outlines at this point return to mere headings for the tales of Tinúviel, Túrin, etc., it is clear that *Gilfanon's Tale* would have ended here.

The History of the Exiled Gnomes according to the later outline

The Gnomes sojourned in the Land of Shadows (i.e. Hisilómë), and had dealings with the Shadow Folk. These were fays (C); no one knows whence they came: they are not of the Valar nor of Melko, but it is thought that they came from the outer void and primeval dark when the world was first fashioned. The Gnomes found 'the Waters of Mithrim (Asgon)', and here Fëanor died, drowned in the Waters of Mithrim. The Gnomes devised weapons for the first time, and quarried the dark hills. (This is curious, for it has been said in the account of the Kinslaughter at Alqaluntë that 'so first perished the Eldar neath the weapons of their kin', p. 165.

* later Húrin.

The first acquisition of weapons by the Eldar remained a point of uncertainty for a long time.)

The Gnomes now fought for the first time with the Orcs and captured the pass of the Bitter Hills; thus they escaped out of the Land of Shadows, to Melko's fear and amazement. They entered the Forest of Artanor (later Doriath) and the Region of the Great Plains (perhaps the forerunner of the later Talath Dirnen, the Guarded Plain of Nargothrond); and the host of Nólemë grew to a vast size. They practised many arts, but would dwell no longer in settled abodes. The chief camp of Nólemë was about the waters of Sirion; and the Gnomes drove the Orcs to the foothills of the Iron Mountains. Melko gathered his power in secret wrath.

Turgon was born to Nólemë.

Maidros, 'chief son of Fëanor', led a host against Angband, but was driven back with fire from its gates, and he was taken alive and tortured – according to C, repeating the story of the earlier outline, because he would not reveal the secret arts of jewel-making. (It is not said here that Maidros was freed and returned, but it is implied in the Oath of the Seven Sons that follows.)

The Seven Sons of Fëanor swore their terrible oath of hatred for ever against all, Gods or Elves or Men, who should hold the Silmarils; and the Children of Fëanor left the host of Nólemë and went back into Dor Lómin, where they became a mighty and a fierce race.

The hosts of Tareg the Ilkorin (see p. 237) found the Gnomes at the Feast of Reunion; and the Men of Ermon first saw the Gnomes. Then Nólemë's host, swollen by that of Tareg and by the sons of Ermon, prepared for battle; and messengers were sent out North, South, East, and West. Tinwelint alone refused the summons, and he said: 'Go not into the hills.' Úrin and Egnor* marched with countless battalions.

Melko withdrew all his forces and Nólemë believed that he was afraid. The hosts of Elfinesse drew into the Tumbled Lands and encamped in the Vale of Fountains (Gorfalong), or as it was afterwards called the Valley of Weeping Waters.

(The outline D differs in its account of the events before the Battle of Unnumbered Tears from that in the earlier ones, here including C. In the earlier, the Gnomes fled from the camp by Sirion when Melko's hosts approached, and retreated to Gorfalon, where the great host of Gnomes, Ilkorins, and Men was gathered, and arrayed in the Valley of the Fountains. In D, there is no mention of any retreat by Nólemë's hosts: rather, it seems, they advanced from the camp by Sirion into the Vale of Fountains (Gorfalong). But from the nature of these outlines they cannot be too closely pressed. The outline C, which ends here, says that when the Gnomes first encountered Men at Gorfalon the Gnomes taught them crafts – and this was one of the starting-points, no doubt, of the later Elf-friends of Beleriand.)

* The father of Beren.

Certain Men suborned by Melko went among the camp as minstrels and betrayed it. Melko fell upon them at early dawn in a grey rain, and the terrible Battle of Unnumbered Tears followed, of which no full tale is told, for no Gnome will ever speak of it. (In the margin here my father wrote: 'Melko himself was there?' In the earlier outline Melko himself entered the camp of his enemies.)

In the battle Nólemë was isolated and slain, and the Orcs cut out his heart; but Turgon rescued his body and his heart, and it became his emblem.[11] Nearly half of all the Gnomes and Men who fought there were slain.

Men fled, and the sons of Úrin alone stood fast until they were slain; but Úrin was taken. Turgon was terrible in his wrath, and his great battalion hewed its way out of the fight by sheer prowess.

Melko sent his host of Balrogs after them, and Mablon the Ilkorin died to save them when pursued. Turgon fled south along Sirion, gathering women and children from the camps, and aided by the magic of the stream escaped into a secret place and was lost to Melko.

The Sons of Fëanor came up too late and found a stricken field: they slew the spoilers who were left, and burying Nólemë they built the greatest cairn in the world over him and the [?Gnomes]. It was called the Hill of Death.

There followed the Thraldom of the Noldoli. The Gnomes were filled with bitterness at the treachery of Men, and the ease with which Melko beguiled them. The outline concludes with references to 'the Mines of Melko' and 'the Spell of Bottomless Dread', and the statement that all the Men of the North were shut in Hisilómë.

The outline D then turns to the story of Beren and Tinúviel, with a natural connection from the tale just sketched: 'Beren son of Egnor wandered out of Dor Lómin* into Artanor . . .' This is to be the next story told by the Tale-fire (as also in outline B); in D the matter of *Gilfanon's Tale* is to take four nights.

★

If certain features are selected from these outlines, and expressed in such a way as to emphasize agreement rather than disagreement, the likeness to the narrative structure of *The Silmarillion* is readily apparent. Thus:

- The Noldoli cross the Helkaraksë and spread into Hisilómë, making their encampment by Asgon (Mithrim);
- They meet Ilkorin Elves (= Úmanyar);
- Fëanor dies;
- First battle with Orcs;
- A Gnomish army goes to Angband;

* i.e. Hisilómë; see p. 112.

- Maidros captured, tortured, and maimed;
- The Sons of Fëanor depart from the host of the Elves (in D only);
- A mighty battle called the Battle of Unnumbered Tears is fought between Elves and Men and the hosts of Melko;
- Treachery of Men, corrupted by Melko, at that battle;
- But the people of Úrin (Húrin) are faithful, and do not survive it;
- The leader of the Gnomes is isolated and slain (in D only);
- Turgon and his host cut their way out, and go to Gondolin;
- Melko is wrathful because he cannot discover where Turgon has gone;
- The Fëanorians come late to the battle (in D only);
- A great cairn is piled (in D only).

These are essential features of the story that were to survive. But the unlikenesses are many and great. Most striking of all is that the entire later history of the long years of the Siege of Angband, ending with the Battle of Sudden Flame (Dagor Bragollach), of the passage of Men over the Mountains into Beleriand and their taking service with the Noldorin Kings, had yet to emerge; indeed these outlines give the effect of only a brief time elapsing between the coming of the Noldoli from Kôr and their great defeat. This effect may be to some extent the result of the compressed nature of these outlines, and indeed the reference in the last of them, D, to the practice of many arts by the Noldoli (p. 240) somewhat counteracts the impression – in any case, Turgon, born when the Gnomes were in Hisilómë or (according to D) when they were encamped by Sirion, is full grown at the Battle of Unnumbered Tears.[12] Even so, the picture in *The Silmarillion* of a period of centuries elapsing while Morgoth was straitly confined in Angband and 'behind the guard of their armies in the north the Noldor built their dwellings and their towers' is emphatically not present. In later 'phases' of the history my father steadily expanded the period between the rising of the Sun and Moon and the Battle of Unnumbered Tears. It is essential, also, to the old conception that Melko's victory was so complete and overwhelming: vast numbers of the Noldoli became his thralls, and wherever they went lived in the slavery of his spell; in Gondolin alone were they free – so in the old tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* it is said that the people of Gondolin 'were that kin of the Noldoli who alone escaped Melko's power, when at the Battle of Unnumbered Tears he slew and enslaved their folk and wove spells about them and caused them to dwell in the Hells of Iron, faring thence at his will and bidding only'. Moreover Gondolin was not founded until *after* the Battle of Unnumbered Tears.[13]

Of Fëanor's death in the early conception we can discern little; but at least it is clear that it bore no relation to the story of his death in *The Silmarillion* (p. 107). In these early outlines the Noldoli, leaving Hisilómë, had their first affray with the Orcs in the foothills of the Iron Mountains or in the pass of the Bitter Hills, and these heights pretty clearly correspond to the later Mountains of Shadow, Ered Wethrin (see pp. 158, 238);

but in *The Silmarillion* (p. 106) the first encounter of the Noldor with the Orcs was in Mithrim.

The meeting of Gnomes and Ilkorins survived in the meeting of the new-come Noldor with the Grey-elves of Mithrim (*ibid.* p. 108); but the Noldor heard rather of the power of King Thingol of Doriath than of the Battle of Palisor.

Whereas in these outlines Maidros son of Fëanor led an attack on Angband which was repulsed with slaughter and his own capture, in *The Silmarillion* it was Fingolfin who appeared before Angband, and being met with silence prudently withdrew to Mithrim (p. 109). Maidros (Maedhros) had been already taken at a meeting with an embassage of Morgoth's that was supposed to be a parley, and he heard the sound of Fingolfin's trumpets from his place of torment on Thangorodrim – where Morgoth set him until, as he said, the Noldor forsook their war and departed. Of the divided hosts of the Noldor there is of course no trace in the old story; and the rescue of Maedhros by Fingon, who cut off his hand in order to save him, does not appear in any form: rather is he set free by Melko, though maimed, and without explanation given. But it is very characteristic that the maiming of Maidros – an important 'moment' in the legends – should never itself be lost, though it came to be given a wholly different setting and agency.

The Oath of the Sons of Fëanor was here sworn after the coming of the Gnomes from Valinor, and after the death of their father; and in the later outline D they then left the host of (Finwë) Nólemë, Lord of the Noldoli, and returned to Dor Lómin (Hisilómë). In this and in other features that appear only in D the story is moved nearer to its later form. In the return to Dor Lómin is the germ of the departure of the Fëanorians from Mithrim to the eastern parts of Beleriand (*The Silmarillion* p. 112); in the Feast of Reunion that of Mereth Aderthad, the Feast of Reuniting, held by Fingolfin for the Elves of Beleriand (*ibid.* p. 113), though the participants are necessarily greatly different; in the latecoming of the Fëanorians to the stricken field of Unnumbered Tears that of the delayed arrival of the host of Maedhros (*ibid.* pp. 190–2); in the cutting-off and death of (Finwë) Nólemë in the battle that of the slaying of Fingon (*ibid.* p. 193 – when Finwë came to be Fëanor's father, and thus stepped into the place of Bruithwir, killed by Melko in Valinor, his position as leader of the hosts in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears was taken by Fingon); and in the great cairn called the Hill of Death, raised by the Sons of Fëanor, that of the Haudh-en-Ndengin or Hill of Slain, piled by Orcs in Anfauglith (*ibid.* p. 197). Whether the embassy to Túvo, Tinwelint, and Ermon (which in D becomes the sending of messengers) remotely anticipates the Union of Maedhros (*ibid.* pp. 188–9) is not clear, though Tinwelint's refusal to join forces with Nólemë survived in Thingol's rejection of Maedhros' approaches (p. 189). I cannot certainly explain Tinwelint's words 'Go not into the hills', but I suspect that 'the hills' are the Mountains of Iron (in *The Hiding of Valinor*, p. 209, called 'the Hills of Iron') above

Angband, and that he warned against an attack on Melko; in the old *Tale of Turambar* Tinwelint said: 'Of the wisdom of my heart and the fate of the Valar did I not go with my folk to the Battle of Unnumbered Tears.'

Other elements in the story of the battle that survived – the steadfastness of the folk of Úrin (Húrin), the escape of Turgon – already existed at this time in a tale that had been written (that of Túrin).

The geographical indications are slight, and there is no map of the Great Lands for the earliest period of the legends; in any case these questions are best left until the tales that take place in those lands. The Vale (or Valley) of the Fountains, afterwards the Valley (or Vale) of Weeping Waters, is in D explicitly equated with Gorfalong, which in the earlier outlines is given as Gorfalon, and seems to be distinct; but in any case neither these, nor 'the Tumbled Lands', can be brought into relation with any places or names in the later geography – unless (especially since in D Turgon is said to have fled 'south down Sirion') it may be supposed that something like the later picture of the Pass of Sirion was already in being, and that the Vale of the Fountains, or of Weeping Waters, was a name for it.

NOTES

1 Above *Turuhalmë* are written *Duruchalm* (struck out) and *Halmad-hurwion*.

2 This paragraph is marked with queries.

3 The word may be read equally well as 'dim' or 'dun'.

4 The original reading here was: 'and few of his folk went with him, and this Tû forbade to his folk, fearing the wrath of Ilúvatar and Manwë; yet did' (sc. curiosity overcome Nuin, etc.).

5 Earlier in the *Tales*, 'the Lost Elves' are those who were lost from the great journey and wandered in Hisilómë (see p. 118).

6 In the tale the 'fairies' of Tû's dominion (i.e. the Dark Elves) are given the name *Hisildi*, the twilight people; in outlines A and B, in addition to *Hisildi*, other names are given: *Humarni*, *Kaliondi*, *Lómëarni*.

7 Cf. also Sador's words to Túrin in his boyhood (*Unfinished Tales* p. 61): 'A darkness lies behind us, and out of it few tales have come. The fathers of our fathers may have had things to tell, but they did not tell them. Even their names are forgotten. The Mountains stand between us and the life that they came from, flying from no man now knows what.'

8 Cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 104: 'It is told that ere long they met Dark Elves in many places, and were befriended by them; and Men became the companions and disciples in their childhood of these ancient folk, wanderers of the Elven-race who never set out upon the paths to Valinor, and knew of the Valar only as a rumour and a distant name.'

9 Above *Ermon* is written, to all appearance, the Old English word *Æsc* ('ash'). It seems conceivable that this is an anglicizing of Old Norse *Askr* ('ash'), in the northern mythology the name of the first man, who with the first woman (*Embla*) were made by the Gods out of two trees that they found on the seashore (Völuspá strophe 17; *Snorra Edda*, *Gylfaginning* §8).

10 The text has here the bracketed word '(Gongs)'. This might be thought to be a name for the *Kaukareldar* or 'false-fairies', but in the Gnomish word-list *Gong* is defined as 'one of a tribe of the Orcs, a goblin'.

11 The cutting out of Nólemë's heart by the Orcs, and its recapture by Turgon his son, is referred to in an isolated early note, which says also that Turgon encased it in gold; and the emblem of the King's Folk in Gondolin, the Scarlet Heart, is mentioned in the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin*.

12 Cf. p. 167: 'Turondo son of Nólemë was not yet upon the Earth.' *Turgon* was the Gnomish name of *Turondo* (p. 115). In the later story Turgon was a leader of the Noldor from Valinor.

13 After the story was changed, and the founding of Gondolin was placed far earlier, the concluding part of *The Silmarillion* was never brought into harmony; and this was a main source of difficulty in the preparation of the published work.

APPENDIX

NAMES IN THE *LOST TALES* - PART I

There exist two small books, contemporary with the *Lost Tales*, which contain the first 'lexicons' of the Elvish languages; and both of them are very difficult documents.

One is concerned with the language called, in the book, *Qenya*, and I shall refer to this book as 'QL' (Qenya Lexicon). A good proportion of the entries in the first half of the alphabet were made at one time, when the work was first begun; these were very carefully written, though the pencil is now faint. Among these original entries is this group:

Lemin 'five'
Lempe 'ten'
Leminkainen '23'

The choice of '23' suggests that this was my father's age at the time, and that the book was begun therefore in 1915. This is supported by some of the statements made in the first layer of entries about certain figures of the mythology, statements that are at odds with everything that is said elsewhere, and which give glimpses of a stage even earlier than the *Lost Tales*.

The book naturally continued in use, and many entries (virtually all of those in the second part of the alphabet) are later than this first layer, though nothing more definite can be said than that all entries belong to the period of (or not long preceding) the *Lost Tales*.

The words in QL are arranged according to 'roots', and a note at the beginning states:

> Roots are in capitals, and are not words in use at all, but serve as an elucidation of the words grouped together and a connection between them.

There is a good deal of uncertainty, expressed by queries, in the formulation of the roots, and in the ascription of words to one root or another, as my father moved among different etymological ideas; and in some cases it seems clear that the word was 'there', so to speak, but its etymology remained to be certainly defined, and not vice versa. The roots themselves are often difficult to represent, since certain consonants carry diacritic marks that are not defined. The notes on names that follow inevitably give a slightly more positive impression than does the book itself.

The other book is a dictionary of the Gnomish language, *Goldogrin*, and I shall refer to this as 'GL' (Goldogrin, or Gnomish, Lexicon). This is not arranged historically, by roots (though occasionally roots are given), but rather, in plan at least, as a conventional dictionary; and it contains a remarkable number of words. The book is entitled *i·Lam na·Ngoldathon* (i.e. 'the tongue of the Gnomes'): *Goldogrin*, with a date: 1917. Written beneath the title is *Eriol Sarothron* (i.e. 'Eriol the Voyager'), *who else is called Angol but in his own folk Ottor Wǽfre* (see p. 23).*

The great difficulty in this case is the intensity with which my father used this diminutive book, emending, rejecting, adding, in layer upon layer, so that in places it has become very hard to interpret. Moreover later changes to the forms in one entry were not necessarily made in related entries; thus the stages of a rapidly expanding linguistic conception are very confused in their representation. These little books were working materials, by no means the setting-out of finished ideas (it is indeed quite clear that GL in particular closely accompanied the actual composition of the *Tales*). Further, the languages changed even while the first 'layer' was being entered in GL; for example, the word *mô* 'sheep' was changed later to *moth*, but later in the dictionary *uimoth* 'sheep of the waves' was the form first written.

It is immediately obvious that an already extremely sophisticated and phonetically intricate historical structure lies behind the languages at this stage; but it seems that (unhappily and frustratingly) very little indeed in the way of phonological or grammatical description now survives from those days. I have found nothing, for instance, that sets out even in the sketchiest way the phonological relations between the two languages. Some early phonological description does exist for Qenya, but this became through later alterations and substitutions such a baffling muddle (while the material is in any case intrinsically extremely complex) that I have been unable to make use of it.

To attempt to use later materials for the elucidation of the linguistic ideas of the earliest period would in this book be quite impractical. But the perusal of these two vocabularies shows in the clearest possible way how deeply involved were the developments in the mythology and in the languages, and it would be seriously misleading to publish the *Lost Tales* without some attempt to show the etymological connections of the names that appear in them. I give therefore as much information, derived from these books, as is possible, but without any speculation beyond them. It is evident, for instance, that a prime element in the etymological constructions was slight variation in ancient 'roots' (caused especially by differences in the formation of consonants) that in the course of ages yielded very complex semantic situations; or again, that an old vocalic 'ablaut' (variation, in length or quality, of vowels in series) was present;

* The note concerning *Angol* and *Eriollo* referred to on p. 24 is written inside the cover of GL.

but I have thought it best merely to try to present the content of the dictionaries as clearly as I can.

It is noteworthy that my father introduced a kind of 'historical punning' here and there: so for instance the root SAHA 'be hot' yields (beside *saiwa* 'hot' or *sára* 'fiery') *Sahóra* 'the South', and from NENE 'flow' come *nen* 'river', *nénu* 'yellow water-lily', and *nénuvar* 'pool of lilies' – cf. *nenuphar* 'water-lily', modern French *nénufar*. There are also several resemblances to early English that are obviously not fortuitous, as *hôr* 'old', HERE 'rule', *rûm* 'secret (whisper)'.

It will be seen that a great many elements in the later languages, Quenya and Sindarin, as they are known from the published works, go back to the beginning; the languages, like the legends, were a continuous evolution, expansion, and refinement. But the historical status and relationship of the two languages as they were conceived at this time was radically changed later on: see p. 51.

The arrangement of the material has proved difficult, and indeed without a better understanding of relationships and their shifting formulations could scarcely be made satisfactory. The system I have adopted is to give etymologically-connected groups of words, in both Qenya and Gnomish, under an important name that contains one of them; to this entry other occurrences of a word in the group are referred (e.g. *glor-* in *Glorvent*, *Bráglorin* is referred to the entry *Laurelin*, where the etymological associations of Qenya *laurë* 'gold' are given).* Every name in the *Lost Tales* of this volume is given – that is, if any contemporary etymological information is to be found concerning it: any name not found in the following list is either quite opaque to me, or at least cannot be identified with any certainty. Rejected names are also included, on the same basis, but are given under the names that replaced them (e.g. *Dor Uswen* under *Dor Faidwen*).

The list of secondary names of the Valar which is written out on blank facing pages in the tale of *The Coming of the Valar* (see p. 93) is referred to as 'the Valar name-list'. The sign < is used only where it is used in the Gnomish dictionary, as *alfa* < *alchwa*, meaning that the one was historically derived from the other: it is not used in this Appendix to refer to alterations made by my father in the dictionaries themselves.

★

Ainur Among the original entries in QL are *ainu* 'a pagan god' and *aini* 'a pagan goddess', together with *áye* 'hail!' and *Ainatar* 'Ilúvatar, God'. (Of course no one *within* the context of the mythology can call

* Later Quenya and Sindarin forms are only exceptionally mentioned. For such words see the vocabularies given in *An Introduction to Elvish*, ed. J. Allan, Bran's Head Books, 1978; also the Appendix to *The Silmarillion*.

the Ainur 'pagan'.) GL has *Ain*: 'also with distinctive masc. and fem. forms *Ainos* and *Ainil*, a God, i.e. one of the Great Valar'.

Alalminórë See *Aldaron*, *Valinor*. In QL *Alalminórë* is glossed 'Land of Elms, one of the provinces of Inwinórë in which is situated Kortirion (Warwickshire)'; i.e. *Alalminórë*=Warwickshire (see p. 25). Gnomish words are *lalm* or *larm*, also *lalmir*, 'elm'.

Aldaron In QL is a root ALA 'spread', with derivatives *alda* 'tree', *aldëa* 'tree-shadowed', *aldëon* 'avenue of trees', and *alalmë* 'elm' (see *Alalminórë*). In GL this name of Oromë appears as *Aldor* and *Ormaldor* (*Oromë* is *Orma* in Gnomish); *ald* 'wood (material)', later altered to *âl*.

Alqaluntë QL *alqa* 'swan'; GL *alcwi*, with the corresponding word in Qenya here given as *alqë*, *alcwi* changed later to *alfa* < *alchwa*.

QL *luntë* 'ship' from root LUTU, with other derivatives *lúto* 'flood' and verb *lutta-*, *lutu-* 'flow, float' (cf. *Ilsaluntë*). GL has correspondingly *lunta* 'ship', *lud-* 'flow, stream, float'.

Aluin See *Lúmin*.

Amillo This appears in QL but with no indication of meaning; *Amillion* is Amillo's month, February (one of the most 'primitive' entries).

Angaino Together with *angayassë* 'misery', *angaitya* 'torment', *Angaino* is given in QL separately from the 'iron' words (see *Angamandi*) and was first defined as 'a giant', emended to 'the great chain'. In GL Melko has a name *Angainos*, with a note: 'Do not confuse Gnomish *Angainos* with Qenya *Angaino* (Gnomish *Gainu*), the great chain of *tilkal*.' Under *Gainu* there is a later note: 'popularly connected with *ang* "iron" but really = "tormentor".'

Angamandi QL has *anga* 'iron' (which is the *a* of *tilkal*, p. 100), *angaina* 'of iron', *Angaron(ti)* 'Mountains of Iron', and *Angamandu* or *Eremandu* 'Hells of Iron' (added later: 'or *Angamandi*, plural'). The Gnomish forms are *ang* 'iron' (as in *Angol*, see under *Eriol*), *angrin* 'of iron', *Angband* – which, strangely, is said in GL to be 'Melko's great fortress after the battle of Countless Lamentation down to the battle of the Twilit Pool' (when Tulkas finally overthrew Melko). See *Mandos*.

Angol See *Eriol*.

Arvalin See *Eruman*.

Aryador This is said (p. 119) to be the name among Men of Hisilómë; but according to GL it was a word of Ilkorin origin, meaning 'land or place of shadow'; QL *Arëandor*, *Arëanor* 'name of a mountainous district, the abode of the Shadow Folk' (see p. 237). See *Eruman*.

Asgon GL has *Asgon* 'name of a lake in Dor Lómin (Hisilómë), Q. *Aksanda*'; QL has *aksa* 'waterfall', of which the Gnomish equivalent is given as *acha* of the same meaning. (No light is cast on the later name *Mithrim* in the dictionaries.)

Aulë A word *aulë* 'shaggy' is given in QL as a derivative from a root OWO (whence also *oa* 'wool', *uë* 'fleece'), but without any indication

that this is to be connected with the name of the Vala. The Gnomish form of his name is *Óla*, changed to *Óli*, without further information. In the Valar name-list Aulë is called also *Tamar* or *Tamildo*. These are given in QL without translation under root TAMA 'smelt, forge', with *tambë* 'copper' (the *t* of *tilkal*, p. 100), *tambina* 'of copper', *tamin* 'forge'; Gnomish words are *tam* 'copper', *tambin* 'of copper', *tambos* 'cauldron'. For other names of Aulë see *Talka Marda*.

Aulenossë For *nossë* 'kin, people' see *Valinor*.

Aur Gnomish name of the Sun; see *Ûr*.

Balrog GL defines *Balrog* as 'a kind of fire-demon; creatures and servants of Melko'. With the article the form is *i'Malrog*, plural *i'Malraugin*. Separate entries give *bal* 'anguish' (original initial consonant *mb-*), *balc* 'cruel'; and *graug* 'demon'. Qenya forms are mentioned: *araukë* and *Malkaraukë*. In QL *Malkaraukë* with other words such as *malkanë* 'torture' are given under a root MALA (MBALA) '(crush), hurt, damage', but the relation of this to MALA 'crush, squeeze' (see *Olórë Mallë*) was apparently not decided. There are also *Valkaraukë* and *valkanë* 'torture', but again the relationship is left obscure.

Bráglorin Defined in the text (p. 187) as 'the blazing vessel', but translated in GL as 'Golden Wain, a name of the Sun', with a note: 'also in analytical form *i·Vreda 'Loriol'*; *brada* 'waggon, wain'. For *-glorin* see *Laurelin*.

Bronweg GL has *Bronweg* '(the constant one), name of a famous Gnome', with related words as *brod*, *bronn* 'steadfast', *bronweth* 'constancy'. In QL *Voronwë* (see p. 48) 'the faithful' is derived from the root VORO, with *vor*, *voro* 'ever', *voronda* 'faithful', *vorima* 'everlasting', etc. Cf. *Vorotemnar*.

The common ending *-weg* is not given in GL, but cf. *gweg* 'man', plural *gwaith*.

Cûm a Gumlaith 'The Mound of the First Sorrow', tomb of Bruithwir, p. 149. GL *cûm* 'mound, especially burial-mound' (also *cum-* 'lie', *cumli* 'couch'); *gumlaith* 'weariness of spirit, grief' (*blaith* 'spirit').

Cûm a Thegranaithos See preceding entry. GL *thegra* 'first, foremost', *thegor* 'chief'; *naitha-* 'lament, weep, wail for', *naithol* 'miserable'.

Danuin GL has *dana* 'day (24 hours)', with reference to Qenya *sana* (not in QL); *Dana* was an earlier reading for *Danuin* (p. 222). The same element appears in *Lomendánar* 'Days of Gloaming'.

Dor Faidwen Gnomish *dôr* (< *ndor-*) '(inhabited) land, country, people of the land'; see *Valinor*.

Dor Faidwen is translated in the text 'Land of Release' (p. 13); GL has *faidwen* 'freedom' and many related words, as *fair* 'free', *faith* 'liberty', etc. In QL under root FAYA appear *fairë* 'free', *fairië* 'freedom', *fainu-* 'release'.

Dor Faidwen was the final Gnomish name of Tol Eressëa after many changes (p. 21), but little light can be cast on the earlier forms. *Gar* in *Gar Eglos* is a Gnomish word meaning 'place, district'. *Dor Us(g)wen*: GL gives the stem *us-* 'leave, depart' (also *uthwen* 'way out, exit'), and QL under root USU 'escape' has *uswë* 'issue, escape' and *usin* 'he escapes'.

Dor Lómin See *Valinor, Hisilómë*.

Eärendel In an annotated list of names accompanying *The Fall of Gondolin* there is a suggestion, attributed to Littleheart son of Voronwë, that *Eärendel* had 'some kinship to the Elfin *ea* and *earen* "eagle" and "eyrie" ', and in QL these words (both given the meaning 'eagle') are placed with *Eärendel*, though not explicitly connected. In the tale itself it is said that 'there are many interpretations both among Elves and Men' of the name *Eärendel*, with a suggestion that it was a word of 'some secret tongue' spoken by the people of Gondolin.

GL has an entry: *Ioringli* 'true Gnomish form of Eärendel's name, though the Eldar-form has been also adopted and often is met in transition state as *Iarendel, Iorendel*' (on the distinction between 'Gnomish' and 'Eldar' see p. 50). Gnomish words for 'eagle' are *ior, ioroth*.

In QL is an entry *Eärendilyon* 'son of Eärendel (used of any mariner)'; cf. p. 13.

Eldamar For the first element see *Eldar*. – In QL the following words are given in a group: *mar* (*mas-*) 'dwelling of men, the Earth, -land', *mardo* 'dweller', *masto* 'village', and *-mas* equivalent to English *-ton, -by* in place-names (cf. *Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva*; *Koromas*; *i·Talka Marda* 'Smith of the World', Aulë). In GL are *bar* 'home' (< *mbar-*), and derivatives, as *baros* 'hamlet', also *-bar* as suffix 'dweller', or 'home, -ham'.

The Gnomish equivalent of *Eldamar* was *Eglobar* (Gnomish *Egla* = Qenya *Elda*): '*Eglobar* "Elfinesse" = Q. *Eldamar*, i.e. Elfhome; the land on the edge of Valinor where the fairies dwelt and built Côr. Also in forms *Eglabar, Eglamar, Eglomar*.' In QL *Eldamar* is said, in a very early entry, to be 'the rocky beach in western Inwinórë (Faëry)'; 'upon this rock was the white town built called Kôr'.

Eldar In QL *Elda* is given separately, without etymological connections, and defined as 'a beach-fay or *Solosimpë* (shore-piper)'. This is a glimpse of an earlier conception than that found in the *Lost Tales*: the *Eldar* were originally the Sea-elves. GL has the entry *Egla* ' "a being from outside", name of the fairies given by the Valar and largely adopted by them, =Q. *Elda*' (see p. 235); also *eg, êg* 'far away, distant'. The association of *Eldar* with the stars does not go back to the beginning.

Erinti She appears in QL in an isolated, early entry (afterwards struck

through). Nothing is ever told of Erinti in the *Lost Tales*, but in this note she is called the Vala of love, music, and beauty, also named *Lotessë* and *Akairis* ('bride'), sister of Noldorin and Amillo. These three alone (i.e. of the Valar) have left Valinor, and dwell in Inwenórë (Tol Eressëa); she herself dwells in Alalminórë in a *korin* of elms guarded by the fairies. The second half of the month of *avestalis* (January) is called *Erintion*.

There is no trace of this elsewhere; but clearly, when Erinti became the daughter of Manwë and Varda her dwelling in Alalminórë was taken over by Meril-i-Turinqi, the Lady of Tol Eressëa.

In the Valar name-list Erinti is called also *Kalainis*; this word appears in QL with the meaning 'May', one of many derivatives from the root KALA (see *Galmir*).

Eriol In *The Cottage of Lost Play* (p. 14) *Eriol* is translated 'One who dreams alone'. In QL the elements of this interpretation are given under the roots ERE 'remain alone' (see *Tol Eressëa*) and LORO 'slumber' (see *Lórien*). In GL appears the note cited on p. 24 that Gnomish *Angol* and Qenya *Eriollo* were the names of the region 'between the seas' whence Eriol came (=Angeln in the Danish peninsula); and in an isolated note elsewhere *Angol* is derived from *ang* 'iron' and *ôl* 'cliff', while Eriol is said to mean the same – 'this being the name of the fairies for the parts [*sic*] of his home (ironcliffs)'. Meril refers to 'the black coasts of your home' (p. 96). In this note the interpretation 'One who dreams alone' is said to be a pun on Lindo's part.

For *ang* 'iron' see *Angamandi*. GL has *ol*, *óla* 'cliff, seaward precipice', with Qenya forms *ollo*, *oldō*. *ere(n)* 'iron or steel' is given in QL, and this element appears also in the alternative name *Eremandu* for *Angamandu*, 'Hells of Iron'.

Eruman The names of this region are as difficult as the original conception of the region itself (see pp. 91 ff.). The form *Erumáni* (which occurs in the *Tales* as well as *Eruman*) appears in QL under ERE 'out' (cf. *Neni Erúmëar*) without further information. GL has a long entry under *Edhofon*, which=Q. *Erumáni*: it is a 'dark land outside Valinor and to the south of the Bay of Faëry, that ran right up to the bases of the western side of the Mountains of Valinor; its farthest northern point touched upon the roots of Taniquetil, hence *Edhofon* < *Eðusmānī-*, i.e. beyond the abode of the Mánir. Hence also the Q. title *Afalinan* or *Arvalion*, i.e. nigh Valinor.' The implication of this seems to be that Taniquetil was 'the abode of the Mánir', as is comprehensible, since the Mánir were particularly associated with Manwë (the Gnomish words *móna*, *móni* are defined as 'spirits of the air, children of Manwë'), and therefore Eruman was beyond (south of) their abode. See *Mánir*.

GL also states that Edhofon was called *Garioth*; and *Garioth* is 'the true Gnome form' of the name *Aryador* (a word of Ilkorin

origin) 'land of shadow', though applied not to Hisilómë but to Edhofon / Eruman.

According to QL *Harwalin* 'near the Valar' contains *har(e)* 'near'; the entries in GL are too confusing to cite, for the forms of *Harwalin* / *Arvalin* were changed over and over again. A late entry in GL gives a prefix *ar-* 'beside, along with'. For *Habbanan* see *Valar*.

Falassë Númëa Translated in the text (p. 124) as 'Western Surf'; see *Falman, Númë*.

Falman In QL the root FALA has derivatives *falma* 'foam', *falmar* 'wave as it breaks', *falas(s)* 'shore, beach', *Falman*=Ossë; cf. *Falassë Númea, Falmaríni*. GL has *falm* 'breaker, wave', *falos* 'sea-marge, surf', *Falmon* or *Falathron* 'names of Otha [Ossë], =Q. *Falman* and *Falassar*'.

Falmaríni See *Falman*.

Fanturi In QL *fantur*, without translation but with reference to Lórien and Mandos, is given under root FANA, with several derivatives all referring to visions, dreams, falling asleep. In GL (a late entry) the form is *Fanthor*, plural *i·Fanthaurin* 'the name of each of the two brothers, of sleep, of death'.

Fanuin GL has *fann* 'a year'. For the rejected names *Lathos, Lathweg* (p. 222) see *Gonlath*.

Faskala-númen, Faskalan Translated in the text (p. 187) as 'Bath of the Setting Sun'. GL has *fas-* 'wash', *fasc* 'clean', *fasca-* 'splash, sprinkle', *fôs* 'bath'. For *-númen* see *Númë*.

Fëanor The only evidence for the meaning of this name is given under *Fionwë-Úrion*.

Fingolma See *Nólemë*.

Finwë As a proper name this is not in the dictionaries, but GL gives a common noun *finweg* 'craftsman, man of skill' (with *fim* 'clever; right hand' and other related words); for *-weg* see *Bronweg*. In QL derivatives of root FINI are *finwa* 'sagacious', *finië, findë* 'cunning'. See *Nólemë*.

Fionwë-Úrion *Fion* 'son' is given separately in QL (a hurried later addition), with the note 'especially Fion(wë) the Vala'. In Gnomish he is '*Auros Fionweg*, or *Fionaur Fionor*'. In a later entry in GL '*Fionaur* (*Fionor*)=Q. *Fëanor* (goblet-smith)', and among the original entries is *fion* 'bowl, goblet'. There is no indication that this refers to Fëanor the Gnome.

For the second element (*Úrion, Auros*) see *Ûr*. In the Valar name-list Fionwë is called *Kalmo*; see *Galmir*.

Fui In QL are *hui* 'fog, dark, murk, night' and *huiva* 'murky', and also '*Fui* (=*hui*) wife of Vê'. In Gnomish she is *Fuil* 'Queen of the Dark', and related words are *fui* 'night', *fuin* 'secret, dark'.

fumellar The 'flowers of sleep' (poppies) in Lórien's gardens (p. 74). QL under root FUMU 'sleep' has *fúmë* 'sleep' (noun), *fúmella, fúmellot* 'poppy'.

Galmir Translated in the text (p. 187) as 'the goldgleamer' (a name of the Sun). This is a derivative of Gnomish *gal-* 'shine', which in Qenya is KALA 'shine golden', and of which a great many derivatives are given in QL, as *kala-* 'shine', *kálë* 'morning', *kalma* 'daylight', *Kalainis* 'May' (see *Erinti*), *kalwa* 'beautiful', etc. Cf. *Kalormë*, *Kalaventë*, and *i·kal'antúlien* 'Light hath returned' (p. 184).

Gar Lossion Translated in the text (p. 16) as 'Place of Flowers' (Gnomish name of Alalminórë). For *Gar* see *Dor Faidwen*. GL gives *lost* 'blossom' and *lôs* 'flower', but it is noted that they are probably unconnected and that *lôs* is more likely to be related to *lass* 'leaf', also used to mean 'petal'. (QL has *lassë* 'leaf', *lasselanta* 'the Fall, Autumn'.) See *Lindelos*.

Glorvent For the element *Glor-* see *Laurelin*. – GL had *Glorben(d)* 'ship of gold', changed later to *Glorvent* 'boat of gold'; *benn* 'shape, cut, fashion', *benc*, *bent* 'small boat'. QL has the root VENE 'shape, cut out, scoop', with derivatives *venië*, *venwë* 'shape, cut' and *venë* 'small boat, vessel, dish'. Cf. the title of the 'World-Ship' drawing, *I Vene Kemen* (see p. 85), and the Sun's name *i·Kalaventë* (*Kalavénë*).

Golfinweg See *Nólemë*, *Finwë*.

Gondolin QL does not give this name, but *ondo* 'stone' appears under root ONO 'hard'. In GL *Gondolin* is said to=Qenya *Ondolin* (changed to *Ondolinda*) 'singing stone'. There is also an entry *gond* 'great stone, rock'; later this was changed to *gonn*, and a note added that *Gondolin*=*Gonn Dolin*, together with an entry *dólin* 'song'. See *Lindelos*.

Gong GL gives no other information beyond that cited on p. 245, note 10, but compares *sithagong* 'dragonfly' (*sitha* 'fly', *Sithaloth* or *Sithaloctha* ('fly-cluster'), the Pleiades).

Gonlath This is the name of the great rock on Taniquetil to which Fanuin's cable was tied (p. 219); the second element must therefore be Gnomish *lath* 'a year', which appears also in the rejected names for Fanuin, *Lathos* and *Lathweg* (p. 222). For *Gon-* see *Gondolin*.

Gwerlum This is given in GL with the translation 'Gloomweaver'; *gwer-* 'wind, turn, bend', but also used in the sense of the root *gwidh-* 'plait, weave'. QL has a root GWERE 'whirl, twirl, twist', but the name *Wirilómë* of the great Spider is placed under the root GWIÐI, whence also *windelë* 'loom', *winda* 'woof', *wistë* 'weft'. The name of the great eddy *Wiruin* (p. 167), not in the dictionaries, must belong here. For the element *-lómë*, *-lum* see *Hisilómë*.

Haloisi Velikë (On the 'World-Ship' drawing, p. 84.) In QL *haloisi* 'the sea (in storm)' is given under a root HALA, with other derivatives *haloitë* 'leaping', *halta-* 'to leap'.

To Qenya *velikë* 'great' corresponds Gnomish *beleg* 'mighty, great' (as in Beleg the Bowman in the tale of Túrin).

Helkar QL under root HELE has *helkë* 'ice', *helka* 'ice-cold', *hilkin* 'it freezes', *halkin* 'frozen'. GL has *helc*, *heleg* 'ice', *hel-* 'freeze', *heloth*

'frost', etc., and *helcor* 'arctic cold, utter frost'; this last was changed to read *helchor* 'antarctic cold, utter frost of the South (the pillar of the Southern Lamp). Q. *Helkar*.'

Helkaraksë See *Helkar*; *Helkaraksë* is not in either dictionary and the second element is obscure, unless it is to be connected with Q. *aksa* 'waterfall' (see *Asgon*).

Heskil The root HESE 'winter' in QL has derivatives *Heskil* 'winter one', *Hesin* 'winter', *hessa* 'dead, withered', *hesta-* 'wither'. In GL are *Hess* 'winter, especially as name of Fuil', and *hesc* 'withered, dead; chill'. For another name of Fui Nienna see *Vailimo*.

Hisildi See *Hisilómë*.

Hisilómë Under the root HISI QL gives *hísë*, *histë* 'dusk', *Hisinan* 'Land of Twilight'. For the translation of *Hisilómë* as 'Shadowy Twilights' see p. 112.

The root LOMO has many derivatives, as *lómë* 'dusk, gloom, darkness', *lómëar* 'child of gloom' (cf. *Lómëarni*), *lómin* 'shade, shadow', *lomir* 'I hide', *lomba* 'secret'. Cf. *Wirilómë*. Gnomish words are *lôm* 'gloom, shade', *lómin* 'shadowy, gloomy' and noun 'gloom': so *Dor Lómin*. The same element occurs in *Lomendánar* 'Days of Gloaming'.

Ilinsor A late entry in GL gives *Glinthos*=Qenya *Ilinsor*, Helmsman of the Moon. The first element is probably *glint* 'crystal'. *Ilinsor* does not appear in QL.

Ilkorin A negative prefix *il-* is given in both dictionaries; in GL it is said that *il-* 'denotes the opposite, the reversal, i.e. more than the mere negation'. See *Kôr*.

Ilsaluntë (Name of the Moon.) *Ilsa* is given in QL as 'the mystic name of silver, as *laurë* of gold'; it is the *i* of *tilkal*, p. 100. For *luntë* 'ship' see *Alqaluntë*. The Gnomish name is *Gilthalont*; *giltha* 'white metal' is said to be properly the same as *celeb* 'silver' (Q. *telpë*), but now including *gais* 'steel', *ladog* 'tin', etc., as opposed to *culu* 'gold'; and *culu* is said to be a poetic word for 'gold' but 'also used mythically as a class name of all red and yellow metals, as *giltha* of white and grey'. See *Telimpë*.

Ilterendi In the text the fetters are called *Ilterendi* 'for they might not be filed or cleft' (p. 101); but root TERE in QL has derivatives with a sense of 'boring' (*tereva* 'piercing', *teret* 'auger, gimlet').

Ilúvatar There can be no doubt that the original meaning of *Ilúvatar* was 'Sky-father' (in QL is found *atar* 'father'); see *Ilwë*.

Ilverin Elvish name of Littleheart son of Bronweg. The rejected name *Elwenildo* (p. 52) contains the word *elwen* 'heart' given in QL; GL gives the word *ilf* 'heart (especially used of feelings)', and several names (*Ilfin(g)*, *Ilfiniol*, *Ilfrith*) corresponding to Qenya *Ilwerin*.

Ilwë In QL the word *ilu* is glossed 'ether, the slender airs among the stars', while in GL the Gnomish name *Ilon* of Illúvatar is said to= Qenya *Ilu*. In QL *ilwë* was first glossed 'sky, heavens', with a later

addition 'the blue air that is about the stars, the middle layers'; to this in Gnomish corresponds *ilwint* – concerning which it is explained in GL that the true form *ilwi* or *ilwin* was perverted to *ilwint* through association with *gwint* 'face', as if it meant 'face of God'. Other words found in Gnomish are *Ilbar*, *Ilbaroth* 'heaven, the uttermost region beyond the world'; *Ilador*, *Ilathon*=*Ilúvatar*; *ilbrant* 'rainbow' (see *Ilweran*).

Ilweran QL gives *Ilweran*, *Ilweranta* 'rainbow' (another word for the rainbow in Qenya is *Iluqinga*, in which *qinga* means 'bow'; *qingi-* 'twang, of strings, harp'). In Gnomish the corresponding forms are *Ilbrant* or *Ilvrant*, which are said in GL to be falsely associated with *brant* 'bow (for shooting)'; the second element is related rather to *rantha* 'arch, bridge', as Q. *Ilweran(ta)* shows.

Ingil In GL the Gnomish names of Inwë's son are *Gilweth* and *Githilma*; *Gil* is the star Sirius, and is said to be the name of Gilweth after he rose into the heavens and 'in the likeness of a great bee bearing honey of flame followed Daimord [Telimektar, Orion]'; see entries *Nielluin*, *Telimektar*. No explanation of these names is given, but *Gil(weth)* is clearly connected with *gil-* 'gleam', *gilm* 'moonlight', *giltha* 'white metal' (see *Ilsaluntë*). For *Githilma* see *Isil*.

Inwë In QL this, the name of 'the ancient king of the fairies who led them to the world', is a derivative of a root INI 'small', whence also the adjective *inya* and the names *Inwilis*, *Inwinórë* 'Faëry' and 'England' (the latter struck out). Tol Eressëa was here said to have been named *Inwinórë* after Inwë, but this was changed to say that it was named *Ingilnórë* after his son Ingil. These entries relate to a very early conception (see *Alalminórë*, *Eldamar*). For other names of Inwë see *Inwithiel*, *Isil*.

Inwir See *Inwë*. In GL the 'noble clan of the Tilthin' (Teleri) are called *Imrim*, singular *Im* (see *Inwithiel*).

Inwithiel In the texts *Inwithiel*, Gnomish name of King Inwë, is an emendation from *(Gim)Githil* (pp. 22, 131). In GL these names *Inwithiel*, *Githil* are given as additional to his proper names *Inweg* or *Im*. See *Isil*.

Isil In the tale of *The Coming of the Elves* (p. 115) Inwë is called *Isil Inwë*, and in GL the Gnomish form corresponding to *Isil* is *Githil* (to the name of his son *Githilma* corresponds Qenya *Isilmo*). In QL is a root ISI (*iska* 'pale', *is* 'light snow'), of which the Gnomish equivalent is given as *ith-* or *gith-*; GL has a word *ith* 'fine snow'.

Kalaventë See *Galmir*, *Glorvent*.

Kalormë This appears in QL among the derivatives of root KALA (see *Galmir*), with the meaning 'hill-crest over which the Sun rises'. *ormë*='summit, crest', from a root ORO with apparently a base sense of 'rise': *or* 'on', *oro* 'hill', *oro-* 'rise', *orto-* 'raise', *oronta* 'steep', *orosta* 'ascension', etc.; Gnomish *or* 'on, onto, on top', *orod*, *ort*

'mountain', *orm* 'hill-top', *oros*, *orost-* 'rising'. Cf. *Oromë*, *Orossi*, *Tavrobel*.

Kapalinda (The source of the river in the place of the banishment of the Noldoli in Valinor, p. 157.) QL has *kapalinda* 'spring of water' among derivatives of root KAPA 'leap, spring'; *linda* is obscure.

Kaukareldar Under the root KAWA 'stoop' in QL are derivations *kauka* 'crooked, bent, humped', *kauko* 'humpback', *kawin* 'I bow', *kaurë* 'fear', *kaurëa* 'timid'.

Kelusindi (The river in the place of the banishment of the Noldoli in Valinor, p. 157; in the text called *Sirnúmen*.) In QL under root KELE, KELU 'flow, trickle, ooze' are given many derivatives including *kelusindi* 'a river', also *kelu*, *kelumë* 'stream', *kektelë* 'fountain' (also in the form *ektelë*), etc. For *-sindi* see *Sirion*.

Kémi QL gives *kemi* 'earth, soil, land' and *kemen* 'soil', from root KEME. The Gnomish name is *Cimir*, which=Q. *Kémi* 'Mother Earth'. There is also a Gnomish word *grosgen* 'soil' in which *-gen* is said to= Q. *kémi*.

Koivië-néni 'Waters of Awakening.' In QL under root KOYO 'have life' are derivatives *koi*, *koirë* 'life', *koitë* 'living being', *koina*, *koirëa* 'alive', *koiva* 'awake', *koivië* 'awakening'. In GL are *cuil* 'life', *cuith* 'life, living body', etc.; *cwiv-* 'be awake', *cwivra-* 'awaken', *cuivros* 'awakening': *Nenin a Gwivros* 'Waters of Awakening'. For *-néni*, *Nenin* see *Neni Erúmëar*.

Kópas QL has *kópa* 'harbour', the only word given under root KOPO 'keep, guard'. GL has *gobos* 'haven', with a reference to Q. *kópa*, *kópas*; also *gob* 'hollow of hand', *gobli* 'dell'.

Kôr In QL this name is given under the root KORO 'revere?', with the note 'the ancient town built above the rocks of Eldamar, whence the fairies marched into the world'; also placed here are *korda* 'temple', *kordon* 'idol'. The Gnomish form is here given as *Côr*, but in GL *Côr* ('the hill of the fairies and the town thereon near the shores of the Bay of Faëry') was replaced by *Gwâr*, *Goros* '=Q. *Kôr* the town on the round hill'. This interpretation of the name *Kôr* clearly replaces that in QL, which belongs with the earliest layer of entries. See further under *korin*.

korin See *Kôr*. In QL there is a second root KORO (i.e. distinct from that which gave *Kôr*); this has the meaning 'be round, roll', and has such derivatives as *korima* 'round', *kornë* 'loaf', also *korin* 'a circular enclosure, especially on a hill-top'. At the same time as *Côr* was replaced by *Gwâr*, *Goros* in GL the word *gorin* (*gwarin*) 'circle of trees, =Q. *korin*' was entered, and all these forms derive from the same root (*gwas-* or *gor-* < *guor*=Q. *kor-*), which would seem to signify 'roundness'; so in the tale of *The Coming of the Elves* 'the Gods named that hill Kôr by reason of its roundness and its smoothness' (p. 122).

Koromas A separate and early entry in QL defines *Kormas* (the form

in the text before emendation to *Koromas*, p. 22) thus: 'the new capital of the fairies after their retreat from the hostile world to Tol Eressëa, now Inwinórë. It was named in memory of Kôr and because of its great tower was called also *Kortirion*.' For *-mas* see *Eldamar*.

Kortirion The word *tirion* 'a mighty tower, a city on a hill' is given in QL under root TIRI 'stick up', with *tinda* 'spike', *tirin* 'tall tower', *tirios* 'a town with walls and towers'. There is also another root TIRI, differing in the nature of the medial consonant, with meaning 'watch, guard, keep; look at, observe', whence *tiris* 'watch, vigil', etc. In GL are *tir-* 'look out for, await', *tirin* (poetic form *tirion*) 'watch-tower, turret', *Tirimbrithla* 'the Tower of Pearl' (see *Silmarilli*).

Kosomot Son of Melko (see p. 93). With a different second element, *Kosomoko*, this name is found in QL under root MOKO 'hate' (*mokir* 'I hate'), and the corresponding Gnomish form is there said to be *Gothmog*. The first element is from root KOSO 'strive', in Gnomish *goth* 'war, strife', with many derivative words.

Kulullin This name is not among the derivatives of KULU 'gold' in QL, nor does it appear with the Gnomish words (mostly names of the Sun) containing *culu* in GL. For the meaning of *culu* in Gnomish see *Ilsaluntë*.

Laisi See *Tári-Laisi*.

Laurelin QL has *laurë* 'gold (much the same as *kulu*)', *laurina* 'golden'. *laurë* is the final *l* of *tilkal* (p. 100, where it is said to be the 'magic' name of gold, as *ilsa* of silver). The Gnomish words are *glôr* 'gold', *glórin*, *glóriol* 'golden', but GL gives no names of the Golden Tree. Cf. *Bráglorin*, *Glorvent*.

limpë *limpë* 'drink of the fairies' is given in QL under root LIPI, with *lipte-* 'to drip', *liptë* 'a little drop', *lipil* 'little glass'. Corresponding forms in GL are *limp* or *limpelis* 'the drink of the fairies', *lib-* 'to drip', *lib* 'a drop', *libli* 'small glass'.

Lindeloksë At one occurrence in the texts an emendation from *Lindeloktë* and itself emended to *Lindelos* (p. 22), at others an emendation from *Lindelótë* and itself allowed to stand (pp. 79, 131). See *Lindelos*.

Lindelos *Linde-* is one of many derivatives from the root LIRI 'sing', as *lin* 'melody', *lindelë* 'song, music', *lindelëa* 'melodious', *lirit* 'poem', *lirilla* 'lay, song' (cf. Rúmil's *tiripti lirilla*, p. 47), and the name of the Vala *Lirillo*. GL has *lir-* 'sing' and *glîr* 'song, poem'. *Lindelos* is not given in QL, which has the name rejected in the text *Lindeloktë* (p. 22), here translated 'singing cluster, laburnum'.

Loktë 'blossom (of flowers in bunches or clusters)' is derived from a root LOHO, with *lokta-* 'sprout, put forth leaves or flowers'. This is said to be an extended form of root OLO 'tip', whence *olë* 'three', *olma* 'nine', *ólemë* 'elbow'. Another extended form of this

root is LO'O, from which are derived *lótë* 'a flower' (and *-lot* 'the common form in compounds') and many other words; cf. *Lindelótë*, another rejected name of the Golden Tree (pp. 79, 131), *Wingilot*. For Gnomish words see *Gar Lossion*. No Gnomish name of the Golden Tree is found in GL, but it was in fact *Glingol* (which originally appeared in the text, see p. 22); GL has *glin* 'sound, voice, utterance' (also *lin* 'sound'), with the note that *-glin*, *-grin* is a suffix in the names of languages, as *Goldogrin* Gnomish.

Lirillo (A name of Salmar-Noldorin, p. 144.) See *Lindelos*.

Lómëarni (A name of the Dark Elves, p. 244 note 6.) See *Hisilómë*.

Lomendánar 'Days of Gloaming' (p. 69). See *Hisilómë*, *Danuin*.

Lórien A derivative of the root LORO 'slumber', with *lor-* 'to slumber', *lorda* 'drowsy, slumbrous'; also *olor*, *olórë* 'dream', *olórëa* 'dreamy'. (For much later formulation of words from this root, including *Olórin* (Gandalf), see *Unfinished Tales* p. 396.) In GL are given *lûr* 'slumber', *Lúriel* changed to *Lúrin*=Qenya *Lórien*, and also *olm*, *oloth*, *olor* 'dream, apparition, vision', *oltha* 'appear as an apparition'. Cf. *Eriol*, *Olofantur*, *Olórë Mallë*.

Lúmin (Rejected name for Aluin 'Time', p. 222.) GL has *lûm* 'time', *luin* 'gone, past', *lu* 'occasion, time', *lûtha* 'pass (of time), come to pass'. *Aluin* perhaps belongs here also.

Luvier I have translated this word on the 'World-Ship' drawing as 'Clouds' (p. 85) on the basis of words in QL derived from the root LUVU: *luvu-* 'lower, brood', *lumbo* 'dark lowering cloud', *lúrë* 'dark weather', *lúrëa* 'dark, overcast'. GL has *lum* 'cloud', *lumbri* 'foul weather', *lumbrin*, *lumba* 'overcast', *lur-* 'hang, lower, of clouds'.

Makar Given in QL ('God of battle') under root MAKA, with *mak-* 'slay', *makil* 'sword'. His Gnomish name is *Magron* or *Magorn*, with related words *mactha-* 'slay', *macha* 'slaughter, battle', *magli* 'a great sword'. See *Meássë*.

In the Valar name-list Makar is called also *Ramandor*. This was the original name of the King of the Eagles in *The Fall of Gondolin*, replaced by *Sorontur*. In QL under root RAMA (*rama-* 'to shout', *rambë* 'a shout', *ran* 'noise') *Ramandor* is translated 'the Shouter, =Makar'.

Mandos This name is defined in QL as 'the halls of Vê and Fui (hell)', and a comparison made with *-mandu* in *Angamandu* 'Hells of Iron'. In GL is the following entry: '*Bandoth* [later changed to *Bannoth*] (cf. *Angband*)=Mandos (1) the region of the waiting souls of the dead (2) the God who judged the dead Elves and Gnomes (3) improperly used exclusively of his hall, properly called *Gwê* [changed to *Gwî*] or *Ingwi*'. For this distinction between the region *Mandos*, in which dwelt the death-gods, and their halls *Vê* and *Fui*, see pp. 76, 89-90.

Mánir Not in QL; but GL has '*móna* or *móni*: the spirits of the air,

children of Manweg'. Further relations are indicated in the following entry: '*manos* (plural *manossin*): a spirit that has gone to the Valar or to Erumáni (Edhofon). Cf. *móna*, Q. *mánë*.' See *Eruman* and pp. 91 ff. Other words are *mani* 'good (of men and character only), holy' (QL *manë* 'good (moral)'), *mandra* 'noble', and *Manweg* (Q. *Manwë*).

Manwë See *Mánir*. The Gnomish names are *Man* and *Manweg* (for *-weg* see *Bronweg*).

Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva For *Mar* see *Eldamar*, and for *Vanwa* see *Qalvanda*. *Tyalië* 'play, game' is an isolated entry in QL under root TYALA.

Meássë A late, hasty entry in QL adds *Meássë* 'sister of Makar, Amazon with bloody arms' to the root MEHE 'ooze?', whence *mear* 'gore'. In GL she is *Mechos* and *Mechothli* (*mechor* 'gore'), and is also called *Magrintha* 'the red-handed' (*magru=macha* 'slaughter, battle', *magrusaig* 'bloodthirsty'). In the Valar name-list she is called *Rávë* or *Ravenni*; in QL the root RAVA has many derivatives, as *rauta-* 'to hunt', *raust* 'hunting, preying', *Raustar* a name of Oromë, *rau* (plural *rávi*) 'lion', *ravennë* 'she-lion', *Rávi* a name of Meássë. Very similar forms are given in GL: *rau* 'lion', *rausta* 'to hunt', *raust* 'hunt'.

Melko The name is entered in QL but without etymological affinity. In GL the corresponding name is *Belca*, changed to *Belcha*, with a note referring to Qenya *velka* 'flame'. In the Valar name-list he is called *Yelur* (root DYELE, whence Qenya *yelwa* 'cold', *Yelin* 'winter'); the Gnomish form is *Geluim*, *Gieluim*, 'name of Belcha when exercising his opposite functions of extreme cold, Q. *Yeloimu*', cf. *Gilim* 'winter'. Melko is also called in the name-list *Ulban(d)*, which is found in QL glossed 'monster', under the negative prefix UL-; his son Kosomot (Gothmog) was 'by Ulbandi' (p. 93). Other names for him in Gnomish are *Uduvrin* (see *Utumna*) and *Angainos* (see *Angaino*).

Meril-i-Turinqi *Meril* is not in QL, but *turinqi* 'queen' is given with a great many other derivatives of the root TURU 'be strong', including *Turambar* (*Turumarto*), and *tur* 'king'. In GL are *tur-* 'can, have power to', *tûr* 'king', *turwin* 'queen', *turm* 'authority, rule; strength', *turinthi* 'princess, especially title of Gwidhil'. Cf. *Sorontur*, *Valatúru*, *Tuor*.

There are also these later additions in GL: '*Gwidhil-i-Durinthi=Meril-i-Turinqi* Queen of Flowers'; *gwethra* 'bloom, flourish'; and the stem *gwedh-* is here compared to Qenya *mer-*, which is not in QL.

Minethlos GL *min* 'one, single', *mindon* 'tower, properly an isolated turret or peak', *mineth* 'island', *Minethlos* 'Argent Isle (Moon)' – the same translation is given in the text, p. 192. Under root MĪ QL has *mir* 'one', *minqë* 'eleven'; and under root MINI *mindon* 'turret'. The second element of *Minethlos* must in fact be *lôs* 'flower' (see *Gar Lossion*).

Miruvor QL *miruvórë* 'nectar, drink of the Valar' (see p. 161), with *miru* 'wine'; GL *mirofor* (or *gurmir*) 'drink of the Gods', *mîr*, *miros* 'wine'.

Moritarnon 'Door of Night' (see *Mornië*). GL gives *tarn* 'gate', *tarnon* 'porter'. Cf. *Tarn Fui*.

Mornië Not in QL, but one of the many derivatives of root MORO, as *moru-* 'to hide', *mori* 'night', *morna*, *morqa* 'black', *morion* 'son of the dark'. (A curious item is *Morwen* 'daughter of the dark', Jupiter. In the original tale of Túrin his mother was not named Morwen.) The Gnomish name of the death-ship is *Mornir*, a later addition to original entries *morn* 'dark, black', *morth* 'darkness', *mortha* 'dim', with the note 'the black ship that plies between Mandos and Erumáni, Q. *Mornië* (Black Grief)'. The second element is therefore *nîr* 'grief' (< *niĕr-*), to which Qenya *nyérë* is said to correspond. Cf. *Moritarnon*, *Móru*, *Morwinyon*.

Móru GL in a later addition gives *Muru* 'a name of the Primeval Night personified as Gwerlum or Gunglíont', hence my reading in the text *Móru* rather than *Morn* (p. 156). Among the original entries in GL is *múri* 'darkness, night'. See *Mornië*.

Morwinyon This name of the star Arcturus is translated in the text (p. 182) as 'the glint at dusk', and QL, giving it under root MORO (see *Mornië*), renders it 'glint in the dark'. QL has a root GWINI with derivative word *wintil* 'a glint'.

The Gnomish name is *Morwinthi*; presumably connected are *gwim*, *gwinc* 'spark, flash', *gwimla* 'wink, twinkle'.

Murmenalda Translated in the text as 'Vale of Sleep', 'the Slumbrous Dale' (pp. 233, 235). QL under root MURU gives *muru-* 'to slumber', *murmë* 'slumber', *murmëa* 'slumbrous'. The second element is from a root NḶDḶ, of which the derivatives in QL are *nal(lë)* 'dale, dell' and *nalda* 'valley' used as an adjective. In Gnomish occur *nal* 'dale, vale', *nal* 'down, downwards', *nalos* 'sinking, setting, slope', *Nalosaura* 'sunset', etc. Cf. *Murmuran*.

Murmuran See *Murmenalda*. GL gives the Gnomish form corresponding to Qenya *Murmuran* as *Mormaurien* 'abode of Lúriel', but this seems to be of different etymology: cf. *Malmaurien=Olórë Mallë*, the Path of Dreams, *maur* 'dream, vision'.

Nandini On an isolated paper that gives a list of the different clans of 'fays' the *Nandini* are 'fays of the valleys'. QL gives a root NARA with derivatives *nan(d)* 'woodland', *nandin* 'dryad'; GL has *nandir* 'fay of the country, Q. *nandin*', together with *nand* 'field, acre' (plural *nandin* 'country'), *nandor* 'farmer', etc.

Nauglath GL gives the following words: *naug* and *naugli* 'dwarf', *naugla* 'of the dwarves', *nauglafel* 'dwarf-natured, i.e. mean, avaricious' (see p. 236). QL has nothing corresponding, but in GL the Qenya equivalent of *naug* is said to be *nauka*.

Neni Erúmëar (On the 'World-Ship' drawing, where I have translated it 'Outermost Waters', p. 85.) QL under root NENE 'flow' has *nen* 'river, water', and the same form occurs in Gnomish. *Erúmëa* 'outer, outermost' is given in QL as a derivative of ERE 'out', as in *Eruman*. Cf. *Koivië-néni*.

Nermir In the list of fays referred to under *Nandini* the *Nermir* are 'fays of the meads'. QL has an isolated entry *Nermi* 'a field-spirit', and GL has *Nermil* 'a fay that haunts meadows and river-banks'.

Nessa This name does not appear in the dictionaries. – In the Valar name-list she is called *Helinyetillë* and *Melesta*. In QL, among the very early entries, *helin* is the name of the violet or pansy, and *Helinyetillë* is glossed 'Eyes of Heartsease' (that being a name of the pansy); cf. *yéta* 'look at'. But in QL this is a name of Erinti. There was clearly much early shifting among the goddesses of Spring, the ascription of names and rôles (see *Erinti*). *Melesta* is doubtless from root MELE 'love' (*meles(së)* 'love', *melwa* 'lovely', etc.; Gnomish *mel-* 'to love', *meleth* 'love', *melon*, *meltha* 'beloved', etc.).

Nielíqui In QL this name (*Nieliqi*, also *Nielikki*, *Nyelikki*) is derived from the root NYEHE 'weep' (see *Nienna*). Where her tears fell snowdrops (*nieninqë*, literally 'white tear') sprang. See the poem *Nieninqë* in J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*, 1983, p. 215. For *ninqë* see *Taniquetil*.

The second element of *Nielíqui* is presumably from the root LIQI, whence *linqë* 'water', *liqin* 'wet', *liqis* 'transparence', etc. (see *Ulmo*).

Nielluin This name of the star Sirius is translated in the text (p. 182) as 'the Bee of Azure' (see *Ingil*). The first element is from the root NEHE, whence *nektë* 'honey', *nier* (< *neier* < *neχier*) 'honey-bee', *nierwes* 'hive'. The name of Sirius is given in QL as *Niellúnë* or *Nierninwa*; both *ninwa* and *lúnë* are Qenya words meaning 'blue'. In Gnomish the name of the star is *Niothluimi*, =Qenya *Nielluin*: *nio*, *nios* 'bee' and many related words, *luim* 'blue'.

Nienna In QL *Nyenna* the goddess is given under a root NYE(NE) 'bleat', whence *nyéni* 'she-goat', *nyéna-* 'lament', etc.; but there is a note 'or all to root NYEHE'. This means 'weep': *nië* 'tear' (cf. *Nielíqui*), *nyenyë* 'weeping'. In GL the forms of the name are *Nenni(r)*, *Nenir*, *Ninir*, without etymological connections given, but cf. *nîn* 'tear'.

Noldoli The root NOL 'know' in QL has derivatives *Noldo* 'Gnome' and *Noldorinwa* adjective, *Noldomar* 'Gnomeland', and *Noldorin* 'who dwelt awhile in Noldomar and brought the Gnomes back to Inwenórë'. It seems that *Noldomar* means the Great Lands. But it is very curious that in these entries, which are among the earliest, 'Gnome' is an emendation of 'Goblin'; cf. the poem *Goblin Feet* (1915), and its Old English title *Cumaþ þá Nihtielfas* (p. 32).

In Gnomish 'Gnome' is *Golda* ('i.e. wise one'); *Goldothrim* 'the people of the Gnomes', *Goldogrin* their tongue, *Goldobar*, *Goldomar* 'Gnomeland'. The equivalent of *Noldorin* in GL is *Goldriel*, which

was the form antecedent to *Golthadriel* in the text before both were struck out (p. 22). See *Nólemë*.

Noldorin See *Noldoli*.

Nólemë This is given in QL as a common noun, 'deep lore, wisdom' (see *Noldoli*). The Gnomish name of Finwë Nólemë, *Golfinweg* (p. 115), contains the same element, as must also the name *Fingolma* given to him in outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* (pp. 238-9).

I Nori Landar (On the 'World-Ship' drawing, probably meaning 'the Great Lands', pp. 84–5.) For *nori* see *Valinor*. Nothing similar to *landar* appears in QL; GL gives a word *land* (*lann*) 'broad'.

Nornorë In QL this name has the form *Nornoros* 'herald of the Gods', and with the verb *nornoro-* 'run on, run smoothly' is derived from a root NORO 'run, ride, spin, etc.'. GL has similar words, *nor-* run', roll', *norn* 'wheel', *nûr* 'smooth, rolling free'. The name corresponding to Qenya *Nornorë* is here *Drondor* 'messenger of the Gods' (*drond* 'race, course, track' and *drô* 'wheel-track, rut'); *Drondor* was later changed to *Dronúrin* (< *Noronōr-*) and *drond* to *dronn*.

Númë (On the 'World-Ship' drawing.) In QL *númë* 'West' is derived from root NUHU 'bow, bend down, stoop, sink'; other words are *núta-* 'stoop, sink', *númeta-*, *numenda-* 'get low (of the Sun)', *númëa* 'in the West'. Gnomish *num-* 'sink, descend', *númin* 'in the West', *Auranúmin* 'sunset', *numbros* 'incline, slope', *nunthi* 'downward'. Cf. *Falassë Númëa*, *Faskala-númen*, *Sirnúmen*.

Núri Name of Fui Nienna: 'Núri who sighs', p. 66. This is given without translation in QL under root NURU, with *núru-* 'growl (of dogs), grumble', *nur* 'growl, complaint'. In Gnomish she is *Nurnil*, with associated words *nur-* 'growl, grumble', *nurn* 'lament', *nurna-* 'bewail, lament'.

Ô (On the 'World-Ship' drawing: 'the Sea', pp. 84–5.) See *Ónen*.

Oarni See *Ónen*.

Olofantur See *Lórien*, *Fanturi*.

Olórë Mallë For *Olórë* see *Lórien*. *mallë* 'street' appears in QL under root MALA 'crush' (see *Balrog*); the Gnomish form is *mal* 'paved way, road', and the equivalent of *Olórë Mallë* is *Malmaurien* (see *Murmuran*).

Ónen The root 'o'o in QL has derivatives *Ô*, a poetic word, 'the sea', *oar* 'child of the sea, merchild', *oaris* (*-ts*), *oarwen* 'mermaid', and *Ossë*; the name *Ówen* (antecedent of *Ónen* in the text, pp. 61, 79) also appears, and evidently means the same as *oarwen* (for *-wen* see *Urwen*). The later form *Uinen* in the Tales is apparently Gnomish; GL *Únen* 'Lady of the Sea', changed later to *Uinen*. A form *Oinen* also occurs (p. 211).

In the Valar name-list Ónen is called also *Solórë* (see *Solosimpi*) and *Ui Oarista*. This latter appears in QL, with the definition 'Queen of the Mermaids', together with *Uin* 'the primeval whale'; but how these relate to the other names is obscure.

Orc QL *ork* (*orq-*) 'monster, demon'. GL *orc* 'goblin', plural *orcin*, *orchoth* (*hoth* 'folk, people', *hothri* 'army', *hothron* 'captain').

Oromë In QL *Oromë* 'son of Aulë' is placed under a root ORO that is distinct (apparently because of the nature of the consonant) from ORO (with meaning of 'steepness, rising') given under *Kalormë*; but these roots are said to be 'much confused'. This second root yields *órë* 'the dawn, Sunrise, East', *órëa* 'of the dawn, Eastern', *orontë*, *oronto* 'Sunrise', *osto* 'the gates of the Sun', and *Ostor* 'the East, the Sun when she issues from her white gates'. It is noted that *Oromë* should perhaps be placed under the other root, but there is no indication of the connections of the name. In *The Hiding of Valinor* (p. 214) Oromë has a particular knowledge of the East of the world. His name in Gnomish is *Orma*; and in the Valar name-list he is also called *Raustar*, for which see *Meássë*.

Oronto (On the 'World-Ship' drawing, 'East'.) See *Oromë*.

Orossi In the list of fays referred to under *Nandini* the *Orossi* are 'fays of the mountains', and this name is thus a derivative from the root ORO seen in *Kalormë*.

Ossë See *Ónen*. His Gnomish name is *Otha* or *Oth*.

Palisor See *Palúrien*.

Palúrien An early entry in QL gives *Palurin* 'the wide world' under a root PALA, whose derivatives have a common general sense of 'flatness', among them *palis* 'sward, lawn', whence no doubt *Palisor*. In GL the corresponding name is *Belaurin*, *B(a)laurin*; but she is also called *Bladorwen* 'the wide earth, the world and its plants and fruits, Mother Earth' (related words are *blant* 'flat, open, expansive, candid', *blath* 'floor', *bladwen* 'a plain'). See *Yavanna*.

Poldórëa Not in QL, but GL gives several corresponding forms: *Polodweg*=Tulcus (*polod* 'power, might, authority'); *polodrin* 'mighty, also in poetic form *Poldurin* or *Poldorin* which is especially used as epithet of Tulcus; Q. *Poldórëa*'.

Qalmë-Tári The root is QALA 'die', whence *qalmë* 'death', *qalin* 'dead', and other words of the same meaning. *Tári* is from TAHA: *tâ* 'high', *tára* 'lofty', *tári* 'queen', etc.; Gnomish *dâ* 'high', *dara* 'lofty', *daroth* 'summit, peak'. Cf. *Taniquetil*.

Qalvanda 'The Road of Death' (p. 213). See *Qalmë-Tári*. The second element is from root VAHA: whence *vâ* past tense 'went', *vand-* 'way, path', *vandl* 'staff', *vanwa* 'gone on the road, past, over, lost' (as in *Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva*). Cf. *Vansamírin*.

Qerkaringa The first element is obscure; for *-ringa* see *Ringil*.

Qorinómi See p. 227. The root is QORO/QOSO, whence *qoro-* 'choke, suffocate', *qorin* 'drowned, choked', etc.

Rána Not in QL, but GL has *Rân* 'the Moon (Q. *Rána*)' and *ranoth* 'month' (*Ranoth* was a rejected name preceding *Ranuin*, p. 222).

In the text (p. 192) it is said that the Gods named the Moon *Rána*.

Ranuin See *Rána*.

Ringil QL gives *ringa* 'damp, cold, chilly', *ringwë* 'rime, frost', *rin* 'dew'; GL *rî* 'coolness', *ring* 'cool, cold, a sudden breeze or cold breath', and (a later addition) *Ringli* 'the arctic colds, the North Pole (see the tale of the Coming of the Ainur)'. Cf. *Qerkaringa*.

Rúmil This name is not found in either dictionary, but seems likely to be connected with words given in GL: *rû* and *rûm* 'secret, mystery', *ruim* 'secret, mysterious', *rui* 'whisper', *ruitha* 'to whisper'.

Salmar This name must belong with derivatives of the root SALA: *salma* 'lyre', *salmë* 'harp-playing', etc.

Samírien ('The Feast of Double Mirth', p. 143.) Presumably derived from the root MIRI 'smile'; *sa-* is referred to in QL as an 'intensive prefix'. Cf. *Vansamírin*.

Sári Not in either dictionary, but in QL the root SAHA/SAHYA yields *sâ* 'fire', *saiwa* 'hot', *Sahóra* 'the South'; GL has *sâ* 'fire' (poetic form *sai*), *sairin* 'fiery', *saiwen* 'summer', and other words.

Sil Under the root SILI QL gives a long list of words beginning with *Sil* 'Moon' and all with meanings of whiteness or white light, but neither *Silpion* nor *Silmaril* occurs in it. In GL *Sil* 'properly="Rose of Silpion", see Tale of the Making of the Sun and Moon, but often used poetically=Whole Moon or Rân'. In this tale (p. 192) it is said that the fairies named the Moon 'Sil, the Rose' (earlier reading 'the silver rose').

Silindrin The 'Moon-cauldron' does not appear in either dictionary; the nearest form is *Silindo* in QL, which is a name of Jupiter. See *Sil*.

Silmarilli See *Sil*. In GL the equivalent of 'Q. *Silmaril*' is *silubrill-* (*silum(b)aril-*), plural *silubrilthin* (which occurs in the text, p. 128); a later addition compares *brithla* 'pearl', Qenya *marilla* (not in QL). The Tower of Pearl was named in Gnomish *Tirimbrithla*.

Silmo See *Sil*. In QL *Silmo* is translated 'the Moon', and in GL *Silma* is given as the Gnomish equivalent of Qenya *Silmo*.

Silpion See *Sil*. The Gnomish names are *Silpios* or *Piosil*, but no meaning is given.

Silubrilthin See *Silmarilli*.

Sirion QL root SIRI 'flow', with derivatives *sindi* 'river' (cf. *Kelusindi*), *sírë* 'stream', *sírima* 'liquid, flowing'. In GL are given *sîr* 'river', *siriol* 'flowing', and *Sirion* (poetic word) 'river, properly name of the famous magic river that flowed through Garlisgion and Nantathrin' (*Garlisgion* 'the Place of Reeds' survived in *Lisgardh* 'the land of reeds at the Mouths of Sirion', *Unfinished Tales* p. 34). Cf. *Sirnúmen*, and the name it replaced, *Numessir*.

Sirnúmen See *Sirion*, *Númë*.

Solosimpi QL gives *Solosimpë* 'the Shoreland Pipers', of which the

first element is from root SOLO: *solmë* 'wave', *solor*, *solossë* 'surf, surge' (cf. *Solórë*, name of Ónen), and the second from SIPI 'whistle, pipe': *simpa*, *simpina* 'pipe, flute', *simpisë* 'piping', *simpetar* 'piper'. In GL the Gnomish name of the Solosimpi is *Thlossibin* or *Thlossibrim*, from *thloss* 'breaker', with a variant *Flossibrim*. The word *floss* is said to have been formed from *thloss* by influence of *flass* 'seamarge, surf; margin, fringe'.

Sorontur Derived from a root SORO 'eagle': *sor*, *sornë* 'eagle', *sornion* 'eyrie', *Sorontur* 'King of Eagles'. For *-tur* see *Meril-i-Turinqi*. The Gnomish forms are *thorn* 'eagle', *throng* '(eyrie), pinnacle', *Thorndor* and *Throndor* 'King of Eagles'.

Súlimo In QL under the three root-forms SUHYU, SUHU, SUFU 'air, breathe, exhale, puff' are given *sû* 'noise of wind', *súlimë* 'wind', and *Súlimi*, *-o* 'Vali of Wind=Manwë and Varda'. This probably means that Manwë was *Súlimo* and Varda *Súlimi*, since Varda is called *Súlimi* in the Valar name-list; but in GL it is said that Manwë and Varda were together called *i·Súlimi*. GL has *sû* 'noise of wind', *súltha* 'blow (of wind)', but Manwë's wind-name is *Saulmoth* (*saul* 'a great wind'), which is said to be an older form of later *Solmoth*; and this '=Q. *Súlimo*'.

In Gnomish he is also called *Gwanweg* (*gwâ* 'wind', *gwam* 'gust of wind'), often combined with *Man* (see *Manwë*) as *Man 'Wanweg*=Q. *Manwë Súlimo*. The root GWĀ appears in QL: *wâ* 'wind', *wanwa* 'great gale', *wanwavoitë* 'windy'; and in the Valar name-list Manwë and Varda are together called *Wanwavoisi*.

Súruli See *Súlimo*. *Súruli* is not in QL, but GL has *Sulus* (plurals *Sulussin* and *Suluthrim*) 'one of Manwë's two clans of air-spirits, Q. *Súru* plural *Súruli*'.

Talka Marda This title of Aulë, translated in the text (p. 180) as 'Smith of the World', is not found in QL, but GL gives '*Martaglos*, correctly *Maltagros*, title of Óla, Smith of the World' as the equivalent of Qenya *Talka Marwa*; also *tagros*, *taglos* 'smith'. He is also called *Óla Mar*; and in the Valar name-list *Aulë Mar*. (Long afterwards this title of Aulë reappeared. In a very late note he is given the name *mbartanō* 'world-artificer' > Quenya *Martamo*, Sindarin *Barthan*.)

Taniquetil Under the root TAHA (see *Qalmë-Tári*) *Taniqetil* is given in QL with the meaning 'lofty snowcap'. The second element is from root NIQI (*ninqë* 'white', *niqis* 'snow', *niqetil* 'snowcap'; cf. *nieninqë* 'white tear' (snowdrop) in entry *Nïeliqui*).

The Gnomish form is *Danigwethil* (*dâ* 'high'), but the second element seems to be different, since GL gives a word *nigweth* 'storm (properly of snow, but that sense has evaporated)'.

Tanyasalpë Translated in the text 'the bowl of fire' (p. 187). *salpa* 'bowl' is given in QL under a root SLPL, with *sulp-* 'lick', *salpa* 'take a sup of', *sulpa* 'soup'. *Tanya* is not in QL; GL has *tan* 'firewood',

tantha- 'kindle', *tang* 'flame, flash', and *Tanfa* 'the lowest of all airs, the hot air of the deep places'.

Tári-Laisi For *Tári* see *Qalmë-Tári*. In QL the root LAYA 'be alive, flourish' has derivatives *lairë* 'meadow', *laiqa* 'green', *laito* and *laisi* both meaning 'youth, vigour, new life'. The Gnomish words are *laib* (also *glaib*) 'green', *laigos* 'greenness, =Q. *laiqassë*', *lair* (also *glair*) 'meadow'. The following note is of great interest: 'Note *Laigolas*=green-leaf [see *Gar Lossion*], becoming archaic because of final form becoming *laib*, gave *Legolast* i.e. keen-sight [*last* 'look, glance', *leg*, *lêg* 'keen, piercing']. But perhaps both were his names, as the Gnomes delighted to give two similar-sounding names of dissimilar meaning, as *Laigolas Legolast*, *Túrin Turambar*, etc. *Legolas* the ordinary form is a confusion of the two.' (Legolas Greenleaf appears in the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin*; he was an Elf of Gondolin, and being night-sighted he led the fugitives from the city over the plain in the dark. A note associated with the tale says that 'he liveth still in Tol Eressëa named by the Eldar there *Laiqalassë*'.)

Tarn Fui See *Moritarnon, Fui*.

Tavari In the list of fays referred to under *Nandini* the *Tavari* are 'fays of the woods'. In QL *tavar* (*tavarni*) 'dale-sprites' is derived from a root TAVA, whence also *tauno* 'forest', *taulë* 'great tree', *tavas* 'woodland'. GL has *tavor* 'a wood-fay', *taur*, *tavros* 'forest' (*Tavros* also a proper name, 'chief wood-fay, the Blue Spirit of the Woods'. Later, *Tavros* became a name of Oromë, leading through *Tauros* to the form *Tauron* in *The Silmarillion*).

Tavrobel This is given in GL with the translation 'wood-home' (see *Tavari*). The element *pel* is said to be 'usual only in such place-names as *Tavrobel*', and means 'village, hamlet, -ham'. In a separate note elsewhere an additional Gnomish name *Tavrost* is given, and Qenya names *Tavaros(së)*, *Taurossë*. *Tavrost* evidently contains *rost* 'slope, hillside, ascent', with associated words *rosta* 'ascent' (*Rost'aura* 'Sunrise'), *ront* 'high, steep', ascribed to a stem *rō-*, *oro-*. These are etymological variants of words given under *Kalormë*.

Telelli This term, which occurs once only in the Tales (p. 19), is obscure. In QL, in early entries, a complex of words is given all of which mean 'little elf': these include *Teler* and *Telellë*, and the adjectives *telerëa* and *telella*. There is no suggestion of any distinction between them. An isolated note states that young Elves of all clans who dwelt in Kôr to perfect their arts of singing and poetry were called *Telelli*; but in another place *Telellin*, a dialect, appears to be used instead of *Telerin*. See *Teleri*.

Teleri See *Telelli*. In GL appears *Tilith* 'an elf, a member of the first of the three tribes of the fairies or Eldar; plural *Tilthin*'. The later meaning of *Teleri*, when it became the name of the Third Tribe, was already potentially present: QL gives a root TEL+U with derivatives *telu-* 'to finish, end', *telu* (noun), *telwa* 'last, late', with the suggestion that this was perhaps an extension of root TELE 'cover in' (see *Telimek-*

tar). In GL these meanings 'cover in – close – finish' are expressly assigned to the root TEL-: *telm* 'roof, sky', *teloth* 'roofing, canopy, shelter', *telu-* 'to close, end, finish', *telu* 'end'.

Telimektar In QL *Telimektar*, *Telimbektar* is glossed 'Orion, literally Swordsman of Heaven', and is given under the root TELE 'cover in', together with *tel* 'roof', *telda* 'having a roof', *telimbo* 'canopy; sky', etc. *-mektar* probably derives from the root MAKA, see *Makar*. The Gnomish form is *Telumaithar*.

In the Valar name-list he is called also *Taimondo*. There are substantial notes on this name in both dictionaries, which appear to have been entered at the same time. In QL *Taimondo* and *Taimordo*, names of Telimektar, together with *Taimë*, *Taimië* 'the sky', were entered under the root TAHA (see *Qalmë-Tári*). The Gnomish equivalent is *Daimord* (*dai*, *daimoth* 'sky, heaven'), who appears also in the GL entry concerning Inwë's son Ingil (Gil, Sirius): he rose into the heavens in the likeness of a great bee and 'followed Daimord' (see *Ingil*). But the word *mordo* 'warrior, hero' in Qenya was actually a borrowing from Gnomish *mord*, and the true Quenya equivalent of *mord* was *mavar* 'shepherd' – this being the original meaning of the Gnomish word also, which developed that of 'man, warrior' through its use in poetry after it had become obsolete in prose and speech. Thus *Daimord* originally meant 'Shepherd of the Sky', as did the original Qenya name *Taimavar*, altered under the influence of the Gnomish name to *Taimondo*, *Taimordo*.

Telimpë Not in QL under root TELPE, which has however *telempë*= *telpë* 'silver'. Gnomish words are *celeb* 'silver', *celebrin* 'of silver', *Celebron*, *Celioth* names of the Moon. See *Ilsaluntë*.

Tevildo Given in QL under root TEFE (with derivatives *teve-* 'to hate', *tevin*, *tevië* 'hatred') and explained as 'the Lord of Cats' (see p. 47). The Gnomish form is *Tifil*, 'Prince of Cats'.

Tilkal A name made up of the initial sounds of six names of metals (see p. 100 and footnote). For *tambë* 'copper' see *Aulë*, and for *ilsa* 'silver' see *Ilsaluntë*. *Latúken* 'tin' is given as a separate entry in QL, with *latukenda* 'of tin'; the Gnomish form is *ladog*. *Kanu* 'lead', *kanuva* 'leaden' are placed under a root KANA in QL. For *anga* 'iron' see *Angamandi*, and for *laurë* 'gold' see *Laurelin*.

Timpinen The name stands in QL as the only derivative of a root TIFI, but under root TIPI are given *timpë* 'fine rain', *timpinë* 'spray', etc. See *Tinfang*.

Tinfang The entry in GL is: '*Tinfing* or *Tinfang* the fluter (surnamed *Gwarbilin* or Birdward), a fay; cf. Q. *timpinen* a fluter (*Timpando*, *Varavilindo*)'. Other Gnomish words are *tif-* 'whistle', *timpa-* 'ring, jingle', *timpi* 'little bell', *timp* 'hoot, note of a flute', *tifin* 'small flute'. The first element in *Gwarbilin* is seen also in *Amon Gwareth* 'Hill of Watch', which occurs in the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin*; the second is *bilin*(*c*) 'sparrow, small bird'.

Tinwë Linto, Tinwelint GL has: '*Tinweg* (also *Lintinweg*) and more usually *Tinwelint*, =Q. *Tinwë Linto*; originally leader of the Solosimpi (after led by Ellu), but became King of the Lost Elves of Artanor'. The first element of the name is derived from TIN-, with such derivatives as *tim* 'spark, gleam, (star)', *tintiltha-* 'twinkle', *tinwithli* 'star-cluster, constellation'. The second element is possibly Gnomish *lint* 'quick, nimble, light' – which my father referred to in his essay 'A Secret Vice' (*The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*, 1983, p. 205) as a word he remembered from a very early stage of his linguistic constructions. The name is not in QL either in the earlier form (*Linwë Tinto*, p. 130) or the later, but under root TINI are *tinwë* 'star', *tint* '(silver) spark', etc., and also *lintitinwë* 'having many stars', the first element of this being a multiplicative prefix *li-*, *lin-*. Cf. *Tinwetári*.

Tinwetári 'Queen of Stars'. For the elements of this name see *Tinwë Linto*, *Qalmë-Tári*. The corresponding Gnomish name is *Tinturwin* with a different second element (see *Meril-i-Turinqi*). Varda is also called *Timbridhil*, *Timfiril*, with the same first element (*Bridhil* being the Gnomish name of Varda), and *Gailbridh(n)ir*, which contains *gail* 'star' (corresponding to Qenya *ilë* in *Ilivarda*, not found in QL).

Tol Eressëa Under root TOLO QL has derivatives *tol* 'island; any rise standing alone in water, plain of green, etc.', *tolmen* 'boss (of shield), isolated round hill, etc.', *tolos* 'knob, lump', *tólë* 'centre', and other words. GL gives *tol* 'an isle with high steep coasts'.

Eressëa is given in QL under root ERE (distinct from that seen in *Eruman*) 'remain alone': *er* 'only, but, still', *eressë* 'singly, only, alone', *eressëa* 'lonely', *erda* 'solitary, deserted', *erin* 'remains'. In Gnomish the Lonely Isle is *Tol Erethrin* (*er* 'one', *ereth* 'solitude', *erethrin* 'solitary, lonely', etc.)

Tolli Kuruvar (On the 'World-Ship' drawing, 'the Magic Isles', pp. 84–5.) For *Tolli* see *Tol Eressëa*. QL has a group *kuru* 'magic, wizardry', *kuruvar* 'wizard', *kuruni* 'witch', with a note: 'of the good magic'. GL has *curu* 'magic', *curug* 'wizard', *curus* 'witch'.

Tombo *Tombo* 'gong' is derived in QL from a root TUMU 'swell (with idea of hollowness)', together with *tumbë* 'trumpet', *tumbo* 'dark vale', *tumna* 'deep, profound, dark or hidden' (see *Utumna*). Words in Gnomish are *tûm* 'valley', *tum* 'hollow', *tumli* 'dale', *tumbol* 'valley-like, hollow', *tumla-* 'hollow out'.

Tuilérë QL root TUYU: *tuilë* 'Spring, literally a budding – also collectively: buds, new shoots, fresh green', *Tuilérë* 'Spring', and several other words, as *tuilindo* '(spring-singer), swallow'. Gnomish forms are *tuil*, *tuilir* 'Spring' (with the note that *Tuilir*=Vána); but Vána is also called *Hairen* 'Spring', presumably connected with *hair* 'punctual, timely', *hai* 'punctually', *haidri* 'forenoon'.

Tuivána See *Tuilérë*, *Vána*.

tulielto, &c. *Tulielto* is translated 'they have come' (p. 114), and *I·Eldar tulier* 'the Eldar have come' (*ibid.*); *I·kal'antúlien* is translated 'Light hath returned' (p. 184). QL under root TULU 'fetch, bring, bear; move, come' has the verb *tulu-* of the same meaning, also *tulwë* 'pillar, standard, pole', *tulma* 'bier'. GL has *tul-* 'bring; come', *tultha-* 'lift, carry'.

Tulkas QL gives the name under root TULUK, with *tulunka* 'steady, firm', *tulka-* 'fix, set up, establish'. The Gnomish form is *Tulcus* (*-os*), with related words *tulug* 'steady, firm', *tulga-* 'make firm, settle, steady, comfort'.

Tulkastor The name does not appear in the dictionaries (nor the precedent forms, *Tulkassë*, *Turenbor*, p. 22); see *Tulkas*, *Meril-i-Turinqi*.

Tuor *Tuor* is not given in the dictionaries, but it is probably derived (since the name is also written *Túr*) from the root TURU 'be strong'; see *Meril-i-Turinqi*.

Turgon Neither *Turondo* nor Gnomish *Turgon* are given in the dictionaries, and beyond the likelihood that the first element is from the root TURU (see *Meril-i-Turinqi*) these names cannot be explained.

Turúhalmë 'The Logdrawing' (p. 229). A second root TURU (TUSO) 'kindle' in QL (differing in the medial consonant from TURU 'be strong') has many derivatives: *turu-*, *tunda-* 'kindle', *turu* 'properly= firewood, but used of wood in general', *turúva* 'wooden', *tusturë* 'tinder', etc. In GL are *duru* 'wood: pole, beam, or log', *durog* 'wooden'.

The second element is in Gnomish *halm* 'drawing, draught (of fishes etc.)'. The name of the festival is *Duruchalmo(s)=Halm nadhuruthon* (*Duruchalm* was written in the text and struck out, p. 244), translated 'Yule'; this was changed later to *Durufui* 'Yule (night), i.e. Log-night' (see *Fui*).

Uin See *Ónen*. In GL *uin* is a common noun, 'whale', named after *Uin* 'Gulma's great whale' (*Gulma=Ulmo*); but apparently (though this entry is rather obscure) the original meaning of *uin*, preserved in poetry, was 'wave'. Another Gnomish word for 'whale' is *uimoth* 'sheep of the waves' (*moth* 'sheep', also '1000', probably originally 'flock'; *mothweg* 'shepherd').

Uinen See *Ónen*.

Ulmo *Ulmo* is given in QL under the root ULU 'pour, flow fast', together with *ulu-* and *ulto-* 'pour', in transitive and intransitive senses. His name in Gnomish is *Gulma*, with corresponding verbs *gul-* and *gulta-*. In the draft text of *The Music of the Ainur* he is also called *Linqil*: see *Nielíqui*. For other names see *Vailimo*.

Ulmonan See *Ulmo*; the second element of this name is not explained.

Ungoliont See *Ungwë Lianti*.

Ungwë Lianti, Ungweliant(ë) Under a queried root GUNGU QL gives

ungwë 'spider, especially *Ungwë* the Gloomweaver, usually *Ungwelianti*'. The second element is from root LI+*ya* 'entwine', with derivatives *lia* 'twine', *liantë* 'tendril', *liantassë* 'vine'. In GL the name as originally entered was *Gungliont*, as also first written in the text (p. 156); later this was changed to '*Ungweliont* or *Ungoliont*'. The second element is assigned to root *lī-* (*lind* 'twine').

Uolë Kúvion *Kúvion* was changed from *Mikúmi* (p. 198). The name is not in QL under the root KUVU 'bend, bow', which has derivatives *kû* 'crescent Moon', *kúnë* 'crescent, bow'. GL gives *cû* 'bow, crescent; the waxing or waning Moon', and also '*Cuvonweg: Ûl Cuvonweg* (=Q. *Ólë Kúmion*), the Moonking'. Under *Ûl* the Qenya equivalent is however *Uolë*, and here it is said that the name *Ûl* is usually in the phrase *Ûl·a·Rinthilios*; while *Rinthilios* is glossed 'the orbed Moon, name of the Moon-elf' (*rinc* 'circular', noun 'disc'; *rin-* 'revolve, return').

Ûr The root URU/USU in QL has derivatives *uru* 'fire', *úrin* 'blazing hot', *uruvoitë* 'fiery', *urúva* 'like fire', *urwa* 'on fire', *Ûr* 'the Sun' (with other forms *Úri*, *Úrinki*, *Urwen*), *Úrion* 'a name of Fionwë', *urna* 'oven', *usta-*, *urya-* 'burn' (transitive and intransitive). The Gnomish form is *Aur* (*aurost* 'dawn'), and also a poetic word *Uril*. See *Fionwë-Úrion*, *Urwen*.

Urwen, Urwendi In the earlier tales in this book the form is *Urwen*, becoming *Urwendi* in the *Tale of the Sun and Moon*. The original entry in GL was '*Urwendi* and *Urwin* (Q. *Urwen*) the maiden of the Sun-ship', but this was later changed to read '*Urwedhin* and *Urwin* (Q. *Urwendi*)'. In QL (see *Ûr*) *Urwen* appears as a name of the Sun. In the Valar name-list the Sun-maiden is also called *Úrinki*, and this also appears in QL as a name of the Sun.

The element *-wen* is given in QL under root GWENE: *wen* and *wendi* 'maid, girl', *-wen* feminine patronymic, like masculine *-ion*, *wendelë* 'maidenhood' (see *Wendelin*). In GL the forms were much changed and confused. The words given have stems in *gwin-*, *gwen-*, *gweth*, with meanings 'woman', 'girl', etc.; the root seems to have been changed from *gweni-* to *gwedhe-*, with reference both to Qenya *meril* (see *Meril-i-Turinqi*) and Qenya *wendi*.

Utumna In QL the root of *Utumna* ('lower regions of gloom and darkness in the North, Melko's first dwelling') is not given, but cf. the word *tumna* 'deep, profound, dark or hidden' cited under *Tombo*. In Gnomish the forms are *Udum* and *Uduvna*; Belcha (Melko) is called *Uduvrin*.

Úvanimor See *Vána*.

Vai The root VAYA 'enfold' in QL yields *Vai* 'the Outer Ocean', *Vaimo* or *Vailimo* 'Ulmo as Ruler of Vai', *vaima* 'robe', *vainë* 'sheath', *vainolë* 'quiver', *vaita-* 'to wrap', *Vaitya* 'the outermost airs beyond the world', etc. In Gnomish the form is *Bai*, with related words

Baithon 'the outer airs', *baith* 'garment', *baidha* 'to clothe', *bain* 'clad (Q. *vaina*)'.

Vailimo See *Vai*. In Gnomish the form is *Belmoth* (< *Bailmoth*); there is also a poetic name *Bairos*. Ulmo is also called in Gnomish *i Chorweg a·Vai*, i.e. 'the old one of Vai' (*hôr* 'old, ancient (only of things still existing)', *hortha-* 'grow old', *horoth* 'old age', *Hôs* 'old age', a name of Fuil). For *-weg* see *Bronweg*.

Vaitya See *Vai*.

Valahíru (Marginal addition in the text against *Valatúru*, p. 180.) Not in the dictionaries, but probably to be associated with QL root HERE 'rule, have power': *heru-* 'to rule', *heru* 'lord', *heri* 'lady', *hérë* 'lordship'.

Valar In QL '*Valar* or *Vali*' is derived from root VALA, with masc. singular *Valon* or *Valmo* and fem. singular *Valis* or *Valdë*; other words are *valin*, *valimo* 'happy', *vald-* 'blessedness, happiness'.

The Gnomish words are complicated and curious. As first written, there was *Ban* 'a god, one of the great Valar', plural *Banin*, and '*Dor'Vanion=Dor Banion=Gwalien* (or *Valinor*)'. All this was struck out. Elsewhere in GL is given the root GWAL 'fortune, happiness': *Gwala* 'one of the gods, including their divine folk and children, hence often used of one of the lesser folk as opposed to *Ban*'; *Gwalon* and *Gwalthi* corresponding to Qenya *Valon*, *Valsi*; *gwalt* 'good luck – any providential occurrence or thought: "the luck of the Valar", *i·walt ne Vanion* (Q. *valto*)'; and other abstract words, as *gwalweth* 'fortune, happiness'. Of the later interpretation of *Valar* there is thus no suggestion. See further under *Vána*.

Valatúru See *Valar*, *Meril-i-Turinqi*.

Valinor In QL two forms are given, *Valinor* and *Valinórë* (the latter also occurs in the text, p. 182), both glossed 'Asgard' (i.e. the City of the Gods in Norse mythology). For the Gnomish names (*Gwalien*, etc.) see *Valar*.

nórë is found in QL under the root NŌ 'become, be born', and is glossed 'native land, nation, family, country', also *-nor*, 'the form in compounds'. Other words are *nosta-* 'give birth', *nosta* 'birth, birthday', *nostalë* 'species, kind', *nossë* 'kin, people' (as in *Aulenossë*). The Gnomish form is *dôr*: see *Dor Faidwen*.

Valmar See *Valar*, *Eldamar*.

Vána A derivative of QL root VANA, together with *vanë* 'fair', *vanessë* 'beauty', *vanima* 'proper, right, fair', *úvanimo* 'monster' (*ú-*='not'), etc. Here also are given *Vanar* and *Vani=Valar*, *Vali*, with the note: 'cf. Gnomish *Ban-*'. See *Valar*.

Vána's name in Gnomish was *Gwân* or *Gwani* (changed later to *Gwann* or *Gwannuin*); *gwant*, *gwandra* 'beautiful', *gwanthi* 'beauty'.

Vána-Laisi See Vána, Tári-Laisi.

Vansamírin This name replaced *Samírien's road* in the text (p. 222). See *Qalvanda*, *Samírien*.

Varda In QL the name is given with *vard-* 'rule, govern', *vardar* 'king', *varni* 'queen'. In Gnomish *Varda* was called *Bridhil* (and *Timbridhil*, see *Tinwetári*), which is cognate with Qenya *vard-*.

Vê QL gives *Vê* 'name of Fantur' under root VEHE, but without meaning ascribed or other derivatives. The form in GL is *Gwê*, changed to *Gwî*: 'name of the hall of Bandoth, Q. *Vê*'. See *Mandos, Vefántur*.

Vefántur In GL the Vala himself is called *Bandoth Gwê* (changed to *Bannoth Gwî*), *Gwefantur* (changed to *Gwifanthor*), and *Gwivannoth*.

Vene Kemen See *Glorvent, Kémi*.

Vilna In QL the root VILI (without meaning given) has derivatives *Vilna* (changed later to *Vilya*) '(lower) air', *Vilmar* 'dwelling of Manwë – the upper airs (but not *ilu*)', *vilin* 'airy, breezy', *vilë* 'gentle breeze'. The words 'but not *ilu*' refer to the definition of *ilu* in the sense of *ilwë*, the middle air among the stars (see *ilwë*). Manwë's dwelling *Vilmar* is not named elsewhere.

The Gnomish names for the lowest air were *Gwilfa* or *Fâ*; the latter is said to be of unknown etymology. The corresponding Qenya names are given in GL as *Fâ* and *Favilna*, and these appear in QL under a root FAGA without translation, merely as equivalents of *Vilna*. Other Gnomish words are *gwil-* 'sail, float, fly', *gwilith* 'breeze', *gwilbrin* 'butterfly': these correspond to words in QL under a root GWILI, *wili-* 'sail, float, fly', *wilin* 'bird', *wilwarin* 'butterfly'. Another name of Manwe as Lord of the Winds, *Famfir*, is given in GL.

Voronwë See *Bronweg*.

Vorotemnar For *voro* 'ever' see *Bronweg*. *Temnar* must be from root TEME 'tie', of which no derivative words are listed in QL.

Wendelin This is not in QL, but GL gives *Gwendeling* (changed later to *Gwedhiling*) as the Gnomish name corresponding to Qenya *Wendelin*; 'Queen of the Woodland Elves, mother of Tinúviel' (the only occurrence of the name *Tinúviel* in the dictionaries). The name must be related to Qenya *wen* 'maid, girl' and the Gnomish forms given under *Urwen*.

Wingildi See *Wingilot*.

Wingilot Under the root GWINGI/GWIGI in QL are *wingë* 'foam, spindrift', *wingilot* 'foamflower, Eärendel's boat', and *wingild-* 'nymph' (cf. *Wingildi*). For the element *-lot* see *Lindelos*.

GL has the entry: '*Gwingalos* or *Gwingli=Lothwinga* or Foamflower, the name of Eärendel's (Ioringli's) boat'; also *lothwing* 'foamflower', *gwing* 'wavecrest, foam', and *gwingil* 'foam-maiden (mermaid, one of the attendants of Uinen)'.

Wirilómë See *Gwerlum*.

Wiruin See *Gwerlum*.

Yavanna In QL this name is given under the root YAVA, together with *yavin* 'bears fruit', *yáva* 'fruit', *yávan* 'harvest, autumn'. The Gnomish form is *Ifon, Ivon*, 'especially in the combinations *Ivon Belaurin, Ivon Cîmir, Ivon i·Vladorwen*'; see *Kémi, Palúrien*.

SHORT GLOSSARY OF OBSOLETE, ARCHAIC, AND RARE WORDS

an if, 64, 140, 149, 155, 165, 180, 182, 189, 197, 208
arrassed covered with arras (rich figured tapestry), 17
astonied stunned, astonished, 116, 185
bason formerly a common spelling of *basin*, 164 etc.
bent open place covered with grass, 34
brakes thickets, 106
charger large dish, 191
clamant clamorous, noisy, 43
clomb old past tense of *climb*, 122
constellate formed into a constellation, 195
cools coolnesses, 74
corbel basket, 186
covetice (inordinate) desire, 117; covetousness, 146–7
eld old age, 59, 219, 228
fain gladly, 45, 150; disposed, desirous, 195; **fain of** well-pleased with, 117, 208
fane temple, 39, 43
fey 37. The old senses were 'fated, approaching death; presaging death'. It seems very unlikely that the later sense 'possessing or displaying magical, fairylike, or unearthly qualities' (O.E.D. Supplement) was intended.
flittermice bats, 40
go move, in the phrase *all the creatures that go* 219
houseleek a fleshy plant that grows on the walls and roofs of houses, 95
inaureoled surrounded with a halo, 204 (the word is only recorded in the O.E.D. in a poem by Francis Thompson, 1897).
jacinth blue, 34
lampads 35. The word is only recorded in the O.E.D. (first used by Coleridge) of the seven lamps of fire burning before the throne of God in the Book of Revelation, iv.5.
lets upon gives on to, opens on to, 210
lief gladly, willingly, 163; **liever** more gladly, more willingly, rather, 105, 163
lustihead vigour, 99
meed requital, 105
minished reduced, diminished, 150, 208
or . . . or either . . . or, 127, 214
or yet apparently means 'already', 166
ousel blackbird, 47 (now spelt *ouzel*, in *Ring-ouzel* and other bird-names).

pleasance 'A pleasure-ground, usually attached to a mansion; sometimes a secluded part of a garden, but more often a separate enclosure laid out with shady walks, trees and shrubs . . .' (O.E.D.) This sense is present in *pleasa(u)nces* 74, 116, but in *rest and pleasance* 69 the sense is 'enjoyment, pleasure'; in *nor did he have lack of pleasance* 65 either meaning may be intended, but I think probably the former.

pled old past tense of *plead*, 167

plenilune the time of full moon, 205 (see *Letters* p. 310).

pricks (spurs his horse), rides fast, 114. *Oromë pricks over the plain* echoes the first line of *The Faerie Queene, A Gentle Knight was pricking on the plaine.*

recked troubled, cared, 179

rede counsel, advice, 141, 182, 217; plan, 180; **redes** counsels, 117

rondured (in **golden-rondured**) 35. *Rondure* 'circle, rounded form'; *rondured* is not recorded.

ruth matter of sorrow, calamity, 185; distress, grief, 191; remorse, 194; in *the greatest ruth was that to [the Valar] thereafter* 209 the sense is unclear: 'matter of sorrow or regret', or possibly 'harm, ill'.

saps deep diggings, 104

sate old past tense of *sit*, 58, 105, 153, 181, 190, 194

seamews seagulls, 124

selenites inhabitants of the Moon, 205

shallop 192. This word had precise applications to particular kinds of boat, but here apparently means 'open boat propelled by oars and sail'.

share 34, 38. *share*=ploughshare, but used here of the blade of a scythe.

sledge-blows blows as of a *sledge*, a large heavy hammer, 78

sprent past participle of the lost verb *sprenge* 'sprinkle, scatter', 192

sprite(s) spirit(s), 71, 74, 95, 115, 191

suaded persuaded, 69, 163

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Cover illustration by Roger Garland

ISBN 0-04-823281-5

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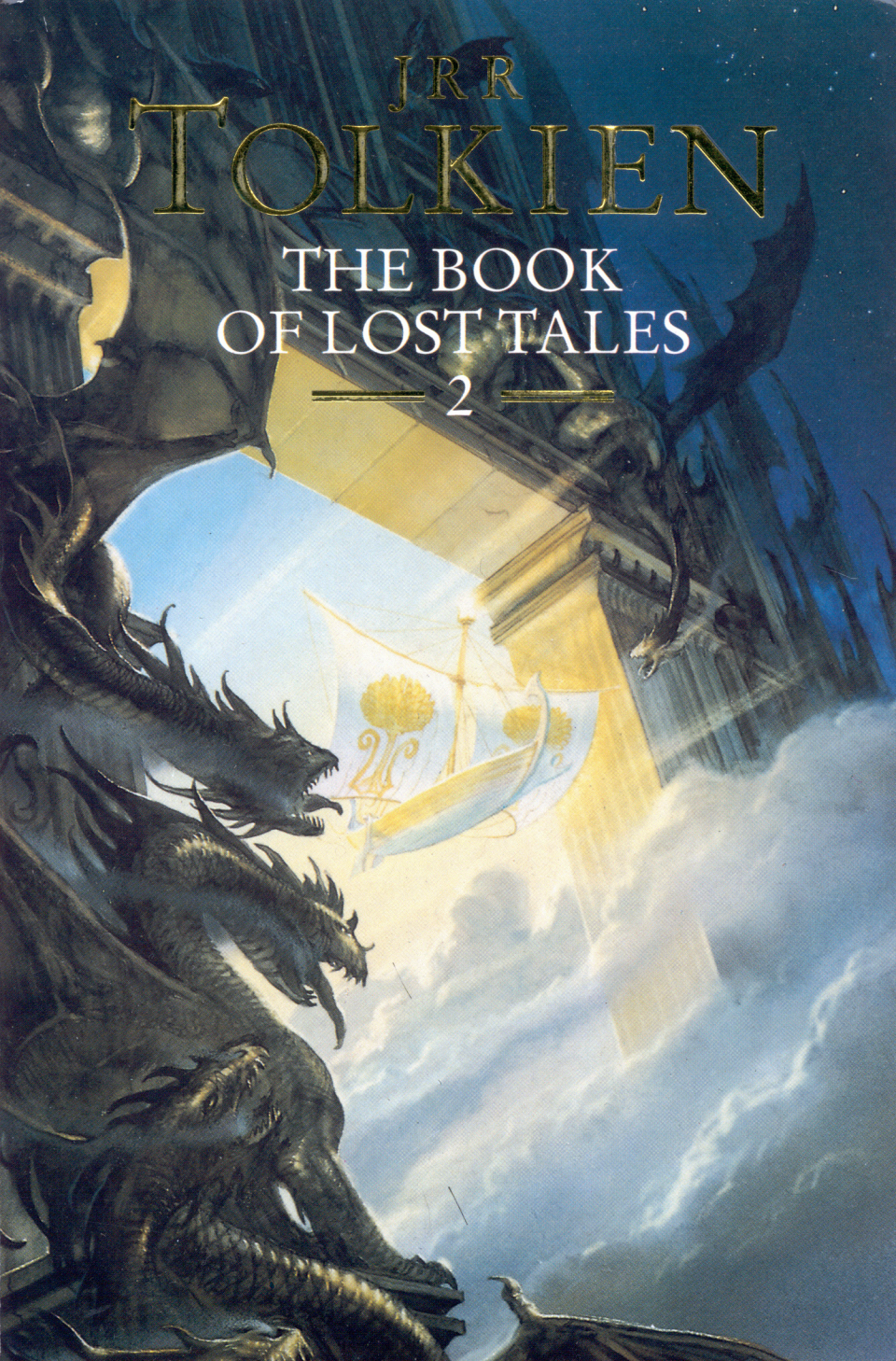
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J. R. R. TOLKIEN

THE BOOK OF LOST TALES

PART II

Edited by
Christopher Tolkien

HarperCollins*Publishers*

HarperCollins*Publishers*
77–85 Fulham Palace Road,
Hammersmith, London W6 8JB

This paperback edition 1995
9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Previously published in paperback by Grafton 1992

First published in Great Britain by
George Allen & Unwin 1984
First published in paperback 1986

Copyright © George Allen & Unwin
(Publishers) Ltd 1984, 1986

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ISBN 0 261 10214 1

Printed in Great Britain by
HarperCollinsManufacturing Glasgow

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PREFACE

This second part of *The Book of Lost Tales* is arranged on the same lines and with the same intentions as the first part, as described in the Foreword to it, pages 10–11. References to the first part are given in the form 'I. 240', to the second as 'p. 240', except where a reference is made to both, e.g. 'I. 222, II. 292'.

As before, I have adopted a consistent (if not necessarily 'correct') system of accentuation for names; and in the cases of *Mim* and *Niniel*, written thus throughout, I give *Mîm* and *Níniel*.

The two pages from the original manuscripts are reproduced with the permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and I wish to express my thanks to the staff of the Department of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian for their assistance. The correspondence of the original pages to the printed text in this book is as follows:

(1) The page from the manuscript of *The Tale of Tinúviel*. Upper part: printed text page 24 (7 lines up, *the sorest dread*) to page 25 (line 3, *so swiftly*."). Lower part: printed text page 25 (11 lines up, *the harsh voice*) to page 26 (line 7, *but Tevildo*).

(2) The page from the manuscript of *The Fall of Gondolin*. Upper part: printed text page 189 (line 12, *"Now," therefore said Galdor* to line 20 *if no further.*"). Lower part: printed text page 189 (line 27, *But the others, led by one Legolas Greenleaf*) to page 190 (line 11, *leaving the main company to follow he*).

For differences in the printed text of *The Fall of Gondolin* from the page reproduced see page 201, notes 34–36, and page 203, *Bad Uthwen*; some other small differences not referred to in the notes are also due to later changes made to the text B of the Tale (see pages 146–7).

These pages illustrate the complicated 'jigsaw' of the manuscripts of the *Lost Tales* described in the Foreword to Part I, page 10.

I take this opportunity to notice that it has been pointed out to me by Mr Douglas A. Anderson that the version of the poem *Why the Man in the Moon came down too soon* printed in *The Book of Lost Tales I* is not, as I supposed, that published in *A Northern Venture* in 1923, but contains several subsequent changes.

The third volume in this 'History' will contain the alliterative *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (*c.*1918–1925) and the *Lay of Leithian* (1925–1931), together with the commentary on a part of the latter by C. S. Lewis, and the rewriting of the poem that my father embarked on after the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*.

included archaisms so archaic that they needed annotation, distorted order, use of emphatic *doth* or *did* where there is no emphasis, and language sometimes flat and conventional (in contrast to passages of 'gorgeous description'). There is no record of what my father thought of this criticism (written when *The Lord of the Rings* was already completed), but it must be associated in some way with the fact that in 1949 or 1950 he returned to the *Lay of Leithian* and began a revision that soon became virtually a new poem; and relatively little though he wrote of it, its advance on the old version in all those respects in which that had been censured is so great as to give it a sad prominence in the long list of his works that might have been. The new Lay is included in this book, and a page from a fine manuscript of it is reproduced as frontispiece.

The sections of both poems are interleaved with commentaries which are primarily concerned to trace the evolution of the legends and the lands they are set in.

The two pages reproduced from the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (p. 15) are from the original manuscript of the first version, lines 297–317 and 318–33. For differences between the readings of the manuscript and those of the printed text see pp. 4–5. The page from the *Lay of Leithian* in Elvish script (p. 299) comes from the 'A' version of the original Lay (see pp. 150–1), and there are certain differences in the text from the 'B' version which is that printed. These pages from the original manuscripts are reproduced with the permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and I thank the staff of the Department of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian for their assistance.

The two earlier volumes in this series (the first and second parts of *The Book of Lost Tales*) are referred to as 'I' and 'II'. The fourth volume will contain the 'Sketch of the Mythology' (1926), from which the *Silmarillion* 'tradition' derived; the *Quenta Noldorinwa* or History of the Noldoli (1930); the first map of the North-west of Middle-earth; the *Ambarkanta* ('Shape of the World') by Rúmil, together with the only existing maps of the entire World; the earliest *Annals of Valinor* and *Annals of Beleriand*, by Pengolod the Wise of Gondolin; and the fragments of translations of the *Quenta* and *Annals* from Elvish into Anglo-Saxon by Ælfwine of England.

I
THE TALE OF TINÚVIEL

The *Tale of Tinúviel* was written in 1917, but the earliest extant text is later, being a manuscript in ink over an erased original in pencil; and in fact my father's rewriting of this tale seems to have been one of the last completed elements in the *Lost Tales* (see I. 203–4).

There is also a typescript version of the *Tale of Tinúviel*, later than the manuscript but belonging to the same 'phase' of the mythology: my father had the manuscript before him and changed the text as he went along. Significant differences between the two versions of the tale are given on pp. 41 ff.

In the manuscript the tale is headed: 'Link to the Tale of Tinúviel, also the Tale of Tinúviel.' The *Link* begins with the following passage:

> 'Great was the power of Melko for ill,' said Eriol, 'if he could indeed destroy with his cunning the happiness and glory of the Gods and Elves, darkening the light of their dwelling and bringing all their love to naught. This must surely be the worst deed that ever he has done.'
>
> 'Of a truth never has such evil again been done in Valinor,' said Lindo, 'but Melko's hand has laboured at worse things in the world, and the seeds of his evil have waxen since to a great and terrible growth.'
>
> 'Nay,' said Eriol, 'yet can my heart not think of other griefs, for sorrow at the destruction of those most fair Trees and the darkness of the world.'

This passage was struck out, and is not found in the typescript text, but it reappears in almost identical form at the end of *The Flight of the Noldoli* (I. 169). The reason for this was that my father decided that the *Tale of the Sun and Moon*, rather than *Tinúviel*, should follow *The Darkening of Valinor* and *The Flight of the Noldoli* (see I. 203–4, where the complex question of the re-ordering of the *Tales* at this point is discussed). The opening words of the next part of the *Link*, 'Now in the days soon after the telling of this tale', referred, when they were written, to the tale of *The Darkening of Valinor* and *The Flight of the Noldoli*; but it is never made plain to what tale they were to refer when *Tinúviel* had been removed from its earlier position.

The two versions of the *Link* are at first very close, but when Eriol speaks of his own past history they diverge. For the earlier part I give the typescript text alone, and when they diverge I give them both in

succession. All discussion of this story of Eriol's life is postponed to Chapter VI.

Now in the days soon after the telling of this tale, behold, winter approached the land of Tol Eressëa, for now had Eriol forgetful of his wandering mood abode some time in old Kortirion. Never in those months did he fare beyond the good tilth that lay without the grey walls of that town, but many a hall of the kindreds of the Inwir and the Teleri received him as their glad guest, and ever more skilled in the tongues of the Elves did he become, and more deep in knowledge of their customs, of their tales and songs.

Then was winter come sudden upon the Lonely Isle, and the lawns and gardens drew on a sparkling mantle of white snows; their fountains were still, and all their bare trees silent, and the far sun glinted pale amid the mist or splintered upon facets of long hanging ice. Still fared Eriol not away, but watched the cold moon from the frosty skies look down upon Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva, and when above the roofs the stars gleamed blue he would listen, yet no sound of the flutes of Timpinen heard he now; for the breath of summer is that sprite, and or ever autumn's secret presence fills the air he takes his grey magic boat, and the swallows draw him far away.

Even so Eriol knew laughter and merriment and musics too, and song, in the dwellings of Kortirion – even Eriol the wanderer whose heart before had known no rest. Came now a grey day, and a wan afternoon, but within was firelight and good warmth and dancing and merry children's noise, for Eriol was making a great play with the maids and boys in the Hall of Play Regained. There at length tired with their mirth they cast themselves down upon the rugs before the hearth, and a child among them, a little maid, said: 'Tell me, O Eriol, a tale!'

'What then shall I tell, O Vëannë?' said he, and she, clambering upon his knee, said: 'A tale of Men and of children in the Great Lands, or of thy home – and didst thou have a garden there such as we, where poppies grew and pansies like those that grow in my corner by the Arbour of the Thrushes?'

I give now the manuscript version of the remainder of the *Link* passage:

Then Eriol told her of his home that was in an old town of Men girt with a wall now crumbled and broken, and a river ran thereby

over which a castle with a great tower hung. 'A very high tower indeed,' said he, 'and the moon climbed high or ever he thrust his face above it.' 'Was it then as high as Ingil's Tirin?' said Vëannë, but Eriol said that that he could not guess, for 'twas very many years agone since he had seen that castle or its tower, for 'O Vëannë,' said he, 'I lived there but a while, and not after I was grown to be a boy. My father came of a coastward folk, and the love of the sea that I had never seen was in my bones, and my father whetted my desire, for he told me tales that his father had told him before. Now my mother died in a cruel and hungry siege of that old town, and my father was slain in bitter fight about the walls, and in the end I Eriol escaped to the shoreland of the Western Sea, and mostly have lived upon the bosom of the waves or by its side since those far days.'

Now the children about were filled with sadness at the sorrows that fell on those dwellers in the Great Lands, and at the wars and death, and Vëannë clung to Eriol, saying: 'O Melinon, go never to a war – or hast thou ever yet?'

'Aye, often enough,' said Eriol, 'but not to the great wars of the earthly kings and mighty nations which are cruel and bitter, and many fair lands and lovely things and even women and sweet maids such as thou Vëannë Melinir are whelmed by them in ruin; yet gallant affrays have I seen wherein small bands of brave men do sometimes meet and swift blows are dealt. But behold, why speak we of these things, little one; wouldst not hear rather of my first ventures on the sea?'

Then was there much eagerness alight, and Eriol told them of his wanderings about the western havens, of the comrades he made and the ports he knew, of how he was wrecked upon far western islands until at last upon one lonely one he came on an ancient sailor who gave him shelter, and over a fire within his lonely cabin told him strange tales of things beyond the Western Seas, of the Magic Isles and that most lonely one that lay beyond. Long ago had he once sighted it shining afar off, and after had he sought it many a day in vain.

'Ever after,' said Eriol, 'did I sail more curiously about the western isles seeking more stories of the kind, and thus it is indeed that after many great voyages I came myself by the blessing of the Gods to Tol Eressëa in the end – wherefore I now sit here talking to thee, Vëannë, till my words have run dry.'

Then nonetheless did a boy, Ausir, beg him to tell more of ships and the sea, but Eriol said: 'Nay – still is there time ere Ilfiniol ring

the gong for evening meat: come, one of you children, tell me a tale that you have heard!' Then Vëannë sat up and clapped her hands, saying: 'I will tell you the Tale of Tinúviel.'

The typescript version of this passage reads as follows:

Then Eriol told of his home of long ago, that was in an ancient town of Men girt with a wall now crumbled and broken, for the folk that dwelt there had long known days of rich and easy peace. A river ran thereby, o'er which a castle with a great tower hung. 'There dwelt a mighty duke,' said he, 'and did he gaze from the topmost battlements never might he see the bounds of his wide domain, save where far to east the blue shapes of the great mountains lay – yet was that tower held the most lofty that stood in the lands of Men.' 'Was it as high as great Ingil's Tirin?' said Vëannë, but said Eriol: 'A very high tower indeed was it, and the moon climbed far or ever he thrust his face above it, yet may I not now guess how high, O Vëannë, for 'tis many years agone since last I saw that castle or its steep tower. War fell suddenly on that town amid its slumbrous peace, nor were its crumbled walls able to withstand the onslaught of the wild men from the Mountains of the East. There perished my mother in that cruel and hungry siege, and my father was slain fighting bitterly about the walls in the last sack. In those far days was I not yet war-high, and a bondslave was I made.

'Know then that my father was come of a coastward folk ere he wandered to that place, and the longing for the sea that I had never seen was in my bones; which often had my father whetted, telling me tales of the wide waters and recalling lore that he had learned of his father aforetime. Small need to tell of my travail thereafter in thraldom, for in the end I brake my bonds and got me to the shoreland of the Western Sea – and mostly have I lived upon the bosom of its waves or by its side since those old days.'

Now hearing of the sorrows that fell upon the dwellers in the Great Lands, the wars and death, the children were filled with sadness, and Vëannë clung to Eriol, saying: 'O Melinon, go thou never to a war – or hast thou ever yet?'

'Aye, often enough,' said Eriol, 'yet not to the great wars of the earthly kings and mighty nations, which are cruel and bitter, whelming in their ruin all the beauty both of the earth and of those fair things that men fashion with their hands in times of peace – nay, they spare not sweet women and tender maids, such as thou, Vëannë Melinir, for then are men drunk with wrath and the lust of

blood, and Melko fares abroad. But gallant affrays have I seen wherein brave men did sometimes meet, and swift blows were dealt, and strength of body and of heart was proven – but, behold, why speak we of these things, little one? Wouldst not hear rather of my ventures on the sea?'

Then was there much eagerness alight, and Eriol told them of his first wanderings about the western havens, of the comrades he made, and the ports he knew; of how he was one time wrecked upon far western islands and there upon a lonely eyot found an ancient mariner who dwelt for ever solitary in a cabin on the shore, that he had fashioned of the timbers of his boat. 'More wise was he,' said Eriol, 'in all matters of the sea than any other I have met, and much of wizardry was there in his lore. Strange things he told me of regions far beyond the Western Sea, of the Magic Isles and that most lonely one that lies behind. Once long ago, he said, he had sighted it glimmering afar off, and after had he sought it many a day in vain. Much lore he taught me of the hidden seas, and the dark and trackless waters, and without this never had I found this sweetest land, or this dear town or the Cottage of Lost Play – yet it was not without long and grievous search thereafter, and many a weary voyage, that I came myself by the blessing of the Gods to Tol Eressëa at the last – wherefore I now sit here talking to thee, Vëannë, till my words have run dry.'

Then nevertheless did a boy, Ausir, beg him to tell more of ships and the sea, saying: 'For knowest thou not, O Eriol, that that ancient mariner beside the lonely sea was none other than Ulmo's self, who appeareth not seldom thus to those voyagers whom he loves – yet he who has spoken with Ulmo must have many a tale to tell that will not be stale in the ears even of those that dwell here in Kortirion.' But Eriol at that time believed not that saying of Ausir's, and said: 'Nay, pay me your debt ere Ilfrin ring the gong for evening meat – come, one of you shall tell me a tale that you have heard.'

Then did Vëannë sit up and clap her hands, crying: 'I will tell thee the Tale of Tinúviel.'

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The Tale of Tinúviel

I give now the text of the *Tale of Tinúviel* as it appears in the manuscript. The *Link* is not in fact distinguished or separated in any way from the tale proper, and Vëannë makes no formal opening to it.

'Who was then Tinúviel?' said Eriol. 'Know you not?' said Ausir; 'Tinúviel was the daughter of Tinwë Linto.' 'Tinwelint', said Vëannë, but said the other: ''Tis all one, but the Elves of this house who love the tale do say Tinwë Linto, though Vairë hath said that Tinwë alone is his right name ere he wandered in the woods.'

'Hush thee, Ausir,' said Vëannë, 'for it is my tale and I will tell it to Eriol. Did I not see Gwendeling and Tinúviel once with my own eyes when journeying by the Way of Dreams in long past days?'[1]

'What was Queen Wendelin like (for so do the Elves call her),[2] O Vëannë, if thou sawest her?' said Ausir.

'Slender and very dark of hair,' said Vëannë, 'and her skin was white and pale, but her eyes shone and seemed deep, and she was clad in filmy garments most lovely yet of black, jet-spangled and girt with silver. If ever she sang, or if she danced, dreams and slumbers passed over your head and made it heavy. Indeed she was a sprite that escaped from Lórien's gardens before even Kôr was built, and she wandered in the wooded places of the world, and nightingales went with her and often sang about her. It was the song of these birds that smote the ears of Tinwelint, leader of that tribe of the Eldar that after were the Solosimpi the pipers of the shore, as he fared with his companions behind the horse of Oromë from Palisor. Ilúvatar had set a seed of music in the hearts of all that kindred, or so Vairë saith, and she is of them, and it blossomed after very wondrously, but now the song of Gwendeling's nightingales was the most beautiful music that Tinwelint had ever heard, and he strayed aside for a moment, as he thought, from the host, seeking in the dark trees whence it might come.

And it is said that it was not a moment he hearkened, but many years, and vainly his people sought him, until at length they followed Oromë and were borne upon Tol Eressëa far away, and he saw them never again. Yet after a while as it seemed to him he came upon Gwendeling lying in a bed of leaves gazing at the stars above her and hearkening also to her birds. Now Tinwelint stepping softly stooped and looked upon her, thinking "Lo, here is a fairer being even than the most beautiful of my own folk" – for indeed Gwendeling was not elf or woman but of the children of the Gods; and bending further to touch a tress of her hair he snapped a twig with his foot. Then Gwendeling was up and away laughing softly, sometimes singing distantly or dancing

ever just before him, till a swoon of fragrant slumbers fell upon him and he fell face downward neath the trees and slept a very great while.

Now when he awoke he thought no more of his people (and indeed it had been vain, for long now had those reached Valinor) but desired only to see the twilight-lady; but she was not far, for she had remained nigh at hand and watched over him. More of their story I know not, O Eriol, save that in the end she became his wife, for Tinwelint and Gwendeling very long indeed were king and queen of the Lost Elves of Artanor or the Land Beyond, or so it is said here.

Long, long after, as thou knowest, Melko brake again into the world from Valinor, and all the Eldar both those who remained in the dark or had been lost upon the march from Palisor and those Noldoli too who fared back into the world after him seeking their stolen treasury fell beneath his power as thralls. Yet it is told that many there were who escaped and wandered in the woods and empty places, and of these many a wild and woodland clan rallied beneath King Tinwelint. Of those the most were Ilkorindi – which is to say Eldar that never had beheld Valinor or the Two Trees or dwelt in Kôr – and eerie they were and strange beings, knowing little of light or loveliness or of musics save it be dark songs and chantings of a rugged wonder that faded in the wooded places or echoed in deep caves. Different indeed did they become when the Sun arose, and indeed before that already were their numbers mingled with a many wandering Gnomes, and wayward sprites too there were of Lórien's host that dwelt in the courts of Tinwelint, being followers of Gwendeling, and these were not of the kindreds of the Eldalië.

Now in the days of Sunlight and Moonsheen still dwelt Tinwelint in Artanor, and nor he nor the most of his folk went to the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, though that story toucheth not this tale. Yet was his lordship greatly increased after that unhappy field by fugitives that fled to his protection. Hidden was his dwelling from the vision and knowledge of Melko by the magics of Gwendeling the fay, and she wove spells about the paths thereto that none but the Eldar might tread them easily, and so was the king secured from all dangers save it be treachery alone. Now his halls were builded in a deep cavern of great size, and they were nonetheless a kingly and a fair abode. This cavern was in the heart of the mighty forest of Artanor that is the mightiest of forests, and a stream ran before its doors, but none could enter that portal save across the

stream, and a bridge spanned it narrow and well-guarded. Those places were not ill albeit the Iron Mountains were not utterly distant beyond whom lay Hisilómë where dwelt Men, and thrall-Noldoli laboured, and few free-Eldar went.

Lo, now I will tell you of things that happened in the halls of Tinwelint after the arising of the Sun indeed but long ere the unforgotten Battle of Unnumbered Tears. And Melko had not completed his designs nor had he unveiled his full might and cruelty.

Two children had Tinwelint then, Dairon and Tinúviel, and Tinúviel was a maiden, and the most beautiful of all the maidens of the hidden Elves, and indeed few have been so fair, for her mother was a fay, a daughter of the Gods; but Dairon was then a boy strong and merry, and above all things he delighted to play upon a pipe of reeds or other woodland instruments, and he is named now among the three most magic players of the Elves, and the others are Tinfang Warble and Ivárë who plays beside the sea. But Tinúviel's joy was rather in the dance, and no names are set with hers for the beauty and subtlety of her twinkling feet.

Now it was the delight of Dairon and Tinúviel to fare away from the cavernous palace of Tinwelint their father and together spend long times amid the trees. There often would Dairon sit upon a tussock or a tree-root and make music while Tinúviel danced thereto, and when she danced to the playing of Dairon more lissom was she than Gwendeling, more magical than Tinfang Warble neath the moon, nor may any see such lilting save be it only in the rose gardens of Valinor where Nessa dances on the lawns of never-fading green.

Even at night when the moon shone pale still would they play and dance, and they were not afraid as I should be, for the rule of Tinwelint and of Gwendeling held evil from the woods and Melko troubled them not as yet, and Men were hemmed beyond the hills.

Now the place that they loved the most was a shady spot, and elms grew there, and beech too, but these were not very tall, and some chestnut trees there were with white flowers, but the ground was moist and a great misty growth of hemlocks rose beneath the trees. On a time of June they were playing there, and the white umbels of the hemlocks were like a cloud about the boles of the trees, and there Tinúviel danced until the evening faded late, and there were many white moths abroad. Tinúviel being a fairy minded them not as many of the children of Men do, although she

loved not beetles, and spiders will none of the Eldar touch because of Ungweliantë – but now the white moths flittered about her head and Dairon trilled an eerie tune, when suddenly that strange thing befell.

Never have I heard how Beren came thither over the hills; yet was he braver than most, as thou shalt hear, and 'twas the love of wandering maybe alone that had sped him through the terrors of the Iron Mountains until he reached the Lands Beyond.

Now Beren was a Gnome, son of Egnor the forester who hunted in the darker places' in the north of Hisilómë. Dread and suspicion was between the Eldar and those of their kindred that had tasted the slavery of Melko, and in this did the evil deeds of the Gnomes at the Haven of the Swans revenge itself. Now the lies of Melko ran among Beren's folk so that they believed evil things of the secret Elves, yet now did he see Tinúviel dancing in the twilight, and Tinúviel was in a silver-pearly dress, and her bare white feet were twinkling among the hemlock-stems. Then Beren cared not whether she were Vala or Elf or child of Men and crept near to see; and he leant against a young elm that grew upon a mound so that he might look down into the little glade where she was dancing, for the enchantment made him faint. So slender was she and so fair that at length he stood heedlessly in the open the better to gaze upon her, and at that moment the full moon came brightly through the boughs and Dairon caught sight of Beren's face. Straightway did he perceive that he was none of their folk, and all the Elves of the woodland thought of the Gnomes of Dor Lómin as treacherous creatures, cruel and faithless, wherefore Dairon dropped his instrument and crying "Flee, flee, O Tinúviel, an enemy walks this wood" he was gone swiftly through the trees. Then Tinúviel in her amaze followed not straightway, for she understood not his words at once, and knowing she could not run or leap so hardily as her brother she slipped suddenly down among the white hemlocks and hid herself beneath a very tall flower with many spreading leaves; and here she looked in her white raiment like a spatter of moonlight shimmering through the leaves upon the floor.

Then Beren was sad, for he was lonely and was grieved at their fright, and he looked for Tinúviel everywhere about, thinking her not fled. Thus suddenly did he lay his hand upon her slender arm beneath the leaves, and with a cry she started away from him and flitted as fast as she could in the wan light, in and about the tree-trunks and the hemlock-stalks. The tender touch of her arm

made Beren yet more eager than before to find her, and he followed swiftly and yet not swiftly enough, for in the end she escaped him, and reached the dwellings of her father in fear; nor did she dance alone in the woods for many a day after.

This was a great sorrow to Beren, who would not leave those places, hoping to see that fair elfin maiden dance yet again, and he wandered in the wood growing wild and lonely for many a day and searching for Tinúviel. By dawn and dusk he sought her, but ever more hopefully when the moon shone bright. At last one night he caught a sparkle afar off, and lo, there she was dancing alone on a little treeless knoll and Dairon was not there. Often and often she came there after and danced and sang to herself, and sometimes Dairon would be nigh, and then Beren watched from the wood's edge afar, and sometimes he was away and Beren crept then closer. Indeed for long Tinúviel knew of his coming and feigned otherwise, and for long her fear had departed by reason of the wistful hunger of his face lit by the moonlight; and she saw that he was kind and in love with her beautiful dancing.

Then Beren took to following Tinúviel secretly through the woods even to the entrance of the cave and the bridge's head, and when she was gone in he would cry across the stream, softly saying "Tinúviel", for he had caught the name from Dairon's lips; and although he knew it not Tinúviel often hearkened from within the shadows of the cavernous doors and laughed softly or smiled. At length one day as she danced alone he stepped out more boldly and said to her: "Tinúviel, teach me to dance." "Who art thou?" said she. "Beren. I am from across the Bitter Hills." "Then if thou wouldst dance, follow me," said the maiden, and she danced before Beren away, and away into the woods, nimbly and yet not so fast that he could not follow, and ever and anon she would look back and laugh at him stumbling after, saying "Dance, Beren, dance! as they dance beyond the Bitter Hills!" In this way they came by winding paths to the abode of Tinwelint, and Tinúviel beckoned Beren beyond the stream, and he followed her wondering down into the cave and the deep halls of her home.

When however Beren found himself before the king he was abashed, and of the stateliness of Queen Gwendeling he was in great awe, and behold when the king said: "Who art thou that stumbleth into my halls unbidden?" he had nought to say. Tinúviel answered therefore for him, saying: "This, my father, is Beren, a wanderer from beyond the hills, and he would learn to

dance as the Elves of Artanor can dance," and she laughed, but the king frowned when he heard whence Beren came, and he said: "Put away thy light words, my child, and say has this wild Elf of the shadows sought to do thee any harm?"

"Nay, father," said she, "and I think there is not evil in his heart at all, and be thou not harsh with him, unless thou desirest to see thy daughter Tinúviel weep, for more wonder has he at my dancing than any that I have known." Therefore said Tinwelint now: "O Beren son of the Noldoli, what dost thou desire of the Elves of the wood ere thou returnest whence thou camest?"

So great was the amazed joy of Beren's heart when Tinúviel spake thus for him to her father that his courage rose within him, and his adventurous spirit that had brought him out of Hisilómë and over the Mountains of Iron awoke again, and looking boldly upon Tinwelint he said: "Why, O king, I desire thy daughter Tinúviel, for she is the fairest and most sweet of all maidens I have seen or dreamed of."

Then was there a silence in the hall, save that Dairon laughed, and all who heard were astounded, but Tinúviel cast down her eyes, and the king glancing at the wild and rugged aspect of Beren burst also into laughter, whereat Beren flushed for shame, and Tinúviel's heart was sore for him. "Why! wed my Tinúviel fairest of the maidens of the world, and become a prince of the woodland Elves – 'tis but a little boon for a stranger to ask," quoth Tinwelint. "Haply I may with right ask somewhat in return. Nothing great shall it be, a token only of thy esteem. Bring me a Silmaril from the Crown of Melko, and that day Tinúviel weds thee, an she will."

Then all in that place knew that the king treated the matter as an uncouth jest, having pity on the Gnome, and they smiled, for the fame of the Silmarils of Fëanor was now great throughout the world, and the Noldoli had told tales of them, and many that had escaped from Angamandi had seen them now blazing lustrous in the iron crown of Melko. Never did this crown leave his head, and he treasured those jewels as his eyes, and no one in the world, or fay or elf or man, could hope ever to set finger even on them and live. This indeed did Beren know, and he guessed the meaning of their mocking smiles, and aflame with anger he cried: "Nay, but 'tis too small a gift to the father of so sweet a bride. Strange nonetheless seem to me the customs of the woodland Elves, like to the rude laws of the folk of Men, that thou shouldst name the gift unoffered, yet lo! I Beren, a huntsman of the Noldoli,[4] will fulfil thy small desire," and with that he burst from the hall while

all stood astonished; but Tinúviel wept suddenly. "'Twas ill done, O my father," she cried, "to send one to his death with thy sorry jesting – for now methinks he will attempt the deed, being maddened by thy scorn, and Melko will slay him, and none will look ever again with such love upon my dancing."

Then said the king: "'Twill not be the first of Gnomes that Melko has slain and for less reason. It is well for him that he lies not bound here in grievous spells for his trespass in my halls and for his insolent speech"; yet Gwendeling said nought, neither did she chide Tinúviel or question her sudden weeping for this unknown wanderer.

Beren however going from before the face of Tinwelint was carried by his wrath far through the woods, until he drew nigh to the lower hills and treeless lands that warned of the approach of the bleak Iron Mountains. Only then did he feel his weariness and stay his march, and thereafter did his greater travails begin. Nights of deep despondency were his and he saw no hope whatever in his quest, and indeed there was little, and soon, as he followed the Iron Mountains till he drew nigh to the terrible regions of Melko's abode, the greatest fears assailed him. Many poisonous snakes were in those places and wolves roamed about, and more fearsome still were the wandering bands of the goblins and the Orcs – foul broodlings of Melko who fared abroad doing his evil work, snaring and capturing beasts, and Men, and Elves, and dragging them to their lord.

Many times was Beren near to capture by the Orcs, and once he escaped the jaws of a great wolf only after a combat wherein he was armed but with an ashen club, and other perils and adventures did he know each day of his wandering to Angamandi. Hunger and thirst too tortured him often, and often he would have turned back had not that been well nigh as perilous as going on; but the voice of Tinúviel pleading with Tinwelint echoed in his heart, and at night time it seemed to him that his heart heard her sometimes weeping softly for him far away in the woodlands of her home: – and this was indeed true.

One day he was driven by great hunger to search amid a deserted camping of some Orcs for scraps of food, but some of these returned unawares and took him prisoner, and they tormented him but did not slay him, for their captain seeing his strength, worn though he was with hardships, thought that Melko might perchance be pleasured if he was brought before him and might set him to some heavy thrall-work in his mines or in his

smithies. So came it that Beren was dragged before Melko, and he bore a stout heart within him nonetheless, for it was a belief among his father's kindred that the power of Melko would not abide for ever, but the Valar would hearken at last to the tears of the Noldoli, and would arise and bind Melko and open Valinor once more to the weary Elves, and great joy should come back upon Earth.

Melko however looking upon him was wroth, asking how a Gnome, a thrall by birth of his, had dared to fare away into the woods unbidden, but Beren answered that he was no runagate but came of a kindred of Gnomes that dwelt in Aryador and mingled much there among the folk of Men. Then was Melko yet more angry, for he sought ever to destroy the friendship and intercourse of Elves and Men, and said that evidently here was a plotter of deep treacheries against Melko's lordship, and one worthy of the tortures of the Balrogs; but Beren seeing his peril answered: "Think not, O most mighty Ainu Melko, Lord of the World, that this can be true, for an it were then should I not be here unaided and alone. No friendship has Beren son of Egnor for the kindred of Men; nay indeed, wearying utterly of the lands infested by that folk he has wandered out of Aryador. Many a great tale has my father made to me aforetime of thy splendour and glory, wherefore, albeit I am no renegade thrall, I do desire nothing so much as to serve thee in what small manner I may," and Beren said therewith that he was a great trapper of small animals and a snarer of birds, and had become lost in the hills in these pursuits until after much wandering he had come into strange lands, and even had not the Orcs seized him he would indeed have had no other rede of safety but to approach the majesty of Ainu Melko and beg him to grant him some humble office – as a winner of meats for his table perchance.

Now the Valar must have inspired that speech, or perchance it was a spell of cunning words cast on him in compassion by Gwendeling, for indeed it saved his life, and Melko marking his hardy frame believed him, and was willing to accept him as a thrall of his kitchens. Flattery savoured ever sweet in the nostrils of that Ainu, and for all his unfathomed wisdom many a lie of those whom he despised deceived him, were they clothed sweetly in words of praise; therefore now he gave orders for Beren to be made a thrall of Tevildo Prince of Cats*. Now Tevildo was a

* Footnote in the manuscript: *Tifil (Bridhon) Miaugion or Tevildo (Vardo) Meoita.*

mighty cat – the mightiest of all – and possessed of an evil sprite, as some say, and he was in Melko's constant following; and that cat had all cats subject to him, and he and his subjects were the chasers and getters of meat for Melko's table and for his frequent feasts. Whèrefore is it that there is hatred still between the Elves and all cats even now when Melko rules no more, and his beasts are become of little account.

When therefore Beren was led away to the halls of Tevildo, and these were not utterly distant from the place of Melko's throne, he was much afraid, for he had not looked for such a turn in things, and those halls were ill-lighted and were full of growling and of monstrous purrings in the dark. All about shone cats' eyes glowing like green lamps or red or yellow where Tevildo's thanes sat waving and lashing their beautiful tails, but Tevildo himself sat at their head and he was a mighty cat and coal-black and evil to look upon. His eyes were long and very narrow and slanted, and gleamed both red and green, but his great grey whiskers were as stout and as sharp as needles. His purr was like the roll of drums and his growl like thunder, but when he yelled in wrath it turned the blood cold, and indeed small beasts and birds were frozen as to stone, or dropped lifeless often at the very sound. Now Tevildo seeing Beren narrowed his eyes until they seemed to shut, and said: "I smell dog", and he took dislike to Beren from that moment. Now Beren had been a lover of hounds in his own wild home.

"Why," said Tevildo, "do ye dare to bring such a creature before me, unless perchance it is to make meat of him?" But those who led Beren said: "Nay, 'twas the word of Melko that this unhappy Elf wear out his life as a catcher of beasts and birds in Tevildo's employ." Then indeed did Tevildo screech in scorn and said: "Then in sooth was my lord asleep or his thoughts were settled elsewhere, for what use think ye is a child of the Eldar to aid the Prince of Cats and his thanes in the catching of birds or of beasts – as well had ye brought some clumsy-footed Man, for none are there either of Elves or Men that can vie with us in our pursuit." Nonetheless he set Beren to a test, and he bade him go catch three mice, "for my hall is infested with them," said he. This indeed was not true, as might be imagined, yet a certain few there were – a very wild, evil, and magic kind that dared to dwell there in dark holes, but they were larger than rats and very fierce, and Tevildo harboured them for his own private sport and suffered not their numbers to dwindle.

Three days did Beren hunt them, but having nothing wherewith to devise a trap (and indeed he did not lie to Melko saying that he had cunning in such contrivances) he hunted in vain getting nothing better than a bitten finger for all his labour. Then was Tevildo scornful and in great anger, but Beren got no harm of him or his thanes at that time because of Melko's bidding other than a few scratches. Evil however were his days thereafter in the dwellings of Tevildo. They made him a scullion, and his days passed miserably in the washing of floors and vessels, in the scrubbing of tables and the hewing of wood and the drawing of water. Often too would he be set to the turning of spits whereon birds and fat mice were daintily roasted for the cats, yet seldom did he get food or sleep himself, and he became haggard and unkempt, and wished often that never straying out of Hisilómë he had not even caught sight of the vision of Tinúviel.

Now that fair maiden wept for a very great while after Beren's departure and danced no more about the woods, and Dairon grew angry and could not understand her, but she had grown to love the face of Beren peeping through the branches and the crackle of his feet as they followed her through the wood; and his voice that called wistfully "Tinúviel, Tinúviel" across the stream before her father's doors she longed to hear again, and she would not now dance when Beren was fled to the evil halls of Melko and maybe had already perished. So bitter did this thought become at last that that most tender maiden went to her mother, for to her father she dared not go nor even suffer him to see her weep.

"O Gwendeling, my mother," said she, "tell me of thy magic, if thou canst, how doth Beren fare. Is all yet well with him?" "Nay," said Gwendeling. "He lives indeed, but in an evil captivity, and hope is dead in his heart, for behold, he is a slave in the power of Tevildo Prince of Cats."

"Then," said Tinúviel, "I must go and succour him, for none else do I know that will."

Now Gwendeling laughed not, for in many matters she was wise, and forewise, yet it was a thing unthought in a mad dream that any Elf, still less a maiden, the daughter of the king, should fare untended to the halls of Melko, even in those earlier days before the Battle of Tears when Melko's power had not grown great and he veiled his designs and spread his net of lies. Wherefore did Gwendeling softly bid her not to speak such folly; but Tinúviel said: "Then must thou plead with my father for aid, that he send

warriors to Angamandi and demand the freedom of Beren from Ainu Melko."

This indeed did Gwendeling do, of love for her daughter, and so wroth was Tinwelint that Tinúviel wished that never had her desire been made known; and Tinwelint bade her nor speak nor think of Beren more, and swore he would slay him an he trod those halls again. Now then Tinúviel pondered much what she might do, and going to Dairon she begged him to aid her, or indeed to fare away with her to Angamandi an he would; but Dairon thought with little love of Beren, and he said: "Wherefore should I go into the direst peril that there is in the world for the sake of a wandering Gnome of the woods? Indeed I have no love for him, for he has destroyed our play together, our music and our dancing." But Dairon moreover told the king of what Tinúviel had desired of him – and this he did not of ill intent but fearing lest Tinúviel fare away to her death in the madness of her heart.

Now[5] when Tinwelint heard this he called Tinúviel and said: "Wherefore, O maiden of mine, does thou not put this folly away from thee, and seek to do my bidding?" But Tinúviel would not answer, and the king bade her promise him that neither would she think more on Beren, nor would she seek in her folly to follow after him to the evil lands whether alone or tempting any of his folk with her. But Tinúviel said that the first she would not promise and the second only in part, for she would not tempt any of the folk of the woodlands to go with her.

Then was her father mightily angry, and beneath his anger not a little amazed and afraid, for he loved Tinúviel; but this was the plan he devised, for he might not shut his daughter for ever in the caverns where only a dim and flickering light ever came. Now above the portals of his cavernous hall was a steep slope falling to the river, and there grew mighty beeches; and one there was that was named Hirilorn, the Queen of Trees, for she was very mighty, and so deeply cloven was her bole that it seemed as if three shafts sprang from the ground together and they were of like size, round and straight, and their grey rind was smooth as silk, unbroken by branch or twig for a very great height above men's heads.

Now Tinwelint let build high up in that strange tree, as high as men could fashion their longest ladders to reach, a little house of wood, and it was above the first branches and was sweetly veiled in leaves. Now that house had three corners and three windows in each wall, and at each corner was one of the shafts of Hirilorn. There then did Tinwelint bid Tinúviel dwell until she would

consent to be wise, and when she fared up the ladders of tall pine these were taken from beneath and no way had she to get down again. All that she required was brought to her, and folk would scale the ladders and give her food or whatever else she wished for, and then descending again take away the ladders, and the king promised death to any who left one leaning against the tree or who should try by stealth to place one there at night. A guard therefore was set nigh the tree's foot, and yet came Dairon often thither in sorrow at what he had brought to pass, for he was lonely without Tinúviel; but Tinúviel had at first much pleasure in her house among the leaves, and would gaze out of her little window while Dairon made his sweetest melodies beneath.

But one night a dream of the Valar came to Tinúviel and she dreamt of Beren, and her heart said: "Let me be gone to seek him whom all others have forgot"; and waking, the moon was shining through the trees, and she pondered very deeply how she might escape. Now Tinúviel daughter of Gwendeling was not ignorant of magics or of spells, as may well be believed, and after much thought she devised a plan. The next day she asked those who came to her to bring, if they would, some of the clearest water of the stream below, "but this," she said, "must be drawn at midnight in a silver bowl, and brought to my hand with no word spoken," and after that she desired wine to be brought, "but this," she said, "must be borne hither in a flagon of gold at noon, and he who brings it must sing as he comes," and they did as they were bid, but Tinwelint was not told.

Then said Tinúviel, "Go now to my mother and say to her that her daughter desires a spinning wheel to pass her weary hours," but Dairon secretly she begged fashion her a tiny loom, and he did this even in the little house of Tinúviel in the tree. "But wherewith will you spin and wherewith weave?" said he; and Tinúviel answered: "With spells and magics," but Dairon knew not her design, nor said more to the king or to Gwendeling.

Now Tinúviel took the wine and water when she was alone, and singing a very magical song the while, she mingled them together, and as they lay in the bowl of gold she sang a song of growth, and as they lay in the bowl of silver she sang another song, and the names of all the tallest and longest things upon Earth were set in that song; the beards of the Indravangs, the tail of Karkaras, the body of Glorund, the bole of Hirilorn, and the sword of Nan she named, nor did she forget the chain Angainu that Aulë and Tulkas made or the neck of Gilim the giant, and last and longest of all she

spake of the hair of Uinen the lady of the sea that is spread through all the waters. Then did she lave her head with the mingled water and wine, and as she did so she sang a third song, a song of uttermost sleep, and the hair of Tinúviel which was dark and finer than the most delicate threads of twilight began suddenly to grow very fast indeed, and after twelve hours had passed it nigh filled the little room, and then Tinúviel was very pleased and she lay down to rest; and when she awoke the room was full as with a black mist and she was deep hidden under it, and lo! her hair was trailing out of the windows and blowing about the tree boles in the morning. Then with difficulty she found her little shears and cut the threads of that growth nigh to her head, and after that her hair grew only as it was wont before.

Then was the labour of Tinúviel begun, and though she laboured with the deftness of an Elf long was she spinning and longer weaving still, and did any come and hail her from below she bid them be gone, saying: "I am abed, and desire only to sleep," and Dairon was much amazed, and called often up to her, but she did not answer.

Now of that cloudy hair Tinúviel wove a robe of misty black soaked with drowsiness more magical far than even that one that her mother had worn and danced in long long ago before the Sun arose, and therewith she covered her garments of shimmering white, and magic slumbers filled the airs about her; but of what remained she twisted a mighty strand, and this she fastened to the bole of the tree within her house, and then was her labour ended, and she looked out of her window westward to the river. Already the sunlight was fading in the trees, and as dusk filled the woods she began a song very soft and low, and as she sung she cast out her long hair from the window so that its slumbrous mist touched the heads and faces of the guards below, and they listening to her voice fell suddenly into a fathomless sleep. Then did Tinúviel clad in her garments of darkness slip down that rope of hair light as a squirrel, and away she danced to the bridge, and before the bridgewards could cry out she was among them dancing; and as the hem of her black robe touched them they fell asleep, and Tinúviel fled very far away as fast as her dancing feet would flit.

Now when the escape of Tinúviel reached the ears of Tinwelint great was his mingled grief and wrath, and all his court was in uproar, and all the woods ringing with the search, but Tinúviel was already far away drawing nigh to the gloomy foothills where the Mountains of Night begin; and 'tis said that Dairon following

after her became utterly lost, and came never back to Elfinesse, but turned towards Palisor, and there plays[6] subtle magic musics still, wistful and lonely in the woods and forests of the south.

Yet ere long as Tinúviel went forward a sudden dread overtook her at the thought of what she had dared to do and what lay before; then did she turn back for a while, and she wept, wishing Dairon was with her, and it is said that he indeed was not far off, but was wandering lost in the great pines, the Forest of Night, where afterward Túrin slew Beleg by mishap.[7] Nigh was Tinúviel now to those places, but she entered not that dark region, and regaining heart pressed on, and by reason of the greater magic of her being and because of the spell of wonder and of sleep that fared about her no such dangers assailed her as did Beren before; yet was it a long and evil and weary journey for a maiden to tread.

Now is it to be told to thee, Eriol, that in those days Tevildo had but one trouble in the world, and that was the kindred of the Dogs. Many indeed of these were neither friends nor foes of the Cats, for they had become subject to Melko and were as savage and cruel as any of his animals; indeed from the most cruel and most savage he bred the race of wolves, and they were very dear indeed to him. Was it not the great grey wolf Karkaras Knife-fang, father of wolves, who guarded the gates of Angamandi in those days and long had done so? Many were there however who would neither bow to Melko nor live wholly in fear of him, but dwelt either in the dwellings of Men and guarded them from much evil that had otherwise befallen them or roamed the woods of Hisilómë or passing the mountainous places fared even at times into the region of Artanor and the lands beyond and to the south.

Did ever any of these view Tevildo or any of his thanes or subjects, then there was a great baying and a mighty chase, and albeit seldom was any cat slain by reason of their skill in climbing and in hiding and because of the protecting might of Melko, yet was great enmity between them, and some of those hounds were held in dread among the cats. None however did Tevildo fear, for he was as strong as any among them, and more agile and more swift save only than Huan Captain of Dogs. So swift was Huan that on a time he had tasted the fur of Tevildo, and though Tevildo had paid him for that with a gash from his great claws, yet was the pride of the Prince of Cats unappeased and he lusted to do a great harm to Huan of the Dogs.

Great therefore was the good fortune that befell Tinúviel in meeting with Huan in the woods, although at first she was mortally

afraid and fled. But Huan overtook her in two leaps, and speaking soft and deep the tongue of the Lost Elves he bid her be not afraid, and "Wherefore," said he, "do I see an Elfin maiden, and one most fair, wandering alone so nigh to the abodes of the Ainu of Evil? Knowst thou not these are very evil places to be in, little one, even with a companion, and they are death to the lonely?"

"That know I," said she, "and I am not here for the love of wayfaring, but I seek only Beren."

"What knowest thou then," said Huan, "of Beren – or indeed meanest thou Beren son of the huntsman of the Elves, Egnor bo-Rimion, a friend of mine since very ancient days?"

"Nay, I know not even whether my Beren be thy friend, for I seek only Beren from beyond the Bitter Hills, whom I knew in the woods near to my father's home. Now is he gone, and my mother Gwendeling says of her wisdom that he is a thrall in the cruel house of Tevildo Prince of Cats; and whether this be true or yet worse be now befallen him I do not know, and I go to discover him – though plan I have none."

"Then will I make thee one," said Huan, "but do thou trust in me, for I am Huan of the Dogs, chief foe of Tevildo. Rest thee now with me a while within the shadows of the wood, and I will think deeply."

Then Tinúviel did as he said, and indeed she slept long while Huan watched, for she was very weary. But after a while awakening she said: "Lo, I have tarried over long. Come, what is thy thought, O Huan?"

And Huan said: "A dark and difficult matter is this, and no other rede can I devise but this. Creep now if thou hast the heart to the abiding place of that Prince while the sun is high, and Tevildo and the most of his household drowze upon the terraces before his gates. There discover in what manner thou mayst whether Beren be indeed within, as thy mother said to thee. Now I will lie not far hence in the woods, and thou wilt do me a pleasure and aid thy own desires an going before Tevildo, be Beren there or be he not, thou tellest him how thou hast stumbled upon Huan of the Dogs lying sick in the woods at this place. Do not indeed direct him hither, for thou must guide him, if it may be, thyself. Then wilt thou see what I contrive for thee and for Tevildo. Methinks that bearing such tidings Tevildo will not entreat thee ill within his halls nor seek to hold thee there."

In this way did Huan design both to do Tevildo a hurt, or perchance if it might so be to slay him, and to aid Beren whom he

guessed in truth to be that Beren son of Egnor whom the hounds of Hisilómë loved. Indeed hearing the name of Gwendeling and knowing thereby that this maiden was a princess of the woodland fairies he was eager to aid her, and his heart warmed to her sweetness.

Now Tinúviel taking heart stole near to the halls of Tevildo, and Huan wondered much at her courage, following unknown to her, as far as he might for the success of his design. At length however she passed beyond his sight, and leaving the shelter of the trees came to a region of long grass dotted with bushes that sloped ever upward toward a shoulder of the hills. Now upon that rocky spur the sun shone, but over all the hills and mountains at its back a black cloud brooded, for there was Angamandi; and Tinúviel fared on not daring to look up at that gloom, for fear oppressed her, and as she went the ground rose and the grass grew more scant and rock-strewn until it came even to a cliff, sheer of one side, and there upon a stony shelf was the castle of Tevildo. No pathway led thereto, and the place where it stood fell towards the woods in terrace after terrace so that none might reach its gates save by many great leaps, and those became ever steeper as the castle drew more nigh. Few were the windows of the house and upon the ground there were none – indeed the very gate was in the air where in the dwellings of Men are wont to be the windows of the upper floor; but the roof had many wide and flat spaces open to the sun.

Now does Tinúviel wander disconsolate upon the lowest terrace and look in dread at the dark house upon the hill, when behold, she came at a bend in the rock upon a lone cat lying in the sun and seemingly asleep. As she approached he opened a yellow eye and blinked at her, and thereupon rising and stretching he stepped up to her and said: "Whither away, little maid – dost not know that you trespass on the sunning ground of his highness Tevildo and his thanes?"

Now Tinúviel was very much afraid, but she made as bold an answer as she was able, saying: "That know I, my lord" – and this pleased the old cat greatly, for he was in truth only Tevildo's doorkeeper – "but I would indeed of your goodness be brought to Tevildo's presence now – nay, even if he sleeps," said she, for the doorkeeper lashed his tail in astonished refusal. "I have words of immediate import for his private ear. Lead me to him, my lord," she pleaded, and thereat the cat purred so loudly that she dared to stroke his ugly head, and this was much larger than her own, being greater than that of any dog that is now on Earth. Thus entreated,

Umuiyan, for such was his name, said: "Come then with me," and seizing Tinúviel suddenly by her garments at the shoulder to her great terror he tossed her upon his back and leaped upon the second terrace. There he stopped, and as Tinúviel scrambled from his back he said: "Well is it for thee that this afternoon my lord Tevildo lieth upon this lowly terrace far from his house, for a great weariness and a desire for sleep has come upon me, so that I fear me I should not be willing to carry thee much farther"; now Tinúviel was robed in her robe of sable mist.

So saying Umuiyan* yawned mightily and stretched himself before he led her along that terrace to an open space, where upon a wide couch of baking stones lay the horrible form of Tevildo himself, and both his evil eyes were shut. Going up to him the doorcat Umuiyan spoke in his ear softly, saying: "A maiden awaits thy pleasure, my lord, who hath news of importance to deliver to thee, nor would she take my refusal." Then did Tevildo angrily lash his tail, half opening an eye – "What is it – be swift," said he, "for this is no hour to come desiring audience of Tevildo Prince of Cats."

"Nay, lord," said Tinúviel trembling, "be not angry; nor do I think that thou wilt when thou hearest, yet is the matter such that it were better not even whispered here where the breezes blow," and Tinúviel cast a glance as it were of apprehension toward the woods.

"Nay, get thee gone," said Tevildo, "thou smellest of dog, and what news of good came ever to a cat from a fairy that had had dealings with the dogs?"

"Why, sir, that I smell of dogs is no matter of wonder, for I have just escaped from one – and it is indeed of a certain very mighty dog whose name thou knowest that I would speak." Then up sat Tevildo and opened his eyes, and he looked all about him, and stretched three times, and at last bade the doorcat lead Tinúviel within; and Umuiyan caught her upon his back as before. Now was Tinúviel in the sorest dread, for having gained what she desired, a chance of entering Tevildo's stronghold and maybe of discovering whether Beren were there, she had no plan more, and knew not what would become of her – indeed had she been able she would have fled; yet now do those cats begin to ascend the terraces towards the castle, and one leap does Umuiyan make bearing Tinúviel upwards and then another, and at the third he

* Written above *Umuiyan* here is the name *Gumniow*, enclosed within brackets.

stumbled so that Tinúviel cried out in fear, and Tevildo said: "What ails thee, Umuiyan, thou clumsy-foot? It is time that thou left my employ if age creeps on thee so swiftly." But Umuiyan said: "Nay, lord, I know not what it is, but a mist is before mine eyes and my head is heavy," and he staggered as one drunk, so that Tinúviel slid from his back, and thereupon he laid him down as if in a dead sleep; but Tevildo was wroth and seized Tinúviel and none too gently, and himself bore her to the gates. Then with a mighty leap he sprang within, and bidding that maiden alight he set up a yell that echoed fearsomely in the dark ways and passages. Forthwith they hastened to him from within, and some he bid descend to Umuiyan and bind him and cast him from the rocks "on the northern side where they fall most sheer, for he is of no use more to me," he said, "for age has robbed him of his sureness of foot"; and Tinúviel quaked to hear the ruthlessness of this beast. But even as he spake he himself yawned and stumbled as with a sudden drowziness, and he bid others to lead Tinúviel away to a certain chamber within, and that was the one where Tevildo was accustomed to sit at meat with his greatest thanes. It was full of bones and smelt evilly; no windows were there and but one door; but a hatchway gave from it upon the great kitchens, and a red light crept thence and dimly lit the place.

Now so adread was Tinúviel when those catfolk left her there that she stood a moment unable to stir, but soon becoming used to the darkness she looked about and espying the hatchway that had a wide sill she sprang thereto, for it was not over high and she was a nimble Elf. Now gazing therethrough, for it was ajar, she saw the wide vaulted kitchens and the great fires that burnt there, and those that toiled always within, and the most were cats – but behold, there by a great fire stooped Beren, and he was grimed with labour, and Tinúviel sat and wept, but as yet dared nothing. Indeed even as she sat the harsh voice of Tevildo sounded suddenly within that chamber: "Nay, where then in Melko's name has that mad Elf fled," and Tinúviel hearing shrank against the wall, but Tevildo caught sight of her where she was perched and cried: "Then the little bird sings not any more; come down or I must fetch thee, for behold, I will not encourage the Elves to seek audience of me in mockery."

Then partly in fear, and part in hope that her clear voice might carry even to Beren, Tinúviel began suddenly to speak very loud and to tell her tale so that the chambers rang; but "Hush, dear maiden," said Tevildo, "if the matter were secret without it is not

one for bawling within." Then said Tinúviel: "Speak not thus to me, O cat, mighty Lord of Cats though thou be, for am I not Tinúviel Princess of Fairies that have stepped out of my way to do thee a pleasure?" Now at those words, and she had shouted them even louder than before, a great crash was heard in the kitchens as of a number of vessels of metal and earthenware let suddenly fall, but Tevildo snarled: "There trippeth that fool Beren the Elf. Melko rid me of such folk" – yet Tinúviel, guessing that Beren had heard and been smitten with astonishment, put aside her fears and repented her daring no longer. Tevildo nonetheless was very wroth at her haughty words, and had he not been minded first to discover what good he might get from her tale, it had fared ill with Tinúviel straightway. Indeed from that moment was she in great peril, for Melko and all his vassals held Tinwelint and his folk as outlaws, and great was their joy to ensnare them and cruelly entreat them, so that much favour would Tevildo have gained had he taken Tinúviel before his lord. Indeed, so soon as she named herself, this did he purpose to do when his own business had been done, but of a truth his wits were drowzed that day, and he forgot to marvel more why Tinúviel sat perched upon the sill of the hatchway; nor did he think more of Beren, for his mind was bent only to the tale Tinúviel bore to him. Wherefore said he, dissembling his evil mood, "Nay, Lady, be not angry, but come, delay whetteth my desire – what is it that thou hast for my ears, for they twitch already."

But Tinúviel said: "There is a great beast, rude and violent, and his name is Huan" – and at that name Tevildo's back curved, and his hair bristled and crackled, and the light of his eyes was red – "and," she went on, "it seems to me a shame that such a brute be suffered to infest the woods so nigh even to the abode of the powerful Prince of Cats, my lord Tevildo"; but Tevildo said: "Nor is he suffered, and cometh never there save it be by stealth."

"Howso that may be," said Tinúviel, "there he is now, yet methinks that at last may his [life] be brought utterly to an end, for lo, as I was going through the woods I saw where a great animal lay upon the ground moaning as in sickness – and behold, it was Huan, and some evil spell or malady has him in its grip, and still he lies helpless in a dale not a mile westward in the woods from this hall. Now with this perhaps I would not have troubled your ears, had not the brute when I approached to succour him snarled upon me and essayed to bite me, and meseems that such a creature deserves whatever come to him."

Now all this that Tinúviel spake was a great lie in whose devising Huan had guided her, and maidens of the Eldar are not wont to fashion lies; yet have I never heard that any of the Eldar blamed her therein nor Beren afterward, and neither do I, for Tevildo was an evil cat and Melko the wickedest of all beings, and Tinúviel was in dire peril at their hands. Tevildo however, himself a great and skilled liar, was so deeply versed in the lies and subtleties of all the beasts and creatures that he seldom knew whether to believe what was said to him or not, and was wont to disbelieve all things save those he wished to believe true, and so was he often deceived by the more honest. Now the story of Huan and his helplessness so pleased him that he was fain to believe it true, and determined at least to test it; yet at first he feigned indifference, saying this was a small matter for such secrecy and might have been spoken outside without further ado. But Tinúviel said she had not thought that Tevildo Prince of Cats needed to learn that the ears of Huan heard the slightest sounds a league away, and the voice of a cat further than any sound else.

Now therefore Tevildo sought to discover from Tinúviel under pretence of mistrusting her tale where exactly Huan might be found, but she made only vague answers, seeing in this her only hope of escaping from the castle, and at length Tevildo, overcome by curiosity and threatening evil things if she should prove false, summoned two of his thanes to him, and one was Oikeroi, a fierce and warlike cat. Then did the three set out with Tinúviel from that place, but Tinúviel took off her magical garment of black and folded it, so that for all its size and density it appeared no more than the smallest kerchief (for so was she able), and thus was she borne down the terraces upon the back of Oikeroi without mishap, and no drowziness assailed her bearer. Now crept they through the woods in the direction she had named, and soon does Tevildo smell dog and bristles and lashes his great tail, but after he climbs a lofty tree and looks down from thence into that dale that Tinúviel had shown to them. There he does indeed see the great form of Huan lying prostrate groaning and moaning, and he comes down in much glee and haste, and indeed in his eagerness he forgets Tinúviel, who now in great fear for Huan lies hidden in a bank of fern. The design of Tevildo and his two companions was to enter that dale silently from different quarters and so come all suddenly upon Huan unawares and slay him, or if he were too stricken to make fight to make sport of him and torment him. This did they now, but even as they leapt out upon him Huan sprang up into the

air with a mighty baying, and his jaws closed in the back close to the neck of that cat Oikeroi, and Oikeroi died; but the other thane fled howling up a great tree, and so was Tevildo left alone face to face with Huan, and such an encounter was not much to his mind, yet was Huan upon him too swiftly for flight, and they fought fiercely in that glade, and the noise that Tevildo made was very hideous; but at length Huan had him by the throat, and that cat might well have perished had not his claws as he struck out blindly pierced Huan's eye. Then did Huan give tongue, and Tevildo screeching fearsomely got himself loose with a great wrench and leapt up a tall and smooth tree that stood by, even as his companion had done. Despite his grievous hurt Huan now leaps beneath that tree baying mightily, and Telvido curses him and casts evil words upon him from above.

Then said Huan: "Lo, Tevildo, these are the words of Huan whom thou thoughtest to catch and slay helpless as the miserable mice it is thy wont to hunt – stay for ever up thy lonely tree and bleed to death of thy wounds, or come down and feel again my teeth. But if neither are to thy liking, then tell me where is Tinúviel Princess of Fairies and Beren son of Egnor, for these are my friends. Now these shall be set as ransom against thee – though it be valuing thee far over thy worth."

"As for that cursed Elf, she lies whimpering in the ferns yonder, an my ears mistake not," said Tevildo, "and Beren methinks is being soundly scratched by Miaulë my cook in the kitchens of my castle for his clumsiness there an hour ago."

"Then let them be given to me in safety," said Huan, "and thou mayest return thyself to thy halls and lick thyself unharmed."

"Of a surety my thane who is here with me shall fetch them for thee," said Tevildo, but growled Huan: "Ay, and fetch also all thy tribe and the hosts of the Orcs and the plagues of Melko. Nay, I am no fool; rather shalt thou give Tinúviel a token and she shall fetch Beren, or thou shalt stay here if thou likest not the other way." Then was Tevildo forced to cast down his golden collar – a token no cat dare dishonour, but Huan said: "Nay, more yet is needed, for this will arouse all thy folk to seek thee," and this Tevildo knew and had hoped. So was it that in the end weariness and hunger and fear prevailed upon that proud cat, a prince of the service of Melko, to reveal the secret of the cats and the spell that Melko had entrusted to him; and those were words of magic whereby the stones of his evil house were held together, and whereby he held all beasts of the catfolk under his sway, filling

them with an evil power beyond their nature; for long has it been said that Tevildo was an evil fay in beastlike shape. When therefore he had told it Huan laughed till the woods rang, for he knew that the days of the power of the cats were over.

Now sped Tinúviel with the golden collar of Tevildo back to the lowest terrace before the gates, and standing she spake the spell in her clear voice. Then behold, the air was filled with the voices of cats and the house of Tevildo shook; and there came therefrom a host of indwellers and they were shrunk to puny size and were afeared of Tinúviel, who waving the collar of Tevildo spake before them certain of the words that Tevildo had said in her hearing to Huan, and they cowered before her. But she said: "Lo, let all those of the folk of the Elves or of the children of Men that are bound within these halls be brought forth," and behold, Beren was brought forth, but of other thralls there were none, save only Gimli, an aged Gnome, bent in thraldom and grown blind, but whose hearing was the keenest that has been in the world, as all songs say. Gimli came leaning upon a stick and Beren aided him, but Beren was clad in rags and haggard, and he had in his hand a great knife he had caught up in the kitchen, fearing some new ill when the house shook and all the voices of the cats were heard; but when he beheld Tinúviel standing amid the host of cats that shrank from her and saw the great collar of Tevildo, then was he[8] amazed utterly, and knew not what to think. But Tinúviel was very glad, and spoke saying: "O Beren from beyond the Bitter Hills, wilt thou now dance with me – but let it not be here." And she led Beren far away, and all those cats set up a howling and wailing, so that Huan and Tevildo heard it in the woods, but none followed or molested them, for they were afraid, and the magic of Melko was fallen from them.

This indeed they rued afterward when Tevildo returned home followed by his trembling comrade, for Tevildo's wrath was terrible, and he lashed his tail and dealt blows at all who stood nigh. Now Huan of the dogs, though it might seem a folly, when Beren and Tinúviel came to that glade had suffered that evil Prince to return without further war, but the great collar of gold he had set about his own neck, and at this was Tevildo more angry than all else, for a great magic of strength and power lay therein. Little to Huan's liking was it that Tevildo lived still, but now no longer did he fear the cats, and that tribe has fled before the dogs ever since, and the dogs hold them still in scorn since the humbling of Tevildo in the woods nigh Angamandi; and Huan has not done

any greater deed. Indeed afterward Melko heard all and he cursed Tevildo and his folk and banished them, nor have they since that day had lord or master or any friend, and their voices wail and screech for their hearts are very lonely and bitter and full of loss, yet there is only darkness therein and no kindliness.

At the time however whereof the tale tells it was Tevildo's chief desire to recapture Beren and Tinúviel and to slay Huan, that he might regain the spell and magic he had lost, for he was in great fear of Melko, and he dared not seek his master's aid and reveal his defeat and the betrayal of his spell. Unwitting of this Huan feared those places, and was in great dread lest those doings come swiftly to Melko's ear, as did most things that came to pass in the world; wherefore now Tinúviel and Beren wandered far away with Huan, and they became great in friendship with him, and in that life Beren grew strong again and his thraldom fell from him, and Tinúviel loved him.

Yet wild and rugged and very lonely were those days, for never a face of Elf or of Man did they see, and Tinúviel grew at last to long sorely for Gwendeling her mother and the songs of sweet magic she was used to sing to her children as twilight fell in the woodlands by their ancient halls. Often she half fancied she heard the flute of Dairon her brother, in pleasant glades' wherein they sojourned, and her heart grew heavy. At length she said to Beren and to Huan: "I must return home," and now is it Beren's heart that is overcast with sorrow, for he loved that life in the woods with the dogs (for by now many others had become joined to Huan), yet not if Tinúviel were not there.

Nonetheless said he: "Never may I go back with thee to the land of Artanor – nor come there ever after to seek thee, sweet Tinúviel, save only bearing a Silmaril; nor may that ever now be achieved, for am I not a fugitive from the very halls of Melko, and in danger of the most evil pains do any of his servants spy me." Now this he said in the grief of his heart at parting with Tinúviel, and she was torn in mind, abiding not the thought of leaving Beren nor yet of living ever thus in exile. So sat she a great while in sad thought and she spoke not, but Beren sat nigh and at length said: "Tinúviel, one thing only can we do – go get a Silmaril"; and she sought thereupon Huan, asking his aid and advice, but he was very grave and saw nothing but folly in the matter. Yet in the end Tinúviel begged of him the fell of Oikeroi that he slew in the affray of the glade; now Oikeroi was a very mighty cat and Huan carried that fell with him as a trophy.

Now doth Tinúviel put forth her skill and fairy-magic, and she sews Beren into this fell and makes him to the likeness of a great cat, and she teaches him how to sit and sprawl, to step and bound and trot in the semblance of a cat, till Huan's very whiskers bristled at the sight, and thereat Beren and Tinúviel laughed. Never however could Beren learn to screech or wail or to purr like any cat that ever walked, nor could Tinúviel awaken a glow in the dead eyes of the catskin – "but we must put up with that," said she, "and thou hast the air of a very noble cat if thou but hold thy tongue."

Then did they bid farewell to Huan and set out for the halls of Melko by easy journeys, for Beren was in great discomfort and heat within the fur of Oikeroi, and Tinúviel's heart became lighter awhile than it had been for long, and she stroked Beren or pulled his tail, and Beren was angry because he could not lash it in answer as fiercely as he wished. At length however they drew near to Angamandi, as indeed the rumblings and deep noises, and the sound of mighty hammerings of ten thousand smiths labouring unceasingly, declared to them. Nigh were the sad chambers where the thrall-Noldoli laboured bitterly under the Orcs and goblins of the hills, and here the gloom and darkness was great so that their hearts fell, but Tinúviel arrayed her once more in her dark garment of deep sleep. Now the gates of Angamandi were of iron wrought hideously and set with knives and spikes, and before them lay the greatest wolf the world has ever seen, even Karkaras Knife-fang who had never slept; and Karkaras growled when he saw Tinúviel approach, but of the cat he took not much heed, for he thought little of cats and they were ever passing in and out.

"Growl not, O Karkaras," said she, "for I go to seek my lord Melko, and this thane of Tevildo goeth with me as escort." Now the dark robe veiled all her shimmering beauty, and Karkaras was not much troubled in mind, yet nonetheless he approached as was his wont to snuff the air of her, and the sweet fragrance of the Eldar that garment might not hide. Therefore straightway did Tinúviel begin a magic dance, and the black strands of her dark veil she cast in his eyes so that his legs shook with a drowziness and he rolled over and was asleep. But not until he was fast in dreams of great chases in the woods of Hisilómë when he was yet a whelp did Tinúviel cease, and then did those twain enter that black portal, and winding down many shadowy ways they stumbled at length into the very presence of Melko.

In that gloom Beren passed well enough as a very thane of

Tevildo, and indeed Oikeroi had aforetime been much about the halls of Melko, so that none heeded him and he slunk under the very chair of the Ainu unseen, but the adders and evil things there lying set him in great fear so that he durst not move.

Now all this fell out most fortunately, for had Tevildo been with Melko their deceit would have been discovered – and indeed of that danger they had thought, not knowing that Tevildo sat now in his halls and knew not what to do should his discomfiture become noised in Angamandi; but behold, Melko espieth Tinúviel and saith: "Who art thou that flittest about my halls like a bat? How camest thou in, for of a surety thou dost not belong here?"

"Nay, that I do not yet," saith Tinúviel, "though I may perchance hereafter, of thy goodness, my lord Melko. Knowest thou not that I am Tinúviel daughter of Tinwelint the outlaw, and he hath driven me from his halls, for he is an overbearing Elf and I give not my love at his command."

Now in truth was Melko amazed that the daughter of Tinwelint came thus of her free will to his dwelling, Angamandi the terrible, and suspecting something untoward he asked what was her desire: "for knowest thou not," saith he, "that there is no love here for thy father or his folk, nor needst thou hope for soft words and good cheer from me."

"So hath my father said," saith she, "but wherefore need I believe him? Behold, I have a skill of subtle dances, and I would dance now before you, my lord, for then methinks I might readily be granted some humble corner of your halls wherein to dwell until such times as you should call for the little dancer Tinúviel to lighten your cares."

"Nay," saith Melko, "such things are little to my mind; but as thou hast come thus far to dance, dance, and after we will see," and with that he leered horribly, for his dark mind pondered some evil.

Then did Tinúviel begin such a dance as neither she nor any other sprite or fay or elf danced ever before or has done since, and after a while even Melko's gaze was held in wonder. Round the hall she fared, swift as a swallow, noiseless as a bat, magically beautiful as only Tinúviel ever was, and now she was at Melko's side, now before him, now behind, and her misty draperies touched his face and waved before his eyes, and the folk that sat about the walls or stood in that place were whelmed one by one in sleep, falling down into deep dreams of all that their ill hearts desired.

Beneath his chair the adders lay like stones, and the wolves

before his feet yawned and slumbered, and Melko gazed on enchanted, but he did not sleep. Then began Tinúviel to dance a yet swifter dance before his eyes, and even as she danced she sang in a voice very low and wonderful a song which Gwendeling had taught her long ago, a song that the youths and maidens sang beneath the cypresses of the gardens of Lórien when the Tree of Gold had waned and Silpion was gleaming. The voices of nightingales were in it, and many subtle odours seemed to fill the air of that noisome place as she trod the floor lightly as a feather in the wind; nor has any voice or sight of such beauty ever again been seen there, and Ainu Melko for all his power and majesty succumbed to the magic of that Elf-maid, and indeed even the eyelids of Lórien had grown heavy had he been there to see. Then did Melko fall forward drowzed, and sank at last in utter sleep down from his chair upon the floor, and his iron crown rolled away.

Suddenly Tinúviel ceased. In the hall no sound was heard save of slumbrous breath; even Beren slept beneath the very seat of Melko, but Tinúviel shook him so that he awoke at last. Then in fear and trembling he tore asunder his disguise and freeing himself from it leapt to his feet. Now does he draw that knife that he had from Tevildo's kitchens and he seizes the mighty iron crown, but Tinúviel could not move it and scarcely might the thews of Beren avail to turn it. Great is the frenzy of their fear as in that dark hall of sleeping evil Beren labours as noiselessly as may be to prise out a Silmaril with his knife. Now does he loosen the great central jewel and the sweat pours from his brow, but even as he forces it from the crown lo! his knife snaps with a loud crack.

Tinúviel smothers a cry thereat and Beren springs away with the one Silmaril in his hand, and the sleepers stir and Melko groans as though ill thoughts disturbed his dreams, and a black look comes upon his sleeping face. Content now with that one flashing gem those twain fled desperately from the hall, stumbling wildly down many dark passages till from the glimmering of grey light they knew they neared the gates – and behold! Karkaras lies across the threshold, awake once more and watchful.

Straightway Beren thrust himself before Tinúviel although she said him nay, and this proved in the end ill, for Tinúviel had not time to cast her spell of slumber over the beast again, ere seeing Beren he bared his teeth and growled angrily. "Wherefore this surliness, Karkaras?" said Tinúviel. "Wherefore this Gnome[9] who entered not and yet now issueth in haste?" quoth Knife-fang,

and with that he leapt upon Beren, who struck straight between the wolf's eyes with his fist, catching for his throat with the other hand.

Then Karkaras seized that hand in his dreadful jaws, and it was the hand wherein Beren clasped the blazing Silmaril, and both hand and jewel Karkaras bit off and took into his red maw. Great was the agony of Beren and the fear and anguish of Tinúviel, yet even as they expect to feel the teeth of the wolf a new thing strange and terrible comes to pass. Behold now that Silmaril blazeth with a white and hidden fire of its own nature and is possessed of a fierce and holy magic – for did it not come from Valinor and the blessed realms, being fashioned with spells of the Gods and Gnomes before evil came there; and it doth not tolerate the touch of evil flesh or of unholy hand. Now cometh it into the foul body of Karkaras, and suddenly that beast is burnt with a terrible anguish and the howling of his pain is ghastly to hear as it echoeth in those rocky ways, so that all that sleeping court within awakes. Then did Tinúviel and Beren flee like the wind from the gates, yet was Karkaras far before them raging and in madness as a beast pursued by Balrogs; and after when they might draw breath Tinúviel wept over the maimed arm of Beren kissing it often, so that behold it bled not, and pain left it, and was healed by the tender healing of her love; yet was Beren ever after surnamed among all folk Ermabwed the One-handed, which in the language of the Lonely Isle is Elmavoitë.

Now however must they bethink them of escape – if such may be their fortune, and Tinúviel wrapped part of her dark mantle about Beren, and so for a while flitting by dusk and dark amid the hills they were seen by none, albeit Melko had raised all his Orcs of terror against them; and his fury at the rape of that jewel was greater than the Elves had ever seen it yet.

Even so it seems soon to them that the net of the hunters drew ever more tightly upon them, and though they had reached the edge of the more familiar woods and passed the glooms of the forest of Taurfuin, still were there many leagues of peril yet to pass between them and the caverns of the king, and even did they reach ever there it seemed like they would but draw the chase behind them thither and Melko's hate upon all that woodland folk. So great indeed was the hue and cry that Huan learnt of it far away, and he marvelled much at the daring of those twain, and still more that ever they had escaped from Angamandi.

Now goes he with many dogs through the woods hunting Orcs

and thanes of Tevildo, and many hurts he got thus, and many of them he slew or put to fear and flight, until one even at dusk the Valar brought him to a glade in that northward region of Artanor that was called afterward Nan Dumgorthin, the land of the dark idols, but that is a matter that concerns not this tale. Howbeit it was even then a dark land and gloomy and foreboding, and dread wandered beneath its lowering trees no less even than in Taurfuin; and those two Elves Tinúviel and Beren were lying therein weary and without hope, and Tinúviel wept but Beren was fingering his knife.

Now when Huan saw them he would not suffer them to speak or to tell any of their tale, but straightway took Tinúviel upon his mighty back and bade Beren run as best he could beside him, "for," said he, "a great company of the Orcs are drawing swiftly hither, and wolves are their trackers and their scouts." Now doth Huan's pack run about them, and they go very swiftly along quick and secret paths towards the homes of the folk of Tinwelint far away. Thus was it that they eluded the host of their enemies, but had nonetheless many an encounter afterward with wandering things of evil, and Beren slew an Orc that came nigh to dragging off Tinúviel, and that was a good deed. Seeing then that the hunt still pressed them close, once more did Huan lead them by winding ways, and dared not yet straightly to bring them to the land of the woodland fairies. So cunning however was his leading that at last after many days the chase fell far away, and no longer did they see or hear anything of the bands of Orcs; no goblins waylaid them nor did the howling of any evil wolves come upon the airs at night, and belike that was because already they had stepped within the circle of Gwendeling's magic that hid the paths from evil things and kept harm from the regions of the woodelves.

Then did Tinúviel breathe freely once more as she had not done since she fled from her father's halls, and Beren rested in the sun far from the glooms of Angband until the last bitterness of thraldom left him. Because of the light falling through green leaves and the whisper of clean winds and the song of birds once more are they wholly unafraid.

At last came there nevertheless a day whereon waking out of a deep slumber Beren started up as one who leaves a dream of happy things coming suddenly to his mind, and he said: "Farewell, O Huan, most trusty comrade, and thou, little Tinúviel, whom I love, fare thee well. This only I beg of thee, get thee now straight to the safety of thy home, and may good Huan lead thee. But I – lo,

I must away into the solitude of the woods, for I have lost that Silmaril which I had, and never dare I draw near to Angamandi more, wherefore neither will I enter the halls of Tinwelint." Then he wept to himself, but Tinúviel who was nigh and had hearkened to his musing came beside him and said: "Nay, now is my heart changed," and if thou dwellest in the woods, O Beren Ermabwed, then so will I, and if thou wilt wander in the wild places there will I wander also, or with thee or after thee: – yet never shall my father see me again save only if thou takest me to him." Then indeed was Beren glad at her sweet words, and fain would he have dwelt with her as a huntsman of the wild, but his heart smote him for all that she had suffered for him, and for her he put away his pride. Indeed she reasoned with him, saying it would be folly to be stubborn, and that her father would greet them with nought but joy, being glad to see his daughter yet alive – and "maybe," said she, "he will have shame that his jesting has given thy fair hand to the jaws of Karkaras." But Huan also she implored to return with them a space, for "my father owes thee a very great reward, O Huan," saith she, "an he loves his daughter at all."

So came it that those three set forward once again together, and came at last back to the woodlands that Tinúviel knew and loved nigh to the dwellings of her folk and to the deep halls of her home. Yet even as they approach they find fear and tumult among that people such as had not been for a long age, and asking some that wept before their doors they learned that ever since the day of Tinúviel's secret flight ill-fortune had befallen them. Lo, the king had been distraught with grief and had relaxed his ancient wariness and cunning; indeed his warriors had been sent hither and thither deep into the unwholesome woods searching for that maiden, and many had been slain or lost for ever, and war there was with Melko's servants about all their northern and eastern borders, so that the folk feared mightily lest that Ainu upraise his strength and come utterly to crush them and Gwendeling's magic have not the strength to withhold the numbers of the Orcs. "Behold," said they, "now is the worst of all befallen, for long has Queen Gwendeling sat aloof and smiled not nor spoken, looking as it were to a great distance with haggard eyes, and the web of her magic has blown thin about the woods, and the woods are dreary, for Dairon comes not back, neither is his music heard ever in the glades. Behold now the crown of all our evil tidings, for know that there has broken upon us raging from the halls of Evil a great grey wolf filled with an evil spirit, and he fares as though lashed by some

hidden madness, and none are safe. Already has he slain many as he runs wildly snapping and yelling through the woods, so that the very banks of the stream that flows before the king's halls has become a lurking-place of danger. There comes the awful wolf oftentimes to drink, looking as the evil Prince himself with bloodshot eyes and tongue lolling out, and never can he slake his desire for water as though some inward fire devours him."

Then was Tinúviel sad at the thought of the unhappiness that had come upon her folk, and most of all was her heart bitter at the story of Dairon, for of this she had not heard any murmur before. Yet could she not wish Beren had come never to the lands of Artanor, and together they made haste to Tinwelint; and already to the Elves of the wood it seemed that the evil was at an end now that Tinúviel was come back among them unharmed. Indeed they scarce had hoped for that.

In great gloom do they find King Tinwelint, yet suddenly is his sorrow melted to tears of gladness, and Gwendeling sings again for joy when Tinúviel enters there and casting away her raiment of dark mist she stands before them in her pearly radiance of old. For a while all is mirth and wonder in that hall, and yet at length the king turns his eyes to Beren and says: "So thou hast returned too – bringing a Silmaril, beyond doubt, in recompense for all the ill thou hast wrought my land; or an thou hast not, I know not wherefore thou art here."

Then Tinúviel stamped her foot and cried so that the king and all about him wondered at her new and fearless mood: "For shame, my father – behold, here is Beren the brave whom thy jesting drove into dark places and foul captivity and the Valar alone saved from a bitter death. Methinks 'twould rather befit a king of the Eldar to reward him than revile him."

"Nay," said Beren, "the king thy father hath the right. Lord," said he, "I have a Silmaril in my hand even now."

"Show me then," said the king in amaze.

"That I cannot," said Beren, "for my hand is not here"; and he held forth his maimed arm.

Then was the king's heart turned to him by reason of his stout and courteous demeanour, and he bade Beren and Tinúviel relate to him all that had befallen either of them, and he was eager to hearken, for he did not fully comprehend the meaning of Beren's words. When however he had heard all yet more was his heart turned to Beren, and he marvelled at the love that had awakened in

the heart of Tinúviel so that she had done greater deeds and more daring than any of the warriors of his folk.

"Never again," said he, "O Beren I beg of thee, leave this court nor the side of Tinúviel, for thou art a great Elf and thy name will ever be great among the kindreds." Yet Beren answered him proudly, and said: "Nay, O King, I hold to my word and thine, and I will get thee that Silmaril or ever I dwell in peace in thy halls." And the king entreated him to journey no more into the dark and unknown realms, but Beren said: "No need is there thereof, for behold that jewel is even now nigh to thy caverns," and he made clear to Tinwelint that that beast that ravaged his land was none other than Karkaras, the wolfward of Melko's gates – and this was not known to all, but Beren knew it taught by Huan, whose cunning in the reading of track and slot was greatest among all the hounds, and therein are none of them unskilled. Huan indeed was with Beren now in the halls, and when those twain spoke of a chase and a great hunt he begged to be in that deed; and it was granted gladly. Now do those three prepare themselves to harry that beast, that all the folk be rid of the terror of the wolf, and Beren kept his word, bringing a Silmaril to shine once more in Elfinesse. King Tinwelint himself led that chase, and Beren was beside him, and Mablung the heavy-handed, chief of the king's thanes, leaped up and grasped a spear[12] – a mighty weapon captured in battle with the distant Orcs – and with those three stalked Huan mightiest of dogs, but others they would not take according to the desire of the king, who said: "Four is enough for the slaying even of the Hell-wolf" – but only those who had seen knew how fearsome was that beast, nigh as large as a horse among Men, and so great was the ardour of his breath that it scorched whatsoever it touched. About the hour of sunrise they set forth, and soon after Huan espied a new slot beside the stream, not far from the king's doors, "and," quoth he, "this is the print of Karkaras." Thereafter they followed that stream all day, and at many places its banks were new-trampled and torn and the water of the pools that lay about it was fouled as though some beasts possessed of madness had rolled and fought there not long before.

Now sinks the sun and fades beyond the western trees and darkness is creeping down from Hisilómë so that the light of the forest dies. Even so come they to a place where the spoor swerves from the stream or perchance is lost in its waters and Huan may no longer follow it; and here therefore they encamp, sleeping in turns beside the stream, and the early night wears away.

Suddenly in Beren's watch a sound of great terror leaped up from far away – a howling as of seventy maddened wolves – then lo! the brushwood cracks and saplings snap as the terror draweth near, and Beren knows that Karkaras is upon them. Scarce had he time to rouse the others, and they were but just sprung up and half-awake, when a great form loomed in the wavering moonlight filtering there, and it was fleeing like one mad, and its course was bent towards the water. Thereat Huan gave tongue, and straightway the beast swerved aside towards them, and foam was dripping from his jaws and a red light shining from his eyes, and his face was marred with mingled terror and with wrath. No sooner did he leave the trees than Huan rushed upon him fearless of heart, but he with a mighty leap sprang right over that great dog, for all his fury was kindled suddenly against Beren whom he recognized as he stood behind, and to his dark mind it seemed that there was the cause of all his agony. Then Beren thrust swiftly upward with a spear into his throat, and Huan leapt again and had him by a hind leg, and Karkaras fell as a stone, for at that same moment the king's spear found his heart, and his evil spirit gushed forth and sped howling faintly as it fared over the dark hills to Mandos; but Beren lay under him crushed beneath his weight. Now they roll back that carcase and fall to cutting it open, but Huan licks Beren's face whence blood is flowing. Soon is the truth of Beren's words made clear, for the vitals of the wolf are half-consumed as though an inner fire had long been smouldering there, and suddenly the night is filled with a wondrous lustre, shot with pale and secret colours, as Mablung[13] draws forth the Silmaril. Then holding it out he said: "Behold O King,"[14] but Tinwelint said: "Nay, never will I handle it save only if Beren give it to me." But Huan said: "And that seems like never to be, unless ye tend him swiftly, for methinks he is hurt sorely"; and Mablung and the king were ashamed.

Therefore now they raised Beren gently up and tended him and washed him, and he breathed, but he spoke not nor opened his eyes, and when the sun arose and they had rested a little they bore him as softly as might be upon a bier of boughs back through the woodlands; and nigh midday they drew near the homes of the folk again, and then were they deadly weary, and Beren had not moved nor spoken, but groaned thrice.

There did all the people flock to meet them when their approach was noised among them, and some bore them meat and cool drinks and salves and healing things for their hurts, and but for the harm

that Beren had met great indeed had been their joy. Now then they covered the leafy boughs whereon he lay with soft raiment, and they bore him away to the halls of the king, and there was Tinúviel awaiting them in great distress; and she fell upon Beren's breast and wept and kissed him, and he awoke and knew her, and after Mablung gave him that Silmaril, and he lifted it above him gazing at its beauty, ere he said slowly and with pain: "Behold, O King, I give thee the wondrous jewel thou didst desire, and it is but a little thing found by the wayside, for once methinks thou hadst one beyond thought more beautiful, and she is now mine." Yet even as he spake the shadows of Mandos lay upon his face, and his spirit fled in that hour to the margin of the world, and Tinúviel's tender kisses called him not back.'

Then did Vëannë suddenly cease speaking, and Eriol sadly said: 'A tale of ruth for so sweet a maid to tell'; but behold, Vëannë wept, and not for a while did she say: 'Nay, that is not all the tale; but here endeth all that I rightly know,' and other children there spake, and one said: 'Lo, I have heard that the magic of Tinúviel's tender kisses healed Beren, and recalled his spirit from the gates of Mandos, and long time he dwelt among the Lost Elves wandering the glades in love with sweet Tinúviel.' But another said: 'Nay, that was not so, O Ausir, and if thou wilt listen I will tell the true and wondrous tale; for Beren died there in Tinúviel's arms even as Vëannë has said, and Tinúviel crushed with sorrow and finding no comfort or light in all the world followed him swiftly down those dark ways that all must tread alone. Now her beauty and tender loveliness touched even the cold heart of Mandos, so that he suffered her to lead Beren forth once more into the world, nor has this ever been done since to Man or Elf, and many songs and stories are there of the prayer of Tinúviel before the throne of Mandos that I remember not right well. Yet said Mandos to those twain: "Lo, O Elves, it is not to any life of perfect joy that I dismiss you, for such may no longer be found in all the world where sits Melko of the evil heart – and know ye that ye will become mortal even as Men, and when ye fare hither again it will be for ever, unless the Gods summon you indeed to Valinor." Nonetheless those twain departed hand in hand, and they fared together through the northern woods, and oftentimes were they seen dancing magic dances down the hills, and their name became heard far and wide.'

And thereat that boy ceased, and Vëannë said: 'Aye, and they

did more than dance, for their deeds afterward were very great, and many tales are there thereof that thou must hear, O Eriol Melinon, upon another time of tale-telling. For those twain it is that stories name i·Cuilwarthon, which is to say the dead that live again, and they became mighty fairies in the lands about the north of Sirion. Behold now all is ended – and doth it like thee?' But Eriol said: 'Indeed 'tis a wondrous tale, such as I looked not to hear from the lips of the little maids of Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva,' but Vëannë answered him: 'Nay, but I fashioned it not with words of myself; but it is dear to me – and indeed all the children know of the deeds that it relates – and I have learned it by heart, reading it in the great books, and I do not comprehend all that is set therein.'

'Neither do I,' said Eriol – but suddenly cried Ausir: 'Behold, Eriol, Vëannë has never told thee what befell Huan; nor how he would take no rewards from Tinwelint nor dwell nigh him, but wandered forth again grieving for Tinúviel and Beren. On a time he fell in with Mablung[15] who aided in the chase, and was now fallen much to hunting in lonely parts; and the twain hunted together as friends until the days of Glorund the Drake and of Túrin Turambar, when once more Huan found Beren and played his part in the great deeds of the Nauglafring, the Necklace of the Dwarves.'

'Nay, how could I tell all this,' said Vëannë, 'for behold it is time for the evening meat already'; and soon after the great gong rang.

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The second version of the Tale of Tinúviel

As already mentioned (p. 3), there exists a revised version of part of the tale in a typescript (made by my father). This follows the manuscript version closely or very closely on the whole, and in no way alters the style or air of the former; it is therefore unnecessary to give this second version *in extenso*. But the typescript does in places introduce interesting changes, and these are given below (the pages of the corresponding passages in the manuscript version are given in the margin).

The title in the typescript (which begins with the *Link* passage already given, pp. 4–7) was originally 'The Tale of Tynwfiel, Princess of Dor Athro', which was changed to 'The Tale of Tinúviel, the Dancer of Doriath'.

(8) 'Who then was Tinúviel?' said Eriol. 'Knowst thou not,' said Ausir, 'she was the daughter of Singoldo, king of Artanor?' 'Hush

thee, Ausir,' said Vëannë, 'this is my tale, and 'tis a tale of the Gnomes, wherefore I beg that thou fill not Eriol's ear with thy Elfin names. Lo! I will tell this tale only, for did I not see Melian and Tinúviel once long ago with my own eyes when journeying by the Way of Dreams?'

'What then was Queen Melian like,' quoth Eriol, 'if thou hast seen her, O Vëannë?'

'Slender and very dark of hair,' said she, 'and her skin was white and pale, but her eyes shone seeming to hold great depths. Clad she was in filmy garments most lovely yet of the hue of night, jet-spangled and girt with silver. If ever she sang or if ever she danced, dreams and slumbers passed over the heads of those that were nigh, making them heavy as it were with a strong wine of sleep. Indeed she was a sprite that, escaping from Lórien's gardens before even Kôr was built, wandered in the wild places of the world and in every lonely wood. Nightingales fared with her singing about her as she went – and 'twas the song of these birds that smote the ears of Thingol as he marched at the head of that second[16] tribe of the Eldalië which afterward became the Shoreland Pipers, the Solosimpi of the Isle. Now had they come a great way from dim Palisor, and wearily the companies laboured behind the swift-footed horse of Oromë, wherefore the music of the magic birds of Melian seemed to him full of all solace, more beautiful than other melodies of Earth, and he strayed aside for a moment, as he thought, from the host, seeking in the dark trees whence it might come.

And it is said that it was not a moment that he hearkened, but many years, and vainly his people sought him, until at length they must perforce follow Oromë upon Tol Eressëa, and be borne thereon far away leaving him listening to the birds enchanted in the woods of Aryador. That was the first sorrow of the Solosimpi, that after were many; but Ilúvatar in memory of Thingol set a seed of music in the hearts of that folk above all kindreds of the Earth save only the Gods, and after, as all story tells, it blossomed wondrously upon the isle and in glorious Valinor.

Little sorrow, however, had Thingol; for after a little, as him seemed, he came upon Melian lying on a bed of leaves . . .

•

(9) Long thereafter, as now thou knowest, Melko brake once more into the world from Valinor, and wellnigh all beings therein came under his foul thraldom; nor were the Lost Elves free, nor the errant Gnomes that wandered the mountainous places seeking their stolen treasury. Yet some few there were that led by mighty kings still defied that evil one in fast and hidden places, and if

Turgon King of Gondolin was the most glorious of these, for a while the most mighty and the longest free was Thingol of the Woods.

Now in the after-days of Sunshine and Moonsheen still dwelt Thingol in Artanor and ruled a numerous and hardy folk drawn from all the tribes of ancient Elfinesse – for neither he nor his people went to the dread Battle of Unnumbered Tears – a matter which toucheth not this tale. Yet was his lordship greatly increased after that most bitter field by fugitives seeking a leader and a home. Hidden was his dwelling thereafter from the vision and knowledge of Melko by the cunning magics of Melian the fay, and she wove spells about all the paths that led thereto, so that none but the children of the Eldalië might tread them without straying. Thus was the king guarded against all evils save treachery alone; his halls were builded in a deep cavern, vaulted immeasurable, that knew no other entrance than a rocky door, mighty, pillared with stone, and shadowed by the loftiest and most ancient trees in all the shaggy forests of Artanor. A great stream was there that fared a dark and silent course in the deep woods, and this flowed wide and swift before that doorway, so that all who would enter that portal must first cross a bridge hung by the Noldoli of Thingol's service across that water – and narrow it was and strongly guarded. In no wise ill were those forest lands, although not utterly distant were the Iron Mountains and black Hisilómë beyond them where dwelt the strange race of Men, and thrall-Noldoli laboured, and few free-Eldar went.

Two children had Thingol then, Dairon and Tinúviel . . .

•

(10) 'her mother was a fay, a child of Lórien' for manuscript 'her mother was a fay, a daughter of the Gods'.

•

(11) 'Now Beren was a Gnome, son of Egnor the forester' as in manuscript; but *Egnor* changed to *Barahir*. This however was a much later and as it were casual change; Beren's father was still Egnor in 1925.

•

(11) Manuscript version 'and all the Elves of the woodland thought of the Gnomes of Dor Lómin as treacherous creatures, cruel and faithless' is omitted in the typescript.

•

(13) *Angband* for manuscript *Angamandi*, and throughout.

•

(14) Many a combat and an escape had he in those days, and he slew therein more than once both wolf and the Orc that rode thereon with nought but an ashen club that he bore; and other perils and adventures . . .

*

(15) But Melko looking wroth upon him asked: "How hast thou, O thrall, dared to fare thus out of the land where thy folk dwells at my behest, and to wander in the great woods unbidden, leaving the labours to which thou hast been set?" Then answered Beren that he was no runagate thrall, but came of a kindred of the Gnomes that dwelt in Aryador where were many of the folk of Men. Then was Melko yet more wroth, saying: "Here have we a plotter of deep treacheries against Melko's lordship, and one worthy of the tortures of the Balrogs" – for he sought ever to destroy the friendship and intercourse of Elves and Men, lest they forget the Battle of Unnumbered Tears and once more arise in wrath against him. But Beren seeing his peril answered: "Think not, O most mighty Belcha Morgoth (for such be his names among the Gnomes), that could be so; for, an it were, then should I not be here unaided and alone. No friendship has Beren son of Egnor for the kindred of Men; nay indeed, wearying utterly of the lands infested by that folk he has wandered out of Aryador. Whither then should he go but to Angband? For many a great tale has his father made to him aforetime of thy splendour and thy glory. Lo, lord, albeit I am no renegade thrall, still do I desire nothing so much as to serve thee in what small manner I may." Little of truth was therein, and indeed his father Egnor was the chiefest foe of Melko in all the kin of the Gnomes that still were free, save only Turgon king of Gondolin and the sons of Fëanor, and long days of friendship had he known with the folk of Men, what time he was brother in arms to Úrin the stèadfast; but in those days he bore another name and Egnor was nought for Melko. The truth, however, did Beren then tell, saying that he was a great huntsman, swift and cunning to shoot or snare or to outrun all birds and beasts. "I was lost unawares in a part of the hills that were not known to me, O lord," he said, "the while I was hunting; and wandering far I came to strange lands and knew no other rede of safety save to fare to Angband, that all can find who see the black hills of the north from afar. I would myself have fared to thee and begged of thee some humble office (as a winner of meats for thy table, perchance) had not these Orcs seized me and tormented me unjustly."

Now the Valar must have inspired that speech, or maybe it was a spell of cunning words cast upon him in compassion by Melian as he fled from the hall; for indeed it saved his life . . .

Subsequently a part of this passage was emended on the typescript, to read:

. . . and long days of friendship had he known with the folk of Men (as had Beren himself thereafter as brother in arms to Úrin the Steadfast); but in those days the Orcs named him Rog the Fleet, and the name of Egnor was nought to Melko.

At the same time the words 'Now the Valar must have inspired that speech' were changed to 'Now the Valar inspired that speech'.

*

(15) Thus was Beren set by Melko as a thrall to The Prince of Cats, whom the Gnomes have called Tiberth Bridhon Miaugion, but the Elves Tevildo.

Subsequently *Tiberth* appears for MS *Tevildo* throughout, and in one place the full name *Tiberth Bridhon Miaugion* appears again. In the MS the Gnomish name is *Tifil*.

*

(17) . . . getting nought but a bitten finger for his toil. Then was Tiberth wroth, and said: "Thou hast lied to my lord, O Gnome, and art fitter to be a scullion than a huntsman, who canst not catch even the mice about my halls." Evil thereafter were his days in the power of Tiberth; for a scullion they made him, and unending labour he had in the hewing of wood and drawing of water, and in the menial services of that noisome abode. Often too was he tormented by the cats and other evil beasts of their company, and when, as happened at whiles, there was an Orc-feast in those halls, he would ofttimes be set to the roasting of birds and other meats upon spits before the mighty fires in Melko's dungeons, until he swooned for the overwhelming heat; yet he knew himself fortunate beyond all hope in being yet alive among those cruel foes of Gods and Elves. Seldom got he food or sleep himself, and he became haggard and half-blind, so that he wished often that never straying out of the wild free places of Hisilómë he had not even caught sight afar off of the vision of Tinúviel.

*

(17) But Melian laughed not, nor said aught thereto; for in many things was she wise and forewise – yet nonetheless it was a thing unthought in a mad dream that any Elf, still less a maiden, the daughter of that king who had longest defied Melko, should fare alone even to the borders of that sorrowful country amid which lies Angband and the Hells of Iron. Little love was there between the woodland Elves and the folk of Angband even in those days before the Battle of Unnumbered Tears when Melko's power was not grown to its full, and he veiled his designs, and spread his net

of lies. "No help wilt thou get therein of me, little one," said she; "for even if magic and destiny should bring thee safe out of that foolhardiness, yet should many and great things come thereof, and on some many sorrows, and my rede is that thou tell never thy father of thy desire."

But this last word of Melian's did Thingol coming unaware overhear, and they must perforce tell him all, and he was so wroth when he heard it that Tinúviel wished that never had her thoughts been revealed even to her mother.

•

(18) Indeed I have no love for him, for he has destroyed our play together, our music and our dancing." But Tinúviel said: "I ask it not for him, but for myself, and for that very play of ours together aforetime." And Dairon said: "And for thy sake I say thee nay"; and they spake no more thereof together, but Dairon told the king of what Tinúviel had desired of him, fearing lest that dauntless maiden fare away to her death in the madness of her heart.

•

(18) . . . he might not shut his daughter for ever in the caves, where the light was only that of torches dim and flickering.

•

(19) The names of all the tallest and longest things upon Earth were set in that song: the beards of the Indrafangs, the tail of Carcaras, the body of Glorund the drake, the bole of Hirilorn, and the sword of Nan she named, nor did she forget the chain Angainu that Aulë and Tulkas made, or the neck of Gilim the giant that is taller than many elm trees; . . .

Carcaras is spelt thus subsequently in the typescript.

•

(20) . . . as fast as her dancing feet would flit.

Now when the guards awoke it was late in the morning, and they fled away nor dared to bear the tidings to their lord; and Dairon it was bore word of the escape of Tinúviel to Thingol, for he had met the folk that ran in amazement from the ladders which each morning were lifted to her door. Great was the mingled grief and wrath of the king, and all the deep places of his court were in uproar, and all the woods were ringing with the search; but Tinúviel was already far away dancing madly through the dark woods towards the gloomy foothills and the Mountains of Night. 'Tis said that Dairon sped swiftest and furthest in pursuit, but was wrapped in the deceit of those far places, and became utterly lost,

and came never back to Elfinesse, but turned towards Palisor; and there he plays subtle magic musics still, wistful and lonely in the woods and forests of the south.

Now fared Tinúviel forward, and a sudden dread overtook her at the thought of what she had dared to do, and of what lay before her. Then did she turn back for a while, and wept, wishing that Dairon were with her. It is said that he was not indeed at that time far off, and wandered lost in Taurfuin, the Forest of Night, where after Túrin slew Beleg by mishap. Nigh was Tinúviel to those evil places; but she entered not that dark region, and the Valar set a new hope in her heart, so that she pressed on once more.

•

(21) Seldom was any of the cats slain indeed; for in those days they were mightier far in valour and in strength than they have been since those things befell that thou art soon to learn, mightier even than the tawny cats of the southern lands where the sun burns hot. No less too was their skill in climbing and in hiding, and their fleetness was that of an arrow, yet were the free dogs of the northern woods marvellously valiant and knew no fear, and great enmity was between them, and some of those hounds were held in dread even by the greatest of the cats. None, however, did Tiberth fear save only Huan the lord of the Hounds of Hisilómë. So swift was Huan that on a time he had fallen upon Tiberth as he hunted alone in the woods, and pursuing him had overtaken him and nigh rent the fur of his neck from him ere he was rescued by a host of Orcs that heard his cries. Huan got him many hurts in that battle ere he won away, but the wounded pride of Tiberth lusted ever for his death.

Great therefore was the good fortune that befell Tinúviel in meeting with Huan in the woods; and this she did in a little glade nigh to the forest's borders, where the first grasslands begin that are nourished by the upper waters of the river Sirion. Seeing him she was mortally afraid and turned to flee; but in two swift leaps Huan overtook her. Speaking softly the deep tongue of the Lost Elves he bade her be not afeared, and "wherefore," said he, "do I see an Elfin maiden, and one most fair, wandering thus nigh to the places of the Prince of Evil Heart?

•

(22) What is thy thought, O Huan?"

"Little counsel have I for thee," said he, "save that thou goest with all speed back to Artanor and thy father's halls, and I will accompany thee all the way, until those lands be reached that the

magic of Melian the Queen does encompass." "That will I never do," said she, "while Beren liveth here, forgotten of his friends." "I thought that such would be thy answer," said he, "but if thou wilt still go forward with thy mad quest, then no counsel have I for thee save a desperate and a perilous one: we must make now all speed towards the ill places of Tiberth's abiding that are yet far off. I will guide thee thither by the most secret ways, and when we are come there thou must creep alone, if thou hast the heart, to the dwelling of that prince at an hour nigh noon when he and most of his household lie drowsing upon the terraces before his gates. There thou mayst perchance discover, if fortune is very kind, whether Beren be indeed within that ill place as thy mother said to thee. But lo, I will lie not far from the foot of the mount whereon Tiberth's hall is built, and thou must say to Tiberth so soon as thou seest him, be Beren there or be he not, that thou hast stumbled upon Huan of the Dogs lying sick of great wounds in a withered dale without his gates. Fear not overmuch, for herein wilt thou both do my pleasure and further thine own desires, as well as may be; nor do I think that when Tiberth hears thy tidings thou wilt be in any peril thyself for a time. Only do thou not direct him to the place that I shall show to thee; thou must offer to guide him thither thyself. Thus thou shalt get free again of his evil house, and shalt see what I contrive for the Prince of Cats." Then did Tinúviel shudder at the thought of what lay before, but she said that this rede would she sooner take than to return home, and they set forth straightway by secret pathways through the woods, and by winding trails over the bleak and stony lands that lay beyond.

At last on a day at morn they came to a wide dale hollowed like a bowl among the rocks. Deep were its sides, but nought grew there save low bushes of scanty leaves and withered grass. "This is the Withered Dale that I spake of," said Huan. "Yonder is the cave where the great

Here the typescript version of the *Tale of Tinúviel* ends, at the foot of a page. I think it is improbable that any more of this version was made.

NOTES

1 For earlier references to Olórë Mallë, the Way of Dreams, see I.18, 27; 211, 225.

2 The distinction made here between the Elves (who call the queen *Wendelin*) and, by implication, the Gnomes (who call her

Gwendeling) is even more explicit in the typescript version, p. 42 ("'tis a tale of the *Gnomes*, wherefore I beg that thou fill not Eriol's ears with thy *Elfin* names') and p. 45 ('The Prince of Cats, whom the *Gnomes* have called Tiberth Bridhon Miaugion, but the *Elves* Tevildo'). See I.50–1.

3 The manuscript as originally written read: 'Now Beren was a Gnome, son of a thrall of Melko's, some have said, that laboured in the darker places . . .' See note 4.

4 The manuscript as originally written read: 'I Beren of the Noldoli, son of Egnor the huntsman . . .' See note 3.

5 From this point, and continuing to the words 'forests of the south' on p. 21, the text is written on detached pages placed in the notebook. There is no rejected material corresponding to this passage. It is possible that it existed, and was removed from the book and lost; but, though the book is in a decayed state, it does not seem that any pages were removed here, and I think it more likely that my father simply found himself short of space, as he wrote over the original, erased, version, and (almost certainly) expanded it as he went.

6 The text as originally written read: 'came never back to Ellu, but plays . . .' (for *Ellu* see *Changes to Names* below). As a result of the interpolation 'but turned towards Palisor' Palisor is placed in the south of the world. In the tale of *The Coming of the Elves* (I.114) Palisor is called 'the midmost region' (see also the drawing of the 'World-Ship', I.84), and it seems possible that the word 'south' should have been changed; but it remains in the typescript (p. 47).

7 The *Tale of Turambar*, though composed after the *Tale of Tinúviel*, was in existence when *Tinúviel* was rewritten (see p. 69).

8 From 'amazed utterly' to 'if Tinúviel were not there' (p. 30) the text is written on an inserted page; see note 5 – here also the underlying textual situation is obscure.

9 A short passage of earlier text in pencil becomes visible here, ending: '. . . and Tinúviel grew to long sorely for Wendelin her mother and for the sight of Linwë and for Kapalen making music in pleasant glades.' *Kapalen* must be a name preceding *Tifanto*, itself preceding *Dairon* (see *Changes to Names* below).

10 *this Gnome*: original reading *this man*. This was a slip, but a significant slip (see p. 52), in all probability. It is possible that 'man' was used here, as occasionally elsewhere (e.g. p. 18 'as high as men could fashion their longest ladders', where the reference is to the Elves of Artanor), to mean 'male Elf', but in that case there would seem no reason to change it.

11 Struck out here in the manuscript: 'Beren of the Hills'.

12 'Mablung the heavy-handed, chief of the king's thanes, leaped up and grasped a spear' replaced the original reading 'Tifanto cast aside his pipe and grasped a spear'. Originally the name of Tinúviel's

brother was *Tifanto* throughout the tale. See notes 13–15, and the Commentary, p. 59.

13 *Mablung* replaced *Tifanto*, and again immediately below; see note 12.

14 'O King' replaced 'O father'; see note 12.

15 In this place *Mablung* was the form as first written; see the Commentary, p. 59.

16 It is essential to the narrative of the Coming of the Elves that the Solosimpi were the third and last of the three tribes; 'second' here can only be a slip, if a surprising one.

Changes made to names in *The Tale of Tinúviel*

(i) Manuscript Version

Ilfiniol < *Elfriniol*. In the typescript text the name is *Ilfrin*. See pp. 201–2.

Tinwë Linto, Tinwelint In the opening passage of the tale (p. 8), where Ausir and Vëannë differ on the forms of Tinwelint's name, the MS is very confused and it is impossible to understand the succeeding stages. Throughout the tale, as originally written, Vëannë calls Tinwelint *Tinto Ellu* or *Ellu*, but in the argument at the beginning it is Ausir who calls him *Tinto Ellu* while Vëannë calls him *Tinto'ellon*. *(Tinto) Ellu* is certainly an 'Elvish' form, but it is corrected throughout the tale to the Gnomish *Tinwelint*, while Ausir's *Tinto Ellu* at the beginning is corrected to *Tinwë Linto*. (At the third occurrence of *Tinwë* in the opening passage the name as originally written was *Linwë*: see I.130.)

In the tales of *The Coming of the Elves* and *The Theft of Melko* in Part One *Ellu* is the name of the second lord of the Solosimpi chosen in Tinwelint's place (afterwards Olwë), but at both occurences (I.120, 141) this is a later addition (I.130 note 5, 155). Many years later *Ellu* again became Thingol's name (Sindarin *Elu Thingol*, Quenya *Elwë Singollo*, in *The Silmarillion*).

Gwendeling As the tale was originally written, *Wendelin* was the name throughout (*Wendelin* is found in tales given in Part One, emended from *Tindriel*: I.106–7, 131). It was later changed throughout to the Gnomish form *Gwendeling* (found in the early Gnomish dictionary, I.273, itself changed later to *Gwedhiling*) except in the mouth of Ausir, who uses the 'Elvish' form *Wendelin* (p. 8).

Dairon < *Tifanto* throughout. For the change of *Tifanto* > *Mablung* at the end of the tale (notes 12–14 above) see the Commentary, p. 59, and for the name *Kapalen* preceding *Tifanto* see note 9.

Dor Lómin < *Aryador* (p. 11). In the tale of *The Coming of the*

Elves it is said (I.119) that Aryador was the name of Hisilómë among Men; for *Dor Lómin – Hisilómë* see I.112. At subsequent occurrences in this tale *Aryador* was not changed.

Angband was originally twice written, and in one of these cases it was changed to *Angamandi*, in the other (p. 35) allowed to stand; in all other instances *Angamandi* was the form first written. In the manuscript version of the tale Vëannë does not make consistent use of Gnomish or 'Elvish' forms: thus she says *Tevildo* (not *Tifil*), *Angamandi*, *Gwendeling* (< *Wendelin*), *Tinwelint* (< *Tinto (Ellu)*). In the typescript version, on the other hand, Vëannë says *Tiberth*, *Angband*, *Melian* (< *Gwenethlin*), *Thingol* (< *Tinwelint*).

Hirilorn, the Queen of Trees < *Golosbrindi, the Queen of the Forest* (p. 18); *Hirilorn* < *Golosbrindi* at subsequent occurrences.

Uinen < *Onen* (or possibly *Únen*).

Egnor bo-Rimion < *Egnor go-Rimion*. In the tales previously given the patronymic prefix is *go-* (I.146, 155).

Tinwelint < *Tinthellon* (p. 35, the only case). Cf. *Tinto'ellon* mentioned above under *Tinwë Linto*.

i·Cuilwarthon < *i·Guilwarthon*.

(ii) Typescript Version

Tinúviel < *Tynwfiel* in the title and at every occurrence until the passage corresponding to MS version p. 11 'yet now did he see Tinúviel dancing in the twilight'; there and subsequently the form typed was *Tinúviel*.

Singoldo < *Tinwë Linto* (p. 41).

Melian < *Gwenethlin* at every occurrence until the passage corresponding to MS version p. 12 'the stateliness of Queen Gwendeling'; there and subsequently the form typed was *Melian*.

Thingol < *Tinwelint* at every occurrence until the passage corresponding to MS version p. 12 'by winding paths to the abode of Tinwelint'; there and subsequently the form typed was *Thingol*.

For *Egnor* > *Barahir* see p. 43.

Commentary on *The Tale of Tinúviel*

§1. *The primary narrative*

In this section I shall consider only the conduct of the main story, and leave for the moment such questions as the wider history implied in it, Tinwelint's people and his dwelling, or the geography of the lands that appear in the story.

The story of Beren's coming upon Tinúviel in the moonlit glade in its earliest recorded form (pp. 11–12) was never changed in its central image; and it should be noticed that the passage in *The Silmarillion* (p. 165) is an extremely concentrated and exalted rendering of the scene: many elements not mentioned there were never in fact lost. In a very late reworking of the passage in the *Lay of Leithian** the hemlocks and the white moths still appear, and Daeron the minstrel is present when Beren comes to the glade. But there are nonetheless the most remarkable differences; and the chief of these is of course that Beren was here no mortal Man, but an Elf, one of the Noldoli, and the absolutely essential element of the story of Beren and Lúthien is not present. It will be seen later (pp. 71–2, 139) that this was not originally so, however: in the now lost (because erased) first form of the *Tale of Tinúviel* he had been a Man (it is for this reason that I have said that the reading *man* in the manuscript (see p. 33 and note 10), later changed to *Gnome*, is a 'significant slip'). Several years after the composition of the tale in the form in which we have it he became a Man again, though at that time (1925–6) my father appears to have hesitated long on the matter of the elvish or mortal nature of Beren.

In the tale there is, necessarily, a quite different reason for the hostility and distrust shown to Beren in Artanor (Doriath) – namely that 'the Elves of the woodland thought of the Gnomes of Dor Lómin as treacherous creatures, cruel and faithless' (see below, p. 65). It seems clear that at this time the history of Beren and his father (Egnor) was only very sketchily devised; there is in any case no hint of the story of the outlaw band led by his father and its betrayal by Gorlim the Unhappy (*The Silmarillion* pp. 162ff.) before the first form of the *Lay of Leithian*, where the story appears fully formed (the Lay was in being to rather beyond this point by the late summer of 1925). But an association of Beren's father (changed to Beren himself) with Urin (Húrin) as 'brother in arms' is mentioned in the typescript version of the tale (pp. 44–5); according to the latest of the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* (I.240) 'Úrin and Egnor marched with countless battalions' (against the forces of Melko).

In the old story, Tinúviel had no meetings with Beren before the day when he boldly accosted her at last, and it was at that very time that she led him to Tinwelint's cave; they were not lovers, Tinúviel knew nothing of Beren but that he was enamoured of her dancing, and it seems that she brought him before her father as a matter of courtesy, the natural thing to do. The betrayal of Beren to Thingol by Daeron (*The Silmarillion* p. 166) therefore has no place in the old story – there is nothing to betray; and indeed it is not shown in the tale that Dairon knew anything

* The long unfinished poem in rhyming couplets in which is told the story of Beren and Lúthien Tinúviel; composed in 1925-31, but parts of it substantially rewritten many years later.

whatsoever of Beren before Tinúviel led him into the cave, beyond having once seen his face in the moonlight.

Despite these radical differences in the narrative structure, it is remarkable how many features of the scene in Tinwelint's hall (pp.12–13), when Beren stood before the king, endured, while all the inner significance was shifted and enlarged. To the beginning go back, for instance, Beren's abashment and silence, Tinúviel's answering for him, the sudden rising of his courage and uttering of his desire without preamble or hesitation. But the tone is altogether lighter and less grave than it afterwards became; in the jeering laughter of Tinwelint, who treats the matter as a jest and Beren as a benighted fool, there is no hint of what is explicit in the later story: 'Thus he wrought the doom of Doriath, and was ensnared within the curse of Mandos' (*The Silmarillion* p. 167). The Silmarils are indeed famous, and they have a holy power (p. 34), but the fate of the world is not bound up with them (*The Silmarillion* p. 67); Beren is an Elf, if of a feared and distrusted people, and his request lacks the deepest dimension of outrage; and he and Tinúviel are not lovers.

In this passage is the first mention of the Iron Crown of Melko, and the setting of the Silmarils in the Crown; and here again is a detail that was never lost: 'Never did this crown leave his head' (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 81: 'That crown he never took from his head, though its weight became a deadly weariness').

But from this point Vëannë's story diverges in an altogether unexpected fashion from the later narrative. At no other place in the *Lost Tales* is the subsequent transformation more remarkable than in this, the precursor of the story of the capture of Beren and Felagund and their companions by Sauron the Necromancer, the imprisonment and death of all save Beren in the dungeons of Tol-in-Gaurhoth (the Isle of Werewolves in the river Sirion), and the rescue of Beren and overthrow of Sauron by Lúthien and Huan.

Most notably, what may be referred to as 'the Nargothrond Element' is entirely absent, and in so far as it already existed had as yet made no contact with the story of Beren and Tinúviel (for Nargothrond, not yet so named, at this period see pp. 81, 123–4). Beren has no ring of Felagund, he has no companions on his northward journey, and there is no relationship between (on the one hand) the story of his capture, his speech with Melko, and his dispatch to the house of Tevildo, and (on the other) the events of the later narrative whereby Beren and the band of Elves out of Nargothrond found themselves in Sauron's dungeon. Indeed, all the complex background of legend, of battles and rivalries, oaths and alliances, out of which the story of Beren and Lúthien arises in *The Silmarillion*, is very largely absent. The castle of the Cats 'is' the tower of Sauron on Tol-in-Gaurhoth, but only in the sense that it occupies the same 'space' in the narrative: beyond this there is no point in seeking even shadowy resemblances between the two establishments. The monstrous gormandising cats, their kitchens and their sunning terraces, and their

engagingly Elvish-feline names (*Miaugion*, *Miaulë*, *Meoita*) all disappeared without trace. Did Tevildo? It would scarcely be true, I think, to say even that Sauron 'originated' in a cat: in the next phase of the legends the Necromancer (Thû) has no feline attributes. On the other hand it would be wrong to regard it as a simple matter of *replacement* (Thû stepping into the narrative place vacated by Tevildo) without any element of *transformation* of what was previously there. Tevildo's immediate successor is 'the Lord of Wolves', himself a werewolf, and he retains the Tevildo-trait of hating Huan more than any other creature in the world. Tevildo was 'an evil fay in beastlike shape' (p. 29); and the battle between the two great beasts, the hound against the werewolf (originally the hound against the demon in feline form) was never lost.

When the tale returns to Tinúviel in Artanor the situation is quite the reverse: for the story of her imprisonment in the house in Hirilorn and her escape from it never underwent any significant change. The passage in *The Silmarillion* (p. 172) is indeed very brief, but its lack of detail is due to compression rather than to omission based on dissatisfaction; the *Lay of Leithian*, from which the prose account in *The Silmarillion* directly derives, is in this passage so close, in point of narrative detail, to the *Tale of Tinúviel* as to be almost identical with it.

It may be observed that in this part of the story the earliest version had a strength that was diminished later, in that the duration of Tinúviel's imprisonment and her journey to Beren's rescue relates readily enough to that of Beren's captivity, which was intended by his captors to be unending; whereas in the later story there is a great deal of event and movement (with the addition of Lúthien's captivity in Nargothrond) to be fitted into the time when Beren was awaiting his death in the dungeon of the Necromancer.

While the strong element of 'explanatory' beast-fable (concerning cats and dogs) was to be entirely eliminated, and Tevildo Prince of Cats replaced by the Necromancer, Huan nonetheless remained from it as the great Hound of Valinor. His encounter with Tinúviel in the woods, her inability to escape from him, and indeed his love for her from the moment of their meeting (suggested in the tale, p. 23, explicit in *The Silmarillion* p. 173), were already present, though the context of their encounter and the motives of Huan were wholly different from the absence of 'the Nargothrond Element' (Felagund, Celegorm and Curufin).

In the story of the defeat of Tevildo and the rescue of Beren the germ of the later legend is clearly seen, though for the most part only in broad structural resemblances. It is curious to observe that the loud speaking of Tinúviel sitting perched on the sill of the kitchen hatch in the castle of the Cats, so that Beren might hear, is the precursor of her singing on the bridge of Tol-in-Gaurhoth the song that Beren heard in his dungeon (*The Silmarillion* p. 174). Tevildo's intention to hand her over to Melko remained in Sauron's similar purpose (*ibid.*); the killing of the cat

Oikeroi (p. 28) is the germ of Huan's fight with Draugluin – the skin of Huan's dead opponent is put to the same use in either case (pp. 30–1, *The Silmarillion* pp. 178–9); the battle of Tevildo and Huan was to become that of Huan and Wolf-Sauron, and with essentially the same outcome: Huan released his enemy when he yielded the mastery of his dwelling. This last is very notable: the utterance by Tinúviel of the spell which bound stone to stone in the evil castle (p. 29). Of course, when this was written the castle of Tevildo was an adventitious feature in the story – it had no previous history: it was an evil place through and through, and the spell (deriving from Melko) that Tevildo was forced to reveal was the secret of Tevildo's own power over his creatures as well as the magic that held the stones together. With the entry of Felagund into the developing legend and the Elvish watchtower on Tol Sirion (*Minas Tirith: The Silmarillion* pp. 120, 155–6) captured by the Necromancer, the spell is displaced: for it cannot be thought to be the work of Felagund, who built the fortress, since if it had been he would have been able to pronounce it in the dungeon and bring the place down over their heads – a less evil way for them to die. This element in the legend remained, however, and is fully present in *The Silmarillion* (p. 175), though since my father did not actually say there that Sauron told Huan and Lúthien what the words were, but only that he 'yielded himself', one may miss the significance of what happened:

> And she said: 'There everlastingly thy naked self shall endure the torment of his scorn, pierced by his eyes, unless thou yield to me the mastery of thy tower.'
>
> Then Sauron yielded himself, and Lúthien took the mastery of the isle and all that was there. . . .
>
> Then Lúthien stood upon the bridge, and declared her power: and the spell was loosed that bound stone to stone, and the gates were thrown down, and the walls opened, and the pits laid bare.

Here again the actual matter of the narrative is totally different in the early and late forms of the legend: in *The Silmarillion* 'many thralls and captives came forth in wonder and dismay . . . for they had lain long in the darkness of Sauron', whereas in the tale the inmates who emerged from the shaken dwelling (other than Beren and the apparently inconsequent figure of the blind slave-Gnome Gimli) were a host of cats, reduced by the breaking of Tevildo's spell to 'puny size'. (If my father had used in the tale names other than Huan, Beren, and Tinúviel, and in the absence of all other knowledge, including that of authorship, it would not be easy to demonstrate from a simple comparison between this part of the Tale and the story as told in *The Silmarillion* that the resemblances were more than superficial and accidental.)

A more minor narrative point may be noticed here. The typescript version would presumably have treated the fight of Huan and Tevildo

somewhat differently, for in the manuscript Tevildo and his companion can flee up great trees (p. 28), whereas in the typescript nothing grew in the Withered Dale (where Huan was to lie feigning sick) save 'low bushes of scanty leaves' (p. 48).

In the remainder of the story the congruence between early and late forms is far closer. The narrative structure in the tale may be summarised thus:

- Beren is attired for disguise in the fell of the dead cat Oikeroi.
- He and Tinúviel journey together to Angamandi.
- Tinúviel lays a spell of sleep on Karkaras the wolf-ward of Angamandi.
- They enter Angamandi, Beren slinks in his beast-shape beneath the seat of Melko, and Tinúviel dances before Melko.
- All the host of Angamandi and finally Melko himself are cast into sleep, and Melko's iron crown rolls from his head.
- Tinúviel rouses Beren, who cuts a Silmaril from the crown, and the blade snaps.
- The sleepers stir, and Beren and Tinúviel flee back to the gates, but find Karkaras awake again.
- Karkaras bites off Beren's outthrust hand holding the Silmaril.
- Karkaras becomes mad with the pain of the Silmaril in his belly, for the Silmaril is a holy thing and sears evil flesh.
- Karkaras goes raging south to Artanor.
- Beren and Tinúviel return to Artanor; they go before Tinwelint and Beren declares that a Silmaril is in his hand.
- The hunting of the wolf takes place, and Mablung the Heavy-handed is one of the hunters.
- Beren is slain by Karkaras, and is borne back to the cavern of Tinwelint on a bier of boughs; dying he gives the Silmaril to Tinwelint.
- Tinúviel follows Beren to Mandos, and Mandos permits them to return into the world.

Changing the catskin of Oikeroi to the wolfskin of Draugluin, and altering some other names, this would do tolerably well as a précis of the story in *The Silmarillion*! But of course it is devised as a summary of similarities. There are major differences as well as a host of minor ones that do not appear in it.

Again, most important is the absence of 'the Nargothrond Element'. When this combined with the Beren legend it introduced Felagund as Beren's companion, Lúthien's imprisonment in Nargothrond by Celegorm and Curufin, her escape with Huan the hound of Celegorm, and the attack on Beren and Lúthien as they returned from Tol-in-Gaurhoth by Celegorm and Curufin, now fleeing from Nargothrond (*The Silmarillion* pp. 173–4, 176–8).

The narrative after the conclusion of the episode of 'the Thraldom of Beren' is conducted quite differently in the old story (pp. 30–1), in that here Huan is with Beren and Tinúviel; Tinúviel longs for her home, and Beren is grieved because he loves the life in the woods with the dogs, but he resolves the impasse by determining to obtain a Silmaril, and though Huan thinks their plan is folly he gives them the fell of Oikeroi, clad in which Beren sets out with Tinúviel for Angamandi. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 177) likewise, Beren, after long wandering in the woods with Lúthien (though not with Huan), resolves to set forth again on the quest of the Silmaril, but Lúthien's stance in the matter is different:

> 'You must choose, Beren, between these two: to relinquish the quest and your oath and seek a life of wandering upon the face of the earth; or to hold to your word and challenge the power of darkness upon its throne. But on either road I shall go with you, and our doom shall be alike.'

There then intervened the attack on Beren and Lúthien by Celegorm and Curufin, when Huan, deserting his master, joined himself to them; they returned together to Doriath, and when they got there Beren left Lúthien sleeping and went back northwards by himself, riding Curufin's horse. He was overtaken on the edge of Anfauglith by Huan bearing Lúthien on his back and bringing from Tol-in-Gaurhoth the skins of Draugluin and of Sauron's bat-messenger Thuringwethil (of whom in the old story there is no trace); attired in these Beren and Lúthien went to Angband. Huan is here their active counsellor.

The later legend is thus more full of movement and incident in this part than is the *Tale of Tinúviel* (though the final form was not achieved all at one stroke, as may be imagined); and in the *Silmarillion* form this is the more marked from the fact that the account is a compression and a summary of the long *Lay of Leithian*.*

In the *Tale of Tinúviel* the account of Beren's disguise is characteristically detailed: his instruction by Tinúviel in feline behaviour, his heat and discomfort inside the skin. Tinúviel's disguise as a bat has however not yet emerged, and whereas in *The Silmarillion* when confronted by

* Cf. Professor T. A. Shippey, *The Road to Middle-earth*, 1982, p. 193: 'In "Beren and Lúthien" as a whole there is too much plot. The other side of that criticism is that on occasion Tolkien has to be rather brisk with his own inventions. Celegorm wounds Beren, and the hound Huan turns on his master and pursues him; "returning he brought to Lúthien a herb out of the forest. With that leaf she staunched Beren's wound, and by her arts and her love she healed him. . . ." The motif of the healing herb is a common one, the centre for instance of the Breton *lai* of *Eliduc* (turned into *conte* by Marie de France). But in that it occupies a whole scene, if not a whole poem. In *The Silmarillion* it appears only to be dismissed in two lines, while Beren's wound is inflicted and healed in five. Repeatedly one has this sense of summary . . .' This sense is eminently justified! In the *Lay of Leithian* the wounding and the healing with the herb occupy some 64 lines. (Cf. my Foreword to *The Silmarillion*, p. 8.)

Carcharoth she 'cast back her foul raiment' and 'commanded him to sleep', here she used once more the magical misty robe spun of her hair: 'the black strands of her dark veil she cast in his eyes' (p. 31). The indifference of Karkaras to the false Oikeroi contrasts with Carcharoth's suspicion of the false Druagluin, of whose death he had heard tidings: in the old story it is emphasised that no news of the discomfiture of Tevildo (and the death of Oikeroi) had yet reached Angamandi.

The encounter of Tinúviel with Melko is given with far more detail than in *The Silmarillion* (here much compressed from its source); notable is the phrase (p. 32) 'he leered horribly, for his dark mind pondered some evil', forerunner of that in *The Silmarillion* (p. 180):

> Then Morgoth looking upon her beauty conceived in his thought an evil lust, and a design more dark than any that had yet come into his heart since he fled from Valinor.

We are never told anything more explicit.

Whether Melko's words to Tinúviel, 'Who art thou that flittest about my halls like a bat?', and the description of her dancing 'noiseless as a bat', were the germ of her later bat-disguise cannot be said, though it seems possible.

The knife with which Beren cut the Silmaril from the Iron Crown has a quite different provenance in the *Tale of Tinúviel*, being a kitchen-knife that Beren took from Tevildo's castle (pp. 29, 33); in *The Silmarillion* it was Angrist, the famous knife made by Telchar which Beren took from Curufin. The sleepers of Angamandi are here disturbed by the sound of the snapping of the knife-blade; in *The Silmarillion* it is the shard flying from the snapped knife and striking Morgoth's cheek that makes him groan and stir.

There is a minor difference in the accounts of the meeting with the wolf as Beren and Tinúviel fled out. In *The Silmarillion* 'Lúthien was spent, and she had not time nor strength to quell the wolf'; in the tale it seems that she might have done so if Beren had not been precipitate. Much more important, there appears here for the first time the conception of the holy power of the Silmarils that burns unhallowed flesh.*

The escape of Tinúviel and Beren from Angamandi and their return to Artanor (pp. 34–6) is treated quite differently in the *Tale of Tinúviel*. In *The Silmarillion* (pp. 182–3) they were rescued by the Eagles and set down on the borders of Doriath; and far more is made of the healing of Beren's wound, in which Huan plays a part. In the old story Huan comes to them later, after their long southward flight on foot. In both accounts there is a discussion between them as to whether or not they should return to her father's hall, but it is quite differently conducted – in the tale it is she who persuades Beren to return, in *The Silmarillion* it is Beren who persuades her.

* In an early note there is a reference to 'the sacred Silmarils': I.169, note 2.

There is a curious feature in the story of the Wolf-hunt (pp. 38–9) which may be considered here (see p. 50, notes 12–15). At first, it was Tinúviel's brother who took part in the hunt with Tinwelint, Beren, and Huan, and his name is here *Tifanto*, which was the name throughout the tale before its replacement by *Dairon*.* Subsequently 'Tifanto' – without passing through the stage of 'Dairon' – was replaced by 'Mablung the heavy-handed, chief of the king's thanes', who here makes his first appearance, as the fourth member of the hunt. But earlier in the tale it is told that Tifanto > Dairon, leaving Artanor to seek Tinúviel, became utterly lost, 'and came never back to Elfinesse' (p. 21), and the loss of Tifanto > Dairon is referred to again when Beren and Tinúviel returned to Artanor (pp. 36–7).

Thus on the one hand Tifanto was lost, and it is a grief to Tinúviel on her return to learn of it, but on the other he was present at the Wolf-hunt. *Tifanto* was then changed to *Dairon* throughout the tale, except in the story of the Wolf-hunt, where *Tifanto* was replaced by a new character, *Mablung*. This shows that *Tifanto* was removed from the hunt before the change of name to *Dairon*, but does not explain how, under the name *Tifanto*, he was both lost in the wilds and present at the hunt. Since there is nothing in the MS itself to explain this puzzle, I can only conclude that my father did, in fact, write at first that Tifanto was lost and never came back, and also that he took part in the Wolf-hunt; but observing this contradiction he introduced Mablung in the latter rôle (and probably did this even before the tale was completed, since at the last appearance of Mablung his name was written thus, not emended from *Tifanto*: see note 15). It was subsequent to this that *Tifanto* was emended, wherever it still stood, to *Dairon*.

In the tale the hunt is differently managed from the story in *The Silmarillion* (where, incidentally, Beleg Strongbow was present). It is curious that all (including, as it appears, Huan!) save Beren were asleep when Karkaras came on them ('in Beren's watch', p. 39). In *The Silmarillion* Huan slew Carcharoth and was slain by him, whereas here Karkaras met his death from the king's spear, and the boy Ausir tells at the end that Huan lived on to find Beren again at the time of 'the great deeds of the Nauglafring' (p. 41). Of Huan's destiny, that he should not die 'until he encountered the mightiest wolf that would ever walk the world', and of his being permitted 'thrice only ere his death to speak with words' (*The Silmarillion* p. 173), there is nothing here.

The most remarkable feature of the *Tale of Tinúviel* remains the fact that in its earliest extant form Beren was an Elf; and in this connection very notable are the words of the boy at the end (p. 40):

* The idea that Timpinen (Tinfang Warble) was the son of Tinwelint and sister of Tinúviel (see I.106, note 1) had been abandoned. Tifanto/Dairon is now named with Tinfang and Ivárë as 'the three most magic players of the Elves' (p. 10).

> Yet said Mandos to those twain: 'Lo, O Elves, it is not to any life of perfect joy that I dismiss you, for such may no longer be found in all the world where sits Melko of the evil heart – and know ye that *ye will become mortal even as Men*, and when ye fare hither again it will be for ever, unless the Gods summon you indeed to Valinor.'

In the tale of *The Coming of the Valar and the Building of Valinor* there occurs the following passage (I.76; commentary I.90):

> Thither [i.e. to Mandos] in after days fared the Elves of all the clans who were by illhap slain with weapons or did die of grief for those that were slain – and only so might the Eldar die, and then it was only for a while. There Mandos spake their doom, and there they waited in the darkness, dreaming of their past deeds, until such time as he appointed when they might again be born into their children, and go forth to laugh and sing again.

The same idea occurs in the tale of *The Music of the Ainur* (I.59). The peculiar dispensation of Mandos in the case of Beren and Tinúviel as here conceived is therefore that their whole 'natural' destiny as Elves was changed: having died as Elves might die (from wounds or from grief) they were not reborn as new beings, but returned from Mandos in their own persons – yet now 'mortal even as Men'. The earliest eschatology is too unclear to allow of a satisfactory interpretation of this 'mortality', and the passage in *The Building of Valinor* on the fates of Men (I.77) is particularly hard to understand (see the commentary on it, I.90ff.). But it seems possible that the words 'even as Men' in the address of Mandos to Beren and Tinúviel were included to stress the finality of whatever second deaths they might undergo; their departure would be as final as that of Men, there would be no second return in their own persons, and no reincarnation. They will remain in Mandos ('when ye fare hither again it will be for ever') – unless they are summoned by the Gods to dwell in Valinor. These last words should probably be related to the passage in *The Building of Valinor* concerning the fate of certain Men (I.77):

> Few are they and happy indeed for whom at a season doth Nornorë the herald of the Gods set out. Then ride they with him in chariots or upon good horses down into the vale of Valinor and feast in the halls of Valmar, dwelling in the houses of the Gods until the Great End come.

§2. *Places and peoples in the Tale of Tinúviel*

To consider first what can be learned of the geography of the Great Lands from this tale: the early 'dictionary' of the Gnomish language

makes it clear that the meaning of *Artanor* was 'the Land Beyond', as it is interpreted in the text (p. 9). Several passages in the *Lost Tales* cast light on this expression. In an outline for Gilfanon's untold tale (I.240) the Noldoli exiled from Valinor

> now fought for the first time with the Orcs and captured the pass of the Bitter Hills; thus they escaped from the Land of Shadows . . . They entered the Forest of Artanor and the Region of the Great Plains . . .

(which latter, I suggested, may be the forerunner of the later Talath Dirnen, the Guarded Plain of Nargothrond). The tale to follow Gilfanon's, according to the projected scheme (I.241), was to be that of Tinúviel, and this outline begins: 'Beren son of Egnor wandered out of Dor Lómin [i.e. Hisilómë, see I.112] into Artanor . . .' In the present tale, it is said that Beren came 'through the terrors of the Iron Mountains until he reached the Lands Beyond' (p. 11), and also (p. 21) that some of the Dogs 'roamed the woods of Hisilómë or passing the mountainous places fared even at times into the region of Artanor and the lands beyond and to the south'. And finally, in the *Tale of Turambar* (p. 72) there is a reference to 'the road over the dark hills of Hithlum into the great forests of the Land Beyond where in those days Tinwelint the hidden king had his abode'.

It is quite clear, then, that Artanor, afterwards called Doriath (which appears in the title to the typescript text of the *Tale of Tinúviel*, together with an earlier form *Dor Athro*, p. 41), lay in the original conception in much the same relation to Hisilómë (the Land of Shadow(s), Dor Lómin, Aryador) as does Doriath to Hithlum (Hisilómë) in *The Silmarillion*: to the south, and divided from it by a mountain-range, the Iron Mountains or Bitter Hills.

In commenting on the tale of *The Theft of Melko and the Darkening of Valinor* I have noticed (I.158–9) that whereas in the *Lost Tales* Hisilómë is declared to be beyond the Iron Mountains, it is also said (in the *Tale of Turambar*, p. 77) that these mountains were so named from Angband, the Hells of Iron, which lay beneath 'their northernmost fastnesses', and that therefore there seems to be a contradictory usage of the term 'Iron Mountains' within the *Lost Tales* – 'unless it can be supposed that these mountains were conceived as a continuous range, the southerly extension (the later Mountains of Shadow) forming the southern fence of Hisilómë, while the northern peaks, being above Angband, gave the range its name'.

Now in the *Tale of Tinúviel* Beren, journeying north from Artanor, 'drew nigh to the lower hills and treeless lands that warned of the approach of the bleak Iron Mountains' (p. 14). These he had previously traversed, coming out of Hisilómë; but now 'he followed the Iron Mountains till he drew nigh to the terrible regions of Melko's abode'.

This seems to support the suggestion that the mountains fencing Hisilómë from the Lands Beyond were continuous with those above Angband; and we may compare the little primitive map (I.81), where the mountain range *f* isolates Hisilómë (*g*): see I.112, 135. The implication is that 'dim' or 'black' Hisilómë had no defence against Melko.

There appear now also the Mountains of Night (pp. 20, 46–7), and it seems clear that the great pinewoods of Taurfuin, the Forest of Night, grew upon those heights (in *The Silmarillion* Dorthonion 'Land of Pines', afterwards named Taur-nu-Fuin). Dairon was lost there, but Tinúviel, though she passed near, did not enter 'that dark region'. There is nothing to show that it was not placed then as it was later – to the east of Ered Wethrin, the Mountains of Shadow. It is also at least possible that the description (in the manuscript version only, p. 23) of Tinúviel, on departing from Huan, leaving 'the shelter of the trees' and coming to 'a region of long grass' is a first intimation of the great plain of Ard-galen (called after its desolation Anfauglith and Dor-nu-Fauglith), especially if this is related to the passage in the typescript version telling of Tinúviel's meeting with Huan 'in a little glade nigh to the forest's borders, where the first grasslands begin that are nourished by the upper waters of the river Sirion' (p. 47).

After their escape from Angamandi Huan found Beren and Tinúviel 'in that northward region of Artanor that was called afterward Nan Dumgorthin, the land of the dark idols' (p. 35). In the Gnomish dictionary *Nan Dumgorthin* is defined as 'a land of dark forest east of Artanor where on a wooded mountain were hidden idols sacrificed to by some evil tribes of renegade men' (*dum* 'secret, not to be spoken', *dumgort*, *dungort* 'an (evil) idol'). In the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* in alliterative verse Túrin and his companion Flinding (later Gwindor), fleeing after the death of Beleg Strongbow, came to this land:

> There the twain enfolded phantom twilight
> and dim mazes dark, unholy,
> in Nan Dungorthin where nameless gods
> have shrouded shrines in shadows secret,
> more old than Morgoth or the ancient lords
> the golden Gods of the guarded West.
> But the ghostly dwellers of that grey valley
> hindered nor hurt them, and they held their course
> with creeping flesh and quaking limb.
> Yet laughter at whiles with lingering echo,
> as distant mockery of demon voices
> there harsh and hollow in the hushed twilight
> Flinding fancied, fell, unwholesome . . .

There are, I believe, no other references to the gods of Nan Dumgorthin. In the poem the land was placed west of Sirion; and finally, as Nan

Dungortheb 'the Valley of Dreadful Death', it becomes in *The Silmarillion* (pp. 81, 121) a 'no-land' between the Girdle of Melian and Ered Gorgoroth, the Mountains of Terror. But the description of it in the *Tale of Tinúviel* as a 'northward region of Artanor' clearly does not imply that it lay within the protective magic of Gwendeling, and it seems that this 'zone' was originally less distinctly bounded, and less extensive, than 'the Girdle of Melian' afterwards became. Probably *Artanor* was conceived at this time as a great region of forest in the heart of which was Tinwelint's cavern, and only his immediate domain was protected by the power of the queen:

> Hidden was his dwelling from the vision and knowledge of Melko by the magics of Gwendeling the fay, and she wove spells about the paths thereto that none but the Eldar might tread them easily, and so was the king secured from all dangers save it be treachery alone. (p. 9).

It seems, also, that her protection was originally by no means so complete and so mighty a wall of defence as it became. Thus, although Orcs and wolves disappeared when Beren and Tinúviel 'stepped within the circle of Gwendeling's magic that hid the paths from evil things and kept harm from the regions of the woodelves' (p. 35), the fear is expressed that even if Beren and Tinúviel reached the cavern of King Tinwelint 'they would but draw the chase behind them thither' (p. 34), and Tinwelint's people feared that Melko would 'upraise his strength and come utterly to crush them and Gwendeling's magic have not the strength to withhold the numbers of the Orcs' (p. 36).

The picture of Menegroth beside Esgalduin, accessible only by the bridge (*The Silmarillion* pp. 92–3) goes back to the beginning, though neither cave nor river are named in the tale. But (as will be seen more emphatically in later tales in this book) Tinwelint, the wood-fairy in his cavern, had a long elevation before him, to become ultimately Thingol of the Thousand Caves ('the fairest dwelling of any king that has ever been east of the Sea'). In the beginning, Tinwelint's dwelling was not a subterranean city full of marvels, silver fountains falling into basins of marble and pillars carved like trees, but a rugged cave; and if in the typescript version the cave comes to be 'vaulted immeasureable', it is still illuminated only by the dim and flickering light of torches (pp. 43, 46).

There have been earlier references in the *Lost Tales* to Tinwelint and the place of his dwelling. In a passage added to, but then rejected from, the tale of *The Chaining of Melko* (I.106, note 1) it is said that he was lost in Hisilómë and met Wendelin there; 'loving her he was content to leave his folk and dance for ever in the shadows'. In *The Coming of the Elves* (I.115) 'Tinwë abode not long with his people, and yet 'tis said lives still lord of the scattered Elves of Hisilómë'; and in the same tale (I.118–19) the 'Lost Elves' were still there 'long after when Men were

shut in Hisilómë by Melko', and Men called them the Shadow Folk, and feared them. But in the *Tale of Tinúviel* the conception has changed. Tinwelint is now a king ruling, not in Hisilómë, but in Artanor.* (It is not said where it was that he came upon Gwendeling.)

In the account (manuscript version only, see pp. 9, 42) of Tinwelint's people there is mention of Elves 'who remained in the dark'; and this obviously refers to Elves who never left the Waters of Awakening. (Of course those who were lost on the march from Palisor also never left 'the dark' (i.e. they never came to the light of the Trees), but the distinction made in this sentence is not between the darkness and the light but between those who *remained* and those who *set out*). On the emergence of this idea in the course of the writing of the *Lost Tales* see I.234. Of Tinwelint's subjects 'the most were Ilkorindi', and they must be those who 'had been lost upon the march from Palisor' (earlier, 'the Lost Elves of Hisilómë').

Here, a major difference in essential conception between the old legend and the form in *The Silmarillion* is apparent. These Ilkorindi of Tinwelint's following ('eerie and strange beings' whose 'dark songs and chantings . . . faded in the wooded places or echoed in deep caves') are described in terms applicable to the wild Avari ('the Unwilling') of *The Silmarillion*; but they are of course actually the precursors of the Grey-elves of Doriath. The term *Eldar* is here equivalent to *Elves* ('all the Eldar both *those who remained in the dark* or had been lost upon the march from Palisor') and is not restricted to those who made, or at least embarked on, the Great Journey; all were Ilkorindi – Dark Elves – if they never passed over the Sea. The later significance of the Great Journey in conferring 'Eldarin' status was an aspect of the elevation of the Grey-elves of Beleriand, bringing about a distinction of the utmost importance within the category of the *Moriquendi* or 'Elves of the Darkness' – the *Avari* (who were not Eldar) and the *Úmanyar* (the Eldar who were 'not of Aman'): see the table 'The Sundering of the Elves' given in *The Silmarillion*. Thus:

	Lost Tales	*Silmarillion*	
Eldar	of Kôr	Avari	
	of the Great Lands (the Darkness): Ilkorindi	Eldar (of the Great Journey)	of Aman
			of Middle-earth (Úmanyar)

But among Tinwelint's subjects there were also *Noldoli*, Gnomes. This matter is somewhat obscure, but at least it may be observed that the

* In the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* the 'Shadow Folk' of Hisilómë have ceased to be Elves and become 'fays' whose origin is unknown: I.237, 239.

manuscript and typescript versions of the *Tale of Tinúviel* do not envisage precisely the same situation.

The manuscript text is perhaps not perfectly explicit on the subject, but it is said (p. 9) that of Tinwelint's subjects '*the most* were Ilkorindi', and that before the rising of the Sun 'already were their numbers mingled with a many wandering Gnomes'. Yet Dairon fled from the apparition of Beren in the forest because 'all the Elves of the woodland thought of the Gnomes of Dor Lómin as treacherous creatures, cruel and faithless' (p. 11); and 'Dread and suspicion was between the Eldar and those of their kindred that had tasted the slavery of Melko, and in this did the evil deeds of the Gnomes at the Haven of the Swans revenge itself' (p. 11). The hostility of the Elves of Artanor to Gnomes was, then, specifically a hostility to the Gnomes of Hisilómë (Dor Lómin), who were suspected of being under the will of Melko (and this is probably a foreshadowing of the suspicion and rejection of Elves escaped from Angband described in *The Silmarillion* p. 156). In the manuscript it is said (p. 9) that *all* the Elves of the Great Lands (those who remained in Palisor, those who were lost on the march, and the Noldoli returned from Valinor) fell beneath the power of Melko, though many escaped and wandered in the wild; and as the manuscript text was first written (see p. 11 and note 3) Beren was 'son of a thrall of Melko's . . . that laboured in the darker places in the north of Hisilómë'. This conception seems reasonably clear, so far as it goes.

In the typescript version it is expressly stated that there were Gnomes 'in Tinwelint's service' (p. 43): the bridge over the forest river, leading to Tinwelint's door, was hung by them. It is not now stated that all the Elves of the Great Lands fell beneath Melko; rather there are named several centres of resistance to his power, in addition to Tinwelint/Thingol in Artanor: Turgon of Gondolin, the Sons of Fëanor, and Egnor of Hisilómë (Beren's father) – one of the chiefest foes of Melko 'in all the kin of the Gnomes that still were free' (p. 44). Presumably this led to the exclusion in the typescript of the passage telling that the woodland Elves thought of the Gnomes of Dor Lómin as treacherous and faithless (see p. 43), while that concerning the distrust of those who had been Melko's slaves was retained. The passage concerning Hisilómë 'where dwelt Men, and thrall-Noldoli laboured, and few free-Eldar went' (p. 10) was also retained; but Hisilómë, in Beren's wish that he had never strayed out of it, becomes 'the wild free places of Hisilómë' (pp. 17, 45).

This leads to an altogether baffling question, that of the references to the Battle of Unnumbered Tears; and several of the passages just cited bear on it.

The story of 'The Travail of the Noldoli and the Coming of Mankind' that was to have been told by Gilfanon, but which after its opening pages most unhappily never got beyond the stage of outline projections, was to be followed by that of Beren and Tinúviel (see I. 241). After the Battle of Unnumbered Tears there is mention of the Thraldom of the Noldoli, the Mines of Melko, the Spell of Bottomless Dread, the shutting of Men in

Hisilómë, and *then* 'Beren son of Egnor wandered out of Dor Lómin into Artanor . . .' (In *The Silmarillion* the deeds of Beren and Lúthien preceded the Battle of Unnumbered Tears.)

Now in the *Tale of Tinúviel* there is a reference, in both versions, to the 'thrall-Noldoli' who laboured in Hisilómë and of Men dwelling there; and as the passage introducing Beren was first written in the manuscript his father was one of these slaves. It is said, again in both versions, that neither Tinwelint nor the most part of his people went to the battle, but that his lordship was greatly increased by fugitives from it (p. 9); and to the following statement that his dwelling was hidden by the magic of Gwendeling/Melian the typescript adds the word 'thereafter' (p. 43), i.e. after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears. In the changed passage in the typescript referring to Egnor he is one of the chiefest foes of Melko 'in all the kin of the Gnomes *that still were free*'.

All this seems to allow of only one conclusion: the events of the *Tale of Tinúviel* took place *after* the great battle; and this seems to be clinched by the express statement in the typescript: where the manuscript (p. 15) says that Melko 'sought ever to destroy the friendship and intercourse of Elves and Men', the second version adds (p. 44): *'lest they forget the Battle of Unnumbered Tears* and once more arise in wrath against him'.

It is very odd, therefore, that Vëannë should say at the beginning (in the manuscript only, p. 10 and see p. 43) that she will tell 'of things that happened in the halls of Tinwelint *after the arising of the Sun indeed but long ere the unforgotten Battle of Unnumbered Tears*'. (This in any case seems to imply a much longer period between the two events than is suggested in the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale*: see I.242). This is repeated later (p. 17): 'it was a thing unthought . . . that any Elf . . . should fare untended to the halls of Melko, *even in those earlier days before the Battle of Tears* when Melko's power had not grown great . . .' But it is stranger still that this second sentence is retained in the typescript (p. 45). The typescript version has thus two inescapably contradictory statements:

Melko 'sought ever to destroy the friendship and intercourse of Elves and Men, lest they forget the Battle of Unnumbered Tears' (p. 44);

'Little love was there between the woodland Elves and the folk of Angband even in those days before the Battle of Unnumbered Tears' (p. 45).

Such a radical contradiction within a single text is in the highest degree unusual, perhaps unique, in all the writings concerned with the First Age. But I can see no way to explain it, other than simply accepting it as a radical contradiction; nor indeed can I explain those statements in both versions that the events of the tale took place *before* the battle, since virtually all indications point to the contrary.*

* In the *Tale of Turambar* the story of Beren and Tinúviel clearly and necessarily took place *before* the Battle of Unnumbered Tears (pp. 71–2, 140).

§3. *Miscellaneous Matters*

(i) *Morgoth*

Beren addresses Melko as 'most mighty Belcha Morgoth', which are said to be his names among the Gnomes (p. 44). In the Gnomish dictionary *Belcha* is given as the Gnomish form corresponding to *Melko* (see I.260), but *Morgoth* is not found in it: indeed this is the first and only appearance of the name in the *Lost Tales*. The element *goth* is given in the Gnomish dictionary with the meaning 'war, strife'; but if *Morgoth* meant at this period 'Black Strife' it is perhaps strange that Beren should use it in a flattering speech. A name-list made in the 1930s explains *Morgoth* as 'formed from his Orc-name *Goth* "Lord or Master" with *mor* "dark or black" prefixed', but it seems very doubtful that this etymology is valid for the earlier period. This name-list explains *Gothmog* 'Captain of Balrogs' as containing the same Orc-element ('Voice of *Goth* (Morgoth)'); but in the name-list to the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* (p. 216) the name *Gothmog* is said to mean 'Strife-and-hatred' (*mog-* 'detest, hate' appears in the Gnomish dictionary), which supports the interpretation of *Morgoth* in the present tale as 'Black Strife'.*

(ii) *Orcs and Balrogs*

Despite the reference to 'the wandering bands of the goblins *and* the Orcs' (p. 14, retained in the typescript version), the terms are certainly synonymous in the *Tale of Turambar*. The Orcs are described in the present tale (*ibid.*) as 'foul broodlings of Melko'. In the second version (p. 44) wolf-rider Orcs appear.

Balrogs, mentioned in the tale (p. 15), have appeared in one of the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* (I.241); but they had already played an important part in the earliest of the *Lost Tales*, that of *The Fall of Gondolin* (see pp. 212–13).

(iii) *Tinúviel's 'lengthening spell'*

Of the 'longest things' named in this spell (pp. 19–20, 46) two, 'the sword of Nan' and 'the neck of Gilim the giant', seem now lost beyond recall, though they survived into the spell in the *Lay of Leithian*, where the sword of Nan is itself named, *Glend*, and Gilim is called 'the giant of

* Nothing is said in any text to suggest that Gothmog played such a role in relation to Morgoth as the interpretation 'Voice of *Goth*' implies, but nor is anything said to contradict it, and he was from the beginning an important figure in the evil realm and in especial relation to Melko (see p. 216). There is perhaps a reminiscence of 'the Voice of Morgoth' in 'the Mouth of Sauron', the Black Númenórean who was the Lieutenant of Barad-dûr (*The Return of the King* V. 10).

Eruman'. *Gilim* in the Gnomish dictionary means 'winter' (see I.260, entry *Melko*), which does not seem particularly appropriate: though a jotting, very difficult to read, in the little notebook used for memoranda in connection with the *Lost Tales* (see I.171) seems to say that Nan was a 'giant of summer of the South', and that he was like an elm.

The *Indravangs* (*Indrafangs* in the typescript) are the 'Longbeards'; this is said in the Gnomish dictionary to be 'a special name of the Nauglath or Dwarves' (see further the *Tale of the Nauglafring*, p. 247).

Karkaras (*Carcaras* in the typescript) 'Knife-fang' is named in the spell since he was originally conceived as the 'father of wolves, who guarded the gates of Angamandi in those days *and long had done so*' (p. 21). In *The Silmarillion* (p. 180) he has a different history: chosen by Morgoth 'from among the whelps of the race of Draugluin' and reared to be the death of Huan, he was set before the gates of Angband in that very time. In *The Silmarillion* (*ibid.*) Carcharoth is rendered 'the Red Maw', and this expression is used in the text of the tale (p. 34): 'both hand and jewel Karkaras bit off and took into his red maw'.

Glorund is the name of the dragon in the *Tale of Turambar* (*Glaurung* in *The Silmarillion*).

In the tale of *The Chaining of Melko* there is no suggestion that Tulkas had any part in the making of the chain (there in the form *Angaino*): I.100.

(iv) *The influence of the Valar*

There is frequent suggestion that the Valar in some way exercised a direct influence over the minds and hearts of the distant Elves in the Great Lands. Thus it is said (p. 15) that the Valar must have inspired Beren's ingenious speech to Melko, and while this may be no more than a 'rhetorical' flourish, it is clear that Tinúviel's dream of Beren is meant to be accepted as 'a dream of the Valar' (p. 19). Again, 'the Valar set a new hope in her heart' (p. 47); and later in Vëannë's tale the Valar are seen as active 'fates', guiding the destinies of the characters – so the Valar 'brought' Huan to find Beren and Tinúviel in Nan Dumgorthin (p. 35), and Tinúviel says to Tinwelint that 'the Valar alone saved Beren from a bitter death' (p. 37).

II
TURAMBAR AND THE FOALÓKË

The *Tale of Turambar*, like that of *Tinúviel*, is a manuscript written in ink over a wholly erased original in pencil. But it seems certain that the *extant* form of *Turambar* preceded the *extant* form of *Tinúviel*. This can be deduced in more ways than one, but the order of composition is clearly exemplified in the forms of the name of the King of the Woodland Elves (Thingol). Throughout the manuscript of *Turambar* he was originally *Tintoglin* (and this appears also in the tale of *The Coming of the Elves*, where it was changed to *Tinwelint*, I.115, 131). A note on the manuscript at the beginning of the tale says: 'Tintoglin's name must be altered throughout to *Ellon* or *Tinthellon* = Q. *Ellu*', but the note was struck out, and all through the tale *Tintoglin* was in fact changed to *Tinwelint*.

Now in the *Tale of Tinúviel* the king's name was first given as *Ellu* (or *Tinto Ellu*), and once as *Tinthellon* (pp. 50–1); subsequently it was changed throughout to *Tinwelint*. It is clear that the direction to change *Tintoglin* to '*Ellon* or *Tinthellon* = Q. *Ellu*' belongs to the time when the *Tale of Tinúviel* was being, or had been, rewritten, and that the extant *Tale of Turambar* already existed.

There is also the fact that the rewritten *Tinúviel* was followed, at the same time of composition, by the first form of the 'interlude' in which Gilfanon appears (see I.203), whereas at the beginning of *Turambar* there is a reference to Ailios (who was replaced by Gilfanon) concluding the previous tale. On the different arrangement of the tale-telling at this point that my father subsequently introduced but failed to carry through see I.229–30. According to the earlier arrangement, Ailios told his tale on the first night of the feast of Turuhalmë or the Logdrawing, and Eltas followed with the *Tale of Turambar* on the second.

There is evidence that the *Tale of Turambar* was in existence at any rate by the middle of 1919. Humphrey Carpenter discovered a passage, written on a scrap of proof for the Oxford English Dictionary, in an early alphabet of my father's devising; and transliterating it he found it to be from this tale, not far from the beginning. He has told me that my father was using this version of the 'Alphabet of Rúmil' about June 1919 (see *Biography*, p. 100).

When then Ailios had spoken his fill the time for the lighting of candles was at hand, and so came the first day of Turuhalmë to an

end; but on the second night Ailios was not there, and being asked by Lindo one Eltas began a tale, and said:

'Now all folk gathered here know that this is the story of Turambar and the Foalókë, and it is,' said he, 'a favourite tale among Men, and tells of very ancient days of that folk before the Battle of Tasarinan when first Men entered the dark vales of Hisilómë.

In these days many such stories do Men tell still, and more have they told in the past especially in those kingdoms of the North that once I knew. Maybe the deeds of other of their warriors have become mingled therein, and many matters beside that are not in the most ancient tale – but now I will tell to you the true and lamentable tale, and I knew it long ere I trod Olórë Mallë in the days before the fall of Gondolin.

In those days my folk dwelt in a vale of Hisilómë and that land did Men name Aryador in the tongues they then used, but they were very far from the shores of Asgon and the spurs of the Iron Mountains were nigh to their dwellings and great woods of very gloomy trees. My father said to me that many of our older men venturing afar had themselves seen the evil worms of Melko and some had fallen before them, and by reason of the hatred of our people for those creatures and of the evil Vala often was the story of Turambar and the Foalókë in their mouths – but rather after the fashion of the Gnomes did they say Turumart and the Fuithlug.

For know that before the Battle of Lamentation and the ruin of the Noldoli there dwelt a lord of Men named Úrin, and hearkening to the summons of the Gnomes he and his folk marched with the Ilkorindi against Melko, but their wives and children they left behind them in the woodlands, and with them was Mavwin wife of Úrin, and her son remained with her, for he was not yet war-high. Now the name of that boy was Túrin and is so in all tongues, but Mavwin do the Eldar call Mavoinë.

Now Úrin and his followers fled not from that battle as did most of the kindreds of Men, but many of them were slain fighting to the last, and Úrin was made captive. Of the Noldoli who fought there all the companies were slain or captured or fled away in rout, save that of Turondo (Turgon) only, and he and his folk cut a path for themselves out of that fray and come not into this tale. Nonetheless the escape of that great company marred the complete victory that otherwise had Melko won over his adversaries, and he desired very greatly to discover whither they had fled; and this he might not do, for his spies availed nothing, and no tortures at that

time had power to force treacherous knowledge from the captive Noldoli.

Knowing therefore that the Elves of Kôr thought little of Men, holding them in scant fear or suspicion for their blindness and lack of skill, he would constrain Úrin to take up his employ and go seek after Turondo as a spy of Melko. To this however neither threats of torture nor promises of rich reward would bring Úrin to consent, for he said: "Nay, do as thou wilt, for to no evil work of thine wilt thou ever constrain me, O Melko, thou foe of Gods and Men."

"Of a surety," said Melko in anger, "to no work of mine will I bid thee again, nor yet will I force thee thereto, but upon deeds of mine that will be little to thy liking shalt thou sit here and gaze, nor be able to move foot or hand against them." And this was the torture he devised for the affliction of Úrin the Steadfast, and setting him in a lofty place of the mountains he stood beside him and cursed him and his folk with dread curses of the Valar, putting a doom of woe and a death of sorrow upon them; but to Úrin he gave a measure of vision, so that much of those things that befell his wife and children he might see and be helpless to aid, for magic held him in that high place. "Behold!" said Melko, "the life of Túrin thy son shall be accounted a matter for tears wherever Elves or Men are gathered for the telling of tales"; but Úrin said: "At least none shall pity him for this, that he had a craven for father."

Now after that battle Mavwin got her in tears into the land of Hithlum or Dor Lómin where all Men must now dwell by the word of Melko, save some wild few that yet roamed without. There was Nienóri born to her, but her husband Úrin languished in the thraldom of Melko, and Túrin being yet a small boy Mavwin knew not in her distress how to foster both him and his sister, for Úrin's men had all perished in the great affray, and the strange men who dwelt nigh knew not the dignity of the Lady Mavwin, and all that land was dark and little kindly.

The next short section of the text was struck through afterwards and replaced by a rider on an attached slip. The rejected passage reads:

At that time the rumour [*written above*: memory] of the deeds of Beren Ermabwed had become noised much in Dor Lómin, wherefore it came into the heart of Mavwin, for lack of better counsel, to send Túrin to the court of Tintoglin,[1] begging him to foster this orphan for the memory of Beren, and to teach him the wisdom of fays and of Eldar; now Egnor[2] was akin to Mavwin and he was the father of Beren the One-handed.

The replacement passage reads:

> Amended passage to fit better with the story of Tinúviel and the afterhistory of the Nauglafring:

The tale tells however that Úrin had been a friend of the Elves, and in this he was different from many of his folk. Now great had his friendship been with Egnor, the Elf of the greenwood, the huntsman of the Gnomes, and Beren Ermabwed son of Egnor he knew and had rendered him a service once in respect of Damrod his son; but the deeds of Beren of the One Hand in the halls of Tinwelint[3] were remembered still in Dor Lómin. Wherefore it came into the heart of Mavwin, for lack of other counsel, to send Túrin her son to the court of Tinwelint, begging him to foster this orphan for the memory of Úrin and of Beren son of Egnor.[4]

Very bitter indeed was that sundering, and for long [?time] Túrin wept and would not leave his mother, and this was the first of the many sorrows that befell him in life. Yet at length when his mother had reasoned with him he gave way and prepared him in anguish for that journey. With him went two old men, retainers aforetime of his father Úrin, and when all was ready and the farewells taken they turned their feet towards the dark hills, and the little dwelling of Mavwin was lost in the trees, and Túrin blind with tears could see her no more. Then ere they passed out of earshot he cried out: "O Mavwin my mother, soon will I come back to thee" – but he knew not that the doom of Melko lay between them.

Long and very weary and uncertain was the road over the dark hills of Hithlum into the great forests of the Land Beyond where in those days Tinwelint the hidden king had his abode; and Túrin son of Úrin[5] was the first of Men to tread that way, nor have many trodden it since. In perils were Túrin and his guardians of wolves and wandering Orcs that at that time fared even thus far from Angband as the power of Melko waxed and spread over the kingdoms of the North. Evil magics were about them, that often missing their way they wandered fruitlessly for many days, yet in the end did they win through and thanked the Valar therefor – yet maybe it was but part of the fate that Melko wove about their feet, for in after time Túrin would fain have perished as a child there in the dark woods.

Howso that may be, this was the manner of their coming to

Tinwelint's halls; for in the woodlands beyond the mountains they became utterly lost, until at length having no means of sustenance they were like to die, when they were discovered by a wood-ranger, a huntsman of the secret Elves, and he was called Beleg, for he was of great stature and girth as such was among that folk. Then Beleg led them by devious paths through many dark and lonely forestlands to the banks of that shadowed stream before the cavernous doors of Tinwelint's halls. Now coming before that king they were received well for the memory of Úrin the Steadfast, and when also the king heard of the bond tween Úrin and Beren the One-handed[6] and of the plight of that lady Mavwin his heart became softened and he granted her desire, nor would he send Túrin away, but rather said he: "Son of Úrin, thou shalt dwell sweetly in my woodland court, nor even so as a retainer, but behold as a second child of mine shalt thou be, and all the wisdoms of Gwedheling and of myself shalt thou be taught."

After a time therefore when the travellers had rested he despatched the younger of the two guardians of Túrin back unto Mavwin, for such was that man's desire to die in the service of the wife of Úrin, yet was an escort of Elves sent with him, and such comfort and magics for the journey as could be devised, and moreover these words did he bear from Tinwelint to Mavwin: "Behold O Lady Mavwin wife of Úrin the Steadfast, not for love nor for fear of Melko but of the wisdom of my heart and the fate of the Valar did I not go with my folk to the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, who now am become a safety and a refuge for all who fearing evil may find the secret ways that lead to the protection of my halls. Perchance now is there no other bulwark left against the arrogance of the Vala of Iron, for men say Turgon is not slain, but who knoweth the truth of it or how long he may escape? Now therefore shall thy son Túrin be fostered here as my own child until he is of age to succour thee – then, an he will, he may depart." More too he bid the Lady Mavwin, might she o'ercome the journey, fare back also to his halls, and dwell there in peace; but this when she heard she did not do, both for the tenderness of her little child Nienóri, and for that rather would she dwell poor among Men than live sweetly as an almsguest even among the woodland Elves. It may be too that she clung to that dwelling that Úrin had set her in ere he went to the great war, hoping still faintly for his return, for none of the messengers that had borne the lamentable tidings from that field might say that he was dead, reporting only that none knew where he might be – yet in truth

those messengers were few and half-distraught, and now the years were slowly passing since the last blow fell on that most grievous day. Indeed in after days she yearned to look again upon Túrin, and maybe in the end, when Nienóri had grown, had cast aside her pride and fared over the hills, had not these become impassable for the might and great magic of Melko, who hemmed all Men in Hithlum and slew such as dared beyond its walls.

Thus came to pass the dwelling of Túrin in the halls of Tinwelint; and with him was suffered to dwell Gumlin the aged who had fared with him out of Hithlum, and had no heart or strength for the returning. Very much joy had he in that sojourn, yet did the sorrow of his sundering from Mavwin fall never quite away from him; great waxed his strength of body and the stoutness of his feats got him praise wheresoever Tinwelint was held as lord, yet he was a silent boy and often gloomy, and he got not love easily and fortune did not follow him, for few things that he desired greatly came to him and many things at which he laboured went awry. For nothing however did he grieve so much as the ceasing of all messengers between Mavwin and himself, when after a few years as has been told the hills became untraversable and the ways were shut. Now Túrin was seven years old when he fared to the woodland Elves, and seven years he dwelt there while tidings came ever and anon to him from his mother, so that he heard how his sister Nienóri grew to a slender maid and very fair, and how things grew better in Hithlum and his mother more in peace; and then all words ceased, and the years passed.

To ease his sorrow and the rage of his heart, that remembered always how Úrin and his folk had gone down in battle against Melko, Túrin was for ever ranging with the most warlike of the folk of Tinwelint far abroad, and long ere he was grown to first manhood he slew and took hurts in frays with the Orcs that prowled unceasingly upon the confines of the realm and were a menace to the Elves. Indeed but for his prowess much hurt had that folk sustained, and he held the wrath of Melko from them for many years, and after his days they were harassed sorely, and in the end must have been cast into thraldom had not such great and dread events befallen that Melko forgot them.

Now about the courts of Tinwelint there dwelt an Elf called Orgof, and he, as were the most of that king's folk, was an Ilkorin, yet he had Gnome-blood also. Of his mother's side he was nearly akin to the king himself, and was in some favour being a good

hunter and an Elf of prowess, yet was he somewhat loose with his tongue and overweening by reason of his favour with the king; yet of nothing was he so fain as of fine raiment and of jewels and of gold and silver ornament, and was ever himself clad most bravely. Now Túrin lying continually in the woods and travailing in far and lonely places grew to be uncouth of raiment and wild of locks, and Orgof made jest of him whensoever the twain sat at the king's board; but Túrin said never a word to his foolish jesting, and indeed at no time did he give much heed to words that were spoken to him, and the eyes beneath his shaggy brows oftentimes looked as to a great distance – so that he seemed to see far things and to listen to sounds of the woodland that others heard not.

On a time Túrin sate at meat with the king, and it was that day twelve years since he had gazed through his tears upon Mavwin standing before the doors and weeping as he made his way among the trees, until their stems had taken her from his sight, and he was moody, speaking curt answers to those that sat nigh him, and most of all to Orgof.

But this fool would not give him peace, making a laugh of his rough clothes and tangled hair, for Túrin had then come new from a long abiding in the woods, and at length he drew forth daintily a comb of gold that he had and offered it to Túrin; and having drunk well, when Túrin deigned not to notice him he said: "Nay, an thou knowst not how to use a comb, hie thee back to thy mother, for she perchance will teach thee – unless in sooth the women of Hithlum be as ugly as their sons and as little kempt." Then a fierce anger born of his sore heart and these words concerning the lady Mavwin blazed suddenly in Túrin's breast, so that he seized a heavy drinking-vessel of gold that lay by his right hand and unmindful of his strength he cast it with great force in Orgof's teeth, saying: "Stop thy mouth therewith, fool, and prate no more." But Orgof's face was broken and he fell back with great weight, striking his head upon the stone of the floor and dragging upon him the table and all its vessels, and he spake nor prated again, for he was dead.

Then all men rose in silence, but Túrin, gazing aghast upon the body of Orgof and the spilled wine upon his hand, turned on his heel and strode into the night; and some that were akin to Orgof drew their weapons half from their sheaths, yet none struck, for the king gave no sign but stared stonily upon the body of Orgof, and very great amaze was in his face. But Túrin laved his hands in the stream without the doors and burst there into tears, saying:

"Lo! Is there a curse upon me, for all I do is ill, and now is it so turned that I must flee the house of my fosterfather an outlaw guilty of blood – nor look upon the faces of any I love again." And in his heart he dared not return to Hithlum lest his mother be bitterly grieved at his disgrace, or perchance he might draw the wrath of the Elves behind him to his folk; wherefore he got himself far away, and when men came to seek him he might not be found.

Yet they did not seek his harm, although he knew it not, for Tinwelint despite his grief and the ill deed pardoned him, and the most of his folk were with him in that, for Túrin had long held his peace or returned courtesy to the folly of Orgof, though stung often enough thereby, for that Elf being not a little jealous was used to barb his words; and now therefore the near kinsmen of Orgof were constrained by fear of Tinwelint and by many gifts to accept the king's doom.

Yet Túrin in unhappiness, believing the hand of all against him and the heart of the king become that of a foe, crept to the uttermost bounds of that woodland realm. There he hunted for his subsistence, being a good shot with the bow, yet he rivalled not the Elves at that, for rather at the wielding of the sword was he mightier than they. To him gathered a few wild spirits, and amongst them was Beleg the huntsman, who had rescued Gumlin and Túrin in the woods aforetime. Now in many adventures were those twain together, Beleg the Elf and Túrin the Man, which are not now told or remembered but which once were sung in many a place. With beast and with goblin they warred and fared at times into far places unknown to the Elves, and the fame of the hidden hunters of the marches began to be heard among Orcs and Elves, so that perchance Tinwelint would soon have become aware of the place of Túrin's abiding, had not upon a time all that band of Túrin's fallen into desperate encounter with a host of Orcs who outnumbered them three times. All were there slain save Túrin and Beleg, and Beleg escaped with wounds, but Túrin was overborne and bound, for such was the will of Melko that he be brought to him alive; for behold, dwelling in the halls of Linwë' about which had that fay Gwedheling the queen woven much magic and mystery and such power of spells as can come only from Valinor, whence indeed long time agone she once had brought them, Túrin had been lost out of his sight, and he feared lest he cheat the doom that was devised for him. Therefore now he purposed to entreat him grievously before the eyes of Úrin; but Úrin had called upon the Valar of the West, being taught much concerning them by the

Eldar of Kôr – the Gnomes he had encountered – and his words came, who shall say how, to Manwë Súlimo upon the heights of Taniquetil, the Mountain of the World. Nonetheless was Túrin dragged now many an evil league in sore distress, a captive of the pitiless Orcs, and they made slow journeying, for they followed ever the line of dark hills toward those regions where they rise high and gloomy and their heads are shrouded in black vapours. There are they called Angorodin or the Iron Mountains, for beneath the roots of their northernmost fastnesses lies Angband, the Hells of Iron, most grievous of all abodes – and thither were they now making laden with booty and with evil deeds.

Know then that in those days still was Hithlum and the Lands Beyond full of the wild Elves and of Noldoli yet free, fugitives of the old battle; and some wandered ever wearily, and others had secret and hidden abodes in caves or woodland fastnesses, but Melko sought untiringly after them and most pitilessly did he entreat them of all his thralls did he capture them. Orcs and dragons and evil fays were loosed against them and their lives were full of sorrow and travail, so that those who found not in the end the realms of Tinwelint nor the secret stronghold of the king of the city of stone* perished or were enslaved.

Noldoli too there were who were under the evil enchantments of Melko and wandered as in a dream of fear, doing his ill bidding, for the spell of bottomless dread was on them and they felt the eyes of Melko burn them from afar. Yet often did these sad Elves both thrall and free hear the voice of Ulmo in the streams or by the sea-marge where the waters of Sirion mingled with the waves; for Ulmo, of all the Valar, still thought of them most tenderly and designed with their slender aid to bring Melko's evil to ruin. Then remembering the blessedness of Valinor would they at times cast away their fear, doing good deeds and aiding both Elves and Men against the Lord of Iron.

Now was it that it came into the heart of Beleg the hunter of the Elves to seek after Túrin so soon as his own hurts were healed. This being done in no great number of days, for he had a skill of healing, he made all speed after the band of Orcs, and he had need of all his craft as tracker to follow that trail, for a band of the goblins of Melko go cunningly and very light. Soon was he far beyond any regions known to him, yet for love of Túrin he pressed on, and in this did he show courage greater than the most of that

* Gondolin.

woodland folk, and indeed there are none who may now measure the depth of fear and anguish that Melko set in the hearts of Men and of Elves in those sad days. Thus did it fall out that Beleg became lost and benighted in a dark and perilous region so thick with pines of giant growth that none but the goblins might find a track, having eyes that pierced the deepest gloom, yet were many even of these lost long time in those regions; and they were called by the Noldoli Taurfuin, the Forest of Night. Now giving himself up for lost Beleg lay with his back to a mighty tree and listened to the wind in the gaunt tops of the forest many fathoms above him, and the moaning of the night airs and the creaking of the branches was full of sorrow and foreboding, and his heart became utterly weary.

On a sudden he noticed a little light afar among the trees steady and pale as it were of a glowworm very bright, yet thinking it might scarce be glowworm in such a place he crept towards it. Now the Noldoli that laboured in the earth and aforetime had skill of crafts in metals and gems in Valinor were the most valued of the thralls of Melko, and he suffered them not to stray far away, and so it was that Beleg knew not that these Elves had little lanterns of strange fashion, and they were of silver and of crystal and a flame of a pale blue burnt forever within, and this was a secret and the jewel-makers among them alone knew it nor would they reveal it even to Melko, albeit many jewels and many magic lights they were constrained to make for him.

Aided by these lamps the Noldoli fared much at night, and seldom lost a path had they but once trodden it before. So it was that drawing near Beleg beheld one of the hill-gnomes stretched upon the needles beneath a great pine asleep, and his blue lantern stood glimmering nigh his head. Then Beleg awakened him, and that Elf started up in great fear and anguish, and Beleg learned that he was a fugitive from the mines of Melko and named himself Flinding bo-Dhuilin of an ancient house of the Gnomes. Now falling into talk Flinding was overjoyed to have speech with a free Noldo, and told many tales of his flight from the uttermost fastness of the mines of Melko; and at length said he: "When I thought myself all but free, lo, I strayed at night unwarily into the midmost of an Orc-camp, and they were asleep and much spoil and weighted packs they had, and many captive Elves I thought I descried: and one there was that lay nigh to a trunk to which he was bound most grievously, and he moaned and cried out bitterly against Melko, calling on the names of Úrin and Mavwin; and though at that time

being a craven from long captivity I fled heedlessly, now do I marvel much, for who of the thralls of Angband has not known of Úrin the Steadfast who alone of Men defies Melko chained in torment upon a bitter peak?"

Then was Beleg in great eagerness and sprang to his feet shouting: "'Tis Túrin, fosterson of Tinwelint, even he whom I seek, who was the son of Úrin long ago. – Nay, lead me to this camp, O son of Duilin, and soon shall he be free," but Flinding was much afeared, saying: "Softer words, my Beleg, for the Orcs have ears of cats, and though a day's march lies between me and that encampment who knows whether they be not followed after."

Nonetheless hearing the story of Túrin from Beleg, despite his dread he consented to lead Beleg to that place, and long ere the sun rose on the day or its fainting beams crept into that dark forest they were upon the road, guided by the dancing light of Flinding's swinging lamp. Now it happened that in their journeying their paths crossed that of the Orcs who now were renewing their march, but in a direction other than that they had for long pursued, for now fearing the escape of their prisoner they made for a place where they knew the trees were thinner and a track ran for many a league easy to pursue; wherefore that evening, or ever they came to the spot that Flinding sought, they heard a shouting and a rough singing that was afar in the woods but drawing near; nor did they hide too soon ere the whole of that Orc-band passed nigh to them, and some of the captains were mounted upon small horses, and to one of these was Túrin tied by the wrists so that he must trot or be dragged cruelly. Then did Beleg and Flinding follow timorously after as dusk fell on the forest, and when that band encamped they lurked near until all was quiet save the moaning of the captives. Now Flinding covered his lamp with a pelt and they crept near, and behold the goblins slept, for it was not their wont to keep fire or watch in their bivouacs, and for guard they trusted to certain fierce wolves that went always with their bands as dogs with Men, but slept not when they camped, and their eyes shone like points of red light among the trees. Now was Flinding in sore dread, but Beleg bid him follow, and the two crept between the wolves at a point where there was a great gap between them, and as the luck of the Valar had it Túrin was lying nigh, apart from the others, and Beleg came unseen to his side and would cut his bonds, when he found his knife had dropped from his side in his creeping and his sword he had left behind without the camp. Therefore now, for they dare not risk the creeping forth and back

again, do Beleg and Flinding both stout men essay to carry him sleeping soundly in utter weariness stealthily from the camp, and this they did, and it has ever been thought a great feat, and few have done the like in passing the wolf guards of the goblins and despoiling their camps.

Now in the woods at no great distance from the camp they laid him down, for they might not bear him further, seeing that he was a Man and of greater stature than they;* but Beleg fetched his sword and would cut his bonds forthwith. The bonds about his wrists he severed first and was cutting those upon the ankles when blundering in the dark he pricked Túrin's foot deeply, and Túrin awoke in fear. Now seeing a form bend over him in the gloom sword in hand and feeling the smart of his foot he thought it was one of the Orcs come to slay him or to torment him – and this they did often, cutting him with knives or hurting him with spears; but now Túrin feeling his hand free leapt up and flung all his weight suddenly upon Beleg, who fell and was half-crushed, lying speechless on the ground; but Túrin at the same time seized the sword and struck it through Beleg's throat or ever Flinding might know what had betid. Then Túrin leapt back and shouting out curses upon the goblins bid them come and slay him or taste of his sword, for he fancied himself in the midst of their camp, and thought not of flight but only of selling his life dear. Now would he have made at Flinding, but that Gnome sprang back, dropping his lamp, so that its cover slipped and the light of it shone forth, and he called out in the tongue of the Gnomes that Túrin should hold his hand and slay not his friends – then did Túrin hearing his speech pause, and as he stood, by the light of the lamp he saw the white face of Beleg lying nigh his feet with pierced throat, and he stood as one stricken to stone, and such was the look upon his face that Flinding dared not speak for a long while. Indeed little mind had he for words, for by that light had he also seen the fate of Beleg and was very bitter in heart. At length however it seemed to Flinding that the Orcs were astir, and so it was, for the shouts of Túrin had come to them; wherefore he said to Túrin: "The Orcs are upon us, let us flee," but Túrin answered not, and Flinding shook him, bidding him gather his wits or perish, and then Túrin did as he was bid but yet as one dazed, and stooping he raised Beleg and kissed his mouth.

Then did Flinding guide Túrin as well as he might swiftly from those regions, and Túrin wandered with him following as he led, and at length for a while they had shaken off pursuit and could

breathe again. Now then did Flinding have space to tell Túrin all he knew and of his meeting with Beleg, and the floods of Túrin's tears were loosed, and he wept bitterly, for Beleg had been his comrade often in many deeds; and this was the third anguish that befell Túrin, nor did he lose the mark of that sorrow utterly in all his life; and long he wandered with Flinding caring little whither he went, and but for that Gnome soon would he have been recaptured or lost, for he thought only of the stark face of Beleg the huntsman, lying in the dark forest slain by his hand even as he cut the bonds of thraldom from him.

In that time was Túrin's hair touched with grey, despite his few years. Long time however did Túrin and the Noldo journey together, and by reason of the magic of that lamp fared by night and hid by day and were lost in the hills, and the Orcs found them not.

Now in the mountains there was a place of caves above a stream, and that stream ran down to feed the river Sirion, but grass grew before the doors of the caves, and these were cunningly concealed by trees and such magics as those scattered bands that dwelt therein remembered still. Indeed at this time this place had grown to be a strong dwelling of the folk and many a fugitive swelled them, and there the ancient arts and works of the Noldoli came once more to life albeit in a rude and rugged fashion.

There was smithying in secret and forging of good weapons, and even fashioning of some fair things beside, and the women spun once more and wove, and at times was gold quarried privily in places nigh, where it was found, so that deep in those caverns might vessels of beauty be seen in the flame of secret lights, and old songs were faintly sung. Yet did the dwellers in the caves flee always before the Orcs and never give battle unless compelled by mischance or were they able to so entrap them that all might be slain and none escape alive; and this they did of policy that no tidings reach Melko of their dwelling nor might he suspect any numerous gathering of folk in those parts.

This place however was known to the Noldo Flindiñg who fared with Túrin; indeed he was once of that people long since, before the Orcs captured him and he was held in thraldom. Thither did he now wend being sure that the pursuit came no longer nigh them, yet went he nonetheless by devious ways, so that it was long ere they drew nigh to that region, and the spies and watchers of the Rodothlim (for so were that folk named) gave warning of their

approach, and the folk withdrew before them, such as were abroad from their dwelling. Then they closed their doors and hoped that the strangers might not discover their caves, for they feared and mistrusted all unknown folk of whatever race, so evil were the lessons of that dreadful time.

Now then Flinding and Túrin dared even to the caves' mouths, and perceiving that these twain knew now the paths thereto the Rodothlim sallied and made them prisoners and drew them within their rocky halls, and they were led before the chief, Orodreth. Now the free Noldoli at that time feared much those of their kin who had tasted thraldom, for compelled by fear and torture and spells much treachery had they wrought; even thus did the evil deeds of the Gnomes at Cópas Alqalunten find vengeance,* setting Gnome against Gnome, and the Noldoli cursed the day that ever they first hearkened to the deceit of Melko, rueing utterly their departure from the blessed realm of Valinor.

Nonetheless when Orodreth heard the tale of Flinding and knew it to be true he welcomed him with joy back among the folk, yet was that Gnome so changed by the anguish of his slavery that few knew him again; but for Flinding's sake Orodreth hearkened to the tale of Túrin, and Túrin told of his travails and named Úrin as his sire, nor had the Gnomes yet forgot that name. Then was the heart of Orodreth made kind and he bade them dwell among the Rodothlim and be faithful to him. So came the sojourn of Túrin among the people of the caves, and he dwelt with Flinding bo-Dhuilin and laboured much for the good of the folk, and slew many a wandering Orc, and did doughty deeds in their defence. In return much did he learn of new wisdom from them, for memories of Valinor burnt yet deep in their wild hearts, and greater still was their wisdom than that of such Eldar as had seen never the blest faces of the Gods.

Among that people was a very fair maiden and she was named Failivrin, and her father was Galweg; and this Gnome had a liking for Túrin and aided him much, and Túrin was often with him in ventures and good deeds. Now many a tale of these did Galweg make beside his hearth and Túrin was often at his board, and the heart of Failivrin became moved at the sight of him, and wondered often at his gloom and sadness, pondering what sorrow lay locked in his breast, for Túrin went not gaily being weighted with the death of Beleg that he felt upon his head, and he suffered not his heart to be moved, although he was glad of her sweetness; but he deemed himself an outlawed man and one burdened with a heavy

doom of ill. Therefore did Failivrin become sorrowful and wept in secret, and she grew so pale that folk marvelled at the whiteness and delicacy of her face and her bright eyes that shone therein.

Now came a time when the Orc-bands and the evil things of Melko drew ever nigher to the dwelling of this folk, and despite the good spells that ran in the stream beneath it seemed like that their abode would remain no longer hidden. It is said however that during all this time the dwelling of Túrin in the caves and his deeds among the Rodothlim were veiled from Melko's eyes, and that he infested not the Rodothlim for Túrin's sake nor out of design, but rather it was the ever increasing numbers of these creatures and their growing power and fierceness that brought them so far afield. Nonetheless the blindness and ill-fortune that he wove of old clung yet to Túrin, as may be seen.

Each day grew the brows of the chiefs of the Rodothlim more dark, and dreams came to them[10] bidding them arise and depart swiftly and secretly, seeking, if it might be, after Turgon, for with him might yet salvation be found for the Gnomes. Whispers too there were in the stream at eve, and those among them skilled to hear such voices added their foreboding at the councils of the folk. Now at these councils had Túrin won him a place by dint of many valorous deeds, and he gainsaid their fears, trusting in his strength, for he lusted ever for war with the creatures of Melko, and he upbraided the men of the folk, saying: "Lo! Ye have weapons of great excellence of workmanship, and yet are the most of them clean of your foes' blood. Remember ye the Battle of Uncounted Tears and forget not your folk that there fell, nor seek ever to flee, but fight and stand."

Now despite the wisdom of their wisest such bitter words confused their counsels and delayed them, and there were no few of the stout-hearted that found hope in them, being sad at the thought of abandoning those places where they had begun to make an abiding place of peace and goodliness; but Túrin begged Orodreth for a sword, and he had not wielded a sword since the slaying of Beleg, but rather had he been contented with a mighty club. Now then Orodreth let fashion for him a great sword, and it was made by magic to be utterly black save at its edges, and those were shining bright and sharp as but Gnome-steel may be. Heavy it was, and was sheathed in black, and it hung from a sable belt, and Túrin named it Gurtholfin the Wand of Death; and often that blade leapt in his hand of its own lust, and it is said that at times it spake dark words to him. Therewith did he now range the hills,

and slew unceasingly, so that Blacksword of the Rodothlim became a name of terror to the Orcs, and for a great season all evil was fended from the caverns of the Gnomes. Hence comes that name of Túrin's among the Gnomes, calling him Mormagli or Mormakil according to their speech, for these names signify black sword.

The greater however did Túrin's valour become so grew the love of Failivrin more deep, and did men murmur against him in his absence she spake for him, and sought ever to minister to him, and her he treated ever courteously and happily, saying he had found a fair sister in the Gnome-lands. By Túrin's deeds however was the ancient counsel of the Rodothlim set aside and their abode made known far and wide, nor was Melko ignorant of it, yet many of the Noldoli now fled to them and their strength waxed and Túrin was held in great honour among them. Then were days of great happiness and for a while men lived openly again and might fare far abroad from their homes in safety, and many boasted of the salvation of the Noldoli, while Melko gathered in secret his great hordes. These did he loose suddenly upon them at unawares, and they gathered their warriors in great haste and went against him, but behold, an army of Orcs descended upon them, and wolves, and Orcs mounted upon wolves; and a great worm was with them whose scales were polished bronze and whose breath was a mingled fire and smoke, and his name was Glorund.[11] All the men of the Rodothlim fell or were taken in that battle, for the foe was numberless, and that was the most bitter affray since the evil field of Nínin-Udathriol.* Orodreth was there sorely hurt and Túrin bore him out of the fight ere yet all was ended, and with the aid of Flinding whose wounds were not great[12] he got him to the caves.

There died Orodreth, reproaching Túrin that he had ever withstood his wise counsels, and Túrin's heart was bitter at the ruin of the folk that was set to his account.[13] Then leaving Lord Orodreth dead Túrin went to the places of Galweg's abiding, and there was Failivrin weeping bitterly at the tidings of her father's death, but Túrin sought to comfort her, and for the pain of her heart and the sorrow of her father's death and of the ruin of her folk she swooned upon his breast and cast her arms about

* At the bottom of the manuscript page is written:

'*Nieriltasinwa* the battle of unnumbered tears
Glorund *Laurundo* or *Undolaurë*'

Later *Glorund* and *Laurundo* were emended to *Glorunt* and *Laurunto*.

him. So deep was the ruth of Túrin's heart that in that hour he deemed he loved her very dearly; yet were now he and Flinding alone save for a few aged carles and dying men, and the Orcs having despoiled the field of dead were nigh upon them.

Thus stood Túrin before the doors with Gurtholfin in hand, and Flinding was beside him; and the Orcs fell on that place and ransacked it utterly, dragging out all the folk that lurked therein and all their goods, whatsoever of great or little worth might there lie hid. But Túrin denied the entrance of Galweg's dwelling to them, and they fell thick about him, until a company of their archers standing at a distance shot a cloud of arrows at him. Now he wore chainmail such as all the warriors of the Gnomes have ever loved and still do wear, yet it turned not all those ill shafts, and already was he sore hurt when Flinding fell pierced suddenly through the eye; and soon too had he met his death – and his weird had been the happier thereby – had not that great drake coming now upon the sack bidden them cease their shooting; but with the power of his breath he drove Túrin from those doors and with the magic of his eyes he bound him hand and foot.

Now those drakes and worms are the evillest creatures that Melko has made, and the most uncouth, yet of all are they the most powerful, save it be the Balrogs only. A great cunning and wisdom have they, so that it has been long said amongst Men that whosoever might taste the heart of a dragon would know all tongues of Gods or Men, of birds or beasts, and his ears would catch whispers of the Valar or of Melko such as never had he heard before. Few have there been that ever achieved a deed of such prowess as the slaying of a drake, nor might any even of such doughty ones taste their blood and live, for it is as a poison of fires that slays all save the most godlike in strength. Howso that may be, even as their lord these foul beasts love lies and lust after gold and precious things with a great fierceness of desire, albeit they may not use nor enjoy them.

Thus was it that this *lókë* (for so do the Eldar name the worms of Melko) suffered the Orcs to slay whom they would and to gather whom they listed into a very great and very sorrowful throng of women, maids, and little children, but all the mighty treasure that they had brought from the rocky halls and heaped glistering in the sun before the doors he coveted for himself and forbade them set finger on it, and they durst not withstand him, nor could they have done so an they would.

In that sad band stood Failivrin in horror, and she stretched out

her arms towards Túrin, but Túrin was held by the spell of the drake, for that beast had a foul magic in his glance, as have many others of his kind, and he turned the sinews of Túrin as it were to stone, for his eye held Túrin's eye so that his will died, and he could not stir of his own purpose, yet might he see and hear.

Then did Glorund taunt Túrin nigh to madness, saying that lo! he had cast away his sword nor had the heart to strike a blow for his friends – now Túrin's sword lay at his feet whither it had slipped from his unnervéd grasp. Great was the agony of Túrin's heart thereat, and the Orcs laughed at him, and of the captives some cried bitterly against him. Even now did the Orcs begin to drive away that host of thralls, and his heart broke at the sight, yet he moved not; and the pale face of Failivrin faded afar, and her voice was borne to him crying: "O Túrin Mormakil, where is thy heart; O my beloved, wherefore dost thou forsake me?" So great then became Túrin's anguish that even the spell of that worm might not restrain it, and crying aloud he reached for the sword at his feet and would wound the drake with it, but the serpent breathed a foul and heated breath upon him, so that he swooned and thought that it was death.

A long time thereafter, and the tale telleth not how long, he came to himself, and he was lying gazing at the sun before the doors, and his head rested against a heap of gold even as the ransackers had left it. Then said the drake, who was hard by: "Wonderest thou not wherefore I have withheld death from thee, O Túrin Mormakil, who wast once named brave?" Then Túrin remembered all his griefs and the evil that had fallen upon him, and he said: "Taunt me not, foul worm, for thou knowest I would die; and for that alone, methinks, thou slayest me not."

But the drake answered saying: "Know then this, O Túrin son of Úrin, that a fate of evil is woven about thee, and thou mayst not untangle thy footsteps from it whitherever thou goest. Yea indeed, I would not have thee slain, for thus wouldst thou escape very bitter sorrows and a weird of anguish." Then Túrin leaping suddenly to his feet and avoiding that beast's baleful eye raised aloft his sword and cried: "Nay, from this hour shall none name me Túrin if I live. Behold, I will name me a new name and it shall be Turambar!" Now this meaneth Conqueror of Fate, and the form of the name in the Gnome-speech is Turumart. Then uttering these words he made a second time at the drake, thinking indeed to force the drake to slay him and to conquer his fate by death, but the dragon laughed, saying: "Thou fool! An I would, I had slain

thee long since and could do so here and now, and if I will not thou canst not do battle with me waking, for my eye can cast once more the binding spell upon thee that thou stand as stone. Nay, get thee gone, O Turambar Conqueror of Fate! First thou must meet thy doom an thou wouldst o'ercome it." But Turambar was filled with shame and anger, and perchance he had slain himself, so great was his madness, although thus might he not hope that ever his spirit would be freed from the dark glooms of Mandos or stray into the pleasant paths of Valinor;[14] but amidst his misery he bethought him of Failivrin's pallid face and he bowed his head, for the thought came into his heart to seek back through all the woods after her sad footsteps even be it to Angamandi and the Hills of Iron. Maybe in that desperate venture he had found a kindly and swift death or perchance an ill one, and maybe he had rescued Failivrin and found happiness, yet not thus was he fated to earn the name he had taken anew, and the drake reading his mind suffered him not thus lightly to escape his tide of ill.

"Hearken to me, O son of Úrin," said he; "ever wast thou a coward at heart, vaunting thyself falsely before men. Perchance thou thinkest it a gallant deed to go follow after a maiden of strange kin, recking little of thine own that suffer now terrible things? Behold, Mavwin who loves thee long has eagerly awaited thy return, knowing that thou hast found manhood a while ago, and she looks for thy succour in vain, for little she knows that her son is an outlaw stained with the blood of his comrades, a defiler of his lord's table. Ill do men entreat her, and behold the Orcs infest now those parts of Hithlum, and she is in fear and peril and her daughter Nienóri thy sister with her."

Then was Turambar aflame with sorrow and with shame for the lies of that worm were barbed with truth, and for the spell of his eyes he believed all that was said. Therefore his old desire to see once more Mavwin his mother and to look upon Nienóri whom he had never seen since his first days[15] grew hot within him, and with a heart torn with sorrow for the fate of Failivrin he turned his feet towards the hills seeking Dor Lómin, and his sword was sheathed. And truly is it said: "Forsake not for anything thy friends – nor believe those who counsel thee to do so" – for of his abandoning of Failivrin in danger that he himself could see came the very direst evil upon him and all he loved; and indeed his heart was confounded and wavered, and he left those places in uttermost shame and weariness. But the dragon gloated upon the hoard and lay coiled upon it, and the fame of that great treasure of golden vessels

and of unwrought gold that lay by the caves above the stream fared far and wide about; yet the great worm slept before it, and evil thoughts he had as he pondered the planting of his cunning lies and the sprouting thereof and their growth and fruit, and fumes of smoke went up from his nostrils as he slept.

On a time therefore long afterward came Turambar with great travail into Hisilómë, and found at length the place of the abode of his mother, even the one whence he had been sundered as a child, but behold, it was roofless and the tilth about it ran wild. Then his heart smote him, but he learned of some that dwelt nigh that lighting on better days the Lady Mavwin had departed some years agone to places not far distant where was a great and prosperous dwelling of men, for that region of Hisilómë was fertile and men tilled the land somewhat and many had flocks and herds, though for the most part in the dark days after the great battle men feared to dwell in settled places and ranged the woods and hunted or fished, and so it was with those kindreds about the waters of Asgon whence after arose Tuor son of Peleg.

Hearing these words however Turambar was amazed, and questioned them concerning the wandering into those regions of Orcs and other fierce folk of Melko, but they shook their heads, and said that never had such creatures come hither deep into the land of Hisilómë.[16] "If thou wishest for Orcs then go to the hills that encompass our land about," said they, "and thou wilt not search long. Scarce may the wariest fare in and out so constant is their watch, and they infest the rocky gates of the land that the Children of Men be penned for ever in the Land of Shadows; but men say 'tis the will of Melko that they trouble us not here – and yet it seems to us that thou hast come from afar, and at this we marvel, for long is it since one from other lands might tread this way." Then Turambar was in perplexity at this and he doubted the deceit of the dragon's words, yet he went now in hope to the dwelling of men and the house of his mother, and coming upon homesteads of men he was easily directed thither. Now men looked strangely at his questioning, and indeed they had reason, yet were such as he spoke to in great awe and wonder at him and shrank back from speech with him, for his garb was of the wild woods and his hair was long and his face haggard and drawn as with unquenchable sorrows, and therein burnt fiercely his dark eyes beneath dark brows. A collar of fine gold he wore and his mighty sword was at his side, and men marvelled much at him;

and did any dare to question him he named himself Turambar son of the weary forest,* and that seemed but the more strange to them.

Now came he to the dwelling of Mavwin, and behold it was a fair house, but none dwelt there, and grass was high in the gardens, and there were no kine in the byres nor horses in the sheds, and the pastures about were silent and empty. Only the swallows had dwelling beneath the timbers of the eaves and these made a noise and a bustle as if departure for autumn was at hand, and Turambar sat before the carven doors and wept. And one who was passing on to other dwellings, for a track passed nigh to that homestead, espied him, and coming asked him his grief, and Turambar said that it was bitter for a son sundered for many years from his home to give up all that was dear and dare the dangers of the infested hills to find only the halls of his kindred empty when he returned at last.

"Nay, then this is a very trick of Melko's," said the other, "for of a truth here dwelt the Lady Mavwin wife of Úrin, and yet is she gone two years past very secretly and suddenly, and men say that she seeks her son who is lost, and that her daughter Nienóri goes with her, but I know not the story. This however I know, and many about here do likewise, and cry shame thereon, for know that the guardianship of all her goods and land she gave to Brodda, a man whom she trusted, and he is lord of these regions by men's consent and has to wife a kinswoman of hers. But now she is long away he has mingled her herds and flocks, small as they were, with his mighty ones, branding them with his own marks, yet the dwelling and stead of Mavwin he suffereth to fall to ruin, and men think ill of it but move not, for the power of Brodda has grown to be great."

Then Turambar begged him to set his feet upon the paths to Brodda's halls, and the man did as he desired, so that Turambar striding thither came upon them just as night fell and men sat to meat in that house. Great was the company that night and the light of many torches fell upon them, but the Lady Airin was not there, for men drank overmuch at Brodda's feasts and their songs were fierce and quarrels blazed about the hall, and those things she loved not. Now Turambar smote upon the gates and his heart was black and a great wrath was in him, for the words of the stranger before his mother's doors were bitter to him.

* A note on the manuscript referring to this name reads: '*Turumart go-Dhrauthodauros* [emended to *bo-Dhrauthodauros*] or *Turambar Rúsitaurion*.'

Then did some open to his knocking and Turambar strode into that hall, and Brodda bade him be seated and ordered wine and meats to be set before him, but Turambar would neither eat nor drink, so that men looking askance upon his sullenness asked him who he might be. Then Turambar stepping out into the midst of them before the high place where Brodda sat said: "Behold, I am Turambar son of the forest", and men laughed thereat, but Turambar's eyes were full of wrath. Then said Brodda in doubt: "What wilt thou of me, O son of the wild forest?" But Turambar said: "Lord Brodda, I am come to repay thy stewardship of others' goods," and silence fell in that place; but Brodda laughed, saying again: "But who art thou?" And thereupon Turambar leapt upon the high place and ere Brodda might foresee the act he drew Gurtholfin and seizing Brodda by the locks all but smote his head from off his body, crying aloud: "So dieth the rich man who addeth the widow's little to his much. Lo, men die not all in the wild woods, and am I not in truth the son of Úrin, who having sought back unto his folk findeth an empty hall despoiled." Then was there a great uproar in that hall, and indeed though he was burdened overmuch with his many griefs and wellnigh distraught, yet was this deed of Turambar violent and unlawful. Some were there nonetheless that would not unsheathe their weapons, saying that Brodda was a thief and died as one, but many there were that leapt with swords against Turambar and he was hard put to it, and one man he slew, and it was Orlin. Then came Airin of the long hair in great fear into the halls and at her voice men stayed their hands; but great was her horror when she saw the deeds that were done, and Turambar turned his face away and might not look upon her, for his wrath was grown cold and he was sick and weary.

But she hearing the tale said: "Nay, grieve not for me, son of Úrin, but for thyself; for my lord was a hard lord and cruel and unjust, and men might say somewhat in thy defence, yet behold thou hast slain him now at his board being his guest, and Orlin thou hast slain who is of thy mother's kin; and what shall be thy doom?" At those words some were silent and many shouted "death", but Airin said that it was not wholly in accord with the laws of that place, "for," said she, "Brodda was slain wrongfully, yet just was the wrath of the slayer, and Orlin too did he slay in defence, though it were in the hall of a feast. Yet now I fear that this man must get him swiftly from among us nor ever set foot upon these lands again, else shall any man slay him; but those lands and goods that were Úrin's shall Brodda's kin hold, save only

do Mavwin and Nienóri return ever from their wandering, yet even so may Túrin son of Úrin inherit nor part nor parcel of them ever." Now this doom seemed just to all save Turambar, and they marvelled at the equity of Airin whose lord lay slain, and they guessed not at the horror of her life aforetime with that man; but Turambar cast his sword upon the floor and bade them slay him, yet they would not for the words of Airin whom they loved, and Airin suffered it not for the love of Mavwin, hoping yet to join those twain mother and son in happiness, and her doom she had made to satisfy men's anger and save Túrin from death. "Nay," said she, "three days do I give thee to get thee out of the land, wherefore go!" and Turambar lifting his sword wiped it, saying: "Would I were clean of his blood," and he went forth into the night. In the folly of his heart now did he deem himself cut off in truth for ever from Mavwin his mother, thinking that never again would any he loved be fain to look upon him. Then did he thirst for news of his mother and sister and of none might he ask, but wandered back over the hills knowing only that they sought him still perchance in the forests of the Lands Beyond, and no more did he know for a long while.

Of his wanderings thereafter has no tale told, save that after much roaming his sorrow grew dulled and his heart dead, until at last in places very far away many a journey beyond the river of the Rodothlim he fell in with some huntsmen of the woods, and these were Men. Some of that company were thanes of Úrin, or sons of them, and they had wandered darkly ever since that Battle of Tears, but now did Turambar join their number, and built his life anew so well as he might. Now that people had houses in a more smiling region of the woods in lands that were not utterly far from Sirion or the grassy hills of that river's middle course, and they were hardy men and bowed not to Melko, and Turambar got honour among them.

Now is it to tell that far other had matters fallen out with Mavwin than the Foalókë had said to Túrin, for her days turning to better she had peace and honour among the men of those regions. Nonetheless her grief at the loss of her son by reason of the cutting off of all messengers deepened only with the years, albeit Nienóri grew to a most fair and slender maid. At the time of Túrin's flight from the halls of Tinwelint she was already twelve[17] years old and tall and beautiful.

Now the tale tells not the number of days that Turambar

sojourned with the Rodothlim but these were very many, and during that time Nienóri grew to the threshold of womanhood, and often was there speech between her and her mother of Túrin that was lost. In the halls of Tinwelint too the memory of Túrin lived still, and there still abode Gumlin, now decrepit in years, who aforetime had been the guardian of Túrin's childhood upon that first journey to the Lands Beyond. Now was Gumlin white-haired and the years were heavy on him, but he longed sorely for a sight once more of the folk of Men and of the Lady Mavwin his mistress. On a time then Gumlin learnt of the withdrawal from the hills of the greater number of those Orc-bands and other fierce beings of Melko's that had for so long made them impassable to Elves and Men. Now for a space were the hills and the paths that led over them far and wide free of his evil, for Melko had at that time a great and terrible project afoot, and that was the destruction of the Rodothlim and of many dwellings of the Gnomes beside, that his spies had revealed,[18] yet all the folk of those regions breathed the freer for a while, though had they known all perchance they had not done so.

Then Gumlin the aged fell to his knees before Tinwelint and begged that he suffer him to depart homeward, that he might see his mistress of old ere death took him to the halls of Mandos – if indeed that lady had not fared thither before him. Then the king[19] said yea, and for his journey he gave him two guides for the succouring of his age; yet those three, Gumlin and the woodland Elves, made a very hard journey, for it was late winter, and yet would Gumlin by no means abide until spring should come.

Now as they drew nigh to that region of Hisilómë where aforetime Mavwin had dwelt and nigh where she dwelt yet a great snow fell, as happened oft in those parts on days that should rather have been ones of early spring. Therein was Gumlin whelmed, and his guides seeking aid came unawares upon Mavwin's house, and calling for aid of her were granted it. Then by the aid of the folk of Mavwin was Gumlin found and carried to the house and warmed back to life, and coming to himself at length he knew Mavwin and was very joyful.

Now when he was in part healed he told his tale to Mavwin, and as he recounted the years and the doughtiest of the feats of Túrin she was glad, but great was her sorrow and dismay at the tidings of his sundering from Linwë[20] and the manner of it, and going from Gumlin she wept bitterly. Indeed for long and since ever she knew that Túrin, an he lived, had grown to manhood she had wondered

that he sought not back to her, and often dread had filled her heart lest attempting this he had perished in the hills; but now the truth was bitter to bear and she was desolate for a great while, nor might Nienóri comfort her.

Now by reason of the unkindness of the weather those guides that had brought Gumlin out of Tinwelint's realms abode as her guests until spring came, but with spring's first coming Gumlin died.

Then arose Mavwin and going to several of the chiefs of those places she besought their aid, telling them the tale of Túrin's fate as Gumlin had told it to her. But some laughed, saying she was deceived by the babblings of a dying man, and the most said that she was distraught with grief, and that it would be a fool's counsel to seek beyond the hills a man who had been lost for years agone: "nor," said they, "will we lend man or horse to such a quest, for all our love for thee, O Mavwin wife of Úrin."

Then Mavwin departed in tears but railed not at them, for she had scant hope in her plea and knew that wisdom was in their words. Nonetheless being unable to rest she came now to those guides of the Elves, who chafed already to be away beneath the sun; and she said to them: "Lead me now to your lord," and they would dissuade her, saying that the road was no road for a woman's feet to tread; yet she did not heed them. Rather did she beg of her friend whose name was Airin Faiglindra* (long-tressed) and was wed to Brodda a lord of that region, and rich and powerful, that Nienóri might be taken under the guardianship of her husband and all her goods thereto. This did Airin obtain of Brodda without great pleading, and when she knew this she would take farewell of her daughter; but her plan availed little, for Nienóri stood before her mother and said: "Either thou goest not, O Mavwin my mother, or go we both," nor would anything turn her from those words. Therefore in the end did both mother and daughter make them ready for that sore journey, and the guides murmured much thereat. Yet it so happened that the season which followed that bitter winter was very kindly, and despite the forebodings of the guides the four passed the hills and made their long journey with no greater evils than hunger and thirst.

Coming therefore at length before Tinwelint Mavwin cast herself down and wept, begging pardon for Túrin and compassion and aid for herself and Nienóri; but Tinwelint bade her arise and

* In the margin is written *Firilanda*.

seat herself beside Gwedheling his queen, saying: "Long years ago was Túrin thy son forgiven, aye, even as he left these halls, and many a weary search have we made for him. No outlawry of mine was it that took him from this realm, but remorse and bitterness drew him to the wilds, and there, methinks, evil things o'ertook him, or an he lives yet I fear me it is in bondage to the Orcs." Then Mavwin wept again and implored the king to give her aid, for she said: "Yea verily I would fare until the flesh of my feet were worn away, if haply at the journey's end I might see the face of Túrin son of Úrin my well-beloved." But the king said that he knew not whither she might seek her son save in Angamandi, and thither he might not send any of his lieges, not though his heart were full of ruth for the sorrow of Úrin's folk. Indeed Tinwelint spoke but as he believed just, nor meant he to add to Mavwin's sorrow save only to restrain her from so mad and deadly a quest, but Mavwin hearing him spake no word more, and going from him went out into the woods and suffered no one to stay her, and only Nienóri followed her whithersoever she went.

Now the folk of Tinwelint looked with pity on those twain and with kindness, and secretly they watched them, and unbeknown kept much harm from them, so that the wandering ladies of the woods became familiar among them and dear to many, yet were they a sight of ruth, and folk swore hatred to Melko and his works who saw them pass. Thus came it that after many moons Mavwin fell in with a band of wandering Gnomes, and entering into discourse with them the tale was told to her of the Rodothlim, such as those Gnomes knew of it, and of the dwelling of Túrin among them. Of the whelming of that abode of folk by the hosts of Melko and by the dragon Glorund they told too, for those deeds were then new and their fame went far and wide. Now Túrin they named not by name, calling him Mormakil, a wild man who fled from the face of Tinwelint and escaped thereafter from the hands of the Orcs.

Then was the heart of Mavwin filled with hope and she questioned them more, but the Noldoli said that they had not heard that any came alive out of that ransacking save such as were haled to Angamandi, and then again was Mavwin's hope dashed low. Yet did she nonetheless get her back to the king's halls, and telling her tale besought his aid against the Foalókë. Now it was Mavwin's thought that perchance Túrin dwelt yet in the thraldom of the dragon and it might fall to them in some manner to liberate him, or again should the prowess of the king's men suffice then might

they slay the worm in vengeance for his evils, and so at his death might he speak words of knowledge concerning the fate of Túrin, were he indeed no longer nigh the caverns of the Rodothlim. Of the mighty hoard that that worm guarded Mavwin recked little, but she spake much of it to Tinwelint, even as the Noldoli had spoken of it to her. Now the folk of Tinwelint were of the woodlands and had scant wealth, yet did they love fair and beauteous things, gold and silver and gems, as do all the Eldar but the Noldoli most of all; nor was the king of other mind in this, and his riches were small, save it be for that glorious Silmaril that many a king had given all his treasury contained if he might possess it.

Therefore did Tinwelint answer: "Now shalt thou have aid, O Mavwin most steadfast, and, openly I say it to thee, it is not for hope of freeing Túrin thereby that I grant it to thee, for such hope I do not see in this tale, but rather the death of hope. Yet it is a truth that I have need and desire of treasury, and it may be that such shall come to me by this venture; yet half of the spoil shalt thou have O Mavwin for the memory of Úrin and Túrin, or else shalt thou ward it for Nienóri thy daughter." Then said Mavwin: "Nay, give me but a woodman's cot and my son," and the king answered: "That I cannot, for I am but a king of the wild Elves, and no Vala of the western isles."

Then Tinwelint gathered a picked band of his warriors and hunters and told them his bidding, and it seemed that the name of the Foalókë was known already among them, and there were many who could guide the band unto the regions of his dwelling, yet was that name a terror to the stoutest and the places of his abode a land of accursed dread. Now the ancient dwellings of the Rodothlim were not utterly distant from the realm of Tinwelint, albeit far enough, but the king said to Mavwin: "Bide now and Nienóri also with me, and my men shall fare against the drake, and all that they do and find in those places will they faithfully report," – and his men said: "Yea, we will do thy bidding, O King," but fear stood in their eyes.

Then Mavwin seeing it said: "Yea, O King, let Nienóri my daughter bide indeed at the feet of Gwedheling the Queen, but I who care not an I die or live will go look upon the dragon and find my son"; and Tinwelint laughed, yet Gwedheling and Nienóri fearing that she spake no jest pled earnestly with her. But she was as adamant, fearing lest this her last hope of rescuing Túrin come to nought through the terror of Tinwelint's men, and none might move her. "Of love, I know," said she, "come all the words ye

speak, yet give me rather a horse to ride and if ye will a sharp knife for my own death at need, and let me be gone." Now these words struck amazement into those Elves that heard, for indeed the wives and daughters of Men in those days were hardy and their youth lasted a great span, yet did this seem a madness to all.

Madder yet did it seem when Nienóri, seeing the obstinacy of her mother, said before them all: "Then I too will go; whither my mother Mavwin goeth thither more easily yet shall I, Nienóri daughter of Úrin, fare"; but Gwedheling said to the king that he allow it not, for she was a fay and perchance foresaw dimly what might be.

Then had Mavwin ended the dispute and departed from the king's presence into the woods, had not Nienóri caught at her robe and stayed her, and so did all plead with Mavwin, till at length it was agreed that the king send a strong party against the Foalókë and that Nienóri and Mavwin ride with them until the regions of the beast be found. Then should they seek a high place whence they might see something of the deeds yet in safety and secrecy, while the warriors crept upon the worm to slay it. Now of this high place a woodsman told, and often had he gazed therefrom upon the dwelling of the worm afar. At length was that band of dragon-slayers got ready, and they were mounted upon goodly horses swift and sure-going, albeit few of those beasts were possessed by the folk of the woods. Horses too were found for Nienóri and for Mavwin, and they rode at the head of the warriors, and folk marvelled much to see their bearing, for the men of Úrin and those amongst whom Nienóri was nurtured were much upon horses, and both knave and maid among them rode even in tender years.

After many days' going came now that cavalcade within view of a place that once had been a fair region, and through it a swift river ran over a rocky bed, and of one side was the brink of it high and tree-grown and of the other the land was more level and fertile and broad-swelling, but beyond the high bank of the river the hills drew close. Thither as they looked they saw that the land had become all barren and was blasted for a great distance about the ancient caverns of the Rodothlim, and the trees were crushed to the earth or snapped. Toward the hills a black heath stretched and the lands were scored with the great slots that that loathly worm made in his creeping.

Many are the dragons that Melko has loosed upon the world and some are more mighty than others. Now the least mighty – yet were they very great beside the Men of those days – are cold as is

the nature of snakes and serpents, and of them a many having wings go with the uttermost noise and speed; but the mightier are hot and very heavy and slow-going, and some belch flame, and fire flickereth beneath their scales, and the lust and greed and cunning evil of these is the greatest of all creatures: and such was the Foalókë whose burning there set all the places of his habitation in waste and desolation. Already greater far had this worm waxen than in the days of the onslaught upon the Rodothlim, and greater too was his hoarded treasure, for Men and Elves and even Orcs he slew, or enthralled that they served him, bringing him food to slake his lust [?on] precious things, and spoils of their harryings to swell his hoard.

Now was that band aghast as they looked upon that region from afar, yet they prepared them for battle, and drawing lots sent one of their number with Nienóri and Mavwin to that high place[21] upon the confines of the withered land that had been named, and it was covered with trees, and might be reached by hidden paths. Even as those three rode thither and the warriors crept stealthily toward the caves, leaving their horses that were already in a sweat of fear, behold the Foalókë came from his lair, and sliding down the bank lay across the stream, as often was his wont. Straightway great fog and steams leapt up and a stench was mingled therein, so that that band was whelmed in vapours and well-nigh stifled, and they crying to one another in the mist displayed their presence to the worm; and he laughed aloud. At that most awful of all sounds of beasts they fled wildly in the mists, and yet they could not discover their horses, for these in an extremity of terror broke loose and fled.

Then Nienóri hearing far cries and seeing the great mist roll toward them from the river turned back with her mother to the place of sundering, and there alighting waited in great doubt. Suddenly came that blind mist upon them as they stood, and with it came flying madly the dim horses of the huntsmen. Then their own catching their terror trampled to death that Elf who was their escort as he caught at the flying bridles, and wild with fear they sped to the dark woods and never more bore Man or Elf upon their saddles; but Mavwin and Nienóri were left alone and succourless upon the borders of the places of fear. Very perilous indeed was their estate, and long they groped in the mist and knew not where they were nor saw they ever any of the band again, and only pale voices seemed to pass them by afar crying out as in dread, and then all was silent. Now did they cling together and being weary

stumbled on heedless whither their steps might go, till on a sudden the sun gleamed thin above them, and hope returned to them; and behold the mists lifted and the airs became clearer and they stood not far from the river. Even now it smoked as it were hot, and behold the Foalókë lay there and his eyes were upon them.

No word did he speak nor did he move, but his baleful eye held their gaze until the strength seemed to leave their knees and their minds grew dim. Then did Nienóri drag herself by a might of will from that influence for a while, and "Behold," she cried, "O serpent of Melko, what wilt thou with us – be swift to say or do, for know that we seek not thee nor thy gold but one Túrin who dwelt here upon a time." Then said the drake, and the earth quaked at him: "Thou liest – glad had ye been at my death, and glad thy band of cravens who now flee gibbering in the woods might they have despoiled me. Fools and liars, liars and cravens, how shall ye slay or despoil Glorund the Foalókë, who ere his power had waxen slew the hosts of the Rodothlim and Orodreth their lord, devouring all his folk."

"Yet perchance," said Nienóri, "one Túrin got him from that fray and dwells still here beneath thy bonds, an he has not escaped thee and is now far hence," and this she said at a venture, hoping against hope, but said the evil one: "Lo! the names of all who dwelt here before the taking of the caves of my wisdom I know, and I say to thee that none who named himself Túrin went hence alive." And even so was Túrin's boast subtly turned against him, for these beasts love ever to speak thus, doubly playing with cunning words.[z]

"Then was Túrin slain in this evil place," said Mavwin, but the dragon answered: "Here did the name of Túrin fade for ever from the earth – but weep not, woman, for it was the name of a craven that betrayed his friends." "Foul beast, cease thy evil sayings," said Mavwin; "slayer of my son, revile not the dead, lest thine own bane come upon thee." "Less proud must be thy words, O Mavwin, an thou wilt escape torment or thy daughter with thee," did that drake answer, but Mavwin cried: "O most accursed, lo! I fear thee not. Take me an thou wilt to thy torments and thy bondage, for of a truth I desired thy death, but suffer only Nienóri my daughter to go back to the dwellings of Men: for she came hither constrained by me, and knowing not the purposes of our journey."

"Seek not to cajole me, woman," sneered that evil one. "Liever

would I keep thy daughter and slay thee or send thee back to thy hovels, but I have need of neither of you." With those words he opened full his evil eyes, and a light shone in them, and Mavwin and Nienóri quaked beneath them and a swoon came upon their minds, and them seemed that they groped in endless tunnels of darkness, and there they found not one another ever again, and calling only vain echoes answered and there was no glimmer of light.

When however after a time that she remembered not the blackness left the mind of Nienóri, behold the river and the withered places of the Foalókë were no more about her, but the deep woodlands, and it was dusk. Now she seemed to herself to awake from dreams of horror nor could she recall them, but their dread hung dark behind her mind, and her memory of all past things was dimmed. So for a long while she strayed lost in the woods, and haply the spell alone kept life in her, for she hungered bitterly and was athirst, and by fortune it was summer, for her garments became torn and her feet unshod and weary, and often she wept, and she went she knew not whither.

Now on a time in an opening in the wood she descried a campment as it were of Men, and creeping nigh by reason of hunger to espy it she saw that they were creatures of a squat and unlovely stature that dwelt there, and most evil faces had they, and their voices and their laughter was as the clash of stone and metal. Armed they were with curved swords and bows of horn, and she was possessed with fear as she looked upon them, although she knew not that they were Orcs, for never had she seen those evil ones before. Now did she turn and flee, but was espied, and one let fly a shaft at her that quivered suddenly in a tree beside her as she ran, and others seeing that it was a woman young and fair gave chase whooping and calling hideously. Now Nienóri ran as best she might for the density of the wood, but soon was she spent and capture and dread thraldom was very near, when one came crashing through the woods as though in answer to her lamentable cries.

Wild and black was his hair yet streaked with grey, and his face was pale and marked as with deep sorrows of the past, and in his hand he bare a great sword whereof all but the very edge was black. Therewith he leapt against the following Orcs and hewed them, and they soon fled, being taken aback, and though some shot arrows at random amidst the trees they did little scathe, and five of them were slain.

Then sat Nienóri upon a stone and for weariness and the

lessened strain of fear sobs shook her and she could not speak; but her rescuer stood beside her awhile and marvelled at her fairness and that she wandered thus lonely in the woods, and at length he said: "O sweet maiden of the woods, whence comest thou, and what may be thy name?"

"Nay, these things I know not," said she. "Yet methinks I stray very far from my home and folk, and many very evil things have fallen upon me in the way, whereof nought but a cloud hangs upon my memory – nay, whence I am or whither I go I know not" – and she wept afresh, but that man spake, saying: "Then behold, I will call thee Níniel, or little one of tears," and thereat she raised her face towards his, and it was very sweet though marred with weeping, and she said with a look of wonderment: "Nay, not Níniel, not Níniel." Yet more might she not remember, and her face filled with distress, so that she cried: "Nay, who art thou, warrior of the woods; why troublest thou me?" "Turambar am I called," said he, "and no home nor kindred have I nor any past to think on, but I wander for ever," and again at that name that maiden's wonder stirred.

"Now," said Turambar, "dry thy tears, O Níniel, for thou hast come upon such safety as these words afford. Lo, one am I now of a small folk of the forest, and a sweet dwelling in a clearing have we far from hence, but today as thy fortune would we fared a-hunting, – aye, and Orc-harrying too, for we are hard put to it to fend those evil ones from our homes."

Then did Níniel (for thus Turambar called her ever, and she learnt to call it her name) fare away with him to his comrades, and they asking little got them upon horses, and Turambar set Níniel before him, and thus they fared as swift as they might from the danger of the Orcs.

Now at the time of the affray of Turambar with the pursuing Orcs was half the day already spent, yet were they already leagues upon their way ere they dismounted once more, and it was then early night. Already at the sunset had it seemed to Níniel that the woods were lighter and less gloomy and the air less evil-laden than behind. Now did they make a camp in a glade and the stars shone clear above where the tree-roof was thin, but Níniel lay a little apart and they gave her many fells to keep her from the night chills, and thus she slept more softly than for many a night and the breezes kissed her face, but Turambar told his comrades of the meeting in the wood and they wondered who she might be or how she came wandering thither as one under a spell of blind forgetfulness.

Next day again they pressed on and so for many journeys more beside until at length weary and fain for rest they came one noon to a woodland stream, and this they followed for some way until, behold, they came to a place where it might be forded by reason of its shallowness and of the rocks that stood up in its course; but on their right it dived in a great fall and fell into a chasm, and Turambar pointing said: "Now are we nigh to home, for this is the fall of the Silver Bowl," but Níniel not knowing why was filled with a dread and could not look upon the loveliness of that foaming water. Now soon came they to places of thinner trees and to a slope whereon but few grew save here and there an ancient oak of great girth, and the grass about their feet was soft, for the clearing had been made many years and was very wide. There stood also a cluster of goodly houses of timber, and a tilth was about them and trees of fruit. To one of these houses that was adorned with strange rude carvings, and flowers bloomed bright about it, did Turambar lead now Níniel. "Behold," said he, "my abode–there an thou listest thou shalt abide for now, but methinks it is a lonely hall, and there be houses of this folk beside where there are maidens and womenfolk, and there wouldst thou liever and better be." So came it afterward that Nienóri dwelt with the wood-rangers,* and after a while entered the house of Bethos, a stout man who had fought though then but a boy in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears. Thence did he escape, but his wife was a Noldo-maiden, as the tale telleth, and very fair, and fair also were his sons and daughters save only his eldest son Tamar Lamefoot.

Now as the days passed Turambar grew to love Níniel very greatly indeed, and all the folk beside loved her for her great loveliness and sweetness, yet was she ever half-sorrowful and often distraught of mind, as one that seeks for something mislaid that soon she must discover, so that folk said: "Would that the Valar would lift the spell that lies upon Níniel." Nonetheless for the most part she was happy indeed among the folk and in the house of Bethos, and each day she grew ever fairer, and Tamar Lamefoot who was held of little account loved her though in vain.

Now came days when life once more seemed to contain joy to Turambar, and the bitterness of the past grew dim and far away, and a fresh love was in his heart. Then did he think to put his fate

* In the margin, apparently with reference to the word 'wood-rangers', is written *Vettar*.

for ever from him and live out his life there in the woodland homes with children about him, and looking upon Níniel he desired to wed her. Then did he often press his suit with her, yet though he was a man of valiance and renown she delayed him, saying nor yea nor no, yet herself she knew not why, for it seemed to her heart that she loved him deeply, fearing for him were he away, and knowing happiness when he was nigh.

Now it was a custom of that folk to obey a chief, and he was chosen by them from their stoutest men, and that office did he hold until of his own will he laid it down again being sick or gone in years, or were he slain. And at that time Bethos was their chief; but he was slain by evil luck in a foray not long after – for despite his years he still rode abroad – and it fell out that a new captain must be chosen. In the end then did they name Turambar, for his lineage, in that it was known among them that he was son of Úrin, was held in esteem among those stout rebels against Melko, whereas[23] he had beside become a very mighty man in all deeds and one of wisdom great beyond his years, by reason of his far wanderings and his dealings with the Elves.

Seeing therefore the love of their new chief for Níniel and thinking they knew that she loved him also in return, those men began to say how they would lief see their lord wed, and that it was folly to delay for no good cause; but this word came to the ears of Níniel, and at length she consented to be the wife of Turambar, and all were fain thereat. A goodly feast was made and there was song and mirth, and Níniel became lady of the woodland-rangers and dwelt thereafter in Turambar's house. There great was their happiness, though there lay at times a chill foreboding upon Níniel's heart, but Turambar was in joy and said in his heart: "'Twas well that I did name myself Turambar, for lo! I have overcome the doom of evil that was woven about my feet." The past he laid aside and to Níniel he spoke not overmuch of bygone things, save of his father and mother and the sister he had not seen, but always was Níniel troubled at such talk and he knew not why.[24] But of his flight from the halls of Tinwelint and the death of Beleg and of his seeking back to Hisilómë he said never a word, and the thought of Failivrin lay locked in his deepest heart well-nigh forgotten.

Naught ever might Níniel tell him of her days before, and did he ask her distress was written on her face as though he troubled the surface of dark dreams, and he grieved at times thereat, but it weighed not much upon him.

Now fare the days by and Níniel and Turambar dwell in peace, but Tamar Lamefoot wanders the woods thinking the world an ill and bitter place, and he loved Níniel very greatly nor might he stifle his love. But behold, in those days the Foalókë waxed fat, and having many bands of Noldoli and of Orcs subject to him he thought to extend his dominion far and wide. Indeed in many places in those days these beasts of Melko's did in like manner, setting up kingdoms of terror of their own that flourished beneath the evil mantle of Melko's lordship. So it was that the bands of Glorund the drake harried the folk of Tinwelint very grievously, and at length there came some nigh even to those woods and glades that were beloved of Turambar and his folk.

Now those woodmen fled not but dealt stoutly with their foes, and the wrath of Glorund the worm was very great when tidings were brought to him of a brave folk of Men that dwelt far beyond the river and that his marauders might not subdue them. It is told indeed that despite the cunning of his evil designs he did not yet know where was the dwelling of Turambar or of Nienóri; and of truth in those days it seemed that fortune smiled on Turambar awhile, for his people waxed and they became prosperous, and many escaped even from uttermost Hisilómë and came unto him, and store of wealth and good things he gathered, for all his battles brought him victory and booty. Like a king and queen did Turambar and Níniel become, and there was song and mirth in those glades of their dwelling, and much happiness in their halls. And Níniel conceived.[25]

Much of this did spies report to the Foalókë, and his wrath was terrible. Moreover his greed was mightily kindled, so that after pondering much he set a guard that he might trust to watch his dwelling and his treasury, and the captain of these was Mîm the dwarf.[26] Then leaving the caves and the places of his sleep he crossed the streams and drew into the woods, and they blazed before his face. Tidings of this came swiftly to Turambar, but he feared not as yet nor indeed heeded the tale much, for it was a very great way from the home of the woodmen to the caverns of the worm. But now sank Níniel's heart, and though she knew not wherefore a weight of dread and sorrow lay upon her, and seldom after the coming of that word did she smile, so that Turambar wondered and was sad.

Now draweth the Foalókë during that time through the deep woods and a path of desolation lies behind, and yet in his creeping a very great while passes, until, behold, suddenly a party of the

woodmen come upon him unawares sleeping in the woods among the broken trees. Of these several were overcome by the noxious breath of the beast and after were slain; but two making their utmost speed brought tidings to their lord that the tale aforetime had not been vain, and indeed now was the drake crept even within the confines of his realm; and so saying they fell fainting before his feet.

Now the place where the dragon lay was low-lying and a little hill there was, not far distant, islanded among the trees but itself not much wooded, whence might be espied albeit afar off much of that region now torn by the passage of the drake. A stream there was too that ran through the forest in that part between the drake and the dwellings of the woodmen, but its course ran very nigh to the dragon and it was a narrow stream with banks deep-cloven and o'erhung with trees. Wherefore Turambar purposed now to take his stoutest men to that knoll and watch if they could the dragon's movements in secret, that perchance they might fall upon him at some disadvantage and contrive to slay him, for in this lay their best hope. This band he suffered not to be very great, and the rest at his bidding took arms and scoured about, fearing that hosts of the Orcs were come with the worm their lord. This indeed was not so, and he came alone trusting in his overwhelming power.

Now when Turambar made ready to depart then Níniel begged to ride beside him and he consented, for he loved her and it was his thought that if he fell and the drake lived then might none of that people be saved, and he would liever have Níniel by him, hoping perchance to snatch her at the least from the clutches of the worm, by death at his own or one of his liege's hands.

So rode forth together Turambar and Níniel, as that folk knew them, and behind were a score of good men. Now the distance to that knoll among the woods they compassed in a day's journey, and after them though it were against the bidding and counsel of Turambar there stole a great concourse of his folk, even women and children. The lure of a strange dread held them, and some thought to see a great fight, and others went with the rest thinking little, nor did any think to see what in the end their eyes saw; and they followed not far behind, for Turambar's party went slowly and warily. When first then Turambar suffered her to ride beside him Níniel was blither than for long she had been, and she brightened the foreboding of those men's hearts; but soon they came to a place not far from the foot of the knoll, and there her heart sank, and indeed a gloom fell upon all.

Yet very fair was that place, for here flowed that same stream that further down wound past the dragon's lair in a deep bed cloven deep into the earth; and it came rushing cold from the hills beyond the woodmen's homes, and it fell over a great fall where the water-worn rock jutted smooth and grey from amid the grass. Now this was the head of that force which the woodmen named the Silver Bowl, and aforetime Turambar and Níniel had passed it by, faring home first from the rescuing of Níniel. The height of that fall was very great and the waters had a loud and musical voice, splashing into a silver foam far below where they had worn a great hollow in the rocks; and this hollow was o'ershadowed by trees and bushes, but the sun gleamed through upon the spray; and about the head of the fall there was an open glade and a green sward where grew a wealth of flowers, and men loved that spot.

Here did Níniel of a sudden weep, and casting herself upon Turambar begged him tempt not fate but rather fly with her and all his folk, leading them into distant lands. But looking at her he said: "Nay, Níniel mine, nor thou nor I die this day, nor yet tomorrow, by the evil of the dragon or by the foemen's swords," but he knew not the fulfilment of his words; and hearing them Níniel quelled her weeping and was very still. Having therefore rested a while here those warriors afterward climbed the hill and Níniel fared with them. Afar off they might see from its summit a wide tract where all the trees were broken and the lands were hurt[27] and scorched and the earth black, yet nigh the edge of the trees that were still unharmed, and that was not far from the lip of the deep river-chasm, there arose a thin smoke of great blackness, and men said: "There lieth the worm."

Then were counsels of many a kind spoken upon that hill-top, and men feared to go openly against the dragon by day or by night or whether he waked or slept, and seeing their dread Turambar gave them a rede, and it was taken, and these were his words: "Well have ye said, O huntsmen of the woods, that not by day or by night shall men hope to take a dragon of Melko unawares, and behold this one hath made a waste about him, and the earth is beaten flat so that none may creep near and be hidden. Wherefore whoso hath the heart shall come with me and we will go down the rocks to the foot of the fall, and so gaining the path of the stream perchance we may come as nigh to the drake as may be. Then must we climb if we are able up under the near bank and so wait, for methinks the Foalókë will rest not much longer ere he draweth on towards our dwellings. Thus must he either cross this deep stream or turn far

out of his ways, for he is grown too mighty to creep along its bed. Now I think not that he will turn aside, for it is but a ditch, a narrow rut filled with trickling water, to the great Foalókë of the golden caves. If however he belie my counsel and come not on by this path, some few of you must take courage in your hearts, striving to decoy him warily back across the stream, that there we who lie hid may give him his bane stabbing from beneath, for the armour of these vile worms is of little worth upon their bellies."

Now of that band were there but six that stood forward readily to go with Turambar, and he seeing that said that he had thought there were more than six brave men among his folk, yet after that he would not suffer any of the others to go with him, saying that better were the six without the hindrance of the fearful. Then did Turambar take farewell of Níniel and they kissed upon the hilltop, and it was then late afternoon, but Níniel's heart went as to stone with grief; and all that company descended to the head of Silver Bowl, and there she beheld her lord climb to the fall's bottom with his six companions. Now when he was vanished far below she spake bitterly to those who had dared not to go, and they for shame answered not but crept back unto the hill-top and gazed out towards the dragon's lair, and Níniel sat beside the water looking before her, and she wept not but was in anguish.

None stayed beside her save Tamar alone who had fared unbidden with that company, and he had loved her since first she dwelt in Bethos' halls, and once had thought to win her ere Turambar took her. The lameness of Tamar was with him from childhood, yet was he both wise and kindly, though held of little account among those folk, to whom strength was safety and valour the greatest pride of men. Now however did Tamar bear a sword, and many had scoffed at him for that, yet he took joy at the chance of guarding Níniel, albeit she noticed him not.

Now is it to tell that Turambar reached the place of his design after great labour in the rocky bed of the stream, and with his men clambered with difficulty up the steep side of that ravine. Just below the lip of it they were lodged in certain overhanging trees, and not far off they might hear the great breathing of the beast, and some of his companions fell in dread.

Already had darkness come and all the night they clung there, and there was a strange flickering where the dragon lay and dread noises and a quaking if he stirred, and when dawn came Turambar saw that he had but three companions, and he cursed the others for their cravenhood, nor doth any tale tell whither those un-

faithful ones fled. On this day did all come to pass as Turambar had thought, for the drake bestirring himself drew slowly to the chasm's edge and turned not aside, but sought to overcreep it and come thus at the homes of the woodmen. Now the terror of his oncoming was very great, for the earth shook, and those three feared lest the trees that upheld them should loosen their roots and fall into the rocky stream below. The leaves too of those trees that grew nigh were shrivelled in the serpent's breath, yet were they not hurt because of the shelter of the bank.

At length did the drake reach the stream-edge and the sight of his evil head and dripping jaws was utterly hideous, and these they saw clearly and were in terror lest he too espy them, for he crossed not over at the spot where Turambar had chosen to lie hid because of the narrowness here of the chasm and its lesser depth. Rather he began to heave himself now across the ravine a little below them, and so slipping from their places Turambar and his men reached as swiftly as might be the stream's bed and came beneath the belly of the worm. Here was the heat so great and so vile the stench that his men were taken with a sore dread and durst not climb the bank again. Then in his wrath Turambar would have turned his sword against them, but they fled, and so was it that alone he scaled the wall until he came close beneath the dragon's body, and he reeled by reason of the heat and of the stench and clung to a stout bush.

Then abiding until a very vital and unfended spot was within stroke, he heaved up Gurtholfin his black sword and stabbed with all his strength above his head, and that magic blade of the Rodothlim went into the vitals of the dragon even to the hilt, and the yell of his death-pain rent the woods and all that heard it were aghast.

Then did that drake writhe horribly and the huge spires of his contortions were terrible to see, and all the trees he brake that stood nigh to the place of his agony. Almost had he crossed the chasm when Gurtholfin pierced him, and now he cast himself upon its farther bank and laid all waste about him, and lashed and coiled and made a yelling and a bellowing such that the stoutest blenched and turned to flee. Now those afar thought that this was the fearsome noise of battle betwixt the seven, Turambar and his comrades,[28] and little they hoped ever to see any of them return, and Níniel's heart died within her at the sounds; but below in the ravine those three cravens who had watched Turambar from afar fled now in terrror back towards the fall, and Turambar clung nigh to the lip of the chasm white and trembling, for he was spent.

At length did those noises of horror cease, and there arose a great smoking, for Glorund was dying. Then in utter hardihood did Turambar creep out alone from his hiding, for in the agony of the Foalókë his sword was dragged from his hand ere he might withdraw it, and he cherished Gurtholfin beyond all his possessions, for all things died, or man or beast, whom once its edges bit. Now Turambar saw where the dragon lay, and he was stretched out stiff upon his side, and Gurtholfin stood yet in his belly; but he breathed still.

Nonetheless Turambar creeping up set his foot upon his body and withdrew Gurtholfin hardly with all his strength, and as he did so he said in the triumph of his heart: "Now do we meet again, O Glorund, thou and I, Turambar, who was once named brave";[29] but even as he spake the evil blood spouted from that wound upon his hand and burnt it, and it was withered, so that for the sudden pain he cried aloud. Then the Foalókë opening his dread eyes looked upon him, and he fell in a swoon beside the drake and his sword was under him.

Thus did the day draw on and there came no tidings to the hill-top, nor could Níniel longer bear her anguish but arose and made as to leave that glade above the waterfall, and Tamar Lamefoot said: "What dost thou seek to do?" but she: "I would seek my lord and lay me in death beside him, for methinks he is dead", and he sought to dissuade her but without avail. And even as evening fell that fair lady crept through the woods and she would not that Tamar should follow her, but seeing that he did so she fled blindly through the trees, tearing her clothes and marring her face in places of thorny undergrowth, and Tamar being lame could not keep up with her. So fell night upon the woods and all was still, and a great dread for Níniel fell upon Tamar, so that he cursed his weakness and his heart was bitter, yet did he cease not to follow so swiftly as he might, and losing sight of her he bent his course towards that part of the forest nigh to the ravine where had been fought the worm's last fight, for indeed that might be perceived by the watchers on the hill. Now rose a bright moon when the night was old, and Tamar, wandering often alone far and wide from the woodmen's homes, knew those places, and came at last to the edge of that desolation that the dragon had made in his agony; but the moonlight was very bright, and staying among the bushes near the edge of that place Tamar heard and saw all that there betid.

Behold now Níniel had reached those places not long before

him, and straightway did she run fearless into the open for love of her lord, and so found him lying with his withered hand in a swoon across his sword; but the beast that lay hugely stretched beside she heeded not at all, and falling beside Turambar she wept, and kissed his face, and put salve upon his hand, for such she had brought in a little box when first they sallied forth, fearing that many hurts would be gotten ere men wended home.

Yet Turambar woke not at her touch, nor stirred, and she cried aloud, thinking him now surely dead: "O Turambar, my lord, awake, for the serpent of wrath is dead and I alone am near!" But lo! at those words the drake stirred his last, and turning his baleful eyes upon her ere he shut them for ever said: "O thou Nienóri daughter of Mavwin, I give thee joy that thou hast found thy brother at the last, for the search hath been weary – and now is he become a very mighty fellow and a stabber of his foes unseen"; but Nienóri sat as one stunned, and with that Glorund died, and with his death the veil of his spells fell from her, and all her memory grew crystal clear, neither did she forget any of those things that had befallen her since first she fell beneath the magic of the worm; so that her form shook with horror and anguish. Then did she start to her feet, standing wanly in the moon, and looking upon Turambar with wide eyes thus spake she aloud: "Then is thy doom spent at last. Well art thou dead, O most unhappy," but distraught with her woe suddenly she fled from that place and fared wildly away as one mad whithersoever her feet led her.

But Tamar whose heart was numbed with grief and ruth followed as he might, recking little of Turambar, for wrath at the fate of Nienóri filled all his heart. Now the stream and the deep chasm lay across her path, but it so chanced that she turned aside ere she came to its banks and followed its winding course through stony and thorny places until she came once again to the glade at the head of the great roaring fall, and it was empty as the first grey light of a new day filtered through the trees.

There did she stay her feet and standing spake as to herself: "O waters of the forest whither do ye go? Wilt thou take Nienóri, Nienóri daughter of Úrin, child of woe? O ye white foams, would that ye might lave me clean – but deep, deep must be the waters that would wash my memory of this nameless curse. O bear me hence, far far away, where are the waters of the unremembering sea. O waters of the forest whither do ye go?" Then ceasing suddenly she cast herself over the fall's brink, and perished where it foams about the rocks below; but at that moment the sun arose

above the trees and light fell upon the waters, and the waters roared unheeding above the death of Nienóri.

Now all this did Tamar behold, and to him the light of the new sun seemed dark, but turning from those places he went to the hill-top and there was already gathered a great concourse of folk, and among them were those three that had last deserted Turambar, and they made a story for the ears of the folk. But Tamar coming stood suddenly before them, and his face was terrible to see, so that a whisper ran among them: "He is dead"; but others said: "What then has befallen the little Níniel?" – but Tamar cried aloud: "Hear, O my people, and say if there is a fate like unto the one I tell unto thee, or a woe so heavy. Dead is the drake, but at his side lieth also Turambar dead, even he who was first called Túrin son of Úrin,[30] and that is well; aye very well," and folk murmured, wondering at his speech, and some said that he was mad. But Tamar said: "For know, O people, that Níniel the fair beloved of you all and whom I love dearer than my heart is dead, and the waters roar above her, for she has leapt o'er the falls of Silver Bowl desiring never more to see the light of day. Now endeth all that evil spell, now is the doom of the folk of Úrin terribly fulfilled, for she that ye called Níniel was even Nienóri daughter of Úrin, and this did she know or ever she died, and this did she tell to the wild woods, and their echo came to me."

At those words did the hearts of all who stood there break for sorrow and for dread, yet did none dare to go to the place of the anguish of that fair lady, for a sad spirit abideth there yet and none sets foot upon its sward; but a great remorse pierced the hearts of those three cravens, and creeping from the throng they went to seek their lord's body, and behold they found him stirring and alive, for when the dragon died the swoon had left him, and he slept a deep sleep of weariness, yet now was he awakening and was in pain. Even as those three stood by he spake and said "Níniel", and at that word they hid their faces for ruth and horror, and could not look upon his face, but afterward they roused him, and behold he was very fain of his victory; yet suddenly marking his hand he said: "Lo! one has been that has tended my hurt with skill – who think ye that it was?" – but they answered him not, for they guessed. Now therefore was Turambar borne weary and hurt back among his folk, and one sped before and cried that their lord lived, but men knew not if they were glad; and as he came among them many turned aside their faces to hide their hearts' perplexity and their tears, and none durst speak.

But Turambar said to those that stood nigh: "Where is Níniel, my Níniel – for I had thought to find her here in gladness – yet if she has returned rather to my halls then is it well", but those that heard could no longer restrain their weeping, and Turambar rose crying: "What new ill is this – speak, speak, my people, and torment me not!" But one said: "Níniel alas is dead my lord," but Turambar cried out bitterly against the Valar and his fate of woe, and at last another said: "Aye, she is dead, for she fell even into the depths of Silver Bowl," but Tamar who stood by muttered: "Nay, she cast herself thither." Then Turambar catching those words seized him by the arm and cried: "Speak, thou club-foot, speak, say what meaneth thy foul speech, or thou shalt lose thy tongue," for his misery was terrible to see.

Now was Tamar's heart in a great turmoil of pain for the dread things that he had seen and heard, and the long hopelessness of his love for Níniel, so did rage against Turambar kindle suddenly within him, and shaking off his touch he said: "A maid thou foundest in the wild woods and gave her a jesting name, that thou and all the folk called her Níniel, the little one of tears. Ill was that jest, Turambar, for lo! she has cast herself away blind with horror and with woe, desiring never to see thee again, and the name she named herself in death was Nienóri daughter of Úrin, child of woe, nor may all the waters of the Silver Bowl as they drop into the deep shed the full tale of tears o'er Níniel."

Then Turambar with a roar took his throat and shook him, saying: "Thou liest – thou evil son of Bethos" – but Tamar gasped "Nay, accursed one; so spake Glorund the drake, and Níniel hearing knew that it was true." But Turambar said: "Then go commune in Mandos with thy Glorund," and he slew him before the face of the people, and fared after as one mad, shouting "He lieth, he lieth"; and yet being free now of blindness and of dreams in his deep heart he knew that it was true and that now his weird was spent at last.

So did he leave the folk behind and drive heedless through the woods calling ever the name of Níniel, till the woods rang most dismally with that word, and his going led him by circuitous ways ever to the glade of Silver Bowl, and none had dared to follow him. There shone the sun of afternoon, and lo, were all the trees grown sere although it was high summer still, and noise there was as of dying autumn in the leaves. Withered were all the flowers and the grass, and the voice of the falling water was sadder than tears for the death of the white maiden Nienóri daughter of Úrin that there

had been. There stood Turambar spent at last, and there he drew his sword, and said: "Hail, Gurtholfin, wand of death, for thou art all men's bane and all men's lives fain wouldst thou drink, knowing no lord or faith save the hand that wields thee if it be strong. Thee only have I now – slay me therefore and be swift, for life is a curse, and all my days are creeping foul, and all my deeds are vile, and all I love is dead." And Gurtholfin said: "That will I gladly do, for blood is blood, and perchance thine is not less sweet than many a one's that thou hast given me ere now"; and Turambar cast himself then upon the point of Gurtholfin, and the dark blade took his life.

But later some came timidly and bore him away and laid him in a place nigh, and raised a great mound over him, and thereafter some drew a great rock there with a smooth face, and on it were cut strange signs such as Turambar himself had taught them in dead days, bringing that knowledge from the caves of the Rodothlim, and that writing said:

Turambar slayer of Glorund the Worm
who also was Túrin Mormakil
Son of Úrin of the Woods

and beneath that was carven the word "Níniel" (or child of tears); but she was not there, nor where the waters have laid her fair form doth any man know.'

Now thereupon did Eltas cease his speaking, and suddenly all who hearkened wept; but he said thereto: 'Yea, 'tis an unhappy tale, for sorrow hath fared ever abroad among Men and doth so still, but in the wild days were very terrible things done and suffered; and yet hath Melko seldom devised more cruelty, nor do I know a tale that is more pitiful.'

Then after a time some questioned him concerning Mavwin and Úrin and after happenings, and he said: 'Now of Mavwin hath no sure record been preserved like unto the tale of Túrin Turambar her son, and many things are said and some of them differ from one another; but this much can I tell to ye, that after those dread deeds the woodfolk had no heart for their abiding place and departed to other valleys of the wood, and yet did a few linger sadly nigh their old homes; and once came an aged dame wandering through the woods, and she chanced upon that carven rock. To her did one of those woodmen read the meaning of the signs, and he told her all the tale as he remembered it – but she was silent, and

nor spoke nor moved. Then said he: "Thy heart is heavy, for it is a tale to move all men to tears." But she said: "Ay, sad indeed is my heart, for I am Mavwin, mother of those twain," and that man perceived that not yet had that long tale of sorrow reached its ending – but Mavwin arose and went out into the woods crying in anguish, and for long time she haunted that spot so that the woodman and his folk fled and came never back, and none may say whether indeed it was Mavwin that came there or her dark shade that sought not back to Mandos by reason of her great unhappiness.[31]

Yet it is said that all these dread happenings Úrin saw by the magic of Melko, and was continually tempted by that Ainu to yield to his will, and he would not; but when the doom of his folk was utterly fulfilled then did Melko think to use Úrin in another and more subtle way, and he released him from that high and bitter place where he had sat through many years in torment of heart. But Melko went to him and spoke evilly of the Elves to him, and especially did he accuse Tinwelint[32] of weakness and cravenhood. "Never can I comprehend," said he, "wherefore it is that there be still great and wise Men who trust to the friendship of the Elves, and becoming fools enough to resist my might do treble their folly in looking for sure help therein from Gnomes or Fairies. Lo, O Úrin, but for the faint heart of Tinwelint of the woodland how could my designs have come to pass, and perchance now had Nienóri lived and Mavwin thy wife had wept not, being glad for the recovery of her son. Go therefore, O foolish one, and return to eat the bitter bread of almsgiving in the halls of thy fair friends."

Then did Úrin bowed with years and sorrow depart unmolested from Melko's realms and came unto the better lands, but ever as he went he pondered Melko's saying and the cunning web of woven truth and falsity clouded his heart's eye, and he was very bitter in spirit. Now therefore he gathered to him a band of wild Elves,[33] and they were waxen a fierce and lawless folk that dwelt not with their kin, who thrust them into the hills to live or die as they might. On a time therefore Úrin led them to the caves of the Rodothlim, and behold the Orcs had fled therefrom at the death of Glorund, and one only dwelt there still, an old misshapen dwarf who sat ever on the pile of gold singing black songs of enchantment to himself. But none had come nigh till then to despoil him, for the terror of the drake lived longer than he, and none had ventured thither again for dread of the very spirit of Glorund the worm.[34] Now therefore when those Elves approached the dwarf stood

before the doors of the cave that was once the abode of Galweg, and he cried: "What will ye with me, O outlaws of the hills?" But Úrin answered: "We come to take what is not thine." Then said that dwarf, and his name was Mîm: "O Úrin, little did I think to see thee, a lord of Men, with such a rabble. Hearken now to the words of Mîm the fatherless, and depart, touching not this gold no more than were it venomous fires. For has not Glorund lain long years upon it, and the evil of the drakes of Melko is on it, and no good can it bring to Man or Elf, but I, only I, can ward it, Mîm the dwarf, and by many a dark spell have I bound it to myself." Then Úrin wavered, but his men were wroth at that, so that he bid them seize it all, and Mîm stood by and watched, and he broke forth into terrible and evil curses. Thereat did Úrin smite him, saying: "We came but to take what was not thine – now for thy evil words we will take what is thine as well, even thy life."

But Mîm dying said unto Úrin: "Now Elves and Men shall rue this deed, and because of the death of Mîm the dwarf shall death follow this gold so long as it remain on Earth, and a like fate shall every part and portion share with the whole." And Úrin shuddered, but his folk laughed.

Now Úrin caused his followers to bear this gold to the halls of Tinwelint, and they murmured at that, but he said: "Are ye become as the drakes of Melko, that would lie and wallow in gold and seek no other joy? A sweeter life shall ye have in the court of that king of greed, an ye bear such treasury to him, than all the gold of Valinor can get you in the empty woods."

Now his heart was bitter against Tinwelint, and he desired to have a vengeance on him, as may be seen. So great was that hoard that great though Úrin's company might be scarce could they bear it to the caves of Tinwelint the king, and some 'tis said was left behind and some was lost upon the way, and evil has followed its finders for ever.

Yet in the end that laden host came to the bridge before the doors, and being asked by the guards Úrin said: "Say to the king that Úrin the Steadfast is come bearing gifts," and this was done. Then Úrin let bear all that magnificence before the king, but it was hidden in sacks or shut in boxes of rough wood; and Tinwelint greeted Úrin with joy and with amaze and bid him thrice welcome, and he and all his court arose in honour of that lord of Men; but Úrin's heart was blind by reason of his tormented years and of the lies of Melko, and he said: "Nay, O King, I do not desire to hear such words – but say only, where is Mavwin my wife, and knowest

thou what death did Nienóri my daughter die?" And Tinwelint said that he knew not.

Then did Úrin fiercely tell that tale, and the king and all his folk about him hid their faces for great ruth, but Úrin said: "Nay,[35] had you such a heart as have the least of Men, never would they have been lost; but lo, I bring you now a payment in full for the troubles of your puny band that went against Glorund the drake, and deserting gave up my dear ones to his power. Gaze, O Tinwelint, sweetly on my gifts, for methinks the lustre of gold is all your heart contains."

Then did men cast down that treasury at the king's feet, uncovering it so that all that court were dazzled and amazed – but Úrin's men understood now what was forward and were little pleased. "Behold the hoard of Glorund," said Úrin, "bought by the death of Nienóri with the blood of Túrin slayer of the worm. Take it, O craven king, and be glad that some Men be brave to win thee riches."

Then were Úrin's words more than Tinwelint could endure, and he said: "What meanest thou, child of Men, and wherefore upbraidest thou me?[36] Long did I foster thy son and forgave him the evil of his deeds, and afterward thy wife I succoured, giving way against my counsel to her wild desires. Melko it is that hates thee and not I. Yet what is it to me – and wherefore dost thou of the uncouth race of Men endure to upbraid a king of the Eldalië? Lo! in Palisor my life began years uncounted before the first of Men awoke. Get thee gone, O Úrin, for Melko hath bewitched thee, and take thy riches with thee" – but he forebore to slay or to bind Úrin in spells, remembering his ancient valiance in the Eldar's cause.

Then Úrin departed, but would not touch the gold, and stricken in years he reached Hisilómë and died among Men, but his words living after him bred estrangement between Elves and Men. Yet it is said that when he was dead his shade fared into the woods seeking Mavwin, and long those twain haunted the woods about the fall of Silver Bowl bewailing their children. But the Elves of Kôr have told, and they know, that at last Úrin and Mavwin fared to Mandos, and Nienóri was not there nor Túrin their son. Turambar indeed had followed Nienóri along the black pathways to the doors of Fui, but Fui would not open to them, neither would Vefántur. Yet now the prayers of Úrin and Mavwin came even to Manwë, and the Gods had mercy on their unhappy fate, so that those twain Túrin and Nienóri entered into Fôs'Almir, the

bath of flame, even as Urwendi and her maidens had done in ages past before the first rising of the Sun, and so were all their sorrows and stains washed away, and they dwelt as shining Valar among the blessed ones, and now the love of that brother and sister is very fair; but Turambar indeed shall stand beside Fionwë in the Great Wrack, and Melko and his drakes shall curse the sword of Mormakil.'

And so saying Eltas made an end, and none asked further.

NOTES

1 The passage was rejected before the change of *Tintoglin* to *Tinwelint*; see p. 69.

2 Above the name *Egnor* is written 'Damrod the Gnome'; see Commentary, pp.139–40.

3 Here and immediately below the name as first written was *Tinthellon*; this rider must belong to the same time as the note on the MS directing that *Tintoglin* be changed to *Ellon* or *Tinthellon* (p. 69). See note 32.

4 Associated with this replacement is a note on the manuscript reading: 'If Beren be a Gnome (as now in the story of Tinúviel) the references to Beren must be altered.' In the rejected passage Egnor father of Beren 'was akin to Mavwin', i.e. Egnor was a Man. See notes 5 and 6, and the Commentary, p. 139.

5 'Túrin son of Úrin': original reading 'Beren Ermabwed'. See notes 4 and 6.

6 Original reading 'and when also the king heard of the kinship between Mavwin and Beren'. See notes 4 and 5.

7 *Linwë (Tinto)* was the king's original 'Elvish' name, and belongs to the same 'layer' of names as *Tintoglin* (see I.115, 131). Its retention here (not changed to *Tinwë*) is clearly a simple oversight. See notes 19 and 20.

8 Original reading 'seeing that he was a Man of great size'.

9 With this passage cf. that in the *Tale of Tinúviel* p. 11, which is closely similar. That the passage in *Turambar* is the earlier (to be presumed in any case) is shown by the fact that that in *Tinúviel* is only relevant if Beren is a Gnome, not a Man (see note 4).

10 'dreams came to them': original reading 'dreams the Valar sent to them'.

11 'and his name was Glorund' was added later, as were the subsequent occurrences of the name on pp. 86, 94, 98; but from the first on p. 103 onwards *Glorund* appears in the manuscript as first written.

12 'with the aid of Flinding whose wounds were not great': original reading 'with the aid of a lightly wounded man'. All the subsequent references to Flinding in this passage were added.

13 Original reading 'Túrin's heart was bitter, and so it was that he and that other alone returned from that battle'. – In the phrase 'reproaching Túrin that he had ever withstood his wise counsels' 'ever' means 'always': Túrin had always resisted Orodreth's counsels.

14 Original reading 'although all folk at that time held such a deed grievous and cowardly'.

15 Original reading 'and to look upon Nienóri again'. This was emended to 'and to look upon Nienóri whom he had never seen'. The words 'since his first days' were added still later.

16 The following passage was struck out, apparently at the time of writing:

> "Indeed," said they, "it is the report of men of travel and rangers of the hills that for many and many moons have even the farthest marches been free of them and unwonted safe, and so have many men fared out of Hisilómë to the Lands Beyond." And this was the truth that during the life of Turambar as an exile from the court of Tintoglin or hidden amongst the Rothwarin Melko had troubled Hisilómë little and the paths thereto.

(*Rothwarin* was the original form throughout, replaced later by *Rodothlim*.) See p. 92, where the situation described in the rejected passage is referred to the earlier time (before the destruction of the Rodothlim) when Mavwin and Nienóri left Hisilómë.

17 Original reading 'twice seven'. When Túrin fled from the land of Tinwelint it was exactly 12 years since he had left his mother's house (p. 75), and Nienóri was born before that, but just how long before is not stated.

18 After 'a great and terrible project afoot' the original reading was 'the story of which entereth not into this tale'. I do not know whether this means that when my father first wrote here of Melko's 'project' he did not have the destruction of the Rodothlim in mind.

19 'the king': original reading 'Linwë'. See note 7.

20 *Linwë*: an oversight. See note 7.

21 'that high place': original reading 'a hill'.

22 This sentence, 'And even so was Túrin's boast . . .', was added in pencil later. The reference is to Túrin's naming himself *Turambar* – 'from this hour shall none name me Túrin if I live', p. 86.

23 This sentence, from 'for his lineage . . .' to approximately this point, is very lightly struck through. On the opposite page of the MS is hastily scribbled: 'Make Turambar never tell new folk of his lineage (will bury the past) – this avoids chance (as cert.) of Níniel hearing his lineage from any.' See Commentary, p. 131.

24 Against this sentence there is a pencilled question-mark in the margin. See note 23 and the Commentary, p. 131.

25 'And Níniel conceived' was added in pencil later. See Commentary, p. 135.

26 'and the captain of these was Mîm the dwarf' added afterwards in pencil. See Commentary p. 137.

27 The word *tract* may be read as *track*, and the word *hurt* (but with less probability) as *burnt*.

28 As it stands this sentence can hardly mean other than that the people thought that the men were fighting among themselves; but why should they think such a thing? More likely, my father inadvertently missed out the end of the sentence: 'betwixt the seven, Turambar and his comrades, and the dragon.'

29 Turambar refers to Glorund's words to him before the caves of the Rodothlim: 'O Túrin Mormakil, who wast once named brave' (p. 86).

30 These words, from 'even he who . . .', were added later in pencil. *Úrin* may also be read as *Húrin*.

31 From this point to the end of Eltas' tale the original text was struck through, and is followed in the manuscript book by two brief narrative outlines, these being rejected also. The text given here (from 'Yet it is said . . .') is found on slips placed in the book. For the rejected material see the Commentary, pp. 135–7.

32 Throughout the final portion of the text (that written on slips, see note 31) the king's name was first written *Tinthellon*, not *Tintoglin* (see note 3).

33 'Elves': original reading 'men'. The same change was made below ('Now therefore when those Elves approached'), and a little later 'men' was removed in two places ('his folk laughed', 'Úrin caused his followers to bear the gold', p. 114); but several occurrences of 'men' were retained, possibly through oversight, though 'men' is used of Elves very frequently in the *Tale of Turambar* (e.g. 'Beleg and Flinding both stout men', p. 80).

34 This sentence, from 'But none had come nigh . . .', was added later in pencil.

35 This sentence, from 'Then did Úrin fiercely . . .', was added later, replacing 'Then said Úrin: "Yet had you such a heart . . ."'

36 This sentence, from "What meanest thou . . .", replaces the original reading "Begone, and take thy filth with thee."

Changes made to names in *The Tale of Turambar*

Fuithlug < *Fothlug* < *Fothlog*

Nienóri At the first occurrence (p. 71) my father originally wrote *Nyenòre (Nienor)*. Afterwards he struck out *Nyenòre*, removed the brackets round *Nienor*, and added *-i*, giving *Nienori*. At subsequent occurrences the name was written both *Nienor* and

Nienóri, but *Nienor* was changed to *Nienóri* later throughout the earlier part of the tale. Towards the end, and in the text written on slips that concludes it, the form is *Nienor*. I have given *Nienóri* throughout.

Tinwelint < *Tinthellon* (p. 72, twice). See p. 69 and note 3. *Tinwelint* < *Tinthellon* also in the concluding portion of the text, see note 32.

Tinwelint < *Tintoglin* throughout the tale, except as just noted (where *Tinwelint* < *Tinthellon* in passages added later); see p. 69.

Gwedheling < *Gwendeling* at all occurrences (*Gwendeling* unchanged at p. 76, but this is obviously an oversight: I read *Gwedheling* in the text). In the Gnomish dictionary the form *Gwendeling* was changed to *Gwedhiling*; see p. 50.

Flinding bo-Dhuilin < *Flinding go-Dhuilin* This change, made at the occurrence on p. 78, was not made at p. 82, but this was clearly because the form was missed, and I read *bo-Dhuilin* in both cases; the same change from *go-* to *bo-* in the *Tale of Tinúviel*, see p. 51. The form *Dhuilin* is taken by the name when the patronymic is prefixed (cf. *Duilin* p. 79).

Rodothlim < *Rothwarin* at every occurrence.

Gurtholfin < *Gortholfin* at the first occurrences, but from p. 90 *Gurtholfin* was the form first written.

Commentary on *The Tale of Turambar*

§1. *The primary narrative*

In commenting on this long tale it is convenient to break it into short sections. In the course of this commentary I frequently refer to the long (though incomplete) prose narrative, the *Narn i Hîn Húrin*, given in *Unfinished Tales* pp. 57ff., often in preference to the briefer account in *The Silmarillion*, chapter XXI; and in reference to the former I cite '*Narn*' and the page-number in *Unfinished Tales*.

(i) *The capture of Úrin and Túrin's childhood in Hisilómë* (pp. 70–2).

At the outset of the tale, it would be interesting to know more of the teller, Eltas. He is a puzzling figure: he seems to be a Man (he says that 'our people' called Turambar *Turumart* 'after the fashion of the Gnomes') living in Hisilómë after the days of Turambar but before the fall of Gondolin, and he 'trod Olórë Mallë', the Path of Dreams. Is he then a child, one of 'the children of the fathers of the fathers of Men', who 'found Kôr and remained with the Eldar for ever' (*The Cottage of Lost Play*, I.19–20)?

The opening passage agrees in almost all essentials with the ultimate form of the story. Thus there go back to the beginning of the 'tradition' (or at least to its earliest extant form) the departure of Húrin to the Battle of Unnumbered Tears at the summons of the Noldor, while his wife (Mavwin = Morwen) and young son Túrin remained behind; the great stand of Húrin's men, and Húrin's capture by Morgoth; the reason for Húrin's torture (Morgoth's wish to learn the whereabouts of Turgon) and the mode of it, and Morgoth's curse; the birth of Nienor shortly after the great battle.

That Men were shut in Hisilómë (or Hithlum, the Gnomish form, which here first appears, equated with Dor Lómin, p. 71) after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears is stated in *The Coming of the Elves* (I.118) and in the last of the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* (I.241); later on this was transformed into the confinement of the treacherous Easterling Men in Hithlum (*The Silmarillion* p. 195), and their ill-treatment of the survivors of the House of Hador became an essential element in the story of Túrin's childhood. But in the *Tale of Turambar* the idea is already present that 'the strange men who dwelt nigh knew not the dignity of the Lady Mavwin'. It is not in fact clear where Úrin dwelt: it is said here that after the battle 'Mavwin got her in tears into the land of Hithlum or Dor Lómin where all Men must now dwell', which can only mean that she went there, on account of Melko's command, from wherever she had dwelt with Úrin before; on the other hand, a little later in the tale (p. 73), and in apparent contradiction to this, Mavwin would not accept the invitation of Tinwelint to come to Artanor partly because (it is suggested) 'she clung to that dwelling that Úrin had set her in *ere he went to the great war*'.

In the later story Morwen resolved to send Túrin away from fear that he would be enslaved by the Easterlings (*Narn* p. 70), whereas here all that is said is that Mavwin 'knew not in her distress how to foster both him and his sister' (which presumably reflects her poverty). This in turn reflects a further difference, namely that here Nienóri was born before Túrin's departure (but see p. 131); in the later legend he and his companions left Dor-lómin in the autumn of the Year of Lamentation and Nienor was born early in the following year – thus he had never seen her, even as an infant.

An important underlying difference is the absence in the tale of the motive that Húrin had himself visited Gondolin, a fact known to Morgoth and the reason for his being taken alive (*The Silmarillion* pp. 158–9, 196–7); this element in the story arose much later, when the founding of Gondolin was set far back and long before the Battle of Unnumbered Tears.

(ii) *Túrin in Artanor* (pp. 72–6)

From the original story of Túrin's journey the two old men who accom-

panied him, one of whom returned to Mavwin while the older remained with Túrin, were never lost; and the cry of Túrin as they set out reappears in the *Narn* (p. 73): 'Morwen, Morwen, when shall I see you again?'

Beleg was present from the beginning, as was the meaning of his name: 'he was called Beleg *for* he was of great stature' (see I.254, entry *Haloisi velikë*, and the Appendix to *The Silmarillion*, entry *beleg*); and he plays the same rôle in the old story, rescuing the travellers starving in the forest and taking them to the king.

In the later versions there is no trace of the remarkable message sent by Tinwelint to Mavwin, and indeed his curiously candid explanation, that he held aloof from the Battle of Unnumbered Tears because in his wisdom he foresaw that Artanor could become a refuge if disaster befell, is hardly in keeping with his character as afterwards conceived. There were of course quite other reasons for his conduct (*The Silmarillion* p. 189). On the other hand, Mavwin's motives for not herself leaving Hithlum remained unchanged (see the passage in the *Narn*, p. 70, where the word 'almsguest' is an echo of the old tale); but the statement is puzzling that Mavwin might, when Nienóri was grown, have put aside her pride and passed over the mountains, had they not become impassable – clearly suggesting that she never left Hithlum. Perhaps the meaning is, however, that she might have made the journey *earlier* (while Túrin was still in Artanor) than she in fact did (when for a time the ways became easier, but Túrin had gone).

The character of Túrin as a boy reappears in every stroke of the description in the *Narn* (p. 77):

> It seemed that fortune was unfriendly to him, so that often what he designed went awry, and what he desired he did not gain; neither did he win friendship easily, for he was not merry, and laughed seldom, and a shadow lay on his youth.

(It is a notable point that is added in the tale: 'at no time did he give much heed to words that were spoken to him'). And the ending of all word between Túrin and his mother comes about in the same way – increased guard on the mountains (*Narn* p. 78).

While the story of Túrin and Saeros as told in *The Silmarillion*, and in far more detail in the *Narn*, goes back in essentials to the *Tale of Turambar*, there are some notable differences – the chief being that as the story was first told Túrin's tormentor was slain outright by the thrown drinking-cup. The later complications of Saeros' treacherous assault on Túrin the following day and his chase to the death, of the trial of Túrin in his absence for this deed and of the testimony of Nellas (this last only in the *Narn*) are entirely absent, necessarily; nor does Mablung appear – indeed it seems clear that Mablung first emerged at the end of the *Tale of Tinúviel* (see p. 59). Some details survived (as the comb

which Orgof/Saeros offered tauntingly to Túrin, *Narn* p. 80), while others were changed or neglected (as that it was the anniversary of Túrin's departure from his home – though the figure of twelve years agrees with the later story, and that the king was present in the hall, contrast *Narn* p. 79). But the taunt that roused Túrin to murderous rage remained essentially the same, in that it touched on his mother; and the story was never changed that Túrin came into the hall tousled and roughly clad, and that he was mocked for this by his enemy.

Orgof is not greatly distinct from Saeros, if less developed. He was in the king's favour, proud, and jealous of Túrin; in the later story he was a Nandorin Elf while here he is an Ilkorin with some Gnomish blood (for Gnomes in Artanor see p. 65), but doubtless some peculiarity in his origin was part of the 'tradition'. In the old story he is explicitly a fop and a fool, and he is not given the motives of hatred for Túrin that are ascribed to him in the *Narn* (p. 77).

Though far simpler in narrative, the essential element of Túrin's ignorance of his pardon was present from the outset. The tale provides an explanation, not found later, of why Túrin did not, on leaving Artanor, return to Hithlum; cf. the *Narn* p. 87: 'to Dor-lómin he did not dare, for it was closely beset, and one man alone could not hope at that time, as he thought, to come through the passes of the Mountains of Shadow.'

Túrin's prowess against the Orcs during his sojourn in Artanor is given a more central or indeed unique importance in the tale ('he held the wrath of Melko from them for many years') especially as Beleg, his companion-in-arms in the later versions, is not here mentioned (and in this passage the power of the queen to withstand invasion of the kingdom seems again (see p. 63) less than it afterwards became).

(iii) *Túrin and Beleg* (pp. 76–81)

That part of the Túrin saga following on his days in Artanor/Doriath underwent a large development later ('Túrin among the Outlaws'), and indeed my father never brought this part of the story to finality. In the oldest version there is a much more rapid development of the plot: Beleg joins Túrin's band, and the destruction of the band and capture of Túrin by the Orcs follows (in terms of the narrative) almost immediately. There is no mention of 'outlaws' but only of 'wild spirits', no long search for Túrin by Beleg, no capture and maltreatment of Beleg by the band, and no betrayal of the camp by a traitor (the part ultimately taken by Mîm the Dwarf). Beleg indeed (as already noticed) is not said to have been Túrin's companion in the earlier time, before the slaying of Orgof, and they only take up together after Túrin's self-imposed exile.

Beleg is called a Noldo (p. 78), and if this single reference is to be given full weight (and there seems no reason not to: it is explicit in the *Tale of Tinúviel* that there were Noldoli in Artanor, and Orgof had Gnomish

blood) then it is to be observed that Beleg as originally conceived was an Elf of Kôr. He is not here marked out as a great bowman (neither his name Cúthalion 'Strongbow' nor his great bow Belthronding appear); he is described at his first appearance (p. 73) as 'a wood-ranger, a huntsman of the secret Elves', but not as the chief of the marchwardens of the realm.

But from the capture of Túrin to the death of Beleg the old tale was scarcely changed afterwards in any really important respect, though altered in many details: such as Beleg's shooting of the wolf-sentinels silently in the darkness in the later story, and the flash of lightning that illuminated Beleg's face – but the blue-shining lamps of the Noldor appear again in much later writings: one was borne by the Elves Gelmir and Arminas who guided Tuor through the Gate of the Noldor on his journey to the sea (see *Unfinished Tales* pp. 22, 51 note 2). In my father's painting (probably dating from 1927 or 1928) of the meeting between Beleg and Flinding in Taur-nu-Fuin (reproduced in *Pictures by J. R. R. Tolkien*, no. 37) Flinding's lamp is seen beside him. The plot of the old story is very precisely contrived in such details as the reason for the carrying of Túrin, still sleeping, out of the Orc-camp, and for Beleg's using his sword, rather than a knife, to cut Túrin's bonds; perhaps also in the crushing of Beleg by Túrin so that he was winded and could not speak his name before Túrin gave him his death-blow.

The story of Túrin's madness after the slaying of Beleg, the guidance of Gwindor, and the release of Túrin's tears at Eithel Ivrin, is here in embryo. Of the peculiar nature of Beleg's sword there is no suggestion.

(iv) *Túrin among the Rodothlim; Túrin and Glorund* (pp. 81–8)

In this passage is found (so far as written record goes, for it is to be remembered that a wholly erased text underlies the manuscript) the origin of Nargothrond, as yet unnamed. Among many remarkable features the chief is perhaps that Orodreth was there before Felagund, Lord of Caves, with whom in the later legend Nargothrond was identified, as its founder and deviser. (In *The Silmarillion* Orodreth was one of Finrod Felagund's brothers (the sons of Finarfin), to whom Felagund gave the command of Minas Tirith on Tol Sirion after the making of Nargothrond (p. 120), and Orodreth became King of Nargothrond after Felagund's death.) In the tale this cave-dwelling of exiled Noldoli is a simpler and rougher place, and (as is suggested) short-lived against the overwhelming power of Melko; but, as so often, there were many features that were never altered, even though in a crucial respect the history of Nargothrond was to be greatly modified by contact with the legend of Beren and Tinúviel. Thus the site was from the start 'above a stream' (the later Narog) that 'ran down to feed the river Sirion', and as is seen later (p. 96) the bank of the river on the side of the caves was higher and the hills drew close: cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 114: 'the caves under the

High Faroth in its steep western shore'. The policy of secrecy and refusal of open war pursued by the Elves of Nargothrond was always an essential element (cf. *The Silmarillion* pp. 168, 170),* as was the overturning of that policy by the confidence and masterfulness of Túrin (though in the tale there is no mention of the great bridge that he caused to be built). Here, however, the fall of the redoubt is perhaps more emphatically attributed to Túrin, his coming there seen more simply as a curse, and the disaster as more inevitably proceeding from his unwisdom: at least in the fragments of this part of the *Narn* (pp. 155–7) Túrin's case against Gwindor, who argued for the continuation of secrecy, is seemingly not without substance, despite the outcome. But the essential story is the same: Túrin's policy revealed Nargothrond to Morgoth, who came against it with overwhelming strength and destroyed it.

In relation to the earliest version the roles of Flinding (Gwindor), Failivrin (Finduilas),† and Orodreth were to undergo a remarkable set of transferences. In the old tale Flinding had been of the Rodothlim before his capture and imprisonment in Angband, just as afterwards Gwindor came from Nargothrond (but with a great development in his story, see *The Silmarillion* pp. 188, 191–2), and on his return was so changed as to be scarcely recognisable (I pass over such enduring minor features as the taking of Túrin and Flinding/Gwindor prisoner on their coming to the caves). The beautiful Failivrin is already present, and her unrequited love for Túrin, but the complication of her former relation with Gwindor is quite absent, and she is not the daughter of Orodreth the King but of one Galweg (who was to disappear utterly). Flinding is not shown as opposed to Túrin's policies; and in the final battle he aids Túrin in bearing Orodreth out of the fight. Orodreth dies (after being carried back to the caves) reproaching Túrin for what he has brought to pass – as does Gwindor dying in *The Silmarillion* (p. 213), with the added bitterness of his relation with Finduilas. But Failivrin's father Galweg is slain in the battle, as is Finduilas' father Orodreth in *The Silmarillion*. Thus in the evolution of the legend Orodreth took over the rôle of Galweg, while Gwindor took over in part the rôle of Orodreth.

As I have noticed earlier, there is no mention in the tale of any peculiarity attaching to Beleg's sword, and though the Black Sword is already present it was made for Túrin on the orders of Orodreth, and its blackness and its shining pale edges were of its first making (see *The Silmarillion* pp. 209–10). Its power of speech ('it is said that at times it spake dark words to him') remained afterwards in its dreadful words to Túrin before his death (*Narn* p. 145) – a motive that appears already

* From the first of these passages it seems that when Beren came to Nargothrond the 'secret' policy was already pursued under Felagund; but from the second it seems that it came into being from the potent rhetoric of Curufin after Beren went there.

† In *The Silmarillion* she is named Finduilas, and the name Faelivrin 'which is the gleam of the sun on the pools of Ivrin' was given to her by Gwindor (pp. 209–10).

in the tale, p. 112; and Túrin's name derived from the sword (here *Mormagli*, *Mormakil*, later *Mormegil*) was already devised. But of Túrin's disguising of his true name in Nargothrond there is no suggestion: indeed it is explicitly stated that he said who he was.

Of Gelmir and Arminas and the warning they brought to Nargothrond from Ulmo (*Narn* pp. 159–62) the germ can perhaps be seen in the 'whispers in the stream at eve', which undoubtedly implies messages from Ulmo (see p. 77).

The dragon Glorund is named in the 'lengthening spell' in the *Tale of Tinúviel* (pp. 19, 46), but the actual name was only introduced in the course of the writing of the *Tale of Turambar* (see note 11). There is no suggestion that he had played any previous part in the history, or indeed that he was the first of his kind, the Father of Dragons, with a long record of evil already before the Sack of Nargothrond. Of great interest is the passage in which the nature of the dragons of Melko is defined: their evil wisdom, their love of lies and gold (which 'they may not use or enjoy'), and the knowledge of tongues that Men say would come from eating a dragon's heart (with evident reference to the legend in the Norse Edda of Sigurd Fafnisbane, who was enabled to understand, to his own great profit, the speech of birds when he ate the heart of the dragon Fafnir, roasting it on a spit).

The story of the sack of Nargothrond is somewhat differently treated in the old story, although the essentials were to remain of the driving away of Failivrin/Finduilas among the captives and of the powerlessness of Túrin to aid her, being spellbound by the dragon. Minor differences (such as the later arrival of Glorund on the scene: in *The Silmarillion* Túrin only came back to Nargothrond after Glaurung had entered the caves and the sack was 'well nigh achieved') and minor agreements (such as the denial of the plunder to the Orcs) may here be passed over; most interesting is the account of Túrin's words with the dragon. Here the whole issue of Túrin's escaping or not escaping his doom is introduced, and it is significant that he takes the name *Turambar* at this juncture, whereas in the later legend he takes it when he joins the Woodmen in Brethil, and less is made of it. The old version is far less powerfully and concisely expressed, and the dragon's words are less subtle and ingeniously untrue. Here too the moral is very explicitly pointed, that Túrin *should not* have abandoned Failivrin 'in danger that he himself could see' – does this not suggest that, even under the dragon's spell as he was, there was a weakness (a 'blindness', see p. 83) in Túrin which the dragon touched? As the story is told in *The Silmarillion* the moral would seem uncalled for: Túrin was opposed by an adversary too powerful for his mind and will.

There is here a remarkable passage in which suicide is declared a sin, depriving such a one of all hope 'that ever his spirit would be freed from the dark glooms of Mandos or stray into the pleasant paths of Valinor'. This seems to go with the perplexing passage in the tale of *The Coming*

of the Valar and the Building of Valinor concerning the fates of Men: see p. 60.

Finally, it is strange that in the old story the gold and treasure was carried out from the caves by the Orcs and remained there (it 'lay by the caves above the stream'), and the dragon most uncharacteristically 'slept before it' in the open. In *The Silmarillion* Glaurung 'gathered all the hoard and riches of Felagund and heaped them, and lay upon them in the innermost hall'.

(v) *Túrin's return to Hithlum* (pp. 88–91)

In this passage the case is much as in previous parts of the tale: the large structure of the story was not greatly changed afterwards, but there are many important differences nonetheless.

In the *Tale of Turambar* it is clear that the house of Mavwin was not imagined as standing near to the hills or mountains that formed the barrier between Hithlum and the Lands Beyond: Túrin was told that never did Orcs 'come hither deep into the land of Hisilómë', in contrast to the *Narn* (p. 68), where 'Húrin's house stood in the south-east of Dor-lómin, and the mountains were near; Nen Lalaith indeed came down from a spring under the shadow of Amon Darthir, over whose shoulder there was a steep pass'. The removal of Mavwin from one house to another in Hithlum, visited in turn by Túrin as he sought for her, was afterwards rejected, to the improvement of the story. Here Túrin comes back to his old home in the late summer, whereas in *The Silmarillion* the fall of Nargothrond took place in the late autumn ('the leaves fell from the trees in a great wind as they went, for the autumn was passing to a dire winter,' p. 213) and Túrin came to Dor-lómin in the Fell Winter (p. 215).

The names Brodda and Airin (later spelled Aerin) remained; but Brodda is here the lord of the land, and Airin plays a more important part in the scene in the hall, dealing justice with vigour and wisdom, than she does later. It is not said here that she had been married by force, though her life with Brodda is declared to have been very evil; but of course the situation in the later narratives is far more clear-cut – the Men of Hithlum were 'Easterlings', 'Incomers' hostile to the Elves and the remnant of the House of Hador, whereas in the early story no differentiation is made among them, and indeed Brodda was 'a man whom Mavwin trusted'. The motive of Brodda's ill-treatment of Mavwin is already present, but only to the extent that he embezzled her goods after her departure; in the *Narn* it seems from Aerin's words to Túrin (p. 107) that the oppression of Morwen by Brodda and others was the cause of her going at last to Doriath. In the brief account in *The Silmarillion* (p. 215) it is not indeed made explicit that Brodda in particular deserved Túrin's hatred.

Túrin's conduct in the hall is in the tale essentially simpler: the true story has been told to him by a passer-by, he enters to exact vengeance on Brodda for thieving Mavwin's goods, and he does so with dispatch. As

told in the *Narn*, where Túrin's eyes are only finally opened to the deception that has been practised upon him by the words of Aerin, who is present in the hall, his rage is more passionate, crazed, and bitter, and indeed more comprehensible: and the moral observation that Túrin's deed was 'violent and unlawful' is not made. The story of Airin's judgement on these doings, made in order to save Túrin, was afterwards removed; and Túrin's solitary departure was expanded, with the addition also of the firing of Brodda's hall by Aerin (*Narn* p. 109).

Some details survived all the changes: in the *Narn* Túrin still seizes Brodda by the hair, and just as in the tale his rage suddenly expired after the deed of violence ('his wrath was grown cold'), so in the *Narn* 'the fire of his rage was as ashes'. It may be noticed here that while in the old story Túrin does not rename himself so often, his tendency to do so is already present.

The story of how Túrin came among the Woodmen and delivered them from Orcs is not found in the *Tale of Turambar*; nor is there any mention of the Mound of Finduilas near the Crossings of Teiglin nor any account of her fate.

(vi) *The return of Gumlin to Hithlum and the departure of Mavwin and Nienóri to Artanor* (pp. 91–3)

In the later story the elder of Túrin's guardians (Gumlin in the tale, Grithnir in the *Narn*) plays no part after his bringing Túrin to Doriath: it is only said that he stayed there till he died (*Narn* p. 74); and Morwen had no tidings out of Doriath before leaving her home – indeed she only learnt that Túrin had left Thingol's realm when she got there (*The Silmarillion* p. 211; cf. Aerin's words in the *Narn*, p. 107: 'She looked to find her son there awaiting her.') This whole section of the tale does no more than explain with what my father doubtless felt (since he afterwards rejected it almost in its entirety) to be unnecessary complication why Mavwin went to Tinwelint. I think it is clear, however, that the difference between the versions here depends on the different views of Mavwin's (Morwen's) condition in Hithlum. In the old story she is not suffering hardship and oppression; she trusts Brodda to the extent of entrusting not only her goods to him but even her daughter, and is said indeed to have 'peace and honour among the men of those regions'; the chieftains speak of the love they bear her. A motive for her departure is found in the coming of Gumlin and the news he brings of Túrin's flight from the lands of Tinwelint. In the later story, on the other hand, Brodda's character as tyrant and oppressor is extended, and it is Morwen's very plight at his hands that leads her to depart. (The news that came to Túrin in Doriath that 'Morwen's plight was eased' (*Narn* p. 77, cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 199) is probably a survival from the old story; nothing is said in the later narratives to explain how this came about, and ceased.) In either case her motive for leaving is coupled with the fact of the increased safety

of the lands; but whereas in the later story the reason for this was the prowess of the Black Sword of Nargothrond, in the tale it was the 'great and terrible project' of Melko that was afoot – the assault on the caves of the Rodothlim (see note 18).

It is curious that in this passage Airin and Brodda are introduced as if for the first time. It is perhaps significant that the part of the tale extending from the dragon's words 'Hearken to me, O son of Úrin . . .' on p. 87 to '. . . fell to his knees before Tinwelint' on p. 92 was written in a separate part of the manuscript book: possibly this replaced an earlier text in which Brodda and Airin did not appear. But many such questions arise from the earliest manuscripts, and few can now be certainly unravelled.

(vii) *Mavwin and Nienóri in Artanor and their meeting with Glorund* (pp. 93–9)

The next essential step in the development of the plot – the learning by Mavwin/Morwen of Túrin's sojourn in Nargothrond – is more neatly and naturally handled in *The Silmarillion* (p. 217) and the *Narn* (p. 112), where news is brought to Thingol by fugitives from the sack, in contrast to the *Tale of Turambar*, where Mavwin and Nienóri only learn of the destruction of the Elves of the Caves from a band of Noldoli while themselves wandering aimlessly in the forest. It is odd that these Noldoli did not name Túrin by his name but only as the *Mormakil*: it seems that they did not know who he was, but they knew enough of his history to make his identity plain to Mavwin. As noted above, Túrin declared his name and lineage to the Elves of the Caves. In the later narrative, on the other hand, Túrin did conceal it in Nargothrond, calling himself Agarwaen, but all those who brought news of the fall to Doriath 'declared that it was known to many in Nargothrond ere the end that the Mormegil was none other than Túrin son of Húrin of Dor-lómin'.

As often, unneeded complication in the early story was afterwards cleared away: thus the elaborate argumentation needed to get Tinwelint's warriors and Mavwin and Nienóri on the road together is gone from *The Silmarillion* and the *Narn*. In the tale the ladies and the Elvish warriors all set off together with the full intention that the former shall watch developments from a high place (afterwards Amon Ethir, the Hill of Spies); in the later story Morwen simply rides off, and the party of Elves, led by Mablung, follows after her, with Nienor among them in disguise.

Particularly notable is the passage in the tale in which Mavwin holds out the great gold-hoard of the Rodothlim as a bait to Tinwelint, and Tinwelint unashamedly admits that (as a wild Elf of the woods) it is this, not any hope of aiding Túrin, that moves him to send out a party. The majesty, power, and pride of Thingol rose with the development of the conception of the Grey-elves of Beleriand; as I have said earlier (p. 63) 'In the beginning, Tinwelint's dwelling was not a subterranean city full

of marvels . . . but a rugged cave', and here he is seen planning a foray to augment his slender wealth in precious things – a far cry from the description of his vast treasury in the *Narn* (p. 76):

> Now Thingol had in Menegroth deep armouries filled with great wealth of weapons: metal wrought like fishes' mail and shining like water in the moon; swords and axes, shields and helms, wrought by Telchar himself or by his master Gamil Zirak the old, or by elven-wrights more skilful still. For some things he had received in gift that came out of Valinor and were wrought by Fëanor in his mastery, than whom no craftsman was greater in all the days of the world.

Great as are the differences from the later legend in the encounter with the dragon, the stinking vapours raised by his lying in the river as the cause of the miscarriage of the plan, the maddened flight of the horses, and the enspelling of Nienor so that all memory of her past was lost, are already present. Most striking perhaps of the many differences is the fact that Mavwin was present at the conversation with Glorund; and of these speeches there is no echo in the *Narn* (pp. 118–19), save that Nienor's naming of Túrin as the object of their quest revealed her identity to the dragon (this is explicit in the *Narn*, and may probably be surmised from the tale). The peculiar tone of Glaurung in the later narrative, sneering and curt, knowing and self-possessed, and unfathomably wicked, can be detected already in the words of Glorund, but as he evolved he gained immeasurably in dread by becoming more laconic.

The chief difference of structure lies in the total absence of the 'Mablung-element' from the tale, nor is there any foreshadowing of it. There is no suggestion of an exploration of the sacked dwellings in the dragon's absence (indeed he does not, as it appears, go any distance from them); the purpose of the expedition from Artanor was expressly warlike ('a strong party against the Foalókë', 'they prepared them for battle'), since Tinwelint had hopes of laying hands on the treasure, whereas afterwards it became purely a scouting foray, for Thingol 'desired greatly to know more of the fate of Nargothrond' (*Narn* p. 113).

A curious point is that though Mavwin and Nienóri were to be stationed on the tree-covered 'high place' that was afterward called the Hill of Spies, and where they were in fact so stationed in *The Silmarillion* and the *Narn*, it seems that in the old story they never got there, but were ensnared by Glorund where he lay in, or not far from, the river. Thus the 'high place' had in the event almost no significance in the tale.

(viii) *Turambar and Níniel* (pp. 99–102)

In the later legend Nienor was found by Mablung after her enspelling by Glaurung, and with three companions he led her back towards the

borders of Doriath. The chase after Nienor by the band of Orcs (*Narn* p. 120) is present in the tale, but it does not have its later narrative function of leading to Nienor's flight and loss by Mablung and the other Elves (who do not appear): rather it leads directly to her rescue by Turambar, now dwelling among the Woodmen. In the *Narn* (p. 122) the Woodmen of Brethil did indeed come past the spot where they found her on their return from a foray against Orcs; but the circumstances of her finding are altogether different, most especially since there is in the tale no mention of the Haudh-en-Elleth, the Mound of Finduilas.

An interesting detail concerns Nienor's response to Turambar's naming her *Níniel*. In *The Silmarillion* and the *Narn* 'she shook her head, but said: Níniel'; in the present text she said: 'Not Níniel, not Níniel.' One has the impression that in the old story what impressed her darkened mind was only the resemblance of *Níniel* to her own forgotten name *Nienóri* (and of *Turambar* to *Túrin*), whereas in the later she both denied and in some way accepted the name *Níniel*.

An original element in the legend is the Woodmen's bringing of Níniel to a place ('Silver Bowl') where there was a great waterfall (afterwards Dimrost, the Rainy Stair, where the stream of Celebros 'fell towards Teiglin'): and these falls were near to the dwellings of the Woodmen – but the place where they found Níniel was much further off in the forest (several days' journey) than were the Crossings of Teiglin from Dimrost. When she came there she was filled with dread, a foreboding of what was to happen there afterwards, and this is the origin of her shuddering fit in the later narratives, from which the place was renamed Nen Girith, the Shuddering Water (see *Narn* p. 149, note 24).

The utter darkness imposed on Níniel's mind by the dragon's spell is less emphasized in the tale, and there is no suggestion that she needed to relearn her very language; but it is interesting to observe the recurrence in a changed context of the simile of 'one that seeks for something mislaid': in the *Narn* (p. 123) Níniel is said to have taken great delight in the relearning of words, 'as one that finds again treasures great and small that were mislaid'.

The lame man, here called Tamar, and his vain love of Níniel already appear; unlike his later counterpart Brandir he was not the chief of the Woodmen, but he was the son of the chief. He was also Half-elven! Most extraordinary is the statement that the wife of Bethos the chieftain and mother of Tamar was an Elf, a woman of the Noldoli: this is mentioned in passing, as if the great significance and rarity of the union of Elf and Mortal had not yet emerged – but in a Name-list associated with the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* Eärendel is said to be 'the only being that is half of the kindred of the Eldalië and half of Men' (p. 215).*

* In a later rewriting of a passage in that tale (p. 164 and note 22) it is said of Tuor and Idril of Gondolin: 'Thus was first wed a child of Men with a daughter of Elfinesse, nor was Tuor the last.'

The initial reluctance of Níniel to receive Turambar's suit is given no explanation in the tale: the implication must be that some instinct, some subconscious appreciation of the truth, held her back. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 220)

> for that time she delayed in spite of her love. For Brandir foreboded he knew not what, and sought to restrain her, rather for her sake than his own or rivalry with Turambar; and he revealed to her that Turambar was Túrin son of Húrin, and though she knew not the name a shadow fell upon her mind.

In the final version as in the oldest, the Woodmen knew who Turambar was. My father's scribbled directions for the alteration of the story cited in note 23 ('Make Turambar never tell new folk of his lineage . . .') are puzzling: for since Níniel had lost all memory of her past she would not know the names Túrin son of Húrin even if it were told to her that Turambar was he. It is however possible that when my father wrote this he imagined Níniel's lost knowledge of herself and her family as being nearer the surface of her mind, and capable of being brought back by hearing the names – in contrast to the later story where she did not consciously recognise the name of Túrin even when Brandir told it to her. Clearly the question-mark against the reference in the text of the tale to Turambar's speaking to Níniel 'of his father and mother and the sister he had not seen' and Níniel's distress at his words (see note 24) depends on the same train of thought. The statement here that Turambar had never seen his sister is at variance with what is said earlier in the tale, that he did not leave Hithlum until after Nienóri's birth (p. 71); but my father was uncertain on this point, as is clearly seen from the succession of readings, changed back and forth between the two ideas, given in note 15.

(ix) *The slaying of Glorund* (pp. 103–8)

In this section I follow the narrative of the tale as far as Túrin's swoon when the dying dragon opened his eyes and looked at him. Here the later story runs very close to the old, but there are many interesting differences.

In the tale Glorund is said to have had bands of both Orcs and Noldoli subject to him, but only the Orcs remained afterwards; cf. the *Narn* p. 125:

> Now the power and malice of Glaurung grew apace, and he waxed fat [cf. 'the Foalókë waxed fat'], and he gathered Orcs to him, and ruled as a dragon-King, and all the realm of Nargothrond that had been was laid under him.

The mention in the tale that Tinwelint's people were 'grievously harried' by Glorund's bands suggests once again that the magic of the Queen was no very substantial protection; while the statement that 'at length there came some [Orcs] nigh even to those woods and glades that were beloved of Turambar and his folk' seems at variance with Turambar's saying to Níniel earlier that 'we are hard put to it to fend those evil ones from our homes' (p. 100). There is no mention here of Turambar's pledge to Níniel that he would go to battle only if the homes of the Woodmen were assailed (*Narn* pp. 125–6); and there is no figure corresponding to Dorlas of the later versions. Tamar's character, briefly described (p. 106), is in accord so far as it goes with what is later told of Brandir, but the relationship of Brandir to Níniel, who called him her brother (*Narn* p. 124), had not emerged. The happiness and prosperity of the Woodmen under Turambar's chieftainship is much more strongly emphasized in the tale (afterwards he was not indeed the chieftain, at least not in name); and it leads in fact to Glorund's greed as a motive for his assault on them.

The topographical indications in this passage, important to the narrative, are readily enough accommodated to the later accounts, with one major exception: it is clear that in the old story the stream of the waterfall that fell down to the Silver Bowl was the same as that which ran through the gorge where Turambar slew Glorund:

> Here flowed that same stream that further down wound past the dragon's lair [*lair* = the place where he was lying] in a deep bed cloven deep into the earth (p. 105).

Thus Turambar and his companions, as he said,

> will go down the rocks to the foot of the fall, and so gaining the path of the stream perchance we may come as nigh to the drake as may be (*ibid.*).

In the final story, on the other hand, the falling stream (Celebros) was a tributary of Teiglin; cf. the *Narn* p. 127:

> Now the river Teiglin . . . flowed down from Ered Wethrin swift as Narog, but at first between low shores, until after the Crossings, gathering power from other streams, it clove a way through the feet of the highlands upon which stood the Forest of Brethil. Thereafter it ran in deep ravines, whose great sides were like walls of rock, but pent at the bottom the waters flowed with great force and noise. And right in the path of Glaurung there lay now one of these gorges, by no means the deepest, but the narrowest, just north of the inflow of Celebros.

The pleasant place ('a green sward where grew a wealth of flowers') survived; cf. the *Narn* p. 123: 'There was a wide greensward at the head of the falls, and birches grew about it.' So also did the 'Silver Bowl', though the name was lost: 'the stream [Celebros] went over a lip of worn stone, and fell down by many foaming steps into a rocky bowl far below' (*Narn*, *ibid.*; cf. the tale p. 105: 'it fell over a great fall where the water-worn rock jutted smooth and grey from amid the grass'). The 'little hill' or 'knoll', 'islanded among the trees', from which Turambar and his companions looked out is not so described in the *Narn*, but the picture of a high place and lookout near the head of the falls remained, as may be seen from the statement in the *Narn* (p. 123) that from Nen Girith 'there was a wide view towards the ravines of Teiglin'; later (*Narn* p. 128) it is said that it was Turambar's intention to 'ride to the high fall of Nen Girith . . . whence he could look far across the lands'. It seems certain, then, that the old image never faded, and was only a little changed.

While in both old and late accounts a great concourse of the people follow Turambar to the head of the falls against his bidding, in the late his motive for commanding them not to come is explicit: they are to remain in their homes and prepare for flight. Here on the other hand Níniel rides with Turambar to the head of Silver Bowl and says farewell to him there. But a detail of the old story survived: Turambar's words to Níniel 'Nor thou nor I die this day, nor yet tomorrow, by the evil of the dragon or by the foemen's swords' are closely paralleled by his words to her in the *Narn* (p. 129): 'Neither you nor I shall be slain by this Dragon, nor by any foe of the North'; and in the one account Níniel 'quelled her weeping and was very still', while in the other she 'ceased to weep and fell silent'. The situation is generally simpler in the tale, in that the Woodmen are scarcely characterised; Tamar is not as Brandir the titular head of the people, and this motive for bitterness against Turambar is absent, nor is there a Dorlas to insult him or a Hunthor to rebuke Dorlas. Tamar is however present with Níniel at the same point in the story, having girded himself with a sword: 'and many scoffed at him for that', just as it is afterwards said of Brandir that he had seldom done so before (*Narn* p. 132).

Turambar here set out from the head of the falls with six companions, all of whom proved in the end fainthearted, whereas later he had only two, Dorlas and Hunthor, and Hunthor remained staunch, though killed by a falling stone in the gorge. But the result is the same, in that Turambar must climb the further cliff of the gorge alone. Here the dragon remained where he lay near the brink of the cliff all night, and only moved with the dawn, so that his death and the events that immediately followed it took place by daylight. But in other respects the killing of the dragon remained even in many details much as it was originally written, more especially if comparison is made with the *Narn* (p. 134), where there reappears the need for Turambar and his

companion(s) to move from their first station in order to come up directly under the belly of the beast (this is passed over in *The Silmarillion*).

Two notable points in this section remain to be mentioned; both are afterthoughts pencilled into the manuscript. In the one we meet for the first time Mîm the Dwarf as the captain of Glorund's guard over his treasure during his absence – a strange choice for the post, one would think. On this matter see p. 137 below. In the other it is said that Níniel conceived a child by Turambar, which, remarkably enough, is not said in the text as originally written; on this see p. 135.

(x) *The deaths of Túrin and Nienóri* (pp. 108–12)

In the conclusion of the story the structure remained the same from the old tale to the *Narn*: the moonlight, the tending of Turambar's burnt hand, the cry of Níniel that stirred the dragon to his final malice, the accusation by the dragon that Turambar was a stabber of foes unseen, Turambar's naming Tamar/Brandir 'Club-foot' and sending him to consort with the dragon in death, the sudden withering of the leaves at the place of Nienor's leap as if it were already the end of autumn, the invocation of Nienor to the waters and of Turambar to his sword, the raising of Túrin's mound and the inscription in 'strange signs' upon it. Many other features could be added. But there are also many differences; here I refer only to some of the most important.

Mablung being absent from the old story, it is only Turambar's intuition ('being free now of blindness' – the blindness that Melko 'wove of old', p. 83)* that informs him that Tamar was telling the truth. The slaying of Glaurung and all its aftermath is in the late story compassed in the course of a single night and the morning of the next day, whereas in the tale it is spread over two nights, the intervening day, and the morning of the second. Turambar is carried back to the people on the hill-top by the three deserters who had left him in the ravine, whereas in the late story he comes himself. (Of the slaying of Dorlas by Brandir there is no trace in the tale, and the taking of a sword by Tamar has no issue.)

Particularly interesting is the result of the changing of the place where Túrin and Nienóri died. In the tale there is only one river, and Níniel follows the stream up through the woods and casts herself over the falls of Silver Bowl (in the place afterwards called Nen Girith), and here too, in the glade above the falls, Turambar slew himself; in the developed story her death-leap was into the ravine of Teiglin at Cabed-en-Aras, the Deer's Leap, near the spot where Turambar lay beside Glaurung, and here Turambar's death took place also. Thus Níniel's sense of dread when she first came to Silver Bowl with the Woodmen who rescued her

* Cf. his words to Mablung in the *Narn*, p. 144: 'For see, I am blind! Did you not know? Blind, blind, groping since childhood in a dark mist of Morgoth!'

(p. 101) foreboded her own death in that place, but in the changed story there is less reason for a foreknowledge of evil to come upon her there. But while the place was changed, the withering of the leaves remained, and the awe of the scene of their deaths, so that none would go to Cabed-en-Aras after, as they would not set foot on the grass above Silver Bowl.

The most remarkable feature of the earliest version of the story of Turambar and Níniel is surely that as my father first wrote it he did *not* say that she had conceived a child by him (note 25); and thus there is nothing in the old story corresponding to Glaurung's words to her: 'But the worst of all his deeds thou shalt feel in thyself' (*Narn* p. 138). The fact that above all accounts for Nienor's utter horror and despair was added to the tale later.

In concluding this long analysis of the *Tale of Turambar* proper the absence of place-names in the later part of it may be remarked. The dwelling of the Rodothlim is not named, nor the river that flowed past it; no name is given to the forest where the Woodmen dwelt, to their village, or even to the stream of such central importance at the end of the story (contrast Nargothrond, Narog, Tumhalad, Amon Ethir, Brethil, Amon Obel, Ephel Brandir, Teiglin, Celebros of the later narratives).

§2. *The further narrative of Eltas (after the death of Túrin)*

My father struck out the greater part of this continuation, allowing it to stand only as far as the words 'by reason of her great unhappiness' on p. 113 (see note 31). From the brief passage that was retained it is seen that the story of Morwen's coming to the stone on Túrin's mound goes back to the beginning, though in the later story she met Húrin there (*The Silmarillion*, p. 229).

The rejected part continues as follows:

> Yet it is said also that when the doom of his folk was utterly fulfilled then was Úrin released by Melko, and bowed with age he fared back into the better lands. There did he gather some few to him, and they went and found the caverns of the Rothwarin [*earlier form for* Rodothlim, *see p.* 119] empty, and none guarded them, and a mighty treasury lay there still for none had found it, in that the terror of the drake lived longer than he and none had ventured thither again. But Úrin let bear the gold even before Linwë [i.e. Tinwelint], and casting it before his feet bade him bitterly to take his vile reward, naming him a craven by whose faint heart had much evil fallen to his house that might never have been; and in this began a new estrangement between Elves and Men, for Linwë was wroth at Úrin's words and bid him begone, for said he: "Long did I foster Túrin thy son and forgave him

the evil of his deeds, and afterward thy wife I succoured, giving way against my counsel to her wild desires. Yet what is it to me – and wherefore dost thou, O son of the uncouth race of Men, endure to upbraid a king of the Eldalië, whose life began in Palisor ages uncounted before Men were born?" And then Úrin would have gone, but his men were not willing to leave the gold there, and a dissension arose between them and the Elves, and of this grew bitter blows, and Tintoglin [i.e. Tinwelint] might not stay them.

There then was Úrin's band slain in his halls, and they stained with their blood the dragon's hoard; but Úrin escaped and cursed that gold with a dread curse so that none might enjoy it, and he that held any part of it found evil and death to come of it. But Linwë hearing that curse caused the gold to be cast into a deep pool of the river before his doors, and not for very long did any see it again save for the Ring of Doom [*emended to:* the Necklace of the Dwarves], and that tale belongs not here, although therein did the evil of the worm Glorund find its last fulfilment.

(The last phrase is an addition to the text.) The remainder of this rejected narrative, concerning the final fates of Úrin and Mavwin and their children, is essentially the same as in the replacement text given on p. 115 ('Then Úrin departed . . .') and need not be given.

Immediately following the rejected narrative there is a short outline headed 'Story of the Nauglafring or the Necklace of the Dwarves', and this also was struck through. Here there is no mention of Úrin at all, but it is told that the Orcs (emended from *Gongs*, see I.245 note 10) who guarded the treasury of Glorund went in search of him when he did not come back to the caves, and in their absence Tintoglin (i.e. Tinwelint), learning of Glorund's death, sent Elves to steal the hoard of the Rothwarin (i.e. Rodothlim). The Orcs returning cursed the thieves, and they cursed the gold also.

Linwë (i.e. Tinwelint) guarded the gold, and he had a great necklace made by certain Úvanimor (Nautar or Nauglath). (*Úvanimor* have been defined in an earlier tale as 'monsters, giants, and ogres', see I.75, 236; *Nauglath* are Dwarves, I.236). In this Necklace the Silmaril was set; but the curse of the gold was on him, and he defrauded them of part of their reward. The Nauglath plotted, and got aid of Men; Linwë was slain in a raid, and the gold carried away.

There follows another rejected outline, headed 'The Necklace of the Dwarves', and this combines features of the preceding outline with features of the rejected ending of Eltas' narrative (pp. 135–6). Here Úrin gathers a band of Elves and Men who are wild and fierce, and they go to the caves, which are lightly guarded because the 'Orqui' (i.e. Orcs) are abroad seeking Glorund. They carry off the treasure, and the Orcs returning curse it. Úrin casts the treasure before the king and reproaches

him (saying that he might have sent a greater company to the caves to secure the treasure, if not to aid Mavwin in her distress); 'Tintoglin would not touch it and bid Úrin hold what he had won, but Úrin would depart with bitter words'. Úrin's men were not willing to leave it, and they sneaked back; there was an affray in the king's halls, and much blood was spilt on the gold. The outline concludes thus:

> The Gongs sack Linwë's halls and Linwë is slain and the gold is carried far away. Beren Ermabwed falls upon them at a crossing of Sirion and the treasure is cast into the water, and with it the Silmaril of Fëanor. The Nauglath that dwell nigh dive after the gold but only one mighty necklace of gold (and that Silmaril is on it) do they find. This becomes a mark of their king.

These two outlines are partly concerned with the story of the Nauglafring and show my father pondering that story before he wrote it; there is no need to consider these elements here. It is evident that he was in great doubt as to the further course of the story after the release of Úrin – what happened to the dragon's hoard? Was it guarded or unguarded, and if guarded by whom? How did it come at last into Tinwelint's hands? Who cursed it, and at what point in the story? If it was Úrin and his band that seized it, were they Men or Elves or both?

In the final text, written on slips placed in the manuscript book and given above pp. 113–16, these questions were resolved thus: Úrin's band was at first Men, then changed to Elves (see note 33); the treasure was guarded by the dwarf Mîm, whom Úrin slew, and it was he who cursed the gold as he died; Úrin's band became a baggage-train to carry the treasure to Tinwelint in sacks and wooden boxes (and they got it to the bridge before the king's door in the heart of the forest without, apparently, any difficulty). In this text there is no hint of what happened to the treasure after Úrin's departure (because the *Tale of the Nauglafring* begins at that point).

Subsequent to the writing of the *Tale of Turambar* proper, my father inserted Mîm into the text at an earlier point in the story (see pp. 103, 118 note 26), making him the captain of the guard appointed by Glorund to watch the treasure in his absence; but whether this was written in before or after the appearance of Mîm at the end (pp. 113–14) – whether it represents a different idea, or is an explanation of how Mîm came to be there – I cannot say.

In *The Silmarillion* (pp. 230–2) the story is wholly changed, in that the treasure remained in Nargothrond, and Húrin after the slaying of Mîm (for a far better reason than that in the early narrative) brought nothing from it to Doriath save the Necklace of the Dwarves.

Of the astonishing feature at the end of Eltas' narrative (pp. 115–16) of the 'deification' of Túrin Turambar and Nienóri (and the refusal of the Gods of Death to open their doors to them) it must be said that

nowhere is there any explanation given – though in much later versions of the mythology Túrin Turambar appears in the Last Battle and smites Morgoth with his black sword. The purifying bath into which Túrin and Nienóri entered, called *Fôs'Almir* in the final text, was in the rejected text named *Fauri*; in the *Tale of the Sun and Moon* it has been described (I.187), but is there given other names: *Tanyasalpë*, *Faskalanúmen*, and *Faskalan*.

There remains one further scrap of text to be considered. The second of the rejected outlines given above (pp. 136–7) was written in ink over a pencilled outline that was *not* erased, and I have been able to disinter a good deal of it from beneath the later writing. The two passages have nothing to do with each other; for some reason my father did not trouble in this case to erase earlier writing. The underlying text, so far as I can make it out, reads:

> Tirannë and Vainóni fall in with the evil magician Kurúki who gives them a baneful drink. They forget their names and wander distraught in the woods. Vainóni is lost. She meets Turambar who saves her from Orcs and aids in her search for her mother. They are wed and live in happiness. Turambar becomes lord of rangers of the woods and a harrier of the Orcs. He goes to seek out the Foalókë which ravages his land. The treasure-heap – and flight of his band. He slays the Foalókë and is wounded. Vainóni succours him, but the dragon in dying tells her all, lifting the veil Kurúki has set over them. Anguish of Turambar and Vainóni. She flees into the woods and casts herself over a waterfall. Madness of Turambar who dwells alone . . . . . Úrin escapes from Angamandi and seeks Tirannë. Turambar flees from him and falls upon his sword. . . . . Úrin builds a cairn and . . . . . doom of Melko. Tirannë dies of grief and Úrin reaches Hisilómë. . . . . Purification of Turambar and Vainóni who fare shining about the world and go with the hosts of Tulkas against Melko.

Detached jottings follow this, doubtless written at the same time:

> Úrin escapes. Tirannë learns of Túrin. Both wander distraught . . . in the wood.
> Túrin leaves Linwë for in a quarrel he slew one of Linwë's kin (accidentally).
> Introduce Failivrin element into the story?
> Turambar unable to fight because of Foalókë's eyes. Sees Failivrin depart.

This can only represent some of my father's very earliest meditations on the story of Túrin Turambar. (That it appears in the notebook at the

end of the fully-written Tale may seem surprising, but he clearly used these books in a rather eccentric way.) Nienóri is here called *Vainóni*, and Mavwin *Tirannë*; the spell of forgetfulness is here laid by a magician named *Kurúki*, although it is the dragon who lifts the veil that the magician set over them. Túrin's two encounters with the dragon seem to have emerged from an original single one.

As I have mentioned before, the *Tale of Turambar*, like others of the *Lost Tales*, is written in ink over a wholly erased pencilled text, and the extant form of the tale is such that it could only be derived from a rougher draft preceding it; but the underlying text is so completely erased that there is no clue as to what stage it had reached in the development of the legend. It may well be – I think it is extremely probable – that in this outline concerning Vainóni, Tirannë, and Kurúki we glimpse by an odd chance a 'layer' in the Túrin-saga older even than the erased text underlying the extant version.

§3. *Miscellaneous Matters*

(i) *Beren*

The rejected passage given on p. 71, together with the marginal note 'If Beren be a Gnome (as now in the story of Tinúviel) the references to Beren must be altered' (note 4), is the basis for my assertion (p. 52) that in the earliest, now lost, form of the *Tale of Tinúviel* Beren was a Man. I have shown, I hope, that the extant form of the *Tale of Turambar* preceded the extant form of the *Tale of Tinúviel* (p. 69). Beren was a Man, *and akin to Mavwin*, when the extant *Turambar* was written; he became a Gnome in the extant *Tinúviel*; and this change was then written into *Turambar*. What the replacement passage on p. 72 does is to change the relation of Egnor and Beren from kinship with Úrin's wife to friendship with Úrin. (A correction to the typescript version of *Tinúviel*, p. 45, is later: making the comradeship of Úrin with Beren rather than with Egnor.) Two further changes to the text of Turambar consequent on the change in Beren from Man to Elf are given in notes 5 and 6. – It is interesting to observe that in the developed genealogy of *The Silmarillion*, when Beren was of course again a Man, he was also again akin to Morwen: for Beren was first cousin to Morwen's father Baragund.

In the rejected passage on p. 71 my father wrote against the name Egnor 'Damrod the Gnome' (note 2), and in the amended passage he wrote that Úrin had known Beren 'and had rendered him a service once in respect of Damrod his son'. There is no clue anywhere as to what this service may have been; but in the second of the 'schemes' for *The Book of Lost Tales* (see I.233–4) the outline for the *Tale of the Nauglafring* refers to the son of Beren and Tinúviel, the father of Elwing, by the name *Daimord*, although in the actual tale as written the son is as he was to remain *Dior*. Presumably *Daimord* is to be equated with *Damrod*.

I cannot explain the insertion of 'Damrod the Gnome' against 'Egnor' in the rejected passage – possibly it was no more than a passing idea, to give the name *Damrod* to Beren's father.

It may be noticed here that both the rejected and the replacement passages make it very clear that the events of the story of Beren and Tinúviel took place *before* the Battle of Unnumbered Tears; see pp. 65–6.

(ii) *The Battle of Tasarinan*

It is said at the beginning of the present tale (p. 70) that it 'tells of very ancient days of that folk [Men] before the Battle of Tasarinan when first Men entered the dark vales of Hisilómë'.

On the face of it this offers an extreme contradiction, since it is said many times that Men were shut in Hisilómë at the time of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, and the *Tale of Turambar* takes place – must take place – after that battle. The solution lies, however, in an ambiguity in the sentence just cited. My father did not mean that this was a tale of Men in ancient days of that folk before they entered Hisilómë; he meant 'this is a tale of the ancient days *when* Men first entered Hisilómë – long before the Battle of Tasarinan'.

Tasarinan is the Land of Willows, *Nan-tathren* in *The Silmarillion*; the early word-lists or dictionaries give the 'Elvish' form *tasarin* 'willow' and the Gnomish *tathrin*.* The Battle of Tasarinan took place long after, in the course of the great expedition from Valinor for the release of the enslaved Noldoli in the Great Lands. See pp. 219–20.

(iii) *The geography of the Tale of Turambar*

The passage describing the route of the Orcs who captured Túrin (p. 77) seems to give further support to the idea that 'the mountains fencing Hisilómë from the Lands Beyond were continuous with those above Angband' (p. 62); for it is said here that the Orcs 'followed ever the line of dark hills toward those regions where they rise high and gloomy and their heads are shrouded in black vapours', and '*there* are they called Angorodin or the Iron Mountains, for beneath the roots of their northernmost fastnesses lies Angband'.

The site of the caves of the Rodothlim, agreeing well with what is said later of Nargothrond, has been discussed already (p. 123), as has the topography of the Silver Bowl and the ravine in which Turambar slew Glorund, in relation to the later Teiglin, Celebros, and Nen Girith (pp. 132–3). There are in addition some indications in the tale of how the caves of the Rodothlim related to Tinwelint's kingdom and to the land

* *Tasarinan* survived as the Quenya name without change: 'the willow-meads of Tasarinan' in Treebeard's song in *The Two Towers*, III.4.

where the Woodmen dwelt. It is said (p. 95) that 'the dwellings of the Rodothlim were not utterly distant from the realm of Tinwelint, albeit far enough'; while the Woodmen dwelt 'in lands that were not utterly far from Sirion or the grassy hills of that river's middle course' (p. 91), which may be taken to agree tolerably with the situation of the Forest of Brethil. The region where they lived is said in the same passage to have been 'very far away many a journey beyond the river of the Rodothlim', and Glorund's wrath was great when he heard of 'a brave folk of Men that dwelt far beyond the river' (p. 103); this also can be accommodated quite well to the developed geographical conception – Brethil was indeed a good distance beyond the river (Narog) for one setting out from Nargothrond.

My strong impression is that though the geography of the west of the Great Lands *may* have been still fairly vague, it already had, in many important respects, the same essential structure and relations as those seen on the map accompanying *The Silmarillion*.

(iv) *The influence of the Valar*

As in the *Tale of Tinúviel* (see p. 68), in the *Tale of Turambar* also there are several references to the power of the Valar in the affairs of Men and Elves in the Great Lands – and to prayers, both of thanksgiving and request, addressed to them: thus Túrin's guardians 'thanked the Valar' that they accomplished the journey to Artanor (p. 72), and more remarkably, Úrin 'called upon the Valar of the West, being taught much concerning them by the Eldar of Kôr – the Gnomes he had encountered – and his words came, who shall say how, to Manwë Súlimo upon the heights of Taniquetil' (p. 77). (Úrin was already an 'Elf-friend', instructed by the Noldoli; cf. the replacement passage on p. 72.) Was his prayer 'answered'? Possibly this is the meaning of the very strange expression 'as the luck of the Valar had it' (p. 79), when Flinding and Beleg found Túrin lying near the point where they entered the Orc-camp.*

Dreams sent by the Valar came to the chieftains of the Rodothlim, though this was changed later and the reference to the Valar removed (p. 83 and note 10); the Woodmen said 'Would that the Valar would lift the spell that lies upon Níniel' (p. 101); and Túrin 'cried out bitterly against the Valar and his fate of woe' (p. 111).

An interesting reference to the Valar (and their power) occurs in Tinwelint's reply (p. 95) to Mavwin's words 'Give me but a woodman's cot and my son'. The king said: 'That I cannot, for I am but a king of the wild Elves, *and no Vala of the western isles*.' In the small part of *Gilfanon's Tale* that was actually written it is told (I.231) of the Dark Elves who remained in Palisor that they said that 'their brethren had gone

* The Gnomish dictionary has the entry: *gwalt* 'good luck – any providential occurrence or thought: "the luck of the Valar", *i·walt ne Vanion*' (I.272).

westward to the Shining Isles. There, said they, do the Gods dwell, and they called them the Great Folk of the West, and thought they dwelt on firelit islands in the sea.'

(v) *Túrin's age*

According to the *Tale of Turambar*, when Túrin left Mavwin he was seven years old, and it was after he had dwelt among the woodland Elves for seven years that all tidings from his home ceased (p. 74); in the *Narn* the corresponding years are eight and nine, and Túrin was seventeen, not fourteen, when 'his grief was renewed' (pp. 68, 76–7). It was exactly twelve years to the day of his departure from Mavwin when he slew Orgof and fled from Artanor (p. 75), when he was nineteen; in the *Narn* (p. 79) it was likewise twelve years since he left Hithlum when he hunted Saeros to his death, but he was twenty.

'The tale tells not the number of days that Turambar sojourned with the Rodothlim but these were very many, and during that time Nienóri grew to the threshold of womanhood' (pp. 91–2). Nienóri was seven years younger than Túrin: she was twelve when he fled from Artanor (*ibid.*). He cannot then have dwelt among the Rodothlim for more than (say) five or six years; and it is said that when he was chosen chieftain of the Woodmen he possessed 'wisdom great beyond his years'.

Bethos, chieftain of the Woodmen before Túrin, 'had fought *though then but a boy* in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears' (p. 101), but he was killed in a foray, since '*despite his years* he still rode abroad'. But it is impossible to relate Bethos' span (from 'a boy' at the Battle of Unnumbered Tears to his death on a foray at an age sufficiently ripe to be remarked on) to Túrin's; for the events after the destruction of the Rodothlim, culminating in Túrin's rescue of Níniel after her first encounter with Glorund, cannot cover any great length of time. What is clear and certain is that in the old story Túrin died when still a very young man. According to the precise dating provided in much later writing, he was 35 years old at his death.

(vi) *The stature of Elves and Men*

The Elves are conceived to be of slighter build and stature than Men: so Beleg 'was of great stature and girth *as such was among that folk*' (p. 73), and Túrin 'was a Man and of greater stature than they', i.e. Beleg and Flinding (p. 80) – this sentence being an emendation from 'he was a Man of great size' (note 8). See on this matter I. 32, 235.

(vii) *Winged Dragons*

At the end of *The Silmarillion* (p. 252) Morgoth 'loosed upon his foes the last desperate assault that he had prepared, and out of the pits of Angband there issued the winged dragons, that had not before been

seen'. The suggestion is that winged dragons were a refinement of Morgoth's original design (embodied in Glaurung, Father of Dragons who went upon his belly). According to the *Tale of Turambar* (pp. 96–7), on the other hand, among Melko's many dragons some were smaller, cold like snakes, and of these many were flying creatures; while others, the mightier, were hot and heavy, fire-dragons, and these were unwinged. As already noted (p. 125) there is no suggestion in the tale that Glorund was the first of his kind.

III
THE FALL OF GONDOLIN

At the end of Eltas' account of Úrin's visit to Tinwelint and of the strange fates of Úrin and Mavwin, Túrin and Nienóri (p. 116), the manuscript written on loose sheets in fact continues with a brief interlude in which the further course of the tale-telling is discussed in Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva.

And so saying Eltas made an end, and none asked further. But Lindo bid all thank him for his tale, and thereto he said: 'Nay, if you will, there is much yet to tell concerning the gold of Glorund, and how the evil of that worm found its last fulfilment – but behold, that is the story of the Nauglafring or the Necklace of the Dwarves and must wait a while – and other stories of lighter and more happy things I have to tell if you would liefer listen to them.'

Then arose many voices begging Eltas to tell the tale of the Nauglafring on the morrow, but he said: 'Nay! For who here knows the full tale of Tuor and the coming of Eärendel, or who was Beren Ermabwed, and what were his deeds, for such things is it better to know rightly first.' And all said that Beren Ermabwed they knew well, but of the coming of Eärendel little enough had ever been told.

'And great harm is that,' said Lindo, 'for it is the greatest of the stories of the Gnomes, and even in this house is Ilfiniol son of Bronweg, who knows those deeds more truly than any that are now on Earth.'

About that time Ilfiniol the Gong-warden entered indeed, and Lindo said to him: 'Behold, O Littleheart son of Bronweg, it is the desire of all that you tell us the tales of Tuor and of Eärendel as soon as may be.' And Ilfiniol was fain of that, but said he: 'It is a mighty tale, and seven times shall folk fare to the Tale-fire ere it be rightly told; and so twined is it with those stories of the Nauglafring and of the Elf-march[1] that I would fain have aid in that telling of Ailios here and of Meril the Lady of the Isle, for long is it since she sought this house.'

Therefore were messengers sent on the next day to the *korin*[2] of high elms, and they said that Lindo and Vairë would fain see the

face of their lady among them, for they purposed to make a festival and to hold a great telling of Elfin tales, ere Eriol their guest fared awhile to Tavrobel. So was it that for three days that room heard no more tales and the folk of Vanwa Tyaliéva made great preparations, but on the fourth night Meril fared there amid her company of maidens, and full of light and mirth was that place; but after the evening meat a great host sat before Tôn a Gwedrin,[3] and the maidens of Meril sang the most beautiful songs that island knew.[4]

And of those one did afterward Heorrenda turn to the language of his folk, and it is thus.[5]

But when those songs had fallen into silence then said Meril, who sate in the chair of Lindo: 'Come now, O Ilfiniol, begin thou the tale of tales, and tell it more fully than thou hast ever done.'

Then said Littleheart son of Bronweg . . . (Tale of Gondolin). [*sic*]

This then is the *Link* between the *Tale of Turambar* and *The Fall of Gondolin* (an earlier 'preface' to the tale is given below). It seems that my father hesitated as to which tale was to follow *Turambar* (see note 4), but decided that it was time to introduce *The Fall of Gondolin*, which had been in existence for some time.

In this *Link*, Ailios (later Gilfanon) is present ('I would fain have aid . . . of Ailios here') at the end of Eltas' tale of Turambar, but at the beginning of Eltas' tale (p. 70) it is expressly said that he was not present that night. On the proposal that Eriol should 'fare awhile' to Tavrobel (as the guest of Gilfanon) see I.175.

The fact that Eltas speaks of the tale of Beren Ermabwed as if he did not know that it had only recently been told in Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva is no doubt to be explained by that tale not having been told before the Tale-fire (see pp. 4–7).

The teller of the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin*, Littleheart the Gong-warden of Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva, has appeared several times in the *Lost Tales*, and his Elvish name(s) have many different forms (see under *Changes made to names* at the end of the text of the tale). In *The Cottage of Lost Play* he is said (I.15) to be 'ancient beyond count', and to have 'sailed in Wingilot with Eärendel in that last voyage wherein they sought for Kôr'; and in the *Link* to *The Music of the Ainur* (I.46) he 'had a weather-worn face and blue eyes of great merriment, and was very slender and small, nor might one say if he were fifty or ten thousand'. He is a Gnome, the son of Bronweg/Voronwë (Voronwë of *The Silmarillion*) (I.48, 94).

The texts of 'The Fall of Gondolin'

The textual history of *The Fall of Gondolin*, if considered in detail, is extremely complex; but though I will set it out here, as I understand it, there is no need in fact for it to complicate the reading of the tale.

In the first place, there is a very difficult manuscript contained in two school exercise-books, where the title of the tale is *Tuor and the Exiles of Gondolin (which bringeth in the great tale of Eärendel)*. (This is the only title actually found in the early texts, but my father always later referred to it as *The Fall of Gondolin*.) This manuscript is (or rather, was) the original text of the tale, dating from 1916–17 (see I.203 and *Unfinished Tales* p. 4), and I will call it here for convenience *Tuor A*. My father's treatment of it subsequently was unlike that of *Tinúviel* and *Turambar* (where the original text was erased and a new version written in its place); in this tale he did not set down a complete new text, but allowed a good deal of the old to stand, at least in the earlier part of it: as the revision progressed the rewriting in ink over the top of the pencilled text did become almost continuous, and though the pencil was not erased the ink effectively obliterates it. But even after the second version becomes continuous there are several places where the old narrative was not over-written but merely struck through, and remains legible. Thus, while *Tuor A* is on the same footing as *Tinúviel* and *Turambar* (and others of the *Lost Tales*) in that it is a later revision, a second version, my father's method in *Gondolin* allows it to be seen that here at least the revision was by no means a complete recasting (still less a re-imagining); for if those passages in the later parts of the tale which can still be compared in the two versions shew that he was following the old fairly closely, the same is quite probably true in those places where no comparison can be made.

From Tuor A, as it was *when all changes had been made to it* (i.e. when it was in the form that it has now), my mother made a fair copy (*Tuor B*), which considering the difficulty of the original is extremely exact, with only very occasional errors of transcription. I have said in *Unfinished Tales* (p. 5) that this copy was made 'apparently in 1917', but this now seems to me improbable.* Such conceptions as the Music of the Ainur, which is referred to by later addition in *Tuor A* (p. 163), *may* of course have been in my father's mind a good while before he wrote that tale in Oxford while working on the Dictionary (I.45), but it seems more likely that the revision of *Tuor A* (and therefore also *Tuor B* copied from it after its revision) belongs to that period also.

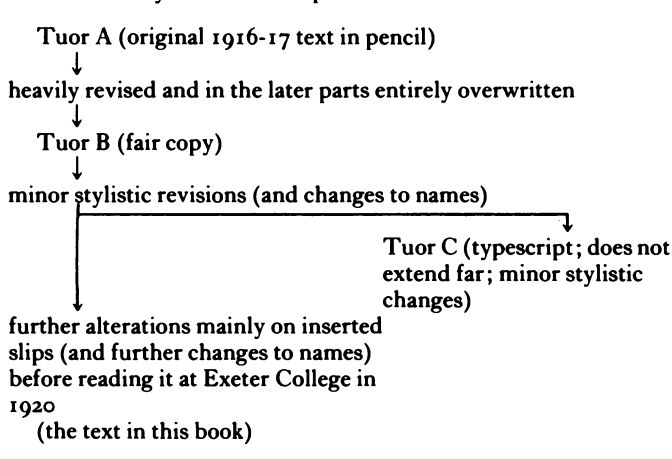
Subsequently my father took his pencil to *Tuor B*, emending it fairly heavily, though mostly in the earlier part of the tale, and almost entirely

* Humphrey Carpenter in his *Biography* (p. 92) says that the tale 'was written out during Tolkien's convalescence at Great Haywood early in 1917', but he is doubtless referring to the original pencilled text of *Tuor A*.

for stylistic rather than narrative reasons; but these emendations, as will be seen, were not all made at the same time. Some of them are written out on separate slips, and of these several have on their reverse sides parts of an etymological discussion of certain Germanic words for the Butcher-bird or Shrike, material which appears in the Oxford Dictionary in the entry *Wariangle*. Taken with the fact that one of the slips with this material on the reverse clearly contains a direction for the shortening of the tale when delivered orally (see note 21), it is virtually certain that a good deal of the revision of *Tuor B* was made before my father read it to the Essay Club of Exeter College in the spring of 1920 (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 5).

That not all the emendations to *Tuor B* were made at the same time is shown by the existence of a typescript (*Tuor C*), without title, which extends only so far as 'your hill of vigilance against the evil of Melko' (p. 161). This was taken from *Tuor B* when some changes had been made to it, but not those which I deduce to have been made before the occasion when it was read aloud. An odd feature of this text is that blanks were left for many of the names, and only some were filled in afterwards. Towards the end of it there is a good deal of independent variation from *Tuor B*, but it is all of a minor character and none has narrative significance. I conclude that this was a side-branch that petered out.

The textual history can then be represented thus:



Since the narrative itself underwent very little change of note in the course of this history (granted that substantial parts of the original text *Tuor A* are almost entirely illegible), the text that follows here is that of *Tuor B* in its final form, with some interesting earlier readings given in the Notes. It seems that my father did not check the fair copy *Tuor B* against the original, and did not in every case pick up the errors of

transcription it contains; when he did, he emended them anew, according to the sense, and not by reference back to *Tuor A*. In a very few cases I have gone back to *Tuor A* where this is clearly correct (as 'a wall of water rose nigh to the cliff-top', p. 151, where *Tuor B* and the typescript *Tuor C* have 'high to the cliff-top').

Throughout the typescript Tuor is called *Tûr*. In *Tuor B* the name is sometimes emended from *Tuor* to *Tûr* in the earlier part of the tale (it appears as *Tûr* in the latest revisions), but by no means in every case. My father apparently decided to change the name but ultimately decided against it; and I give *Tuor* throughout.

An interesting document accompanies the Tale: this is a substantial though incomplete list of names (with explanations) that occur in it, now in places difficult or impossible to read. The names are given in alphabetical order but go only as far as L. Linguistic information from this list is incorporated in the Appendix on Names, but the head-note to the list may be cited here:

> Here is set forth by Eriol at the teaching of Bronweg's son Elfrith [*emended from* Elfriniel] or Littleheart (and he was so named for the youth and wonder of his heart) those names and words that are used in these tales from either the tongue of the Elves of Kôr as at that time spoken in the Lonely Isle, or from that related one of the Noldoli their kin whom they wrested from Melko.
>
> Here first are they which appear in *The Tale of Tuor and the Exiles of Gondolin*, first among these those ones in the Gnome-speech.

In *Tuor A* appear two versions (one struck out) of a short 'preface' to the tale by Littleheart which does not appear in *Tuor B*. The second version reads:

> Then said Littleheart son of Bronweg: 'Now the story that I tell is of the Noldoli, who were my father's folk, and belike the names will ring strange in your ears and familiar folk be called by names not before heard, for the Noldoli speak a curious tongue sweet still to my ears though not maybe to all the Eldar. Wise folk see it as close kin to Eldarissa, but it soundeth not so, and I know nought of such lore. Wherefore will I utter to you the right Eldar names where there be such, but in many cases there be none.
>
> Know then,' said he, 'that

The earlier version (headed 'Link between *Tuor* and tale before') begins in the same way but then diverges:

> . . . and it is sweet to my ears still, though lest it be not so to all else of Eldar and Men here gathered I will use no more of it than I must, and that is in the names of those folk and things whereof the tale tells but

for which, seeing they passed away ere ever the rest of the Eldar came from Kôr, the Elves have no true names. Know then,' said he, 'that Tuor

This 'preface' thus connects to the opening of the tale. There here appears, in the second version, the name *Eldarissa* for the language of the *Eldar* or *Elves*, as opposed to *Noldorissa* (a term found in the Name-list); on the distinction involved see I.50–1. With Littleheart's words here compare what Rúmil said to Eriol about him (I.48):

'"Tongues and speeches," they will say, "one is enough for me" – and thus said Littleheart the Gong-warden once upon a time: "Gnome-speech," said he, "is enough for me – did not that one Eärendel and Tuor and Bronweg my father (that mincingly ye miscall Voronwë) speak it and no other?" Yet he had to learn the Elfin in the end, or be doomed either to silence or to leave Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva . . .'

After these lengthy preliminaries I give the text of the Tale.

★

Tuor and the Exiles of Gondolin
(which bringeth in the great tale of Eärendel)

Then said Littleheart son of Bronweg: 'Know then that Tuor was a man who dwelt in very ancient days in that land of the North called Dor Lómin or the Land of Shadows, and of the Eldar the Noldoli know it best.

Now the folk whence Tuor came wandered the forests and fells and knew not and sang not of the sea; but Tuor dwelt not with them, and lived alone about that lake called Mithrim, now hunting in its woods, now making music beside its shores on his rugged harp of wood and the sinews of bears. Now many hearing of the power of his rough songs came from near and far to hearken to his harping, but Tuor left his singing and departed to lonely places. Here he learnt many strange things and got knowledge of the wandering Noldoli, who taught him much of their speech and lore; but he was not fated to dwell for ever in those woods.

Thereafter 'tis said that magic and destiny led him on a day to a cavernous opening down which a hidden river flowed from Mithrim. And Tuor entered that cavern seeking to learn its secret, but the waters of Mithrim drove him forward into the heart of the

rock and he might not win back into the light. And this, 'tis said, was the will of Ulmo Lord of Waters at whose prompting the Noldoli had made that hidden way.

Then came the Noldoli to Tuor and guided him along dark passages amid the mountains until he came out in the light once more, and saw that the river flowed swiftly in a ravine of great depth with sides unscalable. Now Tuor desired no more to return but went ever forward, and the river led him always toward the west.[6]

The sun rose behind his back and set before his face, and where the water foamed among many boulders or fell over falls there were at times rainbows woven across the ravine, but at evening its smooth sides would glow in the setting sun, and for these reasons Tuor called it Golden Cleft or the Gully of the Rainbow Roof, which is in the speech of the Gnomes Glorfalc or Cris Ilbranteloth.

Now Tuor journeyed here for three days,[7] drinking the waters of the secret river and feeding on its fish; and these were of gold and blue and silver and of many wondrous shapes. At length the ravine widened, and ever as it opened its sides became lower and more rough, and the bed of the river more impeded with boulders against which the waters foamed and spouted. Long times would Tuor sit and gaze at the splashing water and listen to its voice, and then he would rise and leap onward from stone to stone singing as he went; or as the stars came out in the narrow strip of heaven above the gully he would raise echoes to answer the fierce twanging of his harp.

One day after a great journey of weary going Tuor at deep evening heard a cry, and he might not decide of what creature it came. Now he said: "It is a fay-creature", now, "Nay, 'tis but some small beast that waileth among the rocks"; or again it seemed to him that an unknown bird piped with a voice new to his ears and strangely sad – and because he had not heard the voice of any bird in all his wandering down Golden Cleft he was glad of the sound although it was mournful. On the next day at an hour of the morning he heard the same cry above his head, and looking up beheld three great white birds beating back up the gully on strong wing, and uttering cries like to the ones he had heard amid the dusk. Now these were the gulls, the birds of Ossë.[8]

In this part of that riverway there were islets of rock amid the currents, and fallen rocks fringed with white sand at the gully-side, so that it was ill-going, and seeking a while Tuor found a spot where he might with labour scale the cliffs at last. Then came a

fresh wind against his face, and he said: "This is very good and like the drinking of wine," but he knew not that he was near the confines of the Great Sea.

As he went along above the waters that ravine again drew together and the walls towered up, so that he fared on a high cliff-top, and there came a narrow neck, and this was full of noise. Then Tuor looking downward saw the greatest of marvels, for it seemed that a flood of angry water would come up the narrows and flow back against the river to its source, but that water which had come down from distant Mithrim would still press on, and a wall of water rose nigh to the cliff-top, and it was crowned with foam and twisted by the winds. Then the waters of Mithrim were overthrown and the incoming flood swept roaring up the channel and whelmed the rocky islets and churned the white sand – so that Tuor fled and was afraid, who did not know the ways of the sea; but the Ainur put it into his heart to climb from the gully when he did, or had he been whelmed in the incoming tide, and that was a fierce one by reason of a wind from the west. Then Tuor found himself in a rugged country bare of trees, and swept by a wind coming from the set of the sun, and all the shrubs and bushes leaned to the dawn because of that prevalence of that wind. And here for a while he wandered till he came to the black cliffs by the sea and saw the ocean and its waves for the first time, and at that hour the sun sank beyond the rim of Earth far out to sea, and he stood on the cliff-top with outspread arms, and his heart was filled with a longing very great indeed. Now some say that he was the first of Men to reach the Sea and look upon it and know the desire it brings; but I know not if they say well.

In those regions he set up his abode, dwelling in a cove sheltered by great sable rocks, whose floor was of white sand, save when the high flood partly overspread it with blue water; nor did foam or froth come there save at times of the direst tempest. There long he sojourned alone and roamed about the shore or fared over the rocks at the ebb, marvelling at the pools and the great weeds, the dripping caverns and the strange sea-fowl that he saw and came to know; but the rise and fall of the water and the voice of the waves was ever to him the greatest wonder and ever did it seem a new and unimaginable thing.

Now on the quiet waters of Mithrim over which the voice of the duck or moorhen would carry far he had fared much in a small boat with a prow fashioned like to the neck of a swan, and this he had lost on the day of his finding the hidden river. On the sea he

adventured not as yet, though his heart was ever egging him with a strange longing thereto, and on quiet evenings when the sun went down beyond the edge of the sea it grew to a fierce desire.

Timber he had that came down the hidden river; a goodly wood it was, for the Noldoli hewed it in the forests of Dor Lómin and floated it to him of a purpose. But he built not as yet aught save a dwelling in a sheltered place of his cove, which tales among the Eldar since name Falasquil. This by slow labour he adorned with fair carvings of the beasts and trees and flowers and birds that he knew about the waters of Mithrim, and ever among them was the Swan the chief, for Tuor loved this emblem and it became the sign of himself, his kindred and folk thereafter. There he passed a very great while until the loneliness of the empty sea got into his heart, and even Tuor the solitary longed for the voice of Men. Herewith the Ainur[9] had something to do: for Ulmo loved Tuor.

One morning while casting his eye along the shore – and it was then the latest days of summer – Tuor saw three swans flying high and strong from the northward. Now these birds he had not before seen in these regions, and he took them for a sign, and said: "Long has my heart been set on a journey far from here; lo! now at length I will follow these swans." Behold, the swans dropped into the water of his cove and there swimming thrice about rose again and winged slowly south along the coast, and Tuor bearing his harp and spear followed them.

'Twas a great day's journey Tuor put behind him that day; and he came ere evening to a region where trees again appeared, and the manner of the land through which he now fared differed greatly from those shores about Falasquil. There had Tuor known mighty cliffs beset with caverns and great spoutholes, and deep-walled coves, but from the cliff-tops a rugged land and flat ran bleakly back to where a blue rim far to the east spake of distant hills. Now however did he see a long and sloping shore and stretches of sand, while the distant hills marched ever nearer to the margin of the sea, and their dark slopes were clad with pine or fir and about their feet sprang birches and ancient oaks. From the feet of the hills fresh torrents rushed down narrow chasms and so found the shores and the salt waves. Now some of these clefts Tuor might not overleap, and often was it ill-going in these places, but still he laboured on, for the swans fared ever before him, now circling suddenly, now speeding forward, but never coming to earth, and the rush of their strong-beating wings encouraged him.

'Tis told that in this manner Tuor fared onward for a great

number of days, and that winter marched from the north somewhat speedier than he for all his tirelessness. Nevertheless came he without scathe of beast or weather at a time of first spring to a river mouth. Now here was the land less northerly and more kindly than about the issuing of Golden Cleft, and moreover by a trend of the coast was the sea now rather to the south of him than to the west, as he could mark by the sun and stars; but he had kept his right hand always to the sea.

This river flowed down a goodly channel and on its banks were rich lands: grasses and moist meadow to the one side and tree-grown slopes of the other; its waters met the sea sluggishly and fought not as the waters of Mithrim in the north. Long tongues of land lay islanded in its course covered with reeds and bushy thicket, until further to seaward sandy spits ran out; and these were places beloved by such a multitude of birds as Tuor had nowhere yet encountered. Their piping and wailing and whistling filled the air; and here amid their white wings Tuor lost sight of the three swans, nor saw he them again.

Then did Tuor grow for a season weary of the sea, for the buffeting of his travel had been sore. Nor was this without Ulmo's devising, and that night the Noldoli came to him and he arose from sleep. Guided by their blue lanterns he found a way beside the river border, and strode so mightily inland that when dawn filled the sky to his right hand lo! the sea and its voice were far behind him, and the wind came from before him so that its odour was not even in the air. Thus came he soon to that region that has been called Arlisgion "the place of reeds", and this is in those lands that are to the south of Dor Lómin and separated therefrom by the Iron Mountains whose spurs run even to the sea. From those mountains came this river, and of a great clearness and marvellous chill were its waters even at this place. Now this is a river most famous in the histories of Eldar and Noldoli and in all tongues is it named Sirion. Here Tuor rested awhile until driven by desire he arose once more to journey further and further by many days' marches along the river borders. Full spring had not yet brought summer when he came to a region yet more lovely. Here the song of small birds shrilled about him with a music of loveliness, for there are no birds that sing like the songbirds of the Land of Willows; and to this region of wonder he had now come. Here the river wound in wide curves with low banks through a great plain of the sweetest grass and very long and green; willows of untold age were about its borders, and its wide bosom was strewn with

waterlily leaves, whose flowers were not yet in the earliness of the year, but beneath the willows the green swords of the flaglilies were drawn, and sedges stood, and reeds in embattled array. Now there dwelt in these dark places a spirit of whispers, and it whispered to Tuor at dusk and he was loth to depart; and at morn for the glory of the unnumbered buttercups he was yet more loth, and he tarried.

Here saw he the first butterflies and was glad of the sight; and it is said that all butterflies and their kindred were born in the valley of the Land of Willows. Then came the summer and the time of moths and the warm evenings, and Tuor wondered at the multitude of flies, at their buzzing and the droning of the beetles and the hum of bees; and to all these things he gave names of his own, and wove the names into new songs on his old harp; and these songs were softer than his singing of old.

Then Ulmo grew in dread lest Tuor dwell for ever here and the great things of his design come not to fulfilment. Therefore he feared longer to trust Tuor's guidance to the Noldoli alone, who did service to him in secret, and out of fear of Melko wavered much. Nor were they strong against the magic of that place of willows, for very great was its enchantment. Did not even after the days of Tuor Noldorin and his Eldar come there seeking for Dor Lómin and the hidden river and the caverns of the Gnomes' imprisonment; yet thus nigh to their quest's end were like to abandon it? Indeed sleeping and dancing here, and making fair music of river sounds and the murmur of grass, and weaving rich fabrics of gossamer and the feathers of winged insects, they were whelmed by the goblins sped by Melko from the Hills of Iron and Noldorin made bare escape thence. But these things were not as yet.

Behold now Ulmo leapt upon his car before the doorway of his palace below the still waters of the Outer Sea; and his car was drawn by narwhal and sealion and was in fashion like a whale; and amidst the sounding of great conches he sped from Ulmonan. So great was the speed of his going that in days, and not in years without count as might be thought, he reached the mouth of the river. Up this his car might not fare without hurt to its water and its banks; therefore Ulmo, loving all rivers and this one more than most, went thence on foot, robed to the middle in mail like the scales of blue and silver fishes; but his hair was a bluish silver and his beard to his feet was of the same hue, and he bore neither helm nor crown. Beneath his mail fell the skirts of his kirtle of shimmer-

ing greens, and of what substance these were woven is not known, but whoso looked into the depths of their subtle colours seemed to behold the faint movements of deep waters shot with the stealthy lights of phosphorescent fish that live in the abyss. Girt was he with a rope of mighty pearls, and he was shod with mighty shoes of stone.

Thither he bore too his great instrument of music; and this was of strange design, for it was made of many long twisted shells pierced with holes. Blowing therein and playing with his long fingers he made deep melodies of a magic greater than any other among musicians hath ever compassed on harp or lute, on lyre or pipe, or instruments of the bow. Then coming along the river he sate among the reeds at twilight and played upon his thing of shells; and it was nigh to those places where Tuor tarried. And Tuor hearkened and was stricken dumb. There he stood knee-deep in the grass and heard no more the hum of insects, nor the murmur of the river borders, and the odour of flowers entered not into his nostrils; but he heard the sound of waves and the wail of sea-birds, and his soul leapt for rocky places and the ledges that reek of fish, for the splash of the diving cormorant and those places where the sea bores into the black cliffs and yells aloud.

Then Ulmo arose and spake to him and for dread he came near to death, for the depth of the voice of Ulmo is of the uttermost depth: even as deep as his eyes which are the deepest of all things. And Ulmo said: "O Tuor of the lonely heart, I will not that thou dwell for ever in fair places of birds and flowers; nor would I lead thee through this pleasant land,[10] but that so it must be. But fare now on thy destined journey and tarry not, for far from hence is thy weird set. Now must thou seek through the lands for the city of the folk called Gondothlim or the dwellers in stone, and the Noldoli shall escort thee thither in secret for fear of the spies of Melko. Words I will set to your mouth there, and there you shall abide awhile. Yet maybe thy life shall turn again to the mighty waters; and of a surety a child shall come of thee than whom no man shall know more of the uttermost deeps, be it of the sea or of the firmament of heaven." Then spake Ulmo also to Tuor some of his design and desire, but thereof Tuor understood little at that time and feared greatly.

Then Ulmo was wrapped in a mist as it were of sea air in those inland places, and Tuor, with that music in his ears, would fain return to the regions of the Great Sea; yet remembering his bidding turned and went inland along the river, and so fared till

day. Yet he that has heard the conches of Ulmo hears them call him till death, and so did Tuor find.

When day came he was weary and slept till it was nigh dusk again, and the Noldoli came to him and guided him. So fared he many days by dusk and dark and slept by day, and because of this it came afterwards that he remembered not over well the paths that he traversed in those times. Now Tuor and his guides held on untiring, and the land became one of rolling hills and the river wound about their feet, and there were many dales of exceeding pleasantness; but here the Noldoli became ill at ease. "These," said they, "are the confines of those regions which Melko infesteth with his Goblins, the people of hate. Far to the north – yet alas not far enough, would they were ten thousand leagues – lie the Mountains of Iron where sits the power and terror of Melko, whose thralls we are. Indeed in this guiding of thee we do in secret from him, and did he know all our purposes the torment of the Balrogs would be ours."

Falling then into such fear the Noldoli soon after left him and he fared alone amid the hills, and their going proved ill afterwards, for "Melko has many eyes", 'tis said, and while Tuor fared with the Gnomes they took him twilight ways and by many secret tunnels through the hills. But now he became lost, and climbed often to the tops of knolls and hills scanning the lands about. Yet he might not see signs of any dwelling of folk, and indeed the city of the Gondothlim was not found with ease, seeing that Melko and his spies had not even yet discovered it. 'Tis said nonetheless that at this time those spies got wind thus that the strange foot of Man had been set in those lands, and that for that Melko doubled his craft and watchfulness.

Now when the Gnomes out of fear deserted Tuor, one Voronwë or Bronweg followed afar off despite his fear, when chiding availed not to enhearten the others. Now Tuor had fallen into a great weariness and was sitting beside the rushing stream, and the sea-longing was about his heart, and he was minded once more to follow this river back to the wide waters and the roaring waves. But this Voronwë the faithful came up with him again, and standing by his ear said: "O Tuor, think not but that thou shalt again one day see thy desire; arise now, and behold, I will not leave thee. I am not of the road-learned of the Noldoli, being a craftsman and maker of things made by hand of wood and of metal, and I joined not the band of escort till late. Yet of old have I heard whispers and sayings said in secret amid the weariness of

thraldom, concerning a city where Noldoli might be free could they find the hidden way thereto; and we twain may without a doubt[11] find the road to the City of Stone, where is that freedom of the Gondothlim."

Know then that the Gondothlim were that kin of the Noldoli who alone escaped Melko's power when at the Battle of Unnumbered Tears he slew and enslaved their folk[12] and wove spells about them and caused them to dwell in the Hells of Iron, faring thence at his will and bidding only.

Long time did Tuor and Bronweg[13] seek for the city of that folk, until after many days they came upon a deep dale amid the hills. Here went the river over a very stony bed with much rush and noise, and it was curtained with a heavy growth of alders; but the walls of the dale were sheer, for they were nigh to some mountains which Voronwë knew not. There in the green wall that Gnome found an opening like a great door with sloping sides, and this was cloaked with thick bushes and long-tangled undergrowth; yet Voronwë's piercing sight might not be deceived. Nonetheless 'tis said that such a magic had its builders set about it (by aid of Ulmo whose power ran in that river even if the dread of Melko fared upon its banks) that none save of the blood of the Noldoli might light on it thus by chance; nor would Tuor have found it ever but for the steadfastness of that Gnome Voronwë.[14] Now the Gondothlim made their abode thus secret out of dread of Melko; yet even so no few of the braver Noldoli would slip down the river Sirion from those mountains, and if many perished so by Melko's evil, many finding this magic passage came at last to the City of Stone and swelled its people.

Greatly did Tuor and Voronwë rejoice to find this gate, yet entering they found there a way dark, rough-going, and circuitous; and long time they travelled faltering within its tunnels. It was full of fearsome echoes, and there a countless stepping of feet would come behind them, so that Voronwë became adread, and said: "It is Melko's goblins, the Orcs of the hills." Then would they run, falling over stones in the blackness, till they perceived it was but the deceit of the place. Thus did they come, after it seemed a measureless time of fearful groping, to a place where a far light glimmered, and making for this gleam they came to a gate like that by which they had entered, but in no way overgrown. Then they passed into the sunlight and could for a while see nought, but instantly a great gong sounded and there was a clash of armour, and behold, they were surrounded by warriors in steel.

Then they looked up and could see, and lo! they were at the foot of steep hills, and these hills made a great circle wherein lay a wide plain, and set therein, not rightly at the midmost but rather nearer to that place where they stood, was a great hill with a level top, and upon that summit rose a city in the new light of the morning.

Then Voronwë spake to the Guard of the Gondothlim, and his speech they comprehended, for it was the sweet tongue of the Gnomes.[15] Then spake Tuor also and questioned where they might be, and who might be the folk in arms who stood about, for he was somewhat in amaze and wondered much at the goodly fashion of their weapons. Then 'twas said to him by one of that company: "We are the guardians of the issue of the Way of Escape. Rejoice that ye have found it, for behold before you the City of Seven Names where all who war with Melko may find hope."

Then said Tuor: "What be those names?" And the chief of the Guard made answer: "'Tis said and 'tis sung: 'Gondobar am I called and Gondothlimbar, City of Stone and City of the Dwellers in Stone; Gondolin the Stone of Song and Gwarestrin am I named, the Tower of Guard, Gar Thurion or the Secret Place, for I am hidden from the eyes of Melko; but they who love me most greatly call me Loth, for like a flower am I, even Lothengriol the flower that blooms on the plain.' Yet," said he, "in our daily speech we speak and we name it mostly Gondolin." Then said Voronwë: "Bring us thither, for we fain would enter," and Tuor said that his heart desired much to tread the ways of that fair city.

Then said the chief of the Guard that they themselves must abide here, for there were yet many days of their moon of watch to pass, but that Voronwë and Tuor might pass on to Gondolin; and moreover that they would need thereto no guide, for "Lo, it stands fair to see and very clear, and its towers prick the heavens above the Hill of Watch in the midmost plain." Then Tuor and his companion fared over the plain that was of a marvellous level, broken but here and there by boulders round and smooth which lay amid a sward, or by pools in rocky beds. Many fair pathways lay across that plain, and they came after a day's light march to the foot of the Hill of Watch (which is in the tongue of the Noldoli Amon Gwareth). Then did they begin to ascend the winding stairways which climbed up to the city gate; nor might any one reach that city save on foot and espied from the walls. As the westward gate was golden in the last sunlight did they come to the long stair's head, and many eyes gazed[16] upon them from the battlements and towers.

But Tuor looked upon the walls of stone, and the uplifted towers, upon the glistering pinnacles of the town, and he looked upon the stairs of stone and marble, bordered by slender balustrades and cooled by the leap of threadlike waterfalls seeking the plain from the fountains of Amon Gwareth, and he fared as one in some dream of the Gods, for he deemed not such things were seen by men in the visions of their sleep, so great was his amaze at the glory of Gondolin.

Even so came they to the gates, Tuor in wonder and Voronwë in great joy that daring much he had both brought Tuor hither in the will of Ulmo and had himself thrown off the yoke of Melko for ever. Though he hated him no wise less, no longer did he dread that Evil One[17] with a binding terror (and of a sooth that spell which Melko held over the Noldoli was one of bottomless dread, so that he seemed ever nigh them even were they far from the Hells of Iron, and their hearts quaked and they fled not even when they could; and to this Melko trusted often).

Now is there a sally from the gates of Gondolin and a throng comes about these twain in wonder, rejoicing that yet another of the Noldoli has fled hither from Melko, and marvelling at the stature and the gaunt limbs of Tuor, his heavy spear barbed with fish bone and his great harp. Rugged was his aspect, and his locks were unkempt, and he was clad in the skins of bears. 'Tis written that in those days the fathers of the fathers of Men were of less stature than Men now are, and the children of Elfinesse of greater growth, yet was Tuor taller than any that stood there. Indeed the Gondothlim were not bent of back as some of their unhappy kin became, labouring without rest at delving and hammering for Melko, but small were they and slender and very lithe.[18] They were swift of foot and surpassing fair; sweet and sad were their mouths, and their eyes had ever a joy within quivering to tears; for in those times the Gnomes were exiles at heart, haunted with a desire for their ancient home that faded not. But fate and unconquerable eagerness after knowledge had driven them into far places, and now were they hemmed by Melko and must make their abiding as fair as they might by labour and by love.

How it came ever that among Men the Noldoli have been confused with the Orcs who are Melko's goblins, I know not, unless it be that certain of the Noldoli were twisted to the evil of Melko and mingled among these Orcs, for all that race were bred by Melko of the subterranean heats and slime. Their hearts were of granite and their bodies deformed; foul their faces which smiled

not, but their laugh that of the clash of metal, and to nothing were they more fain than to aid in the basest of the purposes of Melko. The greatest hatred was between them and the Noldoli, who named them Glamhoth, or folk of dreadful hate.

Behold, the armed guardians of the gate pressed back the thronging folk that gathered about the wanderers, and one among them spake saying: "This is a city of watch and ward, Gondolin on Amon Gwareth, where all may be free who are of true heart, but none may be free to enter unknown. Tell me then your names." But Voronwë named himself Bronweg of the Gnomes, come hither[19] by the will of Ulmo as guide to this son of Men; and Tuor said: "I am Tuor son of Peleg son of Indor of the house of the Swan of the sons of the Men of the North who live far hence, and I fare hither by the will of Ulmo of the Outer Oceans."

Then all who listened grew silent, and his deep and rolling voice held them in amaze, for their own voices were fair as the plash of fountains. Then a saying arose among them: "Lead him before the king."

Then did the throng return within the gates and the wanderers with them, and Tuor saw they were of iron and of great height and strength. Now the streets of Gondolin were paved with stone and wide, kerbed with marble, and fair houses and courts amid gardens of bright flowers were set about the ways, and many towers of great slenderness and beauty builded of white marble and carved most marvellously rose to the heaven. Squares there were lit with fountains and the home of birds that sang amid the branches of their aged trees, but of all these the greatest was that place where stood the king's palace, and the tower thereof was the loftiest in the city, and the fountains that played before the doors shot twenty fathoms and seven in the air and fell in a singing rain of crystal: therein did the sun glitter splendidly by day, and the moon most magically shimmered by night. The birds that dwelt there were of the whiteness of snow and their voices sweeter than a lullaby of music.

On either side of the doors of the palace were two trees, one that bore blossom of gold and the other of silver, nor did they ever fade, for they were shoots of old from the glorious Trees of Valinor that lit those places before Melko and Gloomweaver withered them: and those trees the Gondothlim named Glingol and Bansil.

Then Turgon king of Gondolin robed in white with a belt of gold, and a coronet of garnets was upon his head, stood before

his doors and spake from the head of the white stairs that led thereto. "Welcome, O Man of the Land of Shadows. Lo! thy coming was set in our books of wisdom, and it has been written that there would come to pass many great things in the homes of the Gondothlim whenso thou faredst hither."

Then spake Tuor, and Ulmo set power in his heart and majesty in his voice. "Behold, O father of the City of Stone, I am bidden by him who maketh deep music in the Abyss, and who knoweth the mind of Elves and Men, to say unto thee that the days of Release draw nigh. There have come to the ears of Ulmo whispers of your dwelling and your hill of vigilance against the evil of Melko, and he is glad: but his heart is wroth and the hearts of the Valar are angered who sit in the mountains of Valinor and look upon the world from the peak of Taniquetil, seeing the sorrow of the thraldom of the Noldoli and the wanderings of Men; for Melko ringeth them in the Land of Shadows beyond hills of iron. Therefore have I been brought by a secret way to bid you number your hosts and prepare for battle, for the time is ripe."

Then spake Turgon: "That will I not do, though it be the words of Ulmo and all the Valar. I will not adventure this my people against the terror of the Orcs, nor emperil my city against the fire of Melko."

Then spake Tuor: "Nay, if thou dost not now dare greatly then will the Orcs dwell for ever and possess in the end most of the mountains of the Earth, and cease not to trouble both Elves and Men, even though by other means the Valar contrive hereafter to release the Noldoli; but if thou trust now to the Valar, though terrible the encounter, then shall the Orcs fall, and Melko's power be minished to a little thing."

But Turgon said that he was king of Gondolin and no will should force him against his counsel to emperil the dear labour of long ages gone; but Tuor said, for thus was he bidden by Ulmo who had feared the reluctance of Turgon: "Then am I bidden to say that men of the Gondothlim repair swiftly and secretly down the river Sirion to the sea, and there build them boats and go seek back to Valinor: lo! the paths thereto are forgotten and the highways faded from the world, and the seas and mountains are about it, yet still dwell there the Elves on the hill of Kôr and the Gods sit in Valinor, though their mirth is minished for sorrow and fear of Melko, and they hide their land and weave about it inaccessible magic that no evil come to its shores. Yet still might thy messengers win there and turn their hearts that they rise in

wrath and smite Melko, and destroy the Hells of Iron that he has wrought beneath the Mountains of Darkness."

Then said Turgon: "Every year at the lifting of winter have messengers repaired swiftly and by stealth down the river that is called Sirion to the coasts of the Great Sea, and there builded them boats whereto have swans and gulls been harnessed or the strong wings of the wind, and these have sought back beyond the moon and sun to Valinor; but the paths thereto are forgotten and the highways faded from the world, and the seas and mountains are about it, and they that sit within in mirth reck little of the dread of Melko or the sorrow of the world, but hide their land and weave about it inaccessible magic, that no tidings of evil come ever to their ears. Nay, enough of my people have for years untold gone out to the wide waters never to return, but have perished in the deep places or wander now lost in the shadows that have no paths; and at the coming of next year no more shall fare to the sea, but rather will we trust to ourselves and our city for the warding off of Melko; and thereto have the Valar been of scant help aforetime."

Then Tuor's heart was heavy, and Voronwë wept; and Tuor sat by the great fountain of the king and its splashing recalled the music of the waves, and his soul was troubled by the conches of Ulmo and he would return down the waters of Sirion to the sea. But Turgon, who knew that Tuor, mortal as he was, had the favour of the Valar, marking his stout glance and the power of his voice sent to him and bade him dwell in Gondolin and be in his favour, and abide even within the royal halls if he would.

Then Tuor, for he was weary, and that place was fair, said yea; and hence cometh the abiding of Tuor in Gondolin. Of all Tuor's deeds among the Gondothlim the tales tell not, but 'tis said that many a time would he have stolen thence, growing weary of the concourses of folk, and thinking of empty forest and fell or hearing afar the sea-music of Ulmo, had not his heart been filled with love for a woman of the Gondothlim, and she was a daughter of the king.

Now Tuor learnt many things in those realms taught by Voronwë whom he loved, and who loved him exceeding greatly in return; or else was he instructed by the skilled men of the city and the wise men of the king. Wherefore he became a man far mightier than aforetime and wisdom was in his counsel; and many things became clear to him that were unclear before, and many things known that are still unknown to mortal Men. There he heard concerning that city of Gondolin and how

unstaying labour through ages of years had not sufficed to its building and adornment whereat folk[20] travailed yet; of the delving of that hidden tunnel he heard, which the folk named the Way of Escape, and how there had been divided counsels in that matter, yet pity for the enthralled Noldoli had prevailed in the end to its making; of the guard without ceasing he was told, that was held there in arms and likewise at certain low places in the encircling mountains, and how watchers dwelt ever vigilant on the highest peaks of that range beside builded beacons ready for the fire; for never did that folk cease to look for an onslaught of the Orcs did their stronghold become known.

Now however was the guard of the hills maintained rather by custom than necessity, for the Gondothlim had long ago with unimagined toil levelled and cleared and delved all that plain about Amon Gwareth, so that scarce Gnome or bird or beast or snake could approach but was espied from many leagues off, for among the Gondothlim were many whose eyes were keener than the very hawks of Manwë Súlimo Lord of Gods and Elves who dwells upon Taniquetil; and for this reason did they call that vale Tumladin or the valley of smoothness. Now this great work was finished to their mind, and folk were the busier about the quarrying of metals and the forging of all manner of swords and axes, spears and bills, and the fashioning of coats of mail, byrnies and hauberks, greaves and vambraces, helms and shields. Now 'twas said to Tuor that already the whole folk of Gondolin shooting with bows without stay day or night might not expend their hoarded arrows in many years, and that yearly their fear of the Orcs grew the less for this.

There learnt Tuor of building with stone, of masonry and the hewing of rock and marble; crafts of weaving and spinning, broidure and painting, did he fathom, and cunning in metals. Musics most delicate he there heard; and in these were they who dwelt in the southern city the most deeply skilled, for there played a profusion of murmuring founts and springs. Many of these subtleties Tuor mastered and learned to entwine with his songs to the wonder and heart's joy of all who heard. Strange stories of the Sun and Moon and Stars, of the manner of the Earth and its elements, and of the depths of heaven, were told to him; and the secret characters of the Elves he learnt, and their speeches and old tongues, and heard tell of Ilúvatar, the Lord for Always, who dwelleth beyond the world, of the great music of the Ainur about Ilúvatar's feet in the uttermost deeps of time, whence came the

making of the world and the manner of it, and all therein and their governance.[21]

Now for his skill and his great mastery over all lore and craft whatsoever, and his great courage of heart and body, did Tuor become a comfort and stay to the king who had no son; and he was beloved by the folk of Gondolin. Upon a time the king caused his most cunning artificers to fashion a suit of armour for Tuor as a great gift, and it was made of Gnome-steel overlaid with silver; but his helm was adorned with a device of metals and jewels like to two swan-wings, one on either side, and a swan's wing was wrought on his shield; but he carried an axe rather than a sword, and this in the speech of the Gondothlim he named Dramborleg, for its buffet stunned and its edge clove all armour.

A house was built for him upon the southern walls, for he loved the free airs and liked not the close neighbourhood of other dwellings. There it was his delight often to stand on the battlements at dawn, and folk rejoiced to see the new light catch the wings of his helm – and many murmured and would fain have backed him into battle with the Orcs, seeing that the speeches of those two, Tuor and Turgon, before the palace were known to many; but this matter went not further for reverence of Turgon, and because at this time in Tuor's heart the thought of the words of Ulmo seemed to have grown dim and far off.

Now came days when Tuor had dwelt among the Gondothlim many years. Long had he known and cherished a love for the king's daughter, and now was his heart full of that love. Great love too had Idril for Tuor, and the strands of her fate were woven with his even from that day when first she gazed upon him from a high window as he stood a way-worn suppliant before the palace of the king. Little cause had Turgon to withstand their love, for he saw in Tuor a kinsman of comfort and great hope. Thus was first wed a child of Men with a daughter of Elfinesse, nor was Tuor the last. Less bliss have many had than they, and their sorrow in the end was great. Yet great was the mirth of those days when Idril and Tuor were wed before the folk in Gar Ainion, the Place of the Gods, nigh to the king's halls. A day of merriment was that wedding to the city of Gondolin, and of[22] the greatest happiness to Tuor and Idril. Thereafter dwelt they in joy in that house upon the walls that looked out south over Tumladin, and this was good to the hearts of all in the city save Meglin alone. Now that Gnome was come of an ancient house, though now were its numbers less

than others, but he himself was nephew to the king by his mother the king's sister Isfin; and that tale of Isfin and Eöl may not here be told.[23]

Now the sign of Meglin was a sable Mole, and he was great among quarrymen and a chief of the delvers after ore; and many of these belonged to his house. Less fair was he than most of this goodly folk, swart and of none too kindly mood, so that he won small love, and whispers there were that he had Orc's blood in his veins, but I know not how this could be true. Now he had bid often with the king for the hand of Idril, yet Turgon finding her very loth had as often said nay, for him seemed Meglin's suit was caused as much by the desire of standing in high power beside the royal throne as by love of that most fair maid. Fair indeed was she and brave thereto; and the people called her Idril of the Silver Feet* in that she went ever barefoot and bareheaded, king's daughter as she was, save only at pomps of the Ainur; and Meglin gnawed his anger seeing Tuor thrust him out.

In these days came to pass the fulfilment of the time of the desire of the Valar and the hope of [the] Eldalië, for in great love Idril bore to Tuor a son and he was called Eärendel. Now thereto there are many interpretations both among Elves and Men, but belike it was a name wrought of some secret tongue among the Gondothlim[24] and that has perished with them from the dwellings of the Earth.

Now this babe was of greatest beauty; his skin of a shining white and his eyes of a blue surpassing that of the sky in southern lands – bluer than the sapphires of the raiment of Manwë;[25] and the envy of Meglin was deep at his birth, but the joy of Turgon and all the people very great indeed.

Behold now many years have gone since Tuor was lost amid the foothills and deserted by those Noldoli; yet many years too have gone since to Melko's ears came first those strange tidings – faint were they and various in form – of a Man wandering amid the dales of the waters of Sirion. Now Melko was not much afraid of the race of Men in those days of his great power, and for this reason did Ulmo work through one of this kindred for the better deceiving of Melko, seeing that no Valar and scarce any of the Eldar or Noldoli might stir unmarked of his vigilance. Yet nonetheless foreboding smote that ill heart at the tidings, and he got together a mighty army of spies: sons of the Orcs were there with

* Faintly pencilled above in *Tuor B: Idril Talceleb*.

eyes of yellow and green like cats that could pierce all glooms and see through mist or fog or night; snakes that could go everywhither and search all crannies or the deepest pits or the highest peaks, listen to every whisper that ran in the grass or echoed in the hills; wolves there were and ravening dogs and great weasels full of the thirst of blood whose nostrils could take scent moons old through running water, or whose eyes find among shingle footsteps that had passed a lifetime since; owls came and falcons whose keen glance might descry by day or night the fluttering of small birds in all the woods of the world, and the movement of every mouse or vole or rat that crept or dwelt throughout the Earth. All these he summoned to his Hall of Iron, and they came in multitudes. Thence he sent them over the Earth to seek this Man who had escaped from the Land of Shadows, but yet far more curiously and intently to search out the dwelling of the Noldoli that had escaped his thraldom; for these his heart burnt to destroy or to enslave.

Now while Tuor dwelt in happiness and in great increase of knowledge and might in Gondolin, these creatures through the years untiring nosed among the stones and rocks, hunted the forests and the heaths, espied the airs and lofty places, tracked all paths about the dales and plains, and neither let nor stayed. From this hunt they brought a wealth of tidings to Melko – indeed among many hidden things that they dragged to light they discovered that Way of Escape whereby Tuor and Voronwë entered aforetime. Nor had they done so save by constraining some of the less stout of the Noldoli with dire threats of torment to join in that great ransacking; for because of the magic about that gate no folk of Melko unaided by the Gnomes could come to it. Yet now they had pried of late far into its tunnels and captured within many of the Noldoli creeping there to flee from thraldom. They had scaled too the Encircling Hills* at certain places and gazed upon the beauty of the city of Gondolin and the strength of Amon Gwareth from afar; but into the plain they could not win for the vigilance of its guardians and the difficulty of those mountains. Indeed the Gondothlim were mighty archers, and bows they made of a marvel of power. Therewith might they shoot an arrow into heaven seven times as far as could the best bowman among Men shoot at a mark upon the ground; and they would have suffered no falcon to hover long over their plain or snake to crawl therein; for they liked not creatures of blood, broodlings of Melko.

* Pencilled above in *Tuor B: Heborodin*.

Now in those days was Eärendel one year old when these ill tidings came to that city of the spies of Melko and how they encompassed the vale of Tumladin around. Then Turgon's heart was saddened, remembering the words of Tuor in past years before the palace doors; and he caused the watch and ward to be thrice strengthened at all points, and engines of war to be devised by his artificers and set upon the hill. Poisonous fires and hot liquids, arrows and great rocks, was he prepared to shoot down on any who would assail those gleaming walls; and then he abode as well content as might be, but Tuor's heart was heavier than the king's, for now the words of Ulmo came ever to his mind, and their purport and gravity he understood more deeply than of old; nor did he find any great comfort in Idril, for her heart boded more darkly even than his own.

Know then that Idril had a great power of piercing with her thought the darkness of the hearts of Elves and Men, and the glooms of the future thereto – further even than is the common power of the kindreds of the Eldalië; therefore she spake thus on a day to Tuor: "Know, my husband, that my heart misgives me for doubt of Meglin, and I fear that he will bring an ill on this fair realm, though by no means may I see how or when – yet I dread lest all that he knows of our doings and preparations become in some manner known to the Foe, so that he devise a new means of whelming us, against which we have thought of no defence. Lo! I dreamed on a night that Meglin builded a furnace, and coming at us unawares flung therein Eärendel our babe, and would after thrust in thee and me; but that for sorrow at the death of our fair child I would not resist."

And Tuor answered: "There is reason for thy fear, for neither is my heart good towards Meglin; yet is he the nephew of the king and thine own cousin, nor is there charge against him, and I see nought to do but to abide and watch."

But Idril said: "This is my rede thereto: gather thou in deep secret those delvers and quarrymen who by careful trial are found to hold least love for Meglin by reason of the pride and arrogance of his dealings among them. From these thou must choose trusty men to keep watch upon Meglin whenso he fares to the outer hills, yet I counsel thee to set the greater part of those in whose secrecy thou canst confide at a hidden delving, and to devise with their aid – howsoever cautious and slow that labour be – a secret way from thy house here beneath the rocks of this hill unto the vale below. Now this way must not lead toward the Way of Escape, for my

heart bids me trust it not, but even to that far distant pass, the Cleft of Eagles in the southern mountains; and the further this delving reach thitherward beneath the plain so much the better would I esteem it – yet let all this labour be kept dark save from a few."

Now there are none such delvers of earth or rock as the Noldoli (and this Melko knows), but in those places is the earth of a great hardness; and Tuor said: "The rocks of the hill of Amon Gwareth are as iron, and only with much travail may they be cloven; yet if this be done in secret then must great time and patience be added; but the stone of the floor of the Vale of Tumladin is as forgéd steel, nor may it be hewn without the knowledge of the Gondothlim save in moons and years."

Idril said then: "Sooth this may be, but such is my rede, and there is yet time to spare." Then Tuor said that he might not see all its purport, "but 'better is any plan than a lack of counsel', and I will do even as thou sayest".

Now it so chanced that not long after Meglin went to the hills for the getting of ore, and straying in the mountains alone was taken by some of the Orcs prowling there, and they would do him evil and terrible hurt, knowing him to be a man of the Gondothlim. This was however unknown of Tuor's watchers. But evil came into the heart of Meglin, and he said to his captors: "Know then that I am Meglin son of Eöl who had to wife Isfin sister of Turgon king of the Gondothlim." But they said: "What is that to us?" And Meglin answered: "Much is it to you; for if you slay me, be it speedy or slow, ye will lose great tidings concerning the city of Gondolin that your master would rejoice to hear." Then the Orcs stayed their hands, and said they would give him life if the matters he opened to them seemed to merit that; and Meglin told them of all the fashion of that plain and city, of its walls and their height and thickness, and the valour of its gates; of the host of men at arms who now obeyed Turgon he spake, and the countless hoard of weapons gathered for their equipment, of the engines of war and the venomous fires.

Then the Orcs were wroth, and having heard these matters were yet for slaying him there and then as one who impudently enlarged the power of his miserable folk to the mockery of the great might and puissance of Melko; but Meglin catching at a straw said: "Think ye not that ye would rather pleasure your master if ye bore to his feet so noble a captive, that he might hear my tidings of himself and judge of their verity?"

Now this seemed good to the Orcs, and they returned from the mountains about Gondolin to the Hills of Iron and the dark halls of Melko; thither they haled Meglin with them, and now was he in a sore dread. But when he knelt before the black throne of Melko in terror of the grimness of the shapes about him, of the wolves that sat beneath that chair and of the adders that twined about its legs, Melko bade him speak. Then told he those tidings, and Melko hearkening spake very fair to him, that the insolence of his heart in great measure returned.

Now the end of this was that Melko aided by the cunning of Meglin devised a plan for the overthrow of Gondolin. For this Meglin's reward was to be a great captaincy among the Orcs – yet Melko purposed not in his heart to fulfil such a promise – but Tuor and Eärendel should Melko burn, and Idril be given to Meglin's arms – and such promises was that evil one fain to redeem. Yet as meed of treachery did Melko threaten Meglin with the torment of the Balrogs. Now these were demons with whips of flame and claws of steel by whom he tormented those of the Noldoli who durst withstand him in anything – and the Eldar have called them Malkarauki. But the rede that Meglin gave to Melko was that not all the host of the Orcs nor the Balrogs in their fierceness might by assault or siege hope ever to overthrow the walls and gates of Gondolin even if they availed to win unto the plain without. Therefore he counselled Melko to devise out of his sorceries a succour for his warriors in their endeavour. From the greatness of his wealth of metals and his powers of fire he bid him make beasts like snakes and dragons of irresistible might that should overcreep the Encircling Hills and lap that plain and its fair city in flame and death.

Then Meglin was bidden fare home lest at his absence men suspect somewhat; but Melko wove about him the spell of bottomless dread, and he had thereafter neither joy nor quiet in his heart. Nonetheless he wore a fair mask of good liking and gaiety, so that men said: "Meglin is softened", and he was held in less disfavour; yet Idril feared him the more. Now Meglin said: "I have laboured much and am minded to rest, and to join in the dance and the song and the merrymakings of the folk", and he went no more quarrying stone or ore in the hills: yet in sooth he sought herein to drown his fear and disquiet. A dread possessed him that Melko was ever at hand, and this came of the spell; and he durst never again wander amid the mines lest he again fall in with the Orcs and be bidden once more to the terrors of the halls of darkness.

Now the years fare by, and egged by Idril Tuor keepeth ever at his secret delving; but seeing that the leaguer of spies hath grown thinner Turgon dwelleth more at ease and in less fear. Yet these years are filled by Melko in the utmost ferment of labour, and all the thrall-folk of the Noldoli must dig unceasingly for metals while Melko sitteth and deviseth fires and calleth flames and smokes to come from the lower heats, nor doth he suffer any of the Noldoli to stray ever a foot from their places of bondage. Then on a time Melko assembled all his most cunning smiths and sorcerers, and of iron and flame they wrought a host of monsters such as have only at that time been seen and shall not again be till the Great End. Some were all of iron so cunningly linked that they might flow like slow rivers of metal or coil themselves around and above all obstacles before them, and these were filled in their innermost depths with the grimmest of the Orcs with scimitars and spears; others of bronze and copper were given hearts and spirits of blazing fire, and they blasted all that stood before them with the terror of their snorting or trampled whatso escaped the ardour of their breath; yet others were creatures of pure flame that writhed like ropes of molten metal, and they brought to ruin whatever fabric they came nigh, and iron and stone melted before them and became as water, and upon them rode the Balrogs in hundreds; and these were the most dire of all those monsters which Melko devised against Gondolin.

Now when the seventh summer had gone since the treason of Meglin, and Eärendel was yet of very tender years though a valorous child, Melko withdrew all his spies, for every path and corner of the mountains was now known to him; yet the Gondothlim thought in their unwariness that Melko would no longer seek against them, perceiving their might and the impregnable strength of their dwelling.

But Idril fell into a dark mood and the light of her face was clouded, and many wondered thereat; yet Turgon reduced the watch and ward to its ancient numbers, and to somewhat less, and as autumn came and the gathering of fruits was over folk turned with glad hearts to the feasts of winter: but Tuor stood upon the battlements and gazed upon the Encircling Hills.

Now behold, Idril stood beside him, and the wind was in her hair, and Tuor thought that she was exceeding beautiful, and stooped to kiss her; but her face was sad, and she said: "Now come the days when thou must make choice," and Tuor knew not what she said. Then drawing him within their halls she said to him how

her heart misgave her for fear concerning Eärendel her son, and for boding that some great evil was nigh, and that Melko would be at the bottom of it. Then Tuor would comfort her, but might not, and she questioned him concerning the secret delving, and he said how it now led a league into the plain, and at that was her heart somewhat lightened. But still she counselled that the delving be pressed on, and that henceforth should speed weigh more than secrecy, "because now is the time very near". And another rede she gave him, and this he took also, that certain of the bravest and most true among the lords and warriors of the Gondothlim be chosen with care and told of that secret way and its issue. These she counselled him to make into a stout guard and to give them his emblem to wear that they become his folk, and to do thus under pretext of the right and dignity of a great lord, kinsman to the king. "Moreover," said she, "I will get my father's favour to that." In secret too she whispered to folk that if the city came to its last stand or Turgon be slain that they rally about Tuor and her son, and to this they laughed a yea, saying however that Gondolin would stand as long as Taniquetil or the Mountains of Valinor.

Yet to Turgon she spoke not openly, nor suffered Tuor to do so, as he desired, despite their love and reverence for him – a great and a noble and a glorious king he was – seeing that he trusted in Meglin and held with blind obstinacy his belief in the impregnable might of the city and that Melko sought no more against it, perceiving no hope therein. Now in this he was ever strengthened by the cunning sayings of Meglin. Behold, the guile of that Gnome was very great, for he wrought much in the dark, so that folk said: "He doth well to bear the sign of a sable mole"; and by reason of the folly of certain of the quarrymen, and yet more by reason of the loose words of certain among his kin to whom word was somewhat unwarily spoken by Tuor, he gathered a knowledge of the secret work and laid against that a plan of his own.

So winter deepened, and it was very cold for those regions, so that frost fared about the plain of Tumladin and ice lay on its pools; yet the fountains played ever on Amon Gwareth and the two trees blossomed, and folk made merry till the day of terror that was hidden in the heart of Melko.

In these ways that bitter winter passed, and the snows lay deeper than ever before on the Encircling Hills; yet in its time a spring of wondrous glory melted the skirts of those white mantles and the valley drank the waters and burst into flowers. So came

and passed with revelry of children the festival of Nost-na-Lothion or the Birth of Flowers, and the hearts of the Gondothlim were uplifted for the good promise of the year; and now at length is that great feast Tarnin Austa or the Gates of Summer near at hand. For know that on a night it was their custom to begin a solemn ceremony at midnight, continuing it even till the dawn of Tarnin Austa broke, and no voice was uttered in the city from midnight till the break of day, but the dawn they hailed with ancient songs. For years uncounted had the coming of summer thus been greeted with music of choirs, standing upon their gleaming eastern wall; and now comes even the night of vigil and the city is filled with silver lamps, while in the groves upon the new-leaved trees lights of jewelled colours swing, and low musics go along the ways, but no voice sings until the dawn.

The sun has sunk beyond the hills and folk array them for the festival very gladly and eagerly – glancing in expectation to the East. Lo! even when she had gone and all was dark, a new light suddenly began, and a glow there was, but it was beyond the northward heights,[26] and men marvelled, and there was a thronging of the walls and battlements. Then wonder grew to doubt as that light waxed and became yet redder, and doubt to dread as men saw the snow upon the mountains dyed as it were with blood. And thus it was that the fire-serpents of Melko came upon Gondolin.

Then came over the plain riders who bore breathless tidings from those who kept vigil on the peaks; and they told of the fiery hosts and the shapes like dragons, and said: "Melko is upon us." Great was the fear and anguish within that beauteous city, and the streets and byeways were filled with the weeping of women and the wailing of children, and the squares with the mustering of soldiers and the ring of arms. There were the gleaming banners of all the great houses and kindreds of the Gondothlim. Mighty was the array of the house of the king and their colours were white and gold and red, and their emblems the moon and the sun and the scarlet heart.[27] Now in the midmost of these stood Tuor above all heads, and his mail of silver gleamed; and about him was a press of the stoutest of the folk. Lo! all these wore wings as it were of swans or gulls upon their helms, and the emblem of the White Wing was upon their shields. But the folk of Meglin were drawn up in the same place, and sable was their harness, and they bore no sign or emblem, but their round caps of steel were covered with moleskin, and they fought with axes two-headed like mattocks. There Meglin prince of Gondobar gathered many warriors of dark countenance

and lowering gaze about him, and a ruddy glow shone upon their faces and gleamed about the polished surfaces of their accoutrement. Behold, all the hills to the north were ablaze, and it was as if rivers of fire ran down the slopes that led to the plain of Tumladin, and folk might already feel the heat thereof.

And many other kindreds were there, the folk of the Swallow and the Heavenly Arch, and from these folk came the greatest number and the best of the bowmen, and they were arrayed upon the broad places of the walls. Now the folk of the Swallow bore a fan of feathers on their helms, and they were arrayed in white and dark blue and in purple and black and showed an arrowhead on their shields. Their lord was Duilin, swiftest of all men to run and leap and surest of archers at a mark. But they of the Heavenly Arch being a folk of uncounted wealth were arrayed in a glory of colours, and their arms were set with jewels that flamed in the light now over the sky. Every shield of that battalion was of the blue of the heavens and its boss a jewel built of seven gems, rubies and amethysts and sapphires, emeralds, chrysoprase, topaz, and amber, but an opal of great size was set in their helms. Egalmoth was their chieftain, and wore a blue mantle upon which the stars were broidered in crystal, and his sword was bent – now none else of the Noldoli bore curved swords – yet he trusted rather to the bow, and shot therewith further than any among that host.

There too were the folk of the Pillar and of the Tower of Snow, and both these kindreds were marshalled by Penlod, tallest of Gnomes. There were those of the Tree, and they were a great house, and their raiment was green. They fought with iron-studded clubs or with slings, and their lord Galdor was held the most valiant of all the Gondothlim save Turgon alone. There stood the house of the Golden Flower who bare a rayed sun upon their shield, and their chief Glorfindel bare a mantle so broidered in threads of gold that it was diapered with celandine as a field in spring; and his arms were damascened with cunning gold.

Then came there from the south of the city the people of the Fountain, and Ecthelion was their lord, and silver and diamonds were their delight; and swords very long and bright and pale did they wield, and they went into battle to the music of flutes. Behind them came the host of the Harp, and this was a battalion of brave warriors; but their leader Salgant was a craven, and he fawned upon Meglin. They were dight with tassels of silver and tassels of gold, and a harp of silver shone in their blazonry upon a field of black; but Salgant bore one of gold, and he alone rode into battle

of all the sons of the Gondothlim, and he was heavy and squat.

Now the last of the battalions was furnished by the folk of the Hammer of Wrath, and of these came many of the best smiths and craftsmen, and all that kindred reverenced Aulë the Smith more than all other Ainur. They fought with great maces like hammers, and their shields were heavy, for their arms were very strong. In older days they had been much recruited by Noldoli who escaped from the mines of Melko, and the hatred of this house for the works of that evil one and the Balrogs his demons was exceeding great. Now their leader was Rog, strongest of the Gnomes, scarce second in valour to that Galdor of the Tree. The sign of this people was the Stricken Anvil, and a hammer that smiteth sparks about it was set on their shields, and red gold and black iron was their delight. Very numerous was that battalion, nor had any amongst them a faint heart, and they won the greatest glory of all those fair houses in that struggle against doom; yet were they ill-fated, and none ever fared away from that field, but fell about Rog and vanished from the Earth; and with them much craftsmanship and skill has been lost for ever.[28]

This was the fashion and the array of the eleven houses of the Gondothlim with their signs and emblems, and the bodyguard of Tuor, the folk of the Wing, was accounted the twelfth. Now is the face of that chieftain grim and he looks not to live long – and there in his house upon the walls Idril arrays herself in mail, and seeks Eärendel. And that child was in tears for the strange lights of red that played about the walls of the chamber where he slept; and tales that his nurse Meleth had woven him concerning fiery Melko at times of his waywardness came to him and troubled him. But his mother coming set about him a tiny coat of mail that she had let fashion in secret, and at that time he was glad and exceeding proud, and he shouted for pleasure. Yet Idril wept, for much had she cherished in her heart the fair city and her goodly house, and the love of Tuor and herself that had dwelt therein; but now she saw its destroying nigh at hand, and feared that her contriving would fail against this overwhelming might of the terror of the serpents.

It was now four hours still from middle night, and the sky was red in the north and in the east and west; and those serpents of iron had reached the levels of Tumladin, and those fiery ones were among the lowest slopes of the hills, so that the guards were taken and set in evil torment by the Balrogs that scoured all about, saving only to the furthest south where was Cristhorn the Cleft of Eagles.

Then did King Turgon call a council, and thither fared Tuor and Meglin as royal princes; and Duilin came with Egalmoth and Penlod the tall, and Rog strode thither with Galdor of the Tree and golden Glorfindel and Ecthelion of the voice of music. Thither too fared Salgant atremble at the tidings, and other nobles beside of less blood but better heart.

Then spake Tuor and this was his rede, that a mighty sally be made forthwith, ere the light and heat grew too great in the plain; and many backed him, being but of different minds as to whether the sally should be made by the entire host with the maids and wives and children amidmost, or by diverse bands seeking out in many directions; and to this last Tuor leaned.

But Meglin and Salgant alone held other counsel and were for holding to the city and seeking to guard those treasures that lay within. Out of guile did Meglin speak thus, fearing lest any of the Noldoli escape the doom that he had brought upon them for the saving of his skin, and he dreaded lest his treason become known and somehow vengeance find him in after days. But Salgant spake both echoing Meglin and being grievously afraid of issuing from the city, for he was fain rather to do battle from an impregnable fortress than to risk hard blows upon the field.

Then the lord of the house of the Mole played upon the one weakness of Turgon, saying: "Lo! O King, the city of Gondolin contains a wealth of jewels and metals and stuffs and of things wrought by the hands of the Gnomes to surpassing beauty, and all these thy lords – more brave meseems than wise – would abandon to the Foe. Even should victory be thine upon the plain thy city will be sacked and the Balrogs get hence with a measureless booty"; and Turgon groaned, for Meglin had known his great love for the wealth and loveliness of that burg[29] upon Amon Gwareth. Again said Meglin, putting fire in his voice: "Lo! Hast thou for nought laboured through years uncounted at the building of walls of impregnable thickness and in the making of gates whose valour may not be overthrown; is the power of the hill Amon Gwareth become as lowly as the deep vale, or the hoard of weapons that lie upon it and its unnumbered arrows of so little worth that in the hour of peril thou wouldst cast all aside and go naked into the open against enemies of steel and fire, whose trampling shakes the earth and the Encircling Mountains ring with the clamour of their footsteps?"

And Salgant quaked to think of it and spake noisily, saying: "Meglin speaks well, O King, hear thou him." Then the king took

the counsel of those twain though all the lords said otherwise, nay rather the more for that: therefore at his bidding does all that folk abide now the assault upon their walls. But Tuor wept and left the king's hall, and gathering the men of the Wing went through the streets seeking his home; and by that hour was the light great and lurid and there was stifling heat and a black smoke and stench arose about the pathways to the city.

And now came the Monsters across the valley and the white towers of Gondolin reddened before them; but the stoutest were in dread seeing those dragons of fire and those serpents of bronze and iron that fare already about the hill of the city; and they shot unavailing arrows at them. Then is there a cry of hope, for behold, the snakes of fire may not climb the hill for its steepness and for its glassiness, and by reason of the quenching waters that fall upon its sides; yet they lie about its feet and a vast steam arises where the streams of Amon Gwareth and the flames of the serpents drive together. Then grew there such a heat that women became faint and men sweated to weariness beneath their mail, and all the springs of the city, save only the fountain of the king, grew hot and smoked.

But now Gothmog lord of Balrogs, captain of the hosts of Melko, took counsel and gathered all his things of iron that could coil themselves around and above all obstacles before them. These he bade pile themselves before the northern gate; and behold, their great spires reached even to its threshold and thrust at the towers and bastions about it, and by reason of the exceeding heaviness of their bodies those gates fell, and great was the noise thereof: yet the most of the walls around them still stood firm. Then the engines and the catapults of the king poured darts and boulders and molten metals on those ruthless beasts, and their hollow bellies clanged beneath the buffeting, yet it availed not for they might not be broken, and the fires rolled off them. Then were the topmost opened about their middles, and an innumerable host of the Orcs, the goblins of hatred, poured therefrom into the breach; and who shall tell of the gleam of their scimitars or the flash of the broad-bladed spears with which they stabbed?

Then did Rog shout in a mighty voice, and all the people of the Hammer of Wrath and the kindred of the Tree with Galdor the valiant leapt at the foe. There the blows of their great hammers and the dint of their clubs rang to the Encircling Mountains and the Orcs fell like leaves; and those of the Swallow and the Arch poured arrows like the dark rains of autumn upon them, and both

Orcs and Gondothlim fell thereunder for the smoke and the confusion. Great was that battle, yet for all their valour the Gondothlim by reason of the might of ever increasing numbers were borne slowly backwards till the goblins held part of the northernmost city.

At this time is Tuor at the head of the folk of the Wing struggling in the turmoil of the streets, and now he wins through to his house and finds that Meglin is before him. Trusting in the battle now begun about the northern gate and in the uproar in the city, Meglin had looked to this hour for the consummation of his designs. Learning much of the secret delving of Tuor (yet only at the last moment had he got this knowledge and he could not discover all) he said nought to the king or any other, for it was his thought that of a surety that tunnel would go in the end toward the Way of Escape, this being the most nigh to the city, and he had a mind to use this to his good, and to the ill of the Noldoli. Messengers by great stealth he despatched to Melko to set a guard about the outer issue of that Way when the assault was made; but he himself thought now to take Eärendel and cast him into the fire beneath the walls, and seizing Idril he would constrain her to guide him to the secrets of the passage, that he might win out of this terror of fire and slaughter and drag her withal along with him to the lands of Melko. Now Meglin was afeared that even the secret token which Melko had given him would fail in that direful sack, and was minded to help that Ainu to the fulfilment of his promises of safety. No doubt had he however of the death of Tuor in that great burning, for to Salgant he had confided the task of delaying him in the king's halls and egging him straight thence into the deadliest of the fight – but lo! Salgant fell into a terror unto death, and he rode home and lay there now aquake on his bed; but Tuor fared home with the folk of the Wing.

Now Tuor did this, though his valour leapt to the noise of war, that he might take farewell of Idril and Eärendel, and speed them with a bodyguard down the secret way ere he returned himself to the battle throng to die if must be: but he found a press of the Mole-folk about his door, and these were the grimmest and least good-hearted of folk that Meglin might get in that city. Yet were they free Noldoli and under no spell of Melko's like their master, wherefore though for the lordship of Meglin they aided not Idril, no more would they touch of his purpose despite all his curses.

Now then Meglin had Idril by the hair and sought to drag her to the battlements out of cruelty of heart, that she might see the fall

of Eärendel to the flames; but he was cumbered by that child, and she fought, alone as she was, like a tigress for all her beauty and slenderness. There he now struggles and delays amid oaths while that folk of the Wing draw nigh – and lo! Tuor gives a shout so great that the Orcs hear it afar and waver at the sound of it. Like a crash of tempest the guard of the Wing were amid the men of the Mole, and these were stricken asunder. When Meglin saw this he would stab Eärendel with a short knife he had; but that child bit his left hand, that his teeth sank in, and he staggered, and stabbed weakly, and the mail of the small coat turned the blade aside; and thereupon Tuor was upon him and his wrath was terrible to see. He seized Meglin by that hand that held the knife and broke the arm with the wrench, and then taking him by the middle leapt with him upon the walls, and flung him far out. Great was the fall of his body, and it smote Amon Gwareth three times ere it pitched in the midmost of the flames; and the name of Meglin has gone out in shame from among Eldar and Noldoli.

Then the warriors of the Mole being more numerous than those few of the Wing, and loyal to their lord, came at Tuor, and there were great blows, but no man might stand before the wrath of Tuor, and they were smitten and driven to fly into what dark holes they might, or flung from the walls. Then Tuor and his men must get them to the battle of the Gate, for the noise of it has grown very great, and Tuor has it still in his heart that the city may stand; yet with Idril he left there Voronwë against his will and some other swordsmen to be a guard for her till he returned or might send tidings from the fray.

Now was the battle at that gate very evil indeed, and Duilin of the Swallow as he shot from the walls was smitten by a fiery bolt of the Balrogs who leapt about the base of Amon Gwareth; and he fell from the battlements and perished. Then the Balrogs continued to shoot darts of fire and flaming arrows like small snakes into the sky, and these fell upon the roofs and gardens of Gondolin till all the trees were scorched, and the flowers and grass burned up, and the whiteness of those walls and colonnades was blackened and seared: yet a worse matter was it that a company of those demons climbed upon the coils of the serpents of iron and thence loosed unceasingly from their bows and slings till a fire began to burn in the city to the back of the main army of the defenders.

Then said Rog in a great voice: "Who now shall fear the Balrogs for all their terror? See before us the accursed ones who for ages have tormented the children of the Noldoli, and who now set a fire

at our backs with their shooting. Come ye of the Hammer of Wrath and we will smite them for their evil." Thereupon he lifted his mace, and its handle was long; and he made a way before him by the wrath of his onset even unto the fallen gate: but all the people of the Stricken Anvil ran behind like a wedge, and sparks came from their eyes for the fury of their rage. A great deed was that sally, as the Noldoli sing yet, and many of the Orcs were borne backward into the fires below; but the men of Rog leapt even upon the coils of the serpents and came at those Balrogs and smote them grievously, for all they had whips of flame and claws of steel, and were in stature very great. They battered them into nought, or catching at their whips wielded these against them, that they tore them even as they had aforetime torn the Gnomes; and the number of Balrogs that perished was a marvel and dread to the hosts of Melko, for ere that day never had any of the Balrogs been slain by the hand of Elves or Men.

Then Gothmog Lord of Balrogs gathered all his demons that were about the city and ordered them thus: a number made for the folk of the Hammer and gave before them, but the greater company rushing upon the flank contrived to get to their backs, higher upon the coils of the drakes and nearer to the gates, so that Rog might not win back save with great slaughter among his folk. But Rog seeing this essayed not to win back, as was hoped, but with all his folk fell on those whose part was to give before him; and they fled before him now of dire need rather than of craft. Down into the plain were they harried, and their shrieks rent the airs of Tumladin. Then that house of the Hammer fared about smiting and hewing the astonied bands of Melko till they were hemmed at the last by an overwhelming force of the Orcs and the Balrogs, and a fire-drake was loosed upon them. There did they perish about Rog hewing to the last till iron and flame overcame them, and it is yet sung that each man of the Hammer of Wrath took the lives of seven foemen to pay for his own. Then did dread fall more heavily still upon the Gondothlim at the death of Rog and the loss of his battalion, and they gave back further yet into the city, and Penlod perished there in a lane with his back to the wall, and about him many of the men of the Pillar and many of the Tower of Snow.

Now therefore Melko's goblins held all the gate and a great part of the walls on either side, whence numbers of the Swallow and those of the Rainbow were thrust to doom; but within the city they had won a great space reaching nigh to the centre, even to the Place of the Well that adjoined the Square of the Palace. Yet about

those ways and around the gate their dead were piled in uncounted heaps, and they halted therefore and took counsel, seeing that for the valour of the Gondothlim they had lost many more than they had hoped and far more than those defenders. Fearful too they were for that slaughter Rog had done amid the Balrogs, because of those demons they had great courage and confidence of heart.

Now then the plan that they made was to hold what they had won, while those serpents of bronze and with great feet for trampling climbed slowly over those of iron, and reaching the walls there opened a breach wherethrough the Balrogs might ride upon the dragons of flame: yet they knew this must be done with speed, for the heats of those drakes lasted not for ever, and might only be plenished from the wells of fire that Melko had made in the fastness of his own land.

But even as their messengers were sped they heard a sweet music that was played amid the host of the Gondothlim and they feared what it might mean; and lo! there came Ecthelion and the people of the Fountain whom Turgon till now had held in reserve, for he watched the most of that affray from the heights of his tower. Now marched these folk to a great playing of their flutes, and the crystal and silver of their array was most lovely to see amid the red light of the fires and the blackness of the ruins.

Then on a sudden their music ceased and Ecthelion of the fair voice shouted for the drawing of swords, and before the Orcs might foresee his onslaught the flashing of those pale blades was amongst them. 'Tis said that Ecthelion's folk there slew more of the goblins than fell ever in all the battles of the Eldalië with that race, and that his name is a terror among them to this latest day, and a warcry to the Eldar.

Now it is that Tuor and the men of the Wing fare into the fight and range themselves beside Ecthelion and those of the Fountain, and the twain strike mighty blows and ward each many a thrust from the other, and harry the Orcs so that they win back almost to the gate. But there behold a quaking and a trampling, for the dragons labour mightily at beating a path up Amon Gwareth and at casting down the walls of the city; and already there is a gap therein and a confusion of masonry where the ward-towers have fallen in ruin. Bands of the Swallow and of the Arch of Heaven there fight bitterly amid the wreck or contest the walls to east and west with the foe; but even as Tuor comes nigh driving the Orcs, one of those brazen snakes heaves against the western wall and a great mass of it shakes and falls, and behind comes a

creature of fire and Balrogs upon it. Flames gust from the jaws of that worm and folk wither before it, and the wings of the helm of Tuor are blackened, but he stands and gathers about him his guard and all of the Arch and Swallow he can find, whereas on his right Ecthelion rallies the men of the Fountain of the South.

Now the Orcs again take heart from the coming of the drakes, and they mingle with the Balrogs that pour about the breach, and they assail the Gondothlim grievously. There Tuor slew Othrod a lord of the Orcs cleaving his helm, and Balcmeg he hewed asunder, and Lug he smote with his axe that his limbs were cut from beneath him at the knee, but Ecthelion shore through two captains of the goblins at a sweep and cleft the head of Orcobal their chiefest champion to his teeth; and by reason of the great doughtiness of those two lords they came even unto the Balrogs. Of those demons of power Ecthelion slew three, for the brightness of his sword cleft the iron of them and did hurt to their fire, and they writhed; yet of the leap of that axe Dramborleg that was swung by the hand of Tuor were they still more afraid, for it sang like the rush of eagle's wings in the air and took death as it fell, and five of them went down before it.

But so it is that few cannot fight always against the many, and Ecthelion's left arm got a sore rent from a whip of the Balrog's and his shield fell to earth even as that dragon of fire drew nigh amid the ruin of the walls. Then Ecthelion must lean on Tuor, and Tuor might not leave him, though the very feet of the trampling beast were upon them, and they were like to be overborne: but Tuor hewed at a foot of the creature so that flame spouted forth, and that serpent screamed, lashing with its tail; and many of both Orcs and Noldoli got their death therefrom. Now Tuor gathered his might and lifted Ecthelion, and amid a remnant of the folk got thereunder and escaped the drake; yet dire was the killing of men that beast had wrought, and the Gondothlim were sorely shaken.

Thus it was that Tuor son of Peleg gave before the foe, fighting as he yielded ground, and bore from that battle Ecthelion of the Fountain, but the drakes and the foemen held half the city and all the north of it. Thence marauding bands fared about the streets and did much ransacking, or slew in the dark men and women and children, and many, if occasion let, they bound and led back and flung in the iron chambers amid the dragons of iron, that they might drag them afterward to be thralls of Melko.

Now Tuor reached the Square of the Folkwell by a way entering from the north, and found there Galdor denying the western entry

by the Arch of Inwë to a horde of the goblins, but about him was now but a few of those men of the Tree. There did Galdor become the salvation of Tuor, for he fell behind his men stumbling beneath Ecthelion over a body that lay in the dark, and the Orcs had taken them both but for the sudden rush of that champion and the dint of his club.

There were the scatterlings of the guard of the Wing and of the houses of the Tree and the Fountain, and of the Swallow and the Arch, welded to a good battalion, and by the counsel of Tuor they gave way out of that Place of the Well, seeing that the Square of the King that lay next was the more defensible. Now that place had aforetime contained many beautiful trees, both oak and poplar, around a great well of vast depth and great purity of water; yet at that hour it was full of the riot and ugliness of those hideous people of Melko, and those waters were polluted with their carcases.

Thus comes the last stout gathering of those defenders in the Square of the Palace of Turgon. Among them are many wounded and fainting, and Tuor is weary for the labours of the night and the weight of Ecthelion who is in a deadly swoon. Even as he led that battalion in by the Road of Arches from the north-west (and they had much ado to prevent any foe getting behind their backs) a noise arose at the eastward of the square, and lo! Glorfindel is driven in with the last of the men of the Golden Flower.

Now these had sustained a terrible conflict in the Great Market to the east of the city, where a force of Orcs led by Balrogs came on them at unawares as they marched by a circuitous way to the fight about the gate. This they did to surprise the foe upon his left flank, but were themselves ambuscaded; there fought they bitterly for hours till a fire-drake new-come from the breach overwhelmed them, and Glorfindel cut his way out very hardly and with few men; but that place with its stores and its goodly things of fine workmanship was a waste of flames.

The story tells that Turgon had sent the men of the Harp to their aid because of the urgency of messengers from Glorfindel, but Salgant concealed this bidding from them, saying they were to garrison the square of the Lesser Market to the south where he dwelt, and they fretted thereat. Now however they brake from Salgant and were come before the king's hall; and that was very timely, for a triumphant press of foemen was at Glorfindel's heels. On these the men of the Harp unbidden fell with great eagerness and utterly redeemed the cravenhood of their lord, driving the

enemy back into the market, and being leaderless fared even over wrathfully, so that many of them were trapped in the flames or sank before the breath of the serpent that revelled there.

Tuor now drank of the great fountain and was refreshed, and loosening Ecthelion's helm gave him to drink, splashing his face that his swoon left him. Now those lords Tuor and Glorfindel clear the square and withdraw all the men they may from the entrances and bar them with barriers, save as yet on the south. Even from that region comes now Egalmoth. He had had charge of the engines on the wall; but long since deeming matters to call rather for handstrokes about the streets than shooting upon the battlements he gathered some of the Arch and of the Swallow about him, and cast away his bow. Then did they fare about the city dealing good blows whenever they fell in with bands of the enemy. Thereby he rescued many bands of captives and gathered no few wandering and driven men, and so got to the King's Square with hard fighting; and men were fain to greet him for they had feared him dead. Now are all the women and children that had gathered there or been brought in by Egalmoth stowed in the king's halls, and the ranks of the houses made ready for the last. In that host of survivors are some, be it however few, of all the kindreds save of the Hammer of Wrath alone; and the king's house is as yet untouched. Nor is this any shame, for their part was ever to bide fresh to the last and defend the king.

But now the men of Melko have assembled their forces, and seven dragons of fire are come with Orcs about them and Balrogs upon them down all the ways from north, east, and west, seeking the Square of the King. Then there was carnage at the barriers, and Egalmoth and Tuor went from place to place of the defence, but Ecthelion lay by the fountain; and that stand was the most stubborn-valiant that is remembered in all the songs or in any tale. Yet at long last a drake bursts the barrier to the north – and there had once been the issue of the Alley of Roses and a fair place to see or to walk in, but now there is but a lane of blackness and it is filled with noise.

Tuor stood then in the way of that beast, but was sundered from Egalmoth, and they pressed him backward even to the centre of the square nigh the fountain. There he became weary from the strangling heat and was beaten down by a great demon, even Gothmog lord of Balrogs, son of Melko. But lo! Ecthelion, whose face was of the pallor of grey steel and whose shield-arm hung limp at his side, strode above him as he fell; and that Gnome drave at

the demon, yet did not give him his death, getting rather a wound to his sword-arm that his weapon left his grasp. Then leapt Ecthelion lord of the Fountain, fairest of the Noldoli, full at Gothmog even as he raised his whip, and his helm that had a spike upon it he drave into that evil breast, and he twined his legs about his foeman's thighs; and the Balrog yelled and fell forward; but those two dropped into the basin of the king's fountain which was very deep. There found that creature his bane; and Ecthelion sank steel-laden into the depths, and so perished the lord of the Fountain after fiery battle in cool waters.[30]

Now Tuor had arisen when the assault of Ecthelion gave him space, and seeing that great deed he wept for his love of that fair Gnome of the Fountain, but being wrapped in battle he scarce cut his way to the folk about the palace. There seeing the wavering of the enemy by reason of the dread of the fall of Gothmog the marshal of the hosts, the royal house laid on and the king came down in splendour among them and hewed with them, that they swept again much of the square, and of the Balrogs slew even two score, which is a very great prowess indeed: but greater still did they do, for they hemmed in one of the Fire-drakes for all his flaming, and forced him into the very waters of the fountain that he perished therein. Now this was the end of that fair water; and its pools turned to steam and its spring was dried up, and it shot no more into the heaven, but rather a vast column of vapour arose to the sky and the cloud therefrom floated over all the land.

Then dread fell on all for the doom of the fountain, and the square was filled with mists of scalding heat and blinding fogs, and the people of the royal house were killed therein by heat and by the foe and by the serpents and by one another: but a body of them saved the king, and there was a rally of men beneath Glingol and Bansil.

Then said the king: "Great is the fall of Gondolin", and men shuddered, for such were the words of Amnon the prophet of old;[31] but Tuor speaking wildly for ruth and love of the king cried: "Gondolin stands yet, and Ulmo will not suffer it to perish!" Now were they at that time standing, Tuor by the Trees and the king upon the Stairs, as they had stood aforetime when Tuor spake the embassy of Ulmo. But Turgon said: "Evil have I brought upon the Flower of the Plain in despite of Ulmo, and now he leaveth it to wither in the fire. Lo! hope is no more in my heart for my city of loveliness, but the children of the Noldoli shall not be worsted for ever."

Then did the Gondothlim clash their weapons, for many stood

nigh, but Turgon said: "Fight not against doom, O my children! Seek ye who may safety in flight, if perhaps there be time yet: but let Tuor have your lealty." But Tuor said: "Thou art king"; and Turgon made answer: "Yet no blow will I strike more", and he cast his crown at the roots of Glingol. Then did Galdor who stood there pick it up, but Turgon accepted it not, and bare of head climbed to the topmost pinnacle of that white tower that stood nigh his palace. There he shouted in a voice like a horn blown among the mountains, and all that were gathered beneath the Trees and the foemen in the mists of the square heard him: "Great is the victory of the Noldoli!" And 'tis said that it was then middle night, and that the Orcs yelled in derision.

Then did men speak of a sally, and were of two minds. Many held that it were impossible to burst through, nor might they even so get over the plain or through the hills, and that it were better therefore to die about the king. But Tuor might not think well of the death of so many fair women and children, were it at the hands of their own folk in the last resort, or by the weapons of the enemy, and he spake of the delving and of the secret way. Therefore did he counsel that they beg Turgon to have other mind, and coming among them lead that remnant southward to the walls and the entry of that passage; but he himself burnt with desire to fare thither and know how Idril and Eärendel might be, or to get tidings hence to them and bid them begone speedily, for Gondolin was taken. Now Tuor's plan seemed to the lords desperate indeed – seeing the narrowness of the tunnel and the greatness of the company that must pass it – yet would they fain take this rede in their straits. But Turgon hearkened not, and bid them fare now ere it was too late, and "Let Tuor," said he, "be your guide and your chieftain. But I Turgon will not leave my city, and will burn with it." Then sped they messengers again to the tower, saying: "Sire, who are the Gondothlim if thou perish? Lead us!" But he said: "Lo! I abide here"; and a third time, and he said: "If I am king, obey my behests, and dare not to parley further with my commands." After that they sent no more and made ready for the forlorn attempt. But the folk of the royal house that yet lived would not budge a foot, but gathered thickly about the base of the king's tower. "Here," said they, "we will stay if Turgon goes not forth"; and they might not be persuaded.

Now was Tuor torn sorely between his reverence for the king and the love for Idril and his child, wherewith his heart was sick; yet already serpents fare about the square trampling upon dead

and dying, and the foe gathers in the mists for the last onslaught; and the choice must be made. Then because of the wailing of the women in the halls of the palace and the greatness of his pity for that sad remainder of the peoples of Gondolin, he gathered all that rueful company, maids, children and mothers, and setting them amidmost marshalled as well as he might his men around them. Deepest he set them at flank and at rear, for he purposed falling back southward fighting as best he might with the rearguard as he went; and thus if it might so be to win down the Road of Pomps to the Place of the Gods ere any great force be sent to circumvent him. Thence was it his thought to go by the Way of Running Waters past the Fountains of the South to the walls and to his home; but the passage of the secret tunnel he doubted much. Thereupon espying his movement the foe made forthwith a great onslaught upon his left flank and his rear – from east and north – even as he began to withdraw; but his right was covered by the king's hall and the head of that column drew already into the Road of Pomps.

Then some of the hugest of the drakes came on and glared in the fog, and he must perforce bid the company to go at a run, fighting on the left at haphazard; but Glorfindel held the rear manfully and many more of the Golden Flower fell there. So it was that they passed the Road of Pomps and reached Gar Ainion, the Place of the Gods; and this was very open and at its middle the highest ground of all the city. Here Tuor looks for an evil stand and it is scarce in his hope to get much further; but behold, the foe seems already to slacken and scarce any follow them, and this is a wonder. Now comes Tuor at their head to the Place of Wedding, and lo! there stands Idril before him with her hair unbraided as on that day of their marriage before; and great is his amaze. By her stood Voronwë and none other, but Idril saw not even Tuor, for her gaze was set back upon the Place of the King that now lay somewhat below them. Then all that host halted and looked back whither her eyes gazed and their hearts stood still; for now they saw why the foe pressed them so little and the reason of their salvation. Lo! a drake was coiled even on the very steps of the palace and defiled their whiteness; but swarms of the Orcs ransacked within and dragged forth forgotten women and children or slew men that fought alone. Glingol was withered to the stock and Bansil was blackened utterly, and the king's tower was beset. High up could they descry the form of the king, but about the base a serpent of iron spouting flame lashed and rowed with his tail, and

Balrogs were round him; and there was the king's house in great anguish, and dread cries carried up to the watchers. So was it that the sack of the halls of Turgon and that most valiant stand of the royal house held the mind of the foe, so that Tuor got thence with his company, and stood now in tears upon the Place of the Gods.

Then said Idril: "Woe is me whose father awaiteth doom even upon his topmost pinnacle; but seven times woe whose lord hath gone down before Melko and will stride home no more!" – for she was distraught with the agony of that night.

Then said Tuor: "Lo! Idril, it is I, and I live; yet now will I get thy father hence, be it from the Hells of Melko!" With that he would make down the hill alone, maddened by the grief of his wife; but she coming to her wits in a storm of weeping clasped his knees saying: "My lord! My lord!" and delayed him. Yet even as they spake a great noise and a yelling rose from that place of anguish. Behold, the tower leapt into a flame and in a stab of fire it fell, for the dragons crushed the base of it and all who stood there. Great was the clangour of that terrible fall, and therein passed Turgon King of the Gondothlim, and for that hour the victory was to Melko.

Then said Idril heavily: "Sad is the blindness of the wise"; but Tuor said: "Sad too is the stubbornness of those we love – yet 'twas a valiant fault," then stooping he lifted and kissed her, for she was more to him than all the Gondothlim; but she wept bitterly for her father. Then turned Tuor to the captains, saying: "Lo, we must get hence with all speed, lest we be surrounded"; and forthwith they moved onward as swiftly as they might and got them far from thence ere the Orcs tired of sacking the palace and rejoicing at the fall of the tower of Turgon.

Now are they in the southward city and meet but scattered bands of plunderers who fly before them; yet do they find fire and burning everywhere for the ruthlessness of that enemy. Women do they meet, some with babes and some laden with chattels, but Tuor would not let them bear away aught save a little food. Coming now at length to a greater quiet Tuor asked Voronwë for tidings, in that Idril spake not and was well-nigh in a swoon; and Voronwë told him of how she and he had waited before the doors of the house while the noise of those battles grew and shook their hearts; and Idril wept for lack of tidings from Tuor. At length she had sped the most part of her guard down the secret way with Eärendel, constraining them to depart with imperious words, yet was her grief great at that sundering. She herself would bide, said

she, nor seek to live after her lord; and then she fared about gathering womenfolk and wanderers and speeding them down the tunnel, and smiting marauders with her small band; nor might they dissuade her from bearing a sword.

At length they had fallen in with a band somewhat too numerous, and Voronwë had dragged her thence but by the luck of the Gods, for all else with them perished, and their foe burned Tuor's house; yet found not the secret way. "Therewith," said Voronwë, "thy lady became distraught of weariness and grief, and fared into the city wildly to my great fear – nor might I get her to sally from the burning."

About the saying of these words were they come to the southern walls and nigh to Tuor's house, and lo! it was cast down and the wreckage was asmoke; and thereat was Tuor bitterly wroth. But there was a noise that boded the approach of Orcs, and Tuor despatched that company as swiftly as might be down that secret way.

Now is there great sorrow upon that staircase as those exiles bid farewell to Gondolin; yet are they without much hope of further life beyond the hills, for how shall any slip from the hand of Melko?

Glad is Tuor when all have passed the entrance and his fear lightens; indeed by the luck of the Valar only can all those folk have got therein unspied of the Orcs. Some now are left who casting aside their arms labour with picks from within and block up the entry of the passage, faring then after the host as they might; but when that folk had descended the stairway to a level with the valley the heat grew to a torment for the fire of the dragons that were about the city; and they were indeed nigh, for the delving was there at no great depth in the earth. Boulders were loosened by the tremors of the ground and falling crushed many, and fumes were in the air so that their torches and lanterns went out. Here they fell over bodies of some that had gone before and perished, and Tuor was in fear for Eärendel; and they pressed on in great darkness and anguish. Nigh two hours were they in that tunnel of the earth, and towards its end it was scarce finished, but rugged at the sides and low.[32]

Then came they at the last lessened by wellnigh a tithe to the tunnel's opening, and it debouched cunningly in a large basin where once water had lain, but it was now full of thick bushes. Here were gathered no small press of mingled folk whom Idril and Voronwë sped down the hidden way before them, and they

were weeping softly in weariness and sorrow, but Eärendel was not there. Thereat were Tuor and Idril in anguish of heart.[33] Lamentation was there too among all those others, for amidmost of the plain about them loomed afar the hill of Amon Gwareth crowned with flames, where had stood the gleaming city of their home. Fire-drakes are about it and monsters of iron fare in and out of its gates, and great is that sack of the Balrogs and Orcs. Somewhat of comfort has this nonetheless for the leaders, for they judge the plain to be nigh empty of Melko's folk save hard by the city, for thither have fared all his evil ones to revel in that destruction.

"Now," therefore said Galdor, "we must get as far hence toward the Encircling Mountains as may be ere dawn come upon us, and that giveth no great space of time, for summer is at hand."[34] Thereat rose a dissension, for a number said that it were folly to make for Cristhorn as Tuor purposed. "The sun," say they, "will be up long ere we win the foothills, and we shall be whelmed in the plain by those drakes and those demons. Let us fare to Bad Uthwen, the Way of Escape, for that is but half the journeying, and our weary and our wounded may hope to win so far if no further."

Yet Idril spake against this, and persuaded the lords that they trust not to the magic of that way that had aforetime shielded it from discovery: "for what magic stands if Gondolin be fallen?" Nonetheless a large body of men and women sundered from Tuor and fared to Bad Uthwen, and there into the jaws of a monster who by the guile of Melko at Meglin's rede sat at the outer issue that none came through. But the others, led by one Legolas Greenleaf of the house of the Tree, who knew all that plain by day or by dark, and was night-sighted, made much speed over the vale for all their weariness, and halted only after a great march. Then was all the Earth spread with the grey light of that sad dawn which looked no more on the beauty of Gondolin; but the plain was full of mists – and that was a marvel, for no mist or fog came there ever before, and this perchance had to do with the doom of the fountain of the king. Again they rose, and covered by the vapours fared long past dawn in safety, till they were already too far away for any to descry them in those misty airs from the hill or from the ruined walls.

Now the Mountains or rather their lowest hills were on that side seven leagues save a mile from Gondolin, and Cristhorn the Cleft of Eagles two leagues of upward going from the beginning of the Mountains, for it was at a great height; wherefore they had yet two leagues and part of a third to traverse amid the spurs and foothills,

and they were very weary.[35] By now the sun hung well above a saddle in the eastern hills, and she was very red and great; and the mists nigh them were lifted, but the ruins of Gondolin were utterly hidden as in a cloud. Behold then at the clearing of the airs they saw, but a few furlongs off, a knot of men that fled on foot, and these were pursued by a strange cavalry, for on great wolves rode Orcs, as they thought, brandishing spears. Then said Tuor: "Lo! there is Eärendel my son; behold, his face shineth as a star in the waste,[36] and my men of the Wing are about him, and they are in sore straits." Forthwith he chose fifty of the men that were least weary, and leaving the main company to follow he fared over the plain with that troop as swiftly as they had strength left. Coming now to carry of voice Tuor shouted to the men about Eärendel to stand and flee not, for the wolfriders were scattering them and slaying them piecemeal, and the child was upon the shoulders of one Hendor, a house-carle of Idril's, and he seemed like to be left with his burden. Then they stood back to back and Hendor and Eärendel amidmost; but Tuor soon came up, though all his troop were breathless.

Of the wolfriders there were a score, and of the men that were about Eärendel but six living; therefore had Tuor opened his men into a crescent of but one rank, and hoped so to envelop the riders, lest any escaping bring tidings to the main foe and draw ruin upon the exiles. In this he succeeded, so that only two escaped, and therewithal wounded and without their beasts, wherefore were their tidings brought too late to the city.

Glad was Eärendel to greet Tuor, and Tuor most fain of his child; but said Eärendel: "I am thirsty, father, for I have run far – nor had Hendor need to bear me." Thereto his father said nought, having no water, and thinking of the need of all that company that he guided; but Eärendel said again: "'Twas good to see Meglin die so, for he would set arms about my mother – and I liked him not; but I would travel in no tunnels for all Melko's wolfriders." Then Tuor smiled and set him upon his shoulders. Soon after this the main company came up, and Tuor gave Eärendel to his mother who was in a great joy; but Eärendel would not be borne in her arms, for he said: "Mother Idril, thou art weary, and warriors in mail ride not among the Gondothlim, save it be old Salgant!" and his mother laughed amid her sorrow; but Eärendel said: "Nay, where is Salgant?" – for Salgant had told him quaint tales or played drolleries with him at times, and Eärendel had much laughter of the old Gnome in those days when he came many a day

to the house of Tuor, loving the good wine and fair repast he there received. But none could say where Salgant was, nor can they now. Mayhap he was whelmed by fire upon his bed; yet some have it that he was taken captive to the halls of Melko and made his buffoon – and this is an ill fate for a noble of the good race of the Gnomes. Then was Eärendel sad at that, and walked beside his mother in silence.

Now came they to the foothills and it was full morning but still grey, and there nigh to the beginning of the upward road folk stretched them and rested in a little dale fringed with trees and with hazel-bushes, and many slept despite their peril, for they were utterly spent. Yet Tuor set a strict watch, and himself slept not. Here they made one meal of scanty food and broken meats; and Eärendel quenched his thirst and played beside a little brook. Then said he to his mother: "Mother Idril, I would we had good Ecthelion of the Fountain here to play to me on his flute, or make me willow-whistles! Perchance he has gone on ahead?" But Idril said nay, and told what she had heard of his end. Then said Eärendel that he cared not ever to see the streets of Gondolin again, and he wept bitterly; but Tuor said that he would not again see those streets, "for Gondolin is no more".

Thereafter nigh to the hour of sundown behind the hills Tuor bade the company arise, and they pressed on by rugged paths. Soon now the grass faded and gave way to mossy stones, and trees fell away, and even the pines and firs grew sparse. About the set of the sun the way so wound behind a shoulder of the hills that they might not again look toward Gondolin. There all that company turned, and lo! the plain is clear and smiling in the last light as of old; but afar off as they gazed a great flare shot up against the darkened north – and that was the fall of the last tower of Gondolin, even that which had stood hard by the southern gate, and whose shadow fell oft across the walls of Tuor's house. Then sank the sun, and they saw Gondolin no more.

Now the pass of Cristhorn, that is the Eagles' Cleft, is one of dangerous going, and that host had not ventured it by dark, lanternless and without torches, and very weary and cumbered with women and children and sick and stricken men, had it not been for their great fear of Melko's scouts, for it was a great company and might not fare very secretly. Darkness gathered rapidly as they approached that high place, and they must string out into a long and straggling line. Galdor and a band of men spear-armed went ahead, and Legolas was with them, whose eyes

were like cats' for the dark, yet could they see further. Thereafter followed the least weary of the women supporting the sick and the wounded that could go on foot. Idril was with these, and Eärendel who bore up well, but Tuor was in the midmost behind them with all his men of the Wing, and they bare some who were grievously hurt, and Egalmoth was with him, but he had got a hurt in that sally from the square. Behind again came many women with babes, and girls, and lamed men, yet was the going slow enough for them. At the rearmost went the largest band of men battle-whole, and there was Glorfindel of the golden hair.

Thus were they come to Cristhorn, which is an ill place by reason of its height, for this is so great that spring nor summer come ever there, and it is very cold. Indeed while the valley dances in the sun, there all the year snow dwells in those bleak places, and even as they came there the wind howled, coming from the north behind them, and it bit sorely. Snow fell and whirled in wind-eddies and got into their eyes, and this was not good, for there the path is narrow, and of the right or westerly hand a sheer wall rises nigh seven chains from the way, ere it bursts atop into jagged pinnacles where are many eyries. There dwells Thorndor King of Eagles, Lord of the Thornhoth, whom the Eldar named Sorontur. But of the other hand is a fall not right sheer yet dreadly steep, and it has long teeth of rock up-pointing so that one may climb down – or fall maybe – but by no means up. And from that deep is no escape at either end any more than by the sides, and Thorn Sir runs at bottom. He falls therein from the south over a great precipice but with a slender water, for he is a thin stream in those heights, and he issues to the north after flowing but a rocky mile above ground down a narrow passage that goes into the mountain, and scarce a fish could squeeze through with him.

Galdor and his men were come now to the end nigh to where Thorn Sir falls into the abyss, and the others straggled, for all Tuor's efforts, back over most of the mile of the perilous way between chasm and cliff, so that Glorfindel's folk were scarce come to its beginning, when there was a yell in the night that echoed in that grim region. Behold, Galdor's men were beset in the dark suddenly by shapes leaping from behind rocks where they had lain hidden even from the glance of Legolas. It was Tuor's thought that they had fallen in with one of Melko's ranging companies, and he feared no more than a sharp brush in the dark, yet he sent the women and sick around him rearward and joined his men to Galdor's, and there was an affray upon the perilous

path. But now rocks fell from above, and things looked ill, for they did grievous hurt; but matters seemed to Tuor yet worse when the noise of arms came from the rear, and tidings were said to him by a man of the Swallow that Glorfindel was ill bested by men from behind, and that a Balrog was with them.

Then was he sore afraid of a trap, and this was even what had in truth befallen; for watchers had been set by Melko all about the encircling hills. Yet so many did the valour of the Gondothlim draw off to the assault ere the city could be taken that these were but thinly spread, and were at the least here in the south. Nonetheless one of these had espied the company as they started the upward going from the dale of hazels, and as many bands were got together against them as might be, and devised to fall upon the exiles to front and rear even upon the perilous way of Cristhorn. Now Galdor and Glorfindel held their own despite the surprise of assault, and many of the Orcs were struck into the abyss; but the falling of the rocks was like to end all their valour, and the flight from Gondolin to come to ruin. The moon about that hour rose above the pass, and the gloom somewhat lifted, for his pale light filtered into dark places; yet it lit not the path for the height of the walls. Then arose Thorndor, King of Eagles, and he loved not Melko, for Melko had caught many of his kindred and chained them against sharp rocks to squeeze from them the magic words whereby he might learn to fly (for he dreamed of contending even against Manwë in the air); and when they would not tell he cut off their wings and sought to fashion therefrom a mighty pair for his use, but it availed not.

Now when the clamour from the pass rose to his great eyrie he said: "Wherefore are these foul things, these Orcs of the hills, climbed near to my throne; and why do the sons of the Noldoli cry out in the low places for fear of the children of Melko the accursed? Arise O Thornhoth, whose beaks are of steel and whose talons swords!"

Thereupon there was a rushing like a great wind in rocky places, and the Thornhoth, the people of the Eagles, fell on those Orcs who had scaled above the path, and tore their faces and their hands and flung them to the rocks of Thorn Sir far below. Then were the Gondothlim glad, and they made in after days the Eagle a sign of their kindred in token of their joy, and Idril bore it, but Eärendel loved rather the Swan-wing of his father. Now unhampered Galdor's men bore back those that opposed them, for they were not very many and the onset of the Thornhoth

affrighted them much; and the company fared forward again, though Glorfindel had fighting enough in the rear. Already the half had passed the perilous way and the falls of Thorn Sir, when that Balrog that was with the rearward foe leapt with great might on certain lofty rocks that stood into the path on the left side upon the lip of the chasm, and thence with a leap of fury he was past Glorfindel's men and among the women and the sick in front, lashing with his whip of flame. Then Glorfindel leapt forward upon him and his golden armour gleamed strangely in the moon, and he hewed at that demon that it leapt again upon a great boulder and Glorfindel after. Now there was a deadly combat upon that high rock above the folk; and these, pressed behind and hindered ahead, were grown so close that well nigh all could see, yet was it over ere Glorfindel's men could leap to his side. The ardour of Glorfindel drave that Balrog from point to point, and his mail fended him from its whip and claw. Now had he beaten a heavy swinge upon its iron helm, now hewn off the creature's whip-arm at the elbow. Then sprang the Balrog in the torment of his pain and fear full at Glorfindel, who stabbed like a dart of a snake; but he found only a shoulder, and was grappled, and they swayed to a fall upon the crag-top. Then Glorfindel's left hand sought a dirk, and this he thrust up that it pierced the Balrog's belly nigh his own face (for that demon was double his stature); and it shrieked, and fell backwards from the rock, and falling clutched Glorfindel's yellow locks beneath his cap, and those twain fell into the abyss.

Now was this a very grievous thing, for Glorfindel was most dearly beloved – and lo! the dint of their fall echoed about the hills, and the abyss of Thorn Sir rang. Then at the death-cry of the Balrog the Orcs before and behind wavered and were slain or fled far away, and Thorndor himself, a mighty bird, descended to the abyss and brought up the body of Glorfindel; but the Balrog lay, and the water of Thorn Sir ran black for many a day far below in Tumladin.

Still do the Eldar say when they see good fighting at great odds of power against a fury of evil: "Alas! 'Tis Glorfindel and the Balrog", and their hearts are still sore for that fair one of the Noldoli. Because of their love, despite the haste and their fear of the advent of new foes, Tuor let raise a great stone-cairn over Glorfindel just there beyond the perilous way by the precipice of Eagle-stream, and Thorndor has let not yet any harm come thereto, but yellow flowers have fared thither and blow ever now

about that mound in those unkindly places; but the folk of the Golden Flower wept at its building and might not dry their tears.

Now who shall tell of the wanderings of Tuor and the exiles of Gondolin in the wastes that lie beyond the mountains to the south of the vale of Tumladin? Miseries were theirs and death, colds and hungers, and ceaseless watches. That they won ever through those regions infested by Melko's evil came from the great slaughter and damage done to his power in that assault, and from the speed and wariness with which Tuor led them; for of a certain Melko knew of that escape and was furious thereat. Ulmo had heard tidings in the far oceans of the deeds that were done, but he could not yet aid them for they were far from waters and rivers – and indeed they thirsted sorely, and they knew not the way.

But after a year and more of wandering, in which many a time they journeyed long tangled in the magic of those wastes only to come again upon their own tracks, once more the summer came, and nigh to its height[37] they came at last upon a stream, and following this came to better lands and were a little comforted. Here did Voronwë guide them, for he had caught a whisper of Ulmo's in that stream one late summer's night – and he got ever much wisdom from the sound of waters. Now he led them even till they came down to Sirion which that stream fed, and then both Tuor and Voronwë saw that they were not far from the outer issue of old of the Way of Escape, and were once more in that deep dale of alders. Here were all the bushes trampled and the trees burnt, and the dale-wall scarred with flame, and they wept, for they thought they knew the fate of those who sundered aforetime from them at the tunnel-mouth.

Now they journeyed down that river but were again in fear from Melko, and fought affrays with his Orc-bands and were in peril from the wolfriders, but his firedrakes sought not at them, both for the great exhaustion of their fires in the taking of Gondolin, and the increasing power of Ulmo as the river grew. So came they after many days – for they went slowly and got their sustenance very hardly – to those great heaths and morasses above the Land of Willows, and Voronwë knew not those regions. Now here goes Sirion a very great way under earth, diving at the great cavern of the Tumultuous Winds, but running clear again above the Pools of Twilight, even where Tulkas[38] after fought with Melko's self. Tuor had fared over these regions by night and dusk after Ulmo came to him amid the reeds, and he remembered not the ways. In

places that land is full of deceits and very marshy; and here the host had long delay and was vexed by sore flies, for it was autumn still, and agues and fevers fared amongst them, and they cursed Melko.

Yet came they at last to the great pools and the edges of that most tender Land of Willows; and the very breath of the winds thereof brought rest and peace to them, and for the comfort of that place the grief was assuaged of those who mourned the dead in that great fall. There women and maids grew fair again and their sick were healed, and old wounds ceased to pain; yet they alone who of reason feared their folk living still in bitter thraldom in the Hells of Iron sang not, nor did they smile.

Here they abode very long indeed, and Eärendel was a grown boy ere the voice of Ulmo's conches drew the heart of Tuor, that his sea-longing returned with a thirst the deeper for years of stifling; and all that host arose at his bidding, and got them down Sirion to the Sea.

Now the folk that had passed into the Eagles' Cleft and who saw the fall of Glorfindel had been nigh eight hundreds – a large wayfaring, yet was it a sad remnant of so fair and numerous a city. But they who arose from the grasses of the Land of Willows in years after and fared away to sea, when spring set celandine in the meads and they had held sad festival in memorial of Glorfindel, these numbered but three hundreds and a score of men and man-children, and two hundreds and three score of women and maid-children. Now the number of women was few because of their hiding or being stowed by their kinsfolk in secret places in the city. There they were burned or slain or taken and enthralled, and the rescue-parties found them too seldom; and it is the greatest ruth to think of this, for the maids and women of the Gondothlim were as fair as the sun and as lovely as the moon and brighter than the stars. Glory dwelt in that city of Gondolin of the Seven Names, and its ruin was the most dread of all the sacks of cities upon the face of Earth. Nor Bablon, nor Ninwi, nor the towers of Trui, nor all the many takings of Rûm that is greatest among Men, saw such terror as fell that day upon Amon Gwareth in the kindred of the Gnomes; and this is esteemed the worst work that Melko has yet thought of in the world.

Yet now those exiles of Gondolin dwelt at the mouth of Sirion by the waves of the Great Sea. There they take the name of Lothlim, the people of the flower, for Gondothlim is a name too sore to their hearts; and fair among the Lothlim Eärendel grows in

the house of his father,[39] and the great tale of Tuor is come to its waning.'

Then said Littleheart son of Bronweg: 'Alas for Gondolin.'

And no one in all the Room of Logs spake or moved for a great while.

NOTES

1 Not of course the great journey to the Sea from the Waters of Awakening, but the expedition of the Elves of Kôr for the rescue of the Gnomes (see I. 26).

2 A *korin* is defined in *The Cottage of Lost Play* (I. 16) as 'a great circular hedge, be it of stone or of thorn or even of trees, that encloses a green sward'; Meril-i-Turinqi dwelt 'in a great *korin* of elms'.

3 *Tôn a Gwedrin* is the Tale-fire.

4 There is here a direction: 'See hereafter the Nauglafring', but this is struck out.

5 On Heorrenda see pp. 290ff, 323. A small space is left after the words 'it is thus' to mark the place of the poem in Old English that was to be inserted, but there is no indication of what it was to be.

> (*In the following notes 'the original reading' refers to the text of* Tuor A, *and of* Tuor B *before the emendation in question. It does not imply that the reading of* Tuor A *was, or was not, found in the original pencilled text (in the great majority of cases this cannot be said).*)

6 This passage, beginning with the words 'And Tuor entered that cavern . . .' on p. 149, is a late replacement written on a slip (see p. 147). The original passage was largely similar in meaning, but contained the following:

> Now in delving that riverway beneath the hills the Noldoli worked unknown to Melko who in those deep days held them yet hidden and thralls beneath his will. Rather were they prompted by Ulmo who strove ever against Melko; and through Tuor he hoped to devise for the Gnomes release from the terror of the evil of Melko.

7 'three days': 'three years' all texts, but 'days?' pencilled above 'years' in *Tuor B*.

8 The 'evolution' of sea-birds through Ossë is described in the tale of *The Coming of the Elves*, I. 123; but the sentence here derives from the original pencilled text of *Tuor A*.

9 In the typescript *Tuor C* a blank was left here (see p. 147) and subsequently filled in with 'Ulmo', not 'Ainur'.

10 The original reading was: 'Thou Tuor of the lonely heart the Valar will not to dwell for ever in fair places of birds and flowers; nor would they lead thee through this pleasant land . . .'

11 *Tuor C* adds here: 'with Ulmo's aid'.

12 The reference to the Battle of Unnumbered Tears is a later addition to *Tuor B*. The original reading was: 'who alone escaped Melko's power when he caught their folk . . .'

13 In *Tuor A* and *B Voronwë* is used throughout, but this phrase, with the form *Bronweg*, is an addition to *Tuor B* (replacing the original 'Now after many days these twain found a deep dale').

14 The typescript *Tuor C* has here:

> . . . that none, were they not of the blood of the Noldoli, might light on it, neither by chance nor agelong search. Thus was it secure from all ill hap save treachery alone, and never would Tûr have won thereto but for the steadfastness of that Gnome Voronwë.

In the next sentence *Tuor C* has 'yet even so no few of the bolder of the Gnomes enthralled would slip down the river Sirion from the fell mountains'.

15 The original reading was: 'his speech they comprehended, though somewhat different was the tongue of the free Noldoli by those days to that of the sad thralls of Melko.' The typescript *Tuor C* has: 'they comprehended him for they were Noldoli. Then spake Tûr also in the same tongue . . .'

16 The original reading was: 'It was early morn when they drew near the gates and many eyes gazed . . .' But when Tuor and Voronwë first saw Gondolin it was 'in the new light of the morning' (p. 158), and it was 'a day's light march' across the plain; hence the change made later to *Tuor B*.

17 'Evil One': original reading 'Ainu'.

18 This passage, from 'Rugged was his aspect . . .', is a replacement on a separate slip; the original text was:

> Tuor was goodly in countenance but rugged and unkempt of locks and clad in the skins of bears, yet his stature was not overgreat among his own folk, but the Gondothlim, though not bent as were no few of their kin who laboured at ceaseless delving and hammering for Melko, were small and slender and lithe.

In the original passage Men are declared to be of their nature taller than the Elves of Gondolin. See pp. 142, 220.

19 'come hither': 'escaped from Melko' *Tuor C*.

20 'folk': original reading 'men'. This is the only place where 'men' in reference to Elves is changed. The use is constant in *The Fall of Gondolin*, and even occurs once in an odd-sounding reference to

the hosts of Melko: 'But now the men of Melko have assembled their forces' (p. 183).

21 The passage ending here and beginning with the words 'Then Tuor's heart was heavy . . .' on p. 162 was bracketed by my father in *Tuor B*, and on a loose slip referring to this bracketed passage he wrote:

> (If nec[essary]): Then is told how Idril daughter of the king added her words to the king's wisdom so that Turgon bid Tuor rest himself awhile in Gondolin, and being forewise prevailed on him [to] abide there in the end. How he came to love the daughter of the king, Idril of the Silver Feet, and how he was taught deeply in the lore of that great folk and learned of its history and the history of the Elves. How Tuor grew in wisdom and mighty in the counsels of the Gondothlim.

The only narrative difference here from the actual text lies in the introduction of the king's daughter Idril as an influence on Tuor's decision to remain in Gondolin. The passage is otherwise an extremely abbreviated summary of the account of Tuor's instruction in Gondolin, with omission of what is said in the text about the preparations of the Gondothlim against attack; but I do not think that this was a proposal for shortening the written tale. Rather, the words 'If necessary' suggest strongly that my father had in mind only a reduction for oral delivery – and that was when it was read to the Exeter College Essay Club in the spring of 1920; see p. 147. Another proposed shortening is given in note 32.

22 This passage, beginning 'Great love too had Idril for Tuor . . .', was written on a separate slip and replaced the original text as follows:

> The king hearing of this, and finding that his child Idril, whom the Eldar speak of as Irildë, loved Tuor in return, he consented to their being wed, seeing that he had no son, and Tuor was like to make a kinsman of strength and consolation. There were Idril and Tuor wed before the folk in that Place of the Gods, Gar Ainion, nigh the king's palace; and that was a day of mirth to the city of Gondolin, but of (&c.)

The replacement states that the marriage of Tuor and Idril was the first but not the last of the unions of Man and Elf, whereas it is said in the Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin* that Eärendel was 'the only being that is half of the kindred of the Eldalië and half of Men' (see p. 215).

23 The phrase 'and that tale of Isfin and Eöl may not here be told' was added to *Tuor B*. See p. 220.

24 Original reading: 'a name wrought of the tongue of the Gondothlim'.

25 The sapphires given to Manwë by the Noldoli are referred to in the

tale of *The Coming of the Elves*, I.128. The original pencilled text of *Tuor A* can be read here: 'bluer than the sapphires of Súlimo'.

26 The passage ending here and beginning with 'In these ways that bitter winter passed . . .' is inserted on a separate sheet in *Tuor B* (but is not part of the latest layer of emendation); it replaces a much shorter passage going back to the primary text of *Tuor A*:

> Now on midwinter's day at early even the sun sank betimes beyond the mountains, and lo! when she had gone a light arose beyond the hills to the north, and men marvelled (&c.)

See notes 34 and 37.

27 The Scarlet Heart: the heart of Finwë Nólemë, Turgon's father, was cut out by Orcs in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, but it was regained by Turgon and became his emblem; see I.241 and note 11.

28 This passage describing the array and the emblems of the houses of the Gondothlim was relatively very little affected by the later revision of *Tuor A*; the greater part of it is in the original pencilled text, which was allowed to stand, and all the names appear to be original.

29 The word 'burg' is used in the Old English sense of a walled and fortified town.

30 The death of Ecthelion in the primary text of *Tuor A* is legible; the revision introduced a few changes of wording, but no more.

31 This sentence, from 'and men shuddered', was added to *Tuor B*. On the prophecy see I.172.

32 *Tuor B* is bracketed from 'Now comes Tuor at their head to the Place of Wedding' on p. 186 to this point, and an inserted slip relating to this bracketing reads:

> How Tuor and his folk came upon Idril wandering distraught in the Place of the Gods. How Tuor and Idril from that high place saw the sack of the King's Hall and the ruin of the King's Tower and the passing of the king, for which reason the foe followed not after. How Tuor heard tidings of Voronwë that Idril had sent Eärendel and her guard down the hidden way, and fared into the city in search of her husband; how in peril from the enemy they had rescued many that fled and sent them down the secret way. How Tuor led his host with the luck of the Gods to the mouth of that passage, and how all descended into the plain, sealing the entrance utterly behind them. How the sorrowful company issued into a dell in the vale of Tumladin.

This is simply a summary of the text as it stands; I suppose it was a cut proposed for the recitation of the tale if that seemed to be taking too long (see note 21).

33 This passage, from 'Here were gathered . . .', replaced in *Tuor B* the original reading: 'Here they are fain to rest, but finding no signs of

Eärendel and his escort Tuor is downcast, and Idril weeps.' This was rewritten partly for narrative reasons, but also to put it into the past tense. In the next sentence the text was emended from 'Lamentation is there . . .' and 'about them looms . . .' But the sentence following ('Fire-drakes are about it . . .') was left untouched; and I think that it was my father's intention, only casually indicated and never carried through, to reduce the amount of 'historical present' in the narrative.

34 'for summer is at hand': the original reading was 'albeit it is winter'. See notes 26 and 37.

35 The original reading was:

> Now the Mountains were on that side seven leagues save a mile from Gondolin, and Cristhorn the Cleft of Eagles another league of upward going from the beginning of the Mountains; wherefore they were now yet two leagues and part of a third from the pass, and very weary thereto.

36 'Behold, his face shineth as a star in the waste' was added to *Tuor B*.

37 This passage, from 'But after a year and more of wandering . . .', replaced the original reading 'But after a half-year's wandering, nigh midsummer'. This emendation depends on the changing of the time of the attack on Gondolin from midwinter to the 'Gates of Summer' (see notes 26 and 34). Thus in the revised version summer is retained as the season when the exiles came to the lands about Sirion, but they spent a whole year and more, rather than a half-year, to reach them.

38 'even where Tulkas': original reading: 'even where Noldorin and Tulkas'. See pp. 278–9.

39 The original pencilled text of *Tuor A* had 'Fair among the Lothlim grows Eärendel in Sornontur the house of Tuor'. The fourth letter of this name could as well be read as a *u*.

Changes made to names in *The Fall of Gondolin*

Ilfiniol < *Elfriniol* in the first three occurrences of the name in the initial linking passage, *Ilfiniol* so written at the fourth.

(In *The Cottage of Lost Play* (I.15) the Gong-warden of Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva is named only *Littleheart*; in the *Link* to *The Music of the Ainur* his Elvish name is *Ilverin* < *Elwenildo* (I.46, 52); and in the *Link* to the *Tale of Tinúviel* he is *Ilfiniol* < *Elfriniol* as here, while the typescript has *Ilfrin* (p. 7).

In the head-note to the Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin* he is *Elfrith* < *Elfriniel*, and this is the only place where the meaning of the name 'Littleheart' is explained (p. 148); the Name-list has an

entry '*Elf* meaneth "heart" (as Elfin *Elben*): *Elfrith* is Littleheart' (see I.255, entry *Ilverin*). In another projected list of names, abandoned after only a couple of entries had been made, we meet again the form *Elfrith*, and also *Elbenil* > *Elwenil*.

This constant changing of name is to be understood in relation to swiftly changing phonological ideas and formulations, but even so is rather extraordinary.)

In the following notes it is to be understood, for brevity's sake, that names in Tuor B *(before emendation) are found in the same form in* Tuor A; *e.g.* 'Mithrim < Asgon *in* Tuor B' *implies that* Tuor A *has* Asgon *(unchanged).*

Tuor Although sometimes emended to *Tûr* in *Tuor B*, and invariably written *Tûr* in the typescript *Tuor C*, I give *Tuor* throughout; see p. 148.

Dor Lómin This name was so written from the first in *Tuor B*. *Tuor A* has, at the first three occurrences, *Aryador* > *Mathusdor*; at the fourth, *Aryador* > *Mathusdor* > *Dor Lómin*.

Mithrim < *Asgon* throughout *Tuor B*; *Tuor C* has *Asgon* unchanged.

Glorfalc or Cris Ilbranteloth (p. 150) *Tuor A* has *Glorfalc or Teld Quing Ilon*; *Tuor B* as written had no Elvish names, *Glorfalc or Cris Ilbranteloth* being a later addition.

Ainur As in the first draft of *The Music of the Ainur* (I.61) the original text of *Tuor A* had *Ainu* plural.

Falasquil At both occurrences (p. 152) in *Tuor A* this replaces the original name now illegible but beginning with *Q*; in *Tuor B* my mother left blanks and added the name later in pencil; in *Tuor C* blanks are left in the typescript and not filled in.

Arlisgion This name was added later to *Tuor B*.

Orcs *Tuor A* and *B* had *Orqui* throughout; my father emended this in *Tuor B* to *Orcs*, but not consistently, and in the later part of the tale not at all. In one place only (p. 193, in Thorndor's speech) both texts have *Orcs* (also *Orc-bands* p. 195). As with the name *Tuor*/*Tûr* I give throughout the form that was to prevail.

At the only occurrence of the singular the word is written with a *k* in both *Tuor A* and *B* ('Ork's blood', p. 165).

Gar Thurion < *Gar Furion* in *Tuor B* (*Gar Furion* in *Tuor C*).

Loth < *Lôs* in *Tuor B* (*Lôs* in *Tuor C*).

Lothengriol < *Lósengriol* in *Tuor B* (*Lósengriol* in *Tuor C*).

Taniquetil At the occurrence on p. 161 there was added in the original text of *Tuor A*: (*Danigwiel*), but this was struck out.

Kôr Against this name (p. 161) is pencilled in *Tuor B*: *Tûn*. See I.222, II.292.

Gar Ainion < *Gar Ainon* in *Tuor B* (p. 164; at the occurrence on p. 186 not emended, but I read *Gar Ainion* in both places).

Nost-na-Lothion < *Nost-na-Lossion* in *Tuor B*.

Duilin At the first occurrence (p. 173) < *Duliglin* in the original text of *Tuor A*.

Rog In *Tuor A* spelt *Rôg* in the earlier occurrences, *Rog* in the later; in *Tuor B* spelt *Rôg* throughout but mostly emended later to *Rog*.

Dramborleg At the occurrence on p. 181 < *Drambor* in the original text of *Tuor A*.

Bansil At the occurrence on p. 184 only, *Bansil* > *Banthil* in *Tuor B*.

Cristhorn From the first occurrence on p. 189 written *Cristhorn* (not *Cris Thorn*) in *Tuor A*; *Cris Thorn Tuor B* throughout.

Bad Uthwen < *Bad Uswen* in *Tuor B*. The original reading in *Tuor A* was (apparently) *Bad Usbran*.

Sorontur < *Ramandur* in *Tuor B*.

Bablon, Ninwi, Trui, Rûm The original text of *Tuor A* had *Babylon*, *Nineveh*, *Troy*, and (probably) *Rome*. These were changed to the forms given in the text, except *Nineveh* > *Ninwë*, changed to *Ninwi* in *Tuor B*.

Commentary on *The Fall of Gondolin*

§1. *The primary narrative*

As with the *Tale of Turambar* I break my commentary on this tale into sections. I refer frequently to the much later version (which extends only to the coming of Tuor and Voronwë to sight of Gondolin across the plain) printed in *Unfinished Tales* pp. 17–51 ('Of Tuor and his Coming to Gondolin'); this I shall call here 'the later *Tuor*'.

(i) *Tuor's journey to the Sea and the visitation of Ulmo* (pp. 149–56)

In places the later *Tuor* (the abandonment of which is one of the saddest facts in the whole history of incompletion) is so close in wording to *The Fall of Gondolin*, written more than thirty years before, as to make it almost certain that my father had it in front of him, or at least had recently reread it. Striking examples from the late version (pp. 23–4) are: 'The sun rose behind his back and set before his face, and where the water foamed among the boulders or rushed over sudden falls, at morning and evening rainbows were woven across the stream'; 'Now he said: "It is a fay-voice," now: "Nay, it is a small beast that is wailing in the waste"'; '[Tuor] wandered still for some days in a rugged country bare of trees; and it was swept by a wind from the sea, and all that grew there, herb or bush, leaned ever to the dawn because of the prevalence of that wind from the West' – which are very closely similar to or almost identical with

passages in the tale (pp. 150–1). But the differences in the narrative are profound.

Tuor's origin is left vague in the old story. There is a reference in the *Tale of Turambar* (p. 88) to 'those kindreds about the waters of Asgon whence after arose Tuor son of Peleg', but here it is said that Tuor did not dwell with his people (who 'wandered the forests and fells') but 'lived alone about that lake called Mithrim [< Asgon]', on which he journeyed in a small boat with a prow made like the neck of a swan. There is indeed scarcely any linking reference to other events, and of course no trace of the Grey-elves of Hithlum who in the later story fostered him, or of his outlawry and hunting by the Easterlings; but there are 'wandering Noldoli' in Dor Lómin (Hisilómë, Hithlum) – on whom see p. 65 – from whom Tuor learnt much, including their tongue, and it was they who guided him down the dark river-passage under the mountains. There is in this a premonition of Gelmir and Arminas, the Noldorin Elves who guided Tuor through the Gate of the Noldor (later *Tuor* pp. 21–2), and the story that the Noldoli 'made that hidden way at the prompting of Ulmo' survived in the much richer historical context of the later legend, where 'the Gate of the Noldor . . . was made by the skill of that people, long ago in the days of Turgon' (later *Tuor* p. 18).

The later *Tuor* becomes very close to the old story for a time when Tuor emerges out of the tunnel into the ravine (later called Cirith Ninniach, but still a name of Tuor's own devising); many features recur, such as the stars shining in the 'dark lane of sky above him', the echoes of his harping (in the tale of course without the literary echoes of Morgoth's cry and the voices of Fëanor's host that landed there), his doubt concerning the mournful calling of the gulls, the narrowing of the ravine where the incoming tide (fierce because of the west wind) met the water of the river, and Tuor's escape by climbing to the cliff-top (but in the tale the connection between Tuor's curiosity concerning the gulls and the saving of his life is not made: he climbed the cliff in response to the prompting of the Ainur). Notable is the retention of the idea that Tuor was the first of Men to reach the Sea, standing on the cliff-top with outspread arms, and of his 'sea-longing' (later *Tuor* p. 25). But the story of his dwelling in the cove of Falasquil and his adornment of it with carvings (and of course the floating of timber down the river to him by the Noldoli of Dor Lómin) was abandoned; in the later legend Tuor finds on the coast ruins of the ancient harbour-works of the Noldor from the days of Turgon's lordship in Nevrast, and of Turgon's former dwelling in these regions before he went to Gondolin there is in the old story no trace. Thus the entire Vinyamar episode is absent from it, and despite the frequent reminder that Ulmo was guiding Tuor as the instrument of his designs, the essential element in the later legend of the arms left for him by Turgon on Ulmo's instruction (*The Silmarillion* pp. 126, 238–9) is lacking.

The southward-flying swans (seven, not three, in the later *Tuor*) play

essentially the same part in both narratives, drawing Tuor to continue his journey; but the emblem of the Swan was afterwards given a different origin, as 'the token of Annael and his foster-folk', the Grey-elves of Mithrim (later *Tuor* p. 25).

Both in the route taken (for the geography see p. 217) and in the seasons of the year my father afterwards departed largely from the original story of Tuor's journey to Gondolin. In the later *Tuor* it was the Fell Winter after the fall of Nargothrond, the winter of Túrin's return to Hithlum, when he and Voronwë journeyed in snow and bitter cold eastwards beneath the Mountains of Shadow. Here the journey takes far longer: he left Falasquil in 'the latest days of summer' (as still in the later *Tuor*) but he went down all the coast of Beleriand to the mouths of Sirion, and it was the summer of the following year when he lingered in the Land of Willows. (Doubtless the geography was less definite than it afterwards became, but its general resemblance to the later map seems assured by the description (p. 153) of the coast's trending after a time eastwards rather than southwards.)

Only in its place in the narrative structure is there resemblance between Ulmo's visitation of Tuor in the Land of Willows in a summer twilight and his tremendous epiphany out of the rising storm on the coast at Vinyamar. It is however most remarkable that the old vision of the Land of Willows and its drowsy beauty of river-flowers and butterflies was not lost, though afterwards it was Voronwë, not Tuor, who wandered there, devising names, and who stood enchanted 'knee-deep in the grass' (p. 155; later *Tuor* p. 35), until his fate, or Ulmo Lord of Waters, carried him down to the Sea. Possibly there is a faint reminiscence of the old story in Ulmo's words (later *Tuor* p. 28): 'Haste thou must learn, and *the pleasant road that I designed for thee* must be changed.'

In the tale, Ulmo's speech to Tuor (or at least that part of it that is reported) is far more simple and brief, and there is no suggestion there of Ulmo's 'opposing the will of his brethren, the Lords of the West'; but two essential elements of his later message are present, that Tuor will find the words to speak when he stands before Turgon, and the reference to Tuor's unborn son (in the later *Tuor* much less explicit: 'But it is not for thy valour only that I send thee, but to bring into the world a hope beyond thy sight, and a light that shall pierce the darkness').

(ii) *The journey of Tuor and Voronwë to Gondolin* (pp. 156–8)

Of Tuor's journey to Gondolin, apart from his sojourn in the Land of Willows, little is told in the tale, and Voronwë only appears late in its course as the one Noldo who was not too fearful to accompany him further; of Voronwë's history as afterwards related there is no word, and he is not an Elf of Gondolin.

It is notable that the Noldoli who guided Tuor northwards from the Land of Willows call themselves thralls of Melko. On this matter

the *Tales* present a consistent picture. It is said in the *Tale of Tinúviel* (p. 9) that

> all the Eldar both those who remained in the dark or who had been lost upon the march from Palisor and those Noldoli too who fared back into the world after [Melko] seeking their stolen treasury fell beneath his power as thralls.

In *The Fall of Gondolin* it is said that the Noldoli did their service to Ulmo in secret, and 'out of fear of Melko wavered much' (p. 154), and Voronwë spoke to Tuor of 'the weariness of thraldom' (pp. 156–7); Melko sent out his army of spies 'to search out the dwelling of the Noldoli that had escaped his thraldom' (p. 166). These 'thrall-Noldoli' are represented as moving as it were freely about the lands, even to the mouths of Sirion, but they 'wandered as in a dream of fear, doing [Melko's] ill bidding, for the spell of bottomless dread was on them and they felt the eyes of Melko burn them from afar' (*Tale of Turambar*, p. 77). This expression is often used: Voronwë rejoiced in Gondolin that he no longer dreaded Melko with 'a binding terror' – 'and of a sooth that spell which Melko held over the Noldoli was one of bottomless dread, so that he seemed ever nigh them even were they far from the Hells of Iron, and their hearts quaked and they fled not even when they could' (p. 159). The spell of bottomless dread was laid too on Meglin (p. 169).

There is little in all this that cannot be brought more or less into harmony with the later narratives, and indeed one may hear an echo in the words of *The Silmarillion* (p. 156):

> But ever the Noldor feared most the treachery of those of their own kin, who had been thralls in Angband; for Morgoth used some of these for his evil purposes, and feigning to give them liberty sent them abroad, but their wills were chained to his, and they strayed only to come back to him again.

Nonetheless one gains the impression that at that time my father pictured the power of Melko when at its height as operating more diffusedly and intangibly, and perhaps also more universally, in the Great Lands. Whereas in *The Silmarillion* the Noldor who are not free are prisoners in Angband (whence a few may escape, and others with enslaved wills may be sent out), here all save the Gondothlim are 'thralls', controlled by Melko from afar, and Melko asserts that the Noldoli are all, by their very existence in the Great Lands, his slaves by right. It is a difference difficult to define, but that there is a difference may be seen in the improbability, for the later story, of Tuor being guided on his way to Gondolin by Noldor who were in any sense slaves of Morgoth.

The entrance to Gondolin has some general similarity to the far fuller and more precisely visualised account in the later *Tuor*: a deep river-

gorge, tangled bushes, a cave-mouth – but the river is certainly Sirion (see the passage at the end of the tale, p. 195, where the exiles come back to the entrance), and the entrance to the secret way is in one of the steep river banks, quite unlike the description of the Dry River whose ancient bed was itself the secret way (later *Tuor* pp. 43–4). The long tunnel which Tuor and Voronwë traverse in the tale leads them at length not only to the Guard but also to sunlight, and they are 'at the foot of steep hills' and can see the city: in other words there is a simple conception of a plain, a ring-wall of mountains, and a tunnel through them leading to the outer world. In the later *Tuor* the approach to the city is much stranger: for the tunnel of the Guard leads to the ravine of Orfalch Echor, a great rift from top to bottom of the Encircling Mountains ('sheer as if axe-cloven', p. 46), up which the road climbed through the successive gates until it came to the Seventh Gate, barring the rift at the top. Only when this last gate was opened and Tuor passed through was he able to see Gondolin; and we must suppose (though the narrative does not reach this point) that the travellers had to descend again from the Seventh Gate in order to reach the plain.

It is notable that Tuor and Voronwë are received by the Guard without any of the suspicion and menace that greeted them in the later story (p. 45).

(iii) *Tuor in Gondolin* (pp. 159–64)

With this section of the narrative compare *The Silmarillion*, p. 126:

> Behind the circle of the mountains the people of Turgon grew and throve, and they put forth their skill in labour unceasing, so that Gondolin upon Amon Gwareth became fair indeed and fit to compare even with Elven Tirion beyond the sea. High and white were its walls, and smooth its stairs, and tall and strong was the Tower of the King. There shining fountains played, and in the courts of Turgon stood images of the Trees of old, which Turgon himself wrought with elven-craft; and the Tree which he made of gold was named Glingal, and the Tree whose flowers he made of silver was named Belthil.

The image of Gondolin was enduring, and it reappears in the glimpses given in notes for the continuation of the later *Tuor* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 56): 'the stairs up to its high platform, and its great gate . . . the Place of the Fountain, the King's tower on a pillared arcade, the King's house . . .' Indeed the only real difference that emerges from the original account concerns the Trees of Gondolin, which in the former were unfading, 'shoots of old from the glorious Trees of Valinor', but in *The Silmarillion* were images made of the precious metals. On the Trees of Gondolin see the entries *Bansil* and *Glingol* from the Name-list, given below pp. 214–16. The gift by the Gods of these 'shoots' (which 'blossomed

eternally without abating') to Inwë and Nólemë at the time of the building of Kôr, each being given a shoot of either Tree, is mentioned in *The Coming of the Elves* (I.123), and in *The Hiding of Valinor* there is a reference to the uprooting of those given to Nólemë, which 'were gone no one knew whither, and more had there never been' (I.213).

But a deep underlying shift in the history of Gondolin separates the earlier and later accounts: for whereas in the *Lost Tales* (and later) Gondolin was only discovered *after* the Battle of Unnumbered Tears when the host of Turgon retreated southwards down Sirion, in *The Silmarillion* it had been found by Turgon of Nevrast more than four hundred years before (442 years before Tuor came to Gondolin in the Fell Winter after the fall of Nargothrond in the year 495 of the Sun). In the tale my father imagined a great age passing *between* the Battle of Unnumbered Tears and the destruction of the city ('unstaying labour *through ages of years* had not sufficed to its building and adornment whereat folk travailed yet', p. 163); afterwards, with radical changes in the chronology of the First Age after the rising of the Sun and Moon, this period was reduced to no more than (in the last extant version of 'The Tale of Years' of the First Age) thirty-eight years. But the old conception can still be felt in the passage on p. 240 of *The Silmarillion* describing the withdrawal of the people of Gondolin from all concern with the world outside after the Nirnaeth Arnoediad, with its air of long years passing.*

In *The Silmarillion* it is explicit that Turgon devised the city to be 'a memorial of Tirion upon Túna' (p. 125), and it became 'as beautiful as a memory of Elven Tirion' (p. 240). This is not said in the old story, and indeed in the *Lost Tales* Turgon himself had never known Kôr (he was born in the Great Lands after the return of the Noldoli from Valinor, I.167, 238, 240); one may feel nonetheless that the tower of the King, the fountains and stairs, the white marbles of Gondolin embody a recollection of Kôr as it is described in *The Coming of the Elves and the Making of Kôr* (I.122–3).

I have said above that 'despite the frequent reminder that Ulmo was guiding Tuor as the instrument of his designs, the essential element in the later legend of the arms left for him by Turgon on Ulmo's instruction is lacking'. Now however we seem to see the germ of this conception in Turgon's words to Tuor (p. 161): 'Thy coming was set in our books of wisdom, and it has been written that there would come to pass many great things in the homes of the Gondothlim whenso thou faredst hither.' Yet it is clear from Tuor's reply that as yet the establishment of Gondolin was no part of Ulmo's design, since 'there have come to the ears of Ulmo whispers of your dwelling and your hill of vigilance against the evil of Melko, and he is glad'.

* Of the story of Gondolin from Tuor's coming to its destruction my father wrote nothing after the version of 'The Silmarillion' made (very probably) in 1930; and in this the old conception of its history was still present. This was the basis for much of Chapter 23 in the published work.

In the tale, Ulmo foresaw that Turgon would be unwilling to take up arms against Melko, and he fell back, through the mouth of Tuor, on a second counsel: that Turgon send Elves from Gondolin down Sirion to the coasts, there to build ships to carry messages to Valinor. To this Turgon replied, decisively and unanswerably, that he had sent messengers down the great river with this very purpose 'for years untold', and since all had been unavailing he would now do so no more. Now this clearly relates to a passage in *The Silmarillion* (p. 159) where it is said that Turgon, after the Dagor Bragollach and the breaking of the Siege of Angband,

> sent companies of the Gondolindrim in secret to the mouths of Sirion and the Isle of Balar. There they built ships, and set sail into the uttermost West upon Turgon's errand, seeking for Valinor, to ask for pardon and aid of the Valar; and they besought the birds of the sea to guide them. But the seas were wild and wide, and shadow and enchantment lay upon them; and Valinor was hidden. Therefore none of the messengers of Turgon came into the West, and many were lost and few returned.

Turgon did indeed do so once more, after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears (*The Silmarillion* p. 196), and the only survivor of that last expedition into the West was Voronwë of Gondolin. Thus, despite profound changes in chronology and a great development in the narrative of the last centuries of the First Age, the idea of the desperate attempts of Turgon to get a message through to Valinor goes back to the beginning.

Another aboriginal feature is that Turgon had no son; but (curiously) no mention whatsoever is made in the tale of his wife, the mother of Idril. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 90) his wife Elenwë was lost in the crossing of the Helcaraxë, but obviously this story belongs to a later period, when Turgon was born in Valinor.

The tale of Tuor's sojourn in Gondolin survived into the brief words of *The Silmarillion* (p. 241):

> And Tuor remained in Gondolin, for its bliss and its beauty and the wisdom of its people held him enthralled; and he became mighty in stature and in mind, and learned deeply of the lore of the exiled Elves.

In the present tale he 'heard tell of Ilúvatar, the Lord for Always, who dwelleth beyond the world', and of the Music of the Ainur. Knowledge of the very existence of Ilúvatar was, it seems, a prerogative of the Elves; long afterwards in the garden of Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva (I.49) Eriol asked Rúmil: 'Who was Ilúvatar? Was he of the Gods?' and Rúmil answered: 'Nay, that he was not; for he made them. Ilúvatar is the Lord for Always, who dwells beyond the world.'

(iv) *The encirclement of Gondolin; the treachery of Meglin* (pp. 164–71)

The king's daughter was from the first named 'Idril of the Silver Feet' (Irildë in the language of the 'Eldar', note 22); Meglin (later Maeglin) was his nephew, though the name of his mother (Turgon's sister) Isfin was later changed.

In this section of the narrative the story in *The Silmarillion* (pp. 241–2) preserved all the essentials of the original version, with one major exception. The wedding of Tuor and Idril took place with the consent and full favour of the king, and there was great joy in Gondolin among all save Maeglin (whose love of Idril is told earlier in *The Silmarillion*, p. 139, where the barrier of his being close kin to her, not mentioned in the tale, is emphasised). Idril's power of foreseeing and her foreboding of evil to come; the secret way of her devising (but in the tale this led south from the city, and the Eagles' Cleft was in the southern mountains); the loss of Meglin in the hills while seeking for ore; his capture by Orcs, his treacherous purchase of life, and his return to Gondolin to avert suspicion (with the detail of his changed mood thereafter and 'smiling face') – all this remained. Much is of course absent (whether rejected or merely passed over) in the succinct account devised for *The Silmarillion* – where there is no mention, for example, of Idril's dream concerning Meglin, the watch set on him when he went to the hills, the formation on Idril's advice of a guard bearing Tuor's emblem, the refusal of Turgon to doubt the invulnerability of the city and his trust in Meglin, Meglin's discovery of the secret way,* or the remarkable story that it was Meglin himself who conceived the idea of the monsters of fire and iron and communicated it to Melko – a valuable defector indeed!

The great difference between the versions lies of course in the nature of Melko/Morgoth's knowledge of Gondolin. In the tale, he had by means of a vast army of spies† already discovered it before ever Meglin was captured, and creatures of Melko had found the 'Way of Escape' and looked down on Gondolin from the surrounding heights. Meglin's treachery in the old story lay in his giving an exact account of the structure of the city and the preparations made for its defence – and in his advice to Melko concerning the monsters of flame. In *The Silmarillion*, on the other hand, there is the element, devised much later, of the unconscious betrayal by Húrin to Morgoth's spies of the general region in which Gondolin must be sought, in 'the mountainous land between

* This is in fact specifically denied in *The Silmarillion*: 'she contrived it that the work was known but to few, and no whisper of it came to Maeglin's ears.'

† It seems that the 'creatures of blood' (said to be disliked by the people of Gondolin, p. 166), snakes, wolves, weasels, owls, falcons, are here regarded as the natural servants and allies of Melko.

Anach and the upper waters of Sirion, whither [Morgoth's] servants had never passed' (p. 241); but 'still no spy or creature out of Angband could come there because of the vigilance of the eagles' – and of this rôle of the eagles of the Encircling Mountains (though hostile to Melko, p. 193) there is in the original story no suggestion.

Thus in *The Silmarillion* Morgoth remained in ignorance until Maeglin's capture of the precise location of Gondolin, and Maeglin's information was of correspondingly greater value to him, as it was also of greater damage to the city. The history of the last years of Gondolin has thus a somewhat different atmosphere in the tale, for the Gondothlim are informed of the fact that Melko has 'encompassed the vale of Tumladin around' (p. 167), and Turgon makes preparations for war and strengthens the watch on the hills. The withdrawal of all Melko's spies shortly before the attack on Gondolin did indeed bring about a renewal of optimism among the Gondothlim, and in Turgon not least, so that when the attack came the people were unprepared; but in the later story the shock of the sudden assault is much greater, for there has never been any reason to suppose that the city is in immediate danger, and Idril's foreboding is peculiar to herself and more mysterious.

(v) *The array of the Gondothlim* (pp. 171–4)

Though the central image of this part of the story – the people of Gondolin looking out from their walls to hail the rising sun on the feast of the Gates of Summer, but seeing a red light rising in the north and not in the east – survived, of all the heraldry in this passage scarcely anything is found in later writings. Doubtless, if my father had continued the later *Tuor*, much would have re-emerged, however changed, if we judge by the rich 'heraldic' descriptions of the great gates and their guards in the Orfalch Echor (pp. 46–50). But in the concise account in *The Silmarillion* the only vestiges are the titles Ecthelion 'of the Fountain'* and Glorfindel 'chief of the House of the Golden Flower of Gondolin'. Ecthelion and Glorfindel are named also in *The Silmarillion* (p. 194) as Turgon's captains who guarded the flanks of the host of Gondolin in their retreat down Sirion from the Nirnaeth Arnoediad, but of other captains named in the tale there is no mention afterwards† – though it is significant that the eighteenth Ruling Steward of Gondor was named Egalmoth, as the

* In the later *Tuor* (p. 50) he is 'Lord of the Fountains', plural (the reading in the manuscript is certain).

† In the version of 'The Silmarillion' made in 1930 (see footnote on p. 208), the last account of the Fall of Gondolin to be written and the basis for that in chapter 23 of the published work, the text actually reads: '. . . much is told in *The Fall of Gondolin*: of the death of Rog without the walls, and of the battle of Ecthelion of the Fountain ', &c. I removed the reference to Rog (*The Silmarillion* p. 242) on the grounds that it was absolutely certain that my father would not have retained this name as that of a lord of Gondolin.

seventeenth and twenty-fifth were named Ecthelion (*The Lord of the Rings*, Appendix A (I,ii)).*

Glorfindel 'of the golden hair' (p. 192) remains 'yellow-haired Glorfindel' in *The Silmarillion*, and this was from the beginning the meaning of his name.

(vi) *The battle of Gondolin* (pp. 174–88)

Virtually the entire history of the fighting in Gondolin is unique in the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin*; the whole story is summarised in *The Silmarillion* (p. 242) in a few lines:

> Of the deeds of desperate valour there done, by the chieftains of the noble houses and their warriors, and not least by Tuor, much is told in *The Fall of Gondolin*: of the battle of Ecthelion of the Fountain with Gothmog Lord of Balrogs in the very square of the King, where each slew the other, and of the defence of the tower of Turgon by the people of his household, until the tower was overthrown: and mighty was its fall and the fall of Turgon in its ruin.
>
> Tuor sought to rescue Idril from the sack of the city, but Maeglin had laid hands on her, and on Eärendil; and Tuor fought with Maeglin on the walls, and cast him far out, and his body as it fell smote the rocky slopes of Amon Gwareth thrice ere it pitched into the flames below. Then Tuor and Idril led such remnants of the people of Gondolin as they could gather in the confusion of the burning down the secret way which Idril had prepared.

(In this highly compressed account the detail that Maeglin's body struck the slopes of Amon Gwareth three times before it 'pitched' into the flames was retained.) It would seem from *The Silmarillion* account that Maeglin's attempt on Idril and Eärendil took place much later in the fighting, and indeed shortly before the escape of the fugitives down the tunnel; but I think that this is far more likely to be the result of compression than of a change in the narrative of the battle.

In the tale Gondolin is very clearly visualised as a city, with its markets and its great squares, of which there are only vestiges in later writing (see above, p. 207); and there is nothing vague in the description of the fighting. The early conception of the Balrogs makes them less terrible, and certainly more destructible, than they afterwards became: they

* In a very late note written on one of the texts that constitute chapter 16 of *The Silmarillion* ('Of Maeglin') my father was thinking of making the 'three lords of his household' whom Turgon appointed to ride with Aredhel from Gondolin (p. 131) Glorfindel, Ecthelion, and Egalmoth. He notes that Ecthelion and Egalmoth 'are derived from the primitive F[all of]G[ondolin]', but that they 'are well-sounding and have been in print' (with reference to the names of the Stewards of Gondor). Subsequently he decided against naming Aredhel's escort.

existed in 'hundreds' (p. 170),* and were slain by Tuor and the Gondothlim in large numbers: thus five fell before Tuor's great axe Dramborleg, three before Ecthelion's sword, and two score were slain by the warriors of the king's house. The Balrogs are 'demons of power' (p. 181); they are capable of pain and fear (p. 194); they are attired in iron armour (pp. 181, 194), and they have whips of flame (a character they never lost) and claws of steel (pp. 169, 179).

In *The Silmarillion* the dragons that came against Gondolin were 'of the brood of Glaurung', which 'were become now many and terrible'; whereas in the tale the language employed (p. 170) suggests that some at least of the 'Monsters' were inanimate 'devices', the construction of smiths in the forges of Angband. But even the 'things of iron' that 'opened about their middles' to disgorge bands of Orcs are called 'ruthless beasts', and Gothmog 'bade' them 'pile themselves' (p. 176); those made of bronze or copper 'were given hearts and spirits of blazing fire'; while the 'fire-drake' that Tuor hewed screamed and lashed with its tail (p. 181).

A small detail of the narrative is curious: what 'messengers' did Meglin send to Melko to warn him to guard the outer entrance of the Way of Escape (where he guessed that the secret tunnel must lead in the end)? Whom could Meglin trust sufficiently? And who would dare to go?

(vii) *The escape of the fugitives and the battle in Cristhorn* (pp. 188–95)

The story as told in *The Silmarillion* (p. 243) is somewhat fuller in its account of the escape of the fugitives from the city and the ambush in the Eagles' Cleft (there called Cirith Thoronath) than in that of the assault and sack itself, but only in one point are the two narratives actually at variance – as already noticed, the Eagles' Cleft was afterwards moved from the southern parts of the Encircling Mountains to the northern, and Idril's tunnel led north from the city (the comment is made that it was not thought 'that any fugitives would take a path towards the north and the highest parts of the mountains and the nighest to Angband'). The tale provides a richness of detail and an immediacy that is lacking in the short version, where such things as the tripping over dead bodies in the hot and reeking underground passage have disappeared; and there is no mention of the Gondothlim who against the counsel of Idril and Tuor went to the Way of Escape and were there destroyed by the dragon lying in wait,† or of the fight to rescue Eärendel.

* The idea that Morgoth disposed of a 'host' of Balrogs endured long, but in a late note my father said that only very few ever existed – 'at most seven'.

† This element in the story was in fact still present in the 1930 'Silmarillion' (see footnote on p. 208), but I excluded it from the published work on account of evidence in a much later text that the old entrance to Gondolin had by this time been blocked up – a fact which was then written into the text in chapter 23 of *The Silmarillion*.

In the tale appears the keen-sighted Elf Legolas Greenleaf, first of the names of the Fellowship of the Ring to appear in my father's writings (see p. 217 on this earlier Legolas), followed by Gimli (an Elf) in the *Tale of Tinúviel*.

In one point the story of the ambush in Cristhorn seems difficult to follow: this is the statement on p. 193 that the moon 'lit not the path for the height of the walls'. The fugitives were moving southwards through the Encircling Mountains, and the sheer rockwall above the path in the Eagles' Cleft was 'of the right or westerly hand', while on the left there was 'a fall . . . dreadly steep'. Surely then the moon rising in the east would illuminate the path?

The name *Cristhorn* appears in my father's drawing of 'Gondolin and the Vale of Tumladin from Cristhorn', September 1928 (*Pictures by J. R. R. Tolkien*, 1979, no. 35).

(viii) *The wanderings of the Exiles of Gondolin* (pp. 195–7)

In *The Silmarillion* (p. 243) it is said that 'led by Tuor son of Huor the remnant of Gondolin passed over the mountains, and came down into the Vale of Sirion'. One would suppose that they came down into Dimbar, and so 'fleeing southward by weary and dangerous marches they came at length to Nan-tathren, the Land of Willows'. It seems strange in the tale that the exiles were wandering in the wilderness for more than a year, and yet achieved only to the outer entrance of the Way of Escape; but the geography of this region may have been vaguer when *The Fall of Gondolin* was written.

In *The Silmarillion* when Tuor and Idril went down from Nan-tathren to the mouths of Sirion they 'joined their people to the company of Elwing, Dior's daughter, that had fled thither but a little while before'. Of this there is no mention here; but I postpone consideration of this part of the narrative.

§2 *Entries in the Name-list to The Fall of Gondolin*

On this list see p. 148, where the head-note to it is given. Specifically linguistic information from the list, including meanings, is incorporated in the Appendix on Names, but I collect here some statements of other kind (arranged in alphabetical order) that are contained in it.

Bablon 'was a city of Men, and more rightly *Babylon*, but such is the Gnomes' name as they now shape it, and they got it from Men aforetime.'

Bansil 'Now this name had the Gondothlim for that tree before their king's door which bore silver blossom and faded not – and its name had Elfriniel from his father Voronwë; and it meaneth "Fairgleam". Now that tree of which it was a shoot (brought in the deep ages out

of Valinor by the Noldoli) had like properties, but greater, seeing that for half the twenty-four hours it lit all Valinor with silver light. This the Eldar still tell of as *Silpion* or "Cherry-moon", for its blossom was like that of a cherry in spring – but of that tree in Gondolin they know no name, and the Noldoli tell of it alone.'

Dor Lómin 'or the "Land of Shadows" was that region named of the Eldar Hisilómë (and this means Shadowy Twilights) where Melko shut Men, and it is so called by reason of the scanty sun which peeps little over the Iron Mountains to the east and south of it – there dwell now the Shadow Folk. Thence came Tuor to Gondolin.'

Eärendel 'was the son of Tuor and Idril and 'tis said the only being that is half of the kindred of the Eldalië and half of Men. He was the greatest and first of all mariners among Men, and saw regions that Men have not yet found nor gazed upon for all the multitude of their boats. He rideth now with Voronwë upon the winds of the firmament nor comes ever further back than Kôr, else would he die like other Men, so much of the mortal is in him.'

(For these last statements about Eärendel see pp. 264–5. The statement that Eärendel was 'the only being that is half of the kindred of the Eldalië and half of Men' is very notable. Presumably this was written when Beren was an Elf, not a Man (see p. 139); Dior son of Beren and Tinúviel appears in the *Tale of the Nauglafring*, but there Beren is an Elf, and Dior is not Half-elven. In the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* itself it is said, but in a later replacement passage (p. 164 and note 22), that Tuor was the first but not the last to wed 'a daughter of Elfinesse'. On the extraordinary statement in the *Tale of Turambar* that Tamar Lamefoot was Half-elven see p. 130.)

Ecthelion 'was that lord of the house of the Fountain, who had the fairest voice and was most skilled in musics of all the Gondothlim. He won renown for ever by his slaying of Gothmog son of Melko, whereby Tuor was saved from death but Ecthelion was drowned with his foe in the king's fountain.'

Egalmoth was 'lord of the house of the Heavenly Arch, and got even out of the burning of Gondolin, and dwelt after at the mouth of Sirion, but was slain in a dire battle there when Melko seized Elwing'.

(See p. 258.)

Galdor 'was that valiant Gnome who led the men of the Tree in many a charge and yet won out of Gondolin and even the onslaught of Melko upon the dwellers at Sirion's mouth and went back to the ruins with Eärendel. He dwelleth yet in Tol Eressëa (said Elfriniel), and still do some of his folk name themselves *Nos Galdon*, for *Galdon* is a tree, and thereto Galdor's name akin.' The last phrase was emended to read: '*Nos nan Alwen*, for *Alwen* is a Tree.'

(For Galdor's return to the ruins of Gondolin with Eärendel see p. 258.)

Glingol 'meaneth "singing-gold" ('tis said), and this name was that which the Gondothlim had for that other of the two unfading trees in the king's square which bore golden bloom. It also was a shoot from the trees of Valinor (see rather where Elfrith has spoken of Bansil), but of Lindeloktë (which is "singing-cluster") or Laurelin [*emended from* Lindelaurë] (which is "singing-gold") which lit all Valinor with golden light for half the 24 hours.'

(For the name *Lindeloktë* see I.22, 258 (entry *Lindelos*).)

Glorfindel 'led the Golden Flower and was the best beloved of the Gondothlim, save it be Ecthelion, but who shall choose. Yet he was hapless and fell slaying a Balrog in the great fight in Cristhorn. His name meaneth Goldtress for his hair was golden, and the name of his house in Noldorissa *Los'lóriol*' (emended from *Los Glóriol*).

Gondolin 'meaneth stone of song (whereby figuratively the Gnomes meant stone that was carven and wrought to great beauty), and this was the name most usual of the Seven Names they gave to their city of secret refuge from Melko in those days before the release.'

Gothmog 'was a son of Melko and the ogress Fluithuin and his name is Strife-and-hatred, and he was Captain of the Balrogs and lord of Melko's hosts ere fair Ecthelion slew him at the taking of Gondolin. The Eldar named him *Kosmoko* or *Kosomok(o)*, but 'tis a name that fitteth their tongue no way and has an ill sound even in our own rougher speech, said Elfrith [*emended from* Elfriniel].'

(In a list of names of the Valar associated with the tale of *The Coming of the Valar* (I.93) it is said that Melko had a son 'by Ulbandi' called *Kosomot*; the early 'Qenya' dictionary gives *Kosomoko* = Gnomish *Gothmog*, I.258. In the tale Gothmog is called the 'marshal' of the hosts of Melko (p. 184).)

In the later development of the legends Gothmog was the slayer of Fëanor, and in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears it was he who slew Fingon and captured Húrin (*The Silmarillion* pp. 107, 193, 195). He is not of course called later 'son of Melkor'; the 'Children of the Valar' was a feature of the earlier mythology that my father discarded.

In the Third Age *Gothmog* was the name of the lieutenant of Minas Morgul (*The Return of the King* V.6).)

Hendor 'was a house-carle of Idril's and was aged, but bore Eärendel down the secret passage.'

Idril 'was that most fair daughter of the king of Gondolin whom Tuor loved when she was but a little maid, and who bare him Eärendel. Her the Elves name *Irildë*; and we speak of as *Idril Tal-Celeb* or Idril of the Silver Feet, but they *Irildë Taltelepta*.'

See the Appendix on Names, entry *Idril*.

Indor 'was the name of the father of Tuor's father, wherefore did the Gnomes name Eärendel *Gon Indor* and the Elves *Indorildo* or *Indorion*.'

Legolas 'or Green-leaf was a man of the Tree, who led the exiles over Tumladin in the dark, being night-sighted, and he liveth still in Tol Eressëa named by the Eldar there *Laiqalassë*; but the book of Rúmil saith further hereon.'

(See I. 267, entry *Tári-Laisi*.)

§3 *Miscellaneous Matters*

(i) *The geography of The Fall of Gondolin*

I have noticed above (p. 205) that in Tuor's journey all along the coast of what was afterwards Beleriand to the mouths of Sirion there is an unquestionable resemblance to the later map, in the trend of the coast from north-south to east-west. It is also said that after he left Falasquil 'the distant hills marched ever nearer to the margin of the sea', and that the spurs of the Iron Mountains 'run even to the sea' (pp. 152–3). These statements can likewise be readily enough related to the map, where the long western extension of the Mountains of Shadow (Ered Wethrin), forming the southern border of Nevrast, reached the sea at Vinyamar (for the equation of the Mountains of Iron and the Mountains of Shadow see I. 111–12).

Arlisgion, 'the place of reeds' (p. 153) above the mouths of Sirion, survived in Lisgardh 'the land of reeds at the Mouths of Sirion' in the later *Tuor* (p. 34); and the feature that the great river passed underground for a part of its course goes back to the earliest period, as does that of the Meres of Twilight, Aelin-uial ('the Pools of Twilight', p. 195). There is here however a substantial difference in the tale from *The Silmarillion* (p. 122), where Aelin-uial was the region of great pools and marshes where 'the flood of Sirion was stayed'; *south of the Meres* the river 'fell from the north in a mighty fall . . . and then he plunged suddenly underground into great tunnels that the weight of his falling waters delved'. Here on the other hand the Pools of Twilight are clearly *below* the 'cavern of the Tumultuous Winds' (never mentioned later) where Sirion dives underground. But the Land of Willows, below the region of Sirion's underground passage, is placed as it was to remain.

Thus the view I expressed (p. 141) of the geographical indications in the *Tale of Turambar* can be asserted also of those of *The Fall of Gondolin*.

(ii) *Ulmo and the other Valar in The Fall of Gondolin*

In the speech of Tuor inspired by Ulmo that he uttered at his first meeting with Turgon (p. 161) he said: 'the hearts of the Valar are

angered . . . seeing the sorrow of the thraldom of the Noldoli and the wanderings of Men.' This is greatly at variance with what is told in *The Hiding of Valinor*, especially the following (I. 208–9):*

> The most of the Valar moreover were fain of their ancient ease and desired only peace, wishing neither rumour of Melko and his violence nor murmur of the restless Gnomes to come ever again among them to disturb their happiness; and for such reasons they also clamoured for the concealment of the land. Not the least among these were Vána and Nessa, albeit most even of the great Gods were of one mind. In vain did Ulmo of his foreknowing plead before them for pity and pardon on the Noldoli . . .

Subsequently Tuor said (p. 161): 'the Gods sit in Valinor, though their mirth is minished for sorrow and fear of Melko, and they hide their land and weave about it inaccessible magic that no evil come to its shores.' Turgon in his reply ironically echoed and altered the words: 'they that sit within [*i.e. in Valinor*] reck little of the dread of Melko or the sorrow of the world, but hide their land and weave about it inaccessible magic, that no tidings of evil come ever to their ears.'

How is this to be understood? Was this Ulmo's 'diplomacy'? Certainly Turgon's understanding of the motives of the Valar chimes better with what is said of them in *The Hiding of Valinor*.

But the Gnomes of Gondolin reverenced the Valar. There were 'pomps of the Ainur' (p. 165); a great square of the city and its highest point was Gar Ainion, the Place of the Gods, where weddings were celebrated (pp. 164, 186); and the people of the Hammer of Wrath 'reverenced Aulë the Smith more than all other Ainur' (p. 174).

Of particular interest is the passage (p. 165) in which a reason is given for Ulmo's choice of a Man as the agent of his designs: 'Now Melko was not much afraid of the race of Men in those days of his great power, and for this reason did Ulmo work through one of this kindred for the better deceiving of Melko, seeing that no Valar and scarce any of the Eldar or Noldoli might stir unmarked of his vigilance.' This is the only place where a reason is expressly offered, save for an isolated early note, where two reasons are given:

(1) 'the wrath of the Gods' (i.e. against the Gnomes);

(2) 'Melko did not fear Men – had he thought that any messengers were getting to Valinor he would have redoubled his vigilance and evil and hidden the Gnomes away utterly.'

* It also seems to be at variance with the story that all Men were shut in Hithlum by Melko's decree after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears; but 'wanderings' is a strange word in the context, since the next words are 'for Melko ringeth them in the Land of Shadows'.

But this is too oblique to be helpful.

The conception of 'the luck of the Gods' occurs again in this tale (pp. 188, 200 note 32), as it does in the *Tale of Turambar*: see p. 141. The Ainur 'put it into Tuor's heart' to climb the cliff out of the ravine of Golden Cleft for the saving of his life (p. 151).

Very strange is the passage concerning the birth of Eärendel (p. 165): 'In these days came to pass the fulfilment of the time of the desire of the Valar and the hope of the Eldalië, for in great love Idril bore to Tuor a son and he was called Eärendel.' Is it to be understood that the union of Elf and mortal Man, and the birth of their offspring, was 'the desire of the Valar' – that the Valar foresaw it, or hoped for it, as the fulfilment of a design of Ilúvatar from which great good should come? There is no hint or suggestion of such an idea elsewhere.

(iii) *Orcs*

There is a noteworthy remark in the tale (p. 159) concerning the origin of the Orcs (or *Orqui* as they were called in *Tuor A*, and in *Tuor B* as first written): 'all that race were bred of the subterranean heats and slime.' There is no trace yet of the later view that 'naught that had life of its own, nor the semblance of life, could ever Melkor make since his rebellion in the Ainulindalë before the Beginning', or that the Orcs were derived from enslaved Quendi after the Awakening (*The Silmarillion* p. 50). Conceivably there is a first hint of this idea of their origin in the words of the tale in the same passage: 'unless it be that certain of the Noldoli were twisted to the evil of Melko and mingled among these Orcs', although of course this is as it stands quite distinct from the idea that the Orcs were actually bred from Elves.

Here also occurs the name *Glamhoth* of the Orcs, a name that reappears in the later *Tuor* (pp. 39 and 54 note 18).

On Balrogs and Dragons in *The Fall of Gondolin* see pp. 212–13.

(iv) *Noldorin in the Land of Willows*

'Did not even after the days of Tuor Noldorin and his Eldar come there seeking for Dor Lómin and the hidden river and the caverns of the Gnomes' imprisonment; yet thus nigh to their quest's end were like to abandon it? Indeed sleeping and dancing here . . . they were whelmed by the goblins sped by Melko from the Hills of Iron and Noldorin made bare escape thence' (p. 154). This was the Battle of Tasarinan, mentioned in the *Tale of Turambar* (pp. 70, 140), at the time of the great expedition of the Elves from Kôr. Cf. Lindo's remark in *The Cottage of Lost Play* (I.16) that his father Valwë 'went with Noldorin to find the Gnomes'.

Noldorin (Salmar, companion of Ulmo) is also said in the tale to have

fought beside Tulkas at the Pools of Twilight against Melko himself, though his name was struck out (p. 195 and note 38); this was after the Battle of Tasarinan. On these battles see pp. 278ff.

(v) *The stature of Elves and Men*

The passage concerning Tuor's stature on p. 159, before it was rewritten (see note 18), can only mean that while Tuor was not himself unusually tall for a Man he was nonetheless taller than the Elves of Gondolin, and thus agrees with statements made in the *Tale of Turambar* (see p. 142). As emended, however, the meaning is rather that Men and Elves were not greatly distinct in stature.

(vi) *Isfin and Eöl*

The earliest version of this tale is found in the little *Lost Tales* notebook (see I.171), as follows:

Isfin and Eöl

> Isfin daughter of Fingolma loved from afar by Eöl (Arval) of the Mole-kin of the Gnomes. He is strong and in favour with Fingolma and with the Sons of Fëanor (to whom he is akin) because he is a leader of the Miners and searches after hidden jewels, but he is illfavoured and Isfin loathes him.

(Fingolma as a name for Finwë Nólemë appears in outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale*, I.238–9.) We have here an illfavoured miner named Eöl 'of the Mole' who loves Isfin but is rejected by her with loathing; and this is obviously closely parallel to the illfavoured miner Meglin with the sign of the sable mole seeking the hand of Idril, who rejects him, in *The Fall of Gondolin*. It is difficult to know how to interpret this. The simplest explanation is that the story adumbrated in the little notebook is actually earlier than that in *The Fall of Gondolin*; that Meglin did not yet exist; and that subsequently the image of the 'ugly miner – unsuccessful suitor' became that of the son, the object of desire becoming Idril (niece of Isfin), while a new story was developed for the father, Eöl the dark Elf of the forest who ensnared Isfin. But it is by no means clear where Eöl the miner was when he 'loved from afar' Isfin daughter of Fingolma. There seems to be no reason to think that he was associated with Gondolin; more probably the idea of the miner bearing the sign of the Mole entered Gondolin with Meglin.

IV
THE NAUGLAFRING

We come now to the last of the original *Lost Tales* to be given consecutive narrative form. This is contained in a separate notebook, and it bears the title *The Nauglafring: The Necklace of the Dwarves*.

The beginning of this tale is somewhat puzzling. Before the telling of *The Fall of Gondolin* Lindo told Littleheart that 'it is the desire of all that you tell us the tales of Tuor and of Eärendel as soon as may be' (p. 144), and Littleheart replied: 'It is a mighty tale, and seven times shall folk fare to the Tale-fire ere it be rightly told; and so twined is it with those stories of the Nauglafring and of the Elf-march that I would fain have aid in that telling of Ailios here . . .' Thus Littleheart's surrender of the chair of the tale-teller to Ailios at the beginning of the present text, so that Ailios should tell of the Nauglafring, fits the general context well; but we should not expect the new tale to be introduced with the words 'But after a while silence fell', since *The Fall of Gondolin* ends 'And no one in all the Room of Logs spake or moved for a great while.' In any case, after the very long *Fall of Gondolin* the next tale would surely have waited till the following evening.

This tale is once again a manuscript in ink over a wholly erased original in pencil, but only so far as the words 'sate his greed' on page 230. From this point to the end there is only a primary manuscript in pencil in the first stage of composition, written in haste – in places hurled on to the page, with a good many words not certainly decipherable; and a part of this was extensively rewritten while the tale was still in progress (see note 13).

The Nauglafring
The Necklace of the Dwarves

But after a while silence fell, and folk murmured 'Eärendel', but others said 'Nay – what of the Nauglafring, the Necklace of the Dwarves.' Therefore said Ilfiniol, leaving the chair of the tale-teller: 'Yea, better would the tale be told if Ailios would relate the matters concerning that necklace,' and Ailios being nowise unwilling thus began, looking upon the company.

'Remember ye all how Urin the Steadfast cast the gold of Glorund before the feet of Tinwelint, and after would not touch it

again, but went in sorrow back to Hisilómë, and there died?' And all said that that tale was still fresh in their hearts.

'Behold then,' said Ailios, 'in great grief gazed the king upon Úrin as he left the hall, and he was weary for the evil of Melko that thus deceived all hearts; yet tells the tale that so potent were the spells that Mîm the fatherless had woven about that hoard that, even as it lay upon the floor of the king's halls shining strangely in the light of the torches that burnt there, already were all who looked upon it touched by its subtle evil.

Now therefore did those of Úrin's band murmur, and one said to the king: "Lo, lord, our captain Úrin, an old man and mad, has departed, but we have no mind to forego our gain."

Then said Tinwelint, for neither was he untouched by the golden spell: "Nay then, know ye not that this gold belongs to the kindred of the Elves in common, for the Rodothlim who won it from the earth long time ago are no more, and no one has especial claim[1] to so much as a handful save only Úrin by reason of his son Túrin, who slew the Worm, the robber of the Elves; yet Túrin is dead and Úrin will have none of it; and Túrin was my man."

At those words the outlaws fell into great wrath, until the king said: "Get ye now gone, and seek not O fóolish ones to quarrel with the Elves of the forest, lest death or the dread enchantments of Valinor find you in the woods. Neither revile ye the name of Tinwelint their king, for I will reward you richly enough for your travail and the bringing of the gold. Let each one now approach and take what he may grasp with either hand, and then depart in peace."

Now were the Elves of the wood in turn displeased, who long had stood nigh gazing on the gold; but the wild folk did as they were bid, and yet more, for some went into the hoard twice and thrice, and angry cries were raised in that hall. Then would the woodland Elves hinder them of their thieving, and a great dissension arose, so that though the king would stay them none heeded him. Then did those outlaws being fierce and fearless folk draw swords and deal blows about them, so that soon there was a great fight even upon the steps of the high-seat of the king. Doughty were those outlaws and great wielders of sword and axe from their warfare with Orcs,[2] so that many were slain ere the king, seeing that peace and pardon might no longer be, summoned a host of his warriors, and those outlaws being wildered with the stronger magics of the king[3] and confused in the dark ways of the halls of Tinwelint were all slain fighting bitterly; but the

king's hall ran with gore, and the gold that lay before his throne, scattered and spurned by trampling feet, was drenched with blood. Thus did the curse of Mîm the Dwarf begin its course; and yet another sorrow sown by the Noldoli of old in Valinor was come to fruit.[4]

Then were the bodies of the outlaws cast forth, but the woodland Elves that were slain Tinwelint let bury nigh to the knoll of Tinúviel, and 'tis said that the great mound stands there still in Artanor, and for long the fairies called it Cûm an-Idrisaith, the Mound of Avarice.

Now came Gwenniel to Tinwelint and said: "Touch not this gold, for my heart tells me it is trebly cursed. Cursed indeed by the dragon's breath, and cursed by thy lieges' blood that moistens it, and the death of those[5] they slew; but some more bitter and more binding ill methinks hangs over it that I may not see."

Then, remembering the wisdom of Gwenniel his wife, the king was minded to hearken to her, and he bade gather it up and cast it into the stream before the gates. Yet even so he might not shake off its spell, and he said to himself: "First will I gaze my last upon its loveliness ere I fling it from me for ever." Therefore he let wash it clean of its stains of blood in clear waters, and display it before him. Now such mighty heaps of gold have never since been gathered in one place; and some thereof was wrought to cups, to basons, and to dishes, and hilts there were for swords, and scabbards, and sheaths for daggers; but the most part was of red gold unwrought lying in masses and in bars. The value of that hoard no man could count, for amid the gold lay many gems, and these were very beautiful to look upon, for the fathers of the Rodothlim had brought them out of Valinor, a portion of that boundless treasury the Noldoli had there possessed.

Now as he gazed Tinwelint said: "How glorious is this treasure! And I have not a tithe thereof, and of the gems of Valinor none save that Silmaril that Beren won from Angamandi." But Gwenniel who stood by said: "And that were worth all that here lies, were it thrice as great."

Then arose one from among the company, and that was Ufedhin, a Gnome; but more had he wandered about the world than any of the king's folk, and long had he dwelt with the Nauglath and the Indrafangs their kin. The Nauglath are a strange race and none know surely whence they be; and they serve not Melko nor Manwë and reck not for Elf or Man, and some say that they have not heard of Ilúvatar, or hearing disbelieve.

Howbeit in crafts and sciences and in the knowledge of the virtues of all things that are in the earth[6] or under the water none excel them; yet they dwell beneath the ground in caves and tunnelled towns, and aforetime Nogrod was the mightiest of these. Old are they, and never comes a child among them, nor do they laugh. They are squat in stature, and yet are strong, and their beards reach even to their toes, but the beards of the Indrafangs are the longest of all, and are forked, and they bind them about their middles when they walk abroad. All these creatures have Men called 'Dwarves', and say that their crafts and cunning surpass that of the Gnomes in marvellous contrivance, but of a truth there is little beauty in their works of themselves, for in those things of loveliness that they have wrought in ages past such renegade Gnomes as was Ufedhin have ever had a hand. Now long had that Gnome forsaken his folk, becoming leagued with the Dwarves of Nogrod, and was at that time come to the realms of Tinwelint with certain other Noldoli of like mind bearing swords and coats of mail and other smithyings of exquisite skill in which the Nauglath in those days did great traffic with the free Noldoli, and, 'tis said, with the Orcs and soldiers of Melko also.

As he stood in that place the spell of the gold had pierced the heart of Ufedhin more deeply than the heart of any there, and he could not endure that it should all be cast away, and these were his words: "An evil deed is this that Tinwelint the king intends; or who hereafter shall say that the kindreds of the Eldalië love things of beauty if a king of the Eldar cast so great a store of loveliness into the dark woodland waters where none but the fishes may after behold it? Rather than this should be, I beg of thee, O King, to suffer the craftsmen of the Dwarves to try their skill upon this unwrought gold, that the name of the golden treasury of Tinwelint become heard in all lands and places. This will they do, I promise thee, for small guerdon, might they but save the hoard from ruin."

Then looked the king upon the gold and he looked upon Ufedhin, and that Gnome was clad very richly, having a tunic of golden web and a belt of gold set with tiny gems; and his sword was damasked in strange wise,[7] but a collar of gold and silver interlaced most intricate was round his neck, and Tinwelint's raiment could in no wise compare with that of the wayfarer in his halls. Again looked Tinwelint upon the gold, and it shone yet more alluring fair, nor ever had the sparkle of the gems seemed so brilliant, and Ufedhin said again: "Or in what manner, O King, dost thou guard that Silmaril of which all the world hath heard?"

Now Gwenniel warded it in a casket of wood bound with iron, and Ufedhin said it was shame so to set a jewel that should not touch aught less worthy than the purest gold. Then was Tinwelint abashed, and yielded, and this was the agreement that he made with Ufedhin. Half the gold should the king measure and give to the hands of Ufedhin and his company, and they should bear it away to Nogrod and the dwellings of the Dwarves. Now those were a very long journey southward beyond the wide forest on the borders of those great heaths nigh Umboth-muilin the Pools of Twilight, on the marches of Tasarinan. Yet after but seven full moons back would the Nauglath fare bearing the king's loan all wrought to works of greatest cunning, yet in no wise would the weight and purity of the gold be minished. Then would they speak to Tinwelint, and an he liked not the handiwork then would they return and say no more; yet if it seemed good to him then of that which remained would they fashion such marvellous things for his adornment and for Gwenniel the Queen as never had Gnome or Dwarf made yet.

"For," said Ufedhin, "the cunning of the Nauglath have I learnt, and the beauty of design that only can the Noldoli compass do I know – yet shall the wages of our labour be small indeed, and we will name it before thee when all is done."

Then by reason of the glamour of the gold the king repented his agreement with Ufedhin, and he liked not altogether his words, and he would not suffer so great a store of gold to be borne without surety out of his sight for seven moons to the distant dwellings of the Dwarves; yet was he minded nonetheless to profit by their skill. Therefore suddenly he let seize Ufedhin, and his folk, and he said unto them: "Here shall ye remain as hostages in my halls until I see again my treasury." Now Tinwelint thought in his heart that Ufedhin and his Gnomes were of the utmost service to the Dwarves, and no covetice would be strong enough to bring them to forsake him; but that Gnome was very wroth, saying: "The Nauglath are no thieves, O King, nor yet their friends"; but Tinwelint said: "Yet the light of overmuch gold has made many thieves, who were not so before," and Ufedhin perforce consented, yet he forgave not Tinwelint in his heart.

Therefore was the gold now borne to Nogrod by folk of the king guided by one only of Ufedhin's companions, and the agreement of Ufedhin and Tinwelint spoken to Naugladur, the king of those places.

Now during the time of waiting Ufedhin was kindly entreated

in the courts of Tinwelint, yet was he idle perforce, and he fretted inwardly. In his leisure he pondered ever what manner of lovely thing of gold and jewels he would after fashion for Tinwelint, but this was only for the greater ensnaring of the king, for already he began to weave dark plots most deep of avarice and revenge.

On the very day of the fullness of the seventh moon thereafter the watchers on the king's bridge cried: "Lo! there comes a great company through the wood, and all it seems are aged men, and they bear very heavy burdens on their backs." But the king hearing said: "It is the Nauglath, who keep their tryst: now mayst thou go free, Ufedhin, and take my greeting to them, and lead them straightway to my hall"; and Ufedhin sallied forth gladly, but his heart forgot not its resentment. Therefore having speech privily with the Nauglath he prevailed upon them to demand at the end a very great reward, and one thereto that the king might not grant unhumbled; and more of his designs also did he unfold, whereby that gold might fare in the end to Nogrod for ever.

Now come the Dwarves nonetheless over the bridge and before the chair of Tinwelint, and behold, the things of their workmanship they had conveyed thither in silken cloths, and boxes of rare woods carven cunningly. In other wise had Úrin haled the treasure thither, and half thereof lay yet in his rude sacks and clumsy chests; yet when the gold was once more revealed, then did a cry of wonder arise, for the things the Nauglath had made were more wondrous far than the scanty vessels and the ornaments that the Rodothlim wrought of old. Cups and goblets did the king behold, and some had double bowls or curious handles interlaced, and horns there were of strange shape, dishes and trenchers, flagons and ewers, and all appurtenances of a kingly feast. Candlesticks there were and sconces for the torches, and none might count the rings and armlets, the bracelets and collars, and the coronets of gold; and all these were so subtly made and so cunningly adorned that Tinwelint was glad beyond the hope of Ufedhin.

But as yet the designs of Ufedhin came to nought, for in no wise would Tinwelint suffer or him or those of the Nauglath to depart to Nogrod with or without that portion of the unwrought gold that yet remained, and he said: "How shall it be thought that after the weariness of your burdened journeys hither I should let you so soon be gone, to noise the lack of courtesy of Tinwelint abroad in Nogrod? Stay now awhile and rest and feast, and afterward shall ye have the gold that remains to work your pleasure on; nor shall aught of help that I or my folk may afford be wanting in your

labour, and a reward rich and more than just awaits you at the end."

But they knew nonetheless that they were prisoners, and trying the exits privily found them strongly warded. Being therefore without counsel they bowed before the king, and the faces of the Dwarf-folk show seldom what they think. Now after a time of rest was that last smithying begun in a deep place of Tinwelint's abode which he caused to be set apart for their uses, and what their hearts lacked therein fear supplied, and in all that work Ufedhin had a mighty part.

A golden crown they made for Tinwelint, who yet had worn nought but a wreath of scarlet leaves, and a helm too most glorious they fashioned; and a sword of dwarven steel brought from afar was hilted with bright gold and damascened in gold and silver with strange figurings wherein was pictured clear the wolf-hunt of Karkaras Knife-fang, father of wolves. That was a more wonderful sword than any Tinwelint had seen before, and outshone the sword in Ufedhin's belt the king had coveted. These things were of Ufedhin's cunning, but the Dwarves made a coat of linked mail of steel and gold for Tinwelint, and a belt of gold. Then was the king's heart gladdened, but they said: "All is not finished," and Ufedhin made a silver crown for Gwenniel, and aided by the Dwarves contrived slippers of silver crusted with diamonds, and the silver thereof was fashioned in delicate scales, so that it yielded as soft leather to the foot, and a girdle he made too of silver blended with pale gold. Yet were those things but a tithe of their works, and no tale tells a full count of them.

Now when all was done and their smithcraft given to the king, then said Ufedhin: "O Tinwelint, richest of kings, dost thou think these things fair?" And he said: "Yea"; but Ufedhin said: "Know then that great store of thy best and purest gold remaineth still, for we have husbanded it, having a boon to ask of thee, and it is this: we would make thee a carcanet and to its making lay all the skill and cunning that we have, and we desire that this should be the most marvellous ornament that the Earth has seen, and the greatest of the works of Elves and Dwarves. Therefore we beg of thee to let us have that Silmaril that thou treasurest, that it may shine wondrously amid the Nauglafring, the Necklace of the Dwarves."

Then again did Tinwelint doubt Ufedhin's purpose, yet did he yield the boon, an they would suffer him to be present at that smithying.

None are that yet live,' quoth Ailios,[8] 'who have seen that most glorious thing, save only[9] Littleheart son of Bronweg, yet are many things told thereof. Not only was it wrought with the greatest skill and subtlety in the world but it had a magic power, and there was no throat so great or so slender whereon it sat not with grace and loveliness. Albeit a weight beyond belief of gold was used in the making, lightly it hung upon its wearer as a strand of flax; and all such as clasped it about their necks seemed, as it hung upon their breasts, to be of goodly countenance, and women seemed most fair. Gems uncounted were there in that carcanet of gold, yet only as a setting that did prepare for its great central glory, and led the eye thereto, for amidmost hung like a little lamp of limpid fire the Silmaril of Fëanor, jewel of the Gods. Yet alas, even had that gold of the Rodothlim held no evil spell still had that carcanet been a thing of little luck, for the Dwarves were full of bitterness, and all its links were twined with baleful thoughts. Now however did they bear it before the king in its new-gleaming splendour; and then was the joy of Tinwelint king of the woodland Elves come to its crowning, and he cast the Nauglafring about his throat, and straightway the curse of Mîm fell upon him. Then said Ufedhin: "Now, O Lord, that thou art pleased beyond thy hope, perchance thou wilt grant the craftsmen thy kingly reward, and suffer them to depart also in joy to their own lands."

But Tinwelint, bewildered by the golden spell and the curse of Mîm, liked not the memory of his tryst; yet dissembling he bid the craftsmen come before him, and he praised their handiwork with royal words. At length said he: "'Twas said to me by one Ufedhin that at the end such reward as ye wished ye would name before me, yet would it be small enough, seeing that the labour was of love and of Ufedhin's desire that the golden hoard be not cast away and lost. What then do ye wish that I may grant?"

Then said Ufedhin scornfully: "For myself, nothing, O Lord; indeed the guestkindliness of thy halls for seven moons and three is more than I desire." But the Dwarves said: "This do we ask. For our labours during seven moons each seven jewels of Valinor, and seven robes of magic that only Gwendelin[10] can weave, and each a sack of gold; but for our great labour during three moons in thy halls unwilling, we ask each three sacks of silver, and each a cup of gold wherein to pledge thy health, O King, and each a fair maiden of the woodland Elves to fare away with us to our homes."

Then was King Tinwelint wroth indeed, for what the Dwarves had asked was of itself a goodly treasury, seeing that their

company was very great; and he had no mind thus to devour the dragon's hoard, but never could he deliver maidens of the Elves unto illshapen Dwarves without undying shame.

Now that demand they had made only by the design of Ufedhin, yet seeing the anger of the king's face they said: "Nay, but this is not all, for in payment of Ufedhin's captivity for seven moons seven stout Elves must come with us and abide seven times seven years among us as bondsmen and menials in our labour."

Thereat arose Tinwelint from his seat, and calling summoned his weaponed thanes and warriors, that these surrounded the Nauglath and those Gnomes. Then said he: "For your insolence each three stripes with stinging withes shall ye receive, and Ufedhin seven, and afterwards will we speak of recompense."

When this was done, and a flame of bitter vengeance lit in those deep hearts, he said: "Lo, for your labour of seven months six pieces of gold and one of silver each shall have, and for your labours in my halls each three pieces of gold and some small gem that I can spare. For your journey hither a great feast shall ye eat and depart with good store against your return, and ere ye go ye shall drink to Tinwelint in elfin wine; yet, mark ye, for the sustenance of Ufedhin seven idle months about my halls shall ye each pay a piece of gold, and of silver two, for he has not aught himself and shall not receive since he desires it not, yet methinks he is at the bottom of your arrogance."

Then were the Dwarves paid their reward like common smiths of bronze and iron, and constrained to yield once more therefrom payment for Ufedhin – "else," said the king, "never shall ye get him hence." Then sat they to a great feast and dissembled their mood; yet at the end the time of their going came, and they drank to Tinwelint in elfin wine, but they cursed him in their beards, and Ufedhin swallowed not and spat the wine from his mouth upon the threshold.

Now tells the tale that the Nauglath fared home again, and if their greed had been kindled when first the gold was brought to Nogrod now was it a fierce flame of desire, and moreover they burnt under the insults of the king. Indeed all that folk love gold and silver more dearly than aught else on Earth, while that treasury was haunted by a spell and by no means were they armed against it. Now one there had been, Fangluin* the aged, who had counselled them from the first never to return the king's loan, for

* In the margin of the manuscript is written: *Fangluin: Bluebeard*.

said he: "Ufedhin we may later seek by guile to release, if it seem good," but at that time this seemed not policy to Naugladur their lord, who desired not warfare with the Elves. Yet now did Fangluin jeer at them mightily on their return, saying they had flung away their labour for a botcher's wage and a draught of wine and gotten dishonour thereto, and he played upon their lust, and Ufedhin joined his bitter words thereto. Therefore did Naugladur hold a secret council of the Dwarves of Nogrod, and sought how he might both be avenged upon Tinwelint, and sate his greed.[11]

Yet after long pondering he saw not how he might achieve his purpose save by force, and there was little hope therein, both by reason of the great strength of numbers of the Elves of Artanor in those days, and of the woven magic of Gwenniel that guarded all those regions, so that men of hostile heart were lost and came not to those woods; nor indeed could any such come thither unaided by treachery from within.

Now even as those aged ones sat in their dark halls and gnawed their beards, behold a sound of horns, and messengers were come from Bodruith of the Indrafangs, a kindred of the Dwarves that dwelt in other realms. Now these brought tidings of the death of Mîm the fatherless at the hand of Úrin and the rape of Glorund's gold, which tale had but new come to Bodruith's ears. Now hitherto the Dwarves knew not the full tale concerning that hoard, nor more than Ufedhin might tell hearing the speech in Tinwelint's halls, and Úrin had not spoken the full count thereof ere he departed. Hearing therefore these tidings new wrath was added to their lust and a clamour arose among them, and Naugladur vowed to rest not ere Mîm was thrice avenged – "and more," said he, "meseems the gold belongs of right to the people of the Dwarves."

This then was the design; and by his deeds have the Dwarves been severed in feud for ever since those days with the Elves, and drawn more nigh in friendship to the kin of Melko. Secretly he let send to the Indrafangs that they prepare their host against a day that he would name, whenso the time should be ripe; and a hidden forging of bitter steel then was in Belegost the dwelling of the Indrafangs. Moreover he gathered about him a great host of the Orcs, and wandering goblins, promising them a good wage, and the pleasure of their Master moreover, and a rich booty at the end; and all these he armed with his own weapons. Now came unto Naugladur an Elf, and he was one of Tinwelint's folk, and

he offered to lead that host through the magics of Gwendelin, for he was bitten by the gold-lust of Glorund's hoard, and so did the curse of Mîm come upon Tinwelint and treachery first arose among the Elves of Artanor. Then did Naugladur [?smile] bitterly, for he knew that the time was ripe and Tinwelint delivered to him. Now each year about the time of the great wolf-hunt of Beren Tinwelint was wont to keep the memory of that day by a hunt in the woods, and it was a very mighty chase and thronged with very many folk, and nights of merriment and feasting were there in the forest. Now Naugladur learnt of that Elf Narthseg, whose name is bitter to the Eldar yet, that the king would fare a-hunting at the next high moon but one, and straightway he sent the trysted sign, a bloodstained knife, to Bodruith at Belegost. Now all that host assembled on the confines of the woods, and no word came yet unto the king.

Now tells the tale that one came unto Tinwelint, and Tinwelint knew him not for the wild growth of his hair – and lo! it was Mablung, and he said: "Lo, even in the depths of the forest have we heard that this year you will celebrate the death of Karkaras with a high-tide greater than even before, O King – and behold I have returned to bear you company." And the king was full of mirth and fain to greet Mablung the brave; and at the words of Mablung that Huan captain of Dogs was come also into Artanor was he glad indeed.

Behold now Tinwelint the king rode forth a-hunting, and more glorious was his array than ever aforetime, and the helm of gold was above his flowing locks, and with gold were the trappings of his steed adorned; and the sunlight amid the trees fell upon his face, and it seemed to those that beheld it like to the glorious face of the sun at morning; for about his throat was clasped the Nauglafring, the Necklace of the Dwarves. Beside him rode Mablung the Heavyhand in the place of honour by reason of his deeds at that great hunt aforetime – but Huan of the Dogs was ahead of the hunters, and men thought that great dog bore him strangely, but mayhap there was something in the wind that day he liked not.

Now is the king far in the woods with all his company, and the horns grow faint in the deep forest, but Gwendelin sits in her bower and foreboding is in her heart and eyes. Then said an Elfmaid, Nielthi: "Wherefore, O Lady, art thou sorrowful at the hightide of the king?" And Gwendelin said: "Evil seeks our land, and my heart misgives me that my days in Artanor are speeding to

their end, yet if I should lose Tinwelint then would I wish never to have wandered forth from Valinor." But Nielthi said: "Nay, O Lady Gwendelin, hast thou not woven great magic all about us, so that we fear not?" But the queen made answer: "Yet meseems there is a rat that gnaws the threads and all the web has come unwoven." Even at that word there was a cry about the doors, and suddenly it grew to a fierce noise . . . by the clash of steel. Then went Gwendelin unafraid forth from her bower, and behold, a sudden multitude of Orcs and Indrafangs held the bridge, and there was war within the cavernous gates; but that place ran with blood, and a great heap of slain lay there, for the onset had been secret and all unknown.

Then did Gwendelin know well that her foreboding was true, and that treachery had found her realm at last, yet did she hearten those few guards that remained to her and had fared not to the hunt, and valiantly they warded the palace of the king until the tide of numbers bore them back [and] fire and blood found all the halls and deep ways of that great fortress of the Elves.

Then did those Orcs and Dwarves ransack all the chambers seeking for treasure, and lo! one came and sate him in the high seat of the king laughing loud, and Gwendelin saw that it was Ufedhin, and mocking he bid her be seated in her ancient seat beside the king's. Then Gwendelin gazed upon him so that his glance fell, and she said: "Wherefore, O renegade, dost thou defile my lord's seat? Little had I thought to see any of the Elves sit there, a robber, stained with murder, a league-fellow of the truceless enemies of his kin. Or thinkest thou it is a glorious deed to assail an ill-armed house what time its lord is far away?" But Ufedhin said nought, shunning the bright eyes of Gwendelin, wherefore said she anew: "Get thee now gone with thy foul Orcs, lest Tinwelint coming repay thee bitterly."

Then at last did Ufedhin answer, and he laughed, but ill at ease, and he looked not at the queen, but he said listening to a sound without: "Nay, but already is he come." And behold, Naugladur entered now and a host of the Dwarves were about him, but he bore the head of Tinwelint crowned and helmed in gold; but the necklace of all wonder was clasped about the throat of Naugladur. Then did Gwendelin see in her heart all that had befallen, and how the curse of the gold had fallen on the realm of Artanor, and never has she danced or sung since that dark hour; but Naugladur bid gather all things of gold or silver or of precious stones and bear them to Nogrod – "and whatso remains of goods or folk may the

Orcs keep, or slay, as they desire. Yet the Lady Gwendelin Queen of Artanor shall fare with me."

Then said Gwendelin: "Thief and murderer, child of Melko, yet art thou a fool, for thou canst not see what hangs over thine own head." By reason of the anguish of her heart was her sight grown very clear, and she read by her fay-wisdon the curse of Mîm and much of what would yet betide.

Then did Naugladur in his triumph laugh till his beard shook, and bid seize her: but none might do so, for as they came towards her they groped as if in sudden dark, or stumbled and fell tripping each the other, and Gwendelin went forth from the places of her abode, and her bitter weeping filled the forest. Now did a great darkness fall upon her mind and her counsel and lore forsook her, that she wandered she knew not whither for a great while; and this was by reason of her love for Tinwelint the king, for whom she had chosen never to fare back to Valinor and the beauty of the Gods, dwelling always in the wild forests of the North; and now did there seem to her neither beauty nor joy be it in Valinor or in the Lands Without. Many of the scattered Elves in her wayward journeyings she met, and they took pity on her, but she heeded them not. Tales had they told her, but she hearkened not over much since Tinwelint was dead; nonetheless must ye know how even in the hour that Ufedhin's host brake the palace and despoiled it, and other companies as great and as terrible of the Orcs and Indrafangs fell with death and fire upon all the realm of Tinwelint, behold the brave hunt of the king were resting amid mirth and laughter, but Huan stalked apart. Then suddenly were the woods filled with noise and Huan bayed aloud; but the king and his company were all encircled with armed foes. Long they fought bitterly there among the trees, and the Nauglath – for such were their foes – had great scathe of them or ever they were slain. Yet in the end were they all fordone, and Mablung and the king fell side by side – but Naugladur it was who swept off the head of Tinwelint after he was dead, for living he dared not so near to his bright sword or the axe of Mablung.[12]

Now doth the tale know no more to tell of Huan, save that even while the swords still sang that great dog was speeding through the land, and his way led him as the [?wind] to the land of i·Guilwarthon, the living-dead, where reigned Beren and Tinúviel the daughter of Tinwelint. Not in any settled abode did those twain dwell, nor had their realm boundaries well-marked – and indeed no other messenger save Huan alone to whom all ways were

known had ever found Beren and obtained his aid so soon.[13] Indeed the tale tells that even as that host of the Orcs were burning all the land of Tinwelint and the Nauglath and the Indrafangin were wending homeward burdened utterly with spoils of gold and precious things, came Huan to Beren's lodge, and it was dusk. Lo, Beren sat upon a tree root and Tinúviel danced on a green sward in the gloaming as he gazed upon her, when suddenly stood Huan before them, and Beren gave a cry of joy and wonder, for it was long since he and Huan had hunted together. But Tinúviel looking upon Huan saw that he bled, and there was a tale to read in his great eyes. And she said suddenly: "What evil then has fallen upon Artanor?" and Huan said: "Fire and death and the terror of Orcs; but Tinwelint is slain."

Then did both Beren and Tinúviel weep bitter tears; nor did the full tale of Huan dry their eyes. When then it was told to the end leapt Beren to his feet in white wrath, and seizing a horn that hung at his belt he blew a clear blast thereon that rang round all the neighbouring hills, and an elfin folk all clad in green and brown sprang as it were by magic towards him from every glade and coppice, stream and fell.

Now not even Beren knew the tale of those myriad folk that followed his horn in the woods of Hisilómë, and or ever the moon was high above the hills the host assembled in the glade of his abiding was very great, yet were they lightly armed and the most bore only knives and bows. "Yet," said Beren, "speed is that which now we need the most"; and certain Elves at his bidding fared like deer before him, seeking news of the march of the Dwarves and Indrafangs, but at dawn he followed at the head of the green Elves, and Tinúviel abode in the glade and wept unto herself for the death of Tinwelint, and Gwendelin also she mourned as dead.

Now is to tell that the laden host of the Dwarves fared from the place of their ransacking, and Naugladur was at their head, and beside him Ufedhin and Bodruith; and ever as he rode Ufedhin sought to put the dread eyes of Gwendelin from his mind and could not, and all happiness was fled from his heart that shrivelled under the memory of that glance; nor was this the only disquiet that tortured him, for if ever he raised his eyes lo! they lighted on the Necklace of the Dwarves shining about the aged neck of Naugladur, and then all other thoughts save bottomless desire of its beauty were banished.

Thus did those three fare and with them all their host, but so great became the torment of Ufedhin's mind that in the end he

might not endure it more, but at night when a halt was called he crept stealthily to the place where Naugladur slept, and coming upon that aged one wrapt in slumbers would slay that Dwarf and lay hands upon the wondrous Nauglafring. Now even as he sought to do so, behold one seized his throat suddenly from behind, and it was Bodruith, who filled with the same lust sought also to make that lovely thing his own; but coming upon Ufedhin would slay him by reason of his kinship to Naugladur. Then did Ufedhin stab suddenly backward at hazard in the dark with a keen knife long and slender that he had with him for the bane of Naugladur, and that knife pierced the vitals of Bodruith Lord of Belegost so that he fell dying upon Naugladur, and the throat of Naugladur and the magic carcanet were drenched anew with blood.

Thereat did Naugladur awake with a great cry, but Ufedhin fled gasping from that place, for the long fingers of the Indrafang had well-nigh choked him. Now when some bore torches swiftly to that place Naugladur thought that Bodruith alone had sought to rob him of the jewel, and marvelled how he had thus been timely slain, and he proclaimed a rich reward to the slayer of Bodruith if that man would come forward telling all that he had seen. Thus was it that none perceived the flight of Ufedhin for a while, and wrath awoke between the Dwarves of Nogrod and the Indrafangs, and many were slain ere the Indrafangs being in less number were scattered and got them as best they might to Belegost, bearing scant treasury with them. Of this came the agelong feud between those kindreds of the Dwarves that has spread to many lands and caused many a tale, whereof the Elves know little tidings and Men have seldom heard. Yet may it be seen how the curse of Mîm came early home to rest among his own kin, and would indeed it had gone no further and had visited the Eldar never more.

Lo, when the flight of Ufedhin came also to light then was Naugladur in wrath, and he let kill all the Gnomes that remained in the host. Then said he: "Now are we rid of Indrafangs and Gnomes and all traitors, and nought more do I fear at all."

But Ufedhin ranged the wild lands in great fear and anguish, for him seemed that he had become a traitor to his kin, blood-guilty to the Elves, and haunted with the [?burning] eyes of Gwendelin the queen, for nought but exile and misery, and no smallest part nor share had he in the gold of Glorund, for all his heart was afire with lust; yet few have pitied him.

Now tells the tale that he fell in with the rangers of Beren's folk, and these gaining from him sure knowledge of all the host and

array of Naugladur and the ways he purposed to follow, they sped back like wind among the trees unto their lord; but Ufedhin revealed not to them who he was, feigning to be an Elf of Artanor escaped from bondage in their host. Now therefore they entreated him well, and he was sent back to Beren that their captain might . . . . . his words, and albeit Beren marvelled at his [?cowardly] . . . . . .[14] and downward glance it seemed to him that he brought safe word, and he set a trap for Naugladur.

No longer did he march hotly on the trail of the Dwarves, but knowing that they would essay the passage of the river Aros at a certain time he turned aside, faring swiftly with his light-footed Elves by straighter paths that he might reach Sarnathrod the Stony Ford before them. Now the Aros is a fierce stream – and is it not that very water that more near its spring runs swiftly past the aged doors of the Rodothlim's caves and the dark lairs of Glorund[15] – and in those lower regions by no means can be crossed by a great host of laden men save at this ford, nor is it overeasy here. Never would Naugladur have taken that way had he knowledge of Beren – yet blinded by the spell and the dazzling gold he feared nought either within or without his host, and he was in haste to reach Nogrod and its dark caverns, for the Dwarves list not long to abide in the bright light of day.

Now came all that host to the banks of Aros, and their array was thus: first a number of unladen Dwarves most fully armed, and amidmost the great company of those that bore the treasury of Glorund, and many a fair thing beside that they had haled from Tinwelint's halls; and behind these was Naugladur, and he bestrode Tinwelint's horse, and a strange figure did he seem, for the legs of the Dwarves are short and crooked, but two Dwarves led that horse for it went not willingly and it was laden with spoil. But behind these came again a mass of armed men but little laden; and in this array they sought to cross Sarnathrod on their day of doom.

Morn was it when they reached the hither bank and high noon saw them yet passing in long-strung lines and wading slowly the shallow places of the swift-running stream. Here doth it widen out and fare down narrow channels filled with boulders atween long spits of shingle and stones less great. Now did Naugladur slip from his burdened horse and prepare to get him over, for the armed host of the vanguard had climbed already the further bank, and it was great and sheer and thick with trees, and the bearers of the gold were some already stepped thereon and some amidmost of the stream, but the armed men of the rear were resting awhile.

Suddenly is all that place filled with the sound of elfin horns, and one . . . . .[16] with a clearer blast above the rest, and it is the horn of Beren, the huntsman of the woods. Then is the air thick with the slender arrows of the Eldar that err not neither doth the wind bear them aside, and lo, from every tree and boulder do the brown Elves and the green spring suddenly and loose unceasingly from full quivers. Then was there a panic and a noise in the host of Naugladur, and those that waded in the ford cast their golden burdens in the waters and sought affrighted to either bank, but many were stricken with those pitiless darts and fell with their gold into the currents of the Aros, staining its clear waters with their dark blood.

Now were the warriors on the far bank [?wrapped] in battle and rallying sought to come at their foes, but these fled nimbly before them, while [?others] poured still the hail of arrows upon them, and thus got the Eldar few hurts and the Dwarf-folk fell dead unceasingly. Now was that great fight of the Stony Ford . . . . . nigh to Naugladur, for even though Naugladur and his captains led their bands stoutly never might they grip their foe, and death fell like rain upon their ranks until the most part broke and fled, and a noise of clear laughter echoed from the Elves thereat, and they forebore to shoot more, for the illshapen figures of the Dwarves as they fled, their white beards torn by the wind, filled them [with] mirth. But now stood Naugladur and few were about him, and he remembered the words of Gwendelin, for behold, Beren came towards him and he cast aside his bow, and drew a bright sword; and Beren was of great stature among the Eldar, albeit not of the girth and breadth of Naugladur of the Dwarves.

Then said Beren: "Ward thy life an thou canst, O crook-legged murderer, else will I take it," and Naugladur bid him even the Nauglafring, the necklace of wonder, that he be suffered to go unharmed; but Beren said: "Nay, that may I still take when thou art slain," and thereat he made alone upon Naugladur and his companions, and having slain the foremost of these the others fled away amid elfin laughter, and so Beren came upon Naugladur, slayer of Tinwelint. Then did that aged one defend himself doughtily, and 'twas a bitter fight, and many of the Elves that watched for love and fear of their captain fingered their bow-strings, but Beren called even as he fought that all should stay their hands.

Now little doth the tale tell of wounds and blows of that affray, save that Beren got many hurts therein, and many of his shrewdest

blows did little harm to Naugladur by reason of the [?skill] and magic of his dwarfen mail; and it is said that three hours they fought and Beren's arms grew weary, but not those of Naugladur accustomed to wield his mighty hammer at the forge, and it is more than like that otherwise would the issue have been but for the curse of Mîm; for marking how Beren grew faint Naugladur pressed him ever more nearly, and the arrogance that was of that grievous spell came into his heart, and he thought: "I will slay this Elf, and his folk will flee in fear before me," and grasping his sword he dealt a mighty blow and cried: "Take here thy bane, O stripling of the woods," and in that moment his foot found a jagged stone and he stumbled forward, but Beren slipped aside from that blow and catching at his beard his hand found the carcanet of gold, and therewith he swung Naugladur suddenly off his feet upon his face: and Naugladur's sword was shaken from his grasp, but Beren seized it and slew him therewith, for he said: "I will not sully my bright blade with thy dark blood, since there is no need." But the body of Naugladur was cast into the Aros.

Then did he unloose the necklace, and he gazed in wonder at it – and beheld the Silmaril, even the jewel he won from Angband and gained undying glory by his deed; and he said: "Never have mine eyes beheld thee O Lamp of Faëry burn one half so fair as now thou dost, set in gold and gems and the magic of the Dwarves"; and that necklace he caused to be washed of its stains, and he cast it not away, knowing nought of its power, but bore it with him back into the woods of Hithlum.

But the waters of Aros flowed on for ever above the drowned hoard of Glorund, and so do still, for in after days Dwarves came from Nogrod and sought for it, and for the body of Naugladur; but a flood arose from the mountains and therein the seekers perished; and so great now is the gloom and dread of that Stony Ford that none seek the treasure that it guards nor dare ever to cross the magic stream at that enchanted place.

But in the vales of Hithlum was there gladness at the home-coming of the Elves, and great was the joy of Tinúviel to see her lord once more returning amidst his companies, but little did it ease her grief for the death of Tinwelint that Naugladur was slain and many Dwarves beside. Then did Beren seek to comfort her, and taking her in his arms he set the glorious Nauglafring about her neck, and all were blinded by the greatness of her beauty; and Beren said: "Behold the Lamp of Fëanor that thou

and I did win from Hell," and Tinúviel smiled, remembering the first days of their love and those days of travail in the wild.

Now is it to be said that Beren sent for Ufedhin and well rewarded him for his words of true guidance whereof the Dwarves had been overcome, and he bid him dwell in . . . . among his folk, and Ufedhin was little loth; yet on a time, no great space thereafter, did that thing betide which he least desired. For came there a sound of very sorrowful singing in the woods, and behold, it was Gwendelin wandering distraught, and her feet bore her to the midmost of a glade where sat Beren and Tinúviel; and at that hour it was new morning, but at the sound all nigh ceased their speaking and were very still. Then did Beren gaze in awe upon Gwendelin, but Tinúviel cried suddenly in sorrow mixed with joy: "O mother Gwendelin, whither do thy feet bear thee, for methought thee dead"; but the greeting of those twain upon the greensward was very sweet. And Ufedhin fled from among the Elves, for he could not endure to look upon the eyes of Gwendelin, and madness took him, and none may say what was his unhappy weird thereafter; and little but a tortured heart got he from the Gold of Glorund.

Now hearing the cries of Ufedhin Gwendelin looked in wonder after him, and stayed her tender words; and memory came back into her eyes so that she cried as in amaze beholding the Necklace of the Dwarves that hung about the white throat of Tinúviel. Then wrathfully she asked of Beren what it might portend, and wherefore he suffered the accursed thing to touch Tinúviel; and told Beren[17] all that tale such as Huan had told him, in deed or guess, and of the pursuit and fighting at the ford he told also, saying at the end: "Nor indeed do I see who, now that Lord Tinwelint is fared to Valinor, should so fittingly wear that jewel of the Gods as Tinúviel." But Gwendelin told of the dragon's ban upon the gold and the [?staining] of blood in the king's halls, "and yet another and more potent curse, whose arising I know not, is woven therewith," said she, "nor methinks was the labour of the Dwarves free from spells of the most enduring malice." But Beren laughed, saying that the glory of the Silmaril and its holiness might overcome all such evils, even as it burnt the [?foul] flesh of Karkaras. "Nor," said he, "have I seen ever my Tinúviel so fair as now she is, clasped in the loveliness of this thing of gold"; but Gwendelin said: "Yet the Silmaril abode in the Crown of Melko, and that is the work of baleful smiths indeed."

Then said Tinúviel that she desired not things of worth or precious stones but the elfin gladness of the forest, and to

pleasure Gwendelin she cast it from her neck; but Beren was little pleased and he would not suffer it to be flung away, but warded it in his . . . . . .[18]

Thereafter did Gwendelin abide a while in the woods among them and was healed; and in the end she fared wistfully back to the land of Lórien and came never again into the tales of the dwellers of Earth; but upon Beren and Tinúviel fell swiftly that doom of mortality that Mandos had spoken when he sped them from his halls – and in this perhaps did the curse of Mîm have [?potency] in that it came more soon upon them; nor this time did those twain fare the road together, but when yet was the child of those twain, Dior[19] the Fair, a little one, did Tinúviel slowly fade, even as the Elves of later days have done throughout the world, and she vanished in the woods, and none have seen her dancing ever there again. But Beren searched all the lands of Hithlum and of Artanor ranging after her; and never has any of the Elves had more loneliness than his, or ever he too faded from life, and Dior his son was left ruler of the brown Elves and the green, and Lord of the Nauglafring.

Mayhap what all Elves say is true, that those twain hunt now in the forest of Oromë in Valinor, and Tinúviel dances on the green swards of Nessa and of Vána daughters of the Gods for ever more; yet great was the grief of the Elves when the Guilwarthon went from among them, and being leaderless and lessened of magic their numbers minished; and many fared away to Gondolin, the rumour of whose growing power and glory ran in secret whispers among all the Elves.

Still did Dior when come to manhood rule a numerous folk, and he loved the woods even as Beren had done; and songs name him mostly Ausir the Wealthy for his possession of that wondrous gem set in the Necklace of the Dwarves. Now the tales of Beren and Tinúviel grew dim in his heart, and he took to wearing it about his neck and to love its loveliness most dearly; and the fame of that jewel spread like fire through all the regions of the North, and the Elves said one to another: "A Silmaril of Fëanor burns in the woods of Hisilómë."

Now fare the long days of Elfinesse unto that time when Tuor dwelt in Gondolin; and children then had Dior the Elf,[20] Auredhir and Elwing, and Auredhir was most like to his forefather Beren, and all loved him, yet none so dearly as did Dior; but Elwing the fairy have all poesies named as beautiful as Tinúviel if that indeed may be, yet hard is it to say seeing the great loveliness

of the elfin folk of yore. Now those were days of happiness in the vales of Hithlum, for there was peace with Melko and the Dwarves who had but one thought as they plotted against Gondolin, and Angband was full of labour; yet is it to tell that bitterness entered into the hearts of the seven sons of Fëanor, remembering their oath. Now Maidros, whom Melko maimed, was their leader; and he called to his brethren Maglor and Dinithel, and to Damrod, and to Celegorm, to Cranthor and to Curufin the Crafty, and he said to them how it was now known to him that a Silmaril of those their father Fëanor had made was now the pride and glory of Dior of the southern vales, "and Elwing his daughter bears it whitherso she goes – but do you not forget," said he, "that we swore to have no peace with Melko nor any of his folk, nor with any other of Earth-dwellers that held the Silmarils of Fëanor from us. For what," said Maidros, "do we suffer exile and wandering and rule over a scant and forgotten folk, if others gather to their hoard the heirlooms that are ours?"

Thus was it that they sent Curufin the Crafty to Dior, and told him of their oath, and bid him give that fair jewel back unto those whose right it was; but Dior gazing on the loveliness of Elwing would not do so, and he said that he could not endure that the Nauglafring, fairest of earthly craft, be so despoiled. "Then," said Curufin, "must the Nauglafring unbroken be given to the sons of Fëanor," and Dior waxed wroth, bidding him be gone, nor dare to claim what his sire Beren the Onehanded won with his hand from the [?jaws] of Melko – "other twain are there in the selfsame place," said he, "an your hearts be bold enow."

Then went Curufin unto his brethren, and because of their unbreakable oath and of their [?thirst] for that Silmaril (nor indeed was the spell of Mîm and of the dragon wanting) they planned war upon Dior – and the Eldar cry shame upon them for that deed, the first premeditated war of elfin folk upon elfin folk, whose name otherwise were glorious among the Eldalië for their sufferings. Little good came thereby to them; for they fell unawares upon Dior, and Dior and Auredhir were slain, yet behold, Evranin the nurse of Elwing, and Gereth a Gnome, took her unwilling in a flight swift and sudden from those lands, and they bore with them the Nauglafring, so that the sons of Fëanor saw it not; but a host of Dior's folk, coming with all speed yet late unto the fray, fell suddenly on their rear, and there was a great battle, and Maglor was slain with swords, and Mai . . . .[21] died of wounds in the wild, and Celegorm was pierced with a hundred

arrows, and Cranthor beside him. Yet in the end were the sons of Fëanor masters of the field of slain, and the brown Elves and the green were scattered over all the lands unhappy, for they would not hearken to Maidros the maimed, nor to Curufin and Damrod who had slain their lord; and it is said that even on the day of that battle of the Elves Melko sought against Gondolin, and the fortunes of the Elves came to their uttermost waning.

Now was naught left of the seed of Beren Ermabwed son of Egnor save Elwing the Lovely, and she wandered in the woods, and of the brown Elves and the green a few gathered to her, and they departed for ever from the glades of Hithlum and got them to the south towards Sirion's deep waters, and the pleasant lands.

And thus did all the fates of the fairies weave then to one strand, and that strand is the great tale of Eärendel; and to that tale's true beginning are we now come.'

Then said Ailios: 'And methinks that is tale enow for this time of telling.'

NOTES

1 This sentence is a rewriting of the text, which had originally:

> "Nay then, know ye not that this gold belongs to the kindred of the Elves, who won it from the earth long time ago, and no one among Men has claim . . ."

The remainder of this scene, ending with the slaughter of Úrin's band, was rewritten at many points, with the same object as in the passage just cited – to convert Úrin's band from Men to Elves, as was done also at the end of Eltas' tale (see p. 118 note 33). Thus original 'Elves' was changed to 'Elves of the wood, woodland Elves', and original 'Men' to 'folk, outlaws'; and see notes 2, 3, 5.

2 The original sentence here was:

> Doughty were those Men and great wielders of sword and axe, and still in those unfaded days might mortal weapons wound the bodies of the elfin-folk.

See note 1.

3 The original sentence here was: 'and those Men being wildered with magics'. See note 1.

4 This sentence, from 'and yet another sorrow . . .', was added to the text later.

5 'those': the text has 'the Men', obviously left unchanged through oversight. See note 1.

6 'in the earth' is an emendation of the original reading 'on the earth'.

7 'damasked in strange wise', i.e. 'damascened', ornamentally inlaid with designs in gold and silver. The word 'damascened' is used of the sword of Tinwelint made by the Dwarves, on which were seen images of the wolf-hunt (p. 227), and of Glorfindel's arms (p. 173).

8 The text has 'Eltas', but with 'Ailios' written above in pencil. Since Ailios appears as the teller at the beginning of the tale, and not as the result of emendation, 'Eltas' here was probably no more than a slip.

9 'save only' is a later emendation of the original 'not even'. See p. 256.

10 It is odd that *Gwendelin* appears here, not *Gwenniel* as hitherto in this tale. Since the first part of the tale is in ink over an erased pencil text, the obvious explanation is that the erased text had *Gwendelin* and that my father changed this to *Gwenniel* as he went along, overlooking it in this one instance. But the matter is probably more complex – one of those small puzzles with which the texts of the *Lost Tales* abound – for after the manuscript in ink ceases the form *Gwenniel* occurs, though once only, and *Gwendelin* is then used for all the rest of the tale. See *Changes made to Names*, p. 244.

11 Here the manuscript in ink ends; see p. 221.

12 Against this sentence my father wrote a direction that the story was to be that the Nauglafring caught in the bushes and held the king.

13 A rejected passage in the manuscript here gives an earlier version of the events, according to which it was Gwendelin, not Huan, who brought the news to Beren:

> . . . and her bitter weeping filled the forest. Now there did Gwendeling [*sic*] gather to her many of the scattered woodland Elves and of them did she hear how matters had fared even as she had guessed: how the hunting party had been surrounded and o'erwhelmed by the Nauglath while the Indrafangs and Orcs fell suddenly with death and fire upon all the realm of Tinwelint, and not the least host was that of Ufedhin that slew the guardians of the bridge; and it was said that Naugladur had slain Tinwelint when he was borne down by numbers, and folk thought Narthseg a wild Elf had led the foemen hither, and he had been slain in the fighting.
>
> Then seeing no hope Gwendelin and her companions fared with the utmost speed out of that land of sorrow, even to the kingdom of i·Guilwarthon in Hisilómë, where reigned Beren and Tinúviel her daughter. Now Beren and Tinúviel lived not in any settled abode, nor had their realm boundaries well-marked, and no other messenger save Gwendelin daughter of the Vali had of a surety found those twain the living-dead so soon.

It is clear from the manuscript that the return of Mablung and Huan to Artanor and their presence at the hunt (referred to in general terms at the end of the *Tale of Tinúviel*, p. 41) was added to the

tale, and with this new element went the change in Gwendelin's movements immediately after the disaster. But though the textual history is here extremely hard to interpet, what with erasures and additions on loose pages, I think it is almost certain that this reshaping was done while the original composition of the tale was still in progress.

14 The first of these lacunae that I have left in the text contains two words, the first possibly 'believe' and the second probably 'best'. In the second lacuna the word might conceivably be 'pallor'.

15 This sentence, from 'and is it not that very water . . .', is struck through and bracketed, and in the margin my father scribbled: 'No [?that] is Narog.'

16 The illegible word might be 'brays': the word 'clearer' is an emendation from 'hoarser'.

17 'and told Beren': i.e., 'and Beren told'. The text as first written had 'Then told Beren . . .'

18 The illegible word might just possibly be 'treasury', but I do not think that it is.

19 *Dior* replaced the name *Ausir*, which however occurs below as another name for Dior.

20 'Dior the Elf' is an emendation from 'Dior then an aged Elf'.

21 The latter part of this name is quite unclear: it might be read as *Maithog*, or as *Mailweg*. See *Changes made to Names* under *Dinithel*.

Changes made to names in *The Tale of the Nauglafring*

Ilfiniol (p. 221) here so written from the first: see p. 201.

Gwenniel is used throughout the revised section of the tale except at the last occurrence (p. 228), where the form is *Gwendelin*; in the pencilled part of the tale at the first occurrence of the queen's name it is again *Gwenniel* (p. 230), but thereafter always *Gwendelin* (see note 10).

The name of the queen in the *Lost Tales* is as variable as that of Littleheart. In *The Chaining of Melko* and *The Coming of the Elves* she is *Tindriel* > *Wendelin*. In the *Tale of Tinúviel* she is *Wendelin* > *Gwendeling* (see p. 50); in the typescript text of *Tinúviel Gwenethlin* > *Melian*; in the *Tale of Turambar Gwendeling* > *Gwedheling*; in the present tale *Gwendelin/Gwenniel* (the form *Gwendeling* occurs in the rejected passage given in note 13); and in the Gnomish dictionary *Gwendeling* > *Gwedhiling*.

Belegost At the first occurrence (p. 230) the manuscript has *Ost Belegost*, with *Ost* circled as if for rejection, and *Belegost* is the reading subsequently.

(*i·*)*Guilwarthon* In the *Tale of Tinúviel*, p. 41, the form is *i·Cuilwarthon*. At the occurrence on p. 240 the ending of the name does not look like *-on*, but as I cannot say what it is I give *Guilwarthon* in the text.

Dinithel could also be read as *Durithel* (p. 241). This name was written in later in ink over an earlier name in pencil now scarcely legible, though clearly the same as that beginning *Mai* . . . . which appears for this son of Fëanor subsequently (see note 21).

Commentary on *The Tale of the Nauglafring*

In this commentary I shall not compare in detail the *Tale of the Nauglafring* with the story told in *The Silmarillion* (Chapter 22, *Of the Ruin of Doriath*). The stories are profoundly different in essential features – above all, in the reduction of the treasure brought by Húrin from Nargothrond to a single object, the Necklace of the Dwarves, which had long been in existence (though not, of course, containing the Silmaril); while the whole history of the relation between Thingol and the Dwarves is changed. My father never again wrote any part of this story on a remotely comparable scale, and the formation of the published text was here of the utmost difficulty; I hope later to give an account of it.

While it is often difficult to differentiate what my father omitted in his more concise versions (in order to keep them concise) from what he rejected, it seems clear that a large part of the elaborate narrative of the *Tale of the Nauglafring* was early abandoned. In subsequent writing the story of the fighting between Úrin's band and Tinwelint's Elves disappeared, and there is no trace afterwards of Ufedhin or the other Gnomes that lived among the Dwarves, of the story that the Dwarves took half the unwrought gold ('the king's loan') away to Nogrod to make precious objects from it, of the keeping of Ufedhin hostage, of Tinwelint's refusal to let the Dwarves depart, of their outrageous demands, of their scourging and their insulting payment.

We meet here again the strong emphasis on Tinwelint's love of treasure and lack of it, in contrast to the later conception of his vast wealth (see my remarks, pp. 128–9). The Silmaril is kept in a wooden casket (p. 225), Tinwelint has no crown but a wreath of scarlet leaves (p. 227), and he is far less richly clad and accoutred than 'the wayfarer in his halls' (Ufedhin). This is very well in itself – the Woodland Elf corrupted by the lure of golden splendour, but it need not be remarked again how strangely at variance is this picture with that of Thingol Lord of Beleriand, who had a vast treasury in his marvellous underground realm of Menegroth, the Thousand Caves – itself largely contrived by the Dwarves of Belegost in the distant past (*The Silmarillion* pp. 92–3), and who most certainly did not need the aid of Dwarves at this time to make

him a crown and a fine sword, or vessels to adorn his banquets. Thingol in the later conception is proud, and stern; he is also wise, and powerful, and greatly increased in stature and in knowledge through his union with a Maia. Could such a king have sunk to the level of miserly swindling that is portrayed in the *Tale of the Nauglafring*?

Great stress is indeed placed on the enormous size of the hoard – 'such mighty heaps of gold have never since been gathered in one place', p. 223 – which is made so vast that it becomes hard to believe that a band of wandering outlaws could have brought it to the halls of the woodland Elves, even granting that 'some was lost upon the way' (p. 114). There is perhaps some difference here from the account of the Rodothlim and their works in the *Tale of Turambar* (p. 81), where there is certainly no suggestion that the Rodothlim possessed treasures coming out of Valinor – though this idea remained through all the vicissitudes of this part of the story: it is said of the Lord of Nargothrond in *The Silmarillion* (p. 114) that 'Finrod had brought more treasures out of Tirion than any other of the princes of the Noldor'.

More important, the elements of 'spell' and 'curse' are dominant in this tale, to such a degree that they might almost be said to be the chief actors in it. The curse of Mîm on the gold is felt at every turn of the narrative. Vengeance for him is one motive in Naugladur's decision to attack the Elves of Artanor (p. 230). His curse is fulfilled in the 'agelong feud' between the kindreds of the Dwarves (p. 235) – of which all trace was afterwards effaced, with the loss of the entire story of Ufedhin's intent to steal the Necklace from Naugladur sleeping, the killing of Bodruith Lord of Belegost, and the fighting between the two clans of Dwarves. Naugladur was 'blinded by the spell' in taking so imprudent a course out of Artanor (p. 236); and the curse of Mîm is made the 'cause' of his stumbling on a stone in his fight with Beren (p. 238). It is even, and most surprisingly, suggested as a reason for the short second lives of Beren and Tinúviel (p. 240); and finally 'the spell of Mîm' is an element in the attack on Dior by the Fëanorians (p. 241). An important element also in the tale is the baleful nature of the Nauglafring, for the Dwarves made it with bitterness; and into the complex of curses and spells is introduced also 'the dragon's ban upon the gold' (p. 239) or 'the spell of the dragon' (p. 241). It is not said in the *Tale of Turambar* that Glorund had cursed the gold or enspelled it; but Mîm said to Úrin (p. 114): 'Has not Glorund lain long years upon it, and the evil of the drakes of Melko is on it, and no good can it bring to Man or Elf.' Most notably, Gwendelin implies, against Beren's assertion that 'its holiness might overcome all such evils', that the Silmaril itself is unhallowed, since it 'abode in the Crown of Melko' (p. 239). In the later of the two 'schemes' for the *Lost Tales* (see I. 107 note 3) it is said that the Nauglafring 'brought sickness to Tinúviel'.*

* It is said in the Gnomish dictionary that the curse of Mîm was 'appeased' when the Nauglafring was lost in the sea; see the Appendix on Names, entry *Nauglafring*.

But however much the chief actors in this tale are 'enspelled' or blindly carrying forward the mysterious dictates of a curse, there is no question but that the Dwarves in the original conception were altogether more ignoble than they afterwards became, more prone to evil to gain their ends, and more exclusively impelled by greed; that Doriath should be laid waste by mercenary Orcs under Dwarvish paymasters (p. 230) was to become incredible and impossible later. It is even said that by the deeds of Naugladur 'have the Dwarves been severed in feud for ever since those days with the Elves, and drawn more nigh in friendship to the kin of Melko' (p. 230); and in the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* the Nauglath are an evil people, associates of goblins (I. 236–7). In a rejected outline for the *Tale of the Nauglafring* (p. 136) the Necklace was made 'by certain Úvanimor (Nautar or Nauglath)', Úvanimor being defined elsewhere as 'monsters, giants, and ogres'. With all this compare *The Lord of the Rings*, Appendix F (I): 'They [the Dwarves] are not evil by nature, and few ever served the Enemy of free will, whatever the tales of Men may have alleged.'

The account of the Dwarves in this tale is of exceptional interest in other respects. 'The beards of the Indrafangs' have been named in Tinúviel's 'lengthening spell' (pp. 19, 46); but this is the first description of the Dwarves in my father's writings – already with the spelling that he maintained against the unceasing opposition of proof-readers – and they are eminently recognisable in their dour and hidden natures, in their 'unloveliness' (*The Silmarillion* p. 113), and in their 'marvellous skill with metals' (*ibid.* p. 92). The strange statement that 'never comes a child among them' is perhaps to be related to 'the foolish opinion among Men' referred to in *The Lord of the Rings*, Appendix A (III), 'that there are no Dwarf-women, and that the Dwarves "grow out of stone".' In the same place it is said that 'it is because of the fewness of women among them that the kind of the Dwarves increases slowly'.

It is also said in the tale that it is thought by some that the Dwarves 'have not heard of Ilúvatar'; on knowledge of Ilúvatar among Men see p. 209.

According to the Gnomish dictionary *Indrafang* was 'a special name of the Longbeards or Dwarves', but in the tale it is made quite plain that the Longbeards were on the contrary the Dwarves of Belegost; the Dwarves of Nogrod were the Nauglath, with their king Naugladur. It must be admitted however that the use of the terms is sometimes confusing, or confused: thus the description of the Nauglath on pp. 223–4 seems to be a description of all Dwarves, and to include the Indrafangs, though this cannot have been intended. The reference to 'the march of the Dwarves and Indrafangs' (p. 234) must be taken as an ellipse, i.e. 'the Dwarves of Nogrod and the Indrafangs'. Naugladur of Nogrod and Bodruith of Belegost are said to have been akin (p. 235), though this perhaps only means that they were both Dwarves whereas Ufedhin was an Elf.

The Dwarf-city of Nogrod is said in the tale to lie 'a very long journey southward beyond the wide forest on the borders of those great heaths nigh Umboth-muilin the Pools of Twilight, on the marches of Tasarinan' (p. 225). This could be interpreted to mean that Nogrod was itself 'on the borders of those great heaths nigh Umboth-muilin'; but I think that this is out of the question. It would be a most improbable place for Dwarves, who 'dwell beneath the earth in caves and tunnelled towns, and aforetime Nogrod was the mightiest of these' (p. 224). Though mountains are not specifically mentioned here in connection with Dwarves, I think it extremely likely that my father at this time conceived their cities to be in the mountains, as they were afterwards. Further, there seems nothing to contradict the view that the configuration of the lands in the *Lost Tales* was essentially similar to that of the earliest and later 'Silmarillion' maps; and on them, 'a very long journey southward' is totally inappropriate to that between the Thousand Caves and the Pools of Twilight.

The meaning must therefore be, simply, 'a very long journey southward beyond the wide forest', and what follows places the wide forest, not Nogrod; the forest being, in fact, the Forest of Artanor.

The Pools of Twilight are described in *The Fall of Gondolin*, but the Elvish name does not there appear (see pp. 195–6, 217).

Whether Belegost was near to or far from Nogrod is not made plain; it is said in this passage that the gold should be borne away 'to Nogrod and the dwellings of the Dwarves', but later (p. 230) the Indrafangs are 'a kindred of the Dwarves that dwelt in other realms'.

In his association with the Dwarves Ufedhin is reminiscent of Eöl, Maeglin's father, of whom it is said in *The Silmarillion* (p. 133) that 'for the Dwarves he had more liking than any other of the Elvenfolk of old'; cf. *ibid.* p. 92: 'Few of the Eldar went ever to Nogrod or Belegost, save Eöl of Nan Elmoth and Maeglin his son.' In the early forms of the story of Eöl and Isfin (referred to in *The Fall of Gondolin*, p. 165) Eöl has no association with Dwarves. In the present tale there is mention (p. 224) of 'great traffic' carried on by the Dwarves 'with the free Noldoli' (with Melko's servants also) in those days: we may wonder who these free Noldoli were, since the Rodothlim had been destroyed, and Gondolin was hidden. Perhaps the sons of Fëanor are meant, or Egnor Beren's father (see p. 65).

The idea that it was the Dwarves of Nogrod who were primarily involved survived into the later narrative, but they became exclusively so, and those of Belegost specifically denied all aid to them (*The Silmarillion* p. 233).

Turning now to the Elves, Beren is here of course still an Elf (see p. 139), and in his second span of life he is the ruler, in Hithlum–Hisilómë, of an Elvish people so numerous that 'not even Beren knew the tale of those myriad folk' (p. 234); they are called 'the green Elves' and 'the brown Elves and the green', for they were 'clad in green and brown',

and Dior ruled them in Hithlum after the final departure of Beren and Tinúviel. Who were they? It is far from clear how they are to be set into the conception of the Elves of the Great Lands as it appears in other Tales. We may compare the passage in *The Coming of the Elves* (I.118–19):

> Long after the joy of Valinor had washed its memory faint [i.e., the memory of the journey through Hisilómë] the Elves sang still sadly of it, and told tales of many of their folk whom they said and say were lost in those old forests and ever wandered there in sorrow. Still were they there long after when Men were shut in Hisilómë by Melko, and still do they dance there when Men have wandered far over the lighter places of the Earth. Hisilómë did Men name Aryador, and the Lost Elves did they call the Shadow Folk, and feared them.

But in that tale the conception still was that Tinwelint ruled 'the scattered Elves of Hisilomë', and in the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* the 'Shadow Folk' of Hisilómë had ceased to be Elves (see p. 64). In any case, the expression 'green Elves', coupled with the fact that it was the Green-elves of Ossiriand whom Beren led to the ambush of the Dwarves at Sarn Athrad in the later story (*The Silmarillion* p. 235), shows which Elvish people they were to become, even though there is as yet no trace of Ossiriand beyond the river Gelion and the story of the origin of the Laiquendi (*ibid.* pp. 94, 96).

It was inevitable that 'the land of the dead that live' should cease to be in Hisilómë (which seems to have been in danger of having too many inhabitants), and a note on the manuscript of the *Tale of the Nauglafring* says: 'Beren must be in "Doriath beyond Sirion" on a . . . . . not in Hithlum.' Doriath beyond Sirion was the region called in *The Silmarillion* (p. 122) Nivrim, the West March, the woods on the west bank of the river between the confluence of Teiglin and Sirion and Aelin-uial, the Meres of Twilight. In the *Tale of Tinúviel* Beren and Tinúviel, called i·Cuilwarthon, 'became mighty fairies in the lands about the north of Sirion' (p. 41).

Gwendelin/Gwenniel appears a somewhat faint and ineffective figure by comparison with the Melian of *The Silmarillion*. Conceivably, an aspect of this is the far slighter protection afforded to the realm of Artanor by her magic than that of the impenetrable wall and deluding mazes of the Girdle of Melian (see p. 63). But the nature of the protection in the old conception is very unclear. In the *Tale of the Nauglafring* the coming of the Dwarves from Nogrod is only known when they approach the bridge before Tinwelint's caves (p. 226); on the other hand, it is said (p. 230) that the 'woven magic' of the queen was a defence against 'men of hostile heart', who could never make their way through the woods unless aided by treachery from within. Perhaps this provides an explanation of a sort of how the Dwarves bringing treasure from Nogrod were able to

penetrate to the halls of Tinwelint without hindrance and apparently undetected (cf. also the coming of Úrin's band in the *Tale of Turambar*, p. 114). In the event, the protective magic was easily – too easily – overthrown by the simple device of a single treacherous Elf of Artanor who 'offered to lead the host through the magics of Gwendelin'. This was evidently unsatisfactory; but I shall not enter further into this question here. Extraordinary difficulties of narrative structure were caused by this element of the inviolability of Doriath, as I hope to describe at a future date.

It might be thought that the story of the drowning of the treasure at the Stony Ford (falling into the waters of the river with the Dwarves who bore it) was evolved from that in the rejected conclusion of the *Tale of Turambar* (p. 136) – Tinwelint 'hearing that curse [set on the treasure by Úrin] caused the gold to be cast into a deep pool of the river before his doors'. In the *Tale of the Nauglafring*, however, Tinwelint, influenced by the queen's foreboding words, still has the intention of doing this, but does not fulfil his intention (p. 223).

The account of the second departure of Beren and Tinúviel (p. 240) raises again the extremely difficult question of the peculiar fate that was decreed for them by the edict of Mandos, which I have discussed on pp. 59–60. There I have suggested that

> the peculiar dispensation of Mandos in the case of Beren and Tinúviel as here conceived is therefore that their whole 'natural' destiny as Elves was changed: having died as Elves might die (from wounds or from grief) they were not reborn as new beings, but returned in their own persons – yet now 'mortal even as Men'.

Here however Tinúviel 'faded', and vanished in the woods; and Beren searched all Hithlum and Artanor for her, until he too 'faded from life'. Since this fading is here quite explicitly the mode in which 'that doom of mortality that Mandos had spoken' came upon them (p. 240), it is very notable that it is likened to, and even it seems identified with, the fading of 'the Elves of later days throughout the world' – as though in the original idea Elvish fading was a form of mortality. This is in fact made explicit in a later version.

The seven Sons of Fëanor, their oath (sworn not in Valinor but after the coming of the Noldoli to the Great Lands), and the maiming of Maidros appear in the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale*; and in the latest of these outlines the Fëanorians are placed in Dor Lómin (= Hisilómë, Hithlum), see I.238, 240, 243. Here, in the *Tale of the Nauglafring*, appear for the first time the names of the Sons of Fëanor, five of them (Maidros, Maglor, Celegorm, Cranthor, Curufin) in the forms, or almost the forms, they were to retain, and Curufin already with his sobriquet

'the Crafty'. The names Amrod and Amras in *The Silmarillion* were a late change; for long these two sons of Fëanor were Damrod (as here) and Díriel (here Dinithel or Durithel, see *Changes made to Names*, p. 245).

Here also appear Dior the Fair, also called Ausir the Wealthy, and his daughter Elwing; his son Auredhir early disappeared in the development of the legends. But Dior ruled in 'the southern vales' (p. 241) of Hisilómë, not in Artanor, and there is no suggestion of any renewal of Tinwelint's kingdom after his death, in contrast to what was told later (*The Silmarillion* p. 236); moreover the Fëanorians, as noted above, dwelt also in Hisilómë – and how all this is to be related to what is said elsewhere of the inhabitants of that region I am unable to say: cf. the *Tale of Tinúviel*, p. 10: 'Hisilómë where dwelt Men, and thrall-Noldoli laboured, and few free-Eldar went.'

A very curious statement is made in this concluding part of the tale, that 'those were days of happiness in the vales of Hithlum, for there was peace with Melko and the Dwarves who had but one thought as they plotted against Gondolin' (p. 241). Presumably 'peace with Melko' means no more than that Melko had averted his attention from those lands; but nowhere else is there any reference to the Dwarves' plotting against Gondolin.

In the typescript version of the *Tale of Tinúviel* (p. 43) it is said that if Turgon King of Gondolin was the most glorious of the kings of the Elves who defied Melko, 'for a while the most mighty *and the longest free* was Thingol of the Woods'. The most natural interpretation of this expression is surely that Gondolin fell before Artanor; whereas in *The Silmarillion* (p. 240) 'Tidings were brought by Thorondor Lord of Eagles of the fall of Nargothrond, and after of the slaying of Thingol and of Dior his heir, and of the ruin of Doriath; but Turgon shut his ear to word of the woes without.' In the present tale we see the same chronology, in that many of the Elves who followed Beren went after his departure to Gondolin, 'the rumour of whose growing power and glory ran in secret whispers among all the Elves' (p. 240), though here the destruction of Gondolin is said to have taken place on the very day that Dior was attacked by the Sons of Fëanor (p. 242). To evade the discrepancy therefore we must interpret the passage in the *Tale of Tinúviel* to mean that Thingol remained free for a longer period of years than did Turgon, irrespective of the dates of their downfalls.

Lastly, the statements that Cûm an-Idrisaith, the Mound of Avarice, 'stands there still in Artanor' (p. 223), and that the waters of Aros still flow above the drowned hoard (p. 238), are noteworthy as indications that nothing analogous to the Drowning of Beleriand was present in the original conception.

V

THE TALE OF EÄRENDEL

The 'true beginning' of the *Tale of Eärendel* was to be the dwelling at Sirion's mouth of the Lothlim (the point at which *The Fall of Gondolin* ends: 'and fair among the Lothlim Eärendel grows in the house of his father', pp. 196–7) and the coming there of Elwing (the point at which the *Tale of the Nauglafring* ends: 'they departed for ever from the glades of Hithlum and got them to the south towards Sirion's deep waters, and the pleasant lands. And thus did all the fates of the fairies weave then to one strand, and that strand is the great tale of Eärendel; and to that tale's true beginning are we now come', p. 242). The matter is complicated, however, as will be seen in a moment, by my father's also making the *Nauglafring* the first part of the *Tale of Eärendel*.

But the great tale was never written; and for the story as he then conceived it we are wholly dependent on highly condensed and often contradictory outlines. There are also many isolated notes; and there are the very early Eärendel poems. While the poems can be precisely dated, the notes and outlines can not; and it does not seem possible to arrange them in order so as to provide a clear line of development.

One of the outlines for the *Tale of Eärendel* is the earlier of the two 'schemes' for the *Lost Tales* which are the chief materials for *Gilfanon's Tale*; and I will repeat here what I said of this in the first part (I.233):

> There is no doubt that [the earlier of the two schemes] was composed when the *Lost Tales* had reached their furthest point of development, as represented by the latest texts and arrangements given in this book. Now when this outline comes to the matter of *Gilfanon's Tale* it becomes at once very much fuller, but then contracts again to cursory references for the tales of Tinúviel, Túrin, Tuor, and the Necklace of the Dwarves, and once more becomes fuller for the tale of Eärendel.

This scheme B (as I will continue to call it) provides a coherent if very rough narrative plan, and divides the story into seven parts, of which the first (marked 'Told') is 'The Nauglafring down to the flight of Elwing'. This sevenfold division is referred to by Littleheart at the beginning of *The Fall of Gondolin* (p. 144):

> It is a mighty tale, and seven times shall folk fare to the Tale-fire ere it be rightly told; and so twined is it with those stories of the Nauglafring and of the Elf-march that I would fain have aid in that telling . . .

If the six parts following the *Tale of the Nauglafring* were each to be of comparable length, the whole *Tale of Eärendel* would have been somewhere near half the length of all the tales that were in fact written; but my father never afterwards returned to it on any ample scale.

I give now the concluding part of Scheme B.

Tale of Eärendel begins, with which is interwoven the Nauglafring and the March of the Elves. For further details see Notebook C.*

First part. The tale of the Nauglafring down to the flight of Elwing.

Second part. The dwelling at Sirion. Coming thither of Elwing, and the love of her and Eärendel as girl and boy. Ageing of Tuor – his secret sailing after the conches of Ulmo in Swanwing.

Eärendel sets sail to the North to find Tuor, and if needs be Mandos. Sails in Eärámë. Wrecked. Ulmo appears. Saves him, bidding him sail to Kôr – 'for for this hast thou been brought out of the Wrack of Gondolin'.

Third part. Second attempt of Eärendel to Mandos. Wreck of Falasquil and rescue by the Oarni.[1] He sights the Isle of Seabirds 'whither do all the birds of all waters come at whiles'. Goes back by land to Sirion.

Idril has vanished (she set sail at night). The conches of Ulmo call Eärendel. Last farewell of Elwing. Building of Wingilot.

Fourth part. Eärendel sails for Valinor. His many wanderings, occupying several years.

Fifth part. Coming of the birds of Gondolin to Kôr with tidings. Uproar of the Elves. Councils of the Gods. March of the Inwir (death of Inwë), Teleri, and Solosimpi.

Raid upon Sirion and captivity of Elwing.

Sorrow and wrath of Gods, and a veil dropped between Valmar and Kôr, for the Gods will not destroy it but cannot bear to look upon it.

Coming of the Eldar. Binding of Melko. Faring to Lonely Isle. Curse of the Nauglafring and death of Elwing.

Sixth part. Eärendel reaches Kôr and finds it empty. Fares home in sorrow (and sights Tol Eressëa and the fleet of the Elves, but a great wind and darkness carries him away, and he misses his way and has a voyage eastward).

Arriving at length at Sirion finds it empty. Goes to the ruins of Gondolin. Hears of tidings. Sails to Tol Eressëa. Sails to the Isle of Seabirds.

Seventh part. His voyage to the firmament.

* For 'Notebook C' see p. 254.

Written at the end of the text is: 'Rem[ainder] of Scheme in Notebook C'. These references in Scheme B to 'Notebook C' are to the little pocket-book which goes back to 1916–17 but was used for notes and suggestions throughout the period of the *Lost Tales* (see I.171). At the beginning of it there is an outline (here called 'C') headed 'Eärendel's Tale, Tuor's son', which is in fair harmony with Scheme B:

> Eärendel dwells with Tuor and Irildë[2] at Sirion's mouth by the sea (on the Isles of Sirion). Elwing of the Gnomes of Artanor[3] flees to them with the Nauglafring. Eärendel and Elwing love one another as boy and girl.
>
> Great love of Eärendel and Tuor. Tuor ages, and Ulmo's conches far out west over the sea call him louder and louder, till one evening he sets sail in his twilit boat with purple sails, Swanwing, Alqarámë.[4] Idril sees him too late. Her song on the beach of Sirion.
>
> When he does not return grief of Eärendel and Idril. Eärendel (urged also by Idril who is immortal) desires to set sail and search even to Mandos. [*Marginal addition*:] Curse of Nauglafring rests on his voyages. Ossë his enemy.
>
> Fiord of the Mermaid. Wreck. Ulmo appears at wreck and saves them, telling them he must go to Kôr and is saved for that.
>
> Elwing's grief when she learns Ulmo's bidding. 'For no man may tread the streets of Kôr or look upon the places of the Gods and dwell in the Outer Lands in peace again.'
>
> Eärendel departs all the same and is wrecked by the treachery of Ossë and saved only by the Oarni (who love him) with Voronwë and dragged to Falasquil.
>
> Eärendel makes his way back by land with Voronwë. Finds that Idril has vanished.[5] His grief. Prays to Ulmo and hears the conches. Ulmo bids him build a new and wonderful ship of the wood of Tuor from Falasquil. Building of Wingilot.

There are four items headed 'Additions' on this page of the notebook:

> Building of Eärámë (Eaglepinion).
> Noldoli add their pleading to Ulmo's bidding.
> Eärendel surveys the first dwelling of Tuor at Falasquil.
> The voyage to Mandos and the Icy Seas.

The outline continues:

> Voronwë and Eärendel set sail in Wingilot. Driven south. Dark regions. Fire mountains. Tree-men. Pygmies. Sarqindi or cannibal-ogres.
>
> Driven west. Ungweliantë. Magic Isles. Twilit Isle [*sic*]. Little-heart's gong awakes the Sleeper in the Tower of Pearl.[6]

Kôr is found. Empty. Eärendel reads tales and prophecies in the waters. Desolation of Kôr. Eärendel's shoes and self powdered with diamond dust so that they shine brightly.

Homeward adventures. Driven east – the deserts and red palaces where dwells the Sun.[7]

Arrives at Sirion, only to find it sacked and empty. Eärendel distraught wanders with Voronwë and comes to the ruins of Gondolin. Men are encamped there miserably. Also Gnomes searching still for lost gems (or some Gnomes gone back to Gondolin).

Of the binding of Melko.[8] The wars with Men and the departure to Tol Eressëa (the Eldar unable to endure the strife of the world). Eärendel sails to Tol Eressëa and learns of the sinking of Elwing and the Nauglafring. Elwing became a seabird. His grief is very great. His garments and body shine like diamonds and his face is in silver flame for the grief and . . . . . .

He sets sail with Voronwë and dwells on the Isle of Seabirds in the northern waters (not far from Falasquil) – and there hopes that Elwing will return among the seabirds, but she is seeking him wailing along all the shores and especially among wreckage.

After three times seven years he sails again for halls of Mandos with Voronwë – he gets there because [?only] those who still . . . . . and had suffered may do so – Tuor is gone to Valinor and nought is known of Idril or of Elwing.

Reaches bar at margin of the world and sets sail on oceans of the firmament in order to gaze over the Earth. The Moon mariner chases him for his brightness and he dives through the Door of Night. How he cannot now return to the world or he will die.

He will find Elwing at the Faring Forth.

Tuor and Idril some say sail now in Swanwing and may be seen going swift down the wind at dawn and dusk.

The Co-events to Eärendel's Tale

Raid upon Sirion by Melko's Orcs and the captivity of Elwing.

Birds tell Elves of the Fall of Gondolin and the horrors of the fate of the Gnomes. Counsels of the Gods and uproar of the Elves. March of the Inwir and Teleri. The Solosimpi go forth also but fare along all the beaches of the world, for they are loth to fare far from the sound of the sea – and only consent to go with the Teleri under these conditions – for the Noldoli slew some of their kin at Kópas.

This outline then goes on to the events after the coming of the Elves of Valinor into the Great Lands, which will be considered in the next chapter.

Though very much fuller, there seems to be little in C that is certainly contradictory to what is said in B, and there are elements in the latter that

are absent from the former. In discussing these outlines I follow the divisions of the tale made in B.

Second part. A little more is told in C of Tuor's departure from Sirion (in B there is no mention of Idril); and there appears the motive of Ossë's hostility to Eärendel and the curse of the Nauglafring as instrumental in his shipwrecks. The place of the first wreck is called the Fiord of the Mermaid. The word 'them' rather than 'him' in 'Ulmo saves them, telling them he must go to Kôr' is certain in the manuscript, which possibly suggests that Idril or Elwing (or both) were with Eärendel.

Third part. In B Eärendel's second voyage, like the first, is explicitly an attempt to reach Mandos (seeking his father), whereas in C it seems that the second is undertaken rather in order to fulfil Ulmo's bidding that he sail to Kôr (to Elwing's grief). In C Voronwë is named as Eärendel's companion on the second voyage which ended at Falasquil; but the Isle of Seabirds is not mentioned at this point. In C Wingilot is built 'of the wood of Tuor from Falasquil'; in *The Fall of Gondolin* Tuor's wood was hewed for him by the Noldoli in the forests of Dor Lómin and floated down the hidden river (p. 152).

Fourth part. Whereas B merely refers to Eärendel's 'many wanderings, occupying several years' in his quest for Valinor, C gives some glimpses of what they were to be, as Wingilot was driven to the south and then into the west. The encounter with Ungweliantë on the western voyage is curious; it is said in *The Tale of the Sun and Moon* that 'Melko held the North and Ungweliant the South' (see I.182, 200).

In C we meet again the Sleeper in the Tower of Pearl (said to be Idril, though this was struck out, note 6) awakened by Littleheart's gong; cf. the account of Littleheart in *The Cottage of Lost Play* (I.15):

> He sailed in Wingilot with Eärendel in that last voyage wherein they sought for Kôr. It was the ringing of this Gong on the Shadowy Seas that awoke the Sleeper in the Tower of Pearl that stands far out to west in the Twilit Isles.

In *The Coming of the Valar* it is said that the Twilit Isles 'float' on the Shadowy Seas 'and the Tower of Pearl rises pale upon their most western cape' (I.68; cf. I.125). But there is no other mention in C of Littleheart, Voronwë's son, as a companion of Eärendel, though he was named earlier in the outline, in a rejected phrase, as present at the Mouths of Sirion (see note 5), and in the *Tale of the Nauglafring* (p. 228) Ailios says that none still living have seen the Nauglafring 'save only Littleheart son of Bronweg' (where 'save only' is an emendation from 'not even').

Fifth and sixth parts. In C we meet the image of Eärendel's shoes

shining from the dust of diamonds in Kôr, an image that was to survive (*The Silmarillion* p. 248):

> He walked in the deserted ways of Tirion, and the dust upon his raiment and his shoes was a dust of diamonds, and he shone and glistened as he climbed the long white stairs.

But in *The Silmarillion* Tirion was deserted because it was 'a time of festival, and wellnigh all the Elvenfolk were gone to Valimar, or were gathered in the halls of Manwë upon Taniquetil'; here on the other hand it seems at least strongly implied, in both B and C, that Kôr was empty because the Elves of Valinor had departed into the Great Lands, as a result of the tidings brought by the birds of Gondolin. In these very early narrative schemes there is no mention of Eärendel's speaking to the Valar, as the ambassador of Elves and Men (*The Silmarillion* p. 249), and we can only conclude, extraordinary as the conclusion is, that Eärendel's great western voyage, though he attained his goal, was fruitless, that he was not the agent of the aid that did indeed come out of Valinor to the Elves of the Great Lands, and (most curious of all) that Ulmo's designs for Tuor had no issue. In fact, my father actually wrote in the 1930 version of 'The Silmarillion':

> Thus it was that the many emissaries of the Gnomes in after days came never back to Valinor – save one: and he came too late.

The words 'and he came too late' were changed to 'the mightiest mariner of song', and this is the phrase that is found in *The Silmarillion*, p. 102. It is unfortunately never made clear in the earliest writings what was Ulmo's purpose in bidding Eärendel sail to Kôr, for which he had been saved from the ruin of Gondolin. What would he have achieved, had he come to Kôr 'in time', more than in the event did take place after the coming of tidings from Gondolin – the March of the Elves into the Great Lands? In a curious note in C, not associated with the present outline, my father asked: 'How did King Turgon's messengers get to Valinor or gain the Gods' consent?' and answered: 'His messengers never got there. Ulmo [*sic*] but the birds brought tidings to the Elves of the fate of Gondolin (the doves and pigeons of Turgon) and they [?arm and march away].'

The coming of the message was followed by 'the councils (counsels C) of the Gods and the uproar of the Elves', but in C nothing is said of 'the sorrow and wrath of the Gods' or 'the veil dropped between Valmar and Kôr' referred to in B: where the meaning can surely only be that the March of the Elves from Valinor was undertaken in direct opposition to the will of the Valar, that the Valar were bitterly opposed to the intervention of the Elves of Valinor in the affairs of the Great Lands. There may well be a connection here with Vairë's words (I. 19): 'When the fairies left

Kôr that lane [i.e. Olórë Mallë that led past the Cottage of Lost Play] *was blocked for ever with great impassable rocks'*. Elsewhere there is only one other reference to the effect of the message from across the sea, and that is in the words of Lindo to Eriol in *The Cottage of Lost Play* (I.16):

> Inwë, whom the Gnomes call Inwithiel . . . . . was King of all the Eldar when they dwelt in Kôr. That was in the days before hearing the lament of the world [i.e. the Great Lands] Inwë led them forth to the lands of Men.

Later, Meril-i-Turinqi told Eriol (I.129) that Inwë, her grandsire's sire, 'perished in that march into the world', but Ingil his son 'went long ago back to Valinor and is with Manwë'; and there is a reference to Inwë's death in B.

In C the Solosimpi only agreed to accompany the expedition on condition that they remain by the sea, and the reluctance of the Third Kindred, on account of the Kinslaying at Swanhaven, survived (*The Silmarillion* p. 251). But there is no suggestion that the Elves of Valinor were transported by ship, indeed the reverse, for the Solosimpi 'fare along all the beaches of the world', and the expedition is a 'March'; though there is no indication of how they came to the Great Lands.

Both outlines refer to Eärendel being driven eastwards on his homeward voyage from Kôr, and to his finding the dwellings at Sirion's mouth ravaged when he finally returned there; but B does not say who carried out the sack and captured Elwing. In C it was a raid by Orcs of Melko; cf. the entry in the Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin* (p. 215): *'Egalmoth* . . . got even out of the burning of Gondolin, and dwelt after at the mouth of Sirion, but was slain in a dire battle there when Melko seized Elwing'.

Neither outline refers to Elwing's escape from captivity. Both mention Eärendel's going back to the ruins of Gondolin – in C he returns there with Voronwë and finds Men and Gnomes; another entry in the Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin* (p. 215) bears on this: *'Galdor* . . . won out of Gondolin and even the onslaught of Melko upon the dwellers at Sirion's mouth and went back to the ruins with Eärendel.'

Both outlines mention the departure of the Elves from the Great Lands, after the binding of Melko, to Tol Eressëa, C adding a reference to 'wars with Men' and to the Eldar being 'unable to endure the strife of the world', and both refer to Eärendel's going there subsequently, but the order of events seems to be different: in B Eärendel on his way back from Kôr 'sights Tol Eressëa and the fleet of the Elves' (presumably the fleet returning from the Great Lands), whereas in C the departure of the Elves is not mentioned until after Eärendel's return to Sirion. But the nature of these outlines is not conveyed in print: they were written at great speed, catching fugitive thoughts, and cannot be pressed hard. However, with the fate of Elwing B and C seem clearly to part company:

in B there is a simple reference to her death, apparently associated with the curse of the Nauglafring, and from the order in which the events are set down it may be surmised that her death took place on the journey to Tol Eressëa; C specifically refers to the 'sinking' of Elwing and the Nauglafring – but says that Elwing became a seabird, an idea that survived (*The Silmarillion* p. 247). This perhaps gives more point to Eärendel's going to the Isle of Seabirds, mentioned in both B and C: in the latter he 'hopes that Elwing will return among the seabirds'.

Seventh part. In B the concluding part of the tale is merely summarised in the words 'His voyage to the firmament', with a reference to the other outline C, and in the latter we get some glimpses of a narrative. It seems to be suggested that the brightness of Eärendel (quite unconnected with the Silmaril) arose from the 'diamond dust' of Kôr, but also in some sense from the exaltation of his grief. An isolated jotting elsewhere in C asks: 'What became of the Silmarils after the capture of Melko?' My father at this time gave no answer to the question; but the question is itself a testimony to the relatively minor importance of the jewels of Fëanor, if also, perhaps, a sign of his awareness that they would not always remain so, that in them lay a central meaning of the mythology, yet to be discovered.

It seems too that Eärendel sailed into the sky in continuing search for Elwing ('he sets sail on the oceans of the firmament in order to gaze over the Earth'); and that his passing through the Door of Night (the entrance made by the Gods in the Wall of Things in the West, see I.215–16) did not come about through any devising, but because he was hunted by the Moon. With this last idea, cf. I.193, where Ilinsor, steersman of the Moon, is said to 'hunt the stars'.

The later of the two schemes for the *Lost Tales*, which gives a quite substantial outline for *Gilfanon's Tale*, where I have called it 'D' (see I.234), here fails us, for the concluding passage is very condensed, in part erased, and ends abruptly early in the *Tale of Eärendel*. I give it here, beginning at a slightly earlier point in the narrative:

> Of the death of Tinwelint and the flight of Gwenethlin [see p. 51]. How Beren avenged Tinwelint and how the Necklace became his. How it brought sickness to Tinúviel [see p. 246], and how Beren and Tinúviel faded from the Earth. How their sons [*sic*] dwelt after them and how the sons of Fëanor came up against them with a host because of the Silmaril. How all were slain but Elwing daughter of Daimord [see p. 139] son of Beren fled with the Necklace.
>
> Of Tuor's vessel with white sails.
>
> How folk of the Lothlim dwelt at Sirion's Mouth. Eärendel grew fairest of all Men that were or are. How the mermaids (Oarni) loved

him. How Elwing came to the Lothlim and of the love of Elwing and Eärendel. How Tuor fell into age, and how Ulmo beckoned to him at eve, and he set forth on the waters and was lost. How Idril swam after him.

(In the following passage my father seems at first to have written: 'Eärendel . . . . . Oarni builded Wingilot and set forth in search of . . . . leaving Voronwë with Elwing', where the first lacuna perhaps said 'with the aid of', though nothing is now visible; but then he wrote 'Eärendel built Swanwing', and then partly erased the passage: it is impossible to see now what his intention was.)

Elwing's lament. How Ulmo forbade his quest but Eärendel would yet sail to find a passage to Mandos. How Wingilot was wrecked at Falasquil and how Eärendel found the carven house of Tuor there.

Here Scheme D ends. There is also a reference at an earlier point in it to 'the messengers sent from Gondolin. The doves of Gondolin fly to Valinor at the fall of that town.'

This outline seems to show a move to reduce the complexity of the narrative, with Wingilot being the ship in which Eärendel attempted to sail to Mandos and in which he was wrecked at Falasquil; but the outline is too brief and stops too soon to allow any certain conclusions to be drawn.

A fourth outline, which I will call 'E', is found on a detached sheet; in this Tuor is called Tûr (see p. 148).

Fall of Gondolin. The feast of Glorfindel. The dwelling by the waters of Sirion's mouth. The mermaids come to Eärendel.

Tûr groweth sea-hungry – his song to Eärendel. One evening he calls Eärendel and they go to the shore. There is a skiff. Tûr bids farewell to Eärendel and bids him thrust it off – the skiff fares away into the West. Eärendel hears a great song swelling from the sea as Tûr's skiff dips over the world's rim. His passion of tears upon the shore. The lament of Idril.

The building of Earum.[9] The coming of Elwing. Eärendel's reluctance. The whetting of Idril. The voyage and foundering of Earum in the North, and the vanishing of Idril. How the seamaids rescued Eärendel, and brought him to Tûr's bay. His coastwise journey.

The rape of Elwing. Eärendel discovers the ravaging of Sirion's mouth.

The building of Wingelot. He searches for Elwing and is blown far to the South. Wirilómë. He escapes eastward. He goes back westward; he descries the Bay of Faëry. The Tower of Pearl, the magic isles, the great shadows. He finds Kôr empty; he sails back, crusted with dust and his face afire. He learns of Elwing's foundering. He sitteth on the Isle of Seabirds. Elwing as a seamew comes to him. He sets sail over the margent of the world.

Apart from the fuller account of Tuor's departure from the mouths of Sirion, not much can be learned from this – it is too condensed. But even allowing for speed and compression, there seem to be essential differences from B and C. Thus in this outline (E) Elwing, as it appears, comes to Sirion at a later point in the story, after the departure of Tuor; but the raid and capture of Elwing seems to take place at an earlier point, while Eärendel is on his way back to Sirion from his shipwreck in the North (not, as in B and C, while he is on the great voyage in Wingilot that took him to Kôr). Here, it seems, there was to be only one northward journey, ending in the shipwreck of Earámë/Earum near Falasquil. Though it cannot be demonstrated, I incline to think that E was subsequent to B and C: partly because the reduction of two northward voyages ending in shipwreck to one seems more likely than the other way about, and partly because of the form *Tûr*, which, though it did not survive, replaced *Tuor* for a time (p. 148).

One or two other points may be noticed in this outline. The great spider, called *Ungweliantë* in C but here *Wirilómë* ('Gloomweaver', see I.152), is here encountered by Eärendel in the far South, not as in C on his westward voyage: see p. 256. Elwing in this version comes to Eärendel as a seabird (as she does in *The Silmarillion*, p. 247), which is not said in C and even seems to be denied.

Another isolated page (associated with the poem 'The Bidding of the Minstrel', see pp. 269–70 below) gives a very curious account of Eärendel's great voyage:

> Eärendel's boat goes through North. Iceland. [*Added in margin*: back of North Wind.] Greenland, and the wild islands: a mighty wind and crest of great wave carry him to hotter climes, to back of West Wind. Land of strange men, land of magic. The home of Night. The Spider. He escapes from the meshes of Night with a few comrades, sees a great mountain island and a golden city [*added in margin*: Kôr] – wind blows him southward. Tree-men, Sun-dwellers, spices, fire-mountains, red sea: Mediterranean (loses his boat (travels afoot through wilds of Europe?)) or Atlantic.* Home. Waxes aged. Has a new boat builded. Bids adieu to his north land. Sails west again to the lip of the world, just as the Sun is diving into the sea. He sets sail upon the sky and returns no more to earth.
>
> The golden city was Kôr and he had caught the music of the Solosimpë, and returns to find it, only to find that the fairies have departed from Eldamar. See little book. Dusted with diamond dust climbing the deserted streets of Kôr.

* The words in this passage ('Tree-men, Sun-dwellers . . .') are clear but the punctuation is not, and the arrangement here may not be that intended.

One would certainly suppose this account to be earlier than anything so far considered (both from the fact that Eärendel's history after his return from the great voyage seems to bear no relation to that in B and C, and from his voyage being set in the lands and oceans of the known world), were it not for the reference to the 'little book', which must mean 'Notebook C', from which the outline C above is taken (see p. 254). But I think it very probable (and the appearance of the MS rather supports this) that the last paragraph ('The golden city was Kôr . . .') was added later, and that the rest of the outline belongs with the earliest writing of the poem, in the winter of 1914.

It is notable that only here in the earliest writings is it made clear that the 'diamond dust' that coated Eärendel came from the streets of Kôr (cf. the passage from *The Silmarillion* cited on p. 257).

Another of the early Eärendel poems, 'The Shores of Faëry', has a short prose preface, which if not as old as the first composition of the poem itself (July 1915, see p. 271) is certainly not much later:

> Eärendel the Wanderer who beat about the Oceans of the World in his white ship Wingelot sat long while in his old age upon the Isle of Seabirds in the Northern Waters ere he set forth upon a last voyage.
>
> He passed Taniquetil and even Valinor, and drew his bark over the bar at the margin of the world, and launched it on the Oceans of the Firmament. Of his ventures there no man has told, save that hunted by the orbed Moon he fled back to Valinor, and mounting the towers of Kôr upon the rocks of Eglamar he gazed back upon the Oceans of the World. To Eglamar he comes ever at plenilune when the Moon sails a-harrying beyond Taniquetil and Valinor.*

Both here and in the outline associated with 'The Bidding of the Minstrel' Eärendel was conceived to be an old man when he journeyed into the firmament.

No other 'connected' account of the *Tale of Eärendel* exists from the earliest period. There are however a number of separate notes, mostly in the form of single sentences, some found in the little notebook C, others jotted down on slips. I collect these references here more or less in the sequence of the tale.

(i) 'Dwelling in the Isle of Sirion in a house of snow-white stone.' – In C (p. 254) it is said that Eärendel dwelt with Tuor and Idril at Sirion's mouth by the sea 'on the Isles of Sirion'.

* This preface is found in all the texts of the poem save the earliest, and the versions of it differ only in name-forms: *Wingelot*/*Vingelot* and *Eglamar*/*Eldamar* (varying in the same ways as in the accompanying versions of the poem, see textual notes p. 272), and *Kôr* > *Tûn* in the third text, *Tûn* in the fourth. For *Egla* = *Elda* see I. 251 and II. 338, and for *Tûn* see p. 292.

(ii) 'The Oarni give to Eärendel a wonderful shining silver coat that wets not. They love Eärendel, in Ossë's despite, and teach him the lore of boat-building and of swimming, as he plays with them about the shores of Sirion.' – In the outlines are found references to the love of the Oarni for Eärendel (D, p. 259), the coming of the mermaids to him (E, p. 260), and to Ossë's enmity (C, p. 254).

(iii) Eärendel was smaller than most men but nimble-footed and a swift swimmer (but Voronwë could not swim).

(iv) 'Idril and Eärendel see Tuor's boat dropping into the twilight and a sound of song.' – In B Tuor's sailing is 'secret' (p. 253), in C 'Idril sees him too late' (p. 254), and in E Eärendel is present at Tuor's departure and thrusts the boat out: 'he hears a great song swelling from the sea' (p. 260).

(v) 'Death of Idril? – follows secretly after Tuor.' – That Idril died is denied in C: 'Tuor and Idril some say sail now in Swanwing . . .' (p. 255); in D Idril swam after him (p. 260).

(vi) 'Tuor has sailed back to Falasquil and so back up Ilbranteloth to Asgon where he sits playing on his lonely harp on the islanded rock.' – This is marked with a query and an 'X' implying rejection of the idea. There are curious references to the 'islanded rock' in Asgon in the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* (see I. 238).

(vii) 'The fiord of the Mermaid: enchantment of his sailors. Mermaids are not Oarni (but are earthlings, or fays? – or both).' – In D (p. 259) Mermaids and Oarni are equated.

(viii) The ship Wingilot was built of wood from Falasquil with 'aid of the Oarni'. – This was probably said also in D: see p. 260.

(ix) Wingilot was 'shaped as a swan of pearls'.

(x) 'The doves and pigeons of Turgon's courtyard bring message to Valinor – only to Elves.' – Other references to the birds that flew from Gondolin also say that they came to the Elves, or to Kôr (pp. 253, 255, 257).

(xi) 'During his voyages Eärendel sights the white walls of Kôr gleaming afar off, but is carried away by Ossë's adverse winds and waves.' – The same is said in B (p. 253) of Eärendel's sighting of Tol Eressëa on his homeward voyage from Kôr.

(xii) 'The Sleeper in the Tower of Pearl awakened by Littleheart's gong: a messenger that was despatched years ago by Turgon and enmeshed in magics. Even now he cannot leave the Tower and warns them of the magic.' – In C there is a statement, rejected, that the Sleeper in the Tower of Pearl was Idril herself (see note 6).

(xiii) 'Ulmo's protection removed from Sirion in wrath at Eärendel's second attempt to Mandos, and hence Melko overwhelmed it.' – This note is struck through, with an 'X' written against it; but in D (p. 260) it is said that 'Ulmo forbade his quest but Eärendel would yet sail to find a passage to Mandos'. The meaning of this must be that it was contrary to Ulmo's purpose that Eärendel should seek to Mandos for his father, but must rather attempt to reach Kôr.

(xiv) 'Eärendel weds Elwing before he sets sail. When he hears of her loss he says that his children shall be "all such men hereafter as dare the great seas in ships".' – With this cf. *The Cottage of Lost Play* (I.13): 'even such a son of Eärendel as was this wayfarer', and (I.18): 'a man of great and excellent travel, a son meseems of Eärendel'. In an outline of Eriol's life (I.24) it is said that he was a son of Eärendel, born under his beam, and that if a beam from Eärendel fall on a child newborn he becomes 'a child of Eärendel' and a wanderer. In the early dictionary of Qenya there is an entry: *Eärendilyon* 'son of Eärendel (used of any mariner)' (I.251).

(xv) 'Eärendel goes even to the empty Halls of Iron seeking Elwing.' – Eärendel must have gone to Angamandi (empty after the defeat of Melko) at the same time as he went to the ruins of Gondolin (pp. 253, 255).

(xvi) The loss of the ship carrying Elwing and the Nauglafring took place on the voyage to Tol Eressëa with the exodus of the Elves from the Great Lands. – See my remarks, pp. 258–9. For the 'appeasing' of Mîm's curse by the drowning of the Nauglafring see the Appendix on Names, entry *Nauglafring*. The departure of the Elves to Tol Eressëa is discussed in the next chapter (p. 280).

(xvii) 'Eärendel and the northern tower on the Isle of Seabirds.' – In C (p. 255) Eärendel 'sets sail with Voronwë and dwells on the Isle of Seabirds in the northern waters (not far from Falasquil) – and there hopes that Elwing will return among the seabirds'; in B (p. 253) 'he sights the Isle of Seabirds "whither do all the birds of all waters come at whiles".' There is a memory of this in *The Silmarillion*, p. 250: 'Therefore there was built for [Elwing] a white tower northward upon the borders of the Sundering Seas; and thither at times all the seabirds of the earth repaired.'

(xviii) When Eärendel comes to Mandos he finds that Tuor is '*not* in Valinor, nor Erumáni, and neither Elves nor Ainu know where he is. (He is with Ulmo.)' – In C (p. 255) Eärendel, reaching the Halls of Mandos, learns that Tuor 'is gone to Valinor'. For the possibility that Tuor might be in Erumáni or Valinor see I.91 ff.

(xix) Eärendel 'returns from the firmament ever and anon with Voronwë to Kôr to see if the Magic Sun has been lit and the fairies have come back – but the Moon drives him back'. – On Eärendel's return from the firmament see (xxi) below; on the Rekindling of the Magic Sun see p. 286.

Two statements about Eärendel cited previously may be added here:

(xx) In the tale of *The Theft of Melko* (I.141) it is said that 'on the walls of Kôr were many dark tales written in pictured symbols, and runes of great beauty were drawn there too or carved upon stones, and Eärendel read many a wondrous tale there long ago'.

(xxi) The Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin* has the following entry (cited on p. 215): '*Eärendel* was the son of Tuor and Idril and 'tis said

the only being that is half of the kindred of the Eldalië and half of Men. He was the greatest and first of all mariners among Men, and saw regions that Men have not yet found nor gazed upon for all the multitude of their boats. He rideth now with Voronwë upon the winds of the firmament nor comes ever further back than Kôr, else would he die like other Men, so much of the mortal is in him.' – In the outline associated with the poem 'The Bidding of the Minstrel' Eärendel 'sets sail upon the sky and returns no more to earth' (p. 261); in the prose preface to 'The Shores of Faëry' 'to Eglamar he comes ever at plenilune when the Moon sails a-harrying beyond Taniquetil and Valinor' (p. 262); in outline C 'he cannot now return to the world or he will die' (p. 255); and in citation (xix) above he 'returns from the firmament ever and anon with Voronwë to Kôr'.

In *The Silmarillion* (p. 249) Manwë's judgement was that Eärendel and Elwing 'shall not walk ever again among Elves or Men in the Outer Lands'; but it is also said that Eärendel returned to Valinor from his 'voyages beyond the confines of the world' (*ibid.* p. 250), just as it is said in the Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin* that he does not come ever further back than Kôr. The further statement in the Name-list, that if he did he would die like other Men, 'so much of the mortal is in him', was in some sense echoed long after in a letter of my father's written in 1967: '*Eärendil*, being in part descended from Men, was not allowed to set foot on Earth again, and became a star shining with the light of the Silmaril' (*The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien* no. 297).

This brings to an end all the 'prose' materials that bear on the earliest form of the *Tale of Eärendel* (apart from a few other references to him that appear in the next chapter). With these outlines and notes we are at a very early stage of composition, when the conceptions were fluid and had not been given even preliminary narrative form: the myth was present in certain images that were to endure, but these images had not been articulated.

I have already noticed (p. 257) the remarkable fact that there is no hint of the idea that it was Eärendel who by his intercession brought aid out of the West; equally there is no suggestion that the Valar hallowed his ship and set him in the sky, nor that his light was that of the Silmaril. Nonetheless there were already present the coming of Eärendel to Kôr (Tirion) and finding it deserted, the dust of diamonds on his shoes, the changing of Elwing into a seabird, the passing of his ship through the Door of Night, and the sanction against his return to the lands east of the Sea. The raid on the Havens of Sirion appears in the early outlines, though that was an act of Melko's, not of the Fëanorians; and Tuor's departure also, but without Idril, whom he left behind. His ship was *Alqarámë*, Swanwing: afterwards it bore the name *Eärrámë*, with the meaning 'Sea-wing' (*The Silmarillion* p. 245), which retained, in form but not in meaning, the name of Eärendel's first ship *Eárámë* 'Eaglepinion' (pp. 253–4, and see note 9).

It is interesting to read my father's statement, made some half-century later (in the letter of 1967 referred to above), concerning the origins of Eärendil:

> This name is in fact (as is obvious) derived from Anglo-Saxon *éarendel*. When first studying Anglo-Saxon professionally (1913–) – I had done so as a boyish hobby when supposed to be learning Greek and Latin – I was struck by the great beauty of this word (or name), entirely coherent with the normal style of Anglo-Saxon, but euphonic to a peculiar degree in that pleasing but not 'delectable' language. Also its form strongly suggests that it is in origin a proper name and not a common noun. This is borne out by the obviously related forms in other Germanic languages; from which amid the confusions and debasements of late traditions it at least seems certain that it belonged to astronomical-myth, and was the name of a star or star-group. To my mind the Anglo-Saxon uses seem plainly to indicate that it was a star presaging the dawn (at any rate in English tradition): that is what we now call *Venus*: the morning star as it may be seen shining brilliantly in the dawn, before the actual rising of the Sun. That is at any rate how I took it. Before 1914 I wrote a 'poem' upon Eärendel who launched his ship like a bright spark from the havens of the Sun. I adopted him into my mythology – in which he became a prime figure as a mariner, and eventually as a herald star, and a sign of hope to men. *Aiya Eärendil Elenion Ancalima* ([The Lord of the Rings] II.329) 'hail Eärendil brightest of Stars' is derived at long remove from *Éalá Éarendel engla beorhtast*.* But the name could not be adopted just like that: it had to be accommodated to the Elvish linguistic situation, at the same time as a place for this person was made in legend. From this, far back in the history of 'Elvish', which was beginning, after many tentative starts in boyhood, to take definite shape at the time of the name's adoption, arose eventually (a) the C[ommon]E[lvish] stem *AYAR 'sea', primarily applied to the Great Sea of the West, lying between Middle-earth and Aman the Blessed Realm of the Valar; and (b) the element, or verbal base (N)DIL, 'to love, be devoted to' – describing the attitude of one to a person, thing, cause, or occupation to which one is devoted for its own sake. Eärendil became a character in the earliest written (1916–17) of the major legends: *The Fall of Gondolin*, the greatest of the *Pereldar* 'Half-elven', son of *Tuor* of the most renowned House of the Edain, and *Idril* daughter of the King of Gondolin.

My father did not indeed here say that his *Eärendel* contained from the beginning elements that in combination give a meaning like 'Sea-lover'; but it is in any case clear that at the time of the earliest extant writings on

* From the Old English poem *Crist*: *éalá! éarendel engla beorhtast ofer middangeard monnum sended*.

the subject the name was associated with an Elvish word *ea* 'eagle' – see p. 265 on the name of Eärendel's first ship *Eärámë* 'Eaglepinion'. In the Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin* this is made explicit: '*Earendl* [*sic*] though belike it hath some kinship to the Elfin *ea* and *earen* "eagle" and "eyrie" (wherefore cometh to mind the passage of Cristhorn and the use of the sign of the Eagle by Idril [see p. 193]) is thought to be woven of that secret tongue of the Gondothlim [see p. 165].'

★

I give lastly four early poems of my father's in which Eärendel appears.

I

Éalá Éarendel Engla Beorhtast

There can be little doubt that, as Humphrey Carpenter supposes (*Biography* p. 71), this was the first poem on the subject of Eärendel that my father composed, and that it was written at Phoenix Farm, Gedling, Nottinghamshire, in September 1914.[10] It was to this poem that he was referring in the letter of 1967 just cited – 'I wrote a "poem" upon Eärendel who launched his ship like a bright spark': cf. line 5 'He launched his bark like a silver spark . . .'

There are some five different versions, each one incorporating emendations made in the predecessor, though only the first verse was substantially rewritten. The title was originally 'The Voyage of Éarendel the Evening Star', together with (as customarily) an Old English version of this: *Scipfæreld Earendeles Æfensteorran*; this was changed in a later copy to *Éalá Éarendel Engla Beorhtast* 'The Last Voyage of Eärendel', and in still later copies the modern English name was removed. I give it here in the last version, the date of which cannot be determined, though the handwriting shows it to be substantially later than the original composition; together with all the divergent readings of the earliest extant version in footnotes.

Éarendel arose where the shadow flows
  At Ocean's silent brim;
Through the mouth of night as a ray of light
  Where the shores are sheer and dim
He launched his bark like a silver spark
  From the last and lonely sand;
Then on sunlit breath of day's fiery death
  He sailed from Westerland.

He threaded his path o'er the aftermath
  Of the splendour of the Sun,
And wandered far past many a star
  In his gleaming galleon.
On the gathering tide of darkness ride
  The argosies of the sky,
And spangle the night with their sails of light
  As the streaming star goes by.

Unheeding he dips past these twinkling ships,
  By his wayward spirit whirled
On an endless quest through the darkling West
  O'er the margin of the world;
And he fares in haste o'er the jewelled waste
  And the dusk from whence he came
With his heart afire with bright desire
  And his face in silver flame.

The Ship of the Moon from the East comes soon
  From the Haven of the Sun,
Whose white gates gleam in the coming beam
  Of the mighty silver one.
Lo! with bellying clouds as his vessel's shrouds
  He weighs anchor down the dark,
And on shimmering oars leaves the blazing shores
  In his argent-timbered bark.

Readings of the earliest version:

1–8 Éarendel sprang up from the Ocean's cup
  In the gloom of the mid-world's rim;
From the door of Night as a ray of light
  Leapt over the twilight brim,
And launching his bark like a silver spark
  From the golden-fading sand
Down the sunlit breath of Day's fiery Death
  He sped from Westerland.

10 splendour] glory
11 wandered] went wandering
16 streaming] Evening
17 Unheeding] But unheeding
18 wayward] wandering
19 endless] magic darkling] darkening
20 O'er the margin] Toward the margent
22 And the dusk] To the dusk
25 The Ship] For the Ship
31 blazing] skiey
32 timbered] orbéd

Then Éarendel fled from that Shipman dread
  Beyond the dark earth's pale,
Back under the rim of the Ocean dim,
  And behind the world set sail;
And he heard the mirth of the folk of earth
  And the falling of their tears,
As the world dropped back in a cloudy wrack
  On its journey down the years.

Then he glimmering passed to the starless vast
  As an isléd lamp at sea,
And beyond the ken of mortal men
  Set his lonely errantry,
Tracking the Sun in his galleon
  Through the pathless firmament,
Till his light grew old in abysses cold
  And his eager flame was spent.

There seems every reason to think that this poem preceded all the outlines and notes given in this chapter, and that verbal similarities to the poem found in these are echoes (e.g. 'his face is in silver flame', outline C, p. 255; 'the margent of the world', outline E, p. 260).

In the fourth verse of the poem the Ship of the Moon comes forth from the Haven of the Sun; in the tale of *The Hiding of Valinor* (I.215) Aulë and Ulmo built two havens in the east, that of the Sun (which was 'wide and golden') and that of the Moon (which was 'white, having gates of silver and of pearl') – but they were both 'within the same harbourage'. As in the poem, in the *Tale of the Sun and Moon* the Moon is urged on by 'shimmering oars' (I.195).

II

The Bidding of the Minstrel

This poem, according to a note that my father scribbled on one of the copies, was written at St. John's Street, Oxford (see I.27) in the winter of 1914; there is no other evidence for its date. In this case the earliest workings are extant, and on the back of one of the sheets is the outline

33 Then] And
38 And the falling of] And hearkened to

46–8 And voyaging the skies
Till his splendour was shorn by the birth of Morn
And he died with the Dawn in his eyes.

account of Eärendel's great voyage given on p. 261. The poem was then much longer than it became, but the workings are exceedingly rough; they have no title. To the earliest finished text a title was added hastily later: this apparently reads 'The Minstrel renounces the song'. The title then became 'The Lay of Eärendel', changed in the latest text to 'The Bidding of the Minstrel, from the Lay of Eärendel'.

There are four versions following the original rough draft, but the changes made in them were slight, and I give the poem here in the latest form, noting only that originally the minstrel seems to have responded to the 'bidding' much earlier – at line 5, which read 'Then harken – a tale of immortal sea-yearning'; and that 'Eldar' in line 6 and 'Elven' in line 23 are emendations, made on the latest text, of 'fairies', 'fairy'.

'Sing us yet more of Eärendel the wandering,
Chant us a lay of his white-oared ship,
More marvellous-cunning than mortal man's pondering,
Foamily musical out on the deep.
Sing us a tale of immortal sea-yearning
The Eldar once made ere the change of the light,
Weaving a winelike spell, and a burning
Wonder of spray and the odours of night;
Of murmurous gloamings out on far oceans;
Of his tossing at anchor off islets forlorn
To the unsleeping waves' never-ending sea-motions;
Of bellying sails when a wind was born,
And the gurgling bubble of tropical water
Tinkled from under the ringéd stem,
And thousands of miles was his ship from those wrought her
A petrel, a sea-bird, a white-wingéd gem,
Gallantly bent on measureless faring
Ere she came homing in sea-laden flight,
Circuitous, lingering, restlessly daring,
Coming to haven unlooked for, at night.'

'But the music is broken, the words half-forgotten,
The sunlight has faded, the moon is grown old,
The Elven ships foundered or weed-swathed and rotten,
The fire and the wonder of hearts is acold.
Who now can tell, and what harp can accompany
With melodies strange enough, rich enough tunes,
Pale with the magic of cavernous harmony,
Loud with shore-music of beaches and dunes,
How slender his boat; of what glimmering timber;
How her sails were all silvern and taper her mast,
And silver her throat with foam and her limber
Flanks as she swanlike floated past!

The song I can sing is but shreds one remembers
Of golden imaginings fashioned in sleep,
A whispered tale told by the withering embers
Of old things far off that but few hearts keep.'

III

The Shores of Faëry

This poem is given in its earliest form by Humphrey Carpenter, *Biography*, pp. 76–7.[11] It exists in four versions each as usual incorporating slight changes; my father wrote the date of its composition on three of the copies, viz. 'July 8–9, 1915'; 'Moseley and Edgbaston, Birmingham July 1915 (walking and on bus). Retouched often since – esp. 1924'; and 'First poem of my mythology, Valinor . . . . . 1910'. This last cannot have been intended for the date of composition, and the illegible words preceding it may possibly be read as 'thought of about'. But it does not in any case appear to have been 'the first poem of the mythology': that, I believe, was *Éalá Éarendel Engla Beorhtast* – and my father's mention of this poem in his letter of 1967 (see p. 266) seems to suggest this also.

The Old English title was *Ielfalandes Strand* (The Shores of Elfland). It is preceded by a short prose preface which has been given above, p. 262. I give it here in the latest version (undateable), with all readings from the earliest in footnotes.

East of the Moon, west of the Sun
There stands a lonely hill;
Its feet are in the pale green sea,
Its towers are white and still,
Beyond Taniquetil
In Valinor.
Comes never there but one lone star
That fled before the moon;
And there the Two Trees naked are
That bore Night's silver bloom,
That bore the globéd fruit of Noon
In Valinor.
There are the shores of Faëry

Readings of the earliest version:

1 East . . . . . west] West . . . . . East
7 No stars come there but one alone
8 fled before] hunted with
9 For there the Two Trees naked grow
10 bore] bear 11 bore] bear

With their moonlit pebbled strand
Whose foam is silver music
On the opalescent floor
Beyond the great sea-shadows
On the marches of the sand
That stretches on for ever
To the dragonheaded door,
The gateway of the Moon,
Beyond Taniquetil
In Valinor.
West of the Sun, east of the Moon
Lies the haven of the star,
The white town of the Wanderer
And the rocks of Eglamar.
There Wingelot is harboured,
While Eärendel looks afar
O'er the darkness of the waters
Between here and Eglamar –
Out, out, beyond Taniquetil
In Valinor afar.

There are some interesting connections between this poem and the tale of *The Coming of the Elves and the Making of Kôr*. The 'lonely hill' of line 2 is the hill of Kôr (cf. the tale, I. 122: 'at the head of this long creek there stands a lonely hill which gazes at the loftier mountains'), while 'the golden feet of Kôr' (a line replaced in the later versions of the poem) and very probably 'the sand That stretches on for ever' are explained by the passage that follows in the tale:

> Thither [i.e. to Kôr] did Aulë bring all the dust of magic metals that his great works had made and gathered, and he piled it about the foot of that hill, and most of this dust was of gold, and a sand of gold stretched away from the feet of Kôr out into the distance where the Two Trees blossomed.

18 marches] margent
20–21 To the dragonheaded door, The gateway of the Moon] From the golden feet of Kôr
24 West of the Sun, east of the Moon] O! West of the Moon, East of the Sun
27 rocks] rock
28 Wingelot] *Earliest text* Wingelot > Vingelot; *second text* Vingelot; *third text* Vingelot > Wingelot; *last text* Wingelot
30 O'er the darkness of the waters] On the magic and the wonder
31 Between] 'Tween

In the latest text *Elvenland* is lightly written over *Faëry* in line 13, and *Eldamar* against *Eglamar* in line 27 (only); *Eglamar* > *Eldamar* in the second text.

With the 'dragonheaded door' (line 20) cf. the description of the Door of Night in *The Hiding of Valinor* (I.215–16):

> Its pillars are of the mightiest basalt and its lintel likewise, but great dragons of black stone are carved thereon, and shadowy smoke pours slowly from their jaws.

In that description the Door of Night is not however 'the gateway of the Moon', for it is the Sun that passes through it into the outer dark, whereas 'the Moon dares not the utter loneliness of the outer dark by reason of his lesser light and majesty, and he journeys still beneath the world [i.e. through the waters of Vai]'.

IV

The Happy Mariners

I give lastly this poem whose subject is the Tower of Pearl in the Twilit Isles. It was written in July 1915,[12] and there are six texts preceding the version which was published (together with 'Why the Man in the Moon came down too soon') at Leeds in 1923* and which is the first of the two given here.

(1)

I know a window in a western tower
That opens on celestial seas,
And wind that has been blowing round the stars
Comes to nestle in its tossing draperies.
It is a white tower builded in the Twilight Isles,
Where Evening sits for ever in the shade;
It glimmers like a spike of lonely pearl
That mirrors beams forlorn and lights that fade;
And sea goes washing round the dark rock where it stands,
And fairy boats go by to gloaming lands
All piled and twinkling in the gloom
With hoarded sparks of orient fire

* *A Northern Venture:* see I.204, footnote. Mr Douglas A. Anderson has kindly supplied me with a copy of the poem in this version, which had been very slightly altered from that published in *The Stapeldon Magazine* (Exeter College, Oxford), June 1920 (Carpenter, p. 268). – *Twilight* in line 5 of the Leeds version is almost certainly an error, for *Twilit*, the reading of all the original texts.

That divers won in waters of the unknown Sun –
And, maybe, 'tis a throbbing silver lyre,
Or voices of grey sailors echo up
Afloat among the shadows of the world
In oarless shallop and with canvas furled;
For often seems there ring of feet and song
Or twilit twinkle of a trembling gong.

O! happy mariners upon a journey long
To those great portals on the Western shores
Where far away constellate fountains leap,
And dashed against Night's dragon-headed doors,
In foam of stars fall sparkling in the deep.
While I alone look out behind the Moon
From in my white and windy tower,
Ye bide no moment and await no hour,
But chanting snatches of a mystic tune
Go through the shadows and the dangerous seas
Past sunless lands to fairy leas
Where stars upon the jacinth wall of space
Do tangle burst and interlace.
Ye follow Earendel through the West,
The shining mariner, to Islands blest;
While only from beyond that sombre rim
A wind returns to stir these crystal panes
And murmur magically of golden rains
That fall for ever in those spaces dim.

In *The Hiding of Valinor* (I.215) it is told that when the Sun was first made the Valar purposed to draw it beneath the Earth, but that

> it was too frail and lissom; and much precious radiance was spilled in their attempts about the deepest waters, and escaped to linger as secret sparks in many an unknown ocean cavern. These have many elfin divers, and divers of the fays, long time sought beyond the outmost East, even as is sung in the song of the Sleeper in the Tower of Pearl.

That 'The Happy Mariners' was in fact 'the song of the Sleeper in the Tower of Pearl' seems assured by lines 10–13 of the poem.

For 'Night's dragon-headed doors' see p. 273. The meaning of *jacinth* in 'the jacinth wall of space' (line 31) is 'blue'; cf. 'the deep-blue walls' in *The Hiding of Valinor* (I.215).

Many years later my father rewrote the poem, and I give this version here. Still later he turned to it again and made a few further alterations (here recorded in footnotes); at this time he noted that the revised version dated from '1940?'.

(2)

I know a window in a Western tower
that opens on celestial seas,
and there from wells of dark behind the stars
blows ever cold a keen unearthly breeze.
It is a white tower builded on the Twilit Isles,
and springing from their everlasting shade
it glimmers like a house of lonely pearl,
where lights forlorn take harbour ere they fade.

Its feet are washed by waves that never rest.
There silent boats go by into the West
all piled and twinkling in the dark
with orient fire in many a hoarded spark
that divers won
in waters of the rumoured Sun.
There sometimes throbs below a silver harp,
touching the heart with sudden music sharp;
or far beneath the mountains high and sheer
the voices of grey sailors echo clear,
afloat among the shadows of the world
in oarless ships and with their canvas furled,
chanting a farewell and a solemn song:
for wide the sea is, and the journey long.

O happy mariners upon a journey far,
beyond the grey islands and past Gondobar,
to those great portals on the final shores
where far away constellate fountains leap,
and dashed against Night's dragon-headed doors
in foam of stars fall sparkling in the deep!
While I, alone, look out behind the moon
from in my white and windy tower,
ye bide no moment and await no hour,
but go with solemn song and harpers' tune
through the dark shadows and the shadowy seas
to the last land of the Two Trees,
whose fruit and flower are moon and sun,
where light of earth is ended and begun.

Last revisions:
3 and there *omitted*
4 blows ever cold] there ever blows
17 mountains] mountain
22 the journey] their journey
29 While I look out alone 30 imprisoned in the white and windy tower
31 ye] you 33–6 *struck through*

Ye follow Eärendel without rest,
the shining mariner, beyond the West,
who passed the mouth of night and launched his bark
upon the outer seas of everlasting dark.
Here only comes at whiles a wind to blow
returning darkly down the way ye go,
with perfume laden of unearthly trees.
Here only long afar through window-pane
I glimpse the flicker of the golden rain
that falls for ever on the outer seas.

I cannot explain the reference (in the revised version only, line 24) to the journey of the mariners 'beyond the grey islands and past Gondobar'. *Gondobar* ('City of Stone') was one of the seven names of Gondolin (p. 158).

NOTES

1 Falasquil was the name of Tuor's dwelling on the coast (p. 152); the Oarni, with the Falmaríni and the Wingildi, are called 'the spirits of the foam and the surf of ocean' (I.66).

2 *Irildë*: the 'Elvish' name corresponding to Gnomish *Idril*. See the Appendix on Names, entry *Idril*.

3 'Elwing of the *Gnomes* of Artanor' is perhaps a mere slip.

4 For the Swan-wing as the emblem of Tuor see pp. 152, 164, 172, 193.

5 The words 'Idril has vanished' replace an earlier reading: 'Sirion has been sacked and only Littleheart (Ilfrith) remained who tells the tale.' *Ilfrith* is yet another version of Littleheart's Elvish name (see pp. 201–2).

6 Struck out here: 'The Sleeper is Idril but he does not know.'

7 Cf. *Kortirion among the Trees* (I.36, lines 129–30): 'I need not know the desert or red palaces Where dwells the sun'; lines retained slightly changed in the second (1937) version (I.39).

8 This passage, from 'Eärendel distraught...', replaced the following: '[*illegible name, possibly* Orlon] is [?biding] there and tells him of the sack of Sirion and the captivity of Elwing. The faring of the Koreldar and the binding of Melko.' Perhaps the words 'The faring of the Koreldar' were struck out by mistake (cf. Outline B).

9 *Earum* is emended (at the first occurrence only) from *Earam*; and following it stood the name *Earnhama*, but this was struck out. *Earnhama* is Old English, 'Eagle-coat', 'Eagle-dress'.

37 Ye] You 40 outer *omitted*
41–3 *struck through* 46 the] those
Line added at end: beyond the country of the shining Trees.

10 The two earliest extant texts date it thus, one of them with the addition 'Ex[eter] Coll[ege] Essay Club Dec. 1914', and on a third is written 'Gedling, Notts., Sept. 1913 [error for 1914] and later'. My father referred to having read 'Eärendel' to the Essay Club in a letter to my mother of 27 November 1914.

11 But *rocks* in line 27 (26) should read *rock*.

12 According to one note it was written at 'Barnt Green [see *Biography* p. 36] July 1915 and Bedford and later', and another note dates it 'July 24 [1915], rewritten Sept. 9'. The original workings are on the back of an unsent letter dated from Moseley (Birmingham) July 11, 1915; my father began military training at Bedford on July 19.

VI

THE HISTORY OF ERIOL OR ÆLFWINE AND THE END OF THE TALES

In this final chapter we come to the most difficult (though not, as I hope to show, altogether insoluble) part of the earliest form of the mythology: its end, with which is intertwined the story of Eriol/Ælfwine – and with that, the history and original significance of Tol Eressëa. For its elucidation we have some short pieces of connected narrative, but are largely dependent on the same materials as those that constitute *Gilfanon's Tale* and the story of Eärendel: scribbled plot-outlines, endlessly varying, written on separate slips of paper or in the pages of the little notebook 'C' (see p. 254). In this chapter there is much material to consider, and for convenience of reference within the chapter I number the various citations consecutively. But it must be said that no device of presentation can much diminish the inherent complexity and obscurity of the matter.

The fullest account (bald as it is) of the March of the Elves of Kôr and the events that followed is contained in notebook C, continuing on from the point where I left that outline on p. 255, after the coming of the birds from Gondolin, the 'counsels of the Gods and uproar of the Elves', and the 'March of the Inwir and Teleri', with the Solosimpi only agreeing to accompany the expedition on condition that they remain by the sea. The outline continues:

(1) Coming of the Eldar. Encampment in the Land of Willows of first host. Overwhelming of Noldorin and Valwë. Wanderings of Noldorin with his harp.

Tulkas overthrows Melko in the battle of the Silent Pools. Bound in Lumbi and guarded by Gorgumoth the hound of Mandos.

Release of the Noldoli. War with Men as soon as Tulkas and Noldorin have fared back to Valinor.

Noldoli led to Valinor by Egalmoth and Galdor.

There have been previous references in the *Lost Tales* to a battle in Tasarinan, the Land of Willows: in the *Tale of Turambar* (pp. 70, 140), and, most notably, in *The Fall of Gondolin* (p. 154), where when Tuor's sojourn in that land is described there is mention of events that would take place there in the future:

Did not even after the days of Tuor Noldorin and his Eldar come there seeking for Dor Lómin and the hidden river and the caverns of the Gnomes' imprisonment; yet thus nigh to their quest's end were like to abandon it? Indeed sleeping and dancing here . . . they were whelmed by the goblins sped by Melko from the Hills of Iron and Noldorin made bare escape thence.

Valwë has been mentioned once before, by Lindo, on Eriol's first evening in Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva (I.16): 'My father Valwë who went with Noldorin to find the Gnomes.' Of Noldorin we know also that he was the Vala Salmar, the twin-brother of Ómar-Amillo; that he entered the world with Ulmo, and that in Valinor he played the harp and lyre and loved the Noldoli (I.66, 75, 93, 126).

An isolated note states:

(2) Noldorin escapes from the defeat of the Land of Willows and takes his harp and goes seeking in the Iron Mountains for Valwë and the Gnomes until he finds their place of imprisonment. Tulkas follows. Melko comes to meet him.

The only one of the great Valar who is mentioned in these notes as taking part in the expedition to the Great Lands is Tulkas; but whatever story underlay his presence, despite the anger and sorrow of the Valar at the March of the Elves (see p. 257), is quite irrecoverable. (A very faint hint concerning it is found in two isolated notes: 'Tulkas gives – or the Elves take *limpë* with them', and '*Limpë* given by the Gods (Oromë? Tulkas?) when Elves left Valinor'; cf. *The Flight of the Noldoli* (I.166): 'no *limpë* had they [the Noldoli] as yet to bring away, for that was not given to the fairies until long after, when the March of Liberation was undertaken'.) According to (1) above Tulkas fought with and overthrew Melko 'in the battle of the Silent Pools'; and the Silent Pools are the Pools of Twilight, 'where Tulkas after fought with Melko's self' (*The Fall of Gondolin*, p. 195; the original reading here was 'Noldorin and Tulkas').

The name *Lumbi* is found elsewhere (in a list of names associated with the tale of *The Coming of the Valar*, I.93), where it is said to be Melko's third dwelling; and a jotting in notebook C, sufficiently mysterious, reads: 'Lumfad. Melko's dwelling after release. Castle of Lumbi.' But this story also is lost.

That the Noldoli were led back to Valinor by Egalmoth and Galdor, as stated in (1), is notable. This is contradicted in detail by a statement in the Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin*, which says (p. 215) that Egalmoth was slain in the raid on the dwelling at the mouth of Sirion when Elwing was taken; and contradicted in general by the next citation to be given, which denies that the Elves were permitted to dwell in Valinor.

The only other statement concerning these events is found in the first

of the four outlines that constitute *Gilfanon's Tale*, which I there called 'A' (I.234). This reads:

(3) March of the Elves out into the world.
The capture of Noldorin.
The camp in the Land of Willows.
Army of Tulkas at the Pools of Twilight . . . . . and [?many] Gnomes, but Men fall on them out of Hisilómë.
Defeat of Melko.
Breaking of Angamandi and release of captives.
Hostility of Men. The Gnomes collect some of the jewels.
Elwing and most of the Elves go back to dwell in Tol Eressëa. The Gods will not let them dwell in Valinor.

This seems to differ from (1) in the capture of Noldorin and in the attack of Men from Hisilómë before the defeat of Melko; but the most notable statement is that concerning the refusal of the Gods to allow the Elves to dwell in Valinor. There is no reason to think that this ban rested only, or chiefly, on the Noldoli. The text, (3), does not refer specifically to the Gnomes in this connection; and the ban is surely to be related to 'the sorrow and wrath of the Gods' at the time of the March of the Elves (p. 253). Further, it is said in *The Cottage of Lost Play* (I.16) that Ingil son of Inwë returned to Tol Eressëa with 'most of the fairest and the wisest, most of the merriest and the kindest, of all the Eldar', and that the town that he built there was named 'Koromas or "the Resting of the Exiles of Kôr".' This is quite clearly to be connected with the statement in (3) that 'Most of the Elves go back to dwell in Tol Eressëa', and with that given on p. 255: 'The wars with Men and the departure to Tol Eressëa (the Eldar unable to endure the strife of the world)'. These indications taken together leave no doubt, I think, that my father's original conception was of the Eldar of Valinor undertaking the expedition into the Great Lands against the will of the Valar; together with the rescued Noldoli they returned over the Ocean, but being refused re-entry into Valinor they settled in Tol Eressëa, as 'the Exiles of Kôr'. That some did return in the end to Valinor may be concluded from the words of Meril-i-Turinqi (I.129) that Ingil, who built Kortirion, 'went long ago back to Valinor and is with Manwë'. But Tol Eressëa remained the land of the fairies in the early conception, the Exiles of Kôr, Eldar and Gnomes, speaking both *Eldarissa* and *Noldorissa*.

It seems that there is nothing else to be found or said concerning the original story of the coming of aid out of the West and the renewed assault on Melko.

★

The conclusion of the whole story as originally envisaged was to be

rejected in its entirety. For it we are very largely dependent on the outline in notebook C, continuing on from citation (1) above; this is extremely rough and disjointed, and is given here in a very slightly edited form.

(4) After the departure of Eärendel and the coming of the Elves to Tol Eressëa (and most of this belongs to the history of Men) great ages elapse; Men spread and thrive, and the Elves of the Great Lands fade. As Men's stature grows theirs diminishes. Men and Elves were formerly of a size, though Men always larger.[1]

Melko again breaks away, by the aid of Tevildo (who in long ages gnaws his bonds); the Gods are in dissension about Men and Elves, some favouring the one and some the other. Melko goes to Tol Eressëa and tries to stir up dissension among the Elves (between Gnomes and Solosimpi), who are in consternation and send to Valinor. No help comes, but Tulkas sends privily Telimektar (Taimonto) his son.[2]

Telimektar of the silver sword and Ingil surprise Melko and wound him, and he flees and climbs up the great Pine of Tavrobel. Before the Inwir left Valinor Belaurin (Palúrien)[3] gave them a seed, and said that it must be guarded, for great tidings would one day come of its growth. But it was forgotten, and cast in the garden of Gilfanon, and a mighty pine arose that reached to Ilwë and the stars.[4]

Telimektar and Ingil pursue him, and they remain now in the sky to ward it, and Melko stalks high above the air seeking ever to do a hurt to the Sun and Moon and stars (eclipses, meteors). He is continually frustrated, but on his first attempt – saying that the Gods stole his fire for its making – he upset the Sun, so that Urwendi fell into the Sea, and the Ship fell near the ground, scorching regions of the Earth. The clarity of the Sun's radiance has not been so great since, and something of magic has gone from it. Hence it is, and long has been, that the fairies dance and sing more sweetly and can the better be seen by the light of the Moon – because of the death of Urwendi.

The 'Rekindling of the Magic Sun' refers in part to the Trees and in part to Urwendi.

Fionwë's rage and grief. In the end he will slay Melko.

'Orion' is only the image of Telimektar in the sky? [*sic*] Varda gave him stars, and he bears them aloft that the Gods may know he watches; he has diamonds on his sword-sheath, and this will go red when he draws his sword at the Great End.

But now Telimektar, and Gil[5] who follows him like a Blue Bee, ward off evil, and Varda immediately replaces any stars that Melko loosens and casts down.

Although grieved at the Gods' behest, the Pine is cut down; and

Melko is thus now out of the world – but one day he will find a way back, and the last great uproars will begin before the Great End.

The evils that still happen come about in this wise. The Gods can cause things to enter the hearts of Men, but not of Elves (hence their difficult dealings in the old days of the Exile of the Gnomes) – and though Melko sits without, gnawing his fingers and gazing in anger on the world, he can suggest evil to Men so inclined – but the lies he planted of old still grow and spread.

Hence Melko can now work hurt and damage and evil in the world only through Men, and he has more power and subtlety with Men than Manwë or any of the Gods, because of his long sojourn in the world and among Men.

In these early chartings we are in a primitive mythology, with Melko reduced to a grotesque figure chased up a great pine-tree, which is thereupon cut down to keep him out of the world, where he 'stalks high above the air' or 'sits without, gnawing his fingers', and upsets the Sun-ship so that Urwendi falls into the Sea – and, most strangely, meets her death.

That Ingil (Gil) who with Telimektar pursues Melko is to be identified with Ingil son of Inwë who built Kortirion is certain and appears from several notes; see the Appendix on Names to Vol. I, entries *Ingil, Telimektar*. This is the fullest statement of the Orion-myth, which is referred to in the *Tale of the Sun and Moon* (see I.182, 200):

of Nielluin [Sirius] too, who is the Bee of Azure, Nielluin whom still may all men see in autumn or winter burning nigh the foot of Telimektar son of Tulkas whose tale is yet to tell.

In the Gnomish dictionary it is said (I.256) that Gil rose into the heavens and 'in the likeness of a great bee bearing honey of flame' followed Telimektar. This presumably represents a distinct conception from that referred to above, where Ingil 'went long ago back to Valinor and is with Manwë' (I.129).

With the reference to Fionwë's slaying of Melko 'in the end' cf. the end of *The Hiding of Valinor* (I.219):

Fionwë Úrion, son of Manwë, of love for Urwendi shall in the end be Melko's bane, and shall destroy the world to destroy his foe, and so shall all things then be rolled away.

Cf. also the *Tale of Turambar*, p. 116, where it is said that Turambar 'shall stand beside Fionwë in the Great Wrack'.

For the prophecies and hopes of the Elves concerning the Rekindling of the Magic Sun see pp. 285–6.

The outline in C continues and concludes thus (again with some very slight and insignificant editing):

(5) Longer ages elapse. Gilfanon is now the oldest and wisest Elf in Tol Eressëa, but is not of the Inwir – hence Meril-i-Turinqi is Lady of the Isle.

Eriol comes to Tol Eressëa. Sojourns at Kortirion. Goes to Tavrobel to see Gilfanon, and sojourns in the house of a hundred chimneys – for this is the last condition of his drinking *limpë*. Gilfanon bids him write down all he has heard before he drinks.

Eriol drinks *limpë*. Gilfanon tells him of things to be; that in his mind (although the fairies hope not) he believes that Tol Eressëa will become a dwelling of Men. Gilfanon also prophesies concerning the Great End, and of the Wrack of Things, and of Fionwë, Tulkas, and Melko and the last fight on the Plains of Valinor.

Eriol ends his life at Tavrobel but in his last days is consumed with longing for the black cliffs of his shores, even as Meril said.

The book lay untouched in the house of Gilfanon during many ages of Men.

The compiler of the Golden Book takes up the Tale: one of the children of the fathers of the fathers of Men. [*Against this is written*:] It may perhaps be much better to let Eriol himself see the last things and finish the book.

Rising of the Lost Elves against the Orcs and Nautar.[6] The time is not ready for the Faring Forth, but the fairies judge it to be necessary. They obtain through Ulmo the help of Uin,[7] and Tol Eressëa is uprooted and dragged near to the Great Lands, nigh to the promontory of Rôs. A magic bridge is cast across the intervening sound. Ossë is wroth at the breaking of the roots of the isle he set so long ago – and many of his rare sea-treasures grow about it – that he tries to wrench it back; and the western half breaks off, and is now the Isle of Íverin.

The Battle of Rôs: the Island-elves and the Lost Elves against Nautar, Gongs,[8] Orcs, and a few evil Men. Defeat of the Elves. The fading Elves retire to Tol Eressëa and hide in the woods.

Men come to Tol Eressëa and also Orcs, Dwarves, Gongs, Trolls, etc. After the Battle of Rôs the Elves faded with sorrow. They cannot live in air breathed by a number of Men equal to their own or greater; and ever as Men wax more powerful and numerous so the fairies fade and grow small and tenuous, filmy and transparent, but Men larger and more dense and gross. At last Men, or almost all, can no longer see the fairies.

The Gods now dwell in Valinor, and come scarcely ever to the world, being content with the restraining of the elements from utterly destroying Men. They grieve much at what they see; *but Ilúvatar is over all.*

On the page opposite the passage about the Battle of Rôs is written:

> A great battle between Men at the Heath of the Sky-roof (now the Withered Heath), about a league from Tavrobel. The Elves and the Children flee over the Gruir and the Afros.
>
> 'Even now do they approach and our great tale comes to its ending.'
>
> The book found in the ruins of the house of a hundred chimneys.

That Gilfanon was the oldest of the Elves of Tol Eressëa, though Meril held the title of Lady of the Isle, is said also in the *Tale of the Sun and Moon* (I.175): but what is most notable is that Gilfanon (not Ailios, teller of the *Tale of the Nauglafring*, whom Gilfanon replaced, see I.197 note 19 and 229ff.) appears in this outline, which must therefore be late in the period of the composition of the *Lost Tales*.

Also noteworthy are the references to Eriol's drinking *limpë* at Gilfanon's 'house of a hundred chimneys'. In *The Cottage of Lost Play* (I.17) Lindo told Eriol that he could not give him *limpë* to drink:

> Turinqi only may give it to those not of the Eldar race, and those that drink must dwell always with the Eldar of the Island until such time as they fare forth to find the lost families of the kindred.

Meril-i-Turinqi herself, when Eriol besought her for a drink of *limpë*, was severe (I.98):

> If you drink this drink . . . even at the Faring Forth, should Eldar and Men fall into war at the last, still must you stand by us against the children of your kith and kin, but until then never may you fare away home though longings gnaw you . . .

In the text described in I.229ff. Eriol bemoans to Lindo the refusal to grant him his desire, and Lindo, while warning him against 'thinking to overpass the bounds that Ilúvatar hath set', tells him that Meril has not irrevocably refused him. In a note to this text my father wrote: '. . . Eriol fares to Tavrobel – after Tavrobel he drinks of *limpë*.'

The statement in this passage of outline C that Eriol 'in his last days is consumed with longing for the black cliffs of his shores, even as Meril said' clearly refers to the passage in *The Chaining of Melko* from which I have cited above:

> On a day of autumn will come the winds and a driven gull, maybe, will wail overhead, and lo! you will be filled with desire, remembering the black coasts of your home. (I.96).

Lindo's reference, in the passage from *The Cottage of Lost Play* cited

above, to the faring forth of the Eldar of Tol Eressëa 'to find the lost families of the kindred' must likewise relate to the mentions in (5) of the Faring Forth (though the time was not ripe), of the 'rising of the Lost Elves against the Orcs and Nautar', and of 'the Island-elves and the Lost Elves' at the Battle of Rôs. Precisely who are to be understood by the 'Lost Elves' is not clear; but in *Gilfanon's Tale* (I.231) all Elves of the Great Lands 'that never saw the light at Kôr' (Ilkorins), whether or not they left the Waters of Awakening, are called 'the lost fairies of the world', and this seems likely to be the meaning here. It must then be supposed that there dwelt on Tol Eressëa only the Eldar of Kôr (the 'Exiles') and the Noldoli released from thraldom under Melko; the Faring Forth was to be the great expedition from Tol Eressëa for the rescue of those who had never departed from the Great Lands.

In (5) we meet the conception of the dragging of Tol Eressëa back eastwards across the Ocean to the geographical position of England – it becomes England (see I.26); that the part which was torn off by Ossë, the Isle of Íverin, is Ireland is explicitly stated in the Qenya dictionary. The promontory of Rôs is perhaps Brittany.

Here also there is a clear definition of the 'fading' of the Elves, their physical diminution and increasing tenuity and transparency, so that they become invisible (and finally incredible) to gross Mankind. This is a central concept of the early mythology: the 'fairies', as now conceived by Men (in so far as they are rightly conceived), have *become* so. They were not always so. And perhaps most remarkable in this remarkable passage, there is the final and virtually complete withdrawal of the Gods (to whom the Eldar are 'most like in nature', I.57) from the concerns of 'the world', the Great Lands across the Sea. They watch, it seems, since they grieve, and are therefore not wholly indifferent to what passes in the lands of Men; but they are henceforward utterly remote, hidden in the West.

Other features of (5), the Golden Book of Tavrobel, and the Battle of the Heath of the Sky-roof, will be explained shortly. I give next a separate passage found in the notebook C under the heading 'Rekindling of the Magic Sun. Faring Forth.'

(6) The Elves' prophecy is that one day they will fare forth from Tol Eressëa and on arriving in the world will gather all their fading kindred who still live in the world and march towards Valinor – through the southern lands. This they will only do with the help of Men. If Men aid them, the fairies will take Men to Valinor – those that wish to go – fight a great battle with Melko in Erumáni and open Valinor.[9] Laurelin and Silpion will be rekindled, and the mountain wall being destroyed then soft radiance will spread over all the world, and the Sun and Moon will be recalled. If Men oppose them and aid Melko the Wrack of the Gods and the ending of the fairies will result – and maybe the Great End.

On the opposite page is written:

> Were the Trees relit all the paths to Valinor would become clear to follow – and the Shadowy Seas open clear and free – Men as well as Elves would taste the blessedness of the Gods, and Mandos be emptied.

This prophecy is clearly behind Vairë's words to Eriol (I.19–20): '. . . the Faring Forth, when if all goes well the roads through Arvalin to Valinor shall be thronged with the sons and daughters of Men.'

Since 'the Sun and Moon will be recalled' when the Two Trees give light again, it seems that here 'the Rekindling of the Magic Sun' (to which the toast was drunk in Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva, I.17, 65) refers to the relighting of the Trees. But in citation (4) above it is said that 'the "Rekindling of the Magic Sun" refers in part to the Trees and in part to Urwendi', while in the *Tale of the Sun and Moon* (I.179) Yavanna seems to distinguish the two ideas:

> 'Many things shall be done and come to pass, and the Gods grow old, and the Elves come nigh to fading, ere ye shall see the rekindling of these trees or the Magic Sun relit', and the Gods knew not what she meant, speaking of the Magic Sun, nor did for a long while after.

Citation (xix) on p. 264 does not make the reference clear: Eärendel 'returns from the firmament ever and anon with Voronwë to Kôr to see if the Magic Sun has been lit and the fairies have come back'; but in the following isolated note the Rekindling of the Magic Sun explicitly means the re-arising of Urwendi:

(7) Urwendi imprisoned by Móru (upset out of the boat by Melko and only the Moon has been magic since). The Faring Forth and the Battle of Erumáni would release her and rekindle the Magic Sun.

This 'upsetting' of the Sun-ship by Melko and the loss of the Sun's 'magic' is referred to also in (4), where it is added that Urwendi fell into the sea and met her 'death'. In the tale of *The Theft of Melko* it is said (I.151) that the cavern in which Melko met Ungweliant was the place where the Sun and Moon were imprisoned afterwards, for 'the primeval spirit Móru' was indeed Ungweliant (see I.261). The Battle of Erumáni is referred to also in (6), and is possibly to be identified with 'the last fight on the plains of Valinor' prophesied by Gilfanon in (5). But the last part of (5) shows that the Faring Forth came to nothing, and the prophecies were not fulfilled.

There are no other references to the dragging of Tol Eressëa across the Ocean by Uin the great whale, to the Isle of Íverin, or to the Battle of Rôs; but a remarkable writing survives concerning the aftermath of

the 'great battle between Men at the Heath of the Sky-roof (now the Withered Heath), about a league from Tavrobel' (end of citation (5)). This is a very hastily pencilled and exceedingly difficult text titled *Epilogue*. It begins with a short prefatory note:

(8) Eriol flees with the fading Elves from the Battle of the High Heath (Ladwen-na-Dhaideloth) and crosses the Gruir and the Afros.

The last words of the book of Tales. Written by Eriol at Tavrobel before he sealed the book.

This represents the development mentioned as desirable in (5), that Eriol should 'himself see the last things and finish the book'; but an isolated note in C shows my father still uncertain about this even after the *Epilogue* was in being: 'Prologue by the writer of Tavrobel [*i.e., such a Prologue is needed*] telling how he found Eriol's writings and put them together. His epilogue after the battle of Ladwen Daideloth is written.'

The rivers Gruir and Afros appear also in the passage about the battle at the end of (5). Since it is said there that the Heath was about a league from Tavrobel, the two rivers are clearly those referred to in the *Tale of the Sun and Moon*: 'the Tower of Tavrobel beside the rivers' (I.174, and see I.196 note 2). In scattered notes the battle is also called 'the Battle of the Heaven Roof' and 'the Battle of Dor-na-Dhaideloth'.[10]

I give now the text of the *Epilogue*:

And now is the end of the fair times come very nigh, and behold, all the beauty that yet was on earth – fragments of the unimagined loveliness of Valinor whence came the folk of the Elves long long ago – now goeth it all up in smoke. Here be a few tales, memories ill-told, of all that magic and that wonder twixt here and Eldamar of which I have become acquaint more than any mortal man since first my wandering footsteps came to this sad isle.

Of that last battle of the upland heath whose roof is the wide sky – nor was there any other place beneath the blue folds of Manwë's robe so nigh the heavens or so broadly and so well encanopied – what grievous things I saw I have told.

Already fade the Elves in sorrow and the Faring Forth has come to ruin, and Ilúvatar knoweth alone if ever now the Trees shall be relit while the world may last. Behold, I stole by evening from the ruined heath, and my way fled winding down the valley of the Brook of Glass, but the setting of the Sun was blackened with the reek of fires, and the waters of the stream were fouled with the war of men and grime of strife. Then was my heart bitter to see the bones of the good earth laid bare with winds where the destroying hands of men had torn the heather and the fern and burnt them to make sacrifice to Melko and to lust of ruin; and the thronging places of the bees that all day hummed among the whins and whortlebushes long ago bearing rich honey down

to Tavrobel – these were now become fosses and [?mounds] of stark red earth, and nought sang there nor danced but unwholesome airs and flies of pestilence.

Now the Sun died and behold, I came to that most magic wood where once the ageless oaks stood firm amid the later growths of beech and slender trees of birch, but all were fallen beneath the ruthless axes of unthinking men. Ah me, here was the path beaten with spells, trodden with musics and enchantment that wound therethrough, and this way were the Elves wont to ride a-hunting. Many a time there have I seen them and Gilfanon has been there, and they rode like kings unto the chase, and the beauty of their faces in the sun was as the new morning, and the wind in their golden hair like to the glory of bright flowers shaken at dawn, and the strong music of their voices like the sea and like trumpets and like the noise of very many viols and of golden harps unnumbered. And yet again have I seen the people of Tavrobel beneath the Moon, and they would ride or dance across the valley of the two rivers where the grey bridge leaps the joining waters; and they would fare swiftly as clad in dreams, spangled with gems like to the grey dews amid the grass, and their white robes caught the long radiance of the Moon . . . . . and their spears shivered with silver flames.

And now sorrow and . . . . . has come upon the Elves, empty is Tavrobel and all are fled, [?fearing] the enemy that sitteth on the ruined heath, who is not a league away; whose hands are red with the blood of Elves and stained with the lives of his own kin, who has made himself an ally to Melko and the Lord of Hate, who has fought for the Orcs and Gongs and the unwholesome monsters of the world – blind, and a fool, and destruction alone is his knowledge. The paths of the fairies he has made to dusty roads where thirst [?lags wearily] and no man greeteth another in the way, but passes by in sullenness.

So fade the Elves and it shall come to be that because of the encompassing waters of this isle and yet more because of their unquenchable love for it that few shall flee, but as men wax there and grow fat and yet more blind ever shall they fade more and grow less; and those of the after days shall scoff, saying Who are the fairies – lies told to the children by women or foolish men – who are these fairies? And some few shall answer: Memories faded dim, a wraith of vanishing loveliness in the trees, a rustle of the grass, a glint of dew, some subtle intonation of the wind; and others yet fewer shall say . . . . . 'Very small and delicate are the fairies now, yet we have eyes to see and ears to hear, and Tavrobel and Kortirion are filled yet with [?this] sweet folk. Spring knows them and Summer too and in Winter still are they among us, but in Autumn most of all do they come out, for Autumn is their season, fallen as they are upon the Autumn of their days. What shall the dreamers of the earth be like when their winter come.

Hark O my brothers, they shall say, the little trumpets blow; we

hear a sound of instruments unimagined small. Like strands of wind, like mystic half-transparencies, Gilfanon Lord of Tavrobel rides out tonight amid his folk, and hunts the elfin deer beneath the paling sky. A music of forgotten feet, a gleam of leaves, a sudden bending of the grass,[11] and wistful voices murmuring on the bridge, and they are gone.

But behold, Tavrobel shall not know its name, and all the land be changed, and even these written words of mine belike will all be lost; and so I lay down the pen, and so of the fairies cease to tell.

Another text that bears on these matters is the prose preface to *Kortirion among the Trees* (1915), which has been given in Part I 25–6, but which I repeat here:

(9) Now on a time the fairies dwelt in the Lonely Isle after the great wars with Melko and the ruin of Gondolin; and they builded a fair city amidmost of that island, and it was girt with trees. Now this city they called Kortirion, both in memory of their ancient dwelling of Kôr in Valinor, and because this city stood also upon a hill and had a great tower tall and grey that Ingil son of Inwë their lord let raise.

Very beautiful was Kortirion and the fairies loved it, and it became rich in song and poesy and the light of laughter; but on a time the great Faring Forth was made, and the fairies had rekindled once more the Magic Sun of Valinor but for the treason and faint hearts of Men. But so it is that the Magic Sun is dead and the Lonely Isle drawn back unto the confines of the Great Lands, and the fairies are scattered through all the wide unfriendly pathways of the world; and now Men dwell even on this faded isle, and care nought or know nought of its ancient days. Yet still there be some of the Eldar and the Noldoli of old who linger in the island, and their songs are heard about the shores of the land that once was the fairest dwelling of the immortal folk.

And it seems to the fairies and it seems to me who know that town and have often trodden its disfigured ways that autumn and the falling of the leaf is the season of the year when maybe here or there a heart among Men may be open, and an eye perceive how is the world's estate fallen from the laughter and the loveliness of old. Think on Kortirion and be sad – yet is there not hope?

★

At this point we may turn to the history of Eriol himself. My father's early conceptions of the mariner who came to Tol Eressëa are here again no more than allusive outlines in the pages of the little notebook C, and some of this material cannot be usefully reproduced. Perhaps the earliest is a collection of notes headed 'Story of Eriol's Life', which I gave in Vol.

I.23–4 but with the omission of some features that were not there relevant. I repeat it here, with the addition of the statements previously omitted.

(10) Eriol's original name was Ottor, but he called himself *Wǽfre* (Old English: 'restless, wandering') and lived a life on the waters. His father was named Eoh (Old English: 'horse'); and Eoh was slain by his brother Beorn, either 'in the siege' or 'in a great battle'. Ottor Wǽfre settled on the island of Heligoland in the North Sea, and wedded a woman named Cwén; they had two sons named Hengest and Horsa 'to avenge Eoh'.

Then sea-longing gripped Ottor Wǽfre (he was 'a son of Eärendel', born under his beam), and after the death of Cwén he left his young children. Hengest and Horsa avenged Eoh and became great chieftains; but Ottor Wǽfre set out to seek, and find, Tol Eressëa (*se uncúpa holm*, 'the unknown island').

In Tol Eressëa he wedded, being made young by *limpë* (here also called by the Old English word *líp*), Naimi (Éadgifu), niece of Vairë, and they had a son named Heorrenda.

It is then said, somewhat inconsequentially (though the matter is in itself of much interest, and recurs nowhere else), that Eriol told the fairies of *Wóden, Þunor, Tíw*, etc. (these being the Old English names of the Germanic gods who in Old Scandinavian form are *Óðinn, Þórr, Týr*), and they identified them with Manweg, Tulkas, and a third whose name is illegible but is not like that of any of the great Valar.

Eriol adopted the name of *Angol*.

Thus it is that through Eriol and his sons the *Engle* (i.e. the English) have the true tradition of the fairies, of whom the *Íras* and the *Wéalas* (the Irish and Welsh) tell garbled things.

Thus a specifically English fairy-lore is born, and one more true than anything to be found in Celtic lands.

The wedding of Eriol in Tol Eressëa is never referred to elsewhere; but his son Heorrenda is mentioned (though not called Eriol's son) in the initial link to *The Fall of Gondolin* (p. 145) as one who 'afterwards' turned a song of Meril's maidens into the language of his people. A little more light will be shed on Heorrenda in the course of this chapter.

Associated with these notes is a title-page and a prologue that breaks off after a few lines:

(11)

The Golden Book of Heorrenda
being the book of the
Tales of Tavrobel

Heorrenda of Hægwudu

> This book have I written using those writings that my father Wǽfre (whom the Gnomes named after the regions of his home Angol) did make in his sojourn in the holy isle in the days of the Elves; and much else have I added of those things which his eyes saw not afterward; yet are such things not yet to tell. For know

Here then the Golden Book was compiled from Eriol's writings by his son Heorrenda – in contrast to (5), where it was compiled by someone unnamed, and in contrast also to the *Epilogue* (8), where Eriol himself concluded and 'sealed the book'.

As I have said earlier (I.24) *Angol* refers to the ancient homeland of the 'English' before their migration across the North Sea (for the etymology of *Angol*/*Eriol* 'ironcliffs' see I.24, 252).

(12) There is also a genealogical table accompanying the outline (10) and altogether agreeing with it. The table is written out in two forms that are identical save in one point: for Beorn, brother of Eoh, in the one, there stands in the other *Hasen of Isenóra* (Old English: 'iron shore'). But at the end of the table is introduced the cardinal fact of all these earliest materials concerning Eriol and Tol Eressëa: Hengest and Horsa, Eriol's sons by Cwén in Heligoland, and Heorrenda, his son by Naimi in Tol Eressëa, are bracketed together, and beneath their names is written:

> conquered Íeg
> ('seo unwemmede Íeg')
> now called Englaland
> and there dwell the Angolcynn or Engle.

Íeg is Old English, 'isle'; *seo unwemmede Íeg* 'the unstained isle'. I have mentioned before (I.25, footnote) a poem of my father's written at Étaples in June 1916 and called 'The Lonely Isle', addressed to England: this poem bears the Old English title *seo Unwemmede Íeg*.

(13) There follow in the notebook C some jottings that make precise identifications of places in Tol Eressëa with places in England.

First the name *Kortirion* is explained. The element *Kôr* is derived from an earlier *Qorǎ*, yet earlier *Guorǎ*; but from *Guorǎ* was also derived (i.e. in Gnomish) the form *Gwâr*. (This formulation agrees with that in the Gnomish dictionary, see I.257). Thus *Kôr* = *Gwâr*, and *Kortirion* = **Gwarmindon* (the asterisk implying a hypothetical, unrecorded form). The name that was actually used in Gnomish had the elements reversed, *Mindon-Gwar*. (*Mindon*, like *Tirion*, meant, and continued always to mean, 'tower'. The meaning of *Kôr*/*Gwâr* is not given here, but both in the tale of *The Coming of the Elves* (I.122) and in the Gnomish dictionary (I.257) the name is explained as referring to the *roundness* of the hill of Kôr.)

The note continues (using Old English forms): 'In Wíelisc *Caergwâr*, in Englisc *Warwíc*.' Thus the element *War-* in *Warwick* is derived from the same Elvish source as *Kor-* in *Kortirion* and *Gwar* in *Mindon-Gwar*.[12] Lastly, it is said that 'Hengest's capital was Warwick'.

Next, Horsa (Hengest's brother) is associated with *Oxenaford* (Old English: Oxford), which is given the equivalents Q[enya] *Taruktarna* and Gnomish **Taruithorn* (see the Appendix on Names, p. 347).

The third of Eriol's sons, Heorrenda, is said to have had his 'capital' at Great Haywood (the Staffordshire village where my parents lived in 1916–17, see I.25); and this is given the Qenya equivalents *Tavaros(së)* and *Taurossë*, and the Gnomish *Tavrobel* and *Tavrost*; also 'Englisc [i.e. Old English] *Hægwudu se gréata*, *Gréata Hægwudu*'.[13]

These notes conclude with the statement that 'Heorrenda called Kôr or Gwâr "Tûn".' In the context of these conceptions, this is obviously the Old English word *tún*, an enclosed dwelling, from which has developed the modern word *town* and the place-name ending *-ton*. *Tûn* has appeared several times in the *Lost Tales* as a later correction, or alternative to *Kôr*, changes no doubt dating from or anticipating the later situation where the city was *Tûn* and the name *Kôr* was restricted to the hill on which it stood. Later still *Tûn* became *Túna*, and then when the city of the Elves was named *Tirion* the hill became *Túna*, as it is in *The Silmarillion*; by then it had ceased to have any connotation of 'dwelling-place' and had cut free from all connection with its actual origin, as we see it here, in Old English *tún*, Heorrenda's 'town'.

Can all these materials be brought together to form a coherent narrative? I believe that they can (granting that there are certain irreconcilable differences concerning Eriol's life), and would reconstruct it thus:

- The Eldar and the rescued Noldoli departed from the Great Lands and came to Tol Eressëa.
- In Tol Eressëa they built many towns and villages, and in Alalminórë, the central region of the island, Ingil son of Inwë built the town of Koromas, 'the Resting of the Exiles of Kôr' ('Exiles', because they could not return to Valinor); and the great tower of Ingil gave the town its name *Kortirion*. (See I.16.)
- Ottor Wǽfre came from Heligoland to Tol Eressëa and dwelt in the Cottage of Lost Play in Kortirion; the Elves named him *Eriol* or *Angol* after the 'iron cliffs' of his home.
- After a time, and greatly instructed in the ancient history of Gods, Elves, and Men, Eriol went to visit Gilfanon in the village of Tavrobel, and there he wrote down what he had learnt; there also he at last drank *limpë*.

- In Tol Eressëa Eriol was wedded and had a son named Heorrenda (Half-elven!). (According to (5) Eriol died at Tavrobel, consumed with longing for 'the black cliffs of his shores'; but according to (8), certainly later, he lived to see the Battle of the Heath of the Sky-roof.)
- The Lost Elves of the Great Lands rose against the dominion of the servants of Melko; and the untimely Faring Forth took place, at which time Tol Eressëa was drawn east back across the Ocean and anchored off the coasts of the Great Lands. The western half broke off when Ossë tried to drag the island back, and it became the Isle of Íverin (= Ireland).
- Tol Eressëa was now in the geographical position of England.
- The great battle of Rôs ended in the defeat of the Elves, who retreated into hiding in Tol Eressëa.
- Evil men entered Tol Eressëa, accompanied by Orcs and other hostile beings.
- The Battle of the Heath of the Sky-roof took place not far from Tavrobel, and (according to (8)) was witnessed by Eriol, who completed the Golden Book.
- The Elves faded and became invisible to the eyes of almost all Men.
- The sons of Eriol, Hengest, Horsa, and Heorrenda, conquered the island and it became 'England'. They were not hostile to the Elves, and from them the English have 'the true tradition of the fairies'.
- Kortirion, ancient dwelling of the fairies, came to be known in the tongue of the English as Warwick; Hengest dwelt there, while Horsa dwelt at Taruithorn (Oxford) and Heorrenda at Tavrobel (Great Haywood). (According to (11) Heorrenda completed the Golden Book.)

This reconstruction may not be 'correct' in all its parts: indeed, it may be that any such attempt is artificial, treating all the notes and jottings as of equal weight and all the ideas as strictly contemporaneous and relatable to each other. Nonetheless I believe that it shows rightly in essentials how my father was thinking of ordering the narrative in which the *Lost Tales* were to be set; and I believe also that this was the conception that still underlay the *Tales* as they are extant and have been given in these books.

For convenience later I shall refer to this narrative as 'the *Eriol* story'. Its most remarkable features, in contrast to the later story, are the transformation of Tol Eressëa into England, and the early appearance of the mariner (in relation to the whole history) and his importance.

In fact, my father was exploring (before he decided on a radical transformation of the whole conception) ideas whereby his importance would be greatly increased.

(14) From very rough jottings it can be made out that Eriol was to be so tormented with home longing that he set sail from Tol Eressëa with his son Heorrenda, against the command of Meril-i-Turinqi (see the passage cited on p. 284 from *The Chaining of Melko*); but his purpose in doing so was also 'to hasten the Faring Forth', which he 'preached' in the lands of the East. Tol Eressëa was drawn back to the confines of the Great Lands, but at once hostile peoples named the *Guiðlin* and the *Brithonin* (and in one of these notes also the *Rúmhoth*, Romans) invaded the island. Eriol died, but his sons Hengest and Horsa conquered the Guiðlin. But because of Eriol's disobedience to the command of Meril, in going back before the time for the Faring Forth was ripe, 'all was cursed'; and the Elves faded before the noise and evil of war. An isolated sentence refers to 'a strange prophecy that a man of good will, yet through longing after the things of Men, may bring the Faring Forth to nought'.

Thus the part of Eriol was to become cardinal in the history of the Elves; but there is no sign that these ideas ever got beyond this exploratory stage.

★

I have said that I think that the reconstruction given above ('the *Eriol* story') is in essentials the conception underlying the framework of the *Lost Tales*. This is both for positive and negative reasons: positive, because he is there still named *Eriol* (see p. 300), and also because Gilfanon, who enters (replacing Ailios) late in the development of the *Tales*, appears also in citation (5) above, which is one of the main contributors to this reconstruction; negative, because there is really nothing to contradict what is much the easiest assumption. There is no explicit statement anywhere in the *Lost Tales* that Eriol came from England. At the beginning (I.13) he is only 'a traveller from far countries'; and the fact that the story he told to Vëannë of his earlier life (pp. 4–7) agrees well with other accounts where his home is explicitly in England does no more than show that the story remained while the geography altered – just as the 'black coasts' of his home survived in later writing to become the western coasts of Britain, whereas the earliest reference to them is the etymology of *Angol* 'iron cliffs' (his own name, = *Eriol*, from the land 'between the seas', Angeln in the Danish peninsula, whence he came: see I.252). There is in fact a very early, rejected, sketch of Eriol's life in which essential features of the same story are outlined – the attack on his father's dwelling (in this case the destruction of Eoh's castle by his brother Beorn, see citation (10)), Eriol's captivity and escape – and in this note it is said that Eriol afterwards 'wandered over the wilds of the Central Lands to the Inland Sea, *Wendelsæ* [Old English, the Mediterranean], and hence to the shores of the Western Sea', whence his father had originally

come. The mention in the typescript text of the *Link* to the *Tale of Tinúviel* (p. 6) of wild men out of the Mountains of the East, *which the duke could see from his tower*, seems likewise to imply that at this time Eriol's original home was placed in some 'continental' region.

The only suggestion, so far as I can see, that this view might not be correct is found in an early poem with a complex history, texts of which I give here.

The earliest rough drafts of this poem are extant; the original title was 'The Wanderer's Allegiance', and it is not clear that it was at first conceived as a poem in three parts. My father subsequently wrote in subtitles on these drafts, dividing the poem into three: *Prelude*, *The Inland City*, and *The Sorrowful City*, with (apparently) an overall title *The Sorrowful City*; and added a date, March 16–18, 1916. In the only later copy of the whole poem that is extant the overall title is *The Town of Dreams and the City of Present Sorrow*, with the three parts titled: *Prelude* (Old English *Foresang*), *The Town of Dreams* (Old English *Þæt Slǽpende Tún*), and *The City of Present Sorrow* (Old English *Seo Wépende Burg*). This text gives the dates 'March 1916, Oxford and Warwick; rewritten Birmingham November 1916'. 'The Town of Dreams' is Warwick, on the River Avon, and 'The City of Present Sorrow' is Oxford, on the Thames, during the First War; there is no evident association of any kind with Eriol or the *Lost Tales*.

Prelude

In unknown days my fathers' sires
Came, and from son to son took root
Among the orchards and the river-meads
And the long grasses of the fragrant plain:
Many a summer saw they kindle yellow fires
Of iris in the bowing reeds,
And many a sea of blossom turn to golden fruit
In walléd gardens of the great champain.

★

There daffodils among the ordered trees
Did nod in spring, and men laughed deep and long
Singing as they laboured happy lays
And lighting even with a drinking-song.
There sleep came easy for the drone of bees
Thronging about cottage gardens heaped with flowers;
In love of sunlit goodliness of days
There richly flowed their lives in settled hours –
But that was long ago,

And now no more they sing, nor reap, nor sow,
And I perforce in many a town about this isle
Unsettled wanderer have dwelt awhile.

★

The Town of Dreams

Here many days once gently past me crept
In this dear town of old forgetfulness;
Here all entwined in dreams once long I slept
And heard no echo of the world's distress
Come through the rustle of the elms' rich leaves,
While Avon gurgling over shallows wove
Unending melody, and morns and eves
Slipped down her waters till the Autumn came,
(Like the gold leaves that drip and flutter then,
Till the dark river gleams with jets of flame
That slowly float far down beyond our ken.)

★

For here the castle and the mighty tower,
More lofty than the tiered elms,
More grey than long November rain,
Sleep, and nor sunlit moment nor triumphal hour,
Nor passing of the seasons or the Sun
Wakes their old lords too long in slumber lain.

★

No watchfulness disturbs their splendid dream,
Though laughing radiance dance down the stream;
And be they clad in snow or lashed by windy rains,
Or may March whirl the dust about the winding lanes,
The Elm robe and disrobe her of a million leaves
Like moments clustered in a crowded year,
Still their old heart unmoved nor weeps nor grieves,
Uncomprehending of this evil tide,
Today's great sadness, or Tomorrow's fear:
Faint echoes fade within their drowsy halls
Like ghosts; the daylight creeps across their walls.

★

The City of Present Sorrow

There is a city that far distant lies
And a vale outcarven in forgotten days –
There wider was the grass, and lofty elms more rare;
The river-sense was heavy in the lowland air.
There many willows changed the aspect of the earth and skies
Where feeding brooks wound in by sluggish ways,
And down the margin of the sailing Thames
Around his broad old bosom their old stems
Were bowed, and subtle shades lay on his streams
Where their grey leaves adroop o'er silver pools
Did knit a coverlet like shimmering jewels
Of blue and misty green and filtering gleams.

★

O agéd city of an all too brief sojourn,
I see thy clustered windows each one burn
With lamps and candles of departed men.
The misty stars thy crown, the night thy dress,
Most peerless-magical thou dost possess
My heart, and old days come to life again;
Old mornings dawn, or darkened evenings bring
The same old twilight noises from the town.
Thou hast the very core of longing and delight,
To thee my spirit dances oft in sleep
Along thy great grey streets, or down
A little lamplit alley-way at night –
Thinking no more of other cities it has known,
Forgetting for a while the tree-girt keep,
And town of dreams, where men no longer sing.
For thy heart knows, and thou shedst many tears
For all the sorrow of these evil years.
Thy thousand pinnacles and fretted spires
Are lit with echoes and the lambent fires
Of many companies of bells that ring
Rousing pale visions of majestic days
The windy years have strewn down distant ways;
And in thy halls still doth thy spirit sing
Songs of old memory amid thy present tears,
Or hope of days to come half-sad with many fears.
Lo! though along thy paths no laughter runs
While war untimely takes thy many sons,
No tide of evil can thy glory drown
Robed in sad majesty, the stars thy crown.

★

In addition, there are two texts in which a part of *The City of Present Sorrow* is treated as a separate entity. This begins with 'O agéd city of an all too brief sojourn', and is briefer: after the line 'Thinking no more of other cities it has known' it ends:

> Forgetting for a while that all men weep
> It strays there happy and to thee it sings
> 'No tide of evil can thy glory drown,
> Robed in sad majesty, the stars thy crown!'

This was first called *The Sorrowful City*, but the title was then changed to *Wínsele wéste, windge reste réte berofene* (*Beowulf* lines 2456–7, very slightly adapted: 'the hall of feasting empty, the resting places swept by the wind, robbed of laughter').

There are also two manuscripts in which *The Town of Dreams* is treated as a separate poem, with a subtitle *An old town revisited*; in one of these the primary title was later changed to *The Town of Dead Days*.

Lastly, there is a poem in two parts called *The Song of Eriol*. This is found in three manuscripts, the later ones incorporating minor changes made to the predecessor (but the third has only the second part of the poem).

The Song of Eriol

Eriol made a song in the Room of the Tale-fire telling how his feet were set to wandering, so that in the end he found the Lonely Isle and that fairest town Kortirion.

I

In unknown days my fathers' sires
Came, and from son to son took root
Among the orchards and the river-meads
And the long grasses of the fragrant plain:

Many a summer saw they kindle yellow fires
Of flaglilies among the bowing reeds,
And many a sea of blossom turn to golden fruit
In walléd gardens of the great champain.

There daffodils among the ordered trees
Did nod in spring, and men laughed deep and long
Singing as they laboured happy lays
And lighting even with a drinking-song.

There sleep came easy for the drone of bees
Thronging about cottage gardens heaped with flowers;
In love of sunlit goodliness of days
There richly flowed their lives in settled hours –
    But that was long ago,
  And now no more they sing, nor reap, nor sow;
  And I perforce in many a town about this isle
  Unsettled wanderer have dwelt awhile.

2

Wars of great kings and clash of armouries,
Whose swords no man could tell, whose spears
Were numerous as a wheatfield's ears,
Rolled over all the Great Lands; and the Seas

Were loud with navies; their devouring fires
Behind the armies burned both fields and towns;
And sacked and crumbled or to flaming pyres
Were cities made, where treasuries and crowns,

Kings and their folk, their wives and tender maids
Were all consumed. Now silent are those courts,
Ruined the towers, whose old shape slowly fades,
And no feet pass beneath their broken ports.

★

There fell my father on a field of blood,
And in a hungry siege my mother died,
And I, a captive, heard the great seas' flood
Calling and calling, that my spirit cried

For the dark western shores whence long ago had come
Sires of my mother, and I broke my bonds,
Faring o'er wasted valleys and dead lands
Until my feet were moistened by the western sea,
Until my ears were deafened by the hum,
The splash, and roaring of the western sea –
    But that was long ago
  And now the dark bays and unknown waves I know,
  The twilight capes, the misty archipelago,
  And all the perilous sounds and salt wastes 'tween this isle
  Of magic and the coasts I knew awhile.

★

One of the manuscripts of *The Song of Eriol* bears a later note: 'Easington 1917–18' (Easington on the estuary of the Humber, see Humphrey Carpenter, *Biography*, p. 97). It may be that the second part of *The Song of Eriol* was written at Easington and added to the first part (formerly the *Prelude*) already in existence.

Little can be derived from this poem of a strictly narrative nature, save the lineaments of the same tale: Eriol's father fell 'on a field of blood', when 'wars of great kings . . . rolled over all the Great Lands', and his mother died 'in a hungry siege' (the same phrase is used in the *Link* to the *Tale of Tinúviel*, pp. 5–6); he himself was made a captive, but escaped, and came at last to the shores of the Western Sea (whence his mother's people had come).

The fact that the first part of *The Song of Eriol* is also found as the Prelude to a poem of which the subjects are Warwick and Oxford might make one suspect that the castle with a great tower overhanging a river in the story told by Eriol to Vëannë was once again Warwick. But I do not think that this is so. There remains in any case the objection that it would be difficult to accommodate the attack on it by men out of the Mountains of the East which the duke could see from his tower; but also I think it is plain that the original tripartite poem had been dissevered, and the *Prelude* given a new bearing: my father's 'fathers' sires' became Eriol's 'fathers' sires'. At the same time, certain powerful images were at once dominant and fluid, and the great tower of Eriol's home was indeed to become the tower of Kortirion or Warwick, when (as will be seen shortly) the structure of the story of the mariner was radically changed. And nothing could show more clearly than does the evolution of this poem the complex root from which the story rose.

Humphrey Carpenter, writing in his *Biography* of my father's life after he returned to Oxford in 1925, says (p. 169):

> He made numerous revisions and recastings of the principal stories in the cycle, deciding to abandon the original sea-voyager 'Eriol' to whom the stories were told, and instead renaming him 'Ælfwine' or 'elf-friend'.

That *Eriol* was (for a time) displaced by *Ælfwine* is certain. But while it may well be that at the time of the texts now to be considered the name *Eriol* had actually been rejected, in the first version of 'The Silmarillion' proper, written in 1926, *Eriol* reappears, while in the earliest *Annals of Valinor*, written in the 1930s, it is said that they were translated in Tol Eressëa 'by Eriol of Leithien, that is Ælfwine of the Angelcynn'. On the other hand, at this earlier period it seems entirely justifiable on the evidence to treat the two names as indicative of different narrative projections – 'the *Eriol* story' and 'the *Ælfwine* story'.

'Ælfwine', then, is associated with a new conception, *subsequent to* the writing of the *Lost Tales*. The mariner is Ælfwine, not Eriol, in the second 'Scheme' for the *Tales*, which I have called 'an unrealised project for the revision of the whole work' (see I. 234). The essential difference may be made clear now, before citing the difficult evidence: *Tol Eressëa is now in no way identified with England*, and the story of the drawing back of the Lonely Island across the sea has been abandoned. England is indeed still at the heart of this later conception, and is named *Luthany*.[14] The mariner, Ælfwine, is an Englishman sailing westward from the coast of Britain; and his role is diminished. For whereas in the writings studied thus far he comes to Tol Eressëa *before* the dénouement and disaster of the Faring Forth, and either he himself or his descendants witness the devastation of Tol Eressëa by the invasion of Men and their evil allies (in one line of development he was even to be responsible for it, p. 294), in the later narrative outlines he does not arrive until all the grievous history is done. His part is only to learn and to record.[15]

I turn now to a number of short and very oblique passages, written on separate slips, but found together and clearly dating from much the same time.

(15) Ælfwine of England dwelt in the South-west; he was of the kin of Ing, King of Luthany. His mother and father were slain by the sea-pirates and he was made captive.

He had always loved the fairies: his father had told him many things (of the tradition of Ing). He escapes. He beats about the northern and western waters. He meets the Ancient Mariner – and seeks for Tol Eressëa (*seo unwemmede íeg*), whither most of the unfaded Elves have retired from the noise, war, and clamour of Men.

The Elves greet him, and the more so when they learn of him who he is. They call him *Lúthien* the man of Luthany. He finds his own tongue, the ancient English tongue, is spoken in the isle.

The 'Ancient Mariner' has appeared in the story that Eriol told to Vëannë (pp. 5, 7), and much more will be told of him subsequently.

(16) Ælfwine of Englaland, [*added later*: driven by the Normans,] arrives in Tol Eressëa, whither most of the fading Elves have withdrawn from the world, and there fade now no more.

Description of the harbour of the southern shore. The fairies greet him well hearing he is from Englaland. He is surprised to hear them speak the speech of Ælfred of Wessex, though to one another they spoke a sweet and unknown tongue.

The Elves name him Lúthien for he is come from Luthany, as they call it ('friend' and 'friendship'). Eldaros or Ælfhâm. He is

sped to Rôs their capital. There he finds the Cottage of Lost Play, and Lindo and Vairë.

He tells who he is and whence, and why he has long sought for the isle (by reason of traditions in the kin of Ing), and he begs the Elves to come back to Englaland.

Here begins (as an explanation of why they cannot) the series of stories called the Book of Lost Tales.

In this passage (16) Ælfwine becomes more firmly rooted in English history: he is apparently a man of eleventh-century Wessex – but as in (15) he is of 'the kin of Ing'. The capital of the Elves of Tol Eressëa is not Kortirion but Rôs, a name now used in a quite different application from that in citation (5), where it was a promontory of the Great Lands.

I have been unable to find any trace of the process whereby the name *Lúthien* came to be so differently applied afterwards (*Lúthien Tinúviel*). Another note of this period explains the name quite otherwise: 'Lúthien or Lúsion was son of Telumaith (Telumektar). Ælfwine loved the sign of Orion, and made the sign, hence the fairies called him Lúthien (Wanderer).' There is no other mention of Ælfwine's peculiar association with Orion nor of this interpretation of the name Lúthien; and this seems to be a development that my father did not pursue.

It is convenient to give here the opening passage from the second Scheme for the *Lost Tales*, referred to above; this plainly belongs to the same time as the rest of these 'Ælfwine' notes, when the *Tales* had been written so far as they ever went within their first framework.

(17) Ælfwine awakens upon a sandy beach. He listens to the sea, which is far out. The tide is low and has left him.

Ælfwine meets the Elves of Rôs; finds they speak the speech of the English, beside their own sweet tongue. Why they do so – the dwelling of Elves in Luthany and their faring thence and back. They clothe him and feed him, and he sets forth to walk along the island's flowery ways.

The scheme goes on to say that on a summer evening Ælfwine came to Kortirion, and thus differs from (16), where he goes to 'Rôs their capital', in which he finds the Cottage of Lost Play. The name Rôs seems to be used here in yet another sense – possibly a name for Tol Eressëa.

(18) He is sped to Ælfhâm (Elfhome) Eldos where Lindo and Vairë tell him many things: of the making and ancient fashion of the world: of the Gods: of the Elves of Valinor: of Lost Elves and Men: of the Travail of the Gnomes: of Eärendel: of the Faring Forth and the Loss of Valinor: of the disaster of the Faring Forth and the war with evil Men. The retreat to Luthany where Ingwë was king.

> Of the home-thirst of the Elves and how the greater number sought back to Valinor. The loss of Elwing. How a new home was made by the Solosimpi and others in Tol Eressëa. How the Elves continually sadly leave the world and fare thither.

For the interpretation of this passage it is essential to realise (the key indeed to the understanding of this projected history) that 'the Faring Forth' does *not* here refer to the Faring Forth in the sense in which it has been used hitherto – that from Tol Eressëa for the Rekindling of the Magic Sun, which ended in ruin, but to the March of the Elves of Kôr and the 'Loss of Valinor' that the March incurred (see pp. 253, 257, 280). It is not indeed clear why it is here called a 'disaster': but this is evidently to be associated with 'the war with evil Men', and war between Elves and Men at the time of the March from Kôr is referred to in citations (1) and (3).

In 'the *Eriol* story' it is explicit that after the March from Kôr the Elves departed from the Great Lands to Tol Eressëa; here on the other hand 'the war with evil Men' is followed by 'the retreat to Luthany where Ingwë was king'. The (partial) departure to Tol Eressëa is from Luthany; the loss of Elwing seems to take place on one of these voyages. As will be seen, the 'Faring Forth' of 'the *Eriol* story' has disappeared as an event of Elvish history, and is only mentioned as a prophecy and a hope.

Schematically the essential divergence of the two narrative structures can be shown thus:

(*Eriol* story)	(*Ælfwine* story)
March of the Elves of Kôr to the Great Lands	March of the Elves of Kôr to the Great Lands (called 'the Faring Forth')
War with Men in the Great Lands	War with Men in the Great Lands
Retreat of the Elves to Tol Eressëa (loss of Elwing)	Retreat of the Elves to Luthany (> England) ruled by Ingwë
	Departure of many Elves to Tol Eressëa (loss of Elwing)
Eriol sails from the East (North Sea region) to Tol Eressëa	Ælfwine sails from England to Tol Eressëa
The Faring Forth, drawing of Tol Eressëa to the Great Lands; ultimately Tol Eressëa > England	

This is of course by no means a full statement of the *Ælfwine* story, and is merely set out to indicate the radical difference of structure. Lacking from it is the history of Luthany, which emerges from the passages that now follow.

(19) *Luthany* means 'friendship', *Lúthien* 'friend'. Luthany the only land where Men and Elves once dwelt an age in peace and love.

How for a while after the coming of the sons of Ing the Elves throve again and ceased to fare away to Tol Eressëa.

How Old English became the sole mortal language which an Elf will speak to a mortal that knows no Elfin.

(20) Ælfwine of England (whose father and mother were slain by the fierce Men of the Sea who knew not the Elves) was a great lover of the Elves, especially of the shoreland Elves that lingered in the land. He seeks for Tol Eressëa whither the fairies are said to have retired.

He reaches it. The fairies call him Lúthien. He learns of the making of the world, ... of Gods and Elves, of Elves and Men, down to the departure to Tol Eressëa.

How the Faring Forth came to nought, and the fairies took refuge in Albion or Luthany (the Isle of Friendship).

Seven invasions.

Of the coming of Men to Luthany, how each race quarrelled, and the fairies faded, until [?the most] set sail, after the coming of the Rúmhoth, for the West. Why the Men of the seventh invasion, the Ingwaiwar, are more friendly.

Ingwë and Eärendel who dwelt in Luthany before it was an isle and was [*sic*] driven east by Ossë to found the Ingwaiwar.

(21) All the descendants of Ing were well disposed to Elves; hence the remaining Elves of Luthany spoke to [?them] in the ancient tongue of the English, and since some have fared . . . . . to Tol Eressëa that tongue is there understood, and all who wish to speak to the Elves, if they know not and have no means of learning Elfin speeches, must converse in the ancient tongue of the English.

In (20) the term 'Faring Forth' must again be used as it is in (18), of the March from Kôr. There it was called a 'disaster' (see p. 303), and here it is said that it 'came to nought': it must be admitted that it is hard to see how that can be said, if it led to the binding of Melko and the release of the enslaved Noldoli (see (1) and (3)).

Also in (20) is the first appearance of the idea of the Seven Invasions of Luthany. One of these was that of the Rúmhoth (mentioned also in (14)) or Romans; and the seventh was that of the Ingwaiwar, who were not hostile to the Elves.

Here something must be said of the name *Ing* (*Ingwë*, *Ingwaiar*) in these passages. As with the introduction of Hengest and Horsa, the association of the mythology with ancient English legend is manifest. But it would serve no purpose, I believe, to enter here into the obscure and speculative scholarship of English and Scandinavian origins: the

Roman writers' term *Inguaeones* for the Baltic maritime peoples from whom the English came; the name *Ingwine* (interpretable either as *Ing-wine* 'the friends of Ing' or as containing the same *Ingw-* seen in *Inguaeones*); or the mysterious personage *Ing* who appears in the Old English *Runic Poem*:

> Ing wæs ærest mid East-Denum
> gesewen secgum oþ he siþþan east
> ofer wæg gewat; wæn æfter ran

– which may be translated: 'Ing was first seen by men among the East Danes, until he departed eastwards over the waves; his car sped after him.' It would serve no purpose, because although the connection of my father's *Ing*, *Ingwë* with the shadowy *Ing* (*Ingw-*) of northern historical legend is certain and indeed obvious he seems to have been intending no more than an *association* of his mythology with known traditions (though the words of the *Runic Poem* were clearly influential). The matter is made particularly obscure by the fact that in these notes the names *Ing* and *Ingwë* intertwine with each other, but are never expressly differentiated or identified.

Thus Ælfwine was 'of the kin of Ing, King of Luthany' (15, 16), but the Elves retreated 'to Luthany where Ingwë was king' (18). The Elves of Luthany throve again 'after the coming of the sons of Ing' (19), and the Ingwaiwar, seventh of the invaders of Luthany, were more friendly to the Elves (20), while Ingwë 'founded' the Ingwaiwar (20). This name is certainly to be equated with Inguaeones (see above), and the invasion of the Ingwaiwar (or 'sons of Ing') equally certainly represents the 'Anglo-Saxon' invasion of Britain. Can *Ing*, *Ingwë* be equated? So far as this present material is concerned, I hardly see how they can not be. Whether this ancestor-founder is to be equated with *Inwë* (whose son was *Ingil*) of the *Lost Tales* is another question. It is hard to believe that there is no connection (especially since *Inwë* in *The Cottage of Lost Play* is emended from *Ing*, I.22), yet it is equally difficult to see what that connection could be, since Inwë of the *Lost Tales* is an Elda of Kôr (Ingwë Lord of the Vanyar in *The Silmarillion*) while Ing(wë) of 'the *Ælfwine* story' is a Man, the King of Luthany and Ælfwine's ancestor. (In outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* it is said that Ing King of Luthany was descended from Ermon, or from Ermon and Elmir (the first Men, I.236–7).)

The following outlines tell some more concerning Ing(wë) and the Ingwaiwar:

(22) How Ing sailed away at eld [i.e. in old age] into the twilight, and Men say he came to the Gods, but he dwells on Tol Eressëa, and will guide the fairies one day back to Luthany when the Faring Forth takes place.*

* The term 'Faring Forth' is used here in a prophetic sense, not as it is in (18) and (20).

How he prophesied that his kin should fare back again and possess Luthany until the days of the coming of the Elves.

How the land of Luthany was seven times invaded by Men, until at the seventh the children of the children of Ing came back to their own.

How at each new war and invasion the Elves faded, and each loved the Elves less, until the Rúmhoth came – and they did not even believe they existed, and the Elves all fled, so that save for a few the isle was empty of the Elves for three hundred years.

(23) How Ingwë drank *limpë* at the hands of the Elves and reigned ages in Luthany.

How Eärendel came to Luthany to find the Elves gone.

How Ingwë aided him, but was not suffered to go with him. Eärendel blessed all his progeny as the mightiest sea-rovers of the world.[16]

How Ossë made war upon Ingwë because of Eärendel, and Ing longing for the Elves set sail, and all were wrecked after being driven far east.

How Ing the immortal came among the Dani OroDáni Urdainoth East Danes.

How he became the half-divine king of the Ingwaiwar, and taught them many things of Elves and Gods, so that some true knowledge of the Gods and Elves lingered in that folk alone.

Part of another outline that does not belong with the foregoing passages but covers the same part of the narrative as (23) may be given here:

(24) Eärendel takes refuge with [Ingwë] from the wrath of Ossë, and gives him a draught of *limpë* (enough to assure immortality). He gives him news of the Elves and the dwelling on Tol Eressëa.

Ingwë and a host of his folk set sail to find Tol Eressëa, but Ossë blows them back east. They are utterly wrecked. Only Ingwë rescued on a raft. He becomes king of the Angali, Euti, Saksani, and Firisandi,* who adopt the title of Ingwaiwar. He teaches them much magic and first sets men's hearts to seafaring westward. . . . . .

After a great [?age of rule] Ingwë sets sail in a little boat and is heard of no more.

It is clear that the intrusion of Luthany, and Ing(wë), into the conception has caused a movement in the story of Eärendel: whereas in the older version he went to Tol Eressëa after the departure of the Eldar and Noldoli from the Great Lands (pp. 253, 255), now he goes to

* Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Frisians.

Luthany; and the idea of Ossë's enmity towards Eärendel (pp. 254, 263) is retained but brought into association with the origin of the Ingwaiwar.

It is clear that the narrative structure is:

- Ing(wë) King of Luthany.
- Eärendel seeks refuge with him (after [many of] the Elves have departed to Tol Eressëa).
- Ing(wë) seeks Tol Eressëa but is driven into the East.
- Seven invasions of Luthany.
- The people of Ing(wë) are the Ingwaiwar, and they 'come back to their own' when they invade Luthany from across the North Sea.

(25) Luthany was where the tribes first embarked in the Lonely Isle for Valinor, and whence they landed for the Faring Forth,* whence [also] many sailed with Elwing to find Tol Eressëa.

That Luthany was where the Elves, at the end of the great journey from Palisor, embarked on the Lonely Isle for the Ferrying to Valinor, is probably to be connected with the statement in (20) that 'Ingwë and Eärendel dwelt in Luthany before it was an isle'.

(26) There are other references to the channel separating Luthany from the Great Lands: in rough jottings in notebook C there is mention of an isthmus being cut by the Elves, 'fearing Men now that Ingwë has gone', and 'to the white cliffs where the silver spades of the Teleri worked'; also in the next citation.

(27) The Elves tell Ælfwine of the ancient manner of Luthany, of Kortirion or Gwarthyryn (Caer Gwâr),[17] of Tavrobel.

How the fairies dwelt there a hundred ages before Men had the skill to build boats to cross the channel – so that magic lingers yet mightily in its woods and hills.

How they renamed many a place in Tol Eressëa after their home in Luthany. Of the Second Faring Forth and the fairies' hope to reign in Luthany and replant there the magic trees – and it depends most on the temper of the Men of Luthany (since they first must come there) whether all goes well.

Notable here is the reference to 'the Second Faring Forth', which strongly supports my interpretation of the expression 'Faring Forth' in (18), (20), and (25); but the prophecy or hope of the Elves concerning

* In the sense of the March of the Elves from Kôr, as in (18) and (20).

the Faring Forth has been greatly changed from its nature in citation (6): here, the Trees are to be replanted in Luthany.

(28) How Ælfwine lands in Tol Eressëa and it seems to him like his own land made . . . . . clad in the beauty of a happy dream. How the folk comprehended [his speech] and learn whence he is come by the favour of Ulmo. How he is sped to Kortirion.

With these two passages it is interesting to compare (9), the prose preface to *Kortirion among the Trees*, according to which Kortirion was a city built by the Elves in Tol Eressëa; and when Tol Eressëa was brought across the sea, becoming England, Kortirion was renamed in the tongue of the English *Warwick* (13). In the new story, Kortirion is likewise an ancient dwelling of the Elves, but with the change in the fundamental conception it is in Luthany; and the Kortirion to which Ælfwine comes in Tol Eressëa is the second of the name (being called 'after their home in Luthany'). There has thus been a very curious transference, which may be rendered schematically thus:

(I) Kortirion, Elvish dwelling in Tol Eressëa.
Tol Eressëa ——→ England.
Kortirion = Warwick.

(II) Kortirion, Elvish dwelling in Luthany (> England).
Elves ——→ Tol Eressëa.
Kortirion (2) in Tol Eressëa named after Kortirion (1) in Luthany.

On the basis of the foregoing passages, (15) to (28), we may attempt to construct a narrative taking account of all the essential features:

- March of the Elves of Kôr (called 'the Faring Forth', or (by implication in 27) 'the First Faring Forth') into the Great Lands, landing in Luthany (25), and the Loss of Valinor (18).
- War with evil Men in the Great Lands (18).
- The Elves retreated to Luthany (not yet an island) where Ing(wë) was king (18, 20).
- Many [but by no means all] of the Elves of Luthany sought back west over the sea and settled in Tol Eressëa; but Elwing was lost (18, 25).
- Places in Tol Eressëa were named after places in Luthany (27).
- Eärendel came to Luthany, taking refuge with Ing(wë) from the hostility of Ossë (20, 23, 24).
- Eärendel gave Ing(wë) *limpë* to drink (24), *or* Ing(wë) received *limpë* from the Elves before Eärendel came (23).

- Eärendel blessed the progeny of Ing(wë) before his departure (23).
- Ossë's hostility to Eärendel pursued Ing(wë) also (23, 24).
- Ing(wë) set sail (with many of his people, 24) to find Tol Eressëa (23, 24).
- Ing(wë)'s voyage, through the enmity of Ossë, ended in shipwreck, but Ing(wë) survived, and far to the East [i.e. after being driven across the North Sea] he became King of the Ingwaiwar the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain (23, 24).
- Ing(wë) instructed the Ingwaiwar in true knowledge of the Gods and Elves (23) and turned their hearts to seafaring westwards (24). He prophesied that his kin should one day return again to Luthany (22).
- Ing(wë) at length departed in a boat (22, 24), and was heard of no more (24), *or* came to Tol Eressëa (22).
- After Ing(wë)'s departure from Luthany a channel was made so that Luthany became an isle (26); but Men crossed the channel in boats (27).
- Seven successive invasions took place, including that of the Rúmhoth or Romans, and at each new war more of the remaining Elves of Luthany fled over the sea (20, 22).
- The seventh invasion, that of the Ingwaiwar, was however not hostile to the Elves (20, 21); and these invaders were 'coming back to their own' (22), since they were the people of Ing(wë).
- The Elves of Luthany (now England) throve again and ceased to leave Luthany for Tol Eressëa (19), and they spoke to the Ingwaiwar in their own language, Old English (21).
- Ælfwine was an Englishman of the Anglo-Saxon period, a descendant of Ing(wë), who had derived a knowledge of and love of the Elves from the tradition of his family (15, 16).
- Ælfwine came to Tol Eressëa, found that Old English was spoken there, and was called by the Elves Lúthien 'friend', the Man of Luthany (the Isle of Friendship) (15, 16, 19).

I claim no more for this than that it seems to me to be the only way in which these *disjecta membra* can be set together into a comprehensive narrative scheme. It must be admitted even so that it requires some forcing of the evidence to secure apparent agreement. For example, there seem to be different views of the relation of the Ingwaiwar to Ing(wë): they are 'the sons of Ing' (19), 'his kin' (22), 'the children of the children of Ing' (22), yet he seems to have become the king and teacher of North Sea peoples who had no connection with Luthany or the Elves (23, 24). (Over whom did he rule when the Elves first retreated to Luthany (18, 23)?) Again, it is very difficult to fit the 'hundred ages' during which the

Elves dwelt in Luthany before the invasions of Men began (27) to the rest of the scheme. Doubtless in these jottings my father was thinking with his pen, exploring independent narrative paths; one gets the impression of a ferment of ideas and possibilities rapidly displacing one another, from which no one stable narrative core can be extracted. A complete 'solution' is therefore in all probability an unreal aim, and this reconstruction no doubt as artificial as that attempted earlier for 'the *Eriol* story' (see p. 293). But here as there I believe that this outline shows as well as can be the direction of my father's thought at that time.

There is very little to indicate the further course of 'the *Ælfwine* story' after his sojourn in Tol Eressëa (as I have remarked, p. 301, the part of the mariner is only to learn and record tales out of the past); and virtually all that can be learned from these notes is found on a slip that reads:

(29) How Ælfwine drank of *limpë* but thirsted for his home, and went back to Luthany; and thirsted then unquenchably for the Elves, and went back to Tavrobel the Old and dwelt in the House of the Hundred Chimneys (where grows still the child of the child of the Pine of Belawryn) and wrote the Golden Book.

Associated with this is a title-page:

(30)

The Book of Lost Tales
and the History of the Elves of Luthany
[?being]
The Golden Book of Tavrobel
the same that Ælfwine wrote and laid in the House of a Hundred Chimneys at Tavrobel, where it lieth still to read for such as may.

These are very curious. Tavrobel the Old must be the original Tavrobel in Luthany (after which Tavrobel in Tol Eressëa was named, just as Kortirion in Tol Eressëa was named after Kortirion = Warwick in Luthany); and the House of the Hundred Chimneys (as also the Pine of Belawryn, on which see p. 281 and note 4) was to be displaced from Tol Eressëa to Luthany. Presumably my father intended to rewrite those passages in the 'framework' of the *Lost Tales* where the House of a Hundred Chimneys in Tavrobel is referred to; unless there was to be another House of a Hundred Chimneys in Tavrobel the New in Tol Eressëa.

Lastly, an interesting entry in the Qenya dictionary may be mentioned here: *Parma Kuluinen* 'the Golden Book – the collected book of legends, especially of Ing and Eärendel'.

★

In the event, of all these projections my father only developed the story of Ælfwine's youth and his voyage to Tol Eressëa to a full and polished form, and to this work I now turn; but first it is convenient to collect the passages previously considered that bear on it.

In the opening *Link* to the *Tale of Tinúviel* Eriol said that 'many years agone', when he was a child, his home was 'in an old town of Men girt with a wall now crumbled and broken, and a river ran thereby over which a castle with a great tower hung'.

> My father came of a coastward folk, and the love of the sea that I had never seen was in my bones, and my father whetted my desire, for he told me tales that his father had told him before. Now my mother died in a cruel and hungry siege of that old town, and my father was slain in bitter fight about the walls, and in the end I Eriol escaped to the shoreland of the Western Sea.

Eriol told then of

> his wanderings about the western havens, . . . of how he was wrecked upon far western islands until at last upon one lonely one he came upon an ancient sailor who gave him shelter, and over a fire within his lonely cabin told him strange tales of things beyond the Western Seas, of the Magic Isles and that most lonely one that lay beyond. . . .
>
> 'Ever after,' said Eriol, 'did I sail more curiously about the western isles seeking more stories of the kind, and thus it is indeed that after many great voyages I came myself by the blessing of the Gods to Tol Eressëa in the end . . .'

In the typescript version of this *Link* it is further told that in the town where Eriol's parents lived and died

> there dwelt a mighty duke, and did he gaze from the topmost battlements never might he see the bounds of his wide domain, save where far to east the blue shapes of the great mountains lay – yet was that tower held the most lofty that stood in the lands of Men.

The siege and sack of the town were the work of 'the wild men from the Mountains of the East'.

At the end of the typescript version the boy Ausir assured Eriol that 'that ancient mariner beside the lonely sea was none other than Ulmo's self, who appeareth not seldom thus to those voyagers whom he loves'; but Eriol did not believe him.

I have given above (pp. 294–5) reasons for thinking that in 'the *Eriol* story' this tale of his youth was not set in England.

Turning to the passages concerned with the later, *Ælfwine* story, we learn from (15) that Ælfwine dwelt in the South-west of England and

that his mother and father were slain by 'the sea-pirates', and from (20) that they were slain by 'the fierce Men of the Sea'; from (16) that he was 'driven by the Normans'. In (15) there is a mention of his meeting with 'the Ancient Mariner' during his voyages. In (16) he comes to 'the harbour of the southern shore' of Tol Eressëa; and in (17) he 'awakens upon a sandy beach' at low tide.

I come now to the narrative that finally emerged. It will be observed, perhaps with relief, that Ing, Ingwë, and the Ingwaiwar have totally disappeared.

ÆLFWINE OF ENGLAND

There are three versions of this short work. One is a plot-outline of less than 500 words, which for convenience of reference I shall call *Ælfwine A*; but the second is a much more substantial narrative bearing the title *Ælfwine of England*. This was written in 1920 or later: demonstrably not earlier, for my father used for it scraps of paper pinned together, and some of these are letters to him, all dated in February 1920.[18] The third text no doubt began as a fair copy in ink of the second, to which it is indeed very close at first, but became as it proceeded a complete rewriting at several points, with the introduction of much new matter, and it was further emended after it had been completed. It bears no title in the manuscript, but must obviously be called *Ælfwine of England* likewise.

For convenience I shall refer to the first fully-written version as *Ælfwine I* and to its rewriting as *Ælfwine II*. The relation of *Ælfwine A* to these is hard to determine, since it agrees in some respects with the one and in some with the other. It is obvious that my father had *Ælfwine I* in front of him when he wrote *Ælfwine II*, but it seems likely that he drew on *Ælfwine A* at the same time.

I give here the full text of *Ælfwine II* in its final form, with all noteworthy emendations and all important differences from the other texts in the notes (differences in names, and changes to names, are listed separately).

There was a land called England, and it was an island of the West, and before it was broken in the warfare of the Gods it was westernmost of all the Northern lands, and looked upon the Great Sea that Men of old called Garsecg;[19] but that part that was broken was called Ireland and many names besides, and its dwellers come not into these tales.

All that land the Elves named Lúthien[20] and do so yet. In Lúthien alone dwelt still the most part of the Fading Companies, the Holy Fairies that have not yet sailed away from the world,

beyond the horizon of Men's knowledge, to the Lonely Island, or even to the Hill of Tûn[21] upon the Bay of Faëry that washes the western shores of the kingdom of the Gods. Therefore is Lúthien even yet a holy land, and a magic that is not otherwise lingers still in many places of that isle.

Now amidmost of that island is there still a town that is aged among Men, but its age among the Elves is greater far; and, for this is a book of the Lost Tales of Elfinesse, it shall be named in their tongue Kortirion, which the Gnomes call Mindon Gwar.[22] Upon the hill of Gwar dwelt in the days of the English a man and his name was Déor, and he came thither from afar, from the south of the island and from the forests and from the enchanted West, where albeit he was of the English folk he had long time wandered. Now the Prince of Gwar was in those days a lover of songs and no enemy of the Elves, and they lingered yet most of all the isle in those regions about Kortirion (which places they called Alalminórë, the Land of Elms), and thither came Déor the singer to seek the Prince of Gwar and to seek the companies of the Fading Elves, for he was an Elf-friend. Though Déor was of English blood, it is told that he wedded to wife a maiden from the West, from Lionesse as some have named it since, or Evadrien 'Coast of Iron' as the Elves still say. Déor found her in the lost land beyond Belerion whence the Elves at times set sail.

Mirth had Déor long time in Mindon Gwar, but the Men of the North, whom the fairies of the island called Forodwaith, but whom Men called other names, came against Gwar in those days when they ravaged wellnigh all the land of Lúthien. Its walls availed not and its towers might not withstand them for ever, though the siege was long and bitter.

There Éadgifu (for so did Déor name the maiden of the West, though it was not her name aforetime)[23] died in those evil hungry days; but Déor fell before the walls even as he sang a song of ancient valour for the raising of men's hearts. That was a desperate sally, and the son of Déor was Ælfwine, and he was then but a boy left fatherless. The sack of that town thereafter was very cruel, and whispers of its ancient days alone remained, and the Elves that had grown to love the English of the isle fled or hid themselves for a long time, and none of Elves or Men were left in his old halls to lament the fall of Óswine Prince of Gwar.

Then Ælfwine, even he whom the unfaded Elves beyond the waters of Garsecg did after name Eldairon of Lúthien (which is

Ælfwine of England), was made a thrall to the fierce lords of the Forodwaith, and his boyhood knew evil days. But behold a wonder, for Ælfwine knew not and had never seen the sea, yet he heard its great voice speaking deeply in his heart, and its murmurous choirs sang ever in his secret ear between wake and sleep, that he was filled with longing. This was of the magic of Éadgifu, maiden of the West, his mother, and this longing unquenchable had been hers all the days that she dwelt in the quiet inland places among the elms of Mindon Gwar – and amidmost of her longing was Ælfwine her child born, and the Foamriders, the Elves of the Sea-marge, whom she had known of old in Lionesse, sent messengers to his birth. But now Éadgifu was gone beyond the Rim of Earth, and her fair form lay unhonoured in Mindon Gwar, and Déor's harp was silent, but Ælfwine laboured in thraldom until the threshold of manhood, dreaming dreams and filled with longing, and at rare times holding converse with the hidden Elves.

At last his longing for the sea bit him so sorely that he contrived to break his bonds, and daring great perils and suffering many grievous toils he escaped to lands where the Lords of the Forodwaith had not come, far from the places of Déor's abiding in Mindon Gwar. Ever he wandered southward and to the west, for that way his feet unbidden led him. Now Ælfwine had in a certain measure the gift of elfin-sight (which was not given to all Men in those days of the fading of the Elves and still less is it granted now), and the folk of Lúthien were less faded too in those days, so that many a host of their fair companies he saw upon his wandering road. Some there were dwelt yet and danced yet about that land as of old, but many more there were that wandered slowly and sadly westward; for behind them all the land was full of burnings and of war, and its dwellings ran with tears and with blood for the little love of Men for Men – nor was that the last of the takings of Lúthien by Men from Men, which have been seven, and others mayhap still shall be. Men of the East and of the West and of the South and of the North have coveted that land and dispossessed those who held it before them, because of its beauty and goodliness and of the glamour of the fading ages of the Elves that lingered still among its trees beyond its high white shores.[24]

Yet at each taking of that isle have many more of the most ancient of all dwellers therein, the folk of Lúthien, turned westward; and they have got them in ships at Belerion in the

West and sailed thence away for ever over the horizon of Men's knowledge, leaving the island the poorer for their going and its leaves less green; yet still it abides the richest among Men in the presence of the Elves. And it is said that, save only when the fierce fathers of Men, foes of the Elves, being new come under the yoke of Evil,[25] entered first that land, never else did so great a concourse of elfin ships and white-winged galleons sail to the setting sun as in those days when the ancient Men of the South set first their mighty feet upon the soil of Lúthien – the Men whose lords sat in the city of power that Elves and Men have called Rûm (but the Elves alone do know as Magbar).[26]

Now is it the dull hearts of later days rather than the red deeds of cruel hands that set the minds of the little folk to fare away; and ever and anon a little ship[27] weighs anchor from Belerion at eve and its sweet sad song is lost for ever on the waves. Yet even in the days of Ælfwine there was many a laden ship under elfin sails that left those shores for ever, and many a comrade he had, seen or half-unseen, upon his westward road. And so he came at last to Belerion, and there he laved his weary feet in the grey waters of the Western Sea, whose great roaring drowned his ears. There the dim shapes of Elvish[28] boats sailed by him in the gloaming, and many aboard called to him farewell. But he might not embark on those frail craft, and they refused his prayer – for they were not willing that even one beloved among Men should pass with them beyond the edge of the West, or learn what lies far out on Garsecg the great and measureless sea. Now the men who dwelt thinly about those places nigh Belerion were fishermen, and Ælfwine abode long time amongst them, and being of nature shaped inly thereto he learned all that a man may of the craft of ships and of the sea. He recked little of his life, and he set his ocean-paths wider than most of those men, good mariners though they were; and there were few in the end who dared to go with him, save Ælfheah the fatherless who was with him in all ventures until his last voyage.[29]

Now on a time journeying far out into the open sea, being first becalmed in a thick mist, and after driven helpless by a mighty wind from the East, he espied some islands lying in the dawn, but he won not ever thereto for the winds changing swept him again far away, and only his strong fate saved him to see the black coasts of his abiding once again. Little content was he with his good fortune, and purposed in his heart to sail some time again yet further into the West, thinking unwitting it was

the Magic Isles of the songs of Men that he had seen from afar. Few companions could he get for this adventure. Not all men love to sail a quest for the red sun or to tempt the dangerous seas in thirst for undiscovered things. Seven such found he in the end, the greatest mariners that were then in England, and Ulmo Lord of the Sea afterward took them to himself and their names are now forgotten, save Ælfheah only.[30] A great storm fell upon their ship even as they had sighted the isles of Ælfwine's desire, and a great sea swept over her; but Ælfwine was lost in the waves, and coming to himself saw no sign of ship or comrades, and he lay upon a bed of sand in a deep-walled cove. Dark and very empty was the isle, and he knew then that these were not those Magic Isles of which he had heard often tell.[31]

There wandering long, 'tis said, he came upon many hulls of wrecks rotting on the long gloomy beaches, and some were wrecks of many mighty ships of old, and some were treasure-laden. A lonely cabin looking westward he found at last upon the further shore, and it was made of the upturned hull of a small ship. An ancient man dwelt there, and Ælfwine feared him, for the eyes of the man were as deep as the unfathomable sea, and his long beard was blue and grey; great was his stature, and his shoes were of stone,[32] but he was all clad in tangled rags, sitting beside a small fire of drifted wood.

In that strange hut beside an empty sea did Ælfwine long abide for lack of other shelter or of other counsel, thinking his ship lost and his comrades drowned. But the ancient man grew kindly toward him, and questioned Ælfwine concerning his coming and his goings and whither he had desired to sail before the storm took him. And many things before unheard did Ælfwine hear tell of him beside that smoky fire at eve, and strange tales of wind-harried ships and harbourless tempests in the forbidden waters. Thus heard Ælfwine how the Magic Isles were yet a great voyage before him keeping a dark and secret ward upon the edge of Earth, beyond whom the waters of Garsecg grow less troublous and there lies the twilight of the latter days of Fairyland. Beyond and on the confines of the Shadows lies the Lonely Island looking East to the Magic Archipelago and to the lands of Men beyond it, and West into the Shadows beyond which afar off is glimpsed the Outer Land, the kingdom of the Gods – even the aged Bay of Faëry whose glory has grown dim. Thence slopes the world steeply beyond the Rim of Things to Valinor, that is God-home, and to the

Wall and to the edge of Nothingness whereon are sown the stars. But the Lonely Isle is neither of the Great Lands or of the Outer Land, and no isle lies near it.

In his tales that aged man named himself the Man of the Sea, and he spoke of his last voyage ere he was cast in wreck upon this outer isle, telling how ere the West wind took him he had glimpsed afar off bosomed in the deep the twinkling lanterns of the Lonely Isle. Then did Ælfwine's heart leap within him, but he said to that aged one that he might not hope to get him a brave ship or comrades more. But that Man of the Sea said: 'Lo, this is one of the ring of Harbourless Isles that draw all ships towards their hidden rocks and quaking sands, lest Men fare over far upon Garsecg and see things that are not for them to see. And these isles were set here at the Hiding of Valinor, and little wood for ship or raft does there grow on them, as may be thought;[33] but I may aid thee yet in thy desire to depart from these greedy shores.'

Thereafter on a day Ælfwine fared along the eastward strands gazing at the many unhappy wrecks there lying. He sought, as often he had done before, if he might see perchance any sign or relic of his good ship from Belerion. There had been that night a storm of great violence and dread, and lo! the number of wrecks was increased by one, and Ælfwine saw it had been a large and well-built ship of cunning lines such as the Forodwaith then loved. Cast far up on the treacherous sands it stood, and its great beak carven as a dragon's head still glared unbroken at the land. Then went the Man of the Sea out when the tide began to creep in slow and shallow over the long flats. He bore as a staff a timber great as a young tree, and he fared as if he had no need to fear tide or quicksand until he came far out where his shoulders were scarce above the yellow waters of the incoming flood to that carven prow, that now alone was seen above the water. Then Ælfwine marvelled watching from afar, to see him heave by his single strength the whole great ship up from the clutches of the sucking sand that gripped its sunken stern; and when it floated he thrust it before him, swimming now with mighty strokes in the deepening water. At that sight Ælfwine's fear of the aged one was renewed, and he wondered what manner of being he might be; but now the ship was thrust far up on the firmer sands, and the swimmer strode ashore, and his mighty beard was full of strands of sea-weed, and sea-weed was in his hair.

When that tide again forsook the Hungry Sands the Man of the Sea bade Ælfwine go look at that new-come wreck, and going he saw it was not hurt; but there were within nine dead men who had not long ago been yet alive. They lay abottom gazing at the sky, and behold, one whose garb and mien still proclaimed a chieftain of Men lay there, but though his locks were white with age and his face was pale in death, still a proud man and a fierce he looked. 'Men of the North, Forodwaith, are they,' said the Man of the Sea, 'but hunger and thirst was their death, and their ship was flung by last night's storm where she stuck in the Hungry Sands, slowly to be engulfed, had not fate thought otherwise.'

'Truly do you say of them, O Man of the Sea; and him I know well with those white locks, for he slew my father; and long was I his thrall, and Orm men called him, and little did I love him.'

'And his ship shall it be that bears you from this Harbourless Isle,' said he; 'and a gallant ship it was of a brave man, for few folk have now so great a heart for the adventures of the sea as have these Forodwaith, who press ever into the mists of the West, though few live to take back tale of all they see.'

Thus it was that Ælfwine escaped beyond hope from that island, but the Man of the Sea was his pilot and steersman, and so they came after few days to a land but little known.[34] And the folk that dwell there are a strange folk, and none know how they came thither in the West, yet are they accounted among the kindreds of Men, albeit their land is on the outer borders of the regions of Mankind, lying yet further toward the Setting Sun beyond the Harbourless Isles and further to the North than is that isle whereon Ælfwine was cast away. Marvellously skilled are these people in the building of ships and boats of every kind and in the sailing of them; yet do they fare seldom or never to the lands of other folk, and little do they busy themselves with commerce or with war. Their ships they build for love of that labour and for the joy they have only to ride the waves in them. And a great part of that people are ever aboard their ships, and all the water about the island of their home is ever white with their sails in calm or storm. Their delight is to vie in rivalry with one another with their boats of surpassing swiftness, driven by the winds or by the ranks of their long-shafted oars. Other rivalries have they with ships of great seaworthiness, for with these will they contest who will weather the fiercest storms (and these are fierce indeed about that isle, and it is iron-coasted save

for one cool harbour in the North). Thereby is the craft of their shipwrights proven; and these people are called by Men the Ythlings,[35] the Children of the Waves, but the Elves call the island Eneadur, and its folk the Shipmen of the West.[36]

Well did these receive Ælfwine and his pilot at the thronging quays of their harbour in the North, and it seemed to Ælfwine that the Man of the Sea was not unknown to them, and that they held him in the greatest awe and reverence, hearkening to his requests as though they were a king's commands. Yet greater was his amaze when he met amid the throngs of that place two of his comrades that he had thought lost in the sea; and learnt that those seven mariners of England were alive in that land, but the ship had been broken utterly on the black shores to the south, not long after the night when the great sea had taken Ælfwine overboard.

Now at the bidding of the Man of the Sea do those islanders with great speed fashion a new ship for Ælfwine and his fellows, since he would fare no further in Orm's ship; and its timbers were cut, as the ancient sailor had asked, from a grove of magic oaks far inland that grew about a high place of the Gods, sacred to Ulmo Lord of the Sea, and seldom were any of them felled. 'A ship that is wrought of this wood,' said the Man of the Sea, 'may be lost, but those that sail in it shall not in that voyage lose their lives; yet may they perhaps be cast where they little think to come.'

But when that ship was made ready that ancient sailor bid them climb aboard, and this they did, but with them went also Bior of the Ythlings, a man of mighty sea-craft for their aid, and one who above any of that strange folk was minded to sail at times far from the land of Eneadur to West or North or South. There stood many men of the Ythlings upon the shore beside that vessel; for they had builded her in a cove of the steep shore that looked to the West, and a bar of rock with but a narrow opening made here a sheltered pool and mooring place, and few like it were to be found in that island of sheer cliffs. Then the ancient one laid his hand upon her prow and spoke words of magic, giving her power to cleave uncloven waters and enter unentered harbours, and ride untrodden beaches. Twin rudder-paddles, one on either side, had she after the fashion of the Ythlings, and each of these he blessed, giving them skill to steer when the hands that held them failed, and to find lost courses, and to follow stars that were hid. Then he strode away,

and the press of men parted before him, until climbing he came to a high pinnacle of the cliffs. Then leapt he far out and down and vanished with a mighty flurry of foam where the great breakers gathered to assault the towering shores.

Ælfwine saw him no more, and he said in grief and amaze: 'Why was he thus weary of life? My heart grieves that he is dead,' but the Ythlings smiled, so that he questioned some that stood nigh, saying: 'Who was that mighty man, for meseems ye know him well,' and they answered him nothing. Then thrust they forth that vessel valiant-timbered[37] out into the sea, for no longer would Ælfwine abide, though the sun was sinking to the Mountains of Valinor beyond the Western Walls. Soon was her white sail seen far away filled with a wind from off the land, and red-stained in the light of the half-sunken sun; and those aboard her sang old songs of the English folk that faded on the sailless waves of the Western Seas, and now no longer came any sound of them to the watchers on the shore. Then night shut down and none on Eneadur saw that strong ship ever more.[38]

So began those mariners that long and strange and perilous voyage whose full tale has never yet been told. Nought of their adventures in the archipelagoes of the West, and the wonders and the dangers that they found in the Magic Isles and in seas and sound unknown, are here to tell, but of the ending of their voyage, how after a time of years sea-weary and sick of heart they found a grey and cheerless day. Little wind was there, and the clouds hung low overhead; while a grey rain fell, and nought could any of them descry before their vessel's beak that moved now slow and uncertain over the long dead waves. That day had they trysted to be the last ere they turned their vessel homeward (if they might), save only if some wonder should betide or any sign of hope. For their heart was gone. Behind them lay the Magic Isles where three of their number slept upon dim strands in deadly sleep, and their heads were pillowed on white sand and they were clad in foam, wrapped about in the agelong spells of Eglavain. Fruitless had been all their journeys since, for ever the winds had cast them back without sight of the shores of the Island of the Elves.[39] Then said Ælfheah[40] who held the helm: 'Now, O Ælfwine, is the trysted time! Let us do as the Gods and their winds have long desired – cease from our heart-weary quest for nothingness, a fable in the void, and get us back if the Gods will it seeking the hearths of our home.' And Ælfwine

yielded. Then fell the wind and no breath came from East or West, and night came slowly over the sea.

Behold, at length a gentle breeze sprang up, and it came softly from the West; and even as they would fill their sails therewith for home, one of those shipmen on a sudden said: 'Nay, but this is a strange air, and full of scented memories,' and standing still they all breathed deep. The mists gave before that gentle wind, and a thin moon they might see riding in its tattered shreds, until behind it soon a thousand cool stars peered forth in the dark. 'The night-flowers are opening in Faëry,' said Ælfwine; 'and behold,' said Bior,[41] 'the Elves are kindling candles in their silver dusk,' and all looked whither his long hand pointed over their dark stern. Then none spoke for wonder and amaze, seeing deep in the gloaming of the West a blue shadow, and in the blue shadow many glittering lights, and ever more and more of them came twinkling out, until ten thousand points of flickering radiance were splintered far away as if a dust of the jewels self-luminous that Fëanor made were scattered on the lap of the Ocean.

'Then is that the Harbour of the Lights of Many Hues,' said Ælfheah, 'that many a little-heeded tale has told of in our homes.' Then saying no more they shot out their oars and swung about their ship in haste, and pulled towards the never-dying shore. Near had they come to abandoning it when hardly won. Little did they make of that long pull, as they thrust the water strongly by them, and the long night of Faërie held on, and the horned moon of Elfinesse rode over them.

Then came there music very gently over the waters and it was laden with unimagined longing, that Ælfwine and his comrades leant upon their oars and wept softly each for his heart's half-remembered hurts, and memory of fair things long lost, and each for the thirst that is in every child of Men for the flawless loveliness they seek and do not find. And one said: 'It is the harps that are thrumming, and the songs they are singing of fair things; and the windows that look upon the sea are full of light.' And another said: 'Their stringéd violins complain the ancient woes of the immortal folk of Earth, but there is a joy therein.' 'Ah me,' said Ælfwine, 'I hear the horns of the Fairies shimmering in magic woods – such music as I once dimly guessed long years ago beneath the elms of Mindon Gwar.'

And lo! as they spoke thus musing the moon hid himself, and the stars were clouded, and the mists of time veiled the shore,

and nothing could they see and nought more hear, save the sound of the surf of the seas in the far-off pebbles of the Lonely Isle; and soon the wind blew even that faint rustle far away. But Ælfwine stood forward with wide-open eyes unspeaking, and suddenly with a great cry he sprang forward into the dark sea, and the waters that filled him were warm, and a kindly death it seemed enveloped him. Then it seemed to the others that they awakened at his voice as from a dream; but the wind now suddenly grown fierce filled all their sails, and they saw him never again, but were driven back with hearts all broken with regret and longing. Pale elfin boats awhile they would see beating home, maybe, to the Haven of Many Hues, and they hailed them; but only faint echoes afar off were borne to their ears, and none led them ever to the land of their desire; who after a great time wound back all the mazy clue of their long tangled ways, until they cast anchor at last in the haven of Belerion, aged and wayworn men. And the things they had seen and heard seemed after to them a mirage, and a phantasy, born of hunger and sea-spells, save only to Bior of Eneadur of the Ship-folk of the West.

Yet among the seed of these men has there been many a restless and wistful spirit thereafter, since they were dead and passed beyond the Rim of Earth without need of boat or sail. But never while life lasted did they leave their sea-faring, and their bodies are all covered by the sea.[42]

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The narrative ends here. There is no trace of any further continuation, though it seems likely that *Ælfwine of England* was to be the beginning of a complete rewriting of the *Lost Tales*. It would be interesting to know for certain when *Ælfwine II* was written. The handwriting of the manuscript is certainly changed from that of the rest of the *Lost Tales*; yet I am inclined to think that it followed *Ælfwine I* at no great interval, and the first version is unlikely to be much later than 1920 (see p. 312).

At the end of *Ælfwine II* my father jotted down two suggestions: (1) that Ælfwine should be made 'an early pagan Englishman who fled to the West'; and (2) that 'the Isle of the Old Man' should be cut out and all should be shipwrecked on Eneadur, the Isle of the Ythlings. The latter would (astonishingly) have entailed the abandonment of the foundered ship, with the Man of the Sea thrusting it to shore on the incoming tide, and the dead Vikings 'lying abottom gazing at the sky'.

In this narrative – in which the 'magic' of the early Elves is most intensely conveyed, in the seamen's vision of the Lonely Isle beneath

'the horned moon of Elfinesse' – Ælfwine is still placed in the context of the figures of ancient English legend: his father is Déor the Minstrel. In the great Anglo-Saxon manuscript known as the Exeter Book there is a little poem of 42 lines to which the title of *Déor* is now given. It is an utterance of the minstrel Déor, who, as he tells, has lost his place and been supplanted in his lord's favour by another bard, named Heorrenda; in the body of the poem Déor draws examples from among the great misfortunes recounted in the heroic legends, and is comforted by them, concluding each allusion with the fixed refrain *þæs ofereode; þisses swa mæg*, which has been variously translated; my father held that it meant 'Time has passed since then, this too can pass'.[43]

From this poem came both Déor and Heorrenda. In 'the *Eriol* story' Heorrenda was Eriol's son born in Tol Eressëa of his wife Naimi (p. 290), and was associated with Hengest and Horsa in the conquest of the Lonely Isle (p. 291); his dwelling in England was at Tavrobel (p. 292). I do not think that my father's Déor the Minstrel of Kortirion and Heorrenda of Tavrobel can be linked more closely to the Anglo-Saxon poem than in the names alone – though he did not take the names at random. He was moved by the glimpsed tale (even if, in the words of one of the poem's editors, 'the autobiographical element is purely fictitious, serving only as a pretext for the enumeration of the heroic stories'); and when lecturing on *Beowulf* at Oxford he sometimes gave the unknown poet a name, calling him *Heorrenda*.

Nor, as I believe, can any more be made of the other Old English names in the narrative: Óswine prince of Gwar, Éadgifu, Ælfheah (though the names are doubtless in themselves 'significant': thus *Óswine* contains *ós* 'god' and *wine* 'friend', and *Éadgifu éad* 'blessedness' and *gifu* 'gift'). The Forodwaith are of course Viking invaders from Norway or Denmark; the name Orm of the dead ship's captain is well-known in Norse. But all this is a mise-en-scène that is historical only in its bearings, not in its structure.

The idea of the seven invasions of Lúthien (Luthany) remained (p. 314), and that of the fading and westward flight of the Elves (which indeed was never finally lost),[44] but whereas in the outlines the invasion of the Ingwaiwar (i.e. the Anglo-Saxons) was the seventh (see citations (20) and (22)), here the Viking invasions are portrayed as coming upon the English – 'nor was that the last of the takings of Lúthien by Men from Men' (p. 314), obviously a reference to the Normans.

There is much of interest in the 'geographical' references in the story. At the very beginning there is a curious statement about the breaking off of Ireland 'in the warfare of the Gods'. Seeing that 'the *Ælfwine* story' does not include the idea of the drawing back of Tol Eressëa eastwards across the sea, this must refer to something quite other than the story in (5), p. 283, where the Isle of Íverin was broken off when Ossë tried to wrench back Tol Eressëa. What this was I do not know; but it seems

conceivable that this is the first trace or hint of the great cataclysm at the end of the Elder Days, when Beleriand was drowned. (I have found no trace of any connection between the harbour of *Belerion* and the region of *Beleriand*.)

Kortirion (Mindon Gwar) is in this tale of course 'Kortirion the Old', the original Elvish dwelling in Lúthien, after which Kortirion in Tol Eressëa was named (see pp. 308, 310); in the same way we must suppose that the name Alalminórë (p. 313) for the region about it ('Warwickshire') was given anew to the midmost region of Tol Eressëa.

Turning to the question of the islands and archipelagoes in the Great Sea, what is said in *Ælfwine of England* may first be compared with the passages of geographical description in *The Coming of the Valar* (I.68) and *The Coming of the Elves* (I.125), which are closely similar the one to the other. From these passages we learn that there are many lands and islands in the Great Sea before the Magic Isles are reached; beyond the Magic Isles is Tol Eressëa; and beyond Tol Eressëa are the Shadowy Seas, 'whereon there float the Twilit Isles', the first of the Outer Lands. Tol Eressëa itself 'is held neither of the Outer Lands or of the Great Lands' (I.125); it is far out in mid-ocean, and 'no land may be seen for many leagues' sail from its cliffs' (I.121). With this account *Ælfwine of England* agrees closely; but to it is added now the archipelago of the Harbourless Isles.

As I have noted before (I.137), this progression from East to West of Harbourless Isles, Magic Isles, the Lonely Isle, and then the Shadowy Seas in which were the Twilit Isles, was afterwards changed, and it is said in *The Silmarillion* (p. 102) that at the time of the Hiding of Valinor

> the Enchanted Isles were set, and all the seas about them were filled with shadows and bewilderment. And these isles were strung as a net in the Shadowy Seas from the north to the south, before Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle, is reached by one sailing west. Hardly might any vessel pass between them, for in the dangerous sounds the waves sighed for ever upon dark rocks shrouded in mist. And in the twilight a great weariness came upon mariners and a loathing of the sea; but all that ever set foot upon the islands were there entrapped, and slept until the Change of the World.

As a conception, the Enchanted Isles are derived primarily from the old Magic Isles, set at the time of the Hiding of Valinor and described in that Tale (I.211): 'Ossë set them in a great ring about the western limits of the mighty sea, so that they guarded the Bay of Faëry', and

> all such as stepped thereon came never thence again, but being woven in the nets of Oinen's hair the Lady of the Sea, and whelmed in agelong slumber that Lórien set there, lay upon the margin of the waves, as those do who being drowned are cast up once more by the movements

> of the sea; yet rather did these hapless ones sleep unfathomably and the dark waters laved their limbs . . .

Here three of Ælfwine's companions

> slept upon dim strands in deadly sleep, and their heads were pillowed on white sand and they were clad in foam, wrapped about in the agelong spells of Eglavain (p. 320).

(I do not know the meaning of the name *Eglavain*, but since it clearly contains *Egla* (Gnomish, = *Elda*, see I.251) it perhaps meant 'Elfinesse'.) But the Enchanted Isles derive also perhaps from the Twilit Isles, since the Enchanted Isles were likewise in twilight and were set in the Shadowy Seas (cf. I.224); and from the Harbourless Isles as well, which, as Ælfwine was told by the Man of the Sea (p. 317), were set at the time of the Hiding of Valinor – and indeed served the same purpose as did the Magic Isles, though lying far further to the East.

Eneadur, the isle of the Ythlings (Old English *ýð* 'wave'), whose life is so fully described in *Ælfwine of England*, seems never to have been mentioned again. Is there in Eneadur and the Shipmen of the West perhaps some faint foreshadowing of the early Númenóreans in their cliff-girt isle?

The following passage (pp. 316–17) is not easy to interpret:

> Thence [i.e. from the Bay of Faëry] slopes the world steeply beyond the Rim of Things to Valinor, that is God-home, and to the Wall and to the edge of Nothingness whereon are sown the stars.

In the *Ambarkanta* or 'Shape of the World' of the 1930s a map of the world shows the surface of the Outer Land sloping steeply westwards from the Mountains of Valinor. Conceivably it is to this slope that my father was referring here, and the Rim of Things is the great mountain-wall; but this seems very improbable. There are also references in *Ælfwine of England* to 'the Rim of Earth', beyond which the dead pass (pp. 314, 322); and in an outline for the *Tale of Eärendel* (p. 260) Tuor's boat 'dips over the world's rim'. More likely, I think, the expression refers to the rim of the horizon ('the horizon of Men's knowledge', p. 313).

The expression 'the sun was sinking to the Mountains of Valinor beyond the Western Walls' (p. 320) I am at a loss to explain according to what has been told in the *Lost Tales*. A possible, though scarcely convincing, interpretation is that the sun was sinking towards Valinor, *whence it would pass* 'beyond the Western Walls' (i.e. through the Door of Night, see I.215–16).

Lastly, the suggestion (p. 313) is notable that the Elves sailing west

from Lúthien might go beyond the Lonely Isle and reach even back to Valinor; on this matter see p. 280.

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Before ending, there remains to discuss briefly a matter of a general nature that has many times been mentioned in the texts, and especially in these last chapters: that of the 'diminutiveness' of the Elves.

It is said several times in the *Lost Tales* that the Elves of the ancient days were of greater bodily stature than they afterwards became. Thus in *The Fall of Gondolin* (p. 159): 'The fathers of the fathers of Men were of less stature than Men now are, and the children of Elfinesse of greater growth'; in an outline for the abandoned tale of Gilfanon (I.235) very similarly: 'Men were almost of a stature at first with Elves, the fairies being far greater and Men smaller than now'; and in citation (4) in the present chapter: 'Men and Elves were formerly of a size, though Men always larger.' Other passages suggest that the ancient Elves were of their nature of at any rate somewhat slighter build (see pp. 142, 220).

The diminishing in the stature of the Elves of later times is very explicitly related to the coming of Men. Thus in (4) above: 'Men spread and thrive, and the Elves of the Great Lands fade. As Men's stature grows theirs diminishes'; and in (5): 'ever as Men wax more powerful and numerous so the fairies fade and grow small and tenuous, filmy and transparent, but Men larger and more dense and gross. At last Men, or almost all, can no longer see the fairies.' The clearest picture that survives of the Elves when they have 'faded' altogether is given in the *Epilogue* (p. 289):

> Like strands of wind, like mystic half-transparencies, Gilfanon Lord of Tavrobel rides out tonight amid his folk, and hunts the elfin deer beneath the paling sky. A music of forgotten feet, a gleam of leaves, a sudden bending of the grass, and wistful voices murmuring on the bridge, and they are gone.

But according to the passages bearing on the later '*Ælfwine*' version, the Elves of Tol Eressëa who had left Luthany were unfaded, or had ceased to fade. Thus in (15): 'Tol Eressëa, whither most of the unfaded Elves have retired from the noise, war, and clamour of Men'; and (16): 'Tol Eressëa, whither most of the fading Elves have withdrawn from the world, and there fade now no more'; also in *Ælfwine of England* (p. 313): 'the unfaded Elves beyond the waters of Garsecg'.

On the other hand, when Eriol came to the Cottage of Lost Play the doorward said to him (I.14):

> Small is the dwelling, but smaller still are they that dwell here – for all who enter must be very small indeed, or of their own good wish become as very little folk even as they stand upon the threshold.

I have commented earlier (I.32) on the oddity of the idea that the Cottage and its inhabitants were peculiarly small, in an island entirely inhabited by Elves. But my father, if he had ever rewritten *The Cottage of Lost Play*, would doubtless have abandoned this; and it may well be that he was in any case turning away already at the time of *Ælfwine II* from the idea that the 'faded' Elves were diminutive, as is suggested by his rejection of the word 'little' in 'little folk', 'little ships' (see note 27).

Ultimately, of course, the Elves shed all associations and qualities that would be now commonly considered 'fairylike', and those who remained in the Great Lands in Ages of the world at this time unconceived were to grow greatly in stature and in power: there was nothing filmy or transparent about the heroic or majestic Eldar of the Third Age of Middle-earth. Long afterwards my father would write, in a wrathful comment on a 'pretty' or 'ladylike' pictorial rendering of Legolas:

> He was tall as a young tree, lithe, immensely strong, able swiftly to draw a great war-bow and shoot down a Nazgûl, endowed with the tremendous vitality of Elvish bodies, so hard and resistant to hurt that he went only in light shoes over rock or through snow, the most tireless of all the Fellowship.

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This brings to an end my rendering and analysis of the early writings bearing on the story of the mariner who came to the Lonely Isle and learned there the true history of the Elves. I have shown, convincingly as I hope, the curious and complex way in which my father's vision of the significance of Tol Eressëa changed. When he jotted down the synopsis (10), the idea of the mariner's voyage to the Island of the Elves was of course already present; but he journeyed out of the East and the Lonely Isle of his seeking was – England (though not yet the land of the English and not yet lying in the seas where England lies). When later the entire concept was shifted, England, as 'Luthany' or 'Lúthien', remained pre-eminently the Elvish land; and Tol Eressëa, with its meads and coppices, its rooks' nests in the elm-trees of Alalminórë, seemed to the English mariner to be remade in the likeness of his own land, which the Elves had lost at the coming of Men: for it was indeed a re-embodiment of Elvish Luthany far over the sea.

All this was to fall away afterwards from the developing mythology; but Ælfwine left many marks on its pages before he too finally disappeared.

Much in this chapter is necessarily inconclusive and uncertain; but I believe that these very early notes and projections are rightly disinterred. Although, as 'plots', abandoned and doubtless forgotten, they bear witness to truths of my father's heart and mind that he never abandoned. But these notes were scribbled down in his youth, when for him Elvish

magic 'lingered yet mightily in the woods and hills of Luthany'; in his old age all was gone West-over-sea, and an end was indeed come for the Eldar of story and of song.

NOTES

1 On this statement about the stature of Elves and Men see pp. 326–7.

2 For the form *Taimonto* (*Taimondo*) see I.268, entry *Telimektar*.

3 *Belaurin* is the Gnomish equivalent of *Palúrien* (see I.264).

4 A side-note here suggests that perhaps the Pine should not be in Tol Eressëa. – For *Ilwë*, the middle air, that is 'blue and clear and flows among the stars', see I. 65, 73.

5 *Gil* = *Ingil*. At the first occurrence of *Ingil* in this passage the name was written *Ingil* (*Gil*), but (*Gil*) was struck out.

6 The word *Nautar* occurs in a rejected outline for the *Tale of the Nauglafring* (p. 136), where it is equated with *Nauglath* (Dwarves).

7 *Uin*: 'the mightiest and most ancient of whales', chief among those whales and fishes that drew the 'island-car' (afterwards Tol Eressëa) on which Ulmo ferried the Elves to Valinor (I.118–20).

8 *Gongs*: these are evil beings obscurely related to Orcs: see I.245 note 10, and the rejected outlines for the *Tale of the Nauglafring* given on pp. 136–7.

9 A large query is written against this passage.

10 The likeness of this name to *Dor Daedeloth* is striking, but that is the name of the realm of Morgoth in *The Silmarillion*, and is interpreted 'Land of the Shadow of Horror'; the old name (whose elements are *dai* 'sky' and *teloth* 'roof') has nothing in common with the later except its form.

11 Cf. *Kortirion among the Trees* (I.34, 37, 41): *A wave of bowing grass*.

12 The origin of *Warwick* according to conventional etymology is uncertain. The element *wic*, extremely common in English place-names, meant essentially a dwelling or group of dwellings. The earliest recorded form of the name is *Wæring wic*, and *Wæring* has been thought to be an Old English word meaning a dam, a derivative from *wer*, Modern English *weir*: thus 'dwellings by the weir'.

13 Cf. the title-page given in citation (11): *Heorrenda of Hægwudu*. – No forms of the name of this Staffordshire village are actually recorded from before the Norman Conquest, but the Old English form was undoubtedly *hæg-wudu* 'enclosed wood' (cf. the *High Hay*, the great hedge that protected Buckland from the Old Forest in *The Lord of the Rings*).

14 The name Luthany, of a country, occurs five times in Francis

Thompson's poem *The Mistress of Vision*. As noted previously (I. 29) my father acquired the Collected Poems of Francis Thompson in 1913–14; and in that copy he made a marginal note against one of the verses that contains the name *Luthany* – though the note is not concerned with the name. But whence Thompson derived *Luthany* I have no idea. He himself described the poem as 'a fantasy' (Everard Meynell, *The Life of Francis Thompson*, 1913, p. 237).

This provides no more than the origin of the name as a series of sounds, as with *Kôr* from Rider Haggard's *She*,* or *Rohan* and *Moria* mentioned in my father's letter of 1967 on this subject (*The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, pp. 383–4), in which he said:

> This leads to the matter of 'external history': the actual way in which I came to light on or choose certain sequences of sound to use as names, *before* they were given a place inside the story. I think, as I said, this is unimportant: the labour involved in my setting out what I know and remember of the process, or in the guess-work of others, would be far greater than the worth of the results. The spoken forms would simply be mere audible forms, and when transferred to the prepared linguistic situation in my story would receive meaning and significance according to that situation, and to the nature of the story told. It would be entirely delusory to refer to the sources of the sound-combination to discover any meanings overt or hidden.

15 The position is complicated by the existence of some narrative outlines of extreme roughness and near-illegibility in which the mariner is named Ælfwine and yet essential elements of 'the *Eriol* story' are present. These I take to represent an intermediate stage. They are very obscure, and would require a great deal of space to present and discuss; therefore I pass them by.

16 Cf. p. 264 (xiv).

17 *Caer Gwâr*: see p. 292.

18 It may be mentioned here that when my father read *The Fall of Gondolin* to the Exeter College Essay Club in the spring of 1920 the mariner was still *Eriol*, as appears from the notes for his preliminary remarks on that occasion (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 5). He said here, very strangely, that 'Eriol lights by accident on the Lonely Island'.

19 *Garsecg* (pronounced *Garsedge*, and so written in *Ælfwine A*) was one of the many Old English names of the sea.

20 In *Ælfwine I* the land is likewise named *Lúthien*, not *Luthany*. In *Ælfwine A*, on the other hand, the same distinction is made as in the outlines: 'Ælfwine of England (whom the fairies after named

* There is no external evidence for this, but it can hardly be doubted. In this case it might be thought that since the African Kôr was a city built on the top of a great mountain standing in isolation the relationship was more than purely 'phonetic'.

Lúthien (friend) of Luthany (friendship)).' – At this first occurrence (only) of *Lúthien* in *Ælfwine II* the form *Leithian* is pencilled above, but *Lúthien* is not struck out. *The Lay of Leithian* was afterwards the title of the long poem of Beren and Lúthien Tinúviel.

21 The *Hill of Tûn*, i.e. the hill on which the city of Tûn was built: see p. 292.

22 *Mindon Gwar*: see p. 291.

23 *Éadgifu*: in 'the *Eriol* story' this Old English name (see p. 323) was given as an equivalent to Naimi, Eriol's wife whom he wedded in Tol Eressëa (p. 290).

24 In *Ælfwine I* the text here reads: 'by reason of her beauty and goodliness, even as that king of the Franks that was upon a time most mighty among men hath said . . .' [*sic*]. In *Ælfwine II* the manuscript in ink stops at 'high white shores', but after these words my father pencilled in: 'even as that king of the Franks that was in those days the mightiest of earthly kings hath said . . .' [*sic*]. The only clue in *Ælfwine of England* to the period of Ælfwine's life is the invasion of the Forodwaith (Vikings); the mighty king of the Franks may therefore be Charlemagne, but I have been unable to trace any such reference.

25 *Evil* is emended from *Melko*. *Ælfwine I* does not have the phrase.

26 *Ælfwine I* has: 'when the ancient Men of the South from Micelgeard the Heartless Town set their mighty feet upon the soil of Lúthien.' This text does not have the reference to Rûm and Magbar. The name *Micelgeard* is struck through, but *Mickleyard* is written at the head of the page. *Micelgeard* is Old English (and *Mickleyard* a modernisation of this in spelling), though it does not occur in extant Old English writings and is modelled on Old Norse *Mikligarðr* (Constantinople). – The peculiar hostility of the Romans to the Elves of Luthany is mentioned by implication in citation (20), and their disbelief in their existence in (22).

27 The application, frequent in *Ælwine I*, of 'little' to the fairies (Elves) of Lúthien and their ships was retained in *Ælfwine II* as first written, but afterwards struck out. Here the word is twice retained, perhaps unintentionally.

28 *Elvish* is a later emendation of *fairy*.

29 This sentence, from 'save Ælfheah . . .', was added later in *Ælfwine II*; it is not in *Ælfwine I*. – The whole text to this point in *Ælfwine I* and *II* is compressed into the following in *Ælfwine A*:

> Ælfwine of England (whom the fairies after named Lúthien (friend) of Luthany (friendship)) born of Déor and Éadgifu. Their city burned and Déor slain and Éadgifu dies. Ælfwine a thrall of the Winged Helms. He escapes to the Western Sea and takes ship from Belerion and makes great voyages. He is

seeking for the islands of the West of which Éadgifu had told him in his childhood.

30 *Ælfwine I* has here: 'But three men could he find as his companions; and Ossë took them unto him.' *Ossë* was emended to *Neorth*; and then the sentence was struck through and rewritten: 'Such found he only three; and those three Neorth after took unto him and their names are not known.' Neorth = Ulmo; see note 39.

31 *Ælfwine A* reads: 'He espies some islands lying in the dawn but is swept thence by great winds. He returns hardly to Belerion. He gathers the seven greatest mariners of England; they sail in spring. They are wrecked upon the isles of Ælfwine's desire and find them desert and lonely and filled with gloomy whispering trees.' This is at variance with *Ælfwine I* and *II* where Ælfwine is cast on to the island alone; but agrees with *II* in giving Ælfwine seven companions, not three.

32 A clue that this was Ulmo: cf. *The Fall of Gondolin* (p. 155): 'he was shod with mighty shoes of stone.'

33 In *Ælfwine A* they were 'filled with gloomy whispering trees' (note 31).

34 From the point where the Man of the Sea said: 'Lo, this is one of the ring of Harbourless Isles . . .' (p. 317) to here (i.e. the whole episode of the foundered Viking ship and its captain Orm, slayer of Ælfwine's father) there is nothing corresponding in *Ælfwine I*, which has only: 'but that Man of the Sea aided him in building a little craft, and together, guided by the solitary mariner, they fared away and came to a land but little known.' For the narrative in *Ælfwine A* see note 39.

35 At one occurrence of the name *Ythlings* (Old English *ýð* 'wave') in Ælfwine I it is written *Ythlingas*, with the Old English plural ending.

36 *The Shipmen of the West*: emendation from *Eneathrim*.

37 Cf. in the passage of alliterative verse in my father's *On Translating Beowulf* (*The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*, 1983, p. 63): *then away thrust her to voyage gladly valiant-timbered*.

38 The whole section of the narrative concerning the island of the Ythlings is more briefly told in *Ælfwine I* (though, so far as it goes, in very much the same words) with several features of the later story absent (notably the cutting of timber in the grove sacred to Ulmo, and the blessing of the ship by the Man of the Sea). The only actual difference of structure, however, is that whereas in *Ælfwine II* Ælfwine finds again his seven companions in the land of the Ythlings, and sails west with them, together with Bior of the Ythlings, in *Ælfwine I* they were indeed drowned, and he got seven companions from among the Ythlings (among whom Bior is not named).

39 The plot-outline *Ælfwine A* tells the story from the point where Ælfwine and his seven companions were cast on the Isle of the Man of the Sea (thus differing from *Ælfwine I* and *II*, where he came there alone) thus:

> They wander about the island upon which they have been cast and come upon many decaying wrecks – often of mighty ships, some treasure-laden. They find a solitary cabin beside a lonely sea, built of old ship-wood, where dwells a solitary and strange old mariner of dread aspect. He tells them these are the Harbourless Isles whose enchanted rocks draw all ships thither, lest men fare over far upon Garsedge [*see note 19*] – and they were devised at the Hiding of Valinor. Here, he says, the trees are magical. They learn many strange things about the western world of him and their desire is whetted for adventure. He aids them to cut holy trees in the island groves and to build a wonderful vessel, and shows them how to provision it against a long voyage (that water that drieth not save when heart fails, &c.). This he blesses with a spell of adventure and discovery, and then dives from a cliff-top. They suspect it was Neorth Lord of Waters.
>
> They journey many years among strange western islands hearing often many strange reports – of the belt of Magic Isles which few have passed; of the trackless sea beyond where the wind bloweth almost always from the West; of the edge of the twilight and the far-glimpsed isle there standing, and its glimmering haven. They reach the magic island [*read* islands*?*] and three are enchanted and fall asleep on the shore.
>
> The others beat about the waters beyond and are in despair – for as often as they make headway west the wind changes and bears them back. At last they tryst to return on the morrow if nought other happens. The day breaks chill and dull, and they lie becalmed looking in vain through the pouring rain.

This narrative differs from both *Ælfwine I* and *II* in that here there is no mention of the Ythlings; and Ælfwine and his seven companions depart on their long western voyage from the Harbourless Isle of the ancient mariner. It agrees with *Ælfwine I* in the name Neorth; but it foreshadows *II* in the cutting of sacred trees to build a ship.

40 In *Ælfwine I* Ælfheah does not appear, and his two speeches in this passage are there given to one *Gelimer*. Gelimer (Geilamir) was the name of a king of the Vandals in the sixth century.

41 In *Ælfwine I* Bior's speech is given to Gelimer (see note 40).

42 *Ælfwine I* ends in almost the same words as *Ælfwine II*, but with a most extraordinary difference; Ælfwine does not leap overboard, but returns with his companions to Belerion, and so never comes to

Tol Eressëa! 'Very empty thereafter were the places of Men for Ælfwine and his mariners, and of their seed have been many restless and wistful folk since they were dead . . .' Moreover my father seems clearly to have been going to say the same in *Ælfwine II*, but stopped, struck out what he had written, and introduced the sentence in which Ælfwine leapt into the sea. I cannot see any way to explain this.

Ælfwine A ends in much the same way as *Ælfwine II*:

> As night comes on a little breath springs up and the clouds lift. They hoist sail to return – when suddenly low down in the dusk they see the many lights of the Haven of Many Hues twinkle forth. They row thither, and hear sweet music. Then the mist wraps all away and the others rousing themselves say it is a mirage born of hunger, and with heavy hearts prepare to go back, but Ælfwine plunges overboard and swims into the dark until he is overcome in the waters, and him seems death envelops him. The others sail away home and are out of the tale.

43 Literally, as he maintained: 'From that (grief) one moved on; from this in the same way one can move on.'

44 There are long roots beneath the words of *The Fellowship of the Ring* (I. 2): 'Elves . . . could now be seen passing westward through the woods in the evening, passing and not returning; but they were leaving Middle-earth and were no longer concerned with its troubles.' '"That isn't anything new, if you believe the old tales,"' said Ted Sandyman, when Sam Gamgee spoke of the matter.

I append here a synopsis of the structural differences between the three versions of *Ælfwine of England*.

A	I	II
Æ. sails from Belerion and sees 'islands in the dawn'.	As in A	As in A, but his companion Ælfheah is named.
Æ. sails again with 7 mariners of England. They are shipwrecked on the isle of the Man of the Sea but all survive.	Æ. has only 3 companions, and he alone survives the shipwreck.	Æ. has 7 companions, and is alone on the isle of the Man of the Sea, believing them drowned.
The Man of the Sea helps them to build a ship but does not go with them.	The Man of the Sea helps Æ. to build a boat and goes with him.	Æ. and the Man of the Sea find a stranded Viking ship and sail away in it together.

A	I	II
The Man of the Sea dives into the sea from a cliff-top of his isle.	They come to the Isle of the Ythlings. The Man of the Sea dives from a cliff-top. Æ. gets 7 companions from the Ythlings.	As in I, but Æ. finds his 7 companions from England, who were not drowned; to them is added Bior of the Ythlings.
On their voyages 3 of Æ.'s companions are enchanted in the Magic Isles.	As in A, but in this case they are Ythlings.	As in A
They are blown away from Tol Eressëa after sighting it; Æ. leaps overboard, and the others return home.	They are blown away from Tol Eressëa, and all, including Æ., return home.	As in A

Changes made to names, and differences in names, in the texts of *Ælfwine of England*

Lúthien The name of the land in I and II; in A *Luthany* (see note 20).
Déor At the first occurrence only in I *Déor* < *Heorrenda*, subsequently *Déor*; A *Déor*.
Evadrien In I < *Erenol*. *Erenol* = 'Iron Cliff'; see I.252, entry *Eriol*.
Forodwaith II has *Forodwaith* < *Forwaith* < *Gwasgonin*; I has *Gwasgonin or the Winged Helms*; A has *the Winged Helms*.
Outer Land < *Outer Lands* at both occurrences in II (pp. 316–17).
Ælfheah I has *Gelimer* (at the first occurrence only < *Helgor*).
Shipmen of the West In II < *Eneathrim*.

APPENDIX

NAMES IN THE *LOST TALES* – PART II

This appendix is designed only as an adjunct and extension to that in Part One. Names that have already been studied in Part One are not given entries in the following notes, if there are entries under that name in Part One, e.g. *Melko*, *Valinor*; but if, as is often the case, the etymological information in Part One is contained in an entry under some other name, this is shown, e.g. '*Gilim* See I.260 (*Melko*)'.

Linguistic information from the Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin* (see p. 148) incorporated in these notes is referred to 'NFG'. 'GL' and 'QL' refer to the Gnomish and Qenya dictionaries (see I.246ff.). *Qenya* is the term used in both these books and is strictly the name of the language spoken in Tol Eressëa; it does not appear elsewhere in the early writings, where the distinction is between 'Gnomish' on the one hand and 'Elfin', 'Eldar', or 'Eldarissa' on the other.

★

Alqarámë For the first element Qenya *alqa* 'swan' see I.249 (*Alqaluntë*). Under root RAHA QL gives *râ* 'arm', *rakta* 'stretch out, reach', *ráma* 'wing', *rámavoitë* 'having wings'; GL has *ram* 'wing, pinion', and it is noted that Qenya *ráma* is a confusion of this and a word *róma* 'shoulder'.

Amon Gwareth Under root AM(U) 'up(wards)' QL gives *amu* 'up(wards)', *amu-* 'raise', *amuntë* 'sunrise', *amun(d)* 'hill'; GL has *am* 'up(wards)', *amon* 'hill, mount', adverb 'uphill'.

GL gives the name as *Amon 'Wareth* 'Hill of Ward', also *gwareth* 'watch, guard, ward', from the stem *gwar-* 'watch' seen also in the name of *Tinfang Warble* (*Gwarbilin* 'Birdward', I.268). See *Glamhoth, Gwarestrin*.

Angorodin See I.249 (*Angamandi*) and I.256 (*Kalormë*).

Arlisgion GL gives *Garlisgion* (see I.265 (*Sirion*)), as also does NFG, which has entries '*Garlisgion* was our name, saith Elfrith, for the Place of Reeds which is its interpretation', and '*lisg* is a reed (*liskë*)'. GL has *lisg, lisc* 'reed, sedge', and QL *liskë* with the same meaning. For *gar* see I.251 (*Dor Faidwen*).

Artanor GL has *athra* 'across, athwart', *athron* adverb 'further, beyond', *athrod* 'crossing, ford' (changed later to *adr(a), adron, adros*). With *athra, adr(a)* is compared Qenya *arta*. Cf. also the name *Dor Athro* (p. 41). It is clear that both *Artanor* and *Dor Athro* meant 'the Land Beyond'. Cf. *Sarnathrod*.

Asgon An entry in NFG says: '*Asgon* A lake in the "Land of Shadows" Dor Lómin, by the Elves named *Aksan*.'

Ausir GL gives *avos* 'fortune, wealth, prosperity,' *avosir, Ausir* 'the same (personified)'; also *ausin* 'rich', *aus(s)aith* or *avosaith* 'avarice'. Under root AWA in QL are *autë* 'prosperity, wealth; rich', *ausië* 'wealth'.

Bablon See p. 214.

Bad Uthwen Gnomish *uthwen* 'way out, exit, escape', see I.251 (*Dor Faidwen*). The entry in NFG says: '*Bad Uthwen* [emended from *Uswen*] meaneth but "way of escape" and is in Eldarissa *Uswevandë*.' For *vandë* see I.264 (*Qalvanda*).

Balcmeg In NFG it is said that Balcmeg 'was a great fighter among the *Orclim* (*Orqui* say the Elves) who fell to the axe of Tuor – 'tis in meaning "heart of evil".' (For *-lim* in *Orclim* see *Gondothlim*.) The entry for *Balrog* in NFG says: '*Bal* meaneth evilness, and *Balc* evil, and *Balrog* meaneth evil demon.' GL has *balc* 'cruel': see I.250 (*Balrog*).

Bansil For the entry in NFG, where this name is translated 'Fair-gleam', see p. 214; and for the elements of the name see I.272 (*Vána*) and I.265 (*Sil*).

Belaurin See I.264 (*Palúrien*).

Belcha See I.260 (*Melko*). NFG has an entry: '*Belca* Though here [i.e. in the Tale] of overwhelming custom did Bronweg use the elfin names, this was the name aforetime of that evil Ainu.'

Beleg See I.254 (*Haloisi Velikë*).

Belegost For the first element see *Beleg*. GL gives *ost* 'enclosure, yard – town', also *oss* 'outer wall, town wall', *osta-* 'surround with walls, fortify', *ostor* 'enclosure, circuit of walls'. QL under root OSO has *os(t)* 'house, cottage', *osta* 'homestead', *ostar* 'township', *ossa* 'wall and moat'.

bo- A late entry in GL: '*bo* (*bon*) (cf. Qenya *vô, vondo* "son") as patronymic prefix, *bo- bon-* "son of"'; as an example is given *Tuor bo-Beleg*. There is also a word *bôr* 'descendant'. See *go-, Indorion*.

Bodruith In association with *bod-* 'back, again' GL has the words *bodruith* 'revenge', *bodruithol* 'vengeful (by nature)', *bodruithog* 'thirsting for vengeance', but these were struck out. There is also *gruith* 'deed of horror, violent act, vengeance'. – It may be that Bodruith Lord of Belegost was supposed to have received his name from the events of the *Tale of the Nauglafring*.

Cópas Alqalunten See I.257 (*Kópas*) and I.249 (*Alqaluntë*).

Cris Ilbranteloth GL gives the group *crisc* 'sharp', *criss* 'cleft, gash, gully', *crist* 'knife', *crista-* 'slash, cut, slice'; NFG: '*Cris* meaneth

much as doth *falc*, a cleft, ravine, or narrow way of waters with high walls'. QL under root KIRI 'cut, split' has *kiris* 'cleft, crack' and other words.

For *ilbrant* 'rainbow' see I.256 (*Ilweran*). The final element is *teloth* 'roofing, canopy': see I.267–8 (*Teleri*).

Cristhorn For *Cris* see *Cris Ilbranteloth*, and for *thorn* see I.266 (*Sorontur*). In NFG is the entry: '*Cris Thorn* is Eagles' Cleft or *Sornekiris*.'

Cuilwarthon For *cuil* see I.257 (*Koivië-néni*); the second element is not explained.

Cûm an-Idrisaith For cûm 'mound' see I.250 (*Cûm a Gumlaith*). *Idrisaith* is thus defined in GL: 'cf. *avosaith*, but that means avarice, money-greed, but *idrisaith* = excessive love of gold and gems and beautiful and costly things' (for *avosaith* see *Ausir*). Related words are *idra* 'dear, precious', *idra* 'to value, prize', *idri* (*id*) 'a treasure, a jewel', *idril* 'sweetheart' (see *Idril*).

Curufin presumably contains *curu* 'magic'; see I.269 (*Tolli Kuruvar*).

Dairon GL includes this name but without etymological explanation: '*Dairon* the fluter (Qenya *Sairon*).' See *Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva* below.

Danigwiel In GL the Gnomish form is *Danigwethil*; see I.266 (*Taniquetil*). NFG has an entry: '*Danigwethil* do the Gnomes call *Taniquetil*; but seek for tales concerning that mountain rather in the elfin name.'

(bo-)Dhrauthodavros '(Son of) the weary forest'. Gnomish *drauth* 'weary, toilworn', *drauthos* 'toil, weariness', *drautha-* 'to be weary'; for the second element *tavros* see I.267 (*Tavari*).

Dor Athro See *Artanor, Sarnathrod*.

Dor-na-Dhaideloth For Gnomish *dai* 'sky' see I.268 (*Telimektar*), and for *teloth* 'roofing, canopy' see *ibid.* (*Teleri*); cf. *Cris Ilbranteloth*.

Dramborleg NFG has the following entry: '*Dramborleg* (or as it may be named *Drambor*) meaneth in its full form Thudder-sharp, and was the axe of Tuor that smote both a heavy dint as of a club and cleft as a sword; and the Eldar say *Tarambor* or *Tarambolaika*.' QL gives *Tarambor, Tarambolaike* 'Tuor's axe' under root TARA, TARAMA 'batter, thud, beat', with *taran, tarambo* 'buffet', and *taru* 'horn' (included here with a query: see *Taruithorn*). No Gnomish equivalents are cited in GL.

The second element is Gnomish *leg, lêg* 'keen, piercing', Qenya *laika*; cf. *Legolast* 'keen-sight', I.267 (*Tári-Laisi*).

Duilin NFG has the following entry: '*Duilin* whose name meaneth Swallow was the lord of that house of the Gondothlim whose sign was the swallow and was surest of the archers of the Eldalië, but fell in the fall of Gondolin. Now the names of those champions appear

but in Noldorissa, seeing that Gnomes they were, but his name would be in Eldarissa *Tuilindo*, and that of his house (which the Gnomes called *Nos Duilin*) *Nossë Tuilinda*.' *Tuilindo* '(spring-singer), swallow' is given in QL, see I.269 (*Tuilérë*); GL has *duilin(g)* 'swallow', with *duil, duilir* 'Spring', but these last were struck through and in another part of the book appear *tuil, tuilir* 'Spring' (see I.269).

For *nossë* 'kin, people' see I.272 (*Valinor*); GL does not give *nos* in this sense, but has *nosta-* 'be born', *nost* 'birth; blood, high birth; birthday', and *noss* (changed to *nôs*) 'birthday'. Cf. *Nost-na-Lothion* 'the Birth of Flowers', *Nos Galdon, Nos nan Alwen*.

Eärámë For *ea* 'eagle' see I.251 (*Eärendel*), and for *rámë* see *Alqarámë*. GL has an entry *Iorothram, -um* '= Qenya *Eärámë* or Eaglepinion, a name of one of Eärendel's boats'. For Gnomish *ior, ioroth* 'eagle' see I.251 (*Eärendel*), and cf. the forms *Earam, Earum* as the name of the ship (pp. 260, 276).

Eärendel See pp. 266–7 and I.251.

Eärendilyon See I.251 (*Eärendel*), and *Indorion*.

Ecthelion Both GL and NFG derive this name from *ecthel* 'fountain', to which corresponds Qenya *ektelë*. (This latter survived: cf. the entry *kel-* in the Appendix to *The Silmarillion*: 'from *et-kelë* "issue of water, spring" was derived, with transposition of the consonants, Quenya *ehtelë*, Sindarin *eithel*'. A later entry in GL gives *aithil* (< *ektl*) 'a spring'.) – A form *kektelë* is also found in Qenya from root KELE, KELU: see I.257 (*Kelusindi*).

Egalmoth NFG has the following entry: '*Egalmoth* is a great name, yet none know clearly its meaning – some have said its bearer was so named in that he was worth a thousand Elves (but Rúmil says nay) and others that it signifies the mighty shoulders of that Gnome, and so saith Rúmil, but perchance it was woven of a secret tongue of the Gondothlim' (for the remainder of this entry see p. 215). For Gnomish *moth* '1000' see I.270 (*Uin*).

GL interprets the name as Rúmil did, deriving it from *alm* (< *alðam-*) 'the broad of the back from shoulder to shoulder, back, shoulders', hence *Egalmoth* = 'Broadshoulder'; the name in Qenya is said to be *Aikaldamor*, and an entry in QL of the same date gives *aika* 'broad, vast', comparing Gnomish *eg, egrin*. These in turn GL glosses as 'far away, wide, distant' and 'wide, vast, broad; far' (as in *Egla*; see I.251 (*Eldar*)).

Eglamar See I.251 (*Eldamar*). NFG has the following entry: '*Egla* said the son of Bronweg was the Gnome name of the Eldar (now but seldom used) who dwelt in Kôr, and they were called *Eglothrim* [emended from *Eglothlim*] (that is *Eldalië*), and their tongue *Lam Eglathon* or *Egladrin*. Rúmil said these names *Egla* and *Elda* were akin, but Elfrith cared not overmuch for such lore and they seem not

over alike.' With this cf. I.251 (*Eldar*). GL gives *lam* 'tongue', and *lambë* is found in QL: a word that survived into later Quenya. In QL it is given as a derivative of root LAVA 'lick', and defined 'tongue (of body, but also of land, or even = "speech")'.

Eldarissa appears in QL ('the language of the Eldar') but without explanation of the final element. Possibly it was derived from the root ISI: *ista* 'know', *issë* 'knowledge, lore', *iswa, isqa* 'wise', etc.

Elfrith See pp. 201–2, and I.255 (*Ilverin*).

Elmavoitë 'One-handed' (Beren). See *Ermabwed*.

Elwing GL has the following entry: '*Ailwing* older spelling of *Elwing* = "lake foam". As a noun = "white water-lily". The name of the maiden loved by Ioringli' (*Ioringli* = *Eärendel*, see I.251). The first element appears in the words *ail* 'lake, pool', *ailion* 'lake', Qenya *ailo, ailin* – cf. later *Aelin-uial*. The second element is *gwing* 'foam': see I.273 (*Wingilot*).

Erenol See I.252 (*Eriol*).

Ermabwed 'One-handed' (Beren). GL gives *mab* 'hand', *amabwed, mabwed* 'having hands', *mabwedri* 'dexterity', *mabol* 'skilful', *mablios* 'cunning', *mablad, mablod* 'palm of hand', *mabrin(d)* 'wrist'. A related word in Qenya was said in GL to be *mapa* (root MAPA) 'seize', but this statement was struck out. QL has also a root MAHA with many derivatives, notably *mā* (= *maha*) 'hand', *mavoitë* 'having hands' (cf. *Elmavoitë*).

Faiglindra 'Long-tressed' (Airin). Gnomish *faigli* 'hair, long tresses (especially used of women)'; *faiglion* 'having long hair', and *faiglim* of the same meaning, 'especially as a proper name', *Faiglim, Aurfaiglim* 'the Sun at noon'. With this is bracketed the word *faiglin(d)ra*.

Failivrin Together with *fail* 'pale, pallid', *failthi* 'pallor', and *Failin* a name of the Moon, GL gives *Failivrin*: '(1) a maid beloved by Silmo; (2) a name among the Gnomes of many maidens of great beauty, especially Failivrin of the Rothwarin in the Tale of Turumart.' (In the Tale *Rothwarin* was replaced by *Rodothlim*.)

The second element is *brin*, Qenya *vírin*, 'a magic glassy substance of great lucency used in fashioning the Moon. Used of things of great and pure transparency.' For *vírin* see I.192–3.

Falasquil Three entries in NFG refer to this name (for *falas* see also I.253 (*Falman*)):

'*Falas* meaneth (even as *falas* or *falassë* in Eldar) a beach.'

'*Falas-a-Gwilb* the "beach of peace" was *Falasquil* in Elfin where Tuor at first dwelt in a sheltered cove by the Great Sea.' *-a-Gwilb* is struck through and above is written, apparently, *'Wilb or Wilma.*

'*Gwilb* meaneth "full of peace", which is *gwilm*.'

GL gives *gwîl, gwilm, gwilthi* 'peace', and *gwilb* 'quiet, peaceful'.

Fangluin 'Bluebeard'. See *Indrafang*. For *luin* 'blue' see I.262 (*Nielluin*).

Foalókë Under a root FOHO 'hide, hoard, store up' QL gives *foa* 'hoard, treasure', *foina* 'hidden', *fólë* 'secrecy, a secret', *fólima* 'secretive', and *foalókë* 'name of a serpent that guarded a treasure'. *lókë* 'snake' is derived from a root LOKO 'twine, twist, curl'.

GL originally had entries *fû, fûl, fûn* 'hoard', *fúlug* 'a dragon (who guards treasure)', and *ulug* 'wolf'. By later changes this construction was altered to *fuis* 'hoard', *fuithlug, -og* (the form that appears in the text, p. 70), *ulug* 'dragon' (cf. Qenya *lókë*). An entry in NFG reads: '*Lúg* is *lókë* of the Eldar, and meaneth "drake".'

Fôs'Almir (Earlier name of *Faskala-númen*; translated in the text (p. 115) 'the bath of flame'.) For *fôs* 'bath' see I.253 (*Faskala-númen*). GL gives three names: '*Fôs Aura, Fôs'Almir*, and *Fôs na Ngalmir*, i.e. Sun's bath = the Western Sea.' For *Galmir, Aur*, names of the Sun, see I.254 and I.271 (*Ûr*).

Fuithlug See *Foalókë*.

Galdor For the entry in NFG concerning Galdor see p. 215; as first written *galdon* was there said to mean 'tree', and Galdor's people to be named *Nos Galdon*. *Galdon* is not in GL. Subsequently *galdon* > *alwen*, and *alwen* does appear in GL, as a word of poetic vocabulary: *alwen* '= *orn*'. – Cf. Qenya *alda* 'tree' (see I.249 (*Aldaron*)), and the later relationship Quenya *alda*, Sindarin *galadh*.

Gar Thurion NFG has the earlier form *Gar Furion* (p. 202), and GL has *furn, furion* 'secret, concealed', also *fûr* 'a lie' (Qenya *furu*) and *fur-* 'to conceal; to lie'. QL has *furin* and *hurin* 'hidden, concealed' (root FURU or HURU). With *Thurion* cf. *Thuringwethil* 'Woman of Secret Shadow', and *Thurin* 'the Secret', Finduilas' name for Túrin (*Unfinished Tales* pp. 157, 159).

Gil See I.256 (*Ingil*).

Gilim See I.260 (*Melko*).

Gimli GL has *gimli* '(sense of) hearing', with *gim-* 'hear', *gimriol* 'attentive' (changed to 'audible'), *gimri* 'hearkening, attention'. The hearing of Gimli, the captive Gnome in the dungeons of Tevildo, 'was the keenest that has been in the world' (p. 29).

Glamhoth GL defines this as 'name given by the Goldothrim to the Orcin: People of Dreadful Hate' (cf. 'folk of dreadful hate', p. 160). For *Goldothrim* see I.262 (*Noldoli*). The first element is *glâm* 'hatred, loathing'; other words are *glamri* 'bitter feud', *glamog* 'loathsome'. An entry in NFG says: '*Glam* meaneth "fierce hate" and even as *Gwar* has no kindred words in Eldar.'

For *hoth* 'folk' see I.264 (*orchoth* in entry *Orc*), and cf. *Goldothrim, Gondothlim, Rúmhoth, Thornhoth*. Under root HOSO QL gives *hos* 'folk', *hossë* 'army, band, troop', *hostar* 'tribe',

horma 'horde, host'; also *Sankossi* 'the Goblins', equivalent of Gnomish *Glamhoth*, and evidently compounded of *sankë* 'hateful' (root SṆKṆ 'rend, tear') and *hossë*.

Glend Perhaps connected with Gnomish *glenn* 'thin, fine', *glendrin* 'slender', *glendrinios* 'slenderness', *glent, glentweth* 'thinness'; Qenya root LENE 'long', which developed its meaning in different directions: 'slow, tedious, trailing', and 'stretch, thin': *lenka* 'slow', *lenwa* 'long and thin, straight, narrow', *lenu-* 'stretch', etc.

Glingol For the entry in NFG, where the name is translated 'singing-gold', see p. 216; and see I.258 (*Lindelos*). The second element is *culu* 'gold', for which see I.255 (*Ilsaluntë*); another entry in NFG reads: '*Culu* or *Culon* is a name we have in poesy for *Glor* (and Rúmil saith that it is the Elfin *Kulu*, and *-gol* in our *Glingol*).'

Glorfalc For *glor* see I.258 (*Laurelin*). NFG has an entry: '*Glor* is gold and is that word that cometh in verse of the Kôr-Eldar *laurë* (so saith Rúmil).'

Falc is glossed in GL '(1) cleft, gash; (2) cleft, ravine, cliffs' (also given is *falcon* 'a great two-handed sword, twibill', which was changed to *falchon*, and so close to English *falchion* 'broad-sword'). NFG has: '*Falc* is cleft and is much as *Cris*; being Elfin *Falqa*'; and under root FLKL in QL are *falqa* 'cleft, mountain pass, ravine' and *falqan* 'large sword'. GL has a further entry: *Glorfalc* 'a great ravine leading out of Garioth'. *Garioth* is here used of Hisilómë; see I.252 (*Eruman*). Cf. later *Orfalch Echor*.

Glorfindel For the entry in NFG, where the name is rendered 'Gold-tress', see p. 216. For *glor* see I.258 (*Laurelin*), and *Glorfalc*. GL had an entry *findel* 'lock of hair', together with *fith* (*fidhin*) 'a single hair', *fidhra* 'hairy', but *findel* was struck out; later entries are *finn* 'lock of hair' (see *fin-* in the Appendix to *The Silmarillion*) and *fingl* or *finnil* 'tress'. NFG: '*Findel* is "tress", and is the Elfin *Findil*.' Under root FIRI QL gives *findl* 'lock of hair' and *firin* 'ray of the sun'.

In another place in GL the name *Glorfindel* was given, and translated 'Goldlocks', but it was changed later to *Glorfinn*, with a variant *Glorfingl*.

Glorund For *glor* see I.258 (*Laurelin*), and *Glorfalc*. GL gives *Glorunn* 'the great drake slain by Turumart'. Neither of the Qenya forms *Laurundo, Undolaurë* (p. 84) appear in QL, which gives an earlier name for 'the great worm', *Fentor*, together with *fent* 'serpent', *fenumë* 'dragon'. As this entry was first written it read 'the great worm slain by Ingilmo'; to this was added 'or Turambar'.

Golosbrindi (Earlier name of Hirilorn, rendered in the text (p. 51) 'Queen of the Forest'.) A word *goloth* 'forest' is given in GL, derived from **gwōloth*, which is itself composed of *aloth* (*alos*), a verse word meaning 'forest' (= *taur*), and the prefix **ngua* > *gwa*, unaccented *go*, 'together, in one', 'often used merely intensively'.

The corresponding word in Qenya is said to be *málos*, which does not appear in QL.

Gondobar See *Gondolin*, and for *-bar* see I.251 (*Eldamar*). In GL the form *Gondobar* was later changed to *Gonthobar*.

Gondolin To the entries cited in I.254 may be added that in NFG: '*Gond* meaneth a stone, or stone, as doth Elfin *on* and *ondo*.' For the statement about Gondolin (where the name is rendered 'stone of song') in NFG see p. 216; and for the latest formulation of the etymology of *Gondolin* see the Appendix to *The Silmarillion*, entry *gond*.

Gondothlim GL has the following entry concerning the word *lim* 'many', Qenya *limbë* (not in QL): 'It is frequently suffixed and so becomes a second plural inflexion. In the singular it = English "many a", as *golda-lim*. It is however most often suffixed to the plural in those nouns making their plural in *-th*. It then changes to *-rim* after *-l*. Hence great confusion with *grim* "host" and *thlim* "race", as in *Goldothrim* ("the people of the Gnomes").' NFG has an entry: '*Gondothlim* meaneth "folk of stone" and (saith Rúmil) is *Gond* "stone", whereto be added *Hoth* "folk" and that *-lim* we Gnomes add after to signify "the many".' Cf. *Lothlim, Rodothlim,* and *Orclim* in entry *Balcmeg*; for *hoth* see *Glamhoth*.

Gondothlimbar See *Gondolin, Gondothlim*, and for *-bar* see I.251 (*Eldamar*). In GL the form *Gondothlimbar* was later changed to '*Gonthoflimar or Gonnothlimar*'.

go- An original entry in GL, later struck out, was: *gon- go-* 'son of, patronymic prefix (cf. suffix *ios/ion/io* and Qenya *yô, yondo*)'. The replacement for this is given above under *bo-*. See *Indorion*.

Gon Indor See *go-, Indorion*.

Gothmog See pp. 67, 216, and I.258 (*Kosomot*). GL has *mog-* 'detest, hate', *mogri* 'detestation', *mogrin* 'hateful'; Qenya root MOKO 'hate'. In addition to *goth* 'war, strife' (Qenya root KOSO 'strive') may be noted *gothwen* 'battle', *gothweg* 'warrior', *gothwin* 'Amazon', *gothriol* 'warlike', *gothfeng* 'war-arrow', *gothwilm* 'armistice'.

Gurtholfin GL: *Gurtholfin* 'Urdolwen, a sword of Turambar's, Wand of Death'. Also given is *gurthu* 'death' (Qenya *urdu*; not in QL). The second element of the name is *olfin(g)* (also *olf*) 'branch, wand, stick' (Qenya *olwen(n)*).

It may be noted that in QL Turambar's sword is given as *Sangahyando* 'cleaver of throngs', from roots SANGA 'pack tight, press' (*sanga* 'throng') and HYARA 'plough through' (*hyar* 'plough', *hyanda* 'blade, share'). *Sangahyando* 'Throng-cleaver' survived to become the name of a man in Gondor (see the Appendix to *The Silmarillion*, entry *thang*).

Gwar See I.257 (*Kôr, korin*).

Gwarestrin Rendered in the Tale (p. 158) as 'Tower of Guard', and so

also in NFG; GL glosses it 'watchtower (especially as a name of Gondolin)'. A late entry in GL gives *estirin, estirion, estrin* 'pinnacle', beside *esc* 'sharp point, sharp edge'. The second element of this word is *tiri(o)n*; see I.258 (*Kortirion*). For *gwar* see *Amon Gwareth*.

Gwedheling See I.273 (*Wendelin*).

Heborodin 'The Encircling Hills.' Gnomish preposition *heb* 'round about, around'; *hebrim* 'boundary', *hebwirol* 'circumspect'. For *orod* see I.256 (*Kalormë*).

Hirilorn GL gives *hiril* 'queen (a poetic use), princess; feminine of *bridhon*'. For *bridhon* see *Tevildo*. The second element is *orn* 'tree'. (It may be mentioned here that the word *neldor* 'beech' is found in QL; see the Appendix to *The Silmarillion*, entry *neldor*).

Idril For Gnomish *idril* 'sweetheart' see *Cûm an-Idrisaith*. There is another entry in GL as follows: *Idhril* 'a girl's name often confused with *Idril*. *Idril* = "beloved" but *Idhril* = "mortal maiden". Both appear to have been the names of the daughter of Turgon – or apparently *Idril* was the older and the Kor-eldar called her *Irildë* (= *Idhril*) because she married Tuor.' Elsewhere in GL appear *idhrin* 'men, earth-dwellers; especially used as a folk-name contrasted with *Eglath* etc.; cf. Qenya *indi*', and *Idhru, Idhrubar* 'the world, all the regions inhabited by Men; cf. Qenya *irmin*'. In QL these words *indi* and *irmin* are given under root IRI 'dwell?', with *irin* 'town', *indo* 'house', *indor* 'master of house' (see *Indor*), etc.; but *Irildë* does not appear. Similar words are found in Gnomish: *ind, indos* 'house, hall', *indor* 'master (of house), lord'.

After the entry in NFG on *Idril* which has been cited (p. 216) a further note was added: 'and her name meaneth "Beloved", but often do Elves say *Idhril* which more rightly compares with *Irildë* and that meaneth "mortal maiden", and perchance signifies her wedding with Tuor son of Men.' An isolated note (written in fact on a page of the *Tale of the Nauglafring*) says: 'Alter name of *Idril* to *Idhril*. The two were confused: *Idril* = "beloved", *Idhril* = "maiden of mortals". The Elves thought this her name and called her *Irildë* (because she married Tuor Pelecthon).'

Ilbranteloth See *Cris Ilbranteloth*.

Ilfiniol, Ilfrith See I.255 (*Ilverin*).

Ilúvatar An entry in NFG may be noticed here: '*En* do the mystic sayings of the Noldoli also name *Ilathon* [emended from *Âd Ilon*], who is Ilúvatar – and this is like the Eldar *Enu*.' QL gives *Enu*, the Almighty Creator who dwells without the world. For *Ilathon* see I.255–6 (*Ilwë*).

Indor (Father of Tuor's father Peleg). This is perhaps the word *indor* 'master (of house), lord' (see *Idril*) used as a proper name.

Indorion See *go-*. QL gives *yô, yond-* as poetic words for 'son', adding: 'but very common as *-ion* in patronymics (and hence practically = "descendant")'; also *yondo* 'male descendant, usually (great) grandson' (cf. Eärendel's name *Gon Indor*). Cf. *Eärendilyon*.

Indrafang GL has *indra* 'long (also used of time)', *indraluin* 'long ago'; also *indravang* 'a special name of the *nauglath* or dwarves', on which see p. 247. These forms were changed later to *in(d)ra, in(d)rafang, in(d)raluin/idhraluin*.

An original entry in GL was *bang* 'beard' = Qenya *vanga*, but this was struck out; and another word with the same meaning as *Indravang* was originally entered as *Bangasur* but changed to *Fangasur*. The second element of this is *sûr* 'long, trailing', Qenya *sóra*, and a later addition here is *Surfang* 'a long-beard, a *naugla* or *inrafang*'. Cf. *Fangluin*, and later *Fangorn* 'Treebeard'.

Irildë See *Idril*.

Isfin NFG has this entry: '*Isfin* was the sister of Turgon Lord of Gondolin, whom Eöl at length wedded; and it meaneth either "snow-locks" or "exceeding-cunning".' Long afterwards my father, noting that *Isfin* was 'derived from the earliest (1916) form of *The Fall of Gondolin*', said that the name was 'meaningless'; but with the second element cf. *finn* 'lock of hair' (see *Glorfindel*) or *fim* 'clever', *finthi* 'idea, notion', etc. (see I.253 (*Finwë*)).

Ivárë GL gives *Ior* 'the famous "piper of the sea", Qenya *Iváré*.'

Íverin A late entry in GL gives *Aivrin or Aivrien* 'an island off the west coast of Tol Eressëa, Qenya *Íwerin* or *Iverindor*.' QL has *Íverind-* 'Ireland'.

Karkaras In GL this is mentioned as the Qenya form; the Gnomish name of 'the great wolf-warden of Belca's door' was *Carcaloth* or *Carcamoth*, changed to *Carchaloth, Carchamoth*. The first element is *carc* 'jag, point, fang'; QL under root KṚKṚ has *karka* 'fang, tooth, tusk', *karkassë, karkaras* 'row of spikes or teeth'.

Kosmoko See *Gothmog*.

Kurûki See I.269 (*Tolli Kuruvar*).

Ladwen-na-Dhaideloth 'Heath of the Sky-roof'. See *Dor-na-Dhaideloth*. GL gives *ladwen* '(1) levelness, flatness; (2) a plain, heath; (3) a plane; (4) surface.' Other words are *ladin* 'level, smooth; fair, equable' (cf. *Tumladin*), *lad* 'a level' (cf. *mablad* 'palm of hand' mentioned under *Ermabwed*), *lada-* 'to smooth out, stroke, soothe, beguile', and *ladwinios* 'equity'. There are also words *bladwen* 'a plain' (see I.264 (*Palúrien*)), and *fladwen* 'meadow' (with *flad* 'sward' and *Fladweth Amrod (Amrog)* 'Nomad's Green', 'a place in *Tol Erethrin* where Eriol sojourned a

while; nigh to Tavrobel.' *Amrog, amrod* = 'wanderer', 'wandering', from *amra-* 'go up and down, live in the mountains, wander'; see *Amon Gwareth*).

Laiqalassë See I. 267 (*Tári-laisi*), I. 254 (*Gar Lossion*).

Laurundo See *Glorund*.

Legolas See *Laiqalassë*.

Lindeloktë See I. 258 (*Lindelos*).

Linwë Tinto See I. 269 (*Tinwë Linto*).

Lókë See *Foalókë*.

Lôs See I. 254 (*Gar Lossion*). The later form *loth* does not appear in GL (which has however *lothwing* 'foamflower'). NFG has '*Lôs* is a flower and in Eldarissa *lossë* which is a rose' (all after the word 'flower' struck out).

Lósengriol As with *lôs*, the later form *lothengriol* does not appear in GL. *Losengriol* is translated 'lily of the valley' in GL, which gives the Gnomish words *eng* 'smooth, level', *enga* 'plain, vale', *engri* 'a level', *engriol* 'vale-like; of the vale'. NFG says '*Eng* is a plain or vale and *Engriol* that which liveth or dwelleth therein', and translates *Lósengriol* 'flower of the vale or lily of the valley'.

Los 'lóriol (changed from *Los Glóriol*; the Golden Flower of Gondolin). See I. 254 (*Gar Lossion*), and for *glóriol* 'golden' see I. 258 (*Laurelin*).

Loth, Lothengriol See *Lôs, Lósengriol*.

Lothlim See *Lôs* and *Gondothlim*. The entry in NFG reads: '*Lothlim* being for *Loslim* meaneth folk of the flower, and is that name taken by the Exiles of Gondolin (which city they had called *Lôs* aforetime).'

Mablung For *mab* 'hand' see *Ermabwed*. The second element is *lung* 'heavy; grave, serious'; related words are *lungra-* 'weigh, hang heavy', *luntha* 'balance, weigh', *lunthang* 'scales'.

Malkarauki See I. 250 (*Balrog*).

Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva See I. 260 and add: a late entry in GL gives the Gnomish name, *Bara Dhair Haithin*, the Cottage of Lost Play; also *daira-* 'play' (with *dairwen* 'mirth', etc.), and *haim or haithin* 'gone, departed, lost' (with *haitha-* 'go, walk', etc.). Cf. *Dairon*.

Mathusdor (Aryador, Hisilómë). In GL are given *math* 'dusk', *mathrin* 'dusky', *mathusgi* 'twilight', *mathwen* 'evening'. See *Umboth-muilin*.

Mavwin A noun *mavwin* 'wish' in GL was struck out, but related words allowed to stand: *mav-* 'like', *mavra* 'eager after', *mavri* 'appetite', *mavrin* 'delightful, desirable', *mavros* 'desire', *maus* 'pleasure; pleasant'. Mavwin's name in Qenya, *Mavoinë*, is not in QL, unless it is to be equated with *maivoinë* 'great longing'.

Meleth A noun *meleth* 'love' is found in GL; see I. 262 (*Nessa*).

Melian, Melinon, Melinir None of these names occur in the

glossaries, but probably all are derivatives of the stem *mel-* 'love'; see I. 262 (*Nessa*). The later etymology of *Melian* derived the name from *mel-* 'love' (*Melyanna* 'dear gift').

Meoita, Miaugion, Miaulë See *Tevildo*.

Mindon-Gwar For *mindon* 'tower' see I. 260 (*Minethlos*); and for *Gwar* see p. 291 and I. 257 (*Kôr, korin*).

Morgoth See p. 67 and *Gothmog*. For the element *mor-* see I. 261 (*Mornië*).

Mormagli, Mormakil See I. 261 (*Mornië*) and I. 259 (*Makar*).

Nan Dumgorthin See p. 62. For *nan* see I. 261 (*Nandini*).

Nantathrin This name does not occur in the *Lost Tales*, where the Land of Willows is called *Tasarinan*, but GL gives it (see I. 265 (*Sirion*)) and NFG has an entry: '*Dor-tathrin* was that Land of Willows of which this and many a tale tells.' GL has *tathrin* 'willow', and QL *tasarin* of the same meaning.

Nauglafring GL has the following entry: '*Nauglafring* = *Fring na Nauglithon*, the Necklace of the Dwarves. Made for Ellu by the Dwarves from the gold of Glorund that Mîm the fatherless cursed and that brought ruin on Beren Ermabwed and Damrod his son and was not appeased till it sank with Elwing beloved of Eärendel to the bottom of the sea.' For Damrod (Daimord) son of Beren see pp. 139, 259, and for the loss of Elwing and the Nauglafring see pp. 255, 264. This is the only reference to the 'appeasing' of Mîm's curse. – Gnomish *fring* means 'carcanet, necklace' (Qenya *firinga*).

Níniel Cf. Gnomish *nîn* 'tear', *ninios* 'lamentation', *ninna-* 'weep'; see I. 262 (*Nienna*).

Nínin-Udathriol ('Unnumbered Tears'). See *Níniel*. GL gives *tathn* 'number', *tathra-* 'number, count', *udathnarol, udathriol* 'innumerable'. *Û-* is a 'negative prefix with any part of speech'. (QL casts no light on *Nieriltasinwa*, p. 84, apart from the initial element *nie* 'tear', see I. 262 (*Nienna*).)

Noldorissa See *Eldarissa*.

Nos Galdon, Nos nan Alwen See *Duilin, Galdor*.

Nost-na-Lothion See *Duilin*.

Parma Kuluinen The Golden Book, see p. 310. This entry is given in QL under root PARA: *parma* 'skin, bark; parchment; book, writings'. This word survived in later Quenya (*The Lord of the Rings* III. 401). For *Kuluinen* see *Glingol*.

Peleg (Father of Tuor). GL has a common noun *peleg* 'axe', verb *pelectha-* 'hew' (QL *pelekko* 'axe', *pelekta-* 'hew'). Cf. Tuor's name *Pelecthon* in the note cited under *Idril*.

Ramandur See I. 259 (*Makar*).

Rog GL gives an adjective *rôg, rog* 'doughty, strong'. But with the Orcs' name for Egnor Beren's father, Rog the Fleet, cf. *arog* 'swift, rushing', and *raug* of the same meaning; Qenya *arauka*.

Rôs GL gives yet another meaning of this name: 'the Sea' (Qenya *Rása*).

Rodothlim See *Rothwarin* (earlier form replaced by *Rodothlim*).

Rothwarin GL has this name in the forms *Rothbarin, Rosbarin*: '(literally "cavern-dwellers") name of a folk of secret Gnomes and also of the regions about their cavernous homes on the banks of the river.' Gnomish words derived from the root ROTO 'hollow' are *rod* 'tube, stem', *ross* 'pipe', *roth* 'cave, grot', *rothrin* 'hollow', *rodos* 'cavern'; QL gives *rotsë* 'pipe', *róta* 'tube', *ronta, rotwa* 'hollow', *rotelë* 'cave'.

Rúmhoth See *Glamhoth*.

Rúsitaurion GL gives a noun *rûs* (*rôs*) 'endurance, longsuffering, patience', together with adjective *rô* 'enduring, longsuffering; quiet, gentle', and verb *rô-* 'remain, stay; endure'. For *taurion* see I. 267 (*Tavari*).

Sarnathrod Gnomish *sarn* 'a stone'; for *athrod* 'ford' see *Artanor*.

Sarqindi ('Cannibal-ogres'). This must derive from the root SṚKṚ given in QL, with derivatives *sarko* 'flesh', *sarqa* 'fleshy', *sarkuva* 'corporeal, bodily'.

Silpion An entry in NFG (p. 215) translates the name as 'Cherry-moon'. In QL is a word *pio* 'plum, cherry' (with *piukka* 'blackberry', *piosenna* 'holly', etc.), and also *Valpio* 'the holy cherry of Valinor'. GL gives *Piosil* and *Silpios*, without translation, as names of the Silver Tree, and also a word *piog* 'berry'.

Taimonto See I. 268 (*Telimektar*).

Talceleb, Taltelepta (Name of *Idril/Irildë*, 'of the Silver Feet'.) The first element is Gnomish *tâl* 'foot (of people and animals)'; related words are *taltha* 'foot (of things), base, pedestal, pediment', *talrind, taldrin* 'ankle', *taleg, taloth* 'path' – another name for the Way of Escape into Gondolin was *Taleg Uthwen* (see *Bad Uthwen*). QL under root TALA 'support' gives *tala* 'foot', *talwi* (dual) 'the feet', *talas* 'sole', etc. For the second element see I. 268 (*Telimpë*). QL gives the form *telepta* but without translation.

Tarnin Austa For *tarn* 'gate' see I. 261 (*Moritarnon*). GL gives *aust* 'summer'; cf. *Aur* 'the Sun', I. 271 (*Úr*).

Taruithorn, Taruktarna (Oxford). GL gives *târ* 'horn' and *tarog* 'ox' (Qenya *taruku-*), *Taruithron* older *Taruitharn* 'Oxford'. Immediately following these words are *tarn* 'gate' and *taru* '(1) cross (2) crossing'. QL has *taru* 'horn' (see *Dramborleg*), *tarukka* 'horned', *tarukko, tarunko* 'bull', *Taruktarna* 'Oxford', and under root TARA *tara-* 'cross, go athwart', *tarna* 'crossing, passage'.

Tasarinan See *Nantathrin*.

Taurfuin See I.267 (*Tavari*) and I.253 (*Fui*).

Teld Quing Ilon NFG has an entry: *'Cris a Teld Quing Ilon* signifieth Gully of the Rainbow Roof, and is in the Eldar speech *Kiris Iluqingatelda'*; *a Teld Quing Ilon* was struck out and replaced by *Ilbranteloth*. Another entry reads: *'Ilon* is the sky'; in GL *Ilon* (= Qenya *Ilu*) is the name of *Ilúvatar* (see I.255 (*Ilwë*)). *Teld* does not appear in GL, but related words as *telm* 'roof' are given (see I.267–8 (*Teleri*)); and *cwing* = 'a bow'. QL has *iluqinga* 'rainbow' (see I.256 (*Ilweran*)) and *telda* 'having a roof' (see I.268 (*Telimektar*)). For *Cris, Kiris* see *Cris Ilbranteloth*.

Tevildo, Tifil For the etymology see I.268, to which can be added that the earlier Gnomish form *Tifil* (later *Tiberth*) is associated in GL with a noun *tîf* 'resentment, ill-feeling, bitterness'.

Vardo Meoita 'Prince of Cats': for *Vardo* see I.273 (*Varda*). QL gives *meoi* 'cat'.

Bridhon Miaugion 'Prince of Cats': *bridhon* 'king, prince', cf. *Bridhil*, Gnomish name of Varda (I.273). Nouns *miaug, miog* 'tomcat' and *miauli* 'she-cat' (changed to *miaulin*) are given in GL, where the Prince of Cats is called *Tifil Miothon or Miaugion*. *Miaulë* was the name of Tevildo's cook (p. 28).

Thorndor See I.266 (*Sorontur*).

Thornhoth See *Glamhoth*.

Thorn Sir See I.265 (*Sirion*).

Tifanto This name is clearly to be associated with the Gnomish words (*tif-, tifin*) given in I.268 (*Tinfang*).

Tifil See *Tevildo*.

Tirin See I.258 (*Kortirion*).

Tôn a Gwedrin *Tôn* is a Gnomish word meaning 'fire (on a hearth)', related to *tan* and other words given under *Tanyasalpë* (I.266–7); *Tôn a Gwedrin* 'the Tale-fire' in *Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva*. Cf. *Tôn Sovriel* 'the fire lake of Valinor' (*sovriel* 'purification', *sovri* 'cleansing'; *sôn* 'pure, clean', *soth* 'bath', *sô-* 'wash, clean, bathe').

Gwedrin belongs with *cwed-* (preterite *cwenthi*) 'say, tell', *cweth* 'word', *cwent* 'tale, saying', *cwess* 'saying, proverb', *cwedri* 'telling (of tales)', *ugwedriol* 'unspeakable, ineffable'. In QL under root QETE are *qet-* (*qentë*) 'speak, talk', *quent* 'word', *qentelë* 'sentence', *Eldaqet* = *Eldarissa*, etc. Cf. the Appendix to *The Silmarillion*, entry *quen-* (*quet-*).

Tumladin For the first element, Gnomish *tûm* 'valley', see I.269 (*Tombo*), and for the second, *ladin* 'level, smooth' see *Ladwen na Dhaideloth*.

Turambar For the first element see I.260 (*Meril-i-Turinqi*). QL gives *amarto, ambar* 'Fate', and also (root MṚTṚ) *mart* 'a piece of luck', *marto* 'fortune, fate, lot', *mart-* 'it happens' (impersonal). GL has

mart 'fate', *martion* 'fated, doomed, fey'; also *umrod* and *umbart* 'fate'.

Turumart See *Turambar*.

Ufedhin Possible connections of this name are Gnomish *uf* 'out of, forth from', or *fedhin* 'bound by agreement, ally, friend'.

Ulbandi See I. 260 (*Melko*).

Ulmonan The Gnomish name was *Ingulma(n)* (*Gulma* = *Ulmo*), with the prefix *in-* (*ind-*, *im-*) 'house of' (*ind* 'house', see *Idril*). Other examples of this formation are *Imbelca, Imbelcon* 'Hell (house of Melko)', *inthorn* 'eyrie', *Intavros* 'forest' (properly 'the forest palace of Tavros').

Umboth-muilin Gnomish *umboth, umbath* 'nightfall'; *Umbathor* is a name of Garioth (see I. 252 (*Eruman*)). This word is derived from **mbaþ-*, related to **maþ-* seen in *math* 'dusk': see *Mathusdor*. The second element is *muil* 'tarn', Qenya *moilë*.

Undolaurë See *Glorund*.

Valar NFG has the following entry: '*Banin* [emended from *Banion*] or *Bandrim* [emended from *Banlim*]. Now these dwell, say the Noldoli, in *Gwalien* [emended from *Banien*] but they are spoken of ever by Elfrith and the others in their Elfin names as the *Valar* (or *Vali*), and that glorious region of their abode is *Valinor*.' See I. 272 (*Valar*).

SHORT GLOSSARY OF OBSOLETE, ARCHAIC, AND RARE WORDS

Words that have been given in the similar glossary to Part I (such as *an* 'if', *fain*, *lief*, *meed*, *rede*, *ruth*) are not as a rule repeated here. Some words of current English used in obsolete senses are included.

acquaint old past participle, superseded by *acquainted*, 287
ardour burning heat, 38, 170 (modern sense 194)
bested beset, 193
bravely splendidly, showily, 75
broidure embroidery, 163. Not recorded, but *broid-* varied with *broud-* etc. in Middle English, and *broudure* 'embroidery' is found.
burg walled and fortified town, 175
byrnie body-armour, corslet, coat-of-mail, 163
carcanet ornamental collar or necklace, 227–8, 235, 238
carle (probably) serving-man, 85; **house-carle** 190
chain linear measure (a chain's length), sixty-six feet, 192
champain level, open country, 295, 298
clue thread, 322
cot small cottage, 95, 141
damasked 224, **damascened** 173, 227, ornamentally inlaid with designs in gold and silver.
diapered covered with a small pattern, 173
dight arrayed, fitted out, 173
drake dragon, 41, 46, 85–7, etc. (*Drake* is the original English word, Old English *draca*, derived from Latin; *dragon* was from French).
drolleries comic plays or entertainments, 190
enow enough, 241–2
enthralled enslaved, 97, 163, 196, 198
entreat treat, 26, 77, 87, 236 (modern sense 38)
errant wandering, 42
estate situation, 97
ewer pitcher for water, 226
eyot small island, 7
fathom linear measure (six feet), formerly not used only of water, 78
fell in dread fell into dread, 106
force waterfall, 105 (Northern English, from Scandinavian).
fordone overcome, 233
fosses pits, 288
fretted adorned with elaborate carving, 297

glamour enchantment, spell, 314
greaves armour for the lower leg, 163
guestkindliness hospitality, 228. Apparently not recorded; used in I.175.
haply perhaps, 13, 94, 99
hie hasten; **hie thee**, hasten, 75
high-tide festival, 231
house-carle 190, see **carle**.
inly inwardly, 315
jacinth blue, 274
kempt combed, 75; **unkempt**, uncombed, 159
kirtle long coat or tunic, 154
knave male child, boy, 96 (the original sense of the word, long since lost).
lair in **the dragon's lair**, 105, the place where the dragon was lying (i.e. happened at that time to be lying).
lambent (of flame) playing lightly on a surface without burning, 297
league about three miles, 171, 189, 201
lealty loyalty, 185
let desisted, 166; allowed, 181; **had let fashion**, had had fashioned, 174, **let seize**, had (him) seized, 225, **let kill**, had (them) killed, 235
like please, 41; **good liking**, good will, friendly disposition, 169
list wish, 85, 101; like, 236
or ever before ever, 5–6, 38, 80, 110, 233–4, 240
or . . . or either . . . or, 226
pale boundary, 269
ports gateways, 299
prate chatter, speak to no purpose, 75
puissance power, 168
repair make one's way, go, 162
runagate deserter, 15, 44 (the same word in origin as **renegade**, 15, 44, 224, 232)
scathe hurt, harm, 99, 233
scatterlings wanderers, stragglers, 182
sconces brackets fastened on a wall, to carry candle or torch, 226
scullion menial kitchen-servant, drudge, 17, 45
shallop 274. See I.275; but here the boat is defined as oarless.
silvern silver, 270 (the original Old English adjective).
slot track of an animal, 38, 96 (=**spoor** 38).
stead farm, 89
stricken in **the Stricken Anvil**, struck, beaten, 174, 179
swinge stroke, blow, 194
thews strength, bodily power, 33
tilth cultivated (tilled) land, 4, 88, 101
tithe tenth part, 188, 223, 227

travail hardship, suffering, 77, 82, 239; toil, 168; **travailed**, toiled, 163; **travailing**, enduring hardship, 75
trencher large dish or platter, 226
uncouth 85 perhaps has the old meaning 'strange', but elsewhere (13, 75, 115) has the modern sense.
vambrace armour for the fore-arm, 163
weird fate, 85–6, 111, 155, 239
whin gorse, 287
whortle whortleberry, bilberry; **whortlebush** 287
withe withy, flexible branch of willow, 229
worm serpent, dragon, 85–8, etc.
wrack downfall, ruin, 116, 253, 283, 285

INDEX

This index is made on the same basis as that to Part I, but selected references are given in rather more cases, and the individual *Lost Tales* are not included. In view of the large number of names that appear in Part II fairly full cross-references are provided to associated names (earlier and later forms, equivalents in different languages, etc.). As in the index to Part I, the more important names occurring in *The Silmarillion* are not given explanatory definitions; and references sometimes include passages where the person or place is not actually named.

Ælfhâm (Old English) 'Elfhome'. 301–2. See *Eldaros*.

Ælfheah (Old English) Companion of Ælfwine; called 'the fatherless'. 315–16, 320, 323, 330, 332–4. (Replaced *Gelimer*.)

Ælfred of Wessex (language of) 301

Ælfwine (Old English) 'Elf-friend'. 278, 300–5, 307–11, 313–23, 325, 327, 329–34. 'The *Ælfwine* story' 300, 303, 305, 310–12, 323, 326. See *Eldairon*, *Lúthien* (1).

Aelin-uial 'Meres of Twilight'. 217, 249. (Replaced *Umboth-muilin*, the Pools of Twilight.)

Afros River in Tol Eressëa, joining the Gruir at the bridge of Tavrobel (see 288). 284, 287

Agarwaen 'Blood-stained', name given to himself by Túrin in Nargothrond. 128

Ailios Earlier name of Gilfanon. 69–70, 144–5, 221–2, 228, 242–3, 256, 284, 294

Ainulindalë 219. See *Music of the Ainur*.

Ainur Singular *Ainu* 15, 32, 36, 113, 177, 198; *Ainu Melko* 15, 18, 33; *Ainu of Evil* 22. Plural *Ainu* 202, 264; *Ainur* 151–2, 165, 174, 197, 202, 204, 218–19. See *Gar Ainion*, *Music of the Ainur*, *Valar*.

Airin Wife of Brodda; called *Faiglindra*, *Firilanda*, 'of the long hair' (90, 93). 89–91, 93, 126–8. Later form *Aerin* 126–7

Alalminórë 'Land of Elms', region of England (Warwickshire) and of Tol Eressëa. 292, 313, 324, 327

Albion Used once of Luthany (England). 304

Alley of Roses Street in Gondolin. 183

Alqarámë 'Swanwing', Tuor's ship. 254, 265. See *Eärrámë*, *Swanwing*.

Aman 64, 266

Ambarkanta 'Shape of the World' (cosmological work). 325

Amillo Youngest of the great Valar, called also *Ómar*. 279

Amnon 'the prophet'. 184. See I. 172.

Amon Darthir A peak in the range of Ered Wethrin. 126
Amon Ethir 'Hill of Spies', east of Nargothrond. 128, 135. See *Hill of Spies*.
Amon Gwareth 'Hill of Watch' on which Gondolin was built. 158–60, 163, 166, 168, 171, 175–6, 178, 180, 189, 196, 207, 212. See *Hill of Watch*.
Amon Obel Hill in the Forest of Brethil. 135
Amras Son of Fëanor. 251. (Replaced *Díriel*.)
Amrod Son of Fëanor. 251. (Replaced *Damrod*.)
Anach Pass leading down from Taur-nu-Fuin. 211
Ancient Mariner See *Man of the Sea*.
Anfauglith 57, 62. See *Dor-nu-Fauglith*.
Angainu The great chain in which Melko was bound. 19, 46; *Angaino* 68
Angali Angles. 306
Angamandi 'Hells of Iron'. 13–14, 18, 21, 23, 29, 31–2, 34, 36, 43, 51, 56–8, 62, 68, 87, 94, 138, 223, 264, 280. See *Angband, Hells of Iron*.
Angband 35, 43–5, 51, 57, 61–2, 65–6, 68, 72, 77, 79, 124, 140, 142, 206, 211, 213, 238, 241; *Siege of Angband* 209. See *Angamandi, Hells of Iron*.
Angeln 294
Angles 306. See *Angali*.
Anglo-Saxon(s) 266, 305, 309, 323
Angol 'Ironcliffs', Gnomish name of Eriol and of his homeland. 290–2, 294
Angolcynn (Old English) The English people. 291; *Angelcynn* 300. See *Engle, English*.
Angorodin The Iron Mountains. 77, 140. See *Iron Mountains*.
Angrist Curufin's knife, made by Telchar of Nogrod. 58
Annael Grey-elf of Mithrim, fosterfather of Tuor. 205
Annals of Valinor 300
Arch of Heaven, the Arch See *Heavenly Arch*.
Arch of Inwë Western entry to the Place of the Well in Gondolin. 182
Ard-galen 62
Aredhel Sister of Turgon, mother of Maeglin. 212. (Replaced *Isfin*.)
Arlisgion 'Place of Reeds' above the mouths of Sirion. 153, 202, 217. See *Lisgardh*.
Arminas Noldorin Elf who with Gelmir guided Tuor through the Gate of the Noldor and afterwards brought the warning of Ulmo to Nargothrond. 123, 125, 204
Aros The river forded at Sarnathrod. 236–8, 251; identified with the river flowing past the caves of the Rodothlim, 236 (see 244 note 15).
Artanor 'The Land Beyond', region afterwards named Doriath. 9, 13, 21, 30, 35, 37, 41, 43, 47, 49, 52, 54, 56, 58–9, 61–5, 120–2, 127–9, 141–2, 223, 230–4, 236, 240, 243, 246, 248–51, 254, 276. See

especially 61, and see *Doriath*, *Land(s) Beyond*. References to the protection of Artanor by the magic of the Queen: 9, 35–6, 43, 47–8, 63, 76, 122, 132, 137, 230–2, 249–50

Arval An early name of Eöl. 220

Arvalin 286

Aryador 'Land of Shadow', name of Hisilómë among Men. 15, 42, 44, 50–1, 61, 70, 202, 249. See *Dor Lómin*, *Hisilómë*, *Hithlum*, *Land of Shadow(s)*, *Mathusdor*.

Asgon Earlier name of (Lake) Mithrim. 70, 88, 202, 204, 263. See *Mithrim*.

Atlantic Ocean 261

Aulë 19, 46, 174, 218, 269, 272

Auredhir Son of Dior. 240–1, 251

Ausir (1) 'The Wealthy', name of Dior. 240, 244, 251. (2) A boy of Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva. 5, 7–8, 40–2, 50, 59, 311

Avari 64

Avon, River 295–6

Bablon Gnomish form of *Babylon*. 196, 203, 214; *Babylon* 203, 214

Bad Uthwen The Way of Escape into the plain of Gondolin. 189, 203; earlier *Bad Uswen*, *Bad Usbran* 203. See *Way of Escape*.

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Balcmeg Orc slain by Tuor in Gondolin. 181

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Bansil 'Fair-gleam', the Tree of Gondolin with silver blossom. 160, 184, 186, 203, 207, 214, 216; later form *Banthil* 203. See *Belthil*.

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Baragund Father of Morwen. 139

Barahir Father of Beren. 43, 51. (Replaced *Egnor*.)

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Bee of Azure Sirius. 282; *Blue Bee* 281. See *Nielluin*.

Belaurin Gnomish form of *Palúrien*. 281, 328; *Belawryn* 310

Belcha Gnomish name of Melko. *Belcha Morgoth* 44, 67

Beleg 21, 47, 59, 62, 73, 76–83, 102, 118, 121–4, 141–2. Called 'wood-ranger', 'hunter', 'huntsman' 73, 76–7, 81, 123; a Noldo 78, 122–3; later surname *Cúthalion* 'Strongbow' 59, 62, 124

Belegost City of the Indrafang Dwarves. 230–1, 235, 244–8; *Ost Belegost* 244

Beleriand 64, 128, 205, 217, 245, 324; Drowning of Beleriand 251, 324

Belerion Harbour in the west of Britain. 313–15, 317, 322, 324, 330–3
Belthil The Tree of Gondolin with silver flowers, made by Turgon. 207. See *Bansil*.
Belthronding The bow of Beleg. 123
Beorn Uncle of Ottor Wǽfre (Eriol). 290–1, 294. See *Hasen of Isenóra*.
Beowulf 298, 323; J. R. R. Tolkien, *On Translating Beowulf*, 331
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Brithonin Invaders of Tol Eressëa. 294
Brittany 285
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Cirith Thoronath 'Eagles' Cleft'. 213. See *Cristhorn*.
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City of Seven Names Gondolin. 158
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Cranthor Son of Fëanor (later *Cranthir*). 241–2, 250
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Dry River The entrance to Gondolin. 207
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TOLKIEN

J R R TOLKIEN

THE BOOK OF LOST TALES 2

Cover illustration by
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FICTION/FANTASY

UNITED KINGDOM £9.99
AUSTRALIA $19.95 [recommended]
CANADA $18.95

ISBN 0-261-10214-1

9 780261 102149 00999

Harper Collins

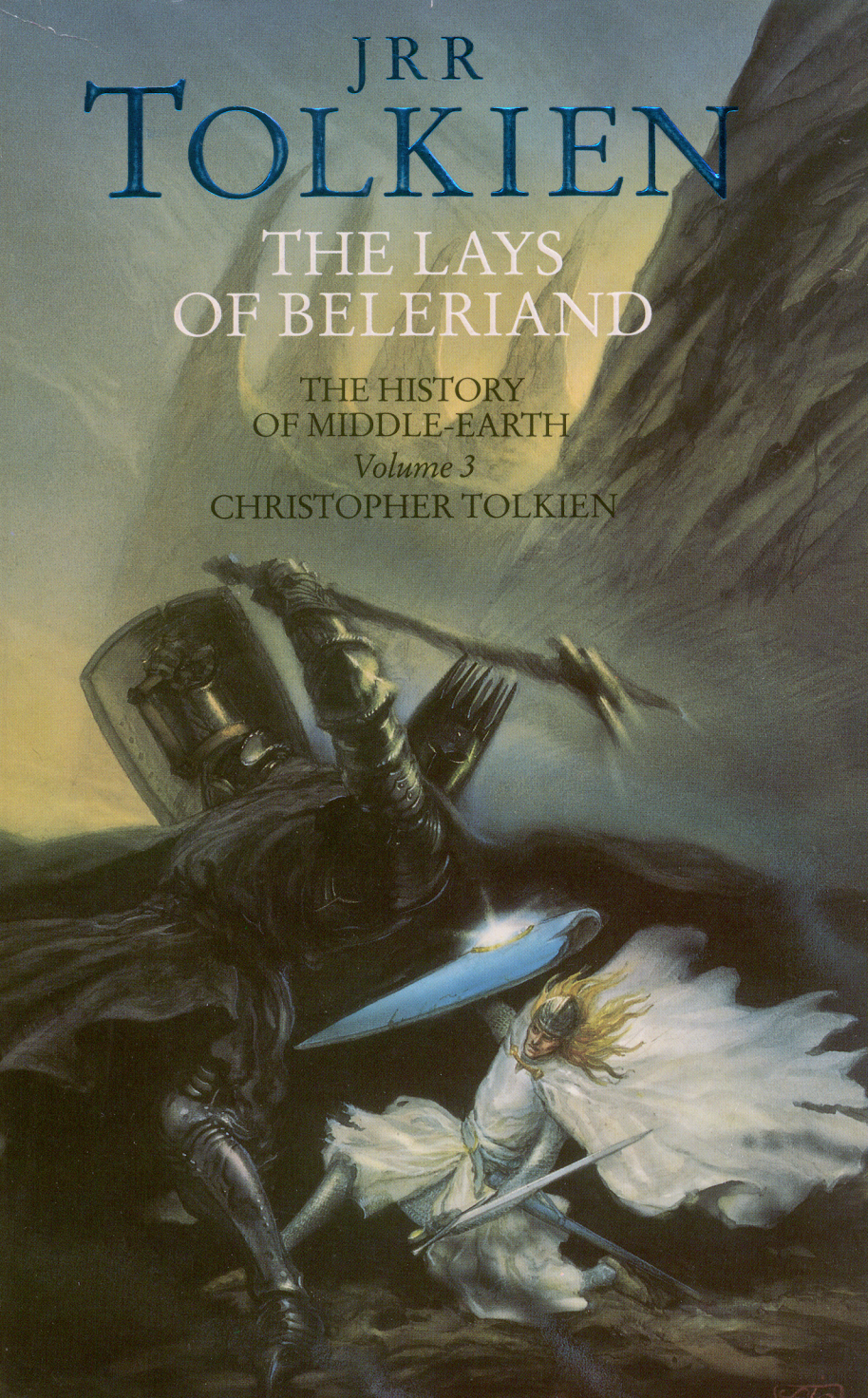
JRR TOLKIEN

THE LAYS OF BELERIAND

THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE-EARTH

Volume 3

CHRISTOPHER TOLKIEN



This, the third volume of *The History of Middle-earth*, gives us a privileged insight into the creation of the mythology of Middle-earth, through the alliterative verse tales of two of the most crucial stories in Tolkien's world – those of Túrin and Lúthien.

The first of the poems is the unpublished *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, narrating on a grand scale the tragedy of Túrin Turambar.

The second is the moving *Lay of Leithian*, the chief source of the tale of Beren and Lúthien in *The Silmarillion*, telling of the Quest of the Silmaril and the encounter with Morgoth in his subterranean fortress.

Accompanying the poems are commentaries on the evolution of the history of the Elder Days. Also included is the notable criticism of *The Lady of Leithian* by C. S. Lewis, who read the poem in 1929.

THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE-EARTH

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THE BOOK OF LOST TALES, PART ONE

II
THE BOOK OF LOST TALES, PART TWO

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THE WAR OF THE JEWELS

J. R. R. TOLKIEN

THE LAYS OF BELERIAND

Edited by
Christopher Tolkien

HarperCollins*Publishers*

HarperCollinsPublishers
77–85 Fulham Palace Road,
Hammersmith, London W6 8JB

This paperback edition 1994
9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Previously published in paperback by Grafton 1992
Reprinted twice

First published in Great Britain by
George Allen & Unwin 1985
First published by Unwin Paperbacks 1987

© George Allen & Unwin
(Publishers) Ltd 1985
The text of the commentary by C. S. Lewis
on The Lay of Leithian © C. S. Lewis
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ISBN 0 261 10226 5

Printed in Great Britain by
The Guernsey Press Co. Ltd, Guernsey, Channel Islands

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PREFACE

This third part of 'The History of Middle-earth' contains the two major poems by J. R. R. Tolkien concerned with the legends of the Elder Days: the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* in alliterative verse, and the *Lay of Leithian* in octosyllabic couplets. The alliterative poem was composed while my father held appointments at the University of Leeds (1920–5); he abandoned it for the *Lay of Leithian* at the end of that time, and never turned to it again. I have found no reference to it in any letter or other writing of his that has survived (other than the few words cited on p. 3), and I do not recollect his ever speaking of it. But this poem, which though extending to more than 2000 lines is only a fragment in relation to what he once planned, is the most sustained embodiment of his abiding love of the resonance and richness of sound that might be achieved in the ancient English metre. It marks also an important stage in the evolution of the Matter of the Elder Days, and contains passages that strongly illumine his imagination of Beleriand; it was, for example, in this poem that the great redoubt of Nargothrond arose from the primitive caves of the Rodothlim in the *Lost Tales*, and only in this poem was Nargothrond described. It exists in two versions, the second being a revision and enlargement that proceeds much less far into the story, and both are given in this book.

My father worked on the *Lay of Leithian* for six years, abandoning it in its turn in September 1931. In 1929 it was read so far as it then went by C. S. Lewis, who sent him a most ingenious commentary on a part of it; I acknowledge with thanks the permission of C. S. Lewis PTE Limited to include this.

In 1937 he said in a letter that 'in spite of certain virtuous passages' the *Lay of Leithian* had 'grave defects' (see p. 366). A decade or more later, he received a detailed, and remarkably unconstrained, criticism of the poem from someone who knew and admired his poetry. I do not know for certain who this was. In choosing 'the staple octosyllabic couplet of romance,' he wrote, my father had chosen one of the most difficult of forms 'if one wishes to avoid monotony and sing-song in a very long poem. I am often astonished by your success, but it is by no means consistently maintained.' His strictures on the diction of the Lay

I

THE LAY OF THE CHILDREN OF HÚRIN

There exists a substantial manuscript (28 pages long) entitled 'Sketch of the Mythology with especial reference to "The Children of Húrin"'; and this 'Sketch' is the next complete narrative, in the *prose* tradition, after the *Lost Tales* (though a few fragmentary writings are extant from the intervening time). On the envelope containing this manuscript my father wrote at some later time:

> Original 'Silmarillion'. Form orig[inally] composed c. 1926–30 for R. W. Reynolds to explain background of 'alliterative version' of Túrin & the Dragon: then in progress (unfinished) (begun c. 1918).

He seems to have written first '1921' before correcting this to '1918'.

R. W. Reynolds taught my father at King Edward's School, Birmingham (see Humphrey Carpenter, *Biography*, p. 47). In a passage of his diary written in August 1926 he wrote that 'at the end of last year' he had heard again from R. W. Reynolds, that they had corresponded subsequently, and that he had sent Reynolds many of his poems, including *Tinúviel* and *Túrin* ('*Tinúviel* meets with qualified approval, it is too prolix, but how could I ever cut it down, and the specimen I sent of *Túrin* with little or none'). This would date the 'Sketch' as originally written (it was subsequently heavily revised) definitely in 1926, probably fairly early in the year. It must have accompanied the specimen of *Túrin* (the alliterative poem), the background of which it was written to explain, to Anacapri, where Reynolds was then living in retirement.

My father took up his appointment to the Professorship of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford in the winter term (October–December) of 1925, though for that term he had to continue to teach at Leeds also, since the appointments overlapped. There can be no doubt that at any rate the great bulk of the alliterative *Children of Húrin* (or *Túrin*) was completed at Leeds, and I think it virtually certain that he had ceased to work on it before he moved south: in fact there seems nothing to oppose to the natural assumption that he left 'Túrin' for 'Tinúviel' (the *Lay of Leithian*), which he began according to his diary in the summer of 1925 (see p. 159 and footnote).

For the date of its commencement we have only my father's later (and perhaps hesitant) statement that it was 'begun c. 1918'. A *terminus a quo* is provided by a page of the earliest manuscript of the poem, which is

written on a slip from the Oxford English Dictionary bearing the printer's stamp *May 1918*. On the other hand the name *Melian* which occurs near the beginning of the earliest manuscript shows it to be later than the typescript version of the *Tale of Tinúviel*, where the Queen's name was *Gwenethlin* and only became *Melian* in the course of its composition (II. 51); and the manuscript version of that Tale which underlies the typescript seems itself to have been one of the last completed elements in the *Lost Tales* (see I. 204).

The Children of Húrin exists in two versions, which I shall refer to as I and II, both of them found in manuscript and later typescript (IA, IB; IIA, IIB). I do not think that the second is significantly later than the first; it is indeed possible, and would not be in any way uncharacteristic, that my father began work on II while he was still composing at a later point in I. II is essentially an expansion of I, with many lines, and blocks of lines, left virtually unchanged. Until the second version is reached it will be sufficient to refer simply to 'A' and 'B', the manuscript and typescript of the first version.

The manuscript A consists of two parts: first (a) a bundle of small slips, numbered 1–32. The poem is here in a very rough state with many alternative readings, and in places at least may represent the actual beginnings, the first words written down. This is followed by (b) a set of large sheets of examination paper from the University of Leeds, numbered 33 ff., where the poem is for the most part written out in a more finished form – the second stage of composition; but my father wrote in line-numbers continuously through (a) and (b) – lines 1–528 in (a), lines 528 ff. in (b). We have thus one sole text, not two, without any overlap; and if (a), the slips, ever existed in the form of (b), the examination sheets, that part has disappeared. In part (b) there are many later emendations in pencil.

Based on this manuscript is the typescript B. This introduces changes not found in A or its emendations; and it was itself emended both in ink and pencil, doubtless involving several movements of revision. To take a single line as exemplification: line 8 was written first in A:

Lo! Thalion in the throng of thickest battle

The line was emended, in two stages, to

Lo! Thalion Húrin in the throng of battle

and this was the form in B as typed; but B was emended, in two stages, to

Lo! Húrin Thalion in the hosts of war

It is obvious that to set this and a great many other similar cases out in a textual apparatus would be a huge task and the result impossibly complicated. The text that follows is therefore, so far as purely metrical-stylistic

changes are concerned, that of B as *emended*, and apart from a few special cases there is no mention in the notes of earlier readings.

In the matter of names, however, the poem presents great difficulty; for changes were made at quite different times and were not introduced consistently throughout. If the latest form in any particular passage is made the principle of choice, irrespective of any other consideration, then the text will have *Morwin* at lines 105, 129, *Mavwin* 137 etc., *Morwen* 438, 472; *Ulmo* 1469, but *Ylmir* 1529 and subsequently; *Nirnaith Ornoth* 1448, but *Nirnaith Únoth* 1543. If the later *Nirnaith Ornoth* is adopted at 1543, it seems scarcely justifiable to intrude it at lines 13 and 218 (where the final form is *Nínin Unothradin*). I have decided finally to abandon overall consistency, and to treat individual names as seems best in the circumstances; for example, I give *Ylmir* rather than *Ulmo* at line 1469, for consistency with all the other occurrences, and while changing *Únoth* to *Ornoth* at line 1543 I retain *Ornoth* rather than the much later *Arnediad* at line 26 of the second version – similarly I prefer the earlier *Finweg* to *Fingon* (1975, second version 19, 520) and *Bansil*, *Glingol* to *Belthil*, *Glingal* (2027–8). All such points are documented in the notes.

A has no title. In B as typed the title was *The Golden Dragon*, but this was emended to *Túrin Son of Húrin & Glórund the Dragon*. The second version of the poem was first titled *Túrin*, but this was changed to *The Children of Húrin*, and I adopt this, the title by which my father referred to the poem in the 1926 'Sketch', as the general title of the work.

The poem in the first version is divided into a short prologue (Húrin and Morgoth) without sub-title and three long sections, of which the first two ('Túrin's Fostering' and 'Beleg') were only introduced later into the typescript; the third ('Failivrin') is marked both in A and in B as typed.

The detail of the typescript is largely preserved in the present text, but I have made the capitalisation rather more consistent, added in occasional accents, and increased the number of breaks in the text. The space between the half-lines is marked in the second part of the A-text and begins at line 543 in B.

I have avoided the use of numbered notes to the text, and all annotation is related to the line-numbers of the poem. This annotation (very largely concerned with variations of names, and comparisons with names in the *Lost Tales*) is found at the end of each of the three major parts, followed by a commentary on the matter of that part.

Throughout, the *Tale* refers to the *Tale of Turambar and the Foalókë* (II. 69 ff.); *Narn* refers to the *Narn i Hîn Húrin*, in *Unfinished Tales* pp. 57 ff.

★

TÚRIN SON OF HÚRIN
&
GLÓRUND THE DRAGON

Lo! the golden dragon of the God of Hell,
the gloom of the woods of the world now gone,
the woes of Men, and weeping of Elves
fading faintly down forest pathways,
is now to tell, and the name most tearful
of Níniel the sorrowful, and the name most sad
of Thalion's son Túrin o'erthrown by fate.

Lo! Húrin Thalion in the hosts of war
was whelmed, what time the white-clad armies
of Elfinesse were all to ruin
by the dread hate driven of Delu-Morgoth.
That field is yet by the folk naméd
Nínin Unothradin, Unnumbered Tears.
There the children of Men, chieftain and warrior,
fled and fought not, but the folk of the Elves
they betrayed with treason, save that true man only,
Thalion Erithámrod and his thanes like gods.
There in host on host the hill-fiend Orcs
overbore him at last in that battle terrible,
by the bidding of Bauglir bound him living,
and pulled down the proudest of the princes of Men.
To Bauglir's halls in the hills builded,
to the Hells of Iron and the hidden caverns
they haled the hero of Hithlum's land,
Thalion Erithámrod, to their thronéd lord,
whose breast was burnt with a bitter hatred,
and wroth he was that the wrack of war
had not taken Turgon ten times a king,
even Finweg's heir; nor Fëanor's children,
makers of the magic and immortal gems.
For Turgon towering in terrible anger
a pathway clove him with his pale sword-blade
out of that slaughter – yea, his swath was plain
through the hosts of Hell like hay that lieth
all low on the lea where the long scythe goes.
A countless company that king did lead
through the darkened dales and drear mountains

out of ken of his foes, and he comes not more
in the tale; but the triumph he turned to doubt
of Morgoth the evil, whom mad wrath took.
Nor spies sped him, nor spirits of evil,
nor his wealth of wisdom to win him tidings,
whither the nation of the Gnomes was gone.
Now a thought of malice, when Thalion stood,
bound, unbending, in his black dungeon,
then moved in his mind that remembered well
how Men were accounted all mightless and frail
by the Elves and their kindred; how only treason
could master the magic whose mazes wrapped
the children of Corthûn, and cheated his purpose.

'Is it dauntless Hurin,' quoth Delu-Morgoth,
'stout steel-handed, who stands before me,
a captive living as a coward might be?
Knowest thou my name, or need'st be told
what hope he has who is haled to Angband –
the bale most bitter, the Balrogs' torment?'

'I know and I hate. For that knowledge I fought thee
by fear unfettered, nor fear I now,'
said Thalion there, and a thane of Morgoth
on the mouth smote him; but Morgoth smiled:
'Fear when thou feelest, and the flames lick thee,
and the whips of the Balrogs thy white flesh brand.
Yet a way canst win, an thou wishest, still
to lessen thy lot of lingering woe.
Go question the captives of the accursed people
I have taken, and tell me where Turgon is hid;
how with fire and death I may find him soon,
where he lurketh lost in lands forgot.
Thou must feign thee a friend faithful in anguish,
and their inmost hearts thus open and search.
Then, if truth thou tellest, thy triple bonds
I will bid men unbind, that abroad thou fare
in my service to search the secret places
following the footsteps of these foes of the Gods.'

'Build not thy hopes so high, O Bauglir –
I am no tool for thy evil treasons;
torment were sweeter than a traitor's stain.'

'If torment be sweet, treasure is liever.
The hoards of a hundred hundred ages,
the gems and jewels of the jealous Gods,
are mine, and a meed shall I mete thee thence,
yea, wealth to glut the Worm of Greed.'

'Canst not learn of thy lore when thou look'st on a foe,
O Bauglir unblest? Bray no longer
of the things thou hast thieved from the Three Kindreds.
In hate I hold thee, and thy hests in scorn.'

'Boldly thou bravest me. Be thy boast rewarded,'
in mirth quod Morgoth, 'to me now the deeds,
and thy aid I ask not; but anger thee nought
if little they like thee. Yea, look thereon
helpless to hinder, or thy hand to raise.'

Then Thalion was thrust to Thangorodrim,
that mountain that meets the misty skies
on high o'er the hills that Hithlum sees
blackly brooding on the borders of the north.
To a stool of stone on its steepest peak
they bound him in bonds, an unbreakable chain,
and the Lord of Woe there laughing stood,
then cursed him for ever and his kin and seed
with a doom of dread, of death and horror.
There the mighty man unmovéd sat;
but unveiled was his vision, that he viewed afar
all earthly things with eyes enchanted
that fell on his folk – a fiend's torment.

I

TÚRIN'S FOSTERING

Lo! the lady Morwin in the Land of Shadows
waited in the woodland for her well-beloved;
but he came never from the combat home.
No tidings told her whether taken or dead,
or lost in flight he lingered yet.
Laid waste his lands, and his lieges slain,
and men unmindful of his mighty lordship
dwelt in Dorlómin and dealt unkindly

with his widowed wife; and she went with child,
who a son must succour now sadly orphaned,
Túrin Thaliodrin of tender years.
Then in days of blackness was her daughter born,
and was naméd Nienor, a name of tears
that in language of eld is Lamentation.
Then her thoughts turnéd to Thingol the Elf-king,
and the dancer of Doriath, his daughter Tinúviel,
whom the boldest of the brave, Beren Ermabwed,
had won to wife. He once had known
firmest friendship to his fellow in arms,
Thalion Erithámrod – so thought she now,
and said to her son, 'My sweetest child,
our friends are few, and thy father comes not.
Thou must fare afar to the folk of the wood,
where Thingol is throned in the Thousand Caves.
If he remember Morwin and thy mighty sire
he will fain foster thee, and feats of arms
he will teach thee, the trade of targe and sword,
and Thalion's son no thrall shall be –
but remember thy mother when thy manhood nears.'

Heavy boded the heart of Húrin's son,
yet he weened her words were wild with grief,
and he denied her not, for no need him seemed.
Lo! henchmen had Morwin, Halog and Gumlin,
who were young of yore ere the youth of Thalion,
who alone of the lieges of that lord of Men
steadfast in service staid beside her:
now she bade them brave the black mountains,
and the woods whose ways wander to evil;
though Túrin be tender and to travail unused,
they must gird them and go; but glad they were not,
and Morwin mourned when men saw not.

Came a summer day when sun filtered
warm through the woodland's waving branches.
Then Morwin stood her mourning hiding
by the gate of her garth in a glade of the woods.
At the breast she mothered her babe unweaned,
and the doorpost held lest she droop for anguish.
There Gumlin guided her gallant boy,
and a heavy burden was borne by Halog;

but the heart of Túrin was heavy as stone
uncomprehending its coming anguish.
He sought for comfort, with courage saying:
'Quickly will I come from the courts of Thingol;
long ere manhood I will lead to Morwin
great tale of treasure, and true comrades' –
for he wist not the weird woven by Bauglir,
nor the sundering sorrow that swept between.
The farewells are taken: their footsteps are turned
to the dark forest: the dwelling fadeth
in the tangled trees. Then in Túrin leapt
his awakened heart, and he wept blindly,
calling 'I cannot, I cannot leave thee.
O Morwin, my mother, why makest me go?
Hateful are the hills where hope is lost.
O Morwin, my mother, I am meshed in tears.
Grim are the hills, and my home is gone.'
And there came his cries calling faintly
down the dark alleys of the dreary trees,
and one who wept weary on the threshold
heard how the hills said 'my home is gone.'

The ways were weary and woven with deceit
o'er the hills of Hithlum to the hidden kingdom
deep in the darkness of Doriath's forest;
and never ere now for need or wonder
had children of Men chosen that pathway,
and few of the folk have followed it since.
There Túrin and the twain knew torment of thirst,
and hunger and fear and hideous nights,
for wolfriders and wandering Orcs
and the Things of Morgoth thronged the woodland.
Magics were about them, that they missed their ways
and strayed steerless, and the stars were hid.
Thus they passed the mountains, but the mazes of Doriath
wildered and wayworn in wanhope bound them.
They had nor bread nor water, and bled of strength
their death they deemed it to die forewandered,
when they heard a horn that hooted afar,
and baying dogs. It was Beleg the hunter,
who farthest fared of his folk abroad
ahunting by hill and hollow valley,

who cared not for concourse and commerce of men.
He was great of growth and goodly-limbed,
but lithe of girth, and lightly on the ground
his footsteps fell as he fared towards them,
all garbed in grey and green and brown –
a son of the wilderness who wist no sire.

'Who are ye?' he asked. 'Outlaws, or maybe
hard hunted men whom hate pursueth?'

'Nay, for famine and thirst we faint,' saith Halog,
'wayworn and wildered, and wot not the road.
Or hast not heard of the hills of slain,
or the tear-drenchéd field where the terror and fire
of Morgoth devoured both Men and Elves?
There Thalion Erithámrod and his thanes like gods
vanished from the earth, and his valiant lady
weeps yet widowed as she waits in Hithlum.
Thou lookest on the last of the lieges of Morwin
and Thalion's son Túrin, who to Thingol's court
are wending by the word of the wife of Húrin.'

Then Beleg bade them be blithe, and said:
'The Gods have guided you to good keeping.
I have heard of the house of Húrin the Steadfast –
and who hath not heard of the hills of slain,
of Nínin Unothradin, the Unnumbered Tears?
To that war I went not, but wage a feud
with the Orcs unending, whom mine arrows bitter
oft stab unseen and strike to death.
I am the huntsman Beleg of the Hidden People.'
Then he bade them drink, and drew from his belt
a flask of leather full filled with wine
that is bruised from the berries of the burning South –
and the Gnome-folk know it, and the nation of the Elves,
and by long ways lead it to the lands of the North.
There bakéd flesh and bread from his wallet
they had to their hearts' joy; but their heads were mazed
by the wine of Dor-Winion that went in their veins,
and they soundly slept on the soft needles
of the tall pine-trees that towered above.
Later they wakened and were led by ways
devious winding through the dark wood-realm

by slade and slope and swampy thicket
through lonely days and long night-times,
and but for Beleg had been baffled utterly
by the magic mazes of Melian the Queen.
To the shadowy shores he showed the way
where stilly that stream strikes 'fore the gates
of the cavernous court of the King of Doriath.
O'er the guarded bridge he gained a passage,
and thrice they thanked him, and thought in their hearts
'the Gods are good' – had they guessed maybe
what the future enfolded they had feared to live.

To the throne of Thingol the three were come,
and their speech sped them; for he spake them fair,
and held in honour Húrin the steadfast,
Beren Ermabwed's brother-in-arms.
Remembering Morwin, of mortals fairest,
he turned not Túrin in contempt away;
said: 'O son of Húrin, here shalt sojourn
in my cavernous court for thy kindred's sake.
Nor as slave or servant, but a second king's son
thou shalt dwell in dear love, till thou deem'st it time
to remember thy mother Morwin's loneliness.
Thou wisdom shalt win unwist of Men
and weapons shalt wield as the warrior Elves,
and Thalion's son no thrall shall be.'

There tarried the twain that had tended the child,
till their limbs were lightened and they longed to fare
through dread and danger to their dear lady.
But Gumlin was gone in greater years
than Halog, and hoped not to home again.
Then sickness took him, and he stayed by Túrin,
while Halog hardened his heart to go.
An Elfin escort to his aid was given
and magics of Melian, and a meed of gold.
In his mouth a message to Morwin was set,
words of the king's will, how her wish was granted;
how Thingol called her to the Thousand Caves
to fare unfearing with his folk again,
there to sojourn in solace, till her son be grown;
for Húrin the hero was held in mind,
and no might had Morgoth where Melian dwelt.

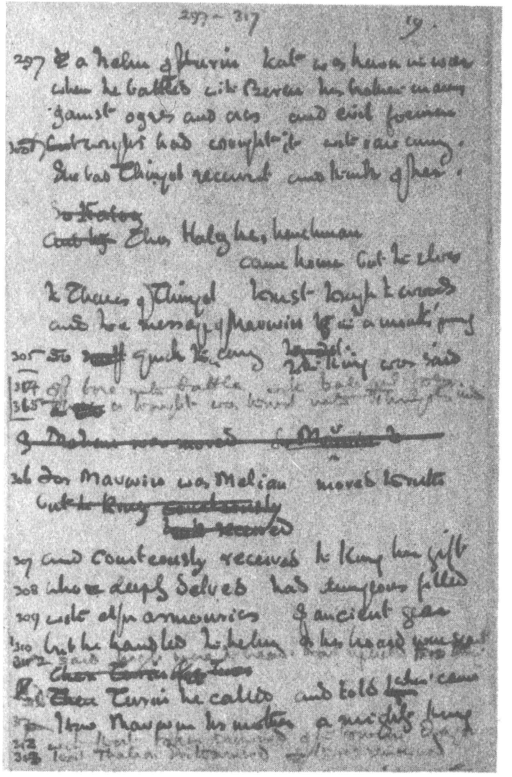
Of the errand of the Elves and that other Halog
the tale tells not, save in time they came
to the threshold of Morwin, and Thingol's message
was said where she sate in her solitary hall.
But she dared not do as was dearly bidden,
for Nienor her nestling was not yet weaned.
More, the pride of her people, princes of Men,
had suffered her send her son to Thingol
when despair sped her, but to spend her days
as alms-guest of others, even Elfin kings,
it liked her little; and there lived e'en now
a hope in her heart that Húrin would come,
and the dwelling was dear where he dwelt of old.
At night she would listen for a knock at the doors,
or a footstep falling that she fondly knew;
so she fared not forth, and her fate was woven.
Yet the thanes of Thingol she thanked nobly,
and her shame she showed not, how shorn of glory
to reward their wending she had wealth too scant;
but gave them in gift her golden things
that last lingered, and they led away
a helm of Húrin that was hewn in war
when he battled with Beren his brother-in-arms
against ogres and Orcs and evil foemen;
'twas o'erwritten with runes by wrights of old.
She bade Thingol receive it and think of her.

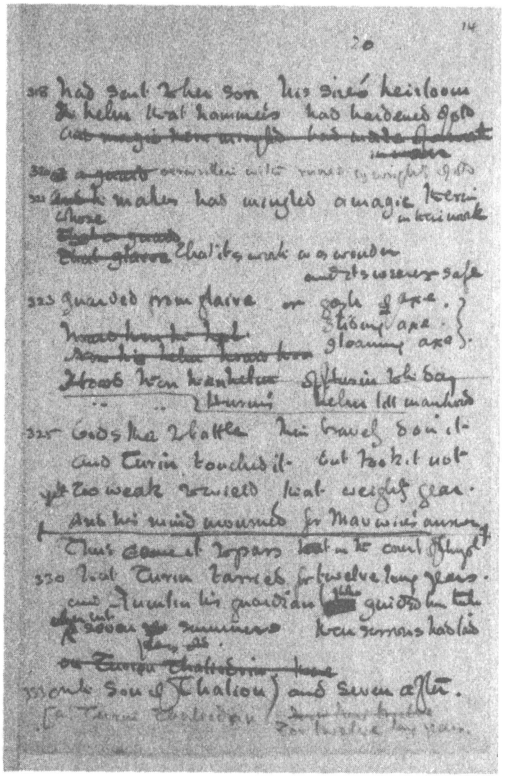
Thus Halog her henchman came home, but the Elves,
the thanes of Thingol, thrust through the woods,
and the message of Morwin in a month's journey,
so quick their coming, to the king was said.
Then was Melian moved to ruth,
and courteously received the king her gift,
who deeply delved had dungeons filled
with Elfin armouries of ancient gear,
but he handled the helm as his hoard were scant;
said: 'High were the head that upheld this thing
with that token crowned of the towering dragon
that Thalion Erithámrod thrice-renownéd
oft bore into battle with baleful foes.'
Then a thought was thrust into Thingol's heart,
and Túrin he called and told when come

that Morwin his mother a mighty thing
had sent to her son, his sire's heirloom,
a helm that hammers had hardened of old,
whose makers had mingled a magic therein
that its worth was a wonder and its wearer safe,
guarded from glaive or gleaming axe –
'Lo! Húrin's helm hoard thou till manhood
bids thee battle; then bravely don it';
and Túrin touched it, but took it not,
too weak to wield that weight as yet,
and his mind mournéd for Morwin's answer,
and the first of his sorrows o'erfilled his soul.

Thus came it to pass in the court of Thingol
that Túrin tarried for twelve long years
with Gumlin his guardian, who guided him thither
when but seven summers their sorrows had laid
on the son of Thalion. For the seven first
his lot was lightened, since he learnt at whiles
from faring folk what befell in Hithlum,
and tidings were told by trusty Elves,
how Morwin his mother was more at ease;
and they named Nienor that now was growing
to the sweet beauty of a slender maiden.
Thus his heart knew hope, and his hap was fairer.
There he waxed wonderly and won him praise
in all lands where Thingol as lord was held
for the strength of his body and stoutness of heart.
Much lore he learned, and loved wisdom,
but fortune followed him in few desires;
oft wrong and awry what he wrought turnéd;
what he loved he lost, what he longed for he won not;
and full friendship he found not easily,
nor was lightly loved for his looks were sad.
He was gloomy-hearted, and glad seldom,
for the sundering sorrow that seared his youth.

On manhood's threshold he was mighty holden
in the wielding of weapons; and in weaving song
he had a minstrel's mastery, but mirth was not in it,
for he mourned the misery of the Men of Hithlum.
Yet greater his grief grew thereafter,
when from Hithlum's hills he heard no more,





Two pages from the original manuscript of *The Lay of the Children of Húrin*

and no traveller told him tidings of Morwin.
For those days were drawing to the Doom of the Gnomes,
and the power of the Prince of the People of Hell,
of the grim Glamhoth, was grown apace,
till the lands of the North were loud with their noise,
and they fell on the folk with flame and ruin
who bent not to Bauglir, or the borders passed
of dark Dorlómin with its dreary pines
that Hithlum unhappy is hight by Men.
There Morgoth shut them, and the Shadowy Mountains
fenced them from Faërie and the folk of the wood.
Even Beleg fared not so far abroad
as once was his wont, and the woods were filled
with the armies of Angband and evil deeds,
while murder walked on the marches of Doriath;
only mighty magic of Melian the Queen
yet held their havoc from the Hidden People.

To assuage his sorrow and to sate the rage
and hate of his heart for the hurts of his folk
then Húrin's son took the helm of his sire
and weapons weighty for the wielding of men,
and went to the woods with warlike Elves;
and far in the fight his feet led him,
into black battle yet a boy in years.
Ere manhood's measure he met and slew
the Orcs of Angband and evil things
that roamed and ravened on the realm's borders.
There hard his life, and hurts he got him,
the wounds of shaft and warfain sword,
and his prowess was proven and his praise renowned,
and beyond his years he was yielded honour;
for by him was holden the hand of ruin
from Thingol's folk, and Thû feared him –
Thû who was thronéd as thane most mighty
neath Morgoth Bauglir; whom that mighty one bade
'Go ravage the realm of the robber Thingol,
and mar the magic of Melian the Queen.'

Only one was there in war greater,
higher in honour in the hearts of the Elves,
than Túrin son of Húrin untamed in war –
even the huntsman Beleg of the Hidden People,

the son of the wilderness who wist no sire
(to bend whose bow of the black yew-tree
had none the might), unmatched in knowledge
of the wood's secrets and the weary hills.
He was leader beloved of the light-armed bands,
the scouts that scoured, scorning danger,
afar o'er the fells their foemen's lairs;
and tales and tidings timely won them
of camps and councils, of comings and goings –
all the movements of the might of Morgoth the Terrible.
Thus Túrin, who trusted to targe and sword,
who was fain of fighting with foes well seen,
and the banded troops of his brave comrades
were snared seldom and smote unlooked-for.

Then the fame of the fights on the far marches
were carried to the court of the King of Doriath,
and tales of Túrin were told in his halls,
and how Beleg the ageless was brother-in-arms
to the black-haired boy from the beaten people.
Then the king called them to come before him
ever and anon when the Orc-raids waned;
to rest them and revel, and to raise awhile
the secret songs of the sons of Ing.
On a time was Túrin at the table of Thingol –
there was laughter long and the loud clamour
of a countless company that quaffed the mead,
amid the wine of Dor-Winion that went ungrudged
in their golden goblets; and goodly meats
there burdened the boards, neath the blazing torches
set high in those halls that were hewn of stone.
There mirth fell on many; there minstrels clear
did sing to them songs of the city of Tûn
neath Tain-Gwethil, towering mountain,
where the great gods sit and gaze on the world
from the guarded shores of the gulf of Faërie.
Then one sang of the slaying at the Swanships' Haven
and the curse that had come on the kindreds since:
all silent sat and soundless harkened,
and waited the words save one alone –
the Man among Elves that Morwin bore.
Unheeding he heard or high feasting

or lay or laughter, and looked, it seemed,
to a deep distance in the dark without,
and strained for sounds in the still spaces,
for voices that vanished in the veils of night.
He was lithe and lean, and his locks were wild,
and woodland weeds he wore of brown
and grey and green, and gay jewel
or golden trinket his garb knew not.

An Elf there was – Orgof – of the ancient race
that was lost in the lands where the long marches
from the quiet waters of Cuiviénen
were made in the mirk of the midworld's gloom,
ere light was lifted aloft o'er earth;
but blood of the Gnomes was blent in his veins.
He was close akin to the King of Doriath –
a hardy hunter and his heart was brave,
but loose his laughter and light his tongue,
and his pride outran his prowess in arms.
He was fain before all of fine raiment
and of gems and jewels, and jealous of such
as found favour before himself.
Now costly clad in colours gleaming
he sat on a seat that was set on high
near the king and queen and close to Túrin.
When those twain were at table he had taunted him oft,
lightly with laughter, for his loveless ways,
his haggard raiment and hair unshorn;
but Túrin untroubled neither turned his head
nor wasted words on the wit of Orgof.
But this day of the feast more deep his gloom
than of wont, and his words men won harder;
for of twelve long years the tale was full
since on Morwin his mother through a maze of tears
he looked the last, and the long shadows
of the forest had fallen on his fading home;
and he answered few, and Orgof nought.
Then the fool's mirth was filled the more,
to a keener edge was his carping whetted
at the clothes uncouth and the uncombéd hair
of Túrin newcome from the tangled forest.
He drew forth daintily a dear treasure,

a comb of gold that he kept about him,
and tendered it to Túrin; but he turned not his eyes,
nor deigned to heed or harken to Orgof,
who too deep drunken that disdain should quell him:
'Nay, an thou knowest not thy need of comb,
nor its use,' quoth he, 'too young thou leftest
thy mother's ministry, and 'twere meet to go
that she teach thee tame thy tangled locks –
if the women of Hithlum be not wild and loveless,
uncouth and unkempt as their cast-off sons.'

Then a fierce fury, like a fire blazing,
was born of bitterness in his bruiséd heart;
his white wrath woke at the words of scorn
for the women of Hithlum washed in tears;
and a heavy horn to his hand lying,
with gold adorned for good drinking,
of his might unmindful thus moved in ire
he seized and, swinging, swiftly flung it
in the face of Orgof. 'Thou fool', he said,
'fill thy mouth therewith, and to me no further
thus witless prate by wine bemused' –
but his face was broken, and he fell backward,
and heavy his head there hit upon the stone
of the floor rock-paved mid flagons and vessels
of the o'erturned table that tumbled on him
as clutching he fell; and carped no more,
in death silent. There dumb were all
at bench and board; in blank amaze
they rose around him, as with ruth of heart
he gazed aghast on his grievous deed,
on his wine-stained hand, with wondering eyes
half-comprehending. On his heel then he turned
into the night striding, and none stayed him;
but some their swords half slipped from sheaths
– they were Orgof's kin – yet for awe of Thingol
they dared not draw while the dazéd king
stonefacéd stared on his stricken thane
and no sign showed them. But the slayer weary
his hands laved in the hidden stream
that strikes 'fore the gates, nor stayed his tears:
'Who has cast,' he cried, 'a curse upon me;

for all I do is ill, and an outlaw now,
in bitter banishment and blood-guilty,
of my fosterfather I must flee the halls,
nor look on the lady beloved again'–
yea, his heart to Hithlum had hastened him now,
but that road he dared not, lest the wrath he draw
of the Elves after him, and their anger alight
should speed the spears in despite of Morgoth
o'er the hills of Hithlum to hunt him down;
lest a doom more dire than they dreed of old
be meted his mother and the Maid of Tears.

In the furthest folds of the Forest of Doriath,
in the darkest dales on its drear borders,
in haste he hid him, lest the hunt take him;
and they found not his footsteps who fared after,
the thanes of Thingol; who thirty days
sought him sorrowing, and searched in vain
with no purpose of ill, but the pardon bearing
of Thingol throned in the Thousand Caves.
He in council constrained the kin of Orgof
to forget their grief and forgiveness show,
in that wilful bitterness had barbed the words
of Orgof the Elf; said 'his hour had come
that his soul should seek the sad pathway
to the deep valley of the Dead Awaiting,
there a thousand years thrice to ponder
in the gloom of Gurthrond his grim jesting,
ere he fare to Faërie to feast again.'
Yet of his own treasure he oped the gates,
and gifts ungrudging of gold and gems
to the sons he gave of the slain; and his folk
well deemed the deed. But that doom of the King
Túrin knew not, and turned against him
the hands of the Elves he unhappy believed,
wandering the woodland woeful-hearted;
for his fate would not that the folk of the caves
should harbour longer Húrin's offspring.

★

NOTES

(Throughout the Notes statements such as '*Delimorgoth* A, and B as typed' (line 11) imply that the reading in the printed text (in that case *Delu-Morgoth*) is a later emendation made to B).

8 *Húrin* is *Úrin* in the *Lost Tales* (and still when this poem was begun, see note to line 213), and his name *Thalion* 'Steadfast', found in *The Silmarillion* and the *Narn*, does not occur in them (though he is called 'the Steadfast').

11 *Delimorgoth* A, and B as typed. *Morgoth* occurs once only in the *Lost Tales*, in the typescript version of the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II.44); see note to line 20.

13 *Nínin Udathriol* A, and B as typed; this occurs in the *Tale* (II.84; for explanation of the name see II.346). When changing *Udathriol* to *Unothradin* my father wrote in the margin of B: 'or *Nirnaithos Unothradin*'.

17 Above *Erithámrod* is pencilled in A *Urinthalion*.

20 B as typed had *Belcha*, which was then changed through *Belegor*, *Melegor*, to *Bauglir*. (A has a different reading here: *as a myriad rats in measureless army / might pull down the proudest . . .*) *Belcha* occurs in the typescript version of the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II.44), where *Belcha Morgoth* are said to be Melko's names among the Gnomes. *Bauglir* is found as a name of Morgoth in *The Silmarillion* and the *Narn*.

22 *Melko's* A; *Belcha's* B as typed, then the line changed to *To the halls* of *Belegor* (> *Melegor*), and finally to the reading given. See note to line 20.

25 Above *Erithámrod* in A is written *UrinThalion* (see note to line 17); *Úrin* > *Húrin*, and a direction to read *Thalion Húrin*.

29 *Finweg's son* A, and B as typed; the emendation is a later one, and at the same time my father wrote in the margin of B 'he was Fingolfin's son', clearly a comment on the change of *son* to *heir*. *Finweg* is *Finwë Nólemë* Lord of the Noldoli, who in the *Lost Tales* was Turgon's father (I.115), not as he afterwards became his grandfather.

50 *Kor* > *Cor* A, *Cor* B as typed. When emending *Cor* to *Corthûn* my father wrote in the margin of B: '*Corthun* or *Tûn*'.

51 *Thalion* A, and B as typed.
Delimorgoth A, and B as typed (as at line 11).

73 In B there is a mark of insertion between lines 72 and 73. This probably refers to a line in A, not taken up into B: *bound by the (> my) spell of bottomless (> unbroken) might*.

75 *Belcha* A, and B as typed; the same chain of emendations in B as at lines 20 and 22.

84 *Bauglir*: as at line 75.

105 *Mavwin* A, and B as typed; in B then emended to *Mailwin*, and back to *Mavwin*; *Morwin* written later in the margin of B. Exactly the same at 129, and at 137 though here without *Morwin* in the margin; at 145 *Mavwin* unemended, but *Morwin* in the margin. Thereafter *Mavwin* stands unemended and without marginal note, as far as 438 (see note). For consistency I read *Morwin* throughout the first version of the poem. – *Mavwin* is the form in the *Tale*; *Mailwin* does not occur elsewhere.

117 On the variation *Nienóri*/*Nienor* in the *Tale* see II. 118–19.

120 *Tinúviel* A, *Tinwiel* B unemended but with *Tinūviel* in the margin. *Tinwiel* does not occur elsewhere.

121 *Ermabwed* 'One-handed' is Beren's title or nickname in the *Lost Tales*.

137 *Gumlin* is named in the *Tale* (II. 74, etc.); the younger of the two guardians of Túrin on his journey to Doriath (here called *Halog*) is not.

160 *Belcha* A, and B as typed, emended to *Bauglir*. Cf. notes to lines 20, 22, 75.

213 *Urin* > *Húrin* A; but *Húrin* A in line 216.

218 *Nínin Udathriol* A, and B as typed; cf. line 13.

226 The distinction between 'Gnomes' and 'Elves' is still made; see I. 43–4.

230 *Dorwinion* A.

306 *For Mavwin was Melian moved to ruth* A, and B as typed, with *Then was Melian moved* written in the margin. The second half-line has only three syllables unless *moved* is read *movéd*, which is not satisfactory. The second version of the poem has here *For Morwen Melian was moved to ruth*. Cf. lines 494, 519.

333 *Túrin Thaliodrin* A (cf. line 115), emended to *the son of Thalion*.

361 *Glamhoth* appears in *The Fall of Gondolin* (II. 160), with the translation 'folk of dreadful hate'.

364 *Belcha* A, and B as typed; then > *Melegor* > *Bauglir* in B.

392 *Bauglir*: as at line 364.

408 *Morgoth Belcha* A, and B as typed.

430 *Kor* > *Cor* A, *Cor* B as typed. Cf. line 50.

431 *Tengwethil* A, and B as typed. In the early Gnomish dictionary and in the Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin* the Gnomish name of Taniquetil is *Danigwethil* (I. 266, II. 337).

438 *Mavwin* A, and B as typed, but *Mavwin* > *Morwen* a later

emendation in B. I read *Morwin* throughout the first version of the poem (see note to line 105).

450 *Cuinlimfin* A, and B as typed; *Cuiviénen* a later emendation in B. The form in the *Lost Tales* is *Koivië-Néni*; *Cuinlimfin* occurs nowhere else.

461–3 These lines bracketed and marked with an X in B.

471 This line marked with an X in B.

472 *Mavwin* > *Morwen* B; see line 438.

494 *all washed in tears* A, *washed in tears* B (half-line of three syllables), with an X in the margin and an illegible word written in pencil before *washed*. Cf. lines 306, 519. The second version of the poem does not reach this point.

514–16 Against these lines my father wrote in the margin of B: 'Make Orgof's kin set on him and T. fight his way out.'

517 *stonefacéd stared*: the accent on *stonefacéd* was put in later and the line marked with an X. – In his essay *On Translating Beowulf* (1940; *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays* (1983) p. 67) my father gave *stared stonyfaced* as an example of an Old English metrical type.

519 *his hands laved*: the line is marked with an X in B. Cf. lines 306, 494.

528 With the half-line *and their anger alight* the second, more finished, part of the manuscript A begins; see p. 4.

529 *Belcha* A, *Morgoth* B as typed.

548 *Guthrond* A, and B as typed.

Commentary on the *Prologue* and *Part I 'Túrin's Fostering'*

The opening section or 'Prologue' of the poem derives from the opening of the *Tale* (II. 70–1) and in strictly narrative terms there has been little development. In lines 18–21 (and especially in the rejected line in A, *as a myriad rats in measureless army / might pull down the proudest*) is clearly foreshadowed the story in *The Silmarillion* (p. 195):

> . . . they took him at last alive, by the command of Morgoth, for the Orcs grappled him with their hands, which clung to him though he hewed off their arms; and ever their numbers were renewed, until at last he fell buried beneath them.

On the other hand the motive in the later story for capturing him alive (Morgoth knew that Húrin had been to Gondolin) is necessarily not present, since Gondolin in the older phases of the legends was not discovered till Turgon retreated down Sirion after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears (II. 120, 208). That he was taken alive by Morgoth's

command is however already stated in the poem (line 20), though it is not explained why. In the *Tale* Morgoth's interest in Húrin as a tool for the discovery of Turgon arose from his knowledge that

> the Elves of Kôr thought little of Men, holding them in scant fear or suspicion for their blindness and lack of skill

– an idea that is repeated in the poem (46–8); but this idea seems only to have arisen in Morgoth's mind when he came to Húrin in his dungeon (44 ff.).

The place of Húrin's torment (in the *Tale* 'a lofty place of the mountains') is now defined as *a stool of stone* on the steepest peak of Thangorodrim; and this is the first occurrence of that name.

In the change of *son* to *heir* in line 29 is seen the first hint of a development in the kingly house of the Noldoli, with the appearance of a second generation between Finwë (Finweg) and Turgon; but by the time that my father pencilled this change on the text (and noted 'He was Fingolfin's son') the later genealogical structure was already in being, and this is as it were a casual indication of it.

In 'Túrin's Fostering' there is a close relationship between the *Tale* and the poem, extending to many close similarities of wording – especially abundant in the scene in Thingol's hall leading to the death of Orgof; and some phrases had a long life, surviving from the *Tale*, through the poem, and into the *Narn i Hîn Húrin*, as

> rather would she dwell poor among Men than live sweetly as an almsguest among the woodland Elves (II. 73)

> but to spend her days
> as alms-guest of others, even Elfin kings, (284–6)
> it liked her little

> she would not yet humble her pride to be an alms-guest, not even of a king (*Narn* p. 70)

– though in the *Narn* the 'alms-guest' passage occurs at a different point, before Túrin left Hithlum (Morwen's hope that Húrin would come back is in the *Narn* her reason for not journeying to Doriath with her son, not for refusing the later invitation to her to go).

Of Morwen's situation in Dor-lómin after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears there are a few things to say. In the poem (111–13)

> men unmindful of his mighty lordship
> dwelt in Dorlómin and dealt unkindly
> with his widowed wife

– echoing the *Tale*: 'the strange men who dwelt nigh knew not the dignity of the Lady Mavwin', but there is still no indication of who these men were or where they came from (see II. 126). As so often, the narrative

situation was prepared but its explanation had not emerged. The unclarity of the *Tale* as to where Úrin dwelt before the great Battle (see II. 120) is no longer present: *the dwelling was dear where he dwelt of old* (288). Nienor was born before Túrin left (on the contradiction in the *Tale* on this point see II. 131); and the chronology of Túrin's childhood is still that of the *Tale* (see II. 142): seven years old when he left Hithlum (332), seven years in Doriath while tidings still came from Morwen (333), twelve years since he came to Doriath when he slew Orgof (471). In the later story the last figure remained unchanged, which suggests that the X (mark of dissatisfaction) placed against line 471 had some other reason.

There are several references in the poem to Húrin and Beren having been friends and fellows-in-arms (122–4, 248–9, 298). In the *Tale* it was said originally (when Beren was a Man) that Egnor Beren's father was akin to Mavwin; this was replaced by a different passage (when Beren had become a Gnome) according to which Egnor was a friend of Úrin ('and Beren Ermabwed son of Egnor he knew'); see II. 71–2, 139. In the later version of the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II. 44) Úrin is named as the 'brother in arms' of Egnor; this was emended to make Úrin's relationship with Beren himself – as in the poem. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 198) Morwen thought to send Túrin to Thingol 'for Beren son of Barahir was her father's kinsman, and he had been moreover a friend of Húrin, ere evil befell'. There is no mention of the fact in the *Narn* (p. 63): Morwen merely says: 'Am I not now kin of the king [Thingol]? For Beren son of Barahir was grandson of Bregor, as was my father also.'

That Beren was still an Elf, not a Man, (deducible on other grounds) is apparent from lines 178–9:

> and never ere now for need or wonder
> had children of Men chosen that pathway

– cf. the *Tale* (II. 72): 'and Túrin son of Úrin was the first of Men to tread that way', changed from the earlier reading 'and Beren Ermabwed was the first of Men . . .'

In the parting of Túrin from his mother comparison with the *Tale* will show some subtle differences which need not be spelled out here. The younger of Túrin's guardians is now named, Halog (and it is said that Gumlin and Halog were the only 'henchmen' left to Morwen).

Some very curious things are said of Beleg in the poem. He is twice (200, 399) called 'a (the) son of the wilderness who wist no sire', and at line 416 he is 'Beleg the ageless'. There seems to be a mystery about him, an otherness that sets him apart (as he set himself apart, 195) from the Elves of Thingol's lordship (see further p. 127). It may be that there is still a trace of this in the 1930 'Silmarillion', where it is said that none went from Doriath to the Battle of Unnumbered Tears save Mablung,

and Beleg 'who obeyed no man' (in the later text this becomes 'nor any out of Doriath save Mablung and Beleg, who were unwilling to have no part in these great deeds. To them Thingol gave leave to go . . .'; *The Silmarillion* p. 189). In the poem (219) Beleg says expressly that he did not go to the great Battle. – His great bow of black yew-wood (so in *The Silmarillion*, p. 208, where it is named *Belthronding*) now appears (400): in the *Tale* he is not particularly marked out as a bowman (II. 123).

Beleg's *The gods have guided you* (215) and Turin's guardians' thought *the gods are good* (244) accord with references in the *Lost Tales* to the influence of the Valar on Men and Elves in the Great Lands: see II. 141.

The potent wine that Beleg carried and gave to the travellers from his flask (223 ff.) is notable – brought from *the burning South* and *by long ways* carried *to the lands of the North* – as is the name of the land from which it came: *Dor-Winion* (230, 425). The only other places in my father's writings where this name occurs (so far as I know) are in *The Hobbit*, Chapter IX *Barrels out of Bond*: 'the heady vintage of the great gardens of Dorwinion', and 'the wine of Dorwinion brings deep and pleasant dreams'.* See further p. 127.

The curious element in Thingol's message to Morwen in the *Tale*, explaining why he did not go with his people to the Battle of Unnumbered Tears (II. 73), has now been rejected; but with Morwen's response to the messengers out of Doriath there enters the legend the Dragon-helm of Dor-lómin (297 ff.). As yet little is told of it (though more is said in the second version of the poem, see p. 126): Húrin often bore it in battle (in the *Narn* it is denied that he used it, p. 76); it magically protected its wearer (as still in the *Narn*, p. 75); and it was *with that token crowned of the towering dragon*, and *o'erwritten with runes by wrights of old* (cf. the *Narn*: 'on it were graven runes of victory'). But nothing is here said of how Húrin came by it, beyond the fact that it was his *heirloom*. Very notable is the passage (307 ff.) in which is described Thingol's handling of the helm *as his hoard were scant*, despite his possession of *dungeons filled / with Elfin armouries of ancient gear*. I have commented previously (see II. 128–9, 245–6) on the early emphasis on the poverty of Tinwelint (Thingol): here we have the first appearance of the idea of his wealth (present also at the beginning of the *Lay of Leithian*). Also notable is the close echoing of the lines of the poem in the words of the *Narn*, p. 76:

**Dorwinion* is marked on the decorated map by Pauline Baynes, as a region on the North-western shores of the Sea of Rhûn. It must be presumed that this, like other names on that map, was communicated to her by my father (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 261, footnote), but its placing seems surprising.

Yet Thingol handled the Helm of Hador as though his hoard were scanty, and he spoke courteous words, saying: 'Proud were the head that bore this helm, which the sires of Húrin bore.'

There is also a clear echo of lines 315–18

> Then a thought was thrust into Thingol's heart,
> and Túrin he called and told when come
> that Morwin his mother a mighty thing
> had sent to her son, his sire's heirloom

in the prose of the *Narn*:

> Then a thought came to him, and he summoned Túrin, and told him that Morwen had sent to her son a mighty thing, the heirloom of his fathers.

Compare also the passages that follow in both works, concerning Túrin's being too young to lift the Helm, and being in any case too unhappy to heed it on account of his mother's refusal to leave Hithlum. This was *the first of his sorrows* (328); in the *Narn* (p. 75) the second.

The account of Túrin's character in boyhood (341 ff.) is very close to that in the *Tale* (II. 74), which as I have noted before (II. 121) survived into the *Narn* (p. 77): the latter account indeed echoes the poem ('he learned much lore', 'neither did he win friendship easily'). In the poem it is now added that *in weaving song / he had a minstrel's mastery, but mirth was not in it*.

An important new element in the narrative enters with the companionship of Beleg and Túrin (wearing the Dragon-helm, 377) in warfare on the marches of Doriath:

> how Beleg the ageless was brother-in-arms
> to the black-haired boy from the beaten people. (416–17)

Of this there is no mention in the *Tale* at all (II. 74). Cf. my Commentary, II. 122:

> Túrin's prowess against the Orcs during his sojourn in Artanor is given a more central or indeed unique importance in the tale ('he held the wrath of Melko from them for many years'), especially as Beleg, his companion-in-arms in the later versions, is not here mentioned.

In the poem the importance to Doriath of Túrin's warfare is not diminished, however:

> for by him was holden the hand of ruin
> from Thingol's folk, and Thû feared him (389–90)

We meet here for the first time Thû, *thane most mighty / neath*

Morgoth Bauglir. It is interesting to learn that Thû knew of Túrin and feared him, also that Morgoth ordered Thû to assault Doriath: this story will reappear in the *Lay of Leithian*.

In the story of Túrin and Orgof the verses are very clearly following the prose of the *Tale*, and there are many close likenesses of wording, as already noted. The relation of this scene to the later story has been discussed previously (II. 121–2). Orgof still has Gnome-blood, which may imply the continuance of the story that there were Gnomes among Thingol's people (see II. 43). The occasion of Túrin's return from the forest to the Thousand Caves (a name that first occurs in the poem) becomes, as it seems, a great feast, with songs of Valinor – quite unlike the later story, where the occasion is in no way marked out and Thingol and Melian were not in Menegroth (*Narn* p. 79); and Túrin and Orgof were *set on high / near the king and queen* (i.e. presumably on the dais, at the 'high table'). Whether it was a rejection of this idea that caused my father to bracket lines 461–3 and mark them with an X I cannot say. *The secret songs of the sons of Ing* referred to in this passage (421) are not indeed songs of the sons of Ing of the Ælfwine history (II. 301 ff.); this Ing is the Gnomish form of Ingwë, Lord of the First Kindred of the Elves (earlier Inwë Lord of the Teleri).*

The lines concerning Orgof dead are noteworthy:

> his hour had come
> that his soul should seek the sad pathway
> to the deep valley of the Dead Awaiting,
> there a thousand years thrice to ponder
> in the gloom of Gurthrond his grim jesting,
> ere he fare to Faërie to feast again. (544–9)

With this compare the tale of *The Coming of the Valar and the Building of Valinor* (I. 76):

> There [in the hall of Vê] Mandos spake their doom, and there they waited in the darkness, dreaming of their past deeds, until such time as he appointed when they might again be born into their children, and go forth to laugh and sing again.

The name *Gurthrond* (< *Guthrond*) occurs nowhere else; the first element is doubtless *gurth* 'death', as in the name of Túrin's sword *Gurtholfin* (II. 342).

*That *Ing* is the Gnomish form of *Ingwë* appears from the 1926 'Sketch of the Mythology' and the 1930 'Silmarillion'. *Ing* was replaced by *Inwë* in *The Cottage of Lost Play*, but there the Gnomish name of Inwë is *Inwithiel*, changed from *Gim Githil* (I. 16, 22).

There remain a few particular points concerning names. At line 366 *Hithlum* is explained as the name of Dorlómin among Men:

of dark Dorlómin with its dreary pines
that Hithlum unhappy is hight by Men.

This is curious. In the *Lost Tales* the name of the land among Men was *Aryador*; so in the *Tale of Turambar* (II. 70):

> In those days my folk dwelt in a vale of Hisilómë and that land did Men name Aryador in the tongues they then used.

In the 1930 'Silmarillion' it is specifically stated that *Hithlum* and *Dorlómin* were Gnomish names for *Hisilómë*, and there seems every reason to suppose that this was always the case. The answer to the puzzle may however lie in the same passage of the *Tale of Turambar*, where it is said that

> often was the story of Turambar and the Foalókë in their [i.e. Men's] mouths – but rather after the fashion of the Gnomes did they say Turumart and the Fuithlug.

Perhaps then the meaning of line 366 is that Men called Hisilómë *Hithlum* because they used the Gnomish name, not that it was the name in their own tongue.

In the following lines (367–8)

the Shadowy Mountains
fenced them from Faërie and the folk of the wood.

This is the first occurrence of the name *Shadowy Mountains*, and it is used as it was afterwards (*Ered Wethrin*); in the *Lost Tales* the mountains forming the southern fence of Hithlum are called the Iron Mountains or the Bitter Hills (see II. 61).

The name *Cuinlimfin* of the Waters of Awakening (note to line 450) seems to have been a passing idea, soon abandoned.

Lastly, at line 50 occurs (by emendation in B from *Côr*) the unique compound name *Corthûn*, while at 430 *the city of Côr* was emended to *the city of Túr*; see II. 292.

★

II

BELEG

Long time alone he lived in the hills
a hunter of beast and hater of Men,
or Orcs, or Elves, till outcast folk

there one by one, wild and reckless
around him rallied; and roaming far
they were feared by both foe and friend of old.
For hot with hate was the heart of Túrin,
nor a friend found him such folk of Thingol
as he wandering met in the wood's fastness.

There Beleg the brave on the borders of Doriath
they found and fought – and few were with him –
and o'erborne by numbers they bound him at last,
till their captain came to their camp at eve.
Afar from that fight his fate that day
had taken Túrin on the trail of the Orcs,
as they hastened home to the Hills of Iron
with the loot laden of the lands of Men.
Then soon was him said that a servant of Thingol
they had tied to a tree – and Túrin coming
stared astonied on the stern visage
of Beleg the brave his brother in arms,
of whom he learned the lore of leaping blades,
and of bended bow and barbéd shaft,
and the wild woodland's wisdom secret,
when they blent in battle the blood of their wounds.

Then Túrin's heart was turned from hate,
and he bade unbind Beleg the huntsman.
'Now fare thou free! But, of friendship aught
if thy heart yet holds for Húrin's son,
never tell thou tale that Túrin thou sawst
an outlaw unloved from Elves and Men,
whom Thingol's thanes yet thirst to slay.
Betray not my trust or thy troth of yore!'
Then Beleg of the bow embraced him there –
he had not fared to the feast or the fall of Orgof –
there kissed him kindly comfort speaking:
'Lo! nought know I of the news thou tellest;
but outlawed or honoured thou ever shalt be
the brother of Beleg, come bliss come woe!
Yet little me likes that thy leaping sword
the life should drink of the leaguered Elves.
Are the grim Glamhoth then grown so few,
or the foes of Faërie feeble-hearted,
that warlike Men have no work to do?

Shall the foes of Faërie be friends of Men?
Betrayest thou thy troth whom we trusted of yore?'

'Nor of arméd Orc, nor [of] Elf of the wood,
nor of any on earth have I honour or love,
O Beleg the bowman. This band alone
I count as comrades, my kindred in woe
and friendless fate – our foes the world.'

'Let the bow of Beleg to your band be joined;
and swearing death to the sons of darkness
let us suage our sorrow and the smart of fate!
Our valour is not vanquished, nor vain the glory
that once we did win in the woods of old.'

Thus hope in the heart of Húrin's offspring
awoke at those words; and them well likéd
of that band the boldest, save Blodrin only –
Blodrin Bor's son, who for blood and for gold
alone lusted, and little he recked
whom he robbed of riches or reft of life,
were it Elf or Orc; but he opened not
the thoughts of his heart. There throbbed the harp,
where the fires flickered, and the flaming brands
of pine were piled in the place of their camp;
where glad men gathered in good friendship
as dusk fell down on the drear woodland.
Then a song on a sudden soaring loudly –
and the trees up-looming towering harkened –
was raised of the Wrack of the Realm of the Gods;
of the need of the Gnomes on the Narrow Crossing;
of the fight at Fangros, and Fëanor's sons'
oath unbreakable. Then up sprang Beleg:
'That our vaunt and our vows be not vain for ever,
even such as they swore, those seven chieftains,
an oath let us swear that is unchanging
as Tain-Gwethil's towering mountain!'
Their blades were bared, as blood shining
in the flame of the fires while they flashed and touched.
As with one man's voice the words were spoken,
and the oath uttered that must unrecalled
abide for ever, a bond of truth
and friendship in arms, and faith in peril.

Thus war was waked in the woods once more
for the foes of Faërie, and its fame widely,
and the fear of that fellowship, now fared abroad;
when the horn was heard of the hunting Elves
that shook the shaws and the sheer valleys.
Blades were naked and bows twanging,
and shafts from the shadows shooting wingéd,
and the sons of darkness slain and conquered;
even in Angband the Orcs trembled.
Then the word wandered down the ways of the forest
that Túrin Thalion was returned to war;
and Thingol heard it, and his thanes were sped
to lead the lost one in love to his halls –
but his fate was fashioned that they found him not.
Little gold they got in that grim warfare,
but weary watches and wounds for guerdon;
nor on robber-raids now rode they ever,
who fended from Faërie the fiends of Hell.
But Blodrin Bor's son for booty lusted,
for the loud laughter of the lawless days,
and meats unmeasured, and mead-goblets
refilled and filled, and the flagons of wine
that went as water in their wild revels.
Now tales have told that trapped as a child
he was dragged by the Dwarves to their deep mansions,
and in Nogrod nurtured, and in nought was like,
spite blood and birth, to the blissful Elves.
His heart hated Húrin's offspring
and the bowman Beleg; so biding his while
he fled their fellowship and forest hidings
to the merciless Orcs, whose moon-pallid
cruel-curvéd blades to kill spare not;
than whose greed for gold none greater burns
save in hungry hearts of the hell-dragons.
He betrayed his troth; traitor made him
and the forest fastness of his fellows in arms
he opened to the Orcs, nor his oath heeded.
There they fought and fell by foes outnumbered,
by treachery trapped at a time of night
when their fires faded and few were waking –
some wakened never, not for wild noises,
nor cries nor curses, nor clashing steel,

swept as they slumbered to the slades of death.
But Túrin they took, though towering mighty
at the Huntsman's hand he hewed his foemen,
as a bear at bay mid bellowing hounds,
unheeding his hurts; at the hest of Morgoth
yet living they lapped him, his limbs entwining,
with hairy hands and hideous arms.
Then Beleg was buried in the bodies of the fallen,
as sorely wounded he swooned away;
and all was over, and the Orcs triumphed.
The dawn over Doriath dimly kindled
saw Blodrin Bor's son by a beech standing
with throat thirléd by a thrusting arrow,
whose shaven shaft, shod with poison,
and feather-wingéd, was fast in the tree.
He bargained the blood of his brothers for gold:
thus his meed was meted – in the mirk at random
by an orc-arrow his oath came home.

From the magic mazes of Melian the Queen
they haled unhappy Húrin's offspring,
lest he flee his fate; but they fared slowly
and the leagues were long of their laboured way
over hill and hollow to the high places,
where the peaks and pinnacles of pitiless stone
looming up lofty are lapped in cloud,
and veiled in vapours vast and sable;
where Eiglir Engrin, the Iron Hills, lie
o'er the hopeless halls of Hell upreared
wrought at the roots of the roaring cliffs
of Thangorodrim's thunderous mountain.
Thither led they laden with loot and evil;
but Beleg yet breathed in blood drenchéd
aswoon, till the sun to the South hastened,
and the eye of day was opened wide.
Then he woke and wondered, and weeping took him,
and to Túrin Thalion his thoughts were turned,
that o'erborne in battle and bound he had seen.
Then he crawled from the corpses that had covered him over,
weary, wounded, too weak to stand.
So Thingol's thanes athirst and bleeding
in the forest found him: his fate willed not

that he should drink the draught of death from foes.
Thus they bore him back in bitter torment
his tidings to tell in the torchlit halls
of Thingol the king; in the Thousand Caves
to be healéd whole by the hands enchanted
of Melian Mablui, the moonlit queen.

Ere a week was outworn his wounds were cured,
but his heart's heaviness those hands of snow
nor soothed nor softened, and sorrow-laden
he fared to the forest. No fellows sought he
in his hopeless hazard, but in haste alone
he followed the feet of the foes of Elfland,
the dread daring, and the dire anguish,
that held the hearts of Hithlum's men
and Doriath's doughtiest in a dream of fear.
Unmatched among Men, or magic-wielding
Elves, or hunters of the Orc-kindred,
or beasts of prey for blood pining,
was his craft and cunning, that cold and dead
an unseen slot could scent o'er stone,
foot-prints could find on forest pathways
that lightly on the leaves were laid in moons
long waned, and washed by windy rains.
The grim Glamhoth's goblin armies
go cunning-footed, but his craft failed not
to tread their trail, till the lands were darkened,
and the light was lost in lands unknown.
Never-dawning night was netted clinging
in the black branches of the beetling trees;
oppressed by pungent pinewood's odours,
and drowsed with dreams as the darkness thickened,
he strayed steerless. The stars were hid,
and the moon mantled. There magic foundered
in the gathering glooms, there goblins even
(whose deep eyes drill the darkest shadows)
bewildered wandered, who the way forsook
to grope in the glades, there greyly loomed
of girth unguessed in growth of ages
the topless trunks of trees enchanted.
That fathomless fold by folk of Elfland
is Taur-na-Fuin, the Trackless Forest
of Deadly Nightshade, dreadly naméd.

Abandoned, beaten, there Beleg lying
to the wind harkened winding, moaning
in bending boughs; to branches creaking
up high over head, where huge pinions
of the pluméd pine-trees complained darkly
in black foreboding. There bowed hopeless,
in wit wildered, and wooing death,
he saw on a sudden a slender sheen
shine a-shimmering in the shades afar,
like a glow-worm's lamp a-gleaming dim.
He marvelled what it might be as he moved softly;
for he knew not the Gnomes of need delving
in the deep dungeons of dark Morgoth.
Unmatched their magic in metal-working,
who jewels and gems that rejoiced the Gods
aforetime fashioned, when they freedom held,
now swinking slaves of ceaseless labour
in Angband's smithies, nor ever were suffered
to wander away, warded always.
But little lanterns of lucent crystal
and silver cold with subtlest cunning
they strangely fashioned, and steadfast a flame
burnt unblinking there blue and pale,
unquenched for ever. The craft that lit them
was the jewel-makers' most jealous secret.
Not Morgoth's might, nor meed nor torment
them vowed, availed to reveal that lore;
yet lights and lamps of living radiance,
many and magical, they made for him.
No dark could dim them the deeps wandering;
whose lode they lit was lost seldom
in groundless grot, or gulfs far under.

'Twas a Gnome he beheld on the heaped needles
of a pine-tree pillowed, when peering wary
he crept closer. The covering pelt
was loosed from the lamp of living radiance
by his side shining. Slumber-shrouded
his fear-worn face was fallen in shade.
Lest in webs woven of unwaking sleep,
spun round by spells in those spaces dark,
he lie forlorn and lost for ever,
the Hunter hailed him in the hushed forest –

to the drowsy deeps of his dream profound
fear ever-following came falling loud;
as the lancing lightning he leapt to his feet
full deeming that dread and death were upon him,
Flinding go-Fuilin fleeing in anguish
from the mines of Morgoth. Marvelling he heard
the ancient tongue of the Elves of Tûn;
and Beleg the Bowman embraced him there,
and learnt his lineage and luckless fate,
how thrust to thraldom in a throng of captives,
from the kindred carried and the cavernous halls
of the Gnomes renowned of Nargothrond,
long years he laboured under lashes and flails
of the baleful Balrogs, abiding his time.
A tale he unfolded of terrible flight
o'er flaming fell and fuming hollow,
o'er the parchéd dunes of the Plains of Drouth,
till his heart took hope and his heed was less.
'Then Taur-na-Fuin entangled my feet
in its mazes enmeshed; and madness took me
that I wandered witless, unwary stumbling
and beating the boles of the brooding pines
in idle anger – and the Orcs heard me.
They were camped in a clearing, that close at hand
by mercy I missed. Their marching road
is beaten broad through the black shadows
by wizardry warded from wandering Elves;
but dread they know of the Deadly Nightshade,
and in haste only do they hie that way.
Now cruel cries and clamorous voices
awoke in the wood, and winged arrows
from horny bows hummed about me;
and following feet, fleet and stealthy,
were padding and pattering on the pine-needles;
and hairy hands and hungry fingers
in the glooms groping, as I grovelled fainting
till they cowering found me. Fast they clutched me
beaten and bleeding, and broken in spirit
they laughing led me, my lagging footsteps
with their spears speeding. Their spoils were piled,
and countless captives in that camp were chained,
and Elfin maids their anguish mourning.

But one they watched, warded sleepless,
was stern-visaged, strong, and in stature tall
as are Hithlum's men of the misty hills.
Full length he lay and lashed to pickets
in baleful bonds, yet bold-hearted
his mouth no mercy of Morgoth sued,
but defied his foes. Foully they smote him.
Then he called, as clear as cry of hunter
that hails his hounds in hollow places,
on the name renowned of that noblest king –
but men unmindful remember him little –
Húrin Thalion, who Erithámrod hight,
the Unbending, for Orc and Balrog
and Morgoth's might on the mountain yet
he defies fearless, on a fangéd peak
of thunder-riven Thangorodrim.'

In eager anger then up sprang Beleg,
crying and calling, careless of Flinding:
'O Túrin, Túrin, my troth-brother,
to the brazen bonds shall I abandon thee,
and the darkling doors of the Deeps of Hell?'

'Thou wilt join his journey to the jaws of sorrow,
O bowman crazéd, if thy bellowing cry
to the Orcs should come; their ears than cats'
are keener whetted, and though the camp from here
be a day distant where those deeds I saw,
who knows if the Gnome they now pursue
that crept from their clutches, as a crawling worm
on belly cowering, whom they bleeding cast
in deathly swoon on the dung and slough
of their loathsome lair. O Light of Valinor!
and ye glorious Gods! How gleam their eyes,
and their tongues are red!' 'Yet I Túrin will wrest
from their hungry hands, or to Hell be dragged,
or sleep with the slain in the slades of Death.
Thy lamp shall lead us, and my lore rekindle
and wise wood-craft!' 'O witless hunter,
thy words are wild – wolves unsleeping
and wizardry ward their woeful captives;
unerring their arrows; the icy steel
of their curvéd blades cleaves unblunted

the meshes of mail; the mirk to pierce
those eyes are able; their awful laughter
the flesh freezes! I fare not thither,
for fear fetters me in the Forest of Night:
better die in the dark dazed, forwandered,
than wilfully woo that woe and anguish!
I know not the way.' 'Are the knees then weak
of Flinding go-Fuilin? Shall free-born Gnome
thus show himself a shrinking slave,
who twice entrapped has twice escaped?
Remember the might and the mirth of yore,
the renown of the Gnomes of Nargothrond!'

Thus Beleg the bowman quoth bold-hearted,
but Flinding fought the fear of his heart,
and loosed the light of his lamp of blue,
now brighter burning. In the black mazes
enwound they wandered, weary searching;
by the tall tree-boles towering silent
oft barred and baffled; blindly stumbling
over rock-fast roots writhing coiléd;
and drowsed with dreams by the dark odours,
till hope was hidden. 'Hark thee, Flinding;
viewless voices vague and distant,
a muffled murmur of marching feet
that are shod with stealth shakes the stillness.'

'No noise I hear', the Gnome answered,
'thy hope cheats thee.' 'I hear the chains
clinking, creaking, the cords straining,
and wolves padding on worn pathways.
I smell the blood that is smeared on blades
that are cruel and crooked; the croaking laughter –
now, listen! louder and louder comes,'
the hunter said. 'I hear no sound',
quoth Flinding fearful. 'Then follow after!'
with bended bow then Beleg answered,
'my cunning rekindles, my craft needs not
thy lamp's leading.' Leaping swiftly
he shrank in the shadows; with shrouded lantern
Flinding followed him, and the forest-darkness
and drowsy dimness drifted slowly
unfolding from them in fleeing shadows,

and its magic was minished, till they marvelling saw
they were brought to its borders. There black-gaping
an archway opened. By ancient trunks
it was framed darkly, that in far-off days
the lightning felled, now leaning gaunt
their lichen-leprous limbs uprooted.
There shadowy bats that shrilled thinly
flew in and flew out the air brushing
as they swerved soundless. A swooning light
faint filtered in, for facing North
they looked o'er the leagues of the lands of mourning,
o'er the bleak boulders, o'er the blistered dunes
and dusty drouth of Dor-na-Fauglith;
o'er that Thirsty Plain, to the threatening peaks,
now glimpséd grey through the grim archway,
of the marching might of the Mountains of Iron,
and faint and far in the flickering dusk
the thunderous towers of Thangorodrim.
But backward broad through the black shadows
from that darkling door dimly wandered
the ancient Orc-road; and even as they gazed
the silence suddenly with sounds of dread
was shaken behind them, and shivering echoes
from afar came fleeting. Feet were tramping;
trappings tinkling; and the troublous murmur
of viewless voices in the vaulted gloom
came near and nearer. 'Ah! now I hear',
said Flinding fearful; 'flee we swiftly
from hate and horror and hideous faces,
from fiery eyes and feet relentless!
Ah! woe that I wandered thus witless hither!'

Then beat in his breast, foreboding evil,
with dread unwonted the dauntless heart
of Beleg the brave. With blanchéd cheeks
in faded fern and the feathery leaves
of brown bracken they buried them deep,
where dank and dark a ditch was cloven
on the wood's borders by waters oozing,
dripping down to die in the drouth below.
Yet hardly were they hid when a host to view
round a dark turning in the dusky shadows

came swinging sudden with a swift thudding
of feet after feet on fallen leaves.
In rank on rank of ruthless spears
that war-host went; weary stumbling
countless captives, cruelly laden
with bloodstained booty, in bonds of iron
they haled behind them, and held in ward
by the wolf-riders and the wolves of Hell.
Their road of ruin was a-reek with tears:
many a hall and homestead, many a hidden refuge
of Gnomish lords by night beleaguered
their o'ermastering might of mirth bereft,
and fair things fouled, and fields curdled
with the bravest blood of the beaten people.

To an army of war was the Orc-band waxen
that Blodrin Bor's son to his bane guided
to the wood-marches, by the welded hosts
homeward hurrying to the halls of mourning
swiftly swollen to a sweeping plague.
Like a throbbing thunder in the threatening deeps
of cavernous clouds o'ercast with gloom
now swelled on a sudden a song most dire,
and their hellward hymn their home greeted;
flung from the foremost of the fierce spearmen,
who viewed mid vapours vast and sable
the threefold peaks of Thangorodrim,
it rolled rearward, rumbling darkly,
like drums in distant dungeons empty.
Then a werewolf howled; a word was shouted
like steel on stone; and stiffly raised
their spears and swords sprang up thickly
as the wild wheatfields of the wargod's realm
with points that palely pricked the twilight.
As by wind wafted then waved they all,
and bowed, as the bands with beating measured
moved on mirthless from the mirky woods,
from the topless trunks of Taur-na-Fuin,
neath the leprous limbs of the leaning gate.

Then Beleg the bowman in bracken cowering,
on the loathly legions through the leaves peering,
saw Túrin the tall as he tottered forward

neath the whips of the Orcs as they whistled o'er him;
and rage arose in his wrathful heart,
and piercing pity outpoured his tears.
The hymn was hushed; the host vanished
down the hellward slopes of the hill beyond;
and silence sank slow and gloomy
round the trunks of the trees of Taur-na-Fuin,
and nethermost night drew near outside.

'Follow me, Flinding, from the forest curséd!
Let us haste to his help, to Hell if need be
or to death by the darts of the dread Glamhoth!':
and Beleg bounded from the bracken madly,
like a deer driven by dogs baying
from his hiding in the hills and hollow places;
and Flinding followed fearful after him
neath the yawning gate, through yew-thickets,
through bogs and bents and bushes shrunken,
till they reached the rocks and the riven moorlands
and friendless fells falling darkly
to the dusty dunes of Dor-na-Fauglith.
In a cup outcarven on the cold hillside,
whose broken brink was bleakly fringed
with bended bushes bowed in anguish
from the North-wind's knife, beneath them far
the feasting camp of their foes was laid;
the fiery flare of fuming torches,
and black bodies in the blaze they saw
crossing countlessly, and cries they heard
and the hollow howling of hungry wolves.

Then a moon mounted o'er the mists riding,
and the keen radiance of the cold moonshine
the shadows sharpened in the sheer hollows,
and slashed the slopes with slanting blackness;
in wreaths uprising the reek of fires
was touched to tremulous trails of silver.
Then the fires faded, and their foemen slumbered
in a sleep of surfeit. No sentinel watched,
nor guards them girdled – what good were it
to watch wakeful in those withered regions
neath Eiglir Engrin, whence the eyes of Bauglir
gazed unclosing from the gates of Hell?

Did not werewolves' eyes unwinking gleam
in the wan moonlight – the wolves that sleep not,
that sit in circles with slavering tongues
round camp or clearing of the cruel Glamhoth?
Then was Beleg a-shudder, and the unblinking eyes
nigh chilled his marrow and chained his flesh
in fear unfathomed, as flat to earth
by a boulder he lay. Lo! black cloud-drifts
surged up like smoke from the sable North,
and the sheen was shrouded of the shivering moon;
the wind came wailing from the woeful mountains,
and the heath unhappy hissed and whispered;
and the moans came faint of men in torment
in the camp accursed. His quiver rattled
as he found his feet and felt his bow,
hard horn-pointed, by hands of cunning
of black yew wrought; with bears' sinews
it was stoutly strung; strength to bend it
had nor Man nor Elf save the magic helped him
that Beleg the bowman now bore alone.
No arrows of the Orcs so unerring wingéd
as his shaven shafts that could shoot to a mark
that was seen but in glance ere gloom seized it.
Then Dailir he drew, his dart beloved;
howso far fared it, or fell unnoted,
unsought he found it with sound feathers
and barbs unbroken (till it broke at last);
and fleet bade he fly that feather-pinioned
snaketonguéd shaft, as he snicked the string
in the notch nimbly, and with naked arm
to his ear drew it. The air whistled,
and the tingling string twanged behind it,
soundless a sentinel sank before it –
there was one of the wolves that awaked no more.
Now arrows after he aimed swiftly
that missed not their mark and meted silent
death in the darkness dreadly stinging,
till three of the wolves with throats piercéd,
and four had fallen with fleet-wingéd
arrows a-quivering in their quenchéd eyes.
Then great was the gap in the guard opened,
and Beleg his bow unbent, and said:

'Wilt come to the camp, comrade Flinding,
or await me watchful? If woe betide
thou might win with word through the woods homeward
to Thingol the king how throve my quest,
how Túrin the tall was trapped by fate,
how Beleg the bowman to his bane hasted.'
Then Flinding fiercely, though fear shook him:
'I have followed thee far, O forest-walker,
nor will leave thee now our league denying!'
Then both bow and sword Beleg left there
with his belt unbound in the bushes tangled
of a dark thicket in a dell nigh them,
and Flinding there laid his flickering lamp
and his nailéd shoes, and his knife only
he kept, that uncumbered he might creep silent.

Thus those brave in dread down the bare hillside
towards the camp clambered creeping wary,
and dared that deed in days long past
whose glory has gone through the gates of earth,
and songs have sung unceasing ringing
wherever the Elves in ancient places
had light or laughter in the later world.
With breath bated on the brink of the dale
they stood and stared through stealthy shadows,
till they saw where the circle of sleepless eyes
was broken; with hearts beating dully
they passed the places where pierced and bleeding
the wolves weltered by wingéd death
unseen smitten; as smoke noiseless
they slipped silent through the slumbering throngs
as shadowy wraiths shifting vaguely
from gloom to gloom, till the Gods brought them
and the craft and cunning of the keen huntsman
to Túrin the tall where he tumbled lay
with face downward in the filthy mire,
and his feet were fettered, and fast in bonds
anguish enchained his arms behind him.
There he slept or swooned, as sunk in oblivion
by drugs of darkness deadly blended;
he heard not their whispers; no hope stirred him
nor the deep despair of his dreams fathomed;

to awake his wit no words availed.
No blade would bite on the bonds he wore,
though Flinding felt for the forgéd knife
of dwarfen steel, his dagger prizéd,
that at waist he wore awake or sleeping,
whose edge would eat through iron noiseless
as a clod of clay is cleft by the share.
It was wrought by wrights in the realms of the East,
in black Belegost, by the bearded Dwarves
of troth unmindful; it betrayed him now
from its sheath slipping as o'er shaggy slades
and roughhewn rocks their road they wended.

'We must bear him back as best we may,'
said Beleg, bending his broad shoulders.
Then the head he lifted of Húrin's offspring,
and Flinding go-Fuilin the feet claspéd;
and doughty that deed, for in days long gone
though Men were of mould less mighty builded
ere the earth's goodness from the Elves they drew,
though the Elfin kindreds ere old was the sun
were of might unminished, nor the moon haunted
faintly fading as formed of shadows
in places unpeopled, yet peers they were not
in bone and flesh and body's fashioning,
and Túrin was tallest of the ten races
that in Hithlum's hills their homes builded.
Like a log they lifted his limbs mighty,
and straining staggered with stealth and fear,
with bodies bending and bones aching,
from the cruel dreaming of the camp of dread,
where spearmen drowsed sprawling drunken
by their moon-blades keen with murder whetted
mid their shaven shafts in sheaves piléd.

Now Beleg the brave backward led them,
but his foot fumbled and he fell thudding
with Túrin atop of him, and trembling stumbled
Flinding forward; there frozen lying
long while they listened for alarm stirring,
for hue and cry, and their hearts cowered;
but unbroken the breathing of the bands sleeping,
as darkness deepened to dead midnight,

and the lifeless hour when the loosened soul
oft sheds the shackles of the shivering flesh.
Then dared their dread to draw its breath,
and they found their feet in the fouléd earth,
and bent they both their backs once more
to their task of toil, for Túrin woke not.
There the huntsman's hand was hurt deeply,
as he groped on the ground, by a gleaming point –
'twas Dailir his dart dearly prizéd
he had found by his foot in fragments twain,
and with barbs bended: it broke at last
neath his body falling. It boded ill.

As in dim dreaming, and dazed with horror,
they won their way with weary slowness,
foot by footstep, till fate them granted
the leaguer at last of those lairs to pass,
and their burden laid they, breathless gasping,
on bare-bosméd earth, and abode a while,
ere by winding ways they won their path
up the slanting slopes with silent labour,
with spended strength sprawling to cast them
in the darkling dell neath the deep thicket.
Then sought his sword, and songs of magic
o'er its eager edge with Elfin voice
there Beleg murmured, while bluely glimmered
the lamp of Flinding neath the lacéd thorns.
There wondrous wove he words of sharpness,
and the names of knives and Gnomish blades
he uttered o'er it: even Ogbar's spear
and the glaive of Gaurin whose gleaming stroke
did rive the rocks of Rodrim's hall;
the sword of Saithnar, and the silver blades
of the enchanted children of chains forgéd
in their deep dungeon; the dirk of Nargil,
the knife of the North in Nogrod smithied;
the sweeping sickle of the slashing tempest,
the lambent lightning's leaping falchion
even Celeg Aithorn that shall cleave the world.

Then whistling whirled he the whetted sword-blade
and three times three it threshed the gloom,
till flame was kindled flickering strangely

like licking firelight in the lamp's glimmer
blue and baleful at the blade's edges.
Lo! a leering laugh lone and dreadful
by the wind wafted wavered nigh them;
their limbs were loosened in listening horror;
they fancied the feet of foes approaching,
for the horns hearkening of the hunt afoot
in the rustling murmur of roving breezes.
Then quickly curtained with its covering pelt
was the lantern's light, and leaping Beleg
with his sword severed the searing bonds
on wrist and arm like ropes of hemp
so strong that whetting; in stupor lying
entangled still lay Túrin moveless.
For the feet's fetters then feeling in the dark
Beleg blundering with his blade's keenness
unwary wounded the weary flesh
of wayworn foot, and welling blood
bedewed his hand – too dark his magic:
that sleep profound was sudden fathomed;
in fear woke Túrin, and a form he guessed
o'er his body bending with blade naked.
His death or torment he deemed was come,
for oft had the Orcs for evil pastime
him goaded gleeful and gashed with knives
that they cast with cunning, with cruel spears.
Lo! the bonds were burst that had bound his hands:
his cry of battle calling hoarsely
he flung him fiercely on the foe he dreamed,
and Beleg falling breathless earthward
was crushed beneath him. Crazed with anguish
then seized that sword the son of Húrin,
to his hand lying by the help of doom;
at the throat he thrust; through he pierced it,
that the blood was buried in the blood-wet mould;
ere Flinding knew what fared that night,
all was over. With oath and curse
he bade the goblins now guard them well,
or sup on his sword: 'Lo! the son of Húrin
is freed from his fetters.' His fancy wandered
in the camps and clearings of the cruel Glamhoth.
Flight he sought not at Flinding leaping

with his last laughter, his life to sell
amid foes imagined; but Fuilin's son
there stricken with amaze, starting backward,
cried: 'Magic of Morgoth! A! madness damned!
with friends thou fightest!' – then falling suddenly
the lamp o'erturned in the leaves shrouded
that its light released illumined pale
with its flickering flame the face of Beleg.
Then the boles of the trees more breathless rooted
stone-faced he stood staring frozen
on that dreadful death, and his deed knowing
wildeyed he gazed with waking horror,
as in endless anguish an image carven.
So fearful his face that Flinding crouched
and watched him, wondering what webs of doom
dark, remorseless, dreadly meshed him
by the might of Morgoth; and he mourned for him,
and for Beleg, who bow should bend no more,
his black yew-wood in battle twanging –
his life had winged to its long waiting
in the halls of the Moon o'er the hills of the sea.

Hark! he heard the horns hooting loudly,
no ghostly laughter of grim phantom,
no wraithlike feet rustling dimly –
the Orcs were up; their ears had hearkened
the cries of Túrin; their camp was tumult,
their lust was alight ere the last shadows
of night were lifted. Then numb with fear
in hoarse whisper to unhearing ears
he told his terror; for Túrin now
with limbs loosened leaden-eyed was bent
crouching crumpled by the corse moveless;
nor sight nor sound his senses knew,
and wavering words he witless murmured,
'A! Beleg,' he whispered, 'my brother-in-arms.'
Though Flinding shook him, he felt it not:
had he comprehended he had cared little.
Then winds were wakened in wild dungeons
where thrumming thunders throbbed and rumbled;
storm came striding with streaming banners
from the four corners of the fainting world;

then the clouds were cloven with a crash of lightning,
and slung like stones from slings uncounted
the hurtling hail came hissing earthward,
with a deluge dark of driving rain.
Now wafted high, now wavering far,
the cries of the Glamhoth called and hooted,
and the howl of wolves in the heavens' roaring
was mingled mournful: they missed their paths,
for swollen swept there swirling torrents
down the blackening slopes, and the slot was blind,
so that blundering back up the beaten road
to the gates of gloom many goblins wildered
were drowned or drawn in Deadly Nightshade
to die in the dark; while dawn came not,
while the storm-riders strove and thundered
all the sunless day, and soaked and drenched
Flinding go-Fuilin with fear speechless
there crouched aquake; cold and lifeless
lay Beleg the bowman; brooding dumbly
Túrin Thalion neath the tangled thorns
sat unseeing without sound or movement.

The dusty dunes of Dor-na-Fauglith
hissed and spouted. Huge rose the spires
of smoking vapour swathed and reeking,
thick-billowing clouds from thirst unquenched,
and dawn was kindled dimly lurid
when a day and night had dragged away.
The Orcs had gone, their anger baffled,
o'er the weltering ways weary faring
to their hopeless halls in Hell's kingdom;
no thrall took they Túrin Thalion–
a burden bore he than their bonds heavier,
in despair fettered with spirit empty
in mourning hopeless he remained behind.

★

NOTES

617 *Blodrin*: *Bauglir* A, and B as typed. See line 618.
618 *Bauglir Ban's son* A, and B as typed (*Bauglir* > *Blodrin*

carefully-made early change, *Ban* > *Bor* hasty and later). See lines 661, 696, 990.

631 *Fangair* A, *Fangros* B as typed.

636 *Tengwethiel* [*sic*] A, *Tain-Gwethil* B as typed. Cf. line 431.

653 *Túrin Thaliodrin* A, and B as typed. Cf. lines 115, 333, 720.

661, 696 As at line 618.

711 *Aiglir-angrin* A, *Aiglir Angrin* B as typed, emended roughly in pencil to *Eiglir Engrin*; cf. line 1055. In the *Tale of Turambar* occurs *Angorodin* (the Iron Mountains), II.77.

711–14 These lines read in A (and as typed in B, with *of Hell is reared* for *of the Hells of Iron*):

> where Aiglir-angrin the Iron Hills lie
> and Thangorodrim's thunderous mountain
> o'er the hopeless halls of the Hells of iron
> wrought at the roots of the ruthless hills.

718 Cf. Bilbo's second riddle to Gollum.

720 As at line 653.

780 *Delimorgoth* A, *Delu-Morgoth* B as typed, *dark Morgoth* a late pencilled emendation. At lines 11 and 51 *Delu-Morgoth* is an emendation of *Delimorgoth* in B.

816 *Tûn* also in A; see lines 50, 430.

818–20 Against these lines my father wrote in the margin of B: 'Captured in battle at gates of Angband.'

826 *o'er the black boulders of the Blasted Plain* A (marked with query).

834 *mercy: magic* A, and B as typed; *mercy* in pencil and not quite certain.

946 *Daideloth* A emended at time of writing to *Dor-na-Maiglos*, *Dor-na-Fauglith* B as typed. In margin of A is written: 'a plateau from *Dai* "high", *Deloth* "plain"'; contrast II. 337, entry *Dor-na-Dhaideloth*.

990 *Blodrin Ban's son* A, and B as typed; *Ban's* > *Bor's* later in B. At lines 617–18, 661, 696 A, and B as typed, had *Bauglir*, changed to *Blodrin* in B.

1055 *Aiglir Angrin* A, and B as typed; see line 711.
Bauglir A and B.

1098 This line is emended in B, but the reading is uncertain: apparently *Then his bow unbending Beleg asked him:*

1137 In the margin of B is written *r?*, i.e. *dreadly* for *deadly*.

1147 *East: South* A, and B as typed.

1198 *bosméd* (bosomed) written thus in both A and B.

1214 *Nargil*: *Loruin* A, with *Nargil* added as an alternative.

1324 *Túrin Thaliodrin* A, and B as typed; see lines 653, 720.

1335 *Thalion-Túrin* A, and B as typed.

Commentary on *Part II 'Beleg'*

In this part of the poem there are some narrative developments of much interest. The poem follows the *Tale* (II. 76) in making Beleg become one of Turin's band on the marches of Doriath not long after Túrin's departure from the Thousand Caves, and with no intervening event – in *The Silmarillion* (p. 200) Beleg came to Menegroth, and after speaking to Thingol set out to seek Túrin, while in the *Narn* (pp. 82–5) there is the 'trial of Túrin', and the intervention of Beleg bringing Nellas as witness, before he set out on Túrin's trail. In the poem it is explicit that Beleg was not searching for him, and indeed knew nothing whatever of what had passed in the Thousand Caves (595). But Túrin's band are no longer the 'wild spirits' of the *Tale*; they are hostile to all comers, whether Orcs or Men or Elves, including the Elves of Doriath (560–1, 566), as in *The Silmarillion*, and in far greater detail in the *Narn*, where the band is called *Gaurwaith*, the Wolf-men, 'to be feared as wolves'.

The element of Beleg's capture and maltreatment by the band now appears, and also that of Túrin's absence from the camp at the time. Several features of the story in the *Narn* are indeed already present in the poem, though absent from the more condensed account in *The Silmarillion*: as Beleg's being tied to a tree by the outlaws (577, *Narn* pp. 92–3), and the occasion of Túrin's absence – he was

> on the trail of the Orcs,
> as they hastened home to the Hills of Iron
> with the loot laden of the lands of Men

just as in the *Narn* (pp. 91–2), where however the story is part of a complex set of movements among the Woodmen of Brethil, Beleg, the Gaurwaith, and the Orcs.

Whereas in the *Tale* it was only now that Beleg and Túrin became companions-in-arms, we have already seen that the poem has the later story whereby they had fought together on the marches of Doriath before Túrin's flight from the Thousand Caves (p. 27); and we now have also the development that Túrin's altered mood at the sight of Beleg tied to the tree (*Then Túrin's heart was turned from hate*, 584), and Beleg's own reproaches (*Shall the foes of Faërie be friends of Men?* 603), led to the band's turning their arms henceforth only against *the foes of Faërie* (644). Of the great oath sworn by the members of the band, explicitly echoing that of the Sons of Fëanor (634) – and showing incidentally that in that oath the holy mountain of Taniquetil (Tain-Gwethil) was taken in witness (636), there is no trace in *The Silmarillion* or the *Narn*: in the latter, indeed, the outlaws are not conceived in such a way as to make such an oath-taking at all probable.

Lines 643 ff., describing the prowess of the fellowship in the forest, are the ultimate origin of the never finally achieved story of the Land of Dor-Cúarthol (*The Silmarillion* p. 205, *Narn* pp. 152–4); lines 651–4

even in Angband the Orcs trembled.
Then the word wandered down the ways of the forest
that Túrin Thalion was returned to war;
and Thingol heard it . . .

lead in the end to

> In Menegroth, and in the deep halls of Nargothrond, and even in the hidden realm of Gondolin, the fame of the deeds of the Two Captains was heard; and in Angband also they were known.

But in the later story Túrin was hidden under the name Gorthol, the Dread Helm, and it was his wearing of the Dragon-helm that revealed him to Morgoth. There is no suggestion of this in the earlier phase of the legend; the Dragon-helm makes no further appearance here in the poem.

A table may serve to clarify the development:

Tale	*Lay*	*Silmarillion* and *Narn*
Túrin's prowess on the marches of Doriath (Beleg not mentioned).	Túrin and Beleg companions-in-arms on the marches of Doriath; Túrin wears the Dragon-helm.	As in the poem.
Death of Orgof.	Death of Orgof.	Death of Saeros.
Túrin leaves Doriath; a band forms round him which includes Beleg.	Túrin leaves Doriath; a band of outlaws forms round him which attacks all comers.	Túrin leaves Doriath and joins a band of desperate outlaws.
	The band captures Beleg (who knows nothing of Túrin's leaving Doriath) and ties him to a tree.	The band captures Beleg (who is searching for Túrin bearing Thingol's pardon) (and ties him to a tree, *Narn*).
	Túrin has him set free; suffers a change of heart; Beleg joins the band; all swear an oath.	Túrin has him set free; suffers a change of heart; but Beleg will not join the band and departs. (No mention of oath.)
Great prowess of the band.	Great prowess of the band against the Orcs.	(Later Beleg returns and joins the band:) Land of Dor-Cúarthol.

Before leaving this part of the story, it may be suggested that lines 605 ff., in which Túrin declares to Beleg that *This band alone I count*

as comrades, contain the germ of Túrin's words to him in the *Narn*, p. 94:

> The grace of Thingol will not stretch to receive these companions of my fall, I think; but I will not part with them now, if they do not wish to part with me, &c.

The traitor, who betrayed the band to the Orcs, now first appears. At first he is called *Bauglir* both in A and in B as originally typed; and it might be thought that the name had much too obviously an evil significance. The explanation is quite clearly, however, that *Bauglir* became *Blodrin* at the same time as *Bauglir* replaced *Belcha* as a name of Morgoth. (By the time my father reached line 990 *Blodrin* is the name as first written in both A and B; while similarly at line 1055 *Bauglir* is Morgoth's name, not *Belcha*, both in A and B as first written.) The change of *Ban* (father of Blodrin) to *Bor* was passing; he is *Ban* in the 1926 'Sketch of the Mythology', and so remained until, much later, he disappeared.

Blodrin's origin is interesting:

> trapped as a child
> he was dragged by the Dwarves to their deep mansions,
> and in Nogrod nurtured, and in nought was like,
> spite blood and birth, to the blissful Elves. (666–9)

Thus Blodrin's evil nature is explicitly ascribed to the influence of *the bearded Dwarves / of troth unmindful* (1148–9); and Blodrin follows Ufedhin of the *Tale of the Nauglafring* as an example of the sinister effect of Elvish association with Dwarves – not altogether absent in the tale of Eöl and Maeglin as it appears in *The Silmarillion*. Though the nature – and name – of the traitor in Túrin's band went through Protean mutations afterwards, it is not inconceivable that recollection of the Dwarvish element in Blodrin's history played some part in the emergence of Mîm in this rôle. On the early hostile view of the Dwarves see II. 247. The words of the poem just cited arise from the 'betrayal' of Flinding by his dwarvish knife, which slipped from its sheath; so later, in the *Lay of Leithian*, when Beren attempted to cut a second Silmaril from the Iron Crown (lines 4160–2)

> The dwarvish steel of cunning blade
> by treacherous smiths of Nogrod made
> snapped . . .

The idea expressed in the *Tale* (II. 76) that Túrin was taken alive by Morgoth's command 'lest he cheat the doom that was devised for him' reappears in the poem: *lest he flee his fate* (705).

The rest of the story as told in the poem differs only in detail from that

in the *Tale*. The survival of Beleg in the attack by Orcs and his swift recovery from his grievous wounds (II. 77), present in much changed circumstances in *The Silmarillion* (p. 206), is here made perhaps more comprehensible, in that Elves from Doriath, who were searching for Túrin (654–5), found Beleg and took him back to be healed by Melian in the Thousand Caves (727–31). In the account of Beleg's meeting with Flinding in Taur-na-Fuin, led to him by his blue lamp, the poem is following the *Tale* very closely.* My father's painting of the scene (*Pictures by J. R. R. Tolkien* no. 37) was almost certainly made a few years later, when the Elf lying under the tree was still called Flinding son of Fuilin (in the *Tale bo-Dhuilin*, earlier *go-Dhuilin*, son of Duilin; the patronymic prefix has in the poem (814, 900) reverted to the earlier form *go-*, see II. 119).

In the *Tale* it is only said (II. 81) that Flinding was of the people of the Rodothlim 'before the Orcs captured him'; from the poem (819–21) it seems that he was carried off, with many others, from Nargothrond, but this can scarcely be the meaning, since *nought yet knew they* [the Orcs] *of Nargothrond* (1578). The marginal note in B against these lines 'Captured in battle at gates of Angband' refers to the later story, first appearing in the 1930 'Silmarillion'.

The poem follows the *Tale* in the detail of Flinding's story to Beleg, except that in the poem he was recaptured by the Orcs in Taur-na-Fuin (846 ff.) and escaped again (*crept from their clutches as a crawling worm*, 879), whereas in the *Tale* he was not recaptured but 'fled heedlessly' (II. 79). The notable point in the *Tale* that Flinding 'was overjoyed to have speech with a free Noldo' reappears in the poem: *Marvelling he heard / the ancient tongue of the Elves of Tûn*. The detail of their encountering of the Orc-host is slightly different: in the *Tale* the Orcs had changed their path, in the poem it seems that Beleg and Flinding merely came more quickly than did the Orcs to the point where the Orc-road emerged from the edge of the forest. In the *Tale* it seems indeed that the Orcs had not left the forest when they encamped for the night: the eyes of the wolves 'shone like points of red light among the trees', and Beleg and Flinding laid Túrin down after his rescue 'in the woods at no great distance from the camp'. The *cup outcarven on the cold hillside* of the poem (1036), where the Orcs made their bivouac, is the 'bare dell' of *The Silmarillion*.

In contrast to the *Tale* (see p. 26) Beleg is now frequently called *Beleg the bowman*, his great bow (not yet named) is fully described, and his unmatched skill as an archer (1071 ff.). There is also in the poem the feature of the arrow Dailir, unfailingly found and always unharmed (1080 ff.), until it broke when Beleg fell upon it while carrying Túrin (1189–92): of this there is never a mention later. The element of Beleg's

*The element of the blue lamp is lacking from the account in *The Silmarillion*; see *Unfinished Tales* p. 51 note 2.

archery either arose from, or itself caused, the change in the story of the entry of Beleg and Flinding into the Orc-camp that now appears: in the *Tale* they merely 'crept between the wolves at a point where there was a great gap between them', whereas in the poem Beleg performed the feat of shooting seven wolves in the darkness, and only so was 'a great gap opened' (1097). But the words of the *Tale*, 'as the luck of the Valar had it Túrin was lying nigh', are echoed in

> till the Gods brought them
> and the craft and cunning of the keen huntsman
> to Túrin the tall where he tumbled lay (1130–2)

The lifting and carrying of Túrin by the two Elves, referred to in the *Tale* as 'a great feat', 'seeing that he was a Man and of greater stature than they' (II. 80), is expanded in the poem (1156 ff.) into a comment on the stature of Men and Elves in the ancient time, which agrees with earlier statements on this topic (see I. 235, II. 142, 220). The notable lines

> though Men were of mould less mighty builded
> ere the earth's goodness from the Elves they drew (1157–8)

are to be related to the statements cited in II. 326: 'As Men's stature grows [the Elves'] diminishes', and 'ever as Men wax more powerful and numerous so the fairies fade and grow small and tenuous, filmy and transparent, but Men larger and more dense and gross'. The mention here (1164) of *the ten races* of Hithlum occurs nowhere else, and it is not clear whether it refers to all the peoples of Men and Elves who in one place or another in the *Lost Tales* are set in Hithlum, which as I have remarked 'seems to have been in danger of having too many inhabitants' (see II. 249, 251).

The *Tale* has it that it was Beleg's knife that had slipped from him as he crept into the camp; in the poem it is Flinding's (1142 ff.). In the *Tale* Beleg returned to fetch his sword from the place where he had left it, since they could carry Túrin no further; in the poem they carried Túrin all the way up to the *dark thicket in a dell* whence they had set out (1110, 1202). The 'whetting spell' of Beleg over his (still unnamed) sword is an entirely new element (and without trace later); it arises in association with line 1141, *No blade would bite on the bonds he wore*. In style it is reminiscent of Lúthien's 'lengthening spell' in Canto V of the *Lay of Leithian*; but of the names in the spell, of *Ogbar*, *Gaurin*, *Rodrim*, *Saithnar*, *Nargil*, *Celeg Aithorn*, there seems to be now no other trace.

There now occurs in the poem the mysterious *leering laugh* (1224), to which it seems that the *ghostly laughter of grim phantom* in line 1286 refers, and which is mentioned again in the next part of the poem (1488–90). The narrative purpose of this is evidently to cause the covering of the lamp and to cause Beleg to work too quickly in the darkness at the cutting of the bonds. It may be also that the wounding of

Beleg's hand when he put it on the point of Dailir his arrow (1187) accounts for his clumsiness; for every aspect of this powerful scene had been pondered and refined.

In the poem the great storm is introduced: first presaged in lines 1064 ff., when Beleg and Flinding were at the edge of the dell (as it is in *The Silmarillion*):

> Lo! black cloud-drifts
> surged up like smoke from the sable North,
> and the sheen was shrouded of the shivering moon;
> the wind came wailing from the woeful mountains,
> and the heath unhappy hissed and whispered

and bursting at last after Beleg's death (1301 ff.), to last all through the following day, during which Túrin and Flinding crouched on the hillside (1320, 1330–1). On account of the storm the Orcs were unable to find Túrin, and departed, as in *The Silmarillion*; in the *Tale* Flinding roused Túrin to flee as soon as the shouts of discovery were heard from the Orc-camp, and nothing more is said of the matter. But in the poem it is still, as in the *Tale*, the sudden uncovering of Flinding's lamp as he fell back from Túrin's assault that illumined Beleg's face; in the last account that my father wrote of this episode he was undecided whether it was the cover falling off the lamp or a great flash of lightning that gave the light, and in the published work I chose the latter.

There remain a few isolated points, mostly concerning names. In this part of the poem we meet for the first time:

Nargothrond 821, 904;

Taur-na-Fuin (for *Taur Fuin* of the *Lost Tales*) 766, 828; called also *Deadly Nightshade* 767, 837, 1317, and *Forest of Night* 896;

Dor-na-Fauglith 946, 1035, 1326, called also *the Plains of Drouth* 826, *the Thirsty Plain* 947 (and in A, note to 826, *the Blasted Plain*). The name *Dor-na-Fauglith* arose during the composition of the poem (see note to 946). By this time the story of the blasting of the great northern plain, so that it became a dusty desert, in the battle that ended the Siege of Angband, must have been conceived, though it does not appear in writing for several years.

Here also is the first reference to the triple peaks of Thangorodrim (1000), called *the thunderous towers* (951), though in the 'Prologue' to the poem it is said that Húrin was set *on its steepest peak* (96); and from lines 713–14 (as rewritten in the B-text) we learn that Angband was *wrought at the roots* of the great mountain.

The name *Fangros* (631; *Fangair* A) occurs once elsewhere, in a very obscure note, where it is apparently connected with the burning of the ships of the Noldoli.

Melian's name *Mablui – by the hands enchanted of Melian*

Mablui, 731 – clearly contains *mab* 'hand', as in *Mablung*, *Ermabwed* (see II. 339).

That the Dwarves were said in A and originally in B to dwell in the South (1147, emended in B to *East*) is perhaps to be related to the statement in the *Tale of the Nauglafring* that Nogrod lay *'a very long journey southward* beyond the wide forest on the borders of those great heaths nigh Umboth-muilin the Pools of Twilight' (II. 225).

I cannot explain the reference in line 1006 to *the wild wheatfields of the wargod's realm*; nor that in the lines concerning Beleg's fate after death to the long waiting of the dead *in the halls of the Moon* (1284).

★

III

FAILIVRIN

Flinding go-Fuilin faithful-hearted
the brand of Beleg with blood stainéd
lifted with loathing from the leafy mould,
and hid it in the hollow of a huge thorn-tree;
then he turned to Túrin yet tranced brooding,
and softly said he: 'O son of Húrin,
unhappy-hearted, what helpeth it
to sit thus in sorrow's silent torment
without hope or counsel?' But Húrin's son,
by those words wakened, wildly answered:
'I abide by Beleg; nor bid me leave him,
thou voice unfaithful. Vain are all things.
O Death dark-handed, draw thou near me;
if remorse may move thee, from mourning loosed
crush me conquered to his cold bosom!'
Flinding answered, and fear left him
for wrath and pity: 'Arouse thy pride!
Not thus unthinking on Thangorodrim's
heights enchainéd did Húrin speak.'
'Curse thy comfort! Less cold were steel.
If Death comes not to the death-craving,
I will seek him by the sword. The sword – where lies it?
O cold and cruel, where cowerest now,
murderer of thy master? Amends shalt work,
and slay me swift, O sleep-giver.'
'Look not, luckless, thy life to steal,

nor sully anew his sword unhappy
in the flesh of the friend whose freedom seeking
he fell by fate, by foes unwounded.
Yea, think that amends are thine to make,
his wrongéd blade with wrath appeasing,
its thirst cooling in the thrice-abhorred
blood of Bauglir's baleful legions.
Is the feud achieved thy father's chains
on thee laid, or lessened by this last evil?
Dream not that Morgoth will mourn thy death,
or thy dirges chant the dread Glamhoth –
less would like them thy living hatred
and vows of vengeance; nor vain is courage,
though victory seldom be valour's ending.'

Then fiercely Túrin to his feet leaping
cried new-crazéd: 'Ye coward Orcs,
why turn ye tail? Why tarry ye now,
when the son of Húrin and the sword of Beleg
in wrath await you? For wrong and woe
here is vengeance ready. If ye venture it not,
I will follow your feet to the four corners
of the angry earth. Have after you!'
Fainting Flinding there fought with him,
and words of wisdom to his witless ears
he breathless spake: 'Abide, O Túrin,
for need hast thou now to nurse thy hurt,
and strength to gather and strong counsel.
Who flees to fight wears not fear's token,
and vengeance delayed its vow achieves.'
The madness passed; amazed pondering
neath the tangled trees sat Túrin wordless
brooding blackly on bitter vengeance,
till the dusk deepened on his day of waking,
and the early stars were opened pale.

Then Beleg's burial in those bleak regions
did Flinding fashion; where he fell sadly
he left him lying, and lightly o'er him
with long labour the leaves he poured.
But Túrin tearless turning suddenly
on the corse cast him, and kissed the mouth
cold and open, and closed the eyes.

His bow laid he black beside him,
and words of parting wove about him:
'Now fare well, Beleg, to feasting long
neath Tengwethil in the timeless halls
where drink the Gods, neath domes golden
o'er the sea shining.' His song was shaken,
but the tears were dried in his tortured eyes
by the flames of anguish that filled his soul.
His mind once more was meshed in darkness
as heaped they high o'er the head beloved
a mound of mould and mingled leaves.
Light lay the earth on the lonely dead;
heavy lay the woe on the heart that lived.
That grief was graven with grim token
on his face and form, nor faded ever:
and this was the third of the throes of Túrin.

Thence he wandered witless without wish or purpose;
but for Flinding the faithful he had fared to death,
or been lost in the lands of lurking evil.
Renewed in that Gnome of Nargothrond
was heart and valour by hatred wakened,
that he guarded and guided his grim comrade;
with the light of his lamp he lit their ways,
and they hid by day to hasten by night,
by darkness shrouded or dim vapours.

The tale tells not of their travel weary,
how roamed their road by the rim of the forest,
whose beetling branches, black o'erhanging,
did greedy grope with gloomy malice
to ensnare their souls in silent darkness.
Yet west they wandered by ways of thirst
and haggard hunger, hunted often,
and hiding in holes and hollow caverns,
by their fate defended. At the furthest end
of Dor-na-Fauglith's dusty spaces
to a mighty mound in the moon looming
they came at midnight: it was crowned with mist,
bedewed as by drops of drooping tears.
'A! green that hill with grass fadeless,
where sleep the swords of seven kindreds,
where the folk of Faërie once fell uncounted.

There was fought the field by folk naméd
Nirnaith Ornoth, Unnùmbered Tears.
'Twas built with the blood of the beaten people;
neath moon nor sun is it mounted ever
by Man nor Elf; not Morgoth's host
ever dare for dread to delve therein.'
Thus Flinding faltered, faintly stirring
Túrin's heaviness, that he turned his hand
toward Thangorodrim, and thrice he cursed
the maker of mourning, Morgoth Bauglir.

Thence later led them their lagging footsteps
o'er the slender stream of Sirion's youth;
not long had he leapt a lace of silver
from his shining well in those shrouded hills,
the Shadowy Mountains whose sheer summits
there bend humbled towards the brooding heights
in mist mantled, the mountains of the North.
Here the Orcs might pass him; they else dared not
o'er Sirion swim, whose swelling water
through moor and marsh, mead and woodland,
through caverns carven in the cold bosom
of Earth far under, through empty lands
and leagues untrodden, beloved of Ylmir,
fleeting floweth, with fame undying
in the songs of the Gnomes, to the sea at last.
Thus reached they the roots and the ruinous feet
of those hoary hills that Hithlum girdle,
the shaggy pinewoods of the Shadowy Mountains.
There the twain enfolded phantom twilight
and dim mazes dark, unholy,
in Nan Dungorthin where nameless gods
have shrouded shrines in shadows secret,
more old than Morgoth or the ancient lords
the golden Gods of the guarded West.
But the ghostly dwellers of that grey valley
hindered nor hurt them, and they held their course
with creeping flesh and quaking limb.
Yet laughter at whiles with lingering echo,
as distant mockery of demon voices
there harsh and hollow in the hushed twilight
Flinding fancied, fell, unwholesome

as that leering laughter lost and dreadful
that rang in the rocks in the ruthless hour
of Beleg's slaughter. 'Tis Bauglir's voice
that dogs us darkly with deadly scorn'
he shuddering thought; but the shreds of fear
and black foreboding were banished utterly
when they clomb the cliffs and crumbling rocks
that walled that vale of watchful evil,
and southward saw the slopes of Hithlum
more warm and friendly. That way they fared
during the daylight o'er dale and ghyll,
o'er mountain pasture, moor and boulder,
over fell and fall of flashing waters
that slipped down to Sirion, to swell his tide
in his eastward basin onward sweeping
to the South, to the sea, to his sandy delta.

After seven journeys lo! sleep took them
on a night of stars when they nigh had stridden
to those lands beloved that long had known
Flinding aforetime. At first morning
the white arrows of the wheeling sun
gazed down gladly on green hollows
and smiling slopes that swept before them.
There builded boles of beeches ancient
marched in majesty in myriad leaves
of golden russet greyly rooted,
in leaves translucent lightly robéd;
their boughs up-bending blown at morning
by the wings of winds that wandered down
o'er blossomy bent breathing odours
to the wavering water's winking margin.
There rush and reed their rustling plumes
and leaves like lances louted trembling
green with sunlight. Then glad the soul
of Flinding the fugitive; in his face the morning
there glimmered golden, his gleaming hair
was washed with sunlight. 'Awake from sadness,
Túrion Thalion, and troublous thoughts!
On Ivrin's lake is endless laughter.
Lo! cool and clear by crystal fountains
she is fed unfailing, from defilement warded

by Ylmir the old, who in ancient days,
wielder of waters, here worked her beauty.
From outmost Ocean yet often comes
his message hither his magic bearing,
the healing of hearts and hope and valour
for foes of Bauglir. Friend is Ylmir
who alone remembers in the Lands of Mirth
the need of the Gnomes. Here Narog's waters
(that in tongue of the Gnomes is 'torrent' naméd)
are born, and blithely boulders leaping
o'er the bents bounding with broken foam
swirl down southward to the secret halls
of Nargothrond by the Gnomes builded
that death and thraldom in the dreadful throes
of Nirnaith Ornoth, a number scanty,
escaped unscathed. Thence skirting wild
the Hills of the Hunters, the home of Beren
and the Dancer of Doriath daughter of Thingol,
it winds and wanders ere the willowy meads,
Nan-Tathrin's land, for nineteen leagues
it journeys joyful to join its flood
with Sirion in the South. To the salt marshes
where snipe and seamew and the sea-breezes
first pipe and play they press together
sweeping soundless to the seats of Ylmir,
where the waters of Sirion and the waves of the sea
murmurous mingle. A marge of sand
there lies, all lit by the long sunshine;
there all day rustles wrinkled Ocean,
and the sea-birds call in solemn conclave,
whitewingéd hosts whistling sadly,
uncounted voices crying endlessly.
There a shining shingle on that shore lieth,
whose pebbles as pearl or pale marble
by spray and spindrift splashed at evening
in the moon do gleam, or moan and grind
when the Dweller in the Deep drives in fury
the waters white to the walls of the land;
when the long-haired riders on their lathered horses
with bit and bridle of blowing foam,
in wrack wreathéd and ropes of seaweed,
to the thunder gallop of the thudding of the surf.'

Thus Flinding spake the spell feeling
of Ylmir the old and unforgetful,
which hale and holy haunted Ivrin
and foaming Narog, so that fared there never
Orc of Morgoth, and that eager stream
no plunderer passed. If their purpose held
to reach the realms that roamed beyond
(nought yet knew they of Nargothrond)
they harried o'er Hithlum the heights scaling
that lay behind the lake's hollow,
the Shadowy Mountains in the sheen mirrored
of the pools of Ivrin. Pale and eager
Túrin hearkened to the tale of Flinding:
the washing of waters in his words sounded,
an echo as of Ylmir's awful conches
in the abyss blowing. There born anew
was hope in his heart as they hastened down
to the lake of laughter. A long and narrow
arm it reaches that ancient rocks
o'ergrown with green girdle strongly,
at whose outer end there open sudden
a gap, a gateway in the grey boulders;
whence thrusteth thin in threadlike jets
newborn Narog, nineteen fathoms
o'er a flickering force falls in wonder,
and a glimmering goblet with glass-lucent
fountains fills he by his freshets carven
in the cool bosom of the crystal stones.

There deeply drank ere day was fallen
Túrin the toilworn and his true comrade;
hurt's ease found he, heart's refreshment,
from the meshes of misery his mind was loosed,
as they sat on the sward by the sound of water,
and watched in wonder the westering sun
o'er the wall wading of the wild mountains,
whose peaks empurpled pricked the evening.
Then it dropped to the dark and deep shadows
up the cliffs creeping quenched in twilight
the last beacons leashed with crimson.
To the stars upstanding stony-mantled
the mountains waited till the moon arose

o'er the endless East, and Ivrin's pools
dreaming deeply dim reflected
their pallid faces. In pondering fast
woven, wordless, they waked no sound,
till cold breezes keenly breathing
clear and fragrant curled about them;
then sought they for sleep a sand-pavéd
cove outcarven; there kindled fire,
that brightly blossomed the beechen faggots
in flowers of flame; floated upward
a slender smoke, when sudden Túrin
on the firelit face of Flinding gazed,
and wondering words he wavering spake:
'O Gnome, I know not thy name or purpose
or father's blood – what fate binds thee
to a witless wayworn wanderer's footsteps,
the bane of Beleg, his brother-in-arms?'

Then Flinding fearful lest fresh madness
should seize for sorrow on the soul of Túrin,
retold the tale of his toil and wandering;
how the trackless folds of Taur-na-Fuin,
Deadly Nightshade, dreadly meshed him;
of Beleg the bowman bold, undaunted,
and that deed they dared on the dim hillside,
that song has since unceasing wakened;
of the fate that fell, he faltering spake,
in the tangled thicket neath the twining thorns
when Morgoth's might was moved abroad.
Then his voice vanished veiled in mourning,
and lo! tears trickled on Túrin's face
till loosed at last were the leashed torrents
of his whelming woe. Long while he wept
soundless, shaken, the sand clutching
with griping fingers in grief unfathomed.
But Flinding the faithful feared no longer;
no comfort cold he kindly found,
for sleep swept him into slumber dead.
There a singing voice sweetly vexed him
and he woke and wondered: the watchfire faded;
the night was aging, nought was moving
but a song upsoaring in the soundless dark

went strong and stern to the starlit heaven.
'Twas Túrin that towering on the tarn's margin,
up high o'er the head of the hushed water
now falling faintly, let flare and echo
a song of sorrow and sad splendour,
the dirge of Beleg's deathless glory.
There wondrous wove he words enchanted,
that woods and water waked and answered,
the rocks were wrung with ruth for Beleg.
That song he sang is since remembered,
by Gnomes renewed in Nargothrond
it widely has wakened warfain armies
to battle with Bauglir – 'The Bowman's Friendship'.

'Tis told that Túrin then turned him back
and fared to Flinding, and flung him down
to sleep soundless till the sun mounted
to the high heavens and hasted westward.
A vision he viewed in the vast spaces
of slumber roving: it seemed he roamed
up the bleak boulders of a bare hillside
to a cup outcarven in a cruel hollow,
whose broken brink bushes limb-wracked
by the North-wind's knife in knotted anguish
did fringe forbidding. There black unfriendly
was a dark thicket, a dell of thorn-trees
with yews mingled that the years had fretted.
The leafless limbs they lifted hopeless
were blotched and blackened, barkless, naked,
a lifeless remnant of the levin's flame,
charred chill fingers changeless pointing
to the cold twilight.. There called he longing:
'O Beleg, my brother, O Beleg, tell me
where is buried thy body in these bitter regions?' –
and the echoes always him answered 'Beleg';
yet a veiléd voice vague and distant
he caught that called like a cry at night
o'er the sea's silence: 'Seek no longer.
My bow is rotten in the barrow ruinous;
my grove is burned by grim lightning;
here dread dwelleth, none dare profane
this angry earth, Orc nor goblin;

none gain the gate of the gloomy forest
by this perilous path; pass they may not,
yet my life has winged to the long waiting
in the halls of the Moon o'er the hills of the sea.
Courage be thy comfort, comrade lonely!'

Then he woke in wonder; his wit was healed,
courage him comforted, and he called aloud
Flinding go-Fuilin, to his feet striding.
There the sun slanted its silver arrows
through the wild tresses of the waters tumbling
roofed with a radiant rainbow trembling.
'Whither, O Flinding, our feet now turn we,
or dwell we for ever by the dancing water,
by the lake of laughter, alone, untroubled?'
'To Nargothrond of the Gnomes, methinks,'
said Flinding, 'my feet would fain wander,
that Celegorm and Curufin, the crafty sons
of Fëanor founded when they fled southward;
there built a bulwark against Bauglir's hate,
who live now lurking in league secret
with those five others in the forests of the East,
fell unflinching foes of Morgoth.
Maidros whom Morgoth maimed and tortured
is lord and leader, his left wieldeth
his sweeping sword; there is swift Maglor,
there Damrod and Díriel and dark Cranthir,
the seven seekers of their sire's treasure.
Now Orodreth rules the realms and caverns,
the numbered hosts of Nargothrond.
There to woman's stature will be waxen full
frail Finduilas the fleet maiden
his daughter dear, in his darkling halls
a light, a laughter, that I loved of yore,
and yet love in longing, and love calls me.'

Where Narog's torrent gnashed and spouted
down his stream bestrewn with stone and boulder,
swiftly southward they sought their paths,
and summer smiling smoothed their journey
through day on day, down dale and wood
where birds blithely with brimming music
thrilled and trembled in thronging trees.

No eyes them watched onward wending
till they gained the gorge where Ginglith turns
all glad and golden to greet the Narog.
There her gentler torrent joins his tumult,
and they glide together on the guarded plain
to the Hunters' Hills that high to southward
uprear their rocks robed in verdure.
There watchful waited the Wards of Narog,
lest the need of the Gnomes from the North should come,
for the sea in the South them safe guarded,
and eager Narog the East defended.
Their treegirt towers on the tall hilltops
no light betrayed in the trees lurking,
no horns hooted in the hills ringing
in loud alarm; a leaguer silent
unseen, stealthy, beset the stranger,
as of wild things wary that watch moveless,
then follow fleetly with feet of velvet
their heedless prey with padding hatred.
In this fashion fought they, phantom hunters
that wandering Orc and wild foeman
unheard harried, hemmed in ambush.
The slain are silent, and silent were the shafts
of the nimble Gnomes of Nargothrond,
who word or whisper warded sleepless
from their homes deep-hidden, that hearsay never
was to Bauglir brought. Bright hope knew they,
and east over Narog to open battle
no cause or counsel had called them yet,
though of shield and shaft and sheathéd swords,
of warriors wieldy now waxed their host
to power and prowess, and paths afar
their scouts and woodmen scoured in hunting.

Thus the twain were tracked till the trees thickened
and the river went rushing neath a rising bank,
in foam hastened o'er the feet of the hills.
In a gloom of green there they groped forward;
there his fate defended from flying death
Túrin Thalion – a twisted thong
of writhing roots enwrapped his foot;
as he fell there flashed, fleet, whitewingéd,

a shrill-shafted arrow that shore his hair,
and trembled sudden in a tree behind.
Then Flinding o'er the fallen fiercely shouted:
'Who shoots unsure his shafts at friends?
Flinding go-Fuilin of the folk of Narog
and the son of Húrin his sworn comrade
here flee to freedom from the foes of the North.'

His words in the woods awoke no echo;
no leaf there lisped, nor loosened twig
there cracked, no creak of crawling movement
stirred the silence. Still and soundless
in the glades about were the green shadows.
Thus fared they on, and felt that eyes
unseen saw them, and swift footsteps
unheard hastened behind them ever,
till each shaken bush or shadowy thicket
they fled furtive in fear needless,
for thereafter was aimed no arrow wingéd,
and they came to a country kindly tended;
through flowery frith and fair acres
they fared, and found of folk empty
the leas and leasows and the lawns of Narog,
the teeming tilth by trees enfolded
twixt hills and river. The hoes unrecked
in the fields were flung, and fallen ladders
in the long grass lay of the lush orchards;
every tree there turned its tangled head
and eyed them secretly, and the ears listened
of the nodding grasses; though noontide glowed
on land and leaf, their limbs were chilled.
Never hall or homestead its high gables
in the light uplifting in that land saw they,
but a pathway plain by passing feet
was broadly beaten. Thither bent their steps
Flinding go-Fuilin, whose feet remembered
that white roadway. In a while they reached
to the acres' end, that ever narrowing
twixt wall and water did wane at last
to blossomy banks by the borders of the way.
A spuming torrent, in spate tumbling
from the highest hill of the Hunters' Wold

clove and crossed it; there of carven stone
with slim and shapely slender archway
a bridge was builded, a bow gleaming
in the froth and flashing foam of Ingwil,
that headlong hurried and hissed beneath.
Where it found the flood, far-journeyed Narog,
there steeply stood the strong shoulders
of the hills, o'erhanging the hurrying water;
there shrouded in trees a sheer terrace,
wide and winding, worn to smoothness,
was fashioned in the face of the falling slope.
Doors there darkly dim gigantic
were hewn in the hillside; huge their timbers,
and their posts and lintels of ponderous stone.

They were shut unshakeable. Then shrilled a trumpet
as a phantom fanfare faintly winding
in the hill from hollow halls far under;
a creaking portal with clangour backward
was flung, and forth there flashed a throng,
leaping lightly, lances wielding,
and swift encircling seized bewildered
the wanderers wayworn, wordless haled them
through the gaping gateway to the glooms beyond.
Ground and grumbled on its great hinges
the door gigantic; with din ponderous
it clanged and closed like clap of thunder,
and echoes awful in empty corridors
there ran and rumbled under roofs unseen;
the light was lost. Then led them on
down long and winding lanes of darkness
their guards guiding their groping feet,
till the faint flicker of fiery torches
flared before them; fitful murmur
as of many voices in meeting thronged
they heard as they hastened. High sprang the roof.
Round a sudden turning they swung amazed,
and saw a solemn silent conclave,
where hundreds hushed in huge twilight
neath distant domes darkly vaulted
them wordless waited. There waters flowed
with washing echoes winding swiftly

amid the multitude, and mounting pale
for fifty fathoms a fountain sprang,
and wavering wan, with winking redness
flushed and flickering in the fiery lights,
it fell at the feet in the far shadows
of a king with crown and carven throne.

A voice they heard neath the vault rolling,
and the king them called: 'Who come ye here
from the North unloved to Nargothrond,
a Gnome of bondage and a nameless Man?
No welcome finds here wandering outlaw;
save his wish be death he wins it not,
for those that have looked on our last refuge
it boots not to beg other boon of me.'
Then Flinding go-Fuilin freely answered:
'Has the watch then waned in the woods of Narog,
since Orodreth ruled this realm and folk?
Or how have the hunted thus hither wandered,
if the warders willed it not thy word obeying;
or how hast not heard that thy hidden archer,
who shot his shaft in the shades of the forest,
there learned our lineage, O Lord of Narog,
and knowing our names his notched arrows
loosed no longer?' Then low and hushed
a murmur moved in the multitude,
and some were who said: 'Tis the same in truth:
the long looked-for, the lost is found,
the narrow path he knew to Nargothrond
who was born and bred here from babe to youth';
and some were who said: 'The son of Fuilin
was lost and looked for long years agone.
What sign or token that the same returns
have we heard or seen? Is this haggard fugitive
with back bended the bold leader,
the scout who scoured, scorning danger,
most far afield of the folk of Narog?'
'That tale was told us,' returned answer
the Lord Orodreth, 'but belief were rash.
That alone of the lost, whom leagues afar
the Orcs of Angband in evil bonds
have dragged to the deeps, thou darest home,

by grace or valour, from grim thraldom,
what proof dost thou proffer? What plea dost show
that a Man, a mortal, on our mansions hidden
should look and live, our league sharing?'

Thus the curse on the kindred for the cruel slaughter
at the Swans' Haven there swayed his heart,
but Flinding go-Fuilin fiercely answered:
'Is the son of Húrin, who sits on high
in a deathless doom dreadly chainéd,
unknown, nameless, in need of plea
to fend from him the fate of foe and spy?
Flinding the faithful, the far wanderer,
though form and face fires of anguish
and bitter bondage, Balrogs' torment,
have seared and twisted, for a song of welcome
had hoped in his heart at that home-coming
that he dreamed of long in dark labour.
Are these deep places to dungeons turned,
a lesser Angband in the land of the Gnomes?'

Thereat was wrath aroused in Orodreth's heart,
and the muttering waxed to many voices,
and this and that the throng shouted;
when sweet and sudden a song awoke,
a voice of music o'er that vast murmur
mounted in melody to the misty domes;
with clear echoes the caverned arches
it filled, and trembled frail and slender,
those words weaving of welcome home
that the wayweary had wooed from care
since the Gnomes first knew need and wandering.
Then hushed was the host; no head was turned,
for long known and loved was that lifted voice,
and Flinding knew it at the feet of the king
like stone graven standing silent
with heart laden; but Húrin's son
was waked to wonder and to wistful thought,
and searching the shadows that the seat shrouded,
the kingly throne, there caught he thrice
a gleam, a glimmer, as of garments white.
'Twas frail Finduilas, fleet and slender,
to woman's stature, wondrous beauty,

now grown in glory, that glad welcome
there raised in ruth, and wrath was stilled.
Locked fast the love had lain in her heart
that in laughter grew long years agone
when in the meads merrily a maiden played
with fleet-footed Fuilin's youngling.
No searing scars of sundering years
could blind those eyes bright with welcome,
and wet with tears wistful trembling
at the grief there graven in grim furrows
on the face of Flinding. 'Father,' said she,
'what dream of doubt dreadly binds thee?
'Tis Flinding go-Fuilin, whose faith of yore
none dared to doubt. This dark, lonely,
mournful-fated Man beside him
if his oath avows the very offspring
of Húrin Thalion, what heart in this throng
shall lack belief or love refuse?
But are none yet nigh us that knew of yore
that mighty of Men, mark of kinship
to seek and see in these sorrow-laden
form and features? The friends of Morgoth
not thus, methinks, through thirst and hunger
come without comrades, nor have countenance
thus grave and guileless, glance unflinching.'

Then did Túrin's heart tremble wondering
at the sweet pity soft and gentle
of that tender voice touched with wisdom
that years of yearning had yielded slow;
and Orodreth, whose heart knew ruth seldom,
yet loved deeply that lady dear,
gave ear and answer to her eager words,
and his doubt and dread of dire treachery,
and his quick anger, he quelled within him.
No few were there found who had fought of old
where Finweg fell in flame of swords,
and Húrin Thalion had hewn the throngs,
the dark Glamhoth's demon legions,
and who called there looked and cried aloud:
''Tis the face of the father new found on earth,
and his strong stature and stalwart arms;

though such care and sorrow never claimed his sire,
whose laughing eyes were lighted clear
at board or battle, in bliss or in woe.'
Nor could lack belief for long the words
and faith of Flinding when friend and kin
and his father hastening that face beheld.
Lo! sire and son did sweet embrace
neath trees entwining tangled branches
at the dark doorways of those deep mansions
that Fuilin's folk afar builded,
and dwelt in the deep of the dark woodland
to the West on the slopes of the Wold of Hunters.
Of the four kindreds that followed the king,
the watchtowers' lords, the wold's keepers
and the guards of the bridge, the gleaming bow
that was flung o'er the foaming froth of Ingwil,
from Fuilin's children were first chosen,
most noble of name, renowed in valour.

In those halls in the hills at that homecoming
mirth was mingled with melting tears
for the unyielding years whose yoke of pain
the form and face of Fuilin's son
had changed and burdened, chilled the laughter
that leapt once lightly to his lips and eyes.
Now in kindly love was care lessened,
with song assuaged sadness of hearts;
the lights were lit and lamps kindled
o'er the burdened board; there bade they feast
Túrin Thalion with his true comrade
at the long tables' laden plenty,
where dish and goblet on the dark-gleaming
wood well-waxéd, where the wine-flagons
engraven glistened gold and silver.
Then Fuilin filled with flowing mead,
dear-hoarded drink dark and potent
a carven cup with curious brim,
by ancient art of olden smiths
fairly fashioned, filled with marvels;
there gleamed and lived in grey silver
the folk of Faërie in the first noontide
of the Blissful Realms; with their brows wreathéd

in garlands golden with their gleaming hair
in the wind flying and their wayward feet
fitful flickering, on unfading lawns
the ancient Elves there everlasting
danced undying in the deep pasture
of the gardens of the Gods; there Glingol shone
and Bansil bloomed with beams shimmering,
mothwhite moonlight from its misty flowers;
the hilltops of Tûn there high and green
were crowned by Côr, climbing, winding,
town white-walléd where the tower of Ing
with pale pinnacle pierced the twilight,
and its crystal lamp illumined clear
with slender shaft the Shadowy Seas.
Through wrack and ruin, the wrath of the Gods,
through weary wandering, waste and exile,
had come that cup, carved in gladness,
in woe hoarded, in waning hope
when little was left of the lore of old.
Now Fuilin at feast filled it seldom
save in pledge of love to proven friend;
blithely bade he of that beaker drink
for the sake of his son that sate nigh him
Túrin Thalion in token sure
of a league of love long enduring.
'O Húrin's child chief of Hithlum,
with mourning marred, may the mead of the Elves
thy heart uplift with hope lightened;
nor fare thou from us the feast ended,
here deign to dwell; if this deep mansion
thus dark-dolven dimly vaulted
displease thee not, a place awaits thee.'
There deeply drank a draught of sweetness
Túrin Thalion and returned his thanks
in eager earnest, while all the folk
with loud laughter and long feasting,
with mournful lay or music wild
of magic minstrels that mighty songs
did weave with wonder, there wooed their hearts
from black foreboding; there bed's repose
their guest was granted, when in gloom silent
the light and laughter and the living voices

were quenched in slumber. Now cold and slim
the sickle of the Moon was silver tilted
o'er the wan waters that washed unsleeping,
nightshadowed Narog, the Gnome-river.
In tall treetops of the tangled wood
there hooted hollow the hunting owls.

Thus fate it fashioned that in Fuilin's house
the dark destiny now dwelt awhile
of Túrin the tall. There he toiled and fought
with the folk of Fuilin for Flinding's love;
lore long forgotten learned among them,
for light yet lingered in those leaguered places,
and wisdom yet lived in that wild people,
whose minds yet remembered the Mountains of the West
and the faces of the Gods, yet filled with glory
more clear and keen than kindreds of the dark
or Men unwitting of the mirth of old.

Thus Fuilin and Flinding friendship showed him,
and their halls were his home, while high summer
waned to autumn and the western gales
the leaves loosened from the labouring boughs;
the feet of the forest in fading gold
and burnished brown were buried deeply;
a restless rustle down the roofless aisles
sighed and whispered. Lo! the Silver Wherry,
the sailing Moon with slender mast,
was filled with fires as of furnace golden
whose hold had hoarded the heats of summer,
whose shrouds were shaped of shining flame
uprising ruddy o'er the rim of Evening
by the misty wharves on the margin of the world.
Thus the months fleeted and mightily he fared
in the forest with Flinding, and his fate waited
slumbering a season, while he sought for joy
the lore learning and the league sharing
of the Gnomes renowned of Nargothrond.

The ways of the woods he wandered far,
and the land's secrets he learned swiftly
by winter unhindered to weathers hardened,
whether snow or sleet or slanting rain

from glowering heavens grey and sunless
cold and cruel was cast to earth,
till the floods were loosed and the fallow waters
of sweeping Narog, swollen, angry,
were filled with flotsam and foaming turbid
passed in tumult; or twinkling pale
ice-hung evening was opened wide,
a dome of crystal o'er the deep silence
of the windless wastes and the woods standing
like frozen phantoms under flickering stars.
By day or night danger needless
he dared and sought for, his dread vengeance
ever seeking unsated on the sons of Angband;
yet as winter waxed wild and pathless,
and biting blizzards the bare faces
lashed and tortured of the lonely tors
and haggard hilltops, in the halls more often
was he found in fellowship with the folk of Narog,
and cunning there added in the crafts of hand,
and in subtle mastery of song and music
and peerless poesy, to his proven lore
and wise woodcraft; there wondrous tales
were told to Túrin in tongues of gold
in those mansions deep, there many a day
to the hearth and halls of the haughty king
did those friends now fare to feast and game,
for frail Finduilas her father urged
to his board and favour to bid those twain,
and it grudging her granted that grimhearted
king deep-counselled – cold his anger,
his ruth unready, his wrath enduring;
yet fierce and fell by the fires of hate
his breast was burned for the broods of Hell
(his son had they slain, the swift-footed
Halmir the hunter of hart and boar),
and kinship therein the king ere long
in his heart discovered for Húrin's son,
dark and silent, as in dreams walking
of anguish and regret and evergrowing
feud unsated. Thus favour soon
by the king accorded of the company of his board
he was member made, and in many a deed

and wild venture to West and North
he achieved renown among the chosen warriors
and fearless bowmen; in far battles
in secret ambush and sudden onslaught,
where fell-tonguéd flew the flying serpents,
their shafts envenomed, in valleys shrouded
he played his part, but it pleased him little,
who trusted to targe and tempered sword,
whose hand was hungry for the hilts it missed
but dared never a blade since the doom of Beleg
to draw or handle. Dear-holden was he,
though he wished nor willed it, and his works were praised.
When tales were told of times gone by,
of valour they had known, of vanished triumph,
glory half-forgot, grief remembered,
then they bade and begged him be blithe and sing
of deeds in Doriath in the dark forest
by the shadowy shores that shunned the light
where Esgalduin the Elf-river
by root-fencéd pools roofed with silence,
by deep eddies darkly gurgling,
flowed fleetly on past the frowning portals
of the Thousand Caves. Thus his thought recalled
the woodland ways where once of yore
Beleg the bowman had a boy guided
by slade and slope and swampy thicket
neath trees enchanted; then his tongue faltered
and his tale was stilled.

At Túrin's sorrow
one marvelled and was moved, a maiden fair
the frail Finduilas that Failivrin,
the glimmering sheen on the glassy pools
of Ivrin's lake the Elves in love
had named anew. By night she pondered
and by day wondered what depth of woe
lay locked in his heart his life marring;
for the doom of dread and death that had fallen
on Beleg the bowman in unbroken silence
Túrin warded, nor might tale be won
of Flinding the faithful of their fare and deeds
in the waste together. Now waned her love

for the form and face furrowed with anguish,
for the bended back and broken strength,
the wistful eyes and the withered laughter
of Flinding the faithful, though filled was her heart
with deepwelling pity and dear friendship.
Grown old betimes and grey-frosted,
he was wise and kindly with wit and counsel,
with sight and foresight, but slow to wrath
nor fiercely valiant, yet if fight he must
his share he shirked not, though the shreds of fear
in his heart yet hung; he hated no man,
but he seldom smiled, save suddenly a light
in his grave face glimmered and his glance was fired:
Finduilas maybe faring lightly
on the sward he saw or swinging pale,
a sheen of silver down some shadowy hall.*
Yet to Túrin was turned her troublous heart
against will and wisdom and waking thought:
in dreams she sought him, his dark sorrow
with love lightening, so that laughter shone
in eyes new-kindled, and her Elfin name
he eager spake, as in endless spring
they fared free-hearted through flowers enchanted
with hand in hand o'er the happy pastures
of that land that is lit by no light of Earth,
by no moon nor sun, down mazy ways
to the black abysmal brink of waking.

From woe unhealed the wounded heart
of Túrin the tall was turned to her.
Amazed and moved, his mind's secret
half-guessed, half-guarded, in gloomy hour
of night's watches, when down narrow winding
paths of pondering he paced wearily,
he would lonely unlock, then loyal-hearted
shut fast and shun, or shroud his grief
in dreamless sleep, deep oblivion
where no echo entered of the endless war
of waking worlds, woe nor friendship,
flower nor firelight nor the foam of seas,

* Here the B-typescript ends, and the remainder of the text is manuscript. See the Note on the Texts, p. 81.

a land illumined by no light at all.

'O! hands unholy, O! heart of sorrow,
O! outlaw whose evil is yet unatonéd,
wilt thou, troth-breaker, a treason new
to thy burden bind; thy brother-in-arms,
Flinding go-Fuilin thus foully betray,
who thy madness tended in mortal perils,
to thy waters of healing thy wandering feet
did lead at the last to lands of peace,
where his life is rooted and his love dwelleth?
O! stainéd hands his hope steal not!'

Thus love was fettered in loyal fastness
and coldly clad in courteous word;
yet he would look and long for her loveliness,
in her gentle words his joy finding,
her face watching when he feared no eye
might mark his mood. One marked it all –
Failivrin's face, the fleeting gleams,
like sun through clouds sailing hurriedly
over faded fields, that flickered and went out
as Túrin passed; the tremulous smiles,
his grave glances out of guarded shade,
his sighs in secret – one saw them all,
Flinding go-Fuilin, who had found his home
and lost his love to the lying years,
he watched and wondered, no word speaking,
and his heart grew dark 'twixt hate and pity,
bewildered, weary, in the webs of fate.
Then Finduilas, more frail and wan
twixt olden love now overthrown
and new refused, did nightly weep;
and folk wondered at the fair pallor
of the hands upon her harp, her hair of gold
on slender shoulders slipped in tumult,
the glory of her eyes that gleamed with fires
of secret thought in silent deeps.

Many bosoms burdened with foreboding vague
their glooms disowned neath glad laughter.
In song and silence, snow and tempest,
winter wore away; to the world there came

a year once more in youth unstained,
nor were leaves less green, light less golden,
the flowers less fair, though in faded hearts
no spring was born, though speeding nigh
danger and dread and doom's footsteps
to their halls hasted. Of the host of iron
came tale and tidings ever treading nearer;
Orcs unnumbered to the East of Narog
roamed and ravened on the realm's borders,
the might of Morgoth was moved abroad.
No ambush stayed them; the archers yielded
each vale by vale, though venomed arrows

Here both A and B end abruptly, and I think it is certain that no more of the poem was ever written.

★

NOTES

1409 *Tengwethil* B, *Taingwethil* A. This is the reverse of the previous occurrences; see lines 431, 636.

1417–18 These lines are bracketed in B, and line 1418 struck through; in the margin is a mark of deletion, but with a query beside it.

1448 *Nirnaith Únoth* A, and B as typed; emended in pencil in B to *Nirnaith Ornoth*. Earlier in the poem (lines 13, 218) the forms were *Nínin Udathriol* emended in B to *Nínin Unothradin* (also *Nirnaithos Unothradin* at line 13). Cf. line 1543.

1469 *Ulmo* A, and B as typed; in B *Ulmo* struck through in pencil and replaced by *Ylmir*, but this also struck through. I read *Ylmir*; see note to line 1529.

1525 *Túrin Thalion* A, and B as typed (not *Túrin Thaliodrin*, see note to line 1324).

1529 *Ylmir*: so already in A and B as typed; so also at lines 1534, 1553, 1572, 1585. See note to line 1469.

1537 This line was struck through in pencil in B.

1542–3 These lines were bracketed in pencil in B, and *Not so* written in margin. Though *Únoth* was not here emended I read *Ornoth* (see note to line 1448).

1558 *the sea-birds call in solemn conclave*: cf. the tale of *The Coming of the Elves and the Making of Kôr*, I. 124.

1673–6 Cf. lines 1036–9.

1696–7 Cf. lines 1283–4.

1710–11 Line 1710 is wholly and 1711 partly crossed out in B, with marginal additions to make 1711 read:

> [by] Felagund founded flying southward

Also written in the margin is: '*before* Nirnaith Únoth'. At line 1711 A has *found* for *founded*, but as the manuscript was written very rapidly this may not be significant.

1713–20 These lines are bracketed in B, as if needing revision, and two lines are written in the margin for insertion after 1715:

> that home came never to their halls of old
> since the field of tears was fought and lost.

I have not included these lines (written, it seems, at the same time as the other marginal comments in this passage) in the text in view of the complexity of the 'historical background' at this point; see the Commentary, pp. 84–5.

Against this passage is written in the margin:

> but Nargothrond was founded by *Felagund* Finrod's son (whose brothers were Angrod Egnor & Orodreth). Curufin and Celegorm dwelt at Nargothrond.

1719 *Cranthor* A, *Cranthir* B as typed.

1724 *Finduilas*: *Failivrin* A, and B as typed; *Finduilas* written in pencil in the margin of B; so also at line 1938. See lines 2130, 2175, 2199.

1938 *Finduilas*: as at line 1724.

1945 The word *youngling* is struck out in B and *Flinding* written against it, but the resulting *Fuilin's Flinding* (with alliteration in the second half-line) cannot possibly have been intended. Subsequently another word was written in the margin, but this is illegible.

1974–5 *Not so* written in the margin of B.

1975 *Finweg* A, and B as typed; late emendation to *Fingon* in B. I retain *Finweg* since that is still the name in the 1930 'Silmarillion'.

1993–8 In A and in B as typed these lines were differently ordered:

> Of the four kindreds that followed the king,
> most noble of name, renowned in valour,
> the watchtowers' lords, the wold's keepers
> from Fuilin's children were first chosen,
> and the guards of the bridge, the gleaming bow
> that was flung o'er the foaming froth of Ingwil.

2027 *Glingol* A, and B as typed; late emendation to *Glingal* in B. I retain *Glingol*, the form in the *Lost Tales* and still in the 1930

'Silmarillion'; in the published work *Glingal* is the name of the golden tree of Gondolin.

2028 *Bansil* A, and B as typed; late emendation to *Belthil* in B. I retain *Bansil* for the same reason as *Glingol* in line 2027.

2030 *there high and green the hill of Tûn* A, and B as typed; emended in pencil in B to the reading given; *was* 2031 not corrected to *were*, but that *hilltops* (plural) was intended is shown by the text C, see p. 82.

2130 I give *Finduilas*, though *Failivrin* was not so emended here in B, as it was at lines 1724, 1938. See notes to lines 2175. 2199.

2164 *Esgaduin* A, and B as typed; emended in pencil to *Esgalduin* in B.

2175 *the frail Finduilas that Failivrin* as typed B; *the frail Failivrin* changed at the time of writing in A to *Findóriel* (sc. *the frail Findóriel that Failivrin* &c.).

2199 *Finduilas* A and B; *Failivrin* written in the margin of A. At the subsequent occurrences (*Failivrin* 2242, *Finduilas* 2253) the names both in A and in B are as in the printed text.

Note on the texts of the section 'Failivrin'

B comes to an end as a typescript at line 2201, but continues as a well-written manuscript for a further 75 lines. This last part is written on the paper of good quality that my father used for many years in all his writing (University lectures, *The Silmarillion*, *The Lord of the Rings*, etc.) in ink or pencil (i.e. when not typing): this plain paper was supplied to him by the Examination Schools at Oxford University, being the unused pages of the booklets of paper provided for examination candidates. The change in paper does not show however that he had moved from Leeds to Oxford (cf. p. 3), since he acted as an external examiner at Oxford in 1924 and 1925; but it does suggest that the final work on the Lay (before *Leithian* was begun) dates from the latter part of the one year or the earlier part of the next. The conclusion of A is also written on this paper.

There is a further short text to be considered here, a well-written manuscript that extends from line 2005 to line 2225, which I will call 'C'. Textual details show clearly that C followed B – not, I think, at any long interval. Some emendations made to B were made to C also. I give here a list of the more important differences of C from B (small changes of punctuation and sentence-connection are not noticed).

C bears the title *Túrin in the House of Fuilin and his son Flinding*. It is not clear whether this was to be the title of a fourth section of the poem, but it seems unlikely, if the third section was to remain 'Failivrin'.

2005 *Now was care lessened in kindly love* C

2020 *noontide*] *summer* pencil emendation in C

2027–8 *Glingol* > *Glingal* and *Bansil* > *Belthil* pencil emendations in C as in B

2029 The original reading of B and C was *like magic moonlight from its mothwhite flowers*; this was differently emended in C, to *like moths of pearl in moonlit flowers*.

2030–2 C as written was exactly as the text of B after emendation (with *were* for *was* 2031); these lines were then crossed out and the following substituted:

> there high and green that hill by the sea
> was crowned by Tûn, climbing, winding
> in tall walls of white, where the tower of Ing

2036–53 are omitted in C (with *Thence* for *There* 2054).

2069 After *hunting owls* C has lines of omission dots, and the text takes up again at line 2081.

2083 *waned to autumn*] *waned towards winter* pencil emendations in C

2090 *as of furnace golden*] *as a furnace of gold* C

2114–16 are omitted in C.

2123–8 C omits 2124, 2125b–7, and reads:

> and in subtle mastery of song and music
> to his wise woodcraft and wielding of arms.
> To the hearth and halls of the haughty king

2135–8 C omits these lines (referring to Orodreth's son Halmir, slain by Orcs) and reads:

> his ruth unready, his wrath enduring.
> But kinship of mood the king ere long

2142b–2143a C omits these lines, and reads:

> of anguish and regret. Thus was honour granted
> by the king to Túrin; of the company of his board

2158 *were told*] *men told* emendation in C.

2164 *Esgalduin* C as written; see note to this line above.

Commentary on *Part III 'Failivrin'*

In this very remarkable section of the poem a great development has taken place in the story since the *Tale of Turambar* (if there was an intervening stage there is now no trace of it); while concurrently the history of the exiled Noldoli was being deepened and extended from its representation in the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* – a factor that compli-

cates the presentation of the poems, since statements about that history were often superseded during the long process of composition.

Most notable of all in this part of the poem is the description of Nargothrond, unique in the Lay. In all the later rewritings and restructurings of the Túrin saga this part was never touched, apart from the development of the relations between Túrin, Gwindor, and Finduilas which I have given in *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 155–9. In this there is a parallel to Gondolin, very fully described in the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin*, but never again. As I said in the introduction to *Unfinished Tales* (p. 5):

> It is thus the remarkable fact that the only full account that my father ever wrote of the story of Tuor's sojourn in Gondolin, his union with Idril Celebrindal, the birth of Eärendil, the treachery of Maeglin, the sack of the city, and the escape of the fugitives – a story that was a central element in his imagination of the First Age – was the narrative composed in his youth.

Gondolin and Nargothrond were each made once, and not remade. They remained powerful sources and images – the more powerful, perhaps, because never remade, and never remade, perhaps, because so powerful. Both *Tuor* and *Túrin* were indeed to receive written form outside the condensed *Silmarillion* as long prose narratives, and what my father achieved of this intention I have given in the first two sections of *Unfinished Tales*; but though he set out to remake Gondolin he never reached the city again: after climbing the endless slope of the Orfalch Echor and passing through the long line of heraldic gates he paused with Tuor at the vision of Gondolin amid the plain, and never recrossed Tumladen. The remaking of *Túrin* went much further, but here too he skirted the imaginative focus of Nargothrond.

The founding of Nargothrond

I shall discuss first the 'background' history, which centres on the complex question of the founding of Nargothrond. In the *Tale* (II.81–2) Nargothrond is not named, and is represented by the Caves of the Rodothlim; as in the poem, Orodreth was the chief of these Gnomes, but he was then an isolated figure, and not yet associated in kinship with other princes. Nothing is said there of the origin of the redoubt, but that it was imagined to have arisen (like Gondolin) after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears is, I think, certain, since in the earliest phase of the legends, as I remarked in commenting on *Gilfanon's Tale* (I.242),

> the entire later history of the long years of the Siege of Angband, ending with the Battle of Sudden Flame (Dagor Bragollach), of the passage of Men over the Mountains into Beleriand and their taking service with the Noldorin Kings, had yet to emerge; indeed these outlines give the effect of only a brief time elapsing between the

coming of the Noldoli from Kôr and their great defeat [in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears].

In the poem, this idea is still clearly present in lines 1542–4:

> the secret halls
> of Nargothrond by the Gnomes builded
> that death and thraldom in the dreadful throes
> of Nirnaith Ornoth, a number scanty,
> escaped unscathed.

Against this passage my father wrote 'Not so'; and this comment obviously means 'Nargothrond was *not* founded after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears', as is further shown by his note to lines 1710–11:

> (to Nargothrond)
> that Celegorm and Curufin, the crafty sons
> of Fëanor founded when they fled southward

against which he wrote: '*before* Nirnaith Únoth'. When, then, was it founded? The 'Sketch of the Mythology', certainly later than the poem (the background of which it was written to explain), already in its earliest form knows of the Leaguer of Angband and of Morgoth's breaking of the Leaguer – though described in the barest possible way, without any reference to the battle that ended it; and it is said there that at that time 'Gnomes and Ilkorins and Men are scattered . . . Celegorm and Curufin found the realm of Nargothrond on the banks of Narog in the south of the Northern lands.' The 'Sketch' (again, in its earliest, unrevised, form) also states that Celegorm and Curufin despatched a host from Nargothrond to the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, that this host joined with that of Maidros and Maglor, but 'arrived too late for the main battle'. 'They are beaten back and driven into the South-east, where they long time dwelt, and did not go back to Nargothrond. There Orodreth ruled the remnant.'

The problem is to explain how it comes about in the earlier story, as found in the poem (Nargothrond founded by Celegorm and Curufin *after* the Battle of Unnumbered Tears), that Celegorm and Curufin are no longer there when Túrin comes, and Orodreth is king. Why do they *live now lurking . . . in the forests of the East* with their five brothers (1713–14)?

The only explanation that I can put forward is as follows. When my father wrote lines 1542–4 his view was that Nargothrond was founded after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears (this is quite explicit). But when he wrote lines 1710–15

> (to Nargothrond)
> that Celegorm and Curufin, the crafty sons 1710
> of Fëanor founded when they fled southward;
> there built a bulwark against Bauglir's hate,

who live now lurking in league secret
with those five others in the forests of the East
fell unflinching foes of Morgoth 1715

the later story was already present. (There would be nothing uncharacteristic about this; in the *Lay of Leithian* the story changes from one Canto to the next.) Thus *when they fled southward* refers to the flight of Celegorm and Curufin from the battle that ended the Leaguer of Angband; *they live now lurking . . . in the forests of the East* refers to the period after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, when 'they did not go back to Nargothrond' and 'Orodreth ruled the remnant', as stated in the 'Sketch'.* On this view, my father's note against lines 1710–11 (*'before* Nirnaith Únoth') was mistaken – he took the lines to refer to the old story (as 1542–4 certainly do), whereas in fact they refer to the later. This explanation may seem far-fetched, but it is less so than the demonstrably correct solutions to other puzzles in the history of 'The Silmarillion', and I see no other way out of the difficulty. – The two additional lines to follow 1715:

that home came never to their halls of old
since the field of tears was fought and lost

refer (I think) to Celegorm and Curufin, and reinforce the reference to the later story (i.e. that after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears they did not return to Nargothrond).

The change of lines 1710–11 to make the passage read

(to Nargothrond)
by Felagund founded flying southward

and the marginal note against 1713–20 'but Nargothrond was founded by *Felagund* Finrod's son' etc., reflect of course a further stage, though a stage that came in soon after the 'Sketch' was first written. The essential shifts in the history of Nargothrond to this point are certainly thus:

(1) Orodreth ruled the Rodothlim in their caves, first inhabited after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears.

(2) Celegorm and Curufin founded Nargothrond after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears.

(3) Celegorm and Curufin founded Nargothrond after the breaking of the Leaguer of Angband; they went with a host to the Battle of Unnumbered Tears and did not return, but remained in the East; Orodreth ruled the remnant of the Gnomes of Nargothrond.

(4) Felagund son of Finrod and his brothers Angrod, Egnor, and

*Cf. lines 1873–4:
Has the watch then waned in the woods of Narog
since Orodreth ruled this realm and folk?

Orodreth founded Nargothrond after the breaking of the Leaguer of Angband; Celegorm and Curufin dwelt there.

Another sign of development in the history and genealogy of the Gnomish princes is the mention of *Finweg*, later emended in the B-text to *Fingon*, who *fell in flame of swords* at the Battle of Unnumbered Tears (1975). *Finweg* has appeared early in the poem (line 29), but there as a spelling or form of Finwë (Nólemë), founder of the line; this *Finweg* appears in the 'Sketch', as originally written, as the son of Fingolfin.

The Sons of Fëanor have previously all been named only in the *Tale of the Nauglafring* (II. 241); now (1716 ff.), with *Cranthir* (emended from *Cranthor* in B), and *Díriel* for earlier *Dinithel (?Durithel)*, they reach the forms they long retained. Characteristic epithets appear: Maglor is 'swift', Cranthir 'dark', and Curufin's 'craftiness', already appearing in the *Tale of the Nauglafring*, extends here to Celegorm. Maidros' wielding his sword with his left hand is mentioned, which clearly implies that the story that Morgorth had him hung from a cliff by his right hand, and that Finweg (> Fingon) rescued him, was already present, as it is in the 'Sketch'. His torment and maiming was mentioned in the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* (I. 238, 240), but not described.

To turn now to the foreground narrative of this part of the poem. The poem advances on the *Tale* by mentioning the disposal of Beleg's sword, not mentioned in the *Tale*; but here Flinding hides it in the hollow of a tree (1342), and it plays no further part in the story. If the poem had gone further Túrin would have received his black sword in Nargothrond in gift from Orodreth, as happens in the *Tale* (II. 83). In the *Tale* it is said that Túrin 'had not wielded a sword since the slaying of Beleg, but rather had he been contented with a mighty club'; in the poem this reappears with the implication made explicit (2155–6):

> dared never a blade since the doom of Beleg
> to draw or handle.

The burial of Beleg now appears, with his great bow beside him (1399 ff.), and Túrin's kiss survives from the *Tale*; that the mark of his grief over the death of Beleg (called the third of his sorrows, 1421) never left his face was an enduring feature of the legend.

Geography

In the *Tale* (II. 80–1) very little is made of the journey of Flinding and Túrin from the place of Beleg's death to Nargothrond: by the light of Flinding's lamp they 'fared by night and hid by day and were lost in the hills, and the Orcs found them not'. In the poem, on the other hand, the journey is quite fully described, and contains some noteworthy features; moreover there is nothing in the description that contradicts the earliest

'Silmarillion' map (to be given in the next volume), which dates from this period and may have been made originally in association with this poem. The wanderers pass at midnight by the Mound of Slain, looming up under the moon *at the furthest end / of Dor-na-Fauglith's dusty spaces* (1439–40); this feature does not recur again in the story of Túrin. The only previous reference to the great burial-mound is in the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale*, where it is called the Hill of Death, and was raised by the Sons of Feanor (I. 241). It is said in the poem that Túrin despite his heavy listlessness *turned his hand / toward Thangorodrim* at Flinding's words concerning the Mound, and cursed Morgoth thrice – as did Fëanor in the hour of his death after the Battle-under-Stars (*The Silmarillion* p. 107); the one was doubtless the precursor of the other. The inviolability of the Mound now appears (1450–2).

Túrin and Flinding now crossed Sirion not far from his source in the Shadowy Mountains, where the river was fordable (1457 ff.); this is the first reference to Sirion's Well. Sirion's great journey to the Sea is described, with references to his passage underground (1467; cf. II. 195, 217) and through lands *beloved of Ylmir* (Ulmo). The travellers then find themselves in Nan Dungorthin, which was mentioned in the *Tale of Tinúviel* (see II. 35, 62–3): Huan found Beren and Tinúviel after their escape from Angband in 'that northward region of Artanor that was called afterward Nan Dumgorthin, the land of the dark idols', 'even then a dark land and gloomy and foreboding, and dread wandered beneath its lowering trees'. My father hesitated long about the placing of this land: in the Gnomish dictionary it was east of Artanor (II. 62), in the *Tale of Tinúviel* a 'northward region of Artanor', while here it is west of Sirion, in a valley of the southern slopes of the Shadowy Mountains. In the earliest 'Silmarillion' map Nan Dungorthin was first likewise placed west of Sirion (west of the Isle of Werewolves), before being returned once more to the region north of Doriath, where it remained.

It is said that when Túrin and Flinding climbed out of the vale of Nan Dungorthin they *southward saw the slopes of Hithlum / more warm and friendly* (1496–7). At first sight this seems difficult to understand, but I think that the meaning is: they were indeed on *the slopes of Hithlum* at the time (i.e. below the southern faces of the Shadowy Mountains that fenced Hithlum), but looking southward (actually southwestward) they saw more agreeable regions further along the foothills, towards Ivrin. This is the first appearance of Ivrin, source of the Narog, and it is seen very clearly. The line (1537) giving the meaning of *Narog* (Gnomish, 'torrent') was struck out, but this (I think) was because my father felt that it was intrusive, not that the etymology was rejected. In this connection it may be mentioned that in a list of Old English equivalents of Elvish names, composed some years after the time of the present poem and associated with Ælfwine's translations of Elvish texts into his own language, occur *Narog*: *Hlýda* and *Nargothrond*: *Hlýdingaburg*. Hlýda was the name in Old English of March ('the noisy

is the first appearance of this stream (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 122: 'the short and foaming stream Ringwil tumbled headlong into Narog from the High Faroth'), and the bridge over it is mentioned nowhere else.

The Land of the Dead that Live (Beren and Tinúviel after their return) is now placed in the Hills of the Hunters (1545–6), where it was originally placed also on the map. This land was moved even more often than was Nan Dungorthin. In the *Tale of the Nauglafring* it was in Hisilómë (but with a note on the manuscript saying that it must be placed in 'Doriath beyond Sirion', II. 249); in the *Tale of Tinúviel* Beren and Tinúviel 'became mighty fairies in the lands about the north of Sirion' (II. 41). From the Hills of the Hunters it would subsequently be moved several times more.

Before leaving the Narog, we meet here for the first time in narrative writing the name *Nan-Tathrin* (1548), in the *Lost Tales* always called by its name in Eldarissa, *Tasarinan* (but *Nantathrin* occurs in the Gnomish dictionary, I. 265, entry *Sirion* and *Dor-tathrin* in the Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin*, II. 346).

Far fuller than in any later account is the story in the poem of the sojourn of Túrin and his companion at Ivrin, and much that lies behind the passage in *The Silmarillion* (p. 209) is here revealed. In *The Silmarillion* Túrin drank from the water of Ivrin and was at last able to weep, and his madness passed; then he made a song for Beleg (*Laer Cú Beleg*, the Song of the Great Bow), 'singing it aloud heedless of peril'; and then he asked Gwindor who he was. In the Lay all these features of the story are present, somewhat differently ordered. Flinding describes to Túrin the courses of Narog and Sirion and the protection of Ulmo, and Túrin feels some return of hope (1586–7); they hasten down to the lake and drink (1599–1600); and *from the meshes of misery his mind was loosed* (1602). In the early night, as they sat beside their fire by the pools of Ivrin, Túrin asked Flinding his name and fate, and it was Flinding's reply that led Túrin at last to weep. Flinding fell asleep, but woke towards the end of the night to hear Túrin singing the dirge of Beleg by the edge of the lake (and here the song is called 'the Bowman's Friendship'). Túrin then himself fell asleep, and in his sleep he returned to the terrible place on the edge of Taur-na-Fuin where he slew Beleg, seeking the place of his burial and the lightning-blackened trees, and heard the voice of Beleg far off telling him to seek no longer but to take comfort in courage.

> Then he woke in wonder; his wit was healed,
> courage him comforted, and he called aloud
> Flinding go-Fuilin, to his feet striding. (1699–1701)

The structure of the episode in the Lay is firm and clear, the images strong and enduring. I said in the introduction to *Unfinished Tales* that it was grievous that my father went no further, in the later Tale of Tuor,

is the first appearance of this stream (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 122: 'the short and foaming stream Ringwil tumbled headlong into Narog from the High Faroth'), and the bridge over it is mentioned nowhere else.

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The structure of the episode in the Lay is firm and clear, the images strong and enduring. I said in the introduction to *Unfinished Tales* that it was grievous that my father went no further, in the later Tale of Tuor,

than the coming of Tuor and Voronwë to the last gate and Tuor's sight of Gondolin across the plain. It is no less grievous that he never retold, in his later prose, the story of Túrin and Gwindor at the Lake of Ivrin. The passage in *The Silmarillion* is no substitute; and it is only from this poem that we can fully grasp the extremity of the disaster for Túrin, that he had killed his friend.

The description in the poem of the stealth and secrecy of the defenders of Nargothrond is derived, in concept, from the *Tale* (II. 81). In the *Tale*

> the spies and watchers of the Rodothlim . . . gave warning of their approach, and the folk withdrew before them, such as were abroad from their dwelling. Then they closed their doors and hoped that the strangers might not discover their caves . . .

When Flinding and Túrin came to the mouths of the caves,

> the Rodothlim sallied and made them prisoners and drew them within their rocky halls, and they were led before the chief, Orodreth.

All this is taken up into the poem and greatly elaborated; there is also the incident of Túrin's stumbling on a root and thus being missed by the arrow aimed at him, and Flinding's cry of reproach to the unseen archers, after which they were not further molested. It is perhaps not so clear in the poem as in the *Tale* that the farmlands and orchards of Nargothrond were deserted lest the travellers should find the entrance to the caves, especially since a *pathway plain by passing feet/was broadly beaten* (1808–9) – though it is said that the throng in the great hall of Nargothrond was waiting for them (1856). Moreover, in the *Tale* they were not attacked. As the story is told in the poem, one might wonder why the hidden archers in the woods, if they believed Flinding's cry sufficiently to withhold their arrows, did not emerge at that point and conduct them as prisoners to the caves. The new element of the arrow shot in the woods has not, I think, been altogether assimilated to the old account of the timorous withdrawal of the Rodothlim in the hope that Túrin and Flinding would not find the entrance. But the passage describing the 'home-fields' of Nargothrond is of great interest in itself, for rarely are there references to the agriculture of the peoples of Middle-earth in the Elder Days.

The great Doors of Nargothrond are here first described – the triple doors of timber as my father imagined them are seen in his drawing of the entrance made in Dorset in the summer of 1928, and (in a different conception) *their posts and lintels of ponderous stone* (1830) in the watercolour of the same period referred to above (*Pictures* nos 33, 34).

In the *Tale* the fear and suspicion among the Rodothlim of Noldoli who had been slaves is attributed to 'the evil deeds of the Gnomes at Cópas Alqalunten', and this element reappears in the poem (1903–4).

Nevertheless, there is no suggestion in the *Tale* of any serious questioning of the identity and goodwill of Flinding, greatly changed in aspect though he was, so that 'few knew him again'. In the poem, on the other hand, Orodreth emerges as hostile and formidable, and his character is carefully outlined: he is quick to anger (1973) but his wrath is cold and long-enduring (2133–4), he is seldom moved to pity (1969, 2134), grim-hearted and deep-counselled (2132–3), but capable of deep love (1970) as also of fierce hate (2135). Afterwards, as the legends developed, Orodreth underwent a steady decline into weakness and insignificance, which is very curious. Many years later, when meditating the development of the Túrin saga, my father noted that Orodreth was 'rather a weak character'; cf. the *Narn*, p. 160: 'he turned as he ever did to Túrin for counsel'. Ultimately he was to be displaced as the second King of Nargothrond (*Unfinished Tales* p. 255, note 20). But all this is a far cry from the hard and grim king in his underground hall depicted in the poem; Felagund had not yet emerged, nor the rebellious power of Celegorm and Curufin in Nargothrond (see further p. 246).

The killing of Orodreth's son Halmir the hunter by Orcs (2137–8; omitted in the C-text, p. 82) is a new element, which will reappear, though not found in *The Silmarillion*, where the name *Halmir* is borne by a ruler of the People of Haleth.

In the *Tale*, as I noticed in my commentary (II. 124),

> Failivrin is already present, and her unrequited love for Túrin, but the complication of her former relation with Gwindor is quite absent, and she is not the daughter of Orodreth the King but of one Galweg (who was to disappear utterly).

In the poem Galweg has already disappeared, and Failivrin has become Orodreth's daughter, loved by Flinding and returning his love before his captivity; and it is her plea to her father before the assembled multitude that sways the king and leads to the admission of Flinding and Túrin to Nargothrond. Of this intervention there is probably a trace in the very condensed account in *The Silmarillion* (p. 209):

> At first his own people did not know Gwindor, who went out young and strong, and returned now seeming as one of the aged among mortal Men, because of his torments and his labours; but Finduilas daughter of Orodreth the King knew him and welcomed him, for she had loved him before the Nirnaeth, and so greatly did Gwindor love her beauty that he named her Faelivrin, which is the gleam of the sun on the pools of Ivrin.

In the poem she is called *Failivrin* in A and B as written, emended or not in B to *Finduilas* (1724, 1938, 2130), but the name *Finduilas* emerges towards the end in the texts as first written (2175, 2199), and *Failivrin (the glimmering sheen on the glassy pools / of Ivrin's lake)* is the name by which the Elves renamed *Finduilas*.

In the Lay as in the *Tale* there is no hiding of Túrin's identity, as there is in *The Silmarillion*, where he checked Gwindor, when Gwindor would declare his name, saying that he was Agarwaen, the Bloodstained, son of Úmarth, Ill-fate (p. 210). Finduilas (Failivrin) asks:

> But are none yet nigh us that knew of yore
> that mighty of Men [Húrin], mark of kinship
> to seek and see in these sorrow-laden
> form and features? (1958–61)

and then

> No few were there found who had fought of old
> where Finweg fell in flame of swords
> and Húrin Thalion had hewn the throngs,
> the dark Glamhoth's demon legions (1974–7)

and they declared that Turin's face was *the face of the father new found on earth*. Against the second of these passages my father wrote in the margin: 'Not so.' This is a comment on the idea that there were many Gnomes in Nargothrond who had fought in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears (see pp. 84–5); according to the later story scarcely any went from Nargothrond, and of the small company that did none came back, save Flinding/Gwindor himself. – In *The Silmarillion* (p. 210) Túrin is not said to be the image of his father; on the contrary,

> he was in truth the son of Morwen Eledhwen to look upon: dark-haired and pale-skinned, with grey eyes.

Cf. also the *Narn*, p. 161, where Túrin said to Arminas:

> But if my head be dark and not golden, of that I am not ashamed. For I am not the first of sons in the likeness of his mother.

Húrin himself was

> shorter in stature than other men of his kin; in this he took after his mother's people, but in all else he was like Hador his grandfather, fair of face and golden-haired, strong in body and fiery of mood (*Narn* p. 57).

But Túrin was already conceived to be dark-haired in the Lay:

> the black-haired boy from the beaten people (417)

and in the second version of the poem Húrin also has *dark tresses* (p. 97, line 88).

At the feast of welcome in the house of Fuilin Flinding's father, deep in the woods on the slopes of the Hunters' Wold (1989–92), Fuilin filled with mead a great ancient silver cup that had come from Valinor:

carved in gladness,
in woe hoarded, in waning hope
when little was left of the lore of old. (2038–40)

It was of such things as that cup, carved with images of *the folk of Faërie in the first noontide / of the Blissful Realms*, of the Two Trees, and of the tower of Ing on the hill of Côr, that my father was thinking when he wrote of the treasures that Finrod Felagund brought out of Tirion (*The Silmarillion* p. 114); 'a solace and a burden on the road' (*ibid.* p. 85). – This is the first reference to the tower of Ing (Ingwë, see p. 28) in the Elvish city, whose

pale pinnacle pierced the twilight,
and its crystal lamp illumined clear
with slender shaft the Shadowy Seas (2033–5)

as afterwards the silver lamp of the Mindon Eldaliéva 'shone far out into the mists of the sea' (*The Silmarillion* p. 59).

According to the readings of the A and B texts at lines 2030–2 the hill on which the Elvish city was built, figured on Fuilin's cup, is *Tûn*, crowned by the white-walled city of Côr; and this is anomalous, since the name *Tûn* certainly arose as the name of the city (see II. 292), and in the 'Sketch of the Mythology' and the 1930 'Silmarillion' Kôr is the hill and Tûn the city. In the C-text of the poem, however, these lines were changed, and the city is named Tûn (p. 82).

The elaboration at the end of the relationship of Túrin and Finduilas is an indication of the large scale on which this work was planned: seeing how much in bare narrative terms is yet to come (the fall of Nargothrond, the Dragon, the loss of Finduilas, Túrin's journey to Dor-lómin, Morwen and Nienor in Doriath and the journey to Nargothrond, the enspelling of Nienor, Túrin and Nienor among the Woodmen, the coming and death of the Dragon, and the deaths of Nienor and Túrin) it must have run to many more thousands of lines.

There remain a few isolated matters. The name *Esgalduin* now first appears, but the form in A and B as typed (2164), *Esgaduin*, is the original name. The C-text has *Esgalduin* (p. 82).

The Moon is seen in lines 2088–94 as a ship, the Silver Wherry, with mast, hold, and shrouds, sailing from wharves on the margin of the world; but the imagery has no real point of contact with the Ship of the Moon in the *Tale of the Sun and Moon* (I. 192–3).

Ulmo is now called *Ylmir* (first appearing by emendation in B at line 1469, but thereafter in both A and B as first written); in the 'Sketch' he first appears as *Ulmo (Ylmir)*, thereafter as *Ylmir*, suggesting that at this time *Ylmir* was the Gnomish form of his name (in the Gnomish dictionary it was *Gulma*, I. 270). He is also called *the Dweller in the Deep* at line

1565, as he is in the later *Tuor* (*Unfinished Tales* pp. 22, 28). Flinding mentions messages from Ulmo that are heard at Ivrin, and says that Ulmo *alone remembers in the Lands of Mirth / the need of the Gnomes* (1531 ff.); cf. the *Tale*, II. 77.

Lastly may be noticed Túrin's words of parting to Beleg at his burial (1408–11), in which he foresees for him an afterlife in Valinor, in the halls of the Gods, and does not speak of a time of 'waiting'; cf. lines 1283–4, 1696–7.

THE SECOND VERSION OF THE CHILDREN OF HÚRIN

This version of the poem (II) is extant in a bundle of very rough manuscript notes (IIA), which do not constitute a complete text, and a typescript (IIB) – the twin of the typescript (IB) of the first version, done with the same distinctive purple ribbon – based on IIA. That II is a later work than I is obvious from a casual scrutiny – to give a single example, the name *Morwen* appears thus both in IIA and IIB. As I have said (p. 4), I do not think that II is significantly later than I, and may indeed have been composed before my father ceased work on I.* Towards the end of II the amount of expansion and change from I becomes very much less, but it seems best to give II in full.

The text of the opening of the second version is complicated by the existence of two further texts, both extending from lines II. 1–94. The earlier of these is another typescript (IIC), which takes up emendations made to IIB and is itself emended: the second is a manuscript (IID) written on 'Oxford' paper (see p. 81), which takes up the changes made to IIC and introduces yet further changes. At the beginning of the poem, therefore, we have lines that exhibit a continuous development through six different texts, as for example line 18 in the first version, which is line 34 in the second:

IA Yet in host upon host the hillfiends, the orcs *emended in the manuscript to*:

Yet in host upon host the hillfiend orcs

IB There in host on host the hill-fiend Orcs

*The only external evidence for date (other than the physical nature of the texts, which were clearly made at Leeds, not at Oxford) is the fact that a page of IIA is written on the back of a formal letter from *The Microcosm* (a Leeds literary quarterly, in which my father published the poem *The City of the Gods* in the Spring 1923 issue, see I. 136) acknowledging receipt of a subscription for 1922; the letter was evidently written in 1923.

IIA but in host on host from the hills of darkness (*with* from the hills swarming *as an alternative*)

IIB but in host on host from the hills swarming

IIC *as IIB but emended on the typescript to*:

and in host on host from the hills swarming

IID In host upon host from the hills swarming

The majority of the changes throughout the successive texts of the poem were made for metrical reasons – in the later revisions, especially for the removal of 'little words', to achieve an effect nearer to that of Old English lines, and to get rid of metrical aids such as *-éd* pronounced as a separate syllable; and as I have said, the provision of a full apparatus would be exceedingly lengthy and complex (and in places scarcely possible, for the actual texts are often more obscure than appears in print). For the second version of the poem, therefore, I give the text of IID (the last one) to its end at line 94 (since the changes from IIB though pervasive are extremely minor), and continue thereafter with IIB (the major typescript of the second version); and as before purely verbal/metrical alterations that have no bearing on the story or on names are not cited in the notes.

IIA has no title; in IIB it was TÚRIN, then THE CHILDREN OF HÚRIN, which is also the title in IIC and IID.

The 'Prologue', greatly expanded in the second version, is still given no subheading, except that in IIC it is marked 'I'; in IIB *Túrin's Fostering* is a section-heading, to which my father afterwards added 'II'.

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THE CHILDREN OF HÚRIN

I

Ye Gods who girt your guarded realms
with moveless pinnacles, mountains pathless,
o'er shrouded shores sheer uprising
of the Bay of Faëry on the borders of the World!
Ye Men unmindful of the mirth of yore,
wars and weeping in the worlds of old,
of Morgoth's might remembering nought!
Lo! hear what Elves with ancient harps,
lingering forlorn in lands untrodden,
fading faintly down forest pathways,
in shadowy isles on the Shadowy Seas,

sing still in sorrow of the son of Húrin,
how his webs of doom were woven dark
with Níniel's sorrow: names most mournful.

A! Húrin Thalion in the hosts of battle
was whelmed in war, when the white banners
of the ruined king were rent with spears,
in blood beaten; when the blazing helm
of Finweg fell in flame of swords,
and his gleaming armies' gold and silver
shields were shaken, shining emblems
in darkling tide of dire hatred,
the cruel Glamhoth's countless legions,
were lost and foundered – their light was quenched!
That field yet now the folk name it
Nirnaith Ornoth, Unnumbered Tears:
the seven chieftains of the sons of Men
fled there and fought not, the folk of the Elves
betrayed with treason. Their troth alone
unmoved remembered in the mouths of Hell
Thalion Erithámrod and his thanes renowned.
Torn and trampled the triple standard
of the house of Hithlum was heaped with slain.
In host upon host from the hills swarming
with hideous arms the hungry Orcs
enmeshed his might, and marred with wounds
pulled down the proud Prince of Mithrim.
At Bauglir's bidding they bound him living;
to the halls of Hell neath the hills builded,
to the Mountains of Iron, mournful, gloomy,
they led the lord of the Lands of Mist,
Húrin Thalion, to the throne of hate
in halls upheld with huge pillars
of black basalt. There bats wandered,
worms and serpents enwound the columns;
there Bauglir's breast was burned within
with blazing rage, baulked of purpose:
from his trap had broken Turgon the mighty,
Fingolfin's son; Fëanor's children,
the makers of the magic and immortal gems.
For Húrin standing storm unheeding,
unbent in battle, with bitter laughter

his axe wielded – as eagle's wings
the sound of its sweep, swinging deadly;
as livid lightning it leaped and fell,
as toppling trunks of trees riven
his foes had fallen. Thus fought he on,
where blades were blunted and in blood foundered
the Men of Mithrim; thus a moment stemmed
with sad remnant the raging surge
of ruthless Orcs, and the rear guarded,
that Turgon the terrible towering in anger
a pathway clove with pale falchion
from swirling slaughter. Yea! his swath was plain
through the hosts of Hell, as hay that is laid
on the lea in lines, where long and keen
goes sweeping scythe. Thus seven kindreds,
a countless company, that king guided
through darkened dales and drear mountains
out of ken of his foes – he comes no more
in the tale of Túrin. Triumph of Morgoth
thus to doubt was turned, dreams of vengeance,
thus his mind was moved with malice fathomless,
thoughts of darkness, when the Thalion stood
bound, unbending, in his black dungeon.

Said the dread Lord of Hell: 'Dauntless Húrin,
stout steel-handed, stands before me
yet quick a captive, as a coward might be!
Then knows he my name, or needs be told
what hope he has in the halls of iron?
The bale most bitter, Balrogs' torment!'

Then Húrin answered, Hithlum's chieftain –
his shining eyes with sheen of fire
in wrath were reddened: 'O ruinous one,
by fear unfettered I have fought thee long,
nor dread thee now, nor thy demon slaves,
fiends and phantoms, thou foe of Gods!'
His dark tresses, drenched and tangled,
that fell o'er his face he flung backward,
in the eye he looked of the evil Lord –
since that day of dread to dare his glance
has no mortal Man had might of soul.
There the mind of Húrin in a mist of dark

neath gaze unfathomed groped and foundered,*
yet his heart yielded not nor his haughty pride.
But Lungorthin Lord of Balrogs
on the mouth smote him, and Morgoth smiled:
'Nay, fear when thou feelest, when the flames lick thee
and the whistling whips thy white body
and wilting flesh weal and torture!'
Then hung they helpless Húrin dauntless
in chains by fell enchantments forged
that with fiery anguish his flesh devoured,
yet loosed not lips locked in silence
to pray for pity. Thus prisoned saw he
on the sable walls the sultry glare
of far-off fires fiercely burning
down deep corridors and dark archways
in the blind abysses of those bottomless halls;
there with mourning mingled mighty tumult
the throb and thunder of the thudding forges'
brazen clangour; belched and spouted
flaming furnaces; there faces sad
through the glooms glided as the gloating Orcs
their captives herded under cruel lashes.
Many a hopeless glance on Húrin fell,
for his tearless torment many tears were spilled.

Lo! Morgoth remembered the mighty doom,
the weird of old, that the Elves in woe,
in ruin and wrack by the reckless hearts
of mortal Men should be meshed at last;
that treason alone of trusted friend
should master the magic whose mazes wrapped
the children of Côr, cheating his purpose,
from defeat fending Fingolfin's son,
Turgon the terrible, and the troth-brethren
the sons of Fëanor, and secret, far,
homes hid darkly in the hoar forest
where Thingol was throned in the Thousand Caves.

Then the Lord of Hell lying-hearted
to where Húrin hung hastened swiftly,

*Here the latest text IID ends, and IIB is followed from this point; see p. 95.

and the Balrogs about him brazen-handed
with flails of flame and forgéd iron
there laughed as they looked on his lonely woe;
but Bauglir said: 'O bravest of Men,
'tis fate unfitting for thus fellhanded
warrior warfain that to worthless friends
his sword he should sell, who seek no more
to free him from fetters or his fall avenge.
While shrinking in the shadows they shake fearful
in the hungry hills hiding outcast
their league belying, lurking faithless,
he by evil lot in everlasting
dungeons droopeth doomed to torment
and anguish endless. That thy arms unchained
I had fainer far should a falchion keen
or axe with edge eager flaming
wield in warfare where the wind bloweth
the banners of battle – such a brand as might
in my sounding smithies on the smitten anvil
of glowing steel to glad thy soul
be forged and fashioned, yea, and fair harness
and mail unmatched – than that marred with flails
my mercy waiving thou shouldst moan enchained
neath the brazen Balrogs' burning scourges:
who art worthy to win reward and honour
as a captain of arms when cloven is mail
and shields are shorn, when they shake the hosts
of their foes like fire in fell onset.
Lo! receive my service; forswear hatred,
ancient enmity thus ill-counselled –
I am a mild master who remembers well
his servants' deeds. A sword of terror
thy hand should hold, and a high lordship
as Bauglir's champion, chief of Balrogs,
to lead o'er the lands my loud armies,
whose royal array I already furnish;
on Turgon the troll (who turned to flight
and left thee alone, now leaguered fast
in waterless wastes and weary mountains)
my wrath to wreak, and on redhanded
robber-Gnomes, rebels, and roaming Elves,
that forlorn witless the Lord of the World

defy in their folly – they shall feel my might.
I will bid men unbind thee, and thy body comfort!
Go follow their footsteps with fire and steel,
with thy sword go search their secret dwellings;
when in triumph victorious thou returnest hither,
I have hoards unthought-of' – but Húrin Thalion
suffered no longer silent wordless;
through clenchéd teeth in clinging pain,
'O accursed king', cried unwavering,
'thy hopes build not so high, Bauglir;
no tool am I for thy treasons vile,
who tryst nor troth ever true holdest–
seek traitors elsewhere.'

Then returned answer
Morgoth amazed his mood hiding:
'Nay, madness holds thee; thy mind wanders;
my measureless hoards are mountains high
in places secret piled uncounted
agelong unopened; Elfin silver
and gold in the gloom there glister pale;
the gems and jewels once jealous-warded
in the mansions of the Gods, who mourn them yet,
are mine, and a meed I will mete thee thence
of wealth to glut the Worm of Greed.'

Then Húrin, hanging, in hate answered:
'Canst not learn of thy lore when thou look'st on a foe,
O Bauglir unblest? Bray no longer
of the things thou hast thieved from the Three Kindreds!
In hate I hold thee. Thou art humbled indeed
and thy might is minished if thy murderous hope
and cruel counsels on a captive sad
must wait, on a weak and weary man.'
To the hosts of Hell his head then he turned:
'Let thy foul banners go forth to battle,
ye Balrogs and Orcs; let your black legions
go seek the sweeping sword of Turgon.
Through the dismal dales you shall be driven wailing
like startled starlings from the stooks of wheat.
Minions miserable of master base,
your doom dread ye, dire disaster!
The tide shall turn; your triumph brief

and victory shall vanish. I view afar
the wrath of the Gods roused in anger.'

Then tumult awoke, a tempest wild
in rage roaring that rocked the walls;
consuming madness seized on Morgoth,
yet with lowered voice and leering mouth
thus Thalion Erithámrod he threatened darkly:
'Thou hast said it! See how my swift purpose
shall march to its mark unmarred of thee,
nor thy aid be asked, overweening
mortal mightless. I command thee gaze
on my deeds of power dreadly proven.
Yet if little they like thee, thou must look thereon
helpless to hinder or thy hand to raise,
and thy lidless eyes lit with anguish
shall not shut for ever, shorn of slumber
like the Gods shall gaze there grim, tearless,
on the might of Morgoth and the meed he deals
to fools who refuse fealty gracious.'

To Thangorodrim was the Thalion borne,
that mountain that meets the misty skies
on high over the hills that Hithlum sees
blackly brooding on the borders of the North.
There stretched on the stone of steepest peak
in bonds unbreakable they bound him living;
there the lord of woe in laughter stood,
there cursed him for ever and his kindred all
that should walk and wander in woe's shadow
to a doom of death and dreadful end.
There the mighty man unmovéd sat,
but unveiled was his vision that he viewed afar
with eyes enchanted all earthly things,
and the weird of woe woven darkly
that fell on his folk – a fiend's torment.

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NOTES

14 After this line IIB had the following:

> how the golden dragon of the God of darkness
> wrought wrack and ruin in realms now lost –
> only the mighty of soul, of Men or Elves,
> doom can conquer, and in death only.

These lines were struck out in IIB, and do not appear in IIC, IID.

19 Cf. I. 1975:

> where Finweg fell in flame of swords

with *Finweg* > *Fingon* a later pencilled change in IB. All the texts of II have *Finweg* (IIA *Fingweg*), but *Fingon* appears in a late pencilled emendation to IID.

26 *Nirnaith Únoth* IIB, IIC; *Nirnaith Ornoth* IID, emended in pencil to *Nirnaith Arnediad*. For *Únoth*, *Ornoth* in the first version see p. 79, notes to lines 1448, 1542–3. I read *Ornoth* here, since *Arnediad* is a form that arose much later.

27 All the texts of II have *the chosen chieftains of the children of Men*, but IID is emended in pencil to *the seven chieftains of the sons of Men*.

49 *Fingolfin's son*: see p. 21, note to line 29.
Fëanor's children IID; *and Fëanor's children* IIA, B, C.

76 *'Is it dauntless Húrin,' quoth Delu-Morgoth* IIB, as in IB (line 51).

157 *as a captain among them* IIB as typed. Cf line 165.

Commentary on Part I of the second version

This part has been expanded to two and a half times its former length, partly through the introduction of descriptions of Angband (42–5, 105–15) – to be greatly enlarged some years later in the *Lay of Leithian*, and of Húrin's last stand (51–61), but chiefly through the much extended account of Morgoth's dealings with Húrin, his attempted seduction of 'the Thalion', and his great rage (not found at all in the first version) at his failure to break his will. The rewritten scene is altogether fiercer, the sense of lying, brutality, and pain (and the heroic power of Húrin's resistance) much stronger.

There are some interesting details in this opening section. Húrin's dark hair (88) has been referred to above (p. 92). The *thane of Morgoth* who smote him on the mouth (version I, 59) now becomes *Lungorthin, Lord of Balrogs* (96) – which is probably to be interpreted as 'a

Balrog lord', since Gothmog, Lord or Captain of the Balrogs in *The Fall of Gondolin*, soon reappears in the 'Silmarillion' tradition. Notable is the passage (88–94) in which Húrin, thrusting back his long hair, looked into Morgoth's eye, and his mind *in a mist of dark . . . groped and foundered*: the originator of the power of the eye of Glórund his servant, which this poem did not reach.

A line that occurs much later in the first version (1975)

where Finweg [> Fingon] fell in flame of swords

is introduced here (19), and there is mention also of his *white banners . . . in blood beaten*, and his *blazing helm*: this is ultimately the origin of the passage in *The Silmarillion* (pp. 193–4):

> a white flame sprang up from the helm of Fingon as it was cloven . . . they beat him into the dust with their maces, and his banner, blue and silver, they trod into the mire of his blood.

At line 26 is the first occurrence of *Nirnaith Arnediad*, but this is a hasty pencilled change to the last text (IID) and belongs to a later phase of nomenclature.

It is said that Turgon guided *seven kindreds* (67) out of the battle; in the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* there were twelve kindreds of the Gondothlim.

Húrin is named the Prince of Mithrim (37), and his men the Men of Mithrim (59). This may suggest that the meaning of Mithrim, hitherto the name of the lake only, was being extended to the region in which the lake lay; on the earliest 'Silmarillion' map, however, this is not suggested. *The land of Mithrim* occurs at line 248, but the phrase was changed.

The passage in the first version (46–50) saying that Morgoth

remembered well
how Men were accounted all mightless and frail
by the Elves and their kindred; how only treason
could master the magic whose mazes wrapped
the children of Corthûn

is changed in the second (118–24) to

Lo! Morgoth remembered the mighty doom,
the weird of old, that the Elves in woe,
in ruin and wrack by the reckless hearts
of mortal Men should be meshed at last;
that treason alone of trusted friend
should master the magic whose mazes wrapped
the children of Côr

There has been no reference in the *Lost Tales* to any such ancient 'doom' or 'weird'. It is possible that the reference to 'treason' is to the 'Prophecy of the North', spoken by Mandos or his messenger as the host of the

Noldor moved northward up the coast of Valinor after the Kinslaying (*The Silmarillion* pp. 87–8); in the earliest version of this, in the tale of *The Flight of the Noldoli* (I. 167), there is no trace of the idea, but it is already explicit in the 1930 'Silmarillion' that the Gnomes should pay for the deeds at Swanhaven in 'treachery and the fear of treachery among their own kindred'. On the other hand, to *the mighty doom, the weird of old* is ascribed also the ultimate ruin of the Elves which is to come to pass through Men; and this is not found in any version of the Prophecy of the North. This passage in the revised version of the poem is echoed in the same scene in the 1930 'Silmarillion':

> Afterward Morgoth remembering that treachery or the fear of it, and especially the treachery of Men, alone would work the ruin of the Gnomes, came to Húrin . . .

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II

TÚRIN'S FOSTERING

Lo! the lady Morwen in the land of shadow
waited in the woodland for her well-beloved,
but he came never to clasp her nigh
from that black battle. She abode in vain;
no tidings told her whether taken or dead
or lost in flight he lingered yet.
Laid waste his lands and his lieges slain,
and men unmindful of that mighty lord
in Dorlómin dwelling dealt unkindly
with his wife in widowhood; she went with child,
and a son must succour sadly orphaned,
Túrin Thalion of tender years.
In days of blackness was her daughter born,
and named Nienor, a name of tears
that in language of eld is Lamentation.
Then her thoughts were turned to Thingol the Elf,
and Lúthien the lissom with limbs shining,
his daughter dear, by Dairon loved,
who Tinúviel was named both near and far,
the Star-mantled, still remembered,
who light as leaf on linden tree
had danced in Doriath in days agone,
on the lawns had lilted in the long moonshine,

while deftly was drawn Dairon's music
with fingers fleet from flutes of silver.
The boldest of the brave, Beren Ermabwed,
to wife had won her, who once of old
had vowed fellowship and friendly love
with Húrin of Hithlum, hero dauntless
by the marge of Mithrim's misty waters.
Thus to her son she said: 'My sweetest child,
our friends are few; thy father is gone.
Thou must fare afar to the folk of the wood,
where Thingol is throned in the Thousand Caves.
If he remember Morwen and thy mighty sire
he will foster thee fairly, and feats of arms,
the trade he will teach thee of targe and sword,
that no slave in Hithlum shall be son of Húrin.
A! return my Túrin when time passeth;
remember thy mother when thy manhood cometh
or when sorrows snare thee.' Then silence took her,
for fears troubled her trembling voice.
Heavy boded the heart of Húrin's son,
who unwitting of her woe wondered vaguely,
yet weened her words were wild with grief
and denied her not; no need him seemed.

Lo! Mailrond and Halog, Morwen's henchmen,
were young of yore ere the youth of Húrin,
and alone of the lieges of that lord of Men
now steadfast in service stayed beside her:
now she bade them brave the black mountains
and the woods whose ways wander to evil;
though Túrin be tender, to travail unused,
they must gird them and go. Glad they were not,
but to doubt the wisdom dared not openly
of Morwen who mourned when men saw not.

Came a day of summer when the dark silence
of the towering trees trembled dimly
to murmurs moving in the milder airs
far and faintly; flecked with dancing
sheen of silver and shadow-filtered
sudden sunbeams were the secret glades
where winds came wayward wavering softly
warm through the woodland's woven branches.

Then Morwen stood, her mourning hidden,
by the gate of her garth in a glade of Hithlum;
at her breast bore she her babe unweaned,
crooning lowly to its careless ears
a song of sweet and sad cadence,
lest she droop for anguish. Then the doors opened,
and Halog hastened neath a heavy burden,
and Mailrond the old to his mistress led
her gallant Túrin, grave and tearless,
with heart heavy as stone hard and lifeless,
uncomprehending his coming torment.
There he cried with courage, comfort seeking:
'Lo! quickly will I come from the courts afar,
I will long ere manhood lead to Morwen
great tale of treasure and true comrades.'
He wist not the weird woven of Morgoth,
nor the sundering sorrow that them swept between,
as farewells they took with faltering lips.
The last kisses and lingering words
are over and ended; and empty is the glen
in the dark forest, where the dwelling faded
in trees entangled. Then in Túrin woke
to woe's knowledge his bewildered heart,
that he wept blindly awakening echoes
sad resounding in sombre hollows,
as he called: 'I cannot, I cannot leave thee.
O! Morwen my mother, why makest me go?
The hills are hateful, where hope is lost;
O! Morwen my mother, I am meshed in tears,
for grim are the hills and my home is gone.'
And there came his cries calling faintly
down the dark alleys of the dreary trees,
that one there weeping weary on the threshold
heard how the hills said 'my home is gone.'

* * *

The ways were weary and woven with deceit
o'er the hills of Hithlum to the hidden kingdom
deep in the darkness of Doriath's forest,
and never ere now for need or wonder
had children of Men chosen that pathway,
save Beren the brave who bounds knew not

to his wandering feet nor feared the woods
or fells or forest or frozen mountain,
and few had followed his feet after.
There was told to Túrin that tale by Halog
that in the Lay of Leithian, Release from Bonds,
in linkéd words has long been woven,
of Beren Ermabwed, the boldhearted;
how Lúthien the lissom he loved of yore
in the enchanted forest chained with wonder –
Tinúviel he named her, than nightingale
more sweet her voice, as veiled in soft
and wavering wisps of woven dusk
shot with starlight, with shining eyes
she danced like dreams of drifting sheen,
pale-twinkling pearls in pools of darkness;
how for love of Lúthien he left the woods
on that quest perilous men quail to tell,
thrust by Thingol o'er the thirst and terror
of the Lands of Mourning; of Lúthien's tresses,
and Melian's magic, and the marvellous deeds
that after happened in Angband's halls,
and the flight o'er fell and forest pathless
when Carcharoth the cruel-fangéd,
the wolf-warden of the Woeful Gates,
whose vitals fire devoured in torment
them hunted howling (the hand of Beren
he had bitten from the wrist where that brave one held
the nameless wonder, the Gnome-crystal
where light living was locked enchanted,
all hue's essence. His heart was eaten,
and the woods were filled with wild madness
in his dreadful torment, and Doriath's trees
did shudder darkly in the shrieking glens);
how the hound of Hithlum, Huan wolf-bane,
to the hunt hasted to the help of Thingol,
and as dawn came dimly in Doriath's woods
was the slayer slain, but silent lay
there Beren bleeding nigh brought to death,
till the lips of Lúthien in love's despair
awoke him to words, ere he winged afar
to the long awaiting; thence Lúthien won him,
the Elf-maiden, and the arts of Melian,

her mother Mablui of the moonlit hand,
that they dwell for ever in days ageless
and the grass greys not in the green forest
where East or West they ever wander.
Then a song he made them for sorrow's lightening,
a sudden sweetness in the silent wood,
that is 'Light as Leaf on Linden' called,
whose music of mirth and mourning blended
yet in hearts does echo. This did Halog sing them:*

The grass was very long and thin,
The leaves of many years lay thick,
The old tree-roots wound out and in,
And the early moon was glimmering.
There went her white feet lilting quick,
And Dairon's flute did bubble thin,
As neath the hemlock umbels thick
Tinúviel danced a-shimmering.

The pale moths lumbered noiselessly,
And daylight died among the leaves,
As Beren from the wild country
Came thither wayworn sorrowing.
He peered between the hemlock sheaves,
And watched in wonder noiselessly
Her dancing through the moonlit leaves
And the ghostly moths a-following.

There magic took his weary feet,
And he forgot his loneliness,
And out he danced, unheeding, fleet,
Where the moonbeams were a-glistening.
Through the tangled woods of Elfinesse
They fled on nimble fairy fėet,
And left him to his loneliness
In the silent forest listening,

Still hearkening for the imagined sound
Of lissom feet upon the leaves,

* For the textual history of this poem's insertion into the Lay see the Note on pp. 120–2.

For music welling underground
In the dim-lit caves of Doriath.
But withered are the hemlock sheaves,
And one by one with mournful sound
Whispering fall the beechen leaves
In the dying woods of Doriath.

He sought her wandering near and far
Where the leaves of one more year were strewn,
By winter moon and frosty star
With shaken light a-shivering.
He found her neath a misty moon,
A silver wraith that danced afar,
And the mists beneath her feet were strewn
In moonlight palely quivering.

She danced upon a hillock green
Whose grass unfading kissed her feet,
While Dairon's fingers played unseen
O'er his magic flute a-flickering;
And out he danced, unheeding, fleet,
In the moonlight to the hillock green:
No impress found he of her feet
That fled him swiftly flickering.

And longing filled his voice that called
'Tinúviel, Tinúviel,'
And longing sped his feet enthralled
Behind her wayward shimmering.
She heard as echo of a spell
His lonely voice that longing called
'Tinúviel, Tinúviel':
One moment paused she glimmering.

And Beren caught that elfin maid
And kissed her trembling starlit eyes,
Tinúviel whom love delayed
In the woods of evening morrowless.
Till moonlight and till music dies
Shall Beren by the elfin maid
Dance in the starlight of her eyes
In the forest singing sorrowless.

Wherever grass is long and thin,
  And the leaves of countless years lie thick,
And ancient roots wind out and in,
  As once they did in Doriath,
Shall go their white feet lilting quick,
  But never Dairon's music thin
Be heard beneath the hemlocks thick
  Since Beren came to Doriath.

This for hearts' uplifting did Halog sing them
as the frowning fortress of the forest clasped them
and nethermost night in its net caught them.
There Túrin and the twain knew torture of thirst
and hunger and fear, and hideous flight
from wolfriders and wandering Orcs
and the things of Morgoth that thronged the woods.
There numbed and wetted they had nights of waking
cold and clinging, when the creaking winds
summer had vanquished and in silent valleys
a dismal dripping in the distant shadows
ever splashed and spilt over spaces endless
from rainy leaves, till arose the light
greyly, grudgingly, gleaming thinly
at drenching dawn. They were drawn as flies
in the magic mazes; they missed their ways
and strayed steerless, and the stars were hid
and the sun sickened. Sombre and weary
had the mountains been; the marches of Doriath
bewildered and wayworn wound them helpless
in despair and error, and their spirits foundered.
Without bread or water with bleeding feet
and fainting strength in the forest straying
their death they deemed it to die forwandered,
when they heard a horn that hooted afar
and dogs baying. Lo! the dreary bents
and hushed hollows to the hunt wakened,
and echoes answered to eager tongues,
for Beleg the bowman was blowing gaily,
who furthest fared of his folk abroad
by hill and by hollow ahunting far,
careless of comrades or crowded halls,
as light as a leaf, as the lusty airs

as free and fearless in friendless places.
He was great of growth with goodly limbs
and lithe of girth, and lightly on the ground
his footsteps fell as he fared towards them
all garbed in grey and green and brown.

'Who are ye?' he asked. 'Outlaws, maybe,
hiding, hunted, by hatred dogged?'

'Nay, for famine and thirst we faint,' said Halog,
'wayworn and wildered, and wot not the road.
Or hast not heard of the hills of slain,
field tear-drenchéd where in flame and terror
Morgoth devoured the might and valour
of the hosts of Finweg and Hithlum's lord?
The Thalion Erithámrod and his thanes dauntless
there vanished from the earth, whose valiant lady
yet weeps in widowhood as she waits in Hithlum.
Thou lookest on the last of the lieges of Morwen,
and the Thalion's child who to Thingol's court
now wend at the word of the wife of Húrin.'

Then Beleg bade them be blithe, saying:
'The Gods have guided you to good keeping;
I have heard of the house of Húrin undaunted,
and who hath not heard of the hills of slain,
of Nirnaith Ornoth, Unnumbered Tears!
To that war I went not, yet wage a feud
with the Orcs unending, whom mine arrows fleeting
smite oft unseen swift and deadly.
I am the hunter Beleg of the hidden people;
the forest is my father and the fells my home.'
Then he bade them drink from his belt drawing
a flask of leather full-filled with wine
that is bruised from the berries of the burning South –
the Gnome-folk know it, from Nogrod the Dwarves
by long ways lead it to the lands of the North
for the Elves in exile who by evil fate
the vine-clad valleys now view no more
in the land of Gods. There was lit gladly
a fire, with flames that flared and spluttered,
of wind-fallen wood that his wizard's cunning
rotten, rain-sodden, to roaring life

there coaxed and kindled by craft or magic;
there baked they flesh in the brands' embers;
white wheaten bread to hearts' delight
he haled from his wallet till hunger waned
and hope mounted, but their heads were mazed
by that wine of Dor-Winion that went in their veins,
and they soundly slept on the soft needles
of the tall pinetrees that towered above.
Then they waked and wondered, for the woods were light,
and merry was the morn and the mists rolling
from the radiant sun. They soon were ready
long leagues to cover. Now led by ways
devious winding through the dark woodland,
by slade and slope and swampy thicket,
through lonely days, long-dragging nights,
they fared unfaltering, and their friend they blessed,
who but for Beleg had been baffled utterly
by the magic mazes of Melian the Queen.
To those shadowy shores he showed the way
where stilly the stream strikes before the gates
of the cavernous court of the King of Doriath.
Over the guarded bridge he gained them passage,
and thrice they thanked him, and thought in their hearts
'the Gods are good' – had they guessed, maybe,
what the future enfolded, they had feared to live.

To the throne of Thingol were the three now come;
there their speech well sped, and he spake them fair,
for Húrin of Hithlum he held in honour,
whom Beren Ermabwed as a brother had loved
and remembering Morwen, of mortals fairest,
he turned not Túrin in contempt away.
There clasped him kindly the King of Doriath,
for Melian moved him with murmured counsel,
and he said: 'Lo, O son of the swifthanded,
the light in laughter, the loyal in need,
Húrin of Hithlum, thy home is with me,
and here shalt sojourn and be held my son.
In these cavernous courts for thy kindred's sake
thou shalt dwell in dear love, till thou deemest it time
to remember thy mother Morwen's loneliness;
thou shalt wisdom win beyond wit of mortals,

and weapons shalt wield as the warrior-Elves,
nor slave in Hithlum shall be son of Húrin.'

There the twain tarried that had tended the child,
till their limbs were lightened and they longed to fare
through dread and danger to their dear lady,
so firm their faith. Yet frore and grey
eld sat more heavy on the aged head
of Mailrond the old, and his mistress' love
his might matched not, more marred by years
than Halog he hoped not to home again.
Then sickness assailed him and his sight darkened:
'To Túrin I must turn my troth and fealty,'
he said and he sighed, 'to my sweet youngling';
but Halog hardened his heart to go.
An Elfin escort to his aid was given,
and magics of Melian, and a meed of gold,
and a message to Morwen for his mouth to bear,
words of gladness that her wish was granted,
and Túrin taken to the tender care
of the King of Doriath; of his kindly will
now Thingol called her to the Thousand Caves
to fare unfearing with his folk again,
there to sojourn in solace till her son be grown;
for Húrin of Hithlum was holden in mind
and no might had Morgoth where Melian dwelt.

Of the errand of the Elves and of eager Halog
the tale tells not, save in time they came
to Morwen's threshold. There Thingol's message
was said where she sat in her solitary hall,
but she dared not do as was dearly bidden,
who Nienor her nursling yet newly weaned
would not leave nor be led on the long marches
to adventure her frailty in the vast forest;
the pride of her people, princes ancient,
had suffered her send a son to Thingol
when despair urged her, but to spend her days
an almsguest of others, even Elfin kings,
it little liked her; and lived there yet
a hope in her heart that Húrin would come,
and the dwelling was dear where he dwelt of old;
at night she would listen for a knock at the doors

or a footstep falling that she fondly knew.
Thus she fared not forth; thus her fate was woven.
Yet the thanes of Thingol she thanked nobly,
nor her shame showed she, how shorn of glory
to reward their wending she had wealth too scant,
but gave them in gift those golden things
that last lingered, and led they thence
a helm of Húrin once hewn in wars
when he battled with Beren as brother and comrade
against ogres and Orcs and evil foes.
Grey-gleaming steel, with gold adorned
wrights had wrought it, with runes graven
of might and victory, that a magic sat there
and its wearer warded from wound or death,
whoso bore to battle brightly shining
dire dragon-headed its dreadful crest.
This Thingol she bade and her thanks receive.

Thus Halog her henchman to Hithlum came,
but Thingol's thanes thanked her lowly
and girt them to go, though grey winter
enmeshed the mountains and the moaning woods,
for the hills hindered not the hidden people.
Lo! Morwen's message in a month's journey,
so speedy fared they, was spoken in Doriath.
For Morwen Melian was moved to ruth,
but courteously the king that casque received,
her golden gift, with gracious words,
who deeply delved had dungeons filled
with elvish armouries of ancient gear,
yet he handled that helm as his hoard were scant:
'That head were high that upheld this thing
with the token crowned, the towering crest
to Dorlómin dear, the dragon of the North,
that Thalion Erithámrod the thrice renowned
oft bore into battle with baleful foes.
Would that he had worn it to ward his head
on that direst day from death's handstroke!'
Then a thought was thrust into Thingol's heart,
and Túrin was called and told kindly
that his mother Morwen a mighty thing
had sent to her son, his sire's heirloom,

o'er-written with runes by wrights of yore
in dark dwarfland in the deeps of time,
ere Men to Mithrim and misty Hithlum
o'er the world wandered; it was worn aforetime
by the father of the fathers of the folk of Húrin,
whose sire Gumlin to his son gave it
ere his soul severed from his sundered heart –
'Tis Telchar's work of worth untold,
its wearer warded from wound or magic,
from glaive guarded or gleaming axe.
Now Húrin's helm hoard till manhood
to battle bids thee, then bravely don it,
go wear it well!' Woeful-hearted
did Túrin touch it but take it not,
too weak to wield that mighty gear,
and his mind in mourning for Morwen's answer
was mazed and darkened.

Thus many a day
it came to pass in the courts of Thingol
for twelve years long that Túrin lived.
But seven winters their sorrows had laid
on the son of Húrin when that summer to the world
came glad and golden with grievous parting;
nine years followed of his forest-nurture,
and his lot was lightened, for he learned at whiles
from faring folk what befell in Hithlum,
and tidings were told by trusty Elves
how Morwen his mother knew milder days
and easement of evil, and with eager voice
all Nienor named the Northern flower,
the slender maiden in sweet beauty
now graceful growing. The gladder was he then
and hope yet haunted his heart at whiles.
He waxed and grew and won renown
in all lands where Thingol as lord was held
for his stoutness of heart and his strong body.
Much lore he learned and loved wisdom,
but fortune followed him in few desires;
oft wrong and awry what he wrought turnéd,
what he loved he lost, what he longed for failed,
and full friendship he found not with ease,

nor was lightly loved, for his looks were sad;
he was gloomy-hearted and glad seldom
for the sundering sorrow that seared his youth.

On manhood's threshold he was mighty-thewed
in the wielding of weapons; in weaving song
he had a minstrel's mastery, but mirth was not in it,
for he mourned the misery of the Men of Hithlum.
Yet greater his grief grew thereafter
when from Hithlum's hills he heard no more
and no traveller told him tidings of Morwen.
For those days were drawing to the doom of the Gnomes
and the power of the Prince of the pitiless kingdom,
of the grim Glamhoth, was grown apace,
till the lands of the North were loud with their noise,
and they fell on the folk with fire and slaughter
who bent not to Bauglir or the borders passed
of dark Dorlómin with its dreary pines
that Hithlum was called by the unhappy people.
There Morgoth shut them in the Shadowy Mountains,
fenced them from Faërie and the folk of the wood.
Even Beleg fared not so far abroad
as once was his wont, for the woods were filled
with the armies of Angband and with evil deeds,
and murder walked on the marches of Doriath;
only the mighty magic of Melian the Queen
yet held their havoc from the hidden people.

To assuage his sorrow and to sate his rage,
for his heart was hot with the hurts of his folk,
then Húrin's son took the helm of his sire
and weapons weighty for the wielding of men,
and he went to the woods with warrior-Elves,
and far in the forest his feet led him
into black battle yet a boy in years.
Ere manhood's measure he met and he slew
Orcs of Angband and evil things
that roamed and ravened on the realm's borders.
There hard his life, and hurts he lacked not,
the wounds of shaft and the wavering sheen
of the sickle scimitars, the swords of Hell,
the bloodfain blades on black anvils
in Angband smithied, yet ever he smote

unfey, fearless, and his fate kept him.
Thus his prowess was proven and his praise was noised
and beyond his years he was yielded honour,
for by him was holden the hand of ruin
from Thingol's folk, and Thû feared him,
and wide wandered the word of Túrin:
'Lo! we deemed as dead the dragon of the North,
but high o'er the host its head uprises,
its wings are spread! Who has waked this spirit
and the flame kindled of its fiery jaws?
Or is Húrin of Hithlum from Hell broken?'
And Thû who was throned as thane mightiest
neath Morgoth Bauglir, whom that master bade
'go ravage the realm of the robber Thingol
and mar the magic of Melian the Queen',
even Thû feared him, and his thanes trembled.

One only was there in war greater,
more high in honour in the hearts of the Elves
than Túrin son of Húrin, tower of Hithlum,
even the hunter Beleg of the hidden people,
whose father was the forest and the fells his home;
to bend whose bow, Balthronding named,
that the black yewtree once bore of yore,
had none the might; unmatched in knowledge
of the woods' secrets and the weary hills.
He was leader beloved of the light companies
all garbed in grey and green and brown,
the archers arrowfleet with eyes piercing,
the scouts that scoured scorning danger
afar o'er the fells their foemen's lair,
and tales and tidings timely won them
of camps and councils, of comings and goings,
all the movements of the might of Morgoth Bauglir.
Thus Túrin, who trusted to targe and sword,
who was fain of fighting with foes well seen,
where shining swords made sheen of fire,
and his corslet-clad comrades-in-arms
were snared seldom and smote unlooked-for.

Then the fame of the fights on the far marches
was carried to the courts of the king of Doriath,
and tales of Túrin were told in his halls,

of the bond and brotherhood of Beleg the ageless
with the blackhaired boy from the beaten people.
Then the king called them to come before him
did Orc-raids lessen in the outer lands
ever and often unasked to hastën,
to rest them and revel and to raise awhile
in songs and lays and sweet music
the memory of the mirth ere the moon was old,
when the mountains were young in the morning of the world.

On a time was Túrin at his table seated,
and Thingol thanked him for his thriving deeds;
there was laughter long and the loud clamour
of a countless company that quaffed the mead
and the wine of Dor-Winion that went ungrudged
in their golden goblets; and goodly meats
there burdened the boards neath blazing torches
in those high halls set that were hewn of stone.
There mirth fell on many; there minstrels clear
did sing them songs of the city of Côr
that Taingwethil towering mountain
o'ershadowed sheerly, of the shining halls
where the great gods sit and gaze on the world
from the guarded shores of the gulf of Faërie.
One sang of the slaying at the Swans' Haven
and the curse that had come on the kindreds since

Here the typescript IIB ends abruptly, in the middle of a page; the manuscript IIA has already ended at line 767.

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NOTES

The first page of the typescript of this section of the poem, covering lines 248–95, is duplicated, the one version (b) taking up changes made to the other (a) and itself receiving further changes. There is no corresponding text of IIA until line 283.

248 *in the land of Mithrim* (a), and (b) as typed. The emendation in (b) reverts to the reading of the first version (105), *in the Land of Shadows*.

265 *Dairon's sister* (a), and (b) as typed.

266–8 These three lines were inserted in (b), with change of *who had danced* 269 to *had danced*. See below, *Note on the poem 'Light as Leaf on Lindentree'*.

273 *Ermabweth* (a), and (b) as typed. The emendation in (b) to *Ermabwed* reverts to the form of the name in the *Lost Tales* and in the first version of the poem (121).

274–8 As typed, (a) was virtually identical with the first version lines 122–5. This was then changed to read:

> did win her to wife, who once of old
> fellowship had vowed and friendly love
> Elf with mortal, even Egnor's son
> with Húrin of Hithlum, hunting often
> by the marge of Mithrim's misty waters.
> Thus said she to her son . . .

This passage was then typed in (b), with change of *hunting often* to *hero dauntless*. Subsequently the line *Elf with mortal, even Egnor's son* was struck out, and other minor changes made to give the text printed.

294 *Mailrond*: *Mailgond* IIA, IIB; I read *Mailrond* in view of the emendations at lines 319, 596.

319 *Mailrond*: *Mailgond* IIA, and IIB as typed, emended in pencil to *Mailrond*; similarly at line 596.

356 *Release from Bondage* IIB as typed (the change to *Release from Bonds* was made for metrical reasons). The reference to the *Lay of Leithian* is not in IIA, but the manuscript is here so scrappy and disjointed as to be of no service.

358–66 These nine lines are typed on a slip pasted into IIB, replacing the following which were struck out:

> how Lúthien the lissom he loved of yore
> in the enchanted forest chained with wonder
> as she danced like dreams of drifting whiteness
> of shadows shimmering shot with moonlight;

In the first line (358) of the inserted slip *the boldhearted* is an emendation of *brave undaunted*; and above *Ermabwed* is written (later, in pencil) *Er(h)amion*.

374 *Carcharoth*: *Carcharolch* IIA, and IIB as typed.

398–402 These five lines are typed on a slip pasted into IIB at the same time as that giving lines 358–66, but in this case there was nothing replaced in the original typescript. Line 400 as typed read:

> that 'Light as Leaf on Lind' is called

emended to the reading given.

Beneath the five typed lines my father wrote: 'Here follow verses "Light as leaf on linden-tree".'

Note on the poem 'Light as Leaf on Lindentree'
Lines 266–8 (see note above) were clearly added to the typescript at the same time as the two pasted-in slips (giving lines 358–66 and 398–402), in view of line 268 *who light as leaf on linden tree*.

This poem, here to be inset into the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, is found in three typescripts, here referred to as (a), (b), and (c), together with a small manuscript page giving reworkings of the penultimate stanza. These typescripts were made with the same purple ribbon used for the texts IB and IIB of the Lay and obviously belong to the same period.

(a), earliest of the three, had no title as typed: the title *Light as leaf on lind* was written in in ink, and before the poem begins there is written also in ink:

'Light was Tinúviel as leaf on lind
light as a feather in the laughing wind.'
Tinúviel! Tinúviel!

On this typescript my father wrote some notes on the poem's dating: 'first beginnings Oxford 1919–20 Alfred St.', 'Leeds 1923, retouched 1924'. (a) is the 1923 version; it differs from the later (1924) only in the penultimate stanza, on which see note to lines 459–66 below.

(b) again has no title as typed, but *As Light as Leaf on Lindentree* was written in ink. This begins with 15 lines of alliterative verse:

In the Lay of Leithian, Release from Bondage
in linkéd words has long been wrought
of Beren Ermabwed, brave, undaunted;
how Lúthien the lissom he loved of yore
in the enchanted forest chained in wonder.
Tinúviel he named her, than nightingale
more sweet her voice, as veiled in soft
and wavering wisps of woven dusk
shot with starlight, with shining eyes
she danced like dreams of drifting sheen,
pale-twinkling pearls in pools of darkness.
And songs were raised for sorrow's lightening,
a sudden sweetness in a silent hour,
that 'Light as Leaf on Linden-tree'
were called – here caught a cadent echo.

(c) has the typed title *As Light as Leaf on Lind*, the last word emended to *Linden-tree*. This has only the text of the poem, without the alliterative introduction; and the text is identical to that of (b).

It will be seen that of the alliterative verses in (b) lines 1–2 are very close to lines 356–7 of the Lay (which were original lines in the typescript, not inserted later):

(There was told to Túrin that tale by Halog)
that in the Lay of Leithian, Release from Bonds
[< Bondage],
in linkéd words has long been woven

while lines 3–11 are identical with those on the first pasted-in slip, 358–66 (as typed: *the boldhearted* in line 358 is an emendation from *brave undaunted*). Further, lines 12–15 are close to those on the second pasted-in slip, 398–402:

Then a song he made them for sorrow's lightening,
a sudden sweetness in a silent hour,
that is 'Light as Leaf on Linden' called,
whose music of mirth and mourning blended
yet in hearts does echo. This did Halog sing them:

The order of events is very difficult to determine, but the key is probably to be found in the fact that lines 356–7 are found in IIB as originally typed, not in the pasted-in insertion. I think (or perhaps rather guess) that my father composed an alliterative continuation of 13 lines (beginning *of Beren Ermabwed, brave undaunted*) as an introduction to the poem *Light as Leaf on Lindentree*; and then, at the same time as he typed text (b) of this poem, with the alliterative head-piece, he added them to the typescript of the Lay already in existence.

Light as Leaf on Lindentree was published in *The Gryphon* (Leeds University), New Series, Vol. VI, no. 6, June 1925, p. 217. It is here preceded by nine lines of alliterative verse, beginning

'Tis of Beren Ermabwed brokenhearted

and continuing exactly as in (b) above (and in the text of the Lay) as far as *in pools of darkness*; the last four lines do not appear. In his cutting from *The Gryphon* my father changed *broken-hearted* (which is obviously a mere printer's error) to *the boldhearted* (as in the Lay, 358); changed the title to *As Light as Leaf on Lindentree*; and wrote *Erchamion* above *Ermabwed* (see note to lines 358–66).

The text of the inserted poem given in the body of the Lay is that published, which is identical to that of the typescripts (b) and (c). My father made a very few changes to (c) afterwards (i.e. after the poem had been printed) and these are given in the notes that follow, as also are the earlier forms of the penultimate verse.

It may finally be observed that if my deductions are correct the introduction in the Lay of the reference to the *Lay of Leithian* and the outline of the story told by Halog preceded the publication *of Light as Leaf on Lindentree* in June 1925.

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419 *magic* > *wonder*, later emendation made to the typescript (c) of *Light as Leaf on Lindentree* after the poem was published.

424 *fairy* > *elvish*, see note to 419.

459, 464 *elfin* > *elvish*, see note to 419.

459–66 In the typescript (a) this penultimate stanza reads as follows:

> And Beren caught the elfin maid
> And kissed her trembling starlit eyes:
> The elfin maid that love delayed
> In the days beyond our memory.
> Till moon and star, till music dies,
> Shall Beren and the elfin maid
> Dance to the starlight of her eyes
> And fill the woods with glamoury.

The single manuscript page (bearing the address 'The University, Leeds') has two versions of the stanza intermediate between that in (a) and the final form. The first of these reads:

> Ere Beren caught the elfin maid
> And kissed her trembling starlit eyes
> Tinúviel, whom love delayed
> In the woven woods of Nemorie
> In the tangled trees of Tramorie.
> Till music and till moonlight dies
> Shall Beren by the elfin maid
> Dance in the starlight of her eyes
> And fill the woods with glamoury.

Other variants are suggested for lines 4 and 8:

In the woven woods of Glamoury

. . .

O'er the silver glades of Amoury

and

Ere the birth of mortal memory

. . .

And fill the woods with glamoury.

I can cast no light on these names.

The second version advances towards the final form, with for lines 4 and 8 of the stanza:

In the land of laughter sorrowless
> In spells enchanted sorrowless

In eve unending morrowless

The lines finally achieved are also written here. This rewriting of the penultimate stanza is unquestionably the 1924 'retouching' referred to in the note on typescript (a) (see p. 120).

475 *did Halog sing them*: *did Halog recall* IIB as typed. The emendation was made at the same time as the insertion of *Light as Leaf on Lindentree*; as originally written the line followed on 397, at the end of Halog's story.

520 *Finweg* IIB unemended; see note to second version line 19.

531 *Nirnaith Únoth* IIA, and IIB as typed. See note to second version line 26.

550 *haled* underlined in IIB and an illegible word substituted, perhaps *had*.

576 *Ermabweth* IIA, and IIB as typed. Cf. line 273.

596 *Mailrond*: see note to line 319.

658 *elfin* IIA, *elvish* IIB as typed.

767 The manuscript IIA ends here.

811 *Côr* emended in pencil to *Tûn*, but *Tûn* later struck out. In the first version (IB, line 430) the same, but there the emendation *Tûn* not struck out.

812 *Taingwethil*: *Tengwethil* as typed. In the first version IB introduces *Tain-* for *Ten-* at lines 431, 636, but at line 1409 IB has *Ten-* for IA *Tain-*.

A later pencilled note here says: 'English *Tindbrenting*' (see Commentary, p. 127).

Commentary on Part II of the second version *'Túrin's Fostering'*

(i) *References to the story of Beren and Lúthien*

In this second part of the second version the major innovation is of course the introduction of the story of Beren and Lúthien, told to Túrin by his guardian Halog when they were lost in the forest, at once reminiscent of Aragorn's telling of the same story to his companions on Weathertop before the attack of the Ringwraiths (*The Fellowship of the Ring* I. 11); and with the further introduction of the poem *Light as Leaf on Lindentree*, the original form of the very song that Aragorn chanted on Weathertop, we realise that the one scene is actually the precursor of the other.

At line 264 (an original, not an interpolated line) is the first appearance of the name *Lúthien* for Thingol's daughter, so that Tinúviel becomes her acquired name (given to her by Beren, line 361). The suggestion of the interpolated lines 266–7 is that Tinúviel meant 'Starmantled', which seems likely enough (see I. 269, entry *Tinwë Linto*; the Gnomish dictionary, contemporary with the *Lost Tales*, rather surprisingly gives no indication of the meaning of *Tinúviel*). On the other hand, in the interpolated line 361 the suggestion is equally clear that it meant 'Nightingale'. It is difficult to explain this.*

The original reading at line 265, *Dairon's sister*, goes back to the *Tale of Tinúviel*, where Dairon was the son of Tinwelint (II. 10).

I noted earlier (p. 25) that lines 178–9 in the first version

> and never ere now for need or wonder
> had children of Men chosen that pathway

show that Beren was still an Elf, not a Man; but while these lines are retained without change in the second version (349–50) their meaning is reversed by the new line that immediately follows – *save Beren the brave*, which shows equally clearly that Beren was a Man, not an Elf. At this time my father was apparently in two minds on this subject. At lines 273 ff. of the second version (referring to Beren's friendship with Húrin) he originally repeated lines 122–5 of the first, which make no statement on the matter; but in the first revision of this passage (given in the note to lines 274–8) he explicitly wrote that Beren was an Elf:

* A possible if rather finespun explanation is that lines 266–8 were not in fact written in to the text at the same time as the two pasted-in slips (giving lines 358–66 and 398–402), as I have supposed (p. 120), but were earlier. On this view, when 266–8 were written *Tinúviel* was not yet Beren's name for Lúthien, but was her common *soubriquet*, known *both near and far* (266), and meant 'Star-mantled'. Later, when 358–66 were added, it had become the name given to her by Beren (361), and meant 'Nightingale'. If this were so, it could also be supposed that line 268, *who light as leaf on linden tree*, gave rise to the title of the poem.

(Beren) who once of old
fellowship had vowed and friendly love
Elf with mortal, even Egnor's son
with Húrin of Hithlum . . .

Since this is a rewriting of the original text of IIB it is presumably a withdrawal from the idea (that Beren was a Man) expressed in lines 349–50; while the further rewriting of this passage, getting rid of the line *Elf with mortal, even Egnor's son*, presumably represents a return to it.

In Halog's recounting of the story of Beren and Lúthien there are some apparent differences from that told in the *Tale of the Nauglafring* and the *Lay of Leithian*. The reference to *Melian's magic* in line 371 is presumably to Melian's knowledge of where Beren was; cf. the *Tale of Tinúviel* II. 17: '"O Gwendeling, my mother," said she, "tell me *of thy magic*, if thou canst, how doth Beren fare . . ."' A probable explanation of the mention later in this passage of *the arts of Melian* (393), in association with Lúthien's winning Beren back from death, will be given later. But in no other version of the story is there any suggestion that Carcharoth 'hunted' Beren and Lúthien (377) after he had devoured Beren's hand holding the Silmaril – indeed, the reverse: from the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II. 34) 'Then did Tinúviel and Beren flee like the wind from the gates, *yet was Karkaras far before them*' to *The Silmarillion* (p. 181) 'Howling he fled before them'. (The form *Carcharoth* now first appears, by emendation of *Carcharolch*, which occurs nowhere else; in the *Tale of Tinúviel* the forms are *Karkaras* and (in the second version) *Carcaras*.)

More important, lines 395–7

that they dwell for ever in days ageless
and the grass greys not in the green forest
where East or West they ever wander

seems to represent a conception of the second lives of Beren and Lúthien notably different from that in the *Tale of the Nauglafring* (II. 240), where the doom of mortality that Mandos had spoken fell swiftly upon them (as also in *The Silmarillion*, p. 236):

> nor this time did those twain fare the road together, but when yet was the child of those twain, Dior the Fair, a little one, did Tinúviel slowly fade . . . and she vanished in the woods, and none have seen her dancing ever there again. But Beren searched all the lands of Hithlum and Artanor ranging after her; and never has any of the Elves had more loneliness than his, or ever he too faded from life . . .

However this matter is to be interpreted, the lines in the Lay are clearly to be associated with the end of *Light as Leaf on Lindentree*:

Till moonlight and till music dies
Shall Beren by the elfin maid
Dance in the starlight of her eyes
In the forest singing sorrowless.

Compare the end of the song that Aragorn sang on Weathertop:

The Sundering Seas between them lay,
And yet at last they met once more,
And long ago they passed away
In the forest singing sorrowless.

(ii) *The Dragon-helm and Húrin's ancestors*

The elder of Túrin's guardians, still Gumlin in the first version, is now named (Mailgond >) Mailrond; and Gumlin becomes the name of Húrin's father, who has not been even mentioned before (other than in the reference in the first version to the Dragon-helm being Húrin's *heirloom*, 318). In the second version the Dragon-helm

was worn aforetime
by the father of the fathers of the folk of Húrin,
whose sire Gumlin to his son gave it
ere his soul severed from his sundered heart. (674–7)

The last line suggests that a story of Húrin's father had already come into existence; and line 675 suggests a long line of ancestors behind Húrin – as also does line 622, *the pride of her people, princes ancient*, behind Morwen. It is hard to know how my father at this time conceived the earlier generations of Men; and the question must be postponed.

The Dragon-helm itself now begins to gather a history: it was made

in dark dwarfland in the deeps of time,
ere Men to Mithrim and misty Hithlum
o'er the world wandered (672–4)

and was the work of Telchar (678), now named for the first time. But there is still no indication of the significance attaching to the dragon-crest.

Lines 758–62 (*Lo! we deemed as dead the dragon of the North . . . Or is Húrin of Hithlum from Hell broken?*), to which there is nothing corresponding in the first version, clearly foreshadows the *Narn*, p. 79:

> and word ran through the woods, and was heard far beyond Doriath, that the Dragon-helm of Dor-lómin was seen again. Then many wondered, saying: 'Can the spirit of Hador or of Galdor the Tall return from death; or has Húrin of Hithlum escaped indeed from the pits of Angband?'

(iii) *Miscellaneous Matters*

The curious references to Beleg in the first version ('son of the wilderness who wist no sire', see p. 25) reappear in the second, but in a changed form, and at one of the occurrences put into Beleg's own mouth: *the forest is my father* 536, cf. 772. *Beleg the ageless* is retained in the second version (793), and at lines 544 ff. he shows a Gandalf-like quality of being able to make fire in wet wood, with *his wizard's cunning* (cf. *The Fellowship of the Ring* II. 3).

The great bow of Beleg is now at last named: *Balthronding* (773; later *Belthronding*).

We learn now that the strong wine of Dor-Winion that Beleg gave to the travellers and which was drunk at the fateful feast in the Thousand Caves was brought to the Northern lands from Nogrod by Dwarves (540–1); and also that there was viticulture in Valinor (543–4), though after the accounts of life in the halls of Tulkas and Oromë in the tale of *The Coming of the Valar* (I. 75) this causes no surprise – indeed it is said that Nessa wife of Tulkas bore 'goblets of the goodliest wine', while Meássë went among the warriors in her house and 'revived the fainting with strong wine' (I. 78).

An interesting detail in the second account of Túrin's reception in Doriath, not found again, is that Melian played a part in the king's graciousness:

> for Melian moved him with murmured counsel. (580)

From the feast at which Túrin slew Orgof *the songs of the sons of Ing* of the first version (line 421) have now disappeared.

The chronology of Túrin's youth is slightly changed in the second version. In the first, as in the *Tale* (see p. 25), Túrin spent seven years in Doriath while tidings still came from Morwen (line 333); this now becomes nine years (line 693), as in *The Silmarillion* (p. 199).

Lastly, at line 812 a pencilled note against the name *Taingwethil* (Taniquetil) says 'English *Tindbrenting*'. This name is found in notes on the Old English forms of Elvish names (see p. 87), *Tindbrenting þe þa Brega Taniquetil nemnað* ('Tindbrenting which the Valar name Taniquetil'; Old English *bregu* 'king, lord, ruler' = 'Vala'). The name is perhaps to be derived from Old English *tind* 'projecting spike' (Modern English *tine*) and *brenting* (a derivative of *brant* 'steep, lofty'), here used in an unrecorded sense (*brenting* occurs only once in recorded Old English, in *Beowulf*, where it means 'ship').

★

Verses associated with *The Children of Húrin*

There is a poem found in three manuscripts, all on 'Oxford' paper (see p. 81), in which my father developed elements in the passage lines

2082–2113 in *The Children of Húrin* to a short independent work. The first text has no title, and reads:

The high summer
waned to autumn, and western gales
the leaves loosened from labouring boughs.
The feet of the forest in fading gold
and burnished brown were buried deeply;
a restless rustle down the roofless aisles
sighed and whispered. The Silver Wherry,
the sailing moon with slender mast
was filled with fires as of furnace hot;
its hold hoarded the heats of summer,
its shrouds were shaped of shining flame
uprising ruddy o'er the rim of Evening
by the misty wharves on the margin of the world.
Then winter hastened and weathers hardened,
and sleet and snow and slanting rain
from glowering heaven, grey and sunless,
whistling whiplash whirled by tempest,
the lands forlorn lashed and tortured:
floods were loosened, the fallow waters
sweeping seaward, swollen, angry,
filled with flotsam, foaming, turbid
passed in tumult. The tempest failed:
frost descended from the far mountains,
steel-cold and still. Stony-glinting
icehung evening was opened wide,
a dome of crystal over deep silence,
the windless wastes, the woods standing
frozen phantoms under flickering stars.

Against *deeply* in line 5 is given *thickly* as an alternative reading, and against *Wherry* in line 7 is given *vessel*.

The first 13 lines of this are almost identical to 2082–94 in the Lay, with only a few slight changes (mostly for the common purpose in my father's revisions of his alliterative verse of making the lines more taut). Then follow in lines 14–16 adaptations of 2102–4; 17 is a new line; 18 contains a part of 2119; 19–22a are based on 2106–9a; 22b–24 are new; and 25–8 are almost the same as 2110–13.

The second version of the poem bears the title *Storm over Narog*, and is much developed. This version as written retained lines 14–15 from the first, but they were changed and expanded to three; and the third text, entitled *Winter comes to Nargothrond*, is a copy of the second with this alteration and one or two other very slight changes. I give the third text here.

Winter comes to Nargothrond

The summer slowly in the sad forest
waned and faded. In the west arose
winds that wandered over warring seas.
Leaves were loosened from labouring boughs:
fallow-gold they fell, and the feet buried
of trees standing tall and naked,
rustling restlessly down roofless aisles,
shifting and drifting.
The shining vessel
of the sailing moon with slender mast,
with shrouds shapen of shimmering flame,
uprose ruddy on the rim of Evening
by the misty wharves on the margin of the world.
With winding horns winter hunted
in the weeping woods, wild and ruthless;
sleet came slashing, and slanting hail
from glowering heaven grey and sunless,
whistling whiplash whirled by tempest.
The floods were freed and fallow waters
sweeping seaward, swollen, angry,
filled with flotsam, foaming, turbid,
passed in tumult. The tempest died.
Frost descended from far mountains
steel-cold and still. Stony-glinting
icehung evening was opened wide,
a dome of crystal over deep silence,
over windless wastes and woods standing
as frozen phantoms under flickering stars.

★

On the back of *Winter comes to Nargothrond* are written the following verses, which arose from lines 1554–70 of the Lay. The poem has no title.

With the seething sea Sirion's waters,
green streams gliding into grey furrows,
murmurous mingle. There mews gather,
seabirds assemble in solemn council,
whitewingéd hosts whining sadly
with countless voices in a country of sand:
plains and mountains of pale yellow
sifting softly in salt breezes,
sere and sunbleached. At the sea's margin

a shingle lies, long and shining
with pebbles like pearl or pale marble:
when the foam of waves down the wind flieth
in spray they sparkle; splashed at evening
in the moon they glitter; moaning, grinding,
in the dark they tumble; drawing and rolling,
when strongbreasted storm the streams driveth
in a war of waters to the walls of land.
When the Lord of Ocean his loud trumpets
in the abyss bloweth to battle sounding,
longhaired legions on lathered horses
with backs like whales, bridles spuming,
charge there snorting, champing seaweed;
hurled with thunder of a hundred drums
they leap the bulwarks, burst the leaguer,
through the sandmountains sweeping madly
up the river roaring roll in fury.

The last three lines were later placed within brackets.

★

It may be mentioned here that there exists a poem in rhyming couplets entitled *The Children of Húrin*. This extends only to 170 lines and breaks off abruptly, after a short prologue based on the opening of the later version of the alliterative Lay and an incomplete second section titled 'The Battle of Unnumbered Tears and Morgoth's Curse'. This poem comes however from a rather later period – approximately the time of the abandonment of the *Lay of Leithian* in the same metre, in the early 1930s, and I do not give it here.

II
POEMS EARLY ABANDONED

During his time at the University of Leeds my father embarked on five distinct poetical works concerned with the matter of the mythology; but three of these went no further than the openings. This chapter treats each of them in turn.

(i) *The Flight of the Noldoli*

There do not seem to be any certain indications of the date of this brief poem in alliterative verse in relation to *The Children of Húrin* (though it is worth noticing that already in the earliest of the three texts of *The Flight of the Noldoli* Fëanor's son Cranthir is so named, whereas this form only arose by emendation of Cranthor in the typescript text of the Lay (line 1719)). However, both from its general air and from various details it can be seen that it comes from the same time; and since it seems unlikely that (on the one hand) my father would have embarked on a new poem in alliterative verse unless he had laid the other aside, or that (on the other) he would have returned to this mode once he was fully engaged on a long poem in rhyming couplets, I think it very probable that *The Flight of the Noldoli* comes from the earlier part of 1925 (see pp. 3, 81).

Each of the three manuscripts of the poem (A, B, and C) is differently titled: A has *The Flight of the Gnomes as sung in the Halls of Thingol*; B (pencilled in later) *Flight of the Gnomes*; C *The Flight of the Noldoli from Valinor*. A has emendations that are taken up in the text of B, and B has emendations taken up in C; almost all are characteristic metrical/verbal rearrangements, as for example in line 17:

A *in anguish mourning*, emended to the reading of B;
B *and in anguish mourn*, emended to the reading of C;
C *mourning in anguish*.

As generally in this book, earlier variants that have no bearing on names or story are not cited. Each text ends at the same point, but three further lines are roughly written in the margin of A (see note to line 146).

I give now the text of the third version, C.

THE FLIGHT OF THE NOLDOLI FROM VALINOR

A! the Trees of Light, tall and shapely,
gold and silver, more glorious than the sun,
than the moon more magical, o'er the meads of the Gods
their fragrant frith and flowerladen
gardens gleaming, once gladly shone.
In death they are darkened, they drop their leaves
from blackened branches bled by Morgoth
and Ungoliant the grim the Gloomweaver.
In spider's form despair and shadow
a shuddering fear and shapeless night
she weaves in a web of winding venom
that is black and breathless. Their branches fail,
the light and laughter of their leaves are quenched.
Mirk goes marching, mists of blackness,
through the halls of the Mighty hushed and empty,
the gates of the Gods are in gloom mantled.

Lo! the Elves murmur mourning in anguish,
but no more shall be kindled the mirth of Côr
in the winding ways of their walled city,
towercrownëd Tûn, whose twinkling lamps
are drowned in darkness. The dim fingers
of fog come floating from the formless waste
and sunless seas. The sound of horns,
of horses' hooves hastening wildly
in hopeless hunt, they hear afar,
where the Gods in wrath those guilty ones
through mournful shadow, now mounting as a tide
o'er the Blissful Realm, in blind dismay
pursue unceasing. The city of the Elves
is thickly thronged. On threadlike stairs
carven of crystal countless torches
stare and twinkle, stain the twilight
and gleaming balusters of green beryl.
A vague rumour of rushing voices,
as myriads mount the marble paths,
there fills and troubles those fair places
wide ways of Tûn and walls of pearl.

Of the Three Kindreds to that clamorous throng

are none but the Gnomes in numbers drawn.
The Elves of Ing to the ancient halls
and starry gardens that stand and gleam
upon Timbrenting towering mountain
that day had climbed to the cloudy-domed
mansions of Manwë for mirth and song.
There Bredhil the Blessed the bluemantled,
the Lady of the heights as lovely as the snow
in lights gleaming of the legions of the stars,
the cold immortal Queen of mountains,
too fair and terrible too far and high
for mortal eyes, in Manwë's court
sat silently as they sang to her.

The Foam-riders, folk of waters,
Elves of the endless echoing beaches,
of the bays and grottoes and the blue lagoons,
of silver sands sown with moonlit,
starlit, sunlit, stones of crystal,
paleburning gems pearls and opals,
on their shining shingle, where now shadows groping
clutched their laughter, quenched in mourning
their mirth and wonder, in amaze wandered
under cliffs grown cold calling dimly,
or in shrouded ships shuddering waited
for the light no more should be lit for ever.

But the Gnomes were numbered by name and kin,
marshalled and ordered in the mighty square
upon the crown of Côr. There cried aloud
the fierce son of Finn. Flaming torches
he held and whirled in his hands aloft,
those hands whose craft the hidden secret
knew, that none Gnome or mortal
hath matched or mastered in magic or in skill.
'Lo! slain is my sire by the sword of fiends,
his death he has drunk at the doors of his hall
and deep fastness, where darkly hidden
the Three were guarded, the things unmatched
that Gnome and Elf and the Nine Valar
can never remake or renew on earth,
recarve or rekindle by craft or magic,
not Fëanor Finn's son who fashioned them of yore –

the light is lost whence he lit them first,
the fate of Faërie hath found its hour

Thus the witless wisdom its reward hath earned
of the Gods' jealousy, who guard us here
to serve them, sing to them in our sweet cages,
to contrive them gems and jewelled trinkets,
their leisure to please with our loveliness,
while they waste and squander work of ages,
nor can Morgoth master in their mansions sitting
at countless councils. Now come ye all,
who have courage and hope! My call harken
to flight, to freedom in far places!
The woods of the world whose wide mansions
yet in darkness dream drowned in slumber,
the pathless plains and perilous shores
no moon yet shines on nor mounting dawn
in dew and daylight hath drenched for ever,
far better were these for bold footsteps
than gardens of the Gods gloom-encircled
with idleness filled and empty days.
Yea! though the light lit them and the loveliness
beyond heart's desire that hath held us slaves
here long and long. But that light is dead.
Our gems are gone, our jewels ravished;
and the Three, my Three, thrice-enchanted
globes of crystal by gleam undying
illumined, lit by living splendour
and all hues' essence, their eager flame –
Morgoth has them in his monstrous hold,
my Silmarils. I swear here oaths,
unbreakable bonds to bind me ever,
by Timbrenting and the timeless halls
of Bredhil the Blessed that abides thereon –
may she hear and heed – to hunt endlessly
unwearying unwavering through world and sea,
through leaguered lands, lonely mountains,
over fens and forest and the fearful snows,
till I find those fair ones, where the fate is hid
of the folk of Elfland and their fortune locked,
where alone now lies the light divine.'

Then his sons beside him, the seven kinsmen,

crafty Curufin, Celegorm the fair,
Damrod and Díriel and dark Cranthir,
Maglor the mighty, and Maidros tall
(the eldest, whose ardour yet more eager burnt
than his father's flame, than Fëanor's wrath;
him fate awaited with fell purpose),
these leapt with laughter their lord beside,
with linkëd hands there lightly took
the oath unbreakable; blood thereafter
it spilled like a sea and spent the swords
of endless armies, nor hath ended yet:

'Be he friend or foe or foul offspring
of Morgoth Bauglir, be he mortal dark
that in after days on earth shall dwell,
shall no law nor love nor league of Gods,
no might nor mercy, not moveless fate,
defend him for ever from the fierce vengeance
of the sons of Fëanor, whoso seize or steal
or finding keep the fair enchanted
globes of crystal whose glory dies not,
the Silmarils. We have sworn for ever!'

Then a mighty murmuring was moved abroad
and the harkening host hailed them roaring:
'Let us go! yea go from the Gods for ever
on Morgoth's trail o'er the mountains of the world
to vengeance and victory! Your vows are ours!

The poem ends here (but see note to line 146).

★

NOTES

41 *starry gardens* C, *starlit domes* A, B.

42 *Tengwethil's* A (with *Timbrenting* written in margin), *Timbrenting's* B, *Timbrenting* C (with *Taingwethil* written in margin). See note to *The Children of Húrin* (second version) line 812.

45 *Bridhil* A, B, C, emended in C to *Bredhil*; so also at line 112.

107 *and all hues' essence*: this half-line (in the form *all hue's*

essence) occurs also in the second version of *The Children of Húrin*, line 381, where it is said of the Silmaril of Beren.

111 *Tengwethil* A, *Timbrenting* B, C.

134 *that in after days on earth shall dwell*: this line bracketed later in pencil in C.

146 There are three roughly-written lines in the margin of the last page of A which were not taken up in B and C, but which presumably follow on line 146:

> But Finweg cried Fingolfin's son
> when his father found that fair counsel,
> that wit and wisdom were of worth no more:
> 'Fools

Commentary on *The Flight of the Noldoli*

Sad as it is that this poem was abandoned so soon – when in full mastery of the alliterative line my father might have gone on to recount the Kinslaying of Alqualondë, the Prophecy of the North, the crossing of the Helcaraxë, and the burning of the ships, there is nonetheless in its few lines much of interest for the study of the development of the legend. Most notably, there here appears the earliest version of the actual words of the Fëanorian Oath. The Oath was first referred to in the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* (I. 238, 240):

> The Seven Sons of Fëanor swore their terrible oath of hatred for ever against all, Gods or Elves or Men, who should hold the Silmarils

but it was there sworn after the coming of the Elves from Valinor, and after the death of Fëanor. In the present poem is the first appearance of the story that the Oath was taken in Valinor before the departure of the Gnomes. It has also been referred to in *The Children of Húrin*, lines 631 ff. of the first version, where it is implied that the mountain of Tain-Gwethil was taken in witness – as it was in *The Silmarillion* (p. 83): here (line 111) Fëanor himself swears by Timbrenting that he will never cease to hunt for the Silmarils.

I cannot explain why line 134

> that in after days on earth shall dwell

was bracketed (always a mark of exclusion or at least of doubtful retention) in the C-text. The line reappears in identical form in the *Lay of Leithian* (Canto VI, 1636); cf. *The Silmarillion* 'Vala, Demon, Elf or Man as yet unborn'.

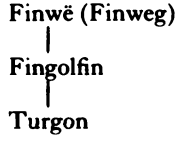
The fixed epithets of certain of the Sons of Fëanor are changed from those in *The Children of Húrin* (see p. 86): Celegorm is now 'the fair' and Maidros 'the tall', as they remained; Maglor is 'the mighty' (in *The Silmarillion* 'the mighty singer'). The line concerning Maidros

him fate awaited with fell purpose (126)

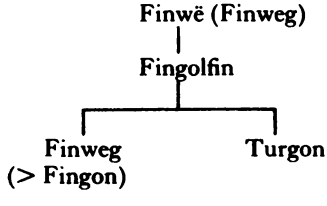
may show that a form of the story of his end was already in being (in the *Tale of the Nauglafring* he survived the attack on Dior the Fair but nothing more is told of him), but I think it much more likely that it refers to his capture and maiming by Morgoth.

In Fëanor's speech occur two interesting references: to *the Nine Valar*, and to his father *Finn*. The number of the Valar is nowhere stated in the *Lost Tales* (where in any case the name includes lesser divine beings; cf. e.g. I. 65–6 'With them came many of those lesser Vali . . . the Mánir and the Súruli, the sylphs of the airs and of the winds'); but 'the Nine Valar' are referred to in the 'Sketch of the Mythology' (1926) and named in the 1930 'Silmarillion': Manwë, Ulmo, Ossë, Aulë, Mandos, Lórien, Tulkas, Oromë, and Melko.

Fëanor's father has not been named since the tale of *The Theft of Melko and the Darkening of Valinor* (I. 145 ff.), where he was called Bruithwir, slain by Melko. In *The Children of Húrin* there is no indication that Fëanor was akin to other princes of the Gnomes – though there can be no doubt that by that time he in fact was so. But the essential features of the Noldorin royal house as it had now emerged and as it was to remain for many years can now be deduced. In the first version of *The Children of Húrin* (line 29 and note) Turgon was the son of Finwë (actually spelt *Finweg*), as he had been in the *Lost Tales* (I. 115), but this was changed to Finwë's heir, with the note 'he was Fingolfin's son'; and in the second version *Turgon the mighty, / Fingolfin's son* is found in the text as written (48–9). We thus have:



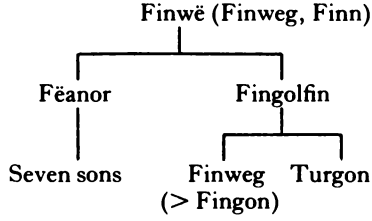
Further, *Finweg* appears in *The Children of Húrin* (first version 1975, second version 19, 520) as the King of the Gnomes who died in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears; in two of these cases the name was later changed to *Fingon*. In the lines added at the end of the A-text of *The Flight of the Noldoli* (note to line 146) Finweg is Fingolfin's son. We can therefore add:



Now in *The Flight of the Noldoli* Fëanor is called Finn's son; and in the 'Sketch of the Mythology' Finn is given as an alternative to Finwë:

> The Eldar are divided into three hosts, one under Ingwë (Ing) . . ., one under Finwë (Finn) after called the Noldoli . . .*

Thus Fëanor has become Fingolfin's brother:



(Only in a later note to lines 1713–20 of *The Children of Húrin* has Finwë's third son Finrod appeared, father of Felagund, Angrod, Egnor, and Orodreth.)

Fëanor's speech also contains a curious foreknowledge of the making of the Sun and Moon (92–6):

> The woods of the world whose wide mansions
> yet in darkness dream drowned in slumber,
> the pathless plains and perilous shores
> no moon yet shines on nor mounting dawn
> in dew and daylight hath drenched for ever

Very notable are Fëanor's concluding words (117–18):

> till I find those fair ones, where the fate is hid
> of the folk of Elfland and their fortune locked

Cf. *The Silmarillion*, p. 67: 'Mandos foretold that the fates of Arda lay locked within them', and Thingol's words to Beren (*ibid.* p. 167): 'though the fate of Arda lie within the Silmarils, yet you shall hold me generous'. It is clear that the Silmarils had already gained greatly in significance since the earliest period of the mythology (see I. 156, 169 note 2; II. 259).

In no other version is Fëanor seen on this occasion holding flaming torches in his hands and whirling them aloft.

The lines (38–9)

> Of the Three Kindreds to that clamorous throng
> are none but the Gnomes in numbers drawn

go back to the tale of *The Flight of the Noldoli* (I. 162): 'Now when . . .

* In the 1930 'Silmarillion' it is expressly stated that *Ing* and *Finn* are the Gnomish forms of *Ingwë* and *Finwë*.

Fëanor sees that far the most of the company is of the kin of the Noldor', on which I noted (I. 169) 'It is to be remembered that in the old story the Teleri (i.e. the later Vanyar) had not departed from Kôr.' Later evidence shows that the old story had not been changed; but the fact that in the present poem *the Elves of Ing* (Ingwë) were on Timbrenting (Taniquetil) in the mansions of Manwë and Varda shows the entry of the later narrative (found in the 'Sketch') of the destruction of the Trees. In the old tale of *The Theft of Melko and the Darkening of Valinor* (I. 143 ff. and commentary I. 157) the great festival was the occasion of Melko's attack on the place of the Gnomes' banishment northward in Valinor, the slaying of Fëanor's father, and the theft of the Silmarils; and the destruction of the Trees followed some time afterwards. Now however the festival is the occasion of the attack on the Trees; the First Kindred are on Taniquetil but most of the Gnomes are not.

The name by which Varda is here called, Bridhil the Blessed (changed in C to Bredhil), is found in the old Gnomish dictionary, and also Timbridhil (I. 269, 273, entries *Tinwetári*, *Varda*). On *Timbrenting* see p. 127, where the form *Tindbrenting* occurring in *The Children of Húrin* (in a note to second version line 812) is discussed. Both forms are found in the 'Sketch':

> Timbrenting or Tindbrenting in English, Tengwethil in Gnomish, Taniquetil in Elfin.

The form with *-m-* is therefore evidently due to a change of pronunciation in English, *ndb* > *mb*.

In line 41 the earlier reading *starlit domes*, changed to *starry gardens*, is probably to be related to the account in the tale of *The Coming of the Valar and the Building of Valinor* of Manwë's abode on Taniquetil (I. 73):

> That house was builded of marbles white and blue and stood amid the fields of snow, and its roofs were made of a web of that blue air called *ilwë* that is above the white and grey. This web did Aulë and his wife contrive, but Varda spangled it with stars, and Manwë dwelt thereunder.

This idea of a roof lit with stars was never lost and appears in a changed form long after, though it is not mentioned in *The Silmarillion*.

The lines (21–3)

> The dim fingers
> of fog came floating from the formless waste
> and sunless seas

find an echo in *The Silmarillion* (p. 76):

> it blew chill from the East in that hour, and the vast shadows of the sea were rolled against the walls of the shore.

The lines at the end of the A-text (note to line 146) show that Fingolfin has taken Finwë Nólemë's place as the voice of reason and moderation amid the revolutionary enthusiasm of the Noldoli in the great square of Kôr (see I. 162, 171).

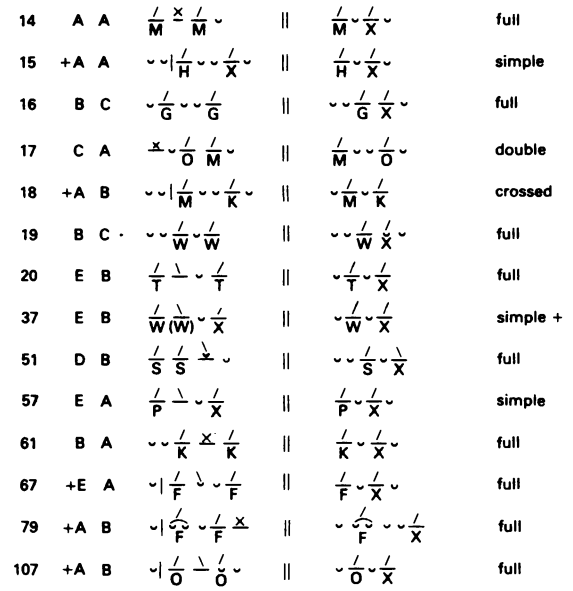
Lastly may be noticed the term 'Foam-riders' used (line 52) of the Third Kindred (the Solosimpi of the *Lost Tales*, later the Teleri); this has been used once before, in *Ælfwine of England* (II. 314), where it is said of Ælfwine's mother Éadgifu that when he was born

> the Foamriders, the Elves of the Sea-marge, whom she had known of old in Lionesse, sent messengers to his birth.

Analysis of the metre of the poem

At the end of the second text (B) of *The Flight of the Noldoli* my father made an analysis of the metrical forms of the first 20 and certain subsequent lines. For his analysis and explanation of the Old English metre see *On Translating Beowulf*, in *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*, 1983, pp. 61 ff. The letters A, + A, B, C, D, E on the left-hand side of the table refer to the 'types' of Old English half-line; the letters beneath the analyses of 'lifts' and 'dips' are the alliterations employed in each line, with O used for any vowel (since all vowels 'alliterate' with each other) and X for a consonant beginning a lift but not forming part of the alliterative scheme of the line; the words 'full', 'simple', etc. refer to the nature of the alliterative pattern in each case.

1	B	A	˘ ˘ / T ˘ / X	||	/ T ˘ / X ˘	simple
2	A	B	/ G ˘ / S ˘	||	˘ / G (˘) ˘ ˘ ˘ / S	crossed
3	+A	B	˘ ˘ | / M ˘ / M ˘	||	˘ ˘ / M ˘ ˘ / X	full
4	B	C	˘ / F ˘ / F	||	˘ / F / X ˘	full
5	A	B	/ G ˘ / G ˘	||	˘ / G ˘ / X	full
6	+A	B	˘ | / D ˘ / D ˘	||	˘ / D ˘ / X	full
7	C	A	˘ / B / B ˘	||	/ B ˘ / X ˘	full
8	B	C	˘ ˘ / G ˘ ˘ ˘ / G	||	˘ / G / X ˘	full
9	B	B	˘ / Sp ˘ / X	||	˘ / Sp ˘ / X ˘	simple
10	B	B	˘ / Sh ˘ / X	||	˘ / Sh ˘ / X	simple
11	B	B	˘ / W ˘ ˘ / W	||	˘ / W ˘ / X ˘	full
12	C	B	˘ ˘ / B / B ˘	||	˘ / B ˘ / X	full
13	+A	B	˘ | / L ˘ / L ˘	||	˘ ˘ / L ˘ / X	full



It may be noticed that the scansion of the first half of line 8 (with the first lift *-goli-*) shows that the primary stress fell on the second syllable of *Ungóliant*; and that *sp* can only alliterate with *sp* (lines 9, 130), as in Old English (the same is of course true of *sh*, which is a separate consonant).

★

(ii) *Fragment of an alliterative Lay of Eärendel*

There exists one other piece of alliterative verse concerned with the matter of the *Lost Tales*, the opening of a poem that has no title and does not extend far enough to make clear what its subject was to be. The fall of Gondolin, the escape of the fugitives down the secret tunnel, the fight at Cristhorn, and the long wandering in the wilds thereafter, are passed over rapidly in what were to be the introductory lines, and the subject seems about to appear at the end of the fragment:

> all this have others in ancient stories
> and songs unfolded, but say I further . . .

and the concluding lines refer to the sojourn of the fugitives in the Land of Willows. But at the end of the text my father wrote several times in different scripts 'Earendel', 'Earendel son of Fengel', 'Earendel Fengelsson'; and I think it extremely likely, even almost certain, that this poem was to be a Lay of Eärendel. (On Fengel see the next section.)

The text is in the first stage of composition and is exceedingly rough, but it contains one line of the utmost interest for the history of Eärendel. It is written on examination paper from the University of Leeds and clearly belongs in time with *The Lay of the Children of Húrin* and *The Flight of the Noldoli*: more than that seems impossible to say.

Lo! the flame of fire and fierce hatred
engulfed Gondolin and its glory fell,
its tapering towers and its tall rooftops
were laid all low, and its leaping fountains
made no music more on the mount of Gwareth,
and its whitehewn walls were whispering ash.
{ But Wade of the Helsings wearyhearted }
{ Tûr the earthborn was tried in battle }
from the wrack and ruin a remnant led
women and children and wailing maidens
and wounded men of the withered folk
down the path unproven that pierced the hillside,
neath Tumladin he led them to the leaguer of hills
that rose up rugged as ranged pinnacles
to the north of the vale. There the narrow way
of Cristhorn was cloven, the Cleft of Eagles,
through the midmost mountains. And more is told
in lays and in legend and lore of others
of that weary way of the wandering folk;
how the waifs of Gondolin outwitted Melko,
vanished o'er the vale and vanquished the hills,
how Glorfindel the golden in the gap of the Eagles
battled with the Balrog and both were slain:
one like flash of fire from fangéd rock,
one like bolted thunder black was smitten
to the dreadful deep digged by Thornsir.
Of the thirst and hunger of the thirty moons
when they sought for Sirion and were sore bestead
by plague and peril; of the Pools of Twilight
and Land of Willows; when their lamentation
was heard in the halls where the high Gods sate
veiled in Valinor . . the Vanished Isles;
all this have others in ancient stories
and songs unfolded, but say I further
how their lot was lightened, how they laid them down
in long grasses of the Land of Willows.
There sun was softer, . . . the sweet breezes
and whispering winds, there wells of slumber
and the dew enchanted

★

NOTES

25 The next lines are

> where stony-voicéd that stream of Eagles
> runs o'er the rocky

but the second of these is struck out and the first left without continuation.

31 The second half-line was written *in the Vanished Isles*, but *in* was struck out and replaced by a word that I cannot interpret.

36 The second half-line was written *and the sweet breezes*, but *and* was struck out and replaced by some other word, possibly *then*.

Commentary

For the form *Tûr* see II. 148, 260.

In the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* Cristhorn, the Eagles' Cleft, was in the Encircling Mountains south of Gondolin, and the secret tunnel led southwards from the city (II. 167–8 etc.); but from line 14 of this fragment it is seen that the change to the north had already entered the legend.

Lines 26–7 (*the thirty moons when they sought for Sirion*) go back to the *Fall of Gondolin*, where it is said that the fugitives wandered 'a year and more' in the wastes (see II. 195, 214).

The reading of line 7 as first written (it was not struck out, but *Tûr the earthborn was tried in battle* was added in the margins):

> But Wade of the Helsings wearyhearted

is remarkable. It is taken directly from the very early Old English poem *Widsith*, where occurs the line *Wada Hælsingum*, sc. *Wada* [*weold*] *Hælsingum*, 'Wada ruled the Hælsingas'. One may well wonder why the mysterious figure of Wade should appear here in Tuor's place, and indeed I cannot explain it: but whatever the reason, the association of Wade with Tuor is not casual. Of the original story of Wade almost nothing is known; but he survived in popular recollection through the Middle Ages and later – he is mentioned by Malory as a mighty being, and Chaucer refers to 'Wade's boat' in *The Merchant's Tale*; in *Troilus and Crisyede* Pandare told a 'tale of Wade'. R. W. Chambers (*Widsith*, Cambridge 1912, p. 95) said that Wade was perhaps 'originally a sea-giant, dreaded and honoured by the coast tribes of the North Sea and the Baltic'; and the tribe of the Hælsingas over which he is said to have ruled in *Widsith* is supposed to have left its name in Helsingör (Elsinore) in Denmark and in Helsingfors in Finland. Chambers summed up what few generalities he thought might be made from the scattered references in English and German as follows:

We find these common characteristics, which we may assume belonged to their ancient prototype, Wada of the Hælsingas:

(1) Power over the sea.
(2) Extraordinary strength – often typified by superhuman stature.
(3) The use of these powers to help those whom Wade favours.

. . . Probably he grew out of the figure, not of a historic chief, but of a supernatural power, who had no story all his own, and who interested mortal men only when he interfered in their concerns. Hence he is essentially a helper in time of need; and we may be fairly confident that already in the oldest lays he possessed this character.

Most interesting, however, is the fact that in Speght's annotations to Chaucer (1598) he said:

Concerning Wade and his bote *Guingelot*, as also his strange exploits in the same, because the matter is long and fabulous, I passe it over.

The likeness of *Guingelot* to *Wingelot* is sufficiently striking; but when we place together the facts that Wingelot was Eärendel's ship,* that Eärendel was Tuor's son, that Tuor was peculiarly associated with the sea, and that here 'Wade of the Helsings' stands in the place of Tuor, coincidence is ruled out. *Wingelot* was derived from Wade's boat *Guingelot* as certainly, I think, as was Eärendel from the Old English figure (this latter being a fact expressly stated by my father, II. 309).

Why my father should have intruded 'Wade of the Helsings' into the verses at this point is another question. It may conceivably have been unintentional – the words *Wada Hælsingum* were running in his mind (though in that case one might expect that he would have struck the line out and not merely written another line against it as an alternative): but at any rate the reason why they were running in his mind is clear, and this possibility in no way diminishes the demonstrative value of the line that *Wingelot* was derived from *Guingelot*, and that there was a connection of greater significance than the mere taking over of a name – just as in the case of Eärendel.

★

(iii) *The Lay of the Fall of Gondolin*

This was the title that late in his life my father wrote on the bundle of papers constituting the abandoned beginning of this poem; but it seems that it was not conceived on a large scale, since the narrative had reached

*In which he undertook 'fabulous exploits'. It is conceivable that there was some connection between Eärendel's great world-girdling voyage and the travels of Wade as described by the twelfth-century English writer Walter Map, who tells how *Gado* (sc. Wade) journeyed in his boat to the furthest Indies.

the dragon-fire arising over the northern heights already within 130 lines. That he composed it while at the University of Leeds is certain, but I strongly suspect that it was the first versification of matter from the *Lost Tales* undertaken, before he turned to the alliterative line. The story, so far as it goes, has undergone virtually no development from the prose tale of *The Fall of Gondolin*, and the closeness of the Lay to the Tale can be seen from this comparison (though the passage is exceptional):

(Tale, II. 158)
Rejoice that ye have found it, for behold before you the City of Seven Names where all who war with Melko may find hope.'
Then said Tuor: 'What be those names?' And the chief of the Guard made answer: '"Tis said and 'tis sung: "Gondobar am I called and Gondothlimbar, City of Stone and City of the Dwellers in Stone, &c.

(Lay) Rejoice that ye have found it and rest from endless war,
For the seven-naméd city 'tis that stands upon the hill,
Where all who strive with Morgoth find hope and valour still.'
'What be those names,' said Tuor, 'for I come from long afar?'
'"Tis said and 'tis sung,' one answered, '"My name is Gondobar
And Gondothlimbar also, the City hewn of Stone,
The fortress of the Gnome-folk who dwell in Halls of Stone, &c.

I do not give this poem *in extenso* here, since it does not, so far as the main narrative is concerned, add anything to the Tale; and my father found, as I think, the metrical form unsuitable to the purpose. There are, however, several passages of interest for the study of the larger development of the legends.

In the *Tale*, Tuor was the son of Peleg (who was the son of Indor, II. 160), but here he is the son of Fengel; while on a scrap of paper giving rough workings of the passage cited above* Tuor himself is called Fengel – cf. 'Eärendel son of Fengel' at the end of the fragment of an Eärendel Lay, p. 141. Long afterwards Fengel was the name of the fifteenth King of Rohan in the Third Age, grandfather of Théoden, and there it is the Old English noun *fengel* 'king, prince'.

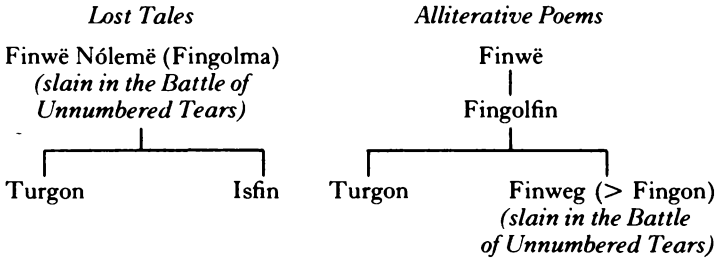
There are some puzzling statements made concerning Fingolfin, whose appearance here, I feel certain, is earlier than those in the alliterative poems; and the passage in which he appears introduces also the story of Isfin and Eöl.

*This is the page referred to in *Unfinished Tales* p. 4: 'some lines of verse in which appear the Seven Names of Gondolin are scribbled on the back of a piece of paper setting out "the chain of responsibility in a battalion".' Not knowing at that time where this isolated scrap came from I took this as an indication of very early date, but this is certainly mistaken: the paper must have survived and been used years later for rough writing.

Lo, that prince of Gondobar [Meglin]
dark Eöl's son whom Isfin, in a mountain dale afar
in the gloom of Doriath's forest, the white-limbed maiden bare,
the daughter of Fingolfin, Gelmir's mighty heir.
'Twas the bent blades of the Glamhoth that drank Fingolfin's life
as he stood alone by Fëanor; but his maiden and his wife
were wildered as they sought him in the forests of the night,
in the pathless woods of Doriath, so dark that as a light
of palely mirrored moonsheen were their slender elfin limbs
straying among the black holes where only the dim bat skims
from Thû's dark-delvéd caverns. There Eöl saw that sheen
and he caught the white-limbed Isfin, that she ever since hath been
his mate in Doriath's forest, where she weepeth in the gloam;
for the Dark Elves were his kindred that wander without home.
Meglin she sent to Gondolin, and his honour there was high
as the latest seed of Fingolfin, whose glory shall not die;
a lordship he won of the Gnome-folk who quarry deep in the earth,
seeking their ancient jewels; but little was his mirth,
and dark he was and secret and his hair as the strands of night
that are tangled in Taur Fuin* the forest without light.

In the *Lost Tales* Finwë Nólemë, first Lord of the Noldoli, was the father of Turgon (and so of Isfin, who was Turgon's sister), I. 115; Finwë Nólemë was slain in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears and his heart cut out by Orcs, but Turgon rescued the body and heart of his father, and the Scarlet Heart became his grim emblem (I. 241, II. 172). Finwë Nólemë is also called Fingolma (I. 238–9, II. 220).

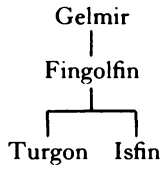
In the alliterative poems Fingolfin is the son of Finwë (Finweg) and the father of Turgon, and also of Finweg (> Fingon), as he was to remain (see p. 137). Thus:



But whereas in the *Lay of the Fall of Gondolin* Fingolfin has

*Taur Fuin is the form in the *Lost Tales*; it was here emended later to *Taur-na-Fuin*, which is the form from the first in *The Children of Húrin*.

emerged and stepped into Finwë's place as the father of Turgon and Isfin, he is not here the son of Finwë but of one *Gelmir*:



In an early prose text – one of the very few scraps (to be given in the next volume) that bridge the gap in the prose history between the *Lost Tales* and the 'Sketch of the Mythology' – Gelmir appears as the King of the Noldoli at the time of the flight from Valinor, and one of his sons is there named *Golfin*.

There is too little evidence extant (if there ever was any more written down) to penetrate with certainty the earliest evolution of the Noldorin kings. The simplest explanation is that this Gelmir, father of Golfin/Fingolfin = Fingolma/Finwë Nólemë, father of Fingolfin. But it is also said in this passage that Fingolfin was slain by the Glamhoth 'as he stood alone by Fëanor', and whatever story lies behind this is now vanished (for the earliest, very obscure, references to the death of Fëanor see I. 238–9).

This passage from the *Lay of the Fall of Gondolin* contains the first account of the story of Eöl the Dark Elf, Isfin sister of Turgon, and their son Meglin (for a very primitive form of the legend see II. 220). In the prose tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* the story is dismissed in the words 'that tale of Isfin and Eöl may not here be told', II. 165. In the Lay, Fingolfin's wife and daughter (Isfin) *were seeking for him* when Isfin was taken by Eöl. Since in the 'Sketch' Isfin was lost in Taur-na-Fuin after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears and there trapped by Eöl, it is possible that at this stage Fingolfin was the Elvish king who died (beside Fëanor?) in the great battle. It is also possible that we see here the genesis of the idea of Isfin's wandering in the wilds, although of course with subsequent shifts, whereby Fingolfin died in duel with Morgoth after the Battle of Sudden Flame and Fingon (Isfin's brother) was the Noldorin king slain in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, the story that she was seeking her father was abandoned. What this passage does certainly show is that the story of Isfin's sending her son to Gondolin is original, but that originally Isfin remained with her captor Eöl and never escaped from him.

Eöl here dwells 'in a mountain dale afar in the gloom of Doriath's forest', 'in the forests of the night', 'where only the dim bat skims from Thû's dark-delvéd caverns'. This must be the earliest reference to Thû, and at any rate in connected writing the earliest to Doriath (Artanor of the *Lost Tales*). I have suggested (II. 63) that in the *Tale of Tinúviel*

'Artanor was conceived as a great region of forest in the heart of which was Tinwelint's cavern', and that the zone of the Queen's protection 'was originally less distinctly bordered, and less extensive, than "the Girdle of Melian" afterwards became'. Here the description of Eöl's habitation in a forest without light (where Thû lives in caverns) suggests rather the forest of Taur-na-Fuin, where

> Never-dawning night was netted clinging
> in the black branches of the beetling trees

and where

> goblins even
> (whose deep eyes drill the darkest shadows)
> bewildered wandered

(*The Children of Húrin*, p. 34, lines 753ff.)

The passage also contains an interesting reference to the purpose of the miners of Gondolin: 'seeking their ancient jewels.'

Earlier in this Lay some lines are given to the coming of Tuor to the hidden door beneath the Encircling Mountains:

> Thither Tuor son of Fengel came out of the dim land
> that the Gnomes have called Dor-Lómin, with Bronweg at his hand,
> who fled from the Iron Mountains and had broken Melko's chain
> and cast his yoke of evil, of torment and bitter pain;
> who alone most faithful-hearted led Tuor by long ways
> through empty hills and valleys by dark nights and perilous days,
> till his blue lamp magic-kindled, where flow the shadowy rills
> beneath enchanted alders, found that Gate beneath the hills,
> the door in dark Dungorthin that only the Gnome-folk knew.

In a draft for this passage the name here is *Nan Orwen*, emended to *Dungorthin*. In *The Children of Húrin* (lines 1457ff.) Túrin and Flinding came to this 'grey valley' after they had passed west over Sirion, and reached the roots of the Shadowy Mountains 'that Hithlum girdle'. For earlier references to Nan Dungorthin and different placings of it see p. 87; the present passage seems to indicate yet another, with the hidden door of Gondolin opening into it.

A few other passages may be noticed. At the beginning there is a reference to old songs telling

> how the Gods in council gathered on the outmost rocky bars
> of the Lonely Island westward, and devised a land of ease
> beyond the great sea-shadows and the shadowy seas;
> how they made the deep gulf of Faërie with long and lonely shore . . .

That the Gods were ferried on an island by Ossë and the Oarni at the time of the fall of the Lamps is told in the tale of *The Coming of the Valar*

(I. 70), and that this isle was afterwards that of the Elves' ferrying (becoming Tol Eressëa) is told in *The Coming of the Elves* (I. 118).

When Gondolin was built the people cried 'Côr is built anew!' and the guard who told Tuor the seven names said:

> Loth, the Flower, they name me, saying 'Côr is born again,
> even in Loth-a-ladwen,* the Lily of the Plain.'

I have noticed earlier (II. 208) that whereas it is explicit in *The Silmarillion* that Turgon devised the city to be 'a memorial of Tirion upon Túna', and it became 'as beautiful as a memory of Elven Tirion', this is not said in *The Fall of Gondolin*: Turgon was born in the Great Lands after the return of the Noldoli from Valinor, and had never known Kôr. 'One may feel nonetheless that the tower of the King, the fountains and stairs, the white marbles of Gondolin embody a recollection of Kôr as it is described in *The Coming of the Elves and the Making of Kôr* (I. 122–3).'

There is also a reference to Eärendel

> who passed the Gates of Dread,
> half-mortal and half-elfin, undying and long dead.

The Gates of Dread are probably the gates of the Door of Night, through which Eärendel passed (II. 255).

*This is the only point in which the Seven Names differ from their forms in the *Tale* (II. 158). In the *Tale* the name of the city as 'Lily of the Valley' is *Lothengriol*. For *ladwen* 'plain' see II. 344. In a draft of the passage in the lay the name was *Loth Barodrin*.

III
THE LAY OF LEITHIAN

My father wrote in his diary that he began 'the poem of Tinúviel' during the period of the summer examinations of 1925 (see p. 3), and he abandoned it in September 1931 (see below), when he was 39. The rough workings for the whole poem are extant (and 'rough' means very rough indeed); from them he wrote a fair copy, which I shall call 'A'.*

On this manuscript A my father most uncharacteristically inserted dates, the first of these being at line 557 (August 23, 1925); and he composed the last hundred-odd lines of the third Canto (ending at line 757) while on holiday at Filey on the Yorkshire coast in September 1925. The next date is two and a half years and 400 lines later, 27–28 March 1928 written against line 1161; and thereafter each day for a further nine days, till 6 April 1928, is marked, during which time he wrote out no less than 1768 lines, to 2929.

Since the dates refer to the copying of verses out fair in the manuscript, not to their actual composition, it might be thought that they prove little; but the rough workings of lines 2497–2504 are written on an abandoned letter dated 1 April 1928, and these lines were written in the fair copy A on 4 April – showing that lines 2505–2929 were actually composed between 1 and 6 April. I think therefore that the dates on A can be taken as effectively indicating the time of composition.

The date November 1929 (at line 3031) is followed by a substantial amount of composition in the last week of September 1930, and again in the middle of September 1931; the last date is 17 September of that year against line 4085 very near the point where the Lay was abandoned. Details of the dates are given in the Notes.

There is also a typescript text ('B') made by my father, of which the last few hundred lines are in manuscript, and this text ends at precisely the same point as does A. This typescript was begun quite early, since my father mentioned in his diary for 16 August 1926 having done 'a little typing of part of *Tinúviel*'; and before the end of 1929 he gave it to C. S. Lewis to read. On 7 December of that year Lewis wrote to him about it, saying:

> I sat up late last night and have read the *Geste* as far as to where Beren and his gnomish allies defeat the patrol of orcs above the sources of the

*This was written on the backs of examination-scripts, tied together and prepared as a blank manuscript: it was large enough to last through the six years, and a few scripts at the end of the bundle remained unused.

> Narog and disguise themselves in the *rēaf* [Old English: 'garments, weapons, taken from the slain']. I can quite honestly say that it is ages since I have had an evening of such delight: and the personal interest of reading a friend's work had very little to do with it. I should have enjoyed it just as well as if I'd picked it up in a bookshop, by an unknown author. The two things that come out clearly are the sense of reality in the background and the mythical value: the essence of a myth being that it should have no taint of allegory to the maker and yet should suggest incipient allegories to the reader,

Lewis had thus reached in his reading about line 2017. He had evidently received more; it may be that the typescript by this time extended to the attack on Lúthien and Beren by Celegorm and Curufin fleeing from Nargothrond, against which (at line 3031) is the date November 1929 in the manuscript. Some time after this, probably early in 1930, Lewis sent my father 14 pages of detailed criticism, as far as line 1161 (if there was any more it has not survived). This criticism he contrived as a heavily academic commentary on the text, pretending to treat the Lay as an ancient and anonymous work extant in many more or less corrupt manuscripts, overlaid by scribal perversions in antiquity and the learned argumentation of nineteenth-century scholars; and thus entertainingly took the sting from some sharply expressed judgements, while at the same time in this disguise expressing strong praise for particular passages. Almost all the verses which Lewis found wanting for one reason or another are marked for revision in the typescript B if not actually rewritten, and in many cases his proposed emendations, or modifications of them, are incorporated into the text. The greater part of Lewis's commentary is given on pp. 315 ff., with the verses he criticised and the alterations made as a result.

My father abandoned the Lay at the point where the jaws of Carcharoth *crashed together like a trap* on Beren's hand and the Silmaril was engulfed, but though he never advanced beyond that place in the narrative, he did not abandon it for good. When *The Lord of the Rings* was finished he returned to the Lay again and recast the first two Cantos and a good part of the third, and small portions of some others.

To summarise the elements of this history:

(1) Rough workings of the whole poem, composed 1925–31.

(2) Manuscript A of the whole poem, written out progressively during 1925–31.

(3) Typescript B of the whole poem (ending in manuscript), already in progress in 1926.

This typescript given to C. S. Lewis towards the end of 1929, when it extended probably to about line 3031.

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(4) Recasting of the opening Cantos and parts of some others (after the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*).

The manuscript A was emended, both by changes and insertions, at different times, the majority of these alterations being incorporated in the typescript B; while in B, as typed, there are further changes not found in A.

The amount of emendation made to B varies very greatly. My father used it as a basis for the later rewritings, and in these parts the old typescript is entirely covered with new verses; but for long stretches – by far the greater part of the poem – the text is untouched save for very minor and as it were casual modifications to individual lines here and there.

After much experimentation I have concluded that to make a single text, an amalgam derived from the latest writing throughout the poem, would be wholly mistaken. Quite apart from the practical difficulty of changed names in the rewritten parts that do not scan in the old lines, the later verse in its range and technical accomplishment is too distinct; too much time had passed, and in the small amount that my father rewrote of the *Lay of Leithian* after *The Lord of the Rings* we have fragments of a new poem: from which we can gain an idea of what might have been. I have therefore excised these parts, and give them subsequently and separately (Chapter IV).

A further reason for doing so lies in the purpose of this book, which includes the consideration of the Lays as important stages in the evolution of the legends. Some of the revisions to the *Lay of Leithian* are at least 30 years later than the commencement of the poem. From the point of view of the 'history', therefore, the abandonment of the poem in or soon after September 1931 constitutes a terminal point, and I have excluded emendations to names that are (as I believe) certainly later than that, but included those which are earlier.* In a case like that of *Beleriand*, for instance, which was *Broseliand* for much of the poem in B and always later emended to *Beleriand*, but had become *Beleriand* as first written by line 3957, I give *Beleriand* throughout. On the other hand I retain *Gnomes* since my father still used this in *The Hobbit*.

The many small changes made for metrical/stylistic reasons, however, constitute a problem in the attempt to produce a '1931 text', since it is often impossible to be sure to which 'phase' they belong. Some are

* This leads to inconsistent treatment of certain names as between the two long Lays, e.g. *Finweg* son of Fingolfin in *The Children of Húrin* but *Fingon* in the *Lay of Leithian*. *Finweg* survived into the 1930 version of 'The Silmarillion' but was early emended to *Fingon*.

demonstrably very early – e.g. *candle flowers* emended to *flowering candles* (line 516), since C. S. Lewis commented on the latter – while others are demonstrably from many years later, and strictly speaking belong with the late rewritings; but many cannot be certainly determined. In any case, such changes – very often made to get rid of certain artifices employed as metrical aids, most notably among these the use of emphatic tenses with *doth* and *did* simply in order to obtain a syllable – such changes have no repercussions beyond the improvement of the individual line; and in such cases it seems a pity, through rigid adherence to the textual basis, to lose such small enhancements, or at any rate to hide them in a trail of tedious textual notes, while letting their less happy predecessors stand in the text. I have thought it justifiable therefore to be frankly inconsistent in these details, and while for example retaining *Gnomes* (for *Elves* or other substitution) or *Thû* (for *Gorthû* or *Sauron*), to introduce small changes of wording that are certainly later than these.

As in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* there are no numbered notes to the text; the annotation, related to the line-numbers of the poem, is very largely restricted to earlier readings, and these earlier readings are restricted to cases where there is some significant difference, as of name or motive. Citations from the manuscript A are always citations from that text *as first written* (in very many cases it was emended to the reading found in B).

It is to be noticed that while the *Lay of Leithian* was in process of composition the 'Sketch of the Mythology' was written (first in 1926) and rewritten, leading directly into the version of 'The Silmarillion' that I ascribe to 1930, in which many of the essentials, both in narrative and language, of the published work were already present. In my commentaries on each Canto I attempt to take stock of the development in the legends *pari passu* with the text of the poem, and only refer exceptionally to the contemporary prose works.

The A-text has no title, but on the covering page of the bundle of rough workings is written *Tinúviel*, and in his early references to the poem my father called it thus, as he called the alliterative poem *Túrin*. The B-text bears this title:

The
GEST
of
BEREN son of BARAHIR
and
LÚTHIEN the FAY
called
TINÚVIEL the NIGHTINGALE
or the
LAY OF LEITHIAN
Release from Bondage

The 'Gest of Beren and Lúthien' means a narrative in verse, telling of the deeds of Beren and Lúthien. The word *gest* is pronounced as Modern English *jest*, being indeed the 'same word' in phonetic form, though now totally changed in meaning.

My father never explained the name *Leithian* 'Release from Bondage', and we are left to choose, if we will, among various applications that can be seen in the poem. Nor did he leave any comment on the significance – if there is a significance – of the likeness of *Leithian* to *Leithien* 'England'. In the tale of *Ælfwine of England* the Elvish name of England is *Lúthien* (which was earlier the name of Ælfwine himself, England being *Luthany*), but at the first occurrence (only) of this name the word *Leithian* was pencilled above it (II. 330, note 20). In the 'Sketch of the Mythology' England was still *Lúthien* (and at that time Thingol's daughter was also *Lúthien*), but this was emended to *Leithien*, and this is the form in the 1930 version of 'The Silmarillion'. I cannot say (i) what connection if any there was between the two significances of *Lúthien*, nor (ii) whether *Leithien* (once *Leithian*) 'England' is or was related to *Leithian* 'Release from Bondage'. The only evidence of an etymological nature that I have found is a hasty note, impossible to date, which refers to a stem *leth-* 'set free', with *leithia* 'release', and compares *Lay of Leithian*.

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The GEST of BEREN and LÚTHIEN

I

A king there was in days of old:
ere Men yet walked upon the mould
his power was reared in cavern's shade,
his hand was over glen and glade.
His shields were shining as the moon,
his lances keen of steel were hewn,
of silver grey his crown was wrought,
the starlight in his banners caught;
and silver thrilled his trumpets long
beneath the stars in challenge strong;
enchantment did his realm enfold,
where might and glory, wealth untold,
he wielded from his ivory throne
in many-pillared halls of stone.

There beryl, pearl, and opal pale,
and metal wrought like fishes' mail,
buckler and corslet, axe and sword,
and gleaming spears were laid in hoard –
all these he had and loved them less
than a maiden once in Elfinesse;
for fairer than are born to Men
a daughter had he, Lúthien.

Such lissom limbs no more shall run
on the green earth beneath the sun;
so fair a maid no more shall be
from dawn to dusk, from sun to sea.
Her robe was blue as summer skies,
but grey as evening were her eyes;
'twas sewn with golden lilies fair,
but dark as shadow was her hair.
Her feet were light as bird on wing,
her laughter lighter than the spring;
the slender willow, the bowing reed,
the fragrance of a flowering mead,
the light upon the leaves of trees,
the voice of water, more than these
her beauty was and blissfulness,
her glory and her loveliness;
and her the king more dear did prize
than hand or heart or light of eyes.

They dwelt amid Beleriand,
while Elfin power yet held the land,
in the woven woods of Doriath:
few ever thither found the path;
few ever dared the forest-eaves
to pass, or stir the listening leaves
with tongue of hounds a-hunting fleet,
with horse, or horn, or mortal feet.
To North there lay the Land of Dread,
whence only evil pathways led
o'er hills of shadow bleak and cold
or Taur-na-Fuin's haunted hold,
where Deadly Nightshade lurked and lay
and never came or moon or day;
to South the wide earth unexplored;

to West the ancient Ocean roared,
unsailed and shoreless, wide and wild;
to East in peaks of blue were piled
in silence folded, mist-enfurled,
the mountains of the Outer World,
beyond the tangled woodland shade,
thorn and thicket, grove and glade,
whose brooding boughs with magic hung
were ancient when the world was young.

There Thingol in the Thousand Caves,
whose portals pale that river laves
Esgalduin that fairies call,
in many a tall and torchlit hall
a dark and hidden king did dwell,
lord of the forest and the fell;
and sharp his sword and high his helm,
the king of beech and oak and elm.

There Lúthien the lissom maid
would dance in dell and grassy glade,
and music merrily, thin and clear,
went down the ways, more fair than ear
of mortal Men at feast hath heard,
and fairer than the song of bird.
When leaves were long and grass was green
then Dairon with his fingers lean,
as daylight melted into shade,
a wandering music sweetly made,
enchanted fluting, warbling wild,
for love of Thingol's elfin child.

There bow was bent and shaft was sped,
the fallow deer as phantoms fled,
and horses proud with braided mane,
with shining bit and silver rein,
went fleeting by on moonlit night,
as swallows arrow-swift in flight;
a blowing and a sound of bells,
a hidden hunt in hollow dells.
There songs were made and things of gold,
and silver cups and jewels untold,
and the endless years of Faëry land

rolled over far Beleriand,
until a day beneath the sun,
when many marvels were begun.

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NOTES

The opening of the poem in B is complicated by the fact that my father partly rewrote, and retyped, the first Canto – a rewriting entirely distinct from the later fundamental recasting that the early part of the poem underwent. This first rewriting of the opening Canto was done while the original composition of the poem was still proceeding, but was fairly far advanced. The second version was typed in exactly the same form as that it replaced, whereas the last part of the B-text is not typed; but the name *Beleriand* appears in it, as typed, and not as an emendation, whereas elsewhere in B the form is *Broseliand*, always emended in ink to *Beleriand*.* Moreover it was the first version of Canto I in the B-text that C. S. Lewis read on the night of 6 December 1929, and I think it very probable that it was Lewis's criticism that led my father to rewrite the opening (see pp. 315–16). In the following notes the first version of B is called B(1), the rewritten text given above being B(2).

1–30 A: A king was in the dawn of days:
his golden crown did brightly blaze
with ruby red and crystal clear;
his meats were sweet, his dishes dear;
red robes of silk, an ivory throne,
and ancient halls of archéd stone,
and wine and music lavished free,
and thirty champions and three,
all these he had and heeded not.
His daughter dear was Melilot:
from dawn to dusk, fron sun to sea,
no fairer maiden found could be.
Her robe was blue as summer skies,
but not so blue as were her eyes;
'twas sewn with golden lilies fair,
but none so golden as her hair.

An earlier draft, after line 12 *found could be*, has the couplet:

from England unto Eglamar
o'er folk and field and lands afar.

* Once near the very end (line 3957), in the manuscript conclusion of the B-text, the form as written is *Beleriand*, not *Broseliand*.

B(1): A king there was in olden days:
&c. as A to line 6

and hoarded gold in gleaming grot,
all these he had and heeded not.
But fairer than are born to Men
a daughter had he, Lúthien:
&c. as B(2)

14–18 These lines were used afterwards in Gimli's song in Moria (*The Fellowship of the Ring* II. 4); see the Commentary by C. S. Lewis, p. 316.

41–4 A: They dwelt in dark Broceliand
while loneliness yet held the land.

B(1): They dwelt beyond Broseliand
while loneliness yet held the land,
in the forest dark of Doriath.
Few ever thither found the path;

In B(1) *Ossiriande* is pencilled above *Broseliand*. As noted above, B(2) has *Beleriand* as typed.

48 After this line A and B(1) have:

Yet came at whiles afar and dim
beneath the roots of mountains grim
a blowing and a sound of bells,
a hidden hunt in hollow dells.

The second couplet reappears at a later point in B(2), lines 91–2.

49–61 A and B(1):

To North there lay the Land of Dread,
whence only evil pathways led
o'er hills of shadow bleak and cold;
to West and South the oceans rolled
unsailed and shoreless, wild and wide;
to East and East the hills did hide
beneath the tangled woodland shade,

65–6 A: There Celegorm his ageless days
doth wear amid the woven ways,
the glimmering aisles and endless naves
whose pillared feet that river laves

67 *Esgalduin* A, but *Esgaduin* in the rough workings, which is the form in *The Children of Húrin* (p. 76, line 2164) before correction.

73 A: There Melilot the lissom maid

79–84 Not in A.

85–93 A and B(1) (with one slight difference):

> There bow was bent and shaft was sped
> and deer as fallow phantoms fled,
> and horses pale with harness bright
> went jingling by on moonlit night;
> there songs were made and things of gold

See note to line 48.

96 A: rolled over dark Broceliand,
B(1): rolled over far Broseliand,
In B(1) *Ossiriande* is pencilled against *Broseliand*, as at line 41.

Commentary on Canto I

An extraordinary feature of the A-version is the name *Celegorm* given to the King of the woodland Elves (Thingol); moreover in the next Canto the rôle of Beren is in A played by *Maglor*, son of Egnor. The only possible conclusion, strange as it is, is that my father was prepared to abandon *Thingol* for *Celegorm* and (even more astonishing) *Beren* for *Maglor*. Both *Celegorm* and *Maglor* as sons of Fëanor have appeared in the *Tale of the Nauglafring* and in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*.

The name of the king's daughter in A, *Melilot*, is also puzzling (and is it the English plant-name, as in Melilot Brandybuck, a guest at Bilbo Baggins' farewell party?). Already in the second version of *The Children of Húrin* Lúthien has appeared as the 'true' name of Tinúviel (see p. 119, note to 358–66). It is perhaps possible that my father in fact began the *Lay of Leithian* before he stopped work on *The Children of Húrin*, in which case *Melilot* might be the first 'true' name of Tinúviel, displaced by *Lúthien*; but I think that this is extremely unlikely.* In view of *Beren* > *Maglor*, I think *Lúthien* > *Melilot* far more probable. In any event, *Beren* and *Lúthien* soon appear in the original drafts of the *Lay of Leithian*.

It is strange also that in A the king's daughter was blue-eyed and golden-haired, for this would not accord with the robe of darkness that

*My father expressly stated in his diary that he began *Tinúviel* in the summer of 1925; and it is to be noted that a reference to the *Lay of Leithian* appears in the alliterative head-piece to one of the typescripts of *Light as Leaf on Lindentree* – which was actually published in June 1925 (see pp. 120–1). Thus the reference in the second version of *The Children of Húrin* to the *Lay of Leithian* (p. 107 line 356) is not evidence that he had in fact begun it.

she spun from her hair: in the *Tale of Tinúviel* her hair was 'dark' (II. 20).

The name *Broceliand* that appears in A (*Broseliand* B) is remarkable, but I can cast no light on my father's choice of this name (the famous Forest of Broceliande in Brittany of the Arthurian legends).* It would be interesting to know how *Broseliand* led to *Beleriand*, and a clue may perhaps be found on a page of rough working for the opening of the Lay, where he jotted down various names that must be possibilities that he was pondering for the name of the land. The fact that *Ossiriand* occurs among them, while it is also pencilled against *Broseliand* at lines 41 and 96 in B(1), may suggest that these names arose during the search for a replacement of *Broseliand*. The names are:

Golodhinand, *Noldórinan*, *Geleriand*, *Bladorinand*, *Belaurien*, *Arsiriand*, *Lassiriand*, *Ossiriand*.

Golodhinand is incidentally interesting as showing *Golodh*, the later Sindarin equivalent of Quenya *Noldo* (in the old Gnomish dictionary *Golda* was the Gnomish equivalent of 'Elvish' *Noldo*, I.262). *Geleriand* I can cast no light on; but *Belaurien* is obviously connected with *Belaurin*, the Gnomish form of *Palúrien* (I. 264), and *Bladorinand* with Palúrien's name *Bladorwen* 'the wide earth, Mother Earth' (*ibid.*). It seems at least possible that *Belaurien* lies behind *Beleriand* (which was afterwards explained quite differently).

Another curious feature is the word *beyond* in *They dwelt beyond Broseliand*, the reading of B(1) at line 41, where A has *in* and B(2) has *amid*.

Esga(l)duin, *Taur-na-Fuin* (for *Taur Fuin* of the *Lost Tales*), and *the Thousand Caves* have all appeared in *The Children of Húrin*; but in the mountains that

to East in peaks of blue were piled
in silence folded, mist-enfurled

– lines that are absent from A and B(1) – we have the first appearance of the Blue Mountains (*Ered Luin*) of the later legends: fencing Beleriand, as it seems, from *the Outer World*.

In all the texts of the first Canto the King of the woodland Elves is presented as possessing great wealth. This conception appears already in *The Children of Húrin* (see p. 26), in the most marked contrast to all that is told in the *Lost Tales*: cf. the *Tale of Turambar* (II. 95) 'the folk of Tinwelint were of the woodlands and had scant wealth', 'his riches were small', and the *Tale of the Nauglafring* (II. 227) 'A golden crown

*On the earliest 'Silmarillion' map it is said that 'all the lands watered by Sirion south of Gondolin are called *in English* "Broseliand" '.

they [the Dwarves] made for Tinwelint, who yet had worn nought but a wreath of scarlet leaves.'

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II

Far in the North neath hills of stone
in caverns black there was a throne
by fires illumined underground,
that winds of ice with moaning sound
made flare and flicker in dark smoke;
the wavering bitter coils did choke
the sunless airs of dungeons deep
where evil things did crouch and creep.
There sat a king: no Elfin race
nor mortal blood, nor kindly grace
of earth or heaven might he own,
far older, stronger than the stone
the world is built of, than the fire
that burns within more fierce and dire;
and thoughts profound were in his heart:
a gloomy power that dwelt apart.

Unconquerable spears of steel
were at his nod. No ruth did feel
the legions of his marshalled hate,
on whom did wolf and raven wait;
and black the ravens sat and cried
upon their banners black, and wide
was heard their hideous chanting dread
above the reek and trampled dead.
With fire and sword his ruin red
on all that would not bow the head
like lightning fell. The Northern land
lay groaning neath his ghastly hand.

But still there lived in hiding cold
undaunted, Barahir the bold,
of land bereaved, of lordship shorn,
who once a prince of Men was born
and now an outlaw lurked and lay
in the hard heath and woodland grey,

and with him clung of faithful men
but Beren his son and other ten.
Yet small as was their hunted band
still fell and fearless was each hand,
and strong deeds they wrought yet oft,
and loved the woods, whose ways more soft
them seemed than thralls of that black throne
to live and languish in halls of stone.
King Morgoth still pursued them sore
with men and dogs, and wolf and boar
with spells of madness filled he sent
to slay them as in the woods they went;
yet nought hurt them for many years,
until, in brief to tell what tears
have oft bewailed in ages gone,
nor ever tears enough, was done
a deed unhappy; unaware
their feet were caught in Morgoth's snare.

Gorlim it was, who wearying
of toil and flight and harrying,
one night by chance did turn his feet
o'er the dark fields by stealth to meet
with hidden friend within a dale,
and found a homestead looming pale
against the misty stars, all dark
save one small window, whence a spark
of fitful candle strayed without.
Therein he peeped, and filled with doubt
he saw, as in a dreaming deep
when longing cheats the heart in sleep,
his wife beside a dying fire
lament him lost; her thin attire
and greying hair and paling cheek
of tears and loneliness did speak.
'A! fair and gentle Eilinel,
whom I had thought in darkling hell
long since emprisoned! Ere I fled
I deemed I saw thee slain and dead
upon that night of sudden fear
when all I lost that I held dear':
thus thought his heavy heart amazed

outside in darkness as he gazed.
But ere he dared to call her name,
or ask how she escaped and came
to this far vale beneath the hills,
he heard a cry beneath the hills!
There hooted near a hunting owl
with boding voice. He heard the howl
of the wild wolves that followed him
and dogged his feet through shadows dim.
Him unrelenting, well he knew,
the hunt of Morgoth did pursue.
Lest Eilinel with him they slay
without a word he turned away,
and like a wild thing winding led
his devious ways o'er stony bed
of stream, and over quaking fen,
until far from the homes of men
he lay beside his fellows few
in a secret place; and darkness grew,
and waned, and still he watched unsleeping,
and saw the dismal dawn come creeping
in dank heavens above gloomy trees.
A sickness held his soul for ease,
and hope, and even thraldom's chain
if he might find his wife again.
But all he thought twixt love of lord
and hatred of the king abhorred
and anguish for fair Eilinel
who drooped alone, what tale shall tell?

Yet at the last, when many days
of brooding did his mind amaze,
he found the servants of the king,
and bade them to their master bring
a rebel who forgiveness sought,
if haply forgiveness might be bought
with tidings of Barahir the bold,
and where his hidings and his hold
might best be found by night or day.
And thus sad Gorlim, led away
unto those dark deep-dolven halls,
before the knees of Morgoth falls,

and puts his trust in that cruel heart
wherein no truth had ever part.
Quoth Morgoth: 'Eilinel the fair
thou shalt most surely find, and there
where she doth dwell and wait for thee
together shall ye ever be,
and sundered shall ye sigh no more.
This guerdon shall he have that bore
these tidings sweet, O traitor dear!
For Eilinel she dwells not here,
but in the shades of death doth roam
widowed of husband and of home –
a wraith of that which might have been,
methinks, it is that thou hast seen!
Now shalt thou through the gates of pain
the land thou askest grimly gain;
thou shalt to the moonless mists of hell
descend and seek thy Eilinel.'

Thus Gorlim died a bitter death
and cursed himself with dying breath,
and Barahir was caught and slain,
and all good deeds were made in vain.
But Morgoth's guile for ever failed,
nor wholly o'er his foes prevailed,
and some were ever that still fought
unmaking that which malice wrought.
Thus men believed that Morgoth made
the fiendish phantom that betrayed
the soul of Gorlim, and so brought
the lingering hope forlorn to nought
that lived amid the lonely wood;
yet Beren had by fortune good
long hunted far afield that day,
and benighted in strange places lay
far from his fellows. In his sleep
he felt a dreadful darkness creep
upon his heart, and thought the trees
were bare and bent in mournful breeze;
no leaves they had, but ravens dark
sat thick as leaves on bough and bark,
and croaked, and as they croaked each neb

let fall a gout of blood; a web
unseen entwined him hand and limb,
until worn out, upon the rim
of stagnant pool he lay and shivered.
There saw he that a shadow quivered
far out upon the water wan,
and grew to a faint form thereon
that glided o'er the silent lake,
and coming slowly, softly spake
and sadly said: 'Lo! Gorlim here,
traitor betrayed, now stands! Nor fear,
but haste! For Morgoth's fingers close
upon thy father's throat. He knows
your secret tryst, your hidden lair',
and all the evil he laid bare
that he had done and Morgoth wrought.
Then Beren waking swiftly sought
his sword and bow, and sped like wind
that cuts with knives the branches thinned
of autumn trees. At last he came,
his heart afire with burning flame,
where Barahir his father lay;
he came too late. At dawn of day
he found the homes of hunted men,
a wooded island in the fen,
and birds rose up in sudden cloud –
no fen-fowl were they crying loud.
The raven and the carrion-crow
sat in the alders all a-row;
one croaked: 'Ha! Beren comes too late',
and answered all: 'Too late! Too late!'
There Beren buried his father's bones,
and piled a heap of boulder-stones,
and cursed the name of Morgoth thrice,
but wept not, for his heart was ice.

Then over fen and field and mountain
he followed, till beside a fountain
upgushing hot from fires below
he found the slayers and his foe,
the murderous soldiers of the king.
And one there laughed, and showed a ring

he took from Barahir's dead hand.
'This ring in far Beleriand,
now mark ye, mates,' he said, 'was wrought.
Its like with gold could not be bought,
for this same Barahir I slew,
this robber fool, they say, did do
a deed of service long ago
for Felagund. It may be so;
for Morgoth bade me bring it back,
and yet, methinks, he has no lack
of weightier treasure in his hoard.
Such greed befits not such a lord,
and I am minded to declare
the hand of Barahir was bare!'
Yet as he spake an arrow sped;
with riven heart he crumpled dead.
Thus Morgoth loved that his own foe
should in his service deal the blow
that punished the breaking of his word.
But Morgoth laughed not when he heard
that Beren like a wolf alone
sprang madly from behind a stone
amid that camp beside the well,
and seized the ring, and ere the yell
of wrath and rage had left their throat
had fled his foes. His gleaming coat
was made of rings of steel no shaft
could pierce, a web of dwarvish craft;
and he was lost in rock and thorn,
for in charméd hour was Beren born;
their hungry hunting never learned
the way his fearless feet had turned.

As fearless Beren was renowned,
as man most hardy upon ground,
while Barahir yet lived and fought;
but sorrow now his soul had wrought
to dark despair, and robbed his life
of sweetness, that he longed for knife,
or shaft, or sword, to end his pain,
and dreaded only thraldom's chain.
Danger he sought and death pursued,

and thus escaped the fate he wooed,
and deeds of breathless wonder dared
whose whispered glory widely fared,
and softly songs were sung at eve
of marvels he did once achieve
alone, beleaguered, lost at night
by mist or moon, or neath the light
of the broad eye of day. The woods
that northward looked with bitter feuds
he filled and death for Morgoth's folk;
his comrades were the beech and oak,
who failed him not, and many things
with fur and fell and feathered wings;
and many spirits, that in stone
in mountains old and wastes alone,
do dwell and wander, were his friends.
Yet seldom well an outlaw ends,
and Morgoth was a king more strong
than all the world has since in song
recorded, and his wisdom wide
slow and surely who him defied
did hem and hedge. Thus at the last
must Beren flee the forest fast
and lands he loved where lay his sire
by reeds bewailed beneath the mire.
Beneath a heap of mossy stones
now crumble those once mighty bones,
but Beren flees the friendless North
one autumn night, and creeps him forth;
the leaguer of his watchful foes
he passes – silently he goes.
No more his hidden bowstring sings,
no more his shaven arrow wings,
no more his hunted head doth lie
upon the heath beneath the sky.
The moon that looked amid the mist
upon the pines, the wind that hissed
among the heather and the fern
found him no more. The stars that burn
about the North with silver fire
in frosty airs, the Burning Briar
that Men did name in days long gone,

were set behind his back, and shone
o'er land and lake and darkened hill,
forsaken fen and mountain rill.

His face was South from the Land of Dread,
whence only evil pathways led,
and only the feet of men most bold
might cross the Shadowy Mountains cold.
Their northern slopes were filled with woe,
with evil and with mortal foe;
their southern faces mounted sheer
in rocky pinnacle and pier,
whose roots were woven with deceit
and washed with waters bitter-sweet.
There magic lurked in gulf and glen,
for far away beyond the ken
of searching eyes, unless it were
from dizzy tower that pricked the air
where only eagles lived and cried,
might grey and gleaming be descried
Beleriand, Beleriand,
the borders of the faëry land.

★

NOTES

128 A: a lord of Men undaunted, bold
134 A: Maglor his son and other ten.
141 A: But the king Bauglir did hunt them sore
177–9 Earlier reading:
to this far vale among the hills
a haggard hungry people tills,
there hooted nigh a hunting owl
205 *found*: earlier reading *sought*
209–10 A: with tidings of Lord Egnor's band,
and where their hidings in the land
235 A: and Egnor was betrayed and slain
246 A: yet Maglor it was by fortune good
who hunting &c.
272 A: till Maglor waking swiftly sought
277 A: to where his father Egnor lay;
297 A: he took from Egnor's slaughtered hand:

298 *Broceliand* A, *Broseliand* B emended to *Beleriand*
301 A: for this same Egnor that I slew
304 *Celegorm* A, emended to *Felagoth* and then to *Felagund*
310 A: I found the hand of Egnor bare!'
313–16 These four lines were bracketed, and *that* at line 317 changed to *Then*, before the B-text went to C. S. Lewis (my father's numbering of the lines excludes these four, and Lewis's line-references agree). Lewis did not concur with the exclusion of 313–14, and I have let all four lines stand. See pp. 318–19.
317, 329 *Maglor* A, *Beren* B
326 A: and deep ghylls in the mountains torn.
331–3 A: ere Egnor in the wilderness
was slain; but now his loneliness,
grief and despair, did rob his life
360 A: proud Maglor fled the forest fast
(*fast* is used in the sense 'secure against attack'; cf. *fastness*).
365 *Maglor* A, *Beren* B
377–81 A: about the North with silver flame
in frosty airs, that men did name
Timbridhil in the days long gone,
he set behind his back, and shone
that sickle of the heavenly field
that Bridhil Queen of stars did wield
o'er land and lake and darkened hill,
The fifth and sixth lines are bracketed, with *and shone* in the fourth changed to *It shone*.
383–4 Cf. lines 49–50.
399 *Broceliand* A, *Broseliand* B emended to *Beleriand*.

Commentary on Canto II

In this second Canto the story of the betrayal of the outlaw band is already in A close to its final form in essentials; but there is no trace of the story in any form earlier than the first drafts of the *Lay of Leithian*, composed in the summer of 1925 (see p. 150). In commenting on the *Tale of Tinúviel* I noted (II. 52):

> It seems clear that at this time the history of Beren and his father (Egnor) was only very sketchily devised; there is in any case no hint of the story of the outlaw band led by his father and its betrayal by Gorlim the Unhappy before the first form of the *Lay of Leithian*.

There are indeed differences in the plot of the Lay from the story told in *The Silmarillion* (pp. 162 ff.): thus the house where Gorlim saw the phantom of Eilinel was not in the Lay his own; his treachery was far deeper and more deliberate, in that he sought out the servants of Morgoth

with the intention of revealing the hiding-place of the outlaws; and he came before Morgoth himself (not Thû-Sauron). But these differences are much outnumbered by the similarities, such as the absence of Maglor-Beren on the fatal day, the apparition of Gorlim coming to him in dream across the water of the lake, the carrion-birds in the alder-trees, the cairn, the seizing of the ring, his friendship with birds and beasts.

As regards the names in the A-text: *Gorlim* and *Eilinel* were to remain. Maglor-Beren has already been discussed (p. 159). *Egnor* was still his father, as in the *Lost Tales* (the emendation to *Barahir* in the second version of the *Tale of Tinúviel*, II.43, was a change made casually years later). *Bauglir* (which entered during the composition of *The Children of Húrin*, see p. 52) is changed throughout to *Morgoth*, but this seems not to have been a rejection of the name, since it appears later in the B-text of the Lay, and survives in *The Silmarillion*.

In A Varda is called *Bridhil* (note to lines 377–81), as she is also in alliterative poem *The Flight of the Noldoli* (pp. 135, 139); but it is puzzling that the constellation of the Great Bear is in the same passage called *Timbridhil*, for that according to the old Gnomish dictionary is the title of Varda herself (as one would expect: cf. *Tinwetári*, I.269). The 'Sickle of the Gods' (*Valacirca*) is here the 'sickle of the heavenly field' wielded by Bridhil Queen of Stars. I can cast no light at all on the name *Burning Briar* that appears in B (line 378); it reappears in the 1930 version of 'The Silmarillion':

> Many names have these [the Seven Stars] been called, but in the old days of the North both Elves and Men called them the Burning Briar, and some the Sickle of the Gods.

For the earliest myth of the Great Bear see I.114, 133.

Indications of geography are sparse, and not increased in the B-text. Taur-na-Fuin has been named earlier in B (line 52), but it is not actually said in the present Canto to be the region where the outlaws lurked, though there is no reason to doubt that this is where my father placed it. Coming southwards Maglor-Beren crossed 'the Shadowy Mountains cold' (386). The Shadowy Mountains were named several times in *The Children of Húrin*, where they are the mountains fencing Hithlum, mirrored in the pools of Ivrin, as they are in *The Silmarillion*. But it would obviously be impossible for Beren to cross the Shadowy Mountains in this application of the name if he were coming out of Taur-na-Fuin and moving south towards Doriath. In the 'Sketch of the Mythology' Beren likewise 'crosses the Shadowy Mountains and after grievous hardships comes to Doriath', and similarly in the 1930 version; in this latter, however, 'Mountains of Shadow' was emended to 'Mountains of Terror'. It is then clear that in the *Lay of Leithian* my father was using 'Shadowy Mountains' in a different sense from that in *The Children of Húrin*, and that the Shadowy Mountains of the present

Canto are the first mention of Ered Gorgoroth, the Mountains of Terror, 'the precipices in which Dorthonion [Taur-nu-Fuin] fell southward' (*The Silmarillion* p. 95); but the other meaning reappears (p. 234).

The lake where Egnor-Barahir and his band dwelt in hiding, in *The Silmarillion* (p. 162) *Tarn Aeluin*, is not named in the Lay, where the hiding-place was 'a wooded island in the fen' (280). That the Orc-camp was beside a spring (also unnamed) appears in the Lay, and it is here a hot spring (292–3); in *The Silmarillion* (p. 163) it was *Rivil's Well* above the Fen of Serech.

Most notable of the features of this Canto so far as the development of the legends is concerned, the rescue of Felagund by Barahir in the Battle of Sudden Flame (*The Silmarillion* p. 152) makes its first appearance in the 'service' done to Celegorm by Egnor in A (lines 301–4, where B has Felagund and Barahir). 'Celegorm' has already ceased its brief life as a replacement of Thingol (see p. 159), and is now again that of one of the sons of Fëanor, as it was in *The Children of Húrin*. When these lines in A were written the story was that Celegorm (and Curufin) founded Nargothrond after the breaking of the Leaguer of Angband – a story that seems to have arisen in the writing of *The Children of Húrin*, see pp. 83–5; and it was Celegorm who was rescued by Egnor-Barahir in that battle, and who gave Egnor-Barahir his ring. In the B-text the story has moved forward again, with the emergence of (Felagoth >) Felagund as the one saved by Barahir and the founder of Nargothrond, thrusting Celegorm and Curufin into a very different rôle.

In A Egnor and his son Maglor (Beren) are Men (e.g. Egnor was 'a lord of Men', note to line 128). In the first version of *The Children of Húrin* Beren was still an Elf, while in the second version my father seems to have changed back and forth on this matter (see pp. 124–5). He had not even now, as will appear later, finally settled the question.

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III

There once, and long and long ago,
before the sun and moon we know
were lit to sail above the world,
when first the shaggy woods unfurled,
and shadowy shapes did stare and roam
beneath the dark and starry dome
that hung above the dawn of Earth,
the silences with silver mirth
were shaken; the rocks were ringing,

the birds of Melian were singing,
the first to sing in mortal lands,
the nightingales with her own hands
she fed, that fay of garments grey;
and dark and long her tresses lay
beneath her silver girdle's seat
and down unto her silver feet.

She had wayward wandered on a time
from gardens of the Gods, to climb
the everlasting mountains free
that look upon the outmost sea,
and never wandered back, but stayed
and softly sang from glade to glade.
Her voice it was that Thingol heard,
and sudden singing of a bird,
in that old time when new-come Elves
had all the wide world to themselves.
Yet all his kin now marched away,
as old tales tell, to seek the bay
on the last shore of mortal lands,
where mighty ships with magic hands
they made, and sailed beyond the seas.
The Gods them bade to lands of ease
and gardens fair, where earth and sky
together flow, and none shall die.
But Thingol stayed, enchanted, still,
one moment to hearken to the thrill
of that sweet singing in the trees.
Enchanted moments such as these
from gardens of the Lord of Sleep,
where fountains play and shadows creep,
do come, and count as many years
in mortal lands. With many tears
his people seek him ere they sail,
while Thingol listens in the dale.
There after but an hour, him seems,
he finds her where she lies and dreams,
pale Melian with her dark hair
upon a bed of leaves. Beware!
There slumber and a sleep is twined!
He touched her tresses and his mind

was drowned in the forgetful deep,
and dark the years rolled o'er his sleep.

Thus Thingol sailed not on the seas
but dwelt amid the land of trees,
and Melian he loved, divine,
whose voice was potent as the wine
the Valar drink in golden halls
where flower blooms and fountain falls;
but when she sang it was a spell,
and no flower stirred nor fountain fell.
A king and queen thus lived they long,
and Doriath was filled with song,
and all the Elves that missed their way
and never found the western bay,
the gleaming walls of their long home
by the grey seas and the white foam,
who never trod the golden land
where the towers of the Valar stand,
all these were gathered in their realm
beneath the beech and oak and elm.

In later days when Morgoth first,
fleeing the Gods, their bondage burst,
and on the mortal lands set feet,
and in the North his mighty seat
founded and fortified, and all
the newborn race of Men were thrall
unto his power, and Elf and Gnome
his slaves, or wandered without home,
or scattered fastnesses walled with fear
upraised upon his borders drear,
and each one fell, yet reigned there still
in Doriath beyond his will
Thingol and deathless Melian,
whose magic yet no evil can
that cometh from without surpass.
Here still was laughter and green grass,
and leaves were lit with the white sun,
and many marvels were begun.

In sunshine and in sheen of moon,
with silken robe and silver shoon,

the daughter of the deathless queen
now danced on the undying green,
half elven-fair and half divine;
and when the stars began to shine
unseen but near a piping woke,
and in the branches of an oak,
or seated on the beech-leaves brown,
Dairon the dark with ferny crown
played with bewildering wizard's art
music for breaking of the heart.
Such players have there only been
thrice in all Elfinesse, I ween:
Tinfang Gelion who still the moon
enchants on summer nights of June
and kindles the pale firstling star;
and he who harps upon the far
forgotten beaches and dark shores
where western foam for ever roars,
Maglor whose voice is like the sea;
and Dairon, mightiest of the three.

Now it befell on summer night,
upon a lawn where lingering light
yet lay and faded faint and grey,
that Lúthien danced while he did play.
The chestnuts on the turf had shed
their flowering candles, white and red;
there darkling stood a silent elm
and pale beneath its shadow-helm
there glimmered faint the umbels thick
of hemlocks like a mist, and quick
the moths on pallid wings of white
with tiny eyes of fiery light
were fluttering softly, and the voles
crept out to listen from their holes;
the little owls were hushed and still;
the moon was yet behind the hill.
Her arms like ivory were gleaming,
her long hair like a cloud was streaming,
her feet atwinkle wandered roaming
in misty mazes in the gloaming;
and glowworms shimmered round her feet,

and moths in moving garland fleet
above her head went wavering wan –
and this the moon now looked upon,
uprisen slow, and round, and white,
above the branches of the night.
Then clearly thrilled her voice and rang;
with sudden ecstasy she sang
a song of nightingales she learned
and with her elvish magic turned
to such bewildering delight
the moon hung moveless in the night.
And this it was that Beren heard,
and this he saw, without a word,
enchanted dumb, yet filled with fire
of such a wonder and desire
that all his mortal mind was dim;
her magic bound and fettered him,
and faint he leaned against a tree.
Forwandered, wayworn, gaunt was he,
his body sick and heart gone cold,
grey in his hair, his youth turned old;
for those that tread that lonely way
a price of woe and anguish pay.
And now his heart was healed and slain
with a new life and with new pain.

He gazed, and as he gazed her hair
within its cloudy web did snare
the silver moonbeams sifting white
between the leaves, and glinting bright
the tremulous starlight of the skies
was caught and mirrored in her eyes.
Then all his journey's lonely fare,
the hunger and the haggard care,
the awful mountains' stones he stained
with blood of weary feet, and gained
only a land of ghosts, and fear
in dark ravines imprisoned sheer –
there mighty spiders wove their webs,
old creatures foul with birdlike nebs
that span their traps in dizzy air,
and filled it with clinging black despair,

and there they lived, and the sucked bones
lay white beneath on the dank stones –
now all these horrors like a cloud
faded from mind. The waters loud
falling from pineclad heights no more
he heard, those waters grey and frore
that bittersweet he drank and filled
his mind with madness – all was stilled.
He recked not now the burning road,
the paths demented where he strode
endlessly... and ever new
horizons stretched before his view,
as each blue ridge with bleeding feet
was climbed, and down he went to meet
battle with creatures old and strong
and monsters in the dark, and long,
long watches in the haunted night
while evil shapes with baleful light
in clustered eyes did crawl and snuff
beneath his tree – not half enough
the price he deemed to come at last
to that pale moon when day had passed,
to those clear stars of Elfinesse,
the hearts-ease and the loveliness.

Lo! all forgetting he was drawn
unheeding toward the glimmering lawn
by love and wonder that compelled
his feet from hiding; music welled
within his heart, and songs unmade
on themes unthought-of moved and swayed
his soul with sweetness; out he came,
a shadow in the moon's pale flame –
and Dairon's flute as sudden stops
as lark before it steeply drops,
as grasshopper within the grass
listening for heavy feet to pass.
'Flee, Lúthien!', and 'Lúthien!'
from hiding Dairon called again;
'A stranger walks the woods! Away!'
But Lúthien would wondering stay;
fear had she never felt or known,

till fear then seized her, all alone,
seeing that shape with shagged hair
and shadow long that halted there.
Then sudden she vanished like a dream
in dark oblivion, a gleam
in hurrying clouds, for she had leapt
among the hemlocks tall, and crept
under a mighty plant with leaves
all long and dark, whose stem in sheaves
upheld an hundred umbels fair;
and her white arms and shoulders bare
her raiment pale, and in her hair
the wild white roses glimmering there,
all lay like spattered moonlight hoar
in gleaming pools upon the floor.
Then stared he wild in dumbness bound
at silent trees, deserted ground;
he blindly groped across the glade
to the dark trees' encircling shade,
and, while she watched with veiléd eyes,
touched her soft arm in sweet surprise.
Like startled moth from deathlike sleep
in sunless nook or bushes deep
she darted swift, and to and fro
with cunning that elvish dancers know
about the trunks of trees she twined
a path fantastic. Far behind
enchanted, wildered and forlorn
Beren came blundering, bruised and torn:
Esgalduin the elven-stream,
in which amid tree-shadows gleam
the stars, flowed strong before his feet.
Some secret way she found, and fleet
passed over and was seen no more,
and left him forsaken on the shore.
'Darkly the sundering flood rolls past!
To this my long way comes at last –
a hunger and a loneliness,
enchanted waters pitiless.'

A summer waned, an autumn glowed,
and Beren in the woods abode,

as wild and wary as a faun
that sudden wakes at rustling dawn,
and flits from shade to shade, and flees
the brightness of the sun, yet sees
all stealthy movements in the wood.
The murmurous warmth in weathers good,
the hum of many wings, the call
of many a bird, the pattering fall
of sudden rain upon the trees,
the windy tide in leafy seas,
the creaking of the boughs, he heard;
but not the song of sweetest bird
brought joy or comfort to his heart,
a wanderer dumb who dwelt apart;
who sought unceasing and in vain
to hear and see those things again:
a song more fair than nightingale,
a wonder in the moonlight pale.

An autumn waned, a winter laid
the withered leaves in grove and glade;
the beeches bare were gaunt and grey,
and red their leaves beneath them lay.
From cavern pale the moist moon eyes
the white mists that from earth arise
to hide the morrow's sun and drip
all the grey day from each twig's tip.
By dawn and dusk he seeks her still;
by noon and night in valleys chill,
nor hears a sound but the slow beat
on sodden leaves of his own feet.

The wind of winter winds his horn;
the misty veil is rent and torn.
The wind dies; the starry choirs
leap in the silent sky to fires,
whose light comes bitter-cold and sheer
through domes of frozen crystal clear.

A sparkle through the darkling trees,
a piercing glint of light he sees,
and there she dances all alone
upon a treeless knoll of stone!

Her mantle blue with jewels white
caught all the rays of frosted light.
She shone with cold and wintry flame,
as dancing down the hill she came,
and passed his watchful silent gaze,
a glimmer as of stars ablaze.
And snowdrops sprang beneath her feet,
and one bird, sudden, late and sweet,
shrilled as she wayward passed along.
A frozen brook to bubbling song
awoke and laughed; but Beren stood
still bound enchanted in the wood.
Her starlight faded and the night
closed o'er the snowdrops glimmering white.

Thereafter on a hillock green
he saw far off the elven-sheen
of shining limb and jewel bright
often and oft on moonlit night;
and Dairon's pipe awoke once more,
and soft she sang as once before.
Then nigh he stole beneath the trees,
and heartache mingled with hearts-ease.

A night there was when winter died;
then all alone she sang and cried
and danced until the dawn of spring,
and chanted some wild magic thing
that stirred him, till it sudden broke
the bonds that held him, and he woke
to madness sweet and brave despair.
He flung his arms to the night air,
and out he danced unheeding, fleet,
enchanted, with enchanted feet.
He sped towards the hillock green,
the lissom limbs, the dancing sheen;
he leapt upon the grassy hill
his arms with loveliness to fill:
his arms were empty, and she fled;
away, away her white feet sped.
But as she went he swiftly came
and called her with the tender name
of nightingales in elvish tongue,

that all the woods now sudden rung:
'Tinúviel! Tinúviel!'
And clear his voice was as a bell;
its echoes wove a binding spell:
'Tinúviel! Tinúviel!'
His voice such love and longing filled
one moment stood she, fear was stilled;
one moment only; like a flame
he leaped towards her as she stayed
and caught and kissed that elfin maid.

As love there woke in sweet surprise
the starlight trembled in her eyes.
A! Lúthien! A! Lúthien!
more fair than any child of Men;
O! loveliest maid of Elfinesse,
what madness does thee now possess!
A! lissom limbs and shadowy hair
and chaplet of white snowdrops there;
O! starry diadem and white
pale hands beneath the pale moonlight!
She left his arms and slipped away
just at the breaking of the day.

★

NOTES

439 Original reading of B:

from gardens of the God of Sleep,

457 Original reading of B:

the Gods drink in their golden halls

467–8 Original reading of B:

who never passed the golden gate
where doorwards of the Gods do wait,

These three changes are late, and their purpose is to remove the word *Gods*. The change in line 468 also gets rid of the purely metrical *do* in *do wait*; similarly *did build and fortify* > *founded and fortified* 475 and *did raise* > *upraised* 480 look as if they belong to the same time. On the other hand *did*

flutter > *were fluttering* 523 and *did waver* > *went wavering* 533 seem to belong with the early emendations (see C. S. Lewis's commentary, pp. 320–1). I mention these changes here to illustrate my remarks on this subject, pp. 152–3.

493 *elfin-* B, emended to *elven-*. Here and subsequently this belongs with the early changes, as does *elfin* to *elvish* at 540, etc.

503 *Tinfang Warble* A, and B as typed; *Gelion* an early change in B.

508 After this line A has a couplet omitted in B:

> from England unto Eglamar
> on rock and dune and sandy bar,

The first of these lines occurs also in an early draft for the opening of the poem, see p. 157, note to lines 1–30.

509 *Maglor* A, B; in the rough draft of this passage *Ivárë* (with *Maglor* written beside it).

527–30 Marked in B with an X (i.e. in need of revision), but with no other verses substituted.

557 This line begins a new page in the A manuscript; at the top of the page is written the date '23/8/25'.

558 *golden* A, and B as typed (no doubt an oversight), early emended to *cloudy*. See note to lines 1–30, and pp. 159–60.

648 After this line the bundle of examination-scripts on which the A manuscript is written (p. 150) is interleaved with other pages, which carry the poem to the end of Canto III. At the bottom of the first of these pages is written *Filey 1925*, where my father was on holiday in September of that year.

743 The couplet lacks its second line. The passage 741–5 is a hasty revision, based on a criticism of Lewis's; see his commentary, p. 325.

Commentary on Canto III

In this Canto there are many things that derive from the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II. 10 ff.): the chestnut trees, the white moths, the moon rising, the sudden ceasing of Dairon's piping, Tinúviel's unwillingness to flee, her hiding under the hemlocks *like spattered moonlight* (cf. II. 11 'like a spatter of moonlight shimmering'), Beren's touching her arm, her darting between the tree-trunks, and afterwards the 'treeless knoll' where she danced in the winter. But the Canto is also related to the poem *Light as Leaf on Lindentree* (see pp. 108–10, 120–2), which had been published in June 1925, while this part of the *Lay of Leithian* was written a little later in the same year. Echoes of the one poem are heard in the other, and

more than an echo in the line *and out he danced unheeding, fleet*, which is found in both (p. 109, line 447; p. 179, line 725).

The aberrant names in the first two Cantos of A have now disappeared from the text. In the second Canto my father had already given back the name *Celegorm* to the son of Fëanor (note to line 304), and now *Thingol* appears in A; *Lúthien* replaces *Melilot*; and *Beren* replaces *Maglor*. *Morgoth* now replaces *Bauglir* in A (see p. 170).

In both texts *Tinúviel* is now explicitly the Elvish word for 'nightingale' (line 735; see p. 124); and *Maglor*, again in both texts, is the name of one of the three greatest singers of Elfinesse:

> he who harps upon the far
> forgotten beaches and dark shores
> where western foam for ever roars,
> Maglor whose voice is like the sea (506–9)

In the rough draft of this passage the name of this minstrel is however *Ivárë* (though *Maglor* is written beside it), and Ivárë was named in the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II. 10), with Tinfang and Dairon, as one of 'the three most magic players of the Elves', who 'plays beside the sea'. This is the first hint of the after-history of Maglor son of Fëanor, who in the *Tale of the Nauglafring* (II. 241) was slain, as also was Celegorm, in the attack on Dior. The lines in A, omitted in B (note to line 508), are interesting:

> from England unto Eglamar
> on rock and dune and sandy bar

The form *Eglamar* (Gnomish, = *Eldamar*) occurs in the very early poem *The Shores of Faëry* and its prose preface (II. 262, 272); and the same line *from England unto Eglamar* is found in the rough workings of the beginning of the Lay (note to lines 1–30). The mention of *England* is a reminder that at this time the association of the legends with Eriol/Ælfwine was still very much alive, though there is no other indication of it in the *Lay of Leithian*.

Tinfang Warble reappears from the *Lost Tales* at line 503, changed to *Tinfang Gelion*; the meaning of *Gelion* is not explained.

In one respect only does the narrative content of the Canto depart in any significant way from the common 'tradition' of the texts, but this is sufficiently remarkable: the Elves departed over the sea to Valinor at the end of the Great Journey in a fleet of ships!

> Yet all his kin now marched away,
> as old tales tell, to seek the bay
> on the last shore of mortal lands,
> where mighty ships with magic hands
> they made, and sailed beyond the seas. (427–31)

This is very strange (and I am at a loss to account for it, except by the

obvious explanation of a passing shift), in that the story of the 'island-car' (Tol Eressëa), which goes back to the *Lost Tales* (I. 118–20), is present in all the versions of 'The Silmarillion'. The Elves are here presented, on the other hand, as great shipbuilders in the beginning of their days. – With the reference in the passage just cited to the *bay* whence the Elves set sail cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 57, where it is told that Ulmo anchored the 'island-car' in the Bay of Balar (and that the eastern horn of the island, breaking off, was the Isle of Balar).

In the description of Beren's journey to Doriath in lines 563 ff. is the first account of the Ered Gorgoroth, the Mountains of Terror (called 'the Shadowy Mountains' in Canto II, see pp. 170–1), with their spiders and their waters that drove mad those who drank from them (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 121; and with lines 590–1 *evil shapes with baleful light / in clustered eyes* cf. *ibid.* p. 164: 'monsters . . . hunting silently with many eyes').

★

IV

He lay upon the leafy mould,
his face upon earth's bosom cold,
aswoon in overwhelming bliss,
enchanted of an elvish kiss,
seeing within his darkened eyes
the light that for no darkness dies,
the loveliness that doth not fade,
though all in ashes cold be laid.
Then folded in the mists of sleep
he sank into abysses deep,
drowned in an overwhelming grief
for parting after meeting brief;
a shadow and a fragrance fair
lingered, and waned, and was not there.
Forsaken, barren, bare as stone,
the daylight found him cold, alone.

'Where art thou gone? The day is bare,
the sunlight dark, and cold the air!
Tinúviel, where went thy feet?
O wayward star! O maiden sweet!
O flower of Elfland all too fair
for mortal heart! The woods are bare!

The woods are bare!' he rose and cried.
'Ere spring was born, the spring hath died!'
And wandering in path and mind
he groped as one gone sudden blind,
who seeks to grasp the hidden light
with faltering hands in more than night.

And thus in anguish Beren paid
for that great doom upon him laid,
the deathless love of Lúthien,
too fair for love of mortal Men;
and in his doom was Lúthien snared,
the deathless in his dying shared;
and Fate them forged a binding chain
of living love and mortal pain.

Beyond all hope her feet returned
at eve, when in the sky there burned
the flame of stars; and in her eyes
there trembled the starlight of the skies,
and from her hair the fragrance fell
of elvenflowers in elven-dell.

Thus Lúthien, whom no pursuit,
no snare, no dart that hunters shoot,
might hope to win or hold, she came
at the sweet calling of her name;
and thus in his her slender hand
was linked in far Beleriand;
in hour enchanted long ago
her arms about his neck did go,
and gently down she drew to rest
his weary head upon her breast.
A! Lúthien, Tinúviel,
why wentest thou to darkling dell
with shining eyes and dancing pace,
the twilight glimmering in thy face?
Each day before the end of eve
she sought her love, nor would him leave,
until the stars were dimmed, and day
came glimmering eastward silver-grey.
Then trembling-veiled she would appear
and dance before him, half in fear;

there flitting just before his feet
she gently chid with laughter sweet:
'Come! dance now, Beren, dance with me!
For fain thy dancing I would see.
Come! thou must woo with nimbler feet,
than those who walk where mountains meet
the bitter skies beyond this realm
of marvellous moonlit beech and elm.'

In Doriath Beren long ago
new art and lore he learned to know;
his limbs were freed; his eyes alight,
kindled with a new enchanted sight;
and to her dancing feet his feet
attuned went dancing free and fleet;
his laughter welled as from a spring
of music, and his voice would sing
as voices of those in Doriath
where paved with flowers are floor and path.
The year thus on to summer rolled,
from spring to a summertime of gold.

Thus fleeting fast their short hour flies,
while Dairon watches with fiery eyes,
haunting the gloom of tangled trees
all day, until at night he sees
in the fickle moon their moving feet,
two lovers linked in dancing sweet,
two shadows shimmering on the green
where lonely-dancing maid had been.
'Hateful art thou, O Land of Trees!
May fear and silence on thee seize!
My flute shall fall from idle hand
and mirth shall leave Beleriand;
music shall perish and voices fail
and trees stand dumb in dell and dale!'

It seemed a hush had fallen there
upon the waiting woodland air;
and often murmured Thingol's folk
in wonder, and to their king they spoke:
'This spell of silence who hath wrought?
What web hath Dairon's music caught?

It seems the very birds sing low;
murmurless Esgalduin doth flow;
the leaves scarce whisper on the trees,
and soundless beat the wings of bees!'

This Lúthien heard, and there the queen
her sudden glances saw unseen.
But Thingol marvelled, and he sent
for Dairon the piper, ere he went
and sat upon his mounded seat –
his grassy throne by the grey feet
of the Queen of Beeches, Hirilorn,
upon whose triple piers were borne
the mightiest vault of leaf and bough
from world's beginning until now.
She stood above Esgalduin's shore,
where long slopes fell beside the door,
the guarded gates, the portals stark
of the Thousand echoing Caverns dark.
There Thingol sat and heard no sound
save far off footsteps on the ground;
no flute, no voice, no song of bird,
no choirs of windy leaves there stirred;
and Dairon coming no word spoke,
silent amid the woodland folk.
Then Thingol said: 'O Dairon fair,
thou master of all musics rare,
O magic heart and wisdom wild,
whose ear nor eye may be beguiled,
what omen doth this silence bear?
What horn afar upon the air,
what summons do the woods await?
Mayhap the Lord Tavros from his gate
and tree-propped halls, the forest-god,
rides his wild stallion golden-shod
amid the trumpets' tempest loud,
amid his green-clad hunters proud,
leaving his deer and friths divine
and emerald forests? Some faint sign
of his great onset may have come
upon the Western winds, and dumb
the woods now listen for a chase

that here once more shall thundering race
beneath the shade of mortal trees.
Would it were so! The Lands of Ease
hath Tavros left not many an age,
since Morgoth evil wars did wage,
since ruin fell upon the North
and the Gnomes unhappy wandered forth.
But if not he, who comes or what?'
And Dairon answered: 'He cometh not!
No feet divine shall leave that shore,
where the Shadowy Seas' last surges roar,
till many things be come to pass,
and many evils wrought. Alas!
the guest is here. The woods are still,
but wait not; for a marvel chill
them holds at the strange deeds they see,
but kings see not – though queens, maybe,
may guess, and maidens, maybe, know.
Where one went lonely two now go!'

'Whither thy riddle points is plain'
the king in anger said, 'but deign
to make it plainer! Who is he
that earns my wrath? How walks he free
within my woods amid my folk,
a stranger to both beech and oak?'
But Dairon looked on Lúthien
and would he had not spoken then,
and no more would he speak that day,
though Thingol's face with wrath was grey.
Then Lúthien stepped lightly forth:
'Far in the mountain-leaguered North,
my father,' said she, 'lies the land
that groans beneath King Morgoth's hand.
Thence came one hither, bent and worn
in wars and travail, who had sworn
undying hatred of that king;
the last of Bëor's sons, they sing,
and even hither far and deep
within thy woods the echoes creep
through the wild mountain-passes cold,
the last of Bëor's house to hold

a sword unconquered, neck unbowed,
a heart by evil power uncowed.
No evil needst thou think or fear
of Beren son of Barahir!
If aught thou hast to say to him,
then swear to hurt not flesh nor limb,
and I will lead him to thy hall,
a son of kings, no mortal thrall.'
Then long King Thingol looked on her
while hand nor foot nor tongue did stir,
and Melian, silent, unamazed,
on Lúthien and Thingol gazed.
'No blade nor chain his limbs shall mar'
the king then swore. 'He wanders far,
and news, mayhap, he hath for me,
and words I have for him, maybe!'
Now Thingol bade them all depart
save Dairon, whom he called: 'What art,
what wizardry of Northern mist
hath this illcomer brought us? List!
Tonight go thou by secret path,
who knowest all wide Doriath,
and watch that Lúthien – daughter mine,
what madness doth thy heart entwine,
what web from Morgoth's dreadful halls
hath caught thy feet and thee enthralls! –
that she bid not this Beren flee
back whence he came. I would him see!
Take with thee woodland archers wise.
Let naught beguile your hearts or eyes!'

Thus Dairon heavyhearted did,
and the woods were filled with watchers hid;
yet needless, for Lúthien that night
led Beren by the golden light
of mounting moon unto the shore
and bridge before her father's door;
and the white light silent looked within
the waiting portals yawning dim.

Downward with gentle hand she led
through corridors of carven dread
whose turns were lit by lanterns hung

or flames from torches that were flung
on dragons hewn in the cold stone
with jewelled eyes and teeth of bone.
Then sudden, deep beneath the earth
the silences with silver mirth
were shaken and the rocks were ringing,
the birds of Melian were singing;
and wide the ways of shadow spread
as into archéd halls she led
Beren in wonder. There a light
like day immortal and like night
of stars unclouded, shone and gleamed.
A vault of topless trees it seemed,
whose trunks of carven stone there stood
like towers of an enchanted wood
in magic fast for ever bound,
bearing a roof whose branches wound
in endless tracery of green
lit by some leaf-emprisoned sheen
of moon and sun, and wrought of gems,
and each leaf hung on golden stems.
  Lo! there amid immortal flowers
the nightingales in shining bowers
sang o'er the head of Melian,
while water for ever dripped and ran
from fountains in the rocky floor.
There Thingol sat. His crown he wore
of green and silver, and round his chair
a host in gleaming armour fair.
Then Beren looked upon the king
and stood amazed; and swift a ring
of elvish weapons hemmed him round.
Then Beren looked upon the ground,
for Melian's gaze had sought his face,
and dazed there drooped he in that place,
and when the king spake deep and slow:
'Who art thou stumblest hither? Know
that none unbidden seek this throne
and ever leave these halls of stone!'
no word he answered, filled with dread.
But Lúthien answered in his stead:
'Behold, my father, one who came

pursued by hatred like a flame!
Lo! Beren son of Barahir!
What need hath he thy wrath to fear,
foe of our foes, without a friend,
whose knees to Morgoth do not bend?'

'Let Beren answer!' Thingol said.
'What wouldst thou here? What hither led
thy wandering feet, O mortal wild?
How hast thou Lúthien beguiled
or darest thus to walk this wood
unasked, in secret? Reason good
'twere best declare now if thou may,
or never again see light of day!'
Then Beren looked in Lúthien's eyes
and saw a light of starry skies,
and thence was slowly drawn his gaze
to Melian's face. As from a maze
of wonder dumb he woke; his heart
the bonds of awe there burst apart
and filled with the fearless pride of old;
in his glance now gleamed an anger cold.
'My feet hath fate, O king,' he said,
'here over the mountains bleeding led,
and what I sought not I have found,
and love it is hath here me bound.
Thy dearest treasure I desire;
nor rocks nor steel nor Morgoth's fire
nor all the power of Elfinesse
shall keep that gem I would possess.
For fairer than are born to Men
A daughter hast thou, Lúthien.'

Silence then fell upon the hall;
like graven stone there stood they all,
save one who cast her eyes aground,
and one who laughed with bitter sound.
Dairon the piper leant there pale
against a pillar. His fingers frail
there touched a flute that whispered not;
his eyes were dark; his heart was hot.
'Death is the guerdon thou hast earned,
O baseborn mortal, who hast learned

in Morgoth's realm to spy and lurk
like Orcs that do his evil work!'
'Death!' echoed Dairon fierce and low,
but Lúthien trembling gasped in woe.
'And death,' said Thingol, 'thou shouldst taste,
had I not sworn an oath in haste
that blade nor chain thy flesh should mar.
Yet captive bound by never a bar,
unchained, unfettered, shalt thou be
in lightless labyrinth endlessly
that coils about my halls profound
by magic bewildered and enwound;
there wandering in hopelessness
thou shalt learn the power of Elfinesse!'
'That may not be!' Lo! Beren spake,
and through the king's words coldly brake.
'What are thy mazes but a chain
wherein the captive blind is slain?
Twist not thy oaths, O elvish king,
like faithless Morgoth! By this ring –
the token of a lasting bond
that Felagund of Nargothrond
once swore in love to Barahir,
who sheltered him with shield and spear
and saved him from pursuing foe
on Northern battlefields long ago –
death thou canst give unearned to me,
but names I will not take from thee
of baseborn, spy, or Morgoth's thrall!
Are these the ways of Thingol's hall?'
Proud are the words, and all there turned
to see the jewels green that burned
in Beren's ring. These Gnomes had set
as eyes of serpents twined that met
beneath a golden crown of flowers,
that one upholds and one devours:
the badge that Finrod made of yore
and Felagund his son now bore.

His anger was chilled, but little less,
and dark thoughts Thingol did possess,
though Melian the pale leant to his side
and whispered: 'O king, forgo thy pride!

Such is my counsel. Not by thee
shall Beren be slain, for far and free
from these deep halls his fate doth lead,
yet wound with thine. O king, take heed!'
But Thingol looked on Lúthien.
'Fairest of Elves! Unhappy Men,
children of little lords and kings
mortal and frail, these fading things,
shall they then look with love on thee?'
his heart within him thought. 'I see
thy ring,' he said, 'O mighty man!
But to win the child of Melian
a father's deeds shall not avail,
nor thy proud words at which I quail.
A treasure dear I too desire,
but rocks and steel and Morgoth's fire
from all the powers of Elfinesse
do keep the jewel I would possess.
Yet bonds like these I hear thee say
affright thee not. Now go thy way!
Bring me one shining Silmaril
from Morgoth's crown, then if she will,
may Lúthien set her hand in thine;
then shalt thou have this jewel of mine.'

Then Thingol's warriors loud and long
they laughed; for wide renown in song
had Fëanor's gems o'er land and sea,
the peerless Silmarils; and three
alone he made and kindled slow
in the land of the Valar long ago,
and there in Tûn of their own light
they shone like marvellous stars at night,
in the great Gnomish hoards of Tûn,
while Glingal flowered and Belthil's bloom
yet lit the land beyond the shore
where the Shadowy Seas' last surges roar,
ere Morgoth stole them and the Gnomes
seeking their glory left their homes,
ere sorrows fell on Elves and Men,
ere Beren was or Lúthien,
ere Fëanor's sons in madness swore

their dreadful oath. But now no more
their beauty was seen, save shining clear
in Morgoth's dungeons vast and drear.
His iron crown they must adorn,
and gleam above Orcs and slaves forlorn,
treasured in Hell above all wealth,
more than his eyes; and might nor stealth
could touch them, or even gaze too long
upon their magic. Throng on throng
of Orcs with reddened scimitars
encircled him, and mighty bars
and everlasting gates and walls,
who wore them now amidst his thralls.

Then Beren laughed more loud than they
in bitterness, and thus did say:
'For little price do elven-kings
their daughters sell – for gems and rings
and things of gold! If such thy will,
thy bidding I will now fulfill.
On Beren son of Barahir
thou hast not looked the last, I fear.
Farewell, Tinúviel, starlit maiden!
Ere the pale winter pass snowladen,
I will return, not thee to buy
with any jewel in Elfinesse,
but to find my love in loveliness,
a flower that grows beneath the sky.'
Bowing before Melian and the king
he turned, and thrust aside the ring
of guards about him, and was gone,
and his footsteps faded one by one
in the dark corridors. 'A guileful oath
thou sworest, father! Thou hast both
to blade and chain his flesh now doomed
in Morgoth's dungeons deep entombed,'
said Lúthien, and welling tears
sprang in her eyes, and hideous fears
clutched at her heart. All looked away,
and later remembered the sad day
whereafter Lúthien no more sang.
Then clear in the silence the cold words rang
of Melian: 'Counsel cunning-wise,

O king!' she said. 'Yet if mine eyes
lose not their power, 'twere well for thee
that Beren failed his errantry.
Well for thee, but for thy child
a dark doom and a wandering wild.'

'I sell not to Men those whom I love'
said Thingol, 'whom all things above
I cherish; and if hope there were
that Beren should ever living fare
to the Thousand Caves once more, I swear
he should not ever have seen the air
or light of heaven's stars again.'
But Melian smiled, and there was pain
as of far knowledge in her eyes;
for such is the sorrow of the wise.

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NOTES

The opening of this Canto is extant in two typescripts (to line 863), the second version being substantially expanded; it was the first of them that C. S. Lewis received – indeed, it is clear that the rewriting was in part due to his criticism.

758–863 The rough drafts for this portion of the Lay (much briefer than the later text here printed) were written on the backs of booksellers' invoices dated 31 December 1925 and 2 February 1926.

761 In this Canto *elvish* rather than *elfin* is found already in A, but still *elfin* in both texts at 1164 (emended in B to *elven-*). *elven-* 799 occurs in a line found only in the later rewriting, B(2).

762–73 These lines are not in A; the B(1) version, severely criticised by C. S. Lewis, is given with his commentary, p. 326.

781–841 A: and the bare woods nor moved nor sighed.
Yet ever after when star or moon
shone clear or misty then came she soon
just after day before the eve
and found him, nor his side did leave
until night waned and starlight ceased
and day came pale o'er the pathless east.
And there in far Broseliand

he learned the touches of her hand;
his feet grew swift as unseen airs,
his laughter soft, and far his cares,
his voice like those in Doriath
that wander where there runs no path.
Thus days of golden spring did rise
while Dairon watched with fiery eyes

The spelling *Broseliand* with *s* has now entered the A-text.

B(1) is as A, except that between lines 7 and 8 above were inserted ten lines that my father retained in the much longer B(2) text, 818–27 (*Then trembling-veiled*, &c.)

805 *Broseliand* B(2), emended to *Beleriand*.

849–51 These verses are an emendation to B(2), with *Beleriand* thus written. For the B(1) version criticised by C. S. Lewis and the B(2) version before emendation see Lewis's commentary, p. 327.

891, 904 *Tavros* was emended in B to *Tauros*, but this seems to have been a much later change. The rough workings here had first the name (*Ormain* >) *Ormaid*, then *Tavros*.

937 Original reading of B: the last of Men, as songs now sing (with *like echoes* 939)

941 Original reading of B: the last of Men alone to hold

983–5 These lines are marked with an X on the B-text, and the words *on dragons* underlined and marked with an X – presumably because the creatures of Morgoth were not carved on the walls of the Thousand Caves.

987–9 These lines are repeated from Canto III, lines 408–10.

1010 *silver*: original reading of B *gold*.

1059–63 These lines are marked with an X on the B-text, as also are lines 1068–9. It may be that my father wished to represent Dairon as less unequivocally hostile to Beren, and also as ashamed of his words to Thingol (909–19).

1087 A: that Celegorm of Nargothrond
with *Celegorm* emended first to *Felagoth* and then to *Felagund* (as at line 304).

1098 *Gnomes*: in the margin of B is written *Elves/smiths*. This is clearly a late change intended simply to get rid of the word *Gnomes* (see I.43–4).

1102–3 A: the badge that Fëanor made of yore
and Celegorm his søn now bore.
Celegorm is not emended here as it is at line 1087, but the couplet is enclosed within brackets in the manuscript.

1141 *Glingal*, *Belthil*: original readings of B *Glingol*, *Bansil*. The same changes were made in *The Children of Húrin* (pp. 80–1, notes to lines 2027–8), where I retain the earlier forms.

1144–5 These lines are marked with an X on the B-text, perhaps simply because of the word *Gnomes* which here occurs in rhyme and cannot be easily replaced (see note to 1098); but C. S. Lewis criticised the word *their* in line 1145 as obscure in its reference (see his commentary, p. 329).

1151 A: in Morgoth Bauglir's dungeons drear. See p. 182.

1161 Here is written in the margin of the A manuscript: 'Mar. 27, 28 1928'.

1175 This line was not originally in A but was pencilled in with queried indications to place it either after 1172 or (with irregular rhyming) after 1174, as it is in B.

Commentary on Canto IV

Comparison of this Canto with the *Tale of Tinúviel* shows that the narrative has undergone a deepening of significance, and this is largely brought about by the cardinal change of Beren's being no longer an Elf but a mortal Man (see p. 171). The story told in the poem is that of *The Silmarillion* (pp. 165–8); for the prose version, close to the Lay in every feature large and small, and indeed in many actual phrases, was based directly on the verses, and in this Canto the verses underwent no significant later revision. There are some elements in the poem that were not taken up into the prose version, such as the description of the Thousand Caves (980 ff.), whose splendour and beauty now first appear (cf. my remarks on Thingol's wealth, pp. 160–1) – but a description of Thingol's dwelling is given earlier in *The Silmarillion*, p. 93. In the original text of the *Silmarillion* version Daeron's part was in fact entirely excluded, though obviously only for the sake of compression (it was reintroduced into the published work*). The loud laughter of Thingol's warriors at Thingol's demand that Beren fetch him a Silmaril is not in the prose account, and was perhaps deliberately excluded. This feature harks back rather to the scene in the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II. 13), where Thingol 'burst into laughter' at the aspect of Beren as suitor for his daughter, and where the courtiers smiled when Thingol requested a Silmaril as the bride-price, seeing that he 'treated the matter as an uncouth jest'. Cf. my commentary on the Tale, II. 53:

> The tone is altogether lighter and less grave than it afterwards became; in the jeering laughter of Thingol, who treats the matter as a jest and Beren as a benighted fool, there is no hint of what is quite explicit in the later story: 'Thus he wrought the doom of Doriath, and was ensnared within the curse of Mandos.'

Canto III was in being by the autumn of 1925; while against Canto IV

*On pp. 166, 172; but the passage concerning Daeron on p. 183 is original. My father apparently intended to insert references to Daeron's betrayals of Lúthien, but did not do so.

line 1161 in A there stands the date 27–8 March, 1928. The rough drafts for the opening of IV (lines 758–863) are written on the backs of invoices dated December 1925 and February 1926, but this does not show very much. In any case it seems to me most improbable that my father was writing lines 758–1161 over a period of two and a half years (September 1925 to March 1928): it is far more likely that there was a long gap, and that this fourth Canto was written pretty much at one time. Other evidence in fact suggests that he paused. There exist three pages of notes written on the backs of booksellers' invoices dated February, March, and May 1926, and these pages are of great interest for the development of the legend, for they contain a rapidly-composed plot-outline in which my father is seen working out the narrative of the next Cantos of the Lay.

This outline I will refer to as 'Synopsis I'. I give here its content as far as the end of Canto IV. Contractions used for names are expanded, and passages struck out (done at the time of writing) are included.

Beren and Tinúviel dance in the woods.
Dairon reports to the king.
Beren taken captive to the king.
Dairon will have him slain.
The king will shut him in his dungeons.
Tinúviel pleads.
Melian [*struck out*: says that he must not be slain, and that] refuses to advise but warns Thingol darkly that Beren must not be slain by him, and his coming was not without fate.
Thingol sends him for the Silmaril.
Beren's speech.
Melian says [*struck out*: this was better than his death, but] it were better for Thingol if Beren succeeded not.
Thingol said he would not send him if [he] were going to succeed. Melian smiles.
Flight of Beren.

In the *Tale of Tinúviel* Beren was led by Tinúviel into Thingol's caves (II. 13), and as I noted (II. 52–3):

> The betrayal of Beren to Thingol by Daeron . . . has no place in the old story – there is nothing to betray; and indeed it is not shown in the tale that Dairon knew anything whatsoever of Beren before Tinúviel led him into the cave, beyond having once seen his face in the moonlight.

Moreover, in the *Tale* Dairon was Tinúviel's brother (II. 10; see p. 124). In the Lay (lines 909 ff.) Dairon utters strong hints concerning the strange quietness of the forest, which lead directly to a declaration by Lúthien of Beren's presence, and a demand that her father shall not harm him; Thingol swears that he will not, but sends Dairon with archers to prevent Beren's escape – needlessly, for Lúthien brings him that same

night to Thingol's hall. This first part of Synopsis I suggests ideas that were never given form. Thus Dairon speaks to Thingol of Beren, as in the Lay, but Beren is actually apprehended and taken to the king as a prisoner; moreover (while it is of course impossible to be certain of the precise articulation of the plot from such an extremely compressed outline) Dairon seems more actively to seek Beren's death than he does in the poem (despite line 1068), and Tinúviel pleads against her father's policy.

For explanation of the references in A to Celegorm (notes to lines 1087, 1102–3) see p. 171. According to the earlier story seen in A the ring given to Barahir was made by Fëanor, Celegorm's father. In B the later story is present, and the badge of the entwined serpents is that of Felagund's father Finrod (Finarfin in *The Silmarillion*) who now first appears (other than in a later note to *The Children of Húrin*, see pp. 80, 138. Barahir now first replaces Egnor as Beren's father in A; and by later emendation to B (lines 937, 941) Bëor appears, who at this time, as is seen from the prose texts, was Barahir's father. With exceedingly complex genealogical and chronological restructuring of the houses of the Elf-friends in later years Bëor came to be removed from Barahir by many generations.

The name *Tavros* given to Oromë (891, 904) has occurred long before in the Gnomish dictionary, defined as the 'chief wood-fay, the Blue Spirit of the Woods' (I. 267, entry *Tavari*). With his *tree-propped halls* (892) compare the description of Oromë's dwelling in Valmar in the tale of *The Coming of the Valar and the Building of Valinor*, I. 75–6. At line 893 is the first mention of the golden hooves of Oromë's horse.

★

V

So days drew on from the mournful day;
the curse of silence no more lay
on Doriath, though Dairon's flute
and Lúthien's singing both were mute.
The murmurs soft awake once more
about the woods, the waters roar
past the great gates of Thingol's halls;
but no dancing step of Lúthien falls
on turf or leaf. For she forlorn,
where stumbled once, where bruised and torn,

with longing on him like a dream,
had Beren sat by the shrouded stream
Esgalduin the dark and strong,
she sat and mourned in a low song:
'Endless roll the waters past!
To this my love hath come at last,
enchanted waters pitiless,
a heartache and a loneliness.'

The summer turns. In branches tall
she hears the pattering raindrops fall,
the windy tide in leafy seas,
the creaking of the countless trees;
and longs unceasing and in vain
to hear one calling once again
the tender name that nightingales
were called of old. Echo fails.
'Tinúviel! Tinúviel!'
the memory is like a knell,
a faint and far-off tolling bell:
'Tinúviel! Tinúviel!'

'O mother Melian, tell to me
some part of what thy dark eyes see!
Tell of thy magic where his feet
are wandering! What foes him meet?
O mother, tell me, lives he still
treading the desert and the hill?
Do sun and moon above him shine,
do the rains fall on him, mother mine?'

'Nay, Lúthien my child, I fear
he lives indeed in bondage drear.
The Lord of Wolves hath prisons dark,
chains and enchantments cruel and stark,
there trapped and bound and languishing
now Beren dreams that thou dost sing.'

'Then I alone must go to him
and dare the dread in dungeons dim;
for none there be that will him aid
in all the world, save elven-maid
whose only skill were joy and song,
and both have failed and left her long.'

Then nought said Melian thereto,
though wild the words. She wept anew,
and ran through the woods like hunted deer
with her hair streaming and eyes of fear.
Dairon she found with ferny crown
silently sitting on beech-leaves brown.
On the earth she cast her at his side.
'O Dairon, Dairon, my tears,' she cried,
'now pity for our old days' sake!
Make me a music for heart's ache,
for heart's despair, and for heart's dread,
for light gone dark and laughter dead!'

'But for music dead there is no note,'
Dairon answered, and at his throat
his fingers clutched. Yet his pipe he took,
and sadly trembling the music shook;
and all things stayed while that piping went
wailing in the hollows, and there intent
they listened, their business and mirth,
their hearts' gladness and the light of earth
forgotten; and bird-voices failed
while Dairon's flute in Doriath wailed.
Lúthien wept not for very pain,
and when he ceased she spoke again:
'My friend, I have a need of friends,
as he who a long dark journey wends,
and fears the road, yet dare not turn
and look back where the candles burn
in windows he has left. The night
in front, he doubts to find the light
that far beyond the hills he seeks.'
And thus of Melian's words she speaks,
and of her doom and her desire
to climb the mountains, and the fire
and ruin of the Northern realm
to dare, a maiden without helm
or sword, or strength of hardy limb,
where magic founders and grows dim.
His aid she sought to guide her forth
and find the pathways to the North,
if he would not for love of her

go by her side a wanderer.
'Wherefore,' said he, 'should Dairon go
into direst peril earth doth know
for the sake of mortal who did steal
his laughter and joy? No love I feel
for Beren son of Barahir,
nor weep for him in dungeons drear,
who in this wood have chains enow,
heavy and dark. But thee, I vow,
I will defend from perils fell
and deadly wandering into hell.'

No more they spake that day, and she
perceived not his meaning. Sorrowfully
she thanked him, and she left him there.
A tree she climbed, till the bright air
above the woods her dark hair blew,
and straining afar her eyes could view
the outline grey and faint and low
of dizzy towers where the clouds go,
the southern faces mounting sheer
in rocky pinnacle and pier
of Shadowy Mountains pale and cold;
and wide the lands before them rolled.
But straightway Dairon sought the king
and told him his daughter's pondering,
and how her madness might her lead
to ruin, unless the king gave heed.
Thingol was wroth, and yet amazed;
in wonder and half fear he gazed
on Dairon, and said: 'True hast thou been.
Now ever shall love be us between,
while Doriath lasts; within this realm
thou art a prince of beech and elm!'
He sent for Lúthien, and said:
'O maiden fair, what hath thee led
to ponder madness and despair
to wander to ruin, and to fare
from Doriath against my will,
stealing like a wild thing men would kill
into the emptiness outside?'
'The wisdom, father,' she replied;

nor would she promise to forget,
nor would she vow for love or threat
her folly to forsake and meek
in Doriath her father's will to seek.
This only vowed she, if go she must,
that none but herself would she now trust,
no folk of her father's would persuade
to break his will or lend her aid;
if go she must, she would go alone
and friendless dare the walls of stone.

In angry love and half in fear
Thingol took counsel his most dear
to guard and keep. He would not bind
in caverns deep and intertwined
sweet Lúthien, his lovely maid,
who robbed of air must wane and fade,
who ever must look upon the sky
and see the sun and moon go by.
But close unto his mounded seat
and grassy throne there ran the feet
of Hirilorn, the beechen queen.
Upon her triple boles were seen
no break or branch, until aloft
in a green glimmer, distant, soft,
the mightiest vault of leaf and bough
from world's beginning until now
was flung above Esgalduin's shores
and the long slopes to Thingol's doors.
Grey was the rind of pillars tall
and silken-smooth, and far and small
to squirrels' eyes were those who went
at her grey feet upon the bent.
Now Thingol made men in the beech,
in that great tree, as far as reach
their longest ladders, there to build
an airy house; and as he willed
a little dwelling of fair wood
was made, and veiled in leaves it stood
above the first branches. Corners three
it had and windows faint to see,
and by three shafts of Hirilorn

in the corners standing was upborne.
There Lúthien was bidden dwell,
until she was wiser and the spell
of madness left her. Up she clomb
the long ladders to her new home
among the leaves, among the birds;
she sang no song, she spoke no words.
White glimmering in the tree she rose,
and her little door they heard her close.
The ladders were taken and no more
her feet might tread Esgalduin's shore.

Thither at whiles they climbed and brought
all things she needed or besought;
but death was his, whoso should dare
a ladder leave, or creeping there
should set one by the tree at night;
a guard was held from dusk to light
about the grey feet of Hirilorn
and Lúthien in prison and forlorn.
There Dairon grieving often stood
in sorrow for the captive of the wood,
and melodies made upon his flute
leaning against a grey tree-root.
Lúthien would from her windows stare
and see him far under piping there,
and she forgave his betraying word
for the music and the grief she heard,
and only Dairon would she let
across her threshold foot to set.
Yet long the hours when she must sit
and see the sunbeams dance and flit
in beechen leaves, or watch the stars
peep on clear nights between the bars
of beechen branches. And one night
just ere the changing of the light
a dream there came, from the Gods, maybe,
or Melian's magic. She dreamed that she
heard Beren's voice o'er hill and fell
'Tinúviel' call, 'Tinúviel.'
And her heart answered: 'Let me be gone
to seek him no others think upon!'

She woke and saw the moonlight pale
through the slim leaves. It trembled frail
upon her arms, as these she spread
and there in longing bowed her head,
and yearned for freedom and escape.

Now Lúthien doth her counsel shape;
and Melian's daughter of deep lore
knew many things, yea, magics more
than then or now know elven-maids
that glint and shimmer in the glades.
She pondered long, while the moon sank
and faded, and the starlight shrank,
and the dawn opened. At last a smile
on her face flickered. She mused a while,
and watched the morning sunlight grow,
then called to those that walked below.
And when one climbed to her she prayed
that he would in the dark pools wade
of cold Esgalduin, water clear,
the clearest water cold and sheer
to draw for her. 'At middle night,'
she said, 'in bowl of silver white
it must be drawn and brought to me
with no word spoken, silently.'
Another she begged to bring her wine
in a jar of gold where flowers twine –
'and singing let him come to me
at high noon, singing merrily.'
Again she spake: 'Now go, I pray,
to Melian the queen, and say:
"thy daughter many a weary hour
slow passing watches in her bower;
a spinning-wheel she begs thee send."'
Then Dairon she called: 'I prithee, friend,
climb up and talk to Lúthien!'
And sitting at her window then,
she said: 'My Dairon, thou hast craft,
beside thy music, many a shaft
and many a tool of carven wood
to fashion with cunning. It were good,
if thou wouldst make a little loom

to stand in the corner of my room.
My idle fingers would spin and weave
a pattern of colours, of morn and eve,
of sun and moon and changing light
amid the beech-leaves waving bright.'
This Dairon did and asked her then:
'O Lúthien, O Lúthien,
What wilt thou weave? What wilt thou spin?'
'A marvellous thread, and wind therein
a potent magic, and a spell
I will weave within my web that hell
nor all the powers of Dread shall break.'
Then Dairon wondered, but he spake
no word to Thingol, though his heart
feared the dark purpose of her art.

And Lúthien now was left alone.
A magic song to Men unknown
she sang, and singing then the wine
with water mingled three times nine;
and as in golden jar they lay
she sang a song of growth and day;
and as they lay in silver white
another song she sang, of night
and darkness without end, of height
uplifted to the stars, and flight
and freedom. And all names of things
tallest and longest on earth she sings:
the locks of the Longbeard dwarves; the tail
of Draugluin the werewolf pale;
the body of Glómund the great snake;
the vast upsoaring peaks that quake
above the fires in Angband's gloom;
the chain Angainor that ere Doom
for Morgoth shall by Gods be wrought
of steel and torment. Names she sought,
and sang of Glend the sword of Nan;
of Gilim the giant of Eruman;
and last and longest named she then
the endless hair of Uinen,
the Lady of the Sea, that lies
through all the waters under skies.

Then did she lave her head and sing
a theme of sleep and slumbering,
profound and fathomless and dark
as Lúthien's shadowy hair was dark –
each thread was more slender and more fine
than threads of twilight that entwine
in filmy web the fading grass
and closing flowers as day doth pass.
Now long and longer grew her hair,
and fell to her feet, and wandered there
like pools of shadow on the ground.
Then Lúthien in a slumber drowned
was laid upon her bed and slept,
till morning through the windows crept
thinly and faint. And then she woke,
and the room was filled as with a smoke
and with an evening mist, and deep
she lay thereunder drowsed in sleep.
Behold! her hair from windows blew
in morning airs, and darkly grew
waving about the pillars grey
of Hirilorn at break of day.

Then groping she found her little shears,
and cut the hair about her ears,
and close she cropped it to her head,
enchanted tresses, thread by thread.
Thereafter grew they slow once more,
yet darker than their wont before.
And now was her labour but begun:
long was she spinning, long she spun;
and though with elvish skill she wrought,
long was her weaving. If men sought
to call her, crying from below,
'Nothing I need,' she answered, 'go!
I would keep my bed, and only sleep
I now desire, who waking weep.'

Then Dairon feared, and in amaze
he called from under; but three days
she answered not. Of cloudy hair
she wove a web like misty air
of moonless night, and thereof made

a robe as fluttering-dark as shade
beneath great trees, a magic dress
that all was drenched with drowsiness,
enchanted with a mightier spell
than Melian's raiment in that dell
wherein of yore did Thingol roam
beneath the dark and starry dome
that hung above the dawning world.
And now this robe she round her furled,
and veiled her garments shimmering white;
her mantle blue with jewels bright
like crystal stars, the lilies gold,
were wrapped and hid; and down there rolled
dim dreams and faint oblivious sleep
falling about her, to softly creep
through all the air. Then swift she takes
the threads unused; of these she makes
a slender rope of twisted strands
yet long and stout, and with her hands
she makes it fast unto the shaft
of Hirilorn. Now, all her craft
and labour ended, looks she forth
from her little window facing North.

Already the sunlight in the trees
is drooping red, and dusk she sees
come softly along the ground below,
and now she murmurs soft and slow.
Now chanting clearer down she cast
her long hair, till it reached at last
from her window to the darkling ground.
Men far beneath her heard the sound;
but the slumbrous strand now swung and swayed
above her guards. Their talking stayed,
they listened to her voice and fell
suddenly beneath a binding spell.

Now clad as in a cloud she hung;
now down her ropéd hair she swung
as light as squirrel, and away,
away, she danced, and who could say
what paths she took, whose elvish feet
no impress made a-dancing fleet?

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NOTES

1222–3 At lines 651–2 these lines were transposed on C. S. Lewis's suggestion (see p. 323); and *heartache* was emended to *hunger*.

1226 Cf. line 664.

1231 Original reading of B: *are called in elfland. Echo fails*. The change was probably simply to get rid of 'elfland'.

1249 *now*: uncertain (original reading *doth Beren dream* emended to *?now Beren dreams*).

1253 Throughout this Canto *elven-* and *elvish* are emendations of *elfin* made on the B-text.

1260–1 Cf. lines 497–8.

1308–10 Marked *revise* on the B-text.

1312 *her dark hair*: so also in A. See note to line 558.

1316–17 Cf. lines 389–90. The *Shadowy Mountains* (1318) are the Mountains of Terror (Ered Gorgoroth): see pp. 170–1.

1323 This line is marked with an X on the B-text.

1329 As line 1323.

1358 Against *Hirilorn* in A is written *Hiradorn*, and so also at lines 1396, 1523. At line 1563 *Hiradorn* is the form in the text of A.

1362–3 Cf. lines 872–3.

1370 *men* > *them* A. At 1390, where B has *they*, A had *men* > *they*; at 1533, 1573 *men* was not changed in either text.

1414–17 Marked with a line on the B-text; in the margin some new verses are written, but so faint and rapid as to be quite illegible.

1488 *locks* B] *beards* A

1489 A: of Carcharas the wolf-ward pale;
In the original draft the spelling is *Carcaras* as in the typescript version of the *Tale of Tinúviel* (manuscript version *Karkaras*). In the second version of *The Children of Húrin* (p. 107 line 374) the form is *Carcharoth* (emended from *Carcharolch*).

1490 *Glómund* B] *Glórund* A (as in the *Lost Tales*, but there always without accent).

1493 *Angainor* A, B] *Engainor* in the original draft.

1496 *Nan* B] *Nann* A (but *Nan* in the original draft).

1549–50 Cf. lines 406–7.

1563 *Hirilorn* B] *Hiradorn* A. See note to line 1358.

Commentary on Canto V

The plot-outline 'Synopsis I' covering the narrative of this Canto is very slight:

Mourning of Tinúviel.
Treachery of Dairon.
Building of the Tree House in Hirilorn.
Escape of Tinúviel.
[*Added in*: Repentance, wandering, and loss of Dairon.]

The wandering and loss of Dairon goes back to the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II. 20–1) and survived into *The Silmarillion* (p. 183), but there is no other mention of his 'repentance' (though this is perhaps implied in the Lay, lines 1398ff.)

In my commentary on the passage in the *Tale of Tinúviel* corresponding to this Canto I remarked (II. 54) that

> the story of her imprisonment in the house in Hirilorn and her escape from it never underwent any significant change. The passage in *The Silmarillion* (p. 172) is indeed very brief, but its lack of detail is due to compression rather than to omission based on dissatisfaction; the *Lay of Leithian*, from which the prose account in *The Silmarillion* directly derives, is in this passage so close, in point of narrative detail, to the *Tale of Tinúviel* as to be almost identical with it.

There is little to add to this here. In one respect the narrative of the Lay is at variance with the story told in *The Silmarillion*. What was 'the curse of silence' (1207)? It was due to Dairon (848–53). In a preliminary, soon abandoned draft for the 'Silmarillion' version, where the story was to be told far more amply (by following the Lay more closely) the matter is made more explicit:

> But Dairon haunted the trees and watched them from afar; and he cried aloud in the bitterness of his heart: 'Hateful is now become the land that I loved, and the trees misshapen. No more shall music here be heard. Let all voices fail in Doriath, and in every dale and upon every hill let the trees stand silent!' And there was a hush and a great stillness; and Thingol's folk were filled with wonder. And they spoke to their king, asking what was the reason of the silence.

Dairon's 'curse' was lifted after Beren's departure, although Lúthien no longer sang and Dairon no longer piped. This is in contrast to *The Silmarillion* (p. 168), where after Beren went

> Lúthien was silent, and from that hour she sang not again in Doriath. *A brooding silence fell upon the woods*.

For the names in the 'lengthening spell' see II. 67–8. A new element among the 'longest things' is introduced in the version in the Lay, the peaks above Angband (1491–2); and in B the name of the great Dragon becomes *Glómund*. The chain with which Morgoth was bound, *Angaino/Angainu* in the *Lost Tales*, becomes *Angainor*; but it is curious that in the Lay it is only spoken of as a punishment awaiting

Morgoth in the future (*ere Doom*, 1493), whereas in the old story of *The Chaining of Melko* (I. 104) it was the shackle with which he was taken prisoner in the original war that led to his captivity in Valinor, and this survived in *The Silmarillion* (p. 51): at the end of the Elder Days 'he was bound with the chain Angainor which he had worn aforetime' (*ibid.* p. 252).

New elements in the story that have yet to appear in the actual narrative of the Lay are seen in *Draugluin*, replacing in B *Carcharas* of A in the 'lengthening spell' (thus Carcharas is no longer the 'father of wolves', see II. 68), and in Melian's reference to Beren's lying in the dungeons of the Lord of Wolves (1246).

Lúthien's dream in which she heard Beren's voice far off is still ascribed, as it was in the *Tale*, to the Gods, if less positively (*a dream there came, from the Gods, maybe, / or Melian's magic*, 1414–15); see II. 19, 68. But the passage is marked in B, perhaps indicating dissatisfaction with the idea.

There is curious detail in a marginal note to the B-text. At some time (as I think) long afterwards someone unknown wrote against lines 1331–6: 'Thingol is here being rather obtuse'; and against this remark my father scribbled: 'But he could not believe she *loved* Beren – unless some evil spell had somehow been laid on her.'

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VI

When Morgoth in that day of doom
had slain the Trees and filled with gloom
the shining land of Valinor,
there Fëanor and his sons then swore
the mighty oath upon the hill
of tower-crownéd Tûn, that still
wrought wars and sorrow in the world.
From darkling seas the fogs unfurled
their blinding shadows grey and cold
where Glingal once had bloomed with gold
and Belthil bore its silver flowers.
The mists were mantled round the towers
of the Elves' white city by the sea.
There countless torches fitfully
did start and twinkle, as the Gnomes
were gathered to their fading homes,

and thronged the long and winding stair
that led to the wide echoing square.

There Fëanor mourned his jewels divine,
the Silmarils he made. Like wine
his wild and potent words them fill;
a great host harkens deathly still.
But all he said both wild and wise,
half truth and half the fruit of lies
that Morgoth sowed in Valinor,
in other songs and other lore
recorded is. He bade them flee
from lands divine, to cross the sea,
the pathless plains, the perilous shores
where ice-infested water roars;
to follow Morgoth to the unlit earth
leaving their dwellings and olden mirth;
to go back to the Outer Lands
to wars and weeping. There their hands
they joined in vows, those kinsmen seven,
swearing beneath the stars of Heaven,
by Varda the Holy that them wrought
and bore them each with radiance fraught
and set them in the deeps to flame.
Timbrenting's holy height they name,
whereon are built the timeless halls
of Manwë Lord of Gods. Who calls
these names in witness may not break
his oath, though earth and heaven shake.

Curufin, Celegorm the fair,
Damrod and Díriel were there,
and Cranthir dark, and Maidros tall
(whom after torment should befall),
and Maglor the mighty who like the sea
with deep voice sings yet mournfully.
'Be he friend or foe, or seed defiled
of Morgoth Bauglir, or mortal child
that in after days on earth shall dwell,
no law, nor love, nor league of hell,
not might of Gods, not moveless fate
shall him defend from wrath and hate
of Fëanor's sons, who takes or steals

or finding keeps the Silmarils,
the thrice-enchanted globes of light
that shine until the final night.'

The wars and wandering of the Gnomes
this tale tells not. Far from their homes
they fought and laboured in the North.
Fingon daring alone went forth
and sought for Maidros where he hung;
in torment terrible he swung,
his wrist in band of forgéd steel,
from a sheer precipice where reel
the dizzy senses staring down
from Thangorodrim's stony crown.
The song of Fingon Elves yet sing,
captain of armies, Gnomish king,
who fell at last in flame of swords
with his white banners and his lords.
They sing how Maidros free he set,
and stayed the feud that slumbered yet
between the children proud of Finn.
Now joined once more they hemmed him in,
even great Morgoth, and their host
beleaguered Angband, till they boast
no Orc nor demon ever dare
their leaguer break or past them fare.

Then days of solace woke on earth
beneath the new-lit Sun, and mirth
was heard in the Great Lands where Men,
a young race, spread and wandered then.
That was the time that songs do call
the Siege of Angband, when like a wall
the Gnomish swords did fence the earth
from Morgoth's ruin, a time of birth,
of blossoming, of flowers, of growth;
but still there held the deathless oath,
and still the Silmarils were deep
in Angband's darkly-dolven keep.

An end there came, when fortune turned,
and flames of Morgoth's vengeance burned,
and all the might which he prepared
in secret in his fastness flared

and poured across the Thirsty Plain;
and armies black were in his train.
The leaguer of Angband Morgoth broke;
his enemies in fire and smoke
were scattered, and the Orcs there slew
and slew, until the blood like dew
dripped from each cruel and crooked blade.
Then Barahir the bold did aid
with mighty spear, with shield and men,
Felagund wounded. To the fen
escaping, there they bound their troth,
and Felagund deeply swore an oath
of friendship to his kin and seed,
of love and succour in time of need.
But there of Finrod's children four
were Angrod slain and proud Egnor.
Felagund and Orodreth then
gathered the remnant of their men,
their maidens and their children fair;
forsaking war they made their lair
and cavernous hold far in the south.
On Narog's towering bank its mouth
was opened; which they hid and veiled,
and mighty doors, that unassailed
till Túrin's day stood vast and grim,
they built by trees o'ershadowed dim.
And with them dwelt a long time there
Curufin, and Celegorm the fair;
and a mighty folk grew neath their hands
in Narog's secret halls and lands.

Thus Felagund in Nargothrond
still reigned, a hidden king whose bond
was sworn to Barahir the bold.
And now his son through forests cold
wandered alone as in a dream.
Esgalduin's dark and shrouded stream
he followed, till its waters frore
were joined to Sirion, Sirion hoar,
pale silver water wide and free
rolling in splendour to the sea.
Now Beren came unto the pools,

wide shallow meres where Sirion cools
his gathered tide beneath the stars,
ere chafed and sundered by the bars
of reedy banks a mighty fen
he feeds and drenches, plunging then
into vast chasms underground,
where many miles his way is wound.
Umboth-Muilin, Twilight Meres,
those great wide waters grey as tears
the Elves then named. Through driving rain
from thence across the Guarded Plain
the Hills of the Hunters Beren saw
with bare tops bitten bleak and raw
by western winds; but in the mist
of streaming rains that flashed and hissed
into the meres he knew there lay
beneath those hills the cloven way
of Narog, and the watchful halls
of Felagund beside the falls
of Ingwil tumbling from the wold.
An everlasting watch they hold,
the Gnomes of Nargothrond renowned,
and every hill is tower-crowned,
where wardens sleepless peer and gaze
guarding the plain and all the ways
between Narog swift and Sirion pale;
and archers whose arrows never fail
there range the woods, and secret kill
all who creep thither against their will.
  Yet now he thrusts into that land
bearing the gleaming ring on hand
of Felagund, and oft doth cry:
'Here comes no wandering Orc or spy,
but Beren son of Barahir
who once to Felagund was dear.'
  So ere he reached the eastward shore
of Narog, that doth foam and roar
o'er boulders black, those archers green
came round him. When the ring was seen
they bowed before him, though his plight
was poor and beggarly. Then by night
they led him northward, for no ford

nor bridge was built where Narog poured
before the gates of Nargothrond,
and friend nor foe might pass beyond.
To northward, where that stream yet young
more slender flowed, below the tongue
of foam-splashed land that Ginglith pens
when her brief golden torrent ends
and joins the Narog, there they wade.
Now swiftest journey thence they made
to Nargothrond's sheer terraces
and dim gigantic palaces.
They came beneath a sickle moon
to doors there darkly hung and hewn
with posts and lintels of ponderous stone
and timbers huge. Now open thrown
were gaping gates, and in they strode
where Felagund on throne abode.

Fair were the words of Narog's king
to Beren, and his wandering
and all his feuds and bitter wars
recounted soon. Behind closed doors
they sat, while Beren told his tale
of Doriath; and words him fail
recalling Lúthien dancing fair
with wild white roses in her hair,
remembering her elven voice that rung
while stars in twilight round her hung.
He spake of Thingol's marvellous halls
by enchantment lit, where fountain falls
and ever the nightingale doth sing
to Melian and to her king.
The quest he told that Thingol laid
in scorn on him; how for love of maid
more fair than ever was born to Men,
of Tinúviel, of Lúthien,
he must essay the burning waste,
and doubtless death and torment taste.

This Felagund in wonder heard,
and heavily spake at last this word:
'It seems that Thingol doth desire
thy death. The everlasting fire

of those enchanted jewels all know
is cursed with an oath of endless woe,
and Fëanor's sons alone by right
are lords and masters of their light.
He cannot hope within his hoard
to keep this gem, nor is he lord
of all the folk of Elfinesse.
And yet thou saist for nothing less
can thy return to Doriath
be purchased? Many a dreadful path
in sooth there lies before thy feet –
and after Morgoth, still a fleet
untiring hate, as I know well,
would hunt thee from heaven unto hell.
Fëanor's sons would, if they could,
slay thee or ever thou reached his wood
or laid in Thingol's lap that fire,
or gained at least thy sweet desire.
Lo! Celegorm and Curufin
here dwell this very realm within,
and even though I, Finrod's son,
am king, a mighty power have won
and many of their own folk lead.
Friendship to me in every need
they yet have shown, but much I fear
that to Beren son of Barahir
mercy or love they will not show
if once thy dreadful quest they know.'

True words he spake. For when the king
to all his people told this thing,
and spake of the oath to Barahir,
and how that mortal shield and spear
had saved them from Morgoth and from woe
on Northern battlefields long ago,
then many were kindled in their hearts
once more to battle. But up there starts
amid the throng, and loudly cries
for hearing, one with flaming eyes,
proud Celegorm with gleaming hair
and shining sword. Then all men stare
upon his stern unyielding face,

and a great hush falls upon that place.

'Be he friend or foe, or demon wild
of Morgoth, Elf, or mortal child,
or any that here on earth may dwell,
no law, nor love, nor league of hell,
no might of Gods, no binding spell,
shall him defend from hatred fell
of Fëanor's sons, whoso take or steal
or finding keep a Silmaril.
These we alone do claim by right,
our thrice enchanted jewels bright.'

Many wild and potent words he spoke,
and as before in Tûn awoke
his father's voice their hearts to fire,
so now dark fear and brooding ire
he cast on them, foreboding war
of friend with friend; and pools of gore
their minds imagined lying red
in Nargothrond about the dead,
did Narog's host with Beren go;
or haply battle, ruin, and woe
in Doriath where great Thingol reigned,
if Fëanor's fatal jewel he gained.
And even such as were most true
to Felagund his oath did rue,
and thought with terror and despair
of seeking Morgoth in his lair
with force or guile. This Curufin
when his brother ceased did then begin
more to impress upon their minds;
and such a spell he on them binds
that never again till Túrin's day
would Gnome of Narog in array
of open battle go to war.
With secrecy, ambush, spies, and lore
of wizardry, with silent leaguer
of wild things wary, watchful, eager,
of phantom hunters, venomed darts,
and unseen stealthy creeping arts,
with padding hatred that its prey
with feet of velvet all the day

followed remorseless out of sight
and slew it unawares at night –
thus they defended Nargothrond,
and forgot their kin and solemn bond
for dread of Morgoth that the art
of Curufin set within their heart.

So would they not that angry day
King Felagund their lord obey,
but sullen murmured that Finrod
nor yet his son were as a god.
Then Felagund took off his crown
and at his feet he cast it down,
the silver helm of Nargothrond:
'Yours ye may break, but I my bond
must keep, and kingdom here forsake.
If hearts here were that did not quake,
or that to Finrod's son were true,
then I at least should find a few
to go with me, not like a poor
rejected beggar scorn endure,
turned from my gates to leave my town,
my people, and my realm and crown!'

Hearing these words there swiftly stood
beside him ten tried warriors good,
men of his house who had ever fought
wherever his banners had been brought.
One stooped and lifted up his crown,
and said: 'O king, to leave this town
is now our fate, but not to lose
thy rightful lordship. Thou shalt choose
one to be steward in thy stead.'
Then Felagund upon the head
of Orodreth set it: 'Brother mine,
till I return this crown is thine.'
Then Celegorm no more would stay,
and Curufin smiled and turned away.

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NOTES

1593–4 Original readings of B *Glingol*, *Bansil*, as at line 1141.

1598–9 Couplet marked for revision, partly on account of *did start*, partly on account of *Gnomes*. I do not record further instances of this sort, which occur casually throughout.

1619 Here is written on the B-text: '∧ see the Qenta.' This is the 'Silmarillion' version of 1930, and presumably refers to the form of the Oath as it appears there.

1620 *Varda the Holy* is written in the margin of the B-text, which like A has *Bridhil the Blessed*. *Bridhil* occurs earlier in A (note to lines 377–81), where B has a different reading.

1632–3 Cf. lines 506–9.

1647 *Finweg* A, and B as typed, early emended in B to *Fingon*.

1654 As line 1647.

1656 Cf. *The Children of Húrin*, first version line 1975, second version line 19, from which the words (referring to Finweg/Fingon) *fell in flame of swords* are derived; in the second version occur also the king's *white banners*.

1710–11 A: a great people were gathered of the Gnomes
in these new-builded secret homes.

1736 Against the words *by western winds* is written (in such a way as to show that this was the point reached, not the starting-point) the date '29 Mar. 1928', the previous date being 27–28 March 1928 at line 1161.

1859 *Tûn* B] *Côr* A

1867 A: if Felagund should with Beren go;

1891 A: and forgot their blood and kinship's bond

1900 *helm* is an emendation in B for *crown*.

1920 An X is written against this line, probably long after when Orodreth was moved from his place as Felagund's brother (see p. 91).

1921 *crown* B] *realm* A

Commentary on Canto VI

The plot-outline 'Synopsis I' continues thus:

> Beren goes to Celegorm, who disguises him [*struck out*: and gives him a magic knife. Beren and his Gnomish guides* are captured by Orcs: and a few survivors taken before (Melko >) Morgoth. Beren tells M. he is a 'trapper of the woods'.]

*This phrase was changed to: 'Beren gets lost and separated from his Gnomish guides'; and was then struck out with the rest of the passage.

They go and seek to break into Angband disguised as Orcs, but are captured [*struck out*: and set in chains, and killed one by one. Beren lies wondering which will be his turn.] by the Lord of Wolves, and set in bonds, and devoured one by one.

It is interesting here to see how the relevant features of the story are treated in the 'Sketch of the Mythology' of 1926, as originally written. In this account Beren's father is Barahir, and he 'had been a friend of Celegorm of Nargothrond'. After Thingol's demand that Beren get him a Silmaril:

Beren sets out to achieve this, is captured, and set in dungeon in Angband, but conceals his real identity, and is given as a slave to Thû the hunter.

This passage is evidently earlier than 'Synopsis I' (at the earliest, the end of May 1926, the date of the latest of the three invoices on which it is written), since the 'Sketch' contains no reference to Celegorm's aid, Beren's companions, their disguising as Orcs, and their capture by the Lord of Wolves. On the contrary, Beren goes to Angband alone just as he did in the *Tale of Tinúviel*, and – most notably – is given to 'Thû the hunter' as a slave, just as in the *Tale* he was given to Tevildo Prince of Cats as a slave. In Synopsis I we see, I think, the very point at which the story of Beren's Gnomish companions came into being, of their disguise as Orcs, and of their deaths one by one in the dungeons of the Lord of Wolves. (Thû appears first in the fragment of the *Lay of the Fall of Gondolin* (p. 146), and in *The Children of Húrin* as Morgoth's most mighty thane: first version line 391, second version line 763).

But already at lines 296 ff. in the A-text of the *Lay of Leithian* (summer 1925) there is a reference to the 'deed of service' done by Egnor Beren's father to Celegorm, and the gift of the ring: while in the 'Sketch' Barahir 'had been a friend of Celegorm of Nargothrond'. Thus:

Lay of Leithian Canto II (summer 1925)	Egnor Beren's father performed a service for Celegorm, from whom he received a ring.
Sketch of the Mythology (early in 1926, see p. 3)	Barahir Beren's father was a friend of Celegorm of Nargothrond.
	Beren sets out alone and is captured and imprisoned in Angband, but is given as a slave to Thû the hunter.
Synopsis I (after May 1926)	Beren goes to Celegorm who aids him (story of the Gnomish companions appears).

The rather surprising conclusion must be that the association of Egnor/Barahir with Celegorm and the gift of the ring *preceded* the emergence of the story of Beren's going to Celegorm for aid.

In the rejected part of Synopsis I here we see a last survival from the

Tale of Tinúviel: Beren tells Morgoth that he is a trapper of the woods; cf. the *Tale* (II. 15): 'Beren said therewith that he was a great trapper of small animals and a snarer of birds' – and it was indeed this explanation of Beren's to Melko that got him his post in Tevildo's kitchens. The mention in this rejected passage of a magic knife given to Beren by Celegorm was clearly a passing idea to account for the knife with which Beren would cut the Silmaril from the Iron Crown, since the kitchen-knife with which he did the deed in the *Tale* (II. 33) had been abandoned with the kitchens.

Other loose papers in addition to Synopsis I show the further development of the narrative. The first of these I will refer to as 'Synposis II'; it begins with the beginning of Canto VI and I cite it here as far as the end of the Canto.

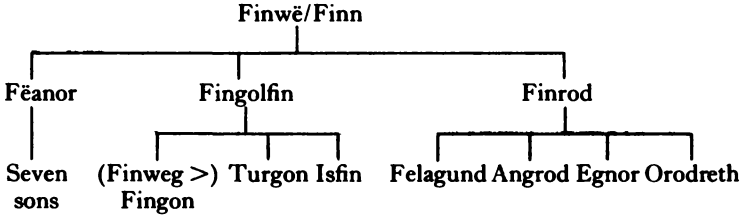
> Beren comes to Felagund at Nargothrond; who receives him well, but warns him of the oath of the sons of Fëanor, and that Curufin and Celegorm dwelling with him have great power in his realm.
>
> Curufin and Celegorm learn of Beren's purpose, and recalling their oath forbid the Gnomes to aid Beren to get the Silmaril for Thingol. The Gnomes fearing war in Nargothrond, or war against Thingol, and in [any] case despairing utterly of reaching the depths of Angband by force or guile will not support Felagund. Felagund mindful of his own oath hands his kingdom over to Orodreth, and with only his own faithful followers of his household (ten in number) goes forth with Beren.

In the *Lay of Leithian* the 'Nargothrond Element' in the story had by this time (the spring of 1928) evolved further (see p. 171). The major figure of (Felagoth >) Felagund, son of Finwë's third son Finrod, had emerged (see p. 91), and by Canto VI was present also in the A-text; it was he, not Celegorm, who was rescued in the battle that ended the Siege of Angband and who then went south with his brother Orodreth to found Nargothrond, and Celegorm with his brother Curufin have been shifted by the movement of the legend into the rôle of Felagund's overpowerful 'guests' (it is not made explicit in the Lay why they were there, though it could be guessed that they also had fled from 'the Northern battlefields'). In the passage from Synopsis II just given my father is seen working out the narrative from this point and on this narrative basis, and many of the motives that are important in the final version now appear: on account of their oath Celegorm and Curufin are the cause of the refusal of the Elves of Nargothrond to support Felagund in the aiding of Beren; Felagund gives the crown to Orodreth; and only ten of Felagund's people go with him.* I think it certain that Synopsis II was written as, and did in fact provide, the outline narrative for this and the following Cantos.

*An intermediate stage is seen in a rewritten passage of the 1926 'Sketch of the Mythology', to be given in Vol. IV, where Celegorm has already been displaced by Felagoth (not yet Felagund) but where Celegorm only learns the errand of Felagoth and Beren *after* their departure from Nargothrond, and they leave with a large force.

In Canto VI we meet for the first time several central features of the earlier history of the Gnomes in Beleriand and the North, though these are not necessarily their first occurrences in my father's writings. Thus the story of the rescue of Maidros by (Finweg >) Fingon from his torment on Thangorodrim, where he was hanged by his right hand, is almost certainly implied in *The Children of Húrin*, where it is said that Maidros wielded his sword with his left (see p. 86); and it is fully told in the 'Sketch' as first written early in 1926, some two years before the date of the present Canto (see note to line 1736). Here also are references to the long years of the Siege of Angband after the healing of the feud among the Gnomish princes (the cause of which we do not yet know); and to the bursting of Morgoth's *armies black* (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 151: 'the black armies of the Orcs') across *the Thirsty Plain* (for which see p. 55). Here we meet for the first time (apart from a later note to *The Children of Húrin*, p. 80) Angrod and Egnor, sons of Finrod and brothers of Felagund and Orodreth, who meet their deaths in the battle; and here it is said that Felagund was wounded (line 1691), and that his rescuers withdrew 'to the fen' – very probably the 'mighty fen' of Sirion referred to at line 1726.

For Finweg > Fingon, and Finn (line 1660) = Finwë, see p. 137–8. The genealogy of the princes of the Gnomes as it had emerged in the 1920s is now complete:



The earliest version of the Fëanorian Oath is found in alliterative verse in *The Flight of the Noldoli* (see pp. 135–6), and that in the *Lay of Leithian* (lines 1634–43) follows it quite closely despite its being in rhyming couplets, with many of the same phrases. Further variations are introduced in Celegorm's version (lines 1848–57). On the name *Timbrenting* of Taniquetil (taken in witness of the Oath) see pp. 127, 139.

Most of the geographical references and names in this Canto are amply explained by Part III 'Failivrin' of *The Children of Húrin*. For the Hills of the Hunters, the rivers Ginglith and Ingwil, and the Guarded Plain see pp. 88–9. It is now made clear that Umboth-Muilin, the Twilight Meres, were north of Sirion's fall and passage underground (to which there is a reference in *The Children of Húrin*, line 1467), whereas in the

Lost Tales the reverse was the case (see II. 217); and also that Esgalduin was a tributary of Sirion (lines 1717–20). In the verses describing Nargothrond the *Lay of Leithian* looks back to and echoes *The Children of Húrin*; compare

> Doors there darkly dim gigantic
> were hewn in the hillside; huge their timbers
> and their posts and lintels of ponderous stone
> (p. 68, 1828–30)

with

> Nargothrond's sheer terraces
> and dim gigantic palaces (1774–5)

and

> doors there darkly hung and hewn
> with posts and lintels of ponderous stone
> and timbers huge. (1777–9)

I have mentioned earlier (pp. 88, 90) the drawing and watercolour of the entrance to Nargothrond. The drawing is inscribed 'Lyme 1928' (a summer holiday at Lyme Regis in Dorset) and the watercolour was very likely done at the same time: thus a few months after the writing of Canto VI of the *Lay of Leithian*. In both are seen the bare Hills of the Hunters beyond (*with bare tops bitten bleak and raw*, 1735), and in the watercolour *Nargothrond's sheer terraces* (1774); but neither picture suggests that the entrance was *hid and veiled* (1704), *by trees o'ershadowed dim* (1707) – a feature of the description that goes back to the *Tale of Turámbar* ('the doors of the caves . . . were cunningly concealed by trees', II. 81).

I noticed in my commentary on the *Tale of Turambar* (II. 124 and footnote) that 'the policy of secrecy and refusal of open war pursued by the Elves of Nargothrond was always an essential element', but that from *The Silmarillion* p. 168 'it seems that when Beren came to Nargothrond the "secret" policy was already pursued under Felagund', whereas from p. 170 'it seems that it came into being from the potent rhetoric of Curufin after Beren went there'. From this Canto it is seen that this contradiction, if contradiction it is, has its source in the two passages lines 1743–51 and 1877–93.

In this latter passage there are again strong echoes of *The Children of Húrin*; compare

> a leaguer silent
> unseen, stealthy, beset the stranger,
> as of wild things wary that watch moveless,
> then follow fleetly with feet of velvet
> their heedless prey with padding hatred (p. 66, 1749–53)

with

with silent leaguer
of wild things wary, watchful, eager,
of phantom hunters, venomed darts,
and unseen stealthy creeping arts,
with padding hatred that its prey
with feet of velvet all the day
followed remorseless . . . (1882–8)

There remain a couple of points concerning names. The Great Lands are still so called (1668); but at 1616 the expression 'Outer Lands' occurs. This was used in *The Cottage of Lost Play* as first written in the sense of the Great Lands, but was subsequently applied to the lands beyond the Western Sea (see I. 21, 81–2). 'Outer Lands' = Middle-earth is frequent in *The Silmarillion*.

The name of the river, Narog, is used, as often later, to refer to the realm of Nargothrond: the King of Nargothrond is the King of Narog (see lines 1782, 1866).

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VII

Thus twelve alone there ventured forth
from Nargothrond, and to the North
they turned their silent secret way,
and vanished in the fading day.
No trumpet sounds, no voice there sings,
as robed in mail of cunning rings
now blackened dark with helmets grey
and sombre cloaks they steal away.
Far-journeying Narog's leaping course
they followed till they found his source,
the flickering falls, whose freshets sheer
a glimmering goblet glassy-clear
with crystal waters fill that shake
and quiver down from Ivrin's lake,
from Ivrin's mere that mirrors dim
the pallid faces bare and grim
of Shadowy Mountains neath the moon.

Now far beyond the realm immune
from Orc and demon and the dread

of Morgoth's might their ways had led.
In woods o'ershadowed by the heights
they watched and waited many nights,
till on a time when hurrying cloud
did moon and constellation shroud,
and winds of autumn's wild beginning
soughed in the boughs, and leaves went spinning
down the dark eddies rustling soft,
they heard a murmur hoarsely waft
from far, a croaking laughter coming;
now louder; now they heard the drumming
of hideous stamping feet that tramp
the weary earth. Then many a lamp
of sullen red they saw draw near,
swinging, and glistening on spear
and scimitar. There hidden nigh
they saw a band of Orcs go by
with goblin-faces swart and foul.
Bats were about them, and the owl,
the ghostly forsaken night-bird cried
from trees above. The voices died,
the laughter like clash of stone and steel
passed and faded. At their heel
the Elves and Beren crept more soft
than foxes stealing through a croft
in search of prey. Thus to the camp
lit by flickering fire and lamp
they stole, and counted sitting there
full thirty Orcs in the red flare
of burning wood. Without a sound
they one by one stood silent round,
each in the shadow of a tree;
each slowly, grimly, secretly
bent then his bow and drew the string.

Hark! how they sudden twang and sing,
when Felagund lets forth a cry;
and twelve Orcs sudden fall and die.
Then forth they leap casting their bows.
Out their bright swords, and swift their blows!
The stricken Orcs now shriek and yell
as lost things deep in lightless hell.

Battle there is beneath the trees
bitter and swift; but no Orc flees;
there left their lives that wandering band
and stained no more the sorrowing land
with rape and murder. Yet no song
of joy, or triumph over wrong,
the Elves there sang. In peril sore
they were, for never alone to war
so small an Orc-band went, they knew.
Swiftly the raiment off they drew
and cast the corpses in a pit.
This desperate counsel had the wit
of Felagund for them devised:
as Orcs his comrades he disguised.

The poisoned spears, the bows of horn,
the crooked swords their foes had borne
they took; and loathing each him clad
in Angband's raiment foul and sad.
They smeared their hands and faces fair
with pigment dark; the matted hair
all lank and black from goblin head
they shore, and joined it thread by thread
with Gnomish skill. As each one leers
at each dismayed, about his ears
he hangs it noisome, shuddering.
Then Felagund a spell did sing
of changing and of shifting shape;
their ears grew hideous, and agape
their mouths did start, and like a fang
each tooth became, as slow he sang.
Their Gnomish raiment then they hid,
and one by one behind him slid,
behind a foul and goblin thing
that once was elven-fair and king.

Northward they went; and Orcs they met
who passed, nor did their going let,
but hailed them in greeting; and more bold
they grew as past the long miles rolled.
At length they came with weary feet
beyond Beleriand. They found the fleet
young waters, rippling, silver-pale

of Sirion hurrying through that vale
where Taur-na-Fuin, Deadly Night,
the trackless forest's pine-clad height,
falls dark forbidding slowly down
upon the east, while westward frown
the northward-bending Mountains grey
and bar the westering light of day.

An isléd hill there stood alone
amid the valley, like a stone
rolled from the distant mountains vast
when giants in tumult hurtled past.
Around its feet the river looped
a stream divided, that had scooped
the hanging edges into caves.
There briefly shuddered Sirion's waves
and ran to other shores more clean.
An elven watchtower had it been,
and strong it was, and still was fair;
but now did grim with menace stare
one way to pale Beleriand,
the other to that mournful land
beyond the valley's northern mouth.
Thence could be glimpsed the fields of drouth,
the dusty dunes, the desert wide;
and further far could be descried
the brooding cloud that hangs and lowers
on Thangorodrim's thunderous towers.

Now in that hill was the abode
of one most evil; and the road
that from Beleriand thither came
he watched with sleepless eyes of flame.
(From the North there led no other way,
save east where the Gorge of Aglon lay,
and that dark path of hurrying dread
which only in need the Orcs would tread
through Deadly Nightshade's awful gloom
where Taur-na-Fuin's branches loom;
and Aglon led to Doriath,
and Fëanor's sons watched o'er that path.)

Men called him Thû, and as a god

in after days beneath his rod
bewildered bowed to him, and made
his ghastly temples in the shade.
Not yet by Men enthralled adored,
now was he Morgoth's mightiest lord,
Master of Wolves, whose shivering howl
for ever echoed in the hills, and foul
enchantments and dark sigaldry
did weave and wield. In glamoury
that necromancer held his hosts
of phantoms and of wandering ghosts,
of misbegotten or spell-wronged
monsters that about him thronged,
working his bidding dark and vile:
the werewolves of the Wizard's Isle.

From Thû their coming was not hid;
and though beneath the eaves they slid
of the forest's gloomy-hanging boughs,
he saw them afar, and wolves did rouse:
'Go! fetch me those sneaking Orcs,' he said,
'that fare thus strangely, as if in dread,
and do not come, as all Orcs use
and are commanded, to bring me news
of all their deeds, to me, to Thû.'

From his tower he gazed, and in him grew
suspicion and a brooding thought,
waiting, leering, till they were brought.
Now ringed about with wolves they stand,
and fear their doom. Alas! the land,
the land of Narog left behind!
Foreboding evil weights their mind,
as downcast, halting, they must go
and cross the stony bridge of woe
to Wizard's Isle, and to the throne
there fashioned of blood-darkened stone.

'Where have ye been? What have ye seen?'

'In Elfinesse; and tears and distress,
the fire blowing and the blood flowing,
these have we seen, there have we been.
Thirty we slew and their bodies threw

in a dark pit. The ravens sit
and the owl cries where our swath lies.'

'Come, tell me true, O Morgoth's thralls,
what then in Elfinesse befalls?
What of Nargothrond? Who reigneth there?
Into that realm did your feet dare?'

'Only its borders did we dare.
There reigns King Felagund the fair.'

'Then heard ye not that he is gone,
that Celegorm sits his throne upon?'

'That is not true! If he is gone,
then Orodreth sits his throne upon.'

'Sharp are your ears, swift have they got
tidings of realms ye entered not!
What are your names, O spearmen bold?
Who your captain, ye have not told.'

'Nereb and Dungalef and warriors ten,
so we are called, and dark our den
under the mountains. Over the waste
we march on an errand of need and haste.
Boldog the captain awaits us there
where fires from under smoke and flare.'

'Boldog, I heard, was lately slain
warring on the borders of that domain
where Robber Thingol and outlaw folk
cringe and crawl beneath elm and oak
in drear Doriath. Heard ye not then
of that pretty fay, of Lúthien?
Her body is fair, very white and fair.
Morgoth would possess her in his lair.
Boldog he sent, but Boldog was slain:
strange ye were not in Boldog's train.
Nereb looks fierce, his frown is grim.
Little Lúthien! What troubles him?
Why laughs he not to think of his lord
crushing a maiden in his hoard,
that foul should be what once was clean,
that dark should be where light has been?

Whom do ye serve, Light or Mirk?
Who is the maker of mightiest work?
Who is the king of earthly kings,
the greatest giver of gold and rings?
Who is the master of the wide earth?
Who despoiled them of their mirth,
the greedy Gods? Repeat your vows,
Orcs of Bauglir! Do not bend your brows!
Death to light, to law, to love!
Cursed be moon and stars above!
May darkness everlasting old
that waits outside in surges cold
drown Manwë, Varda, and the sun!
May all in hatred be begun,
and all in evil ended be,
in the moaning of the endless Sea!'

But no true Man nor Elf yet free
would ever speak that blasphemy,
and Beren muttered: 'Who is Thû
to hinder work that is to do?
Him we serve not, nor to him owe
obeisance, and we now would go.'

Thû laughed: 'Patience! Not very long
shall ye abide. But first a song
I will sing to you, to ears intent.'
Then his flaming eyes he on them bent,
and darkness black fell round them all.
Only they saw as through a pall
of eddying smoke those eyes profound
in which their senses choked and drowned.
He chanted a song of wizardry,
of piercing, opening, of treachery,
revealing, uncovering, betraying.
Then sudden Felagund there swaying
sang in answer a song of staying,
resisting, battling against power,
of secrets kept, strength like a tower,
and trust unbroken, freedom, escape;
of changing and of shifting shape,
of snares eluded, broken traps,
the prison opening, the chain that snaps.

Backwards and forwards swayed their song.
Reeling and foundering, as ever more strong
Thû's chanting swelled, Felagund fought,
and all the magic and might he brought
of Elfinesse into his words.
Softly in the gloom they heard the birds
singing afar in Nargothrond,
the sighing of the sea beyond,
beyond the western world, on sand,
on sand of pearls in Elvenland.

Then the gloom gathered: darkness growing
in Valinor, the red blood flowing
beside the sea, where the Gnomes slew
the Foamriders, and stealing drew
their white ships with their white sails
from lamplit havens. The wind wails.
The wolf howls. The ravens flee.
The ice mutters in the mouths of the sea.
The captives sad in Angband mourn.
Thunder rumbles, the fires burn,
a vast smoke gushes out, a roar –
and Felagund swoons upon the floor.

Behold! they are in their own fair shape,
fairskinned, brighteyed. No longer gape
Orclike their mouths; and now they stand
betrayed into the wizard's hand.
Thus came they unhappy into woe,
to dungeons no hope nor glimmer know,
where chained in chains that eat the flesh
and woven in webs of strangling mesh
they lay forgotten, in despair.

Yet not all unavailing were
the spells of Felagund; for Thû
neither their names nor purpose knew.
These much he pondered and bethought,
and in their woeful chains them sought,
and threatened all with dreadful death,
if one would not with traitor's breath
reveal this knowledge. Wolves should come
and slow devour them one by one

before the others' eyes, and last
should one alone be left aghast,
then in a place of horror hung
with anguish should his limbs be wrung,
in the bowels of the earth be slow
endlessly, cruelly, put to woe
and torment, till he all declared.

Even as he threatened, so it fared.
From time to time in the eyeless dark
two eyes would grow, and they would hark
to frightful cries, and then a sound
of rending, a slavering on the ground,
and blood flowing they would smell.
But none would yield, and none would tell.

★

NOTES

1943 Against the end of this line is written the date 'March 30 1928'. The previous date was 29 March 1928 at line 1736.

2023 (and subsequently) *Broseliand* A, and B as typed.

2026 *Deadly Night*] *Tangled Night* A, and B as typed. Cf. *Deadly Nightshade* as a name of Taur-na-Fuin in *The Children of Húrin* (p. 55) and at line 2060 in the present Canto.

2047 *fields of drouth*: the expression *Plains of Drouth* occurs in *The Children of Húrin*, p. 36, line 826.

2056–63 These lines are marked with an X and a sign for deletion in the B-text, probably not on account of anything in their content but because my father felt them to be intrusive.

2064–6 Emended in B to:

> Gnomes called him Gorthû, as a god
> in after days beneath his rod
> bewildered they bowed to him, and made

(*Sauron* was first substituted for *Thû*. *Men* is written beside *they* in line 2066.) *Thû* > *Gorthû* at all subsequent occurrences in this Canto, or the name avoided by substitution of pronoun or article; thus 2088 *of all their deeds to me, Gorthû*; 2161–2 *Doth Gorthû / now hinder work*; 2165 *He laughed*; 2186 *the chanting*; etc.

This change is difficult to date, but was made when *Gnomes* was still employed (2064). In Canto VIII *Thû* was left unchanged, and subsequently, until 3290, which was emended to *where Gorthû reigned*; at the end of the poem (3947, 3951) *Thû* was changed to *Sauron*.

2100–6 On the changed metre of these lines see the Commentary.

2114 After this line is written the date 'March 31st' (i.e. 1928). The previous date was 30 March 1928 at line 1943.

2121 *Nereb and Dungalef*: emended in B to *Wrath and Hate*, at the same time as *Thû* > *Gorthû*.

2137 *Nereb looks fierce*: emended in B to *Fierce is your chief*.

2155 *Bridhil* A, and B as typed; the change to *Varda* made at the same time as *Thû* to *Gorthû*. Cf. note to line 1620.

2175–7 The three rhyming lines go back through A to the original draft.

2193 *Elvenland* is an emendation to B *Fairyland*.

Commentary on Canto VII

The plot-outline 'Synopsis I' for the narrative in this Canto has already been given (pp. 219–20). 'Synopsis II' continues from the point reached on p. 221.

> They ambush an Orc-band, and disguising themselves in the raiment and fashion of the slain, march on Northward. Between the Shadowy Mountains and the Forest of Night, where the young Sirion flows in the narrowing valley, they come upon the *werewolves*, and the host of Thû Lord of Wolves. They are taken before Thû, and after a contest of riddling questions and answers are revealed as spies, but Beren is taken as a Gnome, and that Felagund is King of Nargothrond remains hidden.
>
> They are placed in a deep dungeon. Thû desires to discover their purpose and real names and vows death, one by one, and torment to the last one, if they will not reveal them. From time to time a great werewolf [*struck through*: Thû in disguise] comes and devours one of the companions.

This is obviously the narrative basis for Canto VII, and the story here reaches its final form. There may seem to be a difference between the outline and the Lay, in that the former says that 'after a contest of riddling questions and answers they are revealed as spies', whereas in the latter Felagund is overcome by song of greater power. In fact, the riddling contest is present, but seems not to have been fully developed. In the original draft my father scribbled the following note before he wrote the passage lines 2100 ff.:

Riddling questions. Where have you been, who have you slain? Thirty men. Who reigns in Nargothrond? Who is captain of Orcs? Who wrought the world? Who is king &c. They show Elfin [?bias] and too little knowledge of Angband, too much of Elfland. Thû and Felagund . . . . . enchantments against one another and Thû's slowly win, till they stand revealed as Elves.

Lines 2100–6 are in a changed metre, especially suitable to a riddle contest, and their content (the reply to Thû's question 'Where have ye been? What have ye seen?') is riddling ('misleading accuracy'). But after this the verse returns to the common metre, and the riddling element disappears (except in *dark our den / under the mountains*). The name *Dungalef* (2121), though it sounds Orcish enough, was an oddly transparent device, since *Felagund* had just been mentioned; but it succeeded (2217). No doubt Thû's ponderings on the matter were too subtle.

This is the first full portrait of Thû, who emerges as a being of great power, far advanced in sorcery, and is indeed here called 'necromancer' (2074). Here also is the first suggestion that his history would extend far beyond the tale of Beren and Lúthien, when 'in after days' Men would worship him, and build 'his ghastly temples in the shade'.

It is in this Canto, also, that the island in the river Sirion (not actually mentioned in Synopsis II) makes its first appearance, together with a mention of the origin of the fortress:

> An elven watchtower had it been,
> and strong it was, and still was fair. (2041–2)

My father's drawing (*Pictures by J. R. R. Tolkien*, no. 36) was made at Lyme Regis in Dorset in July 1928, less than four months after these lines were written; and in the drawing the caves scooped by the waters in the edges of the island (lines 2037–8) can be seen.

The Shadowy Mountains referred to in Synopsis II and in the poem are no longer the Mountains of Terror (Ered Gorgoroth), as they were at lines 386, 1318 (see pp. 170–1). In Synopsis II it is said that the young Sirion flows in the narrowing valley between the Shadowy Mountains and the Forest of Night (Taur-na-Fuin), and in the poem Ivrin's lake mirrors

> the pallid faces bare and grim
> of Shadowy Mountains neath the moon (1939–40)

as in *The Children of Húrin* (p. 62, lines 1581–2). Thus the term now reverts to its meaning in the alliterative poem, a meaning that it would henceforward retain. It is also to be noted that this mountain-range is 'northward-bending' (2030).

The lines concerning Ivrin in *The Children of Húrin* (1594–7):

> newborn Narog, nineteen fathoms
> o'er a flickering force falls in wonder,

and a glimmering goblet with glass-lucent
fountains fills he by his freshets carven

are echoed in *The Lay of Leithian* (1934–6):

the flickering falls, whose freshets sheer
a glimmering goblet glassy-clear
with crystal waters fill . . .

A new feature of the northern lands appears in this Canto: the Gorge of Aglon (2057), already placed (as other evidence shows) at the eastern end of Taur-na-Fuin; and line 2063 gives the first indication that this region was the territory of the Fëanorians.

The raid of the Orc-captain Boldog into Doriath, seeking to capture Lúthien for Morgoth, was an important element in the history of this time, though later it disappeared and there is no trace of it in *The Silmarillion*. Discussion of it is postponed till later in the *Lay of Leithian*, but it may be noticed here that an early reference to it is found in *The Children of Húrin* (p. 16 lines 392–4, p. 117 lines 764–6). There it was Thû himself who was bidden by Morgoth *go ravage the realm of the robber Thingol*.

The term *Foamriders*, used of the Third Kindred of the Elves in line 2197, is found earlier in the alliterative *Flight of the Noldoli* (see p. 140).

★

VIII

Hounds there were in Valinor
with silver collars. Hart and boar,
the fox and hare and nimble roe
there in the forests green did go.
Oromë was the lord divine
of all those woods. The potent wine
went in his halls and hunting song.
The Gnomes anew have named him long
Tavros, the God whose horns did blow
over the mountains long ago;
who alone of Gods had loved the world
before the banners were unfurled
of Moon and Sun; and shod with gold
were his great horses. Hounds untold
baying in woods beyond the West

of race immortal he possessed:
grey and limber, black and strong,
white with silken coats and long,
brown and brindled, swift and true
as arrow from a bow of yew;
their voices like the deeptoned bells
that ring in Valmar's citadels,
their eyes like living jewels, their teeth
like ruel-bone. As sword from sheath
they flashed and fled from leash to scent
for Tavros' joy and merriment.

In Tavros' friths and pastures green
had Huan once a young whelp been.
He grew the swiftest of the swift,
and Oromë gave him as a gift
to Celegorm, who loved to follow
the great God's horn o'er hill and hollow.
Alone of hounds of the Land of Light,
when sons of Fëanor took to flight
and came into the North, he stayed
beside his master. Every raid
and every foray wild he shared,
and into mortal battle dared.
Often he saved his Gnomish lord
from Orc and wolf and leaping sword.
A wolf-hound, tireless, grey and fierce
he grew; his gleaming eyes would pierce
all shadows and all mist, the scent
moons old he found through fen and bent,
through rustling leaves and dusty sand;
all paths of wide Beleriand
he knew. But wolves, he loved them best;
he loved to find their throats and wrest
their snarling lives and evil breath.
The packs of Thû him feared as Death.
No wizardry, nor spell, nor dart,
no fang, nor venom devil's art
could brew had harmed him; for his weird
was woven. Yet he little feared
that fate decreed and known to all:
before the mightiest he should fall,

before the mightiest wolf alone
that ever was whelped in cave of stone.

Hark! afar in Nargothrond,
far over Sirion and beyond,
there are dim cries and horns blowing,
and barking hounds through the trees going.
The hunt is up, the woods are stirred.
Who rides to-day? Ye have not heard
that Celegorm and Curufin
have loosed their dogs? With merry din
they mounted ere the sun arose,
and took their spears and took their bows.
The wolves of Thû of late have dared
both far and wide. Their eyes have glared
by night across the roaring stream
of Narog. Doth their master dream,
perchance, of plots and counsels deep,
of secrets that the Elf-lords keep,
of movements in the Gnomish realm
and errands under beech and elm?

Curufin spake: 'Good brother mine,
I like it not. What dark design
doth this portend? These evil things,
we swift must end their wanderings!
And more, 'twould please my heart full well
to hunt a while and wolves to fell.'
And then he leaned and whispered low
that Orodreth was a dullard slow;
long time it was since the king had gone,
and rumour or tidings came there none.
'At least thy profit it would be
to know whether dead he is or free;
to gather thy men and thy array.
"I go to hunt" then thou wilt say,
and men will think that Narog's good
ever thou heedest. But in the wood
things may be learned; and if by grace,
by some blind fortune he retrace
his footsteps mad, and if he bear
a Silmaril – I need declare
no more in words; but one by right

is thine (and ours), the jewel of light;
another may be won – a throne.
The eldest blood our house doth own.'

Celegorm listened. Nought he said,
but forth a mighty host he led;
and Huan leaped at the glad sounds,
the chief and captain of his hounds.
Three days they ride by holt and hill
the wolves of Thû to hunt and kill,
and many a head and fell of grey
they take, and many drive away,
till nigh to the borders in the West
of Doriath a while they rest.

There were dim cries and horns blowing,
and barking dogs through the woods going.
The hunt was up. The woods were stirred,
and one there fled like startled bird,
and fear was in her dancing feet.
She knew not who the woods did beat.
Far from her home, forwandered, pale,
she flitted ghostlike through the vale;
ever her heart bade her up and on,
but her limbs were worn, her eyes were wan.
The eyes of Huan saw a shade
wavering, darting down a glade
like a mist of evening snared by day
and hasting fearfully away.
He bayed, and sprang with sinewy limb
to chase the shy thing strange and dim.
On terror's wings, like a butterfly
pursued by a sweeping bird on high,
she fluttered hither, darted there,
now poised, now flying through the air –
in vain. At last against a tree
she leaned and panted. Up leaped he.
No word of magic gasped with woe,
no elvish mystery she did know
or had entwined in raiment dark
availed against that hunter stark,
whose old immortal race and kind
no spells could ever turn or bind.

Huan alone that she ever met
she never in enchantment set
nor bound with spells. But loveliness
and gentle voice and pale distress
and eyes like starlight dimmed with tears
tamed him that death nor monster fears.

Lightly he lifted her, light he bore
his trembling burden. Never before
had Celegorm beheld such prey:
'What hast thou brought, good Huan say!
Dark-elvish maid, or wraith, or fay?
Not such to hunt we came today.'

"Tis Lúthien of Doriath,'
the maiden spake. 'A wandering path
far from the Wood-Elves' sunny glades
she sadly winds, where courage fades
and hope grows faint.' And as she spoke
down she let slip her shadowy cloak,
and there she stood in silver and white.
Her starry jewels twinkled bright
in the risen sun like morning dew;
the lilies gold on mantle blue
gleamed and glistened. Who could gaze
on that fair face without amaze?
Long did Curufin look and stare.
The perfume of her flower-twined hair,
her lissom limbs, her elvish face,
smote to his heart, and in that place
enchained he stood. 'O maiden royal,
O lady fair, wherefore in toil
and lonely journey dost thou go?
What tidings dread of war and woe
In Doriath have betid? Come tell!
For fortune thee hath guided well;
friends thou hast found,' said Celegorm,
and gazed upon her elvish form.

In his heart him thought her tale unsaid
he knew in part, but nought she read
of guile upon his smiling face.
'Who are ye then, the lordly chase

that follow in this perilous wood?'
she asked; and answer seeming-good
they gave. 'Thy servants, lady sweet,
lords of Nargothrond thee greet,
and beg that thou wouldst with them go
back to their hills, forgetting woe
a season, seeking hope and rest.
And now to hear thy tale were best.'

So Lúthien tells of Beren's deeds
in northern lands, how fate him leads
to Doriath, of Thingol's ire,
the dreadful errand that her sire
decreed for Beren. Sign nor word
the brothers gave that aught they heard
that touched them near. Of her escape
and the marvellous mantle she did shape
she lightly tells, but words her fail
recalling sunlight in the vale,
moonlight, starlight in Doriath,
ere Beren took the perilous path.
'Need, too, my lords, there is of haste!
No time in ease and rest to waste.
For days are gone now since the queen,
Melian whose heart hath vision keen,
looking afar me said in fear
that Beren lived in bondage drear.
The Lord of Wolves hath prisons dark,
chains and enchantments cruel and stark,
and there entrapped and languishing
doth Beren lie – if direr thing
hath not brought death or wish for death':
than gasping woe bereft her breath.

To Celegorm said Curufin
apart and low: 'Now news we win
of Felagund, and now we know
wherefore Thû's creatures prowling go',
and other whispered counsels spake,
and showed him what answer he should make.
'Lady,' said Celegorm, 'thou seest
we go a-hunting roaming beast,
and though our host is great and bold,

'tis ill prepared the wizard's hold
and island fortress to assault.
Deem not our hearts or wills at fault.
Lo! here our chase we now forsake
and home our swiftest road we take,
counsel and aid there to devise
for Beren that in anguish lies.'

To Nargothrond they with them bore
Lúthien, whose heart misgave her sore.
Delay she feared; each moment pressed
upon her spirit, yet she guessed
they rode not as swiftly as they might.
Ahead leaped Huan day and night,
and ever looking back his thought
was troubled. What his master sought,
and why he rode not like the fire,
why Curufin looked with hot desire
on Lúthien, he pondered deep,
and felt some evil shadow creep
of ancient curse o'er Elfinesse.
His heart was torn for the distress
of Beren bold, and Lúthien dear,
and Felagund who knew no fear.

In Nargothrond the torches flared
and feast and music were prepared.
Lúthien feasted not but wept.
Her ways were trammelled; closely kept
she might not fly. Her magic cloak
was hidden, and no prayer she spoke
was heeded, nor did answer find
her eager questions. Out of mind,
it seemed, were those afar that pined
in anguish and in dungeons blind
in prison and in misery.
Too late she knew their treachery.
It was not hid in Nargothrond
that Fëanor's sons her held in bond,
who Beren heeded not, and who
had little cause to wrest from Thû
the king they loved not and whose quest
old vows of hatred in their breast

had roused from sleep. Orodreth knew
the purpose dark they would pursue:
King Felagund to leave to die,
and with King Thingol's blood ally
the house of Fëanor by force
or treaty. But to stay their course
he had no power, for all his folk
the brothers had yet beneath their yoke,
and all yet listened to their word.
Orodreth's counsel no man heard;
their shame they crushed, and would not heed
the tale of Felagund's dire need.

At Lúthien's feet there day by day
and at night beside her couch would stay
Huan the hound of Nargothrond;
and words she spoke to him soft and fond:
'O Huan, Huan, swiftest hound
that ever ran on mortal ground,
what evil doth thy lords possess
to heed no tears nor my distress?
Once Barahir all men above
good hounds did cherish and did love;
once Beren in the friendless North,
when outlaw wild he wandered forth,
had friends unfailing among things
with fur and fell and feathered wings,
and among the spirits that in stone
in mountains old and wastes alone
still dwell. But now nor Elf nor Man,
none save the child of Melian,
remembers him who Morgoth fought
and never to thraldom base was brought.'

Nought said Huan; but Curufin
thereafter never near might win
to Lúthien, nor touch that maid,
but shrank from Huan's fangs afraid.
Then on a night when autumn damp
was swathed about the glimmering lamp
of the wan moon, and fitful stars
were flying seen between the bars
of racing cloud, when winter's horn

already wound in trees forlorn,
lo! Huan was gone. Then Lúthien lay
fearing new wrong, till just ere day,
when all is dead and breathless still
and shapeless fears the sleepless fill,
a shadow came along the wall.
Then something let there softly fall
her magic cloak beside her couch.
Trembling she saw the great hound crouch
beside her, heard a deep voice swell
as from a tower a far slow bell.

Thus Huan spake, who never before
had uttered words, and but twice more
did speak in elven tongue again:
'Lady beloved, whom all Men,
whom Elfinesse, and whom all things
with fur and fell and feathered wings
should serve and love – arise! away!
Put on thy cloak! Before the day
comes over Nargothrond we fly
to Northern perils, thou and I.'
And ere he ceased he counsel wrought
for achievement of the thing they sought.
There Lúthien listened in amaze,
and softly on Huan did she gaze.
Her arms about his neck she cast –
in friendship that to death should last.

★

NOTES

2246 *Tavros* not emended, nor at lines 2263–4 (see p. 195, note to lines 891, 904).
2248 *of Gods had loved* B] *of Valar loved* A
2283 *Beleriand*] *Broseliand* A, and B as typed.
2385 After this line is written the date 'April 2nd'. The previous date was 31 March 1928 at line 2114.
2423 After this line is written the date 'April 3rd'. The previous date was 2 April 1928 at line 2385.
2442–4 Cf. lines 1246–8.

2484–5 The reference to the hiding of Lúthien's cloak is not in A.
2522–6 Cf. lines 349–53. Line 2523 is repeated at 2555.
2551 *But twice more* emendation in B; *nor ever more* A, *but once more* B as typed.
2552 *elven*: *elfin* B, but since *elfin* is changed at almost every occurrence I have done so here.

Commentary on Canto VIII

The development of the narrative of this Canto from the *Tale of Tinúviel* to *The Silmarillion* can be followed step by step. The first stage is seen in the very brief words of the 'Sketch', following on the passage given on p. 220.

> Lúthien is imprisoned by Thingol, but escapes and goes in search of Beren. With the aid of Huan lord of dogs she rescues Beren [i.e. from 'Thû the hunter'], and gains entrance to Angband . . .

This is too compressed to reveal what ideas underlay it; but at least it is clear that Huan was still independent of any master. In the earliest map Huan is assigned a territory (south and east of Ivrin), and this clearly belongs with the old conception.

Synopsis I, a little later than the 'Sketch' (see p. 220), continues from the point reached on pp. 219–20:

> Tinúviel flies in her magic robe, she meets Celegorm out hunting, and is pursued by him and captured by Huan his dog and hurt. [*Struck out*: In redress he offers to help] He offers redress – but cannot help; he lent his Gnomes to Beren and all perished, and so must Beren. Huan goes with her.

A little later in the outline it is said:

> It was written in the fate of Huan that he could only be slain by a wolf.

At this stage, where Celegorm was the ruler of Nargothrond to whom Beren went in his trouble, Celegorm 'lent his Gnomes' to Beren;* Lúthien fleeing from Doriath was pursued by Celegorm while out hunting and was hurt by Huan, who now first appears as Celegorm's hound. Here there is no suggestion of evil behaviour towards her (and no mention of Curufin); Celegorm is unable to assist her, further than he has already assisted Beren, but Huan goes with her on her quest: was this the 'redress' for her hurt that Celegorm offered her? It is not said. It is clear that the position of the ruler of Nargothrond as a son of Fëanor,

* If the previous passage of Synopsis I (p. 219) is strictly interpreted Celegorm went with Beren from Nargothrond, but this is obviously not meant: my father must have struck out more than he intended to. It is now clear that in this form of the story Celegorm disguised Beren and gave him guides.

bound by the Oath, must have developed quite differently if this form of the story had been retained, since he was also sworn to aid the kin of Barahir (see below, p. 247).

In Synopsis II, given on p. 233 to the point equivalent to the end of Canto VII, the plot reaches almost to its development in the present Canto of the Lay; but this was achieved in stages, and the original text of the outline was so much changed and extended by later alterations that it would be extremely difficult to follow if set out as hitherto. I give it therefore in two forms. As first written it read:

> Curufin and Celegorm go hunting with all their hounds. Huan the sleepless is the chief. He is proof against magic sleep or death – it is his fate to be slain only by the 'greatest wolf'. They espy Lúthien who flees, but is caught by Huan whom she cannot enchant. The hound bears her to Celegorm, who learns her purpose. Hearing who she is, and falling in love with her he takes away her magic cloak, and holds her captive.
>
> At last he yields to her tears to let her free and give her back her cloak, but he will not aid her because of his oath. Nor does he desire to rescue Felagund, since he is now all-powerful in Nargothrond. She departs from Celegorm. But Huan has become devoted to her, and goes with her.

At this stage, the hunting evidently had no significance in itself: it was the device by which Huan (already in Synopsis I the hound of Celegorm, and with a peculiar fate) was to be brought to accompany Lúthien, an essential feature going back to the *Tale of Tinúviel*. There is no mention of her being hurt by Huan, as there is in Synopsis I (and so no question of 'redress'); and here Celegorm falls in love with her and therefore holds her captive. But this is only for a time; he yields to her prayer and gives her back her cloak, though because of his oath he will not aid her; and the evil motive of his desiring to let Felagund perish so that he may retain power in Nargothrond appears. Lúthien leaves Celegorm; Huan goes with her, as in Synopsis I, but the motive is now explicitly the hound's love for her.

After emendation the outline read as follows:

> Because of the disguise of Felagund Thû is suspicious and his wolves fare far abroad. Celegorm seizes pretext for a wolfhunt.
>
> Curufin and Celegorm go wolf-hunting guilefully (really to intercept Felagund*) with all their hounds. Huan the sleepless is the chief. (Huan came with him [i.e. Celegorm] from Tavros' halls.) He is proof against magic sleep or death – it is his fate to be slain only by the

*i.e., if he should return to Nargothrond; see lines 2330ff.

'greatest wolf'. They espy Lúthien who flees, but is caught by Huan whom she cannot enchant. The hound bears her to Celegorm, who learns her purpose. Hearing who she is, and falling in love with her, Curufin takes away her magic cloak, and holds her captive. Although she tells him Melian's words and that Felagund and Beren are in Thû's power he won't attempt a rescue even of Felagund. (*Marginal note*: It is Curufin who put evil into Celegorm's heart.)

In spite of her tears to let her free and give her back her cloak he will not aid her because of his oath and love. Nor does he desire to rescue Felagund, since he is now all-powerful in Nargothrond. But Huan has become devoted to her, and aids her to escape *without her cloak*.

The hunting of Celegorm and Curufin is now given a sinister import, and is related to the wolves of Thû who 'fare far abroad'. Huan's Valinórean ancestry appears; and Curufin becomes the evil genius of the brothers, and also the lover of Lúthien. Lúthien is now held prisoner in Nargothrond until she escapes by the aid of Huan – but she does not get back her cloak.

Which of the brothers is referred to in the latter part of the emended outline is not clear: as originally written it was Celegorm throughout, but by the change of 'falling in love with her he takes away her magic cloak' to 'falling in love with her Curufin takes away her magic cloak' Curufin becomes the antecedent to all that follows. Whether my father really intended this is hard to say.

When he came to write Canto VIII, on the basis of this emended outline, some further change took place – notably, the return to Lúthien by Huan of her cloak before they left Nargothrond; and the element added to the outline 'It is Curufin who put evil into Celegorm's heart' is expanded. It is now Curufin who suggests the wolfhunt, with its secret intention, and line 2453 shows him as the subtler and more longheaded schemer, standing behind his brother and prompting him – it is clear from lines 2324 ff. that Celegorm has some authority – or is felt by Curufin to have some authority – that Curufin lacks.

Curufin expresses his contempt for Orodreth ('a dullard slow', 2321), and this is the first hint of that weakening of Orodreth's character to which I referred earlier (p. 91). Of course the emergence of Felagund pushed him in any case into a subordinate rôle, as the younger brother of the founder of Nargothrond, and the concomitant development whereby Celegorm and Curufin remained in Nargothrond as powerful interlopers weakened his position still further. It may be that the position imposed on him by the movements in the legend led to the conclusion that he cannot have been made of very stern stuff.

These subtleties in the relationship between Celegorm and Curufin are passed over in the prose version (*The Silmarillion* pp. 172–3), and there is no suggestion that Curufin was the more sinister of the pair, and

the prime mover in their machinations. Celegorm recovers his earlier rôle as the one who was enamoured of Lúthien. In the Lay appears the motive, not mentioned in Synopsis II, of the intention of Celegorm and Curufin to ally themselves with 'King Thingol's blood' by the forced marriage of Lúthien (lines 2498–2503); and this reappears in *The Silmarillion*, where it is to Celegorm that Thingol is to be compelled to give her.

The process whereby the legends of Beren and Lúthien on the one hand and of Nargothrond on the other became entwined is now (to this point in the story) almost complete, and this is a convenient point to recapitulate the main shifts in its evolution.

In the *Lost Tales* Orodreth was lord of the Rodothlim, a people of the Gnomes, in the caves that were to become Nargothrond, but Beren had no connection with the Rodothlim (and Huan had no master). Then Celegorm appeared as the Gnomish prince rescued by Beren's father (Egnor > Barahir) in the battle that afterwards became the Battle of Sudden Flame, to whom he swore an oath of abiding friendship and aid; and Celegorm and Curufin became the founders of Nargothrond after the battle (p. 84). It was to Celegorm that Beren therefore came seeking aid; and Celegorm plays the later role of Felagund in Synopsis I to the extent that he gives him Gnomish guides. Lúthien fleeing from Doriath is caught by Huan, now the hound of Celegorm, and hurt, but this has no outcome beyond the departure of Lúthien in Huan's company (Synopsis I).

The most major change came with the emergence of Felagund and his taking over Celegorm's part both as founder of Nargothrond and as the one rescued by Barahir. Orodreth became his younger brother, the only other son of Finrod to survive the battle in which the Siege of Angband ended. But Celegorm's association with Nargothrond was not abandoned; and his powerful presence there together with that of his brother Curufin – again as a result of the battle – introduces the motive of conflict between the Fëanorians and the King, each held by their own oaths. This conflict had been present in the earlier plot, but there it was a conflict within Celegorm's mind alone, since he had sworn both oaths; there is however no real evidence as to how my father would have treated this, unless we assume from his giving Gnomish guides to Beren in Synopsis I that he gave precedence to his oath to Barahir.

When Lúthien is captured by Huan and taken to Nargothrond she is caught up in the ambitions of Celegorm and Curufin, and indeed her capture itself is made to come about from their evil intentions towards Felagund and determination to prevent his return.

Of Huan it is told in the Lay that he was the only hound of Valinor to come east over the sea (2270). His fate that he should meet death only when 'he encountered the mightiest wolf that would ever walk the world'

(*The Silmarillion* p. 173) appears (already referred to in Synopsis II, pp. 245–6), but it is not said as it is in *The Silmarillion* that this was because as the hound of Celegorm he came under the Doom of the Noldor. In the A-text of the Lay (note to line 2551) he spoke only once in his life, in the B-text twice; but this was emended to three times, as still in *The Silmarillion*.

The statement in lines 2248–50 that Oromë

> alone of Gods had loved the world
> before the banners were unfurled
> of Moon and Sun

seems to forget Yavanna: see the tale of *The Chaining of Melko* (I. 98–9) and *The Silmarillion* pp. 40–1.

The *dim cries and horns blowing, / and barking hounds through the trees going* (lines 2298–9, repeated with variations in lines 2348–9) derive from the Middle English Lay of Sir Orfeo:

> With dim cri & bloweing
> & houndes also wiþ him berking.*

★

IX

In Wizard's Isle still lay forgot,
enmeshed and tortured in that grot
cold, evil, doorless, without light,
and blank-eyed stared at endless night
two comrades. Now alone they were.
The others lived no more, but bare
their broken bones would lie and tell
how ten had served their master well.

To Felagund then Beren said:
"'Twere little loss if I were dead,
and I am minded all to tell,
and thus, perchance, from this dark hell
thy life to loose. I set thee free

* Auchinleck manuscript lines 285–6 (ed. A. J. Bliss, Oxford 1954, p. 26); cf. my father's translation (*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Pearl, and Sir Orfeo*, 1975):

> with blowing far and crying dim
> and barking hounds that were with him

from thine old oath, for more for me
hast thou endured than e'er was earned.'

'A! Beren, Beren hast not learned
that promises of Morgoth's folk
are frail as breath. From this dark yoke
of pain shall neither ever go,
whether he learn our names or no,
with Thû's consent. Nay more, I think
yet deeper of torment we should drink,
knew he that son of Barahir
and Felagund were captive here,
and even worse if he should know
the dreadful errand we did go.'

A devil's laugh they ringing heard
within their pit. 'True, true the word
I hear you speak,' a voice then said.
''Twere little loss if he were dead,
the outlaw mortal. But the king,
the Elf undying, many a thing
no man could suffer may endure.
Perchance, when what these walls immure
of dreadful anguish thy folk learn,
their king to ransom they will yearn
with gold and gem and high hearts cowed;
or maybe Celegorm the proud
will deem a rival's prison cheap,
and crown and gold himself will keep.
Perchance, the errand I shall know,
ere all is done, that ye did go.
The wolf is hungry, the hour is nigh;
no more need Beren wait to die.'

The slow time passed. Then in the gloom
two eyes there glowed. He saw his doom,
Beren, silent, as his bonds he strained
beyond his mortal might enchained.
Lo! sudden there was rending sound
of chains that parted and unwound,
of meshes broken. Forth there leaped
upon the wolvish thing that crept
in shadow faithful Felagund,

careless of fang or venomed wound.
There in the dark they wrestled slow,
remorseless, snarling, to and fro,
teeth in flesh, gripe on throat,
fingers locked in shaggy coat,
spurning Beren who there lying
heard the werewolf gasping, dying.
Then a voice he heard: 'Farewell!
On earth I need no longer dwell,
friend and comrade, Beren bold.
My heart is burst, my limbs are cold.
Here all my power I have spent
to break my bonds, and dreadful rent
of poisoned teeth is in my breast.
I now must go to my long rest
neath Timbrenting in timeless halls
where drink the Gods, where the light falls
upon the shining sea.' Thus died the king,
as elvish singers yet do sing.

There Beren lies. His grief no tear,
his despair no horror has nor fear,
waiting for footsteps, a voice, for doom.
Silences profounder than the tomb
of long-forgotten kings, neath years
and sands uncounted laid on biers
and buried everlasting-deep,
slow and unbroken round him creep.

The silences were sudden shivered
to silver fragments. Faint there quivered
a voice in song that walls of rock,
enchanted hill, and bar and lock,
and powers of darkness pierced with light.
He felt about him the soft night
of many stars, and in the air
were rustlings and a perfume rare;
the nightingales were in the trees,
slim fingers flute and viol seize
beneath the moon, and one more fair
than all there be or ever were
upon a lonely knoll of stone
in shimmering raiment danced alone.

Then in his dream it seemed he sang,
and loud and fierce his chanting rang,
old songs of battle in the North,
of breathless deeds, of marching forth
to dare uncounted odds and break
great powers, and towers, and strong walls shake;
and over all the silver fire
that once Men named the Burning Briar,
the Seven Stars that Varda set
about the North, were burning yet,
a light in darkness, hope in woe,
the emblem vast of Morgoth's foe.

'Huan, Huan! I hear a song
far under welling, far but strong;
a song that Beren bore aloft.
I hear his voice, I have heard if oft
in dream and wandering.' Whispering low
thus Lúthien spake. On the bridge of woe
in mantle wrapped at dead of night
she sat and sang, and to its height
and to its depth the Wizard's Isle,
rock upon rock and pile on pile,
trembling echoed. The werewolves howled,
and Huan hidden lay and growled
watchful listening in the dark,
waiting for battle cruel and stark.

Thû heard that voice, and sudden stood
wrapped in his cloak and sable hood
in his high tower. He listened long,
and smiled, and knew that elvish song.
'A! little Lúthien! What brought
the foolish fly to web unsought?
Morgoth! a great and rich reward
to me thou wilt owe when to thy hoard
this jewel is added.' Down he went,
and forth his messengers he sent.

Still Lúthien sang. A creeping shape
with bloodred tongue and jaws agape
stole on the bridge; but she sang on
with trembling limbs and wide eyes wan.

The creeping shape leaped to her side,
and gasped, and sudden fell and died.
And still they came, still one by one,
and each was seized, and there were none
returned with padding feet to tell
that a shadow lurketh fierce and fell
at the bridge's end, and that below
the shuddering waters loathing flow
o'er the grey corpses Huan killed.
A mightier shadow slowly filled
the narrow bridge, a slavering hate,
an awful werewolf fierce and great:
pale Draugluin, the old grey lord
of wolves and beasts of blood abhorred,
that fed on flesh of Man and Elf
beneath the chair of Thû himself.

No more in silence did they fight.
Howling and baying smote the night,
till back by the chair where he had fed
to die the werewolf yammering fled.
'Huan is there' he gasped and died,
and Thû was filled with wrath and pride.
'Before the mightiest he shall fall,
before the mightiest wolf of all',
so thought he now, and thought he knew
how fate long spoken should come true.
Now there came slowly forth and glared
into the night a shape long-haired,
dank with poison, with awful eyes
wolvish, ravenous; but there lies
a light therein more cruel and dread
than ever wolvish eyes had fed.
More huge were its limbs, its jaws more wide,
its fangs more gleaming-sharp, and dyed
with venom, torment, and with death.
The deadly vapour of its breath
swept on before it. Swooning dies
the song of Lúthien, and her eyes
are dimmed and darkened with a fear,
cold and poisonous and drear.

Thus came Thû, as wolf more great

than e'er was seen from Angband's gate
to the burning south, than ever lurked
in mortal lands or murder worked.
Sudden he sprang, and Huan leaped
aside in shadow. On he swept
to Lúthien lying swooning faint.
To her drowning senses came the taint
of his foul breathing, and she stirred;
dizzily she spake a whispered word,
her mantle brushed across his face.
He stumbled staggering in his pace.
Out leaped Huan. Back he sprang.
Beneath the stars there shuddering rang
the cry of hunting wolves at bay,
the tongue of hounds that fearless slay.
Backward and forth they leaped and ran
feinting to flee, and round they span,
and bit and grappled, and fell and rose.
Then suddenly Huan holds and throws
his ghastly foe; his throat he rends,
choking his life. Not so it ends.
From shape to shape, from wolf to worm,
from monster to his own demon form,
Thû changes, but that desperate grip
he cannot shake, nor from it slip.
No wizardry, nor spell, nor dart,
no fang, nor venom, nor devil's art
could harm that hound that hart and boar
had hunted once in Valinor.

Nigh the foul spirit Morgoth made
and bred of evil shuddering strayed
from its dark house, when Lúthien rose
and shivering looked upon his throes.

'O demon dark, O phantom vile
of foulness wrought, of lies and guile,
here shalt thou die, thy spirit roam
quaking back to thy master's home
his scorn and fury to endure;
thee he will in the bowels immure
of groaning earth, and in a hole
everlastingly thy naked soul

shall wail and gibber – this shall be,
unless the keys thou render me
of thy black fortress, and the spell
that bindeth stone to stone thou tell,
and speak the words of opening.'

With gasping breath and shuddering
he spake, and yielded as he must,
and vanquished betrayed his master's trust.

Lo! by the bridge a gleam of light,
like stars descended from the night
to burn and tremble here below.
There wide her arms did Lúthien throw,
and called aloud with voice as clear
as still at whiles may mortal hear
long elvish trumpets o'er the hill
echo, when all the world is still.
The dawn peered over mountains wan,
their grey heads silent looked thereon.
The hill trembled; the citadel
crumbled, and all its towers fell;
the rocks yawned and the bridge broke,
and Sirion spumed in sudden smoke.
Like ghosts the owls were flying seen
hooting in the dawn, and bats unclean
went skimming dark through the cold airs
shrieking thinly to find new lairs
in Deadly Nightshade's branches dread.
The wolves whimpering and yammering fled
like dusky shadows. Out there creep
pale forms and ragged as from sleep,
crawling, and shielding blinded eyes:
the captives in fear and in surprise
from dolour long in clinging night
beyond all hope set free to light.

A vampire shape with pinions vast
screeching leaped from the ground, and passed,
its dark blood dripping on the trees;
and Huan neath him lifeless sees
a wolvish corpse – for Thû had flown

to Taur-na-Fuin, a new throne
and darker stronghold there to build.
The captives came and wept and shrilled
their piteous cries of thanks and praise.
But Lúthien anxious-gazing stays.
Beren comes not. At length she said:
'Huan, Huan, among the dead
must we then find him whom we sought,
for love of whom we toiled and fought?'
Then side by side from stone to stone
o'er Sirion they climbed. Alone
unmoving they him found, who mourned
by Felagund, and never turned
to see what feet drew halting nigh.
'A! Beren, Beren!' came her cry,
'almost too late have I thee found?
Alas! that here upon the ground
the noblest of the noble race
in vain thy anguish doth embrace!
Alas! in tears that we should meet
who once found meeting passing sweet!'

Her voice such love and longing filled
he raised his eyes, his mourning stilled,
and felt his heart new-turned to flame
for her that through peril to him came.

'O Lúthien, O Lúthien,
more fair than any child of Men,
O loveliest maid of Elfinesse,
what might of love did thee possess
to bring thee here to terror's lair!
O lissom limbs and shadowy hair,
O flower-entwinéd brows so white,
O slender hands in this new light!'

She found his arms and swooned away
just at the rising of the day.

★

NOTES

2637 *elfin* B, not here emended, but it is clear that the intention was to change *elfin* to *elvish (elven)* in all cases.
2666–7 Cf. lines 377–9 and note. In the present passage A's reading is as B.
2699 Line marked with an X on the B-text.
2712–13 These lines (referring to Draugluin) not in A.
2722–3 Cf. lines 2293–4.
2755 Line marked with an X on the B-text.
2766–7 Cf. lines 2288–9.
2769 After this line is written the date 'April 4th'. The previous date was 3 April 1928 at line 2423.
2842 Cf. line 741.
2854–5 Cf. the ending of Canto III, lines 756–7.

Commentary on Canto IX

Synopsis I continues from the point reached on p. 244:

> Huan goes with her. She goes to the castle of the Lord of Wolves and sings for him. The captives in the dungeons hear her.
>
> It was written in the fate of Huan that he could only be slain by a wolf.
>
> She tells (by arrangement) of the sickness of Huan and so induces the Lord of Wolves to go werewolf and seek him. The wolf-battle of the glade. The 'words of opening' wrung from the Lord of Wolves and the castle broken. Rescue of Beren.

Synopsis II is here less affected by later changes and can be given in a single text (taking it up from the point reached on p. 246).

> But Huan has become devoted to her, and aids her to escape *without her cloak*. [*Bracketed*: He trails Beren and Felagund to the House of Thû.]
>
> At last only Felagund and Beren remain. It is Beren's turn to be devoured. But Felagund bursts his bonds and wrestles with the werewolf and slays him, but is killed. Beren is reserved for torment.
>
> Lúthien sings outside the house [*added*: on the bridge of woe] of Thû and Beren hears her voice, and his answering song comes up from underground to Huan's ears.
>
> Thû takes her inside. She tells him a twisted tale – by the desire of Huan, and because without her cloak she cannot enchant him. She tells of her bondage to Celegorm and her capture by Huan of whom she feigns hatred. Of all things in the world Thû hates Huan most. His weird to be slain only by the 'greatest wolf' is known. Lúthien says Huan is lying sick in the woods. Thû disguises himself as a mighty

werewolf and is led by her to where Huan is lying in ambush. [*Added*: But he purposes to make her a thrall.]

There follows the battle of the werewolf. Huan slays Thû's companions and with his teeth in Thû's throat wrests in return for life 'the words of opening' from him. The house of Thû is broken, and the captives set free. Beren is found [*struck out*: and borne back to Nargothrond.]

There is also to be considered now another outline, 'Synopsis III', very hastily written and not entirely legible. This outline begins here and I follow it to the end of the narrative in this Canto.

Thû lies choking under Huan. Lúthien arouses. She says 'thou phantom made of foulness by Morgoth, thou shalt die and thy spirit go back in fear to Angband to meet thy master's scorn and languish in the dark bosom of the world, if the "spoken keys" of thy fortress are not yielded.'

With his gasping breath he says them. Lúthien standing on the bridge with her arms spread calls them aloud. The dawn comes pale over the mountains. The hill quivers and gapes, the towers fall, the bridge falls and block[s] Sirion on one side, the dungeons gape. The owls flee away like phantoms in the first light, great bats are seen skimming away to Taur-na-Fuin shrieking thinly. [*Added*: and one as large as an eagle leads them. The spirit of Thû. His body has a ... . a wolf.] The wolves flee whimpering and yammering. Pale captives blinking in the light creep and crawl into the light. [*Struck out*: Beren comes forth.] No Beren. They seek for him and find him sitting beside Felagund.

These outlines are of great interest, since they show very clearly an intermediate stage in the evolution of the legend, between the original story of Tevildo Prince of Cats in the *Tale of Tinúviel* and the story of Thû in the *Lay of Leithian*. Still present is Lúthien's untrue tale that Huan is lying sick in the woods (see II. 26), and in Synopsis II Thû retains the (originally feline) Tevildo-trait of hating Huan more than any other creature in the world (II. 21). The old element of Tinúviel's entering the castle alone in order to inveigle Tevildo out of it, so that he may be attacked by Huan, was not yet abandoned – but in Synopsis II she does not have her cloak, and so cannot enchant Thû, whereas in the *Tale* the drowsiness which came upon the doorkeeper cat Umuiyan, and afterwards on Tevildo himself, is ascribed to her 'robe of sable mist' (II. 24–5). In the Lay, as in the account in *The Silmarillion* based on the Lay, Lúthien's sleep-bearing cloak has come back into the story at this juncture, since Huan retrieved it before they left Nargothrond, and she used it against Thû in the battle on the bridge.

A new element enters in Synopsis I with the singing of Lúthien before Thû, and the captives in the dungeons hearing her; in the old *Tale*

Tinúviel merely spoke very loudly so that Beren might hear her in the kitchen where he toiled. In Synopsis II this element is developed to the final form, with Lúthien singing on the bridge leading to the Wizard's Isle; but she still enters the castle by herself, before 'the battle of the werewolf'.

The sentence added in Synopsis II saying that Thû 'purposes to make her a thrall' goes back to the *Tale* (II. 26), and survived into the Lay and *The Silmarillion* ('he thought to make her captive and hand her over to the power of Morgoth, for his reward would be great').

The statement in II that 'Huan slays Thû's companions' doubtless proceeds from the story in the *Tale*, where when Tevildo set out to find Huan he was accompanied by two of his 'thanes', though in the *Tale* only Oikeroi was slain by Huan, and the other (unnamed) cat fled up a tree, as also did Tevildo himself (II. 28). In II, and in more detail in III, Thû is at Huan's mercy on the ground. In neither I nor II (III only takes up after this point) is there any suggestion of the wolves coming out from the castle and being slain by Huan one by one and silently, until at last Draugluin came forth; but as I noted in my commentary on the *Tale* (II. 54–5) 'the killing of the cat Oikeroi is the germ of Huan's fight with Draugluin – the skin of Huan's dead opponent is put to the same use in either case'. This element of the procession of wolves before Thû comes only enters with the poem. The verses naming Draugluin as the last and greatest of them (2712–13) are not in A, but in Lúthien's 'lengthening spell' *Draugluin the werewolf pale* is named in B (1489), where A has *Carcharas*.

Most interesting of all the features of this part of the story is that of the 'words of opening' or 'spoken keys', which goes back to the *Tale* (II. 28–9). I have discussed there (II. 55) the implications of this element in the enlarged context (the fortress of Thû had been an Elvish watchtower): the consequent 'displacement' of the spell that held the stones together.

In Synopsis III appear other features of the final story: the flight of Thû as a great bat; the finding of Beren sitting beside the body of Felagund. The pale captives who creep blinking into the light go back ultimately to the host of cats, reduced by the breaking of Tevildo's spell to puny size, who came forth from the castle in the *Tale* (II. 29, 55).

In Canto IX the story reaches its final form, and the passage in *The Silmarillion* derives from it closely, with only minor differences – the chief being the omission of all mention of Thû's voice in the dungeon, which is only found in the poem (lines 2592–2609). The old element still present in Synopsis II of Lúthien entering the castle alone has at last disappeared.

There remain a few matters of interest apart from the development of the story. Felagund's dying words (2633–6):

I now must go to my long rest
neath Timbrenting in timeless halls
where drink the Gods, where the light falls
upon the shining sea

are closely similar to Túrin's words of parting to Beleg dead (p. 58, 1408–11):

Now fare well, Beleg, to feasting long
neath Tengwethil in the timeless halls
where drink the Gods, neath domes golden
o'er the sea shining.

As I have said (p. 94), Túrin foresees for Beleg an afterlife in Valinor, in the halls of the Gods, and does not speak, as does Beleg himself in Túrin's dream, of a time of 'waiting':

my life has winged to the long waiting
in the halls of the Moon o'er the hills of the sea.
(p. 55, 1696–7)

Very notable are the words about Thû: 'the foul spirit Morgoth *made*' (line 2770).

In the passage (2666–71) referring to the constellation of the Great Bear is the first suggestion of the idea that Varda set the Seven Stars in the sky as an emblem of hope against Morgoth. Cf. *The Silmarillion* (p. 174):

> [Beren] sang a song of challenge that he had made in praise of the Seven Stars, the Sickle of the Valar that Varda hung above the North as a sign for the fall of Morgoth.

★

X

Songs have recalled the Elves have sung
in old forgotten elven tongue·
how Lúthien and Beren strayed
by the banks of Sirion. Many a glade
they filled with joy, and there their feet
passed by lightly, and days were sweet.
Though winter hunted through the wood,
still flowers lingered where she stood.
Tinúviel! Tinúviel!
the birds are unafraid to dwell

and sing beneath the peaks of snow
where Beren and where Lúthien go.

The isle in Sirion they left behind;
but there on hill-top might one find
a green grave, and a stone set,
and there there lie the white bones yet
of Felagund, of Finrod's son –
unless that land is changed and gone,
or foundered in unfathomed seas,
while Felagund laughs beneath the trees
in Valinor, and comes no more
to this grey world of tears and war.

To Nargothrond no more he came;
but thither swiftly ran the fame
of their king dead, of Thû o'erthrown,
of the breaking of the towers of stone.
For many now came home at last,
who long ago to shadow passed;
and like a shadow had returned
Huan the hound, and scant had earned
or praise or thanks of master wroth;
yet loyal he was, though he was loath.
The halls of Narog clamours fill
that vainly Celegorm would still.
There men bewailed their fallen king,
crying that a maiden dared that thing
which sons of Fëanor would not do.
'Let us slay these faithless lords untrue!'
the fickle folk now loudly cried
with Felagund who would not ride.
Orodreth spake: 'The kingdom now
is mine alone. I will allow
no spilling of kindred blood by kin.
But bread nor rest shall find herein
these brothers who have set at nought
the house of Finrod.' They were brought.
Scornful, unbowed, and unashamed
stood Celegorm. In his eye there flamed
a light of menace. Curufin
smiled with his crafty mouth and thin.

'Be gone for ever – ere the day
shall fall into the sea. Your way
shall never lead you hither more,
nor any son of Fëanor;
nor ever after shall be bond
of love twixt yours and Nargothrond.'

'We will remember it,' they said,
and turned upon their heels, and sped,
and took their horses and such folk
as still them followed. Nought they spoke
but sounded horns, and rode like fire,
and went away in anger dire.

Towards Doriath the wanderers now
were drawing nigh. Though bare the bough,
though cold the wind, and grey the grasses
through which the hiss of winter passes,
they sang beneath the frosty sky
uplifted o'er them pale and high.
They came to Mindeb's narrow stream
that from the hills doth leap and gleam
by western borders where begin
the spells of Melian to fence in
King Thingol's land, and stranger steps
to wind bewildered in their webs.

There sudden sad grew Beren's heart:
'Alas, Tinúviel, here we part
and our brief song together ends,
and sundered ways each lonely wends!'

'Why part we here? What dost thou say,
just at the dawn of brighter day?'

'For safe thou'rt come to borderlands
o'er which in the keeping of the hands
of Melian thou wilt walk at ease
and find thy home and well-loved trees.'

'My heart is glad when the fair trees
far off uprising grey it sees
of Doriath inviolate.
Yet Doriath my heart did hate,
and Doriath my feet forsook,

my home, my kin. I would not look
on grass nor leaf there evermore
without thee by me. Dark the shore
of Esgalduin the deep and strong!
Why there alone forsaking song
by endless waters rolling past
must I then hopeless sit at last,
and gaze at waters pitiless
in heartache and in loneliness?'

'For never more to Doriath
can Beren find the winding path,
though Thingol willed it or allowed;
for to thy father there I vowed
to come not back save to fulfill
the quest of the shining Silmaril,
and win by valour my desire.
"Not rock nor steel nor Morgoth's fire
nor all the power of Elfinesse,
shall keep the gem I would possess":
thus swore I once of Lúthien
more fair than any child of Men.
My word, alas! I must achieve,
though sorrow pierce and parting grieve.'

'Then Lúthien will not go home,
but weeping in the woods will roam,
nor peril heed, nor laughter know.
And if she may not by thee go
against thy will thy desperate feet
she will pursue, until they meet,
Beren and Lúthien, love once more
on earth or on the shadowy shore.'

'Nay, Lúthien, most brave of heart,
thou makest it more hard to part.
Thy love me drew from bondage drear,
but never to that outer fear,
that darkest mansion of all dread,
shall thy most blissful light be led.'

'Never, never!' he shuddering said.
But even as in his arms she pled,
a sound came like a hurrying storm.

There Curufin and Celegorm
in sudden tumult like the wind
rode up. The hooves of horses dinned
loud on the earth. In rage and haste
madly northward they now raced
the path twixt Doriath to find
and the shadows dreadly dark entwined
of Taur-na-Fuin. That was their road
most swift to where their kin abode
in the east, where Himling's watchful hill
o'er Aglon's gorge hung tall and still.

They saw the wanderers. With a shout
straight on them swung their hurrying rout,
as if neath maddened hooves to rend
the lovers and their love to end.
But as they came the horses swerved
with nostrils wide and proud necks curved;
Curufin, stooping, to saddlebow
with mighty arm did Lúthien throw,
and laughed. Too soon; for there a spring
fiercer than tawny lion-king
maddened with arrows barbéd smart,
greater than any hornéd hart
that hounded to a gulf leaps o'er,
there Beren gave, and with a roar
leaped on Curufin; round his neck
his arms entwined, and all to wreck
both horse and rider fell to ground;
and there they fought without a sound.
Dazed in the grass did Lúthien lie
beneath bare branches and the sky;
the Gnome felt Beren's fingers grim
close on his throat and strangle him,
and out his eyes did start, and tongue
gasping from his mouth there hung.
Up rode Celegorm with his spear,
and bitter death was Beren near.
With elvish steel he nigh was slain
whom Lúthien won from hopeless chain,
but baying Huan sudden sprang
before his master's face with fang

white-gleaming, and with bristling hair,
as if he on boar or wolf did stare.
The horse in terror leaped aside,
and Celegorm in anger cried:
'Curse thee, thou baseborn dog, to dare
against thy master teeth to bare!'
But dog nor horse nor rider bold
would venture near the anger cold
of mighty Huan fierce at bay.
Red were his jaws. They shrank away,
and fearful eyed him from afar:
nor sword nor knife, nor scimitar,
no dart of bow, nor cast of spear,
master nor man did Huan fear.

There Curufin had left his life,
had Lúthien not stayed that strife.
Waking she rose and softly cried
standing distressed at Beren's side:
'Forbear thy anger now, my lord!
nor do the work of Orcs abhorred;
for foes there be of Elfinesse
unnumbered, and they grow not less,
while here we war by ancient curse
distraught, and all the world to worse
decays and crumbles. Make thy peace!'

Then Beren did Curufin release;
but took his horse and coat of mail,
and took his knife there gleaming pale,
hanging sheathless, wrought of steel.
No flesh could leeches ever heal
that point had pierced; for long ago
the dwarves had made it, singing slow
enchantments, where their hammers fell
in Nogrod ringing like a bell.
Iron as tender wood it cleft,
and sundered mail like woollen weft.
But other hands its haft now held;
its master lay by mortal felled.
Beren uplifting him, far him flung,
and cried 'Begone!', with stinging tongue;
'Begone! thou renegade and fool,

and let thy lust in exile cool!
Arise and go, and no more work
like Morgoth's slaves or curséd Orc;
and deal, proud son of Fëanor,
in deeds more proud than heretofore!'
Then Beren led Lúthien away,
while Huan still there stood at bay.

'Farewell,' cried Celegorm the fair.
'Far get you gone! And better were
to die forhungered in the waste
than wrath of Fëanor's sons to taste,
that yet may reach o'er dale and hill.
No gem, nor maid, nor Silmaril
shall ever long in thy grasp lie!
We curse thee under cloud and sky,
we curse thee from rising unto sleep!
Farewell!' He swift from horse did leap,
his brother lifted from the ground;
then bow of yew with gold wire bound
he strung, and shaft he shooting sent,
as heedless hand in hand they went;
a dwarvish dart and cruelly hooked.
They never turned nor backward looked.
Loud bayed Huan, and leaping caught
the speeding arrow. Quick as thought
another followed deadly singing;
but Beren had turned, and sudden springing
defended Lúthien with his breast.
Deep sank the dart in flesh to rest.
He fell to earth. They rode away,
and laughing left him as he lay;
yet spurred like wind in fear and dread
of Huan's pursuing anger red.
Though Curufin with bruised mouth laughed,
yet later of that dastard shaft
was tale and rumour in the North,
and Men remembered at the Marching Forth,
and Morgoth's will its hatred helped.

Thereafter never hound was whelped
would follow horn of Celegorm
or Curufin. Though in strife and storm,

though all their house in ruin red
went down, thereafter laid his head
Huan no more at that lord's feet,
but followed Lúthien, brave and fleet.
Now sank she weeping at the side
of Beren, and sought to stem the tide
of welling blood that flowed there fast.
The raiment from his breast she cast;
from shoulder plucked the arrow keen;
his wound with tears she washed it clean.
Then Huan came and bore a leaf,
of all the herbs of healing chief,
that evergreen in woodland glade
there grew with broad and hoary blade.
The powers of all grasses Huan knew,
who wide did forest-paths pursue.
Therewith the smart he swift allayed,
while Lúthien murmuring in the shade
the staunching song, that Elvish wives
long years had sung in those sad lives
of war and weapons, wove o'er him.

The shadows fell from mountains grim.
Then sprang about the darkened North
the Sickle of the Gods, and forth
each star there stared in stony night
radiant, glistering cold and white.
But on the ground there is a glow,
a spark of red that leaps below:
under woven boughs beside a fire
of crackling wood and sputtering briar
there Beren lies in drowsing deep,
walking and wandering in sleep.
Watchful bending o'er him wakes
a maiden fair; his thirst she slakes,
his brow caresses, and softly croons
a song more potent than in runes
or leeches' lore hath since been writ.
Slowly the nightly watches flit.
The misty morning crawleth grey
from dusk to the reluctant day.

Then Beren woke and opened eyes,

and rose and cried: 'Neath other skies,
in lands more awful and unknown,
I wandered long, methought, alone
to the deep shadow where the dead dwell;
but ever a voice that I knew well,
like bells, like viols, like harps, like birds,
like music moving without words,
called me, called me through the night,
enchanted drew me back to light!
Healed the wound, assuaged the pain!
Now are we come to morn again,
new journeys once more lead us on –
to perils whence may life be won,
hardly for Beren; and for thee
a waiting in the wood I see,
beneath the trees of Doriath,
while ever follow down my path
the echoes of thine elvish song,
where hills are haggard and roads are long.'

'Nay, now no more we have for foe
dark Morgoth only, but in woe,
in wars and feuds of Elfinesse
thy quest is bound; and death, no less,
for thee and me, for Huan bold
the end of weird of yore foretold,
all this I bode shall follow swift,
if thou go on. Thy hand shall lift
and lay in Thingol's lap the dire
and flaming jewel, Fëanor's fire,
never, never! A why then go?
Why turn we not from fear and woe
beneath the trees to walk and roam
roofless, with all the world as home,
over mountains, beside the seas,
in the sunlight, in the breeze?'

Thus long they spoke with heavy hearts;
and yet not all her elvish arts,
nor lissom arms, nor shining eyes
as tremulous stars in rainy skies,
nor tender lips, enchanted voice,
his purpose bent or swayed his choice.

Never to Doriath would he fare
save guarded fast to leave her there;
never to Nargothrond would go
with her, lest there came war and woe;
and never would in the world untrod
to wander suffer her, worn, unshod,
roofless and restless, whom he drew
with love from the hidden realms she knew.
'For Morgoth's power is now awake;
already hill and dale doth shake,
the hunt is up, the prey is wild:
a maiden lost, an elven child.
Now Orcs and phantoms prowl and peer
from tree to tree, and fill with fear
each shade and hollow. Thee they seek!
At thought thereof my hope grows weak,
my heart is chilled. I curse mine oath,
I curse the fate that joined us both
and snared thy feet in my sad doom
of flight and wandering in the gloom!
Now let us haste, and ere the day
be fallen, take our swiftest way,
till o'er the marches of thy land
beneath the beech and oak we stand
in Doriath, fair Doriath
whither no evil finds the path,
powerless to pass the listening leaves
that droop upon those forest-eaves.'

Then to his will she seeming bent.
Swiftly to Doriath they went,
and crossed its borders. There they stayed
resting in deep and mossy glade;
there lay they sheltered from the wind
under mighty beeches silken-skinned,
and sang of love that still shall be,
though earth be foundered under sea,
and sundered here for evermore
shall meet upon the Western Shore.

One morning as asleep she lay
upon the moss, as though the day
too bitter were for gentle flower

to open in a sunless hour,
Beren arose and kissed her hair,
and wept, and softly left her there.
'Good Huan,' said he, 'guard her well!
In leafless field no asphodel,
in thorny thicket never a rose
forlorn, so frail and fragrant blows.
Guard her from wind and frost, and hide
from hands that seize and cast aside;
keep her from wandering and woe,
for pride and fate now make me go.'

The horse he took and rode away,
nor dared to turn; but all that day
with heart as stone he hastened forth
and took the paths toward the North.

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NOTES

2877 Against this line is written the date 'April 5th'. The previous date was 4 April 1928 at line 2769.

2929 At the end of this line is written the date 'April 6th'.

2950–3 Cf. lines 649–52, 1220–3.

2998 Against this line is written the date 'April 27th 1928'.

3031 Before this line is written the date 'Nov. 1929'. This date may refer forward or backward; but both it and the text that follows is written with a slightly finer nib than that used for the preceding portion of the poem. The previous date was 27 April 1928 at line 2998.

3076–84 Against these seven lines, as first written in the margin of the manuscript A, is the date 'Sept. 1930'.

3119 Against this line my father wrote in the margin of the B-text the word *athelas*. In *The Fellowship of the Ring* (I. 12) Aragorn said that it was brought to Middle-earth by the Númenóreans.

3220 After the word *borders* is written the date '25 September 1930'.

3242–5 These last four lines of the Canto are only found in A, but I suspect that they were omitted inadvertently.

Commentary on Canto X

The development of the story in this Canto can again be followed step by step in the outlines. In the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II.30–1) Beren and Tinúviel wandered away with Huan after the defeat of Tevildo, and it was her desire to return to Artanor but unwillingness to part from Beren that led to their resolve to try to gain a Silmaril. The catskin of Oikeroi, thane of Tevildo, was carried by Huan as a trophy, and they begged it from him; it was in the guise of a cat that Beren went to Angband. Synopsis I says no more of this part of the narrative than 'Tinúviel and Beren disguised as a werewolf go to Angband', and apart from the fact that the skin was that of a werewolf and not of a cat there had probably been no development from the *Tale*.

Synopsis II continues from the point reached on p. 257 as follows:

> Lúthien tends Beren in the wood. Huan brings news to Nargothrond. The Gnomes drive forth Curufin and Celegorm, grieving for Felagund, and send the cloak back to Lúthien. Lúthien takes her cloak again and led by Huan they go to Angband. By his guidance and her magic they escape capture. Huan dare not come any further. Beren is disguised as a werewolf. They enter Angband.

The sentences 'and send the cloak back to Lúthien. Lúthien takes her cloak again' were changed at the time of writing to read: 'and send to succour Beren and Lúthien. Huan brings Lúthien back her cloak again.' (This outline was written of course before my father reached Canto VIII, at the end of which Huan brought Lúthien her cloak before she escaped from Nargothrond.)

Here Synopsis II ends. At the bottom of the page is written very roughly:

> Celegorm's embassy to Thingol so that Thingol knows or thinks he knows Beren dead and Lúthien in Nargothrond.
> Why Celegorm and Curufin hated by Thingol . . . . . .
> The loss of Dairon.

While the expulsion of Celegorm and Curufin from Nargothrond is now first mentioned, it is clear that the story of their attack on Beren and Lúthien did not exist. Huan brings the news of the destruction of the Wizard's Tower, but it seems that he does not leave Nargothrond with Celegorm and brings back the cloak to Lúthien independently.

Synopsis III has been given on p. 257 to the point where Lúthien and Huan find Beren 'sitting beside Felagund'. I give the next portion of this outline as it was first written:

> They hallow the isle and bury Felagund on its top, and no wolf or evil creature will ever come there again. Beren is led into the woods. [*The following sentence was bracketed with a marginal direction that it should come later*: Morgoth hearing of the breaking of

the Wizard's Tower sends out an army of Orcs; finding the wolves are slain with . . . . . throats he thinks it is Huan and fashions a vast wolf – Carcharas – mightiest of all wolves to guard his door.]

They hide in Taur-na-Fuin careful not to lose sight of light at edge. Lúthien bids Beren desist. He cannot, he says, return to Doriath. Then, she says, she will live in the woods with Beren and Huan. But he has spoken his word; he has vowed not to fear Morgoth . . . hell. Then she says [that she] fears that their lives will all be forfeit. But life perchance lies after death. Where Beren goes she goes. This gives him pause. They ask Huan. He speaks for second and last time. 'No more may Huan go with you – what you see at the gate, he will see later – his fate does not lead to Angband. Perchance, though his eyes are dim, [?thy] paths lead out of it again.' He goes to Nargothrond. They will not return to Nargothrond with him.

Lúthien and Beren leave Taur-na-Fuin and wander about together a while. Longing to look on Doriath seizes her and Beren thinks of the quest unaccomplished. Beren offers to lead her to the borders of Doriath, but they cannot bear to part.

They go to the Wizard's Isle and take a 'wolf-ham' and a bat-robe. Thus they trembling inwardly set forth. The journey to Angband over Dor-na-Fauglith and into the dark ravines of the hills.

Here first appears the burial of Felagund on the summit of the isle, and its hallowing. This outline makes no mention of the events in Nargothrond, and concentrates exclusively on Beren and Lúthien. They are in Taur-na-Fuin, and Huan is with them; and we have the first version of Huan's counsel to them, and his foreseeing that what they meet at the Gate of Angband he will himself see later. Since the attack by Celegorm and Curufin had still not been devised, the story is briefer than it was to become; thus Huan speaks to them in Taur-na-Fuin soon after the destruction of the Wizard's Tower, and then departs to Nargothrond, while they after a while go to the Isle and take the 'wolf-ham' ('wolf-hame' in *The Silmarillion* p. 178, Old English *hama*) and 'bat-robe', which now first appear (though the 'wolf-hame' derives from the catskin of Oikeroi in the *Tale*). From the words 'They will not return to Nargothrond with him' and from the fact that as the outline was written he is not mentioned again, it is clear that Huan was now out of the story (until his reappearance in a later episode). His speech is here called 'the second and last time' that he spoke with words. Afterwards the story was changed in this point, for he spoke to Beren a third time at his death (see note to line 2551).

Pencilled changes were made to this passage of Synopsis III, and these move the narrative a long way to the final version:

They hallow the isle and bury Felagund on its top, and no wolf or evil creature will ever come there again.

Lúthien and Beren leave Taur-na-Fuin and wander about together a

while. Longing to look on Doriath seizes her and Beren thinks of the quest unaccomplished. Beren offers to lead her to the borders of Doriath, but they cannot bear to part.

News by captives and Huan is brought to Nargothrond. Celegorm and Curufin in a revulsion of feeling the Nargothronders wish to slay them. Orodreth will not. They are exiled and all Fëanorians from Nargothrond for ever. They ride off. Assault of Celegorm and Curufin in wood on Beren and Lúthien. Rescue by Huan. Beren wrestles with Curufin and gets his magic knife – [*eight further words illegible*]

Huan brings them a wolf-ham. Thus they trembling inwardly set forth. Huan speaks for last time and says farewell. He will not come. The journey to Angband, &c.

Here more is told of the expulsion of Celegorm and Curufin from Nargothrond, and Orodreth's refusal to allow them to be slain, and here at last is mention – probably written here at the very time of its devising – of the attack on Beren and Lúthien as the Fëanorians rode from Nargothrond. The desertion of Celegorm by Huan is implied; Beren gets Curufin's knife, which is to replace the knife from Tevildo's kitchens as the implement with which Beren cut the Silmaril from the Iron Crown; and it is Huan who gets the wolfskin, and then utters his parting speech.

An extremely difficult page in pencil ('Synopsis IV') shows these new elements being developed further:

Beren's heart grows sad. He says he has led Tinúviel back to the border of her land where she is safe. Alas for their second parting. She says but from this land she herself escaped and fled only to be with him – yet she admits that her heart longs for Doriath and Melian too, but not Doriath without him. He quotes his own words to Thingol: 'Not Morgoth's fire &c.' – and says he cannot (even if Thingol would allow) return emptyhanded. . . . . she will not go back. She will wander in the woods – and if he will not take her with him she will follow his feet against his will. He protests – at this moment Celegorm and Curufin ride up seeking the way North [*struck out at time of writing*: round Doriath by the Gorgoroth] between Doriath and Taur-na-Fuin to the Gorge of Aglon and their own kin.

They ride straight on and seek to ride Beren down. Curufin stoops and lifts Lúthien to his saddle. Beren leaps aside and leaps at Curufin's neck [?hurling] him down. Celegorm with his spear rides up to slay Beren. Huan intervenes scattering the [?brothers'] folk and dogs and holds Celegorm at bay while Beren wrestles with Curufin and chokes him senseless. Beren takes his weapons – especially his magic knife, and bids him get on horse and be gone. They ride off. Huan stays with Beren and Lúthien and forsakes his master [?for ever]. Celegorm suddenly turns and shoots an arrow at Huan which of course falls

harmless from him, but Curufin shoots at Beren (and Lúthien) [*changed to*: shoots at Lúthien] and wounds Beren.

Lúthien heals Beren. They tell Huan of their doubts and debate and he goes off and brings the wolfham and batskin from the Wizard's Isle. Then he speaks for the last time.

They prepare to go to Angband.

This was certainly prepared as an outline for Canto 10 of the Lay, for the section of the synopsis that follows is headed '11'.

There is here the further development that Beren and Lúthien have come to the borders of Doriath; but the solitary departure of Beren after his healing, leaving Lúthien with Huan, has still not emerged. There are a few differences in the account of the fight with Celegorm and Curufin from the final form, but for the most part the detail of the events was never changed from its first writing down (as I believe it to be) on this page. There is here no mention of Beren's taking Curufin's horse, on which he was later to ride north by himself to Anfauglith; and the detail of the shooting is different – in the synopsis Celegorm aimed at Huan, and Curufin (who seems to have retained his bow, though Beren took all his weapons) at (Beren and) Lúthien. There is also mention of 'folk' accompanying the brothers on their journey from Nargothrond.

In this outline is the first occurrence of the name *Gorgoroth*.

There is one further outline ('Synopsis V'), consisting of four pages that are the concluding part of a text of which the beginning has disappeared: it begins with a heading '10 continued', which is certainly a Canto number, though the content extends much beyond the end of Canto X in the Lay.* The text takes up with the healing of Beren's wound.

Huan brings a herb of healing, and Lúthien and the hound tend Beren in the forest, building a hut of boughs. Beren mending will still go on his quest. But Lúthien foretells that all their lives will be forfeit if they pursue. Beren will not go back to Doriath otherwise. Nor will he or Huan go to Nargothrond, or keep Lúthien in Thingol's despite, for war would certainly arise twixt Elf and Elf, [?even] if Orodreth harboured them. 'Then why shall we not dwell here in the wood?' saith Lúthien. Because of danger outside Doriath, and the Orcs, and the knowledge Morgoth must now possess of Lúthien's wandering.

One morning early Beren steals away on Curufin's horse and reaches the eaves of Taur-na-Fuin.

Here at last is the element of Beren's solitary departure.

* It is also possible that '10 continued' means only that my father began Synopsis V at this point, i.e. he had already reached about line 3117 in the actual composition of the Lay when he began the outline.

The casting out of Celegorm and Curufin from Nargothrond in the Lay is very closely followed in *The Silmarillion* (even to phrases, as 'neither bread nor rest'); in the Lay, however, there are some who will go with them (lines 2914–15), a detail found in Synopsis IV, whereas in *The Silmarillion* it is explicit that they went alone.*

The debate between Beren and Lúthien which was interrupted by the coming of Celegorm and Curufin (lines 2930–82) is clearly based on the scheme of it given in Synopsis IV (p. 272); in *The Silmarillion* it reappears, though much reduced and changed. The fight with Celegorm and Curufin is likewise derived from Synopsis IV, and is followed in the prose of *The Silmarillion* – with such detail as the cursing of Beren 'under cloud and sky', and Curufin's knife that would cut iron as if it were green wood, hanging sheathless by his side. In the Lay the knife becomes a dwarf-made weapon from Nogrod, though neither it nor its maker is yet named. In the Lay the shooter of the treacherous shafts is Celegorm; in *The Silmarillion* it is Curufin, using Celegorm's bow, and the vile act is settled on the wickeder (as he was certainly also the cleverer) of the brothers – in this Canto he is given the proper visage of a cunning villain: 'with his crafty mouth and thin' (2905). The reference of line 3103 'and Men remembered at the Marching Forth' is to the Union of Maidros before the Battle of Unnumbered Tears.

The second debate between Beren and Lúthien after his recovery from the wound is derived from Synopsis V; it is not present at all in *The Silmarillion*, though it is not without its importance in its representation of Beren's utter determination in the face of Lúthien's persuasions to abandon the quest.

Two new elements in the geography appear in this Canto: the Hill of Himling (later Himring) rising to the east of the Gorge of Aglon (2994), and the river Mindeb: lines 2924–5 (and the rewritten verses given on p. 360) seem to be the only description of it anywhere.

The curious element of Morgoth's particular interest in Lúthien (so that he sent the Orc-captain Boldog to Doriath to capture her, lines 2127–36) reappears in this Canto (3198–3201).

At the beginning of the Canto the burial of Felagund leads to a further reference to his fate after death without mention of Mandos (see p. 259):

> while Felagund laughs beneath the trees
> in Valinor, and comes no more
> to this grey world of tears and war.

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*The reference in *The Silmarillion* to Celebrimbor son of Curufin remaining in Nargothrond at this time and renouncing his father was a much later development.

XI

Once wide and smooth a plain was spread,
where King Fingolfin proudly led
his silver armies on the green,
his horses white, his lances keen;
his helmets tall of steel were hewn,
his shields were shining as the moon.
There trumpets sang both long and loud,
and challenge rang unto the cloud
that lay on Morgoth's northern tower,
while Morgoth waited for his hour.

Rivers of fire at dead of night
in winter lying cold and white
upon the plain burst forth, and high
the red was mirrored in the sky.
From Hithlum's walls they saw the fire,
the steam and smoke in spire on spire
leap up, till in confusion vast
the stars were choked. And so it passed,
the mighty field, and turned to dust,
to drifting sand and yellow rust,
to thirsty dunes where many bones
lay broken among barren stones.
Dor-na-Fauglith, Land of Thirst,
they after named it, waste accurst,
the raven-haunted roofless grave
of many fair and many brave.
Thereon the stony slopes look forth
from Deadly Nightshade falling north,
from sombre pines with pinions vast,
black-plumed and drear, as many a mast
of sable-shrouded ships of death
slow wafted on a ghostly breath.

Thence Beren grim now gazes out
across the dunes and shifting drought,
and sees afar the frowning towers
where thunderous Thangorodrim lowers.
The hungry horse there drooping stood,
proud Gnomish steed; it feared the wood;
upon the haunted ghastly plain

no horse would ever stride again.
'Good steed of master ill,' he said,
'farewell now here! Lift up thy head,
and get thee gone to Sirion's vale,
back as we came, past island pale
where Thû once reigned, to waters sweet
and grasses long about thy feet.
And if Curufin no more thou find,
grieve not! but free with hart and hind
go wander, leaving work and war,
and dream thee back in Valinor,
whence came of old thy mighty race
from Tavros' mountain-fencéd chase.'

There still sat Beren, and he sang,
and loud his lonely singing rang.
Though Orc should hear, or wolf a-prowl,
or any of the creatures foul
within the shade that slunk and stared
of Taur-na-Fuin, nought he cared,
who now took leave of light and day,
grim-hearted, bitter, fierce and fey.

'Farewell now here, ye leaves of trees,
your music in the morning-breeze!
Farewell now blade and bloom and grass
that see the changing seasons pass;
ye waters murmuring over stone,
and meres that silent stand alone!
Farewell now mountain, vale, and plain!
Farewell now wind and frost and rain,
and mist and cloud, and heaven's air;
ye star and moon so blinding-fair
that still shall look down from the sky
on the wide earth, though Beren die –
though Beren die not, and yet deep,
deep, whence comes of those that weep
no dreadful echo, lie and choke
in everlasting dark and smoke.
'Farewell sweet earth and northern sky,
for ever blest, since here did lie,
and here with lissom limbs did run,
beneath the moon, beneath the sun,

Lúthien Tinúviel
more fair than mortal tongue can tell.
Though all to ruin fell the world,
and were dissolved and backward hurled
unmade into the old abyss,
yet were its making good, for this –
the dawn, the dusk, the earth, the sea –
that Lúthien on a time should be!'

His blade he lifted high in hand,
and challenging alone did stand
before the threat of Morgoth's power;
and dauntless cursed him, hall and tower,
o'ershadowing hand and grinding foot,
beginning, end, and crown and root;
then turned to stride forth down the slope
abandoning fear, forsaking hope.

'A, Beren, Beren!' came a sound,
'almost too late have I thee found!
O proud and fearless hand and heart,
not yet farewell, not yet we part!
Not thus do those of elven race
forsake the love that they embrace.
A love is mine, as great a power
as thine, to shake the gate and tower
of death with challenge weak and frail
that yet endures, and will not fail
nor yield, unvanquished were it hurled
beneath the foundations of the world.
Beloved fool! escape to seek
from such pursuit; in might so weak
to trust not, thinking it well to save
from love thy loved, who welcomes grave
and torment sooner than in guard
of kind intent to languish, barred,
wingless and helpless him to aid
for whose support her love was made!'

Thus back to him came Lúthien:
they met beyond the ways of Men;
upon the brink of terror stood
between the desert and the wood.

He looked on her, her lifted face
beneath his lips in sweet embrace:
'Thrice now mine oath I curse,' he said,
'that under shadow thee hath led!
But where is Huan, where the hound
to whom I trusted, whom I bound
by love of thee to keep thee well
from deadly wandering unto hell?'

'I know not! But good Huan's heart
is wiser, kinder than thou art,
grim lord, more open unto prayer!
Yet long and long I pleaded there,
until he brought me, as I would,
upon thy trail – a palfrey good
would Huan make, of flowing pace:
thou wouldst have laughed to see us race,
as Orc on werewolf ride like fire
night after night through fen and mire,
through waste and wood! But when I heard
thy singing clear – (yea, every word
of Lúthien one rashly cried,
and listening evil fierce defied) –,
he set me down, and sped away;
but what he would I cannot say.'

Ere long they knew, for Huan came,
his great breath panting, eyes like flame,
in fear lest her whom he forsook
to aid some hunting evil took
ere he was nigh. Now there he laid
before their feet, as dark as shade,
two grisly shapes that he had won
from that tall isle in Sirion:
a wolfhame huge – its savage fell
was long and matted, dark the spell
that drenched the dreadful coat and skin,
the werewolf cloak of Draugluin;
the other was a batlike garb
with mighty fingered wings, a barb
like iron nail at each joint's end –
such wings as their dark cloud extend
against the moon, when in the sky

from Deadly Nightshade screeching fly
Thû's messengers.

'What hast thou brought,
good Huan? What thy hidden thought?
Of trophy of prowess and strong deed,
when Thû thou vanquishedst, what need
here in the waste?' Thus Beren spoke,
and once more words in Huan woke:
his voice was like the deeptoned bells
that ring in Valmar's citadels:

'Of one fair gem thou must be thief,
Morgoth's or Thingol's, loath or lief;
thou must here choose twixt love and oath!
If vow to break is still thee loath,
then Lúthien must either die
alone, or death with thee defie
beside thee, marching on your fate
that hidden before you lies in wait.
Hopeless the quest, but not yet mad,
unless thou, Beren, run thus clad
in mortal raiment, mortal hue,
witless and redeless, death to woo.
'Lo! good was Felagund's device,
but may be bettered, if advice
of Huan ye will dare to take,
and swift a hideous change will make
to forms most curséd, foul and vile,
of werewolf of the Wizard's Isle,
of monstrous bat's envermined fell
with ghostly clawlike wings of hell.
'To such dark straits, alas! now brought
are ye I love, for whom I fought.
Nor further with you can I go –
whoever did a great hound know
in friendship at a werewolf's side
to Angband's grinning portals stride?
Yet my heart tells that at the gate
what there ye find, 'twill be my fate
myself to see, though to that door
my feet shall bear me nevermore.
Darkened is hope and dimmed my eyes,

I see not clear what further lies;
yet maybe backwards leads your path
beyond all hope to Doriath,
and thither, perchance, we three shall wend,
and meet again before the end.'

They stood and marvelled thus to hear
his mighty tongue so deep and clear;
then sudden he vanished from their sight
even at the onset of the night.

His dreadful counsel then they took,
and their own gracious forms forsook;
in werewolf fell and batlike wing
prepared to robe them, shuddering.
With elvish magic Lúthien wrought,
lest raiment foul with evil fraught
to dreadful madness drive their hearts;
and there she wrought with elvish arts
a strong defence, a binding power,
singing until the midnight hour.

Swift as the wolvish coat he wore,
Beren lay slavering on the floor,
redtongued and hungry; but there lies
a pain and longing in his eyes,
a look of horror as he sees
a batlike form crawl to its knees
and drag its creased and creaking wings.
Then howling undermoon he springs
fourfooted, swift, from stone to stone,
from hill to plain – but not alone:
a dark shape down the slope doth skim,
and wheeling flitters over him.

Ashes and dust and thirsty dune
withered and dry beneath the moon,
under the cold and shifting air
sifting and sighing, bleak and bare;
of blistered stones and gasping sand,
of splintered bones was built that land,
o'er which now slinks with powdered fell
and hanging tongue a shape of hell.
Many parching leagues lay still before

when sickly day crept back once more;
many choking miles yet stretched ahead
when shivering night once more was spread
with doubtful shadow and ghostly sound
that hissed and passed o'er dune and mound.
A second morning in cloud and reek
struggled, when stumbling, blind and weak,
a wolvish shape came staggering forth
and reached the foothills of the North;
upon its back there folded lay
a crumpled thing that blinked at day.

The rocks were reared like bony teeth,
and claws that grasped from opened sheath,
on either side the mournful road
that onward led to that abode
far up within the Mountain dark
with tunnels drear and portals stark.
They crept within a scowling shade,
and cowering darkly down them laid.
Long lurked they there beside the path,
and shivered, dreaming of Doriath,
of laughter and music and clean air,
in fluttered leaves birds singing fair.
They woke, and felt the trembling sound,
the beating echo far underground
shake beneath them, the rumour vast
of Morgoth's forges; and aghast
they heard the tramp of stony feet
that shod with iron went down that street:
the Orcs went forth to rape and war,
and Balrog captains marched before.

They stirred, and under cloud and shade
at eve stepped forth, and no more stayed;
as dark things on dark errand bent
up the long slopes in haste they went.
Ever the sheer cliffs rose beside,
where birds of carrion sat and cried;
and chasms black and smoking yawned,
whence writhing serpent-shapes were spawned;
until at last in that huge gloom,
heavy as overhanging doom,

that weighs on Thangorodrim's foot
like thunder at the mountain's root,
they came, as to a sombre court
walled with great towers, fort on fort
of cliffs embattled, to that last plain
that opens, abysmal and inane,
before the final topless wall
of Bauglir's immeasurable hall,
whereunder looming awful waits
the gigantic shadow of his gates.

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NOTES

3249–53 Cf. the opening of the Lay, lines 5–10.
3267 Against this line is written the date 'Sep. 26 1930'. The previous date was 25 Sept. 1930 at line 3220.
3297 *Tavros* > *Tauros* B: see notes to lines 891, 904; 2246.
3303 *Taur-na-Fuin* > *Taur-nu-Fuin* B (a late change).
3401 *Draugluin* appears here in the A-text (see p. 258).
3414–15 Cf. lines 2258–9.
3419–23 The shift from *thee* to *your* and *you* is intentional, and indicates that Huan now refers to both Beren and Lúthien.
3478 Against this line is written the date 'Sep. 27 1930'.

Commentary on Canto XI

The earliest version of the narrative of this Canto describes Tinúviel's sewing of Beren into the catskin of Oikeroi and teaching him some aspects of feline behaviour; she herself was not disguised. Very little is made of the journey to Angamandi, but the approach to the gates is described:

> At length however they drew near to Angamandi, as indeed the rumblings and deep noises, and the sound of mighty hammerings of ten thousand smiths labouring unceasingly, declared to them. Nigh were the sad chambers where the thrall-Noldoli laboured bitterly under the Orcs and goblins of the hills, and here the gloom and darkness was great so that their hearts fell . . . (II.31).

Synopses I and II have virtually nothing here beyond the bare event (p. 270). In its emended form Synopsis III comes near to the final

story of the 'wolfhame' and the parting from Huan (p. 272); and this outline continues:

> Thangorodrim towers above them. There are rumblings, steam and vapours burst from fissures in the rock. Ten thousand smiths are hammering – they pass the vaults where the thrall-Gnomes are labouring without rest. The gloom sinks into their hearts.

This is remarkably close to the passage cited above from the *Tale of Tinúviel*.

Synopsis IV (p. 273) adds no more, for after 'They prepare to go to Angband' it continues with events in Doriath and the embassy to Thingol from Celegorm, which at this stage my father was going to introduce before the Angband adventure, and in this outline virtually nothing is said of that.

There remains Synopsis V, whose outline for Canto '10' has been given on p. 273 as far as 'One morning early Beren steals away on Curufin's horse and reaches the eaves of Taur-na-Fuin', and it is here that Beren's solitary departure first enters. This outline continues, still under the heading 'Canto 10':

> There he looks upon Thangorodrim and sings a song of farewell to earth and light, and to Lúthien. In the midst up come Lúthien and Huan! With the hound's aid she has followed him; and moreover from the Wizard's Isle Huan has brought a wolf-ham and a bat-coat. [*Struck through at time of writing*: Beren sets Lúthien upon the horse and they ride through Taur-na-Fuin.*] Beren sets Curufin's horse to gallop free and he speeds away. Now Beren takes the shape of werewolf and Tinúviel of bat. Then Huan bids farewell. And speaks. No hound can walk with werewolf – more peril should I be than help in Morgoth's land. Yet what ye shall see at Angband's gate I perchance too shall see, though my fate doth not lead to those doors. Darkened is all hope, and dimmed my eyes, yet perchance I see thy paths leading from that place once more. Then he vanishes. They make a grievous journey. Thangorodrim looms over them, ... in its smoky foothills.

This ends the outline for 'Canto 10' in Synopsis V.

There is a notable difference in the structure of the story in the Lay from that in *The Silmarillion* (pp. 178–9): in the Lay Huan is absent (gone to the Wizard's Isle for the wolfcoat and batskin) when Lúthien finds Beren – she does not know where he has gone – but he comes up a little later; whereas in the prose account Huan and Lúthien came together, and they were clad in 'the ghastly wolf-hame of Draugluin and the bat-fell of Thuringwethil' – an apparition that filled Beren with

* Beren must in fact have been on the northern edge of Taur-na-Fuin when Lúthien and Huan came up with him, since 'he looks upon Thangorodrim'.

dismay. The story in *The Silmarillion* is a reversion, at least in so far as Huan and Lúthien arrive together, to that of Synopsis V ('In the midst up come Lúthien and Huan', p. 283).

In the Lay the bat-wings are only said to be such as bear up Thû's messengers, and are not associated with a particular or chief messenger (Thuringwethil, 'messenger of Sauron').

But the prose version in other respects follows that of the Lay closely, with as before retention of phrases ('between the desert and the wood', 'Thrice now I curse my oath', 'fingered wings . . . barbed at each joint's end', 'the bat wheeled and flittered above him'); and the speech of Huan is closely modelled on that in the Lay.

From Beren's words to the horse (3288–90)

> get thee gone to Sirion's vale,
> back as we came, past island pale
> where Thû once reigned

it is clear that as in *The Silmarillion* 'he rode northward again with all speed to the Pass of Sirion, and coming to the skirts of Taur-nu-Fuin he looked out across the waste of Anfauglith'. It is not said in the Lay how Lúthien and Huan came there, but in *The Silmarillion* 'clad in these dreadful garments' they 'ran through Taur-nu-Fuin, and all things fled before them'.

The Battle of Sudden Flame (lines 3256 ff.) has been described earlier in the Lay (lines 1678 ff.), but it has not been actually stated before that the northern plain was once green and grassy (3246–8), and became a desert after the 'rivers of fire . . . upon the plain burst forth'.

With Beren's words to Curufin's horse (3295–7):

> dream thee back in Valinor,
> whence came of old thy mighty race

cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 119, where it is told that 'many of the sires' of the horses of the Noldor of Hithlum who rode on Ard-galen came from Valinor.

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XII

In that vast shadow once of yore
Fingolfin stood: his shield he bore
with field of heaven's blue and star 3540
of crystal shining pale afar.
In overmastering wrath and hate
desperate he smote upon that gate,

the Gnomish king, there standing lone,
while endless fortresses of stone
engulfed the thin clear ringing keen
of silver horn on baldric green.
His hopeless challenge dauntless cried
Fingolfin there: 'Come, open wide,
dark king, your ghastly brazen doors!
Come forth, whom earth and heaven abhors!
Come forth, O monstrous craven lord,
and fight with thine own hand and sword,
thou wielder of hosts of banded thralls,
thou tyrant leaguered with strong walls,
thou foe of Gods and elvish race!
I wait thee here. Come! Show thy face!'

Then Morgoth came. For the last time
in those great wars he dared to climb
from subterranean throne profound,
the rumour of his feet a sound
of rumbling earthquake underground.
Black-armoured, towering, iron-crowned
he issued forth; his mighty shield
a vast unblazoned sable field
with shadow like a thundercloud;
and o'er the gleaming king it bowed,
as huge aloft like mace he hurled
that hammer of the underworld,
Grond. Clanging to ground it tumbled
down like a thunder-bolt, and crumbled
the rocks beneath it; smoke up-started,
a pit yawned, and a fire darted.

Fingolfin like a shooting light
beneath a cloud, a stab of white,
sprang then aside, and Ringil drew
like ice that gleameth cold and blue,
his sword devised of elvish skill
to pierce the flesh with deadly chill.
With seven wounds it rent his foe,
and seven mighty cries of woe
rang in the mountains, and the earth quook,
and Angband's trembling armies shook.
Yet Orcs would after laughing tell

of the duel at the gates of hell;
though elvish song thereof was made
ere this but one – when sad was laid
the mighty king in barrow high,
and Thorndor, Eagle of the sky,
the dreadful tidings brought and told
to mourning Elfinesse of old.
Thrice was Fingolfin with great blows
to his knees beaten, thrice he rose
still leaping up beneath the cloud
aloft to hold star-shining, proud,
his stricken shield, his sundered helm,
that dark nor might could overwhelm
till all the earth was burst and rent
in pits about him. He was spent.
His feet stumbled. He fell to wreck
upon the ground, and on his neck
a foot like rooted hills was set,
and he was crushed – not conquered yet;
one last despairing stroke he gave:
the mighty foot pale Ringil clave
about the heel, and black the blood
gushed as from smoking fount in flood.
  Halt goes for ever from that stroke
great Morgoth; but the king he broke,
and would have hewn and mangled thrown
to wolves devouring. Lo! from throne
that Manwë bade him build on high,
on peak unscaled beneath the sky,
Morgoth to watch, now down there swooped
Thorndor the King of Eagles, stooped,
and rending beak of gold he smote
in Bauglir's face, then up did float
on pinions thirty fathoms wide
bearing away, though loud they cried,
the mighty corse, the Elven-king;
and where the mountains make a ring
far to the south about that plain
where after Gondolin did reign,
embattled city, at great height
upon a dizzy snowcap white
in mounded cairn the mighty dead

he laid upon the mountain's head.
Never Orc nor demon after dared
that pass to climb, o'er which there stared
Fingolfin's high and holy tomb,
till Gondolin's appointed doom.

Thus Bauglir earned the furrowed scar
that his dark countenance doth mar,
and thus his limping gait he gained;
but afterward profound he reigned
darkling upon his hidden throne;
and thunderous paced his halls of stone,
slow building there his vast design
the world in thraldom to confine.
Wielder of armies, lord of woe,
no rest now gave he slave or foe;
his watch and ward he thrice increased,
his spies were sent from West to East
and tidings brought from all the North,
who fought, who fell; who ventured forth,
who wrought in secret; who had hoard;
if maid were fair or proud were lord;
well nigh all things he knew, all hearts
well nigh enmeshed in evil arts.
Doriath only, beyond the veil
woven by Melian, no assail
could hurt or enter; only rumour dim
of things there passing came to him.
A rumour loud and tidings clear
of other movements far and near
among his foes, and threat of war
from the seven sons of Fëanor,
from Nargothrond, from Fingon still
gathering his armies under hill
and under tree in Hithlum's shade,
these daily came. He grew afraid
amidst his power once more; renown
of Beren vexed his ears, and down
the aisléd forests there was heard
great Huan baying.

Then came word
most passing strange of Lúthien

wild-wandering by wood and glen,
and Thingol's purpose long he weighed,
and wondered, thinking of that maid
so fair, so frail. A captain dire,
Boldog, he sent with sword and fire
to Doriath's march; but battle fell
sudden upon him: news to tell
never one returned of Boldog's host,
and Thingol humbled Morgoth's boast.
Then his heart with doubt and wrath was burned:
new tidings of dismay he learned,
how Thû was o'erthrown and his strong isle
broken and plundered, how with guile
his foes now guile beset; and spies
he feared, till each Orc to his eyes
was half suspect. Still ever down
the aisléd forests came renown
of Huan baying, hound of war
that Gods unleashed in Valinor.

Then Morgoth of Huan's fate bethought
long-rumoured, and in dark he wrought.
Fierce hunger-haunted packs he had
that in wolvish form and flesh were clad,
but demon spirits dire did hold;
and ever wild their voices rolled
in cave and mountain where they housed
and endless snarling echoes roused.
From these a whelp he chose and fed
with his own hand on bodies dead,
on fairest flesh of Elves and Men,
till huge he grew and in his den
no more could creep, but by the chair
of Morgoth's self would lie and glare,
nor suffer Balrog, Orc, nor beast
to touch him. Many a ghastly feast
he held beneath that awful throne,
rending flesh and gnawing bone.
There deep enchantment on him fell,
the anguish and the power of hell;
more great and terrible he became
with fire-red eyes and jaws aflame,

with breath like vapours of the grave,
than any beast of wood or cave,
than any beast of earth or hell
that ever in any time befell,
surpassing all his race and kin,
the ghastly tribe of Draugluin.

Him Carcharoth, the Red Maw, name
the songs of Elves. Not yet he came
disastrous, ravening, from the gates
of Angband. There he sleepless waits;
where those great portals threatening loom
his red eyes smoulder in the gloom,
his teeth are bare, his jaws are wide;
and none may walk, nor creep, nor glide,
nor thrust with power his menace past
to enter Morgoth's dungeon vast.

Now, lo! before his watchful eyes
a slinking shape he far descries
that crawls into the frowning plain
and halts at gaze, then on again
comes stalking near, a wolvish shape
haggard, wayworn, with jaws agape;
and o'er it batlike in wide rings
a reeling shadow slowly wings.
Such shapes there oft were seen to roam,
this land their native haunt and home;
and yet his mood with strange unease
is filled, and boding thoughts him seize.

'What grievous terror, what dread guard
hath Morgoth set to wait, and barred
his doors against all entering feet?
Long ways we have come at last to meet
the very maw of death that opes
between us and our quest! Yet hopes
we never had. No turning back!'
Thus Beren speaks, as in his track
he halts and sees with werewolf eyes
afar the horror that there lies.
Then onward desperate he passed,
skirting the black pits yawning vast,

where King Fingolfin ruinous fell
alone before the gates of hell.

Before those gates alone they stood,
while Carcharoth in doubtful mood
glowered upon them, and snarling spoke,
and echoes in the arches woke:
'Hail! Draugluin, my kindred's lord!
'Tis very long since hitherward
thou camest. Yea, 'tis passing strange
to see thee now: a grievous change
is on thee, lord, who once so dire,
so dauntless, and as fleet as fire,
ran over wild and waste, but now
with weariness must bend and bow!
'Tis hard to find the struggling breath
when Huan's teeth as sharp as death
have rent the throat? What fortune rare
brings thee back living here to fare –
if Draugluin thou art? Come near!
I would know more, and see thee clear.'

'Who art thou, hungry upstart whelp,
to bar my ways whom thou shouldst help?
I fare with hasty tidings new
to Morgoth from forest-haunting Thû.
Aside! for I must in; or go
and swift my coming tell below!'

Then up that doorward slowly stood,
eyes shining grim with evil mood,
uneasy growling: 'Draugluin,
if such thou be, now enter in!
But what is this that crawls beside,
slinking as if 'twould neath thee hide?
Though wingéd creatures to and fro
unnumbered pass here, all I know.
I know not this. Stay, vampire, stay!
I like not thy kin nor thee. Come, say
what sneaking errand thee doth bring,
thou wingéd vermin, to the king!
Small matter, I doubt not, if thou stay
or enter, or if in my play

I crush thee like a fly on wall,
or bite thy wings and let thee crawl.'

Huge-stalking, noisome, close he came.
In Beren's eyes there gleamed a flame;
the hair upon his neck uprose.
Nought may the fragrance fair enclose,
the odour of immortal flowers
in everlasting spring neath showers
that glitter silver in the grass
in Valinor. Where'er did pass
Tinúviel, such air there went.
From that foul devil-sharpened scent
its sudden sweetness no disguise
enchanted dark to cheat the eyes
could keep, if near those nostrils drew
snuffling in doubt. This Beren knew
upon the brink of hell prepared
for battle and death. There threatening stared
those dreadful shapes, in hatred both,
false Draugluin and Carcharoth
when, lo! a marvel to behold:
some power, descended from of old,
from race divine beyond the West,
sudden Tinúviel possessed
like inner fire. The vampire dark
she flung aside, and like a lark
cleaving through night to dawn she sprang,
while sheer, heart-piercing silver, rang
her voice, as those long trumpets keen
thrilling, unbearable, unseen
in the cold aisles of morn. Her cloak
by white hands woven, like a smoke,
like all-bewildering, all-enthralling,
all-enfolding evening, falling
from lifted arms, as forth she stepped,
across those awful eyes she swept,
a shadow and a mist of dreams
wherein entangled starlight gleams.

'Sleep, O unhappy, tortured thrall!
Thou woebegotten, fail and fall
down, down from anguish, hatred, pain,

from lust, from hunger, bond and chain,
to that oblivion, dark and deep,
the well, the lightless pit of sleep!
For one brief hour escape the net,
the dreadful doom of life forget!'

His eyes were quenched, his limbs were loosed;
he fell like running steer that noosed
and tripped goes crashing to the ground.
Deathlike, moveless, without a sound
outstretched he lay, as lightning stroke
had felled a huge o'ershadowing oak.

★

NOTES

3554 *banded* A, B; > *branded* B, but I think that the *r* was written in by somebody else.

3589 *Thorndor* emended to *Thorondor* in B, but I think that this was a late correction.

3606 *pinned it to earth* A, B; *about the heel* apparently a late emendation to B.

3615 *Thorndor* later emended to *Thorondor* in B, see 3589.

3623 *after* > *secret* B, a late emendation when Gondolin's foundation had been made much earlier.

3638–9 A: nor ever again to war came forth
until the last battle of the North,
but builded slow his mighty thought
of pride and lust unfathomed wrought.

3650 Against this line is written the date 'Sep. 28'. The previous date was 27 Sept. 1930 against line 3478.

3658 *Finweg* A, B, emended to *Fingon* B, as at lines 1647, 1654.

3712–13 This couplet not in A, as originally written.

3714 A (as originally written):

Him Carcharos, the Knife-fang, name

Carcharos then > *Carcharas*, and then > *Carcharoth* (see notes to lines 3751, 3807). In the margin of A is written *Red Maw*, and *Caras* with another, illegible, word beginning *Car-*; also *Gargaroth*; and *Fearphantom Draugluin is his name*. This may mean that my father was thinking of using the name *Draugluin* for the Wolf of Angband, though

Draugluin had by now appeared in the A-text (3401) for the great wolf of the Wizard's Isle.

3751 *Carcharas* A, not emended to *Carcharoth* (see note to 3714).

3790 Against this line is written the date 'Sep. 30 1930'. The previous date was 28 Sept. 1930 against line 3650.

3807 *Carcharoth* A (rhyming with *both*); see notes to 3714, 3751.

Commentary on Canto XII

The greater part of this Canto is retrospective: beginning with the death of Fingolfin in combat with Morgoth, it passes to Morgoth's doubts and fears and his rearing of Carcharoth. By this time (September 1930) a large part, at any rate, of the prose 'Silmarillion' developed out of the 'Sketch of the Mythology' had been written, as I hope to demonstrate later, and it seems certain that the story of Fingolfin's duel with Morgoth as it appears in this Canto followed the prose version, though we meet it here for the first time (together with the names *Grond*, the Hammer of the Underworld, and *Ringil*, Fingolfin's sword). The text in *The Silmarillion* (pp. 153–4) was largely based on the Lay, which it follows in the structure of the account and from which derive many phrases;* but independent traces of the 'prose tradition' are also present. The account in the poem gives no indication of when the duel took place, or of what led Fingolfin to challenge Morgoth. For the much earlier mention of Fingolfin's death (now very obscure, but certainly quite differently conceived) see pp. 146–7.

The further mention in this Canto of Boldog's raid (lines 3665–75) will be discussed at the end of the poem (pp. 310–13).

Turning to the 'foreground' narrative, a passage in Synopsis III already given (pp. 270–1) bears on the content of Canto XII: it was bracketed and marked 'Later'.

> Morgoth hearing of the breaking of the Wizard's Tower sends out an army of Orcs; finding the wolves are slain with . . . . . throats he thinks it is Huan and fashions a vast wolf – Carcharas – mightiest of all wolves to guard his door.

Synopsis III continues from the point reached on p. 283:

> The hideous gates of Angband. There lay *Carcharoth knifefang*. He gets slowly to his feet and bars the gate. 'Growl not O Wolf for I go to seek Morgoth with news of Thû.' He approached to snuff the air of

*For example: 'the rumour of his feet' (cf. line 3561); Morgoth 'like a tower, iron-crowned' (cf. 3563); he swung Grond down 'like a bolt of thunder' (cf. 3571); 'smoke and fire darted' (cf. 3572–3); 'the blood gushed forth black and smoking' (cf. 3606–7); &c.

her, for faint suspicion moved in his wicked heart, and he fell into slumber.

The interpretation of the wolf's name as 'Knife-fang' goes back to the *Tale of Tinúviel* and survived into the A-text of the Lay (see note to line 3714), but was replaced in B by the translation 'Red Maw'. The words 'red maw' are used of Karkaras in the *Tale*, but not as his name (II.34).

The idea of Carcharoth's approaching Lúthien 'to snuff the air of her' is also derived, in these same words, from the *Tale* (II.31).

Synopsis IV does not here concern us (see p. 283); Synopsis V, after the point reached on p. 283, now has a heading '11', and is clearly the basis for the story in Canto XII of the Lay:

[*Added in pencil*: Battle of Morgoth and Fingolfin.]

Morgoth hears of the ruin of Thû's castle. His mind is filled with misgiving and anger. The gates of Angband strengthened; because of the rumour of Huan he [*struck out at time of writing*: fashions the greatest] chooses the fiercest wolf from all the whelps of his packs, and feeds him on flesh of Men and Elves, and enchants him so that he becomes the most great and terrible of all beasts that ever have been – Carcharos.

Beren and Lúthien approach. [*Added in pencil*: the pitted plain of Fingolfin's fight.] The enchanting of Carcharos.

★

XIII

Into the vast and echoing gloom,
more dread than many-tunnelled tomb
in labyrinthine pyramid
where everlasting death is hid,
down awful corridors that wind
down to a menace dark enshrined;
down to the mountain's roots profound,
devoured, tormented, bored and ground
by seething vermin spawned of stone;
down to the depths they went alone.
The arch behind of twilit shade
they saw recede and dwindling fade;
the thunderous forges' rumour grew,
a burning wind there roaring blew
foul vapours up from gaping holes.

Huge shapes there stood like carven trolls
enormous hewn of blasted rock
to forms that mortal likeness mock;
monstrous and menacing, entombed,
at every turn they silent loomed
in fitful glares that leaped and died.
There hammers clanged, and tongues there cried
with sound like smitten stone; there wailed
faint from far under, called and failed
amid the iron clink of chain
voices of captives put to pain.

Loud rose a din of laughter hoarse,
self-loathing yet without remorse;
loud came a singing harsh and fierce
like swords of terror souls to pierce.
Red was the glare through open doors
of firelight mirrored on brazen floors,
and up the arches towering clomb
to glooms unguessed, to vaulted dome
swathed in wavering smokes and steams
stabbed with flickering lightning-gleams.
To Morgoth's hall, where dreadful feast
he held, and drank the blood of beast
and lives of Men, they stumbling came:
their eyes were dazed with smoke and flame.
The pillars, reared like monstrous shores
to bear earth's overwhelming floors,
were devil-carven, shaped with skill
such as unholy dreams doth fill:
they towered like trees into the air,
whose trunks are rooted in despair,
whose shade is death, whose fruit is bane,
whose boughs like serpents writhe in pain.

Beneath them ranged with spear and sword
stood Morgoth's sable-armoured horde:
the fire on blade and boss of shield
was red as blood on stricken field.
Beneath a monstrous column loomed
the throne of Morgoth, and the doomed
and dying gasped upon the floor:
his hideous footstool, rape of war.

About him sat his awful thanes,
the Balrog-lords with fiery manes,
redhanded, mouthed with fangs of steel;
devouring wolves were crouched at heel.
And o'er the host of hell there shone
with a cold radiance, clear and wan,
the Silmarils, the gems of fate,
emprisoned in the crown of hate.

Lo! through the grinning portals dread
sudden a shadow swooped and fled;
and Beren gasped – he lay alone,
with crawling belly on the stone:
a form bat-wingéd, silent, flew
where the huge pillared branches grew,
amid the smokes and mounting steams.
And as on the margin of dark dreams
a dim-felt shadow unseen grows
to cloud of vast unease, and woes
foreboded, nameless, roll like doom
upon the soul, so in that gloom
the voices fell, and laughter died
slow to silence many-eyed.
A nameless doubt, a shapeless fear,
had entered in their caverns drear,
and grew, and towered above them cowed,
hearing in heart the trumpets loud
of gods forgotten. Morgoth spoke,
and thunderous the silence broke:
'Shadow, descend! And do not think
to cheat mine eyes! In vain to shrink
from thy Lord's gaze, or seek to hide.
My will by none may be defied.
Hope nor escape doth here await
those that unbidden pass my gate.
Descend! ere anger blast thy wing,
thou foolish, frail, bat-shapen thing,
and yet not bat within! Come down!'

Slow-wheeling o'er his iron crown,
reluctantly, shivering and small,
Beren there saw the shadow fall,
and droop before the hideous throne,

a weak and trembling thing, alone.
And as thereon great Morgoth bent
his darkling gaze, he shuddering went,
belly to earth, the cold sweat dank
upon his fell, and crawling shrank
beneath the darkness of that seat,
beneath the shadow of those feet.

Tinúviel spake, a shrill, thin, sound
piercing those silences profound:
'A lawful errand here me brought;
from Thû's dark mansions have I sought,
from Taur-na-Fuin's shade I fare
to stand before thy mighty chair!'

'Thy name, thou shrieking waif, thy name!
Tidings enough from Thû there came
but short while since. What would he now?
Why send such messenger as thou?'

'Thuringwethil I am, who cast
a shadow o'er the face aghast
of the sallow moon in the doomed land
of shivering Beleriand.'

'Liar art thou, who shalt not weave
deceit before mine eyes. Now leave
thy form and raiment false, and stand
revealed, and delivered to my hand!'

There came a slow and shuddering change:
the batlike raiment dark and strange
was loosed, and slowly shrank and fell
quivering. She stood revealed in hell.
About her slender shoulders hung
her shadowy hair, and round her clung
her garment dark, where glimmered pale
the starlight caught in magic veil.
Dim dreams and faint oblivious sleep
fell softly thence, in dungeons deep
an odour stole of elven-flowers
from elven-dells where silver showers
drip softly through the evening air;
and round there crawled with greedy stare
dark shapes of snuffling hunger dread.

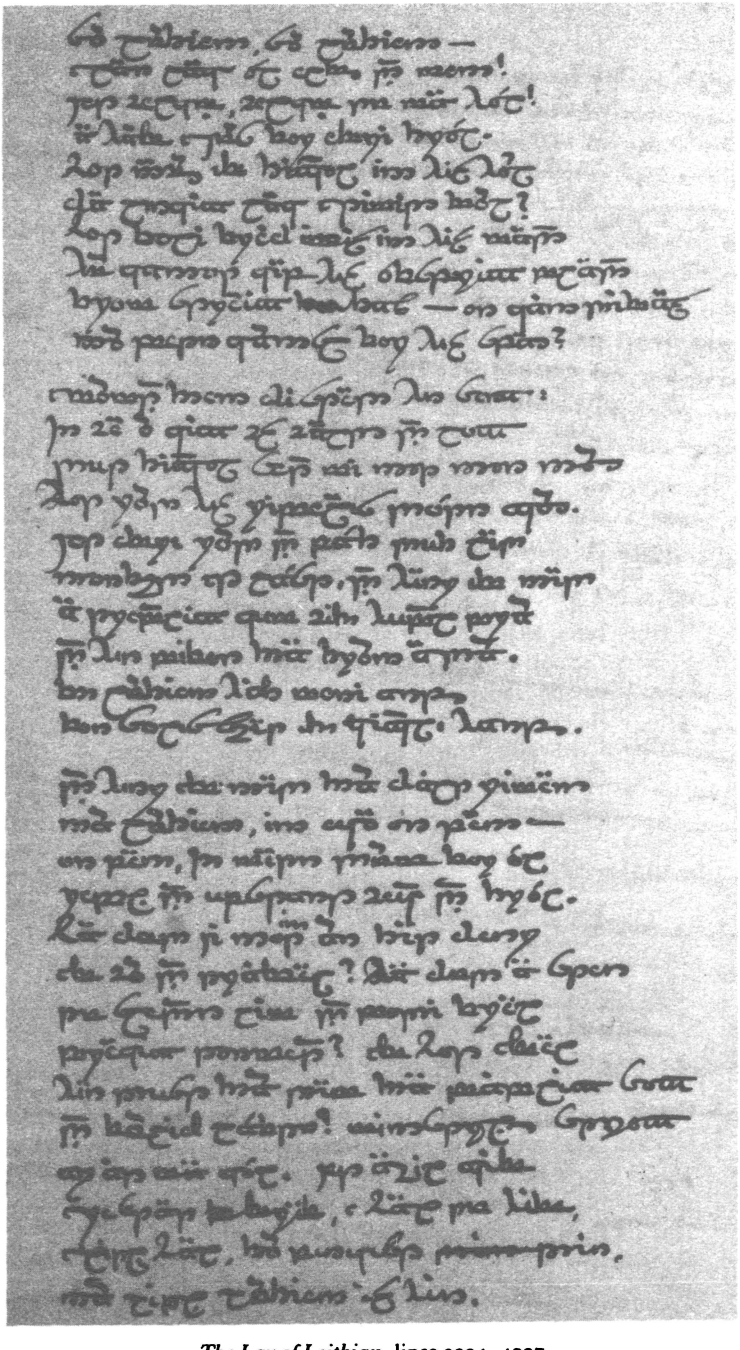
With arms upraised and drooping head
then softly she began to sing
a theme of sleep and slumbering,
wandering, woven with deeper spell
than songs wherewith in ancient dell
Melian did once the twilight fill,
profound, and fathomless, and still.

The fires of Angband flared and died,
smouldered into darkness; through the wide
and hollow halls there rolled unfurled
the shadows of the underworld.
All movement stayed, and all sound ceased,
save vaporous breath of Orc and beast.
One fire in darkness still abode:
the lidless eyes of Morgoth glowed;
one sound the breathing silence broke:
the mirthless voice of Morgoth spoke.

'So Lúthien, so Lúthien,
a liar like all Elves and Men!
Yet welcome, welcome, to my hall!
I have a use for every thrall.
What news of Thingol in his hole
shy lurking like a timid vole?
What folly fresh is in his mind,
who cannot keep his offspring blind
from straying thus? or can devise
no better counsel for his spies?'

She wavered, and she stayed her song.
'The road,' she said, 'was wild and long,
but Thingol sent me not, nor knows
what way his rebellious daughter goes.
Yet every road and path will lead
Northward at last, and here of need
I trembling come with humble brow,
and here before thy throne I bow;
for Lúthien hath many arts
for solace sweet of kingly hearts.'

'And here of need thou shalt remain
now, Lúthien, in joy or pain –
or pain, the fitting doom for all,



The Lay of Leithian, lines 3994–4027

for rebel, thief, and upstart thrall.
Why should ye not in our fate share
of woe and travail? Or should I spare
to slender limb and body frail
breaking torment? Of what avail
here dost thou deem thy babbling song
and foolish laughter? Minstrels strong
are at my call. Yet I will give
a respite brief, a while to live,
a little while, though purchased dear,
to Lúthien the fair and clear,
a pretty toy for idle hour.
In slothful gardens many a flower
like thee the amorous gods are used
honey-sweet to kiss, and cast then bruised,
their fragrance loosing, under feet.
But here we seldom find such sweet
amid our labours long and hard,
from godlike idleness debarred.
And who would not taste the honey-sweet
lying to lips, or crush with feet
the soft cool tissue of pale flowers,
easing like gods the dragging hours?
A! curse the Gods! O hunger dire,
O blinding thirst's unending fire!
One moment shall ye cease, and slake
your sting with morsel I here take!'

In his eyes the fire to flame was fanned,
and forth he stretched his brazen hand.
Lúthien as shadow shrank aside.
'Not thus, O king! Not thus!' she cried,
'do great lords hark to humble boon!
For every minstrel hath his tune;
and some are strong and some are soft,
and each would bear his song aloft,
and each a little while be heard,
though rude the note, and light the word.
But Lúthien hath cunning arts
for solace sweet of kingly hearts.
Now hearken!' And her wings she caught
then deftly up, and swift as thought

slipped from his grasp, and wheeling round,
fluttering before his eyes, she wound
a mazy-wingéd dance, and sped
about his iron-crownéd head.
Suddenly her song began anew;
and soft came dropping like a dew
down from on high in that domed hall
her voice bewildering, magical,
and grew to silver-murmuring streams
pale falling in dark pools in dreams.

She let her flying raiment sweep,
enmeshed with woven spells of sleep,
as round the dark void she ranged and reeled.
From wall to wall she turned and wheeled
in dance such as never Elf nor fay
before devised, nor since that day;
than swallow swifter, than flittermouse
in dying light round darkened house
more silken-soft, more strange and fair
than sylphine maidens of the Air
whose wings in Varda's heavenly hall
in rhythmic movement beat and fall.
Down crumpled Orc, and Balrog proud;
all eyes were quenched, all heads were bowed;
the fires of heart and maw were stilled,
and ever like a bird she thrilled
above a lightless world forlorn
in ecstasy enchanted borne.
All eyes were quenched, save those that glared
in Morgoth's lowering brows, and stared
in slowly wandering wonder round,
and slow were in enchantment bound.
Their will wavered, and their fire failed,
and as beneath his brows they paled,
the Silmarils like stars were kindled
that in the reek of Earth had dwindled
escaping upwards clear to shine,
glistening marvellous in heaven's mine.

Then flaring suddenly they fell,
down, down upon the floors of hell.
The dark and mighty head was bowed;

like mountain-top beneath a cloud
the shoulders foundered, the vast form
crashed, as in overwhelming storm
huge cliffs in ruin slide and fall;
and prone lay Morgoth in his hall.
His crown there rolled upon the ground,
a wheel of thunder; then all sound
died, and a silence grew as deep
as were the heart of Earth asleep.

Beneath the vast and empty throne
the adders lay like twisted stone,
the wolves like corpses foul were strewn;
and there lay Beren deep in swoon:
no thought, no dream nor shadow blind
moved in the darkness of his mind.
'Come forth, come forth! The hour hath knelled,
and Angband's mighty lord is felled!
Awake, awake! For we two meet
alone before the aweful seat.'
This voice came down into the deep
where he lay drowned in wells of sleep;
a hand flower-soft and flower-cool
passed o'er his face, and the still pool
of slumber quivered. Up then leaped
his mind to waking; forth he crept.
The wolvish fell he flung aside
and sprang unto his feet, and wide
staring amid the soundless gloom
he gasped as one living shut in tomb.
There to his side he felt her shrink,
felt Lúthien now shivering sink,
her strength and magic dimmed and spent,
and swift his arms about her went.

Before his feet he saw amazed
the gems of Fëanor, that blazed
with white fire glistening in the crown
of Morgoth's might now fallen down.
To move that helm of iron vast
no strength he found, and thence aghast
he strove with fingers mad to wrest
the guerdon of their hopeless quest,

till in his heart there fell the thought
of that cold morn whereon he fought
with Curufin; then from his belt
the sheathless knife he drew, and knelt,
and tried its hard edge, bitter-cold,
o'er which in Nogrod songs had rolled
of dwarvish armourers singing slow
to hammer-music long ago.
Iron as tender wood it clove
and mail as woof of loom it rove.
The claws of iron that held the gem,
it bit them through and sundered them;
a Silmaril he clasped and held,
and the pure radiance slowly welled
red glowing through the clenching flesh.
Again he stooped and strove afresh
one more of the holy jewels three
that Fëanor wrought of yore to free.
But round those fires was woven fate:
not yet should they leave the halls of hate.
The dwarvish steel of cunning blade
by treacherous smiths of Nogrod made
snapped; then ringing sharp and clear
in twain it sprang, and like a spear
or errant shaft the brow it grazed
of Morgoth's sleeping head, and dazed
their hearts with fear. For Morgoth groaned
with voice entombed, like wind that moaned
in hollow caverns penned and bound.
There came a breath; a gasping sound
moved through the halls, as Orc and beast
turned in their dreams of hideous feast;
in sleep uneasy Balrogs stirred,
and far above was faintly heard
an echo that in tunnels rolled,
a wolvish howling long and cold.

★

NOTES

3840 At the beginning of the Canto is written the date 'Oct. 1 1930'. The previous date was 30 Sept. 1930 at line 3790.

3860 With this line the B typescript comes to an end, and the text continues to the end in fine manuscript.

3881 This line is dated 'Sept. 14 1931'. The previous date was 1 Oct. 1930 at line 3840.

3887 This line is dated 'Sept. 15' (1931).

3947 Late change in B: *from Sauron's mansions have I sought*. See p. 232, note to lines 2064–6.

3951 Late change in B: *Tidings enough from Sauron came*.

3954 In the margin of B is written against *Thuringwethil*, at the time of the writing out of the text, 'sc. she of hidden shadow'.

3957 *Beleriand* A and B (i.e. not *Broseliand* emended).

3962 This line is dated 'Sep. 16 1931'.

3969 *magic* > *elvish* in B, but this is doubtless a late change, when my father no longer used this once favourite word.

4029 Against this line is written the date 'Sep. 14', duplicating that given to line 3881.

4045 Against this line is written the date 'Sep. 16', duplicating that given to line 3962.

4085 After this line is written the last date in the A manuscript, 'Sept. 17 1931'.

4092–3 These lines were written in the margin of B, but the original lines:

> the Silmarils were lit like stars
> that fume of Earth upreeking mars

were not struck out.

4163–6 A: in twain it sprang; and quaking fear
fell on their hearts, for Morgoth groaned

Commentary on Canto XIII

There is not much to be learnt from the Synopses concerning this part of the narrative, but the Angband scene was never greatly changed from its original form in the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II. 31 ff.). Synopsis I is at the end reduced to mere headings, II has given out, and IV does not deal with the entry into Angband. III, given on pp. 293–4 as far as the enchantment of Carcharoth, continues:

> After endless wanderings in corridors they stumble into the presence of Morgoth. Morgoth speaks. 'Who art thou that flittest about my halls as a bat, but art not a bat? Thou dost not belong here, nor wert thou summoned. Who has ever come here unsummoned? None!' 'But

I was summoned. I am Lúthien daughter of Thingol.' Then Morgoth laughed, but he was moved with suspicion, and said that her accursed race would get no soft words or favour in Angband. What could she do to give him pleasure, and save herself from the lowest dungeons? He reached out his mighty brazen hand but she shrank away. He is angry but she offers to dance.

[*The remainder of the outline is in pencil and in places indecipherable*:] She lets fall her bat-garb. Her hair falls about. The lights of Angband die. Impenetrable dark falls: only the eyes of Morgoth and the faint glimmer of Tinúviel . . . . . Her fragrance causes all to draw near greedily. Tinúviel flies [?in at] door leaving Beren struck with horror. . . . . .

Here this outline ends. Morgoth's words 'Who art thou that flittest about my halls as a bat' occur also in the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II. 32) – this outline several times adopts directly the wording of the *Tale*, see pp. 283, 294. This is a curious point, for in the *Tale* Tinúviel was not attired in a bat-skin, whereas in Synopsis III she was. It is conceivable that Melko's words actually gave rise to this element in the story.

In the *Tale* Tinúviel lied to Melko, saying that Tinwelint her father had driven her out, and in reply he said that she need not hope for 'soft words'– this too is a phrase that recurs in Synopsis III. But the remainder of this outline does not relate closely to the *Tale*.

Synopsis V is here very brief. After 'the enchanting of Carcharos' (p. 294) it has only (still under the heading '11'):

> The cozening of Morgoth and the rape of the Silmaril.
> The dwarvish knife of Curufin breaks.

It is clear that the concluding passage of Synopsis III, given above, was a direct precursor of Canto XIII; but some elements – and actual wording – in the scene go back to the *Tale* without being mentioned in the Synopsis. Lúthien's words 'his rebellious daughter' (4007) seem to echo 'he is an overbearing Elf and I give not my love at his command' (II. 32); there is a clear relation between the words of the *Tale* (*ibid.*).

Then did Tinúviel begin such a dance as neither she nor other sprite or fay or elf danced ever before or has done since

and lines 4072–3

> in dance such as never Elf nor fay
> before devised, nor since that day;

and with 'the adders lay like twisted stone' (4109) cf. 'Beneath his chair the adders lay like stones.' It is interesting to see the idea of the shard of the knife-blade striking Morgoth's brow (in *The Silmarillion* his cheek) emerging in the composition of this Canto; as first written (see note to lines 4163–6) it seems to have been the sound of the knife snapping that

disturbed the sleepers, as it was expressly in the *Tale* (II. 33). With the 'treacherous smiths of Nogrod' (4161) who made Curufin's knife cf. the passage in *The Children of Húrin* concerning *the bearded Dwarves of troth unmindful* who made the knife of Flinding that slipped from its sheath (p. 44, lines 1142 ff.): that was made by the Dwarves of Belegost, and like Curufin's

> [its] edge would eat through iron noiseless
> as a clod of clay is cleft by the share.

The account in *The Silmarillion* (pp. 180–1) is clearly based on Canto XIII, from which it derives many features, though it is reduced, notably by compressing the two episodes of Lúthien singing (3977 ff., 4062 ff.) into one; and the prose here owes less to the verses than in other places.

Lúthien's naming herself *Thuringwethil* to Morgoth (line 3954) is notable. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 178) the bat-fell which Huan brought from Tol-in-Gaurhoth was that of Thuringwethil: 'she was the messenger of Sauron, and was wont to fly in vampire's form to Angband'; whereas in the Lay (lines 3402 ff.), as I have noticed (p. 284), 'the bat-wings are only said to be such as bear up Thû's messengers, and are not associated with a particular or chief messenger'. It seems possible that in the Lay Lúthien devised this name ('she of hidden shadow') as a riddling description of herself, and that this led to the conception of the bat-messenger from the Wizard's Isle to Angband named Thuringwethil; but there is no proof of this.

With the

> sylphine maidens of the Air
> whose wings in Varda's heavenly hall
> in rhythmic movement beat and fall (4077–9)

cf. the tale of *The Coming of the Valar and the Building of Valinor* (I. 65–6), where it is said that with Manwë and Varda there entered the world 'many of those lesser Vali who loved them and had played nigh them and attuned their music to theirs, and these are the Mánir and the Súruli, *the sylphs of the airs and of the winds*'.

★

XIV

> Up through the dark and echoing gloom
> as ghosts from many-tunnelled tomb,
> up from the mountains' roots profound
> and the vast menace underground,
> their limbs aquake with deadly fear, 4180

terror in eyes, and dread in ear,
together fled they, by the beat
affrighted of their flying feet.

At last before them far away
they saw the glimmering wraith of day,
the mighty archway of the gate –
and there a horror new did wait.
Upon the threshold, watchful, dire,
his eyes new-kindled with dull fire,
towered Carcharoth, a biding doom:
his jaws were gaping like a tomb,
his teeth were bare, his tongue aflame;
aroused he watched that no one came,
no flitting shade nor hunted shape,
seeking from Angband to escape.
Now past that guard what guile or might
could thrust from death into the light?

He heard afar their hurrying feet,
he snuffed an odour strange and sweet;
he smelled their coming long before
they marked the waiting threat at door.
His limbs he stretched and shook off sleep,
then stood at gaze. With sudden leap
upon them as they sped he sprang,
and his howling in the arches rang.
Too swift for thought his onset came,
too swift for any spell to tame;
and Beren desperate then aside
thrust Lúthien, and forth did stride
unarmed, defenceless to defend
Tinúviel until the end.
With left he caught at hairy throat,
with right hand at the eyes he smote –
his right, from which the radiance welled
of the holy Silmaril he held.
As gleam of swords in fire there flashed
the fangs of Carcharoth, and crashed
together like a trap, that tore
the hand about the wrist, and shore
through brittle bone and sinew nesh,
devouring the frail mortal flesh;

and in that cruel mouth unclean
engulfed the jewel's holy sheen.

★

The Unwritten Cantos

There was virtually no change in the narrative from the *Tale* to the Lay in the opening passage of Canto XIV, but the account in *The Silmarillion* differs, in that there Beren did not strike at the eyes of the wolf with his right hand holding the Silmaril, but held the jewel up before Carcharoth to daunt him. My father intended to alter the Lay here, as is seen from a marginal direction to introduce the element of 'daunting'.

The Lay of Leithian ends here, in both the A and B texts, and also in the pages of rough draft, but an isolated sheet found elsewhere gives a few further lines, together with variants, in the first stage of composition:

Against the wall then Beren reeled
but still with his left he sought to shield
fair Lúthien, who cried aloud
to see his pain, and down she bowed
in anguish sinking to the ground.

There is also a short passage, found on a separate sheet at the end of the B-text, which is headed 'a piece from the end of the poem':

Where the forest-stream went through the wood,
and silent all the stems there stood
of tall trees, moveless, hanging dark
with mottled shadows on their bark
above the green and gleaming river,
there came through leaves a sudden shiver,
a windy whisper through the still
cool silences; and down the hill,
as faint as a deep sleeper's breath,
an echo came as cold as death:
'Long are the paths, of shadow made
where no foot's print is ever laid,
over the hills, across the seas!
Far, far away are the Lands of Ease,
but the Land of the Lost is further yet,
where the Dead wait, while ye forget.
No moon is there, no voice, no sound
of beating heart; a sigh profound
once in each age as each age dies
alone is heard. Far, far it lies,

the Land of Waiting where the Dead sit,
in their thought's shadow, by no moon lit.

With the last lines compare the passage at the end of the tale of Beren and Lúthien in *The Silmarillion* (p. 186):

> But Lúthien came to the halls of Mandos, which are the appointed places of the Eldalië, beyond the mansions of the West upon the confines of the world. There those that wait sit in the shadow of their thought.

There is nothing else, and I do not think that there ever was anything else. All my father's later work on the poem was devoted to the revision of what was already in existence; and the *Lay of Leithian* ends here.

★

Of the five synopses that have been given in sections in previous pages, only the fifth bears on the escape of Beren and Lúthien from Angband. This outline was last quoted on p. 305 ('the dwarvish knife of Curufin breaks'). It continues:

> Beren and Lúthien flee in fear. Arousing of Carcharos. Beren's hand is bitten off in which he holds the Silmaril. Madness of Carcharos. Angband awakes. Flight of Beren and Lúthien towards the waters of Sirion. Canto [i.e. Canto 11, see p. 305] ends as they hear the pursuing wolves behind. Wrapped in Lúthien's cloak they flit beneath the stars.

Thus the rescue of Beren and Lúthien by Thorondor and his vassals was not yet present, and the story was still in this respect unchanged from the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II. 34); cf. especially:

> Tinúviel wrapped part of her dark mantle about Beren, and so for a while flitting by dusk and dark amid the hills they were seen by none.

The first record of the changed story of the escape from Angband is found on an isolated slip, written hastily in pencil and very difficult to decipher:

> Carcharoth goes mad and drives all [?orcs] before him like a wind. The sound of his awful howling causes rocks to split and fall. There is an earthquake underground. Morgoth's wrath on waking. The gateway [?falls] in and hell is blocked, and great fires and smokes burst from Thangorodrim. Thunder and lightning. Beren lies dying before the gate. Tinúviel's song as she kisses his hand and prepares to die. Thorondor comes down and bears them amid the lightning that [?stabs] at them like spears and a hail of arrows from the battlements. They pass above Gondolin and Lúthien sees the white city far below, [?gleaming] like a lily in the valley. Thorondor sets her down in Brethil.

This is very close in narrative structure to the story in *The Silmarillion* (p. 182), with the earthquake, fire and smoke from Thangorodrim, Beren's lying near death at the Gate, Lúthien's kissing his hand (staunching the wound), the descent of Thorondor, and the passage of the eagle(s) over Gondolin. This last shows that this brief outline is relatively late, since Gondolin was already in existence before the Battle of Unnumbered Tears (II. 208). But in this text they are set down in Brethil (a name that does not appear in the works until several years later); in *The Silmarillion* they are set down 'upon the borders of Doriath', in 'that same dell whence Beren had stolen in despair and left Lúthien asleep'. – On the reference to Gondolin as 'a lily in the valley' see I. 172.

Synopsis V has more to tell subsequently of the wanderings of Beren and Lúthien before they returned to Doriath, but I now set out the remaining materials in their entirety before commenting on them. First it is convenient to cite the end of Synopsis II, which has been given already (p. 270):

> Celegorm's embassy to Thingol so that Thingol knows or thinks he knows Beren dead and Lúthien in Nargothrond.
> Why Celegorm and Curufin hated by Thingol as p. 270 . . . . . .
> The loss of Dairon.

Synopsis IV has been given (p. 273) only as far as 'They prepare to go to Angband', since the outline then turns away from the story of Beren and Lúthien themselves, according to my father's projection at that time for the further course of the Lay, and continues as follows:

II

> Doriath. The hunt for Lúthien and the loss of Dairon. War on the borders. Boldog slain. So Thingol knows Lúthien not yet dead is caught, but fears that Boldog's raid means that Morgoth has got wind of her wandering. Actually it means no more than the legend of her beauty.
>
> An embassy comes from Celegorm. Thingol learns that Beren is dead, and Lúthien at Nargothrond. He is roused to wrath by the hints of the letter that Celegorm will leave Felagund to die, and will usurp the throne of Nargothrond. And so Thingol had better let Lúthien stay where she is.
>
> Thingol prepares an army to go against Nargothrond, but learns that Lúthien has left, and Celegorm and Curufin have fled to Aglon. He sends an embassy to Aglon. It is routed and put to flight by the sudden onslaught of Carcharas. Mablung escapes to tell the tale. The devastation of Doriath by Carcharas.

12

The rape of the Silmaril and the home-coming of Beren and Lúthien.

13

The wolf-hunt and death of Huan and Beren.

14

The recall of Beren and Huan.

Synopsis V continues as a more substantial preparation for the end of the poem never to be written, which my father at this stage conceived in three further Cantos.

12

Sorrow in Doriath at flight of Lúthien. Thingol's heart hardened against Beren, despite words of Melian. A mighty hunt is made throughout the realm, but many of the folk strayed north and west and south of Doriath beyond the magic of Melian and were lost. Dairon became separated from his comrades and wandered away into the East of the world, where some say he pipes yet seeking Lúthien in vain.

The embassy of Celegorm tells Thingol that Beren and Felagund are dead, that Celegorm will make himself king of Narog, and while telling him that Lúthien is safe in Nargothrond and treating for her hand, hints that she will not return: it also warns him to trouble not the matter of the Silmarils. Thingol is wroth – and is moved to think better of Beren, while yet blaming [him] for the woes that followed his coming to Doriath, and most for loss of Dairon.

Thingol arms for war against Celegorm. Melian says she would forbid this evil war of Elf with Elf, but that never shall Thingol cross blade with Celegorm. Thingol's army meets with the host of Boldog on the borders of Doriath. Morgoth has heard of the beauty of Lúthien, and the rumour of her wandering. He has ordered Thû and the Orcs to capture her. A battle is fought and Thingol is victorious. The Orcs are driven into Taur-na-Fuin or slain. Thingol himself slays Boldog. Mablung Heavyhand was Thingol's chief warrior and fought at his side; Beleg was the chief of his scouts. Though victorious Thingol is filled with still more disquiet at Morgoth's hunt for Lúthien. Beleg goes forth from the camp on Doriath's borders and journeys, unseen by the archers, to Narog. He brings tidings of the flight of Lúthien, the rescue of Beren, and the exile of Celegorm and Curufin. He [*read* Thingol] goes home and sends an embassy to Aglon to demand recompense, and aid in the rescue of Lúthien. He renews his vow to imprison Beren for ever if he does not return with a Silmaril, though Melian warns him that he knows not what he says.

The embassy meets the onslaught of Carcharos who by fate or the power of the Silmaril bursts into Doriath. All perish save Mablung who brings the news. Devastation of the woods. The wood-elves flee to the caves.

13

Beren and Lúthien escape to the Shadowy Mountains, but become lost and bewildered in the dreads of Nan Dungorthin, and are hunted by phantoms, and snared at last by the great spiders. Huan rescues them, and guides them down Sirion, and so they reach Doriath from the south, and find the woods silent and empty till they come to the guarded bridge.

Huan, Beren, and Lúthien come before Thingol. They tell their tale; yet Thingol will not relent. The brave words of Beren, revealing the mystery of Carcharos. Thingol relents. The wolf-hunt is prepared. Huan, Thingol, Beren, and Mablung depart. Lúthien abides with Melian in foreboding. Carcharos is slain, but slew Huan who defended Beren. Yet Beren is mortally hurt, though he lived to place the Silmaril on Thingol's hand which Mablung cut from the wolf's belly.

The meeting and farewell of Beren and Tinúviel beneath Hirilorn. Burial of Huan and Beren.

14

Fading of Lúthien. Her journey to Mandos. The song of Lúthien in Mandos' halls, and the release of Beren. They dwelt long in Broseliand, but spake never more to mortal Men, and Lúthien became mortal.

This concludes all the material in the outlines. For the references to Boldog's raid, and Morgoth's interest in Lúthien, in the Lay itself see lines 2127–36, 2686–94, 3198–3201, and 3665–75.

In Synopsis IV (p. 310) Boldog's raid takes place earlier in the story, before the coming of Celegorm's embassy to Thingol, but its narrative value is obscure. It is not clear why the raid must inform Thingol that 'Lúthien not yet dead is caught', nor why he should conclude that 'Morgoth has got wind of her wandering'. Moreover the statement that 'actually it means no more than the legend of her beauty' can only mean (if Morgoth had *not* heard of her wandering forth from Doriath) that he sent out Boldog's warband with the express intention of seizing her from the fastness of the Thousand Caves.

In Synopsis V the raid was moved to a later point, and the host out of Doriath that destroyed Boldog was actually moving against Nargothrond. In *The Silmarillion* the embassy from Celegorm survived, but of Boldog's raid there is no hint, and Thingol does no more than 'think to make war' on Nargothrond:

> But Thingol learned that Lúthien had journeyed far from Doriath, for messages came secretly from Celegorm, . . . saying that Felagund was dead, and Beren was dead, but Lúthien was in Nargothrond, and that Celegorm would wed her. Then Thingol was wrathful, and he sent forth spies, thinking to make war upon Nargothrond; and thus he learned that Lúthien was again fled, and that Celegorm and Curufin were driven from Nargothrond. Then his counsel was in doubt, for he had not the strength to assail the seven sons of Fëanor; but he sent messengers to Himring to summon their aid in seeking for Lúthien, since Celegorm had not sent her to the house of her father, nor had he kept her safely (pp. 183–4).

The 'spies' of this passage were derived from Beleg's secret mission to Nargothrond in Synopsis V (p. 311). It seems probable that my father actually discarded Boldog's raid; and with it went all suggestion that Lúthien's wandering had been reported to Morgoth (cf. lines 3665 ff.) and that Thû was given orders to capture her (Synopsis V). The passage in Canto IX of the Lay (2686–94) where Thû recognised Lúthien's voice – or, at least, knew that it must be she who was singing – does not, indeed, at all suggest that Thû was actively seeking her. These lines were the source for the passage in *The Silmarillion*, where Sauron standing in the tower of Tol-in-Gaurhoth

> smiled hearing her voice, for he knew that it was the daughter of Melian. The fame of the beauty of Lúthien, and the wonder of her song had long gone forth from Doriath; and he thought to make her captive and hand her over to the power of Morgoth, for his reward would be great.

But the idea that the beauty and singing of Lúthien had come to the ears of Sauron survives from the stage when Morgoth's interest in her was an important motive.

As noticed earlier (p. 209), the wandering and loss of Dairon goes back to the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II. 20–1) and survived into *The Silmarillion* (p. 183), where it is said that Daeron passed over the Blue Mountains 'into the East of Middle-earth, where for many ages he made lament beside dark waters for Lúthien'. Less is made in the later story of the great hunt for Lúthien, and nothing is said of the changing moods and intentions of Thingol towards Beren referred to in Synopsis V. The 'political' element of the ambitions of Celegorm and Curufin and the attempted browbeating and blackmail of Thingol is of course a new element that first appears in the Synopses (other than the earlier reference in the Lay, 2501–3, to the brothers' intentions in this regard), since the 'Nargothrond Element' is wholly absent from the *Tale of Tinúviel*; and similarly the interception of the embassy from Thingol to Aglon by Carcharoth, from which Mablung alone survived. This also remains in *The Silmarillion*.

In Synopsis V, where the bearing away of Beren and Lúthien from Angband by Thorondor is not yet present, they flee from Angband 'towards the waters of Sirion' (p. 309), and (p. 312) 'escape to the Shadowy Mountains, but become lost and bewildered in the dreads of Nan Dungorthin, and are hunted by phantoms, and snared at last by the great spiders. Huan rescues them, and guides them down Sirion . . .' In the *Tale* likewise (II.34–5), Huan rescued them from 'Nan Dumgorthin'. This is a point of geography and shifting nomenclature of great perplexity. I have shown (pp. 170–1, 234) that the meaning of 'Shadowy Mountains' changes in the course of the *Lay of Leithian*: whereas at first (lines 386, 1318) the reference is to the Mountains of Terror (Ered Gorgoroth), subsequently (line 1940) it is to Ered Wethrin, the range fencing Hithlum. The Mountains of Terror, with the great spiders, are described in lines 563ff.

In the present passage of Synopsis V the statements that Beren and Lúthien escaping from Angband fled towards Sirion, and that Huan rescuing them from Nan Dungorthin guided them down Sirion, very strongly suggests that the Shadowy Mountains are here again, as might be expected, Ered Wethrin. Nan Dungorthin must then be placed as in *The Children of Húrin*, west of Sirion, in a valley of the southern slopes of the Shadowy Mountains. But this means that the great spiders are found in both places.

It is difficult to suggest a satisfactory explanation of this. A possibility is that when Beren crossed the Mountains of Terror and encountered the spiders (lines 569–74) 'Nan Dungorthin' was placed in that region, though it is not named; in Synopsis V however it is again placed, with its spiders, west of Sirion.

In the later story the eagles set Beren and Lúthien down on the borders of Doriath, and Huan came to them there.

In the conclusion of Synopsis V there is very little that is at variance with the story of the wolf-hunt and the death of Beren in *The Silmarillion*, so far as can be seen from the very compressed outline; but Beleg was not present at the hunt in the Synopsis, as he was not in the *Tale* (II.38).

The sentence that concludes Synopsis IV is curious: 'The recall of Beren and Huan' (p. 311). 'Recall' obviously refers to the return from Mandos (the last heading of Synopsis I is 'Tinúviel goes to Mandos and recalls Beren'); in which case my father must have intended to have Huan return from the dead with Beren and Lúthien. In the *Tale of Tinúviel* Huan was not slain (II.39), and there was no prophecy concerning his fate to fall before the mightiest wolf that should ever walk the world; but he became the companion of Mablung (II.41), and in the *Tale of the Nauglafring* he returned to Beren and Lúthien in the land of i·Guilwarthon after the death of Thingol and the sack of the Thousand Caves.

★

APPENDIX

C. S. Lewis's Commentary on the Lay of Leithian

I give here the greater part of this commentary, for which see pp. 150–1.* Lewis's line-references are of course changed throughout to those in this book. The letters H, J, K, L, P, R refer to the imaginary manuscripts of the ancient poem.

For the text criticised in the first entry of the commentary see pp. 157–8, i.e. text B(1).

4 *Meats were sweet.* This is the reading of PRK. Let any one believe if he can that our author gave such a cacophany. J *His drink was sweet his dishes dear.* L *His drink was sweet his dish was dear.* (Many scholars have rejected lines 1–8 altogether as unworthy of the poet. 'They were added by a later hand to supply a gap in the archtype,' says Peabody; and adds 'The more melodious movement and surer narrative stride of the passage beginning with line 9 [*But fairer than are born to Men*] should convince the dullest that here, and here only, the authentic work of the poet begins.' I am not convinced that H, which had better be quoted in full, does not give the true opening of the *Geste*.

That was long since in ages old
When first the stars in heaven rolled,
There dwelt beyond Broseliand,
While loneliness yet held the land,
A great king comely under crown,
The gold was woven in his gown,
The gold was clasped about his feet,
The gold about his waist did meet.
And in his many-pillared house
Many a gold bee and ivory mouse
And amber chessmen on their field
Of copper, many a drinking horn
Dear purchased from shy unicorn
Lay piled, with gold in gleaming grot.
All these he had etc.)

*An account of it, with some citation, has been given by Humphrey Carpenter in *The Inklings*, pp. 29–31, where the view expressed in his *Biography*, p. 145, that 'Tolkien did not accept any of Lewis's suggestions', is corrected.

[It seems virtually certain that it was Lewis's criticism that led my father to rewrite the opening (the B (2) text, p. 154). If the amber chessmen and ivory mice found no place in the new version, it is notable that in Lewis's lines occur the words 'And in his many-pillared house'. These are not derived from the B(1) text which Lewis read, but in B(2) appears the line (14) *in many-pillared halls of stone*. It seems then that Durin's *many-pillared* halls in Gimli's song in Moria were originally so called by C. S. Lewis, thinking of the halls of Thingol in Doriath.]

40 The description of Lúthien has been too often and too justly praised to encourage the mere commentator in intruding.

68 *tall*. Thus PRKJH. L *vast*. Schick's complimentary title of 'internal rime' for these cacophanies does not much mend matters. 'The poet of the *Geste* knew nothing of internal rime, and its appearance (so called) is an infallible mark of corruption' (Pumpernickel). But cf. 209, 413.

71–2 The reader who wishes to acquire a touchstone for the true style of the *Geste* had better learn by heart this faultless and characteristic distych.

77 HL *Of mortal men at feast has heard*

[The line in B(1) was *of mortal feaster ever heard*. With *hath* for *has* Lewis's line was adopted.]

99–150 This is considered by all critics one of the noblest passages in the *Geste*.

112 Notice the double sense of within (macrocosmic and microcosmic). That the original poet may have been unconscious of this need not detract from our pleasure.

[Lewis was clearly right to suspect that the original poet had no such double sense in mind.]

117 H *The legions of his marching hate*

[Lewis was criticising the original line in B *his evil legions' marshalled hate*. With retention of *marshalled* for *marching* Lewis's line was adopted.]

[In the following comment the reading criticised was:

swift ruin red of fire and sword
leapt forth on all denied his word,
and all the lands beyond the hills 125
were filled with sorrow and with ills.]

124 The relative understood. I suspect both the construction and the word *denied*, neither of which has the true ring. H reads:

And ruin of red fire and sword
To all that would not hail him lord
Came fast, and far beyond the hills
Spread Northern wail and iron ills.
And therefore in wet woods and cold etc.

130 'A weak line' (Peabody).

[The original reading in B which Lewis criticised was *who had this king once held in scorn*, changed to *who once a prince of Men was born*]

137 Some emend. The rhythm, however, is good, and probably would occur more often if the syllabic prudery of scribes had not elsewhere 'emended' it.

172 LH *When I lost all*

[No alteration made to the text.]

173–4 L *Thus, out of wet night while he gazed,*
he thought, with heavy heart amazed

[No alteration made to the text.]

[In the following comment the reading criticised was:

But ere he dared to call her name
or ask how she escaping came]

175–6 *she escaping*. A Latinised phrase, at once betraying very late corruption. The ugly assonace *ere . . . dared* confirms my suspicion of the distych. No satisfactory emendation has been proposed.

[*she escaping came* was changed to *she escaped and came*]

196 H *Whining, his spirit ached for ease*. Peabody observes of the whole passage: 'The combination of extreme simplicity, with convincing truth of psychology, and the pathos which, without comment, makes us aware that Gorlim is at once pardonable and unpardonable, render this part of the story extremely affecting.'

[No alteration made to line 196]

208 *haply*. LH *chance*.

[No alteration made to the text.]

209–10 One of the few passages in which Schick's theory of deliberate internal rime finds some support.

[See the comment on line 68.]

215 *that*. H *the*.

[No alteration made to the text.]

[The lines 313–16 referred to in the following comment had been bracketed for exclusion, and *that* at 317 changed to *Then*, before the text went to Lewis.]

313 H reads *Thus Morgoth loved that his own foe*
Should in his service deal the blow.
Then Beren . . .

'Our scribe is right in his erasure of the second distych, but wrong in his erasure of the first' (Peabody). The first erased couplet certainly deserves to remain in the text; indeed its loss seriously impairs the reality of Morgoth. I should print as in H, enclosing *Thus . . . blow* in brackets or dashes.

[My father ticked the first two lines (313–14), which may show that he accepted this suggestion. I have let all four stand in the text.]

400 Of Canto 2 as a whole Peabody writes: 'If this is not good romantic narrative, I confess myself ignorant of the meaning of the words.'

401 et seq. A more philosophical account of the period is given in the so called *Poema Historiale*, probably contemporary with the earliest MSS of the *Geste*. The relevant passage runs as follows:

There was a time before the ancient sun
And swinging wheels of heaven had learned
to run
More certainly than dreams; for dreams
themselves
Had bodies then and filled the world with elves.
The starveling lusts whose walk is now
confined
To darkness and the cellarage of the mind,
And shudderings and despairs and shapes of sin
Then walked at large, and were not cooped
within.
Thought cast a shadow: brutes could speak:
and men
Get children on a star. For spirit then
Kneaded a fluid world and dreamed it new
Each moment. Nothing yet was false or true.

[Humphrey Carpenter, who cites these verses in *The Inklings*, says (p. 30): 'Sometimes Lewis actually suggested entirely new passages to replace lines he thought poor, and here too he ascribed his own versions to supposedly historical sources. For example, he suggested that the lines about the "elder days" [401 ff.] could be replaced by the following stanza of his own, which he described as "the so called *Poema Historiale* [&c.]".' But he cannot have intended these lines, which not only, as Humphrey Carpenter says, show 'how greatly Lewis's poetic imagination differed from Tolkien's', but are in a different metre, as a replacement; see Lewis's comment on lines 438–42.]

413 Another instance where the 'internal rime' theory is justified.

438–42 Almost certainly spurious. This abstract philosophical statement – which would not surprise us in the scholastic verse of the period, such as the *Poema Historiale* – is quite foreign to the manner of the *Geste*. L reads:

> *. . . singing in the wood*
> *And long he stood and long he stood*
> *Till, many a day, with hound and hail*
> *His people seek him ere they sail,*
> *Then, finding not, take ship with tears.*
> *But after a long tale of years*
> *(Though but an hour to him it seemed)*
> *He found her where she lay and dreamed.*

[My father marked lines 438 ff. in the typescript, but made no change to the text.]

516 *Flowering candles*. The reader should notice how the normally plain style of the *Geste* has yet the power of rising into such expressions as this without losing its unity.

[In the following comment the reading criticised was:

> *and round their boles did shadows fall* 518
> *where glimmered faint . . .*]

518 *did* PRK, *let* JL. Though neither is good, PRK seems the better reading. Its slight clumsiness may be passed over by a reader intent on the story: the 'neat' evasion *let*, with its purely formal attribution of an active rôle to the trees, is much worse, as cheap scenery is worse than a plain backcloth. H reads:

> *The silent elms stood tall and grey*
> *And at the roots long shadows lay*

519–42 'This passage', Peabody observes, 'amply atones for the poet's lapse (*dormitat Homerus*) in 518. *Ipsa mollities*.'

[I do not understand why Lewis picked particularly on *did* at line 518: the

use of *did* as a metrical aid was very common in the B-text as Lewis saw it – it occurred twice, for instance, in the passage here praised: *did flutter* 523, *did waver* 533, both subsequently changed.]

555–6 *'O si sic omnia!* Does not our poet show glimpses of the true empyrean of poesy, however, in his workmanlike humility, he has chosen more often to inhabit the milder and aerial (not aetherial) middle heaven?' (Pumpernickel). Some have seen in the conception of death-into-life a late accretion. But cf. the very early lyric preserved in the MS N3057, now in the public library at Narrowthrode (the ancient *Nargothrond*), which is probably as early as the *Geste*, though like all the scholastic verse it strikes a more modern note:

Because of endless pride
Reborn with endless error,
Each hour I look aside
Upon my secret mirror,
And practice postures there
To make my image fair.

You give me grapes, and I,
Though staring, turn to see
How dark the cool globes lie
In the white hand of me,
And stand, yet gazing thither,
Till the live clusters wither.

So should I quickly die
Narcissus-like for want,
Save that betimes my eye
Sees there such shapes as haunt
Beyond nightmare and make
Pride humble for pride's sake.

Then, and then only, turning
The stiff neck round, I grow
A molten man all burning
And look behind, and know
Who made the flaw, what light makes dark,
what fair

Makes foul my shadowy form reflected there,
That self-love, big with love, dying, its child
may bear.

[It is a matter for speculation, what the author of Nargothrond thought of the public library at Narrowthrode. – This poem, with some alterations, was included in *The Pilgrim's Regress* (1933).]

563–92 *Sic* in all MSS. The passage is, of course, genuine, and truly worthy of the *Geste*. But surely it must originally have stood at 391 or 393? The artificial insertion of Beren's journey in its present place – where it appears as retrospect not as direct narrative, though defensible, belongs to a kind of art more sophisticated than that of the *Geste*: it is just such a transposition as a late Broseliandic literary redactor would make under the influence of the classical epic.

[A quarter of a century later, or more, my father rewrote this part of the poem; and he took Lewis's advice. See p. 352.]

[The original reading of B criticised in the next comment (lines 629 ff.) was:

Then stared he wild in dumbness bound
at silent trees, deserted ground;
the dizzy moon was twisted grey
in tears, for she had fled away.]

629–30 Thus in PRKJ. The Latinised adverbial use of the adjective in *wild* and the omitted articles in the next line are suspicious.

L *But wildly Beren gazed around*
On silent trees (and) empty ground.*
The dizzy moon etc.

*Peabody supplies *and*. But the monosyllabic foot is quite possible. Cf. 687.

H *But wildly Beren gazed around.*
Emptied the tall trees stood. The ground
Lay empty. A lonely moon looked grey
Upon the untrodden forest way.

I prefer H because it gets rid of the conceit (it is little more) about the moon. (This sort of half-hearted personification is, of course, to be distinguished from genuine mythology.)

[Against this my father scribbled on Lewis's text: 'Not so!! The moon was dizzy and twisted because of the tears in his eyes.' Nonetheless he struck the two lines out heavily in the typescript, and I have excluded them from the text.]

635–6 An excellent simile.

641 Peabody, though a great friend to metrical resolutions in general, finds this particular resolution (*Bewildered enchanted*) 'singularly harsh'. Perhaps the original text read *wildered*.

[The reading in B was *bewildered, enchanted and forlorn*. My father then changed *bewildered* to *wildered* and placed it after *enchanted*.]

651–2 JHL transpose.

[This was done. Cf. lines 1222–3, where these lines are repeated but left in the original sequence.]

[After line 652 B had:

Thus thought his heart. No words would come
from his fast lips, for smitten dumb
a spell lay on him, as a dream
in longing chained beside the stream.

After seeing Lewis's comment my father marked this passage 'revise', and also with a deletion mark, on which basis I have excluded the four lines from the text.]

Only in PR. Almost undoubtedly spurious. 'The latest redactors', says Pumpernickel, 'were always needlessly amplifying, as if the imagination of their readers could do nothing for itself, and thus blunting the true force and energy of the *Geste*. . . .' Read:

A heartache and a loneliness
– Enchanted waters pitiless.'
A summer waned etc.

[*heartache* was the original reading of B at 651, changed later to *hunger*, but retained at 1223.]

653–72 Of this admirable passage Peabody remarks: 'It is as if the wood itself were speaking.'

677–9 LH *From her dim cave the damp moon eyed*
White mists that float from earth to hide
The sluggard morrow's sun and drip

[No alteration made to the text.]

683 *Beat*, which is utterly inappropriate to the sound described, must be a corruption. No plausible emendation has been suggested.

[My father scribbled in a hesitant substitute for *beat* and a different form for line 684 (*of his own feet on leafy* . . . .) but I cannot read the rhyming words.]

685–708 In praise of this passage I need not add to the innumerable eulogies of my predecessors.

710 Bentley read *saw far off*, to avoid the ugliness that always results from w-final followed by an initial vowel in the next word.

[The reading criticised was *saw afar*, and the line was changed as suggested.]

715 *Stole he* PRK. *He stole* JHL. PRK looks like the metrical 'improvement' of a scribe: dearly bought by a meaningless inversion.

[The reading criticised was *Then stole he nigh*, changed to *Then nigh he stole*.]

727–45 This passage, as it stands, is seriously corrupt, though the beauty of the original can still be discerned.

[See the following notes.]

[The original reading of B in lines 729–30 was:

the hillock green he leapt upon –
the elfin loveliness was gone;]

729 Intolerable bathos and prose in a passage of such tension.

[The original reading of B in line 739 was:

its echoes wove a halting spell:]

739 Why *halting*? 'Let the amanuensis take back his rubbish' (Bentley).

[Against this my father wrote 'A spell to halt anyone', but in the margin of B he wrote *staying/binding*, and I have adopted *binding* in the text.]

[The original reading of B in lines 741–5 was:

His voice such love and longing fill 741
one moment stood she, touched and still;
one moment only, but he came
and all his heart was burned with flame. 744]

741–2 The historic present is always to be suspected. The second verse is hopelessly corrupt. *Touched* in this sense is impossible in the language of the *Geste*: and if the word were possible, the conception is fitter for a nineteenth century drawing-room in Narrowthrode than for the loves of heroes. HL read:

And clear his voice came as a bell
Whose echoes wove a wavering spell
Tinúviel. Tinúviel.
Such love and longing filled his voice
That, one moment, without choice,
One moment without fear or shame,
Tinúviel stood; and like a flame
He leapt towards her as she stayed
And caught and kissed that elfin maid.

[My father marked the passage 'revise', and very roughly corrected it (adopting the concluding verses of Lewis's version) to the form which I have given in the text, despite the defective couplet.]

[The original reading of B was:

aswoon in mingled grief and bliss,
enchantment of an elvish kiss.]

760–1 L *Aswoon with grief, aswoon with bliss,*
Enchanted of an elvish kiss.

[*enchanted* for *enchantment* was adopted.]

[The original reading – the text B(1) seen by Lewis, see p. 194 – of lines 762–73 was:

and saw within his blinded eyes
a light that danced like silver flies
a starlit face of tenderness
crowned by the stars of Elfinesse.
A mist was in his face like hair,
and laughing whispers moved the air –
'O! dance with me now, Beren. Dance!' –
a silver laugh, a mocking glance:
'Come dance the wild and headlong maze
those dance, we're told, beyond the ways
who dwell that lead to lands of Men!
Come teach the feet of Lúthien!'
The shadows wrapped her. Like a stone
the daylight found him cold and lone.

On line 8 of this passage Lewis commented:]

L *a silver laughter, an arch glance*

'Whether *mocking* or *arch* is the more intolerably miss-ish I care not to decide' (Peabody).

[The line was abandoned in the B(2) version. On lines 9–12 Lewis commented:]

JHL omit. Is not the whole passage [from the beginning of the Canto to the end of the passage from B(1) given above] unworthy of the poet?

[It is clear that this severe criticism led to the rewriting of the opening of the Canto.]

775 The chiasmus is suspiciously classical. H gives *Dark is the sun, cold is the air.*

[Against this my father scribbled: 'But classics did not invent chiasmus! – it is perfectly natural.' (*Chiasmus*: a grammatical figure by which the order of words is one of two parallel clauses is inverted in the other.)]

[The passage criticised by Lewis in the following comment was:

Hateful art thou, O Land of Trees!
My flute shall finger no more seize;
may music perish etc.]

849 Clearly corrupt. HJL *Oh hateful land of trees be mute! My fingers, now forget the flute!*

[Against this my father wrote: 'Frightful 18th century!!!' But he reordered the second line to: *my fingers the flute shall no more seize*, and subsequently rewrote the passage to the form given in the text, lines 849–52.]

849–83 'These lines are very noble' (Pumpernickel).

909 *cometh*. HJL *comes*. HJL is certainly the more emphatic rhythm.

[No alteration made to the text.]

[The original reading of B at line 911 was:

. . . *those shores,*
those white rocks where the last tide roars]

911 'Where *eight* dull words oft creep in one low line.' Lines of monosyllables are often to be found in the *Geste*, but rarely so clustered with consonants as this. No satisfactory emendation has been suggested. I suspect this is a garbled version of 1142–3: our scribes do not always accept or understand epic repetition.

[The emendation made to B and given in the text is derived from lines 1142–3 as Lewis suggested. His reference is to Pope, *An Essay on Criticism*, line 347: *And ten low words oft creep in one dull line*.]

978–9 In *Gestestudien* Vol. XIII pp. 9–930 the reader will find a summary of the critical war that has raged

round the possibility of the assonance (or rime) of *within-dim*. Perhaps a great deal of ink would have been saved if the scholars of the last century had been familiar with the L reading *Where out of yawning arches came A white light like unmoving flame*. 'My own conclusion is that *if* the assonance in the *textus receptus* is correct, the same phenomenon must originally have occurred often, and have been suppressed elsewhere by the scribes. Editorial effort might profitably be devoted to restoring it' (Schuffer). But cf. 1140–1.

[The original reading of B in lines 980–1 was:

With gentle hand there she him led
down corridors etc.]

980 J *Downward with gentle hand she him led*, which explains the corruption. The verse originally ran *Downward with gentle hand she led*. The scribe of J, wrongly believing an object to be needed, inserted *him*. *Vulg*. then 'emends' the metre by dropping *Downward* and inserting *there*: thus giving a clumsy line.

[In this note *Vulg*. = *Vulgate*, the common or usual form of a literary work. My father wrote in Lewis's line on the B-text with his initials, and made the consequent change of *down* to *through* in line 981.]

[The original reading of B was: *as into archéd halls was led*]

991 HJL *she led*

996 L *in old stone carven stood*

[No alteration made to the text.]

[The original reading in B was: *while waters endless dripped and ran*]

1007 H *While water forever dript and ran*

[The original reading in B was: *in lightless labyrinths endlessly*]

1075 *Labyrinths.* HJL *Labyrinth.*

[Lewis corrected his spelling to *Laborynth(s)*, against which my father queried: 'Why this spelling?']

980–1131 The whole of this passage has always been deservedly regarded as one of the gems of the *Geste*.

1132–61 I suspect that this passage has been greatly expanded by the late redactors who found their audience sometimes very ignorant of the myths. It is, as it stands, far from satisfactory. On the one hand it is too long an interruption of the action: on the other it is too succinct for a reader who knows nothing of the mythology. It is also obscure: thus in 1145 few readers can grasp that *their* means 'the Silmarils'. The shorter version of H and L, though not good, may in some respects be nearer the original:

Then Thingol's warriors loud and long
Laughed: for wide renown in song
Had Fëanor's gems o'er land and sea,
The Silmarils, the shiners three,
Three only, and in every one
The light that was before the sun
And moon, shone yet. But now no more
Those leavings of the lights of yore
Were seen on earth's back: in the drear
Abysm of Morgoth blazing clear
His iron crown they must adorn
And glitter on orcs and slaves forlorn etc.

[My father put an exclamation mark against *the shiners three*; and he wrote an X against lines 1144–5 (see note to these lines).]

★

Here C. S. Lewis's commentary on *The Gest of Beren and Lúthien* ends, and no more is recorded of the opinions of Peabody, Pumpernickel, Schuffer and Schick in the volumes of *Gestestudien* – nor indeed, on this subject, of those of their generous-minded inventor.

IV

THE LAY OF LEITHIAN RECOMMENCED

When my father began the *Lay of Leithian* again from the beginning, he did not at first intend much more, perhaps, than a revision, an improvement of individual lines and short passages, but all on the original plan and structure. This, at least, is what he did with Canto I; and he carried out the revisions on the old B typescript. But with Canto II he was quickly carried into a far more radical reconstruction, and was virtually writing a new poem on the same subject and in the same metre as the old. This, it is true, was partly because the story of Gorlim had changed, but it is also clear that a new impulse had entered, seeking a new rather than merely altered expression. The old typescript was still used at least as a physical basis for the new writing, but for a long stretch the typed verses were simply struck through and the new written on inserted pages and slips.

The old Canto II of just over 300 lines was expanded to 500, and divided into new Cantos 2 and 3 (the old and the new can be conveniently distinguished by Roman and Arabic numerals).

The rewriting on the old typescript continues for a short distance into Canto III (new Canto 4) and then stops. On the basis of this now extremely chaotic text my father wrote out a fine, decorated manuscript, 'C', inevitably introducing some further changes; and this stops only a few lines short of the point where the rewriting on the B-text stops. Subsequently, an amanuensis typescript ('D') was made, in two copies, apparently with my father's supervision, but for the moment nothing need be said of this beyond noticing that he made certain changes to these texts at a later time.

The rewriting on the B-text was no doubt a secondary stage, of which the preliminary workings no longer exist; for in the case of the new Canto 4 such preliminary drafts are extant. On one of these pages, and quite obviously done at the same time as the verse-drafts, my father drew a floor-plan of part of the house 99 Holywell Street, Oxford, to which he removed in 1950. He doubtless drew the plan shortly before moving house, while pondering its best arrangement. It is clear then that a new start on the *Lay of Leithian* was one of the first things that he turned to when *The Lord of the Rings* was complete.

I give below the text of the manuscript C in its final form (that is, after certain changes had been made to it) so far as it goes (line 624), incor-

porating one or two very minor alterations made later to the D typescript(s), followed by a further short section (lines 625–60) found only in draft before being added to D. Brief Notes and Commentary are given on pp. 348 ff.

THE LAY OF LEITHIAN

I. OF THINGOL IN DORIATH

A king there was in days of old:
ere Men yet walked upon the mould
his power was reared in caverns' shade,
his hand was over glen and glade.
Of leaves his crown, his mantle green,
his silver lances long and keen;
the starlight in his shield was caught,
ere moon was made or sun was wrought.
In after-days, when to the shore
of Middle-earth from Valinor
the Elven-hosts in might returned,
and banners flew and beacons burned,
when kings of Eldamar went by
in strength of war, beneath the sky
then still his silver trumpets blew
when sun was young and moon was new.
Afar then in Beleriand,
in Doriath's beleaguered land,
King Thingol sat on guarded throne
in many-pillared halls of stone:
there beryl, pearl, and opal pale,
and metal wrought like fishes' mail,
buckler and corslet, axe and sword,
and gleaming spears were laid in hoard:
all these he had and counted small,
for dearer than all wealth in hall,
and fairer than are born to Men,
a daughter had he, Lúthien.

OF LÚTHIEN THE BELOVED

Such lissom limbs no more shall run
on the green earth beneath the sun;

so fair a maid no more shall be
from dawn to dusk, from sun to sea.
Her robe was blue as summer skies,
but grey as evening were her eyes;
her mantle sewn with lilies fair,
but dark as shadow was her hair.
Her feet were swift as bird on wing,
her laughter merry as the spring;
the slender willow, the bowing reed,
the fragrance of a flowering mead,
the light upon the leaves of trees,
the voice of water, more then these
her beauty was and blissfulness,
her glory and her loveliness.

She dwelt in the enchanted land
while elven-might yet held in hand
the woven woods of Doriath:
none ever thither found the path
unbidden, none the forest-eaves
dared pass, or stir the listening leaves.
To North there lay a land of dread,
Dungorthin where all ways were dead
in hills of shadow bleak and cold;
beyond was Deadly Nightshade's hold
in Taur-nu-Fuin's fastness grim,
where sun was sick and moon was dim.
To South the wide earth unexplored;
to West the ancient Ocean roared,
unsailed and shoreless, wide and wild;
to East in peaks of blue were piled,
in silence folded, mist-enfurled,
the mountains of the outer world.

Thus Thingol in his dolven hall
amid the Thousand Caverns tall
of Menegroth as king abode:
to him there led no mortal road.
Beside him sat his deathless queen,
fair Melian, and wove unseen
nets of enchantment round his throne,
and spells were laid on tree and stone:
sharp was his sword and high his helm,

the king of beech and oak and elm.
When grass was green and leaves were long,
when finch and mavis sang their song,
there under bough and under sun
in shadow and in light would run
fair Lúthien the elven-maid,
dancing in dell and grassy glade.

OF DAIRON MINSTREL OF THINGOL

When sky was clear and stars were keen,
then Dairon with his fingers lean,
as daylight melted into eve,
a trembling music sweet would weave
on flutes of silver, thin and clear
for Lúthien, the maiden dear.

There mirth there was and voices bright;
there eve was peace and morn was light;
there jewel gleamed and silver wan
and red gold on white fingers shone,
and elanor and niphredil
bloomed in the grass unfading still,
while the endless years of Elven-land
rolled over far Beleriand,
until a day of doom befell,
as still the elven-harpers tell.

★

2. OF MORGOTH & THE SNARING OF GORLIM

Far in the Northern hills of stone
in caverns black there was a throne
by flame encircled; there the smoke
in coiling columns rose to choke
the breath of life, and there in deep
and gasping dungeons lost would creep
to hopeless death all those who strayed
by doom beneath that ghastly shade.
A king there sat, most dark and fell

of all that under heaven dwell.
Than earth or sea, than moon or star
more ancient was he, mightier far
in mind abysmal than the thought
of Eldar or of Men, and wrought
of strength primeval; ere the stone
was hewn to build the world, alone
he walked in darkness, fierce and dire,
burned, as he wielded it, by fire.
He 'twas that laid in ruin black
the Blessed Realm and fled then back
to Middle-earth anew to build
beneath the mountains mansions filled
with misbegotten slaves of hate:
death's shadow brooded at his gate.
His hosts he armed with spears of steel
and brands of flame, and at their heel
the wolf walked and the serpent crept
with lidless eyes. Now forth they leapt,
his ruinous legions, kindling war
in field and frith and woodland hoar.
Where long the golden elanor
had gleamed amid the grass they bore
their banners black, where finch had sung
and harpers silver harps had wrung
now dark the ravens wheeled and cried
amid the reek, and far and wide
the swords of Morgoth dripped with red
above the hewn and trampled dead.
Slowly his shadow like a cloud
rolled from the North, and on the proud
that would not yield his vengeance fell;
to death or thraldom under hell
all things he doomed: the Northern land
lay cowed beneath his ghastly hand.

But still there lived in hiding cold
Bëor's son, Barahir the bold,
of land bereaved and lordship shorn
who once a prince of Men was born,
and now an outlaw lurked and lay
in the hard heath and woodland grey.

OF THE SAVING OF KING INGLOR FELAGUND BY THE XII BËORINGS

Twelve men beside him still there went,
still faithful when all hope was spent.
Their names are yet in elven-song
remembered, though the years are long
since doughty Dagnir and Ragnor,
Radhruin, Dairuin and Gildor,
Gorlim Unhappy, and Urthel,
and Arthad and Hathaldir fell;
since the black shaft with venomed wound
took Belegund and Baragund,
the mighty sons of Bregolas;
since he whose doom and deeds surpass
all tales of Men was laid on bier,
fair Beren son of Barahir.
For these it was, the chosen men
of Bëor's house, who in the fen
of reedy Serech stood at bay
about King Inglor in the day
of his defeat, and with their swords
thus saved of all the Elven-lords
the fairest; and his love they earned.
And he escaping south, returned
to Nargothrond his mighty realm,
where still he wore his crownëd helm;
but they to their northern homeland rode,
dauntless and few, and there abode
unconquered still, defying fate,
pursued by Morgoth's sleepless hate.

OF TARN AELUIN THE BLESSED

Such deeds of daring there they wrought
that soon the hunters that them sought
at rumour of their coming fled.
Though price was set upon each head
to match the weregild of a king,
no soldier could to Morgoth bring
news even of their hidden lair;
for where the highland brown and bare
above the darkling pines arose
of steep Dorthonion to the snows

and barren mountain-winds, there lay
a tarn of water, blue by day,
by night a mirror of dark glass
for stars of Elbereth that pass
above the world into the West.
Once hallowed, still that place was blest:
no shadow of Morgoth, and no evil thing
yet thither came; a whispering ring
of slender birches silver-grey
stooped on its margin, round it lay
a lonely moor, and the bare bones
of ancient Earth like standing stones
thrust through the heather and the whin;
and there by houseless Aeluin
the hunted lord and faithful men
under the grey stones made their den.

OF GORLIM UNHAPPY

Gorlim Unhappy, Angrim's son,
as the tale tells, of these was one
most fierce and hopeless. He to wife,
while fair was the fortune of his life,
took the white maiden Eilinel:
dear love they had ere evil fell.
To war he rode; from war returned
to find his fields and homestead burned,
his house forsaken roofless stood,
empty amid the leafless wood;
and Eilinel, white Eilinel,
was taken whither none could tell,
to death or thraldom far away.
Black was the shadow of that day
for ever on his heart, and doubt
still gnawed him as he went about
in wilderness wandring, or at night
oft sleepless, thinking that she might
ere evil came have timely fled
into the woods: she was not dead,
she lived, she would return again
to seek him, and would deem him slain.
Therefore at whiles he left the lair,

and secretly, alone, would peril dare,
and come to his old house at night,
broken and cold, without fire or light,
and naught but grief renewed would gain,
watching and waiting there in vain.

In vain, or worse – for many spies
had Morgoth, many lurking eyes
well used to pierce the deepest dark;
and Gorlim's coming they would mark
and would report. There came a day
when once more Gorlim crept that way,
down the deserted weedy lane
at dusk of autumn sad with rain
and cold wind whining. Lo! a light
at window fluttering in the night
amazed he saw; and drawing near,
between faint hope and sudden fear,
he looked within. 'Twas Eilinel!
Though changed she was, he knew her well.
With grief and hunger she was worn,
her tresses tangled, raiment torn;
her gentle eyes with tears were dim,
as soft she wept: 'Gorlim, Gorlim!
Thou canst not have forsaken me.
Then slain, alas! thou slain must be!
And I must linger cold, alone,
and loveless as a barren stone!'

One cry he gave – and then the light
blew out, and in the wind of night
wolves howled; and on his shoulder fell
suddenly the griping hands of hell.
There Morgoth's servants fast him caught
and he was cruelly bound, and brought
to Sauron captain of the host,
the lord of werewolf and of ghost,
most foul and fell of all who knelt
at Morgoth's throne. In might he dwelt
on Gaurhoth Isle; but now had ridden
with strength abroad, by Morgoth bidden
to find the rebel Barahir.
He sat in dark encampment near,

and thither his butchers dragged their prey.
There now in anguish Gorlim lay:
with bond on neck, on hand and foot,
to bitter torment he was put,
to break his will and him constrain
to buy with treason end of pain.
But naught to them would he reveal
of Barahir, nor break the seal
of faith that on his tongue was laid;
until at last a pause was made,
and one came softly to his stake,
a darkling form that stooped, and spake
to him of Eilinel his wife.
'Wouldst thou,' he said, 'forsake thy life,
who with few words might win release
for her, and thee, and go in peace,
and dwell together far from war,
friends of the King? What wouldst thou more?'
And Gorlim, now long worn with pain,
yearning to see his wife again
(whom well he weened was also caught
in Sauron's net), allowed the thought
to grow, and faltered in his troth.
Then straight, half willing and half loath,
they brought him to the seat of stone
where Sauron sat. He stood alone
before that dark and dreadful face,
and Sauron said: 'Come, mortal base!
What do I hear? That thou wouldst dare
to barter with me? Well, speak fair!
What is thy price?' And Gorlim low
bowed down his head, and with great woe,
word on slow word, at last implored
that merciless and faithless lord
that he might free depart, and might
again find Eilinel the White,
and dwell with her, and cease from war
against the King. He craved no more.

Then Sauron smiled, and said: 'Thou thrall!
The price thou askest is but small
for treachery and shame so great!

I grant it surely! Well, I wait:
Come! Speak now swiftly and speak true!'
Then Gorlim wavered, and he drew
half back; but Sauron's daunting eye
there held him, and he dared not lie:
as he began, so must he wend
from first false step to faithless end:
he all must answer as he could,
betray his lord and brotherhood,
and cease, and fall upon his face.

Then Sauron laughed aloud. 'Thou base,
thou cringing worm! Stand up,
and hear me! And now drink the cup
that I have sweetly blent for thee!
Thou fool: a phantom thou didst see
that I, I Sauron, made to snare
thy lovesick wits. Naught else was there.
Cold 'tis with Sauron's wraiths to wed!
Thy Eilinel! She is long since dead,
dead, food of worms less low than thou.
And yet thy boon I grant thee now:
to Eilinel thou soon shalt go,
and lie in her bed, no more to know
of war – or manhood. Have thy pay!'

And Gorlim then they dragged away,
and cruelly slew him; and at last
in the dank mould his body cast,
where Eilinel long since had laid
in the burned woods by butchers slain.
Thus Gorlim died an evil death,
and cursed himself with dying breath,
and Barahir at last was caught
in Morgoth's snare; for set at naught
by treason was the ancient grace
that guarded long that lonely place,
Tarn Aeluin: now all laid bare
were secret paths and hidden lair.

★

3. OF BEREN SON OF BARAHIR & HIS ESCAPE

Dark from the North now blew the cloud;
the winds of autumn cold and loud
hissed in the heather; sad and grey
Aeluin's mournful water lay.
'Son Beren', then said Barahir,
'Thou knowst the rumour that we hear
of strength from the Gaurhoth that is sent
against us; and our food nigh spent.
On thee the lot falls by our law
to go forth now alone to draw
what help thou canst from the hidden few
that feed us still, and what is new
to learn. Good fortune go with thee!
In speed return, for grudgingly
we spare thee from our brotherhood,
so small: and Gorlim in the wood
is long astray or dead. Farewell!'
As Beren went, still like a knell
resounded in his heart that word,
the last of his father that he heard.

Through moor and fen, by tree and briar
he wandered far: he saw the fire
of Sauron's camp, he heard the howl
of hunting Orc and wolf a-prowl,
and turning back, for long the way,
benighted in the forest lay.
In weariness he then must sleep,
fain in a badger-hole to creep,
and yet he heard (or dreamed it so)
nearby a marching legion go
with clink of mail and clash of shields
up towards the stony mountain-fields.
He slipped then into darkness down,
until, as man that waters drown
strives upwards gasping, it seemed to him
he rose through slime beside the brim
of sullen pool beneath dead trees.
Their livid boughs in a cold breeze
trembled, and all their black leaves stirred:
each leaf a black and croaking bird,

whose neb a gout of blood let fall.
He shuddered, struggling thence to crawl
through winding weeds, when far away
he saw a shadow faint and grey
gliding across the dreary lake.
Slowly it came, and softly spake:
'Gorlim I was, but now a wraith
of will defeated, broken faith,
traitor betrayed. Go! Stay not here!
Awaken, son of Barahir,
and haste! For Morgoth's fingers close
upon thy father's throat; he knows
your trysts, your paths, your secret lair.'
Then he revealed the devil's snare
in which he fell, and failed; and last
begging forgiveness, wept, and passed
out into darkness. Beren woke,
leapt up as one by sudden stroke
with fire of anger filled. His bow
and sword he seized, and like the roe
hotfoot o'er rock and heath he sped
before the dawn. Ere day was dead
to Aeluin at last he came,
as the red sun westward sank in flame;
but Aeluin was red with blood,
red were the stones and trampled mud.
Black in the birches sat a-row
the raven and the carrion crow;
wet were their nebs, and dark the meat
that dripped beneath their griping feet.
One croaked: 'Ha, ha, he comes too late!'
'Ha, ha!' they answered, 'ha! too late!'
There Beren laid his father's bones
in haste beneath a cairn of stones;
no graven rune nor word he wrote
o'er Barahir, but thrice he smote
the topmost stone, and thrice aloud
he cried his name. 'Thy death', he vowed,
'I will avenge. Yea, though my fate
should lead at last to Angband's gate.'
And then he turned, and did not weep:
too dark his heart, the wound too deep.

Out into night, as cold as stone,
loveless, friendless, he strode alone.

Of hunter's lore he had no need
the trail to find. With little heed
his ruthless foe, secure and proud,
marched north away with blowing loud
of brazen horns their lord to greet,
trampling the earth with grinding feet.
Behind them bold but wary went
now Beren, swift as hound on scent,
until beside a darkling well,
where Rivil rises from the fell
down into Serech's reeds to flow,
he found the slayers, found his foe.
From hiding on the hillside near
he marked them all: though less than fear,
too many for his sword and bow
to slay alone. Then, crawling low
as snake in heath, he nearer crept.
There many weary with marching slept,
but captains, sprawling on the grass,
drank and from hand to hand let pass
their booty, grudging each small thing
raped from dead bodies. One a ring
held up, and laughed: 'Now, mates,' he cried
'here's mine! And I'll not be denied,
though few be like it in the land.
For I 'twas wrenched it from the hand
of that same Barahir I slew,
the robber-knave. If tales be true,
he had it of some elvish lord,
for the rogue-service of his sword.
No help it gave to him – he's dead.
They're parlous, elvish rings, 'tis said;
still for the gold I'll keep it, yea
and so eke out my niggard pay.
Old Sauron bade me bring it back,
and yet, methinks, he has no lack
of weightier treasures in his hoard:
the greater the greedier the lord!
So mark ye, mates, ye all shall swear

the hand of Barahir was bare!'
And as he spoke an arrow sped
from tree behind, and forward dead
choking he fell with barb in throat;
with leering face the earth he smote.
Forth, then as wolfhound grim there leapt
Beren among them. Two he swept
aside with sword; caught up the ring;
slew one who grasped him; with a spring
back into shadow passed, and fled
before their yells of wrath and dread
of ambush in the valley rang.
Then after him like wolves they sprang,
howling and cursing, gnashing teeth,
hewing and bursting through the heath,
shooting wild arrows, sheaf on sheaf,
at trembling shade or shaken leaf.
In fateful hour was Beren born:
he laughed at dart and wailing horn;
fleetest of foot of living men,
tireless on fell and light on fen,
elf-wise in wood, he passed away,
defended by his hauberk grey
of dwarvish craft in Nogrod made,
where hammers rang in cavern's shade.

As fearless Beren was renowned:
when men most hardy upon ground
were reckoned folk would speak his name,
foretelling that his after-fame
would even golden Hador pass
or Barahir and Bregolas;
but sorrow now his heart had wrought
to fierce despair, no more he fought
in hope of life or joy or praise,
but seeking so to use his days
only that Morgoth deep should feel
the sting of his avenging steel,
ere death he found and end of pain:
his only fear was thraldom's chain.
Danger he sought and death pursued,
and thus escaped the doom he wooed,

and deeds of breathless daring wrought
alone, of which the rumour brought
new hope to many a broken man.
They whispered 'Beren', and began
in secret swords to whet, and soft
by shrouded hearths at evening oft
songs they would sing of Beren's bow,
of Dagmor his sword: how he would go
silent to camps and slay the chief,
or trapped in his hiding past belief
would slip away, and under night
by mist or moon, or by the light
of open day would come again.
Of hunters hunted, slayers slain
they sang, of Gorgol the Butcher hewn,
of ambush in Ladros, fire in Drûn,
of thirty in one battle dead,
of wolves that yelped like curs and fled,
yea, Sauron himself with wound in hand.
Thus one alone filled all that land
with fear and death for Morgoth's folk;
his comrades were the beech and oak
who failed him not, and wary things
with fur and fell and feathered wings
that silent wander, or dwell alone
in hill and wild and waste of stone
watched o'er his ways, his faithful friends.

Yet seldom well an outlaw ends;
and Morgoth was a king more strong
than all the world has since in song
recorded: dark athwart the land
reached out the shadow of his hand,
at each recoil returned again;
two more were sent for one foe slain.
New hope was cowed, all rebels killed;
quenched were the fires, the songs were stilled,
tree felled, heath burned, and through the waste
marched the black host of Orcs in haste.
Almost they closed their ring of steel
round Beren; hard upon his heel
now trod their spies; within their hedge

of all aid shorn, upon the edge
of death at bay he stood aghast
and knew that he must die at last,
or flee the land of Barahir,
his land beloved. Beside the mere
beneath a heap of nameless stones
must crumble those once mighty bones,
forsaken by both son and kin,
bewailed by reeds of Aeluin.

In winter's night the houseless North
he left behind, and stealing forth
the leaguer of his watchful foe
he passed – a shadow on the snow,
a swirl of wind, and he was gone,
the ruin of Dorthonion,
Tarn Aeluin and its water wan,
never again to look upon.
No more shall hidden bowstring sing,
no more his shaven arrows wing,
no more his hunted head shall lie
upon the heath beneath the sky.
The Northern stars, whose silver fire
of old Men named the Burning Briar,
were set behind his back, and shone
o'er land forsaken: he was gone.

Southward he turned, and south away
his long and lonely journey lay,
while ever loomed before his path
the dreadful peaks of Gorgorath.
Never had foot of man most bold
yet trod those mountains steep and cold,
nor climbed upon their sudden brink,
whence, sickened, eyes must turn and shrink
to see their southward cliffs fall sheer
in rocky pinnacle and pier
down into shadows that were laid
before the sun and moon were made.
In valleys woven with deceit
and washed with waters bitter-sweet
dark magic lurked in gulf and glen;
but out away beyond the ken

of mortal sight the eagle's eye
from dizzy towers that pierced the sky
might grey and gleaming see afar,
as sheen on water under star,
Beleriand, Beleriand,
the borders of the Elven-land.

★

4. OF THE COMING OF BEREN TO DORIATH; BUT FIRST IS TOLD OF THE MEETING OF MELIAN AND THINGOL

There long ago in Elder-days
ere voice was heard or trod were ways,
the haunt of silent shadows stood
in starlit dusk Nan Elmoth wood.
In Elder-days that long are gone
a light amid the shadows shone,
a voice was in the silence heard:
the sudden singing of a bird.
There Melian came, the Lady grey,
and dark and long her tresses lay
beneath her silver girdle-seat
and down unto her silver feet.
The nightingales with her she brought,
to whom their song herself she taught,
who sweet upon her gleaming hands
had sung in the immortal lands.
Thence wayward wandering on a time
from Lórien she dared to climb
the everlasting mountain-wall
of Valinor, at whose feet fall
the surges of the Shadowy Sea.
Out away she went then free,
to gardens of the Gods no more
returning, but on mortal shore,
a glimmer ere the dawn she strayed,
singing her spells from glade to glade.
A bird in dim Nan Elmoth wood
trilled, and to listen Thingol stood
amazed; then far away he heard

a voice more fair than fairest bird,
a voice as crystal clear of note
as thread of silver glass remote.

Here the manuscript C ends. Of the next short section there are no less than five rough drafts, with endless small variations of wording (and the first ten lines of it were written onto the B-text). The final form was then added, in type, to the D typescript:

Of folk and kin no more he thought;
of errand that the Eldar brought
from Cuiviénen far away,
of lands beyond the Seas that lay
no more he recked, forgetting all,
drawn only by that distant call
till deep in dim Nan Elmoth wood
lost and beyond recall he stood.
And there he saw her, fair and fay:
Ar-Melian, the Lady grey,
as silent as the windless trees,
standing with mist about her knees,
and in her face remote the light
of Lórien glimmered in the night.
No word she spoke; but pace by pace,
a halting shadow, towards her face
forth walked the silver-mantled king,
tall Elu Thingol. In the ring
of waiting trees he took her hand.
One moment face to face they stand
alone, beneath the wheeling sky,
while starlit years on earth go by
and in Nan Elmoth wood the trees
grow dark and tall. The murmuring seas
rising and falling on the shore
and Ulmo's horn he heeds no more.

But long his people sought in vain
their lord, till Ulmo called again,
and then in grief they marched away,
leaving the woods. To havens grey
upon the western shore, the last
long shore of mortal lands, they passed,
and thence were borne beyond the Sea

in Aman, the Blessed Realm, to be
by evergreen Ezellohar
in Valinor, in Eldamar. 660

★

52 On one of the copies of D *Dungorthin* was changed to *Dungortheb*, but this belongs to a later layer of nomenclature and I have not introduced it into the text.

55 *Taur-nu-Fuin* C: the line as written on the B-text still had *Taur-na-Fuin*.

140 *Bëor's son*: changed on one of the copies of D to *the Bëoring*, i.e. a man of Bëor's house. This was a change made when the genealogy had been greatly extended and Barahir was no longer Bëor's son but his remote descendant (see p. 198).

249–330 In this section of the Canto the rewriting on (or inserted into) the B-text exists in two versions, one the immediate forerunner of the other. The difference between them is that in the earlier Gorlim was still, as in the earlier Lay, taken to Angband and to Morgoth himself. Thus the passage in the first rewriting corresponding to lines 255–66 reads:

> to Angband and the iron halls
> where laboured Morgoth's hopeless thralls;
> and there with bonds on hand and foot
> to grievous torment he was put

In what follows the two versions are the same, except that in the first it is Morgoth, not Sauron: precisely the same lines are used of each. But at lines 306–11 the first version has:

> Then Gorlim wavered, and he drew
> half back; but Morgoth's daunting eyes
> there held him. To the Lord of Lies
> 'tis vain in lies the breath to spend:
> as he began, so he must end,
> and all must answer as he could

and at lines 318–21 Morgoth says:

> Thou fool! A phantom thou didst see
> that Sauron my servant made to snare
> thy lovesick wits. Naught else was there.
> Cold 'tis with Sauron's wraiths to wed!

547 The word *aghast* is marked with an X in C (because Beren was not aghast).

567–8 At first the passage in B (p. 167, lines 369–82) beginning *No more his hidden bowstring sings* was scarcely changed in the rewriting, but as first written C had (old lines 376–9):

> found him no more. The stars that burn
> about the North with silver fire
> that Varda wrought, the Burning Briar
> as Men it called in days long gone

Old lines 373–5 were then cut out and 376–9 rewritten:

> The stars that burn with silver fire
> about the North, the Burning Briar
> that Varda lit in ages gone

This was in turn changed to the text given, lines 567–8.

581 In one of the copies of D an X is placed against this line. I think this was probably very late and marks my father's changed ideas concerning the making of the Sun and Moon.

596 *Nan Elmoth*: in the preliminary draft the name of the wood was first *Glad-uial*, emended to *Glath-uial*; then *Gilam-moth*, emended to *Nan Elmoth*. It was here that the name *Nan Elmoth* emerged.

627 In one of the drafts of this passage the line is *from Waking Water far away*.

634 In one of the drafts of this passage *Tar-Melian* stands in the margin as an alternative.

Commentary on lines 1–660

A strictly chronological account of the evolution of the legends of the Elder Days would have to consider several other works before the revisions to the *Lay of Leithian* were reached. By treating the Lay revised and unrevised as an entity and not piecemeal I jump these stages, and names which had in fact emerged a good while before appear here for the first time in this 'History'. I do little more than list them:

65 *Menegroth*

89 *elanor* and *niphredil*. At line 125 is a reference to *the golden elanor*.

115 *Middle-earth*

149 ff. The names of the men of Barahir's band, beside Beren and Gorlim: *Dagnir*, *Ragnor*, *Radhruin*, *Dairuin*, *Gildor*, *Urthel*, *Arthad*, *Hathaldir*; *Belegund* and *Baragund*.

Belegund and Baragund are the sons of *Bregolas* (Barahir's brother); and Gorlim is the son of *Angrim* (199).

All these names appear in *The Silmarillion* (pp. 155, 162).

161 'the fen of reedy *Serech*.' Beren came on the Orcs at the well of *Rivil*, which 'rises from the fell / down into Serech's reeds to flow' (434–5).

162 Felagund is called *Inglor* (*Inglor Felagund* in the sub-title, p. 335).

182, 560 *Dorthonion*

186 *Elbereth*

196, etc. (*Tarn*) *Aeluin*

255, etc. *Sauron*

259, 347 *Gaurhoth*. Cf. *Tol-in-Gaurhoth* 'Isle of Werewolves' in *The Silmarillion*.

434 *Rivil*

494 *Hador*

512 *Dagmor*. Beren's sword is named nowhere else.

519 *Gorgol the Butcher*. He is named nowhere else.

520 *Ladros* (the lands to the north-east of Dorthonion that were granted by the Noldorin kings to the Men of the House of Bëor).

520 *Drûn*. This name is marked on the later of the 'Silmarillion' maps (that on which the published map was based) as north of Aeluin and west of Ladros, but is named in no other place.

574 *Gorgorath*. This has occurred in the prose outline for Canto X of the Lay, but in the form *Gorgoroth* (p. 272).

596, etc. *Nan Elmoth*. See note to line 596.

634 *Ar-Melian (Tar-Melian)*. The name is not found elsewhere with either prefix.

659 *Ezellohar* (the Green Mound of the Two Trees in Valinor).

In addition may be noted here *Dungorthin* (52), where the new version changes the old lines 49–50

> To North there lay the Land of Dread
> whence only evil pathways led

to

> To North there lay a land of dread,
> Dungorthin where all ways were dead

In the old version 'the Land of Dread' clearly meant, simply, 'the land of Morgoth'. Here Dungorthin is placed as it is in *The Silmarillion* (p. 121), between the Mountains of Terror and the northern bound of the Girdle of Melian; see p. 314.

In the revised Lay the story of Gorlim was greatly developed. In the old (see pp. 162–4, 169–70), Gorlim left his companions and went 'to meet / with hidden friend within a dale'; he found 'a homestead looming pale', and within it he saw a phantom of Eilinel. He left the house, in fear

of Morgoth's hunters and wolves, and returned to his companions; but after some days he deliberately sought out Morgoth's servants and offered to betray his fellows. He was taken to the halls of Morgoth – who does not say that the wraith was set to decoy Gorlim:

> a wraith of that which might have been,
> methinks, it is that thou hast seen!

(But in lines 241–2 it is said that 'men believed that Morgoth made/the fiendish phantom'.)

There is also a remarkable development in the revised Lay, in that 'the XII Bëorings' (one would expect XIII, including Barahir himself) of Dorthonion were the very men who saved King Felagund in the Battle of Sudden Flame:

> For these it was, the chosen men
> of Bëor's house, who in the fen
> of reedy Serech stood at bay
> about King Inglor in the day
> of his defeat . . . (159–63)

In *The Silmarillion* the story is that 'Morgoth pursued [Barahir] to the death, until at last there remained to him only twelve companions' (p. 162): there is no suggestion that these survivors were a picked band, already joined as companions in an earlier heroic deed.

Felagund (Inglor) is now said to have *returned* to Nargothrond (lines 166–7) after his rescue by Barahir and his men (see pp. 85–6).

★

From this point onwards substantial rewriting of the poem is restricted to a few sections.

Canto III continued

From the end of the rewritten opening of the poem (line 660 above) the D typescript continues as a copy of B to the end of the poem, but though it was certainly made under my father's supervision it is of very minor textual value in itself.

The passage in the original text (p. 173) lines 453 (*Thus Thingol sailed not on the seas*) to 470 was left unchanged; but for lines 471 (*In later days when Morgoth first*) to approximately 613 my father substituted 142 lines of new verse (omitting the long retrospective passage lines 563 ff. concerning Beren's journey over the Mountains of Terror), in which there is very little of the old Lay, and as the passage proceeds progressively less. There is no doubt that these lines are (relatively) very late: an apparently contemporaneous piece of rewriting in Canto X is

certainly post-1955 (see p. 360), and they may well be considerably later than that. There is a quantity of rough draft material in manuscript, but also a typescript made by my father of the first 103 lines, inserted into the D-text.

In later days, when Morgoth fled
from wrath and raised once more his head
and Iron Crown, his mighty seat
beneath the smoking mountain's feet
founded and fortified anew,
then slowly dread and darkness grew:
the Shadow of the North that all
the Folk of Earth would hold in thrall.
  The lords of Men to knee he brings,
the kingdoms of the Exiled Kings
assails with ever-mounting war:
in their last havens by the shore
they dwell, or strongholds walled with fear
defend upon his borders drear,
till each one falls. Yet reign there still
in Doriath beyond his will
the Grey King and immortal Queen.
No evil in their realm is seen;
no power their might can yet surpass:
there still is laughter and green grass,
there leaves are lit by the white sun,
and many marvels are begun.

  There went now in the Guarded Realm
beneath the beech, beneath the elm,
there lightfoot ran now on the green
the daughter of the king and queen:
of Arda's eldest children born
in beauty of their elven-morn
and only child ordained by birth
to walk in raiment of the Earth
from Those descended who began
before the world of Elf and Man.

  Beyond the bounds of Arda far
still shone the Legions, star on star,
memorials of their labour long,
achievement of Vision and of Song;

and when beneath their ancient light
on Earth below was cloudless night,
music in Doriath awoke,
and there beneath the branching oak,
or seated on the beech-leaves brown,
Daeron the dark with ferny crown
played on his pipes with elvish art
unbearable by mortal heart.
No other player has there been,
no other lips or fingers seen
so skilled, 'tis said in elven-lore,
save Maelor* son of Fëanor,
forgotten harper, singer doomed,
who young when Laurelin yet bloomed
to endless lamentation passed
and in the tombless sea was cast.†
But Daeron in his heart's delight
yet lived and played by starlit night,
until one summer-eve befell,
as still the elven harpers tell.
Then merrily his piping trilled;
the grass was soft, the wind was stilled,
the twilight lingered faint and cool
in shadow-shapes upon the pool‡
beneath the boughs of sleeping trees
standing silent. About their knees
a mist of hemlocks glimmered pale,
and ghostly moths on lace-wings frail
went to and fro. Beside the mere
quickening, rippling, rising clear
the piping called. Then forth she came,
as sheer and sudden as a flame
of peerless white the shadows cleaving,
her maiden-bower on white feet leaving;
and as when summer stars arise

*Both *Maglor* and *Maelor* appear in the draft manuscripts of this passage. The final typescript has *Maelor*, changed to *Maglor*, but not I think by my father.

†In *The Silmarillion* (p. 254) it is not said that Maglor ended his life in the sea: he cast the Silmaril into the sea, 'and thereafter he wandered ever upon the shores, singing in pain and regret beside the waves'.

‡There is no other reference to a 'pool' or 'mere' at the place in the woods where Beren came upon Lúthien.

radiant into darkened skies,
her living light on all was cast
in fleeting silver as she passed.
There now she stepped with elven pace,
bending and swaying in her grace,
as half-reluctant; then began
to dance, to dance: in mazes ran
bewildering, and a mist of white
was wreathed about her whirling flight.
Wind-ripples on the water flashed,
and trembling leaf and flower were plashed
with diamond-dews, as ever fleet
and fleeter went her wingéd feet.

Her long hair as a cloud was streaming
about her arms uplifted gleaming,
as slow above the trees the Moon
in glory of the plenilune
arose, and on the open glade
its light serene and clear was laid.
Then suddenly her feet were stilled,
and through the woven wood there thrilled,
half wordless, half in elven-tongue,
her voice upraised in blissful song
that once of nightingales she learned
and in her living joy had turned
to heart-enthralling loveliness,
unmarred, immortal, sorrowless.

Ir Ithil ammen Eruchín
menel-vîr síla díriel
si loth a galadh lasto dîn!
A Hîr Annûn gilthoniel,
le linnon im Tinúviel!

The typescript ends here, but the final manuscript draft continues:

O elven-fairest Lúthien
what wonder moved thy dances then?
That night what doom of Elvenesse
enchanted did thy voice possess?
Such marvel shall there no more be
on Earth or west beyond the Sea,

at dusk or dawn, by night or noon
or neath the mirror of the moon!
On Neldoreth was laid a spell;
the piping into silence fell,
for Daeron cast his flute away,
unheeded on the grass it lay,
in wonder bound as stone he stood
heart-broken in the listening wood.
And still she sang above the night,
as light returning into light
upsoaring from the world below
when suddenly there came a slow
dull tread of heavy feet on leaves,
and from the darkness on the eaves
of the bright glade a shape came out
with hands agrope, as if in doubt
or blind, and as it stumbling passed
under the moon a shadow cast
bended and darkling. Then from on high
as lark falls headlong from the sky
the song of Lúthien fell and ceased;
but Daeron from the spell released
awoke to fear, and cried in woe:
'Flee Lúthien, ah Lúthien go!
An evil walks the wood! Away!'
Then forth he fled in his dismay
ever calling her to follow him,
until far off his cry was dim
'Ah flee, ah flee now, Lúthien!'
But silent stood she in the glen
unmoved, who never fear had known,
as slender moonlit flower alone,
white and windless with upturned face
waiting

Here the manuscript comes to an end.

Canto IV

A small section of this Canto was partly rewritten at some late date. Lines 884ff. were changed to:

Then Thingol said: 'O Dairon wise,
with wary ears and watchful eyes,
who all that passes in this land
dost ever heed and understand,
what omen doth this silence bear?

This was written rapidly on the B-text and was primarily prompted, I think, by the wish to get rid of the word 'magic' at line 886, which is underlined and marked with an X on the D typescript. At the same time 'wild stallion' at 893 was changed to 'great stallion', and *Tavros* to *Tauros* at 891. A little further on, lines 902–19 were changed, also at this time:

beneath the trees of Ennorath.*
Would it were so! An age now hath
gone by since Nahar trod this earth
in days of our peace and ancient mirth,
ere rebel lords of Eldamar
pursuing Morgoth from afar
brought war and ruin to the North.
Doth Tauros to their aid come forth?
But if not he, who comes or what?'
And Dairon said: 'He cometh not!
No feet divine shall leave that shore
where the Outer Seas' last surges roar,
till many things be come to pass,
and many evils wrought. Alas!
the guest is here. The woods are still,
but wait not; for a marvel chill
them holds at the strange deeds they see,
though king sees not – yet queen, maybe,
can guess, and maiden doubtless knows
who ever now beside her goes.'

Lines 926–9 were rewritten:

But Dairon looked on Lúthien's face
and faltered, seeing his disgrace
in those clear eyes. He spoke no more,
and silent Thingol's anger bore.

But these rewritings were hasty, at the level of rough draft, and in no way comparable to what has preceded.

*_Ennorath_: 'Middle-earth'; cf. *The Lord of the Rings*, Appendix E (III.393, footnote 1).

Cantos V–IX

There is no later recasting in these Cantos save for four lines in Canto IX: the dying words of Felagund to Beren (2633ff.):

> I now must go to my long rest
> in Aman, there beyond the shore
> of Eldamar for ever more
> in memory to dwell.' Thus died the king,
> as still the elven harpers sing.

At this point my father wrote on one of the copies of the D-text: 'He should give ring back to Beren' (for the later history of the ring see *Unfinished Tales* p. 171 note 2, and *The Lord of the Rings* Appendix A, III. 322 note 1 and 338). But in fact it is nowhere said that Beren had returned the ring to Felagund.

Canto X

With the beginning of this Canto a substantial passage of new writing begins, at first written on the B-text, and then, with further change, in a typescript made by father, to all appearance at the same time as that given on pp. 352–5 (but in this case the new verse was retyped as part of the D-text).

> Songs have recalled, by harpers sung
> long years ago in elven tongue,
> how Lúthien and Beren strayed
> in Sirion's vale; and many a glade
> they filled with joy, and there their feet
> passed by lightly, and days were sweet.
> Though winter hunted through the wood,
> still flowers lingered where they stood.
> Tinúviel! Tinúviel!
> Still unafraid the birds now dwell
> and sing on boughs amid the snow
> where Lúthien and Beren go.
>
> From Sirion's Isle they passed away,
> but on the hill alone there lay
> a green grave, and a stone was set,
> and there there lie the white bones yet
> of Finrod fair, Finarfin's son,

unless that land be changed and gone,
or foundered in unfathomed seas,
while Finrod walks beneath the trees
in Eldamar* and comes no more
to the grey world of tears and war.

To Nargothrond no more he came
but thither swiftly ran the fame
of their dead king and his great deed,
how Lúthien the Isle had freed:
the Werewolf Lord was overthrown,
and broken were his towers of stone.
For many now came home at last
who long ago to shadow passed;
and like a shadow had returned
Huan the hound, though scant he earned
or praise or thanks of Celegorm.
There now arose a growing storm,
a clamour of many voices loud,
and folk whom Curufin had cowed
and their own king had help denied,
in shame and anger now they cried:
'Come! Slay these faithless lords untrue!
Why lurk they here? What will they do,
but bring Finarfin's kin to naught,
treacherous cuckoo-guests unsought?
Away with them!' But wise and slow
Orodreth spoke: 'Beware, lest woe
and wickedness to worse ye bring!
Finrod is fallen. I am king.
But even as he would speak, I now
command you. I will not allow
in Nargothrond the ancient curse
from evil unto evil worse
to work. With tears for Finrod weep
repentant! Swords for Morgoth keep!
No kindred blood shall here be shed.
Yet here shall neither rest nor bread
the brethren find who set at naught

*_Eldamar_: earlier reading _the Blessed Realm_. – With these lines cf. the revised version of Felagund's dying words in Canto IX (p. 357).

Finarfin's house. Let them be sought,
unharmed to stand before me! Go!
The courtesy of Finrod show!'

In scorn stood Celegorm, unbowed,
with glance of fire in anger proud
and menacing; but at his side
smiling and silent, wary-eyed,
was Curufin, with hand on haft
of his long knife. And then he laughed,
and 'Well?' said he. 'Why didst thou call
for us, Sir Steward? In thy hall
we are not wont to stand. Come, speak,
if aught of us thou hast to seek!'

Cold words Orodreth answered slow:
'Before the king ye stand. But know,
of you he seeks for naught. His will
ye come to hear, and to fulfil.
Be gone for ever, ere the day
shall fall into the sea! Your way
shall never lead you hither more,
nor any son of Fëanor;
of love no more shall there be bond
between your house and Nargothrond!'

'We will remember it,' they said,
and turned upon their heels, and sped,
saddled their horses, trussed their gear,
and went with hound and bow and spear,
alone; for none of all the folk
would follow them. No word they spoke,
but sounded horns, and rode away
like wind at end of stormy day.

The typescript made by my father ends here, but the revision written on the B-text continues (and was incorporated in the D typescript).

Towards Doriath the wanderers now
were drawing nigh. Though bare was bough,
and winter through the grasses grey
went hissing chill, and brief was day,
they sang beneath the frosty sky

above them lifted clear and high.
They came to Mindeb swift and bright
that from the northern mountains' height
to Neldoreth came leaping down
with noise among the boulders brown,
but into sudden silence fell,
passing beneath the guarding spell
that Melian on the borders laid
of Thingol's land. There now they stayed;
for silence sad on Beren fell.
Unheeded long, at last too well
he heard the warning of his heart:
alas, beloved, here we part.
'Alas, Tinúviel,' he said,
'this road no further can we tread
together, no more hand in hand
can journey in the Elven-land.'
'Why part we here? What dost thou say,
even at dawn of brighter day?'

From lines 2936 to 2965 no further changes were made (except *Elfinesse* to *Elvenesse* at 2962). In the preceding passage, Inglor Felagund son of Finrod has become Finrod Felagund son of Finarfin, which dates the revision to, at earliest, 1955, for the change had not been made in the first edition of *The Lord of the Rings*.

A further short stretch of rewriting begins at 2966, returning to the original text two lines later:

My word, alas! I now must keep,
and not the first of men must weep
for oath in pride and anger sworn.
Too brief the meeting, brief the morn,
too soon comes night when we must part!
All oaths are for breaking of the heart,
with shame denied, with anguish kept.
Ah! would that now unknown I slept
with Barahir beneath the stone,
and thou wert dancing still alone,
unmarred, immortal, sorrowless,
singing in joy of Elvenesse.'

'That may not be. For bonds there are
stronger than stone or iron bar,

more strong than proudly spoken oath.
Have I not plighted thee my troth?
Hath love no pride nor honour then?
Or dost thou deem then Lúthien
so frail of purpose, light of love?
By stars of Elbereth above!
If thou wilt here my hand forsake
and leave me lonely paths to take,
then Lúthien will not go home . . .

At the same time line 2974 was changed to

beyond all hope in love once more

and 2988 ff. to

In rage and haste
thus madly eastward they now raced,
to find the old and perilous path
between the dreadful Gorgorath
and Thingol's realm. That was their road
most swift to where their kin abode
far off, where Himring's watchful hill
o'er Aglon's gorge hung tall and still.

They saw the wanderers. With a shout
straight on them turned their steeds about . . .

Cantos XI–XIII

There is no rewriting in Cantos XI and XII, but a little towards the end of XIII. Lines 4092–5 were replaced by:

the Silmarils with living light
were kindled clear, and waxing bright
shone like the stars that in the North
above the reek of earth leap forth.

Lines 4150–9 were replaced by:

In claws of iron the gem was caught;
the knife them rent, as they were naught

but brittle nails on a dead hand.
Behold! the hope of Elvenland,
the fire of Fëanor, Light of Morn
before the sun and moon were born,
thus out of bondage came at last,
from iron to mortal hand it passed.
There Beren stood. The jewel he held,
and its pure radiance slowly welled
through flesh and bone, and turned to fire
with hue of living blood. Desire
then smote his heart their doom to dare,
and from the deeps of Hell to bear
all three immortal gems, and save
the elven-light from Morgoth's grave.
Again he stooped; with knife he strove;
through band and claw of iron it clove.
But round the Silmarils dark Fate
was woven: they were meshed in hate,
and not yet come was their doomed hour
when wrested from the fallen power
of Morgoth in a ruined world,
regained and lost, they should be hurled
in fiery gulf and groundless sea,
beyond recall while Time shall be.

Canto XIV

Lines 4185–90 were rewritten:

At last before them far away
they saw a glimmer, faint and grey
of ghostly light that shivering fell
down from the yawning gates of Hell.
Then hope awoke, and straightway died –
the doors were open, gates were wide;
but on the threshold terror walked.
{ The dreadful wolf awake there stalked }
{ The wolf awake there watchful stalked }
and in his eyes the red fire glowered;
there Carcharoth in menace towered,
a waiting death, a biding doom:

Lines 4208–11 were rewritten:

> and Beren in despair then strode
> past Lúthien to bar the road,
> unarmed, defenceless, to defend
> the elven-maid until the end.

★

Of the original Lay scarcely more than a sixth is represented in the rewriting, and the proportion of new verse to old is less than a quarter; so that Humphrey Carpenter's statement in *The Inklings*, p. 31, that 'Eventually, indeed, he came to rewrite the whole poem' must, alas, be corrected.

Note on the original submission of the *Lay of Leithian* and *The Silmarillion* in 1937

In the wake of the immediate success of *The Hobbit*, which was published on 21 September 1937, Stanley Unwin, the chairman of George Allen & Unwin, was naturally anxious that my father should produce a sequel or successor – about hobbits. The result of the first meeting between them, not long after the publication of the book, was that my father sent in various manuscripts, among them the *Lay of Leithian* (referred to in the correspondence of that time as the *Gest(e) of Beren and Lúthien*) and *The Silmarillion*.

Humphrey Carpenter says in his *Biography* (p. 183) that 'the manuscript [of *The Silmarillion*] – or rather, the bundle of manuscripts – had arrived in a somewhat disordered state, and the only clearly continuous section seemed to be the long poem "The Gest of Beren and Lúthien".' Rayner Unwin has told me that in the record kept by Allen & Unwin of incoming manuscripts the works delivered on 15 November 1937 were listed as:

1 Farmer Giles of Ham
2 Long Poem
3 Mr Bliss
4 The Gnomes Material
5 The Lost Road

Notes of my father's show that together with *The Silmarillion* 'proper' he sent at this time *Ainulindalë* (The Music of the Ainur), *Ambarkanta* (The Shape of the World), and *The Fall of the Númenoreans*. I think that this is why the fourth item in the record book was written down as 'The Gnomes Material'. It may be that the different manuscripts were not very clearly differentiated, while the title-pages of the different works would certainly seem obscure; and 'The Gnomes Material' was a convenient covering phrase.* But perhaps one may detect in it a note of helplessness as well, apparent also in the description of item 2 as a 'Long Poem'. – On the other hand, it should be mentioned that the text of *The Silmarillion* was at that time a fine, simple, and very legible manuscript.

*There is no question that *The Silmarillion* itself did go to Allen & Unwin at this time. My father made a note while it was gone about changes to be made to it when it came back to him, and he specifically acknowledged the return of it (*Letters* p. 27): 'I have received safely . . . the *Geste* (in verse) and the *Silmarillion* and related fragments.'

There is no evidence that *The Silmarillion* and the other Middle-earth prose works were submitted to the publishers' reader. In his report on the poem he referred only to 'a few pages' and 'some pages' in prose, and Stanley Unwin, when he returned the manuscripts on 15 December 1937, mentioned 'the pages of a prose version' which accompanied the poem. Humphrey Carpenter seems certainly right in his suggestion (*Biography* p. 184) that these pages were attached 'for the purpose of completing the story, for the poem itself was unfinished'; they were pages from the story of Beren and Lúthien as told in *The Silmarillion*. But it is also obvious from the reader's report that he saw nothing else of *The Silmarillion*. He headed his report: '*The Geste of Beren and Lúthien* (Retold in Verse by ?)', and began:

> I am rather at a loss to know what to do with this – it doesn't even seem to have an author! – or any indication of sources, etc. Publishers' readers are rightly supposed to be of moderate intelligence and reading; but I confess my reading has not extended to early Celtic Gestes, and I don't even know whether this is a famous Geste or not, or, for that matter, whether it is authentic. I presume it is, as the unspecified versifier has included some pages of a prose-version (which is far superior).

By the last sentence he meant, I think, that the *story*, as represented in what he took to be a close prose translation, was authentic 'Celtic Geste', and that 'the unspecified versifier' had proceeded to make a poem out of it.

However, he was a critic positive in his taste, and he contrasted the poem, greatly to its disadvantage, with 'the few pages of (presumably) prose transcript from the original'. In the poem, he said, 'the primitive strength is gone, the clear colours are gone' – a notable conclusion, even if the actual evolution of the Matter of Beren and Lúthien was thus turned onto its head.

It may seem odd that the reader who was given the poem should have had so little to go on; even odder, that he wrote with some enthusiasm about the fragment of prose narrative that accompanied it, yet never saw the work from which the fragment came, though that was the most important manuscript sent in by the author: he had indeed no reason to suspect its existence. But I would guess that my father had not made it sufficiently clear at the outset what the Middle-earth prose works were and how they related to each other, and that as a result 'the Gnomes Material' had been set aside as altogether too peculiar and difficult.

At the bottom of the reader's report Charles Furth of Allen & Unwin wrote: 'What do we do?'; and it was left to the tact of Stanley Unwin to devise a way. When he returned the manuscripts to my father he said:

> As you yourself surmised, it is going to be a difficult task to do anything with the *Geste of Beren and Lúthien* in verse form, but our

> reader is much impressed with the pages of a prose version that accompanied it

– and he quoted from the report *only* the approving (if misdirected) remarks which the reader had made about the *Silmarillion* fragment, and which Humphrey Carpenter quotes – 'It has something of that mad, bright-eyed beauty that perplexes all Anglo-Saxons in the face of Celtic art,' &c. But Stanley Unwin then went on to say:

> *The Silmarillion* contains plenty of wonderful material; in fact it is a mine to be explored in writing further books like *The Hobbit* rather than a book in itself.

These words effectively show in themselves that *The Silmarillion* had not been given to a reader and reported on. At that time it was an extremely coherent work, though unfinished in that version.* Beyond question, Stanley Unwin's object was to save my father's feelings, while (relying on the reader's report – which concerned the poem) rejecting the material submitted, and to persuade him to write a book that would continue the success of *The Hobbit*. But the result was that my father was entirely misled; for in his reply of 16 December 1937 (given in full in *Letters* pp. 26–7) – three days before he wrote saying that he had completed the first chapter, 'A Long-expected Party', of 'a new story about Hobbits' – he said:

> My chief joy comes from learning that the Silmarillion is not rejected with scorn . . . I do not mind about the verse-form [i.e. the verse-form of the tale of Beren and Lúthien, the *Lay of Leithian*] which in spite of certain virtuous passages has grave defects, for it is only for me the rough material.† But I shall certainly now hope one day to be able, or to be able to afford, to publish the Silmarillion!

He was quite obviously under the impression that *The Silmarillion* had been given to a reader and reported on (no doubt he saw no significance in Stanley Unwin's phrase '*the pages of* a prose version'); whereas so far as the existing evidence goes (and it seems sufficiently complete) this was not the case at all. He thought it had been read and rejected, whereas it had merely been rejected. The reader had certainly rejected the *Lay of Leithian*; he had not rejected *The Silmarillion*, of which he had only seen a few pages (not knowing what they were), and in any case enjoyed them – granting the difficulties that an Anglo-Saxon finds in appreciating Celtic art.

*There was not in fact a great deal more to be done in reworking the 1930 text: the new version extended (in some 40,000 words) to part way through Chapter XXI, *Of Túrin Turambar*.

†This may seem a rather surprising thing to say; but it is to be remembered that he had abandoned the poem six years before, and was at this time absorbed in the perfecting of the prose *Silmarillion*.

It is strange to reflect on what the outcome might conceivably have been if *The Silmarillion* actually had been read at that time, and if the reader had maintained the good opinion he formed from those few pages; for while there is no necessary reason to suppose even so that it would have been accepted for publication, it does not seem absolutely out of the question. And if it had been? My father wrote long after (in 1964, *Letters* p. 346):

> I then [after the publication of *The Hobbit*] offered them the legends of the Elder Days, but their readers turned that down. They wanted a sequel. But I wanted heroic legends and high romance. The result was *The Lord of the Rings*.

GLOSSARY OF OBSOLETE, ARCHAIC, AND RARE WORDS AND MEANINGS

In this list words occurring in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (H, and the second version H ii) and in the *Lay of Leithian* (L, and the continuous part of the later rewriting L ii) are referenced to the lines; words from other poems or passages are referenced to the pages on which they occur.

Both Lays, but especially *The Children of Húrin*, make use of some totally lost words (and lost meanings), but the list includes also a good many that remain well-known literary archaisms, and some words that are neither but are of very limited currency.

an if, H 63, 485
as as if, H 310, ii. 659
astonied astounded, H 578
bade H ii. 646. If *This Thingol she bade* means 'This she *offered* to Thingol' the word is used in two senses within the line: she *bade* (offered) him the helm, and *bade* (asked) him to receive her thanks'; but more probably the line means 'she asked him to receive it, and her thanks' (cf. H 301).
bale evil, woe, torment, H 56, ii. 81
balusters the pillars of a balustrade, p. 132
bated restrained, held in, H 1121
bent open place covered with grass, H 1032, 1517, 1539, ii. 500; L 1369, 2281
betid come to pass, L 2408
blent mingled, H 453, 583; L ii. 317
boots in **it boots not**, it is of no use, H 1871
bosmed (in **bare-bosmed**) bosomed, H 1198
brand blade, sword, H 1340, ii. 149
carping talk, chatter, H 477; **carped** H 506
casque helmet, H ii. 655
chaplet garland, L 753
chase hunting-grounds, L 3297
clomb old past tense of *climb*, H 1494; L 1382, 3872
corse corpse, H 1295, 1404; L 3620
cozening beguiling or defrauding, p. 305
croft enclosed plot of arable land, L 1968
dear precious, valuable, H 480
dolour suffering, L 2814
dolven (also in **dark(ly)-**, **deep-dolven**) delved, dug, H 2052; L 213, 1677, ii. 63

dreed endured, suffered, H 531

drouth (the same word in origin as *drought*) dryness, H 946, 972; **(plains of, fields of) drouth**, thirst, H 826; L 2047

eld old age, H ii. 595; **of eld**, of old, H 118, ii. 262

enfurled (in **mist-enfurled**) enveloped, swathed (in something twisted or folded), L 59, ii. 61. The word is not recorded with the prefix *en-*. Cf. **furled**, wrapped, L 1551, **unfurled**, opened out, L 404, 1591, 3986

enow enough, L 1304

error (probably) wandering, H ii. 495

fain gladly, H 130; L 823; glad, L ii. 368; **fain of** eager for, or well-pleased with, H 410, 458, ii. 786; **warfain** eager for war, H 386, 1664, ii. 137, **bloodfain** ii. 750; **I had fainer** I would like it better, H ii. 146

falchion (broad) sword, H 1217, ii. 63, 146

fallow golden brown, H 2106; pp. 128–9; **fallow-gold** p. 129; **fallow deer** L 86. (A distinct word from *fallow* of ground.)

fare journeying, H 2184

fast fixedly, unmovingly, H 1614 (or perhaps adjective qualifying *pondering*, deep, unbroken, cf. *fast asleep*); secure against attack, L 360

fell hide, L 2344, 3398, 3458, 3484, 3941, 4124, ii. 528

fey death-bound, L 3305; see **unfey**.

flittermouse bat, L 4074

fold land, H 765; **folds** H 533, 1632 probably the same, but perhaps 'windings'.

force waterfall, H 1595

forhungered starved, L 3076

forwandered worn out by wandering, H 190, 897, ii. 498; L 550, 2354

freshets small streams of fresh water, H 1597; L 1934

frith wood, woodland, H 1795; p. 132; L 896, 2264, ii. 124

frore frosty, H ii. 594; very cold, L 578, 1718

garth enclosed ground beside a house, garden, yard, H 149, ii. 313

ghyll deep rocky ravine, H 1498

glaive lance, or sword, H 322, 1210, ii. 680

glamoury magic, enchantment, pp. 122–3; L 2073

gloam twilight, p. 146

grasses plants, herbs, L 3122

guerdon recompense, H 658; L 222, 1064, 4139

haggard (of clothes) ragged, disordered, H 466; (of hills) wild, H 2120, L 3167; modern meaning H 1890, L 3720 (in transferred sense, **haggard hunger**, **haggard care** H 1437, L 564)

haled drew, pulled out, H ii. 551

hap fortune, lot, condition, H 340

hest command, H 86, 689

hie hasten, H 838
hight called, named, H 366, 863
hold fastness, stronghold, L 52, 1702, 2457; p. 134 (or perhaps 'grasp'); refuge, L 210
holt wood, copse, L 2342
inane empty, void, L 3533
keep central part of the stronghold, L 1677
lambent of flame, playing on a surface without burning, H 1217
lapped hemmed in, H 690; enfolded, H 709
lea grassland, H 35, 1797, ii. 66
leasows meadows, H 1797
leeches physicians, L 3055, 3144
let hinder, L 2019
levin lightning, H 1681
lief willing, L 3417; **liever** better, more delightful, H 78
like please, H 90, 286, 598, 1376, ii. 226, 626 (but 'like' H 616)
lind linden, lime-tree, p. 120
loath hateful to, L 3419; unwilling, L 3417
lode path, road, H 798
louted bent, bowed, H 1520
march borderland, H ii. 493; L 3672
marge margin, H 1555
mavis song-thrush, L ii. 74
meed reward, requital, H 81, 268, 701, 793, ii. 195, 231, 604
meet fitting, H 487
mete deal out (used in the construction *I shall mete thee a meed, his meed was meted*) H 81, 532, 701, 1092, ii. 195
mews seagulls, p. 129; **seamew** H 1551
neb beak, bill, L 255, 570, ii. 381, 409
nesh soft, tender, L 4220
opes opens, L 3740; **oped** H 550
or ever before ever, L 1821
or . . . or either . . . or, H 439–40; L 54, 2886; p. 359
outer utter, uttermost (?), L 2079
palfrey small saddle-horse, L 3379
parlous perilous, dangerous, L ii. 456
pled old past tense of *plead*, L 2983
plenilune full moon, p. 354
prate chatter, talk to no purpose, H 501
quick living, alive, H ii. 78
quod (quoth), said, H 88
quook old past tense of *quake*, L 3582
recked cared, H 619; L ii. 629; **unrecked** unheeded, disregarded, H 1799
redeless without resource, devoid of counsel, L 3427
rive cleave, H 1211; past tense **rove**, L 4149

roamed wandered, went (of a path or journey), H 1432; extended (?) (of regions), H 1577. (These usages appear to be unrecorded.)

rout company, troop, band, L 2997

rove see **rive**.

ruel-bone some kind of ivory, L 2261 (cf. J. R. R. Tolkien, *Sir Gawain, Pearl, and Sir Orfeo*, translation of *Pearl* stanza 18: *And her hue as rewel ivory wan*).

ruth pity, compassion, H 306, 1941, 1969, 2134, ii.654; L 116; remorse, H 509; sorrow, H 1661

shaws woods, thickets, H 647 (cf. the *Trollshaws* west of Rivendell).

sheer (of light) bright, L 689; (of water) clear and pure, L 1439

shoon old plural of *shoe*, L 490

shores supports, props, L 3880

sigaldry sorcery, L 2072 (cf. stanza 3 of the poem *Errantry*, in J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil*, 1962).

slade valley, dell, H 235, 1150, 2171, ii.561; **slades of death** H 685, 886

slot track, trail (of a hunted creature), H 745, 1314

slough mire, mud, H 881

sped availed (attained his purpose), H 41; prospered (transitive), H 247, (intransitive) ii.574; pressed, urged on, H 284; sent with haste, H 654

stared (probably) shone, L 3132, a meaning of the verb found in the mediaeval alliterative poems: cf. J. R. R. Tolkien, *Sir Gawain, Pearl, and Sir Orfeo*, translation of *Pearl* stanza 10: *stars stare in the welkin in winter night*, where the original has *staren* with this meaning.

strikes runs, flows, H 240, 520, ii.567

suage assuage, relieve, H 612

sued petitioned for, appealed for, H 857

swath 'the space covered by a sweep of the mower's scythe' (O.E.D.), H 33, ii.64; L 2106

swinking toiling, H 784

sylphine of the nature of a sylph (spirit inhabiting the air, see p. 306), L 4077. (This adjective to *sylph* is not recorded.)

tale count, amount, sum, H 159, 471, ii.326. Cf. **untold** uncounted, H ii.678, L 12, 2251

targe shield, H 131, 409, 2153, ii.284, 785

thewed in **mighty-thewed**, of great strength, with mighty sinews, H ii.714

thirled pierced, H 697

tilth cultivated land, H 1798

tors rocky hill-tops, H 2119

travail hardship (as endured on a journey, i.e. both *travail* and *travel*), H 143, ii.300

unfey not 'fey', not fated to die, H ii.752 (or possibly the meaning is

'not feeble, not timid', reversing another sense of *fey*). This word is apparently not recorded in English, but *ú-feigr* 'unfey' is found in Old Norse.

unkempt uncombed, H 490

unrecked see **recked**.

wading going, passing, H 1605

waiving refusing, rejecting, H ii. 154

wallet bag for provisions, H 228, ii. 551

wan dark, L 261, ii. 561

wanhope despair, H 188

web woven fabric, L 1471; used of ring-mail L 324, and of the 'weavings' of fate H ii. 13

weeds clothes, H 445

weft woven fabric, L 3061

weird fate, doom, H 160, ii. 119, 246, 327; L 2290, 3173

weregild the price to be paid in compensation for the killing of a man, varying according to his rank, L ii. 177

whin gorse, L ii. 195

wieldy (capable of easily wielding body or weapon), vigorous, agile, H 1765

wildered lost, H 188, 204, 1316, ii. 516; p. 146; bewildered, H 774; L 641 (see p. 323).

winding (1) of the motion of wind or water (without any necessary suggestion of twisting), H 769, 1857. (2) (of trumpet) blowing, H 1832

wist see **wot**.

wold forested hills or uplands (see p. 88), H 1816, 1992, 1994; L 1742

wolfham(e) wolfskin, L 3398; pp. 271–3, 283 (see p. 271).

woof woven fabric, L 4149

wot (present tense of verb *wit*), know, H 204, ii. 516; past tense **wist** knew, H 160, 200, 399, ii. 327; past participle **unwist** unknown, H 257

wrack (1) ruin, disaster, destruction, H 27, 629, 2036, ii. 120; p. 142. (2) seaweed, H 1569

wrights craftsmen, H 300, 1147, ii. 641, 671

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Aiglir Angrin The Iron Mountains. 49. (Replaced *Angorodin*, replaced by *Eiglir Engrin*.)

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Angorodin Early name of the Iron Mountains. 49

Angrim Father of Gorlim the Unhappy. 336, 349

Angrod Son of Finrod/Finarfin, slain in the Battle of Sudden Flame. 80, 85, 138, 213, 222

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Ard-galen The great grassy northern plain, called after its desolation *Anfauglith* and *Dor-na-Fauglith*. 284

Ar-Melian Melian. 347, 350. See *Tar-Melian*.

Arminas Noldorin Elf who with Gelmir brought the warning of Ulmo to Nargothrond. 92

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Balthronding The bow of Beleg. 117, 127; later form *Belthronding* 26, 127
Ban Father of Blodrin the traitor. 48–9, 52. See *Bor*.
Bansil The White Tree of Valinor (Silpion, Telperion). 5, 73, 81–2, 195, 219. (Replaced by *Belthil*.)
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Belthil The White Tree of Valinor (Silpion. Telperion). 5, 81–2, 192, 195, 210. (Replaced *Bansil*.)
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Dor-na-Fauglith Name given to the great northern plain (*Ard-galen*) after its desolation in the Battle of Sudden Flame. 39, 41, 48–9, 55, 58, 87, 271, 275; see 284, and see *Anfauglith*, *Blasted Plain*, *Daideloth*, *Dor-na-Maiglos*, *Land of Thirst*, *Plains of Drouth*, *Thirsty Plain*.

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Dor-tathrin Another name of Nan-Tathrin, the Land of Willows. 89

Dorthonion The great forested highlands afterwards called *Taur-na(nu)-Fuin*. 171, 335, 345, 350–1

Dor-Winion, Dorwinion A southern land from which wine was imported into the North. 11, 17, 22, 26, 112, 118, 127

Dragon-helm 13–14, 16, 26–7, 51, 114, 116–17, 126; *Helm of Hador* 27, *of Húrin* 114–15

Draugluin The great werewolf of the Wizard's Isle, slain by Huan. 205, 210, 252, 256, 258, 278, 282–3, 289–93; *Fearphantom Draugluin* 292

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Duilin Father of Flinding, in the *Tale of Turambar*; with patronymic prefix *go-* > *bo-Dhuilin* 'son of Duilin'. 53. (Replaced by *Fuilin*.)
Dungalef Riddling reversal of *Felagund* (replaced by *Hate*, 233). 229, 233–4
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elanor Plant with golden flowers that grew in Beleriand. 333–4, 349
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Eöl Father of Meglin (Maeglin). 52, 145–8

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Ered Gorgoroth The Mountains of Terror. 171, 183, 208, 234, 314; *Gorgoroth* 272–3, 350; *Gorgorath* 341 (described), 350, 361. See *Shadowy Mountains*.

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Finrod (1) Earlier name of Finarfin. 80, 85, 138, 191, 198, 213, 216, 218, 221–2, 247, 260, 360. (2) Later name of Inglor (Felagund). 93, 357–60
Finwë The first lord of the Noldoli (Noldor), father of Fëanor, Fingolfin, and Finrod(1)/Finarfin. 24, 137–8, 146–7, 221–2; *Finwë Nólemë* 21, 86, 140, 146–7. See *Fingolma*, *Finn*, *Finweg*(1), *Gelmir*.
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Gloomweaver The great Spider. 132. See *Ungoliant*.
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Hills of the Hunters The highlands west of the river Narog. 61, 88–9, 214, 222–3; *Hunters' Hills* 66, 88; *Wold of Hunters* 72, 89, *Hunters' Wold* 67, 88, 92; later names *High Faroth* 88–9, *Tauren-Faroth* 88. The Land of the Dead that Live in the Hills of the Hunters, 61, 89
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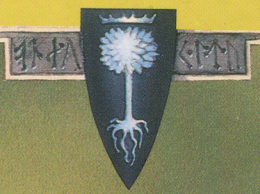

Cover illustration by John Howe

FICTION/FANTASY

ISBN 0-261-10226-5

UK £9.99
AUS $19.95*
CAN $18.95

*recommended price

9 780261 102262

unverb. Preisempfehlung
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THE SHAPING OF MIDDLE-EARTH

J.R.R. TOLKIEN

The writings of J. R. R. Tolkien included in this book have been given the title *The Shaping of Middle-earth* because in them is seen a great advance in the chronological and geographical structure of the legends of Middle-earth and Valinor. The hitherto wholly unknown *Ambar-kanta* or 'Shape of the World' is the only account ever given of the nature of the imagined Universe, and it is accompanied by diagrams and maps of the world before and after the cataclysms of the War of the Gods and the Downfall of Númenor. The first map of Beleriand, in the North-west of Middle-earth, is also reproduced and discussed. In the *Annals of Valinor* and the *Annals of Beleriand* the chronology of the First Age is given shape; and with these are given the fragments of the translations into Anglo-Saxon made by Ælfwine, the Englishman who voyaged into the True West and came to Tol Eressea, the Lonely Isle, where he learned the ancient history of Elves and Men. Also included are the original 'Silmarillion', written in 1926, from which all the later development proceeded, and the *Quenta Noldorinwa* of 1930, the only version of the myths and legends of the First Age that J. R. R. Tolkien completed to their end.

This is the fourth volume of *The History of Middle-earth*, edited by Christopher Tolkien, the first two comprising *The Book of Lost Tales* Parts I and II, and the third *The Lays of Beleriand.*

THE SHAPING OF MIDDLE-EARTH

THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE-EARTH

I
THE BOOK OF LOST TALES, PART ONE

II
THE BOOK OF LOST TALES, PART TWO

III
THE LAYS OF BELERIAND

IV
THE SHAPING OF MIDDLE-EARTH
THE QUENTA, THE AMBARKANTA AND
THE ANNALS

V
THE LOST ROAD
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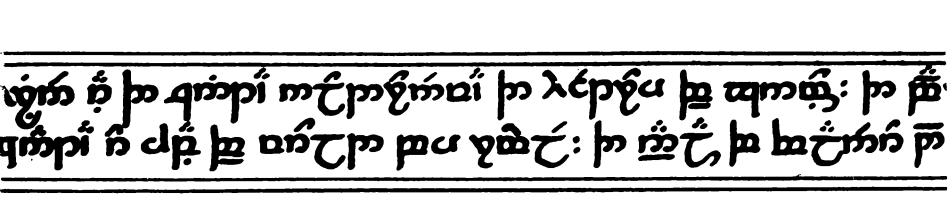

J. R. R. TOLKIEN

THE SHAPING OF MIDDLE-EARTH

THE QUENTA, THE AMBARKANTA AND THE ANNALS

together with
the earliest 'Silmarillion' and the first Map

Edited by Christopher Tolkien

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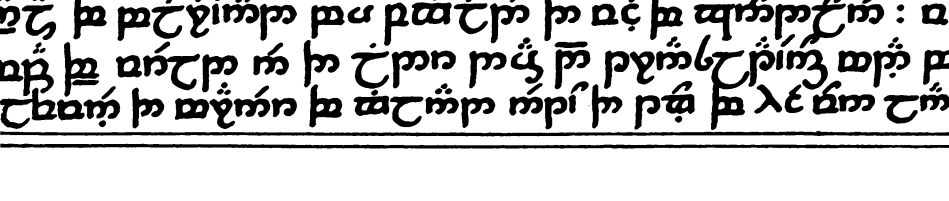

First published in Great Britain by the Trade Division of
Unwin Hyman Limited, 1986

First published in paperback by Unwin® Paperbacks, an imprint of
Unwin Hyman Limited, in 1988
Reprinted 1989

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Unwin Hyman Limited
15–17 Broadwick Street, London W1V 1FP

Allen & Unwin Australia Pty Ltd
8 Napier Street, North Sydney, NSW 2060, Australia

Allen & Unwin New Zealand Pty Ltd with the Port Nicholson Press
60 Cambridge Terrace, Wellington, New Zealand

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Tolkien, J. R. R. (John Ronald Revel), *1892–1973*
The Shaping of Middle-Earth: the Quenta, the Ambarkanta, and the annals: together with the earliest 'Silmarillion' and the first map. – (The history of Middle-Earth; 4).
I. Title II. Tolkien, Christopher III. Series
823'.912'[F]
ISBN 0–04–440150–7

Printed and bound in Great Britain
by Cox & Wyman Ltd, Reading

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PREFACE

This book brings the 'History of Middle-earth' to some time in the 1930s: the cosmographical work *Ambarkanta* and the earliest *Annals of Valinor* and *Annals of Beleriand*, while later than the *Quenta Noldorinwa* – the 'Silmarillion' version that was written, as I believe, in 1930 – cannot themselves be more precisely dated.

This is the stage at which my father had arrived when *The Hobbit* was written. Comparison of the *Quenta* with the published *Silmarillion* will show that the essential character of the work was now fully in being; in the shape and fall of sentences, even of whole passages, the one is constantly echoed in the other; and yet the published *Silmarillion* is between three and four times as long.

After the hasty 'Sketch of the Mythology' (chapter II in this book), the *Quenta Noldorinwa* was in fact the only complete version of 'The Silmarillion' that my father ever made. Towards the end of 1937 he interrupted work on a new version, *Quenta Silmarillion*, which extended to part way through the story of Túrin Turambar, and began *The Lord of the Rings* (see *The Lays of Beleriand* pp. 364–7). When after many years he returned to the First Age, the vast extension of the world that had now come into being meant that the *Quenta Silmarillion*, which had been stopped in full flight, could not be taken up from where it fell; and though he undertook exceedingly complex revisions and enlargements of the earlier parts during the following years, he never achieved again a complete and coherent structure. Especially in its concluding chapters the *Quenta Noldorinwa* is thus one of the primary elements in the study of the work as a whole.

In the *Annals of Valinor* and the *Annals of Beleriand* are seen the beginnings of the chronological structure which was to become a central preoccupation. The Annals would develop into a separate 'tradition', parallel to and overlapping but distinct from 'The Silmarillion' proper, and (after intervening versions) emerging in the years following the completion of *The Lord of the Rings* in two chief works of the Matter of Middle-earth, the *Annals of Aman* and the *Grey Annals of Beleriand* (see pp. 262, 294). With the *Quenta* and with these earliest versions of the *Annals* I give the brief texts in Anglo-Saxon feigned to have been made by Ælfwine (Eriol) from the works that he studied in Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle.

The commentaries are largely concerned to relate geography, names, events, relationships and motives to what preceded and what followed; inevitably this entails a great deal of reference back to the previous books, and the text of the commentaries is hardly enticing (though being in

smaller print they can be readily distinguished from the original works). My object is to try to show, and not merely impressionistically, how Middle-earth and its history was built up gradually and delicately, and how a long series of small shifts or combinations would often lead to the emergence of new and unforeseen structures – as for example in the story of Gwindor of Nargothrond (p. 180).

The arrangement of the texts of the 'Sketch of the Mythology' and the *Quenta*, split into numbered sections comparable from one text to the other, is explained on p. 11. The earlier volumes in the series are referred to as I (*The Book of Lost Tales Part I*), II (*The Book of Lost Tales Part II*), and III (*The Lays of Beleriand*).

The maps and diagrams in the book are reproduced with the permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and I thank the staff of the Department of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian for their assistance.

The fifth volume will contain my father's unfinished 'time-travel' story, *The Lost Road*, together with the earliest forms of the legend of Númenor, which were closely related to it; the *Lhammas* or Account of Tongues; the *Etymologies*; and all the writings concerned with the First Age up to the time when *The Lord of the Rings* was begun.

I

PROSE FRAGMENTS FOLLOWING THE LOST TALES

Before giving the 'Sketch of the Mythology', the earliest form of the prose 'Silmarillion', there are some brief prose texts that can be conveniently collected here.

(i)

Among loose papers there is an early piece, soon abandoned, entitled *Turlin and the Exiles of Gondolin*. It will be seen that it relates closely to the beginning of the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* (II.149) but at the same time contains much that is new. That it was the beginning of a later version of the tale is clear at once from the name *Mithrim*, for this only replaced *Asgon* by emendation in the final text of *The Fall of Gondolin* (II.202). This brief text reads as follows. At the first three occurrences of the name *Turlin* in the narrative (but not in the title) it was emended to *Turgon*; at the fourth and fifth *Turgon* was so written from the first. I give *Turgon* throughout.

'Then' said Ilfiniol son of Bronweg 'know that Ulmo Lord of Waters forgot never the sorrows of the Elfin kindreds beneath the power of Melko, but he might do little because of the anger of the other Gods who shut their hearts against the race of the Gnomes, and dwelt behind the veiled hills of Valinor heedless of the Outer World, so deep was their ruth and regret for the death of the Two Trees. Nor did any save Ulmo only dread the power of Melko that wrought ruin and sorrow over all the Earth; but Ulmo desired that Valinor should gather all its might to quench his evil ere it be too late, and him seemed that both purposes might perchance be achieved if messengers from the Gnomes should win to Valinor and plead for pardon and for pity upon the Earth; for the love of Palúrien and Oromë her son for those wide realms did but slumber still. Yet hard and evil was the road from the Outer Earth to Valinor, and the Gods themselves had meshed the ways with magic and veiled the encircling hills. Thus did Ulmo seek unceasingly to stir the Gnomes to send messengers unto Valinor, but Melko was cunning and very deep in wisdom, and unsleeping was

his wariness in all things that touched the Elfin kindreds, and their messengers overcame not the perils and temptations of that longest and most evil of all roads, and many that dared to set forth were lost for ever.

Now tells the tale how Ulmo despaired that any of the Elfin race should surpass the dangers of the way, and of the deepest and the latest design that he then fashioned, and of those things which came of it.

In those days the greater part of the kindreds of Men dwelt after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears in that land of the North that has many names, but which the Elves of Kôr have named Hisilómë which is the Twilit Mist, and the Gnomes, who of the Elf-kin know it best, Dor-Lómin the Land of Shadows. A people mighty in numbers were there, dwelling about the wide pale waters of Mithrim the great lake that lies in those regions, and other folk named them Tunglin or folk of the Harp, for their joy was in the wild music and minstrelsy of the fells and woodlands, but they knew not and sang not of the sea. Now this folk came into those places after the dread battle, being too late summoned thither from afar, and they bore no stain of treachery against the Elfin kin; but indeed many among them clung to such friendship with the hidden Gnomes of the mountains and Dark Elves as might be still for the sorrow and mistrust born of those ruinous deeds in the Vale of Niniach. Turgon was a man of that folk, son of Peleg, son of Indor, son of [Ear >] Fengel who was their chief and hearing the summons had marched out of the deeps of the East with all his folk. But Turgon dwelt not much with his kindred, and loved rather solitude and the friendship of the Elves whose tongues he knew, and he wandered alone about the long shores of Mithrim, now hunting in its woods, now making sudden music in the rocks upon his rugged harp of wood strung with the sinews of bears. But he sang not for the ears of Men, and many hearing the power of his rough songs came from afar to hearken to his harping; [?but] Turgon left his singing and departed to lonely places in the mountains.

Many strange things he learned there, broken tidings of far off things, and longing came upon him for deeper lore, but as yet his heart turned not from the long shores, and the pale waters of Mithrim in the mists. Yet was he not fated to dwell for ever in those places, for 'tis said that magic and destiny led him on a day to a cavernous opening in the rocks down which a hidden river flowed from Mithrim. And Turgon entered that cavern seeking to learn its secret, but having entered the waters of Mithrim drave

him forward into the heart of the rock and he might not win back into the light. This men have said was not without the will of Ulmo, at whose prompting may be the Gnomes had fashioned that deep and hidden way. Then came the Gnomes to Turgon and guided him along the dark passages amid the mountains until he came out once more into the light.

The text ends here (though manuscript pages written at the same time continue on another subject, see (ii) below).

Turlin must have been a passing shift from *Tuor* (cf. the form *Tûr* that appears in texts of *The Fall of Gondolin*, II. 148), and *Turgon* likewise; in the Tale *Turgon* is of course the name of the King of Gondolin. This curious passing transference of a primary name in the legends may be compared with the brief substitution of *Celegorm* for *Thingol* and *Maglor* for *Beren* in the *Lay of Leithian* (III. 159).

Particularly interesting is the account here of the origins of Tuor's people: they came out of the East to the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, but they came too late. This can hardly be wholly unconnected with the coming of the Easterlings before the battle in the later story. The genealogy of Tuor (Turlin, Turgon) is here 'son of Peleg son of Indor son of Fengel'. In *The Fall of Gondolin* he is 'son of Peleg son of Indor' (II. 160); in the fragment of the *Lay of the Fall of Gondolin* he is the son of Fengel, and in associated notes Tuor is himself called *Fengel* (III. 145). His people are here the *Tunglin*, the folk of the Harp, whereas in *The Fall of Gondolin* (*ibid.*) he belongs to 'the house of the Swan of the sons of the Men of the North'.

Also noteworthy is the opening of the present text where Ulmo's desires and devisings are described: his unceasing attempts to persuade the Gnomes to send messengers to Valinor, his isolation from the other Valar, his wish that the power of Valinor should go against Melko in time. There does not appear to be any other mention of Ulmo's attempting to arouse the Gnomes to send messages to Valinor; and though his isolation in his pity for the Gnomes in the Great Lands appears strongly at the beginning of the tale of *The Hiding of Valinor* (I. 209), there Manwë and Varda beside Ulmo were opposed to the withdrawal of Valinor from the fate of 'the world'.

Lastly, 'the Vale of Niniach' must be the site of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears; cf. 'the Vale (Valley) of Weeping Waters' in the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* (I. 239–40). *Niniach* never occurs again in this application, though the way by which Tuor went down to the sea came to be called *Cirith Ninniach*, the Rainbow Cleft.

(ii)

The manuscript *Turlin and the Exiles of Gondolin* continues (the paper and the handwriting are identical, and all were placed together)

with a further text of great interest, since it represents the first step towards the later story of the coming of the Noldor to Middle-earth since the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* (I. 237ff.). This was hastily pencilled and is in places difficult to make out.

Then Gelmir king of the Gnomes marshalled his unhappy folk and he said to them: 'We are come at last to the Great Lands and have set our feet upon the Earth, and not even Elf-wisdom may yet say what shall come of it; but the torment and the pain and the tears that we have borne in the way hither shall be sung in song and told in tale by all the folk of the Elfin race hereafter; yea and even among other children of Ior shall some remember it.'

Long time did the Gnome-folk dwell nigh those westward shores in the northern regions of the Earth; and their anguish was lessened. Some were there that fared far afield and gained knowledge of the lands about, and they sought ever to know whither Melko had fled, or where was hidden the gems and treasury of Valinor. [*Struck out*: Then did Gelmir marshal his hosts and three great armies had he, and Golfin his son was captain of the one, and Delin his son of a second, [Oleg >] Lúthien his son of the third, but Gelmir was lord and king.] Thereafter did all the folk move onward to the East and somewhat South, and all the armies of Golfin and of Delin moved ahead unhampered. Now the ice melted, and the snow [?thinned], and the trees grew deep upon the hills, and their hearts knew comfort, till their harps and elfin pipes awoke once more. Then did the rocks ring with the sweet music of the Elves, and countless [?coming] of their many feet; new flowers sprang behind those armies as they trod, for the earth was glad of the coming of the Gnomes, nor had the sun or the white moon yet seen fairer things in those places than their moving field of glinting spears and their goldwrought elfin armoury. But the women and the Gnome-maids and Gnome-children sang as they journeyed after, and no such clear song of hope have the lands heard since, yet was it sad and boding beside that singing that was heard upon [Kôr >] the hill of Tûn while the Two Trees blossomed still.

Of all those scouts and scattered hosts that went far ahead or upon either side of the marching Gnomes none were more eager or burnt with greater fire than Fëanor the gem-smith and his seven sons; but nothing did they discover yet, and came the Gnomes at length unto that magic northern land of which tales often speak, and by reason of its dark woods and grey mountains and its deep

mists the Gnomes named Dor Lómin land of shadows. There lies a lake, Mithrim whose mighty waters reflect a pale image of the encircling hills. Here did the Gnomes rest once more a great while, and Gelmir let build dwellings for the folk about the shores and shoreland woods, but there too he numbered and marshalled all his hosts both of spearmen, and bowmen, and of swordsmen, for no lack of arms did the Gnomes bring out of Valinor and the armouries of Makar to their war with Melko. And three great armies had Gelmir under his lordship, and Golfin his son was captain of one, and Delin his son of another, and Lúthien (not that Lúthien of the Roses who is of another and a later tale) of a third; and Golfin's might was in swordsmen, and Delin had more of those who bore the long . . . . elfin spears, but Lúthien's joy was in the number and . . . . . of his bowmen – and the bow has ever been the weapon wherein the Elf-kin has had the most wondrous skill. Now the colours of the Gnomes were gold and white in those ancient days in memory of the Two Trees, but Gelmir's standard bore upon a silver field a crown of gold, and each captain had a fair banner; and the sign of Golfin in those days was upon gold a silver sword, and of Delin a green beech leaf upon silver diapered with golden flowers, and of Lúthien a golden swallow that winged through an azure field as it were the sky set with silver stars, and the sons of Fëanor wrought that standard and those banners, and they shone by sunlight and by mist and by moonlight and by starless dark by the light of the Gnome-wrought gems that sewed them [*sic*].

Now it happened on a while that Fëanor got him beyond to the hills that girt Dor Lómin in those parts [northward of >] beyond Artanor where there were open empty lands and treeless hills, and he had no small company and three of his sons were with him. Thus came they on a day nigh evening to a hilltop, and afar off descried a red light leaping in a vale open on that side that looked toward [?them]. Then Fëanor wondered what this fire might be, and he and his folk marched in the still night swiftly thereto, so that ere dawn they looked down into that vale. There saw they an armed company no less than their own, and they sat around a mighty fire of wood. The most were asleep, but some few stirred, and Fëanor stood then up and called in his clear voice so that the dark vale rang: 'Who be ye; men of the Gnomes or other what – say swiftly for 'tis best for [you to] know the children of Fëanor compass you around.'

Then a great clamour broke forth in the vale and the folk of

Fëanor knew full soon that here were no elfin folk, by reason of their harsh voices and unlovely cries, and many arrows came winging in the dark towards that voice, but Fëanor was no longer there. Swiftly had he gone and drawn the most of his folk before the vale's mouth whence a stream issued forth tree-hung

Here the text ends abruptly and near the top of a new page; it is clear that no more was written.

The Noldorin house has still not emerged, but we have a king *Gelmir* of the Gnomes, with his sons *Golfin*, *Delin*, *Lúthien* (the last emended from *Oleg*), captains of his three armies. There is no suggestion that Fëanor and his sons were associated with these in any sort of close kinship. In the fragment of the *Lay of the Fall of Gondolin* (see III. 146–7) there appears – for the first time – *Fingolfin*, who steps into Finwë Nólemë's place as the father of Turgon and Isfin, but is not the son of Finwë, rather of *Gelmir*. I have suggested there that this Gelmir, father of Golfin/Fingolfin, is to be identified with Finwë, father of Fingolfin in the alliterative poems and later; and it may be that the name *Gelmir* is formally connected with *Fin-golma*, which in the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* is another name for Finwë Nólemë (I. 238–9, and see I. 263, entry *Nólemë*). It is to be remembered that Finwë Nóleme was not in the earliest legend the father of Fëanor and was not slain by Melko in Valinor, but came to the Great Lands. – Of the other sons of Gelmir named in the present text, Delin and Lúthien, there is no trace elsewhere.

It is certainly clear that *Golfin* here is the first appearance of Fingolfin, and by the same token that this text preceded the abandoned beginning of the *Lay of the Fall of Gondolin*. On the other hand, the obscure story of the death of Fëanor in the earliest outlines (I. 238–9) has disappeared, and though the present text breaks off too soon for certainty it seems extremely probable that, had my father continued it a little further, we should have learned of Fëanor's death in battle with the Orcs whom he and his companions had aroused in the valley where they were encamped. It may be, too, that we should have had an explanation of the puzzling lines of the Lay (III. 146):

> 'Twas the bent blades of the Glamhoth that drank Fingolfin's life as he stood alone by Fëanor.

We are in any case here still a long way from the story of the divided hosts and the treachery of Fëanor.

The encampment of Mithrim (Asgon) is referred to already in the early outlines, but in the later of these there is mention (I. 239) of the first devising of weapons by the Gnomes at this time, whereas in the present text they are said to have brought great store of arms 'out of Valinor and the armouries of Makar'. Here also appears the earliest form of the idea of the flowers springing beneath the marching feet of the Gnomish host.

A characteristic heraldry appears in the armies led by Gelmir's sons, all in gold and silver, in memory of the Two Trees – the banners made (curiously enough) by the sons of Fëanor. In the 'Sketch of the Mythology' the banners of Fingolfin were in blue and silver, as they remained (p. 22).

The name *Ior*, which occurs at the beginning of the text in the expression 'among other children of Ior' (as opposed to 'the Elfin race') and seems therefore to refer to Ilúvatar, occurs elsewhere only in a quite different reference: it is given in the early Gnomish dictionary as the equivalent of Qenya *Ivárë*, 'the famous "piper of the sea"'.

(iii)

Thirdly and lastly, an isolated slip of paper contains a most curious trace of a stage in development between *The Flight of the Noldoli* in the *Lost Tales* and the 'Sketch of the Mythology'.

The Trees stand dark. The Plain is full of trouble. The Gnomes gather by torchlight in Tûn or Côr; Fëanor laments Bruithwir (Felegron) [*emended to* (Feleor)] his father, bids Gnomes depart & seek Melko and their treasures – he longs for the Silmarils – Finweg & Fingolfin speak against him. The Gnomes shout and prepare to depart. The Solosimpi refuse: the wise words of Ethlon (Dimlint). Foamriders [?beaches]. The threats of Fëanor to march to Cú nan Eilch. The arch, the lamplit quays; they seize the boats. One Gilfanon sees his mighty swanwinged swan-feather boat with red oars [?going] & he & his sons run to the arch and threaten the Gnomes. The fight on the arch & Gilfanon's [?curse] ere they throw him into the waves. The Gnomes reach Fangros & repent – burn the boats.

Here Bruithwir (with the additional name Felegron > Feleor) is still the father of Fëanor as in the *Lost Tales*; but Fingolfin and Finweg have emerged, and speak against Fëanor (it is not clear whether Finweg here is Fingolfin's father (Finwë) or Fingolfin's son (later Fingon): see III. 137–8, 146). Narrative features that were never taken up in the later development of 'The Silmarillion' here make their only appearance. What lay behind 'the wise words of Ethlon (Dimlint)' and 'the threats of Fëanor to march to Cú nan Eilch' has now vanished without trace. The name *Fangros* appears once elsewhere, in the alliterative *Children of Húrin*, III. 31 line 631 (earlier *Fangair*), where there is a reference to a song, or songs, being sung

> of the fight at Fangros, and Fëanor's sons'
> oath unbreakable

(the fight and the oath need not be in any way connected). But whatever happened at Fangros is lost beyond recall; and nowhere later is there any suggestion that the burning of the ships arose from repentance. In the *Lost Tales* (I. 168) the Gnomes 'abandoned their stolen ships' when they made the passage of the Ice; Sorontur reported to Manwë (I. 177) that he had seen 'a fleet of white ships that drifted empty in the gales, and some were burning with bright fires'; and Manwë 'knew thereby that the Noldoli were gone for ever and their ships burned or abandoned'.

Lastly, *Gilfanon* appears as an Elf of Alqualondë, one of those hurled by the Gnomes into the sea, though it is not said that he was drowned. Gilfanon of Tavrobel was a Gnome (I. 174–5); and it seems virtually certain that the two Gilfanons were not the same. In that case it is most probable that the Elf of Tavrobel had ceased to be so named; though he had not, as I think, ceased to exist (see p. 274).

II
THE EARLIEST 'SILMARILLION'
(The 'Sketch of the Mythology')

I have earlier (III.3) given an account of this text, but I repeat the essentials of it here. On the envelope containing the manuscript my father wrote at some later time:

> Original 'Silmarillion'. Form orig[inally] composed c. 1926–30 for R. W. Reynolds to explain background of 'alliterative version' of Túrin & the Dragon: then in progress (unfinished) (begun c. 1918).

The 'Sketch' represents a new starting-point in the history of 'The Silmarillion'; for while it is a quite brief synopsis, the further written development of the prose form proceeded from it in a direct line. It is clear from details that need not be repeated here that it was originally written in 1926 (after the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* had been abandoned, III.3); but it was afterwards revised, in places very heavily, and this makes it a difficult text to present in a way that is both accurate and readily comprehensible. The method I have adopted is to give the text exactly as it was first written (apart from a very few slight alterations of expression in no way affecting the narrative, which are adopted silently into the text), but to break it up into short sections, following each with notes giving the later changes made in that section. I must emphasize that there is no manuscript warrant for the 19 divisions so made: it is purely a matter of convenience of presentation. This method has certain advantages: the later changes can be readily compared with the original text immediately preceding; and since the following version of 'The Silmarillion', the *Quenta*, has been treated in the same way and divided into corresponding numbered sections, passages of the one can be easily related to those in the other.

The later changes are referenced by numbers that begin with 1 in each section. The commentary follows at the end of the complete text, and is related to the numbered sections.

Sketch of the mythology with especial reference to the 'Children of Húrin'

1

After the despatch of the Nine Valar for the governance of the world Morgoth (Demon of Dark) rebels against the overlordship

of Manwë, overthrows the lamps set up to illumine the world, and floods the isle where the Valar (or Gods) dwelt. He fortifies a palace of dungeons in the North. The Valar remove to the uttermost West, bordered by the Outer Seas and the final Wall, and eastward by the towering Mountains of Valinor which the Gods built. In Valinor they gather all light and beautiful things, and build their mansions, gardens, and city, but Manwë and his wife Bridhil have halls upon the highest mountain (Timbrenting or Tindbrenting in English, Tengwethil in Gnomish, Taníquetil in Elfin) whence they can see across the world to the dark East. Ifan Belaurin[1] plants the Two Trees in the middle of the plain of Valinor outside the gates of the city of Valmar. They grow under her songs, and one has dark green leaves with shining silver beneath, and white blossoms like the cherry from which a dew of silver light falls; the other has golden-edged leaves of young green like the beech and yellow blossom like the hanging blossoms of laburnum which give out heat and blazing light. Each tree waxes for seven[2] hours to full glory and then wanes for seven; twice a day therefore comes a time of softer light when each tree is faint and their light is mingled.

★

1 *Yavanna Palúrien* added in the margin.

2 At both occurrences of *seven* in this sentence my father first wrote *six*, but changed it in the act of writing the manuscript.

2

The Outer Lands are in darkness. The growth of things was checked when Morgoth quenched the lamps. There are forests of darkness, of yew and fir and ivy. There Oromë sometimes hunts, but in the North Morgoth and his demonic broods (Balrogs) and the Orcs (Goblins, also called Glamhoth or people of hate) hold sway. Bridhil looks on the darkness and is moved, and taking all the hoarded light of Silpion (the white tree) she makes and strews the stars.

At the making of the stars the children of Earth awake – the Eldar (or Elves). They are found by Oromë dwelling by the star-lit pool (Cuiviénen, water of awakening) in the East. He rides home to Valinor filled with their beauty and tells the Valar, who are reminded of their duty to the Earth, since they came thither

knowing that their office was to govern it for the two races of Earth who should after come each in appointed time. There follows an expedition to the fortress of the North (Angband, Iron-hell), but this is now too strong for them to destroy. Morgoth is nonetheless taken captive, and consigned to the halls of Mandos who dwelt in the North of Valinor.

The Eldalië (people of the Elves) are invited to Valinor for fear of the evil things of Morgoth that still wandered in the dark. A great march is made by the Eldar from the East led by Oromë on his white horse. The Eldar are divided into three hosts, one under Ingwë (Ing) after called the Quendi (or Elves proper, or Light-elves), one under Finwë (Finn) after called the Noldoli (Gnomes or Deep-elves), one under Elwë (Elu) after called the Teleri (Sea-elves, or Solosimpi, the Shoreland Pipers or Foam-riders). Many of them are lost upon the march and wander in the woods of the world, becoming after the various hosts of Ilkorindi (Elves who never dwelt in Côr in Valinor). The chief of these was Thingol, who heard Melian and her nightingales singing and was enchanted and fell asleep for an age. Melian was one of the divine maidens of the Vala Lórien who sometimes wandered into the outer world. Melian and Thingol became Queen and King of woodland Elves in Doriath, living in a hall called the Thousand Caves.

3

The other Elves came to the ultimate shores of the West. In the North these in those days sloped westward in the North until only a narrow sea divided them from the land of the Gods, and this narrow sea was filled with grinding ice. But at the point to which the Elf-hosts came a wide dark sea stretched west.

There were two Valar of the Sea. Ulmo (Ylmir), the mightiest of all Valar next to Manwë, was lord of all waters, but dwelt often in Valinor, or in the 'Outer Seas'. Ossë and the lady Óin,[1] whose tresses lay through all the sea, loved rather the seas of the world that washed the shores beneath the Mountains of Valinor. Ylmir uprooted the half-sunk island where the Valar had first dwelt, and embarking on it the Noldoli and Qendi, who arrived first, bore them to Valinor. The Teleri dwelt some time by the shores of the sea awaiting him, and hence their love of it. While they were being also transported by Ylmir, Ossë in jealousy and out of love for their singing chained the island to the sea-bottom far out in the

Bay of Faërie whence the Mountains of Valinor could dimly be seen. No other land was near it, and it was called the Lonely Isle. There the Teleri dwelt a long age becoming different in tongue, and learning strange music of Ossë, who made the sea-birds for their delight.

The Gods gave a home in Valinor to the other Eldar. Because they longed even among the Tree-lit gardens of Valinor for a glimpse of the stars, a gap was made in the encircling mountains, and there in a deep valley a green hill, Côr, was built. This was lit from the West by the Trees, to the East it looked out onto the Bay of Faërie and the Lonely Isle, and beyond to the Shadowy Seas. Thus some of the blessed light of Valinor filtered into the Outer Lands, and falling on the Lonely Isle caused its western shores to grow green and fair.

On the top of Côr the city of the Elves was built and called Tûn. The Qendi became most beloved by Manwë and Bridhil, the Noldoli by Aulë (the Smith) and Mandos the wise. The Noldoli invented gems and made them in countless numbers, filling all Tûn with them, and all the halls of the Gods.[2]

The greatest in skill and magic of the Noldoli was Finn's second son Fëanor. (His elder son Fingolfin[3] whose son was Finnweg comes into the tale later.) He contrived three jewels (Silmarils) wherein a living fire combined in the light of the Two Trees was set, they shone of their own light, impure hands were burned by them.

The Teleri seeing afar the light of Valinor were torn between desire to rejoin their kindred and to dwell by the sea. Ylmir taught them craft of boat-building. Ossë yielding gave them swans, and harnessing many swans to their boats they sailed to Valinor, and dwelt there on the shores where they could see the light of the Trees, and go to Valmar if they wished, but could sail and dance in the waters touched to light by the radiance that came out past Côr. The other Eldar gave them many gems, especially opals and diamonds and other pale crystals which were strewn upon the beaches of the Bay of Faërie. They themselves invented pearls. Their chief town was Swanhaven upon the shores northward of the pass of Côr.

★

1 *Uinen* pencilled against *Óin*.

2 The following passage was afterwards added here:

Since the Gnomes or Noldoli afterwards came back into the Great Lands, and these tales deal mostly with them, it may here be said that Lord or King of the Noldoli was Finn. His sons were Fëanor, Fingolfin, and Finrod. Of whom Fëanor was the most skilful, the deepest in lore, Fingolfin the mightiest and most valiant, Finrod the fairest, and the most wisehearted and gentle. The seven sons of Fëanor were Maidros the tall; Maglor a musician and mighty singer whose voice carried far over hill and sea; Curufin the crafty who inherited most of his father's skill; Celegorm the fair; Cranthir the dark; and Damrod and Díriel who after were great hunters. The sons of Fingolfin were Finweg who was after the king of the Noldoli in the North of the world, and Turgon of Gondolin; and his daughter was Isfin the white. The sons of Finrod were Orodreth, Felagoth, Anrod, and Egnor.

In the last sentence *Felagoth* > *Felagund*, and *Orodreth* moved to stand after *Felagund*.

3 *Finn's second son Fëanor* and *His elder son Fingolfin* > *Finn's elder son Fëanor* and *His second son Fingolfin* (an early change, quite possibly made at the time of the writing of the manuscript).

4

The Gods were now beguiled by Morgoth, who having passed seven ages in the prisons of Mandos in gradually lightened pain came before the conclave of the Gods in due course. He looks with greed and malice upon the Eldar, who also sit there about the knees of the Gods, and lusts especially after the jewels. He dissembles his hatred and desire for revenge. He is allowed a humble dwelling in Valinor, and after a while goes freely about Valinor, only Ylmir foreboding ill, while Tulcas the strong who first captured him watches him. Morgoth helps the Eldar in many deeds, but slowly poisons their peace with lies.

He suggests that the Gods brought them to Valinor out of jealousy, for fear their marvellous skill, and magic, and beauty, should grow too strong for them outside in the world. The Qendi and Teleri are little moved, but the Noldoli, the wisest of the Elves, become affected. They begin at whiles to murmur against the Gods and their kindred; they are filled with vanity of their skill.[1]

Most of all does Morgoth fan the flames of the heart of Fëanor, but all the while he lusts for the immortal Silmarils, although Fëanor has cursed for ever anyone, God or Elf or mortal that shall come hereafter, who touches them. Morgoth lying tells Fëanor

that Fingolfin and his son Finnweg are plotting to usurp the leadership of the Gnomes from Fëanor and his sons, and to gain the Silmarils. A quarrel breaks out between the sons of Finn. Fëanor is summoned before the Gods, and the lies of Morgoth laid bare. Fëanor is banished from Tûn, and with him goes Finn who loves Fëanor best of his sons, and many of the Gnomes. They build a treasury Northward in Valinor in the hills near Mandos' halls. Fingolfin rules the Gnomes that are left in Tûn. Thus Morgoth's words seem justified and the bitterness he sowed goes on after his words are disproved.

Tulcas is sent to put Morgoth in chains once more, but he escapes through the pass of Côr into the dark region beneath the feet of Timbrenting called Arvalin, where the shadow is thickest in all the world. There he finds Ungoliant, Gloomweaver, who dwells in a cleft of the mountains, and sucks up light or shining things to spin them out again in webs of black and choking darkness, fog, and gloom. With her he plots revenge. Only a terrible reward will bring her to dare the dangers of Valinor or the sight of the Gods. She weaves a dense gloom about her to protect her and swings on cords from pinnacle to pinnacle till she has scaled the highest peak of the mountains in the south of Valinor (little guarded because of their height and their distance from the old fortress of Morgoth). She makes a ladder that Morgoth can scale. They creep into Valinor. Morgoth stabs the Trees and Ungoliant sucks up their juices, belching forth clouds of blackness. The Trees succumb slowly to the poisoned sword, and to the venomous lips of Ungoliant.

The Gods are dismayed by a twilight at midday, and vapours of black float in about the ways of the city. They are too late. The Trees die while they wail about them. But Tulcas and Oromë and many others hunt on horseback in the gathering gloom for Morgoth. Wherever Morgoth goes there the confusing darkness is greatest owing to the webs of Ungoliant. Gnomes from the treasury of Finn come in and report that Morgoth is assisted by a spider of darkness. They had seen them making for the North. Morgoth had stayed his flight at the Treasury, slain Finn and many of his men, and carried off the Silmarils and a vast hoard of the most splendid jewels of the Elves.

In the meanwhile Morgoth escapes by Ungoliant's aid northward and crosses the Grinding Ice. When he has regained the northern regions of the world Ungoliant summons him to pay the other half of her reward. The first half was the sap of the Trees of

Light. Now she claims one half of the jewels. Morgoth yields them up and she devours them. She is now become monstrous, but he will not give her any share in the Silmarils. She enmeshes him in a black web, but he is rescued by the Balrogs with whips of flame, and the hosts of the Orcs; and Ungoliant goes away into the uttermost South.

Morgoth returns to Angband, and his power and the numbers of his demons and Orcs becomes countless. He forges an iron crown and sets therein the Silmarils, though his hands are burned black by them, and he is never again free from the pain of the burning. The crown he never leaves off for a moment, and he never leaves the deep dungeons of his fortress, governing his vast armies from his deep throne.

★

1 Added here:

> which Morgoth flatters. The Gods knew also of the coming of mortals or Men that was to be. They had not yet told the Elves, for the time was not near, nor explained what was to be the realm of each race, and their relations. Morgoth tells of Men, and suggests that the Gods are keeping the Elves captive, so that weaker Men shall be controlled more easily by the Gods, and the Elves defrauded of their kingdoms.

This was an early addition, probably not materially later than the writing of the manuscript.

5

When it became clear that Morgoth had escaped the Gods assemble about the dead Trees and sit in the darkness stricken and dumb for a long while, caring about nothing. The day which Morgoth chose for his attack was a day of festival throughout Valinor. Upon this day it was the custom of the chief Valar and many of the Elves, especially the people of Ing (the Quendi), to climb the long winding paths in endless procession to Manwë's halls upon Timbrenting. All the Quendi and some of the Noldoli (who under Fingolfin dwelt still in Tûn) had gone to Timbrenting, and were singing upon its topmost height when the watchers from afar descried the fading of the Trees. Most of the Noldoli were in the plain, and the Teleri upon the shore. The fogs and darkness drift in now off the seas through the pass of Côr as the Trees

die. Fëanor summons the Gnomes to Tûn (rebelling against his banishment).[1]

There is a vast concourse on the square on the summit of Côr about the tower of Ing, lit by torches. Fëanor makes a violent speech, and though his wrath is for Morgoth his words are in part the fruit of Morgoth's lies.[2] He bids the Gnomes fly in the darkness while the Gods are wrapped in mourning, to seek freedom in the world and to seek out Morgoth, now Valinor is no more blissful than the earth outside.[3] Fingolfin and Finweg speak against him.[4] The assembled Gnomes vote for flight, and Fingolfin and Finweg yield; they will not desert their people, but they retain command over a half of the people of the Noldoli.[5]

The flight begins.[6] The Teleri will not join. The Gnomes cannot escape without boats, and do not dare to cross the Grinding Ice. They attempt to seize the swan-ships in Swanhaven, and a fight ensues (the first between the races of the Earth) in which many Teleri are slain, and their ships carried off. A curse is pronounced upon the Gnomes, that they shall after suffer often from treachery and the fear of treachery among their own kindred in punishment for the blood spilled at Swanhaven.[7] They sail North along the coast of Valinor. Mandos sends an emissary, who speaking from a high cliff hails them as they sail by, and warns them to return, and when they will not speaks the 'Prophecy of Mandos' concerning the fate of after days.[8]

The Gnomes come to the narrowing of the seas, and prepare to sail. While they are encamped upon the shore Fëanor and his sons and people sail off taking with them all the boats, and leave Fingolfin on the far shore treacherously, thus beginning the Curse of Swanhaven. They burn the boats as soon as they land in the East of the world, and Fingolfin's people see the light in the sky. The same light also tells the Orcs of the landing.

Fingolfin's people wander miserably. Some under Fingolfin return to Valinor[9] to seek the Gods' pardon. Finweg leads the main host North, and over the Grinding Ice. Many are lost.

★

1 As originally written, this sentence began *Finn and Fëanor summon* &c. This was a mere slip, since Finn's death has already been mentioned in the text as first written (§4), and my father later struck out *Finn and*. He left the plural verb *summon* and *their banishment*; this I have changed to *his banishment*, since it is not said of

the Gnomes who accompanied Fëanor that they left Tûn under banishment (though this is not said of Finn either). The *Quenta* has *his banishment* in this passage (p. 94).

2 Added here hastily in pencil:

He claims the lordship as eldest son now Finn is dead, in spite of the Gods' decree.

[Except for the later pencilled alteration given in note 5, all the changes noted below, mostly concerned to introduce the part of Finrod in the events, were made at the same time, in red ink. Finrod, the third son of Finn/Finwë, appears in the interpolated passage given in §3 note 2.]

3 Added here:

Fëanor and his sons take the unbreakable oath by Timbrenting and the names of Manwë and Briðil to pursue anyone, Elf, Mortal, or Orc, who holds the Silmarils.

4 Added here:

Finrod tries to calm their conflicting anger, but his sons Orodreth, Anrod, and Egnor side with the sons of Fëanor.

5 *a half of the people of the Noldoli* > *a half of the Noldoli of Tûn* (later pencilled change).

6 Added here but then struck out (see note 7):

Finrod does not go, but bids Felagoth (and his other sons) go and cherish the Gnomes of his [?house].

7 Added here:

Finrod is slain at Swanhaven in trying to stay the violence.

This was also struck out (see note 6) and a third version of Finrod's part entered:

Finrod and his sons were not at Swanhaven. They leave Tûn reluctantly, and more than the others carry away memories of it, and even many fair things made there by hands.

8 Added here:

and the curse of war against one another because of Swanhaven.

9 This passage, from *Fingolfin's people wander*, changed to read:

Finrod and his people arrive. The people of Finrod and Fingolfin wander miserably. Some under Finrod return to Valinor, &c.

6

In the meanwhile Manwë summons Ifan Belaurin to the council. Her magic will not avail to cure the Trees. But Silpion under her spells bears one last great silver bloom, and Laurelin one great golden fruit. The Gods fashion the Moon and Sun from these and set them to sail appointed courses from West to East, but afterwards they find it safer to send them in Ylmir's care through the caverns and grottoes beneath the Earth, to rise in the East and come home again high in the air over the mountains of the West, to sink after each journey into the waters of the Outer Seas.

The light of Valinor is henceforth not much greater than that now scattered over the Earth, save that here the ships of Sun and Moon come nearer to Earth, and rest for a while close to Valinor. The Gods and Elves look forward to a future time when the 'magic sun and moon' of the Trees may be rekindled and the old beauty and bliss renewed. Ylmir foretells[1] that it will only be achieved with the aid of the second race of earth. But the Gods, even Manwë, pay little heed to him. They are wroth and bitter because of the slaying at Swanhaven[2] and they fortify all Valinor making the mountains impenetrable, save at Côr which the remaining Elves are commanded to guard, ceaselessly and for ever, and let no bird or beast or Elf or Man land on the shores of Faëry. The magic isles, filled with enchantment, are strung across the confines of the Shadowy Seas, before the Lonely Isle is reached sailing West, to entrap any mariners and wind them in everlasting sleep and enchantment.[3] The Gods sit now behind the mountains and feast, and dismiss the rebel and fugitive Noldoli from their hearts. Ylmir alone remembers them, and gathers news of the outer world through all the lakes and rivers.

At the rising of the first Sun the younger children of earth awoke in the far East. No god came to guide them, but the messages of Ylmir little understood came at whiles to them. They meet Ilkorindi and learn speech and other things of them, and become great friends of the Eldalië. They spread through the earth, wandering West and North.

★

1 *Ylmir foretells* changed at the time of writing from *Bridhil foretells*

2 Added here (hastily in pencil):

and the flight and ingratitude of the Gnomes

3 Added here:

> Thus the many emissaries of the Gnomes in after days never reach Valinor.

7

Now begins the time of the great wars of the powers of the North (Morgoth and his hosts against Men, Ilkorins, and the Gnomes from Valinor). Morgoth's cunning and lies, and the curse of Swanhaven (as well as the oaths of the sons of Fëanor who swore the unbreakable oath by Timbrenting to treat all as foes who had the Silmarils in keeping) in these wars do the greatest injury to Men and Elves.

These stories only tell a part of the deeds of those days, especially such as relate to the Gnomes and the Silmarils, and the mortals who became entangled in their fates. In the early days Eldar and Men were of nearly equal stature and power of body, but the Eldar were blessed with greater wit, skill, and beauty; and those (the Gnomes) who had dwelt in Côr (Koreldar) as much surpassed the Ilkorins as they surpassed mortals. Only in the realm of Doriath, whose queen was of divine race, did the Ilkorins equal the Koreldar. The Elves were immortal, and free from all sickness.[1] But they might be slain with weapons in those days,[2] and then their spirits went back to the halls of Mandos and awaited a thousand years, or the pleasure of the Gods, before they were recalled to free life.[3] Men from the first though slightly bigger were more frail, more easily slain, subject to ills, and grew old and died, if not slain. What happened to their spirits was not known to the Eldalië. They did not go to the halls of Mandos, and many thought their fate was not in the hands of the Valar after death. Though many, associating with Eldar, believed that their spirits went to the western land, this was not true. Men were not born again.[4]

In after days when owing to the triumph of Morgoth Men and Elves became estranged the Eldalië living in the world faded, and Men usurped the sunlight. The Eldar wandered, such as remained in the Outer Lands, took to the moonlight and starlight, the woods and caves.

★

1 *free from all sickness* > *free from death by sickness* (early change, made at the same time as that given in note 4).

2 Added (rough pencilled insertion): *or waste away of sorrow*,

3 Added at the same time as the insertion given in note 2: *and they were reborn in their children, so that the number grows not.*

4 This passage, from *They did not go to the halls of Mandos*, was struck out and replaced by the following:

> They went to the halls of Mandos, but not the same as the halls of awaiting where the Elves were sent. There they too waited, but it was said that only Mandos knew whither they went after the time in his halls – they were never reborn on Earth, and none ever came back from Mandos, save only Beren son of Barahir, who thereafter spoke not to mortal Men. Their fate after death was perchance not in the hands of the Valar.

8

But in these days they were kindred and allies. Before the rising of the Sun and Moon Fëanor and his sons marched into the North and sought for Morgoth. A host of Orcs aroused by the burning ships resisted them and was defeated in the First Battle with such loss that Morgoth pretended to treat with them. Fëanor refused, but he was wounded in the fight by a Balrog chief (Gothmog), and died. Maidros the tall, the elder son, induced the Gnomes to meet Morgoth (with as little intent of faith on his side as on Morgoth's). Morgoth took Maidros captive and tortured him, and hung him from a rock by his right hand. The six remaining sons of Fëanor (Maglor, Celegorm, Curufin, Damrod, Díriel, and Cranthir) are encamped about the lake Mithrim in Hisilómë (Hithlum, or Dorlómin, the land of shadows in the North-west), when they hear of the march of Finweg and his men[1] who have crossed the Grinding Ice. The Sun rises as they march, their blue and silver banners are unfurled, flowers spring beneath the feet of their armies. The Orcs dismayed at the light retreat to Angband. But there is little love between the two hosts of Gnomes encamped now on opposite shores of Mithrim. Vast smokes and vapours are made and sent forth from Angband, and the smoking top of Thangorodrim (the highest of the Iron Mountains around Morgoth's fortress) can be seen from far away. The North shakes with the thunder under the earth. Morgoth is forging armouries. Finweg resolves to heal the feud. Alone he goes in search of Maidros. Aided by the vapours, which are now floating down and filling Hithlum, and by the withdrawal of Orcs and Balrogs to Angband, he finds him, but cannot release him.

Manwë, to whom birds bring news upon Timbrenting of all things which his farsighted eyes do not see upon earth, fashions the race of eagles, and sends them under their king Thorndor to dwell in the crags of the North and watch Morgoth. The eagles dwell out of reach of Orc and Balrog, and are great foes of Morgoth and his people. Finweg meets Thorndor who bears him to Maidros. There is no releasing the enchanted bond upon his wrist. In his agony he begs to be slain, but Finweg cuts off his hand, and they are both borne away by Thorndor, and come to Mithrim. The feud is healed by the deed of Finweg (except for the oath of the Silmarils).

★

1 *the march of Finweg and his men* > *the march of Fingolfin and his sons and his men and Felagoth and the sons of Finrod* (This change belongs with those made in red ink in §5 and concerns the shift from Fingolfin to Finrod as the Gnomish lord who returned to Valinor, see §5 note 9.)

9

The Gnomes march forward and beleaguer Angband. They meet Ilkorins and Men. At that time Men already dwelt in the woods of the North, and Ilkorins also. They long warred with Morgoth.[1] Of Ilkorin race was Barahir and his son Beren. Of mortal race was Húrin son of Gumlin, whose wife was Morwen;[2] they lived in the woods upon the borders of Hithlum. These come after into the tales.

Morgoth sends out his armies and breaks the leaguer of Angband, and from that time the fortunes of his enemies decline.[3] Gnomes and Ilkorins and Men are scattered, and Morgoth's emissaries go among them with lying promises and false suggestions of the greed and treachery of each to each. Because of the curse of Swanhaven these often are believed by the Gnomes.

Celegorm and Curufin found the realm of Nargothrond on the banks of the Narog in the south of the Northern lands.[4] Many Gnomes take service with Thingol and Melian of the Thousand Caves in Doriath. Because of the divine magic of Melian Doriath is the safest from the raids of the Orcs, and it is prophesied that only treachery from within will cause the realm to fall.

★

[This section was substantially interpolated and altered (all in red ink, see §5, except for the change given in note 2).]

1 Added here:

> This is the time of Morgoth's retreat, and the growth and prosperity of Men, a time of growth and birth and flowering known as the 'Siege of Angband'.

2 This passage, from *Of Ilkorin race*, was emended to read:

> In later times of mortal race was Barahir and his son Beren. Of mortal race also were Húrin and Huor sons of Gumlin. Húrin's wife was Morwen, &c.

3 Here was added *The men of Barahir rescue Celegorm*, but this was struck out and the following insertion made:

> In the Leaguer of Angband Fingolfin's host guards the North-west on borders of Hithlum; Felagoth [> Felagund] and the sons of Finrod the South and the [?plains] of Sirion (or Broseliand); the sons of Fëanor the East. Fingolfin is slain when Morgoth breaks the leaguer. Felagoth [> Felagund] is saved by Barahir the Bold a mortal and escapes south to found Nargothrond, swearing a vow of friendship to the race of Barahir. The sons of Fëanor live a wild and nomad life in the East, warring with Dwarves and Orcs and Men. Fingolfin's sons Finweg and Turgon still hold out in the North.

4 This sentence was changed to read:

> Felagoth [> Felagund] and his brothers found the realm of Nargothrond on the banks of Narog in the south of the Northern lands. They are aided by Celegorm and Curufin who long while dwelt in Nargothrond.

10

The power of Morgoth begins to spread once more. One by one he overthrows Men and Elves in the North. Of these a famous chieftain of Ilkorindi[1] was Barahir, who had been a friend of Celegorm of Nargothrond. Barahir is driven into hiding, his hiding betrayed, and Barahir slain; his son Beren after a life outlawed flees south, crosses the Shadowy Mountains, and after grievous hardships comes to Doriath. Of this and his other adventures are told in the Lay of Leithian. He gains the love of Tinúviel 'the nightingale' – his own name for Lúthien – the daughter of Thingol. To win her Thingol, in mockery, requires a Silmaril from the crown of Morgoth. Beren sets out to achieve this, is

captured, and set in dungeon in Angband, but conceals his real identity and is given as a slave to Thû the hunter.[2] Lúthien is imprisoned by Thingol, but escapes and goes in search of Beren. With the aid of Huan lord of dogs she rescues Beren, and gains entrance to Angband where Morgoth is enchanted and finally wrapped in slumber by her dancing. They get a Silmaril and escape, but are barred at gates of Angband by Carcaras the Wolf-ward. He bites off Beren's hand which holds the Silmaril, and goes mad with the anguish of its burning within him.

They escape and after many wanderings get back to Doriath. Carcaras ravening through the woods bursts into Doriath. There follows the Wolf-hunt of Doriath, in which Carcaras is slain, and Huan is killed in defence of Beren. Beren is however mortally wounded and dies in Lúthien's arms. Some songs say that Lúthien went even over the Grinding Ice, aided by the power of her divine mother, Melian, to Mandos' halls and won him back; others that Mandos hearing his tale released him. Certain it is that he alone of mortals came back from Mandos and dwelt with Lúthien and never spoke to Men again, living in the woods of Doriath and in the Hunters' Wold, west of Nargothrond.[3]

In the days of his outlawry Beren had been befriended by Húrin of Hithlum, son of Gumlin. In the woods of Hithlum Húrin still remains unbowed to the yoke of Morgoth.

★

1 *a famous chieftain of Ilkorindi* > *a famous chieftain of Men* (cf. §9 note 2).

2 This sentence, following *Beren sets out to achieve this*, was struck through and replaced by the following (in red ink):

> (Beren sets out to achieve this,) and seeks the aid of Felagoth in Nargothrond. Felagoth warns him of the oath of the sons of Fëanor, and that even if he gets the Silmaril they will not, if they can prevent it, allow him to take it to Thingol. But faithful to his own oath he gives him aid. The kingdom is given to Orodreth, and Felagoth and Beren march North. They are overcome in battle. Felagoth and Beren and a small band escape, and creeping back despoil the dead. Disguising themselves as Orcs they get as far as the house of the Lord of Wolves. There they are discovered, and placed in prison – and devoured one by one.
>
> Celegorm discovered what was the secret mission of Felagoth and Beren. He gathers his dogs and hunters and goes a-hunting. He finds the traces of battle. Then he finds Lúthien in the woods.

She flies but is overtaken by Huan the chief of Celegorm's dogs, who is sleepless, and she cannot enchant him. He bears her off. Celegorm offers redress.

From the second sentence *Felagoth warns him of the oath* . . . this entire passage was then struck through and *See tale of Lúthien* written across it; *Felagoth* in the surviving sentence at the beginning was changed to *Felagund*; and *They fall in the power of the Lord of Wolves (Thû)* was added.

3 Here was added, perhaps at the time of the writing of the manuscript:

(But Mandos in payment exacted that Lúthien should become mortal as Beren.)

11

Maidros forms now a league against Morgoth seeing that he will destroy them all, one by one, if they do not unite. The scattered Ilkorins and Men are gathered together. Curufin and Celegorm despatch a host (but not all they could gather, thus breaking their word) from Nargothrond. The Gnomes of Nargothrond refuse to be led by Finweg, and go in search of the hosts of Maidros and Maglor. Men march up from South and East and West and North. Thingol will not send from Doriath.[1] Some say out of selfish policy, others because of the wisdom of Melian and of fate which decreed that Doriath should become the only refuge of the Eldar from Morgoth afterwards. Part was certainly due to the Silmaril, which Thingol now possessed, and which Maidros had demanded with haughty words. The *Gnomes* of Doriath are allowed[2] nonetheless to join the league.

Finweg advances into the Plain of Thirst (Dor-na-Fauglith) before the Iron Mountains and defeats an Orc-army, which falls back. Pursuing he is overwhelmed by countless hordes suddenly loosed on him from the deeps of Angband, and there is fought the field of Unnumbered Tears, of which no elfin songs tell except in lamentation.

The mortal armies, whose leaders had mostly been corrupted or bribed by Morgoth, desert or flee away: all except Húrin's kin. From that day Men and Elves have been estranged, save the descendants of Húrin. Finweg falls, his blue and silver banner is destroyed. The Gnomes attempt to fall back towards the hills and Taur-na-Fuin (forest of night). Húrin holds the rearguard, and all his men are slain, so that not a single man escapes to bring news to

Hithlum. By Morgoth's orders Húrin, whose axe had slain a thousand Orcs, is taken alive. By Húrin alone was Turgon (Finweg's brother) son of Fingolfin enabled to cut his way back into the hills with a part of his people. The remainder of the Gnomes and Ilkorins would have been all slain or taken, but for the arrival of Maidros, Curufin and Celegorm – too late for the main battle.

They are beaten back and driven into the South-east, where they long time dwelt, and did not go back to Nargothrond. There Orodreth ruled over the remnant.[3] Morgoth is utterly triumphant. His armies range all the North, and press upon the borders of Doriath and Nargothrond. The slain of his enemies are piled into a great hill upon Dor-na-Fauglith, but there the grass comes and grows green where all else is desert, and no Orc dare tread upon that hill where the Gnomish swords rust.

Húrin is taken to Angband and defies Morgoth. He is chained in torment. Afterward Morgoth offers him a high captaincy in his forces, a wealth of jewels, and freedom, if he will lead an army against Turgon. None knew whither Turgon had departed save Húrin. Húrin refused and Morgoth devised a torture. He set him upon the highest peak of Thangorodrim and cursed him with never-sleeping sight like the Gods, and he cursed his seed with a fate of ill-hap, and bade Húrin watch the working of it.

★

1 This passage, from *Curufin and Celegorm despatch a host*, was altered by hastily made changes and additions:

> Curufin and Celegorm come from their wandering; but Orodreth because of Felagund his brother will not come: Thingol also sends but few of his folk. The Gnomes of Fëanor's sons refuse to be led by Finweg, and the battle is divided into two hosts, one under Maidros and Maglor, and one under Finweg and Turgon. Men march up from South and East and West and North. Thingol sends but few from Doriath.

2 Added here: *by Thingol*

3 This passage was changed to read:

> They are beaten back and driven into the South-east, where they long time dwelt. In Nargothrond Orodreth ruled still.

12

Morwen wife of Húrin was left alone in the woods. Her son Túrin was a young boy of seven, and she was with child. Only two old men Halog and Mailgond remained faithful to her. The men of Hithlum were slain, and Morgoth breaking his words had driven all men, who had not escaped (as few did) away South, into Hithlum. Now most of these were faithless men who had deserted the Eldar in the battle of Unnumbered Tears. Yet he penned them behind the Shadowy Mountains, nonetheless, and slew such as wandered forth, desiring to keep them from fellowship with Elves. But little love all the same did they show to Húrin's wife. Wherefore it came into her heart to send Túrin to Thingol, because of Beren Húrin's friend who had wedded Lúthien. The 'Children of Húrin' tells of his fate, and how Morgoth's curse pursued him, so that all he did turned out unhappily against his will.

He grew up in Thingol's court, but after a while as Morgoth's power grew no news from Hithlum came and he heard no more of Morwen or of his sister Nienor whom he had not seen. Taunted by Orgof, of the kin of King Thingol, he unwitting of his growing strength killed him at the king's table with a drinking horn. He fled the court thinking himself an outlaw, and took to war against all, Elves, Men, and Orcs, upon the borders of Doriath, gathering a wild band of hunted Men and Elves about him.

One day in his absence his men captured Beleg the bowman, who had befriended Túrin of old. Túrin released him, and is told how Thingol had forgiven his deed long ago. Beleg brings him to abandon his war against Elves, and to assuage his wrath upon the Orcs. The fame of the deeds upon the marches and the prowess of Beleg the Gnome and Túrin son of Húrin against the Orcs is brought to Thingol and to Morgoth. One only of Túrin's band, Blodrin Ban's son, hates the new life with little plunder and harder fighting. He betrays the secret place of Túrin to the Orcs. Their camp is surprised, Túrin is taken and dragged to Angband (for Morgoth has begun to fear he will escape his curse through his valour and the protection of Melian); Beleg is left for dead under a heap of slain. He is found by Thingol's men come to summon them to a feast at the Thousand Caves. Melian heals him, and he sets out to track the Orcs. Beleg is the most skilled in tracking of all who have lived, but the mazes of Taur-na-Fuin bewilder him. There in despair he sees the lamp of Flinding son of Fuilin, a

Gnome of Nargothrond who was captured by Orcs and had long been a thrall in the mines of Morgoth, but escaped.

Of Flinding he learns news of the Orc-band that captured Túrin. They hide and watch the host go by laden with spoil along the Orc-road through the heart of the forest, which the Orcs use when in need of haste. They dread the forest beyond the road as much as Elf or Man. Túrin is seen dragged along and whipped. The Orcs leave the forest and descend the slopes toward Dor-na-Fauglith, and encamp in a dale in sight of Thangorodrim. Beleg shoots the wolf-sentinels and steals with Flinding into the camp. With the greatest difficulty and direst peril they carry the senseless Túrin away and lay him in a dell of thick thorn-trees. In striking off his bonds Beleg pricks Túrin's foot; he is roused, and demented thinks the Orcs are tormenting him, he leaps on Beleg and kills him with his own sword. The covering of Flinding's lamp falls off and seeing Beleg's face he is turned to stone. The Orcs roused by his cries as he leaped upon Beleg discover his escape but are driven far and wide by a dreadful storm of thunder and deluge. In the morning Flinding sees them marching over the steaming waste of Dor-na-Fauglith. Beleg is buried with his bow in the dell.

Flinding leads the dazed unwitting Túrin towards safety. His wits return by Ivrin's lake where are the sources of Narog, and he weeps a great while, and makes a song for Beleg, the 'Bowman's Friendship', which afterwards became a battle-song of the enemies of Morgoth.

13

Flinding leads Túrin to Nargothrond. There Túrin gains the love and loves against his will Finduilas daughter of Orodreth, who had been betrothed before his captivity to Flinding. He fights against his love out of loyalty to Flinding, but Flinding seeing that Finduilas loves Túrin becomes embittered.

Túrin leads the Gnomes of Nargothrond to forsake their secrecy and hidden warfare, and fights the Orcs more openly.[1] He has Beleg's sword forged anew, into a black blade with shining edges, and he is from this given the name of 'Mormakil' or black-sword. The fame of Mormakil reaches even to Thingol. Túrin adopts the name instead of 'Túrin'. For a long while Túrin and the Gnomes of Narog are victorious and their realm reaches to the sources of Narog, and from the western sea to the confines of Doriath. There is a stay in the might of Morgoth.

Morwen and Nienor are able to journey to Thingol leaving their goods in the care of Brodda who had wedded a kinswoman of Morwen. They learn at Thingol's court of the loss of Túrin. News comes to them of the fall of Nargothrond. Morgoth had suddenly loosed a great army on them, and with them one of the first and mightiest[2] of those Dragons that bred in his deep places and for a long while troubled the Northern lands of Men and Elves.[3]

The host of Narog is overwhelmed. Flinding wounded refuses Túrin's succour and dies reproaching him. Túrin hastes back to Nargothrond but the Dragon and Orcs come thither before he can put it in defence, and all the fair halls beneath the earth are plundered, and all the women and maidens of Narog herded as slaves in captivity. Túrin seeks to slay the Dragon, but is held immovable by the spell of his eyes, while the Dragon Glórung[4] taunts him. Glórung then offers him freedom either to follow seeking to rescue his 'stolen love' Finduilas, or to do his duty and go to the rescue of his mother and sister who are living (as he lying says) in great misery in Hithlum. Túrin forsakes Finduilas against his heart (which if he had obeyed his uttermost fate would not have befallen him) and believing the serpent goes to seek Hithlum. Glórung lies in the caves of Narog and gathers beneath him all the gold and silver and gems there hoarded.

Túrin after long wandering goes to Hithlum. But Morwen and Nienor are in Thingol's court, when survivors tell of the fall of Nargothrond, and of Túrin, and some say Túrin escaped alive, and some say he was turned to stone by the eyes of the serpent and lived still in bondage in Nargothrond. Morwen and Nienor at last get Thingol to give them men to go against Glórung, or to spy out his lair at least.

Túrin slays Brodda in his hall, in his anger when he finds Morwen's hall and lands empty and despoiled. Repenting his deed he flies from Hithlum again, and seeks no more after his kin. Desiring to forget his past he takes the name of Turambar (Turmarth) 'Conqueror of Fate', and gathers a new people, 'Men of the Woods', east of Narog, whom he rules, and lives in peace.

The expedition of Thingol, with whom ride Morwen and Nienor, views Narog from a hill-top. The Elves ride down towards the lair,[5] but Glórung coming out lies into the stream and a huge hissing and great vapour goes up, so that their horses turn and fly. Morwen's horse and Nienor's are also panic-stricken and gallop wildly in the mist. When the mist clears Nienor finds herself face to face with the Dragon, whose eye holds her, and a

spell of darkness and utter forgetfulness comes upon her. She wanders witless in the woods. At last her senses return but she remembers little.[6] Orcs see her and chase her, but are driven off by a band of 'Woodmen' under Turambar, who lead her to their pleasant homes.

As they pass the falls of Silver Bowl a shivering touches her. She lives amid the woodfolk and is loved by Tamar the Lame, but at last weds Turambar, who calls her Níniel 'the Tearful' since he first found her weeping.

Glórung begins to raid across Narog, and Orcs gather to him. The woodmen slay many of them, and Glórung hearing of their dwelling comes crawling and filled with fire over Narog and through the woods against them. He leaves a blasted track behind him. Turambar ponders how the horror can be warded from his land. He marches with his men, and Níniel foreboding evil rides with him,[7] till they can see the burning track of Glórung, and the smoking place where he lies. Between them runs a stream in a deep-cloven ravine after falling over the high falls of Silver Bowl. Turambar asks for volunteers and obtains six only to lie in the ravine over which the Dragon must pass. The seven depart. They climb the far side of the ravine at evening and cling near its edge in the trees. The next morning all have slunk away and Turambar is alone.

Glórung creeps over. Turambar transfixes him with Gurtholfin[8] 'Wand of Death', his black sword. Glórung coils back in anguish and lies dying. Turambar comes forth to retrieve his sword, and places his foot upon Glórung and exults. But the venom of Glórung gushes out as he tugs out his sword, and he falls in a swoon. The watchers see that Glórung is slain, but Túrin does not return. Níniel goes in search of him and finds him lying beside Glórung. As she is tending him, Glórung opens his eyes and speaks, and tells her who Turambar is, and lifts his spell from off her. Then she knows who she is, and knows his tale true from things Turambar has told her. Filled with horror and anguish she flies and casts herself over Silver Bowl and none ever found her body again. Tamar followed her and heard her lament.

Túrin comes back in triumph. He asks for Níniel, but none dare tell him. Then Tamar comes and tells him. Túrin slays him, and taking Gurtholfin bids it slay him. The sword answers that his blood is sweet as any other's, and pierces him to the heart. Túrin is buried beside Silver Bowl, and his name carved in characters of Nargothrond upon a rock. Beneath is written Níniel.

Some say Morwen released from spell by Glórung's death came that way and read the stone.

★

1 Added here: *At his advice Narog is bridged* (cf. note 5).
2 *one of the first and mightiest* > *that first and mightiest*
3 Added here: *even Glómund, who was at the Battle of Tears* (see note 4).
4 *Glórung* > *Glómund* here and subsequently, except at the last occurrence.
5 *towards the lair* > *towards the bridge leading to the lair* (cf. note 1).
6 *she remembers little* > *she remembers not even her name.*
7 Added here: *though she is with child,*
8 *Gurtholfin* > *Gurtholfir* at both occurrences.

14

Húrin was released by Morgoth after the end of Túrin and Nienor, for Morgoth thought still to use him. He accused Thingol's faint heart and ungentleness of Túrin's unhappiness, and Húrin wandering bowed with grief pondered his words and was embittered by them.

Húrin and outlaws come to Nargothrond, whom none dare plunder for dread of the spirit of Glórung[1] or even of his memory. They slay Mîm the Dwarf who had taken possession and enchanted all the gold. Húrin casts the gold at Thingol's feet with reproaches. Thingol will not have it, and bears with Húrin, until goaded too far he bids him begone. Húrin wanders away and seeks Morwen, and many for ages after related that they met them together in the woods lamenting their children.

The enchanted gold lays its spell on Thingol. He summons the Dwarves of Nogrod and Belegost to come and fashion it into beautiful things, and to make a necklace of great wonder whereon the Silmaril shall hang. The Dwarves plot treachery, and Thingol bitter with the curse of the gold denies them their reward. After their smithying they are driven away without payment. The Dwarves come back; aided by treachery of some Gnomes who also were bitten by the lust of the gold, they surprise Thingol on a hunt, slay him, and surprise the Thousand Caves and plunder

them. Melian they cannot touch. She goes away to seek Beren and Lúthien.

The Dwarves are ambushed at a ford by Beren and the brown and green Elves of the wood, and their king slain, from whose neck Beren takes the 'Nauglafring'[2] or necklace of the Dwarves, with its Silmaril. It is said that Lúthien wearing that jewel is the most beautiful thing that eyes have ever seen outside Valinor. But Melian warned Beren of the curse of the gold and of the Silmaril. The rest of the gold is drowned in the river.

But the 'Nauglafring'[3] remains hoarded secretly in Beren's keeping. When Mandos let Beren return with Lúthien, it was only at the price that Lúthien should become as shortlived as Beren the mortal. Lúthien now fades, even as the Elves in later days faded as Men grew strong and took the goodness of earth (for the Elves needed the light of the Trees). At last she vanished, and Beren was lost, looking in vain for her, and his son Dior ruled after him. Dior re-established Doriath and grew proud, and wore the 'Nauglafring', and the fame of the Silmaril went abroad. After vain bargaining the sons of Fëanor made war on him (the second slaying of Elf by Elf) and destroyed him, and took the 'Nauglafring'. They quarrelled over it, owing to the curse of the gold, until only Maglor was left. But Elwing daughter of Dior was saved and carried away to the mouth of the river Sirion.[4]

★

1 The name *Glórung* is not here emended, as in §13, to *Glómund*, but a *d* is written over the *g*, sc. *Glórund* (the earliest form of the name of the Dragon).

2 At the first occurrence only of *Nauglafring*, *th* is pencilled above, i.e. *Nauglathring* or *Nauglathfring*.

3 Above Nauglafring here my father wrote *Dweorgmene* [Old English, 'Dwarf-necklace']; this was struck out, and *Glingna Nauglir* substituted.

4 The conclusion of this section was changed very soon after it was written, since in §17 already as first written the Nauglafring is with Elwing at the mouth of Sirion:

> After vain bargaining the sons of Fëanor made war on him (the second slaying of Elf by Elf) and destroyed him. But Elwing daughter of Dior, Beren's son, escaped, and was carried away by faithful servants to the mouth of the river Sirion. With her went the Nauglafring.

15

The great river Sirion flowed through the lands South-west; at its mouth was a great delta, and its lower course ran through wide green and fertile lands, little peopled save by birds and beasts because of the Orc-raids; but they were not inhabited by Orcs, who preferred the northern woods, and feared the power of Ylmir – for Sirion's mouth was in the Western Seas.

Turgon Fingolfin's son had a sister Isfin. She was lost in Taur-na-Fuin after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears. There she was trapped by the Dark Elf Eöl. Their son was Meglin. The people of Turgon escaping aided by the prowess of Húrin were lost from the knowledge of Morgoth, and indeed of all in the world save Ylmir. In a secret place in the hills their scouts climbing to the tops discovered a broad valley entirely encircled by the hills in rings ever lower as they came towards the centre. Amid this ring was a wide land without hills, except for one rocky hill that stuck up from the plain, not right at the centre, but nearest to that part of the outer wall which marched close to the edge of Sirion.[1]

Ylmir's messages come up Sirion bidding them take refuge in this valley, and teaching them spells of enchantment to place upon all the hills about, to keep off foes and spies. He foretells that their fortress shall stand longest of all the refuges of the Elves against Morgoth, and like Doriath never be overthrown – save by treachery from within. The spells are strongest near to Sirion, although here the encircling mountains are lowest. Here the Gnomes dig a mighty winding tunnel under the roots of the mountains, that issues at last in the Guarded Plain. Its outer entrance is guarded by the spells of Ylmir; its inner is watched unceasingly by the Gnomes. It is set there in case those within ever need to escape, and as a way of more rapid exit from the valley for scouts, wanderers, and messages, and also as an entrance for fugitives escaping from Morgoth.

Thorndor King of Eagles removes his eyries to the Northern heights of the encircling mountains and guards them against Orc-spies.[2] On the rocky hill, Amon Gwareth, the hill of watching, whose sides they polish to the smoothness of glass, and whose top they level, the great city of Gondolin with gates of steel is built. The plain all about is levelled as flat and smooth as a lawn of clipped grass to the feet of the hills, so that nothing can creep over it unawares. The people of Gondolin grows mighty, and their armouries are filled with weapons. But Turgon does not march to

the aid of Nargothrond, or Doriath, and after the slaying of Dior he has no more to do with the son of Fëanor (Maglor).[3] Finally he closes the vale to all fugitives, and forbids the folk of Gondolin to leave the valley. Gondolin is the only stronghold of the Elves left. Morgoth has not forgotten Turgon, but his search is in vain. Nargothrond is destroyed; Doriath desolate; Húrin's children dead; and only scattered and fugitive Elves, Gnomes and Ilkorins, left, except such as work in the smithies and mines in great numbers. His triumph is nearly complete.

★

1 Added here roughly in pencil: *The hill nearest to Angband was guarded by Fingolfin's cairn* (cf. note 2).

2 Added here at the same time as the addition given in note 1: *sitting upon Fingolfin's cairn*.

3 *the son of Fëanor (Maglor)* > *the sons of Fëanor* (this goes with the change at the end of §14, note 4).

16

Meglin son of Eöl and Isfin sister of Turgon was sent by his mother to Gondolin, and there received,[1] although half of Ilkorin blood, and treated as a prince.

Húrin of Hithlum had a brother Huor. The son of Huor was Tuor, younger than Túrin[2] son of Húrin. Rían, Huor's wife, sought her husband's body among the slain on the field of Unnumbered Tears, and died there. Her son remaining in Hithlum fell into the hands of the faithless men whom Morgoth drove into Hithlum after that battle, and he was made a thrall. Growing wild and rough he fled into the woods, and became an outlaw, and a solitary, living alone and communing with none save rarely with wandering and hidden Elves. On a time Ylmir contrived that he should be led to a subterranean river-course leading out of Mithrim into a chasmed river that flowed at last into the Western Sea. In this way his going was unmarked by Man, Orc, or spy, and unknown of Morgoth. After long wanderings down the western shores he came to the mouths of Sirion, and there fell in with the Gnome Bronweg, who had once been in Gondolin. They journey secretly up Sirion together. Tuor lingers long in the sweet land Nan Tathrin 'Valley of Willows'; but there Ylmir himself comes up the river to visit him, and tells him of his mission. He is to bid

Turgon prepare for battle against Morgoth; for Ylmir will turn the hearts of the Valar to forgive the Gnomes and send them succour. If Turgon will do this, the battle will be terrible, but the race of Orcs will perish and will not in after ages trouble Elves and Men. If not, the people of Gondolin are to prepare for flight to Sirion's mouth, where Ylmir will aid them to build a fleet and guide them back to Valinor. If Turgon does Ylmir's will Tuor is to abide a while in Gondolin and then go back to Hithlum with a force of Gnomes and draw Men once more into alliance with the Elves, for 'without Men the Elves shall not prevail against the Orcs and Balrogs'. This Ylmir does because he knows that ere seven[3] full years are passed the doom of Gondolin will come through Meglin.[4]

Tuor and Bronweg reach the secret way,[5] and come out upon the guarded plain. Taken captive by the watch they are led before Turgon. Turgon is grown old[6] and very mighty and proud, and Gondolin so fair and beautiful, and its people so proud of it and confident in its secret and impregnable strength, that the king and most of the people do not wish to trouble about the Gnomes and Elves without, or care for Men, nor do they long any more for Valinor. Meglin approving, the king rejects Tuor's message in spite of the words of Idril the far-sighted (also called Idril Silverfoot, because she loved to walk barefoot) his daughter, and the wiser of his counsellors. Tuor lives on in Gondolin, and becomes a great chieftain. After three years he weds Idril – Tuor and Beren alone of all mortals ever wedded Elves, and since Elwing daughter of Dior Beren's son wedded Eärendel son of Tuor and Idril of them alone has come the strain of Elfinesse into mortal blood.

Not long after this Meglin going far afield over the mountains is taken by Orcs, and purchases his life when taken to Angband by revealing Gondolin and its secrets. Morgoth promises him the lordship of Gondolin, and possession of Idril. Lust for Idril led him the easier to his treachery, and added to his hatred of Tuor.

Morgoth sends him back to Gondolin. Eärendel is born, having the beauty and light and wisdom of Elfinesse, the hardihood and strength of Men, and the longing for the sea which captured Tuor and held him for ever when Ylmir spoke to him in the Land of Willows.

At last Morgoth is ready, and the attack is made on Gondolin with dragons, Balrogs, and Orcs. After a dreadful fight about the walls the city is stormed, and Turgon perishes with many of the most noble in the last fight in the great square. Tuor rescues Idril

and Eärendel from Meglin, and hurls him from the battlements. He then leads the remnant of the people of Gondolin down a secret tunnel previously made by Idril's advice which comes out far in the North of the plain. Those who would not come with him but fled to the old way of escape are caught by the dragon sent by Morgoth to watch that exit.

In the fume of the burning Tuor leads his company into the mountains into the cold pass of Cristhorn (Eagles' Cleft). There they are ambushed, but saved by the valour of Glorfindel (chief of the house of the Golden Flower of Gondolin, who dies in a duel with a Balrog upon a pinnacle) and the intervention of Thorndor. The remnant reaches Sirion and journeys to the land at its mouth – the Waters of Sirion. Morgoth's triumph is now complete.

★

[All the changes in this section except that given in note 3 were late alterations made roughly and hastily.]

1 Added against this sentence: *last of the fugitives from without*
2 *younger than Túrin* > *cousin of Túrin*
3 *seven* early changed to *twelve*
4 Added here: *if they sit still in their halls*.
5 Added here: *which they find by the grace of Ylmir*
6 The word *old* circled for removal.

17

To Sirion's mouth Elwing daughter of Dior comes, and is received by the survivors of Gondolin.[1] These become a seafaring folk, building many boats and living far out on the delta, whither the Orcs dare not come.

Ylmir reproaches the Valar, and bids them rescue the remnants of the Noldoli and the Silmarils in which alone now lives the light of the old days of bliss when the Trees were shining.

The sons of the Valar led by Fionwë Tulcas' son lead forth a host, in which all the Qendi march, but remembering Swanhaven few of the Teleri go with them. Côr is deserted.

Tuor growing old[2] cannot forbear the call of the sea, and builds Eärámë and sails West with Idril and is heard of no more. Eärendel weds Elwing. The call of the sea is born also in him. He builds Wingelot and wishes to sail in search of his father. Ylmir bids him

to sail to Valinor.[3] Here follow the marvellous adventures of Wingelot in the seas and isles, and of how Eärendel slew Ungoliant in the South. He returned home and found the Waters of Sirion desolate. The sons of Fëanor learning of the dwelling of Elwing and the Nauglafring had come down on the people of Gondolin. In a battle all the sons of Fëanor save Maidros[4] were slain, but the last folk of Gondolin destroyed or forced to go away and join the people of Maidros.[5] Elwing cast the Nauglafring into the sea and leapt after it,[6] but was changed into a white sea-bird by Ylmir, and flew to seek Eärendel, seeking about all the shores of the world.

Their son (Elrond) who is half-mortal and half-elfin,[7] a child, was saved however by Maidros. When later the Elves return to the West, bound by his mortal half he elects to stay on earth. Through him the blood of Húrin[8] (his great-uncle) and of the Elves is yet among Men, and is seen yet in valour and in beauty and in poetry.

Eärendel learning of these things from Bronweg, who dwelt in a hut, a solitary, at the mouth of Sirion, is overcome with sorrow. With Bronweg he sets sail in Wingelot once more in search of Elwing and of Valinor.

He comes to the magic isles, and to the Lonely Isle, and at last to the Bay of Faërie. He climbs the hill of Côr, and walks in the deserted ways of Tûn, and his raiment becomes encrusted with the dust of diamonds and of jewels. He dares not go further into Valinor. He builds a tower on an isle in the northern seas, to which all the seabirds of the world repair. He sails by the aid of their wings even over the airs in search of Elwing, but is scorched by the Sun, and hunted from the sky by the Moon, and for a long while he wanders the sky as a fugitive star.[9]

★

[In this section again most of the changes (not those in notes 2 and 4) were hastily made in pencil.]

1 This sentence was changed to read:

> At Sirion's mouth Elwing daughter of Dior dwelt, and received the survivors of Gondolin.

2 *growing old* struck out.

3 *Ylmir bids him to sail to Valinor* struck out.

4 *Maidros* > *Maidros and Maglor*

5 Written in the margin: *Maglor sat and sang by the sea in repentance*.

6 My father first wrote *Elwing cast herself into the sea with the Nauglafring*, but changed it to *Elwing cast the Nauglafring into the sea and leapt after it* in the act of writing.

7 This sentence was changed to read:

> Their son (Elrond) who is part mortal and part elfin and part of the race of Valar,

8 *Húrin* struck out, and *Huor and of Beren* written above, together with some illegible words. One might expect *Through him the blood of Huor and of Beren his great-grandfathers*, but the illegible words do not seem to be these. (Húrin was in fact Elrond's great-great-uncle.)

9 The last sentence (*He sails by the aid of their wings . . .*) is an addition, but I think an addition made at the time of writing.

18

The march of Fionwë into the North is then told, and of the Terrible or Last Battle. The Balrogs are all destroyed, and the Orcs destroyed or scattered. Morgoth himself makes a last sally with all his dragons; but they are destroyed, all save two which escape, by the sons of the Valar, and Morgoth is overthrown and bound[1] and his iron crown is made into a collar for his neck. The two Silmarils are rescued. The Northern and Western parts of the world are rent and broken in the struggle.[2]

The Gods and Elves release Men from Hithlum, and march through the lands summoning the remnants of the Gnomes and Ilkorins to join them. All do so except the people of Maidros. Maidros aided by many men[3] prepares to perform his oath, though now at last weighed down by sorrow because of it. He sends to Fionwë reminding him of the oath and begging for the Silmarils. Fionwë replies that he has lost his right to them because of the evil deeds of Fëanor, and of the slaying of Dior, and of the plundering of Sirion. He must submit, and come back to Valinor; in Valinor only and at the judgement of the Gods shall they be handed over.

Maidros and Maglor[4] submit. The Elves set sail from Lúthien (Britain or England) for Valinor.[5] Thence they ever still from time [to time] set sail leaving the world ere they fade.

On the last march Maglor says to Maidros that there are two sons of Fëanor now left, and two Silmarils; one is his. He steals it, and flies, but it burns him so that he knows he no longer has a right to it. He wanders in pain over the earth, and casts himself into a pit.[6] One Silmaril is now in the sea, and one in the earth.[7]

The Gnomes and many of the Ilkorins and Teleri and Qendi repeople the Lonely Isle. Some go back to live upon the shores of Faëry and in Valinor, but Côr and Tûn remain desolate.

★

1 Added here: *by the chain Angainor*
2 Added here: *and the fashion of their lands altered* (late pencilled addition).
3 *aided by many men* struck out.
4 *and Maglor* circled in pencil.
5 This sentence was changed to read:

> The Elves march to the Western shore, and begin to set sail from Leithien (Britain or England) for Valinor.

6 *casts himself into a pit* > *casts it into a fiery pit*.
7 Added here: *Maglor sings now ever in sorrow by the sea*.

19

The judgement of the Gods takes place. The earth is to be for Men, and the Elves who do not set sail for the Lonely Isle or Valinor shall slowly fade and fail. For a while the last dragons and Orcs shall grieve the earth, but in the end all shall perish by the valour of Men.

Morgoth is thrust through the Door of Night into the outer dark beyond the Walls of the World, and a guard set for ever on that Door. The lies that he sowed in the hearts of Men and Elves do not die and cannot all be slain by the Gods, but live on and bring much evil even to this day. Some say also that secretly Morgoth or his black shadow and spirit in spite of the Valar creeps back over the Walls of the World in the North and East and visits the world, others that this is Thû his great chief who escaped the Last Battle and dwells still in dark places, and perverts Men to his dreadful worship. When the world is much older, and the Gods weary, Morgoth will come back through the Door, and the last battle of all will be fought. Fionwë will fight Morgoth on the plain of Valinor, and the spirit of Túrin shall be beside him; it shall be Túrin who with his black sword will slay Morgoth, and thus the children of Húrin shall be avenged.

In those days the Silmarils shall be recovered from sea and earth and air, and Maidros shall break them and Belaurin[1] with their fire rekindle the Two Trees, and the great light shall come forth again,

and the Mountains of Valinor shall be levelled so that it goes out over the world, and Gods and Elves and Men[2] shall grow young again, and all their dead awake.[3]

And thus it was that the last Silmaril came into the air. The Gods adjudged the last Silmaril to Eärendel – 'until many things shall come to pass' – because of the deeds of the sons of Fëanor. Maidros is sent to Eärendel and with the aid of the Silmaril Elwing is found and restored. Eärendel's boat is drawn over Valinor to the Outer Seas, and Eärendel launches it into the outer darkness high above Sun and Moon. There he sails with the Silmaril upon his brow and Elwing at his side, the brightest of all stars, keeping watch upon Morgoth.[4] So he shall sail until he sees the last battle gathering upon the plains of Valinor. Then he will descend.

And this is the last end of the tales of the days before the days, in the Northern regions of the Western World. These tales are some of those remembered and sung by the fading Elves, and most by the vanished Elves of the Lonely Isle. They have been told by Elves to Men of the race of Eärendel, and most to Eriol who alone of mortals of later days sailed to the Lonely Isle, and yet came back to Lúthien,[5] and remembered things he had heard in Cortirion, the town of the Elves in Tol Eressëa.

★

1 Against *Belaurin* was written *Palúrien* (cf. §1 note 1).
2 *and Men* struck out.
3 Added here:

> But of Men in that last Day the prophecy speaks not, save of Túrin only.

4 Added here: *and the Door of Night* (late pencilled addition).
5 *Lúthien* > *Leithien* (cf. §18 note 5).

Commentary on the *'Sketch of the Mythology'*

While the 'Sketch' is a good and clear manuscript, as it had to be (since it was to be read by R. W. Reynolds), it will be apparent that my father composed it extremely rapidly: I think it quite possible and even probable that he wrote it without consulting the earlier prose tales.

Very great advances have been made towards the form of the story as it appears in the published work; but there is no trace of a prose narrative

even in fragmentary or note form that bridges the gap between the *Lost Tales* and this synopsis in the 'Valinórean' part of the mythology (i.e. to the flight of the Noldoli and the making of the Sun and Moon). This is not to say, of course, that none such ever existed, though the fact that my father did undoubtedly preserve a very high proportion of all that he ever wrote leads me to doubt it. I think it far more likely that while working on other things (during his time at Leeds) he had developed his ideas, especially on the 'Valinórean' part, without setting them to paper; and since the prose *Tales* had been set aside a good many years before, it may be that certain narrative shifts found in the 'Sketch' were less fully intended, less conscious, than such shifts in the later development of 'The Silmarillion', where he always worked on the basis of existing writings.

It is in any case often extremely difficult, or impossible, to judge whether features in the *Tales* that are not present in the 'Sketch' were omitted simply for the sake of compression, or whether they had been definitively abandoned. Thus while Eriol – not Ælfwine, see II. 300 – is mentioned at the end, and his coming to Kortirion in Tol Eressëa, there is no trace of the Cottage of Lost Play: the entire narrative framework of the *Lost Tales* has disappeared. But this does not by any means demonstrate that my father had actually rejected it at this time.

The Commentary that follows is divided according to the 19 sections into which I have divided the narrative.

The 'Sketch of the Mythology' is referred to throughout the rest of this book by the abbreviation 'S'.

1

S (the 'Sketch'), which makes no reference to the Creation and the Music of the Ainur, begins with the coming of the Nine Valar 'for the governance of the world': the Nine Valar have been referred to in the alliterative poem *The Flight of the Noldoli* (see III. 133, 137). There now appears the isle (later called Almaren) on which the Gods dwelt after the making of the Lamps, the origin of which is probably to be seen in the tale of *The Coming of the Valar* I. 69–70, where it is said that when the Lamps fell the Valar were gathered on the Twilit Isles, and that 'that island whereon stood the Valar' was dragged westward by Ossë. It might seem that the story of Melko's making the pillars of the Lamps out of ice that melted had been abandoned, but it reappears again later, in the *Ambarkanta* (p. 238).

The use of the word 'plant' of the Two Trees is curious, and might be dismissed simply as a hasty expression if it did not appear in the following version of 'The Silmarillion', the *Quenta* (p. 80). In the old tale, as in the published work, the Trees rose from the ground under the chanted

spells of Yavanna. The silver undersides of the leaves of the White Tree now appear, and its flowers are likened to those of a cherry: *Silpion* is translated 'Cherry-moon' in the Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin* (II.215). The mention of the White Tree first may imply that it had now become the Elder Tree, as it is explicitly in the *Quenta*.

As S was first written the Trees had periods of twelve hours, as in the *Lost Tales* (see I.88 and footnote), but with emendation from 'six' to 'seven' (allowing for the time of 'mingled light') the period becomes fourteen hours. This was a movement towards the formulation in *The Silmarillion* (p. 38), where each Tree 'waxed to full and waned again to naught' in seven hours; but in *The Silmarillion* 'each day of the Valar in Aman contained twelve hours', whereas in S each day was double that length.

The Gnomish name of Varda, *Bridhil*, occurs in the alliterative *Flight of the Noldoli* (changed to *Bredhil*), the *Lay of Leithian*, and the early Gnomish dictionary (I.273, entry *Varda*). On *Timbrenting*, *Tindbrenting* see III.127, 139; *Tengwethil* (varying with *Taingwethil*) is found in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*. For *Ifan Belaurin* see I.273, entry *Yavanna*; in the Gnomish dictionary the Gnomish form is *Ifon*, *Ivon*.

2

The description in S of the 'Outer Lands' (now used of the Great Lands, see III.224), where growth was checked at the downfall of the Lamps, but where there are forests of dark trees in which Oromë goes hunting at times, moves the narrative at this point in one step to its structure in *The Silmarillion*; of the very different account in the *Lost Tales* I noticed in my commentary on *The Chaining of Melko* (I.111): 'In this earliest narrative there is no mention of the beginning of growth during the time when the Lamps shone, and the first trees and low plants appeared under Yavanna's spells in the twilight after their overthrow.'

Whereas in the *Lost Tales* the star-making of Varda took place after the awakening of the Elves (I.113), here they awake 'at the making of the stars'.

In commenting on the *Lost Tales* I noticed (I.111, 131) that the Gods sought out Melko on account of his renewed cosmic violence, before the awakening of the Elves and without respect to them in any way; and that the release of Melko from Mandos took place before the coming of the Eldar to Valinor, so that he played a part in the debate concerning their summons. In S the later story (that the discovery of the Elves led directly to the assault of the Valar on the fortress of Morgoth) is already present, and moreover a motive is ascribed to the intervention of the Valar that is not found in *The Silmarillion*: they are 'reminded of their duty to the Earth, since they came thither knowing that their office was to govern it

for the two races of Earth who should after come each in appointed time'. It seems clear also that the old story of the coming of the Elves being known to Manwë independently of their discovery by Oromë (see I. 131) had been abandoned.

In the *Lost Tales* Melko's first fortress was Utumna, and though it was not wholly destroyed to its foundations (I. 104) after his escape back into the Great Lands he was 'busy making himself new dwellings', as Sorontur told Manwë, for 'never more will Utumna open unto him' (I. 176). This second fortress was Angband (Angamandi). In S, on the other hand, the first fortress is Angband, and after his escape Morgoth is able to return to it (§4), for it was too strong for the Gods to destroy (§2). The name Utumna (Utumno) has thus disappeared.

In the passage describing the three hosts of the Elves on the great march from Cuiviénen (which occurs, by emendation, in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, III. 18, 23) there appears the later use of *Teleri* for the third kindred (who however still retain the old name *Solosimpi*, the Shoreland Pipers), while the first kindred (the *Teleri* of the *Lost Tales*) now acquire the name *Quendi* (subsequently spelt in S both *Quendi* and *Qendi*). Thus:

Lost Tales	*'Sketch'*	*The Silmarillion*
Teleri	Q(u)endi	Vanyar
Noldoli	Noldoli	Noldor
Solosimpi	Teleri, Solosimpi	Teleri

The formulation at the time of the *Lost Tales* (see I. 235) was that *Qendi* was the original name of all the Elves, and *Eldar* the name given by the Gods and adopted by the Elves of Valinor; those who remained in the Great Lands (Ilkorins) preserved the old name, *Qendi*. There also appear now the terms 'Light-elves', 'Deep-elves', and 'Sea-elves' (as in *The Hobbit*, chapter 8); the meaning of 'the Elves proper', applied to the first kindred, is clear from the *Quenta* (p. 85): 'the Quendi . . . who sometimes are alone called Elves.'

Inwë of the *Lost Tales* now becomes *Ingwë*, with the Gnomish equivalent *Ing* which appears in the alliterative poems, as does Gnomish *Finn* (in *The Flight of the Noldoli*). *Elwë (Elu)* is in the rôle of the later Olwë, leader of the third kindred after the loss of Thingol. In the *Tale of Tinúviel* Tinwelint (Thingol) was indeed originally called *Tinto Ellu* or *Ellu*, but in the tales of *The Coming of the Elves* and *The Theft of Melko*, by later changes, *Ellu* becomes the name of the second lord of the Solosimpi chosen in Tinwelint's place; see II. 50.

Notably absent from the account in S are the initial coming of the three Elvish ambassadors to Valinor, and the Elves who did not leave the Waters of Awakening, referred to in *Gilfanon's Tale* (I. 231): the

Ilkorins are here defined as those who were lost on the great march into the West. On these omissions see the commentary on §2 in the *Quenta*, p. 168.

Other omissions in S are the two starmakings of Varda (see p. 168) and the chain Angainor with which Morgoth was bound (see S §18 note 1).

3

In the tale of *The Coming of the Elves* the island on which the Gods were drawn to the western lands at the time of the fall of the Lamps was the island on which the Elves were afterwards ferried, becoming Tol Eressëa (see I. 118, 134); now, the isle on which the Gods dwelt (see the commentary on §1) is again the isle of the Elves' ferrying. But in *The Silmarillion* there is no connection between the Isle of Almaren and Tol Eressëa.

In the story of the ferrying features of the final narrative emerge in S: the first two kindreds to arrive at the shores of the sea are ferried together on this island, not separately as in the tale; and the love of the sea among the Teleri (Solosimpi) began during their waiting for Ulmo's return. On the other hand the old story of Ossë's rebellious anchoring of Tol Eressëa still survives (see I. 134); but the position of the island after its anchoring has now shifted westwards, to the Bay of Faërie, 'whence the Mountains of Valinor could dimly be seen': contrast the account in the tale, where Ulmo had traversed 'less than half the distance' across the Great Sea when Ossë waylaid it, and where 'no land may be seen for many leagues' sail from its cliffs' (see I. 120–1, and my discussion of this change, I. 134). In the tale, Ossë seized and anchored Tol Eressëa before its journey was done because he 'deemed himself slighted that his aid was not sought in the ferrying of the Elves, but his own island taken unasked' (I. 119); in S his jealousy is indeed mentioned, but also his love of the singing of the Teleri, which was afterwards a prominent motive. Ossë's making of the seabirds for the Teleri (Solosimpi) was retained, though afterwards lost.

In the tale the gap in the Mountains of Valinor was not made by the Valar for the sake of the Elves, nor was the hill of Kôr raised for them: they had existed since distant days, when 'in the trouble of the ancient seas a shadowy arm of water had groped in toward Valinor' (I. 122). In the passage in S can be seen the origin of that in *The Silmarillion* (p. 59). Here in S Côr is the hill and Tûn is the city built upon it (though in §2 there is a reference to Elves dwelling 'in Côr'); see III. 93.

On the 'invention' of gems by the Noldoli see I. 138. The especial love of Mandos 'the wise' for the Noldoli is found neither in the *Lost Tales* nor in *The Silmarillion*, and may seem an improbable attribute of that Vala: cf. *The Coming of the Elves*, I. 117: 'Mandos and Fui were cold to the Eldar as to all else.'

The passage concerning the Noldorin princes, added to the text of S (though probably after no great interval), is the origin of the passage in *The Silmarillion* (p. 60) which begins in the same way: 'The Noldor afterwards came back to Middle-earth, and this tale tells mostly of their deeds . . .' For the details of names and relations in this passage see the Note at the end of this section of the commentary.

The story of the coming of the Teleri (Solosimpi) to Valinor from Tol Eressëa comes in S, in essentials, almost to the form in *The Silmarillion* (p. 61); for the very different account in the tale see I. 124–6. In S, however, it was Ylmir (Ulmo) not Ossë who taught them the craft of shipbuilding, and this of course reflects the difference still underlying: for here Ylmir was still, as in the tale, eager for the coming of the Third Kindred to Valinor, whereas in *The Silmarillion* he had himself bidden Ossë make fast the island to the sea-bottom, and afterwards only 'submitted to the will of the Valar'. – The name *Ylmir* – almost certainly the Gnomish form – appears in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, see III. 93; but the form *Óin* for Uinen is not found elsewhere.

Note on the Noldorin princes

Fingolfin as the son of Finwë (Finn) and father of Turgon emerges first in the *Lay of the Fall of Gondolin* (III. 146–7), and is present in the second version of the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (only by emendation in the first) (III. 137). That Fëanor was Fingolfin's brother is deducible from the alliterative *Flight of the Noldoli (ibid.)*, but from S, as originally written in this section, it is seen that Fëanor was at first the second, not the elder son. Here in S Finwë's third son Finrod first emerges: the mention of him, and his sons, in a note to the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III. 80) is certainly later, as is his first appearance in the *Lay of Leithian* (III. 191, 195).

The seven sons of Fëanor with the same name-forms as here in S have appeared in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III. 65, 86); the naming of Damrod and Díriel together in S suggests that they were already twin brothers.

Of the sons of Fingolfin Turgon of course goes back to the *Lost Tales*, where he was the son, not the grandson, of Finwë; the other son Finweg appears in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, where the emendation to Fingon (see III. 5, 80) is later than S – and the *Quenta*, where he was still Finweg in the text as first written.

The sons of Finrod first emerge here, and as the inserted passage in S was first written Orodreth was apparently the eldest son; Angrod was Anrod; and Felagund was Felagoth. Felagoth occurs as an intervening stage between Celegorm and Felagund in the A-text of the *Lay of Leithian* (III. 169, 195).

4

In this section again S moves at a step close to the essential structure of the narrative in *The Silmarillion*, though there are important features not yet present. I have discussed previously (I. 156–8) the radical differences between the tale of *The Theft of Melko* and the story in *The Silmarillion*, and it will be seen that it was with S that almost all these differences entered: there is thus no need to repeat the comparison again here. But various more minor matters may be noticed.

The quarrel of the Noldorin princes has as yet none of the complexity and subtlety that entered into it afterwards with the history of Míriel, the first wife of Finwë and mother of Fëanor; the quarrel is in any case treated with great brevity.

It is said here that 'Fëanor has cursed for ever anyone, God or Elf or mortal that shall come hereafter, who touches [the Silmarils]'. In §5, by a later interpolation, the oath is taken by Fëanor and his sons at the time of the torchlit concourse in Tûn, but the statement in §4 my father allowed to stand, clearly because he overlooked it. In the alliterative fragment *The Flight of the Noldoli*, however, which on general grounds I assume to belong to the earlier part of 1925 (III. 131), the oath is sworn by Fëanor and his sons as in the interpolation in S §5, 'in the mighty square upon the crown of Côr' (see III. 136). I incline to think that the statement here in §4 was a slip of memory.

The events immediately following the council of the Gods in which Morgoth's lies were disclosed and Fëanor banished from Tûn (in S the banishment is not said to be limited to a term of years) are not yet given the form they have in *The Silmarillion*. The entire story of Morgoth's going to Formenos (not yet so named) and his speech with Fëanor before the doors (*The Silmarillion* pp. 71–2) has yet to appear. Morgoth's northward movement up the coast in feint is also absent; rather he comes at once to Arvalin 'where the shadow is thickest in all the world', as is said in *The Silmarillion* (p. 73) of Avathar.

In the story of Morgoth's encounter with Ungoliant and the destruction of the Trees details of the final version appear, as Ungoliant's ascent of the great mountain (later named Hyarmentir) 'from pinnacle to pinnacle', and the ladder made for Morgoth to climb. There is no mention of the great festival, but it appears in §5: it looks as if my father omitted to include it earlier and brought it in a bit further on as an afterthought.

In the tale of *The Theft of Melko* Ungoliant fled south at once after the destruction of the Trees (I. 154), and of Melko's subsequent movements after his crossing of the Ice it is only told (by Sorontur to Manwë, I. 176) that he was busy building himself a new dwelling-place in the region of the Iron Mountains. But in S the story of 'the Thieves' Quarrel' and Morgoth's rescue by the Balrogs emerges suddenly fully-formed.

5

From the account of the great festival (see commentary on §4) is absent both the original occasion for holding it (commemoration of the coming of the Eldar to Valinor, I. 143) and that given in *The Silmarillion* (the autumn feast: pp. 74–5). The later feature that the Teleri were not present appears (see I. 157); but there is no suggestion of the important elements of Fëanor coming alone to the festival from Formenos, the formal reconciliation with Fingolfin, and Fëanor's refusal to surrender the Silmarils before he heard the news of his father's death and the theft of the jewels (*The Silmarillion* pp. 75, 78–9).

In the later emendations to the text of S we see the growth of the story of the divided counsels of the Gnomes, with the introduction of the attempt of Finrod (later Finarfin) to calm the conflicting factions – though this element was present in the tale of *The Flight of the Noldoli*, where Finwë Nólemë plays the part of the appeaser (I. 162). After a good deal of further shifting in this passage in later texts, and the introduction of Galadriel, the alignment, and the motives, of the princes as they appear in *The Silmarillion* are more complex (pp. 83–4); but the element is already present that only one of Finrod's sons sided with him (here Felagund, in *The Silmarillion* Orodreth).

The emendation making Fingolfin and Finweg (Fingon) rule over 'a half of the Noldoli of Tûn' must be incorrect; my father probably intended the revised text to read 'over the Noldoli of Tûn'.

The rapid shifting in the part of Finrod (Finarfin) in these events can be observed in the successive interpolations made in S. It seems that in the original text he did not appear at all (the first mention of him is in the interpolated passage in §3, p. 15). He is said not to have left Tûn; then he is said to have been slain at Swanhaven; and finally it is told that he and his sons were not at Swanhaven, but left Tûn reluctantly, carrying with them many things of their making. Finrod was then introduced as only arriving with his people in the far North after the burning of the ships by the Fëanorians on the other side of the strait. As S was originally written Fingolfin, deserted and shipless, returned to Valinor, and it was his son Finweg (Fingon) who led the main host over the Grinding Ice; but with the introduction of Finrod he becomes the one who returned. (Finweg as the leader of the host was not then changed to Fingolfin, but this was obviously an oversight.)

In the account of the northward journey of the Noldoli after the battle of Swanhaven it seems that all the host was embarked in the ships of the Teleri, since Mandos' emissary hails them from a high cliff 'as they sail by'; but this may be merely due to compression, since in the *Tale* (I. 166) some marched along the shore while 'the fleet coasted beside them not far out to sea', and the same is told in *The Silmarillion* ('some by ship and some by land', p. 87). The storm raised by Uinen is not mentioned.

It is curious that the curse upon the Gnomes, that they should suffer

from treachery and the fear of treachery among their own kindred, is separated from the Prophecy of Mandos; but it is not said by whom this curse was pronounced. Nothing is told in S as originally written of the content of the Prophecy of Mandos, save that it concerned 'the fate of after days', but my father subsequently added that it told of 'the curse of war against one another because of Swanhaven', thus bringing the 'curse' into the content of the 'Prophecy', as in *The Silmarillion*. There is no trace of the old prophecies concerning Turgon and Gondolin (I. 167, 172), but nor is there any suggestion of the nature of the doom of the Noldor as it is stated in *The Silmarillion*.

For the original story of the crossing of the Grinding Ice by the Gnomes, where there is no element of treachery (though the blaming of Fëanor was already present), see I. 167–9.

6

The making of the Sun and Moon is here compressed into a couple of phrases. Virtually all of the extremely elaborate account in the old *Tale of the Sun and Moon* has disappeared: the tears of Vána leading to the last fruit of Laurelin, the breaking of the 'Fruit of Noon', the Bath of the Setting Sun where the Sun-maiden and her ship were drawn on coming out of the East, the song of Lórien leading to the last flower of Silpion, the fall of the 'Rose of Silpion' which caused the markings on the Moon, the refusal to allow Silmo to steer the ship of the Moon and the task given instead to Ilinsor, a spirit of the Súruli, Lake Irtinsa where the ship of the Moon was refreshed, and much else. But while it is impossible to say how much of all this my father had 'privately' rejected at this time (see my remarks, I. 200), some elements at least were suppressed for the purposes of this 'Sketch', which is after all only an outline, for they will reappear.

The change in the celestial plan now takes place because the Gods 'find it safer to send [the Sun and Moon] in Ylmir's care through the caverns and grottoes beneath the Earth'. This is wholly different from the old story (I. 215), in which the *original* plan of the Gods was that the Sun and Moon should be drawn beneath the earth; this plan was changed when they found that the Sun-ship 'might not safely come beneath the world' – the very reverse of what is said in S. Though the Moon continued to pass beneath the earth, the Gods now made the Door of Night in the West and the Gates of Morn in the East, through which the Sun passed thenceforward, going into and returning from the Outer Dark (I. 216). The astronomical aspect of the mythology has thus undergone a profound shift, an entire re-making.

The reference to the rekindling of the 'Magic Sun' (here with extension to the Moon, not found in the earliest writings) is a noteworthy survival; and the meaning is explicitly the rebirth of the Trees (see

II.286). Very remarkable is Ulmo's foretelling to the Valar that the rekindling of the Two Trees and the return of 'the bliss and glory of old' would only come to pass by the aid of Men. It is possible that this is a reference to his own deep designs laid through Turgon, Tuor, and Eärendel; but it is nowhere suggested that these designs issued or were intended to issue in such a way. Perhaps we should see here rather the continued existence in some form of the old prophecy given in II.285:

> The Elves' prophecy is that one day they will fare forth from Tol Eressëa and on arriving in the world will gather all their fading kindred who still live in the world and march towards Valinor... This they will only do with the help of Men. If Men aid them, the fairies will take Men to Valinor – those that wish to go – fight a great battle with Melko in Erumáni and open Valinor. Laurelin and Silpion will be rekindled, and the mountain wall being destroyed then soft radiance will spread over all the world, and the Sun and Moon will be recalled.

In the account of the Hiding of Valinor we move in S from the *Lost Tales* to *The Silmarillion*: I have observed (I.223) the total absence in the latter of the bitter divisions among the Valar, of Manwë's disgusted withdrawal, of Ulmo's vain pleading for pity on the Noldor – and of my father's explicit view in the tale of *The Hiding of Valinor* that the actions of the Valar at this time, and their failure to make war upon Morgoth, were a profound error arising from indolence and fear. The fear of Morgoth does indeed remain, and is the only motive offered in *The Silmarillion* for the Hiding of Valinor; but the author makes no comment on it. In S however the element of divine anger against the Noldoli is still present (though neither here nor later is there any reference to the peculiar anger of Aulë against them (see I.176), save that in the *Annals of Valinor* (p. 267) when Finrod and others returned to Valinor after hearing the Doom of Mandos 'Aulë their ancient friend smiled on them no more').

There are differences and omissions in the later versions of the story of the Hiding of Valinor in relation to that in the tale which have been sufficiently discussed already (I.223–4); but it may be noticed that in S no reason is given for keeping open the pass of Kôr, neither that in the tale nor that in *The Silmarillion*.

It is very clear that with the 'Sketch' the structure of the Valinórean part of the mythology, though not of course the detail, had quite largely reached the stage of development of the published version; and it can be understood why my father wrote on the envelope containing S the words *Original 'Silmarillion'*. It is here that 'The Silmarillion' begins.

7

It will be seen that in this passage S has already the structure and some even of the phrases of the last three paragraphs of chapter 12 ('Of Men') in *The Silmarillion*.

The Fëanorian oath (ascribed here to the sons only) is embodied in the text as written, which probably shows that the interpolated passage, introducing the oath, in §5 (p. 19) was inserted while S was still in process of composition.

The words of S, 'in the early days Eldar and Men were of nearly equal stature and power of body', are echoed in *The Silmarillion*: 'Elves and Men were of like stature and strength of body'; for statements on this matter in earlier writings see II.326.

The 'higher culture' that my father came to ascribe to the Elves of Doriath (or more widely to the Grey-elves of Beleriand) is now established ('Only in the realm of Doriath . . . did the Ilkorins equal the Koreldar'); contrast the description of the Ilkorins of Tinwelint's following in the old *Tale of Tinúviel* ('eerie they were and strange beings, knowing little of light or loveliness or of musics. . .'), concerning which I noted that Tinwelint's people are there described in terms applicable rather to the wild Avari of *The Silmarillion* (see II.9, 64). It is however said in this passage of the tale that 'Different indeed did they become when the Sun arose.'

The ideas expressed here concerning the nature of the immortality of the Elves go back largely to the *Lost Tales*; cf. the description of the hall of Mandos in *The Coming of the Valar* (I.76):

> Thither in after days fared the Elves of all the clans who were by illhap slain with weapons or did die of grief for those that were slain – and only so might the Eldar die, and then it was only for a while. There Mandos spake their doom, and there they waited in the darkness, dreaming of their past deeds, until such time as he appointed when they might again be born into their children, and go forth to laugh and sing again.

Similarly in *The Music of the Ainur* (I.59) it is said that 'the Eldar dwell till the Great End unless they be slain or waste in grief (for to both of these deaths are they subject)', and 'dying they are reborn in their children, so that their number minishes not, nor grows'. But in the early texts death by sickness is not mentioned, and this appears for the first time in S: where by emendation there is a modification of the idea, from freedom from all sickness to freedom from death by sickness. Moreover in the early texts rebirth in their own children seems to be represented as the universal fate of the Eldar who die; whereas in S they are said to return from Mandos 'to free life'. Rebirth is mentioned in S very briefly and only in a later interpolation.

In S my father's conception of the fate of Men after death is seen

evolving (for the extremely puzzling account in the *Lost Tales* see I. 77, 90–3). As he first wrote S, there was an explicit assertion that Men did not go to Mandos, did not pass to the western land: this was an idea derived from contact with the Eldar. But he changed this, and wrote instead that Men do indeed go to their own halls in Mandos, for a time; none know whither they go after, save Mandos himself.

On the 'fading' of the Elves who remained 'in the world' see II. 326.

8

Neither the brief outlines for what was to have been Gilfanon's tale of *The Travail of the Noldoli* (I. 237–41) nor the subsequent abandoned narrative given on pp. 6–8 bear much relation to what came after. Enduring features were the camp by Asgon-Mithrim, the death of Fëanor, the first affray with the Orcs, the capture and maiming of Maidros; but these elements had different motivations and concomitants in the earliest writing, already discussed (I. 242–3). With the 'Sketch', however, most of the essentials of the later story appear fully-formed, and the distance travelled from the *Lost Tales* is here even more striking than hitherto.

The first battle of the Gnomes with the forces of Morgoth is not clearly placed in S (cf. *Gilfanon's Tale*, I. 238, 240, where the battle was fought 'in the foothills of the Iron Mountains' or in 'the pass of the Bitter Hills') – but the idea is already present that the Orcs were aroused by the burning of the ships (cf. §5: 'The same light also tells the Orcs of the landing'.)

There now emerge the death of Fëanor at the hand of Gothmog the Balrog, the parley with the enemy and the faithless intentions on both sides, the arrival of the second host, unfurling their blue and silver banners (see p. 9) under the first Sunrise, and the dismay of the Orcs at the new light, the hostile armies of the Gnomes encamped on opposite sides of Lake Mithrim, the 'vast smokes and vapours' rising from Angband. The only important structural element in the narrative that has yet to appear is that of Fingolfin's march to Angband immediately on arrival in Middle-earth and his beating on the doors.

The earlier existence of the story of the rescue of Maidros by Finweg (Fingon) is implied by a reference in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (see III. 65, 86) – that in the *Lay of Leithian* is some two years later than S (III. 222). A curious point arises in the account in S: it seems that it was only at this juncture that Manwë brought into being the race of Eagles. In the tale of *The Theft of Melko* Sorontur (the 'Elvish' form of Gnomish Thorndor) had already played a part in the story before the departure of the Noldoli from Valinor: he was the emissary of the Valar to Melko before the destruction of the Trees, and because Melko tried to slay the Eagle

between that evil one and Sorontur has there ever since been hate and war, and that was most bitter when Sorontur and his folk fared to the Iron Mountains and there abode, watching all that Melko did (I. 149).

It may be noted that Lake Mithrim is placed in Hisilómë/Hithlum/Dorlómin; see III. 103.

9

For this section of the narrative the earliest materials are so scanty that we may almost say that the 'Sketch' is the starting-point. In an outline for *Gilfanon's Tale* (I. 238) there is mention of a meeting between Gnomes and Ilkorins, and it was with the guidance of these Ilkorins that Maidros led an army to Angamandi, whence they were driven back with slaughter leaving Maidros a captive; and this was followed by Melko's southward advance and the Battle of Unnumbered Tears. As I have noted (I. 242):

> The entire later history of the long years of the Siege of Angband, ending with the Battle of Sudden Flame (Dagor Bragollach), of the passage of Men over the Mountains into Beleriand and their taking service with the Noldorin Kings, had yet to emerge; indeed these outlines give the effect of only a brief time elapsing between the coming of the Noldoli from Kôr and their great defeat.

In another outline (I. 240) there is a slight suggestion of a longer period, in the reference to the Noldoli 'practising many arts'. In this outline the meeting of Gnomes and Ilkorins takes place at 'the Feast of Reunion' (where Men were also present). But beyond this there is really nothing of the later story to be found in these projections. Nor indeed had S (as originally written) made any very remarkable advances. Men 'already dwelt in the woods of the North', which is sufficiently strange, since according to S Men awoke at the first rising of the Sun (§6), when also Fingolfin marched into Middle-earth (§8), and far too little time had elapsed, one would think, for Men to have journeyed out of 'the far East' (§6) and become established in 'the woods of the North'. Moreover there is no suggestion (even allowing for the brief and concentrated nature of the 'Sketch') that the Leaguer of Angband lasted any great length of time, nor is the breaking of the Leaguer particularly characterised: Morgoth 'sends out his armies', and 'Gnomes and Ilkorins and Men are scattered'; that is all. But the breaking of the Leaguer was already seen as a turning-point in the history of the Elves of Beleriand. It is perfectly possible that much of the new material that appears at this place in the *Quenta* (see pp. 104 ff.) was already in my father's mind when he wrote S (i.e., S was a précis, but a précis of an unwritten story); for instance, the blasting of the great grassy northern plain in the battle that ended the siege (not even mentioned in S) was already present when the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* was written (III. 55).

With the later interpolations in S enters the idea of the Siege of Angband as an epoch, 'a time of growth and birth and flowering'; and also the disposition of the Gnomish princes, with the essentials of the later history already present – Fingolfin in Hithlum, the Fëanorians in the East (where they afterwards warred with Dwarves, Orcs, and Men), and Felagund guarding the entry into the lands of Sirion. (The reference to *Broseliand* in this passage is noteworthy: the form of the name spelt with *-s-* first appears in the A-text of Canto IV of the *Lay of Leithian* – probably early 1928; III. 195, 197). 'Fingolfin is slain when Morgoth breaks the leaguer' may or may not imply the story of his duel with Morgoth before Angband.

Gumlin father of Húrin has appeared in the second version of the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III. 115, 126); but Huor, named as Húrin's brother in the rewriting of S, here makes his first appearance in the legends.

The complexities of the history of Barahir and Beren and the founding of Nargothrond are best discussed together with what is said in §10; see the commentary on the next section.

10

In §9 as first written Barahir already appears as the father of Beren, replacing Egnor; and they are here Ilkorin Elves, not Men, though this was changed when the passage was revised. In the first version of the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* Beren was still an Elf, while in the second version my father shifted back and forth between Man and Elf (III. 124–5); in the opening cantos of the A-text of the *Lay of Leithian* (in being by the autumn of 1925) Egnor and his son were Men (III. 171); now here in S (early 1926) they are again Elves, though Egnor has become Barahir. Perplexingly, in §10 as first written, while Barahir is 'a famous chieftain of Ilkorindi', on the same page of the manuscript and quite certainly written at the same time Beren 'alone of *mortals* came back from Mandos'. It may well be that the statements in S that Barahir and Beren were Ilkorins were an inadvertent return to the former idea, after the decision that they were Men (seen in the A-text of the *Lay of Leithian*) had been made. (Later in the original text of S, §14, Beren is a mortal.)

The reference in §9 to the founding of Nargothrond by Celegorm and Curufin and in §10 to Barahir having been 'a friend of Celegorm of Nargothrond' belong to the phase of the swiftly-evolving legend represented by alterations to the text of the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (see III. 83–5), when it was Celegorm and Curufin who founded Nargothrond after the breaking of the Leaguer of Angband and Felagund had not yet emerged; similarly in the A-text of the *Lay of Leithian* (III. 171).

The alterations to S in these sections move the story on to the form

found in the B-text of the *Lay of Leithian*, with Felagund as the one saved by Barahir and the founder of Nargothrond – though here it is said specifically that Felagund *and his brothers* founded the realm, with the aid of Celegorm and Curufin; it seems therefore that the deaths of Angrod and Egnor in the battle that ended the Leaguer had not yet arisen (see III. 221, 247).

The very early form of the story of Beren (the first stage of development from the *Tale of Tinúviel*) in S §10 as first written has been discussed in III. 219–20, 244. There remains an interesting point to mention in the end of this version: the sentence 'Some songs say that Lúthien went even over the Grinding Ice, aided by the power of her divine mother, Melian, to Mandos' halls and won him back.' There is no suggestion here that Lúthien herself died at the time of Beren's death; and the same idea seems likely to underlie the lines of the second version of the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III. 107):

> ere he winged afar
> to the long awaiting; thence Lúthien won him,
> the Elf-maiden, *and the arts of Melian* . . .

In the *Tale of Tinúviel*, on the other hand, it is said (II. 40) that

> Tinúviel crushed with sorrow and finding no comfort or light in all the world followed him swiftly down those dark ways that all must tread alone

– and this seems quite clear in its meaning.

Beren and Lúthien are here said to have lived, after Beren's return, 'in the woods of Doriath and in the Hunters' Wold, west of Nargothrond'. The Land of the Dead that Live was placed in the Hunters' Wold (Hills of the Hunters) in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*; see III. 89, where the previous history of its placing is given.

That Beren and Húrin were friends and fellows-in-arms is stated in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, and earlier (see III. 25), but it has not been said before that this relationship arose during the time of Beren's outlawry.

For the use of 'Shadowy Mountains' to mean the Mountains of Terror see III. 170–1.

In the rewritten passage (pp. 25–6) the story is seen at an earlier stage than that in the 'Synopsis II' for Cantos VI and VII of the *Lay of Leithian* (1928), the text of which is given in III. 221, 233. Celegorm has been displaced by Felagoth (not yet Felagund); but Celegorm 'discovered what was the secret mission of Felagoth and Beren' *after* their departure from Nargothrond, and thus the element of the intervention of Celegorm and Curufin, turning the Elves of Nargothrond against their king, was not yet present. Moreover in the northward journey of Beren and his companions from Nargothrond there is a battle with Orcs, from which only a small band of the Elves escapes, afterwards returning to the

battlefield to despoil the dead and disguise themselves as Orcs. These two elements are clearly interconnected: Celegorm (and Curufin) do not know why Beren and Felagoth are setting out, and thus there is no reason why the king should not set out with a strong force. When my father wrote 'Synopsis II' he had brought in the element of the intervention of the Fëanorian brothers against Felagund and Beren, and with it the small band that was all they had as companions from their first departure from Nargothrond.

The sequence is thus clearly: S – Synopsis I – interpolation in S – Synopsis II; and in the revision of S here we have an interesting stage in which Felagund (Felagoth) has emerged as the lord of Nargothrond, but the 'Fëanorian intervention' has not, and Celegorm still 'offers redress' to Lúthien, as he did in Synopsis I (III. 244) – for his dog Huan had hurt her.

11

The earliest form of this part of the story (apart from that which relates to Húrin) is extant only in the compressed outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale*. In my comparison of those early outlines with the narrative of *The Silmarillion* I noted (I.242) as essential features of the story that were to survive:

- A mighty battle called the Battle of Unnumbered Tears is fought between Elves and Men and the hosts of Melko;
- Treachery of Men, corrupted by Melko, at that battle;
- But the people of Úrin (Húrin) are faithful, and do not survive it;
- The leader of the Gnomes is isolated and slain;
- Turgon and his host cut their way out, and go to Gondolin;
- Melko is wrathful because he cannot discover where Turgon has gone;
- The Fëanorians come late to the battle;
- A great cairn is piled.

There is no evidence for any narrative of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears in its own right between the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* and the 'Sketch'; thus §11 in S shows at a step a very great advance. This is not however to be regarded as a direct evolution from the outlines, for many elements – such as the stories of Beren and Tinúviel, and of Nargothrond – had been developed 'collaterally' in the meantime. As S was originally written in §11, the old 'pre-Felagund' story was present ('Curufin and Celegorm despatch a host from Nargothrond', see commentary on §10), and although the failure of the Union of Maidros to gather together all the Elves of Beleriand into a united force already appears, the alignments were for this reason quite different: the Gnomes of Nargothrond (ruled

by Celegorm and Curufin) will not serve under Finweg (Fingon). But with the rewriting of S, made after the emergence of the Felagund-story, an essential element of the later narrative comes into being: Orodreth will not join the league on account of Felagund his brother (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 188: 'Orodreth would not march forth at the word of any son of Fëanor, because of the deeds of Celegorm and Curufin.') That Thingol sent few (emended from none) out of Doriath is a very old element, appearing already in the *Tale of Turambar* (II.73), where Tinwelint said to Mavwin, in words echoed in the present passage of S:

> not for love nor for fear of Melko but of the wisdom of my heart and the fate of the Valar did I not go with my folk to the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, who am now become a safety and a refuge . . .

A new factor in Thingol's policy now appears, however, in that he resented the 'haughty words' addressed to him by Maidros, demanding the return of the Silmaril – those 'haughty words' and their effect on the Union of Maidros survived into *The Silmarillion* (p. 189). That Thingol here allows 'the *Gnomes* of Doriath' to join the league is to be related to the statement in S §9: 'Many Gnomes take service with Thingol and Melian' (after the breaking of the Siege of Angband). (In the *Tale of Tinúviel* there were Noldoli in Tinwelint's service: it was they indeed who built the bridge before his doors. II. 9, 43.)

As S was rewritten, the division of the opponents of Morgoth into two hosts was due to the refusal of the Fëanorians to be led by Finweg (Fingon), whereas in *The Silmarillion* account there was good agreement between Himring and Eithel Sirion, and the assault from East and West of the Fëanorians and the Noldor of Hithlum a matter of strategy ('they thought to take the might of Morgoth as between anvil and hammer, and break it to pieces').

The Battle of Unnumbered Tears is still in S in a simple form, but the advance of the Elves of Hithlum into Dor-na-Fauglith in pursuit of a defeated Orc-army, so that they fall prey to much greater hosts loosed from Angband, moves towards the plan of the later narrative; the late arrival of the Fëanorians goes back to an outline for *Gilfanon's Tale* (see above). No detail is given in S concerning the treachery of Men at the battle, nor is any reason suggested for the late coming of the Eastern Noldor.

Finweg (Fingon) had taken the place of Finwë (Nólemë) as the Gnomish king slain in the battle already in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III. 86), and so the story of the Scarlet Heart, emblem of Turgon (I. 241, II. 172), had disappeared; in the second version of the Lay there is mention of his *white banners . . . in blood beaten* (III. 96). In S Turgon is a leader, with his brother Finweg (Fingon), of the Western Noldor from the outset, and was clearly conceived to be dwelling at this time in Hithlum (cf. the interpolation in §9: 'Fingolfin's sons Finweg

and Turgon still hold out in the North', i.e. after the ending of the Siege of Angband); and the discovery of the secret valley and the founding of Gondolin follows from the retreat from the disaster of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears. The 'sacrifice of Mablon the Ilkorin' (I.239, 241) has disappeared.

The great mound of the slain on Dor-na-Fauglith, the first trace of which appears in an outline for *Gilfanon's Tale* (I.241, 243), had been described in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III. 58–9), where Flinding said to Túrin as they passed by it in the moonlight:

> A! green that hill with grass fadeless
> where sleep the swords of seven kindreds . . .
>
> neath moon nor sun is it mounted ever
> by Man nor Elf; not Morgoth's host
> ever dare for dread to delve therein.

The story of Húrin at the Battle of Unnumbered Tears – his holding of the rearguard with his men while Turgon escaped southwards, his capture, defiance of Morgoth, and torture – had already been told in the *Tale of Turambar* (II.70–1) and in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (see III. 23–4, 102). In all these sources Morgoth's concern with Húrin, his attempts to seduce him, and his great rage when defied, arise from his desire to find Turgon; but the element is still of course lacking in S that Húrin had previously visited Gondolin, which at this stage in the development of the legend did not exist as a Noldorin fastness until after the Battle. As the story evolved, this fact, known to Morgoth, gave still more ugency to his wish to take Húrin alive, and to use him against Turgon.

12

It is immediately obvious that S was based on the second version of the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, so far as it goes – which in relation to the whole narrative is not far: no further than the feast at which Túrin slew Orgof. This is already evident from the preceding portion of S, describing Morgoth's treatment of Húrin in Angband; while in the present section the guardians of Túrin on the journey to Doriath bear the later names Halog and Mailgond (emended in the Lay to Mailrond, III. 119), not Halog and Gumlin.

It is not to be expected that the synopsis of the story in S should show any substantial alteration of that in the first version of the Lay; there is some development nonetheless. It is now explicit that the Men who in the Lay *dwelt in Dorlómin and dealt unkindly* with Húrin's wife, and of whom I noted (III. 24) that 'there is still no indication of who these men were or where they came from', are now explicitly 'faithless men who had deserted the Eldar in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears', penned

in Hithlum because Morgoth 'desired to keep them from fellowship with Elves'. The question of whether Nienor was born before Túrin left Hithlum is now resolved: he had never seen her. For the uncertainty on this point in the *Tale of Turambar* see II. 131; in the Lay she was born before Túrin left (III. 9).

Whereas in the Lay Beleg, who was not searching for Túrin when he was captured by the outlaw band, knew nothing of what had happened in the Thousand Caves (see III. 50), in S 'Túrin released Beleg, and is told how Thingol had forgiven his deed long ago'. Blodrin is now again the son of Ban, not of Bor (see III. 52).

There is an interesting note in S that Túrin was taken alive to Angband 'for Morgoth has begun to fear that he will escape his curse through his valour and the protection of Melian'. This idea is seen in the words of the Lay (III. 33) *they haled unhappy Hurin's offspring / lest he flee his fate*, and goes back to the *Tale of Turambar* (II. 76):

> Túrin was overborne and bound, for such was the will of Melko that he be brought to him alive; for behold, dwelling in the halls of Linwë [*i.e.* Tinwelint] about which had that fay Gwedheling the Queen woven much magic and mystery . . . Túrin had been lost out of his sight, and he feared lest he cheat the doom that was devised for him.

There is little else to note in this section beyond the new detail that the Orcs feared Taur-na-Fuin no less than Elves or Men, and only went that way when in haste, and the ancestor of the phrase 'Gwindor saw them marching away over the steaming sands of Anfauglith' (*The Silmarillion* p. 208) in 'Flinding sees them marching over the steaming waste of Dor-na-Fauglith' (cf. the Lay, III. 48: *The dusty dunes of Dor-na-Fauglith / hissed and spouted*). A very great deal is of course omitted in the synopsis.

13

With the second paragraph of this section, 'Túrin leads the Gnomes of Nargothrond to forsake their secrecy and hidden warfare', S reaches the point where the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* stops, and certain advances made on the *Tale of Turambar* (II. 83 ff.) can be observed. The re-forging of Beleg's sword for Túrin in Nargothrond now appears. In the Lay Flinding put the sword in the hollow of a tree after Beleg's death (III. 56); as I noted (III. 86): 'if the poem had gone further Túrin would have received his black sword in Nargothrond in gift from Orodreth, as happens in the *Tale*'. S thus shows a development from the plot implicit in the Lay. The bridging of Narog by Túrin's counsel enters the story only as a pencilled marginal note. The extent of the victories and reconquest of territory by the Gnomes of Nargothrond at this time is

made explicit, and the realm is much as described in *The Silmarillion* (p. 211):

> The servants of Angband were driven out of all the land between Narog and Sirion eastward, and westward to the Nenning and the desolate Falas

(where however its northern border along the southern feet of the Shadowy Mountains is not mentioned; in S 'their realm reaches to the sources of Narog').

The later addition to the text of S, 'even Glómund, who was at the Battle of Tears', is to be related to the absence of any mention of the Dragon in S's account of the battle (§11). As S was first written, the Dragon was named *Glórung*, a change from *Glórund* of the *Lost Tales*; the series was thus *Glórund* > *Glórung* > *Glómund* > *Glaurung*. In the *Lay of Leithian Glómund* replaces *Glórund* (III. 208–9).

The sentence 'Flinding wounded refuses Túrin's succour and dies reproaching him' shows the later form of the story, as in *The Silmarillion* pp. 212–13; for discussion of the substantial change from the *Tale* see II. 124. It is said in S that Túrin forsook Finduilas 'against his heart (which if he had obeyed his uttermost fate would not have befallen him)', and this is no doubt to be related to the passage in the *Tale* (II. 87):

> And truly is it said: 'Forsake not for anything thy friends – nor believe those who counsel thee to do so' – for of his abandoning of Failivrin in danger that he himself could see came the very direst evil upon him and all he loved.

For discussion of this see II. 125.

Of Túrin's return to Hithlum there is little to note, for the synopsis is here very compressed; and I have earlier discussed fully the relationship between the *Tale* and the later story (II. 126–7). The Woodmen with whom Túrin lives after his flight from Hithlum are now given a more definite location 'east of Narog' (see II. 140–1). In S it is made clear that Túrin did not join himself to a people already existing, but 'gathered a new people'. This is in contradiction, strangely enough, both to the *Tale* (II. 91, 102), where they had a leader (Bethos) when Túrin joined them, and to the later story. Túrin now takes the name *Turambar* at this point in the narrative, not as in the *Tale* before the Dragon outside the caves of the Rodothlim (II. 86, 125).

Turning now to the expedition from Doriath to Nargothrond, the only important structural difference from the *Tale* that emerges in the brief account in S is that Morwen (Mavwin) was evidently no longer present at the conversation between Nienor and the Dragon (II. 98–9, 129); on the other hand, it is said at the end of this section that 'Some say Morwen

released from spell by Glórung's death came that way and read the stone.'

When Nienor-Níniel came to the falls of the Silver Bowl a fit of shivering came on her, as in the later narrative, whereas in the *Tale* it is only said that she was filled with dread (II. 101, 130). Very notably, the statement that Níniel was with child by Turambar was added to S later, just as it was in the *Tale* (see II. 117 note 25, 135).

In the foregoing I have only picked out points that seem to show quite clearly a different conception of the events in S from that in the *Tale*. I have not mentioned the many slight differences (including the very many omissions) that are probably or certainly due to compression.

14

Of this section of the narrative there exists in earlier writing only the conclusion of the *Tale of Turambar* (II. 112–16) and the *Tale of the Nauglafring* (II. 221 ff.) in which the story is continued. The opening passage of S follows the end of the *Tale of Turambar* in Melko's accusation against Thingol of faintheartedness, Húrin's embitterment from the pondering of Melko's words, the gathering to him of a band of outlaws, the fear of the spirit of the dead Dragon that prevented any from plundering Nargothrond, the presence there of Mîm, Húrin's reproaches and the casting of the gold at Thingol's feet, and Húrin's departure. The words of S concerning the fate of Húrin derive from the *Tale*, where however he died in Hithlum and it was his 'shade' that 'fared into the woods seeking Mavwin, and long those twain haunted the woods about the fall of Silver Bowl bewailing their children'.

From this point the source for S (or perhaps more accurately, the previous written form of the narrative) is the *Tale of the Nauglafring*. It is here impossible to say for certain how much of the complex story in the *Tale* had by this time been abandoned.

It is not made clear whether Mîm's presence in Nargothrond goes back to the time of the Dragon (see II. 137), nor whether the outlaws of Húrin's band were Men or Elves (in the *Tale* the text was emended to convert them from Men to Elves); and there is no indication of how the gold was brought to Doriath. The outlaws disappear in S after the slaying of Mîm, and there is no suggestion of the fighting in the Thousand Caves that in the *Tale* led to the mound made over the slain, Cûm an-Idrisaith, the Mound of Avarice.

The next part of the *Tale* (Ufedhin the renegade Gnome and the complex dealings of Thingol with him and with the Dwarves of Nogrod, II. 223–9) is reduced to a few lines in S, which could possibly stand as an extremely abbreviated account of the old story, even though Ufedhin is here not even mentioned. The making of the Necklace was not in the *Tale*, as it is in S, part of the king's request: the idea of it was indeed hatched by

Ufedhin during his captivity as a lure 'for the greater ensnaring of the king' (II.226); but this also could be set down to compression. I think it is more probable, however, that my father had in fact decided to reduce and simplify the narrative, and that Ufedhin had been abandoned.

The problem of the entry of the Dwarvish army into Doriath, defended by the Girdle of Melian, is still solved by the device – the too simple device, see II.250 – of 'some treacherous Gnomes' (in the *Tale* there was only one traitor); the slaying of Thingol while hunting remains, and as in the *Tale* Melian, inviolable, left the Thousand Caves seeking Beren and Lúthien. Though it is not so stated, it seems likely that in this version it was Melian who brought the news and the warning to Beren (this is the story in the *Quenta*, p. 134). In the *Tale* it was Huan who brought word to Beren and Lúthien of the assault on Artanor and the death of Tinwelint, and it was Ufedhin, fleeing from the Dwarf-host (after his abortive attempt to slay Naugladur and steal the Nauglafring, and his killing of Bodruith lord of Belegost), who revealed the course that the Dwarves were taking and made possible the ambush at the Stony Ford; but Huan has in S been slain in the Wolf-hunt (§10), and Ufedhin has (as I think) been eliminated.

The ambush at the ford is made by 'Beren and the brown and green Elves of the wood', which goes back to 'the brown Elves and the green', the 'elfin folk all clad in green and brown' ruled by Beren and afterwards by Dior in Hithlum, in the *Tale of the Nauglafring*. But of the vigorous account of the battle at the ford in the *Tale* – the laughter of the Elves at the misshapen Dwarves running with their long white beards torn by the wind, the duel of Beren and Naugladur, whose forge-hammer blows would have overcome Beren had not Naugladur stumbled and Beren swung him off his feet by catching hold of the Nauglafring – there is nothing in S: though equally, nothing to contradict the old story. There is however no mention of the two Dwarf-lords, Naugladur of Nogrod and Bodruith of Belegost, and though both Dwarf-cities are named the Dwarves are treated as an undivided force, with, as it seems, one king (slain at the ford): Thingol summoned those of Belegost as well as those of Nogrod to Doriath for the fashioning of the gold, whereas in the *Tale* (II.230) the former only enter the story after the humiliating expulsion of the Dwarves of Nogrod, in order to aid them in their revenge. Of the old story of the death of Bodruith and the feud and slaughter among the two kindreds (brought about by Ufedhin) there is no trace.

The drowning of the treasure in the river goes back to the *Tale*; but there however the suggestion is not that the treasure was deliberately sunk: rather it fell into the river with the bodies of the Dwarves who bore it:

> those that waded in the ford cast their golden burdens in the waters and sought affrighted to either bank, but many were stricken with those pitiless darts and fell with their gold into the currents (II.237).

It is not said in the *Tale* that any of the gold was drowned by the Elves. There, Gwendelin came to Beren and Tinúviel *after* the battle of the Stony Ford, and found Tinúviel already wearing the Nauglafring; there is mention of the greatness of her beauty when she wore it. Gwendelin's warning is only against the Silmaril (the rest of the treasure being drowned), and indeed her horror at seeing the Necklace of the Dwarves on Tinúviel was so great that Tinúviel put it off. This was to Beren's displeasure, and he kept it (II.239–40). In S the drowning seems to be carried out in response to Melian's warning of the curse upon it, and the story seems to be thus: Melian comes to Beren and Lúthien and warns them of the approach of the Dwarf-host returning out of Doriath; after the battle Lúthien wears the Nauglafring and becomes immeasurably beautiful; but Melian warns them of the curse on the gold and on the Silmaril and they drown the treasure, though Beren keeps the Necklace secretly.

The fading of Lúthien follows immediately on the statement that the Necklace was kept, but no connection is made. In the *Tale* such a connection is explicit: the doom of mortality that Mandos had spoken 'fell swiftly' –

> and in this perhaps did the curse of Mîm have [?potency] in that it came more soon upon them (II.240).

Moreover in a synopsis for a projected revision of the *Lost Tales* it is said that the Nauglafring 'brought sickness to Tinúviel' (II.246).

The reference to the fading of Lúthien in S retains the words of the *Tale*: Tinúviel slowly faded 'even as the Elves of later days have done'; and, again as in the *Tale*, Lúthien 'vanished'. In the *Tale* Beren was an Elf, and it is said of him that after searching all Hithlum and Artanor for Tinúviel in terrible loneliness 'he too faded from life'. In my discussion of this I said (II.250):

> Since this fading is here quite explicitly the mode in which 'that doom of mortality that Mandos had spoken' came upon them, it is very notable that it is likened to, and even it seems identified with, the fading of 'the Elves of later days throughout the world' – as though in the original idea Elvish fading was a form of mortality.

The passage in S, retaining this idea in respect of Lúthien, but now with the later conception that Beren was a mortal Man, not an Elf, is changed in that Beren is no longer said to have faded: he 'was lost', looking in vain for Lúthien. It is also said here that the price of Beren's return from Mandos was 'that Lúthien should become as shortlived as Beren the mortal'; and in §10, where the story of Beren and Lúthien is briefly told, it is not in fact said that Lúthien died when Beren died in Doriath (see the

commentary on that section, p. 55). There is also a sentence added to the MS in §10: 'But Mandos in payment exacted that Lúthien should become mortal as Beren.'

It is possible to conclude from this that, in the conception as it was when S was written, Beren died, as a mortal dies; Lúthien went to Valinor as a living being; and Mandos allowed Beren to return to a second mortal span, but Lúthien now became subject to the same shortness of span as he. In this sense she became 'mortal'; but being an Elf she 'faded' – this was the manner of her death: as it was also the manner of the death of the fading Elves of later ages. Part of the difficulty in all this undoubtedly lies in the ambiguous nature of the words 'mortal' and 'immortal' applied to the Elves: they are 'immortal', both in the sense that they need not die, it is not in their essential nature to die, 'in the world', and also in the sense that, if they did, they did not 'leave the world', did not go to 'a fate beyond the world'; and they are 'mortal' in that they might nonetheless die 'in the world' (by wounds or by grief, but not from sickness or age). Lúthien became 'mortal' in that, although an Elf, she *must* die – she *must* fade.

It may be noted that the words 'as Men grew strong and took the goodness of earth' derive from the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III. 44, 54):

> for in days long gone
> . . . Men were of mould less mighty builded
> ere the earth's goodness from the Elves they drew.

Cf. *The Silmarillion*, p. 105: 'In after days, when because of the triumph of Morgoth Elves and Men became estranged, as he most wished, those of the Elven-race that lived still in Middle-earth waned and faded, and Men usurped the sunlight.'

Lastly, in the story of Dior and the ruin of Doriath as told in S, there are various developments. The son of Dior, Auredhir (II.240) has disappeared. The 'vain bargaining' between Dior and the Sons of Fëanor perhaps refers to the passage in the *Tale* (II.241) where Dior asserts that to return the Silmaril the Nauglafring must be broken, and Curufin (the messenger of the Fëanorians) retorts that in that case the Nauglafring must be given to them unbroken. In the *Tale* Maglor, Díriel, Celegorm, and Cranthir (or the earlier equivalents of their names) were killed in the battle (which there took place in Hithlum, where Dior ruled after his father); but in S, as first written, the story takes a very strange turn, in that the Fëanorians did get their hands on the Nauglafring, but then so quarrelled over it that in the end 'only Maglor was left'. How the story would have gone in this case is impossible to discern.

15 and 16

The two sections describing Gondolin and its fall are discussed together in the following commentary.

At the beginning of §15 the brief reference to the story of Isfin and Eöl shows development from what was said in the *Lay of the Fall of Gondolin* (III. 146): for in the poem Isfin was seeking, together with her mother, for her father Fingolfin when she was entrapped by Eöl in the dark forest. The larger history has evolved since then, and now Isfin 'was lost in Taur-na-Fuin after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears'. We can only surmise how she came to be there. Either she left Gondolin soon after its settlement bent on some purpose unrecorded, or else she was lost in the retreat from the battle. (It is, incidentally, a curious aspect of the earlier conception of Gondolin's foundation that there were women and children to people it as well as warriors; for one would suppose that Turgon had left the old men, the women, and the children of his people in Hithlum – why should he do otherwise? But in the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* there are references to Turgon's having 'rescued a part of the women and children', and having 'gathered women and children from the camps' as he fled south down Sirion (I. 239, 241).) Meglin is still, as in the poem, 'sent by his mother to Gondolin', while she remained with her captor.

In the account of Gondolin and its history S is fairly close to the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin*, but there are some developments, if mostly of a minor kind. There is first a notable statement that 'Ylmir's messages come up Sirion bidding them [i.e. the host of Turgon retreating from the battle] take refuge in this valley'; this is unlike the *Tale*, where Tuor speaking the words of Ulmo in Gondolin says: 'There have come to the ears of Ulmo whispers of your dwelling and your hill of vigilance against the evil of Melko, and he is glad' (II. 161, 208). Here in S we have the first appearance of the idea that the foundation of Gondolin was a part of Ulmo's design. But Tuor's journey is as in the old story, and the visitation of Ulmo is in Nan Tathrin, not at Vinyamar. The bidding of Ulmo offers Turgon similar choices, to prepare for war, or, if he will not, then to send people of Gondolin down Sirion to the sea, to seek for Valinor. Here, however, there are differences. In the *Tale*, Ulmo offers scarcely more than a slender hope that such sailors from Gondolin would reach Valinor, and if they did, that they would persuade the Valar to act:

> [The Gods] hide their land and weave about it inaccessible magic that no evil come to its shores. Yet still might thy messengers win there and turn their hearts that they rise in wrath and smite Melko . . . (II. 161–2).

In S, on the other hand, the people of Gondolin, if they will not go to war against Morgoth, are to desert their city ('the people of Gondolin are to

prepare for flight') – cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 240: '[Ulmo] bade him depart, and abandon the fair and mighty city that he had built, and go down Sirion to the sea' – and at the mouths of Sirion Ylmir will not only aid them in the building of a fleet but will himself guide them over the ocean. But if Turgon will accept Ylmir's counsel, and prepare for war, then Tuor is to go to Hithlum with Gnomes from Gondolin and 'draw Men once more into alliance with the Elves, for "without Men the Elves shall not prevail against the Orcs and Balrogs".' Of this strange bidding there is no trace in the *Tale*; nor is it said there that Ulmo knew of Meglin, and knew that this treachery would bring about the end of Gondolin at no distant time. These features are absent also from *The Silmarillion*; Ulmo does indeed foresee the ruin of the city, but his foreseeing is not represented as being so precise: 'Thus it may come to pass that the curse of the Noldor shall find thee too ere the end, and treason awake within thy walls. Then they shall be in peril of fire' (p. 126).

The description of the Vale of Gondolin in S is essentially as in the *Tale*, with a few added details. As in the *Tale*, the rocky height of Amon Gwareth was not in the centre of the plain but nearest to Sirion – that is, nearest to the Way of Escape (II. 158, 177). In S, the level top of the hill is said to have been achieved by the people of Gondolin themselves, who also 'polished its sides to the smoothness of glass'. The Way of Escape is still, as in the *Tale* (II. 163), a tunnel made by the Gnomes – the Dry River and the Orfalch Echor have not yet been conceived; and the meaning of the name 'Way of Escape' is made very clear: both a way of escape from Gondolin, if the need should ever arise, and a way of escape from the outer world and from Morgoth. In the *Tale* (*ibid.*) it is said only that there had been divided counsels concerning its delving, 'yet pity for the enthralled Noldoli had prevailed in the end to its making'. The 'Guarded Plain' into which the Way of Escape issued is the Vale of Gondolin. An additional detail in S is that the hills were lower in the region of the Way of Escape, and the spells of Ylmir there strongest (because nearest to Sirion).

The cairn of Fingolfin, added in pencil in S, is an element that entered the legends in the *Quenta* (p. 107) and the *Lay of Leithian* (III. 286–7); the duel of Fingolfin with Morgoth does not appear in S (p. 54). – Here in S it is said that Thorndor 'removed his eyries to the Northern heights of the encircling mountains'. In the *Tale* the eyries in Cristhorn, the Eagles' Cleft, were in the mountains south of Gondolin, but in S Cristhorn is in the northern heights: this is already the case in the Fragment of an alliterative *Lay of Eärendel* (III. 143). Thorndor had come there from Thangorodrim (stated in the *Quenta*, p. 137); cf. the 'later *Tuor*' in *Unfinished Tales* (p. 43 and note 25): 'the folk of Thorondor, who dwelt once even on Thangorodrim ere Morgoth grew so mighty, and dwell now in the Mountains of Turgon since the fall of Fingolfin.' This goes back to the tale of *The Theft of Melko*, where there is a reference (I. 149) to the

time 'when Sorontur and his folk fared to the Iron Mountains and there abode, watching all that Melko did'.

Some other points concerning the story of Gondolin may be noticed. The escort of Noldoli, promised to Tuor by Ulmo in the Land of Willows, of whom Voronwë (in S given the Gnomish form of the name, Bronweg) was the only one who did not desert him (II. 155–6), has disappeared; and 'Bronweg had once been in Gondolin', which is not the case in the *Tale* (II. 156–7). – In the *Tale* Tuor wedded Idril when he 'had dwelt among the Gondothlim many years' (II. 164); in S this took place three years after his coming to the hidden city, in *The Silmarillion* seven years after (p. 241). – In the *Tale* there is no mention of Meglin's support of Turgon's rejection of Ulmo's bidding (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 240: 'Maeglin spoke ever against Tuor in the councils of the King'), nor of the opposition of Idril to her father (this is not in *The Silmarillion*). – The closing of Gondolin to all fugitives and the forbidding of the people to leave the valley is mentioned in S but not explained.

The sentence 'Meglin . . . purchases his life when taken to Angband *by revealing Gondolin* and its secrets' shows almost certainly, I think, that an important structural change in the story of the fall of the city had now entered. In the *Tale* Melko had discovered Gondolin *before* Meglin was captured, and his treachery lay in his giving an exact account of the structure of the city and the preparations made for its defence (see II. 210–11); but the words 'by revealing Gondolin' strongly suggest the later story, in which Morgoth did not know where it lay.

Lastly, there is a development in the early history of Tuor: that he became a slave of 'the faithless men' in Hithlum after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears. Moreover Tuor's parentage is now finally established. Huor has been mentioned in a rewritten passage of S (§9), but not named as father of Tuor; and this is the first occurrence of his mother Rían, and so of the story that she died seeking Huor's body on the battlefield. It cannot be said whether the story of Tuor's birth in the wild and his fostering by Elves had yet arisen.

17

In commenting on the conclusion of the mythology in S, here comprised in the three sections 17–19, I point to features that derive from or contradict those outlines and notes from an earlier period that are collected in Vol. II chapter V and the earlier part of Chapter VI. S is here an extremely abbreviated outline, composed very rapidly – my father was indeed changing his conceptions as he wrote.

For the narrative of §17 the primary extant early sources are the 'schemes' or plot-outlines which I have called 'B' and 'C', in the passages given in II. 253 and 254–5 respectively.

At the beginning of this section, before emendation, the survivors of Gondolin were already at the Mouths of Sirion when Elwing came there; and this goes back to B and C ('Elwing . . . flees to them [i.e. Tuor and Idril] with the Nauglafring', II.254). But earlier in S (§15) the destruction of Dior took place before the fall of Gondolin; hence the revision here, to make Elwing 'receive the survivors of Gondolin'. (In the *Tale of the Nauglafring*, II.242, the fall of Gondolin and the attack on Dior took place on the same day.)

Following this, there is a major development in S. In the early outlines there is the story, only glimpsed, of the March of the Elves of Valinor into the Great Lands; and in B (only) there is a reference to 'the sorrow and wrath of the Gods', of which I said in my discussion of these outlines (II.257): 'the meaning can surely only be that the March of the Elves from Valinor was undertaken in direct opposition to the will of the Valar, that the Valar were bitterly opposed to the intervention of the Elves of Valinor in the affairs of the Great Lands.' On the other hand, the bare hints of what happened when the assault on Melko took place show that greater powers than the Eldar alone were present: Noldorin (the Vala Salmar, who entered the world with Ulmo, and loved the Noldoli), and Tulkas himself, who overthrew Melko in the Battle of the Silent Pools (outline C, II.278). The only hint in the outlines of Ulmo's intervention is his saving of Eärendel from shipwreck, bidding him sail to Kôr with the words 'for this hast thou been brought out of the Wrack of Gondolin' (B, similarly in C). The March of the Eldar from Valinor was brought about by the coming of the birds from Gondolin.

In S, on the other hand, it is Ulmo (Ylmir) who directly brings about the intervention from the West by his reproaches to the Valar, bidding them rescue the remnants of the Noldoli and the Silmarils; and the host is led by 'the sons of the Valar', commanded by Fionwë – who is here the son of Tulkas! Fionwë is frequently named in the *Lost Tales* as the son of Manwë, while the son of Tulkas was Telimektar (who became the constellation Orion). The naming Fionwë son of Tulkas may have been a simple slip, though the same is said in the *Quenta* as first written (p. 149); subsequently Fionwë again becomes the son of Manwë (p. 154).

'Remembering Swanhaven few of the Teleri go with them': in the outline B the presence of the Solosimpi on the March is referred to without comment, while in C they only agreed to accompany the expedition on condition that they remained by the sea (see II.258), and this was in some way associated with their remembrance of the Kinslaying.

The desertion of Kôr at this time is referred to in the outlines, but only in connection with Eärendel's coming there and finding it empty; I noted (II.257) that 'it seems at least strongly implied that Kôr was empty because the Elves of Valinor had departed into the Great Lands', and this is now seen to be certain.

The narrative in S now turns to Tuor. The statement that he grew old at Sirion's mouths – a statement that was struck out – goes back to the old

schemes. His ship is now *Eärámë*, untranslated; previously it was *Alqarámë* 'Swanwing', while *Eärámë* was Eärendel's earlier ship, translated 'Eaglepinion', which foundered. In *The Silmarillion* Tuor's ship is *Eärrámë*, as in S, with the meaning 'Sea-Wing'.

In S, Idril departs in company with Tuor. This is different from the original schemes, where Tuor leaves alone, and Idril 'sees him too late', 'laments', and afterwards 'vanishes'. But in the outline C it seems that she found him, for 'Tuor and Idril some say sail now in Swanwing and may be seen going swift down the wind at dawn and dusk'.

In S, the earlier history of Eärendel's ship-building and shipwrecks in the Fiord of the Mermaid and at Falasquil has, apparently, been abandoned entirely, and Wingelot is his first and only ship; but there remains the motive that Eärendel wishes to seek for his father, whereas Ylmir bids him sail to Valinor (this last being afterwards struck out). His adventures in Wingelot are referred to in S but not otherwise indicated, save for the slaying of Ungoliant 'in the South'; there is no mention of the Sleeper in the Tower of Pearl. In C the long voyage of Eärendel, accompanied by Voronwë, that finally took them to Kôr, included an encounter with Ungweliantë, though this was after his southern voyage: 'Driven west. Ungweliantë. Magic Isles. Twilit Isle. Littleheart's gong awakes the Sleeper in the Tower of Pearl.' In another outline Eärendel encounters Wirilómë (Gloomweaver) in the South (II. 260). In the account in S he does not on this great voyage come to Kôr, though from it, as in B and C, he returns to 'the Waters of Sirion' (the delta) and finds the dwellings there desolate. Now however enters the motive of the last desperate attempt of the Fëanorians to regain the Silmaril of Beren and Lúthien, their descent on the Havens of Sirion, and their destruction. Thus the raid on the Havens has remained, but it is no longer the work of Melko (see II. 258) and is brought into the story of the Oath of Fëanor. As S was first written only Maidros survived; but Maglor was added. (In §14, as written, all the Sons of Fëanor save Maglor were slain at the time of the attack on Dior, though this passage was afterwards struck out. In *The Silmarillion* Celegorm, Curufin, and Caranthir were slain at that time, and Amrod and Amras (later names of Damrod and Díriel) were slain in the attack on the Havens of Sirion, so that only Maidros and Maglor were left.)

In the old outlines Elwing was taken captive (as is to be deduced, by Melko); there is no mention of her release from captivity, and she next appears in references to the sinking of her ship (on the way to Tol Eressëa) and the loss of the Nauglafring; after which she becomes a seabird to seek Eärendel. Eärendel returning from his long voyage and finding the dwellings at Sirion's mouth sacked, goes with Voronwë to the ruins of Gondolin, and in an isolated note (II. 264, xv) he 'goes even to the empty Halls of Iron seeking Elwing'.

All this has disappeared in S, with the new story of Elwing casting herself and the Nauglafring into the sea, except that she still becomes a seabird (thus changed by Ulmo) and flies to seek Eärendel about all the

shores of the world. The early outlines are then at variance: in C it is said that Eärendel dwelt on the Isle of Seabirds and hoped that Elwing would come to him, 'but she is seeking him wailing along all the shores' – yet 'he will find Elwing at the Faring Forth', while in the short outline E (II.260) she came to him as a seamew on the Isle of Seabirds. But in S Elwing is further mentioned only as being sought by Eärendel when he sets sail again, until she reappears at the end (§19) and is restored to Eärendel.

The introduction of Elrond in S is of great interest. He has no brother as yet; and he is saved by Maidros (in *The Silmarillion*, p. 247, Elrond and Elros were saved by Maglor). When the Elves return into the West he elects to stay 'on earth', being 'bound by his mortal half'. It is most remarkable that although the idea of a choice of fate for the Half-elven is already present, it takes a curiously different form from that which it was to take afterwards, and which became of great importance in *The Lord of the Rings*; for afterwards, Elrond, unlike his brother Elros Tar-Minyatur, elected to remain an Elf – yet his later choice derives in part from the earlier conception, for he elected also not to go into the West. In S, to choose his 'elfin half' seems to have meant to choose the West; afterwards, it meant to choose Elvish immortality.

Eärendel learnt what had happened at the Mouths of Sirion from Bronweg (earlier it was Littleheart son of Bronweg who survived the sack of the havens, II.276 note 5), and with Bronweg he sails again in Wingelot and comes to Kôr, which he finds deserted, and his raiment becomes encrusted with the dust of diamonds; not daring to go further into Valinor he builds a tower on an isle in the northern seas, 'to which all the sea-birds of the world repair'. Bronweg is not further mentioned. Almost all of this, other than the statement that Eärendel did not dare venture further into Valinor, goes back to the outline C. The tower on the Isle of Seabirds, which survives in *The Silmarillion* (p. 250), is mentioned in an isolated note on the Eärendel story (II.264, xvii).

In the early outlines Eärendel now set out on his last voyage. In B, which is here very brief, his sailing to the Isle of Seabirds is followed by 'his voyage to the firmament'. In C he sails with Voronwë to the halls of Mandos seeking for tidings of Tuor, Idril, and Elwing; he 'reaches the bar at the margin of the world and sets sail on the oceans of the firmament in order to gaze over the Earth. The Moon mariner chases him for his brightness and he dives through the Door of Night.' In the outline E (II.260) 'Elwing as a seamew comes to him. He sets sail over the margent of the world.' In the early note associated with the poem 'The Bidding of the Minstrel' (II.261) he 'sails west again to the lip of the world, just as the Sun is diving into the sea', and 'sets sail upon the sky'; and in the preface to 'The Shores of Faëry' (II.262) he

> sat long while in his old age upon the Isle of Seabirds in the Northern Waters ere he set forth upon a last voyage. He passed Taniquetil and

even Valinor, and drew his bark over the bar at the margin of the world, and launched it on the Oceans of the Firmament. Of his ventures there no man has told, save that hunted by the orbed Moon he fled back to Valinor, and mounting the towers of Kôr upon the rocks of Eglamar he gazed back upon the Oceans of the World.

The passage in S is different from all of these, in that here Eärendel's voyage into the sky is achieved with the aid of the wings of seabirds, and it introduces the idea of his being scorched by the Sun as well as hunted by the Moon. I suggested (II.259) that Eärendel originally sailed into the sky in continuing search for Elwing, and this is now corroborated.

18 and 19

The story in S now leaves Eärendel, wandering the sky 'as a fugitive star', and comes to the march of Fionwë and the Last Battle (a term that is used in S both of the Last Battle in the mythological record, in which the hosts of Valinor overthrew Morgoth, and of the Last Battle of the world, declared in prophecy, when Morgoth will come back through the Door and Fionwë will fight him on the plains of Valinor). Almost all of this now enters the mythology for the first time; and almost all of what very little survives from the earliest period on the subject of the March of the Elves of Valinor (II.278–80) has disappeared. There is no mention of Tulkas, of his battle with Melko, of Noldorin, of the hostility of Men; virtually the only point in common is that after the overthrow of Morgoth Elves depart into the West. In the old story the Silmarils play no part at the end (cf. the jotting 'What became of the Silmarils after the capture of Melko?' II.259); but now in S there appear the lineaments of a story concerning their fate. Now also we have the first mention anywhere of the breaking of the Northwestern world in the struggle to overthrow Morgoth; and (in an addition to the text) the chain Angainor appears from the *Lost Tales*. (Angainor is not named in the earlier passage in S (§2) concerning the binding of Morgoth. It appears (later) in the *Lay of Leithian*, in a puzzling reference to 'the chain Angainor that *ere Doom*/for Morgoth *shall by Gods be wrought*'; see III.205, 209–10.)

In the story of the fate of the Silmarils, Maglor says to Maidros that there are two sons of Fëanor now left, and two Silmarils. Does this imply that the Silmaril of Beren was lost when Elwing cast herself into the sea with the Nauglafring (unlike the later story)? The answer is certainly yes; the story in S is not comprehensible otherwise. Thus when Maglor casts himself (changed to casts the jewel) into the fiery pit, having stolen one of the Silmarils of the Iron Crown from Fionwë, 'one Silmaril is now in the sea, and one in the earth'. The third was the Silmaril that remained in Fionwë's keeping; and it was that one that was bound to Eärendel's

brow. We thus have a remarkable stage of transition, in which the Silmarils have at last achieved primary importance, but where the fate of each has not arrived at the final form; and the conclusion, seen to be inevitable once reached, that it was the Silmaril regained by Beren and Lúthien that became the Evening Star, has not been achieved. In S, Eärendel becomes a star before receiving the Silmaril; but originally, as I have said (II.265), 'there is no suggestion that the Valar hallowed his ship and set him in the sky, nor that his light was that of the Silmaril'. In this respect also S is transitional, for at the end the later story appears.

The Elves of the Outer Lands (Great Lands), after the conquest of Morgoth, set sail from Lúthien (later emended to Leithien), explained as 'Britain or England'. For the forms *Luthany*, *Lúthien*, *Leithian*, *Leithien* and the texts in which they occur see III. 154. It is remarkable that as S was originally written *Lúthien* is both the name of Thingol's daughter and the name of England.

It is further said in S that the Elves 'ever still from time to time set sail [from Lúthien] leaving the world ere they fade'. 'The Gnomes and many of the Ilkorins and Teleri and Qendi repeople the Lonely Isle. Some go back to live upon the shores of Faëry and in Valinor, but Côr and Tûn remain desolate.' Some of this can be brought into relation with the old outlines (see II. 308–9), but how much more was retained in mind, beyond 'The Elves retreated to Luthany' and 'Many of the Elves of Luthany sought back west over the sea and settled in Tol Eressëa', cannot be determined. That even this much was retained is however very instructive. The peculiar relation of the Elves to England keeps a foothold, as it were, in the actual articulation of the narrative; as also the idea that if they remained in 'the world' they would fade (see II. 326).

It is not made clear why 'Côr and Tûn' remained desolate, since some of the Elves 'go back to live upon the shores of Faëry and in Valinor'. In the original conception (as I have argued its nature, II. 280) the Eldar of Valinor, when they returned from the Great Lands where they had gone against the will of the Valar, were forbidden to re-enter Valinor and therefore settled in Tol Eressëa, as 'the Exiles of Kôr' (although some did return in the end to Valinor, since Ingil son of Inwë, according to Meril-i-Turinqi (I. 129), 'went back long ago to Valinor and is with Manwë'). But in the story as told in S the idea that the March of the Eldar was against the will of the Valar, and aroused them to wrath, has been abandoned, and 'the sons of the Valar' now lead the hosts out of the West; why then should the Elves of Tûn not return there? And we have the statement in S that Tol Eressëa was repeopled not only by Gnomes (and nothing at all is said of their pardon) and Ilkorins, but also by Qendi (= the later Vanyar) and Teleri, Elves who came from Valinor for the assault on Morgoth. I cannot explain this; and must conclude that my father was only noting down the chief points of his developing conceptions, leaving much unwritten.

There now appears the idea that the Gods thrust Morgoth through the

Door of Night 'into the outer dark beyond the Walls of the World';* and there is the first reference to the escape of Thû (Sauron) in the Last Battle. There is also a prophecy concerning the ultimate battle, when the world is old and the Gods weary, and Morgoth will come back through the Door of Night; then Fionwë with Túrin beside him shall fight Morgoth on the plain of Valinor, and Túrin shall slay him with his black sword. The Silmarils shall be recovered, and their light released, the Trees rekindled, the Mountains of Valinor levelled so that the light goes out over all the world, and Gods and Elves shall grow young again. Into this final resolution of the evil in the world it would prove unprofitable, I think, to enquire too closely. References to it have appeared in print in *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 395–6, in the remarks on Gandalf: 'Manwë will not descend from the Mountain until the Dagor Dagorath, and the coming of the End, when Melkor returns', and in the alliterative poem accompanying this, 'until Dagor Dagorath and the Doom cometh'. The earliest references are probably in the outline C (II.282), where (when the Pine of Belaurin is cut down) 'Melko is thus now out of the world – but one day he will find a way back, and the last great uproars will begin before the Great End'. In the *Lost Tales* there are many references to the Great End, most of which do not concern us here; but at the end of the tale of *The Hiding of Valinor* is told (I.219) of 'that great foreboding that was spoken among the Gods when first the Door of Night was opened':

> For 'tis said that ere the Great End come Melko shall in some wise contrive a quarrel between Moon and Sun, and Ilinsor shall seek to follow Urwendi through the Gates, and when they are gone the Gates of both East and West will be destroyed, and Urwendi and Ilinsor shall be lost. So shall it be that Fionwë Úrion, son of Manwë, of love for Urwendi shall in the end be Melko's bane, and shall destroy the world to destroy his foe, and so shall all things then be rolled away.

(Cf. the outline C, II.281: 'Fionwë's rage and grief [at the death of Urwendi]. In the end he will slay Melko.') Whether any of this prophecy underlies the idea of the ultimate return of Morgoth through the Door of Night I cannot say. At the end of the *Tale of Turambar*, after the account of the 'deification' of Túrin and Nienor, there is a prophecy (II.116) that

> Turambar indeed shall stand beside Fionwë in the Great Wrack, and Melko and his drakes shall curse the sword of Mormakil.

But there is no indication in S of how 'the spirit of Túrin' will survive to slay Morgoth in the ultimate battle on the plain of Valinor.

*See the commentary on the *Ambarkanta*, p. 252.

That the Mountains of Valinor shall be levelled, so that the light of the rekindled Trees goes out over all the world, is also found in the earliest texts; cf. the isolated passage in C (II.285) where is told the Elves' prophecy of the (second) Faring Forth:

> Laurelin and Silpion will be rekindled, and the mountain wall being destroyed then soft radiance will be spread over all the world, and the Sun and Moon will be recalled.

But this prophecy is associated with other conceptions that had clearly been abandoned.

At the end, with the aid of the Silmaril Elwing is found and restored, but there is no indication of how the Silmaril was used to this purpose. Elwing in this account sails with Eärendel, who bears the third Silmaril, and so he shall sail until he sees 'the last battle gathering upon the plains of Valinor'.

On the reappearance of the name *Eriol* at the very end of S see II.300.

I do not intend here to relate this version to that in the published work, but will conclude this long discussion of the concluding sections 17–19 with a brief summary. As I have said, S is here extremely condensed, and it is here even harder than elsewhere to know or guess what of the old material my father had suppressed and what was still 'potentially' present. But in any case nothing of the old layer that is not present in S was ever to reappear.

In the present version, Eärendel has still not come to his supreme function as the Messenger who spoke before the Powers on behalf of the Two Kindreds, though the birds of Gondolin have been abandoned as the bringers of tidings to Valinor, and Ulmo becomes the sole agent of the final assault on Morgoth out of the West. The voyages of Eärendel have been simplified: he now has the one great voyage – without Voronwë – in Wingelot, in which he slew Ungoliant, and the second voyage, with Voronwë, which takes him to Kôr – and the desertion of Kôr (Tûn) still depends on the March of the Eldar, which has already taken place when he comes there. His voyage into the sky is now achieved by the wings of birds; and the Silmaril still plays no part in his becoming a star, for the Silmaril of Beren and Lúthien was drowned with the Nauglafring at the Mouths of Sirion. But the Silmarils at last become central to the final acts of the mythological drama, and – unlike the later story – only one of the two Silmarils that remained in the Iron Crown is made away with by a son of Fëanor (Maglor); the second is given to Eärendel by the Gods, and the later story is visible at the end of S, where his boat 'is drawn over Valinor to the Outer Seas' and launched into the Outer Dark, where he sails with the Silmaril on his brow, keeping watch on Morgoth.

The destruction of the people of Sirion's Mouths now becomes the final evil of the Oath of Fëanor. Elrond appears, with a remarkable

reference to the choice given to him as half-elven. The coming of the hosts of the West to the overthrow of Morgoth is now an act of the Valar, and the hosts are led by the Sons of the Valar. England, as Lúthien (Leithien), remains as the land from which the Elves of the Great Lands set sail at the end for Tol Eressëa; but I suspect that virtually all the highly complex narrative which I attempted to reconstruct (II.308–9) had gone – Eärendel and Ing(wë) and the hostility of Ossë, the Ingwaiwar, the seven invasions of Luthany.

The original ideas of the conclusion of the Eldar Days (Melko's climbing of the Pine of Belaurin, the cutting down of the Pine, the warding of the sky by Telimektar and Ingil (Orion and Sirius), II.281–2) have disappeared; in S, Morgoth is thrust through the Door of Night, and Eärendel becomes its guardian and guarantee against Morgoth's return, until the End. And lastly, and most pregnant for the future, Thû escapes the Last Battle when Morgoth was overcome, 'and dwells still in dark places'.

III
THE QUENTA

This work is extant in a typescript (made by my father) for which there is no trace of any preliminary notes or drafts. That the *Quenta*, or at any rate the greater part of it, was written in 1930 seems to me to be certainly deducible (see the commentary on §10, pp. 177–8). After a quite different initial section (which is the origin of the *Valaquenta*) this text becomes a reworking and expansion of the 'Sketch of the Mythology'; and it quickly becomes evident that my father had S (the 'Sketch') in front of him when he wrote the *Quenta* (which I shall refer to as 'Q'). The latter moves towards *The Silmarillion* in its published form, both in structure and in language (indeed already in S the first forms of many sentences can be perceived).

Eriol (as in S; not Ælfwine) is mentioned both in the title of Q and at the end of the work, and his coming to Kortirion, but (again as in S) there is no trace of the Cottage of Lost Play. As I have said of its absence from S (p. 42), this does not demonstrate that my father had rejected the conception in its entirety: in S he may have omitted it because his purpose was solely to recount the history of the Elder Days in condensed form, while in the title of Q it is said that the work was 'drawn from the Book of Lost Tales which Eriol of Leithien wrote'. At least then, we may think, some venue in which the *Lost Tales* were told to Eriol in Kortirion still existed.*

The title makes it very plain that while Q was written in a finished manner, my father saw it as a compendium, a 'brief history' that was 'drawn from' a much longer work; and this aspect remained an important element in his conception of 'The Silmarillion' properly so called. I do not know whether this idea did indeed arise from the fact that the starting point of the second phase of the mythological narrative was a condensed synopsis (S); but it seems likely enough, from the step by step continuity that leads from S through Q to the version that was interrupted towards its end in 1937.

It seems very probable that the greater number of the extensions and elaborations found in Q arose in the course of its composition, and that while Q contains features, omitted in S, which go back to the earliest version, these features argue only a recollection of the *Lost Tales* (to be

* It is said at the end of the *Quenta* that Eriol 'remembered things that he had heard in fair Cortirion'. But this Book of Lost Tales was composed by Eriol (according to the title) out of a 'Golden Book' which he *read* in Kortirion. (Previously the Golden Book of Tavrobel was written either by Eriol (Ælwine) himself, or by his son Heorrenda, or by some other person unnamed long after; see II. 291.)

assumed in any case! – and doubtless a very clear recollection), not a close derivation from the actual text. If that had been the case, one might expect to find the re-emergence of actual phrasing here and there; but that seems to be markedly lacking.

The history of the typescript becomes rather complex towards the end (from §15), where my father expanded and retyped portions of the text (though the discarded pages were not destroyed). But I see no reason to think that much time elapsed between the two versions; for near the very end (§19) the original typescript gives out, and only the second version continues to the conclusion of the *Quenta*, which strongly suggests that the revisions belong to the same time as the original text.

Subsequently the whole text was revised throughout, the corrections being made carefully in ink; these changes though frequent are mostly small, and very often no more than slight alterations of expression. This 'layer' of emendation was clearly the first;* afterwards further changes were made at different times, often very hastily and not always legibly in pencil. To present the text as first typed with annotation of every small stylistic improvement is obviously quite unnecessary, and would in any case require the introduction into the text of a forest of reference numbers to the notes. The text given here *includes*, therefore, without annotation, all minor changes that in no way affect the course of the narrative or alter its implications. Those emendations that are not taken up into the text but recorded in the notes are marked as 'late changes' if they are clearly distinguishable, as is not always the case, from the first 'layer' described above.

I have divided the text into the same 19 divisions made in S (see p. 11); but since the opening of Q has nothing corresponding in S this section is not given a number.

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THE QUENTA

herein is

QENTA NOLDORINWA

or

Pennas-na-Ngoelaidh

This is the brief History of the Noldoli
or Gnomes, drawn from the Book of Lost Tales

*The occurrence of *Beleriand* in the original typescript, first in §13, note 10, not as previously by emendation in ink from typescript *Broseliand*, shows that some of this 'layer' was carried out while the typescript was still in process of composition.

which Eriol of Leithien wrote, having read the *Golden Book*, which the Eldar call *Parma Kuluina*,* in Kortirion in Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle.

After the making of the World by the Allfather, who in Elvish tongue is named Ilúvatar, many of the mightiest spirits that dwelt with him came into the world to govern it, because seeing it afar after it was made they were filled with delight at its beauty. These spirits the Elves named the Valar, which is the Powers, though Men have often called them Gods. Many spirits[1] they brought in their train, both great and small, and some of these Men have confused with the Eldar or Elves: but wrongly, for they were before the world, but Elves and Men awoke first in the world after the coming of the Valar. Yet in the making of Elves and Men and in the giving to each of their especial gifts Ilúvatar alone had part; wherefore they are called the Children of the World or of Ilúvatar.

The chieftains of the Valar were nine. These were the names of the Nine Gods in Elvish tongue as it was spoken in Valinor, though other or altered names they have in the speech of the Gnomes, and their names among Men are manifold. Manwë was the Lord of the Gods and Prince of the airs and winds and the ruler of the sky. With him dwelt as spouse the immortal lady of the heights, Varda the maker of the stars. Next in might and closest in friendship to Manwë was Ulmo Lord of Waters, who dwells alone in the Outer Seas, but has in government all waves and waters, rivers, fountains and springs, throughout the earth. Subject to him, though he is often of rebellious mood, is Ossë the master of the seas of the lands of Men, whose spouse is Uinen the Lady of the Sea. Her hair lies spread through all the waters under skies. Of might nigh equal to Ulmo was Aulë. He was a smith and a master of crafts, but his spouse was Yavanna, the lover of fruits and all the growth of the soil. In might was she next among the ladies of the Valar to Varda. Very fair was she, and often the Elves named her Palúrien, the Bosom of the Earth.

The Fanturi were called those brothers Mandos and Lórien. Nefantur the first was also called, the master of the houses of the dead, and the gatherer of the spirits of the slain. Olofantur was the other, maker of visions and of dreams; and his gardens in the land

*The Elvish name of the Golden Book in the early dictionary of Qenya is *Parma Kuluinen* (II.310).

of the Gods were the fairest of all places in the world and filled with many spirits of beauty and power.

Strongest of all the Gods in limbs and greatest in all feats of prowess and valour was Tulkas, for which reason he was surnamed Poldórëa, the Strong One,[2] and he was the enemy and foe of Melko. Oromë was a mighty lord and little less in strength than Tulkas. He was a hunter, and trees he loved (whence he was called Aldaron and by the Gnomes Tavros,[3] Lord of Forests), and delighted in horses and in hounds. He hunted even in the dark earth before the Sun was lit, and loud were his horns, as still they are in the friths and pastures that Oromë possesses in Valinor. Vana was his spouse, the Queen of Flowers, the younger sister of Varda and Palúrien, and the beauty both of heaven and of earth is in her face and in her works. Yet mightier than she is Nienna who dwells with Nefantur Mandos. Pity is in her heart, and mourning and weeping come to her, but shadow is her realm and night her throne.

Last do all name Melko. But the Gnomes, who most have suffered from his evil, will not speak his name (Moeleg) in their own tongue's form, but call him Morgoth Bauglir, the Black God Terrible. Very mighty was he made by Ilúvatar, and some of the powers of all the Valar he possessed, but to evil uses did he turn them. He coveted the world and the lordship of Manwë, and the realms of all the Gods; and pride and jealousy and lust grew ever in his heart, till he became unlike his wise and mighty brethren. Violence he loved and wrath and destruction, and all excess of cold and flame. But darkness most he used for his works and turned it to evil and a name of horror among Elves and Men.

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1 *Many spirits* > *Many lesser spirits* (late change).
2 *the Strong One* > *the Valiant* (late change).
3 *Tavros* > *Tauros* (late change).

Accents were put in throughout the work in ink (the typewriter did not possess them), and in addition short marks were put in on certain names in this section: *Fantŭri*, *Ŏlŏfantur*, *Ŏrŏmë*, *Aldăron*, *Vănă*.

1

In the beginning of the overlordship of the Valar they saw that the world was dark, and light was scattered over the airs and lands

and seas. Two mighty lamps they made for the lighting of the world and set them on vast pillars in the North and South. They dwelt upon an island in the seas while they were labouring at their first tasks in the ordering of the earth. But Morgoth contested with them and made war. The lamps he overthrew, and in the confusion of darkness he aroused the sea against their island. Then the Gods removed into the West, where ever since their seats have been, but Morgoth escaped, and in the North he built himself a fortress and great caverns underground. And at that time the Valar could not overcome him or take him captive. Therefore they built then in the uttermost West the land of Valinor. It was bordered by the Outer Sea, and the Wall of the World beyond that fences out the Void and the Eldest Dark; but eastward they built the Mountains of Valinor, that are highest upon earth. In Valinor they gathered all light and all things of beauty, and built their many mansions, their gardens, and their towers. Amidmost of the plain was the city of the Gods, Valmar the beautiful of many bells. But Manwë and Varda have halls upon the highest of the Mountains of Valinor, whence they can look across the world even into the East. Taniquetil the Elves named that holy height, and the Gnomes Taingwethil, which in the tongue of this island of old was Tindbrenting.

In Valinor Yavanna planted two trees in the wide plain not far from the gates of Valmar the blessed. Under her songs they grew, and of all the things which the Gods made most renown have they, and about their fate all the stories of the world are woven. Dark-green leaves had one, that beneath were shining silver, and white blossoms like the cherry it bore, from which a dew of silver light was ever falling. Leaves of young green like the new-opened beech the other had. Their edges were of shining gold. Yellow flowers swung upon its boughs like the hanging blossom of the merry trees Men now call Golden Rain. But from those flowers there issued warmth and blazing light. For seven hours each tree waxed to full glory, and for seven hours it waned.[1] Each followed each, and so twice every day in Valinor there came an hour of softer light, when each tree was faint and their gold and silver radiance was mingled; for when white Silpion for six hours had been in bloom, then golden Laurelin awoke. But Silpion was the elder of the Trees, and the first hour that ever it shone the Gods did not count into the tale of hours, and called it the Hour of Opening, and from that hour dated the beginning of their reign in Valinor; and so at the sixth hour of the first of days Silpion ceased its first time of flower,

and at the twelfth was the first blossoming of Laurelin at an end. These Trees the Gnomes called in after times Bansil and Glingol; but Men have no names for them, for their light was slain before the coming of the younger children of Ilúvatar upon earth.[2]

★

1 This sentence was emended to read: *In seven hours each tree waxed to full glory and waned.* Before this emendation, the text was confused, since periods of both fourteen and seven hours are attributed to the Trees; but the following sentence, beginning *Each followed each . . .*, was retyped over erasures that cannot be read, and this no doubt explains the confusion, which was rectified later by the emendation.

2 The typescript page beginning with the words *Sea, and the Wall of the World beyond* and continuing to the end of the section was replaced by another. As far as the end of the first paragraph the replacement is almost identical with the first, but with these differences: Manwë and Varda *had* halls, whence they *could* look out; and new names appear for Taniquetil:

> Taniquetil the Elves named that holy height, and Ialassë the Everlasting Whiteness, and Tinwenairin crowned with stars, and many names beside; and the Gnomes spake of it in their later tongue as Amon-Uilas; and in the language of this island of old Tindbrenting was its name.

The replacement page then continues:

> In Valinor Yavanna hallowed the mould with mighty song, and Nienna watered it with tears. The Gods were gathered in silence upon their thrones of council in the Ring of Doom nigh unto the golden gates of Valmar the Blessed; and Yavanna Palúrien sang before them, and they watched. From the earth came forth two slender shoots; and silence was over all the world save for the slow chanting of Palúrien. Under her songs two fair trees uprose and grew. Of all things which the Gods made most renown have they, and about their fate all the tales of the world are woven. Dark-green leaves had the one, that beneath were as silver shining, and he bore white blossoms like the cherry, from which a dew of silver light was ever falling, and earth was dappled with the dark and dancing shadows of his leaves amid the pools of gleaming radiance. Leaves of young green like the new-opened beech the other bore; their edges were of glittering gold. Yellow flowers swung upon her boughs like the hanging blossoms of the merry trees Men now call Golden-rain; and from those flowers there came forth warmth and a great light.

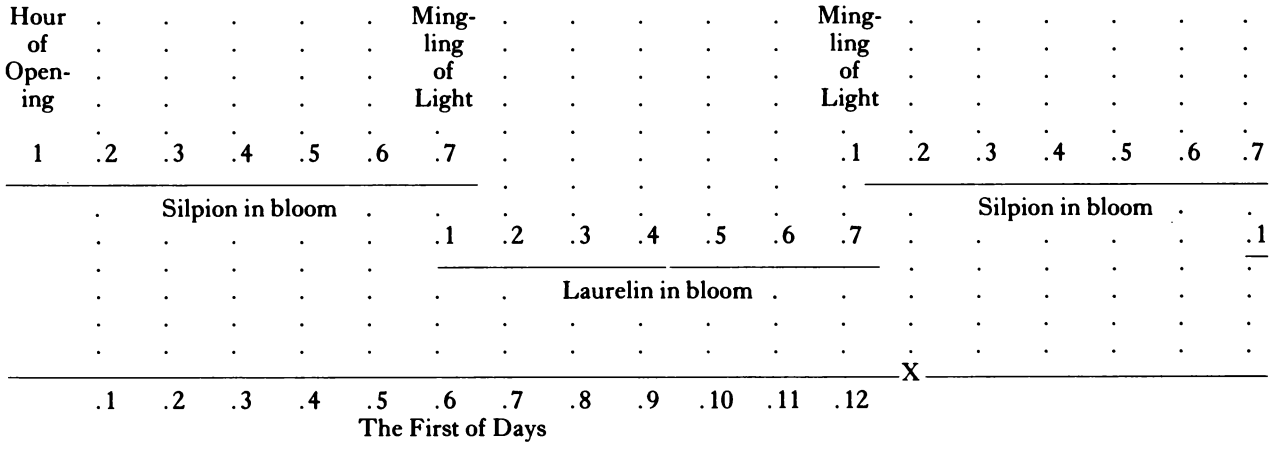
In seven hours the glory of each tree waxed to full and waned again to nought; and each awoke to life an hour before the other ceased to shine. Thus in Valinor twice each day there came a gentle hour of softer light, when both Trees were faint, and their gold and silver radiances mingled. Silpion was the elder of the Trees, and came first to full stature and to bloom, and that first hour wherein he shone, the white glimmer of a silver dawn, the Gods reckoned not into the tale of hours, but named it the Opening Hour, and counted therefrom the ages of their reign in Valinor. Wherefore at the sixth hour of the First of Days, and all the joyous days thereafter until the Darkening, Silpion ceased his time of flower; and at the twelfth Laurelin her blossoming. These Trees the Gnomes called in after days Bansil and Glingol; but Men have no names for them, for their light was slain before the coming of the younger children of the world.

On the next page, and obviously associated with this replacement text, is a typed table here represented. At the bottom of the replaced page, and clearly associated with the emendation given in note 1 above, is a simpler table of precisely similar significance, with the note:

'Day' ends every second waning to nought of Laurelin or at end of second hour of mingling of light.

2

In all this time, since Morgoth overthrew the lamps, the Outer[1] Lands east of the Mountains of Valinor were without light. While the lamps had shone growth began therein, which now was checked because of the darkness. But the oldest of all things already grew upon the world: the great weeds of the sea, and on the earth the dark shade of yew and fir and ivy, and small things faint and silent at their feet.[2] In such forests did Oromë sometimes hunt, but save Oromë and Yavanna the Valar went not out of Valinor, while in the North Morgoth built his strength, and gathered his demon broods about him, whom the Gnomes knew after as the Balrogs with whips of flame. The hordes of the Orcs he made of stone, but their hearts of hatred. Glamhoth, people of hate, the Gnomes have called them. Goblins may they be called, but in ancient days they were strong and cruel and fell. Thus he held sway. Then Varda looked on the darkness and was moved. The silver light that dripped from the boughs of Silpion she hoarded, and thence she made the stars. Wherefore she is called Tinwetári, Queen of Stars, and by the Gnomes Tim-Bridhil. The


Hour of Opening
Mingling of Light
Mingling of Light
1 .2 .3 .4 .5 .6 .7 .1 .2 .3 .4 .5 .6 .7
Silpion in bloom
Silpion in bloom
.1 .2 .3 .4 .5 .6 .7 .1
Laurelin in bloom
X
.1 .2 .3 .4 .5 .6 .7 .8 .9 .10 .11 .12
The First of Days

unlit skies she strewed with these bright globes of silver flame, and high above the North, a challenge unto Morgoth, she set the crown of Seven mighty Stars to swing, the emblem of the Gods, and sign of Morgoth's doom. Many names have these been called; but in the old days of the North both Elves and Men called them the Burning Briar, and some the Sickle of the Gods.

It is said that at the making of the stars the children of the earth awoke: the elder children of Ilúvatar. Themselves they named the Eldar, whom we call the Elves, but in the beginning mightier and more strong were they, yet not more fair. Oromë it was that found them, dwelling by a star-lit mere, Cuiviénen,[3] Water of Awakening, far in the East. Swift he rode home to Valinor filled with the thought of their beauty. When the Valar heard his tidings they pondered long, and they recalled their duty. For they came into the world knowing that their office was to govern it for the children of Ilúvatar who should after come, each in the appointed time.

Thus came it that because of the Elves the Gods made an assault upon the fortress of Morgoth in the North; and this he never forgot. Little do the Elves or Men know of that great riding of the power of the West against the North and of the war and tumult of the battle[4] of the Gods. Tulkas it was who overthrew Morgoth and bound him captive, and the world had peace for a long age. But the fortress which Morgoth had built was hidden with deceit in dungeons and caverns far beneath the earth, and the Gods did not destroy it utterly, and many evil things of Morgoth lingered there still, or dared to roam in the secret pathways of the world.

Morgoth the Gods drew back to Valinor in chains, and he was set in prison in the great halls of Mandos, from which none, God, Elf, nor Man has ever escaped save by the will of the Valar. Vast they are and strong, and built in the North of the land of Valinor. The Eldalië,[5] the people of the Elves, the Gods invited to Valinor, for they were in love with the beauty of that race, and because they feared for them in the starlit dusk, and knew not what deceits and evil wrought by Morgoth still wandered there.

Of their own free will, yet in awe of the power and majesty of the Gods, the Elves obeyed. A great march therefore they prepared from their first homes in the East. When all was ready Oromë rode at their head upon his white horse shod with gold. Into three hosts were the Eldalië arrayed. The first to march forth were led by that most high of all the elfin race, whose name was Ingwë, Lord of Elves. Ing the Gnomes now make his name, but never came he

back into the Outer Lands until these tales were near their end.[6] The Quendi[7] were his own folk called, who sometimes are alone called Elves; they are the Light-elves and the beloved of Manwë and his spouse. Next came the Noldoli. The Gnomes we may call them, a name of wisdom; they are the Deep-elves, and on that march their lord was the mighty Finwë, whom his own folk in their tongue later changed call Finn.[8] His kindred are renowned in elfin song, and of them these tales have much to tell, for they warred and laboured long and sore in the Northern lands of old. Third came the Teleri. The Foam-riders may they be called; they are the Sea-elves, and the Solosimpi[9] they were named in Valinor, the pipers of the shores.[10] Elwë (or Elu) was their lord.[11]

Many of the elfin race were lost upon the long dark roads, and they wandered in the woods and mountains of the world, and never came to Valinor, nor saw the light of the Two Trees. Therefore they are called Ilkorindi, the Elves that dwelt never in Côr,[12] the city of the Eldar in the land of the Gods. The Dark-elves are they, and many are their scattered tribes, and many are their tongues.

Of the Dark-elves the chief in renown was Thingol. For this reason he came never to Valinor. Melian was a fay. In the gardens of Lórien she dwelt, and among all his fair folk none were there that surpassed her beauty, nor none more wise, nor none more skilled in magical and enchanting song. It is told that the Gods would leave their business, and the birds of Valinor their mirth, that Valmar's bells were silent, and the fountains ceased to flow, when at the mingling of the light Melian sang in the gardens of the God of Dreams. Nightingales went always with her, and their song she taught them. But she loved deep shadow, and often strayed on long journey into the Outer Lands, and there filled the silence of the dawning world with her voice and the voices of her birds.

The nightingales of Melian Thingol heard and was enchanted, and left his folk. Melian he found beneath the trees and was cast into a dream and a great slumber, so that his people sought him in vain. In after days Melian and Thingol became Queen and King of the woodland Elves of Doriath; and Thingol's halls were called the Thousand Caves.

★

1 At all three occurrences of *Outer Lands* in this section *Hither* is written above *Outer* (which is not struck out).

2 After *at their feet* is added: *and in their thickets dark creatures, old and strong.*
3 *Cuiviénen* > *Kuiviénen*
4 *the battle* > *the first battle*
5 Written against *Eldalië*: *Quendi* (late change).
6 This sentence, beginning *Ing the Gnomes now make his name*, was changed to read:

> He entered into Valinor and sits at the feet of the Powers, and all Elves revere his name, but he hath come never back into the Outer Lands.

7 *Quendi* > *Lindar* (late change).
8 *whom his own folk in their tongue later changed call Finn* > *wisest of all the children of the world.*
9 *Solosimpi* > *Soloneldi*
10 *the pipers of the shores* > *for they made music beside the breaking waves.*
11 *Elwë (or Elu) was their lord* > *Elwë was their lord, and his hair was long and white.*
12 *Côr* > *Kôr*

Short marks were written in on the names *Eldălië*, *Tĕlĕri*.

3

In time the hosts of the Eldar came to the last shores of the West.[1] In the North these shores in the ancient days sloped ever westward, until in the northernmost parts of the Earth only a narrow sea divided the land of the Gods from the Outer[2] Lands; but this narrow sea was filled with grinding ice, because of the violence of the frosts of Morgoth. At that place where the elfin hosts first looked upon the sea in wonder a wide dark ocean stretched between them and the Mountains of Valinor. Over the waves they gazed waiting; and Ulmo, sent by the Valar, uprooted the half-sunk island upon which the Gods had first had their dwelling, and drew it to the western shores. Thereon he embarked the Quendi[3] and the Noldoli, for they had arrived first, but the Teleri were behind and did not come until he had gone. The Quendi and the Noldoli he bore thus to the long shores beneath the Mountains of Valinor, and they entered the land of the Gods, and were welcomed to its glory and its bliss. The Teleri thus dwelt long by the shores of the sea awaiting Ulmo's return, and they grew to love the sea, and made songs filled with the sound of it. And Ossë

loved them and the music of their voices, and sitting upon the rocks he spoke to them. Great therefore was his grief when Ulmo returned at length to take them to Valinor. Some he persuaded to remain on the beaches of the world, but the most embarked upon the isle and were drawn far away. Then Ossë followed them, and in rebellion, it is said, he seized the isle and chained it to the sea-bottom far out in the Bay of Faërie, whence the Mountains of Valinor could but dimly be descried, and the light of the realms beyond that filtered through the passes of the hills. There it stood for many an age. No other land was near to it, and it was called Tol-Eressëa, or the Lonely Isle. There long the Teleri dwelt, and learned strange music of Ossë, who made the seabirds for their delight. Of this long sojourn apart came the sundering of the tongue of the Foamriders and the Elves of Valinor.

To the other Elves the Valar gave a home and dwelling. Because even among the Tree-lit gardens of the Gods they longed at whiles to see the stars, a gap was made in the encircling mountains, and there in a deep valley that ran down to the sea the green hill of Côr[4] was raised. From the West the Trees shone upon it; to the East it looked out to the Bay of Faërie and the Lonely Isle and the Shadowy Seas. Thus some of the blessed light of Valinor came into the lands without, and fell upon the Lonely Isle, and its western shore grew green and fair. There bloomed the first flowers that ever were east of the mountains of the Gods.

On the top of Côr the city of the Elves was built, the white walls and towers and terraces of Tûn. The highest of those towers was the tower of Ing,[5] whose silver lamp shone far out into the mists of the sea, but few are the ships of mortals that have ever seen its marvellous beam. There dwelt the Elves and Gnomes. Most did Manwë and Varda love the Quendi, the Light-elves,[6] and holy and immortal were all their deeds and songs. The Noldoli, the Deep-elves, that Men call Gnomes, were beloved of Aulë, and of Mandos the wise; and great was their craft, their magic and their skill, but ever greater their thirst for knowledge, and their desire to make things wonderful and new. In Valinor of their skill they first made gems, and they made them in countless myriads, and filled all Tûn with them, and all the halls of the Gods were enriched.[7]

Since the Noldoli afterwards came back into the Great[8] Lands, and these tales tell mostly of them, here may be said, using the names in form of Gnomish tongue as it long was spoken on the earth, that King of the Gnomes was Finn.[9] His sons were Fëanor,

Fingolfin, and Finrod. Of these Fëanor was the most skilful, the deepest in lore of all his race; Fingolfin the mightiest and most valiant; Finrod the fairest and most wise of heart. The seven sons of Fëanor were Maidros the tall; Maglor, a musician and mighty singer whose voice carried far over hill and sea; Celegorm the fair, Curufin the crafty, the heir of well nigh all his father's skill, and Cranthir the dark; and last Damrod and Díriel, who after were great hunters in the world, though not more than Celegorm the fair, the friend of Oromë. The sons of Fingolfin were Finweg,[10] who was after king of the Gnomes in the North of the world, and Turgon of Gondolin; and his daughter was Isfin the White. The sons of Finrod were Felagund, Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor.

In those far days Fëanor began on a time a long and marvellous labour, and all his power and all his subtle magic he called upon, for he purposed to make a thing more fair than any of the Eldar yet had made, that should last beyond the end of all. Three jewels he made, and named them Silmarils. A living fire burned within them that was blended of the light of the Two Trees; of their own radiance they shone even in the dark; no mortal flesh impure could touch them, but was withered and was scorched. These jewels the Elves prized beyond all the works of their hands, and Manwë hallowed them, and Varda said: 'The fate of the Elves is locked herein, and the fate of many things beside.' The heart of Fëanor was wound about the things he himself had made.

Now it must be told that the Teleri seeing afar the light of Valinor were torn between desire to see again their kindred and to look upon the splendour of the Gods, and love of the music of the sea. Therefore Ulmo taught them the craft of shipbuilding, and Ossë, yielding to Ulmo at last, brought to them as his last gift the strong-winged swans. Their fleet of white ships they harnessed to the swans of Ossë, and thus were drawn without help of the winds to Valinor. There they dwelt upon the long shores of Fairyland, and could see the light of the Trees, and could visit the golden streets of Valmar, and the crystal stairs of Tûn, if they wished – but most they sailed the waters of the Bay of Faërie and danced in those bright waves whose crests gleamed in the light beyond the hill. Many jewels the other Eldar gave to them, opals and diamonds and pale crystals that they strewed upon the pools and sands. Many pearls they made, and halls of pearl, and of pearls were the mansions of Elwë at the Haven of the Swans. That was their chief town, and their harbour. A marvellous arch of living

rock sea-carven was its gate, and it lay upon the confines of Fairyland, north of the pass of Côr.

★

1 *the last shores of the West* > *the last western shores of the Hither Lands*
2 *Hither* written above *Outer* (see §2 note 1).
3 *Quendi* > *Lindar* at all three occurrences (late change; cf. §2 note 7).
4 *Côr* > *Kôr* at both occurrences (as in §2).
5 *Ing* > *Ingwë* (see §2 note 6).
6 *Light-elves* > *High-elves*, and later to *Fair-elves*.
7 On a separate slip is the following passage in manuscript without precise direction for its insertion, but which seems best placed here:

> But the love of the outer earth and stars remained in the hearts of the Noldoli, and they abode there ever and in the hills and valleys about the city. But the Lindar after a while grew to love rather the wide plains and the full light of Valinor, and they forsook Tûn, and came seldom back; and the Noldoli became a separate folk and their king was Finwë. Yet none dwelt in the tower of Ingwë nor . . . . . save such as tended that unfailing lamp, and Ingwë was held ever as high-king of all the Eldalië.

8 *Hither* written above *Great*.
9 *Finn* > *Finwë* (see §2 note 8).
10 *Finweg* > *Fingon*

4

Now it may be told how the Gods were beguiled by Morgoth. This was the high tide of the glory and the bliss of Gods and Elves, the noontide of the Blessed Realm. Seven[1] ages as the Gods decreed had Morgoth dwelt in the halls of Mandos, each age in lightened pain. When seven ages had passed, as they had promised, he was brought before their conclave. He looked upon the glory of the Valar, and greed and malice was in his heart; he looked upon the fair children of the Eldalië that sat at the knees of the Gods, and hatred filled him; he looked upon their wealth of jewels and lusted for them; but his thoughts he hid and his vengeance he postponed.

There Morgoth humbled himself before the feet of Manwë and sought for pardon; but they would not suffer him to depart from their sight and watchfulness. A humble dwelling he was granted in

Valinor within the gates of the city, and so fair-seeming were all his deeds and words that after a while he was allowed to go freely about all the land. Only Ulmo's heart misgave him, and Tulkas clenched his hands whenever he saw Morgoth his foe go by. Never has Tulkas the strong forgotten or forgiven a wrong done to himself or his. Most fair of all was Morgoth to the Elves, and he aided them in many works, if they would let him. The people of Ing,[2] the Quendi,[3] held him in suspicion, for Ulmo had warned them and they had heeded his words. But the Gnomes took delight in the many things of hidden and secret wisdom that he could tell to them, and some harkened to things which it had been better that they had never heard. And when he saw his chance he sowed a seed of lies and suggestions of evil among such as these. Bitterly did the folk of the Noldoli atone for it in after days. Often he would whisper that the Gods had brought the Eldar to Valinor but out of jealousy, for fear their marvellous skill and beauty and their magic should grow too strong for them, as they waxed and spread over the wide lands of the world. Visions he would set before them of the mighty realms they might have ruled in power and freedom in the East. In those days, moreover, the Valar knew of the coming of Men that were to be; but the Elves knew nought of this, for the Gods had not revealed it, and the time was not yet near. But Morgoth spoke in secret to the Elves of mortals, though little of the truth he knew or cared. Manwë alone knew aught clearly of the mind of Ilúvatar concerning Men, and ever has he been their friend. Yet Morgoth whispered that the Gods kept the Eldar captive so that Men coming should defraud them of their kingdoms, for the weaker race of mortals would be more easily swayed by them. Little truth was there in this, and little have the Valar ever prevailed to sway the wills or fates of Men, and least of all to good. Yet many of the Elves believed or half-believed his evil words. Gnomes were the most of these. Of the Teleri there were none.

Thus, ere the Gods were aware, the peace of Valinor was poisoned. The Gnomes began to murmur against the Valar and their kindred, and they became filled with vanity, and forgot all that the Gods had given them and taught them. Most of all did Morgoth fan the flames of the fierce and eager heart of Fëanor, though all the while he lusted for the Silmarils. These Fëanor at great feasts wore on brow and breast, but at other times, locked fast in the hoards of Tûn, they were guarded close, though there were no thieves in Valinor, as yet. Proud were the sons of Finn,[4] and the proudest Fëanor. Lying Morgoth said to him that Fingolfin

and his sons were plotting to usurp the leadership of Fëanor and his sons, and supplant them in the favour of their father and of the Gods. Of these words were quarrels born between the children of Finn, and of those quarrels came the end of the high days of Valinor and the evening of its ancient glory.[5]

Fëanor was summoned before the council of the Gods, and there were the lies of Morgoth laid bare for all to see who had the will. By the judgement of the Gods Fëanor was banished from Tûn. But with him went Finn his father who loved him more than his other sons, and many other Gnomes. Northward in Valinor in the hills near the halls of Mandos they built a treasury and a stronghold; but Fingolfin ruled the Noldoli in Tûn. Thus might Morgoth's words seem justified, and the bitterness he sowed went on, though his lies were disproved, and long after it lived still between the sons of Fingolfin and of Fëanor.[6]

Straight from the midst of their council the Gods sent Tulkas to lay hands on Morgoth and bring him before them in chains once more. But he escaped through the pass of Côr,[7] and from the tower of Ing the Elves saw him pass in thunder and in wrath.

Thence he came into that region that is called Arvalin, which lies south of the Bay of Faërie, and beneath the very eastern feet of the mountains of the Gods, and there are the shadows the thickest in all the world. There secret and unknown dwelt Ungoliant, Gloomweaver, in spider's form. It is not told whence she is, from the outer darkness, maybe, that lies beyond the Walls of the World. In a ravine she lived, and spun her webs in a cleft of the mountains, and sucked up light and shining things to spin them forth again in nets of black and choking gloom and clinging fog. Ever she hungered for more food. There Morgoth met her, and with her plotted his revenge. But terrible was the reward that he must promise her, ere she would dare the perils of Valinor or the power of the Gods.

A great darkness she wove about her to protect her, and then from pinnacle to pinnacle she swung on her black ropes, until she had scaled the highest places of the mountains. In the south of Valinor was this, for there lay the wild woods of Oromë, and there was little watch, since, far from the old fortress of Morgoth in the North, the great walls there looked on untrodden lands and empty sea. On a ladder that she made Morgoth climbed, and he looked down upon the shining plain, seeing afar off the domes of Valinor in the mingling of the light; and he laughed as he sped down the long western slopes with ruin in his heart.

So came evil into Valinor. Silpion was waning fast and Laurelin but just begun to glow, when protected by fate Morgoth and Ungoliant crept unawares into the plain. With his black sword Morgoth stabbed each tree to its very core, and as their juices spouted forth Ungoliant sucked them up, and poison from her foul lips went into their tissues and withered them, leaf and branch and root. Slowly they succumbed, and their light grew dim, while Ungoliant belched forth black clouds and vapours as she drank their radiance. To monstrous form she swelled.

Then fell wonder and dismay on all in Valmar, when twilight and mounting gloom came on the land. Black vapours floated about the ways of the city. Varda looked down from Taniquetil and saw the trees and towers all hidden as in a mist. Too late they ran from hill and gate. The Trees died and shone no more, while wailing throngs stood round them and called on Manwë to come down. Out upon the plain the horses of Oromë thundered with a hundred hooves, and fire started in the gloom about their feet. Swifter than they ran Tulkas on before, and the light of the anger of his eyes was as a beacon. But they found not what they sought. Wherever Morgoth went a darkness and confusion was around him that Ungoliant made, so that feet were bewildered and search was blind.

This was the time of the Darkening of Valinor. In that day there stood before the gates of Valmar Gnomes that cried aloud. Bitter were their tidings. They told how Morgoth had fled North and with him was a great black shape, a spider of monstrous form it had seemed in the gathering night. Sudden he had fallen on the treasury of Finn. There he slew the king of the Gnomes before his doors, and spilled the first elfin blood and stained the land of Valinor. Many others too he slew, but Fëanor and his sons were not there. Bitterly they cursed the chance, for Morgoth took the Silmarils and all the wealth of the jewels of the Noldoli that were hoarded there.

Little is known of the paths or journeys of Morgoth after that terrible deed; but this is known to all, that escaping from the hunt he came at last with Ungoliant over the Grinding Ice and so into the northern lands of this world. There Ungoliant summoned him to give her the promised reward. The half of her pay had been the sap of the Trees of Light. The other half was a full share in the plundered jewels. Morgoth yielded these up, and she devoured them, and their light perished from the earth, and still more huge grew Ungoliant's dark and hideous form. But no share in the

Silmarils would Morgoth give. Such was the first thieves' quarrel.

So mighty had Ungoliant become that she enmeshed Morgoth in her choking nets, and his awful cry echoed through the shuddering world. To his aid came the Orcs and Balrogs that lived yet in the lowest places of Angband. With their whips of flame the Balrogs smote the webs asunder, but Ungoliant was driven away into the uttermost South, where she long dwelt.

Thus came Morgoth back to Angband, and there countless became the number of the hosts of his Orcs and demons.[8] He forged for himself a great crown of iron, and he called himself the king of the world. In sign of this he set the three Silmarils in his crown. It is said that his evil hands were burned black with the touch of those holy and enchanted things, and black they have ever been since, nor was he ever afterward free from the pain of the burning, and the anger of the pain. That crown he never took from his head, and it never was his wont to leave the deep dungeons of his fortress, but he governed his vast armies from his northern throne.

★

1 *Nine* written above *Seven* but then struck out.

2 *Ing* > *Ingwë* at both occurrences, as previously.

3 *Quendi* > *Lindar*, as previously (late change).

4 *Finn* > *Finwë* at all occurrences (except once where overlooked), as previously.

5 The following was added here later faintly in pencil:

> And Fëanor spoke words of rebellion against the Gods and plotted to depart from Valinor back into the outer world and deliver the Gnomes, as he said, from thraldom.

6 The following was added here in the same way and at the same time as the passage given in note 5:

> But Morgoth hid himself and none knew whither he had gone. And while the Gods were in council, for they feared that the shadows should lengthen in Valinor, a messenger came and brought tidings that Morgoth was in the North of the land, journeying towards the house of Finwë.

7 *Côr* > *Kôr*, as previously.

8 Written here later is the direction: *Here mention making of Orcs (p. 4)*. Page 4 of the typescript contains the sentence (p. 82) *The hordes of the Orcs he made of stone, but their hearts of hatred.* See p. 295.

5

When it became at last all too clear that Morgoth had escaped, the Gods assembled about the dead Trees and sat there in darkness for a long while in dumb silence, and mourned in their hearts. Now that day which Morgoth chose for this assault was a day of high festival throughout Valinor. On this day it was the custom of the chief Valar, all save Ossë who seldom came thither, and of many of the Elves, especially the people of Ing,[1] to climb the long winding paths in white-robed procession to Manwë's halls on the summit of Tindbrenting. All the Quendi[2] and many of the Gnomes, who under Fingolfin still lived in Tûn, were therefore on Tindbrenting's height and were singing before the feet of Varda, when the watchers from afar beheld the fading of the Trees. But most of the Gnomes were in the plain, and all the Teleri, as was their wont, were on the shore. The fogs and darkness now drifted in from off the sea through the pass of Côr,[3] as the Trees died. A murmur of dismay ran through all Elfland, and the Foamriders wailed beside the sea.

Then Fëanor rebelling against his banishment summoned all the Gnomes to Tûn. A vast concourse gathered in the great square on the top of the hill of Côr, and it was lit by the light of many torches which each one that came bore in hand.

Fëanor was a great orator with a power of moving words. A very wild and terrible speech he made before the Gnomes that day, and though his anger was most against Morgoth, yet his words were in great part the fruit of Morgoth's lies. But he was distraught with grief for his father and wrath for the rape of the Silmarils. He now claimed the kingship of all the Gnomes, since Finn[4] was dead, in spite of the decree of the Gods. 'Why should we obey the jealous Gods any longer,' he asked, 'who cannot even keep their own realm from their foe?' He bade the Gnomes prepare for flight in the darkness, while the Valar were still wrapped in mourning; to seek freedom in the world and of their own prowess to win there a new realm, since Valinor was no longer more bright and blissful than the lands outside; to seek out Morgoth and war with him for ever until they were avenged. Then he swore a terrible oath. His seven sons leaped to his side and took the selfsame vow together, each with drawn sword. They swore the unbreakable oath, by the name of Manwë and Varda and the holy mountain,[5] to pursue with hate and vengeance to the ends of the world Vala, Demon, Elf, or Man, or Orc who hold or take or keep a Silmaril against their will.

Fingolfin and his son Finweg[6] spake against Fëanor, and wrath and angry words came near to blows; but Finrod spoke and sought to calm them, though of his sons only Felagund was on his side. Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor took the part of Fëanor. In the end it was put to the vote of the assembly, and moved by the potent words of Fëanor the Gnomes decided to depart. But the Gnomes of Tûn would not renounce the kingship of Fingolfin, and as two divided hosts therefore they set forth: one under Fingolfin who with his sons yielded to the general voice against their wisdom, because they would not desert their people; the other under Fëanor. Some remained behind. Those were the Gnomes who were with the Quendi upon Tindbrenting. It was long ere they came back into this tale of the wars and wanderings of their people.

The Teleri would not join that flight. Never had they listened to Morgoth. They desired no other cliffs nor beaches than the strands of Fairyland. But the Gnomes knew that they could not escape without boats and ships, and that there was no time to build. They must cross the seas far to the North where they were narrower, but further still feared to venture; for they had heard of Helkaraksë, the Strait of the Grinding Ice, where the great frozen hills ever shifted and broke, sundered and clashed together. But their white ships with white sails the Teleri would not give, since they prized them dearly, and dreaded moreover the wrath of the Gods.

Now it is told that the hosts of Fëanor marched forth first along the coast of Valinor; then came the people of Fingolfin less eager, and in the rear of this host were Finrod and Felagund and many of the noblest and fairest of the Noldoli. Reluctantly they forsook the walls of Tûn, and more than others they carried thence memories of its bliss and beauty, and even many fair things made there by hands. Thus the people of Finrod had no part in the dreadful deed that then was done, and not all of Fingolfin's folk shared in it; yet all the Gnomes that departed from Valinor came under the curse that followed. When the Gnomes came to the Haven of the Swans they attempted to seize by force the white fleets that lay anchored there. A bitter affray was fought upon the great arch of the gate and on the lamplit quays and piers, as is sadly told in the song of the Flight of the Gnomes. Many were slain on either side, but fierce and desperate were the hearts of the people of Fëanor, and they won the battle; and with the help beside of many even of the Gnomes of Tûn they drew away the ships of the Teleri, and manned their oars as best they might, and took them north along the coast.

After they had journeyed a great way and were come to the northern confines of the Blessed Realm, they beheld a dark figure standing high upon the cliffs. Some say it was a messenger, others that it was Mandos himself. There he spoke in a loud dread voice the curse and prophecy that is called the Prophecy of Mandos,[7] warning them to return and seek for pardon, or in the end to return only at last after sorrow and endless misery. Much he foretold in dark words, which only the wisest of them understood, of things that after befell; but all heard the curse he uttered upon those that would not stay, because they had at Swanhaven spilled the blood of their kindred, and fought the first battle between the children of earth unrighteously. For that they should suffer in all their wars and councils from treachery and from the fear of treachery among their own kindred. But Fëanor said: 'He saith not that we shall suffer from cowardice, from cravens or the fear of cravens', and that proved true.[8]

All too soon did the evil begin to work. They came at last far to the North and saw the first teeth of the ice that floated in the sea. Anguish they had of the cold. Many of the Gnomes murmured, especially of those that followed less eagerly under the banners of Fingolfin. So it came into the heart of Fëanor and his sons to sail off suddenly with all the ships, of which they had the mastery, and 'leave the grumblers to grumble, or whine their way back to the cages of the Gods'. Thus began the curse of the slaying at Swanhaven. When Fëanor and his folk landed on the shores in the West of the northern world, they set fire in the ships and made a great burning terrible and bright; and Fingolfin and his people saw the light of it in the sky. Thereafter those left behind wandered miserably, and were joined by the companies of Finrod that marched up after.

In the end in woe and weariness Finrod led some back to Valinor and the pardon of the Gods – for they were not at Swanhaven – but the sons of Finrod and Fingolfin[9] would not yield, having come so far. They led their host far into the bitterest North, and dared at last the Grinding Ice. Many were lost there wretchedly, and there was small love for the sons of Fëanor in the hearts of those that came at last by this perilous passage into the Northern lands.

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1 *Ing* > *Ingwë*, as previously.

2 At neither of the occurrences of *Quendi* is the name changed, as previously, to *Lindar*, clearly through oversight.

3 *Côr* > *Kôr* at both occurrences, as previously.
4 *Finn* not emended to *Finwë* as previously, through oversight.
5 This sentence was rewritten:

> They swore an oath which none shall break, and none should take, by the name of the Allfather, calling the Everlasting Dark upon them, if they kept it not, and Manwë they named in witness, and Varda, and the Holy Mount, vowing

6 *Finweg* > *Fingon*, as in §3, note 10.
7 *Prophecy of Mandos* > *Prophecy of the North*
8 Here is written lightly in pencil: *Finrod returned*.
9 *the sons of Finrod and Fingolfin* > *Fingolfin and the sons of Finrod*. (This emendation was made, I think, simply for clarity, the original text having been intended to mean 'the sons of Finrod, together with Fingolfin': for Fingolfin, not his son Finweg/Fingon, has become the leader of the hosts across the Grinding Ice, since Finrod is now the one who returned to Valinor – see the commentary on S §5, p. 48.)

6

When the Gods heard of the flight of the Gnomes they were aroused from their grief. Manwë summoned then to his council Yavanna; and she put forth all her power, but it availed not to heal the Trees. Yet beneath her spells Silpion bore at last one great and single silver bloom, and Laurelin a great golden fruit. Of these, as is said in the song of the Sun and Moon, the Gods fashioned the great lamps of heaven, and set them to sail appointed courses above the world. Rána they named the Moon, and Ûr the Sun; and the maiden who guided the galleon of the sun was Úrien,[1] and the youth who steered the floating island of the Moon was Tilion. Úrien was a maiden who had tended the golden flowers in the gardens of Vana, while still joy was in the Blissful Realm, and Nessa daughter of Vana[2] danced on the lawns of never-fading green. Tilion was a hunter from the company of Oromë, and he had a silver bow. Often he wandered from his course pursuing the stars upon the heavenly fields.

At first the Gods purposed that the Sun and Moon should sail from Valinor to the furthest East, and back again, each following the other to and fro across the sky. But because of the waywardness of Tilion and his rivalry with Úrien, and most because of the words of Lórien and Nienna, who said that they had banished all sleep and night and peace from the earth, they changed their design. The Sun and Moon were drawn by Ulmo or his chosen

spirits through the caverns and grottoes at the roots of the world, and mounted then in the East, and sailed back to Valinor, into which the Sun descended each day at time of Evening. And so is Evening the time of greatest light and joy in the land of the Gods, when the Sun sinks down to rest beyond the rim of earth upon the cool bosom of the Outer Sea. Tilion was bidden not to mount until Úrien was fallen from the sky, or far had journeyed to the West, and so it is that they are now but seldom seen in the heaven together.

Still therefore is the light of Valinor more great and fair than that of other lands, because there the Sun and Moon together rest a while before they go upon their dark journey under the world, but their light is not the light which came from the Trees before ever Ungoliant's poisonous lips touched them. That light lives now only in the Silmarils. Gods and Elves therefore look forward yet to a time when the Magic Sun and Moon, which are the Trees, may be rekindled and the bliss and glory of old return. Ulmo foretold to them that this would only come to pass by the aid, frail though it might seem, of the second race of earth, the younger children of Ilúvatar. Little heed did they pay to him at that time. Still were they wroth and bitter because of the ingratitude of the Gnomes, and the cruel slaying at the Haven of the Swans. Moreover for a while all save Tulkas feared the might and cunning of Morgoth. Now therefore they fortified all Valinor, and set a sleepless watch upon the wall of hills, which they now piled to a sheer and dreadful height – save only at the pass of Côr.[3] There were the remaining Elves set to dwell, and they went now seldom to Valmar or Tindbrenting's height, but were bidden to guard the pass ceaselessly that no bird nor beast nor Elf nor Man, nor anything beside that came from the lands without, should approach the shores of Faërie, or set foot in Valinor. In that day, which songs call the Hiding of Valinor, the Magic Isles were set, filled with enchantment, and strung across the confines of the Shadowy Seas, before the Lonely Isle is reached sailing West, there to entrap mariners and wind them in everlasting sleep. Thus it was that the many emissaries of the Gnomes in after days came never back to Valinor – save one, and he came too late.[4]

The Valar sit now behind the mountains and feast, and dismiss the exiled Noldoli from their hearts, all save Manwë and Ulmo. Most in mind did Ulmo keep them, who gathers news of the outer world through all the lakes and rivers that flow into the sea.

At the first rising of the Sun over the world the younger children of earth awoke in the land of Eruman[5] in the East of East.[6] But of Men little is told in these tales, which concern the oldest days before the waning of the Elves and the waxing of mortals, save of those who in the first days of Sunlight and Moonsheen wandered into the North of the world. To Eruman there came no God to guide Men or to summon them to dwell in Valinor. Ulmo nonetheless took thought for them, and his messages came often to them by stream and flood, and they loved the waters but understood little the messages. The Dark-elves they met and were aided by them, and were taught by them speech and many things beside, and became the friends of the children of the Eldalië who had never found the paths to Valinor, and knew of the Valar but as a rumour and a distant name. Not long was then Morgoth come back into the earth, and his power went not far abroad, so that there was little peril in the lands and hills where new things, fair and fresh, long ages ago devised in the thought of Yavanna, came at last to their budding and their bloom.

West, North, and South they spread and wandered, and their joy was the joy of the morning before the dew is dry, when every leaf is green.

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1 *Úrien* > *Árien* at all occurrences.
2 *daughter of Vana* struck out. See p. 275.
3 *Côr* > *Kôr*, as previously.
4 *and he came too late* > *the mightiest mariner of song.*
5 At the first occurrence the name *Eruman* was later underlined in pencil, as if for correction, but not at the second.
6 Added here:

> for measured time had come into the world, and the first of days; and thereafter the lives of the Eldar that remained in the Hither Lands were lessened, and their waning was begun.

7

Now began the times of the great wars of the powers of the North, when the Gnomes of Valinor and Ilkorins and Men strove against the hosts of Morgoth Bauglir, and went down in ruin. To this end the cunning lies of Morgoth that he sowed amongst his foes, and the curse that came of the slaying at the Haven of the

Swans, and the oath of the sons of Fëanor, were ever at work; the greatest injury they did to Men and Elves.

Only a part do these tales tell of the deeds of those days, and most they tell concerning the Gnomes and the Silmarils and the mortals that became entangled in their fate. In the early days Eldar and Men were of little different stature and bodily might; but the Eldar were blessed with greater skill, beauty, and wit, and those who had come from Valinor as much surpassed the Ilkorins in these things as they in turn surpassed the people of mortal race. Only in the realm of Doriath, whose queen Melian was of the kindred of the Valar, did the Ilkorins come near to match the Elves of Côr.[1] Immortal were the Elves, and their wisdom waxed and grew from age to age, and no sickness or pestilence brought them death. But they could be slain with weapons in those days, even by mortal Men, and some waned and wasted with sorrow till they faded from the earth. Slain or fading their spirits went back to the halls of Mandos to wait a thousand years, or the pleasure of Mandos[2] according to their deserts, before they were recalled to free life in Valinor, or were reborn,[3] it is said, into their own children.[4] More frail were Men, more easily slain by weapon or mischance, subject to ills, or grew old and died. What befell their spirits the Eldalië knew not. The Eldar said that they went to the halls of Mandos, but that their place of waiting was not that of the Elves, and Mandos under Ilúvatar knew alone whither they went after the time in his wide halls beyond the western sea. They were never reborn on earth, and none ever came back from the mansions of the dead, save only Beren son of Barahir, who after spoke never to mortal Men. Maybe their fate after death was not in the hands of the Valar.

In after days, when because of the triumphs of Morgoth Elves and Men became estranged, as he most wished, those of the Eldalië that lived still in the world faded, and Men usurped the sunlight. Then the Eldar wandered in the lonelier places of the Outer[5] Lands, and took to the moonlight and to the starlight, and to the woods and caves.[6]

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1 *Côr* > *Kôr*, as previously.
2 *Mandos* > *Nefantur*
3 *or were reborn* > *or sometimes were reborn*
4 Added here:

And of like fate were those fair offspring of Elf and mortal, Eärendel, and Elwing, and Dior her father, and Elrond her child.

5 *Hither* written above *Outer*, but *Outer* not struck out.
6 Added at the end:

and became as shadows, wraiths and memories, such as set not sail unto the West and vanished from the world, as is told ere the tale's ending.

8

But in these days Elves and Men were kindred and allies. Before the rising of the Sun and Moon Fëanor and his sons marched into the North seeking for Morgoth. A host of Orcs aroused by the light of the burning ships came down on them, and there was battle on the plain renowned in song. Yet young and green it stretched[1] to the feet of the tall mountains upreared over Morgoth's halls; but afterward it became burnt and desolate, and is called the Land of Thirst, Dor-na-Fauglith in the Gnomish tongue. There was the First Battle.[2] Great was the slaughter of the Orcs and Balrogs, and no tale can tell the valour of Fëanor or of his sons. Yet woe entered into that first great victory. For Fëanor was wounded to the death by Gothmog Lord of Balrogs, whom Ecthelion after slew in Gondolin. Fëanor died in the hour of victory, looking upon the gigantic peaks of Thangorodrim, the greatest of hills of the world;[3] and he cursed the name of Morgoth, and laid it on his sons never to treat or parley with their foe. Yet even in the hour of his death there came to them an embassy from Morgoth acknowledging his defeat, and offering to treat, and tempting them with a Silmaril. Maidros the tall persuaded the Gnomes to meet Morgoth at the time and place appointed, but with as little thought of faith on his side as there was on the part of Morgoth. Wherefore each embassy came in far greater force than they had sworn, but Morgoth brought the greater, and they were Balrogs. Maidros was ambushed and most of his company was slain; but Maidros was taken alive by the command of Morgoth, and carried to Angband and tortured, and hung from the face of a sheer precipice upon Thangorodrim by his right wrist alone.

Then the six sons of Fëanor dismayed drew off and encamped by the shores of Lake Mithrim, in that northern land which was after called Hisilómë, Hithlum or Dorlómin by the Gnomes, which is the Land of Mist. There they heard of the march of

Fingolfin and Finweg[4] and Felagund, who had crossed the Grinding Ice.

Even as these came the first Sun arose; their blue and silver banners were unfurled, and flowers sprang beneath their marching feet. The Orcs dismayed at the uprising of the great light retreated to Angband, and Morgoth thwarted pondered a long while in wrathful thought.

Little love was there between the two hosts encamped upon the opposing shores of Mithrim, and the delay engendered by their feud did great harm to the cause of both.

Now vast vapours and smokes were made in Angband and sent forth from the smoking tops of the Mountains of Iron, which even afar off in Hithlum could be seen staining the radiance of those earliest mornings. The vapours fell and coiled about the fields and hollows, and lay on Mithrim's bosom dark and foul.

Then Finweg the valiant resolved to heal the feud. Alone he went in search of Maidros. Aided by the very mists of Morgoth, and by the withdrawal of the forces of Angband, he ventured into the fastness of his enemies, and at last he found Maidros hanging in torment. But he could not reach him to release him; and Maidros begged[5] him to shoot him with his bow.

Manwë to whom all birds are dear, and to whom they bring news upon Tindbrenting of all things which his farsighted eyes do not see, sent[6] forth the race of Eagles. Thorndor was their king. At Manwë's command they dwelt in the crags of the North and watched Morgoth and hindered his deeds, and brought news of him to the sad ears of Manwë.

Even as Finweg sorrowing bent his bow, there flew down from the high airs Thorndor king of eagles. He was the mightiest of all birds that ever have been. Thirty feet[7] was the span of his outstretched wings. His beak was of gold. So the hand of Finweg was stayed, and Thorndor bore him to the face of the rock where Maidros hung. But neither could release the enchanted bond upon the wrist, nor sever it nor draw it from the stone. Again in agony Maidros begged them to slay him, but Finweg cut off his hand above the wrist, and Thorndor bore them to Mithrim, and Maidros' wound was healed, and he lived to wield sword with his left hand more deadly to his foes than his right had been.

Thus was the feud healed for a while between the proud sons of Finn[8] and their jealousy forgotten, but still there held the oath of the Silmarils.

★

1 *Yet young and green* > *Yet dark beneath the stars* (and later *it stretched* > *the plain stretched*). (This change was made no doubt because the Sun had not yet risen; but it destroys the force of the antithesis with *but afterward it became burnt and desolate*.)
2 Added here: *the Battle under Stars*.
3 *the world* > *the hither world*
4 *Finweg* > *Fingon*, as previously, at all occurrences.
5 The typescript had present tenses, *finds*, *cannot*, *begs*, early emended to *found*, *could not*, *begged*; an indication that my father was closely following the S manuscript. Present tenses are occasionally found later in Q as originally typed.
6 *sent* > *had sent*
7 *feet* > *fathoms*
8 *Finn* > *Finwë*, as previously.

9

Then the Gnomes marched forward and beleaguered Angband from West, South, and East. In Hithlum and on its borders in the West lay the hosts of Fingolfin. The South was held by Felagund son of Finrod and his brethren. A tower they had on an island in the river Sirion, which guarded the valley between the northward bending mountains on the borders of Hithlum and the slopes where the great pine-forest grew, which Morgoth after filled with such dread and evil that not even the Orcs would go through it, save by a single road and in great need and haste, and the Gnomes came to call it Taur-na-Fuin, which is Deadly Nightshade. But in those days it was wholesome, if thick and dark,[1] and the people of Orodreth, of Angrod and Egnor, ranged therein and watched from its eaves the plain below, that stretched to the Mountains of Iron. Thus they guarded the plain of Sirion, most fair of rivers in elfin song, most loved of Ulmo, and all that wide land of beech and elm and oak and flowering mead that was named Broseliand.[2]

In the east lay the sons of Fëanor. Their watchtower was the high hill of Himling, and their hiding place the Gorge of Aglon, cloven deep between Himling and Taur-na-Fuin, and watered by the river of Esgalduin the dark and strong, which came out of secret wells in Taur-na-Fuin and flowed into Doriath and past the doors of Thingol's halls. But they needed little a hiding place in those days, and ranged far and wide, even to the walls of Angband in the North, and east to the Blue Mountains,[3] which are the borders of the lands of which these tales tell. There they made war upon[4] the Dwarves of Nogrod and Belegost; but they did not

discover whence that strange race came, nor have any since. They are not friend of Valar[5] or of Eldar or of Men, nor do they serve Morgoth; though they are in many things more like his people, and little did they love the Gnomes.[6] Skill they had well-nigh to rival that of the Gnomes, but less beauty was in their works, and iron they wrought rather than gold and silver, and mail and weapons were their chief craft. Trade and barter was their delight and the winning of wealth of which they made little use. Long were their beards and short and squat their stature. Nauglir the Gnomes called them, and those who dwelt in Nogrod they called Indrafangs, the Longbeards, because their beards swept the floor before their feet. But as yet little they troubled the people of earth, while the power of the Gnomes was great.

This was the time that songs call the Siege of Angband. The swords of the Gnomes then fenced the earth from the ruin of Morgoth, and his power was shut behind the walls of Angband. The Gnomes boasted that never could he break their leaguer, and that none of his folk could ever pass to work evil in the ways of the world.

A time of solace it was beneath the new Sun and Moon, a time of birth and blossoming. In those days befell the first meeting of the Gnomes with the Dark-elves, and the Feast of Meeting that was held in the Land of Willows was long recalled in after days of little joy. In those days too Men came over the Blue Mountains into Broseliand[7] and Hithlum,[8] the bravest and fairest of their race. Felagund it was that found them, and he ever was their friend. On a time he was the guest of Celegorm in the East, and rode a-hunting with him. But he became separated from the others,[9] and at a time of night he came upon a dale in the western foothills of the Blue Mountains. There were lights in the dale and the sound of rugged song. Then Felagund marvelled, for the tongue of those songs was not the tongue of Eldar or of Dwarves.[10] Nor was it the tongue of Orcs, though this at first he feared. There were camped the people of Bëor, a mighty warrior of Men, whose son was Barahir the bold. They were the first of Men to come into Broseliand. After them came Hador the tall, whose sons were Haleth and Gumlin, and the sons of Gumlin Huor and Húrin,[11] and the son of Huor Tuor, and the son of Húrin Túrin. All these were tangled in the fates of the Gnomes and did mighty deeds which the Elves still remember among the songs of the deeds of their own lords and kings.

But Hador was not yet seen in the camps of the Gnomes. That

night Felagund went among the sleeping men of Bëor's host and sat by their dying fires where none kept watch, and he took a harp which Bëor had laid aside, and he played music on it such as mortal ear had never heard, having learned the strains of music from the Dark-elves alone. Then men woke and listened and marvelled, for great wisdom was in that song, as well as beauty, and the heart grew wiser that listened to it. Thus came it that Men called Felagund, whom they met first of the Noldoli, Wisdom;[12] and after him they called his race the Wise, whom we call the Gnomes.[13]

Bëor lived till death with Felagund, and Barahir his son was the greatest friend of the sons of Finrod.[14] But the sons of Hador were allied to the house of Fingolfin, and of these Húrin and Túrin were the most renowned. The realm of Gumlin was in Hithlum, and there afterward Húrin dwelt and his wife Morwen Elfsheen, who was fair as a daughter of the Eldalië.[15]

Now began the time of the ruin of the Gnomes. It was long before this was achieved, for great was their power grown, and they were very valiant, and their allies were many and bold, Dark-elves and Men.

But the tide of their fortune took a sudden turn. Long had Morgoth prepared his forces in secret. On a time of night at winter he let forth great rivers of flame that poured over all the plain before the Mountains of Iron and burned it to a desolate waste. Many of the Gnomes of Finrod's sons perished in that burning, and the fumes of it wrought darkness and confusion among the foes of Morgoth. In the train of the fire[16] came the black armies of the Orcs in numbers such as the Gnomes had never before seen or imagined. In this way Morgoth broke the leaguer of Angband and slew by the hands of the Orcs a great slaughter of the bravest of the besieging hosts. His enemies were scattered far and wide, Gnomes, Ilkorins, and Men. Men he drove for the most part back over the Blue Mountains, save the children of Bëor and of Hador who took refuge in Hithlum beyond the Shadowy Mountains, where as yet the Orcs came not in force. The Dark-elves fled south to Broseliand[17] and beyond, but many went to Doriath, and the kingdom and power of Thingol grew great in that time, till he became a bulwark and a refuge of the Elves. The magics of Melian that were woven about the borders of Doriath fenced evil from his halls and realm.

The pine-forest Morgoth took and turned it to a place of dread

as has been told, and the watchtower of Sirion he took and made it into a stronghold of evil and of menace. There dwelt Thû the chief servant of Morgoth, a sorcerer of dreadful power, the lord of wolves.[18] Heaviest had the burden of that dreadful battle, the second battle and the first defeat[19] of the Gnomes, fallen upon the sons of Finrod. There were Angrod and Egnor slain. There too would Felagund have been taken or slain, but Barahir came up with all his men and saved the Gnomish king and made a wall of spears about him; and though grievous was their loss they fought their way from the Orcs and fled to the fens of Sirion to the South. There Felagund swore an oath of undying friendship and aid in time of need to Barahir and all his kin and seed, and in token of his vow he gave to Barahir his ring.

Then Felagund went South,[20] and on the banks of Narog established after the manner of Thingol a hidden and cavernous city, and a realm. Those deep places were called Nargothrond. There came Orodreth after a time of breathless flight and perilous wanderings, and with him Celegorm and Curufin, the sons of Fëanor, his friends. The people of Celegorm swelled the strength of Felagund, but it would have been better if they had gone rather to their own kin, who fortified the hill of Himling[21] east of Doriath and filled the Gorge of Aglon with hidden arms.

Most grievous of the losses of that battle was the death of Fingolfin mightiest of the Noldoli. But his own death he sought in rage and anguish seeing the defeat of his people. For he went to the gates of Angband alone and smote upon them with his sword, and challenged Morgoth to come out and fight alone. And Morgoth came. That was the last time in those wars that he left the gates of his strong places, but he could not deny the challenge before the faces of his lords and chieftains. Yet it is said that though his power and strength is the greatest of the Valar and of all things here below, at heart he is a craven when alone, and that he took not the challenge willingly. The Orcs sing of that duel at the gates, but the Elves do not, though Thorndor looked down upon it and has told the tale.

High Morgoth towered above the head of Fingolfin, but great was the heart of the Gnome, bitter his despair and terrible his wrath. Long they fought. Thrice was Fingolfin beaten to his knees and thrice arose. Ringil was his sword, as cold its blade and as bright as the blue ice, and on his shield was the star on a blue field that was his device. But Morgoth's shield was black without a blazon and its shadow was like a thundercloud. He fought with a

mace like a great hammer of his forges. Grond the Orcs called it, and when it smote the earth as Fingolfin slipped aside, a pit yawned and smoke came forth. Thus was Fingolfin overcome, for the earth was broken about his feet, and he tripped and fell, and Morgoth put his foot, that is heavy as the roots of hills, upon his neck. But this was not done before Ringil had given him seven wounds, and at each he had cried aloud. He goes halt in his left foot for ever, where in his last despair Fingolfin pierced it through and pinned it to the earth.[22] But the scar upon his face Fingolfin did not give. This was the work of Thorndor. For Morgoth took the body of Fingolfin to hew it and give it to his wolves. But Thorndor swept down from on high amid the very throngs of Angband that watched the fight, and smote his claw[23] into the face of Morgoth and rescued the body of Fingolfin, and bore it to a great height. There he set his cairn upon a mountain, and that mountain looks down upon the plain of Gondolin, and over the Mount of Fingolfin no Orc or demon ever dared to pass for a great while, till treachery was born among his kin.

But Finweg[24] took the kingship of the Gnomes, and held yet out, nighest of the scattered Gnomes to the realm of their foe, in Hithlum and the Shadowy Mountains of the North that lie South and East of the Land of Mist, between it and Broseliand and the Thirsty Plain. Yet each of their strongholds Morgoth took one by one, and ever the Orcs growing more bold wandered far and wide, and numbers of the Gnomes and Dark-elves they took captive and carried to Angband and made thralls, and forced them to use their skill and magic in the service of Morgoth, and to labour unceasingly in tears in his mines and forges.[25] And Morgoth's emissaries went ever among the Dark-elves and the thrall-Gnomes and Men (to whom in those days he feigned the greatest friendship while they were out of his power), and lying promises they made and false suggestions of the greed and treachery of each to each; and because of the curse of the slaying at Swanhaven often were the lies believed; and the Gnomes feared greatly the treachery of those of their own kin who had been thralls of Angband, so that even if they escaped and came back to their people little welcome they had, and wandered often in miserable exile and despair.[26]

★

1 Added here: *and it was called Taur Danin* (late change).
2 *Broseliand* > *Beleriand* (see note 7), and the following added:

in Gnomish tongue; and Noldórien has it been called, [Geleithian>] Geleidhian, the kingdom of the Gnomes, and Ingolondë the fair and sorrowful.

3 *east to the Blue Mountains* > *east unto Erydluin, the Blue Mountains*. Against *Erydluin* was pencilled later *Eredlindon*.
4 *made war upon* > *had converse with* (late change).
5 This sentence was emended to read: *Little friendship was there between Elf and Dwarf, for these are not friend of Valar,* &c. (late change).
6 *and little did they love the Gnomes* bracketed for exclusion (late change).
7 *Broseliand* > *Beleriand* at all occurrences (see note 2).
8 *and Hithlum* struck out.
9 Added here: *and passed into Ossiriand* (late change).
10 Almost illegible words were pencilled above *Eldar or of Dwarves: the* [*?Valar*] *or of* [*?Doriath*] *nor yet of the Green Elves.*
11 This sentence was emended to read: *After them came Hador the Golden-haired, whose sons were Gundor and Gumlin, and the sons of Gumlin Húrin and Huor,* &c. (late change).
At the bottom of the page, without direction for its insertion, is written: *Haleth the hunter, and little later*
12 *Wisdom* > *Gnome that is Wisdom* > *Gnome or Wisdom*
13 Added here: *Took F*[*elagund*] *to be a god* (late change).
14 Added here: *but he abode in Dorthonion* (late change).
15 Written here, with mark of insertion: *Dagor Aglareb and the Foreboding of the Kings* (late addition).
16 *In the train of the fire* > *In the front of that fire came Glómund the golden, the father of dragons, and in his train*
17 Above *Beleriand* (emended from *Broseliand*, see note 7) is pencilled *Geleidhian* (see note 2).
18 Scribbled against this: *Sauron his servant in Valinor whom he suborned.*
19 *the second battle and the first defeat* > *the Second Battle, the Battle of Sudden Flame, and the first defeat* (and later *Second* > *Third*).
20 Added here: *and West*
21 *Himling* > *Himring* (late change; at the first two occurrences of the name, near the beginning of this section, it was not emended).
22 *and pinned it to the earth* struck through (late change).
23 *claw* > *bill*
24 *Finweg* > *Fingon*, as previously.
25 In this sentence *magic* > *craft* and *in tears in his mines and forges* to an uncertain reading, probably *and tears and torment were their wages* (late changes).

26 A page of the typescript ends here, and at the bottom of the page is written *Turgon* (late addition).

10

In these days of doubt and fear, after the Second[1] Battle, many dreadful things befell of which but few are here told. It is told that Bëor was slain and Barahir yielded not to Morgoth, but all his land was won from him and his people scattered, enslaved or slain, and he himself went in outlawry with his son Beren and ten faithful men. Long they hid and did secret and valiant deeds of war against the Orcs. But in the end, as is told in the beginning of the lay of Lúthien and Beren, the hiding place of Barahir was betrayed, and he was slain and his comrades, all save Beren who by fortune was that day hunting afar. Thereafter Beren lived an outlaw alone, save for the help he had from birds and beasts which he loved; and seeking for death in desperate deeds found it not, but glory and renown in the secret songs of fugitives and hidden enemies of Morgoth, so that the tale of his deeds came even to Broseliand,[2] and was rumoured in Doriath. At length Beren fled south from the ever-closing circle of those that hunted him, and crossed the dreadful Mountains of Shadow,[3] and came at last worn and haggard into Doriath. There in secret he won the love of Lúthien daughter of Thingol, and he named her Tinúviel, the nightingale, because of the beauty of her singing in the twilight beneath the trees; for she was the daughter of Melian.

But Thingol was wroth and he dismissed him in scorn, but did not slay him because he had sworn an oath to his daughter. But he desired nonetheless to send him to his death. And he thought in his heart of a quest that could not be achieved, and he said: If thou bring me a Silmaril from the crown of Morgoth, I will let Lúthien wed thee, if she will. And Beren vowed to achieve this, and went from Doriath to Nargothrond bearing the ring of Barahir. The quest of the Silmaril there aroused the oath from sleep that the sons of Fëanor had sworn, and evil began to grow from it. Felagund, though he knew the quest to be beyond his power, was willing to lend all his aid to Beren, because of his own oath to Barahir. But Celegorm and Curufin dissuaded his people and roused up rebellion against him. And evil thoughts awoke in their hearts, and they thought to usurp the throne of Nargothrond, because they were sons of the eldest line. Rather than a Silmaril

should be won and given to Thingol, they would ruin the power of Doriath and Nargothrond.

So Felagund gave his crown to Orodreth and departed from his people with Beren and ten faithful men of his own board. They waylaid an Orc-band and slew them and disguised themselves by the aid of Felagund's magic as Orcs. But they were seen by Thû from his watchtower, which once had been Felagund's own, and were questioned by him, and their magic was overthrown in a contest between Thû and Felagund. Thus they were revealed as Elves, but the spells of Felagund concealed their names and quest. Long they were tortured in the dungeons of Thû, but none betrayed the other.

In the meanwhile Lúthien learning by the far sight of Melian that Beren had fallen into the power of Thû sought in her despair to fly from Doriath. This became known to Thingol, who imprisoned her in a house in the tallest of his mighty beeches far above the ground. How she escaped and came into the woods, and was found there by Celegorm as they hunted on the borders of Doriath, is told in the lay of Lúthien. They took her treacherously to Nargothrond, and Curufin the crafty became enamoured of her beauty. From her tale they learned that Felagund was in the hands of Thû; and they purposed to let him perish there, and keep Lúthien with them, and force Thingol to wed Lúthien to Curufin,[4] and so build up their power and usurp Nargothrond and become the mightiest of the princes of the Gnomes. They did not think to go in search of the Silmarils, or suffer any others to do so, until they had all the power of the Elves beneath themselves and obedient to them. But their designs came to nought save estrangement and bitterness between the kingdoms of the Elves.

Huan was the name of the chief of the hounds of Celegorm. He was of immortal race from the hunting-lands of Oromë. Oromë gave him to Celegorm long before in Valinor, when Celegorm often rode in the train of the God and followed his horn. He came into the Great[5] Lands with his master, and dart nor weapon, spell nor poison, could harm him, so that he went into battle with his lord and saved him many times from death. His fate had been decreed that he should not meet death save at the hands of the mightiest wolf that should ever walk the world.

Huan was true of heart, and he loved Lúthien from the hour that he first found her in the woods and brought her to Celegorm. His heart was grieved by his master's treachery, and he set Lúthien free and went with her to the North.

There Thû slew his captives one by one, till only Felagund and Beren were left. When the hour for Beren's death came Felagund put forth all his power, and burst his bonds, and wrestled with the werewolf that came to slay Beren; and he killed the wolf, but was himself slain in the dark. There Beren mourned in despair, and waited for death. But Lúthien came and sang outside the dungeons. Thus she beguiled Thû to come forth, for the fame of the loveliness of Lúthien had gone through all lands and the wonder of her song. Even Morgoth desired her, and had promised the greatest reward to any who could capture her. Each wolf that Thû sent Huan slew silently, till Draugluin the greatest of his wolves came. Then there was fierce battle, and Thû knew that Lúthien was not alone. But he remembered the fate of Huan, and he made himself the greatest wolf that had yet walked the world, and came forth. But Huan overthrew him, and won from him the keys and the spells that held together his enchanted walls and towers. So the stronghold was broken and the towers thrown down and the dungeons opened. Many captives were released, but Thû flew in bat's form to Taur-na-Fuin. There Lúthien found Beren mourning beside Felagund. She healed his sorrow and the wasting of his imprisonment, but Felagund they buried on the top of his own island hill, and Thû came there no more.

Then Huan returned to his master, and less was the love between them after. Beren and Lúthien wandered careless in happiness, until they came nigh to the borders of Doriath once more. There Beren remembered his vow, and bade Lúthien farewell, but she would not be sundered from him. In Nargothrond there was tumult. For Huan and many of the captives of Thû brought back the tidings of the deeds of Lúthien, and the death of Felagund, and the treachery of Celegorm and Curufin was laid bare. It is said they had sent a secret embassy to Thingol ere Lúthien escaped, but Thingol in wrath had sent their letters back by his own servants to Orodreth.[6] Wherefore now the hearts of the people of Narog turned back to the house of Finrod, and they mourned their king Felagund whom they had forsaken, and they did the bidding of Orodreth. But he would not suffer them to slay the sons of Fëanor as they wished. Instead he banished them from Nargothrond, and swore that little love should there be between Narog and any of the sons of Fëanor thereafter. And so it was.

Celegorm and Curufin were riding in haste and wrath through the woods to find their way to Himling,[7] when they came upon Beren and Lúthien, even as Beren sought to part from his love.

They rode down on them, and recognizing them tried to trample Beren under their hooves. But Curufin swerving lifted Lúthien to his saddle. Then befell the leap of Beren, the greatest leap of mortal Men. For he sprang like a lion right upon the speeding horse of Curufin, and grasped him about the throat, and horse and rider fell in confusion upon the earth, but Lúthien was flung far off and lay dazed upon the ground. There Beren choked Curufin, but his death was very nigh from Celegorm, who rode back with his spear. In that hour Huan forsook the service of Celegorm, and sprang upon him so that his horse swerved aside, and no man for fear of the terror of the great hound dared go nigh. Lúthien forbade the death of Curufin, but Beren despoiled him of his horse and weapons, chief of which was his famous knife, made by the Dwarves. It would cut iron like wood. Then the brothers rode off, but shot back at Huan treacherously and at Lúthien. Huan they did not hurt, but Beren sprang before Lúthien and was wounded, and Men remembered that wound against the sons of Fëanor, when it became known.

Huan stayed with Lúthien, and hearing of their perplexity and the purpose Beren had still to go to Angband, he went and fetched them from the ruined halls of Thû a werewolf's coat and a bat's. Three times only did Huan speak with the tongue of Elves or Men. The first was when he came to Lúthien in Nargothrond. This was the second, when he devised the desperate counsel for their quest. So they rode North, till they could no longer go on horse in safety. Then they put on the garments as of wolf and bat, and Lúthien in guise of evil fay rode upon the werewolf.

In the lay of Lúthien is all told how they came to Angband's gate, and found it newly guarded, for rumour of he knew not what design abroad among the Elves had come to Morgoth. Wherefore he fashioned the mightiest of all wolves, Carcharas[8] Knife-fang, to sit at the gates.[9] But Lúthien set him in spells, and they won their way to the presence of Morgoth, and Beren slunk beneath his chair. Then Lúthien dared the most dreadful and most valiant deed that any of the women of the Elves have ever dared; no less than the challenge of Fingolfin is it accounted, and may be greater, save that she was half-divine. She cast off her disguise and named her own name, and feigned that she was brought captive by the wolves of Thû. And she beguiled Morgoth, even as his heart plotted foul evil within him; and she danced before him, and cast all his court in sleep; and she sang to him, and she flung the magic robe she had woven in Doriath in his face, and she set a binding

dream upon him – what song can sing the marvel of that deed, or the wrath and humiliation of Morgoth, for even the Orcs laugh in secret when they remember it, telling how Morgoth fell from his chair and his iron crown rolled upon the floor.

Then forth leaped Beren casting aside the wolvish robe, and drew out the knife of Curufin. With that he cut forth a Silmaril. But daring more he essayed to gain them all. Then the knife of the treacherous Dwarves snapped, and the ringing sound of it stirred the sleeping hosts and Morgoth groaned. Terror seized the hearts of Beren and Lúthien, and they fled down the dark ways of Angband. The doors were barred by Carcharas, now aroused from the spell of Lúthien. Beren set himself before Lúthien, which proved ill; for ere she could touch the wolf with her robe or speak word of magic, he sprang upon Beren, who now had no weapon. With his right he smote at the eyes of Carcharas, but the wolf took the hand into his jaws and bit it off. Now that hand held the Silmaril. Then was the maw of Carcharas burned with a fire of anguish and torment, when the Silmaril touched his evil flesh; and he fled howling from before them, so that all the mountains shuddered, and the madness of the wolf of Angband was of all the horrors that ever came into the North[10] the most dire and terrible. Hardly did Lúthien and Beren escape, ere all Angband was aroused.

Of their wanderings and despair, and of the healing of Beren, who ever since has been called Beren Ermabwed the One-handed, of their rescue by Huan, who had vanished suddenly from them ere they came to Angband, and of their coming to Doriath once more, here there is little to tell.[11] But in Doriath many things had befallen. Ever things had gone ill there since Lúthien fled away. Grief had fallen on all the people and silence on their songs when their hunting found her not. Long was the search, and in searching Dairon the piper of Doriath was lost, who loved Lúthien before Beren came to Doriath. He was the greatest of the musicians of the Elves, save Maglor son of Fëanor, and Tinfang Warble.[12] But he came never back to Doriath and strayed into the East of the world.[13]

Assaults too there were on Doriath's borders, for rumours that Lúthien was astray had reached Angband. Boldog captain of the Orcs was there slain in battle by Thingol, and his great warriors Beleg the Bowman and Mablung Heavyhand were with Thingol in that battle. Thus Thingol learned that Lúthien was yet free of Morgoth, but that he knew of her wandering; and Thingol was

filled with fear. In the midst of his fear came the embassy of Celegorm in secret, and said that Beren was dead, and Felagund, and Lúthien was at Nargothrond. Then Thingol found it in his heart to regret the death of Beren, and his wrath was aroused at the hinted treachery of Celegorm to the house of Finrod, and because he kept Lúthien and did not send her home. Wherefore he sent spies into the land of Nargothrond and prepared for war. But he learned that Lúthien had fled and that Celegorm and his brother were gone to Aglon. So now he sent an embassy to Aglon, since his might was not great enough to fall upon all the seven brethren, nor was his quarrel with others than Celegorm and Curufin. But this embassy journeying in the woods met with the onslaught of Carcharas. That great wolf had run in madness through all the woods of the North, and death and devastation went with him. Mablung alone escaped to bear the news of his coming to Thingol. Of fate, or the magic of the Silmaril that he bore to his torment, he was not stayed by the spells of Melian, but burst into the inviolate woods of Doriath, and far and wide terror and destruction was spread.

Even as the sorrows of Doriath were at their worst came Lúthien and Beren and Huan back to Doriath. Then the heart of Thingol was lightened, but he looked not with love upon Beren in whom he saw the cause of all his woes. When he had learned how Beren had escaped from Thû he was amazed, but he said: 'Mortal, what of thy quest and of thy vow?' Then said Beren: 'Even now I have a Silmaril in my hand.' 'Show it to me,' said Thingol. 'That I cannot,' said Beren, 'for my hand is not here.' And all the tale he told, and made clear the cause of the madness of Carcharas, and Thingol's heart was softened by his brave words, and his forbearance, and the great love that he saw between his daughter and this most valiant Man.

Now therefore did they plan the wolf-hunt of Carcharas. In that hunt was Huan and Thingol and Mablung and Beleg and Beren and no more. And here the sad tale of it must be short, for it is elsewhere told more fully. Lúthien remained behind in foreboding, as they went forth; and well she might, for Carcharas was slain, but Huan died in the same hour, and he died to save Beren.[14] Yet Beren was hurt to the death, but lived to place the Silmaril in the hands of Thingol, when Mablung had cut it from the belly of the wolf. Then he spoke not again, until they had borne him with Huan at his side back to the doors of Thingol's halls. There beneath the beech, wherein before she had been imprisoned,

Lúthien met them, and kissed Beren ere his spirit departed to the halls of awaiting. So ended the long tale of Lúthien and Beren. But not yet was the lay of Leithian, release from bondage, told in full. For it has long been said that Lúthien failed and faded swiftly and vanished from the earth, though some songs say that Melian summoned Thorndor, and he bore her living unto Valinor. And she came to the halls of Mandos, and she sang to him a tale of moving love so fair that he was moved to pity, as never has befallen since. Beren he summoned, and thus, as Lúthien had sworn as she kissed him at the hour of death, they met beyond the western sea. And Mandos suffered them to depart, but he said that Lúthien should become mortal even as her lover, and should leave the earth once more in the manner of mortal women, and her beauty become but a memory of song. So it was, but it is said that in recompense Mandos gave to Beren and to Lúthien thereafter a long span of life and joy, and they wandered knowing thirst nor cold in the fair land of Broseliand, and no mortal Man thereafter spoke to Beren or his spouse.[15] Yet he came back into these tales when one more sad than his was done.

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1 *Second* > *Third* (late change); see §9 note 19.
2 *Broseliand* > *Beleriand*, as previously.
3 *Mountains of Shadow* > *Mountains of Terror* (see III.170–1).
4 *Curufin* struck through and *Cele*[*gorm*] written above (late change).
5 *Great* > *Hither* (cf. §3 note 8).
6 This sentence, from *Thingol in wrath*, emended to: *Thingol was wroth, and would have gone to war with them as is later told.*
7 *Himling* > *Himring*, as in §9 note 21 (late change).
8 *Carcharas* > *Carcharoth* at all occurrences.
9 Added here: *Dire and dreadful was that beast; and songs have also named him Borosaith, Everhungry, and Anfauglin, Jaws of Thirst.*
10 Added here: *ere Angband's fall*
11 Late addition in the margin: *Thorndor bore them over Gondolin to Brethil.*
12 *save Maglor son of Fëanor, and Tinfang Warble* > *and Maglor son of Fëanor and Tinfang Gelion alone are named with him.*
13 Added here: *where long he made secret music in memory of Lúthien.*
14 Added here: *and he bade him farewell, and that was the third and last time Huan spoke.*

15 This sentence emended to: *and they wandered knowing neither thirst nor cold upon the confines of Geleidhian in fair Ossiriand, Land of Seven Streams, Gwerth-i-cuina, the Living Dead; and no mortal Man thereafter*, &c.

11

Now[1] it must be told that Maidros son of Fëanor perceived that Morgoth was not unassailable after the deeds of Huan and Lúthien and the breaking of the towers of Thû,[2] but that he would destroy them all one by one, if they did not form again a league and council. This was the Union of Maidros and wisely planned. The scattered Ilkorins and Men were gathered together, while the forces of Maidros made ever fiercer assaults from Himling,[3] and drove back the Orcs and took their spies. The smithies of Nogrod and Belegost were busy in those days making mail and sword and spear for many armies, and much of the wealth and jewelry of Elves and Men they got into their keeping in that time, though they went not themselves to war. 'For we do not know the rights of this quarrel,' they said, 'and we are friends of neither side – until it hath the mastery.' Thus great and splendid was the army of Maidros, but the oath and the curse did injury to his design.

All the hosts of Hithlum, Gnomes and Men, were ready to his summons, and Finweg[4] and Turgon and Huor and Húrin were their chiefs.[5] Orodreth would not march from Narog at the word of Maidros, because of the death of Felagund, and the deeds of Curufin and Celegorm.[6] Yet he suffered a small company of the bravest, who would not endure to be idle when the great war was afoot, to go North. Their leader was the young Flinding son of Fuilin, most daring of the scouts of Nargothrond; but they took the devices of the house of Finweg and went beneath his banners, and came never back, save one.[7]

From Doriath none came.[8] For Maidros and his brethren had before sent unto Doriath and reminded Thingol with exceedingly haughty words of their oath, and summoned him to yield up the Silmaril. This Melian counselled him to do, and maybe he would have done, but their words were overproud, and he thought how the jewel had been gained by the sorrows of Thingol's people,[9] and despite the crooked deeds of the sons of Fëanor; and greed[10] too, it may be, had some part in the heart of Thingol, as afterwards was shown. Wherefore he sent the messengers of Maidros back in scorn. Maidros said nought, for at that time he was beginning to

ponder[11] the reunion of the forces of the Elves. But Celegorm and Curufin vowed aloud to slay Thingol or any of his folk they should ever see, by night or day, in war or peace.[12]

For this reason Thingol went not forth,[13] nor any out of Doriath save Mablung, and Beleg who obeyed no man.

Now came the day when Maidros sent forth his summons and the Dark-elves, save out of Doriath, marched to his banner, and Men from East and South. But Finweg and Turgon and the Men of Hithlum were gathered in the West upon the borders of the Thirsty Plain, waiting for the signal of the advancing standards from the East. It may be that Maidros delayed too long gathering his forces; certain it is that secret emissaries of Morgoth went among the camps, thrall-Gnomes or things in elfin form, and spread foreboding and thoughts of disunion. To Men they went most, and the fruit of their words was later seen.

Long the army waited in the West, and fear of treachery fell upon them, when Maidros came not, and the hot hearts of Finweg and Turgon became impatient.[14] They sent their heralds across the plain and their silver trumpets rang; and they summoned the hosts of Morgoth to come out. Then Morgoth sent forth a force, great and yet not too great. And Finweg was moved to attack from the woods at the feet of the Shadowy Mountains where he lay hid. But Húrin spoke against it.

Then Morgoth led forth one of the heralds of Finweg that he had wrongfully taken prisoner and slew him upon the plain, so that the watchers from afar might see – for far and clear do the eyes of the Gnomes behold things in bright air. Then the wrath of Finweg burst its bonds and his army leaped forth to sudden onslaught. This was as Morgoth designed, but it is said that he reckoned not the true number of their array, nor knew yet the measure of their valour, and well nigh his plan went ill. Ere his army could be succoured they were overwhelmed, and that day there was a greater slaughter of the servants of Morgoth than there yet had been, and the banners of Finweg were raised before the walls of Angband.

Flinding, it is said, and the men of Nargothrond burst even within the gates; and fear came on Morgoth on his throne. But they were slain or taken, for no help came.[15] By other secret gates Morgoth let issue forth the main host that he had kept in waiting, and Finweg and the Men of Hithlum were beaten back from the walls.

Then in the plain began the Battle of Unnumbered Tears,[16] of

which no song or tale tells the full, for the voice of the teller is whelmed in lamentation. The host of the Elves was surrounded. Yet in that hour there marched up at last the banners of Maidros and his allies from the East. Even yet the Elves might have won the day, for the Orcs wavered. But as the vanguard of Maidros came upon the Orcs, Morgoth let loose his last forces, and all Angband was empty. There came wolves and serpents, and there came Balrogs like fire, and there came the first of all the dragons, the eldest of all the Worms of Greed. Glómund was his name and long had his terror been noised abroad, though he was not come to his full growth and evil, and seldom had he been seen.[17] Thus Morgoth strove to hinder the joining of the hosts of the Elves, but this the Eldar say he would not even so have achieved, had not the captains of Men in the hosts of Maidros turned and fled, and their number was very great. Treachery or cowardice or both was the cause of that grievous wrong. But worse is to tell, for the swart Men, whom Uldor the Accursed led, went over to the foe and fell upon Maidros' flank. From that day were Elves estranged from Men, unless it be from the children of the children of Hador.[18]

There Finweg fell in flame of swords, and a fire it is said burst from his helm when it was cloven; but he was beaten to the earth and his white banners were trodden under foot. Then the army of the West, sundered from Maidros, fell back as best it could win its way, step by step, towards the Shadowy Mountains or even the dreadful fringes of Taur-na-Fuin. But Húrin did not retreat,[19] and he held the rearguard, and all the Men of Hithlum and his brother Huor were there slain about him in a heap, so that not one came back with tidings to their home. The valiant stand of Húrin is still remembered by the Elves, for by it was Turgon enabled to cleave his way from the field and save part of his battle, and rescue his people from the hills, and escape southward to Sirion. Renowned in song is the axe of Húrin that slew a hundred Orcs, but the magic helm that Gumlin his sire bequeathed him he did not wear that day. Thereon was set in mockery the image of the head of Glómund, and oft it had gone into victory, so that the Men of Hithlum said: We have a dragon of more worth than theirs. It was Telchar's work, the great smith of Belegost, but it would not have availed Húrin on that field, for by the command of Morgoth he was taken alive, grasped by the hideous arms of the uncounted Orcs, till he was buried beneath them.

Maidros and the sons of Fëanor wrought great slaughter on Orc

and Balrog and traitor Man that day, but the dragon they did not slay and the fire of his breath was the death of many. And they were driven in the end far away, and the Gorge of Aglon was filled with Orcs and the hill of Himling with the people of Morgoth. But the seven sons of Fëanor, though each was wounded, were not slain.[20]

Great was the triumph of Morgoth. The bodies of his enemies that were slain were piled in a mound like a great hill upon Dor-na-Fauglith, but there the grass came and grew green in that place alone in all the desert, and no Orc thereafter trod upon the earth beneath which the Gnomish swords crumbled into rust. The realm of Finweg was no more, the sons of Fëanor wandered in the East, fugitives in the Blue Mountains.[21] The armies of Angband ranged all the North. To Hithlum Morgoth sent Men who were his servants or afraid of him. South and East his Orcs went in plunder and ruin; well nigh all Broseliand[22] they overran. Doriath yet held where Thingol lived, and Nargothrond. But he heeded these not much as yet, maybe because he knew little of them. But one thing grievously marred his triumph, and great was his wrath when he thought of it. This was the escape of Turgon, and in no way could he learn whither that king had gone.[23]

Húrin was now brought before Morgoth and defied him. He was chained in torment. Afterward Morgoth remembering that treachery or the fear of it, and especially the treachery of Men, alone would work the ruin[24] of the Gnomes, came to Húrin and offered him honour and freedom and a wealth of jewels, if he would lead an army against Turgon, or even tell him whither that king had gone; for he knew that Húrin was close in the counsels of the sons of Fingolfin. But Húrin mocked him. Therefore Morgoth devised a cruel punishment. Upon the highest peak of Thangorodrim he set him chained upon a chair of stone, and he cursed him with a curse of never-sleeping sight like unto the Gods, but his kin and seed he cursed with a fate of sorrow and ill-chance, and bade Húrin sit there and watch the unfolding of it.

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The first part of this section was heavily but hastily and roughly emended, on top of the careful alterations that belong to an earlier 'layer'. In three of the following notes (7, 14, 15) I give the final text of the passages that were most changed.

1 Scribbled in the margin is *Swarthy Men*, apparently with a mark of insertion to this point in the narrative.

2 *the towers of Thû > Sauron's tower* (late change).

3 This sentence emended to read: *The Dark-elves were summoned again from afar, and Men of the East were gathered together; and the forces of Maidros sallied forth from Himling* (late change). *Himling > Himring* subsequently.

4 *Finweg > Fingon* throughout, as previously.

5 Added here: *Yet less was the aid that Maidros had of Men than should have been, because of the wounding of Beren in the wood; and (Orodreth would not march,* &c.)

6 *Celegorm > Celegorn* at both occurrences (this change has not been made previously).

7 This paragraph, after the changes given in notes 4–6, was rewritten later (introducing the later story of the foundation of Gondolin), thus:

> All the hosts of Hithlum, Gnomes and Men, were ready to his summons; and Fingon and Huor and Húrin were their chiefs. And Turgon himself deeming that haply the hour of deliverance was at hand came forth himself unlooked for, and he brought a great army, and they encamped before the West Pass in sight of the walls of Hithlum, and there was joy among the people of Fingon his brother. [*An addition here was struck out, no doubt at the time of writing, and replaced by a different statement about the folk of Haleth below*: The folk of Haleth made ready in the forest of Brethil.] Yet less was the aid that Maidros had of Men than should have been, because of the wounding of Beren in the wood; for the folk of Haleth abode in the forest, and few came to war. Orodreth, moreover, would not march from Narog at the word of Maidros, because of the death of Felagund, and the deeds of Curufin and Celegorn. Yet he suffered a small company of the bravest, who would not endure to be idle when great war was afoot, to go North. Their leader was Gwindor son of Guilin, a very valiant prince; but they took the devices of the house of Fingon and went beneath his banners, and came never back, save one.

8 *From Doriath none came > From Doriath too came scanty aid.*

9 Added here: *and the anguish of Lúthien*

10 *greed > covetice*

11 *beginning to ponder > already beginning to devise* (late change).

12 This sentence changed to read: *vowed aloud to slay Thingol, and destroy his folk, if they came victorious from war, and the jewel were not yielded of free-will.*

13 *Thingol went not forth* > *Thingol fortified his realm, and went not forth*

14 From the beginning of the preceding paragraph (*Now came the day . . .*) the text was extensively rewritten in the later 'layer' of change:

> At length having gathered at last all the strength that he might Maidros appointed a day, and sent word to Fingon and Turgon. Now for a while the Gnomes had victory, and the Orcs were driven out of Beleriand, and hope was renewed; but Morgoth was aware of all that was done, and he took counsel against their uprising, and he sent forth his spies and emissaries among Elves and Men, but especially did these come unto the Swarthy Men, and to the sons of Ulfang. Upon the East under the banner of Maidros were all the folk of the sons of Fëanor, and they were many; and the Dark-elves coming from the South were with him, and the battalions of the Easterlings, with the sons of Bor and Ulfang. But Fingon and Turgon and the Men of Hithlum and such as came from the Falas and from Nargothrond were gathered ready in the West upon the borders of the Thirsty Plain, waiting under the banner of Fingon for the signal of the advancing standards from the East. But Maidros was delayed upon the road by the machinations of Uldor the Accursed son of Ulfang, and ever the secret emissaries of Morgoth went among the camps, thrall-Gnomes or things in elvish form, and spread foreboding and thoughts of treason.
>
> Long the army waited in the West, and fear of treachery grew in their thought, when Maidros came not. Then the hot hearts of Fingon and Turgon became impatient.

15 This passage, from *Flinding, it is said*, was changed by late emendation to read:

> Gwindor son of Guilin, it is said, and the men of Nargothrond were in the forefront of the battle and burst within the gates; and they slew the Orcs in the very halls of Morgoth, and fear came on Morgoth on his throne. But at the last Gwindor and his men were all slain or taken, for no help came to them.

16 Added here: *Nirnaith Arnediad* (late change).

17 Added here: *since the second battle of the North*.

18 Added here: *and of Bëor* (late change).

19 *But Húrin did not retreat* > *But there Húrin turned to bay*

20 The following passage was added here:

> But their arms were scattered, and their folk minished and dispersed and their league broken; and they took to a wild and woodland life, beneath the feet of Eryd-luin [*later* > Ered-luin],

mingling with the Dark-elves, and forgetting their power and glory of old.

21 *wandered in the East, fugitives in the Blue Mountains* > *wandered as leaves before the wind.*

22 *Broseliand* > *Beleriand*, as previously.

23 The following passage was added here:

and his anger was the greater, for it is said that of all the Gnomes he feared and hated most the house and people of Fingolfin, who had harkened never to his lies and blandishments, and came into the North, as has been told, only out of loyalty to their kin.

24 *the ruin* > *the final ruin*

12

Morwen[1] the wife of Húrin was left in Hithlum and with her were but two old men too old for war, and maidens and young boys. One of these was Húrin's child, Túrin son of Húrin renowned in song. But Morwen was with child once more, and so she stayed and mourned in Hithlum, and went not like Rían wife of Huor to seek for tidings of her lord. The Men[2] of the faithful race were slain, and Morgoth drove thither in their stead those who had betrayed the Elves, and he penned them behind the Shadowy Mountains, and slew them if they wandered to Broseliand[3] or beyond; and such was all they got of the love and rewards he had promised them. Yet their hearts were turned to evil, and little love they showed to the women and children of the faithful who had been slain, and most of them they enslaved. Great was the courage and majesty of Morwen, and many were afraid of her, and whispered that she had learned black magics of the Gnomes.[4] But she was poor and well nigh alone, and was succoured in secret by her kinswoman Airin whom Brodda, one of the incoming Men, and mighty among them, had taken to wife. Wherefore it came into her heart to send Túrin, who was then seven years of age, to Thingol, that he might not grow up a churl or servant; for Húrin and Beren had been friends of old. The fate of Túrin is told in the 'Children of Húrin', and it need not in full be told here, though it is wound with the fates of the Silmarils and the Elves. It is called the Tale of Grief, for it is very sorrowful, and in it are seen the worst of the deeds of Morgoth Bauglir.

Túrin grew up in Thingol's court, but after a while as Morgoth's power grew news came no more from Hithlum, for it was a long

and perilous road, and he heard no more of Nienor his sister who was born after he left his home, nor of Morwen his mother; and his heart was dark and heavy. He was often in battle on the borders of the realm where Beleg the Bowman was his friend, and he came little to the court, and wild and unkempt was his hair and his attire, though sweet his voice and sad his song. On a time at the table of the king he was taunted by a foolish Elf, Orgof by name, with his rough garb and strange looks. And Orgof in jest slighted the maidens and wives of the Men of Hithlum. But Túrin unwitting of his growing strength slew Orgof with a drinking vessel at the king's board.

He fled then the court, and thinking himself an outlaw took to war against all, Elves, Men, or Orcs, that crossed the path of the desperate band he gathered upon the borders of the kingdom, hunted Men and Ilkorins and Gnomes. One day, when he was not among them, his men captured Beleg the Bowman and tied him to a tree, and would have slain him; but Túrin returning was smitten with remorse, and released Beleg and forswore war or plunder against all save the Orcs. From Beleg he learned that Thingol had pardoned his deed the day that it was done. Still he went not back to the Thousand Caves; but the deeds that were done on the marches of Doriath by Beleg and Túrin were noised in Thingol's halls, and in Angband they were known.

Now one of Túrin's band was Blodrin son of Ban, a Gnome,[5] but he had lived long with the Dwarves and was of evil heart and joined Túrin for the love of plunder. He loved little the new life in which wounds were more plentiful than booty. In the end he betrayed the hiding-places of Túrin[6] to the Orcs, and the camp of Túrin was surprised. Blodrin was slain by a chance arrow of his evil allies in the gloom, but Túrin was taken alive, as Húrin had been, by the command of Morgoth. For Morgoth began to fear that in Doriath behind the mazes of Melian, where his deeds were hidden from him, save by report,[7] Túrin would cheat the doom that he had devised. Beleg was left for dead beneath a heap of slain. There he was found by Thingol's messengers who came to summon them to a feast in the Thousand Caves. Taken back thither he was healed by Melian, and set off alone to track Túrin. Beleg was the most marvellous of all woodsmen that have ever been, and his skill was little less than Huan in the following of a trail, though he followed by eye and cunning not by scent. Nonetheless he was bewildered in the mazes of Deadly Nightshade and wandered there in despair, until he saw the lamp of Flinding

Fuilin's son,[8] who had escaped from the mines of Morgoth, a bent and timid shadow of his former shape and mood. From Flinding he learned news of the Orc-band that had captured Túrin; and it had delayed long in the lands plundering East among Men, but was now come in great haste, owing to the angry message of Morgoth, and was passing along the Orc-road through Taur-na-Fuin itself.

Near the issuing of this road, where it reaches the edge of the forest upon the face of the steep[9] slopes that lie to the south of the Thirsty Plain, Flinding and Beleg lay and watched the Orcs go by. When the Orcs left the forest and went far down the slopes to camp in a bare dale in sight of Thangorodrim, Beleg and his companion followed them. At night Beleg shot the wolf-sentinels of the Orc-camp, and stole with Flinding into its midst. With the greatest difficulty and direst peril they lifted Túrin, senseless in a sleep of utter weariness, and brought him out of the camp and laid him in a dell of thick thorn trees high up on the hillside. In striking[10] off the bonds Beleg pricked Túrin's foot; and he, roused in sudden fear and anger, for the Orcs had often tormented him, found himself free. Then in his madness he seized Beleg's sword, and slew his friend thinking him a foe. The covering of Flinding's lamp fell off at that moment, and Túrin saw Beleg's face; and his madness left him and he was turned as to stone.

The Orcs, awakened by his cries as he leaped on Beleg, discovered the escape of Túrin, but were scattered by a terrible storm of thunder and a deluge of rain. In the morning Flinding saw them marching away over the steaming sands of Dor-na-Fauglith. But through all the storm Túrin sat without movement; and scarcely could he be roused to help in the burying of Beleg and his bow in the dell of thorns. Flinding afterwards led him, dazed and unwitting, towards safety; and his mind was healed when he drank of the spring of Narog by Ivrin's lake. For his frozen tears were loosed, and he wept, and after his weeping made a song for Beleg, the Bowman's Friendship, which became a battle song of the foes of Morgoth.

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1 Written in the margin against the opening of this section is *Take in Helm of Gumlin from page 34*. Page 34 in the typescript contains the passage concerning the Helm in §11, p. 118.

2 *The Men* > *Most of the Men*

3 *Broseliand* > *Beleriand*, as previously.
4 *whispered that she had learned black magics from the Gnomes* > *whispered that she was a witch* (late change).
5 *a Gnome* > *a Gnome of Fëanor's house*
6 *the hiding-places of Túrin* > *the hiding-places of Túrin beyond the eaves of Doriath*
7 *save by report* > *or upon its borders whence came but uncertain report*
8 *Flinding Fuilin's son* > *Gwindor son of Guilin*, and subsequently *Flinding* > *Gwindor* (late changes; see §11 note 15).
9 *steep* > *long*
10 Added after *high up on the hillside*:

> Then Beleg drew his renowned sword, made of iron that fell from heaven as a blazing star, and it would cut all earth-dolven iron. But fate was that day more strong, for in striking, &c.

13

Flinding[1] led Túrin in the end to Nargothrond. There in days long gone[2] Flinding had loved Finduilas daughter of Orodreth, and he called her Failivrin, which is the gleam on the waters of the fair lake whence Narog comes. But her heart was turned against her will to Túrin, and his to her. Out of loyalty[3] he fought against his love and Finduilas grew wan and pale, but Flinding perceiving their hearts grew bitter.

Túrin grew great and mighty in Nargothrond, but he loved not their secret manner of fighting and ambush, and began to long for brave strokes and battle in the open. Then he caused to be forged anew the sword of Beleg, and the craftsmen of Narog made thereof a black blade with shining edges of pale fire; from which sword he became known among them as Mormaglir.[4]

With this sword he thought to avenge the death of Beleg the Bowman, and with it he did many mighty deeds; so that the fame of Mormaglir, the Black-sword of Nargothrond, came even unto Doriath and to the ears of Thingol, but the name of Túrin was not heard. And long victory dwelt with Mormaglir and the host of the Gnomes of Nargothrond who followed him; and their realm reached even to the sources of Narog, and from the western sea to the marches of Doriath; and there was a stay in the onset of Morgoth.

In this time of respite and hope Morwen arose, and leaving her goods in the care of Brodda, who had to wife[5] her kinswoman

Airin, she took with her Nienor her daughter, and adventured the long journey to Thingol's halls. There did new grief await her, for she learnt of the loss and vanishing of Túrin; and even as she dwelt a while as the guest of Thingol, in sorrow and in doubt, there came to Doriath the tidings of the fall of Nargothrond; whereat all folk wept.

Biding his hour Morgoth had loosed upon the folk of Narog at unawares a great army that he had long prepared, and with the host came that father of the dragons, Glómund, who wrought ruin in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears. The might of Narog was overwhelmed upon the Guarded Plain, north of Nargothrond; and there fell Flinding son of Fuilin,[6] mortally wounded, and dying he refused the succour of Túrin, reproaching him, and bidding him, if he would amend the evil he had wrought his friend, to hasten back to Nargothrond to rescue even with his life, if he could, Finduilas whom they loved, or to slay her else.

But the Orc-host and the mighty dragon came upon Nargothrond before Túrin could put it in defence, and they overthrew Orodreth and all his remaining folk, and the great halls beneath the earth were sacked and plundered, and all the women and maidens of the folk of Narog were herded as slaves and taken into Morgoth's thraldom. Túrin only they could not overcome, and the Orcs fell back before him in terror and amaze, and he stood alone. Thus ever did Morgoth achieve the downfall of men by their own deeds; for but little would men have accounted the woe of Túrin had he fallen in brave defence before the mighty doors of Nargothrond.

Fire was in the eyes of Túrin, and the edges of his sword shone as with flame, and he strode to battle even with Glómund, alone and unafraid. But it was not his fate that day to rid the world of that creeping evil; for he fell under the binding spell of the lidless eyes of Glómund, and he was halted moveless; but Glómund[7] taunted him, calling him deserter of his kin, friend-slayer, and love-thief. And the dragon offered him his freedom either to follow seeking to rescue his 'stolen love' Finduilas, or to do his duty and go to the rescue of his mother and sister, who were living in great misery in Hithlum (as he said and lied) and nigh to death. But he must swear to abandon one or the other.

Then Túrin in anguish and in doubt forsook Finduilas against his heart, and against his last word to Flinding[8] (which if he had obeyed, his uttermost fate had not befallen him), and believing the words of the serpent whose spell was upon him, he left the realm of Narog and went to Hithlum. And it is sung that he

stopped in vain his ears to keep out the echo of the cries of Finduilas calling on his name as she was borne away; and that sound hunted him through the woods. But Glómund, when Túrin had gone, crept back to Nargothrond and gathered unto himself the greater part of its wealth of gold and gems, and he lay thereon in its deepest hall, and desolation was about him.

It is said that Túrin came at length to Hithlum, and he found not his mother or his kin; for their hall was empty and their land despoiled, and Brodda had added their goods unto his own. In his wooden hall at his own board Túrin slew Brodda; and fought his way from the house, but must needs afterward flee from Hithlum.[9]

There was a dwelling of free Men in the wood, the remnant of the people of Haleth, son of Hador and brother of Gumlin the grandsire of Túrin. They were the last of the Men that were Elf-friends to linger in Beleriand,[10] neither subdued by Morgoth, nor penned in Hithlum beyond the Shadowy Mountains. They were small in numbers, but bold, and their houses were in the green woods about the River Taiglin that enters the land of Doriath ere it joins with the great waters of Sirion, and maybe some magic of Melian had yet protected them. Down from the sources of Taiglin that issues from the Shadowy Mountains Túrin came seeking for the trail of the Orcs that had plundered Nargothrond and must pass that water on their road back to the realm of Morgoth.

Thus he came upon the woodmen and learned tidings of Finduilas; and then he thought that he had tasted his fill of woe, yet it was not so. For the Orcs had marched nigh to the borders of the woodmen, and the woodmen had ambushed them, and come near to rescuing their captives. But few had they won away, for the Orc-guards had slain most of them cruelly; and among them Finduilas had been pierced with spears,[11] as those few who had been saved told him amid their tears. So perished the last of the race of Finrod fairest of Elven-kings, and vanished from the world of Men.

Grim was the heart of Túrin and all the deeds and days of his life seemed vile; yet the courage of the race of Hador was as a core of unbent steel. There Túrin vowed to renounce his past, his kin, his name, and all that had been his, save hatred of Morgoth; and he took a new name, Turambar (Turumarth[12] in the forms of Gnomish speech), which is Conqueror of Fate; and the woodmen gathered to him, and he became their lord, and ruled a while in peace.

Tidings came now more clear to Doriath of the fall of Orodreth and the destruction of all the folk of Narog, though fugitives no more than could be counted on the hands came ever into safety there, and uncertain was their report. Yet thus was it known to Thingol and to Morwen that Mormaglir was Túrin; and yet too late; for some said that he had escaped and fled,[13] and some told that he had been turned to stone by the dreadful eyes of Glómund and lived still enthralled in Nargothrond.

At last Thingol yielded so far to the tears and entreaties of Morwen that he sent forth a company of Elves toward Nargothrond to explore the truth. With them rode Morwen, for she might not be restrained; but Nienor was bidden to remain behind. Yet the fearlessness of her house was hers, and in evil hour, for love and care of her mother, she disguised herself as one of the folk of Thingol, and went with that ill-fated riding.

They viewed Narog afar from the summit of the tree-clad Hill of Spies to the east of the Guarded Plain, and thence they rode down greatly daring towards the banks of Narog. Morwen remained upon the hill with scanty guard and watched them from afar. Now in the days of victory when the folk of Narog had gone forth once more to open war, a bridge had been built across the river before the doors of the hidden city (and this had proved their undoing). Towards this bridge the Elves of Doriath now came, but Glómund was aware of their coming, and he issued forth on a sudden and lay into the stream, and a vast and hissing vapour arose and engulfed them. This Morwen saw from the hill-top, and her guards would not stay longer but fled back to Doriath taking her with them.

In that mist the Elves were overwhelmed, and their horses were stricken with panic, and they fled hither and thither and could not find their fellows; and the most part returned never back to Doriath. But when the mist cleared Nienor found that her wandering had taken her only back unto the banks of Narog, and before her lay Glómund, and his eye was upon her. Dreadful was his eye, like to the eye of Morgoth his master who had made him; and as she gazed perforce upon it a spell of darkness and utter forgetfulness fell upon her mind. Thence she wandered witless in the woods, as a wild creature without speech or thought.

When her madness left her, she was far from the borders of Nargothrond, she knew not where; and she remembered not her name or home. Thus was she found by a band of Orcs and pursued as a beast of the woods; but she was saved by fate. For a

party of the woodmen of Turambar in whose land they were fell upon the Orcs and slew them; and Turambar himself placed her upon his horse and bore her to the woodmen's pleasant homes. He named her Níniel, Tear-maiden, for he had first seen her weeping. There is a narrow gorge and a high and foaming fall in the river Taiglin, that the woodmen called the Falls of Silver-bowl;[14] and this fair place they passed as they rode home, and would camp there as they were wont; but Níniel would not stay, for a chill and a mortal shivering took her in that place.

Yet afterwards she found some peace in the dwellings of the woodmen, who treated her with kindliness and honour. There she won the love of Brandir, son of Handir, son of Haleth; but he was lame of foot, being wounded by an Orc-arrow as a child, and uncomely and of less might than many, wherefore he had yielded the rule to Túrin at the choice of the woodfolk. He was gentle of heart and wise of thought, and great was his love, and he was ever true to Turambar; yet bitter was his soul when he might not win the love of Níniel. For Níniel would not be parted ever from the side of Turambar, and great love was ever between those twain from the hour of their first meeting. Thus Túrin Turambar thinking to cast off his ancient woes was wed to Nienor Níniel, and fair was the feast in the woods of Taiglin.

Now the power and malice of Glómund waxed apace and well-nigh all the realm of Nargothrond of old he laid waste, both west of Narog and beyond it to the east; and he gathered Orcs to him and ruled as a dragon-king; and there were battles on the marches of the woodmen's land, and the Orcs fled. Wherefore learning of their dwelling, Glómund issued from Nargothrond, and came crawling, filled with fire, over the lands and to the borders of the woods of Taiglin, leaving behind him a trail of burning. But Turambar pondered how the horror could be warded from his people; and he marched forth with his men, and Níniel rode with them, her heart foreboding ill, until they could descry afar the blasted track of the dragon and the smoking place where he now lay, west of the deep-cloven bed of Taiglin. Between them lay the steep ravine of the river, whose waters had in that spot fallen, but a little way before, over the foaming fall of Silver-bowl.

There Turambar thought of a desperate counsel, for he knew but too well the might and malice of Glómund. He resolved to lie in wait in the ravine over which the dragon must pass, if he would reach their land. Six of his boldest men begged to come with him; and at evening they climbed up the further side of the ravine and clung in

hiding among the bushes at its brink. In the night the great dragon moved nigh to the river, and the rumour of his approach filled them with fear and loathing. Indeed in the morning all had slunk away leaving Turambar only.

The next evening, when Turambar was now nearly spent, Glómund began the passage of the ravine, and his huge form passed over Turambar's head. There Turambar transfixed Glómund with Gurtholfin, Wand-of-Death, his black sword; and Glómund coiled back in anguish and lay dying nigh to the river's brink and came not into the woodmen's land. But he wrested the sword from Turambar's grasp in his throes, and Turambar came now forth from hiding, and placed his foot upon Glómund and in exultation drew out his sword. Greedy was that blade and very fast in the wound, and as Turambar wrenched it with all his might, the venom of the dragon spouted on his hand and in the anguish of its burning he fell in a swoon.

So it was that the watchers from afar perceived that Glómund had been slain, yet Turambar did not return. By the light of the moon Níniel went forth without a word to seek him, and ere she had long gone Brandir missed her and followed after. But Níniel found Turambar lying as one dead beside the body of Glómund. There as she wept beside Turambar and sought to tend him, Glómund opened his eyes for the last time, and spake, telling her the true name of Turambar; and thereafter he died, and with his death the spell of forgetfulness was lifted from Níniel, and she remembered her kin. Filled with horror and anguish, for she was with child, she fled and cast herself over the heights of Silver-bowl, and none ever found her body. Her last lament ere she cast herself away was heard only by Brandir; and his back was bowed and his head turned grey in that night.

In the morn Túrin awoke and found that one had tended his hand. Though it pained him grievously, he returned in triumph filled with joy for the death of Glómund, his ancient foe; and he asked for Níniel, but none dared tell him, save Brandir. And Brandir distraught with grief reproached him; wherefore Túrin slew him, and taking Gurtholfin red with blood bade it slay its master; and the sword answered that his blood was as sweet as any other, and it pierced him to the heart as he fell upon it.

Túrin they buried nigh to the edge of Silver-bowl, and his name Túrin Turambar was carved there upon a rock. Beneath was written Nienor Níniel. Men changed the name of that place thereafter to Nen-Girith, the Shuddering Water.

So ended the tale of Túrin the unhappy; and it has ever been held the worst of the works of Morgoth in the ancient world. Some have said that Morwen, wandering woefully from Thingol's halls, when she found Nienor not there on her return, came on a time to that stone and read it, and there died.

★

1 *Flinding* > *Gwindor* at all occurrences, as previously (late changes).
2 *in days long gone* > *in days before* (late change).
3 *Out of loyalty* > *Out of loyalty to Gwindor* (late change).
4 Added here: *but the sword he named Gurtholfin, Wand-of-Death.*
5 The words *Brodda, who had to wife* struck through (late change), so the sentence reads *leaving her goods in the care of her kinswoman Airin*
6 *Flinding son of Fuilin* > *Gwindor son of Guilin* (late change).
7 This passage, from *and he was halted moveless*, was extended:

> and long time he stood there as one graven of stone silent before the dragon, until they two alone were left before the doors of Nargothrond. Then Glómund taunted him, &c.

8 *and against his last word to Flinding* struck through.
9 This sentence rewritten to read:

> Then Túrin knew the lie of Glómund, and in his anguish and in his wrath for the evil that had been done to his mother he slew Brodda at his own board and fought his way from the house; and in the night, a hunted man, he fled from Hithlum.

10 *Belériand* here as originally typed, not emended from *Broseliand*; and subsequently.
11 *and among them Finduilas had been pierced* > *and Finduilas they fastened to a tree and pierced*
12 *Turumarth* > *Turamarth*
13 This passage, from *came ever into safety there*, was altered thus:

> . . . came ever into safety in Doriath. Thus was it known to Thingol and to Morwen that Mormaglir was Túrin himself; and yet too late they learned this; for some said that he was slain, and some told, &c.

14 *Falls of Silver-bowl* > *Falls of Celebros, Foam-silver*; and subsequently *Silver-bowl* > *Celebros*.

14

But after the death of Túrin and Nienor, Húrin was released by Morgoth, for Morgoth thought still to use him; and he accused Thingol of faint heart and ungentleness, saying that only thus had his purpose been brought about; and Húrin distraught, wandering bowed with grief, pondered these words, and was embittered by them, for such is the way of the lies of Morgoth.

Húrin gathered therefore a few outlaws of the woods unto him, and they came to Nargothrond, which as yet none, Orc, Elf, or Man, had dared to plunder, for dread of the spirit of Glómund and his very memory. But one Mîm the Dwarf they found there. This is the first coming of the Dwarves into these tales[1] of the ancient world; and it is said that Dwarves first spread west from Erydluin,[2] the Blue Mountains, into Beleriand after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears. Now Mîm had found the halls and treasure of Nargothrond unguarded; and he took possession of them, and sat there in joy fingering the gold and gems, and letting them run ever through his hands; and he bound them to himself with many spells. But the folk of Mîm were few, and the outlaws filled with the lust of the treasure slew them, though Húrin would have stayed them; and at his death Mîm cursed the gold.

And the curse came upon the possessors in this wise. Each one of Húrin's company died or was slain in quarrels upon the road; but Húrin went unto Thingol and sought his aid, and the folk of Thingol bore the treasure to the Thousand Caves. Then Húrin bade cast it all at the feet of Thingol, and he reproached the Elf-king with wild and bitter words. 'Receive thou,' said he, 'thy fee for thy fair keeping of my wife and kin.'

Yet Thingol would not take the hoard, and long he bore with Húrin; but Húrin scorned him, and wandered forth in quest of Morwen his wife, but it is not said that he found her ever upon the earth; and some have said that he cast himself at last into the western sea, and so ended the mightiest of the warriors of mortal Men.

Then the enchantment of the accursed dragon gold began to fall even upon the king of Doriath, and long he sat and gazed upon it, and the seed of the love of gold that was in his heart was waked to growth. Wherefore he summoned the greatest of all craftsmen that now were in the western world, since Nargothrond was no more (and Gondolin was not known), the Dwarves of Nogrod and Belegost, that they might fashion the gold and silver and the gems (for much was yet unwrought) into countless vessels and fair

things; and a marvellous necklace of great beauty they should make, whereon to hang the Silmaril.

But the Dwarves coming were stricken at once with the lust and desire of the treasure, and they plotted treachery. They said one to another: 'Is not this wealth as much the right of the Dwarves as of the elvish king, and was it not wrested evilly from Mîm?' Yet also they lusted for the Silmaril.

And Thingol, falling deeper into the thraldom of the spell, for his part scanted his promised reward for their labour; and bitter words grew between them, and there was battle in Thingol's halls. There many Elves and Dwarves were slain, and the howe wherein they were laid in Doriath was named Cûm-nan-Arasaith, the Mound of Avarice. But the remainder of the Dwarves were driven forth without reward or fee.

Therefore gathering new forces in Nogrod and in Belegost they returned at length, and aided by the treachery of certain Elves on whom the lust of the accursed treasure had fallen they passed into Doriath secretly. There they surprised Thingol upon a hunt with but small company of arms; and Thingol was slain, and the fortress of the Thousand Caves taken at unawares and plundered; and so was brought well nigh to ruin the glory of Doriath, and but one stronghold of the Elves against Morgoth now remained, and their twilight was nigh at hand.

Queen Melian the Dwarves could not seize or harm, and she went forth to seek Beren and Lúthien. Now the Dwarf-road to Nogrod and Belegost in the Blue Mountains passed through East Beleriand and the woods about the River Ascar,[3] where aforetime were the hunting grounds of Damrod and Díriel, sons of Fëanor. To the south of those lands between the river and the mountains lay the land of Assariad, and there[4] lived and wandered still in peace and bliss Beren and Lúthien, in that time of respite which Lúthien had won, ere both should die; and their folk were the Green Elves of the South, who were not of the Elves of Côr,[5] nor of Doriath, though many had fought at the Battle of Unnumbered Tears. But Beren went no more to war, and his land was filled with loveliness and a wealth of flowers; and while Beren was and Lúthien remained Men called it oft Cuilwarthien,[6] the Land of the Dead that Live.

To the north of that region is a ford across the river Ascar, near to its joining with Duilwen[7] that falls in torrents from the mountains; and that ford is named Sarn-athra,[8] the Ford of Stones. This ford the Dwarves must pass ere they reached their

homes;[9] and there Beren fought his last fight, warned of their approach by Melian. In that battle the Green Elves took the Dwarves unawares as they were in the midst of their passage, laden with their plunder; and the Dwarvish chiefs were slain, and well nigh all their host. But Beren took the Nauglafring,[10] the Necklace of the Dwarves, whereon was hung the Silmaril; and it is said and sung that Lúthien wearing that necklace and that immortal jewel on her white breast was the vision of greatest beauty and glory that has ever been seen outside the realms of Valinor, and that for a while the Land of the Dead that Live became like a vision of the land of the Gods, and no places have been since so fair, so fruitful, or so filled with light.

Yet Melian warned them ever of the curse that lay upon the treasure and upon the Silmaril. The treasure they had drowned indeed in the river Ascar, and named it anew Rathlorion,[11] Golden-Bed, yet the Silmaril they retained. And in time the brief hour of the loveliness of the land of Rathlorion departed. For Lúthien faded as Mandos had spoken, even as the Elves of later days faded, when Men waxed strong and usurped the goodness of the earth; and she vanished from the world; and Beren died, and none know where their meeting shall be again.[12]

Thereafter was Dior Thingol's heir, child of Beren and Lúthien, king in the woods, most fair of all the children of the world, for his race was threefold: of the fairest and goodliest of Men, and of the Elves, and of the spirits divine of Valinor; yet it shielded him not from the fate of the oath of the sons of Fëanor. For Dior went back to Doriath and for a time a part of its ancient glory was raised anew, though Melian no longer dwelt in that place, and she departed to the land of the Gods beyond the western sea, to muse on her sorrows in the gardens whence she came.

But Dior wore the Silmaril upon his breast and the fame of that jewel went far and wide; and the deathless oath was waked once more from sleep. The sons of Fëanor, when he would not yield the jewel unto them, came[13] upon him with all their host; and so befell the second slaying of Elf by Elf, and the most grievous. There fell Celegorm and Curufin and dark Cranthir, but Dior was slain,[14] and Doriath was destroyed and never rose again.

Yet the sons of Fëanor gained not the Silmaril; for faithful servants fled before them and took with them Elwing the daughter of Dior, and she escaped, and they bore with them the Nauglafring, and came in time to the mouth of the river Sirion by the sea.

★

1 *This is the first coming of the Dwarves into these tales* > *Now for the first time did the Dwarves take part in these tales*

2 *Eryd-luin* > *Ered-luin* (late change).

3 *Ascar* > *Flend* > *Gelion* at the first two occurrences, but left unchanged at the third.

4 This sentence emended to read: *To the south of those lands between the river Flend* [> *Gelion*] *and the mountains lay the land of Ossiriand, watered by seven streams, Flend* [> *Gelion*], *Ascar, Thalos, Loeglin* [> *Legolin*], *Brilthor, Duilwen, Adurant. There lived, &c.*

(The rivers were first written *Flend, Ascar, Thalos, Loeglin, Brilthor, Adurant. Duilwen* was then added between *Thalos* and *Loeglin*; then *Legolin* replaced *Loeglin* and *Duilwen* was moved to stand between *Brilthor* and *Adurant*.)

5 *Côr* > *Kôr*, as previously.

6 *Men called it oft Cuilwarthien* > *Elves called it oft Gwerth-i-cuina* (see §10 note 15).

7 *Duilwen* > *Ascar* (see p. 232, entry *Dwarf-road*).

8 *Sarn-athra* > *Sarn-athrad.*

9 *ere they reached their homes* > *ere they reached the mountain passes that led unto their homes*

10 *Nauglafring* > *Nauglamír* at both occurrences (late changes).

11 *Rathlorion* > *Rathloriel* at both occurrences (late changes).

12 Added here:

> Yet it hath been sung that Lúthien alone of Elves hath been numbered among our race, and goeth whither we go to a fate beyond the world.

A large pencilled X is made in the margin against the sentence in the typescript beginning *For Lúthien faded* . . .; in my father's manuscripts this always implies that there is some misstatement in the text that requires revision.

13 The words *The sons of Fëanor, when* were struck out, and the sentence enlarged thus:

> For while Lúthien wore that peerless gem no Elf would dare assail her, and not even Maidros dared ponder such a thought. But now hearing of the renewal of Doriath and Dior's pride, the seven gathered again from wandering; and they sent unto Dior to claim their own. But he would not yield the jewel unto them; and they came, &c.

14 Added here: *and his young sons Eldûn and Elrûn* (late change).

15

[For much of this section there exist two typescript texts, the later of the two being longer. Subsequently there is a lot more of such replacement,

and I shall call the earlier 'Q I', the later 'Q II'. Q II is given after the notes to Q I.]

Here must be told of Gondolin. The great river Sirion, mightiest in elvish song, flowed through all the land of Beleriand and its course was south-west; and at its mouth was a great delta and its lower course ran through green and fertile lands, little peopled save by birds and beasts. Yet the Orcs came seldom there, for it was far from the northern woods and fells, and the power of Ulmo waxed ever in that water, as it drew nigh to the sea; for the mouths of that river were in the western sea, whose uttermost borders are the shores of Valinor.

Turgon, Fingolfin's son, had a sister, Isfin the white-handed. She was lost in Taur-na-Fuin after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears. There she was captured by the Dark-elf Eöl, and it is said that he was of gloomy mood, and had deserted the hosts ere the battle; yet he had not fought on Morgoth's side. But Isfin he took to wife, and their son was Meglin.

Now the people of Turgon escaping from the battle, aided by the prowess of Húrin, as has been told, escaped from the knowledge of Morgoth and vanished from all men's eyes; and Ulmo alone knew whither they had gone. Their scouts climbing the heights had come upon a secret place in the mountains: a broad valley[1] entirely circled by the hills, ringed about it in a fence unbroken, but falling ever lower as they came towards the middle. In the midmost of this marvellous ring was a wide land and a green plain, wherein was no hill, save for a single rocky height. This stood up dark upon the plain, not right at its centre, but nearest to that part of the outer wall that marched close to the borders of Sirion. Highest were the Encircling Mountains towards the North and the threat of Angband, and on their outer slopes to East and North began the shadow of dread Taur-na-Fuin; but they were crowned with the cairn of Fingolfin, and no evil came that way, as yet.

In this valley the Gnomes took refuge,[2] and spells of hiding and enchantment were set on all the hills about, that foes and spies might never find it. In this Turgon had the aid of the messages of Ulmo, that came now up the river Sirion; for his voice is to be heard in many waters, and some of the Gnomes had yet the lore to harken. In those days Ulmo was filled with pity for the exiled Elves in their need, and in the ruin that had now almost overwhelmed them. He foretold that the fortress of Gondolin

should stand longest of all the refuges of the Elves against the might of Morgoth,[3] and like Doriath never be overthrown save by treachery from within. Because of his protecting might the spells of concealment were strongest in those parts nearest to Sirion, though there the Encircling Mountains were at their lowest. There the Gnomes dug a great winding tunnel under the roots of the hills, and its issue was in the steep side, tree-clad and dark, of a gorge through which Sirion ran, at that point still a young stream flowing strongly through the narrow vale between the shoulders of the Encircling Mountains and the Shadowy Mountains, in whose northern heights it took its rise.

The outer entrance of that passage, which they made at first to be a way of secret issue for themselves and for their scouts and spies, and for a way of return to safety for fugitives, was guarded by their magic and the power of Ulmo,[4] and no evil thing found it; yet its inner gate which looked upon the vale of Gondolin was guarded unceasingly by the Gnomes.[5]

Thorndor King of Eagles removed his eyries from Thangorodrim to the northward heights of the Encircling Mountains, and there he kept watch, sitting upon the cairn of King Fingolfin. But on the rocky hill amid the vale, Amon Gwareth, the Hill of Watch, whose sides they polished to the smoothness of glass, and whose top they levelled, the Gnomes built the great city of Gondolin with gates of steel, whose fame and glory is greatest of all dwellings of the Elves in the Outer Lands. The plain all about they levelled, that it was as smooth and flat as a lawn of grass until nigh unto the feet of the hills; and nothing might walk or creep across unseen.

In that city the folk waxed mighty, and their armouries were filled with weapons and with shields, for they purposed yet to come forth to war when the hour was ripe. But as the years drew on they grew to love that place, and desired no better, and few ever issued forth;[6] they shut them behind their impenetrable and enchanted hills, and suffered none to enter, fugitive or foe, and tidings of the outer world came but faint and far, and they heeded them little, and forgot the messages of Ulmo. They succoured not Nargothrond or Doriath, and the wandering Elves knew not how to find them; and when Turgon learned of the slaying of Dior, he vowed never to march with any son of Fëanor, and closed his realm, forbidding any of his folk to go ever forth.[7]

Gondolin now alone remained of all the strongholds of the Elves. Morgoth forgot not Turgon, and knew that without knowledge of that king his triumph could not be achieved; yet

his search unceasing was in vain. Nargothrond was void, Doriath desolate, the sons of Fëanor driven away to a wild woodland life in the South and East, Hithlum was filled with evil men, and Taur-na-Fuin was a place of nameless dread; the race of Hador was at an end, and the house of Finrod; Beren came no more to war, and Huan was slain; and all Elves and Men bowed to his will, or laboured as slaves in the mines and smithies of Angband, save only the wild and wandering, and few there were of these save far in the East of once fair Beleriand. His triumph was near complete, and yet was not quite full.[8]

★

1 This sentence was rewritten thus:

> Ulmo alone knew whither they had gone; for they returned to the hidden city of Gondolin that Turgon had built. In a secret place in the mountains there was a broad valley, &c.

2 *the Gnomes took refuge > Turgon had taken refuge*
3 At this point the replacement text Q II begins.
4 *the power of Ulmo > the power of Sirion beloved of Ulmo*
5 The following passage was added in pencil in the margin without direction for insertion. For its place in Q II, where it is embodied in the text, see below.

> For Turgon deemed after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears that Morgoth had grown too mighty for Elves and Men, and that it were better to ask the forgiveness and aid of the Valar ere all was lost. Wherefore some of his folk would at whiles go down Sirion, and a small and secret haven they there made, whence ever and anon ships would set forth into the West. Some came back driven by contrary winds, but many never returned; and none reached Valinor.

6 Added here: *and they sent no more messengers into the West*;
7 Here the replacement text Q II ends.
8 Added at the end: *In this wise came the fall of Gondolin*.

§15 in the Q II version
(see note 3 above)

and like Doriath never be overthrown save by treachery from within. Because of his protecting might the spells of concealment were strongest in those parts nearest to Sirion, though there the

Encircling Mountains were at their lowest. In that region the Gnomes dug a great winding tunnel under the roots of the hills, and its issue was in the steep side, tree-clad and dark, of a gorge through which the blissful river ran. There he was still a young stream, but strong, flowing down the narrow vale that lies between the shoulders of the Encircling Mountains and the Mountains of Shadow, Eryd-Lómin,[1] the walls of Hithlum, in whose northern heights he took his rise.[2]

That passage they made at first to be a way of return for fugitives and for such as escaped from the bondage of Morgoth; and most as an issue for their scouts and messengers. For Turgon deemed, when first they came into that vale after the dreadful battle,[3] that Morgoth Bauglir had grown too mighty for Elves and Men, and that it were better to seek the forgiveness and aid of the Valar, if either might be got, ere all was lost. Wherefore some of his folk went down the river Sirion at whiles, ere the shadow of Morgoth yet stretched into the uttermost parts of Beleriand, and a small and secret haven they made at his mouth; thence ever and anon ships would set forth into the West bearing the embassy of the Gnomish king. Some there were that came back driven by contrary winds; but the most never returned again, and none reached Valinor.

The issue of that Way of Escape was guarded and concealed by the mightiest spells they could contrive, and by the power that dwelt in Sirion beloved of Ulmo, and no thing of evil found it; yet its inner gate, which looked upon the vale of Gondolin, was watched unceasingly by the Gnomes.

In those days Thorndor[4] King of Eagles removed his eyries from Thangorodrim, because of the power of Morgoth, and the stench and fumes, and the evil of the dark clouds that lay now ever upon the mountain-towers above his cavernous halls. But Thorndor dwelt upon the northward heights of the Encircling Mountains, and he kept watch and saw many things, sitting upon the cairn of King Fingolfin. And in the vale below dwelt Turgon Fingolfin's son. Upon Amon Gwareth, the Hill of Defence, the rocky height amidst the plain, was built Gondolin the great, whose fame and glory is mightiest in song of all dwellings of the Elves in these Outer Lands. Of steel were its gates and of marble were its walls. The sides of the hill the Gnomes polished to the smoothness of dark glass, and its top they levelled for the building of their town, save amidmost where stood the tower and palace of the king. Many fountains there were in that city, and white waters fell

shimmering down the glistening sides of Amon Gwareth. The plain all about they smoothed till it became as a lawn of shaven grass from the stairways before the gates unto the feet of the mountain wall, and nought might walk or creep across unseen.

In that city the folk waxed mighty, and their armouries were filled with weapons and with shields; for they purposed at first to come forth to war, when the hour was ripe. But as the years drew on, they grew to love that place, the work of their hands, as the Gnomes do, with a great love, and desired no better. Then seldom went any forth from Gondolin on errand of war or peace again. They sent no messengers more into the West, and Sirion's haven was desolate. They shut them behind their impenetrable and enchanted hills, and suffered none to enter, though he fled from Morgoth hate-pursued; tidings of the lands without came to them faint and far, and they heeded them little; and their dwelling became as a rumour, and a secret no man could find. They succoured not Nargothrond nor Doriath, and the wandering Elves sought them in vain; and Ulmo alone knew where the realm of Turgon could be found. Tidings Turgon heard of Thorndor concerning the slaying of Dior, Thingol's heir, and thereafter he shut his ear to word of the woes without; and he vowed to march never at the side of any son of Fëanor; and his folk he forbade ever to pass the leaguer of the hills.

Changes made to this passage

1 *Eryd-Lómin* > *Eredwethion*
2 *in whose northern heights he took his rise* struck through.
3 This sentence marked with an X in the margin.
4 *Thorndor* > *Thorondor* throughout.

16

[A substantial part of this section is again extant both in the original typescript (Q I) and in a replacement text (Q II).]

On a time Eöl was lost in Taur-na-Fuin, and Isfin came through great peril and dread unto Gondolin, and after her coming none entered until the last messenger of Ulmo, of whom the tales speak more ere the end. With her came her son Meglin, and he was there received by Turgon his mother's brother,[1] and though he was half of Dark-elfin[2] blood he was treated as a prince of Fingolfin's line.

He was swart but comely, wise and eloquent, and cunning to win men's hearts and minds.

Now Húrin of Hithlum had a brother Huor. The son of Huor was Tuor. Rían Huor's wife sought her husband among the slain upon the field of Unnumbered Tears, and there bewailed him, ere she died. Her son was but a child, and remaining in Hithlum fell into the hands of the faithless Men whom Morgoth drove into that land after the battle; and he became a thrall. Growing of age, and he was fair of face and great of stature, and despite his grievous life valiant and wise, he escaped into the woods, and he became an outlaw and a solitary, living alone and communing with none save rarely wandering and hidden Elves.[3]

On a time Ulmo contrived, as is told in the *Tale of the Fall of Gondolin*, that he should be led to a river-course that flowed underground from Lake Mithrim in the midst of Hithlum into a great chasm, Cris-Ilfing,[4] the Rainbow-cleft, through which a turbulent water ran at last into the western sea. And the name of this chasm was so devised by reason of the rainbow that shimmered ever in the sun in that place, because of the abundance of the spray of the rapids and the waterfalls.

In this way the flight of Tuor was marked by no Man nor Elf; neither was it known to the Orcs or any spy of Morgoth, with whom the land of Hithlum was filled.

Tuor wandered long by the western shores, journeying ever South; and he came at last to the mouths of Sirion, and the sandy deltas peopled by many birds of the sea. There he fell in with a Gnome, Bronweg,[5] who had escaped from Angband, and being of old of the people of Turgon, sought ever to find the path to the hidden places of his lord, of which rumour ran among all captives and fugitives. Now Bronweg had come thither by far and wandering paths to the East, and little though any step back nigher to the thraldom from which he had come was to his liking, he purposed now to go up Sirion and seek for Turgon in Beleriand. Fearful and very wary was he, and he aided Tuor in their secret march, by night and twilight, so that they were not discovered by the Orcs.

They came first into the fair Land of Willows, Nan-Tathrin which is watered by the Narog and by Sirion; and there all things were yet green, and the meads were rich and full of flowers, and there was song of many birds; so that Tuor lingered there as one enchanted, and it seemed sweet to him to dwell there after the grim lands of the North and his weary wandering.

There Ulmo came and appeared before him, as he stood in the long grass at evening; and the might and majesty of that vision is told of in the song of Tuor that he made for his son Eärendel. Thereafter the sound of the sea and the longing for the sea was ever in Tuor's heart and ear; and an unquiet was on him at whiles that took him at last into the depths of the realm of Ulmo.[6] But now Ulmo bade him make all speed to Gondolin, and gave him guidance for the finding of the hidden door; and words were set in his mouth to bear to Turgon, bidding him prepare for battle with Morgoth ere all was lost, and promising that Ulmo would win the hearts of the Valar to send him succour. That would be a mortal and a terrible strife, yet if Turgon would dare it, Morgoth's power should be broken and his servants perish and never after trouble the world. But if Turgon would not go forth to this war, then he must abandon Gondolin and lead his people down Sirion, ere Morgoth could oppose him, and at Sirion's mouth Ulmo would befriend him, and lend his aid to the building of a mighty fleet wherein the Gnomes should sail back at last to Valinor, but then grievous would be the fate of the Outer Lands. Tuor's part if Turgon should accept the counsels of Ulmo, would be to go forth when Turgon marched to war and lead a force into Hithlum and draw its Men once more into alliance with the Elves, for 'without Men the Elves shall not prevail against the Orcs and Balrogs'.

This errand did Ulmo himself perform out of his love of Elves and of the Gnomes, and because he knew that ere twelve years were passed the doom of Gondolin would come, strong though it seemed, if its people sat still behind their walls.

Obedient to Ulmo Tuor and Bronweg journeyed North, and came to the hidden door; and passing down the tunnel neath the hills they came to the inner gate and looked upon the vale of Gondolin, the city of seven names, shining white flushed with the rose of dawn upon the plain. But there they were made captive by the guard of the gate and led before the king. Tuor spoke his embassy to Turgon in the great square of Gondolin before the steps of his palace; but the king was grown proud and Gondolin so fair and beautiful and he was so trustful of its secret and impregnable strength, that he and the most of his folk wished no longer to trouble with the Gnomes and Men without, nor did they long more to return to the lands of the Gods.

Meglin spake against Tuor in the councils of the king, and Turgon rejected the bidding of Ulmo, and neither did he go forth to war nor seek to fly to the mouths of Sirion; but there were some

of his wiser counsellors who were filled with disquiet, and the king's daughter spake ever for Tuor. She was named Idril, one of the fairest of the maidens of the Elves of old, and folk called her Celebrindal, Silver-foot, for the whiteness of her slender feet, and she walked and danced ever unshod.

Thereafter Tuor sojourned in Gondolin, and grew a mighty man in form and in wisdom, learning deeply of the lore of the Gnomes; and the heart of Idril was turned to him, and his to her. At which Meglin ground his teeth, for he loved Idril, and despite his close kinship purposed to wed her; indeed already he was planning in his heart to oust Turgon and to seize the throne, but Turgon loved and trusted him. Tuor wedded Idril nonetheless, for he had become beloved by all the Gnomes of Gondolin, even Turgon the proud, save only Meglin and his secret following. Tuor and Beren alone of mortal Men ever wedded Elves of old, and since Elwing daughter of Dior son of Beren after wedded Eärendel son of Tuor and Idril, of them alone has come the elfin blood into mortal Men. But yet Eärendel was an infant; and he was a child surpassing fair: a light was in his face as of heaven, and he had the beauty and the wisdom of Elfinesse[7] and the strength and hardihood of the Men of old; and the sea spoke ever in his ear and heart, even as with Tuor his father.

On a time when Eärendel was yet young, and the days of Gondolin were full of joy and peace (and yet Idril's heart misgave her, and foreboding crept upon her spirit like a cloud), Meglin was lost. Now Meglin loved mining and quarrying after metals above other craft; and he was master and leader of the Gnomes who worked in the mountains distant from the city, seeking for metals for their smithying of things both of peace and war. But often Meglin went with few of his folk beyond the leaguer of the hills, though the king knew not that his bidding was defied; and so it came to pass, as fate willed, that Meglin was taken prisoner by the Orcs and taken before Morgoth. Meglin was no weakling or craven, but the torment wherewith he was threatened cowed his soul, and he purchased his life and freedom by revealing unto Morgoth the place of Gondolin and the ways whereby it might be found and assailed. Great indeed was the joy of Morgoth; and to Meglin he promised the lordship of Gondolin, as his vassal, and the possession of Idril, when that city should be taken. Lust for Idril and hatred of Tuor led Meglin the easier to his foul treachery. But Morgoth sent him back to Gondolin, lest men should suspect the betrayal, and so that Meglin should aid the

assault from within when the hour came; and Meglin abode in the halls of the king with a smile on his face and evil in his heart, while the gloom gathered ever deeper upon Idril.

At last, and Eärendel was then seven years of age, Morgoth was ready, and he loosed upon Gondolin his Orcs and his Balrogs and his serpents; and of these, dragons of many and dire shapes were new devised for the taking of the city. The host of Morgoth came over the Northern hills where the height was greatest and the watch less vigilant, and it came at night at a time of festival, when all the folk of Gondolin were upon the walls to wait upon the rising sun and sing their songs at its uplifting; for the morrow was the feast which they named the Gates of Summer. But the red light mounted the hills in the North and not in the East; and there was no stay in the advance of the foe until they were beneath the very walls of Gondolin, and Gondolin was beleaguered without hope.

Of the deeds of desperate valour there done, by the chieftains of the noble houses and their warriors, and not least by Tuor, is much told in *The Fall of Gondolin*; of the death of Rog without the walls; and of the battle of Ecthelion of the Fountain with Gothmog lord of Balrogs in the very square of the king, where each slew the other; and of the defence of the tower of Turgon by the men of his household, until the tower was overthrown; and mighty was its fall and the fall of Turgon in its ruin.

Tuor sought to rescue Idril from the sack of the city, but Meglin had laid hands upon her and Eärendel; and Tuor fought on the walls with him, and cast him down to death. Then Tuor and Idril led such remnants of the folk of Gondolin as they could gather in the confusion of the burning down a secret way that Idril had let prepare in the days of her foreboding. This was not yet complete, but its issue was already far beyond the walls and in the North of the plain where the mountains were long distant from Amon Gwareth. Those who would not come with them, but fled to the old Way of Escape that led into the gorge of Sirion, were caught and destroyed by a dragon that Morgoth had sent to watch that gate, being apprised of it by Meglin. But of the new passage Meglin had not heard, and it was not thought that fugitives would take a path towards the North and the highest parts of the mountains and the nighest to Angband.

The fume of the burning, and the steam of the fair fountains of Gondolin withering in the flame of the dragons of the North, fell upon the vale in mournful mists; and thus was the escape of Tuor and his company aided, for there was still a long and open road to

follow from the tunnel's mouth to the foothills of the mountains. They came nonetheless into the mountains, in woe and misery, for the high places were cold and terrible, and they had among them many women and children and many wounded men.

There is a dreadful pass, Cristhorn[8] was it named, the Eagle's Cleft, where beneath the shadow of the highest peaks a narrow path winds its way, walled by a precipice to the right and on the left a dreadful fall leaps into emptiness. Along that narrow way their march was strung, when it was ambushed by an outpost of Morgoth's power; and a Balrog was their leader. Then dreadful was their plight, and hardly would it have been saved by the deathless valour of yellow-haired Glorfindel, chief of the House of the Golden Flower of Gondolin, had not Thorndor[9] come timely to their aid.

Songs have been sung of the duel of Glorfindel with the Balrog upon a pinnacle of rock in that high place; and both fell to ruin in the abyss. But Thorndor bore up Glorfindel's body and he was buried in a mound of stones beside the pass, and there came after a turf of green and small flowers like yellow stars bloomed there amid the barrenness of stone. And the birds of Thorndor stooped upon the Orcs and drove them shrieking back; and all were slain or cast into the deeps, and rumour of the escape from Gondolin came not until long after to Morgoth's ears.

Thus by weary and dangerous marches the remnant of Gondolin came unto Nan-Tathrin and there rested a while, and were healed of their hurts and weariness, but their sorrow could not be cured. There they made feast in memory of Gondolin and those that had perished, fair maidens, wives, and warriors and their king; but for Glorfindel the well-beloved many and sweet were the songs they sang. And there Tuor in song spoke to Eärendel his son of the coming of Ulmo aforetime, the sea-vision in the midst of the land, and the sea-longing awoke in his heart and in his son's. Wherefore they removed with the most part of the people to the mouths of Sirion by the sea, and there they dwelt, and joined their folk to the slender company of Elwing daughter of Dior, that had fled thither little while before.

Then Morgoth thought in his heart that his triumph was fulfilled, recking little of the sons of Fëanor, and of their oath, which had harmed him never and turned always to his mightiest aid. And in his black thought he laughed, regretting not the one Silmaril he had lost, for by it he deemed the last shreds of the elvish race should vanish yet from the earth and trouble it no

more. If he knew of the dwelling by the waters of Sirion he made no sign, biding his time, and waiting upon the working of oath and lie.

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1 *mother's brother* > *sister-son*; no doubt *as his sister-son* was intended.
2 *Dark-elfin* > *Dark-elven*
3 This paragraph was largely struck out, as well as some hasty emendations that had been made to it (introducing the idea of Tuor's being born 'in the wild' and fostered by Dark-elves, and Rían's dying on the Hill of Slain – which is here called *Amon Dengin*). The passage was then rewritten:

> Now Húrin of Hithlum had a brother Huor, and as has been told Rían his wife went forth into the wild and there her son Tuor was born, and he was fostered by the Dark-elves; but Rían laid herself down and died upon the Hill of Slain. But Tuor grew up in the woods of Hithlum, and he was fair of face and great of stature, and valiant and wise; and he walked and hunted alone in the woods, and he became a solitary, living alone and communing with none save rarely wandering and hidden Elves.

4 *Cris-Ilfing* > *Kirith Helvin*
5 *Bronweg* > *Bronwë* at the first two occurrences, but not at the third, which occurs in the part replaced by the Q II text.
6 At this point the replacement text Q II begins.
7 Here the replacement text Q II ends.
8 *Cristhorn* > *Kirith-thoronath*
9 *Thorndor* > *Thorondor*, as previously.

§16 in the Q II version
(see note 6 above)

But now Ulmo bade him make all speed to Gondolin, and gave him guidance for the finding of the hidden door; and a message he gave him to bear from Ulmo, friend of Elves, unto Turgon, bidding him to prepare for war, and battle with Morgoth ere all was lost; and to send again his messengers into the West. Summons too should he send into the East and gather, if he might, Men (who were now multiplying and spreading on the earth) unto his banners; and for that task Tuor was most fit. 'Forget,' counselled Ulmo, 'the treachery of Uldor the accursed, and remember Húrin; for without mortal Men the Elves shall not

prevail against the Balrogs and the Orcs.' Nor should the feud with the sons of Fëanor be left unhealed; for this should be the last gathering of the hope of the Gnomes, when every sword should count. A terrible and mortal strife he foretold, but victory if Turgon would dare it, the breaking of Morgoth's power, and the healing of feuds, and friendship between Men and Elves, whereof the greatest good should come into the world, and the servants of Morgoth trouble it no more. But if Turgon would not go forth to this war, then he should abandon Gondolin and lead his people down Sirion, and build there his fleets and seek back to Valinor and the mercy of the Gods. But in this counsel there was danger more dire than in the other, though so it might not seem; and grievous thereafter would be the fate of the Outer[1] Lands.

This errand Ulmo performed out of his love of the Elves, and because he knew that ere many years were passed the doom of Gondolin would come, if its people sat still behind its walls; not thus should anything of joy or beauty in the world be preserved from Morgoth's malice.

Obedient to Ulmo Tuor and Bronweg[2] journeyed North, and came at last to the hidden door; and passing down the tunnel reached the inner gate, and were taken by the guard as prisoners. There they saw the fair vale Tumladin[3] set like a green jewel amid the hills; and amidst Tumladin Gondolin the great, the city of seven names, white, shining from afar, flushed with the rose of dawn upon the plain. Thither they were led and passed the gates of steel, and were brought before the steps of the palace of the king. There Tuor spake the embassy of Ulmo, and something of the power and majesty of the Lord of Waters his voice had caught, so that all folk looked in wonder on him, and doubted that this were a Man of mortal race as he declared. But proud was Turgon become, and Gondolin as beautiful as a memory of Tûn, and he trusted in its secret and impregnable strength; so that he and the most part of his folk wished not to imperil it nor leave it, and they desired not to mingle in the woes of Elves and Men without; nor did they any longer desire to return through dread and danger to the West.

Meglin spoke ever against Tuor in the councils of the king, and his words seemed the more weighty in that they went with Turgon's heart. Wherefore Turgon rejected the bidding of Ulmo; though some there were of his wisest counsellors who were filled with disquiet. Wise-hearted even beyond the measure of the daughters of Elfinesse was the daughter of the king, and she spoke

ever for Tuor, though it did not avail, and her heart was heavy. Very fair and tall was she, well nigh of warrior's stature, and her hair was a fountain of gold. Idril was she named, and called Celebrindal, Silver-foot, for the whiteness of her foot; and she walked and danced ever unshod in the white ways and green lawns of Gondolin.

Thereafter Tuor sojourned in Gondolin, and went not to summon the Men of the East, for the blissfulness of Gondolin, the beauty and wisdom of its folk, held him enthralled. And he grew high in the favour of Turgon; for he became a mighty man in stature and in mind, learning deeply of the lore of the Gnomes. The heart of Idril was turned to him, and his to her; at which Meglin ground his teeth, for he desired Idril, and despite his close kinship purposed to possess her; and she was the only heir of the king of Gondolin. Indeed in his heart he was already planning how he might oust Turgon and seize his throne; but Turgon loved and trusted him. Nonetheless Tuor took Idril to wife; and the folk of Gondolin made merry feast, for Tuor had won their hearts, all save Meglin and his secret following. Tuor and Beren alone of mortal Men had Elves to wife, and since Elwing daughter of Dior son of Beren after wedded Eärendel son of Tuor and Idril of Gondolin, of them alone has come the elfin[4] blood into mortal race. But as yet Eärendel was a little child: surpassing fair was he, a light was in his face as the light of heaven, and he had the beauty and the wisdom of Elfinesse

Changes made to this passage

1 *Outer* > *Hither*
2 *Bronweg* > *Bronwë* (see note 5 above).
3 *Tumladin* > *Tumladen*
4 *elfin* > *elven*

17

[The whole of this section is extant in the two typescript versions Q I and Q II.]

Yet by Sirion there grew up an elfin folk, the gleanings of Doriath and Gondolin, and they took to the sea and to the making of fair ships, and they dwelt nigh unto its shores and under the shadow of Ulmo's hand.

But in Valinor Ulmo spake grievous words unto the Valar and unto the Elves the kinsfolk of the exiled and ruined Gnomes, and he called on them to forgive, and to rescue the world from the overmastering might of Morgoth, and win back the Silmarils wherein alone now bloomed the light of the days of ancient bliss when the Two Trees still shone. And the sons of the Valar prepared for battle, and Fionwë son of Tulcas was the captain of the host. With him marched the host of the Quendi, the Light-elves, the folk of Ingwë, and among them such of the race of the Gnomes [as] had not left Valinor; but remembering Swan Haven the Teleri came not forth. Tûn was deserted and the hill of Côr knew no more the feet of the elder children of the world.

In those days Tuor felt old age creep upon him, and he could not forbear the longing that possessed him for the sea; wherefore he built a great ship Eärámë, Eagle's Pinion, and with Idril he set sail into the sunset and the West, and came no more into any tale. But Eärendel the shining became the lord of the folk of Sirion and took to wife fair Elwing; and yet he could not rest. Two thoughts were in his heart blended as one: the longing for the wide sea; and he thought to sail thereon following after Tuor and Idril Celebrindal who returned not, and he thought to find perhaps the last shore and bring ere he died a message to the Gods and Elves of the West, that should move their hearts to pity on the world and the sorrows of Mankind.

Wingelot he built, fairest of the ships of song, the Foam-flower; white were its timbers as the argent moon, golden were its oars, silver were its shrouds, its masts were crowned with jewels like stars. In the Lay of Eärendel is many a thing sung of his adventures in the deep and in lands untrod, and in many seas and many isles; and most of how he fought and slew Ungoliant in the South and her darkness perished, and light came to many places which had yet long been hid. But Elwing sat sorrowing at home.

Eärendel found not Tuor, nor came he ever on that journey to the shores of Valinor; and at last he was driven by the winds back East, and he came at a time of night to the havens of Sirion, unlooked for, unwelcomed, for they were desolate. Bronweg alone sat there in sorrow, the companion of his father of old, and his tidings were filled with new woe.

The dwelling of Elwing at Sirion's mouth, where still she possessed the Nauglafring and the glorious Silmaril, became known to the sons of Fëanor; and they gathered together from

their wandering hunting-paths. But the folk of Sirion would not yield that jewel which Beren had won and Lúthien had worn, and for which fair Dior had been slain. And so befell the last and cruellest slaying of Elf by Elf, the third woe achieved by the accursed oath; for the sons of Fëanor came down upon the exiles of Gondolin and the remnant of Doriath, and though some of their folk stood aside and some few rebelled and were slain upon the other part aiding Elwing against their own lords, yet they won the day. Damrod was slain and Díriel, and Maidros and Maglor alone now remained of the Seven; but the last of the folk of Gondolin were destroyed or forced to depart and join them to the people of Maidros. And yet the sons of Fëanor gained not the Silmaril; for Elwing cast the Nauglafring into the sea, whence it shall not return until the End; and she leapt herself into the waves, and took the form of a white sea-bird, and flew away lamenting and seeking for Eärendel about all the shores of the world.

But Maidros took pity upon her child Elrond, and took him with him, and harboured and nurtured him, for his heart was sick and weary with the burden of the dreadful oath.

Learning these things Eärendel was overcome with sorrow; and with Bronweg he set sail once more in search of Elwing and of Valinor. And it is told in the Lay of Eärendel that he came at last unto the Magic Isles, and hardly escaped their enchantment, and found again the Lonely Isle, and the Shadowy Seas, and the Bay of Faërie on the borders of the world. There he landed on the immortal shore alone of living Men, and his feet clomb the marvellous hill of Côr; and he walked in the deserted ways of Tûn, where the dust upon his raiment and his shoes was a dust of diamonds and gems. But he ventured not into Valinor. He came too late to bring messages to the Elves, for the Elves had gone.[1]

He built a tower in the Northern Seas to which all the sea-birds of the world might at times repair, and ever he grieved for fair Elwing looking for her return to him. And Wingelot was lifted on their wings and sailed now even in the airs searching for Elwing; marvellous and magical was that ship, a starlit flower in the sky. But the Sun scorched it and the Moon hunted it in heaven, and long Eärendel wandered over Earth, glimmering as a fugitive star.

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1 At the foot of the page is written very quickly and faintly in pencil:

Make *Eärendel* move the Gods. And it is said that there were Men of Hithlum repentant of their evil in that day, and that so were fulfilled Ulmo's words, for by Eärendel's embassy and the aid of valiant Men the Orcs and Balrogs were destroyed, yet not as utterly as might have been.

At the top of the next page is written: *Men turned the* [*tide*] (the last word is illegible).

§17 in the Q II version

Yet by Sirion and the sea there grew up an elfin[1] folk, the gleanings of Gondolin and Doriath, and they took to the waves and to the making of fair ships, dwelling ever nigh unto the shores and under the shadow of Ulmo's hand.

In Valinor Ulmo spoke unto the Valar of the need of the Elves, and he called on them to forgive and send succour unto them and rescue them from the overmastering might of Morgoth, and win back the Silmarils wherein alone now bloomed the light of the days of bliss when the Two Trees still were shining. Or so it is said, among the Gnomes, who after had tidings of many things from their kinsfolk the Quendi, the Light-elves beloved of Manwë, who ever knew something of the mind of the Lord of the Gods. But as yet Manwë moved not, and the counsels of his heart what tale shall tell? The Quendi have said that the hour was not yet come, and that only one speaking in person for the cause of both Elves and Men, pleading for pardon upon their misdeeds and pity on their woes, might move the counsels of the Powers; and the oath of Fëanor perchance even Manwë could not loose, until it found its end, and the sons of Fëanor relinquished the Silmarils, upon which they had laid their ruthless claim. For the light which lit the Silmarils the Gods had made.

In those days Tuor felt old age creep upon him, and ever a longing for the deeps of the sea grew stronger in his heart. Wherefore he built a great ship Eärámë, Eagle's Pinion,[2] and with Idril he set sail into the sunset and the West, and came no more into any tale or song.[3] Bright Eärendel was then lord of the folk of Sirion and their many ships; and he took to wife Elwing the fair, and she bore him Elrond Half-elfin.[4] Yet Eärendel could not rest, and his voyages about the shores of the Outer[5] Lands eased not his unquiet. Two purposes grew in his heart, blended as one in longing for the wide sea: he sought to sail thereon, seeking after Tuor and Idril Celebrindal who returned not; and he thought to

find perhaps the last shore and bring ere he died the message of Elves and Men unto the Valar of the West, that should move the hearts of Valinor and of the Elves of Tûn to pity on the world and the sorrows of Mankind.

Wingelot[6] he built, fairest of the ships of song, the Foam-flower; white were its timbers as the argent moon, golden were its oars, silver were its shrouds, its masts were crowned with jewels like stars. In the Lay of Eärendel is many a thing sung of his adventures in the deep and in lands untrodden, and in many seas and many isles. Ungoliant[7] in the South he slew, and her darkness was destroyed, and light came to many regions which had yet long been hid. But Elwing sat sorrowing at home.

Eärendel found not Tuor nor Idril, nor came he ever on that journey to the shores of Valinor, defeated by shadows and enchantment, driven by repelling winds, until in longing for Elwing he turned him homeward toward the East. And his heart bade him haste, for a sudden fear was fallen on him out of dreams, and the winds that before he had striven with might not now bear him back as swift as his desire.

Upon the havens of Sirion new woe had fallen. The dwelling of Elwing there, where still she possessed the Nauglafring[8] and the glorious Silmaril, became known unto the remaining sons of Fëanor, Maidros and Maglor and Damrod and Díriel; and they gathered together from their wandering hunting-paths, and messages of friendship and yet stern demand they sent unto Sirion. But Elwing and the folk of Sirion would not yield that jewel which Beren had won and Lúthien had worn, and for which Dior the Fair was slain; and least of all while Eärendel their lord was in the sea, for them seemed that in that jewel lay the gift of bliss and healing that had come upon their houses and their ships.

And so came in the end to pass the last and cruellest of the slayings of Elf by Elf; and that was the third of the great wrongs achieved by the accursed oath. For the sons of Fëanor came down upon the exiles of Gondolin and the remnant of Doriath and destroyed them. Though some of their folk stood aside, and some few rebelled and were slain upon the other part aiding Elwing against their own lords (for such was the sorrow and confusion of the hearts of Elfinesse in those days), yet Maidros and Maglor won the day. Alone they now remained of the sons of Fëanor, for in that battle Damrod and Díriel were slain; but the folk of Sirion perished or fled away, or departed of need to join the people of Maidros, who claimed now the lordship of all the Elves of the

Outer Lands. And yet Maidros gained not the Silmaril, for Elwing seeing that all was lost and her child Elrond[9] taken captive, eluded the host of Maidros, and with the Nauglafring upon her breast she cast herself into the sea, and perished as folk thought.

But Ulmo bore her up and he gave unto her the likeness of a great white bird, and upon her breast there shone as a star the shining Silmaril, as she flew over the water to seek Eärendel her beloved. And on a time of night Eärendel at the helm saw her come towards him, as a white cloud under moon exceeding swift, as a star over the sea moving in strange course, a pale flame on wings of storm. And it is sung that she fell from the air upon the timbers of Wingelot, in a swoon, nigh unto death for the urgency of her speed, and Eärendel took her unto his bosom. And in the morn with marvelling eyes he beheld his wife in her own form beside him with her hair upon his face; and she slept.

But great was the sorrow of Eärendel and Elwing for the ruin of the havens of Sirion, and the captivity of their son, for whom they feared death, and yet it was not so. For Maidros took pity on Elrond, and he cherished him, and love grew after between them, as little might be thought; but Maidros' heart was sick and weary[10] with the burden of the dreadful oath. Yet Eärendel saw now no hope left in the lands of Sirion, and he turned again in despair and came not home, but sought back once more to Valinor with Elwing at his side. He stood now most oft at the prow, and the Silmaril he bound upon his forehead; and ever its light grew greater as they drew unto the West. May be it was due in part to the puissance of that holy jewel that they came in time to the waters that as yet no vessels save those of the Teleri had known; and they came unto the Magic Isles and escaped their magic;[11] and they came into the Shadowy Seas and passed their shadows; and they looked upon the Lonely Isle and they tarried not there; and they cast anchor in the Bay of Faërie[12] upon the borders of the world. And the Teleri saw the coming of that ship and were amazed, gazing from afar upon the light of the Silmaril, and it was very great.

But Eärendel landed on the immortal shores alone of living Men; and neither Elwing nor any of his small company would he suffer to go with him, lest they fell beneath the wrath of the Gods, and he came at a time of festival even as Morgoth and Ungoliant had in ages past, and the watchers upon the hill of Tûn were few, for the Quendi were most in the halls of Manwë on Tinbrenting's[13] height.[14]

The watchers rode therefore in haste to Valmar, or hid them in the passes of the hills; and all the bells of Valmar pealed; but Eärendel clomb the marvellous hill of Côr[15] and found it bare, and he entered into the streets of Tûn and they were empty; and his heart sank. He walked now in the deserted ways of Tûn and the dust upon his raiment and his shoes was a dust of diamonds, yet no one heard his call. Wherefore he went back unto the shores and would climb once more upon Wingelot his ship; but one came unto the strand and cried unto him: 'Hail Eärendel, star most radiant, messenger most fair![16] Hail thou bearer of light before the Sun and Moon, the looked-for that comest unawares, the longed-for that comest beyond hope! Hail thou splendour of the children of the world, thou slayer of the dark! Star of the sunset hail! Hail herald of the morn!'

And that was Fionwë the son of Manwë, and he summoned Eärendel before the Gods; and Eärendel went unto Valinor and to the halls of Valmar, and came never again back into the lands of Men.[17] But Eärendel spake the embassy of the two races[18] before the faces of the Gods, and asked for pardon upon the Gnomes and pity for the exiled Elves and for unhappy Men, and succour in their need.

Then the sons of the Valar prepared for battle, and the captain of their host was Fionwë son of Manwë. Beneath his white banner marched also the host of the Quendi, the Light-elves, the folk of Ingwë, and among them such of the Gnomes of old as had never departed from Valinor;[19] but remembering Swan Haven the Teleri went not forth save very few, and these manned the ships wherewith the most of that army came into the Northern lands; but they themselves would set foot never on those shores.

Eärendel was their guide; but the Gods would not suffer him to return again, and he built him a white tower upon the confines of the outer world in the Northern regions of the Sundering Seas; and there all the sea-birds of the earth at times repaired. And often was Elwing in the form and likeness of a bird; and she devised wings for the ship of Eärendel, and it was lifted even into the oceans of the air. Marvellous and magical was that ship, a starlit flower in the sky, bearing a wavering and holy flame; and the folk of earth beheld it from afar and wondered, and looked up from despair, saying surely a Silmaril is in the sky, a new star is risen in the West. Maidros said unto Maglor:[20] 'If that be the Silmaril that riseth by some power divine out of the sea into which we saw it fall, then let us be glad, that its glory is seen now by many.' Thus hope

arose and a promise of betterment; but Morgoth was filled with doubt.

Yet it is said that he looked not for the assault that came upon him from the West. So great was his pride become that he deemed none would ever again come against him in open war; moreover he thought that he had estranged the Gnomes for ever from the Gods and from their kin, and that content in their Blissful Realm the Valar would heed no more his kingdom in the world without. For heart that is pitiless counteth not the power that pity hath, of which stern anger may be forged and a lightning kindled before which mountains fall.

★

1 *elfin* > *elven*
2 *Eärámë, Eagle's Pinion* > *Eärrámë, Sea-wing*
3 Added here:

> But Tuor alone of mortal Men was numbered among the elder race, and joined with the Noldoli whom he loved, and in after time dwelt still, or so it hath been said, [*struck out*: in Tol Eressëa] ever upon his ship voyaging the seas of Fairyland [> the Elven-lands], or resting a while in the harbours of the Gnomes of Tol Eressëa; and his fate is sundered from the fate of Men.

4 *and she bore him Elrond Half-elfin* > *and she bore him Elros and Elrond, who are called the Halfelven.*
5 *Outer* > *Hither* at both occurrences.
6 *Wingelot* > *Vingelot* at all three occurrences; at the first only, *Vingelot* later > *Wingilot*
7 *Ungoliant* > *Ungoliantë* at both occurrences.
8 *Nauglafring* > *Nauglamír* at both occurrences (cf. §14 note 10).
9 *her child Elrond* > *her children Elros and Elrond*
10 This passage was rewritten thus:

> But great was the sorrow of Eärendel and Elwing for the ruin of the havens of Sirion, and the captivity of their sons; and they feared that they would be slain. But it was not so. For Maglor took pity on Elros and Elrond, and he cherished them, and love grew after between them, as little might be thought; but Maglor's heart was sick and weary, &c.

11 *and they came unto the Magic Isles and escaped their magic* > *and they came to the Enchanted Isles and escaped their enchantment*
12 *Bay of Faërie* > *Bay of Elvenhome*
13 *Tinbrenting's* > *Tindbrenting's*

14 This paragraph was emended at different times, and it is not perfectly clear what was intended. The first change was the addition, after *lest they fell beneath the wrath of the Gods,* of: *And he bade farewell to all whom he loved upon the last shore, and was taken from them for ever.* Subsequently *nor any of his small company* seems to have been removed, with the result: *and he would not suffer Elwing to go with him, lest she fell beneath the wrath of the Gods*: but the previous addition was not struck out.

15 *Côr* > *Kôr*, as previously.

16 This passage was altered to read:

> Wherefore he turned back towards the shores thinking to set sail once more upon Vingelot his ship; but one came unto him and cried: 'Hail Eärendel, radiant star, messenger most fair!

17 *came never again back into the lands of Men* > *never again set foot upon the lands of Men.*

18 *races* > *kindreds*

19 Added here: *and Ingwiel son of Ingwë was their chief;*

20 This passage, from the beginning of the paragraph, was extensively rewritten:

> In those days the ship of Eärendel was drawn by the Gods beyond the edge of the world, and it was lifted even into the oceans of the air. Marvellous and magical was that ship, a starlit flower in the sky, bearing a wavering and holy flame; and the folk of Earth beheld it from afar and wondered, and looked up from despair, saying surely a Silmaril is in the sky, a new star is risen in the West. But Elwing mourned for Eärendel yet found him never again, and they are sundered till the world endeth. Therefore she built a white tower upon the confines of the outer world in the Northern regions of the Sundering Seas; and there all the sea-birds of the earth at times repaired. And Elwing devised wings for herself, and desired to fly to Eärendel's ship. But [?she fell back] . . . . . But when the flame of it appeared on high Maglor said unto Maidros:

18

[The whole of this section is again extant in the two typescript versions Q I and Q II.]

Of the march of Fionwë to the North little is said, for in that host there were none of the Elves who had dwelt and suffered in the Outer Lands, and who made these tales; and tidings only long after did they learn of these things from their distant kinsfolk the

Elves of Valinor. The meeting of the hosts of Fionwë and of Morgoth in the North is named the Last Battle, the Battle Terrible, the Battle of Wrath and Thunder. Great was Morgoth's amaze when this host came upon him from the West, and all Hithlum was ablaze with its glory, and the mountains rang; for he had thought that he had estranged the Gnomes for ever from the Gods and from their kin, and that content in their blissful realm the Gods would heed no further his kingdom in the world without. For heart that is pitiless counts not the power that pity hath; nor foresees that of gentle ruth for anguish and for valour overthrown stern anger may be forged, and a lightning kindled before which mountains fall.[1]

There was marshalled the whole power of the Throne of Hate, and well nigh measureless had it become, so that Dor-na-Fauglith might by no means contain it, and all the North was aflame with war. But it availed not. All the Balrogs were destroyed, and the uncounted hosts of the Orcs perished like straw in fire, or were swept away like shrivelled leaves before a burning wind. Few remained to trouble the world thereafter. And Morgoth himself came forth, and all his dragons were about him; and Fionwë for a moment was driven back. But the sons of the Valar in the end overthrew them all, and but two escaped. Morgoth escaped not. Him they threw down, and they bound him with the chain Angainor, wherewith Tulkas had chained him aforetime, and whence in unhappy hour the Gods had released him; but his iron crown they beat into a collar for his neck, and his head was bowed unto his knees. The Silmarils Fionwë took and guarded them.

Thus perished the power and woe of Angband in the North and its multitude of captives came forth into the light again beyond all hope, and looked upon a world all changed. Thangorodrim was riven and cast down, and the pits of Morgoth uncovered, roofless and broken, never to be rebuilt; but so great was the fury of those adversaries that all the Northern and Western parts of the world were rent and gaping, and the sea roared in in many places; the rivers perished or found new paths, the valleys were upheaved and the hills trod down; and Sirion was no more. Then Men fled away, such as perished not in the ruin of those days, and long was it ere they came back over the mountains to where Beleriand once had been, and not till the tale of those days had faded to an echo seldom heard.

But Fionwë marched through the lands summoning the rem-

nants of the Gnomes and the Dark-elves that never yet had looked on Valinor to join with the captives released from Angband, and depart; and with the Elves should those of the race of Hador and Bëor alone be suffered to depart, if they would. But of these only Elrond was now left, the Half-elfin; and [he] elected to remain, being bound by his mortal blood in love to those of the younger race; and of Elrond alone has the blood of the elder race and of the seed divine of Valinor come among mortal Men.

But Maidros would not obey the call, preparing to fulfil even yet the obligation of his oath, though with weary loathing and despair. For he would have given battle for the Silmarils, if they were withheld from him, though he should stand alone in all the world save for Maglor his brother alone. And he sent unto Fionwë and bade him yield up those jewels which of old Morgoth stole from Fëanor. But Fionwë said that the right that Fëanor and his sons had in that which they had made, had perished, because of the many and evil deeds they had wrought blinded by their oath, and most of all the slaying of Dior and the assault upon Elwing. To Valinor must Maidros and Maglor return and abide the judgement of the Gods, by whose decree alone would he yield the jewels to any keeping other than his own.

Maidros was minded to submit, for he was sad at heart, and he said: 'The oath decrees not that we shall not bide our time, and maybe in Valinor all shall be forgiven and forgot, and we shall be vouchsafed our own.' But Maglor said that if once they returned and the favour of the Gods was not granted them, then would their oath still remain, and be fulfilled in despair yet greater; 'and who can tell to what dreadful end we shall come if we disobey the Powers in their own land, or purpose ever to bring war into their Guarded Realm again?' And so came it that Maidros and Maglor crept into the camps of Fionwë, and laid hands on the Silmarils; and they took to their weapons when they were discovered. But the sons of the Valar arose in wrath and prevented them, and took Maidros prisoner; and yet Maglor eluded them and escaped.

Now the Silmaril that Maidros held – for the brothers had agreed each to take one, saying that two brethren alone now remained, and but two jewels – burned the hand of Maidros, and he had but one hand as [has] been before told, and he knew then that his right thereto had become void, and that the oath was vain. But he cast the Silmaril upon the ground, and Fionwë took it; and for the anguish of his pain and the remorse of his heart he took his own life, ere he could be stayed.

It is told too of Maglor that he fled far, but he too could not endure the pain with which the Silmaril tormented him; and in an agony he cast it from him into a yawning gap filled with fire, in the rending of the Western lands, and the jewel vanished into the bosom of the Earth. But Maglor came never back among the folk of Elfinesse, but wandered singing in pain and in regret beside the sea.

In those days there was a mighty building of ships on the shores of the Western Sea, and most upon the great isles, which in the disruption of the Northern world were fashioned of old Beleriand. Thence in many a fleet the survivors of the Gnomes, and of the Western companies of the Dark-elves, set sail into the West and came no more into the lands of weeping and of war; and the Light-elves marched back beneath the banners of their king following in the train of Fionwë's victory. Yet not all returned, and some lingered many an age in the West and North, and especially in the Western Isles. Yet ever as the ages drew on and the Elf-folk faded on the Earth, they would still set sail at eve from our Western shores; as still they do, when now there linger few anywhere of the lonely companies.

But in the West the Gnomes returned rehabited for the most part the Lonely Isle that looks both East and West; and with them were mingled the Dark-elves, especially such as had once belonged to Doriath. And some returned even to Valinor, and were welcomed amid the bright companies of the Quendi, and admitted to the love of Manwë and the pardon of the Gods; and the Teleri forgave their ancient bitterness, and the curse was laid to rest. But Tûn was never again inhabited; and Côr stands still a hill of silent and untrodden green.

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1 The content of this passage, from *Great was Morgoth's amaze . . .*, has been given at the end of §17 in the Q II version, since it appears there before the words *Of the march of the host of Fionwë* with which I begin §18.

§18 in the Q II version

Of the march of the host of Fionwë to the North little is said, for in his armies came none of those Elves who had dwelt and suffered

in the Outer[1] Lands, and who made these tales; and tidings only long after did they learn of these things from their kinsfolk the Light-elves of Valinor. But Fionwë came, and the challenge of his trumpets filled the sky, and he summoned unto him all Men and Elves from Hithlum unto the East; and Beleriand was ablaze with the glory of his arms, and the mountains rang.

The meeting of the hosts of the West and of the North is named the Great Battle, the Battle Terrible, the Battle of Wrath and Thunder. There was marshalled the whole power of the Throne of Hate, and well nigh measureless had it become, so that Dor-na-Fauglith could not contain it, and all the North was aflame with war. But it availed not. All the Balrogs were destroyed, and the uncounted hosts of the Orcs perished like straw in fire, or were swept like shrivelled leaves before a burning wind. Few remained to trouble the world thereafter. And it is said that there many Men of Hithlum repentant of their evil servitude did deeds of valour, and many beside of Men new come out of the East;[2] and so were fulfilled in part the words of Ulmo; for by Eärendel son of Tuor was help brought unto the Elves, and by the swords of Men were they strengthened on the fields of war.[3] But Morgoth quailed and he came not forth; and he loosed his last assault, and that was the winged dragons.[4] So sudden and so swift and ruinous was the onset of that fleet, as a tempest of a hundred thunders winged with steel, that Fionwë was driven back; but Eärendel came and a myriad of birds were about him, and the battle lasted all through the night of doubt. And Eärendel slew Ancalagon the black and the mightiest of all the dragon-horde, and cast him from the sky, and in his fall the towers of Thangorodrim were thrown down. Then the sun rose of the second day and the sons[5] of the Valar prevailed, and all the dragons were destroyed save two alone; and they fled into the East. Then were all the pits of Morgoth broken and unroofed, and the might of Fionwë descended into the deeps of the Earth, and there Morgoth was thrown down. He was bound[6] with the chain Angainor, which long had been prepared, and his iron crown they beat into a collar for his neck, and his head was bowed unto his knees. But Fionwë took the two Silmarils that remained and guarded them.

Thus perished the power and woe of Angband in the North, and its multitude of thralls came forth beyond all hope into the light of day, and they looked upon a world all changed; for so great was the fury of those adversaries that the Northern regions of the Western world were rent and riven, and the sea roared in through

many chasms, and there was confusion and great noise; and the rivers perished or found new paths, and the valleys were upheaved and the hills trod down; and Sirion was no more. Then Men fled away, such as perished not in the ruin of those days, and long was it ere they came back over the mountains to where Beleriand once had been, and not until the tale of those wars had faded to an echo seldom heard.

But Fionwë marched through the Western lands summoning the remnants of the Gnomes, and the Dark-elves that had yet not looked on Valinor, to join with the thralls released and to depart. But Maidros would not harken, and he prepared, though with weary loathing and despair, to perform even yet the obligation of his oath. For Maidros and Maglor would have given battle for the Silmarils, were they withheld, even against the victorious host of Valinor, and though they stood alone in all the world. And they sent unto Fionwë and bade him yield now up those jewels which of old Morgoth stole from Fëanor. But Fionwë said that the right to the work of their hands which Fëanor and his sons had formerly possessed now had perished, because of their many and evil deeds blinded by their oath, and most of all the slaying of Dior and the assault upon Elwing; the light of the Silmarils should go now to the Gods whence it came, and to Valinor must Maidros and Maglor return and there abide the judgement of the Gods, by whose decree alone would Fionwë yield the jewels from his charge.

Maglor was minded to submit, for he was sad at heart, and he said: 'The oath says not that we may not bide our time, and maybe in Valinor all shall be forgiven and forgot, and we shall come into our own.' But Maidros said that if once they returned and the favour of the Gods were withheld from them, then would their oath still remain, to be fulfilled in despair yet greater; 'and who can tell to what dreadful doom we shall come, if we disobey the Powers in their own land, or purpose ever to bring war again into their Guarded Realm?' And so it came that Maidros and Maglor crept into the camps of Fionwë, and laid hands on the Silmarils, and slew the guards; and there they prepared to defend themselves to the death. But Fionwë stayed his folk; and the brethren departed and fled far away.

Each took a single Silmaril, saying that one was lost unto them and two remained, and but two brethren. But the jewel burned the hand of Maidros in pain unbearable (and he had but one hand as

has before been told); and he perceived that it was as Fionwë had said, and that his right thereto had become void, and that the oath was vain. And being in anguish and despair he cast himself into a gaping chasm filled with fire, and so ended; and his Silmaril was taken into the bosom of the Earth.

And it is told also of Maglor that he could not bear the pain with which the Silmaril tormented him; and he cast it at last into the sea, and thereafter wandered ever upon the shore singing in pain and regret beside the waves; for Maglor was the mightiest of the singers of old, but he came never back among the folk of Elfinesse.

In those days there was a mighty building of ships on the shores of the Western Sea, and especially upon the great isles, which in the disruption of the Northern world were fashioned of ancient Beleriand. Thence in many a fleet the survivors of the Gnomes and of the Western companies of the Dark-elves set sail into the West and came not again into the lands of weeping and of war; but the Light-elves marched back beneath the banners of their king following in the train of Fionwë's victory, and they were borne back in triumph unto Valinor.[7] But in the West the Gnomes and Dark-elves rehabited for the most part the Lonely Isle, that looks both East and West; and very fair did that land become, and so remains. But some returned even unto Valinor, as all were free to do who willed; and the Gnomes were admitted again to the love of Manwë and the pardon of the Valar, and the Teleri forgave their ancient grief, and the curse was laid to rest.

Yet not all would forsake the Outer Lands where they had long suffered and long dwelt; and some lingered many an age in the West and North, and especially in the western isles and the lands of Leithien. And among these were Maglor as has been told; and with him Elrond the Half-elfin,[8] who after went among mortal Men again, and from whom alone the blood of the elder race[9] and the seed divine of Valinor have come among Mankind (for he was son of Elwing, daughter of Dior, son of Lúthien, child of Thingol and Melian; and Eärendel his sire was son of Idril Celebrindal, the fair maid of Gondolin). But ever as the ages drew on and the Elf-folk faded on the Earth, they would still set sail at eve from our Western shores; as still they do, when now there linger few anywhere of their lonely companies.

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1 *Hither* written above or replacing *Outer* at both occurrences.

2 In this sentence, in the first 'layer' of emendation, *many Men* > *some few Men* and *many beside of Men* > *some beside of Men*. Later the sentence was rewritten rapidly in pencil:

> And it is said that all that were left of the three Houses of the Fathers of Men fought for Fionwë, and to them were joined some of the Men of Hithlum who repenting of their evil servitude did deeds of valour against the Orcs; and so were fulfilled, &c.

See note 3.

3 Added here at the same time as the rewriting given in note 2:

> But most Men, and especially those new come out of the East, were on the side of the Enemy.

4 Added here:

> for as yet had none of these creatures of his cruel thought assailed the air.

5 *sons* > *children* (late change).

6 *and there Morgoth was thrown down* altered and expanded thus:

> and there Morgoth stood at last at bay; and yet not valiant. He fled unto the deepest of his mines and sued for peace and pardon. But his feet were hewn from under him, and he was hurled upon his face. Then was he bound, &c.

7 Added here:

> Yet little joy had they in their return, for they came without the Silmarils, and these could not be again found, unless the world was broken and re-made anew.

8 *Half-elfin* > *Half-elven* (cf. §17 in the Q II version, note 4).

9 *the elder race* > *the Firstborn*

19

[Q I comes to an end soon after the beginning of this section.]

Thus did the Gods adjudge when Fionwë and the sons of the Valar returned unto Valmar: the Outer Lands should thereafter be for Men, the younger children of the world; but to the Elves alone should the gateways of the West stand ever open; but if they would not come thither and tarried in the world of Men, then should they slowly fade and fail. And so hath it been; and this is the most grievous of the fruits of the works and lies of Morgoth.

For a while his Orcs and Dragons breeding again in dark places troubled and affrighted the world, as in far places they do yet; but ere the End all shall perish by the valour of mortal Men.

But Morgoth the Gods thrust through the Door of Timeless Night into the Void beyond the Walls of the World; and a guard is set for ever on that door. Yet the lies that

[Here the Q I text gives out, at the foot of a typescript page, but Q II continues to the end.]

This was the judgement of the Gods, when Fionwë and the sons of the Valar had returned unto Valmar: thereafter the Outer Lands should be for Mankind, the younger children of the world; but to the Elves alone should the gateways of the West stand ever open; and if they would not come thither and tarried in the world of Men, then they should slowly fade and fail. This is the most grievous of the fruits of the lies and works that Morgoth wrought, that the Eldalië should be sundered and estranged from Men. For a while his Orcs and his Dragons breeding again in dark places affrighted the world, and in sundry regions do so yet; but ere the End all shall perish by the valour of mortal Men.

But Morgoth the Gods thrust through the Door of Timeless Night into the Void, beyond the Walls of the World; and a guard is set for ever on that door, and Eärendel keeps watch upon the ramparts of the sky. Yet the lies that Melko,[1] Moeleg the mighty and accursed, Morgoth Bauglir the Dark Power Terrible, sowed in the hearts of Elves and Men have not all died, and cannot by the Gods be slain, and they live to work much evil even to this later day. Some say also that Morgoth at whiles secretly as a cloud that cannot be seen or felt, and yet is, and the poison is,[2] creeps back surmounting the Walls and visiteth the world; but others say that this is the black shadow of Thû, whom Morgoth made, and who escaped from the Battle Terrible, and dwells in dark places and perverts Men[3] to his dreadful allegiance and his foul worship.

After the triumph of the Gods Eärendel sailed still in the seas of heaven, but the Sun scorched him and the Moon hunted him in the sky, [and he departed long behind the world voyaging the Outer Dark a glimmering and fugitive star.][4] Then the Valar drew his white ship Wingelot[5] over the land of Valinor, and they filled it with radiance and hallowed it, and launched it through the Door of Night. And long Eärendel set sail into the starless vast, Elwing at his side,[6] the Silmaril upon his brow, voyaging the Dark behind

the world, a glimmering and fugitive star. And ever and anon he returns and shines behind the courses of the Sun and Moon above the ramparts of the Gods, brighter than all other stars, the mariner of the sky, keeping watch against Morgoth upon the confines of the world. Thus shall he sail until he sees the Last Battle fought upon the plains of Valinor.

Thus spake the prophecy of Mandos, which he declared in Valmar at the judgement of the Gods, and the rumour of it was whispered among all the Elves of the West: when the world is old and the Powers grow weary, then Morgoth shall come back through the Door out of the Timeless Night; and he shall destroy the Sun and the Moon, but Eärendel shall come upon him as a white flame and drive him from the airs. Then shall the last battle be gathered on the fields of Valinor. In that day Tulkas shall strive with Melko, and on his right shall stand Fionwë and on his left Túrin Turambar, son of Húrin, Conqueror of Fate;[7] and it shall be the black sword of Túrin that deals unto Melko his death and final end; and so shall the children of Húrin and all Men be avenged.

Thereafter shall the Silmarils[8] be recovered out of sea and earth and air; for Eärendel shall descend and yield up that flame that he hath had in keeping. Then Fëanor shall bear the Three and yield them unto Yavanna Palúrien; and she will break them and with their fire rekindle the Two Trees, and a great light shall come forth; and the Mountains of Valinor shall be levelled, so that the light goes out over all the world. In that light the Gods will again grow young, and the Elves awake and all their dead arise, and the purpose of Ilúvatar be fulfilled concerning them. But of Men in that day the prophecy speaks not, save of Túrin only, and him it names among the Gods.[9]

Such is the end of the tales of the days before the days in the Northern regions of the Western world. Some of these things are sung and said yet by the fading Elves; and more still are sung by the vanished Elves that dwell now on the Lonely Isle. To Men of the race of Eärendel have they at times been told, and most to Eriol,[10] *who alone of the mortals of later days, and yet now long ago, sailed to the Lonely Isle, and came back to the land of Leithien*[11] *where he lived, and remembered things that he had heard in fair Cortirion, the city of the Elves in Tol Eressëa.*

★

1 *Melko* > *Melkor* (but only at the first occurrence).
2 *and yet is, and the poison is* > *and yet is venomous*
3 This sentence was rewritten:

> but others say that this is the black shadow of Sauron, who served Morgoth and became the greatest and most evil of his underlings; and Sauron escaped from the Great Battle, and dwelt in dark places and perverted Men, &c.

4 This sentence survives from an earlier point in the narrative in Q I (end of §17, p. 150); in Q II the latter part of it, *and he departed long behind the world voyaging the Outer Dark a glimmering and fugitive star*, was struck out, since it recurs immediately below.
5 *Wingelot* not here emended (as in §17 in the Q II version, note 6) to *Vingelot*.
6 *Elwing at his side* struck out.
7 Added here in pencil: *coming from the halls of Mandos*
8 *Thereafter shall the Silmarils* > *Thereafter Earth shall be broken and re-made, and the Silmarils*
9 *among the Gods* emended in pencil to *among the sons of the Gods*
10 Apparently changed, in pencil, to *Ereol*.
11 *Leithien* emended in pencil to *Britain*.

Commentary on the *Quenta*

Opening Section

This passage, to which there is nothing corresponding in S, may be compared with the *Lost Tales* I. 58, 66–7 on the one hand and with the *Valaquenta* (*The Silmarillion* pp. 25ff.) on the other. This opening section of Q is the origin and precursor of the *Valaquenta*, as may be seen from the fall of its sentences and from many details of wording; while brief as it is it offers no actual contradictions to the text of the *Lost Tales*, save in a few details of names. The Nine Valar, referred to in S§1 and in the alliterative *Flight of the Noldoli* (III. 133), are now for the first time identified. This number was to remain in the Eight *Aratar* (eight, because 'one is removed from their number', *The Silmarillion* p. 29), though there was much shifting in the composition of the number in later writings; in the *Lost Tales* there were 'four great ones' among the Valar, Manwë, Melko, Ulmo, Aulë (I. 58).

The name of Mandos in the *Lost Tales*, Vefántur 'Fantur of Death', who 'called his hall with his own name Vê' (I. 66, 76), now becomes *Nefantur*. Nowhere is there any indication of the meaning of the first element; but the new name bears a curious resemblance to the Old English name of Mandos found in a list of such names of the Valar (p. 208): *Néfréa* (Old English *né(o)* 'corpse', *fréa* 'lord'). The late change

of *Tavros* to *Tauros* is made also to the B-text of the *Lay of Leithian* (III. 195, 282).

Vána (here specifically given as *Văna*) is now the younger sister of Varda and Palúrien (in the *Lost Tales* these goddesses are not said to be 'related'); in *The Silmarillion* Vána remains the younger sister of Yavanna. We meet here the Gnomish name of Melko, *Moeleg*, which the Gnomes will not use; cf. the *Valaquenta* (p. 31): 'the Noldor, who among the Elves suffered most from his malice, will not utter it [Melkor], and they name him Morgoth, the Dark Enemy of the World'. The original Gnomish form was *Belcha* (II. 44, 67).

1

In this section of Q, before the replacement page (see note 2) was written, the only important developments from S are the reduction of the periods of the Trees from fourteen hours to seven (and this only came in with an alteration to the typescript, see note 1), and the explicit statement that Silpion was the elder of the Trees, and shone alone for a time (the Opening Hour). It is also said that the Gnomes afterwards called the Trees *Bansil* and *Glingol*. In the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* these names were expressly those of the Trees of Gondolin (see II. 214–16), but (especially since *Glingol* occurs in a rejected reading in *The Cottage of Lost Play* (I. 22) as a name of the Golden Tree of Valinor) it seems clear that they were the Gnomish names of the original Trees, which were transferred to their scions in Gondolin; in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* and in the *Lay of Leithian*, as here in Q, Glingol and Bansil (later emended to *Glingal* and *Belthil*) are the Trees of Valinor. But in *The Silmarillion* Glingal and Belthil are the particular names of Turgon's images of the Trees in Gondolin.

With the replacement page in this section (note 2) there are several further developments, and the passage describing the periods of the Trees and the mingling of the lights is effectively the final form, only differing from that in *The Silmarillion* (pp. 38–9) in some slight rhythmical changes in the sentences. Yavanna no longer 'plants' the Trees, and Nienna is present at their birth (replacing Vána of the *Lost Tales*, I. 71–2); the Valar sit upon their 'thrones of council' in the Ring of Doom near the golden gates of Valmar; and the moving shadows of Silpion's leaves, not mentioned in S or in Q as first written, reappear from the *Lost Tales* (see I. 88). Here also appear the names of Taniquetil, *Ialassë* 'Everlasting Whiteness', Gnomish *Amon-Uilas*, and *Tinwenairin* 'crowned with stars'; cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 37:

> Taniquetil the Elves name that holy mountain, and Oiolossë Everlasting Whiteness, and Elerrína Crowned with Stars, and many names beside; but the Sindar spoke of it in their later tongue as Amon Uilos.

'Elves' is still used here in contradistinction to 'Gnomes'; on this usage see p. 44.

2

Q remains close to S in this section. I have noticed in commenting on S the absence of certain features that are found both in the *Lost Tales* and in *The Silmarillion*: (1) the coming of the three Elvish ambassadors to Valinor, (2) the Elves who did not leave the Waters of Awakening, (3) the two starmakings of Varda, and (4) the chain Angainor with which Morgoth was bound; and there is still no mention of them. As I have said (p. 76), the *Quenta* though written in a finished manner is still very much an outline, and the absence of these elements may be thought to be due merely to its compressed nature. Against this, however, in respect of (1), is the statement in Q that Thingol 'came never to Valinor', whereas in the old story (I. 115) as in *The Silmarillion* (p. 52) Tinwelint/Thingol was one of the three original ambassadors; and in respect of (3), Varda is said in Q to have strewn 'the unlit skies' with stars. As regards (4), it is said later in Q (§18) that Morgoth was bound after the Last Battle 'with the chain Angainor, wherewith Tulkas had chained him aforetime'.

The constellation of the Great Bear is called the Burning Briar, and the Sickle of the Gods, in the *Lay of Leithian*.

It is said here that the Elves named themselves *Eldar*, in contrast both to the old idea (I. 235) that *Eldar* was the name given to them by the Gods, and to *The Silmarillion* (p. 49), where Oromë 'named them in their own tongue Eldar, the people of the stars'.

The original statement in Q that Ingwë 'never came back into the Outer Lands until these tales were near their end' is a reference to his leadership of the March of the Elves of Valinor in the second assault on Morgoth, in which he perished (I. 129). The revised statement given in note 6, saying that Ingwë never came back from the West, is virtually the same as that in *The Silmarillion* (p. 53); see the Commentary on §17. The Gnomish forms of the names of the three leaders, *Ing*, *Finn*, and *Elu*, are removed by the rewritings given in notes 6, 8, and 11; and the use of *Quendi* for the First Kindred ('who sometimes are alone called Elves', see p. 44) is displaced by *Lindar* in a late emendation (note 7), while *Quendi* reappears (note 5) as the name for all the Elves. These late changes belong to a new nomenclature that came in after the *Quenta* was completed.

3

While Q again follows S very closely here, there is one important narrative development: the first appearance of the story of Ossë's sitting on the rocks of the seashore and instructing the Teleri, and of his

persuading some to remain 'on the beaches of the world' (the later Elves of the Havens of Brithombar and Eglarest, ruled by Círdan the Shipwright). And with the late addition given in note 7 there appears the removal of the First Kindred (here called the Lindar) from Tûn, and their sunderance from the Gnomes; here there is a detail not taken up into subsequent texts (probably because it was overlooked), that the Noldoli of Tûn left the tower of Ingwë uninhabited, though they tended the lamp.

As in §2, *Finn* was emended to *Finwë* (and *Ing* to *Ingwë*), although the names of the Noldorin princes are said to be given in Gnomish form, and *Ylmir* found in S is not taken up in Q (similarly *Óin* in S§3, but *Uinen* in the opening section of Q).

In the passage on the Noldorin princes (a later addition to S) Celegorm becomes 'the friend of Oromë' (a development arising from the later story of Huan, see §10); Finrod's third son, *Anrod* in S, becomes *Angrod*. On the change *Finweg* > *Fingon* see p. 46.

4

Many touches found in the story in *The Silmarillion* now make their appearance in Q (as Fëanor's wearing the Silmarils at great feasts, Morgoth's sight of the domes of Valmar far off in the mingling of the lights, his laugh 'as he sped down the long western slopes', his great cry that echoed through the world as Ungoliant's webs enmeshed him). I have noticed in my commentary on S that 'the entire story of Morgoth's going to Formenos (not yet so named) and his speech with Fëanor before the doors has yet to appear', and it has not done so in Q; but the late interpolation given in note 6, stating that a messenger came to the Gods in council with tidings that Morgoth was in the North of Valinor and journeying to the house of Finwë, is the first hint of this element. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 72) messengers came to the Valar from Finwë at Formenos telling of Morgoth's first coming there, and this is followed by the news from Tirion that he had passed through the Calacirya – a movement that appears at this point in S and Q ('he escaped through the pass of Kôr, and from the tower of Ingwë the Elves saw him pass in thunder and in wrath').

There is no mention in S§4 of the great festival at this point in the narrative, and its appearance in §5 looks like an afterthought (see p. 47); that the same is still true in Q shows the close dependence of the later version on the earlier at this stage in the work.

5

In this section Q as usual contains many details and enduring phrases not found in S, such as the wailing of the Foamriders beside the sea,

Fëanor's contempt for the Valar 'who cannot even keep their own realm from their foe', the drawn swords of the oath-takers, the fighting on 'the great arch of the gate and on the lamplit quays and piers' of Swanhaven, and the suggestion that the speaker of the Prophecy may have been Mandos himself. There was no mention in S of the Gnomes who did not join the Flight (they being those who were on Taniquetil celebrating the festival): this now reappears from the *Lost Tales* (I. 176); nor was it said that not all Fingolfin's people shared in the Kinslaying at Swanhaven.

The reference to 'the song of the Flight of the Gnomes' may be to the alliterative poem *The Flight of the Noldoli* (III. 131 ff.), though that was abandoned at the Fëanorian Oath: perhaps my father still thought to continue it one day, or to write a new poem on the subject.*

The pencilled addition 'Finrod returned' (note 8) indicates the later story, according to which Finarfin (Finrod) left the march of the Noldor after hearing the Prophecy of the North (*The Silmarillion* p. 88); in S as emended (note 9) and in Q Finrod only came up with Fingolfin after the burning of the ships by the Fëanorians, and only after that did Finrod return to Valinor.

Helkaraksë reappears in Q from the *Lost Tales*, but is now rendered 'the Strait of the Grinding Ice', whereas its original meaning was 'Ice-fang', and referred to the narrow neck of land which 'ran out from the western land almost to the eastern shores' and was separated from the Great Lands by the Qerkaringa or Chill Gulf (I. 166–7 and note 5).

6

If there ever was a 'song of the Sun and Moon' (called in *The Silmarillion* p. 99 by an Elvish name, *Narsilion*) it has disappeared. The account in Q scarcely expands the extremely cursory passage in S; but the reason now given for the change in the divine plan is not that the Gods 'find it safer' to send the Sun and Moon beneath the Earth: rather it is changed on account of 'the waywardness of Tilion and his rivalry with Úrien', and still more because of the complaints of Lórien and Nienna against the unceasing light. This element re-emerges from the *Tale of the Sun and Moon* (I. 189–90), where the Valar who protested were Mandos and Fui Nienna, Lórien, and Vána. Likewise the names *Rána* and *Ûr* given by the Gods to the Moon and Sun go back to the old story, where however *Ûr* is said to be the Elvish name: the Gods named the Sun *Sári* (I. 186–7).

The Sun-maiden is now named *Úrien*, emended to *Árien* (her name in *The Silmarillion*), replacing *Urwendi* (< *Urwen*); she is said to have

* Later this becomes a reference to 'that lament which is named *Noldolantë*, the Fall of the Noldor, that Maglor made ere he was lost' (*The Silmarillion* p. 87); but I have found no trace of this.

'tended the golden flowers in the gardens of Vana', which clearly derives from the tending of Laurelin by Urwen(di) in the *Lost Tales* (I. 73). Tilion, the hunter with the silver bow from the company of Oromë, not Ilinsor, is now the steersman of the Moon; but as I noted in I. 88, Tilion, who in *The Silmarillion* 'lay in dreams by the pools of Estë [Lórien's wife], in Telperion's flickering beams', perhaps owes something to the figure of Silmo in the *Lost Tales*, the youth whom Lórien loved and who was given the task of 'watering' Silpion. The words of Q concerning Tilion, 'often he wandered from his course pursuing the stars upon the heavenly fields', and the reference to his rivalry with Úrien (Árien), clearly derive from the passage in the old tale (I. 195) where it is told of Ilinsor that he was 'jealous of the supremacy of the Sun' and that 'often he set sail in chase of [the stars]'.

A trace of the old conception of the Moon survives in the reference to 'the floating island of the Moon', a phrase still found in *The Silmarillion* (see I. 202).

The occurrence of the name *Eruman* of the land where Men awoke (*Murmenalda* in *Gilfanon's Tale*, 'far to the east of Palisor', I. 232–3, *Hildórien* in *The Silmarillion*, 'in the eastward regions of Middle-earth') is strange, and can only be regarded as a passing application of it in a wholly different meaning, for it was in fact retained in a refinement of its original sense – the land between the mountains and the sea south of Taniquetil and Kôr, also in the *Lost Tales* called *Arvalin* (which is the name given to it in S and Q): *Eruman* (> *Araman*) afterwards became the wasteland between the mountains and the sea north of Taniquetil (see I. 82–3).

Though the phrase in Q 'the oldest days before the waning of the Elves and the waxing of mortals' was retained in *The Silmarillion* (p. 103), a later addition to Q (note 6), not retained, is more explicit: 'for measured time had come into the world, and the first of days; and thereafter the lives of the Eldar that remained in the Hither Lands were lessened, and their waning was begun.' The meaning of this is undoubtedly that measured time had come into the Great or Hither Lands, for the phrase 'thus measured time came into the Hither Lands' is found in the earliest *Annals of Beleriand* (p. 295). This seems to relate the waning of the Elves to the coming of 'measured time', and may in turn be associated with the following passage from *The Silmarillion* (p. 103):

> From this time forth were reckoned the Years of the Sun. Swifter and briefer are they than the long Years of the Trees in Valinor. In that time the air of Middle-earth became heavy with the breath of growth and mortality, and the changing and ageing of all things was hastened exceedingly.

In the earlier writings the waning or fading of the Elves is always, clearly

if mysteriously, a necessary concomitant of the waxing of Men.* Since Men came into the world at the rising of the Sun it may be that the conceptions are not fundamentally at variance: Men, and measured time, arose in the world together, and were the sign for the declining of the Elves. But it must be remembered that the doom of 'waning' was, or became, a part of the Prophecy of the North (*The Silmarillion* p. 88):

> And those that endure in Middle-earth and come not to Mandos shall grow weary of the world as with a great burden, and shall wane, and become as shadows of regret before the younger race that cometh after.

On the phrase used of Eärendel: 'he came too late', see II. 257; and cf. Q§17: 'He came too late to bring messages to the Elves, for the Elves had gone.'

7

In this section Q does scarcely more than polish the text of S and embody the later alterations made to it, and the content has been discussed in the commentary on S. In the sentence added to the end of Q (note 6) there is a clear echo of the old idea of the fading Elves of Luthany, and the Elves of Tol Eressëa who have withdrawn from the world 'and there fade now no more' (see II. 301, 326).

8

Q provides here new details but otherwise follows S closely. The site of the First Battle (by later interpolation called 'The Battle under Stars') is now in the great Northern plain, still unnamed before its desolation, when it became Dor-na-Fauglith; in *The Silmarillion* (p. 106) the Orcs attacked through the passes of the Mountains of Shadow and the battle was fought 'on the grey fields of Mithrim'. Fëanor's sight of Thangorodrim as he died now appears, and his cursing of the name of Morgoth as he gazed on the mountain – transferred from Túrin, who did the same after the death of Beleg in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III. 87).

A very minor structural change is found in the story of the feigned offer of a peace-treaty by Morgoth. In S this was made before the death of Fëanor, and Fëanor indeed refused to treat; after his death Maidros 'induced the Gnomes to meet Morgoth'. In Q 'even in the hour of his death there came to [his sons] an embassy from Morgoth acknowledging

*See II. 326. In one place it was said that the Elves 'cannot live in an air breathed by a number of Men equal to their own or greater' (II. 283). In the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (see III. 54) appears the idea of 'the goodness of the earth' being usurped by Men, and this reappears in §14 in both S and Q (in S with the added statement that 'the Elves needed the light of the Trees').

his defeat, and offering to treat, and tempting them with a Silmaril'. The greater force sent by Morgoth is now referred to; and it is seen that the numbers of the Balrogs were still conceived to be very great: 'but Morgoth brought the greater, *and they were Balrogs*' (contrast *The Silmarillion*: 'but Morgoth sent the more, *and there were Balrogs*').

In the story of the rescue of Maidros by Finweg (Fingon) the explicit and puzzling statement of S that it was only now that Manwë 'fashioned the race of eagles' is changed to a statement that it was now that he sent them forth; by the later change of 'sent' to 'had sent' the final text is reached. In Q are found the details that Finweg (Fingon) climbed to Maidros unaided but could not reach him, and of the thirty fathoms of Thorndor's outstretched wings, the staying of Finweg's hand from his bow, the twice repeated appeal of Maidros that Finweg slay him, and the healing of Maidros so that he lived to wield his sword better with his left hand than he had with his right – cf. the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III.65): *his left wieldeth / his sweeping sword*. But there are of course still many elements in the final story that do not appear: as the former close friendship of Maidros and Fingon, the song of Fingon and Maidros' answer, Fingon's prayer to Manwë, and Maidros' begging of forgiveness for the desertion in Araman and waiving of his claim to kingship over all the Noldor.

9

In this section of the narrative Q shows an extraordinary and unexpected expansion of S, much greater than has been the case hitherto, and many elements of the history in the published *Silmarillion* appear here (notably still absent are the entire story of Thingol's cold welcome to the new-come Noldor, and of course the origin at this time of Nargothrond and Gondolin); but S, as emended and interpolated, was still the basis. A few of the new features had in fact already emerged in the poems: thus the Elvish watchtower on Tol Sirion first appears in Canto VII of the *Lay of Leithian* (early 1928); the deaths of Angrod and Egnor in the battle that ended the Siege of Angband, called the Battle of Sudden Flame in one of the earlier additions in this section (note 19), in Canto VI of the Lay (see p. 55); the Gorge of Aglon in Canto VII and Himling in Canto X (both passages written in 1928); Esgalduin already in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (but its source in 'secret wells in Taur-na-Fuin' has not been mentioned before). But much of the content of Q in this section introduces wholly new elements into the legends.

The later pencilled alterations and additions given in the notes were put in a good while afterwards, and the names thus introduced (*Taur Danin*, *Eredlindon*, *Ossiriand*–which was *Assariad* in Q§14, *Dorthonion*, *Sauron*) belong to later phases. But it may be noticed here that the change of *Second Battle* to *Third Battle* (note 19) is explained by

the development of the Glorious Battle (*Dagor Aglareb*, a late addition given in note 15), so that the Battle of Sudden Flame became the third of the Battles of Beleriand. With 'the Foreboding of the Kings' in note 15 cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 115: 'A victory it was, and yet a warning'; or the reference may be to the foreboding dreams of Turgon and Felagund (*ibid.* p. 114).

The names of Beleriand given in one of the earlier additions (note 2), *Noldórien, Geleidhian*, and *Ingolondë* 'the fair and sorrowful', are interesting. With these may be compared the list of names given in III. 160, which include *Noldórinan* and *Golodhinand*, the latter showing *Golodh*, the Sindarin equivalent of Quenya *Noldo*; *Geleidhian* obviously contains the same element (cf. *Annon-in-Gelydh*, the Gate of the Noldor). *Ingolondë* occurs again in the next version of 'The Silmarillion' (the version nearing completion in 1937, see I. 8):

> And that region was named of old in the language of Doriath *Beleriand*, but after the coming of the Noldor it was called also in the tongue of Valinor *Ingolondë*, the fair and sorrowful, the Kingdom of the Gnomes.

If *Ingolondë* means 'the Kingdom of the Gnomes', this name also should probably be associated with the stem seen in *Noldo*, *Golodh*. In much later writing my father gave the original form of the word as *ngolodō*, whence Quenya *ñoldo*, Sindarin *golodh*, noting that *ñ* = 'the Fëanorian letter for the back nasal, the *ng* of *king*'. He also said that the mother-name of Finrod (= Felagund) was *Ingoldo*: this was 'a form of *ñoldo* with syllabic *n*, and being in full and more dignified form is more or less equivalent to "*the* Noldo", one eminent in the kindred'; and he noted that 'the name was never Sindarized (the form would have been *Angoloð*)'.

How significant is the likeness of *Ingolondë* to *England*? I cannot certainly answer this; but it seems plain from the conclusion of Q that England was one of the great isles that remained after the destruction of Beleriand (see the commentary on §18).

The territory of the other sons of Finrod (Finarfin), Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor, is now set in the pineclad highlands which afterwards were Taur-na-Fuin.

Quite new in Q is the passage concerning the Dwarves, with the notable statement that the Fëanorians 'made war upon' the Dwarves of Nogrod and Belegost, changed afterwards to 'had converse with' them; this led ultimately to the picture in *The Silmarillion* (p. 113) of Caranthir's contemptuous but highly profitable traffic with the Dwarves in Thargelion. The older view of the Dwarves (see II. 247) was still present when my father wrote the *Quenta*: though 'they do not serve Morgoth', 'they are in many things more like his people' (a hard saying indeed); they were naturally hostile to the Gnomes, who as

naturally made war on them. The Dwarf-cities of Nogrod and Belegost go back to the *Tale of the Nauglafring*, where the Dwarves are called *Nauglath* (*Nauglir* in Q, *Naugrim* in *The Silmarillion*); but in the *Tale* the Indrafangs are the Dwarves of Belegost.

The Feast of Reunion, which goes back to *Gilfanon's Tale* (I. 240) but is not mentioned in S (where there is only a reference to the 'meeting' of the Gnomes with Ilkorins and Men), reappears in Q ('The Feast of Meeting'); it is held in the Land of Willows, not as in *The Silmarillion* near the pools of Ivrin. The presence of Men at the feast has been excised, and there now enters the story of the passage of Men over the Blue Mountains (called in an addition *Erydluin*, note 3) and the encounter of Felagund, hunting in the East with Celegorm, and Bëor. This passage in Q is the forerunner of that in *The Silmarillion* (p. 140), with the strangeness of the tongue of Men in Felagund's ears, his taking up Bëor's harp, the wisdom that was in Felagund's song, so that Men called him 'Gnome or Wisdom' (note 12). It is interesting to observe that after my father abandoned the use of the word 'Gnome' (see I. 43–4) he retained Nóm as the word for 'wisdom' in the language of the people of Bëor (*The Silmarillion* p. 141). The abiding of Bëor with Felagund until his death is mentioned (and in a late addition the dwelling of the Bëorians on Dorthonion, note 14).

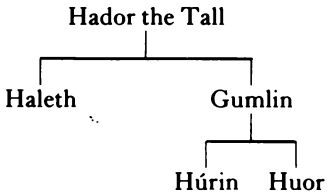
Hador, called the Tall and by a later change (note 11) the Golden-haired, now first enters, and he is one of the two leaders of Men to cross the Mountains into Beleriand. Later, whereas in the House of Bëor the original leader remained, and new generations were introduced beneath him, in the case of the House of Hador the original leader was moved downwards and replaced by Marach; but the two Houses remained known as the House of Bëor and the House of Hador.

Hador has, beside Gumlin (who appeared in the second version of the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* as Húrin's father, III. 115, 126), another son Haleth; and this occurrence of Haleth is not merely an initial application of the name without particular significance, but implies that originally the 'Hadorian' and 'Halethian' houses of the Elf-friends were one and the same: the affinity of the names *Ha*dor, *Ha*leth (though Haleth ultimately became the Lady Haleth) goes back to their origin as father and son. The pencilled words 'Haleth the hunter, and little later' (note 11) were very probably intended to go after the words 'After them came', i.e.

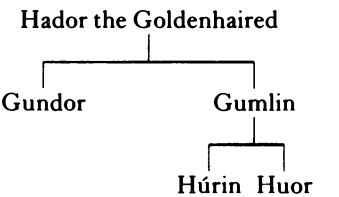
> They were the first of Men to come into Beleriand. After them came Haleth the hunter, and little later Hador, &c.

This shows of course the development of the third house of the Elf-friends, later called the Haladin; and with the removal of Haleth to independent status as the leader of a third people the other son of Hador became Gundor (note 11). Thus:

Quenta as written

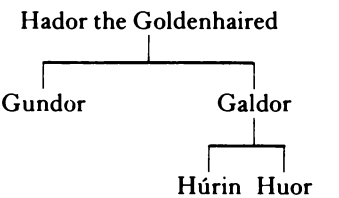


Quenta as emended



Haleth the Hunter

The Silmarillion



Morwen now gains the name 'Elfsheen', and the association of the House of Hador with Fingolfin in Hithlum appears.

The battle that ended the Siege of Angband had already been described in Canto VI (III.212–13) of the *Lay of Leithian* (March 1928); a second description of it is found in Canto XI of the Lay (III.275; September 1930). By later additions the name 'The Battle of Sudden Flame' (note 19) and Glómund's presence in it (note 16) are introduced (on the name *Glómund* see p. 60). Here also is the flight of many Dark-elves (not Gnomes as in S) to Doriath, to the increase of Thingol's power.

It is now suggested that Celegorm and Curufin came to Nargothrond after the Battle of Sudden Flame as to a refuge already in being, and with them came Orodreth their friend; this is to be related to the earlier passage in Q (§5): 'Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor took the part of Fëanor' (in the debate before the Flight of the Noldoli). That Thingol's halls in Doriath were the inspiration for Nargothrond is also suggested.

With the account here of the challenge of Fingolfin and his death compare the *Lay of Leithian* Canto XII. This dates from late September 1930, and is later than this section of Q (see the commentary on §10), as is

seen by the reference to Thorndor's 'beak of gold' (line 3616, found already in the A-text of the Lay), in contrast to his 'claw' in Q, emended to 'bill' (note 23).*

10

This version of the legend of Beren and Lúthien is unlike previous sections of the *Quenta*: for whereas hitherto it has been an independent extension of S, here (for a good part of its length) it is a compression of the *Lay of Leithian*. Very slight differences between Q and the Lay are not in my opinion significant, but are merely the result of précis.

At the end of the fight with Celegorm and Curufin, however, Q and the Lay diverge. In the Lay Beren's healing (not mentioned in Q) is followed by debate between him and Lúthien (3148ff.), their return to the borders of Doriath, and Beren's departure alone on Curufin's horse, leaving Huan to guard Lúthien (3219ff.). The narrative in Canto XI begins with Beren's reaching Dor-na-Fauglith and his Song of Parting; then follows (3342ff.) Lúthien's overtaking of Beren, having ridden after him on Huan, Huan's coming to them shortly after with the wolfcoat and batskin from the Wizard's Isle, and his counsel to them. In Q, on the other hand, the story is essentially different, and the difference cannot be explained by compression (admittedly at this point severe): for Huan went off to the Wizard's Isle for the wolfcoat and batskin and *then* Beren and Lúthien rode North together *on horseback*, until they came to a point where they must put on the disguises. This is clearly the form of the story given in Synopsis IV for this part of the Lay (III.273):

> Lúthien heals Beren. They tell Huan of their doubts and debate and he goes off and brings the wolfham and batskin from the Wizard's Isle. Then he speaks for the last time.
>
> They prepare to go to Angband.

But Q is later than Synopsis IV, for the idea had already emerged that Huan spoke thrice, the third time at his death.

It seems at least extremely probable, then, that Q§10 was written when the *Lay of Leithian* extended to about the point where the narrative turns to the events following the routing of Celegorm and Curufin and Huan's desertion of his master. Now against line 3031 is written the date November 1929, probably referring forwards (see the note to this line), and the next date, against line 3220 (the return of Beren and Lúthien to Doriath), is 25 September 1930. In the last week of September of that year my father composed the small amount remaining of Canto X, and Cantos XI and XII, taking the story from Beren's solitary departure on Curufin's horse to the enspelling of Carcharoth at the gates of Angband;

*Cf. also 'thirty feet' as the span of Thorndor's wings emended to 'thirty fathoms' in Q§8 (note 7), 'thirty fathoms' in the Lay (line 3618).

and this part had not, according to the analysis above, been composed when Q§10 was written.* These considerations make 1930 a virtually certain date for the composition of Q or at least the major part of it; and this fits well with my father's statement (see p. 11) that the 'Sketch' was written 'c. 1926–30', for we have seen that the original writing of S dates from 1926 (III.3), and the interpolations and emendations to it, which were taken up into Q, would belong to the following years. The statement in Q that 'in the lay of Lúthien is all told how they came to Angband's gate' must be an anticipation of further composition of the Lay that my father was at this time premeditating.

From here on there are minor narrative divergences between Q and the Lay. Thus in the prose Morgoth 'fashioned' (rather than bred) Carcharoth (cf. Synopsis III 'fashions', Synopsis V 'fashions' > 'chooses', III.293–4). The wolf's names *Borosaith*, Everhungry, and *Anfauglin*, Jaws of Thirst (an addition given in note 9), are not found in the Synopses or the Lay, but the latter, in the form *Anfauglir*, reappears in *The Silmarillion* (p. 180) with the same meaning.

In the prose Lúthien is praised for casting off her disguise and naming her own name, feigning 'that she was brought captive by the wolves of Thû', whereas in the Lay she claims at first to be Thuringwethil, sent to Morgoth by Thû as a messenger, and it seems that her bat-raiment falls from her at Morgoth's command (lines 3959–65), and that he divines who she is without her naming her name. In these features Q agrees rather with Synopsis III, where she does say who she is, and 'lets fall her bat-garb' (III.305). It is not said in the Lay that 'she flung the magic robe in his face' (but in *The Silmarillion* p. 181 'she cast her cloak before his eyes'), and there is in the prose the notable detail of the Orcs' secret laughter at Morgoth's fall from his throne. In Q Beren leaps forth, casting aside the wolfcoat, when Morgoth falls, whereas in the Lay Lúthien must rouse him from his swoon. The ascription of the snapping of Curufin's knife to dwarvish 'treachery' agrees however with the verse ('by treacherous smiths of Nogrod made', line 4161) – this feature is not found in *The Silmarillion*, of course; while the arousing of the sleepers by the sound of its breaking agrees with the A-text of the Lay (lines 4163–6), not with the revised version of B, where the shard struck Morgoth's brow.

From the point where the Lay ends, with the biting off of Beren's hand by the Wolf, the Q account can be compared with the Synopses. The 'wanderings and despair' of Beren and Lúthien and 'their rescue by Huan' clearly associate Q with Synopsis V (III.312), and the marginal addition (note 11) concerning their rescue by Thorndor, their flight over Gondolin, and their setting down in Brethil, belongs with the brief late outline given in III.309. The structure of events in Doriath, with

*Cf. also the internal evidence given in the commentary on §9 that the Fall of Fingolfin in Canto XII is later than Q's account.

Boldog's raid preceding the embassy from Celegorm to Thingol, agrees with Synopsis IV (III.310) rather than with Synopsis V (III.311), where Thingol's host moving against Nargothrond meets Boldog; but Q agrees with Synopsis V in many details, such as the presence of Beleg and Mablung in the battle with Boldog, and Thingol's changed view of Beren.

At the end of this section the Land of the Dead that Live reaches, in the emendation given in note 15, its final placing in Ossiriand, and the name *Gwerth-i-Cuina* appears for the Dead that Live (later in Q as originally written, §14, the names are *Assariad* and *Cuilwarthien*, cf. *i·Cuilwarthon* of the *Lost Tales*). On the name *Geleidhian* for Broseliand/Beleriand, occurring in this emendation, see the commentary on §9.

On the statements at the end of this section concerning Lúthien's fate, and the 'long span of life and joy' granted to Beren and Lúthien by Mandos, see the commentary on §14.

A matter unconcerned with the story of Beren and Lúthien arises at the beginning of this section, where it is said that Bëor was slain in the Battle of Sudden Flame; in §9, on the other hand, 'Bëor lived till death with Felagund'. This can be interpreted to mean that he died in Felagund's service at the time that his son Barahir rescued Felagund, but such an explanation is forced (especially since in the later form of his legend his death was expressly of old age, and was a source of great wonder to the Elves who witnessed it, *The Silmarillion* p. 149). It seems more likely that there is here an inconsistency within Q, admittedly surprising since the two passages are not widely separated.

For the emendation of 'Second Battle' to 'Third Battle' (note 1) see the commentary on §9; and with the change of *Tinfang Warble* to *Tinfang Gelion* (note 12) cf. line 503 in the *Lay of Leithian*, where the same change was made.

11

In this section the *Quenta* becomes, both in structure and in much of its actual wording, the first draft of Chapter 20 ('Of the Fifth Battle') of *The Silmarillion*.

There appears now the unwise and premature demonstration of his gathering strength by Maidros, warning Morgoth of what was afoot among his enemies and allowing him time to send out his emissaries among the Men from the East – though this is less clear and explicit in Q as originally written than it becomes with the rewriting given in note 14, and even then the two phases of the war are not clearly distinguished. Some further development in this had still to come: in *The Silmarillion* the coming of the Easterlings into Beleriand is told at an earlier point (p. 157; cf. note 1 to this section in Q), and it is said that some of them,

though not all, 'were already secretly under the dominion of Morgoth, and came at his call'; the entry of his 'spies and workers of treason' was made easier 'for the faithless Men of his secret allegiance were yet deep in the secrets of the sons of Fëanor' (p. 189). Though these agents of Morgoth are said in Q (as rewritten, note 14) to have gone especially to the sons of Ulfang, and though Bor and his sons are mentioned, there is no suggestion here of the good faith of the sons of Bor, who slew Ulfast and Ulwarth in the midst of the battle (*The Silmarillion* p. 193).

The Dwarves now play a part in these events, though only as furnishers of weapons; but in Q they are shown as calculating and indeed cynical ('we are friends of neither side – until it has won'), actuated solely by desire for gain. In *The Silmarillion* the Dwarves actually entered the war on Maedhros' side, and 'won renown': Azaghâl Lord of Belegost wounded Glaurung as the dragon crawled over him (p. 193). But at this time I do not think that my father would have conceived of the Dwarves of the mountains taking any active part in the wars of the Elves.

Whereas in S (as emended, §11 note 1) it is only said that 'Orodreth because of Felagund his brother will not come', there now appears in Q the small company out of Nargothrond who went to the war under the banners of Finweg (Fingon) 'and came never back, save one'; the leader is Flinding son of Fuilin, who comes out of the old *Tale of Turambar* and the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, and who is thus given a fuller history before he fled from the Mines of Melko to meet Beleg in the Forest of Night. In the tale as in the poem (see III. 53) it is only said that he had been of the people of the Rodothlim (of Nargothrond) and that he was captured by Orcs. By later change in Q (note 7) he becomes Gwindor son of Guilin. But it is notable that although the wild onrush of the Gnomes of Nargothrond, that carried them even into Angband and made Morgoth tremble on his throne, was led by Flinding/Gwindor, his heroic fury had as yet no special cause: for the herald of Finweg/Fingon who was murdered on Dor-na-Fauglith in order to provoke the Elves of Hithlum to attack Morgoth's decoy force is not named.* The next and final stage was for the herald to become Gelmir of Nargothrond, Gwindor's brother, who had been captured in the Battle of Sudden Flame: it was indeed grief for the loss of Gelmir that had brought Gwindor out of Nargothrond against the will of Orodreth (*The Silmarillion* p. 188). Thus Flinding/Gwindor, devised long before for a different story, ends by being, in his earlier life, the involuntary cause of the loss of the great battle and the ruin of the kingdoms of the Noldor in Middle-earth.

The account of the behaviour of the people of Haleth in the rewritten passage given in note 7 shows my father in doubt: they made ready for

*The statement that 'Morgoth led forth one of the heralds . . . and slew him upon the plain' certainly does not mean, I think, that Morgoth himself came forth and did the deed; rather 'Morgoth' here stands for 'the servants of Morgoth, obeying his command'.

war, then they abode in the forest and few came forth 'because of the wounding of Beren in the wood' (cf. 'Men remembered that wound against the sons of Fëanor', Q§10; 'Men remembered at the Marching Forth', the *Lay of Leithian* line 3103). In the event, the former idea prevailed: 'In the forest of Brethil Halmir, lord of the People of Haleth, gathered his men, and they whetted their axes', and in the battle 'fell most of the Men of Brethil, and came never back to their woods' (*The Silmarillion* pp. 189, 192).

In this same rewritten passage the later story of the foundation of Gondolin *before* the Battle of Unnumbered Tears is present, with Turgon coming forth 'unlooked for' with a great host. It is perhaps strange that in the subsequent passage of rewriting (note 14) Maidros 'appointed a day, and sent word to Fingon *and Turgon*', and 'Fingon *and Turgon* and the Men of Hithlum . . . were gathered ready in the West upon the borders of the Thirsty Plain', which does not at all suggest that Turgon had just arrived, but seems rather to revert to the earlier story (in S, note 1, and in Q as originally written) according to which he was one of the leaders of the Western Elves from the beginning of the preparations for war ('all the hosts of Hithlum . . . were ready to his summons, and Finweg and Turgon and Huor and Húrin were their chiefs'). It seems that the emended narrative in Q represents an intermediate stage: Turgon now emerges from Gondolin already long since in existence, but he does not march up in the nick of time, on the day itself, as in the later story: he comes, certainly unexpected, but in time to take part in the final strategic preparations.

The challenge to Morgoth, summoning by silver trumpets his host to come forth, was afterwards abandoned, but Morgoth's decoying force, 'great and yet not too great', survived, as did Húrin's warning against premature attack. The uncontrollable bursting forth of the Elves of Hithlum and their allies is brought about in the same way as in the later story, even though there is still lacking in Q the fine point that the one slaughtered before their eyes was the brother of Gwindor of Nargothrond; and there is present in the Q narrative the initial success of the hosts of Hithlum, the near-miscarriage of Morgoth's plans, the sweeping of the banners of Finweg (Fingon) over the plain to the very walls of Angband. The final stages of the battle are less fully treated in Q, but all the essential structure is there; several features are indeed still absent, as the death of Fingon at the hands of Gothmog (but the flame from his helm as it was cloven is mentioned, a feature that goes back to the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, and from which the words *Finweg (Fingon) fell in flame of swords* derive, see III. 103), the fall of the Men of Brethil in the rearguard (see above), the presence of the Dwarves of Belegost (with the death of Azaghâl and the wounding of the dragon), the fateful words between Huor and Turgon that were overheard by Maeglin (*The Silmarillion* p. 194).

Glómund's presence at the Battle of Unnumbered Tears was intro-

duced in a later addition to the text of S (§13, note 3) and is now incorporated in the Q narrative; his earlier appearance at the Battle of Sudden Flame enters with an addition to Q§9 (note 16), and is referred to again here (note 17) – 'the second battle of the North', because the Glorious Battle, Dagor Aglareb, which became the second battle, had not yet been developed. But according to Q the dragon 'was not yet come to his full growth' at the Battle of Unnumbered Tears; later, he was already full grown at the Battle of Sudden Flame (*The Silmarillion* p. 151), and his first, immature emergence from Angband was placed still further back (*ibid.* pp. 116–17).

The Dragon-helm of Dor-lómin here reappears from the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (see III. 26, 126), where in the second version it is said that it was the work of Telchar, and

> Would that he [Húrin] had worn it to ward his head
> on that direst day from death's handstroke! (665–6)

But only now does the dragon-crest become the image of Glómund. Afterwards the history of the helm was much enlarged: in the *Narn i Hîn Húrin* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 75) it is told that Telchar (of Nogrod, not as in Q of Belegost) made it for Azaghâl of Belegost, and that it was given by him to Maedhros, by Maedhros to Fingon, and by Fingon to Hador, whence it descended to Hador's grandson Húrin. In the *Narn* it is said that Húrin never in fact wore it; and also that the people of Hithlum said 'Of more worth is the Dragon of Dorlómin than the gold-worm of Angband!' – which originated in this passage of Q, 'We have a dragon of more worth than theirs'. A pencilled direction against the beginning of §12 in Q (note 1) postpones the introduction of the Helm to the point where Morwen sends it to Thingol, as it is placed in *The Silmarillion* (p. 199).

Some other minor features now enter, as Melian's counsel to restore the Silmaril to the sons of Fëanor (*The Silmarillion* p. 189), and in additions to the text the presence of Elves of the Falas among the Western hosts at the great battle (note 14), and the especial hatred and fear felt by Morgoth of the House of Fingolfin (note 23; *The Silmarillion* p. 196, where however the reasons for it are their friendship with Ulmo and the wounds that Fingolfin had given him – and Turgon, Fingolfin's son). In emendations to Q (note 6) the name *Celegorm* begins a long uncertainty between that form and *Celegorn*.

The mention of 'Dark-elves, *save out of Doriath*' marching to Maidros' banners shows that my father still naturally used this term of Thingol's people; cf. the Index to *The Silmarillion*, entry *Dark Elves*.

12

It is immediately apparent, from many actual repetitions of wording, that when my father composed the Q version of the tale of Túrin

Turambar he had the 'Sketch' in front of him; while many of the phrases that occur in *The Silmarillion* version are first found here. There are also features in Q's narrative that derive from the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* but which were omitted in S. The statement in Q, repeated from S, that 'the fate of Túrin is told in the "Children of Húrin"' no doubt shows that my father had not yet given up all thought of completing that poem some day.

In this first of the two sections into which the tale of Túrin is here divided there are only minor points to be noticed. Q, though much fuller than S, is still expressly a synopsis, and the entire element of the Dragonhelm is omitted (see note 1 and the commentary on §11), together with the guiding of Túrin by the two old men and the return of one of them to Morwen: the guides (Halog and Mailgond in S) are here not named. Rían Huor's wife has already appeared in S at a later point (§16).

Airin, wife of Brodda and kinswoman of Morwen, re-enters from the old *Tale* (she is mentioned in S§13 but not named),* and the aid she gives to Morwen is secret, which perhaps suggests a movement towards the worsening of Brodda's character as tyrant and oppressor (see II. 127), though later in Q it is still told that Morwen entrusted her goods to him when she left her home (the text was subsequently altered here, §13 note 5). We meet here the expression 'the incoming Men', surviving in the term 'Incomers' used in the *Narn*, and also the element that the Easterlings were afraid of Morwen, whispering that she was a witch skilled in Elvish magic.

There has been virtually no further development in the story of Túrin in Doriath, the slaying of Orgof, and the outlaw band. Blodrin the traitor is now described as a Gnome, and by a later addition (note 5) a member of the House of Fëanor; in the Lay (as in S) it is not made clear who he was, beyond the fact that he was an Elf who had been turned to evil during his upbringing among the Dwarves (III. 52).

In the passage concerned with Taur-na-Fuin there is the new detail that the Orc-band that captured Túrin 'had delayed long in the lands plundering East among Men', which is found in *The Silmarillion* (p. 206): the Orcs 'had tarried on their road, hunting in the lands and fearing no pursuit as they came northward'. This feature clearly arose from a feeling that Beleg would never have caught up with the Orcs if they had returned swiftly to Angband, but in both S and Q they were moving in haste through Taur-na-Fuin, and in Q this is explained by 'the angry message of Morgoth'.

The addition concerning Beleg's sword (note 10) is the first indication that it was of a strange nature; the phrase 'made of iron that fell from heaven as a blazing star, and it would cut all earth-dolven iron' is found in

*In the *Tale* Airin was Morwen's friend (II. 93); in S and Q she was Morwen's kinswoman; in *The Silmarillion* (p. 198) and the *Narn* (p. 69) she was Húrin's kinswoman.

The Silmarillion at a different point (p. 201), where the origin of the sword is more fully told.

13

There are several substantial developments in the latter part of the story of Túrin in Q.

Finduilas' name *Failivrin* is now ascribed to Flinding (Gwindor); in the Lay occur the lines

> the frail Finduilas that Failivrin,
> the glimmering sheen on the glassy pools
> of Ivrin's lake the Elves in love
> had named anew. (III.76, lines 2175–8)

In Nargothrond Túrin, as the Black Sword, is *Mormaglir*, not as in S *Mormakil* (cf. the *Tale of Turambar*, II.84: 'Hence comes that name of Túrin's among the Gnomes, calling him Mormagli or Mormakil according to their speech'). The final form was *Mormegil*. It is now expressly stated that though rumour of the Black Sword of Nargothrond reached Thingol 'the name of Túrin was not heard'; but there is still no suggestion that Túrin deliberately concealed his identity.

The place where the Gnomes of Nargothrond were defeated is not said to be between the rivers Ginglith and Narog (*The Silmarillion* p. 212), but 'upon the Guarded Plain, north of Nargothrond', and as will be seen later the battlefield at this time was east of Narog, not in the triangle of land between it and Ginglith. The impression is given that the reproaches of Flinding (Gwindor) as he died were on account of Finduilas. There is indeed no suggestion here that Túrin's policy of open war was opposed in Nargothrond, nor that it was this policy that revealed Nargothrond to Morgoth; but since these elements were fully present in the *Tale of Turambar* (II.83–4) their absence from Q must be set down to compression. There is also no mention at this point in Q of the bridge over the Narog (see S§13 notes 1 and 5), but it is referred to later in this section as having proved the undoing of the Elves of Nargothrond. Orodreth was slain at Nargothrond, and not as in *The Silmarillion* on the battlefield.

In an alteration to Q (note 9) a shift is implied in the motive of Túrin's slaying of Brodda. In the *Tale* Túrin struck Brodda's head off in explicit vengeance on 'the rich man who addeth the widow's little to his much' (II.90); in the revised passage in Q (as afterwards in *The Silmarillion*, p. 215, and most clearly in the *Narn*, pp. 107–8) Túrin's action sprang in part from the fury and agony of his realisation that the dragon had cheated him.*

Whereas in S the Woodmen are placed 'east of Narog', in Q they are

*In the *Narn* it is not made clear that Túrin actually intended to kill Brodda when he hurled him across the table.

said to dwell 'in the green woods about the River Taiglin that enters the land of Doriath ere it joins with the great waters of Sirion' – these being the first occurrences of Taiglin and 'Doriath beyond Sirion' in the texts (though both are marked on the earliest 'Silmarillion' map, see pp. 222, 224). I noted in connection with the passage in S that it is strange that whereas in the *Tale* the Woodmen had a leader (Bethos) when Túrin joined them, as also in the later story, in S Túrin 'gathered a new people'. Now in Q the Woodmen have an identity, 'the remnant of the people of Haleth', Haleth being at this time the son of Hador and uncle of Húrin, and the 'Hadorian' and 'Halethian' houses one and the same, as already in §9; but still as in S Túrin at once becomes their ruler. Brandir the Lame, son of Handir son of Haleth, does indeed emerge here, replacing Tamar (son of Bethos the ruler) of the *Tale of Turambar*, who is still present in S, and it is said that Brandir had 'yielded the rule to Túrin at the choice of the woodfolk'; but in the later story it is an important element that Brandir remained the titular ruler until his death, though disregarded by Túrin.

Here is the first mention of Túrin's vain seeking for Finduilas when he came down from Hithlum, and the first account of Finduilas' fate; in the *Tale* and in S there is no suggestion of what became of her. Finduilas is 'the last of the race of Finrod' (later Finarfin) because Galadriel had not yet emerged.

The narrative of Q also advances to the later form in making Nienor accompany the expedition from Doriath in disguise (see II. 128); and the 'high place . . . covered with trees' of the *Tale* and the 'hill-top' of S now becomes 'the tree-clad Hill of Spies'. But in Q it was only Morwen who was set for safety on the Hill of Spies: there is no mention of what Nienor did until she was confronted by Glómund on the banks of Narog (not, as later, on the Hill). This is a movement away both from the *Tale* and from the later story, where Morwen and Nienor remained together until the dragon-fog arose; but towards the later story in that Nienor met the dragon alone (on the treatment of this in S see the commentary). We must suppose that at this stage in the development of the legend Nienor's presence was never revealed, either to her mother or to anyone else save the dragon; in the later story she was discovered at the passage of the Twilit Meres (*The Silmarillion* p. 217, *Narn* pp. 114–15). The 'Mablung-element' is still wholly absent; and it is to be noted that Morwen was taken back in safety to the Thousand Caves, whence she afterwards wandered away when she found that Nienor was gone. – The bridge over Narog seems to have been still standing after the sack (in *The Silmarillion* Glaurung broke it down, p. 214).

By emendation in Q (note 14) appears for the first time the name *Celebros*, translated 'Foam-silver', for Silver-bowl; but in Q (as in S) the falls are still in the Taiglin itself (see II. 132). Later, *Celebros* became the name of the tributary stream in which were the falls; and the falls were named *Dimrost*, the Rainy Stair.

In the story of the slaying of the dragon, the six (not as afterwards two) companions of Turambar still survive through S from the *Tale* (II. 106); though in Q they were not so much the only companions that Turambar could find but rather 'begged to come with him'. In the *Tale* the band of seven clambered up the far side of the ravine in the evening and stayed there all night; at dawn of the second day, when the dragon moved to cross, Turambar saw that he had now only three companions, and when they had to climb back down to the stream-bed to come up under Glórund's belly these three had not the courage to go up again. Turambar slew the dragon by daylight; Níniel went down to the ravine on the *second* evening, and threw herself over the falls at sunrise of the *third* day; and Turambar slew himself in the afternoon of that day. In S the only indication of time is that all six of Turambar's companions deserted him during the night spent clinging to the further lip of the ravine. In Q the six all deserted Turambar during the first night, as in S, but he spent the whole of the following day clinging to the cliff; Glómund moved to pass over the ravine on the *second* night (my father clearly wished to make the dragon-slaying take place in darkness, but achieved this at first by extending the time Turambar spent in the gorge). But Níniel went down and found him, and threw herself over the falls, on that same night. Thus in Q the story has moved closer to that of *The Silmarillion* and the *Narn*, and needed only the contraction of the time before the dragon crossed the ravine, so that all took place in a single night and the following morning. – It seems to be suggested in Q that Glómund in his death-throes hurled himself back on to the bank from which he was coming: he '*coiled back in anguish* . . . and came not into the woodmen's land'. If this is so Níniel must have crossed the ravine to reach Turambar. In the *Tale* (II. 107) it is explicit that 'almost had [the dragon] crossed the chasm when Gurtholfin pierced him, and now he cast himself upon its farther bank', as also in the later versions.

That Níniel was with child by Turambar is now stated in the text as written (in the *Tale* and in S this appears only in later additions).

In the *Tale* (II. 111) Turambar slew himself in the glade of Silver Bowl; it is not said in S or in Q where he died, though in both he was buried beside Silver Bowl. – At the very end appears in Q the name *Nen-Girith*, its first occurrence: 'Men changed the name of that place thereafter to Nen-Girith, the Shuddering Water.' In *The Silmarillion* (p. 220) it is said, in the passage describing the great fit of shuddering that came on Nienor at Dimrost, the falls of Celebros, that – on account of this – 'afterwards that place was called Nen Girith'; and in the *Narn* (p. 123) that 'after that day' it was called Nen Girith. These passages can be taken to mean that the falls of Celebros were renamed Nen Girith simply on account of Nienor's shivering when she first came there. But this is surely absurd; the event was, in itself and without aftermath, far too slight for a renaming – too slight, indeed for narrative mention or legendary recollection, if it had no aftermath: places are not renamed in

legend because a person, however important, caught a chill there. Obviously the prophetic element is the whole point, and it goes back to the *Tale*, where before ever the name Nen Girith was devised Nienor 'not knowing why was filled with a dread and could not look upon the loveliness of that foaming water' (II. 101), and in the original story both Nienor and Turambar died in that very place (see II. 134–5). I think that the phrase in the *Narn*, 'after that day', must be interpreted to mean 'after that time', 'after the events which are now to be described had come to pass'. I noted in *Unfinished Tales* (p. 149, note 24):

> One might suppose that it was only when all was over, and Túrin and Nienor dead, that her shuddering fit was recalled and its meaning seen, and Dimrost renamed Nen Girith; but in the legend Nen Girith is used as the name throughout.

Almost certainly, the use of the name 'Nen Girith' in the later narratives *before* the account of the events that must have given rise to the name is to be explained in the same way as that proposed by my father for *Mablung*: concerning which he observed in a very late essay that when Mablung took the Silmaril from the belly of Carcharoth

> the hand [of Beren] and jewel seemed to have so great a weight that Mablung's own hand was dragged earthward and forced open, letting the other fall to the ground. It was said that Mablung's name ('with weighted hand') was prophetic; but it may have been a title derived from the episode *that afterwards became the one that the hero was chiefly remembered by in legend*.

I have no doubt that the story in Q shows the original idea: Nienor shivered with prophetic but unconscious fear when she came to the falls of Celebros; there both she and her brother died horrifyingly; and after their deaths the falls were renamed Nen Girith, the Shuddering Water, because the meaning was understood. 'Afterwards', 'After that day', this became the name of the falls; but in the legendary history, when all was well-known both to the historian and to his audience, the later name became generalised, like that of Mablung.

14

At the beginning of this section it is made clear that Mîm's presence in Nargothrond did not go back to the time of the dragon, since he 'had found the halls and treasure of Nargothrond unguarded'. In the *Lost Tales* my father doubtless saw no particular need to 'explain' Mîm; he was simply there, a feature of the narrative situation, like Andvari the Dwarf in the Norse Völsung legend. But in Q the first step is taken to relate him to the developing conception of the Dwarves of Middle-earth: they spread into Beleriand from the Blue Mountains after the Battle of

Unnumbered Tears. (Ultimately the need to 'explain' Mîm led to the conception of the Petty-dwarves.) But Q's statement that the Dwarves only now enter the tales of the ancient world seems at variance with earlier passages: with §9, where it is said that the Fëanorians made war on the Dwarves of Nogrod and Belegost, and with §11, concerning the furnishing of weapons by the Dwarves to the armies of the Union of Maidros.

Here Mîm has some companions, slain with him by the outlaws of Húrin's band, whom Húrin 'would have stayed'; in the *Tale of Turambar* (II.113) Mîm was alone, and it was Úrin himself who gave him his death-blow. Whereas in the *Tale* Úrin's band – large enough to be called a host – brought the treasure of Nargothrond to the caves of Tinwelint in a mass of sacks and rough boxes (while in S there is no indication whatsoever of how the treasure came to Doriath, and the outlaws are not further mentioned after the slaying of Mîm), in Q Húrin's outlaws are as conveniently got rid of as they were conveniently come by – 'each one died or was slain in quarrels upon the road', deaths ascribed to Mîm's curse; and since Húrin now goes alone to Doriath and gets Thingol's help in the transportation of the treasure the outlaw-band seems to serve very little narrative purpose. The fight in the halls of Tinwelint between the woodland Elves and the outlaws, not mentioned in S, has now therefore been expunged (the emergence in Q of a new fight in the halls, between the Elves and the Dwarves, would demand its removal in any case, if Menegroth were not to appear a permanent shambles).

But the problem remained: how did the gold come to Doriath? It was an essential idea that Húrin, destroyed by what he had seen (or by what Morgoth allowed him to see) and tormented by bitterness and grief, should cast the treasure of Nargothrond at Thingol's feet in a gesture of supreme scorn of the craven and greedy king, as he conceived him to be; but the new story in Q is obviously unsatisfactory – it ruins the gesture, if Húrin must get the king himself to send for the gold with which he is *then* to be humiliated, and it is difficult to imagine the conversation between Húrin and Thingol when Húrin first appeared in Doriath, announcing that the treasure had become available.

However this may be, the gold comes to Doriath, and in all versions Húrin departs: but now in Q, to drown himself in the western sea, without ever finding Morwen again.

I have said in commenting on the corresponding section in S that I think it probable that my father had already decided to simplify the involved story in the *Tale of the Nauglafring* concerning the gold of Nargothrond. In Q, which is a fully articulated narrative, if brief, the absence of Ufedhin can be taken as a clear indication that he had been abandoned, and with him, necessarily, many of the complexities of the king's dealings with the Dwarves. The story has become, then, quite simple. Thingol desires the unwrought gold brought by Húrin to be worked; he sends for the greatest craftsmen on earth, the Dwarves of

Nogrod and Belegost; and they coming desire the treasure for themselves, the Silmaril also, and plot to gain it. The argument that they use – that the treasure belonged in right to the Dwarves, since it was taken from Mîm – reappears from the *Tale of the Nauglafring*, where it occurs in a different context (II.230: an argument used by Naugladur lord of Nogrod to support his intention to attack Tinwelint).

The relative wealth or otherwise of Thingol has not been touched on in Q, but his riches are recounted in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (see III.26) and in the *Lay of Leithian* (III.160–1); and this is no doubt the force of the word 'even' in 'Then the enchantment of the accursed dragon gold began to fall *even* upon the king of Doriath.'

In S the king drives the Dwarves away without any payment; there is no mention of any strife at this point, and one would think that even the most severe compression could hardly have avoided mentioning it. But in Q the narrative now takes a quite different turn. Thingol 'scanted his promised reward', and this led to fighting in the Thousand Caves, with many slain on both sides; and 'the Mound of Avarice', which in the *Tale of the Nauglafring* covered the bodies of the slain Elves of Artanor after the battle with the outlaws of Húrin's band, now covers those of the Dwarves and Elves; the form of the Elvish name is changed from *Cûm an-Idrisaith* (II.223) to *Cûm-nan-Arasaith*.

As in S, the sack of Menegroth by the Dwarves is still treated in Q with the utmost brevity, and central features of the story in the *Tale of the Nauglafring* do not recur, nor ever would. But (in addition to the loss of Ufedhin) it seems likely that the 'great host' of Orcs, paid and armed by Naugladur of Nogrod (II.230), would by now have been abandoned. Of course the whole story arose in terms of, and continues to depend on, the hostile view of the Dwarves which is so prominent in the early writings.

The much emended geographical passage that follows now in Q is best understood in relation to the first 'Silmarillion' map, and I postpone discussion of the rivers of Ossiriand and the Dwarf-road to Chapter IV, pp. 230ff. It is sufficient to notice here that the courses of the six tributary rivers of Gelion (here called *Ascar*,* before emendation to *Flend* and then to *Gelion*, note 3) are drawn on that map in precisely the same form as they have on that published in *The Silmarillion*, and the first map names them in order of the original emendation to Q (note 4) before that was itself changed: i.e., Ascar, Thalos, Duilwen, Loeglin, Brilthor, Adurant.

It is now made explicit that it was Melian who warned Beren of the approach of the Dwarves (see p. 62); and the removal of the Land of the Dead that Live from 'the woods of Doriath and the Hunters' Wold, west of Nargothrond', where it is still placed in S (§10), to Assariad

*It seems probable that the first two occurrences of *Ascar* in this section were mere slips, for *Flend* (> *Gelion*). At the third occurrence the name is used, as it is on the map, for the northernmost of the rivers coming down out of the Blue Mountains, afterwards renamed *Rahlorion* (> *Rathloriel*).

(Ossiriand) in the East makes the interception of the Dwarves far simpler and more natural: the Stony Ford (which goes back to the *Tale of the Nauglafring* and is there called *Sarnathrod*) now lies on the river that bounds that very land. The geographical shift and development has made the whole organisation of the story here much easier.

Beren's people now at last become 'the Green Elves' (see p. 62); but the story of the ambush at the ford is passed over in Q as sketchily as it was in S: there is now no mention even of the taking of the Nauglafring (> Nauglamír) from the slain king. The story of the drowning of the treasure remains much the same as in S, but there are suggestions of wider implications in the wearing of the Nauglafring: that the Land of the Dead that Live became itself so fruitful and so fair because of the presence of Lúthien wearing the Silmaril. This passage is retained almost word for word in *The Silmarillion* (p. 235). It is clearly to be associated with a later passage, found both in Q (p. 152) and in *The Silmarillion* (p. 247), where the people dwelling at the Havens of Sirion after the fall of Gondolin would not surrender the Silmaril to the Fëanorians 'for it seemed to them that in the Silmaril lay the healing and the blessing that had come upon their houses and their ships'. But the Silmaril was cursed (and this may seem a sufficiently strange conception), and Melian warned Beren and Lúthien against it. In Q it is not said, as it is in S, that the Silmaril was kept secretly by Beren, merely that he and Lúthien 'retained' it. In both texts the fading of Lúthien follows immediately; but while Q again makes no actual connection (see p. 63) the very ordering of its sentences suggests that such a connection was there: 'the Land of the Dead that Live became like a vision of the land of the Gods . . . Yet Melian warned them ever of the curse . . . yet the Silmaril they retained. And in time the brief hour of the loveliness of the land of Rathlorion departed. For Lúthien faded as Mandos had spoken . . .'

The statements made in S§§10 and 14 on the fates of Beren and Lúthien have been discussed at some length (pp. 63–4). When we turn to Q, we find that in the earlier passage (§10, where the first death of Beren and Lúthien's pleading with Mandos is recounted), while there is mention of songs that say that Lúthien was borne living to Valinor by Thorndor, these are discounted, and 'it has long been said that Lúthien failed and faded swiftly and vanished from the earth', and thus came to Mandos: she had died, as Elves might die, of grief (cf. the old *Tale of Tinúviel*, II.40). And the dispensation of Mandos exacted that 'Lúthien should become mortal even as her lover, *and should leave the earth once more in the manner of mortal women*'. This seems precise: it can surely only mean that Lúthien had become, not an Elf with a peculiar destiny, but a mortal woman. Her nature had changed.*

*The further judgement of Mandos in §10, that 'in recompense' he 'gave to Beren and Lúthien thereafter a long span of life and joy', seems at variance with what is implied here in Q. See III.125.

Yet Q retains the conception in the present passage of Lúthien's fading – her second fading. I think it can now be seen why my father wrote an X against this sentence (note 12); and note also the marginal addition at this point: 'Yet it hath been sung that Lúthien *alone of Elves hath been numbered among our race,* and goeth whither we go to a fate beyond the world*' (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 236: 'Beren Erchamion and Lúthien Tinúviel had died indeed, and gone where go the race of Men to a fate beyond the world').

Coming lastly to the story of Dior and the end of Doriath, it is now Celegorm, Curufin, and Cranthir who were slain, as in *The Silmarillion* (p. 236); and by a late addition to the text (note 14) Dior has sons, Eldûn and Elrûn, who were killed with their father. In *The Silmarillion* they were Eluréd and Elurín, who were left by the servants of Celegorm to starve in the forest.

15

In this version of the story of Eöl and Isfin it is told that Eöl 'was of gloomy mood, and had deserted the hosts ere the battle [of Unnumbered Tears]'. Nothing has been said before of how Eöl came to be dwelling in the terrible forest (and later his earlier history was to be wholly changed again: *The Silmarillion* p. 132).

The general description of the plain and city of Gondolin in Q is obviously closely based on S, and shows little more than stylistic development. But Thorndor is here said to have dwelt on Thangorodrim before he moved his eyries to the Encircling Mountains (see p. 66); and there is an interesting reference to the original intention of the people of Gondolin to go to war again when the time was ripe. The most important alteration here is the pencilled addition (note 5), taken up into the Q II text, telling that Turgon after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears sent at times Elves down Sirion to the sea, where they built a small haven and set sail, in vain, for Valinor. This is the forerunner of the passage in *The Silmarillion* (p. 159), where however the building of ships by the Gondolindrim and the setting sail for Valinor 'to ask for pardon and aid of the Valar' is placed after the Dagor Bragollach and the breaking of the Leaguer of Angband (for the foundation of Gondolin took place centuries before the Battle of Unnumbered Tears). But in *The Silmarillion* (p. 196) there was also a further attempt by Turgon to reach Valinor in the time after the great battle, when Círdan of the Falas built for him seven ships, of which the only survivor was Voronwë. The origin of this idea of the fruitless voyages of the Gondolindrim is to be found in the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* (II. 162), where Ulmo by the mouth of Tuor counselled Turgon to make such voyages, and Turgon replied that he had done so 'for years untold', and would do so now no more.

*'our race': the *Quenta*, according to its title (pp. 77–8), was 'drawn from the Book of Lost Tales which Eriol of Leithien wrote'.

In the replacement text Q II (pp. 138–40), where the old story of the foundation of Gondolin is still present, there is very little to record in narrative development, except that the sending of Elves to Sirion's mouth and the sailing of ships from a secret haven is now incorporated in the text; and it is said that as the years drew on these sailings ceased and the haven was abandoned. It is now explained why it was that Thorndor (> Thorondor) moved his eyries from Thangorodrim.

The passage of time is left entirely vague in these narratives. There is no indication of how many years elapsed between the Battle of Unnumbered Tears or its immediate aftermath – when in the first years of Gondolin Turgon was trying to get his messages to Valinor – and the coming of Tuor, by which time the haven at Sirion's mouth was desolate, none could enter Gondolin from the outside world, and neither the king nor the most part of his people wished any more for return to Valinor (p. 142). But the change in feeling in Gondolin – and all the mighty works of levelling and tunnelling – must imply a long lapse of time ('as the years drew on', pp. 137, 140). This conception goes back to the original *Fall of Gondolin* (see my remarks, II. 208); but at that time Tuor had no associations that would tie him into a chronological framework. Already in S (§16), however, Huor, brother of Húrin, had become Tuor's father, and Huor was slain in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears. Clearly there was a major narrative-chronological difficulty lurking here, and it was not long before my father moved the founding of Gondolin (and with it that of Nargothrond) to a far earlier point in the history. Unhappily, as I have mentioned before (II. 208, footnote), the *Quenta* account was the last that my father ever wrote of the story of Gondolin from Tuor's coming to its destruction; and therefore, though the revised chronological structure is perfectly clear, the latest actual formed narrative retains the old story of the founding of Gondolin after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears. Against the words in the Q II replacement 'For Turgon deemed, *when first they came into that vale after the dreadful battle*' my father wrote an X (note 3); but in all the years that followed he never turned to it again.*

The name *Eryd-Lómin* occurs for the first time† in the Q II replacement text, but its reference is to the Mountains of Shadow fencing Hithlum, and it was later emended (note 1) to *Eredwethion* (*Ered Wethrin* in *The Silmarillion*). The name *Eryd-Lómin* did at this time mean 'Shadowy Mountains', just as *Dor-lómin* meant 'Land of Shadows' (see I. 112, and I. 255 entry *Hisilómë*). Subsequently *Eryd-Lómin*, *Ered*

*The passage in *The Silmarillion* (p. 240) is an editorial attempt to use the old narrative within the later structure.

†For the first time in the narrative texts. The actual first occurrence is probably in the caption to my father's painting of Tol Sirion (*Pictures by J. R. R. Tolkien* no. 36) of July 1928, which though it cannot be made out in the reproduction reads: 'The Vale of Sirion, looking upon Dor-na-Fauglith, with Eryd Lómin (the Shadowy Mountains) on the left and the eaves of Taur-na-Fuin on the right.'

Lómin was changed both in meaning ('Shadowy Mountains' to 'Echoing Mountains', with *lóm* 'echo', as also in *Dor-lómin* 'Land of Echoes') and in application, becoming the name of the coastal range to the west of Hithlum.

16

At the beginning of this section we find the first beginnings of the later story of the coming of Isfin and Meglin (Aredhel and Maeglin) to Gondolin, rather than (as still in S) the sending of Meglin by his mother; Eöl was lost in Taur-na-Fuin, and his wife and son came to Gondolin in his absence. There was much further development to come (the story of Maeglin in *The Silmarillion* is one of the latest elements in the book).

In the rewritten passage given in note 3 the birth of Tuor 'in the wild' appears (see p. 67); the implication is no doubt that as in *The Silmarillion* (p. 198) and with more detail in the 'later *Tuor*' (*Unfinished Tales* p. 17) he was born in the wilds of Hithlum, and that it was after his birth that Rían went east to the Hill of Slain (in the rough rewriting of the passage in Q I now first given an Elvish name, *Amon Dengin*). But it is odd that in the rewriting Tuor's servitude among 'the faithless Men', found in S and in Q as first written, is excluded.

In the account of Tuor's flight from Hithlum the name of the Rainbow Cleft as originally written was *Cris-Ilfing* (in the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* it was *Cris Ilbranteloth* or *Glorfalc*), emended to *Kirith Helvin* (*Cirith Ninniach* in *The Silmarillion*).

Tuor's journey remains unchanged. It was already said in S that Bronweg 'had once been in Gondolin'; now it is added that he had escaped from Angband, and had reached Sirion after long wanderings in the East. That he had been in Angband appears in fact already in the *Lay of the Fall of Gondolin* (III. 148), and is implied in the *Tale* (II. 156–7). The story of his lone survival from the last of the ships sent out on Turgon's orders had not yet arisen; and his escape from Angband makes him a rather obvious parallel to Flinding (Gwindor), or at least points a general likeness between the stories of Túrin and Tuor at this point. In each case a Man is guided by an Elf escaped from Angband to the hidden city of which the Elf was a citizen in the past. – The visitation of Ulmo to Tuor 'as he stood in the long grass at evening' in the Land of Willows goes back to the *Tale*, where he stood 'knee-deep in the grass' (II. 155). This was an essential element never abandoned; see II. 205. The song of Tuor that he made for his son Eärendel is extant, and is given in Appendix 2 to this chapter (p. 213).

Ulmo's instructions to Tuor in Q remain the same as in S; but in the Q II replacement there are important differences. Here, the great war between Gondolin and Angband foreseen by Ulmo is given a larger scope, and its succesful outcome made to seem more plausible: Tuor's errand to Hithlum, where he was to draw the ('evil' and 'faithless') Men

of Hithlum (a land full of Morgoth's spies) into alliance with the Elves, a task it would seem of the utmost hopelessness, is now abandoned, and Tuor is to journey into the East and rouse the new nations of Men; the feud with the Fëanorians is to be healed. But in the contrary case, Ulmo no longer makes any promise to aid the people of Gondolin in the building of a fleet. His foreknowledge of the approaching doom of Gondolin is made progressively less precise: in S he knows that it will come through Meglin in seven (> twelve) years, in Q I that it will come in twelve years, but without mention of Meglin, in Q II only that it will come before many years are passed, if nothing is done.

In the story of Meglin's treachery in Q it is expressly stated (as it is not in S, though it is almost certainly implied) that he revealed the actual situation of Gondolin, of which Morgoth was until then ignorant.

There are strong suggestions in this compressed account that Gondolin's rich heraldry of houses and emblems was only in abeyance, not abandoned. The seven names of Gondolin are referred to, though not given, and Ecthelion of the Fountain and Glorfindel of the House of the Golden Flower are named. Indeed so many old features reappear – the Gates of Summer, the 'death of Rog without the walls'* – that it does not need the reference in the text to *The Fall of Gondolin* to show that my father had the *Tale* very fully in mind. In the reference to the 'devising' (rather than 'breeding') of new dragons by Morgoth for the assault on the city there is even a suggestion of the (apparently) inanimate constructions of the *Tale* (see II.213).

The relation between the present short version of the escape of the fugitives and the ambush in Cristhorn (> Kirith-thoronath), which is effectively that in *The Silmarillion* (p. 243), and that in the *Tale* has been discussed in II.213–14. The absence from *The Silmarillion* of the fugitives who went to the Way of Escape and were there destroyed by the dragon lying in wait, an element present in S and Q, is due to editorial excision, based on evidence in a much later text that the old entrance to Gondolin had been blocked up. That text is the basis for the passage in *The Silmarillion* (p. 228) where Húrin after his release from Thangorodrim came to the feet of the Encircling Mountains:

> he looked about him with little hope, standing at the foot of a great fall of stones beneath a sheer rock-wall; and he knew not that this was all that was now left to see of the old Way of Escape: the Dry River was blocked, and the arched gate was buried.

The sentence in *The Silmarillion* p. 240 'Therefore in that time the very entrance to the hidden door in the Encircling Mountains was caused to be blocked up' was an editorial addition.

In Q reappears from the *Tale* the sojourn of the survivors of Gondolin

*For the absence of Rog from the passage in *The Silmarillion* (p. 242) see II.211, second footnote.

in the Land of Willows, and the return of the 'sea-longing' to Tuor, leading to the departure from Nan-Tathrin down Sirion to the Sea.

Lastly may be noticed the description of Idril Celebrindal in Q II (p. 148) – tall, 'well nigh of warrior's stature', with golden hair: the prototype of Galadriel (see especially the description of her in *Unfinished Tales* pp. 229–30).

17

In the original Q text in this section the structure of S is closely followed, and in many respects the story is still unchanged where change was very soon to take place.

All trace of Ulmo's urging Eärendel to undertake the voyage to Valinor has disappeared (see S §17 note 3); but it is still Ulmo's 'grievous words' to the Valar that lead to the coming forth of the Sons of the Valar against Morgoth, and still Eärendel 'came too late to bring messages to the Elves, for the Elves had gone' (cf. Q§6: 'he came too late'). There now appears, on the other hand, Eärendel's *wish* to bring 'a message to the Gods and Elves of the West, that should move their hearts to pity on the world', even though, when he came, there were none in Kôr to whom to deliver it. But the ultimate story is noted on the text in pencil (note 1).

In the account of the host that came from Valinor Fionwë is still the son of Tulkas (see p. 68); but now none of the Teleri leave Valinor, while on the other hand there is mention of the Gnomes who had not left Valinor at the time of the Rebellion – cf. the earlier passage in Q (§5): 'Some remained behind . . . It was long ere they came back into this tale of the wars and wanderings of their people.'

Bronweg is still present as in S living alone at Sirion's mouth after the attack by the Fëanorians, and he still sails with Eärendel on the second voyage of Wingelot that brought them to Kôr. Eärendel still at this point in the story builds the Tower of Seabirds; his ship is raised, as in S, on the wings of birds, as he searches for Elwing from the sky, whence he is hunted by the Moon and wanders over the earth as a fugitive star. Elwing still casts the Silmaril into the sea and leaps after it, taking the form of a seabird to seek Eärendel 'about all the shores of the world'. Minor developments are the dissension among the Fëanorians, so that some stood aside and others aided Elwing; the deaths of Damrod and Díriel (see p. 69); the explanation of Maidros' pity for the child Elrond ('for his heart was sick and weary with the burden of the dreadful oath'); and the description of Wingelot. The name of Tuor's ship *Eárámë* is translated 'Eagle's Pinion' (the old explanation of the name, when it was Eärendel's ship), not 'Sea-wing' (see p. 69). The passage in S concerning the choice of Elrond Halfelven is here omitted, but the matter reappears in §18.

With this section the rewriting of Q (as 'Q II') becomes continuous to the end of the work, and the original text ('Q I') in fact gives out before the end. Since substantial stretches of Q I remain unchanged in Q II, I

do not suppose that much time elapsed between them; but certain major new strokes are introduced into the legend in the rewriting.

These major developments in the present section are, first, that Ulmo's words to the Valar did *not* achieve the war against Morgoth ('Manwë moved not'); second, that Elwing, borne up as a seabird, *bore the Silmaril on her breast*, and came to Eärendel, returning from his first voyage in Wingelot: so that the Silmaril of Beren was not lost, but became the Evening Star; and third, that Eärendel, voyaging to Valinor *with Elwing*, came before the Valar, and it was his 'embassy of the two kindreds' that led to the assault on Morgoth.*

But there are also many changes of a less structural character in Q II, as: Eärendel's earlier voyages about the shores of the Outer Lands before he built Wingelot; his warning dreams to return in haste to the Mouths of Sirion, which in the event he never came back to, being intercepted by the coming of Elwing as a seabird and her tidings of what had happened there in his absence– hence the disappearance of Bronweg from the story; the healing power of the Silmaril on the people of Sirion (see p. 190); the great light of the Silmaril as Wingelot approached Valinor, and the suggestion that it was the power of the jewel that brought the ship through the enchantments and the shadows; Eärendel's refusal to allow any of those that travelled with him to come with him into Valinor; the new explanation of the desertion of Tûn upon Kôr (for the story still endured that the city of the Elves was empty of its inhabitants when Eärendel came there); the greeting of Eärendel by Fionwë (now again the son of Manwë) as the Morning and Evening Star; the manning by the Teleri of the ships that bore the hosts of the West; and the sighting of the Silmaril in the sky by Maidros and Maglor and the people of the Outer Lands.

By subsequent emendation to Q II some further elements enter. To Tuor is ascribed a fate (note 3) hardly less astonishing than that of his cousin Túrin Turambar. Elrond's brother Elros appears (notes 4 and 9); and Maglor takes over Maidros' rôle as their saviour, and as the less ruthless and single-minded of the two brothers (note 10; see the commentary on §18). The addition in note 19 stating that the leader of the Gnomes who had never departed from Valinor was Ingwiel son of Ingwë is at first sight surprising: one would expect Finrod (> Finarfin), as in *The Silmarillion* (p. 251). I think however that this addition was imperfectly accommodated to the text: the meaning intended was that Ingwiel was the chief of the Quendi (the Light-elves, the Vanyar) among whom the Gnomes of Valinor marched.† In a revision to Q§2 (note 6) the

*The first appearance of this central idea is in a hasty pencilled note to Q I (note 1): 'Make *Eärendel* move the Gods.'

†In the final version of this passage my father noticed the (apparent) error, and changed *Ingwiel son of Ingwë* to *Finarfin son of Finwë* (hence the reading in *The Silmarillion*). The result is that whereas in Q II only the leader of the First Kindred is named, Ingwiel, in the final version only the leader of the Noldor of Valinor is named, Finarfin; but the one should not, I think, have replaced the other – rather both should have been named.

original text, saying that Ingwë never came back into the Outer Lands 'until these tales were near their end', was changed to a statement that he never returned. Ingwiel replaces Ingil son of Inwë of the *Lost Tales*, who built Ingil's Tower in Tol Eressëa (I. 16) after his return from the Great Lands.

As Q II was first written

> Eärendel was their guide [i.e. of the fleet of the hosts of Valinor]; but the Gods would not suffer him to return again,* and he built him a white tower upon the confines of the outer world in the Northern regions of the Sundering Seas, and there all the sea-birds of the earth at times repaired.

The Tower of Seabirds thus survives in the same place in the narrative as in S and Q, where Eärendel builds the tower after his fruitless visit to Kôr. At the end of this section in S Eärendel

> sails by the aid of [the seabirds'] wings even over the airs in search of Elwing, but is scorched by the Sun, and hunted from the sky by the Moon, and for a long while he wanders the sky as a fugitive star.

Virtually the same is said at the end of the section in Q I. In Q II, however, as first written, Elwing was with Eärendel at this time,† in the form of a bird, and it was she who devised wings for his ship, so that 'it was lifted even into the oceans of the air'.

In S and Q I Eärendel does not yet bear a Silmaril when he wanders the sky 'as a fugitive star' (for the Silmaril of Beren is drowned with the Nauglafring, and the others are still in the Iron Crown of Morgoth); whereas in Q II it is at this time that the Silmaril appears in the sky and gives hope to the people of the Outer Lands.

With the revision to Q II given in note 20 enters the idea that it was the Gods themselves who set Eärendel and his ship in the sky. It is now Elwing who builds the Tower of Seabirds, devising wings for herself in order to try to reach him, in vain; *and they are sundered till the end of the world*. This no doubt goes with the revision to Q II given in note 14: 'And he bade farewell to all whom he loved upon the last shore, and was taken from them for ever.'

In *The Silmarillion* the element of a small ship's company remains: the three mariners Falathar, Erellont, and Aerandir (p. 248). These, and Elwing, Eärendil refused to allow to set foot on the shore of Aman; but Elwing leapt into the sea and ran to him, saying: 'Then would our paths be sundered for ever.' There Eärendil and Elwing 'bade farewell to the companions of their voyage, and were taken from them for ever'; but

*Cf. the letter of 1967 cited in II. 265: '*Eärendil*, being in part descended from Men, was not allowed to set foot on Earth again.'

†It is not actually said in Q II that Elwing returned to Eärendel after being bidden by him to remain behind when he landed on 'the immortal shores' and went to Kôr; but it is evident that she did, from her having devised wings for his ship.

Elwing did not even so accompany Eärendil to Tirion. She sojourned among the Teleri of Alqualondë, and Eärendil came to her there after he had 'delivered the errand of the Two Kindreds' before the Valar; and they went then together to Valmar and heard Manwë's decree, and the choice of fate that was given to them and to their children,

A curious point arises in the account in Q II of the voyage of Eärendel and Elwing that brought them to the coaast of Valinor. Whereas in Q I it is said that Eärendel 'found again the Lonely Isle, and the Shadowy Seas', in Q II 'they came into the Shadowy Seas *and passed their shadows*; and they looked upon the Lonely Isle . . .' This suggests that the Shadowy Seas had become a region of the Great Sea lying to the east of Tol Eressëa; and the same idea seems to be present in §6 both in S and in Q, for it is said there that at the Hiding of Valinor 'the Magic Isles were . . . strung across the confines of the Shadowy Seas, *before the Lonely Isle is reached* sailing West'. Quite different is the account in the *Lost Tales*, where *'beyond Tol Eressëa* [lying west of the Magic Isles] is the misty wall and those great sea glooms beneath which lie the Shadowy Seas' (I. 125); and the Shadowy Seas extend to the coasts of the western land (I. 68). Conceivably, this development is related to the changed position of Tol Eressëa – anchored in the Bay of Faërie within far sight of the Mountains of Valinor, and not as in the *Lost Tales* in mid-Ocean: a change that entered the geography in S§3.

In emendations to Q II the Magic Isles become the Enchanted Isles (note 11; see II. 324–5) and the Bay of Faërie becomes the Bay of Elvenhome (note 12); also the name *Eárámë* of Tuor's ship becomes *Earrámë*, with the later interpretation 'Sea-wing' (note 2).

18

There are several interesting developments in the story of the Last Battle and its aftermath as told in the original Q I text of this section. The very brief account in S is here greatly expanded, and much of the final version appears, if still with many differences (notably the absence of Eärendel). That Morgoth had been bound long before by Tulkas in the chain Angainor now re-emerges from the *Lost Tales* (this feature is absent in Q§2; see pp. 71, 168).

The passage describing the rending of Beleriand survives almost unchanged in *The Silmarillion* (p. 252), which in fact adds nothing else. There is a notable statement (retained in Q II) that

> Men fled away, such as perished not in the ruin of those days, and long was it ere they came back over the mountains to where Beleriand once had been, and not till the tale of those days had faded to an echo seldom heard.

I do not know certainly what this refers to (see below, p. 200). Unhappily the evidence for the development of the conception of the

drowning of Beleriand is extremely scanty. Later, it was only a small region (Lindon) that remained above the sea west of the Blue Mountains; but this need not by any means yet have been the case. It is also said in Q (again retained in Q II) that

> there was a mighty building of ships on the shores of the Western Sea, and most upon the great isles, which in the disruption of the Northern world were fashioned of old Beleriand.

Of the size and number of these 'great isles' we are not told. On one of my father's sketchmaps made for *The Lord of the Rings* there is the island of Himling, i.e. the summit of the Hill of Himring, and also Tol Fuin, i.e. the highest part of Taur-na-Fuin (see *Unfinished Tales* pp. 13–14); and in *The Silmarillion* (p. 230) it is said that the stone of the Children of Húrin and the grave of Morwen above Cabed Naeramarth stands on Tol Morwen 'alone in the water beyond the new coasts that were made in the days of the wrath of the Valar'. But it seems obvious that my father was at this time imagining far larger islands than these, since it was on them that the great fleets were built at the end of the War of Wrath. Lúthien (> Leithien) as the land from which the Elves set sail, named in S §18 and explained as 'Britain or England', is not named in Q; but the words that follow in S: 'Thence they ever still from time to time set sail leaving the world ere they fade', are clearly reflected in Q:

> Yet not all returned, and some lingered many an age in the West and North, and especially in the Western Isles. Yet ever as the ages drew on and the Elf-folk faded on the Earth, they would still set sail at eve from our Western shores; as still they do, when now there linger few anywhere of the lonely companies.

The relation between these passages strongly suggests that the 'Western Isles' were the British Isles,* and that England still had a place in the actual mythological geography, as is explicitly so in S. In this connection the opening of *Ælfwine of England*, in the final text *Ælfwine II* (II.312–13), is interesting:

> There was a land called England, and it was an island of the West, and before it was broken in the warfare of the Gods it was westernmost of all the Northern lands, and looked upon the Great Sea that Men of old called Garsecg; but that part that was broken was called Ireland and many names besides, and its dwellers come not into these tales.
>
> All that land the Elves named Lúthien and do so yet. In Lúthien alone dwelt still the most part of the Fading Companies, the Holy Fairies that have not yet sailed away from the world, beyond the

*This may seem to be rendered less likely by the form of the passage in Q II, where the first sentence is expanded: 'and especially in the western isles *and the lands of Leithien*'. But I do not think that this phrase need be taken too precisely, and believe that the equation holds.

horizon of Men's knowledge, to the Lonely Island, or even to the Hill of Tûn upon the Bay of Faëry that washes the western shores of the kingdom of the Gods.

It is possible, as I suggested (II.323–4), that this passage refers to the cataclysm, and its aftermath, that is otherwise first mentioned in S §18. *Ælfwine II* cannot be dated, but *Ælfwine I* on which it was based was probably written in 1920 or not much later. It is also conceivable, if no more, that the meaning of the words in Q, that it was long before Men came back over the mountains to where Beleriand once had been, refers to the bloody invasions of England in later days described in *Ælfwine II*; for there is very little in that text that cannot be readily accommodated to the present passage in S and Q, with the picture of the fading Elves of Lúthien 'leaving our Western shores'.* But a serious difficulty with this idea lies in the coming of Men 'over the mountains' to where Beleriand once had been.

Certainly the most remarkable, even startling, feature of the aftermath of the Last Battle in Q (I) is the statement that when Fionwë marched through the lands summoning the Gnomes and the Dark-elves to leave the Outer Lands, the Men of the Houses of Hador and Bëor were 'suffered to depart, if they would'. But only Elrond was left; and of his choice, as Half-elven, the same is told as in S §17. The implications of this passage are puzzling. It is obvious that 'the race of Hador and Bëor' means those directly descended from Hador and Bëor; afterwards the conception of these Houses became much enlarged – they became clans. But since of the direct descendants only Elrond was left, what does this permission mean? Is it a (very curious) way of offering the choice of departure to the Half-elven, if he (they) wished? – because the Half-elven had only come into existence in the Houses of Hador and Bëor. But this seems too legalistic and contorted to be at all probable. Then does it imply that, if there had in fact been other descendants – if, for example, Gundor son of Hador had had children – they would have been permitted to depart? And what then? Would they have ended their days as mortal Men on Tol Eressëa? The permission seems very obscure on either interpretation; and it was removed from Q II. Nonetheless it represents, as I think, the first germ of the story of the departure of the survivors of the Elf-friends to Númenor.

*Two small likenesses may be noticed: in *Ælfwine II* the ships of the Elves weigh anchor from the western haven 'at eve' (II.315), as in Q; and with 'the lonely companies' of Q cf. 'the Fading Companies' of *Ælfwine II* in the passage cited above.

A further attractive deduction, that this was the origin of the haven of *Belerion* in *Ælfwine of England*, the western harbour 'whence the Elves at times set sail' (a survival of the old name *Beleriand* among the Men of later days when its original reference was forgotten, and 'the tale of those days had faded to an echo seldom heard'), cannot be sustained: for *Ælfwine II* was certainly written long before the earliest occurrences of *Beleriand* (rather than *Broseliand*).

The story of the fate of the Silmarils in Q I advances on S, and here reaches an interesting transitional stage between S and Q II, where the final resolution is achieved. Maidros remains as in S the less fiercely resolute of the two surviving sons of Fëanor in the fulfilment of the oath: in S it is Maglor alone who steals a Silmaril from Fionwë's keeping, and in Q I it is Maidros who is 'minded to submit', but is argued down by Maglor. In Q II the arguments remain, but the parts of Maidros and Maglor are reversed, just as in §17 (by later emendation to Q II, note 10) Maglor becomes the one who saved Elrond and Elros. In Q I both brothers go to steal the Silmarils from Fionwë, as in the final version of the legend; but, as in S, only Maglor carries his away – for in the new story Maidros is captured. Yet, whereas as in S only one of the two remaining Silmarils is consigned to the deep places by the act of one of the brothers (Maglor), and the other is retained by Fionwë and ultimately becomes Eärendel's star – Maidros playing, so far as can be seen, no further part in its fate, in Q I the burning of the unrighteous hand, and the realisation that the right of the sons of Fëanor to the Silmarils is now void, becomes that of Maidros; and, a prisoner of Fionwë, he slays himself, casting the Silmaril on the ground (and though the text of Q I does not go so far as this, the logic of the narrative must lead to the giving of this Silmaril to Eärendel, as in S). The emended version in S (notes 6 and 7), that Maglor casts his Silmaril into a fiery pit and thereafter wanders singing in sorrow by the sea (rather than that he casts himself also into the pit), is taken up into Q I.

In Q II the story has shifted again, to the final harmonious and symmetrical structure: the Silmaril of Beren is not lost, and becomes the star of Eärendel: both Maglor and Maidros take a Silmaril from the camp of Fionwë, and both cast them down into inaccessible places. Maidros still takes his own life, but does so by casting himself into the fiery pit – and this is a return to the original story of Maglor told in S. Maglor now casts his Silmaril into the sea – and thus the Silmarils of earth, sea, and sky are retained, but they are different Silmarils; for in the earlier versions it was one of those from the Iron Crown of Morgoth that became the Evening Star.

This extraordinarily complex but highly characteristic narrative evolution can perhaps be shown more clearly in a table:

S	Q I	Q II
The Silmaril of Beren is cast into the sea by Elwing and lost	As in S	The Silmaril of Beren is brought by Elwing to Eärendel on Wingelot; with it he goes to Valinor
	Maidros is minded to submit, but *Maglor* argues against him	*Maglor* is minded to submit, but *Maidros* argues against him

S	Q I	Q II
Maglor alone steals a Silmaril from Fionwë, and escapes	*Maidros* and *Maglor* together steal both Silmarils from Fionwë, but *Maidros* is captured	As in Q I, but both *Maidros* and *Maglor* are permitted to depart bearing the Silmarils
Maglor knows from the pain of the Silmaril that he no longer has a right to it	*Maidros* knows from the pain of the Silmaril that he no longer has a right to it	As in Q I
Maglor casts himself and the Silmaril into a fiery pit > He casts the Silmaril into a pit and wanders by the shores	*Maidros* casts his Silmaril on the ground and takes his life	*Maidros* casts himself and his Silmaril into a fiery pit
	Maglor casts his Silmaril into a fiery pit and wanders by the shores	*Maglor* casts his Silmaril into the sea and wanders by the shores
Maidros' Silmaril is adjudged by the Gods to Eärendel	[As in S, though this point not reached in Q I]	The Silmaril of Beren, never lost, is retained by Eärendel

We find still in both versions of Q, as in S, the statement that some of the returning Elves went beyond Tol Eressëa and dwelt in Valinor ('as all were free to do who willed', Q II) – and it is made clear in the Q texts that these included some of the exiled Noldoli, 'admitted to the love of Manwë and the pardon of the Gods'. Also retained in Q I (but not in Q II) is the statement that Tûn remained deserted, again without explanation given (see p. 72). But whereas in S Tol Eressëa was repeopled by 'the Gnomes and many of the Ilkorins and Teleri and Qendi', in the Q-texts Teleri and Quendi are not mentioned here, only Gnomes and Dark-elves ('especially such as had once belonged to Doriath', Q I).

In a hasty pencilled note to Q I (§17 note 1) there is a reference to some Men of Hithlum being repentant, and to the fulfilment of Ulmo's foretelling (i.e. 'without Men the Elves shall not prevail against the Orcs and Balrogs', §16): both by the valour of the Men of Hithlum, and by the embassy of Eärendel to the Valar. This is taken up into Q II in the present section, with the addition that many Men new come out of the East fought against Morgoth; but further revision (notes 2 and 3) altered this to say that most Men and especially these newcomers from the East fought on the side of the Enemy, and also that in addition to the repentant Men of Hithlum 'all that were left of the three Houses of the Fathers of Men fought for Fionwë'. This latter phrase indicates both that the house of Hador had now been divided (see the commentary on §9), and also that the houses of the Elf-friends are now enlarged, so that they are not restricted to those descendants of the Fathers who have been mentioned in the narrative. The strange permission of Fionwë to the Men of the houses of Hador and Bëor to depart into the West has disappeared in Q II.

Other developments in Q II are the failure of Morgoth to come forth at the end; the coming of the winged dragons, of which the greatest was Ancalagon the black; the slaying of Ancalagon by Eärendel descending out of the skies with countless birds about him; and the destruction of Thangorodrim by the fall of Ancalagon.

19

In this concluding section the narrative, almost entirely now in the Q II text only, returns again to Eärendel; and, very curiously, the scorching of him by the Sun and the hunting of him by the Moon, and his voyaging as 'a fugitive star', reappears *after* the Last Battle and overthrow of Morgoth; in S and Q this is said of his first uprising into the heavens, at the end of §17. It is only now that

> the Valar drew his white ship Wingelot over the land of Valinor, and they filled it with radiance and hallowed it, and launched it through the Door of Night.

It seems plain that in this account this act of the Valar was to protect Eärendel, by setting him to sail in the Void, above the courses of the Sun and Moon and stars (see the diagram in the *Ambarkanta*, p. 243), where also he could guard the Door against Morgoth's return. And in Q II Elwing was beside him in his journeys 'into the starless vast' (this being later struck out, note 6).

We have in fact already encountered, in the rewritten passage given in note 20 to §17 in Q II, the final story, that Wingelot was hallowed by the Gods and set in the heavens *before* the departure of the hosts of the West; but this postdates the writing of the conclusion of Q II. In this passage Elwing herself builds the Tower of Seabirds, devising wings in order to try to reach Eärendel, but they never meet again; and thus the element of the seabirds is removed from any direct association with Eärendel. In the account of the Last Battle in Q II §18 Eärendel descends out of the sky accompanied by 'a myriad of birds', but this of course belongs with the story in Q II §17 that it was Eärendel who built the Tower, and Elwing who devised wings for his ship. One might have expected that the birds that descended with Eärendel on Ancalagon the black would disappear in the later story, where it is the Valar who raise Wingelot, and the bird-wings by which it was formerly lifted up are rejected; but in the final version of the story of 'the last things' they are still present, and so in *The Silmarillion* (p. 252).

I give (p. 204) a table that may serve to show the development of the story of Eärendel and Elwing in these texts more clearly.

The final version of the story is further changed in that Elwing remained with Eärendel in Valinor; the Tower of Seabirds was built for her, and from it she would fly to meet Eärendel as his ship returned to Valinor (*The Silmarillion* p. 250).

S and Q	Q II	Revisions to Q II
Eärendel (with Bronweg) visits Kör fruitlessly, for the Elves have already gone (§17)	Eärendel (with Elwing, and bearing the Silmaril) goes to Valinor, and forbidding Elwing to accompany him further declares 'the embassy of the Two Kindreds' (§17)	Eärendel bids farewell to Elwing for ever on the shore of Valinor (§17 note 14)
He builds the Tower where all seabirds come (Q: and grieves for the loss of Elwing) (§17)	He guides the fleet out of the West; he builds the Tower of Seabirds, and Elwing is with him (§17)	Eärendel's ship is hallowed by the Valar and set in the sky (§17 note 20)
By birds' wings Wingelot is lifted into the sky (§17)	Elwing devises wings for Wingelot (§17)	Elwing builds the Tower and devises bird-wings for herself, but cannot reach Eärendel, and they are sundered for ever (§17 note 20)
He is scorched by the Sun and hunted by the Moon, and wanders as a fugitive star. He has no Silmaril. (§17)	He sails the sky bearing the Silmaril (?with Elwing), and the star is seen by the people of the Outer Lands (§17)	(Elwing is not with him)
	He descends from the sky to the Last Battle with countless birds about him, and slays Ancalagon (§18)	
After the Last Battle the Silmaril of Maidros is given to Eärendel and Elwing is restored to him; he sails into the Outer Dark with Elwing, bearing the Silmaril (§19) [The Q I text ends before this point is reached]	He is scorched by the Sun and hunted by the Moon, and sails as a fugitive star (§19)	
	His ship is hallowed by the Valar and launched through the Door of Night. Elwing is with him (§19)	(Elwing is not with him; §19 note 6)

Apart from the passage concerning Eärendel, Q II follows S (presumably now the immediate precursor) fairly closely, in its account of the belief that Morgoth comes back in secret from time to time, whereas others declare that it is Thû (> Sauron), who survived the Last Battle; and in the content of the prophecy of the Last Things – which is now given formal existence as 'the Prophecy of Mandos', which Mandos declared in Valmar at the judgement of the Gods. There are however certain changes and developments in the Prophecy: Morgoth when he returns will destroy the Sun and Moon (which must surely contain at least a reminiscence of the passage from the tale of *The Hiding of Valinor* cited on p. 73); Tulkas is now named as the chief antagonist of Melko in the final battle on the plains of Valinor, together with Fionwë and Túrin Turambar; Eärendel will yield up his Silmaril, and Fëanor will bear the Three to Yavanna to break them (in S they are to be broken by Maidros); and with the awakening of the Elves and the rising of their dead the purpose of Ilúvatar will be fulfilled concerning them. The appearance of Túrin at the end remains profoundly mysterious; and here it is said that the Prophecy names him among the Gods, which is clearly to be related to the passage in the old *Tale of Turambar* (II. 116), where it is said that Túrin and Nienor 'dwelt as shining Valar among the blessed ones', after they had passed through Fôs'Almir, the bath of flame. In changes to the text of Q II it is said that Túrin is named among 'the sons of the Gods', rather than among the Gods, and also that he comes 'from the halls of Mandos' to the final battle; about which I can say no more than that Túrin Turambar, though a mortal Man, did not go, as do the race of Men, to a fate beyond the world.

★

APPENDIX 1

Fragment of a translation of the Quenta Noldorinwa into Old English, made by Ælfwine or Eriol; together with Old English equivalents of Elvish names

There are extant fragments of Old English (Anglo-Saxon) versions of the *Annals of Valinor* (three), the *Annals of Beleriand*, and *Quenta Noldorinwa*. All begin at the beginning of the respective works and only one, a version of the *Annals of Valinor*, constitutes a substantial text. The Old English version of the *Quenta* which is given here had no title, but my father later inserted in pencil the title *Pennas*; cf. *Qenta Noldorinwa or Pennas-na-Ngoelaidh*, p. 77. In a brief detached list of Elvish names and words that belongs to this period occurs this entry:

Quenta story, tale (*quete-* 'say'). N[oldorin] *pent*.
pennas history (*quentassë*).

At this time *Eriol* and *Ælfwine* reappear together as the Elvish and English names of the mariner who came to Tol Eressëa and there translated various Elvish works into his own language: in the preamble to the *Annals of Valinor* (p. 263) he is 'Eriol of Leithien, that is Ælfwine of the Angelcynn', and in one of the Old English versions of these *Annals* the work is said (p. 281) to have been translated by 'Ælfwine, whom the Elves named Eriol'. (On the earlier relations of the two names see II.300–1.)

The Old English version of the *Quenta* is a very close equivalent of the Modern English text from its opening 'After the making of the World by the Allfather' to 'shadow is her realm and night her throne' (pp. 78–9), where the Old English ends. It is a manuscript in ink, obviously a first draft, with pencilled emendations (mostly small alterations of word-order and suchlike) which I take up into the text; the last paragraph is written in pencil, very rapidly. Acute accents on long vowels were put in rather sporadically and I have made the usage consistent, as with the Old English texts throughout.

Pennas

Æfter þám þe Ealfæder, se þe on elfisc Ilúuatar hátte, þás worolde geworhte, þá cómon manige þá mihtegostan gæstas þe mid him wunodon hire to stíeranne; for þon þe hí híe feorran ofsáwon fægre geworhte and hí lustfollodon on hire wlitignesse. þás gæstas nemdon þá Elfe *Valar*, þæt is þá Mægen, þe men oft siððan swáþéah nemdon Godu. Óþre gæstas manige hæfdon hí on hira folgoðe, ge máran ge læssan, 7 þára sume tealdon men sippan gedwollice mid þæm Elfum; ac híe lugon, for þám þe ær séo worold geworht wære hí wæron, 7 Elfe and Fíras (þæt sindon men) onwócon ærest on worolde æfter þára Valena cyme. Ealfæder ána geworhte Elfe and Fíras ond ægþerum gedælde hira ágene gifa; þý hátað hí woroldbearn oppe Ealfæderes bearn.

þara Valena ealdoras nigon wæron. þus hátað þá nigon godu on elfiscum gereorde swá swá þa elfe hit on Valinóre spræcon, þéah þe hira naman sind óþre 7 onhwerfede on nold-elfisc, and missenlice sind hira naman mid mannum.

Manwe wæs goda hláford, and winda and wedera wealdend and heofones stýrend. Mid him wunede to his geféran séo undéadlice héanessa hlæfdige, úprodera cwén, *Varda*

tunglawyrhte. Him se nyxta on mægene, and on fréondscipe se cúðesta, wæs *Ulmo* ágendfréa ealra wætera, se þe ána wunað on Útgársecge, 7 stýreð swáþéah eallum wǽgum 7 wæterum, éam 7 stréamum, wyllum ond æwelmum geond eorðan ymbhwyrfte. Him underþýded, þéah he him oft unhold bið, is *Osse*, se þe manna landa sǽm stýreð, 7 his geféra is *Uinen* merehlǽfdige. Hire feax líþ gesprǽdd geond ealle sǽ under heofenum.

On mægene wæs *Aule* Ulmo swíðost gelíc. He wæs smiþ and cræftiga, 7 *Yavanna* wæs his geféra, séo þe ofet and hærfest and ealle eorðan wæstmas lufode. Nyxt wæs héo on mægene þára Valacwéna Vardan. Swíþe wlítig wæs héo, and híe þá Elfe nemdon oft *Palúrien* þæt is 'eorþanscéat'.

Þá gebróþru *Mandos* 7 *Lórien* hátton *Fanturi*. *Nefantur* háteð se æresta, neoærna hláford, and wælcyriga, se þe samnode ofslægenra manna gǽstas. *Olofantur* háteð se óðer, swefna wyrhta 7 geðwimora; 7 his túnas on goda landum wǽron ealra stówa fægroste on worolde 7 wǽron gefylde mid manigum gǽstum wlitigum and mihtigum.

Ealra goda strengest 7 leoþucræftigost and foremærost ellendǽdum wæs *Tulkas*; þý háteð he éac þon *Poldórea* se ellenrófa (se dyhtiga); and he wæs Melkoes unwine and his wiþerbroca.

Orome wæs mihtig hláford and lýtle lǽssa maegenes þonne Tulkas sylf. Orome wæs hunta 7 tréowcynn lufode – þý hátte he *Aldaron*, 7 þá noldielfe hine *Tauros* nemdon, þæt is Wealdafréa – 7 him wǽron léofe hors and hundas. Húru he éode on huntoð þurh þá deorce land ǽr þám þe séo sunne wurde gýt atend /onǽled; swíþe hlúde wǽron his hornas, 7 swá béoð gíet on friðum and feldum þe Orome áh on Valinóre. *Vana* hátte his geféra, séo wæs gingra sweostor hira Vardan 7 Palúrienne, 7 séo fægernes ge heofenes ge eorðan bið on hire wlite and hire weorcum. Hire mihtigre swáþéah bið *Nienna*, séo þe mid Nefantur Mandos eardað. Mildheort bið héo, hire bið geómor sefa, murnende mód; sceadwa bið hire scír 7 hire þrymsetl þéostru.

NOTES

6 *Mægen* ('Powers') was emended to *Reg*. . (?*Regen* ?*Regin*). Old English *regn-* in compounds 'great, mighty', related to Old Norse *regin* 'Gods' (occurring in *Ragnarök*).

10 *Fíras* is an emendation of *Elde* (both are old poetic words for 'men'). At line 12 *Fíras* is written beside *Elde*, which was emended to *Ælde* (and *Elfe* apparently to *Ælfe*).

11 *Valena* genitive plural is an emendation from *Vala*; also in line 14.

23 *on Útgársecge*: *Út-gársecg* 'the Outer Seas'. *Gársecg*, one of many Old English names of the sea, is used frequently in *Ælfwine of England* of the Great Sea of the West (in one of the texts spelt *Garsedge* to represent the pronunciation).

35 *wælcyrige*: 'chooser of the slain (*wæl*)', the Old English equivalent of Old Norse *valkyrja* (Valkyrie).

49 *atend*, *onæled*: these words are alternatives, but neither is marked for rejection.

55 Cf. *Beowulf* lines 49–50: *him wæs geómor sefa, murnende mód* ('sad was their heart and mourning in their soul').

★

Associated with the Old English texts are several lists of Elvish names with Old English equivalents, some of which are of much interest for the light they cast on the meaning of Elvish names; though many are not in fact translations, as will be seen.

There is firstly a list of the Valar:

The chief gods are Fréan. ós (ése)

[O.E. *fréa* 'ruler, lord'; *ós* 'god' (in proper names as *Oswald*), with mutated vowel in the plural.]

Manwë is Wolcenfréa [O.E. *wolcen* 'sky'; cf. Modern English *welkin*.]

Ulmo is Gársecges fréa, & ealwæter-fréa [For *Gársecg* see note to line 23 of the O.E. *Quenta*. In that text Ulmo is called *ágendfréa ealra wætera* 'Lord of Waters' (literally 'owning lord of all waters').]

Aulë is Cræftfréa

Tulkas is Afoðfréa [O.E. *afoð, eafoð* 'might, strength'.]

Oromë is Wáðfréa and Huntena fréa [O.E. *wáð* 'hunting'; 'Hunting Lord and Lord of Hunters'. In the O.E. *Quenta* he is *Wealdafréa* 'Lord of Forests', translating *Tauros*.]

Mandos is Néfréa [O.E. *né(o)* 'corpse'; cf. *néocerna hláford* 'master of the houses of the dead' in the O.E. *Quenta*. On the Elvish name *Nefantur* see p. 166.]

Lórien is Swefnfréa [O.E. *swefn* 'dream'.]

Melko is Mánfréa, Bolgen, Malscor [O.E. *mán* 'evil, wickedness'; *bolgen* 'wrathful'. An O.E. verbal noun *malscrung* is recorded, with the meaning 'bewildering, bewitching'; see the Oxford English Dictionary s.v. *Masker* (verb), 'bewilder'.]

Ossë is Sæfréa

There are also several lists of Old English equivalents of Elvish names of persons and places, and since they all obviously belong to the same period I combine them and give them in alphabetical order:

Aldaron: Béaming [O.E. *béam* 'tree'.]

Amon Uilas: Sinsnáw, Sinsnæwen [O.E. *sin-* 'perpetual'; *snáw* 'snow', *snæwen* (not recorded) 'snowy'. *Amon Uilas* appears in the *Quenta*, p. 81 note 2.]

Ancalagon: Anddraca [O.E. *and-* as the first element in compounds denotes opposition, negation (*anda* 'enmity, hatred, envy'); *draca* 'dragon' (see II.350).]

Angband: Engbend, Irenhell [*Engbend* contains O.E. *enge* 'narrow, strait, oppressive, cruel' and *bend* 'bond, fetter'; it is thus not a translation but a word-play between the two languages.]

Asgar: Bæning [This river, *Ascar* in Q as in *The Silmarillion*, is also *Asgar* in the *Annals of Beleriand* (p. 307). I cannot interpret *Bæning*. If a derivative of O.E. *bán* 'bone' (cf. *bænen* 'of bone') it might have some meaning like 'the place (i.e. the river) filled with bones', with reference to the Dwarves who were drowned in the river at the battle of the Stony Ford; but this does not seem at all probable.]

Balrog: Bealuwearg, Bealubróga [O.E. *bealu* 'evil', cf. Modern English *bale(ful)*; *wearg* 'felon, outlaw, accursed being' (Old Norse *vargr* 'wolf, outlaw', whence the *Wargs*); *bróga* 'terror'. These O.E. names are thus like *Engbend* ingenious sound-correspondences contrived from O.E. words.]

Bansil: Béansíl, Béansigel [The second element is O.E. *sigel* 'sun, jewel' (cf. J. R. R. Tolkien, *Sigelwara land*, in *Medium Ævum III*, June 1934, p. 106); the first is presumably *béam* 'tree'. This is another case where Ælfwine used Old English words to give a likeness of sound (with of course a suitable meaning), rather than a translation. – In the Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin Bansil* is translated 'Fair-gleam', II.214.]

Baragund, Barahir: Beadohun, Beadomær [O.E. *beadu* 'battle'.]

Bauglir: Bróga [O.E. *bróga* 'terror'.]

Beleg: Finboga [O.E. *boga* 'bow'.]

Belegar: Ingársecg, Westsæ, Wídsæ [The Gnomish name of the Great Sea has not yet appeared in the texts. *Ingársecg* = *Gársecg*; *Útgársecg* is the Outer Sea (see note to line 23 of the O.E. *Quenta*).]

Belegost: Micelburg ['Great fortress', the original meaning (see II.336).]

Blodrin Ban's son: Blodwine Banan sunu [*Blodwine* presumably contains O.E. *blód* 'blood'; while *bana* is 'slayer'.]

Doriath: Éaland, Folgen(fold), Infolde, Wudumæraland [O.E. *éaland*, land by water or by a river – doubtless with reference to the rivers Sirion and Esgalduin. *Folgen(fold)*: O.E. *folgen* is the past participle of *féolan* 'penetrate, make one's way, get to', but the cognate verbs in Gothic and Old Norse have the meaning 'hide', and it may be that *folgen* is here given the sense of Old Norse *fólginn* 'hidden', i.e. 'the hidden (land)'. Gondolin is called *Folgenburg*. *Infolde*, a word not recorded, perhaps has some meaning like 'the inner land', 'the land within'. *Wudumæraland* no doubt contains *mære* 'boundary, border'.]

Dor-lómen: Wómanland [See *Ered-lómen*.]

Drengist: Narufléot [*Drengist* has not yet appeared in the texts. O.E. *nearu* 'narrow', *fléot* 'arm of the sea, estuary, firth'.]

Ered-lómen: Wómanbeorgas [O.E. *wóma* 'sound, noise', *beorg* 'mountain'; sc. the Echoing Mountains, and similarly *Wómanland* for Dor-lómen, Land of Echoes. This is the later etymology of these names; see pp. 192–3.]

Gelion: Glæden [*Gelion* appears by emendation of *Flend* in the *Quenta* §14. O.E. *glædene* 'iris, gladdon', as in the Gladden Fields and Gladden River in *The Lord of the Rings*.]

Gondolin: Stángaldor(burg), Folgenburg, Galdorfæsten [O.E. *stán* 'stone'; *galdor* 'spell, enchantment'; *fæsten* 'fastness, fortress'. For *Folgenburg* (? 'the hidden city') see *Doriath*.]

Hithlum: Hasuglóm, Hasuland (Hasulendingas) [O.E. *hasu* 'grey'; *glóm* 'gloaming, twilight'. *Hasulendingas* 'the people of Hasuland'.]

Laurelin: Gleng(g)old [O.E. *gleng* 'ornament, splendour'; *Glengold* is not a translation but a sound-imitation of *Glingol* ('Singing-gold', II.216.]

Mithrim: Mistrand, Mistóra [O.E. *óra* 'bank, shore', and *rand* of the same meaning.]

Nargothrond: Hlýdingaburg, Stángaldor(burg) [*Hlýdingaburg* is

the city of the *Hlýdingas*, the people of Narog (*Hlýda*). *Stángaldor (burg)* is also given as an O.E. name for Gondolin.]

Narog: Hlýda [*Hlýda* 'the loud one' (O.E. *hlúd* 'loud'; see III. 87–8).]

Silmaril: Sigel, Sigelmærels [For *sigel* see *Bansil* above. O.E. *mærels* 'rope'; *Sigelmærels* is another case of imitation – but it refers to the Necklace of the Dwarves.]

Sirion: Fléot (Fléwet), Scírwendel [*Fléot* must here have the meaning 'river', which is scarcely evidenced in Old English, though it is the general meaning of the word in cognate languages (cf. *Drengist* above). *Scírwendel*: O.E. *scír* 'bright'; *wendel* does not occur, but certainly refers to the windings of a river's course – cf. *Withywindle*, the river in the Old Forest, concerning which my father noted: '*-windle* does not actually occur (*Withywindle* was modelled on *withywind*, a name of the convolvulus or bindweed)' (*Guide to the Names in The Lord of the Rings*, in *A Tolkien Compass*, p. 196).]

Taur-na-Danion: Furhweald [In an addition to the *Quenta* §9 (note 1) *Taur Danin* is given as the former name of Taur-na-Fuin, when it was still 'wholesome, if thick and dark'; *Taur-na-Danion* here was changed to *Taur-na-Donion*, precursor of *Dorthonion* 'Land of Pines'. O.E. *furh* 'fir, pine', *weald* 'forest'.]

Taur-na-Fuin: Nihtsceadu, Nihtsceadwesweald, Atol Nihtegesa, Nihthelm unfæle [O.E. *sceadu* 'shadow'; *weald* 'forest'; *atol* 'dire, terrible'; *egesa* 'terror'; *niht-helm* 'cover of night', a poetic compound found in *Beowulf* and other poems; *unfæle* 'evil'. Cf. the Modern English translation, found in the long Lays and in the *Quenta*, 'Forest of Deadly Nightshade'.]

Tindbrenting þe þa Brega Taniquetil nemnað ['Tindbrenting which the Valar name Taniquetil': see III. 127, and for *Brega* see *Vala*.]

Vala: Bregu [O.E. *bregu* 'ruler, lord', plural (unrecorded) *brega*. Two other words were added to the list: *Mægen* 'Powers', which is used in the O.E. *Quenta* line 6, and *Ése* (see p. 208).]

Valinor: Breguland, Godéðel [O.E. *éðel* 'country, native land'.]

Valmar: Godaburg, Bregubold [O.E. *bold* 'dwelling'.]

Another page gives Old English equivalents of the names of the Kindreds of the Elves, and of the princes of the Noldoli arranged in a genealogical table. This page is headed:

Fíras. Includes both Men and Elves.

This contradicts the use of *Fíras* in the O.E. *Quenta*, where it appears as an emendation of *Elde* (lines 10 and 12), used in distinction to *Elfe*.

Then follows:

Fíra bearn

§1. Þæt eldre cyn: *Elfe* oþþe *Wine*

1. *Ingwine*: *lyftelfe*, *héahelfe*, *hwítelfe*, *Líxend*. *Godwine*
2. *Éadwine*: *goldelfe*, *eorðelfe*, *déopelfe*, *Rǽdend*. *Finningas*
3. *Sǽwine*: *sǽelfe*, *mereþyssan*, *flotwine*, *Nówend*. *Elwingas*

Wine can only be O.E. *wine* (old plural *wine*) 'friend' (a word used of equals, of superiors, and of inferiors); but its use here as a general term equivalent to *Elfe* is curious.

Of the names given to the First Kindred, *lyftelfe* contains O.E. *lyft* 'sky, air'; *Líxend* 'Shining Ones'. The Second Kindred: *Éad-* in the context of the Noldoli is in no doubt to be interpreted 'riches'. I am not sure of the meaning of *Rǽdend*, though it clearly refers to the knowledge and desire for knowledge of the Noldoli in some aspect. *Finningas* 'the people of Finn' (*Ing* and *Finn* as the Gnomish forms of Ingwë and Finwë were still found in Q §2, though removed by later changes to the text). The Third Kindred: O.E. *mereþyssa* 'sea-rusher' (used in recorded O.E. poetry of ships); *flotwine* contains O.E. *flot* 'sea'; *Nówend* 'mariners, shipmasters'.

In the genealogical table that follows Fëanor is given the Old English name *Finbrós Gimwyrhta* ('Jewel-wright'); since his sons are here called *Brósingas* (from *Brósinga mene* 'the necklace of the Brósings' in *Beowulf*, line 1199) *-brós* is presumably a back-formation from *Brósingas*. They are also called *Yrfeloran*: an unrecorded compound, 'those bereft of their inheritance', the Dispossessed. The *Brósingas* or sons of Fëanor are given thus:

1. *Dægred Winsterhand* [O.E. *dægred* 'daybreak, dawn'; *winsterhand* 'left-handed' (for the right hand of Maidros was cut off in his rescue from Thangorodrim, Q §8). I can cast no light on the O.E. equivalent *Dægred* for Maidros, unless an extremely late note on Maidros (Maedhros) is relevant (for ideas long buried so far as written record goes might emerge again many years later): according to this he inherited 'the rare red-brown hair of Nerdanel's kin' (Nerdanel was the wife of Fëanor, *The Silmarillion* p. 64), and was called 'by his brothers and other kin' *Russandol* 'copper-top'.]
2. *Dægmund Swinsere* [I cannot explain *Dægmund* for Maglor. O.E. *mund* is 'hand', also 'protection'; *swinsere* (not recorded) 'musician, singer' (cf. *swinsian* 'make music').]

3. *Cynegrim Fægerfeax* [Celegorm 'Fairfax', i.e. fair-haired. *Cynegrim* is probably the substitution of an O.E. name with some similarity of sound.]

4. *Cyrefinn Fácensearo* [Curufin the Crafty. O.E. *cyre* 'choice'; *fácen* 'deceit, guile, wickedness' (a word of wholly bad meaning); *searu* 'skill, cunning' (also with bad meaning, 'plot, snare, treachery'); *fácensearu* 'treachery'.]

5. *Colþegn Nihthelm* [Cranthir the Dark. O.E. *col* 'coal'; for *nihthelm* see under *Taur-na-Fuin* above.]

6. *Déormód*
7. *Tírgeld* } *huntan* [Damrod and Díriel the hunters. O.E. *déormód* 'brave-hearted'; *tír* 'glory'; *-geld* (*-gild*) in names, 'of worth'.]

Fingolfin appears as *Fingold Fengel* (O.E. *fengel* 'king, prince'; cf. III. 145), and his sons are *Finbrand* (i.e. Finweg/Fingon) and *Finstán* (i.e. Turgon); the element *stán* 'stone' presumably showing that *-gon* in *Turgon* is *gond* (*gonn*) 'stone', see I. 254. Fingolfin's daughter is *Finhwít* (i.e. Isfin), and Eöl is *Éor*; Meglin is *Mánfrið* (an unrecorded compound of *mán* 'evil deed, wickedness' and *frið* 'peace').

Finbrand (i.e. Finweg/Fingon) here has a son, *Fingár*; and the daughter of *Finstán* (i.e. Turgon) is *Ideshild Silfrenfót* (i.e. Idril Celebrindal).

Finrod (i.e. the later Finarfin) is called *Finred Felanóþ* (*felanóþ* 'very bold'), and his sons are *Ingláf Felahrór* (i.e. Felagund; *felahrór* has the same meaning as *felanóþ*), *Ordred* (i.e. Orodreth), *Angel* (i.e. Angrod), and *Eangrim* (i.e. Egnor).

Ordred (i.e. Orodreth) has two sons, *Ordhelm* and *Ordláf*; his daughter is *Friþuswíþ Fealuléome* (i.e. Finduilas Failivrin; *fealuléome* perhaps 'golden light').

Lastly, there is a fourth child of Finwë given in this table: *Finrún Felageómor* (*felageómor* 'very sorrowful').

The name given to Felagund, *Ingláf Felahrór*, is notable; for *Felagund* was to become his 'nickname', and his true name *Inglor* (as it remained until replaced long afterwards by Finrod, when the original Finrod became Finarfin); see p. 341.

★

APPENDIX 2

The Horns of Ylmir

This poem is unquestionably that referred to in the *Quenta*, p. 142: 'the might and majesty of that vision is told of in the song of Tuor that he made for his son Eärendel.' It is extant in three versions and five texts.

The first version, found only in one manuscript, consists of 40 lines, beginning:

I sat on the ruined margin of the deep-voiced echoing sea

and ending:

and I wake to silent caverns, and empty sands, and peace

(lines 15 and 66 in the text given below). To the manuscript in ink my father added in pencil the title *The Tides*, together with the notes *Dec. 4 1914* and *On the Cornish Coast*. For his visit to the Lizard Peninsula in Cornwall in the summer of 1914 see Humphrey Carpenter, *Biography*, pp. 70–1. But although I have found nothing earlier than this text it is clear from my father's notes to subsequent versions that he remembered the origin of the poem to be earlier than that time.

The second version bears the title *Sea Chant of an Elder Day* (and Old English *Fyrndaga Sæléoþ*), and is extant in two manuscripts which differ only in small details. The second has some minor emendations, and the date: *Mar. 1915 < Dec. 1914 < 1912*, also *Essay Club* [of Exeter College, Oxford] *March 1915*. This version begins:

In a dim and perilous region, down whose great tempestuous ways
I heard no sound of men's voices; in those eldest of the days,
I sat on the ruined margin of the deep-voiced echoing sea . . .

(i.e. it begins at line 13 in the text, p. 216) and contains two further lines after 'and empty sands, and peace' (where *The Tides* ends):

In a lovely sunlit region down whose old chaotic ways
Yet no sound of men's voices echoed in those eldest of all days.

It is from this version, not that of 1914, that Humphrey Carpenter cites the first six lines (*ibid.* pp. 73–4). The *Sea Chant* differs from *The Tides* both by extension (it has 50 lines as against 40) and in the reconstruction of many verses.

Against the second text of the *Sea Chant* my father wrote in pencil:

This is the song that Tuor told to Eärendel his son what time the Exiles of Gondolin dwelt awhile in Dor Tathrin the Land of Willows after the burning of their city. Now Tuor was the first of Men to see the Great Sea, but guided by Ulmo towards Gondolin he had left the shores of the Ocean and passing through the Land of Willows became enamoured of its loveliness, forgetting both his quest and his former love of the sea. Now Ulmo lord of Vai coming in his deep-sea car sat at twilight in the reeds of Sirion and played to him on his magic flute of

hollow shells. Thereafter did Tuor hunger ever after the sea and had no peace in his heart did he dwell in pleasant inland places.*

This very evidently belongs with the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* (see especially II. 153–6), and was no doubt added at the time of the composition of the tale (and of the third version of the poem), since the *Sea Chant* has no point of contact with the Tuor legend, nor indeed with any feature of the mythology.

The third version, entitled *The Horns of Ulmo*, is extant in a manuscript and in a typescript taken directly from it, and it is only now that the references to Ulmo and Ossë (and to the rending of the Earth by the Gods in the primeval darkness) appear in the poem. A note on the MS, written at the same time as the poem, reads:

1910–11–12 rewr[itten] & recast often. Present shape due to rewriting and adding introd[uction] & ending in a lonely house near Roos, Holderness (Thistle Bridge Camp) Spring 1917

(For Roos see Humphrey Carpenter, *Biography*, p. 97.) A further pencilled note adds: 'poem to "The Fall of Gondolin".'

Thus the absorption of the poem into the legend of Tuor and Eärendel took place at much the same time as the writing of the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* (see I. 203, II. 146); it should have been given in *The Book of Lost Tales Part II*.

A few small emendations were made to the MS of *The Horns of Ulmo*, notably *Ulmo* > *Ylmir* (the latter being the Gnomish form, found in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* and in the 'Sketch'), and the second reference to Ossë (lines 41–2, replacing two earlier verses). The typescript is essentially the same as the manuscript (with the words 'from "The Fall of Gondolin"' added beneath the title), but it has some small alterations made in red ball-point pen, which therefore belong to a much later time. These late changes are not incorporated in the text given here, but are given in notes following the poem.

The Horns of Ylmir
from
'The Fall of Gondolin'

'Tuor recalleth in a song sung to his son Eärendel
the visions that Ylmir's conches once called before
him in the twilight in the Land of Willows.'

**Dor Tathrin* occurs in the Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin*, II. 346, and Ulmo's 'deep-sea car' in the tale of *The Chaining of Melko*, I. 101.

'Twas in the Land of Willows where the grass is long and green –
I was fingering my harp-strings, for a wind had crept unseen
And was speaking in the tree-tops, while the voices of the reeds
Were whispering reedy whispers as the sunset touched the meads,
Inland musics subtly magic that those reeds alone could weave –
'Twas in the Land of Willows that once Ylmir came at eve.

In the twilight by the river on a hollow thing of shell
He made immortal music, till my heart beneath his spell
Was broken in the twilight, and the meadows faded dim
To great grey waters heaving round the rocks where sea-birds swim.

I heard them wailing round me where the black cliffs towered high
And the old primeval starlight flickered palely in the sky.
In that dim and perilous region in whose great tempestuous ways
I heard no sound of men's voices, in those eldest of the days,
I sat on the ruined margin of the deep-voiced echoing sea
Whose roaring foaming music crashed in endless cadency
On the land besieged for ever in an aeon of assaults
And torn in towers and pinnacles and caverned in great vaults;
And its arches shook with thunder and its feet were piled with shapes
Riven in old sea-warfare from those crags and sable capes.

Lo! I heard the embattled tempest roaring up behind the tide
When the trumpet of the first winds sounded, and the grey sea sang and cried
As a new white wrath woke in him, and his armies rose to war
And swept in billowed cavalry toward the walled and moveless shore.
There the windy-bannered fortress of those high and virgin coasts
Flung back the first thin feelers of the elder tidal hosts;
Flung back the restless streamers that like arms of a tentacled thing
Coiling and creeping onward did rustle and suck and cling.
Then a sigh arose and a murmuring in that stealthy-whispering van,
While, behind, the torrents gathered and the leaping billows ran,
Till the foam-haired water-horses in green rolling volumes came –
A mad tide trampling landward – and their war-song burst to flame.

Huge heads were tossed in anger and their crests were towers of froth
And the song the great seas were singing was a song of unplumbed wrath,
For through that giant welter Ossë's trumpets fiercely blew,
That the voices of the flood yet deeper and the High Wind louder grew;
Deep hollows hummed and fluted as they sucked the sea-winds in;
Spumes and great white spoutings yelled shrilly o'er the din;
Gales blew the bitter tresses of the sea in the land's dark face
And wild airs thick with spindrift fled on a whirling race
From battle unto battle, till the power of all the seas

Gathered like one mountain about Ossë's awful knees,
And a dome of shouting water smote those dripping black facades
And its catastrophic fountains smashed in deafening cascades.

* * *

Then the immeasurable hymn of Ocean I heard as it rose and fell
To its organ whose stops were the piping of gulls and the thunderous swell;
Heard the burden of the waters and the singing of the waves
Whose voices came on for ever and went rolling to the caves,
Where an endless fugue of echoes splashed against wet stone
And arose and mingled in unison into a murmuring drone –
'Twas a music of uttermost deepness that stirred in the profound,
And all the voices of all oceans were gathered to that sound;
'Twas Ylmir, Lord of Waters, with all-stilling hand that made
Unconquerable harmonies, that the roaring sea obeyed,
That its waters poured off and Earth heaved her glistening shoulders again
Naked up into the airs and the cloudrifts and sea-going rain,
Till the suck and suck of green eddies and the slap of ripples was all
That reached to mine isléd stone, save the old unearthly call
Of sea-birds long-forgotten and the grating of ancient wings.

Thus murmurous slumber took me mid those far-off eldest things
(In a lonely twilit region down whose old chaotic ways
I heard no sound of men's voices, in those eldest of the days
When the world reeled in the tumult as the Great Gods tore the Earth
In the darkness, in the tempest of the cycles ere our birth),
Till the tides went out, and the Wind died, and did all sea musics cease
And I woke to silent caverns and empty sands and peace.

Then the magic drifted from me and that music loosed its bands –
Far, far-off, conches calling – lo! I stood in the sweet lands,
And the meadows were about me where the weeping willows grew,
Where the long grass stirred beside me, and my feet were drenched with dew.
Only the reeds were rustling, but a mist lay on the streams
Like a sea-roke drawn far inland, like a shred of salt sea-dreams.
'Twas in the Land of Willows that I heard th'unfathomed breath
Of the Horns of Ylmir calling – and shall hear them till my death.

NOTES

The following are the late changes made to the typescript, referred to on p. 215:

1 and 6 *'Twas* to *It was*

16 The line changed to: *Whose endless roaring music crashed in foaming harmony*, and marked with an X

21 *roaring* to *rolling*

28 The line marked with an X, probably primarily on account of the use of *did* (cf. III.153)

65 The line changed to: *Till the tides went out, and the Wind ceased, and all sea musics died* (but this destroys the rhyme).

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72 'sea-roke': *roke* is a medieval English word surviving until recent times in dialect meaning 'mist, fog, drizzling rain'.

IV
THE FIRST 'SILMARILLION' MAP

This map was made on a sheet of examination paper from the University of Leeds (as was most of the A-text of the *Lay of the Children of Hurin*, III.4), which suggests that it originated in association with the Lay, or perhaps rather with the 'Sketch of the Mythology' which was written to accompany it (p. 11). On the other hand, some names which seem to belong with the first making of the map do not appear in the texts before the *Quenta*. Though it was not drawn initially in a way that would suggest that my father intended it to endure, it was his working map for several years, and it was much handled and much altered. Names were emended and places re-sited; the writing is in red ink, black ink, green ink, pencil, and blue crayon, often overlaying each other. Lines representing contours and others representing streams tangle with lines for redirection and lines cancelling other lines. But it is striking that the river-courses as drawn on this first map were scarcely changed at all afterwards.

Associated with the map are two supplementary sheets, giving an Eastern and a Western extension to the main or central map; these are reproduced and annotated subsequently (pp. 227ff.). The main map is on a single sheet but is here reproduced in two halves, Northern and Southern. Names in red ink all seem to belong to the original 'layer' of names, as do some (e.g. *Huan, Mavwin, Turgon*) of those in black ink; but *Taiglin*, *Geleidhian*, in red, do not otherwise occur before the *Quenta*. Those in green ink are few: *Broseliand*; *Gnomes* on the Northern half beside Gondolin, and on the Southern half beside Nargothrond; and *Wandering Gnomes* in the South-east.

In the following alphabetically-ordered list I take each half in turn* and comment on almost every item, noticing especially where the name in question first appears in the narrative texts.

The Northern Half of the Map

Aglon, Gorge of The name itself is a hasty later addition. The Gorge of Aglon first occurs in the *Lay of Leithian* (lines 2062, 2995, passages composed in 1928). In the Lay and in Q (§§9, 10) the Gorge is the

*The list of names for the northern half includes names as far south as the fold in the original map, which can be seen in the reproductions; thus *Ginglith*, *Esgalduin*, *Thousand Caves* appear in the first list, but *Doriath beyond Sirion*, *Aros* in the second.

dwelling of the Sons of Fëanor, who are placed on the map to the North of it (and circled with an arrow directing to the East).

Angband The placing of Angband in relation to Thangorodrim shows how my father saw them at the time of the long Lays and the 'Sketch'. In the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (lines 712–14) the 'hopeless halls of Hell' are

> wrought at the roots of the roaring cliffs
> of Thangorodrim's thunderous mountain.

In the *Lay of Leithian* (lines 3526ff.) Angband's gate seems clearly to lie beneath Thangorodrim; and in S (§8) Thangorodrim is 'the highest of the Iron Mountains around Morgoth's fortress'. See further the commentary on the *Ambarkanta*, p. 260.

Angeryd The Iron Mountains. Cf. *Angorodin* in the *Tale of Turambar* (II. 77).

Angrin Aiglir *Aiglir Angrin* occurs twice in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (lines 711, 1055), emended later to *Eiglir Engrin* (in *The Silmarillion Ered Engrin*).

Aryador This name reappears, rather surprisingly, from the *Lost Tales*, as a third name of Hithlum. In the tale of *The Coming of the Elves* (I. 119) Aryador is said to be the name among Men for Hisilómë; see also I. 249.

Battle of Unnumbered Tears The Mound of Slain is placed in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (lines 1439 ff.) 'at the furthest end of Dor-na-Fauglith's dusty spaces' (Flinding and Túrin were wandering westward, line 1436); cf. also Q§11 'Finweg and Turgon and the Men of Hithlum were gathered in the West upon the borders of the Thirsty Plain.'

Beleg and Túrin These names mark the north march of Doriath, where Beleg and Túrin fought together against the Orcs, an element that first entered the story in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (see III. 27).

Cristhorn Placed in the mountains north (not as originally south) of Gondolin, as already in the fragment of the alliterative *Lay of Eärendel* (III. 143).

Deadly Nightshade, Forest of See *Taur-na-Fuin*.

Dorlómin See *Hithlum*.

Dor-na-Fauglith This name arose during the composition of the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (see III. 55), where also *the Thirsty Plain* is found. On the map this is an emendation of *The Black Plain*.

Dwarf-road to Belegost and Nogrod in the South It is interesting that the Dwarf-road is shown as leading all the way from Nogrod and

Belegost in the far South to the very doors of the Thousand Caves. It is possible, if not very likely, that the 'Dwarf-road' on the map merely indicates the path that the Dwarves did in fact take when summoned to Doriath, rather than a beaten track.

Eredwethion A later replacement of *Eryd Lómin*, as also in Q II §15 (note 1).

Eryd Lómin This name occurs in the caption to the painting of Tol Sirion of July 1928, where, as on the map and in Q II §15, it refers to the Shadowy Mountains; see pp. 192–3.

Esgalduin First found in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III.93). It is said in Q (§9) that it 'came out of secret wells in Taur-na-Fuin'; see *Shadowy Spring*. The course of Esgalduin was not afterwards changed.

Ginglith First occurs in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III.88). Its course was never changed.

Gondolin Placed as it was to remain. The lines running south and west from the Encircling Mountains perhaps represent the hidden 'Way of Escape'.

Hithlum Obviously Hithlum was not intended to extend south of the Shadowy Mountains, despite the placing of the M. The contour lines show that the Mountains of Mithrim did not yet exist. *Dorlómin* is given as an alternative name, as it is in S and Q (§8), where Lake Mithrim is placed in Hisilómë/Hithlum/Dorlómin; on the map *Mithrim* is simply and solely the name of the lake (cf. III. 103).

Huan That a territory, south and east of Ivrin, is assigned to Huan shows a very early stage in the legend of Beren and Lúthien, when Huan was independent of any master (see III. 244).

Isle of the Werewolves The Isle first appears in the *Lay of Leithian* in a passage written in March 1928 (see III.234). Originally marked on the map S.W. of Gondolin, and with the river Sirion dividing quite broadly and enclosing a large island, this site was struck out, and an arrow directs from here to a more northerly position, not far south of the battlefield of Unnumbered Tears. The later map brought it somewhat southward again.

Ivrin, Lake First occurs in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (line 1526); it is placed on the map in the position that I think is indicated in the Lay (see III. 87), and where it remained.

Land of Dread Occurs twice in the *Lay of Leithian* (lines 49, 383) of the realm of Morgoth.

Mavwin It is curious that the map retains the old name, which goes back to the *Tale of Turambar*, for *Morwen* is found already in the

second version of the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III.94) and in S. In S (§9) Húrin and Morwen 'lived in the woods on the borders of Hithlum'.

Mindeb First occurs in the *Lay of Leithian*, line 2924 (April 1928).

Mithrim, Lake See *Hithlum*.

Mountains of Iron See *Angeryd, Angrin Aiglir*.

Nan Dun-Gorthin As the map was originally drawn this was placed west of Sirion, S.W. of Gondolin and very close to the Isle of the Werewolves (as that was originally placed). This cannot be the same placing as in the *Lay of the Fall of Gondolin* (III.148), where the hidden door of Gondolin was actually 'in dark Dungorthin'.

Subsequently *Nan-Dungorthin* was struck out and the name written again further north, still west of Sirion, but close beneath the Shadowy Mountains. This position is clearly that of the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, where Túrin and Flinding passed the site of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, crossed Sirion not far from his source, and came to 'the roots . . . of the Shadowy Mountains', where they entered the valley of Nan Dungorthin (see III. 59, 87).

Later again, an arrow was drawn moving Nan Dungorthin to a position east of Sirion and north of Doriath, and so more or less into the position of Nan Dungorthin (Nan Dungortheb) on the later map.

Orcs' Road of Haste Cf. S §12: 'the Orc-road . . . which the Orcs use when in need of haste.'

Shadowy Mountains First occurs in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (see III. 29). See *Eryd Lómin*.

Shadowy Spring It is notable that the rivers Aros and Esgalduin arise at the same place, in the *Shadowy Spring* (not previously named in the texts; see *Esgalduin*). In the later map, on which mine in the published *Silmarillion* was based, this is still the case, and my map, showing the two sources as separate, is regrettably in error.

Silver Bowl Shown in the Taiglin itself (not as later in the tributary stream Celebros), as in the *Tale of Turambar* and still in S and Q (§13).

Sirion The course of the river was never changed; in the later map my father followed the earlier precisely.

Sirion's Well This is referred to in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (line 1460). Its site remained unchanged.

Sons of Fëanor See *Aglon*.

Taiglin This looks like an original element on the map, although the name does not otherwise occur until the *Quenta*, §13 (see p. 185).

Taur-na-Fuin This name (for *Taur Fuin* of the *Lost Tales*) and its translation *Deadly Nightshade* first occur in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III. 55).

Thangorodrim See *Angband*.

Thimbalt This name occurs nowhere else. It is not clear from the map what it represents, but since an area marked out by dots surrounds Angband, and a similar area surrounds Thimbalt, it seems likely that this was another fortress. Thimbalt was struck out in pencil.

Thirsty Plain See *Dor-na-Fauglith*. *Thirsty* is an emendation in black ink of *Black* in red ink.

Thousand Caves First occurs in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*. It is here placed as it was to remain, where Esgalduin bends westward towards Sirion.

Woodmen of Turambar This is the second and later placing of the Woodmen on the map; see notes on the southern half.

The Southern Half of the Map

Aros, River *Aros* has only been named hitherto in the *Tale of the Nauglafring*, where after the sack of Artanor (Doriath) the Dwarves journeying thence to their homes in the South (II.225) had to pass the 'fierce stream' Aros at Sarnathrod, the Stony Ford (II.236). It is also said in the same place that Aros, nearer to its spring, ran past the doors of the Caves of the Rodothlim, though against this my father later noted (II.244 note 15) 'No [?that] is Narog'; while in the *Tale of Turambar* it is said (II.81) that the Caves were above a stream that 'ran down to feed the river Sirion'. I am not sure how to interpret this. If it is assumed that the Stony Ford in the *Tale of the Nauglafring* was on the (later) Aros, then the Caves of the Rodothlim were on that river also, which is most improbable. On the other hand, if Aros was simply the earlier name of Narog, the question arises why the Dwarves fleeing out of Artanor should have been going in this direction.

On the whole I am inclined to think that the phrase in the *Tale of the Nauglafring* saying that Aros ran past the Caves of the Rodothlim was a momentary confusion in a text written at very great speed (II.221), and that the Stony Ford (but *not* the Caves) was always on the Aros, this river having always borne this name. If this is so, this is still the geography on the map (as originally marked in this detail), where *Athrasarn* (*Stony Ford*) was placed on the Aros halfway between Umboth-muilin and the inflowing of Celon. At this time the Land of the Cuilwarthin was in the North of the Hills of the Hunters; and therefore in the story implied by the map Beren and his Elves crossed Sirion from his land and ambushed the Dwarves on the southern

confines of Doriath. It is not clear why the Dwarves were not taking the Dwarf-road from the Thousand Caves, which crossed the Aros much higher up; on this point see the note on the Dwarf-road in the northern half of the map.

Before the first map was laid aside the idea had changed, and when the Land of the Cuilwarthin was moved eastward (see note on *Beren*) the Stony Ford was moved eastward also; for the later history see under the Eastward Extension of this map.

Athrasarn (*Stony Ford*) See *Aros*.

Beren The first placing of *Beren* and *Land of the Cuilwarthin* (Land of the Dead that Live), in the North of the Hills of the Hunters and in the proximity of Nargothrond, agrees with the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* lines 1545–6 (see III.89), and so still in S (§10). In the *Lost Tales* the Dead that Live Again were *(i·)Guilwarthon*, changed in the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II.41) to *i·Cuilwarthon*; in Q (§14) the land is called *Cuilwarthien*, changed to *Gwerth-i-Cuina*.

Subsequently *Beren* and *Land of the Cuilwarthin* were struck out in this position, and *Land of the Cuilwarthin* re-entered much further to the East, in the empty lands between Sirion and Gelion. This was again struck out, in pencil, with the note 'Lies to the east of this and beyond the Great Lands of the East and of wild men' (on which see *Beren and Lúthien* and *Great Lands* under the Eastward Extension of the map). In Q (§14) the Land of the Dead that Live is in Assariad (>Ossiriand), 'between the river [Gelion] and the [Blue] mountains'.

Broseliand This name occurs first in the *Lay of Leithian*, with the spelling *Broceliand* (III.158–9, 169); *Beleriand* first appears (i.e. as originally typed, not as an emendation of *Broseliand*) in Q §13, and in the *Lay of Leithian* at line 3957. *Broseliand* occurs also in the note in red ink in the south-east corner of the map; this is given together with the later alterations to it at the end of these notes on the southern half.

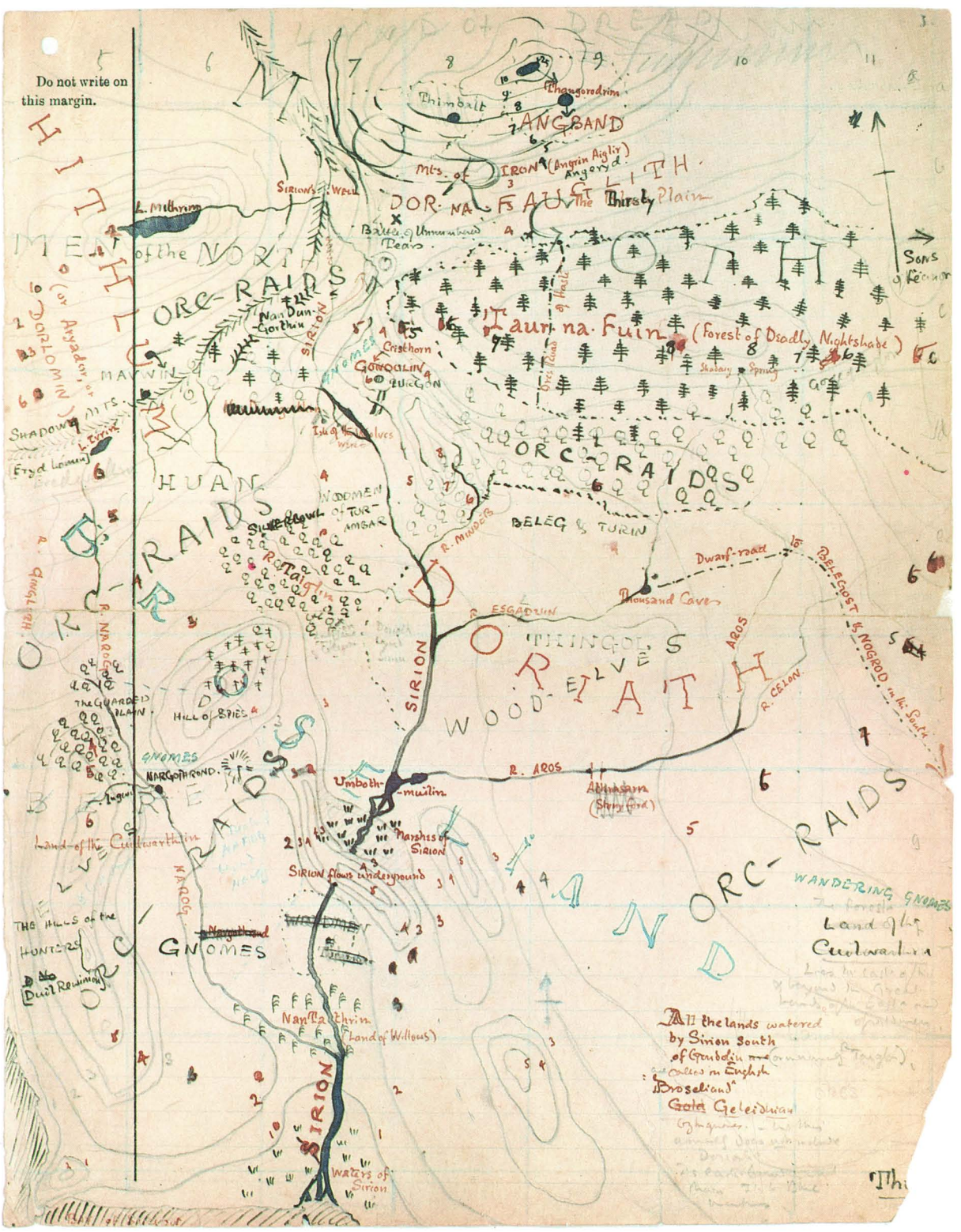
Celon, River This has not occurred in any text. The course of Celon is the same as on the later map, the river rising (in the Eastward Extension of the present map) in Himling.

Cuilwarthin, Land of the See *Beren*.

Doriath The bounds of Doriath are represented, I think, by Mindeb, by the dotted line (above 'Beleg and Túrin') between Mindeb and Aros, then by Aros and Sirion to the dotted line encirling 'Doriath beyond Sirion', and so back to Mindeb.

Doriath beyond Sirion It is said in Q (§13) that the Taiglin 'enters the land of Doriath *ere it joins with* the great waters of Sirion'. As a name,

The Map



The Northern Half of the First 'Silmarillion' Map

The Southern Half of the First 'Silmarillion' Map

'Doriath beyond Sirion' has only occurred in a note on the MS of the *Tale of the Nauglafring* (II. 249).

Duil Rewinion This name of the Hills of the Hunters (also on the Westward Extension of the map) is not found elsewhere.

Dwarf-road See *Aros*.

Geleidhian This occurs in the note in the corner of the map, as the Gnomish name of Broseliand. It is found in additions to Q, §9 (note 2) and §10 (note 15); see p. 174.

Guarded Plain, The First occurs in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III.88). On the later map the name is written over a much larger area further to the North-east, and outside the boundaries of the realm of Nargothrond as shown on that map (see *Realm of Narog beyond Narog*).

Hill of Spies This first appears in Q §13 (see p. 185). If, as would seem natural, the Hill of Spies is the eminence marked by radiating lines a little north of east from Nargothrond, the name itself is placed oddly distant from it, and seems rather to refer to the highland rising N.E. of Nargothrond, between Narog and Taiglin.

Hills of the Hunters, The First named in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, though they had been described without being named in the *Tale of Turambar*; see my discussion, III.88. On the map the Hills of the Hunters are shown as extending far southwards towards the coast of the Sea, with the Narog bending south-eastwards along the line of the Hills; and there is an outlying eminence above the unnamed cape in the S.W. corner of the map (later Cape Balar).

Ingwil First occurs in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III. 88–9).

Lúthien caught by Celegorm In the *Lay of Leithian* (lines 2342–7) Celegorm and Curufin hunting out of Nargothrond with Huan on the occasion when Lúthien was captured rode for 'three days',

> till nigh to the borders in the West
> of Doriath a while they rest.

Marshes of Sirion On the later map called 'Fens of Sirion'.

Nan Tathrin (Land of Willows) For the name *Nan Tathrin* see III.89. It was already placed essentially thus in the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* (see II.153, 217), and in Q §16 Nan-Tathrin 'is watered by the Narog and by Sirion'.

Nargothrond Nargothrond was placed first further to the South and nearer to the confluence with Sirion; the second site is where it remained – but it is curious that in both sites it is marked as lying on the east side of the river: in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* it was on the

western side (cf. line 1762), and, I would think, always had been. (On the Westward Extension map this is corrected.)

In Q §9, after the Battle of Sudden Flame Barahir and Felagund 'fled to the fens of Sirion to the South'; and after swearing his oath to Barahir Felagund 'went South' (emended to 'South and West') and founded Nargothrond. This would in fact point to the first site of Nargothrond on the map; since the later site is due West from the fens.

Narog First occurs in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*. The course of the river was scarcely changed subsequently.

Realm of Narog beyond Narog This was hastily added to the map in blue crayon, together with the broken line indicating its boundaries. On the later map the 'Realm of Nargothrond beyond the river' covers a much larger territory to the North-east (see *Guarded Plain*).

Sirion See notes on the northern half.

Sirion flows underground See *Umboth-muilin*. Sirion's fall is also referred to in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, lines 1467–8.

Umboth-muilin The name goes back to the *Tale of the Nauglafring* (II.225). It emerges from the *Lay of Leithian* (lines 1722 ff.) that the Twilight Meres were north of Sirion's fall and passage underground, whereas in the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* the reverse was the case (see II.217, III.222–3).

Waters of Sirion Cf. S §16 'The remnant reaches Sirion and journeys to the land at its mouth – the Waters of Sirion', and §17 'He returned home and found the Waters of Sirion desolate.'

Woodmen of Turambar The Woodmen were first placed a long way away from their later location – south of Sirion's passage underground and north of Nan Tathrin, with their land (shown by a dotted line) extending on both sides of the river. This position is quite at variance with what was said in the *Tale of Turambar* (II.91): 'that people had houses . . . in lands that *were not utterly far from Sirion* or the grassy hills of that river's *middle course*', which as I said (II.141) 'may be taken to agree tolerably with the situation of the Forest of Brethil'. The first placing of the name was struck out, and the second agrees with Q (§13): 'their houses were in the green woods about the River Taiglin that enters the land of Doriath ere it joins with the great waters of Sirion.'

Note on the south-east corner of the map, in red ink with later pencilled additions:

All the lands watered by Sirion south of Gondolin [*added*: or more usually R. Taiglin] are called in English 'Broseliand', *Geleidhian* by

the gnomes. [*Added*: – but this usually does *not* include Doriath. Its east boundary is not shown. It is the Blue Mountains.]

It is interesting that *Broseliand* is said to be the English name; and that Doriath is not usually included in Broseliand.

Lastly, it may be mentioned that of the highlands rising on the eastern side of the lower course of Sirion there is no trace on the later map.

THE WESTWARD AND EASTWARD EXTENSIONS TO THE MAP

These supplementary maps were drawn in relation to the main or central map and substantially overlapping it: they are in close accord with it in all features where they overlap. These sheets were carefully laid out, but the actual markings were done extremely rapidly in soft pencil, and are now very faint; the paper is thin and the maps are battered. Some alterations and additions were made in ink (some of the rivers of Ossiriand are written in ink and some in pencil).

The notes on these supplementary maps include almost all names that do not occur on the main map, and a few that occur on both which have features of interest on the extensions.

The Westward Extension

Bridge of Ice The words in the N.W. corner 'Far north lies the bridge of Ice' refer to the Helkaraksë, but the meaning of the word 'bridge' is only explained in the *Ambarkanta* (see p. 238).

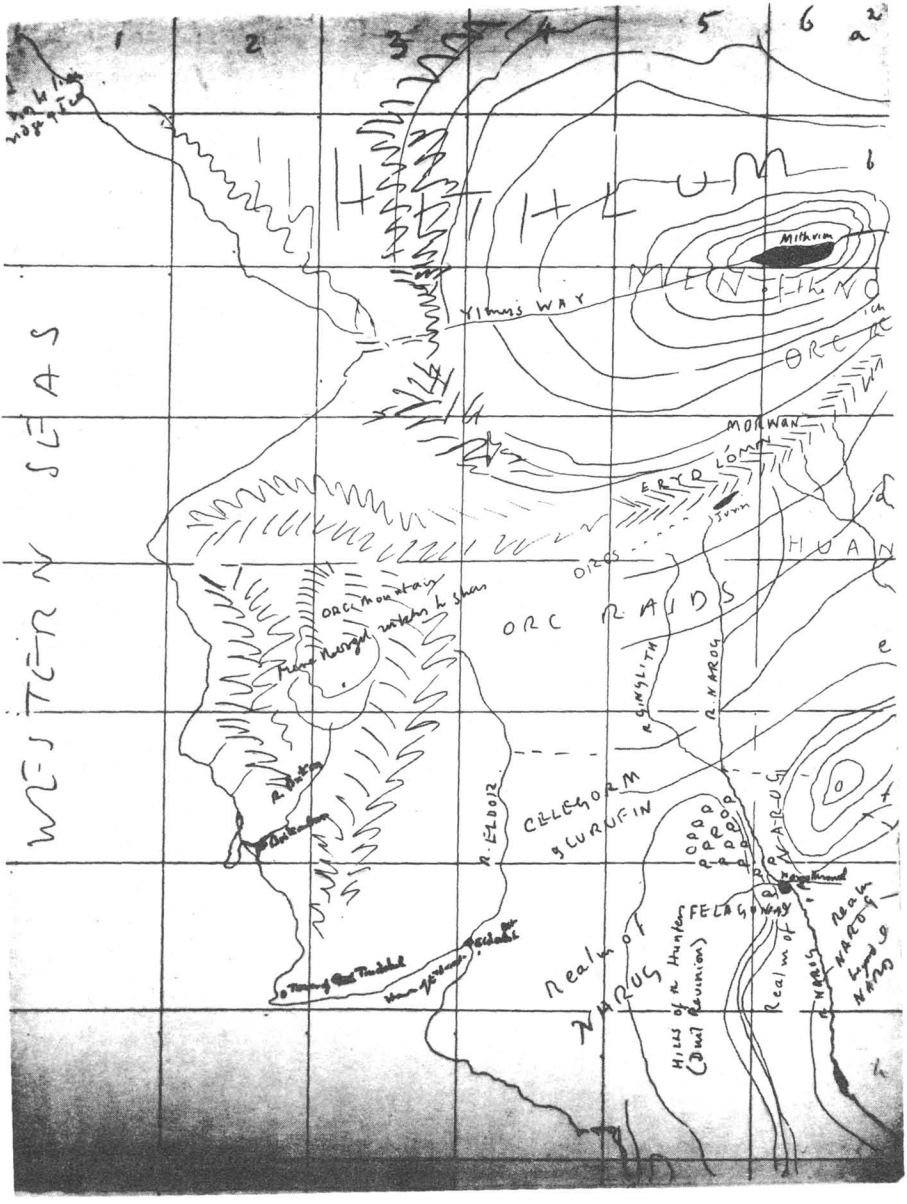
Brithombar (and *Eldorest*) This is the first occurrence of the Havens of the Falas. That Ossë persuaded some of the Teleri to remain 'on the beaches of the world' is mentioned in Q §3; and in a later rewriting of a passage in Q §11 (note 14) the presence of Elves 'from the Falas' before the Battle of Unnumbered Tears is referred to.

Brithon, River The first occurrence of the name, as of *Brithombar* the haven at its mouth. The later imposition on the coast-line as originally drawn of the river-mouth and the long cape giving protection to the haven can be seen.

Celegorm and Curufin They are shown as being lords of a 'fief' N.W. of the Hills of the Hunters, with *Felagund* ruling in Nargothrond.

Eldor, River The first occurrence of the name. This river was later named *Eglor*, *Eglahir*, and finally *Nenning*, its course remaining unchanged.

Eldorest, Haven of Eldorest The first occurrence of the name (see *Brithombar*). The haven at the mouth of the Eldor became *Eglorest*



The Westward Extension

when the river became the *Eglor*, and so remained (*Eglarest* in *The Silmarillion*) when the river was again renamed *Nenning*.

Felagund See *Celegorm* and *Curufin*.

Hithlum The mountain-range fencing Hithlum on the West (later *Ered Lómin* when that name was transferred from the Shadowy Mountains, see pp. 192–3) is shown.

Morwen This is written over *Mavwin* (see this entry under the main map).

Nargothrond is now placed on the west bank of Narog.

Orc-Mountains Extensive highlands cover the entire region between Brithombar and the range forming the southern fence of what was later called Nevrast. On the later map these highlands are retained in the region between the sources of the Brithon and the Eldor (Nenning), and are too little represented on my map in the published *Silmarillion*.

Here Morgoth reaches the shores is probably a reference to the story that has not yet emerged in the texts, that in the year after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears 'Morgoth sent great strength over Hithlum and Nevrast, and they came down the rivers Brithon and Nenning and ravaged all the Falas' (*The Silmarillion* p. 196).

Realm of Narog Of the three occurrences, that in the centre between the Hills of the Hunters and the river was put in at the time of the making of the map; the other two (*Realm of Narog* in the West, and *Realm of Narog beyond Narog* to the East of the river) were entered in blue crayon at the same time as *Realm of Narog beyond Narog* on the main map, as also was the continuation of the broken line, marking the northern boundary, as far as the river Eldor.

Tower of Tindobel This stands where on the later map is Barad Nimras (the tower raised by Felagund 'to watch the western sea', *The Silmarillion* pp. 120, 196). *Tindobel* is first mentioned in the *Annals of Beleriand* (later than the *Quenta*), p. 331.

Ylmir's Way *Ylmir*, almost certainly the Gnomish form of *Ulmo*, is found in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III.93) and regularly in S. With 'Ylmir's Way' cf. the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* (II.149–50):

> Thereafter 'tis said that magic and destiny led [Tuor] on a day to a cavernous opening down which a hidden river flowed from Mithrim. And Tuor entered that cavern seeking to learn its secret, but the waters of Mithrim drove him forward into the heart of the rock and he might not win back into the light. And this, 'tis said, was the will of Ulmo Lord of Waters at whose prompting the Noldoli had made that hidden way.

It is not clear from this passage at what point the river out of Lake Mithrim went underground. In the story of Tuor written long afterwards and given in *Unfinished Tales* Tuor followed 'a sudden spring of water in the hills' (p. 21), and

> he came down from the tall hills of Mithrim and passed out into the northward plain of Dor-lómin; and ever the stream grew as he followed it westward, until after three days he could descry in the west the long grey ridges of Ered Lómin . . . (p. 20).

The Gate of the Noldor, where the stream went underground, was in the eastern foothills of Ered Lómin.

Ylmir's Way issues in a firth that is unnamed on the map (*Drengist* has hitherto only occurred in the list of Old English names, p. 210).

It will be seen that the western coastline is closely similar to that on the later map.

The Eastward Extension

Adurant, River The most southerly of the tributaries of Gelion, named in an addition to Q §14 (note 4). Its course and relation to the mountains and the other rivers was not changed.

Ascar, River The name of the northernmost of the tributaries of Gelion occurs in Q §14 (see entry *Flend* below). Its course and relation to the mountains and the other rivers was not changed.

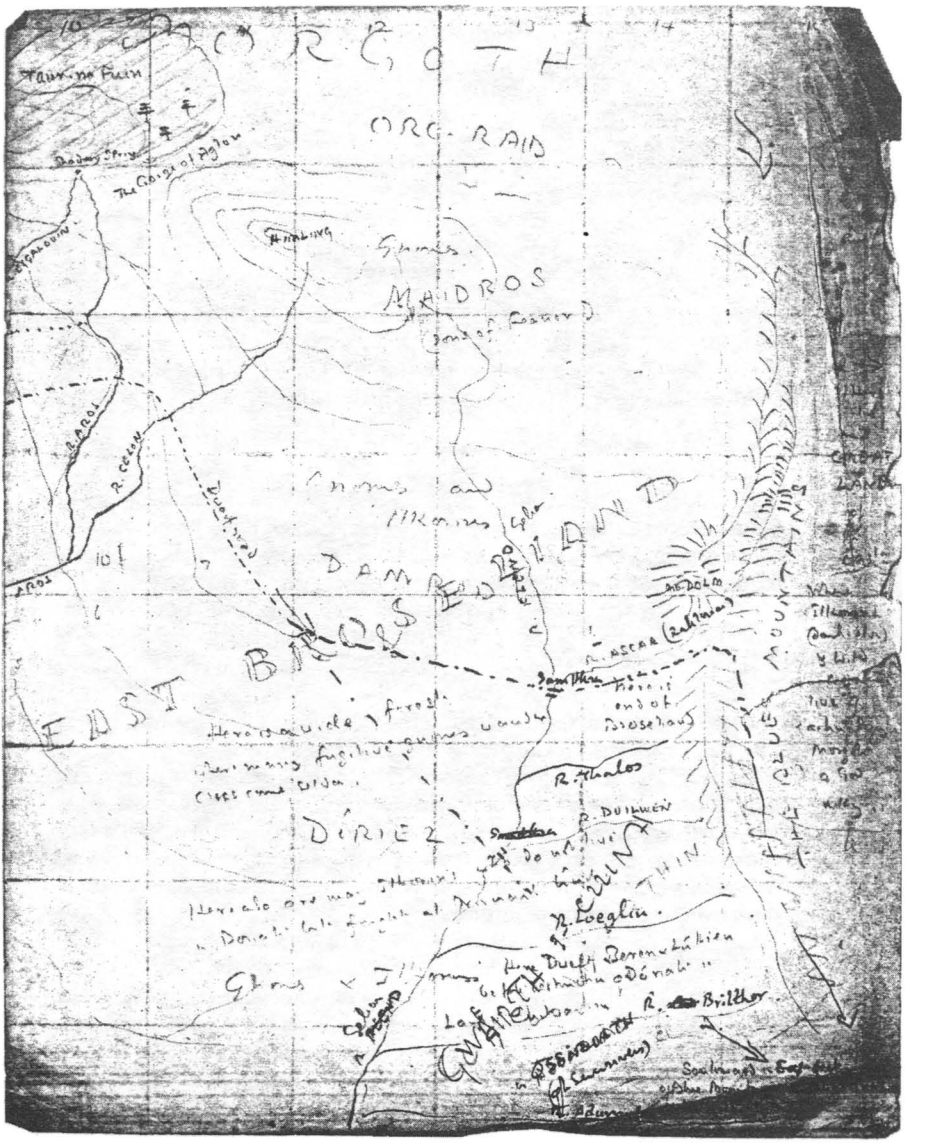
Beren and Lúthien *Here dwelt Beren and Lúthien before destruction of Doriath in Land of Cuilwarthin.* On the main map the second placing of this land, between Sirion and Gelion, was rejected with the note: 'Lies to the east of this and beyond the Great Lands of the East and of wild men.' This must mean that my father was moving the Land of the Dead that Live far away into unknown regions (see the entry *Great Lands*); but the Eastward Extension map places it in the final position, in the region of the Seven Rivers: see *Gweirth-i-cuina*.

Blue Mountains These were first named in Q §9.

Brilthor, River This, the fifth of the tributaries of Gelion, is named in an addition to Q §14 (note 4); later emendation to Q moved Duilwen further south and brought Brilthor into the fourth place.

Broseliand *Here is end of Broseliand*, written between the rivers Ascar and Thalos, and against the western feet of the Blue Mountains. Cf. the addition to the note in the corner of the main map (p. 227): 'Its east boundary is not shown. It is the Blue Mountains.'

Cuilwarthin See *Beren and Lúthien, Gweirth-i-cuina*.



The Eastward Extension

Damrod and Díriel The note above the name *Díriel* reads: 'Here is a wide forest where many fugitive gnomes wander. Orcs come seldom.' Cf. Q §14: 'the woods about the River [Flend/Gelion], where aforetime were the hunting grounds of Damrod and Díriel.'

The note below the name *Díriel* reads: 'Here also are many Ilkorins who do not live in Doriath but fought at Nirnaith Únoth.' *Nirnaith Únoth* occurs in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, replaced by *Nirnaith Ornoth* (III.79, 102, 123). On Dark-elves at the Battle of Unnumbered Tears see S and Q §11.

Dolm, Mt. This is the first appearance of the mountain afterwards named *Dolmed*, placed as on the later map.

Duilwen This, the third of the tributaries of Gelion, is named in an addition to Q §14 (note 4), where it is placed as on the map between Thalos and Loeglin. Later emendation to Q gave the final order, with Duilwen moved south to become the fifth tributary.

Dwarf-road and *Sarn Athra* As the Dwarf-road was first marked on this map, after crossing Aros it bent south-east and ran in that direction in a straight line across East Broseliand, crossing (Flend) Gelion at Sarn Athra, which (having been moved from its position on the main map, where it was on the Aros) was now placed at the confluence of the third tributary river (here Duilwen). The line of the road goes off the map in the south-east corner, with the direction: 'Southward in East feet of Blue Mountains are Belegost and Nogrod.' This site for Sarn Athra agrees with Q §14, where the ford is near the confluence of (Flend) Gelion and Duilwen.

A later route for the Dwarf-road is also marked on this map. Here the road bears more nearly east in the land of Damrod and Díriel and so crosses (Flend) Gelion further north: Sarn Athra is now placed just below the confluence of Ascar with Gelion (this is the reason for the emendation of Duilwen to Ascar in Q §14, note 7). It then follows the course of Ascar on the southern side, crosses the mountains by a pass below Mount Dolm, and then turns sharply south and goes away on the eastern side of the mountains.

On the later map Sarn Athra is placed just *above* the confluence of Ascar and Gelion, and the road therefore goes along the northern bank of Ascar, but still crosses the mountains south of Mount Dolmed; the Dwarf-cities are now placed in the eastern side of the mountains not far from Mount Dolmed.

East Broseliand The term *East Beleriand* occurs in Q §14.

Flend In Q §14 the great river of East Beleriand was first named *Ascar*, but since *Ascar* was already in Q the name of the northernmost of the tributaries from the Blue Mountains I think that this was a mere slip (see p. 189 and footnote) for *Flend*, to which it was emended. *Flend*

then > *Gelion*, as on the map. The course of Gelion was not changed afterwards, but the map does not show the later eastern tributary arm ('Greater Gelion').

Gelion See *Flend*.

Great Lands The note down the right hand side of the map reads: 'Here lie the Great Lands of the East where Ilkorins (dark-elves) and Wild Men live, acknowledging Morgoth as God and King.' This use of *Great Lands* for the lands of Middle-earth *east of the Blue Mountains* is notable; it is used also on the main map, where the third site of the Land of the Dead that Live is said to lie 'beyond the Great Lands of the East and of wild men' (see *Beren and Lúthien*). In the *Lost Tales* the term *Great Lands* always means the lands between the Seas (i.e. the whole of the later *Middle-earth*); in S and Q *Outer Lands* (which in the *Lost Tales* meant the Western Lands) is used of Middle-earth, with later emendation to *Hither Lands* in Q.

The statement here that in the Great Lands of the East both Wild Men and Dark-elves acknowledged Morgoth as God and King is significant for the future. Cf. the emendation to Q II §18, note 3: 'But most Men, and especially those new come out of the East, were on the side of the Enemy.' The corruption of certain Men in the beginning of their days appears in very early synopses (for *Gilfanon's Tale*); see I. 236.

Gweirth-i-cuina This name, in which *Gweirth-* is apparently emended from *Gwairth-*, is written over *Cuilwarthin*. *Gwerth-i-cuina* (not *Gweirth-* as on the map) has appeared in two emended passages in Q: §10 (note 15) 'they wandered . . . upon the confines of Geleidhian in fair Ossiriand, Land of Seven Streams, Gwerth-i-cuina, the Living Dead' (where the name seems to be used of Beren and Lúthien themselves); and §14 (note 6) 'Elves called it oft Gwerth-i-cuina', where it is used of the land, as on the map.

Himling The first occurrence is in the *Lay of Leithian* lines 2994–5 (April 1928):

> where Himling's watchful hill
> o'er Aglon's gorge hung tall and still.

Loeglin As the fourth of the tributaries of Gelion this is named in an addition to Q §14 (note 4). Later emendation moved Duilwen further south and brought Loeglin (> Legolin) into the third place.

Nirnaith Únoth See *Damrod and Díriel*.

Ossiriath (of the Seven rivers) This form is not found elsewhere. It is written over *Assariad*, which occurs in Q §14, later emended to *Ossiriand* (note 4). *Ossiriand(e)* is found as a rejected alternative to *Broseliand* in Canto I of the *Lay of Leithian* (III.158–60). The

placing of the name, between the sixth and seventh rivers, is odd, but in view of 'of the Seven rivers' probably not significant.

Rathlorion This is the form of the new name of Ascar found in Q (§14), later emended to *Rathloriel*.

Sarn Athra See *Dwarf-road*. In Q §14 *Sarn-athra*, emended to *Sarn-athrad* (note 8).

Sons of Fëanor See entry *Aglon* to the northern half of the main map.

Thalos This, the second of the tributaries of Gelion, is named in an addition to Q §14 (note 4). Its course and relation to the mountains and the other rivers was not changed.

V
THE AMBARKANTA

This very short work, of cardinal interest (and not least in the associated maps), is entitled at the beginning of the text 'Of the Fashion of the World'; on a title-page loose from but obviously belonging with the work is written:

Ambarkanta

The Shape of the World

Rúmil

together with the word *Ambarkanta* in tengwar. This is the first appearance of Rúmil since the *Lost Tales*; but he is not mentioned in the text itself.

That the *Ambarkanta* is later than the *Quenta* (perhaps by several years) cannot be doubted. The reappearance of the name *Utumna* is an advance on Q, where also the term 'Middle-earth' does not appear; *Eruman* is (aberrantly) the name in Q of the land where Men awoke (pp. 99, 171), whereas in the *Ambarkanta* its name is for the first time *Hildórien*; and there are several cases where the *Ambarkanta* has names and details that are only found in Q by emendation (for example, *Elvenhome* p. 236, but *Bay of Faërie* > *Bay of Elvenhome* in Q (II), p. 155 note 12).

The text consists of six pages of fine manuscript in ink, with very little emendation; I give the final forms throughout, with all rejected readings in the notes that follow the text. Closely associated with the work and here reproduced from the originals are three diagrams of the World, here numbered I, II, and III, and two maps, numbered IV and V. On the pages facing these reproductions I note changes made to names. The text begins with a list of cosmographical words, with explanations; this I give on pp. 240–1.

OF THE FASHION OF THE WORLD

About all the World are the Ilurambar, or Walls of the World. They are as ice and glass and steel, being above all imagination of the Children of Earth cold, transparent, and hard. They cannot be seen, nor can they be passed, save by the Door of Night.

Within these walls the Earth is globed: above, below, and upon all sides is Vaiya, the Enfolding Ocean. But this is more like to sea below the Earth and more like to air above the Earth. In Vaiya below the Earth dwells Ulmo. Above the Earth lies the Air, which is called Vista,[1] and sustains birds and clouds. Therefore it is called above Fanyamar, or Cloudhome; and below Aiwenórë[2] or Bird-land. But this air lies only upon Middle-earth and the Inner Seas, and its proper bounds are the Mountains of Valinor in the West and the Walls of the Sun in the East. Therefore clouds come seldom in Valinor, and the mortal birds pass not beyond the peaks of its mountains. But in the North and South, where there is most cold and darkness and Middle-earth extends nigh to the Walls of the World, Vaiya and Vista and Ilmen[3] flow together and are confounded.

Ilmen is that air that is clear and pure being pervaded by light though it gives no light. Ilmen lies above Vista, and is not great in depth, but is deepest in the West and East, and least in the North and South. In Valinor the air is Ilmen, but Vista flows in at times especially in Elvenhome, part of which is at the eastern feet of the Mountains; and if Valinor is darkened and this air is not cleansed by the light of the Blessed Realm, it takes the form of shadows and grey mists. But Ilmen and Vista will mingle being of like nature, but Ilmen is breathed by the Gods, and purified by the passage of the luminaries; for in Ilmen Varda ordained the courses of the stars, and later of the Moon and Sun.

From Vista there is no outlet nor escape save for the servants of Manwë, or for such as he gives powers like to those of his people, that can sustain themselves in Ilmen or even in the upper Vaiya, which is very thin and cold. From Vista one may descend upon the Earth. From Ilmen one may descend into Valinor. Now the land of Valinor extends almost to Vaiya, which is most narrow in the West and East of the World, but deepest in the North and South. The Western shores of Valinor are therefore not far from the Walls of the World. Yet there is a chasm which sunders Valinor from Vaiya, and it is filled with Ilmen, and by this way one may come from Ilmen above the earth to the lower regions, and to the Earthroots, and the caves and grottoes that are at the foundations of the lands and seas. There is Ulmo's abiding-place. Thence are derived the waters of Middle-earth. For these waters are compounded of Ilmen and Vaiya and Ambar[4] (which is Earth), since Ulmo blends Ilmen and Vaiya and sends them up through the veins of the World to cleanse and refresh the seas and rivers, the

lakes and the fountains of Earth. And running water thus possesses the memory of the deeps and the heights, and holds somewhat of the wisdom and music of Ulmo, and of the light of the luminaries of heaven.

In the regions of Ulmo the stars are sometimes hidden, and there the Moon often wanders and is not seen from Middle-earth. But the Sun does not tarry there. She passes under the earth in haste, lest night be prolonged and evil strengthened; and she is drawn through the nether Vaiya by the servants of Ulmo, and it is warmed and filled with life. Thus days are measured by the courses of the Sun, which sails from East to West through the lower Ilmen, blotting out the stars; and she passes over the midst of Middle-earth and halts not, and she bends her course northward or southward, not waywardly but in due procession and season. And when she rises above the Walls of the Sun it is Dawn, and when she sinks behind the Mountains of Valinor it is evening.

But days are otherwise in Valinor than in Middle-earth. For there the time of greatest light is Evening. Then the Sun comes down and rests for a while in the Blessed Land, lying upon the bosom of Vaiya. And when she sinks into Vaiya it is made hot and glows with rosecoloured fire, and this for a long while illumines that land. But as she passes toward the East the glow fades, and Valinor is robbed of light, and is lit only with stars; and the Gods mourn then most for the death of Laurelin. At dawn the dark is deep in Valinor, and the shadows of their mountains lie heavy on the mansions of the Gods. But the Moon does not tarry in Valinor, and passeth swiftly o'er it to plunge in the chasm of Ilmen,[5] for he pursues ever after the Sun, and overtakes her seldom, and then is consumed and darkened in her flame. But it happens at times that he comes above Valinor ere the Sun has left it, and then he descends and meets his beloved, and Valinor is filled with mingled light as of silver and gold; and the Gods smile remembering the mingling of Laurelin and Silpion long ago.

The Land of Valinor slopes downward from the feet of the Mountains, and its western shore is at the level of the bottoms of the inner seas. And not far thence, as has been said, are the Walls of the World; and over against the westernmost shore in the midst of Valinor is Ando Lómen[6] the Door of Timeless Night that pierceth the Walls and opens upon the Void. For the World is set amid Kúma, the Void, the Night without form or time. But none can pass the chasm and the belt of Vaiya and come to that Door,

save the great Valar only. And they made that Door when Melko was overcome and put forth into the Outer Dark; and it is guarded by Eärendel.

The Middle-earth lies amidst the World, and is made of land and water; and its surface is the centre of the world from the confines of the upper Vaiya to the confines of the nether. Of old its fashion was thus. It was highest in the middle, and fell away on either side into vast valleys, but rose again in the East and West and again fell away to the chasm at its edges. And the two valleys were filled with the primeval water, and the shores of these ancient seas were in the West the western highlands and the edge of the great land, and in the East the eastern highlands and the edge of the great land upon the other side. But at the North and South it did not fall away, and one could go by land from the uttermost South and the chasm of Ilmen to the uttermost North and the chasm of Ilmen. The ancient seas lay therefore in troughs, and their waters spilled not to the East or to the West; but they had no shores either at the North or at the South, and they spilled into the chasm, and their waterfalls became ice and bridges of ice because of the cold; so that the chasm of Ilmen was here closed and bridged, and the ice reached out into Vaiya, and even unto the Walls of the World.

Now it is said that the Valar coming into the World descended first upon Middle-earth at its centre, save Melko who descended in the furthest North. But the Valar took a portion of land and made an island and hallowed it, and set it in the Western Sea and abode upon it, while they were busied in the exploration and first ordering of the World. As is told they desired to make lamps, and Melko offered to devise a new substance of great strength and beauty to be their pillars. And he set up these great pillars north and south of the Earth's middle yet nearer to it than the chasm; and the Gods placed lamps upon them and the Earth had light for a while.

But the pillars were made with deceit, being wrought of ice; and they melted, and the lamps fell in ruin, and their light was spilled. But the melting of the ice made two small inland seas, north and south of the middle of Earth, and there was a northern land and a middle land and a southern land. Then the Valar removed into the West and forsook the island; and upon the highland at the western side of the West Sea they piled great mountains, and behind them

made the land of Valinor. But the mountains of Valinor curve backward, and Valinor is broadest in the middle of Earth, where the mountains march beside the sea; and at the north and south the mountains come even to the chasm. There are those two regions of the Western Land which are not of Middle-earth and are yet outside the mountains: they are dark and empty. That to the North is Eruman, and that to the South is Arvalin; and there is only a narrow strait between them and the corners of Middle-earth, but these straits are filled with ice.

For their further protection the Valar thrust away Middle-earth at the centre and crowded it eastward, so that it was bended, and the great sea of the West is very wide in the middle, the widest of all waters of the Earth. The shape of the Earth in the East was much like that in the West, save for the narrowing of the Eastern Sea, and the thrusting of the land thither. And beyond the Eastern Sea lies the Eastern Land, of which we know little, and call it the Land of the Sun; and it has mountains, less great than those of Valinor, yet very great, which are the Walls of the Sun. By reason of the falling of the land these mountains cannot be descried, save by highflying birds, across the seas which divide them from the shores of Middle-earth.

And the thrusting aside of the land caused also mountains to appear in four ranges, two in the Northland, and two in the Southland; and those in the North were the Blue Mountains in the West side, and the Red Mountains in the East side; and in the South were the Grey Mountains and the Yellow. But Melko fortified the North and built there the Northern Towers, which are also called the Iron Mountains, and they look southward. And in the middle land there were the Mountains of the Wind, for a wind blew strongly there coming from the East before the Sun; and Hildórien the land where Men first awoke lay between these mountains and the Eastern Sea. But Kuiviénen where Oromë found the Elves is to the North beside the waters of Helkar.[7]

But the symmetry of the ancient Earth was changed and broken in the first Battle of the Gods, when Valinor went out against Utumno,[8] which was Melko's stronghold, and Melko was chained. Then the sea of Helkar (which was the northern lamp) became an inland sea or great lake, but the sea of Ringil (which was the southern lamp) became a great sea flowing north-eastward and joining by straits both the Western and Eastern Seas.

And the Earth was again broken in the second battle, when

Melko was again overthrown, and it has changed ever in the wearing and passing of many ages.[9] But the greatest change took place, when the First Design was destroyed, and the Earth was rounded, and severed from Valinor. This befell in the days of the assault of the Númenóreans upon the land of the Gods, as is told in the Histories. And since that time the world has forgotten the things that were before, and the names and the memory of the lands and waters of old has perished.

NOTES

1 *Vista*: at all seven occurrences the original name *Wilwa* was changed, first in pencil then in ink, to *Vista*; so also on the world-diagrams I and II, and on the diagram III (the World Made Round).
2 Original reading *Aiwenor*; so also on diagram I.
3 *Ilmen*: at all the many occurrences the original name *Silma* was carefully erased and changed to *Ilma* (the same change on the map IV); *Ilma* was then itself altered to *Ilmen* (the same succession of changes on diagrams I and II).
4 *Ambar* is an emendation but the underlying word is wholly erased (so also on diagram II; written in later on I).
5 In the margin is written *Ilmen-assa*, changed from *Ilman-assa*.
6 *Ando Lómen* is interpolated into the text, but in all probability not significantly later than the original writing of the MS.
7 The last two sentences of this paragraph (from 'And in the middle land . . .') were added, but to all appearance belong in time with the original writing of the MS.
8 *Utumno* is emended from *Utumna*.
9 The original MS ends here; what follows, concerning the Earth Made Round at the time of the assault of the Númenóreans, was added later (see p. 261).

I give now the list of cosmological words accompanying the *Ambarkanta*. My father made several changes to this list, but since the alterations were mostly made over erasures and the additions belong to the same period it is impossible to know the original form of the list in all points. The changes in the list are however much the same as those made in the text of the *Ambarkanta* and on the world-diagrams; thus *Silma* > *Ilma* > *Ilmen*, *Wilwa* > *Vista*, *Aiwenor* > *Aiwenóre*; *ava*, *ambar*, *Endor* over erasures; *Avakúma*, *& Elenarda Stellar Kingdom* additions. The translation of *Ilmen* as 'Place of light' is an emendation from 'sheen'.

Ilu The World *Ilurambar* The Walls of the World; *ramba* wall	World
Kúma darkness, void *ava* outer, exterior; *Avakúma*	Dark
Vaiya fold, envelope. In nature like to water, but less buoyant than air, and surrounding The Outer Sea.*	Outer Sea, or Encircling Ocean, or Enfolding Ocean
Ilmen Place of light. The region above the air, than which it is thinner and more clear. Here only the stars and Moon and Sun can fly. It is called also *Tinwë-mallë* the Star-street, & *Elenarda* Stellar Kingdom.	Sky. Heaven
Vista air. Wherein birds may fly and clouds sail. Its upper region is *Fanyamar* or Cloudhome, and its lower *Aiwenórë* or Birdland.	Air
ambar Earth. *ambar-endya* or Middle Earth of which *Endor* is the midmost point.	Earth
ëar water; sea. The roots of the Earth are *Mar-talmar*, or *Talmar Ambaren*.	Sea
ando door, gate.	
lómë Night. *Ando Lómen* the Door of Night, through which Melko was thrust after the Second War of the Gods.	

All that land that lies above water, between the Seas of the West and East and the Mountains of North and South is *Pelmar*, the Enclosed Dwelling.

Commentary on the *Ambarkanta*

This elegant universe, while certainly in many respects an evolution from the old cosmology of the *Lost Tales*, shows also radical shifts and advances in essential structure.

*This is very confusing, since Vaiya is apparently said to *surround* the Outer Sea (though in the right-hand column it is itself defined as 'Outer Sea'). But the word 'The' in 'The Outer Sea' has a capital T; and I think that my father left the preceding sentence unfinished, ending with 'surrounding', and that he added 'The Outer Sea' afterwards as a definition of Vaiya, without noticing that the preceding phrase was incomplete.

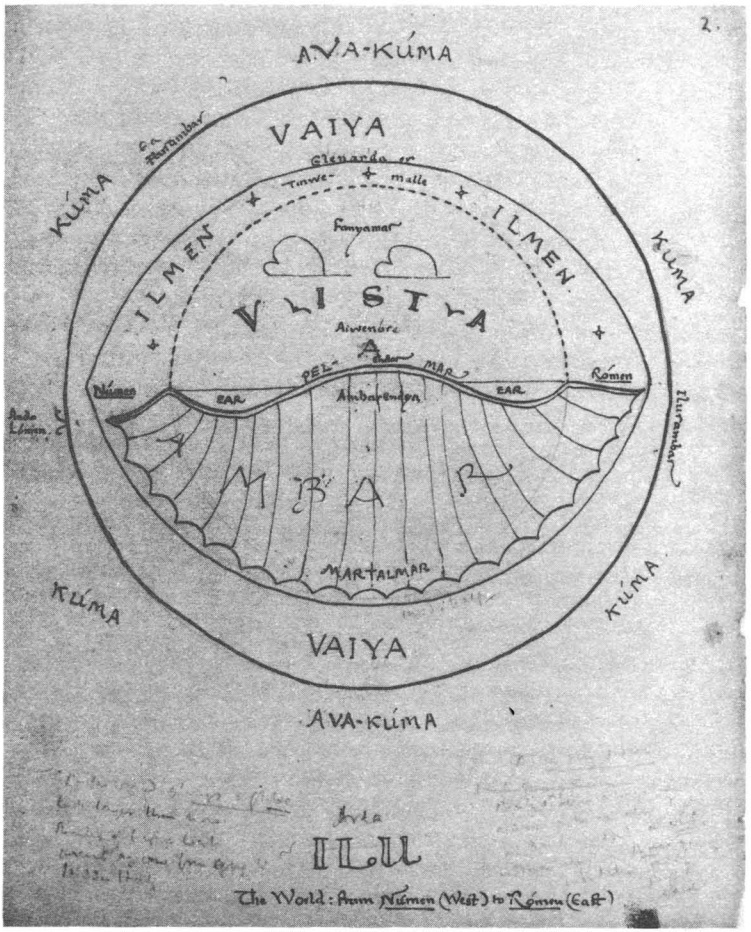
Diagram I

Some of the names on this diagram were written in over erasures, and in most of the cases only the fact of correction can be seen:

Ilmen (replacing *Ilma* and *Silma*, see note 3 to the text of the *Ambarkanta*); *Vista* (replacing *Wilwa*, see note 1); *Ava-* (in *Ava-kúma*); *Ambarendya*; *Endor*; *Martalmar*. The letter A in the centre, of obscure significance, is also written over an erasure.

Additions are: *Elenarda or*; *-e* added to *Aiwenor* (see note 2); *Ambar* (see note 4).

Much later pencilled changes and additions are: *Ilurambar* to *Earambar* at one only of the occurrences; *Hidden Half* added above the lower occurrence of *Vaiya*; *Ilu* to *Arda* in the title. The note at the right-hand bottom corner is too faint to make out after the words 'Alter story of Sun'; that on the left reads: 'Make world *always a globe* but larger than now. Mountains of East and West prevent anyone from going to Hidden Half.'


2.
AVA-KÚMA
VAIYA
KÚMA
ILMEN
ILMEN
KUMA
Fanyamar
VLISTYA
Aiwenóre
PEL-
MAR
Númen
EAR
EAR
Rómen
Ambarendya
Ilurambar
AMBAR
MARTALMAR
KÚMA
KÚMA
VAIYA
AVA-KÚMA
ILU
The World: from Númen (West) to Rómen (East)

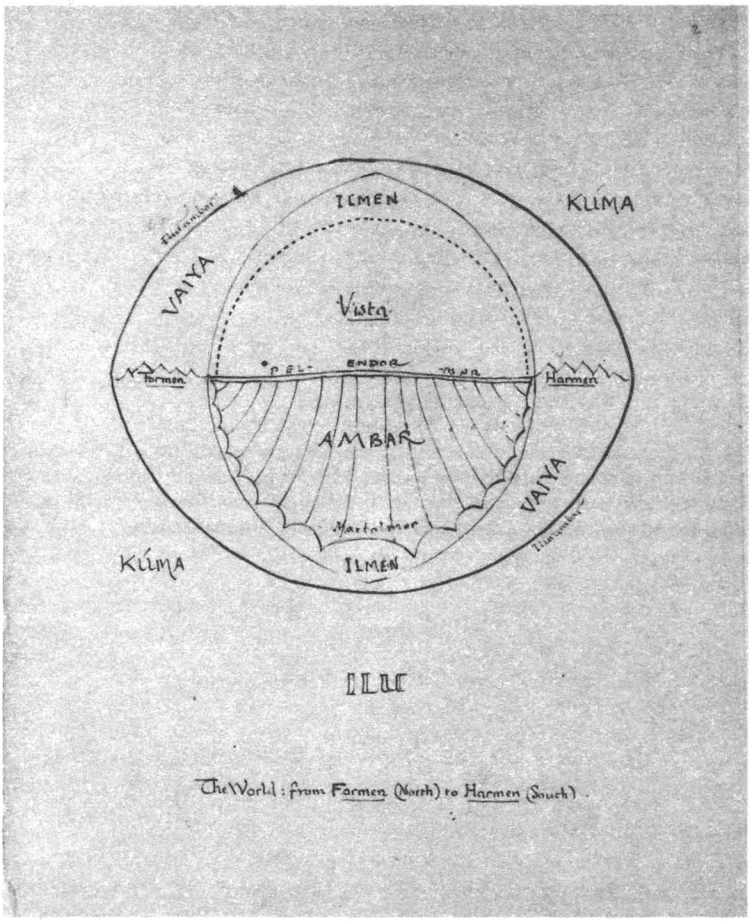
I

Diagram II

As in diagram I some names were written in over erasures:

Ilmen (from *Ilma* and *Silma*); *Vista* (from *Wilwa*); *Ambar*; *Endor*; *Martalmar*; *Formen* (from *Tormen*) in the title.

Late pencilled changes are: *Ilurambar* to *Earambar* at one of the occurrences, as on diagram I; *Harmen* to *Hyarmen* both on the diagram and in the title; *Tormen* > *Formen* on the diagram.

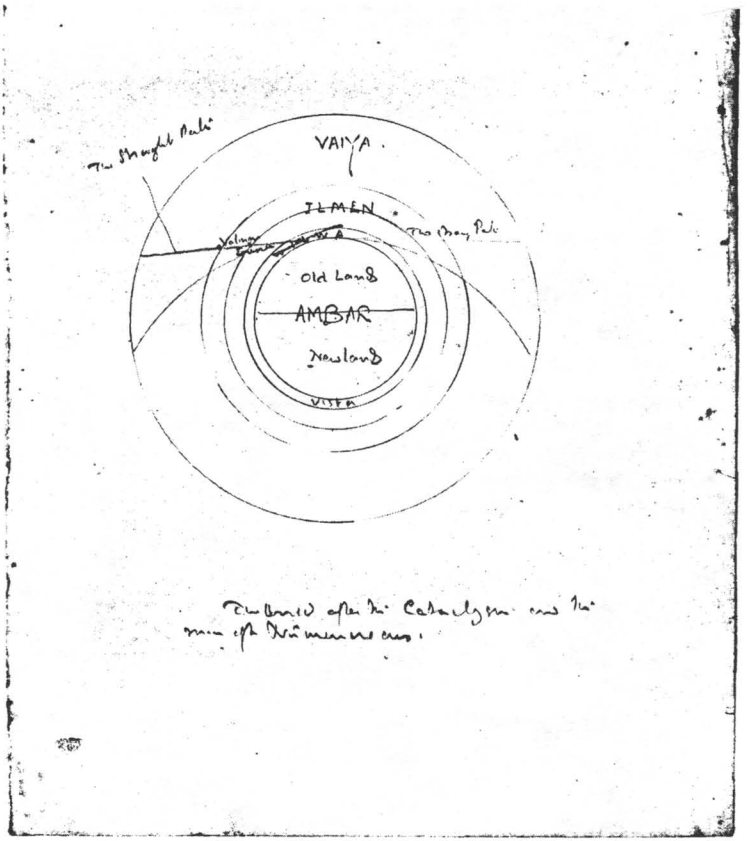


The World: from Formen (North) to Harmen (South).

II

Diagram III

On this diagram the name *Wilwa* was struck out and replaced by *Vista* (see note 1 to the text of the *Ambarkanta*). Names other than those in capitals are: *The Straight Path* (twice), *Valinor, Eressëa, Old Lands, New Lands*. The title reads: 'The World after the Cataclysm and the ruin of the Númenoreans'.



III

Map IV

Changes made to this map were:

Silma to *Ilma* at all three occurrences, and at one only *Ilma* later in pencil to *Ilmen* (see note 3 to the text of the *Ambarkanta*); *Endor* to *Endon* (but *Endor* written again above in pencil); and *Tormen* > *Formen*, *Harmen* > *Hyarmen*, as on diagram II.

V.Y. 500 = Valian Year 500; see p. 263.

The World about V.Y. 500 after the fall of the Lamps Helkar and Ringil and the first fortification of the North by Melko.
East Rómen
West Númen
North Formen
South Hyarmen
VAIYA
VAIYA
Chasm of Ilmen
Chasm of Ilmen
Mts or Walls of the Sun
Lands of the Sun
EASTLAND
EASTERNESS
East Sea
Hildórien
Kuiviénen
Red Mountains
Mts of the Wind
Mid-land
Sea of Helkar
Sea of Ringil
Yellow Mountains
Northland
Marsh of the Eldar
Iron Mountains
Blue Mountains
Southland
Grey Mountains
Beleriand
Falasse
Shadowy Isles
Belegar or Great West Sea
Tol-eressea
WESTERNESS
WESTLAND
Bay of Elfland
Mountains of Valinor
VALINOR
Valmar

Map V

Some of the names on this map are not easy to read, and I list here all that appear on it:

The West: *Outer Seas, Utgarsecg*
Eruman (written above this later: *Araman*); *Outer Lands* (*Valinor*); *Alflon*; *Two Trees*; *Tún*; *Valmar*; *Taniquetil*; *Bay of Faery*; *Arvalin* (changed from *Eruman*).
Lightly pencilled later across the Western Land: *Aman*

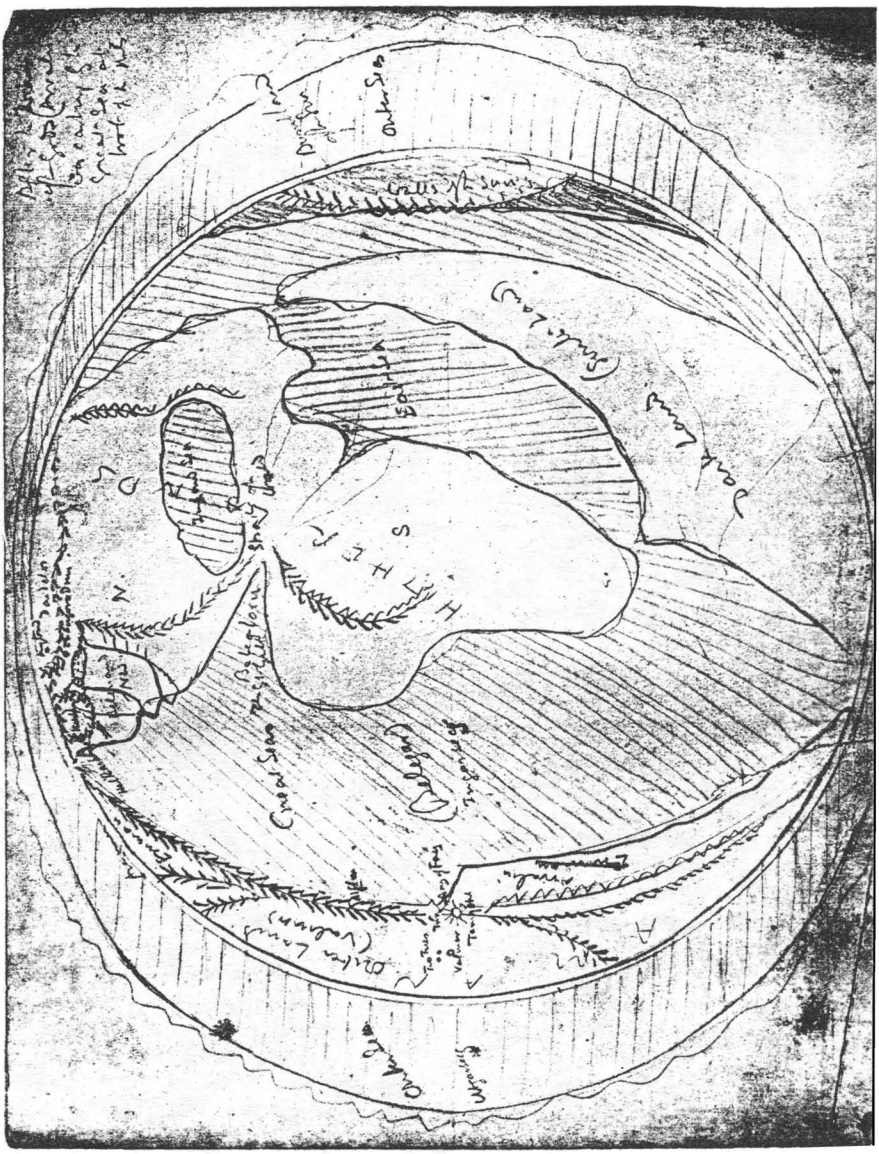
The Western Sea: in the extreme North: *Helkaraksë*.
Great Seas; *The G[rea]t Gulf*; *Beleglo[rn?]*; *(Belegar)*; *Ingarsecg*

The North-west of Middle-earth: *Hithlum*; *Angband*; *Thangorodrim*; *Daidelos*; *Beleriand*

Central regions: *Hither Lands*; *Inland Sea*; *Straits of the World; East Sea*; *Dark Land (South Land)*

The East: *Walls of the Sun*; *Burnt Land of the Sun*; *Outer Seas*

Note in the upper right-hand corner: *After the War of the Gods*
(Arvalin was cast up by the Great Sea at the foot of the Mts. See pp. 260–1.



V

To begin from the Outside: beyond the Walls of the World lies 'the Void, the Night without form or time', *Kúma* (*Ava-kúma*); and this is of course an aboriginal conception, 'the outer dark', 'the limitless dark', 'the starless vast' of the tale of *The Hiding of Valinor* (I.216). The Walls of the World, *Ilurambar*,* are the unbroken, uninterrupted shell of a vast globe; they are cold, invisible, and impassable save by *Ando Lómen*, the Door of Night. This Door was made by the Valar 'when Melko was overcome and put forth into the Outer Dark'; and Eärendel guards it. Already in S (§19) it was said that 'Morgoth is thrust through the Door of Night into the outer dark beyond the Walls of the World, and a guard set for ever on that Door'; this is repeated in the corresponding passage in Q, where the same expressions are used as in the *Ambarkanta*, 'the Door of Timeless Night', 'the Void', and where Eärendel, sailing in the Void, is named as the guardian (see pp. 164–5, 203). It is not however said in these texts that the Door of Night was made *when Melko was overcome*, at the end of the Great Battle.

I have remarked earlier (p. 49) on the great shift in the astronomical myth introduced in S by the passage of the Sun beneath the Earth, rather than departure through the Door of Night followed by the journey through the Outer Dark and return through the Gates of Morn, as described in *The Hiding of Valinor*; in that account the Gods made the Door of Night in order that the Sunship should not have to pass beneath the Earth. Thus the Door of Night has remained, but its purpose and the time of its making have been totally changed.

The conception of a great Wall surrounding the 'World' and fencing it against an outer Emptiness and Darkness goes back to the beginning; in *The Hiding of Valinor* it is called 'the Wall of Things', and Ulmo instructs the Valar that 'Vai runneth from the Wall of Things unto the Wall of Things whithersoever you may fare' (I.214). I have discussed earlier (I.86) the possibility that already in the early cosmology Vaitya (the outermost of the three 'airs') and Vai (the Outer Ocean) constituted 'a continuous enfolding substance', and that the *Ambarkanta* 'only makes explicit what was present but unexpressed in the *Lost Tales*'; and pointed to the difficulties in this idea. In the first draft of *The Hiding of Valinor* (see I.221 note 16) the Wall of Things was evidently imagined, as I have said (I.227), 'like the walls of terrestrial cities, or gardens – walls with a top: a "ring-fence"'; the Walls were lower in the East, so that there was no Door there corresponding to the Door of Night in the West, and the Sun *rode over* the Eastern Wall. In the second draft (I.216) the idea of the Gates of Morn was introduced; but the nature and extent of the Walls was still left obscure, and indeed nothing else is said of them in the *Lost Tales* beyond the statement that they are 'deep-blue' (I.215). A

**Ilu* is 'the World' in diagrams I and II, and is so defined in the list of words (p. 241); for its early meaning see I.255, entry *Ilwë*. – The changes to *Earambar* in diagrams I and II, like the pencilled note at the bottom of I, were made very much later and do not concern us here.

remarkable sentence in the original tale of *The Music of the Ainur* (I.56) declares that 'the Ainur marvelled to see how *the world was globed amid the void* and yet separated from it'. How this is to be interpreted in the context of the *Lost Tales* I do not know; but the sentence was retained through all the rewritings of the *Ainulindalë* (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 17), and so became a precise description of the world of the *Ambarkanta*, whatever my father's original meaning may have been.

In view of the close similarity of wording between Q and the *Ambarkanta* on the subject of the expulsion of Melko through the Door of Night, mentioned above, it is very puzzling that in the same passage of Q (p. 164) it is said that some think that he 'creeps back *surmounting the Walls* and visiteth the world'. The fact that this is only a surmise ('Some say . . .'), and that the Prophecy of Mandos which immediately follows declares that when Morgoth does return it will be through the Door of Night, hardly explains how the idea of his 'surmounting the Walls' (in inescapable contradiction to the *Ambarkanta*, and negating the purpose of Eärendel's guard) could arise.*

It is not indeed explained in the *Ambarkanta* how the Valar entered the world at its beginning, passing through the impassable Walls, and perhaps we should not expect it to be. But the central idea at this time is clear: from the Beginning to the Great Battle in which Melko was overthrown, the world with all its inhabitants was inescapably bounded; but at the very end, in order to extrude Melko into the Void, the Valar were able to pierce the Walls by a Door.

Wholly new is the conception of Ilmen as the pure air that is breathed in Valinor, and whose bounds are the Mountains of Valinor and the mountains called the Walls of the Sun, beyond the Eastern Sea, though 'Vista flows in at times especially in Elvenhome'. In Ilmen journey the Sun, Moon, and Stars, so that this region is called also *Tinwë-mallë*† and *Elenarda* (translated 'Star-street' and 'Stellar Kingdom' in the list of words, p. 241). This partly corresponds to the cosmology of the *Lost Tales*, where the Moon-ship 'saileth in the lower folds of Ilwë threading a white swathe among the stars', and the stars 'could not soar into the dark and tenuous realm of Vaitya that is outside all', but where the Sun 'voyageth even above Ilwë and beyond the stars' (I. 181, 193).

The lowest air, Vista, in which are *Fanyamar* 'Cloudhome' and *Aiwenórë* 'Bird-land', retains the characteristic nature of the earlier Vilna; cf. I.65 'Vilna that is grey and therein may the birds fly safely'. But there is an important corollary to the frontier between Ilmen and

*This conception of the Walls reappears much later, and is found in *The Silmarillion* (p. 36): Melkor, returning to Arda after his expulsion by Tulkas into the outer darkness, *'passed over the Walls of the Night* with his host, and came to Middle-earth far in the north'. But this is an aspect of intractable problems arising in the later cosmology that cannot be entered into here.

†See I. 269 (entry *Tinwë Linto*) and 263 (entry *Olórë Mallë*).

Vista in the West: 'clouds come seldom in Valinor, and the mortal birds pass not beyond the peaks of its mountains'.

An aspect of the cosmology that seems puzzling at first sight arises from the statements in the *Ambarkanta* (1) that 'in the North and South . . . Middle-earth extends nigh to the Walls of the World' (p. 236), and (2) that Vaiya is 'most narrow in the West and East of the World, but deepest in the North and South' (*ibid.*). This apparent contradiction is to be explained by the passage (p. 238) describing how the Inner Seas have no shores at North and South, but spilling into the Chasm of Ilmen form ice bridges* that close the chasm, and the ice extends out into Vaiya and even to the Walls of the World. This ice is represented by the mountain-like peaks above the words *Tormen* and *Harmen* in diagram II. Of all this there is no trace in the *Lost Tales*; but it will be found that the *Ambarkanta* here greatly illumines the passage in *The Silmarillion* (p. 89) describing the Helcaraxë:

> For between the land of Aman that in the north curved eastward, and the east-shores of Endor (which is Middle-earth) that bore westward, there was a narrow strait, through which the chill waters of the Encircling Sea and the waves of Belegaer flowed together, and there were vast fogs and mists of deathly cold, and the sea-streams were filled with clashing hills of ice and the grinding of ice deep-sunken.

The passage of the Sun beneath the Earth seems to be differently conceived in the *Ambarkanta* from that of the Moon; for while both pass from East to West through Ilmen, the Sun 'sinks into Vaiya' and is 'drawn through the nether Vaiya by the servants of Ulmo', whereas the Moon plunges into the Chasm of Ilmen.†

Turning now to the surface of the Earth, we meet for the first time the name *Endor*, which does not occur in the text of the *Ambarkanta* itself, but which is defined in the word-list as 'the midmost point' of *Ambar-endya* or Middle-earth. *Endor* is marked in also on the 'World-diagrams' I and II, and also on the map IV, where it is shown as a point, the 'Earth-middle', and subsequently changed to *Endon*. The name *Endor* occurs once in *The Silmarillion* (in the passage just cited), but there it is a name of Middle-earth, not of the midmost point of Middle-earth; so also in *The*

*Cf. 'Far north lies the bridge of Ice' in the N.W. corner of the Westward Extension of the first 'Silmarillion' map, pp. 227–8.

†The statement in *The Silmarillion* (p. 101) that Tilion (steersman of the Moon) 'would pass swiftly over the western land . . . and plunge in *the Chasm beyond the Outer Sea*' cannot in any way be brought into harmony with the *Ambarkanta*, where the Chasm of Ilmen is reached before Vaiya, and must be so by virtue of the fundamental ideas of the cosmology.

The passage in the 'Silmarillion' version that followed Q and was interrupted at the end of 1937 has: 'But Tilion . . . passes swiftly over the western land . . . and plunges into the chasm between the shores of the Earth and the Outer Sea.' The passage in the published *Silmarillion* derives from a later version written in all probability in 1951–2; but though I retained it I am at loss to explain it.

Lord of the Rings (Appendix E): Quenya *Endórë*, Sindarin *Ennor* 'Middle-earth'. *Ambar-endya* seems to be synonymous with *Pelmar*, since in the word-list the former is defined as 'Middle-earth', while on map IV the region between the two seas of East and West is called 'Pelmar or Middle-earth'; but in diagram I they are marked as if different in reference. Possibly, *Pelmar* (translated in the list of words as 'the Enclosed Dwelling') means strictly the habitable surface, *Ambar-endya* the central raised part of *Ambar*, the Earth.*

The lines drawn downwards from the surface of the Earth to *Martalmar* 'the roots of the Earth' in diagrams I and II are 'the veins of the World' (p. 236); and this passage is important in understanding Ulmo's power and benign influence exerted through the waters of the world (cf. *The Silmarillion* pp. 27, 40, in both of which passages the expression 'the veins of the world' is used).

In the East of the world are the Walls of the Sun, which is a great mountain range symmetrically answering the Mountains of Valinor in the West, as shown on map IV. Of this range there is no mention in the *Lost Tales*, where almost all that is said of the East is contained in Oromë's words to the Valar: 'In the East beyond the tumbled lands there is a silent beach and a dark and empty sea' (I.214); in the East also was the great mountain Kalormë (I.212), and there Aulë and Ulmo 'builded great havens [of the Sun and Moon] beside the soundless sea' (I.215). In the *Ambarkanta* the Gates of Morn, through which the Sun returns from the Outer Dark in the *Lost Tales*, have disappeared.

In the description of evening and dawn in Valinor in the *Ambarkanta* there is an echo of the *Lost Tales*: 'Valinor is filled with mingled light as of silver and gold; and the Gods smile remembering the mingling of Laurelin and Silpion long ago'; cf. I.216 'Then smile the Gods wistfully and say: "It is the mingling of the lights once more."'

The extremely close symmetry of the Eastern and Western lands as displayed on map IV is striking; the chief departure from symmetry being the difference in shape of the great Seas, and this was due to the eastward thrusting or 'crowding' of Middle-earth – 'so that it was bended' – at the time of the making of Valinor and the raising of its protective mountain-chain. This more than Titanic crushing of the new-made world was the origin of the great mountain ranges of Middle-earth, the Blue, the Red, the Yellow, and the Grey. Cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 37:

> And the shape of Arda and the symmetry of its waters and its lands was marred in that time, so that the first designs of the Valar were never after restored.

*For the first element in *Pelmar* see the Appendix to *The Silmarillion*, entry *pel-*. Neither this name nor *Ambar*, *Ambar-endya* occur in *The Silmarillion*, but *Ambar-metta* 'world-ending' is found in *The Return of the King* (VI.5). – *Middle-earth* is first found in the *Ambarkanta* and in the *Annals of Valinor*, which belong to the same period but cannot be dated relative to one another. – *Rómen* 'East' appears for the first time in diagram I, and *Hyarmen* 'South' and *Formen* 'North' (< *Harmen*, *Tormen*) in diagram II.

But in *The Silmarillion* this loss of symmetry is not attributed to the deliberate act of the Valar themselves, who in the *Ambarkanta* are ready to contort the very structure of *Ambar* for the sake of their own security.

There are some interesting points in the *Ambarkanta* account of the first days of the Valar in the world. Here it is said for the first time that Melko 'descended in the furthest North', whereas the Valar, coming to Middle-earth at its centre, made their island from 'a portion of land' and set it in the Western Sea. The old story of Melko's treacherous assistance of the Valar in their works by devising the pillars of the Lamps out of ice is still present, despite the wording of S, and still more of Q (§1): 'Morgoth contested with them and made war. The lamps he overthrew . . .', which seems to suggest that it had been abandoned. In the tale of *The Coming of the Valar* the name *Ringil* was given (by Melko!) to the northern pillar, and *Helkar* to the southern (I.69); in the *Ambarkanta* the names are applied to the Lamps rather than the pillars, and *Ringil* becomes that of the southern, *Helkar* that of the northern. In the tale there is no mention of the formation of Inland Seas at the time of the fall of the Lamps; rather 'great floods of water poured from [the Lamps] into the Shadowy Seas', and 'so great was their thaw that whereas those seas were at first of no great size but clear and warm, now were they black and wide and vapours lay upon them and deep shades, for the great cold rivers that poured into them' (I.70). Later the names of the Lamps were changed more than once, but *Helcar* remained the name of the Inland Sea 'where aforetime the roots of the mountain of Illuin [the northern Lamp] had been' (*The Silmarillion* p. 49), and it is seen from the *Ambarkanta* that the idea of the sea being formed where the Lamp once stood owed its origin to the melting pillar of ice, although the actual story of Melko's devising of the pillars was abandoned when it became impossible to represent Melko as co-operative, even in seeming, with the Valar. There is no mention in *The Silmarillion* of a southern sea where the other Lamp had stood.

Kuiviénen is said in the *Ambarkanta* to be 'to the North beside the waters of Helkar', as shown on map IV. In the *Lost Tales* (I.115, 117) Koivië-néni was a lake (with 'bare margin', set in a vale 'surrounded by pine-clad slopes') in Palisor, the midmost region; in *The Silmarillion* it is 'a bay in the Inland Sea of Helcar' (p. 49). In the same passage Oromë, on that ride that led him to the finding of the Elves, 'turned north by the shores of Helcar and passed under the shadows of the Orocarni, the Mountains of the East', and this agrees perfectly with map IV (*Orocarni* 'Red Mountains', see the Appendix to *The Silmarillion* entry *caran*). The Blue Mountains oppose them symmetrically in the West; and in the South are the Grey Mountains and the Yellow, again symmetrically opposed both to each other and to the northern ranges. The track of the March of the Elves as marked on map IV is again in complete agreement with *The Silmarillion* (p. 53): 'passing northwards about the Sea of Helcar they turned towards the west'; but of the Misty Mountains

(*Hithaeglir*) and the Great River (*Anduin*) where many Elves of the Third Host turned away South (*ibid.* p. 54) there is no sign. In *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* the Grey Mountains (*Ered Mithrin*) are a range beyond Mirkwood in the North of Middle-earth.

It seems that Beleriand, to judge by the placing and size of the lettering of the name on map IV, was relatively a very small region; and the Elves reached the Sea to the south of it, at the *Falassë* (later the *Falas* of Beleriand). But my father circled 'Beleriand' in pencil and from the circle drew an arrow to the point where the track of the March reached the Sea, which probably implies that he wished to show that this was in fact within the confines of Beleriand.

The name *Hildórien* of the land where Men awoke (implying *Hildor*, the Aftercomers) now first appears; for the curious use of the name *Eruman* for this land in Q see pp. 99, 171. Hildórien is a land lying between the Mountains of the Wind and the Eastern Sea; in *The Silmarillion* (p. 103) it is placed, more vaguely, 'in the eastward regions of Middle-earth'.

The placing of *Utumna* (in the *Ambarkanta* emended to *Utumno*, note 8) on map IV is notable, as is also the occurrence of the name itself. Whereas in the *Lost Tales* Melko's first fortress was *Utumna*, and his second *Angband* (see I.198), in S and Q the original fortress is *Angband*, to which Melko returned after the destruction of the Trees (see p. 44), and *Utumna* is not mentioned in those texts. My father had now reverted to *Utumna* (*Utumno*) as the name of Melko's ancient and original dwelling in Middle-earth (see further below, pp. 259–60).

The archipelagoes in the Western Sea have undergone the great change and simplification that distinguishes the account in *The Silmarillion* from that in the *Lost Tales* (see II.324–5); there is no sign on the map of the Harbourless Isles or the Twilit Isles, and instead we have 'The Enchanted or Magic Isles' – in Q II §17 *Magic Isles* is emended to *Enchanted Isles* (note 11). The 'Shadowy Isles' lying to the northward of the Enchanted Isles on the map seem to be a new conception.

The name *Eldaros* (not *Eldamar*, see I.251) appears on map IV with the meaning 'Elvenhome'. *Eldaros* has occurred once previously, in one of the 'Ælfwine' outlines (II.301): 'Eldaros or Ælfhâm', where the reference is unclear, but seems to be to Tol Eressëa. The words 'Bay of Elfland' are written on the map but no bay is indicated.

In the West the symmetrically formed lands of Eruman and Arvalin between the Mountains and the Sea now appear; for the earlier history see I.83. *Tún* lies a little to the north of Taniquetil; and the position of *Valmar* is as it was on the little ancient map given in I. 81.

In the *Ambarkanta* something is said of the vast further changes in the shape of the lands and seas that took place in 'the first Battle of the Gods',

when Melko was taken captive, concerning which there is nothing in Q (§2) beyond a reference to the 'tumult'. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 51) this is called 'the Battle of the Powers'; and

> In that time the shape of Middle-earth was changed, and the Great Sea that sundered it from Aman grew wide and deep; and it broke in upon the coasts and made a deep gulf to the southward. Many lesser bays were made between the Great Gulf and Helcaraxë far in the north, where Middle-earth and Aman came nigh together. Of these the Bay of Balar was the chief; and into it the mighty river Sirion flowed down from the new-raised highlands northwards: Dorthonion, and the mountains about Hithlum.

The text of the *Ambarkanta* does not mention the Great Gulf or the Bay of Balar, but speaks rather of the vast extension of the sea of Ringil and its joining to the Eastern and Western Seas (it is not clear why it is said that the sea of Helkar 'became an inland sea or great lake', since it was so already). But on the back of the map IV is another map (V) that illustrates all the features of both accounts. This map is however a very rapid pencil sketch, and is in places difficult to interpret, from uncertainty as to the meaning of lines, more especially in the Western Lands (Outer Lands). It is very hard to say how precisely this map should be interpreted in relation to map IV. For example, in map IV the Grey Mountains are very widely separated from the Blue, whereas in map V there is only a narrow space at the head of the Great Gulf between them; the Inland Sea (Helkar) is further to the North; and so on. Again, many features are absent (such as the Straits of Ice), and in such cases one cannot be sure whether their absence is casual or intentional; though the failure to mark in Tol Eressëa or the Enchanted Isles suggests the former. I am inclined to think that map V is a very rough sketch not to be interpreted too strictly.

The narrow ring between the Earth and the Outer Seas clearly represents the Chasm of Ilmen.

In relation to Beleriand in the North-west, and bearing in mind the whole underlying history of Eriol-Ælfwine and Leithien (England), the southern part of the Hither Lands, below the Great Gulf, bears an obvious resemblance to the continent of Africa; and in a vaguer way the Inland Sea could be interpreted as the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. But I can offer nothing on this matter that would not be the purest speculation.

The sea marked 'East Sea' on map V is the former sea of Ringil; cf. the *Ambarkanta*: 'the sea of Ringil . . . became a great sea flowing north-eastward and joining by straits both the Western and Eastern Seas.'

In the North-west the ranges of Eredlómin and Eredwethrin (not named; see pp. 192–3) enclosing Hithlum (which is named) are shown, and the western extension of Eredwethrin that was the southern fence of

later Nevrast.* In the version of 'The Silmarillion' that followed Q it is said that in the War of the Gods the Iron Mountains 'were broken and distorted at their western end, and of their fragments were made Eredwethrin and Eredlómin', and that the Iron Mountains 'bent back northward'; and map V, in relation to map IV, agrees well with this. The first 'Silmarillion' map (after p. 220), on the other hand, shows the Iron Mountains curving back strongly to the North-east (it is conceivable that the hasty zigzag lines to the east of Thangorodrim were intended to rectify this).

In the version of 'The Silmarillion' just referred to it is also said that 'beyond the River Gelion the land narrowed suddenly, for the Great Sea ran into a mighty gulf reaching almost to the feet of Eredlindon, and there was a strait of mountainous land between the gulf and the inland sea of Helcar, by which one might come into the vast regions of the south of Middle-earth'. Again, these features are clearly seen on map V, where the 'strait of mountainous land' is called the 'Straits of the World'. The enclosed areas to the east of Eredwethrin and south-east of Thangorodrim clearly represent the Encircling Mountains about Gondolin and the highlands of Taur-na-Fuin; we see what was later called the Gap of Maglor between those highlands and the Blue Mountains, and the rivers Gelion (with its tributaries, the rivers of Ossiriand), Sirion, and Narog.† With this part of map V compare the first 'Silmarillion' map and its Eastward extension.

Particularly notable is the closeness of Hithlum on map V to the edge of the world (the Chasm of Ilmen).

Angband is placed in very much the same position on map V as is Utumna on map IV: very near to the Chasm of Ilmen and well behind the mountain-wall, in the land that on map V is called *Daidelos* (later *Dor Daedeloth*).‡ As noted above, Utumna had now been resurrected from the *Lost Tales* as Melko's original fortress; and it emerges clearly from later texts that the story now was that when Melko returned to Middle-earth after the destruction of the Trees *he returned to the ruins of Utumna and built there his new fortress, Angband*. This, I think, is why the fortress is called Angband, not Utumna, on map V.

The history was therefore as follows:

Lost Tales	*Utumna*	Melko's original fortress
	Angband	His dwelling when he returned

*This range is seen also on the Westward Extension of the first 'Silmarillion' map, p. 228.

†All these north-western features are drawn in ink, whereas the rest of map V is in pencil; but the mountain-ranges (though not the rivers) are inked in over pencil.

‡Similar forms but with different application have occurred earlier: in the *Epilogue* to the *Lost Tales* the High Heath in Tol Eressëa where the battle was fought is *Ladwen-na-Dhaideloth*, *Dor-na-Dhaideloth* ('Sky-roof'), II.287; and in line 946 of the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* Dor-na-Fauglith was first called *Daideloth* ('High plain'), III.49.

S, Q	*Angband*	Melko's original fortress to which he returned
Ambarkanta maps	*Utumna*	Melko's original fortress
	Angband	His second fortress built on the site of Utumna when he returned

Much later, Utumno and Angband were both ancient fortresses of Morgoth, and Angband was that to which he returned (*The Silmarillion* pp. 47, 81).

Thangorodrim is shown on map V as a point, set slightly out from the Iron Mountains. This represents a change in the conception of Thangorodrim from that on the first 'Silmarillion' map, which illustrates the words of S (§8) that Thangorodrim is 'the highest of the Iron Mountains around Morgoth's fortress'. The marking of Thangorodrim on *Ambarkanta* map V shows the later conception, seen in *The Silmarillion* p. 118, where it is said expressly that Melkor made a tunnel under the mountains which issued south of them, that Thangorodrim was piled above the gate of issue, and that Angband was behind the mountain-wall: thus Thangorodrim stood out somewhat from the main range.

There are extremely puzzling features in the Western Land on map V. There is now a mountain chain (for so the herring-bone markings must be interpreted, since that is their meaning elsewhere on the map) extending up the western coast northwards from Taniquetil to the Helkaraksë and (as it seems) rising out of the sea, as well as the old westward curve of the Mountains of Valinor (bending back to the Chasm of Ilmen) seen on map IV; thus Eruman (with the first occurrence of the name *Araman* pencilled above it afterwards) is not represented as a coastal wasteland between the mountains and the sea but is walled in by mountains both on the East and on the West. I do not understand this; in any case *The Silmarillion* has the geography shown on map IV.

Equally puzzling is the representation of the lands south of Tûn and Taniquetil. Here there are herring-bone lines continuing the main line of mountains southwards from Taniquetil, with again the old westward curve back to the Chasm; but the area symmetrically corresponding to Eruman in the North is here left unnamed, and *Arvalin* (emended from *Eruman*) is shown as a substantial land extending east even of the 'new' mountains, from the southern shore of the Bay of Faëry to the extreme South of the world. The Bay of Faëry, which is clearly shown on this map (in contrast to map IV), is in fact partly formed by this 'new' Arvalin. In a corner of the map is written:

> After the War of the Gods (Arvalin was cast up by the Great Sea at the foot of the Mts.

Though the brackets are not closed after 'Mts.', I think that the first words may have been intended as a title, indicating the period represented by the map. But the following words, coupled with the absence of Arvalin from its expected place on the map, seem to imply that it was only now that Arvalin came into being.

The Old English names *Ingarsecg*, *Utgarsecg* are found in the Old English texts (pp. 207, 210). *Alflon* on the coast north of Tûn is Alqualondë (later Sindarin *alph*, *lond* (*lonn*): see the Appendix to *The Silmarillion*, entries *alqua*, *londë*). The names *Aman*, *Araman* were added to map V many years later (as also *Arda*, *Earambar* on the diagrams).

If this map shows the vastness of the cataclysm that my father conceived as having taken place at the time of the breaking of Utumno and the chaining of Melko, at the end of the *Ambarkanta* he added (see note 9) a passage concerning the far greater cataclysm that took place 'in the days of the assault of the Númenóreans upon the land of the Gods'. This may have been added much later; but the passage is written carefully in ink, not scribbled in pencil, and is far more likely to be contemporary, since the story of Númenor arose about this time. In support of this is the diagram III, 'the World after the Cataclysm and the ruin of the Númenóreans'; for on this diagram the inner air was originally marked *Wilwa* and only later changed to *Vista*. In the *Ambarkanta* and the accompanying list of words, as in diagrams I and II, *Vista* is likewise an emendation from *Wilwa*; it seems therefore that diagram III belongs to the same period.

VI

THE EARLIEST ANNALS OF VALINOR

I refer to this work as the 'earliest' *Annals of Valinor* because it was followed later in the 1930s by a second version, and then, after the completion of *The Lord of the Rings* and very probably in 1951–2, by a third, entitled *The Annals of Aman*, which though still a part of the continuous evolution of these *Annals* is a major new work, and which contains some of the finest prose in all the Matter of the Elder Days.

These earliest *Annals of Valinor* are comprised in a short manuscript of nine pages written in ink. There is a good deal of emendation and interpolation, some changes being made in ink and probably not much if any later than the first writing of the text, while a second layer of change consists of alterations in faint and rapid pencil that are not always legible. These latter include two quite substantial passages (given in notes 14 and 18) which introduce wholly new material concerning events in Middle-earth.

The text that follows is that of the *Annals* as originally written, apart from one or two insignificant alterations of wording that are taken up silently, and all later changes are given in the numbered notes, other than those made to dates. These are many and complex and are dealt with all together, separately, at the end of the notes.

It is certain that these *Annals* belong to the same period as the *Quenta*, but also that they are later than the *Quenta*. This is seen from the fact that whereas in Q Finrod (= the later Finarfin) returned to Valinor out of the far North after the burning of the ships, and the later story of his return earlier, after the Prophecy of the North, is only introduced in a marginal note (§5 note 8 and commentary p. 170), in the *Annals* the later story is already embodied in the text (Valian Year 2993). The Annals have *Beleriand*, whereas Q, as far as §12, had *Broseliand* emended to *Beleriand*; they have several names that do not occur in Q, e.g. *Bladorion*, *Dagor-os-Giliath*, *Drengist*, *Eredwethion* (this only by later emendation in Q); and *Eredlómin* has its later sense of the Echoing Mountains, not as in Q and on the first map of the Shadowy Mountains (see pp. 192–3). I see no way of showing that the *Annals* are later, or earlier, than the *Ambarkanta*, but the matter seems of no importance; the two texts certainly belong to very much the same time.

Following my commentary on the *Annals*, which I shall refer to as 'AV', I give the Old English versions in an appendix.

ANNALS OF VALINOR

(These and the *Annals of Beleriand* were written by Pengolod the Wise of Gondolin, before its fall, and after at Sirion's Haven, and at Tavrobel in Toleressëa after his return unto the West, and there seen and translated by Eriol of Leithien, that is Ælfwine of the Angelcynn.)

Here begin the Annals of Valinor

0 At the beginning Ilúvatar, that is 'Allfather', made all things, and the Valar, that is the 'Powers', came into the World. These are nine, Manwë, Ulmo, Aulë, Oromë, Tulkas, Ossë, Mandos, Lórien, and Melko. Of these Manwë and Melko were most puissant and were brethren, and Manwë was lord of the Valar and holy; but Melko turned to lust and pride and violence and evil, and his name is accursed, and is not uttered, but he is called Morgoth. The spouses of the Valar were Varda, and Yavanna, who were sisters; and Vana; and the sister of Oromë, Nessa the wife of Tulkas;[1] and Uinen lady of the Seas; and Nienna sister of Manwë and Melko; and Estë. No spouse hath Ulmo or Melko.[2] With them came many lesser spirits, their children, or beings of their own kind but of less might; these are the Valarindi.

Time was counted in the world before the Sun and Moon by the Valar according to ages, and a Valian age hath 100 of the years of the Valar, which are each as ten years are now.

In the Valian Year **500**: Morgoth destroyed by deceit the Lamps[3] which Aulë made for the lighting of the World, and the Valar, save Morgoth, retired to the West and built there Valinor between the Outer Seas that surround the Earth and the Great Seas of the West, and on the shores of these they piled great mountains. But the symmetry of land and sea was first broken in those days.[4]

In the Valian Year **1000**, after the building of Valinor, and Valmar the city of the Gods, the Valar brought into being the Two Trees of Silver and of Gold, whose bloom gave light unto Valinor.

But all this while Morgoth had dwelt in the Middle-earth and made him a great fortress in the North of the World; and he broke and twisted the Earth much in that time.[5]

A thousand Valian Years of bliss and glory followed in Valinor, but growth that began on Middle-earth at the lighting of the Lamps was checked. To Middle-earth came only Oromë to hunt in the dark woods of the ancient Earth, and sometimes Yavanna walked there.

The Valian Year **2000** is accounted the Noontide of the Blessed Realm, and the full season of the mirth of the Gods. Then did Varda make the stars[6] and set them aloft, and thereafter some of the Valarindi strayed into the Middle-earth, and among them was Melian, whose voice was renowned in Valmar. But she returned not thither for many ages, and the nightingales sang about her in the dark woods of the Western Lands.

At the first shining of the Sickle of the Gods which Varda set[7] above the North as a threat to Morgoth and an omen of his fall, the elder children of Ilúvatar awoke in the midmost of the World: they are the Elves.[8] Oromë found them and befriended them; and the most part under his guidance marched West and North to the shores of Beleriand, being bidden by the Gods to Valinor.

But first Morgoth in a great war was bound and made captive and imprisoned in Mandos. There he was confined in punishment for nine ages (900 Valian Years)[9] until he sought for pardon. In that war the lands were rent and sundered anew.[10]

The Quendi[11] and the Noldoli were the first to reach Valinor, and upon the hill of Kôr nigh to the strand they built the city of Tûn. But the Teleri who came after abode an age (100 Valian Years) upon the shores of Beleriand, and some never departed thence. Of these most renowned was Thingol (Sindingul)[12] brother of Elwë, lord of the Teleri, whom Melian enchanted. Her he after wedded and dwelt as a king in Beleriand, but this was after the departure of most of the Teleri, drawn by Ulmo upon Toleressëa.[13] This is the Valian Years **2000** to **2100**.

From **2100** to **2200** the Teleri dwelt on Toleressëa in the Great Sea within sight of Valinor; in **2200** they came in their ships to Valinor, and dwelt upon its eastern strands, and there they made the town and haven of Alqalondë or 'Swan-haven', so called because there were moored their swan-shaped boats.

About **2500** the Noldoli invented and began the fashioning of gems; and after a while Fëanor the smith, eldest son of Finwë chief of the Noldoli, devised the thrice-renowned Silmarils, concerning the fates of which these tales tell. They shone of their own light, being filled with the radiance of the Two Trees, the holy light of Valinor, blended to a marvellous fire.[14]

In **2900** Morgoth sued for pardon, and at the prayers of Nienna his sister, and by the clemency of Manwë his brother, but against the wish of Tulkas and Aulë, he was released, and feigned humility and repentance, obeisance to the Valar, and love and friendship for the Elves, and dwelt in Valinor in ever-increasing freedom. But he lied and dissembled, and most he cozened the Noldoli, for he had much to teach, and they had an over-mastering desire to learn; but he coveted their gems and lusted for the Silmarils.

2900 During two more ages[15] Valinor abode yet in bliss, yet a shadow of foreboding began to gather in many hearts; for Morgoth was at work with secret whisperings and cunning lies; and most he worked, alas, upon the Noldoli, and sowed the seeds of dissension between the sons of Finwë, Fëanor, Fingolfin, and Finrod, and of distrust between Noldoli and Valar. **2950** By the doom of the Gods Fëanor, eldest son of Finwë, and his household and following was deposed from the leadership of the Noldoli – wherefore the house of Fëanor was after called the Dispossessed, for this and because Morgoth after robbed them of their treasure – and the Gods sent also to apprehend Morgoth. But he fled into hiding in Arvalin, and plotted evil.[16]

2990–1 Morgoth now completed his designs and with the aid of Ungoliantë out of Arvalin stole back into Valinor, and destroyed the Trees, escaping in the gathering dark

northward, where he sacked the dwellings of Fëanor, and carried off a host of jewels, among them the Silmarils; and he slew Finwë and many Elves and thus defiled Valinor and began slaughter in the World.[17] Though hunted by the Valar he escaped into the North of the Hither Lands and re-established there his stronghold, and bred and gathered once more his evil servants, Orcs and Balrogs.[18]

2991 Valinor lay now in great gloom, and darkness, save only for the stars, fell on all the World. But Fëanor against the will of the Valar returned to Tûn and claimed the kingship of the Noldoli after Finwë, and he summoned to Tûn all the people of that kindred. And Fëanor spoke to them, and his words were filled with the lies of Morgoth, and distrust of the Valar, even though his heart was hot with hate for Morgoth, slayer of his father and robber of his gems.

The most of the Noldoli[19] he persuaded to follow him out of Valinor and recover their realms on earth, lest they be filched by the younger children of Ilúvatar, Men (herein he echoed Morgoth unwitting); and war for ever on Morgoth seeking to recover their treasure. At that meeting Fëanor and his sons swore their dreadful oath to slay or pursue any soever that held a Silmaril against their will.

2992 The march began, though the Gods forbade (and yet hindered not), but under divided leadership, for Fingolfin's house held him for king. Long was the people preparing. Then it came into Fëanor's heart that never should that great host, both warriors and other, and store of goods make the vast leagues unto the North (for Tûn beneath Taniquetil is upon the Girdle of the Earth, where the Great Seas are measurelessly wide) save with the help of ships. But the Teleri alone had ships, and they would not yield or lend them against the will of the Valar.

Thus about **2992** of Valian Years befell the dreadful battle about Alqalondë, and the Kin-slaying evilly renowned in song, where the Noldoli distraught furthered Morgoth's work. But the Noldoli overcame the Teleri and took their ships, and fared slowly north along

the rocky coasts in great peril and hardship and amid dissensions.

In **2993** it is said they came to a place where a high rock stands above the shores, and there stood either Mandos or his messenger and spoke the Doom of Mandos. For the kin-slaying he cursed the house of Fëanor, and to a less degree all who followed them or shared in their emprise, unless they would return to abide the doom and pardon of the Valar. But if they would not, then should evil fortune and disaster befall them, and ever from treachery of kin towards kin; and their oath should turn against them; and a measure of mortality should visit them, that they should be lightly slain with weapons, or torments, or sorrow, and in the end fade and wane before the younger race. And much else he foretold darkly that after befell, warning them that the Valar would fence Valinor against their return.[20]

But Fëanor hardened his heart and held on, and so also but reluctantly did Fingolfin's folk, feeling the constraint of their kindred and fearing for the doom of the Gods (for not all of Fingolfin's house had been guiltless of the kin-slaying). Felagund and the other sons of Finrod went forward also, for they had aforetime great fellowship, Felagund with the sons of Fingolfin, and Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor with Celegorm and Curufin sons of Fëanor. Yet the lords of this third house were less haughty and more fair than the others, and had had no part in the kin-slaying, and many with Finrod himself returned unto Valinor and the pardon of the Gods. But Aulë their ancient friend smiled on them no more, and the Teleri were estranged.

2994 The Noldoli came to the bitter North, and further they would not dare, for there is a strait between the Western Land (whereon Valinor is built) that curveth east, and the Hither Lands which bear west, and through this the chill waters of the Outer Seas and the waves of the Great Sea flow together, and there are vast mists of deathly cold, and the streams are filled with clashing hills of ice and with the grinding of ice submerged. This strait was named Helkaraksë.

But the ships that remained, many having been lost,

were too few to carry all across, and dissensions awoke between Fëanor and Fingolfin. But Fëanor seized the ships and sailed east;[21] and he said: 'Let the murmurers whine their way back to the shadows of Valinor.' And he burned the ships upon the eastern shore, and so great was its fire that the Noldoli left behind saw its redness afar off.

Thus about **2995** Fëanor came unto Beleriand and the shores beneath Eredlómin the Echoing Mountains, and their landing was at the narrow inlet Drengist that runs into Dorlómen. And they came thence into Dorlómen and about the north of the mountains of Mithrim, and camped in the land of Hithlum in that part that is named Mithrim and north of the great lake that hath the same name.

2996 And in the land of Mithrim they fought an army of Morgoth aroused by the burning and the rumour of their advance; and they were victorious and drove away the Orcs with slaughter, and pursued them beyond Ered-wethion (the Shadowy Mountains) into Bladorion. And that battle is the First Battle of Beleriand, and is called Dagor-os-Giliath, the Battle under Stars; for all was as yet dark. But the victory was marred by the death of Fëanor, who was wounded mortally by Gothmog, lord of Balrogs, when he advanced unwarily too far upon Bladorion;[22] and Fëanor was borne back to Mithrim and died there, reminding his sons of their oath. To this they now added an oath of vengeance for their father.

2997 But Maidros eldest son of Fëanor was caught in the snares of Morgoth. For Morgoth feigned to treat with him, and Maidros feigned to be willing, and either purposed evil to the other, and came with force to the parley; but Morgoth with the more, and Maidros was made captive.

Then Morgoth held him as hostage, and swore only to release him if the Noldoli would march away either to Valinor, if they could, or from Beleriand and away to the far South; and if they would not he would torment Maidros.

But the Noldoli trusted not that he would release

Maidros if they departed, nor were they willing to do so whatever he might do. Wherefore in **2998** Morgoth hung Maidros by the right wrist in a band of hellwrought steel above a precipice upon Thangorodrim, where none could reach him.

Now it is told that Fingolfin and the sons of Finrod[23] won their way at last with grievous losses and with minished might into the North of the World. And they came perforce over Helkaraksë, being unwilling to retrace their way to Valinor, and having no ships; but their agony in that crossing was very great and their hearts were filled with bitterness against Fëanor.

And even as they came the First Ages of the World were ended;[24] and these are reckoned as 30000 years or **3000** years of the Valar; whereof the first Thousand was before the Trees, and Two Thousand save nine were Years of the Trees or of the Holy Light, which lived after and lives yet only in the Silmarils. And the Nine are the Years of Darkness or the Darkening of Valinor.

But towards the end of this time as is elsewhere told the Gods made the Sun and Moon and sent them forth over the World, and light came unto the Hither Lands.[25] And Men awoke in the East of the World even at the first Dawn.[26]

But with the first Moonrise Fingolfin set foot upon the North; for the Moonrise came ere the Dawn, even as Silpion of old bloomed ere Laurelin and was the elder of the Trees. But the first Dawn shone upon Fingolfin's march, and his banners blue and silver were unfurled, and flowers sprang beneath his marching feet, for a time of opening and growth was come into the Earth, and good of evil as ever happens.

But Fingolfin marched through the very fastness of Morgoth's land, Dor-Daideloth[27] the Land of Dread, and the Orcs fled before the new light amazed, and hid beneath the earth; and the Elves smote upon the gates of Angband and their trumpets echoed in Thangorodrim's towers.

They came thus south unto Mithrim, and little love[28] was there between them and the house of Fëanor; and the folk of Fëanor removed and camped upon the

southern shores, and the lake lay between the peoples. And from this time are reckoned the Years of the Sun, and these things happened in the first year. And after came measured time into the World, and the growth and change and ageing of all things was thereafter more swift even in Valinor, but most in the Hither Lands,[29] the mortal regions between the Seas of East and West. And what else happened is recorded in the *Annals of Beleriand*, and in the *Pennas* or *Qenta*, and in many songs and tales.

NOTES

1 Added here in pencil: *daughter of Yavanna*.

2 This passage, from *and Nienna . . .*, was emended in pencil to read: *and Vairë; and Estë. No spouse hath Ulmo or Melko or Nienna, Manwë's sister and Melko's.*

3 Cf. the title to the *Ambarkanta* map IV (p. 249): *The World about V.Y. 500 after the fall of the Lamps*.

4 *But the symmetry of land and sea was first broken in those days* is an addition, but was probably made at the time of writing of the text. Cf. pp. 255–6 and the citation from *The Silmarillion* given there.

5 *and he broke and twisted the Earth much in that time* is another addition probably made at the time of writing.

6 The paragraph to this point was emended in ink to read: *But on a time (1900) Varda began the making of the stars . . .* The sentence *The Valian Year 2000 is accounted the Noontide of the Blessed Realm, and the full season of the mirth of the Gods* was removed to a later point: see note 10.

7 Added here in ink: *last and* (i.e. *the Sickle of the Gods which Varda set last and above the North*)

8 Added here in ink: *Hence are they called the children of the stars*.

9 *nine ages (900 Valian Years)* emended in ink to *seven ages (700 Valian Years)*.

10 At this point the sentence *The Valian Year 2000 . . .* was reintroduced (see note 6).

11 *Quendi* > *Lindar* in pencil.

12 *Sindingul* > *Tindingol* in pencil.

13 Added here in pencil: *His folk looked for him in vain, and his sleep lasted till they had gone*.

14 Added here in pencil:

> 2700 Here the Green-elves or Laiqi or Laiqeldar came to Ossiriand at length after many wanderings and long sojourns in diverse places. It is told that a company of the Noldoli under Dan forsook the host of Finwë early in the march and turned south,

but again finding the lands barren and dark turned north, and they came about 2700 over Eredlindon under Denithor son of Dan, and dwelt in Ossiriand, and they were allies of Thingol.

The name *Denithor* is an emendation, probably of *Denilos* (see note 18).

15 This second entry for 2900 was written after the first was changed to 2700 (see note 9, and the note on dates below).

16 This passage was emended and extended thus in pencil:

. . . robbed them of their treasure. But Morgoth hid himself in the North of the land, as was known only to Finwë and Fëanor, who dwelt now apart.

2950 The Gods sent to apprehend Morgoth, but he fled over the mountains into Arvalin, and plotted evil for a long while, gathering the strength of darkness into him.

The date 2950 earlier in the paragraph was struck out at the same time.

17 Added here in pencil: *This reward got Finwë for his friendship*.

18 Added here in ink:

Then fear came into Beleriand, and Thingol made his mansions in Menegroth, and Melian wove magics of the Valar about the land of Doriath, and the most of the Elves of Beleriand withdrew within its protection, save some that lingered in the western havens, Brithombar and Eglorest, beside the Great Seas.

To this was added, in faint and hasty pencil:

and the remnant of the Green-elves of Ossiriand behind the rivers and the might of Ulmo. But Thingol with his ally Denilos of the Green-elves kept the Orcs for a while from the South. But at length Denilos son of Dan was slain, and Thingol

Here the pencilled note ends abruptly. Above *-los* of *Denilos* at the first occurrence is an alternative reading, illegible, but in view of *Denithor* probably < *Denilos* in note 14, no doubt *-thor*.

19 *Noldoli* emended from *Gnomes* at the time of writing.

20 Added here in pencil: *Here endeth that which Rúmil wrote*. See pp.1292–3.

21 Added here in ink: *with all his folk and no others save Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor, whom Celegorm and Curufin loved*;

22 Added here in pencil: *but he . . . . . duel and Fëanor fell wrapped in fire*.

23 *Fingolfin and the sons of Finrod* emended in ink to *Fingolfin and Felagund* (cf. note 21).

24 Added here in pencil: *for they had tarried long in despair upon the shores of the West*. The next sentence begins: *And these . . .*

25 Added here in pencil: *But the Moon was the first to set sail.*
26 *Sun-rise* written in pencil above *Dawn*.
27 *Dor-Daideloth* is an emendation in ink of (almost certainly) *Dor-Daidelos*; cf. the *Ambarkanta* map V, and p. 259.
28 This sentence emended in pencil to read: *Then being wary of the wiles of Morgoth they turned unto Mithrim, that the Shadowy Mountains should be their guard. But little love . . .*
29 Added in pencil: *of Middle-earth*.

Note on changes made to the dates

(i) *Dates in the period up to the Valian Year 2200*

The mention of the Noontide of the Blessed Realm was displaced (notes 6 and 10) in order to date the starmaking and other events earlier than 2000. The beginning of the starmaking was then dated 1900 (note 6), and against *At the first shining of the Sickle of the Gods* was written in the date 1950. Against the march of the Elves led by Oromë was written in 1980–1990; and against the arrival of the Quendi (Lindar) and Noldoli in Valinor 2000.

In the sentence *But the Teleri who came after abode an age (100 Valian Years) upon the shores of Beleriand* the words *an age* were struck out, *100* changed to *10*, and the dates 2000–2010 written in. In the sentence *This is the Valian Years 2000 to 2100* the second date was likewise changed to 2010.

In the concluding part of the period, by pencilled changes perhaps later than the foregoing, the dates of the dwelling of the Teleri on Tol Eressëa, originally 2100 to 2200, were changed to 2010 to 2110; and the coming of the Teleri to Valinor in 2200 was changed to 2111. The result of these changes may be shown in a table:

Original Annals	*After changes*	
2000	1900	Making of the stars by Varda begun
	1950	Making of the Sickle of the Gods (end of the starmaking)
	1980–1990	March of the Elves
2000	2000	Noontide of the Blessed Realm
	2000	Coming of the first two kindreds of the Elves to Valinor
2000–2100	2000–2010	Teleri on the shores of Beleriand
2100–2200	2010–2110	Teleri dwelling in Tol Eressëa
2200	2111	Coming of the Teleri to Valinor

(ii) *Dates in the period from the Valian Year 2900*

The year 2900, in which Morgoth sued for pardon, was changed to 2700, following the change in the length of his imprisonment from nine to seven ages (900 to 700 Valian Years) made earlier (note 9). These changes must have been made while the *Annals* were in progress, in view of the second entry for 2900 that follows in the text as written, *During two more ages Valinor abode yet in bliss*, i.e. two more ages from the *emended* date, 2700, when Morgoth sued for pardon and was released.

For the shifting of the date 2950 see note 16.

Almost all the dates from 2990–1 to the end were emended in pencil, and the results are best set out in a table. (The dates given in the text as 2992 to 2995 are themselves emendations in ink, apparently in each case advancing the date by one year from that originally written.)

The sentence *Thus about 2992 of Valian Years* (p. 266) was changed to *Thus in the dread Year of the Valar 2999 (29991 S.Y.)*, where S.Y. = Sun Year; cf. the opening of the *Annals*, where it is explained that a Valian Year was equal to ten years 'now', i.e. of the Sun.

It will be seen that the effect of the later pencilled changes given in the table below was to speed up events from the Battle of Alqualondë to the landing of Fingolfin in Middle-earth, so that they extend over only a single Valian Year. In the passage giving the reckoning of the First Ages of the World (p. 269), over *nine* in *Two Thousand save nine were Years of the Trees* my father wrote *one*; this one year is *the dread Year of the Valar 2999*.

In this table, only actual pencilled changes made to the dates are recorded. The change of 2991 to 2998–3000 is intended to cover all that follows, or refers only to the beginning of the entry: *Valinor now lay in great gloom, and darkness . . . fell on all the World.*

Original Annals		*After changes*	
(Valian Years)		*(Valian Years)*	*(Sun Years)*
2990–1	Destruction of the Trees and escape of Morgoth	2998	
2991	Rebellion of Fëanor	2998–3000	
2992	Preparation for the Flight of the Noldoli	2999	
2992	The Battle of Alqualondë	2999	29991
2993	The Doom of Mandos		29992
2994	The Noldoli in the far North; the burning of the ships		29994

Original Annals (Valian Years)		*After changes* (Valian Years)	(Sun Years)
2995	The landing of the Fëanorians and the encampment in Mithrim		29995
2996	The Battle under Stars and the death of Fëanor	*Date struck out*	
2997	Capture of Maidros		29996
2998	Maidros hung from Thangorodrim		
3000	Landing of Fingolfin		

Commentary on the *Annals of Valinor*

In the preamble to the *Annals of Valinor* (AV) we meet one Pengolod the Wise of Gondolin, who dwelt at Tavrobel in Tol Eressëa 'after his return unto the West'. Pengolod (or Pengolodh) often appears later, but nothing more is told of his history (the reference to Sirion's Haven shows that he was one of those who escaped from Gondolin with Tuor and Idril). I am much inclined to think that his literary origin is to be found in Gilfanon of the *Lost Tales*, who also lived at Tavrobel (which now first emerges again); there Eriol stayed in his house ('the house of a hundred chimneys'), and Gilfanon bade him write down all that he had heard (II.283), while in the preamble to AV Eriol saw Pengolod's book at Tavrobel and translated it there. Moreover Gilfanon was of the Noldoli, and though in the *Lost Tales* he is not associated with Gondolin he was an Elf of Kôr, 'being indeed one of the oldest of the fairies and the most aged that now dwelt in the isle', and had lived long in the Great Lands (I.175); while Pengolod was also an Elf whose life began in Valinor, since he 'returned' into the West.

It is not clear whether the ascription of both sets of *Annals* to Pengolod of Tavrobel, where Ælfwine/Eriol translated them, is a departure from or is congruent with the title of the *Quenta* (pp. 77–8), in which Eriol is said to have read the Golden Book (*Parma Kuluina*) in Kortirion. In the early notes and outlines there are different conceptions of the Golden Book: see II.287, 290–1, 310. On the explicit equation of *Ælfwine* and *Eriol* in the preamble to AV see p. 206.

On the later addition to AV (note 20) 'Here endeth that which Rúmil wrote' see pp. 292–3. Rúmil re-emerges from the *Lost Tales* also as the author of the *Ambarkanta* (p. 235).

In the opening passage of AV, and in the later alterations made to it, there are some developments in the composition and relations of the

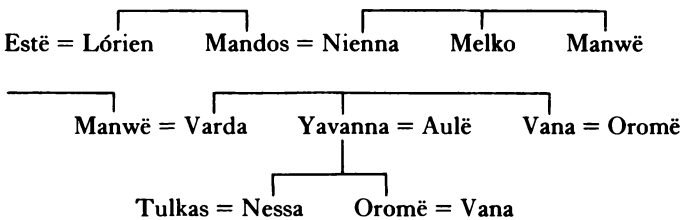
Valar. The Nine Valar are the same as the nine 'chieftains of the Valar' or the 'Nine Gods' of the opening section in Q; and the association of the Valar with their spouses has undergone little change from the *Lost Tales*: Manwë and Varda; Aulë and Yavanna; Oromë and Vana; Tulkas and Nessa; Ossë and Uinen; Mandos and Nienna. But now Estë first appears, the spouse of Lórien (as is implied here by the arrangement of the passage, and as is expressly stated in the Old English version of AV, p. 285).

The 'consanguinity' of the Valar. In the *Lost Tales* Aulë and Yavanna Palúrien were the parents of Oromë (I.67), and Nessa was Oromë's sister (I.75). In the addition to AV given in note 1 Nessa is still the daughter of Yavanna;* as will appear subsequently (p. 293) Oromë was the son of Yavanna, but not of Aulë. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 29) Oromë and Nessa remain brother and sister, though their parentage is not stated.

Varda and Yavanna are said to be sisters in Q, as in AV; in Q Vana is a third sister, though apparently not so in AV, and she remains the younger sister of Yavanna in *The Silmarillion* (*ibid.*).

Manwë and Melko are said in AV to be 'brethren' (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 26: 'Manwë and Melkor were brethren in the thought of Ilúvatar'), and Nienna is their sister; in *The Silmarillion* (p. 28) she is the sister of the Fëanturi, Mandos and Lórien.

If these sources are combined the fullest extension of the genealogy is therefore:



Only the sea-gods, Ulmo, and Ossë with Uinen, are not brought in.

By the emendation given in note 2 Vairë appears, and is clearly by the arrangement of the passage the spouse of Mandos, as she remained; and Nienna now becomes solitary, again as she remained. Of course it is altogether unclear what is really meant by the terms 'brother', 'sister', 'mother', 'son', 'children' in the context of the great Valar.

The term *Valarindi* has not occurred before; see further p. 293.

In what follows I relate my remarks to the dates of the *Annals*. In most respects this text (as originally written) is in harmony with the *Quenta*,

*In Q §6 (p. 99) Nessa is the daughter of Vana, though this statement was struck out (note 2).

and I notice only the relatively few and for the most part minor points in which they are not, or in which the *Annals* offer some detail that is absent from the *Quenta* (a great deal is of course found in the much longer *Quenta* that is omitted in the brief *Annals*).

Valian Year 500 The words 'Morgoth destroyed *by deceit* the Lamps' indicates the story of his devising the pillars out of ice, as in the *Ambarkanta* (see pp. 238, 256).

Valian Year 2000 (later 1900, 1950) The making of the stars seems still to be thought of as accomplished by Varda at one and the same period, as in Q §2 (see p. 168). A later addition in AV (note 7) makes the Sickle of the Gods the last of Varda's works in the heavens, and thus the Elves awoke when the starmaking was concluded, as in *The Silmarillion* (p. 48); in S and Q they awoke 'at the making of the stars'. The addition given in note 8 telling that the Elves were for this reason called 'the children of the stars' is interesting; but later evidence shows that this was not yet the meaning of the name *Eldar*.

The Elves are said to have awoken 'in the midmost of the World'; in S and Q Cuiviénen is 'in the East', 'far in the East', as in *The Silmarillion*. But I doubt that this is significant, in view of the placing of Kuiviénen on the *Ambarkanta* map IV (p. 249), which could be referred to either as 'in the East' or as 'in the midmost of the World'.

In S and Q there is no mention of the Elves who would not leave the Waters of Awakening (see p. 44); in AV there is at least a suggestion of them in the reference to 'the most part' of the Elves having followed Oromë. But the story of the three original ambassadors of the Elves is still absent (see p. 168).

In S and Q (§ 4) the length of Morgoth's imprisonment in the halls of Mandos was seven ages; in Q 'seven' was emended to 'nine', but this was then rejected (note 1); in AV 'nine' was emended to 'seven' (note 9). In *The Silmarillion* (p. 65) the number of ages is three.

The rending and sundering of the lands in the war that ended in the captivity of Morgoth is described in the *Ambarkanta* (see pp. 239, 257–9).

The term *Quendi* for the First Kindred is still used in AV as in Q, and as in Q was later changed to *Lindar*. The addition in note 13 makes it explicit that Thingol did not awake from his enchanted sleep until his people had passed over the Sea; so in the *Tale of Tinúviel*, II.9: 'Now when he awoke he thought no more of his people (and indeed it had been vain, for long now had those reached Valinor).' He is now the brother of Elwë Lord of the Teleri (cf. I.120).

Valian Year 2200 (later 2111) The name *Alqalondë* (not in S and Q, where only the English name, Swanhaven or Haven of the Swans, is

used) reappears from *(Kópas) Alqaluntë* of the *Lost Tales*; cf. *Alflon* on the *Ambarkanta* map V (pp. 251, 261).

It is to be noticed that while the changing of the dates (p. 272) greatly reduced the time during which the Teleri dwelt on the coast of Beleriand (from 100 Valian Years to 10), it does not affect the length of their sojourn in Tol Eressëa, 100 Valian Years, equivalent to 1000 Years of the Sun (cf. Q §3: 'Of this long sojourn apart came the sundering of the tongue of the Foamriders and the Elves of Valinor').

Valian Year 2500 Wholly new is the matter of the pencilled addition given in note 14. My father was here working out the chronology at large, for there is no reason for this story to appear in Annals of Valinor.* It agrees with what is told in *The Silmarillion* (p. 54), save that Denethor's father is there Lenwë not Dan, and that these Elves came from the third host, the Teleri, not from the Noldor.

This is the first indication of the origin of the Green-elves, who have hitherto only appeared in association with Beren (see p. 62, and Q §14), and the first appearance of their Elvish names *Laiqi* or *Laiqeldar* (later *Laiquendi*). For earlier forms of Ossiriand see p. 233; the final form occurs also in emendations to Q (§§9, 10, 14). *Eredlindon* appears in a late addition to Q §9, note 3.

Valian Year 2900 (later 2700) In S and Q it is Tulkas and Ulmo who are opposed to the release of Morgoth, as in *The Silmarillion* (p. 66); in AV it is Tulkas and Aulë. In AV appears the intercession of Nienna on Morgoth's behalf, and this was retained in *The Silmarillion* (p. 65), though Nienna is no longer his sister.

Valian Year 2950 'The Dispossessed', the name given to the House of Fëanor, has appeared in the Old English name *Yrfeloran*, p. 212.

I have noticed in my commentary on Q §4 that the later interpolation (note 6), telling that a messenger came to the Gods in council with tidings that Morgoth was in the North of Valinor and journeying to the house of Finwë, is the first hint of the story of Morgoth's going to Formenos and his speech with Fëanor before the doors. In AV also, as originally written, the northward movement of Morgoth was absent (he fled at once into Arvalin after the council of the Gods in which they deposed Fëanor and sent to apprehend Morgoth); but in the pencilled interpolation given in note 16 Morgoth 'hid himself in the North of the land, as was known only to Finwë and Fëanor, who dwelt now apart'. It was then that the Gods sent to apprehend him, though no explanation is given of how they knew where he was; but the story now becomes

*It remained in the 'tradition' of these Annals, however, and is still present in the much later *Annals of Aman* (though there with a direction to transfer it to the *Annals of Beleriand*).

structurally the same as that in *The Silmarillion* (p. 72), where it was only when Finwë sent messengers to Valmar saying that Morgoth had come to Formenos that Oromë and Tulkas went after him.

Valian Years 2990–1 The addition given in note 17, 'This reward got Finwë for his friendship', refers, I think, to the relations between Morgoth and the Noldoli before his exposure. This seems much more likely than that Morgoth actually succeeded in cozening the Noldoli in exile in the North of Valinor, that they formed an alliance with him.

It is remarkable that according to the revised dating no less than 48 Valian Years (2950–2998), that is 480 Years of the Sun, elapsed between Morgoth's flight into Arvalin and the destruction of the Trees.

The insertion (in two instalments) given in note 18 introduces further new history of the 'Dark Ages' of Middle-earth. The Havens on the coast of Beleriand were marked in later on the Westward Extension of the first map (p. 228), where they are named *Brithombar* and *Eldorest* (see p. 227). Now appears also the withdrawal of the Elves of Beleriand behind the Girdle of Melian; cf. *The Silmarillion*, pp. 96–7: '[Thingol] withdrew all his people that his summons could reach within the fastness of Neldoreth and Region.' The name *Menegroth* of the Thousand Caves has not occurred before.

The incomplete pencilled addition is the first hint of the battle of the Elves of Beleriand with the Orcs after Morgoth's return ('the first battle in the Wars of Beleriand', *The Silmarillion* p. 96), in which Denethor was slain.

Valian Year 2992 (later 2999) In the account of the Flight of the Noldoli there is a suggestion, in the words 'The march began, though the Gods forbade (and yet hindered not)', of the speech of the messenger of Manwë as the march began in *The Silmarillion* (p. 85): 'Go not forth! . . . No aid will the Valar lend you in this quest, but neither will they hinder you.'

Valian Year 2993 (later Sun Year 29992) More is now told of the content of the Prophecy of Mandos, in particular as it concerns the altered fate of the Noldoli who would not turn back from their rebellion. In Q (§5) nothing is said of this, and the curse, as reported, is restricted to the doom of treachery and the fear of treachery among themselves; but in a later passage (§7), which goes back to S and indeed to the *Lost Tales* (see p. 51), it is told that

> Immortal were the Elves, and . . . no sickness or pestilence brought them death. But they could be slain by weapons in those days . . . and some waned and wasted with sorrow till they faded from the earth.

In AV the Doom of Mandos foretells that

> a measure of mortality should visit them [the House of Fëanor and those who followed them], that they should be lightly slain with weapons, or torments, or sorrow, and in the end fade and wane before the younger race.

At first sight this seems at odds with the story as it stands, where Finwë and many other Elves had already been slain by Morgoth, who thus 'began slaughter in the world'; 'a measure of mortality' was their fate in any case. But it may be that the word 'lightly' is to be given full weight, and that the meaning is that the Noldoli will be less resistant to death that comes in these ways. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 88) Mandos or his emissary said:

> For though Eru appointed you to die not in Eä, and no sickness may assail you, yet slain ye may be, and slain ye shall be: by weapon and by torment and by grief.

This I take to mean, in effect: 'Do not forget that, though you are immortal in that you cannot die through sickness, you can nonetheless be slain in other ways; and you will indeed now die in such ways abundantly.'

The waning of the Elves now becomes an element in the Doom of Mandos; on this see p. 172.

The statement in AV that when Finrod and many others returned to Valinor and were pardoned by the Gods 'Aulë their ancient friend smiled on them no more' is interesting. It does not appear in *The Silmarillion*, where nothing is said of the reception of Finarfin (Finrod) and those who came with him on their return beyond the fact that 'they received the pardon of the Valar, and Finarfin was set to rule the remnant of the Noldor in the Blessed Realm' (p. 88); but it is to be related to a passage in the old *Tale of the Sun and Moon* (I. 176) in which Aulë's peculiar anger against the Noldoli for their ingratitude and for the Kinslaying is described.

The alliances and friendships between the princes of the Noldoli in the third generation have been touched on in S and Q §5, where Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor, sons of Finrod, sided with the Fëanorians in the debate in Tûn before the Flight of the Noldoli; in AV this becomes a friendship especially with Celegorm and Curufin, and is no doubt to be related to the evolution of the Nargothrond legend.

Valian Year 2994 (later Sun Year 29994) The friendship of Celegorm and Curufin with Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor just referred to leads to the remarkable development (in the addition given in note 21) that these three sons of Finrod were actually allowed passage in the ships by the Fëanorians, and that only Felagund came over the Helkaraksë with Fingolfin (note 23). This story if adhered to would presumably have affected the further evolution of the history of the Noldor in Beleriand.

In *The Silmarillion* the only especial relationship of friendship between any of the sons of Fëanor and their cousins (apart from that with Aredhel Fingolfin's daughter) is that between Maedhros and Fingon; and Maedhros, not perceiving that his father meant to burn the ships, proposed that Fingon be among the first of the other Noldor to be brought over in a second journey (p. 90).

Valian Year 2995 (later Sun Year 29995) Here the firth of *Drengist* is named for the first time in the narrative texts (it occurs in the list of Old English names, p. 210, but is not named on the Westward Extension of the first map); *Eredlómin* has the later sense of the Echoing Mountains (see pp. 192–3, 221); and *Mithrim* is used not only of the Lake but of the region about the Lake, and the *Mountains of Mithrim* are mentioned for the first time (see p. 221, entry *Hithlum*). The encampment of the Fëanorians by Lake Mithrim now precedes the Battle under Stars.

Valian Year 2996 (date later struck out) The first battle of the returning Noldor with the Orcs is now fought in Mithrim, not on the Northern plain (Q §8), and the plain at last receives an Elvish name, *Bladorion*, referring to the time when it was still grassland (with *Bladorion* perhaps compare *Bladorwen* 'the wide earth', a name of Yavanna given in the old Gnomish dictionary, I.264, entry *Palúrien*). The Orcs are pursued into Bladorion and Fëanor is wounded there, but dies in Mithrim. The name *Battle under Stars* is added in Q §8, note 2, but this is the first occurrence of an Elvish name, *Dagor-os-Giliath* (later *Dagor-nuin-Giliath*). *Eredwethion* replaces, in the text as written, *Eredlómin* as the Elvish name of the Shadowy Mountains (previously it is found only in later alterations, Q II§15, note 1, and on the first map, p. 221).

Valian Year 2997 (later Sun Year 29996) A new element in AV is the condition which Morgoth proposed for the release of Maidros.

Valian Year 3000 Here is introduced the story that Fingolfin after landing in Middle-earth marched even to Angband and beat on the gates, but (in the emendation given in note 28) being prudent retreated to Mithrim; and although in S and Q §8 it is already told that the two hosts of the Noldor were encamped on opposing shores of Lake Mithrim, it is now added that the Fëanorians removed to the southern shore when Fingolfin came.

On the phrase 'after came measured time into the World' see Q §6 note 6, and pp. 171–2.

With 'the *Pennas* or *Qenta*' cf. the title of Q (p. 77): *Qenta Noldorinwa or Pennas-na-Ngoelaidh*.

APPENDIX

Old English versions of the Annals of Valinor, made by Ælfwine or Eriol

The first version given here is certainly the oldest, and is perhaps earlier than the Modern English *Annals*. A few late pencilled alterations or suggestions are given in the notes.

I

– þéos gesegen wearþ ærest on bócum gesett of Pengolode þám Úþwitan of Gondoline ær þám þe héo abrocen wurde, 7 siþþan æt Sirigeones Hýþe, 7 æt Tafrobele on Toleressean (þæt is Ánetíge), æfter þám þe he eft west cóm; 7 héo wearþ þær gerǽdd and geþíedd of Ælfwine, þám þe ielfe Eriol genemdon.

Frumsceaft Hér ærest worhte Ilúfatar, þæt is Ealfæder oþþe Heofonfæder oþþe Beorhtfæder, eal þing.

D géara þára Falar (þæt is þára Mihta oþþe Goda): án géar þára Goda bið swá lang swá tíen géar béoð nú on þære worolde arímed æfter þére sunnan gange. Melco (þæt is Orgel) oþþe Morgoþ (þæt is Sweart-ós) oferwearp þára Goda Blácern, 7 þá Godu west gecirdon híe, and híe þær Valinor þæt is Godéþel geworhton.

M Hér þá Godu awehton þá Twégen Béamas, Laurelin (þæt is Goldléoþ) 7 Silpion (þæt is Glisglóm).

MM Godéðles Middæg oþþe Héahþrymm. Hér bléowon þá Béamas þúsend géara; ond Varda (héo wæs gydena æþelust) steorran geworhte; for þám hátte héo Tinwetári Steorrena Hlǽfdige. Hér onwócon Ielfe on Éastlandum; 7 se Melco wearð gefangen 7 on clústre gebunden; 7 siððan cómon ielfa sume on Godéðel.

MM oþ MMC Hér wearð Tún, séo hwíte burg, atimbred on munte Córe. þá Telere gewunodon gíet on þam weststrandum þára Hiderlanda; ac se Teler þingol wearð on wuda begalen.

MMC oþ MMCC Wunodon þá Telere on Ánetíge.

MMCC Hér cómon þá Telere oþ Godéðel.

MMD Hér þurh searucræftas apóhton and beworhton þá Nold-ielfe gimmas missenlice, 7 Féanor Noldena hláford worhte þá Silmarillas, þæt wæron Eorclanstánas.

MM oþ **MMDCCCC** Hæftnýd Morgoðes.

MMDCCCC Hér wearð Morgoþ alýsed, 7 he wunode on Godéðle, 7 lícette þæt he hold wære Godum 7 Ielfum.

MMDCCCCXCIX Hér ofslóh Morgoð þá Béamas ond opfléah, 7 ætferede mid him þára Elfa gimmas 7 þá Eorclanstánas. Sippan forléton þá Noldelfe hiera hyldo, and éodon on elþéodignes, 7 gefuhton wið þá Telere æt Elfethýðe 7 sige námon 7 ætferedon þa Teleriscan scipu.

Hér wearð micel gesweorc 7 genipu on Godéðle 7 ofer ealne middangeard. þá hwíle edníwede Morgoð his ealde fæsten on þám Norþdælum, and getrymede micle, and orcas gegaderode, and þa Eorclanstánas on his irenhelme befæste.

þá fór Féanor mid his seofon sunum and micelre fierde norþ 7 þá siglde on Teleriscum scipum to þám Weststrandum, and þær forbærndon híe þa scipu ond aswicon hiera geféran þe on lást síðodon.

Hér gefeaht Féanores fierd wiþ þam orcum 7 sige námon 7 þá orcas gefliemdon oþ Angband (þæt is Irenhelle); ac Goðmog, Morgoðes þegn, ofslóh Féanor, and Mægdros gewéold sippan Féanores folc. þis gefeoht hátte Tungolgúð.

NOTES

Textual Notes to Version I

All the following changes, except that in line 9, were made very quickly in pencil and without striking out the original forms; they belong to a much later period, as is shown by the fact that *Melkor* for *Melko* was not introduced until 1951.

1 *Pengolode* > *Pengoloðe*
2 *Gondoline* > *Gondolinde*
3 *Tafrobele* > (probably) *Taþrobele* (see p. 288 note to line 7, and p. 291 note to line 7).

6 *Eriol* > *Ereol*
9 *Falar* is an emendation in ink of *Valar*.
11 *Melco* > *Melcor* (but not at line 21)
13 *Blácern* > *Léohtfatu*
14 *Godéþel* > *Ésa-eard* (*ésa* genitive plural of *ós*, see p. 208)

Old English Names in Version I

Far less use is made of Old English equivalents than is provided for in the lists given on pp. 208–13; so we have *Gondoline* with an Old English inflectional ending (not *Stángaldorburg*, etc.), *Nold(i)elfe*, also genitive plural *Noldena* (not *Déopelfe*, etc.), *Féanor*, *Mægdros*, *Goðmog*, *on munte Córe*. Old English equivalents, used or only mentioned, are mostly actual translations. Thus *Melco* is *Orgel* ('Pride'); *Morgoð* is *Sweart-ós* ('Black God', 'Dark God', see II.67); *Laurelin* is *Goldléoþ* ('Gold-song', 'Song of Gold' – cf. the translation 'singing-gold' in the name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin*, II.216, and contrast *Glengold* imitating *Glingol*, p. 210); *Silpion* is *Glisglóm* (of which the elements are evidently the stem *glis-* seen in the verbs *glisian*, *glisnian* 'shine, glitter', and *glóm* 'twilight'); *Alqalondë* is *Elfethýð* ('Swan-haven')*; *Tol Eressëa* is *Ánetíg* ('Solitary Isle'); the Battle-under-Stars is *Tungolgúð* ('Star-battle'). *Irenhell* for *Angband* and *Godéðel* ('Land of the Gods') for *Valinor* are found in the list of Old English names.

The Silmarils are *Eorclanstánas* (also treated as an Old English noun with plural *Silmarillas*). There are several different forms of this Old English word: *eorclan-*, *eorcnan-*, *earcnan-*, and *eorcan-* from which is derived the 'Arkenstone' of the Lonely Mountain. The first element may be related to Gothic *airkns* 'holy'. With *middangeard* line 37 cf. my father's note in *Guide to the Names in The Lord of the Rings*, in *A Tolkien Compass*, p. 189: 'The sense is "the inhabited lands of (Elves and) Men", envisaged as lying between the Western Sea and that of the Far East (only known in the West by rumour). *Middle-earth* is a modern alteration of medieval *middel-erde* from Old English *middan-geard*.'

Varda's name *Tinwetári*, Queen of the Stars, goes back to the tale of *The Chaining of Melko* (I.100), and is found also in Q §2.

Dates in Version I

The date MMDCCCCXCIX (written with M for MM, as also the two occurrences of MMDCCCC, but these are obviously mere slips without significance), 2999, does not agree with that in the Modern English version for the destruction of the Two Trees and the rape of the Silmarils, which are there given under 2990–1.

*This Old English name (with variant initial vowel, *Ielfethýþ*) is found long before in a marginal note to *Kópas Alqaluntë* in the tale of *The Flight of the Noldoli*, I.164, footnote.

II

This text relates very closely indeed to the Modern English version. There are slight differences of substance between them here and there, and some of the emendations made to the modern version are embodied in the Old English text; these points are mentioned in the notes, as also are some details concerning the dates and some features of the names.

The text was lightly emended in pencil, but these changes are almost without exception modifications of word-order or other slight syntactical changes, and all such I take into the text silently. It breaks off abruptly at the beginning of the annal entry equivalent to 2991 with the words 'Valinor lay now'; these are not at the foot of a page, and none of the text has been lost.

At first sight it is puzzling that in the preamble the *Annals of Valinor* are called *Pennas*, since the *Pennas* or *Quenta* (see pp. 205-6) is clearly intended to represent a different literary tradition from the *Annals*, or at least a different mode of presenting the material. The preamble goes on to say, however, that this book *Pennas* is divided into three parts: the first part is *Valinórelúmien*, that is *Godéðles géargetæl* (i.e. Annals of Valinor); the second is *Beleriandes géargetæl* (i.e. Annals of Beleriand); and the third is *Quenta Noldorinwa* or *Pennas nan Goelið*, that is *Noldelfaracu* (the History of the Noldorin Elves). Thus, here at any rate, *Pennas* (*Quenta*) is used in both a stricter and a wider sense: the whole opus that Ælfwine translated in Tol Eressëa is the *Pennas* (*Quenta*), 'the History', but the term is also used more narrowly of the *Pennas nan Goelið* or *Quenta Noldorinwa*, which may be thought of as 'the Silmarillion proper', as opposed to the 'Annals'. In fact, in an addition to the very brief Old English version III of the *Annals of Valinor* (p. 291, note to line 5) it is expressly said: 'This third part is also called *Silmarillion*, that is the history of the *Eorclanstánas* [*Silmarils*].'

Her onginneð séo bóc þe man *Pennas* nemneð, 7 héo is on þréo gedæled; se forma dæl is *Valinórelúmien* þæt is Godéðles géargetæl, 7 se óþer is Beleriandes géargetæl, 7 se þridda *Quenta Noldorinwa* oþþe *Pennas nan Goelið* þæt is Noldelfaracu. þás ærest awrát Pengolod se Úþwita of Gondoline, ær þám þe héo abrocen wurde, 7 siþþan æt Siriones hýþe 7 æt Tavrobele in Toleressean (þæt is Ánetége), þá he eft west cóm. And þás béc Ælfwine of Angelcynne geseah on Ánetége, þá þá he æt sumum cerre funde híe; 7 he geleornode híe swa he betst mihte 7 eft geþéodde 7 on Englisc ásette.

I

Hér onginneð Godéðles géargetæl.

On frumsceafte Ilúuvatar, þæt is Ealfæder, gescóp eal þing, 7 þá Valar, þæt is þá Mihtigan (þe sume menn sippan for godu héoldon) cómon on þás worolde. Híe sindon nigon: Manwe, Ulmo, Aule, Orome, Tulkas, Mandos, Lórien, Melko. þára wæron Manwe 7 Melko his bróþor ealra mihtigoste, ac Manwe wæs se yldra, 7 wæs Vala-hláford 7 hálig, 7 Melko béah to firenlustum and úpahæfennesse and oferméttum and wearþ yfel and unmæðlic, and his nama is awergod and unasprecenlic, ac man nemneð hine Morgoð in Noldelfisc-gereorde. þa Valacwéne hátton swá: Varda 7 Geauanna, þe gesweostor wæron, Manwes cwén 7 Aules cwén; 7 Vana Oromes cwén; 7 Nessa Tulkases cwén (séo wæs Oromes sweostor); 7 Uinen, merecwén, Osses wíf; 7 Vaire Mandosses cwén, 7 Este Lóriendes cwén. Ac Ulmo 7 Melko næfdon cwéne, 7 Nienna séo geómore næfde wer.

Mid þissum geférum cómon micel héap læsra gesceafta, Valabearn, oþþe gæstas Valacynnes þe læsse mægen hæfdon. þás wæron Valarindi.

And þá Valar ær þám þe Móna 7 Sunne wurden gerímdon tíde be langfirstum oþþe ymbrynum, þe wæron hund Valagéara on geteald; 7 án Valagéar wæs efne swá lang swá tén géar sindon nú on worolde.

D On þám Valagéare **D** mid searucræfte fordyde Morgoþ þá blácern, þe Aule smiþode, þætte séo weorold mid sceolde onleohted weorðan; 7 þá Valar, búton Morgoþe ánum, gecerdon híe West, and þær getimbredon Valinor (þæt is Godéðel) be sæm twéonum (þæt is betwuh Útgársecge þe ealle eorðan bebúgeð, and séo micle Westsæ, þæt is Gársecg, oþþe Ingársecg, oþþe Belegar on Noldelfisce; 7 on Westsæs strandum gehéapodon hie micle beorgas. And middangear[d]es rihtgesceap wearþ on þám dagum ærest of Morgoðe onhwerfed.

M Hér, æfter þám þe Valinor wearð getimbrod, 7 Valmar þæt is Godaburg, gescópon 7 onwehton þá Valar þá Twégen Béamas, óþerne of seolfre óþerne of golde geworhtne, þe hira léoma onléohte Valinor. Ac Morgoþ búde on middangearde and geworhte him þær

micel fæsten on norþdælum; and on þære tíde forbræc he and forsceóp he micle eorðan 7 land. Sippan wearþ þúsend géara blæd 7 bliss on Godéþle, ac on middangearde þá wæstmas, þe be þára blácerna ontendnesse ær ongunnon úpaspringan, amerde wurdon. To middangearde cóm þára Vala nán bútan Orome, þe oft wolde huntian on þære firnan eorðan be deorcum wealdum, 7 Iauannan þe hwílum fór þider.

MM Þis géar bip Valaríces Middæg oppe Heahþrymm geteald, 7 þá wæs Goda myrgþu gefullod. þá geworhte Varda steorran 7 sette híe on lyfte (7 þý hátte héo Tinwetári, þæt is Tungolcwén), and sóna æfter þám of Godéþle wandrodon Valarindi sume 7 cómon on middangeard, and þára gefrégost wearð Melian, þe wæs ær Lóriendes híredes, 7 hire stefn wæs mære mid Godum: ac héo ne cóm eft to Godabyrig ær þon þe fela géara oferéodon and fela wundra gelumpon, ac nihtegalan wæron hire geféran 7 sungon ymb híe be þám deorcum wudum on westdælum.

þá þá þæt tungol, þe gefyrn Godasicol oppe Brynebrér hátte, líxte ærest forþ on heofonum, for þám þe Varda hit asette Morgoþe on andan him his hryre to bodianne, þá onwócon þá yldran Ealfæderes bearn on middan worolde: þæt sindon Elfe. Híe funde Orome and wearþ him fréondhald, and þára se mæsta dæl sippan West fóron him on láste and mid his latteowdóme sóhton Beleriandes weststrand, for þám þe Godu híe lapodon on Valinor.

þá wearþ Morgoþ ær mid micle heregange forhergod and gebunden and sippan æt Mandosse on cwearterne gedón. þær wearð he wítefæst seofon firstmearce (þæt is seofon hund Valagéara) oþ þæt he dædbétte and him forgifennesse bæde. On þám gefeohtum éac wurdon eorðan land eft forbrocen swíðe 7 forscapen.

þá Cwendi (þæt wæron Léohtelfe) and þá Noldelfe sóhton ærest to lande on Valinor, 7 on þám grénan hylle Córe þám sáriman néah getimbrodon híe Tún þá hwítan Elfaburg; ac þá Teleri, þe síþ cómon on Beleriand, gebidon áne firstmearce þær be strande, and sume híe ne fóron þanon sippan náfre. þára wæs Þingol gefrégost, Elwes bróðor, Teleria hláfordes: hine Melian begól.

Híe hæfde he sippan to wífe, and cyning wearð on Beleriande; ac þæt gelamp æfter þám þe Ulmo oflædde Teleria þone mæstan dæl on Ánetíge, and bróhte híe swá to Valinore. þás þing wurdon on þám Valagéarum **MM** oþ **MMC**.

Of **MMC** oþ **MMCC** wunodon þá Teleri on Toleressean onmiddum Ingársecge, þanon híe mihton Valinor feorran ofséon; on **MMCC** cómon híe mid micelre scipferde to Valinore, and þér gewunodon on éastsæriman Valinores, and geworhton þér burg and hýþe, and nemdon híe Alqualonde, þæt is Elfethýþ, for þém þe hie þér hira scipu befæston, 7 þá wæron ielfetum gelíc.

þæs ymb þréo hund sumera, oppe má oppe læs, apóhton þá Noldelfe gimmas and ongunnon híe asmipian, and sippan Féanor se smiþ, Finwes yldesta sunu Nol[d]elfa hláfordes, apóhte and geworhte þá felamæran Silmarillas, þe þéos gesægen fela áh to secganne be hira wyrdum. Híe lixton mid hira ágenum léohte, for þám þe híe wæron gefylde þára twégra Béama léomum, þe wurdon þæroninnan geblanden and to hálgum and wundorfyllum fýre gescapen.

MMDCC Hér Morgoþ dædbétte and him forgefennesse bæd; ond be Niennan þingunga his sweostor him Manwe his bróðor áre getéah, Tulkases unþance and Aulès, and hine gelésde; 7 he lícette þæt he hréowsode 7 éaðmód wære, and þám Valum gehérsum and þám elfum swíþe hold; ac he léah, and swípost he bepæhte þá Noldelfe, for þám þe he cúþe fela uncúþra þinga læran; he gítsode swáþéah hira gimma and hine langode þá Silmarillas.

MMCM þurh twá firstmearce wunode þá gíet Valinor on blisse, ac twéo 7 inca awéox swáþéah manigum on heortan swulce nihtsceadu náthwylc, for þám þe Morgoþ fór mid dernum rúnungum and searolicum lygum, and yfelsóþ is to secganne, swípost he onbryrde þá Noldelfe and unsibbe awehte betwux Finwes sunum, Féanor and Fingolfin and Finrod, and ungeþwærnes betwux Godum 7 elfum.

MMCMD Be Goda dóme wearþ Féanor, Finwes yldesta sunu, mid his hírede 7 folgoþe adón of Noldelfa ealdordóme – þý hátte siþþan Féanores cynn þá Erfeloran, for þám dóme 7 for þý þe Morgoþ beréafode híe hira máþma – 7 þá Godu ofsendon Morgoþ to démanne hine; ac he ætfléah 7 darode on Arualine and beþóhte hine yfel.

MMCMD – MMCMDI Hér Morgoþ fullfremede his searowrencas sóhte Ungoliante on Arualine and bæd híe fultumes. þa bestælon híe eft on Valinor 7 þá Béamas forspildon, and siþþan ætburston under þám weaxendum sceadum and fóron norþ and þær hergodon Féanores eardunge and ætbæron gimma unrím and þá Silmarillas mid ealle, 7 Morgoþ ofslóh þær Finwe 7 manige his elfe mid him and awídlode swá Valinor ærest mid blódgyte and morþor astealde on worolde. He þá fléame generede his feorh, þéah þe þá Godu his éhton wíde landes, siþþan becóm he on middangeardes norþdælas and geedstaðelode þær his fæsten, and fédde and samnode on níwe his yfele þéowas, ge Balrogas ge orcas. þá cóm micel ege on Beleriand, 7 þingol his burgfæsten getrymede on Menegroþ þæt is þúsend þéostru, and Melian séo cwén mid Vala-gealdrum begól þæt land Doriaþ and bewand hit ymbútan, and siþþan sóhton se mæsta dæl þára deorc-elfa of Beleriande þingoles munde.

MMCMI Hér læg Valinor on

NOTES TO VERSION II

5 *Noldelfaracu* emended in ink from *Noldelfagesægen*.

7 *Tavrobele* > (probably) *Tafrobele*, in pencil. In version I *Tafrobele* probably > *Taþrobele*, and in version III *Taþrobele* as written, but in this case the emendation seems clearly to be to *f*; this would be a mere spelling-correction (*f* being the Old English spelling for the voiced consonant [v] in this position).

13–14 This phrase (*þe sume menn siþþan for godu héoldon*) is not in the Modern English version, but cf. the opening section of Q (p. 78): 'These spirits the Elves named the Valar, which is the Powers, though Men have often called them Gods.'

15 Ossë has been inadvertently omitted.

17 It is not said in the Modern English version that Manwë was the elder.

22 *Geauanna*: this spelling would represent 'Yavanna' in Old English. At line 59 the name is spelt *Iauanna(n)*, and in the Old English version of the *Quenta* (p. 207) *Yavanna*; in version III *Geafanna* (p. 291).

26–8 The text here embodies the sense of the pencilled emendation to the Modern English version (p. 270 note 2) whereby Vairë enters as the spouse of Mandos and Nienna becomes solitary. At line 28, after *næfde wer*, was added in pencil: *Séo wæs Manwes sweostor 7 Morgoðes*; this is stated in the Modern English version as written.

41–3 *Útgársecg*, *Gársecg*, *Ingársecg*: see pp. 208, 210. – *Belegar*: see pp. 210, 249–51.

45 *middangeardes*: see p. 283.

48 Valmar is *Godaburg* in the list of Old English names, p. 211.

60–2 The changes made to the text of the Modern English version, in order to date the Starmaking and the Awakening of the Elves before 2000 (see p. 270, notes 6 and 10), are not embodied in the Old English.

65–6 The statement that Melian was of Lórien's people is not in the Modern English version, but is found in S and Q (§2) and goes back to the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II. 8): '[Wendelin] was a sprite that escaped from Lórien's gardens before even Kôr was built.'

72 *Brynebrér* ('Burning Briar'): this name for the Great Bear, not found in the Modern English version, occurs in Q (§2) and in the *Lay of Leithian*.

82 *seofon firstmearce*, not 'nine ages' as first written in the Modern English version (p. 270 note 9). *firstmearce* ('spaces of time') is an emendation made at the time of writing from *langfirstas* (one of the words used for Valian 'ages' earlier, line 33).

86 *Cwendi* emended in pencil first to *Eldar* and then to *Lindar*; *Quendi* > *Lindar* also in Q (§2 and subsequently) and in the modern version. – *Léohtelfe* is not one of the Old English names of the First Kindred given in the list on p. 212, but they are called *Light-elves* in S and Q (§2; see p. 44).

95 *Ánetíge* spelt thus, as in version I line 4; *Ánetége* lines 8 and 9.

99 *Ingársecge* < *Gársecge* (see lines 42–3).

115 For the date 2700 see note to line 82 above, and the note on dates, p. 273.

135 *Erfeloran* ('the Dispossessed'), with variant initial vowel *Yrfeloran*, is found in the list of Old English names of the Fëanorians, p. 212.

139 These dates are presumably to be interpreted as 2950–1: in the

previous entry (line 132) MMCMD corresponds to 2950 in the Modern English version. My father was here using D = 50, not 500. But 2950–1 does not correspond to the Modern English version, which has 2990–1. The discrepancy is perhaps no more than a mere error of writing (though version I is also discrepant in this date, having 2999); the date of the next entry, MMCMI (2901), is obviously an error, from its place in the chronological series.

152–7 This sentence represents part of the passage added to the Modern English version (p. 271 note 18), but omits the reference to the Elves who remained in Brithombar and Eglorest.

III

This version, on a single manuscript page, gives a slightly different form of the first twenty-odd lines of version II. It is much later than II, as is shown by *Melkor*, not *Melko* (see p. 282), but was nonetheless taken directly from it, as is shown by the continued absence of Ossë from the list of the Valar (see note to line 15 in version II). Later changes pencilled on version I are here embodied in the text (*Pengoloð* for *Pengolod*, *Taþrobele* for *Tafrobele*, *Melkor* for *Melko*).

Version III is cast in a different form of Old English, that of ninth century Mercia (some of the forms are peculiarly characteristic of the Mercian dialect represented by the interlinear glosses on the Vespasian Psalter). A few pencilled emendations are not included in the text, but recorded in the notes that follow.

Hér onginneð séo bóc þe man *Pennas* nemneð on ælfisc, 7 hío is on þréo gedæled: se forma dæl is *Ualinórelúmien* þæt is Godoeðles gérgetæl; 7 se óðer dæl is Beleriandes gérgetæl; 7 se þridda *Quenta Noldorinwa* oððe *Pennas na Ngoeloeð*, þæt is Noldælfaracu. Þás bóc ærest awrát Pengoloð se úðwita on Gondoline ær þám þe héo abrocen wurde 7 seoððan æt Siriones hýðe 7 æt Taþrobele on Tol-eressean (þæt is Ánetége), þá he eft west cóm. And þás béc Ælfwine of Ongulcynne gesæh on Ánetége ða ða he æt sumum cerre þæt land funde; 7 he ðær liornode híe swá he betst mæhte 7 eft geþéodde 7 on englisc gereord ásette.

Hér onginneð Godoeðles gérgetæl, 7 spriceð ærest of weorulde gescefte. On frumscefte gescóp Ilúatar þæt is

Allfeder all þing, 7 þá þá séo weoruld ærest weorðan ongon þá cómun hider on eorðan þá Ualar (þæt is þá Mehtigan þe sume men seoððan for godu héoldun). Hí earun nigun on ríme: Manwe, Ulmo, Aule, Orome, Tulcas, Mandos, Lórien, Melkor. þeara wérun Manwe 7 Melcor his bróður alra mehtigoste, ac Manwe wes se ældra 7 is Uala-hláfard 7 hálig, 7 Melcor béh to firenlustum 7 to úpahefennisse 7 ofermoettum 7 wearð yfel 7 unméðlic, 7 his noma'is awergod 7 unasproecenlic, for þám man nemneð hine Morgoþ on Noldælfiscgereorde. Orome 7 Tulcas wérun gingran on Alfeadur geþóhte acende ær þere weorulde gescepennisse þonne óðre fífe. þá Uala-cwéne háttun swé: Uarda Manwes cwén, 7 Geafanna Aules cwén (þá þá he and híe wurdon to sinhíwan æfter þám þe Ualar hider cómon on weorulde).

NOTES TO VERSION III

2–4 *Ualinórelúmien þæt is* and *Quenta Noldorinwa oððe* are circled in pencil as if for exclusion.

5 Added in pencil here: 'and þes þridda dæl man éac nemneð *Silmarillion* þæt is Eorclanstána gewyrd.' See p. 284.

5–6 *on Gondoline* is an emendation in ink from *of Gondoline*, i.e. Pengoloð began the work in Gondolin; but this is implied in the preambles to versions I and II, which have *of Gondoline* here. – *Gondoline* > *Gondolinde* in pencil, as in version I (note to line 2).

7 *Taþrobele* is very clearly written with *þ*; see p. 288 note to line 7.

17 Ossë is left out following version II.

18 *Melkor* > *Melcor* in ink at the second occurrence, no doubt at the time of writing, since *Melcor* is written at line 20.

23–5 The statement that Oromë and Tulkas 'were younger in the thought of Ilúvatar' is absent from the other versions (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 26: 'Manwë and Melkor were brethren in the thought of Ilúvatar'). – *óðre fífe*: i.e. the other Valar with the exclusion of Manwë and Melkor. See p. 293, Old English text lines 1–4.

26 *Geafanna*: see p. 289, note to line 22.

26–7 It is very notable that Aulë and Yavanna are here (alone) said to have become husband and wife (*wurdon to sinhíwan*) after the Valar came into the world. In *The Silmarillion* the only union among the Valar that is said to have taken place after the entry into Arda is that of Tulkas and Nessa; and Tulkas came late to Arda (pp. 35–6). See further p. 293.

IV

This is not a version, but a single page of manuscript with, first, a different beginning to the *Annals of Valinor* in Modern English, and then ten lines, written very rapidly, in Old English. Both contain interesting features. The first reads as follows:

Annals of Valinor

These were written first by Rúmil the Elfsage of Valinor, and after by Pengolod the Wise of Gondolin, who made also the Annals of Beleriand, and the *Pennas* that are set forth below. These also did Ælfwine of the Angelcynn turn into speech of his land.

Here beginneth the Annals of Valinor and the foundations of the world.

Of the Valar and their kindred

At the beginning Ilúvatar, that is Allfather, made all things, and the Valar, or Powers, came into the world. These are nine: Manwë, Ulmo, Aulë, Oromë, Tulkas, Ossë, Lórien, Mandos, and Melko.

Pennas is here used in the narrow sense of 'The History of the Gnomes' (*Quenta Noldorinwa, Silmarillion*): see p. 284. Here Rúmil appears as author, and in view of the interpolation in AV (note 20) 'Here endeth that which Rúmil wrote' it is clear that the words of this preamble 'These were written first by Rúmil . . . and after by Pengolod' mean that Pengolod completed what Rúmil began. The next version of the *Annals of Valinor* in fact makes this explicit, for after 'Here endeth that which Rúmil wrote' the later text has 'Here followeth the continuation of Pengolod'; and the two interpolations in AV (notes 14 and 18) concerning events in Middle-earth before the Return of the Noldoli are embodied in the second version as additions by Pengolod: 'This have I, Pengolod, added here, *for it was not known unto Rúmil*.'

In the original tale of *The Music of the Ainur* (I.47–8) Rúmil was a Noldo of Kôr,* but he also spoke to Eriol of his 'thraldom under Melko'. From the reference here to Rúmil as 'the Elfsage of Valinor', however, and from his ignorance of events in Middle-earth, it seems clear that in the later conception he never left Valinor. It might be suggested that his part in the *Annals* ends where it does (p. 267 and note 20) because he was

*As he remained; cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 63: 'Then it was that the Noldor first bethought them of letters, and Rúmil of Tirion was the name of the loremaster who first achieved fitting signs for the recording of speech and song.'

one of those who returned to Valinor with Finrod after hearing the Doom of Mandos. This is admittedly pure speculation, but it is perhaps significant that in the next version of the *Annals* the end of Rúmil's part in the work was moved on to the end of the entry for the Valian Year 2993, after the words 'But Aulë their ancient friend smiled on them no more, and the Teleri were estranged'; thus his part ends with the actual record of Finrod's return, and of the reception that he and those with him received.

The passage in Old English that follows begins with virtually the same phrase, concerning Oromë and Tulkas, as that in version III lines 23–5; but this manuscript has a curious, uninterpretable sign between *Orome* and the plural verb *wǽron*, which in view of the other text I expand to mean *7 Tulkas*.

> Orome [7 Tulkas] wǽron gingran on Ealfæderes geþóhtum acende ǽr þǽre worolde gescepennisse þonne óþre fífe, 7 Orome wearð Iafannan geboren, séo þe wyrð æfter nemned, ac he nis Aules sunu.
>
> Mid þissum mihtigum cómon manige lǽssan gǽstas þæs ilcan cynnes 7 cnéorisse, þéah lǽssan mægnes. þás sindon þá Vanimor, þá Fægran. Mid him éac þon wurdon getealde hira bearn, on worolde acende, þá wǽron manige and swíþe fægre. Swylc wæs Fionwe Manwes sunu

There follow a few more words that are too uncertain to reproduce. Here Oromë, younger in the thought of Ilúvatar than the other great Valar 'born before the making of the world', is declared to be the son of Yavanna but not of Aulë, and this must be connected with the statement in the Old English version III that Yavanna and Aulë became *sinhíwan* after the entry of the Valar into the world (see p. 291, note to lines 26–7).

In what is said here concerning the lesser spirits of Valarin race there are differences from AV (p. 263) and the Old English version II (p. 285). In this present fragment these spirits are not called *Valarindi* but *Vanimor*, 'the Fair'.* The Children of the Valar, 'who were many and very beautiful', are counted among the *Vanimor*, but, in contradiction to AV, they were *on worolde acende*, 'born in the world'. At this time, it seems, my father was tending to emphasize the generative powers of the great Valar, though afterwards all trace of the conception disappeared.

*The word *Vanimor* has not occurred before, but its negative *Úvanimor* is defined in the tale of *The Coming of the Valar* (I.75) as 'monsters, giants, and ogres', and elsewhere in the *Lost Tales* Úvanimor are creatures bred by Morgoth (I.236–7), and even Dwarves (II.136).

VII

THE EARLIEST ANNALS OF BELERIAND

As with the *Annals of Valinor*, these are the 'earliest' *Annals of Beleriand* because they were followed by others, the last being called the *Grey Annals*, companion to the *Annals of Aman* and belonging to the same time (p. 262). But unlike the *Annals of Aman*, the *Grey Annals* were left unfinished at the end of the story of Túrin Turambar; and both as prose narrative and still more as definitive history of the end of the Elder Days from the time of *The Lord of the Rings* their abandonment is grievous.

The earliest *Annals of Beleriand* ('AB') are themselves found in two versions, which I shall call AB I and AB II. AB I is a complete text to the end of the First Age; AB II is quite brief, and though it begins as a fair copy of the much-emended opening of I it soon becomes strongly divergent. In this chapter I give both texts separately and in their entirety, and in what follows I refer only to the earlier, AB I.

This is a good, clear manuscript, but the style suggests very rapid composition. For much of its length the entries are in the present tense and often staccato, even with such expressions as 'the Orcs got between them' (annal 172), though by subsequent small expansions and alterations here and there my father slightly modified this character. I think that his primary intention at this time was the consolidation of the historical structure in its internal relations and chronology – the *Annals* began, perhaps, in parallel with the *Quenta* as a convenient way of driving abreast, and keeping track of, the different elements in the ever more complex narrative web. Nonetheless major new developments enter here.

The manuscript was fairly heavily emended, though much less so towards the end, and from the nature of the changes, largely concerned with dating, it has become a complicated document. To present it in its original form, with all the later changes recorded in notes, would make it quite unnecessarily difficult to follow, and indeed would be scarcely possible, since many alterations were made either at the time of writing or in its immediate context. A later 'layer' of pencilled emendation, very largely concerned with names, is easily separable. The text given here, therefore, is that of the manuscript *after all the earlier changes and additions (in ink) had been made to it*, and these are only recorded in the notes in certain cases. The later pencilled alterations are fully registered.

That AB I is earlier than the comparable portion of AV is easily shown. Thus in AB I, as in Q (§8), there is no mention of Fingolfin's march to

Angband immediately on his arrival, whereas it appears in AV (p. 269); again as in Q and in contrast to AV (p. 268) the Battle under Stars was fought, and Fëanor died, before the encampment in Mithrim. Further, the names *Dagor-os-Giliath* and *Eredwethion* are added in pencil in AB I, whereas in AV they appear in the text as first written, and *Erydlómin* still means the Shadowy Mountains (see p. 280). That AB I is later than Q is shown by a multiplicity of features, as will be seen from the Commentary.

There follows the text of AB I.

ANNALS OF BELERIAND

Morgoth flees from Valinor with the Silmarils, the magic gems of Fëanor, and returns into the Northern World and rebuilds his fortress of Angband beneath the Black Mountain, Thangorodrim. He devises the Balrogs and the Orcs. The Silmarils are set in Morgoth's iron crown.

The Gnomes of the eldest house, the Dispossessed, come into the North under Fëanor and his seven sons, with their friends Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor, sons of Finrod.[1] They burn the Telerian ships.

First of the Battles with Morgoth,[2] the Battle under Stars. Fëanor defeats the Orcs, but is mortally wounded by Gothmog captain of Balrogs, and dies. Maidros, his eldest son, is ambushed and captured and hung on Thangorodrim. The sons of Fëanor camp about Lake Mithrim in the North-west, behind the Shadowy Mountains.[3]

Year 1 Here Sun and Moon, made by the Gods after the death of the Two Trees of Valinor, appear. Thus measured time came into the Hither Lands. Fingolfin leads the second house of the Gnomes over the straits of Grinding Ice into the Hither Lands. With him came the son of Finrod, Felagund,[4] and part of the third or youngest house. They march from the North as the Sun rises, and unfurl their banners; and they come to Mithrim, but there is feud[5] between them and the sons of Fëanor. Morgoth at coming of Light retreats into his deepest dungeons, but smithies in secret, and sends forth black clouds.

2 Fingon son of Fingolfin heals the feud by rescuing Maidros.

1–100 The Gnomes explore and settle Beleriand, and all the vale of Sirion from[6] the Great Sea to the Blue Mountains,[7] except for Doriath in the centre where Thingol and Melian reign.

20 Feast and Games of Reuniting were held in Nan Tathrin, the Land of Willows, near the delta of Sirion, between the Elves of Valinor returning and the Dark-elves, both those of the Western Havens (Brithombar and Eldorest)[8] and the scattered Wood-elves of the West, and ambassadors of Thingol. A time of peace followed.[9]

50 Morgoth's might begins to move once more. Earthquakes in the North. Orc-raids begin. Turgon son of Fingolfin is great in friendship with Felagund son of Finrod; but Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor, sons of Finrod, are friends of the sons of Fëanor, especially Celegorm and Curufin.

50 Turgon and Felagund are troubled by dreams and forebodings. Felagund finds the caves of Narog and established his armouries there.[10] Turgon alone discovers the hidden vale of Gondolin. Being still troubled in heart he gathers folk about him and departs from Hithlum, the Land of Mist about Mithrim, where his brother Fingon remains.

51 The Gnomes drive back the Orcs again, and the Siege of Angband is laid. The North has great peace and quiet again. Fingolfin holds the North-west and all Hithlum, and is overlord of the Dark-elves west of Narog. His might is gathered on the slopes of Erydlómin[11] the Shadowy Mountains and thence watches and traverses the great plains of Bladorion up to the walls of Morgoth's mountains in the North. Felagund holds the vale of Sirion save Doriath, and has his seat[12] beside Narog in the South, but his might is gathered in the North guarding the access to Sirion's vale between Erydlómin and the mountainous region of Taur-na-Danion, the forest of pines. He has a fortress on a rocky isle in the midst of Sirion, Tolsirion. His brothers dwell in the centre about Taur-na-Danion and scour Bladorion thence, and join in the East with

the sons of Fëanor. The fortress of the sons of Fëanor is upon Himling, but they roam and hunt all the woods of East Beleriand even up to the Blue Mountains. Thither at times many of the Elf-lords go for hunting. But none get tidings of Turgon and his folk.

70 Bëor born in the East.

88. 90 Haleth, and Hádor the Goldenhaired, born in the East.

100 Felagund hunting in the East comes upon Bëor the mortal and his Men who have wandered into Beleriand. Bëor becomes a vassal of Felagund and goes west with him. Bregolas son of Bëor born.

102 Barahir son of Bëor born.

120 Haleth comes into Beleriand; also Hádor the Goldenhaired and his great companies of Men. Haleth remains in Sirion's vale, but Hádor becomes a vassal of Fingolfin and strengthens his armies and is given lands in Hithlum.

113 Hundor son of Haleth born. **117** Gundor son of Hádor born. **119** Gumlin son of Hádor born.[13]

122 The strength of Men being added to the Gnomes, Morgoth is straitly enclosed. The Gnomes deem the siege of Angband cannot be broken, but Morgoth ponders new devices, and bethinks him of Dragons. The Men of the three houses grow and multiply, and are gladly subject to the Elf-lords, and learn many crafts of the Gnomes. The Men of Bëor were dark or brown of hair but fair of face, with grey eyes; of shapely form, of great courage and endurance, but little greater than the Elves of that day. The folk of Hádor were yellow-haired and blue-eyed and of great stature and strength. Like unto them but somewhat shorter and more broad were the folk of Haleth.

124. 128 Baragund and Belegund, sons of Bregolas son of Bëor, born.

132 Beren, after named the Ermabwed[14] or One-handed,[15] son of Barahir, born.

141 Húrin the Steadfast, son of Gumlin, born. Handir son of Hundor son of Haleth born.

144 Huor Húrin's brother born.

145 Morwen Elfsheen, daughter of Baragund, born.

150 Rían daughter of Belegund, mother of Tuor, born.[16] Bëor the Old, Father of Men, dies of old age in Beleriand. The Elves see for the first time the death of weariness, and sorrow over the short span allotted to Men. Bregolas rules the house of Bëor.

★ **155** Morgoth unlooses his might, and seeks to break into Beleriand. The Battle begins on a sudden on a night of mid-winter and falls first most heavily on the sons of Finrod and their folk. This is the Battle of Sudden Fire.[17] Rivers of fire flow from Thangorodrim. Glómund the golden, Father of Dragons, appears.[18] The plains of Bladorion are turned into a great desert without green, and called after Dor-na-Fauglith, Land of Gasping Thirst.

Here were Bregolas slain, and the greater part of the warriors of Bëor's house. Angrod and Egnor sons of Finrod fell. Barahir and his chosen champions saved Felagund and Orodreth, and Felagund swore a great oath of friendship to his kin and seed. Barahir rules the remnant of the house of Bëor.

155 Fingolfin and Fingon marched to the aid of their kin, but were driven back with great loss. Hádor, now aged, fell defending his lord Fingolfin, and with him Gundor his son. Gumlin took the lordship of Hádor's house.

The sons of Fëanor were not slain, but Celegorm and Curufin were defeated and fled with Orodreth son of Finrod. Maidros the left-handed did deeds of great prowess, and Morgoth did not take Himling as yet, but he broke into the passes east of Himling and ravaged into East Beleriand and scattered the Gnomes of Fëanor's house.

Turgon was not at that battle, nor Haleth or any but few of his folk. It is said that Húrin was at foster with Haleth, and that Haleth and Húrin hunting in Sirion's vale came upon some of Turgon's folk, and were

brought into the secret vale of Gondolin, whereof of those outside none yet knew save Thorndor King of Eagles; for Turgon had messages and dreams sent by the God Ulmo, Lord of Waters, up Sirion warning him that help of Men was necessary for him. But Haleth and Húrin swore oaths of secrecy and never revealed Gondolin, but Haleth learned something of the counsels of Turgon, and told them after to Húrin. Great liking had Turgon for the boy Húrin, and would keep him in Gondolin, but the grievous tidings of the great battle came and they departed. Turgon sends secret messengers to Sirion's mouths and begins a building of ships. Many set sail for Valinor, but none return.[19]

Fingolfin seeing the ruin of [the] Gnomes and the defeat of all their houses was filled with wrath and despair, and rode alone to the gates of Angband and challenged Morgoth to single combat. Fingolfin was slain, but Thorndor rescued his body, and set it in a cairn on the mountains north of Gondolin to guard that valley, and so came the tidings thither. Fingon ruled the royal house of [the] Gnomes.

157 Morgoth took Tolsirion and pierced the passes into West Beleriand. There he set Thû the wizard, and Tolsirion became a place of evil.[20] Felagund and Orodreth, together with Celegorm and Curufin, retreated to Nargothrond, and made there a great hidden palace after the fashion of Thingol in[21] the Thousand Caves in Doriath.

Barahir will not retreat and holds out still in Taur-na-Danion. Morgoth hunts them down and turns Taur-na-Danion into a region of great dread, so that it was after called Taur-na-Fuin, the Forest of Night, or Math-Fuin-delos[22] Deadly Nightshade. Only Barahir and his son Beren, and his nephews Baragund and Belegund sons of Bregolas and a few men remain.[23] The wives of Baragund and Belegund and their young daughters Morwen and Rían were sent[24] into Hithlum to the keeping of Gumlin.

158 Haleth and his folk lead a woodland life in the woods about Sirion on the west marches of Doriath and harry the Orc-bands.[25]

160 Barahir was betrayed by Gorlim, and all his company is slain by the Orcs save Beren who was hunting alone. Beren pursues the Orcs and slays his father's slayer and retakes the ring which Felagund gave to Barahir. Beren becomes a solitary outlaw.

162 Renewed assaults of Morgoth. The Orc-raids encompass Doriath, protected by the magic of Melian the divine, west down Sirion and east beyond Himling. Beren is driven south and comes hardly into Doriath. Gumlin slain in an assault upon the fortress of Fingon at Sirion's Well[26] in the west of Erydlómin.[27] Húrin his son is mighty in strength. He is summoned to Hithlum and comes there hardly. He rules the house of Hádor and serves Fingon.

163 The Swarthy Men first come into East Beleriand. They were short, broad, long and strong in the arm, growing much hair on face and breast, and this was dark as were their eyes; their skins were sallow or dark, but most were not uncomely. Their houses were many, and many had liking rather for the[28] Dwarves of the mountains, of Nogrod and Belegost, than for the Elves. Of the Dwarves the Elves first learned in these days, and their friendship was small. It is not known whence they are, save that they are not of Elf-kin, nor of mortal, nor of Morgoth.[29] But Maidros seeing the weakness of the Gnomes and the waxing power of the armies of Morgoth made alliance with the new-come Men, and with the houses of Bor and of Ulfand.[30] The sons of Ulfand were Uldor, after called the Accursed, and Ulfast, and Ulwar; and by Cranthir son of Fëanor were they most beloved, and they swore fealty to him.

163–4 The great geste of Beren and Lúthien.[31] King Felagund of Nargothrond dies in Tolsirion[32] in the dungeons of Thû. Orodreth rules Nargothrond and breaks friendship with Celegorm and Curufin who are expelled.[33] Lúthien and Huan overthrow Thû. Beren and Lúthien go to Angband and recover a Silmaril. Carcharoth the great wolf of Angband with the Silmaril in his belly bursts into Doriath. Beren and the hound Huan are

slain by Carcaroth, but Huan slays Carcharoth and the Silmaril is regained.

Beren was recalled from the dead by Lúthien and dwelt with her[34] in the Land of Seven Rivers, Ossiriand, out of the knowledge of Men and Elves.[35]

164 Húrin weds Morwen.

165 Túrin son of Húrin born in winter with sad omens.[36]

165–70 *The Union of Maidros.* Maidros enheartened by the deeds of Beren and Lúthien plans a reuniting of forces for the driving back of Morgoth. But because of the deeds of Celegorm and Curufin he receives no help from Thingol, and only small support from Nargothrond, where the Gnomes attempt to guard themselves by stealth and secrecy. He gathers and arms all the Gnomes of Fëanor's house, and multitudes of the Dark-elves, and of Men, in East Beleriand. He gets help in smithying of the Dwarves, and summons yet more Men over the mountains out of the East.

Tidings come to Turgon the hidden king and he prepares in secret for war, for his people who were not at the Second Battle will not be restrained.

167 Dior the Beautiful born to Beren and Lúthien in Ossiriand.

168 Haleth, last of the Fathers of Men, dies. Hundor rules his folk. The Orcs are slowly driven back out of Beleriand.

171 Isfin daughter of Turgon strays out of Gondolin and is taken to wife by Eöl a Dark-elf.

★ **172** *The year of sorrow.* Maidros plans an assault upon Angband, from West and East. Fingon is to march forth as soon as Maidros' main host gives the signal in the East of Dor-na-Fauglith. Huor son of Hádor[37] weds Rían daughter of Belegund on the eve of battle and marches with Húrin his brother in the army of Fingon.

The Battle of Unnumbered Tears,[38] the third battle of the Gnomes and Morgoth, was fought upon the plains of Dor-na-Fauglith before the pass in which the young waters of Sirion enter Beleriand between Erydlómin[39]

and Taur-na-Fuin. The place was long marked by a great hill in which the slain, Elves and Men, were piled. Grass grew there alone in Dor-na-Fauglith. The Elves and Men were utterly defeated and their ruin accomplished.

Maidros was hindered on the road by the machinations of Uldor the Accursed whom Morgoth's spies had bought. Fingon attacked without waiting and drove in Morgoth's feinted attack, even to Angband. The companies from Nargothrond burst into his gates, but they and their leader Flinding son of Fuilin[40] were all taken; and Morgoth now released a countless army and drove the Gnomes back with terrible slaughter. Hundor son of Haleth and the Men of the wood were slain in the retreat across the sands. The Orcs got between them and the passes into Hithlum, and they retreated towards Tolsirion.

Turgon and the army of Gondolin sound their horns and issue out of Taur-na-Fuin. Fortune wavers and the Gnomes begin to gain ground. Glad meeting of Húrin and Turgon.

The trumpets of Maidros heard in the East, and the Gnomes take heart. The Elves say victory might have been theirs yet but for Uldor. But Morgoth now sent forth all the folk of Angband and Hell was emptied. There came afresh a hundred thousand Orcs and a thousand Balrogs, and in the forefront came Glómund the Dragon, and Elves and Men withered before him. Thus the union of the hosts of Fingon and Maidros was broken. But Uldor went over to Morgoth and fell on the right flank of the sons of Fëanor.

Cranthir slew Uldor, but Ulfast and Ulwar slew Bor and his three sons and many Men who were faithful, and the host of Maidros was scattered to the winds and fled far into hiding into East Beleriand and the mountains there.

Fingon fell in the West, and it is said flame sprang from his helm as he was smitten down by the Balrogs. Húrin and the Men of Hithlum of Hádor's house, and Huor his brother, stood firm, and the Orcs could not pass into Beleriand. The stand of Húrin is the most renowned deed of Men among the Elves. He held the

rear while Turgon with part of his battle, and some of the remnant of Fingon's host, escaped into the dales and mountains. They vanished and were not again found by Elf or by spy of Morgoth until Tuor's day. Thus was Morgoth's victory marred and he was greatly angered.

Húrin fought on after Huor fell pierced with a venomed arrow, and until he alone was left. He threw away his shield and fought with an axe and slew a hundred Orcs.

Húrin was taken alive by Morgoth's command and dragged to Angband where Morgoth cursed him and his kin, and because he would not reveal where Turgon was gone chained him with enchanted sight on Thangorodrim to see the evil that befell his wife and children. His son Túrin was nigh three years old,[41] and his wife Morwen was again with child.

The Orcs piled the slain and entered Beleriand to ravage. Rían sought for Huor, for no tidings came to Hithlum of the battle, and her child Tuor son of Huor was born to her in the wild. He was taken to nurture by Dark-elves, but Rían went to the Mound of Slain[42] and laid her down to die there.[43]

173 Morgoth took all Beleriand or filled it with roving bands of Orcs and wolves, but there held still Doriath. Of Nargothrond he heard little, of Gondolin he could discover nothing. In Beleriand outside these three places only scattered Elves and Men lived in outlawry, and among them the remnant of Haleth's folk under Handir, son of Hundor, son of Haleth.[44]

Morgoth broke his pledges to the sons of Ulfand,[45] and drove the evil Men into Hithlum, without reward, save that they there ill-treated and enslaved the remnants of Hádor's house, the old men and the women and children. The remnants of the Elves of Hithlum also he mostly enslaved and took to the mines of Angband, and others he forbade to leave Hithlum, and they were slain if Orcs found them east or south of the Shadowy Mountains.[46] Nienor the sorrowful, daughter of Húrin and Morwen, born in Hithlum in the beginning of the year.

Tuor grew up wild in the woods among fugitive Elves nigh the shores of Mithrim;[47] but Morwen sent Túrin to Doriath begging for Thingol's fostering and aid, for she was of Beren's kindred. They have a desperate journey, the boy of seven and his two guides.[48]

181 The power of Morgoth waxes and Doriath is cut off and no tidings of the outer world reach it. Túrin though not fully grown takes to war on the marches in company of Beleg.

184 Túrin slays Orgof, kinsman of the royal house, and flees from Thingol's court.

184–7 Túrin an outlaw in the woods. He gathers a desperate band, and plunders on the marches of Doriath and beyond.

187 Túrin's companions capture Beleg. But Túrin releases him and they renew their fellowship, and make war on the Orcs, adventuring far beyond Doriath.[49]

189 Blodrin Ban's son betrays their hiding place, and Túrin is taken alive. Beleg healed of his wounds follows in pursuit. He comes upon Flinding son of Fuilin,[50] who escaped from Morgoth's mines; together they rescue Túrin from the Orcs. Túrin slays Beleg by misadventure.

190 Túrin healed of his madness by Ivrin's well,[51] and is brought at last by Flinding to Nargothrond. They are admitted on the prayer of Finduilas daughter of Orodreth, who had before loved Flinding.

190–5 The sojourn of Túrin in Nargothrond. Beleg's sword is reforged and Túrin rejects his ancient name and is renowned as Mormegil (Mormakil)[52] 'Black-Sword'. He calls his sword Gurtholfin 'Wand of Death'. Finduilas forgets her love of Flinding, and is beloved of Túrin, who will not reveal his love out of faithfulness to Flinding; nonetheless Flinding is embittered. Túrin becomes a great captain. He leads the Gnomes of Nargothrond to victory and their ancient secrecy is broken. Morgoth learns of the growing strength of the

stronghold,[53] but the Orcs are driven out of all the land between Narog and Sirion and Doriath to the East, and West to the Sea, and North to Erydlómin.[54] A bridge is built over Narog. The Gnomes ally them with Haleth's folk under Handir.

192 Meglin comes to Gondolin and is received by Turgon as his sister's child.

194 In this time of betterment Morwen and Nienor leave Hithlum and seek tidings of Túrin in Doriath. There many speak of the prowess of Mormakil,[55] but of Túrin none know tidings.

195 Glómund with a host of Orcs comes over Erydlómin and defeats the Gnomes between Narog and Taiglin. Handir is slain. Flinding dies refusing succour of Túrin. Túrin hastens back to Nargothrond but it is sacked ere his coming. He is deceived and spellbound by Glómund. Finduilas and the women of Nargothrond are taken as thralls, but Túrin deceived by Glómund goes to Hithlum to seek Morwen.

News comes to Doriath that Nargothrond is taken and Mormakil is Túrin.

Tuor was led out of Hithlum by a secret way under Ulmo's guidance, and journeyed along the coast past the ruined havens of Brithombar and Eldorest[56] and reached Sirion's mouth.[57]

195–6 Túrin goes to Hithlum and finds his mother gone. He slays Brodda and escapes. He joins the Woodmen and becomes their lord, since Brandir son of Handir is lame from childhood. He takes name of Turambar (Turumarth)[58] 'Conqueror of Fate'.

196 Here Tuor meets Bronweg at Sirion's mouth. Ulmo himself appears to him in Nan-tathrin; and Tuor and Bronweg guided by Ulmo find Gondolin. They are received after questioning, and Tuor speaks the embassy of Ulmo. Turgon does not now harken to it, partly because of the urging of Meglin. But Tuor for his kindred's sake is held in great honour.

Morwen goes to Nargothrond, whither Glómund has returned and lies on the treasure of Felagund. She

seeks for tidings of Túrin. Nienor against her bidding rides in disguise with her escort of Elves of the folk of Thingol.

Glómund lays a spell on the company and disperses it. Morwen vanishes in the woods; and a great darkness of mind comes on Nienor.

Túrin found Nienor hunted by the Orcs. He names her Níniel, the tearful, since she knew not her name, and himself Turambar.

197–8 Nienor Níniel dwells with the Woodfolk and is beloved by Túrin Turambar and Brandir the lame.

198 Túrin weds Nienor.

199 Glómund seeks out the dwellings of Túrin. Túrin slays him with Gurtholfin his sword; but falls aswoon beside him. Nienor finds him, but Glómund ere death releases her from the spell and declares her kindred. Nienor casts herself away over the waterfall in that place.[59] Brandir reveals the truth to Túrin and is slain by him. Túrin bids Gurtholfin slay him, and he dies. So ended the worst of Morgoth's evil; but Húrin was released from Angband, bowed as with age, and sought for Morwen.

Tuor weds Idril Celebrindal daughter of [Turgon of] Gondolin, and earns the secret hate of Meglin.

200 Here was born Eärendel the Bright, the star of the Two Kindreds, unto Tuor and Idril in Gondolin. Here was born also Elwing the White, fairest of women save Lúthien, unto Dior in Ossiriand.

Húrin gathers men unto him. They find the treasure of Nargothrond and slay Mîm the Dwarf who had taken it to himself. The treasure is cursed. The treasure is brought to Thingol. But Húrin departs from Doriath with bitter words, but of his fate and of Morwen's after no certain tidings are known.

201 Thingol employs the Dwarves to smithy his gold and silver and the treasure of Narog, and they make the renowned Nauglafring,[60] the Dwarf-necklace, whereon is hung the Silmaril. Enmity awakes[61] between the Elves and Dwarves, and the Dwarves are driven away.

202 Here the Dwarves invaded Doriath aided by treachery, for many Elves were smitten with the accursed lust of the treasure. Thingol was slain and the Thousand Caves sacked. But Melian the divine could not be taken and departed to Ossiriand.

Beren[62] summoned by Melian overthrew the Dwarves at Sarn-Athra[63] and cast the gold into the River Asgar, which afterwards was called Rathlorion[64] the Golden-bed; but the Nauglafring and the Silmaril he took. Lúthien wore the necklace and the Silmaril on her breast. Here Beren and Lúthien depart out of men's knowledge and their deathday is not known; save that at night a messenger brought the necklace unto Dior in Doriath, and the Elves said: 'Lúthien and Beren are dead as Mandos doomed.'

Dior son of Lúthien and Beren, Thingol's heir, returned unto Doriath and for a while re-established it, but Melian went back to Valinor and he had no longer her protection.

203 The necklace came to Dior; he wore it on his breast.

205 The sons of Fëanor hear tidings of the Silmaril in the East, and gather from wandering and hold council. They summon Dior to give up the jewel.

206 Here Dior fought the sons of Fëanor on the east marches of Doriath, but he was slain. Celegorm and Curufin and Cranthir fell in battle. The young sons of Dior, Elboron and Elbereth, were slain by the evil men of Maidros' host, and Maidros bewailed the foul deed. The maiden Elwing was saved by faithful Elves and taken to Sirion's mouth, and with them they took the jewel and the necklace.

Meglin was taken in the hills and betrayed Gondolin to Morgoth.

207 Here Morgoth loosed a host of dragons over the mountains from the North and Gondolin's vale was taken and the city besieged. The Orcs sacked Gondolin and destroyed the king and most of his people; but Ecthelion of the Fountain slew there Gothmog lord of Balrogs ere he fell.

Tuor slew Meglin. Tuor, Idril, and Eärendel

escaped by a secret way devised by Idril and came to Cristhorn, Eagles' Cleft, a high pass beneath Fingolfin's cairn in the North. Glorfindel was there slain in an ambush, but Thorndor saved the remnant of Gondolin, and they escaped at last into the vale of Sirion.

The ruin of the Elves was now well-nigh complete, and no refuge or strong place or realm remained to them.

208 Here the wanderers from Gondolin reached the mouths of Sirion and joined with the slender company of Elwing. The Silmaril brings blessing upon them and they multiply, and build ships and a haven, and dwell upon the delta amid the waters. Fugitives gather to them.

210 Maidros hears of the upspringing of Sirion's Haven and that a Silmaril is there, but he forswears his oath.

224 The unquiet of Ulmo comes upon Tuor and he builds the ship Earámë, Eagle's Pinion, and departs with Idril into the West and is heard of no more. Eärendel weds Elwing and is lord of the folk of Sirion.

225 Torment of Maidros and his brothers because of their oath. Damrod and Díriel resolve to win the Silmaril if Eärendel will not yield it.

Here unquiet came upon Eärendel and he voyaged the seas afar seeking Tuor, and seeking Valinor, but he found neither. The marvels that he did and saw were very many and renowned. Elrond Half-elfin, son of Eärendel, was born.

The folk of Sirion refused to give up the Silmaril in Eärendel's absence, and they thought their joy and prosperity came of it.

229 Here Damrod and Díriel ravaged Sirion, and were slain. Maidros and Maglor gave reluctant aid. Sirion's folk were slain or taken into the company of Maidros. Elrond was taken to nurture by Maglor. Elwing cast herself with the Silmaril into the sea, but by Ulmo's aid in the shape of a bird flew to Eärendel and found him returning.

230 Eärendel binds the Silmaril on his brow and with Elwing sails in search of Valinor.

233 Eärendel comes unto Valinor and speaks on behalf of both races.

240 Maglor, Maidros, and Elrond with few free Elves, the last of the Gnomes, live[65] in hiding from Morgoth, who rules all Beleriand and the North, and thrusts ever East and South.

233–43 The sons of the Gods[66] under Fionwë son of Manwë prepare for war. The Light-elves arm, but the Teleri do not leave Valinor, though they built a countless host of ships.

247 Fionwë's host draws nigh to the Hither Lands and his trumpets from the sea ring in the western woods. Here was fought the Battle of Eldorest,[67] where Ingwil[68] son of Ingwë made a landing. Great war comes into Beleriand, and Fionwë summons all Elves, and Dwarves, and Men, and beasts, and birds to his standards, who do not elect to fight for Morgoth. But the power and dread of Morgoth was very great, and many did not obey.

★ **250** Here Fionwë fought the last battle of the ancient North, the Great or Terrible Battle. Morgoth came forth, and the hosts were arrayed on either side of Sirion. But the host of Morgoth were driven as leaves and the Balrogs destroyed utterly, and Morgoth fled to Angband pursued by the hosts of Fionwë.

He loosed thence all the winged Dragons, and Fionwë was driven back upon Dor-na-Fauglith, but Eärendel came in the sky and overthrew Ancalagon the Black Dragon, and in his fall Thangorodrim was broken.[69]

The sons of the Gods wrestled with Morgoth in his dungeons and the earth shook and all Beleriand was shattered and changed and many perished, but Morgoth was bound.

Fionwë departed to Valinor with the Light-elves and many of the Gnomes and the other Elves of the Hither Lands, but Elrond Half-elfin remained and ruled in the

West of the world. Maidros and Maglor perished in [70] a last endeavour to seize the Silmarils which Fionwë took from Morgoth's crown.[71] So ended the First Age of the World and Beleriand was no more.

NOTES

1 This sentence, *with their friends Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor, sons of Finrod*, was an early addition; cf. the addition made to AV, note 21.

2 Later addition: *Dagor-os-Giliath*, which is found in AV as first written, entry Valian Year 2996.

3 Later addition: (*Eredwethion*), which is found in AV as first written, entry Valian Year 2996. – Pencilled in the margin against this passage, but then struck out, is: *The passage of the Gnomes into Mithrim occupied equivalent of 10 years of later time or 1 Valinorian year*. Cf. AV, p. 268.

4 This is an early alteration, going with that given in note 1, of *With him come the sons of Finrod*; cf. the alteration made to AV, note 23.

5 An early alteration from: *They march to Mithrim as the Sun rises, and unfurl their banners; but there is feud . . .*

6 Later addition: *Belegar*. This name occurs in the Old English version II of AV, p. 285 line 43.

7 Later addition: *Eredlindon*. This name occurs in late additions to Q (§9 note 3) and AV (note 14).

8 *Eldorest* > *Eglarest* > *Eglorest* (cf. notes 56, 67). On the Westward extension of the first map (see pp. 227–8) the name is *Eldorest*; in an interpolation to AV (note 18) it is *Eglorest*; in *The Silmarillion* it is *Eglarest*.

9 The conclusion of this annal (very probably changed at the time of composition) was originally: *A time of peace and growth. Before the Sun were only the pines and firs and dark . . . . .*

10 Later addition: *at Nargothrond*.

11 *Erydlómin* > *Eredwethion* (twice; later changes). See note 3, and pp. 192–3, 221.

12 Later addition: *at Nargothrond*.

13 These three annals are placed here and written thus in the manuscript, and enclosed in square brackets. The brackets perhaps only indicate that the annals are an addition (Gumlin's birth was first placed in the annal 122, but struck out probably at the time of writing, and the mention of the birth of Handir son of Hundor was an early addition to annal 141).

14 Later change: *Ermabwed* > *Ermabuin*. *Ermabwed* is the form in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* and in Q (§10).

15 Later addition: *or Mablosgen the Empty-handed*.

16 Most of the birth-dates from 124 to 150 were changed by a year or two, but since the figures were overwritten the underlying dates cannot all be made out with certainty. The entry for the birth of Rían was first given a separate entry under the year 152: *Rían the sorrowful, daughter of Belegund, born*.

17 Later addition: *Dagor Hurbreged*.

18 Later addition: *in full might*.

19 These two sentences were an addition, though a very early one: hence the change of tense.

20 Later addition: *Tol-na-Gaurhoth, Isle of Werewolves*.

21 Later addition: *Menegroth*. This name occurs in an interpolation to AV (note 18) and in the Old English version II, p. 288 line 153.

22 *Math-Fuin-delos* > *Gwath-Fuin-daidelos* (late change). On *delos, daidelos* see p. 259 third footnote and p. 272 note 27.

23 Later addition: *Gorlim, Radros, Dengar, & 7 others*. Above *Dengar* is written (later) *Dagnir*.

24 This sentence was struck through in pencil and the following replacement written in: *Their wives and children were captured or slain by Morgoth, save Morwen Eledwen Elfsheen (daughter of Baragund) and Rían (daughter of Belegund), who were sent*, &c.

25 Following this the original text had: *Haleth, last of the Fathers of Men, dies in the woods. Hundor his son rules his folk*. This was struck out while the *Annals* were in course of composition, for it reappears later, and not as an insertion (year 168).

26 *Sirion's Well* > *Eithyl Sirion* (later change). *Eithyl* (of which the *y* is uncertain) replaces an earlier form, probably *Eothlin*.

27 *Erydlómin* > *Eredwethion* (later change; cf. note 11).

28 Later addition: *nauglar or* (i.e. *for the nauglar or Dwarves*). *nauglar* seems to have been changed from *nauglir*, the form in Q.

29 These two sentences, from *Of the Dwarves* . . ., bracketed in pencil; see pp. 335–6.

30 *Ulfand* is an early emendation from *Ulband*, and so also in the next sentence.

31 Later addition: *Tinúviel, daughter of Thingol of Doriath*. – For the word *geste* see III. 154.

32 *Tolsirion* > *Tol-na-Gaurhoth* (later change; cf. note 20).

33 Later addition: *Nargothrond is hidden*.

34 Later addition: *among the Green-elves*.

35 *Elves* > *Gnomes* (later change, depending on that given in note 34).

36 These two entries, for the years 164 and 165, are early replacements of essentially the same entries originally placed under 169 and 170: *Húrin son of Hádor weds Morwen Elfsheen daughter of Baragund son of Bëor*, and *Túrin son of Húrin born*. The first of these contains two errors, which cannot be other than the merest slips in rapid

composition, for *son of Gumlin son of Hádor* and *son of Bregolas son of Bëor*. Similarly in the entry for 172 Huor is called *son of Hádor*.

37 *Huor son of Hádor:* an error; see note 36.

38 Later addition: *Nirnaith Irnoth*, changed to *Nirnaith Dirnoth*. In the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* there are many different forms of the Elvish name of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, one replacing another: the last are *Nirnaith Únoth* replaced by *Nirnaith Ornoth* (the final form *Nirnaith Arnediad* is also found in the poem, written in at a later period, as in Q §11, note 16).

39 *Erydlómin* > *Erydwethion* (later change; cf. notes 11, 27).

40 *Flinding* first > *Findor*; then *Flinding son of Fuilin* > *Gwindor son of Guilin* (later changes).

41 *Túrin was nigh three years old* depends on the earlier date of his birth in the year 170: see note 36.

42 Later addition: *Cûm-na-Dengin*. The name *Amon Dengin* is found in a late rewriting of a passage in Q §16, note 3.

43 This passage replaced, at the time of writing, the original: *Rían sought for Huor and died beside his body*. See note 46.

44 The date 173 was added subsequently, though early, to this passage. It remains in its original place, not struck out though not included here, at the beginning of the next passage, *Morgoth broke his pledges* . . .

45 *Ulfand* early < *Ulband*, as previously (note 30).

46 The original text had here: *Tuor son of Huor was born in sorrow*, which was struck out at the time of writing when the additional passage concerning Tuor at the end of annal 172 was written in (note 43). The sentence concerning Nienor that follows was an early addition.

47 This sentence is roughly marked for transference to between the annals 184 and 184–7.

48 This paragraph, from *Tuor grew up* . . ., was dated 177, but the date was struck out. As the *Annals* were first written, Túrin's birth was placed in the year 170, but this entry was rejected and replaced under 165 (note 36). When the present passage was dated 177, therefore, Túrin was 7 when he went to Doriath; but with the striking out of this date the passage belongs under 173, and the years of Túrin's life in Hithlum become 165–73, which may or may not signify a change in his age when he went to Doriath. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 198) he was eight; but the statement here that he was seven is left unchanged.

49 After this annal another was inserted in the later, pencilled layer of emendation: *188. Halmir son of Orodreth trapped and hung to a tree by Orcs*.

50 *Flinding son of Fuilin* > *Gwindor son of Guilin* (later change; cf. note 40). *Flinding* > *Gwindor* at all occurrences of the name in annals 190, 190–5, 195.

51 *Ivrin's well* > *the well of Ivrineithil* (later change).
52 *Mormegil (Mormakil)* > *Mormael (Q. Mormakil)* (later change). This is the first occurrence of the form *Mormegil*; for earlier forms see p. 184.
53 *Morgoth learns of the growing strength of the stronghold* is an early change from *Morgoth learns of the stronghold*.
54 *Erydlómin* > *Erydwethion*, as previously (later change); again in annal 195.
55 *Mormakil* > *Mormael (Mormakil)* (later change; cf. note 52).
56 *Eldorest* > *Eglorest* (later change; cf. note 8).
57 This entry, from *Tuor was led out of Hithlum* . . ., originally dated 196, was changed (early) to 195, but left where it was, with its date, after that for 195–6. A pencilled direction places it in the position in which it is printed here.
58 The *h* of *Turumarth* circled in pencil for deletion. The sentence is an early addition.
59 Later addition: *Silver Bowl (Celebrindon)*. This was struck out and the following substituted: *which was called Celebros Silver Foam, but after Nen Girith Shuddering Water*.
60 *Nauglafring* > *Nauglamír* (later change); again in annal 202.
61 *Enmity awakes* is an early change from *War ensues*.
62 Later addition: *and the Green-elves* (cf. note 34).
63 *Sarn-Athra* > *Sarn-Athrad* (later change). The same change is made in Q (§14, note 8).
64 *Rathlorion* > *Rathloriel* (later change). The same change is made in Q (§14, note 11).
65 Later addition: *upon Amon Ereb the Lonely Hill in East Beleriand*. Above *East Beleriand* is written *in the South*.
66 *the Gods* > *the Valar that is the Gods* (later change).
67 *Eldorest* > *Eglarest* > *Eglorest* (later changes; cf. notes 8, 56).
68 *Ingwil* > *Ingwiel* (later change). *Ingwiel* is the form in an addition to Q (Q II, §17, note 19).
69 Written hastily in the margin against this paragraph: *This great war lasted 50 years*.
70 *perished in* > *made* (later change).
71 Later addition: *but Maidros perished and his Silmaril went into the bosom of the earth, and Maglor cast his into the sea, and wandered for ever on the shores of the world*.

Commentary on the *Annals of Beleriand* (text AB I)

This commentary follows the annal-sections of the text (in some cases groups of annals).

Opening section (before the rising of the Sun). Morgoth 'rebuilds his fortress of Angband'. This is as in S and Q, before *Utumna* reappeared,

as it does in the *Ambarkanta* (see pp. 257, 259–60); AV is not explicit, merely saying (p. 266) that he 're-established his stronghold'. Angband is 'beneath the Black Mountain, Thangorodrim'; on this see pp. 220, 260.

There is here the remarkable statement that Morgoth 'devises the Balrogs and the Orcs', implying that it was only now that they came into being. In Q (§2), following S, they originated (if the Balrogs were not already in existence) in the ancient darkness after the overthrow of the Lamps, and when Morgoth returned to Angband 'countless became the number of the hosts of his Orcs and demons' (§4); similarly in AV (p. 266) he 'bred and gathered *once more* his evil servants, Orcs and Balrogs'. A note written against the passage in Q §4 directs, however, that the making of the Orcs should be brought in here rather than earlier (note 8); and in the version of 'The Silmarillion' that followed Q (later than these *Annals*) this was in fact done: when Morgoth returned,

> countless became the hosts of his beasts and demons; and *he brought into being the race of the Orcs*, and they grew and multiplied in the bowels of the earth.

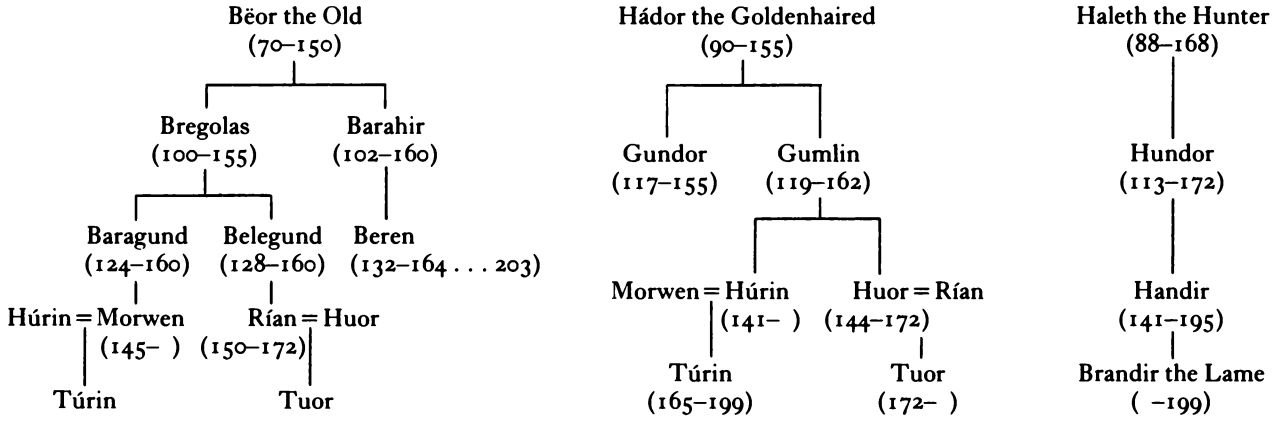
(The subsequent elaboration of the origin of the Orcs is extremely complex and cannot be entered into here.) It is clear, therefore, that these words in AB I, despite the fact of its being evidently earlier than AV, look forward to the later idea (itself impermanent) that the Orcs were not made until after Morgoth's return from Valinor.

According to AV Morgoth escaped in the course of the Valian Years 2990–1; some century and a half of later time elapsed, then, between the first making of the Orcs and the beginning of their raids, referred to under the first of the annals dated 50.

On the addition (notes 1 and 4) that Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor came to Middle-earth in the ships with the Fëanorians, while Felagund crossed the Grinding Ice with Fingolfin, see the commentary on AV, p. 279.

Annal 1 The reason for the alteration in note 5 is not clear to me; unless the purpose was to emphasize that the second host of the Noldoli came 'from the North', i.e. from the Grinding Ice, not from Drengist.

Annals 20 to 51 The 'Feast of Reuniting' is the later name, as in *The Silmarillion* (p. 113); in Q (§9) it is the 'Feast of Meeting'. But it is still held in the Land of Willows (see p. 175). Now appear at the Feast ambassadors out of Doriath, and Elves from the Western Havens Brithombar and Eldorest (> Eglorest); for the growth of the idea of the Havens see p. 227, entry *Brithombar*. Whereas in Q the Feast took place within the period of the Siege of Angband, it now preceded the laying of the Siege, which in the later story began after the Glorious Battle (*Dagor Aglareb*) – of which the earthquakes and the Orc-raids of the years 50–51 are the first suggestion.



Bregolas, Hádor, and Gundor were slain in the Battle of Sudden Fire (155); Barahir, Baragund, and Belegund were slain as outlaws on Taur-na-Danion (160); Gumlin was slain at the fortress of Sirion's Well (162); Huor and Hundor were slain in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears (172); Handir was slain at the Fall of Nargothrond (195).

(See p. 317)

In the second annal dated 50 a major new feature emerges: the story of the dreams and forebodings of Turgon and Felagund, leading to the foundation of Nargothrond and Gondolin. (A later note in Q refers to 'the Foreboding of the Kings', §9 note 15.) In Q Nargothrond was founded after the escape of Felagund from the Battle of Sudden Flame (p. 106), and the hidden valley of Gondolin was never known until Turgon's scouts, in the flight from the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, climbed the heights above the vale of Sirion and saw it beneath them (§15, p. 136; later rewritings to Q alter the story: notes 1 and 2). But in AB I Turgon's departure with his people from Hithlum to Gondolin took place immediately on his finding of the secret valley, whereas in the later story he remained still in Vinyamar (of which there is as yet no sign) for long years after his discovery (*The Silmarillion* pp. 115, 125–6).

The definition of Hithlum as 'the Land of Mist about Mithrim' may imply that *Mithrim* was still only the name of the Lake: see AV, entry 2995, and commentary p. 280.

Fingon is now so named in the text as written, not Finweg > Fingon as in Q.

Fingolfin is now named as the overlord of all the 'Dark-elves' west of Narog, and his power is gathered in the northward range of the Shadowy Mountains, whence he can watch the plain of Bladorion (which is named in AV, entry 2996). The island on which the tower of Felagund stood is now named *Tolsirion*, and Felagund is alone associated with it (cf. Q §9 'A tower they [the sons of Finrod] had on an island in the river Sirion', but also §10 'Felagund they buried on the top of his own island hill'); the pre-eminence of Felagund among his brothers is firmly established, and his isolation from them.

In Q §9, note 1, the name of the great pineclad highland before it was turned to a place of evil first appears, in the form *Taur Danin*; *Taur-na-Danion* occurs in the list of Old English names (p. 211). It is said of the sons of Fëanor in Q (§9) that 'their watchtower was the high hill of Himling, and their hiding place the Gorge of Aglon'.

Annals 70 to 150 In the entries giving the birth-dates of the Bëorians is seen the emergence of an elder line of descent from Bëor the Old beside Barahir and Beren: Barahir now has a brother Bregolas, whose sons are Baragund and Belegund (in this History all three have been named in rewriting of the *Lay of Leithian*, III.335, but that belongs to a much later time). In this line Morwen and Rían are genealogically placed, and as the daughters of Baragund and Belegund become cousins. But though nothing has been said before of Rían's kindred, the idea that Morwen was related to Beren goes right back to the *Tale of Turambar*, where (as that text was first written, when Beren was a Man) Mavwin was akin to Egnor, Beren's father (see II.71, 139).

The Bëorian house is thus now in its final form in the last and most

important generations, though Barahir and Bregolas were later to be removed by many steps from Bëor with the lengthening of the years of Beleriand from the rising of the Sun.

By this genealogical development, too, Túrin and Tuor are descended both from the house of Bëor and from the house of Hador; and they become cousins on both sides.

Haleth, who in Q was the son of Hador, now becomes independent, a 'Father of Men'; cf. the pencilled alterations to Q §9 (note 11 and p. 175), where Haleth 'the Hunter' enters Beleriand shortly before Hador – as is implied also in AB I. The account of the physical characters of the Men of the Three Houses of the Elf-friends is the origin of that in *The Silmarillion* (p. 148); but at this stage the people of Haleth are likened to those of Hador rather than to the Bëorians, and this is undoubtedly a reflection of the fact that the 'Hadorian' and 'Halethian' houses had only just been divided (see pp. 175–6).

In Q (§13, p. 129), Brandir the Lame was the son of Handir, son of Haleth; but now in AB I a new generation is introduced in the person of Hundor, by early addition to the text (see note 13).

In the house of Hador the removal of Haleth as Hador's elder son leads to the appearance of Gundor, as seen already in the later alteration to Q §9 (note 11 and pp. 175–6). In AB I *Hador* is spelt both *Hádor* and *Hador*, and on the assumption that the accent must be intended whereas its absence may not I have extended the form *Hádor* throughout.

The genealogies of the Three Houses of the Elf-friends, together with their dates as given in AB I (after revision), are now therefore as shown on p. 315.

That Hádor became a vassal of Fingolfin (annal 120) is extended from the statement in Q §9, 'the sons of Hador were allied to the house of Fingolfin', with the addition that he was given lands in Hithlum. That his grandson Húrin had his house in Hithlum is of course an ancient feature of the legends.

Beren's name *Mablosgen*, the Empty-handed (note 15) first appears here (*Camlost* in *The Silmarillion*).

The sadness of the Elves who witnessed it at Bëor's death 'of weariness' (annal 150) foreshadows the passage in *The Silmarillion*, p. 149.

Annals 155 to 157 In these annals (to be compared with Q §9) are many new details and one major development. In a later addition (note 17) the Battle of Sudden Fire (itself appearing, as the Battle of Sudden Flame, in a later addition to Q, note 19) receives the Elvish name *Dagor Hurbreged*; and Glómund is present at the battle – by another later addition (note 18) now in his 'full might'. At each stage, in addition to S, in Q, in addition to Q, in AB, and in addition to AB, the history of Glómund is pushed further back; for the details see pp. 181–2. In *The Silmarillion* p. 151 the same expression 'in his full might' is used of Glaurung at the Battle of Sudden Flame, where the statement has the

point that at his first appearance (p. 116) he was not yet full-grown; see pp. 336–7.

The death of Bregolas and the greater part of the warriors of Bëor's house is recorded (cf. *The Silmarillion* pp. 151–2), as also is the death of Hádor 'now aged' and his son Gundor, defending Fingolfin (in *The Silmarillion* they fell at Eithel Sirion). Orodreth as well as Felagund is said to have been rescued by Barahir: this is not at all suggested in Q, where he came to Nargothrond with Celegorm and Curufin only 'after a time of breathless flight and perilous wanderings', and it seems natural to suppose that he had escaped from Taur-na-Danion (Taur-na-Fuin) when his brothers Angrod and Egnor were slain. On this matter see further below, annal 157.

Whereas in Q Himling is said to have been 'fortified' by the sons of Fëanor at this time (p. 106; previously it was their 'watchtower', p. 103), in AB it has been said earlier (annal 51) that Himling was their 'fortress', and it is now told that through the prowess of Maidros it was not lost to them. The passage of Orcs through 'the passes east of Himling' into East Beleriand, and the scattering of 'the Gnomes of Fëanor's house', are now first mentioned: in *The Silmarillion* (p. 153) this is much amplified.

Much the most important and interesting development in these annals is the sojourn of Húrin in Gondolin, of which there has been no hint hitherto; but there are many differences from the story in *The Silmarillion* (p. 158). In AB it was Haleth and his fosterling Húrin (a boy of fourteen) who were brought to Gondolin, having been found by some of Turgon's people in the vale of Sirion; and it is suggested that this was done because Turgon had been warned by messages from Ulmo that 'the help of Men was necessary for him' – this being an element in Ulmo's message to Turgon by the mouth of Tuor at a much later time in Q: 'without Men the Elves shall not prevail against the Orcs and Balrogs' (pp. 142, 146–7). In this earliest version of the story Haleth and Húrin left Gondolin because of the tidings of the Battle of Sudden Fire. In the later legend, on the other hand, it was Húrin and his brother Huor who were brought (by the Eagles) to Gondolin, and this happened during the battle itself; they left the city because they desired to return to the world outside, and they were permitted to go (despite Maeglin) because, having been brought by the Eagles, they did not know the way. This was an important element in the later story, since Húrin could not reveal the secret of Gondolin whether he would or no. The messages and dreams sent by Ulmo, which caused Turgon to receive Húrin and Huor well when he found them in his city, counselled him expressly 'to deal kindly with the sons of the house of Hador, from whom help should come to him at need'. Of course the essential element of Turgon's leaving arms at Vinyamar on Ulmo's command was not yet present. The story in AB has however the liking of Turgon for Húrin and his desire to keep him in Gondolin, the oath of secrecy, and the fostering of Húrin among the people of Haleth (with whom, however, the 'Hadorians' were not yet

allied by intermarriage). Now too appears Turgon's sending of messages to Sirion's mouths and the building of ships for vain embassage to Valinor (*The Silmarillion* p. 159).

The annal 157 introduces the interval of two years between the Battle of Sudden Fire and the taking of Tolsirion, which thenceforward was the Isle of Werewolves (and by the later addition given in note 20 receives the Elvish name *Tol-na-Gaurhoth*); cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 155. But in this annal it is said that not only Orodreth and Celegorm and Curufin retreated to Nargothrond at this time, but Felagund also, and that they made there a great hidden palace. It is difficult to know what to make of this, since in the entry for the year 50 it is said that Felagund 'established his armouries' in the caves of Narog, and in that for 51 'he has his seat beside Narog in the South' (though his power is centred on Tolsirion). Possibly the meaning is that though Nargothrond had existed for more than a hundred years as a Gnomish stronghold it was not until the Battle of Sudden Fire that it was made into a great subterranean dwelling or 'palace', and the centre of Felagund's power. Even so, the story still seems very confused. In annal 155 'Barahir and his chosen champions saved Felagund and Orodreth', but also 'Celegorm and Curufin were defeated and fled with Orodreth'; while two years later, in 157, 'Felagund and Orodreth, together with Celegorm and Curufin, retreated to Nargothrond'.

The implication of the last two of these statements is surely that Celegorm and Curufin fled west with Orodreth after Taur-na-Danion was overrun and took refuge with Felagund on Tolsirion; and when Tolsirion was taken two years later all four went south to Narog. If this is so, it seems to contradict the first statement, that Barahir saved Felagund and Orodreth at the Battle of Sudden Fire in 155. Perhaps the fact that the annal heading 155 is written twice hints at an explanation. The second heading is written at the top of a manuscript page (which finishes at the end of the entry for 157); and it may be that this page is a revision which was not properly integrated into the narrative.

In the second paragraph of 157 various new elements appear: the sending of Morwen and Rían to Hithlum (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 155); Morwen's name *Eledwen* (note 24; she is called 'Elfsheen' in Q §9 and in annal 145); the presence of Baragund and Belegund in Barahir's band, and (by later addition, note 23) the names of two others (in addition to Gorlim): Radros and Dengar (> Dagnir). Dagnir remains in *The Silmarillion*; Radros became Radhruin.

It may be noticed here that while my father subsequently greatly expanded the duration of Beleriand from the rising of the Sun to the end of the Elder Days, this expansion was not achieved by a general, proportionate enlargement of the intervals between major events. Rather, he increased (in successive versions of the *Annals*) the lapse of time in the earlier part of the period, the Siege of Angband being

enormously extended; and the relative dating of the later events remained little affected. Thus in AB I the Battle of Sudden Fire took place in the year 155, the attack on the fortress of Sirion's Well in 162, and the Fall of Nargothrond in 195; in *The Silmarillion* the dates are 455 (p. 150), 462 (p. 160), and 495 (p. 211).

Annal 162 The renewed assault of Morgoth seven years after the Battle of Sudden Fire, and the death of Gumlin at Sirion's Well, are referred to in *The Silmarillion*, p. 160 (with Galdor for Gumlin). Sirion's Well is referred to in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (line 1460) and marked on the map (p. 222): but 'in the west of (the Shadowy Mountains)' in this annal must be a slip for 'east'. The Elvish name *Eithyl Sirion* (note 26) here first occurs.

Húrin was 'summoned to Hithlum', clearly, because he was at that time still with his fosterfather Haleth in the vale of Sirion.

Annal 163 The Swarthy Men were referred to somewhat obliquely in Q §11, as first written: 'Men from East and South' came to Maidros' banner (p. 117), and 'the swart Men, whom Uldor the Accursed led, went over to the foe' (p. 118). In a later interpolation (note 14) the Men from the East are 'the Swarthy Men' and 'the Easterlings', and 'the sons of Bor and Ulfang' are referred to, Uldor the Accursed being the son of Ulfang. It is not made clear in Q when these Men came out of the East. In AB they entered Beleriand in the year following the attack on Eithel Sirion, while in *The Silmarillion* their coming is put somewhat earlier (p. 157); but the description of them in AB is preserved closely in *The Silmarillion*, with the mention of their liking (clearly boding no good) for the Dwarves of the mountains. The interpolation in Q has the final form *Ulfang*, whereas in AB he is *Ulfand* (< *Ulband*, notes 30, 45);* his sons are *Uldor*, *Ulfast*, whose names were not afterwards changed, and *Ulwar*, who became *Ulwarth*. The association of Cranthir (Caranthir) with these Men also now appears. With the words of AB concerning the Dwarves cf. Q §9, p. 104.

Annal 163–4 On the Green-elves of Ossiriand, appearing in a later interpolation (note 34, and again subsequently, note 62), see AV note 14, and p. 277.

Annal 165–70 There is some slight difference in the accounts in Q §11 and in AB: thus the deeds of Celegorm and Curufin are here made the reason for Thingol's refusal to join the Union of Maidros, and the reluctance of the Elves of Nargothrond is due to their strategy of stealth and secrecy, whereas in Q (as in *The Silmarillion*, pp. 188–9) Thingol's

*My father doubtless had both Q and AB in front of him as working texts for a considerable time, and some emendations to Q are later than some emendations to AB.

motive is the demand made on him by the Fëanorians for the return of the Silmaril, and it is the deeds of Celegorm and Curufin that determine Orodreth's policy. There is possibly a suggestion in the words 'for his people will not be restrained' that the emergence of the host of Gondolin was against Turgon's wisdom; in Q §11 as rewritten (in note 7, where the story of the much earlier foundation of Gondolin had entered) Turgon 'deemed that the hour of deliverance was at hand'.

Annal 168 'The Orcs are slowly driven back out of Beleriand': cf. the rewritten passage in Q §11, note 14, 'Now for a while the Gnomes had victory, and the Orcs were driven out of Beleriand.' But this comes *after* 'Having gathered at last all the strength that he might Maidros appointed a day': as I noted (p. 179), the two phases of the war are not clearly distinguished – or else it is only with the *Annals* that the first successes against the Orcs are moved back, with the concomitant idea that Maidros 'made trial of his strength too soon, ere his plans were full-wrought' (*The Silmarillion* p. 189).

Annal 171 In Q §15 Isfin was lost *after* the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, and Eöl 'had deserted the hosts ere the battle'.

Annal 172 In this account of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, with which is to be compared that in Q §11, the *Annals* introduce many new details that were to endure. Thus it is now told that Huor wedded Rían 'on the eve of battle'; and that there was to be a visible signal from Maidros to the hosts waiting in the West. The doubt concerning the part of the people of Haleth (see pp. 180–1) is now resolved, and 'Hundor son of Haleth and the Men of the wood were slain in the retreat across the sands'; the 'glad meeting of Húrin and Turgon' now arises out of the story first told in annal 155; Balrogs smote down Fingon, though Gothmog is not yet named as his slayer; Turgon took with him in his retreat a remnant of Fingon's host (so in *The Silmarillion* p. 194); Huor died of a venomed arrow (*ibid.*); Húrin threw away his shield (*ibid.* p. 195).

The change of *Flinding son of Fuilin* to *Gwindor son of Guilin* (note 40), which is made also in Q, clearly occurs for the first time in AB, since *Flinding* here became *Findor* before he became *Gwindor*.

In a few points AB differs from the later story. Here, Turgon's host descended out of Taur-na-Fuin, whereas in Q (as rewritten, note 7) 'they encamped before the West Pass in sight of the walls of Hithlum', just as in *The Silmarillion* (p. 192) the host of Gondolin 'had been stationed southward guarding the Pass of Sirion'. The loyalty of Bór and his sons, not mentioned in Q, now appears, but whereas in the later story Maglor slew Uldor, and the sons of Bór slew Ulfast and Ulwarth 'ere they themselves were slain', in AB Cranthir slew Uldor, and Ulfast and Ulwar slew Bór and his three sons. The number of a thousand Balrogs who

came from Angband when 'Hell was emptied' shows once again (see II.212–13 and p. 173), and more clearly than ever, that Morgoth's demons of fire were not conceived as rare or peculiarly terrible – unlike the Dragon.

The passage at the end of annal 172 concerning Rían and Tuor, with the further reference to Tuor in annal 173, follows the rewriting of Q §16, note 3; and here as there there is no mention of Tuor's slavery among the Easterlings, which was however referred to in Q as first written.

Annal 173 The words 'others [Morgoth] forbade to leave Hithlum, and they were slain if Orcs found them east or south of the Shadowy Mountains' must refer to those Elves who were not enslaved in Angband; but this is surprising. Cf. Q §12, where it is told that Morgoth penned the Easterlings behind the Shadowy Mountains in Hithlum 'and slew them if they wandered to Broseliand or beyond'; similarly in *The Silmarillion* (p. 195) it was the Easterlings that Morgoth would not permit to leave.

In Q §12, as in S, and as in *The Silmarillion* (pp. 198–9), Túrin left his home before his sister Nienor was born (see p. 59). The entry in AB for Nienor's birth is an early addition and certainly belongs with the revised dating of Túrin's birth (i.e. in the year 165, not 170, see note 36) and of his journey to Doriath (i.e. in 173 not 177, see note 48); thus Túrin left *after* his sister's birth.

Annals 181 to 199 In the legend of the Children of Húrin there is virtually no development from its form in the *Quenta*, from which the *Annals* doubtless derive it direct. The compression is very great, and AB was obviously not intended as an independent composition – thus Túrin's slaying of Brodda is recorded in the annal 195–6 without any indication of the cause, and Brodda has not even been mentioned. The passage in the entry for 196: 'Glómund lays a spell on the company and disperses it. Morwen vanishes in the woods; and a great darkness of mind comes on Nienor' is hardly recognisable as an account of the events known from the *Tale*, S, Q, and *The Silmarillion*; but the general concurrence of all these other versions shows that the wording of AB is the result of severe compression of the narrative, composed very rapidly (see p. 294). It is here, however, that the only development in the story appears: Morwen 'vanishes in the woods', and is not, as in Q §13, led back in safety to Doriath.

The dates in these annals are of much interest as indicating my father's conception of the duration and intervals of time in the legend, concerning which the other early texts give very little idea. Thus Túrin's life as an outlaw after his flight from Doriath and until the capture of Beleg lasted three years, and a further two until the band was betrayed by Blodrin; he spent five years in Nargothrond, and was thirty years old at the time of its fall. Nienor dwelt among the Woodmen for some three

years; she was twenty-six years old when she died, and Túrin Turambar was thirty-four.

Annal 181 The first sentence of this annal refers to the time when tidings of Morwen ceased – seven years after Túrin's arrival in Doriath according to the *Tale of Turambar* (II.90) and the first version of the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (line 333), nine according to the second version of the Lay (line 693) and in *The Silmarillion* (p. 199). In AB it is eight years since his coming to Doriath.

Annal 184 Túrin, born in 165, was thus nineteen when he slew Orgof, as in the *Tale of Turambar* and the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*; see II.142.

Annal 188 In the entry for this year added later in pencil (note 49) the story of the slaying of Orodreth's son Halmir by Orcs re-emerges from the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, lines 2137–8, where Orodreth's hatred for 'the broods of Hell' is explained:

> his son had they slain, the swift-footed
> Halmir the hunter of hart and boar.

This disappeared again later, and the name *Halmir* came to be borne by one of the Lords of Brethil, when that line was much changed and extended. (In the list of Old English names of the Noldorin princes (p. 213) Orodreth has two sons, *Ordhelm* and *Ordlaf*, without Elvish equivalents given.)

Annal 190 The added Elvish name *Ivrineithil* (note 51) first occurs here (*Eithel Ivrin* in *The Silmarillion*).

'They are admitted on the prayer of Finduilas' is a reminiscence of the Lay (lines 1950ff.).

Annal 190–195 In this annal is the first occurrence of the form *Mormegil* (*Mormaglir* in Q), though here corrected later (notes 52, 55) to *Mormael*.

The early emendation given in note 53 is curious: from 'Morgoth learns of the stronghold' to 'Morgoth learns of the growing strength of the stronghold'. It looks as if this change was made in order to get rid of the idea that the loss of the 'ancient secrecy' of the Elves of Nargothrond in Túrin's time led to Morgoth's discovery of its site. I have said in my commentary on Q §13 (p. 184) that while there is no suggestion that Túrin's policy of open war revealed Nargothrond to Morgoth, this element goes back to the *Tale of Turambar* and its absence from Q must be due to compression (earlier in Q, at the end of §11, it is said that after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears Morgoth paid little heed to Doriath and Nargothrond 'maybe because he knew little of them'). In *The Silmaril-*

lion it is said (p. 211) 'Thus Nargothrond was revealed to the wrath and hatred of Morgoth', and this is an important element in the contention over policy between Túrin and Gwindor in a late passage that was not fully assimilated to the *Narn i Hîn Húrin* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 156):

> You speak of secrecy, and say that therein lies the only hope; but could you ambush and waylay every scout and spy of Morgoth to the last and least, so that none came ever back with tidings to Angband, yet from that he would learn that you lived and guess where.

The alliance of the Gnomes of Nargothrond with the people of Handir (Haleth's grandson) is not found in *The Silmarillion*. In AB (annal 195) Handir was slain in the battle of the fall of Nargothrond; in *The Silmarillion* (p. 212) he was slain in the year of the fall, but before it, when Orcs invaded his land.

Annal 192 Cf. the beginning of Q §16, and note 1.

Annal 195 'Glómund with a host of Orcs comes over Erydlómin (> Erydwethion, note 54) and defeats the Gnomes between Narog and Taiglin' shows that, as in Q, the battle before the sack of Nargothrond was not fought at the later site, between Ginglith and Narog; see|p. 184.

That Glómund passed over the Shadowy Mountains implies that he came from Angband by way of Hithlum, and it seems strange that he should not have entered Beleriand by the Pass of Sirion; but in the next major version of the *Annals of Beleriand* it is said expressly that he 'passed into Hithlum and did great evil' before moving south over the mountains. There is no indication of why Morgoth commanded, or permitted, this.

In the redating of the entry (196 > 195, see note 57) concerning Tuor's journey from Hithlum to the sea and along the coast to the mouths of Sirion there is a foreshadowing of the situation in *The Silmarillion*, where (p. 238) 'Tuor dwelt in Nevrast alone, and the summer of that year passed, and the doom of Nargothrond drew near'; thus it was that Tuor and Voronwë on their journey to Gondolin saw at Ivrin, defiled by the passage of Glaurung on his way to Nargothrond, a tall man hastening northwards and bearing a black sword, though 'they knew not who he was, nor anything of what had befallen in the south' (p. 239).

Why were the havens of Brithombar and Eldorest (> Eglorest) 'ruined'? Nothing has been said anywhere of the destruction of the Havens. In the next version of the *Annals of Beleriand* the same remains true, and the Havens are again said, in the corresponding passage, to be in ruins. Later, the Havens were besieged and destroyed in the year after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears (*The Silmarillion* p. 296), and I have suggested (p. 229) that the statement on the Westward extension of the first map 'Here Morgoth reaches the shores' may be a reference to this story: it seems then that it was present, though my father neglected to refer to it until much later.

Annal 195–6 If the *h* of *Turumarth* was to be deleted (note 58) this was a reversion to the form in the *Tale of Turambar* (II.70, 86). In Q §13 *Turumarth* was later changed to *Turamarth* (note 12).

Annal 199 The addition *Silver Bowl (Celebrindon)* (note 59) is another case, like that of *Flinding* > *Gwindor* in annal 172, where the alteration to AB preceded that made to Q. This is shown by the first, rejected form *Celebrindon*, whereas in the addition to Q (§13, note 14) there is only *Celebros* (translated, as here, 'Foam-silver').

Tuor entered Gondolin in 196, and thus dwelt there for three years before he wedded Idril. This agrees with S (§16, see p. 67); in Q nothing is said on the subject.

Annal 200 Húrin's band is now composed of Men, not Elves (see II.137; in Q §14 they are only described as 'outlaws of the woods'); but the story as very briefly given in AB does not advance matters at this difficult point (see my discussion, p. 188). Húrin's fate, and Morwen's, is now unknown; in Q 'some have said that he cast himself at last into the western sea', and (at the end of §13) 'some have said that Morwen, wandering woefully from Thingol's halls . . . came on a time to that stone and read it, and there died'.

Annals 201 and 202 In the story of the Nauglafring (> Nauglamír, note 60) there is very little narrative development from Q (§14); but the change from 'War ensues between the Elves and Dwarves' to 'Enmity awakes' (note 61) suggests that my father was revising the story at this point. The 'war' is the fighting in the Thousand Caves which first enters the narrative in Q, and of which the slain were buried in Cûm-nan-Arasaith, the Mound of Avarice.

The name of the river in which the gold was drowned, *Asgar*, is found also in the list of Old English names (p. 209); in Q, and on the Eastward extension of the map, as in *The Silmarillion*, the form is *Ascar*.

It is made clear that Lúthien died as a mortal (see pp. 190–1), and the suggestion is that she and Beren died at the same time. It is seen from the dates that they lived on only a very brief while after the coming of the Silmaril to Ossiriand; cf. Q 'the brief hour of the loveliness of the land of Rathlorion departed'. Here is first mentioned the bringing of the Silmaril to Dior in Doriath by night.

Annal 206 A minor addition to the story in Q (§14) is that the battle between the Elves of the renewed Doriath and the Fëanorians took place on the eastern marches of the realm; and the young sons of Dior were slain 'by the evil men of Maidros' host' – which does not necessarily mean that the Fëanorians came upon Doriath with mortal allies, since 'men' is used in the sense 'male Elves'. The sons of Dior, named Eldûn and Elrûn in an addition to Q (note 14), here bear the names Elboron and Elbereth;

the latter must be the first occurrence of *Elbereth* in my father's writings. It is seen from the next version of the *Annals of Beleriand* that the names *Eldûn* and *Elrûn* replaced those given here.

Annal 207 As with the legend of the Necklace of the Dwarves, the extremely abbreviated account of the Fall of Gondolin in AB shows no change from that in Q §16.

Annals 208 to 233 In annal 210 it is said that Maidros actually forswore his oath (although in the final annal he still strives to fulfil it); and this is clearly to be related to his revulsion at the killing of Dior's sons in the annal for 206. Damrod and Díriel now emerge as the most ferocious of the surviving sons of Fëanor, and it is on them that the blame for the assault on the people of Sirion is primarily laid: Maidros and Maglor only 'gave reluctant aid'. This develops further an increasing emphasis in these texts on the weariness and loathing felt by Maidros and Maglor for the duty they felt bound to.

In annal 229 Maglor, rather than Maidros as in Q §17, becomes the saviour of Elrond; this change is made also in a late rewriting of Q II (§17 note 10), where however Elrond's brother Elros also emerges, as is not the case in AB.

The story of Elwing and Eärendel follows that in Q II: Elwing bearing the Silmaril is borne up out of the sea by Ulmo in the form of a bird and comes to Eärendel as he returns in his ship, and they voyage together in search of Valinor; and it is Eärendel's 'embassy of the two kindreds' that leads to the assault on Morgoth (see p. 196).

Annal 240 This is the first mention of any kind of the life of the few surviving Gnomes who remained free after the destruction of the people of Sirion; and in a later addition (note 65) is the first appearance of Amon Ereb, the Lonely Hill in East Beleriand, where they lurked.

Annal 233–43 The refusal of the Teleri to leave Valinor at all (though they built a great number of ships) seems to be a reversion to the story in Q I §17 (p. 149); in Q II (p. 154) 'they went not forth save very few', and those that did manned the fleet that bore the hosts of Valinor. But AB may here be simply very compressed.

Annals 247 and 250 In the account of the assault on Morgoth from the West there are some additions to the narrative in Q (§17): the Battle of Eldorest (> Eglorest), where Ingwil (> Ingwiel) landed in Middle-earth (*Ingwiel* is the form in an addition to Q II, note 19; the form *Ingwil* in AB preceded this), the summons of Fionwë to all Elves, Dwarves, Men, beasts and birds to come to his banners, and the array of the hosts of West and North on either side of Sirion.

The statement (subsequently corrected, notes 70–1) that both Maglor

and Maidros 'perished in a last endeavour to seize the Silmarils' seems to suggest a passing movement to yet another formulation of the story (see the table on p. 202); but may well have been a slip due to hasty composition and compression.

It remains to notice the chronology of the last years of Beleriand that now emerges. Tuor wedded Idril in the year (199) of the deaths of Túrin and Nienor; and both Eärendel and Elwing were born in the following year, five years after the Fall of Nargothrond (195). Dior's re-establishment of Thingol's realm lasted no more than four years (202–6), and the Fall of Gondolin followed only one year after the final ruin of Doriath (in the old *Tale of the Nauglafring*, II.242, the two events took place on the very same day), and one year after the capture of Meglin in the hills. Eärendel was seven years old at the Fall of Gondolin (as stated in Q §16), and thirty-three years old when he came to Valinor. The settlement at the delta of Sirion lasted twenty-three years from Elwing's coming there.

The shortness of the time as my father at this period conceived it is very remarkable, the more so in comparison with the later lavish millennia of the Second and Third Ages, not to mention the aeons allowed to the ages before the rising of the Sun and Moon. The history of Men in Beleriand is comprised in 150 years before the beginning of the Great Battle; Nargothrond, Doriath, and Gondolin were all destroyed within thirteen years; and the entire history from the rising of the Sun and Moon and the coming of the exiled Noldoli to the destruction of Beleriand and the end of the Elder Days covers two and half centuries (or three according to the addition given in note 69: 'This great war lasted fifty years').

The second version of the earliest Annals of Beleriand

This brief text, 'AB II', is in the first annals closely based on AB I, with some minor developments, but from the entry for the year 51 becomes a new work, and an important step in the evolution of the legendary history. The text was lightly emended in pencil, and these few changes are given in the notes, apart from one or two small alterations of wording or sentence-order that are taken up silently. As to its date, it was later than AV if one judges from the fact that the crossing to Middle-earth of Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor in the ships with the Fëanorians is embodied in the text, whereas in AV it is an insertion (note 21).

ANNALS OF BELERIAND

Translation of Ælfwine

Before the Uprising of the Sun Morgoth fled from Valinor with the Silmarils the magic gems of Fëanor, and returned into the Northern regions and rebuilt his fortress of Angband beneath the

Black Mountains, where is their highest peak Thangorodrim. He devised the Balrogs and the Orcs; and he set the Silmarils in his iron crown.

The Gnomes of the eldest house, the Dispossessed, came into the North under Fëanor and his seven sons, with their friends Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor, sons of Finrod. They burned the Telerian ships. They fought soon after the First Battle with Morgoth, that is Dagor-os-Giliath, or the 'Battle-under-Stars'; and Fëanor defeated the Orcs, but was mortally wounded by Gothmog, captain of Balrogs, and died after in Mithrim.

Maidros, his eldest son, was ambushed and captured by Morgoth, and hung on Thangorodrim; but the other sons of Fëanor camped about Lake Mithrim behind Eredwethion, that is the 'Shadowy Mountains'.

Years of the Sun

1 Here the Moon and Sun, made by the Gods after the death of the Two Trees of Valinor, first appeared. Thus measured time came into the Hither Lands.[1] Fingolfin (and with him came Felagund son of Finrod) led the second house of the Gnomes over the straits of Grinding Ice into the Hither Lands. They came into the North even with the first Moonrise, and the first dawn shone upon their march and their unfurled banners. And Morgoth at the coming of Light withdrew dismayed into his deepest dungeons, but there he smithied in secret, and sent forth black smokes. But Fingolfin blew his trumpets in defiance before the gates of Angband, and came south to Mithrim; but the sons of Fëanor withdrew to its south shores, and there was feud between the houses, because of the burning of the ships, and the lake lay between them.

2 Here Fingon son of Fingolfin healed the feud, by rescuing Maidros with the help of Thorndor, king of Eagles.

1–50 Here the Gnomes wandered far and wide over Beleriand exploring it, and settling it in many places, from the Great Sea, Belegar, to the Eredlindon, that is the 'Blue Mountains', and all Sirion's vale, save Doriath in the middle, which Thingol and Melian held.

20 Here the 'Feast and Games of Reuniting' (that is in

Gnomish Mereth Aderthad) were held in Nan Tathrin, the 'Land of Willows', near the delta of Sirion, and there were the Elves of Valinor, of the three houses of the Gnomes, and the Dark-elves, both those of the Western Havens, Brithombar and Eglorest,[2] and the scattered Wood-elves of the West, and ambassadors of Thingol. But Thingol would not open his kingdom, or remove the magic that fenced it, and trusted not in the restraint of Morgoth to last long. Yet a time of peace, of growth and blossoming, and of prosperous mirth followed.

50 Here unquiet and troubled dreams came upon Turgon son of Fingolfin and Felagund, his friend, son of Finrod, and they sought for places of refuge, lest Morgoth burst from Angband as their dreams foreboded. And Felagund found the caves of Narog and began there to establish a strong place and armouries, after the fashion of Thingol's abode at Menegroth; and he called it Nargothrond. But Turgon journeying alone discovered by the grace of Ulmo the hidden vale of Gondolin, and he told no man as yet.

51 Now Morgoth's might began suddenly to move once more; there were earthquakes in the North, and fire came from the mountains, and the Orcs raided into Beleriand. But Fingolfin and Maidros gathered their forces, and many of the Dark-elves, and they destroyed all the Orcs that were without Angband, and they fell upon an army that gathered upon Bladorion, and before it could retreat to Morgoth's walls they destroyed it utterly; and this was the 'Second Battle', Dagor Aglareb, 'the Glorious Battle'. And afterward they laid the Siege of Angband which lasted more than two[3] hundred years; and Fingolfin boasted that Morgoth could never burst from his leaguer, though neither could they take Angband nor recover the Silmarils. But war never ceased utterly in all this time, for Morgoth was secretly arming, and ever and anon would try the strength and watchfulness of his foes.[4]

But Turgon being still troubled in heart took a third part of the Gnomes of Fingolfin's house, and their goods, and their womenfolk, and departed south and vanished, and none knew whither he was gone; but he

came to Gondolin and built a city and fortified the surrounding hills.

But the rest beleaguered Angband in this wise. In the West, were Fingolfin and Fingon, and they dwelt in Hithlum, and their chief fort was at 'Sirion's Well' (Eithel Sirion), on the east of Eredwethion, and all Eredwethion they manned, and watched Bladorion thence and rode often upon that plain, even to the feet of the mountains of Morgoth; and their horses multiplied for the grass was good. Of those horses many of the sires came from Valinor. But the sons of Finrod held the land from Eredwethion to the eastern end of Taur-na-Danion the Forest of Pines, from whose northern slopes also they guarded Bladorion. But Fingolfin was overlord of the Dark-elves as far south as Eglorest[5] and west of Eglor; and he was King of Hithlum, and Lord of the Falas or Western Shore; and Felagund was King of Narog, and his brothers were the Lords of Taur-na-Danion, and his vassals; and Felagund was lord of the lands east and west of Narog as far south as Sirion's mouths, from Eglor to Sirion, save for part of Doriath that lay west of Sirion between Taiglin and Umboth-Muilin. But between Sirion and Mindeb no man dwelt; and in Gondolin, south-west of Taur-na-Danion, was Turgon, but that was not known.

And King Felagund had his seat at Nargothrond far to the South, but his fort and strong place was in the North, in the pass into Beleriand between Eredwethion and Taur-na-Danion, and it was upon an isle in the waters of Sirion, that was called Tolsirion. South of Taur-na-Danion was a wide space untenanted between the fences of Melian and the regions of Finrod's sons, who held most to the northern borders of the wooded mountains. Easternmost dwelt Orodreth, nighest to his friends the sons of Fëanor. And of these Celegorm and Curufin held the land between Aros and Celon even from the borders of Doriath to the Pass of Aglon between Taur-na-Danion and the Hill of Himling, and this pass and the plains beyond they guarded. But Maidros had a strong place upon the Hill of Himling, and the lower hills that lie from the Forest even to

Eredlindon were called the Marches of Maidros, and he was much in the plains to the North, but held also the woods south between Celon and Gelion; and to the East Maglor held the land even as far as Eredlindon; but Cranthir ranged in the wide lands between Gelion and the Blue Mountains; and all East Beleriand behind was wild and little tenanted save by scattered Dark-elves, but it was under the overlordship of Maidros from Sirion's mouths to Gelion (where it joins with Brilthor), and Damrod and Díriel were there, and came not much to war in the North. But Ossiriand was not subject to Maidros or his brethren, and there dwelt the Green-elves between Gelion and Ascar and Adurant, and the mountains. Into East Beleriand many of the Elf-lords even from afar came at times for hunting in the wild woods.

51–255[6] This time is called the Siege of Angband and was a time of bliss, and the world had peace and light, and Beleriand became exceedingly fair, and Men waxed and multiplied and spread, and had converse with the Dark-elves of the East, and learned much of them, and they heard rumours of the Blessed Realms of the West and of the Powers that dwelt there, and many in their wanderings moved slowly thither.

In this time Brithombar and Eglorest were builded to fair towns and the Tower of Tindobel was set up upon the cape west of Eglorest to watch the Western Seas; and some went forth and dwelt upon the great isle of Balar that lieth in the Bay of Balar into which Sirion flows. And in the East the Gnomes clomb Eredlindon and gazed afar, but came not into the lands beyond; but in those mountains they met the Dwarves, and there was yet no enmity between them and nonetheless little love. For it is not known whence the Dwarves came, save that they are not of Elf-kin or mortal kind or of Morgoth's breed. But in those regions the Dwarves dwelt in great mines and cities in the East of Eredlindon and far south of Beleriand, and the chief of these were Nogrod and Belegost.

102 About this time the building of Nargothrond and of Gondolin was wellnigh complete.

104 About this time Cranthir's folk first met the Dwarves as is told above; for the Dwarves had of old a road into the West that came up along Eredlindon to the East and passed westward in the passes south of Mount Dolm and down the course of [the] R[iver] Ascar and over Gelion at the ford Sarn Athrad and so to Aros.[7]

105 Morgoth endeavoured to take Fingolfin at unawares and an army, but a small one, marched south, west of Eredlómin, but were destroyed and passed not into Hithlum, but the most were driven into the sea in the firth at Drengist; and this is not reckoned among the great battles, though the slaughter of Orcs was great.

After this was peace a long while, save that Glómund the first of Dragons came forth from Angband's gate at night in 155 and he was yet young. And the Elves fled to Eredwethion and Taur-na-Danion, but Fingon with his horsed archers rode up and Glómund could not yet withstand their darts, and fled back and came not forth again for a long time.

170 Here Bëor was born east of Eredlindon.

188 Here Haleth was born east of Eredlindon.

190 Here Hádor the Goldenhaired was born east of Eredlindon.

200 Meeting of Felagund and Bëor. Bregolas born.

202 War on east marches. Bëor and Felagund there. Barahir born.

220 Unfriendliness of sons of Fëanor to Men – because of lies of Morgoth: – hence tragedy of their treaty in end of need to the worst Men, and their betrayal by them.[8]

NOTES

1 Added in pencil: *At this time Men first awoke in the midst* [emended to *east*] *of the world. In the meantime (Fingolfin,* &c.) In the second sentence *led* was changed to *had led*.

2 *Eglorest* is an early change in ink from *Eglarest*; cf. AB I, notes 8, 67.

3 *two* was changed from *one* while these *Annals* were in process of composition; see note 6.

4 This sentence was an early addition, probably made when my father was writing the annal for 105.

5 *Eglorest* < *Eglarest*, as in note 2. At the occurrences of the name in the annal 51–255 it was written *Eglorest*.

6 255 is a change in pencil from 155, but it obviously belongs with the change given in note 3, made while the *Annals* were being written, as can be seen from the reference in annal 105 to Glómund's emergence in 155, which took place during the Siege. My father must have overlooked the need to change the date, and put it in later when he noticed it.

7 Added in pencil: *But they came not into Beleriand after the coming of the Gnomes, until the power of Maidros and Fingon fell in the Third (Fourth) Battle.*

8 At the end the text was written at increasing speed and the last few lines are a scrawl. The unfilled annal 220 was to be the entry of Haleth and Hádor into Beleriand. In the final sentence 'tragedy' replaced 'justice' at the time of writing.

Commentary on the *Annals of Beleriand* (text AB II)

The revised dates. The period of the Siege of Angband is extended by a hundred years, and now lasts from 51 (as in AB I) to 255 (notes 3 and 6). The birth dates of Bëor, Haleth, Hádor, Bregolas, and Barahir, and the meeting of Felagund with Bëor, are all increased pari passu with the lengthening of the Siege by a hundred years from AB I.

This commentary again follows the annal-sections of the text. The many cases where names pencilled on the AB I manuscript are embodied in the text of AB II can be noticed together: *Dagor-os-Giliath, Eredwethion, Belegar, Eredlindon, Eglorest (< Eglarest), Eithel Sirion, Sarn Athrad* (for *Sarn Athra*). *Menegroth* in annal 50 occurs in an addition to AV (note 18) and in the Old English version II (p. 288).

Opening section and Annals 1 to 51 As I have said, while AB II is here closely based on AB I, there are some minor developments. Where in AB I Thangorodrim is called 'the Black Mountain', it is now the highest peak of 'the Black Mountains'. Whether the story of the Battle-under-Stars had yet shifted is not clear; the statement that the sons of Fëanor encamped about Lake Mithrim *after* the capture of Maidros belongs to the older story (see p. 295), whereas Fëanor's death 'in Mithrim' (which shows that Mithrim was a region and not only the name of the lake) suggests the later. Fingolfin's defiance before Angband is now present, and the removal of the Fëanorians to the southern shores of the lake when Fingolfin's people arrived, as they are in AV (pp. 269–70).

In annal 20 the Elvish name *Mereth Aderthad* for the Feast of Reuniting now appears for the first time; and a little more is

said of Thingol's policies at this time (a passage that reappears in *The Silmarillion*, p. 111), though nothing of his hostility to the Gnomes.

In AB I Turgon's departure to Gondolin is given under the year 50, but in AB II it was in this year that he discovered it ('by the grace of Ulmo'), and in 51 he departed from Hithlum (with a third of the Gnomes of the second house: so also in *The Silmarillion*, p. 126). Under 102 it is stated that the building of Gondolin was 'wellnigh complete'; and this (relative) dating survived into *The Silmarillion* (p. 125), where Gondolin was 'full-wrought after two and fifty years of secret toil' – though in the final story it was only then that Turgon himself abandoned his halls of Vinyamar.

Annal 51 The Glorious Battle, of which there is only a suggestion in AB I (under the years 50–51), now becomes a determinate event with a name (and the Elvish *Dagor Aglareb* appears), and the driving back of the Orcs becomes the destruction of an Orc-host on Bladorion; cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 115. Fingolfin's boast that Morgoth could never break the Siege goes back to Q §9: 'The Gnomes boasted that never could he break their leaguer.'

In AB II the passage concerning the disposition of the Gnomish princes during the years of the Siege is greatly expanded, with much new detail (later appearing in *The Silmarillion* in chapter 14, *Of Beleriand and its Realms*). It was clearly composed very rapidly.

We now hear of the horses of the Lords of Hithlum that pastured on Bladorion, many of whose sires came from Valinor (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 119). In AB I Fingolfin was overlord of 'the Dark-elves west of Narog' (which no doubt implies the relatively small importance of Nargothrond before the Battle of Sudden Flame), but here his authority is over the Dark-elves west of the river Eglor (*Eldor* on the Westward extension of the first map, pp. 227–8), and he is 'Lord of the Falas' (cf. *Falassë* on the *Ambarkanta* map IV, pp. 249, 257); while Felagund is lord of the whole territory between Eglor and Sirion except for Doriath-beyond-Sirion. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 120) Felagund (there called Finrod) likewise 'became the overlord of all the Elves of Beleriand between Sirion and the sea, save only in the Falas'; but the Falas were ruled by Círdan the Shipwright, of whom there is still no trace. Felagund's brothers have now become his vassals, as they are in *The Silmarillion* (p. 120).

Between Sirion and Mindeb (see p. 222) is a land where 'no man dwelt', but it is not named; in *The Silmarillion* (p. 121) it is 'the empty land of Dimbar'. 'A wide space untenanted' lay between the Girdle of Melian in the North and Taur-na-Danion, but Nan Dungorthin (see p. 222) is not named. Orodreth's land is now specifically in the east of the great pine-forested highlands, where he is near to his friends Celegorm and Curufin, whose territory between Aros and Celon (afterwards called

Himlad) and extending up through the Pass of Aglon is now made definite, and as it was to remain.

The territories of the other sons of Fëanor are also given clearer bounds, with mention for the first time of the Marches of Maidros, of Maglor's land in the East 'even as far as Eredlindon' (afterwards 'Maglor's Gap'), of Cranthir's (not yet called Thargelion) between Gelion and the mountains, and of the territory of Damrod and Díriel in the South of East Beleriand. I do not know why Maidros' overlordship is said to extend from Sirion's mouths to Gelion 'where it joins with Brilthor'. At this time Brilthor was the fifth (not as later the fourth) of the tributaries of Gelion coming down from the mountains, the sixth and most southerly being Adurant (pp. 230–1).

Annal 51–255 With the opening paragraph of this annal cf. Q §6:

> The Dark-elves they met and were aided by them, and were taught by them speech and many things beside, and became the friends of the children of the Eldalië who had never found the paths to Valinor, and knew of the Valar but as a rumour and a distant name.

The reference to the building of Brithombar and Eglorest 'to fair towns' is found in *The Silmarillion* (p. 120), but there with the addition of the word 'anew'; this is because in the later narrative the Havens of the Falas had long existed under the lordship of Círdan, and were rebuilt with the aid and skill of the Noldor of Felagund's following. In the same passage it is said that Felagund 'raised the tower of Barad Nimras to watch the western sea', and also that some of the Elves of Nargothrond 'went forth and explored the great Isle of Balar', though 'it was not their fate that they should ever dwell there'. The present annal is the first occurrence of the Isle and Bay of Balar. The Tower of Tindobel, forerunner of Barad Nimras, is marked on the Westward extension of the first map, p. 228.

The climbing of Eredlindon by the Gnomes and their meeting with the Dwarves is in *The Silmarillion* (pp. 112–13) ascribed specifically to Caranthir's people settled in Thargelion. The Dwarf-cities are in AB II still placed 'far south of Beleriand', as on the Eastward extension of the map (pp. 231–2). The view of the Gnomes' relations with the Dwarves, and of the Dwarves themselves, though very briefly expressed, is much as in the passage of Q §9 on the subject – as emended (note 4) from 'There they made war upon the Dwarves of Nogrod and Belegost' to 'There they had converse with' them: there is no suggestion here that there was fighting between the peoples, though there is also no mention of traffic between them, which is much emphasized in the passage that 'structurally' corresponds in *The Silmarillion* (p. 113).

Annal 104 In AB I it is not until annal 163 that the Elves' first encounter with the Dwarves is mentioned; this passage was bracketed

(note 29), obviously because the matter was to be introduced earlier.

The description of the Dwarf-road agrees precisely with the later course of the road on the Eastward extension of the map (see pp. 231–2). Mount Dolm, which is marked on the map, is here first named in the narrative texts. It is notable that the Dwarves are here said to have had this road 'of old'; and the pencilled interpolation given in note 7 certainly means that they *no longer* came into Beleriand after the return of the Noldoli. In Q §14 it is recorded that 'Dwarves first spread west from Eryd-luin, the Blue Mountains, into Beleriand after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears'. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 91) Dwarves entered Beleriand and its history very long before: 'It came to pass during the second age of the captivity of Melkor that Dwarves came over the Blue Mountains of Ered Luin into Beleriand', and it was Dwarves of Belegost who devised the mansions of Thingol, the Thousand Caves. 'And when the building of Menegroth was achieved . . . the Naugrim yet came ever and anon over the mountains and went in traffic about the lands.' Annal 104 in AB II must be the first sign of this important structural change in the history; and it is probably significant that the reference is to the first encounter of the Gnomes (not of Elves in general) with the Dwarves.

The next version of the *Annals of Beleriand* makes it clear that the reference in the interpolated passage (note 7) to 'the Third (Fourth) Battle' is to the Battle of Sudden Flame, despite the naming of Fingon rather than Fingolfin. In AB II the first battle is Dagor-os-Giliath, the second Dagor Aglareb, and the third (though AB II did not reach it) the Battle of Sudden Flame. This interpolation shows my father already thinking of what became the First Battle of Beleriand, in which Denethor of the Green-elves was slain, and which is first hinted at in a pencilled addition to AV (note 18); after the inclusion of this battle in the great Battles of Beleriand, that of Sudden Flame became the fourth.

Annal 105 In this annal are described for the first time Morgoth's tests of the strength and watchfulness of the besiegers, referred to in annal 51, and which remain in *The Silmarillion* (p. 116). The first of these is there said to have taken place nearly a hundred years since Dagor Aglareb, not as here fifty-four; but the route taken by Morgoth's host is the same in both accounts, southwards down the coast between Ered Lómin and the sea to the Firth of Drengist. The story of the emergence of Glómund, not yet full-grown, from the gates of Angband by night, the flight of the Elves to Eredwethion and Taur-na-Danion, and the rout of Glómund by Fingon's horsed archers, is very close to the account in *The Silmarillion*, where however it took place a hundred years after the attack that ended at Drengist: in AB II, again, the time was only half as long. These differences are associated with further great lengthening of the duration of the Siege.

The addition 'in full might' (of Glómund at the Battle of Sudden Flame) made to AB I (note 18) clearly depends on this final stage in the

backward movement of Glómund's entries into the history: see pp. 317–18. Some lines of Old English verse accompanying the lists of Old English names refer to Fingon's victory over the Dragon:

þá cóm of Mistóran méare rídan
Finbrand felahrór flánas scéotan;
Glómundes gryre grimmum strælum
forþ áflíemde.

Finbrand is given as Ælfwine's rendering of Fingon (p. 213); *Mistóra* is Mithrim (p. 210).

The concluding, hastily scrawled, sentence of AB II is interesting. In *The Silmarillion* the Haladin (the 'People of Haleth') dwelt in the south of Thargelion after crossing the Blue Mountains, and there 'the people of Caranthir paid little heed to them' (p. 143); after their brave defence of their homes Caranthir 'looked kindly upon Men', and 'seeing, over late, what valour there was in the Edain' offered them free lands to dwell in further North under the protection of the Eldar: an offer which was refused. This is the only reference in *The Silmarillion* to 'unfriendliness' on the part of the Fëanorians towards Men (though one could well imagine it); but it is noteworthy, in respect of the last words of these *Annals*, that it was to Cranthir (Caranthir) that the treacherous sons of Ulfang were allied (AB I annal 163, *The Silmarillion* p. 157).

★

APPENDIX

Old English version of the Annals of Beleriand made by Ælfwine or Eriol

This is the only further fragment of Ælfwine's work in Tol Eressëa in his own language. Its relation to the Modern English version is puzzling, since, though it largely corresponds closely to AB II, it also has features of the AB I text. For instance, the defiance of Fingolfin before Angband and the withdrawal of the Fëanorians to the southern shore of the lake is absent from annal I; the date 'I–C' follows AB I; while *Mereth Aderthad* in annal XX agrees with AB II the annal is otherwise as AB I; and annal L is a confused mixture. The simple explanation that my father made the Old English version after AB I but before AB II (and hence the headnote to AB II 'Translation of Ælfwine') comes up against the difficulty that in the Old English the Siege of Angband lasted *tú hund géara oððe má* (line 81), whereas AB II has 'one hundred' emended to 'two hundred'. But the matter is not of importance.

Like version II of the Old English *Annals of Valinor*, the text breaks off in mid-sentence. My father composed these annals, like the others,

fluently and rapidly (hence such variations as *Mægdros*, *Mægedros*, *Maidros*); but he was interrupted, no doubt, and never took them up again. I suspect that Ælfwine's version of the *Annals of Beleriand* was the last.

Beleriandes Géargesægen

Fore sunnan úpgange: Morgoþ gefléah Godéðel þæt is Falinor, ond genóm þá eorclanstánas Féanóres, and þa cóm he eft on Norþdælas ond getimbrode þær on níwan his fæsten Angband (þæt is Irenhell) under þám Sweartbeorgum. He of searucræfte gescóp þá Balrogas ond þá orcas; ond þá eorclanstánas sette he on his isernan helme. þá cómon þá Noldielfe þære yldestan mægþe, þe Ierfeloran hátton, ond sóhton to lande, and geládde híe Féanor and his seofon suna. Þær forbærndon híe þá Teleriscan scipu; and híe gefuhton sippan wiþ Morgoþes here and geflíemde hine: þæt wæs þæt áreste gefeoht, and hátte on noldisce Dagor-os-Giliað, þæt is on Englisc gefeoht under steorrum oppe Tungolgúþ. þær Féanor gewéold wælstówe ond adræfde þá orcas, ac wearð self forwundod þearle of Goþmoge Balroga heretoga, Morgoþes þegne, and swealt sippan on Miþrime. þá wearð Mægdros his yldesta sunu of Morgoþe beswicen, and wearð gefangen, and Morgoþ hét hine ahón be þære rihthande on þangorodrim. þá gedydon þá óþere suna Féanóres ymb Miþrim þone mere on Northwestweardum landum, behindan Scúgebeorge (Eredweþion).

Æfter sunnan úpgange

Sunnan géar I Hér ætíewdon on árest se móna 7 séo sunne, and þa Godu scópon híe æfter þám þe Morgoþ fordyde þá Béamas, for þon þe híe næfdon léoht. Swá cóm gemeten Tíd on middangeard. Fingolfin geládde þá óþere mægþe þára Noldielfa on Norþdælas ofer Ísgegrind oppe Helcarakse on þá Hiderland; ond þá fór Felagund mid sume þære þriddan mægþe. þá fóron híe ealle norþan mid þám þe séo sunne arás, and þá onbrugdon híe hira gúþfanan, and cómon sippan mid micle þrymme on Miþrim. þær wæs þá gíet him fæhþ betwux þære mægþe Féanóres ond þám óþrum.

Morgoþ mid þý þe léoht ætíewde béah on his déopestan gedelf, ac siþþan smiþode þær fela þinga dearnunga and sende forþ sweartne smíc.

II Hér Fingon Fingolfines sunu sibbe geníwode betwux þám mægþum for þám þe he áhredde Mægedros.

I–C Hér geondférdon and gescéawodon þá Noldelfe Beleriand and gesæton hit missenlice ond eal Sirigeones dene of Gársecge (þe Noldelfe Belegar hátað) oþ Hæwengebeorg (þæt sind Eredlindon), butan Doriaðe on middan þám lande þe þingol and Melian áhton.

XX Hér wearð se gebéorscipe and se fréolsdæg and se plega þe Noldelfe Mereþ Aderþad nemnað (þæt is Sibbegemótes fréols) on Wiligwangas gehealden, þe Noldielfe Nanta riiþ hátað, néah Sirigeones múþum, and þær wurdon gesamnode ge elfe of Godéðle ge deorcelfe ge éac sume þá elfe of þám Westhýþum and of Doriaðe of þingole gesende. þá wearð long sibbtíd.

L Hér wearþ eft unfriðu aweht of Morgoþe, ond wurdon micle eorþdynas on Norðdælum, ond þá orcas hergodon floccmælum on Beleriand ond þé elfe híe fuhton wið.

Hér wurdon Turgon Fingolfines sunu 7 Inglor Felagund Finrodes sunu his fréond 7 mæg yfelum swefnum geswencte, 7 híe fæsten 7 friþstówa gesóhton ær þon þe Morgoþ ætburste swá hira swefn him manodon. þá funde Felagund þá déopan scrafu be Naroge stréame, 7 he þær ongann burg gestaðelian and wæpenhord samnian, æfter þære wísan þe þingol búde Menegroþ, 7 he þæt heald Nargoþrond nemnde. Ac Turgon ána férde 7 be Ulmoes láre funde Gondoelin þá díeglan dene, ne sægde nánum menn þá gíet.

Hér ongann Morgoþ eft his mægen styrian; 7 wearþ oft unfriðu aweht on Beleriandes gemærum. Micle eorðdynas wurdon on norðdælum, 7 þá orcas hergodon floccmælum on Beleriand, ac þá elfe fuhton híe wið 7 híe geflíemdon.

LI Hér gegaderode Morgoð medmicelne here, and fýr ábærst of þám norðernum beorgum; ac Fingolfin 7 Maidros fierda gesamnodon and manige þára deorcelfa

mid, 7 híe fordydon þone orchere to nahte, and áslógon ealle þe híe útan Angbande geméttón, and híe éhton þæs heriges geond þone feld Bladorion, þæt nán eft to Angbandes durum cómon. þis gefeoht hátte siððan Dagor Aglareb, þæt is Hréþgúþ on Englisc. Sippan gesetton híe 'Angbandes Ymbsetl', and þæt geléston híe tú hund géara oððe má, 7 Fingolfin béotode þæt Morgoþ náfre from þám ymbhagan ætberstan mihte. He ne mihte self swáþéah Angband ábrecan ne þá Silmarillan áhreddan. Unfriðu wearð náfre eallunga áswefed on þisse langan tíde, for þém þe Morgoþ d. . .lice hine gewæpnode 7 áfre ymbe stunde wolde fandian þére strengu and þére wæcene his gefána.

Turgon cyning swáþéah

NOTES

1–17 Another, earlier, Old English account of these events is found at the end of version I of the *Annals of Valinor*, p. 282.

2 *eorclanstánas*: see p. 283. As in the Old English version I of AV the name *Silmaril* is also treated as an Old English noun, with plural *Silmarillan* (line 84) (in the AV version *Silmarillas*).

8 *Ierfeloran*: with variant vowels *Erfeloran*, *Yrfeloran* in the Old English version II of AV (line 135), and in the list of Old English names, p. 212.

14 *Tungolgúþ* occurs also in the Old English version I of AV, line 55.

32 *sunne*: *sunnan* MS.

48 *Wiligwangas* is a pencilled correction from *Wiligléagas*.

51 *þám*: *þá* MS.

53–71 The text of this annal is confused. The first paragraph follows the beginning of the first entry numbered 50 in AB I; the second paragraph corresponds closely to AB II annal 50; and the third repeats the first.

65 *Gondoelin* is clearly written thus.

86 The illegible word is not *dirnlice* 'secretly'.

New Old English names in this text are:

Sweartbeorgas (line 5) 'Black Mountains' (O.E. *sweart* 'black, dark');

Scúgebeorg (line 22) = *Eredwethion* (O.E. *scúa* 'shadow');

Isgegrind (line 30) = *Helcaraksë* (O.E. *gegrind* 'grinding together, clashing');

Hǽwengebeorg (line 44) = *Eredlindon* (O.E. *hǽwen* 'blue');
Wiligwangas (line 48) = *Nan Tathrin* (O.E. *wilig* 'willow'; *wang* 'meadow, flat place' (cf. *Wetwang* in *The Lord of the Rings*); the rejected name *Wiligléagas* contains *léah*, Modern English *lea*).
Westhýþum (line 51, dative plural) = Western Havens (cf. *Elfethýð* = Swanhaven, p. 283; Modern English *hithe*).
Hréþgúþ (line 79) = *Dagor Aglareb* (O.E. *hréþ* 'glory').

The most notable name here is *Inglor Felagund* (line 57). This is the first occurrence of *Inglor*, which remained his 'true' name for many years, though its existence is indicated by the Old English equivalent *Ingláf Felahrór* (p. 213).

INDEX

This Index, like those of the previous volumes, attempts both to provide an almost complete register and to give some indication of the interrelations of names for the same places, persons, and events; but from the nature of this book the range of such variation is here particularly large, and some names appear in complicated relations (and several languages), so that inconsistency in the arrangement of the material has been hard to avoid.

In general, Modern English names are not given separate entries when they occur solely in association with an Elvish name, but are included under the latter.

Page-references include the occurrences of names in Ælfwine's works in Old English ('O.E.'), but these are not distinguished as such unless the name has a distinctive Old English form; and in such cases the Old English name is not given a separate entry, but included under the original name (as *Elfethýð* under *Alqualondë*).

Names that occur on the first 'Silmarillion' map and its Eastward and Westward extensions are not referenced to the reproductions themselves, but those on the *Ambarkanta* maps and diagrams are (including the emended names that are noticed on the facing pages, as *Silma* > *Ilma* > *Ilmen*): all these references are preceded by an asterisk.

References to the published *Silmarillion* are not included, and those to the individual tales of *The Book of Lost Tales* are collected under the entry *Lost Tales*.

So many variant arrangements of capitalisation and hyphenation are found in compound names in the texts (as *Sarn-athrad*, *Sarn-Athrad*, *Sarn Athrad*) that I have adopted a single form for the purposes of the Index.

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Ælfhâm (Old English) 'Elfhome'. 257. See *Eldaros*.
Ælfwine (Old English) 'Elf-friend'. 42, 76, 205–6, 209, 257–8, 263, 274, 281, 284, 290, 292, 327, 337–8; the tale of *Ælfwine of England* 199–200, 208. On the relation of *Ælfwine* to *Eriol* see 206.
Aerandir Companion of Eärendel. 197
Africa 258
Aglon, Gorge of Between Taur-na-Fuin and Himling. 103, 106, 114, 119, 173, 219, 233, 316; *Pass of Aglon* 330, 335
Aiglir Angrin The Iron Mountains. 220. See *Angeryd, Angorodin, Angrin Aiglir, Eiglir Engrin, Ered Engrin*.

Ainulindalë 253
Ainur 253. See *Music of the Ainur.*
Airin Wife of Brodda. (30), 122, 126, 131, 183
Aiwenórë 'Bird-land', lower region of Vista. 236, 240–1, *242–3, 253; earlier form *Aiwenor* 240, *242–3
Aldaron Name of Oromë. 79, 207, 209; O.E. *Wealdafréa* 207–8, *Béaming* 209. See *Tauros.*
Alflon Gnomish form of *Alqualondë.* *250–1, 261, 277
Allfathér Ilúvatar. 78, 97, 206, 263, 292; O.E. *Ealfæder* 206, 281, 285, 293, *Allfeder* 291
Almaren The first dwelling of the Valar in Arda. 42, 45
Alqaluntë See *Kópas Alqaluntë.*
Alqarámë 'Swanwing', Tuor's ship. 69. See *Eärámë.*
Alqualondë 10, 198, 261, 273, 287; *Alqalondë* 265–6, 276, 283; O.E. *Elfethýð* 282–3, 287, 341, *Ielfethýð* 283. See *Swanhaven.*
Aman 43, 197, *250–1, 254, 258, 261
Ambar 'Earth'. 236, 240–1, *242–5, *247, 255–6
Ambar-endya 'Middle-earth'. 241, *242–3, 254–5. See *Endor, Pelmar.*
Amon Dengin Early name of the Mound of Slain on Dor-na-Fauglith. 146, 193, 312. See *Cûm-na-Dengin, Hill of Slain.*
Amon Ereb 'The Lonely Hill' in East Beleriand. 313, 326
Amon Gwareth The hill of Gondolin. 34, 66, 137, 139–40, 144; *Hill of Watch(ing)* 34, 137, *Hill of Defence* 139; other references 65, 136
Amon-Uilas Gnomish name of Taniquetil (see *Ialassë*). 81, 167, 209; later form *Amon Uilos* 167; O.E. *Sinsnáw, Sinsnǽwen* 209
Amras Son of Fëanor. 69. (Replaced *Díriel.*)
Amrod Son of Fëanor. 69. (Replaced *Damrod.*)
Ancalagon the Black Greatest of the winged dragons of Morgoth. 160, 203–4, 209, 309; O.E. *Anddraca* 209
Ando Lómen The Door of Night. 237, 240–1, *243, 252
Anduin The Great River. 257
Andvari 187
Anfauglin 'Jaws of Thirst', name of Carcharoth. 115, 178; later form *Anfauglir* 178
Anfauglith 59. See *Dor-na-Fauglith.*
Angainor The great chain in which Morgoth was bound. 40, 45, 71, 157, 160, 168, 198
Angamandi Name of Angband in the *Lost Tales.* 44, 53
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Angelcynn (Old English) The English people. 206, 263, 284, 292; *Ongulcynn* 290
Angeryd The Iron Mountains. 220. See *Aiglir Angrin*.
Angoloð See 174.
Angorodin Earliest name of the Iron Mountains. 220. See *Aiglir Angrin*.
Angrin Aiglir The Iron Mountains. 220. See *Aiglir Angrin*.
Angrod Son of Finrod (1) = Finarfin. 46, 55, 88, 95, 103, 106, 169, 173–4, 176, 267, 271, 279, 295–6, 298, 310, 314, 318, 327–8; earlier form *Anrod* 15, 19, 46, 169; O.E. *Angel* 213
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Annon-in-Gelydh The Gate of the Noldor. 174
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Aratar 166
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Aredhel Later name of Isfin, sister of Turgon. 193, 280
Árien The Sun-maiden. 99, 170–1. (Replaced *Úrien*.)
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Aros, River 222–4, 232, 330, 332, 334
Artanor Name of Doriath in the *Lost Tales*. 7, 62–3, 189, 223
Arvalin Region between the mountains and the sea south of Taniquetil. 16, 47, 91, 171, 239, *249–51, 257, 260–1, 265, 271, 277–8, 288. (Replaced by *Avathar*.)
Aryador Hithlum. 220
Ascar, River (33, 62), 133–5, 189, 209, 230, 232–3, 325, 331–2; variant form *Asgar* 209, 307, 325; O.E. *Bæning* 209. See *Rathlorion*.
Asgon Earlier name of (Lake) Mithrim. 3, 8, 52
Assariad Earlier name of Ossiriand. 133, 173, 179, 189, 224, 233
Athrasarn The Stony Ford. 223–4. See *Sarn Athra(d)*.
Aulë 14, 50, 78, 87, 166, 207–8, 255, 263, 265, 267, 275, 277, 279, 285, 287, 291–3; O.E. *Cræftfréa* 208
Auredhir Son of Dior. 64
Avakúma The Outer Dark. 240–1, *242–3, 252. See *Kúma, Outer Dark, Void*.
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Avathar 'The Shadows', south of Taniquetil. 47. (Replaced *Arvalin*.)
Azaghâl Lord of Belegost. 180–2

Balar *Bay of* 258, 331, 335; *Cape* 225; *Isle of* 331, 335
Balrog(s) 12, 17, 22–3, 36–7, 39, 47, 52, 66, 82, 93, 101, 118–19, 142, 144–5, 147, 151, 157, 160, 173, 202, 209, 266, 268, 288, 295, 302, 307, 309, 314, 318, 321, 328, 338; origin of 295, 314, 328, 338;

numbers of 302, 321–2; O.E. *Bealuwearg, Bealubróga* 209 (but *Balrogas* in the texts).

Ban Father of Blodrin the traitor. 28, 59, 123, 210, 304; O.E. *Bana* 210

Bansil Gnomish name of the White Tree of Valinor. 81–2, 167, 209; O.E. *Béansil, Béansigel* 209. See *Belthil.*

Barad Nimras The tower raised by Felagund on the cape west of Eglarest. 229, 335. See *Tindobel.*

Baragund Father of Morwen. 209, 297–9, 311, 315–16, 319; wife of Baragund 299; O.E. *Beadohun* 209

Barahir Father of Beren. 22–4, 54–5, 100, 104–6, 109, 179, 209, 226, 297–300, 315–19, 332–3; O.E. *Beadomær* 209

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J. R. R. Tolkien

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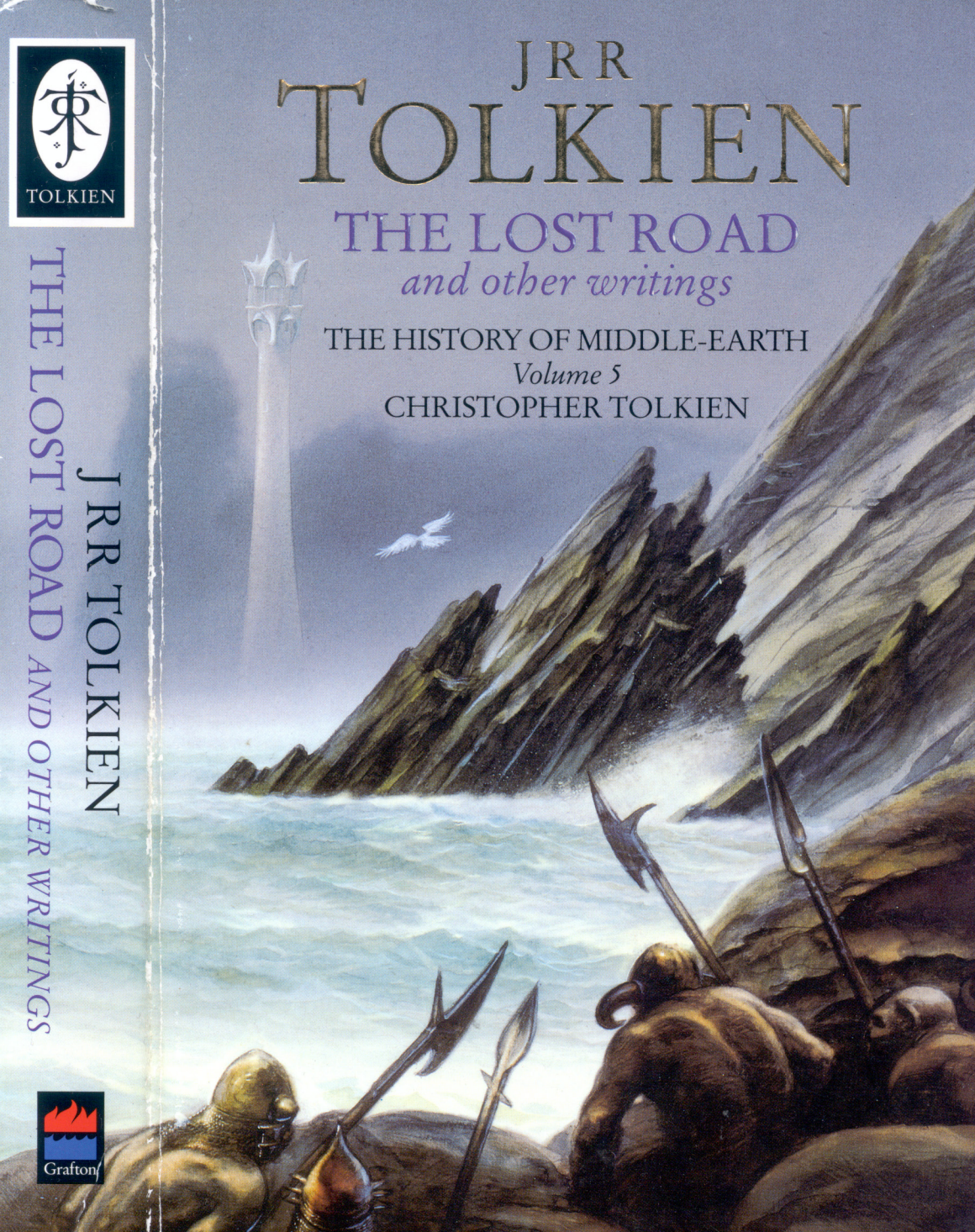
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JRR
TOLKIEN
THE LOST ROAD
and other writings
THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE-EARTH
Volume 5
CHRISTOPHER TOLKIEN
JRR TOLKIEN
THE LOST ROAD AND OTHER WRITINGS
Grafton

At the end of 1937 J. R. R. Tolkien reluctantly set aside his now greatly elaborated work on the myths and heroic legends of Valinor and Middle-earth and began *The Lord of the Rings*. This fifth volume of *The History of Middle-earth*, edited by Christopher Tolkien, completes the presentation of the whole compass of his writing on those themes up to that time. Later forms of the *Annals of Valinor* and the *Annals of Beleriand* had been composed, *The Silmarillion* was nearing completion in a greatly amplified version, and a new Map had been made; the myth of the Music of Ainur had become a separate work; and the legend of the Downfall of Númenor had already entered in a primitive form, introducing the cardinal ideas of the World Made Round and the Straight Path into the vanished West. Closely associated with this was the abandoned 'time-travel' story *The Lost Road*, which was to link the world of Númenor and Middle-earth with the legends of many other times and people. A long essay (*The Lhammas*) had been written on the ever more complex relations of the languages and dialects of Middle-earth; and an 'etymological dictionary' had been undertaken, in which a great number of words and names in the Elvish languages were registered and their formation explained – thus providing by far the most extensive account of their vocabularies that has appeared.

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IX
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J. R. R. TOLKIEN

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AND OTHER WRITINGS

Language and Legend
before *The Lord of the Rings*

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77–85 Fulham Palace Road,
Hammersmith, London W6 8JB

Published by Grafton 1992
9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

First published in Great Britain by
Unwin Hyman 1987
© Unwin Hyman Ltd 1987

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and Christopher Reuel Tolkien,
executors of the estate of the late
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ISBN 0 261 10225 7

Printed in Great Britain by
HarperCollinsManufacturing Glasgow

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PREFACE

This fifth volume of *The History of Middle-earth* completes the presentation and analysis of my father's writings on the subject of the First Age up to the time at the end of 1937 and the beginning of 1938 when he set them for long aside. The book provides all the evidence known to me for the understanding of his conceptions in many essential matters at the time when *The Lord of the Rings* was begun; and from the *Annals of Valinor*, the *Annals of Beleriand*, the *Ainulindalë*, and the *Quenta Silmarillion* given here it can be quite closely determined which elements in the published *Silmarillion* go back to that time, and which entered afterwards. To make this a satisfactory work of reference for these purposes I have thought it essential to give the texts of the later 1930s in their entirety, even though in parts of the *Annals* the development from the antecedent versions was not great; for the curious relations between the *Annals* and the *Quenta Silmarillion* are a primary feature of the history and here already appear, and it is clearly better to have all the related texts within the same covers. Only in the case of the prose form of the tale of Beren and Lúthien have I not done so, since that was preserved so little changed in the published *Silmarillion*; here I have restricted myself to notes on the changes that were made editorially.

I cannot, or at any rate I cannot yet, attempt the editing of my father's strictly or narrowly linguistic writings, in view of their extraordinary complexity and difficulty; but I include in this book the general essay called *The Lhammas* or Account of Tongues, and also the *Etymologies*, both belonging to this period. The latter, a kind of etymological dictionary, provides historical explanations of a very large number of words and names, and enormously increases the known vocabularies of the Elvish tongues – as they were at that time, for like everything else the languages continued to evolve as the years passed. Also hitherto unknown except by allusion is my father's abandoned 'time-travel' story *The Lost Road*, which leads primarily to Númenor, but also into the history and legend of northern and western Europe, with the associated poems *The Song of Ælfwine* (in the stanza of *Pearl*) and *King Sheave* (in alliterative verse). Closely connected with *The Lost Road* were the earliest forms of the legend of the

Drowning of Númenor, which are also included in the book, and the first glimpses of the story of the Last Alliance of Elves and Men.

In the inevitable *Appendix* I have placed three works which are not given complete: the *Genealogies*, the *List of Names*, and the second 'Silmarillion' Map, all of which belong in their original forms to the earlier 1930s. The *Genealogies* only came to light recently, but they add in fact little to what is known from the narrative texts. The *List of Names* might have been better included in Vol. IV, but this was again a work of reference which provides very little new matter, and it was more convenient to postpone it and then to give just those few entries which offer new detail. The second Map is a different case. This was my father's sole 'Silmarillion' map for some forty years, and here I have redrawn it to show it as it was when first made, leaving out all the layer upon layer of later accretion and alteration. The *Tale of Years* and the *Tale of Battles*, listed in title-pages to *The Silmarillion* as elements in that work (see p. 202), are not included, since they were contemporary with the later *Annals* and add nothing to the material found in them; subsequent alteration of names and dates was also carried out in a precisely similar way.

In places the detailed discussion of dating may seem excessive, but since the chronology of my father's writings, both 'internal' and 'external', is extremely difficult to determine and the evidence full of traps, and since the history can be very easily and very seriously falsified by mistaken deductions on this score, I have wished to make as plain as I can the reasons for my assertions.

In some of the texts I have introduced paragraph-numbering. This is done in the belief that it will provide a more precise and therefore quicker method of reference in a book where the discussion of its nature moves constantly back and forth.

As in previous volumes I have to some degree standardized usage in respect of certain names: thus for example I print *Gods*, *Elves*, *Orcs*, *Middle-earth*, etc. with initial capitals, and *Kôr*, *Tûn*, *Eärendel*, *Númenórean*, etc. for frequent *Kór*, *Tún*, *Earendel*, *Numenórean* of the manuscripts.

The earlier volumes of the series are referred to as I (*The Book of Lost Tales Part I*), II (*The Book of Lost Tales Part II*), III (*The Lays of Beleriand*), and IV (*The Shaping of Middle-earth*). The sixth volume now in preparation will concern the evolution of *The Lord of the Rings*.

The tables illustrating *The Lhammas* are reproduced with the

permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, who kindly supplied photographs.

I list here for convenience the abbreviations used in the book in reference to various works (for a fuller account see pp. 107–8).

Texts in Vol. IV:

S The *Sketch of the Mythology* or 'earliest Silmarillion'.

Q The *Quenta ('Quenta Noldorinwa')*, the second version of 'The Silmarillion'.

AV 1 The earliest *Annals of Valinor*.

AB 1 The earliest *Annals of Beleriand* (in two versions, the second early abandoned).

Texts in Vol. V:

FN *The Fall of Númenor* (**FN I** and **FN II** referring to the first and second texts).

AV 2 The second version of the *Annals of Valinor*.

AB 2 The second version (or strictly the third) of the *Annals of Beleriand*.

QS The *Quenta Silmarillion*, the third version of 'The Silmarillion', nearing completion at the end of 1937.

Other works (*Ambarkanta*, *Ainulindalë*, *Lhammas*, *The Lost Road*) are not referred to by abbreviations.

In conclusion, I take this opportunity to notice and explain the erroneous representation of the Westward Extension of the first 'Silmarillion' Map in the previous volume (*The Shaping of Middle-earth* p. 228). It will be seen that this map presents a strikingly different appearance from that of the Eastward Extension on p. 231. These two maps, being extremely faint, proved impossible to reproduce from photographs supplied by the Bodleian Library, and an experimental 'reinforcement' (rather than re-drawing) of a copy of the Westward Extension was tried out. This I rejected, and it was then found that my photocopies of the originals gave a result sufficiently clear for the purpose. Unhappily, the rejected 'reinforced' version of the Westward Extension map was substituted for the photocopy. (Photocopies were also used for diagram III on p. 247 and map V on p. 251, where the originals are in faint pencil.)

PART ONE

THE FALL OF NÚMENOR

AND

THE LOST ROAD

I

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE LEGEND

In February 1968 my father addressed a commentary to the authors of an article about him (*The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien* no. 294). In the course of this he recorded that 'one day' C. S. Lewis said to him that since 'there is too little of what we really like in stories' they would have to try to write some themselves. He went on:

> We agreed that he should try 'space-travel', and I should try 'time-travel'. His result is well known. My effort, after a few promising chapters, ran dry: it was too long a way round to what I really wanted to make, a new version of the Atlantis legend. The final scene survives as *The Downfall of Númenor*.*

A few years earlier, in a letter of July 1964 (*Letters* no. 257), he gave some account of his book, *The Lost Road*:

> When C. S. Lewis and I tossed up, and he was to write on space-travel and I on time-travel, I began an abortive book of time-travel of which the end was to be the presence of my hero in the drowning of Atlantis. This was to be called *Númenor*, the Land in the West. The thread was to be the occurrence time and again in human families (like Durin among the Dwarves) of a father and son called by names that could be interpreted as Bliss-friend and Elf-friend. These no longer understood are found in the end to refer to the Atlantid-Númenórean situation and mean 'one loyal to the Valar, content with the bliss and prosperity within the limits prescribed' and 'one loyal to friendship with the High-elves'. It started with a father-son affinity between Edwin and Elwin of the present, and was supposed to go back into legendary time by way of an Eädwine and Ælfwine of circa A.D.918, and Audoin and Alboin of Lombardic legend, and so to the traditions of the North Sea concerning the coming of corn and culture heroes, ancestors of kingly lines, in boats (and their departure in funeral ships). One such Sheaf, or Shield Sheafing, can actually be made out as one of the remote ancestors of the present Queen. In my tale we were to come at last to Amandil and Elendil leaders of the loyal party in Númenor, when it fell under the domination of Sauron. Elendil 'elf-friend' was the founder of the Exiled kingdoms in Arnor and Gondor. But I found my

*This is *Akallabêth, The Downfall of Númenor*, posthumously published in *The Silmarillion*, pp. 259–82.

real interest was only in the upper end, the *Akallabêth* or *Atalantie** ('Downfall' in Númenórean and Quenya), so I brought all the stuff I had written on the originally unrelated legends of Númenor into relation with the main mythology.

I do not know whether evidence exists that would date the conversation that led to the writing of *Out of the Silent Planet* and *The Lost Road*, but the former was finished by the autumn of 1937, and the latter was submitted, so far as it went, to Allen and Unwin in November of that year (see III.364).

The significance of the last sentence in the passage just cited is not entirely clear. When my father said 'But I found my real interest was only in the upper end, the *Akallabêth* or *Atalantie*' he undoubtedly meant that he had not been inspired to write the 'intervening' parts, in which the father and son were to appear and reappear in older and older phases of Germanic legend; and indeed *The Lost Road* stops after the introductory chapters and only takes up again with the Númenórean story that was to come at the end. Very little was written of what was planned to lie between. But what is the meaning of '*so* I brought all the stuff I had written on *the originally unrelated legends of Númenor* into relation with the main mythology'? My father seems to be saying that, having found that he only wanted to write about Númenor, he therefore and only then (abandoning *The Lost Road*) appended the Númenórean material to 'the main mythology', thus inaugurating the Second Age of the World. But what was this material? He cannot have meant the Númenórean matter contained in *The Lost Road* itself, since that was already fully related to 'the main mythology'. It must therefore have been something else, already existing when *The Lost Road* was begun, as Humphrey Carpenter assumes in his *Biography* (p. 170): 'Tolkien's legend of Númenor... was probably composed some time before the writing of "The Lost Road", perhaps in the late nineteen-twenties or early thirties.' But, in fact, the conclusion seems to me inescapable that my father erred when he said this.

The original rough workings for *The Lost Road* are extant, but they are very rough, and do not form a continuous text. There is one complete manuscript, itself fairly rough and heavily emended in different stages; and a professional typescript that was done when virtually all changes had been made to the manuscript.† The typescript breaks off well before

*It is a curious chance that the stem *talat* used in Q[uenya] for 'slipping, sliding, falling down', of which *atalantie* is a normal (in Q) noun-formation, should so much resemble Atlantis. [Footnote to the letter.] – See the *Etymologies*, stem TALÁT. The very early Elvish dictionary described in I.246 has a verb *talte* 'incline (transitive), decline, shake at foundations, make totter, etc.' and an adjective *talta* 'shaky, wobbly, tottering – sloping, slanting.'

†This typescript was made at Allen and Unwin, as appears from a letter from Stanley Unwin dated 30th November 1937: '*The Lost Road*: We have had this typed and are returning the original herewith. The typed copy will follow when we have had an opportunity of reading it.' See further p. 73 note 14.

the point where the manuscript comes to an end, and my father's emendations to it were very largely corrections of the typist's errors, which were understandably many; it has therefore only slight textual value, and the manuscript is very much the primary text.

The Lost Road breaks off finally in the course of a conversation during the last days of Númenor between Elendil and his son Herendil; and in this Elendil speaks at length of the ancient history: of the wars against Morgoth, of Eärendel, of the founding of Númenor, and of the coming there of Sauron. *The Lost Road* is therefore, as I have said, entirely integrated with 'the main mythology' – and this is true already in the preliminary drafts.

Now as the papers were found, there follows immediately after the last page of *The Lost Road* a further manuscript with a new page-numbering, but no title. Quite apart from its being so placed, this text gives a strong physical impression of belonging to the same time as *The Lost Road*; and it is closely associated in content with the last part of *The Lost Road*, for it tells the story of Númenor and its downfall – though this second text was written with a different purpose, to be a complete if very brief history: it is indeed the first fully-written draft of the narrative that ultimately became the *Akallabêth*. But it is *earlier* than *The Lost Road*; for where that has *Sauron* and *Tarkalion* this has *Sûr* and *Angor*.

A second, more finished manuscript of this history of Númenor followed, with the title (written in afterwards) *The Last Tale: The Fall of Númenor*. This has several passages that are scarcely different from passages in *The Lost Road*, but it seems scarcely possible to show for certain which preceded and which followed, unless the evidence cited on p. 74, note 25, is decisive that the second version of *The Fall of Númenor* was the later of the two; in any case, a passage rewritten very near the time of the original composition of this version is certainly later than *The Lost Road*, for it gives a later form of the story of Sauron's arrival in Númenor (see pp. 26–7).

It is therefore clear that the two works were intimately connected; they arose at the same time and from the same impulse, and my father worked on them together. But still more striking is the existence of a single page that can only be the original 'scheme' for *The Fall of Númenor*, the actual first writing down of the idea. The very name *Númenor* is here only in process of emergence. Yet in this primitive form of the story the term *Middle-earth* is used, as it never was in the *Quenta*: it did not appear until the *Annals of Valinor* and the *Ambarkanta*. Moreover the form *Ilmen* occurs, which suggests that this 'scheme' was later than the actual writing of the *Ambarkanta*, where *Ilmen* was an emendation of *Ilma* (earlier *Silma*): IV.240, note 3.

I conclude therefore that 'Númenor' (as a distinct and formalised conception, whatever 'Atlantis-haunting', as my father called it, lay behind) arose in the actual context of his discussions with C. S. Lewis in (as seems probable) 1936. A passage in the 1964 letter can be taken to say

precisely that: 'I began an abortive book of time-travel of which the end was to be the presence of my hero in the drowning of Atlantis. *This was to be called Númenor*, the Land in the West.' Moreover, 'Númenor' was from the outset conceived in full association with 'The Silmarillion'; there never was a time when the legends of Númenor were 'unrelated to the main mythology'. My father erred in his recollection (or expressed himself obscurely, meaning something else); the letter cited above was indeed written nearly thirty years later.

II
THE FALL OF NÚMENOR

(i)
The original outline

The text of the original 'scheme' of the legend, referred to in the previous chapter, was written at such speed that here and there words cannot be certainly interpreted. Near the beginning it is interrupted by a very rough and hasty sketch, which shows a central globe, marked *Ambar*, with two circles around it; the inner area thus described is marked *Ilmen* and the outer *Vaiya*. Across the top of *Ambar* and cutting through the zones of *Ilmen* and *Vaiya* is a straight line extending to the outer circle in both directions. This must be the forerunner of the diagram of the World Made Round accompanying the *Ambarkanta*, IV.247. The first sentence of the text, concerning Agaldor (on whom see pp. 78–9) is written separately from the rest, as if it were a false start, or the beginning of a distinct outline.

Agaldor chieftain of a people who live upon the N.W. margin of the Western Sea.

The last battle of the Gods. Men side largely with Morgoth. After the victory the Gods take counsel. Elves are summoned to Valinor. [*Struck out*: Faithful men dwell in the Lands]

Many men had not come into the old Tales. They are still at large on earth. The Fathers of Men are given a land to dwell in, raised by Ossë and Aulë in the great Western Sea. The Western Kingdom grows up. *Atalantë*. [*Added in margin*: Legend so named it afterward (the old name was *Númar* or *Númenos*) *Atalantë* = The Falling.] Its people great mariners, and men of great skill and wisdom. They range from Tol-eressëa to the shores of Middle-earth. Their occasional appearance among Wild Men, where Faithless Men also [?ranged corrupting them]. Some become lords in the East. But the Gods will not allow them to land in Valinor – and though they become long-lived because many have been bathed in the radiance of Valinor from Tol-eressëa – they are mortal and their span brief. They murmur against this decree. Thû comes to Atalantë, heralded [*read* heralding] the approach of Morgoth. But Morgoth cannot come except as a

spirit, being doomed to *dwell* outside the Walls of Night. The Atalanteans fall, and rebel. They make a temple to Thû-Morgoth. They build an armament and assail the shores of the Gods with thunder.

The Gods therefore sundered Valinor from the earth, and an awful rift appeared down which the water poured and the armament of Atalantë was drowned. They globed the whole earth so that however far a man sailed he could never again reach the West, but came back to his starting-point. Thus new lands came into being beneath the Old World; and the East and West were bent back and [?water flowed all over the round] earth's surface and there was a time of flood. But Atalantë being near the rift was utter[ly] thrown down and submerged. The remnant of [*struck out at time of writing*: Númen the Lie-núnen] the Númenóreans in their ships flee East and land upon Middle-earth. [*Struck out*: Morgoth induces many to believe that this is a natural cataclysm.]

The [?longing] of the Númenóreans. Their longing for life on earth. Their ship burials, and their great tombs. Some evil and some good. Many of the good sit upon the west shore. These also seek out the Fading Elves. How [*struck out at time of writing*: Agaldor] Amroth wrestled with Thû and drove him to the centre of the Earth and the Iron-forest.

The old line of the lands remained as a plain of air upon which only the Gods could walk, and the Eldar who faded as Men usurped the sun. But many of the Númenórië could see it or faintly see it; and tried to devise ships to sail on it. But they achieved only ships that would sail in Wilwa or lower air. Whereas the Plain of the Gods cut through and traversed Ilmen [in] which even birds cannot fly, save the eagles and hawks of Manwë. But the fleets of the Númenórië sailed round the world; and Men took them for gods. Some were content that this should be so.

As I have said, this remarkable text documents the beginning of the legend of Númenor, and the extension of 'The Silmarillion' into a Second Age of the World. Here the idea of the World Made Round and the Straight Path was first set down, and here appears the first germ of the story of the Last Alliance, in the words 'These also seek out the Fading Elves. How [Agaldor >] Amroth wrestled with Thû and drove him to the centre of the Earth' (at the beginning of the text Agaldor is named as the chief of a people living on the North-west coasts of Middle-earth). The longevity of the Númenóreans is already present, but (even allowing for the compression and distortion inherent in such 'outlines' of my father's, in which he attempted to seize and dash onto paper a

bubbling up of new ideas) seems to have far less significance than it would afterwards attain; and is ascribed, strangely, to 'the radiance of Valinor', in which the mariners of Númenor were 'bathed' during their visits to Tol-eressëa, to which they were permitted to sail. Cf. the *Quenta*, IV.98: 'Still therefore is the light of Valinor more great and fair than that of other lands, because there the Sun and Moon together rest a while before they go upon their dark journey under the world'; but this does not seem a sufficient or satisfactory explanation of the idea (see further p. 20). The mortuary culture of the Númenóreans does indeed appear, but it arose among the survivors of Númenor in Middle-earth, after the Downfall; and this remained into more developed forms of the legend, as did the idea of the flying ships which the exiles built, seeking to sail on the Straight Path through *Ilmen*, but achieving only flight through the lower air, *Wilwa*.*

The sentence 'Thû comes to Atalantë, herald[ing] the approach of Morgoth' certainly means that Thû *prophesied* Morgoth's return, as in subsequent texts. The meaning of 'But Morgoth cannot come except as a spirit' is made somewhat clearer in the next version, §5.

(ii)

The first version of The Fall of Númenor

The preliminary outline was the immediate precursor of a first full narrative – the manuscript described above (p. 9), placed with *The Lost Road*. This was followed by further versions, and I shall refer to the work as a whole (as distinct from the *Akallabêth*, into which it was afterwards transformed) as *The Fall of Númenor*, abbreviated 'FN'; the first text has no title, but I shall call it 'FN I'.

FN I is rough and hasty, and full of corrections made at the time of composition; there are also many others, mostly slight, made later and moving towards the second version FN II. I give it as it was written, without the second layer of emendations (except in so far as these make small necessary corrections to clarify the sense). As explained in the Preface, here as elsewhere I have introduced paragraph numbers into the text to make subsequent reference and comparison easier. A commentary, following the paragraphing of the text, follows at its end.

§1 In the Great Battle when Fionwë son of Manwë overthrew Morgoth and rescued the Gnomes and the Fathers of Men, many mortal Men took part with Morgoth. Of these those that were not destroyed fled into the East and South of the World, and the servants of Morgoth that escaped came to them and guided

*Although this text has the final form *Ilmen*, beside *Silma* > *Ilma* > *Ilmen* in the *Ambarkanta*, *Wilwa* was replaced in the *Ambarkanta* by *Vista*.

them; and they became evil, and they brought evil into many places where wild Men dwelt at large in the empty lands. But after their victory, when Morgoth and many of his captains were bound, and Morgoth was thrust again into the Outer Darkness, the Gods took counsel. The Elves were summoned to Valinor, as has been told, and many obeyed, but not all. But the Fathers of Men, who had served the Eldar, and fought against Morgoth, were greatly rewarded. For Fionwë son of Manwë came among them and taught them, and gave them wisdom, power and life stronger than any others of the Second Kindred.

§2 And a great land was made for them to dwell in, neither part of Middle-earth nor wholly separate from it. This was raised by Ossë out of the depths of Belegar, the Great Sea, and established by Aulë, and enriched by Yavanna. It was called Númenor, that is Westernesse, and Andúnië or the Sunsetland, and its chief city in the midmost of its western coasts was in the days of its might called Númar or Númenos; but after its fall it was named in legend Atalantë, the Ruin.

§3 For in Númenórë a great people arose, in all things more like the First Kindred than any other races of Men that have been, yet less fair and wise than they, though greater in body. And above all their arts the people of Númenor nourished shipbuilding and sea-craft, and became mariners whose like shall never be again, since the world was diminished. They ranged from Tol-eressëa, where for many ages they still had converse and dealings with the Gnomes, to the shores of Middle-earth, and sailed round to the North and South, and glimpsed from their high prows the Gates of Morning in the East. And they appeared among the wild Men, and filled them with wonder and also with fear. For many esteemed them to be Gods or sons of Gods out of the West, and evil men had told them lies concerning the Lords of the West. But the Númenóreans tarried not long yet in Middle-earth, for their hearts hungered ever westward for the undying bliss of Valinor. And they were restless and pursued with desire even at the height of their glory.

§4 But the Gods forbade them to sail beyond the Lonely Isle, and would not permit any save their kings (once in each life before he was crowned) to land in Valinor. For they were mortal Men, and it was not in the power and right of Manwë to alter their fate. Thus though the people were long-lived, since their land was more nigh than other lands to Valinor, and many had looked long on the radiance of the Gods that came faintly to Tol-eressëa, they

remained mortal, even their kings, and their span brief in the eyes of the Eldar. And they murmured against this decree. And a great discontent grew among them; and their masters of lore sought unceasingly for the secrets that should prolong their lives, and they sent spies to seek these in Valinor. And the Gods were angered.

§5 And in time it came to pass that Sûr (whom the Gnomes called Thû) came in the likeness of a great bird to Númenor and preached a message of deliverance, and he prophesied the second coming of Morgoth. But Morgoth did not come in person, but only in spirit and as a shadow upon the mind and heart, for the Gods shut him beyond the Walls of the World. But Sûr spake to Angor the king and Istar his queen, and promised them undying life and lordship of the Earth. And they believed him and fell under the shadow, and the greatest part of the people of Númenor followed them. Angor raised a great temple to Morgoth in the midst of the land, and Sûr dwelt there.

§6 But in the passing of the years Angor felt the oncoming of old age, and he was troubled; and Sûr said that the gifts of Morgoth were withheld by the Gods, and that to obtain plenitude of power and undying life he must be master of the West. Wherefore the Númenóreans made a great armament; and their might and skill had in those days become exceedingly great, and they had moreover the aid of Sûr. The fleets of the Númenóreans were like a great land of many islands, and their masts like a forest of mountain-trees, and their banners like the streamers of a thunderstorm, and their sails were black. And they moved slowly into the West, for all the winds were stilled and the world lay silent in the fear of that time. And they passed Tol-eressëa, and it is said that the Elves mourned and grew sick, for the light of Valinor was cut off by the cloud of the Númenóreans. But Angor assailed the shores of the Gods, and he cast bolts of thunder, and fire came upon the sides of Taniquetil.

§7 But the Gods were silent. Sorrow and dismay were in the heart of Manwë, and he spoke to Ilúvatar, and took power and counsel from the Lord of All; and the fate and fashion of the world was changed. For the silence of the Gods was broken suddenly, and Valinor was sundered from the earth, and a rift appeared in the midst of Belegar east of Tol-eressëa, and into this chasm the great seas plunged, and the noise of the falling waters filled all the earth and the smoke of the cataracts rose above the tops of the everlasting mountains. But all the ships of Númenor that were

west of Tol-eressëa were drawn down into the great abyss and drowned, and Angor the mighty and Istar his queen fell like stars into the dark, and they perished out of all knowledge. And the mortal warriors that had set foot in the land of the Gods were buried under fallen hills, where legend saith that they lie imprisoned in the Forgotten Caves until the day of Doom and the Last Battle. And the Elves of Tol-eressëa passed through the gates of death, and were gathered to their kindred in the land of the Gods, and became as they; and the Lonely Isle remained only as a shape of the past.

§8 But Ilúvatar gave power to the Gods, and they bent back the edges of the Middle-earth, and they made it into a globe, so that however far a man should sail he could never again reach the true West, but came back weary at last to the place of his beginning. Thus New Lands came into being beneath the Old World, and all were equally distant from the centre of the round earth; and there was flood and great confusion of waters, and seas covered what was once the dry, and lands appeared where there had been deep seas. Thus also the heavy air flowed round all the earth in that time, above the waters; and the springs of all waters were cut off from the stars.

§9 But Númenor being nigh upon the East to the great rift was utterly thrown down and overwhelmed in sea, and its glory perished. But a remnant of the Númenóreans escaped the ruin in this manner. Partly by the device of Angor, and partly of their own will (because they revered still the Lords of the West and mistrusted Sûr) many had abode in ships upon the east coast of their land, lest the issue of war be evil. Wherefore protected for a while by the land they avoided the draught of the sea, and a great wind arose blowing from the gap, and they sped East and came at length to the shores of Middle-earth in the days of ruin.

§10 There they became lords and kings of Men, and some were evil and some were of good will. But all alike were filled with desire of long life upon earth, and the thought of Death was heavy upon them; and their feet were turned east but their hearts were westward. And they built mightier houses for their dead than for their living, and endowed their buried kings with unavailing treasure. For their wise men hoped ever to discover the secret of prolonging life and maybe the recalling of it. But it is said that the span of their lives, which had of old been greater than that of lesser races, dwindled slowly, and they achieved only the art of preserving uncorrupt for many ages the dead flesh of men. Wherefore

the kingdoms upon the west shores of the Old World became a place of tombs, and filled with ghosts. And in the fantasy of their hearts, and the confusion of legends half-forgotten concerning that which had been, they made for their thought a land of shades, filled with the wraiths of the things of mortal earth. And many deemed this land was in the West, and ruled by the Gods, and in shadow the dead, bearing the shadows of their possessions, should come there, who could no more find the true West in the body. For which reason in after days many of their descendants, or men taught by them, buried their dead in ships and set them in pomp upon the sea by the west coasts of the Old World.

§11 For the blood of the Númenóreans was most among the men of those lands and coasts, and the memory of the primeval world remained most strongly there, where the old paths to the West had of old set out from Middle-earth. And the spell that lay there was not wholly vain. For the old line of the world remained in the mind of the Gods and in the memory of the world as a shape and a plan that has been changed, but endures. And it has been likened to a plain of air, or to a straight vision that bends not to the hidden curving of the earth, or to a level bridge that rises imperceptibly but surely above the heavy air of earth. And of old many of the Númenóreans could see or half see the paths to the True West, and believed that at times from a high place they could descry the peaks of Taniquetil at the end of the straight road, high above the world.

§12 But the most, that could not see this, scorned them, and trusted in ships upon the water. But they came only to the lands of the New World, and found them to be as those of the Old; and they reported that the world was round. But upon the straight road only the Gods and the vanished Elves could walk, or such as the Gods summoned of the fading Elves of the round earth, who became diminished in substance as Men usurped the sun. For the Plain of the Gods being straight, whereas the surface of the world was bent, and the seas that lay upon it, and the heavy airs that lay above, cut through the air of breath and flight, and traversed Ilmen, in which no flesh can endure. And it is said that even those of the Númenóreans of old who had the straight vision did not all comprehend this, and they tried to devise ships that would rise above the waters of the world and hold to the imagined seas. But they achieved only ships that would sail in the air of breath. And these ships flying came also to the lands of the New World and to the East of the Old World; and they reported that the world was

round. And many abandoned the Gods, and put them out of their legends, and even out of their dreams. But Men of Middle-earth looked on them with wonder and great fear, and took them to be gods; and many were content that this should be so.

§13 But not all the hearts of the Númenóreans were crooked; and the lore of the old days descending from the Fathers of Men, and the Elf-friends, and those instructed by Fionwë, was preserved among some. And they knew that the fate of Men was not bounded by the round path of the world, nor destined for the straight path. For the round is crooked and has no end but no escape; and the straight is true, but has an end within the world, and that is the fate of the Elves. But the fate of Men, they said, is neither round nor ended, and is not within the world. And they remembered from whence the ruin came, and the cutting off of Men from their just portion of the straight path; and they avoided the shadow of Morgoth according to their power, and hated Thû. And they assailed his temples and their servants, and there were wars of allegiance among the mighty of this world, of which only the echoes remain.

§14 But there remains still a legend of Beleriand: for that land in the West of the Old World, although changed and broken, held still in ancient days to the name it had in the days of the Gnomes. And it is said that Amroth was King of Beleriand; and he took counsel with Elrond son of Eärendel, and with such of the Elves as remained in the West; and they passed the mountains and came into inner lands far from the sea, and they assailed the fortress of Thû. And Amroth wrestled with Thû and was slain; but Thû was brought to his knees, and his servants were dispelled; and the peoples of Beleriand destroyed his dwellings, and drove him forth, and he fled to a dark forest, and hid himself. And it is said that the war with Thû hastened the fading of the Eldar, for he had power beyond their measure, as Felagund King of Nargothrond had found in the earliest days; and they expended their strength and substance in the assault upon him. And this was the last of the services of the older race to Men, and it is held the last of the deeds of alliance before the fading of the Elves and the estrangement of the Two Kindreds. And here the tale of the ancient world, as the Elves keep it, comes to an end.

Commentary on the first version of The Fall of Númenor

§1 As Q §18 was first written (IV. 158), it was permitted by Fionwë that 'with the Elves should those of the race of Hador and Bëor

alone be suffered to depart, if they would. But of these only Elrond was now left . . .' On this extremely puzzling passage see the commentary, IV. 200, where I suggested that obscure as it is it represents 'the first germ of the story of the departure of the Elf-friends to Númenor.' It was removed in the rewriting, Q II §18, where there appears a reference to Men of Hithlum who 'repentant of their evil servitude did deeds of valour, and many beside of Men new come out of the East', but now no mention of the Elf-friends. A final hasty revision of the passage (IV. 163, notes 2 and 3) gave:

> And it is said that *all that were left of the three Houses of the Fathers of Men* fought for Fionwë, and to them were joined some of the Men of Hithlum who repenting of their evil servitude did deeds of valour . . . But most Men, and especially those new come out of the East, were on the side of the Enemy.

This is very close to, and no doubt belongs in fact to the same time as, the corresponding passage in the following version of 'The Silmarillion' (QS*, p. 328 §16), which however omits the reference to the Men of Hithlum. I have little doubt that this development came in with the emergence of Númenor.

§2 Here first appear the names *Andúnië* (but as a name of the island, translated 'the Sunsetland'), and *Númenor* itself (which does not occur in the preliminary outline, though the people are there called *Númenórië* and *Númenóreans*). The chief city is called *Númar* or *Númenos*, which in the outline were the names of the land. The name *Belegar* was emended later, here and in §7, to *Belegaer*.

After the words *enriched by Yavanna* the passage concerning names was early replaced as follows:

> It was called by the Gods Andor, the Land of Gift, but by its own folk Vinya, the Young; but when the men of that land spake of it to the men of Middle-earth they named it Númenor, that is Westernesse, for it lay west of all lands inhabited by mortals. Yet it was not in the true West, for there was the land of the Gods. The chief city of Númenor was in the midmost of its western coasts, and in the days of its might it was called Andúnië, because it faced the sunset; but after its fall it was named in the legends of those that fled from it Atalantë the Downfall.

Here first appears *Andor*, Land of Gift, and also the name given to the land by the Númenóreans, *Vinya*, the Young, which did not survive in the later legend (cf. *Vinyamar*, *Vinyalondë*, Index to *Unfinished Tales*); *Andúnië* now becomes the name of the chief city. In the text as originally written the name *Atalantë* could refer either to the land or the city, but in the rewriting it can only refer to the city. It seems

*Throughout this book the abbreviation 'QS' (*Quenta Silmarillion*) is used for the version interrupted near the end of 1937; see pp. 107–8.

unlikely that my father intended this; see the corresponding passage in FN II and commentary.

§3 The permission given to the Númenóreans to sail as far west as Tol-eressëa, found already in the original outline, contrasts with the *Akallabêth* (pp. 262–3), where it is told that they were forbidden 'to sail so far westward that the coasts of Númenor could no longer be seen', and only the most keen-sighted among them could descry far off the tower of Avallónë on the Lonely Isle.

The Gates of Morning reappear, remarkably, from the *Lost Tales* (I. 216). In the original astronomical myth the Sun passed into the Outer Dark by the Door of Night and re-entered by the Gates of Morn; but with the radical transformation of the myth that entered with the *Sketch of the Mythology* (see IV. 49), and is found in the *Quenta* and *Ambarkanta*, whereby the Sun is drawn by the servants of Ulmo beneath the roots of the Earth, the Door of Night was given a different significance and the Gates of Morn no longer appear (see IV. 252, 255). How the reference to them here (which survives in the *Akallabêth*, p. 263) is to be understood I am unable to say.

In this paragraph is the first occurrence of the expression *The Lords of the West*.

§4 The words *save their kings (once in each life before he was crowned)* were early placed in square brackets. In the conclusion of QS (p. 326 §§8–9) the prohibition appears to be absolute, not to be set aside for any mortal; there Mandos says of Eärendel 'Now he shall surely die, for he has trodden *the forbidden shores*', and Manwë says 'To Eärendel I remit *the ban*, and the peril that he took upon himself.' Later (as noted under §3 above) the Ban extended also, and inevitably, to Tol-eressëa ('easternmost of the Undying Lands', the *Akallabêth*, p. 263).

The ascription of the longevity of the Númenóreans to the light of Valinor appeared already in the original outline, and I cited (p. 13) the passage from the *Quenta* where it is said that the light of Valinor was greater and fairer than in the other lands 'because there the Sun and Moon together rest a while.' But the wording here, 'the radiance of the Gods that came faintly to Tol-eressëa', surely implies a light of a different nature from that of the Sun and Moon (which illumine the whole world). Conceivably, the further idea that appears in the corresponding passage in QS (§79) is present here: 'moreover the Valar store the radiance of the Sun in many vessels, and in vats and pools for their comfort in times of dark.' The passage was later enclosed in brackets, and it does not appear in FN II; but at a subsequent point in the narrative (§6) the Elves of Tol-eressëa mourned 'for the light of Valinor was cut off by the cloud of the Númenóreans', and this was not rejected. Cf. the *Akallabêth* (p. 278): 'the Eldar mourned, for *the light of the setting sun* was cut off by the cloud of the Númenóreans.'

§5 With what is said here of Morgoth's not returning 'in person', for he

was shut beyond the Walls of the World, 'but only in spirit and as a shadow upon the mind and heart', cf. the *Quenta* (IV. 164): 'Some say also that Morgoth at whiles secretly as a cloud that cannot be seen or felt . . . creeps back surmounting the Walls and visiteth the world' (a passage that survived in QS, pp. 332–3 §30).

§7 The concluding sentence concerning the Elves of Tol-eressëa was an addition, but one that looks as if it belongs with the writing of the text. It is very hard to interpret. The rift in the Great Sea appeared *east* of Tol-eressëa, but the ships that were *west* of the isle were drawn down into the abyss; and it might be concluded from this that Tol-eressëa also was swallowed up and disappeared: so the Elves who dwelt there 'passed through the gates of death, and were gathered to their kindred in the land of the Gods', and 'the Lonely Isle remained only as a shape of the past.' But this would be very strange, for it would imply the abandonment of the entire story of Ælfwine's voyage to Tol-eressëa in ages after; yet Ælfwine as recorder and pupil was still present in my father's writings after the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*. On the diagram of the World Made Round accompanying the *Ambarkanta* (IV. 247) Tol-eressëa is marked as a point on the Straight Path. Moreover, much later, in the *Akallabêth* (pp. 278–9), the same is told of the great chasm: it opened 'between Númenor and the Deathless Lands', and all the fleets of the Númenóreans (which had passed on to Aman and so were west of Tol-eressëa) were drawn down into it; but 'Valinor and Eressëa were taken from [the world] into the realm of hidden things.'

§8 The concluding sentence ('Thus also the heavy air . . .') is a marginal addition which seems certainly to belong with the original text. It has no mark for insertion, but must surely be placed here.

§10 The desire to prolong life was already a mark of the Númenóreans (§4), but the dark picture in the *Akallabêth* (p. 266) of a land of tombs and embalming, of a people obsessed with death, was not present. At this stage in the evolution of the legend, as already in the preliminary outline, the tomb-culture arose among the Númenóreans who escaped the Downfall and founded kingdoms in the 'Old World': whether of good or evil disposition 'all alike were filled with desire of long life upon earth, and the thought of Death was heavy upon them'; and it was the life-span of the Exiles, as it appears, that slowly dwindled. There are echoes of the present passage in the *Akallabêth* account of Númenor after the Shadow fell upon it in the days of Tar-Atanamir (cf. *Unfinished Tales* p. 221); but in the very different context of the original story, when this culture arose among those who survived the Cataclysm and their descendants, other elements were present: for the Gods were now removed into the realm of the unknown and unseen, and they became the 'explanation' of the mystery of death, their dwelling-place in the far West the region to which the dead passed with their possessions.

In 'The Silmarillion' the Gods are 'physically' present, because (whatever the actual mode of their own being) they inhabit the same physical world, the realm of the 'seen'; if, after the Hiding of Valinor, they could not be reached by the voyages sent out in vain by Turgon of Gondolin, they were nonetheless reached by Eärendel, sailing from Middle-earth in his ship Wingelot, and their physical intervention of arms changed the world for ever through the physical destruction of the power of Morgoth. Thus it may be said that in 'The Silmarillion' there is no 'religion', because the Divine is present and has not been 'displaced'; but with the physical removal of the Divine from the World Made Round a religion arose (as it had arisen in Númenor under the teachings of Thû concerning Morgoth, the banished and absent God), and the dead were despatched, for religious reasons, in burial ships on the shores of the Great Sea.

§12 'But upon the straight road only the Gods and the vanished Elves could walk, or such as the Gods summoned of the fading Elves of the round earth, who became diminished in substance as Men usurped the sun.' Cf. the *Quenta*, IV. 100–1, as emended (a passage that goes back to the *Sketch of the Mythology*, IV. 21):

> In after days, when because of the triumph of Morgoth Elves and Men became estranged, as he most wished, those of the Eldalië that still lived in the world faded, and Men usurped the sunlight. Then the Eldar wandered in the lonelier places of the Outer Lands, and took to the moonlight and to the starlight, and to the woods and caves, and became as shadows, wraiths and memories, such as set not sail unto the West and vanished from the world.

This passage survived very little changed in QS (§87).

I believe that the story of the flying ships built by the exiled Númenóreans, found already in the preliminary draft (p. 12), is the sole introduction of aerial craft in all my father's works. No hint is given of the means by which they rose and were propelled; and the passage did not survive into the later legend.

§13 It is a curious feature of the original story of Númenor that there is no mention of what befell Thû at the Downfall (cf. the *Akallabêth* p. 280); but he reappears here as a master of temples (cf. the *Lay of Leithian* lines 2064–7), dwelling in a fortress (§14), an object of hatred to those of the survivors of Númenor who retained something of the ancient knowledge.

§14 In the *Quenta* (IV. 160–1) it is told that in the Great Battle

> the Northern regions of the Western world were rent and riven, and the sea roared in through many chasms, and there was confusion and great noise; and the rivers perished or found new paths, and the valleys were upheaved and the hills trod down, and Sirion was no more. Then Men fled away . . . and long was it ere they came back over the mountains to where Beleriand once had been.

The last words of the earliest *Annals of Beleriand* (IV. 310) are 'So

ended the First Age of the World and Beleriand was no more.' It is also said in the *Quenta* (IV. 162) that after the War was ended 'there was a mighty building of ships on the shores of the Western Sea, and especially upon the great isles, which in the disruption of the Northern world were fashioned of ancient Beleriand.'

In FN a rather different conception is suggested. Though Beleriand had been 'changed and broken', it is spoken of as 'that land', it was still called *Beleriand*, and it was peopled by Men and Elves, able to form an alliance against Thû. I would suggest (though hesitantly) that with the emergence, here first glimpsed, of a Second Age of Middle-earth consequent on the legend of Númenor, the utter devastation of Beleriand, suitable to the finality of the conclusion of the earlier conception, had been diminished.* Moreover it seems that at this time my father did not conceive of any further destruction of Beleriand at the time of the Downfall of Númenor, as he would do later (see p. 32).

At this stage there is no mention of a first and founder king of Númenor. Elrond was still the only child of Eärendel and Elwing; his brother Elros has appeared only in late additions to the text of Q (IV. 155), which were inserted after the Númenórean legend had begun to develop. In the oldest conception in the *Sketch of the Mythology* (IV. 38) Elrond 'bound by his mortal half elects to stay on earth' (i.e. in the Great Lands), and in Q (IV. 158) he 'elected to remain, being bound by his mortal blood in love to those of the younger race'; see my remarks on the Choice of the Half-elven, IV. 70. Elrond is here, as it seems, a leader of the Elves of Beleriand, in alliance with Amroth, predecessor of Elendil. The Last Alliance leading to the overthrow of Thû is seen as the last intervention of the Elves in the affairs of the World of Men, in itself hastening their inevitable fading. The 'dark forest' to which Thû fled (cf. the 'Iron-forest' in the original outline) is doubtless Mirkwood. In *The Hobbit* all that had been told of the Necromancer was that he dwelt in a dark tower in the south of Mirkwood.†

(iii)

The second version of The Fall of Númenor

FN II is a clear manuscript, made by my father with FN I before him and probably soon after it. It has many emendations made in the act of

*The passages cited here from Q were rather surprisingly retained almost unaltered in QS: see p. 337.

†Cf. *Letters* no. 257, referring to *The Hobbit*: 'the (originally) quite casual reference to the Necromancer, whose function was hardly more than to provide a reason for Gandalf going away and leaving Bilbo and the Dwarves to fend for themselves, which was necessary for the tale.'

composition, and none that seem to have been made after any significant interval, apart from the title, which was inserted later in pencil, and the rejection of a sentence in §7. In contrast to my father's common tendency to begin a new text keeping close to the antecedent but then to diverge ever more strongly as he proceeded, in this case the earlier part is much changed and expanded whereas the latter is scarcely altered, other than in very minor improvements to the run of sentences, until the end is reached. To give the whole of FN II is therefore unnecessary. Retaining the paragraph numbering of FN I, I give §§1–5 and 14 in full, and of the remainder only such short passages as were significantly altered.

THE LAST TALE: THE FALL OF NÚMENOR

§1 In the Great Battle when Fionwë son of Manwë overthrew Morgoth and rescued the Exiles, the three houses of the Men of Beleriand fought against Morgoth. But most Men were allies of the Enemy; and after the victory of the Lords of the West those that were not destroyed fled eastward into Middle-earth; and the servants of Morgoth that escaped came to them, and enslaved them. For the Gods forsook for a time the Men of Middle-earth, because they had disobeyed their summons and hearkened to the Enemy. And Men were troubled by many evil things that Morgoth had made in the days of his dominion: demons and dragons and monsters, and Orcs, that are mockeries of the creatures of Ilúvatar; and their lot was unhappy. But Manwë put forth Morgoth, and shut him beyond the world in the Void without; and he cannot return again into the world, present and visible, while the Lords are enthroned. Yet his Will remaineth, and guideth his servants; and it moveth them ever to seek the overthrow of the Gods and the hurt of those that obey them.

But when Morgoth was thrust forth, the Gods held council. The Elves were summoned to return into the West, and such as obeyed dwelt again in Eressëa, the Lonely Island, which was renamed Avallon: for it is hard by Valinor. But Men of the three faithful houses and such as had joined with them were richly rewarded. For Fionwë son of Manwë came among them and taught them; and he gave them wisdom, power, and life stronger than any others have of the mortal race.

§2 And a great land was made for them to dwell in, neither part of Middle-earth nor wholly separate from it. It was raised by Ossë out of the depths of the Great Sea, and established by Aulë and enriched by Yavanna; and the Eldar brought thither flowers and fountains out of Avallon and wrought gardens there of great beauty, in which the Gods themselves at times would walk. That

land was called by the Valar Andor, the Land of Gift, and by its own folk it was at first called Vinya, the Young; but in the days of its pride they named it Númenor, that is Westernesse, for it lay west of all lands inhabited by mortals; yet it was far from the true West, for that is Valinor, the land of the Gods. But its glory fell and its name perished; for after its ruin it was named in the legends of those that fled from it Atalantë, the Downfallen. Of old its chief city and haven was in the midst of its western coasts, and it was called Andúnië, because it faced the sunset. But the high place of its king was at Númenos in the heart of the land. It was built first by Elrond son of Eärendel, whom the Gods and Elves chose to be the lord of that land; for in him the blood of the houses of Hador and Bëor was mingled, and with it some part of that of the Eldar and Valar, which he drew from Idril and from Lúthien. But Elrond and all his folk were mortal; for the Valar may not withdraw the gift of death, which cometh to Men from Ilúvatar. Yet they took on the speech of the Elves of the Blessed Realm, as it was and is in Eressëa, and held converse with the Elves, and looked afar upon Valinor; for their ships were suffered to sail to Avallon and their mariners to dwell there for a while.

§3 And in the wearing of time the people of Númenor grew great and glorious, in all things more like the Firstborn than any other races of Men that have been; yet less fair and wise than the Elves, though greater in stature. For the Númenóreans were taller even than the tallest of the sons of Men in Middle-earth. Above all their arts they nourished shipbuilding and sea-craft, and became mariners whose like shall never be again, since the world has been diminished. They ranged from Eressëa in the West to the shores of Middle-earth, and came even into the inner seas; and they sailed about the North and the South, and glimpsed from their high prows the Gates of Morning in the East. And they appeared among the wild Men and filled them with wonder and dismay, and some esteemed them to be Gods or the sons of Gods out of the West; and the Men of Middle-earth feared them, for they were under the shadow of Morgoth, and believed the Gods to be terrible and cruel. The Númenóreans taught them such of the truth as they could comprehend, but it became only as a distant rumour little understood; for as yet the Númenóreans came seldom to Middle-earth and did not tarry there long. Their hearts were set westward, and they began to hunger for the undying bliss of Valinor; and they were restless and pursued by desire as their power and glory grew.

§4 For the Gods forbade them to sail beyond the Lonely Isle, and would not permit any to land in Valinor, because the Númenóreans were mortal; and though the Lords had rewarded them with long life, they could not take from them the weariness of the world that cometh at last; and they died, even their kings of the seed of Eärendel, and their span was brief in the eyes of the Elves. And they began to murmur against this decree; and a great discontent grew among them. Their masters of knowledge sought unceasingly for secrets that should prolong their lives; and they sent spies to seek forbidden lore in Avallon. But the Gods were angered.

§5 And it came to pass that Sauron, servant of Morgoth, grew mighty in Middle-earth; and the mariners of Númenor brought rumour of him. Some said that he was a king greater than the King of Númenor; some said that he was one of the Gods or their sons set to govern Middle-earth. A few reported that he was an evil spirit, perchance Morgoth himself returned. But this was held to be only a foolish fable of the wild Men. Tar-kalion was King of Númenor in those days, and he was proud; and believing that the Gods had delivered the dominion of the earth to the Númenóreans, he would not brook a king mightier than himself in any land. Therefore he purposed to send his servants to summon Sauron to Númenor, to do homage before him. The Lords sent messages to the king and spake through the mouths of wise men and counselled him against this mission; for they said that Sauron would work evil if he came; but he could not come to Númenor unless he was summoned and guided by the king's messengers. But Tar-kalion in his pride put aside the counsel, and he sent many ships.

Now rumour of the power of Númenor and its allegiance to the Gods came also to Sauron, and he feared lest the Men of the West should rescue those of Middle-earth from the Shadow; and being cunning and filled with malice he plotted in his heart to destroy Númenor, and (if he might) to bring grief upon the Gods. Therefore he humbled himself before the messengers, and came by ship to Númenor. But as the ships of the embassy drew nigh to the land an unquiet came upon the sea, and it arose like a mountain and cast the ships far inland; and the ship whereon Sauron stood was set upon a hill. And Sauron stood upon the hill and preached a message of deliverance from death to the Númenóreans; and he beguiled them with signs and wonders. And little by little he turned their hearts toward Morgoth, his master; and he prophesied that ere long he would come again into the world. And

Sauron spake to Tar-kalion the king, and to Tar-ilien his queen, and promised them life unending and the dominion of the earth, if they would turn unto Morgoth. And they believed him, and fell under the Shadow, and the greatest part of their people followed them. And Tar-kalion raised a great temple to Morgoth upon the Mountain of Ilúvatar in the midst of the land; and Sauron dwelt there and all Númenor was under his vigilance.

[The greater part of §5 was replaced by the following shorter version:]

And it came to pass that Sauron, servant of Morgoth, grew strong in Middle-earth; and he learned of the power and glory of the Númenóreans, and of their allegiance to the Gods, and he feared lest coming they should wrest the dominion of the East from him and rescue the Men of Middle-earth from the Shadow. And the king heard rumour of Sauron; and it was said that he was a king greater than the King of Númenor. Wherefore, against the counsel of the Gods, the king sent his servants to Sauron, and bade him come and do homage. And Sauron, being filled with cunning and malice, humbled himself and came; and he beguiled the Númenóreans with signs and wonders. But little by little Sauron turned their hearts towards Morgoth; and he prophesied that ere long he would come again into the world. And Sauron spake to Tar-kalion King of Númenor and to Tar-ilien his queen . . .

For the remainder of FN II, until the final paragraph, I note only the few differences from FN I that are of any substance. The changes of *Sûr*, *Angor*, and *Istar* to *Sauron*, *Tar-kalion*, and *Tar-ilien* are not noticed.

§6 'And they passed Tol-eressëa > 'And they encompassed Avallon'; 'fire came upon the sides of Taniquetil' > 'fire came upon Kôr and smokes rose about Taniquetil.'

§7 In FN II the paragraph opens: 'But the Gods made no answer. Then many of the Númenóreans set foot upon the forbidden shores, and they camped in might upon the borders of Valinor.'

'Angor the mighty and Istar his queen' > 'Tar-kalion the golden and bright Ilien his queen'; 'the Forgotten Caves' > 'the Caves of the Forgotten'.

The mysterious concluding sentence concerning the Elves of Eressëa (see the commentary on FN I) was retained but struck out later in pencil.

§8 The concluding sentence does not appear; see the commentary on FN I.

§9 'Partly by the [desire >] command of Tar-kalion, and partly by their own will (because some still revered the Gods and would not go

with war into the West) many had remained behind, and sat in their ships . . .'

There is now no mention of the great wind that arose.

§10 The paragraph now opens: 'There, though shorn of their former power, and few in number and scattered, they after became lords and kings of Men. Some were evil and forsook not Sauron in their hearts; and some were of good will and retained memory of the Gods. But all alike . . .'

In 'the span of their lives, which had of old been greater than that of the lesser races' the words 'greater than' > 'thrice'.

The concluding sentence reads: 'For which reason in after days they would bury their dead in ships, or set them in pomp . . .'

§11 'And the spell that lay there was not wholly vain' > 'And this was not wholly fantasy', but this was struck out.

'For the ancient line of the world remained in the mind of Ilúvatar and in the thought of the Gods, and in the memory of the world . . .'

At the end of the paragraph is added: 'Therefore they built very high towers in those days.'

§12 The paragraph now begins: 'But most, who could not see this or conceive it in thought, scorned the builders of towers, and trusted to ships that sailed upon water. But they came only to the lands of the New World, and found them like to those of the Old, and subject to death; and they reported that the world was round. But upon the Straight Road only the Gods could walk, and only the ships of the Elves of Avallon could journey. For the Road being straight, whereas the surface of the earth was bent . . .'

The paragraph concludes: 'Therefore many abandoned the Gods, and put them out of their legends. But Men of Middle-earth looked up with wonder upon them, and with great fear, for they descended out of the air; and they took the Númenóreans to be Gods, and some were content that this should be so.'

§13 The paragraph begins: 'But not all the hearts of the Númenóreans were crooked; and the knowledge of the days before the ruin, descending from their fathers and the Elf-friends, and those that had held converse with the Gods, was long preserved among the wise. And they said that the fate of Men . . .'

'But the fate of Men . . . is not complete within the world.'

'there were wars of faith among the mighty of Middle-earth'

§14 But there remains still a legend of Beleriand: for that land in the West of the North of the Old World, where Morgoth had been overthrown, was still in a measure blessed and free from his shadow; and many of the exiles of Númenor had come thither. Though changed and broken it retained still in ancient days the name that it had borne in the days of the Gnomes. And it is said that in Beleriand there arose a king, who was of Númenórean race,

and he was named Elendil, that is Elf-friend. And he took counsel with the Elves that remained in Middle-earth (and these abode then mostly in Beleriand); and he made a league with Gil-galad the Elf-king who was descended from Fëanor. And their armies were joined, and passed the mountains and came into inner lands far from the Sea. And they came at last even to Mordor the Black Country, where Sauron, that is in the Gnomish tongue named Thû, had rebuilt his fortresses. And they encompassed the stronghold, until Thû came forth in person, and Elendil and Gil-galad wrestled with him; and both were slain. But Thû was thrown down, and his bodily shape destroyed, and his servants were dispelled, and the host of Beleriand destroyed his dwelling; but Thû's spirit fled far away, and was hidden in waste places, and took no shape again for many ages. But it is sung sadly by the Elves that the war with Thû hastened the fading of the Eldar, decreed by the Gods; for Thû had power beyond their measure, as Felagund, King of Nargothrond, had found aforetime; and the Elves expended their strength and substance in the assault upon him. And this was the last of the services of the Firstborn to Men, and it is held the last of the deeds of alliance before the fading of the Elves and the estrangement of the Two Kindreds. And here endeth the tale of the ancient world as it is known to the Elves.

Commentary on the second version of The Fall of Númenor

§1 On 'Orcs, that are mockeries of the creatures of Ilúvatar' see QS §18 and commentary. – It was said in FN I §5 that Morgoth 'did not come in person, but only in spirit and as a shadow upon the mind and heart.' Now the idea of his 'return' in any sense seems to be denied; but there appears the concept of his malevolent and guiding Will that remains always in the world.

'such as obeyed dwelt again in Eressëa': in FN I 'the Elves were summoned to Valinor, as has been told, and many obeyed, but not all.' In the *Quenta* (IV. 162) 'the Gnomes and Dark-elves rehabited for the most part the Lonely Isle . . . But some returned even unto Valinor, as all were free to do who willed' (retained in QS, pp. 331–2 §27). The name *Avallon* ('for it is hard by Valinor') appears, but as a new name for Tol Eressëa; afterwards, in the form *Avallónë* ('for it is of all cities the nearest to Valinor'), it became the name of a haven in the isle: *Akallabêth* p. 260.

§2 At first my father preserved exactly the rewriting of FN I given in the commentary on FN I §2, whereby *Atalantë* is the name of the city Andúnië after the Downfall. I have suggested that he did not in fact

intend this; at any rate he corrected it here, so that *Atalantë* again becomes the name of Númenor drowned. *Númenos* now reappears from FN I §2 as originally written, where it was the name of the western city, but becomes the name of the high place of the king in the centre of the land (afterwards *Armenelos*).

Elrond (see the commentary on FN I §14) now becomes the first King of Númenor and the builder of Númenos; his brother Elros has still not emerged.

The statement here that the Númenóreans 'took on the speech of the Elves of the Blessed Realm, as it was and is in Eressëa' suggests that they abandoned their own Mannish tongue; and that this is the meaning is shown in *The Lost Road* (p. 68). In the *Lhammas* it is said (p. 179) that 'already even in [Húrin's father's] day Men in Beleriand forsook the daily use of their own tongue and spoke and gave even names unto their children in the language of the Gnomes.' The words 'as it was and is in Eressëa' would contradict any idea that the Lonely Isle was destroyed in the Downfall (see the commentary on FN I §7). But the difficult passage which suggests it was preserved in the present text, §7 (though subsequently struck out).

§4 The association of the longevity of the Númenóreans with the radiance of Valinor (see the commentary on FN I §4) is abandoned, and is attributed solely to the gift of the Valar.

§5 In all probability the name *Sauron* (replacing *Sûr* of FN I) first occurs here or in the closely related passage in *The Lost Road* (p. 66). Its first occurrence in the 'Silmarillion' tradition is in QS §143. The story of Sauron's coming to Númenor is changed from that in FN I, and it is explicit that he could not have come had he not been summoned. The story as told in the first version here, in which the ships returning from Middle-earth were cast upon Númenor far inland by a great wave, and Sauron stood upon a hill and 'preached a message of deliverance', is told in more detail in *The Lost Road*; but the second version in FN II, omitting the element of the great wave, looks as if it were substituted for the first almost immediately (on the significance of this see p. 9).

The temple to Morgoth is now raised upon the Mountain of Ilúvatar in the midst of the land, and this (or in *The Lost Road*) is the first appearance of the Meneltarma. The story was later rejected: in the *Akallabêth* 'not even Sauron dared to defile the high place', and the temple was built in Armenelos (pp. 272–3).

§11 The addition in FN II, 'Therefore they built very high towers in those days', must be the first reference to the White Towers on Emyn Beraid, the Tower Hills. Cf. *The Lord of the Rings* Appendix A (I. iii), where it is told of the *palantír* of Emyn Beraid that 'Elendil set it there so that he could look back with "straight sight" and see Eressëa in the vanished West; but the bent seas below covered Númenor for ever.' Cf. also *Of the Rings of Power* in *The Silmarillion*, p. 292. But when the

present text was written the *palantíri* had not (so far as one can tell) been conceived.

§14 The rewriting of the passage concerning Beleriand reinforces the suggestion in FN I that it remained a country less destroyed after the Great Battle than is described in the other texts: it was 'still in a measure blessed' – and moreover the Elves who remained in Middle-earth 'abode mostly in Beleriand'. Here Elendil 'Elf-friend' appears, displacing Amroth of FN I. It might be thought from the words 'in Beleriand there arose a king, who was of Númenórean race' that he was not a survivor of the Downfall; but this is clearly not the case. In *The Lost Road*, closely connected with FN II, Elendil (the father in the Númenórean incarnation of 'Elwin-Edwin') is a resolute foe of Sauron and his dominance in Númenor; and though *The Lost Road* breaks off before the sailing of Tar-kalion's fleet, Elendil must have been among those who 'sat in their ships upon the east coast of the land' (FN §9) and so escaped the Downfall.

Here is certainly the first appearance of Gil-galad, the Elf-king in Beleriand, descended from Fëanor (it would be interesting to know his parentage), and the story of the Last Alliance moves a stage further; and there seems no question but that it was in this manuscript that the name *Mordor*, the Black Country, first emerged in narrative.

(iv)

The further development of The Fall of Númenor

FN II was followed by a typescript made on my father's typewriter of that period, but not typed by him. This is seen from its being an exact copy of FN II after all corrections had been made to it, and from two or three misreadings of the manuscript. I have no doubt that the typescript was made soon afterwards. In itself it has no textual value, but my father used it as the basis for certain further changes.

Associated with it is a loose manuscript page bearing passages that relate closely to changes made to the typescript. There is here a textual development that has important bearings on the dating in general.

Two passages are in question. The first concerns §8 (which had remained unchanged from FN I, apart from the omission in FN II of the concluding sentence). The loose page has here two forms of a new version of the paragraph, of which the first, which was struck through, reads as follows:

> Then Ilúvatar cast back the Great Sea west of Middle-earth and the Barren Land east of Middle-earth and made new lands and new seas where aforetime nought had been but the paths of the Sun and Moon. And the world was diminished; for Valinor and Eressëa were taken into the Realm of Hidden Things, and thereafter however far a man might sail he could never again reach the True West. For all lands old

> and new were equally distant from the centre of the earth. There was [flood and great confusion of waters, and seas covered what once was dry, and lands appeared where there had been deep seas,] and Beleriand fell into the sea in that time, all save the land where Beren and Lúthien had dwelt for a while, the land of Lindon beneath the western feet of the [*struck out*: Ered] Lunoronti.

(The section enclosed in square brackets is represented in the manuscript by a mark of omission, obviously meaning that the existing text was to be followed.) Here the words '[the Gods] bent back the edges of the Middle-earth' have disappeared; it is the Great Sea in the West and 'the Barren Land' in the East that are 'cast back' by Ilúvatar. It is now said that the new lands and new seas came into being 'where aforetime nought had been but the paths of the Sun and Moon' (i.e. at the roots of the world, see the *Ambarkanta* diagrams IV. 243, 245). This was in turn lost in the further rewriting (below), where the final and very brief statement found in the *Akallabêth* (p. 279) is reached.

This passage is very notable, since the drowning of all Beleriand west of Lindon is here ascribed to the cataclysm of the Downfall of Númenor; see the commentaries on FN I and II, §14. The name *Lunoronti* of the Blue Mountains has not occurred previously (but see the *Etymologies*, stem LUG[2]); and this is perhaps the first occurrence of the name *Lindon* for the ancient Ossiriand, or such of it as remained above the sea (see the commentary on QS §108).

The second form of this revised version of §8 follows immediately in the manuscript:

> Then Ilúvatar cast back the Great Sea west of Middle-earth, and the Empty Land east of it, and new lands and new seas were made; and the world was diminished: for Valinor and Eressëa were taken from it into the realm of hidden things. And thereafter however a man might sail, he could never again reach the True West, but would come back weary at last to the place of his beginning; for all lands and seas were equally distant from the centre of the earth, and all roads were bent. There was flood and great confusion of waters in that time, and sea covered much that in the Elder Days had been dry, both in the West and East of Middle-earth.

Thus the passage concerning the drowning of Beleriand at the time of the Númenórean cataclysm and the survival of Lindon was again removed. In this form my father then copied it onto the typescript, with change of *Empty Land* to *Empty Lands*. (If this region, called in the first version *the Barren Land*, is to be related to the *Ambarkanta* map V (IV. 251) it must be what is there called *the Burnt Land of the Sun*; perhaps also *the Dark Land*, which is there shown as a new continent, formed from the southern part of *Pelmar* or Middle-earth (map IV) after the vast extension of the former inland sea of Ringil at the time of the breaking of

Utumno). – The expression *Elder Days* is not found in any writing of my father's before this.

The second passage is the concluding paragraph in FN II §14, concerning Beleriand and the Last Alliance. Here a few pencilled changes were made to the typescript: *Thû* was changed to *Sauron* except in the sentence 'that is in the Gnomish tongue named Thû', where *Thû* > *Gorthû* (see p. 338); 'in Beleriand there arose a king' > 'in Lindon . . .'; and Gil-galad is descended from Finrod, not Fëanor. The passage in the typescript was then struck through, with a direction to introduce a substitute. This substitute is found on the reverse of the loose page giving the two forms of the rewriting of §8, and was obviously written at the same time as those. It reads as follows:

> But there remains a legend of Beleriand. Now that land had been broken in the Great Battle with Morgoth; and at the fall of Númenor and the change of the fashion of the world it perished; for the sea covered all that was left save some of the mountains that remained as islands, even up to the feet of Eredlindon. But that land where Lúthien had dwelt remained, and was called Lindon. A gulf of the sea came through it, and a gap was made in the Mountains through which the River Lhûn flowed out. But in the land that was left north and south of the gulf the Elves remained, and Gil-galad son of Felagund son of Finrod was their king. And they made Havens in the Gulf of Lhûn whence any of their people, or any other of the Elves that fled from the darkness and sorrow of Middle-earth, could sail into the True West and return no more. In Lindon Sauron had as yet no dominion. And it is said that the brethren Elendil and Valandil escaping from the fall of Númenor came at last to the mouths of the rivers that flowed into the Western Sea. And Elendil (that is Elf-friend), who had aforetime loved the folk of Eressëa, came to Lindon and dwelt there a while, and passed into Middle-earth and established a realm in the North. But Valandil sailed up the Great River Anduin and established another realm far to the South. But Sauron dwelt in Mordor the Black Country, and that was not very distant from Ondor the realm of Valandil; and Sauron made war against all Elves and all Men of Westernesse or others that aided them, and Valandil was hard pressed. Therefore Elendil and Gil-galad seeing that unless some stand were made Sauron would become lord of [?all] Middle-earth they took counsel together, and they made a great league. And Gil-galad and Elendil marched into the Middle-earth [?and gathered force of Men and Elves, and they assembled at Imladrist].

Towards the end the text degenerates into a scribble and the final words are a bit doubtful. If the name *Imladrist* is correctly interpreted there is certainly a further letter after the *s*, which must be a *t*. Cf. *The Tale of*

Years in *The Lord of the Rings* (Appendix B): Second Age 3431 'Gil-galad and Elendil march east to Imladris.'

All this passage was in turn struck through, and not copied into the typescript. It will be seen that it brings in the new matter concerning Beleriand and Lindon which appeared in the first form of the revision of §8 but was then removed (pp. 31–2); and in addition many important new elements have entered. Gil-galad is the son of Felagund; it is now explicit that Elendil was one of the survivors of Númenor, and he has a brother named Valandil (the name of his father in *The Lost Road*); the river Lhûn appears, and its gulf, and the gap in the Blue Mountains through which it flowed; the Elves of Lindon built havens on the Gulf of Lhûn; Elendil established a kingdom in the North, east of the mountains, and Valandil, sailing up the Anduin, founded his realm of Ondor not far from Mordor.

Now there is no question that the entire conception of Gondor arose in the course of the composition of *The Lord of the Rings*. Moreover my father pencilled the following notes (also struck through) at the end of the typescript:

> More of this is told in *The Lord of the Rings*
> Only alteration required is this:
> (1) Many Elves remained behind
> (2) Beleriand was all sunk except for a few islands = mountains, and part of Ossiriand (called Lindon) where Gil-galad dwelt.
> (3) Elrond remained with Gil-galad. Or else sailed back to Middle-earth. The Half-elven.

The second of these is decisive, since the passage last given clearly contains a working-up of this note; and it is clear that all the rewritings of the second version of *The Fall of Númenor* considered here come from several years later. FN II represents the form of the work at the time when *The Lord of the Rings* was begun. On the other hand, these revisions come from a time when it was a long way from completion, as is seen by the form *Ondor*, and by the brothers Elendil and Valandil, founders of the Númenórean kingdoms in Middle-earth.

Apart from these major passages of revision there were few other changes made to the typescript copy of FN II, and those very minor, save for the substitution of *Elros* for *Elrond* at both occurrences in §2. This belongs to the pre-*Lord of the Rings* period, as is seen from the appearance of Elros in the conclusion of QS (see p. 337, commentary on §28).*

*The third 'alteration' required (in the notes on the typescript of FN II), that 'Elrond remained with Gil-galad, or else sailed back to Middle-earth', presumably takes account of this change, and means that my father had not yet determined whether or not Elrond originally went to Númenor with his brother Elros.

My father next wrote a fine new manuscript incorporating the changes made to the typescript of FN II – but now wholly omitting the concluding passage (§14) concerning Beleriand and the Last Alliance, and ending with the words 'there were wars among the mighty of Middle-earth, of which only the echoes now remain.' This version, improved and altered in detail, shows however very little further advance in narrative substance, and clearly belongs to the same period as the revisions studied in this section.

III
THE LOST ROAD

(i)

The opening chapters

For the texts of *The Lost Road* and its relation to *The Fall of Númenor* see pp. 8–9. I give here the two completed chapters at the beginning of the work, following them with a brief commentary.

Chapter I

*A Step Forward. Young Alboin**

'Alboin! Alboin!'

There was no answer. There was no one in the play-room.

'Alboin!' Oswin Errol stood at the door and called into the small high garden at the back of his house. At length a young voice answered, sounding distant and like the answer of someone asleep or just awakened.

'Yes?'

'Where are you?'

'Here!'

'Where is "here"?'

'Here: up on the wall, father.'

Oswin sprang down the steps from the door into the garden, and walked along the flower-bordered path. It led after a turn to a low stone wall, screened from the house by a hedge. Beyond the stone wall there was a brief space of turf, and then a cliff-edge, beyond which outstretched, and now shimmering in a calm evening, the western sea. Upon the wall Oswin found his son, a boy about twelve years old, lying gazing out to sea with his chin in his hands.

'So there you are!' he said. 'You take a deal of calling. Didn't you hear me?'

'Not before the time when I answered,' said Alboin.

'Well, you must be deaf or dreaming,' said his father. 'Dream-

*The title was put in afterwards, as was that of Chapter II; see p. 78.

ing, it looks like. It is getting very near bed-time; so, if you want any story tonight, we shall have to begin at once.'

'I am sorry, father, but I was thinking.'

'What about?'

'Oh, lots of things mixed up: the sea, and the world, and Alboin.'

'Alboin?'

'Yes. I wondered why Alboin. Why am I called Alboin? They often ask me "Why Alboin?" at school, and they call me All-bone. But I am not, am I?'

'You look rather bony, boy; but you are not all bone, I am glad to say. I am afraid I called you Alboin, and that is why you are called it. I am sorry: I never meant it to be a nuisance to you.'

'But it is a *real* name, isn't it?' said Alboin eagerly. 'I mean, it means something, and *men* have been called it? It isn't just invented?'

'Of course not. It is just as real and just as good as Oswin; and it belongs to the same family, you might say. But no one ever bothered me about Oswin. Though I often used to get called Oswald by mistake. I remember how it used to annoy me, though I can't think why. I was rather particular about my name.'

They remained talking on the wall overlooking the sea; and did not go back into the garden, or the house, until bed-time. Their talk, as often happened, drifted into story-telling; and Oswin told his son the tale of Alboin son of Audoin, the Lombard king; and of the great battle of the Lombards and the Gepids, remembered as terrible even in the grim sixth century; and of the kings Thurisind and Cunimund, and of Rosamunda. 'Not a good story for near bed-time,' he said, ending suddenly with Alboin's drinking from the jewelled skull of Cunimund.

'I don't like that Alboin much,' said the boy. 'I like the Gepids better, and King Thurisind. I wish they had won. Why didn't you call me Thurisind or Thurismod?'

'Well, really mother had meant to call you Rosamund, only you turned up a boy. And she didn't live to help me choose another name, you know. So I took one out of that story, because it seemed to fit. I mean, the name doesn't belong only to that story, it is much older. Would you rather have been called Elf-friend? For that's what the name means.'

'No-o,' said Alboin doubtfully. 'I like names to mean something, but not to say something.'

'Well, I might have called you Ælfwine, of course; that is the

Old English form of it. I might have called you that, not only after Ælfwine of Italy, but after all the Elf-friends of old; after Ælfwine, King Alfred's grandson, who fell in the great victory in 937, and Ælfwine who fell in the famous defeat at Maldon, and many other Englishmen and northerners in the long line of Elf-friends. But I gave you a latinized form. I think that is best. The old days of the North are gone beyond recall, except in so far as they have been worked into the shape of things as we know it, into Christendom. So I took Alboin; for it is not Latin and not Northern, and that is the way of most names in the West, and also of the men that bear them. I might have chosen Albinus, for that is what they sometimes turned the name into; and it wouldn't have reminded your friends of bones. But it is too Latin, and means something in Latin. And you are not white or fair, boy, but dark. So Alboin you are. And that is all there is to it, except bed.' And they went in.

But Alboin looked out of his window before getting into bed; and he could see the sea beyond the edge of the cliff. It was a late sunset, for it was summer. The sun sank slowly to the sea, and dipped red beyond the horizon. The light and colour faded quickly from the water: a chilly wind came up out of the West, and over the sunset-rim great dark clouds sailed up, stretching huge wings southward and northward, threatening the land.

'They look like the eagles of the Lord of the West coming upon Númenor,' Alboin said aloud, and he wondered why. Though it did not seem very strange to him. In those days he often made up names. Looking on a familiar hill, he would see it suddenly standing in some other time and story: 'the green shoulders of *Amon-ereb*,' he would say. 'The waves are loud upon the shores of *Beleriand*,' he said one day, when storm was piling water at the foot of the cliff below the house.

Some of these names were really made up, to please himself with their sound (or so he thought); but others seemed 'real', as if they had not been spoken first by him. So it was with *Númenor*. 'I like that,' he said to himself. 'I could think of a long story about the land of *Númenor*.'

But as he lay in bed, he found that the story would not be thought. And soon he forgot the name; and other thoughts crowded in, partly due to his father's words, and partly to his own day-dreams before.

'Dark Alboin,' he thought. 'I wonder if there is any Latin in me. Not much, I think. I love the western shores, and the *real* sea – it

is quite different from the Mediterranean, even in stories. I wish there was no other side to it. There were darkhaired people who were not Latins. Are the Portuguese Latins? What is Latin? I wonder what kind of people lived in Portugal and Spain and Ireland and Britain in old days, very old days, before the Romans, or the Carthaginians. Before anybody else. I wonder what the man thought who was the first to see the western sea.'

Then he fell asleep, and dreamed. But when he woke the dream slipped beyond recall, and left no tale or picture behind, only the feeling that these had brought: the sort of feeling Alboin connected with long strange names. And he got up. And summer slipped by, and he went to school and went on learning Latin.

Also he learned Greek. And later, when he was about fifteen, he began to learn other languages, especially those of the North: Old English, Norse, Welsh, Irish. This was not much encouraged – even by his father, who was an historian. Latin and Greek, it seemed to be thought, were enough for anybody; and quite old-fashioned enough, when there were so many successful modern languages (spoken by millions of people); not to mention maths and all the sciences.

But Alboin liked the flavour of the older northern languages, quite as much as he liked some of the things written in them. He got to know a bit about linguistic history, of course; he found that you rather had it thrust on you anyway by the grammar-writers of 'unclassical' languages. Not that he objected: sound-changes were a hobby of his, at the age when other boys were learning about the insides of motor-cars. But, although he had some idea of what were supposed to be the relationships of European languages, it did not seem to him quite all the story. The languages he liked had a definite flavour – and to some extent a similar flavour which they shared. It seemed, too, in some way related to the atmosphere of the legends and myths told in the languages.

One day, when Alboin was nearly eighteen, he was sitting in the study with his father. It was autumn, and the end of summer holidays spent mostly in the open. Fires were coming back. It was the time in all the year when book-lore is most attractive (to those who really like it at all). They were talking 'language'. For Errol encouraged his boy to talk about anything he was interested in; although secretly he had been wondering for some time whether Northern languages and legends were not taking up more time and energy than their practical value in a hard world justified. 'But I had better know what is going on, as far as any father can,'

he thought. 'He'll go on anyway, if he really has a bent – and it had better not be bent inwards.'

Alboin was trying to explain his feeling about 'language-atmosphere'. 'You get echoes coming through, you know,' he said, 'in odd words here and there – often very common words in their own language, but quite unexplained by the etymologists; and in the general shape and sound of all the words, somehow; as if something was peeping through from deep under the surface.'

'Of course, I am not a philologist,' said his father; 'but I never could see that there was much evidence in favour of ascribing language-changes to a *substratum*. Though I suppose underlying ingredients do have an influence, though it is not easy to define, on the final mixture in the case of peoples taken as a whole, different national talents and temperaments, and that sort of thing. But races, and cultures, are different from languages.'

'Yes,' said Alboin; 'but very mixed up, all three together. And after all, language goes back by a continuous tradition into the past, just as much as the other two. I often think that if you knew the living faces of any man's ancestors, a long way back, you might find some queer things. You might find that he got his nose quite clearly from, say, his mother's great-grandfather; and yet that something about his nose, its expression or its set or whatever you like to call it, really came down from much further back, from, say, his father's great-great-great-grandfather or greater. Anyway I like to go back – and not with race only, or culture only, or language; but with all three. I wish I could go back with the three that are mixed in us, father; just the plain Errols, with a little house in Cornwall in the summer. I wonder what one would see.'

'It depends how far you went back,' said the elder Errol. 'If you went back beyond the Ice-ages, I imagine you would find nothing in these parts; or at any rate a pretty beastly and uncomely race, and a tooth-and-nail culture, and a disgusting language with no echoes for you, unless those of food-noises.'

'Would you?' said Alboin. 'I wonder.'

'Anyway you can't go back,' said his father; 'except within the limits prescribed to us mortals. You can go back in a sense by honest study, long and patient work. You had better go in for archaeology as well as philology: they ought to go well enough together, though they aren't joined very often.'

'Good idea,' said Alboin. 'But you remember, long ago, you said I was not *all-bone*. Well, I want some mythology, as well. I want myths, not only bones and stones.'

'Well, you can have 'em! Take the whole lot on!' said his father laughing. 'But in the meanwhile you have a smaller job on hand. Your Latin needs improving (or so I am told), for school purposes. And scholarships are useful in lots of ways, especially for folk like you and me who go in for antiquated subjects. Your first shot is this winter, remember.'

'I wish Latin prose was not so important,' said Alboin. 'I am really much better at verses.'

'Don't go putting any bits of your *Eressëan*, or *Elf-latin*, or whatever you call it, into your verses at Oxford. It might scan, but it wouldn't pass.'

'Of course not!' said the boy, blushing. The matter was too private, even for private jokes. 'And don't go blabbing about *Eressëan* outside the partnership,' he begged; 'or I shall wish I had kept it quiet.'

'Well, you did pretty well. I don't suppose I should ever have heard about it, if you hadn't left your note-books in my study. Even so I don't know much about it. But, my dear lad, I shouldn't dream of blabbing, even if I did. Only don't waste too much time on it. I am afraid I am anxious about that schol[arship], not only from the highest motives. Cash is not too abundant.'

'Oh, I haven't done anything of that sort for a long while, at least hardly anything,' said Alboin.

'It isn't getting on too well, then?'

'Not lately. Too much else to do, I suppose. But I got a lot of jolly new words a few days ago: I am sure *lōmelindë* means *nightingale*, for instance, and certainly *lōmë* is *night* (though not *darkness*). The verb is very sketchy still. But –' He hesitated. Reticence (and uneasy conscience) were at war with his habit of what he called 'partnership with the pater', and his desire to unbosom the secret anyway. 'But, the real difficulty is that another language is coming through, as well. It seems to be related but quite different, much more – more Northern. *Alda* was a *tree* (a word I got a long time ago); in the new language it is *galadh*, and *orn*. The Sun and Moon seem to have similar names in both: *Anar* and *Isil* beside *Anor* and *Ithil*. I like first one, then the other, in different moods. *Beleriandic* is really very attractive; but it complicates things.'

'Good Lord!' said his father, 'this is serious! I will respect unsolicited secrets. But do have a conscience as well as a heart, and – moods. Or get a Latin and Greek mood!'

'I do. I have had one for a week, and I have got it now; a Latin

one luckily, and Virgil in particular. So here we part.' He got up. 'I am going to do a bit of reading. I'll look in when I think you ought to go to bed.' He closed the door on his father's snort.

As a matter of fact Errol did not really like the parting shot. The affection in it warmed and saddened him. A late marriage had left him now on the brink of retirement from a schoolmaster's small pay to his smaller pension, just when Alboin was coming of University age. And he was also (he had begun to feel, and this year to admit in his heart) a tired man. He had never been a strong man. He would have liked to accompany Alboin a great deal further on the road, as a younger father probably would have done; but he did not somehow think he would be going very far. 'Damn it,' he said to himself, 'a boy of that age ought not to be thinking such things, worrying whether his father is getting enough rest. Where's my book?'

Alboin in the old play-room, turned into junior study, looked out into the dark. He did not for a long time turn to books. 'I wish life was not so short,' he thought. 'Languages take such a time, and so do all the things one wants to know about. And the pater, he is looking tired. I want him for years. If he lived to be a hundred I should be only about as old as he is now. and I should still want him. But he won't. I wish we could stop getting old. The pater could go on working and write that book he used to talk about, about Cornwall; and we could go on talking. He always plays up, even if he does not agree or understand. Bother *Eressëan*. I wish he hadn't mentioned it. I am sure I shall dream tonight; and it is so exciting. The Latin-mood will go. He is very decent about it, even though he thinks I am making it all up. If I were, I would stop it to please him. But it comes, and I simply can't let it slip when it does. Now there is Beleriandic.'

Away west the moon rode in ragged clouds. The sea glimmered palely out of the gloom, wide, flat, going on to the edge of the world. 'Confound you, dreams!' said Alboin. 'Lay off, and let me do a little patient work at least until December. A schol[arship] would brace the pater.'

He found his father asleep in his chair at half past ten. They went up to bed together. Alboin got into bed and slept with no shadow of a dream. The Latin-mood was in full blast after breakfast; and the weather allied itself with virtue and sent torrential rain.

Chapter II

Alboin and Audoin

Long afterwards Alboin remembered that evening, that had marked the strange, sudden, cessation of the Dreams. He had got a scholarship (the following year) and had 'braced the pater'. He had behaved himself moderately well at the university – not too many side-issues (at least not what he called too many); though neither the Latin nor the Greek mood had remained at all steadily to sustain him through 'Honour Mods.' They came back, of course, as soon as the exams were over. They would. He had switched over, all the same, to history, and had again 'braced the pater' with a 'first-class'. And the pater had needed bracing. Retirement proved quite different from a holiday: he had seemed just to slip slowly out. He had hung on just long enough to see Alboin into his first job: an assistant lecturership in a university college.

Rather disconcertingly the Dreams had begun again just before 'Schools', and were extraordinarly strong in the following vacation – the last he and his father had spent together in Cornwall. But at that time the Dreams had taken a new turn, for a while.

He remembered one of the last conversations of the old pleasant sort he had been able to have with the old man. It came back clearly to him now.

'How's the Eressëan Elf-latin, boy?' his father asked, smiling, plainly intending a joke, as one may playfully refer to youthful follies long atoned for.

'Oddly enough,' he answered, 'that hasn't been coming through lately. I have got a lot of different stuff. Some is beyond me, yet. Some might be Celtic, of a sort. Some seems like a very old form of Germanic; pre-runic, or I'll eat my cap and gown.'

The old man smiled, almost raised a laugh. 'Safer ground, boy, safer ground for an historian. But you'll get into trouble, if you let your cats out of the bag among the philologists – unless, of course, they back up the authorities.'

'As a matter of fact, I rather think they do,' he said.

'Tell me a bit, if you can without your note-books,' his father slyly said.

'Westra lage wegas rehtas, nu isti sa wraithas.' He quoted that, because it had stuck in his mind, though he did not understand it. Of course the mere sense was fairly plain: *a straight road lay westward, now it is bent*. He remembered waking up, and feeling

it was somehow very significant. 'Actually I got a bit of plain Anglo-Saxon last night,' he went on. He thought Anglo-Saxon would please his father; it was a real historical language, of which the old man had once known a fair amount. Also the bit was very fresh in his mind, and was the longest and most connected he had yet had. Only that very morning he had waked up late, after a dreamful night, and had found himself saying the lines. He jotted them down at once, or they might have vanished (as usual) by breakfast-time, even though they were in a language he knew. Now waking memory had them secure.

'Thus cwæth Ælfwine Wídlást:
Fela bith on Westwegum werum uncúthra
wundra and wihta, wlitescéne land,
eardgeard elfa, and ésa bliss.
Lýt ænig wát hwylc his longath síe
thám the eftsíthes eldo getwæfeth.'

His father looked up and smiled at the name Ælfwine. He translated the lines for him; probably it was not necessary, but the old man had forgotten many other things he had once known much better than Anglo-Saxon.

'Thus said Ælfwine the far-travelled: "There is many a thing in the West-regions unknown to men, marvels and strange beings, a land fair and lovely, the homeland of the Elves, and the bliss of the Gods. Little doth any man know what longing is his whom old age cutteth off from return."'

He suddenly regretted translating the last two lines. His father looked up with an odd expression. 'The old know,' he said. 'But age does not cut us off from going away, from – from *forthsith*. There is no *eftsith*: we can't go back. You need not tell me that. But good for Ælfwine-Alboin. You could always do verses.'

Damn it – as if he would make up stuff like that, just to tell it to the old man, practically on his death-bed. His father had, in fact, died during the following winter.

On the whole he had been luckier than his father; in most ways, but not in one. He had reached a history professorship fairly early; but he had lost his wife, as his father had done, and had been left with an only child, a boy, when he was only twenty-eight.

He was, perhaps, a pretty good professor, as they go. Only in a small southern university, of course, and he did not suppose he would get a move. But at any rate he wasn't tired of being one; and

history, and even teaching it, still seemed interesting (and fairly important). He did his duty, at least, or he hoped so. The boundaries were a bit vague. For, of course, he had gone on with the other things, legends and languages – rather odd for a history professor. Still there it was: he was fairly learned in such book-lore, though a lot of it was well outside the professional borders.

And the Dreams. They came and went. But lately they had been getting more frequent, and more – absorbing. But still tantalizingly linguistic. No tale, no remembered pictures; only the feeling that he had seen things and heard things that he wanted to see, very much, and would give much to see and hear again – and these fragments of words, sentences, verses. *Eressëan* as he called it as a boy – though he could not remember why he had felt so sure that that was the proper name – was getting pretty complete. He had a lot of Beleriandic, too, and was beginning to understand it, and its relation to Eressëan. And he had a lot of unclassifiable fragments, the meaning of which in many cases he did not know, through forgetting to jot it down while he knew it. And odd bits in recognizable languages. Those might be explained away, of course. But anyway nothing could be done about them: not publication or anything of that sort. He had an odd feeling that they were not essential: only occasional lapses of forgetfulness which took a linguistic form owing to some peculiarity of his own mental make-up. The real thing was the feeling the Dreams brought more and more insistently, and taking force from an alliance with the ordinary professional occupations of his mind. Surveying the last thirty years, he felt he could say that his most permanent mood, though often overlaid or suppressed, had been since childhood the desire *to go back*. To walk in Time, perhaps, as men walk on long roads; or to survey it, as men may see the world from a mountain, or the earth as a living map beneath an airship. But in any case to see with eyes and to hear with ears: to see the lie of old and even forgotten lands, to behold ancient men walking, and hear their languages as they spoke them, in the days before the days, when tongues of forgotten lineage were heard in kingdoms long fallen by the shores of the Atlantic.

But nothing could be done about that desire, either. He used to be able, long ago, to talk about it, a little and not too seriously, to his father. But for a long while he had had no one to talk to about that sort of thing. But now there was Audoin. He was growing up. He was sixteen.

He had called his boy Audoin, reversing the Lombardic order. It seemed to fit. It belonged anyway to the same name-family, and went with his own name. And it was a tribute to the memory of his father – another reason for relinquishing Anglo-Saxon Eadwine, or even commonplace Edwin. Audoin had turned out remarkably like Alboin, as far as his memory of young Alboin went, or his penetration of the exterior of young Audoin. At any rate he seemed interested in the same things, and asked the same questions; though with much less inclination to words and names, and more to things and descriptions. Unlike his father he could draw, but was not good at 'verses'. Nonetheless he had, of course, eventually asked why he was called Audoin. He seemed rather glad to have escaped Edwin. But the question of meaning had not been quite so easy to answer. Friend of fortune, was it, or of fate, luck, wealth, blessedness? Which?

'I like *Aud*,' young Audoin had said – he was then about thirteen – 'if it means all that. A good beginning for a name. I wonder what Lombards looked like. Did they all have Long Beards?'

Alboin had scattered tales and legends all down Audoin's childhood and boyhood, like one laying a trail, though he was not clear what trail or where it led. Audoin was a voracious listener, as well (latterly) as a reader. Alboin was very tempted to share his own odd linguistic secrets with the boy. They could at least have some pleasant private fun. But he could sympathize with his own father now – there was a limit to time. Boys have a lot to do.

Anyway, happy thought, Audoin was returning from school tomorrow. Examination-scripts were nearly finished for this year for both of them. The examiner's side of the business was decidedly the stickiest (thought the professor), but he was nearly unstuck at last. They would be off to the coast in a few days, together.

There came a night, and Alboin lay again in a room in a house by the sea: not the little house of his boyhood, but the same sea. It was a calm night, and the water lay like a vast plain of chipped and polished flint, petrified under the cold light of the Moon. The path of moonlight lay from the shore to the edge of sight.

Sleep would not come to him, although he was eager for it. Not for rest – he was not tired; but because of last night's Dream. He hoped to complete a fragment that had come through vividly that morning. He had it at hand in a note-book by his bed-side; not that he was likely to forget it once it was written down.

ar sauron tūle nahamna ... lantier turkildi
and ? came ? ... they-fell ?

unuhuine ... tarkalion ohtakāre valannar ...
under-Shadow ... ? war-made on-Powers ...

herunūmen ilu terhante ... ilūvatāren ... ëari
Lord-of-West world broke ... of-Ilúvatar ... seas

ullier kilyanna ... nūmenōre ataltane ...
poured in-Chasm ... Númenor down-fell ...

Then there had seemed to be a long gap.

... malle tēra lende nūmenna ilya sī maller
... road straight went Westward all now roads

raikar ..... turkildi rōmenna ... nuruhuine mel-lumna
bent ..... ? eastward ... Death-shadow us-is-heavy

... vahāya sin atalante.
... far-away now ?

There were one or two new words here, of which he wanted to discover the meaning: it had escaped before he could write it down this morning. Probably they were names: *tarkalion* was almost certainly a king's name, for *tār* was common in royal names. It was curious how often the remembered snatches harped on the theme of a 'straight road'. What was *atalante*? It seemed to mean *ruin* or *downfall*, but also to be a name.

Alboin felt restless. He left his bed and went to the window. He stood there a long while looking out to sea; and as he stood a chill wind got up in the West. Slowly over the dark rim of sky and water's meeting clouds lifted huge heads, and loomed upwards, stretching out vast wings, south and north.

'They look like the eagles of the Lord of the West over Númenor,' he said aloud, and started. He had not purposed any words. For a moment he had felt the oncoming of a great disaster long foreseen. Now memory stirred, but could not be grasped. He shivered. He went back to bed and lay wondering. Suddenly the old desire came over him. It had been growing again for a long time, but he had not felt it like this, a feeling as vivid as hunger or thirst, for years, not since he was about Audoin's age.

'I wish there was a "Time-machine",' he said aloud. 'But Time is not to be conquered by machines. And I should go back, not forward; and I think backwards would be more possible.'

The clouds overcame the sky, and the wind rose and blew; and in his ears, as he fell asleep at last, there was a roaring in the leaves of many trees, and a roaring of long waves upon the shore. 'The storm is coming upon Númenor!' he said, and passed out of the waking world.

In a wide shadowy place he heard a voice.

'Elendil!' it said. 'Alboin, whither are you wandering?'

'Who are you?' he answered. 'And where are you?'

A tall figure appeared, as if descending an unseen stair towards him. For a moment it flashed through his thought that the face, dimly seen, reminded him of his father.

'I am with you. I was of Númenor, the father of many fathers before you. I am Elendil, that is in Eressëan "Elf-friend", and many have been called so since. You may have your desire.'

'What desire?'

'The long-hidden and the half-spoken: to go back.'

'But that cannot be, even if I wish it. It is against the law.'

'It is against the *rule*. Laws are commands upon the will and are binding. Rules are conditions; they may have exceptions.'

'But are there ever any exceptions?'

'Rules may be strict, yet they are the means, not the ends, of government. There are exceptions; for there is that which governs and is above the rules. Behold, it is by the chinks in the wall that light comes through, whereby men become aware of the light and therein perceive the wall and how it stands. The veil is woven, and each thread goes an appointed course, tracing a design; yet the tissue is not impenetrable, or the design would not be guessed; and if the design were not guessed, the veil would not be perceived, and all would dwell in darkness. But these are old parables, and I came not to speak such things. The world is not a machine that makes other machines after the fashion of Sauron. To each under the rule some unique fate is given, and he is excepted from that which is a rule to others. I ask if you would have your desire?'

'I would.'

'You ask not: how or upon what conditions.'

'I do not suppose I should understand how, and it does not seem to me necessary. We go forward, as a rule, but we do not know how. But what are the conditions?'

'That the road and the halts are prescribed. That you cannot return at your wish, but only (if at all) as it may be ordained. For

you shall not be as one reading a book or looking in a mirror, but as one walking in living peril. Moreover you shall not adventure yourself alone.'

'Then you do not advise me to accept? You wish me to refuse out of fear?'

'I do not counsel, yes or no. I am not a counsellor. I am a messenger, a permitted voice. The wishing and the choosing are for you.'

'But I do not understand the conditions, at least not the last. I ought to understand them all clearly.'

'You must, if you choose to go back, take with you Herendil, that is in other tongue Audoin, your son; for you are the ears and he is the eyes. But you may not ask that he shall be protected from the consequences of your choice, save as your own will and courage may contrive.'

'But I can ask him, if he is willing?'

'He would say yes, because he loves you and is bold; but that would not resolve your choice.'

'And when can I, or we, go back?'

'When you have made your choice.'

The figure ascended and receded. There was a roaring as of seas falling from a great height. Alboin could still hear the tumult far away, even after his waking eyes roamed round the room in the grey light of morning. There was a westerly gale blowing. The curtains of the open window were drenched, and the room was full of wind.

He sat silent at the breakfast-table. His eyes strayed continually to his son's face, watching his expressions. He wondered if Audoin ever had any Dreams. Nothing that left any memory, it would appear. Audoin seemed in a merry mood, and his own talk was enough for him, for a while. But at length he noticed his father's silence, unusual even at breakfast.

'You look glum, father,' he said. 'Is there some knotty problem on hand?'

'Yes – well no, not really,' answered Alboin. 'I think I was thinking, among other things, that it was a gloomy day, and not a good end to the holidays. What are you going to do?'

'Oh, I say!' exclaimed Audoin. 'I thought you loved the wind. I do. Especially a good old West-wind. I am going along the shore.'

'Anything on?'

'No, nothing special – just the wind.'

'Well, what about the beastly wind?' said Alboin, unaccountably irritated.

The boy's face fell. 'I don't know,' he said. 'But I like to be in it, especially by the sea; and I thought you did.' There was a silence.

After a while Audoin began again, rather hesitatingly: 'Do you remember the other day upon the cliffs near Predannack, when those odd clouds came up in the evening, and the wind began to blow?'

'Yes,' said Alboin in an unencouraging tone.

'Well, you said when we got home that it seemed to remind you of something, and that the wind seemed to blow through you, like, like, a legend you couldn't catch. And you felt, back in the quiet, as if you had listened to a long tale, which left you excited, though it left absolutely no *pictures* at all.'

'Did I?' said Alboin. 'I can remember feeling very cold, and being glad to get back to a fire.' He immediately regretted it, and felt ashamed. For Audoin said no more; though he felt certain that the boy had been making an opening to say something more, something that was on his mind. But he could not help it. He could not talk of such things to-day. He felt cold. He wanted peace, not wind.

Soon after breakfast Audoin went out, announcing that he was off for a good tramp, and would not be back at any rate before tea-time. Alboin remained behind. All day last night's vision remained with him, something different from the common order of dreams. Also it was (for him) curiously unlinguistic – though plainly related, by the name Númenor, to his language dreams. He could not say whether he had conversed with Elendil in Eressëan or English.

He wandered about the house restlessly. Books would not be read, and pipes would not smoke. The day slipped out of his hand, running aimlessly to waste. He did not see his son, who did not even turn up for tea, as he had half promised to do. Dark seemed to come unduly early.

In the late evening Alboin sat in his chair by the fire. 'I dread this choice,' he said to himself. He had no doubt that there was really a choice to be made. He would have to choose, one way or another, however he represented it to himself. Even if he dismissed the Dream as what is called 'a mere dream', it would be a choice – a choice equivalent to *no*.

'But I cannot make up my mind to *no*,' he thought. 'I think, I am almost sure, Audoin would say *yes*. And he will know of my

choice sooner or later. It is getting more and more difficult to hide my thoughts from him: we are too closely akin, in many ways besides blood, for secrets. The secret would become unbearable, if I tried to keep it. My desire would become doubled through feeling that *I might have*, and become intolerable. And Audoin would probably feel I had robbed him through funk.

'But it is dangerous, perilous in the extreme – or so I am warned. I don't mind for myself. But for Audoin. But is the peril any greater than fatherhood lets in? It is perilous to come into the world at any point in Time. Yet I feel the shadow of this peril more heavily. Why? Because it is an exception to the rules? Or am I experiencing a choice backwards: the peril of fatherhood repeated? Being a father twice to the same person would make one think. Perhaps I am already moving back. I don't know. I wonder. Fatherhood is a choice, and yet it is not wholly by a man's will. Perhaps this peril is my choice, and yet also outside my will. I don't know. It is getting very dark. How loud the wind is. There is storm over Númenor.' Alboin slept in his chair.

He was climbing steps, up, up on to a high mountain. He felt, and thought he could hear, Audoin following him, climbing behind him. He halted, for it seemed somehow that he was again in the same place as on the previous night; though no figure could be seen.

'I have chosen,' he said. 'I will go back with Herendil.'

Then he lay down, as if to rest. Half-turning: 'Good night!' he murmured. 'Sleep well, Herendil! We start when the summons comes.'

'You have chosen,' a voice said above him. 'The summons is at hand.'

Then Alboin seemed to fall into a dark and a silence, deep and absolute. It was as if he had left the world completely, where all silence is on the edge of sound, and filled with echoes, and where all rest is but repose upon some greater motion. He had left the world and gone out. He was silent and at rest: a point.

He was poised; but it was clear to him that he had only to will it, and he would move.

'Whither?' He perceived the question, but neither as a voice from outside, nor as one from within himself.

'To whatever place is appointed. Where is Herendil?'

'Waiting. The motion is yours.'

'Let us move!'

Audoin tramped on, keeping within sight of the sea as much as he could. He lunched at an inn, and then tramped on again, further than he had intended. He was enjoying the wind and the rain, yet he was filled with a curious disquiet. There had been something odd about his father this morning.

'So disappointing,' he said to himself. 'I particularly wanted to have a long tramp with him to-day. We talk better walking, and I really must have a chance of telling him about the Dreams. I can talk about that sort of thing to my father, if we both get into the mood together. Not that he is usually at all difficult – seldom like to-day. He usually takes you as you mean it: joking or serious; doesn't mix the two, or laugh in the wrong places. I have never known him so frosty.'

He tramped on. 'Dreams,' he thought. 'But not the usual sort, quite different: very vivid; and though never quite repeated, all gradually fitting into a story. But a sort of phantom story with no explanations. Just pictures, but not a sound, not a word. Ships coming to land. Towers on the shore. Battles, with swords glinting but silent. And there is that ominous picture: the great temple on the mountain, smoking like a volcano. And that awful vision of the chasm in the seas, a whole land slipping sideways, mountains rolling over; dark ships fleeing into the dark. I want to tell someone about it, and get some kind of sense into it. Father would help: we could make up a good yarn together out of it. If I knew even the name of the place, it would turn a nightmare into a story.'

Darkness began to fall long before he got back. 'I hope father will have had enough of himself and be chatty to-night,' he thought. 'The fireside is next best to a walk for discussing dreams.' It was already night as he came up the path, and saw a light in the sitting-room.

He found his father sitting by the fire. The room seemed very still, and quiet – and too hot after a day in the open. Alboin sat, his head rested on one arm. His eyes were closed. He seemed asleep. He made no sign.

Audoin was creeping out of the room, heavy with disappointment. There was nothing for it but an early bed, and perhaps better luck tomorrow. As he reached the door, he thought he heard the chair creak, and then his father's voice (far away and rather strange in tone) murmuring something: it sounded like *herendil*.

He was used to odd words and names slipping out in a murmur

from his father. Sometimes his father would spin a long tale round them. He turned back hopefully.

'Good night!' said Alboin. 'Sleep well, Herendil! We start when the summons comes.' Then his head fell back against the chair.

'Dreaming,' thought Audoin. 'Good night!'

And he went out, and stepped into sudden darkness.

Commentary on Chapters I and II

Alboin's biography sketched in these chapters is in many respects closely modelled on my father's own life – though Alboin was not an orphan, and my father was not a widower. Dates pencilled on the covering page of the manuscript reinforce the strongly biographical element: Alboin was born on February 4, (1891 >) 1890, two years earlier than my father. Audoin was born in September 1918.

'Honour Mods.' (i.e. 'Honour Moderations'), referred to at the beginning of Chapter II, are the first of the two examinations taken in the Classical languages at Oxford, after two years (see Humphrey Carpenter, *Biography*, p. 62); 'Schools', in the same passage, is a name for the final Oxford examinations in all subjects.

Alboin's father's name *Oswin* is 'significant': *ós* 'god' and *wine* 'friend' (see IV. 208, 212); Elendil's father was *Valandil* (p. 60). That *Errol* is to be associated in some way with *Eriol* (the Elves' name for Ælfwine the mariner, IV. 206) must be allowed to be a possibility.*

The Lombardic legend

The Lombards ('Long-beards': Latin *Langobardi*, Old English *Longbeardan*) were a Germanic people renowned for their ferocity. From their ancient homes in Scandinavia they moved southwards, but very little is known of their history before the middle of the sixth century. At that time their king was *Audoin*, the form of his name in the *Historia Langobardorum* by the learned Paul the Deacon, who died about 790. *Audoin* and Old English *Éadwine* (later *Edwin*) show an exact correspondence, are historically the same name (Old English *ēa* derived from the original diphthong *au*). On the meaning of *ēad* see p. 46, and cf. *Éadwine* as a name in Old English of the Noldor, IV. 212.

Audoin's son was *Alboin*, again corresponding exactly to Old English *Ælfwine* (*Elwin*). The story that Oswin Errol told his son (p. 37) is known from the work of Paul the Deacon. In the great battle between the Lombards and another Germanic people, the Gepids, Alboin son of Audoin slew Thurismod, son of the Gepid king Thurisind, in single combat; and when the Lombards returned home after their victory they

*It is worth mentioning that Oswin Errol's frequent address to Alboin as 'boy' is not intended to suggest an aloofly schoolmasterish tone. My father frequently used it to his sons as a term of friendship and affection.

asked Audoin to give his son the rank of a companion of his table, since it was by his valour that they had won the day. But this Audoin would not do, for, he said, 'it is not the custom among us that the king's son should sit down with his father before he has first received weapons from the king of some other people.' When Alboin heard this he went with forty young men of the Lombards to king Thurisind to ask this honour from him. Thurisind welcomed him, invited him to the feast, and seated him at his right hand, where his dead son Thurismod used to sit.

But as the feast went on Thurisind began to think of his son's death, and seeing Alboin his slayer in his very place his grief burst forth in words: 'Very pleasant to me is the seat,' he said, 'but hard is it to look upon him who sits in it.' Roused by these words the king's second son Cunimund began to revile the Lombard guests; insults were uttered on both sides, and swords were grasped. But on the very brink Thurisind leapt up from the table, thrust himself between the Gepids and the Lombards, and threatened to punish the first man who began the fight. Thus he allayed the quarrel; and taking the arms of his dead son he gave them to Alboin, and sent him back in safety to his father's kingdom.

It is agreed that behind this Latin prose tale of Paul the Deacon, as also behind his story of Alboin's death, there lies a heroic lay: as early a vestige of such ancient Germanic poetry as we possess.

Audoin died some ten years after the battle, and Alboin became king of the Lombards in 565. A second battle was fought against the Gepids, in which Alboin slew their king Cunimund and took his daughter Rosamunda captive. At Easter 568 Alboin set out for the conquest of Italy; and in 572 he was murdered. In the story told by Paul the Deacon, at a banquet in Verona Alboin gave his queen Rosamunda wine to drink in a cup made from the skull of king Cunimund, and invited her to drink merrily with her father ('and if this should seem to anyone impossible,' wrote Paul, 'I declare that I speak the truth in Christ: I have seen [Radgisl] the prince holding the very cup in his hand on a feastday and showing it to those who sat at the table with him.')

Here Oswin Errol ended the story, and did not tell his son how Rosamunda exacted her revenge. The outcome of her machinations was that Alboin was murdered in his bed, and his body was buried 'at the going up of the stairs which are near to the palace,' amid great lamentation of the Lombards. His tomb was opened in the time of Paul the Deacon by Gislbert *dux Veronensium*, who took away Alboin's sword and other gear that was buried with him; 'wherefore he used to boast to the ignorant with his usual vanity that he has seen Alboin face to face.'

The fame of this formidable king was such that, in the words of Paul, 'even down to our own day, among the Bavarians and the Saxons and other peoples of kindred speech, his open hand and renown, his success and courage in war, are celebrated in their songs.' An extraordinary testimony to this is found in the ancient English poem *Widsith*, where occur the following lines:

Swylce ic wæs on Eatule mid Ælfwine:
se hæfde moncynnes mine gefræge
leohteste hond lofes to wyrcenne,
heortan unhneaweste hringa gedales,
beorhta beaga, bearn Eadwines.

(I was in Italy with Alboin: of all men of whom I have heard he had the hand most ready for deeds of praise, the heart least niggard in the giving of rings, of shining armlets, the son of Audoin.)*

In my father's letter of 1964 (given on pp. 7–8) he wrote as if it had been his intention to find one of the earlier incarnations of the father and son in the Lombard story: 'It started with a father-son affinity between Edwin and Elwin of the present, and was supposed to go back into legendary time by way of an Eädwine and Ælfwine of circa A.D. 918, *and Audoin and Alboin of Lombardic legend . . .*' But there is no suggestion that at the time this was any more than a passing thought; see further pp. 77–8.

The two Englishmen named Ælfwine (p. 38). King Alfred's youngest son was named Æthelweard, and it is recorded by the twelfth century historian William of Malmesbury that Æthelweard's sons Ælfwine and Æthelwine both fell at the battle of Brunanburh in 937.

Years later my father celebrated the Ælfwine who died at Maldon in *The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth*, where Torhthelm and Tídwald find his corpse among the slain: 'And here's Ælfwine: barely bearded, and his battle's over.'

Oswin Errol's reference to a 'substratum' (p. 40). Put very simply, the *substratum* theory attributes great importance, as an explanation of linguistic change, to the influence exerted on language when a people abandons their own former speech and adopts another; for such a people will retain their habitual modes of articulation and transfer them to the new language, thus creating a *substratum* underlying it. Different *substrata* acting upon a widespread language in different areas is therefore regarded as a fundamental cause of divergent phonetic change.

The Old English verses of Ælfwine Wídlást (p. 44). These verses, in identical form except for certain features of spelling, were used in the title-pages to the *Quenta Silmarillion* (p. 203); see also p. 103.

*The generous heart of Alboin, the hand ready for deeds of praise, made a different impression on the stricken population of Italy in the sixth century. From the walls of Rome Pope Gregory the Great watched men being led away by 'the unspeakable Lombards', tied together at the neck to be sold as slaves; and in one of his letters he welcomed the advent of bubonic plague, for 'when we consider the way in which other men have died we find a solace in reflecting on the form of death that threatens us. What mutilations, what cruelties we have seen inflicted upon men, for which death is the only cure, and in the midst of which life is a torture!'

Names and words in the Elvish languages. Throughout, the term *Eressëan* was a replacement of *Númenórean*. Perhaps to be compared is FN II, §2: 'Yet they [the Númenóreans] took on the speech of the Elves of the Blessed Realm, as it was and is in Eressëa.' The term 'Elf-latin', applied by Alboin to 'Eressëan' (pp. 41, 43), is found in the *Lhammas* (p. 172). There it refers to the archaic speech of the First Kindred of the Elves (the Lindar), which 'became early fixed . . . as a language of high speech and of writing, and as a common speech among all Elves; and all the folk of Valinor learned and knew this language.' It was called *Qenya*, the Elvish tongue, *tarquesta* high-speech, and *parmalambë* the book-tongue. But it is not explained in *The Lost Road* why Alboin should have called the language that 'came through' to him by this term.

Amon-ereb (p. 38): the rough draft of this passage had *Amon Gwareth*, changed more than once and ending with *Amon Thoros*. *Amon Ereb* (the Lonely Hill) is found in the *Annals of Beleriand* (p. 143, annal 340) and in QS §113.

'The shores of *Beleriand*' (p. 38): the draft has here 'the rocks of the *Falassë*.' The form *Falassë* occurs on the *Ambarkanta* map IV (IV. 249).

'*Alda* was a *tree* (a word I got a long time ago)' (p. 41). *Alda* 'tree' is found in the very early 'dictionary' (I. 249), where also occurs the word *lómë*, which Alboin also refers to here, with the meanings 'dusk, gloom, darkness' (I. 255).

Anar, Isil, and *Anor, Ithil* (p. 41): in QS §75 the names of the Sun and Moon given by the Gods are *Úrin* and *Isil*, and by the Elves *Anar* and *Rana* (see the commentary on that passage).

The Eressëan fragment concerning the Downfall of Númenor and the Straight Road (p. 47) is slightly different in the draft text:

> *Ar Sauron lende nūmenorenna . . . lantie nu huine . . . ohtakárie valannar . . . manwe ilu terhante. eari lantier kilyanna nūmenor atalante . . . malle tēra lende nūmenna, ilya si maller raikar. Turkildi rómenna . . . nuruhuine me lumna.*
> And Sauron came to-Númenor . . . fell under Shadow . . . war-made on-Powers . . . ? ? broke. seas fell into-Chasm. Númenor down-fell. road straight went westward, all now roads bent. ? eastward. Death-shadow us is-heavy.

The name *Tar-kalion* is here not present, but *Sauron* is (see p. 9), and is interpreted as being a name. Most notably, this version has *manwe* (which Alboin could not interpret) for *herunúmen* 'Lord-of-West' of the later; on this see p. 75.

On the name *Herendil* (= Audoin, Eadwine) see the *Etymologies*, stem KHER.

(ii)

The Númenórean chapters

My father said in his letter of 1964 on the subject that 'in my tale *we were to come at last* to Amandil and Elendil leaders of the loyal party in Númenor, when it fell under the domination of Sauron.' It is nonetheless plain that he did not reach this conception until *after* the extant narrative had been mostly written, or even brought to the point where it was abandoned. At the end of Chapter II the Númenórean story is obviously just about to begin, and the Númenórean chapters were originally numbered continuously with the opening ones. On the other hand the decision to postpone Númenor and make it the conclusion and climax to the book had already been taken when *The Lost Road* went to Allen and Unwin in November 1937.

Since the Númenórean episode was left unfinished, this is a convenient point to mention an interesting note that my father presumably wrote while it was in progress. This says that when the first 'adventure' (i.e. Númenor) is over 'Alboin is still precisely in his chair and Audoin just shutting the door.'

With the postponement of Númenor the chapter-numbers were changed, but this has no importance and I therefore number these 'III' and 'IV'; they have no titles. In this case I have found it most convenient to annotate the text by numbered notes.

Chapter III

Elendil was walking in his garden, but not to look upon its beauty in the evening light. He was troubled and his mind was turned inward. His house with its white tower and golden roof glowed behind him in the sunset, but his eyes were on the path before his feet. He was going down to the shore, to bathe in the blue pools of the cove beyond his garden's end, as was his custom at this hour. And he looked also to find his son Herendil there. The time had come when he must speak to him.

He came at length to the great hedge of *lavaralda*[1] that fenced the garden at its lower, western, end. It was a familiar sight, though the years could not dim its beauty. It was seven twelves of years[2] or more since he had planted it himself when planning his garden before his marriage; and he had blessed his good fortune. For the seeds had come from Eressëa far westward, whence ships came seldom already in those days, and now they came no more. But the spirit of that blessed land and its fair people remained still in the trees that had grown from those seeds: their long green leaves were golden on the undersides, and as a breeze off the water

stirred them they whispered with a sound of many soft voices, and glistened like sunbeams on rippling waves. The flowers were pale with a yellow flush, and laid thickly on the branches like a sunlit snow; and their odour filled all the lower garden, faint but clear. Mariners in the old days said that the scent of *lavaralda* could be felt on the air long ere the land of Eressëa could be seen, and that it brought a desire of rest and great content. He had seen the trees in flower day after day, for they rested from flowering only at rare intervals. But now, suddenly, as he passed, the scent struck him with a keen fragrance, at once known and utterly strange. He seemed for a moment never to have smelled it before: it pierced the troubles of his mind, bewildering, bringing no familiar content, but a new disquiet.

'Eressëa, Eressëa!' he said. 'I wish I were there; and had not been fated to dwell in Númenor[3] half-way between the worlds. And least of all in these days of perplexity!'

He passed under an arch of shining leaves, and walked swiftly down rock-hewn steps to the white beach. Elendil looked about him, but he could not see his son. A picture rose in his mind of Herendil's white body, strong and beautiful upon the threshold of early manhood, cleaving the water, or lying on the sand glistening in the sun. But Herendil was not there, and the beach seemed oddly empty.

Elendil stood and surveyed the cove and its rocky walls once more; and as he looked, his eyes rose by chance to his own house among trees and flowers upon the slopes above the shore, white and golden, shining in the sunset. And he stopped and gazed: for suddenly the house stood there, as a thing at once real and visionary, as a thing in some other time and story, beautiful, beloved, but strange, awaking desire as if it were part of a mystery that was still hidden. He could not interpret the feeling.

He sighed. 'I suppose it is the threat of war that maketh me look upon fair things with such disquiet,' he thought. 'The shadow of fear is between us and the sun, and all things look as if they were already lost. Yet they are strangely beautiful thus seen. I do not know. I wonder. A Númenórë! I hope the trees will blossom on your hills in years to come as they do now; and your towers will stand white in the Moon and yellow in the Sun. I wish it were not hope, but assurance – that assurance we used to have before the Shadow. But where is Herendil? I must see him and speak to him, more clearly than we have spoken yet. Ere it is too late. The time is getting short.'

'Herendil!' he called, and his voice echoed along the hollow shore above the soft sound of the light-falling waves. 'Herendil!'

And even as he called, he seemed to hear his own voice, and to mark that it was strong and curiously melodious. 'Herendil!' he called again.

At length there was an answering call: a young voice very clear came from some distance away – like a bell out of a deep cave.

'Man-ie, atto, man-ie?'

For a brief moment it seemed to Elendil that the words were strange. *'Man-ie, atto?* What is it, father?' Then the feeling passed.

'Where art thou?'

'Here!'

'I cannot see thee.'

'I am upon the wall, looking down on thee.'

Elendil looked up; and then swiftly climbed another flight of stone steps at the northern end of the cove. He came out upon a flat space smoothed and levelled on the top of the projecting spur of rock. Here there was room to lie in the sun, or sit upon a wide stone seat with its back against the cliff, down the face of which there fell a cascade of trailing stems rich with garlands of blue and silver flowers. Flat upon the stone with his chin in his hands lay a youth. He was looking out to sea, and did not turn his head as his father came up and sat down on the seat.

'Of what art thou dreaming, Herendil, that thy ears hear not?'

'I am thinking; I am not dreaming. I am a child no longer.'

'I know thou art not,' said Elendil; 'and for that reason I wished to find thee and speak with thee. Thou art so often out and away, and so seldom at home these days.'

He looked down on the white body before him. It was dear to him, and beautiful. Herendil was naked, for he had been diving from the high point, being a daring diver and proud of his skill. It seemed suddenly to Elendil that the lad had grown over night, almost out of knowledge.

'How thou dost grow!' he said. 'Thou hast the makings of a mighty man, and have nearly finished the making.'

'Why dost thou mock me?' said the boy. 'Thou knowest I am dark, and smaller than most others of my year. And that is a trouble to me. I stand barely to the shoulder of Almáriel, whose hair is of shining gold, and she is a maiden, and of my own age. We hold that we are of the blood of kings, but I tell thee thy friends' sons make a jest of me and call me *Terendul*[4] – slender and dark;

and they say I have Eressëan blood, or that I am half-Noldo. And that is not said with love in these days. It is but a step from being called half a Gnome to being called Godfearing; and that is dangerous.'[5]

Elendil sighed. 'Then it must have become perilous to be the son of him that is named *elendil*; for that leads to Valandil, God-friend, who was thy father's father.'[6]

There was a silence. At length Herendil spoke again: 'Of whom dost thou say that our king, Tarkalion, is descended?'

'From Eärendel the mariner, son of Tuor the mighty who was lost in these seas.'[7]

'Why then may not the king do as Eärendel from whom he is come? They say that he should follow him, and complete his work.'

'What dost thou think that they mean? Whither should he go, and fulfil what work?'

'Thou knowest. Did not Eärendel voyage to the uttermost West, and set foot in that land that is forbidden to us? He doth not die, or so songs say.'

'What callest thou Death? He did not return. He forsook all whom he loved, ere he stepped on that shore.[8] He saved his kindred by losing them.'

'Were the Gods wroth with him?'

'Who knoweth? For he came not back. But he did not dare that deed to serve Melko, but to defeat him; to free men from Melko, not from the Lords; to win us the earth, not the land of the Lords. And the Lords heard his prayer and arose against Melko. And the earth is ours.'

'They say now that the tale was altered by the Eressëans, who are slaves of the Lords: that in truth Eärendel was an adventurer, and showed us the way, and that the Lords took him captive for that reason; and his work is perforce unfinished. Therefore the son of Eärendel, our king, should complete it. They wish to do what has been long left undone.'

'What is that?'

'Thou knowest: to set foot in the far West, and not withdraw it. To conquer new realms for our race, and ease the pressure of this peopled island, where every road is trodden hard, and every tree and grass-blade counted. To be free, and masters of the world. To escape the shadow of sameness, and of ending. We would make our king Lord of the West: *Nuaran Númenóren*.[9] Death comes here slow and seldom; yet it cometh. The land is only a cage gilded to look like Paradise.'

'Yea, so I have heard others say,' said Elendil. 'But what knowest thou of Paradise? Behold, our wandering words have come unguided to the point of my purpose. But I am grieved to find thy mood is of this sort, though I feared it might be so. Thou art my only son, and my dearest child, and I would have us at one in all our choices. But choose we must, thou as well as I – for at thy last birthday thou became subject to arms and the king's service. We must choose between Sauron and the Lords (or One Higher). Thou knowest, I suppose, that all hearts in Númenor are not drawn to Sauron?'

'Yes. There are fools even in Númenor,' said Herendil, in a lowered voice. 'But why speak of such things in this open place? Do you wish to bring evil on me?'

'I bring no evil,' said Elendil. 'That is thrust upon us: the choice between evils: the first fruits of war. But look, Herendil! Our house is one of wisdom and guarded learning; and was long revered for it. I followed my father, as I was able. Dost thou follow me? What dost thou know of the history of the world or Númenor? Thou art but four twelves,[10] and wert but a small child when Sauron came. Thou dost not understand what days were like before then. Thou canst not choose in ignorance.'

'But others of greater age and knowledge than mine – or thine – have chosen,' said Herendil. 'And they say that history confirmeth them, and that Sauron hath thrown a new light on history. Sauron knoweth history, all history.'

'Sauron knoweth, verily; but he twisteth knowledge. Sauron is a liar!' Growing anger caused Elendil to raise his voice as he spoke. The words rang out as a challenge.

'Thou art mad,' said his son, turning at last upon his side and facing Elendil, with dread and fear in his eyes. 'Do not say such things to me! They might, they might . . .'

'Who are *they*, and what might they do?' said Elendil, but a chill fear passed from his son's eyes to his own heart.

'Do not ask! And do not speak – so loud!' Herendil turned away, and lay prone with his face buried in his hands. 'Thou knowest it is dangerous – to us all. Whatever he be, Sauron is mighty, and hath ears. I fear the dungeons. And I love thee, I love thee. *Atarinya tye-meláne*.'

Atarinya tye-meláne, my father, I love thee: the words sounded strange, but sweet: they smote Elendil's heart. '*A yonya inye tye-méla*: and I too, my son, I love thee,' he said, feeling each syllable strange but vivid as he spoke it. 'But let us go within! It is too late

to bathe. The sun is all but gone. It is bright there westwards in the gardens of the Gods. But twilight and the dark are coming here, and the dark is no longer wholesome in this land. Let us go home. I must tell and ask thee much this evening – behind closed doors, where maybe thou wilt feel safer.' He looked towards the sea, which he loved, longing to bathe his body in it, as though to wash away weariness and care. But night was coming.

The sun had dipped, and was fast sinking in the sea. There was fire upon far waves, but it faded almost as it was kindled. A chill wind came suddenly out of the West ruffling the yellow water off shore. Up over the fire-lit rim dark clouds reared; they stretched out great wings, south and north, and seemed to threaten the land.

Elendil shivered. 'Behold, the eagles of the Lord of the West are coming with threat to Númenor,' he murmured.

'What dost thou say?' said Herendil. 'Is it not decreed that the king of Númenor shall be called Lord of the West?'

'It is decreed by the king; but that does not make it so,' answered Elendil. 'But I meant not to speak aloud my heart's foreboding. Let us go!'

The light was fading swiftly as they passed up the paths of the garden amid flowers pale and luminous in the twilight. The trees were shedding sweet night-scents. A *lómelindë* began its thrilling bird-song by a pool.

Above them rose the house. Its white walls gleamed as if moonlight was imprisoned in their substance; but there was no moon yet, only a cool light, diffused and shadowless. Through the clear sky like fragile glass small stars stabbed their white flames. A voice from a high window came falling down like silver into the pool of twilight where they walked. Elendil knew the voice: it was the voice of Fíriel, a maiden of his household, daughter of Orontor. His heart sank, for Fíriel was dwelling in his house because Orontor had departed. Men said he was on a long voyage. Others said that he had fled the displeasure of the king. Elendil knew that he was on a mission from which he might never return, or return too late.[11] And he loved Orontor, and Fíriel was fair.

Now her voice sang an even-song in the Eressëan tongue, but made by men, long ago. The nightingale ceased. Elendil stood still to listen; and the words came to him, far off and strange, as some melody in archaic speech sung sadly in a forgotten twilight in the beginning of man's journey in the world.

Ilu Ilúvatar en káre eldain a firimoin
ar antaróta mannar Valion: númessier. . . . .

The Father made the World for elves and mortals, and he gave it into the hands of the Lords, who are in the West.

So sang Fíriel on high, until her voice fell sadly to the question with which that song ends: *man táre antáva nin Ilúvatar, Ilúvatar, enyáre tar i tyel íre Anarinya qeluva?* What will Ilúvatar, O Ilúvatar, give me in that day beyond the end, when my Sun faileth?'[12]

'*E man antaváro*? What will he give indeed?' said Elendil; and stood in sombre thought.

'She should not sing that song out of a window,' said Herendil, breaking the silence. 'They sing it otherwise now. Melko cometh back, they say, and the king shall give us the Sun forever.'

'I know what they say,' said Elendil. 'Do not say it to thy father, nor in his house.' He passed in at a dark door, and Herendil, shrugging his shoulders, followed him.

Chapter IV

Herendil lay on the floor, stretched at his father's feet upon a carpet woven in a design of golden birds and twining plants with blue flowers. His head was propped upon his hands. His father sat upon his carved chair, his hands laid motionless upon either arm of it, his eyes looking into the fire that burned bright upon the hearth. It was not cold, but the fire that was named 'the heart of the house' (*hon-maren*)[13] burned ever in that room. It was moreover a protection against the night, which already men had begun to fear.

But cool air came in through the window, sweet and flower-scented. Through it could be seen, beyond the dark spires of still trees, the western ocean, silver under the Moon, that was now swiftly following the Sun to the gardens of the Gods. In the night-silence Elendil's words fell softly. As he spoke he listened, as if to another that told a tale long forgotten.[14]

'There[15] is Ilúvatar, the One; and there are the Powers, of whom the eldest in the thought of Ilúvatar was Alkar the Radiant;[16] and there are the Firstborn of Earth, the Eldar, who perish not while the World lasts; and there are also the Afterborn, mortal Men, who are the children of Ilúvatar, and yet under the rule of the Lords. Ilúvatar designed the World, and revealed his design

to the Powers; and of these some he set to be Valar, Lords of the World and governors of the things that are therein. But Alkar, who had journeyed alone in the Void before the World, seeking to be free, desired the World to be a kingdom unto himself. Therefore he descended into it like a falling fire; and he made war upon the Lords, his brethren. But they established their mansions in the West, in Valinor, and shut him out; and they gave battle to him in the North, and they bound him, and the World had peace and grew exceeding fair.

'After a great age it came to pass that Alkar sued for pardon; and he made submission unto Manwë, lord of the Powers, and was set free. But he plotted against his brethren, and he deceived the Firstborn that dwelt in Valinor, so that many rebelled and were exiled from the Blessed Realm. And Alkar destroyed the lights of Valinor and fled into the night; and he became a spirit dark and terrible, and was called Morgoth, and he established his dominion in Middle-earth. But the Valar made the Moon for the Firstborn and the Sun for Men to confound the Darkness of the Enemy. And in that time at the rising of the Sun the Afterborn, who are Men, came forth in the East of the world; but they fell under the shadow of the Enemy. In those days the exiles of the Firstborn made war upon Morgoth; and three houses of the Fathers of Men were joined unto the Firstborn: the house of Bëor, and the house of Haleth, and the house of Hador. For these houses were not subject to Morgoth. But Morgoth had the victory, and brought all to ruin.

'Eärendel was son of Tuor, son of Huor, son of Gumlin, son of Hador; and his mother was of the Firstborn, daughter of Turgon, last king of the Exiles. He set forth upon the Great Sea, and he came at last unto the realm of the Lords, and the mountains of the West. And he renounced there all whom he loved, his wife and his child, and all his kindred, whether of the Firstborn or of Men; and he stripped himself.[17] And he surrendered himself unto Manwë, Lord of the West; and he made submission and supplication to him. And he was taken and came never again among Men. But the Lords had pity, and they sent forth their power, and war was renewed in the North, and the earth was broken; but Morgoth was overthrown. And the Lords put him forth into the Void without.

'And they recalled the Exiles of the Firstborn and pardoned them; and such as returned dwell since in bliss in Eressëa, the Lonely Isle, which is Avallon, for it is within sight of Valinor and the light of the Blessed Realm. And for the men of the Three Houses they made Vinya, the New Land, west of Middle-earth in

the midst of the Great Sea, and named it Andor, the Land of Gift; and they endowed the land and all that lived thereon with good beyond other lands of mortals. But in Middle-earth dwelt lesser men, who knew not the Lords nor the Firstborn save by rumour; and among them were some who had served Morgoth of old, and were accursed. And there were evil things also upon earth, made by Morgoth in the days of his dominion, demons and dragons and mockeries of the creatures of Ilúvatar.[18] And there too lay hid many of his servants, spirits of evil, whom his will governed still though his presence was not among them. And of these Sauron was the chief, and his power grew. Wherefore the lot of men in Middle-earth was evil, for the Firstborn that remained among them faded or departed into the West, and their kindred, the men of Númenor, were afar and came only to their coasts in ships that crossed the Great Sea. But Sauron learned of the ships of Andor, and he feared them, lest free men should become lords of Middle-earth and deliver their kindred; and moved by the will of Morgoth he plotted to destroy Andor, and ruin (if he might) Avallon and Valinor.[19]

'But why should we be deceived, and become the tools of his will? It was not he, but Manwë the fair, Lord of the West, that endowed us with our riches. Our wisdom cometh from the Lords, and from the Firstborn that see them face to face; and we have grown to be higher and greater than others of our race – those who served Morgoth of old. We have knowledge, power, and life stronger than they. We are not yet fallen. Wherefore the dominion of the world is ours, or shall be, from Eressëa to the East. More can no mortals have.'

'Save to escape from Death,' said Herendil, lifting his face to his father's. 'And from sameness. They say that Valinor, where the Lords dwell, has no further bounds.'

'They say not truly. For all things in the world have an end, since the world itself is bounded, that it may not be Void. But Death is not decreed by the Lords: it is the gift of the One, and a gift which in the wearing of time even the Lords of the West shall envy.[20] So the wise of old have said. And though we can perhaps no longer understand that word, at least we have wisdom enough to know that we cannot escape, unless to a worse fate.'

'But the decree that we of Númenor shall not set foot upon the shores of the Immortal, or walk in their land – that is only a decree of Manwë and his brethren. Why should we not? The air there giveth enduring life, they say.'

'Maybe it doth,' said Elendil; 'and maybe it is but the air which those need who already have enduring life. To us perhaps it is death, or madness.'

'But why should we not essay it? The Eressëans go thither, and yet our mariners in the old days used to sojourn in Eressëa without hurt.'

'The Eressëans are not as we. They have not the gift of death. But what doth it profit to debate the governance of the world? All certainty is lost. Is it not sung that the earth was made for us, but we cannot unmake it, and if we like it not we may remember that we shall leave it. Do not the Firstborn call us the Guests? See what this spirit of unquiet has already wrought. Here when I was young there was no evil of mind. Death came late and without other pain than weariness. From Eressëans we obtained so many things of beauty that our land became well nigh as fair as theirs; and maybe fairer to mortal hearts. It is said that of old the Lords themselves would walk at times in the gardens that we named for them. There we set their images, fashioned by Eressëans who had beheld them, as the pictures of friends beloved.

'There were no temples in this land. But on the Mountain we spoke to the One, who hath no image. It was a holy place, untouched by mortal art. Then Sauron came. We had long heard rumour of him from seamen returned from the East. The tales differed: some said he was a king greater than the king of Númenor; some said that he was one of the Powers, or their offspring set to govern Middle-earth. A few reported that he was an evil spirit, perchance Morgoth returned; but at these we laughed.[21]

'It seems that rumour came also to him of us. It is not many years – three twelves and eight[22] – but it seems many, since he came hither. Thou wert a small child, and knew not then what was happening in the east of this land, far from our western house. Tarkalion the king was moved by rumours of Sauron, and sent forth a mission to discover what truth was in the mariners' tales. Many counsellors dissuaded him. My father told me, and he was one of them, that those who were wisest and had most knowledge of the West had messages from the Lords warning them to beware. For the Lords said that Sauron would work evil; but he could not come hither unless he were summoned.[23] Tarkalion was grown proud, and brooked no power in Middle-earth greater than his own. Therefore the ships were sent, and Sauron was summoned to do homage.

'Guards were set at the haven of Moriondë in the east of the land,[24] where the rocks are dark, watching at the king's command without ceasing for the ships' return. It was night, but there was a bright Moon. They descried ships far off, and they seemed to be sailing west at a speed greater than the storm, though there was little wind. Suddenly the sea became unquiet; it rose until it became like a mountain, and it rolled upon the land. The ships were lifted up, and cast far inland, and lay in the fields. Upon that ship which was cast highest and stood dry upon a hill there was a man, or one in man's shape, but greater than any even of the race of Númenor in stature.

'He stood upon the rock[25] and said: "This is done as a sign of power. For I am Sauron the mighty, servant of the Strong" (wherein he spoke darkly). "I have come. Be glad, men of Númenor, for I will take thy king to be my king, and the world shall be given into his hand."

'And it seemed to men that Sauron was great; though they feared the light of his eyes. To many he appeared fair, to others terrible; but to some evil. But they led him to the king, and he was humble before Tarkalion.

'And behold what hath happened since, step by step. At first he revealed only secrets of craft, and taught the making of many things powerful and wonderful; and they seemed good. Our ships go now without the wind, and many are made of metal that sheareth hidden rocks, and they sink not in calm or storm; but they are no longer fair to look upon. Our towers grow ever stronger and climb ever higher, but beauty they leave behind upon earth. We who have no foes are embattled with impregnable fortresses – and mostly on the West. Our arms are multiplied as if for an agelong war, and men are ceasing to give love or care to the making of other things for use or delight. But our shields are impenetrable, our swords cannot be withstood, our darts are like thunder and pass over leagues unerring. Where are our enemies? We have begun to slay one another. For Númenor now seems narrow, that was so large. Men covet, therefore, the lands that other families have long possessed. They fret as men in chains.

'Wherefore Sauron hath preached deliverance; he has bidden our king to stretch forth his hand to Empire. Yesterday it was over the East. To-morrow – it will be over the West.

'We had no temples. But now the Mountain is despoiled. Its trees are felled, and it stands naked; and upon its summit there is a Temple. It is of marble, and of gold, and of glass and steel, and is

wonderful, but terrible. No man prayeth there. It waiteth. For long Sauron did not name his master by the name that from old is accursed here. He spoke at first of the Strong One, of the Eldest Power, of the Master. But now he speaketh openly of Alkar,[26] of Morgoth. He hath prophesied his return. The Temple is to be his house. Númenor is to be the seat of the world's dominion. Meanwhile Sauron dwelleth there. He surveys our land from the Mountain, and is risen above the king, even proud Tarkalion, of the line chosen by the Lords, the seed of Eärendel.

'Yet Morgoth cometh not. But his shadow hath come; it lieth upon the hearts and minds of men. It is between them and the Sun, and all that is beneath it.'

'Is there a shadow?' said Herendil. 'I have not seen it. But I have heard others speak of it; and they say it is the shadow of Death. But Sauron did not bring that; he promiseth that he will save us from it.'

'There is a shadow, but it is the shadow of the fear of Death, and the shadow of greed. But there is also a shadow of darker evil. We no longer see our king. His displeasure falleth on men, and they go out; they are in the evening, and in the morning they are not. The open is insecure; walls are dangerous. Even by the heart of the house spies may sit. And there are prisons, and chambers underground. There are torments; and there are evil rites. The woods at night, that once were fair – men would roam and sleep there for delight, when thou wert a babe – are filled now with horror. Even our gardens are not wholly clean, after the sun has fallen. And now even by day smoke riseth from the temple: flowers and grass are withered where it falleth. The old songs are forgotten or altered; twisted into other meanings.'

'Yea: that one learneth day by day,' said Herendil. 'But some of the new songs are strong and heartening. Yet now I hear that some counsel us to abandon the old tongue. They say we should leave Eressëan, and revive the ancestral speech of Men. Sauron teacheth it. In this at least I think he doth not well.'

'Sauron deceiveth us doubly. For men learned speech of the Firstborn, and therefore if we should verily go back to the beginnings we should find not the broken dialects of the wild men, nor the simple speech of our fathers, but a tongue of the Firstborn. But the Eressëan is of all the tongues of the Firstborn the fairest, and they use it in converse with the Lords, and it linketh their varied kindreds one to another, and them to us. If we forsake it, we should be sundered from them, and be impoverished.[27] Doubtless

that is what he intendeth. But there is no end to his malice. Listen now, Herendil, and mark well. The time is nigh when all this evil shall bear bitter fruit, if it be not cut down. Shall we wait until the fruit be ripe, or hew the tree and cast it into the fire?'

Herendil got suddenly to his feet, and went to the window. 'It is cold, father,' he said; 'and the Moon is gone. I trust the garden is empty. The trees grow too near the house.' He drew a heavy embroidered cloth across the window, and then returned, crouching by the fire, as if smitten by a sudden chill.

Elendil leant forward in his chair, and continued in a lowered voice. 'The king and queen grow old, though all know it not, for they are seldom seen. They ask where is the undying life that Sauron promised them if they would build the Temple for Morgoth. The Temple is built, but they are grown old. But Sauron foresaw this, and I hear (already the whisper is gone forth) that he declareth that Morgoth's bounty is restrained by the Lords, and cannot be fulfilled while they bar the way. To win life Tarkalion must win the West.[28] We see now the purpose of the towers and weapons. War is already being talked of – though they do not name the enemy. But I tell thee: it is known to many that the war will go west to Eressëa: and beyond. Dost thou perceive the extremity of our peril, and the madness of the king? Yet this doom draws swiftly near. Our ships are recalled from the [?corners] of the earth. Hast thou not marked and wondered that so many are absent, especially of the younger folk, and in the South and West of our land both works and pastimes languish? In a secret haven to the North there is a building and forging that hath been reported to me by trusty messengers.'

'Reported to thee? What dost thou mean, father?' asked Herendil as if in fear.

'Even what I say. Why dost thou look on me so strangely? Didst thou think the son of Valandil, chief of the wise men of Númenor, would be deceived by the lies of a servant of Morgoth? I would not break faith with the king, nor do I purpose anything to his hurt. The house of Eärendel hath my allegiance while I live. But if I must choose between Sauron and Manwë, then all else must come after. I will not bow unto Sauron, nor to his master.'

'But thou speakest as if thou wert a leader in this matter – woe is me, for I love thee; and though thou swearest allegiance, it will not save thee from the peril of treason. Even to dispraise Sauron is held rebellious.'

'I am a leader, my son. And I have counted the peril both for

myself and for thee and all whom I love. I do what is right and my right to do, but I cannot conceal it longer from thee. Thou must choose between thy father and Sauron. But I give thee freedom of choice and lay on thee no obedience as to a father, if I have not convinced thy mind and heart. Thou shalt be free to stay or go, yea even to report as may seem good to thee all that I have said. But if thou stayest and learnest more, which will involve closer counsels and other [?names] than mine, then thou wilt be bound in honour to hold thy peace, come what may. Wilt thou stay?'

'*Atarinya tye-meláne*,' said Herendil suddenly, and clasping his father's knees he laid his [?head there] and wept. 'It is an evil hour that [?putteth] such a choice on thee,' said his father, laying a hand on his head. 'But fate calleth some to be men betimes. What dost thou say?'

'I stay, father.'

The narrative ends here. There is no reason to think that any more was ever written. The manuscript, which becomes increasingly rapid towards the end, peters out in a scrawl.

Notes on the Númenórean chapters of The Lost Road

1 *Lavaralda* (replacing *lavarin*) is not mentioned in *A Description of Númenor* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 167) among the trees brought by the Eldar from Tol-eressëa.

2 *seven twelves of years* is an emendation of *four score of years* (first written *three score of years*); see note 10.

3 *Vinya* is written above *Númenor* in the manuscript; it occurs again in a part of the text that was rewritten (p. 64), rendered 'the New Land'. The name first appeared in an emendation to FN I (p. 19, §2).

4 For *Terendul* see the *Etymologies*, stem TER, TERES.

5 As the text was originally written there followed here:

Poldor called me *Eärendel* yesterday.'

Elendil sighed. 'But that is a fair name. I love the story above others; indeed I chose thy name because it recalleth his. But I did not presume to give his name even to thee, nor to liken myself to Tuor the mighty, who first of Men sailed these seas. At least thou canst answer thy foolish friends that Eärendel was the chief of mariners, and surely that is still held worthy of honour in Númenor?'

'But they care not for Eärendel. And neither do I. We wish to do what he left undone.'

'What dost thou mean?'

'Thou knowest: to set foot in the far West . . .' (&c. as on p. 60).

6 This is the earliest appearance of a Númenórean named *Valandil*. In later rewriting of FN II Valandil is Elendil's brother, and they are the founders of the Númenórean kingdoms in Middle-earth (pp. 33–4). The name was afterwards given to both an earlier Númenórean (the first Lord of Andúnië) and a later (the youngest son of Isildur and third King of Arnor): Index to *Unfinished Tales*, entries *Valandil* and references.

7 In the *Quenta* (IV. 151) it is not told that Tuor was 'lost'. When he felt old age creeping on him 'he built a great ship Eärámë, Eagle's Pinion, and with Idril he set sail into the sunset and the West, and came no more into any tale or song.' Later the following was added (IV. 155): 'But Tuor alone of mortal Men was numbered among the elder race, and joined with the Noldoli whom he loved, and in after time dwelt still, or so it hath been said, ever upon his ship voyaging the seas of the Elven-lands, or resting a while in the harbours of the Gnomes of Tol Eressëa; and his fate is sundered from the fate of Men.'

8 This is the final form in the *Quenta* of the story of Eärendel's landing in Valinor, where in emendations made to the second text Q II (IV. 156) Eärendel 'bade farewell to all whom he loved upon the last shore, and was taken from them for ever,' and 'Elwing mourned for Eärendel yet found him never again, and they are sundered till the world endeth.' Later Elendil returns more fully to the subject (p. 64). In QS the story is further changed, in that Elwing entered Valinor (see pp. 324–5 §§1–2, and commentary).

9 *Nuaran Númenóren*: the letters *ór* were scratched out in the typescript (only).

10 *Thou art but four twelves* replaced *Thou art scarce two score and ten*. As in the change recorded in note 2, a duodecimal counting replaces a decimal; but the number of years is in either case very strange. For Herendil has been called a 'boy', a 'lad', and a 'youth', and he is 'upon the threshold of early manhood' (p. 58); how then can he be forty-eight years old? But his age is unequivocally stated, and moreover Elendil says later (p. 66) that it is 44 years since Sauron came and that Herendil was then a small child; it can only be concluded therefore that at this time the longevity of the Númenóreans implied that they grew and aged at a different rate from other men, and were not fully adult until about fifty years old. Cf. *Unfinished Tales* pp. 224–5.

11 Orontor's mission, from which he might never return, seems like a premonition of the voyage of Amandil into the West, from which he never returned (*Akallabêth* pp. 275–6).

12 The manuscript (followed by the typescript) is here confused, since in addition to the text as printed the whole song that Fíriel sang is given as well, with translation; thus the two opening and the two closing lines and their translations are repeated. It is clear however from pencilled markings on the manuscript that my father moved at

once to a second version (omitting the greater part of the song) without striking out the first.

The text of the song was emended in three stages. Changes made probably very near the time of writing were *Valion númenyaron* (translated 'of the Lords of the West') > *Valion: númessier* in line 2, and *hondo-ninya* > *indo-ninya* in line 9; *Vinya* was written above *Númenor* as an alternative in line 8 (cf. note 3). Before the later emendations the text ran thus:

Ilu Ilúvatar en kárę eldain a fírimoin
ar antaróta mannar Valion: númessier.
Toi aina, mána, meldielto – enga morion:
talantie. Mardello Melko lende: márie.
Eldain en kárier Isil, nan hildin Úr-anar.
Toi írimar. Ilqainen antar annar lestanen
Ilúvatáren. Ilu vanya, fanya, eari,
i-mar, ar ilqa ímen. Írima ye Númenor.
Nan úye sére indo-ninya símen, ullume;
ten sí ye tyelma, yéva tyel ar i-narqelion,
írę ilqa yéva nótina, hostainiéva, yallume:
ananta úva táre fárea, ufárea!
Man táre antáva nin Ilúvatar, Ilúvatar
enyárę tar i tyel, írę Anarinya qeluva?

The Father made the World for Elves and Mortals, and he gave it into the hands of the Lords. They are in the West. They are holy, blessed, and beloved: save the dark one. He is fallen. Melko has gone from Earth: it is good. For Elves they made the Moon, but for Men the red Sun; which are beautiful. To all they gave in measure the gifts of Ilúvatar. The World is fair, the sky, the seas, the earth, and all that is in them. Lovely is Númenor. But my heart resteth not here for ever; for here is ending, and there will be an end and the Fading, when all is counted, and all numbered at last, but yet it will not be enough, not enough. What will the Father, O Father, give me in that day beyond the end when my Sun faileth?

Subsequently *Mardello Melko* in line 4 was changed to *Melko Mardello*, and lines 5–6 became

En kárielto eldain Isil, hildin Úr-anar.
Toi írimar. Ilyain antalto annar lestanen

Then, after the typescript was made, *Melko* was changed to *Alkar* in text and translation; see note 15.

The thought of lines 5–6 of the song reappears in Elendil's words to Herendil later (p. 64): 'But the Valar made the Moon for the Firstborn and the Sun for Men to confound the Darkness of the Enemy.' Cf. QS §75 (*The Silmarillion* p. 99): 'For the Sun was set as a sign for the awakening of Men and the waning of the Elves; but the Moon cherishes their memory.'

13 For *hon-maren* 'heart of the house' see the *Etymologies*, stem KHO-N.

14 Here the typescript made at Allen and Unwin (p. 8, footnote) ends. The publishers' reader (see p. 97) said that 'only the preliminary two chapters . . . and one of the last chapters . . . are written.' It might be supposed that the typescript ended where it does because no more had been written at that time, but I do not think that this was the reason. At the point where the typescript breaks off (in the middle of a manuscript page) there is no suggestion at all of any interruption in the writing, and it seems far more likely that the typist simply gave up, for the manuscript here becomes confused and difficult through rewriting and substitutions.

In the previous parts of *The Lost Road* I have taken up all corrections to the manuscript, however quickly and lightly made, since they all appear in the typescript. From this point there is no external evidence to show when the pencilled emendations were made; but I continue to take these up into the text as before.

15 Elendil's long tale to Herendil of the ancient history, from 'There is Ilúvatar, the One' to 'and ruin (if he might) Avallon and Valinor' on p. 65, is a replacement of the original much briefer passage. This replacement must be later than the submission of *The Lost Road* to Allen and Unwin, for Morgoth is here called *Alkar* as the text was first written, not *Melko*, whereas in the song sung by Fíriel in the previous chapter *Melko* was only changed in pencil to *Alkar*, and this was not taken up into the typescript. The original passage read thus:

> He spoke of the rebellion of Melko [*later* > Alkar *and subsequently*], mightiest of the Powers, that began at the making of the World; and of his rejection by the Lords of the West after he had wrought evil in the Blessed Realm and caused the exile of the Eldar, the firstborn of the earth, who dwelt now in Eressëa. He told of Melko's tyranny in Middle-earth, and how he had enslaved Men; of the wars which the Eldar waged with him, and were defeated, and of the Fathers of Men that had aided them; how Eärendel brought their prayer to the Lords, and Melko was overthrown and thrust forth beyond the confines of the World.
>
> Elendil paused and looked down on Herendil. He did not move or make a sign. Therefore Elendil went on. 'Dost thou not perceive then, Herendil, that Morgoth is a begetter of evil, and brought sorrow upon our fathers? We owe him no allegiance except by fear. For his share of the governance of the World was forfeit long ago. Nor need we hope in him: the fathers of our race were his enemies; wherefore we can look for no love from him or any of his servants. Morgoth doth not forgive. But he cannot return into the World in present power and form while the Lords are enthroned. He is in the Void, though his Will remaineth and guideth his servants. And his will is to overthrow the Lords, and

return, and wield dominion, and have vengeance on those who obey the Lords.

'But why should we be deceived . . .' (&c. as on p. 65).

The closing sentences ('But he cannot return into the World . . .') closely echo, or perhaps rather are closely echoed by (see note 25) a passage in FN II (§1).

16 In QS §10 it is said that Melko was 'coëval with Manwë'. The name *Alkar* 'the Radiant' of Melko occurs, I believe, nowhere outside this text.

17 See note 8. The reference to Eärendel's *child* shows that Elros had not yet emerged, as he had not in FN II (p. 34).

18 'mockeries of the creatures of Ilúvatar': cf. FN II §1 and commentary.

19 Here the long replacement passage ends (see note 15), though as written it continued in much the same words as did the earlier form ('For Morgoth cannot return into the World while the Lords are enthroned . . .'); this passage was afterwards struck out.

20 The words 'a gift which in the wearing of time even the Lords of the West shall envy' were a pencilled addition to the text, and are the first appearance of this idea: a closely similar phrase is found in a text of the *Ainulindalë* written years later (cf. *The Silmarillion* p. 42: 'Death is their fate, the gift of Ilúvatar, which as Time wears even the Powers shall envy.')

21 Cf. FN II §5: 'Some said that he was a king greater than the King of Númenor; some said that he was one of the Gods or their sons set to govern Middle-earth. A few reported that he was an evil spirit, perchance Morgoth himself returned. But this was held to be only a foolish fable of the wild Men.'

22 This duodecimal computation is found in the text as written; see note 10.

23 Cf. FN II §5: 'for [the Lords] said that Sauron would work evil if he came; but he could not come to Númenor unless he was summoned and guided by the king's messengers.'

24 The name *Moriondë* occurs, I think, nowhere else. This eastern haven is no doubt the forerunner of Rómenna.

25 This is the story of the coming of Sauron to Númenor found in FN II §5, which was replaced soon after by a version in which the lifting up of the ships by a great wave and the casting of them far inland was removed; see pp. 9, 26–7. In the first FN II version the sea rose like a *mountain*, the ship that carried Sauron was set upon a *hill*, and Sauron stood upon the hill to preach his message to the Númenóreans. In *The Lost Road* the sea rose like a *hill*, changed in pencil to *mountain*, Sauron's ship was cast upon a *high rock*, changed in pencil to *hill*, and Sauron spoke standing on the rock (left unchanged). This is the best evidence I can see that of these two companion works (see notes 15, 21, 23) *The Lost Road* was written first.

26 *Alkar*: pencilled alteration of *Melko*: see note 15.

27 On Eressëan ('Elf-latin', Qenya), the common speech of all Elves, see p. 56. The present passage is the first appearance of the idea of a linguistic component in the attack by the Númenórean 'government' on Eressëan culture and influence; cf. *The Line of Elros* in *Unfinished Tales* (p. 222), of Ar-Adûnakhôr, the twentieth ruler of Númenor: 'He was the first King to take the sceptre with a title in the Adûnaic tongue . . . In this reign the Elven-tongues were no longer used, nor permitted to be taught, but were maintained in secret by the Faithful'; and of Ar-Gimilzôr, the twenty-third ruler: 'he forbade utterly the use of the Eldarin tongues' (very similarly in the *Akallabêth*, pp. 267–8). But of course at the time of *The Lost Road* the idea of Adûnaic as one of the languages of Númenor had not emerged, and the proposal is only that 'the ancestral speech of Men' should be 'revived'.

28 This goes back to FN I §6: 'Sûr said that the gifts of Morgoth were withheld by the Gods, and that to obtain plenitude of power and undying life he [the king Angor] must be master of the West.'

There are several pages of notes that give some idea of my father's thoughts – at a certain stage – for the continuation of the story beyond the point where he abandoned it. These are in places quite illegible, and in any case were the concomitant of rapidly changing ideas: they are the vestiges of thoughts, not statements of formulated conceptions. More important, some at least of these notes clearly preceded the actual narrative that was written and were taken up into it, or replaced by something different, and it may very well be that this is true of them all, even those that refer to the latter part of the story which was never written. But they make it very clear that my father was concerned above all with the relation between the father and the son, which was cardinal. In Númenor he had engendered a situation in which there was the potentiality of anguishing conflict between them, totally incommensurate with the quiet harmony in which the Errols began – or ended. The relationship of Elendil and Herendil was subjected to a profound menace. This conflict could have many narrative issues within the framework of the known event, the attack on Valinor and the Downfall of Númenor, and in these notes my father was merely sketching out some solutions, none of which did he develop or return to again.

An apparently minor question was the words 'the Eagles of the Lord of the West': what did they mean, and how were they placed within the story? It seems that he was as puzzled by them as was Alboin Errol when he used them (pp. 38, 47). He queries whether 'Lord of the West' means the King of Númenor, or Manwë, or whether it is the title properly of Manwë but taken in his despite by the King; and concludes 'probably the latter'. There follows a 'scenario' in which Sorontur King of Eagles is sent by Manwë, and Sorontur flying against the sun casts a great shadow

on the ground. It was then that Elendil spoke the phrase, but he was overheard, informed upon, and taken before Tarkalion, who declared that the title was his. In the story as actually written Elendil speaks the words to Herendil (p. 62), when he sees clouds rising out of the West in the evening sky and stretching out 'great wings' – the same spectacle as made Alboin Errol utter them, and the men of Númenor in the *Akallabêth* (p. 277); and Herendil replies that the title has been decreed to belong to the King. The outcome of Elendil's arrest is not made clear in the notes, but it is said that Herendil was given command of one of the ships, that Elendil himself joined in the great expedition because he followed Herendil, that when they reached Valinor Tarkalion set Elendil as a hostage in his son's ship, and that when they landed on the shores Herendil was struck down. Elendil rescued him and set him on ship-board, and 'pursued by the bolts of Tarkalion' they sailed back east. 'As they approach Númenor the world bends; they see the land slipping towards them'; and Elendil falls into the deep and is drowned.* This group of notes ends with references to the coming of the Númenóreans to Middle-earth, and to the 'later stories'; 'the flying ships', 'the painted caves', 'how Elf-friend walked on the Straight Road'.

Other notes refer to plans laid by the 'anti-Saurians' for an assault on the Temple, plans betrayed by Herendil 'on condition that Elendil is spared'; the assault is defeated and Elendil captured. Either associated with this or distinct from it is a suggestion that Herendil is arrested and imprisoned in the dungeons of Sauron, and that Elendil renounces the Gods to save his son.

My guess is that all this had been rejected when the actual narrative was written, and that the words of Herendil that conclude it show that my father had then in mind some quite distinct solution, in which Elendil and his son remained united in the face of whatever events overtook them.†

In the early narratives there is no indication of the duration of the realm of Númenor from its foundation to its ruin; and there is only one named king. In his conversation with Herendil, Elendil attributes all the evils that have befallen to the coming of Sauron: they have arisen therefore in a quite brief time (forty-four years, p. 66); whereas in the *Akallabêth*, when a great extension of Númenórean history had taken

*It would be interesting to know if a tantalisingly obscure note, scribbled down in isolation, refers to this dimly-glimpsed story: 'If either fails the other they perish and do not return. Thus at the last moment Elendil must prevail on Herendil to hold back, otherwise they would have perished. At that moment he sees himself as Alboin: and realises that Elendil and Herendil had perished.'

†I have suggested (p. 31) that since Elendil of Númenor appears in FN II (§14) as king in Beleriand he must have been among those who took no part in the expedition of Tar-kalion, but 'sat in their ships upon the east coast of the land' (FN §9).

place, those evils began long before, and are indeed traced back as far as the twelfth ruler, Tar-Ciryatan the Shipbuilder, who took the sceptre nearly a millennium and a half before the Downfall (*Akallabêth* p. 265, *Unfinished Tales* p. 221).

From Elendil's words at the end of *The Lost Road* there emerges a sinister picture: the withdrawal of the besotted and aging king from the public view, the unexplained disappearance of people unpopular with the 'government', informers, prisons, torture, secrecy, fear of the night; propaganda in the form of the 'rewriting of history' (as exemplified by Herendil's words concerning what was now said about Eärendel, p. 60); the multiplication of weapons of war, the purpose of which is concealed but guessed at; and behind all the dreadful figure of Sauron, the real power, surveying the whole land from the Mountain of Númenor. The teaching of Sauron has led to the invention of ships of metal that traverse the seas without sails, but which are hideous in the eyes of those who have not abandoned or forgotten Tol-eressëa; to the building of grim fortresses and unlovely towers; and to missiles that pass with a noise like thunder to strike their targets many miles away. Moreover, Númenor is seen by the young as over-populous, boring, 'over-known': 'every tree and grass-blade is counted', in Herendil's words; and this cause of discontent is used, it seems, by Sauron to further the policy of 'imperial' expansion and ambition that he presses on the king. When at this time my father reached back to the world of the first man to bear the name 'Elf-friend' he found there an image of what he most condemned and feared in his own.

(iii)

The unwritten chapters

It cannot be shown whether my father decided to alter the structure of the book by postponing the Númenórean story to the end before he abandoned the fourth chapter at Herendil's words 'I stay, father'; but it seems perfectly possible that the decision in fact led to the abandonment. At any rate, on a separate sheet he wrote: '*Work backwards* to Númenor and make that last', adding a proposal that in each tale a man should utter the words about the Eagles of the Lord of the West, but only at the end would it be discovered what they meant (see pp. 75–6). This is followed by a rapid jotting down of ideas for the tales that should intervene between Alboin and Audoin of the twentieth century and Elendil and Herendil in Númenor, but these are tantalisingly brief: 'Lombard story?'; 'a Norse story of ship-burial (Vinland)'; 'an English story – of the man who got onto the Straight Road?'; 'a Tuatha-de-Danaan story, or Tir-nan-Og' (on which see pp. 81–3); a story concerning 'painted caves'; 'the Ice Age – great figures in ice', and 'Before the Ice Age: the Galdor story'; 'post-Beleriand and the Elendil and Gil-galad story of the

assault on Thû'; and finally 'the Númenor story'. To one of these, the 'English story of the man who got onto the Straight Road', is attached a more extended note, written at great speed:

> But this would do best of all for introduction to the Lost Tales: How Ælfwine sailed the Straight Road. They sailed on, on, on over the sea; and it became very bright and very calm, – no clouds, no wind. The water seemed thin and white below. Looking down Ælfwine suddenly saw lands and mt [*i.e.* mountains *or* a mountain] down in the water shining in the sun. Their breathing difficulties. His companions dive overboard one by one. Ælfwine falls insensible when he smells a marvellous fragrance as of land and flowers. He awakes to find the ship being drawn by people walking in the water. He is told very few men there in a thousand years can breathe air of Eressëa (which is Avallon), but *none* beyond. So he comes to Eressëa and is told the Lost Tales.

Pencilled later against this is 'Story of Sceaf or Scyld'; and it was only here, I think, that the idea of the Anglo-Saxon episode arose (and this was the only one of all these projections that came near to getting off the ground).

This note is of particular interest in that it shows my father combining the old story of the voyage of Ælfwine to Tol-eressëa and the telling of the *Lost Tales* with the idea of the World Made Round and the Straight Path, which entered at this time. With the words about the difficulty of breathing cf. FN §12, where it is said that the Straight Path 'cut through the air of breath and flight [Wilwa, Vista], and traversed Ilmen, in which no flesh can endure.'

My father then (as I judge) roughed out an outline for the structure of the book as he now foresaw it. Chapter III was to be called *A Step Backward: Ælfwine and Eadwine** – the Anglo-Saxon incarnation of the father and son, and incorporating the legend of King Sheave; Chapter IV 'the Irish legend of Tuatha-de-Danaan – and oldest man in the world'; Chapter V 'Prehistoric North: old kings found buried in the ice': Chapter VI 'Beleriand'; Chapter VIII (presumably a slip for VII) 'Elendil and Herendil in Númenor'. It is interesting to see that there is now no mention of the Lombard legend as an ingredient: see p. 55.

This outline structure was sent to Allen and Unwin with the manuscript and was incorporated in the typescript made there.

Apart from the Anglo-Saxon episode, the only scrap of connected writing for any of the suggested tales is an extremely obscure and roughly-written fragment that appears to be a part of 'the Galdor story' (p. 77). In this, one *Agaldor* stands on a rocky shore at evening and sees great clouds coming up, 'like the very eagles of the Lord of the West'. He is filled with a formless foreboding at the sight of these clouds; and he

*I think it almost certain that the titles of Chapters I and II were put in at this time: as the manuscript was written they had no titles.

turns and climbs up the beach, passing down behind the land-wall to the houses where lights are already lit. He is eyed doubtfully by men sitting at a door, and after he has gone by they speak of him.

> 'There goes Agaldor again, from his speech with the sea: earlier than usual,' said one. 'He has been haunting the shores more than ever of late.' 'He will be giving tongue soon, and prophesying strange things,' said another; 'and may the Lords of the West set words more comforting in his mouth than before.' 'The Lords of the West will tell him naught,' said a third. 'If ever they were on land or sea they have left this earth, and man is his own master from here to the sunrise. Why should we be plagued with the dreams of a twilight-walker? His head is stuffed with them, and there let them bide. One would think to hear him talk that the world had ended in the last age, not new begun, and we were living in the ruins.'
>
> 'He is one of the old folk, and well-nigh the last of the long-lived in these regions,' said another. 'Those who knew the Eldar and had seen even the Sons of the Gods had a wisdom we forget.' 'Wisdom I know not,' said the other, 'but woe certainly in abundance if any of their tales are true. I know not (though I doubt it). But give me the Sun. That is glory . . . I would that the long life of Agaldor might be shortened. It is he that holds [??nigh] this sea-margin – too near the mournful water. I would we had a leader to take us East or South. They say the land is golden in the [??domains] of the Sun.'

Here the fragment ends. Agaldor has appeared in the original outline for *The Fall of Númenor*: 'Agaldor chieftain of a people who live upon the N.W. margin of the Western Sea' (p. 11), and later in that text it was Agaldor who wrestled with Thû, though the name was there changed at the time of writing to Amroth (p. 12). That this is a fragment of 'the Galdor story' seems to be shown by a pencilled and partly illegible scrawl at the head of the page, where *Galdor* appears; but the story is here significantly different.

> Galdor is a good man [?among] the exiles (not a Númenórean) – not a long-liver but a prophet. He prophesies [?coming] of Númenóreans and [?salvation] of men. Hence holds his men by sea. This foreboding passage heralds the Ruin and the Flood. How he escapes in the flood . . . . . of land. The Númenóreans come – but appear no longer as good but as rebels against the Gods. They slay Galdor and take the chieftainship.

There is very little to build on here, and I shall not offer any speculations. The story was abandoned without revealing how the Ælfwine-Eadwine element would enter.

Turning now to 'the Ælfwine story', there are several pages of very rough notes and abandoned beginnings. One of these pages consists of increasingly rapid and abbreviated notes, as follows:

Ælfwine and Eadwine live in the time of Edward the Elder, in North Somerset. Ælfwine ruined by the incursions of Danes. Picture opens with the attack (c. 915) on *Portloca* (Porlock) and *Wæced*. Ælfwine is awaiting Eadwine's return at night. (The attack actually historically took place in autumn, *æt hærfest*).

Conversation of Ælfwine and Eadwine. Eadwine is sick of it. He says the Danes have more sense; always pressing on. They go *west*. They pass round and go to Ireland; while the English sit like *Wealas* waiting to be made into slaves.

Eadwine says he has heard strange tales from Ireland. A land in the North-west filled with ice, but fit for men to dwell – holy hermits have been driven out by Norsemen. Ælfwine has Christian objections. Eadwine says the holy Brendan did so centuries ago – and lots of others, [as] Maelduin. And they came back – not that he would want to. *Insula Deliciarum* – even Paradise.

Ælfwine objects that Paradise cannot be got to by ship – there are deeper waters between us than Garsecg. *Roads are bent*: you come back in the end. No escape by ship.

Eadwine says he does not think it true – and hopes it isn't. At any rate their ancestors had won new lands by ship. Quotes story of *Sceaf*.

In the end they go off with ten neighbours. Pursued by Vikings off Lundy. Wind takes them out to sea, and persists. Eadwine falls sick and says odd things. Ælfwine dreams too. Mountainous seas.

The Straight Road . . . . . water (island of Azores?) . . . . . off. Ælfwine [?restores ?restrains] Eadwine. Thinks it a vision of delirium. The vision of Eressëa and the sound of voices. Resigns himself to die but prays for Eadwine. Sensation of falling. They come down in [?real] sea and west wind blows them back. Land in Ireland (implication is they *settle* there, and this leads to Finntan).

I add some notes on this far-ranging outline. Edward the Elder, eldest son of King Alfred, reigned from 900 to 924. In the year 914 a large Viking fleet, coming from Brittany, appeared in the Bristol Channel, and began ravaging in the lands beyond the Severn. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the leaders were two *jarls* ('earls') named Ohtor and Hroald. The Danes were defeated at Archenfield (Old English *Ircingafeld*) in Herefordshire and forced to give hostages in pledge of their departure. King Edward was in arms with the forces of Wessex on the south side of the Severn estuary, 'so that', in the words of the *Chronicle*, 'they did not dare to attack the land anywhere on that side. Nonetheless they twice stole inland by night, on one occasion east of Watchet and on the other at Porlock (*æt oþrum cierre be eastan Wæced, and æt oþrum cierre æt Portlocan*). Each time they were attacked and only those escaped who swam out to the ships; and after that they were out on the island of Steepholme, until they had scarcely any food, and many died of hunger. From there they went to Dyfed [South Wales] and

from there to Ireland; and that was in the autumn (*and þis wæs on hærfest*).'

Porlock and Watchet are on the north coast of Somerset; the island of Steepholme lies to the North-east, in the mouth of the Severn. My father retained this historical mise-en-scène in the draft of a brief 'Ælfwine' narrative given below, pp. 83–4, and years later in *The Notion Club Papers* (1945).

Wealas: the British (as distinct from the English or Anglo-Saxons); in Modern English *Wales*, the name of the people having become the name of the land.

'A land in the North-west filled with ice, but fit for men to dwell – holy hermits have been driven out by Norsemen.' It is certain that by the end of the eighth century (and how much earlier cannot be said) Irish voyagers had reached Iceland, in astounding journeys achieved in their boats called *curachs*, made of hides over a wooden frame. This is known from the work of an Irish monk named Dicuil, who in his book *Liber de Mensura Orbis Terrae* (written in 825) recorded that

> It is now thirty years since certain priests who lived in that island from the first day of February to the first day of August told me that not only at the summer solstice, but also in the days before and after, the setting sun at evening hides itself as if behind a little hill, so that it does not grow dark even for the shortest period of time, but whatever task a man wishes to perform, even picking the lice out of his shirt, he can do it just as if it were broad daylight.

When the first Norsemen came to Iceland (about 860) there were Irish hermits living there. This is recorded by the Icelandic historian Ari the Learned (1067–1148), who wrote:

> At that time Christian men whom the Norsemen call *papar* dwelt here; but afterwards they went away, because they would not live here together with heathen men, and they left behind them Irish books, bells, and croziers; from which it could be seen that they were Irishmen.

Many places in the south of Iceland, such as Papafjörðr and the island of Papey, still bear names derived from the Irish *papar*. But nothing is known of their fate: they fled, and they left behind their precious things.

Brendan; Maelduin; Insula Deliciarum. The conception of a 'blessed land' or 'fortunate isles' in the Western Ocean is a prominent feature of the old Irish legends: *Tir-nan-Og*, the land of youth; *Hy Bresail*, the fortunate isle; *Insula Deliciosa*; etc. *Tir-nan-Og* is mentioned as a possible story for *The Lost Road*, p. 77.

The holy Brendan is Saint Brendan called the Navigator, founder of the Abbey of Clonfert in Galway, and the subject of the most famous of the tales of seavoyaging (*imrama*) told of early Irish saints. Another is the *Imram Maelduin*, in which Maelduin and his companions set out from Ireland in a *curach* and came in their voyaging to many islands in

succession, where they encountered marvel upon marvel, as did Saint Brendan.

My father's poem *Imram*, in which Saint Brendan at the end of his life recalls the three things that he remembers from his voyage, was published in 1955, but it originally formed a part of *The Notion Club Papers*. Many years before, he had written a poem (*The Nameless Land*) on the subject of a paradisal country 'beyond the Shadowy Sea', in which Brendan is named. This poem and its later forms are given in a note at the end of this chapter, pp. 98 ff.; to the final version is attached a prose note on Ælfwine's voyage that relates closely to the end of the present outline.

Garsecg: the Ocean. See II. 312 and note 19; also the Index to Vol. IV, entry *Belegar*.

Sceaf: see pp. 7, 78, and 85 ff.

Lundy: an island off the west coast of Devon.

It is unfortunate that the last part of this outline is so illegible. The words following 'The Straight Road' could be interpreted as 'a world like water'. After the mysterious reference to the Azores the first word is a noun or name in the plural, and is perhaps followed by 'driven'.

Finntan: An isolated note elsewhere among these papers reads: 'See Lit. Celt. p. 137. Oldest man in the world *Finntan* (*Narkil* White Fire).' The reference turns out to be to a work entitled *The Literature of the Celts*, by Magnus Maclean (1906). In the passage to which my father referred the author wrote of the history of Ireland according to mediaeval Irish annalists:

> Forty days before the Flood, the Lady Cæsair, niece or granddaughter of Noah – it is immaterial which – with fifty girls and three men came to Ireland. This, we are to understand, was the first invasion or conquest of that country. All these were drowned in the Deluge, except Finntan, the husband of the lady, who escaped by being cast into a deep sleep, in which he continued for a year, and when he awoke he found himself in his own house at Dun Tulcha. . . . At Dun Tulcha he lived throughout many dynasties down to the sixth century of our era, when he appears for the last time with eighteen companies of his descendants engaged in settling a boundary dispute. Being the oldest man in the world, he was *ipso facto* the best informed regarding ancient landmarks.
>
> After the Flood various peoples in succession stepped onto the platform of Irish history. First the Partholans, then the Nemedians, Firbolgs, Tuatha de Danaan, and last of all the Milesians, thus carrying the chronology down to the time of Christ. From the arrival of the earliest of these settlers, the Fomorians or 'Sea Rovers' are represented as fighting and harassing the people. Sometimes in conjunction with the plague, at other times with the Firbolgs and Gaileoin and Fir-Domnann, they laid waste the land. The Partholans and Nemedians were early disposed of. And then appeared from the north

of Europe, or from heaven, as one author says, the Tuatha de Danann, who at the great battle of Moytura South overcame the Firbolgs, scattering them to the islands of Aran, Islay, Rathlin, and the Hebrides, and afterwards defeating the Fomorians at Moytura North, thus gaining full possession of the land.

The Tuatha de Danann are twice mentioned (pp. 77–8) as a possible narrative element in *The Lost Road*.

The only actual narrative concerning Ælfwine from this time (apart from some beginnings abandoned after a few lines) is brief and roughly scrawled; but it was to be used afterwards, and in places quite closely followed, in *The Notion Club Papers*.

Ælfwine awoke with a start – he had been dozing on a bench with his back to a pillar. The voices poured in on him like a torrent. He felt he had been dreaming; and for a moment the English speech about him sounded strange, though mostly it was the soft speech of western Wessex. Here and there were men of the Marches, and a few spoke oddly, using strange words after the manner of those among whom the Danes dwelt in the eastern lands. He looked down the hall, looking for his son Eadwine. He was due on leave from the fleet, but had not yet come.

There was a great crowd in the hall, for King Edward was here. The fleet was in the Severn sea, and the south shore was in arms. The jarls had been defeated far north at Irchenfield, but the Danish ships were still at large on the Welsh coast; and the men of Somerset and Devon were on guard.

Ælfwine looked down the hall. The faces of the men, some old and careworn, some young and eager, were dim, not only because the torchlight was wavering and the candles on the high table were guttering. He looked beyond them. There was a wind blowing, surging round the house; timbers creaked. The sound brought back old longings to him that he had thought were long buried. He was born in the year the Danes wintered in Sheppey, and he had sailed many seas and heard many winds since then. The sound of the west wind and the fall of seas on the beaches had always been a challenging music to him. Especially in spring. But now it was autumn, and also he was growing old. And the seas were wide, beyond the power of man to cross – to unknown shores: wide and dangerous. The faces of the men about him faded and the clamour of their voices was changed. He heard the crash of waves on the black cliffs and the sea-birds diving and crying; and snow and hail fell. Then the seas opened pale and wide; the sun shone on the land and the sound and smell of it fell far behind. He was alone

going west towards the setting sun with fear and longing in his heart, drawn against his will.

His dream was broken by calls for the minstrel. 'Let Ælfwine sing!' men were crying. The king had sent to bid him sing something. He lifted up his voice and chanted aloud, but as one speaking to himself alone:

> Monað modes lust mid mereflode
> forð to feran, þæt ic feor heonan
> ofer hean holmas, ofer hwæles eðel
> elþeodigra eard gesece.
> Nis me to hearpan hyge ne to hringþege
> ne to wife wyn ne to worulde hyht
> ne ymb owiht elles nefne ymb yða gewealc.

'The desire of my spirit urges me to journey forth over the flowing sea, that far hence across the hills of water and the whale's country I may seek the land of strangers. No mind have I for harp, nor gift of ring, nor delight in women, nor joy in the world, nor concern with aught else save the rolling of the waves.'

Then he stopped suddenly. There was some laughter, and a few jeers, though many were silent, as if feeling that the words were not spoken to their ears – old and familiar as they were, words of the old poets whom most men had heard often. 'If he has no mind to the harp he need expect no [?wages],' said one. 'Is there a mortal here who has a mind?' 'We have had enough of the sea,' said another. 'A spell of Dane-hunting would cure most men's love of it.' 'Let him go rolling on the waves,' said another. 'It is no great sail to the . . . Welsh country, where folk are strange enough – and the Danes to talk to as well.'

'Peace!' said an old man sitting near the threshold. 'Ælfwine has sailed more seas than you have heard of; and the Welsh tongue is not strange to him . . . . . His wife was of Cornwall. He has been to Ireland and the North, and some say far to the west of all living lands. Let him say what his mood bids.' There was a short silence.

The text ends here. The historical situation is slightly filled out, with mention of the Viking *jarls* and their defeat at *Irchenfield* (Archenfield), on which see p. 80. Ælfwine 'was born in the year the Danes wintered in Sheppey' (the isle of Sheppey off the north coast of Kent). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records under the year 855: *Her hæþne men ærest on Sceapige ofer winter sætun* (In this year heathen men for the first time stayed in Sheppey ['Sheep-isle'] over the winter); but an earlier wintering on Thanet is recorded under 851. These

winterings by Vikings were ominous of what was to come, a sign of the transition from isolated raids followed by a quick departure to the great invasions in the time of Æthelred and Alfred. – Ælfwine was therefore approaching sixty at this time.

The verses that Ælfwine chanted are derived from the Old English poem known as *The Seafarer*, with the omission of five lines from the original after line 4, and some alterations of wording. The third line is an addition (and is enclosed, both in the Old English and in the translation, in square brackets in the manuscript).

With the reference to Ælfwine's wife who came from Cornwall cf. the old tale of *Ælfwine of England*, where his mother came 'from the West, from Lionesse' (II. 313).

It seems to me certain that what was to follow immediately on the end of this brief narrative was the legend of *King Sheave*, which in one of the three texts is put into Ælfwine's mouth (and which follows here in *The Notion Club Papers*, though it is not there given to Ælfwine). There is both a prose and a verse form of *King Sheave*; and it may well be that the prose version, which I give first, belongs very closely with the Ælfwine narrative; there is no actual link between them, but the two manuscripts are very similar.

To the shore the ship came and strode upon the sand, grinding upon the broken shingle. In the twilight as the sun sank men came down to it, and looked within. A boy lay there, asleep. He was fair of face and limb, dark-haired, white-skinned, but clad in gold. The inner parts of the boat were gold-adorned, a vessel of gold filled with clear water was at his side, [*added*: at his right was a harp,] beneath his head was a sheaf of corn, the stalks and ears of which gleamed like gold in the dusk. Men knew not what it was. In wonder they drew the boat high upon the beach, and lifted the boy and bore him up, and laid him sleeping in a wooden house in their burh. They set guards about the door.

In the morning the chamber was empty. But upon a high rock men saw the boy standing. The sheaf was in his arms. As the risen sun shone down, he began to sing in a strange tongue, and they were filled with awe. For they had not yet heard singing, nor seen such beauty. And they had no king among them, for their kings had perished, and they were lordless and unguided. Therefore they took the boy to be king, and they called him *Sheaf*; and so is his name remembered in song. For his true name was hidden and is forgotten. Yet he taught men many new words, and their speech was enriched. Song and verse-craft he taught them, and rune-craft, and tillage and husbandry, and the making of many things; and in his time the dark forests receded and there was plenty, and

corn grew in the land; and the carven houses of men were filled with gold and storied webs. The glory of King Sheaf sprang far and wide in the isles of the North. His children were many and fair, and it is sung that of them are come the kings of men of the North Danes and the West Danes, the South Angles and the East Gothfolk. And in the time of the Sheaf-lords there was peace in the isles, and ships went unarmed from land to land bearing treasure and rich merchandise. And a man might cast a golden ring upon the highway and it would remain until he took it up again.

Those days songs have called the golden years, while the great mill of Sheaf was guarded still in the island sanctuary of the North; and from the mill came golden grain, and there was no want in all the realms.

But it came to pass after long years that Sheaf summoned his friends and counsellors, and he told them that he would depart. For the shadow of old age was fallen upon him (out of the East) and he would return whence he came. Then there was great mourning. But Sheaf laid him upon his golden bed, and became as one in deep slumber; and his lords obeying his commands while he yet ruled and had command of speech set him in a ship. He lay beside the mast, which was tall, and the sails were golden. Treasures of gold and of gems and fine raiment and costly stuffs were laid beside him. His golden banner flew above his head. In this manner he was arrayed more richly than when he came among them; and they thrust him forth to sea, and the sea took him, and the ship bore him unsteered far away into the uttermost West out of the sight or thought of men. Nor do any know who received him in what haven at the end of his journey. Some have said that that ship found the Straight Road. But none of the children of Sheaf went that way, and many in the beginning lived to a great age, but coming under the shadow of the East they were laid in great tombs of stone or in mounds like green hills; and most of these were by the western sea, high and broad upon the shoulders of the land, whence men can descry them that steer their ships amid the shadows of the sea.

This is a first draft, written at speed and very roughly; but the form in alliterative verse is very finished, so far as it goes (it does not extend to the departure of Sheaf, or Sheave, and was not added to for its inclusion in *The Notion Club Papers*). There are two texts of the verse form: (i) a clear manuscript in which the poem is written out as prose, and (ii) a more hasty text in which it is written out in verse-lines. It is hard to

decide which of the two came first, but the poem is in any case almost identical in the two versions, which were obviously closely contemporary. I print it here in lines, with breaks introduced from the paragraphs of the 'prose' form. Version (i) has a formal title, *King Sheave*; (ii) has a short narrative opening, which could very well follow the words 'There was a short silence' on p. 84.

Suddenly Ælfwine struck a note on his harp. 'Lo!' he cried, loud and clear, and men stiffened to attention. 'Lo!' he cried, and began to chant an ancient tale, yet he was half aware that he was telling it afresh, adding and altering words, not so much by improvisation as after long pondering hidden from himself, catching at the shreds of dreams and visions.

In days of yore out of deep Ocean
to the Longobards, in the land dwelling
that of old they held amid the isles of the North,
a ship came sailing, shining-timbered
without oar and mast, eastward floating.
The sun behind it sinking westward
with flame kindled the fallow water.
Wind was wakened. Over the world's margin
clouds greyhelméd climbed slowly up
wings unfolding wide and looming,
as mighty eagles moving onward
to eastern Earth omen bearing.
Men there marvelled, in the mist standing
of the dark islands in the deeps of time:
laughter they knew not, light nor wisdom;
shadow was upon them, and sheer mountains
stalked behind them stern and lifeless,
evilhaunted. The East was dark.

The ship came shining to the shore driven
and strode upon the strand, till its stem rested
on sand and shingle. The sun went down.
The clouds overcame the cold heavens.
In fear and wonder to the fallow water
sadhearted men swiftly hastened
to the broken beaches the boat seeking,
gleaming-timbered in the grey twilight.
They looked within, and there laid sleeping
a boy they saw breathing softly:
his face was fair, his form lovely,

his limbs were white, his locks raven
golden-braided. Gilt and carven
with wondrous work was the wood about him.
In golden vessel gleaming water
stood beside him; strung with silver
a harp of gold neath his hand rested;
his sleeping head was soft pillowed
on a sheaf of corn shimmering palely
as the fallow gold doth from far countries
west of Angol. Wonder filled them.

The boat they hauled and on the beach moored it
high above the breakers; then with hands lifted
from the bosom its burden. The boy slumbered.
On his bed they bore him to their bleak dwellings
darkwalled and drear in a dim region
between waste and sea. There of wood builded
high above the houses was a hall standing
forlorn and empty. Long had it stood so,
no noise knowing, night nor morning,
no light seeing. They laid him there,
under lock left him lonely sleeping
in the hollow darkness. They held the doors.
Night wore away. New awakened
as ever on earth early morning;
day came dimly. Doors were opened.
Men strode within, then amazed halted;
fear and wonder filled the watchmen.
The house was bare, hall deserted;
no form found they on the floor lying,
but by bed forsaken the bright vessel
dry and empty in the dust standing.

The guest was gone. Grief o'ercame them.
In sorrow they sought him, till the sun rising
over the hills of heaven to the homes of men
light came bearing. They looked upward
and high upon a hill hoar and treeless
the guest beheld they: gold was shining
in his hair, in hand the harp he bore;
at his feet they saw the fallow-golden
cornsheaf lying. Then clear his voice
a song began, sweet, unearthly,

words in music woven strangely,
in tongue unknown. Trees stood silent
and men unmoving marvelling hearkened.

Middle-earth had known for many ages
neither song nor singer; no sight so fair
had eyes of mortal, since the earth was young,
seen when waking in that sad country
long forsaken. No lord they had,
no king nor counsel, but the cold terror
that dwelt in the desert, the dark shadow
that haunted the hills and the hoar forest.
Dread was their master. Dark and silent,
long years forlorn, lonely waited
the hall of kings, house forsaken
without fire or food.

Forth men hastened
from their dim houses. Doors were opened
and gates unbarred. Gladness wakened.
To the hill they thronged, and their heads lifting
on the guest they gazed. Greybearded men
bowed before him and blessed his coming
their years to heal; youths and maidens,
wives and children welcome gave him.
His song was ended. Silent standing
he looked upon them. Lord they called him;
king they made him, crowned with golden
wheaten garland, white his raiment,
his harp his sceptre. In his house was fire,
food and wisdom; there fear came not.
To manhood he grew, might and wisdom.

Sheave they called him, whom the ship brought them,
a name renowned in the North countries
ever since in song. For a secret hidden
his true name was, in tongue unknown
of far countries where the falling seas
wash western shores beyond the ways of men
since the world worsened. The word is forgotten
and the name perished.

Their need he healed,
and laws renewed long forsaken.

Words he taught them wise and lovely –
their tongue ripened in the time of Sheave
to song and music. Secrets he opened
runes revealing. Riches he gave them,
reward of labour, wealth and comfort
from the earth calling, acres ploughing,
sowing in season seed of plenty,
hoarding in garner golden harvest
for the help of men. The hoar forests
in his days drew back to the dark mountains;
the shadow receded, and shining corn,
white ears of wheat, whispered in the breezes
where waste had been. The woods trembled.

Halls and houses hewn of timber,
strong towers of stone steep and lofty,
golden-gabled, in his guarded city
they raised and roofed. In his royal dwelling
of wood well-carven the walls were wrought;
fair-hued figures filled with silver,
gold and scarlet, gleaming hung there,
stories boding of strange countries,
were one wise in wit the woven legends
to thread with thought. At his throne men found
counsel and comfort and care's healing,
justice in judgement. Generous-handed
his gifts he gave. Glory was uplifted.
Far sprang his fame over fallow water,
through Northern lands the renown echoed
of the shining king, Sheave the mighty.

At the end of (ii) occur eight lines which seem to have been added to the text; they were also inserted in pencil to the 'prose' text (i), here written in as verse-lines, with a further eight lines following (the whole passage of sixteen lines was struck through, but it was used afterwards in *The Notion Club Papers*, in the form of an addition to the poem proper).

Seven sons he begat, sires of princes,
men great in mind, mighty-handed
and high-hearted. From his house cometh
the seeds of kings, as songs tell us,
fathers of the fathers, who before the change
in the Elder Years the earth governed,
Northern kingdoms named and founded,

shields of their peoples: Sheave begat them:
Sea-danes and Goths, Swedes and Northmen,
Franks and Frisians, folk of the islands,
Swordmen and Saxons, Swabes and English,
and the Langobards who long ago
beyond Myrcwudu a mighty realm
and wealth won them in the Welsh countries
where Ælfwine Eadwine's heir
in Italy was king. All that has passed.

Notes on King Sheave

References in the following notes are given to the lines of the poem.

1–3 On the association of Sheave with the Longobards (Lombards) see p. 93.

7 The word *fallow* ('golden, golden-brown') is used several times in this poem of water, and once of gold (38); the corn sheaf is fallow-golden (68). See III. 369.

8–12 The 'eagle-clouds' that precede Sheave's coming in the poem do not appear in the prose version.

39 *Angol*: the ancient home of the English before their migration across the North Sea. See I. 24, 252 (entry *Eriol*).

142–3 I am at a loss to say what is referred to in these lines, where the 'fathers of the fathers' who founded kingdoms in the North, the descendants of Sheave, 'governed the earth *before the change in the Elder Years*'.

148 *Swordmen*: it is evident that this is intended as the name of a people, but it is not clear to me which people. Conceivably, my father had in mind the *Brondingas*, ruled by Breca, Beowulf's opponent in the swimming-match, for that name has been interpreted to contain the word *brond* (*brand*) 'sword'.
Swabes: this reading seems clear (*Swabians* in *The Notion Club Papers*). The Old English form was *Swæfe*: thus in *Widsith* is found *Engle ond Swæfe*, and *Mid Englum ic wæs ond mid Swæfum*. The *Suevi* of Roman historians, a term used broadly to cover many Germanic tribes, but here evidently used as in *Widsith* to refer particularly to Swabians dwelling in the North and neighbours of the Angles.

150 *Myrcwudu* (Old English): 'Mirkwood'. This was an ancient Germanic legendary name for a great dark boundary-forest, found in various quite different applications. The reference here is to the Eastern Alps (see note to line 151).

151 *Welsh*: 'foreign' (Roman). My father used the word here in the ancient sense. The old Germanic word *walhoz* meant 'Celtic or Roman foreigner'; whence in the plural the Old English *Walas*

(modern *Wales*), the Celts of Britain. So in *Widsith* the Romans are called *Rūm-walas*, and Caesar ruled over the towns and riches of *Wala rice*, the realm of the *Walas*. A line in *King Sheave* rejected in favour of 150–1 reads *Wide realms won them beyond the Welsh Mountains*, and these are the Alps. The ancient meaning survives in the word *walnut*, 'nut of the Roman lands'; also in *Wallace*, *Walloon*.

152–3 See pp. 54–5.

The roots of *King Sheave* lie far back in Northern Germanic legend. There are three primary sources: *Beowulf*, and the statements of two later chroniclers writing in Latin, Æthelweard (who died about the year 1000), and William of Malmesbury (who died in 1143). I give those of the historians first.

In Æthelweard's Chronicle the genealogy of the English kings ends with the names *Beo – Scyld – Scef* (which mean Barley, Shield, and Sheaf; Old English *sc* = 'sh'); and of *Scef* he says:

> This Scef came in a swift boat, surrounded by arms, to an island of the ocean called Scani, and he was a very young boy, and unknown to the people of that country; but he was taken up by them, and they watched over him attentively as one of their own kin, and afterwards chose him to be their king.

William of Malmesbury (a writer notable for his drawing on popular stories and songs) has likewise in his genealogy the three figures *Beowius – Sceldius – Sceaf*, and he tells this of *Sceaf*:

> He, as they say, was brought as a child in a boat without any oarsman to Scandza, a certain island of Germany. . . . He was asleep, and by his head was placed a handful of corn, on which account he was called 'Sheaf'. He was regarded as a marvel by the people of that country, and carefully fostered; when he was grown he ruled in the town which was then called Slaswic, but now Haithebi. That region is called Old Anglia, whence the Angli came to Britain.

The prologue, or as my father called it the *exordium*, to *Beowulf*, I give from his prose translation of the poem.

> Lo! the glory of the kings of the people of the Spear-Danes in days of old we have heard tell, how those princes deeds of valour wrought. Oft Scyld Scefing robbed the hosts of foemen, many peoples of the seats where they drank their mead, laid fear upon men, who first was found in poverty; comfort for that he lived to know, mighty grew under heaven, throve in honour, until all that dwelt nigh about over the sea where the whale rides must hearken to him and yield him tribute – a good king was he!
>
> To him was an heir afterwards born, a young child in his courts whom God sent for the comfort of the people: perceiving the dire need which they long while endured aforetime being without a prince. To

him therefore the Lord of Life who rules in glory granted honour among men: Beowulf was renowned, far and wide his glory sprang – the heir of Scyld in Scedeland. Thus doth a young man bring it to pass with good deed and gallant gifts, while he dwells in his father's bosom, that after in his age there cleave to him loyal knights of his table, and the people stand by him when war shall come. By worthy deeds in every folk is a man ennobled.

Then at his allotted hour Scyld the valiant passed into the keeping of the Lord; and to the flowing sea his dear comrades bore him, even as he himself had bidden them while yet their prince he ruled them with his words – beloved lord of the land, long was he master. There at the haven stood with ringéd prow, ice-hung, eager to be gone, the prince's bark; they laid then their beloved king, giver of rings, in the bosom of the ship, in glory by the mast. There were many precious things and treasures brought from regions far away; nor have I heard tell that men ever in more seemly wise arrayed a boat with weapons of war and harness of battle; on his lap lay treasures heaped that now must go with him far into the dominion of the sea. With lesser gifts no whit did they adorn him, with treasures of that people, than did those that in the beginning sent him forth alone over the waves, a little child. Moreover, high above his head they set a golden standard and gave him to Ocean, let the sea bear him. Sad was their heart and mourning in their soul. None can report with truth, nor lords in their halls, nor mighty men beneath the sky, who received that load.

There is also a reference to a king named Sheaf (*Sceafa*) in *Widsith*, where in a list of rulers and the peoples they ruled occurs *Sceafa* [*weold*] *Longbeardum*, 'Sheaf ruled the Lombards'; at the beginning of the poem *King Sheave* it is to the Lombards that the boat bearing the child comes.

This is obviously not the place to enter into elaborate discussion of so intricate a subject as that of *Scyld Scefing*: 'a most astonishing tangle', my father called it. His lectures at Oxford during these years devote many pages to refined analysis of the evidences, and of competing theories concerning them. The long-fought argument concerning the meaning of 'Shield Sheafing' in *Beowulf* – does 'Sheafing' mean 'with a sheaf' or 'son of Sheaf', and is 'Shield' or 'Sheaf' the original ancestor king? – could in my father's opinion be settled with some certainty. In a summarising statement of his views in another lecture (here very slightly edited) he said:

> *Scyld* is the eponymous ancestor of the *Scyldingas*, the Danish royal house to which Hrothgar King of the Danes in this poem belongs. His name is simply 'Shield': and he is a 'fiction', that is a name derived from the 'heraldic' family name *Scyldingas* after they became famous. This process was aided by the fact that the Old English (and Germanic) ending *-ing*, which could mean 'connected with, associated with, provided with', etc., was also the usual patronymic ending. The

invention of this eponymous 'Shield' was probably Danish, that is actually the work of Danish dynastic historians (*þylas*) and alliterative poets (*scopas*) in the lifetime of the kings of whom we hear in *Beowulf*, the certainly historical Healfdene and Hrothgar.

As for *Scēfing*, it can thus, as we see, mean 'provided with a sheaf, connected in some way with a sheaf of corn', or son of a figure called Sheaf. In favour of the latter is the fact that there *are* English traditions of a *mythical* (not the same as eponymous and fictitious) ancestor called *Sceaf*, or *Sceafa*, belonging to ancient culture-myths of the North; and of his special association with Danes. In favour of the former is the fact that Scyld comes out of the unknown, a babe, and the name of his father, if he had any, could not be known by him or the Danes who received him. But such poetic matters are not strictly logical. Only in *Beowulf* are the two divergent traditions about the Danes blended in this way, the heraldic and the mythical. I think the poet meant (Shield) Sheafing as a patronymic. He was blending the vague and fictitious warlike glory of the eponymous ancestor of the conquering house with the more mysterious, far older and more poetical myths of the mysterious arrival of the babe, the corn-god or the culture-hero his descendant, at the beginning of a people's history, and adding to it a mysterious Arthurian departure, *back into the unknown*, enriched by traditions of ship-burials in the not very remote heathen past – to make a magnificent and suggestive *exordium*, and background to his tale.

Beowulf, son of Scyld Scefing, who appears in the *exordium* (to every reader's initial confusion, since he is wholly unconnected with the hero of the poem) my father held to be a corruption of *Beow* ('Barley') – which is the name found in the genealogies (p. 92).

To my mind it is overwhelmingly probable [he wrote] that the *Beowulf* name properly belongs *only* to the story of the bear-boy (that is of Beowulf the Geat); and that it is a fairy-tale name, in fact a 'kenning' for *bear*: 'Bee-wolf', that is 'honey-raider'. Such a name would be very unlikely to be transferred to the Scylding line by the poet, or at any time while the stories and legends which are the main fabric of the poem had any existence independent of it. I believe that *Beow* was turned into *Beowulf* after the poet's time, in the process of scribal tradition, either deliberately (and unhappily), or merely casually and erroneously.

Elsewhere he wrote:

A complete and entirely satisfactory explanation of the peculiarities of the *exordium* has naturally never been given. Here is what seems to me the most probable view.

The exordium is poetry, not (in intent) history. It was composed for its present place, and its main purpose was to glorify Scyld and his family, and so enhance the background against which the struggle of Grendel and Beowulf takes place. The choice of a marvellous legend,

rather than a mere dynastic invention, was therefore natural. That our author was working principally on the blended form: *Beow* < *Scyld* < *Sceaf* [found in the genealogies, see p. 92] is shown by his retention of the patronymic *Scefing*. This title has indeed little point in his version, and certainly would not have appeared, had he really drawn on a story in which it was *Scyld* that came in a boat; while certain points in his account (the little destitute child) belong clearly to the Sheaf-Barley legends.

Why then did he make *Scyld* the child in the boat? – plainly his own device: it occurs nowhere else. Here are some probable reasons: (a) He was concentrating all the glamour on *Scyld* and the *Scylding* name.
(b) A departure over sea – a sea-burial – was already associated with northern chieftains in old poems and lore, possibly already with the name of Scyld. This gains much in power and suggestiveness, if the same hero arrives and departs in a boat. The great heights to which Scyld climbed is also emphasized (explicitly) by the contrast thus made with his forlorn arrival.
(c) Older and even more mysterious traditions may well still have been current concerning Danish origins: the legend of Ing who came and went back over the waves [see II. 305]. Our poet's *Scyld* has (as it were) replaced *Ing*.

Sheaf and Barley were after all in origin only rustic legends of no great splendour. But their legend here catches echoes of heroic traditions of the North going back into a remote past, into what philologists would call Primitive Germanic times, and are at the same time touched with the martial glories of the House of the Shield. In this way the poet contrives to clothe the lords of the golden hall of Hart with a glory and mystery, more archaic and simple but hardly less magnificent than that which adorns the king of Camelot, Arthur son of Uther. This is our poet's way throughout, seen especially in the exaltation among the great heroes that he has achieved for the Bear-boy of the old fairy-tale, who becomes in his poem Beowulf last king of the Geatas.

I give a final quotation from my father's lectures on this subject, where in discussing the concluding lines of the *exordium* he wrote of

the suggestion – it is hardly more; the poet is not explicit, and the idea was probably not fully formed in his mind – that Scyld went back to some mysterious land whence he had come. He came out of the Unknown beyond the Great Sea, and returned into It: a miraculous intrusion into history, which nonetheless left real historical effects: a new Denmark, and the heirs of Scyld in Scedeland. Such must have been his feeling.

In the last lines 'Men can give no certain account of the havens where that ship was unladed' we catch an echo of the 'mood' of pagan times in which ship-burial was practised. A mood in which the *symbolism* (what we should call the *ritual*) of a departure over the sea

whose further shore was unknown; and an actual belief in a magical land or otherworld located 'over the sea', can hardly be distinguished – and for neither of these elements or motives is conscious symbolism, or real belief, a true description. It was a *murnende mōd*, filled with doubt and darkness.

There remains to notice an element in my father's legend of Sheaf which was not derived from the English traditions. This is found only in the prose version (p. 86), where in the account of the great peace in the Northern isles in the time of 'the Sheaf-lords' (so deep a peace that a gold ring lying on the highway would be left untouched) he wrote of 'the great mill of Sheaf', which 'was guarded still in the island sanctuary of the North.' In this he was drawing on (and transforming) the Scandinavian traditions concerned with Freyr, the god of fruitfulness, and King Fróthi the Dane.

I cite here the story told by the Icelander Snorri Sturluson (c. 1179–1241) in his work known as the *Prose Edda*, which is given to explain the meaning of the 'kenning' *mjöl Fróða* ('Fróthi's meal') for 'gold'. According to Snorri, Fróthi was the grandson of *Skjöldr* (corresponding to Old English *Scyld*).

> Fróthi succeeded to the kingdom after his father, in the time when Augustus Caesar imposed peace on the whole world; in that time Christ was born. But because Fróthi was the mightiest of all kings in the Northlands the peace was named after him wherever the Danish tongue was spoken, and men call it the Peace of Fróthi. No man injured another, even though he met face to face with the slayer of his father or of his brother, free or bound; and there was no thief or robber in those days, so that a gold ring lay long on *Ialangrsheiði* [in Jutland]. King Fróthi went to a feast in Sweden at the court of a king named Fjölnir. There he bought two bondwomen called Fenia and Menia; they were big and strong. At that time there were in Denmark two millstones so huge that no man was strong enough to turn them; and the nature of these stones was such that whatever he who turned them asked for was ground out by the mill. This mill was called Grótti. King Fróthi had the bondwomen led to the mill, and he bade them grind gold; and they did so, and at first they ground gold and peace and happiness for Fróthi. Then he gave them rest or sleep no longer than the cuckoo was silent or a song could be sung. It is said that they sang the song which is called the Lay of Grótti, and this is its beginning:
>
> Now are come to the king's house
> The two foreknowing ones, Fenia and Menia;
> They are by Fróthi, son of Frithleif,
> The mighty maidens, as bondslaves held.

> And before they ended their song they ground out a host against Fróthi, so that on that very night the sea-king named Mýsing came, and slew Fróthi, and took much plunder; and then the Peace of Fróthi was ended.

Elsewhere it is said that while the Danes ascribed the peace to Fróthi the Swedes ascribed it to Freyr; and there are close parallels between them. Freyr (which itself means 'the Lord') was called *inn Fróði*, which almost certainly means 'the Fruitful One'. The legend of the great peace, which in my father's work is ascribed to the time of Sheaf and his sons, goes back to very ancient origins in the worship of a divinity of fruitfulness in the great sanctuaries of the North: that of Freyr the Fruitful Lord at the great temple of Uppsala, and (according to an extremely plausible theory) that on the island of Zealand (Sjælland). Discussion of this would lead too far and into evidences too complex for the purpose of this book, but it may be said at least that it seems beyond question that Heorot, hall of the Danish kings in *Beowulf*, stood where is now the village of Leire, about three miles from the sea on the north coast of Zealand. At Leire there are everywhere huge grave mounds; and according to an eleventh-century chronicler, Thietmar of Merseburg, there was held at Leire in every ninth year (as also at Uppsala) a great gathering, in which large numbers of men and animals were sacrificed. A strong case can be made for supposing that the famous sanctuary described by Tacitus in his *Germania* (written near the end of the first century A.D.) where the goddess Nerthus, or *Mater Terra*, was worshipped 'on an island in the ocean', was indeed on Zealand. When Nerthus was present in her sanctuary it was a season of rejoicing and peace, when 'every weapon is laid aside.'*

In my father's legend of Sheaf these ancient echoes are used in new ways and with new bearings; and when Sheaf departed on his last journey his ship (as some have said) found the Straight Road into the vanished West.

A brief but perceptive report on *The Lost Road*, dated 17 December 1937, was submitted by a person unknown invited by Allen and Unwin to read the text. It is to be remembered that the typescript that had been made extended only to the beginning of the fourth chapter (p. 73 note 14) – and also, of course, that at this time nothing concerning the history of Middle-earth, of the Valar and Valinor, had been published. The reader described it as 'immensely interesting as a revelation of the personal enthusiasms of a very unusual mind', with 'passages of beautiful descriptive prose'; but found it 'difficult to imagine this novel when completed receiving any sort of recognition except in academic circles.' Stanley

*In Norse mythology the name of the goddess Nerthus survives in that of the god Njörth, father of Freyr. Njörth was especially associated with ships and the sea; and in very early writing of my father's *Neorth* briefly appears for Ulmo (II. 375, entry *Neorth*).

Unwin, writing to my father on 20 December 1937, said gently that he had no doubt of its being a *succès d'estime*, but while he would 'doubtless want to publish it' when complete, he could not 'hold out any hope of commercial success as an inducement to you to give the finishing of it prior claim upon your time.' He wrote this on the day after my father had written to say that he had finished the first chapter of 'a new story about Hobbits' (see III. 366).

With the entry at this time of the cardinal ideas of the Downfall of Númenor, the World Made Round, and the Straight Road, into the conception of 'Middle-earth', and the thought of a 'time-travel' story in which the very significant figure of the Anglo-Saxon Ælfwine would be both 'extended' into the future, into the twentieth century, and 'extended' also into a many-layered past, my father was envisaging a massive and explicit linking of his own legends with those of many other places and times: all concerned with the stories and the dreams of peoples who dwelt by the coasts of the great Western Sea. All this was set aside during the period of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*, but not abandoned: for in 1945, before indeed *The Lord of the Rings* was completed, he returned to these themes in the unfinished *Notion Club Papers*. Such as he sketched out for these parts of *The Lost Road* remain, as it seems to me, among the most interesting and instructive of his unfinished works.

Note on the poem 'The Nameless Land' and its later form

*The Nameless Land** is written in the form of the mediaeval poem *Pearl*, with both rhyme and alliteration and partial repetition of the last line of one stanza in the beginning of the next. I give it here in the form in which it was published; for *Tir-nan-Og* the typescripts have *Tír na nÓg*.

THE NAMELESS LAND

There lingering lights do golden lie
  On grass more green than in gardens here,
On trees more tall that touch the sky
  With silver leaves a-swinging clear:
By magic dewed they may not die
  Where fades nor falls the endless year,
Where ageless afternoon goes by
  O'er mead and mound and silent mere.

* *The Nameless Land* was published in *Realities: an Anthology of Verse*, edited by G. S. Tancred (Leeds, at the Swan Press; London, Gay and Hancock Ltd.; 1927). A note on one of the typescripts states that it was written in May 1924 in the house at Darnley Road, Leeds (Carpenter, *Biography*, p. 107), and was 'inspired by reading *Pearl* for examination purposes'.

There draws no dusk of evening near,
Where voices move in veiléd choir,
Or shrill in sudden singing sheer.
And the woods are filled with wandering fire.

The wandering fires the woodland fill,
In glades for ever green they glow,
In dells that immortal dews distill
And fragrance of all flowers that grow.
There melodies of music spill,
And falling fountains plash and flow,
And a water white leaps down the hill
To seek the sea no sail doth know.
Its voices fill the valleys low,
Where breathing keen on bent and briar
The winds beyond the world's edge blow
And wake to flame a wandering fire.

That wandering fire hath tongues of flame
Whose quenchless colours quiver clear
On leaf and land without a name
No heart may hope to anchor near.
A dreamless dark no stars proclaim,
A moonless night its marches drear,
A water wide no feet may tame,
A sea with shores encircled sheer.
A thousand leagues it lies from here,
And the foam doth flower upon the sea
'Neath cliffs of crystal carven clear
On shining beaches blowing free.

There blowing free unbraided hair
Is meshed with light of moon and sun,
And tangled with those tresses fair
A gold and silver sheen is spun.
There feet do beat and white and bare
Do lissom limbs in dances run,
Their robes the wind, their raiment air –
Such loveliness to look upon
Nor Bran nor Brendan ever won,
Who foam beyond the furthest sea
Did dare, and dipped behind the sun
On winds unearthly wafted free.

Than Tir-nan-Og more fair and free,
Than Paradise more faint and far,
O! shore beyond the Shadowy Sea,
O! land forlorn where lost things are,

O! mountains where no man may be!
The solemn surges on the bar
Beyond the world's edge waft to me;
I dream I see a wayward star,
Than beacon towers in Gondobar
More fair, where faint upon the sky
On hills imagineless and far
The lights of longing flare and die.

My father turned again later to *The Nameless Land*, and altered the title first to *Ælfwine's Song calling upon Eärendel* and then to *The Song of Ælfwine (on seeing the uprising of Eärendel)*. There are many texts, both manuscript and typescript, of *The Song of Ælfwine*, forming a continuous development. That development, I feel certain, did not all belong to the same time, but it seems impossible to relate the different stages to anything external to the poem. On the third text my father wrote afterwards 'Intermediate Version', and I give this here; my guess is – but it is no more than a guess – that it belongs to about the time of *The Lost Road*. Following it are two further texts which each change a few lines, and then a final version with more substantial changes (including the loss of a whole stanza) and an extremely interesting prose note on Ælfwine's voyage. This is certainly relatively late: probably from the years after *The Lord of the Rings*, though it might be associated with the *Notion Club Papers* of 1945 – with the fifth line of the last verse (a line that entered only in this last version) 'The white birds wheel; there flowers the Tree!' compare the lines in the poem *Imram* (see p. 82), of the Tree full of birds that Saint Brendan saw:

The Tree then shook, and flying free
from its limbs the leaves in air
as white birds rose in wheeling flight,
and the lifting boughs were bare.

Of course the *imrama* of Brendan and Ælfwine are in any case closely associated. – There follow the texts of the 'intermediate' and final versions.

THE SONG OF ÆLFWINE

(on seeing the uprising of Eärendel)

There lingering lights still golden lie
on grass more green than in gardens here,
On trees more tall that touch the sky
with swinging leaves of silver clear.
While world endures they will not die,
nor fade nor fall their timeless year,

As morn unmeasured passes by
  o'er mead and mound and shining mere.
When endless eve undimmed is near,
  o'er harp and chant in hidden choir
A sudden voice upsoaring sheer
  in the wood awakes the Wandering Fire.

The Wandering Fire the woodland fills:
  in glades for ever green it glows,
In dells where immortal dew distils
  the Flower that in secret fragrance grows.
There murmuring the music spills,
  as falling fountain plashing flows,
And water white leaps down the hills
  to seek the Sea that no sail knows.
Through gleaming vales it singing goes,
  where breathing keen on bent and briar
The wind beyond the world's end blows
  to living flame the Wandering Fire.

The Wandering Fire with tongues of flame
  with light there kindles quick and clear
The land of long-forgotten name:
  no man may ever anchor near;
No steering star his hope may aim,
  for nether Night its marches drear,
And waters wide no sail may tame,
  with shores encircled dark and sheer.
Uncounted leagues it lies from here,
  and foam there flowers upon the Sea
By cliffs of crystal carven clear
  on shining beaches blowing free.

There blowing free unbraided hair
  is meshed with beams of Moon and Sun,
And twined within those tresses fair
  a gold and silver sheen is spun,
As fleet and white the feet go bare,
  and lissom limbs in dances run,
Shimmering in the shining air:
  such loveliness to look upon
No mortal man hath ever won,
  though foam upon the furthest sea
He dared, or sought behind the Sun
  for winds unearthly flowing free.

O! Shore beyond the Shadowy Sea!
  O! Land where still the Edhil are!

O! Haven where my heart would be!
  the waves that beat upon thy bar
For ever echo endlessly,
  when longing leads my thought afar,
And rising west of West I see
  beyond the world the wayward Star,
Than beacons bright in Gondobar
  more clear and keen, more fair and high:
O! Star that shadow may not mar,
  nor ever darkness doom to die!

In the final version of the poem that now follows the prose note concerning Ælfwine's voyage is linked by an asterisk to the name *Ælfwine* in the title.

THE SONG OF ÆLFWINE

on seeing the uprising of Eärendil

Eressëa! Eressëa!

There elven-lights still gleaming lie
  On grass more green than in gardens here,
On trees more tall that touch the sky
  With swinging leaves of silver clear.
While world endures they will not die,
  Nor fade nor fall their timeless year,
As morn unmeasured passes by
  O'er mead and mount and shining mere.
When endless eve undimmed is near,
  O'er harp and chant in hidden choir
A sudden voice up-soaring sheer
  In the wood awakes the wandering fire.

With wandering fire the woodlands fill:
  In glades for ever green it glows;
In a dell there dreaming niphredil
  As star awakened gleaming grows,
And ever-murmuring musics spill,
  For there the fount immortal flows:
Its water white leaps down the hill,
  By silver stairs it singing goes
To the field of the unfading rose,
  Where breathing on the glowing briar
The wind beyond the world's end blows
  To living flame the wandering fire.

The wandering fire with quickening flame
  Of living light illumines clear

That land unknown by mortal name
  Beyond the shadow dark and drear
And waters wild no ship may tame.
  No man may ever anchor near,
To haven none his hope may aim
  Through starless night his way to steer.
Uncounted leagues it lies from here:
  In wind on beaches blowing free
Neath cliffs of carven crystal sheer
  The foam there flowers upon the Sea.

O Shore beyond the Shadowy Sea!
  O Land where still the Edhil are!
O Haven where my heart would be!
  The waves still beat upon thy bar,
The white birds wheel; there flowers the Tree!
  Again I glimpse them long afar
When rising west of West I see
  Beyond the world the wayward Star,
Than beacons bright in Gondobar
  More fair and keen, more clear and high.
O Star that shadow may not mar,
  Nor ever darkness doom to die.

Ælfwine (Elf-friend) was a seaman of England of old who, being driven out to sea from the coast of Erin [*ancient name of Ireland*], passed into the deep waters of the West, and according to legend by some strange chance or grace found the 'straight road' of the Elvenfolk and came at last to the Isle of Eressëa in Elvenhome. Or maybe, as some say, alone in the waters, hungry and athirst, he fell into a trance and was granted a vision of that isle as it once had been, ere a West-wind arose and drove him back to Middle-earth. Of no other man is it reported that he ever beheld Eressëa the fair. Ælfwine was never again able to rest for long on land, and sailed the western seas until his death. Some say that his ship was wrecked upon the west shores of Erin and there his body lies; others say that at the end of his life he went forth alone into the deeps again and never returned.

It is reported that before he set out on his last voyage he spoke these verses:

Fela bið on Westwegum werum uncúðra
wundra and wihta, wlitescýne lond,
eardgeard Ylfa and Ésa bliss.
Lýt ænig wát hwylc his longað sý
þám þe eftsíðes yldu getwæfeð.

'Many things there be in the West-regions unknown to Men, many wonders and many creatures: a land lovely to behold, the homeland of

the Elves and the bliss of the Valar. Little doth any man understand what the yearning may be of one whom old age cutteth off from returning thither.'

Here reappears the idea seen at the end of the outline for the Ælfwine story in *The Lost Road* (p. 80), that after seeing a vision of Eressëa he was blown back again by a wind from the West. At the time when the outline was written the story that Ælfwine actually came to Tol-eressëa and was there told 'the Lost Tales' was also present (p. 78), and in the same way it seems from the present passage that there were the two stories. The idea that Ælfwine never in fact reached the Lonely Isle is found in a version of the old tale of *Ælfwine of England*, where he did not leap overboard but returned east with his companions (II. 332–3).

The verses that he spoke before his last voyage are those that Alboin Errol spoke and translated to his father in *The Lost Road* (p. 44), and which were used also in the title-pages to the *Quenta Silmarillion* (p. 203).

The retention of the name *Gondobar* right through from *The Nameless Land* is notable. It is found in the late version of the poem *The Happy Mariners*, which my father afterwards dated '1940?' (II. 274–5): 'O happy mariners upon a journey far, / beyond the grey islands and past Gondobar'. Otherwise *Gondobar* 'City of Stone' is one of the Seven Names of Gondolin (II. 158, 172; III. 145–6).

PART TWO

VALINOR AND MIDDLE-EARTH BEFORE THE LORD OF THE RINGS

I

THE TEXTS AND THEIR RELATIONS

In the fourth volume of this History were given the *Quenta Noldorinwa* (**Q**) or History of the Gnomes, which can be ascribed to the year 1930 (IV. 177–8); the earliest *Annals of Beleriand* (**AB**), which followed Q but is not itself dateable to a year, and the beginning of a new version (AB II); the earliest *Annals of Valinor* (**AV**), which followed the first version of AB but preceded the second (IV. 327); and the *Ambarkanta* or Shape of the World. The *Lay of Leithian*, given in Vol. III, was abandoned when far advanced in 1931.

I have described in III. 364 ff. how in November 1937 a new though unfinished version of 'The Silmarillion' was delivered to Allen and Unwin; while the first draft of the first chapter of *The Lord of the Rings* was written between 16 and 19 December 1937. Between 1930 and the end of 1937 must be placed the texts following Q in Vol. IV, and in addition these others which are given in this book (as well as *The Fall of Númenor* and *The Lost Road*):

(1) *Ainulindalë*, a new version of the original 'Lost Tale' of *The Music of the Ainur*. This is certainly later than AV, since in it the First Kindred of the Elves is named *Lindar*, not *Quendi*, and the old name *Noldoli* has given place to *Noldor*.

(2) A new version of the *Annals of Valinor*, again with the forms *Lindar* and *Noldor*. This version I shall call the *Later Annals of Valinor*, referring to it by the abbreviation **AV 2**, while the earliest version given in Vol. IV will be **AV 1**.

(3) A new version of the *Annals of Beleriand*, which looks to be a close companion text to AV 2. This I shall refer to similarly as **AB 2**, the *Later Annals of Beleriand*. In this case there are two antecedent versions, mentioned above, and called in Vol. IV AB I and AB II. These, to keep the parallel with the *Annals of Valinor*, can be referred to collectively as **AB 1** (since in writing AB 2 my father followed AB II so far as it went and then followed AB I).

(4) The *Lhammas* or Account of Tongues. This, extant in three versions, seems to have been closely related to the composition of the *Quenta Silmarillion*.

(5) The new version of 'The Silmarillion' proper, a once very fine manuscript whose making was interrupted when the material went to the publishers. To distinguish this version from its predecessor the *Quenta*

Noldorinwa or simply the *Quenta*, I use throughout the abbreviation **QS**, i.e. *Quenta Silmarillion* or History of the Silmarils.

These five works form a later group (though I do not mean to imply that there was any significant gap in time between them and the earlier); a convenient defining mark of this is that they have *Noldor* where the earlier have *Noldoli*.

Although I have said (IV. 262) that there seems no way of showing whether the *Ambarkanta* was earlier or later than the earliest version of the *Annals of Valinor*, it now seems clear to me that the *Ambarkanta* belongs with the later group of texts. This is shown, I think, by the fact that its title-page is closely similar in form to those of the *Ainulindalë* and the *Lhammas* (all three bear the Elvish name of the work in *tengwar*); moreover the reappearance in the *Ambarkanta* of *Utumna* as the name of Melko's original fortress (see IV. 259–60) seems to place it later than AB 2, which still names it *Angband* (but AV 2 has *Utumna*).

On the whole, I would be inclined to place these texts in the sequence AB 2, AV 2, *Lhammas*, QS; the *Ambarkanta* at any rate after AB 2, and the *Ainulindalë* demonstrably before QS. *The Fall of Númenor* was later than the *Ambarkanta* (see p. 9 and IV. 261). But a definitive and demonstrable sequence seems unattainable on the evidence; and the attempt may in any case be somewhat unreal, for my father did not necessarily complete one before beginning another. Certainly he had them all before him, and as he progressed he changed what he had already written to bring it into line with new developments in the stories and in the names.

II

THE LATER ANNALS OF VALINOR

The second version of the *Annals of Valinor* (AV 2) is a fluent and legible manuscript in my father's ordinary handwriting of that time, with very little alteration during composition and very few subsequent changes in the early period – as opposed to wholesale rewriting of the earlier annals in the time after *The Lord of the Rings*: this being the initial drafting of the major later work, the *Annals of Aman*, and at almost all points clearly distinct from the emendations made many years before.

AV 2 shows no great narrative evolution from AV 1 (IV. 262 ff.), as that text was emended; on the other hand there are some noteworthy developments in names and conceptions. A curious feature is the retention of the original dates between the destruction of the Trees and the rising of the Sun and Moon, which in AV 1 were greatly accelerated by later pencilled changes: see IV. 273–4 and the commentary on annal 2992 below. Thus for example in AV 1 as originally written, and in AV 2, some ten years of the Sun (one Valian Year) elapsed between the Battle of Alqualondë and the utterance of the Prophecy of the North, whereas in AV 1 as emended only one year of the Sun passed between the two events.

In the brief commentary I treat AV 1 as including the emendations to it, fully recorded in IV. 270–4, and discussed in the commentary on that text. Later changes of the early period are recorded in the notes; these are few, mostly aspects of the progressive movement of names, and are merely referred forward to the place where they appear in original writing. Towards the end AV 2 becomes scarcely more than a fair copy of AV 1, but I give the text in full in order to provide within the same covers complete texts of the *Annals* and *Quenta* 'traditions' as they were when *The Lord of the Rings* was begun.

AV 2 is without any preamble concerning authorship, but there is a title-page comprising this and the closely similar later version of the *Annals of Beleriand* (AB 2):

The Silmarillion
2 Annals of Valinor
3 Annals of Beleriand

With this compare the title-pages given on p. 202, where 'The Silmarillion' is the comprehensive title of the tripartite (or larger) work.

SILMARILLION

II

ANNALS OF VALINOR

Here begin the Annals of Valinor and speak of the foundation of the World.

At the beginning Ilúvatar, that is Allfather, made all things. Afterwards the Valar, or Powers, came into the world. These are nine: Manwë, Ulmo, Aulë, Oromë, Tulkas, Ossë, Mandos, Lórien, and Melko. Of these Manwë and Melko were most puissant, and were brethren; and Manwë is lord of the Valar, and holy. But Melko turned to lust and pride, and to violence and evil, and his name is accursed, and is not uttered, but he is called Morgoth. Oromë, Tulkas, Ossë, and Lórien were younger in the thought of Ilúvatar, ere the world's devising, than the other five; and Oromë was born of Yavanna, who is after named, but he is not Aulë's son.

The queens of the Valar were Varda, Manwë's spouse, and Yavanna, whom Aulë espoused after in the world, in Valinor; Vana the fair was the wife of Oromë; and Nessa the sister of Oromë was Tulkas' wife; and Uinen, the lady of the seas, was wife of Ossë; Vairë the weaver dwelt with Mandos, and Estë the pale with Lórien. No spouse hath Ulmo or Melko. No lord hath Nienna the mournful, queen of shadows, Manwë's sister and Melko's.

With these great ones came many lesser spirits, beings of their own kind but of smaller might; these are the Vanimor, the Beautiful. And with them also were later numbered their children, begotten in the world, but of divine race, who were many and fair; these are the Valarindi.

Of the beginning of the reckoning of Time and the foundation of Valinor.

Time was not measured by the Valar, until the building of Valinor was ended; but thereafter they counted time by the ages of Valinor, whereof each hath 100 years of the Valar, and each Valian year is as ten years of the Sun now are.

Valian Years 500 It is said that the Valar came into the world 30,000 Sun-years ere the first rising of the Moon, that is thirty ages ere the beginning of our time; and that Valinor was built five ages after their coming. In the long time before the fortifying of the West, Aulë made great lamps for the lighting of the world and set

them upon pillars wrought by Morgoth. But Morgoth was already moved with hatred and jealousy and his pillars were made with deceit. Wherefore the Lamps fell and growth that had begun with the gathering of light was arrested; but the Gods assailed by many waters withdrew into the West. There they began the building of their land and mansions, between the Encircling Sea and the Great Sea of the West, upon whose shore they piled high mountains. But Morgoth departed to the North of the world. The symmetry of earth and water was first broken in those days.

V.Y.1000 In this Valian Year, after Valinor was made, and Valmar built, the city of the Gods, the Valar brought into being the Two Trees, Laurelin and Silpion, of gold and silver, whose bloom gave light to Valinor. All this while Morgoth dwelt in Middle-earth, and he made his fortress at Utumna in the North; but he held sway with violence and the lands were yet more broken in that time.

V.Y.1000–2000 A thousand Valian Years of bliss and splendour followed the kindling of the Trees in Valinor, but Middle-earth was in darkness. Thither came Yavanna at times, and the slow growth of the forests was begun. Of the Valar only Oromë came ever there, and he hunted in the dark woods of the ancient earth, when he was weary of the shining lands. Morgoth withdrew before his horn.

V.Y.1900 Yavanna often reproached the Valar for their neglected stewardship; wherefore on a time Varda began the fashioning of the stars, and she set them aloft. Thereafter the night of the world was beautiful, and some of the Vanimor strayed into Middle-earth. Among these was Melian, whose voice was renowned in Valmar. She was of Lórien's house, but she returned not thither for many years, and the nightingales sang about her in the dark woods of the western lands.

V.Y.1950 The mightiest of the works of Varda, lady of the stars, was that constellation which is called by the Elves the Sickle of the Gods, but by Men of the ancient North it was named the Burning Briar, and by later Men it has been given many names beside. This sign of the sickle Varda hung above the North as a threat to Morgoth and an omen of his fall. At its first shining the Elder Children of Ilúvatar awoke in the midmost of Middle-earth. They are the Elves.[1] Hence they are called also the children of the stars.[2]

V.Y.1980–1990 Oromë found the Elves and befriended them; and the most part of that folk marched under his guidance west and north to the shores of Beleriand, being bidden by the Gods to Valinor.

But first Morgoth was overcome with war and bound and led captive and imprisoned under Mandos. In that war of the Gods the lands were rent anew.

V.Y.2000 From this time was counted the imprisonment of Morgoth. By the doom of Manwë he should be confined in punishment for seven ages, 700 Valian Years, after which time he should be given grace of repentance and atonement.

The Valian Year 2000 from the entry of the Gods into the world, and 1000 from the kindling of the Trees, is accounted the Noontide of the Blessed Realm, and the full season of the mirth of Valinor. In that time all the earth had peace.

In that year the first kindreds of the Elves came to the Western Shore and entered into the light of the Gods. The Eldar are all those Elves called who obeyed the summons of Oromë. Of these there are three kindreds, the Lindar, the Noldor, and the Teleri. The Lindar and the Noldor came first to Valinor, and they built the hill of Kôr in a pass of the mountains nigh to the sea-shore, and upon it upraised the city of Tûn[3] and the tower of Ingwë their king.

V.Y.2000–2010 But the Teleri, who came after them, waited in the meanwhile for ten Valian Years upon the shores of Beleriand, and some never departed thence. Wherefore they were called Ilkorindi, for they came never unto Kôr. Of these most renowned was Tindingol or Thingol,[4] brother of Elwë, lord of the Teleri. Melian enchanted him in the woods of Beleriand; and he after wedded her and dwelt as a king in the western twilight. But while he slept under the spells of Melian his people sought him in vain, and ere he awoke most of the Teleri had departed. For they were drawn upon an island by Ulmo and so passed the sea as the Lindar and Noldor had done before.

[It is told that a company of the Noldor, whose leader was Dan, forsook the host of Finwë, lord of the Noldor, early upon the westward march, and turned south. But they found the lands barren and dark, and turned again north, and marched west once more with much wandering and grief. Of these some, under Denithor[5] son of Dan, came at last, about the year of the Valar **2700**, over Eredlindon, and dwelt in Ossiriand, and were allies of

Thingol.[6] This have I, Pengolod, added here, for it was not known unto Rúmil.]

V.Y.2010–2110 By the deeds of Ossë, as is elsewhere recounted, the Teleri came not at once into Valinor, but during this time dwelt upon Tol-eressëa, the Lonely Isle, in the Great Sea, within sight of Valinor.

V.Y.2111 In this year the Teleri came in their ships to Valinor, and dwelt upon its eastern strands; and there they made the town and haven of Alqualondë, that is Swanhaven, thus named because they moored there their swans, and their swan-shaped boats.[7]

V.Y.2500 The Noldor had at this time invented gems, and they fashioned them in many myriads. At length, about five ages after the coming of the Noldor to Valinor, Fëanor the Smith, eldest son of Finwë, chief of the Noldor, devised the thrice-renowned Silmarils, about whose fate these tales are woven. They shone of their own light, being filled with the radiance of the Two Trees, the holy light of Valinor, which was blended therein to a marvellous fire.

V.Y.2700 In this time Morgoth sued for pardon; and at the prayers of Nienna his sister, and by the clemency of Manwë his brother, but against the wish of Tulkas and Aulë and Oromë, he was released; and he feigned humility and repentance, obeisance to the Valar, and love and friendship for the Elves, and dwelt in Valinor in ever-increasing freedom. He lied and dissembled, and most he cozened the Noldor, for he had much to teach, and they had an overmastering desire to learn; but he coveted their gems and lusted for the Silmarils.[8]

V.Y.2900 During two more ages the bliss of Valinor remained, yet a shadow began to gather in many hearts; for Morgoth was at work with secret whisperings and crooked counsels. Most he prevailed upon the Noldor, and he sowed the seeds of dissension between the proud sons of Finwë, lord of Gnomes, Fëanor, Fingolfin, and Finrod, and distrust was born between Noldor and Valar.

About this time, because of the feuds that began to awake, the Gods held council, and by their doom Fëanor, eldest son of Finwë, and his household and following, were deprived of the leadership of the Gnomes. Wherefore the house of Fëanor was

after called the Dispossessed, for this, and because Morgoth later robbed them of their treasure. Finwë and Fëanor departed from the city of Tûn and dwelt in the north of Valinor; but Morgoth hid himself, and appeared only to Fëanor in secret, feigning friendship.

V.Y.2950 The Gods heard tidings of Morgoth, and sent to apprehend him, but he fled over the mountains into the shadows of Arvalin, and abode there long, plotting evil, and gathering the strength of darkness unto him.

V.Y.2990 Morgoth now completed his designs, and with the aid of Ungoliantë out of Arvalin he stole back into Valinor, and destroyed the Trees. Thence he escaped in the gathering dark northward, and he sacked the dwellings of Finwë and Fëanor, and carried off a host of jewels, and stole the Silmarils. There he slew Finwë before his doors, and many Elves, and defiled thus Valinor and began murder in the world. This reward had Finwë and Fëanor for their friendship.

Morgoth was hunted by the Valar, but he escaped into the North of Middle-earth, and re-established there his strong places, and bred and gathered once more his evil servants, Orcs and Balrogs.

[Then fear came into Beleriand, which for many ages had dwelt in starlit peace. But Thingol with his ally Denithor of Ossiriand for a long while held back the Orcs from the South. But at length Denithor son of Dan was slain, and Thingol made his deep mansions in Menegroth, the Thousand Caves, and Melian wove magic of the Valar about the land of Doriath; and most of the Elves of Beleriand withdrew within its protection, save some that lingered about the western havens, Brithombar and Eglorest beside the Great Sea, and the Green-elves of Ossiriand who dwelt still behind the rivers of the East, wherein the power of Ulmo ran. This have I, Pengolod, added to the words of Rúmil of Valinor.]

V.Y.2990–3000 Of the last years before the Hiding of Valinor.

V.Y.2991 Valinor lay now in great gloom, and darkness, save only for the stars, fell on all the western world. Then Fëanor, against the will of the Valar, returned to Tûn, and claimed the kingship of the Noldor after Finwë; and he summoned all that people unto Kôr. There Fëanor spoke unto them. Fëanor was the mightiest Gnome of all that have been, wordcrafty and hand-

crafty, fair and strong and tall, fiery of mood and thought, hardtempered, undaunted, master of the wills of others.

Songs have been made of his deeds that day. His speech was like to flame. Though his heart was hot with hatred for the slayer of his father and the robber of his gems, and he spoke much of vengeance, yet he echoed Morgoth unwitting, and his words were strong with the lies of Morgoth, and rebel[lion] against Manwë. The most part of the Noldor he persuaded that day to follow him out of Valinor and recover their realms on earth, lest they be filched by the Younger Children of Ilúvatar. At that assembly Fëanor and his seven sons swore their dreadful oath to slay or pursue with hate any so ever that held a Silmaril against their will.

V.Y.2992 The great march of the Gnomes was long preparing. The Gods forbade but did not hinder, for Fëanor had accused them of keeping the Elves captive against their wills. At length the host set out, but under divided leadership, for Fingolfin's house held him for king.

The host had not gone far, ere it came into Fëanor's heart that all these mighty companies, both warriors and others, and great store of goods, would never make the vast leagues unto the North save with the help of ships. Now they went north both because they purposed to come at Morgoth, and because northward the Sundering Seas grew narrow; for Tûn beneath Taniquetil is upon the girdle of the earth, where the Great Sea is measurelessly wide. But the Teleri alone had ships, and they would not give them up, nor lend them, against the will of the Valar.

Thus befell in this year of dread the grievous battle about Alqualondë, and the kinslaying evilly renowned in song, wherein the Noldor distraught furthered Morgoth's work. But the Noldor overcame the Teleri, and took their ships, and fared thence slowly along the rocky coasts in great peril, and amid dissensions. Many marched on foot, and others manned the vessels.

V.Y.2993 About this time the Noldor came unto a place, nigh unto the northern confines of Valinor, where a high rock stands above the shore, and there stood either Mandos himself or his messenger, and spoke the Doom of Mandos. For the kinslaying he cursed the house of Fëanor, and to a less degree all those who followed them or shared in their enterprise, unless they would return to abide the doom of the Valar. But if they would not, then should evil fortune and disaster befall them, and ever should this come most to pass through treachery of kin towards kin; and their

oath should turn against them, hindering rather than aiding the recovery of the jewels. A measure of mortality should visit the Noldor, and they should be slain with weapons, and with torments, and with sorrow, and in the long end they should fade upon Middle-earth and wane before the younger race. Much else he foretold darkly that after befell, and he warned them that the Valar would fence Valinor against their return.

But Fëanor hardened his heart and held on, and with him went still, but reluctantly, Fingolfin's folk, feeling the constraint of their kinship and of the will of Fëanor; they feared also the doom of the Gods, for not all of Fingolfin's people had been guiltless of the kinslaying. Inglor (who was after surnamed Felagund, Lord of Caves) and the other sons of Finrod went forward also; for they had aforetime had great friendship, Inglor with the sons of Fingolfin, and his brothers Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor with Celegorm and Curufin, sons of Fëanor.[9] But the lords of the house of Finrod were less grim and of kinder mood than the others, and they had no part in the kinslaying; yet they did not escape its curse who now refused to turn back. Finrod himself returned and many of his people with him, and came at last once more unto Valinor and received the pardon of the Gods. But Aulë their ancient friend smiled on them no more, and the Teleri were estranged.

Here endeth that which Rúmil wrote.

Here followeth the continuation of Pengolod.

V.Y.2994 The Noldor came at length into the bitter North, and further along the land they could not go by ship; for there is a strait between the Westworld, whereon Valinor is built, that curveth eastward, and the coast of Middle-earth, which beareth westward, and through these narrows the chill waters of the Encircling Sea and the waves of the Great Sea flow together, and there are vast mists of deathly cold, and the sea-streams are filled with clashing hills of ice, and the grinding of ice submerged. This strait was named Helkaraksë.

The ships that remained, many having been lost, were too few to carry all across, save with many a passage and return. But none were willing to abide upon the coast, while others sailed away, for trust was not full between the leaders, and quarrel arose between Fëanor and Fingolfin.

Fëanor and his folk seized all the ships and sailed east across the sea, and they took none of the other companies save Orodreth,[10] Angrod, and Egnor, whom Celegorm and Curufin loved. And

Fëanor said: 'Let the murmurers whine their way back to the shadows of Valmar!' And he burned the ships upon the eastern shore, and so great was its fire that the Noldor[11] left behind saw the redness afar off.

V.Y.2995 In this year of the Valar Fëanor came unto Beleriand and the shores beneath Eredlómin, the Echoing Mountains; and his landing was at the narrow inlet, Drengist, that runs into Dorlómen. The Gnomes came thence into Dorlómen and about the north of the Mountains of Mithrim, and camped in the land of Hithlum in that part that is named Mithrim, and north of the great lake that hath the same name.

In the land of Mithrim they fought the first of the battles of the long war of the Gnomes and Morgoth. For an army of Orcs came forth aroused by the burning of the ships and the rumour of their advance; but the Gnomes were victorious and drove away the Orcs with slaughter, and pursued them beyond Eredwethion into the plain of Bladorion. That battle is the First Battle of Beleriand, and is called Dagor-os-Giliath,[12] the Battle under Stars; for all was yet dark.

But the victory was marred by the fall of Fëanor. He advanced unwarily upon Bladorion, too hot in pursuit, and was surrounded when the Balrogs turned to bay in the rearguard of Morgoth. Very great was the valour of Fëanor, and he was wrapped in fire; but at length he fell mortally wounded by the hand of Gothmog, Lord of Balrogs. But his sons bore him back to Mithrim, and he died there, reminding them of their oath. To this they added now an oath of vengeance for their father.

V.Y.2996 Maidros, eldest son of Fëanor, was caught in the snares of Morgoth. For Morgoth feigned to treat with him, and Maidros feigned to be willing, and either purposed evil to the other; and each came with force to the parley, but Morgoth with the more, and Maidros was made captive.

Morgoth held Maidros as a hostage, and swore only to release him if the Noldor would march away, either to Valinor if they could, or else from Beleriand and away to the South of the world. But if they would not, he would torment Maidros. But the sons of Fëanor believed not that he would release their brother, if they departed, nor were they willing to depart, whatever he might do.

V.Y.2997 Morgoth hung Maidros by the right wrist in a band of hellwrought steel above a precipice upon Thangorodrim, where none could reach him.

V.Y.2998–3000 Now Fingolfin and Inglor, son of Finrod, won their way at last with grievous losses and with minished might into the North of Middle-earth. This is accounted among the most valiant and desperate of the deeds of the Gnomes; for they came perforce over Helkaraksë, being unwilling to retrace their way to Valinor, and having no ships. But their agony in that crossing was very great, and their hearts were filled with bitterness.

Even as Fingolfin set foot in Middle-earth the First Ages of the World were ended, for they had tarried long in despair upon the shores of the West, and long had been their bitter journey.

The First Ages are reckoned as 30000 years, or 3000 years of the Valar; whereof the first Thousand was before the Trees, and Two thousand save nine were the Years of the Trees or of the Holy Light, which lived after, and lives yet, only in the Silmarils; and the nine are the Years of Darkness, or the Darkening of Valinor.

Towards the end of these nine years, as is elsewhere told, the Gods made the Moon and Sun, and sent them forth over the world, and light came into the Hither Lands. The Moon was the first to go forth.

Men, the Younger Children of Ilúvatar, awoke in the East of the world at the first Sunrise;[13] hence they are also called the Children of the Sun. For the Sun was set as a sign of the waning of the Elves, but the Moon cherisheth their memory.

With the first Moonrise Fingolfin set foot upon the North, for the Moonrise came ere the Dawn, even as Silpion of old bloomed ere Laurelin and was the elder of the Trees.

Year of the Sun 1 But the first Dawn shone upon Fingolfin's march, and his blue and silver banners were unfurled, and flowers sprang under his marching feet; for a time of opening and growth, sudden, swift, and fair, was come into the world, and good of evil, as ever happens.

Then Fingolfin marched through the fastness of Morgoth's land, that is Dorl Daideloth,[14] the Land of Dread; and the Orcs fled before the new light, amazed, and hid beneath the earth; and the Elves smote upon the gates of Angband, and their trumpets echoed in Thangorodrim's towers.

Now, being wary of the wiles of Morgoth, Fingolfin withdrew from the doors of hell and turned unto Mithrim, so that the Shadowy Mountains, Eredwethion, might be his guard, while his folk rested. But there was little love between Fingolfin's following and the house of Fëanor; and the sons of Fëanor removed and

camped upon the southern shore, and the lake lay between the peoples.

From this time are reckoned the Years of the Sun, and these things happened in the first year. Now measured time came into the world, and the growth, changing, and ageing of all things was hereafter more swift, even in Valinor, but most swift in the Hither Lands upon Middle-earth, the mortal regions between the seas of East and West. And all living things spread and multiplied in those days, and the Elves increased, and Beleriand was green and filled with music. There many things afterward came to pass, as is recorded in the *Annals of Beleriand*, and in the *Quenta*, and in other songs and tales.

NOTES

All the changes to the original text recorded here belong certainly to the 'early period', as distinct from alterations made after the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*.

1 *They are the Elves* > *They are the Quendi or Elves*. See *Lhammas* §1 and commentary.

2 *the children of the stars* > *Eldar, the children of the stars*. See *Lhammas* §2 and commentary.

3 *Tûn* > *Túna* (and in annals 2900 and 2992). See *Lhammas* §5, QS §39, and commentaries.

4 *Tindingol or Thingol* > *Sindo the Grey, later called Thingol*. See *Lhammas* §6 and commentary.

5 *Denithor* > *Denethor* (and in annal 2990). See *Lhammas* §7 and commentary.

6 Added here: *These were the Green-elves*.

7 The words *swans, and their* are a careful addition, probably made at the time of writing; but it seems odd, since my father can hardly have wished to say that the Teleri 'moored' their swans at Alqualondë.

8 Added here, perhaps at the time of composition of the *Annals*: [*Here the Danians came over Eredlindon and dwelt in Ossiriand.*] On the term *Danians* see commentary on *Lhammas* §7.

9 This sentence changed to read: *for they had aforetime had great friendship, Inglor and Orodreth with the sons of Fingolfin, and his brothers Angrod and Egnor with Celegorn and Curufin, sons of Fëanor*. See QS §42 and commentary. – *Celegorm* > *Celegorn* again in annal 2994; see commentary on QS §41.

10 *Orodreth* struck out; see note 9, and QS §73 and commentary.

11 *Noldor* was changed from *Noldoli*: see commentary on annal 2000.

12 *Dagor-os-Giliath* > *Dagor-nuin-Giliath*. See QS §88 and commentary.

13 *Men . . . awoke in the East of the world at the first Sunrise* > *At the Sunrise Men . . . awoke in Hildórien in the midmost regions of the world.* See QS §82 and commentary.

14 *Dor-Daideloth* > *Dor-Daedeloth.* See QS §91 and commentary.

Commentary on the Later Annals of Valinor

Opening section The mixture of tenses, already present in AV 1, becomes now slightly more acute with *Manwë is* for *Manwë was* lord of the Valar; see p. 208.

The sentence concerning Oromë, Tulkas, Ossë, and Lórien, who were 'younger in the thought of Ilúvatar, ere the world's devising' than the other five Valar, is not in AV 1, nor is anything similar said in any text of the *Quenta* tradition (though there does appear in QS §6 the statement that Mandos was the *elder* and Lórien the *younger* of the Fanturi; cf. also *The Lost Road* p. 63, where Alkar (Melko) is called 'the *eldest* in the thought of Ilúvatar'). The statements in AV 2 that 'Aulë espoused Yavanna after in the world, in Valinor', and that Oromë is Yavanna's son but not Aulë's, are likewise absent from AV 1 and from the whole *Quenta* tradition.

Two of the fragments of Ælfwine's Old English translations of the *Annals* given in Vol. IV bear on this. In the brief version III (IV. 291) the statement concerning the relative 'youth' of certain of the Valar appears, but it is confined to Tulkas and Oromë; and there also it is said, as here, that Aulë and Yavanna became husband and wife (*wurdon to sinhíwan*) after the Valar entered the world. That this text derives from the post-*Lord of the Rings* period is suggested but not proved by the form *Melkor*, not *Melko* (on this point see p. 338, commentary on §30). The other Old English passage in question, a hastily-written scrap (IV. 293), has the statement found in AV 2 that Oromë was not Aulë's son, but lacks that concerning the later union of Yavanna and Aulë.*

The opening of AV 2 was long after extensively changed and re-written; but one alteration in the present passage looks as if it were made during the earlier time. The sentence 'and Oromë was born of Yavanna, who is after named, but he is not Aulë's son' was changed to this notable statement:

> and Oromë was the offspring of Yavanna, who is after named, but not as the Children of the Gods born in this world, for he came of her thought ere the world was made.

This is associated with development in the idea of the lesser beings who came into the world with the Valar, which underwent several changes (ultimately emerging into the conception of the Maiar). In Q (IV. 78)

*The uninterpretable mark following the name Oromë in this passage, which I explained to mean 'and Tulkas', may in fact be a shorthand for 'Oromë, Tulkas, Ossë, and Lórien', as in AV 2, with which this Old English fragment evidently belongs.

these spirits are mentioned but not given any name, and the same remains the case in QS (§2). In AV 1 (IV. 263) a distinction is made between the children of the Valar on the one hand and 'beings of their own kind but of less might' on the other; but all entered the world with the Valar, and all are called *Valarindi*. In AV 2 the distinction is enlarged: the lesser spirits, 'beings of their own kind but of smaller might', who came with the Valar, are the *Vanimor*, 'the Beautiful', and the Children of the Valar, who did not enter the world with them but were *begotten in the world*, are the *Valarindi*; these were 'later numbered with' the *Vanimor*. In the Old English fragment referred to above the same is said, though the name *Valarindi* is not there given to the Children of the Valar (IV. 293).

Annal 500 The story (going back to the *Lost Tales*) that Morgoth devised the pillars of the Lamps out of ice is told in the *Ambarkanta* (IV. 238) and indicated in AV 1 (IV. 263: 'Morgoth destroyed *by deceit* the Lamps which Aulë made'). In the other tradition, QS (§11) retains the wording of Q (IV. 80), in which it is only said that Morgoth overthrew the Lamps, and does not suggest the story of his deceit.

Annal 1000 On the appearance here of *Utumna*, a reversion to the *Lost Tales*, as the name of Melko's original fortress see p. 108. This is an indication that AV 2 followed AB 2, where (in the opening passage in both texts) *Angband* was retained.

Annal 1000–2000 The phrase 'and the slow growth of the forests was begun' is surprising. In S and Q (IV. 12, 82) the primaeval forests already grew in Middle-earth at the time of the downfall of the Lamps, and this is repeated in QS (§18). The present passage seems at variance with that under V.Y.500 ('the Lamps fell and growth that had begun with the gathering of light was arrested'), and to revert to the old story of the *Lost Tales*: cf. the commentary on the tale of *The Chaining of Melko* (I. 111): 'In this earliest narrative there is no mention of the beginning of growth during the time when the Lamps shone, and the first trees and low plants appeared under Yavanna's spells in the twilight after their overthrow.'

Annal 1900 This is the first appearance of the idea that the Valar, withdrawn behind their mountain-wall, 'neglected their stewardship' of Middle-earth, and that it was the reproaches of Yavanna that led to Varda's making of the stars. The idea of the two starmakings was not yet present.

For *Vanimor* AV 1 has *Valarindi*: see the commentary on the opening section.

Annal 2000 The form *Noldor* for *Noldoli* first occurs in these Annals and in AB 2 (in that for V.Y. 2994 my father still inadvertently wrote *Noldoli* before changing it to *Noldor*); and in the present passage is the

first appearance of the name *Lindar* of the First Kindred, replacing earlier *Quendi* of S, Q, and AV 1 (*Lindar* occurs in the earlier texts by emendation at this later time). This change implies also that the application of *Quendi* had shifted, to its final meaning of 'all Elves' (this being in fact a reversion to a nomenclature that appeared briefly long before, I. 234–5); and indeed by an early change to the manuscript (note 1 above) 'They are the Elves' became 'They are the Quendi or Elves'. With this shift went the narrowing of meaning, first found here, of the term *Eldar* to those Elves who obeyed the summons of Oromë (although in the early change given in note 2 *Eldar* seems to be used as a simple equivalent of *Quendi*); see the commentary on *Lhammas* §2.

Annal 2000–2010 This is the first indication of a new meaning given to *Ilkorindi*, narrowing it from the old sense of 'Dark-elves' in general (IV. 85) to those of the Teleri who remained in Beleriand; see the commentary on *Lhammas* §2.

The conclusion of the annal is enclosed in square brackets in the manuscript, and this is no doubt original. It closely followed the pencilled addition to AV 1 (IV. 270–1), where it is not however said that this was an addition by Pengolod to Rúmil's work; for the preamble to AV 1 states that the *Annals of Valinor* were written in their entirety by Pengolod. This had now been changed, with Pengolod becoming the continuator of Rúmil's annals. See the commentary on annals 2990 and 2993. – The coming of the 'Danians' over Eredlindon in V.Y.2700 is referred to again in an addition to the annal for that year (note 8).

Annal 2700 Oromë is not named in the other texts as opposed to the release of Melko. In Q (IV. 90) and in QS (§48) it was Ulmo and Tulkas who doubted its wisdom; in AV 1 Aulë and Tulkas are named as opposers.

Annal 2900 On the evolution of the story of Morgoth's movements at this time see IV. 277–8.

Annal 2990 On the probable meaning of the sentence 'This reward had Finwë and Fëanor for their friendship' see IV. 278.

The phrase 'bred and gathered once more his evil servants, Orcs and Balrogs', retained from AV 1, shows the conception still present that the Orcs were first brought into being long before Morgoth's return to Middle-earth, in contrast to the opening of AB 2.

The conclusion of this annal, like that in annal 2000–2010, is enclosed in square brackets in the manuscript, and like the former passage is closely based on (though re-ordered from) interpolations to AV 1 (IV. 271), but with the addition attributing it to Pengolod.

Annal 2992 The accusation of Fëanor against the Valar is not in AV 1. – As first written AV 1 has 'Thus about 2992 of Valian Years befell . . .', which was changed to 'Thus in the dread Year of the Valar 2999 (Sun

Year 29991)' (IV. 273). The fact that my father partially adopted the revised phrasing ('the dread Year', 'this year of dread') suggests perhaps that the revised dating in AV 1, greatly accelerating the succession of events, was before him, and he rejected it.

That some went on foot up the coast while others manned the ships is not told in AV 1, but goes back to the *Lost Tales* (see IV. 48).

Annal 2993 In the phrase in the Doom of Mandos 'they should be slain with weapons' my father first put 'they should be lightly slain', as in AV 1, but struck out the word *lightly* as he wrote; see IV. 278–9.

After 'warned them that the Valar would fence Valinor against their return' he put 'Here endeth that which Rúmil wrote' (words added in pencil at this point in AV 1, IV. 271 note 20), but at once struck them out and set them at the end of the annal, as printed in the text. While the preamble to AV 1 states that the Annals were the work of Pengolod alone, a second version of the preamble (IV. 292) says that they 'were written first by Rúmil the Elfsage of Valinor, and after by [i.e. continued by] Pengolod the Wise of Gondolin'; and I have suggested (IV. 292–3) that Rúmil was one of the Noldor who returned to Valinor with Finrod, and that this would explain why the end of his part in the Annals was moved further on in AV 2 – 'his part ends with the actual record of Finrod's return, and of the reception that he and those with him received.' Cf. the passages in annals 2000–2010 and 2990 where insertions are made by Pengolod into Rúmil's text.

In this annal (and in AB 2 annal 50) *Felagund* is for the first time rendered 'Lord of Caves'. He was called *Inglor Felagund* in the Old English version of AB (IV. 339, 341).

Annal 2998–3000 With the words 'For the Sun was set as a sign of the waning of the Elves, but the Moon cherisheth their memory' (repeated in QS §75) cf. *The Lost Road*, p. 72 (note 12).

III
THE LATER ANNALS OF BELERIAND

The manuscript of this version, **AB 2**, of the *Annals of Beleriand* is closely similar to that of AV 2, and obviously belongs to very much the same time. As with AV 2, the manuscript was in its earlier part heavily corrected and overwritten years later – the first stage in the development of the final version of these chronicles, the *Grey Annals*. In this case, however, there was far more revision in the earlier period than with AV 2, and in some places it is hard to separate the 'early' from the 'late'; reference to QS will usually decide the point, but doubt remains in cases where QS was itself altered at an indeterminable time.

I give the text as it was originally written (admitting a few additions or corrections that were clearly made at or very soon after the time of composition), but make an exception in the case of dates. Here it is less confusing and easier for subsequent reference to give the emended dates in square brackets after the original ones. These major alterations in the chronology took place during the writing of QS, and are discussed on pp. 257–8. Changes others than those to dates, where I feel sufficiently certain that they belong to the pre-*Lord of the Rings* period, are recorded in the notes; the great majority of them reflect movement of names and narrative that had come in when QS was written (or in some cases entered in the course of the writing of QS), and I do not discuss them in the commentary on AB 2.

As already noted (p. 107), the two earlier versions of these Annals given in Vol. IV (AB I and AB II) are here referred to as **AB 1**; as far as annal 220 the comparison being with AB II, and after that point with AB I. As with AV 2, in the commentary I treat AB 1 as including the emendations made to those manuscripts (fully recorded in IV. 310–13, 332–3), and do not take up again points discussed in the commentaries in Vol. IV.

In content AB 2 remains in general close to AB 1, but it is not only fuller in matter but also more finished in manner; the *Annals of Beleriand* was becoming an independent work, and less (as I described AB 1 in IV. 294) a 'consolidation of the historical structure in its internal relations and chronology' in support of the *Quenta* – but it is still annalistic, retaining the introductory *Here* of the year-entries (derived from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*), and lacking connection of motive between events. And since, most unhappily, my father abandoned the *Grey Annals* at the end of the story of Túrin, the conclusion of AB 2 contains the last account in the *Annals* tradition of the fourth (becoming

the sixth) century of the Sun and of the Great Battle. Both AV 2 and AB 2 only came to light very recently (I was not aware of their existence when *The Silmarillion* was prepared for publication).

SILMARILLION

III

ANNALS OF BELERIAND

Before the uprising of the Sun Morgoth fled from the land of the Valar and carried off the Silmarils, the holy gems of Fëanor. He returned into the northern regions of the West of Middle-earth, and rebuilt his fortress of Angband, beneath the black Mountains of Iron, where their highest peak Thangorodrim towers. He brought forth Orcs and Balrogs; and set the Silmarils in his iron crown. Thingol and Denithor[1] resisted the inroads of the Orcs, but Denithor was slain, and Thingol withdrew to Menegroth, and Doriath was closed.

Here the Dispossessed came into the North, and Fëanor led them, and with him came his seven sons, Maidros, Maglor, Celegorm,[2] Curufin, Cranthir, Damrod, and Díriel, and with them their friends, the younger sons of Finrod. They burned the Telerian ships upon the coast, where it is since called Losgar, nigh to the outlet of Drengist. Soon after they fought that battle with the host of Morgoth that is named Dagor-os-Giliath;[3] and Fëanor had the victory, but he was mortally wounded by Gothmog, and died in Mithrim.

Maidros, Fëanor's son, was ambushed and captured by Morgoth, and hung upon Thangorodrim; but his brethren were camped about Lake Mithrim, behind Eredwethion, the Shadowy Mountains.

Years of the Sun

1 Here the Moon and Sun, made by the Valar after the death of the Two Trees, first appeared. At this time the Fathers of Men awoke first in the East of the world. Here Fingolfin, and with him Inglor son of Finrod, led the second host of the Gnomes over Helkaraksë, the Grinding Ice, into the Hither Lands. With the first Moonrise they set foot upon Middle-earth, and the first Sunrise shone upon their march.

At the coming of Day Morgoth withdrew, dismayed, into his deepest dungeons; and there he smithied in secret, and sent forth black smoke. Fingolfin blew his trumpets in defiance before the

gates of Angband, and came thence into Mithrim; but the sons of Fëanor withdrew to the southern shore, and there was feud between the houses, because of the burning of the ships, and the lake lay between them.

2 [5] Here Fingon, Fingolfin's son, healed the feud; for he sought after Maidros, and rescued him with the help of Thorndor,[4] King of Eagles.

1–50 Now the Gnomes wandered far and wide over Beleriand, exploring the land, and settling it in many places, from the great sea Belegar unto Eredlindon, that is the Blue Mountains; and they took all Sirion's vale to dwell in, save Doriath in the midmost of the land, which Thingol and Melian held, both the forest of Region and the forest of Neldoreth on either side of Esgalduin.

20 Here was held the Feast of Reuniting, that is Mereth-Aderthad in Gnomish speech. In Nan-Tathrin,[5] the Vale of Willows, near the mouths of Sirion, were gathered the Elves of Valinor, of the three houses of the Gnomes, and many of the Dark-elves, both those of the woods and of the havens of the West, and some of the Green-elves of Ossiriand; and Thingol sent ambassadors from Doriath. But Thingol came not himself, nor would he open his kingdom, nor remove the enchantment that fenced it in, for he trusted not in the restraint of Morgoth to last long. Yet a time of peace, of growth and blossoming, and of prosperous mirth followed.

50 Here unquiet and troubled dreams came upon Turgon son of Fingolfin, and Inglor his friend, son of Finrod; and they sought in the land for places of strength and refuge, lest Morgoth burst from Angband, as their dreams foreboded. Inglor found the caves of Narog, and began there to establish a stronghold and armouries, after the fashion of Thingol's abode in Menegroth; and he called his deep halls Nargothrond. Wherefore the Gnomes called him anew Felagund, lord of caverns, and that name he bore till death.

But Turgon journeyed alone, and by the grace of Ulmo discovered the hidden valley of Gondolin, but of this he told no one as yet.

51 [60] Here Morgoth made trial of the strength and watchfulness of the Noldor. His might was moved once more on a sudden, and there were earthquakes in the North, and fire came from the mountains, and the Orcs raided Beleriand, and bands of

robbers were abroad far and wide in the land. But Fingolfin and Maidros gathered great force of their own folk, and of the Dark-elves, and they destroyed all the wandering Orcs; and they pursued the main host unto Bladorion, and there surrounded it, and destroyed it utterly within sight of Angband. This was the Second Battle, Dagor Aglareb, the Glorious Battle.

Now was set the Siege of Angband,[6] and it lasted more than two [> four] hundred years; and Fingolfin boasted that Morgoth could never burst again from the leaguer of his foes. Yet neither could the Gnomes take Angband or regain the Silmarils. But war never ceased utterly in all this time, for Morgoth was secretly forging new weapons, and ever anon he would make trial of his enemies; moreover he was not encircled upon the uttermost North.

52 Here[7] Turgon was troubled anew and yet more grievously in sleep; and he took a third part of the Gnomes of Fingolfin's people, and their goods and their womenfolk, and departed south, and vanished, and none knew whither he was gone; but he came to Gondolin and built there a city and fortified the surrounding hills.

In this fashion the other chieftains beleaguered Angband. In the West were Fingolfin and Fingon, and they dwelt in Hithlum, and their chief fortress was at Sirion's Well, Eithel Sirion, where the river hath its source on the eastern slopes of Eredwethion. And all Eredwethion they manned and watched Bladorion thence, and their cavalry rode upon the plain even to the feet of the mountains of Morgoth, and their horses multiplied, for the grass was good. Of those horses many of the sires came from Valinor, and were given back to Fingolfin by the sons of Fëanor at the settlement of the feud.[8]

The sons of Finrod held the land from Eredwethion unto the eastern end of the Taur-na-Danion,[9] the Forest of Pines, from the northward slopes of which they also held watch over Bladorion. Here were Angrod and Egnor, and Orodreth was nighest to the sons of Fëanor in the East.[10] Of these Celegorm and Curufin held the land between the rivers Aros and Celon, from the borders of Doriath to the pass of Aglon, that is between Taur-na-Danion and the Hill of Himling;[11] and this pass and the plain beyond they guarded. Maidros had his stronghold upon Himling, and those lower hills that lie from the Forest of Pines unto the foothills of Eredlindon were called the Marches of Maidros. Thence he rode often into East Bladorion, the plains to the north, but he held also the woods south between Celon and Gelion. Maglor lay to the east

again about the upper waters of Gelion, where the hills are low or fail; and Cranthir ranged beneath the shadows of the Blue Mountains. And all the folk of Fëanor kept watch by scout and outrider towards the North-east.

To the south the fair land of Beleriand, west and east of Sirion, was apportioned in this manner. Fingolfin was King of Hithlum, and he was Lord of the Falas or Western Shore, and overlord of the Dark-elves as far south as Eglorest and west of the river Eglor. Felagund, lord of caverns, was King of Narog, and his brothers were the lords of Taur-na-Danion and his vassals;[12] and he possessed the lands both east and west of the river Narog, as far south as the mouths of Sirion, from Eglor's banks in the West, east to the banks of Sirion, save only for a portion of Doriath that lay west of Sirion, between the river Taiglin and Umboth-Muilin.[13] But between Sirion and the river Mindeb no one dwelt; and in Gondolin, to the south-west of Taur-na-Danion, was Turgon, but that was not yet known.

Now King Felagund had his seat in Nargothrond far to the south, but his fort and place of battle was in the north, in the wide pass between Eredwethion and Taur-na-Danion, through which Sirion flows to the south. There was an isle amid the waters of Sirion, and it was called Tolsirion, and there Felagund built a mighty watchtower.[14]

South of Taur-na-Danion was a wide space untenanted, between the precipices into which those highlands fall, and the fences of Melian, and here many evil things fled that had been nurtured in the dark of old, and sought refuge now in the chasms and ravines. South of Doriath and east, between Sirion and Aros and Gelion, was a wide land of wood and plain; this was East Beleriand, and it was wild and wide. Here few came and seldom, save Dark-elves wandering, but this land was held to be under the lordship of the sons of Fëanor, and Damrod and Díriel hunted in its borders and came seldom to the affrays in the northern siege. Ossiriand, the Land of Seven Rivers, that lies between Eredlindon and the river Gelion, and is watered by the streams of Ascar, Thalos, Legolin, Brilthor, Duilwen, and Adurant, was not subject to Maidros. Here dwelt the Green-elves, but they took no king after the death of Denithor, until Beren came among them. Into East Beleriand the Elf-lords, even from afar, would ride at times for hunting in the wild woods; but none passed east over Eredlindon, save only the Green-elves, for they had kindred that were yet in the further lands.

52–255 [60–455] The time of the Siege of Angband was a time of bliss, and the world had peace under the new light. Beleriand became exceedingly fair, and was filled with beasts and birds and flowers. In this time Men waxed and multiplied, and spread; and they had converse with the Dark-elves of the East, and learned much of them. From them they took the first beginnings of the many tongues of Men. Thus they heard rumour of the Blessed Realms of the West and the Powers that dwelt there, and many of the Fathers of Men in their wanderings moved ever westward.

65 Here Brithombar and Eglorest were built to fair towns, and the Tower of Tindobel was set up upon the cape west of Eglorest, to watch the Western Sea. Here some of the folk of Nargothrond built new ships with the help of the people of the havens, and they went forth and dwelt upon the great isle of Balar that lieth in the Bay of Balar into which Sirion flows.

102 About this time the building of Nargothrond and of Gondolin was complete.

104 [154] About this time the Gnomes climbed Eredlindon and gazed eastward, but they did not pass into the lands beyond. In those mountains the folk of Cranthir came first upon the Dwarves, and there was yet no enmity between them, and nonetheless little love. It was not known in those days whence the Dwarves had origin, save that they were not of Elf-kin or of mortal kind, nor yet of Morgoth's breeding. But it is said by some of the wise in Valinor, as I have since learned,[15] that Aulë made the Dwarves long ago, desiring the coming of the Elves and of Men, for he wished to have learners to whom he could teach his crafts of hand, and he could not wait upon the designs of Ilúvatar. But the Dwarves have no spirit indwelling, as have the Children of the Creator, and they have skill but not art; and they go back into the stone of the mountains of which they were made.[16]

In those days and regions the Dwarves had great mines and cities in the east of Eredlindon, far south of Beleriand, and the chief of these cities were Nogrod and Belegost. But the Elves went not thither, and the Dwarves trafficked into Beleriand; and they made a great road, which came north, east of the mountains, and thence it passed under the shoulders of Mount Dolm,[17] and followed thence the course of Ascar, and crossed Gelion at the ford Sarn-Athrad, and so came unto Aros. But the Dwarves came

that way seldom after the coming of the Gnomes, until the power of Maidros fell in the Third Battle.

105 [155] Here Morgoth endeavoured to take Fingolfin at unawares, and he sent forth an army into the white North, and it turned then west, and again south, and came by the coast west of Eredlómin. But it was destroyed and passed not into Hithlum, and the most part was driven into the sea at Drengist. This is not reckoned among the great battles. Thereafter there was peace for many years, and no Orcs issued forth to war. But Morgoth took new counsel in his heart, and thought of Dragons.

155 [260] Here Glómund the first of Dragons came forth from Angband's gate by night; and he was yet young and but half grown. But the Elves fled before him to Eredwethion and Taur-na-Danion in dismay, and he defiled Bladorion. Then Fingon, prince of Gnomes, rode up against him with his horsed archers, and Glómund could not yet withstand their darts, being not yet come to his full armoury; and he fled back to hell, and came not forth again for a long time.

170 [370] Here Bëor, Father of Men, was born in the East.

188 [388] Here Haleth the Hunter was born.

190 [390] Here was born Hádor[18] the Goldenhaired.

200 [400] Here Felagund hunting in the East with the sons of Fëanor came upon Bëor and his men, new come into Beleriand. Bëor became a vassal of Felagund, and went back with him into the West.[19] In East Beleriand was born Bregolas son of Bëor.

202 [402] Here there was war on the East Marches, and Bëor was there with Felagund. Barahir son of Bëor was born.

213 [413] Hundor son of Haleth was born.

217 [417] Gundor son of Hádor was born.

219 [419] Gumlin son of Hádor was born, beneath the shadows of Eredlindon.[20]

220 [420] Here Haleth the Hunter came into Beleriand. In the same year came also Hádor the Goldenhaired, with his great companies of men. Haleth remained in Sirion's vale, and his folk wandered much, owning allegiance to none, but they held most to the woods[21] between Taiglin and Sirion. Hádor became a vassal of Fingolfin, and he strengthened much the armies of the king, and

was given lands in Hithlum. There was great love between Elves and the Men of Hádor's house, and the folk of Hádor abandoned their own tongue and spoke with the speech of the Gnomes.

222 [422] In this time the strength of Men being added to the Gnomes hope grew high, and Morgoth was straitly enclosed. Fingolfin pondered an assault upon Angband, for he knew that they lived in danger while Morgoth was free to labour in the dark; but because the land was so fair most of the Gnomes were content with matters as they were, and his designs came to naught.

The Men of the three houses grew now and multiplied, and they learned wisdom and crafts of the Gnomes, and were gladly subject to the Elf-lords. The Men of Bëor were dark or brown of hair, but fair of face, with grey eyes; of shapely form, having courage and endurance, yet they were little greater in stature than the Elves of that day. The people of Hádor were yellow-haired and blue-eyed, for the most part (not so was Túrin, but his mother was of Bëor's house), and of greater strength and stature. Like unto them were the woodmen of Haleth, but somewhat less tall and more broad.

224 [424] Baragund, son of Bregolas son of Bëor, was born in Taur-na-Danion.

228 [428] Belegund his brother was born.

232 [432] Beren, after surnamed Ermabuin, the One-handed, or Mablosgen, the Empty-handed, son of Barahir son of Bëor, was born.[22]

241 [441] Húrin the Steadfast, son of Gumlin son of Hádor, was born in Hithlum. In the same year was born Handir, son of Hundor son of Haleth.

244 [444] Huor, brother of Húrin, was born.

245 [445] Morwen Eledwen[23] (Elfsheen) was born to Baragund. She was the fairest of all mortal maidens.

250 [450] Rian, daughter of Belegund, mother of Tuor, was born. In this year Bëor the Old, Father of Men, died of old age. The Elves saw then for the first time the death of weariness, and they sorrowed over the short span allotted to Men. Bregolas thereafter ruled the people of Bëor.

★ **255** [455] Here came an end of peace and mirth. In the winter of this year Morgoth unloosed his long-prepared forces, and he sought to break into Beleriand and destroy the wealth of the

Gnomes. The battle began suddenly on a night of mid-winter, and fell first most heavily on the sons of Finrod. This is Dagor Húr-Breged,[24] the Battle of Sudden Fire. Rivers of flame ran from Thangorodrim. Here Glómund the Golden, father of Dragons, came forth in his full might. The green plains of Bladorion were turned into a great desert without growing thing; and thereafter they were called Dor-na-Fauglith, Land of Gasping Thirst. In this war Bregolas was slain and a great part of the warriors of Bëor's folk. Angrod and Egnor, sons of Finrod, fell. But Barahir son of Bëor with his chosen companions saved King Felagund and Orodreth, and Felagund swore an oath of help and friendship in all need to Barahir and his kin and seed. Barahir ruled the remnant of the house of Bëor.

256 [456] Fingolfin and Fingon marched to the aid of Felagund and his folk, but they were driven back with grievous loss. Hádor now aged fell defending his lord Fingolfin, and with him fell Gundor his son. Gumlin took the lordship of the house of Hádor.

The sons of Fëanor were not slain, but Celegorm and Curufin were defeated, and fled unto Orodreth in the west of Taur-na-Danion.[25] Maidros did deeds of valour, and Morgoth could not as yet take the heights of Himling, but he broke through the passes[26] to the east and ravaged far into East Beleriand, and the Gnomes of Fëanor's house, for the most part, fled before him. Maglor joined Maidros, but Cranthir, Damrod, and Díriel fled into the South.

Turgon was not in that battle, nor Haleth, nor any but few of Haleth's folk. It is said that about this time[27] Húrin son of Gumlin was being fostered by Haleth, and that Haleth and Húrin hunting in Sirion's vale came upon some of Turgon's folk, and espied their secret entrance into the valley of Gondolin. But they were taken and brought before Turgon, and looked upon the hidden city, whereof of those outside none yet knew save Thorndor King of Eagles. Turgon welcomed them, for messages and dreams sent by Ulmo Lord of Waters up the streams of Sirion warned him that the aid of mortal Men was necessary for him. But Haleth and Húrin swore oaths of secrecy, and never revealed Gondolin; yet at this time they learned something of the counsels of Turgon, though they kept them hidden in their hearts. It is said that Turgon had great liking for the boy Húrin, and wished to keep him in Gondolin; but grievous tidings of the great battle came, and they departed to the succour of their folk.

When Turgon learned of the breaking of the leaguer he sent

secret messengers to the mouths of Sirion and to the Isle of Balar, and there was a building of swift ships. Many a messenger set sail thence seeking for Valinor, there to ask for aid and pardon, but none reached the West, or none returned.[28]

Fingolfin saw now the ruin of the Gnomes and the defeat of all their houses, and he was filled with wrath and despair; and he rode alone to the gates of Angband, and in his madness challenged Morgoth to single combat. Morgoth slew Fingolfin, but Thorndor recovered his body, and set it under a cairn on the mountains north of Gondolin. There was sorrow in Gondolin when those tidings were brought by Thorndor, for the folk of the hidden city were of Fingolfin's folk. Fingon now ruled the royal house of the Gnomes.

257 [457] Morgoth attacked now the west passes, and pierced them, and passed into the Vale of Sirion; and he took Tolsirion and made it into his own watchtower, and set there Thû the Wizard, his most evil servant, and the isle became a place of dread, and was called Tol-na-Gaurhoth, Isle of Werewolves. But Felagund and Orodreth retreated, and went unto Nargothrond, and strengthened it and dwelt in hiding. With them were Celegorm and Curufin.[29]

Barahir would not retreat but defended still the remnant of his lands in Taur-na-Danion. But Morgoth hunted his people down, and he turned all that forest into a region of great dread and dark enchantment, so that it was after called Taur-na-Fuin, which is Forest of Night, or Gwathfuin-Daidelos,[30] which is Deadly Nightshade. At length only Barahir and his son Beren, and his nephews Baragund and Belegund, sons of Bregolas, were left, with a few men yet faithful. Of these Gorlim, Radros,[31] Dagnir and Gildor are named. They were a desperate band of outlaws, for their dwellings were destroyed, and their wives and children were captured or slain, save Morwen Eledwen daughter of Baragund and Rian daughter of Belegund. For the wives of the sons of Bregolas were of Hithlum, and were sojourning there when war broke out, and Hithlum was not yet overthrown. But no help now came thence, and Barahir and his men were hunted like wild beasts.

258 [458] Haleth and her folk dwelt now on the west marches of Doriath, and fought with the Orcs that came down Sirion. Here with the help of Beleg of Doriath they took an Orc-legion at unawares, and were victorious, and the Orcs came not afterwards

for a long while into the land between Taiglin and Sirion: that is the forest of Brethil.[32]

261 [460] There was a high lake in the midst of Taur-na-Fuin, and here there was much heath, and there were many tarns; but the ground was full of deceit, and there was much fen and bog. In this region Barahir made his lair; but Gorlim betrayed him, and he was surprised and slain with all his company, save Beren only. Beren pursued the Orcs, and slew his father's murderer, and regained the ring of Felagund. Beren became now a solitary outlaw, and did many deeds of singlehanded daring, and Morgoth put a great price on his head.

262 [462] Here Morgoth renewed his assaults; and the invasion of the Orcs encompassed Doriath, both west down Sirion, and east through the passes beyond Himling. And Morgoth went against Hithlum, but was driven back as yet; but Gumlin was slain in the siege of the fortress of Fingon at Eithel Sirion. Húrin his son was new come to manhood, but he was mighty in strength, and he ruled now the house of Hádor, and served Fingon. In this time Beren was driven south and came hardly into Doriath.

263 [463] Here the Swarthy Men first came into Beleriand in the East. They were short and broad, long and strong in the arm, growing much hair on face and breast, and their locks were dark, as were their eyes; their skins were swart, yet their countenances were not uncomely for the most part, though some were grim-looking and illfavoured. Their houses were many, and some had liking rather for the Dwarves of the mountains, of Nogrod and Belegost, than for the Elves. But Maidros seeing the weakness of the Noldor, and the growing power of the armies of Morgoth, made alliance with these Men, and with their chieftains Bor and Ulfand.[33] The sons of Bor were Borlas and Boromir and Borthandos, and they followed Maidros and Maglor and were faithful. The sons of Ulfand the Swart were Uldor the Accursed, and Ulfast, and Ulwar,[34] and they followed Cranthir the Dark and swore allegiance to him, and proved faithless.

263–4 [463–4] Here began the renowned deeds of Beren and Lúthien Tinúviel, Thingol's daughter, of Doriath.

264 [464] Here King Felagund and Beren son of Barahir were emprisoned in Tol-na-Gaurhoth by Thû, and King Felagund was slain in combat with Draugluin the Werewolf; but Lúthien and

Huan, the hound of Valinor, slew Draugluin and overthrew Thû, who fled to Taur-na-Fuin. Orodreth took now the kingship of Nargothrond and broke friendship with Celegorm and Curufin, who fled to their kinsfolk in the East; but Nargothrond was closely hidden.

Húrin son of Gumlin wedded Morwen Elfsheen of the house of Bëor in Hithlum.

265 [465] Beren and Lúthien went unto Angband and took a Silmaril from the crown of Morgoth. This is the most renowned deed of these wars. Carcharoth, the wolfwarden of the gate, bit off Beren's hand, and with the Silmaril in his belly burst in madness into Doriath. Then there was made the Wolfhunt, and Huan slew Carcharoth and the Silmaril was regained, but Carcharoth slew both Huan and Beren.

Beren was recalled from the Dead by Lúthien, and they passed from the knowledge of Men and Gnomes, and dwelt a while by the green waters of Ossiriand, Land of Seven Rivers. But Mandos foretold that Lúthien should be subject hereafter to death, together with Beren, whom she rescued for a time.

In the winter of this year Túrin son of Húrin was born with sad omens.

265–70 [465–70] In this time was begun the Union of Maidros; for Maidros, taking heart from the deeds of Beren and Lúthien, planned the reuniting of the Elvish forces and the liberation of Beleriand. But because of the deeds of Celegorm and Curufin, Thingol would not aid him, and small help came from Nargothrond. There the Gnomes sought to guard their dwelling by stealth and secrecy. But Maidros had the help of the Dwarves in the smithying of many weapons, and there was much traffick between Beleriand and the mountains in the East; and he gathered again all the Gnomes of Fëanor's house, and he armed them; and many Dark-elves were joined to him; and the men of Bor and Ulfand were marshalled for war, and summoned yet more of their kindred out of the East.

Fingon prepared for war in Hithlum; and tidings came also to Turgon the hidden king, and he prepared for war in secret. Haleth's folk gathered also in the woods of Brethil, and made ready for battle.

267 [467] Dior the Beautiful was born to Beren and Lúthien in Ossiriand.

268 [468] Now the Orcs were driven back once more out of Beleriand, east and west, and hope was renewed; but Morgoth took counsel against the uprising of the Elves, and he sent spies and secret emissaries far and wide among Elves and Men. Here Haleth, last of the Fathers of Men, died in the woods; and Hundor his son ruled over his folk.

271 [471] Here Isfin, sister of Turgon, strayed out of Gondolin, and was lost; but Eöl the Dark-elf took her to wife.

★ **272** [472] This is the Year of Sorrow. Maidros planned now an assault upon Angband from West and East. With the main host he was to march from the East across Dor-na-Fauglith, and as soon as he gave the signal then Fingon should come forth from Eredwethion; for they thought to draw the host of Morgoth from its walls and take it between their two armies.

Huor son of Hádor wedded Rian daughter of Belegund upon the eve of battle, and marched with Húrin his brother in the army of Fingon.

Here was fought the Fourth Battle, Nirnaith Dirnoth,[35] Unnumbered Tears, upon the plains of Dor-na-Fauglith, before the pass of Sirion. The place was long marked by a great hill in which the slain were piled, both Elves and Men. Grass grew there alone in Dor-na-Fauglith. There Elves and Men were utterly defeated, and the ruin of the Gnomes was accomplished. For Maidros was hindered on the road by the machinations of Uldor the Accursed, whom the spies of Morgoth had bought. Fingon attacked without waiting, and he drove in Morgoth's feinted onslaught, and came even unto Angband. The companies of Nargothrond, such as Orodreth suffered to depart to the aid of Fingon, were led by Gwindor son of Guilin, a very valiant prince, and they were in the forefront of battle; and Gwindor and his men burst even within Angband's gates, and their swords slew in the halls of Morgoth. But they were cut off, and all were taken captive; for Morgoth released now a countless host that he had withheld, and he drove back the Gnomes with terrible slaughter.

Hundor son of Haleth, and most of the Men of the woods, were slain in the rearguard in the retreat across the sands of Dor-na-Fauglith.[36] But the Orcs came between Fingon and the passes of Eredwethion that led into Hithlum, and they withdrew towards Tolsirion.

Then Turgon and the army of Gondolin sounded their horns, and issued out of Taur-na-Fuin. They were delayed by the deceit

and evil of the forest, but came now as help unlooked for. The meeting between Húrin and Turgon was very joyful, and they drove back the Orcs.

Now the trumpets of Maidros were heard in the East, and hope was renewed. It is said that the Elves would yet have had the victory, but for the deeds of Uldor; but very mighty was Glómund. For Morgoth sent forth now all the dwellers in Angband, and hell was emptied. There came a hundred thousand Orcs, and a thousand Balrogs, and in the van was Glómund the Dragon; and Elves and Men withered before him. Thus did Morgoth prevent the union of the forces of Maidros and Fingon. And Uldor went over to Morgoth with most of the Men of Ulfand, and they fell upon the right flank of the sons of Fëanor.

Cranthir slew Uldor, but Ulfast and Ulwar slew Bor and his three sons, and many faithful Men; and the host of Maidros was scattered to the winds, and the remnant fled far into hiding into East Beleriand and the South, and wandered there in sorrow.

Fingon fell in the West, surrounded by a host of foes, and flame sprang from his helm, as he was smitten down by the Balrogs. But Húrin, and Huor his brother, and the Men of the house of Hádor, stood firm, and the Orcs could not yet gain the pass of Sirion. The stand of Húrin is the most renowned deed of Men among the Elves; for Húrin held the rear, while Turgon with part of his battle, and some of the remnants of the host of Fingon, escaped down Sirion into the dales and mountains. They vanished once more, and were not found again by Elf or Man or spy of Morgoth, until Tuor's day. Thus was the victory of Morgoth marred, and his anger was very great.

Huor fell pierced with a venomed arrow, but Húrin fought until he alone was left. He threw away his shield, and wielded an axe, and he slew well nigh a hundred Orcs; but he was taken alive by Morgoth's command, and dragged to Angband. But Húrin would not reveal whither Turgon was gone, and Morgoth cursed him, and he was chained upon Thangorodrim; and Morgoth gave him sight to see the evil that befell his kindred in the world. Morwen his wife went with child, but his son Túrin was now well nigh seven years old.

The Orcs now piled the slain, and poured into Beleriand. No tidings came to Hithlum of the battle, wherefore Rian went forth, and her child Tuor was born to her in the wild. He was taken to nurture by Dark-elves; but Rian went to the Mound of Slain[37] and laid her there and died.

273 [473] Morgoth was now lord of Beleriand, save Doriath, and he filled it with roving bands of Orcs and wolves. But he went not yet against the gates of Nargothrond in the far South, and of Gondolin he could discover nothing. But the northern kingdom was no more. For Morgoth broke his pledges to the sons of Ulfand, and denied them the reward of their treachery; and he drove these evil Men into Hithlum, and forbade them to wander from that land. But they oppressed the remnant of the folk of Hádor, and took their lands and goods and their womenfolk, and enslaved their children. Such as remained of the Elves of Hithlum Morgoth took to the mines of Angband, and they became his thralls, save few that lived perilously in the woods.

In the beginning of this year Nienor the Sorrowful was born in Hithlum, daughter of Húrin and Morwen; but Morwen sent Túrin to Doriath, begging for Thingol's fostering and aid; for she was of Beren's kindred. Two old men she had, Gethron and Grithron, and they undertook the journey, as Túrin's guides. They came through grievous hardship and danger, and were rescued on the borders of Doriath by Beleg. Gethron died in Doriath, but Grithron returned to Morwen.

281 [481] The power of Morgoth grew now very great, and Doriath was cut off, and no tidings of the lands without came thither. Túrin was now but in his sixteenth year; but he took to war, and fought against the Orcs on the marches of Doriath in the company of Beleg.

284 [484] Here Túrin slew Orgof, kinsman of Thingol, at the king's board, and fled from Menegroth. He became an outlaw in the woods, and gathered a desperate band, and plundered on the marches of Doriath.

287 [487] Here Túrin's companions captured Beleg, but Túrin released him, and renewed his fellowship with him, and they adventured together beyond Doriath, making war upon the Orcs.

Tuor son of Huor came unto Hithlum seeking his kindred, but they were no more, and he lived as an outlaw in the woods about Mithrim.

288 [488] Here Halmir[38] Orodreth's son of Nargothrond was trapped and hung on a tree by Orcs.

289 [489] Here Gwindor son of Guilin escaped from the mines of Angband. Blodrin Ban's son betrayed the camp of Túrin

and Beleg, and Túrin was taken alive, but Beleg was left for dead. Beleg was healed of his wounds by Melian, and followed the trail of the captors of Túrin. He came upon Gwindor bewildered in Taur-na-Fuin, and together they rescued Túrin; but Túrin slew Beleg by misadventure.

290 [490] Túrin was healed of his madness at Ivrineithel, and was brought at last by Gwindor to Nargothrond. They were admitted to the secret halls at the prayer of Finduilas, daughter of Orodreth, who had before loved Gwindor.

290–5 [490–5] During this time Túrin dwelt in Nargothrond. Beleg's sword, wherewith he was slain, was reforged for Túrin; and Túrin rejected his former name, and he called himself Mormael, Black-sword, but his sword he named Gurtholfin,[39] Wand of Death. Finduilas forgot her love of Gwindor and loved Túrin, and he loved her, but spoke not, for he was faithful to Gwindor. Túrin became a captain of the host of Nargothrond, and persuaded the Gnomes to abandon stealth and ambush and make open war. He drove the Orcs out of all the land between Narog and Sirion and Doriath to the east, and west to Eglor and the sea, and north to Eredwethion; and he let build a bridge over Narog. The Gnomes of Nargothrond allied themselves with Handir of Brethil and his men. Thus Nargothrond was revealed to the wrath of Morgoth.

292 [492] Meglin son of Eöl was sent by Isfin to Gondolin, and was received as his sister's son by Turgon.

294 [494] In this time when the power of Morgoth was stayed in the West, Morwen and Nienor departed from Hithlum and came to Doriath, seeking tidings of Túrin. There many spake of the prowess of Mormael, but of Túrin no man had heard, since the Orcs took him.

★ **295** [495] Here Glómund passed into Hithlum and did great evil, and he came over Eredwethion with a host of Orcs, and came into the realm of Narog. And Orodreth and Túrin and Handir went up against him, and they were defeated in the field of Tum-halad between Narog and Taiglin; and Orodreth was slain, and Handir; and Gwindor died, and refused the succour of Túrin. Túrin gathered the remnants of the Gnomes and hastened to Nargothrond, but it was sacked ere his coming; and Túrin was deceived and bound in spell by Glómund. Finduilas and the women of Nargothrond were taken as thralls, but Túrin forsook

them, and deceived by the lies of Glómund went to Hithlum to seek Morwen.

Tidings of the fall of Nargothrond came to Doriath, and Mormael was revealed as Túrin.

Tuor son of Huor departed from Hithlum by a secret way under the leading of Ulmo, and journeying down the coast he passed the ruined havens of Brithombar and Eglorest, and came to the mouths of Sirion.

295–6 [495–6] Túrin found that Morwen had departed from Hithlum. He slew Brodda in his hall and escaped from Hithlum. He took now the name of Turambar, Conqueror of Fate,[40] and joined the remnant of the Woodmen in Brethil; and he became their lord, since Brandir son of Handir was lame from childhood.

296 [496] Here Tuor met the Gnome Bronweg at the mouths of Sirion. Ulmo himself appeared to Tuor in Nantathrin, and Tuor went thence up Sirion, and guided by Ulmo found the entrance to Gondolin. There Tuor spake the embassy of Ulmo; but Turgon would not now harken to it, and Meglin urged him to this against Tuor. But Tuor was held in honour in Gondolin for his kindred's sake.

Glómund returned unto Nargothrond, and lay upon the treasure of Felagund in the caves.

Morwen Eledwen went to Nargothrond seeking tidings of Túrin, and Nienor against her bidding rode in disguise among her escort of Elves. But Glómund laid a spell upon the company and dispersed it, and Morwen was lost in the woods; and a great darkness of mind came upon Nienor.

Turambar found Nienor hunted by Orcs. He named her Níniel the tearful, since she knew not her own name.

297–8 [497–8] Níniel dwelt with the Woodmen, and was loved both by Turambar and by Brandir the Lame.

298 [498] Turambar wedded Níniel.

299 [499] Glómund sought out the dwelling of Túrin Turambar; but Túrin smote him mightily with Gurtholfin, and fell aswoon beside him. There Níniel found him; but Glómund ere death released her from spells and declared her kindred. Nienor cast herself over the waterfall in that place which was then called Celebros, Silver Rain, but afterwards Nen-girith, Shuddering Water.

Brandir brought the tidings to Túrin, and was slain by him, but Túrin bade Gurtholfin slay him; and he died there.

Húrin was released from Angband, and he was bowed as with great age; but he departed and sought for Morwen.

Tuor wedded Idril Celebrindal, Turgon's daughter, of Gondolin; and Meglin hated him.

300 [500] Here was born Eärendel the Bright, star of the Two Kindreds, unto Tuor and Idril in Gondolin. In this year was born also Elwing the White, fairest of all women save Lúthien, unto Dior son of Beren in Ossiriand.

Húrin gathered men unto him, and they came to Nargothrond, and slew the dwarf Mîm, who had taken the treasure unto himself. But Mîm cursed the treasure. Húrin brought the gold to Thingol in Doriath, but he departed thence again with bitter words, and of his fate and the fate of Morwen thereafter no sure tidings were ever heard.

301 [501] Thingol employed Dwarvish craftsmen to fashion his gold and silver and the treasure of Nargothrond; and they made the renowned Nauglamír, the Dwarf-necklace, whereon was hung the Silmaril. Enmity awoke between Dwarves and Elves, and the Dwarves were driven away unrewarded.

302 [502] Here the Dwarves[41] came in force from Nogrod and from Belegost and invaded Doriath; and they came within by treachery, for many Elves were smitten with the accursed lust of the gold. Thingol was slain and the Thousand Caves were plundered; and there hath been war between Elf and Dwarf since that day. But Melian the Queen could not be slain or taken, and she departed to Ossiriand.

Beren and the Green-elves overthrew the Dwarves at Sarn-Athrad as they returned eastward, and the gold was cast into the river Ascar, which was after called Rathloriel, the Bed of Gold. But Beren took the Nauglamír and the Silmaril. Lúthien wore the Silmaril upon her breast. Dior their son ruled over the remnants of the Elves of Doriath.

303 [503] Here Beren and Lúthien departed out of the knowledge of Elves and Men, and their deathday is not known; but at night a messenger brought the necklace to Dior in Doriath, and the Elves said: 'Lúthien and Beren are dead as Mandos doomed.'

304 [504] Dior son of Beren, Thingol's heir, was now king in Doriath, and he re-established it for a while. But Melian went

back to Valinor and Doriath had no longer her protection. Dior wore the Nauglamír and the Silmaril upon his breast.

305 [505] The sons of Fëanor heard tidings of the Silmaril in the East, and they gathered from wandering, and held council together. Maidros sent unto Dior and summoned him to give up the jewel.

306 [506] Here Dior Thingol's heir fought the sons of Fëanor on the east marches of Doriath, but he was slain. This was the second kinslaying, and the fruit of the oath. Celegorm fell in that battle, and Curufin, and Cranthir. The young sons of Dior, Elboron and Elbereth,[42] were taken captive by the evil men of Maidros' following, and they were left to starve in the woods; but Maidros lamented the cruel deed, and sought unavailingly for them.

The maiden Elwing was saved by faithful Elves, and they fled with her to the mouths of Sirion, and they took with them the jewel and the necklace, and Maidros found it not.

Meglin was taken in the hills, and he betrayed Gondolin to Morgoth.

307 [507] Here Morgoth loosed a host of dragons over the mountains from the North and they overran the vale of Tumladin, and besieged Gondolin. The Orcs sacked Gondolin, and destroyed King Turgon and most of his people; but Ecthelion of the Fountain slew there Gothmog, Lord of Balrogs, ere he fell.

Tuor slew Meglin. Tuor escaped with Idril and Eärendel by a secret way devised before by Idril, and they came with a company of fugitives to the Cleft of Eagles, Cristhorn, which is a high pass beneath the cairn of Fingolfin in the north of the surrounding mountains. They fell into an ambush there, and Glorfindel of the house of the Golden Flower of Gondolin was slain, but they were saved by Thorndor, and escaped at last into the vale of Sirion.

308 [508] Here the wanderers from Gondolin reached the mouths of Sirion and joined there the slender company of Elwing. The Silmaril brought blessing upon them, and they were healed, and they multiplied, and built a haven and ships, and dwelt upon the delta amid the waters. Many fugitives gathered unto them.

310 [510] Maidros learned of the upspringing of Sirion's Haven, and that the Silmaril was there, but he forswore his oath.

324 [524] Here the unquiet of Ulmo came upon Tuor, and he

built the ship Eärámë, Eagle's wing, and he departed with Idril into the West, and was heard of no more. Eärendel wedded Elwing the White, and was lord of the folk of Sirion.

325 [525] Torment fell upon Maidros and his brethren, because of their unfulfilled oath. Damrod and Díriel resolved to win the Silmaril, if Eärendel would not give it up willingly. But the unquiet had come also upon Eärendel, and he set sail in his ship Wingelot, Flower of the Foam, and he voyaged the far seas seeking Tuor, and seeking Valinor. But he found neither; yet the marvels that he did were many and renowned.[43] Elrond the Half-elfin,[44] son of Eärendel, was born while Eärendel was far at sea.

The folk of Sirion refused to surrender the Silmaril, both because Eärendel was not there, and because they thought that their bliss and prosperity came from the possession of the gem.

329 [529] Here Damrod and Díriel ravaged Sirion, and were slain. Maidros and Maglor were there, but they were sick at heart. This was the third kinslaying. The folk of Sirion were taken into the people of Maidros, such as yet remained; and Elrond was taken to nurture by Maglor. But Elwing cast herself with the Silmaril into the sea, and Ulmo bore her up, and in the shape of a bird she flew seeking Eärendel, and found him returning.

330 [530] Eärendel bound the Silmaril upon his brow, and with Elwing he sailed in search of Valinor.

333 [533] Eärendel came unto Valinor, and spake on behalf of the two races, both Elves and Men.

340 [540] Maidros and Maglor, sons of Fëanor, dwelt in hiding in the south of Eastern Beleriand, about Amon Ereb, the Lonely Hill, that stands solitary amid the wide plain. But Morgoth sent against them, and they fled to the Isle of Balar. Now Morgoth's triumph was complete, and all that land was in his hold, and none were left there, Elves or Men, save such as were his thralls.

333–343 [533–543] Here the sons of the Gods prepared for war, and Fionwë son of Manwë was their leader. The Light-elves marched under his banners, but the Teleri did not leave Valinor; but they built a countless multitude of ships.

347 [547] Here the host of Fionwë was seen shining upon the sea afar, and the noise of his trumpets rang over the waves and

echoed in the western woods. Thereafter was fought the battle of Eglorest, where Ingwiel son of Ingwë, prince of all the Elves, made a landing, and drove the Orcs from the shore.

Great war came now into Beleriand, and Fionwë drove the Orcs and Balrogs before him; and he camped beside Sirion, and his tents were as snow upon the field. He summoned now all Elves, Men, Dwarves, beasts and birds unto his standard, who did not elect to fight for Morgoth. But the power and dread of Morgoth was very great and many did not obey the summons.

★ **350** [550] Here Fionwë fought the last battle of the ancient world, the Great or Terrible Battle. Morgoth himself came forth from Angband, and passed over Taur-na-Fuin, and the thunder of his approach rolled in the mountains. The waters of Sirion lay between the hosts; and long and bitterly they contested the passage. But Fionwë crossed Sirion and the hosts of Morgoth were driven as leaves, and the Balrogs were utterly destroyed; and Morgoth fled back to Angband pursued by Fionwë.

From Angband Morgoth loosed the winged dragons, which had not before been seen; and Fionwë was beaten back upon Dor-na-Fauglith. But Eärendel came in the sky and overthrew Ancalagon the Black Dragon, and in his fall Thangorodrim was broken.

The sons of the Gods wrestled with Morgoth in his dungeons, and the earth shook, and gaped, and Beleriand was shattered and changed, and many perished in the ruin of the land. But Morgoth was bound.

This war lasted fifty years from the landing of Fionwë.

397 [597] In this year Fionwë departed and went back to Valinor with all his folk, and with them went most of the Gnomes that yet lived and the other Elves of Middle-earth. But Elrond the Half-elfin remained, and ruled in the West of the world.

Now the Silmarils were regained, for one was borne in the airs by Eärendel, and the other two Fionwë took from the crown of Melko; and he beat the crown into fetters for his feet. Maidros and Maglor driven by their oath seized now the two Silmarils and fled; but Maidros perished, and the Silmaril that he took went into the bosom of the earth, and Maglor cast his into the sea, and wandered ever after upon the shores of the world in sorrow.

Thus ended the wars of the Gnomes, and Beleriand was no more.

NOTES

From the end of annal 257 (457) the manuscript was very little changed, either before *The Lord of the Rings* or after, and while the addition of 200 years to every date was carried through to the end the alteration of names became more superficial, and instances were ignored or missed. This is obviously of no significance, but in the notes that follow I refer only to the first occurrence of the change.

1 *Denithor* > *Denethor* (as in AV 2, note 5).

2 *Celegorm* > *Celegorn* (as in AV 2, note 9).

3 *Dagor-os-Giliath* > *Dagor-nuin-Giliath* (as in AV 2, note 12).

4 *Thorndor* > *Thorondor*. See commentary on QS §§96–7.

5 *Nan-Tathrin* > *Nan-Tathren*. See commentary on QS §109.

6 *Now was set the Siege of Angband* > *But after this the chieftains of the Gnomes took warning, and drew closer their leaguer, and strengthened their watch; and they set the Siege of Angband*

7 This first paragraph of annal 52 was struck out; see note 8.

8 New matter was added here, taking up that of the cancelled first paragraph of annal 52 (note 7). The date of Dagor Aglareb was at the same time changed from 51 to 60.

> But Turgon held the land of Nivros [> Nivrost], between Eredwethion and the sea, south of Drengist; and his folk were many. But the unquiet of Ulmo was upon him, and a few years after the Dagor Aglareb he gathered his folk together, even to a third of the Gnomes of Fingolfin's house, and their goods and wives, and departed eastward in secret, and vanished from his kindred. And none knew whither he was gone; but he came to Gondolin and built there a hidden city.

Against this is written the date 64. On *Nivros(t)* see QS §100 and commentary; and on the changed chronology, as throughout, see pp. 257–8.

9 *Taur-na-Danion* > *Taur-na-Thanion* > *Dorthanion* > *Dorthonion*. *Taur-na-Danion* is emended at every occurrence, but hardly ever in the same way; in addition, *Taur-na-Donion* and *Taur-na-Thonion* are found (see IV. 211). The precise details are scarcely material, and I do not notice these competing forms any further.

10 The sentence beginning *Here were Angrod and Egnor* changed to read:

> Inglor and Orodreth held the pass of Sirion, but Angrod and Egnor held the northern slopes of Dorthanion, as far as Aglon where the sons of Fëanor lay.

See note 14 and commentary on QS §117.

11 *Himling* > *Himring*. This change is found also in late emendations to Q.

12 The passage beginning *Fingolfin was King of Hithlum* changed to read:

Fingolfin was King of Hithlum and Nivrost, and overlord of all the Gnomes. Felagund, lord of caverns, was King in Nargothrond, and his brothers Angrod and Egnor were the lords of Dorthanion and his vassals;

By this change Fingolfin ceases to be Lord of the Western Havens; see note 13.

13 Added here (see commentary on QS §109):

And he was held also to be overlord of the Falas, and of the Dark-elves of the havens of Brithombar and Eglorest.

14 Added after *a mighty watchtower*:

Inglormindon; but after the founding of Nargothrond this was in the keeping of Orodreth.

Subsequently *Inglormindon* > *Minnastirith*, and that in turn to *Minastirith*. See QS §117 and commentary.

15 *as I have since learned* > *as we have since learned*. See commentary on QS §123.

16 The passage beginning *But the Dwarves* changed to read:

And the Noldor believed that the Dwarves have no spirit indwelling, as have the Children of the Creator, and they have skill but not art; and that they go back into the stone of the mountains of which they were made. Yet others say that Aulë cares for them, and that Ilúvatar will accept from him the work of his desire, so that the Dwarves shall not perish.

See the *Lhammas* §9 and QS §123, and commentaries.

17 *a great road, which came north, east of the mountains, and thence it passed under the shoulders of Mount Dolm* > *a great road, which passed under the shoulders of Mount Dolmed*. At the same time, no doubt, the words *far south of Beleriand* earlier in the paragraph were struck out; see commentary on QS §122.

18 *Hádor* > *Hador* or *Hădor* sporadically, where noticed; see IV. 317.

19 Annal 200 to this point changed to read:

400 Here Felagund hunting in the East with the sons of Fëanor passed into Ossiriand, and came upon Bëor and his men, new come over the mountains. Bëor became a vassal of Felagund, and went back with him into the West, and dwelt with him until death. But Barahir his son dwelt in Dorthanion.

20 The three annals recording the births of Hundor, Gundor, and Gumlin were misplaced after annal 220, as in AB 1, but a direction moves them to their proper place, as I have done in the text printed.

Gundor > *Gumlin the Tall; Gumlin* > *Gundor*. See QS §140 and commentary.

21 *the woods* > *the woods of Brethil. Brethil* occurs under the year 258 in the text as written (and subsequently); see the commentary on that annal.

22 *Ermabuin* > *Erchamion* (but first to *Erchamui*), and *Mablosgen* > *Camlost*. See p. 405. After this annal a new one was added:

436 Hundor son of Haleth wedded Glorwendel daughter of Hador. On this see p. 310 (§13) and note 36 below.

23 *Eledwen* > *Eledhwen*.

24 *Dagor Húr-breged* > *Dagor Vregedúr*. The latter occurs in QS §134.

25 *Celegorm and Curufin were defeated, and fled unto Orodreth in the west of Taur-na-Danion* > *Celegorn and Curufin were defeated, and fled south and west, and took harbour at last with Orodreth in Nargothrond*. See commentary on QS §§117, 141.

26 *the passes* > *the passes of Maglor*.

27 *about this time* > *in the autumn before the Sudden Fire*. Cf. QS §153.

28 *or none returned* > *and few returned*. Cf. QS §154.

29 The passage from *But Felagund and Orodreth retreated* changed to read:

> Orodreth, brother of Felagund, who commanded Minnastirith, escaped hardly and fled south. There Felagund had taken refuge in the stronghold he had prepared against the evil day; and he strengthened it, and dwelt in secret. Thither came Celegorn and Curufin.

See commentary on QS §§117, 141.

30 *Gwathfuin-Daidelos* > *Deldúwath*. See QS §138.

31 *Radros* > *Radruin*. In QS §139 the name is spelt *Radhruin*.

32 Added here:

> Húrin of Hithlum was with Haleth; but he departed afterward since the victory had made the journey possible, and returned to his own folk.

See QS §§153 and 156 (footnote to the text). Subsequently *afterward* > *soon after*, and the words *since the victory had made the journey possible* removed.

33 *Bor* > *Bór*, and *Ulfand* > *Ulfang*. See QS §151 and commentary.

34 *Ulwar* > *Ulwarth*. See QS §151 and commentary.

35 *Nirnaith Dirnoth* > *Nirnaith Arnediad*. See IV. 312 note 38.

36 Added here: *Glorwendel his wife died in that year of grief*. See note 22.

37 *the Mound of Slain* > *Cûm-na-Dengin the Mound of Slain*. See IV. 312 note 42.

38 *Halmir* > *Haldir* (the name of Orodreth's son in the *Etymologies*, stem SKAL[1]).

39 *Gurtholfin* > *Gurtholf*. See p. 406.

40 *Conqueror of Fate* > *Master of Fate*.

41 *Dwarves* > *Dwarfs* (the only occurrence of the change in the text). See commentary on QS §122.

42 *Elboron and Elbereth* > *Elrûn and Eldûn* (a hasty pencilled change). See IV. 325–6 and the *Etymologies*, stem BARATH.

43 Added here: *Chief of these was the slaying of Ungoliantë*. See the commentary on annal 325.

44 *Elrond the Half-elfin* > *Elrond Beringol, the Half-elven.* See the commentary on annal 325.

Commentary on the Later Annals of Beleriand

Before the uprising of the Sun I take the words 'rebuilt his fortress of Angband' to mean that that was the name of Melko's original stronghold; see the commentary on AV 2, annal 1000.

The statement that Melko 'brought forth Orcs and Balrogs' after his return to Middle-earth is retained from AB 1 (where the word *devised* was used), in contrast to AV 1 and 2, where 'he bred and gathered *once more* his evil servants, Orcs and Balrogs'; see my discussion of this, IV. 314.

The sentence concerning Thingol and Denithor enters from the AV tradition (annal 2990).

The name *Losgar* of the place where the Telerian ships were burnt occurs here for the first time (and the only time in the texts of this period). The name had been used long before in the old tale of *The Cottage of Lost Play*, where it meant 'Place of Flowers', the Gnomish name of *Alalminórë* 'Land of Elms' in Tol-eressëa, and where it was replaced by *Gar Lossion* (I. 16, 21).

Annal 1–50 Here are the first occurrences of the names *Region* and *Neldoreth* (which were also marked in on the initial drawing of the Second Map, p. 409).

Annal 20 The presence of Green-elves at Mereth Aderthad is not mentioned in AB 1.

Annal 52 In AB 1 (IV. 329) the departure of Turgon to Gondolin is placed in annal 51 (as is all that follows concerning the regions over which the Noldorin princes ruled during the Siege).

The return of the horses to Fingolfin at the settlement of the feud is a new element in the story.

In the third paragraph of this annal is a clear reference to 'Maglor's Gap' (unnamed). The region where 'the hills are low or fail', shown clearly on the Second Map (though the name was never written in), is implied by the lines on the Eastward Extension of the First Map (IV. 231).

In the passage at the end of the annal concerning the Green-elves new elements in their history appear: that they were kingless after the death of Denithor, and that they had kindred who remained east of the Blue Mountains. The speech of the two branches of this people will have an important place in the linguistic history expounded in the *Lhammas*.

Annal 52–255 The earliest references in my father's writings to the origin of speech among Men are in outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale*, I. 236–7, where it is told that the Dark Elf Nuin 'Father of Speech', who awakened the first Men, taught them 'much of the Ilkorin tongue'. In S (IV. 20)

and Q (IV. 99) it is told, as here, that the first Men learned speech from the Dark-elves.

The reference to '*many of* the Fathers of Men' wandering westward suggests a different application of the term, which elsewhere seems always to be used specifically of Bëor, Hador, and Haleth; so in annal 268, recording the death of Haleth, he is 'last of the Fathers of Men'.

Annal 65 The matter of this entry is not dated to a separate year in AB 1 (IV. 331), but is contained in the annal 51–255, of the Siege of Angband. It is said there only that 'some went forth and dwelt upon the great isle of Balar.'

Annal 104 In this annal (combining matter concerning the Dwarves from the old entries 51–255 and 104) is the first emergence of the legend of Aulë's making of the Dwarves, forestalling the plan of Ilúvatar, in longing to have those whom he might teach; but the old hostile view of them (see IV. 174) finds expression in the remarkable assertion that they 'have no spirit indwelling, as have the Children of the Creator, and they have skill but not art.' With the words 'they go back into the stone of the mountains of which they were made' cf. the reference in Appendix A (III) to *The Lord of the Rings* to 'the foolish opinion among Men . . . that the Dwarves "grow out of stone".'

Annal 105 The phrase 'sent forth an army into the white North, and it turned then west', which is not in the earlier form of the annal, makes the route of this army clearer; see QS §103, and the note on the northern geography pp. 270–1.

Annal 220 The second version of AB 1 comes to an end with the beginning of this annal – a hasty note concerning the unfriendliness of the sons of Fëanor towards Men, which was not taken up into AB 2. We here go back to the earlier version of AB 1 (IV. 297), the dates in AB 2 being of course a hundred years later.

There is here the first mention of the abandonment of their own tongue by the Men of Hador's house; cf. the *Lhammas*, §10. Afterwards the idea became important that they retained their own language; in *The Silmarillion* (p. 148), whereas in the house of Hador 'only the Elven-tongue was spoken', 'their own speech was not forgotten, and from it came the common tongue of Númenor' (see further *Unfinished Tales*, p. 215 note 19). But at this time the large linguistic conception did not include the subsequent development of Adûnaic. In the second version of *The Fall of Númenor* (§2) the Númenóreans 'took on the speech of the Blessed Realm, as it was and is in Eressëa', and in *The Lost Road* (p. 68) there is talk in Númenor of 'reviving the ancestral speech of Men'.

Annal 222 With this allusion to Túrin's dark hair, not in AB 1, cf. the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III. 17): *the black-haired boy / from the beaten people.*

Annal 255 On the story repeated from AB 1, that Barahir rescued Orodreth as well as Felagund in the Battle of Sudden Fire see under Annal 256.

Annal 256 In AB 1 the date 155 is repeated here (see IV. 319). The date 256 in AB 2 is presumably because the Battle of Sudden Fire began at midwinter of the year 255.

The confusion in the story of Orodreth at this point is not less than that in the earlier *Annals*. In AB 1 Orodreth with his brothers Angrod and Egnor dwelt in Taur-na-Danion (in the second version, IV. 330, Orodreth is specifically placed furthest east and nearest to the sons of Fëanor); thus when Celegorm and Curufin were defeated in the Battle of Sudden Fire they 'fled with Orodreth' (annal 155), which must mean that they took refuge with Felagund on Tol Sirion, for two years later, when Morgoth captured Tol Sirion, all four went south to Nargothrond (annal 157). Obviously in contradiction to this story, however, is the statement earlier in 155 that Barahir and his men rescued Felagund *and Orodreth* in the Battle of Sudden Fire; see my discussion, IV. 319.

In AB 2 (annal 255) it is again said that Barahir rescued Orodreth as well as Felagund, apparently contradicting the statement in annal 52 that Orodreth dwelt furthest east on Taur-na-Danion. But where AB 1 says that Celegorm and Curufin, defeated, 'fled with Orodreth', in AB 2 (annal 256) they 'fled *unto* Orodreth in the *west* of Taur-na-Danion' (the word *west* being perfectly clear). In annal 257 AB 2 agrees with AB 1 that all four retreated together to Nargothrond. It does not seem possible to deduce a coherent narrative from AB 2. Alterations to the manuscript given in notes 10, 14, 25 and 29 show the later story.

The story of the sojourn of Haleth and Húrin in Gondolin scarcely differs from that in AB 1, except in the point that in the older version the men 'came upon some of Turgon's folk, and were brought into the secret vale of Gondolin', whereas here they 'espied their secret entrance'.

It is not said in AB 1 that Turgon's messengers went also to the Isle of Balar (where, according to annal 65 in AB 2, Elves from Nargothrond dwelt), nor that the messengers were to ask for 'aid and pardon'.

Annal 257 The puzzling statement in AB 1, that 'Felagund and Orodreth, together with Celegorm and Curufin, retreated to Nargothrond, and made there a great hidden palace', is now clarified, or anyway made consistent with the earlier annals. I suggested (IV. 319) that the meaning might be that 'though Nargothrond had existed for more than a hundred years as a Gnomish stronghold it was not until the Battle of Sudden Fire that it was made into a great subterranean dwelling or "palace", and the centre of Felagund's power'; and the words of AB 2 here ('went unto Nargothrond, and strengthened it') support this.

The named members of Barahir's band are now increased by *Gildor*, who was not included in the addition to AB 1 (IV. 311 note 23).

The concluding sentences of this annal introduce the story that

Morwen and Rian only escaped because they were staying in Hithlum at the time, with their mothers' people; for the wives of Baragund and Belegund were of Hador's house. In AB 1 they were sent into Hithlum at the taking of Taur-na-Danion by Morgoth.

Annal 258 This is the first appearance of the story (*The Silmarillion* p. 157) of the defeat of the Orcs in Brethil by the people of Haleth and Beleg of Doriath; and this is the first occurrence of *Brethil* in a text as written.

Annal 261 To this corresponds in AB 1 annal 160, not 161; but when (in the course of writing QS) my father lengthened the Siege of Angband by a further 200 years, and then entered the revised dates on the AB 2 manuscript, he changed 261 to 460, not 461.

Annal 263 AB 1 does not name the sons of Bor, nor state that they followed Maidros and Maglor. Bor's son Boromir is the first bearer of this name. Afterwards the Boromir of the Elder Days was the father of Bregor father of Bregolas and Barahir.

Annal 263–4 The matter of the much longer annal 163–4 in AB 1 is in AB 2 distributed into annals 264 and 265.

Annal 264 It is strange that my father should have written here that Felagund was slain by Draugluin (who himself survived to be slain by Huan). Of this there is no suggestion elsewhere – it is told in the *Lay of Leithian* that Felagund slew the wolf that slew him in the dungeon (III. 250, line 2625), and still more emphatically in the prose tale: 'he wrestled with the werewolf, and slew it with his hands and teeth' (*The Silmarillion* p. 174).

Annal 273 *Gethron* and *Grithron*: the two old men are not named in Q or AB 1; in S (IV. 28) they are Halog and Mailgond, their names in the second version of the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*. Later their names were *Gethron* and *Grithnir*, and it was Grithnir who died in Doriath, Gethron who went back (*Unfinished Tales* pp. 73–4).

Annal 287 It might seem from the statement here (not found in AB 1) that Tuor '*came unto Hithlum* seeking his kindred' that he was born after Rian had crossed the mountains, wandering towards the battlefield, and that fifteen years later he came back; but there is no suggestion of this anywhere else. In AB 1, annal 173, it is said that 'Tuor grew up wild among fugitive Elves nigh the shores of Mithrim', and though this is omitted in AB 2 the idea was undoubtedly present; the explanation of the words 'came unto Hithlum' is then that Mithrim and Hithlum were distinct lands, even if the one is comprised within the other (cf. QS §§88, 106).

Annal 290–5 As AB 1 was first written here, it was as a result of the loss of the 'ancient secrecy' of Nargothrond in Túrin's time that Morgoth

'learned of the stronghold'; but this was early changed (IV. 313 note 53) to 'learned of the growing strength of the stronghold', which looks as if my father was retreating from the idea that Nargothrond had till then been wholly concealed from Morgoth. AB 2 is explicit that Nargothrond was 'revealed' to him by Túrin's policy of open war. See IV. 323–4.

Annal 292 In Q (IV. 140) Isfin and Meglin went to Gondolin together. AB 1 is not explicit: 'Meglin comes to Gondolin'. AB 2 reverts to the old story in S (IV. 35), that Meglin was sent to Gondolin by his mother.

Annal 295 It is now said expressly, what is implied in AB 1, that Glómund approached Nargothrond by way of Hithlum, with the addition that he 'did great evil' there; see IV. 324. Here first appears the name *Tum-halad*, but the site of the battle, to which the name refers, was still east of Narog, not between Narog and Ginglith.

For an explanation of why the havens of Brithombar and Eglorest were in ruins see IV. 324.

Annal 296 It was said also in AB 1 that Glómund returned to Nargothrond in the year following the sack, though I did not there remark on it. I cannot explain this. There is no suggestion elsewhere that after Túrin had departed on his journey to Hithlum Glómund did other than crawl back into the halls of Nargothrond and lie down upon the treasure.

Annal 299 *Celebros*, here rendered 'Silver Rain', has previously been translated 'Foam-silver', 'Silver Foam'; see the *Etymologies*, stem ROS[1].

Annal 325 The early addition made to this annal (note 43), 'Chief of these was the slaying of Ungoliantë', is notable. This story goes back through S and Q (§17) to the very beginning (II. 254, etc.), but it does not appear again. It is told in S and Q (§4) that when Morgoth returned with Ungoliantë to Middle-earth she was driven away by the Balrogs 'into the uttermost South', with the addition in Q (and QS §62) 'where she long dwelt'; but in the recasting and expansion of this passage made long after it is reported as a legend that 'she ended long ago, when in her uttermost famine she devoured herself at last' (*The Silmarillion* p. 81).

The surname given to Elrond in another addition (note 44), *Beringol*, is not found again, but the form *Peringol* appears in the *Etymologies*, stem PER, of which *Beringol* is a variant (see p. 298, note on *Gorgoroth*). It is convenient to notice here a later, hastily pencilled change, which altered the passage to read thus:

> The *Peringiul*, the Half-elven, were born of Elwing wife of Eärendel, while Eärendel was at sea, the twin brethren Elrond and Elros.

The order was then inverted to 'Elros and Elrond'. No doubt at the same time, in annal 329 'Elrond was taken' was changed to 'Elros and Elrond were taken'. Elros has appeared in late additions to the text of Q (IV. 155), which were inserted after the arising of the legend of Númenor, and by emendation to the second version of *The Fall of Númenor* (p. 34), where he replaces Elrond as the first ruler.

Annal 340 It is not told in AB 1 that Maidros and Maglor and their people fled in the end from Amon Ereb to the Isle of Balar. In Q nothing is told of the actual habitation of Maidros and Maglor during the final years.

Annal 350 Some new (and unique) elements appear in the account in AB 2 of the invasion out of the West. The camp of Fionwë beside Sirion (annal 347) does not appear in AB 1 (nor in Q or QS, where nothing is said of the landing of Fionwë or of the Battle of Eglorest), nor is it said there that Morgoth crossed Taur-na-Fuin and that there was a long battle on the banks of Sirion where the host of Valinor attempted to cross; in the second version of the story in Q §18 (repeated in QS, p. 329) it is indeed strongly suggested that Morgoth never left Angband until he was dragged out in chains.

After the words 'many perished in the ruin of the land' my father pencilled in the following sentence:

> and the sea roared in and covered all but the tops of the mountains, and only part of Ossiriand remained.

This addition is of altogether uncertain date, but it bears on matters discussed earlier in this book and may be conveniently considered here.

What little was ever told of the Drowning of Beleriand is very difficult to interpret; the idea shifted and changed, but my father never at any stage clearly expounded it. In the *Quenta* (cited on p. 22) and the *Annals* there is a picture of cataclysmic destruction brought about by 'the fury of the adversaries' in the Great Battle between the host of Valinor and the power of Morgoth. The last words of the *Annals*, retained in AB 2, are 'Beleriand was no more' (which could however be interpreted to mean that Beleriand as the land of the Gnomes and the scene of their heroic wars had no further history); in Q there remained 'great isles', where the fleets were built in which the Elves of Middle-earth set sail into the West – and these may well be the British Isles (see IV. 199). In the concluding passage (§14) of *The Fall of Númenor* the picture is changed (see p. 23), for there it is said (most fully in the second version, p. 28) that the name *Beleriand* was preserved, and that it remained a land 'in a measure blessed'; it was to Beleriand that many of the Númenórean exiles came, and there that Elendil ruled and made the Last Alliance with the Elves who remained in Middle-earth ('and these abode then mostly in Beleriand'). There is no indication here of the extent of Beleriand remaining above the sea – and no mention of islands; all that is said is that it had been 'changed and broken' in the war against Morgoth. Later (at some time during the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*) my father rewrote this passage (see pp. 33–4), and there had now entered the idea that the Drowning of Beleriand took place at the fall of Númenor and the World Made Round – a far more overwhelming cataclysm, surely, than even the battle of the divine adversaries:

> Now that land had been broken in the Great Battle with Morgoth; and

at the fall of Númenor and the change of the fashion of the world it perished; for the sea covered *all that was left* save some of the mountains that remained as islands, even up to the feet of Eredlindon. But that land where Lúthien had dwelt remained, and was called Lindon.

Into these successive phases of the idea it is extremely difficult to find a place for the sentence added to this annal in AB 2. On the one hand, it describes the Drowning in the same way as does the later passage just cited – a part of Ossiriand and some high mountains alone left above the surface of the sea; on the other, it refers not to the time of the fall of Númenor and the World Made Round, but to the Great Battle against Morgoth. Various explanations are possible, but without knowing when the sentence was written they can only be extremely speculative and fine-spun, and I shall not rehearse them. It is in any case conceivable that this addition is an example of the casual, disconnected emendations that my father sometimes made when looking through an earlier manuscript – emendations that were not part of a thoroughgoing preparation for a new version, but rather isolated pointers to the need for revision. It may be that he jotted down this sentence long after – perhaps when considering the writing of the *Grey Annals* after *The Lord of the Rings* was completed, and that its real reference is not to the Great Battle at all but to the time after the fall of Númenor.

Annal 397 It is not said in AB 1 that the Iron Crown was beaten into fetters. In Q (§18) it was made into a collar for Morgoth's neck.

IV
AINULINDALË

In all the works given in this history so far, there has been only one account of the Creation of the World, and that is in the old tale of *The Music of the Ainur*, written while my father was at Oxford on the staff of the Dictionary in 1918–20 (I. 45). The 'Sketch of the Mythology' (S) makes no reference to it (IV. 11); Q and AV 1 only mention in their opening sentences 'the making of the World', the making of 'all things' by Ilúvatar (IV. 78, 263); and AV 2 adds nothing further. But now, among the later writings of the 1930s (see pp. 107–8), he turned again to the tale told by Rúmil to Eriol in the garden of Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva in Kortirion, and wrote a new version; and it is remarkable that in this case he went back to the actual text of the original *Music of the Ainur*. The new version was composed with the 'Lost Tale' in front of him, and indeed he followed it fairly closely, though rephrasing it at every point – a great contrast to the apparent jump between the rest of the 'Valinórean' narrative in the *Lost Tales* and the 'Sketch', where it seems possible that he wrote out the condensed synopsis without re-reading them (cf. IV. 41–2).

The 'cosmogonical myth', as he called it long after (I. 45), was thus already, as it would remain, a separate work, independent of 'The Silmarillion' proper; and I believe that its separation can be attributed to the fact that there was no mention of the Creation in S, where the *Quenta* tradition began, and no account of it in Q. But QS has a new opening, a brief passage concerning the Great Music and the Creation of the World, and this would show that the *Ainulindalë* was already in existence, even were this not demonstrable on other grounds (see note 20).

But the *Ainulindalë* consists in fact of two separate manuscripts. The first, which simply for the purposes of this chapter I will call 'A', is extremely rough, and is full of changes made at the time of composition – these being for the most part readings from the old *Lost Tales* version which were written down but at once struck out and replaced. There is neither title-page nor title, but at the beginning my father later scribbled *The Music of the Ainur*. The second text, which I will here call 'B', is a fair copy of the first, and in its original form a handsome manuscript, without hesitations or changes in the act of writing; and although there are a great many differences between the two the great majority of them are minor stylistic alterations, improvements of wording and the fall of sentences. I see no reason to think that there was any interval between them; and I think therefore that A can be largely passed over here, and comparison of

the substance made directly between the very finished second text B and the original *Tale of the Music of the Ainur*; noting however that in many details of expression A was closer to the old *Tale*. More substantial differences between A and B are given in the notes.

B has a title-page closely associated in form with those of the *Ambarkanta* and the *Lhammas*, works also ascribed to Rúmil; see p. 108.

Ainulindalë
The Music of the Ainur
This was written by Rúmil of Tûn

I give now the text of this version as it was originally written (the manuscript became the vehicle of massive rewriting many years later, when great changes in the cosmological conception had entered).

The Music of the Ainur and the Coming of the Valar

These are the words that Rúmil spake to Ælfwine concerning the beginning of the World.[1]

There was Ilúvatar, the All-father, and he made first the Ainur, the holy ones, that were the offspring of his thought, and they were with him before Time. And he spoke to them, propounding to them themes of music, and they sang before him, and he was glad. But for a long while they sang only each alone, or but few together, while the rest hearkened; for each comprehended only that part of the mind of Ilúvatar from which he came, and in the understanding of their brethren they grew but slowly. Yet ever as they listened they came to deeper understanding, and grew in unison and harmony.

And it came to pass that Ilúvatar called together all the Ainur, and declared to them a mighty theme, unfolding to them things greater and more wonderful than he had yet revealed; and the glory of its beginning and the splendour of its end amazed the Ainur, so that they bowed before Ilúvatar and were silent.

Then said Ilúvatar: 'Of the theme that I have declared to you, but only incomplete and unadorned, I desire now that ye make in harmony together a great music. And since I have kindled you with the Fire, ye shall exercise your powers in adorning this theme, each with his own thoughts and devices. But I will sit and hearken and be glad that through you great beauty has been wakened into song.'

Then the voices of the Ainur, like unto harps and lutes, and pipes and trumpets, and viols and organs, and like unto countless

choirs singing with words, began to fashion the theme of Ilúvatar to a great music; and a sound arose of endless interchanging melodies, woven in harmonies, that passed beyond hearing both in the depths and in the heights, and the places of the dwelling of Ilúvatar were filled to overflowing, and the music and the echo of the music went out into the Void, and it was not void. Never was there before, nor has there since been, a music so immeasurable, though it has been said that a greater still shall be made before Ilúvatar by the choirs of the Ainur and the Children of Ilúvatar after the end of days.[2] Then shall the themes of Ilúvatar be played aright, and take being in the moment of their playing, for all shall then understand his intent in their part, and shall know the comprehension each of each, and Ilúvatar shall give to their thoughts the secret Fire, being well pleased.

But now the All-father sat and hearkened, and for a great while it seemed good to him, for the flaws in the music were few. But as the theme progressed, it came into the heart of Melko[3] to interweave matters of his own imagining that were not in accord with the theme of Ilúvatar; for he sought therein to increase the power and glory of the part assigned to himself. To Melko among the Ainur had been given the greatest gifts of power and knowledge, and he had a share in all the gifts of his brethren;[4] and he had gone often alone into the void places seeking the secret Fire that gives life. For desire grew hot within him to bring into being things of his own, and it seemed to him that Ilúvatar took no thought for the Void, and he was impatient of its emptiness.[5] Yet he found not the Fire, for it is with Ilúvatar, and he knew it not. But being alone he had begun to conceive thoughts of his own unlike those of his brethren.

Some of these he now wove into his music, and straightway discord arose about him, and many that sang nigh him grew despondent and their thought was disturbed and their music faltered; but some began to attune their music to his rather than to the thought which they had at first. And the discord of Melko spread ever wider and the music darkened, for the thought of Melko came from the outer dark whither Ilúvatar had not yet turned the light of his face. But Ilúvatar sat and hearkened, until all that could be heard was like unto a storm, and a formless wrath that made war upon itself in endless night.

Then Ilúvatar was grieved, but he smiled, and he lifted up his left hand, and a new theme began amid the storm, like and yet unlike the former theme, and it gathered power and had new

sweetness. But the discord of Melko arose in uproar against it, and there was again a war of sound in which music was lost. Then Ilúvatar smiled no longer, but wept, and he raised his right hand; and behold, a third theme grew amid the confusion, and it was unlike the others, and more powerful than all. And it seemed at last that there were two musics progressing at one time before the seat of Ilúvatar, and they were utterly at variance. One was deep and wide and beautiful, but slow and blended with unquenchable sorrow, from which its beauty chiefly came. The other had grown now to a unity and system, yet an imperfect one, save in so far as it derived still from the eldest theme of Ilúvatar; but it was loud, and vain, and endlessly repeated, and it had little harmony, but rather a clamorous unison as of many trumpets braying upon one note. And it essayed to drown the other music by the violence of its voice, but it seemed ever that its most triumphant notes were taken by the other and woven into its pattern.[6]

In the midst of this strife, whereat the halls of Ilúvatar shook and a tremor ran through the dark places, Ilúvatar raised up both his hands, and in one chord, deeper than the abyss, higher than the firmament, more glorious than the sun, piercing as the light of the eye of Ilúvatar, the music ceased.

Then said Ilúvatar: 'Mighty are the Ainur, and mightiest among them is Melko; but that he may know, and all the Ainur, that I am Ilúvatar, those things that ye have sung and played, lo! I have caused to be. Not in the musics that ye make in the heavenly regions, as a joy to me and a play unto yourselves, but rather to have shape and reality, even as have ye Ainur. And behold I shall love these things that are come of my song even as I love the Ainur who are of my thought. And thou, Melko, shalt see that no theme may be played that has not its uttermost source in me, nor can any alter the music in my despite. For he that attempts this shall but aid me in devising things yet more wonderful, which he himself has not imagined. Through Melko have terror as fire, and sorrow like dark waters, wrath like thunder, and evil as far from my light as the uttermost depths of the dark places come into the design. In the confusion of sound were made pain and cruelty, devouring flame and cold without mercy, and death without hope. Yet he shall see that in the end this redounds only to the glory of the world, and this world shall be called of all the deeds of Ilúvatar the mightiest and most lovely.'

Then the Ainur were afraid, and understood not fully what was

said; and Melko was filled with shame and with the anger of shame. But Ilúvatar arose in splendour and went forth from the fair regions that he had made for the Ainur and came into the dark places; and the Ainur followed him.[7]

But when they came into the midmost Void they beheld a sight of surpassing beauty, where before had been emptiness. And Ilúvatar said: 'Behold your music! For of my will it has taken shape, and even now the history of the world is beginning. Each will find contained within the design that is mine the adornments that he himself devised; and Melko will discover there those things which he thought to bring out new from his own heart, and will see them to be but a part of the whole, and tributary to its glory. But I have given being unto all.'[8] And lo! the secret Fire burned in the heart of the World.

Then the Ainur marvelled seeing the world globed amid the Void, and it was sustained therein, but not of it. And looking upon light they were joyful, and seeing many colours their eyes were filled with delight; but because of the roaring of the sea they felt a great unquiet. And they observed the air and winds, and the matters whereof the middle-earth was made,[9] of iron and stone and silver and gold and many substances: but of all these water they most greatly praised. And it is said that in water there lives yet the echo of the Music of the Ainur more than in any substance else that is in the world, and many of the Children of Ilúvatar hearken still unsated to the voices of the sea, and yet know not for what they listen.

Now of water had that Ainu whom we call Ulmo mostly thought, and of all most deeply was he instructed by Ilúvatar in music. But of the airs and winds Manwë most had pondered, who was the noblest of the Ainur. Of the fabric of earth had Aulë thought, to whom Ilúvatar had given skill and knowledge scarce less than to Melko; but the delight and pride of Aulë was in the process of making, and in the thing made, and not in possession nor in himself, wherefore he was a maker and teacher and not a master, and none have called him lord.[10]

Now Ilúvatar spake to Ulmo and said: 'Seest thou not how Melko has made war upon thy realm? He has bethought him of biting cold without moderation, and has not destroyed the beauty of thy fountains, nor of thy clear pools. Behold the snow, and the cunning work of frost! Behold the towers and mansions of ice! Melko has devised heats and fire without restraint, and has not

dried up thy desire, nor utterly quelled the music of the sea. Behold rather the height and glory of the clouds, and the ever-changing mists and vapours, and listen to the fall of rain upon the earth. And in these clouds thou art drawn yet nearer to thy brother Manwë whom thou lovest.'[11]

Then Ulmo answered: 'Yea, truly, water is become now fairer than my heart imagined, neither had my secret thought conceived the snow-flake, nor in all my music was contained the falling of the rain. Lo! I will seek Manwë, that he and I may make melodies for ever and ever to thy delight!' And Manwë and Ulmo have from the beginning been allied, and in all things served most faithfully the purpose of Ilúvatar.

And even as Ilúvatar spake to Ulmo, the Ainur beheld the unfolding of the world, and the beginning of that history which Ilúvatar had propounded to them as a theme of song. Because of their memory of the speech of Ilúvatar and the knowledge that each has of the music which he played the Ainur know much of what is to come, and few things are unforeseen by them. Yet some things there are that they cannot see, neither alone nor taking counsel together. But even as they gazed, many became enamoured of the beauty of the world, and engrossed in the history which came there to being, and there was unrest among them. Thus it came to pass that some abode still with Ilúvatar beyond the world, and those were such as had been content in their playing with the thought of the All-father's design, caring only to set it forth as they had received it. But others, and among them were many of the wisest and fairest of the Ainur, craved leave of Ilúvatar to enter into the world and dwell there, and put on the form and raiment of Time.[12] For they said: 'We desire to have the guidance of the fair things of our dreams, which thy might has made to have a life apart, and we would instruct both Elves and Men in their wonder and uses, when the times come for thy Children to appear upon earth.' And Melko feigned that he desired to control the violence and turmoils, of heat and of cold, that he had caused within the world, but he intended rather to usurp the realms of all the Ainur and subdue to his will both Elves and Men; for he was jealous of the gifts with which Ilúvatar purposed to endow them.

For Elves and Men were devised by Ilúvatar alone, nor, since they comprehended not fully that part of the theme when it was propounded to them, did any of the Ainur dare in their music to

add anything to their fashion; and for that reason these races are called the Children of Ilúvatar, and the Ainur are rather their elders and their chieftains than their masters. Wherefore in their meddling with Elves and Men the Ainur have endeavoured at times to force them, when they would not be guided, but seldom to good result, were it of good or evil intent. The dealings of the Ainur have been mostly with the Elves, for Ilúvatar made the Elves most like in nature to the Ainur, though less in might and stature; but to Men he gave strange gifts.

Knowing these things and seeing their hearts, Ilúvatar granted the desire of the Ainur, and it is not said that he was grieved. Then those that wished descended, and entered into the world. But this condition Ilúvatar made, or it is the necessity of their own love (I know not which), that their power should thenceforth be contained and bounded by the world, and fail with it; and his purpose with them afterward Ilúvatar has not revealed.

Thus the Ainur came into the world, whom we call the Valar, or the Powers, and they dwelt in many places: in the firmament, or in the deeps of the sea, or upon earth, or in Valinor upon the borders of earth. And the four greatest were Melko and Manwë and Ulmo and Aulë.

Melko for a long while walked alone, and he wielded both fire and frost, from the Walls of the World to the deepest furnaces that are under it, and whatsoever is violent or immoderate, sudden or cruel, is laid to his charge, and for the most part justly. Few of the divine race went with him, and of the Children of Ilúvatar none have followed him since, save as slaves, and his companions were of his own making: the Orcs and demons that long troubled the earth, tormenting Men and Elves.[13]

Ulmo has dwelt ever in the Outer Ocean, and governed the flowing of all waters, and the courses of all rivers, the replenishment of springs and the distilling of rain and dew throughout the world. In the deep places he gives thought to music great and terrible; and the echo thereof runs through all the veins of the world, and its joy is as the joy of a fountain in the sun whose wells are the wells of unfathomed sorrow at the foundations of the world.[14] The Teleri learned much of him, and for this reason their music has both sadness and enchantment. Salmar came with him, who made the conches of Ulmo;[15] and Ossë and Uinen, to whom he gave control of waves and of the inner seas; and many other spirits beside.

Aulë dwelt in Valinor, in the making of which he had most part, and he wrought many things both openly and in secret. Of him comes the love and the knowledge of the substances of earth, both tillage and husbandry, and the crafts of weaving and of beating metals and of shaping wood. Of him comes the science of earth and its fabric and the lore of its elements, their blending and mutation.[16] Of him the Noldor learned much in after days, and they are the wisest and most skilled of the Elves. But they added much to his teaching and delighted much in tongues and alphabets and in the figures of broidery, of drawing and carving. For art was the especial gift of the Children of Ilúvatar.[17] And the Noldor achieved the invention of gems, which were not in the world before them; and the fairest of all gems were the Silmarils, and they are lost.

But the highest and holiest of the Valar was Manwë Súlimo, and he dwelt in Valinor, sitting in majesty upon his throne; and his throne was upon the pinnacle of Taniquetil, which is the highest of the mountains of the world, and stands upon the borders of Valinor. Spirits in the shape of hawks and of eagles flew ever to and from his house, whose eyes could see to the depths of the sea and could pierce the hidden caverns under the world, whose wings could bear them through the three regions of the firmament beyond the lights of heaven to the edge of darkness;[18] and they brought word to him of well nigh all that passed: yet some things are hid even from the eyes of Manwë.

With him was Varda the most beautiful. Now the Ainur that came into the world took shape and form, such even as have the Children of Ilúvatar who were born of the world; but their shape and form is greater and more lovely and it comes of the knowledge and desire of the substance of the world rather than of that substance itself, and it cannot always be perceived, though they be present. And some of them, therefore, took form and temper as of female, and some as of male.[19] But Varda was the Queen of the Valar, and was the spouse of Manwë; and she wrought the stars, and her beauty is high and aweful, and she is named in reverence. The children of Manwë and Varda are Fionwë Úrion their son and Ilmar their daughter; and these are the eldest of the Children of the Gods.[20] They dwell with Manwë, and with them are a great host of fair spirits in great happiness. Elves and Men love Manwë most of all the Valar,[21] for he is not fain of his own honour, nor jealous of his own power, but ruleth all to peace. The Lindar[22] he loved most of all the Elves, and of him they received song and

poesy; for poesy is the delight of Manwë, and the song of words is his music. Behold the raiment of Manwë is blue, and blue is the fire of his eyes, and his sceptre is of sapphire; and he is the king in this world of Gods and Elves and Men, and the chief defence against Melko.

After the departure of the Valar there was silence for an age, and Ilúvatar sat alone in thought. Then Ilúvatar spake, and he said: 'Behold I love the world, and it is a mansion for Elves and Men. But the Elves shall be the fairest of earthly creatures, and they shall have and shall conceive more beauty than all my children, and they shall have greater bliss in this world. But to Men I will give a new gift.'

Therefore he willed that the hearts of Men should seek beyond the world and find no rest therein; but they should have a virtue to fashion their life, amid the powers and chances of the world, beyond the Music of the Ainur, which is as fate to all things else. And of their operation everything should be, in shape and deed, completed, and the world fulfilled unto the last and smallest. Lo! even we, Elves, have found to our sorrow that Men have a strange power for good or ill, and for turning things aside from the purpose of Valar or of Elves; so that it is said among us that Fate is not master of the children of Men; yet are they blind, and their joy is small, which should be great.

But Ilúvatar knew that Men, being set amid the turmoils of the powers of the world, would stray often, and would not use their gift in harmony; and he said: 'These too, in their time, shall find that all they do redounds at the end only to the glory of my work.' Yet the Elves say that Men are often a grief even unto Manwë, who knows most of the mind of Ilúvatar.[23] For Men resemble Melko most of all the Ainur, and yet have ever feared and hated him.[24] It is one with this gift of freedom that the children of Men dwell only a short space in the world alive, and yet are not bound to it, nor shall perish utterly for ever. Whereas the Eldar remain until the end of days, and their love of the world is deeper, therefore, and more sorrowful. But they die not, till the world dies, unless they are slain or waste in grief – for to both these seeming deaths are they subject – nor does age subdue their strength, unless one grow weary of ten thousand centuries; and dying they are gathered in the halls of Mandos in Valinor, whence often they return and are reborn in their children. But the sons of Men die indeed. Yet it is said that they will join in the Second Music of the Ainur,[25] whereas

Ilúvatar has not revealed what he purposes for Elves and Valar after the world's end; and Melko has not discovered it.

NOTES

1 There is nothing corresponding to this prefatory sentence in the draft text A. It is notable that Ælfwine still heard the story of the Music of the Ainur from Rúmil's own lips in Tol-eressëa, as he did in the *Lost Tales*.

2 The *Tale* has here: 'by the choirs of both Ainur *and the sons of Men* after the Great End.' Both texts of the new version have: 'by the choirs of the Ainur *and the Children of Ilúvatar* after the end of days.' On this see I. 63, where I suggested that the change in the present version may have been unintentional, in view of the last sentence of the text.

3 A has here: 'sitting upon the left hand of Ilúvatar'.

4 The *Tale* has here: '*some of the greatest* gifts of power and wisdom and knowledge'; A has '*many of the greatest* gifts of power and knowledge'. The statement in B that Melko had '*the greatest* gifts of power and knowledge' is the first unequivocal statement of the idea that Melko was the mightiest of all the Ainur; although in the *Tale* (I. 54) Ilúvatar says that 'among them [the Ainur] is Melko the most powerful in knowledge' (where the new version has 'mightiest among them is Melko' (p. 158)). In Q it is said (IV. 79) that 'Very mighty was he made by Ilúvatar, and some of the powers of all the Valar he possessed' (cf. QS §10). In *The Lost Road* (p. 63) he was 'the eldest in the thought of Ilúvatar', whereas in QS §10 he was 'coëval with Manwë'.

5 This sentence, from 'and it seemed to him', is not in A.

6 From this point a page is lost from the A manuscript. See note 7.

7 Here A takes up again after the missing page. It will be seen that in this passage B is very close to the *Tale* (I. 54–5), and A may be supposed to have been even closer.

8 The *Tale* has here: 'One thing only have I added, the fire that giveth Life and Reality'; A has: 'But this I have added: life.'

9 A has 'a middle-earth' (in the *Tale* 'the Earth'). The use of 'middle-earth' (which probably first appears in AV 1, IV. 264) here is curious and I cannot account for it; there seems no reason to specify the middle lands, between the seas, to the exclusion of the lands of the West and East. But the reading survived through the post-*Lord of the Rings* versions of the *Ainulindalë*; the change in *The Silmarillion* (p. 19) to 'the matters of which Arda was made' was editorial.

10 This sentence, from 'but the delight and pride of Aulë', is not in A.

11 Both A and B have Ilúvatar speak to Ulmo of 'thy brother Manwë'.

12 The words 'and put on the form and raiment of Time' are not in A.

13 This notable sentence ('Few of the divine race . . .') is not in A.

14 A still closely echoed the passage in the *Tale*: 'In the deeps he bethinks him of music great and strange, and yet full of sorrow (and in this he has aid from Manwë).' – On 'the veins of the world' see IV. 255.

15 Salmar appears here in the original *Music of the Ainur* and elsewhere in the *Lost Tales*, but in no subsequent text until now. This is the first mention of his being the maker of the conches of Ulmo.

16 This sentence is not in A.

17 A has here: 'For art was the especial gift of the Eldar.' The term *Eldar* is presumably used here in the old sense, i.e. 'Elves', as again also in the last paragraph of the text; cf. AV 2, annal 2000 and commentary.

18 This sentence, from 'whose wings could bear them', is not in A. For the three regions of the firmament (*Vista, Ilmen, Vaiya*) see the diagrams accompanying the *Ambarkanta*, IV. 243, 245.

19 This passage replaces the following briefer wording of A: 'Now the Ainur that came into the world took shape and form, such even as the Children of Ilúvatar who were born in the world; but greater and more beautiful, and some were in form and mind as women and some as men.' This is the first statement in my father's writings concerning the 'physical' (or rather 'perceptible') form of the Valar, and the meaning of gender as applied to them.

20 Fionwë *Úrion* reappears from the *Lost Tales*; in the previous texts of the 1930s he is Fionwë simply, as also in QS (§4). On his 'parentage' see IV. 68. – Where B has *Ilmar* A has *Ild Merildë Ildumë Ind Estë*, struck out one after the other, and then *Ilmar* (*Ild* and *Ind* are perhaps uncompleted names). This was obviously where the name *Ilmar(ë)* arose (replacing *Erinti* of the *Lost Tales*), and it is thus shown that the *Ainulindalë* preceded QS, which has *Ilmarë* as first written (§4). A final *-e* was added, probably early, to *Ilmar* in B. The occurrence of *Estë* among the rejected names in A is curious, since Estë already appears in the certainly earlier AV 1 as the wife of Lórien; presumably my father was momentarily inclined to give the name another application.

The statements that Fionwë and Ilmar(ë) are the eldest of the Children of the Gods, and that they dwell with Manwë, are not in A.

21 A retains the reading of the *Tale*, 'and Men love Manwë most of all the Valar.'

22 A has: 'The Lindar whom Ingwë ruled'; cf. the *Tale*: 'The Teleri whom Inwë ruled.'

23 A has: 'Yet the Eldar say that the thought of Men is often a grief to Manwë, and even to Ilúvatar.'

24 After 'feared and hated him' A (deriving closely from the *Tale*) has: 'And if the gift of freedom was the envy and amazement of the Ainur, the patience of Ilúvatar is beyond their understanding.'

25 This passage is somewhat different in A: 'whereas the Eldar remain until the end of days, unless they are slain or waste in grief – for to both these deaths they are subject – nor does age subdue their strength, unless one grow weary in a thousand centuries; and dying they are gathered in the halls of Mandos in Valinor, and some are reborn in their children. But the sons of Men will it is said join in the Second Music of the Ainur,' &c. In changing 'a thousand centuries' to 'ten thousand centuries' my father was going back to the *Tale* (I. 59).

On the mention specifically of Men at the Second Music of the Ainur, which goes back to the *Tale*, see note 2.

It will be seen that while every sentence of the original *Tale of the Music of the Ainur* was rewritten, and many new elements entered, the central difference between the oldest version and that in the published *Silmarillion* still survived at this time: 'the Ainur's first sight of the World was in its actuality, not as a Vision that was taken away from them and only given existence in the words of Ilúvatar: *Eä!* Let these things Be!' (I. 62).

V
THE LHAMMAS

There are three versions of this work, all good clear manuscripts, and I think that all three were closely associated in time. I shall call the first *Lhammas A*, and the second, developed directly from it, *Lhammas B*; the third is distinct and very much shorter, and bears the title *Lammasethen*. *Lhammas A* has now no title-page, but it seems likely that a rejected title-page on the reverse of that of *B* in fact belonged to it. This reads:

> The *Lammas*
> Or 'Account of Tongues' that Pengolod of Gondolin wrote afterward in Tol-eressëa, using in part the work of Rúmil the sage of Kôr

The title-page of *Lhammas B* reads:

> The '*Lhammas*'
> This is the 'Account of Tongues' which Pengoloð of Gondolin wrote in later days in Tol-eressëa, using the work of Rúmil the sage of Tûn. This account Ælfwine saw when he came into the West

At the head of the page is written: '3. *Silmarillion*'. At this stage the *Lhammas*, together with the *Annals*, was to be a part of 'The Silmarillion' in a larger sense (see p. 202).

The second version relates to the first in a characteristic way; closely based on the first, but with a great many small shifts of wording and some rearrangements, and various more or less important alterations of substance. In fact, much of *Lhammas B* is too close to *A* to justify the space required to give both, and in any case the essentials of the linguistic history are scarcely modified in the second version; I therefore give *Lhammas B* only, but interesting points of divergence are noticed in the commentary. The separate *Lammasethen* version is also given in full.

In order to make reference to the very packed text easier I divide it, without manuscript authority, into numbered sections (as with the *Quenta* in Vol. IV), and the commentary follows these divisions.

Associated with the text of *Lhammas A* and *B* respectively are two 'genealogical' tables, *The Tree of Tongues*, both of which are reproduced here (pp. 169–70). The later form of the *Tree* will be found to agree in almost all particulars with the text printed; differing features in the earlier form are discussed in the commentary.

Various references are made in the text to 'the Quenta'. In §5 the reference (made only in *Lhammas A*, see the commentary) is associated with the name *Kalakilya* (the Pass of Light), and this name occurs in QS but not in Q. Similarly in §6 'It is elsewhere told how Sindo brother of Elwë, lord of the Teleri, strayed from his kindred': the story of Thingol's disappearance and enchantment by Melian has of course been told elsewhere, but in Q he is not named Sindo, whereas in QS he is. It seems therefore that these references to the *Quenta* are to QS rather than to Q, though they do not demonstrate that my father had reached these passages in the actual writing of QS when he was composing the *Lhammas*; but that question is not important, since the new names themselves had already arisen, and therefore associate the *Lhammas* with the new version of 'The Silmarillion'.

There follows now the text of *Lhammas B*. The manuscript was remarkably little emended subsequently. Such few changes as were made are introduced into the body of the text but shown as such.

Of the Valian Tongue and its Descendants

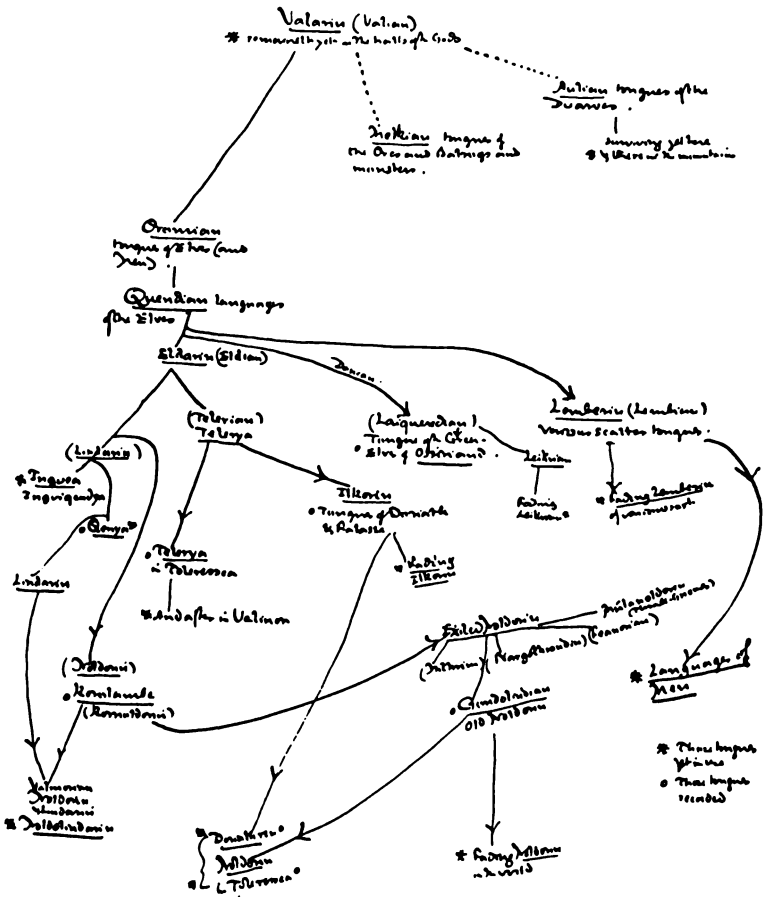
1

From the beginning the Valar had speech, and after they came into the world they wrought their tongue for the naming and glorifying of all things therein. In after ages at their appointed time the *Qendi* (who are the Elves) awoke beside Kuiviénen, the Waters of Awakening, under the stars in the midst of Middle-earth.

There they were found by Oromë, Lord of Forests, and of him they learned after their capacity the speech of the Valar; and all the tongues that have been derived thence may be called Oromian or Quendian. The speech of the Valar changes little, for the Valar do not die; and before the Sun and Moon it altered not from age to age in Valinor. But when the Elves learned it, they changed it from the first in the learning, and softened its sounds, and they added many words to it of their own liking and devices even from the beginning. For the Elves love the making of words, and this has ever been the chief cause of the change and variety of their tongues.

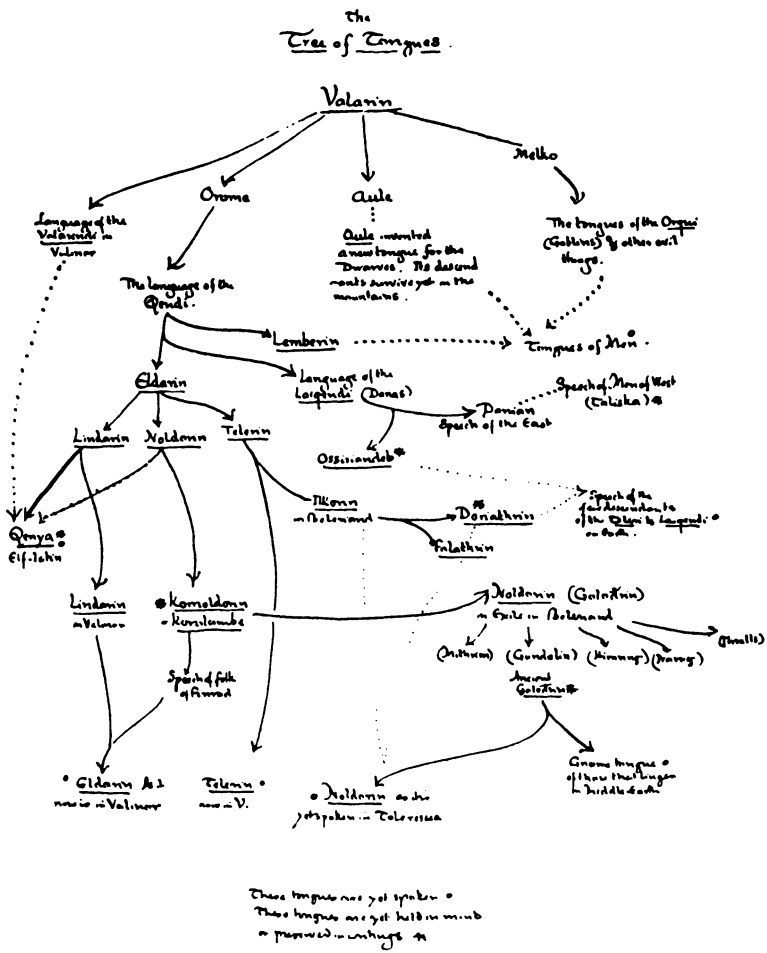
2

Now already in their first dwellings the Elves were divided into three kindreds, whose names are now in Valinorian form: the *Lindar* (the fair), the *Noldor* (the wise), and the *Teleri* (the last, for these were the latest to awake). The Lindar dwelt most



The Tree of Tongues (earlier form)

westerly; and the Noldor were the most numerous; and the Teleri who dwelt most easterly were scattered in the woods, for even from their awakening they were wanderers and lovers of freedom. When Oromë led forth the hosts of the Elves on their march westward, some remained behind and desired not to go, or heard not the call to Valinor. These are named the *Lembi*, those that lingered, and most were of Telerian race. / But those that followed Oromë are called the *Eldar*, those that departed. [*This sentence struck out and carefully emended to read:* But Oromë named the Elves *Eldar* or 'star-folk', and this name was after borne by all that



The Tree of Tongues (later form)

followed him, both the *Avari* (or 'departing') who forsook Middle-earth, and those who in the end remained behind (*changed from* who in the end remained in Beleriand, the Ilkorindi of Doriath and the Falas).] But not all of the Eldar came to Valinor or to the city of the Elves in the land of the Gods upon the hill of Kôr. For beside the Lembi, that came never into the West of the Hither Lands until ages after, there were the folk of the Teleri that remained in Beleriand as is told hereafter, and the folk of the Noldor that strayed upon the march and came also later into the

east of Beleriand. These are the *Ilkorindi* that are accounted among the Eldar, but came not beyond the Great Seas to Kôr while still the Two Trees bloomed. Thus came the first sundering of the tongues of the Elves, into *Eldarin* and *Lemberin*; for the Eldar and Lembi did not meet again for many ages, nor until their languages were wholly estranged.

3

On the march to the West the Lindar went first, and the chief house among them was the house of Ingwë, high-king of the Eldalië, and the oldest of all Elves, for he first awoke. His house and people are called the *Ingwelindar* or *Ingwi*. The march began when the Elves had dwelt for about thirty Valian years in the Hither Lands, and ten more Valian years passed, ere the first companies of the Lindar reached the Falassë, that is the western shores of the Hither Lands, where Beleriand lay of old. Now each Valian year in the days of the Trees was as ten years now are, but before the making of the Sun and Moon the change and growth of all living things was slow, even in the Hither Lands. Little difference, therefore, was found yet in the speeches of the three kindreds of the Eldalië. In the year 1950 of the Valar the Qendi awoke, and in the year 1980 they began their march, and in the year 1990 the Lindar came over the mountains into Beleriand; and in the year 2000 of the Gods the Lindar and the Noldor came over the seas unto Valinor in the west of the world and dwelt in the light of the Trees. But the Teleri tarried on the march, and came later, and they were left behind in Beleriand for ten Valian years, and lived upon the Falassë and grew to love the sea above all else. And thereafter, as is told in the *Quenta*, they dwelt, because of the deeds of Ossë, an age, which is 100 years of the Valar, on Tol-eressëa, the Lonely Isle, in the Bay of Faërie, before at last they sailed in their swan-ships to the shores of Valinor. The tongue of the Teleri became therefore sundered somewhat from that of the Noldor and Lindar, and it has ever remained apart though akin.

Of the tongues of the Elves in Valinor

4

For nine ages, which is nine hundred Valian years, the Lindar and Noldor dwelt in Valinor, ere its darkening; and for eight of those ages the Teleri dwelt nigh them, yet separate, upon the

shores and about the havens of the land of the Gods, while Morgoth was in captivity and vassalage. Their tongues therefore changed in the slow rolling of the years, even in Valinor, for the Elves are not as the Gods, but are children of Earth. Yet they changed less than might be thought in so great a space of time; for the Elves in Valinor did not die, and in those days the Trees still flowered, and the changeful Moon was not yet made, and there was peace and bliss.

Nonetheless the Elves much altered the tongue of the Valar, and each of their kindreds after their own fashion. The most beautiful and the least changeful of these speeches was that of the Lindar, and especially the tongue of the house and folk of Ingwë.*

It grew therefore to be a custom in Valinor, early in the days of the abiding there of the Elves, for the Gods to use this speech in converse with the Elves, and Elves of different kindred one with another; and for long this language was chiefly used in inscriptions or in writings of wisdom or poetry. Thus an ancient form of Lindarin speech became early fixed, save for some later adoptions of words and names from other dialects, as a language of high speech and of writing, and as a common speech among all Elves; and all the folk of Valinor learned and knew this language. It was called by the Gods and Elves 'the Elvish tongue', that is *Qenya*, and such it is usually now named, though the Elves call it also *Ingwiqenya*, especially in its purest and highest form, and also *tarquesta* high-speech, and *parmalambë* the book-tongue. This is the Elf-latin, and it remains still, and all Elves know it, even such as linger still in the Hither Lands. But the speech of daily converse among the Lindar has not remained as Qenya, but has changed therefrom, though far less than have Noldorin or even Telerin from their own tongues in the ancient days of the Trees.

The Noldor in the days of their exile brought the knowledge of the Elf-latin into Beleriand, and, though they did not teach it to Men, it became used among all the Ilkorindi. The names of the Gods were by all the Eldar preserved and chiefly used only in Qenya form; although most of the Valar had titles and by-names, different in different tongues, by which in daily use their high

*(*Footnote, added after the writing of the main text:*) But the Lindar were soft-spoken, and at first altered the Elvish speech more than the other peoples by the softening and smoothing of its sounds, especially the consonants; yet in words [*struck out:* and forms] they were, as is said, less changeful, and their grammar and vocabulary remained more ancient than those of any other Elvish folk.

names were usually supplanted, and they were seldom heard save in solemn oath and hymn. It was the Noldor who in the early days of their sojourn in Valinor devised letters, and the arts of cutting them upon stone or wood, and of writing them with brush or pen; for rich as are the minds of the Elves in memory, they are not as the Valar, who wrote not and do not forget. But it was long ere the Noldor themselves wrote in books with their own tongue, and though they carved and wrote in those days many things in monument and document, the language they used was Qenya, until the days of Fëanor's pride.

5

Now in this way did the daily speeches of the Lindar and Noldor draw apart. At first, though they saw and marvelled at the light and bliss of Valinor, the Elves forgot not Middle-earth and the starlight whence they came, and they longed at times to look upon the stars and walk a while in shadow. Wherefore the Gods made that cleft in the mountain-wall which is called the Kalakilya the Pass of Light. Therein the Elves piled the green hill of Kôr, and built thereon the city of Tûn [> Túna],* and highest amid the city of Tûn [> Túna] was the white tower of Ingwë. And the thought of the lands of earth was deepest in the hearts of the Noldor, who afterward returned thither, and they abode in that place whence the outer shadows could be seen, and among the vales and mountains about Kalakilya was their home. But the Lindar grew soon to love more the tree-lit gardens of the Gods, and the wide and fertile plains, and they forsook Tûn [> Túna], and dwelt far away and returned seldom; and though Ingwë was ever held the high-king of all the Eldar, and none used his white tower, save such as kept aflame the everlasting lamp that burned there, the Noldor were ruled by Finwë, and became a people apart, busy with the making of many things, and meeting with their kin only at such times as they journeyed into Valinor for feast or council. Their converse was rather with the Teleri of the neighbouring shores than with the Lindar, and the tongues of Teleri and Noldor drew somewhat together again in those days.

Now as the ages passed and the Noldor became more numerous and skilled and proud, they took also to the writing and using in books of their own speech beside the Qenya; and the form in

*(*Marginal note added at the same time as the change of Tûn to Túna:*) Which the Gods called *Eldamar*.

which it was earliest written and preserved is the ancient Noldorin or *Kornoldorin*, which goes back to the days of the gem-making of Fëanor son of Finwë. But this Noldorin never became fixed, as was Qenya, and was used only by the Noldor, and its writing changed in the course of years with the change of speech and with the varying devices of writing among the Gnomes. For this old Noldorin, the *Korolambë* (tongue of Kôr) or *Kornoldorin*, besides its change by reason of passing time, was altered much by new words and devices of language not of Valian origin, nor common to all the Eldar, but invented anew by the Noldor. The same may be said of all the tongues of the Qendi, but in the invention of language the Noldor were the chief, and they were restless in spirit, even before Morgoth walked among them, though far more so afterwards, and changeful in invention. And the fruit of their spirit were many works of exceeding beauty, and also much sorrow and great grief.

Thus in Valinor, ere the end of the days of Bliss, there was the Elf-latin, the written and spoken Qenya, which the Lindar first made, though it is not the same as their own daily speech; and there was Lindarin the language of the Lindar; and Noldorin the language, both written and spoken, of the Noldor (which is in its ancient form named *Korolambë* or *Kornoldorin*); and the tongue of the Teleri. And over all was the *Valya* or *Valarin*, the ancient speech of the Gods, that changed not from age to age. But that tongue they used little save among themselves in their high councils, and they wrote it not nor carved it, and it is not known to mortal Men.

Of the tongues of the Elves in Middle-earth, and of the Noldorin that returned thither

6

It is elsewhere told how Sindo brother of Elwë, lord of the Teleri, strayed from his kindred and was enchanted in Beleriand by Melian and came never to Valinor, and he was after called Thingol and was king in Beleriand of the many Teleri who would not sail with Ulmo for Valinor but remained on the Falassë, and of others that went not because they tarried searching for Thingol in the woods. And these multiplied and were yet at first scattered far and wide between Eredlindon and the sea; for the land of Beleriand is very great, and the world was then still dark. In the course of ages the tongues and dialects of Beleriand became

altogether estranged from those of the other Eldar in Valinor, though the learned in such lore may perceive that they were anciently sprung from Telerian. These were the Ilkorin speeches of Beleriand, and they are also different from the tongues of the Lembi, who came never thither.

In after days the chief of the languages of Beleriand was the tongue of Doriath and of the folk of Thingol. Closely akin thereto was the speech of the western havens Brithombar and Eglorest, which is *Falassian*, and of other scattered companies of the Ilkorindi that wandered in the land, but all these have perished; for in the days of Morgoth only such of the Ilkorindi survived as were gathered under the protection of Melian in Doriath. The speech of Doriath was much used in after days by Noldor and Ilkorindi alike, / for Thingol was a great king, and his queen Melian divine [*emended to:* among the survivors at Sirion's mouth, for Elwing their queen and many of their folk came from Doriath.]

7

About the year of the Valar 2700, and nearly 300 years of the Valar ere the return of the Gnomes, while the world was still dark, the Green-elves, that were called / in their own tongue *Danas* [*written over heavily struck out: Danyar* (. . . Qenya *Nanyar*)], the followers of Dan, came also into eastern Beleriand, and dwelt in that region which is called Ossiriand, the Land of Seven Rivers, beneath the western slopes of Eredlindon. This folk was in the beginning of Noldorin race, but is not counted among the Eldar, nor yet among the Lembi. For they followed Oromë at first, yet forsook the host of Finwë ere the great march had gone very far, and turned southwards. But finding the lands dark and barren, for in the eldest days the South was never visited by any of the Valar, and its sky was scanty in stars, this folk turned again north. Their first leader was Dan, whose son was Denethor; and Denethor led many of them at last over the Blue Mountains in the days of Thingol. For though they had turned back, the Green-elves had yet heard the call to the West, and were still drawn thither at times in unquiet and restlessness; and for this reason they are not among the Lembi. Nor was their tongue like the tongues of the Lembi, but was of its own kind, different from the tongues of Valinor and of Doriath and of the Lembi [*emended to:* different from the tongues of Valinor and of the Lembi, and most like that of Doriath, though not the same.]

But the speech of the Green-elves in Ossiriand became somewhat estranged from that of their own kindred that remained east of Eredlindon, being much affected by the tongue of Thingol's people. Yet they remained apart from the Telerian Ilkorins and remembered their kin beyond the mountains, with whom they had still some intercourse, and named themselves in common with these *Danas*. But they were called by others Green-elves, *Laiqendi*, because they loved the green wood, and green lands of fair waters; and the house of Denethor loved green above all colours, and the beech above all trees. They were allied with Thingol but not subject to him, until the return of Morgoth to the North, when after Denethor was slain many sought the protection of Thingol. But many dwelt still in Ossiriand, until the final ruin, and held to their own speech; and they were without a king, until Beren came unto them and they took him for lord. But their speech has now vanished from the earth, as have Beren and Lúthien.* Of their kindred that dwelt still east of the mountains few came into the history of Beleriand, and they remained in the Hither Lands after the ruin of the West in the great war, and have faded since or become merged among the Lembi. Yet in the overthrow of Morgoth they were not without part, for they sent many of their warriors to answer the call of Fionwë.

Of the tongues of the Lembi nought is known from early days, since these Dark-elves wrote not and preserved little; and now they are faded and minished. And the tongues of those that linger still in the Hither Lands show now little kinship one to another, save that they all differ from Eldarin tongues, whether of Valinor and Kôr or of lost Beleriand. But of Lembian tongues are come in divers ways, as is later said, the manifold tongues of Men, save only the eldest Men of the West.

8

Now we speak again of the Noldor; for these came back again from Valinor and dwelt in Beleriand for four hundred years of the Sun. In all about 500 years of our time passed from the darkening of Valinor and the rape of the Silmarils until the rescue of the remnant of the exiled Gnomes, and the overthrow of Morgoth by the sons of the Gods. For nigh 10 Valian years (which is 100 of our

*(*Footnote to the text:*) Yet this tongue was recorded in Gondolin, and it is not wholly forgotten, for it was known unto Elwing and Eärendel.

time) passed during the flight of the Noldor, five ere the burning of the ships and the landing of Fëanor, and five more until the reunion of Fingolfin and the sons of Fëanor; and thereafter wellnigh 400 years of warfare with Morgoth followed. And after the rising of the Sun and Moon and the coming into the Hither Lands of measured time, which had before lain under the moveless stars without night or day, growth and change were swift for all living things, most swift outside Valinor, and most swift of all in the first years of the Sun. The daily tongue of the Noldor changed therefore much in Beleriand, for there was death and destruction, woe and confusion and mingling of peoples; and the speech of the Gnomes was influenced also much by that of the Ilkorins of Beleriand, and somewhat by tongues of the eldest Men, and a little even by the speech of Angband and of the Orcs.

Though they were never far estranged, there came thus also to be differences in speech among the Noldor themselves, and the kinds are accounted five: the speech of Mithrim and of Fingolfin's folk; and the speech of Gondolin and the people of Turgon; the speech of Nargothrond and the house and folk of Felagund and his brothers; and the speech of Himring and the sons of Fëanor; and the corrupted speech of the thrall-Gnomes, spoken by the Noldor that were held captive in Angband, or compelled to the service of Morgoth and the Orcs. Most of these perished in the wars of the North, and ere the end was left only *múlanoldorin* [> *mólanoldorin*], or the language of the thralls, and the language of Gondolin, where the ancient tongue was kept most pure. But the folk of Maidros son of Fëanor remained, though but as a remnant, almost until the end; and their speech was mingled with that of all the others, and of Ossiriand, and of Men.

The Noldorin that lives yet is come in the most part from the speech of Gondolin. There the ancient tongue was preserved, for it was a space of 250 years from the founding of that fortress until its fall in the year of the Sun 307, and during most of that time its people held little converse with Men or Elves, and they dwelt in peace. Even after its ruin something was preserved of its books and traditions, and has survived unto this day, and in its most ancient form this is called *Gondolic* (*Gondolindeb* [> *Gondolindren*]) or Old [> Middle] Noldorin. But this tongue was the speech of the survivors of Gondolin at Sirion's mouth, and it became the speech of all the remnants of the free Elves in Beleriand, and of such as joined with the avenging hosts of Fionwë. But it suffered thus, after the fall of Gondolin, admixture

from Falassian, and from Doriathrin most (for Elwing was there with the fugitives of Menegroth), and somewhat from Ossiriand, for Dior, father of Elwing, was the last lord of the Danas of Ossiriand.

Noldorin is therefore now the speech of the survivors of the wars of Beleriand that returned again to the West with Fionwë, and were given Tol-eressëa to dwell in. But still in the Hither Lands of the West there linger the fading remnants of the Noldor and the Teleri, and hold in secret to their own tongues; for there were some of those folk that would not leave the Middle-earth or the companionship of Men, but accepted the doom of Mandos that they should fade even as the younger Children of Ilúvatar waxed, and remained in the world, and are now, as are all those of Quendian race, but faint and few.

9

Of other tongues than the Oromian speeches, which have yet some relationship therewith, little will here be said. *Orquin*, or *Orquian*, the language of the Orcs, the soldiers and creatures of Morgoth, was partly itself of Valian origin, for it was derived from the Vala Morgoth. But the speech which he taught he perverted wilfully to evil, as he did all things, and the language of the Orcs was hideous and foul and utterly unlike the languages of the Qendi. But Morgoth himself spoke all tongues with power and beauty, when so he wished.

Of the language of the Dwarves little is known to us, save that its origin is as dark as is the origin of the Dwarvish race itself; and their tongues are not akin to other tongues, but wholly alien, and they are harsh and intricate, and few have essayed to learn them. (Thus saith Rúmil in his writings concerning the speeches of the earth of old, but I, Pengolod, have heard it said by some that Aulë first made the Dwarves, longing for the coming of Elves and Men, and desiring those to whom he could teach his crafts and wisdom. And he thought in his heart that he could forestall Ilúvatar. But the Dwarves have no spirit indwelling, as have Elves and Men, the Children of Ilúvatar, and this the Valar cannot give. Therefore the Dwarves have skill and craft, but no art, and they make no poetry.* Aulë devised a speech for them afresh, for his

*These two sentences were rewritten later, but very roughly; see the commentary on §9.

delight [is] in invention, and it has therefore no kinship with others; and they have made this harsh in use. Their tongues are, therefore, Aulian; and survive yet in a few places with the Dwarves in Middle-earth, and besides that the languages of Men are derived in part from them.)

But the Dwarves in the West and in Beleriand used, as far as they could learn it, an Elf-tongue in their dealings with the Elves, especially that of Ossiriand, which was nearest to their mountain homes; for the Elves would not learn Dwarvish speech.

10

The languages of Men were from their beginning diverse and various; yet they were for the most part derived remotely from the language of the Valar. For the Dark-elves, various folk of the Lembi, befriended wandering Men in sundry times and places in the most ancient days, and taught them such things as they knew. But other Men learned also wholly or in part of the Orcs and of the Dwarves; while in the West ere they came into Beleriand the fair houses of the eldest Men learned of the Danas, or Green-elves. But nought is preserved of the most ancient speeches of Men, save of the tongue of the folk of Bëor and Haleth and Hádor. Now the language of these folk was greatly influenced by the Green-elves, and it was of old named *Taliska*, and this tongue was known still to Tuor, son of Huor, son of Gumlin, son of Hádor, and it was in part recorded by the wise men of Gondolin, where Tuor for a while abode. Yet Tuor himself used this tongue no longer, for already even in Gumlin's day Men in Beleriand forsook the daily use of their own tongue and spoke and gave even names unto their children in the language of the Gnomes. Yet other Men there were, it seems, that remained east of Eredlindon, who held to their speech, and from this, closely akin to Taliska, are come after many ages of change languages that live still in the North of the earth. But the swarthy folk of Bor, and of Uldor the accursed, were not of this race, and were different in speech, but that speech is lost without record other than the names of these men.

11

From the great war and the overthrow of Morgoth by Fionwë and the ruin of Beleriand, which is computed to have happened about the year 397 of the Sun, are now very many ages passed; and the tongues of the waning Elves in different lands have changed

beyond recognition of their kinship one to another, or to the languages of Valinor, save in so far as the wise among them use still Qenya, the Elf-latin, which remains in knowledge among them, and by means of which they yet at whiles hold converse with emissaries from the West. For many thousands of years have passed since the fall of Gondolin. Yet in Tol-eressëa, by the power of the Valar and their mercy, the old is preserved from fading, and there yet is Noldorin spoken, and the language of Doriath and of Ossiriand is held in mind; and in Valinor there flower yet the fair tongues of the Lindar and the Teleri; but the Noldor that returned and went not to war and suffering in the world are no longer separate and speak as do the Lindar. And in Kôr and in Tol-eressëa may still be heard and read the accounts and histories of things that befell in the days of the Trees, and of the Silmarils, ere these were lost.

[*The following passage was added to the manuscript:*]

The names of the Gnomes in the *Quenta* are given in the Noldorin form as that tongue became in Beleriand, for all those after *Finwë* father of the Noldor, whose name remains in ancient form. Likewise all the names of Beleriand and the regions adjacent (many of which were first devised by the Gnomes) dealt with in the histories are given in Noldorin form. Though many are not Noldorin in origin and only adjusted to their tongue, but come from Beleriandic, or from Ossiriandic or the tongues of Men. Thus from Beleriandic is the name *Balar*, and *Beleriand*, and the names *Brithombar*, *Eglorest*, *Doriath*, and most of the names of lakes and rivers.

Commentary on the Lhammas

1

The use of *Quendi* to signify 'all Elves' has appeared in a correction to AV 2, and is in any case implied by the name *Lindar* which is used in AV 2 for the First Kindred, formerly called *Quendi*; see the commentary on annal 2000.

For much earlier references to the language of the Valar see I. 235. In the small part of *Gilfanon's Tale* that was written it is said expressly (I. 232) that 'the Eldar or Qendi had the gift of speech direct from Ilúvatar'. Now, in the *Lhammas*, the origin of all Elvish speech is the speech of the Valar (in both forms of the *Tree of Tongues* called *Valarin*, and in §5 also *Valya*), communicated to the Elves by the instruction of Oromë.

2

There is no mention in Q of Elves who would not leave the Waters of Awakening: the Ilkorindi or Dark-elves are there (§2) defined as those who were lost on the Great March. But in AV (both versions) it was only 'the most part' of the Elvenfolk who followed Oromë, and there are very early references to those who would not or did not leave Palisor (see I. 234, II. 64). These Elves are here for the first time given a name: the *Lembi*, those that lingered, opposed to the *Eldar*, those that departed – and at this stage the old term *Eldar* was to bear, not merely this reference, but this actual meaning: 'those that departed' (see p. 344).

The latter part of this section differs in *Lhammas A*:

> These are called the *Lembi*, or those that were left. But the others were called the *Eldar*, those that departed. Thus came the first sundering of tongues, for the Eldar and Lembi met not again for many ages. With the Lembi were merged and are reckoned such of the three kindreds of the Eldar as fell out by the way, or deserted the host, or were lost in the darkness of the ancient world; save only the remnants of the Teleri and the folk of Thingol that lingered in Beleriand. These also are called Eldar, but surnamed *Ilkorindi*, for they came never to Valinor or the city of the Elves in the land of the Gods upon the hill of Kôr. The tongue of the Ilkorindi of Beleriand showed still in after ages its kinship with Telerian, and thus Quendian was divided into three: Eldarin, and Ilkorin, and Lemberin; but the last was scattered and diverse and never one.

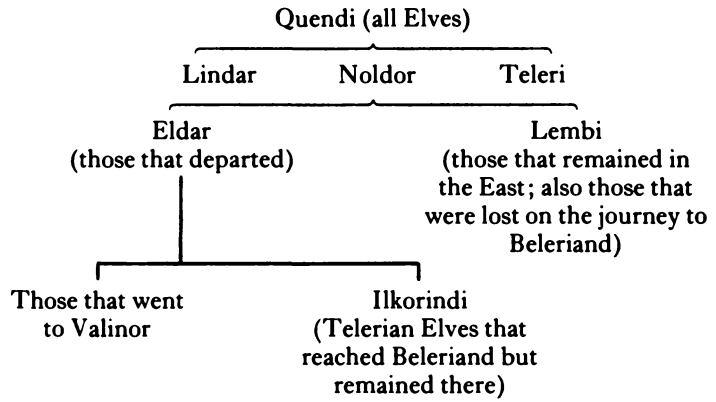
This is very clear. The term *Eldar* has acquired its later significance of the Elves of the Great Journey (only), and it is not restricted to those who in the end went to Valinor, but includes the Elves of Beleriand: the *Eldar* are those who completed the journey from Kuiviénen to the country between Eredlindon and the Sea. On the other hand all Elves who did depart from Kuiviénen but who did not complete that journey are numbered among the *Lembi*. The term *Ilkorindi* is now used in a much narrower sense than previously: specifically the Eldar of Beleriand – the later *Sindar*, or Grey-elves. (These new meanings have in fact appeared, without elaboration, in AV 2 (annals 2000 and 2000–2010), where 'The Eldar are all those Elves called who obeyed the summons of Oromë', and where the Teleri who remained in Beleriand are called *Ilkorindi*.) Thus whereas in Q there is the simple scheme:

Eldar (all Elves)

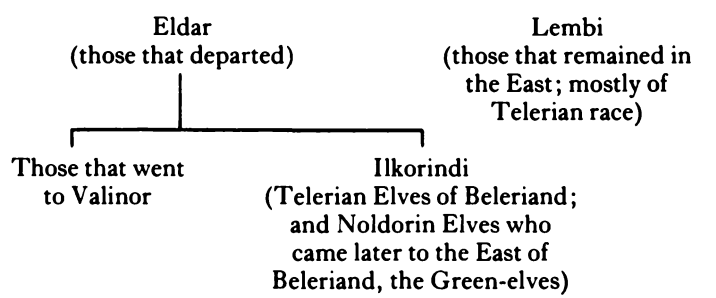
Quendi Noldoli Teleri

Those lost on the Journey
Ilkorindi (Dark-elves)

in *Lhammas A* we have:



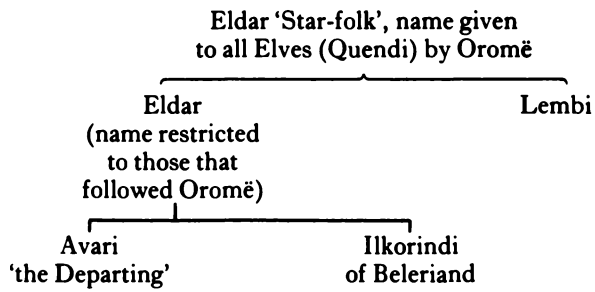
In *Lhammas B* (leaving aside for a moment the important emendation made to the text) there is now no mention of Elves who though they set out from Kuiviénen were lost on the road, and were merged with the Lembi; on the other hand, in addition to the Telerian Elves of Beleriand another people is included among the Ilkorindi – 'the folk of the Noldor that strayed upon the march and came also later into the east of Beleriand': the Green-elves of Ossiriand. It is also added in *Lhammas B* that most of the Lembi were of Telerian race (a statement not in fact consonant with what was said in one of the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* (I. 234), that the Elves who remained in Palisor were of the people of the Teleri, for the Teleri in the *Lost Tales* were the First Kindred, not the Third). The table just given for *Lhammas A* is changed to this extent, therefore:



See further the commentaries on §§6, 7.

With the emendation made to *Lhammas B* we meet at last the ideas that it was Oromë who named the Elves *Eldar*, that *Eldar* meant 'Star-folk', and that Oromë's name was given to the Elves as a whole when he

first found them, though it was only applied afterwards to those who set out on the Great Journey following him. (It is said in AV 2, annal 1950, that the Elves are called 'the children of the stars' on account of their awakening at the making of the stars, and this was later changed to '*Eldar*, the children of the stars'.) Here also appears for the first time the name *Avari*, taking over from *Eldar* the meaning 'Departing' (later, with the meaning changed to 'Unwilling', *Avari* was to replace *Lembi*). These movements are reflected in the *Etymologies* (see p. 344). The table must therefore now be further changed:



The further change made to the emended passage, from 'remained in Beleriand, the Ilkorindi of Doriath and the Falas' to 'remained behind', was perhaps introduced because my father wished to allow for the Green-elves, who were Ilkorindi (and therefore Eldar), not Lembi.

We find here the first explanation of the name *Teleri* that has appeared ('the last, for these were the latest to awake'); see I. 267, entries *Telelli*, *Teleri*. Another new element in this section is the idea that the Three Kindreds were geographically separated in their first homes beside Kuiviénen – and the Noldor the most numerous of the three.

The fact that in *Lhammas B* the fundamental division of Elvish speech is twofold, *Eldarin* and *Lemberin*, whereas in *A* it is threefold, *Eldarin* and *Ilkorin* and *Lemberin*, does not, I think, represent any real difference in the linguistic conception. The primary division was twofold, for Eldarin and Lemberin speech began to move apart on separate paths from the time when the Eldar left Kuiviénen; but the division became threefold when the Ilkorindi were left behind in Beleriand.

3

The terms *Ingwi* and *Ingwelindar*, used here of the chief house of the Lindar, have not occurred before; but in the *Lost Tales* (see especially I. 115) the *Inwir* are the royal clan, the house of Inwë, among the First Kindred. It is now told that Ingwë was not only the high-king of the Eldalië, but was 'the oldest of all Elves, for he first awoke.'

The dates in this section agree precisely with the dates in AV 2 (which are those of AV 1 after emendation, IV. 272–3).

The form *Falassë* is found on the *Ambarkanta* map IV (IV. 249).

With what is said here about the slowness of change ('even in the Hither Lands') before the making of the Sun and Moon cf. the conclusion of AV 2:*

> Now measured time came into the world, and the growth, changing and ageing of all things was hereafter more swift, even in Valinor, but most swift in the Hither Lands upon Middle-earth, the mortal regions between the seas of East and West.

The reference to the *Quenta* at the end of this section, if to Q, is to IV. 87; if to QS, to §37. On this point see p. 168.

The two texts have no significant difference in this section, except that *Lhammas* A ends thus:

> The tongue of the Teleri on Tol-eressëa became therefore somewhat sundered from the speech of the Lindar and Noldor, and they adhered to their own tongue after; though dwelling many ages later in friendship nigh to the Lindar and Noldor the tongue of the Teleri progressed, in such changes as befell in Valinor, alike with its kindred, and became sundered far from the Telerian speech in Beleriand (where moreover outside Valinor change was swifter).

4

In writing 'nine ages' and 'eight ages' (found in both versions) at the beginning of this section my father seems for some reason to have been counting only to V.Y.2900; for the Lindar and Noldor dwelt in Valinor for 990 years (2000–2990) or nearly ten ages, and the Teleri dwelt on the shores for 880 years (2111–2990) or nearly nine ages, before the Darkening.

The complex linguistic development described in this section may be summarised thus:

Lindar:	– *their early speech preserved* ('Elf-latin')	Brought to Middle-earth by the Noldor and used by all the Ilkorindi
	– called *Qenya* (also *tarquesta, parmalambë*)	
	– also called ('especially in its purest and highest form') *Ingwiqenya*	
	– used for *writing*, and also for converse with Elves of different speech and with the Gods	
Lindar:	– *Lindarin*, later daily speech of the Lindar, changed from Qenya	

The section in *Lhammas B* was changed in structure and substantially rewritten from that in *A*, but there is very little that materially changes

*Reference to the *Annals* is made to AV 2 and AB 2, the texts in this book, as being more convenient, whether or not the matter cited is found in the earlier versions given in Vol. IV.

the linguistic history as set out in the earlier version. At the end of the second paragraph, however, *Lhammas A* says of the speech of the Lindar:

> Least changed was the language of the Lindar, for they were closest to the Valar and most in their company; and most like Valian was the speech of Ingwë and his household.

In the next paragraph *A* makes no mention of *Ingwiqenya* (see the commentary on §5); and states that it was the Gods who called the 'Elf-latin' by the name *Qendya* (so spelt), 'Elfspeech', whereas the Elves called it *Eldarin*. This is an application of the term *Eldarin* different from its earlier use in *A* (see the commentary on §2) and from its use in *B* and in both versions of the *Tree of Tongues*.

Alboin Errol used the term 'Elf-latin' (or *Eressëan*, in contrast to *Beleriandic*); see p. 56. 'Elven-latin' is used of Quenya in Appendix F to *The Lord of the Rings*.

5

Lhammas A contains a reference to the *Quenta* which is omitted in B: 'wherefore, as is said in the *Qenta*, the Gods made that cleft in the mountain-wall which is Kalakilya the Pass of Light'; see p. 168.

The removal of the Lindar from Tûn is told in very similar terms in an addition to Q (IV. 89 note 7), where appears also the story that the Tower of Ingwë was not used afterwards except by those that tended the lamp – a story that was not told in later texts of 'The Silmarillion'.

Lhammas B follows the earlier version closely in this section, but there are one or two differences to be remarked. In the concluding paragraph, summarising all the tongues of Valinor, *Lhammas A* adds a reference to 'the noble dialect' of the speech of the Lindar, called *Ingwelindarin*, *Ingwëa*, or *Ingwiqendya* (see the commentary on §4); in *B* §4, on the other hand, *Ingwiqenya* is the 'purest and highest form' of the 'Elf-latin', *Qenya*. The earlier form of the *Tree of Tongues* illustrates the account of the matter in *Lhammas A*; the later form does not have any representation of it, nor does it mention the name *Ingwiqenya*.

In *Lhammas A* this section ends:

> And over all was *Valya* or *Valarin*, the Valian language, the pure speech of the Gods, and that changed little from age to age (and yet it did change, and swifter after the death of the Trees, for the Valar are not of the earth, yet they are in the world). But that tongue they used little save among themselves, for to Elves, and to such Men as knew it, they spoke the Qenya, and they wrote not nor carved in any letters the things which they spoke.

By emendations to *B* (as also in AV 2, note 3) *Tûn* becomes *Túna* – but it is still the name of the city, on the hill of Kôr; afterwards *Túna* was the hill, *Tirion* the city. In the added marginal note 'which the Gods called *Eldamar*' is the first occurrence of *Eldamar* since the *Lost Tales* (but the

form *Eglamar* is found twice in drafts of the *Lay of Leithian*, in the line *from England unto Eglamar*, III. 157, 181). This was one of the original, foundation names of the mythology, occurring in the poem *The Shores of Faëry* (1915) and its prose preface (II. 262, 272). In the *Lost Tales* the name occurs very frequently, almost always with reference to the shores, or rocks, or bay of Eldamar. Now it becomes a name of the Elvish city itself, rather than of the regions in which the Elves dwelt and in which was situated their city on the hill. See QS §39 and commentary.

This is a convenient place to mention an element in the second *Tree of Tongues* which is not explained by anything in the text of the *Lhammas*. An unbroken line is drawn from *Valarin* to *Language of the Valarindi in Valinor*, and from there a dotted line to *Qenya*. The *Valarindi* are the Children of the Valar; see pp. 110, 121. The meaning of the dotted and unbroken lines is defined in a note to a *Tree of Tongues* made later on: the dotted lines 'indicate lines of strong influence of one language upon another' [e.g. that of French upon English], while the unbroken lines 'denote inheritance and direct descent' [e.g. from Latin to French].

A dotted line (originally drawn as unbroken) also runs from *Noidorin* to *Qenya*. This presumably illustrates the statement in the text (§4) that 'an ancient form of Lindarin speech became early fixed [i.e. as Qenya], save for some later adoptions of words and names from other dialects.'

6

In the *Lost Tales* (I. 120) the people of Tinwë Linto (Thingol) sought for him long when he was enchanted by Wendelin (Melian), but

> it was in vain, and he came never again among them. When therefore they heard the horn of Oromë ringing in the forest great was their joy, and gathering to its sound soon are they led to the cliffs, and hear the murmur of the sunless sea.

In Q (IV. 87) appears first the story that some of the Teleri were persuaded by Ossë 'to remain on the beaches of the world'; of Thingol's people all that is said in Q (IV. 85) is that 'they sought him in vain', and no more is added in QS (§32).

With the reference here to the scattered Ilkorindi of Beleriand (i.e. those other than the folk of the Havens and Thingol's people) being gathered into Doriath at the time of Morgoth's return, cf. AV 2 (annal 2990, recounting the withdrawal after the fall of Denithor):

> Melian wove magic of the Valar about the land of Doriath; and most of the Elves of Beleriand withdrew within its protection, save some that lingered about the western havens, Brithombar and Eglorest beside the Great Sea, and the Green-elves of Ossiriand who dwelt still behind the rivers of the East.

The reference to 'Sindo brother of Elwë, lord of the Teleri' is not in *Lhammas A*, which introduces the subject of the language of Beleriand differently:

> Now in the courts of Thingol Valarin was known, for Melian was of the Valar; but it was used only by the king and queen and few of their household. For the tongue of Beleriand was the Eldarin speech of the Telerian Ilkorins, being the language of those that in the end would not sail with Ulmo, etc.

Sindo the Grey appears in AV 2, but as a correction of *Tindingol* (note 4); in QS §30 (again as *Sindo the Grey*) the name is present in the text from the first, as here in *Lhammas B*. With this name cf. *Singoldo* in the *Tale of Tinúviel* (II. 41), and *Sindingul* (> *Tindingol*) in AV 1 (IV. 264).

Where *Lhammas B* has 'These were the Ilkorin speeches of Beleriand, and they are also different from the tongues of the Lembi, who came never thither', *Lhammas A* has: 'These were the Ilkorin speeches of Beleriand, and they retained tokens of their kinship with Telerian, and they were different from the languages of the Lembi, for they saw none of these, until the Green-elves came from the East, as is later told.' That the Green-elves are reckoned as Lembi has been explicitly contradicted in *Lhammas B* §2, where they are Ilkorindi and counted among the Eldar; see the commentaries on §§2 and 7.

The emendation to *Lhammas B* at the end of the section modifies the linguistic history, but the implications of the change are not clear to me. As a result of it, it is no longer said that the Noldor and Ilkorindi in Beleriand used the speech of Doriath 'because Thingol was a great king', but, on the contrary, that the speech of Doriath was much used at Sirion's Haven. In §8 it was the Noldorin speech of Gondolin that was the speech of the Haven, influenced by that of Doriath because of the presence there of Elwing and fugitives from the Thousand Caves.

7

While the passage concerning the Green-elves very largely follows what has already been told in AV, there are some interesting details. It was said in AV that the Green-elves under their leader Dan found the southward lands barren and dark; but the barrenness and darkness are now explained: the Valar had neglected the South, and the skies had been less bountifully strewn with stars. The South was a dark region in the original myths: in the *Tale of the Sun and Moon* (I. 182) Manwë appointed the course of the Sun between East and West 'for Melko held the North and Ungweliant the South' – which as I noted (I. 200) 'seems to give Ungweliant a great importance and also a vast area subject to her power of absorbing light.'

It has not been told before that many of the Green-elves passed into Doriath after Morgoth's return; among these, much later, Túrin's enemy Saeros would be notorious (*Unfinished Tales* p. 77).

Other elements in the account in the *Lhammas* have already appeared in AB 2 (annal 52): that after the fall of Denethor the Green-elves had no king 'until Beren came among them', and also that they had kindred who

remained east of Eredlindon, and whom they visited at times. In an early addition to annal 2700 in AV 2 (note 8) 'the *Danians* came over Eredlindon', and these Elves, on either side of the mountain-range, are called *Danians* also in *Lhammas A* (where *B* has *Danas*), with the further information that those who remained in the East were called *Leikvir*. In the earlier *Tree of Tongues* appears *Leikvian* where the later has *Danian speech of the East*.

In AV 1 the name of the Green-elves is *Laiqi* or *Laiqeldar* (IV. 270); in AV 2 no Elvish name is given; in *Lhammas A* they are *Laiqi* or *Laiqendi*, *Laiqendi* in *B*.

In *Lhammas A* the name *Denethor* is written over another name, very probably *Denilos*; in AV 1 *Denilos* > *Denithor* (IF. 271), in AV 2 *Denithor* > *Denethor* (note 5). In this connection there are some interesting pencilled alterations and additions in *Lhammas A* that were not taken up into *B* (or not made to it: it is not clear when these annotations were made):

ndan- backwards, back. The turners-back. Thence the folk ***ndănī***.
ndani-thārō saviour of the Dani. Q[enya] *Nanisáro*. T[elerin] *Daintáro*. N[oldorin] *Dainthor*. D[oriathrin] *Denipor*.

(With this cf. the *Etymologies*, stems DAN, NDAN.) At the same time, in 'This folk was in the beginning of Noldorin race' *Noldorin* was changed to *Lindarin*, and 'the host of Finwë' to 'the host of Ingwë'; cf. the conclusion of the *Lammasethen*.

The question again arises of whether the *Danas* were reckoned to be Eldar or not. *Lhammas A* is explicit that they were not Eldar but Lembi (commentary on §6); and again in the present section it is said in A that 'This folk was in the beginning of Noldorin race, but is not counted among the Eldar' – because they forsook the Great March. In *Lhammas B* on the other hand they are Ilkorindi and are counted among the Eldar (§2); yet in the present section the passage in *A* asserting that they were not Eldar reappears – with the addition that they were not Lembi either, because, although they turned back from the March, they were nonetheless still drawn towards the West. I presume that my father changed his mind on this rather refined question as he wrote, and did not alter what he had written earlier. In any case, the Danas are sufficiently characterised as Elves of the Great March who abandoned it early on but who still felt a desire for the West, and the suggestion in *B* is clearly that it was this that ultimately brought a part of the people over the mountains. Their position is anomalous, and might equally well be classified either as Eldarin or as not Eldarin.

As a result, they introduce the possibility of a very distinct linguistic type among the Quendian tongues (it will be seen that in both forms of the *Tree of Tongues* their language is shown as branching from the Quendian line of descent between Lemberin and Eldarin). This type is characterised in an emendation to *B* as similar to the Ilkorin speech of Doriath (whereas in the text as first written it was said to be distinct from

Eldarin of Valinor, from Lemberin, and from the speech of Doriath). This emendation is rather puzzling. Why should the Danas show any particular linguistic affinity with the Elves of Doriath, who had completed the journey to Beleriand so very long before (some 700 Valian Years before)? Of course it is said immediately afterwards that the speech of the Danas *in Ossiriand* was 'much affected by the tongue of Thingol's people', but the emendation 'and most like that of Doriath, though not the same' presumably refers to this 'Danian' tongue in its original nature. See further the *Lammasethen* and commentary.

The sharp distinction made at the end of this section between all the Lemberin tongues on the one hand and all the Eldarin tongues (including those of the Ilkorindi of Beleriand) on the other is notable. It is implicit that long years of the Great Journey, followed by the utter separation of the Elves of Beleriand from those who remained in the East, rendered the Ilkorin speech at once quite isolated in development from any Lemberin tongue but also recognisably akin to Telerin of Valinor (at least to those 'learned in such lore', §6).

8

In this section *Lhammas B* followed *A* very closely, but one divergent passage in the earlier version may be cited. After the reference to *múlanoldorin* and the language of Gondolin as being the only forms of Noldorin speech in Middle-earth that survived 'ere the end', *A* has:

> First perished Fingolfin's folk, whose tongue was pure, save for some small influence from Men of the house of Hádor; and afterward Nargothrond. But the folk of Maidros son of Fëanor remained almost until the end, as also did the thrall-Noldor whose tongue was heard not only in Angband, but later in Mithrim and widely elsewhere. The tongue of Fëanor's sons was influenced largely by Men and by Ossiriand, but it has not survived. The Noldorin that lives yet, etc.

With the account in the first paragraph of the swiftness of change after the rising of the Sun and Moon cf. the commentary on §3. The reference here to 'the moveless stars' is reminiscent of the old *Tale of the Sun and Moon*, where it is said that certain of the stars 'abode where they hung and moved not': see I. 182, 200. – In the second paragraph the form *Himring* (for *Himling* in *Lhammas A*) appears for the first time other than by later emendation. – At the end of the third paragraph, 'somewhat from Ossiriand' in *B* should probably be 'somewhat from Ossiriandeb', as here in *A* and on the later form of the *Tree of Tongues*. – In the last paragraph the languages of those Eldarin Elves who remained in Middle-earth are in *A* called *Fading Noldorin* and *Fading Ilkorin*, terms that appear on the earlier *Tree of Tongues* (together with *Fading Leikvian*: see the commentary on §7).

The later dating pencilled into the manuscript AV 1 (whereby the events from the Battle of Alqualondë to the arrival of Fingolfin in

Middle-earth were contracted into a single Valian Year, IV. 273–4), not adopted in AV 2, was not adopted in the *Lhammas* either. The dates of the Sun-years are those of AB 2 (before they were changed), with the fall of Gondolin in 307 and the Great Battle at the end of the fourth century of the Sun.

The most noticeable feature of this section of the *Lhammas* in relation to the later conception is the absence of the story that a ban was placed by Thingol on the speech of the Noldor throughout his realm. In *The Silmarillion* it is said (p. 113) that already at the Feast of Reuniting in the year 20 'the tongue of the Grey-elves was most spoken even by the Noldor, for they learned swiftly the speech of Beleriand, whereas the Sindar were slow to master the tongue of Valinor'; and (p. 129) that after Thingol's ban 'the Exiles took the Sindarin tongue in all their daily uses, and the High Speech of the West was spoken only by the lords of the Noldor among themselves.' In the *Lhammas* it is indeed said (at the end of §6, before emendation) that 'the speech of Doriath was much used in after days by Noldor and Ilkorindi alike', and in the present section that 'the speech of the Gnomes was influenced much by that of the Ilkorins of Beleriand'; but it was Noldorin (from Gondolin) that was the language (influenced by other tongues) of Sirion's Haven and afterwards of Tol-eressëa. In its essential plan, therefore, though now much more complex, the linguistic evolution still derives from that in the *Lost Tales*; as I remarked in I. 51,

> In *The Silmarillion* the Noldor brought the Valinórean tongue to Middle-earth but abandoned it (save among themselves), and adopted instead the language of Beleriand, *Sindarin* of the Grey-elves who had never been to Valinor . . . In the *Lost Tales*, on the other hand, the Noldor still brought the Elvish speech of Valinor to the Great Lands, but they retained it, and there it itself changed and became wholly different ['Gnomish'].

There is no reference at the end of this section to any Gnomes returning to Valinor (as opposed to Tol-eressëa), as there is in Q (IV. 159, 162: 'But some returned even unto Valinor, as all were free to do who willed'; this is retained in QS, p. 332 §27). For those who did not depart into the West – the speakers of 'Fading Noldorin' and 'Fading Ilkorin' in *Lhammas A* – see the same passages in Q, again repeated in QS.

9

There appears here the first account of the origin of the Orc-speech: a wilful perversion of Valian speech by Morgoth. The further remarkable statement that Morgoth 'spoke all tongues with power and beauty, when so he wished' is not found in *Lhammas A*.

The legend of Aulë's making of the Dwarves has appeared in AB 2 (annal 104), in a passage strikingly similar to the present, and containing

the same phrase 'the Dwarves have no spirit indwelling'. The passage in AB 2 was later modified (note 16) to make this not an assertion by the writer but a conception of the Dwarves entertained by the Noldor, and not the only opinion on the subject; in the *Lhammas* the passage was also changed, very hastily, and quite differently, thus:

> But the Dwarves derive their thought etc. (see *Quenta*). Therefore the works of the Dwarves have great skill and craft, but small beauty.

This reference to the *Quenta* is not to Q, which has nothing corresponding, but to QS, in which there is a chapter concerning the Dwarves. Here occurs the following (§123):

> Yet they *derive their thought* and being after their measure from only one of the Powers, whereas Elves and Men, to whomsoever among the Valar they chiefly turn, have kinship with all in some degree. Therefore the works of the Dwarfs *have great skill, but small beauty*, save where they imitate the arts of the Eldar . . .

Where *Lhammas B* has 'Of the language of the Dwarves little is known to us' *A* has 'known to me' (i.e. Rúmil).

10

In *Lhammas A* the origin and early history of the tongues of Men is somewhat differently described:

> For the Dark-elves . . . befriended wandering Men . . . and taught them such as they knew; and in the passing of the years the manifold tongues of Men developed from these beginnings, altered by time, and the invention of Men, and owning also the influence both of Dwarves and Orcs. But nought is preserved of the most ancient speech of Men, save [*struck out*: some words of] the tongues of Men of the West, who earliest came into Beleriand and spoke with the Elves, as is recorded in annals and accounts of those days by the Gnomes. Now the language of the three houses of Bëor, of Haleth, and of Hador, was *Taliska*, and this tongue was remembered still by Tuor, and recorded by the wise men of Gondolin. Yet Tuor himself used it no longer, for already ere [> in] his father Huor's day Men in Beleriand forsook the daily use of their own tongue, and spoke Noldorin, retaining some few words and names.

At the end of the section in *Lhammas A* my father added rapidly in pencil: 'But Taliska seems to have been derived largely from Danian'; see the commentary on the *Lammasethen*.

In the earlier *Tree of Tongues* the languages of Men are derived solely from Lemberin, agreeing with *Lhammas A* ('the manifold tongues of Men developed from these beginnings'), whereas the later *Tree* shows 'influence' (dotted lines) from Dwarf-speech, from Orc-speech, and from Lemberin (but no direct 'descent'), and 'influence' from the 'Danian speech of the East' on Taliska.

That the people of Hador abandoned their own language and adopted

that of the Gnomes is told in AB 2 (annal 220). The account in *The Silmarillion* of the survival of the original tongue of the Edain, here called *Taliska*,* is quite different: see the commentary on AB 2 *ibid.*

The statement at the end of this section that the speech of the Swarthy Men 'is lost without record other than the names of these men' is not in accord with the *Etymologies* (stems BOR, ÚLUG), where the names of Bór and Ulfang and their sons are Elvish, given to them by the Noldor.

11

In the words of Rúmil here that 'many thousands of years have passed since the fall of Gondolin' an obliterated reading lies beneath 'many thousands of'; this was very probably '10,000', which is the reading of *Lhammas A*.

The statement in this section that 'the Noldor that returned [i.e. after hearing the Prophecy of the North] and went not to war and suffering in the world are no longer separate and speak as do the Lindar' is not in *Lhammas A*, but the earlier *Tree of Tongues* shows *Noldolindarin* as a coalescence of 'Valinorian Noldorin and Lindarin'; the later *Tree* similarly shows the 'speech of the folk of Finrod' (who returned to Valinor) coalescing with Lindarin, and becoming 'Eldarin as it now is in Valinor'.

The words '*in* Kôr' are not a simple slip, despite 'the Elves piled the green hill of Kôr, and built thereon the city of Tûn' in §5; see QS §29.

As regards the passage added at the end of *Lhammas B*, it may be noted that in Q (IV. 87) the names of the princes of the Noldoli are said to be given 'in form of Gnomish tongue as it long was spoken on the earth', and that there *Finn* (the form in S) was emended to *Finwë*. Of the place-names cited here as Beleriandic names accommodated to Noldorin, *Balar*, *Beleriand*, *Brithombar* and *Eglorest* appear in the *Etymologies* (stems BAL, BIRÍT, ELED) as Ilkorin names, but *Doriath* is Noldorin (stem GAT(H)).

LAMMASETHEN

I give now the third, very short *Lhammas* text, which is I think certainly the latest of the three. At the head of it my father wrote in pencil *Sketch of a corrected version*, but then erased it. Its brief history is largely in agreement with that of *Lhammas B*, but it introduces a completely changed account of the origin of Quenya (so spelt).

The shorter account of Pengolod: or *Lammasethen* Of the Elvish Tongues

The original Elvish or Quendian languages were derived from Oromë, and so from Valarin. But the Elves not only, already in the

*An historical grammar of *Taliska* is in existence.

brief period common to all, but especially in Eldarin, modified and softened the sounds, especially the consonants, of Valarin, but they began swiftly to invent new words and word-shapes, and developed a language of their own.

Apart from new inventions their language changed slowly. This was especially so in Valinor, but was true of all the tongues, for the Elves do not die. In this way it will be seen that Telerin, the last to leave Middle-earth, and isolated for an age and ten years of the Valar, first in Beleriand and after in Tol Eressëa, changed more than Koreldarin, but being after rejoined to its kindred in Valinor, remained closely akin to Noldorin and Lindarin. But its branch, spoken by the Teleri left in Beleriand for nearly 1000 Valian Years, changed more than the tongues of Valinor, and became very different from them. In some ways it grew like the Danian branch in Ossiriand.

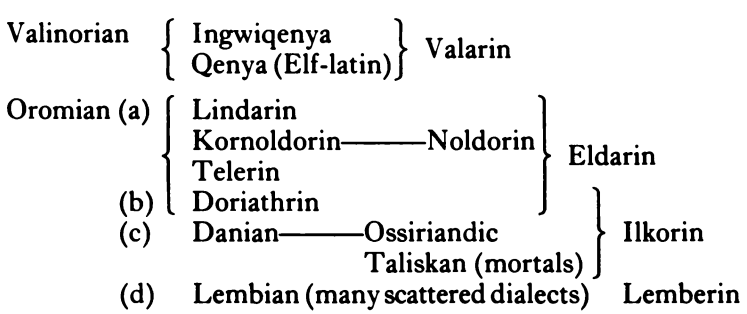
Now the tongue of Noldor and Lindar was at first most akin. But the Lindar ceased after a time to dwell in Tûn or in close consort with the Noldor, and association was closer between Noldor and Teleri. Moreover the Lindar used a form of language which they took *afresh* from the Valar themselves in Valmar; and though they softened and altered this again it was in many ways quite different from the old Elvish or Quendian derived from Oromë. The Lindarin, which was a form of Quendian or Oromian, they used only among themselves, and never wrote. But their new tongue (Valinorian) became used by the Lindar in converse with the Gods, and in all their books of poetry, history, and wisdom. Moreover it was the first Elf-tongue to be written, and remained always the tongue used most in writing by Lindar, Teleri, and Noldor. It was used also by all Elves much in converse, especially among those of different kindred and dialect. The Gods, too, used this tongue, not pure Valarin, in their speech with all Elves. This tongue they called *Quenya* (that is *Elvish*). Quenya is the Elf-latin, and this name is given to its common form as used and written by all Elves. Therein are mixed some forms and words derived from other Elvish (Oromian) tongues. But a purer and more archaic form is used by Ingwë High-king of the Elves and his court and household, who never use the common Oromian Lindarin: this is *Ingwiqenya*.

Now ancient Noldorin, as first used, and written in the days of Fëanor in Tûn, remained spoken by the Noldor that did not leave Valinor at its darkening, and it abides still there, not greatly changed, and not greatly different from Lindarin. It is called

Kornoldorin, or *Finrodian* because Finrod and many of his folk returned to Valinor and did not go to Beleriand. But most of the Noldor went to Beleriand, and in the 400 years of their wars with Morgoth their tongue changed greatly. For three reasons: because it was not in Valinor; because there was war and confusion, and much death among the Noldor, so that their tongue was subject to vicissitudes similar to those of mortal Men; and because in all the world, but especially in Middle-earth, change and growth was very great in the first years of the Sun. Also in Beleriand the tongue and dialects of the Telerian Ilkorins was current, and their king Thingol was very mighty; and Noldorin in Beleriand took much from Beleriandic especially of Doriath. Most of the names and places in that land were given in Doriathrin form. Noldorin returned, after the overthrow of Morgoth, into the West, and lives still in Tol-eressëa, where it changes now little; and this tongue is derived mainly from the tongue of Gondolin, whence came Eärendel; but it has much of Beleriandic, for Elwing his wife was daughter of Dior, Thingol's heir; and it has somewhat of Ossiriand, for Dior was son of Beren who lived long in Ossiriand.

In Tol-eressëa are kept records of the ancient tongue of Ossiriand, which is no more; and also the tongue of the Western Men, the Elf-friends, whence came the mortal kindred of Eärendel. But this tongue is no more, and already in ancient days the Elf-friends spake mostly Noldorin, or Beleriandic; their own tongue was itself of Quendian origin, being learned east of the Mountains from a branch of the Danians, kindred of those Elves of Ossiriand which were called the Green-elves.

These are the Elvish tongues which are yet spoken, or of which writings are preserved.



The Danians were of the Lindar [> Noldor] and began the march, but turned south and strayed, long ere Beleriand was

reached. They did not come unto Beleriand, and then but in part, for many ages. Some reckon them Eldarin, some Lembian. In truth they are neither and have a middle place.

Commentary on the Lammasethen

A further *Tree of Tongues* illustrates the *Lammasethen*, and is reproduced on p. 196. The starred languages are 'yet in use'.

The meaning of the passage concerning Quenya in this text is clearly that Quenya only arose after the separation of the Lindar from the Noldor, when the Noldor remained in Tûn but the Lindar retired into Valinor. There the Lindar retained their own spoken Eldarin tongue, not much different from the 'Finrodian' Noldorin of Tûn (*Kornoldorin*); but they also adopted and adapted a form of the Valarin language, and this 'Valinorian' tongue became *Quenya*. Much that is said of Quenya in the other versions is repeated in the *Lammasethen* – it was used by the Gods in converse with the Elves, by Elves in converse with Elves of different speech, and as the chief *written* language. The effect of this new conception is to withdraw Quenya from the various forms of Elvish (Quendian, Oromian) speech in Valinor and make it a language apart. *Ingwiqenya* remains as it became in *Lhammas B*, an especially pure and archaic form of Quenya used in the household of Ingwë; but it is now a pure and archaic form of 'Valinorian'. The differences between the conceptions are thus:

Lhammas A (commentary on §5):

- Early Lindarin speech preserved, and fixed as a high speech, a Common Speech, and a written tongue: *Quenya*
- *Later speech of the Lindar: Lindarin*
  'the noble dialect' of this: *Ingwiqendya* (*Ingwëa*, *Ingwelindarin*)

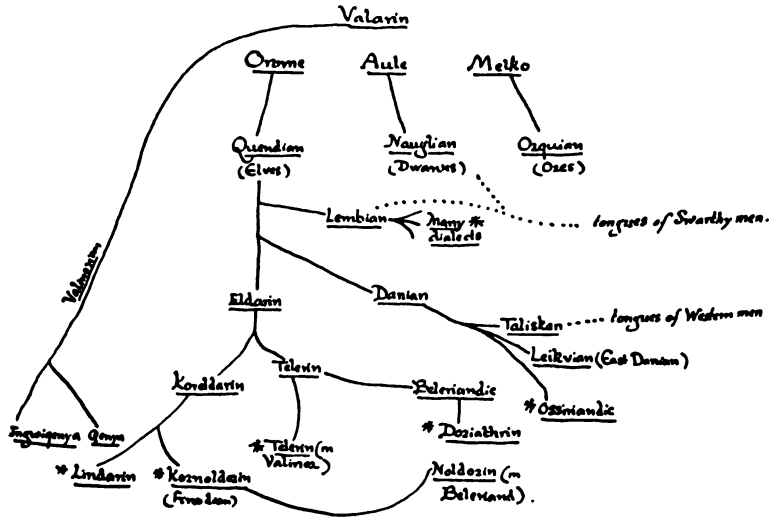
Lhammas B (§4):

- Early Lindarin speech preserved, and fixed as a high speech, a Common Speech, and a written tongue: *Quenya*
  Also called ('especially in its purest and highest form') *Ingwiqenya*
- Later speech of the Lindar: *Lindarin*

Lammasethen:

- The Lindar, after removal from Tûn, adopted anew the Valarin tongue; this 'Valinorian', a high speech, a Common Speech, and a written tongue, is *Quenya*
  A pure and archaic form of 'Valinorian': *Ingwiqenya*
- Original ('Quendian') speech of the Lindar, retained among themselves: *Lindarin*

There are a few other points to be noticed in the *Lammasethen*. The stage of *Koreldarin*, before the departure of the Lindar from Tûn upon Kôr, is marked on the third *Tree of Tongues*. – The Telerin speech of Beleriand (the speech of the Elves of Doriath and of the Havens of the Falas) is said to have 'grown like' (in some ways) the Danian tongue in

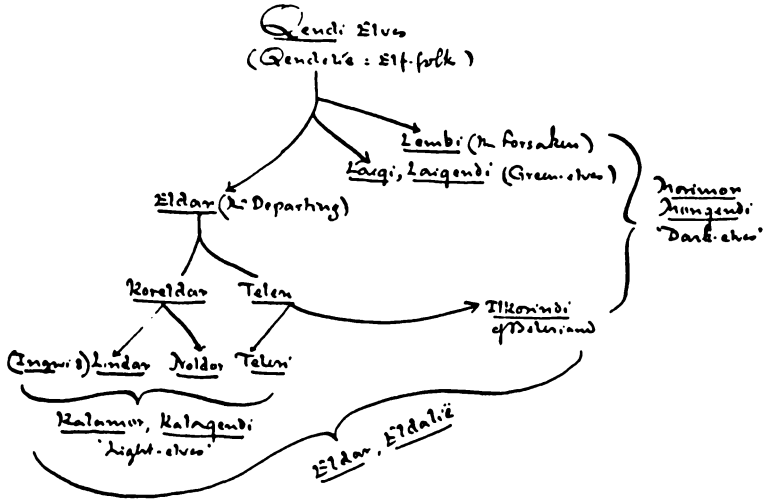


The Tree of Tongues (illustrating the *Lammasethen*)

Ossiriand; cf. the emendation in *Lhammas B* (§7) (the tongue of the Danians was 'most like that of Doriath, though not the same'), and my remarks on this in the commentary. – The Danians are said, as in *Lhammas B* §7, to be neither Eldar nor Lembi: they 'have a middle place'; though some will say one, and some the other. – The late emendation to *Lhammas A* (commentary on §7), making the Danians an originally Lindarin people, was adopted in the *Lammasethen*, but then rejected and replaced again by Noldorin.

Taliskan is said in the *Lammasethen* to be 'of Quendian origin', learned by the forefathers of the Western Men from Danian Elves east of Eredlindon; and in the list of tongues at the end of the text it is classed as an Ilkorin speech. In *B* (§10) the statements concerning Taliska are not perfectly clear: the Western Men 'learned of the Danas, or Green-elves', and their language was 'greatly influenced by the Green-elves'. In the third *Tree of Tongues* Taliskan is shown as deriving directly from Danian; cf. the addition to *Lhammas A* (commentary on §10): 'But Taliska seems to have been derived largely from Danian.' It is not clear to me why a dotted line (representing 'influence') leads from Taliskan to the 'tongues of Western Men'.

In the third *Tree* the name *Leikvian* reappears from the first, for the tongue of the Danians who remained east of Eredlindon (the *Leikvir* in



The Peoples of the Elves

Lhammas A, commentary on §7). The name *Nauglian* for the tongues of the Dwarves, used in the third *Tree*, does not appear in the *Lhammas* texts; in §9 they are called *Aulian*, as in the first *Tree*.

In conclusion, there is an interesting table of *the Elvish peoples* associated with the *Lhammas* papers, reproduced above. When my father made this table the *Eldar* were 'the Departing', as still in *Lhammas B* §2 before the emendation. The Green-elves, here *not* Eldar, are shown as a branch of the Quendi between Lembi and Eldar, just as in all three versions of the *Tree of Tongues* the language of the Green-elves (Danian) is shown as a branch from Quendian between Lemberin (Lembian) and Eldarin. The Lindar, Noldor, and Teleri are here placed as subdivisions of the Eldar, rather than as subdivisions of the Quendi before the Great Journey: in contrast to my table on p. 182, which is based on the express statement in *Lhammas A* and *B* (§2) that 'already in their first dwellings the Elves were divided into three kindreds, the Lindar, the Noldor, and the Teleri.'

An important new distinction appears in this table: *Morimor*, *Moriqendi* 'Dark-elves', and *Kalamor*, *Kalaqendi* 'Light-elves'. The Light-elves (a term formerly applied to the First Kindred) are now all those Elves who went to Valinor and saw the Light of the Trees; and the important overlap of nomenclature is introduced whereby the Ilkorindi of Beleriand are Eldar but also Dark-elves. The terms *Moriquendi* and *Calaquendi* of *The Silmarillion* here first appear. If this table is compared with that which I made for *The Silmarillion* ('The Sundering of

the Elves') it will be seen that much had now emerged that was to remain, if we substitute *Avari* for *Lembi* and *Sindar* for *Ilkorindi* (and *Vanyar* for *Lindar*). The chief difference is that in the later formulations the *Laiquendi* are Eldar; while as a corollary the *Úmanyar* (equivalent in meaning to *Ilkorindi*, for the one refers to Eldar who were not of Aman, the other to Eldar who were not of Kôr) necessarily in the later scheme includes the Laiquendi, since they were Eldar.

Lembi is here translated 'the Forsaken'; in *Lhammas A* 'those that were left', in *Lhammas B* 'those that lingered' (§2 and commentary). In the *Etymologies* (stem LEB, LEM) the word *lemba* means 'left behind'.

VI
QUENTA SILMARILLION

As originally written, the *Quenta Silmarillion* (QS) was a beautiful and elegant manuscript; and when the first changes were made to it they were made with great care, usually by writing over erasures. It seems highly improbable that my father could have achieved this form without any intermediate texts developing it from the *Quenta Noldorinwa* (Q), and here and there in QS it appears in any case that he was copying, for words necessary to the sense were missed out and then put in above the line. But there is now, remarkably, no trace of any such material, until the tale of Beren and Lúthien is reached: from that point preliminary drafts do exist.

The manuscript became afterwards the vehicle of massive revisions, and was changed into a chaotic palimpsest, with layer upon layer of correction and wholesale rewriting, of riders and deletions. The great mass of this alteration and revision is firmly dateable to the period after the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*; but there is also an earlier phase of emendation in pencil to the opening chapters, which is in places substantial. From the manuscript thus emended my father made a typescript which was for most of its length almost an exact copy, but giving to the work a new title in addition to *Silmarillion*: *I·Eldanyárë*, 'The History of the Elves'. This new version did not proceed very far, however – no further in fact than the end of the chapter here numbered 3 (c). In order to understand the state of 'The Silmarillion' during the years when *The Lord of the Rings* was being written it is necessary to try to determine when it was made. It is in any case clear at once that it long preceded the major revision after *The Lord of the Rings* – the typescript, so far as it went, was indeed used for that revision, and was reduced to a shambles in the course of it.

In my father's letter to Stanley Unwin of 16 December 1937 – the day on which he received back the QS manuscript and other writings which he had submitted – he was still only 'promising to give thought and attention' to the question of 'a sequel or successor to *The Hobbit*' (*Letters* no. 19); but no more than three days later, on 19 December, he reported that he had written 'the first chapter of a new story about Hobbits – "A long expected party"' (*Letters* no. 20). It is certain, then, that he began work on the 'new story' at the very time that the QS manuscript came back into his possession; and I feel certain that when it did so he abandoned (for good, as it turned out) the new 'Silmarillion' narrative at

the point he had reached (for he had continued it in rougher form while the manuscript was away, see pp. 293–4). But it is also clear that he did not as yet abandon the work entirely. This is shown by some notes on a scrap of paper to which my father fortunately and uncharacteristically added a date:

Nov. 20 1937
Note when material returns
Avari are to be non-Eldarin = old *Lembi*
Lembi are to be Ilkorin Teleri
Danians *Pereldar*
Ilkorin : *Alkorin* [struck out]
hyarmen for *harmen* south

The fact that the first three of these changes are among the early revisions made to the QS manuscript (for their significance see pp. 218–19*) shows that he did do some further detailed work on it 'when the material returned', i.e. after *The Lord of the Rings* was begun. It does not of course show more precisely when that work was done or when the *'Eldanyárë'* typescript was made, but here a second note with a date attached provides evidence:

Feb. 3 1938
Tintallë Kindler can stand – but *tinwë* in Q[uenya] only = spark (*tinta-* to kindle)
Therefore *Tinwerína* > *Elerína*
Tinwerontar > *Elentári* (or *Tar-Ellion*)

Now the alterations of *Tinwerína* to *Elerína* and *Tinwerontar* to *Elentári* were not made to the QS manuscript and do not appear in the typescript (they were written in subsequently on the latter, only). This shows that the typescript was made before 3 February 1938 – or more strictly, it had at least reached the point where the name *Tinwerontar* occurs (chapter 3 (a), §19).

I conclude therefore that it was precisely at this crucial time (December 1937 – January 1938) that my father – entirely characteristically – turned back again to the beginning of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, revising the opening chapters and starting a new text in typescript (*'Eldanyárë'*). This soon petered out; and from that time the 'Silmarillion' narrative remained unchanged for some thirteen years.

This conclusion determines the way in which the text of the first part of the *Quenta Silmarillion* is presented in this book. In order to make the contrast between 'The Silmarillion' of the earlier period and 'The Silmarillion' after the major post-*Lord of the Rings* revision as clear in this history as it was in fact, I give the text of the first five chapters (1 to 3 (c)) as it was *after* the first revision – which is the form of the typescript text as

*For *Alkorin* besides *Ilkorin* see the *Etymologies*, stems AR², LA; for *Harmen* > *Hyarmen* see p. 345.

it was originally made;* but important developments from the original form are given in the commentaries following each chapter. A great deal of this first rewriting was in fact a matter of improved expression rather than of narrative substance.

Although there are two texts for the first part of the work, I use the single abbreviation QS, distinguishing the manuscript and the typescript when necessary.

This is the title-page of the QS manuscript:

The
Quenta Silmarillion
Herein
is *Qenta Noldorinwa* or *Pennas inGeleidh*
or
History of the Gnomes

This is a history in brief drawn from many older tales; for all the matters that it contains were of old, and still are among the Eldar of the West, recounted more fully in other histories and songs. But many of these were not recalled by Eriol, or men have again lost them since his day. This Account was composed first by Pengolod of Gondolin, and Ælfwine turned it into our speech as it was in his time, adding nothing, he said, save explanations of some few names.

In this title, *inGeleidh* is an emendation made carefully over an erasure: the erased form was probably *na-Ngoelaidh* as in Q (IV. 77). The word *Silmarillion* was an addition; at first there stood simply *The Quenta*, as in Q.

In the preamble to Q only Eriol is named, and there is no mention of Pengolod; but in the preamble to AV 1 (IV. 263) it is said that both sets of *Annals*

> were written by Pengolod the Wise of Gondolin, before its fall, and after at Sirion's Haven, and at Tavrobel in Toleressëa after his return unto the West, and there seen and translated by Eriol of Leithien, that is Ælfwine of the Angelcynn.

The preamble to the QS manuscript is decisively different in its representation of the literary history from that of Q; for in Q the abridgement which that work is declared to be was *drawn from the Book of Lost Tales which Eriol wrote* after he had read the Golden Book in Kortirion, whereas in QS it was *written by Pengolod and translated by Eriol* (like

*Here and there my father made further very small alterations in wording as he typed (i.e. beyond changes marked on the manuscript), and these are of course included in the text given here. The relation between manuscript and typescript changes in chapter 3 (c); see p. 220.

the *Annals*) – the work being conceived by Pengolod as an epitome on a small scale against a background of 'histories and songs' in which the matters were recounted at greater length (but many of these are lost to us).

Associated with the QS typescript are no less than five sheets of title and preamble. The first of these is in manuscript, and reads thus:

The Silmarillion

The history of the Three Jewels, the
Silmarils of Fëanor, in which is told
in brief the history of the Elves from
their coming until the Change of the
World

1. *Qenta Silmarillion*, or *Pennas Hilevril*
   To which is appended
   The houses of the princes of Men and Elves
   The tale of years
   The tale of battles
2. *The Annals of Valinor* *Nyarna Valinóren*
3. *The Annals of Beleriand* *Nyarna Valarianden*
4. The *Lhammas* or Account of Tongues

This manuscript page was then copied in typescript, with these differences: above *The Silmarillion* at the head stands *Eldanyárë*, and the *Lhammas* is not included. In both manuscript and typescript *Nyarna Valinóren* was changed to *Yénië Valinóren or Inias Valannor*; and *Nyarna Valarianden* to *Inias Veleriand*. (In Old English versions of the *Annals of Valinor* the Elvish name is *Valinórelúmien*, IV. 284, 290). Subsequently, in the typescript only, *Pennas Hilevril* > *Pennas Silevril*; *Inias Valannor* > *Inias Balannor*; *Inias Veleriand* > *Inias Beleriand*.

The next item is an elaborate and elegant page in red, blue, and black inks, which in its content is virtually the same as the typescript page just described; but here the name *I·Eldanyárë*, translated 'The History of the Elves', is explicitly an alternative: '*I·Eldanyárë* or *Silmarillion*'. The Elvish names of the *Annals* are the emended forms of the previous two pages: *Yénië Valinóren or Inias Valannor*, and *Inias Veleriand*, with the same later alterations of *Hilevril*, *Valannor*, and *Veleriand* to *Silevril*, *Balannor*, and *Beleriand* found on the typescript. On all three title-pages *Silmarillion* is a comprehensive title comprising within it not only the *Quenta Silmarillion* but also the two sets of *Annals*; cf. p. 109. The name *Qenta Noldorinwa* is not used.

Following these title-pages is a preamble comprising a note by

Ælfwine and a note by the Translator. Five lines of Old English verse by Ælfwine are the selfsame lines that Alboin Errol 'dreamed', and translated for his father, in *The Lost Road* (p. 44); they would reappear again once more in association with the poem *The Song of Ælfwine* (p. 103). This preamble is found both in manuscript and typescript. The manuscript form reads:

Silmarillion

Ælfwine's note

These histories were written by Pengolod the Wise of Gondolin, both in that city before its fall, and afterwards at Tathrobel in the Lonely Isle, Toleressëa, after the return unto the West. In their making he used much the writings of Rúmil the Elfsage of Valinor, chiefly in the annals of Valinor and the account of tongues, and he used also the accounts that are preserved in the Golden Book. The work of Pengolod I learned much by heart, and turned into my tongue, some during my sojourn in the West, but most after my return to Britain.

> Þus cwæþ Ælfwine Wídlást:
> Fela bið on Westwegum werum uncúðra,
> wundra ond wihta, wlitescyne lond,
> eardgeard ylfa ond ésa bliss.
> Lýt ænig wát hwylc his longað síe
> þám þe eftsíðes yldu getwæfeð.

Translator's note

The histories are here given in English of this day, translated from the version of Eriol of Leithien, as the Gnomes called him, who was Ælfwine of Angelcynn. Such other matters as Ælfwine took direct from the Golden Book, together with his account of his voyage, and his sojourn in Toleressëa, are given elsewhere.

Eriol was altered to *Ereol* (cf. IV. 166, 283); and there is a pencilled annotation against the *Translator's note*:

Specimens (not here) are extant
(a) of the original Eressëan form and script
(b) of the annals as written by Ælfwine in ancient English

Ælfwine's note here is a development from the preamble to AV 1 (cited above p. 201); cf. also the second version of that preamble and my remarks about Rúmil's part in the *Annals* (p. 123). There is now no mention of Pengolod's having continued his work at Sirion's Haven after the fall of Gondolin. The form *Tathrobel* for *Tavrobel* occurs in Old English versions of AV 1 (IV. 282, 290). For the Golden Book see IV. 78, 274.

The typescript version of the preamble has some differences. The

page is headed *Eldanyárë*, not *Silmarillion*, and *Ælfwine's note* is changed: the passage beginning 'after the return unto the West' reads here:

> after the Elves had returned into the West. In their making he used much the writings of Rúmil the Elf-sage of Valinor concerning other matters than the wars of Beleriand; and he used also the accounts that are preserved by the Elves of Eressëa in the Golden Book. The work of Pengolod I learned by heart . . .

In the *Translator's note* the spelling is *Ereol* and the words *that is now England* are added after *Angolcynn* (so spelt).

I give now the text of the *Quenta Silmarillion* as I think it stood when it was for long laid aside. As with *The Fall of Númenor* I have numbered the paragraphs, the numbers running continuously through the text; the paragraphing of the original is very largely retained. A commentary, related to the paragraphs, follows each chapter.

QUENTA SILMARILLION*

Here begins the *Silmarillion* or history of the Silmarils

1 OF THE VALAR

§1 In the beginning the All-father, who in Elvish tongue is named Ilúvatar, made the Ainur of his thought; and they made music before him. Of this music the World was made; for Ilúvatar gave it being, and set it amid the Void, and he set the secret fire to burn at the heart of the World; and he showed the World to the Ainur. And many of the mightiest of them became enamoured of its beauty, and desired to enter into it; and they put on the raiment of the World, and descended into it, and they are in it.

§2 These spirits the Elves name the Valar, which is the Powers, and Men have often called them Gods. Many lesser spirits of their own kind they brought in their train, both great and small; and some of these Men have confused with the Elves, but wrongly, for they were made before the World, whereas Elves and Men awoke first in the World, after the coming of the Valar. Yet in the making of Elves and of Men, and in the giving to each of their especial gifts, none of the Valar had any part. Ilúvatar alone was their author; wherefore they are called the Children of Ilúvatar.

§3 The chieftains of the Valar were nine. These were the

*In the manuscript (only) the word *Silmarillion* was an addition, as on the title-page (p. 201); but the heading 'Here begins the *Silmarillion* . . .' is original.

names of the Nine Gods in the Elvish tongue as it was spoken in Valinor; though they have other or altered names in the speech of the Gnomes, and their names among Men are manifold: Manwë and Melko, Ulmo, Aulë, Mandos, Lórien, Tulkas, Ossë, and Oromë.

§4 Manwë and Melko were brethren in the thought of Ilúvatar and mightiest of those Ainur who came into the World. But Manwë is the lord of the Gods, and prince of the airs and winds, and ruler of the sky. With him dwells as wife Varda the maker of the stars, immortal lady of the heights, whose name is holy. Fionwë and Ilmarë* are their son and daughter. Next in might and closest in friendship to Manwë is Ulmo, lord of waters, who dwells alone in the Outer Seas, but has the government of all water, seas and rivers, fountains and springs, throughout the earth. Subject to him, though he has often rebelled, is Ossë, the master of the seas about the lands of Men; and his wife is Uinen, the lady of the sea. Her hair lies spread through all the waters under skies.

**Marginal note to the text:* Ilma is in the Quendian tongue starlight.

§5 Aulë has might but little less than Ulmo. He is the lord of earth. He is a smith and a master of crafts; and his spouse is Yavanna, the giver of fruits and lover of all things that grow. In majesty she is next to Varda among the queens of the Valar. She is fair and tall; and often the Elves name her Palúrien, the Lady of the Wide Earth.

§6 The Fanturi were brethren, and are named Mandos and Lórien. Nurufantur the elder was also called, the master of the houses of the dead, and the gatherer of the spirits of the slain. He forgets nothing, and knows all that shall be, save only what Ilúvatar has hidden, but he speaks only at the command of Manwë. He is the doomsman of the Valar. Vairë the weaver is his wife, who weaves all things that have been in time in her storied webs, and the halls of Mandos, that ever widen as the ages pass, are clothed therewith. Olofantur the younger of these brethren was also named, maker of visions and of dreams. His gardens in the land of the Gods are the fairest of all places in the world, and filled with many spirits. Estë the pale is his wife, who walks not by day, but sleeps on an island in the dark lake of Lórien. Thence his fountains bring refreshment to the folk of Valinor.

§7 Strongest of limb, and greatest in deeds of prowess, is

Tulkas, who is surnamed Poldórëa, the Valiant. He is unclothed in his disport, which is much in wrestling; and he rides no steed, for he can outrun all things that go on feet, and he is tireless. His hair and beard are golden, and his flesh ruddy; his weapons are his hands. He recks little of either past or future, and is of small avail as a counsellor, but a hardy friend. He has great love for Fionwë son of Manwë. His wife is Nessa, sister of Oromë, who is lissom of limb and fleet of foot, and dances in Valinor upon lawns of never-fading green.

§8 Oromë was a mighty lord, and little less in strength than Tulkas, though slower in wrath. He loved the lands of earth, while they were still dark, and he left them unwillingly and came last to Valinor; and he comes even yet at times east over the mountains. Of old he was often seen upon the hills and plains. He is a hunter, and he loves all trees; for which reason he is called Aldaron, and by the Gnomes Tauros, the lord of forests. He delights in horses and in hounds, and his horns are loud in the friths and woods that Yavanna planted in Valinor; but he blows them not upon the Middle-earth since the fading of the Elves, whom he loved. Vana is his wife, the queen of flowers, who has the beauty both of heaven and of earth upon her face and in all her works; she is the younger sister of Varda and Palúrien.

§9 But mightier than she is Nienna, Manwë's sister and Melko's. She dwells alone. Pity is in her heart, and mourning and weeping come to her; shadow is her realm and her throne hidden. For her halls are west of West, nigh to the borders of the World and the Darkness, and she comes seldom to Valmar, the city of the Gods, where all is glad. She goes rather to the halls of Mandos, which are nearer and yet more northward; and all those who go to Mandos cry to her. For she is a healer of hurts, and turns pain to medicine and sorrow to wisdom. The windows of her house look outward from the Walls of the World.

§10 Last do all name Melko. But the Gnomes, who suffered most from his evil deeds, will not speak his name, and they call him Morgoth, the Black God, and Bauglir, the Constrainer. Great might was given to him by Ilúvatar, and he was coëval with Manwë, and part he had of all the powers of the other Valar; but he turned them to evil uses. He coveted the world and all that was in it, and desired the lordship of Manwë and the realms of all the Gods; and pride and jealousy and lust grew ever in his heart, till he became unlike his brethren. Wrath consumed him, and he begot violence and destruction and excess. In ice and fire was his

delight. But darkness he used most in all his evil works, and turned it to fear and a name of dread among Elves and Men.

Commentary on Chapter 1

§1 There is nothing in Q concerning the Music of the Ainur; but the new version of that work was now in existence (see note 20 to the *Ainulindalë*).

§4 Though written in afterwards on the typescript, the marginal note clearly belongs either with the original writing of the manuscript or with the earliest changes. In the *Lhammas* (§1) *Quendian* is the term for all the Elvish languages, derived from Oromë, as a group. In the *Ambarkanta* (and on the diagrams associated with it) the 'middle air' was *Ilma*, replaced throughout by *Ilmen* (the form in the early Númenórean writings, pp. 9, 13); in the *Etymologies* both *Ilma* and *Ilmen* appear, under the stem GIL: '*Ilma* starlight (cf. *Ilmare*)', '*Ilmen* region above air where stars are'.

The children of Manwë and Varda are not mentioned here in Q: see note 20 to the *Ainulindalë*.

§5 *Lady of the Wide Earth* was a carefully made alteration over an erasure, the original reading being *Bosom of the Earth*, as in Q.

§6 *Nurufantur* was another early change like that in §5; here the erased form was *Nefantur*, as in Q. This is the first appearance of these elements in the character of Mandos: his knowledge of past and future, and his speaking only when commanded so to do by Manwë (cf. I. 90, 111). Here also are the first characterisations of Vairë and of Estë, who in AV are no more than names.

§7 This description of Tulkas, now first appearing, was largely retained in the ultimate form of this chapter, the *Valaquenta*, which like the *Ainulindalë* became a separate and distinct element in the whole work (see *The Silmarillion* pp. 28–9); but his great love for Fionwë is not mentioned there. – The original reading in the manuscript was *He had great love for Fionwë*; see the remarks on tenses at the end of this commentary.

§9 In AV Nienna had become the sister of Manwë and Melko, as still here; in the *Valaquenta* (p. 28) she is 'sister of the Fëanturi'.

The passage beginning 'For her halls are west of West' to the end of the paragraph, not in Q, is retained in the *Valaquenta*. In the *Lost Tales* the hall of Vefántur and Fui Nienna was 'beneath the roots of the most cold and northerly of the Mountains of Valinor' (I. 76). I do not certainly understand the statement that the windows of Nienna's house 'look outward from the Walls of the World' for if her house is in the extreme West of Valinor her windows must surely look into the Chasm of Ilmen and through Vaiya *to* the Walls of the World (see the *Ambarkanta* diagram and map IV. 243, 249, and cf. QS §12). But an interpretation, admittedly rather forced, might be that from the

windows of her house the gaze passes unhindered through Ilmen and Vaiya, and the invisible Walls of the World, and in this sense 'looks outward from the Walls'.

§10 In Q Bauglir is translated 'Terrible'. In the published *Silmarillion* the name is not interpreted in the text; in the Index I translated it 'Constrainer' as here. In the *Etymologies*, stem MBAW, it is rendered 'tyrant, oppressor'.

Past and Present Tense in Chapter 1

In Q the past tense is used throughout in the account of the Valar, but with exceptions in the cases of Ossë, Uinen, and Nienna. These present tenses would probably not have occurred had not my father been imposing the past tense on thought that was not in fact so definite. In the opening section of AV 1 there is a mixture of present and past which is slightly increased in that of AV 2. In QS the present tense is used, with very few exceptions, and of these 'Manwë and Melko *were* brethren' and 'The Fanturi *were* brethren' were probably fully intended (sc. they were brethren 'in the thought of Ilúvatar'). Tulkas '*had* great love for Fionwë' was early corrected (§7); and only 'Oromë *was* a mighty lord' remains – a repetition of the phrase in Q. – In §2 the manuscript has 'the Elves *named* the Valar'; the typescript has *name*.

2 OF VALINOR AND THE TWO TREES

§11 In the beginning of the overlordship of the Valar they saw that the World was dark, and that light was scattered over the airs and lands and seas. They made therefore two mighty lamps for the lighting of the World, and set them upon lofty pillars in the South and North of the Middle-earth. But most of the Valar dwelt upon an island in the seas, while they laboured at their first tasks in the ordering of the World. And Morgoth contested with them, and made war. He overthrew the lamps, and in the confusion of darkness he roused the seas against their island.

§12 Then the Gods removed into the West, where ever since their seats have been; but Morgoth escaped from their wrath, and in the North he built himself a fortress, and delved great caverns underground.* At that time the Valar could not overcome him or take him captive. Therefore they made their home in the uttermost West, and fortified it, and built many mansions in that land

**Marginal note to the text:* Melko builds Utumno.

upon the borders of the World which is called Valinor. It is bounded on the hither side by the Great Sea, and on the further side by the Outer Sea, which the Elves call Vaiya; and beyond that the Walls of the World fence out the Void and the Eldest Dark. Eastwards on the shores of the inner sea the Valar built the mountains of Valinor, that are highest upon earth.

§13 In that land they gathered all light and all fair things, and there are their houses, their gardens and their towers. In the midst of the plain beyond the mountains was the city of the Gods, Valmar the beautiful of many bells. But Manwë and Varda had halls upon the loftiest of the mountains of Valinor, whence they could look out across the earth even into the furthest East. Taniquetil the Elves name that holy mountain; and Oiolossë Everlasting Whiteness; Elerína Crowned with Stars; and many names beside. And the Gnomes spake of it in their later tongue as Amon Uilos; and in the language of this island of old Tindbrenting was its name, among those few that had ever descried it afar off.

§14 In Valinor Yavanna hallowed the mould with mighty song, and Nienna watered it with tears. In that time the Gods were gathered together, and they sat silent upon their thrones of council in the Ring of Doom nigh unto the golden gates of Valmar the Blessed; and Yavanna Palúrien sang before them and they watched.

§15 From the earth there came forth two slender shoots; and silence was over all the world in that hour, nor was there any other sound save the slow chanting of Palúrien. Under her song two fair trees uprose and grew. Of all things which the Gods made they have most renown, and about their fate all the tales of the Eldar are woven. The one had leaves of a dark green that beneath were as shining silver; and he bore white blossoms like the cherry, from which a dew of silver light was ever falling, so that the earth beneath was dappled with the dark dancing shadows of his leaves and the flickering white radiance of his flowers. The other bore leaves of young green like the new-opened beech; their edges were of glittering gold. Yellow flowers swung upon her branches like the hanging blossom of those trees Men now call Golden-rain; and from those flowers came forth warmth and a great light.

§16 Silpion the one was called in Valinor, and Telperion and Ninquelótë and many names in song beside; but the Gnomes name him Galathilion. Laurelin the other was called, and

Kulúrien and Malinalda, and many other names; but the Gnomes name her Galadlóriel.*

§17 In seven hours the glory of each tree waxed to full and waned again to nought; and each awoke again to life an hour before the other ceased to shine. Thus in Valinor twice every day there came a gentle hour of softer light, when both Trees were faint, and their gold and silver beams were mingled. Silpion was the elder of the Trees, and came first to full stature and to bloom; and that first hour in which he shone alone, the white glimmer of a silver dawn, the Gods reckoned not into the tale of hours, but named it the Opening Hour, and counted therefrom the ages of their reign in Valinor. Therefore at the sixth hour of the First Day, and of all the joyous days afterward until the Darkening, Silpion ceased his time of flower; and at the twelfth hour Laurelin her blossoming. And each day of the Gods in Valinor contained, therefore, twelve hours, and ended with the second mingling of the lights, in which Laurelin was waning but Silpion was waxing.

Commentary on Chapter 2

§12 The marginal note, with Utumno (not Angband) as the name of Melko's original fortress as in the *Ambarkanta* and AV 2, is an early addition, since in §§62, 105 *Utumno* is an early change from *Utumna*, whereas this is not the case in the note.

§13 The manuscript has 'named that holy mountain', but the typescript 'name'; cf. the note on tenses in the commentary on Chapter 1. In §16 both texts have 'the Gnomes name him', 'the Gnomes name her'.

Elerína is a change made to the typescript, which had *Tinwerína*, but it belongs to the earlier period (1938): see p. 200. The names *Oiolossë*, *Tinwerína*, *Amon Uilos* are replacements over erasures, the erased names being those found in Q (IV. 81), *Ialassë* (or perhaps rather *Iolossë*, see the *Etymologies*, stem EY), *Tinwenairin*, *Amon-Uilas*.

**Footnote to the text:* Other names of Silpion among the Gnomes are Silivros glimmering rain (which in Elvish form is Silmerossë), Nimloth pale blossom, Celeborn tree of silver; and the image that Turgon made of him in Gondolin was called Belthil divine radiance. Other names of Laurelin among the Gnomes are Glewellin (which is the same as Laurelin song of gold), Lhasgalen green of leaf, Melthinorn tree of gold; and her image in Gondolin was named Glingal hanging flame.

§16 *Names of the Trees.* This is the first occurrence in the texts of *Telperion*, as also of *Ninquelótë*, *Kulúrien*, and *Malinalda*. The names *Galathilion* and *Galadlóriel* are replacements over erasures – i.e. of *Bansil* and *Glingol*, as in Q, or of *Belthil* and *Glingal*, as in the footnote.

The footnote was almost certainly added at the same time as these changes. In this note *Silmerossë* is called the 'Elvish' form as distinct from the Gnomish *Silivros*; later in QS (§25) the phrase 'The Lindar . . . who sometimes are alone called Elves' survived from Q (IV. 85), though it was struck out and does not appear in the typescript; in the present note, on the other hand, this old distinction between 'Elvish' and 'Gnomish' was retained in the typescript.

Nimloth, which now first appears, later became the name of the White Tree of Númenor, a seedling of the White Tree of Tol-eressëa. *Celeborn*, also now first appearing, was later the Tree of Tol-eressëa, derived from the Tree of Tirion. With *Lhasgalen* 'green of leaf' cf. *Eryn Lasgalen* 'Wood of Greenleaves', name of Mirkwood after the War of the Ring (*The Lord of the Rings*, Appendix B, III. 375).

Belthil and *Glingal* appear as late emendations of *Bansil* and *Glingol* in both the 'Lays of Beleriand' (III. 80–2, 195), where they are the names of the Trees of Valinor. The particular association of these names (in the earlier forms) with the Trees of Gondolin goes back to the old tale of *The Fall of Gondolin*, where however these Trees were not images but scions of the Trees of Valinor; but in Q (and in QS before the changes to *Galathilion* and *Galadlóriel*) they are the Gnomish names of Silpion and Laurelin. The present note is the first indication that the Trees of Gondolin were *images* made by Turgon.

§17 At the end of the chapter in the manuscript is a simplified form of the table of the periods of the Trees given in Q (IV. 83).

3 (a) OF THE COMING OF THE ELVES

[In the QS manuscript the third chapter ('Of the Coming of the Elves') extends all the way through Chapters 3, 4 ('Of Thingol and Melian'), and 5 ('Of Eldamar and the Princes of the Eldalië') in the published work, though there is a sub-heading 'Thingol'. In the typescript text there are two emphatic breaks and subheadings, 'Of Thingol' and 'Of Kôr and Alqualondë' (which became 'Of Eldamar and the Princes of the Eldalië'), but they have no chapter-numbers; and after 'Of Kôr and Alqualondë' the typescript text comes to an end. It is convenient to treat the three parts here as separate chapters, numbering them 3 (a), 3 (b), and 3 (c).]

§18 In all this time, since Morgoth overthrew the lamps, the Middle-earth east of the Mountains of Valinor was without light. While the lamps were shining, growth began there, which now

was checked, because all was again dark. But already the oldest living things had arisen: in the sea the great weeds, and on the earth the shadow of dark trees. And beneath the trees small things faint and silent walked, and in the valleys of the night-clad hills there were dark creatures old and strong. In such lands and forests Oromë would often hunt; and there too at times Yavanna came, singing sorrowfully; for she was grieved at the darkness of the Middle-earth and ill content that it was forsaken. But the other Valar came seldom thither; and in the North Morgoth built his strength, and gathered his demons about him. These were the first made of his creatures: their hearts were of fire, and they had whips of flame. The Gnomes in later days named them Balrogs. But in that time Morgoth made many monsters of divers kinds and shapes that long troubled the world; yet the Orcs were not made until he had looked upon the Elves, and he made them in mockery of the Children of Ilúvatar. His realm spread now ever southward over the Middle-earth.

§19 Varda looked out upon the darkness, and was moved. Therefore she took the silver dew that dripped from Silpion and was hoarded in Valinor, and therewith she made the stars. And for this reason she is called Tintallë, the Star-kindler, and Elentári, Queen of Stars. She strewed the unlit skies with these bright vessels, filled with silver flame; but high in the North, a challenge unto Morgoth, she set the crown of seven mighty stars to swing, the emblem of the Gods, and the sign of doom. Many names have these been called; but in the old days of the North both Elves and Men called them the Burning Briar, and some the Sickle of the Gods.

§20 It is told that at the opening of the first stars the children of the earth awoke, the Elder Children of Ilúvatar. Themselves they named the Quendi, whom we call Elves; but Oromë named them Eldar, Star-folk, and that name has since been borne by all that followed him upon the westward road. In the beginning they were greater and more strong than they have since become; but not more fair, for though the beauty of the Eldar in the days of their youth was beyond all other beauty that Ilúvatar has caused to be, it has not perished, but lives in the West, and sorrow and wisdom have enriched it. And Oromë looking upon the Elves was filled with love and wonder; for their coming was not in the Music of the Ainur, and was hidden in the secret thought of Ilúvatar. But Oromë came upon them by chance in his wandering, while they dwelt yet silent beside the starlit mere, Kuiviénen, Water of

Awakening, in the East of the Middle-earth. For a while he abode with them, and taught them the language of the Gods, from whence afterwards they made the fair Elvish speech, which was sweet in the ears of the Valar. Then swiftly Oromë rode back over land and sea to Valinor, filled with the thought of the beauty of the Elves, and he brought the tidings to Valmar. And the Gods were amazed, all save Manwë, to whom the secret thought of Ilúvatar was revealed in all matters that concern this world. Manwë sat now long in thought, and at length he spoke to the Valar, revealing to them the mind of the Father; and he bade them to return now to their duty, which was to govern the world for the Children of Ilúvatar, when they should appear, each kindred in its appointed time.

§21 Thus it came to pass that after long council the Gods resolved to make an assault upon the fortress of Morgoth in the North.* Morgoth did not forget that the Elves were the cause of his downfall. Yet they had no part in it; and little do they know of the riding of the power of the West against the North in the beginning of their days, and of the war and tumult of the first Battle of the Gods. In those days the shape of the Middle-earth was changed and broken and the seas were moved. It was Tulkas who at last wrestled with Morgoth and overthrew him, and bound him with the chain Angainor, and led him captive; and the world had peace for a long age. But the fortress of Morgoth had many vaults and caverns hidden with deceit far under earth, and these the Gods did not utterly destroy, and many evil things still lingered there; and others were dispersed and fled into the dark and roamed in the waste places of the world.

§22 The Gods drew Morgoth back to Valinor bound hand and foot and blindfold, and he was cast into prison in the halls of Mandos, from whence none have ever escaped save by the will of Mandos and of Manwë, neither Vala, nor Elf, nor Man. Vast are those halls and strong, and built in the North of Valinor.

§23 Then the Quendi, the people of the Elves, were summoned by the Gods to Valinor, for the Valar were filled with love of their beauty, and feared for them in the dangerous world amid the deceits of the starlit dusk; but the Gods as yet withheld the living light in Valinor. In this many have seen the cause of woes that after befell, holding that the Valar erred, and strayed from the

*_Marginal note to the text:_ Utumno.

purpose of Ilúvatar, albeit with good intent. Yet such was the fate of the World, which cannot in the end be contrary to Ilúvatar's design. Nonetheless the Elves were at first unwilling to hearken to the summons; wherefore Oromë was sent unto them, and he chose from among them three ambassadors, and he brought them to Valmar. These were Ingwë and Finwë and Elwë, who after were kings of the Three Kindreds of the Eldar; and coming they were filled with awe by the glory and majesty of the Valar, and desired the light and splendour of Valinor. Therefore they returned and counselled the Elves to remove into the West, and the greater part of the people obeyed their counsel. This they did of their own free will, and yet were swayed by the power of the Gods, ere their wisdom was full grown. The Elves that obeyed the summons and followed the three princes are called the Eldar, by the name that Oromë gave them; for he was their guide, and led them at the last (save some that strayed upon the march) unto Valinor. Yet there were many who preferred the starlight and the wide spaces of the earth to the rumour of the glory of the Trees, and remained behind; and these are called the Avari, the Unwilling.

§24 The Eldar prepared now a great march from their first homes in the East. When all was ready, Oromë rode at their head upon his white horse shod with gold; and behind him the Eldalië was arrayed in three hosts.

§25 The first to take the road were led by Ingwë, the most high lord of all the Elvish race. He entered into Valinor, and sits at the feet of the Powers, and all Elves revere his name; but he never returned nor looked again upon the Middle-earth. The Lindar were his folk, the fairest of the Quendi; they are the High Elves, and the beloved of Manwë and Varda, and few among Men have spoken with them.

§26 Next came the Noldor. The Gnomes we may call them, a name of wisdom; they are the Deep Elves, and the friends of Aulë. Their lord was Finwë, wisest of all the children of the world. His kindred are renowned in song, and of them these tales have much to tell, for they fought and laboured long and grievously in the Northern lands of old.

§27 Third came the Teleri, for they tarried, and were not wholly of a mind to forsake the dusk; they are the Sea Elves, and the Solonéldi they were after named in Valinor, for they made music beside the breaking waves. Elwë was their lord, and his hair was long and white.

§28 The hindmost of the Noldor forsook the host of Finwë, repenting of the march, and they turned southward, and wandered long, and became a people apart, unlike their kin. They are not counted among the Eldar, nor yet among the Avari. Pereldar they are called in the tongue of the Elves of Valinor, which signifies Half-eldar. But in their own tongue they were called Danas, for their first leader was named Dân. His son was Denethor, who led them into Beleriand ere the rising of the Moon.

§29 And many others of the Eldar that set out upon the march were lost upon the long road, and they wandered in the woods and mountains of the world, and never came to Valinor nor saw the light of the Two Trees. Therefore they are called the Lembi, that is the Lingerers. And the Lembi and the Pereldar are called also the Ilkorindi, because though they began the journey they never dwelt in Kôr, the city which the Elves after built in the land of the Gods; yet their hearts were ever turned towards the West. But the Ilkorindi and the Avari are called the Dark Elves, because they never beheld the light of the Two Trees ere it was dimmed; whereas the Lindar and the Noldor and the Teleri are named the Light Elves, and remember the light that is no more.*

§30 The Lembi were for the most part of the race of the Teleri, and the chief of these were the Elves of Beleriand, in the West of the Middle-earth. Most renowned among them was that Elf who first was named Sindo, the Grey, brother of Elwë, but is called now Thingol in the language of Doriath.

**Footnote to the text*: Other names in song and tale are given to these folk. The Lindar are the Blessed Elves, and the Spear-elves, and the Elves of the Air, the Friends of the Gods, the Holy Elves, and the Immortal, and the Children of Ingwë; they are the Fair Folk and the White. The Noldor are the Wise and the Golden, the Valiant, the Sword-elves, the Elves of the Earth, the Foes of Melko, the Skilled of Hand, the Lovers of Jewels, the Companions of Men, the Followers of Finwë. The Teleri are the Foam-riders, Musicians of the Shore, the Free, the Wanderers, and the Elves of the Sea, the Sailors, the Arrow-elves, Ship-friends, the Lords of the Gulls, the Blue Elves, the Pearl-gatherers, and the People of Elwë. The Danas are the Elves of the Woods, the Hidden Elves, the Green Elves, the Elves of the Seven Rivers, the Lovers of Lúthien, the Lost Folk of Ossiriand, for they are now no more.

Commentary on Chapter 3 (a)

[The names of the divisions of the Elves underwent extremely complicated changes on the QS manuscript to reach the form in the typescript text printed here, since the same names were moved into different references and given different meanings. I do not refer to the original names in the notes that follow, since the individual changes would be extremely hard to follow if given piecemeal, but attempt an explanation in a general note at the end of this commentary.]

§18 The original text of the passage concerning the demons of Morgoth ran as follows:

> . . . in the North Morgoth built his strength, and gathered his demon-broods about him, whom the Gnomes after knew as Balrogs: they had whips of flame. The Úvanimor he made, monsters of divers kinds and shapes; but the Orcs were not made until he had looked upon the Elves.

The term *Úvanimor* occurs in the *Lost Tales*, I. 75 ('monsters, giants, and ogres'), etc.; cf. *Vanimor* 'the Beautiful', p. 110. – On the question of when the Orcs first came into being see p. 148 and commentary on QS §62. It is said in *The Fall of Númenor* II (§1) that the Orcs are 'mockeries of the creatures of Ilúvatar' (cf. also *The Lost Road*, p. 65). In QS §62 the idea that the Orcs were mockeries of the Elves is found in the text as originally written.

§19 *Elentári* was changed on the typescript from *Tinwerontar*, but the alteration belongs to the earlier period, like *Elerína* > *Tinwerína* in §13; see p. 200. – *Tintallë* 'the Kindler' is found in *The Silmarillion* (p. 48) – and in *The Lord of the Rings* – but is there the name of Varda 'out of the deeps of time': the name 'Queen of the Stars' (*Elentári*) was given in reference to the second star-making, at the time of the awakening of the Elves. This second star-making of *The Silmarillion* was still in QS, as in AV 2 (annal 1900), the first.

§20 The sentence beginning 'but Oromë named them Eldar, "Star-folk" . . .' is a footnote in the manuscript, a very early addition; in the typescript it was taken up into the text. See the note on names at the end of this commentary.

The whole paragraph, from the words 'but not more fair', was greatly extended and altered in the first rewriting to give the text printed. As originally written it was almost an exact repetition of Q (IV. 84):

> . . . yet not more fair. Oromë it was that found them, dwelling by the star-lit mere, Kuiviénen, Water of Awakening, in the East of Middle-earth. Swiftly he rode to Valinor filled with the thought of their beauty. When the Valar heard his tidings, they pondered long, and they recalled their duty. For they came into the world knowing that their office was to govern it for the Children of Ilúvatar, who should afterward come, each in the appointed time.

In addition to the statement in the rewriting that Oromë taught the Elves 'the language of the Gods' (see the *Lhammas* §1), the new passage introduces an extraordinary development into the thought of the *Ainulindalë*: the coming of the Children of Ilúvatar *was not in the Music of the Ainur*, the Valar were amazed at the news brought by Oromë, and Manwë then revealed to them the mind of Ilúvatar. What in the original text was their known duty ('For they came into the world knowing that their office was to govern it for the Children of Ilúvatar') is now (it seems) presented to them as a duty indeed, but one of which they had until then been ignorant. In the *Ainulindalë* version of this period (pp. 160–1) it is said:

> For Elves and Men were devised by Ilúvatar alone, nor, since they comprehended not fully that part of the theme when it was propounded to them, did any of the Ainur dare in their music to add anything to their fashion.

In the later, post-*Lord of the Rings* versions, while the conception is changed and the idea introduced of the Vision seen by the Ainur before the act of Creation, it is explicit that the Children of Ilúvatar 'came with the third theme' of the Music, and that the Ainur saw in the Vision the arising of Elves and Men.

§21 As originally written QS had 'symmetry' for 'shape', showing that my father had in mind the passage in the *Ambarkanta*: 'But the symmetry of the ancient Earth was changed and broken in the first Battle of the Gods' (IV. 239 and the map IV. 251).

§23 The passage from 'In this many have seen the cause of woes that after befell' is an addition to the original text, which had simply 'Oromë brought their ambassadors to Valmar.' Here the story of the three ambassadors, curiously absent from S and Q (IV. 68), re-emerges from the *Lost Tales* (I. 115–17); and the suggestion, first appearing in the rewriting of QS, that the Valar erred in summoning the Elves is also hinted at in the old tale: 'Maybe indeed had the Gods decided otherwise the world had been a fairer place and the Eldar a happier folk' (I. 117).

Elwë here, confusingly, is *not* Thingol, whose Quenya name is *Elwë* in *The Silmarillion*. In the *Lost Tales* Tinwelint (Thingol) was one of the three ambassadors; but the leader of the Third Kindred on the Great March (after the loss of Tinwelint) was 'one Ellu' (I. 120). In QS Thingol was *not* one of the ambassadors, and he never went to Valinor; the ambassador and the leader of the Third Host was Elwë (who was however the brother of Thingol). In *The Silmarillion* Thingol (Elwë Singollo) was again one of the ambassadors, while the leader of the Third Host (after the loss of Thingol) was his brother Olwë – a return therefore to the *Lost Tales*, with the addition that the two were brothers.

The original text of the passage following 'These were Ingwë and

Finwë and Elwë, who after were kings of the Three Kindreds of the Eldar' was thus:

> And returning they counselled that the Elves should remove into the West. This they did of their own free will, yet in awe of the power and majesty of the Gods. Most of the Elves obeyed the summons, and these are they who afterward came unto Valinor (save some who strayed), and are called the Eldar, the Departing.

This explanation of the name *Eldar* is the same as that in the *Lhammas* (§2 and commentary), and in both works it was overtaken by the translation 'Star-folk', the name given by Oromë: see under §20 above and the note on names at the end of this commentary.

§25 After 'The Lindar were his folk, the fairest of the Quendi' the original text added: 'who sometimes are alone called Elves'; see the commentary on §16.

High Elves: Q had here 'Light-elves'; subsequently (IV. 89 note 6) 'Light-elves' was emended to 'High-elves', and that in turn to 'Fair-elves'. The term 'Light Elves' was now differently employed: see §29, and p. 197.

§27 This is the first appearance of the idea that the Teleri were the last of the Three Kindreds because 'they tarried, and were not wholly of a mind to forsake the dusk'. In the *Lhammas* (§2) they were the last because they were 'the latest to awake'.

§28 For 'Pereldar they are called in the tongue of the Elves of Valinor, which signifies Half-eldar' the original reading was: 'No name had they in the tongue of Valinor.' See the note on names below.

§29 The words 'they never dwelt in Kôr, the city which the Elves after built' are a reversion to the original meaning of the name, the more puzzling in view of §39: 'On the top of the hill of Kôr the city of the Elves was built, the white walls and terraces of Tûn [> Túna]'. Similarly in the *Lhammas* §11 the words 'in Kôr' contradict the reference in §5 to Kôr as the hill on which Tûn [> Túna] was built.

§30 It is said also in the *Lhammas* (§2) that the Lembi were for the most part of Telerian race, but the meaning there is not precisely the same, since in the *Lhammas* the name *Lembi* still meant the Elves who never left the lands of their awakening. – On *Sindo the Grey* see the commentary on *Lhammas* §6.

Note on the names of the divisions of the Elves

Several of the changes referred to below are found in the list of proposed alterations dated 20 November 1937 (p. 200).

As this chapter was originally written, the classification was:

(§23) *Eldar* 'the Departing', opposed to *Lembi* 'the Lingerers', those that remained behind. (This is the same formulation as in the *Lhammas* §2, before emendation.)

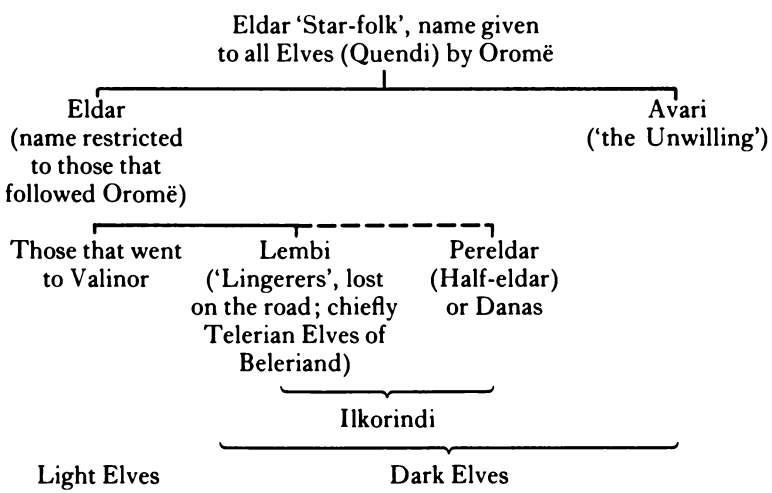
(§28) Those of the Noldor who repented of the journey and turned south, the *Danas*, are counted neither as *Eldar* or *Lembi*. (This agrees

with the statement in the *Lhammas* §7 (but not with that in §2: on the contradictory views see p. 188 and the *Lammasethen*, pp. 194–5).

(§29) Those of the Eldar who set out but 'were lost upon the long road' and never came to Kôr are called *Ilkorindi*. (This agrees with the *Lhammas* §2, except that there the Danas are included among the Ilkorindi.)

The earliest changes to the QS manuscript then brought in the ideas that *Eldar* meant 'Star-folk' and was a name given to all Elves by Oromë, but also that this name was 'borne by all that followed him upon the westward road'. The distinction was also introduced that those who actually crossed the Sea were called *Avari*, 'the Departing'. This new formulation was written in also to *Lhammas* §2 (see the commentary), doubtless at the same time.

The third layer of early change to this passage in the QS manuscript, giving the text printed, is not represented in the *Lhammas*. These are the changes referred to in the notes dated 20 November 1937. *Avari* was changed to mean 'the Unwilling', and replaced *Lembi* as the name for those who remained behind in the East (§23); the Danas were given the name 'in the tongue of Valinor' of *Pereldar* 'Half-eldar' (§28);* *Lembi* was now given to the Eldar who were lost on the road and never came to Kôr (§29); and while the name *Ilkorindi* was retained (an alternative to *Lembi*) it now included also the Danas (*Pereldar*) (§29) – to that extent agreeing with *Lhammas* §2. Thus (in contrast to the table on p. 183):



*In *The Lord of the Rings* the Sindarin form *Peredhil* has a totally different application: 'The sons of Eärendil were Elros and Elrond, the *Peredhil* or Half-elven', Appendix A I (i). An earlier name was *Peringol*, *Peringiul*: see the commentary on AB 2, annal 325.

3 (b) OF THINGOL

§31 For this reason Thingol abode in Beleriand and came not to Valinor. Melian was a fay, of the race of the Valar. She dwelt in the gardens of Lórien, and among all his fair folk there were none more beautiful than she, nor more wise, nor more skilled in songs of magic and enchantment. It is told that the Gods would leave their business, and the birds of Valinor their mirth, that the bells of Valmar were silent, and the fountains ceased to flow, when at the mingling of the light Melian sang in the gardens of the God of dreams. Nightingales went always with her, and she taught them their song. She loved deep shadow, but she was akin, before the World was made, unto Yavanna, and often strayed from Valinor on long journey into the Hither Lands, and there she filled the silence of the dawning earth with her voice and with the voices of her birds.

§32 Thingol heard the song of the nightingales of Melian and a spell was laid upon him, and he forsook his folk, and was lost, following their voices amid the shadows of the trees. He came at last upon a glade open to the stars; and there Melian stood, and the light of Valinor was in her face. Nought she said, but being filled with love Thingol came to her and took her hand, and he was cast into a dream and a long slumber, and his people looked for him in vain.

§33 In after days Melian and Thingol became Queen and King of the Elves of Doriath, and their hidden halls were in Menegroth, the Thousand Caves. Thus Thingol came never across the Sea to Valinor, and Melian returned not thither while their realm lasted; and of her a strain of the immortal race of the Gods came among both Elves and Men, as after shall be told.

3 (c) OF KÔR AND ALQUALONDË

[The relation between the manuscript and the typescript texts here becomes quite different, in that the manuscript (in which this is not a separate chapter or in any way marked off from what precedes, see p. 211) was scarcely emended at all, while the typescript has, already as typed, a great many changes from it. The explanation is presumably that in this case my father made the alterations from the manuscript as he typed without pencilling them in on the manuscript first. There is not in fact a great deal in the second text that seriously alters the narrative or nomenclature of the first, though certain new elements do enter. As hitherto, I follow the typescript text and record significant differences

from the manuscript in the commentary. With *Of Kôr and Alqualondë* the typescript ceases.]

§34 In time the hosts of the Eldar came to the last western shores of the Hither Lands. In the North these shores, in the ancient days after the Battle of the Gods, sloped ever westward, until in the northernmost parts of the earth only a narrow sea divided the Outer Land, upon which Valinor was built, from the Hither Lands; but this narrow sea was filled with grinding ice, because of the violence of the frosts of Melko. Therefore Oromë did not lead the Eldar into the far North, but brought them to the fair lands about the River Sirion that afterwards were named Beleriand; and from those shores whence first the hosts of the Eldar looked in fear and wonder on the sea there stretched an ocean, wide and dark and deep, between them and the Mountains of Valinor.

§35 There they waited and gazed upon the dark waves. But Ulmo came from the Valar; and he uprooted the half-sunken island, upon which the Gods had dwelt in the beginning, but which now long had stood alone amid the sea, far from either shore; and with the aid of his servants he moved it, as it were a mighty ship, and anchored it in the bay into which Sirion pours his water.* Thereon he embarked the Lindar and the Noldor, for they had already assembled. But the Teleri were behind, being slower and less eager upon the march, and they were delayed also by the loss of Thingol; and they did not come until Ulmo had departed.

§36 Therefore Ulmo drew the Lindar and the Noldor over the sea to the long shores beneath the Mountains of Valinor, and they entered the land of the Gods and were welcomed to its bliss. But the Teleri dwelt long by the shores of the western sea, awaiting Ulmo's return; and they grew to love the sound of the waves, and they made songs filled with the music of water. Ossë heard them, and came thither; and he loved them, delighting in the music of their voices. Sitting upon a rock nigh to the margin of the sea he spoke to them and instructed them. Great therefore was his grief when Ulmo returned at length to bear them away to Valinor. Some he persuaded to remain on the beaches of the Middle-earth,

**Footnote to the text:* And some have told that the great isle of Balar, that lay of old in that bay, was the eastern horn of the Lonely Isle, that broke asunder and remained behind, when Ulmo removed that land again into the West.

and these were the Elves of the Falas that in after days had dwellings at the havens of Brithombar and Eglorest in Beleriand; but most of the Teleri embarked upon the isle and were drawn far away.

§37 Ossë followed them, and when they were come near to their journey's end he called to them; and they begged Ulmo to halt for a while, so that they might take leave of their friend and look their last upon the sky of stars. For the light of the Trees, that filtered through the passes of the hills, filled them with awe. And Ulmo was wroth with them, yet he granted their request, and left them for a while. Then Ossë seized the isle and chained it to the sea-bottom, far out in the Bay of Elvenhome, whence the Mountains of Valinor could only dimly be descried. And when Ulmo returned the island could not be moved or uprooted without peril to the Teleri; and it was not moved, but stood alone for many an age. No other land was near it, and it was called Tol Eressëa, or the Lonely Isle. There the Teleri long dwelt, and of Ossë they learned strange musics and sea-lore; and he made the sea-birds for their delight. By this long sojourn of the Teleri apart in the Lonely Isle was caused the sundering of their speech from the language of the Lindar and Noldor.

§38 To these the Valar had given a home and a dwelling. Even among the radiant flowers of the Tree-lit gardens of the Gods they longed still to see the stars at times. Therefore a gap was made in the encircling mountains, and there in a deep valley that ran down to the sea the green hill of Kôr was raised. From the West the light of the Trees fell upon it, and its shadow lay ever eastward, and to the East it looked towards the Bay of Elvenhome, and the Lonely Isle, and the Shadowy Seas. The light of the Blessed Realm streamed forth, kindling the waves with gleams of gold and silver, and it touched the Lonely Isle, and its western shore grew green and fair. There bloomed the first flowers that ever were east of the Mountains of the Gods.

§39 On the top of the hill of Kôr the city of the Elves was built, the white walls and terraces of Túna, and the highest of the towers of that city was the Tower of Ingwë, the Ingwemindon, whose silver lamp shone far out into the mists of the sea. Few are the ships of mortal Men that have seen its slender beam. In Túna* dwelt the Lindar and the Noldor.

**Footnote to the text:* That is the Hill-city. This city the Gods called Eldamar (that is Elvenhome), and the Gnomes in their later speech Tûn or Eledûn. But the regions where the Elves dwelt, and whence

§40 Manwë and Varda loved most the Lindar, the High Elves, and holy and immortal were all their deeds and songs. The Noldor, the Gnomes, were beloved of Aulë, and of Mandos the wise; and great became their knowledge and their skill. Yet ever greater was their thirst for more knowledge, and their desire to make things wonderful and new. They were changeful in speech, for they had great love of words, and sought ever to find names more fit for all things that they knew or imagined. In Valinor they first contrived the fashioning of gems, and they made them of many kinds and hues in countless myriads; and they filled all Túna with them, and the halls of the Gods were enriched.

§41 The Noldor afterwards came back to the Middle-earth, and this tale tells mostly of their deeds; therefore the names and kinship of their princes may here be told, in that form which these names after had in the tongue of the Gnomes as it was in Beleriand upon the Middle-earth. Finwë was King of the Noldor. His sons were Fëanor, Fingolfin, and Finrod. Of these Fëanor was the mightiest in skill of word and of hand, more learned in lore than his brethren; in his heart his spirit burned as flame. Fingolfin was the strongest, the most steadfast, and the most valiant. Finrod was the fairest, and the most wise of heart. The seven sons of Fëanor were Maidros the tall; Maglor a musician and a mighty singer, whose voice carried far over land and sea; Celegorn the fair, and Cranthir the dark; and Curufin the crafty, who inherited most of his father's skill of hand; and the youngest Damrod and Díriel, who were twin brethren alike in mood and face. They afterwards were great hunters in the woods of the Middle-earth. A hunter also was Celegorn, who in Valinor was a friend of Oromë and followed oft the great god's horn.

§42 The sons of Fingolfin were Fingon, who was after King of the Gnomes in the North of the world; and Turgon of Gondolin; and their sister was Isfin the White. The sons of Finrod were Inglor the faithful (who afterwards was named Felagund, Lord of Caves), and Orodreth, and Angrod, and Egnor. Inglor and Orodreth were close in love, and they were friends of the sons of Fingolfin; but Angrod and Egnor were friends of the sons of Fëanor.

§43 Here must be told how the Teleri came at last to Valinor.

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the stars could be seen, were called Elendë or Eldanor, that is Elfland. The pass through the mountains which led to Elendë was named the Kalakilya, Pass of Light.

For nigh on one hundred of the years of Valinor, which were each as ten of the years of the Sun that were after made, they dwelt in Tol Eressëa. But slowly their hearts were moved, and were drawn towards the light that flowed out over the sea unto their isle; and they were torn between the love of the music of the waves upon their shores, and desire to see again their kindred and to look upon the splendour of the Gods. Yet in the end desire of the light was the stronger. Therefore Ulmo taught them the craft of ship-building; and Ossë, submitting to Ulmo, brought them as his farewell gift the strong-winged swans. These they harnessed to their fleet of white ships, and thus they were drawn without the help of the winds to Valinor.

§44 There they dwelt upon the long shores of Elvenhome, and if they wished they could see the light of the Trees, and could visit the golden streets of Valmar and the crystal stairs of Túna upon Kôr. But most they sailed upon the waters of the Bay of Elvenhome, or danced in the waves with their hair gleaming in the light beyond the hill. Many jewels the Noldor gave them, opals and diamonds and pale crystals, which they strewed upon the shores and scattered in the pools. Marvellous were the beaches of Elendë in those days. And many pearls they won for themselves from the sea, and their halls were of pearl, and of pearl were the mansions of Elwë at the Haven of the Swans, lit with many lamps. For Alqualondë, the Haven of the Swans, was their chief town, and the harbour of their ships; and these were fashioned in the likeness of swans, white, and their beaks were of gold with eyes of gold and jet. The gate of that harbour was an arch of living rock sea-carven, and it lay upon the confines of Elfland, north of the Kalakilya, which is the Pass of Light wherein stood the hill of Kôr.

§45 As the ages passed the Lindar grew to love the land of the Gods and the full light of the Trees, and they forsook the city of Túna, and dwelt upon the mountain of Manwë, or about the plains and woods of Valinor, and became sundered from the Gnomes. But remembrance of the earth under stars remained in the hearts of the Noldor, and they abode in the Kalakilya, and in the hills and valleys within sound of the western sea; and though many of them went oft about the land of the Gods, making far journeys in search of the secrets of land and water and all living things, yet their intercourse was more with the Teleri than with the Lindar; and the tongues of Túna and Alqualondë drew together in those days. Finwë was King of Túna and Elwë of

Alqualondë; but Ingwë was ever held High-king of all the Elves. He dwelt at the feet of Manwë upon Taniquetil. Fëanor and his sons abode seldom in one place for long. They travelled far and wide within the confines of Valinor, going even to the borders of the Dark and the cold shores of the Outer Sea, seeking the unknown. Often they were guests in the halls of Aulë; but Celegorn went rather to the house of Oromë, and there he got great knowledge of all birds and beasts, and all their tongues he knew. For all living things that are or have been on this earth, save only the fell and evil creatures of Melko, lived then in Valinor; and there were many other creatures beautiful and strange that have not yet been seen upon the Middle-earth, and perchance never now shall be, since the fashion of the World was changed.

Commentary on Chapter 3 (c)

§34 It is not told in the manuscript version where Oromë came to the coast of the Great Sea; but cf. the *Ambarkanta* map (IV. 249) on which the track of the March of the Elves is shown (and see IV. 257).

§35 The manuscript does not have the sentence 'and with the aid of his servants . . .' nor the footnote. The story of the origin of the Isle of Balar has not been told before.

In the last sentence of the paragraph the manuscript has only 'but the Teleri were behind and came not until he had gone.' In the typescript version enters the story that the loss of Thingol was one cause of the late arrival of the Teleri on the shores (though this idea was possibly present already in the original tale of *The Coming of the Elves*, I. 120); that they were less eager in any case has been said earlier in QS (§27).

§36 It has not been said expressly before that the Elves who were persuaded to remain by Ossë were the Elves of Brithombar and Eglorest.

§37 The story told here shows an interesting stage between Q and *The Silmarillion* (pp. 58–9). In QS, as in S and Q, the old story of Ossë's rebellious anchoring of Tol Eressëa still survives (see I. 120, 134; IV. 45); but there is now the element, found in *The Silmarillion*, that the Teleri hearing Ossë calling to them begged Ulmo to stay the voyage, and he did so, though in QS he was 'wroth with them'. In the final form of the story, however, not only did Ulmo do so willingly, but it was he himself who ordered Ossë to root the island to the sea-bottom, for he was opposed to the summoning of the Quendi to Valinor.

§39 The name *Ingwemindon* has not been used before. – The name *Tûn* in the body of the text was carefully altered to *Túna* in the

manuscript at both occurrences in §39 and again in §§40, 44 (but not in §45: see the commentary), and the footnote clearly belongs to the same time. The name *Eldamar* is now used of the city itself, while the new names *Elendë* and *Eldanor* are given to the region. This is another case where my father altered the *Lhammas* in the same way and no doubt at the same time as he altered QS: in §5 *Tûn* was changed to *Túna*, with a marginal note 'which the Gods called Eldamar' (on the history of the name see the commentary on that section).

§40 The sentence about the changefulness of speech among the Noldor is not in the manuscript. Cf. the passage on this subject in the *Lhammas* §5.

§41 With the opening sentence concerning the form in which the names of the Noldorin princes are given cf. the passage added at the end of the *Lhammas* (§11): 'The names of the Gnomes in the *Quenta* are given in the Noldorin form as that tongue became in Beleriand, for all those after Finwë father of the Noldor, whose name remains in ancient form.' The manuscript has 'using the names in the form of the Gnomish tongue as it long was spoken on the earth', as in Q (IV. 87).

For 'in his heart his spirit burned as flame' the manuscript has 'he had a heart of fire'. Cf. the later interpretation of *Fëanáro* as 'Spirit of Fire', *The Silmarillion* p. 63 (in the *Etymologies*, stem PHAY, the name is translated 'radiant sun'). – *Celegorn* here and throughout QS until §141 was an early change on the manuscript from *Celegorm*, as also in AV 2 and AB 2. – The statement (not found in the manuscript version) that Damrod and Díriel were twins is now first made, though it is possible that they had always been conceived to be so (IV. 46).

§42 In AV 2 (annal 2993) the earlier idea of the alliances between the Noldorin princes still survived, with Inglor Felagund a friend of Fingon and Turgon, sons of Fingolfin, and his brothers Orodreth, Angrod, and Egnor friends especially of Celegorm and Curufin. This was changed in AV 2 to the story in QS, Orodreth becoming associated with Inglor in friendship with the sons of Fingolfin.

§44 The manuscript has 'Many pearls they made', as in Q (IV. 88). – The description of the ships of the Teleri is not in the manuscript; in the typescript text it re-emerges from the *Lost Tales*, I. 124–5.

§45 *Tûn* was not here emended to *Túna* in the manuscript, where there is a footnote to the text, added no doubt at the same time as that to §39: 'Which is therefore called hereafter by its name in the speech of the Gnomes' (i.e. because the Lindar had departed).

The conclusion of this chapter was much developed from the form in the manuscript, which has no mention of the drawing together of the tongues of Túna and Alqualondë after the departure of the Lindar (cf. the *Lhammas* §5), nor of Celegorn's knowledge of the tongues of birds and beasts, and it does not have the very curious concluding passage concerning the existence in Valinor of all living things that have ever been on earth, save only the creatures of Melko.

4 OF THE SILMARILS AND THE DARKENING OF VALINOR

[From this point, where the typescript version comes to an end, there seems to have been scarcely any emendation to the manuscript until the major revision was undertaken many years later. A few corrections, however, certainly belong to the early period, while some points are doubtful in this respect.]

§46 From this time, when the three kindreds of the Eldar were gathered at last in Valinor, began the Noontide of the Blessed Realm and its fullness of bliss and glory, which lasted many ages. In that time, five ages after the coming of the Noldor, when they had become full-grown in knowledge and skill, Fëanor, son of Finwë, began a long and marvellous labour; and he summoned all his lore, and power, and subtle skill; for he purposed to make things more fair than any of the Eldar had yet made, that should last beyond the end of all. Three jewels he made, and named them Silmarils. A living fire burned within them that was blended of the light of the Two Trees. Of their own radiance they shone even in the dark; yet all lights that fell upon them, however faint, they took and reflected in marvellous hues to which their own inner fire gave a surpassing loveliness. No mortal flesh, nor flesh unclean, could touch them, but was scorched and withered. These jewels the Elves prized beyond all their works, and Manwë hallowed them; but Varda foretold that the fate of the World was locked within them. And the heart of Fëanor was bound fast to these things that he himself had made.

§47 For two ages more the noontide of the glory of Valinor endured. For seven ages then, as the Gods had decreed, Melko had dwelt in the halls of Mandos, each age in lightened pain. When these ages were past, as they had promised, he was brought before their conclave. He looked upon the glory of the Valar, and greed and malice were in his heart; he looked upon the fair Children of Ilúvatar that sat at the feet of the Gods, and hatred filled him; he looked upon the wealth of gems and lusted for them; but he hid his thoughts and postponed his vengeance.

§48 Before the gates of Valmar Melko humbled himself at the feet of Manwë and sued for pardon, and Nienna his sister aided his prayer. But the Gods would not suffer him to depart from their sight and vigilance. He was given a humble dwelling within the gates of the city; but so fair-seeming were all his deeds and words that after a while he was permitted to go freely about all the land,

and both Gods and Elves had much help and profit from him. Yet Ulmo's heart misgave him, and Tulkas clenched his hands whenever he saw Morgoth, his foe, go by. For Tulkas is quick to wrath and slow to forgiveness.

§49 Most fair of all was Morgoth to the Elves, and he aided them in many works, if they would let him. The Lindar, the people of Ingwë, held him in suspicion; for Ulmo had warned them, and they heeded his words. But the Gnomes took delight in the many things of hidden knowledge that he could reveal to them, and some hearkened to words that it would have been better that they had never heard.* And when he saw his chance he sowed a seed of lies and suggestions of evil among such as these. Bitterly did the folk of the Noldor atone for their folly in after-days.

§50 Often Morgoth would whisper that the Gods had brought the Eldar to Valinor because of their jealousy, fearing that their marvellous skill and beauty and their magic would grow too strong for the Valar to control, as the Elves waxed and spread over the wide lands of the world. Visions he would conjure in their hearts of the mighty realms they might have ruled in power and freedom in the East. In those days, moreover, though the Valar knew of the coming of Men that were to be, the Elves knew yet nought of it; for the Gods had not revealed it, and the time was not yet near. But Morgoth spake to the Elves in secret of mortal Men, though he knew little of the truth. Manwë alone knew aught clearly of the mind of Ilúvatar concerning Men, and he has ever been their

*_Footnote to the text:_ It is said that among other matters Melko spoke of weapons and armour to the Gnomes, and of the power they give to him who is armed to defend his own (as he said). The Elves had before possessed only weapons of the chase, spears and bows and arrows, and since the chaining of Melko the armouries of the Gods had been shut. But the Gnomes now learned the fashioning of swords of tempered steel, and the making of mail; and they made shields in those days and emblazoned them with silver, gold, and gems. And Fëanor became greatly skilled in this craft, and he made store of weapons secretly, as jealousy grew between him and Fingolfin. Thus it was that the Noldor were armed in the days of their Flight. Thus, too, the evil of Melko was turned against him, for the swords of the Gnomes did him more hurt than anything under the Gods upon this earth. Yet they had little joy of Morgoth's teaching; for all the sorrows of the Gnomes came from their swords, both from the unjust battle at Alqualondë, and from many ill deeds afterwards. Thus wrote Pengolod.

friend. Yet Morgoth whispered that the Gods kept the Eldar captive, so that Men coming should defraud them of the kingdoms of Middle-earth; for the weaker and short-lived race the Valar saw would more easily be swayed by them. Small truth was there in this, and little have the Valar ever prevailed to sway the wills or fates of Men, and least of all to good. But many of the Elves believed, or half-believed, the evil words. Most of these were Gnomes.

§51 Thus, ere the Gods were aware, the peace of Valinor was poisoned. The Gnomes began to murmur against the Valar and their kindred; and many became filled with vanity, forgetting all that the Gods had given them and taught them. Most of all Morgoth fanned the flames of the eager heart of Fëanor, though all the while he lusted for the Silmarils. These Fëanor at great feasts wore on brow and breast, but at other times they were guarded close, locked in the deep hoards of Tûn, for though there were no thieves in Valinor, as yet, Fëanor loved the Silmarils with a greedy love, and began to grudge the sight of them to all save himself and his sons.

§52 The sons of Finwë were proud, but proudest was Fëanor. Lying Morgoth said to him that Fingolfin and his sons were plotting to usurp the leadership of Fëanor and his elder house, and to supplant him in the favour of their father and of the Gods. Of these lies quarrels were born among the children of Finwë, and of these quarrels came the end of the high days of Valinor and the evening of its ancient glory; for Fëanor spake words of rebellion against the Valar, and plotted to depart from Valinor back to the world without, and deliver, as he said, the Gnomes from thraldom.

§53 Fëanor was summoned before the Valar to the Ring of Doom, and there the lies of Morgoth were laid bare for all those to see who had the will. By the judgement of the Gods Fëanor was banished for a while from Tûn, since he had disturbed its peace. But with him went Finwë his father, who loved him more than his other sons, and many other Gnomes. Northward in Valinor in the hills near to the halls of Mandos they built a strong place and a treasury; and they gathered there a multitude of gems. But Fingolfin ruled the Noldor in Tûn; and thus in part Morgoth's words seemed justified (though Fëanor had wrought their fulfilment by his own deeds), and the bitterness that he sowed went on, though the lies were revealed, and long afterwards it lived still between the sons of Fëanor and Fingolfin.

§54 Straight from the midst of their council the Valar sent Tulkas to lay hands on Morgoth and bring him again to judgement, but Morgoth hid himself, and none could discover whither he had gone; and the shadows of all standing things seemed to grow longer and darker in that time. It is said that for a great while none saw Morgoth, until he appeared privily to Fëanor, feigning friendship with cunning argument, and urging him to his former thought of flight. But Fëanor shut now his doors, if not his heart; and Finwë sent word to Valmar, but Morgoth departed in anger.

§55 Now the Gods were sitting in council before their gates fearing the lengthening of the shadows, when the messenger came from Finwë, but ere Tulkas could set forth others came that brought tidings from Tûn. For Morgoth had fled over the passes of the mountains, and from Kôr the Elves saw him pass in wrath as a thunder-cloud. Thence he came into that region that is called Arvalin, which lies south of the Bay of Elfland, and is a narrow land beneath the eastern feet of the Mountains of Valinor. There the shadows are deepest and thickest in the world. In that land, secret and unknown, dwelt Ungoliantë, Gloomweaver, in spider's form. It is not told whence she came; from the Outer Darkness, maybe, that lies beyond the Walls of the World. In a ravine she lived, and spun her webs in a cleft of the mountains; for she sucked up light and shining things to spin them forth again in black nets of choking gloom and clinging fog. She hungered ever for more food.

§56 Morgoth met Ungoliantë in Arvalin, and with her he plotted his revenge; but she demanded a great and terrible reward, ere she would dare the perils of Valinor and the power of the Gods. She wove a great darkness about her for their protection, and black spider-ropes she span, and cast from rocky peak to peak; and in this way she scaled at last the highest pinnacle of the mountains south of Taniquetil. In this region the vigilance of the Valar was less, because the wild woods of Oromë lay in the south of Valinor, and the walls of the mountains looked there eastward upon untrodden land and empty seas; and the Gods held guard rather against the North where of old Morgoth had raised his throne and fortress.

§57 Now Ungoliantë made a ladder of woven ropes, and upon this Morgoth climbed, and sat beside her; and he looked down upon the shining plain, seeing afar off the domes of Valmar glittering in the mingling of the light. Then Morgoth laughed;

and swiftly he sped down the long western slopes with Ungoliantë at his side, and her darkness was about them.

§58 It was a day of festival, and most of the people of Valinor were upon the mountain of Manwë, singing before him in his halls, or playing in the upland pleasaunces upon the green slopes of Taniquetil. The Lindar were there and many of the Noldor. Valmar's streets were fallen silent, and few feet passed upon the stairs of Tûn; only upon the shores of Elvenhome the Teleri still sang and played, recking little of times or seasons or the fate that should befall. Silpion was waning and Laurelin had just begun to glow, when protected by fate Morgoth and Ungoliantë crept into the plain. With his black spear Morgoth stabbed each tree to its very core, and as their juices spouted forth Ungoliantë sucked them up; and the poison from her foul lips went into their tissues and withered them, leaf and branch and root. Ungoliantë belched forth black vapours as she drank their radiance; and she swelled to monstrous form.

§59 Then wonder and dismay fell on Valinor, when a sudden twilight and a mounting gloom came upon the land. Black clouds floated about the towers of Valmar, and darkness drifted down its streets. Varda looked down from Taniquetil and saw the trees drowned and hidden in a mist. Too late they ran from hill and gate. The Two Trees died and shone no more, while wailing throngs stood round them and called on Manwë to come down. Out upon the plain the horses of Oromë thundered with a thousand hooves, and fire started in the gloom about their feet. Swifter than they Tulkas ran before them, and the light of the anger of his eyes was as a beacon. But they found not what they sought. Wherever Morgoth went, a darkness and confusion was around him woven by Ungoliantë, so that their feet strayed and their eyes were blind, and Morgoth escaped the hunt.

Commentary on Chapter 4

§46 The danger of the Silmarils to Men is increased: for the words of Q (IV. 88) 'no mortal flesh impure could touch them' are changed to 'no mortal flesh, nor flesh unclean, could touch them'.

§49 The long footnote on Gnomish arms (the content of which is entirely novel), if not written at the same time as the main text, was certainly an early addition. 'Thus wrote Pengolod' seems to have been written at the same time as the rest of the note, which is difficult to explain, if Pengolod was the author of the *Quenta Silmarillion* anyway; on this question see the commentary on §123.

§50 The words 'though the Valar knew of the coming of Men that were to be' are not at variance with the rewritten text of §20; for although it is said there that the coming of the Elves was not in the Music of the Ainur and was unknown to the Valar save Manwë, it is also told that at the awakening of the Elves Manwë 'spoke to the Valar, revealing to them the mind of the Father; and he bade them to return now to their duty, which was to govern the world for the Children of Ilúvatar, when they should appear, each kindred in its appointed time.'

§54 'But Feanor shut now his doors . . .': the story of Morgoth's going to the stronghold of Finwë and Fëanor at this juncture moves further towards the final form (see AV 2, annal 2900).

§55 'Bay of Elfland': in §§37–8, 44 the manuscript has 'Bay of Elfland' where the typescript has 'Bay of Elvenhome'.

§58 'With his black spear': 'With his black sword' Q (§4); cf. the story in the *Lost Tales*, I. 153.

5 OF THE FLIGHT OF THE NOLDOR

§60 This was the time of the Darkening of Valinor. In that day there stood before the gates of Valmar Gnomes that cried aloud, bearing evil tidings. For they told that Morgoth had fled northward, and with him went a thing before unseen that in the gathering night had seemed to be a spider of monstrous form. Suddenly they had fallen upon the treasury of Finwë. There Morgoth slew the King of the Noldor before his doors, and spilled the first Elvish blood that stained the earth. Many others he slew also, but Fëanor and his sons were not there. The Silmarils Morgoth took, and all the wealth of the jewels of the Noldor that were hoarded in that place. Great was the grief of Fëanor, both for his father and not less for the Silmarils, and bitterly he cursed the chance that had taken him on that evil day to Taniquetil, thinking in his folly that with his own hands and his sons he might have withstood the violence of Morgoth.

§61 Little is known of the paths of Morgoth after his dreadful deeds in Valinor. But it is told that escaping from the hunt he came at last with Ungoliantë over the Grinding Ice and so into the northern regions of the Middle-earth once more. Then Ungoliantë summoned him to give her the promised reward. The half of her pay had been the sap of the Trees. The other half was a full share in the plundered jewels. Morgoth yielded these, and she devoured them, and their light perished from the earth, but Ungoliantë grew yet darker and more huge and hideous in form. But Morgoth

would give her no share in the Silmarils. That was the first thieves' quarrel.

§62 So great had Ungoliantë become that she enmeshed Morgoth in her choking nets, and his awful cry echoed through the shuddering world. To his aid there came the Balrogs that lived yet in the deepest places of his ancient fortress, Utumno in the North. With their whips of flame the Balrogs smote the webs asunder, and drove away Ungoliantë into the uttermost South, where she long remained. Thus Morgoth came back to his ancient habitation, and he built anew his vaults and dungeons and great towers, in that place which the Gnomes after knew as Angband. There countless became the hosts of his beasts and demons; and he brought into being the race of the Orcs, and they grew and multiplied in the bowels of the earth. These Orcs Morgoth made in envy and mockery of the Elves, and they were made of stone, but their hearts of hatred. Glamhoth, the hosts of hate, the Gnomes have called them. Goblins they may be called, but in ancient days they were strong and fell.

§63 And in Angband Morgoth forged for himself a great crown of iron, and he called himself the King of the World. In token of this he set the three Silmarils in his crown. It is said that his evil hands were burned black by the touch of those holy jewels; and black they have ever been since; nor was he ever afterward free from the pain of the burning, and the anger of the pain. That crown he never took from his head, though its weight was a deadly weariness; and it was never his wont to leave the deep places of his fortress, but he governed his vast armies from his northern throne.

§64 When it became at last clear that Morgoth had escaped, the Gods assembled about the dead Trees, and sat there in darkness for a long while silent, and they were filled with grief. Since the people of the Blessed Realm had been gathered for festival, all the Valar and their children were there, save Ossë who came seldom to Valinor, and Tulkas who would not leave the unavailing hunt; and with them the Lindar, the folk of Ingwë, stood and wept. But most of the Noldor returned to Tûn and mourned for the darkening of their fair city. Fogs and shadows now drifted in from the sea through the pass of Kôr, and all shapes were confused, as the light of the Trees perished. A murmur was heard in Elfland, and the Teleri wailed beside the sea.

§65 Then Fëanor appeared suddenly amid the Noldor and called on all to come to the high square upon the top of the hill of

Kôr beneath the tower of Ingwë; but the doom of banishment from Tûn which the Gods had laid upon him was not yet lifted, and he rebelled against the Valar. A vast concourse gathered swiftly, therefore, to hear what he would say, and the hill, and all the stairs and streets that climbed upon it, were lit with the light of many torches that each one that came bore in hand.

§66 Fëanor was a great orator with a power of moving words. That day he made before the Gnomes a mighty speech that has ever been remembered. Fierce and fell were his words and filled with wrath and pride, and they stirred the people to madness like the fumes of potent wine. His anger was most against Morgoth, yet most that he said was drawn from the very lies of Morgoth himself; but he was distraught with grief for the slaying of his father, and anguish for the rape of the Silmarils. He now claimed the kingship of all the Noldor, since Finwë was dead, and mocked the decree of the Valar. 'Why should we longer obey the jealous Gods,' he asked, 'who cannot keep us, nor their own realm, safe from their foe? And is not Melko the accursed one of the Valar?'

§67 He bade the Gnomes prepare for flight in the darkness, while the Valar were still wrapped in idle mourning; to seek freedom in the world, and of their own prowess to win there a new realm, since Valinor was no longer more bright and blissful than the lands outside; to pursue Morgoth and war with him for ever until they were avenged. 'And when we have regained the Silmarils,' he said, 'we shall be masters of the enchanted light, and lords of the bliss and beauty of the world.' Then he swore a terrible oath. His seven sons leaped straightway to his side and took the selfsame vow together, each with drawn sword. They swore an oath which none shall break, and none should take, by the name of the Allfather, calling the Everlasting Dark upon them, if they kept it not; and Manwë they named in witness, and Varda, and the Holy Mount, vowing to pursue with vengeance and hatred to the ends of the world Vala, Demon, Elf, or Man as yet unborn, or any creature great or small, good or evil, that time should bring forth unto the end of days, whoso should hold or take or keep a Silmaril from their possession.

§68 Fingolfin and his son Fingon spake against Fëanor, and there was wrath and angry words that came near to blows. But Finrod spake gently and persuasively, and sought to calm them, urging them to pause and ponder, ere deeds were done that could not be undone. But of his own sons Inglor alone spake with him; Angrod and Egnor took the part of Fëanor, and Orodreth stood

aside. In the end it was put to the vote of the assembled people, and they being moved by the potent words of Fëanor, and filled with desire for the Silmarils, decided to depart from Valinor. Yet the Noldor of Tûn would not now renounce the kingship of Fingolfin; and as two divided hosts, therefore, they at length set forth upon their bitter road. The greater part marched behind Fingolfin, who with his sons yielded to the general voice against their wisdom, because they would not desert their people; and with Fingolfin were Finrod and Inglor, though they were loth to go. In the van marched Fëanor and his sons with lesser host, but they were filled with reckless eagerness. Some remained behind: both some that had been upon Taniquetil on the day of fate, and sat now with the Lindar at the feet of the Gods partaking of their grief and vigil; and some that would not forsake the fair city of Tûn and its wealth of things made by cunning hands, though the darkness had fallen upon them. And the Valar learning of the purpose of the Noldor sent word that they forbade the march, for the hour was evil and would lead to woe, but they would not hinder it, since Fëanor had accused them, saying that they held the Eldar captive against their will. But Fëanor laughed hardening his heart, and he said that sojourn in Valinor had led through bliss to sorrow; they would now try the contrary, to find joy at last through woe.

§69 Therefore they continued their march, and the house of Fëanor hastened ahead along the coast of Valinor, and they did not turn their eyes back to look upon Tûn. The hosts of Fingolfin followed less eagerly, and at the rear came sorrowing Finrod and Inglor and many of the noblest and fairest of the Noldor; and they looked often backward, until the lamp of Ingwë was lost in the gathering tide of gloom; and more than others they carried thence memories of the glory of their ancient home, and some even of the fair things there made with hands they took with them. Thus the folk of Finrod had no part in the dreadful deed that then was done; yet all the Gnomes that departed from Valinor came under the shadow of the curse that followed it. For it came soon into the heart of Fëanor that they should persuade the Teleri, their friends, to join with them; for thus in his rebellion he thought that the bliss of Valinor might be further diminished, and his power for war upon Morgoth be increased; moreover he desired ships. As his mind cooled and took counsel, he saw that the Noldor might hardly escape without many vessels; but it would need long to build so great a fleet, even were there any among the Noldor

skilled in that craft. But there were none, and he brooked no delay, fearing lest many should desert him. Yet they must at some time cross the seas, albeit far to the North where they were narrower; for further still, to those places where the western land and Middle-earth touched nigh, he feared to venture. There he knew was Helkaraksë, the Strait of Grinding Ice, where the frozen hills ever broke and shifted, sundering and clashing again together.

§70 But the Teleri would not join the Noldor in flight, and sent back their messengers. They had never lent ear to Morgoth nor welcomed him among them. They desired now no other cliffs nor beaches than the strands of Elvenhome, nor other lord than Elwë, prince of Alqualondë; and he trusted that Ulmo and the great Valar would yet redress the sorrow of Valinor. And their white ships with their white sails they would neither give nor sell, for they prized them dearly, nor did they hope ever again to make others so fair and swift. But when the host of Fëanor came to the Haven of the Swans they attempted to seize by force the white fleets that lay anchored there, and the Teleri resisted them. Weapons were drawn and a bitter fight was fought upon the great arch of the Haven's gate, and upon the lamplit quays and piers, as is sadly told in the song of the Flight of the Gnomes. Thrice the folk of Fëanor were driven back, and many were slain upon either side; but the vanguard of the Noldor were succoured by the foremost of the people of Fingolfin, and the Teleri were overcome, and most of those that dwelt at Alqualondë were slain or cast into the sea. For the Noldor were become fierce and desperate, and the Teleri had less strength, and were armed mostly with slender bows. Then the Gnomes drew away the white ships of the Teleri, and manned their oars as best they could, and took them north along the coast. And the Teleri cried to Ossë, and he came not, for he had been summoned to Valmar to the vigil and council of the Gods, and it was not decreed by fate nor permitted by the Valar that the flight of the Noldor should be waylaid. But Uinen wept for the slain of the Teleri; and the sea roared against the Gnomes, so that many of the ships were wrecked and those in them drowned.

§71 But most of them escaped and continued their journey, some by ship and some by foot; but the way was long and ever more evil going as they went on. After they had marched for a great while, and were come at length to the northern confines of the Blessed Realm – and they are mountainous and cold and look upon the empty waste of Eruman – they beheld a dark figure

standing high upon a rock that looked down upon the shore. Some say it was the herald of the Gods, others that it was Mandos himself. There he spake in a loud voice, solemn and terrible, the curse and prophecy which is called the Prophecy of the North, warning them to return and ask for pardon, or in the end return only at last after sorrow and unspeakable misery. Much he foretold in dark words, which only the wisest of them understood, concerning things that after befell. But all heard the curse he uttered upon those that would not stay or seek the doom and pardon of the Valar, for the spilling of the blood of their kindred at Alqualondë and fighting the first battle between the children of earth unrighteously. For this the Noldor should taste death more often and more bitterly than their kindred, by weapon and by torment and by grief; and evil fortune should pursue the house of Fëanor, and their oath should turn against them, and all who now followed them should share their lot. And evil should come most upon them through treachery of kin to kin, so that in all their wars and councils they should suffer from treason and the fear of treason among themselves. But Fëanor said: 'He saith not that we shall suffer from cowardice, from cravens or the fear of cravens'; and that proved true also.

§72 Then Finrod and a few of his household turned back, and they came at last to Valinor again, and received the pardon of the Valar; and Finrod was set to rule the remnant of the Noldor in the Blessed Realm. But his sons went not with him; for Inglor and Orodreth would not forsake the sons of Fingolfin, nor Angrod and Egnor their friends Celegorn and Curufin; and all Fingolfin's folk went forward still, being constrained by the will of Fëanor and fearing also to face the doom of the Gods, since not all of them had been guiltless of the kinslaying at Alqualondë. Then all too swiftly the evil that was foretold began its work.

§73 The Gnomes came at last far to the North, and saw the first teeth of the ice that floated in the sea. They began to suffer anguish from the cold. Then many of them murmured, especially those that followed Fingolfin, and some began to curse Fëanor and name him as the cause of all the woes of the Eldar. But the ships were too few, many having been lost upon the way, to carry all across together, yet none were willing to abide upon the coast while others were transported; already fear of treachery was awake. Therefore it came into the heart of Fëanor and his sons to sail off on a sudden with all the ships, of which they had retained the mastery since the battle of the Haven; and they took with them

only such as were faithful to their house, among whom were Angrod and Egnor. As for the others, 'we will leave the murmurers to murmur', said Fëanor, 'or to whine their way back to the cages of the Valar.' Thus began the curse of the kinslaying. When Fëanor and his folk landed on the shores in the west of the northern regions of Middle-earth, they set fire in the ships and made a great burning, terrible and bright; and Fingolfin and his people saw the light of it afar off red beneath the clouds. They saw then they were betrayed, and left to perish in Eruman or return; and they wandered long in misery. But their valour and endurance grew with hardship, for they were a mighty folk, but new come from the Blessed Realm, and not yet weary with the weariness of the earth, and the fire of their minds and hearts was young. Therefore led by Fingolfin, and Fingon, Turgon, and Inglor, they ventured into the bitterest North; and finding no other way they dared at last the terror of the Grinding Ice. Few of the deeds of the Gnomes after surpassed the perilous crossing in hardihood or in woe. Many there perished miserably, and it was with lessened host that Fingolfin set foot at last upon the northern lands. Small love for Fëanor or his sons had those that marched at last behind him, and came unto Beleriand at the rising of the sun.

Commentary on Chapter 5

§60 Here first appears the story that Fëanor went to the festival, of which there is no suggestion in Q (IV. 92).

§62 Q has 'To his aid came the Orcs and Balrogs that lived yet in the lowest places of Angband', but Orcs are absent here in QS. Here and again in §105 *Utumno* is an early change from *Utumna*; see the commentary on §12. That the slightly ambiguous sentence 'he built anew . . .' means that he built Angband on the ruins of Utumno is seen from §105: 'Melko coming back into Middle-earth made the endless dungeons of Angband, the hells of iron, where of old Utumno had been.' See IV. 259–60.

In Q the passage about Morgoth's making of the Orcs, precursor of this in QS, is placed earlier (IV. 82), before the making of the stars and the awakening of the Elves; at the corresponding place in QS (§18) it is said that 'the Orcs were not made until he had looked upon the Elves.' In Q, at the place (IV. 93) corresponding to the present passage in QS, it is said that 'countless became the number of the hosts of his Orcs and demons' – i.e. the Orcs were already in existence before Morgoth's return (and so could come to his aid when they heard his cry); but there is a direction in Q at this point (IV. 93 note 8) to bring in the making of the Orcs here rather than earlier (the reason for this being

the idea that the Orcs were made 'in mockery of the Children of Ilúvatar').

§68 That Orodreth 'stood aside', taking the part neither of Finrod and Inglor nor of Angrod and Egnor and the Fëanorians, is a new element in the story; see under §73 below.

§70 The account in QS of the Battle of Alqualondë, and of Fëanor's calculations before it, is given a better progression and is substantially expanded from that in Q (IV. 95), while the concluding passage of §70, recounting the calling of the Teleri upon Ossë and the storm raised by Uinen, is altogether absent from the earlier versions.

§71 *Eruman* is not used of this region in Q (where the name is applied to the land where Men first awoke in the East, IV. 99, 171), but it is found in this sense in the *Ambarkanta* (IV. 239; also on the maps, IV. 249, 251).

Some elements in this version of the Prophecy of the North not in Q (IV. 96) are found in AV annal 2993 (virtually the same in both versions), as 'their oath should turn against them', and 'they should be slain with weapons, and with torments, and with sorrow'. On the other hand the AV version has an element not in QS, the prophecy that the Noldor should 'in the long end fade upon Middle-earth and wane before the younger race' (see IV. 171–2).

§73 In AV 2 annal 2994 the story still went that Orodreth, as well as Angrod and Egnor, were taken by the Fëanorians in the ships; but with the separation of Orodreth from Angrod and Egnor in QS, making him instead a close associate of his brother Inglor Felagund (§42), his name was struck from the annal (AV 2 note 10). It is notable here that Orodreth is not named among the leaders in the passage of the second host across the Grinding Ice. This is to be associated, I think, with his 'standing aside' during the dissensions before the Flight of the Noldor (see §68); suggestions of the decline in his significance which I have described in III. 91, 246.

In QS §91 the first sun is said to have risen as Fingolfin marched into Mithrim; thus 'Beleriand' is here used in a very extended sense (as also in AV annal 2995: 'Fëanor came unto Beleriand and the shores beneath Eredlómin', repeated in QS §88). Similarly the Battle-under-Stars, fought in Mithrim, was the First Battle of Beleriand. But in QS §108 Beleriand 'was bounded upon the North by Nivrost and Hithlum and Dorthonion'.

6 OF THE SUN AND MOON AND THE HIDING OF VALINOR

§74 When the Gods learned that the Noldor had fled, and were come at last back into Middle-earth, they were aroused from their grief, and took counsel for the redress of the injuries of the

world. And Manwë bade Yavanna to put forth all her power of growth and healing; and she put forth all her power upon the Trees, but it availed not to heal their mortal wounds. Yet even as the Valar listened in the gloom to her singing, Silpion bore at last upon a leafless bough one great silver bloom, and Laurelin a single golden fruit. These Yavanna took, and the Trees then died, and their lifeless stems stand yet in Valinor, a memorial of vanished joy. But the fruit and flower Yavanna gave to Aulë, and Manwë hallowed them, and Aulë and his folk made vessels to hold them and preserve their radiance, as is said in the song of the Sun and Moon. These vessels the Gods gave to Varda, that they might become lamps of heaven, outshining the ancient stars; and she gave them power to traverse the region of the stars, and set them to sail appointed courses above the earth. These things the Valar did, recalling in their twilight the darkness of the lands outside, and they resolved now to illumine Middle-earth, and with light to hinder the deeds of Melko; for they remembered the Dark-elves, and did not utterly forsake the exiled Gnomes; and Manwë knew that the hour of Men was drawing nigh.

§75 Isil the Sheen the Gods of old named the Moon in Valinor, and Úrin the Fiery they named the Sun; but the Eldar named them Răna, the wayward, the giver of visions, and Anar, the heart of flame, that awakens and consumes. For the Sun was set as a sign for the awakening of Men and the waning of the Elves; but the Moon cherishes their memory. The maiden chosen from among their own folk by the Valar to guide the ship of the Sun was named Arien; and the youth who steered the floating island of the Moon was Tilion.* In the days of the Trees Arien had tended the golden flowers in the gardens of Vana and watered them with the radiant dew of Laurelin. Tilion was a young hunter of the company of Oromë, and he had a silver bow. He loved Arien, but she was a holier spirit of greater power, and wished to be ever virgin and alone; and Tilion pursued her in vain. Tilion forsook then the woods of Oromë, and dwelt in the gardens of Lórien, sitting in dream beside the pools lit by the flickering light of Silpion.

§76 Răna was first wrought and made ready, and first rose into the region of the stars, and was the elder of the lights, as was Silpion of the Trees. Then for a while the world had moonlight,

Marginal note to the text: hyrned Æ.

and many creatures stirred and woke that had waited long in the dark; but many of the stars fled affrighted, and Tilion the bowman wandered from his path pursuing them; and some plunged in the chasm and sought refuge at the roots of the earth. The servants of Melko were amazed; and it is told that Fingolfin set foot upon the northern lands with the first moonrise, and the shadows of his host were long and black. Tilion had traversed the heaven seven times, and was thus in the furthest East when the ship of Arien was ready. Then Anar rose in glory and the snow upon the mountains glowed with fire, and there was the sound of many waterfalls; but the servants of Melko fled to Angband and cowered in fear, and Fingolfin unfurled his banners.

§77 Now Varda purposed that the two vessels should sail the sky and ever be aloft, but not together: each should journey from Valinor into the East and back, the one issuing from the West as the other turned from the East. Thus the first days were reckoned after the manner of the Trees from the mingling of the lights when Arien and Tilion passed above the middle of the earth. But Tilion was wayward and uncertain in speed, and held not to his appointed course; and at times he sought to tarry Arien, whom he loved, though the flame of Anar withered the sheen of Silpion's bloom, if he drew too nigh, and his vessel was scorched and darkened. Because of Tilion, therefore, and yet more because of the prayers of Lórien and Nienna, who said that all night and sleep and peace had been banished from the earth, Varda changed her design, and allowed a time wherein the world should still have shadow and half-light. The Sun rested, therefore, a while in Valinor, lying upon the cool bosom of the Outer Sea. So Evening, which is the time of the descent and resting of the Sun, is the hour of greatest light and joy in Valinor. But soon the Sun is drawn down into Vaiya by the servants of Ulmo, and brought in haste to the East, and mounts the sky again, lest night be overlong and evil strengthened. But the waters of Vaiya are made hot and glow with coloured fires, and Valinor has light for a while after the passing of Arien; yet as she goes under the earth and draws towards the East the glow fades and Valinor is dim, and the Gods mourn then most for the death of Laurelin. At dawn the shadows of their mountains of defence lie heavy on the land of the Valar.

§78 Varda commanded the Moon to rise only after the Sun had left heaven, but he travels with uncertain pace, and still pursueth her, so that at times they both are in the sky together, and still at times he draws nigh to her, and there is a darkness amid

the day. But Tilion tarries seldom in Valinor, loving rather the great lands; and mostly he passes swiftly over the western land, either Arvalin or Eruman or Valinor, and plunges into the chasm between the shores of the earth and the Outer Sea, and pursues his way alone among the grots at the roots of the earth. There sometimes he wanders long, and stars that have taken hiding there flee before him into the upper air. Yet it happens at times that he comes above Valinor while the Sun is still there, and he descends and meets his beloved, for they leave their vessels for a space; then there is great joy, and Valinor is filled with silver and gold, and the Gods laugh recalling the mingling of the light long ago, when Laurelin flowered and Silpion was in bud.

§79 Still therefore the light of Valinor is greater and fairer than upon Middle-earth, because the Sun resteth there, and the lights of heaven draw nearer to the land in that region; moreover the Valar store the radiance of the Sun in many vessels, and in vats and pools for their comfort in times of dark. But the light is not the light which came from the Trees before the poisoned lips of Ungoliantë touched them. That light lives now only in the Silmarils. Gods and Elves, therefore, look forward yet to a time when the Elder Sun and Moon, which are the Trees, may be rekindled and the ancient joy and glory return. Ulmo foretold to them that this would only come to pass through the aid, frail though it might seem, of the second race of earth, the Younger Children of Ilúvatar. But Manwë alone heeded his words at that time; for the Valar were still wroth because of the ingratitude of the Noldor, and the cruel slaying at the Haven of the Swans. Moreover all save Tulkas for a while were in doubt, fearing the might and cunning of Morgoth. Therefore at this time they fortified all Valinor anew, and set a sleepless watch upon the mountain-walls, which now they raised, east, north, and south, to sheer and dreadful height. Their outer sides were dark and smooth, without ledge or foothold for aught save birds, and fell in precipices with faces hard as glass; their tops were crowned with ice. No pass led through them save only at the Kalakilya wherein stood the mound of Kôr. This they could not close because of the Eldar who were faithful; for all those of Elvish race must breathe at whiles the outer air of Middle-earth, nor could they wholly sunder the Teleri from their kin. But the Eldar were set to guard that pass unceasingly: the fleet of the Teleri kept the shore, the remnant of the Gnomes dwelt ever in the deep cleft of the mountains, and upon the plain of Valmar, where the pass issues into Valinor, the Lindar were camped as

sentinels, that no bird nor beast nor Elf nor Man, nor any creature beside that came from Middle-earth could pass the leaguer.

§80 In that time, which songs call the Hiding of Valinor, the Enchanted Isles were set, and filled with shadows and bewilderment, and all the seas about were filled with shadows; and these isles were strung across the Shadowy Seas from north to south before Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle, is reached, sailing west; and hardly might any vessel come between them in the gloom or win through to the Bay of Elvenhome. For a great weariness comes upon mariners in that region, and a loathing of the sea; but all such as set foot upon those islands are there entrapped and wound in everlasting sleep. Thus it was that the many emissaries of the Gnomes in after days never came to Valinor – save one, the mightiest mariner of song or tale.

Commentary on Chapter 6

§74 In the extremely brief account in Q (IV. 97) there is no mention of Aulë as having played any part in the making of the Sun and Moon, and QS reverts in this to the original story in the *Lost Tales* (I. 185–6, 191–2).

Of the passage beginning 'These vessels the Gods gave to Varda' there is only a trace in Q. Varda appears as the deviser of the motions of the Sun and Moon in the *Ambarkanta* (IV. 236).

§75 In Q the Moon is called *Rána* (without translation), and this name is said to have been given by the Gods (so also in the *Lost Tales*, I. 192). In QS the Gods' name is *Isil* 'the Sheen' (cf. the Elves' name *Sil* 'the Rose' in the *Lost Tales*, *ibid.*) and *Răna* 'the wayward' that of the Eldar. – In Q the name of the Sun, given by the Gods, is *Ûr* (in the *Lost Tales*, I. 187, this was the Elvish name, meaning 'fire'; the Gods called the Sun *Sári*). In QS the Gods' name is *Úrin* 'the Fiery', and the Eldarin name *Anar*. – In *The Lost Road* (p. 41) the names of the Sun and Moon that 'came through' to Alboin Errol were *Anar* and *Isil* (and also *Anor* and *Ithil* in 'Beleriandic' – which presumably here means Exilic Noldorin: see the *Etymologies*, stems ANÁR and SIL).

Almost the same words of the Sun and Moon in relation to Men and Elves are used in AV 2 (annal 2998–3000 and commentary).

In Q the Sun-maiden was named *Úrien*, emended throughout to *Árien*. As QS was first written the name was still spelt *Árien*, but changed throughout to *Ărien*, *Arien*. This seems to have been a very early change and I therefore read *Arien* in the text.

On 'the floating island of the Moon' see IV. 171. The marginal gloss by Ælfwine (see the preamble to QS on p. 201) is certainly contemporary with the writing of the manuscript. Old English *hyrned* 'horned'; cf. the *Etymologies*, stem TIL.

From 'He loved Arien, but she was a holier spirit of greater power' to the end of §76 there is nothing corresponding in Q, except the reference (IV. 97) to Tilion's pursuit of the stars. In Q Tilion is rather the rival of Arien, as was Ilinsor in the *Lost Tales* (I. 195); but cf. the *Ambarkanta* (where Arien and Tilion are not referred to): 'it happens at times that he [the Moon] comes above Valinor ere the Sun has left it, and then he descends and meets his beloved' (IV. 237) – a passage closely echoed in QS §78.

§76 'plunged in the chasm': the Chasm of Ilmen (see the *Ambarkanta*, IV. 236). – This is the first appearance of the image of the long shadows cast by Fingolfin's host as the Moon rose in the West behind them. – In this sentence the word *amazed* is used in an archaic and much stronger sense: overwhelmed with wonder and fear.

§77 'his vessel was scorched and darkened': no explanation is offered in Q for the markings on the Moon (for the old story concerning this see I. 191, 194). It is said in the *Ambarkanta* that the Moon 'pursues ever after the Sun, and overtakes her seldom, and then is consumed and darkened in her flame.'

§§77–8 While a great deal of the description of the motions of the Sun and Moon in these paragraphs is not found in Q, a passage in the *Ambarkanta* (IV. 237), while briefer and without any reference to the change in the divine plan, corresponds quite closely to QS in many features. The QS account introduces an explanation of solar eclipses ('still at times he draws nigh to her, and there is a darkness amid the day'), and of meteors ('stars that have taken hiding there flee before him into the upper air') – cf. the old conception in the *Lost Tales*, I. 216.

§79 The storing of the light of the Sun in vats and pools in Valinor reflects an idea found long before in Kulullin, the great cauldron of golden light in Valinor: the Gods gathered that light 'in the great vat Kulullin to the great increase of its fountains, or in other bright basons and wide pools about their courts, for the health and glory of its radiance was very great' (I. 181). Afterwards the idea emerged again in relation to the Two Trees: 'the dews of Telperion and the rain that fell from Laurelin Varda hoarded in great vats like shining lakes, that were to all the land of the Valar as wells of water and of light' (*The Silmarillion* p. 39).

The passage beginning 'Gods and Elves, therefore, look forward yet . . .' has survived through S and Q from the earliest conceptions. In the phrase 'the Elder Sun and Moon' the word 'Elder' is written over an erasure, and the obliterated word was certainly 'Magic' – the last occurrence of the old 'Magic Sun'. On the mysterious foretelling of Ulmo see IV. 50.

The account of the raising of the mountain-wall and the reason for not closing the Pass of Kôr is much enlarged from the corresponding passage in Q.

It will be seen that at the time when my father began *The Lord of the Rings* the conceptions of the *Ambarkanta* were still fully in being, and that the story of the making of the Sun and Moon from the last fruit and the last flower of the dying Trees was still quite unshadowed by doubt of its propriety in the whole structure of the mythology.

7 OF MEN

§81 The Valar sat now behind the mountains and feasted, and all save Manwë and Ulmo dismissed the exiled Noldor from their thought; and having given light to Middle-earth they left it for long untended, and the lordship of Morgoth was uncontested save by the valour of the Gnomes. Most in mind Ulmo kept them, who gathered news of the earth through all the waters.

§82 At the first rising of the Sun above the earth the younger children of the world awoke in the land of Hildórien in the uttermost East of Middle-earth that lies beside the eastern sea; for measured time had come upon earth, and the first of days, and the long awaiting was at an end. Thereafter the vigour of the Quendi that remained in the inner lands was lessened, and their waning was begun; and the air of Middle-earth became heavy with the breath of growth and mortality. For there was great growth in that time beneath the new Sun, and the midmost lands of Middle-earth were clothed in a sudden riot of forest and they were rich with leaves, and life teemed upon the soil and in the waters. But the first sun arose in the West, and the opening eyes of Men were turned thitherward, and their feet as they wandered over earth for the most part strayed that way.

§83 Of Men* little is told in these tales, which concern the eldest days before the waxing of mortals and the waning of the Elves, save of those Fathers of Men who in the first years of Moonsheen and Sunlight wandered into the North of the world. To Hildórien there came no God to guide Men or to summon them to dwell in Valinor; and Men have feared the Valar, rather than loved them, and have not understood the purposes of the Powers, being at variance with them, and at strife with the world.

**Footnote to the text:* The Eldar called them Hildi, the followers; whence Hildórien, the place of the birth of the Hildi, is named. And many other names they gave to them: Engwar the sickly, and Fírimor the mortals; and named them the Usurpers, the Strangers, and the Inscrutable, the Self-cursed, the Heavyhanded, the Nightfearers, the Children of the Sun.

Ulmo nonetheless took thought for them, aiding the counsel and will of Manwë; and his messages came often to them by stream and flood. But they have not skill in such matters, and still less had they in those days ere they had mingled with the Elves. Therefore they loved the waters, and their hearts were stirred, but they understood not the messages. Yet it is told that ere long they met the Dark-elves in many places, and were befriended by them. And the Dark-elves taught them speech, and many other things; and Men became the companions and disciples in their childhood of these ancient folk, wanderers of the Elf-race who had never found the paths to Valinor, and knew of the Valar but as a rumour and a distant name.

§84 Not long had Morgoth then come back into the Middle-earth, and his power went not far abroad, and was moreover checked by the sudden coming of great light. There was little peril, therefore, in the lands and hills; and there new things, fair and fresh, devised long ages before in the thought of Yavanna, and sown as seed in the dark, came at last to their budding and their bloom. West, north, and south the children of Men spread and wandered, and their joy was the joy of the morning before the dew is dry, when every leaf is green.

§85 But the dawn is brief and day full often belies its promise; and now time drew on to the great wars of the powers of the North, when Gnomes and Dark-elves and Men strove against the hosts of Morgoth Bauglir, and went down in ruin. To this end the cunning lies of Morgoth that he sowed of old, and sowed ever anew among his foes, and the curse that came of the slaying at Alqualondë, and the oath of Fëanor, were ever at work: the greatest injury they did to Elves and Men. Only a part is here told of the deeds of those days, and most is said of the Gnomes, and the Silmarils, and the mortals that became entangled in their fate. In those days Elves and Men were of like stature and strength of body; but Elves were blessed with greater wit, and skill, and beauty; and those who had dwelt in Valinor and looked upon the Gods as much surpassed the Dark-elves in these things as they in turn surpassed the people of mortal race. Only in the realm of Doriath, whose queen Melian was of divine race, did the Ilkorins come near to match the Elves of Kôr. Immortal were the Elves, and their wisdom waxed from age to age, and no sickness nor pestilence brought death to them. Yet their bodies were of the stuff of earth and could be destroyed, and in those days they were more like to the bodies of Men, and to the earth, since they had not so long been inhabited by the fire of the

spirit, which consumeth them from within in the courses of time. Therefore they could perish in the tumults of the world, and stone and water had power over them, and they could be slain with weapons in those days, even by mortal Men. And outside Valinor they tasted bitter grief, and some wasted and waned with sorrow, until they faded from the earth. Such was the measure of their mortality foretold in the Doom of Mandos spoken in Eruman. But if they were slain or wasted with grief, they died not from the earth, and their spirits went back to the halls of Mandos, and there waited, days or years, even a thousand, according to the will of Mandos and their deserts. Thence they are recalled at length to freedom, either as spirits, taking form according to their own thought, as the lesser folk of the divine race; or else, it is said, they are at times re-born into their own children, and the ancient wisdom of their race does not perish or grow less.

§86 More frail were Men, more easily slain by weapons or mischance, and less easily healed; subject to sickness and many ills; and they grew old and died. What befell their spirits after death the Elves know not. Some say that they too go to the halls of Mandos; but their place of waiting there is not that of the Elves; and Mandos under Ilúvatar alone save Manwë knows whither they go after the time of recollection in those silent halls beside the Western Sea. They are not reborn on earth, and none have ever come back from the mansions of the dead, save only Beren son of Barahir, whose hand had touched a Silmaril; but he never spoke afterward to mortal Men. The fate of Men after death, maybe, is not in the hands of the Valar, nor was all foretold in the Music of the Ainur.

§87 In after days, when because of the triumph of Morgoth Elves and Men became estranged, as he most wished, those of the Elf-race that lived still in the Middle-earth waned and faded, and Men usurped the sunlight. Then the Quendi wandered in the lonelier places of the great lands and the isles, and took to the moonlight and the starlight, and to the woods and caves, becoming as shadows and memories, such as did not ever and anon set sail into the West, and vanished from the earth, as is here later told. But in the dawn of years Elves and Men were allies and held themselves akin, and there were some among Men that learned the wisdom of the Eldar, and became great and valiant and renowned among the captains of the Gnomes. And in the glory and beauty of the Elves, and in their fate, full share had the fair offspring of Elf and Mortal, Eärendel and Elwing, and Elrond their child.

Commentary on Chapter 7

§82 *Hildórien* as the name of the land where Men awoke (replacing *Eruman* of Q) has appeared in the *Ambarkanta*: between the Mountains of the Wind and the Eastern Sea (IV. 239). The name was written into AV 2 (note 13): 'Hildórien in the midmost regions of the world' – whereas in QS it lay 'in the uttermost East of Middle-earth'. There is here only an appearance of contradiction, I think. Hildórien was in the furthest east of *Middle-earth*, but it was in the middle regions of the world; see *Ambarkanta* map IV, on which Hildórien is marked (IV. 249). – My note in IV. 257 that the name *Hildórien* implies *Hildor* needs correction: the footnote to the text in §83 shows that the form at this time was *Hildi* (cf. also the *Etymologies*, stem KHIL).

§83 The footnote on Elvish names for Men belongs with the original writing of the manuscript.

§85 There are some important differences in the passage concerning the fate of the Elves from that in Q (IV. 100) on which this is based. Q has nothing corresponding to the statement that Elvish bodies were then more like mortal bodies, more terrestrial, less 'consumed' by 'the fire of their spirit', than they afterwards became. Nor is there in Q the reference to the Doom of Mandos – which in any case does not in Q refer to the subject of Elvish mortality. This first appears in the account of the Doom in AV (annal 2993), where the phrase 'a measure of mortality should visit them' is used, echoed here in QS: 'Such was the measure of their mortality foretold in the Doom of Mandos'; see IV. 278–9. Another, and remarkable, development lies in the idea of the Elves, returning at length out of Mandos, 'taking form according to their thought, as the lesser folk of the divine race' (i.e. no longer as corporeal beings, but as spirits that could 'clothe' themselves in a perceptible form).

§86 The 'Western Sea' is here the Outer Sea, Vaiya. This may well be no more than a slip, for Q has 'his wide halls *beyond* the western sea'; my father corrected it at some later time to 'Outer Sea'.

§87 With 'the great lands and the isles' cf. Q (IV. 162): 'the great isles, which in the disruption of the Northern world were fashioned of ancient Beleriand' (retained in QS, p. 331, §26).

It is clear from the last sentence of the chapter that at this time Elros had not yet emerged, as he had not in *The Fall of Númenor* and *The Lost Road* (pp. 30, 74); on the other hand, he is present in the concluding portion of QS, p. 332, §28.

8 OF THE SIEGE OF ANGBAND

§88 Before the rising of the Moon Fëanor and his sons marched into the North; they landed on the northern shores of

Beleriand beneath the feet of Ered-lómin, the Echoing Mountains, at that place which is called Drengist. Thence they came into the land of Dor-lómen and about the north of the Mountains of Mithrim, and camped in Hithlum, the realm of mist, in that region that is named Mithrim, north of the great lake that has the same name. There a host of Orcs, aroused by the light of the burning ships, and the rumour of their march, came down upon them, and there was fought the first battle upon Middle-earth; and it is renowned in song, for the Gnomes were victorious, and drove away the Orcs with great slaughter, and pursued them beyond Eredwethion into the plain of Bladorion. This was the first battle of Beleriand, and is called the Battle-under-Stars.* Great was the valour of Fëanor and his sons, and the Orcs ever feared and hated them after; yet woe soon followed upon triumph. For Fëanor advanced unwarily upon Bladorion, pursuing the Orcs northward, and he was surrounded, when his own folk were far behind, but the Balrogs in the rearguard of Morgoth turned suddenly to bay. Fëanor fought undismayed, but he was wrapped in fire, and fell at length wounded mortally by the hand of Gothmog, lord of Balrogs, whom Ecthelion after slew in Gondolin. But his sons coming rescued him and bore him back to Mithrim. There he died, but was not buried; for so fiery was his spirit that his body fell to ash as his spirit sped; and it has never again appeared upon earth nor left the realm of Mandos. And Fëanor with his last sight saw afar the peaks of Thangorodrim, greatest of the hills of Middle-earth, that towered above the fortress of Morgoth; and he cursed the name of Morgoth thrice, and he laid it on his sons never to treat or parley with their foe.

§89 Yet even in the hour of his death an embassy came to them from Morgoth, acknowledging defeat, and offering terms, even to the surrender of a Silmaril. Then Maidros the tall, the eldest son, persuaded the Gnomes to feign to treat with Morgoth, and to meet his emissaries at the place appointed; but the Gnomes had as little thought of faith as had Morgoth. Wherefore each embassy came with greater force than was agreed, but Morgoth sent the greater and they were Balrogs. Maidros was ambushed, and all his company was slain, but he himself was taken alive by the command of Morgoth, and brought to Angband and tortured.

§90 Then the six brethren of Maidros drew back and fortified a great camp in Hithlum; but Morgoth held Maidros as hostage,

*_Marginal note to the text:_ Dagor-nui-Ngiliath.

and sent word to Maglor that he would only release his brother if the Noldor would forsake their war, returning either to Valinor, or else departing from Beleriand and marching to the South of the world. But the Gnomes could not return to Valinor, having burned the ships, and they did not believe that Morgoth would release Maidros if they departed; and they were unwilling to depart, whatever he might do. Therefore Morgoth hung Maidros from the face of a precipice upon Thangorodrim, and he was caught to the rock by the wrist of his right hand in a band of steel.

§91 Now rumour came to the camp in Hithlum of the march of Fingolfin and his sons, and Inglor the son of Finrod, who had crossed the Grinding Ice. And all the world lay then in new wonder at the coming of the Moon; for even as the Moon first rose Fingolfin set foot upon Middle-earth, and the Orcs were filled with amazement. But even as the host of Fingolfin marched into Mithrim the Sun rose flaming in the West; and Fingolfin unfurled his blue and silver banners, and blew his horns, and flowers sprang beneath his marching feet. For a time of opening and growth, sudden, swift, and fair, was come into the world, and good was made of evil, as happens still. Then the Orcs dismayed at the uprising of the great light fled unto Angband, and Morgoth was afraid, pondering long in wrathful thought. But Fingolfin marched through the fastness of the realm of Morgoth, that is Dor-Daedeloth, the Land of Dread, and his foes hid beneath the earth; but the Elves smote upon the gates of Angband, and the challenge of their trumpets shook the towers of Thangorodrim.

§92 But Fingolfin doubted the wiles of Morgoth, and he withdrew from the doors of hell, and turned back unto Mithrim, so that Eredwethion, the Shadow Mountains, might shelter his folk while they rested. But there was little love between those that followed Fingolfin and the house of Fëanor; for the agony of those that had endured the crossing of the ice had been great, and their hearts were filled with bitterness. The numbers of the host of Tûn had been diminished upon that grievous road, but yet was the army of Fingolfin greater than that of the sons of Fëanor. These therefore removed and camped upon the southern shore of Mithrim, and the lake lay between the peoples. In this the work of the curse was seen, for the delay wrought by their feud did great harm to the fortunes of all the Noldor. They achieved nothing while Morgoth hesitated and the dread of light was new and strong upon the Orcs.

§93 Then Morgoth arose from thought, and seeing the

division of his foes he laughed. And he let make vast vapours and great smoke in the vaults of Angband, and they were sent forth from the reeking tops of the Iron Mountains, and afar off these could be seen in Hithlum, staining the bright airs of those earliest of mornings. The North shook with the thunder of Morgoth's forges under ground. A wind came, and the vapours were borne far and wide, and they fell and coiled about the fields and hollows, dark and poisonous.

§94 Then Fingon the valiant resolved to heal the feud. Of all the children of Finwë he is justly most renowned: for his valour was as a fire and yet as steadfast as the hills of stone; wise he was and skilled in voice and hand; troth and justice he loved and bore good will to all, both Elves and Men, hating Morgoth only; he sought not his own, neither power nor glory, and death was his reward. Alone now, without counsel of any, he went in search of Maidros, for the thought of his torment troubled his heart. Aided by the very mists that Morgoth put abroad, he ventured unseen into the fastness of his enemies. High upon the shoulders of Thangorodrim he climbed, and looked in despair upon the desolation of the land. But no passage nor crevice could he find through which he might come within Morgoth's stronghold. Therefore in defiance of the Orcs, who cowered still in the dark vaults beneath the earth, he took his harp and played a fair song of Valinor that the Gnomes had made of old, ere strife was born among the sons of Finwë; and his voice, strong and sweet, rang in the mournful hollows that had never heard before aught save cries of fear and woe.

§95 Thus he found what he sought. For suddenly above him far and faint his song was taken up, and a voice answering called to him. Maidros it was that sang amid his torment. But Fingon climbed to the foot of the precipice where his kinsman hung, and then could go no further; and he wept when he saw the cruel device of Morgoth. Maidros, therefore, being in anguish without hope, begged Fingon to shoot him with his bow; and Fingon strung an arrow, and bent his bow. And seeing no better hope he cried to Manwë, saying: 'O King to whom all birds are dear, speed now this feathered shaft, and recall some pity for the banished Gnomes!'

§96 Now his prayer was answered swiftly. For Manwë to whom all birds are dear, and to whom they bring news upon Taniquetil from Middle-earth, had sent forth the race of Eagles. Thorondor was their king. And Manwë commanded them to

dwell in the crags of the North, and keep watch upon Morgoth; for Manwë still had pity for the exiled Elves. And the Eagles brought news of much that passed in these days to the sad ears of Manwë; and they hindered the deeds of Morgoth. Now even as Fingon bent his bow, there flew down from the high airs Thorondor, King of Eagles; and he stayed Fingon's hand.

§97 Thorondor was the mightiest of all birds that have ever been. The span of his outstretched wings was thirty fathoms. His beak was of gold. He took up Fingon and bore him to the face of the rock where Maidros hung. But Fingon could not release the hell-wrought bond upon his wrist, nor sever it, nor draw it from the stone. Again, therefore, in his pain Maidros begged that he would slay him; but Fingon cut off his hand above the wrist, and Thorondor bore them both to Mithrim.

§98 There Maidros in time was healed; for the fire of life was hot within him, and his strength was of the ancient world, such as those possessed who were nurtured in Valinor. His body recovered from its torment and became hale, but the shadow of his pain was in his heart; and he lived to wield his sword with left hand more deadly than his right had been. By this deed Fingon won great renown, and all the Noldor praised him; and the feud was healed between Fingolfin and the sons of Fëanor. But Maidros begged forgiveness for the desertion in Eruman, and gave back the goods of Fingolfin that had been borne away in the ships; and he waived his claim to kingship over all the Gnomes. To this his brethren did not all in their hearts agree. Therefore the house of Fëanor were called the Dispossessed, because of the doom of the Gods which gave the kingdom of Tûn to Fingolfin, and because of the loss of the Silmarils. But there was now a peace and a truce to jealousy; yet still there held the binding oath.

§99 Now the Gnomes being reunited marched forth from the land of Hithlum and drove the servants of Morgoth before them, and they beleaguered Angband from west and south and east. And there followed long years of peace and happiness; for this was the age which songs name the Siege of Angband, and it lasted more than four hundred years of the Sun, while the swords of the Gnomes fenced the earth from the ruin of Morgoth, and his power was shut behind his gates. In those days there was joy beneath the new Sun and Moon, and there was birth and blossoming of many things; and the lands of the West of Middle-earth where now the Noldor dwelt became exceeding fair. And that region was named of old in the language of Doriath Beleriand, but after the coming

of the Noldor it was called also in the tongue of Valinor Ingolondë, the fair and sorrowful, the Kingdom of the Gnomes. And behind the guard of their armies in the North the Gnomes began now to wander far and wide over the land, and they built there many fair habitations, and established realms; for save in Doriath and in Ossiriand (of which more is after said) there were few folk there before them. These were Dark-elves of Telerian race, and the Noldor met them in gladness, and there was joyful meeting as between kinsfolk long sundered. And Fingolfin made a great feast, and it was held in the South far from the threat of Morgoth, in the Land of Willows beside the waters of Sirion. The joy of that feast was long remembered in later days of sorrow; and it was called Mereth Aderthad, the Feast of Reuniting, and it was held in spring. Thither came all of the three houses of the Gnomes that could be spared from the northern guard; and great number of the Dark-elves, both the wanderers of the woods, and the folk of the havens from the land of the Falas; and many also came of the Green-elves from Ossiriand, the Land of Seven Rivers, afar off under the walls of the Blue Mountains. And from Doriath there came ambassadors, though Thingol came not himself, and he would not open his kingdom, nor remove its girdle of enchantment; for wise with the wisdom of Melian he trusted not that the restraint of Morgoth would last for ever. But the hearts of the Gnomes were high and full of hope, and it seemed to many of them that the words of Fëanor had been justified, bidding them seek freedom and fair kingdoms in Middle-earth.

§100 But on a time Turgon left Nivrost where he dwelt and went to visit Inglor his friend, and they journeyed southward along Sirion, being weary for a while of the northern mountains; and as they journeyed night came upon them beyond the Meres of Twilight beside the waters of Sirion, and they slept upon his banks beneath the summer stars. But Ulmo coming up the river laid a profound sleep upon them and heavy dreams; and the trouble of the dreams remained after they awoke, but neither said aught to the other, for their memory was not clear, and each deemed that Ulmo had sent a message to him alone. But unquiet was upon them ever after and doubt of what should befall, and they wandered often alone in unexplored country, seeking far and wide for places of hidden strength; for it seemed to each that he was bidden to prepare for a day of evil, and to establish a retreat, lest Morgoth should burst from Angband and overthrow the armies of the North.

§101 Thus it came to pass that Inglor found the deep gorge of Narog and the caves in its western side; and he built there a stronghold and armouries after the fashion of the deep mansions of Menegroth. And he called this place Nargothrond, and made there his home with many of his folk; and the Gnomes of the North, at first in merriment, called him on this account Felagund, or Lord of Caverns, and that name he bore thereafter until his end. But Turgon went alone into hidden places, and by the guidance of Ulmo found the secret vale of Gondolin; and of this he said nought as yet, but returned to Nivrost and his folk.

§102 And even while Turgon and Felagund were wandering abroad, Morgoth seeing that many Gnomes were dispersed over the land made trial of their strength and watchfulness. He shook the North with sudden earthquake, and fire came from the Iron Mountains; and the Orcs poured forth across the plain of Bladorion, and invaded Beleriand through the pass of Sirion in the West, and burst through the land of Maglor in the East; for there is a gap in that region between the hills of Maidros and the outliers of the Blue Mountains. But Fingolfin and Maidros gathered great force, and while others sought out and destroyed all the Orcs that strayed in Beleriand and did great evil, they came upon the main host from the other side, even as it was assaulting Dorthonion, and they defeated the servants of Morgoth, and pursued the remnant across Bladorion, and destroyed them utterly within sight of Angband's gates. This was the second great battle of these wars and was named Dagor Aglareb, the Glorious Battle; and for a long while after none of the servants of Morgoth would venture from his gates; for they feared the kings of the Gnomes. And many reckoned from that day the peace of the Siege of Angband. For the chieftains took warning from that assault and drew their leaguer closer, and set such watch upon Angband that Fingolfin boasted Morgoth could never again escape nor come upon them unawares.

§103 Yet the Gnomes could not capture Angband, nor could they regain the Silmarils; and the stronghold of Morgoth was never wholly encircled. For the Iron Mountains, from the southernmost point of whose great curving wall the towers of Thangorodrim were thrust forward, defended it upon either side, and were impassable to the Gnomes, because of their snow and ice. Thus in his rear and to the North Morgoth had no foes, and by that way his spies at times went out and came by devious routes into Beleriand. And the Orcs multiplied again in the bowels of the earth, and Morgoth began after a time to forge in secret new

weapons for the destruction of his enemies. But only twice in all the years of the Siege did he give sign of his purpose. When nearly a hundred years had run since the Second Battle, he sent forth an army to essay the northern ways; and they passed into the white North. Many there perished, but the others turning west round the outer end of the Iron Mountains reached the shores of the sea, and came south along the coast by the route which Fingolfin followed from the Grinding Ice. Thus they endeavoured to invade Hithlum from the rear. But Fingon fell upon them by the firth of Drengist, and drove them into the sea, and none returned to Morgoth. This was not reckoned among the great battles, for the Orcs were not in great number, and only part of the folk of Hithlum fought there.

§104 Again after a hundred years Glómund, the first of Dragons, issued at night from the gates of Angband, by the command of Morgoth; for he was unwilling, being yet young and but half-grown. But the Elves fled before him in dismay, and abandoned the fields of Bladorion, and Glómund defiled them. But Fingon, prince of Gnomes, rode up against him with horsed archers; and Glómund could not withstand their darts, being not yet come to his full armoury, and he fled back to hell. And Fingon won great praise, and the Gnomes rejoiced; for few foresaw the full meaning and threat of this new thing. But they had not seen the last of Glómund.

Commentary on Chapter 8

§88 In the opening passage my father was closely following AV annal 2995 (virtually the same in the two versions). The account of the Battle-under-Stars, placing it in Mithrim, followed by pursuit of the Orcs into the plain of Bladorion, likewise derives from AV; in Q the battle was fought on the (still unnamed) plain itself. Comparison of the texts will show that in the story of the pursuit of the Orcs and the mortal wounding of Fëanor he had both Q and AV in front of him when he wrote it. I shall not point further to the way in which he used Q and AV, and then AB, in this chapter (while at the same time introducing new narrative elements), for these interrelations are readily traced.

The marginal note *Dagor-nui-Ngiliath* is contemporary with the writing of the manuscript. The earlier form *Dagor-os-Giliath* was corrected to *Dagor-nuin-Giliath* in AV 2 (note 12) and AB 2 (note 3).

Fëanor's death and fate as described here may be compared with what is said in §85; the meaning is no doubt that Fëanor was never reborn, nor ever left Mandos in the manner described in the earlier

passage. – His cursing of the name of Morgoth as he died was transferred, or extended, from Tûrin (IV. 172), who did the same after the death of Beleg in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*; but in the Lay Túrin cursed Morgoth thrice, as is not said of Fëanor in Q, and 'thrice' now reappears.

§89 The words 'and they were Balrogs', deriving from Q, show that at this time Balrogs were still conceived to exist in large numbers (see IV. 173); so also 'a host of Balrogs' in §143, and 'Balrogs one thousand' in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears (p. 310 §15).

§91 *Dor-Daedeloth* was altered from *Dor-Daideloth*; this looks to be an early change (the same in AV 2, note 14).

§92 It is not said in the earlier sources that Fingolfin's host remained the greater.

§93 'The North shook with the thunder of Morgoth's forges under ground' reappears from S (IV. 22): 'The North shakes with the thunder under the earth'; it is not found in Q, nor in AB.

§§96–7 *Thorondor* was an early change from *Thorndor*; but *Thorondor* appears later in QS (§147) as the manuscript was originally written.

§98 Maidros' asking of forgiveness for the desertion in Eruman, his returning of the goods of Fingolfin, the waiving of his claim to the kingship, and the secret disavowal of this among his brothers, are all new elements in the narrative (see IV. 173).

§99 The entire passage that in Q (§9) follows 'beleaguered Angband from west and south and east', concerning the dispositions of the Noldorin lords in Middle-earth and their relations with the Dwarves, is omitted here in QS, where the text now jumps on to IV. 104, 'This was the time that songs call the Siege of Angband'; similarly no use is made here of the long passage in AB on this subject (annal 52). The reason for this is the introduction of the new chapter (9) in QS, *Of Beleriand and its Realms*.

In 'it lasted more than four hundred years of the Sun' the word 'four' was an early emendation over an erased word, obviously 'two'; see the note on chronology at the end of this commentary.

With the statement that Beleriand was a Doriathrin name cf. the passage added at the end of the *Lhammas* (§11): 'from Beleriandic is the name *Balar*, and *Beleriand*'. In an addition to Q (IV. 107 note 2) *Beleriand* was said to be Gnomish; and in the same place occurs *Ingolondë the fair and sorrowful*: see IV. 174 and the *Etymologies*, stem ÑGOLOD.

With 'Dark-elves of Telerian race' cf. the earlier passage in QS (§30): 'The Lembi were for the most part of the race of the Teleri, and the chief of these were the Elves of Beleriand.'

§100 This is the first occurrence (other than in corrections to AB 2) of the name *Nivrost* (later *Nevrast*). It was in fact written *Nivros*, here and subsequently, but the final *t* was added carefully in each case, clearly soon after the writing of the manuscript (so also in the annal for

the year 64 added in to AB 2, note 8; *Nivrost* in the *Etymologies*, stems NIB and ROS[2]).

The story of the discovery of Nargothrond by Inglor and of Gondolin by Turgon derives from AB (annal 50), but it is not said there that they journeyed together and slept by Sirion, that the foreboding dreams were laid on them by Ulmo, or that neither spoke to the other of his dream.

§101 Though *Felagund* has several times been rendered 'Lord of Caves' or 'Lord of Caverns', it has not been said that it was at first a laughing nickname given to him by the Noldor.

On the date of Turgon's actual departure to Gondolin see the note on chronology at the end of this commentary.

§102 QS adds to the account of the Dagor Aglareb in AB 2, annal 51: the Orc-hosts came through the Pass of Sirion and through Maglor's Gap (see the commentary on AB 2 annal 52), and Fingolfin and Maidros defeated the main host as it was assaulting Dorthonion. Here and subsequently the form first written was *Dorthanion*, but the change to *Dorthonion* was made early. For the many forms preceding *Dorthonion* see note 9 to AB 2.

§103 On the relation of Angband to Thangorodrim and the Iron Mountains see the commentary on the *Ambarkanta*, IV. 260, where I noted that 'Thangorodrim is shown on map V as a point, set slightly out from the Iron Mountains.' See also the beginning of Chapter 9 in QS (§105).

In 'When nearly a hundred years had run since the Second Battle', 'a hundred' was an early emendation from 'fifty'; see the note on chronology below.

On the route of the Orc-army that left Angband by the unguarded northern exit (described also in AB 2, annal 105) see the note on the northern geography, pp. 270–2.

§104 Here again (as in §103) 'a hundred' was an early change from 'fifty'; see the note on chronology below.

It is not said in AB 2 (annal 155) either that Glómund's first issuing from Angband was by Morgoth's command, or that he was unwilling to venture forth.

Note on the chronology

This is a convenient place to discuss the chronology of the years of the Siege of Angband in chapters 8 to 10.

In the chronology of AB 2 as originally written the Siege of Angband lasted a little more than two hundred years; and important dates for the present purpose are:

50 Turgon discovered Gondolin
51 Dagor Aglareb and the beginning of the Siege of Angband
52 Turgon departed to Gondolin
105 Orc-raid down the west coast

155 First emergence of Glómund
255 Battle of Sudden Fire and the end of the Siege

By corrections to the manuscript of AB 2 (given in parentheses in that text) these dates were changed as follows:

(50 Turgon discovered Gondolin; unchanged)
60 Dagor Aglareb and the beginning of the Siege of Angband
64 Turgon departed to Gondolin (additional annal, given in note 8 to AB 2)
155 Orc-raid down the west coast
260 First emergence of Glómund
455 Battle of Sudden Fire and the end of the Siege

Thus the Siege lasted nearly four hundred years; on this final extension of the chronology of the first centuries of the Sun, reaching that in the published *Silmarillion*, see IV. 319–20.

The dates in QS before emendation were:

- The Siege of Angband 'lasted more than two hundred years' (§99);
- The western Orc-raid took place 'nearly fifty years' after the Dagor Aglareb (§103) – which does not perfectly agree with the earlier chronology of the *Annals*, where 54 years elapsed between the two events);
- Glómund's first emergence from Angband was 'again after fifty years' (§104).

These dates were all emended at an early stage, to give 'more than four hundred years' for the Siege, 'nearly a hundred years' from the Dagor Aglareb to the Orc-raid, and a further hundred years to Glómund's coming forth. This agrees, if not quite precisely, with the revised chronology in AB 2 (i.e. 60 to 455; 60 to 155; and 155 to 260).

In QS chapter 10 the new chronology was already in being as the manuscript was written; thus in §125 the Orc-raid that ended at Drengist is stated to have occurred in 155, and this was 105 years before the appearance of Glómund; and after that, i.e. from the year 260, there were 'well nigh two hundred years' of peace, i.e. till the Battle of Sudden Fire in 455. Here also it is said that the encounter of the Noldor with the Dwarves in the Blue Mountains took place about the time of the Orc-raid, agreeing with the altered dating in AB 2, where the meeting with the Dwarves, first given in the year 104, was changed to 154.

In QS therefore, though the date of Turgon's departure to Gondolin is not precisely indicated, he left Nivrost in 64, 'a few years' (§116) after the Second Battle, as in AB 2 revised.

9 OF BELERIAND AND ITS REALMS

§105 This is the fashion of the lands into which the Gnomes came, in the North of the western regions of Middle-earth, in the ancient days. In the North of the world Melko reared Ered-engrin

the Iron Mountains; and they stood upon the regions of everlasting cold, in a great curve from East to West, but falling short of the sea upon either side. These Melko built in the elder days as a fence to his citadel, Utumno, and this lay at the western end of his northern realm. In the war of the Gods the mountains of Melko were broken and distorted in the West, and of their fragments were made Eredwethion and Eredlómin; but the Iron Mountains bent back northward and there was a hundred leagues between them and the frozen straits at Helkaraksë. Behind their walls Melko coming back into Middle-earth made the endless dungeons of Angband, the hells of iron, where of old Utumno had been. But he made a great tunnel under them, which issued south of the mountains; and there he made a mighty gate. But above this gate, and behind it even to the mountains, he piled the thunderous towers of Thangorodrim; and these were made of the ash and slag of his subterranean furnaces, and the vast refuse of his tunnellings. They were black and desolate and exceedingly lofty; and smoke issued from their tops, dark and foul upon the northern sky. Before the gates of Angband filth and desolation spread southward for many miles. There lay the wide plain of Bladorion. But after the coming of the Sun rich grass grew there, and while Angband was besieged and its gates shut, there were green things even among the pits and broken rocks before the doors of hell.

§106 To the West of Thangorodrim lay Hithlum, the land of mist, for so it was named by the Gnomes because of the clouds that Morgoth sent thither during their first encampment; and it became a fair land while the Siege lasted, although its air was cool and winter there was cold. It was bounded in the West by Eredlómin, the Echoing Mountains that march near the sea; and in the East and South by the great curve of Eredwethion, the Shadowy Mountains that looked across Bladorion, and across the vale of Sirion. In the East that corner which lay between Eredwethion and the Mountains of Mithrim was called the land of Mithrim, and most of Fingolfin's folk dwelt there about the shores of the great lake. West of Mithrim lay Dor-lómen, and was assigned to Fingon son of Fingolfin. West again lay Nivrost* beyond the Echoing Mountains, which below the Firth of Drengist marched inland. Here at first was the realm of Turgon, bounded by the sea, and Eredlómin, and the hills which continue

*_Marginal note to the text:_ Which is West Vale in the tongue of Doriath.

the walls of Eredwethion westward to the sea, from Ivrin to Mount Taras which standeth upon a promontory. And Nivrost was a pleasant land watered by the wet winds from the sea, and sheltered from the North, whereas the rest of Hithlum was open to the cold winds. To the East of Hithlum lay Bladorion, as has been said; and below that the great highland that the Gnomes first named Dorthonion.* This stretched for a hundred leagues from West to East and bore great pine forests, especially upon its northern and western sides. For it arose by gentle slopes from Bladorion to a bleak and lofty land, where lay many tarns at the feet of bare tors whose heads were higher than the peaks of Eredwethion. But southward where it looked towards Doriath it fell suddenly in dreadful precipices. Between Dorthonion and the Shadowy Mountains there was a narrow vale with sheer walls clad with pines; but the vale itself was green, for the river Sirion flowed through it, hastening towards Beleriand.

§107 Now the great and fair country of Beleriand lay on either side of this mighty river Sirion, renowned in song, which rose at Eithel Sirion in the east of Eredwethion, and skirted the edge of Bladorion, ere he plunged through the pass, becoming ever fuller with the streams of the mountains. Thence he flowed down south, one hundred and twenty-one leagues, gathering the waters of many tributaries, until with a mighty flood he reached his many mouths and sandy delta in the Bay of Balar. And the chief of the tributaries of Sirion were in the West: Taiglin, and Narog the mightiest; and in the East: Mindeb, and Esgalduin the enchanted river that flowed through the midst of Doriath; and Aros, with its tributary Celon, that flowed into Sirion at the Meres of Twilight upon the confines of Doriath.

§108 Thus Beleriand was bounded upon the North by Nivrost and Hithlum and Dorthonion; and beyond Dorthonion by the hills of Maidros, son of Fëanor; and upon the West it was bounded by the Great Sea; and upon the East by the towers of Eredlindon, the Blue Mountains, one of the chief ranges of the ancient world; and by Ossiriand between these mountains and the river Gelion. And in the South it was held by some to be bounded by Gelion, that turning westward sought the sea far beyond the mouths of Sirion. Beyond the river Gelion the land narrowed suddenly, for the Great Sea ran into a mighty gulf reaching almost to the feet of Eredlindon, and there was a strait of mountainous

*_Marginal note to the text:_ Ilkorin name.

land between the gulf and the inland sea of Helkar, by which one might come into the vast regions of the South of Middle-earth. But the land between the mouths of Sirion and Gelion was little visited by the Gnomes, a tangled forest in which no folk went save here and there a few Dark-elves wandering; and beyond Gelion the Gnomes seldom came, nor ever east of Eredlindon while that land lasted.

§109 Following Sirion from North to South there lay upon the right hand West Beleriand, at its widest seventy leagues from river to sea: first the Forest of Brethil between Sirion and Taiglin, and then the realm of Nargothrond, between Sirion and Narog. And the river Narog arose in the falls of Ivrin in the southern face of Dorlómen, and flowed some eighty leagues ere he joined Sirion in the Nan-tathren, the land of willows, south of Nargothrond. But the realm of Nargothrond extended also west of Narog, even to the sea, save only in the country of the Falas (or Coast), south of Nivrost. There dwelt the Dark-elves of the havens, Brithombar and Eglorest, and they were of ancient Telerian race; but they took Felagund, lord of Nargothrond, to be their king. And south of Nan-tathren was a region of fair meads filled with many flowers, where few folk dwelt; and beyond lay the marshes and isles of reeds about the mouths of Sirion, and the sands of his delta empty of all living things save birds of the sea.

§110 But upon the left hand of Sirion lay East Beleriand, at its widest a hundred leagues from Sirion to Gelion and the borders of Ossiriand: first the empty lands under the faces of the southern precipices of Dorthonion, Dimbar between Sirion and Mindeb, and Nan-dungorthin between Mindeb and the upper waters of Esgalduin; and these regions were filled with fear by the enchantments of Melian, as a defence of Doriath against the North, and after the fall of the Gnomes they became places of terror and evil. Beyond them to the East lay the north-marches of Beleriand, where the sons of Fëanor dwelt. Next southward lay the kingdom of Doriath; first its northern and lesser part, the Forest of Neldoreth, bounded east and south by the dark river Esgalduin, which bent westward in the midst of Doriath; and then the denser and greater woods of Region, between Esgalduin and Aros. And Menegroth the halls of Thingol were built upon the south bank of Esgalduin, where he turned westward; and all Doriath lay west of Sirion, save for a narrow region of woodland between the meeting of Taiglin and Sirion and the Meres of Twilight. And this wood which the folk of Doriath called Nivrim, or the West-march, was

very fair, and oak-trees of great beauty grew there; and it was included in the girdle of Melian, so that some portion of Sirion which she loved in reverence of Ulmo should be wholly under the power of Thingol.

§111 Beyond Doriath to the East lay wide woods between Celon and Gelion; here few folk dwelt, but Damrod and Díriel took it as their realm and hunting-ground; and beyond, between Gelion and the Blue Mountains, was the wide land of Thargelion,* where Cranthir dwelt of old. But in the southern corner of Doriath, where Aros flowed into Sirion, lay a region of great pools and marshes on either side of the river, which halted there in his course and strayed in many channels. This region the Elves of Doriath named Umboth Muilin,† the Twilight Meres, for there were many mists, and the enchantment of Doriath lay over them.

§112 For all the northern half of Beleriand sloped southward to this point and then for a while was plain, and the flood of Sirion was stayed. But south of Umboth Muilin the land again fell suddenly and steeply, though in no wise with so great a fall as in the North. Yet all the lower plain of Sirion was divided from the upper plain by this sudden fall, which looking North appeared as an endless chain of hills running from Eglorest beyond Narog in the West to Amon Ereb in the East, within far sight of Gelion. Narog came south through a deep gorge, and flowed over rapids but had no fall, and on its west bank the land rose into great wooded highlands, Taur-na-Faroth, which stretched far southward. On the west side of this gorge under Taur-na-Faroth, where the short and foaming stream Ingwil tumbles headlong from the highlands into Narog, Inglor established Nargothrond.

§113 But some seventy miles east of the gorge of Nargothrond Sirion fell from the North in a mighty fall below the meres, and then he plunged suddenly underground into great tunnels that the weight of his falling waters delved; and he issued again three leagues southward with great noise and smoke through rocky arches at the foot of the hills which were called the Gates of Sirion. But this dividing fall was named Andram, or the Long Wall, from Nargothrond to Ramdal, or Wall's End, in East Beleriand. And in the East the wall became ever less sheer, for the vale of Gelion sloped ever southward steadily, and Gelion had neither fall nor

*_Marginal note to the text:_ or Radhrost.

†_Footnote to the text:_ But the Gnomish names were Hithliniath the pools of mist or Aelin-uial Lakes of Twilight.

rapids throughout his course, but was ever swifter than was Sirion. But between Ramdal and Gelion there stood a single hill, of great extent and gentle slopes, but seeming loftier than it was, for it stood alone; and this hill was named Amon Ereb, and Maidros dwelt there after the great defeat. But until that time all the wide forests of East Beleriand south of Andram and between Sirion and Gelion were little inhabited, and the Gnomes came there seldom.

§114 And east of this wild land lay the country of Ossiriand, between Gelion and Eredlindon. Gelion was a great river, and it arose in two sources, and had at first two branches: Little Gelion that came from the hill of Himring, and Greater Gelion that came from Mount Rerir, an outlier of Eredlindon; and between these branches was the land of Maglor, son of Fëanor. Then joining his two arms Gelion flowed south, a swift river but of small volume, until he found his tributaries some forty leagues south of the meeting of his arms. Ere he found the sea Gelion was twice as long as Sirion, but ever less wide and full; for more rain fell in Hithlum and Dorthonion, whence Sirion drew his waters, than in the East. From Eredlindon flowed the tributaries of Gelion. These were six: Ascar (that was after renamed Rathlóriel), Thalos, Legolin, Brilthor, Duilwen, and Adurant; they were swift and turbulent, falling steeply from the mountains, but going southward each was longer than the one before, since Gelion bent ever away from Eredlindon. Between Ascar in the North and Adurant in the South, and between Gelion and the mountains, lay Ossiriand, the Land of Seven Rivers, filled with green woods wide and fair.

§115 There dwelt the Danian Elves, who in the beginning were of Gnomish race, but forsook the march from Kuiviénen, and came never to Valinor, and only after long wanderings came over the mountains in the dark ages; and some of their kindred dwelt still east of Eredlindon. Of old the lord of Ossiriand was Denethor, friend of Thingol; but he was slain in battle when he marched to the aid of Thingol against Melko, in the days when the Orcs were first made and broke the starlit peace of Beleriand. Thereafter Doriath was fenced with enchantment, and many of the folk of Denethor removed to Doriath and mingled with the Elves of Thingol; but those that remained in Ossiriand had no king, and lived in the protection of their rivers. For after Sirion Ulmo loved Gelion above all the waters of the western world. But the woodcraft of the Elves of Ossiriand was such that a stranger might pass through their land from end to end and see none of

them. They were clad mostly in green in spring and in summer, and hence were called the Green-elves; and they delighted in song, and the sound of their singing could be heard even across the waters of Gelion, as if all their land was filled with choirs of birds whose fair voices had taken thought and meaning.

§116 In this way the chieftains of the Gnomes held their lands and the leaguer upon Morgoth after his defeat in the Second Battle. Fingolfin and Fingon his son held Hithlum, and their chief fortress was at Eithel Sirion in the east of Eredwethion, whence they kept watch upon Bladorion; and their cavalry rode upon that plain even to the shadow of Thangorodrim, and their horses multiplied for the grass was good. Of those horses many of the sires came from Valinor. But Turgon the wise, second son of Fingolfin, held Nivrost until the Second Battle, and returned thither afterward, and his folk were numerous. But the unquiet of Ulmo increased upon him, and after a few years he arose and took with him a great host of Gnomes, even to a third of the people of Fingolfin, and their goods and wives and children, and departed eastward. His going was by night and his march swift and silent, and he vanished out of knowledge of his kindred. But he came to Gondolin, and built there a city like unto Tûn of Valinor, and fortified the surrounding hills; and Gondolin lay hidden for many years.

§117 The sons of Finrod held the northern march from the pass of Sirion between Hithlum and Dorthonion unto the eastern end of Dorthonion, where is the deep gorge of Aglon. And Inglor held the pass of Sirion, and built a great watchtower, Minnastirith, upon an isle in the midst of the river; but after the founding of Nargothrond this fortress he committed mostly to the keeping of his brother Orodreth. But Angrod and Egnor watched Bladorion from the northern slopes of Dorthonion; and their folk was not great for the land was barren, and the great highlands behind were deemed to be a bulwark that Morgoth would not lightly seek to cross.

§118 But east of Dorthonion the marches of Beleriand were more open to attack, and only hills of no great height guarded the vale of Gelion from the North. Therefore the sons of Fëanor with many folk, well nigh half of the people of the Gnomes, dwelt in that region, upon the Marches of Maidros, and in the lands behind; and the riders of the folk of Fëanor rode often upon the vast northern plain, Lothland the wide and empty, east of Bladorion, lest Morgoth attempted any sortie towards East

Beleriand. And the chief citadel of Maidros was upon the hill of Himring, the Ever-cold; and this was wide-shouldered, bare of trees, and flat upon the summit, and surrounded by many lesser hills. Its name it bore because there was a pass, exceeding steep upon the west, between it and Dorthonion, and this was the pass of Aglon, and was a gate unto Doriath, and a bitter wind blew ever through it from the North. But Celegorn and Curufin fortified Aglon, and manned it with great strength, and they held all the land southward between the river Aros that arose in Dorthonion and his tributary Celon that came from Himring. And between Celon and Little Gelion was the ward of Damrod and Díriel. And between the arms of Gelion was the ward of Maglor, and here in one place the hills failed altogether; and here it was that the Orcs came into East Beleriand before the Second Battle. Therefore the Gnomes held much cavalry in the plains at that place; and the people of Cranthir fortified the mountains to the east of Maglor's Gap. For Mount Rerir, and about it many lesser heights, stood out from the main range of Eredlindon westward; and in the angle between Rerir and Eredlindon there was a lake, shadowed by mountains on all sides save the south. This was Lake Helevorn, deep and dark, and beside it Cranthir had his abode; but all the great land between Gelion and Eredlindon, and between Rerir and the river Ascar, was called by the Gnomes Thargelion (that is the land beyond Gelion), or Dor Granthir the land of Cranthir; and it was here that the Gnomes first met the Dwarves.*

§119 Thus the sons of Fëanor under the leadership of Maidros were lords of East Beleriand, but their folk was in that time mostly in the north of the land; and southward they rode only to hunt, and to seek solitude for a while. And thither for like purpose the other Elflords would sometimes come, for the land was wild but very fair; and of these Inglor came most often, for he had great love of wandering, and he came even into Ossiriand and won friendship of the Green-elves. But Inglor was King of Nargothrond and overlord of the Dark-elves of the western havens; and with his aid Brithombar and Eglorest were rebuilt and became fair towns, recalling somewhat the havens of the Elves upon the shores of Valinor.

§120 And Inglor let build the tower of Tindobel upon a cape west of Eglorest to watch the Western Sea; and some of the folk of

Marginal note to the text: But Dor Granthir was before called by the Dark-elves Radhrost, the East Vale.

Nargothrond with the aid of the Teleri of the havens built new ships, and they went forth and explored the great isle of Balar, thinking here to prepare an ultimate refuge, if evil came. But it was not their fate that they should ever dwell there. And Inglor's realm ran north to Tolsirion the isle in the river aforesaid, and his brothers held Dorthonion and were his vassals. Thus his realm was far the greatest, though he was the youngest of the great lords of the Gnomes, Fingolfin, Fingon, and Maidros, and Inglor Felagund. But Fingolfin was held overlord of all the Gnomes, and Fingon after him, though their own realm was but the northern lands of Nivrost and Hithlum. Yet were their folk the most hardy and valiant, and the most feared by the Orcs and most hated by Morgoth.

§121 And in Doriath abode Thingol, the hidden king, and into his realm none passed save by his will, and when summoned thither; and mighty though the Kings of the Noldor were in those days, and filled with the fire and glory of Valinor, the name of Thingol was held in awe among them.

Commentary on Chapter 9

§105 This is the first occurrence of the final form *Ered-engrin* (for earlier *Eiglir Engrin*, IV. 220). The description of the Iron Mountains here agrees with the *Ambarkanta* map IV (IV. 249), where they are shown as a great wall across the North, slightly bowed southwards, and where, as stated in QS, they do not extend to the shores of either the Western or the Eastern Seas. I have discussed in IV. 258–60 the relation of the *Ambarkanta* map V to the description here of the changes in the northern mountains and of Angband and Thangorodrim.

§106 Hithlum is called 'Land(s) of Mist' in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, in Q, and in AB 1, 'realm of mist' in QS §88, but this explanation of the name has not been given before. It is interesting to look back to the original idea (I. 112): '*Dor Lómin* or the "Land of Shadow" was that region named of the Eldar *Hisilómë* (and this means "Shadowy Twilights") . . . and it is so called by reason of the scanty sun which peeps little over the Iron Mountains [i.e. the Mountains of Shadow] to the east and south of it.'

Nivrost, always early changed from *Nivros*, is now placed geographically in the previously unnamed region which appears already on the first Map (IV. 228), and it is here explicitly reckoned a part of Hithlum (but in §120 there is a reference to 'the northern lands of Nivrost and Hithlum'). The marginal note translating the name as 'West Vale' ('West-dales' in the *Etymologies*, stem NIB) is contemporary with the writing of the manuscript (in *The Silmarillion* the later form *Nevrast* is translated 'Hither Shore', p. 119). On Hithlum's ex-

posure to the North see the note on the geography of the far North, pp. 270–2.

This is the first occurrence of *Taras*, but the great mountain was clearly marked out on the second Map as originally drawn, and before the name was inserted (p. 408, square D2).

The marginal note defining *Dorthonion* as an Ilkorin name (in agreement with the *Etymologies*, stem THŌN) looks as if it belongs with the original writing of the manuscript, although it contradicts the statement in the text: 'the great highland that the Gnomes first named Dorthonion.'

§108 At the first occurrence of *Eredlindon* in this paragraph there is a footnote to the text added after the writing of the manuscript:

> Which signifieth the Mountains of Ossiriand; for the Gnomes called that land Lindon, the region of music, and they first saw these mountains from Ossiriand. But their right name was Eredluin the Blue Mountains, or Luindirien the Blue Towers.

I have not included this in the text printed, feeling uncertain of its date. In the passages of revision to the second version of *The Fall of Númenor* the name *Lindon* appears. I have shown that these revisions come from a time during the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* (see pp. 31–4) – although that does not necessarily imply that *Lindon* had not arisen earlier. Originally *Eredlindon* certainly meant 'Blue Mountains': see IV. 328, 341; and in the *List of Names* (p. 405) a word *lind* 'blue' is adduced (cf. the *Etymologies*, stem GLINDI).

With the account of the extent of Beleriand cf. the legend on the first Map (IV. 226–7). – The present passage is the first statement about the lower course of Gelion; on the *Ambarkanta* map V (IV. 251) the river (unnamed) is shown turning west and flowing into the sea in another great bay south of Balar. Also shown on map V is the 'Great Gulf', and 'the strait of mountainous land' (there called the 'Straits of the World') 'between the gulf and the inland sea of Helkar' (see IV. 258–9).

§109 *Nan-tathren* was changed from *Nan-tathrin*, as in AB 2 (note 5). – In AB 2 (annal 52) Fingolfin was 'Lord of the Falas or Western Shore, and overlord of the Dark-elves as far south as Eglorest and west of the river Eglor', while Felagund possessed the lands east of Eglor (between Eglor and Sirion). Changes made to that manuscript (notes 12 and 13) altered the text to say that it was Felagund who was 'held to be overlord of the Falas, and of the Dark-elves of the havens of Brithombar and Eglorest'; and here in QS the Elves of the Havens 'took Felagund to be their king'.

§110 Here is the first occurrence of the name *Dimbar*. Cf. AB 2, annal 52: 'between Sirion and the river Mindeb no one dwelt.' On *Nan-dungorthin* see IV. 222. Here also is the first occurrence of *Nivrim*, 'the West-march'. On the second Map, as on the first, the region is marked as 'Doriath beyond Sirion'; see IV. 224, 330.

§111 *Thargelion*, here first appearing, was an early change from *Targelion* (but in §122 *Thargelion* is original in the manuscript). The marginal note 'or Radhrost' was probably a subsequent addition, but certainly belongs to the early period; see under §118 below. The second footnote is certainly original. While *Umboth Muilin* goes back to the *Lost Tales* (see II. 225, 349), neither *Hithliniath* nor *Aelin-uial* have occurred before.

§112 Here first appears the name *Taur-na-Faroth* of the highlands previously called in the *Lays of Beleriand* 'the Hills of the Hunters', 'the Hunters' Wold', and on the first Map *Duil Rewinion* (IV. 225), where these hills are shown extending far to the south of Nargothrond.

§113 This account of the Slope of Beleriand and the great dividing fall is entirely new, as are the names *Andram* 'the Long Wall' and *Ramdal* 'Wall's End' (both written at both occurrences over other names that were wholly obliterated). Ancient features of the rivers of Beleriand – the torrential Narog, the Pools of Twilight, the plunging of Sirion underground – are now related in a comprehensive geographical conception. The 'Gates of Sirion' are new both as name and conception (though marked and named on the second Map as originally drawn, p. 410): nothing has been said hitherto of the issuing of the river from its subterranean passage.

§114 The two tributary branches of Gelion are shown on the second Map but are here first named; and now occurs for the first time *Mount Rerir*, where Greater Gelion rose. The form *Himring* has already appeared in *Lhammas B*, p. 189 (but it was still *Himling* on the second Map as originally drawn).

At the name *Adurant* there is a footnote to the text added after the writing of the manuscript:

> And at a point nearly midway in its course the stream of Adurant divided and joined again, enclosing a fair island; and this was called Tolgalen, the Green Isle. There Beren and Lúthien dwelt after their return.

Like the footnote to §108, I have not included this in the text because of uncertainty as to when the addition was made. The second Map does not show the island formed by the divided course of Adurant; on the other hand an addition to the stem AT(AT) in the *Etymologies* explains the actual meaning of *Adurant* precisely from the divided course (Ilkorin *adu*, *ado* 'double'). This is the first occurrence of the name *Tolgalen*, and of this precise placing of the dwelling of Beren and Lúthien after their return. On the first Map 'the Land of the Dead that Live' was moved several times, the final placing being in Ossiriand (IV. 224, 230), as in Q (IV. 133).

§115 With 'when the Orcs were first made' cf. QS §62: 'he brought into being the race of the Orcs' (i.e. when Morgoth came back to Middle-earth).

This account of the Green-elves ('Danian Elves') will be found to be

in good agreement with the *Lhammas* §7. It is not told there that they were called Green-elves because they were clad in green in spring and summer (but 'the house of Denethor loved green above all colours'); and there is now the first mention of their singing, which led to their land being named *Lindon* (see the commentary on §108, but also the *Etymologies*, stem LIN[2]).

§116 From the beginning of this paragraph the text is derived, with much alteration and expansion, from AB 2, annal 52.

On the lapse of time between Turgon's discovery of the hidden valley of Gondolin and his final departure from Nivrost see pp. 257–8. In AB 2 he 'departed south', i.e. from Hithlum, later changed (note 8) to agree with QS, where he 'departed eastward', i.e. from Nivrost. This is the first mention of the likeness of Gondolin to the city of the Elves in Valinor, although, as I have suggested (II. 208), it was perhaps an old underlying idea.

§117 The name *Minnastirith* is written over a total erasure, but the obliterated name was clearly *Inglormindon*, which appears in an addition to AB 2 (note 14), changed there also to *Minnastirith* (and then to *Minastirith*).

Another element in the changed history of Orodreth now enters, an aspect of his association with Inglor Felagund rather than with Angrod and Egnor (see the commentary on §73): he no longer has land in the east of Dorthonion, near to his friends Celegorn and Curufin, but is the warden of Inglor's tower on Tol Sirion. This new story was introduced into AB 2 by later corrections (notes 10, 25, 29).

§118 The account of the defences of Beleriand in the North-east and the lands of the Fëanorian princes does not differ in essentials from that in AB 2, but is fuller and more precise in detail. The name *Lothland* first appears here, and this is the first time that Himring (Himling) has been described, or an interpretation given for either form. The territory of Damrod and Díriel is made more definite, and apparently more northward (earlier in this chapter, §111, its limits are 'between Celon and Gelion'). Lake *Helevorn*, beside which Cranthir dwelt, is now first mentioned (the name being written over an erasure, perhaps of *Elivorn*, see p. 405); it is not shown on the second Map as originally drawn.

The words 'by the Gnomes Thargelion (that is the land beyond Gelion) or Dor Granthir' were an addition, together with the marginal note on the Dark-elvish name *Radhrost*, but made very carefully at an earlier time. On *Granthir* beside *Cranthir* see the note on *Gorgoroth*, p. 298. The encounter of Cranthir's people with the Dwarves in Eredlindon is given in AB 2 under the year 104 (> 154), but the account of the Dwarves at this point in the *Annals* is in QS reserved for the new chapter that follows.

§§119–20 It is not said in AB 2 (annal 65) that Felagund aided the Elves of the Falas in the rebuilding of their Havens, nor that it was

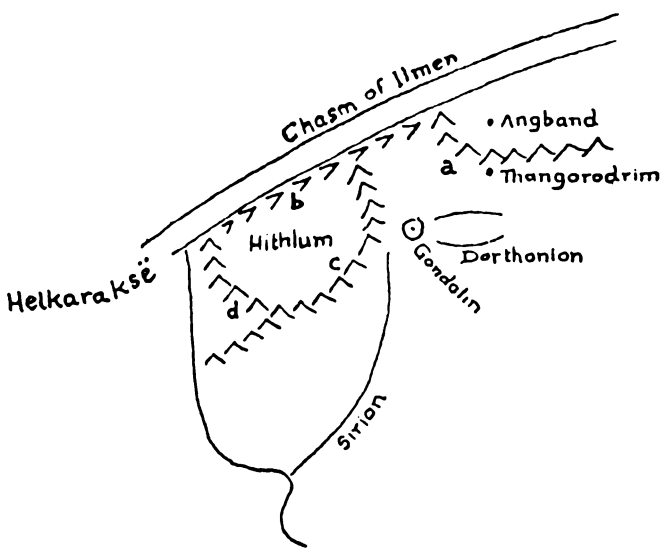
he who raised the Tower of Tindobel: for Fingolfin was still Lord of the Falas (see under §109 above). The name was first written here *Tindabel*, as also on the second Map: I read *Tindobel* on the assumption that this was an early change, a reversion to the form on the first Map and in AB 1 and 2.

Note on the geography of the furthest North

I have remarked (IV. 259) when discussing the *Ambarkanta* maps that it is interesting to see how near Hithlum is placed on Map V to the edge of the world, the Chasm of Ilmen; and this is a convenient place to consider a further aspect of the matter. In QS §105 it is said:

> In the war of the Gods the mountains of Melko were broken and distorted in the West, and of their fragments were made Eredwethion and Eredlómin; but the Iron Mountains bent back northward and there was a hundred leagues between them and the frozen straits at Helkaraksë.

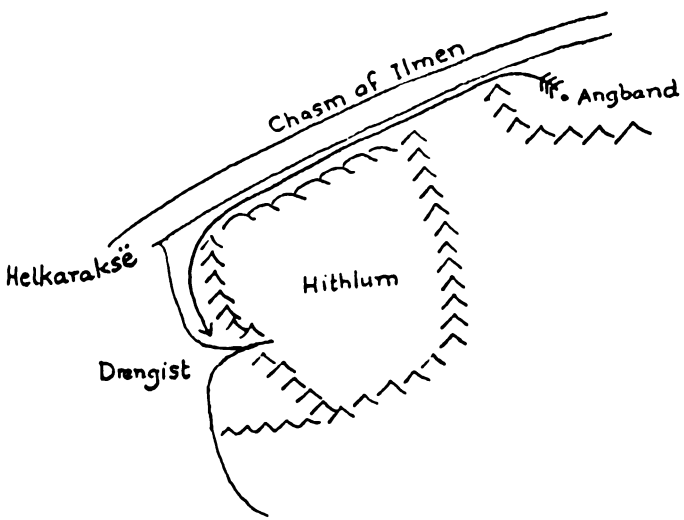
Though very cramped and hastily sketched in, Map V seems to agree well with this. I attempt here to enlarge and clarify the depiction of these regions on the map, adding letters to make reference to it plainer.



The western end of the Iron Mountains (marked *a* on the sketch) now turns in fairly sharply northwards to the Chasm of Ilmen; Eredwethion (*c*) and Eredlómin (*d*) are clearly identifiable. The herring-bone line (*b*) that runs along the edge of the Chasm is in pencil, whereas the other ranges are inked over pencil, but it is not clear whether this has any

significance. The statement in QS just cited that there were a hundred leagues between the end of the Iron Mountains and the Helkaraksë suggests that there were no great heights between Hithlum and the Chasm – and cf. QS §106: 'Nivrost was sheltered from the North' (by Eredlómin), whereas 'Hithlum was open to the cold winds'.

On the other hand, earlier in QS (§103) the army sent out by Morgoth to test the defences of the Noldor 'turning west round the outer end of the Iron Mountains reached the shores of the sea', endeavouring 'to invade Hithlum from the rear'. This army came south along the coast and was destroyed by Fingon at the Firth of Drengist. Does this imply that the Orc-host could not invade Hithlum from the North owing to defensible heights between Hithlum and the Chasm of Ilmen? In which case some configuration after this fashion might be supposed:



But the evidence does not seem to allow of a certain answer; and the second Map gives no help – indeed it presents a further problem in the representation of Thangorodrim (p. 409). Here the colossal triple peaks of Thangorodrim are surrounded by a closed circle of lesser heights, and there is no suggestion of the 'great curving wall' of the Iron Mountains from which 'the towers of Thangorodrim were thrust forward' (QS §103). I am at a loss to explain this; but in all the years during which my father used this map he never made any mark on it suggesting that the picture should be changed.

At this time Thangorodrim was conceived to be quite near: the second Map agrees closely with the *Ambarkanta* map V in this. In post-*Lord of*

the Rings writing it is said that 'the gates of Morgoth were but one hundred and fifty leagues distant from the bridge of Menegroth' (*The Silmarillion* p. 96); whereas according to the scale of the second Map (see below) the distance was scarcely more than seventy.

Note on distances

I list here the definitions of distance that are given in Chapter 9:

- 100 leagues between the end of the Iron Mountains in the West and the Helkaraksë (§105).
- Dorthonion stretched for 100 leagues (§106).
- The length of Sirion from the Pass to the Delta was 121 leagues (§107).
- West Beleriand at its widest was 70 leagues from Sirion to the sea (§109).
- The length of Narog from Ivrin to its confluence with Sirion was some 80 leagues (§109).
- East Beleriand at its widest was 100 leagues from Sirion to Gelion (§110).
- The great falls of Sirion were some 70 *miles* east of the gorge of Nargothrond (§113).
- Sirion flowed underground for 3 leagues (§113).
- The confluence of Ascar and Gelion was some 40 leagues south of the confluence of Greater and Little Gelion (§114).

A note on the back of the Map gives a scale of 50 miles to 3·2 cm. (the length of the sides of the squares). On this scale most of the distances given in QS agree well or very well with measurements on the Map (as might be expected). The rivers were measured in a straight line, in the case of Sirion from the northern opening of the Pass. But there are two statements in QS that do not harmonise at all with the Map. These are the length of Dorthonion (100 leagues) and the extent of West Beleriand at its widest (70 leagues from Sirion to the sea). A glance will show that Dorthonion was of far smaller extent than East Beleriand at its widest, though both distances are given in QS as 100 leagues, and that West Beleriand at its widest was virtually as great as East Beleriand. These statements are, I think, simply errors, without further significance; and they were in fact corrected (long after), the length of Dorthonion becoming 60 leagues, and West Beleriand at its widest 99 leagues, harmonising with the Map.

10 OF MEN AND DWARFS

§122 Now in time the building of Nargothrond was complete, and Gondolin had been raised in secret. But in the days of the Siege of Angband the Gnomes had yet small need of hiding places, and they ranged far and wide between the Western Sea and the

Blue Mountains in the East. It is said that they climbed Eredlindon and looked eastward in wonder, for the lands of Middle-earth seemed wild and wide; but they did not pass the mountains, while Angband lasted. In those days the folk of Cranthir came first upon the Dwarfs, whom the Dark-elves named Naug-rim; for the chief dwellings of that race were then in the mountains east of Thargelion, the land of Cranthir, and were digged deep in the eastern slopes of Eredlindon. Thence they journeyed often into Beleriand, and were admitted at times even into Doriath. There was at that time no enmity between Elves and Dwarfs, but nonetheless no great love. For though the Dwarfs did not serve Morgoth, yet they were in some things more like to his people than to the Elves.

§123 The Naugrim were not of the Elf-race nor of mortal kind, nor yet of Morgoth's breeding; and in those days the Gnomes knew not whence they came. [But* it is said by the wise in Valinor, as we have learned since, that Aulë made the Dwarfs while the world was yet dark, desiring the coming of the Children of Ilúvatar, that he might have learners to whom he could teach his lore and craft, and being unwilling to await the fulfilment of the designs of Ilúvatar. Wherefore the Dwarfs are like the Orcs in this, that they come of the wilfulness of one of the Valar; but they were not made out of malice and mockery, and were not begotten of evil purpose. Yet they derive their thought and being after their measure from only one of the Powers, whereas Elves and Men, to whomsoever among the Valar they chiefly turn, have kinship with all in some degree. Therefore the works of the Dwarfs have great skill, but small beauty, save where they imitate the arts of the Eldar; and the Dwarfs return unto the earth and the stone of the hills of which they were fashioned.]†

§124 Iron they wrought rather than gold and silver, and the making of weapons and of mail was their chief craft. They aided

*_Marginal note against the bracketed passage:_ quoth Pengolod.

†_Footnote to the text:_ Aulë, in his love of invention, devised a new speech for the Dwarfs, and their tongues have no kinship with others; in use they have made them harsh and intricate, and few have essayed to learn them. In their converse with the Elves of old they used according to their ability the language of the Dark-elves of Doriath. But their own tongues they maintained in secret, and they survive still in Middle-earth, and in some part certain of the languages of Men are derived from them. _Against this is written in the margin:_ So, the _Lhammas_.

the Gnomes greatly in their war with the Orcs of Morgoth; but it is not thought that they would have refused to smithy also for Morgoth, if he had had need of their work, or had been open to their trade. For buying and selling and exchange was their delight, and the winning of wealth. But this they gathered rather to hoard than to use, or to spend save in commerce. Their stature was short and squat; they had strong arms and sturdy legs, and their beards were long. Themselves they named Khuzûd, but the Gnomes called them Neweg, the stunted, and those who dwelt in Nogrod they called Enfeng, the Longbeards, because their beards swept the floor before their feet. Their chief cities in those days were Khazaddûm and Gabilgathol, which the Elves of Beleriand called, according to their meaning in the language of Doriath, Nogrod, the Dwarfmine, and Belegost, the Great Fortress. But few of the Elves, save Meglin of Gondolin, went ever thither, and the Dwarfs trafficked into Beleriand, and made a great road, passing under the shoulders of Mount Dolmed, which followed thence the course of Ascar, and crossed Gelion at Sarn-athrad. There battle later befell, but as yet the Dwarfs troubled the Elves little, while the power of the Gnomes lasted.

§125 It is reckoned that the first meeting of Gnomes and Dwarfs befell in the land of Cranthir about the time when Fingolfin destroyed the Orcs at Drengist, one hundred and fifty-five years after the crossing of the Ice, and one hundred and five before the first coming of Glómund the Dragon. After his defeat there was long peace, and it lasted for well nigh two hundred years of the Sun. During this time the fathers of the houses of the Men of Beleriand, that is of the Elf-friends of old, were born in the lands of Middle-earth, east of the mountains; Bëor the Vassal, Haleth the Hunter, and Hador the Goldenhaired.

§126 Now it came to pass, when some four hundred years were gone since the Gnomes came to Beleriand, that Felagund journeyed east of Sirion and went hunting with the sons of Fëanor. But he became separated from his companions, and passed into Ossiriand, and wandered there alone. At a time of night he came upon a valley in the western foothills of Eredlindon, and he saw lights in the valley and heard from afar the sound of uncouth song; and he wondered greatly, for the Green-elves of that land lit no fires and sang not by night. And the language of the song, which he heard as he drew nigh, was not that of the Eldar, neither of the Dark-elves nor of the Gnomes, nor was it that of the Dwarfs. Therefore he feared lest a raid of the Orcs had escaped the

leaguer of the North, but he found that this was not so. For he spied upon the camp beneath the hills, and there he beheld a strange people. Tall they were, and strong, and fair of face, but rude and little clad.

§127 Now these were the people of Bëor, a mighty warrior among Men, whose son was Barahir the bold that was after born in the land of the Gnomes. They were the first of Men that wandering west from far Hildórien passed over Eredlindon and came into Beleriand. After Bëor came Haleth father of Hundor, and again somewhat later came Hador the Goldenhaired, whose children are renowned in song. For the sons of Hador were Gumlin and Gundor, and the sons of Gumlin were Húrin and Huor, and the son of Húrin was Túrin the bane of Glómund, and the son of Huor Tuor father of Eärendel the blessed. All these were caught in the net of the fate of the Gnomes and wrought great deeds which the Elves remember still among the deeds of their lords and kings of old. But Haleth and Hador at that time were yet in the wild lands east of the mountains.

§128 Felagund drew nigh among the trees to the camp of Bëor and he remained hidden, until all had fallen asleep. Then he went among the sleeping men, and sat beside their dying fire, where none kept watch; and he took a rude harp which Bëor had laid aside, and he played music upon it such as mortal ear had never heard. For Men had as yet had no masters in such arts, save only the Dark-elves in the wild lands. Now men awoke and listened to Felagund as he harped and sang; and they marvelled, for wisdom was in that song as well as beauty, so that the heart grew wiser that hearkened to it. Thus it was that Men called King Felagund, whom they met first of all the Noldor, Gnome or Wisdom;* and after him they named his race the Wise, whom we call the Gnomes. At first they deemed that Felagund was one of the Gods, of whom they had heard rumour that they dwelt far in the West. But Felagund taught them true lore, and they loved him and became his followers; and thus Bëor the Vassal got his name among the Gnomes.

*_Footnote to the text:_ It is recorded that the word in the ancient speech of these Men, which they afterwards forsook in Beleriand for the tongue of the Gnomes, so that it is now mostly forgotten, was *Widris*. _Against this is written in the margin:_ quoth Pengolod. _Added to this:_ & Ælfwine.

§129 Bëor lived in the service of Felagund while his life lasted; and Barahir his son served also the sons of Finrod, but he dwelt mostly on the north marches with Angrod and Egnor. The sons of Hador were allied to the house of Fingolfin, and the lordship of Gumlin was in Hithlum; and there afterwards his son Húrin dwelt, whose wife was Morwen of the house of Bëor. She was surnamed Eledhwen, the Eflsheen, for her beauty was like unto the beauty of the daughters of the Eldalië. But Haleth and his folk took no service and dwelt in the woods upon the confines of Doriath in that forest that was called Brethil.

§130 In this time the strength of Men was added to the Gnomes, and the folk of the three houses grew and multiplied. Greatest was the house of Hador, and most beloved by the Elves. His folk were yellow-haired and blue-eyed for the most part; though Túrin was dark of hair, for his mother Morwen was from Bëor's people. They were of greater strength and stature in body than the Elves; quick to wrath and laughter, fierce in battle, generous to friends, swift in resolve, fast in loyalty, young in heart, the Children of Ilúvatar in the youth of mankind. Like to them were the woodland folk of Haleth, but they were not so tall; their backs were broader and their legs shorter and less swift. Less fiery were their spirits; slower but more deep was the movement of their thought; their words were fewer, for they had joy in silence, wandering free in the greenwood, while the wonder of the world was new upon them. But the people of Bëor were dark or brown of hair; their eyes were grey, and their faces fair to look upon; shapely they were of form, yet hardy and long-enduring. Their height was no greater than that of the Elves of that day, and they were most like to the Gnomes; for they were eager of mind, cunning-handed, swift of understanding, long in memory. But they were short-lived, and their fates were unhappy, and their joy was blended with sorrow.

§131 Bëor died when he had lived but eighty years, for fifty of which he had served Felagund; and it is said that when he lay dead of no weapon or sickness, but stricken by age, the Elves saw then for the first time the death of weariness, and they grieved for the short span allotted to mankind. Nonetheless these Men of old, being of races young and eager, learned swiftly of the Elves all such art and knowledge as they would teach; and in their skill and wisdom they far surpassed all others of their kind, who dwelt still east of the mountains, and knew not the Eldar of the West, ere ruin befell Beleriand.

Commentary on Chapter 10

§122 The transient use in this chapter and subsequently of the plural form *Dwarfs* is curious (*Dwarves*, which goes back to the beginning, and was the form in *The Hobbit*, is used in the previous chapter, §118). In AB 2 *Dwarves* was at one occurrence only (note 41) changed to *Dwarfs*. The form *Naugrim* first occurs here; the Dwarves were *Nauglath* in the *Lost Tales*, *Nauglir* in Q. In the third Tree of Tongues (p. 196) their language is *Nauglian*.

In AB 2 (annal 104) 'the Dwarves had great mines and cities in the east of Eredlindon, *far south of Beleriand*, and the chief of these cities were Nogrod and Belegost', as in the direction on the first Map (Eastward Extension), IV. 231–2; but the Dwarf-cities are now placed in QS as they were to remain, in the mountains east of Thargelion, and AB 2 was corrected correspondingly (note 17). That the Dwarves 'were admitted at times even into Doriath' has not been said before, but the idea that they were already well-known to the Dark-elves of Beleriand when the Gnomes first encountered them in the Blue Mountains appeared in the second version of AB 1 (see IV. 332, 336), and their ancient road is there said to have extended to the river Aros, i.e. to the confines of Doriath.

It is remarkable that at this time the statement that the Dwarves were 'in some things more like to Morgoth's people than to the Elves' still survived from Q (IV. 104); but this is now palliated by what is said in §123, where the likeness of the Dwarves to the Orcs is represented only as an analogous limitation of natural powers consequent on their origins.

§123 This is the third account of the legend of the origin of the Dwarves, following those in AB 2 (annal 104) and in the *Lhammas* §9, both of which contain the remarkable assertion that the Dwarves have 'no spirit indwelling'; see the commentaries on those passages. Both versions were modified in respect of this; the *Lhammas* text was roughly emended with a specific direction to follow the passage here in QS beginning 'Yet they derive their thought and being after their measure from only one of the Powers . . .' But this passage in QS is itself written over something else wholly erased. Very likely, then, QS also had here a phrase concerning the absence of a 'spirit indwelling' in the Dwarves, and my father corrected both QS and the *Lhammas* at the same time, as he did elsewhere. Moreover, the account of the fate of the Dwarves given here, their return 'unto the earth and the stone of the hills of which they were fashioned', is taken from the same passage in AB 2 (it is absent from that in the *Lhammas*), and this is surely a concomitant of the conception that 'the Dwarves have no spirit indwelling'.

The square brackets enclosing this passage can be seen to belong with the writing of the manuscript; they evidently show to what

portion of the text the marginal 'quoth Pengolod' refers. The question again arises (see §49) why Pengolod appears as annotator if he were the author, as he certainly appears to be in the preamble to the *Quenta Silmarillion* given on p. 201: 'This Account was composed first by Pengolod of Gondolin'. A possible explanation is to be found in the other forms of preamble on pp. 203–4. From the first of these it can be concluded that the reference is to 'The Silmarillion' in the larger sense (i.e. as including the *Annals* and the *Lhammas*), since it is said that Pengolod 'used much the writings of Rúmil . . . *chiefly in the annals of Valinor and the account of tongues*'. The second (typescript) form of this preamble makes the wording less precise: 'he used much the writings of Rúmil . . . concerning other matters than the wars of Beleriand'. Both versions also say that he used the accounts preserved in the Golden Book, though there is no indication of what matter the Golden Book contained. In either case there is no statement one way or the other specifically about the *Quenta Silmarillion*. It may be therefore that my father now regarded Pengolod as redactor or compiler rather than as author, at any rate in certain parts of the book, and in these Pengolod marked off his own contributions and named himself as authority for them – just as he did in the *Annals of Valinor* and the *Lhammas*. Thus here, as in the *Lhammas* §9, the passage concerning the origin of the Dwarves is an addition by Pengolod to older material (in this case writing by Rúmil).

The footnote on Dwarvish language, making specific reference to the *Lhammas*, certainly belongs with the original writing of the manuscript.

§124 *Khuzûd:* the first appearance of this name, or of any Dwarvish name for Dwarves. Cf. *The Lord of the Rings*, Appendix F: '*Khazad-dûm*, the Mansion of the Khazad; for such is their own name for their own race, and has been so, since Aulë gave it to them at their making in the deeps of time.'

Enfeng: cf. Q (IV. 104): 'those who dwelt in Nogrod they called Indrafangs, the Longbeards, because their beards swept the floor before their feet.' The name *Enfeng* here first appears. Originally the Longbeards were the Dwarves of Belegost (II. 247).

Khazaddûm is the first occurrence of the celebrated name. It is interesting to observe that it existed – but as the Dwarvish name of Nogrod – already at this time. Later the Dwarvish name of Nogrod was *Tumunzahar* (*The Silmarillion* p. 91); *Gabilgathol*, now first appearing, remained as the Dwarvish name of Belegost.

In this paragraph is the first reference to Meglin's association with the Dwarves. – *Dolmed* now replaces *Dolm* (and AB 2 was corrected correspondingly, note 17).

§125 In QS §103 it is said that it was Fingon who destroyed the Orcs at Drengist. – On the new dating, now present from the first writing of the manuscript, see the note on chronology, pp. 257–8.

§126 Parallel with the extension of the Siege of Angband by two hundred years, the meeting of Felagund and Bëor, originally dated in the year 200 in AB 2, undergoes a corresponding postponement.

§128 The footnote to the text is original. Whereas in *The Silmarillion* the word in the language of the people of Bëor for 'Wisdom' was *Nóm* (see IV. 175), here it is *Widris*, and it can hardly be doubted that this is to be related to the Indo-European stem seen, for instance, in Sanskrit *veda* 'I know'; Greek *idein* (from **widein*) 'to see' and *oida* (from **woida*) '(I have seen >) I know'; Latin *vidēre* 'to see'; Old English *witan* 'to know' and *wāt* 'I know' (> archaic *I wot*), and the words that still survive, *wit*, *wise*, *wisdom*. Cf. the *Lhammas* §10: 'Yet other Men there were, it seems, that remained east of Eredlindon, who held to their speech, and from this, closely akin to Taliska, are come after many ages of change languages that live still in the North of the earth.' – On the abandonment of their own tongue by Men in Beleriand see the *Lhammas* §10 and commentary; and on the ascription of the footnote to Pengolod see commentary on §123 above.

'Thus Bëor the Vassal got his name among the Gnomes': in the *Etymologies* the name *Bëor* 'follower, vassal' is a Noldorin name (stem BEW), whereas in *The Silmarillion* (p. 142) it is said that 'Bëor signified "Vassal" in the tongue of his people'.

§131 According to the original dating of AB 2 Bëor was born in the year 170 and died in 250; with the altered chronology he was born in 370 and died in 450.

11 OF THE RUIN OF BELERIAND AND THE FALL OF FINGOLFIN

§132 Now Fingolfin, King of the North, and High-king of the Noldor, seeing that his folk were become numerous and strong, and that the Men allied to them were many and valiant, pondered once more an assault upon Angband. For he knew that they all lived in danger while the circle of the siege was incomplete, and Morgoth was free to labour in the dark beneath the earth. This counsel was wise according to the measure of his knowledge; for the Gnomes did not yet comprehend the fullness of the power of Morgoth, nor understand that their unaided war upon him was without final hope, whether they hasted or delayed. But because the land was fair and their kingdoms wide, most of the Noldor were grown content with things as they were, trusting them to last. Therefore they were little disposed to hearken to Fingolfin, and the sons of Fëanor at that time least of all. Among the chieftains of the Gnomes Angrod and Egnor alone were of like mind with the King; for they dwelt in regions whence Than-

gorodrim could be descried, and the threat of Morgoth was present to their thought. So the designs of Fingolfin came to naught, and the land had peace yet for a while.

§133 But when the sons of the sons of the Fathers of Men were but newly come to manhood, it being then four hundred years and five and fifty since the coming of Fingolfin, the evil befell that he had long dreaded, and yet more dire and sudden than his darkest fear. For Morgoth had long prepared his force in secret, while ever the malice of his heart grew greater, and his hatred of the Gnomes more bitter; and he desired not only to end his foes but to destroy also and defile the lands that they had taken and made fair. And it is said that his hate overcame his counsel, so that if he had but endured to wait longer, until his designs were full, then the Gnomes would have perished utterly. But on his part he esteemed too lightly the valour of the Elves, and of Men he took yet no account.

§134 There came a time of winter, when night was dark and without moon; and the wide plain of Bladorion stretched dim beneath the cold stars from the hill-forts of the Gnomes to the feet of Thangorodrim. The watchfires burned low, and the guards were few; and on the plain few were waking in the camps of the horsemen of Hithlum. Then suddenly Morgoth sent forth great rivers of flame that poured, swifter than the cavalry of the Balrogs, over all the plain; and the Mountains of Iron belched forth fires of many colours, and the fume stank upon the air and was deadly. Thus Bladorion perished, and fire devoured its grasses; and it became a burned and desolate waste, full of a choking dust, barren and lifefless; and its name was changed, and ever after was called the Land of Thirst, Dor-na-Fauglith in the Gnomish tongue. Many charred bones had there their roofless grave. For many Gnomes perished in that burning, who were caught by the running flame and could not fly to the hills. The heights of Dorthonion and of Eredwethion held back the fiery torrents, but their woods upon the slopes that looked toward Angband were all kindled, and the smoke wrought confusion among the defenders. This was the Third of the great Battles, Dagor Vreged-úr, the Battle of Sudden Fire.

§135 In the front of that fire came Glómund the golden, the father of dragons, and in his train were Balrogs, and behind them came the black armies of the Orcs in multitudes such as the Gnomes had never before seen or imagined. And they assaulted the fortresses of the Gnomes, and broke the leaguer about

Angband, and slew wherever they found them both the Gnomes and their allies, Dark-elves and Men. Many of the stoutest of the foes of Morgoth were destroyed in the first days of that war, bewildered and dispersed and unable to muster their strength. War ceased not wholly ever again in Beleriand; but the Battle of Sudden Fire is held to have ended with the coming of spring, when the onset of Morgoth grew less. For he saw now that he had not assembled sufficient strength, nor rightly measured the valour of the Gnomes. Moreover his captains and spies brought him tidings of the Elf-friends, the Men of Beleriand, and of their strength in arms; and a new anger possessed his heart, and he turned to thoughts of further evil.

§136 Thus ended the Siege of Angband; and the foes of Morgoth were scattered and sundered one from another. The Dark-elves fled south and forsook the northern war. Many were received into Doriath, and the kingdom and strength of Thingol grew greater in that time; for the power of the queen Melian was woven about his borders and evil could not yet enter that hidden realm. Others took refuge in the fortresses by the sea, or in Nargothrond; but most fled the land and hid in Ossiriand, or passing the mountains wandered homeless in the wild. And rumour of the war and the breaking of the siege reached the ears of Men in Middle-earth.

§137 The sons of Finrod bore most heavily the brunt of the assault, and Angrod and Egnor were slain; and Bregolas son of Bëor, who was lord of that house of Men after his father's death, was slain beside them. In that battle King Inglor Felagund was cut off from his folk and surrounded by the Orcs, and he would have been slain or taken, but Barahir son of Bëor came up with his men and rescued him, and made a wall of spears about him; and they cut their way out of the battle with great loss. Thus Felagund escaped and went south to Nargothrond, his deep fortress prepared against the evil day; but he swore an oath of abiding friendship and aid in every need unto Barahir and all his kin and seed, and in token of his vow he gave to Barahir his ring.

§138 Barahir was now by right lord of the remnant of the folk of Bëor; but most of these fled now from Dorthonion and took refuge among the people of Hador in the fastness of Hithlum. But Barahir would not flee, and remained contesting the land foot by foot with the servants of Morgoth. But Morgoth pursued his people to the death, until few remained; and he took all the forest and the highland of Dorthonion, save the highest and inmost

region, and turned it little by little to a place of such dread and lurking evil that even the Orcs would not enter it unless need drove them. Therefore it was after called by the Gnomes Taur-na-Fuin, which is Mirkwood, and Deldúwath, Deadly Nightshade; for the trees that grew there after the burning were black and grim, and their roots were tangled, groping in the dark like claws; and those who strayed among them became lost and blind, and were strangled or pursued to madness by phantoms of terror.

§139 At length only twelve men remained to Barahir: Beren his son, and Baragund and Belegund, sons of Bregolas, his nephews, and nine faithful servants of his house whose names are yet remembered by the Gnomes: Radhruin and Dairuin they were, Dagnir and Ragnor, Gildor and Gorlim the unhappy, Arthod and Urthel, and Hathaldir the young. Outlaws they became, a desperate band that could not escape and would not yield; for their dwellings were destroyed, and their wives and children captured or slain, save only Morwen Eledhwen daughter of Baragund and Rian daughter of Belegund. For the wives of the sons of Bregolas were of Hithlum, and were sojourning there among their kinsfolk when the flame of war broke forth. But from Hithlum there came now neither news nor help, and Barahir and his men were hunted like wild beasts, and Morgoth sent many wolves against them; and they retreated to the barren highland above the forest, and wandered among the tarns and rocky moors of that region, furthest from the spies and spells of Morgoth. Their bed was the heather and their roof the cloudy sky.

§140 So great was the onslaught of Morgoth that Fingolfin and Fingon could not come to the succour of Felagund and his brethren; and the hosts of Hithlum were driven back with great loss to the fortresses of Eredwithion, and these they hardly defended against the Orcs. Hador the golden-haired, prince of Men, fell in battle before the walls defending the rearguard of his lord Fingolfin, being then sixty and six years of age, and with him fell Gundor his younger son; and they were mourned by the Elves. But Gumlin took the lordship of his father. And because of the strength and height of the Shadowy Mountains, which withstood the torrent of fire, and by the valour of the Elves and Men of the North, which neither Orc nor Balrog could yet overcome, Hithlum remained yet unconquered, a threat upon the flank of Morgoth's attack. But Fingolfin was sundered by a sea of foes from his kinsmen.

§141 For the war had gone ill with the sons of Fëanor, and

well nigh all the east marches were taken by assault. The pass of Aglon was forced, though with great cost to Morgoth; and Celegorn and Curufin being defeated fled south and west by the marches of Doriath and came at last to Nargothrond, and sought harbour with their friend Orodreth. Thus it came to pass that the people of Celegorn swelled the strength of Felagund, but it would have been better, as after was seen, if they had remained in the East among their own kin. Maidros the chief of Fëanor's sons did deeds of surpassing valour, and the Orcs could not endure the light of his face; for since his torment upon Thangorodrim his spirit burned like a white fire within, and he was as one that returneth from the dead, keen and terrible; and they fled before him. Thus his citadel upon the hill of Himring could not at that time be taken, and many of the most valiant that remained, both of the folk of Dorthonion and of the east marches rallied there to Maidros; and for a while he closed once more the pass of Aglon, so that the Orcs could not enter Beleriand by that road.

§142 But they overwhelmed the riders of the folk of Fëanor upon Lothland, for Glómund came thither, and passed through Maglor's Gap, and destroyed all the land between the arms of Gelion. And the Orcs took the fortress upon the west slopes of Mount Rerir, and ravaged all Thargelion, the land of Cranthir; and they defiled Lake Helevorn. Thence they passed over Gelion with fire and terror and came far into East Beleriand. Maglor joined Maidros upon Himring; but Cranthir fled and joined the remnant of his people to the scattered folk of the hunters, Damrod and Díriel, and they retreated and passed Rhamdal in the South. Upon Amon Ereb they maintained a watch and some strength of war, and they had aid of the Green-elves; and the Orcs came not yet into Ossiriand or the wild of South Beleriand.

§143 For nearly two years the Gnomes still defended the west pass about the sources of Sirion, for the power of Ulmo was in that water, and Glómund would not yet adventure that way, for the time of his full strength was not come; and Minnastirith withstood the Orcs. But at length after the fall of Fingolfin, which is told hereafter, Sauron came against Orodreth, the warden of the tower, with a host of Balrogs. Sauron was the chief servant of the evil Vala, whom he had suborned to his service in Valinor from among the people of the Gods. He was become a wizard of dreadful power, master of necromancy, foul in wisdom, cruel in strength, mis-shaping what he touched, twisting what he ruled, lord of werewolves: his dominion was torment. He took Min-

nastirith by assault, the tower of Inglor upon the isle of Sirion, for a dark cloud of fear fell upon those that defended it; and he made it a stronghold of evil, and a menace;* for no living creature could pass through that vale that he did not espy from the tower where he sat. And Morgoth held now also the western pass and his terror filled the fields and woods of Beleriand.

§144 *The death of Fingolfin.* It came to pass that news came to Hithlum that Dorthonion was lost and the sons of Finrod overthrown, and that the sons of Fëanor were driven from their lands. Then Fingolfin saw that the ruin of the Gnomes was at hand, and he was filled with wrath and despair, and a madness came upon him. And he rode alone to the gates of Angband, and he sounded his horn and smote upon the brazen gates and challenged Morgoth to come forth to single combat. And Morgoth came. That was the last time in these wars that he passed the doors of his stronghold, and it is said that he took not the challenge willingly; for though his might is greatest of all things in this world, alone of the Valar he knows fear. But he could not now deny the challenge before the face of his captains; for the rocks rang with the shrill music of the silver horn of Fingolfin and his voice came keen and clear down into the depths of Angband; and Fingolfin named Morgoth craven, and lord of slaves. Therefore Morgoth came, climbing slowly from his subterranean throne, and the rumour of his feet was like thunder underground. And he issued forth clad in black armour; and he stood before the king like a tower, iron-crowned, and his vast shield, sable unblazoned, cast a shadow over him like a storm cloud. But Fingolfin gleamed beneath it like a star; for his mail was overlaid with silver, and his blue shield was set with crystals; and he drew his sword Ringil, and it glittered like ice, cold and grey and deadly.

§145 Then Morgoth hurled aloft as a mace Grond, the hammer of the Underworld, and swung it down like a bolt of thunder. But Fingolfin sprang aside, and Grond rent a mighty pit in the earth, whence smoke and fire darted. Many times Morgoth essayed to smite him, and each time Fingolfin leaped away, as a lightning shoots from under a dark cloud; and he wounded Morgoth with seven wounds, and seven times Morgoth gave a cry of anguish, whereat the rocks shivered, and the hosts of Angband fell upon their faces in dismay.

Footnote to the text: And it became called Tol-na-Gaurhoth, the Isle of Werewolves.

§146 But at last the king grew weary, and Morgoth bore down his shield upon him. Thrice he was crushed to his knees, and thrice arose again and bore up his broken shield and stricken helm. But the earth was all rent and pitted about him, and he stumbled and fell backward before the feet of Morgoth; and Morgoth set his left foot upon his neck, and the weight of it was like a fallen hill. Yet with his last and desperate stroke Fingolfin hewed the foot with Ringil, and the blood gushed forth black and smoking and filled the pits of Grond.

§147 Thus died Fingolfin, High-king of the Gnomes, most proud and valiant of the Elven-kings of old. The Orcs make no boast of that duel at the gate; neither do the Elves sing of it, for sorrow; but the tale of it is remembered, for Thorondor, king of eagles, brought the tidings to Gondolin, and to Hithlum. For Morgoth took the body of the Elven-king and broke it, and would hew it asunder and cast it to his wolves; but Thorondor came hasting from his eyrie among the peaks of Gochressiel, and he stooped upon Morgoth, and smote his golden beak into his face. The rushing of his wings was like the noise of the winds of Manwë, and he seized the body in his mighty talons, and soaring suddenly above the darts of the Orcs he bore the Elven-king away. And he laid him upon a mountain-top that looked from the North upon the hidden valley of Gondolin; and Turgon coming built a high cairn over him. Neither Orc nor Balrog dared ever after to pass over the mount of Fingolfin or draw nigh his tomb, until the doom of Gondolin was come and treachery was born among his kin. Morgoth goes ever halt of one foot since that day, and the pain of his wounds cannot be healed; and in his face is the scar that Thorondor made.

§148 There was lamentation in Hithlum when the fall of Fingolfin became known; but Fingon took the kingship of the Noldor, and he maintained still his realm behind the Shadowy Mountains in the North. But beyond Hithlum Morgoth pursued his foes relentlessly, and he searched out their hiding-places and took their strongholds one by one. And the Orcs growing ever bolder wandered at will far and wide, coming down Sirion in the West and Celon in the East, and they encompassed Doriath; and they harried the lands, so that beast and bird fled before them, and silence and desolation spread steadily from the North. Great numbers of the Gnomes, and of the Dark-elves, they took captive and led to Angband, and made thralls, forcing them to use their skill and knowledge in the service of Morgoth. They laboured

without rest in his mines and forges, and torment was their wage.

§149 Yet Morgoth sent also his spies and emissaries among the Dark-elves and the thrall-Gnomes, and among the free; and they were clad in false forms and deceit was in their speech, and they made lying promises of reward, and with cunning words sought to arouse fear and jealously among the peoples, accusing their kings and chieftains of greed, and of treachery one to another. And because of the curse of the kin-slaying at Alqualondë, these lies were often believed; and indeed as the times darkened they had a measure of truth, for the hearts and minds of the Elves of Beleriand became clouded with despair and fear. And most the Gnomes feared the treachery of their own kin, who had been thralls in Angband; for Morgoth used some of these for his evil purposes, and feigning to give them liberty sent them abroad, but their wills were chained to his, and strayed only to come back to him again. Therefore if any of the captives escaped in truth, and returned to their own people, they had little welcome, and wandered alone outlawed and desperate.

§150 *Of the Swarthy Men.* To Men Morgoth feigned pity, if any would hearken to his messages, saying that their woes came only of their servitude to the rebel Gnomes, but at the hands of the rightful lord of earth they would get honour and a just reward of valour, if they would leave rebellion. But of the Three Houses few men would give ear to him, not even were they brought to the torment of Angband. Therefore he pursued them with hatred, but he sent his messengers east over the mountains. And it is said that at this time the Swarthy Men came first into Beleriand; and some were already secretly under the dominion of Morgoth, and came at his call; but not all, for the rumour of Beleriand, of its lands and waters, of its wars and riches, went now far and wide, and the wandering feet of Men were ever set westward in those days. And Morgoth was glad of their coming, for he thought they would prove more pliable to his service, and that through them he might yet work great injury to the Elves.

§151 Now the Easterlings or Rómenildi, as the Elves named these newcomers, were short and broad, long and strong in the arm; their hair was black, and grew much also upon their face and breast; their skins were swart or sallow, and their eyes brown; yet thei. countenances were for the most part not uncomely, though some were grim and fierce. Their houses and tribes were many, and some had greater liking for the Dwarfs of the mountains than for the Elves. But the sons of Fëanor, seeing the weakness of the

Noldor, and the growing power of the armies of Morgoth, made alliances with these men, and gave their friendship to the greatest of their chieftains, Bór and Ulfang. And Morgoth was well content; for this was as he had designed. The sons of Bór were Borlas and Boromir and Borthandos; and they followed Maidros and Maglor, and cheated the hope of Morgoth, and were faithful. The sons of Ulfang the Black were Ulfast and Ulwarth and Uldor the Accursed; and they followed Cranthir and swore allegiance to him, and proved faithless.

§152 There was small love between the Three Houses and the Swarthy Men; and they met seldom. For the newcomers abode long in East Beleriand; but the people of Hador were shut in Hithlum, and Bëor's house was well nigh destroyed. Yet Haleth and his men remained still free; for they had been at first untouched by the northern war, since they dwelt to the southward in the woods by Sirion. There now there was war between them and the invading Orcs; for they were stout-hearted men and would not lightly forsake the woods they loved. And amid the tale of defeats of this time their deeds are remembered with honour: for after the taking of Minnastirith the Orcs came through the western pass, and would maybe have ravaged even unto the mouths of Sirion; but Haleth sent swift word to Thingol, being friendly with many of the Elves that guarded the borders of Doriath. And Thingol sent Beleg the bowman, chief of his march-wardens, to his aid with many archers; and Haleth and Beleg took an Orc-legion at unawares in the forest, and destroyed it; and the advance of the power of Morgoth southward down the course of Sirion was stayed. Thus the folk of Haleth dwelt yet for many years in watchful peace in the forest of Brethil; and behind their guard the kingdom of Nargothrond had respite and mustered anew its strength.

§153 It is said that Húrin son of Gumlin, son of Hador, of Hithlum was with Haleth in that battle, and he was then seventeen years of age; and this was his first deed of arms, but not his last. For Húrin son of Gumlin was fostered for a while in boyhood by Haleth, according to the custom of Men and Elves in that time. And it is recorded that in the autumn of the year of Sudden Fire Haleth took Húrin, then newcome from his father's house, and they went hunting northward up the vale of Sirion; and by chance or the will of Ulmo they came upon the secret entrance to the hidden valley of Tumladin, where Gondolin was built. But they were taken by the guards, and brought before Turgon; and they

looked upon the forbidden city, whereof none of those outside yet knew aught, save Thorondor king of eagles. Turgon welcomed them; for messages and dreams had come to him up Sirion from the sea, from Ulmo, Lord of Waters, warning him of woe to come and foretelling that the aid of mortal men would be necessary, if he would save any of the Gnomes from their doom. But Turgon deemed that Gondolin was strong, and the time not ripe for its revealing; and he would not suffer the men to depart. It is said that he had great liking for the boy Húrin, and love was joined to policy; for he desired to keep Húrin at his side in Gondolin. But tidings came of the great battle, and the need of Gnomes and Men; and Haleth and Húrin besought Turgon for leave to go to the aid of their own folk. Turgon then granted their prayer, but they swore deep oaths to him, and never revealed his secret; and such of the counsels of Turgon as Húrin had learned he kept hidden in his heart.

§154 Turgon would not as yet suffer any of his own folk to issue forth to war, and Haleth and Húrin departed from Gondolin alone. But Turgon, rightly deeming that the breaking of the Siege of Angband was the beginning of the downfall of the Noldor, unless aid should come, sent secret messengers to the mouths of Sirion, and to the Isle of Balar. There they built ships, and many set sail thence, seeking for Valinor, to ask for help and pardon. And they besought the birds of the sea to guide them. But the seas were wild and wide, and shadow and enchantment lay upon them, and Valinor was hidden. Therefore none of the messengers of Gondolin came ever unto the West at that time; and many were lost and few returned; but the doom of Gondolin drew nearer.

§155 Rumour came to Morgoth of these things, and he was unquiet amid his victories; and he desired greatly to learn tidings of Felagund and Turgon. For they had vanished out of knowledge, and yet were not dead; and he feared what they might yet accomplish against him. Of Nargothrond he knew indeed the name, but neither its place nor its strength; but of Gondolin he knew naught, and the thought of Turgon troubled him the more. Therefore he sent forth ever more spies into Beleriand; but he recalled the main hosts of his Orcs and mustered again his forces. And it is said that he was dismayed to find how great had been their loss, perceiving that he could not yet make a final and victorious battle, until he had gathered new strength. Thus Beleriand in the South had a semblance of peace again for a few brief years; but the forges of Angband were full of labour.

§156 *Siege of Eithel Sirion and Fall of Gumlin.* Nor did the assault upon the northern strongholds cease. Himring Morgoth besieged so close that no help might come from Maidros, and he threw suddenly a great force against Hithlum. The Orcs won many of the passes, and some came even into Mithrim; but Fingon drove them in the end with heavy slaughter from the land, and pursued them far across the sands of Fauglith. Yet sorrow marred his victory, for Gumlin son of Hador was slain by an arrow in the siege of the fortress of Fingon at Eithel Sirion. Húrin his son was then new-come to manhood, but he was great in strength both of mind and body; and he ruled now the house of Hador and served Fingon.* And in this time also the outlaws of Dorthonion were destroyed, and Beren son of Barahir alone escaping came hardly into Doriath.

Commentary on Chapter 11

§132 This paragraph is developed from the first part of annal 222 in AB 2 (there is nothing of it in the earlier sources).

§133 'The sons of the sons of the Fathers of Men' are the second generation after Bëor, Hador, and Haleth (Baragund, Belegund, Beren; Húrin, Huor; Handir), whose birthdates, according to the revised chronology in AB 2, fall between 424 (Baragund) and 444 (Huor).

§138 The application of *Mirkwood* to Taur-na-Fuin is interesting. Cf. the reverse case in *Unfinished Tales*, p. 281, where (long after) in a note to *The Disaster of the Gladden Fields* my father wrote: 'the shadow of Sauron spread through Greenwood the Great, and changed its name from Eryn Galen to Taur-nu-Fuin (translated Mirkwood).'

§139 The only names of the men of Barahir's band given in AB 2 (annal 257), other than his son and nephews, are Gorlim, Radros (> Radruin), Dagnir, and Gildor. – On the story that Morwen and Rian were of Hithlum, and were staying there at the time of the Battle of Sudden Fire, see AB 2 annal 257 and commentary.

§140 According to the revised dating, Hador was born in 390, and he died with Gundor in 456. As AB 2 was originally written, Gundor was the elder son, but he became the younger (note 20), born in 419 'beneath the shadows of Eredlindon' (i.e. before Hador crossed the mountains into Beleriand).

§141 *Celegorn*, not *Celegorm*, was here the form first written (see commentary on §41). – It is said in QS §117 that after the founding of

Footnote to the text: For he returned unto his own folk after the victory in the woods of Brethil, while the ways north to Hithlum were passable because of the defeat of the Orcs at that time.

Nargothrond Inglor Felagund committed the tower of Minnastirith to Orodreth; and later in the present chapter (§143) it is recounted how Sauron came against Orodreth and took the tower by assault (the fate of the defenders is not there mentioned). The statement here that Celegorn and Curufin 'sought harbour with their friend Orodreth' – rather than 'sought harbour with Felagund' – is found also in an emendation to AB 2 (note 25); the implication is that Orodreth reached Nargothrond before them, and that their friendship with him was the motive for their going to Nargothrond. This friendship survived the change of Orodreth's lordship from the east of Dorthonion ('nighest to the sons of Fëanor', AB 2 annal 52 as originally written) to the wardenship of the tower on Tol Sirion. The sentence 'the people of Celegorn swelled the strength of Felagund, but it would have been better . . . if they had remained in the East among their own kin' goes back to Q (IV. 106), though in Q Celegorm and Curufin came to Nargothrond together with Orodreth.

§142 The fortress on the west slopes of Mount Rerir is here first mentioned.

§143 On the shifting representation of the growth of the great Dragon to his full power and terror see IV. 181–2, 317–18. The statement in AB 2 annal 255 that Glómund was 'in his full might' at the Battle of Sudden Fire was not taken up in QS §135, and in the present passage 'the time of his full strength was not come'. In *The Silmarillion* (p. 151) Glaurung was again 'in his full might' at the time of the battle: this was taken from the final version of the *Annals* (the *Grey Annals*).

This is the first occurrence of the name *Sauron* in the 'Silmarillion' tradition; but its actual first occurrence (in a text as first written) is probably either in *The Lost Road* or in the second version of *The Fall of Númenor* (see the commentary on FN II §5). The statement that Morgoth suborned Sauron *'in Valinor* from among the people of the Gods' is notable. The implication must be that at this period my father conceived Sauron to have followed Morgoth when he fled to Middle-earth accompanied by Ungoliantë.

With the words 'a host of Balrogs' cf. the commentary on §89.

§§144–7 The account of the death of Fingolfin in QS was largely based on the *Lay of Leithian* Canto XII (see III. 293) – which in turn had followed the prose version in Q (IV. 176–8).

§147 In Q §9 (IV. 106) 'The Orcs sing of that duel at the gates', and in the *Lay of Leithian* (lines 3584–5) 'Yet Orcs would after laughing tell / of the duel at the gates of hell.'

The name *Thorondor* (for *Thorndor*) appears now in this form as first written (see commentary on §§96–7).

Gochressiel: this name (on which see the *Etymologies*, stem KHARÁS) was afterwards changed to *Crisaegrim*. In Q §15 Thorndor dwelt on Thangorodrim until the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, when he

removed his eyries 'to the northward heights of the Encircling Mountains', and kept watch there 'sitting upon the cairn of King Fingolfin'. This goes back to S (§15; see IV. 66). Afterwards the *Crissaegrim* 'abode of eagles' were expressly stated to be the peaks to the south of Gondolin, and the name was so marked in on the second Map; but *Gochressiel* in QS need not have had this narrower significance.

In Q §9 it was Thorndor who 'set' Fingolfin's cairn on the mountain-top, just as in the *Lay of Leithian* (lines 3626–7) 'in mounded cairn the mighty dead / he laid upon the mountain's head'; but in QS, with the changed story of the foundation of Gondolin, it is Turgon who comes up from the city in the valley beneath and builds his father's tomb.

§150 The earlier sources have nothing of the content of this paragraph, in which first appears the important development that some of the Swarthy Men were already under Morgoth's dominion before they entered Beleriand (see IV. 179–80).

§151 In the description of the Swarthy Men, or *Rómenildi* ('Eastern Men', Easterlings) as they are called here, my father was following AB 2 annal 263 (463), the year of their first coming into East Beleriand. The form *Bór* was changed from *Bor* subsequent to the writing of the manuscript, as in AB 2 (note 33); but *Ulfang* and *Ulwarth* (appearing only by emendation in AB 2) are original.

§152 There is here the explicit assertion that the house of Bëor was 'well nigh destroyed'; earlier in this chapter (§138) it was said that after the Battle of Sudden Fire 'Barahir was now by right lord of the remnant of the folk of Bëor; but most of these fled from Dorthonion and took refuge among the people of Hador in the fastness of Hithlum.'

The passage concerning the people of Haleth and the destruction of the Orcs in Brethil by Haleth and Beleg with archers out of Doriath is derived from annal 258 in AB 2, and much expanded.

§153 The story of Húrin's sojourn in Gondolin is found in AB 2 (annal 256) in very much the same form as it is told here. The statement in the opening sentence of the paragraph that Haleth and Húrin (then seventeen years old) were 'in that battle' refers to the destruction of the Orcs in Brethil in the year 458; Húrin was born in 441. See note 32 to AB 2.

§154 The account of the vain attempt of Turgon to send messengers over the ocean to Valinor is developed from that in annal 256 in AB 2.

§156 The attack on Hithlum took place in the year 462, the year in which Beren fled from Dorthonion. – The name *Fauglith* was written *Dor-na-Fauglith*, but changed at the time of writing.

With the footnote (contemporary with the writing of the manuscript) cf. the addition to AB 2 annal 258 (note 32): 'Húrin of Hithlum was with Haleth; but he departed afterward since the victory [in Brethil] had made the journey possible, and returned to his own folk.'

12–15 OF BEREN AND TINÚVIEL

The *Quenta Silmarillion* came to an end not abruptly but raggedly. The textual history now becomes very complex, but since it bears strongly on the question of how matters stood when *The Lord of the Rings* was begun I give here an account of it. Since, as I believe, the story of what happened, and when, can be put together with a high degree of probability, I set it out on the basis of my reconstruction and in the order of events that I deduce, since this will be briefer and clearer than to give all the evidences first and only then to draw conclusions.

I have noticed earlier (p. 199) that there is now no trace of any rough drafts underlying the polished and beautiful QS manuscript (though they must have existed) until the tale of Beren and Lúthien is reached; but at this point they appear abundantly. The first of them is a very rough manuscript which I shall call 'QS(A)', or simply 'A'; this represents, I feel sure, the first essay at a prose version of the tale since the original *Tale of Tinúviel*, a prose 'saga' to be told on a far more ample scale than the brief account in Q (§10). The treachery of Gorlim, the surprising of Barahir's lair on Dorthonion, and Beren's recapture of the ring from the Orcs, are fully told; and in some two and a half thousand words this text only reaches the words of Thingol's people when the woods of Doriath fell silent (the *Lay of Leithian* lines 861–2).

On the basis of A (or perhaps of a further draft version now lost) my father then continued QS in fine script through chapter 12 and into 13, giving a general heading *Of Beren and Tinúviel* to both but entitling the individual chapters *Of the Meeting of Beren and Lúthien Tinúviel* and *The Quest of the Silmaril*. Here too the story was told very fully, but less so than in the rough draft A; for the story of Gorlim and the betrayal of Barahir is dealt with in less than a page, and Dairon is entirely excluded from the narrative. At the point where Inglor Felagund gave the crown of Nargothrond to Orodreth, the text ends. It is convenient to call this – just for the purpose of this discussion – 'QS I'.

QS I ends here because my father saw that it was going to be too long, overbalancing the whole work. He had taken more than 4000 words to reach the departure of Beren and Felagund from Nargothrond – and this did not include the story of Lúthien's imprisonment in the tree-house and her escape from it, which in the Lay precedes the account of Beren in Nargothrond. (That QS I was originally simply the continuation of QS is obvious from the fact that in the course of it there is the new chapter-heading numbered 13.) He therefore set it aside, and began anew on a less ample version, though still by no means severely compressed (this version reaches the departure of Beren and Felagund from Nargothrond in some 1800 words); but he retained the first page of QS I, which he considered to be sufficiently 'compressed'. This page takes the story to the words [*Beren*] *swore upon it an oath of vengeance* (*The Silmarillion* p. 163). For this reason QS I, as it now stands, has no beginning, but

takes up at the head of the second page with the words *First therefore he pursued the Orcs that had slain his father*.

As a basis for the projected 'short' version of the tale, my father now made a draft version of the whole. This manuscript, 'QS(B)' or 'B', starts out clearly enough but rapidly declines into a scrawl. It begins, on page 1, with the words *First therefore he pursued the Orcs that had slain his father* – because the first page of QS I, extending precisely to this point, was retained for the new version.

From text B was derived the 'short' form of the story ('QS II') in the QS manuscript, written in the same fine script. This retains the chapter division 12/13 at the same point as it had been made in QS I, where Beren left Doriath; chapter 13 ends with the burial of Felagund on Tol Sirion; and chapter 14 is entitled *The Quest of the Silmaril 2*. Near the end of this chapter the script changes, slightly but noticeably, from one page to the next. The first script, extraordinarily uniform right through the manuscript from the beginning, ends at the foot of page 91 with the words *but the jewel suffered his touch* (*The Silmarillion* p. 181), and the new begins at the head of page 92 with *and hurt him not*, continuing to the end of chapter 14 a few lines down page 93 at *for the power of the Silmaril was hidden within him*. I feel certain that it was at the foot of page 91 that my father broke off when the QS manuscript went to Allen and Unwin on 15 November 1937.

But he was reluctant to set his work (the development of the rough text B into the finished narrative QS II) suddenly aside. He therefore at once began on an intermediate manuscript, 'QS(C)' or 'C', in a less fine and time-consuming form (intending to copy this into the QS manuscript when it came back to him). This I deduce from the fact that the first page of text C is numbered 92 and begins with the words *and hurt him not*, just as does the portion of QS II in the changed script.

When QS came back from the publishers on 16 December 1937 my father began immediately (see III. 366) on 'a new story about Hobbits', and I do not think that after that time he extended the narrative of the *Quenta Silmarillion* any further. But while the QS manuscript was away, he had extended the text C for a good distance, completing the story of Beren and Lúthien through a final chapter (15) entitled *The Quest of the Silmaril 3: The Wolf-hunt of Carcharoth*, writing a further chapter (16) *Of the Fourth Battle: Nírnaith Arnediad*, and commencing 17 *Of Túrin the Hapless*. By this stage the manuscript had as usual degenerated into a scrawl, and he left it at Túrin's putting on the Dragon-helm and becoming the companion of Beleg on the north marches of Doriath.

Still (if I am right) before the return of the QS manuscript, however, he followed text C in this leap-frogging fashion with a further and clearer manuscript, 'QS(D)' or 'D', which took up from C in the middle of chapter 16 (*Of the Fourth Battle*) at the point where it is told that Maidros was delayed by the machinations of Uldor the Accursed (*The Silmarillion* p. 190), and continued somewhat further into chapter 17

(here called *Of Túrin Turamarth or Túrin the Hapless*), as far as the words (referring to Túrin's outlaw band) *and their hands were turned against all who came in their path, Elves, Men, or Orcs* (*The Silmarillion* p. 200). Here the *Quenta Silmarillion* comes to a stop; and it may well be that these last words were written on the 16th of December 1937, and *When Bilbo, son of Bungo of the family of Baggins, prepared to celebrate his seventieth birthday* on the following day.*

When the short passage in changed script at the end of chapter 14 in the QS manuscript (see p. 293) was copied in from text C cannot be determined; my father may have put it in when the manuscript came back to him. But with the beginning of chapter 15 (*The Wolf-hunt of Carcharoth*) the writing in the manuscript changes again and strikingly, to a heavier, more ornate form with a thicker nib; this third script completes the chapter and the story of Beren and Lúthien, and this is effectively the conclusion of the manuscript (a small portion was added later in yet a fourth script).

In fact, chapter 15 was added to the QS manuscript long afterwards, in the time following the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*. I base this assertion on various evidences; in the first place on the script itself, which has close affinity with that of manuscripts undoubtedly belonging to the later time. Further, the draft text C, begun when the QS manuscript went to the publishers, received important additions and alterations which can be dated, for at the end of chapter 15 in C my father noted: 'revised so far, 10 May 1951'. Among these 1951 revisions is the phrase (*The Silmarillion* p. 187) 'the Two Kindreds that were made by Ilúvatar to dwell *in Arda, the Kingdom of Earth amid the innumerable stars*.' This phrase is found also in the later *Ainulindalë*, where a cosmology decisively different from that of the *Ambarkanta* had entered; moreover a note of my father's gives a brief list of 'Alterations in last revision 1951', which includes *Arda* ('Elvish name of Earth = our world'). On this list see p. 338. It was the text of C *with these revisions* that was copied into the QS manuscript; and thus he at last fulfilled (though only to this point) his intention of fourteen years before.

The story can be summarised thus:

(1) A rough draft 'A', in which the telling of the tale of Beren and Lúthien was very amply conceived, was soon abandoned.

(2) The QS-manuscript version of the tale was begun, again in a very full form but less so than in A, and was in turn abandoned quite early in the tale ('QS I').

(3) A rough draft 'B' for the whole story of Beren and Lúthien was completed, and this was the basis for:

*As will be seen subsequently (pp. 323–4) a rewriting of the end of the 'Silmarillion' narrative in Q also belongs to this time, and it is possible, though I think it less likely, that this was the last work that my father did before beginning 'the new story about Hobbits'.

(4) A second, more compressed version to stand in the QS manuscript ('QS II'); this was interrupted towards the end of the tale when the manuscript went to the publishers.

(5) An intermediate text 'C', taking up from this point, was continued as a substitute while the QS manuscript was gone, and this completed the story of Beren and Lúthien, extended through the chapter on the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, and went some way into the story of Túrin.

(6) When C became very rough, it was taken over by a text 'D', which beginning in the course of the chapter on the Battle of Unnumbered Tears extended somewhat further into the story of Túrin; this was abandoned when the QS manuscript returned in December 1937.

(7) In 1951 the conclusion of the tale of Beren and Lúthien (chapter 15) was at last added to the QS manuscript.

On a covering page to the 'fuller' version QS I my father wrote: *Fragment of a fuller form of the Geste of Beren and Lúthien told as a separate tale;* and in a letter of November 1949 he said:

> The original intention was to tell certain of the included Tales at greater length, whether within the Chronicle [i.e. the *Quenta Silmarillion*], or as additions. A specimen of what was intended will be seen in the Tale of Lúthien . . .

But, as I have shown, the 'fragment of a fuller form' only became so when it had been rejected as unsuitable in its scale to stand as the version of the story in QS. This is not to say, however, that my father never did really intend to tell the tale as a long prose 'saga'; on the contrary, he greatly wished to. The abandoned draft A and the abandoned QS I are testimony to his reluctance to compress: the story kept overflowing the bounds. When at the end of 1937 he had finally completed a prose version, he must still have felt that even if one day he could get 'The Silmarillion' published, the story would still not be told as he wished to tell it. Thus at the time when he turned again to the *Lay of Leithian* (see III. 330), *The Lord of the Rings* being finished but its publication very doubtful, he embarked also once more on a prose 'saga' of Beren and Lúthien. This is a substantial text, though the story goes no further than the betrayal by Dairon to Thingol of Beren's presence in Doriath, and it is so closely based on the rewritten form of the Lay as to read in places almost as a prose paraphrase of the verse. It was written on the verso pages of the text AB 2 of the *Annals of Beleriand*, and was not known to me when *The Silmarillion* was prepared for publication.

To present these texts would take many pages and involve a great deal of pure repetition in relation to the published version, and I restrict myself here therefore to remarking particular features and to indicating the genesis of chapter 19 in *The Silmarillion*. Essentially, the published text was based on the 'fuller' form, QS I, so far as it goes, and then follows the 'shorter', complete form, QS II. The story was also told,

briefly, in the final version of the *Annals of Beleriand*, the *Grey Annals*, and some passages in the published version are derived from that source.

I have mentioned above that the opening page of QS I, the commencement of chapter 12, was retained as the opening of QS II, and I give here the text of that page, for it was much modified and expanded in the published work (pp. 162–3).

Among the tales of sorrow and ruin that come down to us from the darkness of those days there are yet some that are fair in memory, in which amid weeping there is a sound of music, and amid the tears joy, and under the shadow of death light that endureth. And of these histories most fair still in the ears of the Elves is the tale of Beren and Lúthien; for it is sad and joyous, and touches upon mysteries, and it is not ended.*

Of their lives was made the *Lay of Leithian*, Release from Bondage, which is the longest save one of the songs of the Noldor concerning the world of old; but here the tale must be told in fewer words and without song. When [Bëor >] Bregolas was slain, as has been recounted, Barahir his [son >] brother saved King Felagund, and received his ring in token of never-failing friendship. But Barahir would not forsake Dorthonion, and there Morgoth pursued him to the death. At last there remained to him only twelve companions, Beren his son, and the sons of Bregolas, and nine other men. Of these Gorlim son of Angrim was one, a man of valour. But Gorlim was caught by the guile of Sauron the wizard, as the lay tells, and Morgoth wrung from him knowledge of the hiding-place of Barahir; but Gorlim he rewarded with death. Thus Morgoth drew his net about Barahir, and he was taken by surprise and slain with all his companions, save one. For by fortune Beren was not with them at that time, but was hunting alone in the woods, as often was his custom, for thus he gained news of the movement of their foes. But Beren was warned by a vision of Gorlim the unhappy that appeared to him in sleep, and he returned in haste, and yet too late. For his father was already slain, and the carrion-birds arose from the ground as Beren drew near, and sat in the alder-trees, and croaked in mockery. For there was a high tarn among the moors, and beside it Barahir had made his lair.

*For the meaning of the words 'and it is not ended' (which should not have been omitted in *The Silmarillion*) see p. 304: the thought underlying the last sentence of the tale is much more explicit in the draft text B.

There Beren buried his father's bones, and raised a cairn of boulders over him, and swore upon it an oath of vengeance.

Gorlim's father Angrim now appears. The words first written 'When Bëor was slain . . . Barahir his son saved King Felagund' are puzzling. The original draft manuscript A had here likewise 'When Bëor and Bregolas were slain . . .' It was said in Q §9 that 'Bëor lived till death with Felagund', but in §10 that Bëor was slain in the Battle of Sudden Fire; this I took to be a (surprising) inconsistency within Q (IV. 179). In QS §131 (and in AB 2, annal 250) Bëor died of old age, five years before the Battle of Sudden Fire, and in his death 'the Elves saw for the first time the death of weariness, and they grieved for the short span allotted to mankind'; thus the inconsistency appears again and still more surprisingly in this version. But the corrections to QS here were made, almost certainly, at the time of composition.

It is said here that 'Gorlim was caught by the guile of Sauron the wizard, as the lay tells, and Morgoth wrung from him knowledge of the hiding-place of Barahir.' In the much fuller draft A the story was still almost exactly as in the *Lay of Leithian* (III. 162–4): Gorlim was all but caught as he looked through the window of the house at the figure of his wife Eilinel, he returned to his companions but said nothing, and finally, with a far more deliberate treachery than in the later story, yielded himself to the servants of Morgoth, who took him to Angband. A minor development is that whereas in the Lay the house in which he thought he saw Eilinel was not his own, it is now told that he went often to his own deserted home, and Morgoth's spies knew this (cf. the *Lay of Leithian Recommenced*, III. 337). More important, in A Morgoth 'revealed to Gorlim that he had seen but a phantom devised by the wizardry of Sauron to entrap him', which again advances the story to that of the rewritten Lay, where the phantom was expressly made by Sauron (III. 339, and see III. 348). I see no reason to think that the brief sentence which is all that is told of Gorlim in the QS version reflects a story different in any way from that in A. Years later, when as mentioned above (p. 295) my father once more attempted a full prose version of the story, he went back to A and emended it in preparation for this new work. The story now entered that Gorlim was captured on the first occasion that he saw the image of Eilinel through the window; but he was still taken to Angband, and addressed by Morgoth himself. This stage is represented in the first version of the rewritten Lay at this point (see III. 348). Finally, pencilled alterations to A changed Angband to Sauron's camp, and Morgoth to Sauron, and so reached the final story, as in the second version of the rewritten Lay.

When I composed the text of the opening of chapter 19 in *The Silmarillion* I did not at all foresee the possibility of the publication of the *Lay of Leithian*, and I wished to include the story of Gorlim, which is virtually excluded from QS. The second paragraph of the chapter, from

'Now the forest of Dorthonion rose southward into mountainous moors', was taken from the *Grey Annals*; and for the story of Gorlim that follows I used the text of A – in its final form, as just described.

In the story of Beren's solitary life on Dorthonion, his flight south over the Mountains of Terror, and his meeting with Lúthien – as far as 'though the time was brief', *The Silmarillion* p. 166 – the two QS versions are not in fact greatly different in length, and here I interwove some elements from the 'shorter' version, QS II; but from the point where Thingol learns of Beren's presence in the forest QS I was followed to its end at the words 'and Celegorm and Curufin said nothing, but they smiled and went from the halls' (*The Silmarillion* p. 170), for all of this narrative is in QS II compressed into two paragraphs. Thereafter QS II was followed to the end of the story.

The QS version(s) of 'Beren and Lúthien' are thus to be found in chapter 19 of the published work, and are not given here; but significant points in which the QS text(s) were altered editorially must be mentioned. I list these in order of their occurrence, with references to the pages of *The Silmarillion* (hardback edition).

Tarn Aeluin (pp. 162–3): introduced from later sources (*Grey Annals*, rewritten Lay, etc.)

Rivil's Well and the *Fen of Serech* (p. 163): introduced from later sources.

Noldor for *Gnomes* (p. 164 and throughout, wherever *Gnomes* appears in QS).

Gorgoroth, *Ered Gorgoroth* (p. 164). In QS I the latter is *Ered-orgoroth*, and in A and QS II *Ered-'orgoroth* (beside *Gorgoroth* standing alone). As I understand the matter, this variation is due to the phenomenon in 'Exilic Noldorin' (i.e. the language of the Noldor in Middle-earth, in exile from Valinor) called 'Initial Variation of Consonants', whereby a consonant at the beginning of the second element of a compounded word (or of the second word in two words standing in a very close syntactic relation, as noun and article) underwent the same change as it would when standing in ordinary medial position. For example, the original voiceless stops *p, t, k* remained in Exilic Noldorin unchanged initially before vowels, but were voiced to *b, d, g* medially; so *tâl* 'foot' but *i·dâl* 'the foot', or *Thorondor* (*thoron* + *taur* 'king'). Medially, original voiced stop *-g-* became 'opened' to *-ȝ-*, which then weakened and disappeared; in this case therefore the 'initial variation' is between *g* and nil, the lost consonant being represented by a sign called *gasdil* ('stopgap', see the *Etymologies*, stem DIL), transcribed as '. Thus *galað* 'tree', *i·alað* 'the tree'; *Gorgoroth*, *Ered-'orgoroth*. (This was an old linguistic conception, as is seen from forms given in the original 'Gnomish dictionary', as *Balrog* but *i'Malrog*, from an initial consonant combination *mb-* (I. 250).) In post-*Lord of the Rings* texts the form is *Ered Orgoroth* (*-ath*), beside *Gorgoroth* (*-ath*), but

in a couple of cases the form after *Ered* was apparently emended to *Gorgoroth*.

the rising of the Moon (p. 164) is an error; all the texts have *raising*.

Dungortheb (p. 164): later form for QS *Dungorthin*; again on p. 176.

Ungoliant (p. 164): introduced for agreement with the occurrence of the name in *The Lord of the Rings*; QS *Ungoliantë*.

And he passed through the mazes that Melian wove about the kingdom of Thingol, even as she had foretold for a great doom lay upon him (pp. 164–5). QS I has here: 'he could not have found the way, if his fate had not so decreed. Neither could he have passed the mazes that Melian wove about Doriath, unless she had willed it; but she foresaw many things that were hidden from the Elves.' QS II is similar. The reason for the change in *The Silmarillion* is Melian's earlier foretelling to Galadriel that 'one of Men, even of Bëor's house, shall indeed come, and the Girdle of Melian shall not restrain him, for doom greater than my power shall send him' (*ibid.* p. 144), a passage introduced from the *Grey Annals*; the sentence above is from the same source.

in the Grey-elven tongue (p. 165). QS I has 'in the speech of Beleriand', with a marginal note 'quoth Ælfwine'.

But Daeron the minstrel also loved Lúthien, and he espied her meetings with Beren, and betrayed them to Thingol (p. 166). As noticed earlier, Dairon was omitted from QS I (he appears in QS II but much later in the story). In view however of a pencilled note on QS I: *Dairon*, with a mark of insertion, I introduced this sentence (derived from the *Grey Annals*). QS I has here simply: 'But it came to pass that the coming of Beren became known to Thingol, and he was wroth'; similarly in QS II.

'Who are you,' said the King (p. 166). Here and subsequently throughout, 'you', 'your' is substituted for QS 'thou', 'thy' (and 'ye' plural), except in Lúthien's words to Sauron, p. 175.

the badge of Finarfin (p. 167): QS *the badge of Finrod*.

the fate of Arda (p. 167): QS *the fate of the world*.

Talath Dirnen (p. 168): later form for QS *Dalath Dirnen* – the first occurrence of the Elvish name of the Guarded Plain.

Taur-en-Faroth (p. 168): later form for QS *Taur-na-Faroth*.

Finrod Felagund (p. 169): QS *Felagund*; again on p. 174.

and he knew that the oath he had sworn was come upon him for his death, as long before he had foretold to Galadriel (p. 169). Added from the *Grey Annals*; the reference is to *The Silmarillion* p. 130, where Felagund said to Galadriel: 'An oath I too shall swear, and must be free to fulfil it, and go into darkness' (also derived from the *Grey Annals*).

Celegorm (p. 169): QS *Celegorn*, and subsequently.

Finarfin's son (p. 169): QS *Finrod's son*; again on p. 170.

Then Celegorm arose amid the throng (p. 169). In QS this is followed by 'golden was his long hair'. In the Lay at this point (line 1844) Celegorm has 'gleaming hair'; his Old English name was *Cynegrim*

Fægerfeax ('Fair-hair'), IV. 213. The phrase was removed in *The Silmarillion* text on account of the dark hair of the Noldorin princes other than in 'the golden house of Finarfin' (see I. 44); but he remains 'Celegorm the fair' in *The Silmarillion* p. 60.

Edrahil (p. 170). This name was taken from the *Grey Annals*; in QS the chief of those faithful to Felagund is *Enedrion*.

Taur-nu-Fuin (p. 170): later form for QS *Taur-na-Fuin* (and subsequently).

Citation from the *Lay of Leithian* (p. 171). QS (where the narrative is now only that of the 'shorter' version, QS II) has: 'Sauron had the mastery, and he stripped from them their disguise.' The introduction of a passage from the Lay was justified, or so I thought, by the passage cited later in QS (p. 178).

Tol-in-Gaurhoth (p. 172): later form for QS *Tol-na-Gaurhoth*.

but she sought the aid of Daeron, and he betrayed her purpose to the King (p. 172). An addition, derived like that on p. 166 from the *Grey Annals*; QS has only 'Thingol discovering her thought was filled with fear and wonder.'

the Mountains of Aman (p. 174): QS *the Mountains of the Gods*.

the fates of our kindreds are apart (p. 174). In QS this is followed by: 'Yet perchance even that sorrow shall in the end be healed.'

in Tol-in-Gaurhoth, whose great tower he himself had built (p. 174) was an editorial addition.

fairest and most beloved of the house of Finwë (p. 174) was added from the *Grey Annals*.

Ered Wethrin (p. 175): later form for QS *Eredwethion*.

unless thou yield to me the mastery of thy tower (p. 175). In QS this is followed by: 'and reveal the spell that bindeth stone to stone.' A little further on, the words *and the spell was loosed that bound stone to stone* were an addition to the QS text. This rearrangement was mistaken. (The draft text B has here: 'Then lest he be forced from the body unwillingly, which is a dire pain to such spirits, he yielded himself. And Lúthien and Huan wrested from him the keys of the tower, and the spell that bound stone to stone.')

and it was clean again (p. 176). The passage following this in *The Silmarillion* was an editorial rewriting of QS, which has:

> and it was clean again, and ever after remained inviolate; for Sauron came never back thither. There lies still the green grave of Inglor, Finrod's son, fairest of all the princes of the Elves, unless that land is changed and broken, or foundered under destroying seas. But Inglor walks with Finrod his father among his kinsfolk in the light of the Blessed Realm, and it is not written that he has ever returned to Middle-earth.

Cf. the *Lay of Leithian* lines 2871–7; and for 'the trees of Eldamar' in the rewriting see the rewritten Lay, III. 358 lines 20–1.

In that time Celebrimbor the son of Curufin repudiated the deeds of his

father, and remained in Nargothrond (p. 176). This was an editorial addition derived from a late note.

Maedhros (p. 176): later form for QS *Maidros*. After 'where Maidros their brother dwelt' QS has: 'In the days of the Siege the high road had run that way, and it was still passable with speed, since it lay close,' &c. I do not now recollect why this change was made. This is the first reference to a highroad running from East to West.

Anfauglith (p. 178): QS *Fauglith*.

There Beren slunk in wolf's form beneath his throne (p. 180): an addition, taken from the *Grey Annals*; cf. the Lay, lines 3939–43.

She was not daunted by his eyes (p. 180). QS has: 'she alone of all things in Middle-earth could not be daunted by his eyes.'

with wings swifter than the wind (p. 182). The draft text B (see p. 293) has at this point: 'Thorondor led them, and the others were Lhandroval (Wide-wing) and Gwaewar his vassal.' In the following text C, also of 1937, this became: 'Thorondor was their leader; and with him were his mightiest vassals, wide-winged Lhandroval, and Gwaewar lord of the wind.' This was emended (in 1951, see p. 294) to 'Gwaihir the lord of storm', and in this form the passage is found in the QS manuscript. It was omitted in *The Silmarillion* on account of the passage in *The Return of the King* (VI. 4): 'There came Gwaihir the Windlord, and Landroval his brother . . . *mightiest of the descendants of old Thorondor*, who built his eyries in the inaccessible peaks of the Encircling Mountains when Middle-earth was young.' At the time, I did not understand the nature and dating of the end of QS. It now appears that there was no reason to suppress the names; in fact, it seems that *Gwaewar* was changed to *Gwaihir* to bring it into accord with *The Lord of the Rings* – however this is to be interpreted.

Gondolin the fair where Turgon dwelt (p. 182). This is followed in QS by: 'But it is said in song that her tears falling from on high as she passed came like silver raindrops on the plain, and there a fountain sprang to life: the Fountain of Tinúviel, Eithel Nínui, most healing water until it withered in the flame.' This passage, found already in the draft text C, should not have been omitted.

Crissaegrim (p. 182). The draft texts B and C, and also the QS manuscript as it was written, have here *Gochressiel* (see QS §147 and commentary); in QS it was emended (as also in QS §147) to *Crisaegrim*.

Daeron (p. 183). *Dairon* (so spelt) here first appears in the QS version.

and among the great in Arda (p. 184). An addition, taken from the *Grey Annals*.

Beren Erchamion (p. 185): QS *Beren Gamlost; Beren Camlost* (p. 186): QS *Beren Gamlost;* but at the occurrence on p. 184, where the name stands alone, QS also has *Camlost*. The C/G variation is found also in the drafts B and C, and is another example of the 'Initial Variation of consonants' referred to in the note on *Gorgoroth* above (original

voiceless stop *k* > *g* medially). But here also, as in the case of *Ered Orgoroth*, late changes altered *Beren Gamlost* to *Beren Camlost*. – *Erchamion* is original (and appears already in the draft B) at its occurrence on p. 183, and is the first appearance of the name other than by later emendation.

They bore back Beren Camlost (p. 186). At this point my father entered (later) a new chapter-heading in the QS manuscript: 16 *The Song of Lúthien in Mandos*. In C chapter 16 is *Of the Fourth Battle*.

the Two Kindreds that were made by Ilúvatar to dwell in Arda, the Kingdom of Earth amid the innumerable stars (p. 187). This is original, deriving from QS as revised in 1951 (see p. 294).

Because of her labours and her sorrow (p. 187): QS 'because she was the daughter of Melian, and because of her labours and her sorrow'; see pp. 304–5.

This is not an exhaustive list of all the alterations made to the QS version(s) in the published text, but it includes all changes in names, and all omissions and additions of any substance. I shall not here go into the question of the justifiability of constructing a text from different sources. I hope that it will be possible later to present the major texts from the post-*Lord of the Rings* period, on the basis of which and in relation to what has thus far been published almost every detail of the 'constructed' text will be determinable. The tale of Beren and Lúthien is only a small and relatively very simple element in that construction, and is far from providing sufficient evidence on which to judge either it or its justification. I will say, however, that I now regret certain of the changes made to this tale.

It is proper to mention that here as elsewhere almost every substantial change was discussed with Guy Kay, who worked with me in 1974–5 on the preparation of *The Silmarillion*. He indeed made many suggestions for the construction of the text (such as, in the tale of Beren and Lúthien, the introduction of a passage from the *Lay of Leithian*), and proposed solutions to problems arising in the making of a composite narrative – in some cases of major significance to the structure, as will I hope be shown in a later book. The responsibility for the final published form rests of course wholly with me.

The more important differences between the narratives of the *Lay of Leithian* and *The Silmarillion* have been sufficiently discussed in Vol. III, and I make no further general analysis here. Many other small divergences will be seen in a close comparison of the two works. There are however certain particular points in the QS version and the preparatory drafts that remain to be mentioned.

In QS I, Lúthien's song at the birth of spring (*The Silmarillion* p. 165) is likened to the song of the lark that 'rises from the gates of night and pours its voice among the dying stars, *seeing the sun behind the walls of the world*.' This self-evidently contradicts the *Ambarkanta*; but a

possible explanation is that my father was in fact thinking, not of the *Ilurambar* beyond which is the Void, but of the Walls of the Sun, the mountain-range in the furthest East answering to the Mountains of Valinor in the West: see the *Ambarkanta*, IV. 236–7, 239, and the map of the world, IV. 249. The lark flying high in the early dawn sees the unrisen sun beyond the eastern mountains. On the other hand this is not the only place where the expression 'the Walls of the World' is used in a way that seems anomalous in relation to the *Ambarkanta*: see IV. 253, and the commentary on QS §9.

In Q (IV. 113), when the knife (unnamed) which Beren took from Curufin snapped as he tried to cut a second Silmaril from the Iron Crown, it is called 'the knife of the treacherous Dwarves'; cf. the Lay, lines 4160–1: 'The dwarvish steel of cunning blade / by treacherous smiths of Nogrod made'. The absence of this in QS may be significant, but it is more likely due merely to compression. In the draft B 'the knife of the Dwarfs snapped', which hints at the idea; C has simply 'the knife snapped'. – The name *Angrist* of the knife is found in B, but it is not there ascribed to Telchar; this is first found in QS (*The Silmarillion* p. 177), where also Telchar becomes a Dwarf of Nogrod, not of Belegost as in Q (named as the maker of the Dragon-helm, IV. 118).

Of much interest is the development of the conclusion of the tale (*The Silmarillion* pp. 186–7, from 'Thus ended the Quest of the Silmaril; but the Lay of Leithian, Release from Bondage, does not end.') The original draft B, written in a rapid scrawl, was already near to the final form as far as 'Manwë sought counsel in his inmost thought, where the will of Ilúvatar was revealed.' Text C, almost an exact copy of B to this point, was emended long after (1951) to produce the form in the QS manuscript, but a footnote to the sentence beginning 'But the spirit of Lúthien fell down into darkness' belongs to the earlier time (and was not taken up into the final text):

> Though some have said that Melian summoned Thorondor and bade him bear Lúthien living to Valinor, claiming that she had a part in the divine race of the Gods.

With this cf. S §10 (IV. 25): 'Some songs say that Lúthien went even over the Grinding Ice, aided by the power of her divine mother, Melian, to Mandos' halls and won him back', and Q §10 (IV. 115): 'though some songs say that Melian summoned Thorndor, and he bore [Lúthien] living unto Valinor.' – The text of B continues:

> And this was the choice that he decreed for Beren and Lúthien. They should dwell now in Valinor until the world's end in bliss, but in the end Beren and Lúthien must each go unto the fate appointed to their kind, when all things are changed: and of the mind of Ilúvatar concerning Men Manwë kn[ows] not. Or they might return unto Middle-earth without certitude of joy or life; then Lúthien should become mortal even as Beren, and subject to

a second death, and in the end she should leave the earth for ever and her beauty become only a memory of song. And this doom they chose, that thus, whatsoever sorrow might lie before them, their fates might be joined, and their paths lead together beyond the confines of the world. So it was that alone of the Eldalië Lúthien died and left the world long ago: yet by her have the Two Kindreds been joined, and she is the foremother of many. For her line is not yet extinguished, though the world is changed, and the Eldalië honour still the children of Men. And though these are grown proud and strong, and often are blind, but the Elves are diminished, they cease not to haunt the paths of Men, or to seek converse with those that go apart, for haply such are descended from Lúthien, whom they have lost.

We meet here the conception of the 'choice of fate' by Beren and Lúthien before Mandos. In the earlier accounts there was no choice. In the old *Tale of Tinúviel* – where Beren was an Elf – the fate of Beren and Lúthien was the simple decree of Mandos (II. 40); and in Q (IV. 115) it is the same, though the decree is different, since Beren was now a Man. I have discussed the meaning of these passages at some length (II. 59–60; IV. 63–4, 190–1). In the present text, if the first choice were accepted Beren and Lúthien must finally part, even though that parting is cast into a future indefinitely remote – the end of the world; and that parting would proceed from the different principles of their being, leading inevitably to a different final destiny or doom. Beren could not *finally* escape the necessity imposed upon by him his 'kind', the necessity of leaving the Circles of the World, the Gift of Ilúvatar that cannot be refused, though he may dwell – by unheard-of privilege, as an unheard-of reward – in Valinor until the End. The union of Beren and Lúthien 'beyond the world' could only be achieved by acceptance of the second choice, whereby Lúthien herself should be permitted to change her 'kind', and 'die indeed'.

In the following text C this passage was entirely recast, virtually to the form in which it was afterwards written into the QS manuscript. Here the choices are imposed on Lúthien alone (in the margin of QS is written *The Choices of Lúthien*), and they are changed; for the possibility of Beren accompanying Lúthien to the Blessed Realm is not open. The choice becomes therefore in a sense simpler: Lúthien may leave Beren *now*, and their fates be sundered for ever, *now*; or she may remain with him 'for ever', by becoming mortal, changing her nature and her destiny.

The form of the first choice begins in C: 'She, being the daughter of Melian, and because of her sorrow, should be released from Mandos', becoming in QS: 'She, because she was the daughter of Melian, and because of her labours and her sorrow, should be released from Mandos.' This takes up the idea in the footnote to C cited above (p. 303): Melian

claimed that Lúthien 'had a part in the divine race of the Gods'. The words 'because she was the daughter of Melian' were regrettably omitted from the *Silmarillion* text.

One other point may be noticed in the passage cited from the B text (p. 303). It is said there that 'of the mind of Ilúvatar concerning Men Manwë knows not.' With this cf. QS §86: 'Mandos under Ilúvatar alone *save Manwë* knows whither they [Men] go after the time of recollection in those silent halls beside the Western Sea.' In the passage of Q from which this derives (IV. 100) it is said that 'Mandos under Ilúvatar knew *alone* whither they went.'

Text B continues on from 'Lúthien, whom they have lost' as follows:

But yet Beren and Lúthien abode together for a while, as living man and woman; and Mandos gave unto them a long span of life. But they dwelt not in Doriath, and taking up their mortal forms they departed and wandered forth, knowing neither thirst nor hunger, and came beyond the river into Ossiriand, Land of Seven Streams. There they abode, and Gwerth-i-Cuina the Gnomes named their dwelling, the Land of the Dead that Live, and thereafter no mortal man spoke with Beren son of Barahir.

In C this passage becomes the opening paragraph of chapter 16, *Of the Fourth Battle* (and is so treated in *The Silmarillion*, where it opens chapter 20, *Of the Fifth Battle*), but it was not altered from B in any significant way. In the QS manuscript it was entered on a final page, in yet a fourth script, careful but much less ornate, and here it is again the conclusion of the previous chapter and the end of the tale of Beren and Lúthien. In QS it takes this form:

It is said that Beren and Lúthien returned to the northern lands of Middle-earth, and dwelt together for a time as living man and woman; for taking up again their mortal form in Doriath, they went forth alone, fearing neither thirst nor hunger, and they passed beyond the rivers into Ossiriand, and abode there in the green isle, Tol-galen, in the midst of Adurant, until all tidings of them ceased. Therefore the Noldor afterwards called that land Gyrth-i-Guinar, the country of the Dead that Live, and no mortal man spoke ever again with Beren son of Barahir; and whether the second span of his life was brief or long is not known to Elves or Men, for none saw Beren and Lúthien leave the world or marked where at last their bodies lay.

The longer form that appears in *The Silmarillion* was 'integrated' with the text of the *Grey Annals*. In QS, chapter 16 then opens, with the title *Of the Union of Maedros* (despite the insertion of a chapter-heading 16 *The Song of Lúthien in Mandos*, p. 302); but after the words 'In those

days Maedros son of Fëanor lifted up his heart' my father laid down his pen, and the manuscript ends there.

In B and C it is said, as it had been in Q (IV. 115), that the span of the second lives of Beren and Lúthien was long.* In the *Annals of Beleriand* the first death of Beren took place, according to the latest chronology, in 465, and the final departure of Beren and Lúthien is recorded under the year 503. This date is found again in post-*Lord of the Rings* versions of the *Tale of Years*; and on this account the words 'whether the second span of his life was brief or long is not known to Elves or Men' were omitted from *The Silmarillion*. But they should not have been. It is also said in the annal for 503 that *their deathday is not known*: the annal records as fact the coming of the messenger to Dior in Doriath by night, bearing the Silmaril on the Necklace of the Dwarves, but as surmise the saying of the Elves that Beren and Lúthien must be dead, else the Silmaril would not have come to their son. I think now that this is how the words of QS are to be interpreted; the belief that the coming of the Silmaril to Dior was a sign of their deaths is simply not referred to.

The name *Gwerth-i-Cuina* has appeared in later emendations to Q, and in an emendation to the Eastward Extension of the first Map (IV. 233). The placing of the dwelling of Beren and Lúthien after their return on the isle of Tol-galen in the river Adurant appears in an addition to QS §114 (see the commentary).

16 OF THE FOURTH BATTLE: NÍRNAITH ARNEDIAD

The two manuscripts of this chapter have been described on pp. 293–4: the first, QS(C), was the intermediate text begun while QS was away in November–December 1937, and this gives the whole of chapter 16, while the second, QS(D), of the same period, begins some way through it. To the point where D takes up, therefore, C (rough but legible) is the only text. As noted above, in C the chapter opens with the paragraph concerning the second lives of Beren and Lúthien, whereas the QS manuscript includes it at the end of chapter 15 and begins 16 with the Union of Maidros, breaking off after the first words. I recommence the paragraph-numbers here from §1.

The Union of Maidros

§1 'Tis said that Beren and Lúthien returned into the lands of the North, and abode together for a while, as living man and

*In another passage of Q (IV. 134) the land where they dwelt after their return had only a 'brief hour of loveliness', just as in the *Tale of the Nauglafring* (II. 240) 'upon Beren and Tinúviel fell swiftly that doom of mortality that Mandos had spoken.'

woman; and the span of their second life was long. But they did not dwell in Doriath; for taking up their mortal form they departed thence and went forth alone, fearing neither thirst nor hunger. And they passed beyond the rivers into Ossiriand, the Land of Seven Streams, and dwelt among the Green-elves secretly. Therefore the Gnomes called that land Gwerth-i-Cuina, the Land of the Dead that Live; and thereafter no mortal man spoke with Beren son of Barahir.

§2 But in those days Maidros son of Fëanor lifted up his heart, perceiving that Morgoth was not unassailable; for the deeds of Beren and Lúthien and the breaking of the towers of Sauron were sung in many songs throughout Beleriand. Yet Morgoth would destroy them all, one by one, if they could not again unite, and make a new league and common council. Therefore he planned the Union of Maidros, and he planned wisely.

§3 For he renewed friendship with Fingon in the West, and they acted thereafter in concert. Maidros summoned again to his aid the Dark-elves from the South, and the Swarthy Men were gathered together, and he sallied from Himring in force. At the same time Fingon issued from Hithlum. For a while the Gnomes had victory again, and the Orcs were driven out of the northward regions of Beleriand, and hope was renewed. Morgoth withdrew before them and called back his servants; for he was aware of all that was done, and took counsel against the uprising of the Gnomes. He sent forth many spies and emissaries, secret or disguised, among Elves and Men, and especially they came to the Easterlings, the Swarthy Men, and to the sons of Ulfang. The smithies of Nogrod and Belegost were busy in those days, making mail and sword and spear for many armies; and the Dwarfs in that time became possessed of much of the wealth and jewelry of Elves and Men, though they went not to war themselves. 'For we do not know the right causes of this quarrel,' they said, 'and we favour neither side – until one hath the mastery.'

§4 Great and well-armed was the host of Maidros in the East. In the West all the strength of Hithlum, Gnomes and Men, were ready to his summons: Fingon and Huor and Húrin were their chiefs. Then Turgon, thinking that maybe the hour of deliverance was at hand, came forth himself unlooked for from Gondolin; and he brought a great army and encamped upon the plain before the opening of the western pass in sight of the walls of Hithlum. There was joy among the people of Fingon his brother, seeing their kinsfolk that had long been hidden.

§5 Yet the oath of Fëanor and the evil deeds that it had wrought did injury to the design of Maidros, and he had less aid than should have been. Orodreth would not march from Nargothrond at the word of any son of Fëanor, because of the deeds of Celegorn and Curufin. Thence came only a small company, whom Orodreth suffered to go, since they could not endure to be idle when their kinsfolk were gathering for war. Gwindor was their leader, son of Guilin, a very valiant prince; but they took the badge of the house of Fingolfin, and marched beneath the banners of Fingon, and came never back, save one.

§6 From Doriath came little help. For Maidros and his brethren, being constrained by their oath, had before sent to Thingol and reminded him with haughty words of their claim, summoning him to yield to them the Silmaril, or become their enemy. Melian counselled him to surrender the jewel, and perchance he would have done so, but their words were proud and threatening, and he was wroth, thinking of the anguish of Lúthien and the blood of Beren whereby the jewel had been won, despite the malice of Celegorn and Curufin. And every day that he looked upon the jewel, the more his heart desired to keep it for ever. Such was its power. Therefore he sent back the messengers of Maidros with scornful words. Maidros answered naught, for he had now begun to devise the league and union of the Elves; but Celegorn and Curufin vowed openly to slay Thingol and destroy his folk, if they came victorious from war, and the jewel were not surrendered of free will. For this reason Thingol fortified the marches of his realm, and went not to war, nor any out of Doriath save Mablung, and Beleg who could not be restrained.

§7 The treacherous shaft of Curufin that wounded Beren was remembered among Men. Therefore of the folk of Haleth that dwelt in Brethil only the half came forth, and they went not to join Maidros, but came rather to Fingon and Turgon in the West.

§8 Having gathered at length all the strength that he could, Maidros appointed a day, and sent word to Fingon and Turgon. Upon the East was raised the standard of Maidros, and to it came all the folk of Fëanor, and they were many; and the Dark-elves of the South; and of the Green-elves of Ossiriand many companies; and the tribes and battalions of the Easterlings with the sons of Bór and Ulfang. Upon the West was the standard of Fingon, and to it were gathered the armies of Hithlum, both Gnomes and Men; and Turgon with the host of Gondolin; to which was added such strength as came from the Falas, and from Brethil, and from

Nargothrond; and they waited upon the borders of Dor-na-Fauglith, looking for the signal of the advancing banners from the East.

[At this point the manuscript D takes up, and is followed here. It is a very close reworking of C, taking up the preparatory emendations made to the earlier text but scarcely developing it except in small stylistic detail.]

§9 But Maidros was delayed upon the road by the machinations of Uldor the Accursed, son of Ulfang; and continually the emissaries of Morgoth went among the camps: and there were thrall-Gnomes or things in Elvish form, and they spread foreboding of evil and the suspicion of treason among all who would listen to them.

§10 Long the armies waited in the West, and fear of treachery grew in their thoughts when Maidros tarried. The hot hearts of Fingon and Turgon became impatient. Therefore they sent their heralds forth upon the plain of Fauglith, and their silver trumpets were blown, and they summoned the hosts of Morgoth to come out.

§11 Then Morgoth sent a force, great and yet not too great. Fingon was minded to attack it from the woods at the feet of Erydwethion, where the most of his strength was hid. But Húrin spake against it. Therefore Morgoth, seeing that they wavered, led forth the herald of Fingon that he had wrongfully taken prisoner, and he slew him upon the plain, and sent back the others with his head. Thereupon the wrath of Fingon was kindled to flame, and his army leaped forth in sudden onslaught; and ere Turgon could restrain them, a great part also of his host joined in the battle. The light of the drawing of the swords of the Noldor was like a sudden fire kindled in a field of reeds.

§12 This was indeed as Morgoth designed; but it is said that he had not reckoned the true number of his enemies' array, nor measured rightly their valour, and almost his plan went astray. Ere the army that he sent forth could be strengthened, it was overwhelmed; for it was assailed suddenly from West and South; and that day there was a greater slaughter of the servants of Morgoth than had yet been achieved. Loud rang the trumpets. The banners of Fingon were raised before the very walls of Angband. It is told that Gwindor son of Guilin and the folk of Nargothrond were in the front of the battle, and they burst through the gates, and slew the Orcs upon the stairs of Angband, and fear came upon Morgoth on his deep throne. But in the end

Gwindor and his men were taken or slain, for no help came to them. By other secret doors in the mountains of Thangorodrim Morgoth had let issue forth his main host that he had held in waiting; and Fingon and the army of Hithlum were beaten back from the walls.

§13 Then in the plain there began that Battle which is called Nírnaith Arnediad, Unnumbered Tears, for no song or tale can contain all the grief of that day, and the voices of those that sing of it are turned to mourning. The host of Fingon retreated with great loss over the sands of Dor-na-Fauglith, and Hundor son of Haleth was slain in the rearguard, and with him fell most of the Men of Brethil and came never back to the woods. And Glorwendil, daughter of Hador and wife of Hundor, died of grief in that unhappy year. But the Orcs came between Fingon and the passes of Erydwethion that led into Hithlum; therefore he withdrew towards the vale of Sirion. Before the entrance of that valley, upon the borders of Taur-na-Fuin, there remained still in hiding a great part of the host of Turgon; and Turgon now sounded his horns, and came forth in might with help unlooked for, and many of the Orcs, being caught between the two armies, were destroyed.

§14 Then hope was renewed in the hearts of the Elves. And in that hour the trumpets of Maidros were heard coming from the East, and the banners of the Sons of Fëanor and their allies came up on the flank of the Enemy. And some have said that even now the Elves might have won the day, had all been faithful; for the Orcs wavered, and their onslaught was stayed, and already some were turning in flight.

§15 But even as the vanguard of Maidros came upon the Orcs, Morgoth let loose his last strength, and hell was emptied. There came wolves and serpents, and there came Balrogs one thousand, and there came Glómund the Father of Dragons. And the strength and terror of the Worm were now grown very great; and Elves and Men withered before him. Thus Morgoth hindered the joining of the hosts of the Elves; yet he would not have achieved this, neither with Balrog nor Dragon, had the captains of the Easterlings remained true. Many of these men now turned and fled; but the sons of Ulfang went over to the side of Morgoth, and they fell upon the rear of Maidros and wrought confusion. From that day the hearts of the Elves were estranged from Men, save only from those of the Three Houses, the peoples of Hador, and Bëor, and Haleth; for the sons of Bór, Boromir, Borlas, and Borthandos, who alone among the Easterlings proved true at

need, all perished in that battle, and they left no heirs. But the sons of Ulfang reaped not the reward that Morgoth had promised them; for Cranthir slew Uldor the Accursed, the leader in treason, and Ulfast and Ulwarth were slain by the sons of Bór, ere they themselves fell.

§16 Thus the design of Morgoth was fulfilled in a manner after his own heart; for Men took the lives of Men, and betrayed the Elves, and fear and hatred were aroused among those who should have been united against him. And the host of Maidros, assailed in front and rear, was dispersed and was driven from the battle eastward; and the Gorge of Aglon was filled with Orcs, and the Hill of Himring garrisoned by the soldiers of Angband, and the gates of the land were in the power of Morgoth. But fate saved the Sons of Fëanor, and though all were wounded none were slain. Yet their arms were scattered, and their people diminished, and their league broken; and they took to a wild and woodland life beneath the feet of Eredlindon, mingling with the Dark-elves, bereft of their power and glory of old.

§17 In the west of the battle Fingon fell, and flame sprang from his helm when it was cloven. He was overborne by the Balrogs and beaten to the earth, and his white banners were trodden underfoot. But Húrin and Huor his brother, and the men of the House of Hador, stood firm, and the Orcs could not yet gain the pass of Sirion. Thus was the treachery of Uldor redressed. The last stand of Húrin is the most renowned of the deeds of Men among the Elves; for he held the rear while the remnant of the hosts of the West withdrew from the battle. Few came ever back over Eredwethion to Hithlum; but Turgon mustered all that remained of the folk of Gondolin, and such of Fingon's folk as he could gather; and he escaped down Sirion into the dales and mountains, and was hidden from the eyes of Morgoth. Neither Elf nor Man nor spy of Angband knew whither he had gone, nor found the hidden stronghold until the day of Tuor son of Huor. Thus the victory of Morgoth was marred, and he was wroth.

§18 But the Orcs now surrounded the valiant Men of Hithlum like a great tide about a lonely rock. Huor fell pierced with a venomed arrow, and all the children of Hador were slain about him in a heap, until Húrin alone was left. Then he cast away his shield and wielded his axe two-handed; and it is said that standing alone he slew one hundred of the Orcs. At length he was taken alive by Morgoth's command, for in this way Morgoth thought to do him more evil than by death. Therefore his servants grasped

Húrin with their hands, and though he slew them, their numbers were ever renewed, until at last he fell buried beneath them, and they clung to him like leeches. Then binding him they dragged him with mockery to Angband.

§19 Great was the triumph of Morgoth. The bodies of his enemies that were slain he let pile in a great mound in the midst of the plain; and it was named Hauð-na-Dengin, the Hill of Slain. But grass came there and grew green upon that hill alone in all the desert that Morgoth made; and no Orc thereafter trod upon the earth beneath which the swords of the Gnomes crumbled into rust. The realm of Fingon was no more, and the Sons of Fëanor wandered as leaves before the wind. To Hithlum none of the men of Hador's house returned, nor any tidings of the battle and the fate of their lords. But Morgoth sent thither Men who were under his dominion, swarthy Easterlings; and he shut them in that land and forbade them to leave it, and such was all the reward that he gave them: to plunder and harass the old and the children and womenfolk of Hador's people. The remnant of the Elves of Hithlum he took to the mines of Angband, and they became his thralls, save some few that eluded him and wandered wild in the woods.

§20 But the Orcs went freely through all the North and came ever further southward into Beleriand. Doriath yet remained, and Nargothrond was hidden; but Morgoth gave small heed to them, either because he knew little of them, or because their hour was not yet come in the deep purposes of his malice. But the thought of Turgon troubled him greatly; for Turgon came of the mighty house of Fingolfin and was now by right the lord of all the Gnomes. And Morgoth feared and hated most the house of Fingolfin, both because they had scorned him in Valinor, and because of the wounds that Fingolfin had given him in battle.

§21 Húrin was now brought before Morgoth, and defied him; and he was chained and set in torment. But Morgoth remembered that treachery, and the fear of treachery, alone would work the final ruin of the Gnomes, and he thought to make use of Húrin. Therefore he came to him where he lay in pain, and he offered to him honour and freedom and both power and wealth, if he would accept service in his armies and would lead a host against Turgon, or even if he would reveal where that king had his secret stronghold. For he had learned that Húrin knew the secret of Turgon, but kept it silent under oath. But Húrin the Steadfast mocked him.

§22 Then Morgoth devised a cruel punishment; and taking Húrin from prison he set him in a chair of stone upon a high place of Thangorodrim. There he was bound by the power of Morgoth, and Morgoth standing beside him cursed him with a curse of unsleeping sight like unto the Gods, but upon his kin and seed he laid a doom of sorrow and dark mischance.

§23 'Sit now there,' said Morgoth, 'and behold the working of the doom that I have appointed. For thou shalt see with my eyes, and know with my thought, all things that befall those whom thou lovest. But never shalt thou move from this place until all is fulfilled unto its bitter end.' As so it came to pass; for Morgoth kept life in Húrin. But it is not said that Húrin ever spoke in pleading, either for death or for mercy upon himself or his children.

Commentary on Chapter 16

A comparison with Q §11 and AB 2 annal (272>) 472 will show that the present text is very largely derived from these two sources, which are interwoven. In the treatment of the part played by Turgon and the people of Gondolin in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears the result of this combination is (surprisingly) not entirely coherent, and this is discussed in a note at the end of the Commentary.

§1 On the development of this paragraph see pp. 305–6. In the sentence *dwelt among the Green-elves secretly*, the word *secretly* was struck out and replaced by *in Tol-galen the Green Isle*; and *Gwerth-i-Cuina* was changed to *Gwerth-i-Guinar*. These may have been much later changes preparatory to the inclusion of the paragraph as the final instalment of the QS manuscript (which has however *Gyrth-i-Guinar*).

§3 It is not said elsewhere that 'Fingon issued from Hithlum' during the initial period of warfare under the Union of Maidros in which the Noldor were victorious.

The passage concerning the cynical and calculating Dwarves derives closely from Q (IV. 116). Against it my father scribbled 'Not true of Dwarvish attitude'; this, I feel sure, was put in long after. The plural form *Dwarfs* associates the text with QS chapters 10 and 11 (see the commentary on §122). It was used also in the manuscript QS(B) of the tale of Beren and Lúthien (p. 303).

§7 The wounding of Beren by Curufin, not mentioned in the *Annals* in connection with the response of the Men of Brethil to the Union of Maidros, reappears (see IV. 180–1), and 'only the half' of Haleth's people came to the war, although in §13 (as in AB 2) 'most of the Men of Brethil' were slain.

§8 Neither in Q nor in the *Annals* are the Green-elves of Ossiriand mentioned among the forces of Maidros.

§11 That the heralds were sent back bearing the head of the one who had been executed is a new detail.

§13 The retreat of the western host towards the Pass of Sirion, and the destruction of the Men of Brethil in the rearguard, is derived from the *Annals*, not from Q.

An addition to AB 2 (note 22) gives a new annal: '436. Hundor son of Haleth wedded Glorwendel daughter of Hador', and an addition to the annal describing the Battle of Unnumbered Tears states: 'Glorwendel his wife died in that year of grief.' These are the first allusions to this union between the House of Hador and the People of Haleth. In *The Silmarillion* Hador's daughter is *Glóredhel*.

§15 The number of a thousand Balrogs (found in both versions of the *Annals*) was still present (see the commentary on §89). – After 'all perished in that battle' the earlier text (C) has the addition 'defending Maglor against the assault of Uldor', but this was not taken up in D. It is not said in the *Annals* that Ulfast and Ulwar(th) were slain by the sons of Bór ('ere they themselves fell'), but the reverse.

§17 Text D has *Erydwethion* in §§11 and 13, but *Eredwethion* here; C has *Eredwethion* throughout.

§18 In Q the Dragon-helm, reappearing from the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, is first described at this point in the narrative (for Húrin was not wearing it at the battle); but a note to Q postpones it to the tale of Túrin, as is done in this version.

§19 *Hauð-na-Dengin:* C had *Cûm-na-Dengin* (see note 37 to AB 2), changed to *Amon Dengin* (see IV. 146), with *Hauð na* written above *Amon*. This is the first occurrence of *Hauð-na-Dengin* (the form in text D); cf. *Hauði Ndengin* in the *Etymologies*, stems KHAG, NDAK.

Turgon's part in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears

As noted above, the combination of Q and the *Annals* produced here a most uncharacteristic incoherence. Turgon came forth from Gondolin unlooked for and encamped on the plain before the western pass in sight of the walls of Hithlum (§4); when the day was appointed 'Maidros sent word to Fingon and Turgon', and the host of Gondolin was arrayed under the standard of Fingon (§8); Turgon and Fingon became impatient and sent their heralds out onto the plain of Fauglith (§10). In all this my father was closely following Q as emended (IV. 120–1, notes 7 and 14), where, as I suggested (IV. 181), there seems to be a stage intermediate between the original story (in which Turgon was one of the leaders of the Western Elves from the beginning of the preparations for war) and that in *The Silmarillion*: 'Turgon now emerges from Gondolin already long since in existence, but he does not march up in the nick of time, on the day itself, as in the later story: he comes, certainly unexpected, but in time to take part in the final strategic preparations.'

Then, in the present account, 'a great part' of Turgon's host joined in the premature assault, though he would have restrained them if he could (§11). This is not in Q, which only further mentions Turgon as escaping down Sirion. But *then*, Turgon 'sounded his horns', and 'a great part' of his host that had remained in hiding before the Pass of Sirion and on the borders of Taur-na-Fuin came forth unlooked for, so that many Orcs were destroyed, caught between Turgon's army and that of Fingon retreating southwards (§13). It seems that at this point my father went over to the *Annals*; but they (both AB 1 and AB 2) tell a different story from that in Q. In the *Annals*, 'tidings came to Turgon' long before the battle, and 'he prepared for war in secret' (annal 465–70, according to the final dating); there is no suggestion of his playing any part at all until Fingon, cut off from the passes of Eredwethion, retreated towards Sirion – and then 'Turgon and the army of Gondolin sounded their horns, and issued out of Taur-na-Fuin': they had been 'delayed by the deceit and evil of the forest, but came now as help unlooked for.' There now took place, in the *Annals*, the joyful meeting between Turgon and Húrin (the story of Húrin's sojourn in Gondolin had not emerged when Q was written). This meeting does not take place in the present account; for they would have met again much earlier (when 'there was joy among the people of Fingon, seeing their kinsfolk that had long been hidden', §4).

This chapter appears in subsequent amanuensis typescripts, but my father never changed them or corrected them in any way.

17 OF TÚRIN TURAMARTH OR TÚRIN THE HAPLESS

The two manuscripts QS (C) and QS (D) continue into one further chapter, and D extends somewhat further in it than does C (see pp. 293–4). C is here extremely rough, and the text given is that of D, since it followed C very closely and scarcely deviated from it save in small points of expression. D was substantially corrected and added to, and the concluding pages struck out in their entirety, but I believe that all this belongs to a much later phase of work on the 'Túrinssaga', and I give the text as it was originally written.

This version of the story, so far as it goes, shows a huge expansion on the very brief account in Q §12 – and would have run into the same problem of length as did the QS version of the tale of Beren and Lúthien. The primary source for this chapter was in fact the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* in the section *Túrin's Fostering* (III. 8 ff., and in the revised form of the poem III. 104 ff.), which in turn derived quite closely from the original story, the *Tale of Turambar*. The later evolution of the 'Túrinssaga' is as tangled as Taur-na-Fuin, and need not be in any way considered here; but it may be noticed that the present chapter is not (apart from a few phrases) the antecedent of the opening of chapter 21 in

The Silmarillion. On the other hand, it will be found that much of the chapter is in fact preserved embedded in the *Narn i Hîn Húrin* in *Unfinished Tales* (from 'Now Túrin was made ready for the journey', p. 73), despite the introduction of several major new elements (the history of the Dragon-helm, Nellas the friend of Túrin's childhood, the changed story of Orgof/Saeros, etc.).

The dependence of the new version on the Lay is in places close, extending even to actual wording here and there; on the other hand some features of the Lay are changed (as for example the taunting of Orgof), reduced (as the account of Orgof and his character), or omitted (as the avenging wrath of Orgof's kinsmen and Thingol's placating gifts). But the comparison between the two is now easily made, and I restrict the commentary to a few particular points. The relation between the Lay and the *Narn* is in any case studied in the commentary on the Lay (III. 24–8).

§24 Rían, daughter of Belegund, was the wife of Huor. When no tidings came of her lord, she went forth, and her child Tuor was born of her in the wild. He was taken to nurture by Dark-elves; but Rían went to Hauð-na-Dengin and laid her there and died. But Morwen daughter of Baragund was wife of Húrin, and she abode in Hithlum, for her son Túrin was then seven years old, and she went again with child. With her there remained only old men, too aged for war, and maidens and young boys. Those days were evil; for the Easterlings dealt cruelly with the people of Hador and robbed them of all that they possessed and enslaved them. But so great was the beauty and majesty of the Lady Morwen that they were afraid and whispered among themselves, saying that she was perilous and a witch skilled in magic and in league with the Elves. Yet she was now poor and without aid, save that she was succoured secretly by her kinswoman Airin, whom Brodda had taken to wife. Brodda was mighty among the incoming Men, and wealthy (such as wealth was reckoned in that time of ruin); for he had taken for his own many of the lands and cattle of Húrin.

§25 Morwen could see no hope for her child Túrin son of Húrin but to become a churl or a servant of the Easterlings. Therefore it came into her heart to send him away in secret and to beg King Thingol to harbour him. For Beren son of Barahir was her father's cousin, and had been, moreover, a friend of Húrin ere evil befell. But she herself did not at that time venture forth from Hithlum, for the road was long and perilous, and she was with child. Also her heart still cheated her with hope, and she would not yet leave the house in which she had dwelt with Húrin; and she

listened for the sound of his feet returning in the watches of the night, for her inmost thought foreboded that he was not dead. And though she was willing that her son might be fostered in the halls of another after the manner of that time, if boys were left fatherless, she would not humble her pride to be an almsguest even of the King of Doriath. And thus was the fate of Túrin woven, which is full told in that lay which is called *iChúrinien*, the Children of Húrin, and is the longest of all the lays that speak of those days. Here that tale is told in brief, for it is woven in with the fate of the Silmarils and of the Elves; and it is called the Tale of Grief, for it is sorrowful, and in it are revealed the worst of the works of Morgoth Bauglir.

§26 It came to pass that on a day Túrin was made ready for the journey, and he understood not the purpose of his mother Morwen, nor the grief that he saw upon her face. But when his companions bade him turn and look upon the house of his father, then the anguish of parting smote him like a sword, and he cried: 'Morwen, Morwen, when shall I see thee again?', and he fell upon the grass. But Morwen standing on her threshold heard the echo of that cry in the wooded hills, and she clutched the post of the door so that her fingers were torn. This was the first of the sorrows of Túrin.

§27 After Túrin was gone Morwen gave birth to her child, and it was a maiden, and she named her Nienor, which is Mourning. But Túrin saw not his sister, for he was in Doriath when she was born. Long and evil was the road thither, for the power of Morgoth was ranging far abroad; but Túrin had as guides Gethron and Grithron, who had been young in the days of Gumlin; and albeit they were now aged, they were valiant, and they knew all the lands, for they had journeyed often through Beleriand in former times. Thus by fate and courage they passed over the Shadowy Mountains and came down into the vale of Sirion and so to the Forest of Brethil; and at last weary and haggard they reached the confines of Doriath. But there they became bewildered, and were enmeshed in the mazes of the Queen, and wandered lost amid the pathless trees, until all their food was spent. There they came near to death, but not so light was Túrin's doom. Even as they lay in despair they heard a horn sounded. Beleg the Bowman was hunting in that region, for he dwelt ever upon the marches of Doriath. He heard their cries and came to them, and when he had given them meat and drink he learned their names and whence they came, and he was filled with

wonder and pity. And he looked with great liking upon Túrin, for he had the beauty of his mother Morwen Elfsheen and the eyes of his father, and was sturdy and strong of limb and showed a stout heart.

§28 'What boon wouldst thou have of King Thingol?' said Beleg to the boy. 'I would be a captain of his knights, and lead them against Morgoth and avenge my father,' said Túrin. 'That may well be when the years have increased thee,' said Beleg. 'For though thou art yet small, thou hast the makings of a valiant man, worthy to be the son of Húrin the Steadfast, if that were possible.' For the name of Húrin was held in honour in all the lands of the Elves. Therefore Beleg gladly became the guide of the wanderers, and he led them through the marches of the Hidden Kingdom, which no mortal man before had passed save Beren only.

§29 Thus Túrin came at last before Thingol and Melian; and Gethron spoke the message of Morwen. Thingol received them kindly, and he set Túrin upon his knee in honour of Húrin the mightiest of Men and of Beren his kinsman. And those that saw this marvelled, for it was a sign that Thingol took Túrin as foster-son, and this was not at that time done by kings. 'Here, O son of Húrin, shall thy home be,' said he; 'and thou shalt be held as my son, Man though thou art. Wisdom shall be given thee beyond the wit of mortals, and the weapons of the Elves shall be set in thy hands. Perchance the time may come when thou shalt regain the lands of thy father in Hithlum; but dwell now here in love.'

§30 Thus began the sojourn of Túrin in Doriath. With him for a while remained Gethron and Grithron his guardians, though they longed to return again to their lady, Morwen. Then age and sickness came upon Grithron and he stayed beside Túrin until he died; but Gethron departed, and Thingol sent with him an escort to guide him and guard him, and they brought words from Thingol to Morwen. They came at last to the house of Morwen, and when she learned that Túrin was received with honour in the halls of Thingol, her grief was lightened. And the Elves brought also rich gifts from Melian, and a message bidding her return with Thingol's folk to Doriath. For Melian was wise and foresighted, and she hoped thus to avert the evil that was prepared in the thought of Morgoth. But Morwen would not depart from her house, for her heart was yet unchanged and her pride still high; moreover Nienor was a babe in arms. Therefore she dismissed the Elves with her thanks, and gave them in gift the last small things of gold that remained to her, concealing her poverty; and she bade

them take back to Thingol the helm of Gumlin. And behold! Túrin watched ever for the return of Thingol's messengers; and when they came back alone he fled into the woods and wept; for he knew of Melian's bidding and had hoped that Morwen would come. This was the second sorrow of Túrin.

§31 When the messengers brought Morwen's answer, Melian was moved with pity, perceiving her mind; and she saw that the fate which she foreboded could not lightly be set aside. The helm of Gumlin was given into Thingol's hands. It was made of grey steel adorned with gold, and thereon were graven runes of victory. A power was in it that guarded any who wore it from wound or death, for the sword that hewed it was broken, and the dart that smote it sprang aside. Upon this helm was set in mockery an image of the head of Glómund the dragon, and oft had Gumlin borne it to victory, for fear fell on those who looked upon it towering above the heads of Men in battle. But the Men of Hithlum said: 'We have a dragon of more worth than Angband hath.' This helm was wrought by Telchar the dwarf-smith of Belegost, whose works were renowned. But Húrin wore it not, in reverence of his father, lest it should suffer hurt or be lost, so greatly did he treasure the heirloom of Gumlin.

§32 Now Thingol had in Menegroth deep armouries filled with great wealth of weapons; metal wrought like fishes' mail and shining like water in the moon; swords and axes, shields and helms, wrought by Telchar himself or by his master Zirak the old, or by elven-wrights more skilful still. For many things he had received in gift that came out of Valinor and were wrought by Fëanor in his mastery, than whom no craftsman was greater in all the days of the world. Yet he handled the helm of Gumlin as though his hoard were scanty, and spoke courteous words saying: 'Proud were the head that bore this helm, which Gumlin bore, father of Húrin.'

§33 Then a thought came into his heart and he summoned Túrin, and he told him that Morwen had sent to her son a mighty thing, the heirloom of his grandsire. 'Take now the Dragonhead of the North,' he said, 'and when the time cometh, go wear it well!' But Túrin was yet too young to lift the helm, and he heeded it not because of the sorrow of his heart.

§34 For nine years Túrin lived in the halls of Thingol; and in that time his grief grew less; for Thingol gained tidings of Hithlum as he could, and messengers went at times between Morwen and her son. Thus Túrin learned that Morwen's plight

was bettered, and that his sister Nienor grew in beauty, a flower among maidens in the grey North. Greatly he desired to see her.

§35 Meanwhile Túrin grew, until while yet a boy his stature was great among Men and surpassed that of the Elves of Doriath; and his strength and courage were renowned in the realm of Thingol. Much lore he learned, and was wise in word and crafty in hand; yet fortune favoured him little, and oft what he wrought went awry, and what he wished he did not gain. Neither did he win friendship easily, for sorrow sat upon him, and his youth was scarred. Now when he was seventeen years of age and upon the threshold of manhood he was strong of arm and skilled with all weapons, and in the weaving of words in song or tale he had a great craft, whether in the tongue of the Noldor or of Doriath; but mirth was not in his words or his works, and he brooded upon the downfall of the Men of Hithlum.

§36 Still deeper became his grief when after nine years tidings came no more from his home; for Morgoth's power was over the land of Hithlum, and doubtless he knew much of all the doings of Húrin's folk, and had not further molested them, so that his design might be fulfilled. But now in pursuit of this purpose he set a close watch upon all the passes in the mountains, so that none might come out of Hithlum or enter into it; and the Orcs swarmed about the sources of Narog and Taiglin and the upper waters of Sirion. Thus there came a time when the messengers of Thingol did not return, and he would send no more. He was ever loath to let any stray beyond the guarded borders, and in nothing had shown greater goodwill to Túrin than in sending his people through many perils to Morwen.

§37 Now the heart of Túrin grew grim and heavy, for he knew not what evil was afoot, or what dire fate had befallen Morwen and Nienor. Therefore he put on the helm of Gumlin, and taking mail and sword and shield he went to Thingol, and begged him to give him Elf-warriors for his companions; and he went to the marches of the land and made war upon the Orcs. Thus while yet a boy in years his valour was proved; for he did many daring deeds. His wounds were many by spear, or arrow, or the crooked blades of Angband; but his doom delivered him from death. And word ran through the woods that the Dragon-helm was seen again in battle; and Men said: 'Who hath waked from death the spirit of Gumlin, or hath Húrin of Hithlum indeed returned from the pits of hell?'

§38 One only was there mightier in war at that time than the boy Túrin, and that was Beleg the Bowman; and they became

friends and companions in arms, and walked far and wide in the wild woods together. Túrin came seldom to the halls of Thingol, and he cared no longer for his looks or raiment, but was unkempt of hair and his mail was covered with a grey cloak stained with the weather. But on a time it chanced that Thingol summoned him to a feast, to do him some honour for his prowess; and Túrin came and sat at the table of the king. And at the same table sat one of the Dark-elves, Orgof by name, and he was proud and was no lover of Men, and thought that Túrin had slighted him; for Túrin would oft make no answer to words that others spoke to him, if sorrow or brooding were on him. And now as they sat and drank Orgof spoke across the board to Túrin, and Túrin heeded him not, for his thought was upon Beleg whom he had left in the woods. Then Orgof took out a golden comb and cast it towards Túrin, and he cried: 'Doubtless, Man of Hithlum, you came in great haste to this feast and may be excused thy ragged cloak; but there is no need to leave thy head untended like a thicket of brambles. And maybe if thy ears were uncovered thou wouldst hear somewhat better.'

§39 Then Túrin said nought but turned his eyes upon Orgof, and he being wroth was not warned by the light that was in them. And he said to one that sat nigh him: 'If the Men of Hithlum are so wild and fell, of what sort are women of that land? Do they run like the deer, clad only in their hair?'

§40 Then Túrin, unwitting of his growing strength, took up a drinking vessel and cast it in Orgof's face, and he fell backwards and died, for the vessel was heavy and his face was broken. But Túrin, grown suddenly cold, looked in dismay at the blood upon the board, and knowing that he had done grievous offence he rose straightway and went from the hall without a word; and none hindered him, for the king was silent and gave no sign. But Túrin went out into the darkness, and he fell into a grim mood, and deeming himself now an outlaw whom the king would pursue he fled far from Menegroth, and passing the borders of the realm he gathered to himself a company of such houseless and desperate folk as could be found in those evil days lurking in the wild; and their hands were turned against all whom came in their path, Elves, Men, or Orcs.

Commentary on Chapter 17

In the title of the chapter (which has in fact no number in either C or D) *Turamarth* is emended from *Turumarth*; the same change in Q (IV. 131 note 12).

§24 *Hauð-na-Dengin:* C has here *Amon Dengin*; cf. the commentary on chapter 16, §19.

§25 In Q it is said that the fate of Túrin is told in the 'Children of Húrin', which is certainly a reference to the alliterative Lay, though that had been abandoned several years before; now the Lay is expressly mentioned, and given the Elvish name *iChúrinien*. This form is a further example of the phenomenon of 'Initial Variation of Consonants' in Exilic Noldorin (see pp. 298, 301). The original aspirated stops *ph*, *th*, *kh* were 'opened', and *kh* became the spirant [x] (as in Scottish *loch*), represented as *ch*; this sound remained medially, but initially was reduced to [h]. Thus *aran Chithlum* 'King of Hithlum' (*Etymologies*, stem TĀ-), *iChúrinien*. It may be noted here that later *iChúrinien* was replaced by *Narn i Chîn Húrin*, which is so spelt at all occurrences, but was improperly changed by me to *Narn i Hîn Húrin* in *Unfinished Tales* (because I did not want *Chîn* to be pronounced like Modern English *chin*).

§27 *Gethron* and *Grithron* as the names of Túrin's guides appear in AB 2, annal (273>) 473. See under §30 below.

§28 Of the words between Beleg and Túrin (preserved in the *Narn*, p. 74) there is no suggestion in the Lay.

§30 In AB 2 it was Gethron who died in Doriath, Grithron who went back (see the commentary on annal 273). – The gifts of Melian to Morwen are not mentioned in the old versions.

§31 It is curious that whereas in the tale of Beren and Lúthien in QS Telchar is of Nogrod (p. 303), he now becomes a smith of Belegost, as he had been in Q (IV. 118). – A new element in this passage is the statement that Húrin never wore the Dragon-helm, and the reasons for this; in Q he did not wear it 'that day' (i.e. at the Battle of Unnumbered Tears), and in the Lay he often bore it into battle (line 314). In the much enlarged account of the Helm found in the *Narn* Húrin's reasons for not wearing it are quite different (*Unfinished Tales* p. 76).

§32 Here first appear Telchar's master Zirak, and the story that Thingol possessed many treasures that had come from Valinor (both preserved in the *Narn*).

§34 On the 'betterment' of Morwen's plight see II. 127.

§35 *Dates in Túrin's early life.* According to the (later) dating of AB 2, Túrin was born in the winter of 465, and departed for Doriath in 473, when he was seven years old (as is said here in §24); in 481 all tidings out of Hithlum ceased, and he being 'in his sixteenth year' went to war on the marches (his sixteenth birthday fell in the winter of that year). In the present text, however, the dates appear to be different by a year. The reference in §35 to his being seventeen is presumably made because it was then that he went out to fight; and in §§36–7 the ending of news from Hithlum and his going to the marches took place 'after nine years' (i.e. from his coming to Doriath).

The supposition must be that Túrin had acquired a knowledge of the Noldorin tongue from the Noldor in Hithlum – or perhaps rather from his father and mother – while he was a child.

§38 In the Tale and the Lay Túrin's peculiar gloominess on that night was caused by its being the twelfth anniversary of his departure from Hithlum.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE *QUENTA SILMARILLION*

There remains one further text to be considered within the framework of the *Quenta Silmarillion*. This is a clear manuscript very similar in style to QS(D), which has been followed to its conclusion in the last chapter, and may conveniently be called 'QS(E)' or 'E'. The first page is numbered '55', and it begins in the middle of a sentence: 'and they looked upon the Lonely Isle and there they tarried not', which will be found in the second version of Q (Q II) §17, IV. 153. The passage describes the voyage of Eärendel and Elwing to Valinor:

> they came to the Enchanted Isles and escaped their enchantment; and they came into the Shadowy Seas and passed their shadows; [here page 54 of the Q II typescript ends and page 55 begins] and they looked upon the Lonely Isle and they tarried not there . . .

This manuscript E is in fact a further version of the conclusion of Q: and the question arises, when was it written? A note on a page found with Q provides, I think, a clear answer. This says: '36–54 is still included in main version, being unrevised.' Now on p. 36 of the Q typescript occurs the sentence (IV. 123):

> He fled then the court, and thinking himself an outlaw took to war against all, Elves, Men, or Orcs, that crossed the path of the desperate band he gathered upon the borders of the kingdom, hunted Men and Ilkorins and Gnomes.

This is the antecedent of the sentence which ends the QS(D) version of the tale of Túrin (p. 321); and at this point on the Q typescript a line is drawn across, separating what precedes from what follows.

By 'main version' my father probably meant the *Quenta Noldorinwa*, the implication being that the narrative from Túrin's outlawry to the voyage of Eärendel to Valinor (i.e. pages 36–54 in the Q typescript) had not been rewritten, and so was absent from the *Quenta Silmarillion* (QS) and still only found in the *Quenta Noldorinwa* (Q). I think therefore that it is certain that the text QS(E) now to be given belongs to the same period (i.e. immediately before the commencement of *The Lord of the Rings*) as the other chapters (the end of 'Beren and Tinúviel', the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, the beginning of 'Túrin') that belong with the QS manuscript but were not written into it (or, in the case of the last part

of 'Beren and Tinúviel', not till long after).* Why my father should have jumped to the end in this way, taking up in mid-sentence, I cannot at all explain.

It is seen then that at the period with which this book is concerned the missing parts of the QS narrative were the greater part of the tale of Túrin, the destruction of Doriath, the fall of Gondolin, and the earlier part of the tale of Eärendel. But my father never returned to these tales (in the strictly 'Silmarillion' tradition: the Túrin story was of course enormously developed later, and some slight elaboration is found elsewhere for the other parts. The *Grey Annals* were abandoned at the end of the tale of Túrin, and the later tale of Tuor (given in *Unfinished Tales*) before Tuor came to Gondolin).

The manuscript E was emended, frequently but not radically, at different times: some changes were made at or very near the time of its original composition (and these are adopted silently into the text); others, made very roughly in pencil, are clearly from long after (and these are not mentioned here).

The text is closely related to Q II, §§17–19, and for substantial stretches, especially towards the end, the earlier work was followed with unusual fidelity: thus for example the Second Prophecy of Mandos, with its mysterious elements, was repeated virtually without change. Of course, the later emendations made to Q II and given in the notes to that text were, according to my father's usual practice, preparatory to the present version, and very likely belong to this time: the amount of change is therefore, to appearance, diminished, as between the material given in Vol. IV and the present chapter. It would have been possible to restrict the text printed here to those passages which differ significantly from Q II (as revised), but I have thought it best to give it in its entirety. The very fact that the end of 'The Silmarillion' still took this form when *The Lord of the Rings* was begun is sufficiently remarkable, and by its inclusion in full a complete view of the Matter of Middle-earth and Valinor at that time is provided.

The numbering of the paragraphs begins again here from §1.

§1 And they looked upon the Lonely Isle and there they tarried not; and at the last they cast anchor in the Bay of Elvenhome upon the borders of the world; and the Teleri saw the coming of that ship and were amazed, gazing from afar upon the light of the Silmaril, and it was very great. But Eärendel, alone of living Men, landed on the immortal shores; and he said to Elwing and to those that were with him, three mariners who had sailed all the seas beside him, and Falathar, Airandir, and Erellont were

*The existence of the rewritten conclusion should have been mentioned in the footnote to III. 366.

their names: 'Here shall none but myself set foot, lest you fall under the wrath of the Gods and the doom of death; for it is forbidden. But that peril I will take on myself for the sake of the Two Kindreds.'

§2 And Elwing answered: 'Then shall our paths be sundered for ever. Nay, all thy perils I will take on myself also!' And she leaped into the white foam and ran towards him; but Eärendel was sorrowful, for he deemed that they would now both die ere many days were past. And there they bade farewell to their companions and were taken from them for ever.

§3 And Eärendel said to Elwing: 'Await me here; for one only may bear the messages that I am charged with'; and he went up alone into the land, and it seemed to him empty and silent. For even as Morgoth and Ungoliantë came in ages past, so now Eärendel had come at a time of festival, and wellnigh all the Elvenfolk were gone to Valinor, or were gathered in the halls of Manwë upon Taniquetil, and few were left to keep watch upon the walls of Tûn.

§4 These watchers rode therefore in great haste to Valmar; and all the bells in Valmar pealed. But Eärendel climbed the great green hill of Kôr and found it bare; and he entered into the streets of Tûn and they were empty; and his heart was heavy, for he feared that some evil had come even to the Blessed Realm. He walked now in the deserted ways of Tûn, and the dust upon his raiment and his shoes was a dust of diamonds, and he shone and glistened as he climbed the long white stairs. And he called aloud in many tongues, both of Elves and Men, but there were none to answer him. Therefore he turned back at last towards the shores, thinking to set sail once more upon Vingelot his ship and abandon his errand, and live for ever upon the sea. But even as he took the shoreward road and turned his face away from the towers of Tûn one stood upon the hill and called to him in a great voice, crying: 'Hail Eärendel, radiant star, messenger most fair! Hail thou bearer of light before the Sun and Moon, the looked for that comest unawares, the longed for that comest beyond hope! Hail, splendour of the children of the world, slayer of the dark! Star of the sunset, hail! Hail, herald of the morn!'

§5 And that was the voice of Fionwë son of Manwë; and he came from Valmar and he summoned Eärendel to come before the Gods. And Eärendel went to Valinor and to the halls of Valmar, and never again set foot upon the lands of Men. There before the faces of the undying Gods he stood, and delivered the errand of

the Two Kindreds. Pardon he asked for the Noldor and pity for their great sorrows, and mercy upon unhappy Men and succour in their need. And his prayers were granted.

§6 Then the sons of the Valar prepared for battle, and the captain of their host was Fionwë son of Manwë. Beneath his white banner marched also the Lindar, the Light-elves, the people of Ingwë; and among them were also those of the Noldor of old who had never departed from Valinor, and Ingwiel son of Ingwë was their chief. But remembering the slaying at the Swan-haven and the rape of their ships, few of the Teleri were willing to go forth to war; but Elwing went among them, and because she was fair and gentle, and was come also upon her father's side from Thingol who was of their own kindred, they harkened to her; and they sent mariners sufficient to man and steer the ships upon which most of that army was borne east oversea; but they stayed aboard their ships and none ever set foot upon the shores of the Hither Lands.

§7 And thus it was that Elwing came among the Teleri. Eärendel was long time gone and she became lonely and afraid; and she wandered along the margin of the sea, singing sadly to herself; and so she came to Alqualondë, the Swan-haven, where lay the Telerian fleets; and there the Teleri befriended her. When therefore Eärendel at last returned, seeking her, he found her among them, and they listened to her tales of Thingol and Melian and the Hidden Kingdom, and of Lúthien the fair, and they were filled with pity and wonder.

§8 Now the Gods took counsel concerning Eärendel, and they summoned Ulmo from the deeps; and when they were gathered together Mandos spoke, saying: 'Now he shall surely die, for he has trodden the forbidden shores.' But Ulmo said: 'For this he was born into the world. And say unto me: whether is he Eärendel Tuor's son of the line of Hador, or Idril's son Turgon's daughter of the Elven-house of Finwë? Or being half of either kindred, which half shall die?' And Mandos answered: 'Equally was it forbidden to the Noldor that went wilfully into exile to return hither.'

§9 Then Manwë gave judgement and he said: 'To Eärendel I remit the ban, and the peril that he took upon himself out of love for the Two Kindreds shall not fall on him; neither shall it fall upon Elwing who entered into peril for love of Eärendel: save only in this: they shall not ever walk again among Elves or Men in the Outer Lands. Now all those who have the blood of mortal Men, in whatever part, great or small, are mortal, unless other doom be granted to them; but in this matter the power of doom is given to

me. This is my decree: to Eärendel and to Elwing and to their sons shall be given leave each to choose freely under which kindred they shall be judged.'

§10 Then Eärendel and Elwing were summoned, and this decree was declared to them. But Eärendel said to Elwing: 'Choose thou, for now I am weary of the world.' And she chose to be judged among the Firstborn, because of Lúthien, and for the sake of Elwing Eärendel chose alike, though his heart was rather with the kindred of Men and the people of his father.

§11 The Gods then sent Fionwë, and he came to the shore where the companions of Eärendel still remained, awaiting tidings. And Fionwë took a boat and set therein the three mariners, and the Gods drove them away East with a great wind. But they took Vingelot, and they hallowed it, and they bore it away through Valinor to the uttermost rim of the world, and there it [*added:* passed through the Door of Night and] was lifted up even into the oceans of heaven. Now fair and marvellous was that vessel made, and it was filled with a wavering flame, pure and bright; and Eärendel the mariner sat at the helm, glistening with dust of elven-gems; and the Silmaril was bound upon his brow. Far he journeyed in that ship, even into the starless voids; but most often was he seen at morning or at eve, glimmering in sunrise or sunset, as he came back to Valinor from voyages beyond the confines of the world.

§12 On those journeys Elwing did not go, for she had not the strength to endure the cold and pathless voids, and she loved rather the earth and the sweet winds that blow on sea and hill. Therefore she let build for her a white tower upon the borders of the outer world, in the northern region of the Sundering Seas; and thither all the sea-birds of the earth at times repaired. And it is said that Elwing learned the tongues and lore of birds, who had herself once worn their shape; and she devised wings for herself of white and silver-grey, and they taught her the craft of flight. And at whiles, when Eärendel returning drew near again to earth, she would fly to meet him, even as she had flown long ago, when she was rescued from the sea. Then the farsighted among the Elves that dwelt most westerly in the Lonely Isle would see her like a white bird, shining, rose-stained in the sunset, as she soared in joy to greet the coming of Vingelot to haven.

§13 Now when first Vingelot was set to sail on the seas of heaven, it rose unlooked-for, glittering and bright; and the folk of

earth beheld it from afar and wondered, and they took it for a sign of hope. And when this new star arose in the West, Maidros said unto Maglor: 'Surely that is a Silmaril that shineth in the sky?' And Maglor said: 'If it be verily that Silmaril that we saw cast into the sea that riseth again by the power of the Gods, then let us be glad; for its glory is seen now by many, and is yet secure from all evil.' Then the Elves looked up, and despaired no longer; but Morgoth was filled with doubt.

§14 Yet it is said that Morgoth looked not for the assault that came upon him from the West. So great was his pride become that he deemed that none would ever again come up with open war against him. Moreover he thought that he had for ever estranged the Gnomes from the Gods and from their kin; and that content in their blissful Realm the Valar would heed no more his kingdom in the world without. For to him that is pitiless the deeds of pity are ever strange and beyond reckoning.

§15 Of the march of the host of Fionwë to the North little is said in any tale; for in his armies went none of those Elves who had dwelt and suffered in the Hither Lands, and who made the histories of those days that still are known; and tidings of these things they learned long afterward from their kinsfolk, the Light-elves of Valinor. But at the last Fionwë came up out of the West, and the challenge of his trumpets filled the sky; and he summoned unto him all Elves and Men from Hithlum unto the East; and Beleriand was ablaze with the glory of his arms, for the sons of the Gods were young and fair and terrible, and the mountains rang beneath their feet.

§16 The meeting of the hosts of the West and of the North is named the Great Battle, the Battle Terrible, and the War of Wrath. There was marshalled the whole power of the Throne of Morgoth, and it had become great beyond count, so that Dor-na-Fauglith could not contain it, and all the North was aflame with war. But it availed not. The Balrogs were destroyed, save some few that fled and hid themselves in caverns inaccessible at the roots of the earth. The uncounted legions of the Orcs perished like straw in a great fire, or were swept like shrivelled leaves before a burning wind. Few remained to trouble the world for long years after. And it is said that all that were left of the three Houses of the Elf-friends, Fathers of Men, fought for Fionwë; and they were avenged upon the Orcs in those days for Baragund and Barahir, Gumlin and Gundor, Huor and Húrin, and many others of their lords; and so were fulfilled in part the words of Ulmo, for by

Eärendel son of Tuor help was brought unto the Elves, and by the swords of Men they were strengthened on the fields of war. But the most part of the sons of Men, whether of the people of Uldor or others newcome out of the East, marched with the Enemy; and the Elves do not forget it.

§17 Then, seeing that his hosts were overthrown and his power dispersed, Morgoth quailed, and he dared not to come forth himself. But he loosed upon his foes the last desperate assault that he had prepared, and out of the pits of Angband there issued the winged dragons, that had not before been seen; for until that day no creatures of his cruel thought had yet assailed the air. So sudden and ruinous was the onset of that dreadful fleet that Fionwë was driven back; for the coming of the dragons was like a great roar of thunder, and a tempest of fire, and their wings were of steel.

§18 Then Eärendel came, shining with white flame, and about Vingelot were gathered all the great birds of heaven, and Thorondor was their captain, and there was battle in the air all the day and through a dark night of doubt. And ere the rising of the sun Eärendel slew Ancalagon the Black, the mightiest of the dragon-host, and he cast him from the sky, and in his fall the towers of Thangorodrim were thrown down. Then the sun rose, and the Children of the Valar prevailed, and all the dragons were destroyed, save two alone; and they fled into the East. Then all the pits of Morgoth were broken and unroofed, and the might of Fionwë descended into the deeps of the earth. And there Morgoth stood at last at bay, and yet unvaliant. He fled into the deepest of his mines and sued for peace and pardon; but his feet were hewn from under him and he was hurled upon his face. Then he was bound with the chain Angainor, which long had been prepared; and his iron crown they beat into a collar for his neck, and his head was bowed upon his knees. But Fionwë took the two Silmarils which remained and guarded them.

§19 Thus an end was made of the power of Angband in the North, and the evil realm was brought to nought; and out of the pits and deep prisons a multitude of thralls came forth beyond all hope into the light of day, and they looked upon a world all changed. For so great was the fury of those adversaries that the northern regions of the western world were rent asunder, and the sea roared in through many chasms, and there was confusion and great noise; and rivers perished or found new paths, and the valleys were upheaved and the hills trod down; and Sirion was no

more. Then Men, such as had not perished in the ruin of those days, fled far away, and it was long ere any came back over Eredlindon to the places where Beleriand had been.

§20 But Fionwë marched through the western lands summoning the remnant of the Noldor, and the Dark-elves that had not yet looked on Valinor, to join with the thralls released and to depart from Middle-earth. But Maidros would not harken, and he prepared, though now with weariness and loathing, to attempt in despair the fulfilment of his oath. For Maidros would have given battle for the Silmarils, were they withheld, even against the victorious host of Valinor and the might and splendour of the sons of the Gods: even though he stood alone in all the world. And he sent a message unto Fionwë, bidding him yield up now those jewels which of old Fëanor made and Morgoth stole from him.

§21 But Fionwë said that the right to the work of their hands, which Fëanor and his sons formerly possessed, had now perished, because of their many and merciless deeds, being blinded by their oath, and most of all because of the slaying of Dior and the assault upon Elwing. The light of the Silmarils should go now to the Gods, whence it came in the beginning; and to Valinor must Maidros and Maglor return and there abide the judgement of the Valar, by whose decree alone would Fionwë yield the jewels from his charge.

§22 Maglor desired indeed to submit, for his heart was sorrowful, and he said: 'The oath says not that we may not bide our time, and maybe in Valinor all shall be forgiven and forgot, and we shall come into our own in peace.' But Maidros said that, if once they returned and the favour of the Gods were withheld from them, then their oath would still remain, but its fulfilment be beyond all hope. 'And who can tell to what dreadful doom we shall come, if we disobey the Powers in their own land, or purpose ever to bring war again into their holy realm?' And Maglor said: 'Yet if Manwë and Varda themselves deny the fulfilment of an oath to which we named them in witness, is it not made void?' And Maidros answered: 'But how shall our voices reach to Ilúvatar beyond the circles of the World? And by Him we swore in our madness, and called the Everlasting Darkness upon us, if we kept not our word. Who shall release us?' 'If none can release us,' said Maglor, 'then indeed the Everlasting Darkness shall be our lot, whether we keep our oath or break it; but less evil shall we do in the breaking.' Yet he yielded to the will of Maidros, and

they took counsel together how they should lay hands on the Silmarils.

§23 And so it came to pass that they came in disguise to the camps of Fionwë, and at night they crept in to the places where the Silmarils were guarded, and they slew the guards, and laid hands upon the jewels; and then, since all the camp was roused against them, they prepared to die, defending themselves until the last. But Fionwë restrained his folk, and the brethren departed unfought, and fled far away. Each took a single Silmaril, for they said: 'Since one is lost to us, and but two remain, and two brethren, so is it plain that fate would have us share the heirlooms of our father.'

§24 But the jewel burned the hand of Maidros in pain unbearable (and he had but one hand, as has before been told); and he perceived that it was as Fionwë had said, and that his right thereto had become void, and that the oath was vain. And being in anguish and despair he cast himself into a gaping chasm filled with fire, and so ended; and the Silmaril that he bore was taken into the bosom of Earth.

§25 And it is told of Maglor that he could not endure the pain with which the Silmaril tormented him; and he cast it at last into the sea, and thereafter he wandered ever upon the shores singing in pain and regret beside the waves. For Maglor was the mightiest of the singers of old, but he came never back among the people of the Elves. And thus it came to pass that the Silmarils found their long homes: one in the airs of heaven, and one in the fires of the heart of the world, and one in the deep waters.

§26 In those days there was a great building of ships upon the shores of the Western Sea, and especially upon the great isles which, in the disruption of the northern world, were fashioned of ancient Beleriand. Thence in many a fleet the survivors of the Gnomes, and of the companies of the Dark-elves of Doriath and Ossiriand, set sail into the West and came never again into the lands of weeping and of war. But the Lindar the Light-elves, marched back beneath the banners of their king, and they were borne in triumph unto Valinor. Yet their joy in victory was diminished, for they returned without the Silmarils and the light before the Sun and Moon, and they knew that those jewels could not be found or brought together again until the world was broken and re-made anew.

§27 And when they came into the West the Gnomes for the most part rehabited the Lonely Isle, that looks both West and

East; and that land became very fair, and so remains. But some returned even to Valinor, as all were free to do who willed; and there the Gnomes were admitted again to the love of Manwë and the pardon of the Valar; and the Teleri forgave their ancient grief, and the curse was laid to rest.

§28 Yet not all the Eldalië were willing to forsake the Hither Lands where they had long suffered and long dwelt; and some lingered many an age in the West and North, and especially in the western isles and in the Land of Leithien. And among these were Maglor, as hath been told; and with him for a while was Elrond Halfelven, who chose, as was granted to him, to be among the Elf-kindred; but Elros his brother chose to abide with Men. And from these brethren alone the blood of the Firstborn and the seed divine of Valinor have come among Mankind: for they were the sons of Elwing, Dior's daughter, Lúthien's son, child of Thingol and Melian; and Eärendel their sire was Idril's son Celebrindal, the fair maid of Gondolin. But ever as the ages drew on and the Elf-folk faded upon earth, they would set sail at eve from the western shores of this world, as still they do, until now there linger few anywhere of their lonely companies.

§29 This was the doom of the Gods, when Fionwë and the sons of the Valar returned to Valmar and told of all the things that had been done. Thereafter the Hither Lands of Middle-earth should be for Mankind, the younger children of the world; but to the Elves, the Firstborn, alone should the gateways of the West stand ever open. And if the Elves would not come thither and tarried in the lands of Men, then they should slowly fade and fail. This is the most grievous of the fruits of the lies and works that Morgoth wrought, that the Eldalië should be sundered and estranged from Men. For a while other evils that he had devised or nurtured lived on, although he himself was taken away; and Orcs and Dragons, breeding again in dark places, became names of terror, and did evil deeds, as in sundry regions they still do; but ere the End all shall perish. But Morgoth himself the Gods thrust through the Door of Night into the Timeless Void, beyond the Walls of the World; and a guard is set for ever on that door, and Eärendel keeps watch upon the ramparts of the sky.

§30 Yet the lies that Melkor, the mighty and accursed, Morgoth Bauglir, the Power of Terror and of Hate, sowed in the hearts of Elves and Men are a seed that doth not die and cannot by the Gods be destroyed; and ever and anon it sprouts anew, and bears dark fruit even to these latest days. Some say also that Morgoth

himself has at times crept back, secretly as a cloud that cannot be seen, and yet is venomous, surmounting the Walls, and visiting the world to encourage his servants and set on foot evil when all seems fair. But others say that this is the black shadow of Sauron, whom the Gnomes named Gorthû, who served Morgoth even in Valinor and came with him, and was the greatest and most evil of his underlings; and Sauron fled from the Great Battle and escaped, and he dwelt in dark places and perverted Men to his dreadful allegiance and his foul worship.

§31 Thus spake Mandos in prophecy, when the Gods sat in judgement in Valinor, and the rumour of his words was whispered among all the Elves of the West. When the world is old and the Powers grow weary, then Morgoth, seeing that the guard sleepeth, shall come back through the Door of Night out of the Timeless Void; and he shall destroy the Sun and Moon. But Eärendel shall descend upon him as a white and searing flame and drive him from the airs. Then shall the Last Battle be gathered on the fields of Valinor. In that day Tulkas shall strive with Morgoth, and on his right hand shall be Fionwë, and on his left Túrin Turambar, son of Húrin, coming from the halls of Mandos; and the black sword of Túrin shall deal unto Morgoth his death and final end; and so shall the children of Húrin and all Men be avenged.

§32 Thereafter shall Earth be broken and re-made, and the Silmarils shall be recovered out of Air and Earth and Sea; for Eärendel shall descend and surrender that flame which he hath had in keeping. Then Fëanor shall take the Three Jewels and bear them to Yavanna Palúrien; and she will break them and with their fire rekindle the Two Trees, and a great light shall come forth. And the Mountains of Valinor shall be levelled, so that the Light shall go out over all the world. In that light the Gods will grow young again, and the Elves awake and all their dead arise, and the purpose of Ilúvatar be fulfilled concerning them. But of Men in that day the prophecy of Mandos doth not speak, and no Man it names, save Túrin only, and to him a place is given among the sons of the Valar.

§33 Here endeth *The Silmarillion*: which is drawn out in brief from those songs and histories which are yet sung and told by the fading Elves, and (more clearly and fully) by the vanished Elves that dwell now upon the Lonely Isle, Tol Eressëa, whither few mariners of Men have ever come, save once or twice in a long

age when some man of Eärendel's race hath passed beyond the lands of mortal sight and seen the glimmer of the lamps upon the quays of Avallon, and smelt afar the undying flowers in the meads of Dorwinion. Of whom was Eriol one, that men named Ælfwine, and he alone returned and brought tidings of Cortirion to the Hither Lands.

Commentary on the conclusion of the Quenta Silmarillion

[All references to Q are to the second version, Q II.]

§1 After 'landed on the immortal shores' my father wrote (following Q, IV. 153) 'and neither Elwing nor any of his three mariners would he suffer to go with him, lest they fall under the wrath of the Gods', but struck this out in the moment of composition and replaced it by the passage given. The three mariners were not named in Q, where it is only said that Eärendel had a 'small company'. Cf. *The Lost Road* p. 60 and note 8.

§2 The story here of Elwing's leaping into the surf in the Bay of Elvenhome, and (in §3) of Eärendel's command to her to stay by the shores and await his return, is changed from that found in revisions to the text of Q (IV. 156), where Elwing was sundered for ever from Eärendel (see IV. 197–8).

§6 It is notable that the Lindar are here (and again in §§15, 26) called the 'Light-elves', this being a reversion to the earlier application of the term. At the beginning of QS (§§25, 40) the Lindar are the 'High Elves', and 'the Lindar and the Noldor and the Teleri are named the Light Elves' (§29), thus distinguished from the 'Dark Elves' who never passed over the sea to Valinor.

The words 'and Ingwiel son of Ingwë was their chief' first appear in an addition to Q (IV. 156 note 19). I suggested (IV. 196) that what my father really meant was that Ingwiel was the chief of the Lindar, among whom went the Noldor of Valinor; not that Ingwiel was the leader of the Noldor themselves – that was Finrod (later Finarfin).

§§6–7 A new element in the story is the sojourn of Elwing among the Teleri; the implication is clearly that the Teleri were influenced by her in providing their ships and mariners. Elwing was the great-grandniece of Elwë Lord of Alqualondë. In AB 2 (annal 333–43), following AB 1, none of the Teleri left Valinor, though 'they built a countless multitude of ships.'

§§8–11 Wholly new is the matter of the council of the Gods, the decree of Manwë declared to Eärendel and Elwing, their choices of fate, and the despatch of the three mariners eastwards with a great wind. – On 'the forbidden shores' and the Ban of the Valar see the commentary on *The Fall of Númenor I*, §4.

§9 It is to be observed that according to the judgement of Manwë Dior

Thingol's Heir, son of Beren, was mortal irrespective of the choice of his mother.

§11 As Q II was originally written, Elwing devised wings for Eärendel's ship, whereby he sailed into the sky bearing the Silmaril (§17), but *after* the Great Battle and the expulsion of Morgoth through the Door of Night, because Eärendel was scorched by the Sun and hunted by the Moon, the Gods took his ship Wingelot and hallowed it, and launched it through the Door of Night (§19). In view of the statement in Q here that Eärendel 'set sail into *the starless vast* . . . voyaging *the Dark behind the world*', and in view also of the very explicit account of the Door in the *Ambarkanta* (IV. 237) – it 'pierceth the Walls and opens upon the Void' – I have supposed (IV. 203) that 'this act of the Valar was to protect Eärendel, by setting him to sail in the Void, above the courses of the Sun and Moon and stars, where also he could guard the Door against Morgoth's return.' In the same passage of the *Ambarkanta* it is said that the Valar made the Door of Night 'when Melko was overcome and put forth into the Outer Dark', and that it is 'guarded by Eärendel'.

The passage in Q §17 was, however, revised (IV. 156 note 20), and the launching of Wingelot by the Gods introduced at an earlier point in the narrative, before the Great Battle, and so before the making of the Door of Night (according to the *Ambarkanta*). It is not said in this revised passage that Eärendel passed through the Door, nor is it made explicit into what high regions he passed: his ship 'was lifted even into the oceans of the air'. This revision is taken up here in the present text, and again (as originally written) the Door of Night is not mentioned: the ship 'was lifted up even into the oceans of heaven' – and Eärendel journeyed far in it, 'even into the starless voids'. One could therefore possibly accommodate the revised story of the launching of Eärendel in Vingelot to the *Ambarkanta* by supposing that it was no longer my father's thought that he passed through the Door of Night (which was not yet in existence): he did not pass into Ava-kúma, the Outer Dark, but remained within 'the starless voids' of Vaiya. But this theory is undone by my father's addition of the very words in question, 'passed through the Door of Night', to the account. (This addition was not one of those made at the time of the writing of the manuscript, but it was made carefully in ink and does not belong with the rough alterations made much later.) In any case the words 'as he came back to Valinor from voyages *beyond the confines of the world*' suggest that he sailed into the Void. It seems therefore only possible to explain this on the assumption that the *Ambarkanta* conception had in this point been abandoned, and that the Door of Night was already in existence before Morgoth's great defeat.

§12 On the history of the white tower whither all the sea-birds of the world at times repaired see IV. 197. In Q II as originally written it was Eärendel who built the tower; by the revision (IV. 156 note 20) it was

built by Elwing, who devised wings for herself in order to try to fly to him, but in vain: 'and they are sundered till the world endeth.' Now the story shifts again. Elwing still builds the tower, but it is added that she learns the tongues of the birds and from them the craft of flight; and she is not now parted for ever from Eärendel after his transformation into the Star: she rises to meet him from her tower as he returns from his voyages beyond the confines of the world.

§15 A substantial space is left in the text after §14, and §15 begins with an ornate initial, suggesting that my father foresaw the beginning of a new chapter here. This was in fact inserted at the time of the late, pencilled emendations: *Of the Great Battle and the War of Wrath*.

§§15–16 In the account of the Great Battle my father simply followed the opening of Q II §18, though the outline of a much fuller tale had appeared at the end of AB 2: the landing of Ingwiel at Eglorest, the Battle of Eglorest, Fionwë's camp by Sirion, the thunderous coming of Morgoth over Taur-na-Fuin (this, if not actually excluded, at least made to seem very improbable in Q and QS), and the long-contested passage of Sirion.

§16 In my view there is no question that the words (not in Q) 'save some few [Balrogs] that fled and hid themselves in caverns inaccessible at the roots of the earth' preceded by a good while the Balrog of Moria (there is in any case evidence that a Balrog was not my father's original conception of Gandalf's adversary on the Bridge of Khazad-dûm). It was, I believe, the idea – first appearing here – that some Balrogs had survived from the ancient world in the deep places of Middle-earth that led to the Balrog of Moria. In this connection a letter of my father's written in April 1954 (*Letters* no. 144, p. 180) is interesting:

> [The Balrogs] were supposed to have been all destroyed in the overthrow of Thangorodrim . . . But it is here found . . . that one had escaped and taken refuge under the mountains of Hithaeglin [*sic*].

On the words 'all that were left of the three Houses of the Elf-friends, Fathers of Men' see the commentary on *The Fall of Númenor I*, §1.

§18 On the retention of the motive of the birds that accompanied Eärendel (which arose from an earlier form of the legend) see IV. 203. Thorondor as the captain of 'the great birds of heaven' is not named in Q, which has here 'a myriad of birds were about him.'

§20 A further heading was pencilled in against the beginning of this paragraph (see under §15 above): *Of the Last End of the Oath of Fëanor and his Sons*.

§22 The debate between Maglor and Maidros is articulated further than it was in Q, with the last and wisest word to Maglor, though the outcome is the same: for Maidros overbore him.

§26 A final heading was pencilled at the beginning of this paragraph: *Of the Passing of the Elves*.

§28 On the earlier accounts of Elrond's choice see p. 23. Now there appears both his changed decision, 'to be among the Elf-kindred', and

the choice of his brother Elros 'to abide with Men'. Elros has been named in emendations to Q (IV. 155) and in later alterations to AB 2 (commentary on annal 325), and though these additions say nothing about him he was obviously introduced into these texts after the legend of Númenor had begun to develop. This is shown by the fact that still in the second text of *The Fall of Númenor* it was Elrond the mortal who was the first King of Númenor and the builder of Númenos (§2), and Elros only appears in his place by emendation.

In view of the presence here of Elros beside Elrond – whereas Elros is still absent in QS §87 – and the respective choices of the Half-elven, it is perhaps surprising that in §16 my father made no mention of the land of Númenor made for the Men of the Three Houses (see §§1–2 in both FN I and FN II); still more so, that he followed Q so closely in features where the 'intrusion' of Númenor had already introduced new conceptions. Thus he still wrote here in §19 that after the Great Battle 'Men ... fled far away, and it was long ere any came back over Eredlindon to the places *where Beleriand had been*', and in §26 of 'the great building of ships upon the shores of the Western Sea, and especially upon the great isles which, in the disruption of the northern world, were fashioned of ancient Beleriand.'

It is not easy to trace the evolution of my father's conception of the survival of Beleriand (especially in relation to the destruction wrought at the Downfall of Númenor, see pp. 153–4); but in the FN texts there is clearly already a somewhat different view from that in Q. In FN II (where as noted above Elros had not yet emerged and which must therefore have preceded the present text) the story of the Last Alliance was already developed (§14): Elendil the Númenórean, a king in Beleriand,

> took counsel with the Elves that remained in Middle-earth (and these abode then mostly in Beleriand); and he made a league with Gil-galad the Elf-king ... And their armies were joined, and passed the mountains and came into inner lands far from the Sea.

While the passages cited above from the present text are not in necessary or explicit contradiction to this, they are hardly congruent with it. The fact that my father later pencilled against §28 the names *Gilgalad* and *Lindon* could indeed be taken at first sight as showing that the conception of the undrowned land west of the Blue Mountains, and the alliance between Men and Elves who dwelt there, arose after it was written; but the evidence is decisive against this being the case.

I cannot offer any convincing explanation of this situation. It might be suggested that my father had the conscious intent to represent different and to some degree divergent 'traditions' concerning events after the overthrow of Morgoth and the great departure of Elves into the West; but this seems to me improbable. (On the name *Lindon* of the undrowned land see pp. 31–4 and the commentary on QS §108.)

Idril's son Celebrindal is an old idiom = Idril Celebrindal's son.

§30 Notable, and disconcerting to the editor, is the form *Melkor* (instead of *Melko*), which is quite certainly original here. I have said in IV. 282 that '*Melkor* for *Melko* was not introduced until 1951.' The evidence for this lies in the note referred to on p. 294, which gives a list of 'Alterations in last revision [i.e. of 'The Silmarillion'] 1951': these include *Aman*, *Arda*, *Atani / Edain*, *Eä*, *Eru*, *Melkor*, and a few less significant names. This important scrap of paper provides an external date – rare good fortune in this study – by which pre- and post-*Lord of the Rings* texts can often be distinguished; and the checks furnished by it are in complete harmony with what may be more tentatively deduced on other grounds. I have found nowhere any reason to suspect that *Aman*, *Arda*, etc. were ever used in the pre-*Lord of the Rings* period; and I therefore too readily assumed that the same was true of *Melkor* (which differs from the others in that it is not an entirely new name but only a new form), not having observed that it occurred in the present passage as an original form. It is to be noted that *Melko* was changed to *Melkor* on the Q-text at the same point (IV. 166 note 1).

No doubt the explanation of my father's including *Melkor* as an alteration made in 1951 when he had used it long before is in fact quite simple: he decided on *Melkor* at this time, and when he returned to 'The Silmarillion' after *The Lord of the Rings* was finished he used it in his revisions and rewritings of QS, and it was therefore an alteration of 1951. This is a good example of the traps that he most unwittingly laid, and which I cannot hope to have evaded in more significant matters than this.

The difficult passage concerning Morgoth's 'surmounting' the Walls of the World survives from Q (IV. 164): see IV. 253.

Gorthû: thus the name *Thû*, compounded *Gorthû*, reappears as the name of Sauron in the Noldorin tongue (see the *Etymologies*, stem THUS). *Gorthû* has occurred in emendations to the *Lay of Leithian* (III. 232–3), and in a change to the typescript text of FN II (p. 33). – With the statement that Sauron served Morgoth in Valinor cf. QS §143 and commentary ('Sauron was the chief servant of the evil Vala, whom he had suborned to his service in Valinor from among the people of the Gods'). In Q here 'others say that this is the black shadow of Thû, *whom Morgoth made*', changed (IV. 166 note 3) to a reading close to that of the present text.

§33 *The quays of Avallon.* At this time *Avallon* was a name of Tol Eressëa: 'the Lonely Island, which was renamed Avallon', FN II §1. *The meads of Dorwinion* must be in Tol Eressëa. The name has previously occurred as a land of vines in 'the burning South' in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, in the wine of Dorwinion in *The Hobbit*, and as marked on the map made by Pauline Baynes; see III. 26, which needs to be corrected by addition of a reference to this passage.

PART THREE

THE ETYMOLOGIES

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The mode of my father's linguistic construction, which as is well known was carried on throughout his life and in very close relation to the evolution of the narratives, shows the same unceasing movement as do they: a quality fundamental to the art, in which (as I believe) finality and a system fixed at every point was not its underlying aim. But while his 'language' and his 'literature' were so closely interwoven, to trace the history of the literary process through many texts (even though the trail might be greatly obscured) is of its nature enormously much easier than to trace the astounding complexity of the phonological and grammatical evolution of the Elvish languages.

Those languages were conceived, of course, from the very beginning in a deeply 'historical' way: they were embodied in a history, the history of the Elves who spoke them, in which was to be found, as it evolved, a rich terrain for linguistic separation and interaction: 'a language requires a suitable habitation, and a history in which it can develop' (*Letters* no. 294, p. 375). Every element in the languages, every element in every word, is in principle historically 'explicable' – as are the elements in languages that are not 'invented' – and the successive phases of their intricate evolution were the delight of their creator. 'Invention' was thus altogether distinct from 'artificiality'. In his essay 'A Secret Vice' (*The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*, 1983, p. 198) my father wrote of his liking for Esperanto, a liking which, he said, arose 'not least because it is the creation ultimately of one man, not a philologist, and is therefore something like a "human language bereft of the inconveniences due to too many successive cooks" – which is as good a description of the ideal artificial language (in a particular sense) as I can give.' The Elvish languages are, in this sense, very inconvenient indeed, and they image the activities of countless cooks (unconscious, of course, of what they were doing to the ingredients they had come by): in other words, they image language not as 'pure structure', without 'before' and 'after', but as growth, in time.

On the other hand, the linguistic histories were nonetheless 'images', invented by an inventor, who was free to change those histories as he was free to change the story of the world in which they took place; and he did so abundantly. The difficulties inherent in the study of the history of any language or group of languages are here therefore compounded: for this history is not a datum of historical fact to be uncovered, but an unstable, shifting view of what the history was. Moreover, the alterations in the history were not confined to features of 'interior' linguistic development: the 'exterior' conception of the languages and their relations underwent

change, even profound change; and it is not to be thought that the representation of the languages in letters, in *tengwar*, should be exempt.

It must be added that my father's characteristic method of work – elaborate beginnings collapsing into scrawls; manuscripts overlaid with layer upon layer of emendation – here find their most extreme expression; and also that the philological papers were left in the greatest disorder. Without external dating, the only way to determine sequence (apart from the very general and uncertain guide of changing handwriting) is in the internal evidence of the changing philology itself; and that, of its nature, does not offer the sort of clues that lead through the maze of the literary texts. The clues it does offer are very much more elusive. It is also unfortunately true that hasty handwriting and ill-formed letters are here far more destructive; and a great deal of my father's late philological writing is, I think, strictly unusable.

It will be seen then that the philological component in the evolution of Middle-earth can scarcely be analysed, and most certainly cannot be presented, as can the literary texts. In any case, my father was perhaps more interested in the processes of change than he was in displaying the structure and use of the languages at any given time – though this is no doubt due to some extent to his so often starting again at the beginning with the primordial sounds of the Quendian languages, embarking on a grand design that could not be sustained (it seems indeed that the very attempt to write a definitive account produced immediate dissatisfaction and the desire for new constructions: so the most beautiful manuscripts were soon treated with disdain).

The most surprising thing, perhaps, is that he was so little concerned to make comprehensive vocabularies of the Elvish tongues. He never made again anything like the little packed 'dictionary' of the original Gnomish language on which I drew in the appendices to *The Book of Lost Tales*. It may be that such an undertaking was always postponed to the day, which would never come, when a sufficient finality had been achieved; in the meantime, it was not for him a prime necessity. He did not, after all, 'invent' new words and names arbitrarily: in principle, he devised them from within the historical structure, proceeding from the 'bases' or primitive stems, adding suffix or prefix or forming compounds, deciding (or, as he would have said, 'finding out') when the word came into the language, following through the regular changes of form that it would thus have undergone, and observing the possibilities of formal or semantic influence from other words in the course of its history. Such a word would then exist for him, and he would know it. As the whole system evolved and expanded, the possibilities for word and name became greater and greater.

The nearest he ever came to a sustained account of Elvish vocabulary is not in the form of nor intended to serve as a dictionary in the ordinary sense, but is an etymological dictionary of word-relationships: an alphabetically-arranged list of primary stems, or 'bases', with their

derivatives (thus following directly in form from the original 'Qenya Lexicon' which I have described in I. 246). It is this work that is given here. My father wrote a good deal on the theory of *sundokarme* or 'base-structure' (see SUD and KAR in the *Etymologies*), but like everything else it was frequently elaborated and altered, and I do not attempt its presentation here. My object in giving the *Etymologies** in this book is rather as an indication of the development, and mode of development, of the vocabularies of the Elvish languages at this period than as a first step in the elucidation of the linguistic history; and also because they form an instructive companion to the narrative works of this time.

It is a remarkable document, which must be reckoned among the most difficult of all the papers containing unique material which my father left. The inherent difficulties of the text are increased by the very bad condition of the manuscript, which for much of its length is battered, torn, crumpled at the edges, and discoloured (so that much that was very lightly pencilled is now barely visible and extremely hard to decipher). In some sections the maze of forms and cancellations is so dense, and for the most part made so quickly, that one cannot be sure what my father's final intention was: in these parts he was working out potential connections and derivations on the spot, by no means setting down already determined histories. There were many routes by which a name might have evolved, and the whole etymological system was like a kaleidoscope, for a decision in one place was likely to set up disturbing ripples in etymological relations among quite distinct groups of words. Moreover, complexity was (as it were) built in, for the very nature of the 'bases' set words on phonetic collision courses from their origin.

The work varies a great deal, however, between its sections (which are the groups of base-stems beginning with the same initial letter). The worst parts, both in their physical condition and in the disorganisation of their content, are the central letters of the alphabet, beginning with E. As the text proceeds the amount of subsequent alteration and addition, and resultant confusion, diminishes, and when P and R are reached the etymologies, though rough and hasty, are more orderly. With these groups my father began to use smaller sheets of paper which are much better preserved, and from S to the end the material does not present serious difficulty; while the concluding section (W) is written out very legibly in ink (in this book the last section is Y, but that is not so in the original: see p. 346). These relatively clear and orderly entries are found also in the A-stems, while the B-stems are distinct from all the rest in that they were written out as a very finished and indeed beautiful manuscript. The entries under D are in two forms: very rough material that was partly overwritten more legibly in ink, and then a second, much clearer and more ordered version on the smaller sheets.

*On a covering page to the manuscript is written *Etymologies*, and also *Beleriandic and Noldorin names and words: Etymologies*.

I have not been able to reach any certain interpretation of all this, or find an explanation that satisfies all the conditions in detail. On the whole I am inclined to think that the simplest is most likely to be right in essentials. I have little doubt that the dictionary was composed progressively, through the letters of the alphabet in succession; and it may be that the very making of such a dictionary led to greater certainty in the whole etymological system, and greater clarity and assurance in its setting-out, as the work proceeded – but this also led to much change in the earlier parts. Having reached the end of the alphabet, my father then turned back to the beginning, with the intention of putting into better order the sections which had been first made and had suffered the most alteration; but this impulse petered out after the entries under D. If this were so, the original A and B entries were subsequently destroyed or lost; whereas in the case of D both survive (and it is noticeable that the second version of the D-entries differs from the former chiefly in arrangement, rather than in further etymological development).

Turning now to the question of date, I give some characteristic examples of the evidence on which I think firm conclusions can be based.

The original entry ELED gave the meaning of the stem as 'depart', with a derivative *Elda* 'departed'. Since this was the interpretation of *Eldar* in the *Lhammas* §2 and in QS §23 as those works were originally written, and first appears in them, the original entries under E clearly belong to that time. This interpretation was replaced in both the *Lhammas* and QS by carefully made emendations changing the meaning to 'Star-folk', and introducing the term *Avari*, with the meaning 'Departing'. Now the meaning 'Star-folk' appears in a second entry ELED replacing the first (and to all appearance made not long after); while the stem AB, ABAR bore, as first written, the meaning 'depart', and the derivative *Avari* was defined as 'Elves who left Middle-earth'. Thus the original A-entries and some at least of the alterations under E belong to the phase of the earliest alterations to QS.

In QS the meaning of *Avari* was then changed to 'the Unwilling' (see p. 219), and at the same time the root-meaning of AB, ABAR in the *Etymologies* was changed to 'refuse, deny' and the interpretation of *Avari* to 'Elves who never left Middle-earth or began the march.' This change can be dated from the note of 20 November 1937 (given on p. 200) in which my father said that *Avari* was to replace *Lembi* as the name of the Elves who remained in the East, while *Lembi* were to be 'Ilkorin Teleri', i.e. the Eldar who remained in Beleriand (see QS §§29–30 and p. 219). These changes were incorporated in the typescript of QS, which seems to have been in being by the beginning of February 1938 (p. 200). (The additional entry LEB, LEM shows this development, since *Lembi* is there translated as 'Elves remaining behind = Telerin Ilkorins'.)

In the note dated 3 February 1938 (p. 200) my father said that while *Tintallë* 'Kindler' could stand as a name of Varda, *Tinwerontar* 'Queen of Stars' must be changed to *Elentári*, because *'tinwë* in Qenya only =

spark (*tinta-* to kindle).' In the entry TIN the names *Tinwetar* and *Tinwerontar* of Varda were struck from the original material, and in the margin was written: '*Tintanië*, *Tintallë* Kindler = Varda; Q *tinta-* to kindle, make to spark'. Original T-entries can therefore be dated before February 1938.

Under the stem MEN appears the form *hármen* 'south', which was not subsequently changed, and again under the (additional) entry KHAR, but in this case the base-stem was afterwards changed to KHYAR and *harmen* to *hyarmen*. The insertion of *y* in this word was one of the alterations required in the note of 20 November 1937.

Putting these and a number of other similar evidences together, it seems to me clear that despite their very various appearance the *Etymologies* were not spread over a long period, but were contemporary with QS; and that some of the additions and corrections can be securely dated to the end of 1937 and the beginning of 1938, the time of the abandonment of QS and the beginning of *The Lord of the Rings*. How much longer my father kept the work in being with further additions and improvements is another question, but here also I think that an answer can be given sufficient for the purpose. This lies in the observations that there are relatively few names that belong specifically to *The Lord of the Rings*; that all of them are quite clearly additions to existing entries or introduce additional base-stems; that almost all were put in very hastily, mere memoranda, and not really accommodated to or explained in relation to the base-stems; and that the great majority come from the earlier part of *The Lord of the Rings* – before the breaking of the fellowship. Thus we find, for example, *Baranduin* (BARÁN); the imperative *daro!* 'stop!' (DAR; this was the sentry's command to the Company of the Ring on the borders of Lothlórien); *Hollin* added under ERÉK; the scrawled addition of a base ETER with the imperative *edro!* 'open!' (the word shouted by Gandalf before the doors of Moria); *Celebrimbor* (KWAR); *Caradras* (RAS; replacing in the original draft of the chapter *The Ring Goes South* the name *Taragaer*, itself found in the *Etymologies* under the added base TARÁK); *Celebrant* (RAT); *Imladris* (RIS). The words *caras* (KAR) and *naith* (SNAS), both of them additions, probably argue the existence of *Caras Galadon* and the *Naith* of Lothlórien, and the added *rhandir* 'pilgrim' under RAN, taken with the added *mith* 'grey' under MITH, shows *Mithrandir*. Clear cases of names from later in *The Lord of the Rings* do occur (so *Palantir* under PAL and TIR, *Dolbaran* under BARÁN), but they are very few.

I conclude therefore that while my father did for two or three years more make rather desultory entries in the *Etymologies* as new names emerged in *The Lord of the Rings*, he gave up even this as the new work proceeded; and that the *Etymologies* as given here illustrate the development of the Quenya and Noldorin (later > Sindarin) lexicons at the decisive period reached in this book, and provide in fact a remarkable point of vantage.

The *Etymologies*, then, reflect the linguistic situation in Beleriand envisaged in the *Lhammas* (see especially the third version, *Lammasethen*, p. 194), with Noldorin fully preserved as the language of the Exiles, though profoundly changed from its Valinorian form and having complex interrelations in respect of names with 'Beleriandic' (Ilkorin), especially the speech of Doriath. Afterwards my father developed the conception of a kind of amalgamation between Noldorin and the indigenous speech of Beleriand, though ultimately there emerged the situation described in *The Silmarillion* (p. 129): the Noldor abandoned their own tongue and adopted that of the Elves of Beleriand (Sindarin). So far-reaching was this reformation that the pre-existent linguistic structures themselves were moved into new historical relations and given new names; but there is no need here to enter that rather baffling territory.

The presentation of such a text as this can obviously not be exact: in the most chaotic parts a degree of personal interpretation of what was meant is altogether inevitable. There is in any case a great deal of inconsistency in detail between the different parts of the manuscript – for example, in the use of marks expressing length of vowel, which vary unceasingly between acute accent, macron (long mark), and circumflex. I have only 'standardized' the entries to a very limited extent, and only in so far as I have felt confident that I ran little risk of confusing the original intention. In particular, I have done nothing to bring divergent forms, as between one part of the *Etymologies* and another, into accord, seeing that the evolution of 'bases' and derivative words is an essential part of the history; and indeed in the most complex parts of the manuscript (initial letters E, G, K) I have attempted to distinguish the different 'layers' of accretion and alteration, though elsewhere I have been very selective in pointing out additions to the original list. I have 'standardized' the entries to the extent of giving the 'bases' always in capitals, and of using the acute accent to signify long vowels in all 'recorded' forms (as opposed to 'hypothetical' antecedent forms), with the circumflex for long vowels in stressed final syllables in Exilic Noldorin and Ilkorin, as is largely done in the original. I use *y* for *j* of the original throughout (e.g. KUY, DYEL for KUJ, DJEL), since this is less misleading and was my father's own practice elsewhere (found in fact here and there in the *Etymologies*); the stems with initial J, becoming Y, are moved forward from their original place before K to the end of the list. I print the back nasal (as in English *king*) with a Spanish *tilde* (ñ), again following my father's frequent practice, though in the *Etymologies* he used special forms of the letter *n*. His grammatical abbreviations are retained, as follows:

adj.	adjective	*g.sg.*	genitive singular
adv.	adverb	*inf.*	infinitive
cpd.	compound	*intr.*	intransitive
f.	feminine	*m.*	masculine

pa.t.	past tense	*q.v.*	*quod vide*, 'which see'
pl.	plural	*sg.*	singular
p.p.	past participle	*tr.*	transitive
prep.	preposition		

The sign † means 'poetic or archaic'. The abbreviations used for the different languages are as follows (there is no explanatory list of them accompanying the manuscript):

Dan.	Danian
Dor.	Doriathrin
Eld.	Eldarin
EN	Exilic Noldorin (also referred to as 'Exilic', but most often simply as N)
Ilk.	Ilkorin
L	Lindarin
N	Noldorin
ON	Old Noldorin (i.e. the *Korolambë* or *Kornoldorin*, see the *Lhammas* §5)
Oss.	Ossiriandeb (the name in the *Lhammas*, where however the form *Ossiriandic* is also found)
PQ	Primitive Quendian
T	Telerin

An asterisk prefixed to a form means that it is 'hypothetical', deduced to have existed from later, recorded forms.

My own contributions are always enclosed within square brackets. A question mark standing within such brackets indicates doubt as to the correctness of my reading, but in other cases is original. Where I have found words totally illegible or can do no better than a guess (a very small proportion of the whole, in fact) I have usually omitted them silently, and so also with scattered jottings where no meaning is attached to forms, or where no clear connections are given. I have kept my own notes to a minimum, and in particular have very largely eschewed the temptation to discuss the etymologies in relation to earlier and later Elvish forms published elsewhere. On the other hand, while my father inserted many internal references to other stems, I have substantially increased the number (those due to me being enclosed within square brackets), since it is often difficult to find an element when it had been greatly changed from its ultimate 'base'. The Index to the book is further designed to assist in the tracing of name-elements that appear in the *Etymologies*.

A

AB-, ABAR- refuse, deny, ***ábārŏ* refuser, one who does not go forth: Q *Avar* (or *Avaro*), pl. *Avari* = Elves who never left Middle-earth or began the march; N *Afor*, pl. *Efuir*, *Efyr* (ON *abóro*). Cf. AWA.

[This entry as first written gave the root-meaning as 'go away, depart',

translated **ábārō* as 'departer, one who goes forth', and defined *Avari* as 'Elves who left Middle-earth' (see p. 344). An additional entry seems to allow for both developments from the root-meaning: 'AB- retreat, move back, refuse'.]

AD- entrance, gate, **adnō*: Q *ando* gate; N *annon*, pl. *ennyn* great gate, Q *andon* (pl. *andondi*).

AIWĒ- (small) bird. Q *aiwe*, N *aew*. Cf. *Aiwenor* 'Birdland' = lower air. [For *Aiwenor(ë)* see the *Ambarkanta* and diagrams, IV. 236 etc.]

AK- narrow, confined. **akrā*: Q *arka* narrow; N *agr*, *agor*. Cf. N *Aglond*, *Aglon* defile, pass between high walls, also as proper name; cf. *lond*, *lonn* path [LOD]. Q *aksa* narrow path, ravine.

AKLA-R- See KAL. Q *alka* ray of light; *alkar* or *alkare* radiance, brilliance; *alkarinqa* radiant, glorious. N *aglar* glory, *aglareb* glorious.

ÁLAK- rushing. **álākō* rush, rushing flight, wild wind: N *alag* rushing, impetuous; *alagos* storm of wind. Cf. *Anc-alagon* dragon-name [NAK]. Related to LAK².

**alk-wā* swan: Q *alqa*; T *alpa*; ON *alpha*; N *alf*; Ilk. *alch*; Dan. *ealc*. Cf. *Alqalonde* Swan-road or Swan-haven, city of the Teleri [LOD].

ÁLAM- elm-tree. Q *alalme*, also *lalme*; N *lalf (lelf)* or *lalven*, pl. *lelvin*; Ilk. *lalm*, pl. *lelmin*; Dan. *alm*. The stem is perhaps LÁLAM, q.v., but some hold it related to ALA since the elm was held blessed and beloved by the Eldar. [The end of this entry, from 'but some hold it', was an addition. Probably at the same time a stem AL- was added, with derivatives *alma* 'good fortune', *alya* 'rich', etc.; but this entry was struck out. The same derivative words are found under GALA.]

ÁLAT- large, great in size. Q *alta [. . .] alat-* as in *Alataire* = *Belegoer* [AY].

AM¹- mother. Q *amil* or *amme* mother; Ilk. *aman*, pl. *emuin*. (N uses a different word, *naneth*, hypocoristic [pet-name form] *nana* [NAN]).

AM²- up: usually in form *amba-*. Q prefix *am-* up; *amba* adv. up(wards); *amban* upward slope, hill-side; *ambapenda*, *ampenda* uphill (adj.); see PEN. N *am* up; *am-bend*, *amben* uphill; *amon* hill, pl. *emuin*, *emyn*; *am-rûn* uprising, sunrise, Orient = Q *ambaron* (g.sg. *ambarónen*) or *Ambaróne*.

ANA¹- Cf. NA¹. to, towards. **anta-* to present, give: Q *anta-* give; *anna* gift; *ante* (f.), *anto* (m.) giver. Cf. *Yav-anna* [YAB]; *Aryante* [AR¹]. N *anno* to give; *ant* gift. [Added:] Q *anta* face.

ANA²- Cf. NA². be, exist. [Added:] *anwa* real, actual, true.

ÁNAD-, ANDA- **andā* long: Q *anda*; N *and*, *ann*. Cf. names *Andram* long-wall [RAMBĀ], *Andfang*, *Anfang* Longbeard, one of the tribes of Dwarves (pl. *Enfeng*) [SPÁNAG].

ÁNAK- Cf. NAK bite. Q *anca* jaw; N *anc*; cf. *Ancalagon* [ÁLAK].

ANÁR- sun; derivative of NAR¹. **anār-*: Q *Anar* sun; EN *Anor*.

ANGĀ- iron. Q *anga*; N *ang*. Q *angaina* of iron; N *angren*, pl. *engrin*.

ANGWA- or **ANGU-** snake. Q *ango*, pl. *angwi*; N *am-* in *amlug* dragon: see LOK.

AP- *apsa* cooked food, meat. N *aes*; Ilk. *ass*.

AR¹- day. **ari*: Q *are*, pl. *ari*; N *ar-* only in names of week-days, as *Arvanwe* [see LEP]. Cf. name *Aryante* Day-bringer [ANA¹], N *Eriant*. Q *arin* morning, *arinya* morning, early; *arie* daytime; *ára* dawn; *Arien* the Sun-maiden. N *aur* day, morning; *arad* daytime, a day (= Q *arya* twelve hours, day).

AR²- Q *ara* outside, beside; also prefix *ar-* as in *Arvalin* (= outside Valinor). In Q this is purely local in sense. So also in Ilkorin, cf. *Argad* place 'outside the fence', or *Argador* (in Falathrin dialect *Ariad*, *Ariador*) lands outside Doriath (in Ilkorin *Eglador*), especially applied to West Beleriand, where there was a considerable dwelling of Dark-elves. In N *ar-* developed a privative sense (as English *without*), probably by blending with **al*, which is only preserved in *Alchoron* = Q *Ilkorin* [LA]. Thus *arnediad* without reckoning, = numberless [NOT]. In this sense Q uses *ava-*, as *avanóte* (see AWA). Hence Q *ar* and.

ÁS-AT- Q *asto* dust; N *ast*.

ATA- father. PQ **atū*, **atar*: Q *atar*, pl. *atari*; hypocoristic *atto*. N *adar*, pl. *edeir*, *eder*; *ada*. Cf. *Ilúv-atar*. Ilk. *adar*, pl. *edrin*; *adda*.

AT(AT)- again, back. Q *ata* again, *ata-*, *at-* back, again, re-; N *ad*. Cf. TAT, ATTA = two; Q *atta* two, N *tad*. N prefix *ath-* on both sides, across, is probably related; *athrad* ford, crossing (see RAT). Ilk. *adu*, *ado* double; cf. *Adurant*, a river in Ossiriand which for a distance has divided streams. [Ilk. *adu*, *ado* 'double' and the explanation of *Adurant* was an addition; this shows the conception of the island of Tol-galen (see the commentary on QS §114). Other additions made at different times to this entry were Q *atwa* double, and N *eden* new, begun again.]

AWA- away, forth; out. Q *ava* outside; *Avakúma* [KUM] Exterior Void beyond the World; *au-*, *ava-* privative prefixes = N *ar* (see AR²), as *avanóte* without number, numberless [NOT]. [Added:] *Avalóna*, cf. *lóna* [LONO].

AY- **ai-lin-* pool, lake: Q *ailin* (g.sg. *ailinen*); N *oel*, pl. *oelin*; cf. *Oelinuial* Pools of Twilight [LIN¹; YŪ, KAL].

AYAR-, AIR- sea, only used of the inner seas of Middle-earth. Q *ear* (*earen*) and *aire* (*airen*); N *oear*, *oer*. Cf. *Earráme*, a Q name = Wings of the Sea, name of Tuor's ship. *Belegoer* 'great sea', name of Western Ocean between Beleriand and Valinor, Q *Alataire* (see ÁLAT).

AYAK- sharp, pointed. Q *aika* sharp, *aikale* a peak; N *oeg* sharp, pointed, piercing, *oegas* (= Q *aikasse*) mountain peak. Cf. N *Oeges engrin* Peaks of Iron, *oeglir* range of mountain peaks. ?Related is Q *aiqa* steep, cf. Ilk. *taig* deep (blended with *tára*, see TĀ).

AYAN- See YAN. **ayan-* holy: Q *Ainu*, f. *Aini*, holy one, angelic spirit; *aina* holy; *Ainulindale* Music of the Ainur, Song of Creation.

B

[On the distinctive manuscript of the B-entries see p. 343. The following entries were added in pencil: BAD, BARÁN, BARAT, BARATH, BEN, and at the same time certain changes were made to existing entries. In this section I give the original entries as they were written, and note the alterations.]

BAD- **bad-* judge. Cf. MBAD. Not in Q. N *bauð (bād-)* judgement; *badhor*, *baðron* judge. [Pencilled addition.]

BAL- **bálā:* Q *Vala* Power, God (pl. *Valar* or *Vali* = PQ **bal-ī* formed direct from stem, cf. *Valinor*); there is no special f. form, where necessary the cpd. *Valatári* 'Vala-queen' is used, f. of *Valatar* (g.sg. *Valatáren*) 'Vala-king', applied only to the nine chief Valar: Manwe, Ulmo, Aule, Mandos, Lorien, Tulkas, Osse, Orome, and Melko. The *Valatári* were Varda, Yavanna, Nienna, Vana, Vaire, Este, Nessa, Uinen. T *Bala*. ON *Bala*, and *Balano* m., *Balane* f.; EN *Balan* m. and f., pl. *Belein*, *Belen*. In Ilk. *tórin* 'kings' was used, or the cpd. *Balthor*, *Balthorin* (**bal'tar-*).

Q *valya* having (divine) authority or power; *valaina* of or belonging to the Valar, divine; *valasse* divinity. Q *Valinor*, for **bálī-ndŏre*, reformed after the simplex *nóre* 'land', also in form *Valinóre*, land of the Gods in the West; ON *Balandor* (**bala-ndore*), EN *Balannor*. Cf. also ON *Balthil* one of the names of the White Tree of Valinor, usually named in Q *Silpion*; EN *Belthil*, but this was usually applied to the image of the divine tree made in Gondolin, the tree itself being called *Galathilion*. Related is probably the name *Balar* of the large island at Sirion's mouth, where the Ilkorins long dwelt who refused to go West with Ulmo; from this is named *Beleriand* which they colonized from the island in the dark ages. *Balar* is probably from **bálāre*, and so called because here Ossë visited the waiting Teleri. [The explanation of *Balar*, *Beleriand* given here is not necessarily at variance with the story told in QS §35 that the Isle of Balar was 'the eastern horn of the Lonely Isle, that broke asunder and remained behind, when Ulmo removed that land again into the West'; but it can scarcely be brought into accord with the story (QS §36) that 'the Teleri dwelt long by the shores of the western sea, awaiting Ulmo's return', and that Ossë instructed the waiting Teleri 'sitting upon a rock nigh to the margin of the sea.' Moreover, the 'colonization' of Beleriand from Balar seems to take no account of Thingol, and those of his people 'that went not because they tarried searching for Thingol in the woods': 'and these multiplied and were yet scattered far and wide between

Eredlindon and the sea' (*Lhammas* §6). More must be meant than simply that Elves from Balar removed to the mainland, for this 'colonization' from Balar is here made the very basis of the name *Beleriand*.]

BAN- ***bánā*: Q *Vana* name of the Vala, wife of Orome, and sister of Varda and Yavanna; ON and T *Bana*; in ON also called *Bana-wende*, whence EN *Banwend*, *Banwen* (see WEN). ***bányā*: Q *vanya* beautiful; EN *bein*. Cf. Q *vanima* fair; *Vanimo*, pl. *Vanimor* 'the beautiful', children of the Valar; *Úvanimo* monster (creature of Melko); EN *úan* (***úbanō*) monster; *uanui* monstrous, hideous.

BAR- Original significance probably 'raise'; cf. BARÁD, MBAR. Hence uplift, save, rescue(?). ***barnā*: Q *varna* safe, protected, secure; [struck out: *varne* protection;] *varnasse* security. ***baryā-*: Q *varya-* to protect; EN *berio* to protect. [The removal of *varne* 'protection' was due to the emergence of BARAN 'brown' with the derivative Q *varne* 'brown'.]

BARÁD- [Added: is blended with BARATH, q.v.] ***barádā* lofty, sublime: [added: ON *barada*, EN *baradh*, steep;] Q *Varda*, chief of the Valatári, spouse of Manwe; T *Barada* [> *Baradis*]. [Struck out: ON *Bradil*, EN *Breðil* (***b'radil-*).] ***b'randā* lofty, noble, fine: T *branda*; ON *branda*, EN *brand*, *brann* (whence *brannon* lord, *brennil* lady); cf. name *Brandir* (*brand-dīr*: see DER).

BARÁN- Q *varne* (*varni-*) brown, swart, dark brown. ON *barane*, EN *baran*. Cf. river name *Baranduin*, *Branduin*. *Dolbaran*. [Pencilled addition. On *Dolbaran* (probably a further addition) see p. 345.]

BARÁS- Stem only found in Noldorin: ***barasā* hot, burning: ON *barasa*, *baraha*; EN *bara* fiery, also eager; frequent in masculine names as *Baragund*, *Barahir* [KHER], etc. ***b'rás-sē* heat: ON *brasse*, white heat, EN *brass*: whence *brassen* white-hot.

BARAT- N *barad* tower, fortress. [Pencilled addition.]

BARATH- Probably related to BAR and BARÁD. ***Barathī* spouse of Manwe, Queen of Stars: ON *Barathi(l)*; EN *Berethil* and *El-bereth*. Q *Varda*, T *Baradis* show influence of *barádā* lofty. [Pencilled addition. The application of the name *Elbereth* to Varda seems to have arisen in the hymn of the Elves to the Goddess in the original second chapter (*Three is Company*) of *The Lord of the Rings*, written early in 1938 (where in rough workings for the song the name appears as *Elberil*). Concomitant with this the Ilkorin names *Elbereth* (of different meaning) and *Elboron* were removed from the original entries BER and BOR. These were the names of Dior's sons in AB 1 and 2 (annal 206/306), replaced in AB 2 (note 42) by *Eldûn* and *Elrûn* (which were added also to Q §14); *Elrûn* appears in the *Etymologies* in an addition to stem RŌ.]

BAT- tread. ***bátă*: ON *bata* beaten track, pathway; EN *bâd*. ***battā-* (with medial consonant lengthened in frequentative formation): ON

batthŏ- trample, EN *batho*. ON *tre-batie* traverse, EN *trevedi* (pa.t. *trevant*) [see TER]. Cf. Q *vanta-* to walk, *vanta* a walk.

BEL- strong. Cf. BAL(?). Stem not found in Q. T *belle* (physical) strength; *belda* strong. Ilk. *bel* (**belē*) strength; *Beleg* the Strong, name of Ilkorin bowman of Doriath. **bélek*: **bélekā*: ON *beleka* mighty, huge, great; EN *beleg* great (n.b. this word is distinct in form from though related to Ilk. name *Beleg*); cf. EN *Beleg-ol* [GAWA] = Q Aule; *Belegoer* Great Sea [AY], name of sea between Middle-earth and the West; *Belegost* Great City [OS], name of one of the chief places of the Dwarves. T *belka* 'excessive' is possibly from ON; ON *belda* strong, *belle* strength (EN *belt* strong in body, *bellas* bodily strength) are possibly from T. Cf. name *Belthronding* of Beleg's yew-bow: see STAR, DING.

BEN- corner (from inside), angle. N *bennas* angle [NAS]. [Pencilled addition.]

BER- valiant. **bérya-*: Q *verya-* to dare; *verya* bold; *verie* boldness. ON *berina* bold, brave; *bértha-* to be bold; EN *beren* bold, *bertho* dare; cf. proper name *Beren*. Ilk. *ber* valiant man, warrior (**berō*); *bereth* valor; [struck out: cf. Ilk. name *El-bereth*.] Danian *beorn* man; this is probably blended with **besnō*: see BES. [On the removal of *El-bereth* see BARATH.]

BERÉK- **berékā*: Q *verka* wild; EN *bregol* violent, sudden, cf. proper name *Bregolas* fierceness; *breged* violence, suddenness; *breitho* (**b'rekta-*) break out suddenly. Cf. *Dagor Vregedúr* [UR] Battle of Sudden Fire (EN *bregedur* wild-fire). [See MERÉK.]

BERÉTH- T *bredele* beech-tree; Ilk. *breth* (**b'rethā*) beech-mast, but the beech was called *galbreth* [GALAD] in Falasse, and *neldor* in Doriath (see NEL). The beech-tree was probably originally called **phéren*, Q *feren* or *ferne* (pl. *ferni*), ON *pheren*; but in EN *fêr* pl. *ferin* was usually replaced by the Ilk. *breth* mast, whence EN *brethil* beech-tree; cf. *Brethiliand*, *-ian* 'Forest of Brethil' [see PHER].

BES- wed. **besnō* husband: Q *verno*; ON *benno*, EN *benn* man, replacing in ordinary use the old word *dîr* (see DER); *hervenn*, *herven* husband (see KHER). Ilk. *benn* husband; Danian *beorn* man, blended with **ber(n)ō*: see BER.

**bessē* wife: Q *vesse*; ON *besse*, EN *bess* woman, replacing old words *dî*, *dîs* (see NĪ[1], NDIS); *herves* wife (see KHER). In the f. the shift of sense in ON was assisted probably by blending with **dess* young woman, ON *dissa*.

**besū* dual, husband and wife, married pair: Q *veru*. Cf. Q *Arveruen* third day (of the Valinorian week of 5 days) dedicated to Aule and Yavanna [LEP].

**bestā*: Q *vesta* matrimony; *vesta-* to wed; *vestale* wedding.

BEW- follow, serve. **beurō* follower, vassal: ON *biuro*, *bioro*, EN *bior*, *beor*; cf. proper name *Bëor*. **beuyā-* follow, serve: ON *buióbe*

to serve, follow, EN *buio* serve, hold allegiance to. T *búro* vassal, *búa-* serve. [On the name *Bëor* see the commentary on QS §128.]

BIRÍT- Stem only found in Ilkorin. **b'rittē*: Ilk. *brith* broken stones, gravel. Cf. river name *Brithon* (whence is named *Brithombar*) 'pebbly'. Late Exilic *brith* gravel is from Ilkorin.

BOR- endure. Q *voro* ever, continually; prefix *vor*, *voro-* as in *voro-gandele* 'harping on one tune', continual repetition; *vorima* continual, repeated. **bóron-*: ON *boron* (pl. *boroni*) steadfast, trusty man, faithful vassal; EN *bór* and pl. *býr* for older *berein*, *beren*; Ilk. *boron*, pl. *burnin*. Cf. N names given to the 'Faithful Men': *Bór*, *Borthandos*, *Borlas*, *Boromir*. *Borthandos* = *Borth* (see below) [but this element is not further mentioned] + *handos* (see KHAN). *Borlas* = *Bór* + *glass* joy (see GALÁS). *Boromir* is an old N name of ancient origin also borne by Gnomes: ON *Boronmíro*, *Boromíro*: see MIR. [Struck out: 'Cf. also Ilk. *boron* in Dor. name *El-boron*.' On the removal of *El-boron* see BARATH.]

BORÓN- extension of the above (originally a verbal form of the stem seen in **bóron-* above). Q *voronwa* enduring, long-lasting; *voronwie* endurance, lasting quality; cf. name *Voronwe* = ON *Bronwega*, EN *Bronwe* [WEG]. ON *bronie* last, endure, survive; EN *bronio* endure, *brono* last, survive; *bronadui* enduring, lasting. **b'rōnā*: ON *brūna* that has long endured, old (only used of things, and implies that they are old, but not changed or worn out); EN *brûn* old, that has long endured, or been established, or in use.

Brodda Name of a man in Hithlum. He was not one of the Elf-friend races, and his name is therefore probably not EN or Ilkorin.

BUD- jut out. Cf. MBUD.

D

[A very rough pencilled list was for most of its length overwritten in ink, and nearly all these entries appear in a second, pencilled list, the differences between the two being largely a matter of arrangement; see p. 343.]

DAB- give way, make room, permit, allow. Q *lav-* yield, allow, grant. N *dâf* permission.

DAL- flat (variant or alteration of LAD). Q *lára* 'flat' may derive from **dāla* or **lāda*. EN *dalw* flat; *dalath* flat surface, plane, plain [see TIR]. ON *dalma* (probably = *dal* + *mā* hand) palm of hand; EN *dalf*. Ilk. *dôl* flat, lowlying vale.

DAN- Element found in names of the Green-elves, who called themselves *Danas* (Q *Nanar*, N *Danath*). Cf. *Dan*, *Denethor* and other names. See NDAN?

DAR- stay, wait, stop, remain. N *deri*, imperative *daro!* stop, halt; *dartha* wait, stay, last, endure.

DARÁK- **d'rāk*: Q *ráka* wolf; EN *draug*; Dor. *drôg*.

DARÁM- beat, hew. EN *dramb*, *dram(m)* a heavy stroke, a blow (e.g. of axe); *dravo* to hew (pa.t. *drammen*, † *dramp*); *drafn* hewn log; *drambor* clenched fist, hence blow with fist (see KWAR); *gondrafn*, *gondram* hewn stone. [Cf. the name of Tuor's axe in the *Lost Tales*: *Drambor*, *Dramborleg*; see II. 337.]

DAT-, DANT- fall down. EN *dad* down, cf. *dadben* downhill (see PEN); *dath* (**dattā*) hole, pit, Q *latta*. Q *lanta* a fall, *lanta-* to fall; N *dant-* to fall, *dannen* fallen. Cf. *Atalante* 'the Fallen', and *lasselanta* 'leaf-fall', Autumn [see TALÁT].

DAY- shadow. Q *leo* (**daio*) shade, shadow cast by any object; *laime* shade; *laira* shady. EN *dae* shadow; cf. *Daeðelos* = Shadow of Fear. Dor., Ilk. *dair* shadow of trees; cf. names *Dairon* and *Nan-dairon*.

DEM- sad, gloomy. Ilk. *dimb* sad (cf. *Dimbar*); *dim* gloom, sadness (**dimbē*); *dem* sad, gloomy (**dimbā*).

DEN- hole; gap, passage. N *dîn* opening, gap, pass in mountains, as in *Din-Caradras*, *Din-Dûhir*, etc. [On the first list DEN was given the meaning 'hillside, slope', whence Q *nende* slope, *nenda* sloping; N *dend*, *denn*, sloping, *dadðenn* downhill, *amdenn* uphill. This entry was struck through and the material transformed and transferred to PEN (whence *dadbenn*, *ambenn*). Cf. AM[2]; the A-entries belong to the second phase, later than the first form of the D-entries (see pp. 343–4).]

DER- Adult male, man (elf, mortal, or of other speaking race). Q *nér*, pl. *neri*, with *n* partly due to NĪ, NIS woman, partly to strengthened stem *ndere* bridegroom, ON *daer* [see NDER]. ON *dîr*, EN † *dîr* surviving chiefly in proper names (as *Diriel* older *Dirghel* [GYEL], *Haldir*, *Brandir*) and as agental ending (as *ceredir* doer, maker). Owing to influence of *dîr* (and of strengthened *ndisi* bride) N goes the opposite way to Q and has *dî* woman (see NDIS). In ordinary use EN has *benn* (properly = husband) [see BES].

DIL- stop up, fill up hole, etc. EN *dîl* stopper, stopping, stuffing, cf. *gasdil* stopgap [GAS]; *dilio* to stop up. [The rather unlikely word *gasdil* is mentioned because it was the name of a sign used to indicate that *g* had disappeared; see p. 298, note on *Gorgoroth*.]

DING- Onomatopoeic, var. of TING, TANG, q.v. Ilk. *ding*, *dang*, sound; cf. name *Bel-thron(d)-ding* [BEL, STAR].

DO3, DÔ- Q *ló* night, a night; *lóme* Night, night-time, shades of night. ON *dogme*, *dougme*, *doume*; EN *daw* night-time, gloom; *dû* (associated with NDŪ) nightfall, late evening – in EN night, dead of night is *fuin*; *Dú(w)ath* night-shade; *dûr* dark, sombre; cf. Q *lóna* dark. Ilk. *daum* = N *daw*. Cf. N *durion* a Dark-elf = *dureðel*. Q *lómelinde* nightingale; N *dúlind*, *dúlin(n)*. Cf. *Del-du-thling* [DYEL, SLIG.]

DOMO- Possibly related to the preceding (and certainly in some derivatives blended with it); faint, dim. **dōmi-* twilight in Q fell

together with *doȝmē* from DO3 in *lóme* night. Ilk. *dûm* twilight; Q *tindóme* starry twilight = Ilk. *tindum* = N *tinnu* (see TIN).

DÓRON- oak. Q *norno*; N *doron* (pl. *deren*); Dor., Ilk. *dorn*. Cf. Q *lindornea* adj. having many oak-trees [LI].

DRING- Noldorin stem = beat, strike. EN *dringo* to beat. Cf. sword-name *Glamdring*. [In *The Hobbit*, *Glamdring* is rendered 'Foe-hammer', called by the Orcs 'Beater'.]

DUB- lie, lie heavy, loom, hang over oppressively (of clouds). Q *lumna* lying heavy, burdensome, oppressive, ominous; *lumna-* to lie heavy. N *dofn* gloomy.

DUI- Ilk. *duin* water, river; cf. *Esgalduin*. Cf. *duil* river in *Duilwen*.

DUL- hide, conceal. N *doelio*, *delio*, and *doltha* conceal, pa.t. † *daul*, p.p. *dolen* hidden, secret. Cf. *Gondolind*, *-inn*, *-in* 'heart of hidden rock' [see ID]. Related is **ndulna* secret: Q *nulla*, *nulda*; N *doll* (*dolt*) obscure. Cf. name *Terendul*. [See NDUL, and for *Terendul* see TER.]

DUN- dark (of colour). Dor. *dunn* black; Dan. *dunna*; N *donn* swart, swarthy. Cf. Doriath place-name *(Nan) Dungorthin* = N *Nan Dongoroth*, or *Nann Orothvor* Vale of Black Horror [see ÑGOROTH].

DYEL- feel fear and disgust; abhor. EN *delos*, *deloth* (probably < *del* + *gos*, *goth*) abhorrence, detestation, loathing, cf. *Dor-deloth* Loathly Land; *deleb* horrible, abominable, loathsome; *delw* hateful, deadly, fell; cf. *Daedhelos* Shadow of Abomination, *Deldú(w)ath* Deadly Nightshade, a name of Taur-na-Fuin, *Delduthling*, N name of Ungoliantë [DAY, DO3]. Q *yelma* loathing, *yelwa* loathsome, *yelta-* to loathe.

E

[The entries under E are particularly confused and difficult. A small number of original and clear entries were mostly struck through and the pages covered with faint pencilled notes often hard to interpret.]

EK-, EKTE- spear. Q *ehte* spear, *ehtar* spearman. N *aith* spear-point, *êg* thorn, cf. *Egthelion*, *Ecthelion* [STELEG]. [This original entry was retained, with change of EKTE to EKTI, Q *ehtar* to *ehtyar*, and the following additions:] [N] *ech* spear, Q *ekko*. Cf. *Eg-nor*.

EL- star. Q poetical *él* star (*elen*). Dor. *el*; N only in names, as *Elwing*. [This original entry received many changes:] **EL-** star, starry sky. Q poetical *elen* (*ellen* or *elena*) star. Dor *el*; N only in names, as *Elwing*, *Elbereth*. Cf. *Eled-* Starfolk, that is Elves. *Elrond* = starry-dome, sky [ROD]. [Added in margin:] Q *Elerína* star-crowned = Taniquetil; *Elentári* Star Queen = Varda; N *Elbereth* = Varda. [On *Elbereth* see note to BARATH; on *Elerína* and *Elentári* see p. 200.]

ELED- go, depart, leave. Q *Elda* 'departed' Elf; N *eledh*. Q *lesta-* to leave, pa.t. *lende*. [This original entry was replaced by the following, written as carefully and clearly as the first:] **ÉLED-** 'Star-folk', Elf. Q *Elda* (*Eldamar* or *Elende* = Elvenhome, *Eldalie*, *Eldarin*); N *Eledh*, pl. *Elidh*, cf. *Eledhrim*, *Eledhwen* [Elf-fair >] Elf-maid, *Elennor* (*Eledandore* > *Eleðndor*). Dor. *Eld*, pl. *Eldin*. Dan. *Elda*. [The Dor. and Dan. forms were subsequently struck through and the following added:] In Dor. and Dan. transposed > *edel-* whence Dor. *Egla*, *Eglath* (cf. *Eglamar*, *Eglorest*); Dan. *Edel*. *Eglador* = Doriath in Doriathrin; *Ariador* = lands outside of Eglador. Cf. *Eglor* (Elf-river), Ilkorin name of a river in W. Beleriand. [On the earlier and later entries ELED see p. 344. Further faint pencillings show my father doubtful of the derivation of *Eldar* from a base meaning 'star', and suggesting that, although the name was so interpreted, it was probably in fact altered from *edela* 'eldest' – *eðel*, *eðil* being found also in Noldorin. A base EDE-, EDEL- 'precede, come forward' is proposed, with derivative *edela* (= *eleda*) 'firstborn', but this is struck out.]

EN- element or prefix = over there, yonder. Q *en* there, look! yonder. Adj. *enta* that yonder. *Entar*, *Entarda* (*Enta* + *harda* [3AR]) Thither Lands, Middle-earth, Outer Lands, East.

ÉNED- centre. Q *endya*, *enya* middle; *ende* middle, centre. N *enedh*. [To this original entry was added:] *Endamar* Middle-earth. *Endor* centre of the world. [See NÉD.]

ÉNEK- six. Q *enqe*; N *eneg*.

ERE- be alone, deprived. Q *er* one, alone; *erya* single, sole; *eresse* solitude; *eressea* lonely. N *ereb* isolated (**ereqa*); *eriol* alone, single. Cf. *Tol-eressea*, *Amon Ereb*. Q *erume* desert, cf. *Eruman* desert N.E. of Valinor; N *eru* waste, desert.

ERÉD- **eredē* seed: Q *erde* seed, germ; N *eredh*; Ilk *erdh*. [See RED.]

ERÉK- thorn. Q *erka* prickle, spine; *erka-* to prick; *erkasse* holly. N *ercho* to prick; *erch* a prickle; *ereg* (and *eregdos* [TUS]) holly-tree, pl. *erig*. Cf. *Taur-nan-Erig* or *Eregion* = Dor. Forest of *Region*: Dor. *regorn* holly-tree (pl. *regin*, g.pl. *region*) [see OR-NÍ]. [Further addition:] *Regornion* = Hollin.

ES- indicate, name. Q *esta* to name, *esse* a name.

ESE-, ESET- precede. Q *esta* first; *esse* beginning; *essea* [?primary]; *Estanesse* the Firstborn. [Neither of these two entries were rejected, though they are certainly mutually exclusive, but the second was marked with a query.]

ESEK- Ilk. *esg* sedge, *esgar* reed-bed. Cf. *Esgaroth* Reedlake, because of reed-banks in west.

ET- forth, out. Q prefix *et-*, N *ed-*. Cf. *ehtele* under KEL. [To this original entry was added:] *etsiri*: Q *etsir* mouth of a river, N *ethir* [SIR]. *ette* outside; *ettele* outer lands; *ettelen* [?foreign].

ETER- Cf. ET out. open (come out, of flowers, sun, etc.). *edro!* open!

EY- everlasting. Q *aira* eternal; *aire* eternity; *ia* (**eyā*) ever. Cf. *Iolosse* ever-snow, N *Uiloss* (**Eigolosse*). N *uir* eternity, *uireb* eternal. [This original entry was struck out, the material reappearing under GEY. *Iolosse* was probably the form underlying the early emendation to *Oiolosse* in QS §13. *Oiolosse* arose with the further transformation of this base to OY, q.v.]

EZDĒ- 'rest', name of the wife of Lórien. Q *Este*; ON *Ezde*, *Eide*, *Ide*; N *Idh*. See SED.

EZGE- rustle, noise of leaves. Q *eske*; Ilk. *esg*; cf. *Esgalduin*. [This, which may be one of the original entries, was struck out. Cf. ESEK, and for *Esgalduin* see SKAL[1].]

G

[The entries under G present much the same appearance as those under E: an initial layer of a few clear entries in ink, and a mass of changes and additions put in very roughly afterwards.]

GAL- shine; variant of KAL.

GALA- thrive (prosper, be in health – be glad). Q *'al* in the following forms which are not confused with *ala-* 'not': *alya* prosperous, rich, abundant, blessed; *alma* good fortune, weal, wealth; *almie*, *almare* blessedness, 'blessings', good fortune, bliss; *almárea* blessed. Cf. name *Almáriel*. N *galw*; cf. names *Galadhor*, *Galdor* (later *Gallor*) – though these may contain GÁLAD. N *galas* growth, plant; *galo-* to grow. Possibly related are GÁLAD, GALÁS. [*Almáriel* is the name of a girl in Númenor in *The Lost Road*, p. 59.]

GALAD- tree. Q *alda*; N *galadh*. Cf. *Galadloriel* (*Galagloriel*), *Galathilvion*. [*Galadlóriel* and *Galathilion* (not as here *Galathilvion*) appear in very early emendations to QS §16. The form *Galagloriel* is found in an early draft for the chapter *A Knife in the Dark* in *The Fellowship of the Ring*. – This, one of the original entries, was not struck out or altered (apart from *Galathilvion* > *Galathilion*), but a new entry for the stem was made:] **GÁLAD-** tree. Q *alda*; N *galadh*. Cf. names *Galadhor*, *Galdor*, etc. Q *Aldaron* name of Oromë. *Aldalemnar*, see LEP. Dor. *gald*, cf. *galbreth* beech [BERÉTH].

GALÁS- joy, be glad. N *glas* joy; cf. names as *Borlas*. Q *alasse* joy, merriment.

GAP- N *gamp* hook, claw; Q *ampa* hook.

GAR- hold, possess. N *gar-*. [An original entry, struck out; see 3AR.]

GAS- yawn, gape. **gassā*: N *gas* hole, gap; *gasdil* stopgap [DIL]; Q *assa* hole, perforation, opening, mouth. [Cf. *Ilmen-assa*, the Chasm of Ilmen, IV. 240. – This original entry was retained, but the

following addition made:] **gāsa*: ON *gása* = Q *kúma*; EN *gaw*, *Belego* the Void.

GAT- Q *atsa* catch, hook, claw; N *gad-*, *gedi* catch.

GAT(H)- N *gath* (**gattā*) cavern; *Doriath* 'Land of the Cave' is Noldorin name for Dor. *Eglador* = Land of the Elves. The Ilkorins called [?themselves] *Eglath* = Eldar. Rest of Beleriand was called *Ariador* 'land outside'. N *gadr*, *gador* prison, dungeon; *gathrod* cave. Another name is *Garthurian* = Fenced Realm = N *Ardholen* (which was also applied to Gondolin). [Added to this later:] Dor. *gad* fence; *argad* 'outside the fence', the exterior, the outside. Cf. *Argador*, Falathrin *Ariador*. [See AR², ÉLED, 3AR, LED.]

GAWA- or **GOWO-** think out, devise, contrive. Q *auta* invent, originate, devise; *aule* invention, also as proper name of the god *Aule*, also called *Martan*: N *Gaul* usually called *Belegol* (= great Aule) or *Barthan*: see TAN, MBAR. N *gaud* device, contrivance, machine.

GAY- Q *aira* red, copper-coloured, ruddy; N *gaer*, *goer*.

GÁYAS- fear. **gais-*: Q *aista* to dread; ON *gaia* dread; N *gae*. **gaisrā*: ON *gæsra*, *gērrha*; N *gaer* dreadful.

GENG-WĀ- Q *engwa* sickly. N *gemb*, *gem*; cf. *ingem* 'year-sick' [YEN], suffering from old age (new word coined after meeting with Men). N *iaur* ancient [YA], *ifant* 'year-full' [YEN, KWAT] did not connote weakness. [*Engwar* 'the Sickly' is found in the list of Elvish names for Men in QS §83.]

GEY- everlasting. Q *ia* ever (**geiā*); *iale* everlasting; *íra* eternal; *íre* eternal [?read 'eternity']; *Iolosse* Everlasting Snow (**Geigolosse*) = Taniquetil. N *Guilos*, *Amon Uilos* (*guir* eternity, *guireb* eternity [read 'eternal']). N *Guir* is confounded with *Gui* = Q *Vaiya* (**wāyā*) [WAY]. [This note, replacing the rejected entry EY, was in its turn struck out and replaced by OY.]

GIL- (cf. GAL, KAL; SIL, THIL; GUL, KUL) shine (white or pale). **gilya*: N *gîl* star (pl. *giliath*). [This original entry was retained, with the addition to *gîl*: 'pl. *geil*, collective pl. *giliath*', and the following also added:] *gael* pale, glimmering; *gilgalad* starlight; *Gilbrennil*, *Gilthoniel* = Varda. Q *Ilma* starlight (cf. *Ilmare*), N [*?Gilwen*] or *Gilith*; *Ilmen* region above air where stars are. [On *Ilma* and *Ilmen* see the commentary on QS §4.]

GIR- quiver, shudder. N *giri* shudder; *girith* shuddering, horror.

GLAM- N form of LAM, also influenced by ÑGAL(AM). N *glamb*, *glamm* shouting, confused noise; *Glamhoth* = 'the barbaric host', Orcs [KHOTH]. *glambr*, *glamor* echo; *glamren* echoing; cf. *Eredlemrin* = Dor. *Lóminorthin*. *glavro* to babble, *glavrol* babbling.

GLAW(-R)- Q *laure* gold (properly the light of the Tree *Laurelin*); N *glaur* gold. The element *glaur* reduced in polysyllables to *glor*, *lor* appears in many names, as *Glorfindel*, *Glaurfindel*, *Galadloriel*. [This original entry was struck out and replaced by:] **GLAWAR-** N alteration of LAWAR, q.v.

GLIN- sing. Q *lin-*; N *glin-*. Q *linde* song, air, tune; N *glinn*. Cf. *Laurelin*. [Original entry, struck out. See LIN².]

GLINDI- pale blue. N *glind*, *glinn*; Q *ilin*. [Original entry, struck out. Cf. the original meaning of *Eredlindon*, Blue Mountains, commentary on QS §108, and see LIN².]

GLING- hang. Q *linga*; N *gling*. Cf. *Glingal*. [Original entry, struck out and replaced by:] **GLING-** N alteration of LING 'hang', q.v.

GLIR- N form of LIR¹ sing. N *glîr* song, poem, lay; *glin* to sing, recite poem; *glær* long lay, narrative poem. Q *laire* poem, *lirin* I sing.

GÓLOB- **golbā* branch: Q *olwa*; N *golf*. Cf. *Gurtholf* [> *Gurutholf*] [ÑGUR]. [For the form *Gurtholf* (earlier *Gurtholfin*) see p. 406.]

GOLÓS- Q *olosse* snow, fallen snow; N *gloss* snow. Cf. *Uilos*. N *gloss* also adj. snow-white. [An original entry, this was retained with alteration of Q *olosse* to † *olos*, † *olosse* and the note: 'poetical only: confused with *losse* flower, see LOS which is perhaps originally connected.' The stem in question in fact appears as LOT(H).]

GOND- stone. Q *ondo* stone (as a material); N *gonn* a great stone, or rock. [This original entry was retained, but the base was changed to GONOD-, GONDO-, and the following added:] Cf. *Gondolin* (see DUL); *Gondobar* (old *Gondambar*), *Gonnobar* = Stone of the World = Gondolin. Another name of Gondolin *Gondost* [OS], whence *Gondothrim*, *Gondothrimbar*. [Cf. *Gondothlim*, *Gondothlimbar* in the *Lost Tales* (II. 342).]

GOR- violence, impetus, haste. Q *orme* haste, violence, wrath; *orna* hasty. N *gormh*, *gorf* impetus, vigour; *gorn* impetuous. [Apart from the removal of the form *gormh* this original entry was retained, with these additions:] Cf. *Celegorn* [KYELEK]; and cf. *Huor*, *Tuor*: *Khōgore* [KHŌ-N], *Tūgore* [TUG].

GOS-, GOTH- dread. Q *osse* terror, as name *Osse*. Cf. *Mandos* (see MBAD). N has *Oeros* for *Osse* (**Goss*). Cf. *Taur-os* [TÁWAR]. N *gost* dread, terror; *gosta-* fear exceedingly; cf. *Gothrog* = Dread Demon [RUK]; *Gothmog* [MBAW]. *Gostir* 'dread glance', dragon-name [THĒ].

GŪ- Prefix *gū-* no, not, as in Q *ū-* not (with evil connotation); *Úvanimor* [BAN].

GUL- glow, shine gold or red (cf. GIL); also *yul-* smoulder [YUL]. N *goll* red (**guldā*). [This original entry was struck out. See KUL.]

GWEN- (distinguish WEN(ED)). Q *wenya* green, yellow-green, fresh; *wēn* greenness, youth, freshness (blended with *wende* maid). N *bein* fair, blended with BAN. Ilk. *gwên* greenness; *gwene* green; cf. *Duilwen* [DUI].

GYEL- [< **GEL-**] Q *yello* [< *ello*] call, shout of triumph. N *gell* joy, triumph; *gellui* triumphant; *gellam* jubilation. Cf. *Diriel* [DER]. *Gelion* merry singer, surname of Tinfang. [*Tinfang Gelion* occurs in the *Lay of Leithian*: III. 174, 181–2.] *Gelion* shorter name of a great river in E. Beleriand; a Gnome interpretation (this would have been

Dilion in Ilkorin); cf. Ilk. *gelion* = bright, root GAL. [This rather perplexing note seems certain in its reading.]

GYER- **gyernā* old, worn, decrepit (of things): Q *yerna* old, worn; *yerya* to wear (out), get old. N *gern* worn, old (of things).

3

[The few entries under the initial back spirant 3 were struck out and replaced more legibly.]

3AN- male. Q *hanu* a male (of Men or Elves), male animal; ON *anu*, N *anw*; Dor. *ganu*. (The feminine is INI.)

3AR- Stems 3AR have, hold, and related GAR, GARAT, GARAD were much blended in Eldarin. From 3AR come: Q *harya-* possess; *harma* treasure, a treasured thing; *harwe* treasure, treasury; *haryon* (heir), prince; *haran* (pl. *harni*) king, chieftain (see TĀ). N *ardh* realm (but Q *arda* < GAR); *aran* king (pl. *erain*). Dor. *garth* realm, *Garthurian* (Fenced Realm = Doriath), *garon* lord, may come from 3AR or GAR.

From GAR: Q *arda* realm – often in names as *Elenarda* 'Star-kingdom', upper sky; *armar* pl. goods; *aryon* heir; *arwa* adj. (with genitive) in control of, possessing, etc., and as semi-suffix *-arwa*, as *aldarwa*, having trees, tree-grown. N *garo-* (*gerin*) I hold, have; *garn* 'own', property.

GARAT- Q *arta* fort, fortress. N *garth*: cf. *Garth(th)oren* 'Fenced Fort' = Gondolin – distinguish *Ardh-thoren* = Garthurian. [This note is the final form of two earlier versions, in which the Qenya words are all derived from 3AR. In one of these versions it is said that N *Arthurien* is a Noldorinized form of *Garthurian*, *Arthoren* a translation; in the other that N *Arthurien* is 'a half-translation = N *Arthoren*'; see THUR.]

3ARAM- Dor. *garm* wolf; N *araf*. [Struck out. Another version gave also Q *harma*, Dan. *garma*.]

3EL- sky. Q *helle*, ON *elle*, sky. In Noldorin and Telerin this is confused with EL star. Other derivatives: Q *helwa*, ON *elwa* (pale) blue, N *elw*; cf. name of *Elwe* King of the Teleri [WEG]; and names as *Elulind*, *Elwing*, *Elrond*. Q *helyanwe* 'sky-bridge', rainbow, ON *elyadme*, N *eilian(w)* [YAT]. Dor. *gell* sky, *gelu* sky-blue. [A later note directs that *Elwe* be transferred to EL star. *Elrond*, *Elwing* are also given under EL.]

3Ō- from, away, from among, out of. This element is found in the old partitive in Q *-on* (*3ō* + plural *m*). Q *ho* from; Ilk. *go*; N *o* from. In Ilk. *go* was used for patronymics, as *go-Thingol*.

I

[The single page of entries under I consists only of very rough notes.]

I- that (deictic particle) in Q is indeclinable article 'the'. N *i-* 'the', plural *in* or *i-*.

I- intensive prefix where *i* is base vowel. ITHIL- Moon (THIL, SIL): Q *Isil*; N *Ithil*; Dor. *Istil*. INDIS- = *ndis* bride; *Indis* name of the goddess Nessa (see NDIS, NĪ). [*Ithil* occurs in *The Lost Road* (p. 41) as the 'Beleriandic' name of the Moon – i.e. the name in a language (Noldorin) perceived by Alboin Errol to be spoken in Beleriand.]

ID- **īdī*: heart, desire, wish. Q *íre* desire; *írima* lovely, desirable. Q *indo* heart, mood; cf. *Indlour*, *Inglor* (*Indo-klār* or *Indo-glaurē*). N *inn*, *ind* inner thought, meaning, heart; *idhren* pondering, wise, thoughtful; *idher* (**idrē*) thoughtfulness. Cf. *Idhril*; *Túrin(n)* [TUR], *Húrin(n)* [KHOR]. [The Q word *írima* occurs in the song in *The Lost Road* (p. 72): *Toi írimar*; *Írima ye Númenor*; cf. also *Írimor* 'Fair Ones', name of the Lindar in the Genealogies, p. 403. – For the original etymology of *Idril*, *Idhril* see II. 343.]

IL- all. Q *ilya* all, the whole. **ILU-** universe: Q *ilu*, *ilúve*: cf. *Ilúvatar*, *Ilurambar* Walls of the World. *Ilumíre* = Silmaril. *ilqa* everything.

ING- first, foremost. *inga* first. Element in Elfin and especially Lindarin names. Cf. *Ingwe* prince of Elves. QL [i.e. Qenya-Lindarin] form is always used (*Ingwe*): not *ngw* > *mb* [i.e. in Noldorin] because the L form persisted and also the composition was felt *ing* + *wege* [WEG]. Cf. *Ingil*. [*Elfin* at this date is a strange reversion to old usage.]

INI- female. See NĪ: Qenya *ní* female, woman. Q *hanwa* male, *inya* female; *hanuvoite*, *inimeite*. N *inw* after *anw* [see 3AN].

INK-, INIK-? Q *intya-* guess, suppose; *intya* guess, supposition, idea; *intyale* imagination. N *inc* guess, idea, notion.

IS- Q *ista-* know (pa.t. *sinte*); *ista* knowledge; *istima* having knowledge, wise, learned, *Istimor* = Gnomes [cf. p. 403]. Q *istya* knowledge; *istyar* scholar, learned man. N *ist* lore, knowledge; *istui* learned; *isto* to have knowledge. Cf. *Isfin* (= *Istfin*) [PHIN].

K

[The numerous entries under K are perhaps the most difficult in the work. A first layer of etymologies written carefully and clearly in ink was overlaid by a mass of rapid notes in pencil that are now in places almost invisible.]

KAB- hollow. Q *kambe* hollow (of hand); N *camb*, *cam* hand, cf. *Camlost* 'Emptyhand' [LUS] (= Dor. *Mablost*). *Erchamui* 'One-

handed'. [An earlier version of this entry gives also *Cambant* 'full hand'; see KWAT.]

KAL- shine (general word). Variant forms AKLA-, KALAR-, AKLAR-. Q *kala* light; *kalma* a light, lamp; *kalya* illuminate; *kalina* light (adj.). In N the variant GAL appears: *gail* (**galyā*) bright light, *glaw* radiance (**g'lā*, cf. Q *kala* < **k'lā*). But in longer forms KAL also in N, as *aglar*, *aglareb*, see AKLA-R. Also *celeir* brilliant (**kalaryā*); Q *kallo* noble man, hero (**kalrō*), N *callon* (**kalrondō*) hero; N poetical *claur* splendour, glory – often in names in form *-glor*. *gôl* light (**gālæ-*) in *Thingol*. [Parts of this original entry were rejected: the etymology of *Thingol* (see THIN), and the idea that GAL was a Noldorin variant of KAL. It is not clear at this stage how these bases were related. The entry was covered with a maze of new forms, often rejected as soon as written. The following can be discerned:] N *calad* light (cf. *Gilgalad*); *calen* bright-coloured = green. Q *kalta-* shine; *Kalakilya*; *Kalaqendi*, N *Kalamor*; *Kalamando* = Manwe [see MBAD]. *Ankale* 'radiant one', Sun. *yúkale*, *yuale* twilight, N *uial* [YŪ].

KALPA- water-vessel. Q *kalpa*; N *calf*. Q *kalpa-* draw water, scoop out, bale out. [Added entry.]

KAN- dare. Q *káne* valour; N *caun*, *-gon* (cf. *Turgon*, *Fingon*). Q *kanya* bold. N *cann* (**kandā*). *Eldakan* (name) = *Ælfnoþ*. [Added entry.]

KÁNAT- four. Q *kanta-*, *kan-*; N *canad*. [Added entry.]

KAP- leap. [Added:] N *cabr*, *cabor* frog.

KAR- make, do. Q *kar* (*kard-*) deed; N *carð*, *carth* deed, feat. Cf. KYAR cause. Q *karo* doer, actor, agent; *ohtakaro* warrior. [This stem was very roughly rewritten thus:] **KAR-** make, build, construct. Q *kar* (*kard-*) building, house; N *car* house, also *carð*. Q *karin*, *karne*, I make, build. Cf. **KYAR-** cause, do. Q *tyaro* doer, actor, agent; *ohtatyaro* warrior. N *caras* a city (built above ground).

KARAK- sharp fang, spike, tooth. Q *karakse* jagged hedge of spikes; cf. *Helkarakse*, N *elcharaes* [KHEL]. [This entry was retained, with KARAK > KÁRAK and *elcharaes* > *helcharaes*, and the following faintly visible additions made:] Q *karka* tooth, *karkane* row of teeth. N *carag* spike, tooth of rock; *carch* tooth, fang (*Carcharoth*).

KARÁN- red. Q *karne* (**karani*) red; N *caran*. **k'rannā*: N *crann* ruddy (of face), cf. *Cranthir* [THĒ], [?as noun] like Old English *rudu*, face, blush, the cheeks. [Added entry.]

KARKA- crow. Q *karko*; N *carach*. [This stem was changed thus:] **KORKA-** crow. Q *korko*; N *corch*.

KAS- head. Q *kár* (*kas-*); N *caw* top. [Added:] **kas-sa*, **kas-ma*: Q *cassa* helmet.

KAT- shape. Q *kanta* shaped, and as quasi-suffix, as in *lassekanta* leaf-shaped; *kanta-* to shape; N *cant*. [The meaning 'outline' was attributed to *cant*, and the following added:] **katwā*: ON *katwe*

shaped, formed, N *cadw*, *-gadu*. **katwārā* shapely: N *cadwor*, *cadwar*. N *echedi*, pa.t. *echant* (**et-kat*) fashion. [Cf. *Im Narvi hain echant* above the Doors of Moria.]

KAY- lie down. Q *kaima* bed. N *caew* lair, resting-place; *cael* (Q *kaila*) lying in bed, sickness; *caeleb* bedridden, sick: cf. Q *kaimasse*, *kaimassea*.

KAYAN-, KAYAR- ten. Q *kainen*; N *caer*. [Added entry.]

KEL- go, run (especially of water). **et-kelē* spring, issue of water: Q *ehtele*, N *eithel* (from metathesized [i.e. with transposed consonants] form **ektele*). Q *kelume* stream, flow; N *celon* river; Q *kelma* channel. Cf. KYEL run out, come to an end; KWEL fade away. [These changes were made: 'N *celon* river' > 'Ilk. *celon* river, and as proper name, *kelu+n*'; 'N *celw* spring, source' added.]

KEM- soil, earth. Q *kén* (*kemen*). N *coe* earth (indeclinable), *cef* soil, pl. *ceif*. Q *kemina* of earth, earthen; [N] *cevn*. Q *kemnaro* potter. [Added entry.]

KEPER- knob, head, top [changed to 'ridge'. This entry consists of disconnected jottings, all struck out, but concerned with N *ceber* pl. *cebir* and *Sern Gebir*, of which the meaning seems to be 'lone stones'.]

KHAG- **khagda* pile, mound; Q *hahta*; N *hauð* mound, grave, tomb (cf. *Hauð iNdengin*). [Added entry.]

KHAL¹- (small) fish. Q *hala*; cf. Q *halatir* 'fishwatcher', kingfisher, N *heledir*. [Added entry. The same origin of *halatir* is found under TIR; but here KHAL was changed to KHOL and the *-a-* of the Q forms to *-o-*, before the entry was struck out with a reference to base SKAL – which (a later addition to the S-stems) is clearly the later formulation.]

KHAL²- uplift. ON *khalla* noble, exalted (**khalná*); *orkhalla* superior. N *hall* exalted, high; *orchel* [*e* uncertain] superior, lofty, eminent. [Added entry.]

KHAM- sit. Q *ham-* sit. [The other derivatives are too chaotic and unclear to present.]

KHAN- understand, comprehend. Q *hanya* understand, know about, be skilled in dealing with; *hande* knowledge, understanding; *handa* understanding, intelligent; *handele* intellect; *handasse* intelligence. EN *henio* understand; *hann*, *hand* intelligent; *hannas* understanding, intelligence. Cf. *Handir*, *Borthandos*. [Added entry.]

KHAP- enfold. N *hab-* clothe; *hamp* garment; *hamnia-* clothe; *hammad* clothing.

KHARÁS- (cf. KARAK). **khrassē*: precipice: N *rhass* (*i-rass*, older *i-chrass*); Dan. *hrassa*. Cf. *Gochressiel* [< *Gochrass*] a sheer mountain-wall. [Added entry. For *Gochressiel* see QS §147 and commentary.]

KHAT- hurl. N *hedi*, pa.t. *hennin*, *hant*; *hador* or *hadron* thrower (of spears or darts), cf. *Hador*; *hadlath*, *haglath* a sling (see LATH). [Added entry.]

KHAW- (= KAY, q.v.) N *haust* bed. [This original entry was enlarged

thus:] **KHAW-** rest, lie at ease (= KAY, q.v.) N *haust* bed (**khau-stā*, literally 'rest-ing'). In N associated with *hauð* mound (see KHAG). Cf. Q *hauta-* cease, take a rest, stop.

KHAYA- far, distant. Q *haira* adj. remote, far, [?also] *ekkaira*, *avahaira*. *hāya* adv. far off, far away. [Added entry.]

KHEL- freeze. Q *helle* frost; N *hell*. **KHELEK-** ice. N *heleg* ice, *helch* bitter cold; Q *helke* ice, *helk* ice-cold. [The base KHEL and derivatives were struck out, but KHELEK and derivatives retained.]

KHEN-D-E- eye. Q *hen* (*hendi*); N *hent*, pl. *hinn* >*hent*, *hint*, or *henn*, *hinn*. [N forms changed to *hên*, *hîn*.]

KHER- rule, govern, possess. Q *heru* master, *heri* lady; *héra* chief, principal. ON *khéro* master, *khíril* lady; N *hîr*, *hiril*. N *herth* household, troop under a *hîr*; cf. *Bara-chir* [BARÁS]. Cf. N *hervenn* husband, *hervess* wife [BES]. Q *heren* fortune (= governance), and so what is in store for one and what one has in store; *herenya* fortunate, wealthy, blessed, rich; cf. *Herendil* = Eadwine. [Added entry. '*Herendil* = Eadwine' derives from *The Lost Road*: Herendil is Audoin/Eadwine/Edwin in Númenor, son of Elendil. On the meaning of Old English *éad* see *ibid*. p. 46, and cf. IV. 212.]

KHIL- follow. Q *hilya-* to follow; *hildi* followers = mortal men (cf. *Hildórien*), also *-hildi* as suffix. In N *fîr* was used [PHIR]. Cf. *Tarkil* (**tāra-khil*). [Added entry. Cf. *Rómenildi* in QS §151.]

KHIM- stick, cleave, adhere. Q *himya-* to stick to, cleave to, abide by; *himba* adhering, sticking. N *him* steadfast, abiding, and as adv. continually. Cf. N *hîw* sticky, viscous (**khīmā*); *hæw* custom, habit (**khaimē*) = Q *haime* habit. [Added entry.]

KHIS-, KHITH- mist, fog. **khīthi*: Q *híse*; N *hith*, cf. *Hithlum* [LUM]. **khithme*: Q *hiswe*; N *hithw* fog. **khithwa*: Q *hiswa* grey; N *hethw* foggy, obscure, vague; Dor. *heðu*. Cf. *Hithliniath* or *Eilinuial* = Dor. *Umboth Muilin*. [Added entry. For *Hithliniath* 'pools of mist' (LIN[1]) see QS §111.]

KHŌ-N- heart (physical). Q *hōn*; N *hûn*. Cf. *Hundor*. *Khō-gorē*, Q *Huore*, N *Huor* 'heart-vigour', courage [GOR]. [Added entry.]

KHOP- Q *hópa* haven, harbour, small landlocked bay; *hopasse* harbourage. N *hûb*; *hobas*, cf. *Alfobas* or *hobas in Elf* = *Alqalonde* capital of the Teleri. [Added entry; see KOP.]

KHOR- set going, put in motion, urge on, etc. Q *horta-* send flying, speed, urge, *hortale* speeding, urging; *horme* urgency (confused with *orme* rushing [GOR]); *hóre* impulse, *hórea* impulsion. N *hûr* readiness for action, vigour, fiery spirit; *hortha-* urge on, speed; *horn* driven under compulsion, impelled; *hoeno*, *heno* begin suddenly and vigorously. Cf. *Húr-ind*, *Húrin* [ID]. [Added entry.]

KHOTH- gather. **khotsē* assembly: N *hoth* host, crowd, frequent in people-names as *Glamhoth*. Cf. *host* gross (144). Q *hosta* large number, *hosta-* to collect. N *hûd* assembly.

KHUGAN- Q *huan* (*húnen*) hound; N *huan*. [This entry was changed

to read thus:] **KHUG-** bark, bay. **khugan*: Q *huan* (*húnen*) hound; N *Huan* (dog-name); Q *huo* dog; N *hû*.

KHYAR- left hand. Q *hyarmen* south, *hyarmenya* southern; *hyarya* left, *hyarmaite* lefthanded [MA3]. N *heir* left (hand), *hargam* left-handed [KAB]; *harad* south, *haradren*, *harn* southern. [Added entry. The *-y-* in the base-stem was a further addition, and at the same time the Q forms were changed from *har-* to *hyar-*; see p. 345.]

KHYEL(ES)- glass. Q *hyelle* (**khyelesē*); ON *khelesa*, *khelelia*; N *hele*, cf. *Helevorn* 'black-glass' [MOR], lake-name. Cf. KHELEK. [Added entry. *Helevorn* is written over an erasure in QS §118.]

KIL- divide (also SKIL). Q *kilya* cleft, pass between hills, gorge. [The base SKIL is not found in the *Etymologies*. To this entry was added:] N *cîl*. Cf. *Kalakilya* 'Pass of Light', in which Kôr was built. N *Cilgalad*; *Cilthoron* or *Cilthorondor*.

KIR- Q *kirya* ship; N *ceir*. [Added:] *cirdan* shipbuilder [TAN].

KIRIK- Q *kirka* sickle; N *cerch*. Q *Valakirka*, N *Cerch iMbelain* [BAL], Sickle of the Gods = Great Bear. N *critho* reap (**k'riktā*).

KIRIS- cut. Q *kirisse* slash, gash; N *criss* cleft, cut. [Added:] *Cristhoron* – g.sg. of *thôr* eagle. N *crist* a cleaver, sword. Cf. RIS.

KOP- Q *kópa* harbour, bay. [This entry was struck out; see KHOP.]

KOR- round. **kornā*: Q *korna* round, globed; *koron* (*kornen*) globe, ball; *koromindo* cupola, dome. *Kôr* round hill upon which Túna (Tûn) was built. N *corn*, *coron*, *Côr* (*koro*). [*Côr* > *Caur*, and the following added:] [Q] *korin* circular enclosure [cf. I. 257]; N *cerin*. N *rhin-gorn* circle [RIN]. Cf. Ilk. *basgorn* [sc. *bast-gorn* 'round bread', loaf: MBAS].

KOT- strive, quarrel. **okta* strife: Q *ohta* war. N *auth* war, battle; *cost* quarrel (*kot-t-*), Q *kosta-* quarrel. [The base was changed to **KOTH**, and the following added:] Q *kotumo* enemy, *kotya* hostile. [N] *coth* enmity, enemy; cf. *Morgoth* – but this may also contain GOTH. [See OKTĀ.]

KRAB- press. N *cramb*, *cram* cake of compressed flour or meal (often containing honey and milk) used on long journey. [Added entry.]

KŪ- **kukūwā* dove; Q *ku*, *kua*, ON *ku*, *kua*, (= *kūua*); N *cugu*. [Added entry. The base-stem is not given but is taken from a later etymological note.]

KUB- Q *kumbe* mound, heap; N *cumb*, *cum*. [Added entry.]

KU3- bow. > *kuw*: Q *kú* bow; N *cû* arch, crescent; *cúran* the crescent moon, see RAN. [Added:] **ku3nā*: N *cûn* bowed, bow-shaped, bent; but Ilk. **kogna* >*coun*, *caun*, Dan. *cogn*.

KUL- gold (metal). Q *kulu*, N *côl*; Q *kuluinn* of gold. **KULU-** gold (substance). Q *kulo*. [This entry was struck out and the following roughly substituted:] **KUL-** golden-red. Q † *kullo* red gold; *kulda*, *kulina* flame-coloured, golden-red; *kuluina* orange; *kuluma* an orange; N *coll* red (**kuldā*).

KUM- void. Q *kúma* the Void; *kumna* empty; N *cûn* empty. [The Q forms were retained, but the Noldorin altered to read:] ON *kúma*, N

cofn, *caun* empty, void, but in EN [the Void was] called *Gast*, *Belegast* [cf. GAS].

KUNDŪ- prince. Q *kundu*; N *cunn*, especially in names as *Felagund*, *Baragund*. [Added entry.]

KUR- craft. Q *kurwe* craft. N *curw*, *curu*; *curunir* wizard; cf. *Curufin* [PHIN]. Cf. N *crum* wile, guile; *corw* cunning, wily. [Added entry. N *crum* was rejected; see KURÚM.]

KURÚM- N *crum* the left hand; *crom* left; *crumui* left-handed (**krumbē*, *-ā*). [Added entry. Cf. KHYAR.]

KUY- come to life, awake. Q *kuile* life, being alive; *kuina* alive; *kuive* (noun) awakening; *kuivea* (adj.) wakening; *kuivie* = *kuive*, cf. *Kuiviénen*. N *cuil* life; *cuin* alive; *echui(w)* awakening (**et-kuiwē*), hence *Nen-Echui* = Q *Kuiviénen*. [The following additions were made:] N *cuino* to be alive; *Dor Firn i guinar* Land of the Dead that Live.

KWAL- die in pain. Q *qalme* agony, death; *qalin* dead; *unqale* agony, death. [Added entry. See WAN.]

KWAM- Q *qáme* sickness; N *paw*; Ilk. *côm*. [Added entry.]

KWAR- clutching hand, fist. Q *qár* hand (*qari*); N *paur* fist. [This stem was not struck out, but a second form of it was put in elsewhere in the list:] **KWAR-** Q *qáre* fist; ON *póre*; N *paur*, *-bor*, cf. *Celebrimbor* Silver-fist.

KWAT- Q *qanta* full; ON *panta*; N *pant* full, cf. *Cambant* [KAB]; *pathred* fullness; *pannod* or *pathro* fill. [Added entry.]

KWEL- fade, wither. Cf. *Narqelion* fire-fading, autumn, N *lhasbelin* [LAS¹]. **kwelett-* corpse: Q *qelet*, *qeletsi*.

KWEN(ED)- Elf. **kwenedē*: Q *qende* Elf; N *penedh*, pl. *penidh*; Dan. *cwenda*. Q *Qendelie*, N *Penedhrim*. The word *Eledh* is usually employed. [Added entry.]

KWES- **kwessē*: Q *qesse* feather; Ilk. *cwess* down; N *pesseg* pillow (Q *qesset*). [Added entry.]

KWET- (and **PET-**) say. **kwetta*: N *peth* word. **kwentā* tale: N *pent*, Q *qenta*; N *pennas* history. **kwentro* narrator: Q *qentaro*; N *pethron*; Dor. *cwindor*. [Added:] Q *qetil* tongue, language; *qentale* account, history; *lúmeqentale* history [LU]. N *gobennas* history, *gobennathren* historical. Q *avaqet-* refuse, forbid [AWA]. [For *go-* prefix see WO.]

KWIG- Cf. KU3. **kwingā*: Q *qinga* bow (for shooting); N *peng*. [Added entry.]

KYAB- taste. Q *tyavin* I taste.

KYAR- cause (cf. KAR). Q *tyar-* cause.

KYEL- come to an end. Q *tyel-* end, cease; *tyel* (*tyelde*) end; *tyelima* final. Cf. TELES. [Added entry.]

KYELEK- swift, agile. Q *tyelka*; N *celeg*, cf. *Celegorn* [GOR].

KYELEP- and **TELEP-** silver. N *celeb* silver; Q *telpe* and *tyelpe* silver; *telepsa* of silver = *telpina*, N *celebren*. Cf. *Irilde Taltelepsa* =

Idhril Gelebrendal. [*celebren*, *Gelebrendal* early changed from *celebrin*, *Celebrindal*. The entry was rewritten thus:] **KYELEP-** (and **TELEP**?) silver. ON *kelepe*, N *celeb*, silver; Q *telpe* and *tyelpe* silver; *telemna*, N *celefn*, *celevon* = *telpina*, N *celebren*. Cf. *Irilde Taltelemna* = *Idhril Gelebrendal*. T *telpe*; Ilk. *telf*. Q *telpe* may be Telerin form (Teleri specially fond of silver, as Lindar of gold), in which case all forms may refer to KYELEP. [For *Idril* (*Idhril*) see ID, and cf. *Irilde Taltelepta* in the *Lost Tales*, II. 216.]

L

[The L-stems consist of lightly pencilled entries, in themselves hard to read, but not much changed subsequently.]

LA- no, not. Q *lá* and *lala*, also *lau*, *laume* (= *lá ume* [UGU]), no, no indeed not, on the contrary; also used for asking incredulous questions. As prefix *la-* > [vocalic] *l* > Q *il*, N *al*, as in *Ilkorin*, N *Alchoron*, pl. *Elcheryn*. Q *lala-* to deny. [See AR².]

LAB- lick. Q *lamba* tongue, N *lham(b)*. Q *lavin* I lick, also *lapsa* to lick (frequentative). N *lhefi* (*lhâf*).

LAD- Cf. DAL, LAT. Q *landa* wide, N *lhand*, *lhann*. N *camland* palm of hand. Cf. *Lhothland*, *Lhothlann* (empty and wide), name of a region [LUS].

LAG- Q *lango* broad sword; also prow of a ship. N *lhang* cutlass, sword.

LAIK- keen, sharp, acute. Q *laike*, N *lhaeg*. Q *laike* acuteness, keenness of perception. Ilk. *laig* keen, sharp, fresh, lively (blended with *laikwa* [see LÁYAK]).

LAK¹- swallow; cf. LANK. Q *lanko* throat.

LAK²- swift (cf. ÁLAK). **lakra*: Q *larka* swift, rapid, also *alarka*; N *lhagr*, *lhegin*.

LÁLAM- elm-tree. Q *alalme*; N *lhalwen* (*lelwin*), *lhalorn*; D *lalm*. [See ÁLAM.]

LAM- Q *lamya* to sound; *láma* ringing sound, echo; *lamma* a sound; *lámina* echoing; *nallăma* echo. Dor. *lóm* echo, *lómen* echoing. Thus Dor. *Lómendor*, *Lóminorthin*, Noldorinized > *Dorlómen*, *Ered Lómin*; pure N *Eredlemrin*, *Dorlamren*. See GLAM.

LAN- weave. Q *lanya* weave; *lanwa* loom; *lanat* weft; *lanne* tissue, cloth.

LANK- Q *lanko* throat; N *lhanc*. [This stem was first written LANG, with derivatives Q *lango* (**langwi*), N *lhang*. See LAK¹.]

LAP- Q *lapse* babe; N *lhaes*.

LAS¹- **lassē* leaf: Q *lasse*, N *lhass*; Q *lasselanta* leaf-fall, autumn, N *lhasbelin* (**lassekwelēne*), cf. Q *Narqelion* [KWEL]. *Lhasgalen*

Greenleaf, Gnome name of Laurelin. (Some think this is related to the next and **lassē* 'ear'. The Quendian ears were more pointed and leaf-shaped than [?human].)

LAS²- listen. N *lhaw* ears (of one person), old dual **lasū* – whence singular *lhewig*. Q *lár*, *lasta-* listen; *lasta* listening, hearing – *Lastalaika* 'sharp-ears', a name, cf. N *Lhathleg*. N *lhathron* hearer, listener, eavesdropper (< **la(n)sro-ndo*); *lhathro* or *lhathrado* listen in, eavesdrop.

LAT- lie open. Q *latin(a)* open, free, cleared (of land); cf. *Tumbo-latsin*. Cf. *Tumladen* plain of Gondolin. N *lhaden*, pl. *lhedin* open, cleared; *lhand* open space, level; *lhant* clearing in forest. [Cf. LAD.]

LATH- string, thong. Q *latta* strap; N *lhath* thong of [?leather]; cf. *hadlath*, *haglath* sling (KHAT).

LAW- warm. **lauka* warm: Q *lauka*, N *lhaug*.

LÁWAR-, N GLÁWAR- **laurē* (light of the golden Tree *Laurelin*) gold – the metal was properly *smalta*, see SMAL; Q *laure*, N *glaur*, Dor. Oss. *laur*. Hence N *glor-*, *lor-* in names, as *Glorfindel* [SPIN], *Inglor* [ID]. Cf. *Laurelin*, N *Galad-loriel*; *Rathloriel* [RAT]. N *glawar* sunlight, radiance of Laurelin; † *Glewellin*. [See GLAW(-R). Cf. QS §16: 'Glewellin (which is the same as Laurelin song of gold)'.]

LÁYAK- **laik-wā*: Q *laiqa* green; N *lhoeb* fresh – 'green' only in Q *Laiqendi* Green-elves, N *Lhoebenidh* or *Lhoebelidh*. Ilk. *laig* is blended with *laika* [LAIK].

LEB-, LEM- stay, stick, adhere, remain, tarry. Q *lemba* (**lebnā*) left behind, pl. *Lembi* Elves remaining behind = Telerin Ilkorins; N *lhevon*, *lhifnir*. [See p. 344.]

LED- go, fare, travel. Cf. Q *lende* went, departed (*linna* go). ON *lende* fared; *etledie* go abroad, go into exile; N *egledhi* or *eglehio* go into exile, *egledhron* exile (ON *etledro*), *eglenn* exiled (ON *etlenna*). In N *egledhron* was often taken as the meaning of Ilk. *Eglath* = Eldar = Ilkorins [see ÉLED, GAT(H)].

LEK- loose, let loose, release. N *lhein*, *lhain* free(d); *lheitho* to release, set free; *lheithian* release, freeing. Q *leuka*, *lehta* loose, slacken. Ilk. *legol* nimble, active, running free; cf. *Legolin*, a river-name. [A note on a slip accompanying these etymologies gives: '*Leth-* set free (cf. LED); EN *leithia* to release, *leithian* release; cf. *Lay of Leithian*.' I have referred to this note in III. 154, at which time I overlooked the present entry.]

LEP-, LEPET finger. Q *lepse*; N *lhebed*.

Cf. **LEP- (LEPEN, LEPEK)** five. Q *lempe*; N *lheben*. Q *lemnar* week. The Valian week had five days, dedicated (1) to Manwe: *(Ar)Manwen*; (2) to Ulmo: *(Ar)Ulmon*; (3) to Aule and Yavanna: *(Ar)Veruen*, i.e. of the Spouses [BES]; (4) to Mandos and Lorien: *(Ar)Fanturion* [SPAN]; (5) to the three younger Gods, Osse, Orome, Tulkas, called *Nessaron* or *Neldion* [NETH, NEL]. The 73 weeks were divided into 12 months of 6 weeks. In the middle of the Year

there was a separate week, Midyear week or week of the Trees, *Endien* [YEN] or *Aldalemnar*, N *Enedhim*, *Galadlevnar*.

N names: *Ar Vanwe*; *Ar Uiar* (Ulmo) [WAY]; *Ar Vedhwen* (*Bedū* + *ina*), or *Ar Velegol* (Aule [see GAWA]); *Ar Fennuir*; *Ar Nethwelein* = of the young Gods, or *Ar Neleduir* of the three kings.

[The dual form 'husband and wife' is given as *besū* in the entry BES 'wed', not as here *bedū*; similarly under KHER, NDIS and NĪ reference is made in the original to BED, not BES. There is however no suggestion of any alteration in the entry BES itself. – For the element *Ar* see AR[1]. In the Quenya names of the days *Ae* is written above *Ar*, but *Ar* is not struck out. – For the 'young Gods' see p. 120.]

LI- many. Q *lie* people; *-li* pl. suffix, *lin-* prefix = many, as *lintyulussea* having many poplars [TYUL], *lindornea* having many oaks [DÓRON]. In N the ending *-lin* 'many' has been blended with *rhim* > *lim*, *rim*.

LIB[1]- drip. Q *limba* a drop; cf. *helkelimbe* [KHELEK].

LIB[2]- **laibē*: Q *laive* ointment. N shows GLIB-: *glaew* salve. **libda*: Q *lipsa*; N [*lhúð* >] *glúð* soap.

LILT- dance. Q *lilta-* dance.

LIN[1]- pool. Q *linya* pool; N *lhîn*; Ilk. *line*. Cf. *Ailin* [AY], *Taiglin*.

LIN[2]- (originally GLIN) sing. Q *linde* air, tune; N *lhind*, *lhinn*. Q *lindo* singer, singing bird: cf. *tuilindo* swallow, N *tuilinn* [TUY], Q *lómelinde* nightingale, N *dúlinn*. Q *lindele* music. Cf. *Laurelin* (g.sg. *Laurelinden*), but this also taken as 'hanging-gold' (g.sg. *Laurelingen*): see LING. *Lindon*, *Lhinnon* Ilk. name of Ossiriand: 'musical land' (**Lindān-d*), because of water and birds; hence *Eredlindon*, = Mountains of Lindon.

[*tuilindo* ('spring-singer'): cf. I. 269. On the origin of *Lindon*, *Eredlindon* see commentary on QS §108. – See GLIN.]

LIND- fair (especially of voice); in Q blended with *slindā* (see SLIN). Q *linda* fair, beautiful, cf. *Lindar*; N *lhend* tuneful, sweet; Ilk. *lind*.

LING-, N **GLING-** hang. Q *linga-* hang, dangle; N *gling*. Cf. *Glingal* [and see LIN[2]].

LINKWI- Q *linqe* wet. N *lhimp*; *lhimmid* moisten (pa.t. *lhimmint*).

LIP- Q *limpe* (wine), drink of the Valar. [The first appearance of *limpe* since the *Lost Tales*, where it was the drink of the Elves; for the old etymology see I. 258.]

LIR[1]- sing, trill; in N *g-lir-* [see GLIR]. Q *lirin* I chant.

LIR[2]- ON *líre* row, range, N *lhîr* row. Cf. *oeglir* range of mountain peaks.

LIS- honey. Q *lis* (*lissen*); N *glî*, *g-lisi*. Cf. *megli* (*meglin* adj.) bear (**mad-lī* honey-eater [MAT], kenning for *brôg*, see MORÓK). Cf. *Meglivorn* = Blackbear.

LIT- Q *litse* sand; ON *litse* > *litthe*, N *lith*; cf. *Fauglith* [PHAU].

LIW- **liñwi* fish: Q *lingwe*; N *lhimb*, *lhim*; Dor. *líw*.

LOD- **londē* narrow path, strait, pass: N *lhonn* (cf. *Aglon*); cf. N *othlond*, *othlon* paved way (*ost* city + *lond*). Q *londe* road (in sea), entrance to harbour, cf. *Alqalonde*.

LOK- great serpent, dragon. Q *lóke* (*-ī*) dragon; *angulóke* dragon [ANGWA], *rámalóke* winged dragon [RAM], *urulóke* fire-dragon [UR], *fealóke* spark-dragon [PHAY], *lingwilóke* fish-dragon, sea-serpent [LIW]. Cf. N *lhûg*, *amlug*, *lhimlug*.

LOKH- Q *lokse* hair; N *lhaws*, *lhoch* (**lokko*) ringlet.

LONO- *lóna* island, remote land difficult to reach. Cf. *Avalóna* [AWA] = Tol Eressea = the outer isle. [Added to this is *A-val-lon*. *Avallon* first appears in the second version of *The Fall of Númenor* (§1) as a name of Tol Eressea with the explanation that 'it is hard by Valinor'.]

LOS- sleep. Q *olor* dream, cf. *Lórien* = N *Lhuien*. Q *lóre* slumber, *lorna* asleep. N *ôl* dream, *oltha* [to dream]. [See ÓLOS.]

LOT(H) flower. Q *lóte* (large single) flower; *losse* blossom (usually, owing to association with *olosse* snow, only used of white blossom [see GOLÓS]). N *lhoth* flower; *gwaloth* blossom, collection of flowers [WO]. Cf. *Wingelot*, *Wingelóte* Foamflower, N *Gwingeloth* [WIG]; *Nimloth* [NIK-W] = Galathilion.

LU- Q *lúme* time (cf. *lúmeqenta* history, chronological account, *lúmeqentale* history, *lúmeqentalea* historical); *lú* a time, occasion. N *lhû*. [See KWET.]

LUG[1]- **lungā* heavy: Q *lunga*; N *lhong*; Dor. *lung*; cf. Dor. *Mablung* [MAP].

LUG[2]- **lugni* blue: Q *lúne*; N *lhûn* (Dor. *luin* pale, Dan. *lygn*). Cf. *Lúnoronti* Blue Mountains, N *Eredluin* (also *Lhúnorodrim*, *Lhúndirien* Blue Towers) = *Eredlindon* Mountains of Lindon (= Ossiriand). [For an occurrence of *Lunoronti* see p. 32. *Luindirien* Blue Towers occurs in a footnote added to QS §108 (commentary).]

LUK- magic, enchantment. N *lhûth* spell, charm; *lhútha* to enchant; *Lhúthien* enchantress (Dor. *Luithien*). Q *lúke* enchantment; *luhta* enchant. [The etymology of *Lúthien* changed to read thus:] Doriath *luth*, whence *Luthien* (Noldorized as *Lhūthien*): **luktiēnē*.

LUM- Q *lumbe* gloom, shadow; *Hísilumbe*, N *Hithlum* [KHIS]. In Q the form is usually *Hísilóme* by attraction of *lóme* night [DO3]. N *lhum* shade, *lhumren* shady.

LUS- N *lhost* empty, cf. [*Mablothren* >] *Camlost* [KAB], *Lothlann* [LAD]. Q *lusta* void, empty.

LUT- float, swim. Q *lunte* boat; N *lhunt*. N *lhoda* float.

M

[The M-entries are faint and difficult to interpret, and some are very confused. My father made a beginning on a new list, writing the

etymologies out afresh and clearly, but this petered out after he had treated the stems in MA- and a few others (MBAD, MBER, MEL).]

MAD- Q *marya* pale, fallow, fawn. N *meið*, *maið*, hence *Maidhros* (anglicized *Maidros*) = 'pale-glitter' [RUS].

MA3- hand. PQ **māȝ* (*maȝ-*) hand: Q *mā*; ON *mō* (pl. *mai*) usually replaced by *kamba* (N *camm*): see KAB. Hence **maȝiti* handy, skilled, Q *maite* (pl. *maisi*); ON *maite*, N *moed*. **maȝ-tā* to handle: Eld. **mahtā-*: Q *mahta-*, ON *matthō-be*, N *matho* stroke, feel, handle; wield (confused with **maktā*, see MAK).

Related is **MAG-** use, handle, in **magrā* useful, fit, good (of things): Q *mára*, N *maer*; **magnā* skilled: ON *magnā*, N *maen* skilled, clever, *maenas* craft, handicraft, art. [In the original form of this entry the name *Maidros* (see MAD) was placed under MAG: *Maedhros* < *Maenros*.]

MAK- sword, or as verb-stem: fight (with sword), cleave. **makla*: Q *makil* sword; N *magl*, *magol*. **maktā*: Q *mahta-* wield a weapon (blended with *maȝ-tā*, see MA3), fight: hence *mahtar* warrior = N *maethor*. N *maeth* battle, fight (not of general host but of two or a few), *maetha* to fight. Cf. *Maglaðûr* [cf. DO3?] or *Maglaðhonn* = Black-sword (as name). Q *Makalaure* = Gold-cleaver, name of fifth son of Feanor, N *Maglor*.

[In the original form of this entry the N forms of the noun 'sword' were *megil*, *magol*, and the name 'Black-sword' was *Megildur* (> *Magladhûr*, *Maglavorn*). If these forms were to replace *Mormakil*, *Mormegil* etc. as Túrin's name in Nargothrond they never appear in the texts.]

MAN- holy spirit (one who has not been born or who has passed through death). Q *manu* departed spirit; N *mān*. Cf. Q *Manwe* (also borrowed and used in N [see WEG]).

MANAD- doom, final end, fate, fortune (usually = final bliss). Q *manar*, *mande*. N *manað*. Cf. N *manathon*. In Q this stem is partly blended with MBAD, q.v. and cf. *Mandos*, *Kalamando*.

MAP- lay hold of with hand, seize. Q *mapa-* grasp, seize. ON *map-* seize, take away by force. Ilk. (Dor.) *mab* hand (**mapā*), cf. *Mablung* [LUG[1]]. Ilk. *Ermab(r)in* one-handed (of Beren: cf. *Mablosgen* emptyhanded = N *Erchamron*, *Camlost*). [The forms *Ermab(r)in* and *Erchamron* are certain.]

MASAG- knead, make soft by rubbing, kneading, etc. **mazgā*: Q *maksa* pliant, soft; ON *mazga* > *maiga*, N *moe*, soft. **mazgē*: Q *makse* dough, N *moeas* dough. Ilk. *maig* dough.

MAT- eat. Q *mat-*; N *medi*. For *megli* bear see LIS.

MBAD- duress, prison, doom, hell. **mbanda*: N *band*, *bann* duress, prison; *Angband* Hell (Iron-prison) (Q *Angamanda*). Q *Mando* the Imprisoner or Binder, usually lengthened *Mand-os* (*Mandosse* = Dread Imprisoner, N. *Bannos* [GOS]). Blended with Q with MAN –

hence *Kalamando* Light Mando = Manwe, *Morimando* Dark Mando = Mandos. MBAD is in turn related to BAD, q.v.

MBAKH- exchange. Q *manka-* trade; *makar* tradesman; *mankale* commerce. N *banc*, *banga*; *bachor* pedlar; *bach* article (for exchange), ware, thing (**mbakhā*).

MBAL- Q *malle* street; *ambal* shaped stone, flag.

MBAR- dwell, inhabit. Q *a-mbar* (*ambaron*) 'oikoumenē', Earth; *Endamar*, *Ambarenya* Middle-earth. N *ambar*, *amar* Earth; *Emmerein*, *Emerin* (*Ambarenya*) Middle-earth. *Martan(ō)* Earthbuilder = Aule (N *Barthan*) [TAN]. *Gondobar*, *Findobar* [PHIN]. [With the use of the Greek word *oikoumenē* here cf. *Letters* no. 154, p. 197. – *Ambarendya* occurs in the *Ambarkanta*, IV. 241–3. – With *Martan* cf. I. 266, entry *Talka Marda*. – *Findobar* was the son of Fingon (p. 403).]

MBARAT- Q *umbar* (*umbarten*) fate, doom; N *ammarth*. Q *marta* fey, fated; *maranwe* destiny; *martya-* destine. N *barad* doomed; *bartho* to doom. Cf. *Turamarth*, Q *Turambar* [apparently written thus over *Turumbar*].

MBAS- knead. Q *masta-* bake, *masta* bread. N *bast* bread; *basgorn* loaf [KOR].

MBAW- compel, force, subject, oppress. Q *mauya-* compel; *mausta* compulsion; *maure* need. N *baug* tyrannous, cruel, oppressive; *bauglo* to oppress; *bauglir* tyrant, oppressor; *bui* (**mauy-*) (impersonal); *baur* need. Cf. *Gothmog* (**Gothombauk-*) [GOS].

MBER- Q *meren* (*merend-*) or *merende* feast, festival; N *bereth*. Q *merya* festive; *meryale* holiday. N *beren* festive, gay, joyous. [This stem was first MER, and the N words *mereth*, *meren*; but a new stem MER was then introduced and the former MER changed to MBER, the N words becoming *bereth*, *beren*. The name *Mereth Aderthad* was never changed in the texts.]

MBIRIL- (compound of MIR and RIL, q.v.) Q *miril* (*mirilli*) shining jewel; *mirilya-* glitter. Ilk. *bril* glass, crystal; cf. *Brilthor* glittering torrent.

MBOTH- Dor. *moth* pool, *umboth* large pool. Cf. Q *motto* blot, N *both* puddle, small pool. Cf. *Umboth Muilin* [MUY] = N *Elinuial* or *Hithliniath*.

MBUD- project. **mbundu*: Q *mundo* snout, nose, cape; N *bund*, *bunn*. Cf. **andambundā* long-snouted, Q *andamunda* elephant, N *andabon*, *annabon* [ÁNAD].

MEL- love (as friend). Q *mel-*; *melin* dear, *melda* beloved, dear; *melme* love; *melisse* (f.), *melindo* (m.) lover; *melima* loveable, fair, *Melimar* = Lindar. Irregular vocalism: **mālō* friend, Q *málo*. N *meleth* love; *mell* dear; *mellon* friend; *meldir* friend, f. *meldis*; *melethron*, *melethril* lover. *mîl* love, affection; *milui* friendly, loving, kind.

MEN- Q *men* place, spot; *ména* region. Cf. *Númen*, *Rómen*, *Harmen*

[see KHYAR], *Tormen* [which is the form in the *Ambarkanta*, IV. 244–5, 248–9, changed later to *Formen* (PHOR).]

MER- wish, desire, want. Q *mere*, pa.t. *merne*. [See MBER.]

MERÉK- [This entry was struck out, and the stem MBERÉK written against it. It was the same as the entry BERÉK, q.v., except that the Q form was here *merka* 'wild' for *verka*, a N form *brerg* 'wild, fierce' was given, and *bregol* was translated 'fierce'.]

MET- end. Q *mente* point, end; N *ment* point; *meth* end (**metta*); *methen* end. Q *metya-* put an end to.

MI- inside. Q *mi* in, within; *mir* and *minna* to the inside, into; *mitya* adj. interior.

MIL-IK- Q *milme* desire, greed; *maile* lust; *mailea* lustful; *milya-* long for; *milka* greedy; *Melko* (**Mailikō*), N *Maeleg* (**-kā*). N *melch* greedy; *mael* lust; *maelui* lustful. [The stem vowel *ae* in the N words was changed to *oe* : *Moeleg*, etc. The Gnomish name *Moeleg* of Melko occurs in Q (IV. 79, 164).]

MINI- stand alone, stick out. Q *mine* one; *minya* first; *minda* prominent, conspicuous; *mindo* isolated tower. N *min* one, *minei* (**miniia*) single, distinct, unique; *minnas* tower, also *mindon* (**minitaun*, cf. *tunn* [see TUN]).

MINIK-W- Q *minqe* eleven.

MIR- Q, ON *míre*; N *mîr* jewel, precious thing, treasure. Cf. *Nauglamîr* (Doriathrin form). *Mirion* ordinary N name of the *Silevril* (*Silmarilli*), pl. *Miruin*; = N *Golo(ð)vir* or *Mîr in Geleið*, Dor. *Goldamir*. [The name *Borommîro* is scribbled in: see BOR.]

MIS- go free, stray, wander. Q *mirima* free; cf. *Mirimor* = the Teleri. *mista-* stray about. N *mist* error, wandering; *misto* to stray; *mistrad* straying, error. [In the long note to QS §29 giving names 'in song and tale' of the Kindreds of the Elves a name of the Teleri is 'the Free' (and another 'the Wanderers').]

MISK- Q *miksa* wet; N *mesg*, *mesc*.

MITH- N *mith* white fog, wet mist; cf. *Mithrim* [RINGI]. [Later addition: *mith* = grey.]

MIW- whine. Q *maiwe* gull, N *maew*. Q *miule* whining, mewing.

MIZD- **mizdē*: Q *miste* fine rain; N *mídh* dew; Dor. *míd* moisture (adj. *méd* wet, **mizdā*); Dan. *meord* fine rain. Cf. Dor. name *Dolmed* 'Wet-head' [NDOL]. [The stems MISK-, MITH-, MIZD- are evidently related, but it is scarcely possible to see from the changes on the manuscript what my father finally intended.]

MŌ- **mōl-*: Q *mól* slave, thrall; N *mûl*. Q *móta-* labour, toil; N *mudo* (pa.t. *mudas*). [Cf. *Lhammas* §8: *múlanoldorin* > *mólanoldorin*, language of the Noldor enslaved by Morgoth.]

MOR- **mori* black: Q *more* black (N †*môr*); *mordo* shadow, obscurity, stain; *móre* blackness, dark, night; *morna* gloomy, sombre; *morilinde* nightingale (Ilk. *murulind*, *myrilind*). N *maur* gloom; *moru* black. Ilk. *môr* night. *Meglivorn*: see LIS, MAT. *Morgoth* Black Foe

[KOT] = Melko. *Morimando* = Mandos [see MBAD]. *Moriqendi* Dark Elves = *Morimor*, N *Duveledh* or *Dúrion* [DO3]. [This entry is extremely confused through changes and afterthought additions, and I have tried to arrange the material more sequentially. It is not clear, however, that all the forms given were intended to stand.]

MORÓK- **morókō* bear: Q *morko*; N *brôg*; Ilk. *broga*. [See LIS.]

MOY- Q *moina* familiar, dear; ON *muina*, N *muin* dear. [See TOR.]

MŪ- not, no. [See UGU, UMU.]

MUY- Q *muina* hidden, secret; *muile* secrecy. Dor. *muilin* secret, veiled; *Umboth Muilin* veiled pool = N *Lhîn Uial* or *Eilinuial*. Dor. *muil* twilight, shadow, vagueness. (Not in N because it became identical with *moina* [MOY].)

N

[There was no new start made on the N-entries, which remain in their extremely difficult original form. The stems with an initial back nasal consonant (followed by the stop *g*), represented in the manuscript by a special form of the latter *n*, are here printed ÑG-.]

NĀ[1]- [Cf. ANA[1]] Q *an*, *ana*, *na* to, towards, prefix *ana-*. N *na* with, by, prefix *an-*. Also used as genitive sign.

NĀ[2]- [Cf. ANA[2]] be. Stem of verb 'to be' in Q. Cf. *nat* thing, N *nad*.

NAD- Q *nanda* water-mead, watered plain. N *nand*, *nann* wide grassland; *naðor*, *naðras* pasture. Dor. *nand* field, valley. Cf. *Nandungorthin*, *Nan Tathren*.

NAK- [Cf. ÁNAK] bite. Q *nak-* bite; N *nag-*. Q *nahta* a bite; N *naeth* biting, gnashing of teeth [see NAY]. N *naew* (**nakma*), Q *nangwa* jaw. Cf. **an-kā* jaw, row of teeth: Q *anka*, N *anc*; *Anc-alagon* 'Biting-Storm', dragon-name [ÁLAK].

NAN- N *nana* (hypocoristic) mother; *naneth*. [See AM[1].]

NAR[1]- flame, fire. Q *nár* and *náre* flame, cf. *Anar* Sun; *narwā* fiery red. N *naur* flame; *Anar* Sun; *narw*, *naru* red. Cf. *Egnor* [EK], etc.; for *Feanor* see PHAY. Q *narqelion* 'fire-fading', autumn [KWEL]. [The N form *Anar* is clear. See ANÁR.]

NAR[2]- (Q *nyar-*) tell, relate. Q *nyáre* tale, saga, history, *lumenyáre* [LU]; *nyarin* I tell. ON *naróbe* he tells a story (pa. t. *narne*), *trenare* he recounts, tells to end (inf. *trenarie*). N †*naro* tell; *treneri (nennar)*, pa.t. *trenor*, *trener*; *trenarn* account, tale (ON *trenárna*); *narn* tale, saga (Q *nyarna*). [For prefix *tre-* see TER.]

NÁRAK- tear, rend (tr. and intr.). **narāka* rushing, rapid, violent: Q *naraka* harsh, rending, violent; N *narcha-* to rend, Q *narki*. N *Narog* river-name; *Nar(o)gothrond* [OS] = fortress of Narog; *Narogardh* = realm of Narog.

NAS- point, sharp end. Q *nasse* thorn, spike; *nasta-* prick, sting. N

nass point, sharp end; angle or corner (cf. BEN); *nasta* prick, point, stick, thrust. Cf. SNAS, SNAT.

NAT- (cf. NUT) lace, weave, tie. Q *natse* web, net; N *nath* web; Dor. *nass*. N *nathron* weaver, webster; *gonathra-* entangle, enmesh, *gonathras* entanglement. [For prefix *go-* see wǒ.]

NAUK- Q *nauko* dwarf. N *naug*. Cf. *Nogrod* Dwarf-city [cf. ROD?]. Also in diminutive form *naugol* (*naugl-*). The name *Nauglamîr* is strictly Doriathric, in which genitive in *-a(n)* preceded. The true N idiom is *mîr na Nauglin* or *Nauglvir* > *Nauglavir*.

[N *naug* was struck out and replaced by: 'N *nawag* (pl. *neweig*, *neweg*); Dor. *naugol*, whence EN *naugl*'; but the rest of the entry was allowed to stand. The stem NÁWAK was written beside NAUK.]

NAY- lament. *naeth* (*nakt-*) 'biting' is associated in N with this stem, and gets senses of gnashing teeth in grief: cf. *Nírnaeth Arnediad* (or *Aronoded*) [NOT]. Q *naire* lament, *naina-* lament. N *noer* adj. sad, lamentable; *nae* alas, Q *nai*. Q, ON *noi*, *nui* lament (**naye*); *Nuinoer*, *Nuinor*, name of Túrin's sister.

NÁYAK- (or perhaps NAYKA-, elaboration of NAK, q.v.) pain. Q *naike* sharp pain; *naikele*; *naikelea* painful. N *naeg* pain; *negro* to pain.

NDAK- slay. ON *ndakie* to slay, pa.t. *ndanke*; *ndagno* slain (as noun), corpse; *ndakro* slaughter, battle. N *degi* to slay; *daen* corpse; *dangen* slain, cf. *Hauð i Ndengin*; *dagr*, *dagor* battle; *dagro* to battle, make war. **ndākō* warrior, soldier: ON *ndóko*, N *daug* chiefly used of Orcs, also called *Boldog*. [*Boldog* is an Orc-captain in the *Lay of Leithian* and in Q §10. The meaning here is that *Boldog* was used beside *daug*; see ÑGWAL.]

NDAM- hammer, beat. Q *namba* a hammer, *namba-* to hammer. *Nambarauto* hammerer of copper, sixth son of Fëanor, N *Damrod* [RAUTĀ]. N *dam* a hammer, *damna-* to hammer (pa.t. *dammint*).

NDAN- back. (Cf. *Danas*; N *Dân*, pl. *Dein*, *Daðrin*). Q *nan-* (prefix) backwards. Dor. *dôn* back (noun). Cf. Q *nā*, *nān* but, on the contrary, on the other hand, *a-nanta* and yet, but yet. [See DAN, and commentary on *Lhammas* §7.]

NDER- strengthened form of *der* man (see DER). **ndēro* bridegroom > Eldarin *ndēr*, Q *nér* man (blended with *dér*); ON *ndair*, N *doer* bridegroom. Cf. *Ender* surname of Tulkas (*Endero*), as *Indis* (see NDIS) of his wife.

NDEW- follow, come behind. Q *neuna* (**ndeuna*) second; **ndeuro* follower, successor: Q *neuro*, cf. Dor. *Dior* successor (i.e. of Thingol). The stem is confused with NDŪ 'sink' in N.

NDIS- Strengthening (parallel to NDER of DER) of NIS 'woman', itself elaborated from INI.

NDIS-SĒ/SĀ Q *nisse* beside *nis* (see NIS, NĪ) woman. ON *ndissa* young woman (in N *dess* was blended with *bess*, properly 'wife'); **ndîse* bride > ON *ndîs*, N *dîs*. Intensive form **i-ndise* = Q *Indis* 'bride', name of the goddess Nessa.

NDOL- Q *nóla* round head, knoll; N *dôl* (ON *ndolo*) head. Cf. Q *Andolat* hill-name, N *Dolad*. N *dolt* (pl. *dylt*) round knob, boss. Cf. Dor. *Ndolmed*, *Dolmed* = Wet Head, name of mountain in Eredlindon.

NDOR- dwell, stay, rest, abide. Q *nóre* land, dwelling-place, region where certain people live, as *Vali-nóre* (*Valinor*). The long vowel in Q is due to confusion with *nóre* clan (NŌ; ONO). N *dor* (**ndorē); dortho-* dwell, stay. Cf. *Endor* = *Endamar* Middle-earth. *Doriath*: see GATH. [Under ÉNED *Endor* is defined as 'centre of the world'. See IV. 254–5.]

NDŪ- (see also NŬ) go down, sink, set (of Sun, etc). Associated in N with DO3 night, also with NDEW. Q *númen* west (see MEN), *númenya* western; *núta* set, sink (of Sun or Moon); *andūne* (**ndūnē*) sunset. N *dûn* west, beside *annûn* used as opposite of *amrûn* (see AM); also *dúven* [?southern].

[Scribbled marginal notes give: '*Númenóre* and *Andúnie* = Land of Great Men (after the Last Battle). NDUR, NUR bow down, obey, serve; *núro* sunset; cf. *-dûr* in name *Isildur*.' In FN I (§2) *Andúnie* was likewise the name of the land of Númenor, not (as in FN II) of its chief town.]

NDUL- See DUL. **ndulla*: Q *nulla* dark, dusky, obscure; N *doll*, cf. *Terendul*.

NÉD- See ÉNED. middle, centre. N *enedh* core, centre; Q *ende*. But N *nedh-* as prefix = mid-.

NEI- tear. Q *níre*, *nie* tear; cf. *nieninqe* snowdrop [NIK-W], *Nienna*. N *nîr* tear, weeping; *nírnaeth* lamentation [NAY]; *nîn* (**neinē*) tear, *nínim* snowdrop (*nifredil*). Q *níte* (**neiti-*) moist, dewy; N *nîd* damp, wet; tearful. **neiniel-*: N *niniel* tearful.

NEL- three. **NÉL-ED-** three: Q *nelde*; N *neledh* later *neled* (after *canad* four). Prefix *nel-* tri-. *nelthil* triangle (*neltildi*) [TIL]. Doriathrin *neldor* beech. Cf. *Neldoreth* name of a forest in Doriath, properly name of *Hirilorn* the great beech of Thingol with three trunks = *neld-orn*? [see ÓR-NI]. The N name is *brethel*, pl. *brethil* (cf. Forest of Brethil); see BERÉTH [where *brethil* is given as the singular]. The proper Dor. name was *galdbreth* > *galbreth* [GALAD].

NÉL-EK- tooth. Q *nelet*, *nelki*. ON *nele*, *neleki*; N *nêl*, *neleg*.

NEN- Q *nén* (*nen-*) water; N *nen* (pl. *nîn*). Q *nelle* (**nen-le*) brook; *nende* pool; *nenda* watery, wet. N *nend*, *nenn* watery. Cf. *Ui-nend*, Q *Uinen* [UY].

NEÑ-WI- nose. Q *nengwe*, *nengwi*; *nengwea* nasal. N *nemb*, *nem*; Dor. *nîw*.

NÊR- Q stem for PQ *der-* man, derived from influence of *ndere* and *nī*, *nis*: see NĪ, DER, NDER.

NÉTER- nine. Q *nerte*; N *neder*.

NETH- young. Q *Nessa* goddess, also called *Indis* (bride): see NĪ,

NDIS. *nessa* young (**neth-rā*); *nése* or *nesse* youth; *nessima* youthful. N *nîth* youth (**nēthē*); *neth* young (*nethra*); *Neth* or *Dineth* = Indis Nessa.

ÑGAL- / ÑGALAM- talk loud or incoherently. Q *ñalme* clamour; N *glamb*, *glamm* (**ngalámbe*, influenced by *lambe* [LAB]) barbarous speech; *Glamhoth* = Orcs. See LAM, GLAM. [The stem was changed subsequently to ÑGYAL- and Q *ñalme* to *yalme*.]

ÑGAN-, ÑGÁNAD- play (on stringed instrument). Q *ñande* a harp, *ñandelle* little harp; *ñandele* harping; *ñanda-* to harp; *ñandaro* harper. N *gandel*, *gannel* a harp; *gannado* or *ganno* play a harp; *talagant* [> *talagand*] harper (**tyalañgando*), cf. *Talagant* [> *Talagand*] of Gondolin [TYAL]. Ilk. *gangel*, *genglin*. [*Talagant* appears in no literary source, but cf. *Salgant* in the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin*, the cowardly but not wholly unattractive lord of the People of the Harp: II. 173, 190–1, etc.]

ÑGAR(A)M- Dor. *garm* wolf; N *garaf*; Q *ñarmo*, *narmo*.

ÑGAW- howl. N *gaur* werewolf; Q *ñauro*. N *gaul*, Q *naule* wolf-howl. N *gaw-* howl; *gawad* howling.

ÑGOL- wise, wisdom, be wise. Q *ñolwe* wisdom, secret lore; *ñóle* wisdom; *ñóla* wise, learned; †*ingole* deep lore, magic (N †*angol*). N †*golw* lore, *golwen* (**ngolwina*) wise, learned in deep arts; *goll* (**ngolda*) wise; *gollor* magician; *gûl* magic. Dor. *ngol*, *gôl* wise, magical; *(n)golo* magic, lore; *durgul*, *mor(n)gul* sorcery.

ÑGOLOD- one of the wise folk, Gnome. Q *ñoldo*; ON *ngolodo*, N *golodh*, pl. *goeloeidh*, *geleidh*, and *golodhrim*; T *golodo*, Dor. *(n)gold*; Dan. *golda*. Q *Ingolonde* Land of the Gnomes (Beleriand, but before applied to parts of Valinor); N *Angolonn* or *Geleidhien*. *Golovir* (*Mîr in Geleidh*) = Silmaril; Dor. *Goldamir*; Q *Noldomíre* [MIR].

ÑGOROTH- horror (cf. GOR; GOS, GOTH). N *Gorgoroth* deadly fear (**gor-ngoroth*), cf. *(Fuin) Gorgoroth*, later name of Dorthanion, also called *Taur-na-Fuin* or *Taur-na-Delduath*. Cf. Dor. name *Nan Dungorthin* (Dor. *ngorthin* horrible, *dunn* black); Dor. *ngorth* horror = N *goroth*, *Nan Dongoroth* or *Nann Orothvor* [see DUN].

ÑGUR- ON *nguru*, *ngurtu*; N *gûr* Death, also *guruth* [see WAN]. Q *nuru*, *Nuru* (personified) = Mandos; *Nurufantur* = *Mandos Gurfannor* [SPAN]. Cf. *Gurtholv* [> *Gurutholf*] 'Wand of Death', sword-name [GÓLOB].

ÑGWAL- torment. Q *ungwale* torture; *nwalya-* to pain, torment; *nwalka* cruel. N *balch* cruel; *baul* torment, cf. *Bal-* in *Balrog* or *Bolrog* [RUK], and Orc-name *Boldog* = Orc-warrior 'Torment-slayer' (cf. NDAK).

ÑGYŌ-, ÑGYON- grandchild, descendant. Q *indyo*; T *endo*; ON *ango* (not in N). Cf. YŌ, YON.

NĪ[1]- woman – related to INI female, counterpart to 3AN male. In Q *ní* was archaic and poetic and usually replaced by *nis* pl. *nissi* or *nisse* pl. *nissi*. See NIS, NDIS. In Q, PQ *dēr* 'man' became *nér* (not *lér*)

owing to blending with *ndēr* 'bridegroom' and to influence of *nī*, *nis* (see DER, NDER).

In ON *nî* 'woman' later > *dî* through influence of *dîr* [see DER]; but *dî* was only rare and poetical ('bride, lady'): it was replaced in sense 'woman' by *bess* [see BES], and in sense 'bride' by cpd. *di-neth* (see NETH). *Dineth* is also N name for the goddess *Neth* = Q *Nessa*, and *Indis*.

NI²- = I.

NIB- face, front. N *nîf* (**nībe*) front, face. Dor. *nef* face; *nivra-* to face, go forward; *nivon* west, *Nivrim* West-march, *Nivrost* West-dales [ROS²]. [*Nivrim* 'West-march' occurs in QS §110, and *Nivrost* 'West Vale' in QS §106.]

NID- lean against. **nidwō* bolster, cushion: Q *nirwa*; ON *nidwa*, N *nedhw*.

NIK-W- Q *niqe* snow; *ninqe* white (**ninkwi*); *nieninqe* 'white tear' = snowdrop [NEI]; *ninqita-* shine white; *ninqitá-* whiten; *ninqisse* whiteness. *Taniqetil(de)* = High White Horn = N *Nimdil-dor* (**Ninkwitil(de)* *Tára*). N *nimp* (*nim*) pale; *nifred* pallor, fear; *nimmid* to whiten (pa.t. *nimmint*); *nifredil* snowdrop; *nimred* (*nimpred*) pallor.

NIL-, NDIL- friend. Q *nilda* friendly, loving; *nildo* (and *nilmo*), f. *nilde*, friend; *nilme* friendship. In names *-nil*, *-dil* = Old English *wine*, as *Elendil* (**Eled-nil*) = Ælfwine; *Herendil* = Eadwine [see KHER].

NIN-DI- fragile, thin. Q *ninde* slender; N *ninn*.

NIS- Probably an elaboration of INI, NĪ; feminine counterpart to DER 'man'. Q *nis*, *nissi* (see NĪ).

NŌ- (cf. ONO) beget. Q *nóre* country, land, race (see NDOR). N *nûr* race; *noss* (= Q *nosse*) clan, family, 'house', as *Nos Finrod* House of Finrod. Q *onóro* brother, *onóne* sister. ON *wanúro*, N *gwanur* [WŎ].

ÑOL- smell (intr.). Q, L *holme* odour. N *ûl* odour (**ñōle*); *angol* stench.

NOROTH- Q *norsa* a giant.

NOT- count, reckon. Q *not-* reckon, *onot-* count up; *nóte* number. N *noedia* count; *gonod-* count up, reckon, sum up; cf. *arnoediad*, *arnediad*, beside *aronoded*, innumerable, countless, endless; *gwanod* tale, number [see WŎ].

NOWO- think, form idea, imagine. Q *noa* and *nó*, pl. *nówi*, conception; *nause* imagination (**naupe*). N *naw*, pl. *nui*, idea; *nauth-* thought; *nautha-* conceive.

NŪ- Cf. NDŪ. Q *nún* adv. down below, underneath; *no* prep. under. N *no* under, with article *nui* (*Dagor nuin Giliath*). **nūrā*, or separate stem NUR; Q *núra* deep; N *nûr*. Cf. *Nurqendi* = Gnomes; *Núron*, N name for Ulmo.

NUT- tie, bind. Q *nutin* I tie; *núte* bond, knot; *nauta* bound, obliged. N *nud-*; *nûd* bond; *naud* bound.

NYAD- gnaw. **nyadrō*: Q *nyano* rat; N *nâr* (< *naðr*).

NYEL- ring, sing, give out a sweet sound. Q *nyello* singer; *nyelle* bell; T *Fallinel* (*Fallinelli*) = Teleri [PHAL]. N *nell* bell; *nella-* sound bells; *nelladel* ringing of bells. Q *Solonyeldi* = Teleri (see SOL); in Telerin form *Soloneldi*.

O

OKTĀ- See KOT. Q *ohta* war. N *auth*. Ilk. *oth*.

ÓLOS- dream. Q *olor* dream, *Olofantur* (*s-f* > *f*) = *Lórien*. N [*ol*t >] *ôl* (pl. *elei*); *oltha-* to dream (**olsa-*); *Olfannor* (= *Olo(s)-fantur*) [SPAN] = Lórien. [See LOS.]

OM- Q *óma* voice; *óman*, *amandi* vowel.

ONO- beget (see NŌ). Q *onta-* beget, create (pa.t. *óne*, *ontane*); *onna* creature; *ontaro* (*ontár̆o*) begetter, parent (f. *ontare*); *ontani* parents. N *odhron* parent (*odhril*); (**onrō*) *ed-onna* beget; *ûn* creature.

ORO- up; rise; high; etc. (cf. RŌ). Q *óre* rising, *anaróre* sunrise; *orta-* rise, raise. N *or* prep. above; prefix *or-* as in *orchall*, *orchel* superior, eminent (see KHAL²); ON *ortie*, *orie* rise, *ortóbe* raise; N *ortho* raise (*orthant*); *erio* rise (†*oronte* arose).

ÓROT- height, mountain. Q *oron* (pl. *oronti*) mountain; *orto* mountain-top. ON *oro*, pl. *oroti*, beside *oroto*; N *orod* (pl. *ereid*, *ered*) mountain; *orodrim* range of mountains (see RIM). Dor. *orth*, pl. *orthin*. Cf. *Orodreth*; *Eredwethion*, *Eredlindon*, *Eredlemrin*, *Eredengrin*.

ÓR-NI- high tree. Q *orne* tree, high isolated tree. N, Dor. *orn*. In Doriath used especially of beech, but as suffix in *regorn* etc. used of any tree of any size. In N used of any large tree – holly, hawthorn, etc. were classed as *toss* (*tussa*) bush [TUS]: thus *eregdos* = holly [ERÉK]. N *orn* has pl. *yrn*.

ÓROK- **órku* goblin: Q *orko*, pl. *orqi*. ON *orko*, pl. *orkui*; N *orch*, pl. *yrch*. Dor. *urch*, pl. *urchin*. Dan. *urc*, pl. *yrc*.

ORÓM- **Orōmē*: Q *Orome*; ON *Oroume*, *Araume* > Exilic *Araw*, also called *Tauros*. See ROM.

OS- round, about. N *o* about, concerning, *h* before vowel as *o Hedhil* concerning Elves; *os-* prefix 'about', as *esgeri* cut round, amputate (3 sg. *osgar*). Q *osto* city, town with wall round. N *ost*; *othrond* fortress, city in underground caves = *ost-rond* (see ROD). Cf. *Belegost*, *Nargothrond*.

OT- (OTOS, OTOK) seven. Q *otso*; N *odog*. Q *Otselen* Seven Stars, N *Edegil*, = Great Bear or *Valakirka* Sickle of the Gods.

OY- ever, eternal. Q *oi* ever; *oia* (**oiyā*) everlasting; *oiale*, *oire* everlasting [?age]; *oira* eternal. *Oiolosse* 'Everlasting snow' = Taniqetil = ON *Uigolosse*, N *Uilos*, *Amon Uilos*; *uir* eternity; *uireb* eternal. Q *Oiakúmi* = *Avakúma*. [This entry replaced that under GEY, which itself replaced EY.]

P

PAD- Q *panda* enclosure. N in *cirban* haven; *pann* courtyard.

PAL- wide (open). Q *palla* wide, expansive; *palu-*, *palya-* open wide, spread, expand, extend; N *pelio* spread. Q *palme* surface; N *palath* surface. Q *palúre* surface, bosom, bosom of Earth (= Old English *folde*), hence *Palúrien* surname of Yavanna. [Later addition:] *palan-* far, distant, wide, to a great extent; *palantir* a far-seeing stone.

PALAP- Q *palpa-* to beat, batter. N *blebi* for **plebi*; *blâb* flap, beat (wing, etc.)

PAN- place, set, fix in place (especially of wood). Q *panya-* fix, set; N *penio*. Q *pano* piece of shaped wood. **panō*: plank, fixed board, especially in a floor: ON *pano*, *panui*, N *pân*, *pein*; *panas* floor. Q *ampano* building (especially of wood), wooden hall.

PAR- compose, put together. **parmā*: Q *parma* book, ON *parma*, N *parf* (*perf*). Q *parmalambe* book-language = Qenya. ON *parthóbi* arrange, compose.

PÁRAK- Q *parka* dry; ON *parkha*, N *parch*.

PAT- (cf. PATH) **pantā* open: Q *panta*, obsolete in ON owing to coalescence with *qanta* full. Q *panta-* to unfurl, spread out, open. N *panno* to open, enlarge; *pann* (**patnā*) wide.

PATH- **pathnā*: ON *pattha*, N *path*; Q *pasta* smooth. **pathmā*: ON *pathwa*, N *pathw* level space, sward.

PEG- mouth. Q *pē*.

PEL- revolve on fixed point. Q *pel-* go round, revolve, return. **peltakse*: Q *peltas*, pl. *peltaksi* pivot; ON *pelthaksa*, N *pelthaes* pivot (see TAK).

PEL(ES)- ON *pele* (pl. *pelesi*, *peleki*) [Old English] '*tūn*', fenced field. N *pel*, pl. *peli*. Q *peler*; *opele* walled house or village, 'town'; N *gobel*, cf. *Tavrobel* (village of Túrin in the forest of Brethil, and name of village in Tol Eressea) [TAM]; *Tindobel* = starlit village [TIN]. [On this remarkable reference to Tavrobel see pp. 412–13.]

PEN-, PÉNED- Q *pende* slope, downslope, declivity; *ampende* upward slope, *penda* sloping down, inclined. N *pend*, *penn* declivity; *ambenn* uphill; *dadbenn* downhill, inclined, prone [see AM², DAT]. N *pendrad* or *pendrath* passage up or down slope, stairway. [See note to DEN.]

PER- divide in middle, halve. Q *perya*, *perina*; N *perin*, cf. *Peringol* = half-Elf, or Gnome. [Cf. *Beringol* and *Peringiul* 'Half-elven', commentary on AB 2 annal 325; also *Pereldar* 'Half-eldar', Danas, in QS §28. The puzzling words 'or Gnome' should perhaps be interpreted as if 'half-Elf, or rather half-Gnome (*perin* + *ñgol*)'.]

PERES- affect, disturb, alter. N *presto* to affect, trouble, disturb; *prestannen* 'affected', of vowel [i.e. 'mutated']; *prestanneth* 'affection' of vowels. ON *persōs* it affects, concerns. [This entry is found on a detached slip.]

PHAL-, PHÁLAS- foam. Q *falle* foam; *falma* (crested) wave; *falmar* or *falmarin* (*falmarindi*) sea-spirit, nymph; *falasse* beach; *Falanyel*, pl. *Falanyeldi* = *Solonel*, name of the Teleri, also in Telerin form *Fallinel* (see NYEL). N *falf* foam, breaker; *faltho* (ON *phalsóbe*) to foam; *falas* (pl. *feles*) beach, shore, as proper name *i Falas* west coast (of Beleriand), whence adj. *Falathren*. The variant SPÁLAS is seen in *espalass* foaming [?fall]; T *spalasta-* to foam, froth. [With *falmarin* 'sea-spirit' cf. *Falmaríni*, spirits of the foam, in the *Lost Tales*, I. 66. *Falmarindi* is used of the Teleri: p. 403.]

PHAR- reach, go all the way, suffice. Q *farya-* suffice (pa.t. *farne*); *fáre* sufficiency, plenitude, all that is wanted; *farea* enough, sufficient. EN *farn* enough; *far* adv. sufficient, enough, quite.

PHAS- Q *fasse* tangled hair, shaggy lock; *fasta-* tangle. ON *phasta* shaggy hair, EN *fast* (cf. *Ulfast* [ÚLUG]).

PHAU- gape. Q *fauka* open-mouthed, thirsty, parched; ON *phauka* thirsty, N *faug* thirsty; *Dor na Fauglith* (thirsty sand, see LIT).

PHAY- radiate, send out rays of light. Q *faina-* emit light; *faire* radiance; ON *phaire*. Cf. **Phay-anáro* 'radiant sun' > Q *Feanáro*, ON *Phayanór*, N *Feanoúr*, *Féanor*. Cf. N *foen* radiant, white. [See SPAN.]

PHÉLEG- cave. T *felga* cave; Q *felya*; ON *phelga*, N *fela*, pl. *fili*; cf. *Felagund* [KUNDŪ].

PHEN- Q *fenda* threshold; ON *phenda*, N *fend*, *fenn*.

PHER-, PHÉREN- beech. Q *feren* or *ferne* (pl. *ferni*) beech-tree; *ferna* mast, beechnuts; *ferinya* beechen. T *ferne*. ON *pheren* beech; *pherna* mast; Exilic *fêr* was usually replaced by *brethil* (see BERÉTH).

PHEW- feel disgust at, abhor. Q *feuya*; ON *phuióbe*, N *fuio*.

PHI- Q *fion* (*fioni*, *fiondi*) [. . . .] Cf. *Fionwe* son of Manwe [see WEG]. [The meaning of Q *fion* is unfortunately not certainly legible; the likeliest interpretation would be 'haste', but 'hawk' is a possibility.]

PHILIK- small bird. Q *filit*, pl. *filiki*; N *filig* pl., analogical singular *fileg* or *filigod*.

PHIN- nimbleness, skill. ON *phinde* skill, *phinya* skilled; **Phinderauto*, N *Finrod* [RAUTĀ]. Cf. Q *Finwe*, ON *Phinwe*, name of chief Gnome (Exilic **Finw* [see WEG]). *Find-* occurs also in names *Findabar* (**Phind-ambar*), *Fingon* (**Findekāno*) [KAN]; *phinya* or *-phini* occurs in *Fingolfin* (= *ngolfine* 'magic skill'), *Isfin* [IS], *Curufin* [KUR]; distinguish SPIN in *Glorfindel*. [On the absence of *Finw* in Exilic Noldorin see also the passage at the end of the *Lhammas* §11. – The name *Findabar* appears in the entry MBAR in the form *Findobar*, as also in the *Genealogies*, p. 403.]

PHIR- Q *firin* dead (by natural cause), *firima* mortal; *fire* mortal man (*firi*); *firya* human; *Firyanor* = *Hildórien*; *ilfirin* (for **ilpirin*) immortal; *faire* natural death (as act). N *feir*, pl. *fîr* mortals; *firen* human; *fern*, pl. *firn* dead (of mortals). *Dor firn i guinar* Land of the

Dead that Live [KUY]. *Firiel* = 'mortal maid', later name of Lúthien.

PHOR- right-hand. Q *forya* right; *formaite* righthanded, dexterous [MA3]. *formen* north, *formenya* northern [MEN]. N *foeir*, *feir* right (hand); *forgam* righthanded [KAB]; *forven* north, also *forod*; *forodren* northern. Cf. *Forodwaith* Northmen, Northerland [WEG]; *Forodrim*. **phoroti*: Q *forte*. N *forn* right or north. (Cf. KHYAR.)

PHUY- Q *fuine*, *huine* deep shadow; *Fui*, *Hui* Night. ON *phuine* night, N *fuin*; cf. *Taur na Fuin* = *Taure Huinéva*.

PIK- ON *pika* small spot, dot; N *peg*. ON *pikina* tiny, N *pigen*.

PÍLIM- Q *pilin* (*pilindi*) arrow.

PIS- Q *pirya* juice, syrup. N *peich*; *pichen* juicy.

PIW- spit. Q *piuta*; ON *puióbe*, N *puio*.

POL-, POLOD- physically strong. Q *polda* strong, burly. Cf. *poldore*, adj. *Poldórea*.

POR- **pori*: Q *pore* flour, meal.

POTŌ- animal's foot. ON *poto*, *poti*, N *pôd*, *pŷd*.

POY- **poikā* clean, pure: Q *poika*; N *puig* clean, tidy, neat.

PUS- stop, halt, pause. Q *pusta-* to stop, put a stop to, and intr. cease, stop; *pusta* (noun) stop, in punctuation full stop. N *post* pause, halt, rest, cessation, respite. [An added entry gives PUT-, with Q *putta* stop (in punctuation), *pusta-* to stop, *punta* a stopped consonant; but the entry PUS- was not cancelled or changed.]

R

RAB- **rāba* wild, untamed: Q *ráva*, N *rhaw* wilderness. [Q *ráva* and N *rhaw* with wholly different meaning are also derivatives from stem RAMBĀ, and N *rhaw* appears in a third sense under RAW.]

RAD- back, return. Dor. *radhon* east (cf. *nivon* forward = west [NIB]); *Radhrim* East-march (part of Doriath); *Radhrost* East-vale, land of Cranthir under Blue Mountains [ROS²]. **randā* cycle, age (100 Valian Years): Q, ON *randa*; N *anrand*.

RAG- **ragnā*: ON *ragna* crooked, N *rhaen*.

RAK- stretch out, reach. **ranku*: Q *ranko* arm, pl. *ranqi*; ON *ranko*, pl. *rankui*; N *rhanc*, pl. (archaic) *rhengy*, usually *rhenc*, arm. **rakmē* fathom: Q *rangwe*; ON *ragme*, N *rhaew*.

RAM- **rāmā*: Q *ráma* wing, cf. *Earráme* 'Sea-wing' [AY], name of Tuor's ship. N *rhenio* (**ramya-*) fly, sail; wander (cf. RAN); *rhofal* pinion, great wing (of eagle), pl. *rhofel* (**rāmalē*); *rhafn* wing (horn), extended point at side, etc. (**ramna*). [With *rhofal* cf. 'wide-winged Lhandroval' in QS (p. 301); for the first element see LAD.]

RAMBĀ- Q *ramba* wall, cf. *Ilurambar*; N *rhamb*, *rham*, cf. *Andram* 'Long Walls' [ÁNAD] in Beleriand. Q *ráva* bank, especially of a river; N *rhaw* [see RAB, RAW].

RAN- wander, stray. **Ranā*: Q *Rana* Moon, N *Rhân*. Q *ranya-* to stray, N *rhenio* (cf. RAM); Q *ráne* straying, wandering, *ránen* errant; N *rhaun*, [added later:] N *rhandir* wanderer, pilgrim.

RAS- stick up (intr.). Q *rasse* horn (especially on living animal, but also applied to mountains); N *rhaes*, *rhasg*; cf. *Caradras* = Redhorn [KARÁN]. [This entry was an addition at the end of the list. The N words and the reference to *Caradras* were scribbled in still later.]

RÁSAT- twelve. [No other forms are given.]

RAT- walk. **ratā*: N *râd* path, track; *rado* to make a way, find a way; *ath-rado* to cross, traverse [AT(AT)]; *athrad* crossing, ford, cf. *Sarn Athrad*. **rattă̆*: ON *rattha* course, river-bed, N *rath* (cf. *Rathloriel*) [LÁWAR]. *ostrad* a street. [Added:] *rant* lode, vein; *Celebrant* river-name. Ilk. *rant* flow, course of river.

RAUTĀ- metal. Q, ON *rauta*; N *rhaud*, cf. *-rod* in names *Finrod*, *Angrod*, *Damrod* (see PHIN, ANGĀ, NDAM). [The original meaning of RAUTĀ was given as 'copper', changed to 'metal'; cf. *Nambarauto* (*Damrod*) 'hammerer of copper' under NDAM.]

RAW- **rāu*: Q *rá* (pl. *rávi*) lion; ON *ró* (pl. *rówi*), N *rhaw* (pl. *rhui*). [Cf. I. 260, entry *Meássë*. – Distinct N words *rhaw* appear under RAB and RAMBĀ.]

RÁYAK- Q *raika* crooked, bent, wrong; N *rhoeg* wrong.

RED- (Cf. ERÉD) scatter, sow. Q *rerin* I sow, pa.t. *rende*; N *rheði* to sow. ? *reddā* 'sown', sown field, acre.

REG- edge, border, margin. Q *réna*. N *rhein*, *rhain* border; *edrein*.

REP- bend, hook. *rempa* crooked, hooked.

RĪ- Q *ríma* edge, hem, border. Dor. *rim* (as in *Nivrim* [NIB], *Radhrim* [RAD]); N *rhîf*.

RIG- Q *rie* crown (**rīgē*); *rína* crowned (cf. *Tinwerína*); ON *ríge*, N *rhî* crown. Cf. *Rhian* name of a woman, = 'crown-gift', *rīg-anna* [ANA[1]]; N *rhîn* crowned; *rhîs* queen. [*Elerína*, which was substituted for *Tinwerína* in a note dated February 1938 (p. 200), appears in a marginal addition to entry EL.]

RIK(H)- jerk, sudden move, flirt. Q *rihta-* jerk, give quick twist or move, twitch. **rinki*: Q *rinke* flourish, quick shake. N *rhitho* jerk, twitch, snatch; *rhinc* twitch, jerk, trick, sudden move.

RIL- glitter (cf. SIL, THIL, GIL). Q *rilma* glittering light; *rilya* glittering, brilliance. Cf. *Silmarille*, *Silmaril* (pl. *Silmarilli*), N *Silevril* (**silimarille*).

RIM- **rimbā*: Q *rimba* frequent, numerous; ON *rimba*, N *rhemb*, *rhem*. **rimbē* crowd, host; Q, ON *rimbe*, N *rhimb*, *rhim* – often as pl. *-rim* [see LI].

RIN- Q *rinde* circle, *rinda* circular. N *rhind*, *rhinn* circle; *iðrind*, *iðrin* year [YEN]; *rhinn* circular; *rhingorn* circle [KOR].

RINGI- cold. Q *ringe*; ON *ringe*, N *rhing*; cf. *Ringil* name of one of the great Lamps (pillared on ice), also of Fingolfin's sword. Q *ringe* cold

pool or lake (in mountains); Dor. *ring*, N *rhimb*, *rhim*, as in *Mith-rim*.

RIP- rush, fly, fling. Q *rimpa* rushing, flying; N *rhib-*, *rhimp*, *rhimmo* to flow like a [?torrent]; river-name *Rhibdath*, *Rhimdath* 'Rushdown'. [This entry was a hasty scribbled addition at the end of the R-stems.]

RIS- slash, rip. ON *rista-* rend, rip; N *risto*. Cf. *Orchrist* sword-name. [This entry was left unchanged, but a second form of it was added later without reference to the first:]

RIS- Cf. KIRíS; cut, cleave. **rista-*: Q *rista-* cut; *rista* a cut; N *rhisto*, *rhest*; Ilk. *rest*, cf. *Eglorest*, ghyll or ravine made by the river *Eglor* [see ELED] at its mouth, name of town there. **risse-*: N *rhis*, *rhess* a ravine, as in *Imladris*.

RŌ- (form of ORO, q.v.) rise. Q *rómen* (see MEN) east, *rómenya* eastern; *róna* east; contrast NDŪ 'down'. ON *róna* east, N *rhûn*, *amrûn* (cf. *dûn*, *annûn*); †*rhufen* east. Cf. name *El-rûn*. [*El-rûn* was an addition. See note to BARATH.]

ROD- cave. Q *rondo* cave; N *rhond*, *rhonn*, cf. *Nargothrond*, *othrond* (see OS). Dor. *roth*, pl. *rodhin*, as in *Meneg-roth* is probably from *rōda* > *rōdh* > *rōth*. Cf. ON *rauda* hollow, cavernous, N *rhauð*. ON *rostóbe* to hollow out, excavate, N *rosto*. In Ilkorin *rond* = domed roof, hence *Elrond* (vault of heaven) [EL], name of Eärendel's son.

ROK- Q *rokko* horse; N *roch* horse.

ROM- (Cf. ORÓM and *Orome*, *Araw*) loud noise, horn-blast, etc. Q *romba* horn, trumpet; ON *romba*, N *rhom*. Q *róma* loud sound, trumpet-sound; ON *rúma*, N †*rhû* in *rhomru* sound of horns.

ROS¹- distil, drip. Q *rosse* fine rain, dew. N *rhoss* rain, cf. name *Celebros* Silver-rain of a waterfall. *Silivros* = Q *Silmerosse*, name of Silpion. [Both *Silivros* and *Silmerosse* are found in the list of the names of the Trees in QS §16. *Celebros* is translated 'Silver Rain' in AB 2 annal 299 (previously 'Foam-silver', 'Silver Foam').]

ROS²- Dor. *rost* plain, wide land between mountains; cf. *Nivrost* [NIB], *Radhrost* [RAD].

ROY¹- chase. **ronyō* 'chaser', hound of chase: Q *ronyo*, N *rhŷn*. Q *roita-* pursue; *raime* hunt, hunting; N *rhui(w)*.

ROY²- (N GROJ-) ruddy, red. Q *roina* ruddy; N *gruin*. [This second stem ROY was put in very rapidly at the end of the R-stems and without any reference to the former.]

RUD- **rundā*: Q *runda* rough piece of wood; ON *runda*, N *grond* club; cf. *Grond* name of Melko's mace, and name *Celebrond* 'Silver-mace'.

RUK- demon. Q *rauko* demon, *malarauko* (**ñgwalaraukō*, cf. ÑGWAL); N *rhaug*, *Balrog*.

RUN- flat of hand or sole of foot. Q *runya* slot, footprint; *tallune* (**talrunya*) sole of foot, N *telloein*, *tellen* [TAL]. N *rhoein*, *rhein* slot, spoor, track, footprint.

RUS- flash, glitter of metal. Q *russe* corruscation, †sword-blade; ON

russe polished metal (N †*rhoss* chiefly found in names as *Maedhros* [MAD], *Findros*, *Celebros* etc., owing to coalescence with ROS[1]).

RUSKÁ- ON *ruska*, N *rhosc* brown.

S

S- demonstrative stem. *sŭ*, *sŏ* he (cf. *-so* inflexion of verbs); *sĭ*, *sĕ* she (cf. *-se* inflexion of verbs). Cf. N *ho*, *hon*, *hono* he; *he*, *hen*, *hene* she; *ha*, *hana* it; plurals *huin*, *hîn*, *hein*.

SAB- Q *sáva* juice; ON *sóba*, N *saw* (pl. *sui*).

SAG- **sagrā*: Q *sára* bitter; N *saer*. **sagmā*: Q *sangwa* poison; N *saew*.

SALÁK-(WĒ) Q *salqe* grass; Ilk. *salch*. ON *salape* herb, green food plant, N *salab* (pl. *seleb*) herb.

SÁLAP- lick up. Q *salpa-* lick up, sup, sip; ON *salpha* liquid food, soup, broth; N *salf* broth.

SAM- unite, join. *samnar* diphthongs. [Hasty later addition; see SUD and SUS.]

SAR- Q *sar*, pl. *sardi* stone (small); *sarna* of stone; *sarne* strong place. N *sarn* stone as a material, or as adj.; cf. *Sarnathrad*.

SAY- know, understand. *saira-* wise; *sairon* wizard.

SED- rest (cf. EZDĒ 'rest', Q *Este*, ON *Ezda*, wife of Lórien). Q *sére* rest, repose, peace; *senda* resting, at peace; *serin* I rest. N *sîdh* peace.

SEL-D- daughter [see YEL]. Q *selde*. In N *iell* (poetic *sell* girl, maid) with *i* from *iondo* son [YŌ]; a change assisted by the loss of *s* in cpds. and patronymics: cf. *Tinnúviel* (**tindōmiselde*, Q *Tindómerel*), see TIN. [The meaning 'daughter' was later changed to 'child', with Q forms *seldo*, *selda* added.]

SER- love, be fond of (of liking, friendship). Q suffix *-ser* friend; *sermo* friend (f. *serme*), also *seron*. Cf. name *Elesser* (*Eleðser*) = Ælfwine.

SI- this, here, now. Q *sí*, *sin* now; *sinya* new. N *sein* (pl. *sîn*) new; *siniath* news, tidings; *sinnarn* novel tale [NAR[2]].

SIK- Q *sikil* dagger, knife; N *sigil*.

SIL- variant of THIL; 'shine silver'. These in Q cannot be distinguished normally, but Q *Isil* Moon, N †*Ithil* has *th*. *s-* appears in **silimē* 'light of Silpion', †silver, Q *silme* (cf. *Silmerosse*, N *Silivros*), N **silif*. **silimā* silver, shining white (adj.): Q *silma*, N **silef*, cf. *Silevril*, Q *Silmaril* (see RIL). In N *Belthil* (see BAL) *s* or *th* may be present. The Q name of the Elder Tree is *Silpion* (see below).

Cf. Dor *istel*, *istil* silver light, applied by the Ilkorins to starlight, probably a Q form learned from Melian. For **silif* N has *silith*, by assimilation to or from influence of †*Ithil*.

Related is **SÍLIP** whence Q *Silpion* (N **Silfion*, not used).

SIR- flow. Q *sir-*, ON *sirya-*, N *sirio* flow. Q, ON *síre*, N *sîr* river (cf. *Sirion*); Q *siril* rivulet.

SIW- excite, egg on, urge. Q *siule* incitement; ON *hyúle*, N *hûl* cry of encouragement in battle.

SKAL[1]- screen, hide (from light). Q *halya-* veil, conceal, screen from light; *halda* (**skalnā*) veiled, hidden, shadowed, shady (opposed to *helda* stripped bare, see SKEL). ON *skhalia-*, *skhalla*; N *hall*; *haltha-* to screen. Ilk. *esgal* screen, hiding, roof of leaves. Dan. *sc(i)ella* shade, screen. Derivative name *Haldir* 'hidden hero' [DER] (son of Orodreth); also Ilk. *Esgalduin* 'River under Veil' (of [?leaves]). [There seems to be a query before the bracketed words at the end of the entry.]

SKAL[2]- small fish. Q *hala*; *halatir(no)* 'fishwatcher', kingfisher; N *heledir*. [This stem was a later addition; see KHAL[1], TIR.]

SKAR- **skarwē*: Q *harwe* wound; N *harw*. Cf. Ilk. *esgar*. **skarnā*: Q *harna* wounded; N *harn*; *harno* to wound (Q *harna-*). Root sense: tear, rend; cf. **askarā* tearing, hastening: N *asgar*, *ascar* violent, rushing, impetuous. Ilk. *ascar* (cf. river-name *Askar*).

SKAT- break asunder. Q *hat-*, pa.t. *hante; terhat-* break apart.

SKEL- **skelmā*: Q *helma* skin, fell. N *helf* fur, *heleth* fur, fur-coat. **skelnā* naked: Q *helda*; ON *skhella*, N *hell*. *helta* (*skelta-*) strip.

SKWAR- crooked. Q *hwarin* crooked; *hwarma* crossbar. Dan. *swarn* perverse, obstructive, hard to deal with.

SKYAP- **skyapat-* shore: Q *hyapat*; ON *skhapa*, pl. *skhapati*; N *habad* shore (pl. *hebeid*).

SLIG- **slignē*, **slingē*: N *thling* spider, spider's web, cobweb. Q *líne* cobweb; N *thlingril* [*r* uncertain] spider. Q *lia* fine thread, spider filament (**ligā*); N *thlê*; Q *liante* spider. Cf. *Ungoliante* [UÑG], N *Deldu-thling* [DO3, DYEL].

SLIN- **slindi* fine, delicate. Q *linda* 'fair' is blended with **lindā* sweet-sounding [see LIND]. N *thlinn*, *thlind* fine, slender; *thlein* (pl. *thlîn*) = **slinyā* lean, thin, meagre.

SLIW- sickly. **slīwē* sickness: Q *líve*, ON *slíwe*, *thlíwe*, N *thliw* later *fliw*. **slaiwā* sickly, sick, ill; Q *laiwa*, ON *slaiwa*, *thlaiwa*, N *thlaew* [> *thloew*] later *flaew*.

SLUK- swallow. [No forms given.]

SLUS-, SRUS- whisper. N *thloss* (*floss*) or *thross* a whisper or rustling sound; Q *lusse* a whispering sound, *lussa-* to whisper.

SMAG- soil, stain. N *maw* (**māgā*) soil, stain, *mael* (**magla*) stain and adj. stained. [N *maw* and *mael* changed to *hmas* and *hmael*; see note to SMAL.]

SMAL- yellow. **smalinā*: Q, ON *malina* yellow, N *malen* (pl. *melin*). **smaldā*: Q *malda* gold (as metal), ON *malda*, N *malt*; N *malthen* (analogical for *mallen*) of gold. Cf. *Melthinorn*, older *Mellinorn*. **smalu* pollen, yellow powder: Q *malo*, ON *malo* (pl. *malui*), N *mâl*, pl. *meil* or *mely*. **smalwā* fallow, pale: Q *malwa*, N *malw*.

**asmalē*, **asmalindē* yellow bird, 'yellow hammer': Q *ammale*, *ambale*; ON *ammale*, *ammalinde*, N *em(m)elin*, *emlin*.

[I give this entry as it was before it became confused by later changes in the phonology of initial *sm-* (ON retained *sm-*, and the N words have *(h)m-*); these were not carried through consistently. – *Melthinorn* 'tree of gold' is found in the list of names of the Trees in QS §16.]

SNAR- tie. Q *narda* knot; N *narð*.

SNAS-, SNAT- ? Q *nasta* spear-head, point, gore, triangle (cf. NAS); Dan. *snæs*. N *naith* (*natsai* pl. ?) gore. [Cf. the Naith of Lothlórien. The question-mark is followed by a drawing of an arrow-head.]

SNEW- entangle. Q *neuma* snare; ON *núma*, N *nû* noose, snare. [The N forms were changed to *sniuma* and *snýma*; *hniof* (pl. *hnyf*) and *hnuif*. See note to SMAL.]

SNUR- twist. N *norn* twisted, knotted, crabbed, contorted; *norð* cord.

SOL- Q *solor* (**solos*) surf, cf. *Solonel*, pl. *Soloneldi* = Teleri. This is a Telerin form, cf. *Fallinel*, and cf. pure Q *Solonyeldi* [see NYEL].

SPAL-, SPALAS- variants of PHAL, PHALAS, q.v.

SPAN- white. Q *fanya*, *fána* cloud. N *fein* white, *faun* cloud (**spāna*); T *spania*; Dan. *spenna*. Cf. *Fanyamar* upper air; *Spanturo* 'lord of cloud', Q *Fantur* surname of Mandos (*Nurufantur*, N *Gurfannor* 'lord of Death-cloud') and of his brother Lórien (*Olofantur*, N *Olfannor* 'lord of Dream-cloud'); N pl. *i-Fennyr* or *Fennir* = Lórien and Mandos [see ÑGUR, OLOS]. (Confused in N with PHAY, q.v.) [The beginning of this entry was first written '*fanya* cloud'; 'cloud' was struck through, and *fána* added, with meanings 'white' and 'cloud', but it is not clear how they are to be applied. – For *Fanyamar* see the *Ambarkanta*, IV. 236 etc. – I do not think that this association of the Fanturi with 'cloud' is found anywhere else.]

SPÁNAG- **spangā*: Q *fanga*; T *spanga*; ON *sphanga* beard; N *fang*, cf. *An(d)fang* [ÁNAD] Longbeard, one of the tribes of Dwarves (pl. *Enfeng*). Cf. *Tinfang* 'Starbeard', name of an Elvish piper; *Ulfang* [ÚLUG].

SPAR- hunt, pursue. ON *(s)pharóbe* hunt, *(s)pharasse* hunt(ing); EN *faras* hunting (cf. *Taur-na-Faras*); *feredir* hunter (pl. *faradrim*); *faro* to hunt. *Elfaron* 'star-hunter', Moon. [With *Taur-na-Faras* (the Hills of the Hunters or Hunters' Wold) cf. *Taur-na-Faroth* in QS §112, and with the name 'Star-hunter' of the Moon cf. QS §76.]

SPAY- despise, contemn. Q *faika* contemptible, mean. N *foeg* mean, poor, bad.

SPIN- **spindē* tress, braid of hair: Q *finde*, ON *sphinde* lock of hair; *sphindele* (braided) hair; N *findel*, *finnel*, cf. *Glorfindel*. Cf. *spinē* larch, Q *fine*.

SRIP- scratch. N *thribi* to scratch.

STAB- **stabnē*, **stambē*: Q *sambe* room, chamber; *samna* wooden post. ON *stabne*, *sthamne*; N *thafn* post, wooden pillar; *tham*, *thamb* hall. Q *kaimasan*, pl. *kaimasambi* bedchamber [KAY]. N *thambas*,

thamas great hall. **stabnō*, **stabrō* carpenter, wright, builder: Q *samno*; ON *sthabro(ndo)*, N *thavron*; Ilk. *thavon*.

STAG- press, compress. **stangā*: Q *sanga* crowd, throng, press; N *thang* compulsion, duress, need, oppression; cf. *Thangorodrim* (the mountains of duress). Cf. *sangahyando* 'throng-cleaver' (sword-name), N **haðathang*, dissimilated to *havathang*, *haðafang* [see SYAD].

STAK- split, insert. **stankā*, **staknā*: Q *sanka* cleft, split; ON *sthanka*, N *thanc*, cf. *Lhamthanc* 'forked tongue', serpent-name [LAB]. ON *nestak-* insert, stick in, EN *nestegi*, pa.t. *nestanc*.

STAL- steep. Ilk. *thall* (**stalrē*) steep, falling steeply (of river); *thalos* torrent (also a proper name) [the river *Thalos* in Ossiriand].

STÁLAG- **stalga* stalwart, steady, firm: T *stalga*; ON *sthalga*, N *thala*, cf. *thalion* (**stalgondō*) hero, dauntless man (pl. *thelyn*), especially as surname of Húrin *Thalion*.

STAN- fix, decide. Cf. Q *sanda* firm, true, abiding; N *thenid*, *thenin*. Q *sanye* rule, law; *sanya* regular, law-abiding, normal.

STAR- stiff. Q *sara* stiff dry grass, bent; N *thâr* stiff grass; *tharas* hassock, footstool; *gwa-star* hummock [wŏ]. ON *stharna* sapless, stiff, rigid, withered; N *tharn*; not in Q since it would coalesce with **sarnā* of stone [SAR].

STARAN- Cf. Ilk. *thrôn* stiff, hard (**starāna*); cf. *thron-ding* in *Balthronding* name of Beleg's bow. [Under stems BEL and DING the name is written *Bel-*.]

STELEG- N *thela* point (of spear); *egthel*, *ecthel*, cf. *Ecthelion* (see EK). [An illegible word after *ecthel* may read 'same', i.e. the same meaning as *thela*.]

STINTĀ- short. Q *sinta*; ON *sthinta*, N *thent*. N *thinnas* 'shortness', name of mark indicating short quality of vowel.

SUD- base, ground. *sundo* base, root, root-word. [A hasty later addition.]

SÚLUK- Q *sulka*; ON *sulkha*, N *solch* root (especially as edible).

SUK- drink. Q *sukin* I drink. N *sogo*, 3 sg. *sôg*, pa.t. *sunc*, *asogant* (*sogennen*); N *sûth* draught, Q *suhto*; N *sautha-* drain. **sukmā* drinking-vessel; Q *sungwa*; Ilk. *saum*.

Variant **SUG-** in **suglu*: Q *súlo* goblet, N *sûl*.

SUS- hiss. *surya* spirant consonant. [Later addition with SUD and SAM.]

SWAD- **swanda*: Q *hwan* (*hwandi*) sponge, fungus; N *chwand*, *chwann*, *hwand*.

SWES- noise of blowing or breathing. **swesta-*: Q *hwesta-* to puff; *hwesta* breath, breeze, puff of air; ON *hwesta*, N *chwest* puff, breath, breeze.

SWIN- whirl, eddy. Q *hwinya-* to swirl, eddy, gyrate; *hwinde* eddy, whirlpool. N *chwinio* twirl, whirl, eddy; *chwind*, *chwinn* adj.; *chwîn* giddiness, faintness; *chwiniol* whirling, giddy, fantastic.

SYAD- shear through, cleave. Q *hyarin* I cleave. **syadnō*, **syandō* 'cleaver', sword; cf. **stangasyandō* = Q *sangahyando* 'throng-cleaver' (sword-name) (see STAG). In N lost owing to coalescence with KHAD [a stem not given in the *Etymologies*], except in †*hâð* [. . . .] (**syadā*), cf. *haðafang* (for *haðathang*) = Q *sangahyando*; *hasto* hack through, from *hast* axe-stroke (**syad-ta*). Cf. Q *hyatse* cleft, gash (**syadsē* > *syatsē*), and N *hathel* (**syatsĕla*) broadsword-blade, or axe-blade. [The illegible word would most naturally be interpreted as 'throng', but this obviously cannot be the case (or cannot have been intended.).]

SYAL- **syalmā*: Q *hyalma* shell, conch, horn of Ulmo. N *half* seashell.

T

TA- demonstrative stem 'that'. Q *ta* that, it; *tana* that (anaphoric); *tar* thither (**tad*), ON *tó*.

TĀ-, TA3- high, lofty; noble. **tārā* lofty: Q *tára*, ON *tára* absorbed in N by *taur* from PQ **taurā* (see TÁWAR, TUR). N poetic only or in ancient titles *taur*; often found in names, as *Tor-*, *-dor*. The latter was blended with *tāro* king and *turo* master: cf. *Fannor* [SPAN].

**tāro* king: only used of the legitimate kings of the whole tribes, as Ingwe of the Lindar, Finwe of the Noldor (and later Fingolfin and Fingon of all the exiled Gnomes). The word used of a lord or king of a specified region was *aran* (*âr*), Q *haran* [see 3AR]. Thus *Fingolfin taur egledhriur* 'King of the Exiles' [see LED], but *Fingolfin aran Chithlum* 'King of Hithlum'. Q *tár* (pl. *tári*). N †*taur*, Ilk. *tôr*, only used of Thingol: *Tor Thingol* = King Thingol.

**tārī* queen, wife of a **tāro*: Q *tári*, but especially used in Q of Varda (*Tinwetári* Queen of Stars) – but in cpds. and titles the sexless cpd. form *-tar* was used: *Tinwetar*, *Tinwerontar* Queen of Stars = Varda; *Sorontar* King of Eagles (name of a great eagle). The word survived in Ilk. only in form *tóril* = Melian. In N *rhien*, *rhîn* was used – 'crowned lady': see RIG.

Base stem TĀ appears in Q *Taniqetil* (see NIK-W, TIL), where N substitutes following adj.: *Nimdil-dor*. But the Q form is possibly reduction of *tān-nig* with adjectival *tāna* < **ta3na*. The latter is suggested by N *taen* height, summit of high mountain, especially in *Taen-Nimdil*, Manwe's hall. Cf. also *tarqendi* = Lindar, 'High-elves'; *tarqesta* = Lindarin, or Qenya 'high-speech'. [On *Tinwetar*, *Tinwerontar* see TIN and note.]

TAK- fix, make fast. Q *take* he fastens, pa.t. *tanke*; *tanka* firm, fixed, sure. N *taetho* fasten, tie; *tanc* firm; *tangado* to make firm, confirm, establish. Ilk. *taga* he fixes, constructs, makes; *tâch* firm, stiff, solid.

**tankla* pin, brooch: Q *tankil*; Ilk. *tangol*; N *tachl*, *tachol*. **taksē*

nail: Q *takse*; N *taes*; Ilk. *tass* pin. Cf. Q *peltas* (*peltaksi*) pivot, N *pelthaes* [PEL]. **takmā* 'thing for fixing': Q *tangwa* hasp, clasp; N *taew* holder, socket, hasp, clasp, staple; Ilk. *taum*. **atakwē* construction, building: Q *ataqe*; N *adab* building, house (pl. *edeb*).

TAL- foot. Q *tál* (g.sg. *talen*); N *tâl*, pl. *teil*; Ilk. *tal*, pl. *tel*. Related is **TALAM** floor, base, ground: Q *talan* (*talami*) floor, ground; *talma* base, foundation, root (cf. *Martalmar*). N *talaf* ground, floor, pl. *teleif*; Ilk. *talum*, pl. *telmin*. *tal-* is often used for 'end, lower end': so *Rhamdal* 'Wall's-end', name of a place in East Beleriand [RAMBĀ]. – Q *tallune* (**talrunya*) sole of foot; N *tellein*, *tellen* (see RUN). [For *Martalmar* (also *Talmar Ambaren*) see the *Ambarkanta*, IV. 241–5.]

TALÁT- to slope, lean, tip. Q *talta-* to slope; *talta* adj. sloping, tilted, leaning; *talta* an incline. N *talad* an incline, slope. *atland* sloping, tilted; *atlant* oblique, slanting; *atlanno* to slope, slant.

[The entry was first written thus. A first addition to it was 'Cf. *Atalante* (see LANT).' Subsequently the reference to LANT was changed to DAT (under which stem (DAT, DANT) are given Q *lanta* a fall, *lanta-* to fall, and *Atalante* the Fallen); but either at the same time or later this addition was made: '*Atalante* (*a*-prefix = complete) downfall, overthrow, especially as name of the land of Númenor.' Cf. the statement on this subject in my father's letter of July 1964, cited on p. 8 (footnote). – Other additions to this entry extended the meaning of Q *talta-* ('slope, slip, slide down') and added Q *atalta* 'collapse, fall in' and N *talt* 'slipping, falling, insecure.']

TAM- (cf. NDAM) knock. **tamrō* 'woodpecker' (= knocker): Q *tambaro*; N *tafr* (= *tavr*), *tavor*, cf. *Tavr-obel* [PEL(ES)]. N *tamno* to knock (**tambâ*); Q *tamin* I tap, pa.t. *tamne*; *tamba-* to knock, keep on knocking.

TAN- make, fashion. **tanō*: Q *tano* craftsman, smith; *Martano* or *Martan*, surname of Aule (Earth-smith), N *Barthan* [MBAR]. Q *tanwe* craft, thing made, device, construction. Q *kentano* potter; N *cennan*. [*Certhan* >] *C(e)irdan* shipbuilder. *Tintánie* star-maker = Varda (Elbereth); N *Gilthonieth* or *Gilthoniel*. [The latter part of this entry, from Q *kentano*, was an addition. Under KEM a Q word *kemnaro* 'potter' is given. The form *Gilthonieth* appears in the first draft of the hymn to Elbereth in the original second chapter (*Three is Company*) of *The Lord of the Rings*.]

TAP- stop. Q *tápe* he stops, blocks (pa.t. *tampe*); *tampa* stopper.

TÁRAG- **targā* tough, stiff; Q *tarya*; ON *targa*, N *tara*, *tar-*; Ilk. *targ*. N *tarlanc* stiff-necked, obstinate; *tarias* [*s* uncertain] stiffness, toughness, difficulty. [There must be a connection between *tarlanc* 'stiff-necked' (LANK) and *Tarlang's Neck* (*The Return of the King* V.2), concerning which my father noted (*Nomenclature of The Lord of the Rings*, published in Lobdell, *A Tolkien Compass*, p. 193) that it was originally the name of a long ridge of rock but was later taken as a personal name.]

TARÁK- horn (of animals). Q *tarka* horn; N *tarag* horn, also used of steep mountain path, cf. *Tarag(g)aer* = Ruddihorn [GAY]. [This entry was additional to the main list. On *Taragaer* see p. 345.]

TARAS- ON *tarsa* trouble, N *tars*, *tass* labour, task. *trasta-* to harass, trouble.

TATA- (cf. ATA, ATTA). N *tâd* two, *tadol* double. Q *tatya-* to double, repeat; *tanta* double. [An earlier entry, struck out, was as follows: '**TAT-** oldest form AT(AT)? two. Q *atta* again, *atta-* back again, re-'. See AT(AT).]

TATHAR- **tathar*, **tatharē*, **tathrē* willow-tree: Q *tasar*, *tasare*; N *tathor* (= **tathrē*), adj. *tathren* of willow; cf. *Nan-tathren*.

TÁWAR- wood, forest. **taurē* great wood, forest: Q *taure*; N *taur*; Ilk. *taur*. N *Tauros* 'Forest-Dread' [GOS], usual N by-name of Orome (N Araw). **tawar* wood (material): Q *tavar* wood, *taurina* of wood; N *tawar* often used = *taur*; *tawaren* wooden (pl. *tewerin*). Ilk. *taur* wood (place and material). **tawarŏ/ĕ* dryad, spirit of woods: Q *tavaro* or *tavaron*, f. *tavaril* [cf. the old name *Tavari*, I. 66, 267.]

Note: N adj. *taur* mighty, vast, overwhelming, huge, awful, is blend of **tārā* (= Q *tára* lofty), **taurā* masterful, mighty (TUR). It affected the sense of *taur* forest (only used of huge forests).

TAY- extend, make long(er). Q *taina* lengthened, extended; *taita* to prolong; *taile* lengthening, extension. N *taen* long (and thin).

TE3- line, direction. Q *tie* path, course, line, direction, way (**te3ē*), N *tê* line, way. Q *téra*, N *tîr* straight, right. [This stem was changed to TEÑ, and the ulterior form of Q *téra*, N *tîr* given as **teñrā*. There is also a very rough additional entry TEÑ (see below).]

TEK- make a mark, write or draw (signs or letters). Q *teke* writes; *tehta* a mark (in writing), sign, diacritic – as *andatehta* 'long-mark'. **tekla*: Q *tekil* pen. **tekmē* letter, symbol: Q *tengwa* letter, *tengwanda* alphabet; *tengwe* writing, *tengwesta* grammar. N *teitho* write; *teith* mark (as *andeith*, ON *andatektha*); *tîw* letter (**tekmē*); *tegl*, *tegol* pen. Q *tenkele* writing system, spelling; *tekko* stroke of pen or brush (') when not used as long mark.

TEL-, TELU- **telmă*, *-ĕ* hood, covering. Q *telme* (cf. *telmello tel-manna* from hood to base [*sic*], from crown to foot, top to bottom); *telta-* to canopy, overshadow, screen; *telume* dome, (especially) dome of heaven. Cf. *Telumehtar* 'warrior of the sky', name of Orion. N *telu* dome, high roof; *daedelu* canopy (see DAY); *ortheli* roof, screen above, *orthelian* canopy. [*Telumehtar* reappears from the *Lost Tales* (*Telimektar*, *Telumektar*).]

TÉLEK- stalk, stem, leg. Q *telko* leg, analogical pl. *telqi*; N *telch* (pl. *tilch*) stem.

TELEP- silver; see KYELEP.

TELES- elf, sea-elf, third tribe of the Eldar. Q *Teler*, pl. *Teleri*; *Telerin* Telerian; general pl. *Telelli*, *Telellie* 'Teler-folk'. Originally the sense was 'hindmost, tarrier'; cf. Q *tella* hindmost, last, *telle* rear

(**télesā*); N *tele* end, rear, hindmost part (pl. *telei*); *adel* behind, in rear (of). Some forms show blending with KYEL, q.v. [On the meaning of *Teleri* see the *Lhammas* §2 and QS §27.]

TEÑ- N *tî* line, row (< **tēñe*); *tær* (**tenrā*) straight. Q *téma* row, series, line; *tea* straight line, road. [See stem TE3 (changed to TEÑ), where the derivative words are different formations.]

TER-, TERES- pierce. **terēwā* piercing, keen: Q *tereva* fine, acute; N *trîw* fine, slender; Ilk. *trêw*. Cf. Q *tere*, *ter* through; N *trî* through, and as prefix *tre-*, *tri*; ON *tre* unstressed prefix, see BAT, NAR; prep. *trí*. **terēn(ē)*: Q *teren* (*terene*) slender; *Terendul*, name ('slender-dark') [DUL, NDUL]. [The name *Terendul* occurs in *The Lost Road* (p. 59).]

THAR- across, beyond. *Thar-gelion*; *Thar-bad* [?Crossway]. [Scribbled additional entry.]

THĒ- look (see or seem). N *thîr* (**thērē*) look, face, expression, countenance; cf. *Cranthir* Ruddy-face [KARÁN], *Gostir* older *Gorsthir* 'dread-glance', dragon-name [GOS]. N *thio* to seem, *thia* it appears.

THEL-, THELES- sister (cf. *tor*, *toron-* brother [TOR]). ON *wathel* sister, associate, N *gwathel*, pl. *gwethil*. N *thêl*, *thelei* sister, also *muinthel*, pl. *muinthil* [see MOY]. Q *seler*, pl. *selli* sister; ON *thele*, *thelehi* (*thelesi*); Q *oselle* [see WŎ] sister, associate. Usually used of blood-kin in Q was *onóne*, see NŌ, ONO; cf. ON *wanúre* kinswoman, N *gwanur* kinsman or kinswoman [WŎ].

THIL- (variant of **SIL**, q.v.) N *Ithil* poetic name of the Moon (*Rhân*) = Q *Isil* 'the Sheen'; *thilio* to glister. Cf. *Belthil*, *Galathilion*, names of the Elder of the Two Trees – but these may contain the variant SIL.

THIN- (cf. TIN). **thindi* pallid, grey, wan: Q *sinde* grey. *Sindo* name of Elwe's brother, in Telerian form *Findo*, Ilk. *Thind*, later in Doriath called *Thingol* (i.e. *Thind* + *gôl* wise, see ÑGOL) or *Torthingol* [TĀ] King Thingol, also with title *Tor Tinduma* 'King of Twilight' [TIN], N *Aran Dinnu*. N *thind*, *thinn* grey, pale; Ilk. *thind*. Q *sinye* evening (N †*thin*); N *thinna*. Q *sinta-* fade (*sintane*), ON *thintha*.

THŌN- Ilk. *thôn* pine-tree. N *thaun* pl. *thuin* is probably an early loan-word, with Ilk. *ō* treated as ON *ō* < *ā*. Ilk. *Dor-thonion* 'Land of Pines', name of mountainous forest N. of Doriath and afterwards becoming *Taur-na-Fuin*, a punning alteration of *Dor-na-Thuin* (Noldorin translation of Ilk. *Dor-thonion*).

THOR-, THORON- Q *soron* (and *sorne*), pl. *sorni* eagle; N *thôr* and *thoron*, pl. *therein* – *thoron* is properly old gen. sg. = ON *thoronen*, Q *sornen*, appearing in names as *Cil-thoron*, or *Cil-thorondor* [KIL]. Ilk. *thorn*, pl. *thurin*. Q *Sorontar* (name of) King of Eagles, N *Thorondor*, Ilk. *Thorntor* = *Torthurnion*. [Added:] Cf. name *Elthor(o)n* = eagle of sky.

[The following was added in hastily above the entry THOR, THORON:

'**THOR-** = come swooping down; cf. *Brilthor*. Adj. *thôr* swooping, leaping down; *thórod* torrent.' I take this to be an indication of the root-sense of THOR eagle.]

THŪ- puff, blow. Q *súya-* breathe; *súle* breath. Cf. *Súlimo* surname of Manwe (wind-god). N *thuio* breathe; *thûl* breath.

THUR- surround, fence, ward, hedge in, secrete. Ilk. *thúren* guarded, hidden. Cf. Ilk. *Garthurian* Hidden Realm (= Doriath), sc. *garð-thurian*; Noldorinized as *Arthurien*, more completely as *Ar(ð)-thoren*: *thoren* (**tháurēnā*) pp. of *thoro-* fence [see 3AR]. *Thuringwethil* (woman of) secret shadow, Doriathren name (N *Dolwethil*) assumed by Tinúviel as a bat-shaped fay [WATH]. [Cf. the *Lay of Leithian* line 3954, where a marginal note explains *Thuringwethil* as 'she of hidden shadow' (III. 297, 304). The present entry retains the story of the Lay: it was Lúthien who called herself by this name before Morgoth (see III. 306).]

THUS- (related to THŪ?) **thausā*: Q *saura* foul, evil-smelling, putrid. N *thaw* corrupt, rotten; *thû* stench, as proper name *Thû* chief servant of Morgoth, also called *Mor-thu*, Q *Sauro* or *Sauron* or *Súro* = *Thû*. [In the original draft for the chapter *A Knife in the Dark* in *The Lord of the Rings* Frodo (but not there called Frodo) cries *Elbereth! Gilthoniel! Gurth i Morthu!*]

TIK- (cf. PIK) Q *tikse* dot, tiny mark, point; *amatikse*, *nuntikse* [indicated in the manuscript to mean dots or points placed above (*amatikse*) or below (*nuntikse*) the line of writing. Added entry.]

TIL- point, horn. Q *tilde* point, horn; cf. *Ta-niqe-til* (g.sg. *tilden*); N *tild*, *till* horn. Q *Tilion* 'the Horned', name of the man in the Moon; N *Tilion*. Q *neltil* (*neltildi*), N *nelthil* triangle (see NEL). [Cf. QS §75: marginal note by Ælfwine to the name *Tilion*: *'hyrned'* (Old English, 'horned'). It is strange that Tilion is here 'the man in the Moon': in QS (as in Q, IV. 97) he was 'a young hunter of the company of Oromë'. Is the implication that in later ages the myth of Tilion became the story of the Man in the Moon? (see I. 202).]

TIN- (variant of (?) and in any case affected by THIN, q.v.) sparkle, emit slender (silver, pale) beams. Q *tine* it glints, *tintina* it sparkles; **tinmē* sparkle, glint: Q *tinwe* sparkle (star), [struck out: cf. *Tinwetar*, *Tinwerontar* star-queen, title of Varda;] *tin-dóme* starlit dusk (see DOMO); *tingilya*, *tingilinde* a twinkling star (see GIL).

N *tinno* to glint; *tinw* spark, small star; *tint* spark; *gildin* silver spark (see GIL); **tindumh*, *tindu*, *tinnu* dusk, twilight, early night (without moon). Cf. *Aran Dinnu* King of Twilight, name given by Gnomes to Thingol, called by Ilkorins *Tor Tinduma*. Ilk. *tim* spark, star; *tingla-* sparkle; *tindum* starlight, twilight. Q *tinda* glinting, silver; *tinde* a glint.

N *Tindúmhiell*, *Tinnúviel*, *Tinúviel* = 'daughter of twilight', a kenning of the nightingale, Q *Tindómerel* (see SEL-D: **Tin-dōmiselde*), name given by Beren to Lúthien daughter of Thingol. N

ordinary name of nightingale is *dúlind*, *dúlin* [DO3, LIN²]; Q *lómelinde*; Ilk. *mur(i)lind*, *myr(i)lind* (see MOR). N *moerilind*, *merilin* was Noldorinized from Ilk. *murilind*, since *mori* did not = 'night' in N.

The 'twilight' sense was largely due to THIN, q.v.

[Against this entry is written in the margin: '*Tintanie*, *Tintalle* Kindler = Varda; Q *tinta-* to kindle, make to spark': see pp. 344–5. Other marginal notes are: 'cf. *Timbreðil*', which thus reappears from Q, IV. 82 (see BARATH); '*Tindubel* twilit city' (see PEL(ES).]

TING-, TANG- onomatopoeic (cf. DING). Q *tinge*, *tango*, twang; *tinga-*; N *tang* bowstring.

TINKŌ- metal. Q *tinko*; N *tinc*.

TIR- watch, guard. Q *tirin* I watch, pa.t. *tirne*; N *tiri* or *tirio*, pa.t. *tiriant*. Q *tirion* watch-tower, tower. N *tirith* watch, guard; cf. *Minnas-tirith* [MINI]. Cf. Q *halatir* (*-tirnen*), PQ **khalatirnō* 'fish-watcher', N *heledirn* = kingfisher; *Dalath Dirnen* 'Guarded Plain'; *Palantir* 'Far-seer'. [For the etymology of 'kingfisher' see KHAL¹, SKAL². – *Palantir* was a later addition, as also under PAL.]

TIT- Q *titta* little, tiny; N *tithen* (pl. *tithin*).

TIW- fat, thick. **tiukā*: Q *tiuka* thick, fat; ON *túka*, N *tûg*; Ilk. *tiog*. **tiukō* thigh: Q *tiuko*. Q *tiuya-* swell, grow fat; ON *tuio-*, N *tuio* to swell (associated with TUY).

TOL¹-OTH/OT eight. Q *tolto*; N *toloth*.

TOL²- *tollo* island: Q *tol*, pl. *tolle*; N *toll*, pl. *tyll*; cf. *Tol-eressea*, N *Toll-ereb*.

TOP- cover, roof. **tōp-*: Q *tópa* roof; *tópa-* to roof; *tope* covers (pa.t. *tompe*). N *tobo* cover, roof over; *tobas* roofing.

TOR- brother (cf. THEL- sister). ON *wator* brother (*wa* = together), especially used of those not brothers by blood, but sworn brothers or associates; N *gwador* (*gwedeir*). ON *toron* brother, pl. *toroni*. N †*tôr*, *terein*; usually used was the cpd. *muindor* with analogical pl. *muindyr* (see MOY, *moina*). Q *toron*, *torni* brother; *otorno* sworn brother, associate [wŏ]; *otornasse* brotherhood; but usually of the blood-kinship was used *onóro* (**wa-nōrō* = of one kin, see wŏ, NŌ) = ON *wanúro*, N *gwanur* kinsman.

TOW- Q *tō* wool; *toa* of wool, woollen; N *taw*.

TUB- **tumbu* deep valley, under or among hills: Q *tumbo*, N *tum*. Cf. *Tumladen* 'the level vale' [LAT], the vale of Gondolin. **tubnā* deep: Q *tumna* lowlying, deep, low; N *tofn*; Ilk. *tovon*. **Utubnu* name of Melko's vaults in the North: Q *Utumno*; N *Udun*; Ilk. *Uduvon*; Dan. *Utum*.

TUG- **tūgu*: Q *tuo*; ON *túgo*, N *tû*; Ilk. *tûgh*, *tû*; muscle, sinew; vigour, physical strength. Cf. name *Tuor* (older *tūghor* = *tū-gor* 'strength-vigour', see GOR). **tungā*: Q *tunga* taut, tight (of strings, resonant); N *tong*; Ilk. *tung*.

TUK- draw, bring. Q *tukin* I draw; N *tegi* (3 sg. *tôg*) to lead, bring; Ilk. *toga* he brings.

TUL- come, approach, move towards (point of speaker). Q *tulin* I come; N *teli* to come, *tôl* he comes. **tultā* make come: Q *tulta-* send for, fetch, summon; N *toltho* fetch; Ilk. *tolda* he fetches.

TULUK- Q *tulka* firm, strong, immoveable, steadfast; cf. *Tulkas* (*Tulkatho*, *Tulkassen*). *tulko* (**tulku*) support, prop. EN *tolog* stalwart, trusty. *tulu* (**tulukmē*, ON *tulugme*) support, prop. Tulkas was also called *Ender* (see NDER), EN *Enner*.

TUMPU- hump. Q *tumpo*; N *tump*.

TUN- **tundu*: Q *tundo*; N *tund*, *tunn* hill, mound. **tundā*: Q *tunda* tall; N *tond*, *tonn*; Ilk. *tund*. **Tūnă*: Q *Tún*, *Túna* Elf-city in Valinor; ON *Túna*, N *Tûn*. Cf. N *mindon* isolated hill (**minitunda*), especially a hill with a watch-tower. [Under MINI N *mindon* is derived from **minitaun*. – I cannot explain why *Tún* appears here as a Q form: see QS §39, and commentary on §§39, 45.]

TUP- **tupsē*: Q *tupse* thatch; N *taus*; Ilk. *tuss*.

TUR- power, control, mastery, victory. **tūrē* mastery, victory: Q *túre*; N *tûr*. Cf. name *Turambar*, N *Túramarth* 'Master of Fate', name taken in pride by *Túrin* (Q *Turindo*) – which contains the same element *tūr* victory, + *indo* mood (see ID).

tūrō* and in cpds. *turo*, *tur*, master, victor, lord: cf. Q *Fantur*, N *Fannor*. Q *turin* I wield, control, govern, pa.t. *turne*; N *ortheri*, 3 sg. *orthor* (ortur-*) master, conquer; *tortho* to wield, control. **taurā*: Q *taura* mighty; N *taur* vast, mighty, overwhelming, awful – also high, sublime (see TÁWAR). [Added:] *Turkil*, cf. *Tarkil* = Númenórean [KHIL].

TURÚM- **turumā*: Q *turma* shield; **turúmbē*: T *trumbe* shield; Ilk. *trumb*, *trum*.

TUS- **tussā*: Q *tussa* bush, N *toss* low-growing tree (as maple, hawthorn, blackthorn, holly, etc.): e.g. *eregdos* = holly-tree. See ERÉK, ÓR-NI.

TUY- spring, sprout (cf. TIW grow fat, swell?). Q *tuia* sprouts, springs; N *tuio*. **tuilē*: Q *tuile* spring-time; also used = dayspring, early morn = *artuile* [AR[1]]. Cf. *tuilindo* (for **tuilelindō* 'spring-singer') swallow, N *tuilind*, *tuilin* [LIN[2]]. **tuimā*: Q *tuima* a sprout, bud; N *tuiw*, *tui*.

TYAL- play. Q *tyalie* sport, play, game; *tyalin* I play. N *telio*, *teilio* (**tyaliă-*) to play. Cf. *tyalañgandō* = harp-player (Q *tyalangan*): N *Talagand*, one of the chiefs of Gondolin (see ÑGAN). N *te(i)lien* sport, play.

TYUL- stand up (straight). **tyulmā* mast: Q *tyulma*. **tyulussē* poplar-tree: Q *tyulusse*, N *tulus* (pl. *tylys*) [see LI].

U

UB- abound. Q *úvea* abundant, in very great number, very large; *úve* abundance, great quantity. N *ofr* (*ovr*), *ovor* abundant (**ubrā*); *ovras* crowd, heap, etc.; *ovro* to abound.

UGU- and **UMU-** negative stems: Q *uin* and *umin* I do not, am not; pa.t. *úme*. Q prefix *ú* (< *ugu*, or *gū*) not, un-, in- (usually with bad sense), as *vanimor* fair folk = (men and) elves, *úvanimor* monsters. Cf. GŪ, MŪ. [Under BAN the *Vanimor* are the Children of the Valar; see pp. 403–4. – This entry was first written, like all others in this part of the manuscript, in pencil, but then overwritten in ink; it was struck out, in pencil, but this may have been done before it was overwritten. Apparently later pencilled additions are: [Q] *úmea* evil, [N] *um* bad, evil.]

ULU- pour, flow. Q *ulya-* pour (intr. pa.t. *ulle*, tr. *ulyane*); *ulunde* flood; *úlea* pouring, flooding, flowing. **Ulumō* name of the Vala of all waters: Q *Ulmo*; N *Ulu*, usually called *Guiar* (see WAY). N *oeil*, *eil* it is raining (**ulyā*); **ulda* torrent, mountain-stream, EN *old*, *oll*.

ÚLUG- T *ulga*, Ilk. *olg* hideous, horrible; **ulgundō* monster, deformed and hideous creature: Q *ulundo*; T *ulgundo*, Ilk. *ulgund*, *ulgon*, *ulion*; N *ulund*, *ulun*. Also **ÚLGU**: cf. *Ul-* in *Ulfang*, *Uldor*, *Ulfast*, *Ulwarth*, names of Swartmen. [These names of the Easterlings were of course given to them by the Elves (as is specifically stated of those with the element BOR); but cf. the *Lhammas* §10, where this is not so.]

UÑG- **uñgwē*: Q *ungwe* gloom; *ungo* cloud, dark shadow. Cf. *Ungweliante*, *Ungoliante* the Spider, ally of Morgoth (cf. SLIG). Ilk. *ungol* darkness, *ungor* black, dark, gloomy. In N not used except in name *Ungoliant*, which is really taken from Q. The name of the Spider in N is *Delduthling* (see DYEL, DO3).

UNU- (cf. NŬ, NDŪ). *undu* a parallel form in Q made to equal *ama*, *amba* up [AM²]: down, under, beneath.

UNUK- Q *unqe* hollow; *unka-* hollow out; *unqa* adj. hollow.

UR- be hot. Q *úr* fire, N *ûr*. Q *Úrin* f. (g.sg. *Úrinden*) name of the Sun. Q *uruite*, *úruva* fiery. Cf. *Dagor Vreged-úr* Battle of Sudden Fire [BERÉK]. Q *urya-* blaze. [This entry was struck through, and beside it the following written very roughly:] **UR-** wide, large, great. *Úrion*. Q *úra* large; N *ûr* wide.

USUK- **us(u)k-wē*: Q *usqe* reek; N *osp*; Ilk. *usc* smoke.

UY- Q *uile* long trailing plant, especially seaweed; *earuile* seaweed [AY]; *Uinen* (*Uinenden*) wife of Osse, ON *Uinenda*, EN *Uinend*, *Uinen* (cf. NEN); [N] *uil* seaweed, *oeruil*.

W

[The stems in W- form the concluding entries in the manuscript, and unlike those that precede were carefully written in ink, with some pencilled changes and additions.]

WĀ-, WAWA-, WAIWA- blow. Q *vaiwa*, *waiwa* wind; N *gwaew*; Ilk. *gwau*.

WA3- stain, soil. **waʒrā*: Q *vára* soiled, dirty; N *gwaur* (ON *wóra*); Ilk. *gôr*. **wahtā-* to soil, stain: Q *vahta*; N *gwatho* (ON *wattóbe*); Ilk. *góda-*. **wahtē* a stain: ON *watte*, N *gwath* coalescing with **wath*, q.v. [WATH]; Ilk. *gôd* dirtiness, filth. **wahsē*: Q *vakse* stain; ON *wasse*, N *gwass*. Cf. *Iarwath* 'Blood-stain' [YAR], surname of Túrin.

WAN- depart, go away, disappear, vanish. Q *vanya-* go, depart, disappear, pa.t. *vanne*; *vanwa* gone, departed, vanished, lost, past; *vanwie* the past, past time. This stem in N replaced KWAL in application to death (of elves by fading, or weariness): thus *gwanw* (**wanwē*) death; *gwanath* death; *gwann* (**wannā*) departed, dead. Note: *gwanw*, *gwanath* are the 'act of dying', not 'death, Death' as a state or abstract: that is *guru* (see ÑGUR). N *gwanno* (*wanta-*) depart, die. [The stem WAN was changed in pencil to VAN.]

WA-N- goose: Q *vān*, *wān* (pl. *vāni*) goose; N *gwaun*, pl. *guin*.

WAR- give way, yield, not endure, let down, betray. ON *warie* betray, cheat; *awarta* forsake, abandon. EN *gwerio* betray; *gwarth* betrayer; *awartha* forsake; *awarth* abandonment. Cf. *Ulwarth*. [This entry was an addition in pencil. On *Ulwarth* see ÚLUG and note.]

WATH- shade. ON *watha*, N *gwath*; Ilk. *gwath*. Cf. Ilk. *Urthin* (> N *Eredwethion*). [This entry was an addition in pencil. Above *Urthin* was written *Gwethion*.]

WAY- enfold. **wāyā* envelope, especially of the Outer Sea or Air enfolding the world within the Ilurambar or world-walls: Q *w- vaia*, *w- vaiya*; ON **wôia*, *uia*, N *ui*. **Vāyārō* name of Ulmo, lord of Vaiya: Q *Vaiaro*, N *Uiar* the usual N name of Ulmo. [The stem WAY was changed in pencil to VAY. Under ULU it is said that Ulmo was usually called *Guiar* in N.]

WED- bind. **wedā*: ON *weda* bond, N *gweð*; Ilk. *gweð*. N *gwedi*, pa.t. *gwend*, *gwenn* later *gweðant*, bind. N *angweð* 'iron-bond', chain. **wēdē* bond, troth, compact, oath: Q *vēre*; ON *waide*, N *gwaeð*. **wed-tā*: Q *vesta-* swear (to do something), contract, make a compact; *vesta* contract; *vestale* oath. N *gwest* oath; *gwesto* to swear; *gowest* contract, compact, treaty, Q *ovesta* [wǒ]. [The Q words derived from **wed-tā* were struck out in pencil, with the note that they 'all fell with derivatives of BES'. These same words, with different meaning, are found under BES: *vesta* matrimony, *vesta-* to wed;

vestale wedding. The reference in the original here is to BES (not as previously to BED: see note to LEP).]

WEG- (manly) vigour. Q *vie* manhood, vigour (**weʒē*); *vea* adult, manly, vigorous; *veaner* (adult) man [NĒR]; *veasse* vigour. *veo* (**wegō*) man. The latter in compound form **-wego* is frequent in masculine names, taking Q form *-we* (< *weg*). This can be distinguished from *-we* (*-wē* abstract suffix) by remaining *-we* in N, from ON *-wega*. The abstract suffix occurs in the names *Manwe*, *Fionwe*, *Elwe*, *Ingwe*, *Finwe*. These names do not occur in Exilic forms **Manw*, **Fionw*, **Elw*, **Finw* – since Finwe for instance remained in Valinor [see PHIN]. These names were used even by Gnomes in Qenya form, assisted by the resemblance to *-we* in other names, as *Bronwe*, ON *Bronwega* (see BORÓN). In N otherwise this stem only survives in *gweth* manhood, also used = man-power, troop of able-bodied men, host, regiment (cf. *Forodweith* Northmen). **weg-tē* [This entry, the last under W as the manuscript was originally written, was left unfinished. – Under PHOR the form is equally clearly *Forodwaith*.]

WEN-, WENED- maiden. Q *wende*, *vende*; N *gwend*, *gwenn*. Often found in feminine names, as *Morwen*, *Eleðwen*: since the latter show no *-d* even in archaic spelling, they probably contain a form *wen-*: cf. Ilk. *gwen* girl; Q *wéne*, *véne* and *venesse* virginity; N *gweneth* virginity. [Added:] Some names, especially those of men, may contain *gwend* bond, friendship: see WED. [The N noun *gwend* is not given under WED. – Against this entry is written: 'Transfer to GWEN'. – In the narrative texts (QS §129, AB 2 annal 245) the name *Eledhwen* was interpreted as 'Elfsheen' – and this survived much later in the *Grey Annals*; on the other hand under ELED the translation was changed from 'Elf-fair' to 'Elf-maid'.]

WEY- wind, weave. Q, owing to change *wei* > *wai*, confused this with WAY; but cf. *Vaire* (**weirē*) 'Weaver', name of the doom-goddess, wife of Mandos: N *Gwîr*. N *gwî* net, web. [The stem WEY was changed in pencil to VEY.]

WIG- **wingē*: Q *winge* foam, crest of wave, crest. Cf. *wingil* nymph; *Wingelot*, *Wingelóte* 'foam-flower', Earendel's boat (N *Gwingloth*) [LOT(H)]. N, Ilk. *gwing* spindrift, flying spray. [This entry was an addition in pencil. – With *wingil* cf. the old name *Wingildi*, I. 66, 273.]

WIL- fly, float in air. **wilwā* air, lower air, distinct from the 'upper' of the stars, or the 'outer' (see WAY): Q *wilwa* > *vilwa*; N *gwelw* air (as substance); *gwelwen* = Q *vilwa*; Ilk. *gwelu*, *gwelo*. Q *vilin* I fly, pa.t. *ville*. N *gwilith* 'air' as a region = Q *vilwa*; cf. *gilith* = Q *ilmen* (see GIL). Q *wilwarin* (pl. *wilwarindi*) butterfly; T *vilverin*; N *gwilwileth*; Ilk. *gwilwering*. [The name *Wilwa* of the lower air is found also in the preparatory outline for *The Fall of Númenor* (p. 12), whereas *Wilwa* in the *Ambarkanta* was changed throughout to Vista, and so also on the accompanying world-diagrams (IV. 240–7). By sub-

sequent pencilled changes the forms **wilwā*, Q *wilwa* were changed to **wilmā*, Q *wilma*; Q *wilwa* > *vilwa* was struck out; and Q *vilin* was changed to *wilin*. A new stem WIS with derivative Q *vista* (see below) was introduced, either at the same time or later, but the stem WIL was allowed to stand.]

WIN-, WIND- **windi* blue-grey, pale blue or grey: Q *vinde*, N *gwind*, *gwinn*. **winyā*: Q *winya*, *vinya* evening; N *gwein*, pl. *gwîn*; Ilk. *gwini*, *gwine*. **winta-* fade: Q *vinta-*, pa.t. *vinte*, *vintane*; ON *wintha* it fades, advesperascit ['evening approaches'], N *gwinna*. [This entry was struck out, and 'see THIN' written against it. The following pencilled addition may have been made either before or after the original entry was rejected, since it is not itself struck through:] **windiā* pale blue: Q *win(d)ya*, *vinya*; N *gwind*.

WIS- Q *vista* air as substance. [See note to WIL.]

WŌ- together. The form *wŏ* would if stressed > *wa* in Eldarin. In Q the form *wō*, and the unstressed *wŏ*, combined to produce prefix *ŏ-* 'together': as in *o-torno* (see TOR), *o-selle* (see THEL), and many other words, e.g. *ovesta* (see WED). In N we have *gwa-* when stressed, as in *gwanur* (= Q *onóro*) [TOR], *gwastar* (see STAR), and frequently, but only in old cpds. The living form was *go-*, developed from *gwa-* in unstressed positions – originally mainly in verbs, but thence spreading to verbal derivatives as in *gowest* (see WED). In many words this had become a fixed element. Thus *not-* count, *nut-* tie coalesced in Exilic **nod-*; but 'count' was always expressed by *gonod-* unless some other prefix was added, as in *arnediad* [AR²]. In Ilk. owing to coalescence of *gwo*, *ȝo* (in *go*) this prefix was lost [see ȝŏ].

Y

[As already mentioned (p. 346) I have changed the representation of the 'semi-vowel' *j* to *y*, and therefore give these stems here, at the end of the alphabet. The section belongs however among the entirely 'unreconstructed' parts of the work, and consists, like the I-stems, only of very rough and difficult notes.]

YA- there, over there; of time, ago, whereas *en* yonder [EN] of time points to the future. Q *yana* that (the former); *yá* formerly, ago: *yenya* last year [YEN]; *yára* ancient, belonging to or descending from former times; *yáre* former days; *yalúme* former times [LU]; *yasse*, *yalúmesse*, *yáresse* once upon a time; *yárea*, *yalúmea* olden. N *iaur* ancient, old(er); *io* (*ia*?) ago. 'Old' (in mortal sense, decrepit) is *ingem* of persons, 'yearsick'; 'old' (decrepit, worn) of things is *gem* [GENG-WĀ]. See GYER.

YAB- fruit. Q *yáve* fruit; N *iau* corn. *Yavanna* Fruit-giver (cf. ANA¹), N *Ivann*.

YAG- yawn, gape. **yagu-* gulf: N *ia*, chiefly in place-names like *Moria* = Black Gulf. **yagwē*: Q *yáwe* ravine, cleft, gulf; N *iau*. Q *yanga-* to yawn.

YAK- **yakta-*: Q *yat* (*yaht-*) neck; N *iaeth*. Q *yatta* narrow neck, isthmus.

YAN- Cf. AYAN. Q *yána* holy place, fane, sanctuary; N *iaun*.

YAR- blood. Q *yár* (*yaren*); N *iâr*; *Iarwath* Blood-stained (see WA3), surname of Túrin. Ilk. *ôr* blood; *arn* red; cf. *Aros* (= N *iaros*) name of river with reddish water.

YAT- join. **yantā* yoke, beside **yatmā*: Q *yanta* yoke; *yanwe* bridge, joining, isthmus. N *iant* yoke; *ianw* bridge (*eilianw* 'sky-bridge', rainbow, see 3EL).

YAY- mock. Q *yaiwe*, ON *yaiwe*, mocking, scorn; N *iaew*.

YEL- daughter. Q *yelde*; N *iell*, *-iel*. [This entry was removed with the change of etymology of N *iell*: see SEL-D and YŌ, YON. A new formulation of the stem YEL was introduced, but was in turn rejected. This gave:] **YEL-** friend: Q *yelda* friendly, dear as friend; *yelme*; *-iel* in names = [Old English] *-wine* (distinguish N *-iel* derived from *selda*).

YEN- year. Q *yén* (*yen-*); *linyenwa* old, having many years [LI]. Last day of year = *qantien*, N *penninar* [KWAT]; first year, first day *minyen* [MINI]. *Endien* Midyear [ÉNED] was a week outside the months, between the sixth and seventh months, [?dedicated] to the Trees: [also called] *Aldalemnar*, see LEP. N *în* year; *ínias* annals; *iðrin* year (= *ien-rinde*, see RIN); *edinar* (*at-yēn-ar*) anniversary day; *ennin* = Valian Year; *ingem* 'year-sick' = old (mortally) [GENG-WĀ]; *ifant* aged, long-lived (= *yen-panta* > *impanta* > *in-fant*) [KWAT]. [The word *Inias* 'Annals' occurs in the title-pages given on p. 202.]

YES- desire. Q *yesta* desire; N *iest* wish.

YŌ, YON- son. Q *yondo*, *-ion*; N *ionn*, *-ion*. [The following was added when the entry YEL had been removed:] feminine *yēn*, *yend* = daughter; Q *yende*, *yen*.

YŪ- two, both. N *ui-* twi-, as *uial* twilight [KAL]. Q *yūyo* both.

YUK- employ, use. N *iuith* use, *iuitho* [?enjoy].

YUL- smoulder. Q *yúla* ember, smouldering wood; *yulme* red [?heat], smouldering heat; *yulma* brand. ON *iolf* brand; *iûl* embers.

YUR- run. ON *yurine* I run, *yura* course; N *iôr* course.

APPENDIX

THE GENEALOGIES

THE LIST OF NAMES

AND

THE SECOND 'SILMARILLION' MAP

I THE GENEALOGIES

These belong essentially with the earliest *Annals of Beleriand*, but though I knew of their existence (since they are referred to in the *List of Names*) I presumed them lost, and only recently discovered this small manuscript, after the work on Vol. IV was completed. It consists of genealogical tables of the Elvish princes, of the three houses of the Fathers of Men, and of the houses of the Eastern Men. There is no need to reproduce these tables, but only to mention certain details that are not found elsewhere. In the first of them are some additional persons:

Elwë, Lord of the Teleri (who is called 'Lord of Ships'), has a son *Elulindo*;

Fingon has a son *Findobar* (this name, simply as a name, occurs in the *Etymologies* under the stems PHIN (written *Findabar*) and MBAR);

Orodreth, in addition to his son Halmir, has a younger son *Orodlin*.

The genealogies of Men have dates of birth and death. These were a good deal emended, changing them by a year or two, but in the result are almost exactly as in the earlier version of AB 1. The following are however not given in the *Annals* in any version (if they had been they would of course have been extended in two steps, first by a hundred years and then by two hundred years).

Elboron son of Dior born 192; *Elbereth* his brother born 195 (they were thus fourteen and eleven years old at their deaths, AB 2 annal 306);

Húrin died in '?200' (in annal 200 in AB 1, repeated in AB 2, 'of his fate no certain tidings are known');

Ulfand the Swart born 100, died 170; *Uldor the Accursed* born 125, *Ulfast* born 128, *Ulwar* born 130;

Bor the Faithful born 120; *Borlas* born 143; *Boromir* born 145; *Borthandos* born 147.

In addition to the genealogical tables there is also a table of the divisions of the Qendi which is almost the same as that given with the *Lhammas* on p. 197, and together with this table is a list of the many names by which the Lindar, Noldor, and Teleri were known. This list is a first form of that in QS §29 (note to the text), and all the names found here are found also in the longer list in QS; but there are here also many Elvish names which (apart from *Soloneldi*) are not found in QS:

The Lindar are named also *Tarqendi* 'High-elves', *Vanimor* 'the Beautiful' [> *Írimor* 'the Fair Ones'], and *Ninqendi* 'White-elves';

The Noldor are named also *Nurqendi* 'Deep-elves', *Ainimor* [written above: *Istimor*] 'the Wise', and *Kuluqendi* 'Golden-elves';

The Teleri are named also *Falmarindi* 'Foam-riders', *Soloneldi* 'Musicians of the shore', and *Veaneldar* 'Sea-elves'.

The name *Vanimor* is used in AV 2 of the lesser spirits of Valarin race,

among whom were 'later numbered' also the *Valarindi*, the Children of the Valar (pp. 110, 121); the latter are the *Vanimor* in the *Etymologies*, stem BAN, but under the negative stems UGU, UMU the name is translated 'fair folk = (men and) elves'. Some other of these names also appear in the *Etymologies*: *Tarqendi* (TĀ), *Nurqendi* (NŪ), *Istimor* (IS), *Falmarindi* (PHAL), *Soloneldi* (SOL). With *Írimor* cf. *Írima ye Númenor* in *The Lost Road* (p. 72), and see stem ID.

II THE LIST OF NAMES

During the 1930s my father began the task of making an alphabetic list, with definitions, of all the names in his works concerned with the legends of the Elder Days. A list of sources is attached to this list, and the entries are accompanied by full references to sources (by page-number or annal-date) – but these references are almost entirely confined to the *Annals of Beleriand* and the *Genealogies*: the only others are a few to the first pages of the *Qenta Noldorinwa* (Q) and two to the *Map*. In the list of sources 'Annals of Beleriand' and 'Genealogies' are marked with a tick; it is clear then that my father had indexed these and made a beginning on Q when he stopped.

As the List of Names was originally written the references are only to the first version of AB 1 (but include additions made to that text subsequently and given in the notes in IV. 310–13). But after the list was abandoned as a methodical work of reference my father added to it more haphazardly, without references, and these later additions show use of the second version of AB 1, as well as some names that do not appear in any of the texts; entries were also substantially modified and extended.

The majority of the entries do not in fact add anything in their definitions to what is available in the sources, and it is quite unnecessary to give the work in full. There follows here a small selection from the material, this being restricted to those entries or parts of entries which have some particular feature of interest (mostly concerning names or name-forms).

Aldaron The Noldorin equivalent is given as *Galaðon*, which does not appear elsewhere.

Balrog is said to be an Orc-word with no pure Qenya equivalent: 'borrowed *Malaroko-*'; contrast the *Etymologies*, stems ÑGWAL, RUK.

Beleriand 'Originally land about southern Sirion, named by the Elves of the Havens from Cape *Balar*, and Bay of *Balar* into which Sirion flowed; extended to all lands south of Hithlum and Taur-na-Danion, and west of Eredlindon. Its southern borders undefined. Sometimes includes Doriath and Ossiriand.' With this statement of the extent of Beleriand cf. QS §108; and with the derivation of the name *Beleriand* from Cape *Balar*, Bay of *Balar*, cf. the *Etymologies*, stem BAL. This is

the first occurrence of Cape Balar, which was however marked in on the second Map as originally drawn and lettered.

Beren The surnames of Beren were first given as *Mablosgen* 'Empty-handed' and *Ermabuin* 'One-handed' (as in AB 2 annal 232). The former was changed to *Mablothren* and then to *Camlost* (and in a separate entry *Mablosgen* > *Mablost*); the latter to *Erchamui* and then to *Erchamion* (again as in AB 2, note 22). From the *Etymologies* (stems KAB, MAP) it appears that the names containing the element *mab* are Ilkorin (Doriathrin) names, while those containing *cam*, *cham* are Noldorin.

Cinderion 'Gnomish name = Hither Lands'. This name has no reference to a source; it is found nowhere else, nor any form at all like it.

Cristhorn was emended first to *Cil-thorn* and then to *Cil-thor(o)ndor*, with the definition 'Eagle-cleft of Thorondor King of Eagles'. The forms *Cilthoron* and *Cilthorondor* are found in the *Etymologies* (stem KIL), as also is *Cristhoron* (KIRIS).

Dagor Delothrin 'The Last Battle, "the Terrible Battle", in which Fionwë overcame Morgoth.' The reference given is to AB 1 annal 250, where however no Elvish name is found. In a cross-reference in the list to the Last Battle it is called also 'the Long Battle' (for it lasted fifty years).

Dagor Nirnaith is given as a name of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears.

Dark-elves 'Translation of *Moreldar* (also called *Ilkorindi*, those who came not to Kôr), the name of all the Elves who remained wandering in the Hither Lands . . .' The term *Moreldar* is not found elsewhere. The nomenclature here is of course that of Q (§2), where *Eldar* = 'all Elves' and the *Ilkorindi* or Dark-elves are those who were lost on the Great March.

Dor-deloth, or *Dor-na-Daideloth* '"Land of Dread" or "Land of the Shadow of Dread", those regions east of Eredwethion and north of Taur-na-Danion which Morgoth ruled; but its borders were ever increased southward, and early it included Taur-na-Fuin.'

Dorthanion is stated to be a Doriathrin name: *thanion* = 'of pines' (*than*). See the *Etymologies*, stem THŌN.

Dwarves 'Called by the Dark-elves (and so by the Gnomes) *Nauglar* (singular *Naugla*).' *Nauglar* appears in an addition to AB 1 (IV. 311); the QS form is *Naugrim*.

Elivorn 'Lake-Black in Dor Granthir.' This was a latter addition to the list and has no source-reference. *Elivorn* may well have been the form erased and replaced by *Helevorn* in QS §118. *Dor Granthir* is found in the same passage in QS.

Eredlindon '"Blue Mountains" (*lind* blue), eastern bounds of Beleriand.' See the commentary on QS §108.

Eredlúmin '"Gloomy Mountains", mountains to east [*read* west] of Hithlum, overlooking the Seas.' As the list was originally made, *Eredlómin* was at both occurrences written *Ered-lúmin*. I have noted (IV.

192–3) that both the meaning of the name and its application were changed, so that *Ered-lómin* 'Shadowy Mountains', to the east and south of Hithlum, as in Q, became *Ered-lómin* 'Echoing Mountains', the coastal range west of Hithlum; and at the same time the meaning of *Dor-lómin* changed from 'Land of Shadows' to 'Land of Echoes'. In the List of Names as originally made the new name for the mountains east and south of Hithlum, *Eredwethion* 'Shadowy Mountains', already appears (with the etymology *gwath* 'shadow'), and there is here therefore a halfway stage, when *Ered-lómin* (*-lúmin*) had become the name of the coastal range but did not yet have the significance 'Echoing'. There is no doubt an etymological halfway stage also, which I take to be the explanation of the *lúmin* form (found also in *Dor-lúmin* on the second Map): the source was now the stem LUM, given in the *Etymologies* as the source of *Hith-lum* (and of Q *Hísilumbe*, changed to *Hísilóme* under the influence of *lóme* 'night': Q *lumbe* 'gloom, shadow'). Hence the translation here 'Gloomy Mountains', which is not found elsewhere. Finally the interpretation 'Echoing' arose, with derivation of *-lómin* from the stem LAM.

Fingolfin The cairn of Fingolfin is called *Sarnas Fingolfin*.

Fuin Daidelos 'Night of Dread's Shadow' or 'Deadly Nightshade' is given as a name of Taur-na-Fuin.

Gothmog '= Voice of *Goth* (Morgoth), an Orc-name.' Morgoth is explained at its place in the list as 'formed from his Orc-name *Goth* "Lord or Master", with *mor* "dark or black" prefixed.' These entries in the List of Names have been discussed in II. 67. In the *Etymologies* the element *goth* is differently explained in *Gothmog* (GOS, GOTH) and in *Morgoth* (KOT, but with a suggestion that the name 'may also contain GOTH').

Gurtholfin was subsequently changed to *Gurtholvin* and then to *Gurtholf*. *Gurtholfin* > *Gurtholf* also in AB 2, note 39; see the *Etymologies*, stems GÓLOB and NGUR.

Hithlum is translated 'Mist-and-Dusk'; see the *Etymologies*, stems KHIS and LUM.

Kuiviénen The Noldorin name *Nen Echui* is given; this is found in the *Etymologies*, stem KUY.

Morgoth See *Gothmog*.

Orcs 'Gnomish *orch*, pl. *eirch*, *erch*; Qenya *ork*, *orqui* borrowed from Gnomish. A folk devised and brought into being by Morgoth to war on Elves and Men; sometimes translated "Goblins", but they were of nearly human stature.' See the entry ÓROK in the *Etymologies*.

Sarn Athrad is translated 'Stone of Crossing'.

Sirion The length of Sirion is given as 'about 900 miles' from Eithil Sirion to the Delta. In QS §107 the length of the river from the Pass of Sirion to the Delta is 121 leagues, which if measured in a straight line from the northern opening of the Pass agrees with the scale on the second Map of 3·2 cm. = 50 miles (see p. 272). But the List of Names

and the original drawing of the second Map were associated, and two of the references given in the list are made to the Map, so that the figure of 900 miles (300 leagues) is hard to account for.

Sirion's Haven: '(*Siriombar*), the settlement of Tuor and the remnants of Doriath at *Eges-sirion*; also called *Sirion*.' The name *Siriombar* only occurs here; cf. *Brithombar*.

Mouths of Sirion: '(*Eges-sirion*), the various branches of Sirion at its delta, also the region of the delta.' Above the second *s* of *Eges-sirion* (a name not found elsewhere) is written an *h*, showing the change of original *s* to *h* in medial position.

Sirion's Well: '(*Eithil* or *Eithil Sirion*), the sources of Sirion, and the fortress of Fingolfin and Fingon near the spring.'

Tol Thû is another name for *Tol-na-Gaurhoth*.

Tulkas 'The youngest and strongest of the nine Valar.' The reference is to Q, IV. 79, but it is not said there that Tulkas was the youngest of the Valar.

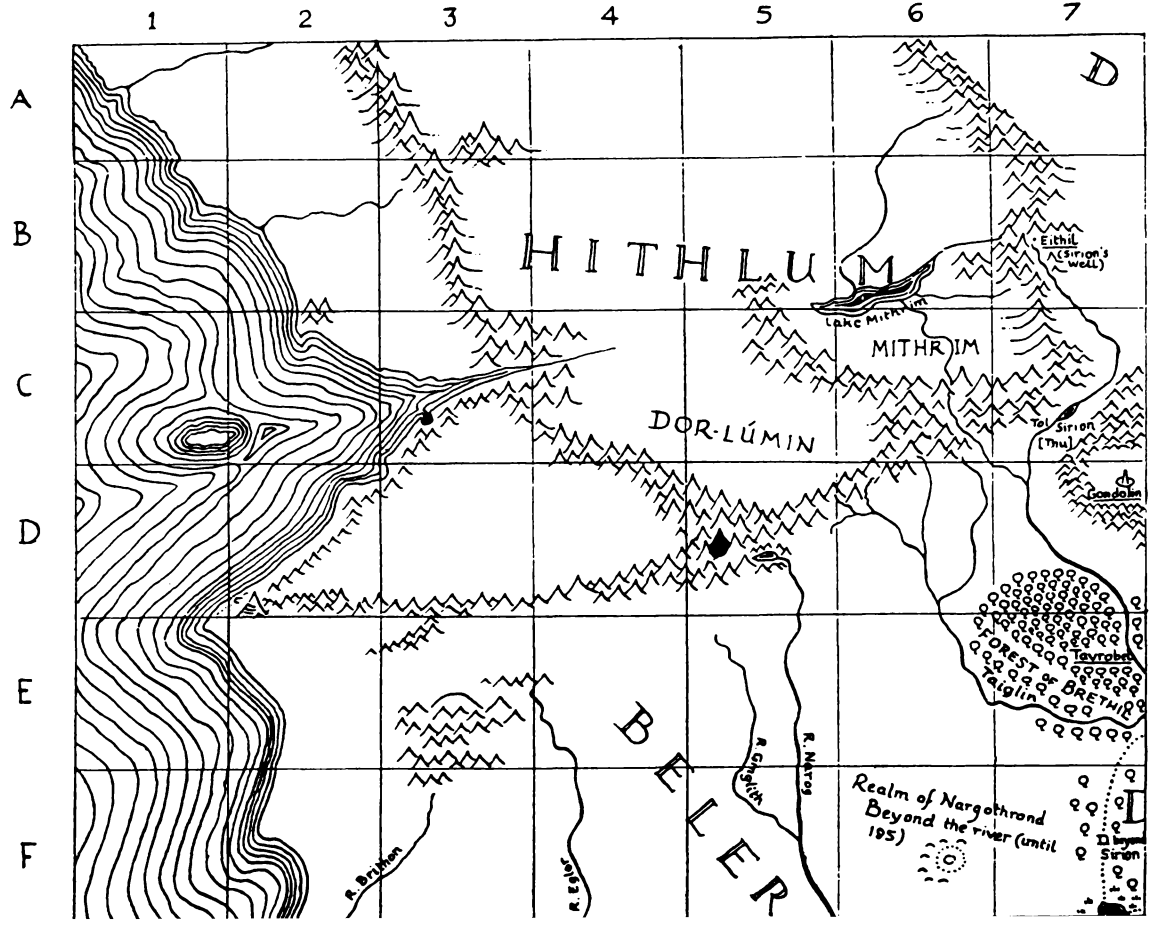
III THE SECOND 'SILMARILLION' MAP

The second map of Middle-earth west of the Blue Mountains in the Elder Days was also the last. My father never made another; and over many years this one became covered all over with alterations and additions of names and features, not a few of them so hastily or faintly pencilled as to be more or less obscure. This was the basis for my map in the published 'Silmarillion'.

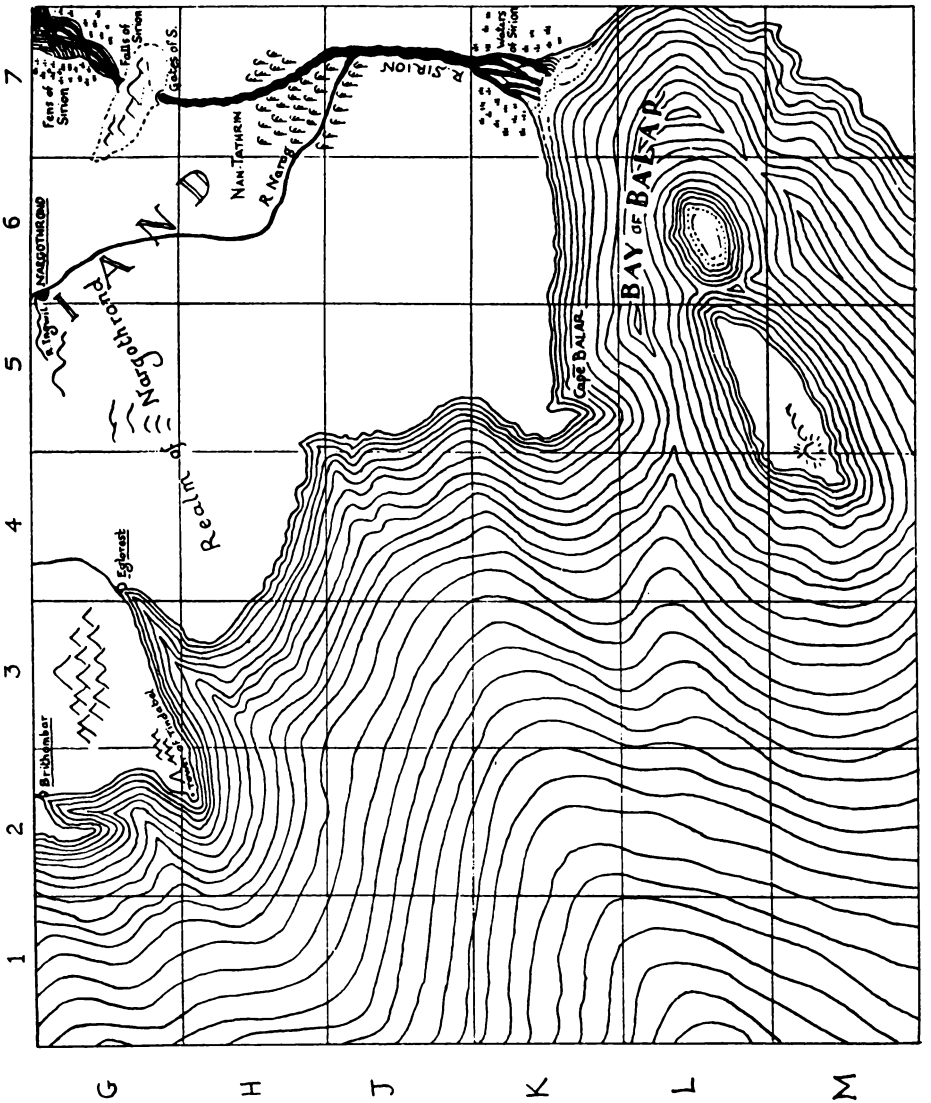
The original element in the map can however be readily perceived from the fine and careful pen (all subsequent change was roughly done); and I give here on four successive pages a reproduction of the map *as it was originally drawn and lettered*. I have taken pains to make this as close a copy of the original as I could, though I do not guarantee the exact correspondence of every tree.

It is clear that this second map, developed from that given in Vol. IV, belonged in its original form with the earlier work of the 1930s: it was in fact closely associated with the List of Names – which in two cases (*Eglor* and *Eredlúmin*, although *Eredlúmin* is not marked on the map) gives 'Map' as the source-reference – as is shown by certain name-forms common to both, e.g. *Dor-deloth*, *Dor-lúmin*, *Eithil Sirion*, and by the occurrence in both of *Cape Balar* (see the entry *Beleriand* in the List of Names). Moreover the date in 'Realm of Nargothrond Beyond the river (until 195)' on the map associates it with the original *Annals of Beleriand*, where the fall of the redoubt took place in that year (IV. 305), as does the river-name *Rathlorion* (later *Rathloriel*).

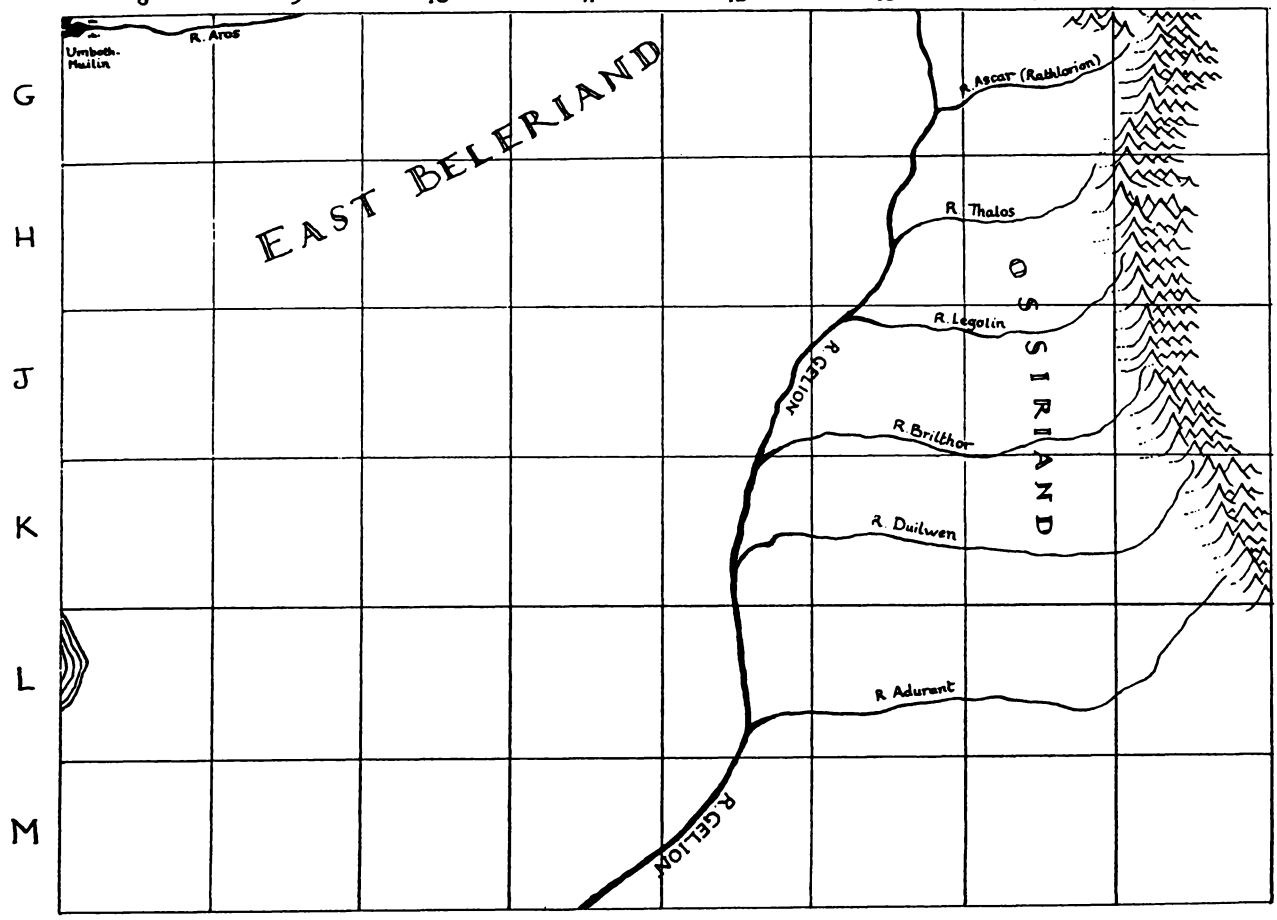
The map is on four sheets, originally pasted together but now separate, in which the map-squares do not entirely coincide with the sheets. In my reproductions I have followed the squares rather than the


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
A
B
C
D
E
F
D
HITHLUM
Eithil
(Sirion's well)
Lake Mithrim
MITHRIM
DOR-LÚMIN
Tol Sirion
[Thu]
Gondolin
Tavrobel
FOREST of BRETHIL
Taiglin
BELER
R. Gingilith
R. Narog
R. Brithon
R. Eglor
Realm of Nargothrond
Beyond the river (until
195)
L
beyond
Sirion

8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
A
B
C
D
E
F
DOR-DELOTH
(LAND OF DREAD)
DOR-NA-FAUGLITH
TAUR-NA-FUIN
Marches of Maidros
Pass of Aglond
Hill of Himling
Nan Dungorthin
FOREST OF NELDORETH
(Thousand Caves)
MENEGROTH
R. Esgalduin
R. Aros
R. Celon
R. Gelion
R. Sirion
DORIATH
FOREST OF REGION



Fens of Sirion
Falls of Sirion
Gates of S.
NAN-TATHRIN
R. Narog
R. SIRION
Waters of Sirion
NARGOTHROND
R. Tagwil
IAND
Realm of Nargothrond
Egleraest
Brithombar
Cape BALAR
BAY OF BALAR
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
G
H
J
K
L
M


8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
G
H
J
K
L
M
EAST BELERIAND
OSSIRIAND
R. Aros
Umbath-Maulin
R. Ascar (Rathlorien)
R. Thalos
R. Legolin
R. Gelion
R. Brilthor
R. Duilwen
R. Adurant
R. Gelion

original sheets. I have numbered the squares horizontally right across the map from 1 to 15, and lettered them vertically from A to M, so that each square has a different combination of letter and figure for subsequent reference. I hope later to give an account of all changes made to the map afterwards, using these redrawings as a basis. The scale is 50 miles to 3·2 cm. (the length of the sides of the squares); see p. 272.

There are various developments in the physical features of the lands from the first Map (such as the large island lying off the coast west of Drengist; the Mountains of Mithrim; the eastern tributary arm of Gelion; the isle of Balar), but I shall not here make a detailed comparison between the two. It will be seen that at this stage my father entered remarkably few names on the new map – far fewer than were in existence, in marked contrast to the old one, which names Ivrin, Thangorodrim, Angband, Mount Dolm, the Hill of Spies, the great mountain-chains, etc. On the second map such features as Lake Ivrin and Mount Dolm are nonetheless shown, and of course some names added in roughly later may well go back to the early period; but as this is impossible to tell I have omitted everything in the redrawing that is not original. I cannot explain the mountain blacked-in to the west of Ivrin (square D5), nor the large mound, if that is what it is, between Sirion and Mindeb (E8), nor again the curious circular bay on the coast below Drengist (C3). On the very strange representation of Thangorodrim, isolated in a circle of smaller peaks, see p. 271.

Especially interesting is the appearance of Tavrobel in the Forest of Brethil. In the literary texts of this period Tavrobel is named only in the preamble to AV 1 (cited on p. 201), as Pengolod's home in Tol Eressëa 'after his return unto the West', where Ælfwine (Eriol) saw and translated the Annals; from this preamble was developed that to QS (p. 203), where however the name is written *Tathrobel*. On the other hand, in the *Etymologies* (stem PEL(ES)) *Tavrobel* is mentioned as the 'village of Túrin in the forest of Brethil, and name of village in Tol Eressëa'; the first element is Noldorin *tafr*, *tavor*, 'woodpecker' (TAM), and the second means '(fenced) village' (Qenya *opele*, Noldorin *gobel*). The following evidences thus appear:

(1) In the earliest legends *Tavrobel* (originally translated 'woodhome', I. 267) had likewise a double meaning: it was Great Haywood in Staffordshire in England, and it bore, according to complex and changing conceptions by this time long since lost, a particular relation to Gilfanon's home of the same name in Tol Eressëa (see II. 292–3, 310).

(2) *Haywood* was in Old English *hæg-wudu* 'enclosed wood' (II. 328).

(3) Later (in the post-*Lord of the Rings* period) the dwellings of the Men of Brethil to whom Túrin came were called *Ephel Brandir* 'the encircling fence of Brandir' (*ephel* derived from *et-pel* 'outer fence'), and this village was on an eminence in the forest called *Amon Obel*.

(4) In the *Etymologies*, *Tavrobel* is still the name of two places, the

village of the Woodmen in Brethil, and a village in Tol Eressëa, where (in the preambles to AV 1 and QS) Pengolod (successor, as I have argued in IV. 274, to Gilfanon) dwelt.

But there is no indication at all why Tavrobel should still be used twice in this way. It may be thought that my father did not wish finally to abandon this old and deep association of his youth; and it is tempting therefore to see his bestowal at this time of the name *Tavrobel* in this way and in this place as an echo of Great Haywood, and perhaps not entirely fanciful to wonder whether he was influenced by the confluence of the two rivers, Taiglin and Sirion, not wholly unlike, in their relative courses here, that of the Sow and the Trent at Great Haywood (I. 196).*

*Gilfanon's house, the House of the Hundred Chimneys, stood near the bridge of Tavrobel (I. 174–5), where two rivers, Gruir and Afros, joined (II. 284, 287). I noted (I.196 note 5) the possibility that there was, or is, a house that gave rise to Gilfanon's; and it has been pointed out to me by Mr G. L. Elkin, Acting Director of the Shugborough Estate, who has kindly supplied me with photographs and a detailed map, that Shugborough Hall, the home of the Earls of Lichfield and now the property of the National Trust, is near the end of the old packhorse bridge (called the Essex Bridge) which crosses the rivers at their confluence, and that the chimneys of the mansion are a prominent feature. It seems very likely that it was my father's sight of the great house through the trees and its smoking chimneys as he stood on the bridge that lies, in some sense, behind the House of the Hundred Chimneys in the old legend. Mr Elkin has further suggested that the High Heath or Heath of the Sky-roof, where the great battle was fought, so that it became the Withered Heath (II. 284, 287–8), might be Hopton Heath (where a battle of the Civil War was fought in 1643), which lies a few miles to the North-west.

INDEX

The vast array of forms contained in Part III of this book constitutes a problem in respect of the Index. In the first place, a large number of names found in the *Etymologies* do not occur elsewhere in the book, and in many cases names are registered in greatly varying forms according to the divergent phonetic development in the different languages. In the second place, discussion of the history of names and the isolation of their elements makes the distinction between 'name' and 'common word' unreal; for the purposes of this 'etymological dictionary' *Alqualondë* illustrates *alqua* 'swan' and *londë* 'harbour-entrance, roads'. But to list alphabetically even a proportion of these Elvish 'common words' in Part III would be preposterous, since (quite apart from the practical consideration of length) it would mean rewriting the 'dictionary' in such a way as to conceal the historical relation between words which it is the object of the work to display.

I have in fact excluded the whole content of the Etymologies from normal representation in the Index, but I have attempted to assist reference to them in the following ways. (1) In the page-references to names that do occur elsewhere in the book I include also pages in the *Etymologies* where these names are explained – all such references being printed in *italics*. As a general rule I restrict these references to actual occurrence in the *Etymologies* of the name in question, but I have departed from this rule where it seemed useful to provide a reference to an element in a name that only appears in the *Etymologies* as a 'common word' (e.g. *nyárë* 'tale, saga, history' under *Eldanyárë*). (2) Where the *Etymologies* give names for persons, peoples, or places that are different from those found elsewhere in the book these are mentioned in the Index but not given separate entries; e.g. the Noldorin names *Mirion* and *Núron* are given under *Silmarils* and *Ulmo*. By these means, the great majority of names in the *Etymologies* are at least indicated in the Index. But beyond this, the many curiosities of the work – such as the structure of the Valinorian year and the names of the days in the Valinorian 'week', or the etymology of *cram* – emerge only from the study of it.

From the large number of names that occur in or in association with *The Lost Road* I have excluded some of the more casual and insignificant. References are not given for names on the tables accompanying the *Lhammas* or on the reproductions of the second Map.

As before, I have adopted a single form of capitalisation and hyphenation for the purposes of the Index.

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Verona 54

Vikings 80, 84–5

Vingelot Eärendel's ship. 325, 327, 329, 335; *Wingelot* 22, 143, 335, *370*, *398* (also Noldorin *Gwing(e)loth*); 'Flower of the Foam' 143

Vinland Old Norse name for America. 77

Vinya 'The Young', 'the New Land', Númenor. 19, 25, 64, 70

Vista The inner or lower air. 13, 78, 165, *399*. See *Wilwa.*

Void, The 24, 64–5, 73, 157, 159, 204, 209, 303, 335; *the voids* 327, *the Timeless Void* 332–3. See *Ava-kúma, Outer Darkness.*

Wales 81, 92; *South Wales* 80. See *Wealas, Welsh.*

Walls of Night The Walls of the World. 12

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Widsith Old English poem. 54, 91–3
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William of Malmesbury Mediaeval English historian. 55, 92
Wilwa The inner or lower air. 12–13, 78, *398*; 'the heavy air(s)' 16–17, 21. See *Vista*.
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THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE-EARTH

Volume 5

CHRISTOPHER TOLKIEN

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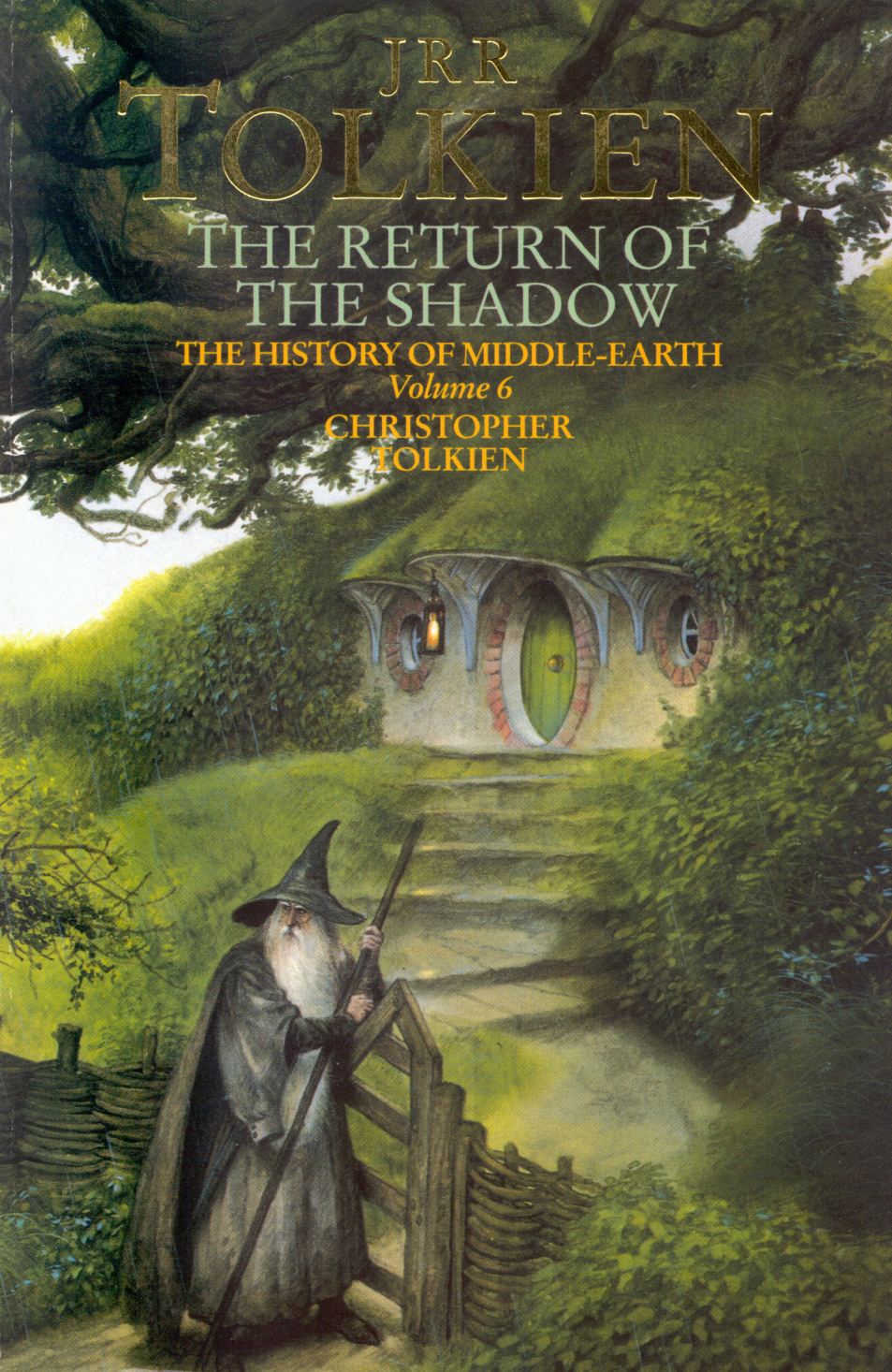
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Volume 6
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J.R.R. TOLKIEN

THE RETURN OF THE SHADOW

Edited by Christopher Tolkien

HarperCollins*Publishers*

HarperCollins*Publishers*
77–85 Fulham Palace Road,
Hammersmith, London W6 8JB

This paperback edition 1994
9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

Previously published in paperback by
Unwin Paperbacks 1990

First published in Great Britain by
Unwin Hyman 1988
© Unwin Hyman 1988

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ISBN 0 261 10224 9

Printed and bound in Great Britain by
Caledonian International Book Manufacturing Ltd, Glasgow

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To
RAYNER UNWIN

I met a lot of things on the way that astonished me. Tom Bombadil I knew already; but I had never been to Bree. Strider sitting in the corner at the inn was a shock, and I had no more idea who he was than had Frodo. The Mines of Moria had been a mere name; and of Lothlórien no word had reached my mortal ears till I came there. Far away I knew there were the Horse-lords on the confines of an ancient Kingdom of Men, but Fangorn Forest was an unforeseen adventure. I had never heard of the House of Eorl nor of the Stewards of Gondor. Most disquieting of all, Saruman had never been revealed to me, and I was as mystified as Frodo at Gandalf's failure to appear on September 22.

J. R. R. Tolkien, in a letter to
W. H. Auden, 7 June 1955

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FOREWORD

As is well known, the manuscripts and typescripts of *The Lord of the Rings* were sold by J. R. R. Tolkien to Marquette University, Milwaukee, a few years after its publication, together with those of *The Hobbit* and *Farmer Giles of Ham*, and also *Mr. Bliss*. A long time elapsed between the shipment of these latter papers, which reached Marquette in July 1957, and that of *The Lord of the Rings*, which did not arrive until the following year. The reason for this was that my father had undertaken to sort, annotate, and date the multifarious manuscripts of *The Lord of the Rings*, but found it impossible at that time to do the work required. It is clear that he never did so, and in the end let the papers go just as they were; it was noted when they reached Marquette that they were 'in no order'. Had he done so, he must have seen at that time that, very large though the manuscript collection was, it was nonetheless incomplete.

Seven years later, in 1965, when he was working on the revision of *The Lord of the Rings*, he wrote to the Director of Libraries at Marquette, asking if a certain scheme of dates and events in the narrative was to be found there, since he had 'never made out any full schedule or note of the papers transferred to you.' In this letter he explained that the transfer had taken place at a time when his papers were dispersed between his house in Headington (Oxford) and his rooms in Merton College; and he also said that he now found himself still in possession of 'written matter' that 'should belong to you': when he had finished the revision of *The Lord of the Rings* he would look into the question. But he did not do so.

These papers passed to me on his death eight years later; but though Humphrey Carpenter made reference to them in his *Biography* (1977) and cited from them some early notes, I neglected them for many years, being absorbed in the long work of tracing the evolution of the narratives of the Elder Days, the legends of Beleriand and Valinor. The publication of Volume III of 'The History of Middle-earth' was already approaching before I had any idea that the 'History' might extend to an account of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*. During the last three years, however, I have been engaged at intervals in the decipherment and analysis of *The Lord of the Rings* manuscripts in my possession

(a task still far from completed). It has emerged from this that the papers left behind in 1958 consist largely of the earliest phases of composition, although in some cases (and most notably in the first chapter, which was rewritten many times over) successive versions found among these papers bring the narrative to an advanced state. In general, however, it was only the initial notes and earliest drafts, with outlines for the further course of the story, that remained in England when the great bulk of the papers went to Marquette.

I do not of course know how it came about that these particular manuscripts came to be left out of the consignment to Marquette; but I think that an explanation in general terms can be found readily enough. Immensely prolific as my father was ('I found not being able to use a pen or pencil as defeating as the loss of her beak would be to a hen,' he wrote to Stanley Unwin in 1963, when suffering from an ailment in his right arm), constantly revising, re-using, beginning again, but never throwing any of his writing away, his papers became inextricably complex, disorganised, and dispersed. It does not seem likely that at the time of the transfer to Marquette he would have been greatly concerned with or have had any precise recollection of the early drafts, some of them supplanted and overtaken as much as twenty years before; and no doubt they had long since been set aside, forgotten, and buried.

However this may be, it is self-evidently desirable that the separated manuscripts should be joined together again, and the whole corpus preserved in one place. This must have been my father's intention at the time of the original sale; and accordingly the manuscripts at present in my keeping will be handed over to Marquette University.

The greater part of the material cited or described in this book is found in the papers that remained behind; but the third section of the book (called 'The Third Phase') constituted a difficult problem, because in this case the manuscripts were divided. Most of the chapters in this 'phase' of composition went to Marquette in 1958, but substantial parts of several of them did not. These parts had become separated because my father had rejected them, while using the remainder as constituent elements in new versions. The interpretation of this part of the history would have been altogether impossible without very full co-operation from Marquette, and this I have abundantly received. Above all, Mr Taum Santoski has engaged with great skill and care in a complex operation in

which we have exchanged over many months annotated copies of the texts; and it has been possible in this way to determine the textual history, and to reconstruct the original manuscripts which my father himself dismembered nearly half a century ago. I record with pleasure and deep appreciation the generous assistance that I have received from him, and also from Mr Charles B. Elston, the Archivist of the Memorial Library at Marquette, from Mr John D. Rateliff, and from Miss Tracy Muench.

This attempt to give an account of the first stages in the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* has been beset by other difficulties than the fact of the manuscripts being widely sundered; difficulties primarily in the interpretation of the sequence of writing, but also in the presentation of the results in a printed book.

Briefly, the writing proceeded in a series of 'waves' or (as I have called them in this book) 'phases'. The first chapter was itself reconstituted three times before the hobbits ever left Hobbiton, but the story then went all the way to Rivendell before the impulse failed. My father then started again from the beginning (the 'second phase'), and then again (the 'third phase'); and as new narrative elements and new names and relations among the characters appeared they were written into previous drafts, at different times. Parts of a text were taken out and used elsewhere. Alternative versions were incorporated into the same manuscript, so that the story could be read in more than one way according to the directions given. To determine the sequence of these exceedingly complex movements with demonstrable correctness at all points is scarcely possible. One or two dates that my father wrote in are insufficient to give more than very limited assistance, and references to the progress of the work in his letters are unclear and hard to interpret. Differences of script can be very misleading. Thus the determination of the history of composition has to be based very largely on clues afforded by the evolution of names and motives in the narrative itself; but in this there is every possibility of going astray through mistaking the relative dates of additions and alterations. Exemplification of these problems will be found throughout the book. I do not suppose for one moment that I have succeeded in determining the history correctly at every point: indeed there remain several cases where the evidence appears to be contradictory and I can offer no solution. The nature of the manuscripts is such that they will probably always admit of differing interpretations. But the sequence of composition that I

propose, after much experimentation with alternative theories, seems to me to fit the evidence very much the best.

The earliest plot-outlines and narrative drafts are often barely legible, and become more difficult as the work proceeded. Using any scrap of the wretched paper of the war years that came to hand – sometimes writing not merely on the backs of examination scripts but across the scripts themselves – my father would dash down elliptically his thoughts for the story to come, and his first formulations of narrative, at tearing speed. In the handwriting that he used for rapid drafts and sketches, not intended to endure long before he turned to them again and gave them a more workable form, letters are so loosely formed that a word which cannot be deduced or guessed at from the context or from later versions can prove perfectly opaque after long examination; and if, as he often did, he used a soft pencil much has now become blurred and faint. This must be borne in mind throughout: the earliest drafts were put urgently to paper just as the first words came to mind and before the thought dissolved, whereas the printed text (apart from a sprinkling of dots and queries in the face of illegibility) inevitably conveys an air of calm and ordered composition, the phrasing weighed and intended.

Turning to the way in which the material is presented in this book, the most intractable problem lies in the development of the story through successive drafts, always changing but always closely dependent on what preceded. In the rather extreme case of the opening chapter 'A Long-expected Party', there are in this book six main texts to be considered and a number of abandoned openings. A complete presentation of all the material for this one chapter would almost constitute a book in itself, not to speak of a mass of repetition or near-repetition. On the other hand, a succession of texts reduced to extracts and short citations (where the versions differ significantly from their predecessors) is not easy to follow, and if the development is traced at all closely this method also takes up much space. There is no really satisfactory solution to this. The editor must take responsibility for selecting and emphasizing those elements that he considers most interesting and most significant. In general I give the earliest narrative complete, or nearly complete, in each chapter, as the basis to which subsequent development can be referred. Different treatment of the manuscripts calls for different arrangement of the editorial element: where texts are given more or less in full much use is

made of numbered notes (which may constitute an important part of the presentation of a complex text), but where they are not the chapter proceeds rather as a discussion with citations.

My father bestowed immense pains on the creation of *The Lord of the Rings*, and my intention has been that this record of his first years of work on it should reflect those pains. The first part of the story, before the Ring left Rivendell, took by far the most labour to achieve (hence the length of this book in relation to the whole story); and the doubts, indecisions, unpickings, restructurings, and false starts have been described. The result is necessarily extremely intricate; but whereas it would be possible to recount the history in a greatly reduced and abbreviated form, I am convinced that to omit difficult detail or to oversimplify problems and explanations would rob the study of its essential interest.

My object has been to give an account of the *writing* of *The Lord of the Rings*, to exhibit the subtle process of change that could transform the significance of events and the identity of persons while preserving those scenes and the words that were spoken from the earliest drafts. I therefore (for example) pursue in detail the history of the two hobbits who ultimately issued in Peregrin Took and Fredegar Bolger, but only after the most extraordinary permutations and coalescences of name, character, and rôle; on the other hand I refrain from all discussion that is not directly relevant to the evolution of the narrative.

In the nature of the book, I assume conversance with *The Fellowship of the Ring*, and comparison is made throughout of course with the published work. Page-references to *The Fellowship of the Ring* (abbreviated FR) are given to the three-volume hardback edition of *The Lord of the Rings* (LR) published by George Allen and Unwin (now Unwin Hyman) and Houghton Mifflin Company, this being the edition common to both England and America, but I think that it will be found in fact that almost all such references can be readily traced in any edition, since the precise point referred to in the final form of the story is nearly always evident from the context.

In the 'first phase' of writing, which took the story to Rivendell, most of the chapters were title-less, and subsequently there was much shifting in the division of the story into chapters, with variation in titles and numbers. I have thought it best therefore to avoid confusion by giving many of my chapters simple descriptive titles, such as 'From Hobbiton to the Woody End', indicating the content rather than relating them to the chapter-titles in *The*

Fellowship of the Ring. As a title for the book it seemed suitable to take one of my father's own suggested but abandoned titles for the first volume of *The Lord of the Rings*. In a letter to Rayner Unwin of 8 August 1953 (*The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, no. 139) he proposed *The Return of the Shadow*.

No account is given in this book of the history of the writing of *The Hobbit* up to its original publication in 1937, although, from the nature of its relationship to *The Lord of the Rings*, the published work is constantly referred to. That relationship is curious and complex. My father several times expressed his view of it, but most fully and (as I think) most accurately in the course of a long letter to Christopher Bretherton written in July 1964 (*Letters* no. 257).

> I returned to Oxford in Jan. 1926, and by the time *The Hobbit* appeared (1937) this 'matter of the Elder Days' was in coherent form. *The Hobbit* was not intended to have anything to do with it. I had the habit while my children were still young of inventing and telling orally, sometimes of writing down, 'children's stories' for their private amusement . . . *The Hobbit* was intended to be one of them. It had no necessary connexion with the 'mythology', but naturally became attracted towards this dominant construction in my mind, causing the tale to become larger and more heroic as it proceeded. Even so it could really stand quite apart, except for the references (unnecessary, though they give an impression of historical depth) to the Fall of Gondolin, the branches of the Elfkin, and the quarrel of King Thingol, Lúthien's father, with the Dwarves. . . .
>
> The magic ring was the one obvious thing in *The Hobbit* that could be connected with my mythology. To be the burden of a large story it had to be of supreme importance. I then linked it with the (originally) quite casual reference to the Necromancer, whose function was hardly more than to provide a reason for Gandalf going away and leaving Bilbo and the Dwarves to fend for themselves, which was necessary for the tale. From *The Hobbit* are also derived the matter of the Dwarves, Durin their prime ancestor, and Moria; and Elrond. The passage in Ch. iii relating him to the Half-elven of the mythology was a fortunate accident, due to the difficulty of constantly inventing good names for new characters. I gave him the name Elrond casually, but as this came from the mythology (Elros and Elrond the two sons of Eärendel) I made him half-elven. Only in *The Lord* was

he identified with the son of Eärendel, and so the great-grandson of Lúthien and Beren, a great power and a Ringholder.

How my father saw *The Hobbit* – specifically in relation to 'The Silmarillion' – at the time of its publication is shown clearly in the letter that he wrote to G. E. Selby on 14 December 1937:

> I don't much approve of *The Hobbit* myself, preferring my own mythology (which is just touched on) with its consistent nomenclature – Elrond, Gondolin, and Esgaroth have escaped out of it – and organized history, to this rabble of Eddaic-named dwarves out of Völuspá, newfangled hobbits and gollums (invented in an idle hour) and Anglo-Saxon runes.

The importance of *The Hobbit* in *the history of the evolution* of Middle-earth lies then, at this time, in the fact that it was published, and that a sequel to it was demanded. As a result, from the nature of *The Lord of the Rings* as it evolved, *The Hobbit* was *drawn into* Middle-earth – and transformed it; but as it stood in 1937 it was not a part of it. Its significance for Middle-earth lies in what it would do, not in what it was.

Later, *The Lord of the Rings* in turn reacted upon *The Hobbit* itself, in published and in (far more extensive) unpublished revisions of the text; but all that lies of course far in the future at the point which this History has reached.

In the manuscripts of *The Lord of the Rings* there is extreme inconsistency in such matters as the use of capital letters and hyphens, and the separation of elements in compound names. In my representation of the texts I have not imposed any standardization in this respect, though using consistent forms in my own discussions.

THE FIRST PHASE

I
A LONG-EXPECTED PARTY

(i)

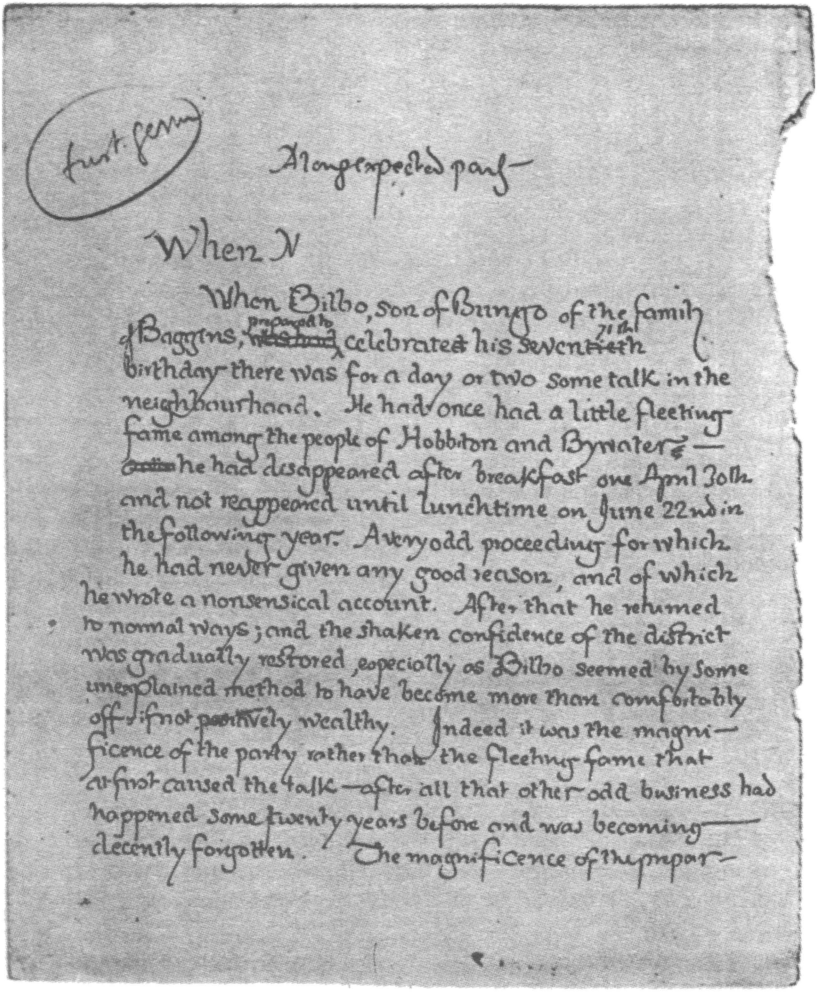
The First Version

The original written starting-point of *The Lord of the Rings* – its 'first germ', as my father scribbled on the text long after – has been preserved: a manuscript of five pages entitled *A long-expected party*. I think that it must have been to this (rather than to a second, unfinished, draft that soon followed it) that my father referred when on 19 December 1937 he wrote to Charles Furth at Allen and Unwin: 'I have written the first chapter of a new story about Hobbits – "A long expected party".' Only three days before he had written to Stanley Unwin:

> I think it is plain that . . . a sequel or successor to The Hobbit is called for. I promise to give this thought and attention. But I am sure you will sympathize when I say that the construction of elaborate and consistent mythology (and two languages) rather occupies the mind, and the Silmarils are in my heart. So that goodness knows what will happen. Mr Baggins began as a comic tale among conventional Grimm's fairy-tale dwarves, and got drawn into the edge of it – so that even Sauron the terrible peeped over the edge. And what more can hobbits do? They can be comic, but their comedy is suburban unless it is set against things more elemental.

From this it seems plain that on the 16th of December he had not only not begun writing, but in all probability had not even given thought to the substance of 'a new story about Hobbits'. Not long before he had parted with the manuscript of the third version of *The Silmarillion* to Allen and Unwin; it was unfinished, and he was still deeply immersed in it. In a postscript to this letter to Stanley Unwin he acknowledged, in fact, the return of *The Silmarillion* (and other things) later on that day. Nonetheless, he must have begun on the new story there and then.

When he first put pen to paper he wrote in large letters 'When M', but he stopped before completing the final stroke of the M and wrote instead 'When Bilbo . . .' The text begins in a handsome script, but the writing becomes progessively faster and deteriorates at the end into a rapid scrawl not at all points legible. There are a good many alterations to the manuscript. The text that follows represents the original form as I judge it to have been, granting that what is 'original' and what is not cannot be perfectly distinguished. Some changes can be seen to have been made at the moment of writing, and these are taken up into the text; but others



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A long expected party

When N

When Bilbo, son of Bungo of the family of Baggins, prepared to celebrate his seventieth birthday there was for a day or two some talk in the neighbourhood. He had once had a little fleeting fame among the people of Hobbiton and Bywater — he had disappeared after breakfast one April 30th and not reappeared until lunchtime on June 22nd in the following year. A very odd proceeding for which he had never given any good reason, and of which he wrote a nonsensical account. After that he returned to normal ways; and the shaken confidence of the district was gradually restored, especially as Bilbo seemed by some unexplained method to have become more than comfortably off, if not positively wealthy. Indeed it was the magnificence of the party rather than the fleeting fame that at first caused the talk — after all that other odd business had happened some twenty years before and was becoming decently forgotten. The magnificence of the prepar-

The original opening page of *The Lord of the Rings*

are characteristic anticipations of the following version, and these are ignored. In any case it is highly probable that my father wrote the versions of this opening chapter in quick succession. Notes to this version follow immediately on the end of the text (p. 17).

A long-expected party[1]

When Bilbo, son of Bungo of the family of Baggins, [had celebrated >] prepared to celebrate his seventieth birthday there was for a day or two some talk in the neighbourhood. He had once had a little fleeting fame among the people of Hobbiton and Bywater – he had disappeared after breakfast one April 30th and not reappeared until lunchtime on June 22nd in the following year. A very odd proceeding for which he had never given any good reason, and of which he wrote a nonsensical account. After that he returned to normal ways; and the shaken confidence of the district was gradually restored, especially as Bilbo seemed by some unexplained method to have become more than comfortably off, if not positively wealthy. Indeed it was the magnificence of the party rather than the fleeting fame that at first caused the talk – after all that other odd business had happened some twenty years before and was becoming decently forgotten. The magnificence of the preparations for the party, I should say. The field to the south of his front door was being covered with pavilions. Invitations were being sent out to all the Bagginses and all the Tooks (his relatives on his mother's side), and to the Grubbs (only remotely connected); and to the Burroweses, the Boffinses, the Chubbses and the Proudfeet: none of whom were connected at all within the memory of the local historians – some of them lived on the other side of the shire; but they were all, of course, hobbits. Even the Sackville-Bagginses, his cousins on his father's side, were not forgotten. There had been a feud between them and Mr Bilbo Baggins, as some of you may remember. But so splendid was the invitation-card, all written in gold, that they were induced to accept; besides, their cousin had been specializing in good food for a long time, and his tables had a high reputation even in that time and country when food was still what it ought to be and abundant enough for all folk to practise on.

Everyone expected a pleasant feast; though they rather dreaded the after-dinner speech of their host. He was liable to drag in bits of what he called poetry, and even to allude, after a glass or two, to the absurd adventures he said he had had long ago during his

ridiculous vanishment. They had a *very* pleasant feast: indeed an engrossing entertainment. The purchase of provisions fell almost to zero throughout the whole shire during the ensuing week; but as Mr Baggins' catering had emptied all the stores, cellars and warehouses for miles around, that did not matter. Then came the speech. Most of the assembled hobbits were now in a tolerant mood, and their former fears were forgotten. They were prepared to listen to anything, and to cheer at every full stop. But they were not prepared to be startled. But they were – completely and unprecedentedly startled; some even had indigestion.

'My dear people,' began Mr Baggins. 'Hear, hear!' they replied in chorus. 'My dear Bagginses,' he went on, standing now on his chair, so that the light of the lanterns that illuminated the enormous pavilion flashed upon the gold buttons of his embroidered waistcoat for all to see. 'And my dear Tooks, and Grubbs, and Chubbs, and Burroweses, and Boffinses, and Proudfoots.'[2] 'Proudfeet' shouted an elderly hobbit from the back. His name of course was Proudfoot, and merited; his feet were large, exceptionally furry, and both were on the table. 'Also my dear Sackville-Bagginses that I welcome back at last to Bag-end,' Bilbo continued. 'Today is my seventieth birthday.' 'Hurray hurray and many happy returns!' they shouted. That was the sort of stuff they liked: short, obvious, uncontroversial.

'I hope you are all enjoying yourselves as much as I am.' Deafening cheers, cries of yes (and no), and noises of trumpets and whistles. There were a great many junior hobbits present, as hobbits were indulgent to their children, especially if there was a chance of an extra meal. Hundreds of musical crackers had been pulled. Most of them were labelled 'Made in Dale'. What that meant only Bilbo and a few of his Took-nephews knew; but they were very marvellous crackers. 'I have called you all together,' Bilbo went on when the last cheer died away, and something in his voice made a few of the Tooks prick up their ears. 'First of all to tell you that I am immensely fond of you, and that seventy years is too short a time to live among such excellent and charming hobbits' – 'hear hear!' 'I don't know half of you half as well as I should like, and less than half of you half as well as you deserve.' No cheers, a few claps – most of them were trying to work it out. 'Secondly to celebrate my birthday and the twentieth year of my return' – an uncomfortable rustle. 'Lastly to make an *Announcement*.' He said this very loud and everybody sat up who could. 'Goodbye! I am going away after dinner. Also I am going to get married.'

He sat down. The silence was flabbergastation. It was broken only by Mr Proudfoot, who kicked over the table; Mrs Proudfoot choked in the middle of a drink.

That's that. It merely serves to explain that Bilbo Baggins got married and had many children, because I am going to tell you a story about one of his descendants, and if you had only read his memoirs up to the date of Balin's visit – ten years at least before this birthday party – you might have been puzzled.[3]

As a matter of fact Bilbo Baggins disappeared silently and unnoticed – the ring was in his hand even while he made his speech – in the middle of the confused outburst of talk that followed the flabbergasted silence. He was never seen in Hobbiton again. When the carriages came for the guests there was no one to say good-bye to. The carriages rolled away, one after another, filled with full but oddly unsatisfied hobbits. Gardeners came (by appointment) and cleared away in wheelbarrows those that had inadvertently remained. Night settled down and passed. The sun rose. People came to clear away the pavilions and the tables and the chairs and the lanterns and the flowering trees in boxes, and the spoons and knives and plates and forks, and crumbs, and the uneaten food – a very small parcel. Lots of other people came too. Bagginses and Sackville-Bagginses and Tooks, and people with even less business. By the middle of the morning (when even the best-fed were out and about again) there was quite a crowd at Bag-end, uninvited but not unexpected. ENTER was painted on a large white board outside the great front-door. The door was open. On everything inside there was a label tied. 'For Mungo Took, with love from Bilbo'; 'For Semolina Baggins, with love from her nephew', on a waste-paper basket – she had written him a deal of letters (mostly of good advice). 'For Caramella Took, with kind remembrances from her uncle', on a clock in the hall. Though unpunctual she had been a niece he rather liked, until coming late one day to tea she had declared his clock was fast. Bilbo's clocks were never either slow or fast, and he did not forget it. 'For Obo Took-Took, from his great-nephew', on a feather bed; Obo was seldom awake before 12 noon or after tea, and snored. 'For Gorboduc Grubb with best wishes from B. Baggins' – on a gold fountain-pen; he never answered letters. 'For Angelica's use' on a mirror – she was a young Baggins and thought herself very comely.[4] 'For Inigo Grubb-Took', on a complete dinner-service – he was the greediest hobbit known to history. 'For

Amalda Sackville-Baggins *as a present*', on a case of silver spoons. She was the wife of Bilbo's cousin, the one he had discovered years ago on his return measuring his dining-room (you may remember his suspicions about disappearing spoons: anyway neither he nor Amalda had forgotten).[5]

Of course there were a thousand and one things in Bilbo's house, and all had labels – most of them with some point (which sank in after a time). The whole house-furniture was disposed of, but not a penny piece of money, nor a brass ring of jewelry, was to be found. Amalda was the only Sackville-Baggins remembered with a label – but then there was a notice in the hall saying that Mr Bilbo Baggins made over the desirable property or dwelling-hole known as Bag-end Underhill together with all lands thereto belonging or annexed to Sago Sackville-Baggins and his wife Amalda for them to have hold possess occupy or otherwise dispose of at their pleasure and discretion as from September 22nd next. It was then September 21st (Bilbo's birthday being on the 20th of that pleasant month). So the Sackville-Bagginses did live in Bag-end after all – though they had had to wait some twenty years. And they had a great deal of difficulty too getting all the labelled stuff out – labels got torn and mixed, and people tried to do swaps in the hall, and some tried to make off with stuff that was [not] being carefully watched; and various prying folk began knocking holes in walls and burrowing in cellars before they could be ejected. They were still worrying about the money and the jewelry. How Bilbo would have laughed. Indeed he was – he had foreseen how it would all fall out, and was enjoying the joke quite privately.

There, I suppose it has become all too plain. The fact is, in spite of his after-dinner speech, he had grown suddenly very tired of them all. The Tookishness (not of course that all Tooks ever had much of this wayward quality) had quite suddenly and uncomfortably come to life again. Also another secret – after he had blowed his last fifty ducats on the party he had not got *any money or jewelry left*, except the ring, and the gold buttons on his waistcoat. He had spent it all in twenty years (even the proceeds of his beautiful . . . . which he had sold a few years back).[6]

Then how could he get married? He was not going to just then – he merely said 'I am going to get married'. I cannot quite say why. It came suddenly into his head. Also he thought it was an event that might occur in the future – if he travelled again amongst other folk, or found a more rare and more beautiful race of hobbits somewhere. Also it was a kind of explanation. Hobbits had a

curious habit in their weddings. They kept it (always officially and very often actually) a dead secret for years who they were going to marry, even when they knew. Then they suddenly went and got married and went off without an address for a week or two (or even longer). When Bilbo had disappeared this is what at first his neighbours thought. 'He has gone and got married. Now who can it be? – no one else has disappeared, as far as we know.' Even after a year they would have been less surprised if he had come back with a wife. For a long while some folk thought he was keeping one in hiding, and quite a legend about the poor Mrs Bilbo who was too ugly to be seen grew up for a while.

So now Bilbo said before he disappeared: 'I am going to get married.' He thought that that – together with all the fuss about the house (or hole) and furniture – would keep them all busy and satisfied for a long while, so that no one would bother to hunt for him for a bit. And he was right – or nearly right. For no one ever bothered to hunt for him at all. They decided he had gone mad, and run off till he met a pool or a river or a steep fall, and there was one Baggins the less. Most of them, that is. He was deeply regretted by a few of his younger friends of course (. . . Angelica and Sar . . . . .). But he had not said good-bye to all of them – O no. That is easily explained.

NOTES

1 The title was written in subsequently, but no doubt before the chapter was finished, since my father referred to it by this title in his letter of 19 December 1937 (p. 11).

2 After 'Burroweses' followed 'and Ogdens', but this was struck out – almost certainly at the time of writing. 'Proudfoots' was first written 'Proudfeet', as earlier in the chapter, but as the next sentence shows it was changed in the act of writing.

3 The reference is to the conclusion of *The Hobbit*, when Gandalf and Balin called at Bag End 'some years afterwards'.

4 At this point a present to Inigo Baggins of a case of hairbrushes was mentioned, but struck out, evidently at the time of writing, since the present to another Inigo (Grubb-Took) immediately follows.

5 Various changes were made to the names and other details in this passage, not all of which were taken up in the third version (the second ends before this point). Mungo Took's gift (an umbrella) was specified; and Caramella Took was changed from niece to cousin. Gorboduc Grubb became Orlando Grubb. Pencilled proposals for the name of Mrs Sackville-Baggins, replacing Amalda, are Lonicera

(Honeysuckle) and Griselda, and her husband Sago (named in the next paragraph of the text) became Cosmo.

6 Cf. the end of *The Hobbit*: 'His gold and silver was mostly [*afterwards changed to* largely] spent in presents, both useful and extravagant'. The illegible word here might possibly be *arms*, but it does not look like it, and cf. the same passage in *The Hobbit*: 'His coat of mail was arranged on a stand in the hall (until he lent it to a Museum).'

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Writing of this draft in his *Biography*, Humphrey Carpenter says (p. 185):

> The reason for his disappearance, as given in this first draft, is that Bilbo 'had not got any money or jewels left' and was going off in search of more dragon-gold. At this point the first version of the opening chapter breaks off, unfinished.

But it may be argued that it was in fact finished: for the next completed draft of the chapter (the third – the second seems certainly unfinished, and breaks off at a much earlier point) ends only a very little further on in the narrative (p. 34), and shortly before the end has:

> But not all of them had said good-bye to him. That is easily explained, and soon will be.

And the explanation is not given, but reserved for the next chapter. Nor is it made so explicit in the first draft that Bilbo was 'going off in search of more dragon-gold'. That lack of money was a reason for leaving his home is certainly the case, but a sudden Tookish disgust with hobbit dulness and conventionality is also emphasized; and in fact there is not so much as a hint of what Bilbo was planning to do. It may well be that on 19 December 1937 my father had no idea. The rapidly-written conclusion of the text strongly suggests uncertain direction (and indeed he had said earlier in the chapter that the story was going to be about one of Bilbo's descendants).

But while there is no sign of Gandalf, most of the essentials and many of the details of the actual party as it is described in *The Fellowship of the Ring* (FR) emerge right at the beginning, and even some phrases remained. The Chubbs (or Chubbses, p. 13), the Boffinses, and the Proudfoots now appear – the families named Burrowes (Burrows in FR) and Grubb had been mentioned at the end of *The Hobbit*, in the names of the auctioneers at the sale of Bag End; and the hobbits' land is for the first time called 'the shire' (see, however, p. 31). But the first names of the hobbits were only at the beginning of their protean variations – such names as Sago and Semolina would be rejected as unsuitable, others (Amalda, Inigo, Obo) would have no place in the final genealogies, and yet others (Mungo, Gorboduc) would be given to different persons; only the vain Angelica Baggins survived.

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(ii)

The Second Version

The next manuscript, while closely based on the first, introduced much new material – most notably the arrival of Gandalf, and the fireworks. This version breaks off at the words 'Morning went on' (FR p. 45).

The manuscript was much emended, and it is very difficult to distinguish those changes made at the time of composition from those made subsequently: in any case the third version no doubt followed hard upon the second, superseding it before it was completed. I give this second text also in full, so far as it goes, but in this case I include virtually all the emendations made to it (in some cases the original reading is given in the notes which follow the text on p. 25).

Chapter 1

A long-expected party

When Bilbo, son of Bungo, of the respectable family of Baggins prepared to celebrate his seventy-first[1] birthday there was some little talk in the neighbourhood, and people polished up their memories.[2] Bilbo had once had some brief notoriety among the hobbits of Hobbiton and Bywater – he had disappeared after breakfast one April 30th and had not reappeared until lunch-time on June 22nd in the following year. A very odd proceeding, and one for which he had never accounted satisfactorily. He wrote a book about it, of course: but even those who had read it never took that seriously. It is no good talking to hobbits about dragons: they either disbelieve you, or feel uncomfortable; and in either case tend to avoid you afterwards. Mr Baggins, however, had soon returned to more or less normal ways; and though the shaken confidence of the countryside was never quite restored, in time the hobbits agreed to pardon the past, and Bilbo was on calling-terms again with all his relatives and neighbours, except of course the Sackville-Bagginses. For one thing Bilbo seemed by some unexplained method to have become more than comfortably off, in fact positively wealthy. Indeed it was the magnificence of the preparations for his birthday-party far more than his brief and distant fame that caused the talk. After all that other odd business had happened some twenty years ago and was all but forgotten; the party was going to happen that very month of September. The weather was fine, and there was talk of a display of fireworks such as had not been seen since the days of Old Took.

Time drew nearer. Odd-looking carts with odd-looking packages began to toil up the Hill to Bag-end (the residence of Mr Bilbo Baggins). They arrived by night, and startled folk peered out of their doors to gape at them. Some were driven by outlandish folk singing strange songs, elves, or heavily hooded dwarves. There was one huge creaking wain with great lumbering tow-haired Men on it that caused quite a commotion. It bore a large B under a crown.[3] It could not get across the bridge by the mill, and the Men carried the goods on their backs up the hill – stumping on the hobbit road like elephants. All the beer at the inn vanished as if down a drain when they came downhill again. Later in the week a cart came trotting in in broad daylight. An old man was driving it all alone. He wore a tall pointed blue hat and a long grey cloak. Hobbit boys and girls ran after the cart all the way up the hill. It had a cargo of fireworks, that they could see when it began to unload: great bundles of them, labelled with a red G.

'G for grand,' they shouted; and that was as good a guess as they could make at its meaning. Not many of their elders guessed better: hobbits have rather short memories as a rule. As for the little old man,[4] he vanished inside Bilbo's front door and never reappeared.

There might have been some grumbling about 'dealing locally'; but suddenly orders began to pour out from Bag-end, and into every shop in the neighbourhood (even widely measured). Then people stopped being merely curious, and became enthusiastic. They began to tick off the days on the calendar till Bilbo's birthday, and they began to watch for the postman, hoping for invitations.

Then the invitations began pouring out, and the post-office of Hobbiton was blocked, and Bywater post-office was snowed under, and voluntary postmen were called for. There was a constant stream of them going up The Hill to Bag-end carrying letters containing hundreds of polite variations on 'thank-you, I shall certainly come.' During all this time, for days and days, indeed since September [10th >] 8th, Bilbo had not been seen out or about by anyone. He either did not answer the bell, or came to the door and cried 'Sorry – Busy!' round the edge of it. They thought he was only writing invitation cards, but they were not quite right.

Finally the field to the south of his front door – it was bordered by his kitchen garden on one side and the Hill road on the other –

began to be covered with tents and pavilions. The three hobbit-families of Bagshot Row just below it were immensely excited. There was one specially large pavilion, so large that the tree that stood in the field was inside it, standing growing in the middle.[5] It was hung all over with lanterns. Even more promising was the erection of a huge kitchen in a corner of the field. A draught of cooks arrived. Excitement rose to its height. Then the weather clouded over. That was on Friday, the eve of the party. Anxiety grew intense. Then Saturday September [20th >] 22nd[6] actually dawned. The sun got up, the clouds vanished, flags were unfurled, and the fun began.

Mr Baggins called it a party – but it was several rolled into one and mixed up. Practically everybody near at hand was invited to something or other – very few were forgotten (by accident), and as they turned up anyhow it did not matter. Bilbo met the guests (and additions) at the gate in person. He gave away presents to all and sundry – the latter were those that went out again by the back way and came in again by the front for a second helping. He began with the youngest and smallest, and came back again quickly to the smallest and youngest. Hobbits give presents to other people on their birthdays: not very expensive ones, of course. But it was not a bad system. Actually in Hobbiton and Bywater, since every day in the year was somebody's birthday, it meant that every hobbit got a present (and sometimes more) almost every day of his life. But they did not get tired of them. On this occasion the hobbit-fry were wildly excited – there were toys the like of which they had never seen before. As you have guessed, they came from Dale.

When they got inside the grounds the guests had songs, dances, games – and of course food and drink. There were three official meals: lunch, tea, and dinner (or supper); but lunch and tea were marked chiefly by the fact that at those times everybody was sitting down and eating at the same time. Drinking never stopped. Eating went on pretty continuously from elevenses to six o'clock, when the fireworks started.

The fireworks of course (as you at any rate have guessed) were by Gandalf, and brought by him in person, and let off by him – the main ones: there was generous distribution of squibs, crackers, sparklers, torches, dwarf-candles, elf-fountains, goblin-barkers and thunderclaps. They were of course superb. The art of Gandalf naturally got the older the better. There were rockets like a flight of scintillating birds singing with sweet voices; there were green trees with trunks of twisted smoke: their leaves opened like a

whole spring unfolding in a few minutes, and their shining branches dropped glowing flowers down upon the astonished hobbits – only to disappear in a sweet scent before they touched head hat or bonnet. There were fountains of butterflies that flew into the trees; there were pillars of coloured fires that turned into hovering eagles, or sailing ships, or a flight of swans; there were red thunderstorms and showers of yellow rain; there was a forest of silver spears that went suddenly up into the air with a yell like a charging army and came down into The Water with a hiss like a hundred hot snakes. And there was also one last thing in which Gandalf rather overdid it – after all, he knew a great deal about hobbits and their beliefs. The lights went out, a great smoke went up, it shaped itself like a mountain, it began to glow at the top, it burst into flames of scarlet and green, out flew a red-golden dragon (not life-size, of course, but terribly life-like): fire came out of its mouth, its eyes glared down, there was a roar and it whizzed three times round the crowd. Everyone ducked and some fell flat. The dragon passed like an express train and burst over Bywater with a deafening explosion.

'That means it is dinner-time,' said Gandalf. A fortunate remark, for the pain and alarm vanished like magic. Now really we must hurry on, for all this is not as important as it seemed. There was a supper for all the guests. But there was also a very special dinner-party in the great pavilion with the tree. To that party invitations had been limited to twelve dozen, or one gross (in addition to Gandalf and the host), made up of all the chief hobbits, and their elder children, to whom Bilbo was related or with whom he was connected, or by whom he had been well-treated at any time, or for whom he felt some special affection. Nearly all the living Baggins[es] had been invited; a quantity of Tooks (his relations on his mother's side); a number of Grubbs (connections of his grandfather's), dozens of Brandybucks (connections of his grandmother's), and various Chubbs and Burrowses and Boffins and Proudfeet – some of whom were not connected with Bilbo at all, within the memory of the local historians; some even lived right on the other side of the Shire; but they were all, of course, hobbits. Even the Sackville-Bagginses, his first cousins on his father's side, were not omitted. There had been some coolness between them and Mr Baggins, as you may remember, dating from some 20 years back. But so splendid was the invitation card, written all in gold, that they felt it was impossible to refuse. Besides, their cousin had been specializing in

food for a good many years, and his tables had a high reputation even in that time and country, when food was still all that it ought to be, and abundant enough for all folk to practise both discrimination and satisfaction.

All the 144 special guests expected a pleasant feast; though they rather dreaded the after-dinner speech of their host. He was liable to drag in bits of what he called 'poetry'; and sometimes, after a glass or two, would allude to the absurd adventures he said he had had long ago – during his ridiculous vanishment. Not one of the 144 were disappointed: they had a *very* pleasant feast, indeed an engrossing entertainment: rich, abundant, varied, and prolonged. The purchase of provisions fell almost to zero throughout the district during the ensuing week; but as Mr Baggins' catering had depleted most of the stores, cellars, and warehouses for miles around, that did not matter much.

After the feast (more or less) came the Speech. Most of the assembled hobbits were now in a tolerant mood – at that delicious stage which they called filling up the 'corners' (with sips of their favourite drinks and nips of their favourite sweetmeats): their former fears were forgotten. They were prepared to listen to anything, and to cheer at every full stop. But they were not prepared to be startled. Yet startled they certainly were: indeed, completely blowed: some even got indigestion.

My dear people, began Mr Baggins, rising in his place.

'Hear, hear, hear!' they answered in chorus, and seemed reluctant to follow their own advice. Meanwhile Bilbo left his place and went and stood on a chair under the illuminated tree. The lantern light fell upon his beaming face; the gold buttons shone on his flowered waistcoat. They could all see him. One hand was in his pocket. He raised the other.

My dear Bagginses! he began again. *And my dear Tooks and Brandybucks and Grubbs and Chubbs and Burroweses and Bracegirdles and Boffinses and Proudfoots.*

'Proud*feet*!' shouted an elderly hobbit from the back. His name, of course, was Proudfoot, and merited: his feet were large, exceptionally furry, and both were on the table.

Also my good Sackville-Bagginses that I welcome back at last to Bag-end. Today is my seventy-first birthday!

'Hurray, hurray! Many Happy Returns!' they shouted, and they hammered joyously on the tables. Bilbo was doing splendidly. That was the sort of stuff they liked: short, obvious, uncontroversial.

I hope you are all enjoying yourselves as much as I am. Deafening cheers. Cries of Yes (and No). Noises of horns and trumpets, pipes and flutes, and other musical instruments. There were many junior hobbits present, for hobbits were easygoing with their children in the matter of sitting up late – especially if there was a chance of getting them an extra meal free (bringing up young hobbits took a great deal of provender). Hundreds of musical crackers had been pulled. Most of them bore the mark *Dale* on them somewhere or other, inside or out. What that meant only Bilbo and a few of his close friends knew (and you of course); but they were very marvellous crackers. They contained instruments small but of perfect make and enchanting tone. Indeed in one corner some of the younger Tooks and Brandybucks, supposing Bilbo to have finished his speech (having said all that was needed), now got up an impromptu orchestra, and began a merry dance tune. Young Prospero Brandybuck[7] and Melba Took got on a table and started to dance the flip-flap, a pretty thing if rather vigorous. But Bilbo had *not* finished.

Seizing a horn from one of the children he blew three very loud notes. The noise subsided. *I shall not keep you long*, he cried. Cheering broke out again. *BUT I have called you all together for a Purpose.*

Something in his voice made a few of the Tooks prick up their ears. *Indeed for three Purposes. First of all, to tell you that I am immensely fond of you all; and that seventy-one years is too short a time to live among such excellent and admirable hobbits.*

Tremendous outburst of approval.

I don't know half of you half as well as I would like, and less than half of you half as well as you deserve.

No cheers this time: it was a bit too difficult. There was some scattered clapping; but not all of them had yet had time to work it out and see if it came to a compliment in the end.

Secondly, to celebrate my birthday, and the twentieth anniversary of my return. No cheers; there was some uncomfortable rustling.

Lastly, to make an Announcement. He said this so loudly and suddenly that everyone sat up who could. *I regret to announce that – though, as I have said, 71 years is far too short a time among you – this is the END. I am going. I am leaving after dinner. Goodbye!*

He stepped down. One hundred and forty-four flabbergasted hobbits sat back speechless. Mr Proudfoot removed his feet from

the table. Mrs Proudfoot swallowed a large chocolate and choked. Then there was complete silence for quite forty winks, until suddenly every Baggins, Took, Brandybuck, Chubb, Grubb, Burrowes, Bracegirdle, Boffin and Proudfoot began to talk at once.

'The hobbit's mad. Always said so. Bad taste in jokes. Trying to pull the fur off our toes (a hobbit idiom). Spoiling a good dinner. Where's my handkerchief. Won't drink his health now. Shall drink my own. Where's that bottle. Is he going to get married? Not to anyone here tonight. Who would take him? Why good-bye? Where is there to *go* to? What is he leaving?' And so on. At last old Rory Brandybuck[8] (well-filled but still pretty bright) was heard to shout: 'Where is he now, anyway? Where's Bilbo?'

There was not a sign of their host anywhere.

As a matter of fact Bilbo Baggins had disappeared silently and unnoticed in the midst of all the talk. While he was speaking he had already been fingering a small ring[9] in his trouser-pocket. As he stepped down he had slipped it on – and he was never seen in Hobbiton again.

When the carriages came for the guests there was no one to say good-bye to. The carriages rolled away, one after another, filled with full but oddly unsatisfied hobbits. Gardeners came (by arrangement) and cleared away in wheelbarrows those that had inadvertently remained behind, asleep or immoveable. Night settled down and passed. The sun rose. The hobbits rose rather later. Morning went on.

NOTES

1 *seventy-first* emended from *seventieth*; but *seventy-first* in the text of Bilbo's farewell speech as first written.

2 At this point my father wrote at first:

> Twice before this he had been a matter of local news: a rare achievement for a Baggins. The first time was when he was left an orphan, when barely forty years old, by the untimely death of his father and mother (in a boating accident). The second time was more remarkable.

Such a fate in store for Bungo Baggins and his wife seems most improbable in the light of the words of the first chapter of *The Hobbit*:

> Not that Belladonna Took ever had any adventures after she became Mrs Bungo Baggins. Bungo, that was Bilbo's father, built the most luxurious hobbit-hole for her . . . and there they remained to the end of their days.

They seem an unlikely couple to have gone 'fooling about with boats', in Gaffer Gamgee's phrase, and his recognition of this was no doubt the reason why my father immediately struck the passage out; but the boating accident was not forgotten, and it became the fate of (Rollo Bolger >) Drogo Baggins and his Brandybuck wife, Primula, for whom it was a less improbable end (see p. 37).

3 At this stage only 20 years separated Bilbo's adventure in *The Hobbit* and his farewell party, and my father clearly intended the B on the waggon to stand for Bard, King of Dale. Later, when the years had been greatly lengthened out, it would be Bain son of Bard who ruled in Dale at this time.

4 In the original *Hobbit* Gandalf at his first appearance was described as 'a little old man', but afterwards the word 'little' was removed. See p. 315.

5 The single tree in the field below Bag End was already in the illustration of Hobbiton that appeared as the frontispiece to *The Hobbit*, as also were Bilbo's kitchen-garden and the hobbit-holes of Bagshot Row (though that name first appears here).

6 September 20th was the date of Bilbo's birthday in the first version (p. 16).

7 Prospero Brandybuck was first written Orlando Brandybuck, the second bearer of the name: in the list of Bilbo's gifts in the first version (p. 17 note 5) Gorboduc Grubb had been changed to Orlando Grubb.

8 A very similar passage, indicating the outraged comments of the guests, was added to the manuscript of the original draft at this point, but it was Inigo Grubb-Took who shouted 'Where is he now, anyway?' It was the greedy Inigo Grubb-Took who received the dinner-service (p. 15), and in this respect he survived into the third version of the chapter.

9 *a small ring*: emended from *his famous ring*.

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I have given this text in full, since taken together with the first it provides a basis of reference in describing those that follow, from which only extracts are given; but it will be seen that the Party – the preparations for it, the fireworks, the feast – had already reached the form it retains in FR (pp. 34–9), save in a few and quite minor features of the narrative (and here and there in tone). This is the more striking when we realize that at this stage my father still had very little idea of where he was going: it was a beginning without a destination (but see pp. 42–3).

Certain changes made to the manuscript towards its end have not been taken up in the text given above. In Bilbo's speech, his words 'Secondly, to celebrate my birthday, and the twentieth anniversary of my return'

and the comment 'No cheers; there was some uncomfortable rustling' were removed, and the following expanded passage substituted:

> *Secondly, to celebrate OUR birthdays: mine and my honourable and gallant father's.* Uncomfortable and apprehensive silence. *I am only half the man that he is: I am 72, he is 144. Your numbers are chosen to do honour to each of his honourable years.* This was really dreadful – a regular braintwister, and some of them felt insulted, like leap-days shoved in to fill up a calendar.

This change gives every appearance of belonging closely with the writing of the manuscript: it is clearly written in ink, and seems distinct from various scattered scribbles in pencil. But the appearance is misleading. Why should Bilbo thus refer to old Bungo Baggins, underground these many years? Bungo was pure Baggins, 'solid and comfortable' (as he is described in *The Hobbit*), and surely died solidly in his bed at Bag End. To call him 'gallant' seems odd, and for Bilbo to say 'I am half the man that he *is*' and 'he *is* 144' rather tastelessly whimsical.

The explanation is in fact simple: it was not Bilbo who said it, but his son, Bingo Baggins, who enters in the third version of 'A Long-expected Party'. The textual point would not be worth mentioning here were it not so striking an example of my father's way of using one manuscript as the matrix of the next version, but not correcting it coherently throughout: so in this case, he made no structural alterations to the earlier part of the story, but pencilled in the name 'Bingo' against 'Bilbo' on the last pages of the manuscript, and (to the severe initial confusion of the editor) carefully rewrote a passage of Bilbo's speech to make it seem that Bilbo had taken leave of his senses. It is clear, I think, that it was the sudden emergence of this radical new idea that caused him to abandon this version.

Other hasty changes altered 'seventy-first' to 'seventy-second' and '71' to '72' at each occurrence, and these belong also with the new story that was emerging. In this text, Bilbo's age in the opening sentence was 70, as in the first version, but it was changed to 71 in the course of the chapter (note 1 above). The number of guests at the dinner-party was already 144 in the text as first written, but nothing is made of this figure; that it was chosen for a particular reason only appears from the expanded passage of the speech given above: 'I am 72, he is 144. Your numbers are chosen to do honour to each of his honourable years.' It seems clear that the change of 71 to 72 was made because 72 is half of 144. The number of guests came first, when the story was still told of Bilbo, and at first had no significance beyond its being a dozen dozens, a gross.

A few other points may be noticed. Gandalf was present at the dinner-party; Gaffer Gamgee had not yet emerged, but 'old Rory Brandybuck' makes his appearance (in place of Inigo Grubb-Took, note 8 above); and Bilbo does not disappear with a blinding flash. At each stage the number of hobbit clans named is increased: so here the Brandybucks emerge, and

the Bracegirdles were pencilled in, to appear in the third version as written.

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(iii)

The Third Version

The third draft of 'A Long-expected Party' is complete, and is a good clear manuscript with relatively little later correction. In this section numbered notes again appear at the end (p. 34).

Discussion of the change made to Bilbo's speech in the second version has already indicated the central new feature of the third: the story is now told *not of Bilbo, but of his son*. On this substitution Humphrey Carpenter remarked (*Biography* p. 185):

> Tolkien had as yet no clear idea of what the new story was going to be about. At the end of *The Hobbit* he had stated that Bilbo 'remained very happy to the end of his days, and those were extraordinarily long.' So how could the hobbit have any new adventures worth the name without this being contradicted? And had he not explored most of the possibilities in Bilbo's character? He decided to introduce a new hobbit, Bilbo's son – and to give him the name of a family of toy koala bears owned by his children, 'The Bingos'. [1] So he crossed out 'Bilbo' in the first draft and above it wrote 'Bingo'.[2]

This explanation is plausible. In the first draft, however, my father wrote that the story of the birthday party 'merely serves to explain that Bilbo Baggins got married and had many children, *because I am going to tell you a story about one of his descendants*' (in the second version we are given no indication at all of what was going to happen after the party – though there is possibly a suggestion of something similar in the words (p. 22) 'Now really we must hurry on, for all this is not as important as it seemed'). On the other hand, there are explicit statements in early notes (p. 41) that for a time it was indeed going to be Bilbo who had the new 'adventure'.

The first part of the third version is almost wholly different from the two preceding, and I give it here in full, with a few early changes incorporated.

A long-expected party

When Bingo, son of Bilbo, of the well-known Baggins family, prepared to celebrate his [fifty-fifth >] seventy-second[3] birthday there was some talk in the neighbourhood, and people polished up their memories. The Bagginses were fairly numerous in those

parts, and generally respected; but Bingo belonged to a branch of the family that was a bit peculiar, and there were some odd stories about them. Bingo's father, as some still remembered, had once made quite a stir in Hobbiton and Bywater – he had disappeared one April 30th after breakfast, and had not reappeared until lunch-time on June 22nd in the following year. A very odd proceeding, and one for which he had never accounted satisfactorily. He wrote a book about it, of course; but even those who had read it never took that seriously. It is no good telling hobbits about dragons: they either disbelieve you, or feel uncomfortable; and in either case tend to avoid you afterwards.

Bilbo Baggins, it is true, had soon returned to normal ways (more or less), and though his reputation was never quite restored, he became an accepted figure in the neighbourhood. He was never perhaps again regarded as a 'safe hobbit', but he was undoubtedly a 'warm' one. In some mysterious way he appeared to have become more than comfortably off, in fact positively wealthy; so naturally, he was on visiting terms with all his neighbours and relatives (except, of course, the Sackville-Bagginses). He did two more things that caused tongues to wag: he got married when seventy-one (a little but not too late for a hobbit), choosing a bride from the other side of the Shire, and giving a wedding-feast of memorable splendour; he disappeared (together with his wife) shortly before his hundred-and-eleventh birthday, and was never seen again. The folk of Hobbiton and Bywater were cheated of a funeral (not that they had expected his for many a year yet), so they had a good deal to say. His residence, his wealth, his position (and the dubious regard of the neighbourhood) were inherited by his son Bingo, just before his own birthday (which happened to be the same as his father's). Bingo was, of course, a mere youngster of 39, who had hardly cut his wisdom-teeth; but he at once began to carry on his father's reputation for oddity: he never went into mourning for his parents, and said he did not think they were dead. To the obvious question: 'Where are they then?' he merely winked. He lived alone, and was often away from home. He went about a lot with the least well-behaved members of the Took family (his grandmother's people and his father's friends), and he was also fond of some of the Brandybucks. They were his mother's relatives. She was Primula Brandybuck[4] of the Brandybucks of Buckland, across Brandywine River on the other side of the Shire and on the edge of the Old Forest – a dubious region.[5] Folk in Hobbiton did not know

much about it, or about the Brandybucks either; though some had heard it said that they were rich, and would have been richer, but for a certain 'recklessness' – generosity, that is, if any came your way.

Anyway, Bingo had lived at Bag-end Underhill now for some [16 >] 33 years[6] without giving any scandal. His parties were sometimes a bit noisy, perhaps, but hobbits don't mind that kind of noise now and again. He spent his money freely and mostly locally. Now the neighbourhood understood that he was planning something quite unusual in the way of parties. Naturally their memories awoke and their tongues wagged, and Bingo's wealth was again guessed and re-calculated at every fireside. Indeed the magnificence of the preparations quite overshadowed the tales of the old folk about his father's vanishments.

'After all,' as old Gaffer Gamgee of Bagshot Row[7] remarked, 'them goings-on are old affairs and over; this here party is going to happen this very month as is.' It was early September and as fine as you could wish. Somebody started a rumour about fireworks. Very soon it was accepted that there were going to be fireworks such as had not been seen for over a century, not since the Old Took died.

It is interesting to see the figures 111 and 33 emerging, though afterwards they would be differently achieved: here, Bilbo was 111 when he left the Shire, and Bingo lived on at Bag End for 33 years before his farewell party; afterwards, 111 was Bilbo's age at the time of the party – when it had become his party again – and 33 Bingo's (Frodo's) age at the same time.

In this passage we also see the emergence of a very important piece of topography and toponymy: Buckland, the Brandywine, and the Old Forest. For the names first written here see note 5.

For the account in this version of the preparations for the Party, the Party itself, and its immediate aftermath, my father followed the emended second version (pp. 19–25) extremely closely, adding a detail here and there, but for the most part doing little more than copy it out (and of course changing 'Bilbo' to 'Bingo' where necessary). I give here a list of interesting – though mostly extremely minor – shifts in the new narrative. The page references are to those of the second version.

(20–1) 'B under a crown' on the waggon driven by Men becomes 'B painted in yellow', and 'B' was emended on the text to 'D' (i.e. 'Dale').

When the Men came down the Hill again, it is added that 'the elves and dwarves did not return'; and 'the draught of cooks'

who arrived were 'to supplement the elves and dwarves (who seemed to be staying at Bag-end and doing a lot of mysterious work)'.

The notice refusing admittance on the door of Bag End now appears, and 'a special entrance was cut in the bank leading to the road; wide steps and a large white gate were built' (as in FR). Gaffer Gamgee comes in again: 'he stopped even pretending to garden.'

The day of the party was still a Saturday (September 22nd).

Many of the toys ('some obviously magical') that had come from Dale were 'genuinely dwarf-made'.

(22) It is Bingo, not Gandalf, who at the end of the fireworks says 'That is the signal for supper!'; and though it was said at first, as in the second version, that the total of 144 guests did not include the host and Gandalf, this was struck out (see p. 106, note 12).

A new Hobbit family-name enters in the list of guests: 'and various Burroweses, Slocums, Bracegirdles, Boffinses and Proudfoots'; but 'Slocums' was then changed to 'Hornblowers', which was also added in to the text at subsequent points in the chapter. The Bolgers appear in pencilled additions, and are present from the start in the fourth version. In his letter to the *Observer* newspaper published on 20 February 1938 (*Letters* no. 25) my father said: 'The full list of their wealthier families is: Baggins, Boffin, Bolger, Bracegirdle, Brandybuck, Burrowes, Chubb, Grubb, Hornblower, Proudfoot, Sackville, and Took.' – The Grubbs, connexions of Bingo's grandfather, became by a pencilled change connexions of his grandmother; and the Chubbs, in a reverse change, were first said to be connexions of his grandmother and then of his grandfather.

Where in the first and second versions it is said that some of the hobbits at the party came from 'the other side of the shire', it is now said that some of them 'did not even live in that county', changed to 'in that Shire'; and 'in that Shire' was retained in the fourth version. The use of 'that' rather than 'the' suggests that the later use (cf. the Prologue to LR, p. 14: 'The Hobbits named it the Shire, as the region of the authority of their Thain') was only in the process of emergence.

The coldness between the Bagginses of Bag End and the Sackville-Bagginses had now lasted, not 20 years as in the first two versions, but 'some seventy-five years and more': this figure depends on 111 (Bilbo's age when he finally disappeared) less 51 (he was 'about fifty years old or so' at the time of his great adventure, according to *The Hobbit*), plus the 16 years

of Bingo's solitary residence at Bag End. 'Seventy-five' was emended to 'ninety' (a round figure), which belongs with the change of 16 to 33 (p. 30).

(23) Bingo was liable to allude to 'the absurd adventures of his "gallant and famous" father'.

(24) The two young hobbits who got on the table and danced are still Prospero Brandybuck and Melba Took, but Melba was changed in pencil first to Arabella and then to Amanda.

Bingo now said, as did Bilbo in FR (p. 38), '*I like* less than half of you half as well as you deserve.'

Bingo's second purpose' is expressed in exactly the words written into the second version (see p. 27): 'to celebrate OUR birthdays: mine and my honourable and gallant father's. I am only half the man he is: I am 72, and he is 144', &c.

Bingo's last words, 'I am leaving after dinner', were corrected on the manuscript to 'I am leaving now.'

(25) The collected comments after Bingo's concluding remarks now begin: 'The hobbit's mad. Always said so. And his father. He's been dead 33 years, I know. 144, all rubbish.' And Rory Brandybuck shouts: 'Where is Bilbo – confound it, Bingo I mean. Where is he?'

After 'he was never seen in Hobbiton again' is added: 'The ring was his father's parting gift.'

From the point where the second version ends at the words 'Morning went on' the third goes back to the original draft (p. 15) and follows it closely until near the end, using pretty well the same phrases, and largely retaining the original list (as emended, p. 17 note 5) of names and labels for the recipients of presents from Bag End – these being now, of course, presents from Bilbo's son Bingo.

Semolina Baggins is called 'an aunt, or first cousin once removed';

Caramella Took (changed later to *Bolger*) 'had been favoured among [Bingo's] junior and remoter cousins';

Obo Took-Took who received a feather-bed remained as a great-uncle, but *Obo* was emended on the manuscript to *Rollo*;

Gorboduc (> Orlando) Grubb of the first draft, recipient of a gold fountain-pen, becomes *Orlando Burrowes*;

Mungo Took, Inigo Grubb-Took, and *Angelica Baggins* remain; and two new beneficiaries are named before Mrs Sackville-Baggins at the end of the list:

For the collection of Hugo Bracegirdle, from a contributor: on an (empty) bookcase. Hugo was a great borrower of books, but a small returner.

For Cosimo Chubb, treat it as your own, Bingo: on the barometer. Cosimo used to bang it with a large fat finger whenever he came to call. He was afraid of getting wet, and wore a scarf and macintosh all the year round.

For Grimalda [> *Lobelia*] *Sackville-Baggins, as a present:* on a case of silver spoons. It was believed by Bilbo Baggins that she had acquired a good many of his spoons while he was away – ninety odd years before. Bingo inherited the belief, and Grimalda [> Lobelia] knew it.

It is also mentioned that 'Bingo had very carefully disposed of his treasures: books, pictures, and a collection of toys. For his wines he found a very good (if temporary) home. Most of them went to Marmaduke Brandybuck' (predecessor of Meriadoc). The original draft is closely followed in the absence of any money or jewelry, and in the legal notice disposing of Bag End to the Sackville-Bagginses (but Bilbo's cousin now becomes Otho, and their occupancy is to start from September 24th) – 'and they got Bag-end after all, though they had to wait 93 years longer for it than they had once expected': 111 less 51 plus 33, see pp. 31–2.[8] Sancho Proudfoot appears, excavating in the pantry where he thought there was an echo (as in FR, p. 48); physically attacked by Otho Sackville-Baggins, he was only finally ejected by the lawyers, first called 'Grubbs and Burrowes', as in *The Hobbit*, then changed to 'Messrs. Iago Grubb and Folco Burrowes (Bingo's lawyers)'.

The conclusion of the third version I give in full.

The fact is Bingo's money had become a legend, and everybody was puzzled and anxious – though still hopeful. How he would have laughed. Indeed he was as near laughing as he dared at that very moment, for he was inside a large cupboard outside the dining-room door, and heard most of the racket. He was inside, of course, not for concealment, but to avoid being bumped into, being totally invisible. He had to laugh rather privately and silently, but all the same he was enjoying his joke: it was turning out so much like his expectation.

I suppose it is now becoming all too plain to everyone but the anxious and grabsome hobbits. The fact is that (in spite of certain things in his after-dinner speech) Bingo had grown suddenly tired of them all. A violent fit of Tookishness had come over him – not of course that all Tooks had much of this wayward quality, their mothers being Chubbs, Hornblowers, Bolgers, Bracegirdles, Grubbs and what not; but Tooks were on the whole the most jocular and unexpected of Hobbits. Also I can tell you something more, in case you have not guessed: Bingo had no money or

jewelry left! Practically none, that is. Nothing worth digging up a nice hobbit-hole for. Money went a prodigious way in those days, and one could get quite a lot of things without it; but he had blown his last 500 ducats on the birthday party. That was Brandybucksome of him. After that he had nothing left but the buttons on his waistcoat, a small bag-purse of silver, and his ring. In the course of 33 years he had contrived to spend all the rest – what was left, that is, by his father, who had done a bit of spending in fifty years[3] (and had required some travelling-expenses).

Well, there it is. All things come to an end. Evening came on. Bag-end was left empty and gloomy. People went away – haggling and arguing, most of them. You could hear their voices coming up the Hill in the dusk. Very few gave a thought to Bingo. They decided he had gone mad, and run off, and that was one Baggins the less, and that was that. They were annoyed about the legendary money, of course, but meanwhile there was tea waiting for them. There were some, of course, who regretted his sudden disappearance – a few of his younger friends were really distressed. But not all of them had said good-bye to him. That is easily explained, and soon will be.

Bingo stepped out of the cupboard. It was getting dim. His watch said six. The door was open, as he had kept the key in his pocket. He went out, locked the door (leaving the key), and looked at the sky. Stars were coming out.

'It is going to be a fine night,' he said. 'What a lark! Well, I must not keep them waiting. Now we're off. Goodbye!' He trotted down the garden, jumped the fence, and took to the fields, and passed like an invisible rustle in the grasses.

NOTES

1 I find it difficult to believe this, yet if it is not so the coincidence is strange. If Bingo Baggins did get his name from this source, I can only suppose that the demonic character (composed of monomaniac religious despotism and a lust for destruction through high explosive) of the chief Bingo (not to mention that of his appalling wife), by which my sister and I now remember them, developed somewhat later.

2 The substitution was not made in the first draft, but in pencilled corrections to the end of the second version (p. 27).

3 The change of 'fifty-fifth' to 'seventy-second' was made at the same time as the 16 years during which Bingo lived at Bag End after his

parents' departure were changed to 33 (note 6). These changes were made before the chapter was finished, since later in it, in Bingo's farewell speech, the revised figures are present from the first writing. When at the outset he wrote 'fifty-fifth birthday' and '16 years' my father was presumably intending to get rid of the idea, appearing in rewriting of the second version (see p. 27), that the number of 144 guests was chosen for an inner reason, since on Bingo's 55th birthday his father Bilbo would have been 127 (having left the Shire 16 years before at the age of 111, when Bingo was 39).

4 *Primula* was first written *Amalda*. In the first version (p. 16) Amalda was the name of Mrs Sackville-Baggins. In the fourth version of 'A long-expected party', when Bilbo had returned to his bachelor state, Primula Brandybuck, no longer his wife, remained Bingo's mother.

5 My father first wrote here: 'the Brandybucks of Wood Eaton on the other side of the shire, on the edge of Buckwood – a dubious region.' He first changed (certainly at the time of writing) the name of the Brandybuck stronghold from Wood Eaton (a village in the Cherwell valley near Oxford) to Bury Underwood (where 'Bury' is the very common English place-name element derived from Old English *byrig*, the dative of *burg* 'fortified place, town'); then he introduced the name of the river, replaced Bury Underwood by Buckland, and replaced Buckwood by the Old Forest.

6 This change was made at the same time as '55' to '72' for Bingo's years at the time of the birthday party; see note 3.

7 This is the first appearance of Gaffer Gamgee, living in Bagshot Row (first mentioned in the second version, p. 21).

8 As mentioned in note 3, the later figure of 72 for 55 as Bingo's age on this birthday, and 33 for 16 as the number of years in which he lived on alone at Bag End after Bilbo's departure, which appear as emendations in the early part of the text, are in the later part of the chapter present from the first writing.

9 One would expect 'sixty' (111 less 51): see pp. 31, 252.

Note on Hobbit-names

It will be seen that delight in the names and relations of the hobbit-families of the Shire from which the ramifying genealogies would spring was present from the start. In no respect did my father chop and change more copiously. Already we have met, apart from Bilbo and Bungo Baggins and Belladonna Took who appeared in *The Hobbit*:

Baggins: Angelica; Inigo; Semolina
Bolger: Caramella (replacing Caramella Took)
Bracegirdle: Hugo
Brandybuck: Amalda > Primula; Marmaduke; Orlando > Prospero; Rory

Burrowes: Folco; Orlando (replacing Orlando Grubb)
Chubb: Cosimo
Grubb: Gorboduc > Orlando; Iago
Grubb-Took: Inigo
Proudfoot: Sancho
Sackville-Baggins: Amalda > Lonicera or Griselda > Grimalda > Lobelia; Sago > Cosmo > Otho
Took: Caramella; Melba > Arabella > Amanda; Mungo
Took-Took: Obo > Rollo

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(iv)

The Fourth Version

Two further changes, embodying an important shift, were made to the manuscript of the third version. They were carefully made, in red ink, but concomitant changes later in the text were not made. In the first sentence of the chapter (p. 28) 'Bingo, son of Bilbo' was altered to 'Bingo Bolger-Baggins'; and in the third sentence 'Bingo's father' was altered to 'Bingo's uncle (and guardian), Bilbo Baggins.'

We come now therefore to a further stage, where the 'long-expected party' is still Bingo's, not Bilbo's, but Bingo is his nephew, not his son, and Bilbo's marriage (as was inevitable, I think) has been rejected.

The fourth version is a typescript, made by my father. It was emended very heavily later on, but these changes belong to the second phase of the writing of *The Fellowship of the Ring*, and here I ignore them. The alterations to the third version just referred to were now incorporated into the text (which therefore now begins: 'When Bingo Bolger-Baggins of the well-known Baggins family prepared to celebrate his seventy-second birthday . . .'), but otherwise it proceeds as an exact copy of the third version as far as 'he was on visiting terms with all his neighbours and relatives (except, of course, the Sackville-Bagginses)' (p. 29). Here it diverges.

But folk did not bother him much. He was frequently out. And if he was in, you never knew who you would find with him: hobbits of quite poor families, or folk from distant villages, dwarves, and even sometimes elves.

He did two more things that caused tongues to wag. At the age of ninety-nine he adopted his nephew – or to be accurate (Bilbo scattered the titles nephew and niece about rather recklessly) his first cousin once removed, Bingo Bolger, a lad of twenty-seven. They had heard very little about him, and that not too good (they

said). As a matter of fact Bingo was the son of Primula Brandybuck (and Rollo Bolger, who was quite unimportant); and she was the daughter of Mirabella Took (and Gorboduc Brandybuck, who was rather important); and she was one of three remarkable daughters of the Old Took, for long the head of the hobbits who lived across The Water. And so the Tooks come in again – always a disturbing element, especially when mixed with Brandybuck. For Primula was a Brandybuck of Buckland, across the Brandywine River, on the other side of the Shire and at the edge of the Old Forest – a dubious region. Folk in Hobbiton did not know much about it, or about the Brandybucks either; though some had heard it said that they were rich, and would have been richer, if they had not been reckless. What had happened to Primula and her husband was not known for certain in Hobbiton. There was rumour of a boating accident on the Brandywine River – the sort of thing that Brandybucks would go in for. Some said that Rollo Bolger had died young of overeating; others said that it was his weight that had sunk the boat.

Anyway, Bilbo Baggins adopted Master Bolger, announced that he would make him his heir, changed his name to Bolger-Baggins, and still further offended the Sackville-Bagginses. Then shortly before his hundred-and-eleventh birthday Bilbo disappeared finally and was never seen in Hobbiton again. His relatives and neighbours lost the chance of a funeral, and they had a good deal to say. But it made no difference: Bilbo's residence, his wealth, his position (and the dubious regard of the more influential hobbits), were inherited by Bingo Bolger-Baggins.

Bingo was a mere youngster of thirty-nine and had hardly cut his wisdom-teeth; but he at once began to carry on his uncle's reputation for oddity. He refused to go into mourning, and within a week gave a birthday-party – for himself and his uncle (their birthdays happened to be on the same day). At first people were shocked, but he kept up the custom year after year, until they got used to it. He said he did not think Bilbo Baggins was dead. When they asked the obvious question: 'Where is he then?' he merely winked. He lived alone, and was often away from home. He went about a good deal with the least well-behaved members of the Took family (his grandmother's people); and he was also fond of the Brandybucks (his mother's relatives).

Anyway, Bingo Bolger-Baggins had been the master of Bag-end Underhill now for thirty-three years without doing anything outrageous. His parties were sometimes a bit noisy . . .

With Gorboduc Brandybuck and Mirabella Took (one of 'the three remarkable daughters of the Old Took' who had been mentioned in *The Hobbit*) the genealogy now becomes that of LR, except that Primula Brandybuck's husband (Bilbo in the third version) is Rollo Bolger, not Drogo Baggins; and the boating accident reappears (see p. 25, note 2).

From here to the end the typescript follows the third version (as emended) very closely, and there is little further to add. Bilbo becomes Bingo's 'uncle' throughout, of course; Bingo was liable to allude to 'the absurd adventures of his "gallant and famous" uncle' (see p. 32). But, with this change, Bingo's remarks in his speech on the ages of himself and his uncle and the number of guests at the party remain exactly the same, and 'The ring was his uncle's parting gift' (*ibid.*).

Small changes of wording move the text towards the final form in FR; for example, where in the third version Rory Brandybuck is described as 'well-filled but still brighter than many', it is now said of him that his 'wits neither old age, nor surprise, nor an enormous dinner, had quite clouded'. But to set out even a portion of such developments in expression between closely related versions would obviously be quite impracticable. There are however a few minor narrative shifts which I collect in the following notes, with page-references indicating where the relevant passages in earlier versions are to be found.

(30) Gaffer Gamgee had a little more to say:

> '. . . A very nice well-spoken gentlehobbit is Mr Bolger-Baggins, as I've always said.' And that was perfectly true; for Bingo had always been very polite to Gaffer Gamgee, calling him Mr Gamgee, and discussing potatoes with him over the hedge.

(21, 31) The day of the party now becomes Thursday (not Saturday) 22 September (a change made to the typescript, but carefully over an erasure and clearly belonging to the time of typing).

(31) There is no further reference to Gandalf in the chapter, after the fireworks.

(24, 32) The young hobbits who danced on the table are Prospero Took and Melissa Brandybuck.

(32–3) Several names are changed among the recipients of gifts from Bag End, Caramella (Took >) Bolger becomes Caramella Chubb; the comatose Rollo Took-Took becomes Fosco Bolger (and is Bingo's uncle); Inigo Grubb-Took the glutton, who had survived from the first draft, is now Inigo Grubb; and Cosimo Chubb the barometer-tapper becomes Cosimo Hornblower.

(33) It is now added that 'The poorer hobbits did very well, especially old Gaffer Gamgee, who got about half a ton of potatoes'; that Bingo had a collection of *magical* toys; and that he and his friends drank

nearly all the wine, the remainder still going to Marmaduke Brandybuck.

(16, 33) The legal notice in the hall at Bag End is extended, and followed by a new passage:

> *Bingo Bolger-Baggins Esqre. departing hereby devises delivers and makes over by free gift the desirable property and messuage or dwelling-hole known as Bag-end Underhill with all lands thereto belonging and annexed to Otho Sackville-Baggins Esqre. and his wife Lobelia for them jointly to have hold possess occupy let on lease or otherwise dispose of at their pleasure as from September the twenty fourth in the seventy second year of the aforesaid Bingo Bolger-Baggins and the one hundred and forty fourth year of Bilbo Baggins who as former rightful owners hereby relinquish all claims to the abovesaid property as from the date aforesaid.*
>
> The notice was signed *Bingo Bolger-Baggins for self and uncle*. Bingo was not a lawyer, and he merely put things that way to please Otho Sackville-Baggins, who was a lawyer. Otho certainly was pleased, but whether by the language or the property is difficult to say. Anyway, as soon as he had read the notice he shouted: 'Ours at last!' So I suppose it was all right, at least according to the legal notions of hobbits. And that is how the Sackville-Bagginses got Bag-end in the end, though they had to wait ninety-three years longer for it than they had once expected.

(33) The lawyers who ejected Sancho Proudfoot do not appear.

An addition is made to the passage describing the character of the Tooks: 'and since they had inherited both enormous wealth and no little courage from the Old Took, they carried things off with a pretty high hand at times.'

(34) The reference to Bilbo's having 'done a bit of spending in fifty years' was changed; the text now reads: '– what was left him by his Uncle, that is; for Bilbo had done a bit of spending in his time.'

'A few were distressed at his sudden disappearance; one or two were not distressed, because they were in the know – but they were not at Bag-end.'

Thus it is never explained why Bingo (or Bilbo in the first version), for whom money was now a severe problem (and one of the reasons for his departure), simply handed over 'the desirable property known as Bag-end' to the Sackville-Bagginses 'by free gift'.

There were further twists still to come in this amazingly sinuous evolution before the final structure was reached, but this was how the opening chapter stood for some time, and Bingo Bolger-Baggins, 'nephew' or more properly first cousin once removed of Bilbo Baggins,

is present throughout the original form of Book I of *The Fellowship of the Ring*. I set out briefly here the major shifts and stages encountered thus far.

A Long-expected party

Version I — *Bilbo gives the party*, aged 70. ('I am going to tell you a story about one of his descendants')

Version II — *Bilbo gives the party*, aged 71.

Version III — Bilbo married, and disappeared from Hobbiton with his wife (Primula Brandybuck) when he was 111.
His son Bingo Baggins gives the party, aged 72.

Version IV — Bilbo, unmarried, adopted his young cousin Bingo Bolger (son of Primula Brandybuck), changed his name to Bingo Bolger-Baggins, and disappeared from Hobbiton when he was 111.
His adopted cousin Bingo Bolger-Baggins gives the party, aged 72.

★

(v)

'The Tale that is Brewing'

It was to the fourth version (writing on the typescript shows that it went to Allen and Unwin) that my father referred in a letter to Charles Furth on 1 February 1938, six weeks after he began the new book:

> Would you ask Mr Unwin whether his son [Rayner Unwin, then twelve years old], a very reliable critic, would care to read the first chapter of the sequel to *The Hobbit*? I have typed it. I have no confidence in it, but if he thought it a promising beginning, could add to it the tale that is brewing.

What was 'the tale that is brewing'? The texts of 'A Long-expected Party' provide no clues, except that the end of the third version (p. 34) makes it clear that when Bingo left Bag End he was going to meet, and go off with, some of his younger friends – and this is hinted at already at the end of the first draft (p. 17); in the fourth version this is repeated, and 'one or two' of his friends were 'in the know' – and 'they were not at Bag-end' (p. 39). Of course it is clear, too, that Bilbo is not dead; and (with knowledge of what was in fact to come) we may count the references to Buckland and the Old Forest (pp. 29, 37) as further hints.

But there are some jottings from this time, written on two sides of a single sheet of paper, that do give some inkling of what was 'brewing'. The first of these reads:

Bilbo goes off with 3 Took nephews: Odo, Frodo, and Drogo [*changed to* Odo, Drogo, and Frodo]. He has only a small bag of money. They walk all night – East. Adventures: troll-like: witch-house on way to Rivendell. Elrond again [*added*: (by advice of Gandalf?)]. A tale in Elrond's house.

Where is G[andalf] asks Odo – said I was old and foolish enough now to take care of myself said B. But I dare say he will turn up, he is apt to.

There follows a note to the effect that while Odo believed no more than a quarter of 'B.'s stories', Drogo was less sceptical, and Frodo believed them 'almost completely'. The character of this last nephew was early established, though he was destined to disappear (see p. 70): he is *not* the forerunner of Frodo in LR. All this seems to have been written at one time. On the face of it, it must belong with the second (unfinished) version of 'A Long-expected Party', since it is Bilbo who 'goes off' (afterwards my father bracketed the words 'Bilbo goes off with 3 Took nephews' and wrote 'Bingo' above). The implication is presumably that when Bilbo set out with his nephews Gandalf was no longer present.

Then follows, in pencil: 'Make return of ring a motive.' This no doubt refers to the statement in the third version that 'The ring was his [Bingo's] father's parting gift' (p. 32).

After a note suggesting the coming of a dragon to Hobbiton and a more heroic rôle for hobbits, a suggestion rejected with a pencilled 'No', there follows, apparently all written at one time (but with a later pencilled heading 'Conversation of Bingo and Bilbo'):

'No one,' said B., 'can escape quite unscathed from dragons. The only thing is to shun them (if you can) like the Hobbitonians, though not nec[essarily] to disbelieve in them (or refuse to remember them) like the H[obbitonians]. Now I have spent all my money which seemed once to me too much and my own has gone after it [*sic*]. And I don't like being without after [?having] – in fact I am being lured. Well, well, twice one is not always two, as my father used to say. But at any rate I think I would rather wander as a poor man than sit and shiver. And Hobbiton rather grows on you in 20 years, don't you think; grows too heavy to bear, I mean. Anyway, we are off – and it's autumn. I enjoy autumn wandering.'

Asks Elrond what he can do to heal his money-wish and unsettlement. Elrond tells him of an island. Britain? Far west where the Elves still reign. Journey to perilous isle.

I want to look again on a live dragon.

This is certainly Bilbo, and the passage (though not of course the pencilled heading) precedes the third version, as the reference to '20 years' shows (see pp. 22, 31). – At the foot of the page are these faint pencilled scrawls:

Bingo goes to find his father.

You said you . . . . end your days in contentment – *so I hope to*

The illegible word might possibly be 'want'. – On the reverse of the page is the following coherent passage in ink:

The Ring: whence its origin. Necromancer? Not very dangerous, when used for good purpose. But it exacts its penalty. You must either lose it, or *yourself*. Bilbo could not bring himself to lose it. He starts on a holiday [*struck out:* with his wife] handing over ring to Bingo. But he vanishes. Bingo worried. Resists desire to go and find him – though he does travel round a lot looking for news. Won't lose ring as he feels it will ultimately bring him to his father.

At last he meets Gandalf. Gandalf's advice. You must stage a *disappearance*, and the ring may then be cheated into letting you follow a similar path. But you have got to *really disappear* and give up the past. Hence the 'party'.

Bingo confides in his friends. Odo, Frodo, and Vigo (?) insist on coming too. Gandalf rather dubious. You will share the same fate as Bingo, he said, if you dare the ring. Look what happened to Primula.

A couple of pencilled changes were made to this: above 'Vigo(?)' my father wrote 'Marmaduke'; and he bracketed the last sentence. – Since Bingo is here Bilbo's son this note belongs with the third version. But the watery death of Primula Brandybuck (no longer Bilbo's wife, but still Bingo's mother) is first recorded in the fourth version (p. 37), and the Ring could not possibly be associated with that event; so that the reference to 'Primula' here must refer to something else of which there is no other trace.

Particularly noteworthy is the suggestion that the idea of the Party arose from Gandalf's advice to Bingo concerning the Ring. It is indeed remarkable that already at this stage, when my father was still working on the opening chapter, so much of the Ring's nature was already present in embryo. – The final two notes are in pencil. The first reads:

Bilbo goes to Elrond to cure dragon-longing, and settles down in Rivendell. Hence Bingo's frequent absences from home. The dragon-longing comes on Bingo. Also ring-lure.

With Bingo's 'frequent absences from home' cf. 'he was often away from home' in the third version (p. 29), and 'Resists desire to go and find him – though he does travel round a lot looking for news' in the note on the Ring given above. And the last:

Make dubious regions – Old Forest on way to Rivendell. South of River. They turn aside to call up Frodo Br[andybuck] [*written above:* Marmaduke], get lost and caught by Willowman and by Barrow-wights. T. Bombadil comes in.

'South' was changed from 'North', and 'East' is written in the margin.

On a separate page (in fact on the back of my father's earliest surviving map of the Shire) is a brief 'scheme' that is closely associated with these last notes; at the head of it my father afterwards wrote *Genesis of 'Lord of the Rings'*.

> B.B. sets out with 2 nephews. They turn S[outh]ward to collect Frodo Brandybuck. Get lost in Old Forest. Adventure with Willowman and Barrow-wights. T. Bombadil.
>
> Reach Rivendell and find Bilbo. Bilbo had had a sudden desire to visit the Wild again. But meets Gandalf at Rivendell. Learns about [*sic; here presumably the narrative idea changes*] Gandalf had turned up at Bag-end. Bilbo tells him of desire for Wild and gold. Dragon curse working. He goes to Rivendell between the worlds and settles down.
>
> Ring must eventually go back to Maker, or draw you towards it. Rather a dirty trick handing it on?

It is interesting to see the idea already present that Bingo and his companions would turn aside to 'collect' or 'call up' another hobbit, at first named Frodo Brandybuck, but changed to Marmaduke (Brandybuck). Frodo Brandybuck also appears in initial drafting for the second chapter (p. 45) as one of Bingo's three companions on his departure from Hobbiton. There are various ways of combining all these references to the three (or two) nephews, so as to present a series of successive formulations, but names and rôles were still entirely fluid and ephemeral and no certainty is possible. Only in the first full text of the second chapter does the story become clear (for a time): Bingo set out with two companions, Odo Took and Frodo Took.

It is to be noted that Tom Bombadil, the Willow-man, and the Barrow-wights were already in existence years before my father began *The Lord of the Rings*; see p. 115.

★

On 11 February 1938 Stanley Unwin reported to my father that his son Rayner had read the first chapter and was delighted with it. On 17 February my father wrote to Charles Furth at Allen and Unwin:

> They say it is the first step that costs the effort. I do not find it so. I am sure I could write unlimited 'first chapters'. I have indeed written many. The Hobbit sequel is still where it was, and I have only the vaguest notions of how to proceed. Not ever intending any sequel, I fear I squandered all my favourite 'motifs' and characters on the original 'Hobbit'.

And on the following day he replied to Stanley Unwin:

> I am most grateful to your son Rayner: and am encouraged. At the same time I find it only too easy to write opening chapters – and for the

> moment the story is not unfolding. I have unfortunately very little time, made shorter by a rather disastrous Christmas vacation. I squandered so much on the original 'Hobbit' (which was not meant to have a sequel) that it is difficult to find anything new in that world.

But on 4 March 1938, in the course of a long letter to Stanley Unwin on another subject, he said:

> The sequel to *The Hobbit* has now progressed as far as the end of the third chapter. But stories tend to get out of hand, and this has taken an unpremeditated turn. Mr Lewis and my youngest boy are reading it in bits as a serial. I hesitate to bother your son, though I should value his criticism. At any rate if he would like to read it in serial form he can.

The 'unpremeditated turn', beyond any doubt, was the appearance of the Black Riders.

II
FROM HOBBITON TO THE WOODY END

The original manuscript drafts for the second chapter of *The Lord of the Rings* do not constitute a completed narrative, however rough, but rather, disconnected parts of the narrative, in places in more than one version, as the story expanded and changed in the writing. The fact that my father had typed out the first chapter by 1 February 1938 (p. 40), but on 17 February wrote (p. 43) that while first chapters came easily to him 'the Hobbit sequel is still where it was,' suggests strongly that the original drafting of this second chapter followed the typing of the fourth version of 'A Long-expected Party'.

There followed a typescript text, with a title 'Three's Company and Four's More'; this will be given in full, but before doing so earlier stages of the story (one of them of the utmost interest) must be looked at.

The first rough manuscript begins with Odo and Frodo Took (but Frodo at once changed to Drogo) sitting on a gate at night and talking about the events at Bag End that afternoon, while 'Frodo Brandybuck was sitting on a pile of haversacks and packs and looking at the stars.' Frodo Brandybuck, it seems, was brought in here from the rôle prepared for him in the notes given on pp. 42–3, in one of which he was replaced by Marmaduke (Brandybuck). Bingo, coming up behind silently and invisibly, pushed Odo and Drogo off the gate; and after the ensuing raillery the draft continues:

'Have you three any idea where we are going to?' said Bingo.

'None whatever,' said Frodo, '– if you mean, where we are going to land finally. With such a captain it would be quite impossible to guess that. But we all know where we are making for first.'

'What we don't know,' put in Drogo, 'is how long it is going to take us on foot. Do you? You have usually taken a pony.'

'That is not much faster, though it is less tiring. Let me see – I have never done the journey in a hurry before, and have usually taken five and a half weeks (with plenty of rests). Actually I have *always* had some adventure, milder or less so, every time I have taken the road to Rivendell.'

'Very well,' said Frodo, 'let's put a bit of the way behind us tonight. It is jolly under the stars, and cool.'

'Better turn in soon and make an early start,' said Odo (who was fond of bed). 'We shall do more tomorrow if we begin fresh.'

'I back councillor Frodo,' said Bingo. So they started, shouldering packs, and gripping long sticks. They went very quietly over fields and along hedgerows and the fringes of small coppices until night fell, and in their dark [?green] cloaks they were quite invisible without any rings. And of course being Hobbits they could not be heard – not even by Hobbits. At last Hobbiton was far behind, and the lights in the windows of the last farmhouse were twinkling on a hilltop a long way away. Bingo turned and waved a hand in farewell.

At the bottom of a slight hill they struck the main road East – rolling away pale grey into the darkness, between high hedges and dark wind-stirred trees. Now they marched along two by two; talking a little, occasionally humming, often tramping in time for a mile or so without saying anything. The stars swung overhead, and the night got late.

Odo gave a big yawn and slowed down. 'I am so sleepy,' he said, 'that I shall fall down on the road. What about a place for the night?'

Here the original opening draft ends. Notably, the hobbits are setting out expressly for Rivendell, and Bingo has been there several times before; cf. the note given on p. 42: 'Bilbo . . . settles down in Rivendell. Hence Bingo's frequent absences from home.' But there is no indication, nor has there been any, why they should be in any particular hurry.

It is clear that when the hobbits struck the East Road they took to it and walked eastward along it. At this stage there is no suggestion of a side road to Buckland, nor indeed that Buckland played any part in their plans.

A revised beginning followed. Drogo Took was dropped, leaving Odo and Frodo as Bingo's companions (Frodo now in all probability a Took). The passage concerning Rivendell has gone, and instead the plan to go first 'to pick up Marmaduke' appears. The description of the walk from Hobbiton is now much fuller, and largely reaches the form in the typescript text (p. 50); it is interesting to observe here the point of emergence of the road to Buckland:

After a rest on a bank under some thinly clad birches they went on again, until they struck a narrow road. It went rolling away, pale grey in the dark, up and down – but all the time gently climbing southward. It was the road to Buckland, climbing away from the main East Road in the Water Valley, and winding away past the skirts of the Green Hills towards the south-east corner of

the Shire, the Wood-end as the Hobbits called it. They marched along it, until it plunged between high hedges and dark trees rustling their dry leaves gently in the night airs.

Comparison of this with the description of the East Road in the first draft ('rolling away pale grey into the darkness, between high hedges and dark wind-stirred trees') shows that the one was derived from the other. Perhaps as a result, the crossing of the East Road is omitted; it is merely said that the Buckland road diverged from it (contrast FR p. 80).

After Odo's words (typescript text p. 50) 'Or are you fellows going to sleep on your legs?' there follows:

The Road goes ever on and on
down from the Door where it began:
before us far the Road has gone,
and we come after it, who can;
pursuing it with weary feet,
until it joins some larger way,
where many paths and errands meet,
and whither then? – we cannot say.

There is no indication, in the manuscript as written, who spoke the verse (for which there is also a good deal of rough working); in the typescript text (pp. 52–3) it is given to Frodo and displaced to a later point in the story.

The second draft then jumps to the following day, and takes up in the middle of a sentence:

. . . on the flat among tall trees growing in scattered fashion in the grasslands, when Frodo said: 'I can hear a horse coming along the road behind!'

They looked back, but the windings of the road hid the traveller.

'I think we had better get out of sight,' said Bingo; 'or you fellows at any rate. Of course it doesn't matter very much, but I would rather not be met by anyone we know.'

They [*written above at the same time:* Odo & F.] ran quickly to the left down into a little hollow beside the road, and lay flat. Bingo slipped on his ring and sat down a few yards from the track. The sound of hoofs drew nearer. Round a turn came a white horse, and on it sat a bundle – or that is what it looked like: a small man wrapped entirely in a great cloak and hood so that only his eyes peered out, and his boots in the stirrups below.

The horse stopped when it came level with Bingo. The figure uncovered its nose and sniffed; and then sat silent as if listening. Suddenly a laugh came from inside the hood.

'Bingo my boy!' said Gandalf, throwing aside his wrappings.

'You and your lads are somewhere about. Come along now and show up, I want a word with you!' He turned his horse and rode straight to the hollow where Odo and Frodo lay. 'Hullo! hullo!' he said. 'Tired already? Aren't you going any further today?'

At that moment Bingo reappeared again. 'Well I'm blest,' said he. 'What are you doing along this way, Gandalf? I thought you had gone back with the elves and dwarves. And how did you know where we were?'

'Easy,' said Gandalf. 'No magic. I saw you from the top of the hill, and knew how far ahead you were. As soon as I turned the corner and saw the straight piece in front was empty I knew you had turned aside somewhere about here. And you have made a track in the long grass that I can see, at any rate when I am looking for it.'

Here this draft stops, at the foot of a page, and if my father continued beyond this point the manuscript is lost; but I think it far more likely that he abandoned it because he abandoned the idea that the rider was Gandalf as soon as written. It is most curious to see how directly the description of Gandalf led into that of the Black Rider – and that the original sniff was Gandalf's! In fact the conversion of the one to the other was first carried out by pencilled changes on the draft text, thus:

> Round a turn came a white [> black] horse, and on it sat a bundle – or that is what it looked like: a small [> short] man wrapped entirely in a great [*added:* black] cloak and hood so that only his eyes peered out [> so that his face was entirely shadowed] . . .

If the description of Gandalf in the draft is compared with that of the Black Rider in the typescript text (p. 54) it will be seen that with further refinement the one still remains very closely based on the other. The new turn in the story was indeed 'unpremeditated' (p. 44).

Further rough drafting begins again with the workings for the song *Upon the hearth the fire is red* and continues through the second appearance of the Black Rider and the coming of the Elves to the end of the chapter. This material was followed very closely indeed in the typescript text and need not be further considered (one or two minor points of interest in the development of the narrative are mentioned in the Notes). There is however a separate section in manuscript which was not taken up into the typescript, and this very interesting passage will be given separately (see p. 73).

I give here the typescript text – which became an extremely complex and now very battered document. It is clear that as soon as, or before, he had finished it my father began revising it, in some cases retyping pages (the rejected pages being retained), and also writing in many other changes here and there, most of these being very minor alterations of

wording.[1] In the text that follows I take up all these revisions silently, but some earlier readings of interest are detailed in the Notes at the end of it (pp. 65 ff.).

II

Three's Company and Four's More[2]

Odo Took was sitting on a gate whistling softly. His cousin Frodo was lying on the ground beside a pile of packs and haversacks, looking up at the stars, and sniffing the cool air of the autumn twilight.

'I hope Bingo has not got locked up in the cupboard, or something,' said Odo. 'He's late: it's after six.'

'There's no need to worry,' said Frodo. 'He'll turn up when he thinks fit. He may have thought of some last irresistible joke, or something: he's very Brandybucksome. But he'll come all right; quite reliable in the long run is Uncle Bingo.'

There was a chuckle behind him. 'I'm glad to hear it,' said Bingo suddenly becoming visible; 'for this is going to be a very Long Run. Well, you fellows, are you quite ready to depart?'

'It's not fair sneaking up with that ring on,' said Odo. 'One day you will hear what *I* think of you, and you won't be so glad.'

'I know already,' said Bingo laughing, 'and yet I remain quite cheerful. Where's my pack and stick?'

'Here you are!' said Frodo jumping up. 'This is your little lot: pack, bag, cloak, stick.'

'I'm sure you have given me all the heaviest stuff,' puffed Bingo, struggling into the straps. He was a bit on the stout side.

'Now then!' said Odo. 'Don't start being Bolger-like. There's nothing there, except what you told us to pack. You'll feel the weight less, when you have walked off a bit of your own.'

'Be kind to a poor ruined hobbit!' laughed Bingo. 'I shall be thin as a willow-wand, I'm sure, before a week is out. But now what about it? Let's have a council! What shall we do first?'

'I thought that was settled,' said Odo. 'Surely we have got to pick up Marmaduke first of all?'

'O yes! I didn't mean that,' said Bingo. 'I meant: what about this evening? Shall we walk a little or a lot? All night or not at all?'

'We'd better find some snug corner in a haystack, or somewhere, and turn in soon,' said Odo. 'We shall do more tomorrow, if we start fresh.'

'Let's put a bit of the road behind us to-night,' said Frodo. 'I

want to get away from Hobbiton. Beside it's jolly under the stars, and cool.'

'I vote for Frodo,' said Bingo. And so they started, shouldering their packs, and swinging their stout sticks. They went very quietly over fields and along hedgerows and the borders of coppices, until night fell. In their dark grey cloaks they were invisible without the help of any magic rings, and since they were all hobbits, they made no noise that even hobbits could hear (or indeed even wild creatures in the woods and fields).

After some time they crossed The Water, west of Hobbiton, where it was no more than a winding ribbon of black, lined with leaning alders. They were now in Tookland; and they began to climb into the Green Hill Country south of Hobbiton.[3] They could see the village twinkling away down in the gentle valley of The Water. Soon it disappeared in the folds of the darkened land, and was followed by Bywater beside its grey pool. When the light of the last farmhouse was far behind, peeping out of the trees, Bingo turned and waved a hand in farewell.

'Now we're really off,' he said. 'I wonder if we shall ever look down into that valley again.'

After they had walked for about two hours they rested. The night was clear, cool, and starry, but smoky wisps of mist were creeping up the hills from the streams and deep meadows. Thin-clad birches swaying in a cold breeze above their heads made a black net against the pale sky. They ate a very frugal supper (for hobbits), and then went on again. Odo was reluctant, but the rest of the council pointed out that this bare hillside was no place for passing the night. Soon they struck a narrow road. It went rolling up and down until it faded grey into the gathering dark. It was the road to Buckland, climbing away from the main East Road in the Water-valley, and winding over the skirts of the Green Hills towards the south-eastern corner of the Shire, the Woody End as the hobbits called it. Not many of them lived in that part.

Along this road they marched. Soon it plunged into a deeply cloven track between tall trees that rustled their dry leaves in the night. It was very dark. At first they talked, or hummed a tune softly together: then they marched on in silence, and Odo began to lag behind. At last he stopped, and gave a big yawn.

'I am so sleepy,' he said, 'that soon I shall fall down on the road. What about a place for the night? Or are you fellows going to sleep on your legs?'[4]

'When does Marmaduke expect us?' asked Frodo. 'Tomorrow night?'

'No,' said Bingo. 'We should not get there by tomorrow night, even with a forced march, unless we went on many more miles now. And I must say I don't feel like it. It is getting on for midnight already. But it is all right. I told Marmaduke to expect us the night after tomorrow; so there is no hurry.'

'The wind's in the West,' said Odo. 'If we go down the other side of this hill we are climbing, we ought to find a spot fairly dry and sheltered.'

At the top of the hill over which the road ran they came upon a patch of fir-wood, dry and resin-scented. Leaving the road they went into the deep darkness of the wood, and gathered dead sticks and cones to make a fire. Soon they had a merry crackle of flame at the foot of a great fir, and sat round it for a while, until they began to nod with sleep. Then each in an angle of the great tree's roots they curled up in their cloaks and blankets, and were soon fast asleep.

There was no danger: for they were still in the Shire. A few creatures came and looked at them, when the fire had died away. A fox passing through the wood on business of his own stopped several minutes and sniffed. 'Hobbits!' he thought. 'Well, what next? I have heard a good many tales of queer goings on in this Shire; but I have never heard of a hobbit sleeping out of doors under a tree! Three of them! There's something mighty queer behind this.' He was quite right, but he never found out any more about it.

The morning came rather pale and clammy. Bingo woke up first, and found that a tree-root had made a hole in his back and that his neck was stiff. It did not seem such a lark as it had the day before. 'Why on earth did I give that beautiful feather-bed to that old pudding Fosco?'[5] he thought. 'The tree-roots would have been much better for him.' 'Wake up, hobbits!' he cried. 'It's a beautiful morning!'

'What's beautiful about it?' said Odo, peering over the edge of his blanket with one eye. 'Have you got the bath-water hot? Get breakfast ready for half past nine.'

Bingo stripped the blanket off him, and rolled him over on top of Frodo; and then he left them scuffling and walked to the edge of the wood. Away eastward the sun was rising red out of the mists that lay thick on the world. Touched with gold and red the autumn trees in the distance seemed to be sailing rootless in a

shadowy sea. A little below him to the left the road plunged down into a hollow between two slopes and vanished.

When he got back the other two had got a good fire going. 'Water!' they shouted. 'Where's the water?'

'I don't keep water in my pockets,' said Bingo.

'I thought you had gone to find some,' said Odo. 'You had better go now.'

'Why?' asked Bingo. 'We had enough left for breakfast last night; or I thought we had.'

'Well, you thought wrong,' said Frodo. 'Odo drank the last drop, I saw him.'

'Then he can go and find some more, and not put it on Uncle Bingo. There's a stream at the foot of the slope; the road crosses it just below where we turned aside last night.'

In the end, of course, they all went with their water-bottles and the small kettle they had brought with them. They filled them in the stream where it fell a foot or two over a small outcrop of grey stone in its path. The water was icy cold; and Odo spluttered as he bathed his face and hands. Luckily hobbits grow no beards (and would not shave if they did).

By the time their breakfast was over, and their packs all trussed up again, it was ten o'clock at least, and beginning to turn into a day even finer and hotter than the day of Bingo's birthday, that already seemed quite a long while past. They went down the slope, across the stream, and up the next slope, and by that time their cloaks, blankets, water, food, spare clothes and other gear already seemed a heavy load. The day's march was going to be something quite different from a country walk.

After a time the road ceased to roll up and down: it climbed to the top of a steep bank in a tired zigzagging sort of way, and then prepared to go down for the last time. In front of them they saw the lower lands dotted with small clumps of trees that melted away in the distance to a hazy woodland brown. They were looking across the Woody End towards the Brandywine River. The road wound away before them like a piece of string.

'The road goes on for ever,' said Odo, 'but I can't without a rest. It is high time for lunch.'

Frodo sat down on the bank at the side of the road and looked away east into the haze, beyond which lay the River and the end of the Shire in which he had spent all his life. Suddenly he spoke, as if half to himself:

The Road goes ever on and on
Down from the door where it began.
Now far ahead the Road has gone,
And we must follow if we can,
Pursuing it with weary feet,
Until it joins some larger way,
Where many paths and errands meet.
And whither then? We cannot say.[6]

'That sounds like a bit of Old Bilbo's rhyming,' said Odo. 'Or is it one of Bingo's imitations? It does not sound altogether encouraging.'

'No, *I* made it up, or at any rate it came to me,' said Frodo.

'I've never heard it before, certainly,' said Bingo. 'But it reminds me very much of Bilbo in the last years, before he went away. He used often to say that there was only one Road in all the land; that it was like a great river: its springs were at every doorstep, and every path was its tributary. "It's a dangerous business, Bingo, going out of your door," he used to say. "You step into the Road, and if you don't keep your feet, there is no knowing where you might get swept off to. Do you realize that this is the very path that goes through Mirkwood, and that if you let it, it might take you to even farther and worse places than the Lonely Mountain?" He used to say that on the path outside the front-door at Bag-end, especially after he had been out for a walk.'

'Well, the Road won't sweep me anywhere for an hour at least,' said Odo, unslinging his pack. The others followed his example, putting their packs against the bank and their legs out into the road. After a rest they had lunch (a frugal one) and then more rest.

The sun was beginning to get lower and the light of afternoon was on the land as they went down the hill. So far they had not met a soul on the road. This way was not much used, and the ordinary way to Buckland was along the East Road to the meeting of the Water and the Brandywine River, where there was a bridge, and then south along the River. They had been jogging along again for an hour or more, when Frodo stopped a moment as if listening. They were now on level ground, and the road, after much winding, lay straight ahead through grassland sprinkled with tall trees, outliers of the approaching woods.

'I can hear a horse or a pony coming along the road behind,' said Frodo.

They looked back, but the turn of the road prevented them from seeing far.

'I think we had better get out of sight,' said Bingo; 'or you two at any rate. Of course, it does not matter much, but I have a feeling that I would rather not be seen by anyone just now.'

Odo and Frodo ran quickly to the left, down into a little hollow not far from the road, and lay flat. Bingo slipped on his ring and stepped behind a tree. The sound of hoofs drew nearer. Round the turn came a black horse, no hobbit-pony but a full-sized horse; and on it sat a bundle, or that is what it looked like: a broad squat man, completely wrapped in a great black cloak and hood, so that only his boots in the stirrups showed below: his face was shadowed and invisible.

When it came on a level with Bingo, the horse stopped. The riding figure sat quite still, as if listening. From inside the hood came a noise as of someone sniffing to catch an elusive scent; the head turned from side to side of the road. At last the horse moved on again, walking slowly at first, and then taking to a gentle trot.

Bingo slipped to the edge of the road and watched the rider, until he dwindled in the distance. He could not be quite sure, but it seemed to him that suddenly, before they passed out of sight, the horse and rider turned aside and rode into the trees.

'Well, I call that very queer, and even a little disturbing,' said Bingo to himself, as he walked back to his companions. They had remained flat in the grass, and had seen nothing; so Bingo described to them the rider and his strange behaviour. 'I can't say why, but I felt perfectly certain he was looking or *smelling* for me: and also I felt very clearly that I did not want him to discover me. I've never seen or felt anything quite like it in the Shire before.'

'But what has one of the Big People got to do with us?' said Odo. 'And what is he doing in this part of the world at all? Except for those Men from Dale the other day[7] I haven't seen one of that Kind in our Shire for years.'[8]

'I have though,' said Frodo, who had listened intently to Bingo's description of the black rider. 'It reminds me of something I had almost forgotten. I was walking away up in the North Moor – you know, right up on the northern borders of the Shire – early last spring, when a similar rider met me. He was riding south, and he stopped and spoke, though he did not seem able to speak our language very well; he asked me if I knew where a place called Hobbiton was, and if there were any folk called Baggins there. I thought it very queer at the time; and I had a queer uncomfortable

feeling, too. I could not see any face under his hood. I never heard whether he turned up in Hobbiton or not. If I did not tell you, I meant to.'

'You didn't tell me, and I wish you had,' said Bingo. 'I should have asked Gandalf about it; and probably we should have taken more care on the road.'

'Then you know or guess something about the rider?' said Frodo. 'What is he?'

'I don't know, and I don't want to guess,' said Bingo. 'But somehow I don't believe either of these riders (if there are two) was really one of the Big People, not one of the kind like Dalemen, I mean. I wish Gandalf was here; but now it will be a long time before we find him. In a way I suppose I ought to be pleased; but I am not quite prepared for adventures yet, and I was not expecting any in our own Shire. Do you two wish to go on with the Journey?'

'Of course!' said Frodo. 'I am not going to turn back, not for an army of goblins.'

'I shall go where Uncle Bingo goes,' said Odo. 'But what is the next thing to do? Shall we go on at once, or stay here and have some food?[9] I should like a bite and a sip, but somehow I think we had better move on from here. Your talk of sniffing riders with invisible noses has made me feel quite uncomfortable.'

'I think we will move on now,' said Bingo; 'but not on the road, in case that rider comes back, or another one follows him. We ought to do a good step more today; Buckland is still miles away.'

The shadows of the trees were long and thin on the grass, as they started off again. They now kept a stone's throw to the left of the road, but their going was slow, for the grass was thick and tussocky and the ground uneven. The sun had gone down red behind the hills at their back, and evening was coming on, by the time they had come to the end of the straight stretch. There the road bent southward, and began to wind again as it entered a wood of ancient scattered oak trees.[10]

Close to the road they came on the huge hulk of an aged tree.[11] It was still alive and had leaves on small branches that it had put out round the broken stumps of its long fallen limbs; but it was hollow, and could be entered by a great crack on the far side. The hobbits went in and sat upon the floor of old leaves and decayed wood. There they rested and had a meal, talking quietly and listening in between.

They had just finished and were thinking of setting out again, when they heard quite clearly the sound of hoofs walking slow along the road outside. They did not move. The hoofs stopped, as far as they could judge, on the road beside their tree, but only for a moment. Soon they went on again and faded away – down the road, in the direction of Buckland. When Bingo at last stole out of the tree and peered up and down the road, there was nothing to be seen.

'Most peculiar!' he said, coming back to the others. 'I think we had better wait inside here for a bit.'

It grew almost dark inside the tree-trunk. 'I really think we shall have to go on now,' said Bingo. 'We have done very little to-day and we shan't get to Buckland tomorrow night at this rate.'

Twilight was about them, when they crept out. There was no living sound, not even a bird-call in the wood. The West wind was sighing in the branches. They stepped into the road and looked up and down again.

'We had better risk the road,' said Odo. 'The ground is much too rough off the track, especially in a fading light. We are probably making a fuss about nothing. It is very likely only a wandering stranger who has got lost; and if he met us, he would just ask us the way to Buckland or Brandywine Bridge, and ride on.'

'I hope you are right,' said Bingo. 'But anyway there is nothing for it but the open road. Luckily it winds a good deal.'

'What if he stops us and asks if we know where Mr Bolger-Baggins lives?' said Frodo.

'Give him the true answer: *Nowhere*,' said Bingo. 'Forward!'

They were now entering the Woody End, and the road began to fall gently but steadily, making south-east towards the lowlands of the Brandywine River. A star came out in the darkening East. They went abreast and in step, and their spirits rose; the uncomfortable feeling vanished, and they no longer listened for the sound of hoofs. After a mile or two they began to hum softly, as hobbits have a way of doing when twilight closes in and the stars come out. With most hobbits it is a bed-song or a supper-song; but these hobbits hummed a walking-song (though not, of course, without any mention of bed and supper). Bilbo Baggins had made the words (the tune was as old as the hills), and taught it to Bingo as they walked in the lanes of the Water-valley and talked about Adventure.

Upon the hearth the fire is red,
Beneath the roof there is a bed;
But not yet weary are our feet,
Still round the corner we may meet
A sudden tree or standing stone
That none have seen, but we alone.
Tree and flower and leaf and grass,
Let them pass! Let them pass!
Hill and water under sky,
Pass them by! Pass them by!

Still round the corner there may wait
A new road or a secret gate,
And even if we pass them by,
We still shall know which way they lie,
And whether hidden pathways run
Towards the Moon or to the Sun.
Apple, thorn, and nut and sloe,
Let them go! Let them go!
Sand and stone and pool and dell,
Fare you well! Fare you well!

Home is behind, the world ahead,
And there are many paths to tread
Through shadow to the edge of night,
Until the stars are all alight.
Then world behind and home ahead,
We'll wander back to fire and bed.
Mist and twilight, cloud and shade,
Away shall fade! Away shall fade!
Fire and lamp and meat and bread,
And then to bed! And then to bed![12]

The song ended. 'And *now* to bed! And *now* to bed!' sang Odo in a loud voice. 'Hush!' said Frodo. 'I think I hear hoofs again.'

They stopped suddenly, and stood as silent as tree-shadows, listening. There was a sound of hoofs on the road some way behind, but coming slow and clear in the stillness of the evening. Quickly and quietly they slipped off the road and ran into the deeper shade under the oak-trees.

'Don't let's go too far!' said Bingo. 'I don't want to be seen, but I want to see what I can this time.'

'Very well!' said Odo; 'but don't forget the sniffing!'

The hoofs drew nearer. They had no time to find any hiding-place[13] better than the general darkness under the trees; so Odo and Frodo lay behind a large tree-trunk, while Bingo slipped on his ring and crept forward a few yards towards the road. It showed grey and pale, a line of fading light through the wood. Above it the stars were now coming out thick in the dim sky, but there was no moon.

The sound of hoofs ceased. As Bingo watched he saw something dark pass across the lighter space between two trees, and then halt. It looked like the black shade of a horse led by a smaller black shadow. The black shadow stood close to the point where they had left the road, and it swayed from side to side. Bingo thought he heard the sound of sniffing. The shadow bent to the ground, and then began to crawl towards him.

At that moment there came a sound like mingled song and laughter. Voices clear and fair rose and fell in the starlit air. The black shadow straightened and retreated.[14] It climbed on to the shadowy horse and seemed to vanish across the road into the darkness on the other side. Bingo breathed again.

'Elves!' said Frodo in an excited whisper behind him. 'Elves! How wonderful! I have always wished to hear elves singing under the stars; but I did not know any lived in the Shire.'

'Oh yes!' said Bingo. 'Old Bilbo knew there were some down in the Woody End. They don't really live here, though; but they often come across the river in spring and autumn. I am very glad they do!'

'Why?' said Odo.

'You didn't see, of course,' said Bingo; 'but that black rider (or another of the same sort) stopped just here and was actually crawling towards us, when the song started. As soon as he heard the voices he slipped away.'

'Did he sniff?' asked Odo.

'He did,' said Bingo. 'It is mysterious, uncomfortably mysterious.'

'Let's find the Elves, if we can,' said Frodo.

'Listen! They are coming this way,' said Bingo. 'We have only to wait by the road.'

The singing drew nearer. One clear voice rose above the others. It seemed to be singing in the secret elf-tongue, of which Bingo knew only a little, and the others knew nothing, yet the sound of the words blending with the tune seemed to turn into words in their own listening thought, which they only partly understood.

Frodo and Bingo afterwards agreed that the song went something like this:

Snow-white! Snow-white! O Lady clear!
O Queen beyond the Western Seas!
O Light to us that wander here
Amid the world of woven trees!

Gilthoniel! O Elbereth!
Clear are thy eyes and cold thy breath!
Snow-white! Snow-white! We sing to thee
In a far land beyond the Sea.

O Stars that in the Sunless Year
With shining hand by her were sown,
In windy fields now bright and clear
We see your silver blossom blown!

O Elbereth! Gilthoniel!
We still remember, we who dwell
In this far land beneath the trees,
Thy starlight on the Western Seas.[15]

The hobbits sat in shadow by the roadside. Before long the Elves came down the road towards the valley. They passed slowly and the hobbits could see the starlight glimmering on their hair and in their eyes.[16] They bore no lights, yet as they walked a shimmer, like the light of the moon above the rim of the hills before it rises, seemed to fall about their feet. They had stopped singing, and as the last elf passed he turned and looked towards the hobbits, and laughed.

'Hail Bingo!' he said. 'You are out late – or are you perhaps lost?' Then he called aloud in the elf-tongue, and all the company stopped and gathered round.

'Well! Isn't this wonderful!' they said. 'Three hobbits in a wood at night! What is the meaning of this? We haven't seen anything like it, since dear Bilbo went away.'

'The meaning of this, my good Elves,' said Bingo, 'is simply that we seem to be going the same way as you are. I was brought up by Bilbo, so I like walking, even under the stars. And I can put up with Elves for lack of other company!'

'But we have no need of other company, and hobbits are so dull,' they laughed. 'Come along now, tell us all about it! We see

you are simply swelling with secrets we should like to hear. Though some we know, of course, and some we guess. Many Happy Returns of yesterday – we have heard all about that, of course, from the Rivendell people.'[17]

'Then who are you, and who is your lord?' said Bingo.

'I am Gildor,' said the Elf who had hailed him. 'Gildor Inglorion of the house of Finrod. We are exiles, one of the few companies that still remain east of the Sea, for our kindred went back to the West long ago. We are Wise-elves, and the elves of Rivendell are our kinsfolk.'[18]

'O Wise People,' said Frodo, 'tell us about the Black Rider!'

'The Black Rider!' they said in low voices. 'Why do you ask about the Black Rider?'

'Because three Black Riders have overtaken us today, or one three times,'[19] said Bingo; 'and only a few moments ago one slipped away as you drew near.'

The Elves did not answer at once, but spoke together softly in the elf-tongue. At last Gildor turned to the hobbits: 'We will not speak more of this here,' he said. 'We think you had better come with us. As you know, it is not our custom; but for Bilbo's sake we will take you on our road, and you shall lodge with us to-night, if you wish.'

'I thank you indeed, Gildor Inglorion,' said Bingo bowing. 'O Fair Folk! This is a good fortune beyond my best hope,' said Frodo. Odo also bowed, but said nothing aloud. 'Rather good luck?' he whispered to Bingo. 'I suppose we shall get a really good bed and supper?'

'You can reckon your luck in the morning,' said Gildor, as if he had been spoken to. 'We shall do what we can, though we have heard that hobbits are hard to satisfy.'

'I beg your pardon,' stammered Odo. Bingo laughed: 'You must be careful of Elvish ears, Odo!' 'We count our luck already,' he said to the Elves; 'and I think that you will find that we are very easy to please (for hobbits).' He added in the elf-tongue a greeting that Bilbo had taught him: 'The stars shine on the hour of our meeting.'

'Be careful, friends!' cried Gildor laughing. 'Speak no secrets! Here is a scholar in the elf-latin.[20] Bilbo was indeed a good master! Hail! elf-friend,' he said, bowing to Bingo, 'come now and join our company![21] You had best walk in the middle, so that you will not stray. You may be weary before we halt.'

'Why? Where are you going?' asked Bingo.

'To the woods near Woodhall down in the valley. It is some miles; but it will shorten your journey to Buckland to-morrow.'

They marched along in silence, and passed like shadows and faint lights; for both Elves and hobbits could walk when they wished without a sound. They sang no more songs. Odo began to feel sleepy, and stumbled once or twice; but each time a tall elf by his side put out his arm and saved him from a fall.

The woods on either side became denser; the trees were younger and more thick, and as the road went lower there were many deep brakes of hazel. At last they turned right from the road: a green ride lay almost unseen through the thicket This they followed until they came suddenly to a wide space of grass, grey under the night. The wood bordered it on three sides; but on the east the ground fell steeply, and the tops of the dark trees growing in the fold below were level with their feet. Beyond them the low land lay dim and flat under the stars. Nearer at hand there was a twinkle of lights: the village of Woodhall.

The Elves sat on the grass, and seemed to take no further notice of the hobbits. They spoke together in soft voices. The hobbits wrapped themselves in cloak and blankets, and drowsiness crept over them. The night drew on, and the lights in the valley went out. Odo fell asleep, pillowed on a smooth hillock.

Out of the mists away eastward a pale gold light went up. The yellow moon rose; springing swiftly out of the shadow, and then climbing round and slow into the sky. The Elves all burst into song. Suddenly under the trees to one side a fire sprang up with a red light.

'Come!' the Elves called to the hobbits. 'Come! Now is the time for speech and merriment.'

Odo sat up and rubbed his eyes. He shivered. 'Come, little Odo!' said an elf. 'There is a fire in the hall, and some food for hungry guests.'

On the south side of the green-sward the wood drew close. Here there was a space green-floored, but entirely overshadowed by tall trees. Their trunks ran like pillars down each side, and their interlaced branches made a roof above. In the middle there was a wood-fire blazing; upon the sides of the tree-pillars torches with lights of gold and silver were burning steadily without smoke. The Elves sat round the fire upon the grass or upon the sawn rings of old trunks. Some went to and fro bearing cups and pouring drink;

others brought food on heaped plates and dishes, and set them on the grass.

'This is poor fare,' they said to the hobbits; 'for we are lodging in the greenwood far from our halls. If ever you are our guests at home, we will treat you better.'

'It seems to me good enough for a birthday party,' said Bingo.

Actually it was Odo that ate the least after all. The drink in his cup seemed sweet and fragrant; he drained it, and felt all weariness slip away, and yet sleep came softly down upon him. He was already half wrapped in warm dreams as he ate; and afterwards he could remember nothing more than the taste of bread – yet a bread that was like the best hobbit-bread ever baked (and that was Bread indeed) eaten after a long fast, only this bread was better. Frodo afterwards recalled little of either food or drink, for his mind was filled with the light under the trees, the elf-faces, the sound of voices so various and so beautiful that he felt in a waking dream. But he remembered taking a draught that had the warmth of a golden autumn afternoon and the cool of a clear fountain; and he remembered too the taste of fruits, sweet as wild berries, richer than the tended fruits of hobbit-gardens (and those are fruits indeed).

Bingo sat and ate and drank and talked, and simply remembered having had something of all the foods he liked best; but his mind was chiefly on the talk. He knew something of the elf-tongue, and listened eagerly. Now and again he spoke to those that served him and thanked them in their own language. They smiled on him and said laughing: 'Here is a jewel among hobbits!'[22]

After a while Odo and Frodo fell fast asleep, and were lifted up and borne away to bowers under the trees; they were laid there upon soft beds and slept the night away. But Bingo remained talking with Gildor, the leader of the Elves.[23]

'Why did you choose this moment to set out?' asked Gildor.

'Well, really it chose itself,' answered Bingo. 'I had come to the end of my treasure. It had always held me back from the Journey which half of my heart wished for, ever since Bilbo went away; but now it was gone. So I said to my stay-at-home half: "There is nothing to keep you here. The Journey *might* bring you some more treasure, as it did for old Bilbo; and anyway on the road you will be able to live more easily without any. Of course if you like to stay in Hobbiton and earn your living as a gardener or a carpenter, you can." The stay-at-home half surrendered; it did not want to make other people's chairs or grow other people's potatoes. It was

soft and fat. I think the Journey will do it good. But of course the other half is not really looking for treasure, but for Adventure – later rather than sooner. At the moment it also is soft and fat, and finding walking over the Shire quite enough.'

'Yes!' laughed Gildor. 'You still *look* just like an ordinary hobbit!'

'I daresay,' said Bingo. 'But my birthday the day before yesterday[24] seems already a long way behind. Still a hobbit I am, and a hobbit I shall always be.'

'I only said *look*,' replied the Elf. 'You seem to me a most peculiar hobbit inside, quite as peculiar as Bilbo; and I think strange things will happen to you and your friends. If you go looking for Adventure, you usually find as much of it as you can manage. And it often happens that when you think it is ahead, it comes on you unexpectedly from behind.'

'So it seems,' said Bingo. 'But I did not expect it ahead or behind so soon – not in our own Shire.'

'But it is not your Shire alone, nor for ever,' said Gildor. 'The Wide World is all about it. You can fence yourselves in, but you have no means of fencing it out.'

'All the same, it is disturbing,' said Bingo. 'I want to get to Rivendell, if I can – though I hear the road has not grown easier of late years. Can you tell me anything to guide me or help me?'

'I do not think you will find the road too hard. But if you are thinking of what you call the Black Rider, that is another matter. Have you told me all your reasons for leaving secretly? Did Gandalf tell you nothing?'

'Not even a hint, at least none that I understood. I seldom saw him after Bilbo went away, twice a year at most. I saw him last spring, when he turned up unexpectedly one night; and I told him then of the plan I was beginning to make for the Journey. He seemed pleased, and told me not to put it off later than the autumn. He came again to help me with the Party, but we were too busy then to talk much, and he went off with the dwarves and the Rivendell elves as soon as the fireworks were over. He did hint that I might meet him again in Rivendell, and suggested that I should make for that place first.'

'Not later than the autumn!' said Gildor. 'I wonder. He may all the same not have known that they were in the Shire; yet he knows more about them than we do. If he did not tell you any more, I do not feel inclined to do so, for fear of frightening you from the Journey. Because I think it is clear that your Journey started none

too soon; by what seems strange good luck you went just in time. You ought to go on, and not turn back, though you have met adventure, and danger, much sooner than you expected. You ought to go quickly; but you must be careful, and look not only ahead, but also behind, and even perhaps to both sides as well.'

'I wish you would say things plainer,' said Bingo. 'But I am glad to be told that I ought to go on; for that is what I want to do. Only I now rather wonder if I ought to take Odo and Frodo. The original plan was just a Journey, a sort of prolonged (and perhaps permanent) holiday from Hobbiton, and I am sure they did not expect any more adventures for a long time than getting wet and hungry. We had no idea we should be *pursued*.'

'O come! They must have known that if you intend to go wandering out of the Shire into the Wide World, you must be prepared for anything. I cannot see that it makes so much difference, if *something* has turned up rather soon. Are they not willing to go on?'

'Yes, they say so.'

'Then let them go on![25] They are lucky to be your companions: and you are lucky to have them. They are a great protection to you.'

'What do you mean?'

'I think the Riders do not know that they are with you, and their presence has confused the scent, and puzzled them.'

'Dear me! It is all very mysterious. It is like solving riddles. But I have always heard that talking to Elves is like that.'

'It is,' laughed Gildor. 'And Elves seldom give advice; but when they do, it is good. I have advised you to go to Rivendell with speed and care. Nothing else that I could tell you would make that advice any better.[26] We have our own business and our own sorrows, and those have little to do with the ways of hobbits or of other creatures. Our paths cross those ways seldom, and mostly by accident. In our meeting there is perhaps something more than accident, yet I do not feel sure that I ought to interfere. But I will add a little more advice: if a Rider finds you or speaks to you, do not answer, and do not name yourself. Also do not again use the ring to escape from his search. I do not know,[27] but I guess that the use of the ring helps them more than you.'

'More and more mysterious!' said Bingo. 'I can't imagine what information would be more frightening than your hints; but I suppose you know best.'

'I do indeed,' said Gildor, 'and I will say no more.'

'Very well!' said Bingo. 'I am now all of a twitter; but I am much obliged to you.'

'Be of good heart!' said Gildor. 'Sleep now! In the morning we shall have gone; but we will send our messages through the land. The wandering Companies shall know of you and your Journey. I name you elf-friend, and wish you well. Seldom have we had such delight in strangers; and it is pleasant to hear words of our own tongue from the lips of other wanderers in the World.'

Bingo felt sleep coming upon him, even as Gildor finished speaking. 'I will sleep now,' he said. Gildor led him to a bower beside Odo and Frodo, and he threw himself upon a bed, and fell at once into a dreamless slumber.

NOTES

1 For emendation of the typescript at this stage my father used black ink. This was fortunate, for otherwise the historical unravelling of the text would be scarcely possible: in a later phase of the work he returned to it and covered it with corrections in blue and red inks, blue chalk and pencil. In one case, however, an addition in black ink belongs demonstrably to the later phase. It is possible therefore that some of the emendations which I have adopted into the text are really later; but none seem to me to be so, and in any case all changes of any narrative significance are detailed in the following notes.

2 The meaning of this title is not clear. The phrase 'Three's company, but four's more' is used however by Marmaduke Brandybuck during the conversation in Buckland, where he asserts that he will certainly be one of the party (p. 103). Conceivably, therefore, my father gave the original second chapter this title because he believed that it would extend as far as the arrival in Buckland. Subsequently he crossed out the words 'and Four's More', but it cannot be said when this was done.

3 In the second draft of the opening of the chapter, which had reached virtually the form of the typescript text in this passage, the crossing of the East Road was omitted, and the omission remains here (see p. 47).

4 In the draft text the verse *The Road goes ever on and on* is placed here (see p. 47).

5 Fosco Bolger, Bingo's uncle: see p. 38.

6 In FR (pp. 82–3) the verse has *I* for *we* in lines 4 and 8, but is otherwise the same; there, however, it is an echo from Bilbo's speaking it in Chapter 1 (FR p. 44). For the earliest form see p. 47; and see further p. 246 note 18.

7 *Men from Dale:* see pp. 20, 30.

8 The next portion of the narrative, from *'I have though,' said Frodo* and extending to the end of the song *Upon the hearth the fire is red* (p. 57), was early re-typed to replace two pages of the original typescript, and a substantial alteration and expansion of the story was introduced (see notes 9 and 11).

9 This first part of the re-typed section (see note 8) was not greatly changed from the earlier form. In the earlier, Frodo described his encounter with a Black Rider 'up in the North Moors' in the previous spring in almost exactly the same words; but Bingo's response was somewhat different:

> 'That makes it even queerer,' said Bingo. 'I am glad I had the fancy not to be seen on the road. But, somehow, I don't believe either of these riders was one of the Big People, not of the Kind like the Dale-men, I mean. I wonder what they were? I rather wish Gandalf was here. But, of course, he went away immediately after the fireworks with the elves and dwarves, and it will be ages before we see him now.'
>
> 'Shall we go on now, or stay here and have some food?' asked Odo . . .

In the later versions of *A Long-expected Party* there is no reference to Gandalf after the fireworks (see pp. 31, 38; 63).

10 *There the road bent southward:* on the map of the Shire in FR the road does not bend southward 'at the end of the straight stretch'; it bends left or northward, while a side road goes on to Woodhall. But at this stage there was only one road, and at the place where the hobbits met the Elves it was falling steadily, 'making south-east towards the lowlands of the Brandywine River' (p. 56). Certainly by oversight, the present passage was preserved with little change in the original edition of FR (p. 86):

> The sun had gone down red behind the hills at their backs, and evening was coming on before they came to the end of the long level over which the road ran straight. At that point it bent somewhat southward, and began to wind again, as it entered a wood of ancient oak-trees.

It was not until the second edition of 1966 that my father changed the text to agree with the map:

> At that point it bent *left* and went down into the lowlands of the Yale making for Stock; but *a lane branched right*, winding through a wood of ancient oak-trees on its way to Woodhall. 'That is the way for us,' said Frodo.
>
> Not far from *the road-meeting* they came on the huge hulk of a tree . . .

This is also the reason for change in the second edition of 'road' to 'lane' (also 'path', 'way') at almost all the many subsequent occurrences in FR pp. 86–90: it was the 'lane' to Woodhall they were on, not the 'road' to Stock.

11 The entire passage from 'Close to the road they came on the huge hulk of an aged tree' is an expansion in the replacement typescript (see note 8) of a few sentences in the earlier:

> Inside the huge hollow trunk of an aged tree, broken and stumpy but still alive and in leaf, they rested and had a meal. Twilight was about them when they came out and prepared to go on again. 'I am going to risk the road now,' said Bingo, who had stubbed his toes several times against hidden roots and stones in the grass. 'We are probably making a fuss about nothing.'

Though the enlarged description of the hollow tree was preserved in FR (p. 86), the second passage of a Black Rider was not, and the tree has again no importance beyond being the scene of the hobbits' meal. In the third chapter Bingo, talking to Marmaduke in Buckland, refers to this story of a Rider heard while they sat inside the tree (p. 103); see also note 19 below.

12 The version of the song in the rejected typescript (see note 8) had the second and third verses thus:

Home is behind, the world ahead,
And there are many paths to tread;
And round the corner there may wait
A new road or a secret gate,
And hidden pathways there may run
Towards the Moon or to the Sun.
Apple, thorn, &c.

Down hill, up hill walks the way
From sunrise to the falling day,
Through shadow to the edge of night,
Until the stars are all alight; &c.

13 In the initial drafting for this passage Bingo proposed that they stow their burdens in the hollow of an old broken oak and then climb it, but this was rejected as soon as written. This was no doubt where the 'hollow tree' motive first appeared.

14 In the original draft my father first wrote here: 'Suddenly there was a sound of laughter and a creak of wheels on the road. The shadow straightened up and retreated.' This was soon replaced, without the creak of wheels being explained; but it suggests that he had some intervention other than Elves in mind.

15 This was another portion that was re-typed. The passage immediately preceding the Elves' song was different in the earlier form:

> It seemed to be singing in the secret elf-tongue, and yet as they listened the sounds, or the sounds and the tune together, seemed to turn into strange words in their own thought, which they only partly understood. Frodo afterwards said that he thought he heard words like these:

The song also had certain differences, including a second verse that was rejected.

O Elbereth! O Elbereth!
O Queen beyond the Western Seas!
O Light to him that wandereth
Amid the world of woven trees!

O Stars that in the Sunless Year
Were kindled by her silver hand,
That under Night the shade of Fear
Should fly like shadow from the land!

O Elbereth! Gilthonieth!
Clear are thy eyes, and cold thy breath! &c.

In the last verse the form is *Gilthoniel*. Extensive rough workings are also found, in which the first line of the song appears also as *O Elberil! O Elberil!* (and the third *O Light to us that wander still*); from these is also seen the meaning of *the Sunless Year*, since my father first wrote *the Flowering Years* (with reference to the Two Trees; see the *Quenta Silmarillion* §19, V.212). – It seems to have been here that the name *Elbereth* was first applied to Varda, having been previously that of one of the sons of Dior Thingol's Heir: see V.351.

16 In the original draft it was added here that the Elves 'were crowned with red and yellow leaves'; rejected, no doubt, because it was dark and they bore no lights.

17 At an earlier point in the chapter (p. 52) the typescript read 'a day even finer and hotter than the day before (Bingo's birthday, that already seemed quite a long while past).' It was of course on the evening of the day following the birthday party that Bingo and his companions set out, and my father realising this simply changed 'before' to 'of' and removed the brackets, as in the text printed. Here, however, he neglected to change 'yesterday' (see also note 24). These slips are odd, but do not seem to have any particular significance.

It is seen subsequently how these Elves could have 'heard all about that from the Rivendell people', for Bingo tells Gildor (p. 63) that Gandalf 'went off with the dwarves *and the Rivendell elves* as soon as the fireworks were over.' The meeting between them is in fact mentioned later (p. 101).

18 The typescript runs straight on from *we have heard all about that, of course, from the Rivendell people* to *'O Wise People,' said Frodo,* and the passage beginning *'Then who are you, and who is your lord?' said Bingo* is an addition. In the typescript as typed the leader of the Elves is not named until towards the end, where after they had eaten

'Bingo remained talking with Gildor, the leader of the Elves' (p. 62); all references to *Gildor* before that are corrections in ink

19 As the text was typed, Bingo said: 'Because we have seen two Black Riders, or one twice over, today.' The changed text accompanies the story of the Rider who paused momentarily beside the hollow tree (see note 11).

20 For the 'elf-latin' (*Qenya*) see the *Lhammas* §4, V.172.

21 This passage is an alteration of the text as typed, which read:

> . . . we are very easy to please (for hobbits). For myself I can only say that the delight of meeting you has already made this a day of bright Adventure.'
>
> 'Bilbo was a good master,' said the Elf bowing. 'Come now, join our company, and we will go. You had best walk in the middle . . .'

22 This sentence replaced the following:

> 'Be careful, friends,' said one laughing. 'Speak no secrets! Here is a scholar in the elf-latin and all the dialects. Bilbo was indeed a good master.'

See note 21 and the altered passage referred to there.

23 This is the first occurrence of the name *Gildor* in the text as typed; see note 18.

24 For *my birthday the day before yesterday* the text as typed had *yesterday*; see note 17.

25 The conversation between Bingo and Gildor to this point, beginning at *You can fence yourselves in, but you have no means of fencing it out* (p. 63), is the last of the replacement typescript pages. The differences from the earlier form are in fact very slight, except in these points. Bingo did not say that Gandalf had told him not to put off his journey later than the autumn, but simply 'He helped me, and seemed to think it a good idea'; and Gildor's reply therefore begins differently: 'I wonder. He may not have known they were in the Shire; yet he knows more about them than we do.' And Bingo said that Odo and Frodo 'only know that I am on a Journey – on a sort of prolonged (and possibly permanent) holiday from Hobbiton; and making for Rivendell to begin with.'

26 Struck from the typescript here: 'and it might prevent you from taking it.'

27 Struck from the typescript here: '(for the matter is outside the concern of such Elves as we are).'

★

It is characteristic that while the *dramatis personae* are not the same, and the story possesses as yet none of the dimension, the gravity, and the sense of vast danger, imparted by the second chapter of *The Fellowship of the Ring*, a good part of 'Three is Company' was already in being; for

once the journey has started not only the structure of the final narrative but much of the detail is present, though countless modifications in expression were to come, and in several substantial passages the chapter was scarcely changed afterwards.

While 'Bingo' is directly equatable with the later 'Frodo', the other relations are more complex. It is true that, comparing the text as it was at this stage with the final form in FR, it may be said simply that 'Odo' became 'Pippin' while Frodo Took disappeared: of the individual speeches in this chapter which remained into FR almost every remark made by Odo was afterwards given to Pippin. But the way in which this came about was in fact strangely tortuous, and was by no means a simple substitution of one name for another (see further pp. 323–4). Frodo Took is seen as a less limited and more aware being than Odo, more susceptible to the beauty and otherness of the Elves; it is he who speaks *The Road goes ever on and on*, and it is to him that the recollection of the words of the song to Elbereth is first attributed (note 15). Some element of him might be said to be preserved in Sam Gamgee (who of course imparts a new and entirely distinctive air to the developed form of the chapter); it was Frodo Took who with bated breath whispered *Elves!* when their voices were first heard coming down the road.

Most remarkable is the fact that when the story of the beginning of the Journey, the coming of the Black Riders, and the meeting with Gildor and his company, was written, and written so that its content would not in essentials be changed afterwards, Bingo has no faintest inkling of what the Riders want with him. Gandalf has told him nothing. He has no reason to associate the Riders with his ring, and no reason to regard it as more than a highly convenient magical device – he slips it on each time a Rider passes, naturally.

Of course, the fact that Bingo is wholly ignorant of the nature of the pursuing menace, utterly baffled by the black horsemen, does not imply that my father was also. There are several suggestions that new ideas had arisen in the background, not explicitly conveyed in the narrative, but deliberately reduced to dark hints of danger in the words of Gildor (that this was so will be seen more clearly at the beginning of the next chapter). It may be that it was the 'unpremeditated' conversion of the cloaked and muffled horseman who overtook them on the road from Gandalf to a 'black rider' (p. 48), combining with the idea already present that Bilbo's ring was of dark origin and strange properties (pp. 42–3) that was the impulse of the new conceptions.

From the early rewriting of the conversation between Gildor and Bingo (see p. 63 and note 25) it emerges that Gandalf had warned Bingo not to delay his departure beyond the autumn (though without, apparently, giving him any reason for the warning), and in both forms of the text Gildor evidently knows something about the Riders, says that 'by what seems strange good luck you went just in time', and associates them with the Ring: warning Bingo against using it again to escape them,

and suggesting that the use of it 'helps them more than you.' (The Ring had not been mentioned in their conversation, but we can suppose that Bingo had previously told Gildor that he had used it when the Riders came by).

The idea of the Riders and the Ring was no doubt evolving as my father wrote. I think it very possible that when he first described the halts of the black horsemen beside the hiding hobbits he imagined them as drawn by scent alone (see p. 75); and it is not clear in any case in what way the use of the Ring would 'help them more than you.' As I have said, it is deeply characteristic that these scenes emerged at once in the clear and memorable form that was never changed, but that their bearing and significance would afterwards be enormously enlarged. The 'event' (one might say) was fixed, but its meaning capable of indefinite extension; and this is seen, over and over again, as a prime mark of my father's writing. In FR, from the intervening chapter *The Shadow of the Past*, we have some notion of what that other feeling was which struggled with Frodo's desire to hide, of why Gandalf had so urgently forbidden him to use the Ring, and of why he was driven irresistibly to put it on; and when we have read further we know what would have happened if he had. The scenes here are empty by comparison, yet they are the same scenes. Even such slight remarks as Bingo's 'I don't know, and I don't want to guess' (p. 55) – in the context, a mere expression of doubt and discomfort, if with a suggestion that Gandalf must have said *something*, or rather, that my father was beginning to think that Gandalf must have said something – survived to take on a much more menacing significance in FR (p. 85), where we have a very good idea of what Frodo chose not to guess about.

Frodo Took's story of his meeting with a Rider on the moors in the North of the Shire in the previous spring is the forerunner of Sam's sudden remembering that a Rider had come to Hobbiton and spoken with Gaffer Gamgee on the evening of their departure; but it seems strange that the beginning of the hunt for 'Baggins' should be set so long before (see p. 74 and note 4).

The striking out of Gildor's words 'for the matter is outside the concern of such Elves as we are' (note 27) is interesting. At first, I think, my father thought of these Elves as 'Dark-elves'; but he now decided that they (and also the Elves of Rivendell) were indeed 'High Elves of the West', and he added in Gildor's words to Bingo on p. 60 (see note 18): they were 'Wise-elves' (Noldor or Gnomes), 'one of the few companies that still remain east of the Sea', and he himself is Gildor Inglorion of the house of Finrod. With these words of Gildor's cf. the *Quenta Silmarillion* §28, in V.332:

> Yet not all the Eldalië were willing to forsake the Hither Lands where they had long suffered and long dwelt; and some lingered many an age in the West and North . . . But ever as the ages drew on and the Elf-folk

faded upon earth, they would set sail at eve from the western shores of this world, as still they do, until now there linger few anywhere of their lonely companies.

At this time Finrod was the name of the third son of Finwë (first Lord of the Noldor). This was later changed to Finarfin, when Inglor Felagund his son took over the name Finrod (see I.44), but my father did not change 'of the house of Finrod' here (FR p. 89) to 'of the house of Finarfin' in the second edition of *The Lord of the Rings*. See further p. 188 (end of note 9).

The geography of the Shire was now taking more substantial shape. In this chapter there emerge the North Moor(s); the Green Hill Country lying to the south of Hobbiton; the Pool of Bywater (described in rough drafting for the passage as a 'little lake'); the East Road to the Brandywine Bridge, where the Water joined the Brandywine; the road branching off from it southward and leading in a direct line to Buckland; and the hamlet of Woodhall in the Woody End.

III
OF GOLLUM AND THE RING

I have suggested that by this stage my father knew a good deal more about the Riders and the Ring than Bingo did, or than he permitted Gildor to tell; and evidence for this is found in the manuscript draft referred to on p. 48. This begins, at any rate, as a draft for a part of the conversation between Bingo and Gildor, but the talk here moves into topics which my father excluded from the typescript version (pp. 62–5). Gildor is not yet named, in fact, and indeed it was apparently in this text that he emerged as an individual: at first the conversation is between Bingo and an undifferentiated plural 'they'.

The passage begins with an apparently disconnected sentence: 'Since he did not tell his companions what he discovered I think I shall not tell you.' (Does this refer to what Bingo discovered from the Elves?) Then follows:

'Of course,' they said, 'we know that you are in search of Adventure; but it often happens that when you think it is ahead, it comes up unexpectedly from behind. Why did you choose this moment to set out?'

'Well, the moment was really inevitable, you know,' said Bingo. 'I had come to the end of my treasure. And by wandering I thought I *might* find some more, like old Bilbo, and at least should be able more easily to live without any. I thought too it might be good for me. I was getting rather soft and fat.'

'Yes,' they laughed, 'you *look* just like an ordinary hobbit.'

'But though I can do a few things – like carpentry and gardening: I did not feel inclined somehow to make other people's chairs, or grow other people's vegetables for a living. I suppose some tiny touch of dragon-curse came to me. I am gold-lazy.'

'Then Gandalf did not tell you anything? You were not actually escaping.'

'What do you mean? What from?'

'Well, this black rider,' they said.

'I don't understand them at all.'

'Then Gandalf told you nothing?'

'Not about them. He warned Bilbo a long time ago about the Ring, of course.[1] "Don't use it too much!" he used to say. "And

only use it for proper purposes. I mean, do not use it except for jest, or for escaping from danger and annoyance – don't use it for harm, or for finding out other people's secrets, and of course not for theft or worse things. Because it may get the better of you." I did not understand.

'I seldom saw Gandalf after Bilbo went away. But about a year ago he came one night, and I told him of the plan I was beginning to make for leaving Bag-end. "What about the Ring?" he asked. "Are you being careful? Do be careful: otherwise you will be overcome by it." I had as a matter of fact hardly ever used it – and I did not use it again after that talk until my birthday party.'

'Does anyone else know about it?'

'I cannot say; but I don't think so. Bilbo kept it very secret. He always told me that I was the only one who knew about it (in the Shire).[2] I never told anyone else except Odo and Frodo who are my best friends. I have tried to be to them what Bilbo was to me. But even to them I never spoke of the Ring until they agreed to come with me on this Journey a few months ago. They would not tell anyone – though we often speak of it among ourselves. – Well, what do you make of it all? I can see you are bursting with secrets, but I cannot guess any of them.'

'Well,' said the Elf. 'I don't know much about this. You must find Gandalf as quick as you can – Rivendell I think is the place to go to. But it is my belief that the Lord of the Ring[3] is looking for you.'

'Is that bad or good?'

'Bad; but how bad I cannot say. Bad enough if he only wants the ring back (which is unlikely); worse, if he wants payment; very bad indeed if he wants you as well (which is quite likely). We fancy that he must at last after many years have found out that Bilbo had it. Hence the asking for Baggins.[4] But somehow the search for Baggins failed, and then something must have been discovered about you. But by strange luck you must have held your party and vanished just as they found out where you lived. You put off the scent; but they are hot on it now.'

'Who are they?'

'Servants of the Lord of the Ring – [?people] who have passed through the Ring.'

This ends a sheet, and the following sheet is not continuous with what precedes; but as found among my father's papers they were placed together, and on both of them he wrote (later) 'About Ring-wraiths'. The second passage is also part of a conversation, but there is no indication of

who the speaker is (whoever it is, he is obviously speaking to Bingo). It was written at great speed and is extremely difficult to make out.

Yes, if the Ring overcomes you, you yourself become permanently invisible – and it is a horrible cold feeling. Everything becomes very faint like grey ghost pictures against the black background in which you live; but you can smell more clearly than you can hear or see.[5] You have no power however like a Ring of making other things invisible: you are a ringwraith. You can wear clothes. [> you are just a ringwraith; and your clothes are visible, unless the Lord lends you a ring.] But you are under the command of the Lord of the Rings.[6]

I expect that one (or more) of these Ringwraiths have been sent to get the ring away from hobbits.

In the very ancient days the Ring-lord made many of these Rings: and sent them out through the world to snare people. He sent them to all sorts of folk – the Elves had many, and there are now many elfwraiths in the world, but the Ring-lord cannot rule them; the goblins got many, and the invisible goblins are very evil and wholly under the Lord; dwarves I don't believe had any; some say the rings don't work on them: they are too solid. Men had few, but they were most quickly overcome and . . . . . The men-wraiths are also servants of the Lord. Other creatures got them. Do you remember Bilbo's story of Gollum?[7] We don't know where Gollum comes in – certainly not elf, nor goblin; he is probably not dwarf; we rather believe he really belongs to an ancient sort of hobbit. Because the ring seems to act just the same for him and you. Long ago [?he belonged] . . . . to a wise, cleverhanded and quietfooted little family. But he disappeared underground, and though he used the ring often the Lord evidently lost track of it. Until Bilbo brought it out to light again.

Of course Gollum himself may have heard news – all the mountains were full of it after the battle – and tried to get back the ring, or told the Lord.

At this point the manuscript stops. Here is a first glimpse of an earlier history of Gollum; a suggestion of how the hunt for the Ring originated; and a first sketching of the idea that the Dark Lord gave out Rings among the peoples of Middle-earth. The Rings conferred invisibility, and (it is at least implied) this invisibility was associated with the fate (or at least the peril) of the bearers of the Rings: that they become 'wraiths' and – in the case of goblins and men – servants of the Dark Lord.

Now at some very early stage my father wrote a chapter, without number or title, in which he made use of the passage just given; and this is the first drafting of (a part of) what ultimately became Chapter 2, 'The Shadow of the Past'. As I have noticed, in the second of these two passages marked 'About Ring-wraiths' it is not clear who is speaking. It may be Gildor, or it may be Gandalf, or (perhaps most likely) neither the one nor the other, but indeterminate; but in any case I think that my father decided when writing the draft text of the second chapter that he would not have Gildor discussing these matters with Bingo (as he certainly does in the first of these 'Ring-wraith' passages, p. 74), but would reserve them for Gandalf's instruction, and that this was the starting-point of the chapter which I now give, in which as I have said he made use of the second 'Ring-wraith' passage. Whether he wrote this text at once, before going on to the third chapter (IV in this book), seems impossible to say; but the fact that Marmaduke is mentioned shows that it preceded 'In the House of Tom Bombadil', where 'Meriadoc' and 'Merry' first appear. This, at any rate, is a convenient place to put it.

Subsequently my father referred to it as a 'foreword' (see p. 224), and it is clear that it was written as a possible new beginning for the book, in which Gandalf tells Bingo at Bag End, not long before the Party, something of the history and nature of his Ring, of his danger, and of the need for him to leave his home. It was composed very rapidly and is hard to read. I have introduced punctuation where needed, and occasionally put in silently necessary connective words. There are many pencilled alterations and additions which are here ignored, for they are anticipations of a later version of the chapter; but changes belonging to the time of composition are adopted into the text. There is no title.

One day long ago two people were sitting talking in a small room. One was a wizard and the other was a hobbit, and the room was the sitting-room of the comfortable and well-furnished hobbit-hole known as Bag-end, Underhill, on the outskirts of Hobbiton in the middle of the Shire. The wizard was of course Gandalf and he looked much the same as he had always done, though ninety years and more[8] had gone by since he last came into any story that is now remembered. The hobbit was Bingo Bolger-Baggins, the nephew (or really first cousin once removed) of old Bilbo Baggins, and his adopted heir. Bilbo had quietly disappeared many years before, but he was not forgotten in Hobbiton.

Bingo of course was always thinking about him; and when Gandalf paid him a visit their talk usually came back to Bilbo. Gandalf had not been to Hobbiton for some time: since Bilbo disappeared his visits had become fewer and more secret. The people of Hobbiton had not in fact seen or at any rate noticed him

for many years: he used to come quietly up to the door of Bag-end in the twilight and step in without knocking, and only Bingo (and one or two of his closest friends) knew he had been in the Shire. This evening he had slipped in in his usual way, and Bingo was more than usually glad to see him. For he was worried, and wanted explanations and advice.[9] They were now talking of Bilbo, and his disappearance, and particularly about the Ring (which he had left behind with Bingo) – and about certain strange signs and portents of trouble brewing after a long time of peace and quiet.[10]

'It is all very peculiar – and most disturbing and in fact terrifying,' said Bingo. Gandalf was sitting smoking in a high chair, and Bingo near his feet was huddled on a stool warming his hands by a small wood-fire as if he felt chilly, though actually it was rather a warm evening for the time of the year [*written above:* at the end of August].[11] Gandalf grunted – the sound might have meant 'I quite agree, but it can't be helped,' or else possibly 'What a silly thing to say.' There was a long silence. 'How long have you known all this?' asked Bingo at length; 'and did you ever talk about it to Bilbo?'

'I guessed a good deal immediately,' answered Gandalf slowly, as if searching back in memory. Already to him the days of the journey and the Dragon and the Battle of Five Armies began to seem far off – in an almost legendary past. Perhaps even he was at last getting to feel his age a little; and in any case many dark and curious adventures had befallen him since then. 'I guessed much,' he said, 'but soon I learnt more, for I went, as Bilbo may have told you, to the land of the Necromancer.'[12] For a moment his voice faded to a whisper. 'But I knew that all was well with Bilbo,' he went on. 'Bilbo was safe, for that kind of power was powerless over him – or so I thought, and I was right in a way (if not quite right). I kept an eye on him and it, of course, but perhaps I was not careful enough.'

'I am sure you did your best,' said Bingo, meaning to console him. 'O dearest and best friend of our house, may your beard never grow less! But it must have been rather a blow when Bilbo disappeared.'

'Not at all,' said Gandalf, with a sudden return to his ordinary tones. He sent out a great jet of smoke with an indignant *poof* and it coiled round his head like a cloud on a mountain. 'That did not worry me. Bilbo is all right. It is you and all these other dear, silly, charming, idiotic, helpless hobbits that trouble me! It would be a

mortal blow if the dark power should overcome the Shire, and all these jolly, greedy, stupid Bolgers, Bagginses, Brandybucks, Hornblowers, Proudfoots and whatnot became Wraiths.'

Bingo shuddered. 'But why should we?' he asked; 'and why should the Lord want such servants, and what has all this to do with me and the Ring?'

'It is the only Ring left,' said Gandalf. 'And hobbits are the only people of whom the Lord has not yet mastered any one.

'In[13] the ancient days the dark master made many Rings, and he dealt them out lavishly, so that they might be spread abroad to ensnare folk. The elves had many, and there are now many elf-wraiths in the world; the goblins had some and their wraiths are very evil and wholly under the command of the Lord. The dwarves it is said had seven, but nothing could make them invisible. In them it only kindled to flames the fire of greed, and the foundation of each of the seven hoards of the Dwarves of old was a golden ring. In this way the master controlled them. But these hoards are destroyed, and the dragons have devoured them, and the rings are melted, or so some say.[14] Men had three rings, and others they found in secret places cast away by the elf-wraiths: the men-wraiths are servants of the Lord, and they brought all their rings back to him; till at last he had gathered all into his hands again that had not been destroyed by fire – all save one.

'It fell from the hand of an elf as he swam across a river; and it betrayed him, for he was flying from pursuit in the old wars, and he became visible to his enemies, and the goblins slew him.[15] But a fish took the ring and was filled with madness, and swam upstream, leaping over rocks and up waterfalls until it cast itself on a bank and spat out the ring and died.

'There was long ago living by the bank of the stream a wise, cleverhanded and quietfooted little family.[16] I guess they were of hobbit-kind, or akin to the fathers of the fathers of the hobbits. The most inquisitive and curious-minded of that family was called Dígol. He was interested in roots and beginnings; he dived in deep pools, he burrowed under trees and growing plants, he tunnelled into green mounds, and he ceased to look up at flowers, and hill-tops, or the birds that are in the upper air: his head and eyes were downward. He found the ring in the mud of the river-bank under the roots of a thorn tree; and he put it on; and when he returned home none of his family saw him while he wore it. He was pleased with his discovery and concealed it, and he used it to discover secrets, and put his knowledge to malicious use, and became

sharp-eyed and keen-eared for all that was unpleasant. It is not to be wondered at that he became very unpopular, and was shunned (when visible) by all his relatives. They kicked him, and he bit their feet. He took to muttering to himself and gurgling in his throat. So they called him Gollum, and cursed him, and told him to go far away. He wandered in loneliness up the stream and caught fish with his fingers in deep pools and ate them raw. One day it was very hot, and as he was bending over a pool he felt a burning on the back of his head, and a dazzling light from the water pained his eyes. He wondered, for he had almost forgotten about the sun; and for the last time he looked up and shook his fist at it; but as he lowered his eyes again he saw far ahead the tops of the Misty Mountains. And he thought suddenly: "It would be cool and shady under those mountains. The sun could never find me there. And the roots of those peaks must be roots indeed; there must be great secrets buried there which have not been discovered since the beginning." So he journeyed by night towards the mountains, and found a hole out of which a stream issued; and he wormed his way in like a maggot in the heart of the hills, and disappeared from all knowledge. And the ring went into the shadows with him, and even the Master lost it. But whenever he counted his rings, besides the seven rings that the Dwarves had held and lost, there was also one missing.'

'Gollum!' said Bingo. 'Do you mean that Gollum that Bilbo met? Is that his history? How very horrible and sad. I hate to think that he was connected with hobbits, however distantly.'

'But that surely was plain from Bilbo's own account,' said Gandalf. 'It is the only thing that explains the events – or partly explains them. There was a lot in the background of both their minds and memories that was very similar – they understood one another really (if you think of it) better than hobbits ever understood dwarves, elves, or goblins.'

'Still, Gollum must have been, or be, very much older than the oldest hobbit that ever lived in field or burrow,' said Bingo.

'That was the Ring,' said Gandalf. 'Of course it is a poor sort of long life that the Ring gives, a kind of stretched life rather than a continued growing – a sort of thinning and thinning. Frightfully wearisome, Bingo, in fact finally tormenting. Even Gollum came at last to feel it, to feel he could not bear it, and to understand dimly the cause of the torment. He had even made up his mind to get rid of it. But he was too full of malice. If you want to know, I believe he had begun to make a plan that he had not the courage

left to carry out. There was nothing new to find out; nothing left but darkness, nothing to do but cold eating, and regretful remembering. He wanted to slip out and leave the mountains, and smell the open air even if it killed him – as he thought it probably would. But that would have meant leaving the Ring. And that is not easy to do. The longer you have had one the harder it is. It was especially hard for Gollum, as he had had a Ring for ages, and it hurt him and he hated it, and he wanted, when he could no longer bear to keep it, to hand it on to someone else to whom it would become a burden – [?bind] itself as a blessing and turn to a curse.[17] That is in fact the best way of getting rid of its power.'

'Why not give it to the goblins, then?' asked Bingo.

'I don't think Gollum would have found that amusing enough,' said Gandalf. 'The goblins are already so beastly and miserable that it was wasting malice on them. Also it would have been difficult to escape from the hunters if there was an invisible goblin to reckon with. But I suppose he might have put it in their path in the end (if he had plucked up enough courage to do anything); but for the unexpected arrival of Bilbo. You remember how surprised he was. But as soon as the riddles started a plan formed in his mind – or half-formed. I dare say his old bad habits would have beaten his resolves and he would have eaten Bilbo if it had proved easy. But there was the sword, you remember. In his heart, I fancy, he never seriously expected to get a chance of eating Bilbo.'

'But he never gave Bilbo the ring,' said Bingo. 'Bilbo had got it already!'

'I know,' said Gandalf. 'And that is why I said that Gollum's ancestry only partly explained events. There was, of course, something much more mysterious behind the whole thing – something quite beyond the Lord of the Rings himself, peculiar to Bilbo and his great Adventure. There was a queer fate over these rings, and especially over [?this] one. They got lost occasionally, and turned up in strange places. This one had already slipped away from its owner treacherously once before. It had slipped away from Gollum too. That is why I let Bilbo keep the ring so long.[18] But for the moment I am trying to explain Gollum.'

'I see,' said Bingo doubtfully. 'But do you know what happened afterwards?'

'Not very clearly,' said Gandalf. 'I have heard a little, and can guess more. I think it certain that Gollum knew in the end that Bilbo had somehow got the Ring. He may well have guessed it soon. But in any case the news of the later events went all over

Wilderland and far beyond, East, West, and South and North. The mountains were full of whispers and reports; and that would give Gollum enough to think about.[19] Anyway, it is said that Gollum left the mountains – for the goblins had become very few there, and the deep places more than ever dark and lonely, and the power of the ring had left him. He was probably feeling old, very old, but less timid. But I do not think he became less wicked. There is no news of what happened to him afterwards. Of course, it is quite likely that wind and the mere shadow of sunlight killed him pretty quickly. But it is possible that it did not. He was cunning. He could hide from daylight or moonlight till he slowly grew more used to things. I have in fact a horrible fancy that he made his slow sneaking way bit by bit to the dark tower, to the Necromancer, the Lord of the Rings. I think that Gollum is very likely the beginning of our present trouble; and that through him the Lord found out where to look for this last and most precious and potent of his Rings.'

'What a pity Bilbo did not stab the beastly creature when he said goodbye,' said Bingo . . . .

'What nonsense you do talk sometimes, Bingo,' said Gandalf. 'Pity! It was pity that prevented him. And he could not do so, without doing wrong. It was against the rules. If he had done so he would not have had the ring, the ring would have had him at once. He might have been a wraith on the spot.'

'Of course, of course,' said Bingo. 'What a thing to say of Bilbo. Dear old Bilbo! But why did *he* keep the thing, or why did you let him? Didn't you warn him about it?'

'Yes,' said Gandalf. 'But even over Bilbo it had *some* power. Sentiment . . . . . He liked to keep it as a memento. Let us be frank – he continued to be proud of his Great Adventure, and to look on the ring now and again warmed his memory, and made him feel just a trifle heroic. But he could hardly have helped himself anyway: if you think for a moment, it is not really very easy to get rid of a Ring once you have got it.'

'Why not?' said Bingo, after thinking for a moment. 'You can give it away, throw it away, or destroy it.'

'Yes,' said Gandalf – 'or you can surrender it: to the Master. That is if you wish to serve him, and to fall into his power, and to greatly increase his power.'

'But no one would wish to do that,' said Bingo, horrified.

'Nobody that you can imagine, perhaps,' answered Gandalf. 'Certainly not Bilbo. That is what made it difficult for him. He

dared not throw it away lest it get into evil hands, and be misused, and find its way back to the Master after doing much evil. He would not give it away to bad folk for the same reason; and he would not give it away to good folk or people he knew and trusted because he did not wish to burden them with it, any sooner than he was obliged. And he could not destroy it.'

'Why not?'

'Well, how would you destroy it? Have *you* ever tried?'

'No; but I suppose one could hammer it, or melt it, or do both.'

'Try them,' said Gandalf, 'and you will find out what Bilbo found out long ago.'

Bingo drew the Ring out of an inner pocket, and looked at it. It was plain and smooth without device, emblem, or rune; but it was of gold, and as he looked at it it seemed to Bingo that its colour was rich and beautiful, and its roundness perfect. It was very admirable and wholly precious. He had thought of throwing it into the hot embers of the fire. He found he could not do so without a struggle. He weighed the Ring in his hand, and then with an effort of will he made a movement as if to throw it in the fire; but he found he had put it back in his pocket.

Gandalf laughed. 'You see? You have always regarded it as a great treasure, and an heirloom from Bilbo. Now you cannot easily get rid of it. Though as a matter of fact, even if you took it to an anvil and summoned enough will to strike it with a heavy hammer, you would make no dint on it. Your little wood-fire, of course, even if you blew all night with a bellows would hardly melt any gold. But old Adam Hornblower the smith down the road could not melt it in his furnace. They say only dragonfire can melt them – but I wonder if that is not a legend, or at any rate if there are any dragons now left in which the old fire is hot enough. I fancy you would have to find one of the Cracks of Earth in the depths of the Fiery Mountain, and drop it down into the Secret Fire, if you really wanted to destroy it.'[20]

'After all your talk,' said Bingo, half solemnly and half in pretended annoyance, 'I really do want to destroy it. I cannot think how Bilbo put up with it for so long, if he knew as much – but he actually used it sometimes, and joked about it to me.'

'The only thing to do with such perilous treasures that Adventure has bestowed on you is to take them lightheartedly,' said Gandalf. 'Bilbo never used the ring for any serious purpose after he came back. He knew that it was too serious a matter. And I

think he taught you well – after he had chosen you as his heir from among all the hobbits of his kindred.'

There was a long silence again, while Gandalf puffed at his pipe in apparent content, though under his lids his eyes were watching Bingo intently. Bingo gazed at the red embers, that began to glow as the light faded and the room grew slowly dark. He was thinking about the fabled Cracks of Earth and the terror of the Fiery Mountain.

'Well?' said Gandalf at last. 'What are you thinking about? Are you making any plans or getting any ideas?'

'No,' said Bingo coming back to himself, and finding to his surprise that he was in the dark. 'Or perhaps yes! As far as I can see I have got to leave Hobbiton, leave the Shire, leave everything and go away and draw the danger after me. I must save the Shire somehow, though there have been times when I thought it too stupid and dull for anything, and fancied a big explosion or an invasion of dragons might do it good! But I don't feel like that now. I feel that as long as the Shire lies behind safe and comfortable, I shall find wandering and adventures bearable. I shall feel there is some foothold somewhere, even if I can't ever stand on it myself again. But I suppose I must go alone. I feel rather minute, don't you know, and extremely uprooted, and, well, frightened, I suppose. Help me, Gandalf, best of friends.'

'Cheer up, Bingo, my lad,' said Gandalf, throwing two small logs of wood on the fire and puffing it with his mouth. Immediately the wood blazed up and filled the room with dancing light. 'No, I don't think you need or should go alone. Why not ask your three best friends to, beg them to, order them to (if you must) – I mean the three, the only three who you have (perhaps indiscreetly but perhaps with wise choice) told about your secret Ring: Odo, Frodo, and Marmaduke [*written above:* Meriadoc]. But you must go quickly – and make it a joke, Bingo, a joke, a huge joke, a resounding jest. Don't be mournful and serious. Jokes are really in your line. That's what Bilbo liked about you (among other things), if you care to know.'

'And where shall we go, and what shall we steer by, and what shall be our quest?' said Bingo, without a trace of a smile or the glimmer of a jest. 'When the huge joke is over, what then?'

'At present I have no idea,' said Gandalf, quite seriously and much to Bingo's surprise and dismay. 'But it will be just the opposite of Bilbo's adventure – to begin with, at any rate. You will set out on a journey without any known destination; and as far as

you have any object it will not be to win new treasure but to get rid of a treasure that belongs (one might say) inevitably to you. But you cannot even start without going East, West, South, or North; and which shall we choose? Towards danger, and yet not too rashly or too straight towards it. Go East. Yes, yes, I have it. Make first for Rivendell, and then we shall see. Yes, we shall see then. Indeed, I begin to see already!' Suddenly Gandalf began to chuckle. He rubbed his long gnarled hands together and cracked the finger-joints. He leant forward to Bingo. 'I have thought of a joke,' he said. 'Just a rough plan – you can set your comic wits to work on it.' And his beard wagged backwards and forwards as he whispered long in Bingo's ear. The fire burned low again – but suddenly in the darkness an unexpected sound rang out. Bingo was rocking with laughter.

NOTES

1 My father's own thought is surely transparent here. Bingo introduces the subject of the Ring as if it had some connection with the Riders, whereas he is obviously intended to appear as quite unable even to guess at their significance; and there is no suggestion in the drafts that the Ring had been mentioned before this point.

2 *(in the Shire):* my father first wrote 'except Gandalf'. The words *'(in the Shire)'* probably mean no more than that: i.e., no one save Bilbo and Bingo, and outside the Shire only Gandalf, and anyone else whom Gandalf might possibly have told.

3 This is probably the first time that the expression *The Lord of the Ring* was used; and *The Lord of the Rings* occurs below (note 6). (My father gave *The Lord of the Ring* as the title of the new work in a letter to Allen and Unwin of 31 August 1938).

4 *Hence the asking for Baggins:* this is not mentioned in the manuscript drafts, but see the typescript version, p. 54 and note 9. The following sentence, 'But somehow the search for Baggins failed, and then something must have been discovered about you' perhaps explains the story that Frodo Took met a Black Rider on the North Moor as early as the previous spring (see p. 71).

5 My father first wrote here that the clothing of one who has thus become permanently invisible was invisible also, but rejected the statement as soon as written.

6 This seems to be the first appearance of the expression *The Lord of the Rings*; see note 3.

7 After this sentence my father wrote: 'Gollum I think some sort of distant kinsman of the goblin sort.' Since this is contradicted in the

next sentence it was obviously rejected in the act of writing; he crossed it out later.

8 *ninety years and more:* see pp. 31–3.

9 At no point in this text is there any further mention of Bingo's 'worry'; and the advice that he asks is entirely based on what Gandalf now tells him and which is obviously entirely new to him. There is also no further reference to the 'strange signs and portents of trouble brewing' spoken of in the next sentence, nor any explanation of Gandalf's remark (p. 81) that 'Gollum is very likely the beginning of *our present trouble*.'

10 This ends the first page of the manuscript. At the head of the second page my father wrote in pencil: 'Gandalf and Bingo discuss Rings and Gollum', and 'Draft: Later used in Chapter II', and he numbered the pages (previously unnumbered) in Greek letters, beginning at this point. Thus the first page is left out. But these pencillings were clearly put in long after, and in my view they cast no doubt on the validity of the opening section as an integral part of the text. May be it had at one time become separated and mislaid; but as the papers were found it was placed with the rest.

11 Rumour of the Party – decided on between Gandalf and Bingo at the end of this text – began to circulate early in September (p. 30).

12 In *The Hobbit* (Chapter I) Gandalf told Thorin at Bag End that he found his father Thrain 'in the dungeons of the Necromancer'. In the Tale of Years in LR Appendix B this, Gandalf's second visit to Dol Guldur, took place in the year 2850, forty years before Bilbo's birth; it was then that he 'discovered that its master was indeed Sauron' (cf. FR p. 263). But here the meaning is clearly that Gandalf went to the land of the Necromancer *after* Bilbo's acquisition of the Ring. Later my father altered the text in pencil to read: 'for I went back once more to the land of the Necromancer.'

13 Here the earlier draft concerning the Rings is used: see p. 75.

14 See FR p. 60 and LR Appendix A pp. 357–8.

15 This is the first germ of the story of the death of Isildur.

16 This is also derived from the text referred to in note 13.

17 This sentence as first written ended: 'and he wanted to hand it on to someone else.' It is to this that the following sentence refers.

18 The passage beginning 'There was a queer fate' was an addition, and 'That is why I let Bilbo keep the ring so long' refers to the sentence ending '. . . peculiar to Bilbo and his great Adventure.'

19 Cf. the draft passage given on p. 75: 'Of course Gollum himself may have heard news – all the mountains were full of it after the battle – and tried to get back the ring.'

20 The first mention of the Fiery Mountain and the Cracks of Earth in its depths.

★

It will be seen that a part of the 'Gollum' element in 'The Shadow of the Past' (Chapter 2 in FR) was at once very largely achieved, even though Dígol* (later Déagol) is Gollum himself, and not his friend whom he murdered, though Gandalf had never seen him (and so no explanation is given of how he knows his history, which of its nature could only be derived from Gollum's own words), and though it is only surmised that he went at last to the Dark Lord.

It is important to realise that when my father wrote this, he was working within the constraints of the story as originally told in *The Hobbit*. As *The Hobbit* first appeared, and until 1951, the story was that Gollum, encountering Bilbo at the edge of the subterranean lake, proposed the riddle game on these conditions: 'If precious asks, and it doesn't answer, we eats it, my preciousss. If it asks us, and we doesn't answer, we gives it a present, gollum!' When Bilbo won the contest, Gollum held to his promise, and went back in his boat to his island in the lake to find his treasure, the ring which was to be his present to Bilbo. He could not find it, for Bilbo had it in his pocket, and coming back to Bilbo he begged his pardon many times: 'He kept on saying: "We are ssorry: we didn't mean to cheat, we meant to give it our only present, if it won the competition".' '"Never mind!" he [Bilbo] said. "The ring would have been mine now, if you had found it; so you would have lost it anyway. And I will let you off on one condition." "Yes, what iss it? What does it wish us to do, my precious?" "Help me to get out of these places", said Bilbo.' And Gollum did so; and Bilbo 'said good-bye to the nasty miserable creature.' On the way up through the tunnels Bilbo slipped on the ring, and Gollum at once missed him, so that Bilbo perceived that the ring was as Gollum had told him – it made you invisible.

This is why, in the present text, Gandalf says 'I think it certain that Gollum knew in the end that Bilbo had got the ring'; and why my father had Gandalf develop a theory that Gollum was actually ready to give the ring away: 'he wanted . . . to hand it on to someone else . . . I suppose he might have put it in [the goblins'] path in the end . . . but for the unexpected arrival of Bilbo . . . as soon as the riddles started a plan formed in his mind.' This is all carefully conceived in relation to the text of *The Hobbit* as it then was, to meet the formidable difficulty: if the Ring were of such a nature as my father now conceived it, how *could* Gollum have really intended to give it away to a stranger who won a riddle contest? – and the original text of *The Hobbit* left no doubt that that was indeed his serious intention. But it is interesting to observe that Gandalf's remarks about the affinity of mind between Gollum and Bilbo, which survived into FR (pp. 63–4), originally arose in this context, of explaining how it was that Gollum was willing to let his treasure go.

*Old English *dígol*, *déagol*, etc. 'secret, hidden'; cf. LR Appendix F (p. 415).

Turning to what is told of the Rings in this text, the original idea (p. 75) that the Elves had many Rings, and that there were many 'Elf-wraiths' in the world, is still present, but the phrase 'the Ring-lord cannot rule them' is not. The Dwarves, on the other hand, at first said not to have had any, now had seven, each the foundation of one of 'the seven hoards of the Dwarves', and their distinctive response to the corruptive power of the Rings enters (though this was already foreshadowed in the first rough draft on the subject: 'some say the rings don't work on them: they are too solid.') Men, at first said to have had 'few', now had three – but 'others they found in secret places cast away by the elf-wraiths' (thus allowing for more than three Black Riders). But the central conception of the Ruling Ring is not yet present, though it was, so to say, waiting in the wings: for it is said that Gollum's Ring was not only the only one that had not returned to the Dark Lord (other than those lost by the Dwarves) – it was the *'most precious and potent* of his Rings' (p. 81). But in what its peculiar potency lay we are not told; nor indeed do we learn more here of the relation between the invisibility conferred by the Rings, the tormenting longevity (which now first appears), and the decline of their bearers into 'wraiths'.

The element of moral will required in one possessed of a Ring to resist its power is strongly asserted. This is seen in Gandalf's advice to Bilbo in the original draft (p. 74): 'don't use it for harm, or for finding out other people's secrets, and of course not for theft or for worse things. *Because it may get the better of you*'; and still more expressly in his rebuke to Bingo, who said that it was a pity that Bilbo did not kill Gollum: 'He could not do so, without doing wrong. It was against the rules. If he had done so he would not have had the ring, *the ring would have had him at once*' (p. 81). This element remains in FR (pp. 68–9), but is more guardedly expressed: 'Be sure that he took so little hurt from the evil, and escaped in the end, because he began his ownership of the Ring so.'

The end of the chapter – with Gandalf actually himself proposing the Birthday Party and Bingo's 'resounding jest' – was to be quickly rejected, and is never heard of again.

IV
TO MAGGOT'S FARM AND BUCKLAND

The third of the original consecutive chapters exists in complete form only in a typescript, where it bears the number 'III' but has no title; there are also however incomplete and very rough manuscript drafts, which were filled out and improved in the typescript but in all essentials left unchanged. Near the end the typescript ceases (note 16), not at the foot of a page, and the remainder of the chapter is in manuscript; for this part also rough drafting exists.

I again give the text in full, since in this chapter the original narrative was far removed from what finally went into print. Subsequent emendation was here very slight. I take up into the text a few manuscript changes that seem to me to be in all probability contemporary with the making of the typescript.

The end of the chapter corresponds to FR Chapter 5 'A Conspiracy Unmasked'; at this stage there was no conspiracy.

III

In the morning Bingo woke refreshed. He was lying in a bower made by a living tree with branches laced and drooping to the ground; his bed was of fern and grass, deep and soft and strangely fragrant. The sun was shining through the fluttering leaves, which were still green upon the tree. He jumped up and went out.

Odo and Frodo were sitting on the grass near the edge of the wood; there was no sign of any elves.

'They have left us fruit and drink, and bread,' said Odo. 'Come and have breakfast! The bread tastes almost as good as last night.'

Bingo sat down beside them. 'Well?' said Odo. 'Did you find anything out?'

'No, nothing,' said Bingo. 'Only hints and riddles. But as far as I could make them out, it seems to me that Gildor thinks there are several Riders; that they are after *me*; that they are now ahead and behind and on both sides of us; that it is no use going back (at least not for me); that we ought to make for Rivendell as quickly as possible, and if we find Gandalf there so much the better; and that we shall have an exciting and dangerous time getting there.'

'I call that a lot more than nothing,' said Odo. 'But what about the sniffing?'

'We did not discuss it,' said Bingo with his mouth full.

'You should have,' said Odo. 'I am sure it is very important.'

'In that case I am sure Gildor would have told me nothing about it. But he did say that he thought you might as well come with me. I gathered that the riders are not after you, and that you rather bother them.'

'Splendid! Odo and Frodo are to take care of Uncle Bingo. They won't let him be sniffed at.'

'All right!' said Bingo. 'That's settled. What about the method of advance?'

'What do you mean?' said Odo. 'Shall we hop, skip, run, crawl on our stomachs, or just walk singing along?'

'Exactly. And shall we follow the road, or risk a cross-country cut? There is no choice in the matter of time; we must go in daylight, because Marmaduke is expecting us to-night. In fact we must get off as soon as possible; we have slept late, and there are still quite eighteen miles to go.'

'*You* have slept late, you mean,' said Odo. 'We have been up a long time.'

So far Frodo had said nothing. He was looking out over the tree-tops eastward. He now turned towards them. 'I vote for striking across country,' he said. 'The land is not so wild between here and the River. It ought not to be difficult to mark our direction before we leave this hill, and to keep pretty well to it. Buckland is almost exactly south-east from Woodhall[1] down there in the trees. We should cut off quite a corner, because the road bears away to the left – you can see a bit of it over there – and then sweeps round south when it gets nearer to the River.[2] We could strike it above Buckland before it gets really dark.'

'Short cuts make long delays,' said Odo; 'and I don't see that a Rider is any worse on the road than in the woods.'

'Except that he probably won't be able to see so well, and may not be able to ride so fast,' said Bingo. 'I am also in favour of leaving the road.'

'All right!' said Odo. 'I will follow you into every bog and ditch. You two are as bad as Marmaduke. I suppose I shall be outvoted by three to one, instead of two to one, when we collect him, if we ever do.'

The sun was now hot again; but clouds were beginning to come

up from the West. It looked likely to turn to rain, if the wind fell. The hobbits scrambled down a steep green bank and struck into the trees below. Their line was taken to leave Woodhall on their left, and there was some thickish wood immediately in front of them, though after a mile or two it had looked from above as if the land became more open. There was a good deal of undergrowth, and they did not get on very fast. At the bottom of the slope they found a stream running in a deeply dug bed with steep slippery banks overhung with brambles. They could not jump across, and they had the choice of going back and taking a new line, or of turning aside to the left and following the stream until it became easier to cross. Odo looked back. Through the trees they could see the top of the bank which fell from the high green which they had just left. 'Look!' he said, clutching Bingo by the arm. On the top of the slope a black rider sat on a horse; he seemed to be swaying from side to side, as if sweeping all the land eastward with his gaze.

The hobbits gave up any idea of going back, and plunged quickly and silently into the thickest bushes by the stream. They were cut off from the West wind down in the hollow, and very soon they were hot and tired. Bushes, brambles, rough ground, and their packs, all did what they could to hold them back.

'Whew!' said Bingo. 'Both parties were right! The short cut has gone crooked; but we got under cover only just in time. Yours are the sharpest ears, Frodo. Can you hear – can you hear *anything* behind?'

They stopped and looked and listened; but there was no sign or sound of pursuit. They went on again, until the banks of the stream sank and its bed became broad and shallow. They waded across and hurried into the wood on the other side, no longer quite sure of the line they should take. There were no paths, but the ground was fairly level and open. A tall growth of young oaks, mixed with ash and elm, was all round them, so that they could not see far. The leaves of the trees blew upwards in sudden gusts, and spots of rain began to fall; then the wind died away, and the rain came down steadily.

They trudged along fast through thick leaves, while all about them the rain pattered and trickled; they did not talk, but kept glancing from side to side, and sometimes behind. After about an hour Frodo said: 'I suppose we have not struck too much to the south, and are not walking longwise through this wood? From above it looked like a narrow belt, and we ought to have crossed it by now, I should have thought.'

'It is no good starting going in zigzags now,' said Bingo. 'Let's keep on. The clouds seem to be breaking, and we may get a helpful glimpse of the sun again before long.'

He was right. By the time they had gone another mile, the sun gleamed out of ragged clouds; and they saw that they were in fact heading too much to the south. They bore a little to their left; but before long they decided by their feelings as much as by the sun that it was time for a mid-day halt and some food.

The rain was still falling at intervals; so they sat under an elm-tree, whose leaves were still thick, though they were fast turning yellow. They found that the Elves had filled their water-bottles with some clear golden drink: it had the scent rather than the taste of honey made of many flowers, and was mightily refreshing. They made a merry meal, and soon were laughing and snapping their fingers at rain and black riders. The next few miles they felt would soon be put behind them. With his back to the tree-trunk Odo began to sing softly to himself:

Ho! ho! ho! To my bottle I go
To heal my heart and drown my woe.
Rain may fall and wind may blow,
And many miles be still to go,
But under the elm-tree I will lie
And let the clouds go sailing by!

Ho! ho! ho! ———

It will never be known whether the next verse was any better than the first; for just at the moment there was a noise like a sneeze or a sniff. Odo never finished his song. The noise came again: sniff, sniff, sniff; it seemed to be quite close. They sprang to their feet, and looked quickly about; but there was nothing to be seen anywhere near their tree.[3]

Odo had no more thought of lying and watching the clouds go by. He was the first to be packed and ready to start. In a few minutes from the last sniff they were off again as fast as they could go. The wood soon came to an end; but they were not particularly pleased, for the land became soft and boggy, and hobbits (even on a Journey) don't like mud and clay on their feet. The sun was shining again, and they felt both too hot and too exposed to view away from the trees. Far back now behind them lay the high green where they had breakfasted; every time they looked back towards it they expected to see the distant figure of a horseman against the

sky. But none appeared; and as they went on the land about them got steadily more tame. There were hedges and gates and dikes for drainage; everything looked quiet and peaceful, just an ordinary corner of the Shire.

'I think I recognize these fields,' said Frodo suddenly. 'They belong to old Farmer Maggot,[4] unless I am quite lost. There ought to be a lane somewhere near, that leads from his place into the road a mile or two above Buckland.'[5]

'Does he live in a hole or a house?' asked Odo, who did not know this part of the country.

It was a curious thing about the hobbits of those days that this was an important distinction. All hobbits had, of course, originally lived in holes; but now only the best and the poorest hobbits did so, as a rule. Important hobbits lived in luxurious versions of the simple holes of olden times; but the sites for really good hobbit-holes were not to be found everywhere. Even in Hobbiton, one of the most important villages, there were houses. These were specially favoured by the farmers, millers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and people of that sort. The custom of building houses was supposed to have started among the hobbits of the woody riverside regions, where the land was heavy and wet and had no good hills or convenient banks. They began making artificial holes of mud (and later of brick), roofed with thatch in imitation of natural grass. That was a long time ago, and on the edge of history; but houses were still considered an innovation. The poorest hobbits still lived in holes of the most ancient sort – in fact just holes, with only one window, or even none.[6] But Odo was not thinking about hobbit-history. He merely wanted to know where to look for the farm. If Farmer Maggot had lived in a hole, there would have been rising ground somewhere near; but the land ahead looked perfectly flat.

'He lives in a house,' answered Frodo. 'There are very few holes in these parts. They say houses were invented here. Of course the Brandybucks have that great burrow of theirs at Bucklebury in the high bank across the River; but most of their people live in houses. There are lots of those new-fashioned brick houses – not too bad, I suppose, in their way; though they look very naked, if you know what I mean: no decent turf-covering, all bare and bony.'

'Fancy climbing upstairs to bed!' said Odo. 'That seems to me most inconvenient. Hobbits aren't birds.'

'I don't know,' said Bingo. 'It isn't as bad as it sounds; though personally I never like looking out of upstairs windows, it makes

me a bit giddy. There are some houses that have three stages, bedrooms above bedrooms. I slept in one once long ago on a holiday; the wind kept me awake all night.'

'What a nuisance, if you want a handkerchief or something when you are downstairs, and find it is upstairs,' said Odo.

'You could keep handkerchiefs downstairs, if you wished,' said Frodo.

'You could, but I don't believe anybody does.'

'That is not the houses' fault,' said Bingo; 'it is just the silliness of the hobbits that live in them. The old tales tell that the Wise Elves used to build tall towers; and only went up their long stairs when they wished to sing or look out of the windows at the sky, or even perhaps the sea. They kept everything downstairs, or in deep halls dug beneath the feet of the towers. I have always fancied that the idea of building came largely from the Elves, though we use it very differently. There used to be three elftowers standing in the land away west beyond the edge of the Shire. I saw them once. They shone white in the Moon. The tallest was furthest away, standing alone on a hill. It was told that you could see the sea from the top of that tower; but I don't believe any hobbit has ever climbed it.[7] If ever I live in a house, I shall keep everything I want downstairs, and only go up when I don't want anything; or perhaps I shall have a cold supper upstairs in the dark on a starry night.'

'And have to carry plates and things downstairs, if you don't fall all the way down,' laughed Odo.

'No!' said Bingo. 'I shall have wooden plates and bowls, and throw them out of the window. There will be thick grass all round my house.'

'But you would still have to carry your supper *up*stairs,' said Odo.

'O well then, perhaps I should not have supper upstairs,' said Bingo. 'It was only just an idea. I don't suppose I shall ever live in a house. As far as I can see, I am going to be just a wandering beggar.'

This very hobbit-like conversation went on for some time. It shows that the three were beginning to feel quite comfortable again, as they got back into tame and familiar country. But even invisible sniffs could not damp for long the spirits of these excellent and peculiarly adventurous hobbits, not in any kind of country.

While they talked they plodded steadily on. It was already late

afternoon when they saw the roof of a house peeping out of a clump of trees ahead and to their left.

'There is Farmer Maggot's!' said Frodo.

'I think we will go round it,' said Bingo, 'and strike the lane on the far side of the house. I am supposed to have vanished, and I would rather not be seen sneaking off in the direction of Buckland, even by good Farmer Maggot.'

They went on, leaving the farmhouse away on their left, hidden in the trees several fields away. Suddenly a small dog came through a gap in a hedge, and ran barking towards them.

'Here! Here! Gip! Gip!' said a voice. Bingo slipped on his ring. There was no chance for the others to hide. Over the top of the low hedge appeared a large round hobbit-face.

'Hullo! Hullo! And who may you be, and what may you be doing?' he asked.

'Good evening, Farmer Maggot!' said Frodo. 'Just a couple of Tooks, from away back yonder; and doing no harm, I hope.'

'Well now, let me see – you'll be Mr Frodo Took, Mr Folco Took's son, if I'm not mistook (and I seldom am: I've a rare memory for faces). You used to stay with young Mr Marmaduke. Any friend of Mr Marmaduke Brandybuck is welcome. You'll excuse my speaking sharp, before I recognized you. We get some strange folk in these parts at times. Too near the river,' he said, jerking back his head. 'There's been a very funny customer round here only an hour back. That's why I'm out with the dog.'

'What kind of a customer?' asked Frodo.

'A funny customer and asking funny questions,' said Farmer Maggot, shaking his head. 'Come along to my house and have a drink and we'll pass the news more comfortably like, if you and your friend are willing, Mr Took.'

It seemed plain that Farmer Maggot would only pass the news in his own time and place, and they guessed that it might be interesting; so Frodo and Odo went along with him. The dog remained behind jumping and frisking round Bingo to his annoyance.

'What's come to the dog?' said the farmer, looking back. 'Here, Gip! Heel!' he called. To Bingo's relief the dog obeyed, though it turned back once and barked.

'What's the matter with you?' growled Farmer Maggot. 'There seems to be something queer abroad this day. Gip went near off his head when that stranger came along, and now you'd think he could see or smell something that ain't there.'

They went into the farmer's kitchen and sat by the wide fireplace. Mrs Maggot brought them beer in large earthenware mugs. It was a good brew, and Odo found himself wishing that they were going to stay the night in the house.

'I hear there have been fine goings on up Hobbiton way,' said Farmer Maggot. 'Fireworks and all; and this Mr Bolger-Baggins disappearing, and giving everything away. Oddest thing I have heard tell of in my time. I suppose it all comes of living with that Mr Bilbo Baggins. My mother used to tell me queer tales of him, when I was a boy: not but what he seemed a very nice gentleman. I have seen him wandering down this way many a time when I was a lad, and that Mr Bingo with him. Now we take an interest in him in these parts, seeing as he belongs here, being half Brandybuck, as you might say. We never thought any good would come of his going away to Hobbiton, and folk are a bit queer back there, if you'll pardon me. I was forgetting you come from those parts.'

'O, folk are queer enough in Hobbiton – and Tookland,' said Frodo. 'We don't mind. But we know, I mean knew, Mr Bingo very well. I don't think any harm's come to him. It really was a very marvellous party, and I can't see that anyone has anything to complain of.' He gave the farmer a full and amusing account of the proceedings, which pleased him mightily. He stamped his feet and slapped his legs, and called for more beer; and made them tell his wife most of the tale over again, especially about the fireworks. Neither of the Maggots had ever seen fireworks.

'It must be a sight to do your eyes good,' said the farmer.

'No dragons for me!' said Mrs Maggot. 'But I would have liked to have been at that supper. Let's hope old Mr Rory Brandybuck will take the idea and give a party down in these parts for his next birthday. – And what did you say has become of Mr Bolger-Baggins?' she said, turning to Frodo.

'Well – er, well, he's vanished, don't you know,' said Frodo. He half thought he heard the ghost of a chuckle somewhere not far from his ear, but he was not sure.

'There now – that reminds me!' said Farmer Maggot. 'What do you think that funny customer said?'

'What?' said Odo and Frodo together.

'Well, he comes riding in at the gate and up to the door on a big black horse; all black he was himself too, and cloaked and hooded up as if he didn't want to be known. "Good Heavens!" I said to myself. "Here's one of the Big People! Now what in the Shire can he want?" We don't see many of the Big People down here, though

they come over the River at times; but I've never heard tell of any like this black chap. "Good day to you," I says. "This lane don't go no further, and wherever you be going your quickest way will be back to the road." I did not like the look of him, and when Gip came out he took one sniff and let out a howl as if he had been bitten; he put down his tail and bolted howling all the way.

'"I come from over yonder," he answered stiff and slow like, pointing back West, over *my* fields, Woodhall-way. "Have you ever seen Mist-er Bolg-er Bagg-ins?" he asked in a queer voice and bent down towards me, but I could see no face, his hood fell so low. I had a sort of shiver down my back; but I didn't see why he should come riding so bold over my land. "Be off!" I said. "Mr Bolger-Baggins has vanished, disappeared, if you take my meaning: gone into the blue, and you can follow him!"

'He gave a sort of hiss, seeming angry and startled like, it seemed to me; and he spurred his great horse right at me. I was standing by the gate, but I jumped out of the way mighty quick, and he rode through it and down the lane like mad. What do you think of that?'

'I don't know what to think,' said Frodo.

'Well, I'll tell you what to think,' said the farmer. 'This Mr Bingo has got himself mixed up in some trouble, and disappeared *a purpose*. There are plainly some folk as are mighty eager to find him. Mark my words, it'll all be along of some of those doings of old Mr Bilbo's. He ought to have stuck at Bolger and not gone tacking on Baggins. They are queer folk up Hobbiton way, begging your pardon. It's the Baggins that has got him into trouble, mark my words!'

'That certainly is an idea,' said Frodo. 'Very interesting, what you tell us. I suppose you've never seen any of these – er – black chaps before?'

'Not that I remember,' said Farmer Maggot, 'and I don't want to see any again. Now I hope you and your friend will stay and have a bite and a sup with me and the wife.'

'Thank you very much!' said Odo regretfully, 'but I am afraid we ought to go on.'

'Yes,' said Frodo, 'we have some way to go before night, and really we have already rested too long. But it is very kind of you all the same.'

'Well! Here's your health and good luck!' said the farmer, reaching for his mug. But at that moment the mug left the table, rose, tilted in the air, and then returned empty to its place.

'Help and save us!' cried the farmer jumping up. 'Did you see that? This is a queer day and no mistake. First the dog and then me seeing things that ain't.'

'Oh, I saw the mug too,' said Odo, unable to hide a grin.

'You did, did you!' said the farmer. 'I don't see no cause to laugh.' He looked quickly and queerly at Odo and Frodo, and now seemed only too glad that they were going. They said good-bye politely but hurriedly, and ran down the steps and out of the gate. Farmer Maggot and his wife stood whispering at their door and watched them out of sight.

'What did you want to play that silly trick for?' said Odo when the farmhouse was well behind. 'The old man had done you a good turn with that Rider, or so it seemed to me.'

'I daresay,' said a voice behind him. 'But you did me a pretty poor turn, going inside and drinking and talking, and leaving me in the cold. As it was I only got half a mug. And now we are late. I shall make you trot after this.'

'Show us how to trot!' said Odo.

Bingo immediately reappeared and went off as fast as he could down the lane. The others hurried after him. 'Look!' said Frodo pointing to one side. Along the edge of the lane, in the mud made by the day's rain, there were deep hoofmarks.

'Never mind!' said Bingo. 'We knew from old Maggot's talk that he went this way. It can't be helped. Come along!'

They met nothing in the lane. The afternoon faded and the sun went down into low clouds behind them. The light was already failing when they reached the end of the lane and came at last back to the road.[8] It was growing chilly and thin strands of mist were crawling over the fields. The twilight was clammy.

'Not too bad,' said Frodo. 'It is four miles from here to the landing stage opposite Bucklebury. We shall make it before it is quite dark.'

They now turned right along the road, which here ran quite straight, drawing steadily nearer to the River. There was no sign of any other traveller upon the way. Soon they could see lights in the distance ahead and to their left, beyond the dim line of the shadowy willow-trees along the borders of the river, where the far bank rose almost into a low hill.

'There's Bucklebury!' said Frodo.

'Thank goodness!' said Odo. 'My feet are sore, sticky, and mud-tired. Also it is getting chilly.' He stumbled into a puddle and

splashed up a fountain of dirty water. 'Drat it!' he said. 'I've nearly had enough of to-day's walk. Do you think there is any chance of a bath to-night?' Without waiting for an answer he suddenly began a hobbit bathroom song.

O Water warm and water hot!
O Water boiled in pan and pot!
O Water blue and water green,
O Water silver-clear and clean,
Of bath I sing my song!
O praise the steam expectant nose!
O bless the tub my weary toes!
O happy fingers come and play!
O arms and legs, you here may stay,
And wallow warm and long!
Put mire away! Forget the clay!
Shut out the night! Wash off the day!
In water lapping chin and knees,
In water kind now lie at ease,
Until the dinner gong!

'Really you might wait till you are *in* the bath!' said Frodo.

'I warn you,' added Bingo, 'that you will have yours last, or else you will not wallow very long.'

'Very well,' said Odo; 'only I warn *you* that if you go first you must not take all the hot water, or I shall drown you in your own bath. I want a hot bath and a clean one.'

'You may not get any,' said Bingo. 'I don't know what Marmaduke has arranged, or where we are sleeping. I didn't order baths, and if we get them they will be our last for some time, I expect.'

Their talk flagged. They were now getting really tired, and went along with their chins down and their eyes in front of their toes. They were quite startled when suddenly a voice behind them cried: 'Hi!' It then burst into a loud song:

As I was sitting by the way,
I saw three hobbits walking:
One was dumb with naught to say,
The others were not talking.

'Good night!' I said. 'Good night to you!'
They heeded not my greeting:
One was deaf like the other two.
It was a merry meeting!

'Marmaduke!' cried Bingo turning round. 'Where did you spring from?'

'You passed me sitting at the road-side,' said Marmaduke. 'Perhaps I ought to have lain down in the road; but then you would have just trodden on me and passed gaily on.'

'We are tired,' said Bingo.

'So it seems. I told you you would be – but you were so proud and stiff. "Ponies! Pooh!" you said. "Just a little leg-stretcher before the real business begins."'

'As it happens ponies would not have helped much,' said Bingo. 'We have been having *adventures*.' He stopped suddenly and looked up and down the dark road. 'We will tell you later.'

'Bless me!' said Marmaduke. 'But how mean of you! You shouldn't have adventures without me. And what are you peering about for? Are there some big bad rabbits loose?'

'Don't be so Marmadukish all at once! I can't bear it at the end of the day,' said Odo. 'Let's get off our legs and have some food, and then you shall hear a tale. Can I have a bath?'

'What?' said Marmaduke. 'A bath? That would put you right out of training again. A bath! I am surprised at such a question. Now lift up your chins and follow me!'

A few yards further on there was a turning to the left. They went down a path, neat and well-kept and edged with large white stones. It led them quickly to the river-bank. There there was a landing-stage big enough for several boats. Its white posts glimmered in the gloom. The mists were beginning to gather almost hedge-high in the fields, but the water before them was dark with only a few curling wisps of grey like steam among the reeds at the sides. The Brandywine River flowed slow and broad. On the other side two lamps twinkled upon another landing-stage with many steps going up the high bank beyond. Behind it the low hill loomed, and out of the hill through stray strands of mist shone many round hobbit-windows, red and yellow. They were the lights of Brandy Hall, the ancient home of the Brandybucks.

Long, long ago the Brandybucks had crossed the River (the original boundary of the Shire on this side), attracted by the high bank and the drier rolling ground behind. But their family (one of the oldest hobbit families) grew, and grew, until Brandy Hall occupied the whole of the low hill, and had three large front doors, several back doors, and at least fifty windows. The Brandybucks and their numerous dependants then began to burrow and later to

build all round about. That was the origin of the village of Bucklebury-by-the-River. A great deal of the land on the west side of the river still belonged to the family, almost as far as Woodhall, but most of the actual Brandybucks lived in Buckland: a thickly inhabited strip between the River and the Old Forest, a sort of colony from the old Shire.

The people of the old Shire, of course, told strange tales of the Bucklanders; but as a matter of fact the Bucklanders were hobbits, and not really very different from other hobbits of the North, South, or West – except in one point: they were fond of boats and some of them could swim. Also they were unprotected from the East except by a hedge, THE HEDGE. It had been planted ages ago. It now ran all the way from Brandywine Bridge to Haysend in a big loop, furthest from the River behind Bucklebury, something like forty miles from end to end.[9] It was thick and tall, and was constantly tended. But of course it was not a complete protection. The Bucklanders kept their doors locked, and that also was not usual in the Shire.

Marmaduke helped his friends into a small boat that lay at the stage. He then cast off and taking a pair of oars pulled across the river. Frodo and Bingo had often been to Buckland before. Bingo's mother was a Brandybuck. Marmaduke was Frodo's cousin, since his mother Yolanda was Folco Took's sister, and Folco was Frodo's father. Marmaduke was thus Took plus Brandybuck, and that was apt to be a lively blend.[10] But Odo had never been so far East before. He had a queer feeling as they crossed the slow silent river, as if he had now at last started, as if he was crossing a boundary and leaving his old life on the other shore.

They stepped quietly out of the boat. Marmaduke was tying it up, when Frodo said suddenly in a whisper: 'I say, look back! Do you see anything?'

On the stage they had left they seemed to see a dark black bundle sitting in the gloom; it seemed to be peering, or sniffing, this way and that at the ground they had trodden.

'What in the Shire is that?' said Marmaduke.

'Our Adventure, that we have been and left behind on the other side; or at least I hope so,' said Bingo. 'Can horses get across the River?'

'What have horses got to do with it? They can get across, I suppose, if they can swim; but I have never seen them do it here. There are bridges. But what have horses to do with it?'

'A great deal!' said Bingo. 'But let's get away!' He took Marmaduke by the arm and hurried him up the steps on to the path above the landing. Frodo looked back, but the far shore was now shrouded in mist and nothing more could be seen.

'Where are you taking us for the night?' asked Odo. 'Not to Brandy Hall?'

'Indeed not!' said Marmaduke. 'It's crowded. And anyway I thought you wanted to be secret. I am taking you to a nice little house on the far side of Bucklebury. It's a mile more, I am afraid, but it is quite cosy and out of the way. I don't expect anyone will notice us. You wouldn't want to meet old Rory just now, Bingo! He is in a ramping mood still, about your behaviour. They treated him badly at the inn at Bywater on the party night (they were more full up than Brandy Hall); and then his carriage broke down on the way home, on the hill above Woodhall, and he blames you for these accidents as well.'

'I don't want to see him, and I don't much mind what he says or thinks,' said Bingo. 'I wanted to get out of the Shire unseen, just to complete the joke, but now I have other reasons for wanting to be secret. Let's hurry.'

They came at length to a little low one-storied house. It was an old-fashioned building, as much like a hobbit-hole as possible: it had a round door and round windows and a low rounded roof of turf. It was reached by a narrow green path, and surrounded by a circle of green lawn, round which close bushes grew. It showed no lights.

Marmaduke unlocked the door, and light streamed out in friendly fashion. They slipped quickly in, and shut the light and themselves inside. They were in a wide hall from which several doors opened. 'Here we are!' said Marmaduke. 'Not a bad little place. We often use it for guests, since Brandy Hall is so frightfully full of Brandybucks. I have got it quietly ready in the last day or two.'

'Splendid fellow!' said Bingo. 'I was dreadfully sorry you had to miss that supper.'

'So was I,' said Marmaduke. 'And after hearing the accounts of Rory and Melissa[11] (both entirely different, but I expect equally true), I am sorrier still. But I had a merry ride with Gandalf and the dwarves and Elves.[12] We met some more Elves on the way,[13] and there was some fine singing. I have never heard anything like it before.'

'Did Gandalf send me any message?' asked Bingo.

'No, nothing special. I asked him, when we got to Brandywine Bridge, if he wouldn't come along with me and wait for you, so as to be a guide and helping hand. But he said he was in a hurry. In fact, if you want to know, he said: "Bingo is now old enough and foolish enough to look after himself for a bit."'[14]

"I hope he is right,' said Bingo.

The hobbits hung up their cloaks and sticks, and piled their packs on the floor. Marmaduke went forward and flung open a closed door. Firelight came out and a puff of steam.

'Bath!' cried Odo. 'O blessed Marmaduke!'

'Which way shall we go: eldest first, or quickest first? You will be last either way, Odo,' said Frodo.

'Ha! ha!' said Marmaduke. 'What kind of an innkeeper do you think I am? In that room there are three tubs; and also a copper over a merry furnace that seems to be nearly on the boil. There are also towels, soap, mats, jugs, and what not. Get inside!'

The three rushed in and shut the door. Marmaduke went into the kitchen, and while he was busy there he heard snatches of competing songs mixed with the sound of splashing and wallowing. Over all the rest Odo's voice suddenly rose in a chant:

Bless the water O my feet and toes!
Bless it O my ten fingers!
Bless the water, O Odo!
And praise the name of Marmaduke![15]

Marmaduke knocked on the door. 'All Bucklebury will know you have arrived before long,' he said. 'Also there is such a thing as supper. I cannot live on praise much longer.'

Bingo came out. 'Lawks!' said Marmaduke looking in. The stone floor was all in pools. Frodo was drying in front of the fire; Odo was still wallowing.

'Come on, Bingo!' said Marmaduke. 'Let's begin supper, and leave them!'

They had supper in the kitchen on a table near the open fire. The others soon arrived. Odo was the last, but he quickly made up for lost time. When they had finished Marmaduke pushed back the table, and drew chairs round the fire. 'We'll clear up later,' he said. 'Now tell me all about it!'[16]

Bingo stretched his legs and yawned. 'It's easy in here,' he said, 'and somehow our adventure seems rather absurd, and not so

important as it did out there. But this is what happened. A Black Rider came up behind us yesterday afternoon (it seems a week ago), and I am sure he was looking for us, or me. After that he kept on reappearing (always behind). Let me see, yes, we saw him four times altogether, counting the figure on the landing-stage, and once we heard his horse,[17] and once we thought we heard just a sniff.'

'What are you talking about?' said Marmaduke. 'What is a black rider?'

'A black figure on a horse,' said Bingo. 'But I will tell you all about it.' He gave a pretty good account of their journey, with occasional additions and interruptions by Frodo and Odo. Only Odo was still positive that the sniff they thought they heard was really part of the mystery.

'I should think you were making it all up, if I had not seen that queer shape this evening,' said Marmaduke. 'What is it all about, I wonder?'

'So do we!' said Frodo. 'Do you think anything of Farmer Maggot's guess, that it has something to do with Bilbo?'

'Well, it was only a guess anyway,' said Bingo. 'I am sure old Maggot does not know anything. I should have expected the Elves to tell me, if the Riders had anything to do with Bilbo's adventures.'

'Old Maggot is rather a shrewd fellow,' said Marmaduke. 'A good deal goes on behind his round face which does not come out in his talk. He used to go into the Old Forest at one time, and had the reputation of knowing a thing or two outside the Shire. Anyway I can guess no better. What are you going to do about it?'

'There is nothing to do, ' said Bingo, 'except to go home. Which is difficult for me, as I haven't got one now. I shall just have to go on, as the Elves advised. But you need not come, of course.'

'Of course not,' said Marmaduke. 'I joined the party just for fun, and I am certainly not going to leave it now. Besides, you will need me. Three's company, but four's more. And if the hints of the Elves mean what you think, there are at least four Riders, not to mention an invisible sniff, and a black bundle on the landing-stage. My advice is: let us start off even earlier tomorrow than we planned, and see if we can't get a good start. I rather fancy Riders will have to go round by the bridges to get across the River.'

'But we shall have to go much the same way,' said Bingo. 'We shall have to strike the East Road near Brandywine Bridge.'

'That's not my idea,' said Marmaduke. 'I think we should avoid

the road at present. It's a waste of time. We should actually be going back westward if we made for the road-meeting near the Bridge. We must make a short cut north-east through the Old Forest. I will guide you.'

'How can you?' asked Odo. 'Have you ever been there?'

'O yes,' said Marmaduke. 'All the Brandybucks go there occasionally, when the fit takes them. I often go – only in daylight, of course, when the woods are fairly quiet and sleepy. Still I know my way about. If we start early and push along we ought to be quite safe and clear of the Forest before tomorrow night. I have got five good ponies waiting – sturdy little beasts: not speedy of course, but good for a long day's work. They're stabled in a shed out in the fields behind this house.'

'I don't like the idea at all,' said Odo. 'I would rather meet these Riders (if we must meet them) on a road, where there is a chance of meeting ordinary honest travellers as well. I don't like woods, and I have heard queer tales of the Old Forest. I think Black Riders will be very much more at home there than we shall.'

'But we shall probably be out of it again before they get in,' said Marmaduke. 'It seems to me silly, anyway, when you are beginning an adventurous journey to start by going back and jogging along a dull river-side road – in full view of all the numerous hobbits of Buckland.[18] Perhaps you would like to call and take leave of old Rory at the Hall. It would be polite and proper; and he might lend you a carriage.'

'I knew you would propose something rash,' said Odo. 'But I am not going to argue any more, if the others agree. Let's vote – though I am sure I shall be the odd man out.'

He was – though Bingo and Frodo took some time to make up their minds.

'There you are!' said Odo. 'What did I say this morning? Three to one! Well, I only hope it comes off all right.'

'Now that's settled,' said Marmaduke, 'we had better get to bed. But first we must clear up, and do all the packing we can. Come on!'

It was some time before the hobbits finished putting things away, tidying up, and packing what they needed in the way of stores for their journey. At last they went to bed – and slept in proper beds (but without sheets) for the last time for many a long day.[19] Bingo could not go to sleep for some time: his legs ached. He was glad he was riding in the morning. At last he fell asleep into a vague dream, in which he seemed to be lying under a window

that looked out into a sea of tangled trees: outside there was a snuffling.

NOTES

1 It is at first sight puzzling that Frodo should say that 'Buckland is almost exactly south-east from Woodhall', and again immediately below that they could strike the road again 'above Buckland', since later in this chapter (p. 100) Buckland is described as 'a thickly inhabited strip between the River and the Old Forest', defended by the Hedge some forty miles long – clearly too large an area to be described as 'almost exactly south-east from Woodhall'. The explanation must be, however, that my father changed the meaning of the name *Buckland* in the course of the chapter. At first *Buckland* was a place, a village, rather than a region (at its first occurrence it replaced *Bury Underwood*, which in turn replaced *Wood Eaton*, p. 35 note 5), and it still was so here; but further on in the chapter the village of Bucklebury-by-the-River emerged (p. 92), and Buckland then became the name of the Brandybucks' land beyond the River. See note 5, and the note on the Shire Map, p. 107.

2 See the note on the Shire Map, p. 107.

3 A hastily pencilled note on the typescript here reads: 'Sound of hoofs going by not far off.' See p. 287.

4 *Maggot* was later struck out in pencil and replaced by *Puddifoot*, but only in this one instance. On the earliest map of the Shire (see p. 107) the farm is marked, in ink, *Puddifoot*, changed in pencil to *Maggot*. The Puddifoots of Stock are mentioned in FR, p. 101.

5 Here again *Buckland* still signifies the village (see note 1); but *Bucklebury* appears shortly after (p. 92), the name being typed over an erasure.

6 The substance of this passage about hobbit-holes and hobbit-houses was afterwards placed in the Prologue. See further pp. 294, 312.

7 Towers built on the western coasts of Middle-earth by exiles of Númenor are mentioned in the second version of *The Fall of Númenor* (V.28, 30). – The substance of this passage was also afterwards placed in the Prologue (see note 6), and there also the towers are called 'Elf-towers'. Cf. *Of the Rings of Power* in *The Silmarillion*, p. 292: 'It is said that the towers of Emyn Beraid were not built indeed by the exiles of Númenor, but were raised by Gil-galad for Elendil, his friend.'

8 *came at last back to the road:* this is of course the road they had been walking on originally, 'the road to Buckland'; at this time there was no causeway road running south from the Brandywine Bridge on the west bank of the river (and no village of Stock).

9 In FR (p. 109) the distance is 'well over twenty miles from end to end.' See p. 298.

10 This genealogy was afterwards wholly abandoned, of course, but the mother of Meriadoc (Marmaduke) remained a Took (Esmeralda, who married Saradoc Brandybuck, known as 'Scattergold').

11 Melissa Brandybuck appeared in the fourth version of 'A Long-expected Party', on which occasion she danced on a table with Prospero Took (p. 38).

12 Bingo told Gildor (p. 63) that Gandalf 'went off with the dwarves and the Rivendell elves as soon as the fireworks were over.' This is the first appearance of the story that Marmaduke/Meriadoc had been at Hobbiton but had left early.

13 *We met some more Elves on the way:* these were the Elves of Gildor's company, who thus already knew about the Party when Bingo, Frodo and Odo encountered them (p. 68, note 17).

14 Cf. the note cited on p. 41: 'Where is G[andalf] asks Odo – said I was old and foolish enough now to take care of myself said B.'

15 This 'chant' was emended on the typescript thus:

> *Bless the water, O my feet and toes!*
> *Praise the bath, O my ten fingers!*
> *Bless the water, O my knees and shoulders!*
> *Praise the bath, O my ribs, and rejoice!*
> *Let Odo praise the house of Brandybuck,*
> *And praise the name of Marmaduke for ever.*

This new version belongs to the time of the manuscript portion at the end of the chapter (note 16).

16 Here the typescript ends, and the remainder is in manuscript; see p. 109.

17 *and once we heard his horse:* this is a reference to the revised passage in the second chapter, where it is told that a Black Rider stopped his horse for a moment on the road beside the tree in which the hobbits were sitting (p. 55 and note 11).

18 This is a reference to the road within Buckland. Cf. p. 53: 'the ordinary way to Buckland was along the East Road to the meeting of the Water and the Brandywine River, where there was a bridge, *and then south along the River*.'

19 It is clear from this that my father had not yet foreseen the hobbits' visit to the house of Tom Bombadil.

Note on the Shire Map

There are four extant maps of the Shire made by my father, and two which I made, but only one of them, I think, can contain an element or layer that goes back to the time when these chapters were written (the first months of 1938). This is however a convenient place to give some indications concerning all of them.

I An extremely rough map (reproduced as the frontispiece), built up in stages, and done in pencil and red, blue, and black inks; extending from Hobbiton in the West to the Barrow-downs in the East. In its inception this was the first, or at least the first that survives. Some features were first marked in pencil and then inked over.

II A map on a smaller scale in faint pencil and blue and red chalks, extending to the Far Downs in the West, but showing little more than the courses of roads and rivers.

III A map of roads and rivers on a larger scale than II, extending from Michel Delving in the West to the Hedge of Buckland, but without any names (see on map V below).

IV A small scale map extending from the Green Hill country to Bree, carefully drawn in ink and coloured chalks, but soon abandoned and marking only a few features.

V An elaborate map in pencil and coloured chalks which I made in 1943 (see p. 200), for which III (showing only the courses of roads and rivers) was very clearly the basis and which I followed closely. No doubt III was made by my father for this purpose.

VI The map which was published in *The Fellowship of the Ring*; this I made not long before its publication (that is to say, some ten years after map V).

In what follows I consider only certain features arising in the course of this chapter.

Buckland is almost exactly south-east from Woodhall (p. 89). *Buckland* was still here the name of the village (see note 1 above); *Bucklebury* first appears on p. 92. On map I Bucklebury does indeed lie south-east (or strictly east-south-east) from Woodhall, but on map II the Ferry is due east, and on III it is east-north-east, whence the representation on my maps V and VI. In the original edition of FR (p. 97) the text had here 'The Ferry is south-east from Woodhall', which was corrected to 'east' in the revised edition (second impression 1967) when my father observed the discrepancy with the published map. The shifting had clearly come about unintentionally. (It may be noticed incidentally that all the maps show Woodhall on a side road (the 'lane') going off from that to Buckland; see p. 66, note 10).

The road bears away to the left . . . and then sweeps round south when it gets nearer to the River (p. 89). This southward sweep is strongly marked on map I (and repeated on map II), where the Buckland road joins the causeway road above the village of Stock (as Frodo says in FR, p. 97: 'It goes round the north end of the Marish so as to strike the causeway from the Bridge above Stock'). At the time when this chapter was written there was no causeway road (note 8). This is another case where the text of FR accords with map I, but not with the published map (VI); in this case, however, my father did not correct the text. On map III the Buckland road does not 'sweep round south': but after bearing away to

the left or north (before reaching Woodhall) it runs *in a straight line due east* to meet the road from the Bridge. This I followed on my map V; but the village of Stock was not marked on III, which only shows roads and rivers, and I placed the road-meeting actually in the village, not to the north of it. Although, as I clearly recollect, map V was made in his study and in conversation with him, my father cannot have noticed my error in this point. The published map simply follows V.

One other point may be noticed here. Marmaduke twice (pp. 100, 103) refers to 'bridges' over the Brandywine, but none of the maps shows any other bridge but that which carried the East Road, the Brandywine Bridge.

★

My father's letter to Stanley Unwin quoted on page 44 shows that he had finished this chapter by 4 March 1938. Three months later, on 4 June 1938, he wrote to Stanley Unwin saying:

> I meant long ago to have thanked Rayner for bothering to read the tentative chapters, and for his excellent criticism. It agrees strikingly with Mr Lewis', which is therefore confirmed. I must plainly bow to my two chief (and most well-disposed) critics. The trouble is that 'hobbit talk'* amuses me privately (and to a certain degree also my boy Christopher) more than adventures; but I must curb this severely. Although longing to do so, I have not had a chance to touch any story-writing since the Christmas vacation.

And he added that he could not 'see any loophole left for months.' On 24 July he said in a letter to Charles Furth at Allen and Unwin:

> The sequel to *the Hobbit* has remained where it stopped. It has lost my favour, and I have no idea what to do with it. For one thing the original *Hobbit* was never intended to have a sequel – Bilbo 'remained very happy to the end of his days and those were extraordinarily long': a sentence I find an almost insuperable obstacle to a satisfactory link. For another nearly all the 'motives' that I can use were packed into the original book, so that a sequel will appear either 'thinner' or merely repetitional. For a third: I am personally immensely amused by hobbits as such, and can contemplate them eating and making their rather fatuous jokes indefinitely; but I find that is not the case with even my most devoted 'fans' (such as Mr Lewis, and ?Rayner Unwin). Mr Lewis says hobbits are only amusing when in unhobbitlike situations. For a last: my mind on the 'story' side is really preoccupied with the 'pure' fairy stories or mythologies of the *Silmarillion*, into which even Mr Baggins got dragged against my original will, and I do not

*Rayner Unwin had said that the second and third chapters 'have I think a little too much conversation and "hobbit talk" which tends to make it lag a little.'

> think I shall be able to move much outside it – unless it is finished (and perhaps published) – which has a releasing effect.

At the beginning of this extract my father was repeating what he had said in his letters of 17 and 18 February quoted on pp. 43–4, when he had written no more than 'A Long-expected Party'. But it is very hard to see why he said here that he found the sentence in *The Hobbit*, that Bilbo 'remained very happy to the end of his days and those were extraordinarily long', 'an almost insuperable obstacle to a satisfactory link'; since what he had written at this stage was not about Bilbo but about his 'nephew' Bingo, and in so far as Bilbo was mentioned nothing had been said to show that he did not remain happy till the end of his extraordinarily long days.

This then is where the narrative stopped, and stayed stopped through some six months or more. With abundant 'hobbit-talk' on the way, he had got Bingo, Frodo, and Odo to Buckland on the way to Rivendell, whither Gandalf had preceded them. They had encountered the Black Riders, Gildor and his company of Elves, and Farmer Maggot, where their visit ended in a much less satisfactory way than it would do later, through an outrageous practical joke on Bingo's part (the comic potential of which had by no means been exhausted); they had crossed the Brandywine, and arrived at the little house prepared for them by Marmaduke Brandybuck. In his letter to Charles Furth just cited he said that he had 'no idea what to do with it'; but Tom Bombadil, the Willow-man and the Barrow-wights were already envisaged as possibilities (see pp. 42–3).

On 31 August 1938 he wrote again to Charles Furth, and now a great change had taken place:

> In the last two or three days . . . I have begun again on the sequel to the 'Hobbit' – The Lord of the Ring. It is now flowing along, and getting quite out of hand. It has reached about Chapter VII and progresses towards quite unforeseen goals.

He said 'about Chapter VII' on account of uncertainty over chapter-divisions (see p. 132).

The passage in manuscript at the end of the present chapter (see note 16 above) was (I feel certain) added to the typescript at this time, and was the beginning of this new burst of narrative energy. My father had now decided that the hobbits' journey would take them into the Old Forest, that 'dubious region' which had appeared in the third version of 'A Long-expected Party' (p. 29), and where he had already suggested in early notes (p. 43) that the hobbits should become lost and caught by the Willow-man. And 'the sequel to *The Hobbit*' is given – for the first time, it seems – a title: *The Lord of the Ring* (see p. 74 and note 3).

V
THE OLD FOREST AND THE WITHYWINDLE

In the letter of 31 August 1938 quoted at the end of the last chapter my father said that 'in the last two or three days' he had turned again to the book, that it was 'flowing along, and getting quite out of hand', and that it had reached 'about Chapter VII'. It is clear that in those few days the hobbits had passed through the Old Forest by way of the Withywindle valley, stayed in the house of Tom Bombadil, escaped from the Barrow-wight, and reached Bree,

There is very little preliminary sketching of the original fourth chapter, and such as there is I give here. There is first a page dashed down in soft pencil and now very difficult to read; I introduce some necessary punctuation and small connective words that were omitted, and expand the initial letters that stand for names.

They got on to the ponies and rode off into the mist. After riding more than an hour they came to the Hedge. It was tall and netted over with silver cobwebs.

'How do we get through this?' said Odo.

'There is a way,' said Marmaduke. Following him along the Hedge they came to a small brick-lined tunnel. It went down a gully and dived right under the Hedge, coming out some twenty yards at the far side, where it was closed by a gate of close iron bars. Marmaduke unlocked this, let them out, and locked it again. As it snapped back they all felt a sudden pang.

'There,' said Marmaduke. 'You have now left the Shire – and are [?outside] and close to the edge of the Old Forest.'

'Are the stories about it true?' said Odo.

'I don't know what stories you mean – if you mean the old bogey stories our nurses used to tell us, about goblins and wolves and things of that sort, no. But it is queer. Everything in the Old Forest is very much more alive, more aware of what is going on, than in the Shire. And they don't like strangers. The trees watch you. But they don't do much in daylight. [?Occasionally] the most malicious ones may drop a branch or stick a root out or grasp at you with long trailers. But at night things can get most disturbing – I am told. I have only once been in the Old Forest, and then only

near the edge, after dark. I thought the trees were all whispering to each other although there was no wind, and the branches waved about and groped. They do say the trees actually move and can surround strangers and hem them in. They used long ago to attack the Hedge, come and plant themselves right by it and lean over it. But we burn[t] the ground all along the east side for miles and they gave it up. There are also queer things living deep in the Forest and on the far side. But I have not heard that they are very fierce – at least not in daytime. But something makes paths and keeps them open. There is the beginning of a great and broad one that goes more or less in our direction. That is the one I am making for.'

The ground was rising steadily and as their ponies plodded along the trees became darker and thicker and taller. There was no sound, save an occasional drip; but they all got an uncomfortable feeling which steadily increased that they were being watched – with disapproval if not dislike. Marmaduke tried to sing, but his voice soon fell to a hum and then died away. A small branch fell from an old tree with a crack on the ground behind them. They stopped, startled, and looked round.

'The trees seem to object to my singing,' said Marmaduke cheerfully. 'All right, we'll wait till we get to a more open point.'

Clearing hillock view sun up mist goes turns hot
Trees bar way. They turn [?always . . . . . side]
Willowman. Meeting with Tombombadil.
[*Struck out:* Barrow-wights]
Camp on the downs

Whereas this piece begins as narrative and tails off into notes, another page is expressly a 'sketch' of the story to be written:

The path winds on and they get tired. They cannot get any view. At last they see a bare hillock (crowned by a few pines) ahead looking down onto the path. They reach this and find the mist gone, and the sun very hot and nearly above. 11 o'clock. They rest and eat. But they can see only forest all round, and cannot make out either Hedge or line of the road northward, but the bare downland East and South lies green-grey in the distance. Beyond the hillock the path turns *southwards*. They determine to leave it and strike N.E. by the sun. But trees bar the way. They are going downhill, and brambles and bushes, hazels and whatnot block them. Every . . . . . [?opening] leads them away to their right. Eventually when it is already afternoon they find themselves

coming to a willow-bordered river – the Withywindle.[1] Marmaduke knows this flows through the forest from the downs to join the Brandywine at Haysend. There seems some sort of rough path going upstream. But a great sleepiness comes on them. Odo and Bingo cannot go on without a rest. They sit down with their backs to a great willow, while Frodo and Marmaduke attend to the ponies. Willowman traps Bingo and Odo. Suddenly a singing is heard in the distance. (Tom Bombadil not named). The Willow relaxes its hold.

They get through to end of forest as evening comes on, and climb on to the downs. It gets very cold – mist is followed by a chilly drizzle. They shelter under a big barrow. Barrow-wight takes them inside. They wake to find themselves buried alive. They shout. At last Marmaduke and Bingo begin a song. An answering song outside. Tom Bombadil opens the stone door and lets them out. They go to his house for the night – two Barrow-wights come [?galloping] after them, but stop every time Tom Bombadil turns and looks at them.

At this stage, then, their first encounter with Tom Bombadil was to be very brief, and they would not be his guests until after their escape from the barrow up on the downs; but no narrative of this form is found, and doubtless none was written.

It is of course possible that other preliminary drafting has been lost, but the earliest extant text of the original fourth chapter (numbered 'IV' but with no title) looks like composition *ab initio*, with many words and sentences and even whole pages rejected and replaced at the time of writing. For most of its length, however, this is an orderly and legible manuscript, though rapidly written, and increasingly so as it proceeds (see note 3). It is then remarkable that this text reaches at a stroke the narrative as published in FR (Chapter 6, 'The Old Forest'), with only the most minor differences – other than the different cast of characters (largely a matter of names) and different attribution of 'parts', and often and for substantial stretches with almost exactly the wording of the final form. My father might well say that *The Lord of the Ring* was 'now flowing along'.

There are a few particular points to notice. First, as regards the characters, the 'spoken parts' are variously distributed as between the first form and the final. Fredegar Bolger is of course not present to see them off at the entrance to the tunnel under the Hedge, and his question 'How are you going to get through this?' (FR p. 120) is given to Odo ('How do we get through this?', cf. p. 110). The verse *O! Wanderers in the shadowed land*,[2] Frodo's in FR (p. 123), is here Marmaduke's, but changed, probably immediately, to Frodo Took's. Pippin's objection to taking the path by the Withywindle (FR pp. 126–7) is Bingo's; and in the

scene with Old Man Willow the parts are quite distinct. In the original version it is Bingo and Odo who are totally overcome by sleep and lay themselves against the willow-trunk, and it is Marmaduke who is more resistant and alarmed at the onset of drowsiness. Frodo Took ('more adventurous') goes down to the river-bank (as does Frodo Baggins in FR), and falling asleep at the Willow's feet is tipped into the water and held under by a root, while Marmaduke plays the later part of Sam in rounding up the ponies, rescuing Frodo (Took or Baggins) from the river, and discussing with him how to release the prisoners from the tree. Yet despite the later redistribution of parts in this scene, and the advent of Sam Gamgee, the old text is very close to the final form, as may be seen from this example (cf. FR p. 128).

Marmaduke gripped him [Frodo Took] by the back of his jacket, and dragged him from under the tree-root, and laid him on the bank. Almost at once he woke, and coughed and spluttered.

'Do you know,' he said, 'the beast *threw* me in! I felt it and saw it: the big root just twizzled round and threw me in.'

'You were dreaming,' said Marmaduke. 'I left you asleep, though I thought it rather a silly place to sit in.'

'What about the other two?' asked Frodo. 'I wonder what sort of dreams *they've* had?'

They went round to the landward side. Marmaduke then understood the click. Odo had vanished. The crack he lay in had closed to, so that not a chink could be seen. Bingo was trapped; for his crack had closed to about his waist . . .

There are also a few minor points of topography to mention. It is said in the outline (p. 111) that the hillock was crowned with pines, and this was retained: it had 'a knot of pine-trees at the top', under which the hobbits sat. In FR (p. 124) the hill is likened to a bald head, and the trees about it to 'thick hair that ended sharply in a circle round a shaven crown.' – When later they came to the end of the gully and looked out from the trees at the Withywindle, they were at the top of a cliff:

> Suddenly the woodland trees came to an end, and the gully ended at the top of a bank that was almost a cliff. Over this the stream dived, and fell in a series of small waterfalls. Looking down they saw that below them was a wide space of grass and reeds . . .
>
> Marmaduke scrambled down to the river, and disappeared into the long grass and low bushes. After a while he reappeared and called up to them from a patch of turf some thirty feet below. He reported that there was fairly solid ground between the bank and the river . . .

In FR (p. 126) it is clear that the hobbits, following the little stream down the gully, had reached the level of the Withywindle valley while still in the deep woodland:

> Coming to the opening they found that they had made their way down through a cleft in a high steep bank, almost a cliff. At its feet was a wide space of grass and reeds . . .
>
> [Merry] passed out into the sunshine and disappeared into the long grasses. After a while he reappeared, and reported . . .

Subsequently, in the original version, there is anxiety about the descent of the ponies from the cliff; they got down in fact without difficulty, but Frodo Took 'put too much weight on a grassy lump that stuck out like a step, and went down with his head over heels for the last fifteen feet or so; but he came to no great harm at the bottom, for the ground was soft.' In FR (p. 127) the hobbits merely 'filed out' from the trees.

The last part of the chapter, in which Tom Bombadil appears, and which ends with the same words as in FR ('a golden light was all about them'), is so close to the final form[3] that only one small matter need be mentioned. It is made just as clear here as in FR that the path which the hobbits followed beside the Withywindle lay on the north side of the river, the side from which they descended out of the forest, and it is therefore strange that the approach to Tom Bombadil's house should be described thus:

> The grass under their feet was smooth and short, and seemed to be mown and shaven. The forest edge behind them was as clipped and trim as a hedge. The path was edged with white stones; and *turning sharp to the left went over a little bridge*. It then wound up onto the top of a round knoll . . .

But the path was already on the left side of the river as it went upstream. Later on, this text was very heavily corrected, and the FR version all but achieved; yet this detail was retained: 'The path was bordered with white stones; and turning sharp to the left it led them over a wooden bridge.' Later again, the word 'left' was changed to 'right', implying that Tom Bombadil's house lay on the south side of the Withywindle. In FR there is no mention of a bridge. My father's map of the Shire (see p. 107: map I) probably shows that he changed his mind on this point; for the underlying pencil shows 'TB', with a dark mark beside it, on the south side, whereas the ink overlay shows the house to the north of the stream. See further pp. 327–8.

NOTES

1 The first occurrence of the name *Withywindle*.

2 The verse has *shadow-land* for *shadowed land* in the first line, but is otherwise as in FR. Rough working for a verse in this place is also found. My father first wrote: 'O wanderers in the land of trees / despair not for there is no wood', but this was broken off and the following suggested:

> *think not of hearth that lies behind*
> *but set your hearts on distant hills*

beyond the rising of the sun.
The journey is but new begun,
the road goes ever on before
past many a house and many a door
over water and under wood

3 Towards the end of the chapter the manuscript becomes extremely confused. From the point where Marmaduke and Frodo Took discover that Bingo and Odo are trapped by the Willow-man my father changed from ink to pencil, and degenerating into a rapid scribble the chapter seems to have petered out in the course of their rescue by Tom Bombadil; but he subsequently erased most of the pencilled text, or overwrote it in ink, and continued on in ink to the end of the chapter. This concluding portion departs from the preliminary sketch given on p. 112, where the hobbits after their rescue went up on to the Downs and were captured by the Barrow-wight; here, as in FR, Tom invites them to come to his house, and goes on ahead up the path beside the Withywindle. The last part of the manuscript is probably, strictly speaking, a subsequent addition; but the matter is of slight importance, since all this writing obviously belongs to the same period of work, at the end of August 1938.

Note on Tom Bombadil

Tom Bombadil, Goldberry, Old Man Willow, and the Barrow-wight had already existed for some time, appearing in print in the pages of *The Oxford Magazine* (Vol. LII, no. 13, 15 February 1934). In a letter of 1954 my father said:

> I don't think Tom needs philosophizing about, and is not improved by it. But many have found him an odd or indeed discordant ingredient. In historical fact I put him in because I had already 'invented' him independently (he first appeared in the Oxford Magazine) and wanted an 'adventure' on the way.*

On a small isolated piece of paper are found the following verses. At the top of the page my father wrote: 'Date unknown – germ of Tom Bombadil so evidently in mid 1930s'; and this note was written at the same time as the text, which is certainly quite late. There is no trace of the text from which it was copied.

(Said I)
'Ho! Tom Bombadil
Whither are you going
With John Pompador
Down the River rowing?'

**The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, no. 153. Some major observations on Tom Bombadil are found in this letter and in no. 144.

(Said he)
'Through Long Congleby,
Stoke Canonicorum,†
Past King's Singleton
To Bumby Cocalorum –

To call Bill Willoughby
Whatever he be doing,
And ax Harry Larraby
What beer he is a-brewing.'

(And he sang)
'Go, boat! Row! The willows are a-bending,
reeds are leaning, wind is in the grasses.
Flow, stream, flow! The ripples are unending;
green they gleam, and shimmer as it passes.

Run, fair Sun, through heaven all the morning,
rolling golden! Merry is our singing!
Cool the pools, though summer be a-burning;
in shady glades let laughter run a-ringing!'

The poem published in *The Oxford Magazine* in 1934 bore the title *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil* (in earlier forms it was *The History of Tom Bombadil*). Many years later (1962) my father made it the first poem in the collection to which it gave the title (and added also a new poem, *Bombadil Goes Boating*, in which he meets Farmer Maggot in the Marish). Various changes were made in this later version, and references to the Withywindle were introduced, but the old poem was very largely preserved. In it are to be found the origin of many things in this and the following chapters – the closing crack in the Great Willow (though in the poem it was Tom himself who was caught in it), the supper of 'yellow cream and honeycomb, and white bread, and butter', the 'nightly noises' that included the tapping of the branches of Old Man Willow on the window-pane, the words of the Barrow-wight (who in the poem was inside Tom's house) 'I am waiting for you', and much else.

†Mediaeval name of what is now Stoke Canon in Devonshire.

VI
TOM BOMBADIL

A very brief outline shows my father's first thoughts for the next stage of the hobbits' journey: their visit to the house of Tom Bombadil.

Tom Bombadil rescues them from Willow Man. He says it was lucky he came that way – he had gone to the water-lily pool for some white water-lilies for Goldberry (my wife).

He turns out to know Farmer Maggot. (Make Maggot not a hobbit, but some other kind of creature – not dwarf, but akin to Tom Bombadil). They rest at his house. He says *only* way out is along his path beside the Withywindle. Description of feast and [? willow] fire. *Many noises at night.*

Tom Bombadil wakes them singing *derry dol*, and opening all the windows (he lives in a little house under the down-side facing the forest edge and the [?east corner] of the wood). He tells them to go north but avoid the high Downs and barrows. *He warns them of barrow-wights*; tells them a song to sing if the barrow-wights frighten them or

A cold day. The mist thickens and they get lost.

This scheme was written at great speed in pencil. As will be seen shortly, at this stage the hobbits only spent the one night with Tom Bombadil, and left the following morning. Another set of notes, also obviously preceding the first actual narrative text, is also very difficult to read:

Water-lily motive – last lilies of summer for Goldberry.

Relation of Tom Bombadil to Farmer Maggot (Maggot not a hobbit?)

Tom Bombadil is an 'aborigine' – he knew the land before men, before hobbits, before barrow-wights, yes before the necromancer – before the elves came to this quarter of the world.

Goldberry says he is 'master of water, wood and hill'. Does all this land belong to him? No! The land and the things belong to themselves. He is not the possessor but the master, because he belongs to himself.

Description of Goldberry, with her hair as yellow as the flag-lilies, her green gown and light feet.

Barrow-wights related to Black-riders. Are Black-riders actually horsed Barrow-wights?

The guests sleep – there is a noise as of wind surging in the edges of the forest and . . . . . through the panes and gables and the doors. Galloping of [?horses] round the house.

The first actual narrative (incomplete) of this chapter is a very rough and difficult manuscript in ink, becoming very rough indeed before it peters out on the first morning at Bombadil's house. It has no title, but is rather oddly numbered 'V or VI'. Here, even more than in the last chapter, the final form – until just at the end – is already present in all but detail of expression.

Most interesting is the story of the hobbits' dreams during the night, which is told thus:

In the dead night Bingo woke and heard noises: a sudden fear came over him [?so that] he did not speak but lay listening breathless. He heard a sound like a strong wind curling round the house and shaking it, and down the wind came a galloping, a galloping, a galloping: hooves seemed to come charging down the hillside from the east, up to the walls and round and round, hooves thudding and wind blowing, and then dying away back up the hill and into the darkness.

'Black riders,' thought Bingo. 'Black riders, a black host of riders,' and he wondered if he would ever again have the courage even in the morning to leave the safety of these good stone walls. He lay and listened for a while, but all had become quiet again, and after a while he fell asleep. At his side Odo lay dreaming. He turned and groaned, and woke to the darkness, and yet the dream went on. Tap, tap, squeak: the noise was like branches fretting in the wind, twigs like fingers scraping wall and window . . . [*&c. as in FR p. 138*].

It was the sound of water that Frodo heard falling into his sleep and slowly waking him. Water streaming gently down at first, and then spreading all round the house, gurgling under the walls . . . [*&c. as in FR p. 139*].

Meriadoc[1] slept on through the night in deep content.

As told here, there seems no reason not to understand that Black Riders (or Barrow-wights) actually came and rode round Tom Bombadil's house during the night. It will be seen that it is said explicitly that Bingo *woke*, and after a while *fell asleep*. In the initial sketch given on p. 112 (where the hobbits only went to stay with Tom after their capture by a Barrow-wight up on the Downs) 'Two Barrow-wights come

[?galloping] after them'; cf. also the note on p. 118: 'Barrow-wights related to Black-riders. Are Black-riders actually horsed Barrow-wights?' – followed by 'Galloping of [?horses] round the house.' In any case, the end of the present text (unhappily so eccentrically scribbled as to make its interpretation extremely difficult) is explicit. Here, as in the later story, Bingo waking looks out of the east window of their room on to the kitchen-garden grey with dew.

He had expected to see turf right up to the walls, turf all pocked with hoof-marks. Actually his view was screened by a tall line of green beans on poles, but above and far beyond them the grey top of the hill loomed up against the sunrise. It was a grey morning with soft clouds, behind which were deeps of yellow and pale red. The light was broadening quickly and the red flowers on the beans began to shine against the wet green leaves.

Frodo looks from the western window, as does Pippin in FR, and sees the Withywindle disappearing into the mist below, and the flower-garden: 'there was no willow-tree to be seen.'

'Good morning, merry friends!' said Tom, opening the east window wide. A cool air flowed in. 'The sun will [?heat] you when the day is older. I have been walking far, leaping on the hill-tops, since the grey twilight [?came] and the night foundered, wet grass underfoot . . . . . .'

When they were dressed [*struck out as written:* Tom took them up the hillside] the sun was already risen over the hill, and the clouds were melting away. In the forest valley trees were appearing like tall heads rising out of the curling sea of mist. They were glad of breakfast – indeed they were glad to be awake and safe and at the merry end of a day again. The thought of going was heavy on them – and not only for fear of the road. Had it been a [?merry] road and the road home they would still have wished to tarry there.

But they knew that could not be. Bingo too found in his heart that the noise of hoofs was not only dream. They must escape quickly or else . . . [?pursued] here. So he made up his mind to get such help and advice as [?old] Bombadil could or would give.

'Master,' he said, 'we cannot thank you for your kindness for it has been beyond thanks. But we must go, against our wish and quickly. For I heard horsemen in the night and fear we are pursued.'

Tom looked at him. 'Horsemen,' he said. 'Dead men [?riding the wind. 'Tis long since they came hence.] What ails the Barrow-

wights to leave their old mounds? You are strange folk to come out of the Shire, [?even stranger than my news told me.] Now you had best tell me all – and I will give you counsel.'

Here the text ends, but following it are these notes in pencil:

Make it sudden rainy day. They spend it at Tom's house, and tell him the tale; and he of Willow-man and the . . . . . .[2] He is concerned about the riders; but says he will think of counsel. Next day is fine. He takes them to the hilltop. They . . . . the barrows.

This is where the story of the wet second day spent in long talk with Bombadil entered; before this the weather was to have become fine, and the hobbits were to have left when they had told Tom their story and received his advice. In this earliest narrative Bingo was so convinced of the reality of what he had heard in the night that he raised the matter with Tom, and Tom seems to take him seriously; and in this context the word 'Actually' (retained in FR) in 'Actually his view was screened by a tall line of beans on poles' suggests that if it had not been for this he would indeed have seen the turf 'all pocked with hoof-prints.'

A second narrative followed, obviously written immediately after the first, and this is complete. Here the chapter is numbered 'V', still without title. The first text was now refined and ordered in expression, the morning bodes rain, and the new version becomes, to the point where the first ended, scarcely distinguishable from that of FR, except in the matter of the 'dreams'. These are still told in the same unambiguous language as if they were real events in the night; but nothing more is said of them afterwards than is said in FR. In the final story Frodo's dream is a vision of Gandalf standing on the pinnacle of Orthanc and of the descent of Gwaihir to bear him away, but that vision is still accompanied by the sound of the Black Riders galloping out of the East; and it was that sound that woke him. It is still said that he thought in the morning to find the ground round the house marked by hoofs, but this is now no more than a way of emphasising the vividness of his experience in the night.

The remainder of the second version of the chapter generally approaches extraordinarily closely to the final form,[3] but there are not a few interesting differences.

In Tom Bombadil's long talk with the hobbits on the second day, his voice is described as 'always in a sing-song or actually singing' (cf. FR p. 140: 'Often his voice would turn to song'). The passage concerning Old Man Willow was first written thus:

Amongst his talk there was here and there much said of Old Man Willow, and Merry learned enough to content him[4] (more than enough, for it was not comfortable lore), though not enough for him to understand how that grey thirsty earth-bound spirit had

become imprisoned in the greatest Willow of the Forest. The tree did not die, though its heart went rotten, while the malice of the Old Man drew power out of earth and water, and spread like a net, like fine root-threads in the ground, and invisible twig-fingers in the air, till it had infected or subjugated nearly all the trees on both sides of the valley.[5]

Bombadil's talk about the Barrow-wights of the Barrow-downs remained almost word for word into FR (pp. 141–2), with one difference: for FR 'A shadow came out of dark places far away' this text has 'A dark shadow came up out of the middle of the world'; in the underlying pencilled text (see note 3) can be read 'a dark shadow came up out of the South.' At the end of his talk, where FR has 'still on and back Tom went singing out into ancient starlight', the present version has 'and still further Tom went singing back before the Sun and before the Moon, out into the old starlight.'

A detail worth remarking is the sentence in the old version: 'Whether the morning and evening of one day or of many days had passed Bingo could not tell (nor did he ever discover for certain).' The bracketed words were soon to be removed, when the dating of the journey to Bree became precise; the hobbits stayed with Bombadil on the 26th and 27th of September, and left on the morning of the 28th (see p. 160).

Tom Bombadil's answer to Bingo's question 'Who are you, Master?' has some interesting differences from the final form (FR p. 142):

'Eh, what?' said Tom sitting up, and his eyes glinted in the gloom. 'I am an Aborigine, that's what I am, the Aborigine of this land. [*Struck out at once:* I have spoken a mort[6] of languages and called myself by many names.] Mark my words, my merry friends: Tom was here before the River or the Trees. Tom remembers the first acorn and the first rain-drop. He made paths before the Big People, and saw the Little People arriving. He was here before the kings and the graves and the [ghosts >] Barrow-wights. When the Elves passed westward Tom was here already – before the seas were bent. He saw the Sun rise in the West and the Moon following, before the new order of days was made. He knew the dark under the stars when it was fearless – before the Dark Lord came from Outside.'

In FR Tom Bombadil calls himself 'Eldest', not 'Aborigine' (cf. the notes given on p. 117: 'Tom Bombadil is an "aborigine"'); and the reference here to his having seen 'the Sun rise in the West and the Moon following' was dropped (though 'Tom remembers the first acorn and the first rain-drop', which was retained, says the same). These words are extremely surprising; for in the *Quenta Silmarillion* which my father had

only set aside at the end of the previous year it is told that 'Rana [the Moon] was first wrought and made ready, and first rose into the region of the stars, and was the elder of the lights, as was Silpion of the Trees' (V.240); and the Moon first rose as Fingolfin set foot upon Middle-earth, but the Sun when he entered Mithrim (V.250).

Tom Bombadil was 'there' during the Ages of the Stars, before Morgoth came back to Middle-earth after the destruction of the Trees; is it to this event that he referred in his words (retained in FR) 'He knew the dark under the stars when it was fearless – *before the Dark Lord came from Outside*'? It must be said that it seems unlikely that Bombadil would refer to Valinor across the Great Sea as 'Outside', especially since this was long ages 'before the seas were bent', when Númenor was drowned; it would seem much more natural to interpret the word as meaning 'the Outer Dark', 'the Void' beyond the Walls of the World. But in the mythology as it was when my father began *The Lord of the Rings* Melkor entered 'the World' with the other Valar, and never left it until his final defeat. It was only with his return to *The Silmarillion* after *The Lord of the Rings* was completed that there entered the account found in the published work (pp. 35–7) of the First War, in which Melkor was defeated by Tulkas and driven into the Outer Dark, from which he returned in secret while the Valar were resting from their labours on the Isle of Almaren, and overthrew the Lamps, ending the Spring of Arda. It seems then that either Bombadil must in fact refer to Morgoth's return from Valinor to Middle-earth, in company with Ungoliant and bearing the Silmarils, or else that my father had already at this date developed a new conception of the earliest history of Melkor.

After the reference to Farmer Maggot, from whom Tom Bombadil got his knowledge of the Shire, and whom he 'seemed to regard as a person of more importance than they had fancied' (FR p. 143), this text adds: 'We are kinsfolk, he and I. In a way of speaking: distantly and far back, but near enough for friendship' (in the original draft: 'We are akin, he said, distantly, very distantly, but near enough to count'). Cf. the notes given on p. 117, concerning the possibility that Farmer Maggot was not a hobbit at all, but a being of a wholly different kind, and akin to Bombadil.[7] At the end of this passage, the reference in FR to Tom's dealings with Elves, and to his having had news of the flight of Frodo (Bingo) from Gildor, is absent from the present text. (Tom indeed said earlier, FR p. 137, that he and Goldberry had heard of their wandering, and 'guessed you'd come ere long down to the water', and this is found in both the original texts).

Of Tom's questioning of Bingo it is said here that Bingo 'found himself telling him more about Bilbo Baggins and his own history and about the business of his sudden flight than he told before even to his three friends'; in FR (p. 144) this became 'telling him more about Bilbo and his own hopes and fears than he had told before even to Gandalf.' It may be noted that in the old narrative thus far there has been no suggestion that Bingo's

departure from Hobbiton was a 'sudden flight' – except perhaps in the 'foreword' given in Chapter III, where Gandalf said to him before the Party 'But you must go quickly' (p. 83).

The episode of Tom and the Ring is told in virtually the same words as in FR, the only and very slight difference being that when Bingo put on the Ring Tom cried: 'Hey, come Bingo there, where be you a-going? What be you a-grinning at? Are you tired of talking? Take off that Ring of yours and sit down a moment. We must talk a while more . . .' Against this my father wrote later: 'Make the seeing clearer', and substituted (after 'where be you a-going?'): 'Did you think I should not see when you had the Ring on? Ha, Tom Bombadil's not as blind as that yet. Take off your golden Ring, and sit down a moment.'

Lastly, at the very end of the chapter, the rhyme that Tom Bombadil taught the hobbits to sing if in need of him is different from that in FR:

> *Ho! Tom Bombadil! Whither do you wander?*
> *Up, down, near or far? Here, there, or yonder?*
> *By hill that stands, wood that grows, and by the water falling,*
> *Here now we summon you! Can you hear us calling?*

This rhyme was at first present in the next chapter, when Bingo sang it in the barrow; but it was replaced there at the time of writing by *Ho! Tom Bombadil, Tom Bombadillo!* etc., as in FR (p. 153). In the present passage my father wrote in the margin: 'Or substitute rhyme in chapter VI', and that was done (FR p. 145).

NOTES

1 This is the first occurrence of *Meriadoc* for *Marmaduke* in a manuscript as originally written.

2 The word looks very much like *badgers*. If this is so, it must be a reference to the badgers who captured Tom Bombadil in the poem ('By the coat they caught him, pulled Tom inside the hole, down their tunnels brought him'); see *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil* (1962), pp. 12–13 (the verses describing Tom's encounter with the badgers were left virtually unchanged in the later version). In the next text of this chapter Tom was telling the hobbits 'an absurd story about badgers and their odd ways' when Bingo slipped on the Ring; and this was retained in FR.

3 The story of the wet second day at Bombadil's was written *ab initio* in pencil, then a part of the manuscript overwritten in ink; for the last part of the chapter, from supper on the second day, there is both pencilled draft and manuscript in ink. But it is clear that all this work was continuous and overlapping.

4 The question about Old Man Willow on the night before is asked by Merry (by Frodo in FR); i.e. by one who had not been imprisoned in the tree.

5 A passage very close to that in FR (from 'Tom's words laid bare the hearts of trees') was substituted, probably while the manuscript was in progress or very soon after.

6 *a mort:* a great many.

7 Conceivably, some pencilled emendations to the typescript of the third chapter were added at this time and in this connection. Frodo Took's words of Farmer Maggot, 'He lives in a house' (p. 92), were thus extended: 'He is not a hobbit – not a pure hobbit anyway. He is rather large and has hair under his chin. But his family has had these fields time out of mind.' And when Maggot appears (p. 94), 'a large round hobbit-face' was changed to 'a large round hair-framed face.' Afterwards, in the Prologue to LR, the hobbits of the Eastfarthing were decribed as being 'rather large and heavy-legged': 'they were well known to be Stoors in a large part of their blood, as indeed was shown by the down that many grew on their chins. No Harfoot or Fallohide had any trace of a beard.' See p. 294.

There has already been a hint earlier that Farmer Maggot was not altogether what he appeared to be, in Merry's remark (p. 103): 'He used to go into the Old Forest at one time, and had the reputation of knowing a thing or two outside the Shire.' This was retained in FR (p. 113).

VII
THE BARROW-WIGHT

My father's earliest thoughts on the encounter with the Barrow-wight (written down while he was working on the story of the hobbits in the Old Forest) have been given on p. 112. When he came to write this chapter he began with a pencilled draft[1] that took the story as far as the hobbits' waking beside the standing stone in the hollow circle on the Downs, and leading their ponies down from it into the fog (FR p. 149). Like many of his preliminary drafts, this would be virtually illegible had he not followed it closely in the first full manuscript (in ink), for words that could be interpreted in a dozen ways without context can then be identified at once. In this case he did no more than improve the hasty wording of the draft, and add the passage describing the view northwards from the stone pillar, with the dark line in the distance that Merry took for trees bordering the East Road.

If the draft continued beyond this point it is lost now; but in fact the manuscript in ink could well be the primary composition. There is however a very rough pencilled plot-outline for the story from the point where 'Bingo comes to himself inside a barrow', and this outline continues the story to Rivendell. This is so rapidly written and now so faint that I cannot after much effort make it all out. The worst part, however, is at the beginning, extending from Bingo's finding himself in the barrow to Tom's waking Odo, Frodo, and Merry, and from what is legible it can be seen that while very concise and limited all the essentials of the narrative were present. I shall not therefore try to represent this part, but give the remainder of the outline in full in this place, since it is of great interest in showing my father's thoughts on the further course of the story at this juncture – i.e. before the 'Barrow-wight' chapter had been completed.

Tom sings a song over Odo Frodo Merry. Wake now my merry . . .!

. . . . . .[2] of the [?pillar] and how they became separated. Tom puts a blessing or a curse on the gold and lays it on the top of the mound. None of the hobbits will have any but Tom takes a brooch for Goldberry.

Tom says he will go with them, after chiding them for sleeping by the stone pillar. They soon find the Road and the way seems short. They turn along the Road. [?Gallops] come after them. Tom turns and holds up his hand. They fly back.[3] As dusk falls

they see a . . . light. Tom says goodbye – for Goldberry will be waiting.

They sleep at the inn and hear news of Gandalf. Jolly landlord. Drinking song.

Pass rapidly over rest of journey to Rivendell. Any riders on the Road? Make them foolishly turn aside to visit Troll Stones. This delays them. One day at last they halted on a rise and looked forward to the Ford. Galloping behind. Seven (3? 4?) Black-riders hastening along the Road. They have gold rings and crowns. Flight over Ford. Bingo [*written above:* Gandalf?] flings a stone and imitates Tom Bombadil. Go back and ride away! The Riders halt as if astonished, and looking up at the hobbits on the bank the hobbits can see no faces in their hoods. Go back says Bingo, but he is not Tom Bombadil, and the riders ride into the ford. But just then a rumbling rush is heard and a great [?wall] of water bowling stones roars down the river from the mountains. *Elves arrive.*

The Riders draw back just in time in dismay. The hobbits ride as hard as they can to Rivendell.

At Rivendell *sleeping Bilbo* Gandalf. Some explanations. Ringmail of Bingo in barrow and the dark rocks – (the 3 hobbits had dashed *past* the rocks when suddenly they all became [?shut] off??) Gandalf had sent the water down with Elrond's permission.

Gandalf astonished to hear about Tom.

Consultation of hobbits with Elrond and Gandalf.

The Quest of the Fiery Mountain.

This projection ends here. While my father had already conceived the scene at the Ford, with the sudden rising of the Bruinen (and the cry of Bingo/Frodo to the Riders: Go back!), Strider (not at first called Strider) would only emerge with the greatly increased significance of the Inn (which here first appears) at Bree in the next chapter; and there is no hint of Weathertop. If the 'dark rocks' are the 'two huge standing stones' through which Bingo/Frodo passed in the fog on the Downs (FR p. 150) – they are called 'standing rocks' in the first version – it is odd that discussion of this was postponed till the hobbits reached Rivendell; but possibly the words 'some explanations' imply that Gandalf was able to throw light on what had happened.[4] On the 'Ring-mail of Bingo in barrow' see p. 223. The Cracks of Earth in the depths of the Fiery Mountain are named by Gandalf as the only heat great enough to destroy Bilbo's ring (p. 82); here for the first time the Fiery Mountain enters the story as the goal for which they will in the end be bound.

The first full manuscript of this chapter (simply headed 'VI' and as usual at this stage without title) is fully legible for most of its length, but as so frequently becomes quicker and rougher, ending in rapid pencil. This my father went over here and there in ink, partly to improve the expression, partly to clarify his own writing; this certainly belongs to the same period, but after he had started on the next chapter.

As with the previous two chapters, the final form of FR Chapter 8 ('Fog on the Barrow-downs') is very largely present: for most of its length only very minor alterations were made afterwards. In what follows I note points of difference that seem to me of interest, though most are very slight.

In the opening paragraph the song and vision 'in dreams or out of them' is told in the same words in the old text, but is ascribed not to Bingo (Frodo in FR) alone, but to all the hobbits.

When they looked back over the forest and saw the knoll on which they had rested before their descent to the Withywindle valley, 'the fir-trees growing there could be seen now small and dark in the West' (see p. 113).

When the hobbits became separated in the fog, and Bingo cried out miserably 'Where are you?' (FR p. 150), my father at first had a quite different story in mind:

'Here! Here!' came the voices suddenly plain and not far to the right. Plunging blindly towards them he bumped suddenly into the tail of a pony. An undoubted hobbit-voice (it was Odo's) gave a shriek of fright, and [he] fell over something on the ground. The something kicked him, and gave a yell. 'Help!' it cried in the undoubted voice of Odo.

'Thank goodness,' said Bingo, rolling on the ground in Odo's arms. 'Thank goodness I have found you!'

'Thank goodness indeed!' said Odo in a relieved voice; 'but need you really run away without warning and then jump down out of the sky on top of me?'

My father rejected this as soon as written, and wrote instead, as in FR: 'There was no reply. He stood listening', etc.

A first version of the Barrow-wight's incantation was rejected and replaced by the form that appears in FR (p. 152); but the changes made were very slight except in line 7, where for 'till the dark lord lifts his hand' the first version had 'till the king of the dark tower lifts his hand.'[5] In the rough workings for this verse my father wrote: 'The dark lord sits in the tower and looks over the dark seas and the dark world', and also 'his hand stretches over the cold sea and the dead world.'

The arm 'walking on its fingers' crept towards Frodo Took (Sam in FR); and where in FR 'Frodo fell forward over Merry, and Merry's face felt cold', in the old version Bingo fell forward over Frodo Took. There is

no evident pattern in the changed ascriptions when the 'cast of characters' was altered; so later in the chapter Odo says 'Where are my clothes?' (Sam in FR), and when Tom Bombadil says 'You won't find your clothes again' it is Frodo Took who asks 'What do you mean?' (Pippin in FR). In general I do not further note such points unless they seem significant.

On the rejected form of the rhyme taught to the hobbits by Tom Bombadil and sung by Bingo in the barrow see p. 123. The first two lines of the rejected rhyme were used later in the chapter, when Tom goes off after the ponies (FR p. 155).

When Merry said 'What in the name of wonder?' as he felt the gold circlet that had slipped over one eye, the old version continues: 'Then he stopped, and a shadow came over his face. "I begin to remember," he said. "I thought I was dead – but don't let us speak of it."' There is no mention of the Men of Carn Dûm (FR p. 154).

Tom Bombadil's names for the ponies go back to the beginning, with the exception of 'Sharp-ears', who was first called 'Four-foot'! When he bade the treasures lying in the sun on the top of the mound lie there 'free to all finders, bird, beast, elves or men and all kind creatures', he added: 'For the makers and owners of these things are not here, and their day is long past, and the makers cannot claim them again until the world is mended." And when he took the brooch for Goldberry he said: 'Fair was she who long ago wore this on her shoulder, and Goldberry shall wear it now, and we shall not forget them, the vanished folk, the old kings, the children and the maidens, and all those who walked the earth when the world was younger.'

While in the outline given on p. 125 the hobbits refuse to take anything from the treasure in the mound, in the first text the story is that Tom chose for them 'bronze swords, short, leaf-shaped and keen', but nothing further is said in description of them (cf. FR p. 157), though the following was added in pencil and perhaps belongs to the time of the writing of the manuscript: 'These, he said, were made many ages ago by men out of the West. They were foes of the Ring-lord.' The manuscript continues:

and they hung them from the leather belts beneath their jackets; though they did not yet see the purpose of them. Fighting had not occurred to any of them as among the possible adventures that their flight might bring them to. As far as Bingo could remember even the great and heroic Bilbo had somehow avoided using his small sword even on goblins – and then he remembered the spiders of Mirkwood and tightened his belt.

Of the hints in Tom's words in FR concerning the history of Angmar and the coming of Aragorn there is of course no suggestion.

As already noted, the end of the chapter is roughly pencilled and here and there overwritten in ink. The crossing of the dyke – boundary of an

old kingdom, about which 'Tom seemed to remember something unhappy and would not say much' – and their coming at last to the Road is much as in FR (p. 158), but the remainder is best given in full, as originally pencilled, so far as that can be made out.

Bingo rode down onto the track and looked both ways. There was no one in sight. 'Well, here we are again at last!' he said. 'I suppose we haven't lost more than a day by Merry's short cut. We had better stick to the beaten way after this.'

'You had better,' said Tom, 'and ride fast.'

Bingo looked at him. Black riders came back into his thought. He looked a little anxiously back towards the setting sun, but the road was brown and empty. 'Do you think,' he asked hesitatingly, 'do you think we shall be – er, pursued tonight?'

'Not tonight,' said Tom. 'No, not tonight. Not perhaps the next day. Not perhaps for days to come.

The next passage is very confused and little can be made out (of the first pencilled text); as overwritten in ink it reads:

But I cannot say for certain. Tom is not master of the Riders that come out of the Black Land far beyond his country.' All the same the hobbits wished that Tom was coming with them. They felt that he would know how to deal with them – if anyone did. They were now at last going forward into lands wholly strange to them, and beyond all but the most distant legends of the Shire, and they began to feel really lonely, exiled, and rather helpless. But Tom was now wishing them a final farewell, bidding them have good heart, and ride till dark without halting.

The pencilled text continues:

But he encouraged them – a little – by telling them that he guessed the Riders (or some of them) were seeking now among the mounds. For he seemed to think that the Riders and Barrow-wights had some kind of kinship or understanding. If that were so, it might prove in the end well that they had been captured. They learned from him that some miles away along the road was the old village of Bree, on the west side of Bree-hill.[6] It had an inn that could be trusted: the White Horse [*written above:* Prancing Pony]. The keeper was a good man and not unknown to Tom. 'Just you mention my name and he will treat you fairly. There you can sleep sound, and after that the morning will speed you well upon your way. Go now with my blessing.' They begged him to come as far as the inn and drink once more with them. But he

laughed and refused, saying: 'Tom has his house to mind, and Goldberry is waiting.' Then he turned, tossed up his hat, leaped on Lumpkin's back, and rode over the bank and away singing into the gathering dusk.

This passage, as far as 'Go now with my blessing', was rejected, and a new version written in ink on a separate sheet; this second text is the same as Tom's farewell speech in FR p. 159 ('Tom will give you good advice . . .'), but it is here written out in verse-lines, and with these differences: the 'worthy keeper' is Barnabas Butterbur, not Barliman, and the reference to him is followed by:

> *He knows Tom Bombadil, and Tom's name will help you.*
> *Say 'Tom sent us here' and he will treat you kindly.*
> *There you can sleep sound, and afterwards the morning*
> *Will speed you upon your way. Go now with my blessing!*
> *Keep up your merry hearts, and ride to meet your fortune!*

That these revisions are later than the first pencilled draft of the next chapter is seen from the fact that throughout that draft the innkeeper's name was Timothy Titus, not yet Barnabas Butterbur (p. 140 note 3).

The end of this chapter is again overwritten in ink, but so far as I can make out this was only to clarify the almost illegible pencilled text:

The hobbits stood and watched him out of sight. Then, feeling heavy at heart (in spite of his encouragement), they mounted their ponies, not without some glances back along the Road, and went off slowly into the evening. They did not sing, or talk, or discuss the events of the night before, but plodded silently along. Bingo and Merry rode in front, Odo and Frodo, leading the spare pony, were behind.

It was quite dark before they saw lights twinkling some distance ahead. Before them rose Bree Hill, barring the way, a dark slope against the misty stars, and under it and on its western side nestled the little village.

NOTES

1 This draft is in fact continuous with that for the Bombadil chapter (p. 123 note 3), but my father soon after drew a line on the pencilled text between 'and led them with candles back to their bedroom' and 'That night they heard no noises', entering the chapter-number 'VI?'.

2 The illegible word begins *Expl* but the remainder does not seem to be *(Expl)anation*.

3 Cf. the outline given on p. 112: 'two Barrow-wights come [?galloping] after them, but stop every time Tom Bombadil turns and looks at them.'

4 In a very early form of the chapter 'Many Meetings' (a passage retained word for word in FR, pp. 231–2) Bingo says to Gandalf at Rivendell: 'You seem to know a great deal already. I have not spoken to the others about the Barrow. At first it was too horrible, and afterwards there were other things to think about. How did you know about it?' And Gandalf replies: 'You have talked long in your sleep, Bingo.' But I doubt that this is relevant.

5 The 'dark tower' of the Necromancer is referred to by Gandalf in the text given in Chapter III (p. 81), and indeed goes back to *The Hobbit*, where at the end of Chapter VII 'Queer Lodgings' Gandalf speaks of the 'dark tower' of the Necromancer, in the south of Mirkwood. But it is difficult to feel sure where at this stage my father imagined the Dark Tower to stand. Tom Bombadil says (p. 129) that he 'is not master of the Riders that come out of the Black Land far beyond his country', and the name *Mordor* had certainly arisen: cf. the second version of *The Fall of Númenor* (V.29, 31), 'And they came at last even to Mordor the Black Country, where Sauron, that is in the Gnomish tongue named Thû, has rebuilt his fortresses.' See further p. 218 note 17.

6 My father first put 'an old village which had an inn', but the change to 'the old village of Bree, on the west side of Bree-hill. It had an inn' was almost certainly made as he wrote (and 'Prancing Pony' above 'White Horse' likewise). This is where the name first appears, based on Brill in Buckinghamshire, a place which he knew well, for it sits on a hill in the Little Kingdom of Farmer Giles of Ham (see Carpenter, *Biography*, p. 160). The name *Brill* is derived from the old British word *bre* 'hill', to which the English added their own word *hyll*; cf. LR Appendix F (p. 414), and the *Guide to the Names in The Lord of the Rings* (in Lobdell, *A Tolkien Compass*, 1975), entry *Archet*.

VIII
ARRIVAL AT BREE

My father continued on into a description of the Breelanders without a break. Subsequently he wrote over the original pencilled text in ink, and in that form, necessarily, I give it here.[1]

Little in a sense – it had perhaps some 50 houses on the hillside, and a large inn because of the goings and comings on the Road (though those were now less than they had once been). But it was actually a village built by Big People – mainly (the nearest settled habitation of that large and mysterious race to the Shire). Not many lived as far West as that in those days, and the Bree-folk (together with the neighbouring villages of Staddle and Crick) were an odd and rather isolated community, belonging to nobody but themselves (and more accustomed to dealing with hobbits, dwarves, and the other odd inhabitants of the world than Big People were or are). They were brown-faced, dark-haired, broad, shortish, cheerful and independent. They nor any one else knew why or when they had settled where they were. The land thereabouts and for many miles eastward was pretty empty in those days. There were hobbits about, of course – some higher up on the slopes of Bree-hill itself, and many in the valley of Combe on the east side. For not all hobbits lived in the Shire by any means. But the Outsiders were a rustic, not to say (though in the Shire it was often said) uncivilized sort. Some were in fact no better than tramps and wanderers, ready to dig a hole in any bank, and to stay there just as long or short a time as it suited them. So the folk of Bree were, you see, familiar enough with hobbits, civilized or otherwise – for Brandywine Bridge was not so far off. But our hobbits were not familiar with Bree-folk, and the houses seemed strange, large and tall (almost hillocks), as they trotted in on their ponies.

[1] My father then struck this out, and began again. He was still numbering the pages continuously from the beginning of Chapter VI (the story of the Barrow-wight), but when he reached Bingo's song at the inn he realised that he was well into a new chapter, and wrote in 'VII' at this point, i.e. at the beginning of this new account of the people of Bree. Once again there is no title.

The manuscript of this chapter is an exceedingly complicated document: pencil overlaid with ink (sometimes remaining partly legible, sometimes not at all), pencil not overlaid but struck through, pencil allowed to stand, and fresh composition in ink, together with riders on slips and complex directions for insertions. There is no reason to suppose that the 'layers' are significantly separated in time, but the story was evolving as my father wrote: and the only way to present a coherent text is to give the manuscript in its last form. The chapter is given almost in full, since although much was retained it can only be seen clearly from a complete text just what the story was; but for convenience I divide it into two chapters in this book, breaking the narrative at the point where FR Chapter 9 'At the Sign of *The Prancing Pony*' ends and 10 'Strider' begins.

The interrelations of chapter-structure in the following part of the story are inevitably complex, and can best be seen from a table:

Original text		*This Book*	
VII	Arrival at Bree, and Bingo's song	VIII	9 'At the Sign of *The Prancing Pony*'
	Conversation with Trotter and Butterbur	IX	10 'Strider'
	Attack on the inn		11 'A Knife in the Dark'
	Journey to Weathertop		
VIII	Attack on Weathertop	X	
	Weathertop to Rivendell	XI	12 'Flight to the Ford'

It will be seen at the beginning of this text that the presence of Men at Bree had been temporarily abandoned, and the description of their appearance in the rejected passage just given is now applied to the hobbits of the Bree-land; the innkeeper is a hobbit, and *The Prancing Pony* has a round front door leading into the side of Bree-hill.

They were hobbit-folk of course that lived in Bree (and the neighbouring villages of Combe and Archet).[2] Not all the hobbits lived in the Shire by any means, but the Outsiders were a rustic, not to say (though in the Shire it was often said) uncivilized lot, and not held in much account. There were probably a good many more of them scattered about in the West of the world in those days than people in the Shire imagined, though many were indeed no better than tramps and wanderers, ready to dig a rough hole in any bank, and stay only as long as it suited them. The villagers of Bree, Combe, and Archet, however, were settled folk (in reality not more rustic than most of their distant relations in Hobbiton) –

but they were rather odd and independent, and belonged to nobody but themselves. They were browner-skinned, darker-haired, slightly stouter, a good deal broader (and perhaps a trifle tougher) than the average hobbit of the Shire. Neither they nor anyone else knew why or when they had settled just there; but there they were, moderately prosperous and content. The land all round about was very empty for leagues and leagues in those days, and few folk (Big or Little) would be seen in a day's march. Owing to the Road the inn at Bree was fairly large; but the comings and goings, East or West, were less than they had been, and the inn was now chiefly used as a meeting-place for the idle, talkative, sociable or inquisitive inhabitants of the villages and the odd inhabitants of the wilder country round about.

When our four hobbits at last rode into Bree they were very glad. The inn door was open. It was a large round door leading into the side of Bree-hill, at which the road turned, looping to the right, and disappeared in the darkness. Light streamed into the road from the door, over which there was a lamp swinging and beneath that a sign – a fat white pony standing on his hind legs. Over the door was painted in white letters: The Prancing Pony by Barnabas Butterbur.[3] Someone was singing a song inside.

As the hobbits got off their ponies the song ended and there was a burst of laughter. Bingo stepped inside, and nearly bumped into the largest and fattest hobbit that he had ever set eyes on in all his days in the well-fed Shire. It was obviously Mr Butterbur himself. He had on a white apron and was scuttling out of one door and in through another with a tray full of full mugs. 'Can we . . . ?' said Bingo.

'Half a moment if you please,' the landlord shouted over his shoulder, and vanished into a babel of voices and a cloud of smoke beyond the door. In a moment he was out again wiping his hands on his apron. 'Good evening, master,' he said. 'What may you be wanting?'

'Beds for four and stabling for five ponies,' said Bingo, 'if that can be managed. We have come far today. Are you Mr Butterbur, perhaps?'

'That's right,' he answered, 'Barnabas is my name, Barnabas Butterbur at your service – if it is possible. But the house is nearly full, and so are the stables.'

'I was afraid it might be,' said Bingo. 'I hear it is an excellent house. We were specially recommended to stop here by our friend Tom Bombadil.'

'In that case *anything* can be managed!' said Mr Butterbur, slapping his thighs and beaming. 'Come right inside! And how is the old fellow? Mad and merry, but merrier than mad, I'll be bound! Why didn't he come along too, and then we should have had some fun! Hi! Nob![4] Come here! Where are you, you woolly-footed slow-coach? Take the guests' bags! Where's Bob? You don't know? Well, find out! Double sharp. I haven't got six legs, nor six arms, nor six eyes either. Tell Bob there's five ponies that have to be stabled. And well, mind you. Well, you must make room then, if they have to go in bedrooms![5] Come right inside, sirs, all of you. Pleased to meet you! What names did you say? Mr Hill, Mr Rivers, Mr Green, and Mr Brown.[6] Can't say I have heard those names before, but I am pleased to meet you and hear them now.' Bingo had made them up, of course, on the spur of the moment, suddenly feeling that it would not be at all wise to publish their real names in a hobbit-inn on the high road. Hill, Rivers, Green, Brown sounded much stranger as names to hobbits than they do to us, and Mr Butterbur had his own reasons for thinking them unlikely. However, he said nothing about that yet. 'But there,' he went on, 'I dare say there are lots of queer names and queer folk that we never hear of in these parts. We don't see so many Shire-folk in these days. Time was when the Tooks, now, often came along to have a crack with me or my old dad. Rare good people were the Tooks. They say they had Bree blood in 'em, and were not quite like other Shire-folk, but I don't know the rights of it. But there! I must be running off. But wait a minute now! Four riders and five ponies? Let me see, what does that remind me of? Never mind, it will come back. All in good time. One thing drives out another, as they say. I am a bit busy tonight. Lots of folk have dropped in, unexpected. Hi, Nob! Take these bags to the guests' rooms. That's right. Seven to ten down the west passage. Be quick now! And will you be wanting supper? You will. I thought so. Soon, I shouldn't wonder. Very well, masters, soon it shall be. This way now! Here's a room will suit you nicely, I hope. Excuse me, now. I must be trotting. 'Tis hard work for two legs, but I don't get thinner. I'll look in again later. If you want anything, ring the hand-bell, and Nob will come. If he don't, shout!

Off he went, leaving them feeling a little breathless. He had not stopped talking to them (mixed with the giving of orders and instructions to other scuttling hobbits in the passages) from the time that he welcomed Bingo, until he ushered them into a small but cosy private parlour. There was a bit of bright fire burning;

there were some very comfortable chairs, and there was a round table, already spread with a white cloth. On it was a large hand-bell. But Nob, a small round curly-haired red-faced hobbit, came bustling back long before they thought of using it.

'Will you be wanting anything to drink, masters?' he asked. 'Or shall I show you your rooms, while supper is making?'

They were washed, and in the middle of a good deep mug of beer each, before Mr Butterbur came trotting in again, followed by Nob. A fine smell came with them. In a twinkling the table was laid. Hot soup, cold meats, new loaves, mounds of butter, cheese and fresh fruits, all the good solid plain food dear to hobbit-hearts, was set before them in plenty. They went at it with a will – not without a passing thought (in Bingo's mind especially) that it had to be paid for, and that they had no endless store of money. The time would come all too soon when they would have to pass good inns (even if they could find them).[7] Mr Butterbur hovered round for a bit, and then prepared to leave. 'I don't know whether you would care to join the company after supper,' he said, standing in the door. 'But perhaps you would rather find your beds. Still, the company would be pleased to welcome you, if you had a mind. We don't get travellers from the Shire – outsiders we call 'em, begging your pardon – too often in these days; and we like to hear the news, or any new song you may have in mind. But as you like, sirs. Ring the bell, if you wish for anything.'

There was nothing omitted that they could wish for, so they did not need to ring the bell. So refreshed and encouraged did they feel at the end of their supper (about 55 minutes steady going, not hindered by unnecessary talk) that they decided to join the company. At least Odo, Frodo, and Bingo did. Merry said he thought it would be too stuffy. 'I shall either sit here quietly by the fire, or else go out for a snuff of the air outside. Mind your Ps and Qs, and don't forget that you are supposed to be escaping in secret, and are Mr Hill, Mr Green, and Mr Brown.' 'All right,' they said. 'Mind yourself! Don't get lost, and don't forget that it is safest indoors.' Then they went and joined the company in the big meeting-room of the inn. The gathering was large, as they discovered as soon as their eyes became used to the light. This came chiefly from a large fire on a wide hearth, for the rather dim rays of three lamps hanging from the roof were clouded with smoke. Barnabas Butterbur was standing near the fire. He introduced them, so quickly that they did not catch half the names he mentioned, nor discover to whom the names they caught be-

longed. There seemed to be several Mugworts (an odd name to their way of thinking), and also other rather botanical names like Rushlight, Heathertoes, Ferny, and Appledore (not to mention Butterbur);[8] there were also some (to hobbits) natural names like Banks, Longholes, Brockhouse, Sandheaver, and Tunnelly, which were not unknown among the more rustic inhabitants of the Shire.

But they got on well enough without surnames (which were very little used in that company). On the other side the company, as soon as they discovered that the strangers were from the Shire, were disposed to be friendly, and curious. Bingo had not attempted to conceal where they came from, knowing that their clothes and talk would give them away at once. But he gave out that he was interested in history and geography, at which there was much wagging of heads (although neither of these words were familiar in Bree-dialect); and that he was writing a book (at which there was silent astonishment); and that he and his friends were going to try and find out something about the various scattered eastern hobbits. At this a regular chorus of voices broke out, and if Bingo had really been going to write such a book (and had had many ears and sufficient patience) he would have learned a good deal in a few minutes, and also obtained lots of advice on who to apply to for more and profounder information.

But after a time, as Bingo did not show any sign of writing a book on the spot, the company returned to more recent and engaging topics, and Bingo sat in a corner, listening and looking round. Odo and Frodo made themselves very quickly at home, and were soon (rather to Bingo's disquiet) giving lively accounts of recent events in the Shire. There was some laughter and wagging of heads, and some questions. Suddenly Bingo noticed that a queer-looking, brown-faced hobbit, sitting in the shadows behind the others, was also listening intently. He had an enormous mug (more like a jug) in front of him, and was smoking a broken-stemmed pipe right under his rather long nose. He was dressed in dark rough brown cloth, and had a hood on, in spite of the warmth, – and, very remarkably, he had wooden shoes! Bingo could see them sticking out under the table in front of him.

'Who is that over there?' said Bingo, when he got a chance to whisper to Mr Butterbur. 'I don't think you introduced him.'

'Him?' said Barnabas, cocking an eye without turning his head. 'O! that is one of the wild folk – rangers we call 'em. He has been coming in now and again (in autumn and winter mostly) the last

few years; but he seldom talks. Not but what he can tell some rare tales when he has a mind, you take my word. What his right name is I never heard, but he's known round here as Trotter. You can hear him coming along the road in those shoes: clitter-clap – when he walks on a path, which isn't often. Why does he wear 'em? Well, that I can't say. But there ain't no accounting for East or West, as we say here, meaning the Rangers and the Shire-folk, begging your pardon.' Mr Butterbur was called away at that moment, or he might have whispered on in that fashion indefinitely.

Bingo found Trotter looking at him, as if he had heard or guessed all that was said. Presently the Ranger, with a click and a jerk of his hand, invited Bingo to come over to him; and as Bingo sat down beside him he threw back his hood, showing a long shaggy head of hair, some of which hung over his forehead. But it did not hide a pair of keen dark eyes. 'I'm Trotter,' he said in a low voice. 'I am very pleased to meet you, Mr — Hill, if old Barnabas had your name right?'[9] 'He had,' said Bingo, rather stiffly: he was feeling far from comfortable under the stare of those dark eyes.

'Well, Mr Hill,' said Trotter, 'if I were you, I should stop your young friends from talking too much. Drink, fire, and chance meetings are well enough, but – well, this is not the Shire. There are queer folk about – though I say it as shouldn't,' he added with a grin, seeing Bingo's look. 'And there have been queer travellers through Bree not long back,' he went on, peering at Bingo's face.

Bingo peered back, but Trotter made no further sign. He seemed suddenly to be listening to Odo. Odo was now giving a comic account of the Farewell Party, and was just reaching Bingo's disappearing act. There was a hush of expectation. Bingo felt seriously annoyed. What was the good of vanishing out of the Shire, if the ass went away and gave their names to a mixed crowd in an inn on the highway! Even now Odo had said enough to set shrewd wits (Trotter's for instance) guessing; and it would soon become obvious that 'Hill' was no other than Bolger-Baggins (of Bag-end Underhill). And Bingo somehow felt that it would be dangerous, even disastrous, if Odo mentioned the Ring.

'You had better do something quick!' said Trotter in his ear.

Bingo jumped on the table, and began to talk. The attention was shifted from Odo at once, and several of the hobbits laughed and clapped (thinking possibly that Mr Hill had been taking as much ale as was good for him). Bingo suddenly felt very nervous, and found himself, as was his habit when making a speech, fingering

the things in his pocket. Vaguely he felt the chain and the Ring there, and jingled it against a few copper coins; but this did not help him much, and after a few suitable words, as they would have said in the Shire (such as 'We are all very much gratified by the kindness of your reception', and things of that sort), he stopped and coughed. 'A song! A song!' they shouted. 'Come on now, Master, sing us something.' In desperation Bingo began an absurd song, which Bilbo had been fond of (he probably wrote it).[10]

[Song][11]

There was loud applause. Bingo had a good voice, and the company was not over particular. 'Where's old Barney?' they cried. 'He ought to hear this. He ought to larn his cat the fiddle, and then we'd have a dance. Bring in some more ale, and let's have it again!' They made Bingo have another drink and then sing the song once more, while many of them joined in; for the tune was well-known and they were quick at picking up words.

Much encouraged Bingo capered about on the table; and when he came a second time to 'the cow jumped over the moon', he jumped in the air. Much too vigorously:[12] for he came down bang into a tray full of mugs, and then slipped and rolled off the table with a crash, clatter, and bump. But what interested the company far more and stopped their cheers and laughter dead was his vanishing. As Bingo rolled off the table he simply disappeared with a crash as if he had thudded through the floor without making a hole.

The local hobbits sprang to their feet and shouted for Barnabas. They drew away from Odo and Frodo, who found themselves left alone in a corner and eyed darkly and doubtfully from a distance, as if they were the companions of a travelling wizard of dubious origin and unknown powers and purpose. There was one swarthy-faced fellow who stood looking at them with a knowing sort of look that made them feel uncomfortable. Very soon he slipped out of the door followed by one of his friends: not a well-favoured pair.[13] Bingo in the meanwhile feeling a fool (quite rightly) and not knowing what else to do crawled away under the tables to the corner by Trotter, who was sitting still quite unconcerned. He then sat back against the wall, and took off the Ring. By bad luck he had been fingering it in his pocket just at the fatal moment, and had slipped it on in his sudden surprise at falling.

'Hullo!' said Trotter. 'What did you mean by that? Worse than

anything your friends could have said. You've fair put your foot and finger in it, haven't you?'

'I don't know what you mean,' said Bingo (annoyed and alarmed).

'O yes you do,' said Trotter. 'But we had better wait till the uproar has died down. Then, if you don't mind, Mr Bolger-Baggins, I should like a quiet word with you.'

'What about?' said Bingo, pretending not to notice the sudden use of his proper name. 'O, wizards, and that sort of thing,' said Trotter with a grin. 'You'll hear something to your advantage.' 'Very well,' said Bingo. 'I'll see you later.'

In the meantime argument in a chorus of voices had been going on by the fireplace. Mr Butterbur had come trotting in, and was trying to listen to many conflicting accounts at the same time.

The next part of the text, as far as the end of Chapter 9 in FR, is almost word for word the same as in the final version, with only such differences as are to be expected: 'Mr Underhill' of FR is 'Mr Hill'; 'There's Mr Took, now: he's not vanished' is 'There's Mr Green and Mr Brown, now: they've not vanished'; and there is no mention of the Men of Bree, of the Dwarves, or of the strange Men – it is simply 'the company' that went off in a huff. But at the end, when Bingo said to the landlord: 'Will you see that our ponies are ready?', the old narrative differs:

'There now!' said the landlord, snapping his fingers. 'Half a moment. It's come back to me, as I said it would. Bless me! Four hobbits and five ponies!'

As already explained, though I end this chapter here the earliest version goes on into what was afterwards Chapter 10 'Strider' without a break; see the table on p. 133.

NOTES

1 Bits of the underlying text can in fact be made out: enough to show that the conception of Bree as a village of Men, though with 'hobbits about', was present.

2 *Crick* (p. 132) has disappeared for good (but cf. 'Crickhollow'); *Staddle* also, but only temporarily.

3 *Barnabas Butterbur* is written in ink over the original name in pencil: *Timothy Titus*. Timothy Titus was the name of the innkeeper in the underlying pencilled text throughout the chapter. This was a name that survived from an old story of my father's, of

which only a couple of pages exist (no doubt all that was ever written down); but that Timothy Titus bore no resemblance whatsoever to Mr Butterbur.

4 Nob was at first called Lob; this survived into the inked manuscript stage and was then changed.

5 The original pencilled text went on from here:

> Come right inside. Pleased to meet you. Mr Took, did you say? Lor now, I remember that name. Time was when Tooks would think nothing of riding out here just to have a crack with my old dad or me. Mr Odo Took, Mr Frodo Took, Mr Merry Brandybuck, Mr Bingo Baggins. Lemme see, what does that remind me of? Never mind, it will come back. One thing drives out another. Bit busy tonight. Lots of folk dropped in. Hi, Nob! Take these bags (etc.)

My father struck this out, noting 'hobbits must hide their names', and wrote these two passages on an added slip in pencil:

> Mr Frodo Walker, Mr Odo Walker – can't say I have met that name before. (Bingo had made it up on the spur of the moment, suddenly realizing that it would not be wise to publish their real names in a hobbit-inn on the high road).
>
> What name did you say – all Walkers, Mr Ben Walker and three nephews. Can't say I have met that name before, but I'm pleased to meet you.

These also were struck out, and the passage that follows in the text ('Come right inside, sirs, all of you . . .'), in pencil overwritten in ink, was adopted.

6 In the underlying pencilled text of this passage my father wrote *Ferny* but at once changed it to *Hill*; and in the text in ink he wrote *Fellowes* but changed it to *Green*. Later on, in rejected pencilled drafting, Mr Butterbur says: 'You don't say, Mr Mugwort. Well, as long as Mr Rivers and the two Mr Fellowes don't vanish too (without paying the bill) he is welcome' (i.e. to vanish into thin air, as Mugwort has asserted that he did: FR p. 173).

7 Cf. Bingo's words to Gildor, p. 62: 'I had come to the end of my treasure.' The present passage was rejected and does not appear in FR: but cf. p. 172 note 3.

8 *Appledore:* 'apple-tree' (Old English *apuldor*). – In FR (p. 167) these 'botanical' names are primarily names of families of Men in Bree.

9 The underlying pencilled text still had here: 'I am very pleased to meet Mr Bingo Baggins'; and Trotter's next words began: 'Well, Mr Bingo . . .' See note 5.

10 Here follows: 'It went to a well-known tune, and the company joined in the chorus', referring to the song which was originally given to Bingo here (see note 11), where there is a chorus; the sentence was struck out when 'The Cat and the Fiddle' was chosen instead.

11 My father first wrote here 'Troll Song', and a rough and unfinished version of it is found in the manuscript at this point. He apparently decided almost at once to substitute 'The Cat and the Fiddle', and there are also two texts of that song included in the manuscript, each preceded by the words (as in FR p. 170):

> It was about an Inn, and I suppose that is what brought it to Bingo's mind. Here it is in full, though only a few words of it are now generally remembered.

For the history and early forms of these songs see the *Note on the Songs at the Prancing Pony* that follows. – That there was to be a song at Bree is already foreseen in the primitive outline given on p. 126: 'They sleep at the inn and hear news of Gandalf. Jolly landlord. Drinking song.'

12 In the original text, where the song was to be the Troll Song, the comments of the audience on the cat and the fiddle are of course absent. Instead, after 'the company was not over particular', there followed:

> They made him have a drink and then sing it all over again. Much encouraged Bingo capered about on the table, and when he came a second time to 'his boot to bear where needed' he kicked in the air. Much too realistically: he overbalanced and fell . . .

The line *His boot to bear where needed* is found in the version of the Troll Song written for this episode.

13 As the people of Bree were conceived at this stage, the ill-favoured pair would presumably be hobbits; and indeed in the next chapter Bill Ferny is explicitly so (p. 165). His companion here is the origin of the 'squint-eyed Southerner' who had come up the Greenway (FR p. 168); but there is no suggestion as yet of that element in what was still a very limited canvas.

Note on the Songs at the Prancing Pony

(i) The Troll Song

When my father came to the scene where Bingo sings a song in *The Prancing Pony* he first used the 'Troll Song' (note 11 above). The original version of this, called *The Root of the Boot*, goes back to his time at the University of Leeds; it was privately printed in a booklet with the title *Songs for the Philologists*, University College, London, 1936 (for the history of this publication see pp. 144–5). My father was extremely fond of this song, which went to the tune of *The fox went out on a winter's night*, and my delight in the line *If bonfire there be, 'tis underneath* is among my very early recollections. Two copies of this booklet came into my father's possession later (in 1940–1), and at some time undeterminable he corrected the text, removing some minor errors that had crept in. I give the text here as printed in *Songs for the Philologists*, with these corrections.

THE ROOT OF THE BOOT

A troll sat alone on his seat of stone,
And munched and mumbled a bare old bone;
And long and long he had sat there lone
And seen no man nor mortal –
Ortal! Portal!
And long and long he had sat there lone
And seen no man nor mortal.

Up came Tom with his big boots on;
'Hallo!' says he, 'pray what is yon?
It looks like the leg o' me nuncle John
As should be a-lyin' in churchyard.
Searchyard, Birchyard! etc.

'Young man,' says the troll, 'that bone I stole;
But what be bones, when mayhap the soul
In heaven on high hath an aureole
As big and as bright as a bonfire?
On fire, yon fire!'

Says Tom: 'Oddsteeth! 'tis my belief,
If bonfire there be, 'tis underneath;
For old man John was as proper a thief
As ever wore black on a Sunday –
Grundy, Monday!

But still I doan't see what is that to thee,
Wi' me kith and me kin a-makin' free:
So get to hell and ax leave o' he,
Afore thou gnaws me nuncle!
Uncle, Buncle!'

In the proper place upon the base
Tom boots him right – but, alas! that race
Hath a stonier seat than its stony face;
So he rued that root on the rumpo,
Lumpo, Bumpo!

Now Tom goes lame since home he came,
And his bootless foot is grievous game;
But troll's old seat is much the same,
And the bone he boned from its owner!*
Donor, Boner!

**bone*: steal, make off with.

In addition to correcting errors in the text printed in *Songs for the Philologists* my father also changed the third line in verse 3 to *Hath a halo in heaven upon its poll.*

The original pencilled manuscript of the song is still extant. The title was *Pēro & Pōdex* ('Boot and Bottom'), and verse 6 as first written went:

In the proper place upon the base
Tom boots him right – but, alas! that race
Hath as stony a seat as it is in face,
And Pero was punished by Podex.
Odex! Codex!

My father made a new version of the song for Bingo to sing in *The Prancing Pony*, suitable to the intended context, and as already mentioned this is found in the manuscript of the present chapter; but it is still in a rough state, and uncertain, and was abandoned when still incomplete. When he decided that he would not after all use it in this place he did not at once reintroduce it into *The Lord of the Rings*; it will be seen in Chapter XI that while the visit of the hobbits to the scene of Bilbo's encounter with the three Trolls was fully present from the first version, there was no song. It was only introduced here later; but the earlier drafts of Sam's 'Troll Song' proceed in series from the version intended for Bingo at Bree.

Songs for the Philologists.

The origin of the material in this little booklet goes back to Leeds University in the 1920s, when Professor E. V. Gordon (my father's colleague and close friend, who died most untimely in the summer of this same year, 1938) made typescripts for the use of students in the Department of English. 'His sources', in my father's words, 'were MSS of my own verses and his . . . with many additions of modern and traditional Icelandic songs taken mostly from Icelandic student songbooks.'

In 1935 or 1936 Dr. A. H. Smith of London University (formerly a student at Leeds) gave one of these typescripts (uncorrected) to a group of Honours students there for them to set up on the Elizabethan printing-press. The result was a booklet bearing the title

SONGS FOR THE PHILOLOGISTS

By J. R. R. Tolkien, E. V. Gordon & Others

Privately Printed in the Department of
English at University College, London
MCMXXXVI

In November 1940 Winifred Husbands of University College wrote to my father and explained that 'when the books were ready, Dr Smith realised that he had never asked your permission or that of Professor

Gordon, and he said that the books must not be distributed till that had been done – but, so far as I know, he has never written or spoken to you on the subject, though I spoke of it to him more than once. The sad result is that most of the copies printed, being left undistributed in our rooms in Gower Street, have perished like the press itself in the fire which destroyed that part of the College building.' My father was therefore asked to give his retrospective permission. At that time there were 13 copies known to her, but subsequently she found more, I do not know how many; my father received two (p. 142).

There are 30 *Songs for the Philologists*, in Gothic, Icelandic, Old, Middle and Modern English, and Latin, and some poems in a macaronic mixture of languages. My father was the author of 13 (6 in Modern English, 6 in Old English, 1 in Gothic), and E. V. Gordon of two. Three of my father's Old English poems, and the one in Gothic, are printed with translations as an appendix to Professor T. A. Shippey's *The Road to Middle-earth* (1982).*

(ii) The Cat and the Fiddle

'The Cat and the Fiddle', which became Bingo's song at *The Prancing Pony*, was published in 1923 in *Yorkshire Poetry*, Vol. II no. 19 (Leeds, the Swan Press). I give here the text as it is found in the original manuscript, written on Leeds University paper.

THE CAT AND THE FIDDLE,
or
A Nursery Rhyme Undone and its Scandalous Secret Unlocked

They say there's a little crooked inn
Behind an old grey hill,
Where they brew a beer so very brown
The man in the moon himself comes down,
And sometimes drinks his fill.

*This is a convenient place to cite my father's explanation of the significance of the Birch-tree that appears in two of the poems given by Professor Shippey (see his book pp. 206–7); cf. also 'Birchyard' in the chorus to verse 2 of *The Root of the Boot*. In a note on one of his copies of *Songs for the Philologists* my father wrote: 'ᛒ, B, Bee and (because of the runic name of ᛒ) Birch all symbolize mediaeval and philological studies (including Icelandic); while A, and Āc (oak = ᚪ) denote 'modern literature'. This more pleasing heraldry (and friendly rivalry and raillery) grew out of the grim assertion in the Syllabus that studies should be "divided into two Schemes, Scheme A and Scheme B". A was mainly modern and B mainly mediaeval and philological. Songs, festivities and other gaieties were however mainly confined to ᛒ.'

And there the ostler has a cat
That plays a five-stringed fiddle;
Mine host a little dog so clever
He laughs at any joke whatever,
And sometimes in the middle.

They also keep a horned cow,
'Tis said, with golden hooves –
But music turns her head like ale,
And makes her wave her tufted tail,
And dance upon the rooves.

But O! the rows of silver dishes
And the store of silver spoons:
For Sunday there's a special pair,
And these they polish up with care
On Saturday afternoons.

★

The man in the moon had drunk too deep,
*The ostler's cat was totty,**
A dish made love to a Sunday spoon,
The little dog saw all the jokes too soon,
And the cow was dancing-dotty.

The man in the moon had another mug
And fell beneath his chair,
And there he called for still more ale,
Though the stars were fading thin and pale,
And the dawn was on the stair.

Then the ostler said to his tipsy cat:
'The white horses of the Moon,
They neigh and champ their silver bits,
For their master's been and drowned his wits,
And the Sun'll be rising soon –

Come play on your fiddle a hey-diddle-diddle,
A jig to wake the dead.'
So the cat played a terrible drunken tune,
While the landlord shook the man in the moon:
"Tis after three,' he said.

They rolled him slowly up the hill
And bundled him in the moon,
And his horses galloped up in rear,
And the cow came capering like a deer,
And the dish embraced the spoon.

**totty*: tottery, shaky, dizzy.

The cat then suddenly changed the tune,
The dog began to roar,
The horses stood upon their heads,
The guests all bounded from their beds,
And danced upon the floor.

The cat broke all his fiddle-strings,
The cow jumped over the moon,
The little dog howled to see such fun,
In the middle the Saturday dish did run
Away with the Sunday spoon.

The round moon rolled off down the hill,
But only just in time,
For the Sun looked up with fiery head,
And ordered everyone back to bed,
And the ending of the rhyme.

The two versions found in the manuscript of the present chapter move progressively towards the final form, and with emendations made to the second of them it is virtually attained (FR pp. 170–2).

IX
TROTTER AND THE JOURNEY TO WEATHERTOP

The original titleless chapter VII continues without a break through what became in FR Chapter 10 'Strider', ending part way through FR Chapter 11 'A Knife in the Dark'; but the first part of the narrative to be given now exists in two structurally quite distinct forms (both written legibly in ink). These my father marked 'Short' and 'Alternative', but for the purposes of this chapter I shall call them A ('Alternative') and B ('Short'). The relation between the two is a textual conundrum, though I think it can be explained;[1] the question is however of no great importance for the history of the narrative, since the two versions obviously belong to the same time. I give first the alternative A (on which my father subsequently wrote 'Use this version').

'There now!' said the landlord, snapping his fingers. 'Half a moment. It's come back to me, as I said it would. Bless me! Four hobbits and five ponies! There's been some enquiries for a party of your description in the last few days; and perhaps I might have a word with you.'

'Yes, certainly!' said Bingo with a sinking feeling. 'But not here. Won't you come to our room?'

'As you wish,' said the landlord. 'I'll be coming along to bid you good night and see that Nob has brought all you need, as soon as I've seen to a thing or two: we may have a word then.'

Bingo, Odo, and Frodo made their way back to their parlour.[2] There was no light. Merry was not there, and the fire had burned low. It was not until they had puffed up the embers into a blaze and put on a faggot that they discovered Trotter had come with them. There he was calmly sitting in a chair in the corner.

'Hullo!' said Odo. 'What do you want?'

'This is Trotter,' said Bingo hastily. 'I believe he wants a word with me too.'

'I do and I don't,' said Trotter. 'That is: I have my price.'

'What do you mean?' asked Bingo, puzzled and alarmed.

'Don't be frightened. I mean just this: I will tell you what I know, and give you what I've got, and what's more I'll keep your secret under my hood (which is closer than you or your friends keep it) – but I shall want my reward.'

'And what will that be, pray?' said Bingo, angrily; he not unnaturally suspected that they had met a rascal, and he thought uncomfortably of his small remaining purse of money.[3] All of it would hardly satisfy a rascal, and he could not spare any of it.

'Not much,' answered Trotter with an amused grin. 'Just this: you must take me along with you, until I want to leave you!'

'Oh, indeed!' replied Bingo, surprised but not much relieved. 'But even if I was likely to say yes, I would not promise any such thing until I knew a lot more about you, and your news, Mr Trotter.'

'Excellent!' said Trotter, crossing his legs. 'You seem to be coming to your senses again; and that is all to the good. You have not been half suspicious enough so far. Very well then: I will tell you what I know, and leave the rest to you. That's fair enough.'

'Go on then!' said Bingo. 'What do you know?'

'Well, it's like this,' said Trotter, dropping his voice; he got up and went to the door, opened it quickly, looked out, and then shut it quietly and sat down again. 'I have quick ears, and though I can't disappear into thin air, I can take care no one sees me, when I don't wish them to. I was behind a hedge when a party of travellers was halted by the Road not far west from here. There was a cart and horses and ponies; a whole pack of dwarves, one or two elves, and – a wizard. Gandalf, of course; there's no mistaking him, you'll agree. They were talking about a certain Mr Bingo Bolger-Baggins and his three friends, that were supposed to be riding on the Road behind. A bit incautious of Gandalf, I must say; but then, he was speaking low and I have quick ears, and was lying pretty close.

'I followed him and his party here to this inn. There was a fine commotion for a Sunday morning, I can tell you, and old Barnabas was running round in rings; but they kept themselves to themselves and did not talk outside closed doors. That would be five days ago.[4] They went away next morning. Now up comes a hobbit and three friends out of the Shire, and though he gives out the name of Hill, he and his friends seem to know a lot of the doings of Gandalf and of Mr Bolger-Baggins of Underhill. I can put two and two together. But that need not trouble you: for I am going to keep the answer under my hood, as I said. Maybe Mr Bolger-Baggins has his own good reasons for leaving his name behind. But if so, I should advise him to remember that there are more folk than Trotter that can add two and two together; and not all are to be trusted.'

'I am obliged to you,' said Bingo, feeling relieved, for Trotter did not seem to know anything very serious. 'I *have* my reasons for leaving my name behind, as you put it; but I can't quite see how any one else would guess my real name from what has occurred, unless he had your skill in eavesdropping, in – er – collecting information. Nor what use my real name would be to anybody in Bree.'

'Can't you?' said Trotter rather grimly; 'but eavesdropping, as you put it, is not unknown in Bree, and besides, I have not told you all yet.'

But at that moment he was interrupted by a knock on the door. Mr Barnabas Butterbur was there, with a tray of candles, and Nob behind him with jugs of hot water. 'Thinking you might wish to give some orders before you went to bed,' said the landlord, putting the candles on the table, 'I've come to wish you a good night. Nob! Take the water to the rooms.' He came in and shut the door.

'It's like this, Mr – er – Hill,' he said. 'I've been asked more than once to look out for a party of four hobbits from the Shire, four hobbits with five ponies. Hullo, Trotter, you here!'

'It's all right,' said Bingo. 'Say what you want. Trotter has my leave to stay.' Trotter grinned.

'Well,' began Mr Butterbur again, 'it's like this. Five days ago (yes, that's right, it would be Sunday morning, when all was quiet and peaceful) up rode a whole pack of travellers. Queer folk, dwarves and what not, with a cart and horses. And old Mr Gandalf was with them. Now says I to myself, there's been some doings in the Shire; and they'll be returning from the Party.'

'From the Party?' said Bingo. 'What Party?'

'Lor bless you, yes, sir! From the party your Mr Green was telling of. Mr Bolger-Baggins' party. A rare lot of traffic went westward through here earlier in the month. Some Men there were too. Great Big Folk. There hasn't been anything like it in my time. Those that would say anything gave out that they were going or taking stuff to a Mr Bolger-Baggins' birthday party. It seems he was a relation of that Mr Bilbo Baggins there was once strange tales about. Indeed they are still told in Bree, sir; though I daresay they are forgotten in the Shire. But we are slower-moving in Bree, so to speak, and like to hear old tales again. Not that I believe all these stories, mind you. Legends, I call 'em. They may be true, and then again mayhap they ain't. Now, where was I? Yes. Last Sunday morning in came old Mr Gandalf and his dwarves and all.

"Good morning," said I. "And where may you be going to, and where may you be coming from?" says I pleasant like. But he winks at me, and says nothing, and neither did any of his folk. But later on he drew me aside, and he said: "Butterbur," said he, "I have some friends behind that will be passing your way before long. They should be here by Tuesday,[5] if they can follow a plain road. They are hobbits: one is a round-bellied little chap (begging your pardon, sir) with red cheeks, and the others just young hobbits. They'll be riding on ponies. Just tell them to push along, will you? I'll go on slow from here, and they had best catch me up, if they can. Now don't go telling anybody else, and don't encourage them to stop here for a holiday. Your beer's good; but they must take what they can quick, and move on. See?"

'Thankyou,' said Bingo, thinking Mr Butterbur had finished; and relieved again to find that there seemed nothing very serious behind the mystery.

'Ah, but wait a minute,' said Barnabas Butterbur, dropping his voice. 'That wasn't the end of it. There was others that enquired after four hobbits; and that's what is puzzling me. On Monday evening there came riding in a big fellow on a great black horse. All hooded and cloaked he was. I was standing by my door, and he spoke to me. Very strange I thought his voice, and could hardly make out his talk at first. I did not like the looks of him at all. But sure enough he was asking for news of four hobbits with five ponies[6] that were riding out of the Shire. There's something funny here, thought I; but remembering what old Mr Gandalf said, I gave him no satisfaction. "I haven't seen any such party," I said. "What may you be wanting with them, or with me?" At that he whipped up his horse without another word, and rode off eastward. The dogs were all yammering, and the geese a-screaming, as he went through the village. I was not sorry to see him go, I can tell you. But I heard tell later that three were seen going along the road towards Combe behind the hill, though where the other two sprang from no one could say.

'But will you believe me, they came back, or some others as like 'em as night and dark followed after them. On Tuesday evening, there was a bang at the door, and my dog in the yard set up a yelping and a howling. "It's another of they black Men,' said Nob coming to fetch me with his hair all on end. Sure enough it was, when I went to the door: not one though, but four of 'em; and one was sitting there in the twilight with his horse nigh on my doorstep. He stooped down at me, and spoke in a sort of whisper.

It made me go queer down me back, if you understand me, as if someone had poured cold water behind me collar.[7] It was the same story: he wanted news of four hobbits with five ponies. But he seemed more pressing and eager like. Indeed to tell you the truth he offered me a tidy bit of gold and silver if I would tell him which way they had gone, or promise to watch out for them.

'"There's lots of hobbits and ponies round here and on the Road," said I (thinking things mighty curious, and not liking the sound of his voice). "But I haven't seen any party of that sort. If you give me a name, maybe I could give a message, if they happen to call at my house." At that he sat silent for a moment. And then, sir, he says: "The name is Baggins, Bolger-Baggins," and he hissed out the end of it like a snake. "Any message?" says I, all of a twitter. "Nay, just tell him that we are seeking him in haste," he hissed; "you may see us again, perhaps," and with that he and his fellows rode away, and disappeared quick in the darkness, being all wrapped up in black, like.

'Now what do you make of that, Mr Hill? I must say that it comes in my mind to wonder if that is your right name, begging your pardon. But I hope I have done right: for it seems to me that those black fellows mean no good by Mr Bolger-Baggins, if that is who you are.'

'Yes! He is Mr Bolger-Baggins all right,' said Trotter suddenly. 'And he ought to be grateful to you. He has only himself and his friends to thank, if all the village knows his name by now.'

'I *am* grateful,' said Bingo. 'I am sorry I cannot tell you the whole story, Mr Butterbur. I am very tired, and rather worried. But to put it briefly, these – er – black riders are just what I'm trying to escape. I should be very grateful (and so also will Gandalf be, and I expect old Tom Bombadil as well) if you would forget that anyone but Mr Hill passed this way; though I hope these abominable riders won't bother you any more.'

'I hope not indeed!' said Barnabas.

'Well, now good night!' said Bingo. 'Thankyou again for your kindness.'

'Good night, Mr Hill. Good night, Trotter!' said Barnabas. 'Good night, Mr Brown, sir, and Mr Green. Bless me now, where's Mr Rivers?'

'I don't know,' said Bingo; 'but I expect he is outside. He said something about going out for a breath of air. He'll be in before long.'

'Very well. I'll not go locking him out,' said the landlord. 'Good

night to you all!' With that he went out, and his feet died away down the passage.

'There now!' said Trotter, before Bingo could speak. 'Old Barnabas has told you a good deal of what I still had to say. I saw the Riders myself. There are seven at least. That rather alters things, doesn't it?'

'Yes,' said Bingo, hiding his alarm as well as he could. 'But we knew already that they were after us; and they did not find out anything new, it seems. How lucky that they came *before* we arrived!'

'I should not be sure,' said Trotter. 'I've still some more to add. [*Added in pencil:* I first saw the Riders last Saturday away west of Bree, before I ran across Gandalf. I am not at all sure they were not following *his* trail, too. I also saw those that called on Barnabas. And] on Tuesday night I was lying on a bank under the hedge of Bill Ferny's garden; and I heard Bill Ferny talking. He is a queer fellow, and his friends are like him. You may have noticed him among the company: a swarthy fellow with a scowl. He slipped out just after the song and the 'accident'. I wouldn't trust him. He would sell *anything* to *anybody*. Do you take my meaning? I did not see who Ferny was talking to, nor did I hear what was said: the voices were hisses and whispers. That is the end of my news. You must do what you like about my 'reward'. But as for my coming with you, I will say just this: I know all the lands between the Shire and the Mountains, for I've wandered over most of them in the course of my life; and I'm older now than I look. I might prove useful. For I fancy you'll have to leave the open Road after tonight's accident. I don't think somehow that you will be wanting to meet any of these Black-riders, if you can help it. They give me the creeps.' He shuddered, and they saw with surprise that he had drawn his hood over his face which was buried in his hands. The room seemed very still and quiet and the lights dim.

'There! It has passed!' he said after a moment, throwing back his hood and pushing his hair from his face. 'Perhaps I know or guess more about these Riders then even you do. You do not fear them enough – yet. But it seems likely enough to me that news of you will reach them before the night is old. Tomorrow you will have to go swiftly and secretly (if possible). But Trotter can take you by ways that are little trod. Will you have him?'

Bingo made no answer. He looked at Trotter: grim and wild

and rough-clad. It was hard to know what to do. He did not doubt that most of his tale was true (borne out as it was by the landlord's account); but it was less easy to feel sure of his good intent. He had a dark look – and yet there was something in it, and in his speech which often strayed from the rustic manner of the rangers and Bree-folk, that seemed friendly, and even familiar. The silence grew, and still Bingo could not make up his mind.

'Well, I'm for Trotter, if you want any help in deciding,' said Frodo at last. 'In any case I daresay he could follow us wherever we went, even if we refused.'

'Thankyou!' said Trotter, smiling at Frodo. 'I could, and I should, for I should feel it my duty. But here is a letter which I have for you – I daresay it will help you to make up your mind.'

To Bingo's amazement he took from a pocket a small sealed letter and handed it over. On the outside it was inscribed: 'B from G ᛝ'

'Read it,' said Trotter.[8]

Bingo looked carefully at the seal before he broke it. It seemed undoubtedly to be Gandalf's, as was the writing and the Rune ᛝ. Inside was the following message. Bingo read it aloud.

Monday morning Sept. 26. Dear B. Don't stop long in Bree – not for the night, if you can help it. Have learned some news on the way. Pursuit is getting close: there are 7 at least, perhaps more. On no *account use It again, not even for a joke. Don't move in dark or mist. Push along by day! Try and catch me up. I cannot wait here for you; but I shall go slow for a day or two. Look out for our camp on Weathertop Hill.*[9] *I shall wait there as long as I dare. I am giving this to a ranger (wild hobbit) known as Trotter: he is dark, long-haired, has wooden shoes! You can trust him. He is an old friend of mine and knows a great deal. He will guide you to Weathertop and further if necessary. Push along! Yours*

ᚷᚨᚾᛞᚨᛚᚠ *Gandalf* ᛝ[10]

Bingo looked at the trailing handwriting – it seemed as plainly genuine as the seal. 'Well, Trotter!' he said, 'if you had told me right away that you had this letter, it would have smoothed things out a lot, and saved a lot of talk. But why did you invent all that about eavesdropping?'

'I did not,' laughed Trotter. 'I gave old Gandalf quite a start when I popped up from behind the hedge. I told him he was lucky that it was an old friend. We had a long talk, about various things – Bilbo and Bingo and the [*added in pencil:* Riders and the] Ring, if

you want to know. He was very pleased to see me, as he was in a hurry and yet anxious to get in touch with you.'

'Well, I must admit I am glad to have a word from him,' said Bingo. 'And if you are a friend of Gandalf's then we are lucky to meet you. I am sorry if I was unnecessarily suspicious.'

'You weren't,' said Trotter. 'You weren't half suspicious enough. If you had had previous experience of your present enemy, you would not trust your own hands without a good look, once you knew that he was on your track. Now I *am* suspicious: and I had to make quite sure that *you* were genuine first, before handing over any letter. I've heard of shadow-parties picking up messages that were not meant for them – it has been done by enemies before now. Also, if you want to know, it amused me to see if I could induce you to take me on – just by my gifts of persuasion. It would have been nice (though quite wrong) if you had accepted me for my manners without testimonial! But there, I suppose my looks are against me!'

'They are!' said Odo laughing. 'But handsome is as handsome does, we say in the Shire, and anyway I daresay we shall all look much the same before long, after lying in hedges and ditches.'

'It will take more than a few days (or weeks or years) wandering in the world to make you look like Trotter,' he answered, and Odo subsided. 'You would die first, unless you are made of tougher stuff than you look to be.'

'What are we to do?' said Bingo. 'I don't altogether understand his letter. Gandalf said "don't stay in Bree." Is Barnabas Butterbur all right?'

'Perfectly!' said Trotter. 'As sound a hobbit as you would find between the West Towers and Rivendell. Faithful, kind, shrewd enough in his plain business; but not overcurious about anything but the daily events among the simple Bree-folk. If anything strange happens he just invents an explanation or else forgets it. "Queer," he says, and scratches his head, and goes back to his larder, or his brewhouse. That is just as well for you! I expect he has now convinced himself that there was "some mistake", and that the light was tricky, and that all the hobbits in the room merely imagined that "Mr Hill" disappeared. The black riders will become ordinary travellers looking for a friend, in a week or two – if they don't come back.'

'Well, is it safe then to stay the night here?' said Bingo, with a look at the comfortable fire and the candle-light. 'I mean, Gandalf said: "push along"; but also: "don't move in the dark".'

It is here that the alternative version B (see p. 148 and note 1) joins or merges with version A just given (though before this point, as will be seen, there are substantial passages in common). The beginning of the narrative is here quite different:

'There now!' said the landlord, snapping his fingers. 'Half a moment. It's come back to me, as I said it would. Bless me! Four hobbits and five ponies! I think I have a letter for your party.'

'A letter!' said Bingo, holding out his hand.

'Well,' said he, hesitating; 'he did say that I must be careful to deliver it to the right hands. So perhaps, if you don't mind, you would be so good as to tell me, who you might expect a message from.'

'Gandalf?' said Bingo. 'An old – er– man' (he thought perhaps *wizard* was an inadvisable word) 'with a tall hat and a long beard?'

'Gandalf it was,' said Butterbur; 'and old he is, but there is no call to describe him. All folk know *him*. A wizard they say he is; but that's as may be. But what may your first name be, if you will excuse my asking, sir?'

'Bingo.'

'Ah!' said Barnabas.[11] 'Well, that seems all right; though he did say that you should be here by Tuesday, not Thursday, as it is.[12] Here is the letter.' From his pocket he drew a small sealed envelope, on which was written: *To Bingo from G.* ⊠ *by the hand of Mr B. Butterbur, landlord of the Prancing Pony, Bree.*

'Thankyou very much, Mr Butterbur,' said Bingo, pocketing the letter. 'Now, if you will excuse me, I will say good night. I am very tired.'

'Good night, Mr Hill! I'll be sending water and candles to your room as soon as may be.' He trotted off; and Bingo, Frodo, and Odo made their way back to their parlour.

Version B now agrees with version A virtually word for word from here (p. 148) to Trotter's words 'but eavesdropping, as you put it, is not unknown in Bree, and besides, I have not told you all yet' (p. 150), at which point in A he was interrupted by the arrival of Mr Butterbur; thus in B also, Trotter tells them of his overhearing Gandalf talking about Bingo with the Dwarves and Elves on the Road west of Bree. B now diverges again:

. . . Besides, I have not yet told you the most important part. There were *other* folk enquiring after four hobbits.'

Bingo's heart sank: he guessed what was coming. 'Go on,' he said quietly.

'On Monday evening at the west end of the village I nearly ran into a horse and rider going fast in the dusk: all hooded and cloaked in black he was, and his horse was tall and black. I hailed him with a curse, not liking the looks of him; and he halted and spoke. He had a strange voice, and I could hardly make out his talk at first. Sure enough, he was asking for news of four hobbits with five ponies that were riding out of the Shire. I stood still and did not answer; and he brought his horse step by step nearer to me. When he was quite close he stooped and sniffed. Then he hissed, and rode off through the village, eastward. I heard the dogs yammering, and geese screaming. From the talk in the inn that night I gathered that *three* riders had been seen in the dusk going along the Road towards Combe behind the hill; though I don't know where the other two sprang from.

'On Tuesday I was on the look-out all day. Sure enough, as evening drew in, I saw the same riders again, or others as like them as night is to darkness – coming down the Road from the West again. Four this time, though, not three. I hailed them from behind a hedge as they passed; and they all halted suddenly, and turned towards my voice. One of them – he seemed larger and mounted on a taller horse – came forward in my direction. "Where are you going, and what is your business?" I said. The rider leaned forward as if he was peering – or smelling; and then riding to the hedge he spoke in a sort of whisper. I felt cold shivers run down my back. It was the same story: he wanted news of four hobbits and five ponies. But he seemed more pressing and eager. Indeed (and it is that that is worrying me at the moment) he offered a deal of silver and gold, if I could tell him which way they had gone, or promise to watch out for them. "I have seen no such party," I said, "and I am a wanderer myself, and maybe shall be far West or East by tomorrow. But if you give me a name, maybe I could give a message, if I happen to meet such folk in my way." At that he sat silent for a while; and then he said suddenly: "The name is Baggins, Bolger-Baggins," and he hissed out the end of it like a snake. "What message?" I asked all trembling. "Just tell him that we are seeking him in haste," he hissed; and with that he rode away with his companions, and their black robes were quickly swallowed up in the dark. What do you think of that? It rather alters things, doesn't it?'

'Yes,' said Bingo, hiding his alarm as well as he could. 'But we knew already that they were after us; and they do not seem to have found out anything new.'

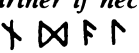
'If you can trust me!' said Trotter, with a look at Bingo. 'But even so, I should not be too sure. I've a little more to tell. On Tuesday night I was lying on a bank under the hedge of Bill Ferny's garden . . .

Here version B returns again to the other (p. 153), and is almost word for word the same as far as 'The silence grew, and still Bingo could not make up his mind' (p. 154), the only difference being that after 'Bingo did not doubt that most of his tale was true' the words '(borne out as it was by the landlord's account)' are necessarily absent, since in this version Mr Butterbur has not encountered the Riders. Now follows in B:

'I should take a look at that letter of Gandalf's, if I were you,' said Trotter quietly. 'It might help you to make up your mind.'

Bingo took the letter, which he had almost forgotten, out of his pocket. He looked at the seal carefully before he broke it. It seemed certainly to be Gandalf's, as was the writing, and the runic . He opened it, and read it aloud.

The letter is the same as in version A, except at the end, since in this story Gandalf gave the letter not to Trotter but to the landlord:[13]

. . . If you meet a ranger (wild hobbit: dark, long-haired, has wooden shoes!) known as Trotter, stick to him. You can trust him. Old friend of mine: I have seen him, and told him to look out for you. He knows a lot. He will guide you to Weathertop and further if necessary. Push along! Yours
 *Gandalf* .

Bingo looked at the trailing handwriting. It seemed as plainly genuine as the seal. 'Well, Trotter,' he said, 'if you had told me right away that you had seen Gandalf to speak to, and that he had written this letter, it would have smoothed things out a lot, and saved a lot of talk.'

'As for the letter,' said Trotter, 'I knew nothing about it, till old Barnabas brought it out. Gandalf put two strings to his bow. I expect he was afraid I might miss you.'

'But why did you invent all that tale about eavesdropping?'

'I did not invent it,' laughed Trotter. 'It was true. I gave old Gandalf quite a start when I popped up from behind the hedge.

The two texts coincide again from this point (p. 154) – except of course that Trotter does not say here 'I had to make quite sure that *you* were genuine first, before handing over any letter', but simply 'I had to make sure that *you* were genuine.' But when Bingo says 'I don't altogether

understand this letter. He says "don't stop in Bree"' (p. 155), in version B he gets no further, for:

At that moment there came a knock on the door. Mr Butterbur was there again, with a tray of candles, and Nob behind him with jugs of hot water. 'Here's your water and lights, if you be wishing for your beds,' said he. 'But your Mr Rivers has not come in yet. I hope he will not be long, for I've a mind for bed myself, but I won't leave the locking-up to anyone else tonight; not with these pestering black foreigners about.'

'Where can Merry have got to?' said Frodo. 'I hope he's all right.'

'Give him a few more minutes, Mr Butterbur,' said Bingo. 'I am sorry to bother you.' 'Very good,' he said, putting the candles on the table. 'Nob, take the water to the rooms! Good night, sirs.' He shut the door.

'What I was going to say,' Bingo went on quietly after a moment, 'was: why not stop in Bree? Is Butterbur all right? Of course, Tom Bombadil said so; but I'm learning to be suspicious.'

'Old Barnabas!' said Trotter. 'He's perfectly all right. As sound a hobbit as there is between the West Towers and Rivendell. Gandalf was only afraid you might be too comfortable here! Barney is faithful, kind, shrewd in plain business – and not overcurious about anything but the daily events among his Bree-folk. If anything strange happens, he just invents an explanation, or puts it out of his mind as soon as possible. "Queer," he says, and scratches his head, and then goes back to his larder or his brewhouse.'

'Well, is it safe to stay the night here?' said Bingo, with a look at the comfortable fire and the candles. 'At any rate Gandalf said "Don't move in the dark".'

At this point the two versions finally merge. It will be seen that the essential differences of B from A are these. In B, Butterbur has Gandalf's letter and gives it to Bingo at the outset (though Bingo does not read it there and then). Trotter not only, as in A, 'eavesdrops' on Gandalf and his companions on the Road west of Bree, but he, not Butterbur, has the encounter with the Riders, and not of course at the inn door but on the road. The 'material' of the two accounts is closely similar, allowing for the Butterburian quality of the one, and the difference of place.

In version A Trotter, to help him make up his mind, gives Bingo the letter when Mr Butterbur has gone; in B, he reminds Bingo about it (as in FR p. 181). And in B, Butterbur only now comes into the parlour, so that the realisation that Merry has not come back is postponed.

A characteristic combination of, or selection from, these divergent accounts is found in the relation between the final story in FR and the two original variants; for A is followed in making Mr Butterbur enter in the middle of the conversation between the hobbits and Trotter/Strider – but B in making it Butterbur who has Gandalf's letter. It is extremely characteristic, again, that Trotter's 'eavesdropping' on Gandalf and his companions behind the hedge on the Road west of Bree survives in FR (p. 176), but becomes the eavesdropping of Strider on the hobbits themselves – for, of course in FR Gandalf had been in Bree and left the letter long before, at the end of June, and at the time of the Birthday Party was far away. But while the relative chronology, as between Gandalf's movements and those of the hobbits, would be entirely reconstructed, that of the latter was never changed.

Thurs.	Sept. 22	Birthday Party	Gandalf and Merry, with Dwarves and Elves, left Hobbiton (after the fireworks)
Fri.	Sept. 23	Bingo, Frodo, and Odo left Hobbiton and slept out	
Sat.	Sept. 24	The hobbits passed the night with Gildor and the Elves	
Sun.	Sept. 25	The hobbits reached Buckland at night	Gandalf and his companions arrived at Bree in the morning
Mon.	Sept. 26	The hobbits in the Old Forest; first night with Tom Bombadil	Gandalf and his companions left Bree, Gandalf leaving letter for Bingo. Black Rider comes to the inn (*or* encounters Trotter on the Road)
Tues.	Sept. 27	Second night with Tom Bombadil	Four Riders come to the inn (*or* Trotter encounters them on the Road)
Wed.	Sept. 28	Hobbits captured by Barrowight	
Thurs.	Sept. 29	Hobbits arrive at Bree	

The same dates for the hobbits' movements appear in The Tale of Years in LR Appendix B (p. 372). That the 22nd of September, the day of the Birthday Party, was a Thursday first appears in the fourth version

of 'A Long-expected Party' (FR p. 34); originally it was a Saturday (see pp. 21, 38).

For the significance of the additions in pencil on pp. 153–4, whereby Trotter is made to have seen the Riders 'away west of Bree' already on the Saturday, before Gandalf arrived there, and to have spoken with Gandalf about them when they met, see p. 217, note 11.

From the point where the two versions join, the text (in ink over pencil) proceeds thus. I give it in full, since though much was retained in FR there are a very great many differences in detail.

'You mustn't,' said Trotter; 'and so you can't help staying here tonight. What has been done can't be helped; and we must hope that all will be well. I don't think anything will get inside this inn, once it is locked. But, of course, we must get off as early as may be in the morning. I shall be up and about sooner than the Sun and I'll see all is ready. You are two or three days behind – somehow. Perhaps you will tell me as we go along what you have been up to. Unless you start early, and go fast, I doubt if you'll find any camp on Weathertop.'

'In that case let's get to bed now!' said Odo yawning. 'Where's that silly fellow Merry? It would be too much, if we had to go out now and look for him.'

At that very moment they heard a door slam, and feet running in the passage. Merry came in with a rush, shut the door hastily, and leaned against it. He was out of breath. They stared at him in alarm for a moment; then he gasped: 'I've seen one, Bingo. I've seen one!'

'What?' they cried all together.

'A Black Rider!'

'Where?' said Bingo.

'Here. In the village,' he answered. 'I had come back from a stroll, and was standing just outside the light from the door, looking at the stars: it is a fine night, but dark. I felt something coming towards, if you know what I mean: there was a sort of dark shadow; and then I saw him for a second,[14] just as he passed through the beam of light from the door. He was leading his horse along the grass-edge on the other side of the Road, and hardly made a sound.'

'Which way did he go?' asked Trotter.

Merry started, noticing the stranger for the first time. 'Go on,' said Bingo. 'This is a messenger from Gandalf. He will help us.'

'I followed him,' said Merry. 'He went through the village, right to the east end, where the Road turns round the foot of the hill.

Suddenly he stopped under a dark hedge; and I thought I heard him speaking, or whispering, to someone on the other side. I wasn't sure, though I crept as near as I dared. But I'm afraid I came over all queer and trembling suddenly, and bolted back.'

'What's to be done?' said Bingo, turning to Trotter.

'Don't go to your rooms!' said Trotter at once. 'That must have been Bill Ferny – for his hole is at the east end of Bree; and it is more than likely that he will have found out which rooms you have got. They have small windows looking back west and the outside walls are not very thick. We'll all stay in here, bar the door and window, and take turns to watch.[15] But first we had better fetch your baggage – and arrange the beds!'

At this point my father interrupted his original pencilled draft text to set down a sketch of the story to come, and since he did not overwrite this part of the manuscript in ink it can be read – or could be, if it were not written in a scribble at the very limit of legibility and beyond.

That was done. Pillows put in beds. Nothing happens that night – but in the morning windows open, pillows on floor. The ponies have all vanished. Timothy [i.e. Timothy Titus the landlord] in a great state. They . . . . . [?a bill]. He pays for ponies [?but there are] no more to be had. Shortage in the village. They go on with Trotter on foot. Trotter takes them to a wild hobbit hole, and [?gets his friend] to run on ahead and send a message to Weathertop by pony? Trotter [?guides them by quiet paths off the . . . .] road and going through the woods. Once far in distance on a hill which looked down on to a piece of the road they thought they saw a Black Rider sitting on his horse [?scanning] the road [?and the country round].

. . . . . Weathertop [?about] 50 [written beside: 100] miles from Bree.

Commanding view all round.

Gandalf had gone, but left a pile of stones – message. Waited two days. Must go on. Push on for ford. Help will be easy from Rivendell, if I get there.

They come to Troll Stones . . . . . of Road. Here owing to River ahead they [?are obliged] to go back to Road. Black Riders evidently expect them to visit Troll-wood [> Trollshaw] and are waiting on road where path joined it.

At this stage, then, my father did not at all foresee the attack on the hobbits at Weathertop, just as in the earlier sketch given on p. 126 he did not foresee the attack on the inn. The visit to the Troll Stones had already

been envisaged in that sketch (there described as 'foolish'), and there as here the Riders would only finally come upon them at the Ford.

This is the first occurrence of the name *Trollshaw*, which appears on the LR map (*Trollshaws*) but nowhere in the text.

The text in ink continues:

Trotter was now accepted as a member of the party, indeed as their guide. They at once did as he suggested; and creeping to their bedrooms they disordered the clothes, and put a pillow longwise in each bed. Odo added a brown fur mat, a more realistic substitute for his head. When they were all gathered in the sitting-room again, they piled their things on the floor, pushed a low chair against the door, and shut the window. Peeping out Bingo saw it was still a clear night: he then closed and barred the heavy inside shutters, drew the curtains, and blew out the candles. The hobbits lay on their blankets with their feet towards the fire. Trotter lay in the chair against the door. They did not talk much, but fell asleep one by one.[16] Nothing happened in the night to disturb them. Both Merry and Bingo woke up once in the early and still dark hours, fancying they had heard or felt something moving; but soon they fell asleep again. They noticed that Trotter seemed to be sitting awake in his chair with his eyes open. It was also Trotter that drew the curtains and opened the shutters and let in the early light. He seemed to be able to do with next to no sleep. As soon as he had roused them they tiptoed along the passage to their bedrooms.

There they found how good Trotter's advice had been. The windows were open and swinging, and the curtains were flapping. The beds were tossed about, and the pillows flung on the floor – ripped open. Odo's mat was torn to pieces.

Trotter promptly went in search of Mr Butterbur, and roused him out of bed. What exactly he said to him he did not tell Bingo; but the landlord appeared very quickly, and he seemed very frightened, and very apologetic.

'Never has such a thing happened in my time, or my dad's,' said he, raising his hands in horror. 'Guests unable to sleep in their beds, and all. What are we coming to? But this has been a queer week, and no mistake.' He did not seem surprised that they were anxious to leave as soon as possible, before folk were up and about; and bustled off to get them some breakfast at once, and have their ponies got ready.

But before long he came back in dismay. The ponies had vanished! The stabledoors had been broken open in the night, and

they were gone, and all the other ponies in the place as well. This was crushing news. They were already probably too late to overtake Gandalf. On foot there was no hope of it – they could not reach Weathertop for days, nor Rivendell for weeks.

'What *can* we do, Mr Butterbur?' asked Bingo desperately. 'Can we borrow any more ponies in the village, or the neighbourhood? Or hire them?' he added rather doubtfully.

'I doubt it,' said Mr Butterbur. 'I doubt if there be four riding-ponies left in all Bree; and I don't suppose one of them is for sale or hire. Bill Ferny has one, a poor overworked creature; but he won't part with that for less than thrice its worth, not if I know him. But I'll do what I can. I'll rout out Bob and send him round right away.'

In the end, after an hour and more's delay, it turned out that only *one* pony could be got – and that had to be bought for six silver pennies (a high price for those parts). But Mr Barnabas Butterbur was an honest hobbit, and a generous one (not but what he could afford to be both); and he insisted on paying Mr Rivers (that is Merry) for the lost five animals, 20 silver pennies,[17] less the cost of their food and lodging. That made a very valuable addition to their travelling funds, since silver pennies were very valuable in those days; but it was not at the moment much comfort for their loss and delay. It must have been rather a serious blow for poor old Barnabas, even though he was comfortably off.*

Of course all this bother about the ponies not only took time, but brought the hobbits and their affairs very much into public notice. There was no chance of keeping their departure secret any longer – much to their dismay, and to Trotter's. Indeed they did not get off until after nine o'clock, and by that time all the Bree-folk were out to watch them go. After saying farewell to Nob and Rob,[18] and taking leave of Mr Butterbur, they tramped off,

**Footnote*. Still, I believe he came out on the right side in the end; for it turned out that the ponies, wild with terror, had escaped, and having a great deal of sense eventually made their way to find old Fatty Lumpkin. And that proved useful. For Tom Bombadil saw them, and was afraid that disaster had befallen the hobbits. So he went off to Bree to find out what he could; and there he learned all that Barnabas could tell him (and a bit more). Also he bought the ponies off Barnabas (as they belonged to him now). That was very much to the delight of Fatty Lumpkin, who now had friends to whom he could tell tales, and (as they were his juniors) on to whom he could shift most of the little work there was to do.

anxious and downhearted. Trotter walked in front leading their only pony, which was laden with the greater part of their luggage. Trotter was chewing an apple: he seemed to have a pocketful of them. Apples and tobacco, he said, were the things he most missed when he could not get them. They took no notice of the many inquisitive heads poking out of doors or popping over fences as they passed through the village; but as they drew near to the east end, Bingo saw a squat sullen-faced hobbit (rather goblinish, he thought to himself): he was looking over a hedge. He had black eyes, a large mouth, and an unpleasant leer, and was smoking a blackened pipe. He took the pipe out of his mouth, and spat back over his shoulder as they went by.

'Morning, Trotter!' he said. 'Found some new friends?' Trotter nodded, but did not answer.

'Morning, gentles!' he said to the hobbits. 'I suppose you know who you are going with? That's dirty Trotter, that is; or so he calls himself – though I have heard other names not so pretty. But maybe a ranger is good enough for you.'

Trotter turned round quickly. 'Bill Ferny!' he said. 'You put your ugly face out of sight, or you'll get it broken. Not that that'll do it much harm.' With a sudden flick, quick as lightning, half an apple left his hand and hit Bill square on the nose. He ducked and vanished with a yowk;[19] and they did not listen to the curses that came from behind the hedge.

After leaving the village they went along the Road for some miles. It wound to the right, round the south side of Bree hill, and then began to run downwards into wooded country.[20] Away north of the Road they could see first Archet on some higher ground like an island in the trees; and then down in a deep hollow, to the east of Archet, wisps of rising smoke that showed where Combe lay. After the Road had run down some way and left Bree hill behind, they came on a narrow track that ran northward away from the Road. 'This is where we leave the open, and take to cover!' said Trotter. '*Not* a short cut, I hope,' said Bingo. 'It was a short cut through woods that made us two days late before.' 'Ah, but you had not got me with you,' said Trotter. 'My cuts, short or long, don't go wrong.' His plan, as far as they could gather, not knowing the country, was to pass near Combe[21] and keep under cover of the woods while the Road was still near, and then to steer as straight as they could over the wild country to Weathertop Hill. They would in that way (if all went well) cut off a great loop of the Road, which further on bent away south to avoid the Flymarshes [*written*

above: Midgewater]. Trotter also had a notion that if he came across any of his friends among the wild hobbits, one that he could trust, they might send him on ahead on the pony to Weathertop. But the others did not think well of his plan, as it would mean carrying heavy packs, and thought the Flymarshes [*written above:* Midgewater] would prove bad enough (from Trotter's description) without that. [22] However, in the meantime walking was not unpleasant. Indeed, if it had not been for the disturbing events of the night before, they would have enjoyed this part of the journey better than any up to that time. The sun was shining, clear but not hot. The woods were still leafy and full of colour, and seemed peaceful, clean, and wholesome. Trotter guided them confidently among the many crossing ways, although very soon they themselves lost all sense of direction; but as he explained to them, they were not yet going in a straight line, but making a zig-zag course, to put off any pursuit.

'Bill Ferny will have watched where we left the Road, for certain,' he said; 'but I don't think he will follow us far himself, though he knows the land round here well enough. It's what he tells other – people that matters. If they think we have made for Combe, so much the better.' Whether because of Trotter's skill or for some other reason, they saw no sign, and heard no sound, of any other living thing all that day, and all the next day: neither two-footed (save birds), nor four-footed (except foxes and rabbits). On the third day out from Bree they came out of the woodlands. Their way had trended downwards all the time, and now they came to flatter and more difficult country.

They were on the borders of the Midgewater Marshes. The ground became damper, in places boggy, and here and there there were pools, and wide stretches of reeds and rushes, full of hidden warbling birds. They had to pick their way carefully to keep both dry-footed and on their line. At first they made fair progress: in fact they were probably going quite as quickly on foot as they could have done mounted. But as they went on their way became slower and more dangerous. The marshes were wide and treacherous, and across them there was only a winding ranger-trail, which it taxed Trotter's skill to find. The flies became a torment: particularly the clouds of tiny midges that crept up their sleeves and breeches and under their hair.

'I'm being eaten alive!' said Odo. 'Midgewater! There are more midges than water. What do they live on, when they can't get hobbits?'

They were two miserable days in this lonely and unpleasant country. Their camping places were damp and cold, for there was no good fuel. Armfuls of dry reeds and rush and grass blazed away all too soon. And of course the biting things would not let them sleep. There were also some abominable over-grown cousins of the cricket that squeaked all round, and nearly drove Bingo wild. He hated crickets, even when he was not kept awake by bites to listen to them. But these crickets were shriller than any cricket he had met, and even more persistent. They were more than glad, when early on the fifth day from Bree they saw the land before them slowly rising again, sloping up until in the distance it became a line of low hills.[23]

To the right of the line there was a tall conical hill with a slightly flattened top. 'That is Weathertop,' said Trotter. 'The old Road, which we have left far away on our right, runs to the south of it, and passes not far from its foot. We might reach it by noon tomorrow; and I suppose we had better make for it.'

'What do you mean?' asked Bingo.

'I mean: when we do get there, it is not certain what we shall find. It is close to the Road.'

'But was not Gandalf going to camp there?'

'Yes – but what with one thing and another, you are already three or even four days behind the time when he expected you to get there. You will be four or five days late by the time we reach the top. I wonder very much if we shall find *him* there. On the other hand, if certain persons were warned that you went east out of Bree, and have failed to find us in the wilderness, they may not unlikely make for Weathertop themselves. It commands a wide view of the lands all round. Indeed there are many birds and beasts in this country that could see us as we stand here from that hill-top. There are even some of the rangers that on a clear day could spy us from there, if we moved. And not all the rangers are to be trusted, nor all the birds and beasts.'

The hobbits looked anxiously at the distant hill. Odo looked up in the pale sky, as if he feared to see hawks or eagles hovering over them. 'You make me feel most uncomfortable,' said Bingo; 'but I suppose it is all for our good. We ought to realize what danger we are in. What do you advise us to do?'

'I think,' answered Trotter slowly and as if he was for the first time not quite sure of his plans, 'I think the best thing is to go straight forward, or as straight as we can, from this point, and make for the line of hills. There we can strike certain paths that I

know, and in fact will bring us to Weathertop from the North, and less openly. Then we shall see what we shall see.'

There seemed nothing else to do. In any case they could not stop in that comfortless land, and the line of march that Trotter proposed was more or less in the direction that they must take, if ever they were to get to Rivendell. All that day they plodded along, until the cold and early evening came down. The land became drier and more barren; but mists and vapours lay behind them on the wide marshes. A few melancholy birds were piping, until the round red sun sank slowly into the western shadows. They thought how its soft light would be glancing through the cheerful windows looking on to the garden at Bag-end far away. They came upon a stream that wandered down from the hills to lose itself in the stagnant marshland, and this they followed while the light lasted. It was already nearly dark when they camped under some stunted alder-trees on the stony banks of the stream; now dark before them loomed the bare side of the nearest hill, bleak and barren. They set a watch that night, but those that were not watching slept uneasily. The moon was waxing, and in the early night hours a grey cold light lay on the land.

Next morning they set out again soon after sunrise. There was a frost in the air, and the sky was a pale clear blue. They felt refreshed, as if they had had a night of good sleep, and were glad to have left the damp heavy air of the marshes. Already they were getting used to much walking, and to short commons (or shorter at any rate than they would have thought possible to walk on in the Shire). Odo declared that Bingo was looking twice the hobbit that he was.

'Very odd,' said Bingo, tightening his belt, 'considering that there is actually a great deal less of me. I hope the thinning-process won't go on indefinitely, or I shall become a wraith.'

'Don't speak of such things!' said Trotter quickly, and with surprising earnestness.

Before long they reached the feet of the hills; and there they found, for the first time since they left the Road, a track plain to see. This they took, turning and following it south-west.[24] It led them up and down, following a line of country that contrived to keep them hidden as often and as long as possible from view, either from the hill-tops above, or from the flats to the West. It dived into dells, and hugged steep banks, and found crossings over the streams, and ways round the bogs that these made in

hollow places. Where it crossed a flatter and more open space it often had lines of large boulders on either side, screening the marchers almost like a hedge.

'I wonder who made this path, and what for?' said Frodo, as they passed along one of these avenues, where the stones were unusually large and closely set. 'I am not sure I quite like it – it has a, well, rather barrow-wightish look? Is there any barrow on Weathertop?'

'No!' said Trotter. 'There is no barrow on Weathertop nor on any of these hills. The Men of the West did not live here. I do not know who made this path, nor how long ago, but it was made to provide a way to Weathertop that could be defended. It is told by some that Gilgalad and Valandil [*later* > Elendil] made a fort and strong place here in the Ancient Days, when they marched East.'

'Who was Gilgalad?' asked Frodo; but Trotter did not answer, and seemed to be lost in thought.[25]

It was already mid-day when they came towards the south-eastern end of the line of hills, and saw before them, in the pale clear light of the October sun, a green-grey ridge leading up like a sagging bridge on to the northward side of the tall conical hill. They decided to make for the top at once, while the day was broad. Concealment was no longer possible, and they could only hope for the best. Nothing could be seen moving on the hill.

After an hour's slow plodding climb, Trotter reached the crown of the hill. Bingo and Merry followed, tired and breathless. The last slope had been steep and stony. Odo and Frodo were left below with the baggage and the pony, in a sheltered hollow under the western flank of the hill. On the top they found only a pile of stones – a cairn of long forgotten meaning. There was no sign of Gandalf, or of any living thing. All about and below them was a wide view, for the most part of a land empty, deserted, and featureless – except for patches of woodland away to the south, where they caught also the occasional glint of distant water. Beneath them, on the southward side, ran the ribbon of the Old Road, coming out of the West and winding up and down until it faded behind a ridge of dark land in the East. It too was empty. Nothing was moving on it. Following its line eastward they beheld the Mountains – now plain to see, the nearer foothills brown and brooding, with taller greyer shapes behind, and behind them again the high white peaks glimmering out of clouds.

'Well, here we are!' said Merry. 'And very cheerless and un-

inviting it all looks. There is no water, and no shelter. I don't blame Gandalf for not waiting here! He would have to leave the waggon, and horses, and most of his companions, too, I expect, down near the Road.'

'I wonder,' said Trotter thoughtfully. 'He must certainly have come here, since he said he would. It is not like him to leave no sign. I hope nothing has happened to him – though it is not easy to imagine *him* coming to grief.' He pushed the pile of stones with his foot, and the topmost stones fell down with a clatter. Something white, set free, began to flutter in the wind. It was a piece of paper. Trotter seized it eagerly, and read out the message scrawled on it:

Waited three days. Must go. What has happened to you. Push on for the Ford beyond Troll-shaw, as fast as you can. Help will come there from Rivendell, as soon as I can manage it. Be watchful. G. ⚒

'Three days!' said Trotter. 'Then he must have left while we were still in the marshes. I suppose we were too far away for any glimpse of our miserable fires.'

'How far is the Ford, and Rivendell?' said Bingo wearily. The world looked wild and wide from the hill-top.

'Let me think!' said Trotter. 'I don't know if the Road has ever been measured beyond the Forsaken Inn – a day's journey east of Bree. But the stages, in days taken by waggon, pony, or horse, or on foot, are pretty well known, of course. I should reckon it is about 120 long-miles from Bree to Weathertop – by the Road, which loops south and north. We have come a shorter but not quicker way: between 80 and 90 miles in the last six days. It is nearer 40 than 30 miles from Brandywine Bridge to Bree. I don't know, but I should make the count of miles from your Bridge to the Ford under the Misty Mountains a deal over 300 miles. So it must be close on 200 from Weathertop to the Ford. I have heard it said that from Bridge to Ford can be done in a fortnight going hard with fair weather; but I have never met any that had made the journey in that time. Most take nigh on a month, and poor hobbit-folk on foot take more.

This passage, from 'But the stages, in days taken by waggon, pony, or horse, or on foot', was enclosed within square brackets; and against it my father wrote: '? Cut out – as this though it can be kept as a narrative time guide is too cut and dried and spoils the feeling. ?' He then wrote the following replacement on a slip (cf. FR p. 200):

Some say it is so far, and some say otherwise. It is a queer Road. And folk are glad to reach their journey's end, be the time longer or shorter. But I know how long it would take me, with fair weather and no illfortune, just a poor ranger on his own feet: between three weeks and a month going hard from Brandywine Bridge to the Ford under the Misty Mountains. More than two days from the Bridge to Bree, a week from Bree to Weathertop. We have made it in that time, but we have come by a shorter way, for the Road bends south and north. Say ten days. Then we have a fortnight before us, maybe less, but more likely more.'

'A fortnight!' said Bingo. 'A lot may happen in that time.' They all fell silent. Bingo felt for the first time in that lonely place the full realization of his danger and exile. He wished that his fortune had left him in the quiet and beloved Shire. He stared at the hateful Road – leading back westward – to his old home. Suddenly he was aware that two black specks were moving along the ribbon, going westward, and looking closer he saw now that several more were crawling slowly eastward to meet them. He gave a cry and clutched Trotter's arm. 'Look!' he said, pointing.

'Get down!' cried Trotter, pulling Bingo flat on the ground beside him. Merry flung himself alongside. 'What is it?' he whispered. 'I don't know, but I fear,' said Trotter. They wormed their way to the edge of the flat hilltop and peered out from behind a stony outcrop. The light was not bright, for the clear morning had faded, and clouds crawled slowly out of the East and had now caught the sun, as it began to go west. They could see the black specks, but neither Bingo nor Merry could make out their shape for certain. Yet something told them that there below were Black Riders assembling on the Road, beyond the hill's foot. 'Yes,' said Trotter, whose keener sight left him in no doubt. 'The enemy is here.'

Hastily they crawled away, and slipped down the north side of the hill to find Odo and Frodo.

Here the original Chapter VII, which I have divided into two, ends.

NOTES

1 Of the original pencilled draft, overwritten by version B, little can now be read; it was dashed down in faint pencil, and except here and there the text in ink effectively obliterates it. Enough can be seen, however, to show that the story was that of version B (in which

Gandalf's letter was given to the landlord of the inn, not to Trotter); and though this is less certain, I suspect that at this stage there was no mention of Black Riders having come to Bree before Bingo, Merry, Frodo, and Odo arrived. On the other hand, it is perfectly clear that when my father wrote out version B on top of the original draft he had version A in front of him.

The explanation of this odd situation can be seen, I think, in the fact that version B is much longer than the pencilled draft and not at all closely associated with it; some of it is on slips added in. I think that my father wrote out version A *first*, on the basis of the pencilled draft, but changed the story as he did so (by giving Gandalf's letter to Trotter, and introducing Butterbur's story of the Riders who came to the inn); he *then* returned to the pencilled draft and wrote version B on top of it, going back to the story that the letter had been entrusted to Butterbur, and again introducing the story of the Black Riders at Bree but ascribing it now to Trotter, who encountered them on the Road. For this text he used version A and followed it very closely so far as the changed story allowed. Thus the textual history was:

(1) Original pencilled draft: Gandalf's letter left with Butterbur; (probably) no story as yet of Black Riders having already come to Bree.

(2) Version A: the story changed: Gandalf's letter left with Trotter; Butterbur tells of the coming of the Riders to the inn.

(3) Version B, written over the original draft, but using much of the wording of A: Gandalf's letter left with Butterbur; Trotter tells of his encounters with the Riders on the Road.

Finally, some new phrases in B were written back into A.

2 It is with this sentence that Chapter 10 'Strider' begins in FR, but I include the preceding passage here since it forms part of the narrative which is treated in alternative ways (see p. 156).

3 Cf. p. 141 note 7. But even though the old idea that Bingo 'had come to the end of his treasure' (and that a vague object of his 'Journey' was that it might bring him some more, p. 62) disappeared, it remained in FR (p. 175) that 'he had brought only a little money with him.'

4 *That would be five days ago:* see the chronology given on p. 160. Gandalf and his companions arrived at the inn on Sunday morning, and it was now Thursday night.

5 *They should be here by Tuesday:* Gandalf had assumed that they would follow the Road from the Brandywine Bridge to Bree, and take two days over it. Cf. Trotter's calculations (pp. 170–1): 'It is nearer 40 than 30 miles from Brandywine Bridge to Bree', and 'More than two days from the Bridge to Bree' (on foot).

6 How did the Black Riders know this? See p. 350, note 7.

7 Here my father wrote: 'Now he described your party very exactly, sir, more exactly than Mr Gandalf did: colour of your ponies, look of your faces,' but struck it out as soon as written, probably because it was not consistent with his conception of the Black Riders: he had already said (p. 75) that for Ring-wraiths 'Everything becomes very faint like grey ghost pictures against the black background in which you live; but you can smell better than you can hear or see.' It seems very likely that the idea of the 'wraith-world', into which in some sense the bearer of a Ring entered if he put it on his finger, and in which he then became fully visible to the denizens of that world, had already arisen; a hint of this appears in Gildor's words (p. 64) 'I guess that the use of the ring helps them more than you', and in Gandalf's letter in the present chapter he is urgent that Bingo should never wear the Ring for any purpose – now that he has learned that the Riders are in pursuit.

8 These words are at the bottom of a manuscript page. At the bottom my father scribbled in pencil:

> Nov. 19 Motive *trailing Gandalf.* Gandalf drawing them off. *No camp at Weathertop* or again Gandalf leads them off.

With this cf. the pencilled addition on p. 153: 'I first saw the Riders last Saturday away west of Bree, before I ran across Gandalf. I am not at all sure they were not following *his* trail too.'

'Nov. 19' presumably refers to the date of the note, i.e. 19 November 1938; by then my father had got well beyond this point in the narrative, judging by what he said in a letter to Stanley Unwin of 13 October 1938: 'I have worked very hard for a month . . . on a sequel to *The Hobbit*. It has reached Chapter XI (though in rather an illegible state) . . .'

9 The first mention of Weathertop Hill; the actual first occurrence of the name must be in the original pencilled draft of Gandalf's letter, which can be partly made out (note 13).

10 The runes are the Old English runes, as in *The Hobbit*. Gandalf uses the English (Common Germanic) rune ᚷ for G in writing his name, but uses also as a sign for himself a rune ᛝ. In the *Angerthas* (LR Appendix E pp. 401–4) this rune meant (in the usage of the Dwarves of Moria) [ng].

11 Oddly, the manuscript in ink has here *Timothy*, not *Barnabas*; but it can only be a slip, returning momentarily to the landlord's original name (p. 140 note 3).

12 *Tuesday, not Thursday:* see note 5.

13 The ending of the letter can be read in the pencilled draft:

> *Don't be out after dark or in mist. Push along. Am so anxious that I shall wait [?two] days for you . . . . . Weathertop Hill. If you meet a ranger (wild hobbit) called Trotter, stick to him. I have told him to look out. He will guide you to Weathertop and further if necessary. Push along.*

14 The text as first written here (in ink: the pencilled text beneath is illegible) had: 'I felt something moving behind me, and when I turned I saw one going along the Road.' – For 'coming towards' in the revised sentence perhaps read 'coming towards me'.

15 *bar the door and window* was written in above *and take turns to watch*, which was not struck out. See note 16.

16 The underlying pencilled text can be read here:

> They did not talk much but fell asleep one by one. Trotter watched for three hours; he said he could do with very little sleep. Next came Merry. Nothing happened . . .

A first version in ink reads:

> He could do with very little (he said): 'give me three hours, and then wake me, and I will watch for the rest of the time.' Bingo took the first watch; the others talked for a while and then fell asleep.

At this point FR Chapter 10 'Strider' ends, and Chapter 11 'A Knife in the Dark' begins – where that chapter takes up the story at Bree again: of the attack by the Black Riders on the house at Crickhollow with which it begins there is as yet no trace.

17 *20* (silver pennies) was later changed to *25*.

18 *Rob:* at previous occurrences (pp. 135, 164) the name of the ostler at *The Prancing Pony* is certainly *Bob*, as in FR.

19 *a yowk:* the verb *yowk* 'howl, bawl, yelp' is given in Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*.

20 A tiny pencilled sketch in the body of the manuscript, belonging with the underlying draft, shows the Road, after it has curved down round the south side of Bree-hill, bending up north again and continuing the same line east of Bree as it had to the west of the village.

21 *Combe* changed in pencil to *Archet* (as in FR, p. 193).

22 These two sentences, from *Trotter also had a notion*, were enclosed in square brackets, probably at the time of writing. Cf. the outline (p. 162): 'Trotter takes them to a wild hobbit hole, and gets his friend to run on ahead and send a message to Weathertop by pony?'.

23 The pencilled text beneath the ink can be read sufficiently to show that the passage of the marshes (unnamed) was described in a couple of sentences.

24 Since at the end of the next sentence my father wrote 'from the flats to the East', which is an obvious slip and which he later corrected to 'West', it seems likely that the 'south-west' course of the track along the feet of the hills is also a slip for 'south-east'; a little later it is said that 'they came towards the south-eastern end of the line of hills.'

25 For the story of Gil-galad and Elendil and the Last Alliance as it was at this time see the second version of *The Fall of Númenor* §14 (V.28–9) and pp. 215–16. Though Elendil is present in *The Fall of Númenor* my father does not seem to have been entirely satisfied

with the name: here he wrote *Valandil* first, and in the original draft of the next chapter he changed *Elendil* temporarily to *Orendil* (p. 197 note 3). In *The Lost Road* Valandil was the name of Elendil's father (V.60, 69), and in a later version of *The Fall of Númenor* Valandil is Elendil's brother (V.33).

★

In the latter part of this chapter, from the point where the variant versions join (pp. 159, 161), all the essential structure of the immediate narrative in FR (pp. 185–201) is in place, though the larger bearings and the glimpses of ancient history are conspicuously absent. The narrative runs in a narrower dimension in any case, from the fact that there are no Men in the story: Butterbur is a hobbit, the wild 'rangers', of whom Trotter is one, are hobbits, Bill Ferny is a hobbit (p. 165) – though it is true that the range of hobbit character is greatly extended by these 'Outsiders' who live beyond the Shire's borders.

A few specific points of difference may be briefly mentioned. The pony bought in Bree is not in fact said to be Ferny's (p. 164), though it seems to be implied; and the subsequent history of the five ponies from Buckland, recorded in the footnote to the text (p. 164), was afterwards largely changed (FR p. 191). The encounter of Merry with the Black Rider outside the inn at Bree does not end with his being attacked; and it is Trotter who plays the later part of Sam in having a pocketful of apples and discomfiting Bill Ferny with one on the nose.

The journey from Bree to Weathertop has the same structure as that in FR (pp. 194–7), except at the end. The chronology is:

Days out of Bree	*Date*	*Place*
1	Fri. Sept. 30	In the woods (Chetwood)
2	Sat. Oct. 1	In the woods
3	Sun. Oct. 2	First day and camp in the marshes
4	Mon. Oct. 3	Second day and camp in the marshes
5	Tues. Oct. 4	Camp by the stream under alders

But in FR the hobbits made another night camp at the feet of the western slopes of the Weather Hills – and that was 'the night of the fifth of October, and they were six days out from Bree' (p. 197); this camp is not in the original version, and thus they reached Weathertop on Wednesday October 5. Trotter on Weathertop says that they have covered between 80 and 90 miles 'in the last six days': he was including that day also, for it was already after noon.

In the old story Gandalf stayed on Weathertop for three days, and he left there a note in a pile of stones, written on paper. This message ('Help

will come there [i.e. to the Ford] from Rivendell, as soon as I can manage it') gives the first clear indication in the story of what Gandalf's intentions were; and with this can be taken the words scribbled on the manuscript that are given in note 8. Gandalf was trying to lure the Riders after *him*.

Looking back over the whole of the original Chapter VII, the story from the hobbits' arrival in Bree to the sight of the Black Riders on the Road far below the summit of Weathertop, there appears again and in the most striking form the characteristic of my father's writing that elements emerge suddenly and clearly conceived, but with their 'meaning' and context still to undergo huge further development, or even complete transformation, in the later narrative (cf. p. 71). A small example here is the face that Bingo thought 'goblinish' as they walked out of Bree (p. 165) – which is here the face of Bill Ferny (a hobbit): in FR (p. 193) it will be that of 'the squint-eyed southerner' whom Frodo glimpsed through the window of Ferny's house, and thought that he looked 'more than half like a goblin.' In a 'chrysalis' state are the 'Rangers', wanderers in the wilderness, and Trotter is a Ranger, grim and weatherworn, deeply learned in the lore of the wild, and in many other matters; but they are hobbits, and of any further or larger significance that they might have in the history of Middle-earth there is no hint. Trotter is at once so fully realized that his tone in this part of the narrative (indeed not a few of his actual words) was never changed afterwards; yet such little as is glimpsed of his history at this stage bears no relation whatsoever to that of Aragorn son of Arathorn. He is a hobbit, marked out by wearing wooden shoes (whence his name Trotter); there seems to be something in his history that gives him a special knowledge of, and horror of, the Ring-wraiths (p. 153); and Bingo finds something about him that distinguishes him from other 'Rangers', and is in a way familiar (p. 154). These things will be explained later, before they are finally swept away.

X
THE ATTACK ON WEATHERTOP

This chapter, numbered VIII, and titleless as usual (though later my father pencilled in 'A Knife in the Dark'), begins on the same manuscript page as the end of the last; it was obviously continuous work, and the manuscript proceeds as before, in ink, rapid but always legible, over pencilled drafts of which only words or phrases here and there are visible (see p. 188). The text goes on through FR Chapter 12 'Flight to the Ford' without any sort of break, but as with the original Chapter VII I divide it into two (see the table on p. 133).

There was a hollow dell beneath the north-west shoulder of Weathertop, right under the long ridge that joined it to the hills behind. There Odo and Frodo had been left to wait for them. They had found the signs of a recent camp and fire, and, a great (and most unexpected) boon, behind a large rock was piled a small store of fire-wood. Better still, under the fuel they found a wooden case with some food in it. It was mostly cram-cakes, but there was some bacon, and some dried fruits. There was also some tobacco!

Cram was, as you may remember, a word in the language of the men of Dale and the Long-lake – to describe a special food they made for long journeys. It kept good indefinitely and was very sustaining, but not entertaining, as it took a lot of chewing and had no particular taste. Bilbo Baggins brought back the recipe – he used *cram* after he got home on some of his long and mysterious walks. Gandalf also took to using it on his perpetual journeys. He said he liked it softened in water (but that is hard to believe). But *cram* was not to be despised in the wilderness, and the hobbits were extremely grateful for Gandalf's thoughtfulness. They were still more grateful when the three others came down with their alarming news, and they all realized that they had a long journey still ahead, before they could expect to get help. They immediately held a council, and found it hard to decide what to do. It was the presence of the fire-wood (of which they could not have carried much away) that finally decided them to go no further that day, and to camp for that night in the dell.[1] It seemed unsafe, not to say desperate, to go on at once, or until they found out whether their

arrival at the hill was known or expected. For, unless they were to make a long detour back north-west along the hills, and abandon the direction of Rivendell altogether for a while, it would not be easy to find any cover or concealment. The Road itself was impossible; but they must at least cross it, if they were to get into the more broken land, full of bushy thickets, immediately to the south of it. To the north of the Road, beyond the hills, the land was bare and flat for many miles.

'Can the – er – enemy *see*?' asked Merry. 'I mean, they seem usually to have *smelt* rather than seen, at least in the daytime. But you made us lie down flat.'

'I don't know,' said Trotter, 'how they perceive what they seek; but I fear them. And their horses can see.'[2]

It was now already late afternoon. They had had no food since breakfast. In spite of their fear and uncertainty they were very hungry. So down in the dell where all was still and quiet they made a meal – as good a meal as they dared take, after they had examined their stores. But for Gandalf's present they would not have dared to have more than a bite. They had left behind the countries where inns or villages could be found. There were Big People (so Trotter said) away to the South of them. But North and East the neighbouring lands were empty of all save birds and beasts, unfriendly places deserted by all the races of the world: Elves, Men, Dwarves, or Hobbits, and even by goblins. The more adventurous Rangers journeyed occasionally into those regions, but they passed and did not stay. Other wanderers were rare, and of no good sort: Trolls might stray at times down out of the further hills and Mountains. Only on the Road would travellers be found, Big People rarely in those days, Elves perhaps sometimes, most often Dwarves hurrying along on business, and with no help and few words to spare for strangers.

So now – since Gandalf had gone – they had to depend on what they carried with them – probably until they found their way at last to Rivendell. For water they were obliged to trust to chance. For food they could perhaps just have managed to go ten or eleven days; and now with Gandalf's additions they could with economy probably hold out for more than a fortnight. It might have been worse. But starving was not their only fear.

It became very cold as evening fell. There was some mist again over the distant marshes; but the sky above cleared again, and the clouds were blown away by a chill east wind. Looking out from the lip of the dale [*read* dell] they could see nothing but a grey land

quickly vanishing in shadows, under an open sky filling slowly with twinkling stars.

They lit a small fire down at the lowest point in the hollow, and sat round it clothed and wrapped in every garment and blanket they possessed: at least Bingo and his companions did so. Trotter seemed content with a single blanket, and sat some little way from the fire puffing his short pipe. They took it in turns to sit on guard on the edge of the dell, at a point where the steep sides of Weathertop Hill, and the gentler slope down from the ridge, could be seen – as far as anything could be seen in the gathering dusk.

As the evening deepened Trotter began to tell them tales to keep their minds from fear. He knew much lore concerning wild animals, and claimed to speak some of their languages; and he had strange stories to tell of their lives and little known adventures. He knew also many histories and legends of the ancient days, of hobbits when the Shire was still wild, and of things beyond the mists of memory out of which the hobbits came. They wondered where he had learned all his lore.

'Tell us of Gil-galad!' said Frodo – 'you spoke that name not long ago,[3] and it is still ringing in my ears. Who was he?'

'Don't you know!' said Trotter. 'Gil-galad was the last of the great Elf-kings: Gil-galad is Starlight in their tongue. He overthrew the Enemy, but he himself perished. But I will not tell that tale now; though you will hear it, I think, in Rivendell, when we get there. Elrond should tell it, for he knows it well. But I will tell you the tale of Tinúviel – in brief, for in full it is a long tale of which the end is not known, and there is no one that remembers it in full as it was told of old, unless it be Elrond. But even in brief it is a fair tale – the fairest that has come out of the oldest days.' He fell silent for a moment, and then he began not to speak, but to chant softly:

Put in *Light on Linden Tree* [*sic*] emended. Or the alliterative lines. Follow with brief Tinúviel story.

My father then went straight on in the manuscript to the beginning of a prose résumé of the story of Beren and Lúthien. He had not gone far with this, however, when he abandoned it, and returning to Trotter's words about the story changed the end of them to: 'It is a fair tale, though it is sad as are the tales of Middle-earth, and yet it may lift up the hearts of the enemies of the Enemy.' He then wrote:

Lo Beren Gamlost the boldhearted[4]

but struck this out also. He had suggested just above that 'the alliterative

lines' might be used. He was referring to the passage of alliterative verse that preceded *Light as Leaf on Lindentree* as published in *The Gryphon* (Leeds University) in 1925,[5] a passage itself closely related to lines in the second version of the alliterative *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, 355 ff., where Halog, one of Túrin's guides on the journey to Doriath, sang this song 'for hearts' uplifting' as they wandered in the forest. But he now decided against the alliterative lines for this place, and wrote in the manuscript a new version of *Light as Leaf on Lindentree*. This text of the poem moves it far towards the final version in FR pp. 204–5, but has elements surviving from the old poem that were afterwards lost, and elements common to neither. There are many later emendations to the text, and many alternative readings (mostly taken up into the final version) written at the time of composition; but here I give the primary text without variants or later corrections.

The leaves were long, the grass was thin,
The fall of many years lay thick,
The tree-roots twisted out and in,
The rising moon was glimmering.
Her feet went lilting light and quick
To the silver flute of Ilverin:[6]
Beneath the hemlock-umbels thick
Tinúviel was shimmering.

The noiseless moths their wings did fold,
The light was lost among the leaves,
As Beren there from mountains cold
Came wandering and sorrowing.
He peered between the hemlock leaves
And saw in wonder flowers of gold
Upon her mantle and her sleeves,
And her hair like shadow following.

Enchantment took his weary feet,
That over stone were doomed to roam,
And forth he hastened, strong and fleet,
And grasped at moonbeams glistening.
Through woven woods of Elvenhome
They fled on swiftly dancing feet,
And left him lonely still to roam,
In the silent forest listening.

He heard at times the flying sound
Of feet as light as linden leaves,
Or music welling underground

In the hidden halls of Doriath.
But withered were the hemlock sheaves,
And one by one with sighing sound
Whispering fell the beechen leaves
In the wintry woods of Doriath.

He sought her ever, wandering far
Where leaves of years were thickly strewn,
By light of moon and ray of star
In frosty heavens shivering.
Her mantle glistened in the moon,
As on a hill-top high and far
She danced, and at her feet was strewn
A mist of silver quivering.

When winter passed she came again,
And her song released the sudden spring,
Like rising lark, and falling rain,
And melting water bubbling.
There high and clear he heard her sing,
And from him fell the winter's chain;
No more he feared by her to spring
Upon the grass untroubling.

Again she fled, but clear he called:
Tinúviel, Tinúviel.
She halted by his voice enthralled
And stood before him shimmering.
Her doom at last there on her fell,
As in the hills the echoes called;
Tinúviel, Tinúviel,
In the arms of Beren glimmering.

As Beren looked into her eyes
Within the shadows of her hair
The trembling starlight of the skies
He saw there mirrored shimmering.
Tinúviel! O elven-fair!
Immortal maiden elven-wise,
About him cast her shadowy hair
And white her arms were glimmering.

Long was the way that fate them bore
O'er stony mountains cold and grey,

Through halls of iron and darkling door
And woods of night-shade morrowless.
The Sundering Seas between them lay
And yet at last they met once more,
And long ago they passed away
In the forest singing sorrowless.

He paused before he spoke again. 'That is a song,' he said, 'that tells of the meeting of Beren the mortal and Lúthien Tinúviel, which is but the beginning of the tale.

'Lúthien was the daughter of the elven-king Thingol of Doriath in the West of the Middle-world, when the earth was young. Her mother was Melian, who was not of the Elf-race but came out of the Far West from the land of the Gods and the Blessed Realm of Valinor. It is said that the daughter of Thingol and Melian was the most fair maiden that ever was or shall be among all the children of the world. No limbs so fair shall again run upon the green earth, no face so beautiful shall look upon the sky, till all things are changed.

The passage in praise of Lúthien that follows is almost word for word the same as that in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (1937), largely retained in the published work (p. 165, 'Blue was her raiment . . .').

'But Beren was son of Barahir the Bold. In those days the fathers of the fathers of Men came out of the East; and some there were that journeyed even to the West of Middle-earth, and there they met the Elves, and were taught by them, and became wise, but they were mortal and shortlived, for such is their fate. Yet many of them aided the Elves in their wars. For in that time the Elves besieged the Enemy in his dreadful fortress in the North. Angband it was called, the Halls of Iron beneath the thunderous towers of the black mountain Thangorodrim.

'But he broke the siege, and drove Elves and Men ever southward; and Barahir was slain. Ruin came upon the West-lands, but Doriath long endured because of the power and enchantment of Melian the Queen that fenced it about so that no evil could come within. In the song it is told[7] how Beren flying southward through many perils came at last into the hidden kingdom and beheld Lúthien. Tinúviel he called her, which is Nightingale, for he did not yet know her name.

'But Thingol the Elven-king was wroth, despising him as a mortal, and a fugitive; and he sent Beren upon a hopeless quest ere

he could win Lúthien. For he commanded him to bring him one of the three jewels from the crown of the King of Angband, out of the deeps of the Iron Halls. These were the Silmarils renowned in song, filled with power and a holy light, for they had been made by the Elves in the Blessed Realm, but the Enemy had stolen them, and guarded them with all his strength. Yet Beren achieved that Quest, for Lúthien fled from her father's realm and followed after him; and with the aid of Húan hound of the Gods, who came out of Valinor, she found him once again; and together thereafter they passed through peril and darkness; and they came even to Angband and beguiled the Enemy, and overthrew him, and took a Silmaril and fled.

'But the wolf-warden of the dark gate of Angband bit off the hand of Beren that held the Silmaril, and he came near to death. Yet it is told that at length Lúthien and Beren escaped and returned to Doriath, and the king and all his people marvelled. But Thingol reminded Beren that he had vowed not to return save with a Silmaril in his hand.

'"It is in my hand even now," he answered.

'"Show it to me!" said the king.

'"That I cannot do," said Beren, "for my hand is not here," and he held up his maimed arm. And from that hour he was named Beren Erhamion the Onehanded.

'Then the tale of the Quest was told in the king's hall and his mood was softened, and Lúthien laid her hand in Beren's before the throne of her father.

'But soon fear came upon Doriath. For the dread wolf-warden of Angband, being maddened by the fire of the Silmaril that consumed his evil flesh within, roamed through the world, wild and terrible. And by fate and the power of the jewel he passed the guarded borders and came ravening even into Doriath; and all things fled before him. Thus befell the Wolf-hunt of Doriath, and to that hunt went King Thingol, and Beren Erhamion, and Beleg the Bowman and Mablung the heavy-handed, and Húan the hound.

'And the great wolf leaped upon Beren and felled him and grievously wounded him; and Húan slew the wolf but himself was slain. And Mablung cut the Silmaril from the belly of the wolf, and gave it to Beren, and Beren gave it to Thingol. Then they bore Beren back with Húan at his side to the king's hall. And Lúthien bade him farewell before the gates, bidding him await her beyond the Great Seas; and he died in her arms.

'But the spirit of Lúthien fell down into darkness, for such was the doom upon the elven-maid for her love of a mortal man; and she faded slowly, as the Elves do under the burden of a grief unbearable. Her fair body lay like a flower that is suddenly cut off and lies for a while unwithered on the grass;[8] but her spirit journeyed over the Great Seas. And it is said that she sang before the Gods, and her song was made of the sorrows of the two kindreds, of Elves and Men. So fair was she and so moving was her song that they were moved to pity. But they had not the power long to withhold within the confines of the world the spirits of mortal men that died; nor to change the sundered fate of the two kindreds.

'Therefore they gave this choice to Lúthien. Because of her sorrow and of the Silmaril that was regained from the Enemy, and because her mother Melian came from Valinor, she should be released from the Halls of Waiting, and return not to the woes of Middle-earth, but go to the Blessed Realm and dwell with the Gods until the world's end, forgetting all sadness that her life had known. Thither Beren could not come. The other choice was this. She might return to earth, and take with her Beren for a while, there to dwell with him again, but without certitude of life or joy. Then she would become mortal even as he; and ere long she should leave the world for ever, and her beauty become only a memory of song, until that too faded. This doom she chose, forsaking the Blessed Realm, and thus they met again, Beren and Tinúviel, beyond the Great Seas, as she had said; and their paths led together, and passed long ago beyond the confines of the world. So it was that Lúthien alone of all the Elven-kin has died indeed. But by her choice the Two Kindreds were joined, and she is the fore-mother of many in whom the Elves see yet, though the world changeth, the likeness of Lúthien the beloved whom they have lost.'[9]

As Trotter was speaking, the darkness closed in; night fell on the world. They could see his queer eager face dimly lit in the glow of the red wood-fire. Above him was a black starry sky. Suddenly a pale light appeared behind the crown of Weathertop behind him. The moon, now nearly half-full, was climbing slowly above the hill that overshadowed them. The stars above its top grew pale.

The story ended. The hobbits moved and stretched. 'Look!' said Merry. 'The moon is rising. It must be getting late.' The others looked up. Even as they did so they saw something small and dark on the hill-top against the glimmer of the moonlight. It

was perhaps only a large stone or jutting rock shown up by the pale light.

At that moment Odo, who had been on guard (being less reluctant than the others to miss Trotter's tale-telling) came hurrying down to the fire. 'I don't know what it is,' he said, 'but I *feel* that something is creeping up the hill. And I *thought* (I couldn't be sure) that away there, westwards, where the moonlight is falling, there were two or three black shapes. They seemed to be moving this way.'

'Keep close beside the fire, with your faces outwards!' said Trotter. 'Get some of these pine-wood sticks ready in your hands!'

For a long while they sat there silent and alert with their backs turned to the little fire, which was thus almost entirely screened. Nothing happened. There was no sound or movement. Bingo was just about to whisper a question to Trotter, who sat next to him, when Frodo gasped: 'What's that?' '*Sh*,' said Trotter.

It was just as Odo had said: over the lip of the hollow, on the side away from the hill, they *felt* a shadow rise, one shadow or more than one. They strained their eyes, and the shadows seemed to grow. Soon there could be no doubt: three or four tall black figures were standing there, on the slope above them. Bingo fancied that he heard faintly a sound like breath being drawn in with a hiss. Then the shapes advanced slowly.

Terror seized Odo and Frodo, and they threw themselves flat on the ground. Merry shrank to Bingo's side. Bingo was no less afraid; he was quaking as if he was bitter cold. But his fear was swallowed up in a sudden temptation to put on the Ring. It seized him, and he could think of nothing else. He did not forget the Barrow, nor the message of Gandalf, but he felt a desperate desire to disregard all warnings. Something seemed to be compelling him; he longed to yield. Not with the hope of escaping, or of doing anything, good or bad. He simply felt that he must take the Ring, and put it on his finger. He could not speak. He struggled for a while, but resistance became unbearable; and at last he slowly drew out the chain, unfastened the Ring, and put it on the forefinger of his left hand.

Immediately – though everything else remained as before, dim and dark – the shapes became terribly clear. He seemed able to see beneath their black wrapping. There were three tall figures: in their white faces burned keen and merciless eyes; under their black mantles were long grey robes, upon their grey hair were helms of silver;[10] in their haggard hands were swords of steel.

Their eyes fell upon him and pierced him, as they rushed towards him. Desperate, he drew his own sword; and it seemed to him that it flickered redly as if it was a fire-brand. Two of the figures halted. But the third was taller than the others. His hair was long and gleaming, and on it was a crown. The hand that held the long sword glowed with a pale light. He sprang forward and bore down upon Bingo.

At that moment Bingo threw himself forward onto the ground, and he heard himself crying aloud (though he did not know why): *Elbereth! Gilthoniel! Gurth i Morthu*.[11] At the same time he struck at the feet of his enemy. A shrill cry rang out in the night; and he felt a pain like a dart of poisoned ice touch his [*added:* left] shoulder. Even as he swooned Bingo caught a glimpse of Trotter leaping out of the darkness with a flaming fire-brand in each hand. With a last effort he slipped the Ring from his finger, and closed his hand on it.

NOTES

1 This passage, from 'Better still, under the fuel they found a wooden case', is an insertion on a slip, certainly written at the same time as the main text, replacing the (ink) text as first written:

> Gandalf, it would seem, had taken thought for them. It was the presence of fuel that decided them to go no further that day, and to make their camp in the dell.

With the passage here about *cram*, not found in FR, cf. *The Hobbit*, Chapter XIII 'Not at Home':

> If you want to know what *cram* is, I can only say that I don't know the recipe, but it is biscuitish, keeps good indefinitely, is supposed to be sustaining, and is certainly not entertaining, being in fact very uninteresting except as a chewing exercise. It was made by the Lake-men for long journeys.

In the *Etymologies* (V.365) *cram*, defined as 'cake of compressed flour or meal (often containing honey and milk) used on long journeys', appears as a Noldorin word (stem KRAB- 'press'). – In FR the fire-wood, alone of the stores found on Weathertop, survived, but it had been left by Rangers, not by Gandalf.

2 Strider gives a much more elaborate and informed account of the perceptions of the Ring-wraiths in FR (p. 202). See p. 173, note 7.

3 See p. 169 and note 25.

4 Beren's name *Camlost* or *Gamlost* ('Empty-handed') occurs in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (interrupted at the end of 1937); for the variation in the initial consonant see V.298, 301.

5 For the text and textual history of *Light as Leaf on Lindentree* see III.108–10, 120–3.

6 *To the silver flute of Ilverin:* in *Light as Leaf on Lindentree* (III.108) Dairon is named here. The name Ilverin occurs in *The Book of Lost Tales* as one of the many names of Littleheart, the 'Gong-warden' of Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva (I.46, 255), but there seems no basis to seek any kind of connection. In the margin my father at some point pencilled other names: *Neldorin*, *Elberin*, *Diarin*. See note 9, at end.

7 Trotter has mentioned no song, but it is of course the *Lay of Leithian* that is meant.

8 Struck out at the time of writing:

> But her spirit came to the Halls of Waiting, where are the places appointed for the Elven-kin beyond the Blessed Realms in the West, on the confines of the world. And she knelt before the Lord [of the Halls of Waiting]

9 This concluding paragraph of Trotter's tale is very close to the account of the Choices of Lúthien that my father had written while the *Quenta Silmarillion* was with the publishers at the end of 1937, and which appears in the published *Silmarillion* on p. 187; see V.293, 303–4.

There are other very roughly written texts giving a résumé of a part of 'The Silmarillion' found among the papers at this point. They attempt to condense a much greater part of the history of the Elder Days than that strictly concerned with the story of Beren and Lúthien, and have interesting features which must be mentioned, though their discussion scarcely falls within the history of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*. Most notable is the following passage:

> For as it is told the Blessed Realms of the West were illumined by the Two Trees, Galathilion the Silver Cherry, and Galagloriel that is Golden Rain. But Morgoth, the greatest of the Powers, made war upon the Gods, and he destroyed the Trees, and fled. And he took with him the immortal gems, the Silmarils, that were made by the Elves of the light of the Trees, and in which alone now the ancient radiance of the days of bliss remained. In the north of the Middle-earth he set up his throne Angband, the Halls of Iron under Thangorodrim the Mountain of Thunder; and he grew in strength and darkness; and he brought forth the Orcs and goblins, and the Balrogs, demons of fire. But the High Elves of the West forsook the land of the Gods and returned to the earth, and made war upon him to regain the jewels.

The names *Galathilion* and *Galadlóriel* first appear in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.209–10) as the Gnomish names for Silpion and Laurelin. 'Silver Cherry' and 'Golden Rain' are not the actual meanings of the names (as seems to be implied here): see the

Etymologies in Vol. V, stems GALAD- (where the form *Galagloriel* is also given), LAWAR-, THIL-. That the blossom of Silpion was like that of a cherry-tree, and the flowers of Laurelin like those of the laburnum ('Golden Rain') was however often said (see e.g. V.209).

On Morgoth 'the greatest of the Powers' see V.157 and note 4. Very curious is the statement here that when Morgoth returned to Middle-earth after the destruction of the Trees 'he brought forth the Orcs and goblins, *and the Balrogs, demons of fire*.' It was certainly my father's view at this period that the Orcs were then first engendered (see V.233, §62 and commentary), but the Balrogs were far older in their beginning (V.212, §18), and indeed came to rescue Morgoth from Ungoliantë at the time of his return: 'to his aid there came the Balrogs that lived yet in the deepest places of his ancient fortress.'

The term 'High Elves' is here used to mean the Elves of Valinor, not, as in the *Quenta Silmarillion*, the First Kindred (*Lindar*, *Vanyar*): see V. 214, §25 and commentary.

A very surprising point is the mention, a little later in this text, of *Finrod Inglor the fair* (see p. 72). In the first edition of LR (Appendices) *Finrod* was still the name of third son of Finwë, as in the *Quenta Silmarillion*, and his son was *Felagund* (in QS also named *Inglor*); it was not till the second edition of 1966 that Finrod son of Finwë became Finarfin, and his son Inglor Felagund became *Finrod Felagund*.

In another of these drafts the minstrel of Doriath is named *Iverin*, not Dairon; see note 6.

10 My father first wrote here: 'upon their long grey hair were crowns and helms of pale gold'. This was no doubt changed at once, with the emergence immediately below of the tall king, a crown on his long hair. See p. 198 note 5.

11 For *Morthu* see V.393, stem THUS-.

★

My father's practice at this time of overwriting his first pencilled drafts largely denies the possibility of seeing the earliest forms of the narrative. In this chapter the underlying text can only be made out here and there and with great difficulty; but at least it can be seen that the opening passage quickly declined into an abbreviated outline for the story. Trotter's tales were only to be concerned with animals of the wild; and then follows at once: 'Fight in dell', with a sketch in a few lines, scribbled down at great speed, of which however something can be disinterred:

Bingo is tempted to put on ring. He does so. The riders [?come] at him. He sees them plain – fell white faces . . . . . He draws his sword

and it shines like fire. They draw back but one Rider with long silver hair and a [?red hand] leaps forward. Bingo . . . . . hears himself shouting *Elbereth Gilthoniel* . . . . . struck at the leg of the Rider. He felt . . . . . cold [?pain] in the shoulder. There was a flash . . . . .

The attack on the dell entered before the idea that Trotter should chant to them, and tell them a tale of ancient days; and the material of his tale remains in this manuscript in a very rough state, the primary stage of composition, obviously demanding the compression that it afterwards received.

More developed pencilled drafting takes up again from the point where Trotter comes to an end, and from what can be read it seems that the final story of the attack by the Ring-wraiths was now fully present. Then, apart from a few details (as that there are three Ring-wraiths, not five), the text written in ink on top of the draft achieved the finished story: no element in the potent scene, the fearful suspense on the cold hillside in the moonlight, the dark shapes looking down on the hobbits huddled round the fire, the irresistible demand on the Ringbearer to reveal himself, and the final revelation of what lay beneath the black cloaks of the Riders, is absent – and all is told virtually in the very words of *The Fellowship of the Ring*. The significance of the Ring, in its power to reveal and to be revealed, its operation as a bridge between two worlds, two modes of being, has been attained, once and for all.

The completeness, and the resonance, of this scene on Weathertop Hill is the more remarkable, when we consider that (in relation to *The Lord of the Rings* as it was ultimately achieved) all was still extremely restricted in scope. If the nature of the Ring in its effect on the bearer was now fully conceived, there is as yet no suggestion that the fate of Middle-earth lay within its tiny circle. It is indeed far from certain that the idea of the Ruling Ring had yet arisen. Of the great lands and histories east and south of the Misty Mountains – of Lothlórien, Fangorn, Isengard, Rohan, the Númenórean kingdoms – there is no shadow of a hint. I very much doubt that when the Ring-wraiths rose up over the lip of the dell beneath Weathertop my father foresaw any more of the Journey than that the Ring must pass over the Mountains and find its end in the depths of the Fiery Mountain (p. 126). In October 1938 he could still say to Stanley Unwin (see p. 173) that he had hopes of being able to submit the new story early in the following year.

XI
FROM WEATHERTOP TO THE FORD

The manuscript of the original Chapter VIII continues, without any break, in the same form, ink over pencil. While in the earlier part of this chapter I have given the full original text even in the concluding passage, where there is scarcely any material difference from FR (since the attack of the Ring-wraiths is a scene of exceptional importance), in this part I do not do so throughout. The narrative is very close to that of FR Chapter 12, 'Flight to the Ford' (with a fair number of minor differences and some less minor), and for much of its length the wording almost the same. In those parts where the original text is not given, however, it can be understood that all differences of any significance are remarked.

After it is told that the hobbits (Sam in FR) heard Bingo's voice crying out strange words, it is further said that they 'had seen a red flash; and Trotter came dashing up with flaming wood.' So also in the fragmentary outline given on pp. 188–9 'There was a flash'; but this is absent in FR. Perhaps the reference is to Bingo's sword that 'flickered redly as if it was a firebrand' (p. 186), a detail preserved in FR p. 208. Trotter's first return to the dell is slightly differently told, but this is chiefly because Sam's distrust of Strider is of course absent, and there is nothing in the old version corresponding to Strider's words to Sam apart (FR pp. 209–10). When Trotter lifted the black cloak from the ground he said only: 'That was the stroke of your sword. What harm it did to the Rider I do not know. Fire is better.'

Athelas is not said to have been brought by Men of the West to Middle-earth: 'it is a healing plant, known only to Elves, and to some of those who walk in the wild: *athelas* they name it.'[1] A curious detail is that when *athelas* was applied to Bingo's wound he 'felt the pain and the sense of frozen cold lessen in his right side'; and again later in the chapter 'his right arm was lifeless' (FR p. 215). Similarly, when Bingo drew his sword and faced the Riders at the Ford, my father first wrote: 'His sword he had hung at his right side; with his left hand he gripped the hilt and drew it', though this he struck out. He evidently decided that it was Bingo's left shoulder that was stabbed, and therefore wrote in the word 'left' in the description of the actual wounding (p. 186); but he did not correct the occurrences of 'right' just mentioned.

When they left the dell beneath Weathertop they took Gandalf's firewood with them ('For Trotter said that from now onwards fire-wood must always be a part of their stores, when they were away from trees').

Nothing is said of the rejuvenation of Bill Ferny's pony (if indeed it was Bill Ferny's, p. 175). The distant cries of Black Riders which they heard as they crossed the Road in FR (p. 211) are absent from the old version.

The description of the eastward journey from Weathertop is at first fairly close to that in FR, though the timing is slightly different; but the geography was to be significantly altered. I give the passage following the words 'Even Trotter seemed tired and dejected' (FR p. 212) in full.

Before the first day's march was over Bingo's pain began to grow again, but for a long time he did not speak of it. In this way three or four days passed without the ground or the scene changing much, except that behind them Weathertop slowly sank, and before them the distant mountains loomed a little nearer. The weather remained dry, but was grey with cloud; and they were oppressed with the fear of pursuit. But of this there was no sign by day; and though they kept watch by night nothing happened. They dreaded to see black shapes stalking in the dim grey night under the waxing moon veiled by thin cloud; but they saw nothing, and heard nothing, but the sigh of withering leaves and grass. It seemed that, as they had hardly dared to hope, their swift crossing of the Road had not been marked, and their enemy had for the moment lost their trail.

At the end of the fourth day the ground began once more to rise slowly out of the wide shallow valley into which they had come. Trotter now bent their course again towards the north-east; and before long, as they reached the top of a slow-climbing slope, they saw ahead a huddle of wooded hills. Late on the fifth day they came to a ridge on which a few gaunt fir-trees stood. A little below them the Road could be seen curving away towards a small river that gleamed pale in a thin ray of sunshine, far away on their right. Next day, early in the morning, they again crossed the Road. Looking anxiously along it, westward and eastward, they hurried quickly across, and went towards the wooded hills.

Trotter was still leading them in as straight a line as the country allowed towards the distant Ford. In the hills their path would be more uncertain, but they could no longer keep to the south side of the Road, because the land became bare and stony and ahead lay the river. 'That river,' he said, 'comes down out of the Mountains, and flows through Rivendell.[2] It is not wide, but it is deep and strong, being fed by the many small torrents that come out of the wooded hills. Over these the Road goes by little fords or bridges; but there is no ford or bridge over the river until we come to the Ford under the Mountains.' The hobbits looked at the dark hills

ahead, and though they were glad to leave the cheerless lands behind them, the land ahead seemed threatening and unfriendly.

In the developed geography, the Road traverses two rivers between Weathertop and Rivendell: the Hoarwell or Mitheithel that flowed down out of the Ettenmoors, crossed by the Last Bridge, and the Loudwater or Bruinen, crossed by the Ford of Rivendell; these rivers joined a long way to the south, becoming the Greyflood. In the original story, on the other hand, there is only one river, not named, flowing down through Rivendell and crossed at the Ford.

In FR the travellers came down, early in the morning on the seventh day out from Weathertop, to the Road (i.e. approaching it from the south), and went along it for a mile or two to the Last Bridge, where Strider found the elf-stone lying in the mud; they crossed the bridge, and after a further mile turned off the Road to the left and went up into the hills. In the original story, they came to the Road early on the sixth day and crossed it, going up into the hills; there is no river (Hoarwell) and no bridge. Some sort of explanation is given why they had to cross the Road here and stay no longer to the south of it: 'the land became bare and stony and ahead lay the river.' But the fact of there being no ford or bridge over the river except that below Rivendell only meant that that is where they would have to cross; it does not in itself explain why they could not stay south of the Road until they got there. Thus it is only the 'bare and stony' nature of the land south of the Road that really offers an explanation: Trotter sought to pass through country that provided more concealment? The 'real' explanation, it might be said, why they crossed the Road and went up into the wooded hills is quite other: my father had already suggested, when sketching out the story from the Barrow-downs to Rivendell (p. 126), that the hobbits should 'foolishly turn aside to visit Troll Stones'. On the other hand, Trotter was taking the straightest line to the Ford that he could (p. 191), and the sketches on p. 201 show clearly that the great southward loop of the Road (already mentioned in the original text, p. 199) must force him to cross it and go up into the hills to the north. – On the different chronology in the two versions see the Note on Chronology, p. 219.

When they came into the hills, the conversation with Trotter arising from their sight of the ruined towers is somewhat different from that with Strider in FR (pp. 213–14):

'Who lives in this land?' he [Bingo] asked; 'and who built these towers? Is this troll-country?'

'No,' said Trotter; 'trolls do not build. No one lives in this land. Men once dwelt here, ages ago. But none now remain. They were an evil people, as far as tales and legends tell; for they came under the sway of the Dark Lord. It is said that they were overthrown by Elendil, as King of Western Men, who aided Gilgalad, when they

made war on the Dark Lord.[3] But that was so long ago that the hills have forgotten them, though a shadow still lies on the land.'

'Where did you learn such tales?' asked Frodo, 'if all the land is empty and forgetful? The birds and beasts do not tell tales of that sort.'

'Many things are remembered in Rivendell,' said Trotter.

'Have you often been to Rivendell?' said Bingo.

'I have,' said Trotter; 'many a time; and I wonder now that I was ever so foolish as to leave it. But it is not my fate to sit quiet, even in the fair house of Elrond.'

The journey in the hills north of the Road had lasted for three days when the weather turned to rain, but two in FR (p. 214); thus the shorter journey from Weathertop till the return to the Road is made up, though there is still a difference of one day, since they had reached Weathertop a day earlier in the original story (p. 175): as I understand it, the first morning after the rain (FR p. 215) was in the old version that of October 16, but in FR that of October 17. When the rain stopped, on the eleventh day from Weathertop, and Trotter climbed up to see the lie of the land, he said when he came back:

'We have got too far to the North; and we *must* find some way to turn southwards, or at least sharp to the East. If we keep on as we are going, we shall get into impassable country among the skirts of the Mountains. Somehow or other we must strike the Road again before it reaches the Ford. But even if we manage that fairly quickly, we still cannot hope to get to Rivendell for some days yet, four or even five I fear.'

In the night spent up on the ridge (FR pp. 215–16) Sam's questioning of Strider concerning Frodo's wound is given to Merry; and Frodo's dream that 'endless dark wings were sweeping over him, and that on the wings rode pursuers seeking for him in all the hollows of the hills' is present. It is not said in the original text that 'the trees about him seemed shadowy and dim', nor on the following day that 'a mist seemed to obscure his sight' (FR pp. 215, 217); but later, when Glorfindel searched Bingo's wound with his finger (FR p. 223), 'he saw his friends' faces more clearly, though all day he had been troubled by the feeling that a shadow or a mist was coming between him and them.'

When they came to the old trolls turned to stone, 'Trotter walked forward unconcernedly. "Hullo, William!" he said, and slapped the stooping troll soundly.' And he said: '"In any case you might have noticed that Bert has got a bird's nest behind his ear."' In FR the trolls' names from *The Hobbit* were excluded.

After 'They rested in the clearing for a while, and had their midday

meal right under the shadow of the trolls' large legs' the original narrative goes straight on with 'In the afternoon they went on down through the woods'; there is no suggestion that the Troll Song would be introduced here (see p. 144). Their return to the Road is thus described:

Eventually they came out upon the top of a high bank above the Road. This was now beginning to bend rather away from the river, and clung to the feet of the hills, some way up the side of the narrow valley at the bottom of which the river ran. Not far from the borders of the Road Trotter pointed out a stone in the grass; on it roughly cut and much weathered could still be seen two runic letters G · B in a circle:

'That,' he said, 'is the stone that once marked the place where Gandalf and Bilbo hid the trolls' gold.' Bingo looked at it – rather sadly: Bilbo and he himself had long ago spent all that gold.

The Road, bending now northward, lay quiet under the shadows of early evening. There was no sign of any other travellers to be seen.

Only minor differences (except in one matter) are to be recorded in the encounter with Glorfindel: the whole scene was present, and in very much the same words, from the beginning. The sentence in FR (p. 221) 'To Frodo it appeared that a white light was shining through the form and raiment of the rider, as if through a thin veil' is absent.[4] To Trotter Glorfindel cried out: *Ai Padathir, Padathir! Mai govannen!*[5] But it is not said subsequently that he spoke to Trotter 'in the elf-tongue' (FR p. 224); rather he spoke 'in a low tone.' The drink that Glorfindel gave them instantly reminded the hobbits of the drink in Bombadil's house, 'for the drink they took was refreshing like spring-water, but filled them also with a sense of warm vigour.' 'Cram-cake' is mentioned together with the stale bread and dried fruit which is all they had to eat.

The conversation with Glorfindel on the road is different from that in FR (p. 222), for the number of the Black Riders was not known to anybody at this stage (not even to my father), and in FR Gandalf had not yet reached Rivendell when Glorfindel and others were sent out by Elrond nine days before – Elrond having heard news from the Elves led by Gildor whom the hobbits encountered in the Shire. The element of Glorfindel's leaving the jewel on the Last Bridge is also of course absent (p. 192).

'This is Glorfindel, one of those that dwell in Rivendell,' said Trotter. 'He has news for us.'

'Hail and well met at last!' said Glorfindel to Bingo. 'I was sent from Rivendell to look on the Road for your coming. Gandalf was anxious and afraid, for unless something evil had befallen you, you should have come there days ago.'

'We have not been on the Road for many, many days until this day,' said Bingo.

'Well, now you must return to it, and go with all speed,' said Glorfindel. 'A day's swift riding back westward there is a company of evil horsemen, and they are travelling this way with all the haste that frequent search of the land upon either side of the Road allows them. You must not halt here, nor anywhere tonight, but must journey on as long and far as you are able. For when they find your trail, where it rejoined the Road, they will search no longer but ride after you like the wind. I do not think they will miss your footsteps where the path runs down from Trolls-wood; for they have a dreadful skill in hunting by scent, and darkness helps and does not hinder them.'

'Then why must we go on now by night, against the warning of Gandalf?' asked Merry.

'Do not fear Gandalf's warning now,' answered Glorfindel. 'Speed is your chief hope; and now I will go with you. And I do not think that there is any peril ahead; but the pursuit is hard behind.'

'But Bingo is wounded and sick and weary,' said Merry. 'He should not ride any more without rest!'

Glorfindel shook his head and looked grave, when he heard the account of the attack upon the dell under Weathertop, and the hurt to Bingo's arm. He looked at the knife-hilt that Trotter had kept, and now drew out to show him. He shuddered.

'There are evil things written on that hilt,' he said, 'though maybe they are not for your eyes to see. Keep it till we get to Rivendell, Padathir, but be wary, and handle it as little as you may.'

The chief structural difference in the narrative of this chapter from that in FR appears in Glorfindel's words 'I do not think that there is any peril ahead'; contrast FR (p. 222): 'There are five behind us . . . Where the other four may be, I do not know. I fear that we may find the Ford is already held against us.'

Only three Riders (at first) came out of the tree-hung cutting through which the Road passed before the flat mile to the Ford, not five as in FR (p. 225). The story is the same that Bingo halted, feeling the command of the Riders upon him to wait, but filled with sudden hatred drew his sword; and that Glorfindel cried to his horse, so that it sped away towards the Ford. But all the Riders were behind; there was no ambush by four of them lying in wait at the Ford. The conclusion of the chapter I give in full.

'Ride on! Ride on!' cried Glorfindel and Trotter; and then Glorfindel spoke a word in the elf-tongue: *nora-lim, nora-lim*. At once the white horse sprang away and sped along the last lap of the Road. At the same moment the black horses of the Riders leaped down in pursuit; and others following came flying out of the wood. Bingo looking back over his shoulder thought he could count [as many as twelve >] at least seven. They seemed to run like the wind, and to grow swiftly larger and darker as they overtook him stride by stride. He could no longer see his friends. Through them and over them the Riders must now be hurtling. Bingo turned and lay forward, encouraging with urgent words. The Ford still seemed far ahead. Once more he looked back. It seemed to him that the Riders had cast aside their hoods and black cloaks; they appeared now to be robed in white and grey. Swords were in their pale hands, helm and crown were on their heads;[6] their cold eyes glittered from afar.

Fear now swallowed up Bingo's mind. He thought no longer of his sword. No cry came from him. He shut his eyes and clung to the mane of the horse. The wind whistled in his ears, and wildly the bells rang, clear and shrill. It seemed bitter cold.

Suddenly he heard the splash of water. It foamed about his feet. He felt the stumbling scramble of the horse as it struggled up the stony path, climbing the steep further bank of the river. He was across the Ford! But the Riders were now hard behind.

At the top of the bank the horse halted snorting. Bingo turned about and opened his eyes. [*Struck out as soon as written:* Forgetting that the horse belonged to the folk of Rivendell and knew all that land, he determined to face his enemies, thinking it useless to] He felt that it was useless to try to escape over the long uncertain path from the Ford to the lip of Rivendell – if once the Riders crossed. Though they had all thought of the Ford as the goal of their flight and the end of peril, it came to him now that he knew of nothing that would prevent the dread Riders from crossing as easily as he. In any case he felt now commanded urgently to halt, and though again hatred stirred in him he had no longer the strength to refuse. He saw the horse of the foremost Rider check at the water, and rear up. With a great effort he stood in his stirrups and brandished his sword.

'Go back!' he cried. 'Go back to the Dark Lord and follow me no more.'[7] His voice sounded shrill in his ears. The Riders halted, but Bingo had not the power of Tom Bombadil.[8] They laughed – a harsh chilling laughter. 'Come back! Come back!' they called. 'To

Mordor we will take you.'[9] 'Go back,' he whispered. 'The Ring, the Ring,' they cried with deadly voices, and immediately their leader rode forward into the water, closely followed by two others.

'By Elbereth and Lúthien the fair,'[10] said Bingo with a last effort, lifting up his sword, 'you shall have neither me nor it.' Then the leader, who was now half across the river, stood up menacing in his stirrup and raised up his hand. Bingo grew dumb; he felt his tongue cleave to his mouth, and his eyes grow misty. His sword broke and fell out of his shaking hand. The horse under him reared and snorted, as the foremost of the black horses came near the shore.

Even at that moment there came a roaring and a rushing: a noise of loud waters rolling many stones. Dimly he saw the river rise, and come galloping down along its course in a plumed cavalry of waves. The three Riders that were still upon the Ford disappeared, overwhelmed and buried under angry foam. Those that were behind drew back in dismay.

With his last failing sense Bingo heard cries, and it seemed to him that behind the Riders there appeared suddenly one shining white figure followed by other smaller and more shadowy figures waving flames. Redly they flamed in the white mist that was over all. Two of the Riders turned and rode wildly away to the left down the bank of the river; the others borne by their plunging horses were driven into the flood, and carried away. Then Bingo heard a roaring in his ears and felt himself falling, as if the flood had reached up to the high bank, and engulfed him with his enemies. He heard and saw no more.

NOTES

1 In the *Lay of Leithian* my father wrote *athelas* against the passage where

> Huan came and bore a leaf,
> of all the herbs of healing chief,
> that evergreen in woodland glade
> there grew with broad and hoary blade

for the allaying of Beren's wound (III.266, 269).

2 *That river . . . flows through Rivendell:* see the note on Rivendell, pp. 204–5.

3 In the underlying pencilled text, which is here visible for a stretch, Trotter's words about the 'Big People' who used to live in those regions are much the same, but he says that they were overthrown by *Elendil Orendil* and Gil-galad; apparently *Orendil* was substi-

tuted for *Elendil* in the act of writing. Both names were struck out, and then *Elendil* again written in. See p. 174 note 25.

4 The 'bit and bridle' of Glorfindel's horse flickered and flashed, as in the First Edition, where the Second Edition has 'headstall'. Cf. *Letters* no. 211, p. 279 (14 October 1958):

> . . . *bridle* was casually and carelessly used for what I suppose should have been called a *headstall*. Or rather, since *bit* was added (I.221) long ago (Chapter I 12 was written very early) I had not considered the natural ways of elves with animals. Glorfindel's horse would have an ornamental *headstall*, carrying a plume, and with the straps studded with jewels and small bells; but Glorfindel would certainly not use a *bit*. I will change *bridle and bit* to *headstall*.

5 The pencilled text, after various forms struck out, had *Ai Rimbedir*; this was then changed to *Ai Padathir*, etc., with a translation 'Hail Trotter, Trotter, well met.'

6 *helm and crown were on their heads:* in the story of the attack on Weathertop my father first wrote that all three Ringwraiths were crowned, but changed the text to say that only the leader ('the pale king' as Bingo called him) wore a crown (pp. 185–6 and note 10). Cf. the citation in note 8 below.

7 The pencilled draft has: 'Ride back to the Dark Tower of your lord.' For early references to the Dark Tower see p. 131 note 5.

8 It is interesting to look back to the earliest sketch for the flight over the Ford (p. 126):

> One day at last they halted on a rise and looked forward to the Ford. Galloping behind. Seven (3? 4?) Black-riders hastening along the Road. They have gold rings and crowns. Flight over Ford. Bingo flings a stone *and imitates Tom Bombadil*. Go back and ride away! The Riders halt as if astonished, and looking up at the hobbits on the bank the hobbits can see no faces in their hoods. Go back says Bingo, *but he is not Tom Bombadil*, and the riders ride into the ford.

At that stage my father envisaged the hobbits crossing the Ford together; and the rising of the river does not destroy the Riders: they 'draw back just in time in dismay.'

The words in the present text, retained in FR, 'Bingo (Frodo) had not the power of Tom Bombadil', must now refer to Bombadil's rout of the Barrow-wight; but behind them surely lies the unused idea of his power to arrest the onset of the evil beings by raising his hand in authority: cf. the outline given on p. 112, 'two Barrow-wights come galloping after them, but stop every time Tom Bombadil turns and looks at them', and the earlier part of the outline just cited (p. 125), where when they reach the Road west of Bree 'Tom turns and holds up his hand. They fly back.'

9 This is the first occurrence of the name *Mordor* in *The Lord of the Rings*; see p. 131 note 5.

10 In the pencilled text visible beneath the ink, Bingo took the names of Gil-galad and Elendil, together with that of Lúthien.

★

In this chapter it is made plain that the commands of the Ring-wraiths are communicated wordlessly to the bearer of the Ring, and that they have great power over his will. Moreover the idea has now entered that the wound of the Ring-wraith's knife produces, or begins to produce, a similar effect to that brought about by putting on the Ring: the world becomes shadowy and dim to Bingo, and at the end of the chapter he can see the Riders plain, beneath the black wrappings that to others cloak their invisibility.

Note on the course of the Road between Weathertop and Rivendell

This was an element in the geography to which my father made various alterations in the Revised Edition of *The Lord of the Rings* (1966). I set out first three passages from the chapter 'Flight to the Ford' for comparison.

(1) Page 212.
Original text:
(the original text has no passage corresponding)
First Edition: 'That is Loudwater, the Bruinen of Rivendell,' answered Strider. 'The Road runs along it for many leagues to the Ford.'
Second Edition: 'That is Loudwater, the Bruinen of Rivendell,' answered Strider. 'The Road runs along the edge of the hills for many miles from the Bridge to the Ford of Bruinen.'

(2) Page 214.
Original text: The hills now shut them in. The Road looped away southward, towards the river; but both were now lost to view.
First Edition: The hills now began to shut them in. The Road bent back again southward towards the River, but both were now hidden from view.
Second Edition: The hills now began to shut them in. The Road behind held on its way to the River Bruinen, but both were now hidden from view.

(3) Page 220.
Original text (p. 194): Eventually they came out upon the top of a high bank above the Road. This was now beginning to bend rather away from the river, and clung to the feet of the hills,

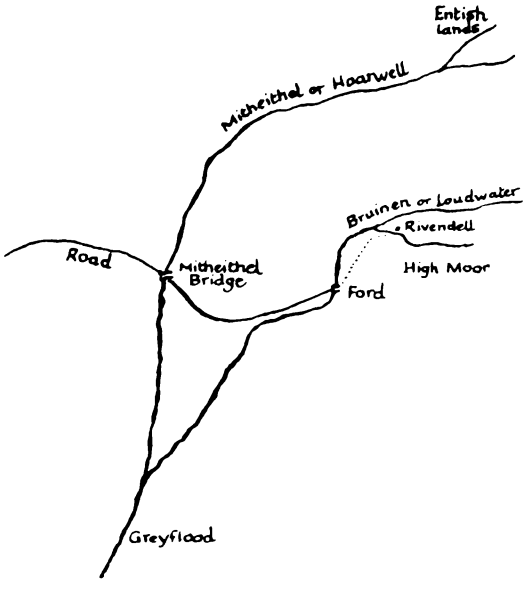
some way up the side of the narrow valley at the bottom of which the river ran.

First Edition: After a few miles they came out on the top of a high bank above the Road. At this point the Road had turned away from the river down in its narrow valley, and now clung close to the feet of the hills, rolling and winding northward among woods and heather-covered slopes towards the Ford and the Mountains.

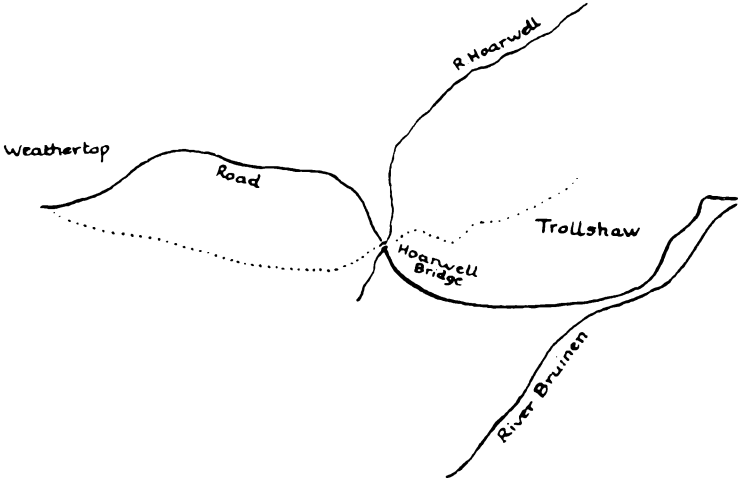
Second Edition: After a few miles they came out on the top of a high bank above the Road. At this point the Road had left the Hoarwell far behind in its narrow valley, and now clung close to the feet of the hills, rolling and winding eastward among woods (etc.)

Taking first citation (2), from small-scale and large-scale maps made by my father there is no question that the Road after passing south of Weathertop made first a great swing or loop to the North-east: cf. FR p. 211 – when they left Weathertop it was Strider's plan 'to shorten their journey by cutting across another great loop of the Road: east beyond Weathertop it changed its course and took a wide bend northwards.' This goes back to the original text. The Road then made a great bend southwards, round the feet of the Trollshaws, as stated in the original text and in the First Edition in citation (2). All my father's maps show the same course for the Road in respect of these two great curves. The two sketches on p. 201 are redrawn from very rough large-scale maps which he made (the second in particular is extremely hard to interpret owing to the multiplicity of lines made as he pondered different configurations).

In 1943 I made an elaborate map in pencil and coloured chalks for *The Lord of the Rings*, and a similar map of the Shire (see p. 107, item V). These maps are referred to in *Letters* nos. 74 and 98 (pp. 86, 112). On my LR map the course of the Road from Weathertop to the Ford is shown exactly as on my father's maps, with the great northward and southward swings. On the map that I made in 1954 (published in the first two volumes of *The Lord of the Rings*), however, the Road has only a feeble northward curve between Weathertop and the Hoarwell Bridge, and then runs in a straight line to the Ford. This was obviously simply carelessness due to haste on my part. My father doubtless observed it at the time but felt that on so small a scale the error was not very grievous: in any case the map was made, and it had been a matter of urgency. But I think that this error was the reason for the change in the Second Edition given in citation (2), from 'the Road bent back again southward towards the River' to 'the Road behind held on its way to the River Bruinen': my father was making the discrepancy with the map less obvious. A similar instance has been seen already in the change that he made in the Second Edition in respect of the direction of Bucklebury Ferry from Woodhall, p. 107. In his letter to Austin Olney of Houghton Mifflin, 28 July 1965


Entish lands
Mitheithel or Hoarwell
Bruinen or Loudwater
Rivendell
Road
Mitheithel Bridge
High Moor
Ford
Greyflood

I


R Hoarwell
Weathertop
Road
Trollshaw
Hoarwell Bridge
River Bruinen

II

(an extract from which is given in *Letters* no. 274) he said: 'I have finally decided, where this is possible and does not damage the story, to take the *maps* as "correct" and adjust the narrative.'

Barbara Strachey (who apparently used the First Edition) deduced the course of the Road very accurately in her atlas, *Journeys of Frodo* (1981), map 13 'Weathertop and the Trollshaws'.

Citation (1) from the First Edition is perfectly illustrated in the sketches on p. 201, which precisely show the Road running alongside the Loudwater 'for many leagues to the Ford.' My father made various small-scale maps covering a greater or lesser part of the lands in *The Lord of the Rings*, on three of which this region appears; and on two of these the Road is shown approaching the Loudwater at a fairly acute angle, but by no means running alongside it. On the third (the earliest) the Road runs close to the river for a long distance before the Ford; and this is less because the course of the Road is different than because on this map the river flows at first (after the Ford) in a more westerly direction towards the Hoarwell (as in the sketch-maps).* On my 1943 map (see above) this is also and very markedly the case. On the published map, on the other hand, the Road approaches the river at a wide angle; and this was another error. It is clear, I think, that the changed Second Edition text in citation (1), with 'runs along the edge of the hills' instead of 'runs along it [the Loudwater]', was again made to save the appearance of the map.

Citation (3) in the First Edition seems to contradict (1): the Road runs along the Loudwater for many leagues to the Ford (1), but when the travellers came down to the Road out of the Trollshaws it had turned away from the river (3). But it is probably less a contradiction than a question of how closely 'runs along the Loudwater' is interpreted. The second sketch-map seems clear at least to this extent, that it shows the Road approaching the river, running alongside it for a stretch, and then

*Barbara Strachey makes the Loudwater bend sharply west just below the Ford and flow in this direction (before turning south) much further than on my father's maps, so that the land between the Hoarwell and the Loudwater (called 'the Angle' in LR Appendix A, p. 320) ceases to be at all triangular. She makes this assumption because from the high ground above the Last Bridge the travellers could see not only the Hoarwell but also the Loudwater, whereas going by the published map the rivers 'would have been some 100 miles apart and the hill [on which they stood] would have had to have been a high mountain for it [the Loudwater] to have been visible.' By bringing this river so far to the west on her map the distance from the hill above the Last Bridge to the nearest point of the Loudwater is reduced to about 27 miles. On my father's maps the shortest distance from the Bridge to the Loudwater varies between (approximately) 45 (on the earliest), 60, and 62 miles; on the published map it is about 75 miles. Thus the objection that the Loudwater was too far away to be seen is real; but it cannot be resolved in this way.

bending somewhat away and 'clinging to the feet of the hills' before returning to it at the Ford.

The changed reading of the Second Edition in (3) – made so as not to alter the amount of text – makes the words 'narrow valley' refer to the Hoarwell, and there is no longer any statement at this point about the course of the Road in relation to the Loudwater. This was clearly another accommodation to the published map (and is not an entirely happy solution), as also was 'northward' (cf. Sketch II) to 'eastward'.

Note on the River Hoarwell

The absence of the River Hoarwell (p. 192), which had still not emerged in the next version of this part of the story (p. 360), is interesting. In the original story in Chapter II of *The Hobbit*, when Bilbo, Gandalf, and the Dwarves were approaching the hills crowned with old castles on an evening of heavy rain, they came to a river:

> . . . it began to get dark. Wind got up, and the willows along the river-bank [*no river has been mentioned*] bent and sighed. I don't know what river it was, a rushing red one, swollen with the rains of the last few days, that came down from the hills and mountains in front of them.
>
> Soon it was nearly dark. The winds broke up the grey clouds . . .

The river here ran *alongside* the road (described as 'a very muddy track'); they only crossed it finally by a ford, beyond which was the great slope up into the Mountains (beginning of Chapter III, 'A Short Rest'). In the third edition (1966) the passage quoted was changed:

> . . . it began to get dark as they went down into a deep valley with a river at the bottom. Wind got up, and willows along its banks bent and sighed. Fortunately the road went over an ancient stone bridge, for the river, swollen with the rains, came rushing down from the hills and mountains in the north.
>
> It was nearly night when they had crossed over. The wind broke up the grey clouds . . .

The river now becomes the Hoarwell, over which the road passed by the Last Bridge (and the river which they forded before climbing up towards Rivendell becomes distinct (the Loudwater), by changing 'they forded the river' to 'they forded a river'.) But my father did nothing to change what follows in the original story. There, the company stopped for the night where they did because that is where they were when it got dark, and it was beside a river. From that spot the light of the Trolls' fire became visible. By the introduction of the Last Bridge at this point into the old narrative, while everything else is left untouched, the company stops for the night as soon as they have crossed it – near enough to the river for one of the ponies to break loose and dash into the water, so that most of the food was lost – and the Trolls' fire is therefore visible from the Bridge, or very near it. And at the end of the chapter the pots of gold from

the Trolls' lair are still buried 'not far from the track by the river' – a phrase unchanged from the original story, when the river flowed alongside the track.

Karen Fonstad puts the matter clearly (*The Atlas of Middle-earth*, 1981, p. 97), noting the inconsistency between *The Hobbit* (as it is now) and *The Lord of the Rings* as to the distance between the river and the Trolls' clearing:

> The Trolls' fire was so close to the river that it could be seen 'some way off', and it probably took the Dwarves no more than an hour to reach; whereas Strider led the Hobbits north of the road [turning off a mile beyond the Bridge], where they lost their way and spent almost six days reaching the clearing where they found the Stone-trolls. Lost or not, it seems almost impossible that the time-pressed ranger would have spent six days reaching a point the Dwarves found in an hour.

Earlier, apparently in 1960, in an elaborate rewriting of *The Hobbit* Chapter II which was never used,* my father had introduced the Last Bridge at the same point in the narrative; but there the passage of the river took place in the morning, and the camp from which the Trolls' fire was seen was made at the end of the day and many miles further east. The present text of *The Hobbit*, deriving from corrections made in 1965 and first published in 1966, here introduces an element from *The Lord of the Rings* but fails to harmonise the two geographies. This highly uncharacteristic lapse is no doubt to be attributed simply to the haste with which my father worked under the extreme pressure imposed on him in 1965.

Note on the river of Rivendell

Trotter says expressly that the river which the Road crosses at the Ford flows through Rivendell (p. 191). In the corresponding passage in FR (p. 212) Strider names the river: 'That is Loudwater, the Bruinen of Rivendell.' Later, in 'Many Meetings' (FR p. 250), it is said that Bilbo's room 'opened on to the gardens and looked south across the ravine of the Bruinen'; and at the beginning of 'The Council of Elrond' (FR p. 252) Frodo 'walked along the terraces above the loud-flowing Bruinen.' This is quite unambiguous; the maps, however, are not in this point perfectly clear.

In the map of Wilderland in *The Hobbit* (endpaper), the unnamed river receives, some way north of the Ford, a tributary stream, and Elrond's house is placed between them, near the confluence, and nearer

*My father was greatly concerned to harmonise Bilbo's journey with the geography of *The Lord of the Rings*, especially in respect of the distance and time taken: in terms of *The Lord of the Rings* Gandalf, Bilbo, and the Dwarves took far too long, seeing that they were mounted (see Karen Fonstad's discussion in *The Atlas of Middle-earth*, p. 97). But he never brought this work to a definitive solution.

the tributary – exactly as in Sketch I on p. 201.* On one of his copies of *The Hobbit* my father pencilled in a few later names on the map of Wilderland, and these included *Bruinen or Loudwater* against the river north of the house (again as in Sketch I), and *Merrill* against the tributary flowing just to the south of it.† When therefore in *The Hobbit* (Chapter III) the elf said to Gandalf:

> You are a little out of your way: that is, if you are making for the only path across the water and to the house beyond. We will set you right, but you had best get on foot, until you are over the bridge

it would seem to be the Merrill that must be crossed by the bridge. Barbara Strachey (*Journeys of Frodo*, maps 15–16) shows very unambiguously the ravine of Rivendell as the ravine of the tributary stream, Elrond's house being some mile and a half from its confluence with the Loudwater; while Karen Fonstad (*The Atlas of Middle-earth*, pp. 80, 101, etc.) likewise places Rivendell on the southerly stream – calling it (p. 127) the Bruinen.

The lines of rivers and Road in Sketch I were first drawn in ink, and subsequently coloured over in blue and red chalk. When my father did this he changed the course of the 'tributary stream' south of Elrond's house by bending it up northwards and joining it to the Bruinen some way to the east; thus the house at Rivendell is at the western end of land enclosed between two streams coming down from the Mountains, parting, and then joining again. It might therefore be supposed that both were called 'Bruinen' (discounting the name 'Merrill' written on the Wilderland map in *The Hobbit*). But I do not think that detailed conclusions can be drawn from this sketch-map.

Note on the Entish Lands

The name *Entish Lands* on Sketch I needs a word of explanation. Originally the region in which the Hoarwell rose was called *Dimrilldale(s)* (p. 360), but when that name was displaced it was briefly called *Hoardale* (p. 432 note 3), and then *Entish Dales*, *Entish Lands*. *Entish* here was used in the Old English sense of *ent*, 'giant'; the *Entish Lands* were the 'troll-lands' (cf. the later names *Ettendales* and *Ettenmoors* of this region in FR, containing Old English *eoten* 'giant'), and are in no way associated with the *Ents* of *The Lord of the Rings*.

*In two of my father's small-scale maps the tributary stream is not marked, and Rivendell is a point on or beside the Bruinen; the third is too rubbed and faint to be sure of, but probably shows the tributary, and Rivendell between the two streams, as in the *Hobbit* map, and as my 1943 map certainly does (and that published in *The Lord of the Rings*).

†This name, which I have found nowhere else, is unfortunately not quite clear, though *Me-* and *-ll* are certain, and it is hard to read it in any other way. – Another name added to the Wilderland map was *Rhimdath* 'Rushdown', the river flowing from the Misty Mountains into Anduin north of the Carrock (see the Index to Vol. V, p. 446).

XII
AT RIVENDELL

Some preliminary ideas for this chapter (which in FR is Book II, Chapter 1, 'Many Meetings') have been given on p. 126. The original narrative draft is extant in a very rough manuscript, first in ink, then in pencil and petering out. It was variously emended and added to, but I give it here as my father seems to have set it down – granting that there is often no clear distinction between changes made at once and changes made after (and probably no significant distinction in time, in any case). This and the two following drafts all bear the number 'IX' without title.

He awoke to find himself lying in bed; and also feeling a great deal better. 'Where am I and what's the time?' he said aloud to the ceiling. Its dark carved beams were touched by sunlight. Distantly he heard the sound of a waterfall.

'In Elrond's house, and it is ten o'clock in the morning: the morning of October 24th to be exact,'[1] said a voice.

'Gandalf!' said Bingo sitting up. There was the wizard sitting in a chair by the open window.

'Yes,' said the wizard. 'I'm here all right – and you're lucky to be here too, after all the absurd things you have done since you left home.'

Bingo felt too peaceful and comfortable to argue – and in any case he did not imagine he would get the best of the argument: the memory came back to him of the disastrous short cut through the Old Forest, of his own stupidity in the inn, and of his nearly fatal madness in putting on the ring on Weathertop Hill.

There was a long silence broken only by the soft puffs of Gandalf's pipe as he blew smoke-rings out of the window.

'What happened at the Ford?' asked Bingo at last. 'It all seemed so dim somehow, and it still does.'

'Yes!' answered Gandalf. 'You were beginning to fade. They would have made a wraith of you before long – certainly if you had put on the Ring[2] again. How does the arm and side feel now?'

'I don't know,' said Bingo. 'It does not feel at all, which is better than aching, but' – he made an effort – 'I can move it a little again: yes: it feels as if it were coming back to life. It is not cold now,' he added, touching his right hand with his left.[3]

'Good!' said Gandalf. 'Elrond bathed and doctored it for hours last night after you were brought in. He has great power and skill, but I was very anxious, for the craft and malice of the Enemy is very great.'

'Brought in?' said Bingo. 'Of course: the last I remember was the rush of water. What happened? Where are the others? Do tell me, Gandalf!'

'What happened – as far as I can make out from Glorfindel and Trotter (who both have some wits in their different ways) – was this: the pursuers made straight for you (as Glorfindel expected they would). The others might have been trampled down, but Glorfindel made them leap out of the way off the road. Nothing could save you if the white elf-horse could not; so they followed cautiously behind on foot, keeping out of sight as much as they could behind bushes and rocks. When they had got as near to the Ford as they dared go, they made a fire hastily, and rushed out on the Riders with flaming brands, just at the moment when the flood came down. Between the fire and water these pursuers were destroyed – if they can be wholly destroyed by such means – all but two that vanished into the wild.

'The rest of your party and the elf then crossed the ford, with some difficulty as it is too deep for hobbits and deep even for a horse. But Glorfindel crossed on your pony and regained his horse. They found you lying on your face in the grass at the top of the slope: pale and cold. At first they feared you were dead. They carried you towards Rivendell: a slow business, and I don't know when they would have arrived, if Elrond had not sent some Elves out to help you, at the same time as the water was released.'

'Did Elrond make the flood then?' asked Bingo.

'No, I did,'[4] said Gandalf. 'It is not very difficult magic, in a stream that comes down from the mountains. The sun has been fairly hot today. But I was surprised to find how well the river responded. The roar and rush was tremendous.'

'It was,' said Bingo. 'Did you also send Glorfindel?'

'Yes,' said Gandalf, '– or rather, I asked Elrond to lend him to me. He is a wise and noble elf. Bilbo is – was – very fond of him. I also sent Rimbedir[5] (as they call him here) – that Trotter fellow. From what Merry tells me I gather he has been useful.'

'I should think he has,' said Bingo. 'I was very suspicious of him at first – but we should never have got here without him. I have grown very fond of him. I wish indeed that he was going to go on wandering with me as long as I must wander. It is an odd thing,

you know, but I keep on feeling that I have seen him somewhere before.'

'I daresay you do,' said Gandalf. 'I often have that feeling when I look at a hobbit – they all seem to remind me of one another, don't you know. Really they are extraordinarily alike!'

'Nonsense,' said Bingo. 'Trotter is most peculiar. However I feel extremely hobbit-like myself, and I could wish that I was not doomed to wander. I have now had more than a month of it, and that is about 28 days too much for me.' He fell silent again, and began to doze. 'What did those dreadful pursuers do to me in Weathertop dell?' he said half to himself, on the edge of a shadowy dream.

'They attempted to pierce you with the sword of the Necromancer,' said Gandalf. 'But by some grace of fortune, or by your own courage (I have heard an account of the fight) and by the confusion caused by the elf-name which you cried, only your shoulder was grazed. But that was dangerous enough – especially with the ring on. For while the ring was on, you yourself were in the wraith-world, and subject to their weapons.[6] They could see you, and you them.'

'Why can we see their horses?'

'Because they are real horses. Just as the black robes they wear to give shape to their nothingness are real robes.'

'Then why, when all other animals – dogs, horses, ponies – are filled with terror of them, do these horses endure them on their backs?'

'Because they are born and bred under the power of the evil Lord in the dark kingdom. Not all his servants and chattels are wraiths!'

'It is all very threatening and confusing,' said Bingo sleepily.

'Well, you are quite safe for the present,' said Gandalf, 'and are mending rapidly. I should not worry about anything now, if I were you.'

'All right,' said Bingo, and fell fast asleep.[7]

Bingo was now as you know in the Last Homely House west of the Mountains, on the edge of the wild, the house of Elrond: that house was (as Bilbo Baggins had long ago reported) 'a perfect house, whether you like food or sleep or work or story-telling or singing, or just sitting and thinking, best, or a pleasant mixture of them all.' Merely to be there was a cure for weariness and sadness. As evening drew on Bingo woke up and found that he no longer

felt like sleep but had a mind for food and drink, story-telling and singing. So he got up, and found his arm already nearly as useful as ever it had been. As soon as he was dressed he went in search of his friends. They were sitting in the porch of the house that faced west: shadows were fallen in the valley, but the light was still upon high eastern faces of the hills far above, and the air was warm. It was seldom cold in the fair valley of Rivendell. The sound of the waterfalls was loud in the stillness. There was a scent of trees and flowers [?in harmony].

'Hullo,' said Merry, 'here is our noble uncle. Three cheers for Bingo Lord of the Ring!'

'Hush!' said Gandalf. 'Evil things do not come into this valley, but nonetheless we should not name them. The Lord of the Ring is not Bingo, but the Lord of the Dark Tower of Mordor,[8] whose power is growing again, and we are here sitting only in a fortress of peace. Outside it is getting dark.'

'Gandalf has been saying lots of cheerful things like that,' said Odo. 'Just to keep us in order: but it seems impossible somehow to feel gloomy or depressed in Elrond's house. I feel I could sing – if I knew how: only I never was any good at making up words or tunes.'

'You never were,' said Bingo, 'but I daresay even that could be cured in time, if you stayed here long enough. I feel much the same myself. Though at the moment I feel more hungry than anything else.'

His hunger was soon cured. For before long they were summoned to the evening meal. The hall was filled with many folk: elves for the most part, though there were a few guests and travellers of various sort. Elrond sat in the high seat, and next to him sat Gandalf. Bingo did not see Trotter or Glorfindel: they were probably at one of the other halls among their friends, but to his surprise he found sitting next to him a dwarf of venerable appearance and rich dress – his beard was white, nearly as white as the snow-white cloth of his garments; he wore a belt of silver and a chain of silver and diamonds.

'Welcome and well met,' said the dwarf, rising and bowing. 'Glóin at your service!' and he bowed again.

'Bingo Bolger-Baggins at your service and your family's,' replied Bingo. 'Am I right in imagining that you are *the* Glóin, one of the twelve companions of the great Thorin?'

'You are,' said he. 'And I need not ask, since I have already been told that you are the friend and adopted son of our dear friend

Bilbo Baggins. I wonder much what brings *four* hobbits so far from their homes. Nothing like it has occurred since Bilbo left Hobbiton. But perhaps I should not ask this; since Elrond and Gandalf do not seem disposed to tell?'

'I think we will not speak of such things, at any rate yet,' said Bingo politely – he wanted to forget about his troubles for the moment. 'Though I am equally curious to know what brings so important a dwarf so far from the Mountain.'

Glóin looked at him and laughed – indeed he actually winked. 'I am no spoil-sport,' he said. 'So I will not tell you – yet. But there are many other things to tell.'

Throughout the meal they talked together. Bingo told news of the Shire, but he listened more than he talked, for Glóin had much to tell of the Dwarf-kingdom under the Mountain, and of Dale. There Dáin was still king of the dwarfs,[9] and was now ancient (some 200 years old), venerable, and fabulously rich. Of the ten companions that had survived the battle, seven were still with him: Dwalin, Dori, Nori, Bifur and Bofur and Bombur.[10] But the last was now so fat that he could not move himself from his couch to his chair, and it took four young dwarves to lift him. In Dale the grandson of Bard, Brand son of Bain, was lord.

My father stopped here, and scribbled down a few notes before at once beginning the chapter anew. The notes at the end of the first draft include the following:

What of Balin etc. They went to colonize (Ring needed to found colony?) Bilbo must be seen. Who is Trotter?

The second text is a clear manuscript, but it had proceeded no farther than Gandalf's account of the flood in the Bruinen when my father again stopped and started again. This is an intermediate text much nearer to the third than to the first, and need not be considered more closely.

The third text, the last in this phase of the work, but again abandoned before its conclusion (going in fact scarcely any farther than the first draft), is very close to 'Many Meetings' in FR, but there are many minor differences (quite apart, of course, from those that are constant at this stage, as Trotter/Strider-Aragorn and the absence of Sam). The opening is now almost identical to that in FR, but the date is October 26, and Gandalf adds, after 'You were beginning to fade', 'Trotter noticed it, to his great alarm – though of course he said nothing.' But after Gandalf's 'It is no small feat . . .' (FR p. 232) the old narrative goes on:

'. . . But I am delighted to have you all here safe. I am really rather to blame. I knew there were some risks – but if I had known more before I left the Shire I should have arranged matters differently.

But things are moving fast,' he added in a lower voice as if to himself, 'even faster than I feared. I *had* to get here quickly. But if I had known the Riders were already out!'

'Did not you know that?' asked Bingo.

'No I did not – not until we came to Bree. It was Trotter that told me.[11] And if I had not known Trotter and trusted him, I should have waited for you there. And as it has turned out, he saved you and brought you through in the end.'

'We should never have got here without him,' said Bingo. 'I was very suspicious of him at first, but I have grown very fond of him. Though he is rather queer. I wish that he was going to go on wandering with me – as long as I must wander. It is an odd thing, you know, but I keep on feeling that I have seen him somewhere before – that, that I ought to be able to put a name to him, a name different to Trotter.'

'I dare say you do,' laughed Gandalf. 'I often have that feeling when I look at a hobbit: they all seem to remind me of one another, if you know what I mean. They are wonderfully alike!'

'Nonsense!' said Bingo, sitting up again in protest. 'Trotter is most peculiar. And he has shoes! However, I am feeling a very ordinary hobbit myself at the moment. I wish now that I need not go any further. I have had more than a month of exile and adventures, and that is about four weeks more than enough for me.'[12]

The text now becomes very close to that of FR pp. 233–4, but there are several differences. As in FR, Bingo cannot understand how he can be out in his reckoning of the date, but in this version Gandalf has told him that it is the 26th of October (not as in FR the 24th), and he calculates that they must have reached the Ford on the 23rd (the 20th in FR). On this question see the Note on Chronology on p. 219. In contrast to the first draft, where Gandalf says that Bingo was brought in to Rivendell 'last night', he has been unconscious for a long time, and the mortal danger of his wound is emphasized. Gandalf calls the weapon that was used 'a deadly blade, the knife of the Necromancer which remains in the wound', not 'a Morgul-knife', and he explains to Bingo that 'You would have become a Ring-wraith (the only hobbit Ring-wraith) and you would have been under the dominion of the Dark Lord. Also they would have got possession of the Ring. And the Dark Lord would have found some way of tormenting you for trying to keep it from him, and of striking at all your friends and kinsfolk through you, if he could.' He says that the Riders wear black robes 'to give shape to their nothingness in our world'; and he includes among the servants of the Dark Lord 'orcs and goblins' and 'kings, warriors, and wizards.'

Gandalf's reply to Bingo's question 'Is Rivendell safe?' is similar to that in FR (pp. 234–5), but has some notable features:

'Yes, I hope so. He has seldom overcome any of the Elves in the past; and all Elves now are his enemies. The Elves of Rivendell are indeed descendants of his chief foes: the Gnomes, the Elven-wise ones, that came out of the Far West, and whom Elbereth Gilthoniel still protects.[13] They fear no Ring-wraiths, for they live at once in both worlds, and each world has only half power over them, while they have double power over both. But such places as Rivendell (or the Shire in its own way) will soon become besieged islands, if things go on as they are going. The Dark Lord is moving again. Dreadful is the power of the Necromancer. Still,' he said, standing suddenly up and sticking out his chin while his beard stuck out like bristling wire, 'the Wise say that he is doomed in the end. We will keep up our courage. You are mending rapidly, and you need not worry about anything at the moment.'

The passage in which Gandalf looked closely at Frodo, and then spoke to himself, is lacking; but his story of the events at the Ford is in all essentials the same as in FR, with a few features still retained from the first draft – most important, Gandalf still says that two of the Riders escaped into the wild. The difficult passage of the deep ford is still described, as in the first draft, and Gandalf still says 'I was surprised to find how well the river responded to a little simple magic.' But Elrond's power over the river, and Gandalf's waves like white horses with white riders, now enter. The end of Bingo's talk with Gandalf, however, has differences:

'. . . I thought I was drowning – and all my friends and enemies together. It is wonderful that Elrond and Glorfindel and such great people should take all this trouble over me – not to mention Trotter.'

'Well – there are many reasons for that. I am one good reason. You may discover others.[14] For one thing they are – were – very fond of Bilbo Baggins.'

'What do you mean – "are fond of Bilbo"?' said Bingo sleepily.

'Did I say that? Just a slip of the tongue,' answered Gandalf. 'I thought I said "were".'

'I wish old Bilbo could have been here and heard all about this,' murmured Bingo. 'I could have made him laugh. The cow jumped over the moon. Hullo William!' he said. 'Poor old troll!' and then he fell asleep.

The next section of the narrative follows the first draft (p. 208) pretty

closely, but Bingo's discovery of green garments laid out for him now enters the story, with a further addition that only survived in part in FR:

He put on his own best waistcoat with the gold buttons (which he had brought in his luggage as his only remaining treasure). But it seemed very loose. Looking in a little mirror he was startled to see a very much thinner reflection of Bingo than he had seen for a long while. It looked remarkably like the young nephew of Bilbo that used to go tramping with his uncle in the Shire, though it was a bit pale in the face. 'And I feel like it,' he said, slapping his chest and tightening his waistcoat strap. Then he went in search of his friends.

There is nothing corresponding to Sam's entering Frodo's room.

The feast in Elrond's house moves far to the final text. The descriptions of Elrond, Gandalf, and Glorfindel now appear (they were written on an inserted slip, but it seems to belong to the same time) and in almost the same words as in FR (p. 239) – but there is mention of Elrond's smile, 'like the summer sun', and his laughter. There is no mention of Arwen. Bingo 'could not see Trotter, nor his nephews. They had been led to other tables.'

The conversation with Glóin proceeds as in the first draft, with some touches and phrases that move it to the final text (FR p. 240). Glóin is now described as 'a dwarf of solemn dignity and rich dress', but he still winks (as he does not in FR).

At the point where the first draft ends (p. 210) my father only added a further couple of lines before again stopping:

In Dale the grandson of Bard the Bowman ruled, Brand son of Bain son of Bard, and he was become a strong king whose realm included Esgaroth, and much land to the south of the great falls.[15]

On the reverse of the sheet the conversation continues in a different script and a different ink: Glóin gives an account of Balin's history (his return to Moria) – but it is Frodo, not Bingo, that he is speaking with, and this side of the page belongs to a later phase in the writing of the book (see pp. 369, 391).

A passage on a detached slip, forming part of Gandalf's conversation with Bingo, seems to belong to the time of the third draft of this chapter. There is no direction for its insertion into the text, and there is no echo of it in FR.

Things work out oddly. But for that 'short cut' you would not have met old Bombadil, nor had the one kind of sword the Riders fear.[16] Why did not I think of Bombadil before! If only he was not so far away, I would go straight back now and consult him. We have

never had much to do with one another up till now. I don't think he quite approves of me somehow. He belongs to a much older generation, and my ways are not his. He keeps himself to himself and does not believe in travel. But I fancy somehow that we shall all need his help in the end – and that he may have to take an interest in things outside his own country.

Among my father's earliest ideas for this part of the story (p. 126) appears: 'Gandalf astonished to hear about Tom.' – Another brief passage on the same slip of paper was struck out at the time of writing:

Not to mention courage – and also swords and a strange and ancient name. Later on I must be told about that curious sword of yours, and how you knew the name of Elbereth.'

'I thought you knew everything.'

'No,' said Gandalf. 'You

Some notes that were scribbled down at Sidmouth in Devon in the late summer of 1938 (see Carpenter, *Biography*, p. 187) on a page of doodles evidently represent my father's thoughts for the next stages of the story at this time:

Consultation. Over M[isty] M[ountains]. Down Great River to Mordor. Dark Tower. Beyond (?) which is the Fiery Hill.

Story of Gilgalad told by Elrond? Who is Trotter? Glorfindel tells of his ancestry in Gondolin.

'The Quest of the Fiery Mountain' (preceded by 'Consultation of hobbits with Elrond and Gandalf') was mentioned in the outline given on p. 126, but here is the first hint of the journey that was to be undertaken from Rivendell, and the first mention of the Great River in the context of *The Lord of the Rings*.

My father had already asked the question 'Who is Trotter?' and he would ask it again. A hint of one solution, in the end rejected, has been met already in Bingo's words to Gandalf in this chapter: 'I keep on feeling that I have seen him somewhere before – that, that I ought to be able to put a name to him, a name different to Trotter'; and indeed earlier, in the inn at Bree (p. 154): 'He had a dark look – and yet there was something in it . . . that seemed friendly, and even familiar.'

Also very notable is 'Glorfindel tells of his ancestry in Gondolin.' Years later, long after the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*, my father gave a great deal of thought to the matter of Glorfindel, and at that time he wrote: '[The use of *Glorfindel*] in *The Lord of the Rings* is one of the cases of the somewhat random use of the names found in the older legends, now referred to as *The Silmarillion*, which escaped reconsideration in the final published form of *The Lord of the Rings*.' He came to the conclusion that Glorfindel of Gondolin, who fell to his death in combat

with a Balrog after the sack of the city (II.192–4, IV.145), and Glorfindel of Rivendell were one and the same: he was released from Mandos and returned to Middle-earth in the Second Age.

A single loose page, which has nothing to connect it with any other writing, is perhaps the 'story of Gilgalad told by Elrond' mentioned in these notes, and I give it here. Other than the first, the changes noted were made subsequently, in pencil on the manuscript written in ink.

'Now in the dark days Sauron the Magician [*first written* Necromancer, *then* Necromancer *written again above* Magician] had been very powerful in the Great Lands, and nearly all living things had served him out of fear. And he pursued the Elves that lived on this side of the Sundering Sea with especial hatred, for they did not serve him, although they were afraid. And there were some Men that were friends of the Elves, though not many in the darkest of days.'

'And how,' said Bingo, 'did his overthrow come about [> was his power made less]?'

'It was in this way,' said Elrond. 'The lands and islands in the North-west of the Great Lands of the Old World were called long ago Beleriand. Here the Elves of the West had dwelt for a long while until [> during] the wars with the Power of darkness, in which the Power was defeated but the land destroyed. Sauron alone of his chief servants escaped. But still after the Elves had mostly departed [> Although most of the Elves returned] again into the West, there were many Elves and Elf-friends that dwelt [> still dwelt in after days] in that region. And thither came many of the Great Men of old out of the Far West Island which was called by the Elves Númenor (but by some Avallon) [> out of the land of Westernesse (that they called Númenor)]; for Sauron had destroyed their island [> land], and they were exiles and hated him. There was a king in Beleriand of Númenórean race and he was called Elendil, that is Elf-friend. And he made an alliance with the Elf-king of those lands, whose name is Gilgalad (Starlight), a descendant of Fëanor the renowned. I remember well their council – for it reminded me of the great days of the ancient war, so many fair princes and captains were there, yet not so many or so fair as once had been.'

'You remember?' said Bingo, looking astonished at Elrond. 'But I thought this tale was of days very long ago.'

'So it is,' said Elrond laughing. 'But my memory reaches back a long way [> to long ago]. My father was Eärendel who was born in Gondolin seven years before it fell, and my mother was Elwing

daughter of Lúthien daughter of King Thingol of Doriath, and I have seen many ages in the West of the world. I was at the council I speak of, for I was the minstrel and counsellor of Gilgalad. The armies of Elves and Men were joined once more, and we marched eastward, and crossed the Misty Mountains, and passed into the inner lands far from the memory of the Sea. And we became weary, and sickness was heavy on us, made by the spells of Sauron – for we had come at last to Mordor, the Black Country, where Sauron had rebuilt his fortress. It is on part of that dreary land that the Forest of Mirkwood now stands,[17] and it derives its darkness and dread from the ancient evil [*added:* of the soil]. Sauron could not drive us away, for the power of the Elves was in those days still very great, though waning; and we besieged his stronghold for 7 [> 10] years. And at last Sauron came out in person, and wrestled with Gilgalad, and Elendil came to his rescue, and both were mortally wounded; but Sauron was thrown down, and his bodily shape was destroyed. His servants were dispelled and the host of Beleriand broke his stronghold and razed it to the ground. Gilgalad and Elendil died. But Sauron's evil spirit fled away and was hidden for a long while in waste places. Yet after an age he took shape again, and has long troubled the northern world [*added:* but his power is less than of old].

If this extremely interesting piece is compared with the end of the second version of *The Fall of Númenor* ('FN II') in V.28–9 it will be seen that while an important new element has entered the two texts are closely related and have closely similar phrases: citing the form in FN II, 'in Beleriand there arose a king, who was of Númenórean race, and he was named Elendil, that is Elf-friend'; the hosts of the Alliance 'passed the mountains and came into inner lands far from the Sea'; 'they came at last even to Mordor the Black Country, where Sauron . . . had rebuilt his fortresses'; 'Thû was thrown down, and his bodily shape destroyed, and his servants were dispelled, and the host of Beleriand destroyed his dwelling'; 'Thû's spirit fled far away, and was hidden in waste places.' Moreover in both texts Gil-galad is descended from Fëanor. The new element is the appearance of Elrond as the minstrel and counsellor of Gil-galad (in FN II §2 Elrond was the first King of Númenor, and a mortal; a conception now of course abandoned, with the emergence of Elros his brother, V.332, §28). There is no suggestion here that any sort of 'Council' was in progress: it seems rather that Elrond was recounting the tale to Bingo, as Trotter had said on Weathertop (p. 179): 'you will hear it, I think, in Rivendell, when we get there. Elrond should tell it, for he knows it well.' But an element survived into FR (II) Chapter 2, 'The Council of Elrond': Bingo's amazement at the vast age of Elrond, and

Elrond's reply, naming his lineage and recollecting the hosts of the Last Alliance.[18]

NOTES

1 On this puzzling date see the Note on Chronology, p. 219.

2 *the Ring:* changed from *that ring*.

3 *touching his right hand with his left:* on the wound having been originally in Bingo's right shoulder see p. 190.

4 *'No, I did'* changed from *'Yes'*. Cf. the original sketch of the story (p. 126): 'Gandalf had sent the water down with Elrond's permission.'

5 *Rimbedir* as the Elvish name for Trotter appears in the pencilled draft of the last chapter, p. 198 note 5 (*Padathir* in the overwritten text in ink). This shows that the present text was written before my father had rewritten the last chapter, or at least before he had completed it. Later he replaced *Rimbedir* by *Padathir* in the present passage. – By 'I also sent Rimbedir' Gandalf must mean that he sent Trotter to them at *The Prancing Pony*.

6 This passage was changed in the following text to the form in FR (p. 234), i.e. 'you yourself were *half* in the wraith-world, and they might have seized you', with the words 'and subject to their weapons' removed.

7 From this point the manuscript was continued in rapid pencil.

8 *the Dark Tower of Mordor:* see note 17.

9 On the plural form *dwarfs* see V.277.

10 Glóin is missed out (so also in the third text, where his name was inserted subsequently). The companions of Thorin not named are (as in FR) Balin, Ori, and Óin.

11 *It was Trotter that told me:* Gandalf left a letter for Bingo at Bree before he left on Monday 26 September, and in this he said that he had *'learned some news on the way'* (from Hobbiton): 'Pursuit is getting close: there are 7 at least, perhaps more' (p. 154). When my father wrote this he cannot have had in mind Trotter's meeting with Gandalf on the Road on the Sunday morning (pp. 149, 154), because the first Black Rider did not come to Bree until the Monday evening (pp. 151, 157). It was no doubt when he decided that Gandalf learnt about the Black Riders from Trotter that he added the passages on p. 153, where Trotter says 'I first saw the Riders last Saturday away west of Bree, before I ran across Gandalf', and on p. 154, where he says that their conversation also included the Black Riders.

12 *more than a month* (as in the first draft) replaced *30 odd days* at the time of writing. See the Note on Chronology on p. 219.

13 *The Elves of Rivendell are indeed descendants of his chief foes: the Gnomes, the Elvenwise ones:* see p. 71.

14 My father added in pencil at the foot of the page, but it is impossible to say when: 'The Ring is another, and is becoming more and more important.'

15 Cf. *The Hobbit*, Chapter X 'A Warm Welcome':

> At the southern end [of the Long Lake] the doubled waters [of the Running River and the Forest River] poured out again over high waterfalls and ran away hurriedly to unknown lands. In the still evening air the noise of the falls could be heard like a distant roar.

16 An isolated note says: 'What of the sword of the Barrow-wights? Why did the Black Riders fear it? – because it belonged to Western Men.' Cf. *The Two Towers* III. 1, p. 17.

17 Elrond's statement here that Mirkwood is itself in Mordor, 'the Black Country', and that the forest 'derives its darkness from the ancient evil' of the time when Sauron had his fortress in that region is interesting. Both here and in the very similar passage in the second version of *The Fall of Númenor* (V.29) Sauron is said to have 'rebuilt' his fortress(es) in Mordor, and I take this to mean that it was in Mordor that he established himself after the downfall of Morgoth and the destruction of Angband. That fortress was destroyed by the hosts of the Last Alliance; and in the first version of *The Fall of Númenor* (V.18) when Thû was defeated and his dwelling destroyed 'he fled to a dark forest, and hid himself.' In *The Hobbit* the 'dark tower' of the Necromancer was in southern Mirkwood. At the end of *The Hobbit* it is told that the white wizards 'had at last driven the Necromancer from his dark hold in the south of Mirkwood', but it is not said that it was destroyed. If 'it is on part of that dreary land [Mordor] that the Forest of Mirkwood now stands', it might be argued that (at this stage of the development of the story) Sauron had returned there, to 'the Dark Tower of Mordor' – in the south of Mirkwood. (There seems no positive evidence that the geography of Middle-earth had yet been extended south and east of the map of Wilderland in *The Hobbit*, beyond the conception of the Fiery Mountain, whose actual placing seems to be entirely vague; and it certainly cannot be assumed that my father yet conceived of the mountain-defended land of Mordor far away in the South-east.)

But I do not think this at all probable. Not long after the point we have reached, my father wrote in the chapter 'Ancient History' (p. 253) that the Necromancer 'had flown from Mirkwood [i.e. after his expulsion by the white wizards] *only to reoccupy his ancient stronghold in the South*, near the midst of the world in those days, in the Land of Mordor; and it was rumoured that the Black Tower had been raised anew.' 'His ancient stronghold' was of course the fortress destroyed in the War of the Last Alliance.

18 For previous references to the story of Gil-galad and Elendil in the texts thus far see pp. 169, 179, 192.

Note on the Chronology

In the first draft of this chapter Gandalf tells Bingo when he wakes up in Elrond's house that it is the morning of October 24; but this seems to be at variance with all the indications of date that have been given. (October 24 is the date in FR, p. 231, but this was differently achieved.)

At Weathertop there is one day's difference between the original chronology and that of FR: they reached it on October 5 in the old version, but on October 6 in FR (see p. 175). The hobbits came back to the Road again from the lands to the south, and crossed it, on the sixth day from Weathertop (p. 192), i.e. October 11, whereas in FR they took an extra day (contrast 'At the end of the fourth day the ground began once more to rise' in the old version, p. 191, with FR p. 212, 'At the end of the fifth day'): thus there is now a lag of two days between the two accounts, and in FR they came back to the Road and crossed the Last Bridge on October 13. In the hills to the north of the Road, on the other hand, they took a day longer in the old version (see p. 193), and thus came down out of the hills, and met Glorfindel, on the evening of the 17th (the 18th in FR). There are no further differences in respect of chronology in this chapter, and therefore in the original story they reached the Ford on October 19 (October 20 in FR). How then can it be the 24th of October when Bingo wakes in Rivendell, if, as Gandalf says, he was 'brought in last night'?

In the second and third versions of the opening of this chapter the date on which Bingo woke up in Elrond's house becomes October 26, and he says that it ought to be the 24th: 'unless I lost count somewhere, we must have reached the Ford on the 23rd.' Gandalf tells him that Elrond tended him for 'three nights and two days, to be exact. The Elves brought you to Rivendell at night on the 23rd, and that is where you lost your count'; and he refers to Bingo's having borne the splinter of the blade for 'fifteen days or more' (seventeen in FR). This does not help at all with the chronological puzzle, for in all the drafts for the opening of Chapter IX my father was assuming that the hobbits reached the Ford on October 23, and not, as the actual narrative seems clearly to show, on October 19. It is equally odd that Gandalf should say that Bingo had borne the splinter of the blade for 'fifteen days or more', if the crossing of the Ford actually was on the 23rd and Elrond finally removed the shard 'last night' (October 25): the total should be 20 (October 6 to 25); in FR the number is seventeen days (October 7 to 23).

XIII
'QUERIES AND ALTERATIONS'

In this chapter I give a series of notes which my father headed *Queries and Alterations*. I think that it can be shown clearly that they come from the time we have now reached.

He had abandoned his third draft for Chapter IX (later to be called 'Many Meetings') at the point where Glóin was telling Bingo about King Brand of Dale; this is at the bottom of a page that bears the number IX.8. I have already noticed (p. 213) that on the reverse of this page, numbered IX.9, the conversation continues – but it is obviously discontinuous with what precedes, being written in different ink and a different script, and Glóin is now talking to 'Frodo', not 'Bingo'; and in fact, after this point in the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings* 'Bingo' never appears again.

Now the first of these *Queries and Alterations* is concerned precisely with the conversation of Bingo and Glóin, and actually refers to the last page of the 'Bingo' part of the chapter, IX.8 (perhaps it had just been written). In another of these notes my father was for the first time considering the substitution of 'Frodo' for 'Bingo'; but he here decided against it – and when he came to write a new version of 'A Long-expected Party' (a question discussed in these same notes) Bilbo's heir was still 'Bingo', not 'Frodo'.

I conclude, therefore, that it was just at the time when he abandoned Chapter IX that he wrote *Queries and Alterations*; that when he abandoned it he returned again to the beginning of the book; and that it was some considerable time – during which 'Bingo' became 'Frodo' – before he took up again the conversation with Glóin at Rivendell.

There are two pages of these notes, mostly set out in ink in an orderly and legible way; but there are also many hasty pencilled additions, and these may or may not, in particular cases, belong to the same time (granting that the intervals of time are not likely to be great: but in attempting to trace this history it is 'layers' and 'phases' that are significant rather than weeks or months). Some of the suggestions embodied in these notes had no future, but others are of the utmost interest in showing the actual emergence of new ideas.

I set them out in what seems to be the order in which they were written down, taking in the additions as convenient and relevant, and adding one or two other notes that belong to this time.

(1) Dale Men and Dwarfs at Party – is this good? Rather spoils meeting of Bingo and Glóin (IX.8). Also unwise to bring Big People to Hobbiton. Simply make Gandalf and dwarfs bring things from Dale.

For the 'great lumbering tow-haired Men' who went 'stumping on the hobbit road like elephants' and drank all the beer in the inn at Hobbiton see p. 20 (the account of them had survived without change into the fourth version of 'A Long-expected Party'). By 'Dale Men and Dwarfs at Party' my father meant 'in Hobbiton at that time', not of course that they were present at the Party. The Men would be abandoned in the next version of 'A Long-expected Party', but the Dwarves remained into FR (p. 33). Perhaps my father felt that whereas the Men would certainly have told Bingo the news from Dale, the Dwarves need have no particular connection with the Lonely Mountain.

(2) *Too many hobbits.* Also Bingo Bolger-Baggins a bad name. Let Bingo = Frodo, a son of Primula Brandybuck but of father Drogo Baggins (Bilbo's first cousin). So Frodo (= Bingo) is Bilbo's first cousin once removed both on Took side and on Baggins. Also he has as proper name *Baggins*.

[Frodo *struck out*] No – I am now too used to Bingo.

Frodo [*i.e.* Took] and Odo are in the know and see Bingo off at gate after the Party. Would it not be well to cancel *sale*, and have Odo as heir and in charge? – though many things could be given away. The Sackville-Bagginses could quarrel with Odo?

Frodo (and possibly Odo) go on the first stage of road (because Frodo's news about Black Riders is necessary) [see pp. 54–5].

But Frodo says goodbye at Bucklebury. Only Merry and Bingo ride on into exile – because *Merry insists*. Bingo originally intended to go alone.

Probably best would be to have only Frodo Took – who sees Bingo to Bucklebury; and then Merry. *Cut out Odo.* Even better to have Frodo and *Merry* at the gate: Frodo says goodbye then, and is left in charge of the Shire [i.e. 'in the Shire', at Bag End]. *Merry* see Black Riders in North.

All of this, from 'No – I am now too used to Bingo', was struck out in pencil, and at the same time my father wrote 'Sam Gamgee' in the margin, and to 'Bingo originally intended to go alone' he added 'with Sam'. It may be that this is where he first set down Sam Gamgee's name.

There is a first hint here, in 'Frodo says goodbye at Bucklebury', of the hobbit who would remain behind at Crickhollow when the others entered the Old Forest; while 'Too many hobbits' and 'Cut out Odo' are the first signs of what before long would become a major problem and an almost impenetrable confusion.

The genealogy as it now stood in the fourth version of 'A Long-

expected Party' is found on p. 37. Bingo was already Bilbo's first cousin once removed on the Took side, but his father was Rollo Bolger (and when Bilbo adopted him he changed his name from Bolger to Bolger-Baggins). With the appearance of Drogo Baggins, Bingo would become Bilbo's first cousin once removed on the Baggins side also: we must suppose that Drogo's father was to be brother of Bilbo's father Bungo Baggins. In the later genealogy Drogo became Bilbo's second cousin, as Gaffer Gamgee explained to his audience at *The Ivy Bush*: 'so Mr. Frodo is [Mr. Bilbo's] first *and* second cousin, once removed either way, as the saying is, if you follow me' (FR p. 31).

An abandoned genealogy on one of these pages shows my father evolving the Baggins pedigree. This little table begins with Inigo Baggins (for a previous holder of this name see p. 17), whose son was Mungo Baggins, father of Bungo: Mungo, first appearing here, survived into the final family tree. Bungo has a sister Rosa, who married 'Young Took'; Rosa also survived, but not as Bilbo's aunt – she became Bungo's first cousin, still with a Took husband (Hildigrim). In this table Drogo is Bungo's brother, but it was at this point that the table was abandoned.

The reference in this note to the 'sale' is on the face of it very puzzling. 'A Long-expected Party' was still in its fourth version – when the Party was given by Bingo Bolger-Baggins, and the major revision whereby it reverted to Bilbo had not yet been undertaken. Then what 'sale' is referred to? There has been no sale of Bag End: Bingo 'devised delivered and made over by free gift the desirable property' to the Sackville-Bagginses (p. 39). The sale of Bag End to the Sackville-Bagginses only arose with the changed story. There is however another reference to the *sale*, in a scribbled list of the days of the hobbits' journey from Hobbiton found on the manuscript of the Troll Song which Bingo was to sing at Bree (p. 142 note 11): this list begins 'Party *Thursday, Friday* "Sale" and departure of Odo, Frodo, and Bingo,' etc. The fact that the word is here enclosed in inverted commas may suggest that my father merely had in mind the auction of Bag End to which Bilbo returned at the end of *The Hobbit*: the earlier clear-out of Bilbo's home, which was a sale, made the word a convenient if misleading shorthand for the clear-out in the new story, which was not a sale.

At the foot of the page the following note was hastily jotted in pencil, and then struck out:

(3) Gandalf is against Bingo's telling *anyone* where he is off to. Bingo is to take *Merry*. Bingo is reluctant to give pain to Odo and Frodo. He tells them – suddenly saying goodbye, and Frodo (Odo) meets what looks like a *hobbit* on the way up hill. He asks after Bingo – and Frodo or Odo tells him he is off to Bucklebury. So Black Riders know and ride after Bingo.

This is the embryo of the final story, that a Rider came and spoke to Gaffer Gamgee, who sent him on to Bucklebury (FR p. 85).

(4) *Sting.* Did Bilbo take this? What of the armour? Various possibilities: (a) Bingo has armour, but loses it in Barrow; (b) Gandalf urges him to take armour, but it is heavy and he leaves it at Bucklebury; (c) he likes it, and it saves him in the Barrow, but is *stolen* at Bree.

The point is, of course, that he cannot be wearing armour on Weathertop. With this note compare the mention in the original 'scheme' for Chapter IX (p. 126) of 'Ring-mail of Bingo in barrow' – this was apparently to be an element in 'some explanations' when the hobbits reached Rivendell.

Another note, on another page, is almost the same as this, but asserts that Bilbo did take Sting, and says that if Bingo's armour was stolen at Bree 'discovery of the burgled rooms is before night.' The meaning of this is presumably that according to the existing story (pp. 162–3) the hobbits had taken all their belongings out of the bedrooms into their parlour before the attack, and that this would have to be changed.

In FR (pp. 290–1) Bilbo gave Sting to Frodo at Rivendell, together with the coat of mithril.

(5) Bree-folk are *not* to be hobbits. Bring in bit about the *upstairs windows*. As a result of the hobbits not liking it, landlord gives them rooms on side of the house where second floor is level with ground owing to hill-slope.

The 'bit about the upstairs windows' is presumably the passage in the original Chapter III (pp. 92–3) where the hobbits, approaching Farmer Maggot's, discuss the inconveniences of living on more than one floor. – In fact, in the original beginning of the *Prancing Pony* chapter (p. 132) the people of Bree were primarily Men (with 'hobbits about', 'some higher up on the slopes of Bree-hill itself, and many in the valley of Combe on the east side'); so that this new idea was, to some extent, a reversion. But a pencilled note on the same page, added in afterthought, asks: 'What is to happen at Bree now? What kind of talk can give away Mr Hill?' – and I take the implication of this to be that the Bree-folk were now to be exclusively Men (for they would be less curious and less informed about the Shire). See p. 236.

(6) Rangers are best *not* as hobbits, perhaps. But either Trotter (as a ranger) must be *not* a hobbit, or someone very well known: e.g. Bilbo. But the latter is awkward in view of 'happily ever after'. I thought of making Trotter into Fosco Took (Bilbo's first cousin) who vanished when a lad, owing to Gandalf. Who is Trotter? He must have had some bitter acquaintance with Ring-wraiths &c.

This note on Trotter is to be taken with Bingo's feeling that he had met Trotter before, and should be able to think of his true name (see p. 214). Bilbo's first cousin Fosco Took has not been mentioned before; possibly he was to be the son of Bilbo's aunt Rosa Baggins, who married a Took, according to the little genealogical table described above (p. 222). The ascription of Fosco Took's vanishing to Gandalf looks back to the beginning of *The Hobbit*, where Bilbo says to him: 'Not the Gandalf who was responsible for so many quiet lads and lasses going off into the Blue for mad adventures?'

There is here the first suggestion that my father, in his pondering of the mystery of Trotter, saw the possibility of his not being a hobbit. But this note, like several of the others, is elliptically expressed. The meaning is, I think: If rangers are not hobbits, then Trotter is not; but if nonetheless he *is* both, he must be a hobbit very well known.

(7) Bingo must NOT put on his Ring when Black Riders go by – in view of later developments. He must *think* of doing so but somehow be prevented. Each time the temptation must grow stronger.

This refers to the original second chapter, pp. 54, 58. For the ways in which in the later story Frodo was prevented from putting on the Ring see FR pp. 84, 88. 'Later developments' refers of course to the evolution of the concept of the Ring that had by now supervened: the Riders could see the Ringbearer, as he could see them, when he put it on his finger. The temptation to do so arose from the Ring-wraiths' power to communicate their command to the Ringbearer and make it appear to him that it was his own urgent desire (see p. 199); but Bingo must not be allowed to surrender to the temptation until the disaster in the dell under Weathertop.

(8) Some reason for Gandalf's uneasiness and the flight of Bingo which does not include Black Riders must be found. Gandalf knew of their existence (of course), but had no idea they were out yet. But Gandalf might give some kind of warning against use of Ring (after he leaves Shire?). Perhaps the idea of suddenly using Ring at party as a final joke should be a Bingoism, and contrary to Gandalf (not approved, as in my foreword).

The 'foreword' referred to here is the text given on pp. 76 ff., earliest form of FR Chapter 2 'The Shadow of the Past', – where indeed Gandalf does not merely 'approve' the idea, but actually suggests it (p. 84).

As regards the first sentence of this note, in the 'foreword' there is a reference to 'certain strange signs and portents of trouble brewing after a long time of peace and quiet', but there is no indication of what they were (p. 85 note 9). In the same text Gandalf says that 'Gollum is very likely the beginning of our present trouble'; but if 'our present trouble' was the fact that the Dark Lord was known to Gandalf to be seeking the only

missing Ring in the direction of the Shire, it is in no way explained how he knew this. This was a very serious problem in the narrative structure: Gandalf cannot know of the coming of the Ring-wraiths, for if he had he would never have allowed Bingo and his companions to set off alone. The solution would require complex restructuring of parts of the opening narrative as it now stood, in respect of Gandalf's movements in the summer of that year (these in turn involved with the changed story of the Birthday Party); and would ultimately lead to Isengard.

(9) Why was Gandalf hurrying? Because Dark Lord knew of *him* and hated him. He had to get quick to Rivendell, and thought he was drawing pursuit off Bingo. Also he knew there was a council called at Rivendell for mid-September (Glóin &c. coming to see Bilbo?). It was postponed when the news of the Black Riders reached Rivendell and was not held till Bingo arrived.

For the idea that Gandalf was attempting to draw off the pursuit of the Black Riders see p. 173 note 8; cf. also his words to Bingo at Rivendell (p. 211): 'But things are moving fast, even faster than I feared. I *had* to get here quickly. But if I had known the Riders were already out!'

This is probably the point at which the idea of the Council of Elrond arose, though there have been previous mentions of a 'consultation' with Elrond when the hobbits reached Rivendell (pp. 126, 214).

(10) Should the Elves have Necromancer-rings? See note about their 'being in both worlds'. But perhaps only the High Elves of the West? Also perhaps Elves – if corrupted – would use rings differently: normally they were *visible in both worlds* all the time and equally with a ring they could appear *only in one* if they chose.

In the earliest statement about Elves and the Rings (p. 75) it is said that 'the Elves had many, and there are now many elfwraiths in the world, but the Ring-lord cannot rule them'; this was repeated exactly in the 'foreword' (p. 78), but without the words 'but the Ring-lord cannot rule them.' I have found no 'note' about the Elves 'being in both worlds', but my father may have been referring to Gandalf's words in the last chapter (p. 212): '[The Elves of Rivendell] fear no Ring-wraiths, for they live at once in both worlds, and each world has only half power over them, while they have double power over both.' With his remark here 'But perhaps only the High Elves of the West [are in both worlds]?' cf. the final form of this same passage in FR (p. 235): 'They do not fear the Ringwraiths, for *those who have dwelt in the Blessed Realm live at once in both worlds*, and against both the Seen and the Unseen they have great power.'

(11) At Rivendell Bilbo must be seen by Bingo &c.
Sleeping – in retirement?
Shadows gathering in the South. Lord of Dale is suspected of being secretly corrupted. Strange men are seen in Dale?

What happened to Balin, Ori, and Óin? They went out to colonize – being told of rich hills in the South. But after a time no word was heard of them. Dáin feared the Dark Lord – rumour of his movements reached him. (One idea was that dwarves need *a Ring* as foundation of their hoard, and either Balin or Dáin sent to Bilbo to discover what had become of it. The dwarves might have received threatening messages from Mordor – for the Lord suspected that the One Ring was in their hoards.)

The thought that Trotter was really Bilbo is obviously not present here; and cf. the early outline given on p. 126: 'At Rivendell *sleeping Bilbo*'.

An isolated note elsewhere* says: 'Glóin has come to see Bilbo. News of the world. Loss of the colony of Balin &c.' But the 'rich hills in the South' in note (11) are probably the first appearance of the idea of Moria, deriving from *The Hobbit* – though the absence of the name here might suggest that the identification had not yet been made. Cf. also the notes at the end of the abandoned first draft of the last chapter (p. 210): 'What of Balin etc. They went to colonize (Ring needed to found colony?)' In the earliest account of the Rings (p. 75) it was said that the Dwarves probably had none ('some say the rings don't work on them: they are too solid'); but in the 'foreword' (p. 78) Gandalf tells Bingo that the Dwarves were said to have had seven, 'but nothing could make them invisible. In them it only kindled to flames the fire of greed, and the foundation of each of the seven hoards of the Dwarves of old was a golden ring.'

Above the words *One Ring* at the end of note (11) my father wrote *missing*. He may therefore have meant only 'the one missing Ring', but the fact that he used capital letters suggests its great importance – and in the 'foreword' the missing Ring is the 'most precious and potent of his Rings' (pp. 81, 87).

(12) Bilbo's ring proved to be the *one missing Ring* – all others had come back to Mordor: but this one had been lost.
Make it taken from the Lord himself when Gilgalad wrestled with him, and taken by a flying Elf. It was more powerful than all the other rings. Why did the Dark Lord desire it so?

That Bilbo's Ring was the one missing Ring, and that it was the most potent of them all, is (as just noted) stated in the 'foreword' – the first sentence of note (12) is the restatement of an existing idea. What is new is the linking up of its earlier history to Gil-galad's wrestling with the Necromancer (see p. 216); in the 'foreword' (p. 78) Gollum's Ring had fallen 'from the hand of an elf as he swam across a river; and it betrayed him, for he was flying from pursuit in the old wars, and he became visible

*This note was in fact written in ink across the faint pencilled outline for the story of the Barrow-wight (p. 125), and is presumably a thought that came to my father while he was thinking about the story of the arrival in Rivendell which comes at the end of this outline (p. 126).

to his enemies, and the goblins slew him.' This is where the story of Isildur began; but now the Elf (later to become Isildur the Númenórean) has it from Gil-galad, who took it from the Dark Lord. And the question is asked: 'Why did the Dark Lord desire it so?' Which means, since it is already conceived to be the most potent of the Rings and therefore self-evidently a chief object of the Dark Lord's desire, 'In what did its potency consist?'*

Subsequently my father pencilled rapid additions to the note. He marked the words 'all others had come back to Mordor' for rejection; and to the words 'It was more powerful than all the other rings' he added:

> though its power depended on the user – and its danger: the simpler the user and the less he used it. To Gollum it just helped him to hunt (but made him wretched). To Bilbo it was useful, but drove him wandering again. To Bingo as Bilbo. Gandalf could have trebled his power – but he dare not use it (not after he found out all about it). An Elf would have grown nearly as mighty as the Lord, but would have become dark.

At this time also he underlined the words 'Why did the Dark Lord desire it so?', put an exclamation mark against them, and wrote:

> Because if he had it he could see where all the others were, and would be master of their masters – control all the dwarf-hoards, and the dragons, and know the secrets of the Elf-kings, and the secret [?plans] of evil men.

Here the central idea of the Ruling Ring is clearly present at last, and it may be that it was here that it first emerged. But the note in ink and the pencilled addition (a faint scribble now only just legible) were obviously written at different times.

On the reverse of the second page of these notes is the following in pencil:

(13) Simpler Story.
Bilbo disappears on his 100th [*written above:* 111] Birthday

*Humphrey Carpenter (*Biography*, p. 188) cites this note, but interprets it to be the moment at which the idea of the Ruling Ring emerged:

> There was also the problem of why the Ring seemed so important to everyone – this had not yet been established clearly. Suddenly an idea occurred to him, and he wrote: 'Bilbo's ring proved to be the *one ruling Ring* – all others had come back to Mordor: but this one had been lost.' The one ruling ring that controlled all the others . . .

But the note in question most certainly says 'Bilbo's ring proved to be the *one missing Ring*' (as the following words show in any case), not 'the *one ruling Ring*'. There would be no need to ask 'Why did the Dark Lord desire it so?' if the conception of the Ruling Ring emerged here.

party. Bingo is his heir – much to the annoyance of the Sackville-Bagginses.

['If you want to know what lay behind these mysterious events we must go back a month or two.' Then have a conversation of Bilbo and Gandalf.]

The talk dies down; and Gandalf is seldom seen again in Hobbiton.

Next chapter begins with Bingo's life. Gandalf's furtive visits. Conversation. Bingo is bored by Shire (ring-restlessness?): and makes up his mind to go and look for Bilbo. Also he has been rather reckless and the money is running out. So he sells Bag-end to the Sackville-Bagginses who thus get it 90 years too late, pockets the money, and goes off when 72 (144) – same tendency to longevity as Bilbo had had. Gandalf encourages him for reasons of his own. But warns him not to use the Ring outside the Shire – if he can help it [cf. note (8)]. Bilbo used it for a last big jest, but you had better not. (Bingo does not tell Gandalf that looking for Bilbo was his motive).

All this was subsequently struck through; and the passage which is here enclosed in square brackets was struck out separately, perhaps at the time of writing.

The narrative structure in its principal relations is now that of the final story:

Bilbo disappears (putting on the Ring) at his 111th birthday party, and leaves Bingo as his heir.

Years after, Gandalf talks to Bingo at Bag End; Bingo is anxious to leave for his own reasons, and Gandalf encourages him to go (but apparently without telling him much, though he warns him against using the Ring).

Although the Party now reverts to Bilbo, and is held on his 111th birthday – his age when he departed out of the Shire in the existing version of 'A Long-expected Party' (p. 40), Bingo still leaves at the age of 72 – his age when it was he who gave the Party. The bracketed figure 144 is presumably Bilbo's age at the time, as in the existing version, from which it follows that at the time of Bilbo's Farewell Party Bingo was 39; the total of their two ages was 150. But what my father had in mind on this point cannot be said, for he never wrote the story in this form.

The bracketed passage suggests that some account would be given, in a conversation between Bilbo and Gandalf a month or two *before* the party, of what had led up to Bilbo's decision to leave the Shire in this way; and this account would *follow* the opening chapter describing the festivity. What this conversation would be about is suggested by another note, doubtless written at the same time:

Place 'Gollum' chapter after 'Long-expected party': with a heading: 'If

you want to know what lay behind these mysterious events, we must go back a month or two.'

This presumably means that my father was thinking of making the conversation between Bilbo and Gandalf before the Party (but standing in the narrative after it) cover the story of Gollum and the Ring. The 'Gollum chapter' would thus be in its final place, though the context here suggested for it would be entirely changed.

Lastly, a scribbled note reads:

(14) Bilbo carries off 'memoirs' to Rivendell.

THE SECOND PHASE

XIV
RETURN TO HOBBITON

My father now settled at last for the 'simpler story' which he had roughed out in the *Queries and Alterations* (note 13); and so the Birthday Party at Bag End returns again to Bilbo, with whom it had begun (pp. 13, 19, 40). The following rough outline no doubt immediately preceded the rewriting of the opening chapter: the fifth version, and an exceedingly complicated document.

Bilbo disappears on his 111th birthday. 'Long-expected Party' chapter[1] suitably altered up to point where Gandalf disappears into Bag-End. Then a short conversation between Gandalf and Bilbo inside.

Bilbo says it is becoming wearisome – stretched feeling. He must get rid of it. Also he is tired of Hobbiton, he feels a great desire to go away. Dragon gold curse? or Ring. Where are you going? I don't know. Take care! I don't care. He gets Gandalf to promise to hand on Ring to his heir Bingo. He leaves it to him – but I don't want him to worry or to try and follow: not yet. So he does not even tell Bingo of the joke. At end of chapter make Bilbo say goodbye to Gandalf at gate, hand him a package (with Ring) for Bingo, and disappear.

Chapter II is then Bingo. Furtive visits of Gandalf. Gandalf urges him to go off – for reasons of his own. Bingo on his side never tells Gandalf that looking for Bilbo is his great desire. Gandalf does not [?tell ?talk] of the Ring. The Gollum business must come in later (at Rivendell) – after Bingo has met Bilbo; and Gandalf has now found out much more. It will probably be necessary to run this Chapter II on to head of present II 'Two's company – and three's more'.[2]

The fourth version of 'A Long-expected Party' had in fact reached quite an advanced stage in most respects – in some respects virtually the final form; but the Party was Bingo's on his 72nd birthday, Bilbo having quietly disappeared out of the Shire for good thirty-three years before, when he was 111 and Bingo was 39, and apart from providing the fireworks Gandalf played no part in the chapter at all.

The outline just given says that the chapter must be 'suitably altered up to the point where Gandalf disappears into Bag-End', and the story

now begins: 'When Bilbo Baggins of the well-known Hobbiton family prepared to celebrate his one-hundred-and-eleventh (or eleventy-first) birthday, there was some talk in the neighbourhood,' etc. (see pp. 28, 36). The fourth version is then followed[3] as far as 'And if he was in, you never knew who you would find with him: hobbits of quite poor families, or folk from distant villages, dwarves, and even sometimes elves' (p. 36); here a new passage concerning Gandalf and Bilbo was introduced.

Gandalf the wizard, too, was sometimes seen going up the hill. People said Gandalf 'encouraged' him, and accused him in turn of 'encouraging' some of his more lively nephews (and removed cousins), especially on the Took side; but what exactly they meant was not clear. They may have been referring to the mysterious absences from home, and to the strange habit Bilbo and his encouraged young friends had of walking all over the Shire in untidy clothes.

As time wore on the prolonged vigour, not to say youthfulness, of Mr Bilbo Baggins also became the subject of comment. At ninety he seemed much the same as ever he had been. At 99 they began to call him 'well-preserved'; but 'unchanged' would have been nearer the mark. Nevertheless he surprised them all that year by making a considerable change in his habits: he adopted as his heir his favourite and most completely 'encouraged' nephew, Bingo. Bingo Baggins was then a mere lad of 27,[4] and was strictly speaking not Bilbo's nephew (a title he used rather loosely), but both his first and his second cousin, once removed in each case,[5] but he happened to have the same birthday, September 22, as Bilbo, which seemed an additional link between them.[6] He was the son of poor Primula Brandybuck and [> who married late and as last resort] Drogo Baggins (Bilbo's second cousin but otherwise quite unimportant).

In *Queries and Alterations*, note 2, my father had said that he was 'too used to Bingo' to change his name to Frodo, but he was now following up the suggestions in that note that *Bolger-Baggins* ('a bad name') should be got rid of, and that Bingo should be a Baggins in his own right. Later in this passage Drogo takes over the rumoured boating accident on the Brandywine from Rollo Bolger (see p. 37): 'some said that Drogo Baggins had died of over-eating while staying with the old gormandizer Gorboduc; others said that it was his weight that had sunk the boat.' It is now told that Bingo was twelve years old at the time, and that he

afterwards lived mostly with his grandfather [Gorboduc Brandybuck, p. 37] and his mother's hundred and one relatives in the Great Hole of Bucklebury,[7] the ancestral and very overcrowded

residence of the gregarious Brandybucks. But his visits to 'Uncle' Bilbo became more and more frequent, until at last, as has been said, Bilbo adopted him, when he was a lad of 27.

But all that was old history. People had become in the last 12 years used to having Bingo about. Neither Bilbo nor Bingo did anything outrageous. Their parties were sometimes a bit noisy (and not too select), perhaps; but hobbits don't mind that kind of noise now and again. Bilbo – now in his turn 'encouraged' by Bingo – spent his money freely, and his wealth became a local legend. It was popularly believed that most of the Hill was full of tunnels stuffed with gold and silver. Now it was suddenly given out that Bilbo, perhaps struck with the curiosity of the number 111, was planning to give something quite unusual in the way of birthday-parties. 111 was a respectable age even for hobbits.[8] Naturally tongues wagged, and old memories were stirred, and new expectations aroused. Bilbo's wealth was guessed afresh . . . *(etc. as before, see p. 30)*.

In the account of the comings and goings at Bag End there are a few slight changes. The Men and the waggon painted with a D (pp. 20, 30) have been removed, as proposed in *Queries and Alterations* (note 1), but Elves as well as Dwarves are still mentioned. The bundles of fireworks were labelled not only with a big red G but also with – 'That was Gandalf's mark' (the same rune appears in his letter at Bree and in his note left on Weathertop). The disappointed children given pennies but no fireworks are introduced (FR p. 33); and now at last appears the 'short conversation between Gandalf and Bilbo inside Bag-End' sketched in the outline on p. 233.

Inside Bag-End Bilbo and Gandalf were sitting at the open window of the sitting-room looking west onto the garden. The late afternoon was bright and peaceful; the flowers were red and golden; snapdragons, and sunflowers, and nasturtians trailing all over the turf walls and peeping in at the windows.

'How bright your garden is!' said Gandalf.

'Yes,' said Bilbo. 'I am very fond indeed of it, and of all the dear old Shire; but I think the time has come.'

'You mean to go on with your plan then?' asked Gandalf.

'Yes, I do,' Bilbo answered. 'I have made up my mind at last. I really must get rid of It.[9] "Well-preserved" indeed!' he snorted. 'Why, I feel all thin – sort of stretched, if you know what I mean: like a string that won't quite go round the parcel, or – or – butter that is scraped over too much bread. And that can't be right.'

'No!' said Gandalf thoughtfully. 'No. I daresay your plan is the

best, at any rate for you. At least at present I know nothing against it, and can think of nothing better.'

'Yes, I suppose it may seem a bit hard on Bingo,' said Bilbo. 'But what can I do? I can't destroy it, and after what you have told me I am not going to throw it away; but I don't want it, in fact I can't abide it any more. But you did promise me, didn't you, to keep an eye on him, and help him if he needs it later on? Otherwise, of course, I should have to.'

'I will do what I can for him,' said Gandalf. 'But I hope you will take care of yourself.'

'Take care! I don't care!' said Bilbo, and then going suddenly into verse (as was becoming his habit more and more) he went on in a low voice looking out of the window with a far-away look in his eyes:

The Road etc. as II.5

(This is a reference to the typescript of 'Three's Company', p. 53). All of this new passage, from the words 'I really must get rid of It', was struck out in pencil and marked 'Later' (see pp. 237 and 239–40).

The text continues: 'More carts rolled up the Hill next day, and still more carts. There might have been some grumbling about "dealing locally",' etc. (p. 20). From this point in the fourth version (essentially the same as the third and second, pp. 31, 38, and as FR) the fifth of course very largely follows the old drafts, 'Bingo' being changed to 'Bilbo' where necessary. To the guests at the select dinner party are now added members of the families of Gawkroger[10] (Goodbody in FR) and Brockhouse: the latter 'did not live in the Shire at all, but in Combe-under-Bree, a village on the Eastern Road beyond Brandywine. They were supposed to be remotely connected with the Tooks, but were also friends Bilbo had made in the course of his travels.' On this see *Queries and Alterations* note 5, and my comment on it; cf. also the original Chapter VII (p. 137), of the hobbits at *The Prancing Pony*: 'there were also some (to hobbits) natural names like Banks, Longholes, Brockhouse . . . which were not unknown among the more rustic inhabitants of the Shire.'

A curious point is that at this stage there were 'eight score or one hundred and sixty' guests at the dinner party in the pavilion under the tree, not 144; and in his speech Bilbo said: 'For it is of course also the birthday of my heir and nephew, Bingo. Together we score one hundred and sixty. Your numbers were chosen to fit this remarkable total.' Emendations to the preceding part of the chapter relate to this: Bingo's age at his adoption was changed from 27 to 37, so that when Bilbo was 111 (twelve years later) Bingo was 49 – totalling 160. My father had of course decided – the party being Bilbo's, and both he and Bingo being present – that the significance of the number of guests must now relate, not as previously to the elder hobbit's years, but to the total of their

combined ages; but why he did not stick to 144 and reduce Bingo's age accordingly to 144 minus 111 I cannot say.

Bilbo now refers to its being the anniversary of his arrival by barrel at Lake-town; but there is still no flash when he stepped down and vanished.

This part of the text was soon revised – indeed before the story had gone much further,[11] and in a rewritten version of Bilbo's speech the number of guests reverts to 144, Bingo becomes 33 (which is the year of his 'coming of age'), and there is a blinding flash of light when he vanishes. Emendation to the earlier part of the text now changed Bingo's age at adoption once more, and finally, to 21.

In the hubbub that followed Bilbo's disappearance

there was one person harder hit than all the rest: and that was Bingo. He sat for some time quite silent in his seat beside the empty chair of his uncle, ignoring all remarks and questions; and then abandoning the party to look after itself he slipped out of the pavilion unnoticed.[12]

'What do we do now?' This question became more and more popular, and louder and louder. Suddenly old Rory Brandybuck, whose wits neither old age, nor surprise, nor an enormous dinner, had quite clouded was heard to shout: 'I never saw him go. Where is he now, anyway? Where is Bilbo – and Bingo, too, confound him?' There was no sign of their hosts, anywhere.

As a matter of fact, Bilbo Baggins, even while he was making his speech, had been fingering a small ring in his pocket: his magic ring, that he had kept secret for so many years. As he stepped down he slipped it on – and was never seen in Hobbiton again.

There now enters a wholly new element in the narrative, and it was clearly at this time that the passage of conversation between Gandalf and Bilbo inside Bag End before the party was largely struck out and marked 'Later' (pp. 235–6); at this time also that that conversation was re-extended from the point where Bilbo says 'Yes, I do. I have made up my mind at last', as follows (cf. FR pp. 33–4):

'Very well,' said Gandalf. 'I can see you mean to have your own way. I hope it will turn out all right – for all of us.'

'I hope so,' said Bilbo. 'Anyway I mean to enjoy myself on Thursday, and have my little joke in my own way.'

'Well, I hope you will still be laughing this time next year,' said Gandalf.

'And I hope you will, too,' retorted Bilbo.

The new version continues (from 'and he was never seen in Hobbiton again'):

He walked briskly back to his hole, and stood listening with a smile for a moment to the sounds of merrymaking going on in various parts of the field. Then he went in. He took off his party clothes, folded up and wrapped in tissue paper his embroidered waistcoat with the silk [> gold] buttons and put it away. Then he put on some old and untidy garments,[13] and from a locked bottom drawer (reeking of mothballs) he got out an old cloak and an old hood that seemed to have been laid up as carefully as if they were very precious, though they were so weatherstained and mended that their original colour (probably dark green) could hardly be guessed. They were rather too big for him. He put a large bulky envelope on the mantelpiece, on which was written BINGO.

He chose his favourite thick stick from the hall stand, and then whistled. Several dwarves appeared from various rooms where they had been busy.

'Is everything ready?' Bilbo asked. 'Everything packed up [*added:* and labelled]?'

'Everything,' they said.

'Well, let's start then. Lofar, you are stopping behind, of course [*added:* for Gandalf]: please make sure that Bingo gets the letter on the dining room mantelpiece as soon as he comes in. Nar, Anar, Hannar, are you ready?[14] Right. Off we go.'

He stepped out of the front door. It was a fine clear night, and the black sky was full of stars. He looked up, sniffing the air. 'What fun!' he said. 'What fun to be off again – on the Road with dwarves: this is what I have really been longing for for years.' He waved his hand to the door: 'Goodbye,' he said. He turned away from the lights and voices in the field and the tents, and followed by his three companions went round to the garden on the west side of Bag-End, and trotted down the long sloping path. They jumped the low place in the hedge at the bottom and took to the meadows, passing like a rustle in the grasses.

At the bottom of the Hill they came to a gate opening on to a narrow lane. As they climbed over, a dark figure in a tall hat rose up from under the hedge.

'Hullo, Gandalf!' cried Bilbo. 'I wondered if you would turn up.'

'And I wondered if *you* would,' replied the wizard; 'or if you would think better of it.[15] I suppose you feel that everything has gone off splendidly, and just as you intended?'

'Yes,' said Bilbo. 'Though that flash was surprising: it quite

startled *me*, let alone the others. A little addition of yours, I suppose?'

'It was,' answered Gandalf. 'You have wisely kept that Ring secret all these years; and it seemed to me necessary to give them all some reason to explain their not noticing your sudden vanishment [> to give them all something they would think explained your sudden vanishment].'

'You are an interfering old busybody,' laughed Bilbo; 'but I expect you know best, as usual.'

'I do,' said Gandalf, 'when I know anything. But I do not feel too sure about the whole affair. Still, it has now come to the final point. You have had your joke, and successfully alarmed or offended all your friends and relations, and given the whole Shire something to talk about for nine days (or ninety-nine more likely). Are you going to go any further?'

'Yes, I am,' answered Bilbo.[16] 'I really must get rid of It, Gandalf. *Well-preserved*, indeed,' he snorted. 'Why, I feel all thin – sort of stretched, if you know what I mean: like string that won't quite go round a parcel, or, or, butter that is scraped over too much bread. And that can't be right.'

'No,' said Gandalf thoughtfully. 'No. I was afraid it might come to that. I dare say your plan is the best, at any rate for you. At least at present I do not feel I know enough to say anything definite against it.'

'What else can I do? I can't destroy the thing, and after what you have told me I am not going to throw it away. Oddly enough I find that impossible to make up my mind to do – I simply put it back in my pocket. I find it very hard even to leave behind! And yet I don't want it, indeed I can't abide it any more. But you did promise to keep an eye on Bingo, didn't you, and to help him if he needs it, later on? Otherwise, of course, I should hardly be able to go. I should have to stop and put up with it.'

'I will do what I can for him,' said Gandalf. 'What have you done with it meanwhile?'

'It is in the envelope with my will and other papers. Lofar is giving it to Bingo as soon as he comes in.'

'My dear Bilbo! And with Otho Sackville-Baggins about the place, and that Lobelia wife of his! Really you *are* getting reckless. And I suppose you left the door unlocked as usual?'

'Yes, I am afraid I did. I rather fancy Bingo will be creeping off home before anyone else.'

'Fancy is not safe enough! But you may be right. He knows about it, of course?'

'He knows that I have, or had, the Ring: he has read my private memoirs,[17] for one thing; and he also has some idea [> he may have an inkling] that it has some other – er – effects than just making you invisible on occasion. But he doesn't, or didn't, know quite what I was beginning to feel about it. But after all, as it cannot be destroyed, and can only be handed on – it had best be handed on to him: I chose him as the best in all the Shire: and he is my heir. He knows that I am leaving that to him with all the rest. I don't suppose he would ask to be excused this responsibility, and take only the money.'

'He will miss you pretty badly, you know?'

'Yes, I found it very hard to make up my mind. It is hard on him – but not too hard, I think. The time has come for him to be his own master. After all, if things had been more – er – normal, he would have been losing me soon anyway, if he had not already done so. I am sorry to cheat all my dear people of a grand funeral – how they all did enjoy Old Took's – but there it is.'

'Does he know where you are going?'

'No! I am not sure myself, really. And I think that is just as well for everybody. He might want to *follow* me.'

'So might I. I hope you will take care of yourself!'

'Take care! I don't care. And don't be unhappy about me: I am as happy as ever I have been, and that is saying a lot. But the time has come. I am being swept off my feet,' he added mysteriously, and then in a low voice as if to himself he sang softly in the darkness.

The Road goes ever on and on
Down from the Door where it began.
Now far ahead the Road has gone,
And I must follow if I can,
Pursuing it with weary feet,
Until it joins some larger way,
Where many paths and errands meet.
And whither then? I cannot say.[18]

He stopped silent a moment. Then 'Goodbye, Gandalf!' he cried, and made off into the night. Nar, Anar, and Hannar followed him.[19] Gandalf remained by the gate for a little, and then sprang over it and made his way up the Hill.[20]

It will be seen that in this passage, far different from that which occupies the same narrative place in FR pp. 40–4, my father was thinking about the effect of the Ring on its possessor on very much the same lines as in the chapter on Gollum (the 'foreword'), pp. 79–80. Moreover in FR the conversation – and quarrel – between Bilbo and Gandalf takes place in Bag End, so that the elements in the present version of Gandalf's anxiety about the Ring, left unguarded in an envelope at Bag End, and his going up the Hill to find Bingo, do not arise; Gandalf was sitting there waiting for him when he came in.

The clearing up of the party follows the earlier version, of course (FR p. 45); but the end of the chapter exists in two variant forms, marked as such. One of the variants, very much longer than the other and preceding it, is itself heavily modified. To look at this first: the list of presents remains the same, with some further changes in the names.[21] With 'Of course, this was only a selection of the presents' the new text advances very close to the form in FR (pp. 46–7), with the reflections on the cluttered nature of hobbit-holes (on which Bingo had remarked: 'We soon shan't be able to sit down for stools or tell the time for clocks in Bag-End'), and the gifts to Gaffer Gamgee (but Bilbo's collection of magical toys, pp. 33, 38, still remains); the dozen bottles of Old Winyards go to Rory Brandybuck, and are said to come from 'the south Shire', not yet the Southfarthing.

From 'not a penny piece or a brass farthing was given away' there is a rejected text and a replacement, differing from each other chiefly in the arrangement of the elements. As written first, the Sackville-Bagginses are introduced immediately, demanding to see the will – which is given at length;[22] then follows the rumour that the entire contents of Bag End were being distributed, and 'in the middle of the commotion' Bingo finds Lobelia investigating, ejects the three young hobbits, and has a fight with Sancho Proudfoot;[23] and the passage concludes with 'The fact is that Bilbo's money had become a legend . . .' (FR p. 48).

In the replacement text the structure in FR (pp.47-8) is reached, with the sole important difference that Merry's rôle is taken by the dwarf Lofar, who had stayed behind after Bilbo's departure (p. 238); and the only minor differences from FR are that Otho Sackville-Baggins is still a lawyer, the date of Bingo's entry into his inheritance is stated (midnight on 22 September), the witnessing of the will was by three hobbits of more than 33 years old, according to the custom, and the Sackville-Bagginses 'more than hinted that he or the wizard (or the pair of them together) were at the bottom of the whole business.' The exchange between Frodo and Merry on the subject of Lobelia's calling Frodo a Brandybuck is of course not present – Bingo merely 'shut the door behind her with a grimace.'

The short variant is very short, and was not adopted. The large crowd who arrived at Bag End on the morning after the party does no more than go away again when they see a notice on the gate saying: 'Mr Bilbo

Baggins has gone away. There is no further news. Unless your business is urgent, please do not knock or ring. Bingo Baggins.' The Sackville-Bagginses 'thought that their business was urgent. They knocked and rang several times.' Admitted by Lofar the Dwarf, the remainder of the passage is the same as in the (revised) long variant and FR – the interview between Bingo and the Sackville-Bagginses in the study, ending with Bingo's telling Lofar not to open the front door even against battering-rams (and omitting the mopping-up operations against the three young hobbits and Sancho Proudfoot). Thus the entire 'business' of the presents, and the invasion of Bag End, was in this variant removed. For my father's intention here see p.276.

The reappearance of Gandalf at Bag End now enters the story, and begins pretty well exactly as in FR (p.48), but soon significant differences enter the conversation, from the point where Gandalf says to Bingo 'What do you know already?' (FR p.49):

'Only Bilbo's tale of how he got it,[24] from that Gollum creature, and how he used it afterwards, on his journey I mean. I don't think he used it much after he came home; though he used to disappear (or not be findable) rather mysteriously sometimes, if things were a bit inconvenient. We saw the Sackville-Bagginses coming when we were out walking one day, and he disappeared, and came out from behind a hedge after they had gone by.[25] Being invisible has its advantages.'

'But it also has its disadvantages. It does not do much harm as a joke, nor even to avoid "inconveniences" – but even these things have to be paid for. Also making you invisible, when you wish, is not the only property of the Ring.'

'I know what you mean,' said Bingo; 'Bilbo did not seem to change much. They called him well-preserved. But I must say that also seems to me to have its advantages. I cannot make out why the dear old thing left the Ring behind.'

'No, I expect you cannot yet. But you may find out the disadvantages of that as well, in time. For instance, Bilbo seemed a bit restless of late years, didn't he?'

'Yes, for quite a long time,'

'Well, I think that was a symptom too. I don't want to alarm you, but I want you to be careful. Take care of the Ring, and take care of yourself, and watch yourself. Don't use the Ring,[26] or let it get any more, er, *power* over you than you can help. Keep it *secret*, and let me know, if you hear, see, or feel anything at all odd.'

'All right. But what is all this about?'

'I am not quite sure. I begin to guess, and I don't like the guesses. But I am now going off to find out as much as I can.

Before I have done so, I am not going to say any more, except to warn you, and to promise you what help I can give.'

'But you say you are going off?'

'Yes, for a bit. But you'll be safe for a year or two, in any case. Don't worry. I shall come and see you again as soon as I can – quietly, you know. I don't think I shall be visiting the Shire openly again very much. I find I have become rather unpopular: they say I am a nuisance and a disturber of the peace; and some people are accusing me of spiriting Bilbo away. It is supposed to be a little plot between me and you (if you want to know).'

'That sounds like Otho and Lobelia.[27] How outrageous! I only wish I knew why and where old Bilbo has gone. Do you? Do you think I could catch him up or find him if I went off at once? I would give Bag-end and everything in it to the Sackville-Bagginses if I could do that.'

'I don't think I should try. Let poor Bilbo get rid of the Ring – which he could only do (reluctantly) by handing it on to you, for a bit.[28] Do what he wished and hoped you would.'

'What is that?'

'Live on here; keep up Bag-end; guard the Ring – and wait.'

'All right – I will try; but I should prefer to go after Bilbo.[29] I don't know if that is a symptom, as you call it – though I have only had the Ring a day or less?'

'No, not yet. It merely means you were fond of Bilbo. He knew it was hard on you. He hated leaving you. But there it is. We may all understand this better before the end. I must say goodbye now. Look out for me – at any time, especially unlikely ones. If you really need me send a message to the nearest dwarves: I shall try and give them some knowledge of where I am.[30] Goodbye!'

Bingo saw him off. The dwarf Lofar went with him carrying a large bag. They walked away down the path to the gate at a surprising pace,[31] but Bingo thought the wizard looked rather bent, almost as if bowed under a heavy burden. The evening was closing in, and he soon vanished into the twilight. Bingo did not see him again for a long time.

About this time my father wrote a new experimental opening to the chapter, in which the facts and assertions about the family history were communicated through the talk of Gaffer Gamgee, Old Noakes, and Sandyman the miller in *The Ivy Bush*. The mention of Sam Gamgee as the Bag End gardener shows that it was in fact written after the second chapter, 'Ancient History', which now follows; for if this text had been already in existence my father would not have given an explanation of

who Sam Gamgee was when he appears in 'Ancient History' (p. 253). But it is convenient to notice it here.

This version of the conversation had still a good way to go before it reached the form in FR (pp. 30–2). The opening of the chapter was now to be greatly compressed:

When Mr Bilbo Baggins of Bag-end, Under-hill, announced that he would shortly be celebrating his eleventy-first birthday with a party of special magnificence, there was much talk and excitement in Hobbiton. Before long rumour of the event travelled all over the Shire, and the history and character of Mr Baggins became once again the most popular topic of conversation. The older folk who remembered something of the strange happenings sixty years before found their reminiscences suddenly in demand, and rose to the gratifying occasion with entertaining invention when mere facts failed them.

No one had a more attentive audience than old Ham Gamgee, commonly known as the Gaffer. He held forth at the *Ivy Bush*,[32] a small inn on the Bywater Road; and he spoke with some authority, for he had tended the garden at Bag-end for half a century, and had helped his father in the same job before that. Now that he was grown old and creaky in the joints he had passed the job on to one of his own sons, Sam Gamgee.

The subject of Bingo is treated thus:

'And what about this Mr Bingo Baggins that lives with him?' asked old Noakes of Bywater.[33] 'I hear he is coming of age on the same day.'

'That's right,' said the Gaffer. 'He has the same birthday as Mr Bilbo, September the twenty-second. It is a sort of link between them, as you might say. Not but what they get on remarkably well, and have done all the last twelve years, since Mr Bingo came to Bag-end. Very much alike in every way, they are, being closely related. Though Mr Bingo is half a Brandybuck by rights, and that's a queer breed, as I've heard tell. They fool about with boats and water, and that isn't natural. Small wonder that trouble came of it, I say.'

For the rest, Mr Twofoot of Bagshot Row does not appear; Gorboduc Brandybuck is called by the Gaffer 'the head of the family, and mighty important down in Buckland, I'm told'; the miller does not suggest that there was anything more sinister in the drowning of Drogo Baggins and his wife than Drogo's weight; the hobbit who introduces the topic of the tunnels packed with treasure inside the Hill is not 'a visitor from Michel

Delving' but 'one of the Bywater hobbits'; and there are many differences of phrasing.

NOTES

1 My father actually wrote '"Unex[pected]P[arty]" chapter' – thinking of the first chapter of *The Hobbit*. Cf. my suggestion about his use of the word 'sale' in *Queries and Alterations*, note 2.

2 The actual title of Chapter II was 'Three's Company and Four's More' (p. 49). – A pencilled note on the same page says: 'Should Bingo spend all his money? Is it not better he should be sacrificing something? Though he must give out that he has spent it.'

3 The passage about Bilbo's book and the reception accorded to it, which had survived unchanged from the second version (p. 19), was at first repeated here, but subsequently replaced by the following:

> He told many tales of his adventures, of course, to those who would listen. But most of the hobbits soon got tired of them, and only one or two of his younger friends ever took them seriously. It is no good telling ordinary hobbits about dragons: they either disbelieve you or want to disbelieve you, and in either case stop listening. As he grew older Bilbo wrote his adventures in a private book of memoirs, in which he recounted some things that he had never spoken about (such as the magic ring); but that book was never published in the Shire, and he never showed it to anyone, except his favourite 'nephew' Bingo.

4 This was Bingo's age at the time of his adoption in the fourth version (p. 36), but it was changed in the course of the writing of the present text (see p. 236).

5 In *Queries and Alterations* (note 2) the suggestion was that Drogo Baggins should be Bilbo's first cousin.

6 This remark about Bilbo and Bingo having the same birthday was a pencilled addition, but the idea goes back to the third version (p. 29), when Bingo was Bilbo's son.

7 *The Great Hole of Bucklebury:* Brandy Hall has been named and described in the original version of 'A Short Cut to Mushrooms' (p. 99).

8 Added in pencil:

> and the Old Took himself had only reached the age of 125 (though the title Old was bestowed on him, it is true, not so much for his age as for his oddity, and because of the enormous number of the young, younger, and youngest Tooks).

9 This was to be the first, intentionally obscure, reference to the Ring in the story. With the shortening and alteration of this initial converation between Gandalf and Bilbo before the Party (p. 237) this reference was removed, and it is then first spoken of only after Bilbo's vanishment.

10 *Gawkroger* is an English (Yorkshire) surname, meaning 'clumsy Roger'.

11 The textual situation is in fact of fearful complexity in this part, the manuscript being constituted from two 'layers', and the earlier of the two being constituted partly from new manuscript and partly from the typescript of the fourth version. With the actual texts in front of one it can be worked out how my father was proceeding, but to present the detail in a printed book is neither possible nor necessary. It is demonstrable that the second 'layer', with revised dating of Bingo's life and the flash which accompanied Bilbo's vanishing, entered in the course of the composition of the chapter.

12 This perhaps suggests that Bingo had not been told of Bilbo's 'joke'; cf. the outline on p. 233: 'So he does not even tell Bingo of the joke.' A pencilled correction and addition changed the passage towards that in FR (p. 39).

> The only one who said nothing was Bingo, the most concerned. His feelings were mixed. On the one hand he appreciated the joke (if no one else did). It was quite after his own heart: he would have liked to laugh and dance with mirth; and was grateful that he had been allowed to get the full and delicious suspense, for on the other hand he would have liked to weep. He was immensely fond of Bilbo, and the blow was crushing. Was he really never to see him again – not even to take another farewell? He sat for some time quite silent in his seat . . .

13 Added later:

> and fastened on a leather belt round his waist. On it hung a short sword in an old black leather scabbard.

Cf. *Queries and Alterations*, note 4, on the subject of Sting.

14 My father took all these four Dwarf-names from the same source in the Old Norse *Elder Edda* as those in *The Hobbit*.

15 Added later:

> But I want just a final word with you. Now, my good dwarves, just walk on down the lane a bit. I shan't keep you long!' He turned back to Bilbo. 'Well,' he said in a lowered voice.

16 From this point the earlier, rejected conversation between Bilbo and Gandalf before the Party (pp. 235–6, there marked 'Later') is taken up again, though not in the same form, and much extended.

17 A pencilled addition here probably says: '(the only one who has)'; see note 3.

18 This verse came into existence in the original form of the chapter 'Three is Company' (pp. 47, 53), where it will now become a recollection of Bilbo's verse from years before. The two versions are the same, except that in lines 4 and 8 Bilbo's form here has *I* for *we*. In FR (pp. 44, 82) both versions have *I*, not *we*; but Bilbo's has *eager* in the 5th line where Frodo's has *weary*. In the present text

eager is written above *weary*, and with this change the final form is reached in this instance (see p. 284 note 10).

19 This sentence was struck out when the addition given in note 15 was made.

20 The remainder of this part of the text is in very rough pencilled form, with alteration of the last passage in ink preceding it:

'Goodbye, Gandalf!' he cried, and made off into the night. Gandalf remained by the gate for a moment, staring into the dark after him. '*Adieu*, my dear Bilbo,' he said, '— or *au revoir*.' [This was marked with an X: Gandalf would not use French, however useful the distinction.] And then he jumped over the low gate and made his way quickly up the Hill. 'If I find Lobelia sneaking round,' he muttered, 'I'll turn her into a weasel!'

But he need not have worried. At Bag-End he found Bingo sitting on a chair in the hall with the envelope in his hand. He refused to have any more to do with the party.

21 The umbrella now goes, not to Mungo Took, but to Uffo Took (Adelard Took in FR). Semolina Baggins becomes Drogo's sister, aged 92 (in FR she is Dora Baggins, aged 99). The feather-bed goes now not to Fosco Bolger (who had been Bingo's uncle when he was still a Bolger), but to Rollo Bolger (an equally suitable recipient), 'from his friend'; Rollo Bolger has survived his displacement from Primula Brandybuck's husband and death by drowning in the Brandywine. The 'rather florid' dinner-service goes to Primo (not Inigo) Grubb; and the Hornblower who received the barometer now changes from Cosimo (by way of Carambo) to Colombo. Caramella Chubb, Orlando Burrows (so spelt), Angelica Baggins, Hugo Bracegirdle, and of course Lobelia Sackville-Baggins, remain, and their gifts. For the earlier lists see pp. 15, 32–3, 38.

22 'This is how the will ran:

Bilbo (son of Bungo son of Mungo son of Inigo) Baggins hereinafter called the testator, now departing being the rightful owner of all properties and goods hereinafter named hereby devises, makes over, and bequeathes the property and messuage or dwelling-hole known as Bag-End Underhill near Hobbiton with all lands thereto belonging and annexed to his cousin and adopted heir Bingo (son of Drogo son of Togo son of Bingo son of Inigo) Baggins hereinafter called the heir, for him to have hold possess occupy let on lease sell or otherwise dispose of at his pleasure as from midnight of the twenty-second day of September in the one hundred and eleventh or eleventy-first year of the aforesaid Bilbo Baggins. Moreover the aforesaid testator devises and bequeathes to the aforesaid heir all monies in gold silver copper brass or tin and all trinkets, armours, weapons, uncoined metals, gems, jewels, or precious stones and all furniture appurtenances goods perishable or imperishable and chattels movable and immovable belonging to the testator and

after his departure found housed kept stored or secreted in any part of the said hole and residence of Bag-end or of the lands thereto annexed, save only such goods or movable chattels as are contained in the subjoined schedule which are selected and directed as parting gifts to the friends of the testator and which the heir shall dispatch deliver or hand over according to his convenience. The testator hereby relinquishes all rights or claims to all these properties lands monies goods or chattels and wishes all his friends farewell. Signed Bilbo Baggins.

Otho, who was a lawyer, read this document carefully, and snorted. It was apparently correct and incontestable, according to the legal notions of hobbits. "Foiled again!" he said to his wife . . .' (etc. as in FR p. 47).

23 'Old Proudfoot's son' (in FR 'old Odo Proudfoot's grandson', p. 48).

24 This sentence was extended in pencil as follows:

'Just what Bilbo's parting letter said: "Here's the Ring. Please accept it. Take care of it, and yourself. Ask Gandalf, if you want to know more." And of course I have read and heard Bilbo's tale of how he got it . . .'

25 This mention of Bilbo's disappearance when he saw the Sackville-Bagginses approaching was struck out in pencil, with the note 'Put in later'. See p. 300.

26 'Don't use the Ring' was struck out in pencil, with 'If you take my advice you will not use the Ring' substituted; and before the words 'Keep it *secret*' in the next sentence was added 'But have it by you always.'

27 In this version, Otho and Lobelia have as good as said this to Bingo (p. 241) – a passage not in FR.

28 This was rewritten in pencil: 'I don't think I should try. I don't think it would please or help Bilbo. Let him get rid of the Ring – which he can only do, if you will accept it, for a bit.'

29 This was rewritten in pencil: 'All right – I will try. But I want to follow Bilbo. I think I shall in the end, anyway, if it is not then too late ever to find him again.'

30 This sentence ('If you really need me . . .') was bracketed (in ink) for probable exclusion.

31 This was rewritten in pencil:

Bingo saw Gandalf to the door. There the dwarf Lofar was waiting. He popped up when the door was opened, and picked up a large bag that was standing in the porch. 'Goodbye, Bingo,' he said, bowing low. 'I am going with Gandalf.' 'Goodbye,' said Bingo. Gandalf gave a final wave of his hand, and with the dwarf at his side walked off down the path at a surprising pace . . .

At the end of the chapter my father wrote: 'Perhaps alter this – Gandalf *has ring*. Meeting at gate prearranged: ring handed over there. Gandalf's last visit is to give it to Bingo?' He struck this out

and wrote 'No' against it. This had in fact been his idea when he wrote the outline given on p. 233, where Bilbo is to 'say goodbye to Gandalf at gate, hand him a package (with Ring) for Bingo, and disappear.'

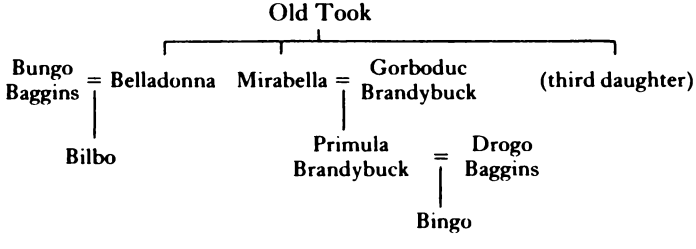
32 *Ivy Bush:* changed at the time of writing from *Green Dragon*. See note 33.

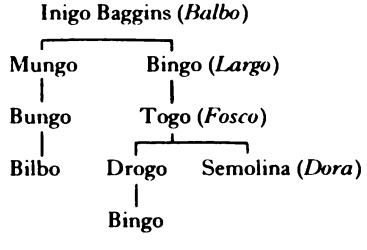
33 *old Noakes of Bywater:* changed at the time of writing from *Ted Sandyman, the miller's son*. This is a further indication that this version of the opening of 'A Long-expected Party' followed 'Ancient History', where the miller's son was named Tom until the very end of it (p. 269, note 9). The conversation between Sam Gamgee and Ted Sandyman in 'Ancient History' was in *The Green Dragon* at Bywater, and my father probably changed the rendezvous of Gaffer Gamgee's cronies to *The Ivy Bush* (note 32) for the same reason as he replaced the miller's son by Old Noakes.

★

I give here as much of the genealogy of Bilbo and Bingo as is established from the text at this time. The Baggins ancestry is derived from Bilbo's will (note 22); the names in brackets are those that differ in LR Appendix C, *Baggins of Hobbiton*.

The Old Took was evidently already known to have had many children beside his 'three remarkable daughters' (see note 8).





XV
ANCIENT HISTORY

A chapter titled 'II: Ancient History', precursor of 'The Shadow of the Past' in FR, was now introduced to follow 'A Long-expected Party'. It is of central importance in the evolution of *The Lord of the Rings*: for it was here that there emerged in the actual narrative the concept of the Ruling Ring, and Sam Gamgee as the companion of Bingo (Frodo) on his great journey. There is no trace of earlier drafting, save for a few notes so scrappy and disjointed that they can scarcely be reproduced. In these my father scribbled down salient features of Bingo's life after Bilbo's disappearance, and first devised the story of Bingo's own departure 17 years later, celebrated by a dinner party for Merry, Frodo, and Odo (here apparently said to have been given on the proceeds of the sale of Bag End). Against these notes my father wrote: 'Sam Gamgee to replace Odo' (cf. *Queries and Alterations*, p. 221).

The manuscript is rough, and in places very rough indeed, but legible virtually throughout. There is some emendation from a later phase, here ignored, and a good deal of pencilled change that can in some cases be seen to have been made while the chapter was in progress. These latter I adopt into the text, but in some cases refer in the notes to the text as first written.

The talk did not die down in nine or even ninety-nine days. The second and final disappearance of Mr Bilbo Baggins was discussed in Hobbiton and Bywater, and indeed all over the Shire, for a year and a day, and was remembered much longer than that. It became a fireside story for young hobbits; and eventually (a century or so later) Mad Baggins, who used to disappear with a bang and a flash and reappear with bags of gold and jewels, became a favourite character of legend and lived on long after all the true events were forgotten.

But in the meantime sober grown-ups gradually settled to the opinion that Bilbo had at last (after long showing symptoms of its coming on) gone suddenly mad, and had run off into the blue; where he had inevitably fallen into a pit or a pool, and come to a tragic but hardly untimely end. There was one Baggins the less and that was that.[1] In face of the evidence that this disappearance had been timed and arranged by Bilbo himself, Bingo was eventually relieved of suspicion. It was also plain that the departure of

Bilbo was a grief to him – more than to any other even of Bilbo's closest friends. But Gandalf was held finally responsible for inciting and encouraging 'poor old Mr Bilbo', for dark and unknown ends of his own.

'If only that wizard will leave young Bingo alone, perhaps he will settle down and grow some hobbit-sense,' they said. And to all appearances the wizard did leave Bingo alone, and he did settle down, though the growth of hobbit-sense was not so noticeable. Indeed Bingo at once carried on his uncle's reputation for oddity. He refused to go into mourning; and the next year he gave a party in honour of Bilbo's 112th birthday, which he called the Hundredweight Party; although only a few friends were invited and they hardly ate a hundredweight between them. People were rather pained; but he kept up the custom of giving 'Bilbo's birthday party' year after year, until they got used to it. He said he did not think Bilbo was dead. When they asked: 'Where is he, then?' he shrugged his shoulders.[2] He lived alone, but he went about a lot with certain younger hobbits that Bilbo had been fond of, and continued to 'encourage' them. The chief of these were Meriadoc Brandybuck (usually called Merry), Frodo Took, and Odo Bolger.[3] Merry was the son of Caradoc Brandybuck (Bingo's cousin) and Yolanda Took, and so the cousin of Frodo, son of Folco (whose sister was Yolanda). Frodo, or Frodo the Second, was the great-great-grandson of Frodo the First (otherwise known as the Old Took), and the heir and rather desperate hope of the Hole of Took, as the clan was called. Odo also had a Took mother and was a third cousin of the other two.[4] With these Bingo went about (often in untidy clothes) and walked all over the Shire. He was often away from home. But he continued to spend his money lavishly, indeed more lavishly than Bilbo had. And there still seemed to be plenty of it, so naturally his oddities were overlooked, as far as possible. As time went on it is true that they began to notice that Bingo also showed signs of good 'preservation': outwardly he retained the appearance of a strong and rather large and well-built hobbit just out of his 'tweens'. 'Some people have all the luck,' they said, meaning this enviable combination of cash and preservation; but they did not attach any particular significance to it, not even when Bingo began to approach the more sober age of 50.

Bingo himself, after the first shock of loss and change, rather enjoyed being his own master, and *the* Mr Baggins of Bag-end.

For a while, indeed several years, he was very happy, and did not think much about the future. He knew, of course, if no one else did, that the money was not unlimited, and was fast disappearing. Money went a prodigious long way in those days, and one could also get many things without it; but Bilbo had made great inroads on his inheritance and his acquired treasures in the course of sixty years, and had blown at least 500 pieces of gold on that last Party.[5] So an end would come sooner or later. But Bingo did not worry: down inside though suppressed there still remained his desire to follow Bilbo, or at all events to leave the Shire and go off into the Blue, or wherever chance took him.

One day, he thought, he would do it. As he approached 50 – a number he somehow felt was significant (or ominous), it was at any rate at that age that adventure had first come upon Bilbo – he began to think more seriously of it. He felt restless. He used to look at maps and wonder what it was like beyond the edges: hobbit maps made in the Shire did not extend very far east or west of its borders. And he began to feel, sometimes, a sort of thin feeling, as if he was being stretched out over a lot of days, and weeks, and months, but was not fully there, somehow. He could not explain any better than that to Gandalf, though he tried to. Gandalf nodded thoughtfully.

Gandalf had taken to slipping in to see him again – quietly and secretly, and usually when no one was about. He would tap an agreed signal on the window or door, and be let in: it was usually dark when he arrived, and while he was there he did not go out. He went off again, often without warning, either at night or in the very early morning before sunrise. The only people besides Bingo who knew of these visits were Frodo and Merry; though no doubt folk out in the country caught sight of him going along the road or over the fields, and scratched their heads either trying to remember who he was, or wondering what he was doing.

Gandalf turned up again first about three years after Bilbo's departure, took a look at Bingo, listened to the small news of the Shire, and went off again soon, seeing that Bingo was still quite settled. But he returned once or twice every year (except for one other long gap of nearly two years) until the fourteenth year. Bingo was then 47. After that he came frequently and stayed longer.[6] He began to be worried about Bingo; and also odd things were happening. Rumour of them had begun to reach the ears of even the deafest and most parochial hobbits. Bingo had heard a good deal more than any other hobbit of the Shire, for of course he

continued Bilbo's habit of welcoming dwarves and odd strangers, and even occasionally of visiting elves. It was believed by his close friends Merry and Frodo at any rate that elves were friendly to him [*bracketed at the time of writing:* and that he knew some of their few haunts. This was in fact quite true. Bilbo had taught Bingo all that he knew, and had even instructed him in what he had learned of the two elf-languages used in those times and places (by the elves among themselves). There were very few elves actually in the Shire, and they were very seldom seen by anyone but Bilbo, and Bingo. *This was replaced at the time of writing by:*] and that he knew something of their secret languages – learned probably from Bilbo. And they were quite right.

Both elves and dwarves were troubled, especially those that occasionally arrived or passed by coming from a distance, from East or South. They would seldom, however, say anything very definite. But they constantly mentioned the Necromancer, or the [Dark Lord >] Enemy; and sometimes referred to the Land of Mor-dor and the Black Tower. It seemed that the Necromancer was moving again, and that Gandalf's confidence that the North would be freed from him for many an age had not been justified.[7] He had flown from Mirkwood only to reoccupy his ancient stronghold in the South, near the midst of the world in those days, in the Land of Mordor; and it was rumoured that the Black Tower had been raised anew. Already his power was creeping out over the lands again and the mountains and woods were darkened. Men were restless and moving North and West, and many seemed now to be partly or wholly under the dominion of the Dark Lord. There were wars, and there was much burning and ruin. The dwarves were growing afraid. Goblins were multiplying again and reappearing. Trolls of a new and most malevolent kind were abroad; giants were spoken of, a Big Folk only far bigger and stronger than Men the [?ordinary] Big Folk, and no stupider, indeed often full of cunning and wizardry. And there were vague hints of things or creatures more terrible than goblins, trolls, or giants. Elves were vanishing, or wandering steadily westward.

In Hobbiton there began to be some talk about the odd folk that were abroad, and often strayed over the borders. The following report of a conversation in the *Green Dragon* at Bywater one evening [about this time >] in the spring of Bingo's 49th? 50th? [*sic*] year[8] will give some idea of the feeling in the air.

Sam Gamgee (old Gaffer Gamgee's [eldest >] youngest and a good jobbing gardener) was sitting in one corner by the fire,

and opposite him was Ted Sandyman[9] the miller's son from Hobbiton; and there were various other rustic hobbits listening.

'Queer things you do hear these days, to be sure, Ted,' said Sam.

There follows in the manuscript the original draft, written very roughly and rapidly, of the conversation at *The Green Dragon* found in FR, pp. 53–5; and it was scarcely altered afterwards save in little details of phrasing. The hobbit who saw the Tree-man beyond the North Moors (in FR Sam's cousin Halfast Gamgee, who worked for Mr Boffin at Overhill) is here 'Jo Button, him that works for the Gawkrogers [see p. 236] and goes up North for the hunting.' Sam's reference to 'queer folk' being turned back by the Bounders on the Shire-borders is absent; he speaks of the Elves journeying to the harbours 'out away West, away beyond the Towers',[10] but the reference to the Grey Havens is lacking.

Most interesting is the reference to the Tree-men. As my father first wrote Sam's words, he said: 'But what about these what do you call 'em – giants? They do say as one nigh as big as a tower or leastways a tree was seen up away beyond the North Moors not long back.' This was changed at the time of writing to: 'But what about these Tree-Men, these here – giants? They do say one nigh as big as a tower was seen,' etc. (Was this passage (preserved in FR, p. 53) the first premonition of the Ents? But long before my father had referred to 'Tree-men' in connection with the voyages of Eärendel: II.254, 261).

Sam's words about the Bagginses at the end of the conversation are different (and explain why the egregious Ted Sandyman used the word 'cracked' in FR):

'Well, I dunno. But that Mr Baggins of Bag-End, he thinks it is true; he told me and my dad so; and both he and old Mr Bilbo know a bit about Elves, or so my dad says and he ought to know. He's known the Bag-End folk since he was a lad, and he worked in their gardens till his joints cracked too much for bending, and I took on.'

'And they're both cracked . . .'

After Ted Sandyman's last words,

Sam sat silent and said no more. He was due for a job of work in Bingo's garden next day, and was thinking he might have a chance of a word with Bingo, to whom he had transferred the reverence of his dad for old Bilbo. It was April and the sky was high and clear after much rain. The sun was gone, and a cool pallid sky was fading slowly. He went home through Hobbiton and up the hill whistling softly and thoughtfully.

About the same time Gandalf was quietly slipping in through the half-open front door of Bag-End.

Next morning after breakfast two people, Gandalf and Bingo, were sitting near the open window. A bright fire was on the hearth; but the sun was warm, and the wind was southerly: everything looked fresh, and the new green of Spring was shimmering in the fields and on the tips of the trees' fingers. Gandalf was thinking of a spring nearly 80 years before, when Bilbo had run out of Bag-end without a handkerchief. Gandalf's hair was perhaps whiter than it had been then, and his beard and eyebrows were perhaps longer and face wiser; but his eyes were no less bright and powerful, and he smoked and blew smoke-rings with as great vigour and delight as ever. He was smoking now in silence, for they had been talking about Bilbo (as they often did), and [other things >] the Necromancer and the Ring.

'It is all most disturbing, and in fact terrifying,' said Bingo. Gandalf grunted: the sound apparently meant 'I quite agree, but your remark is not helpful.' There was another silence. The sound of Sam Gamgee giving the lawn its first cut came from the garden.

'How long have you known all this?' asked Bingo at length. 'And did you tell Bilbo?'

'I guessed a good deal immediately,' answered Gandalf slowly . . .

My father had now returned to the text given on pp. 76 ff, the 'foreword' as he called it (see p. 224), which I have discussed on pp. 86–7, and in which of course the story was present that Bingo gave the Party: the conversation with Gandalf took place a few weeks before it, and it was indeed Gandalf's own idea. But my father followed parts of the old text closely, while extending it in certain very important ways.

In Gandalf's reply to Bingo's question (original text p. 77) he says:

'I guessed much, but at first I said little. I thought that all was well with Bilbo, and that he was safe enough, for that kind of power was powerless over him. So I thought, and I was right in a way; but not quite right. I kept a.· eye on him, of course, but perhaps I was not careful enough. I did not then know which of the many Rings this one was. Had I known I might have done differently – but perhaps not. But I know now.' His voice faded to a whisper. 'For I went back to the land of the Necromancer – twice.'[11]

'I am sure you have done everything you could,' said Bingo . . .

Gandalf says rather more about Bilbo: 'I was not greatly worried about Bilbo – his education was nearly complete, and I no longer felt respon-

sible for him. He had to follow his own mind, when he had made it up.' And he speaks of the hobbits of the Shire being 'enslaved' (as in FR, p. 58), not 'becoming Wraiths.'

But with Gandalf's reply to Bingo's 'I do not quite understand what all this has got to do with me and Bilbo and the Ring' my father departed altogether from the original text.

'To tell you the truth,' answered Gandalf, 'I believe he has hitherto, *hitherto* mind you, entirely overlooked the existence of hobbits – as Smaug the dragon had. For which you may be thankful. And I don't think even now that he particularly wants them: they would be obedient (perhaps), but not terribly useful servants. But there is such a thing as malice and revenge. Miserable hobbits would please him more than happy ones. As for what it has to do with you and the Ring: I think I can explain that – partly at any rate. I do not yet know quite all. Give me the Ring a minute.'

Bingo took it from his trouser pocket where it was clasped on a chain that went round him like a belt. 'Good,' said Gandalf. 'I see you keep it always on you. Go on doing so.' Bingo unclasped it and handed it to Gandalf. It felt heavy, as if either it, or Bingo, were in some curious way reluctant for Gandalf to touch it. It looked to be made of pure and solid gold, thick, flattened, and unjointed.[12] Gandalf held it up.

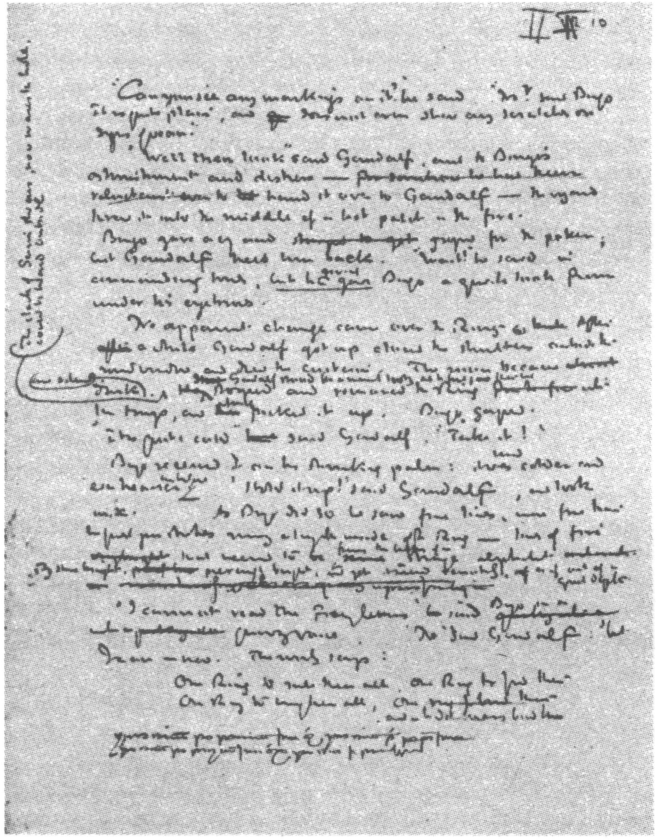
'Can you see any markings on it?' he said. 'No!' said Bingo. 'It is quite plain, and does not even show any scratches or signs of wear.'

'Well then, look,' said Gandalf, and to Bingo's astonishment and distress the wizard threw it into the middle of a hot patch in the fire. Bingo gave a cry and groped for the poker; but Gandalf held him back. 'Wait!' he said in commanding tones, giving Bingo a quick look from under his eyebrows.

No apparent change came over the Ring. After a while Gandalf got up, closed the shutters outside the round window, and drew the curtain. The room became dark and silent. The clack of Sam's shears, now nearer the hole, could be heard outside. Gandalf stood for a moment looking at the fire; then he stooped and removed the Ring with the tongs, and at once picked it up. Bingo gasped.

'It is quite cold,' said Gandalf. 'Take it!'

Bingo received it on his shrinking palm: it seemed colder and even heavier than before. 'Hold it up!' said Gandalf, 'and look inside.' As Bingo did so he saw fine lines, more fine than the finest



The original description of the writing on the Ring

pen strokes, running along the inside of the Ring – lines of fire that seemed to form the letters of a strange alphabet. They shone bright, piercingly bright, and yet it seemed remotely, as if out of a great depth.

'I cannot read the fiery letters,' said Bingo in a quavering voice. 'No,' said Gandalf; 'but I can – now. The writing says:

One Ring to rule them all, One Ring to find them,
One Ring to bring them all, and in the darkness bind them.[13]

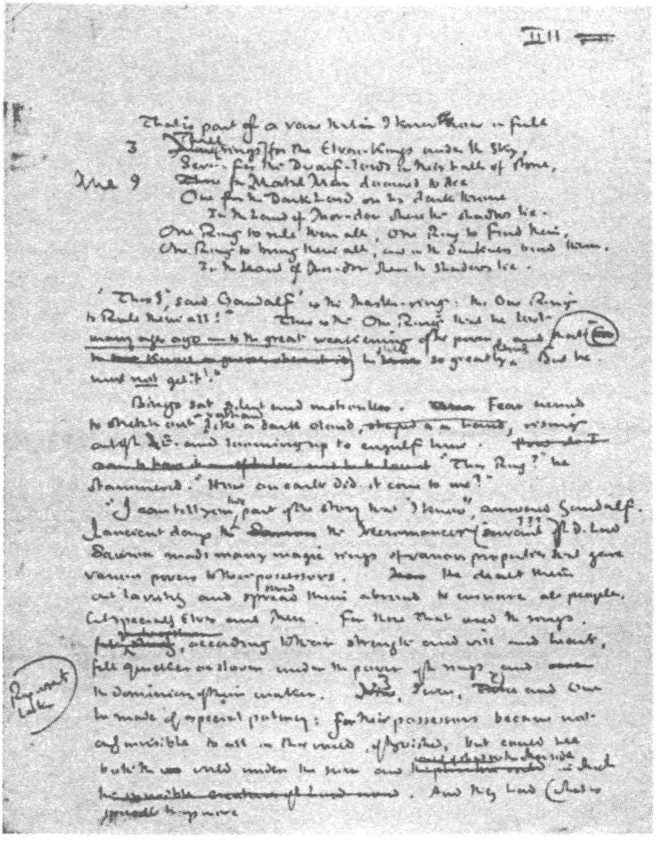
That is part of a verse that I know now in full.

Three rings for the Elven-kings under the sky,
Seven for the Dwarf-lords in their halls of stone,
Nine for Mortal Men doomed to die,
One for the Dark Lord on his dark throne
In the Land of Mor-dor where the shadows lie.
One Ring to rule them all, One Ring to find them,
One Ring to bring them all, and in the darkness bind them,
In the land of Mor-dor where the shadows lie.[14]

'This,' said Gandalf, 'is the Master-ring: the One Ring to Rule them all! This is the One Ring that he lost many ages ago – to the great weakening of his power; and that he still so greatly desires.[15] But he must *not* get it!'

Bingo sat silent and motionless. Fear seemed to stretch out a vast hand like a dark cloud, rising out of the East and looming up to engulf him. 'This Ring?' he stammered. 'How on earth did it come to me?'

'I can tell you the part of the story that I know,' answered Gandalf. 'In ancient days the Necromancer, the Dark Lord Sauron,[16] made many magic rings of various properties that gave various powers to their possessors. He dealt them out lavishly and sowed them abroad to ensnare all peoples, but specially Elves and Men. For those that used the rings, according to their strength and will and hearts, fell quicker or slower under the power of the rings, and the dominion of their maker.[17] Three, Seven, Nine and One he made of special potency:[18] for their possessors became not only invisible to all in this world, if they wished, but could see both the world under the sun and the other side in which invisible things move.[19] And they had (what is called) good luck, and (what seemed) endless life. Though, as I say, what power the Rings conferred on each possessor depended on what use they made of them – on what they were themselves, and what they desired.



The Ring-verse, and the emergence of the Ruling Ring in the narrative

'But the Rings were under the command of the maker and were always drawing the possessors back to him. For he retained the ruling Ring, which, when *he* wore it, enabled him to see all the others, and to see even the thoughts of those that possessed them.[20] But he lost this Ring, and consequently lost control of all the others. Slowly through the years he has been gathering them and seeking them out – hoping to find the lost One. But the Elves resist his power more than all other races; and the high-elves of the West, of whom some still remain in the middle-world, perceive and dwell at once both [in] this world and the other side without the aid of rings.[21] And they having suffered and fought long against Sauron are not easily drawn into his net, or deluded by him. What has become of the Three Rings of earth, air, and sky I do not know.[22] Some say they have been carried far over the sea. Others say that hidden Elf-kings still keep them. The dwarves too proved tough and intractable: for they do not lightly endure any obedience or domination (even of their own kind). Nor are they easily made into shadows. With the dwarves the chief power of the Rings was to kindle in their hearts the fire of greed (whence evil has come that has aided Sauron). It is said that the foundation of each of the Seven Great Hoards of the dwarves of old was a golden Ring. But it is said that those hoards are plundered and the dragons have devoured them, and the Rings have perished molten in their fire; yet it is also said that not all the hoards have been broken, and that still some of the Seven Rings are guarded.

'But all the Nine Rings of Men have gone back to Sauron, and borne with them their possessors, kings, warriors, and wizards of old,[23] who became Ring-wraiths and served the maker, and were his most terrible servants. Men indeed have most often been under his dominion, and are now again throughout the middle-earth[24] falling under his power, especially in the East and South of the world, where the Elves are few.'

'Ring-wraiths!' exclaimed Bingo. 'What are they?'

'We will not speak of them now,' said Gandalf. 'Let us not speak of horrible things without need. They belong to the ancient days, and let us hope that they will never again arise. At least Gilgalad accomplished that.'[25]

'Who was Gilgalad?' asked Bingo.

'The one who bereft the Dark Lord of the One Ring,' answered Gandalf. 'He was the last in middle-earth of the great Elf-kings of the high western race, and he made alliance with Orendil[26] King of the Island who came back to the middle-world in those days. But I

will not tell all that tale now. One day perhaps you may hear it from one who knows it truly. It is enough to say that they marched against Sauron and besieged him in his tower; and he came forth and wrestled with Gilgalad and Orendil, and was overthrown. But he forsook his bodily shape and fled like a ghost to waste places until he rested in Mirkwood and took shape again in the darkness. Gilgalad and Orendil were both mortally hurt and perished in the land of Mordor; but Isildor son of Orendil cut the One Ring from the finger of Sauron and took it for his own.[27]

'But when he marched back from Mordor, Isildor's host was overwhelmed by Goblins that swarmed down out of the mountains. And it is told that Isildor put on the Ring and vanished from their sight, but they trailed him by slot and scent, until he came to the banks of a wide river. Then Isildor plunged in and swam across, but the Ring betrayed him,[28] and slipped from his hand, and he became visible to his enemies; and they killed him with their arrows.[29] But a fish took the Ring and was filled with a madness, and swam up stream leaping over rocks and up waterfalls until it cast itself upon a bank, and spat out the Ring and died.' Gandalf paused. 'And there,' he said, 'the Ring passed out of knowledge and legend; and even so much of the story is now known and remembered by few. Yet I can now add to it, I think.

'Long after, but still very long ago, there lived by the bank of a stream on the edge of Wilderland a wise clever-handed and quiet-footed little family. . . .

For Gollum's earlier history my father followed the original text (pp. 78–9) very closely indeed, only introducing a slight change of wording here and there: thus Dígol is still Gollum himself, and not his friend. At the end of the passage the words 'and even the Master lost it' become 'and even the maker, when his power had grown again, could learn nothing of it', and the following sentence, about the Necromancer counting his rings and always finding one missing, is of course removed.

Gandalf's discussion of Gollum's mind and motives at the time of Bilbo's encounter with him (still of course based on the original story in *The Hobbit*, see p. 86) also remains very close to the old version (pp. 79–80). There are indeed many small improvements in the phrasing; but only two changes need be noticed. Gandalf's words about the longevity afforded to the possessor of the Ring (p. 79) are thus interestingly extended:

. . . Frightfully wearisome, Bingo, in fact finally tormenting (even if you do not become a Wraith). Only Elves can stand it, and even they fade.

And when Gandalf speaks of 'the unexpected arrival of Bilbo' (p. 80) he now goes on:

. . . You remember how surprised he was, and how soon he began talking of a present, though he gave himself a chance of keeping it if luck went that way. Even so I dare say his old habits might have beaten him in the end, and he might have tried to eat Bilbo, if it had been easy. But I am not sure: I guess he was using the Riddle Game (at which even a Gollum dare hardly cheat, as it is sacred and of immense antiquity) as a kind of toss-up to decide for him. And anyway Bilbo had the sword Sting, if you remember, so it was not easy.

But from the point where Bingo objects that Gollum never gave Bilbo the Ring, for Bilbo had it already, Gandalf's story takes a great step forward, with his announcement that he himself had found Gollum (in the original text there is no explanation of how he knew Gollum's history). I give the next part of the chapter, much of which is in a very rough state, in full.

'I know,' said Gandalf. 'And that is why I said that Gollum's ancestry only partly explained events. There was, of course, something much more mysterious behind the whole affair – something probably quite beyond the design of the Lord of the Rings himself, peculiar to Bilbo and his private Adventure. I can put it no clearer than by saying that *Bilbo was 'meant' to have the Ring*, and that he perhaps got involved in the Quest of the treasure mainly for that reason. In which case you were meant to have it. Which may (or may not) be a comforting thought. And there has also always been a queer fate over the Rings on their own account. They get lost, and turn up in strange places. The One had already slipped once from its owner and betrayed him to death. It had now slipped away from Gollum. But the evil they work according to their maker's design turns often to good that he did not intend, and even to his loss and defeat.[30] And that too may be a comforting thought, or not.'

'I don't find either of your thoughts very encouraging,' said Bingo; 'though I don't really understand what you mean. But how do you come to know or guess so much about Gollum?'

'As for the guessing, or the putting of one and one and one together, much of that has not been very difficult,' said Gandalf. 'The Ring that you had of Bilbo, and Bilbo had of Gollum, is shown by the fire-writing to be the One Ring. And concerning that the tale of Gilgalad and Isildor is known – to the wise. The filling

in of the tale of Gollum and fitting it into the gap presents no special difficulty: to one who knows much about the history and the minds and ways of the creatures of middle-earth that he does not tell you. What was the first riddle Gollum asked: do you remember?'

'Yes,' said Bingo, thinking.

What has roots that nobody sees,
Is higher than trees,
Up, up it goes,
And yet never grows?

'More or less right!' said Gandalf. 'Roots and mountains! But as a matter of fact, I have not had to do much guessing from hints of that kind.[31] I know. I know because I found Gollum.'

'You found Gollum!' said Bingo astonished.

'The obvious thing to try to do, surely,' said Gandalf.

'Then what happened after Bilbo left? Do you know that?'

'Not so clearly. What I have told you Gollum was willing to tell; though not of course in the way I have reported it – he thought he was misunderstood and ill-treated, and he was full of tears for himself, and hatred of all other things. But after the Riddle Game he was unwilling to say anything, except in dark hints. One gathered that somehow or other Gollum was going to get his own back, and that people would see if he could be kicked and despised and stuck in a hole, and starved and *robbed*. They might get worse coming their way; for Gollum now had friends, powerful friends. You can imagine the spiteful stuff. He had found out eventually that Bilbo had in some way got "his" Ring, and what his name was.'

'How?' asked Bingo.

'I asked him, but he only leered and chuckled, and said "Gollum issn't deaf iss he, no Gollum, and he hass eyes, hassn't he, yes my preciouss, yes Gollum." But[32] one can imagine various ways in which that might happen. He could, for instance, have overheard the goblins talking about the escape of Bilbo from the gate. And the news of the later events went all over Wilderland, and would give Gollum plenty to think about. Anyway, after having been "robbed and cheated", as he put it, he left the Mountains: the goblins there became few and wary after the Battle; hunting was poor, and the deep places were more than ever dark and lonely. Also the power of the Ring had left him: he was no longer bound by it. He was feeling old, very old, but less timid, though he did not become less malicious.

'One might have expected wind and even the mere shadow of sunlight to kill him pretty quickly. But he was cunning. He could hide from daylight or moonlight, and travel softly and swiftly by night with his long pale eyes – and catch small frightened and unwary things. Indeed he grew for a while stronger with new food and new air. He crept into Mirkwood, which is not surprising.'

'Did you find him there?'

'Yes – I followed him there: he had left a trail of horrible stories behind him, among the beasts and birds and even the Woodmen of Wilderland. He had developed a skill in climbing trees to find nests, and creeping into houses to find cradles. He boasted of it to me.

'But his trail also ran away south, far south of where I actually came upon him – with the help finally of the Wood-elves. He would not explain that. He just grinned and leered, and said *Gollum*, rubbing his horrible hands together gleefully. But I have a suspicion – it is now much more than a suspicion – that he made his slow sneaking way bit by bit long ago down to the land of – *Mordor*,' said Gandalf almost in a whisper. 'Such creatures go naturally that way; and in that land he would soon learn much, and soon himself be discovered, and examined. I think indeed that Gollum is the beginning of our present troubles;[33] for if I guess right, through him the Necromancer discovered what became of the One Ring he had lost. He has even, one may fear, at last heard of the existence of hobbits, and may now be seeking the Shire, if he has not already found out where it is. Indeed I fear that he may even have heard[34] of the humble and long unnoticeable name of – Baggins.'

'But this is terrible!' cried Bingo. 'Far worse than I feared! O Gandalf, what am I to do, for now I am really afraid? What a pity that Bilbo didn't stab the beastly creature, when he said goodbye!'

'What nonsense you do talk sometimes, Bingo!' said Gandalf. 'Pity! It was pity that prevented him. And he could not do so, without doing wrong. It was against the Rules. If he had done so, he would not have had the Ring – the Ring would have had him at once. He would have been enslaved under the Necromancer.'

'Of course, of course,' said Bingo. 'What a thing to say of Bilbo! Dear old Bilbo! But I am frightened – and I cannot feel any pity for that vile Gollum. Do you mean to say that you, and the Elves, let him live on, after all those horrible stories? Now at any rate he is worse than a goblin, and just an enemy.'

'Yes, he deserved to die,' said Gandalf; 'but we did not kill him.

He is very old, and very wretched. The Wood-elves have him in prison, and treat [him] with such kindness as they can find in their wise hearts. They feed him on clean food. But I do not think much can be done to cure him: yet even Gollum might prove useful for good before the end.'[35]

'Well anyway,' said Bingo. 'if Gollum could not be killed, I wish you had not let Bilbo keep the Ring. Why did he? Why did you let him? Did you tell him all this?'

'Yes, I let him,' said Gandalf. 'But at first of course I did not even imagine that it was [one] of the nineteen[36] Rings of Power: I thought he had got nothing more dangerous than one of the lesser magic rings that were once more common – and were used (as their maker intended) chiefly by minor rogues and villains, for mean wickednesses. I was not frightened of Bilbo being affected by *their* power. But when I began to suspect that the matter was more serious than that, I told him as much as my suspicions warranted. He knew that it came in the long run from the Necromancer. But you must remember there was the Ring itself to reckon with. Even Bilbo could not wholly escape the power of the Ruling Ring. He developed – a sentiment. He would keep it as a memento. Frankly – he became rather proud of his Great Adventure, and used to look at the Ring now and again (and oftener as time went on) to warm his memory: it made him feel rather heroic, though he never lost his power of laughing at the feeling.

'But in the end it got a hold of him in that way. He knew eventually that it was giving him "long life", and thinning him. He grew weary of it – "I can't abide it any longer", he said – but to get rid of it was not so easy. He found it hard to bring himself to it. If you think for a moment: it is not really very easy to get rid of the Ring once you have got it.'[37]

From this point the text again follows the old (pp. 81–2) very closely. Bingo now of course draws the Ring out of his pocket 'again', and means to throw it 'back again' into the fire; and Gandalf says (as in FR, p. 70) that 'This Ring at any rate has already passed through your fire and come out unscathed, and even unheated.' Adam Hornblower the Hobbiton smith remains. Gandalf says here that 'you would have to find one of the Cracks of Earth in the depth of the Fiery Mountain, and drop it in there, if you really did wish to destroy it – or to place it out of all reach until the End.' Against 'Cracks of Earth' (the name in the original text, p. 82) my father wrote in the margin, at the same time, '? Cracks of Doom'; at the second occurrence of the name he wrote 'Cracks of Doom', but put 'Earth' above 'Doom'.

The original text is developed and extended from the point where Bingo says 'I really do wish to destroy it' (p. 82):

. . . I cannot think how Bilbo put up with it for so long. And also, I must say, I cannot help wondering why he passed it on to me. I knew, of course, that he had it – though I was the only one who did or does know; but he spoke of it jokingly, and on the only two or three occasions when I ever caught him using it he used it more or less as a joke – especially the last time.'

'Bilbo would: and when your fate has bestowed on you such perilous treasures it is not a bad way to take them – as long as you can do so. But as for passing it on to you: he did so only because he thought you were safe: safe not to misuse it; safe not to let it get into evil hands; safe from its power, for a while; and safe, as an unknown and unimportant hobbit in the heart of the quiet and easily overlooked little Shire, from the – enemy. I promised him, too, to help and advise you, if any difficulty arose. Also, I may say that I did not discover the letters of fire, or guess that this ring was the One Ring, until he had already decided to go away and leave it.[38] And I did not tell him, for then he would not have burdened you, or gone away. But for his own sake, I knew he ought to go. He had had that Ring for 60 years, and it was telling on him, Bingo. You have tried before now to describe to me your own feeling – the stretched feeling.[39] His was much stronger. The Ring would have worn him down in the end. Yet the only sure way of ridding him of it was to let someone else take on the burden, for a while. He is free. But you are his heir. And now that I have (since that time) discovered much more, I know that you have a heavy inheritance. I wish it could be otherwise. But do not blame Bilbo – or me, if you can help it. Let us bear what is laid upon us (if we can). But we must do something soon. The enemy is moving.'

There was a long silence. Gandalf puffed at his pipe in apparent content . . .

The new version then develops the old text (p. 83) almost to the form in FR (pp. 71–2), with Bingo's saying that he had often thought of going off, but imagined it as a kind of holiday, and his sudden strong desire, not communicated to Gandalf, to follow Bilbo and perhaps to find him, and to run out of Bag End there and then. The new text continues:

'My dear Bingo!' said Gandalf. 'Bilbo made no mistake in choosing you as his heir. Yes, I think you will have to go – before long, though not at once or without a little thought and care. And I am not sure you need go alone: not if you know of anyone you

could trust, and who would be willing to go by your side – and who you would be willing to take into unknown dangers. But be careful in choosing, and in what you say even to your closest friends. The enemy has many spies, and many ways of hearing.' Suddenly he stopped as if listening.

The remainder of the chapter (the surprising of Sam outside the window, and Gandalf's decision that he should be Bingo's companion – cf. *Queries and Alterations* note 2, p. 221) is almost word for word the final form (FR pp. 72–3), which was reached almost at a stroke[40] and never changed.

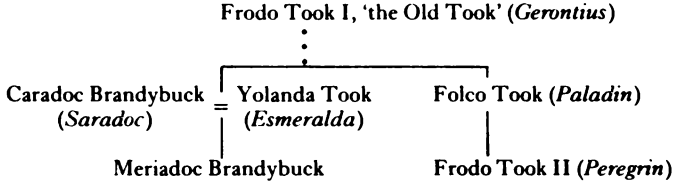
NOTES

1 This passage goes back to the original version of 'A Long-expected Party' (p. 17).

2 This passage goes back to the fourth version of 'A Long-expected Party' (p. 37), and indeed in part to the third (p. 29), when Bilbo was Bingo's father.

3 *Odo Bolger:* hitherto Odo has been Odo Took – or, at least, he was still Odo Took when his surname was last mentioned, which was in the original text of the 'Bree' chapter (p. 141, note 5). At the beginning, Odo Took could tell Bingo not to be 'Bolger-like' (p. 49); but perhaps my father felt that Odo had developed strong Bolger traits as the story proceeded. He retains, however, a Took mother.

4 This passage, from 'Merry was the son of Caradoc Brandybuck', was placed within square brackets, apparently at the time of writing. The genealogy (part of which has appeared before, p. 100) is of course very different from the final form, but when it is seen that Frodo Took occupies the place in the 'tree' afterwards taken by Peregrin Took (Pippin) it becomes at once much closer. In the following table the names in LR (Appendix C, *Took of Great Smials*) are given in brackets.



Since Caradoc Brandybuck, Merry's father, is here said to be Bingo's cousin, it can be presumed that the genealogy given in the family tree of the Brandybucks in LR was already present, i.e. Caradoc was the son of Old Rory, the brother of Bingo's mother Primula. That Rory Brandybuck was Bingo's uncle is never actually

said in LR, though of course it appears in the family tree, but it does appear in rejected versions of the Farmer Maggot episode (pp. 289, 296), and again later (pp. 385–6).

Merry Brandybuck and Frodo Took are the great-great-grandsons of the Old Took, as are Merry and Pippin in LR.

5 This passage goes back to the third version of 'A Long-expected Party' (p. 34). '500 pieces of gold' was later changed to '500 double-dragons (gold pieces of the highest value in the Shire)'; but this was not taken up into the next version of 'Ancient History', which returns to '500 gold pieces'. *sixty years:* 111 less 51 (see p. 31).

6 *Gandalf's visits to Hobbiton.* In *The Tale of Years* (LR Appendix B) Bilbo's Farewell Party took place in 3001; Gandalf visited Frodo in the years 3004–8, the last visit being in the autumn of 3008; and returned finally in April 3018 (after 9 and a half years): Frodo's 50th birthday was in September of that year, when he left Bag End. Cf. FR p. 55.

In the present text there was likewise a gap of three years after the Party before Gandalf came again; but then he came once or twice every year, with one gap of two years, till the 14th year after the Party, when Bingo was 47, and after that 'frequently'. The passage was subsequently rewritten to read:

> . . . seeing that Bingo was still quite settled. After that he returned several times, until he suddenly disappeared. Bingo heard no news of him between the 7th and 14th years after Bilbo's departure, when Gandalf suddenly reappeared one winter's night. After that the wizard came frequently and stayed longer.

For the year in which the conversation in 'Ancient History' took place (it was in the month of April, p. 254) see note 8.

7 This is a reference to *The Hobbit*, Chapter XIX 'The Last Stage':

> . . . they had at last driven the Necromancer from his dark hold in the south of Mirkwood.
>
> 'Ere long now,' Gandalf was saying, 'the Forest will grow somewhat more wholesome. The North is freed from that horror for many an age.

On his copy of the sixth impression (1954) my father changed Gandalf's words to read: The North *will be* freed from that horror for many *long years, I hope*. This is the text from the third edition (1966).

The following passage is the first clear, if very general, statement of where the Land of Mordor lay; see p. 218, note 17. Cf. also Gandalf's account of Gollum's journey (p. 264): 'his trail also ran away south, far south of where I actually came upon him' (which was in Mirkwood).

8 *in the spring of Bingo's 49th? 50th? year.* At the beginning of the next chapter in this 'phase' it is said that Bingo decided to leave Bag End on September 22nd 'in this (his 50th) year.'

9 My father first made the miller's son Tom Tunnelly, changing it as he wrote to Tom Sandyman; *Tom* was changed to *Ted* in pencil, before the chapter was finished, for *Ted* appears, as first written, at the end of it. See p. 249, note 33.

10 It is a very old conception that appears here; see II.323 and note 44. – Bingo describes the Elf-towers to his companions on the walk to Farmer Maggot's: he says that he saw them once, shining white in the light of the Moon (p. 93). Trotter at Bree calls them the West Towers (pp. 155, 159).

11 On Gandalf's visits to the land of the Necromancer see p. 85, note 12.

12 Here my father wrote: 'Bingo had never seen it on any finger but his own forefinger', but at once struck it out.

13 My father first wrote 'One ring to bind them', changing it in pencil to 'and in the darkness bind them', which is the form as written from the first in the whole verse that immediately follows.

14 *The text of the verse of the Rings.* My father's original workings for this verse are extant. The first complete form reads:

> *Nine for the Elven-kings under moon and star,*
> *Seven for the Dwarf-lords in their halls of stone,*
> *Three for Mortal Men that wander far,*
> *One for the Dark Lord on his dark throne*
> *In the Land of Mor-dor where the shadows are.*
> *One Ring to rule them all, One Ring to find them,*
> *One Ring to bring them all and in the darkness bind them*
> *In the Land of Mor-dor where the shadows are.*

He was at this time still uncertain as to the disposition of the Rings among the different peoples. The verse in the text of the present chapter as first written also had 'Nine rings for the Elven-kings' and 'Three for Mortal Men' (in the original text, p. 78, 'the Elves had many', and 'Men had three rings', but 'others they found in secret places cast away by the elf-wraiths'). But he wrote in the margin (in ink and at the same time as the verse itself) '3' against 'Nine' and '9' against 'Three', subsequently changing the words in the verse itself: see note 22.

Another preliminary version of the verse has:

> *Twelve for Mortal Men doomed to die,*
> *Nine for the Dwarf-lords in their halls of stone,*
> *Three for the Elven-kings of earth, sea, and sky,*
> *One for the Dark Lord on his dark throne.*

'Twelve' and 'Nine' were then changed to 'Nine' and 'Seven'. On there being at one time twelve Black Riders see p. 196. In the text of the chapter (p. 260) the Three Rings are called the Rings 'of earth, air, and sky'.

15 The text as first written here was 'and now that he knows or guesses where it is he desires so greatly.'

16 My father wrote here: 'In ancient days the Necromancer [servant of ???] the Dark Lord Sauron.' The brackets and queries were put in at the time of writing or very soon after. I can only explain this on the assumption that he was momentarily thinking of Morgoth as the Dark Lord, before he wrote the name Sauron; but it is odd that he did not simply strike out the words 'servant of'.

17 Against this passage my father wrote in the margin: 'Ring-wraiths later' (see p. 260). In the original text (p. 78, and cf. the draft on which that was based, p. 75) the Wraiths are mentioned at this point.

18 My father wrote 'Nine, Seven, Three, and One', reversing 'Nine' and 'Three' in pencil. – Here appears explicitly for the first time the distinction between the lesser Rings and the Rings of Power.

19 The text as written, but probably changed immediately, was: 'but could see both the world under the sun and the phantom world [> the world of shadow] in which the invisible creatures of the Lord moved.'

20 With this account of the relation of the power of the Rings to the innate qualities of those who bore them, and of the potency of the One Ring in the hand of its maker, compare *Queries and Alterations*, note 12 (p. 227), where the idea of the Ruling Ring first explicitly appears.

21 Cf. p. 212, and *Queries and Alterations*, note 10 (p. 225).

22 Here the *Three* Rings of the Elves appear in the text as first written (and the *Nine* Rings of Men in the next paragraph): see note 14. In the draft of the Ring-verse given at the end of note 14 the Three Rings are 'of earth, sea, and sky', whereas here they are 'of earth, air, and sky.'

23 *wizards:* cf. p. 211, where Gandalf at Rivendell likewise includes 'wizards' among the servants of the Dark Lord.

24 *the middle-earth* was changed from *the middle-world*, which is used earlier in this passage and again subsequently.

25 The meaning appears to be that after the loss of the Ruling Ring to the Necromancer, the Ring-wraiths could no longer function as his servants; they were not definitively destroyed, but they had no effective existence. Gandalf was soon to be proved wrong in this opinion, of course; and it may be that my father introduced it here to explain Gandalf's failure to take them into account. In FR he is less confident: 'It is many a year since the Nine walked abroad. Yet who knows? As the Shadow grows once more, they too may walk again.'

26 The name of the King of Men was first written *Valandil*; above this my father wrote *E* and *Orendil*. The next part of Gandalf's story was constantly changed in the act of composition, and at subsequent occurrences the name of the King varies between *Valandil* >

Orendil/Elendil, Elendil > *Orendil*, and then *Orendil* unchanged; I read *Orendil* throughout. For previous hesitation over the name see p. 174 note 25 and p. 197 note 3.

27 Here my father first wrote: 'but ere he fell Gilgalad cut the One Ring from the hand finger of Sauron, and gave it to Ithildor that stood by, but Ithildor took it for his own.' This was changed at the time of writing to the text given. *hand finger* was left thus; I read *finger* because that is the word used in the next text of this chapter. – *Ithildor* was changed to *Isildor* at each occurrence until the last in this passage, where *Isildor* was the form first written. See note 29.

28 The original reading here was: 'but the Ring [or >] and his fate betrayed him'.

29 The story of the One Ring now moves further. In the original text (p. 78) it was simply that the Ring 'fell from the hand of an elf as he swam across a river; and it betrayed him, for he was flying from pursuit in the old wars, and he became visible to his enemies, and the goblins slew him.' In *Queries and Alterations* note 12 (p. 226) a new element was proposed: that the Ring was 'taken from the Lord himself when Gilgalad wrestled with him, and taken by a flying Elf'; the implication clearly being that Gilgalad took it (as said at first in the present text, see note 27). Now the Elf becomes Isildor son of Orendil (Elendil: note 26).

30 This passage, from 'And there has also always been a queer fate', was enclosed in brackets with a query; and the last sentence, 'But the evil they work . . .', additionally enclosed in double brackets with a double query. The sentences immediately following (Gandalf's 'And that too may be a comforting thought, or not', and the first part of Bingo's reply) are a pencilled addition. But it is not clear to me why Bingo should be discouraged by the suggestion that the evil wrought by the Rings could turn to good and against the design of their maker.

31 Bingo's version has slight deviations from the text in *The Hobbit*. – It is not very evident what Gandalf had deduced from Gollum's first riddle.

32 In place of this passage, from 'He had found out eventually', the text as first written had (much as in the original version, p. 80): 'I think it is certain that Gollum knew after a time that Bilbo had in some way got "his" Ring. One can imagine . . .'

With the pencilled extension Gandalf's explanation of how Gollum knew that the hobbit had got the Ring is extended to cover the fact that Gollum also found out what his name was. But this is odd, since in the original story in *The Hobbit* as in the revised version Bilbo told Gollum his name: '"What iss he, my precious?" whisperered Gollum. "I am Mr Bilbo Baggins . . ."' See further note 34 (and cf. FR p. 66).

33 This phrase of Gandalf's, 'I think indeed that Gollum is the

beginning of our present troubles', is repeated from the original text (p. 81), and here as there seems to refer to the fact that the Dark Lord was known to Gandalf to be seeking the Ring in the direction of the Shire. But it is still not really explained what kind of searching could lead Gandalf to describe it as 'our present trouble', since he knew nothing of the Black Riders (see *Queries and Alterations*, p. 224). He can hardly be referring to those things mentioned earlier in the chapter (p. 253): Men moving North and West, goblins multiplying, new kinds of trolls; for these were surely large manifestations of the growing power of the Dark Lord, rather than of the search for the Ring.

34 Here follows: '(for his ears are keen and his spies legion)', marked in pencil for deletion. This change perhaps goes with the puzzling addition referred to in note 32, where Gandalf suggests that Gollum had eventually found out Bilbo's name; for in that case, if Gollum had indeed been to Mordor, he himself could have told the Necromancer that 'Baggins' had taken the Ring.

35 From this point the text is written in faint pencil.

36 Above 'nineteen' is pencilled '20'. This is the first occurrence of the term 'Rings of Power'.

37 From this point the text is again in ink, a good clear manuscript to the end of the chapter.

38 The meaning must surely be that Gandalf *had* 'discovered the letters of fire' on the Ring before Bilbo left Hobbiton; which is curious, since Gandalf also says that he did not tell Bilbo, and it is hard to imagine him conducting the test without Bilbo knowing of it. In FR (p. 65), when Frodo asked him when he discovered the fire-writing, he replied: 'Just now in this room, of course. But I expected to find it. I have come back from dark journeys and long search to make that final test.' Gandalf's words on p. 256 could be taken to mean that he did not know for certain until now: 'I do not yet know quite all. Give me the Ring a minute.' But they cannot mean this; and he refers (p. 262) to the fire-writing on the Ring as if it had been one of the main pieces of evidence in his deduction of the story which he now told to Bingo.

My father later pencilled an 'X' in the margin of the text here, and scribbled 'did not know until recently'.

39 See p. 252.

40 The original drafting for the episode is extant, scribbled faintly at the end of the manuscript of the original version of the chapter, and is naturally less finished; but already in this draft the final text is fully present except in details of expression.

XVI
DELAYS ARE DANGEROUS

From 'Ancient History' my father proceeded to the revision of the original second chapter, which had been given the title 'Three's Company and Four's More' (p. 49); this new version becomes Chapter III, but was given no title. Later, he scribbled in at the head of the text 'Delays are Dangerous' (which is the title *ab initio* of the following version of the chapter), and it is convenient to adopt this here.

Some exceedingly rough and fluid notes – the continuation of those mentioned at the beginning of the last chapter, p. 250 – are all that exist by way of preparatory writing for this revision. I have already noticed (p. 250) that the story of Bingo's dinner-party for Merry, Frodo Took, and Odo Bolger on the eve of departure was devised here, and that against this my father wrote 'Sam Gamgee to replace Odo' (these notes preceded the writing of 'Ancient History', where Sam Gamgee first emerged). But Odo could not be got rid of so easily. The notes continue:

> Gandalf was *supposed to come to party* but did *not* turn up. Bingo waits till Friday [September 23] but foolishly did not wait any longer, as Sackville-Bagginses threaten to turn him out: but sets off on Friday night. Gives out he is going to stay with Merry and return to his Brandybuck relations.

A rejected suggestion that Odo remained at Hobbiton 'to give news to Gandalf' shows my father already pondering this question, which after a long history of change would ultimately lead to Fredegar Bolger remaining at Crickhollow (FR p. 118). In these notes a Brandybuck with the Arthurian name of Lanorac (changed from Bercilak), a cousin of Merry's, 'has been ordered to have all ready' in Buckland; and there is a suggestion for the story after they leave Buckland and enter the Old Forest: 'Frodo wants to come but is told *no*: to give news to Gandalf. Merry says nothing – but *does* come: locks door and throws key over hedge.' With this cf. *Queries and Alterations*, note 2 (p. 221): 'Frodo says goodbye at Bucklebury. Only Merry and Bingo ride on into exile – because *Merry insists*. Bingo originally intended to go alone' (this was written before Sam Gamgee entered).

The text of the new version of this chapter is the most complicated document yet encountered. It begins as manuscript, in which part of the narrative is in two variant forms, and then turns back to the original typescript (given in full on pp. 49–65), which was heavily corrected in two forms (with different inks to cover different versions): some of the more extensive changes are on inserted slips. At the end my father

abandoned the old typescript and concluded the chapter in a new manuscript – the first part of it in three versions. To present the whole complex in this book is obviously impossible, and is in any case in no way necessary for the understanding of the development of the narrative.

The initial portion in manuscript extends as far as the beginning of the hobbits' walk on the first night ('They went very quietly over fields and along hedgerows and the borders of coppices, until night fell', p. 50), and the opening of the chapter presents an entirely new narrative. Leaving aside for the moment the passage existing in variant forms, the new text while very rough reaches in all essentials the final form in FR, pp. 74–80. There are many differences still in wording, and the chapter begins with the local gossip about the sale of Bag End and then proceeds to Bingo's discussion with Gandalf about his departure, rather than the other way about;[1] but differences of substance are few and mostly slight. More emphasis is placed on the fact that the 22nd of September was in that year again a Thursday (as it was in FR, p. 77): 'that seemed to [Bingo's] fancy to mark the date as the proper one for setting out to follow Bilbo.' Gandalf's tone to Bingo is a bit grimmer, and has more asperity; and he does not refer to the possibility that it may, or may not, be Bingo's task to find the Cracks of Doom. His parting words to him are significantly different from what he says in FR; and Bingo's state of mind on the eve of his own departure is given a different emphasis. I give here a portion of the text, taking it up from the point where Gandalf says that the direction which Bingo takes when he leaves Hobbiton should not be known (FR p. 74, at bottom).

'Well now,' said Bingo, 'do you know I have mostly thought just about going, and have never decided on the direction! For where shall I go, and by what shall I steer, and what is to be my quest? This will indeed be the opposite of Bilbo's adventure: setting out without any known destination, and to get rid of a treasure, not to find one.'

'And to go *there* but not come *back again*, likely enough,' added Gandalf grimly.

'That I know,' said Bingo, pretending not to be impressed. 'But seriously, in what direction shall I start?'

'Towards danger, but not too rashly, nor too straight towards it,' answered Gandalf. 'Make first for Rivendell, if you will at least take that much advice. After that we shall see – if you ever get there: the Road is not as easy as it was.'

'Rivendell!' said Bingo. 'Very good. That will please Sam.' He did not add that it pleased him too; and that though he had not decided, he had often thought of making for the house of Elrond; if only because he thought that perhaps Bilbo, after he had become free again, had chosen that way too.

The decision to go Eastwards directed Bingo's later plans. It was for this reason that he gave out that he was removing to Buckland, and actually did ask his Brandybuck cousins, Merry and Lanorac and the rest, to look out for a little place for him to live in.[2] In the meantime he went on much as usual, and the summer passed. Gandalf had gone off again. But he was invited to the farewell party, and had promised to arrive on the day before, or at latest on the 22nd itself. 'Don't go till you see me, Bingo,' he said, as he took his leave one wet dark evening in May. 'I may have news, and useful information about the Road. And I may want to come with you.'[3]

The autumn came on. No news came from Gandalf. There began to be signs of activity at Bag-End. Two covered carts went off laden. They were understood to be conveying such furniture as Mr Baggins had not sold to the Sackville-Bagginses to his new house in Buckland by way of the Brandywine Bridge. Odo Bolger, Merry Brandybuck, and Frodo Took were staying there with Bingo. The four of them seemed to be busy packing and the hole was all upside-down. On Wednesday September 21 Bingo began to look out anxiously for Gandalf, but there was no sign of him. His birthday morning September 22 dawned, as fair and clear as it had for Bilbo's party long ago (as it now seemed to Bingo). But still Gandalf did not appear. In the evening Bingo gave his farewell party. The absence of Gandalf rather worried Bingo and a little damped his spirits, which had been steadily rising – as every cool and misty autumn morning brought him closer to the day of his going. The only wrench now was parting from his young friends. The danger did not seem so threatening. He wanted to be off – at once. Everyone had been told that he was leaving for Bucklebury as soon as possible after his birthday. The Sackville-Bagginses got possession after midnight on the 23rd. All the same, he wanted to see Gandalf first. But his three friends were in high spirits . . .

From the end of Bingo's birthday dinner to the beginning of the hobbits' night walk the new text is almost the same as that in FR (pp. 77–80), apart from the different hobbits present (and still leaving aside the part existing in variant forms). The third cart, bearing 'the remaining and more valuable things', went off as in FR on the morning of the 23rd; at first Odo Bolger was said to be in charge of this, but he was changed, apparently at once, to Merry Brandybuck. (In FR Merry was accompanied by Fredegar Bolger, and my father queried in the margin here: 'Merry and Odo?'). Now enters the story of Bingo's overhearing Gaffer Gamgee talking (in almost the same words as in FR) to a stranger

at the end of Bagshot Row: the first germ of this has been seen in *Queries and Alterations*, note 3 (p. 222). The only real difference is that the old discussion among the hobbits (p. 49) whether to walk far or not is still present, Odo disagreeing with Frodo and Bingo; but there are now four of them, and Bingo asks Sam for his opinion:

'Well, sir,' he answered, taking off his hat and looking up at the sky, 'I do guess that it may be pretty warm tomorrow. And walking in the sun, even at this time o' year, with a load on your back, can be wearisome, like. I votes with Mr Frodo, if you ask me.'

The variant section was written continuously with the preceding narrative – that is to say, it is the story as my father first intended to tell it, and the other version was written subsequently, at first as an alternative. The divergence begins after Merry's departure for Buckland on Friday September 23, Bingo's last day at Bag End.

After lunch people began to arrive – some by invitation, others brought by rumour and curiosity. They found the door open, and Bingo on the mat in the hall waiting to greet them. Inside the hall was piled an assortment of packages, bric-a-brac and small articles of furniture. On every package and item there was a label tied. . . .

On the manuscript my father wrote later that 'this variant depending on shortening in Chapter I and the transference of parting gifts etc. to III' was now rejected. The shortening of Chapter I proposed is in fact the short variant of the story of the aftermath of Bilbo's party which has been described on pp. 241–2: as I noted there, 'the entire "business" of the presents, and the invasion of Bag End, was in this variant removed', for it was now to be transferred to *Bingo's* departure – or at least, was under the option of being so transferred. Thus a further twist is given to the serpentine history of this element in *The Lord of the Rings*: for what is involved is not of course a simple reversion to the story as it was at the end of the 'first phase' of 'A Long-expected Party', where also the gifts were Bingo's, not Bilbo's. The new idea was that the gifts,[4] the invasion of Bag End, the ejection of the hobbits excavating in the pantry, and the fight with Sancho Proudfoot (his adversary here being Cosimo Sackville-Baggins,[5] supported by his mother, who broke her umbrella on Sancho's head) – that all this took place not after the great Birthday Party (which was now Bilbo's), but after *Bingo's* own discreet birthday party before *his* departure.

It is possible and even probable that my father's intention in this was to reduce the element of Hobbiton comedy that confronts the reader at the outset, and introduce sooner, in 'Ancient History', the very much

weightier matters that had come into being since 'A Long-expected Party' was first written.

In this version the story of Bingo's walking a little way from Bag End, and so hearing Gaffer Gamgee talking to the Black Rider, was not yet present; and when he has sent Sam off with the key to his father, he leaves by himself. There is no mention of Odo Bolger and Frodo Took before the variant text ends, with Bingo going down the garden path, jumping the fence at the bottom, and passing into the twilight. I cannot say for certain whether this is significant or not. It seems unlikely to be a mere casual oversight; but if it is not, it means presumably that my father was contemplating a wholly new course for the story: Bingo and Sam journeying through the Shire alone. He had certainly contemplated something of the sort earlier. However this may be, nothing came of it; and he passed on at once to the second version of this part of the narrative (the form in FR), where Bingo after listening to Gaffer Gamgee talking to the stranger returns to Bag End and finds Odo and Frodo (Pippin in FR) sitting on their packs in the porch.

Effectively, then, the third chapter of FR, as far as the departure of Bingo (Frodo) from Bag End, was now achieved. My father here, as I have said, turned back to the original typescript, and used it as the physical basis for his new text until near the end of the chapter. He emended it in different inks, and added this note on the typescript: *Corrections in black are for any version. Those in red are for the revised version (with Bilbo as party-giver and including Sam).*[6] In the new material, corrections and additions, he distinguished very carefully between the two types of change: in one case he wrote 'red emendation' against the first part of a new passage, and 'black emendation' against the next part, continuous with the first (the passage is given in note 11, and the reason for the distinction is very clear). It is hard to see why he should have gone to all this trouble, unless at this stage he was still (remarkably enough) uncertain about the new story, with 'Bilbo as party-giver and including Sam', and saw the possibility of returning to the old.

As I have said, the presentation of the results of this procedure here is impossible,[7] and unnecessary even if possible. The effect of all the emendations is to bring the original version very close indeed to the form in FR (pp. 80 ff.). In places the new version is a halfway house between the two, and in the latter part the corrections are less thoroughgoing, but only here and there is there anything of narrative importance to note; and in what follows it can be assumed unless the contrary is said that the FR text was already present in all particulars other than the choice of phrasing. But the hobbits are now four: Bingo, Frodo Took, Odo Bolger, and Sam Gamgee, so that there is in this respect also an intervening stage here between the original story (where there are three, Bingo, Frodo Took, and Odo Took) and FR (where there are again only three, but a different three, Frodo Baggins, Peregrin Took, and Sam

Gamgee), and some variation between the versions in the attribution of remarks to different characters (on this matter see p. 70). But things said by Sam in FR are said by him in this text also.[8]

At the beginning of this part of the chapter, where the old text (p. 50) had: 'They were now in Tookland; and they began to climb into the Green Hill Country south of Hobbiton', the new reads: 'They were now in Tookland and going southwards; but a mile or two further on they crossed the main road from Much Hemlock (in the Hornblower country) to Bywater and Brandywine Bridge. Then they struck eastward and began to climb . . .'[9] Beside this my father wrote: '?Michel Delving (the chief town of the Shire back west on the White Downs).' This is the first appearance of Michel Delving, and of the White Downs (see p. 295). 'Much Hemlock' echoes the name Much Wenlock in Shropshire (*Much* 'Great', as *Michel*).

The Woody End is not called 'a wild corner of the Eastfarthing' – the 'Farthings' had not yet been devised – but it is added that 'Not many of them [hobbits] lived in that part.'

The verse *The Road goes ever on and on*, now ascribed to Bingo and not to Frodo Took, is still as in the original version (p. 53).[10]

A slight difference from FR is present at the first appearance of the Black Rider on the road (old version p. 54):

> Odo and Frodo ran quickly to the left, and down into a little hollow not far from the road. There they lay flat. Bingo hesitated for a second: curiosity or some other impulse was struggling with his desire to hide. Sam waited for his master to move. The sound of hoofs drew nearer. 'Get down, Sam!' said Bingo, just in time. They threw themselves flat in a patch of long grass behind a tree that overshadowed the road.[11]

In the discussion that followed the departure of the first Black Rider my father retained at this time the old version (p. 54), in which Frodo Took told of his encounter with a Black Rider in the north of the Shire:

> . . . I haven't seen one of that Kind in our Shire for years.'
>
> 'There are Men about, all the same,' said Bingo; 'and I have heard many reports of strange folk on our borders, and within them, of late. Down in the south Shire they have had some trouble with Big People, I am told. But I have heard of nothing like this rider.'
>
> 'I have though,' said Frodo, who had listened intently to Bingo's description of the Black Rider. 'I remember now something I had quite forgotten. I was walking away up in the North Moor – you know, right up on the northern borders of the Shire –

this very summer, when a tall black-cloaked rider met me. He was riding south, and he stopped and spoke, though he did not seem able to speak our language very well; he asked me if I knew whether there were any folk called Baggins in those parts. I thought it very queer at the time; and I had a queer uncomfortable feeling, too. I could not see any face under his hood. I said *no*, not liking the look of him. As far as I heard, he never found his way to Hobbiton and the Baggins country.'

'Begging your pardon,' put in Sam suddenly, 'but he found his way to Hobbiton all right, him or another like him. Anyway it's from Hobbiton as this here Black Rider comes – and I know where he's going to.'

'What do you mean?' said Bingo, turning sharply. 'Why didn't you speak up before?'

Sam's report of the Gaffer's account to him of the Rider who came to Hobbiton is exactly as in FR, p. 85. Then follows:

'Your father can't be blamed anyway,' said Bingo. 'But I should have taken more care on the road, if you had told me this before. I wish I had waited for Gandalf,' he muttered; 'but perhaps that would have only made matters worse.'

'Then you know or guess something about the rider?' said Frodo, who had caught the muttered words. 'What is he?'

'I don't know, and I would rather not guess,' said Bingo. 'But I don't believe either this rider (or yours, or Sam's – if they are all different) was really one of the Big People, not an ordinary Man, I mean. I wish Gandalf was here; but now the most we can hope is that he will come quick to Bucklebury. Whoever would have expected a quiet walk from Hobbiton to Buckland to turn out so queer. I had no idea that I was letting you folk in for anything dangerous.'

'Dangerous?' said Frodo. 'So you think it is dangerous, do you? You are rather close, aren't you, Uncle Bingo? Never mind – we shall get your secret out of you some time. But if it is dangerous, then I am glad we are with you.'

'Hear, hear!' said Odo. 'But what is the next thing to do? Shall we go on at once, or stay here and have some food? . . .

My father still retained the development (see pp. 55–6 and note 11) that a Black Rider came past, and briefly stopped beside, the great hollow tree in which the hobbits sat, and only changed this story at its end:

. . . We are probably making a fuss about nothing [said Odo]. This

second rider, at any rate, was very likely only a wandering stranger who has got lost; and if he met us, he would just ask us the way to Buckland or Brandywine Bridge, and ride on.'

'What if he stops us and asks if we know where Mr Baggins of Bag-end is?' said Frodo.

'Give him a true answer,' said Bingo. 'Either say: *Back in Hobbiton*, where there are hundreds; or say *Nowhere*. For Mr Bingo Baggins has left Bag-end, and not yet found any other home. Indeed I think he has vanished; here and now I become Mr Hill of Faraway.'

An alternative version is provided:

'What if he stops us and asks if we know where Mr Baggins of Bag-end is?' said Frodo.

'Tell him that he has vanished!' said Odo. 'After all one Baggins of Bag-end has vanished, and how should we know that it is not old Bilbo that he wants to pay a belated call on? Bilbo made some queer friends in his travels, by his own account.'

Bingo looked quickly at Odo. 'That is an idea,' he said. 'But I hope we shall not be asked that question; and if we are, I have a feeling that silence will be the best answer. Now let us get on. I am glad the road is winding.'

This entire element was removed in FR (p. 86).

When the singing of the Elves is heard (old version p. 58) Bingo still attributes to Bilbo his knowledge that there were sometimes Elves in the Woody End (cf. the passage in 'Ancient History', p. 253), and he says that they wander into the Shire in spring and autumn 'out of their own lands far beyond the river'; in FR (p. 88) Frodo knows independently of Bilbo that Elves may be met with in the Woody End, and says that they come 'out of their own lands away beyond the Tower Hills.' The conception of Elvish lands west of the Shire was of course fully present at this time: cf. Sam's words about Elves 'going to the harbours, out away West, away beyond the Towers' (p. 254). The hymn to Elbereth has the last emendation needed to bring it to the final form (see p. 59): *cold* to *bright* in the second line of the second verse. It is still said to be sung 'in the secret elf-tongue'. At its end, Bingo speaks of the High Elves as Frodo does in FR (p. 89), though without saying 'They spoke the name of Elbereth!' – thus it is not explained how he knows they are High Elves.[12]

Odo's unfortunate remark ('I suppose we shall get a really good bed and supper?') is retained, and Bingo's greeting that Bilbo had taught him, 'The stars shine on the hour of our meeting', remains only in translation. Gildor in his reply refers to Bingo's being 'a scholar in the elf-tongue', changed from 'the elf-latin' (p. 60), where FR has 'the Ancient

Tongue'. It is still the Moon, and not the autumn stars, that is seen in the sky; and the different recollections by the hobbits of the meal eaten with the Elves are retained from the old text, with the addition of the passage about Sam (FR p. 92).

From this point my father abandoned the old typescript, and though returning to it just at the end continued the text in manuscript. The beginning of Bingo's conversation with Gildor is extant in three forms. All three begin as in FR, p. 92 ('They spoke of many things, old and new'), but in the first Gildor goes on from 'The secret will not reach the Enemy from us' with 'But why did you not go before?' – the first thing that he says to Bingo in the original version ('Why did you choose this moment to set out?', p. 62). Bingo replies with a very brief reference to his divided mind about leaving the Shire, and then Gildor explains him to himself:

'That I can understand,' said Gildor. 'Half your heart wished to go, but the other half held you back; for its home was in the Shire, and its delight in bed and board and the voices of friends, and in the changing of the gentle seasons among the fields and trees. But since you are a hobbit that half is the stronger, as it was even in Bilbo. What has made it surrender?'

'Yes, I am an ordinary hobbit, and so I always shall be, I imagine,' said Bingo. 'But a most un-hobbitlike fate has been laid upon me.'

'Then you are not an ordinary hobbit,' said Gildor, 'for otherwise that could not be so. But the half that is plain hobbit will suffer much I fear from being forced to follow the other half which is worthy of the strange fate, until it too becomes worthy (and yet remains hobbit). For that must be the purpose of your fate, or the purpose of that part of your fate which concerns you yourself. The hobbit half that loves the Shire is not to be despised but it has to be trained, and to rediscover the changing seasons and voices of friends when they have been lost.'

Here the text ends. The second of these abandoned versions is nearer to FR, but has Gildor speak severely about Bingo's lateness on the road:

'Has Gandalf told you nothing?'

'Nothing about such creatures.'

'Is it not by his advice, then, that you have left your home? Did he not even urge you to make haste?'

'Yes. He wished me to go sooner in the year. He said that delay might prove dangerous; and I begin to fear that it has.'

'Why did you not go before?'

Bingo then speaks about his two 'halves', though without comment, moves into an explanation of why he lingered till autumn, and speaks of his dismay at the danger that is already threatening.

The third text is very close to and quite largely word for word the same as the final form until near the end of the conversation, where the matter though essentially the same is somewhat differently arranged. Gildor's advice about taking companions is more explicit than in FR ('Take such friends as are trusty and willing', p. 94): here he says 'If there are any whom you can wholly trust, and who are willing to share your peril, take them with you.' He is referring to Bingo's present companions; for he goes on (much as in the old version, p. 64): 'They will protect you. I think it likely that your three companions have already helped you to escape: the Riders did not know that they were with you, and their presence has for the time being confused the scent.' But at the very end there occurs this passage:

. . . In this meeting there may be more than chance; but the purpose is not clear to me, and I fear to say too much. But' – and he paused and looked intently at Bingo – 'have you perhaps Bilbo's ring with you?'

'Yes, I have,' said Bingo, taken aback.

'Then I will add this last word. If a Rider approaches or pursues you hard – do not use the ring to escape from his search. I guess that the ring will help him more than you.'

'More mysteries!' said Bingo. 'How can a ring that makes me invisible help a Black Rider to find me?'

'I will answer only this,' said Gildor: 'the ring came in the beginning from the Enemy, and was not made to delude his servants.'

'But Bilbo used his ring to escape from goblins, and evil creatures,' said Bingo.

'Black Riders are not goblins,' said the Elf. 'Ask no more of me. But my heart forebodes that ere all is ended you Bingo son of Drogo will know more of these fell things than Gildor Inglorion. May Elbereth protect you!'

'You are far worse than Gandalf,' cried Bingo; 'and I am now more completely terrified than I have ever been in my life. But I am deeply grateful to you.'

The end of the chapter is virtually the same in the old version, the present text, and FR; but now Gildor adds the salutation: 'and may the stars shine upon the end of your road.'

NOTES

1 The different arrangement of the opening of the chapter introduces Bingo's intention to go and live in Buckland *before* it actually arose as a result of his conversation with Gandalf. It may be that my father afterwards reversed the order of these narrative elements in order to avoid this.

2 This passage, from 'and actually did ask his Brandybuck cousins', was struck out in pencil and replaced by the following:

> With the help of his Brandybuck cousin Merry he chose and bought a little house [*added subsequently:* at Crickhollow] in the country behind Bucklebury, and began to make preparations for a removal.

3 Gandalf's words were changed in pencil thus:

> 'I shall want to see you before you set out, Bingo,' he said, as he took his leave one wet dark evening in May. 'I may have news, and useful information about the Road.' Bingo was not clear whether Gandalf intended to go with him to Rivendell or not.

4 There is no new list of presents in this variant: my father contented himself with a reference to the latest version of 'A Long-expected party', which was to be 'suitably emended' (p. 247, note 21).

5 The Sackville-Bagginses' son now first appears. It is said in both variants that Lobelia 'and her pimply son Cosimo (and his overshadowed wife Miranda) lived at Bag-end for a long while afterwards / for many a year after.' Lobelia was in both versions 92 years old at this time, and had had to wait seventy-seven years (as in FR) for Bag-end, which makes her a grasping fifteen year old when Bilbo came back at the end of *The Hobbit* to find her measuring his rooms; in FR she was a hundred years old, and in the second of these variant versions '92' is changed to '102'. In FR her son is 'sandy-haired Lotho', and no wife is named.

6 The corrections are in fact in blue, black, and red inks. I have said earlier (p. 48 and note 1) that those in black ink belong to a very early stage of revision. Those in blue and red were made at the present stage; but in his note on the subject my father no doubt meant by 'corrections in black' to include all those that were not in red.

7 I give an example, however, to show the nature of the procedure (original version p. 51):

> 'The wind's in the West,' said Odo. 'If we go down the other side of this hill we are climbing, we ought to find a spot fairly dry and sheltered.'

The red ink corrections are given here in italics; other changes from the original text are in black (actually blue, see note 6) ink.

> 'The wind's in the West,' said *Sam*. 'If we go down the other side of this hill we are climbing, we shall find a spot that is sheltered and snug enough, *sir*. There is a dry fir-wood just

ahead, if I remember rightly.' *Sam knew the land well within about twenty miles of Hobbiton, but that was the limit of his geography.*

See also note 11.

8 The text is actually rendered still more complicated by a layer of later emendation arising from my father's intention to get rid of Odo altogether, leaving Bingo, Frodo Took, and Sam, but this is here ignored.

9 In the original texts the crossing of the East Road had been omitted (see pp. 46–7, 50). – With 'Michel Delving' for 'Much Hemlock (in the Hornblower country)' and 'south-east' for 'eastward', this is the reading of FR – in the first edition of LR. In the second edition (1966) the text was changed to read:

> A mile or two further south they hastily crossed the great road from the Brandywine Bridge; they were now in the Tookland and bending south-eastwards they made for the Green Hill Country. As they began to climb its first slopes they looked back and saw the lamps in Hobbiton far off twinkling . . .

Robert Foster, in *The Complete Guide to Middle-earth*, entry *Hornblower*, says that 'all or most' of the Hornblowers 'dwelt in the Southfarthing'; this seems to be based only on the statement in the Prologue to LR that Tobold Hornblower, first grower of pipeweed, lived at Longbottom in the Southfarthing, but may well be a legitimate deduction. A few hobbit 'family territories' are marked on my father's map of the Shire (p. 107, item I), but the Hornblowers are not among them. (The Bracegirdles are placed west of Girdley Island in the Brandywine; the Bolgers south of the East Road and north of the Woody End; the Boffins north of Hobbiton Hill – cf. Mr Boffin of Overhill, FR p. 53; and the Tooks in Tookland, south of Hobbiton.) See p. 304, note 1.

10 See p. 246, note 18. The verse is now a repetition, for Bilbo had sung it before he left Bag End (p. 240); but whereas in FR (pp. 82–3) the only difference between the two recitations is that Bilbo says 'eager feet' in the 5th line and Frodo 'weary feet', here Bingo has also 'we' for 'I' in the 4th and 8th lines (retained from the original text, p. 53).

11 This passage interestingly exemplifies the 'two-tier' system of emendation which my father employed in this text (see p. 277). The new passage in which Bingo wonders if it is Gandalf coming after them and proposes to surprise him, though feeling certain that it is not him – exactly as in FR pp. 83–4 – is a 'red' emendation: because according to the new story Gandalf might well be expected to have just missed them at Hobbiton and be following on their heels, whereas according to the old story – in which the Birthday Party was Bingo's – Gandalf left immediately after the fireworks and went east (see p. 101 and note 12).

The remainder of the new passage (cited in the text), describing Bingo's conflicting desires to hide and not to hide, is a 'black' emendation (i.e. covering both 'old' and 'new' stories) – as is the addition almost immediately following, in which Bingo feels an urgent desire to put on the Ring, but does not: because, whatever version is followed, the nature of the Ring demands these changes (cf. *Queries and Alterations*, note 7 (p. 224): 'Bingo must NOT put on his Ring when Black Riders go by – in view of later developments. He must *think* of doing so but somehow be prevented.')

12 The text of FR here, 'I did not know that any of that fairest folk were ever seen in the Shire', was emended in the second edition to 'Few of that fairest folk are ever seen in the Shire.' – For previous references to the High Elves (which means now the Elves of Valinor) see pp. 187, 225, 260.

XVII
A SHORT CUT TO MUSHROOMS

The third of the original chapters (pp. 88 ff.) was now rewritten, numbered 'IV', and given a title, 'A Short Cut to Mushrooms'. This is a readily legible but much altered manuscript, with a great deal of variant and rejected material. The final result, however, as achieved already at this time (if a long variant version of the Farmer Maggot interlude, not at once rejected, is ignored for the moment), is virtually Chapter 5 in *The Fellowship of the Ring*, to a very great extent word for word, and there is not much that needs to be said about it.

The chief difference from FR lies of course in the fact that there were still Frodo Took and Odo Bolger and not simply Pippin. Pippin's part and all the things he says in FR are present in almost exactly the same form; but where in FR it is Pippin who is familiar with the region and who knows Farmer Maggot, in the present text (as also in the original version) this is Frodo Took's part, and once they have got down into the flat country Odo is in the background.

A good deal of new geography enters with the discussion whether to take a short cut or not (FR p. 97). While the wet low-lying land is described in the original story (pp. 91–2), it is now called the Marish, and the northward curve of the road (p. 89) is explained: 'to get round the north of the Marish.' The way south from Brandywine Bridge now appears – first called 'the raised road', then 'the banked road', then 'the causeway': 'the causeway that runs from the Bridge through Stock and past the Ferry down along the River to Deephallow.' Here the village of Stock is first named (and its inn the *Golden Perch*, where according to Odo there used to be the best beer in 'the East Shire'), and also Deephallow, which though marked on my father's map of the Shire and on the map in FR is never mentioned in the text of *The Lord of the Rings*. (In the original version of this chapter there is no suggestion of the causeway road, and the hobbits leaving Maggot's lane came out on to the road they had left, shortly before it reached the Ferry: see p. 97 and note 8. Stock had not then been devised. Later in the old version Marmaduke, arguing for going through the Old Forest, says that it would be silly of them to start their journey by 'jogging along a dull river-side road – in full view of all the numerous hobbits of Buckland', but he is speaking of the road within Buckland, on the east side of the Brandywine: p. 106, note 18).

The argument about which way to go is mainly between Odo and Frodo, and is somewhat different from the final form. Odo, not knowing

the country, argued that there would be 'all kinds of obstacles' when they got down into the Marish, to which Frodo replied that he did know it, and that the Marish was now 'all tamed and drained' (in FR Pippin, who takes Frodo Took's part in that he does know the country, but Odo's in that he has his eye on the *Golden Perch*, argues with Frodo (Baggins) that in the Marish 'there are bogs and all kinds of difficulties').[1]

The stream that barred their passage is now identified as the Stockbrook. The only other feature to mention before coming to Farmer Maggot is a rejected passage that was to take the place of the mysterious sniffing that interrupted Odo's song in praise of the bottle in the original version (p. 91). There, a pencilled note on the manuscript (p. 105, note 3) said: 'Sound of hoofs going by not far off.'

Ho! ho! ho! they began again louder. 'Hush!' said Sam. 'I think I can hear something.' They stopped short. Bingo sat up. Listening he caught or thought he caught the sound of hoofs, some way off, going at a trot. They sat silent for some while after the sound had died away; but at last Frodo spoke. 'That's very odd,' he said. 'There is not any road that I know of anywhere near, yet the hoofs were not going on turf or leaves – if they were hoofs.' 'But if they were, it does not follow that it was the sound of a Black Rider,' said Odo. 'The land is not quite uninhabited round here: there are farms and villages.'

This was replaced by the terrible signal cries, exactly as in FR (pp. 99–100). From a rejected page a little later, when they came into the 'tame and well-ordered lands', it is clear that the hoof-beats they heard were not in fact so mysterious: 'They were just beginning to think that they had imagined the sound of hoofs, when they came to a gate: beyond it a rutted lane wound away towards a distant clump of trees' (i.e. Farmer Maggot's) The horseman they heard was the Black Rider who came to Maggot's door.

When my father came in this version to Farmer Maggot, he followed the old story in this: Bingo put on the Ring in the lane outside the farm, then entered the house invisibly, and drank Farmer Maggot's beer, so that the departure of the others was highly embarrassing and unhappy. Considering all that had now been said concerning the Ring this is remarkable; but I think that my father was reluctant to lose this interlude (see also note 13), and although at this time he also wrote the story of the visit to Maggot's in exactly the form it has in FR, he retained this first, entirely different account of what happened in Maggot's house and marked it as a variant.

In it, Maggot becomes a violent and intransigeant character, with a black hatred of all Bagginses – a development clearly arising, as I think, from the need to explain the intensity of Bingo's alarm when he learns

who is the owner of the farm, an alarm great enough (coupled with the ferocious dogs) to explain in turn how he could put the Ring on in the face of all counsel. In the original version Bingo put on the Ring as a matter of course, as he put it on when the Black Riders came by. Moreover, as the story stood then Frodo and Odo were perfectly familiar with his possession of a magic ring that conferred invisibility, and after they left Farmer Maggot's Odo addressed Bingo while he was still invisible, calling his behaviour 'a silly trick' (p. 97). But now they were not (cf. p. 245, note 3: 'Bilbo wrote his adventures in a private book of memoirs, in which he recounted some things that he had never spoken about (such as the magic ring); but that book was never published in the Shire, and he never showed it to anyone, except his favourite "nephew" Bingo.') The great problem now with this story, my father noted in the margin of the manuscript, was that it would necessitate making Odo, Frodo, and Sam all aware of Bingo's ring – 'which is a pity'; or else, he added, 'making the others equally astonished with Farmer Maggot – which is difficult.' He was even prepared, however, as he noted in the same place, to consider altering the structure to the extent of getting rid of Odo and Frodo from this episode by making them the advance party to Buckland, while Bingo's walk from Hobbiton would be with Merry and Sam – which seems to imply that Merry had been let into the secret of the Ring. Sam might be supposed to have known of it from his eavesdropping under the window of Bag End at the end of the chapter 'Ancient History'; and my father also revised the text here and there in pencil in order to 'allow this version to stand if Bingo's ring is *unknown* to any but Sam.' A point he did not make here is the distinction between the others knowing about the Ring and Bingo's knowing that they knew; and when he reached the conversation in the house in Buckland (not much later, for the text of the two chapters is continuous in the manuscript) he had decided that they did know, but had kept the knowledge to themselves (as in FR, p. 114).

I give now the greater part of this first variant version.

They came to a gate, beyond which a rutted lane ran between low hedges towards a distant clump of trees. Frodo stopped. 'I know these fields!' he said. 'They are part of old Farmer Maggot's land.[2] That must be his farm away there in the trees.'

'One trouble after another!' said Bingo, looking nearly as much alarmed as if Frodo had declared the lane to be the slot leading to a dragon's lair. The others looked at him in astonishment.

'What's wrong with old Maggot?' asked Frodo.[3]

'I don't like him, and he doesn't like me,' said Bingo. 'If I had thought my short cut would bring me near his farm today, I would have gone by the long road. I haven't been near it for years and years.'

'Why ever not?' said Frodo. 'He's all right, if you get on the right side of him. I thought he was friendly to all the Brandybuck clan. Though he is a terror to trespassers, and he does keep some ferocious-looking dogs. But after all we are near the borders here and folk have to be more on their guard.'

'That's just it,' said Bingo. 'I used to trespass on his land when I was a youngster at Bucklebury. His fields used to grow the best mushrooms.[4] I killed one of his dogs once. I broke its head with a heavy stone. A lucky shot, for I was terrified, and I believe it would have mauled me. He beat me, and told me he would kill me next time I put a foot over his boundaries. "I'd kill you now," he said, "if you were not Mr Rory's nephew,[5] more's the pity and shame to the Brandybucks."'

'But that's long ago,' said Frodo. 'He won't kill Mr Bingo Baggins, late of Bag-end, because of his misdeeds when he was one of the many young rascals of Brandy Hall. Even if he remembers about it.'

'I don't fancy Maggot is a good forgetter,' said Bingo, 'especially not where his dogs are concerned. They used to say he loved his dogs more than his children. And Bilbo told me (only a year or two before he left the Shire) that he was once down this way and called at the farm to get a bite and drink. When he gave his name old Maggot ordered him off. "I'll have no Baggins over my doorstep. A lot of thievish murderous rascals. You get back where you belong," he said, and threatened him with a stick. He's shaken his fist at me, if we passed on the road, many a time since.'[6]

'Well I'm blest,' said Odo. 'So now I suppose we shall all get beaten or bitten, if we are seen with the marauding Bingo.'

'Nonsense!' said Frodo. 'Get into the lane, and then you won't be trespassing. Maggot used to be quite friendly with Merry and me. I'll talk to him.'

They went along the lane, until they saw the thatched roofs of a large house and farm-buildings peeping out among the trees ahead. The Maggots and the Puddifoots of Stock and most of the folk of the Marish were house-dwellers . . .

At this point a long digression was introduced (following that in the original version, p. 92) on the subject of hobbits living in houses; see pp. 294–5.

. . . and this farm was stoutly built of brick and had a high wall all round it. There was a strong wooden gate in the wall opening on to the lane. Bingo lagged behind. Suddenly as they drew nearer a

terrific baying and barking broke out, and a loud voice was heard shouting: 'Grip! Fang! Wolf! Go on, lads! Go on!'

This was too much for Bingo. He slipped on the Ring, and vanished. 'It can't do any harm this once,' he thought. 'I am sure Bilbo would have done the same.'

He was only just in time. The gate opened and three huge dogs came pelting out into the lane, and dashed towards the travellers. Odo and Sam shrank against the wall, while two large grey wolvish-looking dogs sniffed at them. The third dog halted near Bingo sniffing and growling with the hair rising on its neck, and a puzzled look in its eyes. Frodo walked on a few paces unmolested.

Through the gate came a broad thickset hobbit with a round red face[7] and a soft high-crowned hat. 'Hullo! hullo! And who may you be, and what may you be doing?' he asked.

'Good afternoon, Farmer Maggot!' said Frodo.

The farmer looked at him closely. 'Well now,' he said. 'Let me see – you'll be Mr Frodo Took, Mr Folco's son, if I am not mistook. I seldom am, I've a rare memory for faces. It's some time since I saw you round here, with Mr Merry Brandybuck . . .

The opening encounter with Maggot is then exactly as in the other variant of the episode, which is to say exactly as in FR p. 102, as far as 'to the great relief of Odo and Sam the dogs let them go free.' Then follows:

Odo and Frodo at once went through the gate, but Sam hesitated. So did the third dog. He remained standing growling and bristling.

This was altered in pencil to read:

Odo joined Frodo at the gate, but Sam hesitated in the lane. Frodo looked back to beckon Bingo, and wondered how to introduce him, whether to give his name, or hope that Maggot's memory was less good than he boasted, and say nothing; but there was no sign of Bingo to be seen. Sam was watching one of the dogs. It was still standing growling and bristling. It all seemed rather queer.

This was one of the changes made 'to allow this version to stand if Bingo's ring is unknown to any but Sam' (p. 288).

'Here, Wolf!' cried Farmer Maggot, looking back. 'Dang it, what's come to the dog. Heel, Wolf!'

The dog obeyed reluctantly, and at the gate turned back and barked.

'What's the matter with you?' said the farmer. 'This is a queer day, and no mistake. Wolf went near off his head when that fellow came riding up, and now you'd think he could see or smell something that ain't there.'

They went into the farmer's kitchen, and sat by the wide fireplace. The dogs were shut up, as neither Odo nor Sam concealed their uneasiness while they were about. 'They won't harm you,' said the farmer, 'not unless I tell them to.' Mrs Maggot brought out beer and filled four large earthenware mugs. It was a good brew, and Odo found himself fully compensated for missing the *Golden Perch*. Sam would have enjoyed it better, if he had not been anxious about his master.

'And where might you be coming from and going to, Mr Frodo?' asked Farmer Maggot with a shrewd look. 'Were you coming to visit me? For if so you had gone past my gate without my seeing you.'

'Well, no,' said Frodo. 'To tell you the truth (since you guess it already) we had been on your fields. But it was quite by accident. We lost our way back near Woodhall trying to take a short cut to the causeway near the Ferry. We are in rather a hurry to get over into Buckland.'

'Then the road would have served you better,' said the farmer. 'But you and Mr Merry have my leave to walk on my land, as long as you do no damage. Not like those thievish folk from way back West – begging your pardon, I was forgetting you were a Took by name, and only half a Brandybuck as you might say.[8] But you aren't a Baggins or you'd not be inside here. That Mr Bingo Baggins he killed one of my dogs once, he did. It's more than 30 years ago, but I haven't forgotten it, and I'll remind him of it sharp too if ever he dares to come round here. I hear tell that he is coming back to live in Buckland. More's the pity. I can't think why the Brandybucks allow it.'

'But Mr Bingo's half a Brandybuck too,' said Odo (trying to keep from smiling). 'He's quite a nice fellow when you get on the right side of him; though he will go walking across country and he is fond of mushrooms.'

There seemed to be a breath, the ghost of an exclamation, not far from Odo's ear, though he could not be quite sure.[9]

'That's just it,' said the farmer. 'He used to take mine though I beat him for it. And I'll beat him again, if I catch him at it. But that reminds me: what do you think that funny customer asked me?'

Farmer Maggot then turns to his account of the funny customer, and his report, though briefer, goes pretty well as in the other variant version and in FR,[10] with this difference:

'. . . I had a sort of shiver down my back. But that question was too much for me. "Be off," I said. "There are no Bagginses here, and won't be while I am on my legs. If you are a friend of theirs you are not welcome. I give you one minute before I call my dogs."

From '"I don't know what to think," said Frodo' the story in this version moves in the direction of farce.

'Then I'll tell you what to think,' said Maggot. 'This Mr Bingo Baggins has got into some trouble. I hear tell that he has lost or wasted most of the money he got from old Bilbo Baggins. And *that* was got in some queer fashion, in foreign parts, too, they say. Mark my words, this all comes of some of those doings of old Mr Bilbo's. Maybe there is some that want to know what has become of the gold and what not that he left behind. Mark my words.'

'I certainly will,' said Frodo, rather taken aback by old Maggot's guessing.[11]

'And if you'll take my advice, too,' said the farmer, 'you'll steer clear of Mr Bingo, or you'll be getting into more trouble yourself than you bargain for.'

There was no mistaking the breath and the suppressed gasp by Frodo's ear on this occasion.[12]

'I'll remember the advice,' said Frodo. 'But now we must be getting to Bucklebury. Mr Merry Brandybuck is expecting us this evening.'

'Now that's a pity,' said the farmer. 'I was going to ask if you and your friends would stay and have a bite and sup with me and my wife.'

'It is very kind of you,' said Frodo; 'but I am afraid we must be off now – we want to get to the Ferry before dark.'

'Well then, one more drink!' said the farmer, and his wife poured out some beer. 'Here's your health and good luck!' he said, reaching for his mug. But at that moment the mug left the table, rose, tilted in the air, and then returned empty to its place.

'Help us and save us!' cried the farmer jumping up and gaping. 'This day is bewitched. First the dog and then me: seeing things that ain't.'

'But I saw the mug get up too,' said Odo indiscreetly, and not fully hiding a grin.

This last sentence was struck out in pencil, as being unwanted 'if Bingo's ring is unknown to any but Sam.' The remainder of this version was written on that basis.

Odo and Frodo sat and stared. Sam looked anxious and worried. 'You did not ask me to have a bite or a sup,' said a voice coming apparently from the middle of the room. Farmer Maggot backed towards the fire-place; his wife screamed. 'And that's a pity,' went on the voice, which Frodo to his bewilderment now recognized as Bingo's, 'because I like your beer. But don't boast again that no Baggins will ever come inside your house. There's one inside now. A thievish Baggins. A very angry Baggins.' There was a pause. 'In fact BINGO!' the voice suddenly yelled just by the farmer's ear. At the same time something gave him a push in the waistcoat, and he fell over with a crash among the fire-irons. He sat up again just in time to see his own hat leave the settle where he had thrown it down, and sail out of the door, which opened to let it pass.

'Hi! here!' yelled the farmer, leaping to his feet. 'Hey, Grip, Fang, Wolf!' At that the hat went off at a great speed towards the gate; but as the farmer ran after it, it came sailing back through the air and fell at his feet. He picked it up gingerly, and looked at it in astonishment. The dogs released by Mrs Maggot came bounding up; but the farmer gave them no command. He stood still scratching his head and turning his hat over and over, as if he expected to find it had grown wings.[13]

Odo and Frodo followed by Sam came out of the house.

'Well, if that ain't the queerest thing that ever happened in my house!' said the farmer. 'Talk about ghosts! I suppose you haven't been playing any tricks on me, have you?' he said suddenly, looking hard at them in turn.

'We?' said Frodo. 'Why, we were as startled as you were. I can't make mugs drain themselves, or hats walk out of the house.'

'Well, it is mighty queer,' said the farmer, not seeming quite satisfied. 'First this rider asks for Mr Baggins. Then you folk come along; and while you are in the house Mr Baggins' voice starts playing tricks. And you are friends of his, seemingly. "Quite a nice fellow," you said. If there ain't some connexion between all these bewitchments, I'll eat this very hat. You can tell him from me to keep his voice at home, or I'll come and gag him, if I have to swim the River and hunt him all through Bucklebury. And now you'd best be going back to your friends, and leave me in peace. Good day to you.'

He watched them with a thoughtful scowl on his face until they turned a corner of the lane and passed out of his sight.

'What do you make of that?' asked Odo as they went along. 'And where on earth is Bingo?'

'What I make of it,' answered Frodo, 'is that Uncle Bingo has taken leave of his senses; and I fancy we shall run into him in this lane before long.'

'You won't run into me because I'm just behind,' said Bingo. There he was by Sam Gamgee's side.

This version of the episode ends here, with the note: 'This variant would proceed much as in older typed Chapter III' – i.e. in respect of the hobbits getting from Farmer Maggot's to the Ferry, if they are not driven there in Maggot's cart (see pp. 97–9).

Apart from any other considerations (which there may well have been), I think that it was primarily the difficulty with the Ring that killed this version. In the next chapter it turns out that the other hobbits had known about the Ring, but that Bingo had not known that they knew. So the ferocious Farmer Maggot, prone to ill-will, had already disappeared, and with him the last (more or less) light-hearted use of the Ring.[14] The second version of the Maggot episode in this manuscript evidently followed quite closely on the first, and this, as I have said, is (names apart) identical save for a word here and there with the story in FR.

There remains to notice the passage about hobbit architecture mentioned above (p. 289). Against it my father wrote 'Put in Foreword',[15] and in the second version of the Maggot story it is not included. It was somewhat developed from that in the original form of the chapter (p. 92), but has less detail than that in the Prologue to FR (pp. 15–16, in the first edition 16–17). The division of hobbits into Harfoots, Fallohides, and Stoors had not yet arisen, and the fact that some of the people in the Marish were 'rather large, and heavy-legged, and a few actually had a little down under their chins' is ascribed to their not being of pure hobbit-breed. In this account the art of house-building still originated, or was thought to have originated, among the hobbits themselves, down in the riverside regions (in the Prologue it is suggested that it was derived from the Dúnedain, or even from the Elves); but it 'had long been altered (and perhaps improved) by taking wrinkles from dwarves and elves and even Big Folk, and other people outside the Shire.'

The passage in the Prologue concerning the presence of houses in many hobbit villages is present, and here Tuckborough first appears. As this passage was first drafted it read:

> Even in Hobbiton and Bywater, and in Tuckborough away in Tookland, and on the chalky Indowns in the centre of the Shire where there was a large population

My father then struck out *Indowns*, presumably meaning to include *on the chalky* as well, and substituted [*Much* >] *Micheldelving*, before abandoning the sentence and starting again. Michel Delving on the White Downs has appeared in the last chapter (p. 278), replacing 'Much Hemlock (in the Hornblower country)'. He was probably going to write 'Much Hemlock' here too. It seems that up till now he had not decided that the chief town was in the west of the Shire, if indeed there were any chief town; but he at once rewrote the passage, and it was very probably at this point that Michel Delving on the White Downs came into existence (and was then written into 'Delays are Dangerous'). As finally written, the sentence reads:

> In Hobbiton, in Tuckborough away in Tookland, and even in the most populous [village >] town of the Shire, Micheldelving, on the White Downs in the West, there were many houses of stone and wood and brick.

The name *Indowns* does not occur again; cf. the *Inlands* (*Mittalmar*), the central region of Númenor, *Unfinished Tales* p. 165.

The text of this chapter, following the arrangement of the original version, continues straight on without break from 'Suddenly Bingo laughed: from the covered basket he held the scent of mushrooms was rising', which ends Chapter 4 in FR, to '"Now we'd better get home ourselves," said Merry', which in FR begins Chapter 5; but not long after my father broke the text at this point, inserting the number 'V' and the title 'A Conspiracy is Unmasked', and I follow this arrangement here.

NOTES

1 This passage of discussion was much rewritten. In rejected versions Odo proposes that they split up: 'Why all go the same way? Those who vote for short cuts, cut. Those who don't, go round – and they (mark you) will reach the *Golden Perch* at Stock before sundown'; and Frodo argues for going across country by saying 'Merry won't worry if we are late.' In another, Odo says: 'Then I must fall in behind, or go alone. Well, I don't think Black Riders will do anything to me. It's you, Bingo, they are sniffing for. If they ask after you, I shall say: I have quarrelled with Mr Baggins and left him. He lodged with the Elves last night – ask them.'

A minute point in connection with the geography may be mentioned here. In 'the woods that clustered along the eastern side of the hill', FR p. 98 line 5, 'hill' should be 'hills', as it is in the present text.

2 At this first mention of the farmer in this text, he is called *Farmer Puddifoot*, but this was changed at once to *Maggot*, and *Maggot* is his name subsequently throughout. At the same place in the original

typescript, and only at that place, *Maggot* was changed to *Puddifoot* (p. 105, note 4).

3 Frodo continued: 'Of course these people down in the Marish are a bit queer and unfriendly, but the Brandybucks get on all right with them', but this was struck out as soon as written.

4 This is where the mushrooms entered the story: there is no mention of mushrooms in the original version.

5 On Bingo's being the nephew of Rory Brandybuck (Merry's grandfather) see p. 267, note 4.

6 Another version of Bingo's account makes it Bilbo and Bingo who had the encounter with Maggot, and the farmer a real ogre:

> 'That's just it,' said Bingo. 'I got on the wrong side of him, and of his hedge. We were trespassing, as he called it. We had been in the Shirebourn valley, and were making a cross-country line towards Stock – rather like today – when we got on to his land. It was getting dark, and a white fog came on, and we got lost. We climbed through a hedge and found ourselves in a garden; and Maggot found us. He set a great dog on us, more like a wolf. I fell down with the dog over me, and Bilbo broke its head with that thick stick of his. Maggot was violent. He is a strong fellow, and while Bilbo ws trying to explain who we were and how we came there he picked him up and flung him over the hedge into a ditch. Then he picked me up and had a good look at me. He recognized me as one of the Brandybuck clan, though I had not been to his farm since I was a youngster. "I was going to break your neck," he said, "and I will yet, whether you be Mr Rory's nephew or not, if I catch you round here again. Get out before I do you an injury!" He dropped me over the hedge on top of Bilbo.
>
> 'Bilbo got up and said: "I shall come around next time with something sharper than a stick. Neither you nor your dogs would be any loss to the countryside." Maggot laughed. "I have a weapon or two myself," he said; 'and next time you kill one of my dogs, I'll kill you. Be off now, or I'll kill you tonight." That'll be 20 years ago. But I don't imagine Maggot is a good forgetter. Ours would not be a friendly meeting.'

Frodo Took's reception of this story was strangely mild. 'How very unfortunate!' [he said.] 'Nobody seems to have been much to blame. After all, Bingo, you must remember that this is near the Borders, and people round here are a deal more suspicious than up in the Baggins country.'

Like Deephallow (p. 286), the Shirebourn, mentioned in this passage, is never named in LR, though marked both on my father's map of the Shire and on that published in FR (both are mentioned in *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil*, p. 9).

7 Farmer Maggot is again unambiguously a hobbit: see p. 122 and note 7.

8 There has in fact been no indication that Frodo Took's mother was a Brandybuck, as is seen to be the case from Maggot's remark here, supported also by Frodo's knowledge of the Marish and Maggot's familiarity with him as a companion of Merry Brandybuck. In LR the mother of Peregrin (who is related to Meriadoc as Frodo Took is at this stage, see p. 267, note 4) was Eglantine Banks.

9 This sentence is marked in pencil for deletion.

10 In this version the Black Rider does not say anything beyond 'Have you seen Mist-er Bagg-ins?' In the second version his words are almost as in FR, though he still calls him 'Mister Baggins'.

11 In the second version, as in FR (p. 104) 'the shrewd guesses of the farmer were rather disconcerting' to Bingo (Frodo); but here Maggot's guesses disconcert Frodo Took, which would suggest that he knew what the Black Riders were after.

12 This sentence is marked in pencil for deletion; cf. note 9.

13 Pencilled changes in this passage substitute the beer jug for Farmer Maggot's hat: 'He sat up again just in time to see the jug (still holding some beer) leave the table where he had lain it down, and sail out of the door . . . At that the jug went off at a great speed towards the gate, spilling beer in the yard; but as the farmer ran after it, it suddenly stopped and came to rest on the gatepost . . . He stood still scratching his head and turning the jug round and round . . .' (and 'jug' for 'hat' subsequently).

In the margin of the manuscript my father wrote: 'Christopher queries – why was not *hat* invisible if Bingo's clothes were?' The story must have been that Bingo was actually wearing Maggot's hat, for otherwise the objection seems easily answered (the hat was an object external to the wearer of the Ring just as much as the beer-jug, or as anything else would be, whatever its purpose). Clearly, a subtle question arises if the Ring is put to such uses, a question my father sidestepped by substituting the jug. – I was greatly delighted by the story of Bingo's turning the tables on Farmer Maggot, and while I retain now only a dim half-memory I believe I was much opposed to its loss: which may perhaps explain my father's retaining it after it had become apparent that it introduced serious difficulties.

14 Unless the episode in Tom Bombadil's house (FR p. 144) can be so described.

15 The passage in the 'Foreword' is given on pp. 312–13.

XVIII
AGAIN FROM BUCKLAND TO THE WITHYWINDLE

(i)

A Conspiracy is Unmasked

The text of 'A Short Cut to Mushrooms', as I have said, continues without break, but my father added in (not much later, see p. 302) a new chapter number 'V' and the title 'A Conspiracy is Unmasked'. The text now becomes very close indeed to FR Chapter 5 (apart of course from the number of and names of the hobbits), and there are only a few particular points to notice in it. For the earliest form see pp. 99 ff.

The history of the Brandybucks does not yet know Gorhendad Oldbuck as the founder (FR p. 108). As the manuscript was first written, the village was called Bucklebury-beyond-the-River, and (developing the original text, p. 100) 'the authority of the head of the Brandybucks was still acknowledged by the farmers as far west as Woodhall (which was reckoned to be in the Boffin-country)';[1] this was changed to 'still acknowledged by the farmers between Stock and Rushey,' as in FR. Rushey here first appears.[2]

It was in this passage that the Four Farthings of the Shire were first devised, as the wording shows: 'They were not very different from the other hobbits of the Four Farthings (North, West, South, and East), as the quarters of the Shire were called.' Here too occur for the first time the names Buck Hill and the High Hay – but Haysend goes back to the original version, p. 100. The great hedge is still 'something over forty miles from end to end.'[3] In answer to Bingo's question 'Can horses cross the river?' Merry answers: 'They can go fifteen miles to Brandywine Bridge', with '20?' pencilled over 'fifteen'. In FR the High Hay is 'well over *twenty* miles from end to end', yet Merry still says: 'They can go *twenty* miles north to Brandywine Bridge.' Barbara Strachey (*Journeys of Frodo*, Map 6) points out this difficulty, and assumes that Merry 'meant 20 miles in all – 10 miles north to the Bridge and 10 miles south on the other side'; but this is to strain the language: Merry did not mean that. It is in fact an error which my father never observed: when the length of Buckland from north to south was reduced, Merry's estimate of the distance from the Bridge to the Ferry should have been changed commensurately.[4]

The main road within Buckland is described (on a rejected page only) as running 'from the Bridge to Standelf and Haysend.' Standelf is never

mentioned in the text of LR, though marked on my father's map of the Shire and on both of mine; on all three the road stops there and does not continue to Haysend, which is not shown as a village or any sort of habitation.[5]

At the first two occurrences of Crickhollow in this chapter the name was first *Ringhay*, changed to *Crickhollow* (in the passage cited in note 2 on p. 283 the name is a later addition to the text). At the third occurrence here *Crickhollow* was the name first written. *Ringhay* refers to the 'wide circle of lawn surrounded by a belt of trees inside the outer hedge.'[6]

The most important development in this chapter is that after the words 'the far shore seemed to be shrouded in mist and nothing could be seen' (FR p. 109) my father interrupted the narrative with the following note before proceeding:

From here onwards Odo is presumed to have gone with Merry ahead. The preliminary journey was Frodo, Bingo and Sam only. Frodo has a character a little more like Odo once had. Odo is now rather silent (and greedy).

Against this my father wrote: 'Christopher wants Odo kept.' Unhappily I have now only a very shadowy recollection of those conversations of half a century ago; and it is not clear to me what the issue really was. On the face of it, my 'wanting Odo kept' should mean that I wanted him kept as a member of the party that walked from Hobbiton, since my father had not proposed that Odo be dropped absolutely; on the other hand, since he had in mind the blending of 'Odo' elements into the character of Frodo Took, it may very well be that he was planning to cut him out of the expedition after the hobbits left Crickhollow. Perhaps the idea that Odo should remain on at Crickhollow was already present as a possibility, and 'Christopher wants Odo kept' was a plea for his survival in the larger narrative, as a member of the major expedition. This is no more than guesswork, but if there is anything in it, it seems that my objection temporarily won the day, since at the end of the chapter Odo is fully re-established, and prepared to go with the others into the Old Forest – as indeed he does, in the revision of that chapter in this 'phase'.

The situation in the text that follows this note on Odo is in any case extraordinarily difficult to interpret. As first written, Merry says that he will ride on and tell *Olo* that they are coming; when Bingo knocked on the door of (Ringhay) Crickhollow it was opened by Olo Bolger, and Merry refers to 'Olo and I' having got to Crickhollow with the last cartload on the day before; Merry and Olo prepared the supper in the kitchen. 'Olo' here plays the part of Fatty (Fredegar) Bolger in FR (pp. 110–11), but after these mentions he disappears from the text (and never appears again). In red ink my father noted: 'If Odo is kept alter in red,' and for a short distance some red ink alterations were made, changing 'You'll be last either way, Frodo' (concerning the order of entry into the bath) to

'Odo', changing 'three tubs' to 'four tubs', and cutting out the references to 'Olo'.[7]

The best explanation seems to be that when Odo was to be removed from the walking party and attached to Merry his name was to be changed also. Some alterations were made to preserve the option of retaining the received story. But from the moment when they sat down to supper Odo reappears in the text as first written, not merely as being present (which would only show that *Olo* had been rejected and *Odo* restored) but as having walked from Hobbiton (though in this case his name was bracketed). But Frodo Took now makes 'Odo-Pippin' remarks (as 'Oh! That was poetry!' FR p. 116 – he would hardly have said such a thing previously). See further pp. 323–4.

The bath-song (here sung by Frodo in his new Odoesque character) is all but identical to that which Pippin sings in FR; but in a red ink addition to the text (one of the optional additions made to bring Odo back in his original rôle) specimens of the 'competing songs' (FR p. 111) sung by Bingo and Odo are given: the first verse of the bath-song which Odo sang as they walked from Farmer Maggot's to the Ferry in the original version (p. 98) and which is thus no longer used, and the first two lines of the bath-chant sung by Odo when they reached their destination (p. 102), these last being struck out.

The revelation of the conspiracy is almost exactly as in FR, the burden of its exposition being taken here as there by Merry (Pippin's intervention 'You do not understand! . . .' being given here to Frodo Took). As in FR, Merry recounts the story of how he discovered the existence of Bilbo's ring, which was previously set in a quite different context (see p. 242 and note 25), and tells that he had had a rapid glance at Bilbo's 'memoirs' ('secret book' in FR).[8]

The report of what Gildor had said, here referred to by Merry rather than by Sam himself, on the subject of Bingo's taking companions reflects the text of that episode at this time (see p. 282): 'I know you have been advised to take us. Gildor told you to, and you can't deny it!'

The song that Merry and Pippin sang in FR (p. 116) is here sung by Merry, Frodo Took, and Odo,[9] and is very different:

Farewell! farewell, now hearth and hall!
Though wind may blow and rain may fall,
We must away ere break of day
Far over wood and mountain tall.

The hunt is up! Across the land
The Shadow stretches forth its hand.
We must away ere break of day
To where the Towers of Darkness stand.

With foes behind and foes ahead,
Beneath the sky shall be our bed,
Until at last the Ring is cast
In Fire beneath the Mountain Red.

We must away, we must away,
We ride before the break of day.

In a rejected version of his answer to Bingo's question whether it would be safe to wait one day at Crickhollow for Gandalf (FR p. 117), a passage rewritten several times, Merry refers to the gate-guards getting a message through to 'my father the Master of the Hall.' Merry's father was Caradoc Brandybuck (Saradoc 'Scattergold' in LR); see p. 251 and note 4.

When Bingo raises the question of going through the Old Forest, it is Odo who, filled with horror at the thought, voices the objections given in FR to Fatty Bolger (who is going to stay behind).

The end of the chapter is different from that in FR, and belongs rather with the original version (p. 104). (Merry does not mention, incidentally, that Bingo had ever been into the Forest).

'. . . I have often been in – only in the daylight, of course, when the trees are fairly quiet and sleepy. Still, I have some some knowledge of it, and I will try and guide you.'

Odo was not convinced, and was plainly far less frightened of meeting a troop of Riders on the open road than of venturing into the dubious Forest. Even Frodo was against the plan.

'I hate the idea,' said Odo. 'I would rather risk pursuers on the Road, where there is a chance of meeting ordinary honest travellers as well. I don't like woods, and the stories about the Old Forest have always terrified me. I am sure Black Riders will be very much more at home in that gloomy place than we shall.' Even Frodo on this occasion sided with Odo.

'But we shall probably be out of it again before they ever find out or guess that we have gone in,' said Bingo. 'In any case, if you wish to come with me, it is no good taking fright at the first danger: there are almost certainly far worse things than the Old Forest ahead of you. Do you follow Captain Bingo, or do you stay at home?'

'We follow Captain Bingo,' they said at once.

'Well, that's settled!' said Merry. 'Now we must tidy up and put the finishing touches to the packing. And then to bed. I shall call you all well before the break of day.'

When at last he got to bed Bingo could not sleep for some time.

His legs ached. He was glad that he was riding in the morning. At last he fell into a vague dream: in which he seemed to be looking out of a window over a dark sea of tangled trees. Down below among the roots there was a sound of something crawling and snuffling.

A note on the manuscript earlier says 'Pencillings = Odo stays behind.' These pencillings are in fact confined to the section just given. 'Even Frodo on this occasion sided with Odo' is bracketed and replaced by further words of Odo's: 'Also I feel certain it is wrong not to wait for Gandalf.' And after '"We follow Captain Bingo," they said at once' is inserted:

'I will follow Captain Bingo,' said Merry, and Frodo, and Sam. Odo was silent. 'Look here!' he said, after a pause. 'I don't mind admitting I am frightened of the Forest, but I also think you ought to try and get in touch with Gandalf. I will stay behind here and keep off inquisitive folk. When Gandalf comes as he is sure to I will tell him what you have done, and I will come on after you with him, if he will bring me.' Merry and Frodo agreed that that was a good plan.

This would be an important development, though ultimately rejected. These alterations derive, however, from a somewhat later stage.

(ii)

The Old Forest

Having completed 'A Conspiracy is Unmasked', my father continued his revision into the next chapter, afterwards called 'The Old Forest'. In this case he did not make a new manuscript, but merely made corrections to the original text (described on pp. 112–14), which as I have said had reached with only the most minor differences the form of the published narrative. The chapter was at this time renumbered, from IV to VI, showing that Chapter V 'A Conspiracy is Unmasked' had been separated off from 'A Short Cut to Mushrooms'. Extensive emendations, made in red ink to the original manuscript, bring the text still closer in detail of wording to that of FR (but the topographical differences noticed on pp. 113–14 remain). The parts played in the Willow-man episode are changed by the presence of Sam Gamgee in the party. Bingo and Odo are still the two who are caught in the cracks of the tree, and Frodo Took is still the one pushed into the river; but whereas in the original story it was Marmaduke (i.e. Merry) who rounded up the ponies and rescued Frodo Took from the water, Sam now takes over this part (as in FR), while Merry 'lay like a log.'

(iii)

Tom Bombadil

The manuscript of the Tom Bombadil chapter, the number changed from V to VII but still title-less, underwent (with one important exception) minimal revision at this stage (there were indeed few changes ever made to it): scarcely more than a mention of Sam sleeping, with Merry, like a log, and the changing of the number of hobbits from four to five. The points of difference noticed on pp. 120–3 were nearly all left as they were; but Bombadil's remark about Farmer Maggot ('We are kinsfolk, he and I . . .') was marked with an X, probably at this time.

The one substantial change made is of great interest. On the manuscript my father marked 'Insert' before the passage concerning the hobbits' dreams on the first night in Tom Bombadil's house; and that the insertion belongs to this phase is made clear by the fact that Crickhollow was *empty* (i.e. Odo had gone with the others into the Old Forest).

As they slept there in the house of Tom Bombadil, darkness lay on Buckland. Mist strayed in the hollow places. The house at Crickhollow stood silent and lonely: deserted so soon after being made ready for a new master.

The gate in the hedge opened, and up the path, quietly but in haste, a grey man came, wrapped in a great cloak. He halted looking at the dark house. He knocked softly on the door, and waited; and then passed from window to window, and finally disappeared round the corner of the house-end. There was silence again. After a long time a sound of hoofs was heard in the lane approaching swiftly. Horses were coming. Outside the gate they stopped; and then swiftly up the path there came three more figures, hooded, swathed in black, and stooping low towards the ground. One went to the door, one to the corners of the house-end at either side; and there they stood silent as the shadows of black yew-trees, while time went slowly on, and the house and the trees about it seemed to be waiting breathlessly.

Suddenly there was a movement. It was dark, and hardly a star was shining, but the blade that was drawn gleamed suddenly, as if it brought with it a chill light, keen and menacing. There was a blow, soft but heavy, and the door shuddered. 'Open to the servants of the Lord!' said a voice, thin, cold, and clear. At a second blow the door yielded and fell back, its lock broken.

At that moment there rang out behind the house a horn. It rent the night like fire on a hill-top. Loud and brazen it shouted, echoing over field and hill: *Awake, awake, fear, fire, foe! Awake!*

Round the corner of the house came the grey man. His cloak

and hat were cast aside. His beard streamed wide. In one hand was a horn, in the other a wand. A splendour of light flashed out before him. There was a wail and cry as of fell hunting beasts that are smitten suddenly, and turn to fly in wrath and anguish.

In the lane the sound of hoofs broke out, and gathering rapidly to a gallop raced madly into the darkness. Far away answering horns were heard. Distant sounds of waking and alarm rose up. Along the roads folk were riding and running northward. But before them all there galloped a white horse. On it sat an old man with long silver hair and flowing beard. His horn sounded over hill and dale. In his hand his wand flared and flickered like a sheaf of lightning. Gandalf was riding to the North Gate with the speed of thunder.

Against the end of this inserted text my father wrote in pencil: 'This will require altering if Odo is left behind'; see the pencilled passage added at the end of the last chapter (p. 302). And at the end of the text, after the words 'a sheaf of lightning', he added in: 'Behind clung a small figure with flying cloak', and the name 'Odo'. The significance of this will become clear later.

NOTES

1 On my father's map of the Shire the Boffins are placed north of Hobbiton, and the Bolgers north of the Woody End (p. 284, note 9), but this was an alteration of what he first wrote: the underlying names can be seen to be in the reverse positions.

2 The spelling *Rushy* on the published map of the Shire is an error, made first on my elaborate early map (p. 107, item V) through misreading of my father's. The second element is Old English *ey* 'island'.

3 On my father's original map it can be roughly calculated (since Bingo estimated that they had eighteen miles to go in a straight line from the place where they passed the night with the Elves to Bucklebury Ferry) that the High Hay was about 43 miles measured in a straight line from its northern to its southern end.

4 On my father's later maps (see p. 107) measurement can only be very approximate, but on the same basis as the calculation in note 3 the High Hay cannot in these be much more than 20 miles (in a straight line between its ends).

5 *Standelf* means 'stone-quarry' (Old English *stān-(ge)delf*, surviving in the place-name *Stonydelph* in Warwickshire).

6 Just as in FR, the hobbits leaving the Ferry passed Buck Hill and Brandy Hall on their left, struck the main road of Buckland, turned

north along it for half a mile, and then took the lane to Crickhollow. On my original map of the Shire, made in 1943 (p. 107), the text – which was never changed here – was already wrongly represented, since the main road is shown as passing between the River and Brandy Hall (and the lane to Crickhollow leaves the road south of the hall, so that the hobbits would in fact, according to this map, still pass it on their left). This must have been a simple misinterpretation of the text which my father did not notice (cf. p. 108); and it reappeared on my map published in the first edition of FR. My father referred to the error in his letter to Austin Olney of Houghton Mifflin, 28 July 1965 (*Letters* no. 274); and it was corrected, after a fashion, on the map as published in the second edition. Karen Fonstad (*The Atlas of Middle-earth*, p. 121) and Barbara Strachey (*Journeys of Frodo*, Map 7) show the correct topography clearly.

7 These alterations to bring Odo back were made at the same time as the notes on the retention of the story that Bingo entered Farmer Maggot's house invisibly (p. 288); cf. p. 297, note 13.

8 In this text Merry says 'I was only in my tweens', whereas in FR he says 'teens'. In LR (Appendix C) Merry was born in (1382 =) 2982, and so in the year before the Farewell Party he was 13. Here, Merry is conceived to be somewhat older. – To Merry's question about Bilbo's book ('Have you got it, Bingo?') Bingo replies: 'No! He took it away, or so it seems.' Cf. the last note in *Queries and Alterations* (p. 229): 'Bilbo carries off "memoirs" to Rivendell.'

9 Changed from 'Merry and Frodo'.

THE THIRD PHASE

XIX
THE THIRD PHASE (1): THE JOURNEY TO BREE

It seems to me extremely probable that the 'second phase' of writing, beginning with the fifth version of 'A Long-expected Party' (Chapter XIV in this book) now petered out, and once again a new start was made on the whole work. This 'third phase' is constituted by a long series of homogeneous manuscripts carrying the story from a sixth version of 'A Long-expected Party' right through to Rivendell. Though subsequently overwritten, interleaved, struck through, or 'cannibalised' to form parts of later texts, these manuscripts were at first clear and neat, and their rather distinctive, regular script makes it possible to reconstitute the series quite precisely despite the punishment they received later, and despite the fact that some parts remained in England when others went to Marquette University. They were indeed fair copies of the now chaotic existing texts, and few important narrative changes were made. But in these new texts 'Bingo' is finally supplanted by 'Frodo', and 'Frodo Took' becomes in turn 'Folco Took', taking over what had been his father's name (see pp. 251, 290). In describing these third phase versions I restrict myself here almost exclusively to the form they had when first written, and ignore the fearsome complexities of their later treatment.

There are three pieces of evidence available for the determination of the 'external' date. One is my father's letter of 13 October 1938, in which he said that the book 'has reached Chapter XI (though in rather an illegible state') (*Letters* no. 34). Another is his letter of 2 February 1939, in which he recorded that although he had not been able to touch it since the previous December, it had by then 'reached Chapter 12 (and had been re-written several times), running to over 300 MS pages of the size of this paper and written generally as closely.' The third is a set of notes, plot-outlines and brief narrative drafts all bearing the date 'August 1939': from these, as will be seen later, it is apparent that the third phase was already in being.

My guess – it can hardly be more – is that in October 1938 the third phase had not been begun, or had not proceeded far, since the book was 'in rather an illegible state'; while when my father wrote of having had to set the work aside in December 1938 it was to the third phase that he was referring: hence he said that it had been 're-written several times' (moreover 'Chapter XII' of this phase is the arrival at Rivendell, and it is here – as I think – that the new version was interrupted).

The third phase can be described quite rapidly, as far as the end of 'Fog on the Barrow-downs'; but first there is an interesting new text to be given. This my father called a *Foreword* (precursor of the *Prologue* in the published work). There is no preparatory material for it extant, but for a section of it he took up the passage concerning hobbit architecture from the second version of 'A Short Cut to Mushrooms', against which he had directed 'Put in Foreword' (see pp. 294–5). This was scarcely changed for its place in the *Foreword*, but there was now added a reference to the 'Elf-towers', which goes back to the earliest form of the 'architecture' passage in the original version of the chapter (pp. 92–3), where Bingo says that he had once seen the towers himself.

A number of changes were made to the manuscript of the *Foreword*, but apart from those that seem clearly to belong to the time of writing I ignore them here and print the text as it was first written.

FOREWORD

Concerning Hobbits

This book is largely concerned with hobbits, and it is possible to find out from it what they are (or were), and whether they are worth hearing about or not. But finding out things as you trudge along a road or plod through a story is rather tiring, even when it is (as occasionally happens) interesting or exciting. Those who wish to have things clear from the beginning will find some useful information in the brief account of Mr Bilbo Baggins' great Adventure, which led to the even more difficult and dangerous adventures recorded in this book. This account was called *The Hobbit* or *There and Back again*, because it was chiefly concerned with the most famous of all the old legendary hobbits, Bilbo; and because he went to the Lonely Mountain and came back again to his own home. But one story may well be all that readers have time or taste for. So I will put down some items of useful information here.

Hobbits are a very ancient people, once upon a time more numerous, alas! than they are to-day, when (or so I hear it sadly rumoured) they are vanishing rapidly; for they are fond of peace and quiet, and good tilled earth: a well-ordered and well-farmed countryside is their natural haunt. They are quite useless with machines more complicated than a bellows or a water-mill; though they are fairly handy with tools. They were always rather shy of the Big People (as they call us), and now they are positively scared of us.

And yet plainly they must be relatives of ours: nearer to us than elves are, or even dwarves. For one thing, they spoke a very similar language (or languages), and liked or disliked much the same things as we used to. What exactly the relationship is would be difficult to say. To answer that question one would have to re-discover a great deal of the now wholly lost history and legends of the Earliest Days;[1] and that is not likely to happen, for only the Elves preserve any traditions about the Earliest Days, and their traditions are mostly about themselves – not unnaturally: the Elves were much the most important people of those times. But even their traditions are incomplete: Men only come in to them occasionally, and Hobbits are not mentioned. Elves, Dwarves, Men, and other creatures only became aware of Hobbits after they had actually existed, jogging along in their uneventful fashion, for many ages. And they continued, as a rule, to jog along, keeping to themselves and keeping out of stories. In the days of Bilbo (and Frodo his heir) they became for a time very important, by what is called accident, and the great persons of the world, even the Necromancer, were obliged to take them into account, as these stories show. Though Hobbits had then already had a long history (of a quiet kind), those days are now very long ago, and geography (and many other things) were then very different. But the lands in which they lived, changed though they now are, must have been more or less in the same place as the lands in which they still linger: the North-west of the old world.

They are (or were) a small people, smaller than dwarves: less stout and stocky, that is, even when they were not in fact much shorter. Their height was, like the height of us Big People, rather variable, ranging between two and four feet (of our length): three feet was more or less an average. Very few hobbits, outside their own more fantastic legends, touched three foot six. Only Bandobras Took, son of Isengrim the First, known usually as the Bullroarer, of all the hobbits of history exceeded four feet. He was four foot five and rode a horse.[2]

There is, and always has been, very little magic about hobbits. Of course they possess the power which we sometimes confuse with real magic – it is really only a kind of professional skill, that has become uncanny through long practice, aided by close friendship with the earth and all things that grow on it: the power of disappearing quietly and quickly when large stupid folk like us come blundering along, making noises like elephants, which they can hear a mile off. Even long ago their great desire was to avoid

trouble; and they were quick in hearing, and sharpsighted. And they were neat and deft in their movements, though they were inclined to be fat in the stomach, and did not hurry unnecessarily.

They dressed in bright colours, being particularly fond of green and yellow; but they wore no shoes, because their feet grew natural leathery soles and thick warm brown hair, curly like the brown hair of their heads. The only trade unknown among them was consequently shoemaking; but they had long clever brown fingers and could make many other useful things. They had good-natured faces, being as a rule good-natured; and they laughed long and deeply, being fond of simple jests at all times, but especially after dinner (which they had twice a day, when they could get it). They were fond of presents, and gave them away freely, and accepted them readily.

All hobbits had originally lived in holes in the ground, or so they believed; although actually already in Bilbo's time it was as a rule only the richest and the poorest hobbits that still did so. The poorest hobbits went on living in holes of the most antiquated kind – in fact just holes, with only one window, or even none. The most important families continued to live (when they could) in luxurious versions of the simple excavations of olden times. But suitable sites for these large and ramifying tunnels were not to be found everywhere. In Hobbiton, in Tuckborough in Tookland, and even in the one really populous town of their Shire, Michel-Delving on the White Downs, there were many houses of stone and wood and brick. These were specially favoured by the millers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and people of that sort: for even when they had holes to live in hobbits used to put up sheds and barns for workshops and storehouses.

The custom of building farms and dwelling-houses was believed to have begun among the inhabitants of the river-side regions (especially the Marish down by the Brandywine), where the land was flat and wet; and where perhaps the hobbit-breed was not quite pure. Some of the hobbits of the Marish in the East-farthing at any rate were rather large and heavy-legged; a few actually had a little down under their chins (no pure-bred hobbit had a beard); and one or two even wore boots in muddy weather.

It is possible that the idea of building, as of so many other things, came originally from the Elves. There were still in Bilbo's time three Elf-towers just beyond the western borders of the Shire. They shone in the moonlight. The tallest was furthest away, standing alone on a hill. The hobbits of the Westfarthing

said that you could see the Sea from the top of that tower: but no hobbit had ever been known to climb it. But even if the notion of building came originally from the Elves, the hobbits used it in their own fashion. They did not go in much for towers. Their houses were usually long and low, and comfortable. The oldest kind were really artificial holes of mud (and later of brick), thatched with dry grass or straw, or roofed with turf; and the walls were slightly bulged. But, of course, that stage belonged to very ancient history. Hobbit-building had long been altered (and perhaps improved) by the taking of wrinkles from dwarves and even Big People, and other folk outside the Shire. A preference for round windows, and also (but to a less extent) for round doors, was the chief remaining characteristic of hobbit-architecture.

Both the houses and the holes of hobbits were usually large and inhabited by large families. (Bilbo and Frodo Baggins were in this point, as in many others, rather exceptional.) Sometimes, as in the case of the Brandybucks of Brandy Hall, many generations of relations lived in (comparative) peace together in one ancestral and ramifying mansion. All hobbits were, in any case, clannish, and reckoned up their relationships with great care. They drew long and elaborate family-trees with many branches. In dealing with hobbits it is most important to remember who is related to whom, and how, and why.

It would be impossible to set out in this book a family-tree that included even the more important members of the more important families of the Shire at the time we speak of. It would take a whole book, and everyone but hobbits would find it dull. (Hobbits would love it, if it was accurate: they like to have books full of things they already know set out fair and square with no contradictions.) The Shire was their own name for the very pleasant little corner of the world in which the most numerous, thoroughbred, and representative kind of hobbits lived in Bilbo's time. It was the only part of the world, indeed, at that time in which the two-legged inhabitants were all Hobbits, and in which Dwarves, Big People (and even Elves) were merely strangers and occasional visitors. The Shire was divided into four quarters, called the Four Farthings, the North, South, East and West Farthings; and also into a number of folklands, which bore the names of the important families, although by this time these names were no longer found only in their proper folklands. Nearly all Tooks still lived in Tookland, but that was not so true of other families, like the Bagginses or the Boffins. A map of the Shire will be found in this

book, in the hope that it will be useful (and be approved as reasonably correct by those hobbits that go in for hobbit-history).

To complete the information some (abridged) family-trees are also given, which will show in what way the hobbit-persons mentioned are related to one another, and what their various ages were at the time when the story opens. This will at any rate make clear the connexions between Bilbo and Frodo, and between Folco Took and Meriadoc Brandybuck (usually called Merry) and the other chief characters.[3]

Frodo Baggins became Bilbo's heir by adoption: heir not only to what was left of Bilbo's considerable wealth, but also to his most mysterious treasure: a magic ring. This ring came from a cave in the Misty Mountains, far away in the East. It had belonged to a sad and rather loathsome creature called Gollum, of whom more will be heard in this story, though I hope some will find time to read the account of his riddle-competition with Bilbo in *The Hobbit*. It is important to this tale, as the wizard Gandalf tried to explain to Frodo. The ring had the power of making its wearer invisible. It had also other powers, which Bilbo did not discover until long after he had come back and settled down at home again. Consequently they are not spoken of in the story of his journey. But this later story is concerned chiefly with the ring, and so no more need be said about them here.

Bilbo it is told 'remained very happy to the end of his days and those were extraordinarily long.' They were. How extraordinarily long you may now discover, and you may also learn that remaining happy did not mean continuing to live for ever at Bag-end. Bilbo returned home on June 22nd in his fifty-second year, and nothing very notable occurred in the Shire for another sixty years, when Bilbo began to make preparations for the celebration of his hundred and eleventh birthday. At which point the present tale of the Ring begins.

Chapter I: 'A Long-expected Party'

At the beginning of this sixth embodiment of the opening chapter the revised passage about Bilbo's book (p. 245, note 3) was now removed, and replaced by: 'He was supposed to be writing a book, containing a full account of his year's mysterious adventures, which no one was allowed to see.'

The conversation at *The Ivy Bush* is taken up from the preliminary version described on pp. 244–5, and now reaches virtually the form it has

in FR; but at this stage the Gaffer's instruction on the subject of Bilbo and Frodo and their antecedents was still recounted in advance by the narrator also.[4]

The 'odd-looking waggons laden with odd-looking packages', driven by 'elves or heavily hooded dwarves,' which had survived from the second version of the chapter (p. 20), were now reduced to a single waggon, driven by dwarves, and no elves appear (see p. 235); but Gandalf's mark on the fireworks, here called 'runic', still remains, and he is still 'a little old man'. The guests still included the Gaukrogers (so spelt), but the remark that the Brockhouses had come in from Combe-under-Bree (p. 236) is dropped. The young Took who danced on the table changes his name from Prospero to Everard (as in FR), but his partner remains Melissa Brandybuck (Melilot in FR).

The pencilled addition to the fifth version (p. 246, note 12), showing that Bingo/Frodo was fully aware of what Bilbo intended to do, was taken up (but as in FR Frodo stays on long enough at the dinner-table to satisfy Rory Brandybuck's thirst: 'Hey, Frodo, just send that decanter round again!'); as also was the passage about Bilbo's taking Sting with him (p. 246, note 13). Bilbo now (as in FR) takes a leather-bound manuscript from a strong-box (though not the 'bundle wrapped in old cloths'), but gives the bulky envelope, which he addresses to Frodo and into which he puts the Ring, to the dwarf Lofar, asking him to put it in Frodo's room.

Gandalf still meets Bilbo at the bottom of the Hill after he has left Bag End with the Dwarves (still named Nar, Anar, and Hannar), and their conversation remains as it was (pp. 238–40): in answer to Gandalf's question 'He [Frodo] knows about it, of course?' Bilbo replies: 'He knows that I have a Ring. He has read my private memoirs (the only one I have ever allowed to read them).' Gandalf's return to Bag End after saying good-bye to Bilbo is incorporated from the very rough form in the fifth version (p. 247, note 20), the only difference being that Frodo is now actually reading Bilbo's letter as he sits in the hall.

The list of Bilbo's parting presents (p. 247, note 21) is now further changed by the loss of Caramella Chubb and her clock and Primo Grubb and his dinner-service (survivors from the original draft, p. 15, when they were Caramella Took and Inigo Grubb-Took); Colombo Hornblower and the barometer also disappear. Lofar still plays the rôle of Merry Brandybuck on the day following the Party, and Gandalf's conversation with Frodo on that day remains the same, with various later additions and omissions made to the fifth version (p. 248, notes 24–6, 28–30) incorporated: thus Bingo's reference to Bilbo's use of the Ring to escape from the Sackville-Bagginses is of course removed, in view of its use in 'A Conspiracy is Unmasked' (p. 300), as is Gandalf's suggestion that Bingo might be able to get in touch with him if necessary through 'the nearest dwarves'.

Genealogy of the Tooks

On the reverse of one of the pages of this manuscript of 'A Long-expected Party' is the most substantial genealogy of the Tooks that has yet appeared.

The figures attached to the names are at first glance very puzzling: they are obviously neither dates according to an independent calendar, nor ages at death. The key is provided by 'Bilbo Baggins 111', and by the statement in the *Foreword* (p. 314) that the family-trees (of which this is the only one that survives, or was made at this time) would show 'what their various ages were at the time when the story opens.' The basis is the year of the Party, which is zero; and the figures are the ages of the persons *relative to the Party*. As between any two figures, the relative ages of the persons are given. Thus 311 against Ferumbras and 266 against Fortinbras means that Ferumbras was born 45 years before his son; Isengrim the First was born 374 years before Meriadoc Brandybuck eight generations later; Drogo Baggins was 23 years younger than Bilbo, and if he had not been drowned in the Brandywine and had been able to come to the Party would have been 88; and so on. The daggers of course show persons who were dead at the time of the Party.

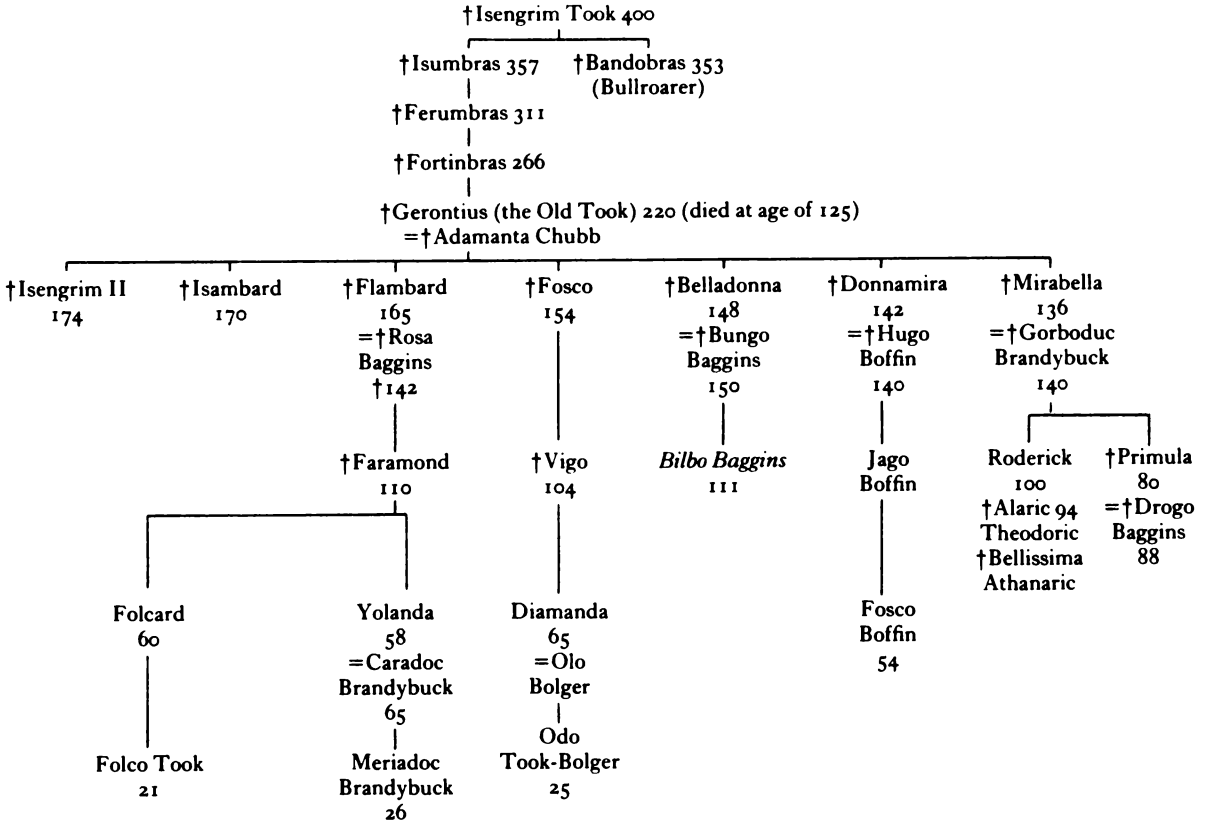
A few of the figures were changed on the manuscript, the earlier ones being: Isengrim II 172, Isambard 160, Flambard 167, Rosa Baggins 151, Bungo Baggins 155, Yolanda 60, Folco Took 23, Meriadoc 25, Odo 24.

It will be seen that while there is no external chronological structure, the internal or relative structure is not so very different from that of the family tree of *Took of Great Smials* in LR Appendix C. In LR Meriadoc was born 362 years after Isengrim II (= Isengrim I in the old tree) and eight generations later.

Bandobras the Bullroarer (see p. 311 and note 2) is here the son of Isengrim, first of the Took line in the tree; and in the *Prologue* to LR (p. 11) he is likewise the son of that Isengrim (the Second). This was overlooked when the final Took tree was made, for Bandobras is there moved down by a generation, becoming the son (not the brother) of Isengrim's son Isumbras (III).[5]

The Old Took now acquires the name Gerontius, as in LR (earlier he was 'Frodo the First', p. 251). Four sons are named here; in LR he had nine. Rosa Baggins, wife of one of them (Flambard), has appeared in the little genealogy found in *Queries and Alterations* (p. 222): there she is the sister of Bungo Baggins, and she married 'Young Took'. The tree given on p. 267 is maintained here in respect of Merry's parents; Frodo Took has become Folco Took, and his father Folcard (see p. 309). Odo, here with a double-barrelled name Took-Bolger, was said earlier (p. 251) to have a Took mother and to be a third cousin of Merry and Frodo (Folco), as is shown in this tree.

Donnamira Took, second of the Old Took's daughters, is now named,


†Isengrim Took 400
†Isumbras 357
†Bandobras 353
(Bullroarer)
†Ferumbras 311
†Fortinbras 266
†Gerontius (the Old Took) 220 (died at age of 125)
=†Adamanta Chubb
†Isengrim II
174
†Isambard
170
†Flambard
165
=†Rosa
Baggins
†142
†Fosco
154
†Belladonna
148
=†Bungo
Baggins
150
†Donnamira
142
=†Hugo
Boffin
140
†Mirabella
136
=†Gorboduc
Brandybuck
140
†Faramond
110
†Vigo
104
Bilbo Baggins
111
Jago
Boffin
Roderick
100
†Alaric 94
Theodoric
†Bellissima
Athanaric
†Primula
80
=†Drogo
Baggins
88
Folcard
60
Yolanda
58
=Caradoc
Brandybuck
65
Diamanda
65
=Olo
Bolger
Fosco
Boffin
54
Folco Took
21
Meriadoc
Brandybuck
26
Odo
Took-Bolger
25

and is the wife of Hugo Boffin, as in LR, where however no issue is recorded in the tree: on this see p. 386.

Lastly, five further children (six in LR) of Mirabella Took and Gorboduc Brandybuck are given in addition to Primula, one of them being Rory Brandybuck (see p. 267, note 4), whose true name is here Roderick (Rorimac in LR); the other sons have Visigothic names altogether different from those in the Brandybuck tree in LR.

Chapter II: 'Ancient History'

The earlier forms of this chapter are found on pp. 76 ff. and pp. 250 ff. The version in the third phase is in places difficult to interpret, for it was a good deal changed in the act of composition and very heavily altered afterwards, and it is not easy to distinguish the 'layers'; moreover, it became divided up, with some of its pages remaining in England and some going to Marquette University.

In general, the substance of the narrative remains remarkably close to that of the preceding version; my father had that before him, of course, and he was largely content merely to alter the expression as he went along – ubiquitously, but leaving the existing story little affected.

Of the younger hobbits that Frodo went about with, the chief are now Meriadoc Brandybuck, Folco Took, and Odo Bolger (on *Folco* for *Frodo* see p. 309); genealogical information about them is not provided (cf. p. 251). Frodo no longer 'walked all over the Shire,' nor was he 'often away from home'; rather, 'he did not go far afield, and after Bilbo left his walks gradually grew shorter and circled more and more round his own hole.' When he thought of leaving the Shire, and wondered what lay beyond its borders, 'half of him was now unwilling, and began to be afraid of walks abroad, lest the mud on his feet should carry him off.' The 'thin feeling' mentioned in the previous version (p. 252), 'as if he was being stretched out over a lot of days, and weeks, and months, but was not fully there', is no longer referred to, and Gandalf does not do so later in the chapter (cf. p. 266).

In the account of Gandalf's visits to Hobbiton, the passage in the previous version describing his secret comings and taps on the window is moved, so that it refers to the earlier time when he came often (cf. FR p. 55), before his long absence of seven years (p. 268, note 6). The wizard reappeared 'about fifteen years after Bilbo's departure', and 'during the last year he had often come and stayed a long time.' The conversation at *The Green Dragon* took place in 'the spring of Frodo's forty-ninth year' (at the beginning of the next chapter in this phase Frodo decides to leave Bag End in September of 'this (his fiftieth) year': see p. 253 and note 8).

In the passage concerning the rumours of trouble and the migrations in the wide world the site of Sauron's ancient stronghold in the South 'near the midst of the world in those days' (p. 253) becomes 'near the

middle of the Great Land', but this was at once struck out; and the passage concerning giants becomes: 'Trolls and giants were abroad, of a new and more malevolent kind, no longer dull-witted but full of cunning and wizardry.' In the talk at the inn, the passage about the Grey Havens now appears, and the whole conversation moves almost to the form in FR (p. 54); but it is still Jo Button who saw the 'Tree-men' beyond the North Moors, though he works now for 'Mr Fosco Boffin' – with 'of Northope' added later, and then changed to 'at Overhill'. Fosco Boffin, Bilbo's first cousin once removed, appears in the Took genealogy given on p. 317; see p. 386.

The opening of the conversation between Gandalf and Frodo at Bag End was changed, probably at or very soon after the time of composition, from a form very close to that of the preceding version (p. 255) and still including Gandalf's mention of his two visits to the land of the Necromancer. The new form reads:

'You say the ring is dangerous, far more dangerous than I guess,' said Frodo at length. 'How long have you known that? And did Bilbo know? I wish you would tell me more now.'

'At first I knew very little,' answered Gandalf slowly, as if searching back in memory. Already the days of the journey and the Dragon and the Battle of Five Armies began to seem dim and far-off. Perhaps even he was at last beginning to feel his age; and in any case many dark and strange adventures had befallen him since. 'Then after I came back from the South and the White Council, I began to wonder what kind of magic ring he possessed; but I said nothing to Bilbo. All seemed well with him, and I thought that that kind of power was powerless over him. So I thought; and I was right in a way; but not quite right. I ought perhaps to have found out more, sooner than I did, and then I should have warned him earlier. But before he left I told him what I could – by that time I had begun to suspect the truth, but I knew very little for certain.'

'I am sure you did all you could,' said Frodo. 'You have been a good friend, and a wise counsellor to us. But it must have been a great blow to you when Bilbo disappeared.'

In Gandalf's account of the Rings (p. 260) he now says: 'Slowly through the years he has been seeking for them, hoping to recall their power into his own hands, and hoping always to find the One'; and his words concerning the Three Rings were early changed from their form in the second version (p. 260, but with 'earth, sea, and sky' for 'earth, air, and sky'):

What use they made of the Three Rings of Earth, Sea, and Sky, I

do not know; nor do I know what has now become of them. Some say that hidden Elf-kings still keep them in fast places of the Middle-earth; but I believe they have long been carried far over the Great Sea.

Gandalf, again by early or immediate change, now concludes his remarks about the Seven Rings of the Dwarves, which some say have perished in the fire of the dragons, with the words: 'Yet that account, maybe, is not wholly true'; he does not now refer to the belief that some of the Seven Rings are preserved, though no doubt he implies it (cf. the first draft for the Council of Elrond, p. 398).

As my father first wrote here the passage about Gil-galad, he began by following the former text almost exactly, with 'Valandil, King of the Island' (see p. 260 and note 26), but he changed it in the act of writing to: 'and he made an alliance with Valandil, King of the men of Númenor, who came back over the sea from Westernesse into Middle-earth in those days.' *Valandil* was then changed to *Elendil*, probably almost immediately, and also at the subsequent occurrences of the name in this passage. *Isildor* of the second text is now written *Isildur*. Isildur's host was overwhelmed by 'Orcs', not 'Goblins' (see p. 437, note 35).

To Gandalf's story of Gollum nothing is added or altered from the preceding version (see p. 261), save that 'his grandmother who ruled all the family turned him out of her hole.'

The purport of Gandalf's discussion of Gollum's character and motives in respect of the Ring remains unchanged from the second version, though of course with continual slight development in expression, and in some passages with considerable expansion. The words 'Only Elves can stand it, and even they fade' (p. 261) are now omitted. Gandalf's meaning in his reply to Frodo's objection that Gollum never gave Bilbo the Ring is now made clearer:

'But he never gave Bilbo the Ring,' said Frodo. 'Bilbo had already found it lying on the floor.'

'I know, answered Gandalf, 'and I have always thought that that was one of the strangest things about Bilbo's adventure. That is why I said that Gollum's ancestry only partly explained what happened . . .'

It is still Gandalf himself who found Gollum, though Frodo's exclamation 'You found Gollum!' (p. 263) was subsequently changed to 'You have seen Gollum!', and Gandalf's reply to Frodo's question 'Did you find him there [in Mirkwood]?' (p. 264) was changed to 'I saw him there, but it was friends of mine who actually tracked him down, with the help of the Wood-elves.' Cf. the first version of the Council of Elrond, p. 401 and note 20. – Gandalf's account of Gollum's own story is expanded thus:

What I have told you, Gollum was willing to tell – though not, of course, in the way I have reported it. Gollum is a liar, and you have to sift his words. For instance, you may remember that he told Bilbo he had the Ring as a birthday-present. Very unlikely on the face of it: incredible when one suspects what kind of ring it really was. It was said merely to make Bilbo willing to accept it as a harmless kind of toy – one of Gollum's hobbit-like thoughts. He repeated this nonsense to me, but I laughed at him. He then told me the truer story, with a lot of snivelling and snarling. He thought he was misunderstood and ill-treated . . .

Gandalf still says, oddly, that Gollum 'had found out eventually, of course, that Bilbo had in some way got his Ring, and what his name was, and where he came from' (see p. 263 and note 32); indeed the point is now made more emphatically: 'And the news of later events went all over Wilderland, and *Bilbo's name was spoken* far and wide.'

When Gandalf pauses after saying 'he made his slow sneaking way bit by bit, years ago, down to the Land of Mordor' the heavy silence mentioned in FR p. 68 falls, and 'there was now no sound of Sam's shears.' The phrase 'I think indeed that Gollum is the beginning of our present troubles' is retained: see p. 271, note 33.

From '"Well anyway," said Frodo, "if Gollum could not be killed"' my father at first followed the earlier text (p. 265) very closely, but then rewrote it in a changed form.

'Well anyway,' said Frodo, 'if Gollum could not be killed, I wish Bilbo had not kept the Ring. Why did he?'

'Is not that clear from what you have now heard?' answered Gandalf. 'I remember you saying, when it first came to you, that it had its advantages, and that you wondered why Bilbo went off without it [see p. 242]. He had possessed it a long while before we knew that it was specially important. After that it was too late: there was the Ring itself to reckon with. It has a power and purpose of its own that clouds wise counsel. Even Bilbo could not altogether escape its influence. He developed a sentiment. Even when he knew that it came ultimately from the Necromancer he wished to keep it as a memento . . .'

Lastly, the passage beginning 'I really do wish to destroy it!' (p. 266) was changed and amplified:

'I really do wish to destroy it!' cried Frodo. 'But I wish more that the Ring need never have come to me. Why was I chosen?'

'Bilbo passed it on to you to save himself from destruction; and because he could find no one else. He did so reluctantly, but

believing that, when you knew more, you would accept the burden for a while out of love for him. He thought you were safe: safe not to misuse it or to let it get into evil hands; safe from its power for a time; and safe in the quiet Shire of the hobbits from the knowledge of its maker. And I promised him to help you. He relied on that. Indeed for your sake and for his I have taken many perilous journeys.

'Also I may say that I did not discover the letters of fire or their meaning or know for certain that this was the Ruling Ring until he had already decided to go. I did not tell him, for then he would not have burdened you. I let him go. He had had the Ring for sixty years, and it was telling on him, Frodo. It would have worn him down in the end, and I dare not guess what might then have happened.

'But now, alas! I know more. I have seen Gollum. I have journeyed even to the Land of Mordor. I fear that the Enemy is searching. You are in a far graver peril than ever Bilbo dreamed of. So do not blame him.'

'But I am not strong enough!' said Frodo. 'You are wise and powerful. Will you not take the Ring?'

'No!' said Gandalf springing to his feet. 'With that Ring I should have power too great and terrible. And over me it would gain a power still greater and more deadly.' His eyes flashed and his face was lit as by a fire within. 'Do not tempt me! For I do not wish to become like the Dark Lord himself. Yet the way of the Ring to my heart is by pity for weakness and the desire of strength to do good. Do not tempt me!'

He went to the window and drew aside the curtain and shutters. Sunlight streamed back again into the room. Sam passed along the path outside, whistling. 'In any case,' said the wizard, turning back to Frodo, 'it is now too late. You would hate me and call me a thief; and our friendship would cease. Such is the power of the Ring. But together we will shoulder the burden that is laid on us.' He came and laid his hand on Frodo's shoulder. 'But we must do something soon,' he said. 'The Enemy is moving.'

The same curious idea is still present here that Gandalf discovered the letters of fire on Bilbo's ring, and knew that it was the Ruling Ring, *before* Bilbo left but *without* telling him (i.e. without Bilbo's knowledge that this test had been made): see p. 266 and note 38. – Gandalf's remark (p. 321) 'I think indeed that Gollum is the beginning of our present troubles', retained from the second version, now perhaps becomes less

obscure (see p. 271, note 33): 'I have been to the Land of Mordor. I fear that the Enemy is searching.'

Chapter III: 'Delays are Dangerous'

The new text of the third chapter, now given this title (which had been scribbled in on the second version), was another fine clear manuscript, replacing its appallingly difficult predecessor (pp. 273 ff.).

The chapter still begins with the gossip in *The Ivy Bush* and *The Green Dragon* (p. 274 and note 1) before turning to the conversation between Gandalf and Frodo. In that conversation Gandalf does now refer, as in FR, to the possibility that it may be Frodo's task to find the Cracks of Doom – indeed he goes further:

> 'And to go *there* but not come *back again*,' added Gandalf grimly. 'For in the end I think you must come to the Fiery Mountain, though you are not yet ready to make that your goal.'

That with Merry's help[6] Frodo had chosen a little house at Crickhollow (see p. 299) is now taken up from the pencilled change to the previous version (p. 283, note 2). Gandalf still leaves Hobbiton 'one wet dark evening in May'.

But a major change enters the story with the departure of Odo Bolger (not Took-Bolger, as in the family tree, p. 317) with Merry Brandybuck in the third cart from Hobbiton. My father had proposed this earlier (p. 299): 'From here onwards [i.e. after the arrival in Buckland] Odo is presumed to have gone with Merry ahead. The preliminary journey was Frodo [Took], Bingo and Sam only. Frodo has a character a little more like Odo once had. Odo is now rather silent (and greedy).' But the text that followed this direction was obscure and contradictory, apparently on account of my opposition to the proposal (see p. 299). Now the deed was done properly.

In the earlier versions of the chapter the young hobbits Frodo and Odo had distinct characters (see p. 70). The removal of Odo from the expedition does not mean, however, that Odo's character was removed; because my father always worked on the basis of preceding drafts, and a great deal of the original material of this chapter survived. Though Frodo Took, now renamed Folco Took (since Bingo had become Frodo), was the one who remained in the new narrative, he had to become the speaker of the things that the absent Odo had said – unless my father was to rewrite what he had written in a far more drastic way than he wished to. Despite the early note 'Sam Gamgee to replace Odo' (p. 250), Sam was too particularly conceived from the outset to be at all suitable to take up Odo's nonchalance. Moreover, in this version of the

chapter the original contribution of Folco (Frodo) Took was in any case further reduced. The verse *The Road goes ever on and on* had already been given to Bingo in the second version (p. 278); now his account of meeting a Black Rider up on the North Moors was dropped, and his exclamation of delight when the singing of the Elves was heard ('Elves! How wonderful! I have always wished to hear elves singing under stars') was cut out apparently in the act of writing and replaced by Sam's hoarse whisper: 'Elves!' So Folco Took, with a diminished part of 'his own', and acquiring much of 'Odo's', becomes 'Odo' more completely than my father apparently foresaw when he said 'Frodo [Took] has a character a little more like Odo once had.'[7]

Yet Folco's *genealogical* place remains; for Odo himself (once surnamed Took but now a Bolger with a Took mother) has gone on ahead to Buckland, where a separate and distinct adventure (already glimpsed in advance, pp. 302, 304) will overtake him, while into Folco's place in the family tree of the Tooks, as first cousin of Merry Brandybuck (pp. 267, 317), will later step Peregrin Took (Pippin).

Cosimo Sackville-Baggins' 'overshadowed wife Miranda' disappears again, together with the remark that he and his mother Lobelia lived at Bag End 'for many a year after' (p. 283, note 5). – *The Road goes ever on and on* now attains the final form (p. 284, note 10). – At the first appearance of the Black Rider on the road, in the passage cited on p. 278, 'Odo and Frodo' become 'Folco and Sam', and the text of FR (p. 84) is reached.

As already noticed, Frodo Took's account of his meeting with a Black Rider on the North Moors of the Shire (p. 278) is now dropped, and the conversation between Bingo and Frodo Took on the subject of the Black Riders (p. 279) that follows Sam's revelation moves on to precisely the form in FR (p. 85), with of course Folco for Pippin. The brief halt of the Rider by the decayed tree in which the hobbits ate their supper is however retained in this version, and in the ensuing conversation Frodo still says, as did Bingo, that he will take the name of Mr Hill of Faraway.

When the singing of the Elves is heard Frodo says, as in FR p. 88: 'One can meet them sometimes in the Woody End', but he still says as in the preceding version (p. 280) that they come in spring and autumn 'out of their own lands far beyond the River'. As in FR, the hymn to Elbereth is now said to be sung 'in the fair Elven-tongue', and at the end of it Frodo says: 'These are High-elves! They speak the name of Elbereth!'

Odo's indiscreet remark about their good luck in landing unexpectedly good food and lodging disappears and is not handed on to Folco. Frodo's 'The stars shine on the hour of our meeting' was at first given as before (p. 280) only in translation, but my father changed this, clearly in the act of writing the manuscript, by the introduction of the Elvish words as well, *Eleni silir lúmesse omentiemman*, and then again to *Elen silë* . . ., 'A

star shines . . .' At this Gildor says, as in FR, 'Here is a scholar in the Ancient Tongue.'

It is still the Moon that rouses the Elves to song; but the old wording ('The yellow moon rose; springing swiftly out of the shadow, and then climbing round and slow into the sky') surviving from the original version of the chapter (p. 61), was changed, apparently at or very near the time of writing, to: 'Above the mists away in the East the thin silver rind of the New Moon appeared, and rising swift and clear out of the shadow it swung gleaming in the sky.' My father no doubt made this change on account of what he had said elsewhere about the Moon; for there was a waxing moon as the hobbits approached Weathertop, and it was 'nearly half-full' on the night of the attack (pp. 168, 184): the attack was on 5 October (p. 175), and there could not be a full or nearly full Moon on 24 September, the night passed with the Elves in the Woody End (see p. 160). On that night it must have been almost New Moon. The dates of the phases of the Moon in the autumn and early winter of that year cited on p. 434, note 19, in fact give New Moon on 25 September, the First Quarter (half-full) on 2 October, and Full Moon on 10 October. But it is an odd and uncharacteristic aberration that my father envisaged a New Moon rising late at night in the East.[8] In FR, of course, there is no mention of the Moon in this passage: it was 'the Swordsman of the Sky, Menelvagor with his shining belt' that caused the Elves to burst into song.

In the passage describing the memories of the meal eaten with the Elves the text of FR is reached, with Folco retaining those of Frodo Took together with Odo's recollection of the bread.

Gildor's advice to Bingo (Frodo) that he should take trusty companions, and his opinion that his present companions have already confused the Riders, is retained (see p. 282); but at the end there is now no mention of the Ring, and their talk ends as in FR (p. 94).

Chapter IV: 'A Short Cut to Mushrooms'

In this new version of the chapter there is only to notice the curious result of the exclusion of Odo Bolger: with Folco Took adding Odo's part to that which he retained from Frodo Took's in the former narrative. In the previous version Odo argued against taking a short cut to the Ferry, because, while he did not know the country, he did know *The Golden Perch* at Stock, and Frodo Took argued for it – because he did know the country.[9] Now, the Frodo-element in Folco, retaining a knowledge of the country, uses it to support the desire of the Odo-element in him for the beer at Stock, and his opponent in the argument is Frodo (Baggins); thus Folco is here, and throughout the chapter, Pippin in all but name (see pp. 286–7).

Deephallow now disappears from the text (see p. 286).

Chapter V: 'A Conspiracy Unmasked'

This chapter had already reached in the second version (pp. 298 ff.) a form very close to that in FR, but there remained the confusion over whether Odo had been on the walk from Hobbiton or whether he had gone on ahead to Buckland with Merry (see pp. 299, 323). Following the new version of Chapter III, this is now resolved, of course: Odo is at Crickhollow, opens the door when they arrive, and cooks the supper with Merry – in fact, until the end of the chapter, he has become Fredegar (Fatty) Bolger. The text now reaches, until the end of the chapter, the form in FR, down to the smallest particulars of expression, with these differences only: the passage about Gorhendad Oldbuck is still not present (p. 298); the Hedge is still forty miles from end to end (*ibid.*); and the 'dwarf-song' *Farewell! farewell, now hearth and hall!* still retains the form in the previous version (pp. 300–1).[10]

The end of the chapter still differs altogether from that in FR, however. The form in the second version was preserved, with the pencilled additions incorporated (p. 302). Odo says 'But *we shan't* have any luck in the Old Forest' (whereas in FR Fredegar says 'But *you won't* have any luck'), because he is still potentially a member of the further expedition, even though my father had in fact decided that he would stay at Crickhollow till Gandalf came. I give the text from 'Do you follow Captain Frodo, or do you stay at home?'

'We follow Captain Frodo,' said Merry and Folco (and of course Sam). Odo was silent. 'Look here!' he said after a pause. 'I don't mind admitting that I am more terrified of the Forest than of anything I know about. I dislike woods of any kind, but the stories about the Old Forest are a nightmare. But I also think that you ought to try and keep in touch with Gandalf, who I guess knows more about the Black Riders than you do. I will stay behind here and keep off inquisitive folk. When Gandalf comes, as I think he is sure to, I will tell him what you have done, and I will come on after you with him, if he will bring me.'

The others agreed that this seemed on the whole an excellent plan; and Frodo at once wrote a brief letter to Gandalf, and gave it to Odo.

'Well, that's settled,' said Merry.

The rest of the chapter is as in the previous version.

A curious trace of this stage survives in the published text. Since Odo's staying behind had not formed part of the 'conspiracy', Merry had prepared six ponies, five for the five hobbits and one for the baggage. When the story changed, and Fredegar Bolger's task 'according to the original plans of the conspirators' (FR p. 118) was expressly to stay

behind, this detail was overlooked, and the six ponies remained at this point (FR p. 117).

Chapter VI: 'The Old Forest'

The chapter now at last receives its title. Odo now said farewell to the others at the entrance to the tunnel under the Hedge in these words:

'I wish you were not going into the Forest. I don't believe you will get safely through; and I think it is very necessary that someone should warn Gandalf that you have gone in. I'm sure you will need rescuing before to-day is out. Still I wish you luck and I hope, perhaps, I shall catch you up again one day.'

The hill rising out of the forest was still crowned with a knot of trees (p. 113), but this was changed to the 'bald head' of FR in the act of writing this manuscript. The gully which the hobbits were forced to follow downwards because they could not climb out of it still ends as before (*ibid.*):

Suddenly the woodland trees came to an end, and the gully became deep and sheer-sided; its bottom was almost wholly filled by the noisy hurrying water. It ran down finally to a narrow shelf at the top of a rocky bank, over which the stream dived and fell in a series of small waterfalls. Looking down they saw that below them was a wide space of grass and reeds . . .

The old story of the descent down the thirty-foot bank is thus still present, with Folco falling the last fifteen feet.

In the original form of the story of the encounter with Old Man Willow (p. 113) Bingo and Odo were trapped in the tree, and Merry (then called Marmaduke) was the one who rounded up the ponies and rescued Frodo Took from the river. In the next stage (p. 302) this was changed to the extent that Sam took over Merry's part, and Merry simply 'lay like a log'. Now, with Frodo Took and Odo 'reduced' to Folco Took, it is still Frodo Baggins and Folco who are imprisoned in the tree, but Merry steps into Frodo Took's rôle as the one pushed into the river.

In the oldest version the path beside the Withywindle puzzlingly turned sharply to the left below Tom Bombadil's house and went over a little bridge; and in later revision this was retained, with, later again, the word 'left' changed to 'right', implying that Bombadil's house was on the south side of the Withywindle (see p. 114). The present text read at first here:

[The path] turned sharply to the right, and took them over a wooden bridge that crossed another smaller stream that came chattering down.

This retains the turn in the path and the bridge, but the bridge being over a tributary stream Bombadil's house is on the north side of the Withywindle. My father struck the passage out, however, apparently as he wrote.

Chapter VII: 'In the House of Tom Bombadil'

Like the last, this chapter now receives its title. The episode of the attack on Crickhollow (pp. 303–4) is now a part of the text, and was repeated from the earlier form with scarcely any significant change and almost word for word. The 'grey man' came up the path leading a white horse, but that Gandalf had a white horse appears later in the first version. More important, my father at first repeated the words 'Suddenly there was a movement', but struck them out and substituted: 'A curtain in one of the windows stirred. Then suddenly the figure by the door moved swiftly' (this change clearly belongs with the writing of the manuscript). Odo was in the house, of course. To the words pencilled at the end of the first version of the episode, 'Behind clung a small figure with flying cloak', and 'Odo', there is nothing corresponding in the next, and I think that they had not, in fact, yet been written in on the former; at this stage, it seems, my father had no further plans for Odo. But there is a pencilled addition to the second text of which, though it was erased, Mr Taum Santoski has been able to make out the following: 'Behind him ran Odo . . . and . . . wind. Cf. IX.22.' On this question see p. 336.

The dreams. The content of Frodo's dream remains the same, almost word for word, as Bingo's in the original version (p. 118), except that after the words 'hoofs thudding and wind blowing' there follows 'and faint and far the echo of a horn': this obviously echoes Gandalf's blowing of the horn at Crickhollow, which in this text immediately precedes Frodo's dream. But whereas in the story as told in the first phase 'Bingo woke' and then 'fell asleep again' (on the reality of the sounds he heard see p. 119), in this version Frodo 'lay in a dream without light': this is as in FR, but nothing is said here to suggest that he woke (contrast FR: '"Black Riders!" thought Frodo as he wakened.') On the other hand the passage in the present text ends as in FR: 'at last he turned and fell asleep again or wandered into some other unremembered dream.' Folco dreams what was originally Odo's dream, and like Pippin in FR 'woke, or thought he had waked', and then 'went to sleep again.' Merry takes over Frodo Took's dream of water, with the words 'falling into his quiet sleep and slowly waking him' retained from the old version, though struck out, probably at once; this passage ends, as in FR, 'He breathed deep and fell asleep again.' Sam 'slept through the night in deep content, if logs are contented.'

In Tom's talk with the hobbits on the second day, the old phrase 'A dark shadow came up out of the middle of the world' is retained (see p. 121); and Tom's reply to Frodo's question 'Who are you, Master?' is

almost exactly as in the old version (p. 121): he says 'I am Ab-Origine, that's what I am,' and the words 'He saw the Sun rise in the West and the Moon following, before the new order of days was made' are retained (see my discussion of this passage, pp. 121–2).

In all the other minor differences mentioned on pp. 122–3 the present text reaches the final form.

Chapter VIII: 'Fog on the Barrow-downs'

There is little that need be said about this chapter, which followed on the original text (pp. 127–30), and which now received its title. The 'arm walking on its fingers' in the barrow crept towards Folco, and Frodo fell forward upon him (p. 127). Merry's words when he woke remain unchanged (p. 128); and nothing more is said of the bronze swords that Tom Bombadil chose for the hobbits from the treasures of the mound than the words added to the original text: Tom said that 'they were made many ages ago by men out of the West: they were foes of the dark Lord.'

The conclusion of the chapter moves some way to the final form, but features of the original version are retained (pp. 129–30). Thus Frodo, riding down onto the Road, still says: 'I hope we shall be able to stick to the beaten track after this,' to which Bombadil replies: 'That's what you ought to do, as long as you are able: hold to the beaten way, but ride fast and wary.' In his parting advice he still says: 'Barnabas Butterbur is the worthy keeper: he knows Tom Bombadil, and Tom's name will help you. Say "Tom sent us here", and he will treat you kindly.' After he has gone there is no conversation among the hobbits recorded, and the chapter ends much as in the original text. Sam rode with Frodo in front, Merry and Folco behind, leading the spare pony; and Bree is still 'a little village'.

NOTES

1 *Earliest Days*, occurring twice in this passage, was changed later to *Elder Days*. The latter expression occurs once in the *Quenta Silmarillion*, where it is not capitalised (V.259); cf. also *Elder Years* (V.90), *eldest days* (V.245).

2 Bandobras the Bullroarer reappears from *The Hobbit* (Chapter I); see further pp. 316–17.

3 Only one such tree is known to me, perhaps the only one made by my father at this time; see pp. 316–18.

4 Thus whereas in the preliminary version of the talk in *The Ivy Bush* (p. 244) the narrator's opening was to be reduced to a brief paragraph, my father was now both retaining the account of past history from earlier versions of the chapter and also adding Gaffer Gamgee's

own characteristic mode of retailing it. In FR the Gaffer becomes the sole source.

5 In *The Hobbit* Bandobras is called Bilbo's great-grand-uncle, but Bilbo himself calls him his great-great-great-grand-uncle – as he is in the present tree.

6 His cousin Lanorac Brandybuck (p. 275) has disappeared.

7 The discussion whether to walk far or not on the first night was still present (see p. 276), but Folco does not take on Odo's reluctance; the result is that all three of them agree, and the discussion being now rather pointless my father struck it out and replaced it with the words of FR (p. 80): 'Well, we all like walking in the dark, so let's put some miles behind us before bed.'

8 It is indeed so extraordinary, in view of his deep and constant awareness of all such modes and appearances, that one seeks for an explanation: can he have intended 'the Old Moon' but have written 'the New Moon' because he was thinking of the crescent form (characteristically 'the New Moon') rather than the phase? This seems unlikely; and in any case an 'old Moon' as a 'thin silver rind' is not seen till near dawn, for the Moon to have this appearance must be very near to the Sun.

9 In the earlier, abandoned variant of the Farmer Maggot episode in the previous version of the chapter Maggot says that Frodo Took is 'half a Brandybuck' (p. 291). This was already omitted in the second variant; but he was Merry Brandybuck's first cousin, and he tells Bingo that Maggot 'is a friend of Merry's, and I used to come here with him a good deal at one time' – just as Pippin tells Frodo in FR, p. 101.

10 My father first wrote that it was sung by Merry, Folco, and Odo, but Odo's name was no doubt due to its presence in the previous version (p. 300), and he struck it out at once.

XX
THE THIRD PHASE (2): AT THE SIGN OF THE PRANCING PONY

With Chapter IX, now given the title 'At the Sign of the Prancing Pony', the narrative of this phase underwent a much more substantial development, but not at all in the direction of the final story in FR. Before coming to this, however, there is a curious feature in the opening of the chapter to be considered.

The opening now advanced far from the early forms given on pp. 132–4: an initial account in which Bree was a village of Men, but where 'there were hobbits about', changed to the story that there were only hobbits in Bree, and Mr Butterbur was himself a hobbit. A later note (p. 223) said however that 'Bree-folk are *not* to be hobbits.' Now my father resolved the question by returning, more or less, to the original idea: Men and Hobbits lived together in Bree. But he found it difficult to achieve a form of the opening with which he could be satisfied, and there is version after version soon tailing off, to be replaced by the next. All these drafts are very similar, differing in the ordering of the material and in the admission or omission of detail; all obviously belong to the same time; and there is no need to look at them closely, except in one particular. All the drafts contain the passage in FR (p. 161) concerning the origin of the Men of Bree – one of them adding that they were 'descendants of the sons of Bëor' – and the return of the Kings of Men over the Great Seas.[1] The passage that follows, as in FR, concerns the Rangers, and is almost the same in all the draft forms of it:

> No other Men lived now so far West, nor so near the Shire by a hundred leagues and more. No settled people, that is: for there were the Rangers, mysterious wanderers that the Men of Bree regarded with deep respect (and a little fear), since they were said to be the last remnant of the kingly people from beyond the Seas. But the Rangers were few and seldom seen, and roamed at will in the wild lands eastward, even as far as the Misty Mountains.

The curious thing is that in the form of the chapter-opening that was allowed to stand the account of the Rangers is quite different, and does not follow on from the words 'No other Men lived at that time so far West, nor so near by a hundred leagues to the Shire', but is placed

further on (after 'There was Bree-blood in the Brandybuck family by all accounts', FR p. 162). This version reads:

In the wild lands east of Bree there roamed a few unsettled folk (men and hobbits). These the people of the Bree-land called Rangers. Some of them were well-known in Bree, which they visited fairly frequently, and were welcome as bringers of news and tellers of strange tales.

Later in the chapter, Butterbur answers Frodo's question about Trotter thus:

I don't rightly know. He is one of the wandering folk – Rangers, we call them. Not that he really is a Ranger, if you understand me, though he behaves like one. He seems to be a hobbit of some kind. He has been coming in pretty often during the past twelve months, especially since last spring; but he seldom talks.

In the original version at this place (p. 137) Butterbur says: 'O! that is one of the wild folk – rangers we call 'em.' And Gandalf in his letter to Frodo still refers in the third phase text, as in the old version, to Trotter as 'a ranger . . . dark rather lean hobbit, wears wooden shoes' (p. 352).

With these extracts compare the note in *Queries and Alterations* (p. 223): 'Rangers are best *not* as hobbits, perhaps.'

It is difficult to interpret this. In the third phase we find the statement (in draft versions) that Rangers are 'the last remnant of the kingly people from beyond the Seas'; and also the statements that Rangers are both men and hobbits, that one particular hobbit is a Ranger (so Gandalf), and that this same hobbit is 'not really a Ranger, though he behaves like one' (so Butterbur). The simplest explanation is to suppose that the Númenórean origin of the Rangers was an idea that my father was considering in the drafts, but which he set aside when he wrote the text of the chapter and the subsequent narrative (see further p. 393). Whatever the explanation, it is clear that the finished conception of the Rangers had a difficult emergence; and it is characteristic that even when the idea of the Rangers as the last descendants of the Númenórean exiles had arisen, and a place thus prepared, as it were, for Trotter, he did not at once move into that place.

The village of Staddle now reappears (see p. 132), on the other side of the hill; and Combe is set 'in a deep valley a little further eastward', Archet 'on the edge of Chetwood' – all as in FR p. 161. That Bree stood at an old meeting of the ways, the East Road and the Greenway running north and south, now appears. In the only one of the draft versions of the opening to reach the actual narrative, the hobbits

passed one or two detached houses before they came to the inn, and Sam and Folco stared at these in wonder. Sam was filled with

deep suspicion, and doubted the wisdom of seeking any lodging in such an outlandish place. 'Fancy having to climb up a ladder to bed!' he said. 'What do they do it for? They aren't birds.'

'It's airier,' said Frodo, 'and safer too in wilder country. There is no fence around Bree that I can see.'

Here my father stopped; probably at that moment he decided that this was improbable. In the completed text of the chapter dike, hedge, and gate appear.

Frodo and his companions came at last to the Greenway-crossing and drew near the village. They found that it was surrounded by a deep ditch with a hedge and fence on the inner side. Over this the Road ran, but it was closed (as was the custom after nightfall) by a great gate of loose bars laid across strong posts on either side.

A little sketch-map, reproduced on p. 335, very likely belongs to just this time. Written beside the line marking the outer circuit of Bree is 'ditch & f', i.e. 'fence'. (For an earlier, very simple sketch-plan of Bree see p. 174, note 20).

The text continues:

There was a house just beyond the barrier, and a man was sitting at the door. He jumped up and fetched a lantern, and looked down over the gate at them in surprise.

'We are making for the inn here,' said Frodo in answer to his questions. 'We are journeying east, and cannot go further tonight.'

'Hobbits!' said the man. 'And what's more, Shire-hobbits from the sound of your talk! Well, if that is not a wonder: Shire-folk riding by night and journeying east!'

He removed the bars slowly and let them ride through. 'And what makes it stranger,' he went on: 'there's been more than one traveller in the last few days going the same way, and enquiring after a party of four hobbits on ponies. But I laughed at them and said there had been no such party and was never likely to be. And here you are! But if you go on to old Butterbur's I don't doubt you'll find a welcome, and more news of your friends, maybe.'

They wished him goodnight; but Frodo made no comment on his talk, though he could see in the lantern-light that the man was eyeing them curiously. He was glad to hear the bars dropped in their places behind them as they rode forward. One Black Rider at least was now ahead of them, or so he guessed from the man's words, but it was likely enough that others were still behind. And

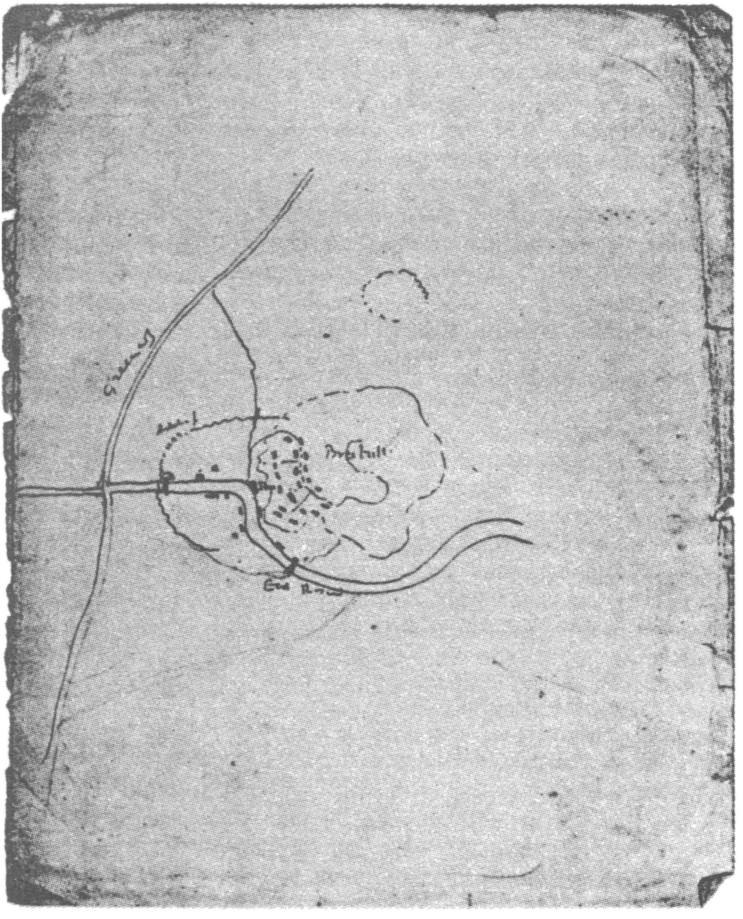
what about Gandalf? Had he, too, passed through, trying to catch them up while they were delayed in the Forest and Downs?

The hobbits rode on up a gentle slope, passing a few detached houses, and drew up outside the inn. . . .

The account of Sam's dismay at the sight of the tall houses, of the structure of the inn, and of their arrival, is almost word for word as in FR p. 164; and Barnabas Butterbur is now a man, not a hobbit. But the passage in the original version in which Bingo (Frodo) refers to Tom Bombadil's recommendation of *The Prancing Pony* and is then made welcome by the landlord (pp. 134–5) is retained. Frodo now introduces them by their correct names, except that he calls himself 'Mr Hill of Faraway' (see pp. 280, 324). Butterbur replies much as in the old version (p. 135), but his remarks there about the Tooks are now applied to the Brandybucks, and not merely in the general context of the Shire-folk but because Merry has been introduced as Mr Brandybuck; and he now mentions the strangers who had come up the Greenway the night before. The passage about their supply of money (see p. 136 and note 7) is retained, though the urgency is made less ('Frodo had brought some money with him, of course, as much as was safe or convenient; but it would not cover the expenses of good inns indefinitely.')

From 'The landlord hovered round for a little, and then prepared[2] to leave them' the new chapter reaches the final form for a long stretch with only minor differences and for the most part in the same words. The people in the common-room of the inn (including the strangers from the South, who 'stared curiously') are as in FR (and the botanical names of the Men of Bree, see p. 137 and note 8); but 'among the company [Frodo] noticed the gate-keeper, and wondered vaguely if it was his night off duty.' The 'squint-eyed ill-favoured fellow' who in FR foretold that many more people would be coming north in the near future is here simply 'one of the travellers' who had come up the Greenway. Folco Took is now of course 'the ridiculous young Took'; but he does not yet tell the tale of the collapse of the roof of the Town Hole in Michel Delving. Frodo 'heard someone ask what part the Hills lived in and where Faraway was; and he hoped Sam and Folco would be careful.'

As already noticed, Trotter remains a hobbit;[3] and the description of him in fact follows the original version (p. 137) closely, including the wooden shoes; his pipe was changed from 'broken' to 'short-stemmed' in the act of writing, and he had 'an enormous mug (large even for a man)' in front of him. In Frodo's first conversation with Trotter, and in all that follows to the end of Chapter 9 in FR, the present text moves almost to the final form (which has in any case been virtually attained, in the latter part, already in the original version, see p. 140). Frodo's feeling that the suggestion that he put on the Ring came to him 'from outside, from someone or something in the room' is present. At first my father wrote simply that the 'swarthy-faced fellow' (Bill Ferney)[4] 'slipped out of the



Plan of Bree

door, followed by one of the southerners: not a well-favoured pair'; but by a change that seems little later than the writing of the manuscript this became:

Very soon he slipped out of the door, followed by Harry the gate-keeper, and by one of the southerners: the three had been whispering together in a corner most of the evening. For a moment he wondered if the Ring itself had not played him a trick – or perhaps obeyed orders other than his own. He did not like the looks of the three men that had gone out, especially not the [dark-eyed >] squint-eyed southerner.

In this text it has already been mentioned that the gate-keeper was present at the inn; this is not in FR, though it is said that he went out just behind the other two. – The text of *The Cat and the Fiddle* is now exactly in the final form.

In the original version I divided the text for convenience at the point where Chapter 9 ends in FR, though there is no break in the manuscript. The present version also continues without a break, and in this case it is more convenient to treat the old chapter as a whole.

The next part of the story follows the original form (pp. 148–9) very closely to the point where Trotter tells Bingo about his 'eavesdropping' on the Road. There, Trotter had overheard Gandalf and the Dwarves and Elves (returning from Hobbiton after Bingo Bolger-Baggins' 'long-expected party' and disappearance) talking about Bingo and his companions who were supposed to be on the Road behind them: the date was Sunday morning, September 25th (p. 160). The present version here introduces a major alteration into the narrative structure, but by no means to the story in FR, where Strider overhears the hobbits talking to Bombadil when he left them on the East Road (and hears Frodo say that he must be known as Underhill, not Baggins).

It seems likely that the new story, in which the further adventures of Odo Bolger first appear in formed narrative, arose when my father came to this chapter in his writing of the third phase manuscripts, and that it was at this stage that he pencilled in the notes about Odo leaving Crickhollow with Gandalf[5] after the rout of the Black Riders (see p. 328): that is why, in the note to the second text of the attack on Crickhollow, he gave the reference 'IX.22'. IX.22 is the manuscript page in which Trotter's story of his eavesdropping on Gandalf *and Odo* on the East Road appears in the present chapter.

It will be seen that version 'A' of the original story is used: see pp. 148 and 171 note 1.

The opening of this section of the story is duplicated, both versions appearing to belong to the same time of writing, and neither being struck out; but the second form given here was preferred. The one reads:

. . . I was behind a hedge, when a man on a horse halted on the Road not far [west of Bree > *(at time of writing)*] east of Bree. To my surprise there was a hobbit riding behind him on the same horse! They got off to take a meal, and started talking. Now, oddly enough, they were discussing a certain Frodo Baggins and his three companions. I gathered that these four strange folk were hobbits that had bolted out of the Shire (by a back-door, as you might say) last Monday, and ought to be on the Road somewhere. The travellers were very worried about Mr Baggins, and wondered whether he was on the Road or off it, in front of them or behind. They wanted to find him and *warn* him.

'A bit incautious, I must say, of Gandalf – there now! Gandalf it was, of course: there's no mistaking him, you'll agree – to go talking like that by the Road-side. But actually he was speaking low, and I happened to be lying very close. That would be yesterday noon: Wednesday.

The other reads:

. . . I was hiding under a hedge, by the Road some way west of Bree, trying to shelter from the rain, when a man on horseback halted close by. To my surprise there was a hobbit riding behind him on the same horse! They got off to rest, and take a little food, and they started talking. If you want to know, they were discussing a certain Frodo Baggins and his three companions. I gathered that these were four hobbits that had left the Shire in a great hurry the previous day. The horseman was trying to catch them up, but he was not sure if they were on the Road or off it, in front or behind. He seemed very worried, but hoped to find them at Bree. I thought it very strange, for it is not often that Gandalf's plans go wrong.'

Frodo stirred suddenly at the mention of the name, and Trotter smiled. 'Yes, Gandalf!' he said. 'I know what he looks like, and once seen never forgotten, you'll agree. He was speaking very low, but he had no idea that old Trotter was so close. That was on Tuesday evening, just as the light was failing.

The hobbits left Crickhollow early in the morning of Monday 26 September, and arrived in Bree at nightfall on Thursday 29 September (p. 160). The first of these variants makes Trotter see Gandalf and Odo on the road east of Bree on the Wednesday, i.e. after passing through the village; the second places the encounter a day earlier, on the Tuesday evening, before they reached Bree. Therefore Frodo calculates, in the passage that now follows, that Gandalf had reached Crickhollow 'on the

Monday, after they had left,' since Bree was a day's riding from the Brandywine Bridge. The rain on the Tuesday from which Trotter was sheltering was the rain that fell during the hobbits' second day in the house of Tom Bombadil. The text continues:

Now up comes a hobbit and three friends out of the Shire, and though he gives out the name of Hill, his friends call him Frodo, and they all seem to know a good deal about the doings of Gandalf and the Bagginses of Hobbiton. I can put two and two together, when it is as easy as that. But don't let it trouble you: I shall keep the answer to myself. Maybe, Mr Baggins has a good honest reason for leaving his name behind. But if so, I should advise him to remember that there are others besides Trotter that can do such easy sums – and not all are to be trusted.'

'I am obliged to you,' said Frodo, greatly relieved. Here at any rate was news of Gandalf; and of Odo too, apparently. Gandalf must have turned up at Crickhollow on the Monday, after they had left. But Frodo was still suspicious of Trotter, and was determined to pretend that the affair was of no special importance. 'I have not left my name behind, as you put it,' he said stiffly. 'I called myself Hill at this inn merely to avoid idle questions. Mr Butterbur has quite enough to say as it is. I don't quite see how anyone would guess my real name from what has occurred, unless he had your skill in eavesdropping. And I don't see, either, what special interest my name has for anybody in Bree, or for you, for that matter.'

Trotter laughed at him. 'Don't you?' he said grimly. 'But eavesdropping, as you put it, is not unknown in Bree. And besides, I have not told you all about myself yet.'

At that moment he was interrupted by a knock on the door. Mr Butterbur was there with a tray of candles, and Nob behind him with cans of hot water. 'I've come to wish you a good night,' said the landlord, putting the candles on the table. 'Nob! Take the water to the rooms.' He came in and shut the door. 'It's like this, Mr Hill,' he began: 'I've been asked more than once to look out for a party of four hobbits and five ponies. Hullo, Trotter! You here?'

'It's all right,' said Frodo. 'Say what you wish! Trotter has my leave to stay.' Trotter grinned.

'Well,' began Mr Butterbur again, 'it's like this: a couple of days ago, yes, it would be late on Tuesday night, just as I was going to lock up, there came a ring at the bell in the yard. Who should be standing at the door but old Gandalf, if you know who I mean! All wet through he was: it had been raining heavens hard all day.

There was a hobbit with him, and a white horse – very tired the poor beast was; for it had carried both of them a long way, it seemed. "Bless me, Gandalf!" says I. " What are you doing out in this weather at this time of night? And who's your little friend?" But he winked at me, and didn't answer my questions. "Hot drinks and warm beds!" he croaked, and stumbled up the steps.

'Later on he sent for me. "Butterbur," says he. "I'm looking for some friends: four hobbits. One is a round-bellied little fellow with red cheeks" – begging your pardon – "and the others just young hobbits. They should have five ponies and a good deal of baggage. Have you seen them? They ought to have passed through Bree some time today,[6] unless they have stopped here."

'He seemed very put out, when I said no such party was at *The Pony*, and none had passed through, to my certain knowledge. "That's bad news!" he said, tugging at his beard. "Will you do two things for me? If this party turns up, give them a message: *Hurry on! Gandalf is ahead.* Just that. Don't forget, because it's important! And if anyone – anyone, mind you, however strange – enquires after a hobbit called Baggins, tell them Baggins has gone east with Gandalf. Don't forget that either, and I shall be grateful to you."' The landlord paused, looking hard at Frodo.

'Thankyou very much!' said Frodo, thinking Mr Butterbur had finished, and relieved to find that his story was much the same as Trotter's, and no more alarming. All the same he was extremely puzzled by Gandalf's mysterious words about *Baggins*. He wondered if Butterbur had got it all wrong.

'Ah! But wait a minute!' said the landlord, lowering his voice. 'That wasn't the end of it. And that's what is puzzling me. On Monday a big black fellow went through Bree on a great black horse, and all the folk were talking about it. The dogs were all yammering and the geese screaming as he rode through the village. I heard later that three of these riders were seen on the Road by Combe; though where the other two had sprung from I couldn't say.

'Gandalf and his little friend Baggins went off yesterday, after sleeping late, about the middle of the morning. In the evening, just before the road-gate was shut, in rode the black fellows again, or others as like them as night and dark. "There's the Black Man at the door!" shouted Nob, running to fetch me with his hair all on end. Sure enough, it was: not one nor three, though, but four of them! One was sitting there in the twilight with his big black horse

almost on my door-step. All hooded and cloaked he was. He bent down and spoke to me, and very cold I thought his voice sounded. And what do you think? He was asking for news of *four hobbits* riding east out of the Shire![7]

'I didn't like the sound or the looks of him, and I answered him short. "I haven't seen any such party," I said, "and I'm not likely to, either. What may you be wanting with them, or with me?'

'At that he sent out a breath that set me shivering. "We want news of them. We are seeking *Baggins*," he said, hissing out the name like a snake. "Baggins is with them. If he comes, you will tell us, and we will repay you with gold. If you do not tell us, we will repay you – otherwise."

'"Baggins!" said I. "He ain't with them. If you are looking for a hobbit of that name, he went off east this morning with Gandalf."

'At that name he drew in his breath and sat up. Then he stooped at me again. "Is that truth?" he said, very hard and quiet. "Do not lie to us!"

'I was all of a twitter, I can tell you, but I answered up as bold as I could: "Of course it's the truth! I know Gandalf, and he and his friend were here last night, I tell you." At that the four of them turned their horses and rode off into the darkness without another word.

'Now, Mr Hill, what do you make of all that? I hope I've done right. If it hadn't been for Gandalf's orders, I'd never have given them news of Baggins, nor of anyone else. For these Black Men mean no good to anyone, I'll be bound.'

'You've done quite right, as far as I can see,' said Frodo. 'From what I know of Gandalf, it is usually best to do what he asks.'

'Yes,' said the landlord, 'but I am puzzled all the same. How came these Black Men to think Baggins was one of *your* party? And I must say, from what I've heard and seen tonight, I wonder if maybe they aren't right. But Baggins or no, you are welcome to any help I can give to a friend of old Tom, and of Gandalf.'

'I'm very grateful,' said Frodo. 'I am sorry I can't tell you the whole story, Mr Butterbur. I am very tired, and very worried. But if you want to know, I *am* Frodo Baggins. I have no idea what Gandalf meant by saying that Baggins had gone east with him; for I think the hobbit's name was Bolger. But these – er – Black Riders are hunting us, and we are in danger. I am very grateful for your help; but I hope you won't get into any trouble yourself on our account. I hope these abominable Riders won't come here again.'

'I hope not indeed!' said Butterbur with a shiver.

'If they do, you must not risk their anger for my sake. They are dangerous. Once we have got clear away, you can do us little harm, if you tell them that a party of four hobbits *has* passed through Bree. Good night, Mr Butterbur! Thankyou again for your kindness. One day perhaps Gandalf will tell you what it is all about.'

'Good night, Mr Baggins – Mr Hill, I should say! Good night, Mr Took! Bless me! Where's Mr Brandybuck?'

'I don't know,' said Folco; 'but I expect he's outside. He said something about going out for a breath of air. He ought to be in before long.'

'Very good!' said Mr Butterbur. 'I'll see that he is not locked out. Good night to you all!' With a puzzled look at Trotter, and a shake of his head, he went out and his footsteps died away in the passage.

'There you go again!' said Trotter before Frodo could speak. 'Too trusting still! Why tell old Barnabas all that about being hunted; and why tell him the other hobbit was a Bolger?'

'Isn't he safe?' asked Frodo. 'Tom Bombadil said he was, and Gandalf seems to have trusted him.'

'Is he safe?' cried Trotter, throwing up his hands. 'Yes, he's safe, safer than houses. But why give him any more to puzzle about than is necessary? And why interfere with Gandalf's plan? You're not very quick, or it would have been plain at once to you that Gandalf wanted it *believed* that the hobbit with him was Baggins – precisely so that you would have a better chance, if you were still behind. And what about me? Am I safe? You're not sure (I know that), and yet you talk to Butterbur in front of me! However, I know now all that he had to say; and at least it will cut short what I still had to tell you – which was mostly about those Black Riders, as you call them. I saw them myself. I should say that seven all told have passed through Bree since Monday. You won't pretend any longer that you can't imagine what interest your real name might have. There is a reward offered for anyone who can report that four hobbits are here, and that one of them is probably a Baggins after all.'

'Yes, yes,' said Frodo. 'I see all that. But I knew already that They were after me; and so far at any rate they seem to have been sent off on a false scent.'

'I should not be too sure that they have all gone right away,' said Trotter; 'or that they are all ahead of you, and chasing after

Gandalf. They are cunning, and they divide their forces. I can still tell you a few things you have not heard from Butterbur. I first saw a Rider on Monday night, east of Bree as I was coming in out of the wilds. I nearly ran into him, going fast along the Road in the dark. I hailed him with a curse, for he had almost run over me; and he pulled up and came back. I stood still and made no sound, but he brought his horse step by step towards me. When he was quite close he stooped and sniffed. Then he hissed, and turned his horse and rode off.[8] Yesterday I saw the four that called at this inn. Last night I was on the look-out. I was lying on a bank under the hedge of Bill Ferney's garden; and I heard Bill Ferney talking. He is a surly fellow, and has a bad name in the Bree-land, and queer folk are known to call at his house sometimes. You must have noticed him among the company: a swarthy man with a scowl. He was very close tonight with Harry Goatleaf, the west-gate keeper (a mean old curmudgeon); and with one of the southern strangers. They slipped out together just after your song and accident. I don't trust Ferney. He would sell *anything* to *anybody*, if you understand me.'

'I don't understand you,' said Frodo.

'Well, I'm not going to say it plainer,' said Trotter. 'I just wonder whether this unusual arrival of strange travellers up the Greenway, and the appearance of the hunting horsemen come together by mere chance. Both might be looking for the same thing – or person. Anyway, I heard Bill Ferney talking last night. I know his voice, though I could not catch what was said. The other voice was whispering, or hissing. And that's all I have to tell you. You must do as you like about my reward. But as for my coming with you, I will say this: I know all the lands between the Shire and the Misty Mountains, for I've wandered over them many times in the course of my life – and I'm older now than I look. I might prove useful. You'll have to leave the open Road after tonight; for if you ask me, I should say that these Riders are patrolling it – and still looking for your party. I don't fancy that you wish to meet them. I don't! They give me the creeps!' he ended suddenly with a shudder.

The others looked at him and saw with surprise that his face was buried in his hands, and his hood was drawn right down. The room was very quiet and still and the lights seemed to have grown dim.

'There!' he cried after a moment, throwing back his hood and pushing the hair from his face. 'Perhaps I know more about these

pursuers than you do. You do not fear them enough – yet. It seems to me only too likely that news of you will reach them before this night is over. Tomorrow you will have to go swiftly, and secretly – if you can. But Trotter can take you by paths that are seldom trodden. Will you have him?'

Frodo made no answer. He looked at Trotter: grim and wild and rough-clad. It was hard to know what to do. He did not doubt that most of his tale was true; but it was less easy to feel sure of his good will. Why was he so interested? He had a dark look – and yet there was something in it that seemed friendly and even curiously attractive. And his speech had changed as he talked, from the unfamiliar tones of the Outsiders to something more familiar, something that seemed to remind Frodo of somebody.[9] The silence grew, and still he could not make up his mind.

'Well, I'm for Trotter, if you want any help in deciding,' said Folco suddenly. 'In any case, I daresay he could follow us wherever we went, even if we refused.'

'Thankyou!' said Trotter smiling at Folco. 'I could and I should; for I should feel it was my duty. But here is a letter which I have for you – that ought to make up your mind for you.' To Frodo's amazement he took from his pocket a small sealed letter and handed it over. On the outside was written: *F. from G.* ⨳

'Read it!' said Trotter.

Here the chapter ends. It will be seen that in this narrative, despite the radical differences in what Trotter and Butterbur communicated, the original form of the story (in the 'A' version, but see note 8) was still closely followed.

The manuscript of this chapter subsequently underwent immensely intricate alteration, with long insertions and deletions, for my father used the original text for two distinct developments, both involving major structural change. The one he called the 'red' version, marked out and paginated in red, the other the 'blue'; thus a rider on an inserted slip bears the number 'rider to IX.3(g) = red IX.9 = blue IX.4'! The relations can in fact be worked out perfectly satisfactorily. The 'blue' version is the later, and peters out towards the end; this represents a later plot, in which all reference to the visit of Gandalf and Odo to *The Prancing Pony* is cut out. The 'red' version, on the other hand, may well be contemporary or nearly contemporary with the primary text; it is carefully written (the alterations constituting the 'blue' version being much rougher), and it tells the same story of Gandalf and Odo – but tells it quite differently. It takes up from the end of the description of Bree, and begins with Gandalf's arrival there with Odo, now told directly and not in Butterburian narrative.

The Tuesday had been a day of heavy rain. Night had fallen some hours ago, and it was still pouring down. It was so dark that nothing could be heard but the seething noise of the rain, and the ripple of flood-rivers running down the hill – and the sound of hoofs splashing on the Road. A horse was slowly climbing up the long slope towards the village of Bree.

Suddenly a great gate loomed up: it stretched right across the Road from one strong post to another, and it was shut. There was a small house beyond it, dark and grey. The horse halted with its nose over the top bar of the gate, and the rider, an old man, dismounted stiffly, and lifted down a small figure that had been riding on a pillion behind him. The old man beat on the gate, and was just beginning to climb over it, when the door of the house opened and a man came out with a lantern, muttering and grumbling.

'A fine night to come hammering on the gate and getting a man out of his bed!' he said.

'And a fine night to be out in, wet through and cold, and on the wrong side of a gate!' replied the rider. 'Come on now, Harry! Get it open quick!'

'Bless me!' cried the gate-keeper, holding up the lantern. 'Gandalf it is – and I might have guessed it. There's never no knowing when you'll turn up next.' He opened the gate slowly, peering in surprise at the small bedraggled figure at Gandalf's side.

'Thank you!' said Gandalf, leading his horse forward. 'This is a friend of mine, a hobbit out of the Shire. Have you seen any more on the Road? There ought to be four of them ahead, a party on ponies.'

'There hasn't been any such party through, while I've been about,' said Harry. 'There *might* have been up to mid-day, for I was away in Staddle, and my brother was here. But I've heard no talk of it. Not that we watch the Road much between sunrise and nightfall, while the gate's open. But we shall have to be more heedful, I'm thinking.'

'Why?' asked Gandalf. 'Have any strange folk been about?'

'I should say so! Mighty queer folk. Black men on horses; and a lot of foreigners out of the South came up the Greenway at dusk. But if you're going to *The Pony*, I should get on before they lock up. You'll hear all the news there. I'll be getting back to my bed, and wish you good night.' He shut the gate and went in.

'Good night!' said Gandalf, and walked on into the village, leading his horse. The hobbit stumbled along beside him.

There was a lamp still shining over the entrance to the inn, but the door was closed. Gandalf rang the bell in the yard, and after a little delay a large fat man, in his shirt sleeves and with slippers on his feet, opened the door a crack and peered out.

'Good evening, Butterbur!' said the wizard. 'Any room for an old friend?'

'Heavens above, if they aren't all washed away!' cried the landlord. 'Gandalf! And what are you doing out in this weather and at this time of night? And who's your little friend?'

Gandalf winked at him. 'Hot drinks and warm beds – that's what we want, and not too many questions,' he said, and stumped up the steps.

'What about the horse?' asked the landlord.

'Give him the best you've got!' answered Gandalf. 'And if Bob grumbles at being got up again at this hour, tell him the beast deserves it: Narothal[10] has carried us both, fast and far today. I'll repay Bob in the morning according as my horse reports of him!'

A little later the wizard and his companion were sitting before the hot embers of a fire in Mr Butterbur's own room, warming and drying themselves and drinking mulled ale. The landlord came in to say that a room was ready for them.

'Don't you hurry yourselves!' said he, 'but when you're ready, I'll be going to my own bed. There's been an unusual lot of travellers in here today, more than I remember for years, and I'm tired.'

'Any hobbits among them?' asked Gandalf. 'I'm looking for four of them – a friend of mine out of the Shire and three companions.' He described Frodo carefully, but did not give his name. 'They should have five ponies and a fair amoung of baggage; and they ought to have reached Bree today. Harry hasn't seen them; but I hoped they might have come in without his noticing them.'

'Nay,' said the landlord, 'a party like that would have been heard of even by Harry, dull old grumbler though he be. We don't get many Outsiders from the Shire to Bree these days. There's no such party at *The Pony*, and there's been none along the Road to my certain knowledge.'

'That's bad news!' said Gandalf, tugging at his beard. 'I wonder where they have got to!'[11] He was silent for a moment. 'Look here, Butterbur!' he went on. 'You and I are old friends. You have eyes and ears in your head, and though you say a lot, you know what to

leave unsaid. I want to be private while I'm here, and if I see no one but you and Bob I'll be pleased. Don't tell everyone that I've asked after this party! But keep your eyes open, and if they turn up after I've gone, give them this message: *Hurry on! Gandalf's ahead.* Just that. Don't forget, because it's important. And if anyone – anyone, mind you, however strange – enquires after a hobbit called *Baggins*, tell them Baggins has gone east with Gandalf. Don't forget that, either, and I shall be grateful to you!'

'Right you are!' said Mr Butterbur. 'I hope I'll not forget, though one thing drives out another, when I'm busy with guests in the house. Baggins, you say? Let me see – I remember that name. Wasn't there a Bilbo Baggins that they told some strange tales about over in the Shire? My dad told me that he had stayed in this house more than once. But your friend won't be him – he disappeared in some funny way nigh on twenty years back: vanished with a bang while he was talking, or so I've heard. Not that I believe all the tales that come out of the West.'

'No need to,' said Gandalf, laughing. 'Anyway my young friend here is not old Bilbo Baggins. Just a relation.'

'That's right!' said the hobbit. 'Just a relation – a cousin in fact.'

'I see,' said the landlord. 'Well, it does you credit. Bilbo was a fine little fellow, and rich as a king into the bargain, if half I've heard is true. I'll give your messages, if the chance comes, Gandalf; and I'll ask no questions, strange though it all seems to me. But you know your own business best, and you've done me many a good turn.'

'Thankyou Barnabas!' said Gandalf. 'And now I'll do you another – let you go to your bed at once.' He drained his mug and stood up. The landlord put out the lights, and holding a candle in each hand led them to their room.

In the morning Gandalf and his friend got up late. They breakfasted in a private room, and spoke to no one but Mr Barnabas Butterbur. It was close on eleven before Gandalf called for his reckoning, and for his horse.

'Tell Bob to take him up the lane and wait for me near the Greenway,' he said. 'I'm not going along the Road to be gaped at this morning.'

He took his leave of the landlord at a side-door. 'Goodbye, my friend,' he said. 'Don't forget the messages! One day, perhaps, I'll tell you the whole story, and repay you, too, with something better

even than good news – that is, I will, if the whole story does not come to a bad end. Goodbye!'

He walked off with the hobbit up a narrow lane that ran north from the inn over the ditch round the village and on towards the Greenway.[12] Bob the ostler was waiting outside the village boundary. The white horse was glossy and well-groomed, and seemed thoroughly rested and eager for another day's journey. Gandalf called to him by name, and Narothal[13] whinnied, tossing up his head, and trotting back to his master, and nuzzling against his face.

'A good report, Bob!' said Gandalf, giving the ostler a silver piece. He mounted; and Bob helped the hobbit up on to a cushion behind the wizard, then he stood back with his cap in his hand, grinning broadly.

'That's right, my lad!' laughed Gandalf. 'We look a funny pair, I daresay. But we're not as funny as we look. When we've gone, remember that we've gone east, but forget that we set out along this lane. See? Goodbye!' He rode off and left Bob scratching his head.

'Curry me! if these aren't queer days!' he said to himself. 'Black men riding out of nowhere, and folk on the Greenway, and old Gandalf with a hobbit on a pillion and all! Things are beginning to move in Bree! But you watch yourself, Bob my lad – old Gandalf can hand out something hotter than silver.'

The fair morning that had followed the rain gave way later to cloud and mist. Nothing more happened in Bree that day until dusk was falling. Then out of the fog four horsemen rode though the gate. Harry peered through a window, and then hurriedly withdrew. He had been thinking of going out and shutting the gate, but he changed his mind. The horsemen were all clad and muffled in black, and rode high black horses. Some of the same sort had been seen in Bree two days before and wild stories were going about. Some said they were not human, and even the dogs were afeared of them. Harry locked the door and stood quaking behind it.

But the riders halted, and one dismounted and came and smote on the door. 'What do you want?' called Harry from inside.

'We want news!' hissed a cold voice through the keyhole.

'What of?' he answered, shaking in his boots.

'News of four hobbits,[14] riding on ponies out of the Shire. Have they passed?'

Harry wished they had, for it might have satisfied these riders, if he could have said *yes*. There was a threat and urgency in the cold voice: but he dared not risk a *yes* that was not true. 'No sir!' he said in a quavering voice. 'There's been no hobbits on ponies through Bree, and there isn't likely to be any. But there was a hobbit riding behind an old man on a white horse, last night. They went to *The Pony*.'

'Do you know their names?' said the voice.

'The old man was Gandalf,' said Harry.

A hiss came through the keyhole, and Harry started back, feeling as if something icy cold had touched him. 'You have our thanks', said the voice. 'You will keep watch for four hobbits, if you still wish to please us. We will return.'

Harry heard the sound of hoofs going off towards the village. He unlocked the door stealthily, and then crept out, and peered up the road. It was too foggy and already too dark to see much. But he heard the hoofs halt at the bend of the Road by the inn. He waited a while, and then quietly shut and locked the gate. He was just returning to his house, when in the misty air he heard the sound of hoofs again, starting up by the inn and dying away round the corner and down the Road eastward. It was turning very cold, he thought. He shivered and hurried indoors, bolting and barring the door.

The next morning, Thursday, was clear again, with a warm sun and the wind turning towards the South. Towards evening a dozen dwarves came walking out of the East into Bree with heavy packs on their backs. They were sullen and had few words for anybody. But no traveller came past the western gate all day. Night fell and Harry shut the gate, but he kept on going to his door. He was afraid of the threat in the cold voice, if he missed any strange hobbits.

It was dark and white stars were shining when Frodo and his companions came at last to the Greenway-crossing and drew near the village. They found that it was surrounded by a deep ditch with a hedge and fence on the inner side. Over and through this the Road ran, but it was now barred by the great gate. They saw a house on the other side, and a man sitting at the door. He jumped up and fetched a lantern, and looked down over the gate at them in surprise.

'What do you want and where do you come from?' he asked gruffly.

'We are making for the inn here,' answered Frodo. 'We are journeying east and cannot go further tonight.'

'Hobbits! Four hobbits! And what's more, out of the Shire from the sound of their talk,' said the gate-keeper, quietly and almost as if he was speaking to himself. He stared at them darkly for a moment, and then slowly opened the gate and let them ride through.

'We don't often see Shire-folk riding on the Road by night,' he went on, as they halted for a moment by his door. 'You'll pardon me wondering what business takes you away east of Bree.'

'I do,' said Frodo, 'though it does not seem very wonderful to us. But this does not seem a good place to talk of our business.'

'Ah well, your business is your own, no doubt,' said the gate-keeper. 'But you'll find maybe that there are more folk than old Harry at the gate that will ask questions. Are you expecting to meet any friends here?'

'What do you mean?' asked Frodo in surprise. 'Why should we?'

'And why not? Many folk meet at Bree even in these days. If you go on to *The Pony*, you may find you are not the only guests.'

Frodo wished him good night and made no further answer, though he could see in the lantern-light that the man was still eyeing them curiously. He was glad to hear the gate clang to behind them, as they rode forward. He wondered what the man had meant by 'meeting friends'. Could anyone have been asking for news of four hobbits? Gandalf, perhaps? He might have passed through, while they were delayed in the Forest and the Downs. But a Black Rider was more likely. There was something in the look and tone of the gate-keeper that filled him with suspicion.

Harry stared after them for a moment, and then he went to his door. 'Ned!' he called. 'I've business up at *The Pony*, and it may keep me a while. You must be on the gate, till I come back.'

From this point the 'red version' is only different from the first text in that Butterbur's story of Gandalf's visit is of course very greatly reduced from the form given on pp. 338–9.

NOTES

1 The drafts have 'Few had survived the turmoils of the Earliest Days', an expression used in the *Foreword* (p. 329, note 1), where FR has 'Elder Days'; the earliest form of the passage has: 'Few had

survived the turmoils of those old and forgotten days, and the wars of the Elves and Goblins'.

2 *prepared:* FR has '*proposed* to leave them', but this is an error that arose at the typescript stage.

3 My father wrote 'a queer-looking brown-faced hobbit', struck out 'hobbit', and then wrote 'hobbit' again.

4 In this phase *Ferney* is spelt thus; *Ferny* in the original version and in FR.

5 The word *ran* in the erased note to the second text of the attack on Crickhollow ('Behind him ran Odo . . .', p. 328) is rather surprising, since it seems pointless: if Odo was to accompany Gandalf there seems no reason why he should not ride pillion from the first – and in any case he would have been quickly left far behind.

6 It is perhaps surprising that Gandalf should expect Frodo and his companions to have passed through Bree on the Tuesday, since he knew from Odo that they left the house at Crickhollow on the Monday morning and had gone into the Old Forest. When they would get to Bree was presumably now far more uncertain than if they had taken the Road (hostile interventions apart). Possibly this survives from the old form of the story – 'They should be here by Tuesday, if they can follow a plain road', p. 151 – when Gandalf had no reason to think that they had not simply ridden the East Road from the Brandywine Bridge. See note 11.

7 How did the Riders know that there were *four* hobbits? (In the old variant versions, pp. 152, 157, they knew even that the four hobbits had five ponies). Presumably they surmised it: they knew that three had come to Bucklebury Ferry and been met there by another. Beyond that they had no knowledge (on the Wednesday night when they came to the inn) of Frodo and his companions. – At some point my father struck out the word *four*; see note 14.

8 This episode derives from the old 'B' version, p. 157; but there the Rider questioned Trotter, who did not answer. The relations between the versions here are:

Old version 'A' (p. 151):

(Monday) One Rider questions Butterbur at the inn-door

(Tuesday) Four Riders come to the inn-door, and one questions Butterbur

Old version 'B' (p. 157):

(Monday) One Rider questions Trotter on the Road

(Tuesday) Four riders meet Trotter on the Road, and one questions him

The present version:

(Monday) One Rider goes through Bree (p. 339), and meets Trotter on the Road east of Bree without speech (p. 342)

(Wednesday) Four Riders come to the inn-door, and one questions Butterbur (pp. 339–40); they are seen by Trotter (p. 342)

9 The change in Trotter's speech remarked by Frodo, deriving from the original form of the story (p. 154), survived in FR (p. 178), though the significance is there quite different: 'I think you are not really as you choose to look. You began to talk to me like the Bree-folk, but your voice has changed.'

10 *Narothal* ('Firefoot'), the first name given to Gandalf's white horse, was replaced later in pencil by the suggestions: 'Fairfax, Snowfax', and pencilled in the margin is 'Firefoot Arod? Aragorn', but these latter were struck out. *Arod* became in LR the name of a horse of Rohan.

11 A pencilled note on the manuscript says: 'Since he has been to Crickhollow he must know of Old Forest' – i.e. Gandalf must know from Odo that the other hobbits went into the Old Forest. At the same time my father pencilled into the text at this point: 'I trusted Tom Bombadil to keep them out of trouble.'

12 This lane is marked on the sketch-map of Bree given on p. 335.

13 'Narothal' changed in pencil to 'Fairfax'; see note 10.

14 *four hobbits:* see note 7. Subsequently my father struck out *four*, and wrote instead: *hobbits, three or more*.

XXI
THE THIRD PHASE (3): TO WEATHERTOP AND RIVENDELL

The next chapter, numbered X and with the title 'Wild Ways to Weathertop', belongs with the base-form of 'At the Sign of the Prancing Pony' and is continuous with it; but it begins by repeating almost exactly the end of that chapter, from 'Frodo made no answer' to '"Read it!" said Trotter' (p. 343). Then follows:

Frodo looked carefully at the seal before he broke it. It seemed certainly to be Gandalf's, as did the writing also, and the runic G ᚷ. Inside was the following message. Frodo read it and then repeated it aloud for the benefit of Folco and Sam.

The Prancing Pony, Wednesday, Sept. 28. Dear F. Where on earth are you? Not still in the Forest, I hope! Could not help being late, but explanations must wait. If you ever get this letter, I shall be ahead *of you. Hurry on, and don't stop anywhere! Things are worse than I thought and pursuit is close. Look out for* horsemen in black, *and avoid them. They are perilous: your worst enemies. Don't use* It *again, not on any account. Don't move in the dark. Try and catch me up. I dare not wait here, but I shall halt at a place known to the bearer, and look out for you there. I am giving this to a ranger known as Trotter: dark rather lean hobbit, wears wooden shoes. He is an old friend of mine, and knows a great deal. You can trust him. He will guide you to appointed place through wild country. N.B. Odo* Baggins *is with me. Hurry on! Yours* ᚷᚨᚾᛞᚨᛚᚠ. ᛫ ᚷ ᛫

Frodo looked at the trailing handwriting: it seemed as plainly genuine as the seal. 'It is dated Wednesday and from this house,' he said. 'How did you come by it?'

'I met Gandalf by appointment near Archet,' answered Trotter. 'He did not leave Bree by the Road, but went up a side lane and round the hill the other way.'

'Well, Trotter,' said Frodo after a pause, 'it would have made things easier and saved a lot of time and talk, if you had produced

this letter at once. Why did you invent all that tale about eavesdropping?'

'I didn't invent it,' laughed Trotter. 'I gave old Gandalf quite a shock when I popped up from behind the hedge. But he was very glad when he saw who I was. He said it was the first bit of luck he had had for some while. It was then that we arranged that I was to wait about here in case you were behind, while he pushed on and tried to draw the Riders after him. I know all about your troubles – including the Ring, I may say.'

'Then there's nothing more for me to say,' said Frodo, 'except that I am glad we have found you. I am sorry if I have been unnecessarily suspicious.'

The conversation proceeds very much as in the original story (p. 155), as far as the 'subsidence' of Folco (Odo) beneath Trotter's opinion of him.[1] Then follows:

'We shall all perish, tough or not, unless we have strange good luck, as far as I can see,' said Frodo. 'I cannot understand why you want to be mixed up in our troubles, Trotter.'

'One reason is that Gandalf asked me to help you,' he replied quietly.

'What do you advise then?' asked Frodo. 'I don't quite understand this letter: *don't stop anywhere* it says, and yet *don't move in the dark*. Is it safe to stop here till morning?' Frodo looked at the comfortable fire and the soft candlelight in the room, and sighed.

'No, it probably isn't safe – but it would be far more dangerous to start off by night. So we must wait for daylight and hope for the best. But we had better start early – it is a long way to Weathertop.'

'Weathertop?' said Folco. 'Where and what is that?'

'The *appointed place* mentioned in the letter,' Trotter replied. 'It is a hill, just north of the Road, somewhere about halfway to Rivendell from here.[2] It commands a very wide view all round. But you will start nearly two days behind Gandalf, and you'll have to go fast or you won't find him there.'

'In that case let's get to bed now, while there is still some night left!' said Folco yawning. 'Where's that silly fellow Merry? It would be too much, if we had to go out now and look for him.'

Merry's story of the Black Rider whom he saw outside the inn and followed differs in this, that whereas in the original version (pp. 161–2) the Rider went through the village from west to east and stopped at Bill Ferny's house (hole), here

'He was coming *from* the east,' Merry went on. 'I followed him

down the Road almost to the gate. He stopped there at the keeper's house, and I thought I heard him talking to someone. I tried to creep near, but I did not dare to get very close. In fact, I am afraid I suddenly began to shiver and shake, and bolted back here.'

'What's to be done?' said Frodo, turning to Trotter.

'Don't go to your rooms!' he answered at once. 'I don't like this at all. Harry Goatleaf was here tonight and went off with Bill Ferney. It's quite likely that they have found out which rooms you have got.

While in the remainder of the chapter there are advances in detail to the text of FR (from p. 186, the end of Chapter 10 'Strider', to p. 201, in the course of Chapter 11 'A Knife in the Dark'), the narrative of this third phase version follows the original (pp. 162–71) closely in almost all points where that differed from FR, and ends at the same point.

It is now Trotter who imitated Frodo's head in the bed with a mat. The pony is expressly said to be Bill Ferney's, and is described as 'a bony, underfed, and rather dispirited animal.' There were two men looking over the hedge round Ferney's house: Ferney himself, and 'a southerner with a sallow face, and a sly and almost goblinish look in his slanting eyes.' This latter is not identified with the 'squint-eyed southerner' who left the inn the night before with Ferney and the gate-keeper (p. 336). In the old story (p. 165) it was Bill Ferny standing there alone, whom Bingo thought 'goblinish'. It is still Trotter who has the apples, and who hits Ferney on the nose with one. Archet, Combe, and Staddle are referred to as in FR (p. 193), in keeping with what is said of them in the description of the Bree-land at the opening of Chapter IX (p. 332), and Trotter's plan is now to make for Archet and pass it on the east (cf. p. 165 and note 21).

The lights in the eastern sky seen by the travellers from the Midgewater Marshes do not appear until the whole story of Gandalf's movements at this time had been changed. Trotter replies to Frodo's question 'But surely we were hoping to find Gandalf there?' (FR p. 195, original version p. 167) thus:

'Yes – but my hope is rather faint. It is four days since we left Bree, and if Gandalf has managed to get to Weathertop himself without being too hotly pursued, he must have arrived at least two days ago. I doubt if he has dared to wait so long, on the mere chance of your following him: he does not know for certain that you are behind or have got his messages . . .'

He still says: 'There are even some of the Rangers that on a clear day could spy us from there, if we moved. And not all the Rangers are to be trusted . . .'

The chronology is thus (cf. p. 175):

Wed.	Sept.	28	Gandalf and Odo left Bree
Thurs.	Sept.	29	Frodo and companions reached Bree
Fri.	Sept.	30	Trotter, Frodo and companions left Bree; night in Chetwood
Sat.	Oct.	1	Night in Chetwood
Sun.	Oct.	2	First day and camp in marshes
Mon.	Oct.	3	Second day and camp in marshes
Tues.	Oct.	4	Leaving the marshes. Camp by stream under alders.

On this day Trotter calculated that Gandalf, if he reached Weathertop, must have arrived there 'at least two days ago', i.e. on Sunday 2 October, which allows as much as four days and nights for the journey from Bree on horseback.

In the original version they reached Weathertop on 5 October, whereas in FR they camped at the feet of the hills that night (see p. 175). In the present text my father retained the former story, but then changed it to that of FR:

By night they had reached the feet of the hills, and there they camped. It was the night of October the fifth, and they were six days out from Bree. In the morning they found, for the first time since they left the Bree-land [> Chetwood], a track plain to see.

It will be seen shortly that this change was made before the chapter was finished.

The passage following Folco's question 'Is there any barrow on Weathertop?' (FR p. 197) remains exactly as in the original text (p. 169), with *Elendil* for *Valandil*; and when they reach the summit all remains as before, with only the necessary change of Merry's 'I don't blame Gandalf for not waiting here! He would have to leave the waggon, and horses, and most of his companions, too, I expect, down near the Road' to 'I don't blame Gandalf for not waiting long – if he ever came here.' But the paper that flutters from the cairn bears a different message (see p. 170):

Wednesday Oct. 5. Bad news. We arrived late Monday. Odo vanished last night. I must go at once to Rivendell. Make for Ford beyond Trollshaw with all speed, but look out. Enemies may attempt to guard it. G

'Odo!' cried Merry. 'Does that mean that the Riders have got him? How horrible!'

'Our missing Gandalf has turned out disastrous,' said Frodo. 'Poor Odo! I expect this is the result of pretending to be Baggins. If only we could all have been together!'

'Monday!' said Trotter. 'Then they arrived when we were in the marshes, and Gandalf did not leave till we were already close to the hills. They cannot have caught any glimpse of our miserable little fires on Monday, or on Tuesday. I wonder what happened here that night. Still it is no good guessing: there is nothing we can do but make for Rivendell as best we may.'[4]

'How far is Rivendell?' asked Frodo, looking round wearily. The world looked wild and wide from Weathertop.

From here the text follows the old version (pp. 170–1) almost exactly – with the revised form of Trotter's answer concerning the distance to Rivendell, p. 171 – to the end of the chapter, with Trotter, Frodo, and Merry slipping down from the summit of Weathertop to find Sam and Folco in the dell (where the original Chapter VII also ended).

Since Gandalf and Odo left Bree on the morning of Wednesday 28 September but did not reach Weathertop till late on Monday 3 October, they took longer even than Trotter had calculated (p. 355): nearly six days on horseback, whereas Trotter says (in this text as in the old, p. 171) that it would take 'a ranger on his own feet' about a week from Bree to Weathertop (in the rejected passage of the old text, p. 170, Trotter said that he reckoned it was 'about 120 long-miles' by the Road). Trotter's words 'I wonder what happened here that night', referring to the night on which Odo vanished (Tuesday 4 October), show that the night camp at the foot of the hills on 5 October had entered the narrative, and that it was now Thursday 6 October, for he would not say 'that night' if he meant 'last night'. The chronology given on p. 355 can therefore be completed for this stage of the development of the narrative thus:

Mon.	Oct. 3	Second day and camp in the marshes Gandalf and Odo reach Weathertop late
Tues.	Oct. 4	Leaving the marshes. Camp by stream under alders Odo disappears from Weathertop at night
Wed.	Oct. 5	Camp at feet of hills Gandalf leaves Weathertop
Thurs.	Oct. 6	Trotter, Frodo and companions reach Weathertop

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The next chapter, numbered XI but without title,[5] begins with an account of what Sam and Folco had been doing (FR p. 201), which is

where the corresponding chapter VIII in the original version began (p. 177).

Sam and Folco had not been idle. They had explored the small dell and the surrounding valley. Not far away they had found a spring of clear water, and near it footprints not more than a day or two old. In the dell itself they had found recent traces of a fire and other signs of a small camp. But the most unexpected and most welcome discovery was made by Sam. There were some large fallen rocks at the edge of the dell nearest to the hill-side. Behind them Sam came upon a small store of fire-wood neatly stacked; and under the wood was a bag containing food. It was mostly cakes of *cram*[6] packed in two small wooden boxes, but there was also a little bacon, and some dried fruits.

'Old Gandalf has been here, then,' said Sam to Folco. 'These packets of *cram* show that. I never heard tell of anyone but the two Bagginses and the wizard using that stuff. Better than dying of hunger, they say, but not much better.'

'I wonder if it was left for us, or if Gandalf is still about somewhere near,' said Folco. 'I wish Frodo and the other two would come back.'

Sam was more grateful for the *cram* when the others did return, hurrying back to the dell with their alarming news. There was a long journey ahead of them before they could expect to get help; and it seemed plain that Gandalf had left what food he could spare in case their own supplies were short.

'It is probably some that he did not need after poor Odo's disappearance,' said Frodo. 'But what about the wood?'

'I think they must have collected it on the Tuesday,' said Trotter, 'and were preparing to wait here in camp for some time. They would have to go some distance for it, as there are no trees close at hand.'

It was already late afternoon, and the sun was sinking. They debated for some while what they ought to do. It was the store of fuel that finally decided them to go no further that day, and to camp for the night in the dell.

The text now follows the old version (pp. 177–9) fairly closely. To Merry's question 'Can the enemies *see*?' Trotter now replies: 'Their horses can see. They do not themselves see the world of light as we do; but they are not blind, and in the dark they are most to be feared.' Trotter no longer says that there were Men dwelling in the lands away to the South of them; nor is it told that they took it in turns to sit on guard at the

edge of the dell. The passage describing Trotter's tales is a characteristic blending of the old version (p. 179) with new elements that would survive into FR (p. 203):

As night fell and the light of the fire began to shine out brightly, Trotter began to tell them tales to keep their minds from fear. He knew much lore concerning wild animals, and understood something of their languages; and he had strange tales to tell of their hidden lives and little known adventures. He knew also many histories and legends of the ancient days, of hobbits when the Shire was still unexplored, and of things beyond the mists of memory out of which the hobbits came. They wondered how old he was, and where he had learned all this lore.

'Tell us of Gilgalad,' said Merry suddenly, when he paused at the end of a story of the Elf-kingdoms. 'You spoke that name not long ago, and it is still ringing in my ears. I seem to remember hearing it before, but I cannot remember anything else about it.'

'You should ask the possessor of the Ring about that name,' answered Trotter in a low voice. Merry and Folco looked at Frodo, who was staring into the fire.

From this point the manuscript is defective, two sheets being missing; but a rejected page carries the story a little further before tailing off:

'I know only the little that Gandalf told me,' he said. 'Gilgalad was the last of the great elf-kings. Gilgalad is *Starlight* in their tongue. With the aid of King Elendil, the Elf-friend, he overthrew the Enemy, but they both perished. And I would gladly hear more if Trotter will tell us. It was the son of Elendil that carried off the Ring. But I cannot tell that tale. Tell us more, Trotter, if you will.'

'No,' said Trotter. 'I will not tell that tale now, in this time and place with the servants of the Enemy at hand. Perhaps in the house of Elrond you will hear it. For Elrond knows it in full.'

'Then tell us some other tale of old,' said Merry . . .

Trotter's song, and his story of Beren and Lúthien, are thus missing here; and the manuscript takes up again at 'As Trotter was speaking they watched his strange eager face . . .' From this point the text of FR, as far as the end of Chapter 11 'A Knife in the Dark' was achieved, with scarcely any difference even of wording, except for these points: Folco stands for Pippin; there were still three Riders, not five, in the attack on the dell; and Frodo as he threw himself on the ground cried out *Elbereth! Elbereth!*

At this point Chapter 12 'Flight to the Ford' begins in FR, but as in the original text (p. 190) the present version continues without break to the

Ford of Rivendell. The relations of chapter-structure between the present phase and FR can be shown thus (and cf. the table on p. 133):

The present 'phase'	*FR*
IX *At the Sign of the Prancing Pony.* Ends with Trotter giving Frodo the letter from Gandalf.	9 *At the Sign of the Prancing Pony.* Ends with Frodo, Pippin and Sam returning to their room at the inn.
X *Wild Ways to Weathertop.* Conclusion of conversation with Trotter. Attack on the inn, departure from Bree; ends with sight of the Riders below Weathertop.	10 *Strider.* Conversations with Strider and Butterbur. 11 *A Knife in the Dark.* Attack on the inn, departure from Bree; ends with the attack on Weathertop.
XI *No title.* Attack on Weathertop. Journey from Weathertop to the Ford.	12 *Flight to the Ford.*

As is characteristic of these third phase chapters, the present text advances largely towards the form in FR in detail of wording and description, but retains many features of the original version; thus the 'red flash' seen at the moment of the attack on Weathertop survives, of the slash in the black robe Trotter still says only 'What harm it did to the Black Rider I do not know', and the distant cries of the Riders as they crossed the Road are not heard, while on the other hand the firewood left by Gandalf is no longer said to have been taken with them, and the rejuvenation of Bill Ferney's pony is described (for these elements in the narrative see pp. 190–1). Trotter now speaks aside to Sam, but what he says is different:

'I think I understand things better now,' he said in a low voice. 'Our enemies knew the Ring was here; perhaps because they have captured Odo, and certainly because they can feel its presence. They are no longer pursuing Gandalf. But they have now drawn off from us for the time, because we are many and more bold than they expected, but especially because they think they have slain or mortally wounded your master – so that the Ring will inevitably come soon into their power.'

The rest of his words to Sam are as in FR (p. 210). – In the discussion of what it were best to do now (FR p. 211) the present version reads:

The others were discussing this very question. They decided to leave Weathertop as soon as possible. It was already Friday morning, and the two days that Gandalf's message had asked for would soon be up. In any case it was no good remaining in so bare and indefensible a place, now that their enemies had discovered

them, and knew also that Frodo had the Ring. As soon as the daylight was full they had some hurried food and packed.

For 'the two days that Gandalf's message had asked for' see notes 3 and 4.

The chronology of the journey remains as in the original text (see pp. 192–3, 219): they still recrossed the Road on the morning of the sixth day from Weathertop (the seventh in FR), and spent three days in the hills before the weather turned to rain (two in FR). But the lag of one day that remained between the original text and FR (owing to their earlier arrival on Weathertop), so that they reached the Ford of Rivendell on 19 October, is no longer present (see p. 356).

The rain that Trotter judged had fallen some two days before at the place where they crossed the Road again (FR p. 213) is now mentioned, but the River Hoarwell (Mitheithel) and the Last Bridge have still not emerged. The river which they could see in the distance, unnamed in the first version (p. 191), is now given a name: 'the Riven River, that came down out of the Mountains and flowed through Rivendell' (later in the chapter it is called 'the Rivendell River').

The conversation between Trotter, Folco and Frodo arising from the ruined towers in the hills remains as in the first version (pp. 192–3; FR p. 214).

When the rain stopped, and Trotter climbed up to see the lie of the land, he observed in the first version (p. 193) that 'if we keep on as we are going, we shall get into impassable country among the skirts of the Mountains.' This now becomes: 'we shall get up into the [Dimrill-lands >] Dimrill-dales far north of Rivendell.'[7] He continues, approaching Strider's words in FR:

'It is a troll-country, I have heard, though I have not been there. We could perhaps find our way through and come round to Rivendell from the north; but it would take long, and our food would not last. Anyway we ought to follow Gandalf's last message and make for the Rivendell Ford. So somehow or other we must strike the Road again.'

The encounter with the Stone Trolls follows the first version: Trotter slapped the stooping troll, called him William, and pointed out the bird's nest behind Bert's ear. There is still no suggestion of Sam's *Troll Song*; and when Frodo saw the memorial stone he 'wished that Bilbo had brought home no treasure more perilous than stolen money rescued from trolls.' The description of the Road here is nearly that of the First Edition of FR (see p. 200): 'At this point the Road had turned away from the river, leaving it at the bottom of a narrow valley, and clung close to the feet of the hills, rolling and winding northward among woods and heather-covered slopes towards the Ford and the Mountains.'

Glorfindel now calls Trotter not *Padathir* (p. 194) but *Du-finnion*, calling out *Ai, Du-finnion! Mai govannen!* The passage beginning with Trotter's signalling to Frodo and the others to come down to the road is found in two forms, the second to all appearance immediately replacing the first. The first runs:

'Hail and well met at last!' said Glorfindel to Frodo. 'I was sent from Rivendell to look for your coming. Gandalf feared that you might follow the Road.'

'Gandalf has arrived at Rivendell then?' cried Merry. 'Has he found Odo?'

'Certainly there is a hobbit of that name with him,' said Glorfindel; 'but I did not hear that he had been lost. He rode behind Gandalf from the north out of Dimrildale.'

'Out of Dimrildale?' exclaimed Frodo.

'Yes,' said the elf; 'and we thought that you also might go that way to avoid the peril of the Road. Some have been sent to seek for you in that country. But come! There is no time now for news or debate, until we halt. We must go on with all speed, and save our breath. Hardly a day's ride back westward there are horsemen, searching for your trail along the Road and in the lands on either side . . .

Glorfindel continues as in the first version (p. 195). The replacement passage differs mostly in small points: Glorfindel does not say of Odo 'but I did not hear that he had been lost'; *Dimrilldale* is so spelt (cf. p. 360), in place of *Dimrildale* in the rejected text; and the interjections of Merry and Frodo are reversed. The important difference lies in Glorfindel's words:

'There are horsemen back westward searching for your trail along the Road, and when they find the place where you came down from the hills, they will ride after us like the wind. But they are not all: there are others, who may be before us now, or upon either hand. Unless we go with all speed and good fortune, we shall find the Ford guarded against us by the enemy.'

From Frodo's faintness and Sam's objection to Glorfindel's urging the text of FR to the end of the chapter is achieved almost to the last word.[8] Yet there remain certain differences. Only three Riders came out of the tree-hung cutting behind the fugitives; and 'out from the trees and rocks away on the left other Riders came flying. Three rode towards Frodo; three galloped madly towards the Ford to cut off his escape.' And at the very end 'Three of the Riders turned and rode wildly away to the left down the bank of the River; the others, borne by their terrified and

plunging horses, were driven into the flood and carried away.' This is derived from the first version (p. 197), where however there were only two Riders that escaped the flood. The manuscript was changed to the reading of the final paragraph of the chapter in FR, where no Riders escaped, and this was done before or in the course of the writing of the next chapter (see p. 364).

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The first part of the next chapter, numbered XII, is the direct development of the original title-less chapter IX, extant in three texts, none of which goes further than the conversation between Bingo and Glóin at the feast in Rivendell (pp. 206 ff., 210 ff.). The new version is given the title 'The Council of Elrond'; see pp. 399–400. Here, for reasons that will appear presently, I describe only that portion of the chapter which derives from Chapter IX of the 'first phase'. In this, the text of FR Book II, Chapter 1, 'Many Meetings' is achieved for long stretches with only the most minor differences of wording, if any; on the other hand there is still much preserved from the original text. In what follows it can be understood that where no comment is made the FR text was present at this time either exactly or in a close approximation.

The date of Frodo's awakening in the house of Elrond is now October 24th, and all the details of date are precisely as in FR (see pp. 219, 360). The references to Sam in the FR text are none of them present in this version as written until the feast itself, but were added in to the manuscript probably after no very long interval.

Gandalf now adds, after 'You were beginning to fade' (p. 210, FR p. 231), 'Glorfindel noticed it, though he did not speak of it to anyone but Trotter'; and he still says (see p. 206) 'You would have become a wraith before long – certainly, if you had put on the Ring again after you were wounded.' Following his words 'It is no small feat to have come so far and through such dangers, still bearing the Ring' (FR p. 232) the conversation is developed from the earlier text (p. 210) in a very interesting way, naturally still far from the form in FR:

'. . . You ought never to have left the Shire without me.'

'I know – but you never came to my party, as was arranged; and I did not know what to do.'

'I was delayed,' said Gandalf, 'and that nearly proved our ruin – as was intended. Still after all it has turned out better than any plan I should have dared to make, and we have defeated the black horsemen.'

'I wish you would tell me what happened!'

'All in good time! You are not supposed to talk or worry about anything today, by Elrond's orders.'

'But talking would stop me thinking and wondering, which are quite as tiring,' said Frodo. 'I am wide awake now, and remember so many things that want explaining. Why were you delayed? You ought to tell me that, at least.'

'You will soon hear all you wish to know,' said Gandalf. 'We shall have a Council, as soon as you are well enough. At the moment I will only say that I was held captive.'

'You!' cried Frodo.

'Yes!' laughed Gandalf. 'There are many powers greater than mine, for good and evil, in the world. I was caught in Fangorn and spent many weary days as a prisoner of the Giant Treebeard. It was a desperately anxious time, for I was hurrying back to the Shire to help you. I had just learned that the horsemen had been sent out.'

'Then you did not know of the Black Riders before.'

'Yes, I knew of them. I spoke of them once to you: for what you call the Black Riders are the Ring-wraiths, the Nine Servants of the Lord of the Ring. But I did not know that they had arisen again, and were let loose on the world once more – until I saw them. I have tried to find you ever since – but if I had not met Trotter, I don't suppose I ever should have done so. He has saved us all.'

'We should never have got here without him,' said Frodo. 'I was suspicious of him at first, but now I am very fond of him, though he is rather mysterious. It is an odd thing, you know, but I keep on feeling that I have seen him somewhere before; that – that I ought to be able to put a name to him, a name different to Trotter.'

'I daresay you do,' laughed Gandalf. 'I often have that feeling myself, when I look at a hobbit: they all remind me of one another, if you know what I mean.'

'Nonsense!' said Frodo, sitting up again in protest. 'Trotter is most peculiar. And he wears shoes! But I see you are in one of your tiresome moods.' He lay down again. 'I shall have to be patient. And it is rather pleasant resting, after all. To be perfectly honest I wish I need go no further than Rivendell. I have had a month of exile and adventures, and that is nearly four weeks more than enough for me.'

He fell silent and shut his eyes.

For the remainder of Frodo's conversation with Gandalf this text is mostly very close indeed to FR, and only a few differences need be noticed.

The 'Morgul-knife' (FR p. 234) is still the 'knife of the Necromancer'

(p. 211), and Gandalf says here: 'You would have become a wraith, and under the dominion of the Dark Lord. But you would have had no ring of your own, as the Nine have; for your Ring is the Ruling Ring, and the Necromancer would have taken that, and would have tormented you for trying to keep it – if any torment greater than being robbed of it was possible.'

Among the servants of the Dark Lord Gandalf still includes, as in the previous version, 'orcs and goblins' and 'kings, warriors, and wizards' (p. 211).

Gandalf's reply to Frodo's question 'Is Rivendell safe?' derives from the former text, but moves also towards that of FR:

'Yes, I hope so. He has less power over Elves than over any other creature: they have suffered too much in the past to be deceived or cowed by him now. And the Elves of Rivendell are descendants of his chief foes: the Gnomes, the Elvenwise, that came out of the West; and the Queen Elbereth Gilthoniel, Lady of the Stars, still protects them. They fear no Ring-wraiths, for those that have dwelt in the Blessed Realm beyond the Seas live at once in both worlds; and each world has only half power over them, while they have double power over both.'[9]

'I thought I saw a white figure that shone and did not grow dim like the others. Was that Glorfindel then?'

'Yes, you saw him for a moment as he is upon the other side: one of the mighty of the Elder Race. He is an elf-lord of a house of princes.'

'Then there are still some powers left that can withstand the Lord of Mordor,' said Frodo.

'Yes, there is power in Rivendell,' answered Gandalf, 'and there is a power, too, of another kind in the Shire. . . .

At the end of this passage Gandalf still says: 'the Wise say that he is doomed in the End, though that is far away' (see p. 212).

In Gandalf's story of what happened at the Ford he says, as in FR, 'Three were carried off by the first assault of the flood; the others were now hurled into the water by their horses and overwhelmed.' It thus appears that the rewriting of the end of the preceding chapter (p. 362) had already been carried out.

At the end of his conversation with Gandalf the story of Odo re-appears:

'Yes, it all comes back to me now,' said Frodo: 'the tremendous roaring. I thought I was drowning, together with my friends and enemies. But now we are all safe! And Odo, too. At least, Glorfindel said so. How did you find him again?'

Gandalf looked [oddly >] quickly at Frodo, but he had shut his eyes. 'Yes, Odo is safe,' the wizard said. 'You will see him soon, and hear his account. There will be feasting and merrymaking to celebrate the victory of the Ford, and you will all be there in places of honour.'

Gandalf's 'odd' or 'quick' look at Frodo can only relate to his question about Odo, but since the story of Odo's vanishing from Weathertop and his subsequent reappearance (rescue?) was never told it is impossible to know what lay behind it. There is a suggestion that there was something odd about the story of his disappearance. Gandalf's tone, when taken with his 'look' at Frodo, seems to have a slightly quizzical air. Glorfindel says (p. 361): 'Certainly there is a hobbit of that name with him; but I did not hear that he had been lost': yet surely the capture of a hobbit by the Black Riders and his subsequent recovery was a matter of the utmost interest to those concerned with the Ring-wraiths? But whatever the story was, it seems to be something that will never be known. – It is curious that the wizard's sudden quick look at Frodo was preserved in FR (p. 236), when the Odo-story had of course disappeared, and Frodo's words that gave rise to the look were 'But now we are safe!'

Gandalf's slip of the tongue ('The people of Rivendell are very fond of Bilbo') and Frodo's noticing it are retained from the first version (p. 212), as is Frodo's recollection of Trotter's words to the troll as he fell asleep.

When Frodo goes down to find his friends in a porch of the house[10] the conversation is retained almost exactly from the original form (p. 209). Odo takes over from Merry 'Three cheers for Frodo, lord of the Ring!' and further says, as does Pippin in FR, 'You have shown your usual cunning in getting up just in time for a meal'; but despite Odo's increased prominence in Frodo's reception (in FR given to Pippin) there is no reference to his adventures. Frodo might surely be expected to make some remark about Odo's extremely perilous and altogether unlooked-for experiences since he had last seen him at the entrance into the Old Forest, especially since Gandalf had refrained from telling him what had happened on Weathertop and after.

The description of Elrond, Gandalf, and Glorfindel at the banquet had already appeared in almost the final form in the earlier text. The mention of Elrond's smile and laughter (p. 213) was at this time still retained; and there is of course still no hint of Arwen. In the description of the seating, the statement in the former version (*ibid.*) that Bingo 'could not see Trotter, nor his nephews. They had been led to other tables' was retained; but when Frodo 'began to look about him' he did see them, though not Trotter (the latter passage surviving into FR):

The feast was merry and all that his hunger could desire. He could not see Trotter, or the other hobbits, and supposed they

were at one of the side tables. It was some time before he began to look about him. Sam had begged to be allowed to wait on his master, but was told that he was for this night a guest of honour. Frodo could see him sitting with Odo, Folco and Merry at the upper end of one of the side tables, close to the dais. He could not see Trotter.

Frodo's conversation with Glóin proceeds exactly as in FR as far as 'But I am equally curious to know what brings so important a dwarf so far from the Lonely Mountain.' In the original texts Glóin said that he wondered much what could have brought *four* hobbits on so long a journey (Bingo, Frodo Took, Odo, Merry; Trotter being excluded – presumably as being so altogether distinct, and not a hobbit of the Shire). The number is four in FR (Frodo, Sam, Pippin, Merry); but four is also found in the present text, where the hobbits (excluding Trotter) were now five: Frodo, Sam, Folco, Odo, Merry. Either 'four' was a slip, or Glóin excluded Odo since he knew that Odo had not arrived at Rivendell with the others. Glóin's reply to Frodo's question remains less grave than in FR:

Glóin looked at him, and laughed, indeed he winked. 'You'll soon find out,' he said; 'but I am not allowed to tell you – yet. So we will not speak of that either! But there are many other things to hear and tell.'

The conversation (so far as it goes in the portion of the manuscript dealt with here) remains almost exactly as it was, with the short extension at the end of the third of the early texts (p. 213), the only difference of any substance being that Dáin had now, as in FR, 'passed his two-hundred-and-fiftieth-year'.

It will be seen that from the series of once fine manuscripts that constitute the 'third phase' of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* a wholly coherent story emerges. The following are essential points in that story in respect of the intricate later evolution:

- Gandalf did not return to Hobbiton in time for Frodo's small final party.
- Merry and Odo Bolger went off to Buckland in advance.
- Frodo, Sam, and Folco Took walked from Hobbiton to Buckland.
- At Buckland, Odo decided not to go with the others into the Old Forest, but to stay behind at Crickhollow and wait for Gandalf to come.
- Gandalf came to Crickhollow at night on the day that Frodo and his companions left (Monday 26 September), drove off the Riders, and rode after them with Odo on his horse.
- Gandalf and Odo (whose name was given out to be Odo Baggins)

spent the night of Tuesday 27 September at Bree. Near Bree they encountered Trotter.

- Gandalf and Odo left Bree on Wednesday 28 September, meeting Trotter near Archet, as had been arranged.
- Frodo, Sam, Merry and Folco arrived at Bree on Thursday 29 September, and met Trotter, who gave Frodo Gandalf's letter.
- Trotter was a hobbit; Frodo found him curiously familiar without being able to say why, but there is no hint of who he might really be.
- Gandalf reached Weathertop on Monday 3 October, and left on 5 October.
- Trotter, Frodo and the others reached Weathertop on Thursday 6 October and found Gandalf's note telling that Odo had disappeared.
- They learned from Glorfindel that Gandalf had reached Rivendell, with Odo, coming down from the north by way of 'Dimrilldale'.
- At Rivendell, Gandalf explained that he had been delayed in his return to Hobbiton (having learned that the Ring-wraiths were abroad) through having been held prisoner in Fangorn by Giant Treebeard.
- The Shire hobbits at Rivendell are Frodo, Sam, Merry, Folco, and Odo.

NOTES

1 After 'I had to make quite sure that you were genuine first, before I handed over the letter. I've heard of shadow-parties picking up messages that weren't meant for them . . .' Trotter now adds: 'Gandalf's letter was worded carefully in case of accidents, but I didn't know that.' Thus Gandalf no longer names Weathertop in the letter, but calls it the 'appointed place'.

2 Barbara Strachey, in *Journeys of Frodo* (Map 11) says:

> At this point I must note what I believe to be a real discrepancy in the text itself. In Bree . . . Aragorn tells Sam that Weathertop is halfway to *Rivendell*. I am sure that this was a slip of the tongue and that he meant halfway to *The Last Bridge*. Everything falls into place on this assumption, since the travellers took 7 days between Bree and Weathertop (involving a detour to the north) and 7 days from Weathertop to the Bridge (with Frodo in a wounded condition and unable to hurry) while there was a *further* stretch of 7 days from the Bridge to Rivendell. Aragorn was well aware of the distance, as he said later (A Knife in the Dark; Bk. I), when they reached Weathertop, that it would then take them 14 days to the Ford of Bruinen although it normally took him only 12.

But it is now seen that Aragorn's words 'about halfway from here (Bree) to Rivendell' in FR go back to Trotter's here; and at this stage the River Hoarwell and the Last Bridge on the East Road did not yet exist (p. 360). I think that Trotter (Aragorn) was merely giving Folco (Sam) a rough but sufficient idea of the distances before them. – The relative distances go back to the original version (see pp. 170–1): about 120 miles from Bree to Weathertop, close on 200 from Weathertop to the Ford.

3 A draft for Gandalf's message has: 'Last night Odo vanished: suspect capture by horsemen.'

The message was changed in pencil to read:

Wednesday morning Oct. 5. Bad news. We arrived late Monday. Baggins vanished last night. I must go and look for him. Wait for me here for [*a day or two* >] *two days. I shall return if possible. If not go to Rivendell by the Ford on the Road.*

Merry then says: 'Baggins! Does that mean that the Riders have got Odo?'

Gandalf's message that he would return to Weathertop if he could may have been intended as an explanation of why they decided to stay there; see note 4. This pencilled revision preceded the writing of the next chapter; see p. 359.

4 This was changed in pencil to read:

there is nothing we can do but] wait at least until tomorrow, which will be two days since Gandalf wrote the note [see note 3]. After that if he does not turn up we must [make for Rivendell as best we may.

5 The title 'A Knife in the Dark' was pencilled in later, as also on the original chapter, VIII (p. 177).

6 The passage about *cram* was retained in this text, but placed in a footnote.

7 On *Dimrill-dale* see pp. 432–3, notes 3, 13.

8 It may be noted that the name *Asfaloth* of Glorfindel's horse now appears.

9 On the conclusion of this passage see p. 225.

10 The porch still faced west (p. 209), not east as in FR, and the odd statement that the evening light shone on the eastern faces of the hills far above was repeated, though struck out, probably in the act of writing.

XXII
NEW UNCERTAINTIES AND NEW PROJECTIONS

The first phase or original wave of composition of *The Lord of the Rings* carried the story to Rivendell, and broke off in the middle of the original Chapter IX, at Glóin's account to Bingo Bolger-Baggins of the realm of Dale (p. 213):

> In Dale the grandson of Bard the Bowman ruled, Brand son of Bain son of Bard, and he was become a strong king whose realm included Esgaroth, and much land to the south of the great falls.

This sentence ended a manuscript page; on the reverse side, as noted on p. 213, the text was continued, but in a different script and a different ink, and it begins:

> 'And what has become of Balin and Ori and Óin?' asked Frodo.

Since in the second phase Bingo was still the name of Bilbo's heir, and since 'Bingo' never appears in any narrative writing falling later in the story than the feast at Rivendell, it is certain that there was a significant gap between 'much land to the south of the great falls' and 'And what has become of Balin and Ori and Óin?'

It is therefore very curious that in Chapter XII of the third phase there is a marked change of script at precisely the same point. Though still neatly and carefully written, it is immediately obvious to the eye that '"And what has become of Balin and Ori and Óin?" asked Frodo' and the subsequent text was not continuous with what preceded. Moreover, the latter part of this Chapter XII is not coherent with what precedes, either: for Bilbo says – as my father first wrote out the manuscript – 'I shall have to get that fellow *Aragorn* to help me' (cf. FR p. 243: 'I shall have to get my friend the Dúnadan to help me.')

I do not think that it can possibly be a mere coincidence that both versions halt at precisely the same point; and I conclude that the third phase, in the sense of a fine continuous manuscript series, ended at the same place as the first phase had done – and did so precisely *because* that is where the first phase ended. For this reason I stopped at this point in the previous chapter. I have suggested earlier (p. 309) that when my father said (in February 1939) that by December 1938 *The Lord of the Rings* had reached Chapter XII 'and has been rewritten several times' it was to the third phase that he was referring.

The textual-chronological questions that now arise are of peculiar difficulty, and I doubt whether a solution demonstrably correct at all points could be reached. There is no external evidence for many months

after February 1939, and nothing to show what my father achieved during that time; but we get at last an unambiguous date, 'August 1939', written (most unusually) on every page of a collection of rough papers containing plot-outlines, questionings, and portions of text. These show my father at a halt, even at a loss, to the point of a lack of confidence in radical components of the narrative structure that had been built up with such pains. The only external evidence that I know of to cast light on this is a letter, dispirited in tone, which he wrote to Stanley Unwin on 15 September 1939, twelve days after the entry of England into war with Germany, apologising for his 'silence about the state of the proposed sequel to the Hobbit, which you enquired about as long ago as June 21st.' 'I do not suppose,' he said, 'this any longer interests you greatly – though I still hope to finish it eventually. It is only about ¾ written. I have not had much time, quite apart from the gloom of approaching disaster, and have been unwell most of this year . . .' There is nothing in the 'August 1939' papers themselves to show why he should have thought that the existing structure of the story was in need of such radical transformation.

Proposals made at this time for new articulations of the plot were set down in such haste and so elliptically expressed that it is sometimes not easy to understand their bearings (here and there one may suspect a confusion between what had been written in the latest wave of composition and what had been written earlier); and determination of the order in which these notes and outlines were set down is impossible. To take first the most drastic proposals:

(1) New Plot. *Bilbo* is the hero all through. Merry and Frodo his companions. This helps with Gollum (though Gollum probably gets new ring in Mordor). Or Bilbo just takes a 'holiday' – and never returns, and the surprise party [i.e. the party that ended in a surprise] is Frodo's. In which case Gandalf is *not* present to let off fireworks.

The astonishing suggestion in the first part of this note ignores the problem of 'lived happily ever after', which had bulked so large earlier (see pp. 108–9). For a brief while, at any rate, my father was prepared to envisage the demolition of the entire Bilbo-Frodo structure – the now established and essential idea that Bilbo vanished 'with a bang and a flash' at the end of his hundred-and-eleventh birthday party and that Frodo followed him out of the Shire, more discreetly, seventeen years later. Happily, he did not spend long on this – though he did go so far as to begin a new text, headed:

New version – with Bilbo as hero. Aug. 1939

The Lord of the Rings

This begins: '"It is all most disturbing and in fact rather alarming," said Bilbo Baggins,' and the matter is the same as in 'Ancient History' – with

Sam's shears audible outside – altered only as was necessary since Gandalf was here speaking to Bilbo, not Frodo; but this text peters out after a couple of sides.

The second part of this note is little less drastic: a return to the story as it was at the end of the first phase of work on this chapter, where Bilbo merely disappeared quietly from the Shire shortly before his 111th birthday, and the party was given by Bingo (Bolger-Baggins); see p. 40. This idea is developed in the following outline:

(2) Go back to original idea. Make Frodo (or Bingo) a more comic character.

Bilbo is not overcome by Ring – he very seldom used it. He lived long and then said goodbye, put on his old clothes and rode off. He would not say where he was going – except that he was going across the River. He had 2 favourite 'nephews', Peregrin Boffin and Frodo [*written above:* Folco] Baggins. Peregrin was the elder. Peregrin went off and Bilbo was blamed, and after that the young folk were kept away from him – only Folco remained faithful.

Bilbo left all his possessions to Folco (who thus inherited with interest all the dislike of the Sackville-Bagginses).

Bilbo lived long, 111 – he tells Gandalf he is feeling tired, and discusses what to do. He is worried about the Ring. Says he is reluctant to leave it and thinks of taking it. Gandalf looks at him.

In the end he leaves it behind, but puts on Sting and his elf-armour under his old patched green cloak. He also takes his book. Last whimsical saying was 'I think I shall look for a place where there is more peace and quiet, and I can finish my book.'

'Nobody will read it!'

'O, they may – in years to come.'

Ring begins to have an effect on Folco. He gets restless. And plans to go off 'following Bilbo'. His friends are Odo Bolger and Merry Brandybuck.

Conversation with Gandalf as in Tale.

Folco gives the unexpected [*read* long-expected][1] party and vanishes as in original draft of the Tale.[2] But bring in Black Riders.

Cut out whole part of Gandalf being *supposed to come*. Make Gandalf pursue the fugitives since he has found out about Black Riders (the scene at Crickhollow will do – but without Odo complication).

Make Gandalf looking for Folco (in that case Gandalf will *not* be at final party) – and send Trotter.

Find Bilbo at Rivendell. There Bilbo offers to take up burden of the Ring (reluctantly) but Gandalf supports Folco in offering to carry it on.

Trotter turns out to be Peregrin, who had been to Mordor.

Not the least curious feature of these notes is the renewed uncertainty about names: thus we have 'Frodo (or Bingo)', then 'Frodo' changed to 'Folco' (and at one of the occurrences of 'Folco' my father first wrote a 'B'); see also §§5 and 9. For long I assumed that it was at the very time of the writing of these notes that 'Bingo' became 'Frodo', and that they therefore preceded the third phase of the work. Those third phase manuscripts were so orderly and so suggestive of secure purpose that it seemed hard to imagine that such radical uncertainty could have succeeded them: rather they seemed like a confident new start when the doubts had been dissipated. But this cannot possibly be so. This is the first mention of Bilbo's taking his 'elf-armour' (cf. p. 223, §4), and it is only by later revision to the third phase version of 'A Long-expected party' that the story that Bilbo took it with him enters the narrative (see p. 315; in FR, p. 40, he packed it in his bag, the 'bundle wrapped in old cloths' which he took from the strong-box). Similarly, Bilbo's saying that he wanted to find peace in which to finish his book and Gandalf's rejoinder 'Nobody will read it!' only appear in the *revision* of the third phase version of the first chapter (surviving into FR p. 41). Or again, the reference to 'the scene at Crickhollow – but without Odo complication' shows that the third phase was in being (see p. 336). Other evidence elsewhere in these 'August 1939' papers is equally clear. It must therefore be concluded that the temporary confusion and loss of direction from which my father suffered at this time extended even to established names: 'Bingo' might be brought back, or 'Frodo' changed to 'Folco'.

The words 'But bring in Black Riders' are puzzling, since the Black Riders were of course very much present 'in the original draft of the Tale'; but I suspect that my father meant 'But bring in Black Rider' in the singular, i.e. the Rider who came to Hobbiton and spoke to Gaffer Gamgee. The changed story which my father was so elliptically discussing in these notes can presumably be shown in essentials thus:

(I)	Fourth version of 'A Long-expected Party', last in the 'first phase'; see p. 40	Bilbo departs quietly from Hobbiton at the age of 111. *Bingo* gives the party 33 years later and vanishes at the end of it. Gandalf leaves Hobbiton after the fireworks at the Party and goes ahead towards Rivendell.
(II)	The existing state of the story	*Bilbo* gives the Party at the age of 111 and vanishes at the end of it. Frodo departs quietly from Hobbiton with his friends 17 years later. Gandalf fails to come as he promised before Frodo leaves. A Black Rider comes to Hobbiton on the last evening.

Gandalf arrives at Crickhollow after the hobbits have left.

(III) Projected plot

Bilbo departs quietly from Hobbiton at the age of 111.
Frodo ('Folco') gives the Party and vanishes at the end of it.
Gandalf is not present at the Party.
A Black Rider comes to Hobbiton.
Gandalf arrives at Crickhollow after the hobbits have left.

If I am right in my interpretation of 'But bring in Black Riders', the point is that while in a fundamental feature of its structure (III) would return to (I), the coming of the Rider would be retained – so that he would arrive in the aftermath of the Party. And unlike (I), Gandalf would no longer come to the Party (so that, as mentioned in §1, there would be no fireworks, or at least not of the Gandalfian kind), but would follow hard on the hobbits ('the fugitives'), 'since he has found out about the Black Riders'.

Here again, and again happily, my father did not in the event allow himself to be diverted to yet another restructuring (and consequent very tricky rewriting at many points) of the narrative that had been achieved.

Most interesting are the statements that Trotter was Peregrin Boffin, standing in the same sort of relationship to Bilbo as did Frodo, but older than Frodo, and that running off into the wide world he had found his way to Mordor. Earlier (p. 223, §6) my father had noted: 'I thought of making Trotter into Fosco Took (Bilbo's first cousin) who vanished when a lad, owing to Gandalf. He must have had some bitter acquaintance with Ring-wraiths &c.' See further pp. 385–6.

(3) In some points it is still harder to feel sure of the meaning of another outline dated 'August 1939'. This begins with a proposal to 'alter names'.

Frodo	> ?	Peregrin	Faramond
Odo	>	Fredegar	Hamilcar Bolger

My father subsequently added (but struck out): 'Too many hobbits. Sam, Merry, and Faramond (= Frodo) are quite enough.' He was evidently dissatisfied with the name 'Frodo' for his central character. In §2 he changed 'Frodo' to 'Folco', in §2, §5, and §9 'Bingo' reappears, and here he considers the possibility of 'Faramond'. – This seems to be the first occurrence of either name, Fredegar or Hamilcar.

The text that follows on the same page, seeming quite at variance with these notes on names, reads thus:

Alterations of Plot

(1) Less emphasis on longevity caused by the Ring, until the story has progressed.

(2) *Important.* (a) Neither Bilbo nor Gandalf must know much about the Ring, when Bilbo departs. Bilbo's motive is simply *tiredness*, an unexplained restlessness (and longing to see Rivendell again, but this is not said – finding him at Rivendell must be a surprise).

(b) Gandalf does *not* tell Frodo to leave Shire – only mere hint that Lord may look for Shire. The plan for leaving was entirely Frodo's. Dreams or some other cause [*added:* restlessness] have made him decide to go journeying (to find Cracks of Doom? after seeking counsel of Elrond). Gandalf simply vanishes for years. They are not trying to catch up Gandalf. Gandalf is simply trying to *find* them, and is desperately upset when he discovers Frodo has left Hobbiton. Odo must be cut out or altered (blended with Folco), and go with F[rodo] on his ride. Only Meriadoc goes ahead.

In that case alteration of plot at Bree. Who is Trotter? A Ranger or a Hobbit? Peregrin? If Gandalf is only looking for Frodo, Trotter will have to be an old associate.[3] Thus if a Hobbit, make him one who went off under Gandalf's influence (cf. introduction to *Hobbit*).[4] E.g. –

After Bilbo's little escapade Gandalf was little seen, and only one disappearance was recorded during many years. This was the curious case of Peregrin Boffin –

Since he was a close relation of Bilbo's, Bilbo was blamed for putting notions into the boy's head with his silly fairy-stories; and visits of the young to Bag-End were discouraged by many of the elders in spite of Bilbo's generosity. But he had several faithful young friends. The chief of these was Frodo (Bilbo's cousin).

As regards (1) and (2)(a), these ideas were taken up. In 'A Long-expected Party' as it was at this time (see p. 239: preserved without significant change in the third phase version) the Ring is the only motive that Bilbo refers to in explanation of his decision to leave the Shire; and he clearly associates his longevity with possession of it: 'I really must get rid of It, Gandalf. *Well-preserved*, indeed. Why, I feel all thin – sort of stretched, if you know what I mean.' *Revisions made to the third phase version* brought the text in these respects to the form in FR (pp. 41–3), where it is clear that the Ring is not consciously a motive in Bilbo's mind (however strongly the reader is made aware of the sinister influence it was in fact exerting): he speaks of his need for 'a holiday, a very long holiday' (cf. §1 above: 'Bilbo just takes a "holiday"'), and his wish 'to see the wild country again before I die, and the Mountains.' He still says '*Well-preserved*, indeed! Why I feel all thin, sort of *stretched*, if you know what I mean', but his sense of great age is now not in any way associated with possession of the Ring; and so later, *in revision to the third phase version* of 'Ancient History', Gandalf says to Frodo: 'He certainly did not begin to connect his long life and outward youthfulness with the ring' (cf. FR p. 56: 'But as for his long life, Bilbo never connected it with the ring at all. He took all the credit for that to himself, and was very proud of it.')

The notes under (2) (b) outline a new idea in respect of Gandalf's movements: for many years before Frodo left he had never come back at all to Hobbiton, and Frodo's leaving was entirely independent of the wizard. Learning (we may suppose) that the Ring-wraiths were abroad, Gandalf hastened back at last to the Shire, where he heard to his horror that Frodo had gone. This idea was not taken up, of course (and against it my father wrote: 'But in this case the Sam chapter is spoilt' – he was referring to the end of 'Ancient History', where Sam is discovered by Gandalf eavesdropping outside the window of Bag End).

The words 'They are not trying to catch up Gandalf' are difficult to understand. It seems incredible that my father would be referring now to the first phase version of the story, in which Gandalf had left the Party (given by Bingo) after letting off the fireworks, and was known to be ahead of Frodo and his friends on the journey east; yet in the subsequent versions all that is known of him is that he did not come, as he had promised, to the small farewell party given by Bingo/Frodo before he left Bag End, and was supposed (rightly) to be behind them rather than ahead.

Still more baffling is the passage concerning Odo ('Odo must be cut out or altered (blended with Folco) and go with F[rodo] on his ride. Only Meriadoc goes ahead'). If the meaning of this is that the entire 'Odo-story' of the third phase (his journey with Gandalf from Crickhollow through Bree, the pseudonym of 'Baggins', his disappearance from Weathertop, and his unexplained arrival with Gandalf at Rivendell) was to be abandoned, how (one may ask) can he be 'blended with Folco', since 'Folco' is already a blend of the original 'Frodo and Odo', with the advantage heavily to 'Odo'? It must be remembered that these notes were in no way the logical expression of an ordered programme, but are rather the vestiges of rapidly-changing thoughts. The withdrawal of Odo, in the third phase, from the adventures of the other hobbits had caused Folco (formerly Frodo) Took to take over Odo's part and character in the narrative of those adventures, since that narrative already existed from the earlier phases, and Odo had played a large part in the hobbits' conversation (see pp. 323–4). But the *retention* of Odo in the background, with adventures of his own, would mean that when he re-emerged into the foreground again at Rivendell there would be two 'Odo' characters – the rather ironic result of getting rid of him!

The proposal here is presumably that 'Odo Bolger' and 'Folco Took' should now be definitively joined together as one character, under the latter name. 'Folco' seems indeed now too much 'Odo' for 'blending' to have much meaning; but my father may not have felt this (nor perhaps did he have so clear a picture of the intricate evolutions of his story as can be attained from long study of the manuscripts). In 'go with F[rodo] on his ride', 'ride' is perhaps a mere slip for 'walk': the meaning being that the resultant 'blend' accompanies Frodo and does not 'go ahead' with Merry to Buckland. This is all very fine-spun, but it reflects the

extraordinarily intricate nature of my father's changing construction.

With 'Who is Trotter? A Ranger or a Hobbit?' cf. pp. 331–2. The story that Trotter was Peregrin Boffin is now definitively present and would be fully developed in revision to the third phase text of 'A Long-expected Party' (pp. 384–6).

(4) The remaining papers in this 'August 1939' collection that are concerned with the opening part of the story perhaps followed the others. These pages of very rough narrative drafting are headed *Conversation of Bilbo and Frodo* – a relationship never otherwise seen at close quarters, before they met long afterwards at Rivendell. The conversation takes place at Bag End before Bilbo's Farewell Party; he speaks to Frodo of the Ring for the first time, only to discover to his genuine amazement and mock indignation, that Frodo knew about it already, and had looked at Bilbo's secret book. This is a different story to that in 'A Long-expected Party', where Frodo had read Bilbo's memoirs with his permission (pp. 240, 315).

Conversation of Bilbo and Frodo

'Well, my lad, we have got on very well – and I am sorry to leave, in a way. But I am going on a holiday, a very long holiday. In fact I have no intention of coming back. I am tired. I am going to cross the Rivers.[5] So be prepared for surprises at this party. I may say that I am leaving everything, practically, to you – all except a few oddments.'

★

Mr Bilbo Baggins, of Bag-end, Underhill (Hobbiton) was sitting in his west sitting-room one summer afternoon.

'Well, that's my little plan, Frodo,' said Bilbo Baggins. 'It's a dead secret, mind you! I've kept it from everyone but you and Gandalf. I needed Gandalf's help; and I've told you because I hope you'll enjoy the joke all the better for being in the know – and of course you're closely concerned.'

'I don't like it at all,' said the other hobbit, looking rather puzzled and downcast. 'But I've known you long enough to know that it's no good trying to talk you out of your little plans.'

★

'Well, the time has come to say goodbye, my dear lad,' said Bilbo.

'I suppose so,' said Frodo sadly. 'Though I don't at all under-

stand why. [But I know you too well to think of trying to talk you out of your little plans – especially after they have gone so far.]'

'I can't explain it any clearer,' answered Bilbo, 'because I am not quite clear myself. But I hope this is clear: I am leaving everything (except a few oddments) to you. My bit of money will keep you nicely as it did me in the old days; and besides there is a bit of my treasure left – you know where. Not so much now, but a pretty nest-egg still. And there's one thing more, There's a ring.'

'The magic ring?' asked Frodo incautiously.

'Eh, what?' said Bilbo. 'Who said magic ring?'

'I did,' said Frodo blushing. 'My dear old hobbit, you don't allow for the inquisitiveness of young nephews.'

'I do allow for it,' said Bilbo, 'or I thought I had. And in any case don't call me a dear old hobbit.'

'I have known about the existence of your Ring for years.'

'Have you indeed?' said Bilbo. 'How, I should like to know! Come on, then: you had better make a clean breast of it before I go.'

'Well, it was like this. It was the Sackville-Bagginses that were your undoing.'

'They would be,' grunted Bilbo.

Frodo then tells the story of his observing Bilbo's escape, by becoming invisible, from the Sackville-Bagginses while out walking one day. This, in very brief form, had been used in the fifth version of 'A Long-expected Party' (p. 242), when Bingo told it to Gandalf after the Party – there, merely as an example of how Bilbo had used the Ring for small-scale disappearances to avoid boredom and inconvenience (for of course in the 'received' story Bingo knew about the Ring because Bilbo had told him about it). It was then, in more elaborate form, given to Merry in 'A Conspiracy is Unmasked' (p. 300) as an explanation of how Merry knew of the existence of the Ring (and so was dropped from the sixth version of 'A Long-expected Party', p. 315). Now, in the present text, my father simply lifted the story word for word from 'A Conspiracy (is) Unmasked' and gave it to Frodo, as his explanation to Bilbo of how *he* learnt about the Ring; and Frodo continues here, again almost word for word, with Merry's account of how he got a sight of Bilbo's book:

'That doesn't explain it all,' said Bilbo, with a gleam in his eye. 'Come on, out with it, whatever it is!'

'Well, after that I kept my eyes open,' stammered Frodo. 'I – er – in fact I rather kept a watch on you. But you must admit it was very intriguing – and I was only in my early tweens. So one day I came across your book.'

'My book!' said Bilbo. 'Good heavens above. Is nothing safe!'

'Not too safe,' said Frodo. 'But I only got one rapid glance. You never left the book about, except just that once: you were called out of the study, and I came in and found it lying open. I should like a rather longer look, Bilbo. I suppose you are leaving it to me now?'

'No I am not!' said Bilbo decisively. 'It isn't finished. Why, one of my chief reasons for leaving is to go somewhere where I can get on with it in peace without a parcel of rascally nephews prying round the place, and a string of confounded visitors hanging on to the bell.'

'You shouldn't be so kind to everyone,' said Frodo. 'I am sure you needn't go away.

'Well, I am going,' said Bilbo. 'And about that Ring: I suppose I needn't describe it now, or how I got it. I thought of giving it to you.'

At this point my father interrupted the text and wrote across the page: 'This won't do because of the use of the Ring at the party!' – i.e., Bilbo could not have the intention to give it to Frodo then, before the Party. But without changing anything that he had written he went on with the story thus:

He fumbled in his pocket and drew out a small golden ring attached by another ring to a fine chain. He unfastened it, laid it in the palm of his hand, and looked long at it.

'Here it is!' he said with sigh.

Frodo held out his hand. But Bilbo put the ring straight back in his pocket. [A puzzled look >] An odd look came over his face. 'Er, well,' he stammered, 'I'll give it you I expect last thing before I go – or leave it in my locked drawer or something.'

Frodo looked puzzled and stared at him, but said nothing.

The last lines of the text come after the Party:

Bilbo . . . . goes and dresses as in the older version (but with *armour* under his cloak)[6] and says goodbye. 'The – er – ring,' he said, 'is in the drawer' – and vanished into [the] darkness.

I think that this new version is to be associated with the opening notes under 'Alterations of Plot' in §3 above: it represents a movement away from the idea that Bilbo was troubled about the Ring, that it was his prime motive for leaving (rather, his tiredness, his desire for peace, is mentioned). He has never even spoken to Frodo about it. It seems that my father's intention had been that Bilbo should simply hand it to Frodo

there and then, without any suggestion of inner struggle; but he only realised, as he wrote, that 'This won't do' – because Bilbo must retain the Ring till the actual moment of his departure. The gift would therefore have to be postponed from the present occasion; and it was only now that he took up the suggestion in 'A Long-expected Party', where Bilbo said to Gandalf: 'I am not going to throw it away. In any case I find it impossible to make myself do that – *I simply put it back in my pocket*.'[7] The curious result is that the scene actually ends now with a demonstration, in Bilbo's embarrassed and ambiguous behaviour, precisely of the sinister effect that the Ring has in fact had on its owner; and this would be developed into the quarrel with Gandalf in FR, pp. 41–3.

(5) Turning now to those papers dated August 1939 that are concerned with larger projections of the story to come after the sojourn in Rivendell, there is first a suggestion that a Dragon should come to the Shire and that by its coming the hobbits should be led to show that they are made of 'sterner stuff', and that 'Frodo (Bingo)' should 'actually come near the end of his money – now it was *dragon* gold. He is "lured"?' There is here a reference to 'Bilbo remarks on old sheet of notes' – obviously those given on pp. 41–2 (where the same suggestion of a Dragon coming to Hobbiton was made).

(6) Following these notes on the same page is a brief list of narrative elements that might enter much further on:

> Island in sea. Take Frodo there in end.
> Radagast?[8]
> Battle is raging far off between armies of Elves and Men v[ersus the] Lord.
> Adventures . . Stone-Men.

With the first of these cf. the note given on p. 41: 'Elrond tells him [Bilbo] of an island', etc. The reference to the 'battle raging' probably belongs to the end of the story, when the Ring goes into the Crack of Doom.

Most interesting is the last item here. A note by my father found with the LR papers states that he looked through (some, at least, of) the material in 1964; and it was very probably at that time that he scrawled against the words 'Adventures . . Stone-Men':

> Thought of as just an 'adventure'. The whole of the matter of Gondor (Stone-land) grew from this note. (Aragorn, still called Trotter, had no connexion with it then, and was at first conceived as one of the hobbits that had wanderlust.)

(7) This is a convenient place to give a page of pencilled notes which bears no date and in which 'Bingo' appears. At the head of the page stand the words: 'City of Stone and civilized men'. Then follows an extremely abbreviated outline of the end of the story.

At end
When Bingo [*written above:* Frodo] at last reaches Crack and Fiery Mountain *he cannot make himself throw the Ring away*. ? He hears Necromancer's voice offering him great reward – to share power with him, if he will keep it.

At that moment Gollum – who had seemed to reform and had guided them by secret ways through Mordor – comes up and treacherously tries to take Ring. They wrestle and Gollum *takes Ring* and falls into the Crack.

The mountain begins to rumble.

Bingo flies away [i.e. flees away].

Eruption.

Mordor vanishes like a dark cloud. Elves are seen riding like lights rolling away a dark cloud.

The City of Stone is covered in ashes.

Journey back to Rivendell.

What of Shire? Sackville-Baggins . . . . . lands. . . . . the four quarters.

Bingo makes peace, and settles down in a little hut on the high green ridge – until one day he goes with the Elves west beyond the towers.

Better – no land was tilled, all the hobbits were busy making swords.

The illegible words might just possibly be interpreted thus: 'Sackville-Baggins [and] his friends hurt [the] lands. There was war between the four quarters.'

Since there is here a reference to 'the City of Stone', while my father said in 1964 that the whole idea of Gondor arose from the reference to 'Stone-Men' in a note dated August 1939, it would have to be concluded on a strict interpretation that this outline comes from that time or later; on the other hand, the hero is still 'Bingo', so that this outline would seem to be the earlier. I think, however, that the contradiction may be only apparent, since in other notes dated August 1939 my father seems still to have been hesitant about the name 'Bingo', and I would therefore ascribe the outline just given to much the same time as the rest of these notes.

It obviously leaves out some things that my father must already have known (more or less): such as how Gollum reappeared. But it is most remarkable to find here – when there is no suggestion of the vast structure still to be built – that the corruption of the Shire, and the crucial presence of Gollum on the Fiery Mountain, were very early elements in the whole.

(8) On the reverse of the page bearing this outline is the following:

'The ring is destroyed,' said Bilbo, 'and I am feeling sleepy. We must say goodbye, Bingo [*written above:* Frodo] – but it is a good place to say goodbye, in the House of Elrond, where memory is long and kind. I am leaving the book of my small deeds here. And I don't think I shall go to rest till I have written down your tale too.

Elrond will keep it – no doubt after all hobbits have gone their ways into the past. Well, Bingo my lad, you and I were very small creatures, but we've played our part. We've played our part. An odd fate we have shared, to be sure.'

It seems then that at this time my father foresaw that Bilbo died in Rivendell.

(9) There is one further page dated 'August 1939', and this is of great interest. It is a series of pencilled notes like the others, and is headed 'Plot from XII on'.

Have to wait till Spring? Or have to go at once.
They go south along the Mountains. Later or early? Snowstorm in the Red Pass. Journey down the R. Redway.
Adventure with Giant Tree Beard in Forest.
Mines of Moria. These again deserted – except for *Goblins*.
Land of Ond. Siege of the City.
They draw near the borders of Mordor.
In dark Gollum comes up. He feigns reform? Or tries to throttle Frodo? – but Gollum has now a magic ring given by Lord and is invisible. Frodo dare not use his own.
Cavalcade of evil led by seven Black Riders.
See Dark Tower on the horizon. Horrible feeling of an Eye searching for him.
Fiery Mountain.
Eruption of Fiery Mountain causes destruction of Tower.

A pencilled marginal note asks whether 'Bingo' (with 'Frodo' written beside) should be captured by the Dark Lord and questioned, but be saved 'by Sam?'.

Subsequently my father emended these notes in ink. In the first line, against 'Or have to go at once', he wrote 'at once'; he directed that 'Mines of Moria . . .' should precede 'Adventure with Giant Tree Beard in Forest' and come between 'Snowstorm in the Red Pass' and 'Journey down the R. Redway'; and after 'These again deserted – except for *Goblins*' he added 'Loss of Gandalf'.

Some features of this outline have occurred already; the feigned reform of Gollum, his attack on Frodo, and the eruption of the Fiery Mountain, in §7; the acquisition of a ring by Gollum in Mordor in §1. But we meet here for the first time other major ingredients in the later work. The Ring crosses the Misty Mountains by 'the Red Pass', which will survive in the Redhorn Pass, or Redhorn Gate. The Mines of Moria now first reappear from *The Hobbit* – at any rate under that name: the mention in *Queries and Alterations* note 11 (p. 226) of the colony founded by the Dwarves Balin, Ori, and Óin from the Lonely Mountain in 'rich hills in the South' does not show that the identification had been

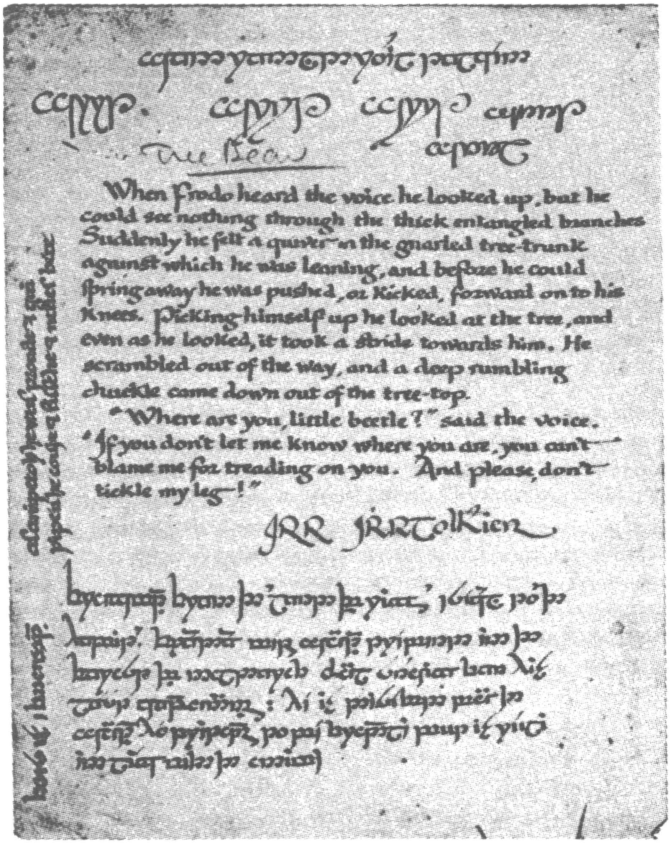
made. The actual link lay no doubt in Elrond's words in *The Hobbit* (Chapter III, 'A Short Rest'): 'I have heard that there are still forgotten treasures to be found in the deserted caverns of the mines of Moria, since the dwarf and goblin war'; and the words here 'These again deserted – except for Goblins', taken with those in *Queries and Alterations* (*ibid.*) 'But after a time no word was heard of them', clearly imply the story in *The Lord of the Rings*. The land of the Stone-Men (see §6) is the 'Land of Ond', and the 'City of Stone' (§7) will be besieged. Here also there is the first hint of the story of the capture of Frodo and his rescue by Sam Gamgee from the tower of Cirith Ungol; and most notable of all, perhaps, the first mention of the Searching Eye in the Dark Tower.

These are references to narrative 'moments' which my father foresaw: they do not constitute an articulated narrative scheme. They may very well not be in the succession that he even then perceived. Thus in this outline Gollum's treachery is brought in long before Frodo reaches the Fiery Mountain, which in view of what is said in §7 can hardly have been his meaning; and the Mines of Moria are named after the passage of the Misty Mountains. This was corrected later in ink, but it may not have been his conception when he wrote these notes: for in none of the (six) mentions of the Mines of Moria in *The Hobbit* is there any suggestion of where they were (cf. his letter to W. H. Auden in 1955: 'The Mines of Moria had been a mere name', *Letters* no. 163).

(10) Something must be said here of 'Giant Treebeard', for he emerged into a scrap of actual narrative at this time (and had been mentioned by Gandalf to Frodo in Rivendell. p. 363: 'I was caught in Fangorn and spent many weary days as a prisoner of the Giant Treebeard'). There exists a single sheet of manuscript, which began as a letter dated 'July 27–29th 1939', but which my father covered on both sides with fine ornamental script (one side of the sheet is reproduced opposite). Among the writings on the page are the words 'July Summer Diversions' and lines from Chaucer's *Reeve's Tale* – for these 'Diversions' were a series of public entertainments held at Oxford in the course of which my father, attired as Chaucer, recited that Tale. But the page is chiefly taken up with a text on which he afterwards pencilled *Tree Beard*.

When Frodo heard the voice he looked up, but he could see nothing through the thick entangled branches. Suddenly he felt a quiver in the gnarled tree-trunk against which he was leaning, and before he could spring away he was pushed, or kicked, forward onto his knees. Picking himself up he looked at the tree, and even as he looked, it took a stride towards him. He scrambled out of the way, and a deep rumbling chuckle came down out of the tree-top.

'Where are you, little beetle?' said the voice. 'If you don't let me know where you are, you can't blame me for treading on you. And please, don't tickle my leg!'



When Frodo heard the voice he looked up, but he could see nothing through the thick entangled branches. Suddenly he felt a quiver in the gnarled tree-trunk against which he was leaning, and before he could spring away he was pushed, or kicked, forward on to his knees. Picking himself up he looked at the tree, and even as he looked, it took a stride towards him. He scrambled out of the way, and a deep rumbling chuckle came down out of the tree-top.

"Where are you, little beetle?" said the voice. "If you don't let me know where you are, you can't blame me for treading on you. And please, don't tickle my leg!"

J.R.R. Tolkien

The emergence of Treebeard

'I can't see any leg,' said Frodo. 'And where are you?' 'You must be blind,' said the voice. 'I am here.' 'Who are you?' 'I am Treebeard,' the voice answered. 'If you haven't heard of me before, you ought to have done; and anyway you are in my garden.'

'I can't see any garden,' said Frodo. 'Do you know what a garden looks like?' 'I have one of my own: there are flowers and plants in it, and a fence round it; but there is nothing of the kind here.' 'O yes! there is. Only you have walked through the fence without noticing it; and you can't see the plants, because you are down underneath them by their roots.'

It was only then when Frodo looked closer that he saw that what he had taken for smooth tree-stems were the stalks of gigantic flowers – and what he had thought was the stem of a monstrous oaktree was really a thick gnarled leg with a rootlike foot and many branching toes.

This is the first image of Treebeard: seeming in its air to come rather from the old *Hobbit* than the new. Six lines in Elvish *tengwar* are also written here, which transliterated read:

> Fragment from The Lord of the Rings, sequel to The Hobbit.
> Frodo meets Giant Treebeard in the Forest of Neldoreth while seeking for his lost companions: he is deceived by the giant who pretends to be friendly, but is really in league with the Enemy.

The forest of Neldoreth, forming the northern part of Doriath, had appeared in the later *Annals of Beleriand* (V.126, 148); the name from the old legends (like that of Glorfindel, see p. 214) was to be re-used.

Six months earlier, in a letter of 2 February 1939, my father had said that 'though there is no dragon (so far) there is going to be a Giant' (*Letters* no. 35, footnote to the text). If my suggested analysis of the chronology is correct (see p. 309) 'Giant Treebeard' had already appeared, as Gandalf's captor, at the end of the third phase (p. 363).

(11) There remains one further text (extant in two versions) to be given in this chapter; this is the story of Peregrin Boffin (see under §§2, 3 above). One form of it is found as part of a rather roughly written two-page manuscript that begins as a new text of 'A Long-expected Party': very closely related to the sixth or third phase version of that chapter, but certainly following it. I take it up from the point 'At ninety he seemed much the same as ever' (FR p. 29).

At ninety-nine they began to call him *well-preserved*, though *unchanged* would have been nearer the mark. Some were heard to say that it was too much of a good thing, this combination of apparently perpetual youth with seemingly inexhaustible wealth.

'It will have to be paid for,' they said. 'It isn't natural, and trouble will come of it!'

But trouble had not yet come, and Mr Baggins was extremely generous with his money, so most people (and especially the poorer and less important hobbits) pardoned his oddities. In a way the inhabitants of Hobbiton were (secretly) rather proud of him: the wealth that he had brought back from his travels became a local legend, and it was widely believed, whatever the old folk might say, that most of the Hill was full of tunnels stuffed with treasure.

'He may be peculiar, but he does no harm,' said the younger folk. But not all of his more important relatives agreed. They were suspicious of his influence on their children, and especially of their sons meeting Gandalf at his house. Their suspicions were much increased by the unfortunate affair of Peregrin Boffin.

Peregrin was the grandson of Bilbo's mother's second sister Donnamira Took. He was a mere babe, five years old, when Bilbo came back from his journey; but he grew up a dark-haired and (for a hobbit) lanky lad, very much more of a Took than a Boffin. He was always trotting round to Hobbiton, for his father, Paladin Boffin, lived at Northope, only a mile or two behind the Hill. When Peregrin began to talk about mountains and dwarves, and forests and wolves, Paladin became alarmed, and finally forbade his son to go near Bag-end, and shut his door on Bilbo.

Bilbo took this to heart, for he was extremely fond of Peregrin, but he did nothing to encourage him to visit Bag-end secretly. Peregrin then ran away from home and was found wandering about half-starved up on the moors of the Northfarthing. Finally, the day after he came of age (in the spring of Bilbo's eightieth year)[9] he disappeared, and was never found in spite of a search all over the Shire.

In former times Gandalf had always been held responsible for the occasional regrettable accidents of this kind; but now Bilbo got a large share of the blame, and after Peregrin's disappearance most of his younger relations were kept away from him. Though in fact Bilbo was probably more troubled by the loss of Peregrin than all the Boffins put together.

He had, however, other young friends, who for one reason or another were not kept away from him. His favourite soon became Frodo Baggins, grandson of Mirabella the third of the Old Took's remarkable daughters, and son of Drogo (one of Bilbo's second cousins). Just about the time of Peregrin's disappearance Frodo

was left an orphan, when only a child of twelve, and so he had no anxious parents to keep him out of bad company. He lived with his uncle Rory Brandybuck, and his mother's hundred and one relatives in the Great Hole of Bucklebury: Brandy Hall.

Here this new opening ends. A slightly shorter version is found as a rider to the manuscript of the third phase version itself: there are some differences of wording but none of substance. Bilbo is here said to have taken the delinquent back to Northope and apologised to Paladin Boffin, when Peregrin 'sneaked round to him secretly'; and Bilbo 'stoutly denied having anything to do with the events.'

The village of *Northope* later became *Overhill*, and was so corrected on the second of these texts.[10] – *Paladin* is already fixed as the name of the father of *Peregrin*: these Boffins are – as names – the origin of Paladin and Peregrin Took in LR. Donnamira Took, second of the Old Took's daughters, appears in the family tree of the Tooks given on p. 317, where she is the wife of Hugo Boffin (as in LR, but there without recorded issue): their son was Jago Boffin, and his son was Fosco, Bilbo's first cousin (once removed), who was 54 at the time of the Party. In the third phase version of 'Ancient History' (p. 319) Jo Button, who saw the 'Tree-men' beyond the North Moors, is said to have worked for Fosco Boffin of Northope, and this is presumably the same person as the Fosco Boffin of the family tree, grandson of Donnamira. In this case Peregrin Boffin (Trotter) – who was 64 at the time of the Party (see note 9), though of course he had then long since disappeared from the Shire – has stepped into Fosco's genealogical place, and his father Paladin into that of Jago. But only into the genealogical place: the Boffin of Northope for whom Jo Button was working has obviously nothing to do with the renegade Peregrin.

It will be seen that in this account Frodo and Trotter were second cousins, and both were first cousins once removed of Bilbo.[11]

NOTES

1 With 'unexpected party' for 'long-expected party' cf. p. 245, note 1.

2 Actually, the third and fourth drafts of the first phase: by 'original draft of the Tale' my father meant the form of 'A Long-expected Party' as it stood when submitted to Allen and Unwin (see p. 40).

3 I do not understand the force of this sentence.

4 The reference to *The Hobbit* is to Chapter I 'An Unexpected Party', a passage already cited (p. 224).

5 *the Rivers:* the plural form is clear.

6 That Bilbo wore his 'elf-armour' under his cloak when he went is said in §2; see pp. 371–2.

7 This is the wording of the sixth (third phase) version, little changed from that of the fifth (p. 239).

8 Radagast had occurred in *The Hobbit*: in Chapter VII 'Queer Lodgings' Gandalf spoke to Beorn of 'my good cousin Radagast who lives near the Southern borders of Mirkwood.'

9 Peregrin Boffin was five years old when Bilbo returned from his great adventure. The calculation is: 51 to 79 ('the spring of his eightieth year') = 28, plus 5 = 33 ('coming of age'). According to this story Peregrin/Trotter was 81 years old when Frodo and his companions met him at Bree (Bilbo finally departed when he was 111; Peregrin/Trotter was then 64, and Frodo left the Shire 17 years later). As he said at Bree, 'I'm older now than I look' (pp. 153, 342); Aragorn was 87 when he said the same thing (FR p. 177).

10 *Northope* > *Overhill* also on p. 319. – The name *Northope* appears here on my father's original map of the Shire (p. 107, item I), but it was struck out and replaced, not by Overhill, but by *The Yale*. This is a convenient place to notice the history of this name. Long after, my father wrote in *The Yale* on the Shire map in a copy of the First Edition of FR, placing it south of Whitfurrows in the Eastfarthing, in such a way as to show that he intended a region, like 'The Marish', not a particular place of settlement (the road to Stock runs through it); and at the same time, on the same copy, he expanded the text in FR p. 86, introducing the name: 'the lowlands of the Yale' (for the reason for this change of text, which was published in the Second Edition, see p. 66, note 10). The Shire map in the Second Edition has *The Yale* added here, but in relation to a small black square, as if it were the name of a farm or small hamlet; this must have been a misunderstanding. I cannot explain the meaning of *The Yale*. *Northope* contains a place-name element *hope* that usually means 'a small enclosed valley'.

11 My father's earlier suggestion concerning Trotter (p. 223) also made him Bilbo's first cousin (Fosco Took).

THE STORY CONTINUED

XXIII
IN THE HOUSE OF ELROND

In the next stage of the work it is difficult to deduce the chronology of composition, or to relate it to important further revisions made to the 'third phase' of the story as far as Rivendell. Determination of the chronology depends on the form taken by certain key elements, and if these happen to be absent certainty becomes impossible.

At any rate, after 'Bingo' had become 'Frodo' my father continued Frodo's interrupted conversation with Glóin at the feast in the house of Elrond (see p. 369). This continuation is in two forms, the second closely following the first, and already in the first form the latter part of 'Many Meetings' in FR is quite closely approached; but there are certain major differences. I give here the second form (in part).[1]

'And what has become of Balin and Ori and Óin?' asked Frodo.

A shadow passed over Glóin's face. 'Balin took to travelling again,' he answered. 'You may have heard that he visited Bilbo in Hobbiton many years ago:[2] well, not very long after that he went away for two or three years. Then he returned to the Mountain with a great number of dwarves that he discovered wandering masterless in the South and East. He wanted Dáin to go back to Moria – or at least to allow him to found a colony there and reopen the great mines. As you probably know, Moria was the ancestral home of the dwarves of the race of Durin, and the forefathers of Thorin and Dáin dwelt there, until they were driven by the goblin invasions far into the North. Now Balin reported that Moria was again wholly deserted, since the great defeat of the goblins, but the mines were still rich, especially in silver. Dáin was not willing to leave the Mountain and the tomb of Thorin, but he allowed Balin to go, and he took with him many of the folk of the Mountain as well as his own following; and Ori and Óin went with him. For many years things went well, and the colony throve; there was traffic once more between Moria and the Mountain, and many gifts of silver were sent to Dáin. Then fortune changed. Our messengers were attacked and robbed by cruel Men, well-armed. No messengers came from Moria; but rumour reached us that the mines and dwarf-city were again deserted. For long we could not learn what had become of Balin and his people – but now we have

news, and it is evil. It is to tell these tidings and to ask for the counsel of – of those that dwell in Rivendell that I have come. But to-night let us speak of merrier things!'

At the head of the page my father wrote the words that stand in this place in FR (p. 241): '"We do not know," he answered. "It is largely on his account that I have come to ask for the counsel of – of those that dwell in Rivendell. But for to-night let us speak of merrier things."' In FR the story of Balin was taken up into 'The Council of Elrond' and greatly enlarged.

Glóin's account of the works of the Dwarves in Dale and under the Lonely Mountain (FR pp. 241–2) is present in the old version.[3] At the end, when Glóin said: 'You were very fond of Bilbo, weren't you?' Frodo replied simply 'Yes', and then 'they went on to talk about the old adventures of Bilbo with the dwarves, in Mirkwood, and among the Wood-elves, and in the caverns of the Mountain.'

The entrance into the Hall of Fire, and the discovery and recognition of Bilbo, are already very close to FR (for early references to Bilbo at Rivendell see pp. 126, 225). The Hall of Fire is said in both texts to be nearly as large as the 'Hall of Feasting' or 'Great Hall'; in the second this hall 'appeared to have no windows'; and in both there were many fires burning: Bilbo sat beside the furthest, with his cup and bread on a low table beside him (in FR there were no tables).

Bilbo says 'I shall have to get that fellow Peregrin to help me' (cf. p. 369) and Elrond replies that he will have *Ethelion*[4] found (in Chapter XI of the 'third phase' Glorfindel calls Trotter *Du-finnion*, p. 361). 'Messengers were sent to find Bilbo's friend. It was said that he had been in the kitchens, for his help was as much esteemed by the cooks as by the poets.' It had been said in the earlier part of the chapter (p. 365) that Frodo could not see Trotter at the feast, and his absence survived into FR (p. 243), but with a very different reason for it.

Whatever Bilbo may have had to say of himself is not reported in the original story. The entire passage (FR pp. 243–4) in which Bilbo tells of his journey to Dale, of his life in Rivendell, and his interest in the Ring – and the distressing incident when he asks to see it – is absent.

They were so deep in the doings of the Shire that they did not notice the arrival of another hobbit. For several minutes he stood by them, looking at them with a smile. Suddenly they looked up. 'Ah, there you are, Peregrin!' said Bilbo. 'Trotter!' said Frodo.

'Both right!' laughed Trotter.

'Well, that is tiresome of Gandalf!' exclaimed Frodo. 'I knew you reminded me of some one, and he laughed at me.[5] Of course, you remind me of yourself, and of Folco, and of all the Tooks. You came once to Buckland when I was very small, but I never

quite forgot it, because you talked to Old Rory about lands outside the Shire, and about Bilbo who you were not allowed to see. I have wondered what became of you. But I was puzzled by your shoes. Why do you wear them?'

'I shall not tell you the reason now,' said Trotter quietly.

'No, Frodo, don't ask that yet,' said Bilbo, looking rather unhappy. 'Come on, Perry! I want your help. This song of mine has got to be finished this evening.'

At this point, while in the middle of writing the second text, my father wrote across it: '?? Trotter had better not be a hobbit – but a Ranger, remainder of Western Men, as originally planned.' Of course, looking back over the texts from Trotter's first appearance, there is no possibility that my father had 'originally planned' to make Trotter anything but a hobbit. The first suggestion that he might not be appears in *Queries and Alterations* (p. 223, §6). But by 'originally planned' my father may well have been thinking no further back than to the drafts for the opening of the 'Bree' chapter in the third phase (p. 331), where the idea that the Rangers were Men, 'the last remnant of the kingly people from beyond the Seas', first emerged, though this was not taken up in the chapter as actually written at that time. It may be that he had felt for some time that Trotter should not be a hobbit, but (as he said of the name 'Bingo', p. 221) he was now too used to the idea to change it. Even now, he did not follow up his directive, and Trotter remains Peregrin Boffin.

As in FR, Frodo sits alone and falls asleep during the music; but the song *Eärendil was a mariner* is not present (though the word '?Messenger' written at the top of the page is a hint of it).[6]

He woke to the sound of ringing laughter. There was no longer any music, but on the edge of his waking sense was the echo of a voice that had just stopped singing. He looked, and saw that Bilbo was seated on his stool, set now near to the middle fire, in the centre of a circle of listeners.

'Come now, tell us, Bilbo!' said one of the Elves, 'which is the line which Peregrin put in?'

'No!' laughed Bilbo. 'I leave you to guess – you pride yourselves on your judgement of words.'

'But it is difficult to discriminate between two hobbits,' they laughed.

'Nonsense!' said Bilbo. 'But I won't argue the matter. I'm sleepy, after so much sound and song!' He got up and bowed and came back beside Frodo.

'Well, that's that,' he said. 'It went off better than I expected. As a matter of fact, quite a lot of it was Peregrin's.'

'I am sorry I did not hear it,' said Frodo. 'I heard the Elves laughing as I woke up.'

'Never mind,' said Bilbo. 'You'll hear it again, very likely. Just a lot of nonsense, anyway. But it is difficult to keep awake here, until you get used to it – not that hobbits ever acquire the Elves' appetite for song and poetry and tales of all sorts. They will be going on for a long while yet. . . .

The words of the chant to Elbereth (identical in both texts) are different from the form in FR:

Elbereth Gilthoniel sir evrin pennar oriel
dir avos-eithen miriel
bel daurion sel aurinon
pennáros evrin ériol.

The sweet syllables fell like clear jewels of mingled word and sound, and he halted for a moment looking back.

'That is the opening of the chant to Elbereth,' said Bilbo. 'They will sing that and other songs of the Blessed Realm many times tonight.'

Bilbo led Frodo back to his upper room. There they sat for some while, looking at the bright stars through the window, and talking softly. They spoke no longer of the small and happy news of the Shire far away, but of the Elves, and of the wide world, and its perils, and of the burden and mystery of the Ring.

When Sam came to the door (at the end of the chapter in FR) Bilbo said:

'Quite right, Sam! Though I never expected to live long enough to be ordered about by Ham Gamgee's boy. Bless me, I am near 150 and old enough to be your great-grandfather.'

'No sir, and I never expected to be doing it.'

'It is Gandalf's fault, said Frodo. 'He chose Sam to be my companion in adventure, and Sam takes his task seriously.'

This was replaced at the time of writing by the ending in FR. Bilbo was in fact 128.

Both texts continue on briefly into what became 'The Council of Elrond' in FR (the title that my father had given to the 'third phase' text Chapter XII, p. 362, afterwards called 'Many Meetings', when he anticipated that it would contain the Council as well as the 'many meetings' that preceded it).

Frodo awoke early next day, feeling refreshed and well. Sam brought him breakfast, and would not allow him to get up till he had eaten it. Then Bilbo and Gandalf came and talked for a while. Suddenly a single bell rang out. [*All the remainder of the text from this point was struck out; see p. 399.*]

'Bless me!' said Gandalf. 'The council is in half an hour. That is the warning. I must be off. Bilbo will bring you to the place, as soon as you are ready. Sam had better come with you.'

The council was held in a high glade among the trees on the valley-side far above the house. A falling stream ran at the side of the meeting place, and with the trickling and bubbling of the water was mingled the sound of many birds. There were twelve seats of carved stone in a wide circle; and behind them many other smaller seats of wood. The ground was strewn with many red and yellow leaves, but the trees above were still clothed with fading green; a clear sky of pale blue hung high above, filled with the light of morning.

When Bilbo, Frodo and Sam arrived Elrond was already seated, and beside him, as at the feast, were Gandalf and Glorfindel. Glóin was there also with [an attendant >] a younger dwarf, whom Frodo later discovered was Burin son of Balin.[7] A strange elf, a messenger from the king of the Wood-elves . . . Eastern Mirkwood was seated beside Burin.[8] Trotter (as Frodo continued to call him instead of Peregrin or the Elvish equivalent Ethelion) was there, and all the rest of the hobbit party, Merry, Folco, and Odo. There were besides three other counsellors attendant on Elrond, one an Elf named Erestor, and two other kinsmen of Elrond, of that half-elvish folk whom the Elves named the children of Lúthien.[9] And seated alone and silent was a Man of noble face, but dark and sad.

'This is Boromir,' said Elrond. 'He arrived only yesterday, in the evening. He comes from far away in the South, and his tidings may be of use to us.'

It would take long to tell of all that was spoken in that council under the fair trees of Rivendell. The sun climbed to noon and was turning westward before all the tidings were recounted. Then Elves brought food and drink for the company. The sun had fallen low and its slanting light was red in the valley before an end was made of the debate and they rose and returned down the long path to the house.

Both texts end at this point. At the end of the second my father wrote: '(The Council must be behind closed doors. Frodo invited to presence of Elrond. Tidings of the world. They decide Ring must be destroyed.)'

While Trotter is Peregrin Boffin, and the long-awaited 'recognition' between Trotter and Frodo takes place, Odo is still present: but in the papers dated August 1939, where the identification of Trotter with Peregrin Boffin first appears, Odo appears to be emphatically abandoned. Once again, Odo seems to have proved unsinkable, even though, as discussed on p. 375, Folco had effectively assumed his character. – Of course, these 'Rivendell' manuscripts may very well belong to the same time, and a step-by-step reconstruction cannot be expected. In any case, the removal of Odo and (much more) the identity of Trotter were questions long revolved, and such notes as 'Trotter had better not be a hobbit' or 'Odo must be cut out' are rather the traces of a long debate than a series of clear-cut, successive decisions.

The text just given was continued in a further manuscript of different form, in which appears the first complete version of the Council of Elrond; but before going on to this, two sides of a single isolated page seem undoubtedly to represent my father's first expressed ideas for the Council. It was written in pencil so faint and rapid that it would be largely illegible had my father not gone over it in ink; and he himself could not be sure in places of what he had written, but had to make guesses at words, marking them with queries. In representing this extraordinarily interesting text I give these guessed words of his in italic within brackets. At the head of the page is an isolated direction that the 'Weathertop business' must be 'simplified'. It would be interesting to know what he had in mind: the only 'complication' that was, in the event, removed was the disappearance of Odo, and it may be that this is what he was referring to. It is clear from the first line of this text that the 'third phase' story of Odo was present.

Ring Wraiths. They will get *(no? new?)* horses *(in time?)*. Odo's capturing explained.

Ring offered to Elrond. He refuses. 'It is a peril to all possessors: more to myself than all others. It is fate that the *hobbits* should rid the world of it.'

'What will then become of the other rings?' 'They will lose their power. But we must sacrifice that power in order to destroy the Lord. As long as anyone in the world holds the Ruling Ring there is a chance for *him* to get it back again. Two things can be done. We can send it West, or we can destroy it. If we had sent it West long ago that would have been well enough. But now the power of the Lord is grown too great, and he is fully awake. It would be too

perilous – and his war would come over the Shire and destroy the Havens.'[10] [*In the margin is written* Radagast.]

They decide that the Ring must be taken to the Fiery Mountain. How? – it can hardly be reached except by passing over the borders of the Land of Mordor. Bilbo? No – 'It would kill me now. My years are stretched, and I shall live some time yet. But I have no longer strength for the Ring.'

Frodo volunteers to go.

Who shall go with him? Gandalf. Trotter. Sam. Odo. Folco. Merry. (7) Glorfindel and Frár [*written beneath:* Burin] son of Balin.

South along mountains. Over the Red Pass down the Redway to the Great River.

'Beware!' said Gandalf 'of the Giant Treebeard, who haunts the Forest between the River and the South Mts.' Fangorn?

After a time of rest they set out. Bilbo bids farewell; gives him Sting and his armour. The others are armed.

Snow storm.

The reverse of the page, while not continuous with the first side, was certainly written at the same time, and is again in ink over faint pencil:

First he was asked to give as complete an account of the journey as possible. The story of their dealings with Tom Bombadil seemed to interest Elrond and Gandalf most.

Much that was said was now known already to Frodo. Gandalf spoke long, making clear to all the history of the Ring, and the reason why the Dark Lord so greatly desired it. 'For not only does he desire to discover and control the lost rings, those of the Elves and dwarves – but without the Ring he is still shorn of much power. He put into that Ring much of his own power, and without it is weaker than of old [and obliged to lean more on servants].[11] Of old he could guess or half see what were the hidden purposes of the Elflords, but now he is blind as far as they are concerned. He cannot make rings until he has regained the master ring. And also his mind is moved by revenge and hatred of the Elves and Men that (*disputed him?*).

'Now is the time for true speaking. Tell me, Elrond, if the *Three* Rings still are? And tell me, Glóin, if you know it, whether any of the *Seven* remain?'

'Yes, the Three still are,' said Elrond, 'and it would be ill indeed if Sauron should discover where they be, or have power over their

rulers; for then perhaps his shadow would stretch even to the Blessed Realm.'

'Yes! Some of the Seven remain,' said Glóin. 'I do not know whether I have the right to reveal this, for Dáin did not give me orders concerning it. But Thráin of old had one that descended from his sires. We do not now know where it is. We think it was taken from him, ere you found him in the dungeons long ago [or maybe it was lost in Moria].[12] Yet of late we have received secret messages from Mordor demanding all such rings as we have or know of. But there are others still in our power. Dáin has one – and on that his fortune is founded: his age, his wealth, and (. . . . . ?) future. Yet of late we have received secret messages from Mordor bidding us yield up the rings to the Master, and threatening us and all our allies of Dale with war.[13] It is on this account that I am now come to Rivendell. For the messages have asked often concerning *one Bilbo*, and offered us peace if we would obtain from him (willing or unwilling) his ring. That they said they would accept in lieu of all. I now understand why. But our hearts are troubled, for we guess that King Brand's heart is afraid, and that the Dark Lord will *(move?)* eastern men to some evil. Already there is war upon the *(southern?)* borders. And *(of course that matter whereof?)* I seek counsel, the disappearance of Balin and his people, is now *(revealed?)* as part of the same evil.'

Boromir the *(lord? Land?)* of Ond. These men are besieged by wild men out of the East. They send to the *(F . . . . . ?)* of Balin of Moria. He promised assistance.

Here this text ends. Against the passage beginning '"Yes! Some of the Seven remain," said Glóin' my father wrote: 'No! This won't do – otherwise the dwarves would have been more suspicious of Bilbo.'

In this text, again, there is an apparent contradiction of the 'August 1939' papers: Bilbo gives his mailcoat to Frodo at Rivendell, and had therefore taken it with him when he left Bag End – a story that first appears under the date August 1939 (p. 371, §2), whereas it is also proposed there that the 'Odo-story' be abandoned – a story that is expressly present here. – The Fellowship of the Ring is to consist of five 'Shire hobbits', Frodo, Sam, Merry, Folco, and Odo, with Trotter, Gandalf, Glorfindel, and the dwarf Frár (> Burin).

Whatever the relative age of these texts, and they can scarcely be far apart, there have now appeared the younger Dwarf, Balin's son, who had come with Glóin – precursor of Gimli Glóin's son in LR; the Elf from Mirkwood, precursor of Legolas; Erestor, counsellor of Elrond; two kinsmen of Elrond; and Boromir – so named unhesitatingly from the start[14] – from the Land of Ond far in the South. The Land of Ond is

named in an outline dated August 1939 (p. 381). Treebeard is no longer placed in 'the Forest of Neldoreth' (p. 384), but in 'the Forest between the [Great] River and the South Mountains' – the first mention of the mountains that would afterwards be Ered Nimrais, the White Mountains; and Gandalf warns against him (as well he might, having been his captive, 'in Fangorn', p. 363).

The passage concerning the Three Rings of the Elves and the Seven Rings of the Dwarves is to be compared with a passage in the third phase version of 'Ancient History', p. 320, where Gandalf says that he does not know what has become of 'the Three Rings of Earth, Sea, and Sky', but believes that 'they have long been carried far over the Great Sea' – which is to be associated no doubt with Elrond's words in the present text: 'it would be ill indeed if Sauron should discover where they be, or have power over their rulers; for then perhaps his shadow would stretch even to the Blessed Realm.' In the same passage of 'Ancient History' Gandalf says that 'the foundation of each of the Seven Hoards of the dwarves of old was a golden ring', and that it is said that all the Seven Rings perished in the fire of the dragons: 'Yet that account, maybe, is not wholly true.'

With the menacing messages to King Dáin out of Mordor here cf. *Queries and Alterations* (p. 226, §11): 'The dwarves might have received threatening messages from Mordor – for the Lord suspected that the One Ring was in their hoards.' In the same note it is said that 'after a time no word was heard of them [Balin and his companions]. Dáin feared the Dark Lord'; so also Glóin says here that 'the disappearance of Balin and his people is now revealed as part of the same evil.' At this time the story was that Sauron demanded the return of the Rings which the Dwarves still possessed – or Bilbo's Ring 'in lieu of all'; in FR (p. 254) they were offered the return of three of the ancient Rings of the Dwarves if they could obtain Bilbo's Ring.

The reference to Thráin, father of Thorin Oakenshield, in the dungeons of the Necromancer, where Gandalf found him, goes back to *The Hobbit* (Chapter I); but the story emerges here that he possessed one of the Rings of the Dwarves, and that it was taken from him after his capture (see FR pp. 281–2, and LR Appendix A III, pp. 353–4, 357–8).

The 'Many Meetings' text (extant in two forms) given on pp. 391 ff. continued into the beginning of an account of the Council of Elrond, held in the open in a glade above the house; but from the words '"Bless me!" said Gandalf. "The council is in half an hour"' (p. 395) my father struck it through, and added the note at the end saying that the Council must be held 'behind closed doors' (p. 396). A new manuscript now begins, taking up at '"Bless me!" said Gandalf', and in this is found the first complete narrative of the deliberations of the Council. This was originally paginated 'XII' with page-numbers consecutive from 'Suddenly a single bell rang out' (p. 395). As noticed before, my father at this stage

saw all the meetings and discussions at Rivendell as constituting a single chapter, and had given the number and title 'XII. The Council of Elrond' to the third phase chapter which begins with Frodo waking up at Rivendell (p. 362).

The manuscript is partly in ink and partly in pencil, but though very rough is legible throughout. Being in the first stage of composition it is full of alterations, phrases or whole passages constantly rewritten in the act of composition; and many other corrections, made to passages which at the time of writing had been allowed to stand, are probably pretty well contemporary. In general I give the text in its final form, but with more important changes indicated.

'Bless me!' said Gandalf. 'That is the warning bell for the council. We had better make our way there at once.'

Bilbo and Frodo (and Sam [*added:* uninvited]) followed him down many stairs and passages towards the western wing of the house, until they came to the porch where Frodo had found his friends the evening before. But now the light of a clear autumn morning was glowing in the valley. The sky was high and cool above the hill-tops; and in the bright air below a few golden leaves were fluttering from the trees. The noise of bubbling waters came up from the foaming river-bed. Birds were singing and a wholesome peace lay on the land, and to Frodo his dangerous flight and the rumours of the dark shadow growing in the world outside seemed now only like memories of a troubled dream.

But the faces that were turned to meet him were grave.[15] Elrond was there and several others were already seated about him in silence. Frodo saw Glorfindel and Glóin, and Trotter (sitting in a corner).

Elrond welcomed Frodo and drew him to a seat at his knee and presented him to the company, saying: 'Here my friends is the hobbit who by fortune and courage has brought the Ring to Rivendell. This is Frodo son of Drogo.' He then pointed out and named those whom Frodo had not seen before. There was a younger dwarf at Glóin's side, [Burin the son of Balin >] his son Gimli.[16] There were three counsellors of Elrond's own household: Erestor his kinsman (a man of the same half-elvish folk known as the children of Lúthien), [17] and beside him two elflords of Rivendell. There was a strange elf clad in green and brown, Galdor, a messenger from the King of the Wood-elves in Eastern Mirkwood.[18] And seated a little apart was a tall man of noble face, but dark and sad.

'Here,' said Elrond, turning to Gandalf, 'is Boromir from the

Land of Ond, far in the South. He arrived in the night, and brings tidings that must be considered.'

It would take long to tell of all the things that were spoken in that council. Many of them were known already to Frodo. Gandalf spoke long, making clear to those who did not already know the tale in full the ancient history of the Ring, and the reasons why the Dark Lord so greatly desired it. Bilbo then gave an account of the finding of the Ring in the cave of the Misty Mountains, and Trotter described his search for Gollum that he had made with Gandalf's help, and told of his perilous adventures in Mordor. Thus it was that Frodo learned how Trotter had tracked Gollum as he wandered southwards, through Fangorn Forest, and past the Dead Marshes,[19] until he had himself been caught and imprisoned by the Dark Lord. 'Ever since I have worn shoes,' said Trotter with a shudder, and though he said no more Frodo knew that he had been tortured and his feet hurt in some way. But he had been rescued by Gandalf and saved from death.[20]

In this way the tale was brought slowly down to the spring morning when Gandalf had revealed the history of the Ring to Frodo. Then Frodo was summoned to take up the tale, and he gave a full account of all his adventures from the moment of his flight from Hobbiton. Step by step they questioned him, and every detail that he could tell concerning the Black Riders was examined.[21]

Elrond was also deeply interested in the events in the Old Forest and on the Barrow-downs. 'The Barrow-wights I knew of,' he said, 'for they are closely akin to the Riders;[22] and I marvel at your escape from them. But never before have I heard tell of this strange Bombadil. I would like to know more of him. Did you know of him, Gandalf?'

'Yes,' answered the wizard. 'And I sought him out at once, as soon as I found that the hobbits had disappeared from Buckland. When I had chased the Riders from Crickhollow I turned back to visit him. I daresay he would have kept the travellers longer in his home, if he had known that I was near. But I am not sure of it: he is a strange creature, and follows his own counsels, which few can fathom.'[23]

'Could we not even now send messages to him and obtain his help?' asked Erestor. 'It seems that he has a power even over the Ring.'

'That is not quite the way of it,' said Gandalf. 'The Ring has no

power over *him* or for him: it can neither harm nor serve him: he is his own master. But he has no power over it, and he cannot alter the Ring itself, not break its power over others. And I think that the mastery of Tom Bombadil is seen only on his own ground – from which he has never stepped within my memory.'[24]

'But on his own ground nothing seems to dismay him,' said Erestor. 'Would he not perhaps take the Ring and keep it there for ever harmless?'

'He would, perhaps, if all the free folk of the world begged him to do so,' said Gandalf. 'But he would not do so willingly. For it would only postpone the evil day. In time the Lord of the Ring would find out its hiding-place, and in the end he would come in person.[25] I doubt whether Tom Bombadil, even on his own ground, could withstand that power; but I am sure that we should not leave him to face it. Besides, he lives too far away and the Ring has come from his land only at great hazard. It would have to pass through greater danger to return. If the Ring is to be hidden – surely it is here in Rivendell that it should be kept: if Elrond has might to withstand the coming of Sauron in all his power?'

'I have not,' said Elrond.

'In that case,' said Erestor,[26] 'there are but two things for us to attempt: we may send the Ring West over the Sea, or we may try to destroy it. If the Ring had gone to the West long ago that would have perhaps been well. But now the power of the Lord is grown great again, and he is awake, and he knows where the Ring is. The journey to the Havens would be fraught with the greatest peril. On the other hand we cannot by our own skill or strength destroy the Ring; and the journey to the Fiery Mountain would seem still more perilous, leading as it does towards the stronghold of the Enemy. Who can read this riddle for us?'

'None here can do so,' said Elrond gravely.[27] 'None can foretell which road leads to safety, if that is what you mean. But I can choose which road it is right to take, as it seems to me – and indeed the choice is clear. The Ring must be sent to the Fire. The peril is greater on the western road; for my heart tells me that is the road which Sauron will expect us to take when he hears what has befallen. And if we take it he will pursue us swiftly and surely, since we must make for the Havens beyond the Towers. Those he would certainly destroy, even if he found us not, and there would be thereafter no way of escape for the Elves from the darkening world.'

'And the Shire too would be destroyed,' said Trotter in a low voice, looking towards Bilbo and Frodo.

'But on the other road,' said Elrond, 'with speed and skill the travellers might go far unmarked. I do not say there is great hope in the quest; but only in this way could any lasting good be achieved. In the Ring is hidden much of the ancient power of Sauron. Even though he does not hold it that power still lives and works for him and towards him. As long as the Ring lives on land or sea he will not be overcome. While the Ring lasts he will grow, and have hope, and the fear lest the Ring come into his hand again will ever weigh on the world. War will never cease while that fear lives, and all Men will be turned to him.'

'I do not understand this,' said Boromir. 'Why should the Elves and their friends not use the Great Ring to defeat Sauron? And I say that all men will *not* join him: the men of Ond will never submit.'

'Never is a long word, O Boromir,' said Elrond. 'The men of Ond are valiant and still faithful amid a host of foes; but valour alone cannot withstand Sauron for ever. Many of his servants are as valiant. But as for the Ruling Ring – it belongs to Sauron and is filled with his spirit. Its might is too great for those of lesser strength, as Bilbo and Frodo have found, and in the end it must lead them captive to him if they keep it. For those who have power of their own, its danger is far greater. With it they might perchance overthrow the Dark Lord, but they would set themselves in his throne. Then they would become as evil as he, or worse. For nothing is evil in the beginning. Even Sauron was not so. I dare not take the Ring to wield it.'

'Nor I,' said Gandalf.

'But is it not true, as I have heard said, O Elrond,' said Boromir, 'that the Elves keep yet and wield Three Rings, and yet these too came from Sauron in the ancient days? And the dwarves, too, had rings, it is said. Tell me, Glóin, if you know it, whether any of the Seven Rings remain?'

'I do not know,' said Glóin. 'It was said in secret that Thráin (father of Thrór father of Thorin[28] who fell in battle) possessed one that had descended from his sires. Some said it was the last. But where it is no dwarf now knows. We think maybe it was taken from him, ere Gandalf found him in the dungeons of Mordor long ago[29] – or maybe it was lost in Moria. Yet of late we have received secret messages from Mordor offering us rings again. It was partly on this account that I came to Rivendell; for the messages asked

concerning one *Bilbo*, and commanded us to obtain from him (willing or unwilling) the ring that he possessed. For this ring we were offered [seven >] three such as our fathers had of old. Even for news of where he might be found we were offered friendship for ever and great wealth.[39] Our hearts are troubled, for we perceive that King Brand in Dale is afraid, and if we do not answer Sauron will move other men to evil against him. Already there are threats of war upon the south.'

'It would seem that the Seven Rings are lost or have returned to their Lord,' said Boromir. 'What of the Three?'

'The Three Rings remain still,' said Elrond. 'They have conferred great power on the Elves, but they have never yet availed them in their strife with Sauron. For they came from Sauron himself, and can give no skill or knowledge that he did not already possess at their making. And to each race the rings of the Lord bring such powers as each desires and is capable of wielding. The Elves desired not strength or domination or riches, but subtlety of craft and lore, and knowledge of the secrets of the world's being. These things they have gained, yet with sorrow. But they will turn to evil if Sauron regains the Ruling Ring; for then all that the Elves have devised or learned with the power of the rings will become his, as was his purpose.'

Against this passage concerning the Three Rings of the Elves my father wrote later; '*Elfrings* made by *Elves* for themselves. The 7 and 9 were made by Sauron – to cheat men and dwarves. They originally accepted them because they believed they were *elfrings*.' And he also wrote, separately but against the same passage: 'Alter this: make the Elfrings their own and Sauron's made in answer.' This is the first appearance of this central idea concerning the origin and nature of the Rings; but since it does not emerge in actual narrative until considerably later these notes cannot be contemporary with the text. – In FR it is Glóin, not Boromir, who raises the question of the Three Rings of the Elves; but he also, like Boromir in the present text, asserts that they were made by the Dark Lord. Elrond corrects Glóin's error; yet earlier in the Council (FR p. 255) Elrond has expressly said that Celebrimbor made the Three, and that Sauron forged the One in secret to be their master. Glóin's assertion (FR p. 282) is thus not appropriate, and is probably an echo of my father's original conception of the Rings. The text continues:

'What then would happen, if the Ruling Ring were destroyed?' asked Boromir.

'The Elves would not lose what they have already won,'

answered Elrond; 'but the Three Rings would lose all power thereafter.'

'Yet that loss,' said Glorfindel, 'all Elves would gladly suffer, if by it the power of Sauron might be broken.'

'Thus we return again to the point whence we started,' said Erestor. 'The Ring should be destroyed; but we cannot destroy it, save by the perilous journey to the Fire. What strength or cunning have we for that task?'

'In this task it is plain that great power will not avail,' said Elrond. 'It must be attempted by the weak. Such is the way of things. In this great matter fate seems already to have pointed the way for us.'

'Very well, very well, Master Elrond!' said Bilbo suddenly.[31] 'Say no more! It is plain at least what *you* are pointing at. Bilbo the hobbit started this affair, and Bilbo had better finish it, or himself. I was very comfortable here, and getting on with my book. If you want to know, I am just writing an ending for it. I had thought of putting "and he lived happily ever afterward to the end of his days": which is a good ending, and none the worse for having been used before. Now I shall have to alter that – it does not look like being true, and anyway there will have to be several more chapters, even if I don't write them myself. It is a frightful nuisance! When ought I to start?'

Elrond smiled, and Gandalf laughed loudly. 'Of course,' said the wizard, 'if you had really started the affair, my dear Bilbo, you would be expected to finish it. But *starting* is a strong word. I have often tried to suggest to you that you only came in (accidentally, as you might say) in the *middle* of a long story, that was not made up for your sake only. That is, of course, true enough of all heroes and all adventures, but never mind that now. As for you, if you want my opinion once more, I should say that your part is finished – except as a recorder. Finish your book and leave the ending! But get ready to write a sequel, when they come back.'

Bilbo laughed in his turn. 'I have never known you to give pleasant advice before, Gandalf,' he said, 'or to tell me to do what I really wanted to do. Since all your unpleasant advice has usually been good, I wonder if this is not bad. Yet it is true that my years are stretched and getting thin, and I do not think I have strength for the Ring. But tell me: who do you mean by "they"?'

'The adventurers who are sent with the Ring.'

'Exactly, and who are they to be? That seems to me precisely what this council now has to decide.'

There was a long silence. Frodo glanced round at all the faces, but no one looked at him – except Sam; in whose eyes there was a strange mixture of hope and fear. All the others sat as if in deep thought with their eyes closed or upon the ground. A great dread fell on Frodo, and he felt an overmastering longing to remain at peace by Bilbo's side in Rivendell.

These words stand at the foot of a page. The next page, beginning 'At last with an effort he spoke', continues only a brief way, and was replaced by another beginning with the same words. I give both forms.

At last with an effort he spoke. 'If this task is fated to fall to the weak,' he said, 'I will attempt it. But I shall need the help of the strong and the wise.'

'I think, Frodo,' said Elrond, looking keenly at him, 'that this task is appointed for you. But it is very well that you should offer yourself unbidden. All the help that we can contrive shall be yours.'

'But you won't send him alone, surely, master!' cried Sam.

'No indeed,' said Elrond, turning to him. 'You at least shall go – since you are here although I do not think you were summoned. It seems difficult to separate you from your master Frodo.'

Sam subsided, but whispered to Frodo: 'How far is this Mountain? A nice pickle we have landed ourselves in, Mr. Frodo!'[32]

'Taking care of hobbits is not a task that everyone would like,' said Gandalf, 'but I am used to it. I suggest Frodo and his Sam, Merry, Faramond, and myself. That is five. And Glorfindel, if he will come and lend us the wisdom of the Elves: we shall need it. That is six.'

'And Trotter!' said Peregrin from the corner. 'That is seven, and a fitting number. The Ring-bearer will have good company.'

Here this version of the passage ends. Pencilled beneath is an unfinished sentence: 'The choice is good,' said Elrond. 'Though

Other very rough pencillings read: 'Alter this. Hobbits only, including Trotter. Gandalf as [?guide] in early stages. Gandalf says he will go all way? No Glorfindel.' And below these notes, the single isolated name *Boromir*. – On the back of this page is a remarkable sketch of events to come; for this see p. 410.

The replacement page treats the selection of the Company quite differently:

At last with an effort he spoke. 'I will take the Ring,' he said. 'Though I don't know the way.'

Elrond looked keenly at him. 'If I understand all the tale that I

have heard,' he said, 'I think that this task is appointed for you, Frodo, and that if you do not find the way, no other will.'

'But you won't send him off alone surely, master!' cried Sam, unable to contain himself.

'No indeed!' said Elrond, turning towards him with a smile. 'You at least shall go with him, since it is hardly possible to separate you from him – even when he is summoned to a secret council and you are not.'

Sam subsided, but whispered to Frodo: 'How far is this Mountain? A nice pickle we have landed ourselves in, Mr. Frodo!'

'When shall I start?' asked Frodo.

'First you shall rest and recover full strength,' answered Elrond, guessing his mind. 'Rivendell is a fair place, and we will not send you away, until you know it better. And meanwhile we will make plans for your guidance.'

Later in the afternoon of the council Frodo was strolling in the woods with his friends. Merry and Faramond were indignant when they heard that Sam had crept into the council, and been chosen as Frodo's companion. 'Not the only one!' said Merry. 'I have come so far and I am not going to be left behind now. Someone with intelligence ought to be in the party.'

'I don't see that your inclusion will help much in that way,' said Faramond. 'But, of course, you must go, and I must too. We hobbits must stick together. We seem to have become mighty important these days. It would be a bit of an eye-opener for the people back in the Shire!'

'I doubt it!' said Frodo. 'Hardly any of them would believe a word of it. I wish I was one of them, and back in Hobbiton. Anyone who wants can have all my importance.'

'Quite accidental! Quite accidental, as I keep on telling you,' said a voice behind them. They turned to see Gandalf hurrying round a bend in the path. 'Hobbit voices carry a long way,' he said. 'All right in Rivendell (or I hope so); but I should not discuss matters so loud outside the house. Your importance is accidental, Frodo – by which I mean, someone else might have been chosen and done as well – but it is real. No one else can have it now. So be careful – you can't be too careful! As for you two, if I let you come, you'll have to do just what you are told. And I shall make other arrangements for the supply of intelligence.'

'Ah, now we know who really is important,' laughed Merry. 'Gandalf is never in doubt about that, and does not let anyone else

doubt it. So you are making all the arrangements already, are you?'

'Of course!' said Gandalf. 'But if you hobbits wish to stick together I shall raise no objection. You two and Sam can go – if you are really willing. Trotter would also be useful[33] – he has journeyed South before. Boromir may well join the company, since your road leads through his own land. That will be about as large a party as will be at all safe.'

'Who is to be the brains of the party?' asked Frodo. 'Trotter, I suppose. Boromir is only one of the Big Folk, and they are not as wise as hobbits.'

'Boromir has more than strength and valour,' answered Gandalf. 'He comes of an ancient race that the people of the Shire have not seen, at least not since days that they have forgotten. And Trotter has learned many things in his wanderings that are not known in the Shire.[34] They both know something of the road: but more than that will be needed. I think *I* shall have to come with you!'

So great was the delight of the hobbits at this announcement that Gandalf took off his hat and bowed. 'I am used to taking care of hobbits,' he said, 'when they wait for me and don't run off on their own. But I only said: I *think* I shall have to come. It may only be for part of the way. We have not made any definite plans yet. Very likely we shan't be able to make any.'

'How soon do you think we shall start?' asked Frodo.

'I don't know. It depends on what news we get. Scouts will have to go out and find out what they can – especially about the Black Riders.'

'I thought they were all destroyed in the flood!' said Merry.

'You cannot destroy the Ringwraiths so easily,' said Gandalf. 'The power of their master is in them, and they stand or fall by him. They were unhorsed, and unmasked, and will be less dangerous for a while; yet it would be well to find out if we can what they are doing. In time they will get new steeds and fresh disguise. But for the present you should put all troubles out of your thoughts, if you can.'

The hobbits did not find this easy to do. They continued to think and talk mainly of the journey and the perils ahead of them. Yet such was the virtue of the land of Elrond that in all their thoughts there came no shadow of fear. Hope and courage grew in their hearts, and strength in their bodies. In every meal, and in every word and song they found delight. The very breathing of the

air became a joy no less sweet because the time of their stay was short.

The days slipped by, though autumn was fast waning, and each morning dawned bright and fair. But slowly the golden light grew silver, and the leaves fell from the trees. The winds blew cold from the Misty Mountains in the East. The Hunters' Moon grew round in the evening sky, putting to flight the lesser stars, and glittering in the falls and pools of the River. But low in the South one star shone red. Every night as the moon waned again it shone brighter. Frodo could see it through his window deep in the sky, burning like a wrathful eye watching, and waiting for him to set out.

At the end of the text my father wrote: 'New Moon Oct. 24. Hunters' Moon Full Nov. 8'. See p. 434, note 19.

The manuscript is interrupted here by a heading, 'The Ring Goes South', but without new chapter number, and what follows was written continuously with what precedes.

It will be seen that by far the greater part of the content of the 'The Council of Elrond' in FR is absent; but while the past and present texture of the world is so much thinner in the original form, the discussion of what to do with the Ring is in its essential pattern of argument already present.

Gandalf says that the road to the Fiery Mountain lies through Boromir's land. It may well be that at this stage the geography of the lands south and east of the Misty Mountains was still fairly sketchy, even though Fangorn Forest, the Dead Marshes, the Land of Ond (Gondor), and 'the South Mountains' have appeared in name (pp. 397–8, 401). Further aspects of this question appear in the next chapter.

It is curious that although Elrond says at the outset that Boromir brings tidings that must be considered, we are not told what these tidings were. In the original draft for the Council (p. 398) it is said that the men of Ond 'are besieged by wild men out of the East'; and in the text just given (p. 403) Elrond says that they are 'still faithful amid a host of foes'.

Odo Bolger has at long last disappeared (at least by that name); and Folco has been renamed *Faramond*. That name has appeared in the papers dated August 1939, but there it was proposed for Frodo himself (p. 373). The Fellowship of the Ring now changes again, and not for the last time: as may readily be supposed, the achievement of the final composition of the 'Nine Walkers' caused my father great difficulty. In the first draft for the Council of Elrond (p. 397) there were to be:

Gandalf. Trotter. Frodo. Sam. Merry. Folco. Odo. Glorfindel. Burin son of Balin. (9)

In the rejected page of the text just given (p. 406) the Company becomes:

Gandalf. Trotter. Frodo. Sam. Merry. Faramond. Glorfindel. (7)

A note to this page proposes that the Company consist only of hobbits,

with Gandalf at least at first, but without Glorfindel. In the replacement text (p. 408) Gandalf suggests:

Gandalf. Trotter. Frodo. Sam. Merry. Faramond. Boromir. (7) – and this was indeed the composition in the original narrative of the southward journey as far as Moria.

The continuation of the story in the original manuscript ('The Ring Goes South') is given in the next chapter; but before concluding this, there must be given the remarkable outline of future events found on the back of a rejected page of the text of the Council of Elrond (see p. 406). This clearly belongs in time with the manuscript in which it is included. In the outline of the further course of the story dated August 1939 (p. 381, §9) there is no suggestion of the reappearance of Gollum before Mordor is reached; and the reference in this one to Frodo's hearing the patter of Gollum's feet in the Mines shows that it preceded the first draft of the Moria chapter.

Gollum must reappear at or after Moria. Frodo hears patter.

Fangorn Forest. In some way – hears voice, or sees something off path, or ? alarmed by Gollum – Frodo must get separated from the rest.

Fangorn is an evergreen (oak holly?) forest. Trees of *vast* height. (*Beleghir* [*pencilled above: Anduin*] Great River divides into many channels.) Say 500–1000 feet. It runs right up to the [Blue >] Black Mountains, which are not very high (run NEN – SWW [*i.e. North-east by North – South-west by West*]) but very steep on N. side.

If Treebeard comes in at all – let him be kindly and rather good? About 50 feet high with barky skin. Hair and beard rather like *twigs*. Clothed in dark green like a mail of short shining leaves. He has a castle in the Black Mountains and many thanes and followers. They look like young trees [?when] they stand.

Make Frodo be terrified of Gollum after a meeting in which Gollum pretended to make friends, but tried to strangle Frodo in his sleep and steal the Ring. Treebeard finds him lost and carries him up into the Black Mountains. It is only here that Frodo finds he is friendly.

Treebeard brings him on the way to Ond. His scouts report that Ond is besieged, and that Trotter and four [*written above:* 3?] others have been captured. Where is Sam? (Sam is found in the Forest. He had refused to go on without Frodo and had remained looking for him.)

The tree-giants assail the besiegers and rescue Trotter &c. and raise siege.

(If this plot is used it will be better to have no Boromir in party. Substitute Gimli? son of Glóin – who was killed in Moria. But Frodo can bear messages from Boromir to his father the K[ing] of Ond.)

Next stage – they set out for the Fire Mountain. They have to skirt Mordor on its west edge.

In this brief sketch we see the very starting-point, in written expression, of two fundamental 'moments' in the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings*: the separation of Frodo from the Company (subsequently rejoined by Sam), and the assault by the 'tree-giants' of Fangorn on the enemies of Gondor; but such narrative frame as they were given here was entirely ephemeral. We meet also a further early image of Giant Treebeard: still of vast height, as in the text given on pp. 382–4, where his voice came down to Frodo 'out of the tree-top', but no longer hostile, the captor of Gandalf (p. 363), 'pretending to be friendly but really in league with the enemy' (p. 384). Boromir is now said to be the son of the King of Ond; but the death of Gimli in Moria was an idea never further developed. Here is the first appearance of an Elvish name, *Beleghir*, of the Great River, which flowed through Fangorn Forest (see p. 410). The Forest 'runs right up to the [Blue >] Black Mountains'; cf. the outline for the Council of Elrond (p. 397), in which Gandalf says that Giant Treebeard 'haunts the Forest between the River and the South Mountains'. But of Lothlórien and Rohan there is as yet not a hint.

NOTES

1 The last sheet of the original chapter (see p. 213) had ended with the words 'a strong king whose realm included Esgaroth, and much land to the south of the great falls' at the foot of the page (numbered 'IX.8'), and the reverse was left blank. The first version of the continuation was written out (in a rapid scribble in ink) independently of the old text; the second, also very rough and nearly all in pencil, starts on the unused verso side of 'IX.8', on which however my father wrote in preparation 'IX.9', although at that time he did not use the page. When he returned to it later he did not change the chapter-number but continued the numeration 'IX.10' etc.; this however was mere absentmindedness, since the chapter could not possibly at this time still be numbered 'IX'.

2 The reference is to the end of *The Hobbit*; cf. p. 15 and note 3.

3 In the first version Glóin does not admit to any falling short of the skill of the forefathers: 'He began to speak of new inventions and of the great works at which the folk of the Mountain were now labouring; of armour of surpassing strength and beauty, swords more keen and strong . . .' – The sentence 'You should see the

waterways of Dale, Frodo, and the fountains and the pools!' goes back to the first draft; in FR (p. 242) the word 'mountains' is an obvious error which has never been corrected.

4 This name is found only in the first of the two texts, but it appears later on in the second (p. 395).

5 Cf. pp. 211, 214, 363. – Peregrin disappeared out of the Shire when he was 33, at which time Frodo was only two years old (see p. 387, note 9).

6 When my father wrote this passage he evidently had in mind, at least as one possibility, a comic song, received with the 'ringing laughter' that wakened Frodo; for at the top of the page he wrote 'Troll Song' – a passing idea before it was given far more appositely to Sam in the Trollshaws. But he also wrote 'Let B[ilbo] sing *Tinúviel*', and the word '?Messenger'. This is a reference to the poem *Errantry* (published in *The Oxford Magazine* 9 November 1933, and with many further changes in *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil* (1962)). Bilbo's song *Eärendil was a mariner* derived (in a sense) from *Errantry*, and the earliest text of it still begins:

> *There was a merry messenger,*
> *a passenger, a mariner,*
> *he built a boat and gilded her*
> *and silver oars he fashioned her . . .*

7 In the first text the dwarf with Glóin is named *Frár*; in the margin is pencilled *Burin son of Balin*. Frár appears also in the outline for the Council of Elrond on p. 397, again replaced by Burin.

8 The presence of an Elf of Mirkwood was an addition to the second text.

9 As written, the first text read here: 'two of Elrond's own kinsfolk the Pereldar or halfelven folk . . .' *Pereldar* was struck out, probably at once. In the *Quenta Silmarillion* the *Pereldar* or 'Half-eldar' are the Danas (Green-elves): V.215. The Danas were also called 'the Lovers of Lúthien' (*ibid.*). In LR (Appendix A I (i)) Elros and Elrond are called *Peredhil* 'Half-elven'; an earlier name for them was *Peringol, Peringiul* (V.152).

10 The Grey Havens are first named in the third phase version of 'Ancient History', p. 319.

11 The square brackets are in the original.

12 As note 11.

13 The text stands thus, with two passages both beginning 'Yet of late we have received secret messages from Mordor', but neither rejected.

14 The name *Boromir* of the second son of Bor, killed in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, had appeared in the later *Annals of Beleriand* and in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.134, 287, 310). For the etymology of the name see V.353, 373.

15 This sentence is a subsequent correction of 'But the faces of those that were seated in the room were grave.' In a rejected opening of the text Gandalf says: 'We had better make our way to Elrond's chamber at once', and in the western wing of the house he knocks at a door and enters 'a small room, the western side of which opened onto a porch beyond which the ground fell sheer to the foaming river.' In the revised opening as printed the Council of Elrond takes place in the porch (as in FR, p. 252), though it was still described here as a 'room', until this correction was made.

16 This first appearance of Gimli son of Glóin was a pencilled alteration, but not from much later.

17 In the previous account of those present at the Council (p. 395) the three counsellors of Rivendell are Erestor, called 'an Elf', and 'two other kinsmen of Elrond, of that half-elvish folk whom the Elves named the children of Lúthien' – which seems however to imply that Erestor also was Elrond's kinsman.

18 In FR (p. 253) Galdor, here the precursor of Legolas, is the name of the Elf from the Grey Havens who bore the errand of Círdan. *Galdor* had not at this time become the name of the father of Húrin and Huor; in the *Quenta Silmarillion* he was still named *Gumlin*.

19 The first reference to the Dead Marshes.

20 My father bracketed the passage from 'Ever since I have worn shoes' to 'hurt in some way', and wrote in the margin (with a query) that it should be revealed later that Trotter had wooden feet. – This is the first appearance of the story that it was Trotter who found Gollum (in the version of 'Ancient History' in the third phase (p. 320) Gandalf still told Frodo that he had himself found Gollum, in Mirkwood); and Trotter's experience of Mordor, several times mentioned or hinted at (see pp. 223, 371), is explained at the same time.

21 Written in the margin against this paragraph: 'Gandalf's captivity'.

22 See pp. 118–20.

23 An earlier form of this passage makes Gandalf reply to Elrond: 'I knew of him. But I had quite forgotten him. I must go and see him as soon as there is a chance.' This was changed – at the time of writing – to the passage given, in which Gandalf says that he actually visited Tom Bombadil after the attack on Crickhollow – the first appearance of an idea that will be met again, though the meeting of Gandalf and Bombadil never (alas!) reached narrative form. Cf. the isolated passage given on pp. 213–14, where Gandalf says at Rivendell: 'Why did I not think of Bombadil before! If only he was not so far away, I would go straight back now and consult him.' Cf. also p. 345 and note 11. – Gandalf does not mention Odo here, and it becomes clear at the end of this chapter that he had been removed from Rivendell (see pp. 407, 409).

24 In the third phase version of 'At the Sign of the Prancing Pony' it is still apparent that Tom Bombadil was known to visit the inn at Bree (p. 334).

25 In rough drafting of this passage my father wrote: 'and in the end he would come in person; and the Barrow-wights would', striking out these last words as he wrote and changing them to: 'and even on his own ground Tom Bombadil alone could not withstand that onset unscathed.' – 'Lord of the Ring' was first written 'Lord of the Rings', but changed immediately.

26 *Erestor* changed from *Glorfindel*, which was changed from *Elrond*. Cf. p. 396.

27 This reply to Erestor was first given to Gandalf, for Erestor addressed his question to him: 'Can you solve this riddle, Gandalf?' To which Gandalf answered: 'No! I cannot. But I can choose, if you wish me to choose.' The passage was then changed at once to the form given.

28 In *The Hobbit* Thráin was not the father of Thrór, but his son. This is a complex question which will be discussed in Vol. VII.

29 In the dungeons of Dol Guldur in Mirkwood in FR (p. 282).

30 As this passage was first written, Glóin says that the messages from Mordor offered the Dwarves 'a ring'; and that they were offered peace and friendship if they could obtain Bilbo's ring, or even tell where he was to be found. As altered subsequently, his words approach what he tells in FR (p. 254); and the story in the first draft for the Council (p. 398), that the Dwarves still possessed some of their ancient Rings, that Dáin had one, and that Sauron was demanding them back, has already been abandoned.

31 Cf. p. 371, at the end of the outline §2.

32 The chapter 'The Council of Elrond' in FR (II.2) ends here.

33 'Trotter would also be useful' was changed to 'Trotter will also be essential'; and probably at the same time my father wrote in the margin: 'Trotter is connected with the Ring.' This alteration thus comes from somewhat later, when he was reaching the conception of Aragorn and his ancestry. See note 34.

34 Trotter was of course still a hobbit. In the margin my father wrote against this passage: 'Correct this. Only Trotter is of ancient race' (i.e. Trotter is a Númenórean, but Boromir is not).

XXIV
THE RING GOES SOUTH

As I have said, this next stage in the story was written continuously on from the first version of 'The Council of Elrond'. After the description of the red star in the South (FR p. 287) there is a heading 'The Ring Goes South', but no new chapter-number, and the pagination is continuous with what precedes.

I give now the text of this earliest version of 'The Ring Goes South' (which extends somewhat into the next chapter in FR, II.4 'A Journey in the Dark'). This is an outstandingly difficult manuscript, and difficult to represent. I think that it was *not* based on any preliminary notes or sketches, except in one passage,[1] that my father wrote it *ab initio* as a full narrative; and this being so it is remarkable how much of its wording survived into the final form, despite the radical differences that Trotter was still the hobbit Peregrin and that neither Dwarf nor Elf was present. The company, as already noticed, consisted of Gandalf, Boromir, and five hobbits – even though one of them, to be sure, was no inexperienced hobbit of the Shire.

My father wrote nearly all of it in ink, but he wrote extremely fast (though with patience – and some aid from the text of FR – all but a few words can be puzzled out), so fast that he often left to stand what he had written but rejected, while racing on to a new phrasing or formulation; and the expression is often rough and unfinished. Subsequently he went over it in pencil, but the great majority of these pencilled alterations belong, I feel sure, to a time very close to the original writing, and some of them demonstrably so. A few are certainly later, and introduce references to Gimli and Legolas that are chronologically and structurally irrelevant. There are also some alterations in red ink, but these only concern certain place-names.

In the text as printed here, I adopt pencilled alterations that seem certainly 'early': few affect the narrative in any important respect, and where they do the original text is given in the notes. The notes are here an integral part of the representation of the manuscript.

The Ring goes South

When Frodo had been about a fortnight in Rivendell and November was already a week old or more[2] the scouts began to return. Some had been northwards as far as the Dimrill-dales,[3] and some had gone southwards almost as far as the River Redway. A few

had passed the mountains both by the High Pass and Goblin Gate (Annerchin), and by the passage at the sources of the Gladden. These were the last to return, for they had descended into Wilderland as far as the Gladden Fields,[4] and that was a great way from Rivendell even for the swiftest Elves. But neither they nor those who had received the aid of the Eagles near Goblin Gate[5] had discovered any news – except that the wild wolves called wargs were gathering again and were hunting once more between the Mountains and Mirkwood. No sign of the Black Riders had been found – except on the rocks below the Ford the bodies of four [*written above:* several] drowned horses, and [?one] long black cloak slashed and tattered.

'One can never tell,' said Gandalf, 'but it does look as if the Riders were dispersed – and have had to make their way as best they could back to Mordor. In that case there will still be a long while before the hunt begins again. And it will have to come back here to pick up the trail – if we are lucky and careful, and they do not get news of us on the way. We had better get off as soon as possible now – and as quietly.'

Elrond agreed, and warned them to journey by dusk and dark as often as might be, and to lie hid when they could in the broad daylight. 'When the news reaches Sauron,' he said, 'of the discomfiture of the Nine Riders, he will be filled with a great anger. When the hunt begins again, it will be far greater and more ravenous.'

'Are there still more Black Riders then?' asked Frodo.

'No! There are but Nine Ringwraiths. But when they come forth again, I fear they will bring a host of evil things in their train, and set their spies wide over the lands. Even of the sky above you must beware as you go your way.'

There came a cold grey day in mid November.[6] The East wind was streaming through the bare branches of the trees, and seething in the firtrees on the hills. The hurrying clouds were low and sunless. As the cheerless shadows of the early evening began to fall, the adventurers made ready to depart. Their farewells had all been said by the fire in the great hall, and they were waiting only for Gandalf, who was still in the house speaking some last words in private with Elrond. Their spare food and clothes and other necessaries were laden on two sure-footed ponies. The travellers themselves were to go on foot; for their course was set through lands where there were few roads and paths were rough and

difficult. Sooner or later they would have to cross the Mountains. Also they were going to journey for the most part by dusk or dark.[7] Sam was standing by the two pack-ponies sucking his teeth and staring moodily at the house – his desire for adventure was at a low ebb. But in that hour none of the hobbits had any heart for their journey – a chill was in their hearts, and a cold wind in their faces. A gleam of firelight came from the open doors; lights were glowing in many windows, and the world outside seemed empty and cold. Bilbo huddled in his cloak stood silent on the doorstep beside Frodo. Trotter sat with his head bowed to his knees.[8]

At last Elrond came out with Gandalf. 'Farewell now!' he said. 'May the blessing of Elves and Men and all free folk go with you. And may white stars shine on your journey!'

'Good . . . good luck!' said Bilbo, stuttering a little (from the cold perhaps). 'I don't suppose you will be able to keep a diary, Frodo my lad, but I shall expect a full account when you get back. And don't be too long: I have lived longer than I expected already. Farewell!'

Many others of Elrond's household stood in the shadows and watched them go, bidding them farewell with soft voices. There was no laughter, and no songs or music. Silently at last they turned away, and leading their ponies they faded swiftly into the gathering dusk.

They crossed the bridge and wound slowly up the long steep paths out of the cloven vale of Rivendell, and came at length to the high moors, grey and formless under misty stars. Then with one last look down at the lights of the Last Homely House below they strode on, far on into the night.

At the Ford they left the west road that crossed the River; and turning left went on by narrow paths among the folded lands. They were going South. Their purpose was to hold this course for many miles and days on the western side of the Misty Mountains. The country was much wilder and rougher than in the green valley of the Great River in Wilderland on the eastern side of the range and their going would be much slower; but they hoped in this way to escape the notice of enemies. The spies of Sauron had hitherto seldom been seen in the western regions; and the paths were little known except to the people of Rivendell. Gandalf walked in front and with him went Trotter who knew this country even in the dark. Boromir as rearguard walked behind.

The first part of their journey was cheerless and grim and Frodo

remembered little of it, except the cold wind. It blew icy from the eastern mountains for many sunless days and no garment seemed able to keep out its searching fingers. They had been well furnished with warm clothes in Rivendell, and had jackets and cloaks lined with fur as well as many blankets, but they seldom felt warm either moving or at rest. They slept uneasily during the middle of the day, in some hollow of the land, or hidden under the tangled thorn-bushes that grew in great thickets in those parts. In the late afternoon they were roused, and had their chief meal: usually cold and cheerless and with little talk, for they seldom risked the lighting of a fire. In the evening they went on again, as nearly due south as they could find a way.

At first it seemed to the hobbits that they were creeping like snails and getting nowhere; for each day the land looked much as it had done the day before. Yet all the while the Mountains which south of Rivendell bent westward were drawing nearer. More and more often they found no paths and had to make wide turns to avoid either steep places, or thickets, or sullen treacherous swamps. The land was tumbled in barren hills and deep valleys filled with turbulent waters.

But when they had been about ten days on the road the weather grew better. The wind suddenly veered southward. The swift flowing clouds lifted and melted away, and the sun came out.

There came a dawn at the end of a long stumbling night march. The travellers reached a low ridge crowned with ancient holly trees, whose pale fluted trunks seemed to have been formed out of the very stone of the hills. Their berries shone red in the light of the rising sun. Far away south Frodo saw the dim shapes of mountains, that seemed now to lie across their path. To the left of this distant range a tall peak stood up like a tooth: it was tipped with snow but its bare western shoulder glowed redly in the growing light.

Gandalf stood by Frodo's side and looked out under his hand. 'We have done well,' he said. 'We have reached the borders of the country called Hollin: many Elves lived here once in happier days. Eighty leagues we have come,[9] if we have come a mile, and we have marched quicker than winter from the North. The land and weather will be milder now – but perhaps all the more dangerous.'

'Danger or not, a real sunrise is mighty welcome,' said Frodo, throwing back his hood and letting the morning light play on his face.

'Mountains ahead!' said Faramond. 'We seemed to have turned eastward.'

'No, it is the mountains that have turned,' said Gandalf.[10] 'Don't you remember Elrond's map in Rivendell?'

'No, I did not look very carefully at it,' said Faramond. 'Frodo has a better head for things of that sort.'

'Well, anyone who did look at the map,' said Gandalf, 'would see that away there stands Taragaer or Ruddyhorn,[11] – that mountain with the red side. The Misty Mountains divide there and between their arms lies the land[12] of Caron-dûn the Red Valley.[13] Our way lies there: over the Red Pass of Cris-caron,[14] under Taragaer's side, and into Caron-dûn and down the River Redway[15] – to the Great River, and . . .' He stopped.

'Yes, and where then?' asked Merry.

'To the end of the journey – in the end,' said Gandalf. 'But at first the evergreen forest of Fangorn, through the midst of which runs the Great River.[16] But we will not look too far ahead. Let us be glad that the first stage is safely over. I think we will rest here for a whole day. There is a wholesome air about Hollin. Much evil must befall any country before it wholly forgets the Elves, if once they have dwelt there.'

That morning they lit a fire in a deep hollow shrouded by two great holly trees, and their supper was merrier than it had been since they left the house of Elrond. They did not hurry to bed afterwards, for they had all the night to sleep in and did not mean to go on until the evening of next day. Only Trotter was moody and restless. After a while he left the company and wandered about on the ridge, looking out on the lands south and west. He came back and stood looking at them.

'What is the matter?' said Merry. 'Do you miss the east wind?'

'No indeed,' answered Trotter. 'But I miss something. I know Hollin fairly well, and have been here in many seasons. No people dwell here now, but many other things live here, or used to – especially birds. But now it is very silent. I can feel it. There is no sound for miles round, and your voices seem to make the ground echo. I cannot make it out.'

Gandalf looked up quickly. 'But what do you *think* the reason is?' he asked. 'Is there more in it than surprise at seeing a whole party of hobbits (not to mention Boromir and me) where people are so seldom seen?'

'I hope that is it,' said Trotter. 'But I get a feeling of watchfulness and of fear that I have never had here before.'

'Very well! Let us be more careful,' said Gandalf. 'If you bring a Ranger with you, it is best to pay attention to him – especially if the Ranger is Trotter, as I have found before. There are some things that even an experienced wizard does not notice. We had better stop talking now, and rest quietly and set a look-out.'

It was Sam's turn to take the first watch, but Trotter joined him. The others soon fell asleep, one by one. The silence grew till even Sam felt it. The breathing of the sleepers could be plainly heard. The swish of a pony's tail and the occasional movements of his feet became loud noises. Sam seemed to hear his very joints creaking if he stirred or moved. Over all hung a blue sky as the sun rode high and clear. The last clouds melted. But away in the south-east a dark patch grew and divided, flying like smoke to the north and west.

'What's that?' said Sam in a whisper to Trotter. Trotter made no answer, for he was gazing intently at the sky, but before long Sam could see what it was for himself. The clouds were flocks of birds going at great speed – wheeling and circling, and traversing all the land as if they were searching for something.

'Lie flat and still,' hissed Trotter, drawing Sam down into the shade of a holly-bush – for a whole regiment of birds had separated from the western flock and came back flying low right over the ridge where the travellers lay. Sam thought they were some kind of crows of a large size. As they passed overhead one harsh croak was heard.

Not till they had dwindled in the distance would Trotter move. Then he went and wakened Gandalf.

'Regiments of black crows are flying to and fro over Hollin,' he said. 'They are not natives to this place. I do not know what they are after – possibly there is some trouble going on away south: but I think they are spying out the land. I think too that I have seen hawks flying higher in the sky. That would account for the silence.[17] We ought to move again this evening. I am afraid that Hollin is no longer wholesome for us: it is being watched.'

'And in that case so is the Red Pass, and how we can get over it without being seen I don't know,' said Gandalf. 'But we will think about that when we get nearer. About moving on from here tonight: I am afraid you are right.'

'It is as well that we let our fire make little smoke,' said Trotter.

'It was out again (I think) before the birds came over. It must not be lit again.'

'Well, if that is not disappointing!' said Faramond. The news had been broken to him as soon as he woke (in the late afternoon): no fire, and a move again by night. 'I had looked forward to a real good meal tonight, something hot. All because of a pack of crows!'

'Well, you can go on looking forward,' said Gandalf. 'There may be many unexpected feasts ahead of you! Personally I should like a pipe of tobacco in comfort, and warmer feet. However, we are certain of one thing, at any rate: it will get warmer as we go south.'

'Too warm, I shouldn't wonder!' said Sam to Frodo. 'Not but what I would be glad to see that Fiery Mountain, and see the road's end ahead, so to speak. I thought that there Ruddyhorn or whatever its name is might be it, till Mr. Gandalf said not.' Maps conveyed nothing to Sam, and all distances in these strange lands seemed so vast that he was quite out of his reckonings.

The travellers remained hidden all that day. The birds passed over every now and again; but as the westering sun grew red they vanished southwards.[18] Soon afterwards the party set out again; and turned now a little eastward making for the peak of Taragaer which still glowed dully red in the distance. Frodo thought of Elrond's warning to watch even the sky above, but the sky was now clear and empty overhead, and one by one white stars sprang forth as the last gleams of sunset faded.

Guided by Trotter and Gandalf as usual they struck a good path. It looked to Frodo, as far as he could guess in the gathering dark, like the remains of an ancient road that had once run broad and well-planned from now deserted Hollin to the pass beneath Taragaer. A crescent moon rose over the mountains, and cast a pale light which was helpful – but was not welcomed by Trotter or Gandalf. It stayed but a little while and left them to the stars.[19] At midnight they had been going on again for an hour or more from their first halt. Frodo kept looking up at the sky, partly because of its beauty, partly because of Elrond's words. Suddenly he saw or felt a shadow pass over the stars – as if they faded and flashed out again. He shivered.

'Did you see anything?' he said to Gandalf, who was just in front.

'No, but I felt it, whatever it was,' said the wizard. 'It *may* be

nothing, just a wisp of thin cloud.' It did not sound as if he thought much of his own explanation.[20]

Nothing more happened that night. The next morning was even brighter than before, but the wind was turning back eastward and the air was chill. For three more nights they marched on, climbing steadily and ever more slowly as their road wound into the hills and the mountains drew nearer and nearer. On the third morning Taragaer towered up before them, a mighty peak tipped with snow like silver, but with sheer naked sides dull red as if stained with blood.

There was a black look in the air, and the sun was wan. The wind was now gone towards the North. Gandalf sniffed and looked back. 'Winter is behind,' he said quietly to Trotter. 'The peaks behind are whiter than they were.'

'And tonight,' said Trotter, 'we shall be high up on our way to the red pass of Cris-caron. What do you think of our course now? If we are not seen in that narrow place – and waylaid by some evil, as would be easy there – the weather may prove as bad an enemy.'[21]

'I think no good of any part of our course, as you know well, Master Peregrin,' snapped Gandalf. 'Still we have to go on. It is no good whatever our trying to cross further south into the land of Rohan. The Horse-kings have long been in the service of Sauron.'[22]

'No, I know that. But there is a way – not *over* Cris-caron, as you are well aware.'

'Of course I am. But I am not going to risk that, until I am quite sure there is no other way. I shall think things out while the others rest and sleep.'[23]

In the late afternoon, before preparations were made for moving, Gandalf spoke to the travellers. 'We have now come to our first serious difficulty and doubt,' he said. 'The pass that we ought to take is up there ahead' – he waved his hand towards Taragaer: its sides were now dark and sullen, for the sun had gone, and its head was in grey cloud. 'It will take us at least two marches to get near the top of the pass. From certain signs we have seen recently I fear it may be watched or guarded; and in any case Trotter and I have doubts of the weather, on this wind. But I am afraid we must go ón. We can't go back into the winter; and further south the passes are held. Tonight we must push along as hard as we can.'

The hearts of the travellers sank at his words. But they hurried

with their preparations, and started off at as good a pace as they could make. It was heavy going.[24] The winding and twisting road had long been neglected and in places was blocked with fallen stones, over which they had great difficulty in finding any way to lead the pack ponies.[25] The night grew deadly dark under the great clouds; a bitter wind swirled among the rocks. By midnight they had already climbed to the very knees of the great mountains, and were going straight up under a mountain-side, with a deep ravine guessed but unseen on their right. Suddenly Frodo felt soft cold touches on his face. He put out his arm, and saw white snowflakes settle on his sleeve. Before long they were falling fast, swirling from every direction into his eyes, and filling all the air. The dark shapes of Gandalf and Trotter, a few paces in front, could hardly be seen.

'I don't like this,' panted Sam just behind. 'Snow is all right on a fine morning, seen from a window; but I like to be in bed while it's falling.' As a matter of fact snow fell very seldom in most parts of the Shire except the moors of the Northfarthing. There would occasionally, in January or February, be a thin white dusting of it, but [it] soon vanished, and only rarely in cold winters was there a real fall – enough to make snowballs of.

Gandalf halted. Frodo thought as he came up by him that he already looked almost like a snow-man. Snow was white on his hood and bowed shoulders, and it was already getting thick on the ground under foot.

'This is a bad business!' said the wizard. 'I never bargained for this, and left snow out of my plans. It seldom falls as far south as this except on the high peaks, and here we are not halfway up even to the high pass. I wonder if the Enemy has anything to do with it. He has strange powers and many allies.'

'We had better get all the party together,' said Trotter. 'We don't want to lose anyone on a night like this.'

For a while they struggled on. The snow became a blinding blizzard, and soon it was in places almost knee-deep. 'It'll be up over my head before long,' said Merry. Faramond was dragging behind and needed what help Merry and Sam could give him. Frodo felt his own legs like lead at every step.

Suddenly they heard strange sounds: they may have been but tricks of the rising wind in cracks and gullies of the rocks, but it sounded like hoarse cries and howls of harsh laughter. Then stones began to fall whirling like leaves on the wind, and crashing onto the path and the rocks on either hand. Every now and again

they heard in the darkness a dull rumble as a great boulder rolled down thunderously from hidden heights in the dark above.

The party halted. 'We can't get any further tonight,' said Trotter. 'You can call it the wind if you like, but I call it voices and those stones are aimed at us, or at least at the path.'

'I do call it the wind,' said Gandalf; 'but that does not make the rest untrue. Not all the servants of the Enemy have bodies or arms and legs.'[26]

'What can we do?' asked Frodo. His heart suddenly failed him, and he felt alone and lost in dark and driving snow, mocked at by demons of the mountains.

'Stop here or go back,' answered Gandalf. 'We are protected at present by the high wall on our left, and a deep gully on the right. Further up there is a wide shallow valley, and the road runs at the bottom of two long slopes. We should now hardly get through there without damage, quite apart from the snow.'[27]

After some debate they retreated to a spot they had passed just before the snow came on. There the path passed under a low overhanging cliff. It faced southwards and they hoped it would give them some protection from the wind. But the eddying blasts whirled in from either side, and the snow came down thicker than ever. They huddled together with their backs to the wall. The two ponies stood dejected but patiently in front of them and served as some kind of screen, but before long the snow was up to their bellies and still mounting. The hobbits crouching behind were nearly buried. A great sleepiness came over Frodo, and he felt himself fast sinking into a warm and hazy dream. He thought a fire was warming his toes, and out of the shadows he heard Bilbo's voice speaking. 'I don't think much of your diary,' he heard him say. 'Snow(storm) on December 2nd:[28] there was no need to come back to report that.'

Suddenly he felt himself violently shaken, and came back painfully to wakefulness. Boromir had lifted him right off the ground. 'This snow will be the death of the hobbits, Gandalf,' he said. 'We must do something.'

'Give them this,' said Gandalf, fumbling in his pack that lay beside him, and drawing out a leather flagon. 'Just a little each – for all of us. It is very precious: one of Elrond's cordials, and I did not expect to have to use it so soon.'

As soon as Frodo had swallowed a little of the potent cordial, he felt new strength of heart, and the heavy sleepiness left his limbs. The others revived as quickly.

Boromir now endeavoured to clear away the snow and make a free space under the rock-wall. Finding his hands and feet slow tools, and his sword not much better, he took a faggot from the fuel that they carried on one of the ponies, in case they should need fire in places where there was no wood. He bound it tight and thrust a staff in the midst, so that it looked like a large mallet; but he used it as a ram to thrust back the soft snow, till it was packed hard into a wall before them and could not be pushed further away. For the moment things looked better, and in the small cleared space the travellers stood and took short paces, stamping to keep their limbs awake. But the snow continued to fall unrelenting; and it became plain that they were likely enough to be all buried in snow again before the night was out.[29]

'What about a fire?' said Trotter suddenly. 'As for giving ourselves away: personally I think our whereabouts is pretty well known or guessed already – by somebody.'

In desperation they decided to light a fire if they could, even if it meant sacrificing all the fuel that they had with them. It taxed even Gandalf's power to kindle the wet wood in that windy place. Ordinary methods were of no use, though each of the travellers had tinder and flint. They had brought some fir cones and little bundles of dried grass for kindling, but no fire would catch in them, until Gandalf thrust his wand into the midst of them and caused a great spark of blue and green flame to spring out.

'Well, if any enemy is watching,' he said, 'that will give *me* away. Let us hope other eyes are as blinded by the storm as ours. But anyway a fire is a good thing to see.' The wood now burned merrily and kept a clear circle all round it in which the travellers gathered somewhat heartened; but looking round Gandalf saw anxious eyes revealed by the dancing flames. The wood was burning fast, and the snow was not yet lessening.

'Daylight will soon be showing,' said Gandalf as cheerily as he could, but added: 'if any daylight can get through the snow-clouds.'

The fire burned low and the last faggot was thrown on. Trotter stood up and stared into the blackness above. 'I believe it is getting less,' he said. For a long while the others gazed at the flakes coming . . . . . down out of the darkness, to be revealed for a moment white in the light of the fire; but they could see little difference. After a while, however, it became plain that Trotter was right. The flakes became fewer and fewer. The wind grew less. The daylight began to grow pale grey and diffused. Then the snow ceased altogether.

As the light grew stronger it showed a shapeless world all about them. The high places were hid in clouds (that threatened still more snow), but below them they could see dim white hills and domes and valleys in which the path they had come by seemed altogether lost.

'The sooner we make a move, and get down again, the better,' said Trotter.[30] 'There is more snow still to fall up here!' But much as they all desired to get down again it was easier to speak of it than to manage it. The snow round about was already some feet deep: up to the necks of the hobbits or over their heads in places; and it was still soft. If they had [had] northern sledges or snowshoes [they] would have been of little use. Gandalf could only just manage to get forward with labour, more like swimming (and burrowing) than walking. Boromir was the tallest of the party: being some six feet high and broad-shouldered as well. He went ahead a little way to test the path. The snow was everywhere above even his knees, and in many places he sank up to the waist. The situation looked fairly desperate.

'I will go on down if I can,' he said.[31] 'As far as I can make out our course of last night, the path seems to turn right round a shoulder of rock down there. And if I remember rightly, a furlong or two below the turn we ought to come on to a flat space at the top of a long steep slope – very heavy going it was coming up. From there I may be able to get some view and some idea of how the snow lies further down.' He struggled forward slowly, and after a while disappeared round the turn.

It was nearly an hour before he came back, tired but with some encouraging news. 'There is a deep wind drift just the other side of the turn, and I was nearly buried in it; but beyond that the snow quickly gets less. At the top of the slope it is no more than ankle-deep and it is only sprinkled on the ground from there down: or so it seems.'

'It may be only sprinkled further down,' grunted Gandalf; 'but it is not sprinkled up here. Even the snow seems to have been aimed specially at us.'

'How are *we* to get to the turn?' asked Trotter.

'I don't know!' said Boromir. 'It is a pity Gandalf can't produce flame enough to melt us a pathway.'

'I daresay it is,' snapped Gandalf; 'but even I need a few materials to work upon. I can kindle fire not feed it. What you want is a dragon not a wizard.'

'Indeed I think a tame dragon would actually be more useful at

the moment than a wild wizard,' said Boromir – with a laugh that did not in any way appease Gandalf.

'At the moment, at the moment,' he replied. 'Later on we may see. I am old enough to be your great-grandfather's ancestor – but I am not doddery yet. It will serve you right if you meet a wild dragon.'[32]

'Well, well! *When heads are at a loss bodies must serve* they say in my country,' said Boromir. 'We must just try and thrust our way through. Put the little folk on the ponies, two on each. I will carry the smallest; you go behind, Gandalf, and I will go in front.'

At once he set about unloading the ponies of their burdens. 'I will come back for these when we have forced a passage,' he said. Frodo and Sam were mounted on one of the ponies, Merry and Trotter on the other. Then picking up Faramond Boromir strode forward.

Slowly they ploughed their way forward. It took some time to reach the bend, but they did so without mishap. After a short halt they laboured on to the edge of the drift. Suddenly Boromir stumbled on some hidden stone, and fell headlong. Faramond was thrown from his shoulder into deep snow and disappeared. The pony behind reared and then fell also, tumbling both Frodo and Sam into the drift. Trotter however managed to hold back the second pony.

For some moments all was confusion. But Boromir got up, shaking the snow from his face and eyes, and went to the head of the floundering and kicking pony. When he had got it onto its feet again, he went to the rescue of the hobbits who had vanished into deep holes in the yielding snow. Picking up first Faramond and then Frodo he ploughed his way through the remainder of the drift and set them on their feet beyond. He then returned for the pony and Sam. 'Follow now in my track!' he cried to the remaining three. 'The worst is over!'

At last they all came to the head of the long slope. Gandalf bowed to Boromir. 'If I was testy,' he said, 'forgive me. Even the wisest wizard does not like to see his plans go awry. Thank goodness for plain strength and good sense. We are grateful to you, Boromir of Ond.'[33]

They looked out from the high place where they stood over the lands. Daylight was now as full as it would be, unless the heavy clouds were broken. Far below, and over the tumbled country falling away from the foot of the incline, Frodo thought he could see the dell from which they had started to climb the night before.

His legs ached and his head was dizzy as he thought of the long painful march down again. In the distance, below him but still high above the lower hills, he saw many black specks moving in the air. 'The birds again,' he said in a low voice, pointing.

'It can't be helped now, said Gandalf. 'Whether they are good or bad, or nothing to do with us, we must go on down at once.' The wind was blowing stiffly again over the pass hidden in the clouds behind; and already some snowflakes were drifting down.

It was late in the afternoon, and the grey light was already again waning fast when they got back to their camp of the previous night. They were weary and very hungry. The mountains were veiled in a deepening dusk full of snow: even there in the foothills snow was falling gently. The birds had vanished.

They had no fuel for a fire, and made themselves as warm as they could with all their spare furs and blankets. Gandalf spared them each one more mouthful of the cordial. When they had eaten, Gandalf called a council.

'We cannot of course go on again tonight,' he said. 'We all need a good rest, and I think we had better stay here till tomorrow evening.'

'And when we move where are we to go to?' asked Frodo. 'It is no use trying the pass again; but you said yourself last night in this very spot that we could not now cross the passes further north because of winter, nor further south because of enemies.'

'There is no need to remind me,' said Gandalf. 'The choice is now between going on with our journey – by some road or other – or returning to Rivendell.'

The faces of the hobbits revealed plainly enough the pleasure they felt at the mere mention of returning to Rivendell. Sam's face brightened visibly, and he glanced at his master. But Frodo looked troubled.

'I wish I was back in Rivendell,' he acknowledged. 'But would not that be going back also on all that was spoken and decided there?' he asked.

'Yes,' replied Gandalf. 'Our journey was already delayed perhaps too long. After the winter it would be quite vain. If we return it will mean the siege of Rivendell, and likely enough its fall and destruction.'

'Then we must go on,' said Frodo with a sigh, and Sam sank back into gloom. 'We must go on – if there is any road to take.'

'There is, or there may be,' said Gandalf. 'But I have not mentioned it to you before, and have hardly even thought of it

while there was hope of the pass of Cris-caron. For it is not a pleasant road.'

'If it is worse than the pass of Cris-caron it must be very nasty indeed,' said Merry. 'But you had better now tell us about it.'

'Have you ever heard of the Mines of Moria or the Black Gulf?'[34] asked Gandalf.

'Yes,' answered Frodo. 'I think so. I seem to remember Bilbo speaking of them long ago, when he told me tales of the dwarves and goblins. But I have no idea where they are.'

'They are not far away,' said the wizard. 'They are in these mountains. They were made by the Dwarves of Durin's clan many hundreds of years ago, when elves dwelt in Hollin, and there was peace between the two races. In those ancient days Durin dwelt in Caron-dûn, and there was traffic on the Great River. But the Goblins – fierce orcs[35] in great number – drove them out after many wars, and most of the dwarves that escaped removed far into the North. They have often tried to regain these mines, but never so far as I know have they succeeded. King Thrór was killed there after he fled from Dale when the dragon came, as you may remember from Bilbo's tales. As Glóin told us, the dwarves of Dale think Balin came here, but no news has come from him.'[36]

'How can the mines [of the] Black Gulf help us?' asked Boromir. 'It sounds a name of ill-omen.'

'It is so, or has become so,' answered Gandalf. 'But one must tread the path need chooses. If there are orcs in the mines, it will prove ill for us. But most of the goblins of the Misty Mountains were destroyed in the Battle of Five Armies at the Lonely Mountain. There is a chance that the mines are still deserted. There is even a chance that dwarves are there, and that Balin lives in secret in some deep hall. If either of these chances prove true, then we may get through. For the mines go right through and under this western arm of the mountains. The tunnels of Moria were of old the most famous in the northern world. There were two secret gates on the western side, though the chief entrance was on the East looking upon Caron-dûn.[37] I passed right through, many years ago, when I was looking for Thrór and Thráin. But I have never been since – I have never wished to repeat the experience.'[38]

'And I don't wish for it even once,' said Merry. 'Nor me,' muttered Sam.

'Of course not,' said Gandalf. 'Who would? But the question is, will you follow me, if I take the risk?'

There was no answer for some time. 'How far are the western gates?' asked Frodo at length.

'About ten[39] miles south of Cris-caron,' said Trotter.

'Then you know of Moria?' said Frodo, looking at him in surprise.

'Yes, I know of the mines,' said Trotter quietly. 'I went there once, and the memory is evil; but if you want to know, I was always in favour of trying that way rather than an open pass.[40] I will follow Gandalf – though I should have followed him more willingly if we could have come to the gate of Moria more secretly.'

'Well, come now,' said Gandalf. 'I would not put such a choice to you, if there were any hope in other roads, or any hope in retreat. Will you try Moria, or go back to Rivendell?'

'We must risk the Mines,' said Frodo.

As I have said, it is remarkable how substantially the structure of the story was achieved at the very beginning, while the differences in the *dramatis personae* are so great. It is indeed very curious, that before my father had even written the first complete draft of 'The Council of Elrond' he had decided that the Company should include an Elf and a Dwarf (p. 397), as seems now so natural and inevitable, and yet in 'The Ring Goes South' we have only Gandalf and Boromir and five hobbits (one of whom, admittedly, is the most unusually far-travelled and widely experienced Trotter).

But as often in the history of *The Lord of the Rings* much of the earliest writing remained, for example in the detail of conversation, and yet such conversation appears later shifted into new contexts, given to different speakers, and acquiring new resonance as the 'world' and its history grew and expanded. A striking example is given in note 8, where in the original text 'Trotter sat with his head bowed to his knees' as they waited to depart from Rivendell, while in FR 'Aragorn sat with his head bowed to his knees; *only Elrond knew fully what this hour meant to him*.' The question presents itself: what is really the relation between Trotter = Peregrin Boffin and Strider = Aragorn?

It would obviously not be true to say merely that there was a rôle to be played in the story, and that at first this rôle was played by a Hobbit but afterwards by a Man. In particular cases, looked at narrowly without the larger context, this might seem a sufficient or nearly sufficient account: the necessary or fixed action was that Sam Gamgee's companion should hiss 'Lie flat and still' and pull him down into the shade of a holly-bush (p. 420, FR p. 298). But this says very little. I would be inclined to think that the original figure (the mysterious person who encounters the hobbits in the inn at Bree) was capable of development in different directions without losing important elements of his 'identity' as a recognisable character – even though the choice of one direction or another

would lead to quite different historical and racial 'identities' in Middle-earth. So Trotter was not simply switched from Hobbit to Man – though such a switch could take place in the case of Mr. Butterbur with very little disturbance. Rather, he had been potentially Aragorn for a long time; and when my father decided that Trotter *was* Aragorn and *was not* Peregrin Boffin his stature and his history were totally changed, but a great deal of the 'indivisible' Trotter remained in Aragorn and determined his nature.

It may also be thought that in the story of the attempt on Cris-caron Trotter is diminished from the rôle he had played in the narrative of the journey from Bree to Rivendell, in which, though a hobbit, he is set altogether apart from the others, a wise and resourceful leader of great experience in whom all their hope rests. Now, in these physical circumstances, and beside Boromir, he is one of the helpless 'little folk', as Boromir says, to be set on a pony. Of course, this question cannot be approached without hindsight; if Trotter had in fact remained a hobbit in *The Lord of the Rings* it would not arise. Yet considerations along these lines may have been an element in the decision about him which my father would now shortly take.

NOTES

1 An isolated page, certainly of this time, does give a preliminary sketch of the passage that begins approximately at 'As the light grew stronger' on p. 426. The writing is at the extreme limit of legibility, in rapid pencil now very faint.

Grey light grew revealing a snow . . . world in which the path by which they had climbed could scarcely be seen. The snow was no longer falling but the sky threatened more to come.

'The sooner we move and begin to get down the better,' said Gandalf. This was easier said than done. Hobbits. One on each journey. [*Struck out:* Boromir carries Frodo (. . precious burden).] Boromir and Gandalf go ahead and feel the way. In places Boromir vanished almost to his neck. They began to despair for the snow was soft. . . . . With great labour they had gone only ¼ mile down and were all getting exhausted. But suddenly they found the snow less thick – 'even that seems to have been specially aimed at us' said Gandalf. Boromir strode ahead and came back reporting that it was [?soon only white]. At last when daylight was broad they came back to places almost clear of snow.

G. points out the place they had started from the evening before. Council. What is to be done. Moria.

The page continues with some preliminary strokes for the scene outside the West Gate of Moria; see p. 444.

2 Dates were put in marginally against this sentence: 'Nov. 7th?' and 'Nov. 10–11'; in addition, 'a fortnight' was changed to '3 weeks' and 'a week old or more' to 'nearly 2 weeks old'.

3 After 'as far as' my father first wrote *Dimbar*, perhaps intending 'Dimbar in the Dimrill-dales'. The name *Dimbar* had appeared in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.261), of the empty land between the rivers Sirion and Mindeb.

For this application of *Dimrill-dale(s)* (north of Rivendell) see p. 360. When the name *Dimrill-dale* was transferred southwards and to the other side of the Misty Mountains it was replaced in the north by *Hoardale*, and this name was pencilled later on the text here.

4 This is the first occurrence of the names *Gladden* (River) and *Gladden* Fields. The river had been shown on the Map of Wilderland in *The Hobbit*, with marshy land at its confluence with the Great River, suggesting a region where 'gladdens' would grow.

At the foot of the page is a note that applies to the names in this passage: 'These names are given in Hobbit [fashion >] translation. Their real names were *Tum Dincelon*; *Arad Dain* (*Annerchin*); *Crandir* Redway; and *Palathrin* (*Palath* = Iris).' *Tum Dincelon* is *Dimrill-dale*, in the original application (note 3). I do not understand the reference of '*Arad Dain* (*Annerchin*)'. My father first wrote *Tar* and struck it out before writing *Arad*. For the names of the River Redway see note 15. In the *Etymologies* the Noldorin word *palath* = 'surface' (V.380).

5 Cf. the Map of Wilderland in *The Hobbit*; 'Goblin Gate and Eyrie.'

6 According to *The Tale of Years* in LR (Appendix B) the Company left Rivendell on 25 December.

7 This passage was rewritten over and over again, and it is impossible to interpret the sequence precisely: but it is clear that my father first envisaged the Company as mounted, with Boromir's 'great brown horse', Gandalf's white horse, and seven ponies, five for the five hobbits, and two pack-animals (see note 25). An intermediate stage saw Boromir alone on foot: 'There were ponies for all the hobbits to ride where the road allowed, and Gandalf of course had his horse; but Boromir strode on foot, as he had come. The men of his race did not ride horses.' The text printed is certainly the final formulation at this stage, and is of course different from that in FR (p. 293), where the sole beast of burden was Bill Ferny's pony, whom Sam called Bill.

8 Cf. FR p. 293: 'Aragorn sat with his head bowed to his knees; only Elrond knew fully what this hour meant to him.' See p. 430.

9 This is the first occurrence of *Hollin*; but the Elvish name *Eregion* does not appear. In the *Etymologies* (V.356) the Elvish name of Hollin is *Regornion*. – In FR (p. 296) Gandalf says that they have

come 45 leagues, but that was as the crow flies: 'many long miles further our feet have walked.'

10 See the Note on Geography, pp. 440–1.

11 At the first occurrence the name of the 'red horn mountain' was replaced over and over again: first it was *Bliscarn*, then *Carnbeleg or Ruddyhorn*, then, *Tarager* see the *Etymoloies*, V.391); also written on the margins of the page are *Caradras* = *Ruddihorn*, and *Rhascaron*. All these names appear on the contemporary map (p. 439). At the next occurrence *Carnbeleg* was replaced by *Taragaer*, and subsequently the name first written was *Caradras* replaced by *Taragaer*, and finally *Taragaer*. I give *Taragaer* throughout, as being apparently the preferred name at this stage. Changes made in red ink at some later stage brought back *Caradras*.

12 On the dividing of the Misty Mountains into an eastern and a western arm see the Note on Geography, p. 438. My father wrote here first 'the great vale', and the replacement word is probably but not certainly 'land'.

13 The name of the vale was first *Carndoom the Red Valley*; above was written *Carondûn* and *Doon-Caron*, but these were struck out. Elsewhere on this page is *Narodûm* = *Red Vale*; and the name in the text was corrected in red ink to *Dimrill-dale: Nanduhiriath* (in FR *Nanduhirion*). On the former application of *Dimrill-dale* see note 3. At subsequent occurrences the name is *Carndoom*, *Caron-doom*, *Caron-dûn*, *Dûn Caron*, and at the last the name was replaced in red ink by *Glassmere in Dimrilldale* (note 37). Among these forms, all meaning 'Red Valley', I have rather arbitrarily chosen *Caron-dûn* to stand as the consistent form in the text.

14 The name of the pass was first written *Criscarn*, with *Cris-caron* as a rejected alternative; at subsequent occurrences both appear, but with the preference to *Cris-caron* (also *Cris-carron*, *Cris Caron*), which I adopt. *Dimrill-stair* replaces it twice in red ink, in the present passage thus: 'over the pass that was [*read* is] called Dimrill-stair (*Pendrethdulur*) under the side of Caradras.' The pass was afterwards called the Redhorn Gate, the Dimrill-stair being the descent from the pass on the eastern side; cf. note 21. With *Pendrethdulur* cf. the *Etymologies*, V.380, *pendrath* 'passage up or down a slope, stairway'.

15 The River Redway, the later Silverlode, has been referred to in an outline dated August 1939 (p. 381), and at its occurrence at the beginning of the chapter the Elvish name *Crandir* is given (note 4). Here, above *Redway*, are written the names *Rathgarn* (struck out); *Rathcarn*; *Nenning* (struck out); and *Caradras or Redway*. Written in the margin is also *Narosîr* = *Redway*. At this time *Nenning* had not yet appeared in *The Silmarillion* and the *Annals of Beleriand* as the name of the river in Beleriand west of Narog, which was

still called *Eglor*. In red ink the name *Celebrin* was substituted (*Celebrant* in FR). The river is called *Caradras* on the contemporary map (p. 439).

16 It was said in the outline given on p. 410 that Beleghir the Great River divided into many channels in Fangorn Forest. See the map, p. 439.

17 While in FR (p. 298) Aragorn says that he has seen hawks flying high up, he does not say, as Trotter does here, 'That would account for the silence.'

18 *southwards:* changed in pencil from *northwards*.

19 It was now 28 November (since they walked for three nights after this and attempted Cris-caron on 2 December, pp. 422, 424). In notes on phases of the Moon (found on the back of a page in the previous section of this manuscript) my father gave the following dates, showing that on the night of the 28th the Moon was in its first quarter:

Last Quarter	*New Moon*	*First Quarter*	*Full Moon*
Sept. 18	Sept. 25	Oct. 2	Oct. 10
Oct. 17	Oct. 24	Oct. 31	Nov. 8
Nov. 15	Nov. 22	Nov. 29	Dec. 7

20 This incident was retained in FR, but it is not explained. The Winged Nazgûl had not yet crossed the River (*The Two Towers* pp. 101, 201).

21 As written in ink, and before changes in pencil produced the passage given, Gandalf said: 'Winter is behind. There is snow coming. In fact it has come. The peaks behind are whiter than they were.' Trotter's reply is the same, but he ends: 'we may get caught in a blizzard before we get over the pass.' In the margin my father wrote: '? Cut out prophecy of snow – let it come suddenly.' He struck this out, but the passage as emended makes the threat of snow seem less certain.

The words 'on our way to the red pass of Cris-caron' were emended in red ink to 'on our way up the Dimrill-stair'; see note 14.

22 My father first wrote here (emending it to the text given at the time of writing): 'But we have to go on, and we have to cross the mountains here or go back. The passes further south are too far away, and were all guarded years ago – they lead straight into the country of the [Beardless Men Mani Aroman >] Horsemen.' In the rewritten passage, the reference to the passes further south is removed, but it reappears a little later: 'further south the passes are held' (cf. FR p. 300: 'Further south there are no passes, till one comes to the Gap of Rohan').

Before the name *Rohan* was reached several others were written, *Thanador*, *Ulthanador*, *Borthendor*, *Orothan*[*ador*]. After *Rohan* is written: [= *Rochan(dor)* = Horseland]. This is unquestionably

the point at which the name *Rohan* arose. Cf. the *Etymologies*, V.384: Quenya *rokko*, Noldorin *roch*, horse.

A scribble in the margin seems to change 'The Horse-kings have long been in the service of Sauron' to 'Rohan where the Horsekings or Horselords are.' Cf. FR p. 300: 'Who knows which side now the marshals of the Horse-lords serve?'

23 In the original story Trotter favoured the passage of Moria and Gandalf the pass; in FR (p. 300) it was Aragorn who favoured the pass.

24 This passage, from 'Trotter and I have doubts of the weather', is a rewriting in pencil of a much longer passage in which Gandalf introduced at this point the subject of Moria. Gandalf says:

> 'Trotter thinks we are likely to be caught in a heavy snow-storm before we get across [see note 21]. I think we shall have to attempt it, all the same. But there is another way, or there used to be. I don't know whether you have heard of the Mines of Moria, or the Black [Pit >] Gulf?'

Gandalf then describes Moria; and after this the original text continues:

> The hearts of the travellers sank at his words. All of them would have voted at once for the cold and perils of the high pass rather than for the black gulfs of Moria. But Gandalf did not ask for a vote. After a silence he said: 'There is no need to ask you to decide. I know which way you would choose, and I choose the same. We will try the pass.'

The introduction of Moria was postponed until after the Company had been forced back from the pass by the snowstorm; and Gandalf's words about it reappear there in closely similar form (see p. 429 and note 38). The second occurrence of the passage is in ink and an integral part of the chapter.

25 'pack ponies' is a pencilled emendation from 'horses and ponies'; see note 7. But when the travellers halt under the overhanging cliff the reference to 'the two ponies' (p. 424) is in the text as first written.

26 This sentence was marked with a query and enclosed within square brackets at the time of writing. Later my father wrote here: 'Not all evil things are Sauron['s]', and 'The hawks' (referring presumably to the hawks which Trotter saw high up over Hollin, and said 'accounted for the silence', p. 420); and in the margin: 'Gimli says Caradras had an ill name even in days when Sauron was of little account' (see FR p. 303).

27 As first written (but at once rejected) the content of these speeches (from '"This is hopeless," said Gandalf. "You can call it the wind if you like . . ."') was more condensed and was given entirely to Gandalf.

28 In the same passage in FR (p. 303) the date is 12 January; the Company had left Rivendell on 25 December, and so had been in

the wilderness for nineteen nights. But in the original story the journey was shorter: 'when they had been about ten days on the road the weather grew better' (p. 418), whereas FR (p. 295) has 'a fortnight'.

29 This sentence replaced (probably at once): 'But the snow continued to fall unrelenting, and at length Gandalf had to admit that being buried in snow was at the moment the chief danger.' With the words *had to admit* cf. notes 23 and 30.

30 'Trotter' was changed in pencil to 'Gandalf'. In the context of the story at this stage Trotter would be the more likely to say this (see notes 23 and 29), but in the rough preliminary draft given in note 1 it is said by Gandalf.

31 My father pencilled here: 'Boromir knows snow from the Black Mountains. He was born a mountaineer'; but he struck this out. It is said in the outline given on p. 410 that Fangorn Forest extended up to the Black Mountains (changed from Blue Mountains, which are referred to on the contemporary map).

32 Pencilled changes altered the speakers in this passage, but I believe that these are later. The question 'How are *we* to get to the turn?' is taken from Trotter and given to Merry (probably because my father had decided that Trotter was a Man), who goes on 'It is a pity Gandalf can't produce flame enough to melt us a pathway'; and it is Merry, not Boromir, who makes the remark about a tame dragon and a wild wizard. But since subsequently it is to Boromir that Gandalf apologises for his irritability, these changes were casual and not fully integrated into the narrative. Either at this time or later the remark about Gandalf's melting them a path was transferred to Legolas (cf. FR p. 305), and this is obviously a structurally irrelevant addition, like that concerning Gimli in note 26.

33 The descent of the Company through the deep snow was first told quite differently, though the version given replaced the other before it was completed. As first written, Gandalf relented at once towards Boromir (after 'It will serve you right if you meet a wild dragon') and since he appeared already tired gave him a further sip of Elrond's cordial. Boromir was to carry each hobbit down separately (cf. the preliminary sketch given in note 1) and began with Frodo; at the drift he stumbled on a hidden stone and Frodo was thrown into the deep snow and disappeared, but Boromir 'soon recovered him'. Sam was brought down next ('he had disapproved greatly of his master (with the Ring) being left alone and out of reach in any sudden danger'). Boromir was then too tired to repeat the ascent and descent three times more, and this version ends with hasty notes telling that Trotter, Faramond, and Merry were put on the ponies, while Gandalf behind and Boromir ahead, carrying the baggage, 'ploughed their way down dragging and thrusting the ponies forward.'

My father then wrote: 'Or alter all above', and proposed that the whole Company should go down together. In the second version, given in the text, he neglected to mention that Boromir returned once more to bring down the baggage. The story in FR is of course entirely different since Trotter has become Aragorn.

34 *Moria* is translated 'Black Gulf' in the first, rejected occurrence of this passage (note 24). An isolated note earlier in the MS has '*Moria* = Black Gulf', with the etymology *yagō*, *ia*; here 'Gulf' is a correction of some other word which I cannot interpret. Cf. the *Etymologies*, V.400, stem YAG 'yawn, gape', where *Moria* is translated 'Black Gulf'.

35 This is not the first use of the word *Orcs* in the LR papers: Gandalf refers to 'orcs and goblins' among the servants of the Dark Lord, pp. 211, 364; cf. also pp. 187, 320. But the rarity of the usage at this stage is remarkable. The word *Orc* goes back to the *Lost Tales*, and had been pervasive in all my father's subsequent writings. In the *Lost Tales* the two terms were used as equivalents, though sometimes apparently distinguished (see II.364, entry *Goblins*). A clue may be found in a passage that occurs in both the earlier and the later *Quenta* (IV.82, V.233): 'Goblins they may be called, *but in ancient days they were strong and fell*.' At this stage it seems that 'Orcs' are to be regarded as a more formidable kind of 'Goblin'; so in the preliminary sketch for 'The Mines of Moria' (p. 443) Gandalf says 'there are goblins – of very evil kind, larger than usual, *real orcs*.' – It is incidentally notable that in the first edition of *The Hobbit* the word *Orcs* is used only once (at the end of Chapter VII 'Queer Lodgings'), while in the published LR *goblins* is hardly ever used.

36 Strangely, this is not at all in agreement with what Glóin had said at Rivendell (p. 391): 'For many years things went well, and the colony throve; there was traffic once more between Moria and the Mountain, and many gifts of silver were sent to Dáin.'

37 It is here that the emendation in red ink to *Glassmere in Dimrilldale* is made (note 13). This is the first appearance of the lake in Dimrill Dale; on the contemporary map it is marked and named *Mirrormere*.

38 Gandalf's account of Moria here differs from the earlier form (see note 24) only in that here there is mention of Durin, of the peace between Elves and Dwarves, and of Orcs (see note 35) – the rejected version refers only to goblins. In that version it is said that the Dwarves of Caron-dûn 'sent their goods down the Great River.'

39 'ten' changed in pencil to '20'. In FR (p. 311) Gandalf says: 'There was a door south-west of Caradhras, fifteen miles as the crow flies, and maybe twenty as the wolf runs.'

40 See note 23. In the margin, probably made at the time of writing of the manuscript, is a note: 'Trotter was caught there.' This contrasts with what was said earlier, at the Council of Elrond (p. 401): 'Thus

it was that Frodo learned how Trotter had tracked Gollum as he wandered southwards, through Fangorn Forest, and past the Dead Marshes, until he had himself been caught and imprisoned by the Dark Lord.'

Note on the Geography and the contemporary Map

The extremely rapid, rough, and now tattered map reproduced on p. 439 can with complete certainty, I think, be ascribed to the time of the original writing of this chapter. It was my father's first representation of Middle-earth south of the Map of Wilderland in *The Hobbit* – which he had before him, as the courses of the rivers show.

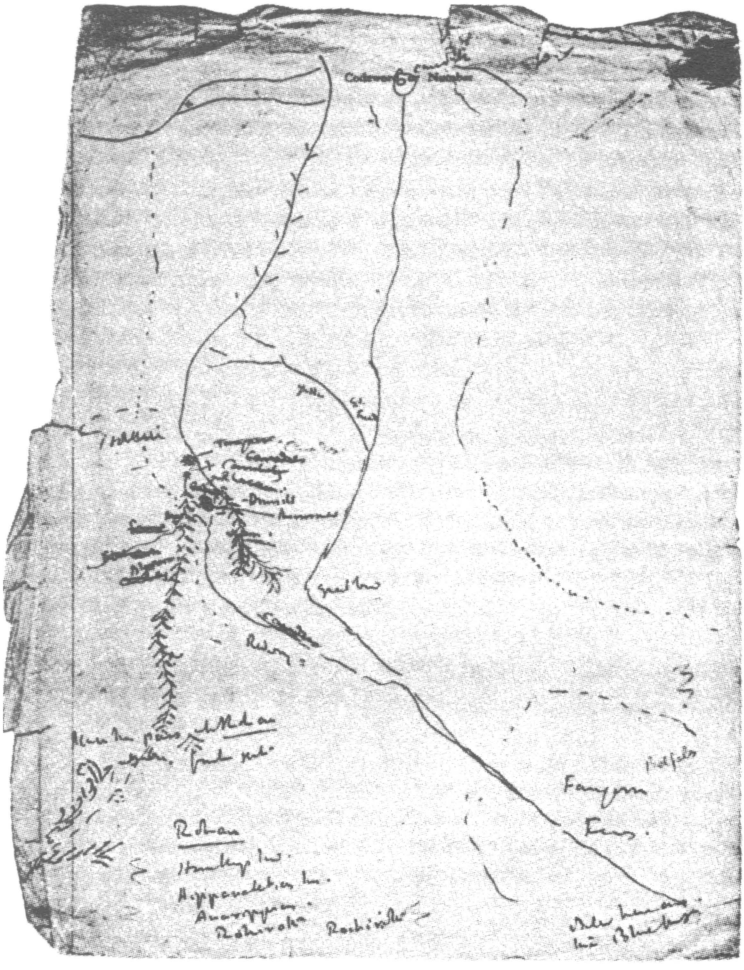
Going from North to South on the map, there is *Carrock* at the top; and *Gladden* (River) and *Gl[adden] Fields* (see p. 416 and note 4). *Hollin* is named and roughly marked with a broken line; and the names, struck out, to the right of the mountains are *Taragaer*, *Caradras* (with the final form *Caradras* beside it in pencil), *Carnbeleg*, and *Rhascarn* (see note 11). The pass is called *Dimrill*, with (probably) *Cris-caron* struck out (note 14); and *Mirrormere* is marked, the first occurrence of the name (see note 37). West of the mere *Moria* is marked; below are two illegible names and below them *Bliscarn* (note 11) and again *Carnbeleg*, all struck out.

The division of the Misty Mountains into two arms here, referred to by Gandalf in the present text (pp. 419, 429) and by Gimli in FR (p. 296), is shown far more markedly on this original map than it is on my father's later ones – where the eastern arm is shown as actually less extensive than it is on mine published in LR. For the names of the valley between the arms of the mountains see note 13.

The vast westward swing of the Great River (marked *great bend*) is already in being, but the placing of *Fangorn Forest* (in which my father's writing of the word *Forest* is a sample of his more rapid script) would later be wholly changed. That the Great River flowed through the midst of Fangorn is stated by Gandalf (p. 419 and note 16). The name *Belfalas* in the North-east of Fangorn is in red ink (the only item that is); afterwards Belfalas was a coastal region of Gondor, and since *falas* ('shore') was one of the most ancient of Elvish words (see I.253) it is hard to see how it could be used to refer to a region of forest far inland. I suspect that my father wrote it on the page after, or before, the making of this extremely rapid map and without any reference to it, so that it has no significance in this context.

For the various proposed names of the river *Redway* in the text see note 15; among them is *Caradras*, which is written on the map (but struck through in pencil).

Across the Misty Mountains further south is written 'Place this pass into *Rohan* further south' (on passes over the Mountains south of Caradras see note 22). At the bottom of the map on the left is written:



The earliest map of the lands south of the Map of Wilderland in *The Hobbit*

'Rohan. Horsekings land Hippanaletians . . . [possibly *kn* standing for *kingdom*] *Anaxippians Rohiroth Rochiroth.'* The *Hippanaletians* and *Anaxippians* ('Horse-lords') are surprising.

At the right-hand corner is: *Below here are the Blue Mts.* Compare Gandalf's words in the first sketching of 'The Council of Elrond' (p. 397): 'Giant Treebeard, who haunts the Forest between the River and *the South Mountains*'; the outline given on p. 410 in which it is said that Fangorn Forest runs up into the *Blue (> Black) Mountains*; and the rejected note to the present text in which it was said that Boromir was 'born a mountaineer' in the *Black Mountains* (note 31).

A question arises concerning the line of the Misty Mountains. In this original text it is said (p. 418), as in FR (p. 295), that south of Rivendell the mountains bent westward; and this is shown on the Map of the Wilderland in *The Hobbit*. It will be seen that if the line of the mountains where it leaves that map, some distance south of the sources of the Gladden, be continued without further westward curving, a track running south from the Ford of Rivendell will strike the mountain chain somewhere near Caradhras. This is in fact precisely what is shown on my father's three maps that exhibit the whole range of the Misty Mountains. On two of them the mountains run in a straight line from about the latitude of Rivendell (as also on my map published in LR); on one of them (the earliest) the line curves very slightly westward from some way north of Hollin; but on all three a line drawn south from the Ford must cut the mountains at an acute angle in the region of Hollin, simply because the line of the mountains is south-south-west.

It is therefore curious that the original sketch-map discussed here does not really agree with the original text (p. 418). The travellers went south from the Ford; and on the borders of Hollin 'far away south Frodo saw the dim shapes of mountains, that seemed now to lie across their path. To the left of this distant range a tall peak stood up like a tooth': that was Taragaer, the Redhorn (Caradhras). And when Faramond said that he thought that they must have turned east, since the mountains were now in front of them, Gandalf said No, it is the mountains that have turned. But on the old map, a line drawn south from the Ford would only strike the mountains far south of Moria and the Red Pass; and this is because my father bent the mountain-line almost due south in the region of Hollin, so that the course from the Ford and the mountain-line then become nearly parallel. This is possibly no more than a consequence of the speed and roughness with which the map was made – the merest guide; but it is curious that the dotted line marking the route of the travellers does actually turn strongly south-east towards the pass – as Faramond thought that it had!

Barbara Strachey, writing on this question in *Journeys of Frodo* (Map 17), remarks: 'The mountains bent westward as they went; more so, in my opinion, than appears in the maps of Middle-earth, especially south

of the Redhorn Pass. Frodo said that they then seemed to "stand across the path" that the Companions were taking' (FR p. 295). This is arguable; but the point is strengthened by Gandalf's reply to Pippin, who has said that they must have turned east: 'No, but you see further ahead in the clear light. *Beyond those peaks* [i.e. the Mountains of Moria] *the range bends round south-west*' (FR p. 296). On none of my father's maps is there a change in the direction of the main mountain-chain south of Caradhras. But all show some degree of mountainous extension westwards from the main chain at the point where the Glanduin flows down towards Greyflood: very slight in one (and so represented on my map in LR), more marked on a second, and on the third (the earliest) amounting to a virtual division of the range, with a broad arm of mountains running southwest. On the elaborate map in coloured chalks that I made in 1943 (see p. 200) this is again a strongly marked feature.* It may be that it was to this that Gandalf was referring.

In this connection it may be mentioned that on my map published in LR the mountainous heights shown extending from the main range westwards north of Hollin are badly exaggerated from what my father intended: 'about the feet of the main range there was tumbled an ever wider land of bleak hills, and deep valleys filled with turbulent water' (FR p. 295).

*The map referred to here as 'the earliest' (cf. also p. 202) is my father's original elaborate working map of *The Lord of the Rings* (on which my 1943 map was closely based). This map will be studied in Vol. VII.

XXV
THE MINES OF MORIA

I have little doubt that the first draft of this chapter was written continuously from the end of 'The Ring Goes South', both from internal evidence and external (the nature of the manuscript). But there is also a very interesting two-page 'Sketch of the Mines of Moria chapter' which, I think, immediately preceded the writing of it. This 'Sketch' is extremely difficult to read, and some words can only be guessed at.

Their adventures must be made different from Lonely Mountain. Tunnels leading in every direction, sloping up and running steeply down. stairs. pits. noise of water in darkness.

Gandalf guided mainly by the general sense of direction. They had brought one bundle of torches in case of need, 2 each. Gandalf won't use them until necessary. Faint spark from his staff. Glamdring does not glow, therefore no goblins near.

How far to go. How long will it take. Gandalf reckons at least 2 days, perhaps more. Thought of a night (or two!) in Moria terrifies them. Frodo feels dread growing. Perhaps his adventures with the Ring have made him sensitive. While others are keeping up spirits with hopeful talk he feels the certainty of evil creeping over him, but says nothing. He constantly fancies he hears patter of feet of [?some creature] behind – [?this] is Gollum as it proves long after.

It was about ten o'clock in the morning when they entered. They had had little rest. They went on (with 2 halts) until too weary to go much further. They came to a dark arch leading to 3 passages all leading in same general direction, but the left down, the right up, the centre (apparently) level. Gandalf unable to choose: he does not remember the place.

They halt for the night in a small chamber (almost like a guard-room watching the entrances) just to [?their] left. A deep pit to right. A loose stone falls in. Several minutes before they hear a noise of it reach bottom. After that some of them fancy a far off echo of small knocks at intervals (like signals?). But nothing further happens that night. Gandalf sleeps little trying to choose the road. [?In end] chooses the right hand upward way. They go for nearly 8 hours exclusive of halts.[1]

Come to a great chamber. Door in [?south] wall. Dim light – a [?high ?huge] chimney like shaft slanting up. Far up a gleam of daylight. The gleam falls on a great square table of stone [*written above:* a tomb].

There is another door in west [*written above:* east] wall. There are lances and swords and [? broken lying] by both doors.

The gleam of light shows carved letters. Here lies Balin son of Burin, Lord of Moria. In the recesses are chests and a few swords and shields. Chests empty except one. Here is a book with some dwarf writing.

Tells how Balin came to Moria. Then hand changes and tells how he died – of [?an] arrow that came unawares. Then how 'enemies' invaded the east gates. We cannot get out of the west gates because of the 'dweller in the water'. Brief account of siege. Last scrawl says 'they are coming'.

I think we had better be going, said Gandalf. At that moment there is a noise like a great boom far underneath. Then a terrible noise like a horn echoed endlessly. Gandalf springs to door. Noise like goblin feet.

Gandalf lets out a blinding flash and cries Who comes there? Ripple of . . . . . laughter – and some deep voices.

Gandalf says there are goblins – of very evil kind, larger than usual, real orcs.[2] Also certainly some kind of troll is leading them.

Plan of defence. They gather at east door. But [?south] door is propped ajar with wedges. Great arm and shoulder appear by the . . . . . door. Gandalf hews it with Glamdring. Frodo stabs foot with Sting. Horrible cry. Arrows whistle in through crack.

Orcs leap in but are killed.

[?Boom] as great rocks hit door.

They rush out through east door – opens outwards – and slam it. [?They fly] up a long wide tunnel. Noise soon shows east door is broken down. Pursuit is after them.

Here follows the loss of Gandalf.

In pencil in the margin against the account of the attack on the chamber is written:

Black-mailed orc leaps in and goes for Frodo with spear – he is saved by the elfmail and strikes down the orc.

This is a very striking example of an important narrative passage in *The Lord of the Rings* at its actual moment of emergence. Here as elsewhere many of the most essential elements were present from the first: the junction of three roads, Gandalf's doubt, the guardroom, the

falling stone and the subterranean tapping that followed, the chamber of Balin's tomb, the writing in the book, the troll, and much else. That Gollum should be following them in Moria had been proposed in the outline given on p. 410: 'Gollum must reappear at or after Moria. Frodo hears patter.'

Gandalf's sword *Glamdring* (Foe-hammer), which he took from the trolls' lair and which (so Elrond told him) 'the king of Gondolin once wore', now reappears from *The Hobbit*.

Balin's father (Fundin in *The Hobbit* as in LR) is here surprisingly Burin; this dwarf-name (found in Old Norse) had previously been given to Balin's son, in the first drafts for 'The Council of Elrond' (pp. 395, 397), before he was replaced by Gimli son of Glóin (p. 400).

The story that Bilbo gave Sting and his 'elf-mail' to Frodo before he left Rivendell (FR pp. 290–1) entered in the sketch given on p. 397.

This is not the first reference to the loss of Gandalf; see p. 381, and for the first sketch of the event see p. 462.

This 'Sketch' begins when the Company is already inside Moria. For the story of their approach to the West Gate and the opening of the door there seems to be only the following by way of preparatory outline (though the 'dweller in the water' before the West Gate appears in the 'Sketch', p. 443, in the words of the book found in the chamber of Balin's tomb). It follows and was written at the same time as the sketch of the descent from the Red Pass in the snow (p. 431, note 1).

> Moria's west gates are dwarf-gates (closed like the Lonely Mountain); but openable not at a set time but by a [?special ?speech] spell. Gandalf knows or [?thinks] it must be one of [?three] in ancient tongue – for the Elves of Hollin wrought the spell.
>
> Holly bushes grow before these gates. Then Gandalf knows it is an elf-spell.

I give now the first draft text of the chapter. It was numbered from the outset 'XIV', presumably because my father had decided that 'The Ring Goes South' was a separate chapter and so should be numbered 'XIII', though he never wrote that number on the manuscript. My description of the text of 'The Ring Goes South' (p. 415) can be repeated here still more emphatically. The writing, again in ink not pencil, is even faster and more often indecipherable, the amount of rejected material (often not struck out) even greater; many passages are chaotic. There is also a certain amount of pencilled correction, probably made at different times, and some of it obviously belonging to a later stage. In one case, my father made a quite careful insertion in ink, saying that Gimli was of little help to Gandalf in finding a way through Moria (cf. FR p. 324), though he put

in no mention of Gimli anywhere else. The text is thus difficult to interpret and still more difficult to represent.

It will be seen that the entire story of the attack by the Wargs in the night after the Company came down from the pass (FR pp. 310–13) is absent.

THE MINES OF MORIA

Next day the weather changed again, almost as if it obeyed the orders of some power that had now given up the idea of snow, since they had retreated from Cris-caron. The wind had turned southward in the night. In the morning it was veering west, and rain was beginning to fall. The travellers pitched a tent in a sheltered hollow and remained quiet all the day till the afternoon was drawing towards evening.

All the day they had heard no sound and seen no sign of any living thing. As soon as the light began to fade they started off again. A light rain was still falling, but that did not trouble them much at first. Gandalf and Trotter led them in a detour away from the Mountains, for they planned to come at Moria up the course of a stream that ran out from the feet of the hills not far from the hidden gates. But it seemed that somehow or other they must have gone astray in the dark, for it was a black night under an overcast sky. In any case, they did not strike the stream, and morning found them wandering and floundering in wet and marshy places filled with red pools, for there was much clay in the hollows.[3]

They were somewhat comforted by a change in the weather: the clouds broke and the rain stopped. The sun came out in gleams. But Gandalf was fretted by the delay, and decided to move on again by day, after only a few hours' rest. There were no birds in the sky or other ominous signs. They steered now straight back towards the mountains, but both Gandalf and Trotter were much puzzled by their failure to find the stream.

When they had come back again to the foothills and lower slopes they struck a narrow watercourse in a deep channel; but it was dry, and there was now no water among [the] reddish stones in the bed. There was, however, still something like an open path on the left bank.

'This is where the stream used to run, I feel sure,' said Gandalf. 'Sirannon the Gatestream[4] they used to call it. Anyway our road lies up this course.' The night was now falling, but though they were already tired, especially the hobbits, Gandalf urged them to press on.

'Are you thinking of climbing to the top of the mountains tonight, in time to get an early view of the dawn?' asked Merry.

'I should think of it if there was any chance of doing it!' said Gandalf. 'But no one can scale the mountains here. The gates are not high up, but in a certain place near the foot of a great cliff. I hope I can find it – but things seem oddly changed, since I was last here.'

Before the night was old the moon, now only two days off the full,[5] rose through the clouds that lay on the eastern peaks, and shone fitfully down over the western lands. They trudged on with their weary feet stumbling among the stones, until suddenly they came to a wall of rock some thirty feet high. Over it ran a trickling fall of water, but plainly the fall had once been much stronger. 'Ah! Now I know where we are!' cried Gandalf. 'This is where the Stair-falls were. I wonder what has happened to them. But if I am right there is a stairway cut in the stone at the left: the main path goes further round and up an incline. There is or was a wide and shallow valley above the falls through which the Sirannon flowed.'

Very soon they found the stairway, and followed by Frodo and Trotter Gandalf climbed quickly up. When they got to the top they discovered the reason of the drying up of the stream.

The moon was now sinking westwards. It shone out brightly for a while, and they saw stretched before their feet a dark still lake, glinting in the moonlight. The Gate-stream had been dammed, and had filled all the valley. Only a trickle of water escaped over the old falls, for the main outlet of the lake was now away at the southern end.[6]

Before them, dim and grey across the dark water, stood a cliff. The moonlight lay pale upon it, and it looked cold and forbidding: a final bar to all passage. Frodo could see no sign of any gate or entrance in the frowning stone.

'This way is blocked!' said Gandalf. 'At least it is, as far as can be seen by night. I don't suppose anyone wants to try and swim across by moonlight – or any other light. The pool has an unwholesome look. When it was made or why I do not know, but not for any good purpose, I guess.'

'We must try and find a way round by the main path,' said Trotter. 'Even if there was no lake we could not get our ponies up the narrow stair.'

'And even if we could, they would not be able to go into the Mines,' said Gandalf. 'Our road there under the mountains will take us by paths where they cannot go – even if we can.'

'I wondered if you had thought of that drawback,' said Trotter. 'I supposed you had, though you did not mention it.'

'No need to mention it, until necessary,' answered the wizard. 'We will take them as far as we can. It remains to be seen if the [?other] road is not drowned as well: in which case we may not be able to get at the gates at all.'

'If the gates are still there,' said Trotter.

They had no great difficulty in finding the old path. It turned away from the falls and wound northward for some way, before bending east again, and climbed up a long slope. When they reached the top of this they saw the lake lying on the right. The path skirted its very edge, but was not submerged. For the most part it was just above the water; but in one place, at the northernmost end of the lake, where there was a slimy and stagnant pool, it disappeared for a short distance, before bending south again toward the foot of the great cliff.

When they reached this point Boromir went forward, and found that the path was only just awash. Carefully they threaded their way in single file behind him. The footing was slippery and treacherous; Frodo felt a curious disgust at the very feel of the dark water on his feet.

As Faramond the last of the party stepped onto the dry land, there was a soft sound, a swish followed by a plop, as if a fish had disturbed the still surface of the water. Turning swiftly they saw in the moonlight ripples sharpened [?with] dark shadows: great rings were widening outwards from some point near the middle of the pool.[7] They halted; and at that very moment the light went out, as the moon fell and vanished into low clouds. There was a soft bubbling noise in the lake, and then silence.

It was too dark to seek for the gate in that changed valley, and the rest of the night the travellers spent unhappily, sitting watchful between the cliff and the dark water which they could no longer see. None of them slept more than briefly and uneasily.

But with the morning their spirits revived. Slowly the light reached the lake: its dark surface was still and unruffled by any breeze. The sky was clear above, and slowly the sun rose above the mountains at their back, and shone on the western lands before them. They ate a little food, and rested for a while after the cheerless night, until the sun reached the south and its warm rays slanted down, driving away the shadows of the great wall behind. Then Gandalf stood up and said that it was high time to begin to search for the gates. The strip of dry land left by the lake was quite

narrow, and their path took them close under the face of the cliff. When they had gone for almost a mile southward they came to some holly-trees. There were stumps and dead logs rotting in the water – the remains of old thickets, or of a hedge that had once lined the submerged road across the drowned valley. But close under the cliff there stood, still living and strong, two tall trees with great roots that spread from the wall to the water's edge. From far across under the other side in the fitful moon Frodo had thought them mere bushes on piles of stone: but now they towered above his head: stiff, silent, dark except for their clustered berries: standing like sentinels or pillars at the end of a road.

'Well, here we are at last!' said Gandalf. 'This is where the elf-way from Hollin ended. The holly-trees were planted by the elves in the old days to mark the end of their domains – the westgates were made chiefly for their use in their traffic with the dwarves. This is the end of our path – and now I am afraid we must say farewell to our ponies. The good beasts would go almost anywhere we told them to; but I do not think we could get them to go into the dark passages of Moria. And in any case there are behind the west gate many steep stairs, and many difficult and dangerous places where ponies could not pass, or would be a perilous handicap. If we are to win through we must travel lighter. Much of the stuff we have brought against bitter weather will not be wanted inside, nor when we get to the other side and turn south.'

'But surely you aren't going to leave the poor beasts in this forsaken place, Mr Gandalf!' protested Sam, who was specially fond of ponies.

'Don't you worry, Sam! They'll find their way back home in time. They have wiser noses even than most of their kind, and these two have returned to Elrond from far away before now. I expect they'll make off west and then work back northward through country where they can find grass.'

'I'd be happier if I might lead them back past the wash and down to the old falls,' said Sam, '– I'd like to sort of say goodbye and set them on the road as it were.'

'Very well, you can,' said Gandalf. 'But first let us unlade them and distribute the goods we mean to keep.'

When each member of the party had been given a share according to his size – most of the foodstuffs and the waterskins – the remainder was secured again on the ponies' backs. In each bundle Gandalf put a brief message to Elrond written in secret runes, telling him of the snowstorm and their turning aside to Moria.

Then Sam and Trotter led the horses off.

'Now let us have a look at the gates!' said Gandalf.[8]

'I do not see any gates,' said Merry.

'Dwarf-gates are not made to be seen,' said the wizard. 'Many are quite invisible, and their own masters cannot find them if their secret is lost. But these gates were not made to be wholly[9] secret, and unless things are altogether changed eyes that know what to look for may discover the signs. Let us go and see!'

He strode forward to the cliff-wall. There was a smooth space right in the middle of the shade of the trees, and over this he passed his hands to and fro, muttering words under his breath. Then he stepped back. 'Look!' he said. 'Can you see anything now?' The sun shone across the face of the wall, and as the travellers stared at it, it seemed to them that on the surface where Gandalf's hand had passed faint lines appeared like slender veins of silver running in the stone; at first they seemed like pale threads of gossamer so fine as only to be seen fitfully where the sun caught them; but slowly they broadened and their design could be guessed. At the top, as high as Gandalf could reach, was an arch of interlacing letters in the elvish character; below it seemed (though the drawing was in places blurred and broken) that there was the outline of an anvil and hammer, and above that a crown and a crescent moon. More clearly than all else there shone forth palely three stars with many rays.[10]

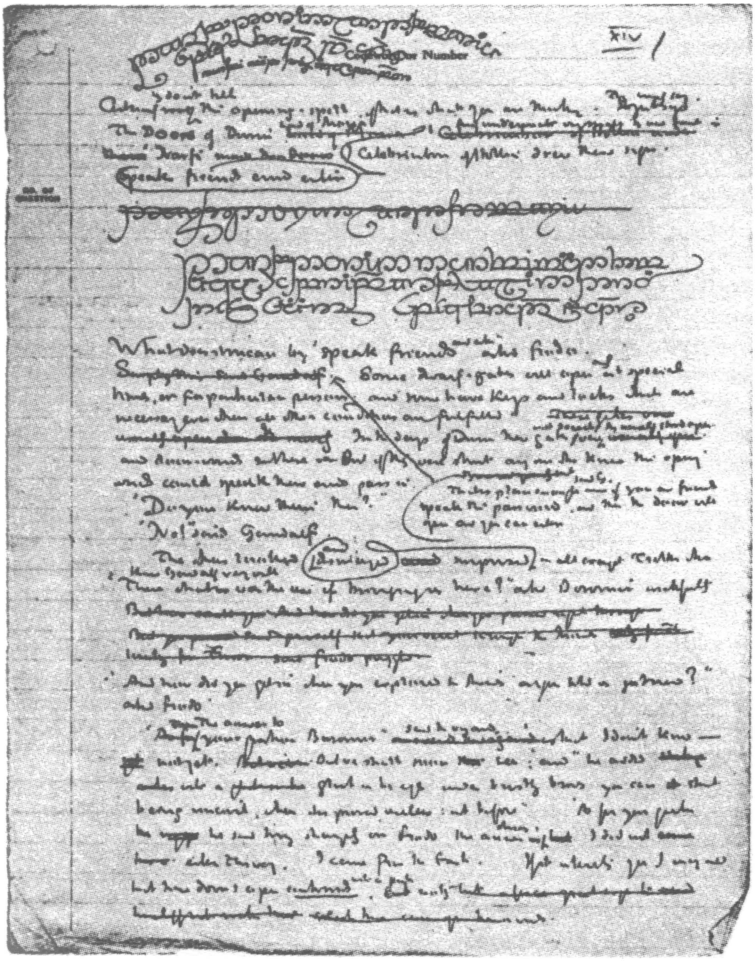
'Those are the emblems of Durin and of the Elves,' said Gandalf. 'They are of some silver substance that is seen only when touched by one who knows certain words – at night under the moon they shine most bright.[11] Now you can see that we have certainly found the west gate of Moria.'

'What does the writing say?' asked Frodo, who was trying to puzzle out the inscription. 'I thought I knew the elf-letters, but I cannot read these, they are so tangled.'

'The words are in the elf-tongue, not in ordinary language,' said Gandalf. 'But they do not say anything of much importance to us. Certainly they don't tell the opening-spell, if that is what you are thinking. They merely say: The Doors of Durin Lord of Moria. Speak friends and enter. And underneath very small and now faint is: Narfi made them.[12] Celebrimbor of Hollin drew these signs.'

'What does it mean by "speak friends and enter"?' asked Frodo.

'That is plain enough,' said Gandalf, '– if you are friends speak the password, and then the door will open and you can enter. Some dwarf-gates will open only at special times, or for particular



The inscription of the West Gate of Moria

persons; and some have keys and locks which are necessary even when all other conditions are fulfilled. In the days of Durin these gates were not secret: they usually stood open and door-wards sat here. But if they were shut anyone who knew the opening words could speak them and pass in.'

'Do you know them then?'

'No!' said Gandalf.

The others looked surprised and dismayed – all except Trotter, who knew Gandalf very well. 'Then what was the use of bringing us here?' asked Boromir wrathfully.

'And how did you get in when you explored the Mines, as you told us just now?' asked Frodo.

'The answer to your question, Boromir,' said the wizard, 'is that I don't know – not yet. But we shall soon see; and,' he added, with a glint in his eyes under bristling brows, 'you can start being uncivil, when it is proved useless: not before. As for your question,' he said, turning sharply on Frodo, 'the answer is obvious: I did not enter this way. I came from the East. If it interests you I may add that these doors open *outwards* with a push, but nothing can open them inwards. They can swing out, or they can be broken if you have enough force.'

'What are you going to do then?' asked Merry,[13] who was not much disturbed by Gandalf's bristling brows; and in his heart hoped that the doors would prove impossible to open.

'I am going to try and find the opening words. I once knew every formula and spell in any language of elves, dwarves, or goblins that was ever used for such purposes. I can still remember two or three hundreds without racking my brains. But I think only a few trials should be necessary. The opening words were in Elvish, like the written words – I feel certain: from the signs on the doors, from the holly trees, and because of the use for which the road and gates were originally made.' He stepped up to the rock and lightly touched with his wand the silver star that was near the middle of the emblems, just above the crown.

Annon porennin diragas·venwed
diragath·telwen porannin nithrad[14]

he said. The silver letters faded, but the grey blank stone did not stir. Many many times he tried other formulas one after another, but nothing further happened. Then he tried single words spoken in commanding tones, and finally (seeming to lose his temper) he

shouted *Édro, édro!* and followed it with *open!* in every language he could remember. Then he sat down in silence.

Boromir was smiling broadly behind his back. 'It looks as if we may be wanting those ponies back,' he said in an undertone. 'It would have been wiser to have kept them till the gates were open.'[15] If Gandalf heard he made no sign.

Suddenly in the silence Frodo heard a soft swish and bubble in the water[16] as on the evening before, only softer. Turning quickly he saw faint ripples on the surface of the lake – and at the same time saw that Sam and Trotter in the distance [were] crossing the wash on their return. The ripples on the water seemed to be moving in their direction.

'I don't like this place,' said Merry, who had also seen the ripples. 'I wish we could go back, or that Gandalf would do something and we could go on – if we must.'

'I have a queer feeling,' said Frodo slowly, '– a dread either of the gates or of something else. But I don't think Gandalf is defeated: he is thinking hard, I fancy.'

It appeared that Frodo was right; for the wizard suddenly sprang to his feet with a laugh. 'I have it!' he cried. 'Of course, of course! Absurdly simple – when you think of it!' Raising his wand he stood before the rock and said in a clear voice: *Mellyn!* (or *Meldir!*)[17]

The three stars shone briefly and went out again. Then silently a great door was outlined, though not the finest crack or joint had been visible before. Slowly it began to swing outwards, inch by inch until it lay right back against the wall.[18] Behind, the foot of a shadowy stairway could be seen climbing up into the gloom within. All the party stood and stared in wonder.

'I was wrong after all,' said Gandalf. 'The opening word was inscribed there all the time. *Speak friends and enter* it said, and when I spoke the elvish word for *friends*, it opened. Quite simple! And now we can enter.'

But at that moment Frodo felt something seize his ankle and he fell. At the same moment Sam and Trotter who had just come back gave a yell as they ran up. Turning suddenly the others saw that a long arm, sinuous as a tentacle, was thrust out from the lake's dark edge. It was pale green-grey and wet: its fingered end had hold of Frodo's foot and was dragging him towards the water.

Sam dashed up with a drawn knife and slashed at it. The fingers let go of Frodo and Sam dragged him away; but immediately the waters of the lake began to heave and boil, and twenty more

writhing arms came rippling out, making for the travellers as if directed by something in the deep pools that could see them all.

'Into the gateway! Quick! Up the stairs!' shouted Gandalf, rousing them from the horror that had held them rooted.

There was just time. Gandalf saw them all inside, and then sprang back upon the heels of Trotter, but he was no more than four steps up when the crawling fingers of the dweller in the pool reached the cliff.[19]

He paused. But if he was pondering how to close the door, or what word would move them from within, there was no need. For the arms seized the door, and with dreadful strength swung it round. With a shattering echo it slammed behind them; and they halted on the stairs in dismay as the sounds of rending and crashing came dully through the stones from outside. Gandalf ran down to the door and thrust up . . . . and spoke the . . . . words;[20] but though the door groaned it did not stir.

'I am afraid the door is blocked behind us now,' he said. 'If I guess right, the trees are thrown down across it, and boulders have been rolled against it. I am sorry for the trees – they were beautiful and old and had . . . . . so long.[21] Well now, we can only go on – there is nothing left to do.'

'I am mighty glad I saw those poor beasts safe first,' said Sam.

'I felt that something evil was near,' said Frodo. 'What was it, Gandalf?'

'I could not say,' said Gandalf, '– there was not time enough to look at the arms. They all belong to one creature, I should say, from the way they moved – but that is all I can say. Something that has . . . . . crept, or been driven out of the dark waters under ground, I guess. There are older and fouler things than goblins in the dark places of the world.' He did not speak aloud his uncomfortable thought that the Dweller in the Pool had not seized on Frodo among all the party by accident.[22]

Gandalf now went ahead and allowed his wand to glow faintly to prevent them from walking into unseen dangers in the dark. But the great stairway was sound and undamaged. There were two hundred steps, broad and shallow; and at the top they found the floor level before them.

'Let us have something to eat here on the landing, since we can't find a dining-room,' said Frodo. He had recovered from the terror of the clutching arm, and was feeling unusually hungry. The idea was welcome to all. After they had eaten Gandalf again gave them a taste of the cordial.

'It won't last much longer,' he said, 'but I think we need it after that business at the gate. And we shall need all that is left before we get through, unless we have luck. Go carefully with the water too! There are streams and wells in the Mines, but they should not be touched. We shan't get a chance of filling our bottles till we come down in Dunruin.'[23]

'How long are we going to take to get through?' asked Frodo.

'I don't know that,' answered Gandalf. 'It all depends. But going straight (without mishaps, or losing our way) we should take at least three or four marches. It cannot be less than forty miles from West-doors to Eastgate in a straight line, and we may not find the most direct passages.'

They rested now only for a short while, as all were eager to get the journey over as quickly as possible, and were willing, tired as they were, to go on still for several hours. They had no fuel or means of making torches, and would be obliged to find the way mostly in the dark.[24] Gandalf went in front holding in his left hand his wand, the pale light of which was sufficient to show the ground before his feet. In his right hand he held the sword Glamdring, which he had kept ever since it was discovered in the trolls' lair.[25] No gleam came from it – which was some comfort; for being a sword of ancient elvish make it shone with a cold light, if goblins were at hand.

He led them forward first along the passage in which they had halted. As the light of his wand dimly lit their dark openings other passages and tunnels could be seen or guessed: sloping up, or running steeply down, or turning suddenly round hidden corners. It was most bewildering. Gandalf was guided mainly by his general sense of direction: and anyone who had been on a journey with him knew that he never lost that by dark or day, underground or above it: being better at steering in a tunnel than a goblin, and less likely to be lost in a wood than a hobbit, and surer of finding the way through night as black as the Pit than the cats of Queen Beruthiel.[26] Had that not been so, it is more than doubtful if the party would have gone a mile without disaster. For there were not only many paths to choose from, there were in many places pits at the sides of the tunnel, and dark wells in which far under the gurgling of water could be heard. Rotting strands of rope dangled above them from broken winches. There were dangerous chasms and fissures in the rock, and sometimes a chasm would open right across their path. One was so wide that Gandalf himself nearly stumbled into it. It was quite ten feet wide, and Sam stumbled in

his jump and would have fallen back on the further bank if Frodo had not grabbed his hand and [?jerked] him forward.

Their march was slow, and it began to feel never-ending. They grew very weary; and yet there was no comfort in the thought of halting anywhere. Frodo's spirits had risen for a while after his escape from the water-monster; but now a deep sense of disquiet, growing to dread, crept over him once more. Though he had been healed in Rivendell of the knife stroke, it is probable that that grim adventure had left its mark, and that he was specially sensitive; and in any case he it was that bore the Ring upon its chain against his breast.[27] He felt the certainty of evil ahead, and of evil following. But he said nothing.

The travellers spoke seldom and then only in hurried whispers. There was no sound but the sound of their own feet. If they stopped for a moment they heard nothing at all, unless it were occasionally a faint sound of water trickling or dripping. Only Frodo began to hear or imagine that he heard something else: like the faint fall of soft feet following. It was never loud or near enough for him to feel certain that he heard it; but once it had started it never stopped, unless they did. And it was not an echo, for when they halted (as they did from time to time) it pattered on for some time, and then grew still.

It was about 10 o'clock in the morning when they entered the Mines.[28] They had been going for many hours (with brief halts) when Gandalf came to his first serious doubt. They had come to a wide dark arch opening into three passages: all three led in the same general direction, East, but the left hand passage seemed to plunge down, the right hand to climb up, while the middle way seemed to run level (but was very narrow).

'I have no memory of this place at all!' said Gandalf, standing uncertainly under the arch. He held up his wand in the hope of finding some direction marks or an inscription that might help. But nothing of the kind was to be seen.

'I am too tired to choose,' he said, shaking his head; 'and I expect you are all as weary as I am or wearier. We had better halt here for the night – if you know what I mean. It is all night of course inside, but outside I fancy the night is already come. It is quite ten hours since we left the gate.'[29]

They groped about in the darkness looking for a place where they could rest with some feeling of security. To the left of the great arch was a lower opening, and when they explored it closer they discovered that it was a stone door that was half closed, but swung

back easily to a gentle thrust. Beyond there seemed to be a chamber or chambers cut in the rock.

'Steady, steady!' said Gandalf as Merry and Faramond pushed forward, glad to find somewhere where they could rest with some sort of security. 'Steady! You don't know what may be inside. I will go first.'

He went cautiously in followed by the rest. 'There!' he said, pointing with his wand to the middle of the floor. They saw before their feet a round hole like the mouth of a well. Rotting strands of rope lay at the edge and trailed down into the dark pit; fragments of broken stone lay near.

'One of you might have fallen in and still be waiting to hit the bottom,' said the wizard to Merry. 'Look before your feet! This seems to have been a kind of guard-room placed to watch those passages,' he went on. 'The hole I expect is a well, and was doubtless once covered with a stone lid. But that is broken now, and you had better be careful of the fall.'

Sam[30] felt curiously attracted by the well; and while the others were making beds of blankets in dark corners of the room, as far as possible from the well, he crept to the edge and peered over. A chill air seemed to mount up to his face from the invisible depths. Moved by a sudden impulse, he groped for a loose stone, and let it drop.

It seemed almost a whole minute before there was any sound – then far below there was a *plunk*, as if the stone had fallen into deep water in a cavernous place – very distant, but magnified and repeated in the hollow rock.

'What's that?' cried Gandalf. He was relieved when Sam confessed what he had done; but he was angry, and Sam could see his eyes glint in the dark. 'Fool of a fellow!' he growled. 'This is a serious journey, not a hobbit school treat. Throw yourself in next time, and then you'll be no further nuisance. Now be quiet!'

There was nothing to hear for several minutes; but then there came out of the depths faint knocks, that stopped, and were dimly echoed, and then after a short silence were repeated. It sounded strangely like signals of some sort. But after a while the knocks died away altogether and were heard no more.

'It may have nothing to do with that stone,' said Gandalf; 'and in any case it may have nothing to do with us – but of course it may be anything. Don't do anything like that again. Let's hope we get some rest undisturbed. You Sam can go on the first watch. And stay near the door, well away from the well,' he grunted, as he rolled himself in a blanket.

Sam sat miserably by the door in the pitch dark, but kept on turning round, for fear some unknown thing should crawl out of the well. He wished he could cover the hole, if only with a blanket; but he dared not go near, even though Gandalf seemed to be snoring.

Gandalf was actually not asleep, and the snores came from Boromir, who lay next him. The wizard was thinking hard again trying to recall every memory he could of his former journey in the Mines, and trying to make up his mind about the next course to take. After about an hour he got up and came over to Sam.

'Get into a blanket and have a sleep, my lad!' he said in a more kindly tone. 'You could sleep, I guess. I can't, so I may as well do the watching.'

'I know what is the matter with me,' he muttered. 'I need a pipe; and I think I'll risk it.' The last thing Sam saw before sleep took him was a vision of the old wizard squatting on the floor shielding a blazing chip in his gnarled hands between his knees. The flicker for a moment showed his sharp nose and the puffs of smoke.

It was Gandalf who roused them all from sleep. He had watched all alone for about six hours and let the others rest. 'And in the meantime I have made up my mind,' he said. 'I don't like the feel of the middle way, and I don't like the smell of the left hand – there is foul air down there, or I am no guide. I shall take the right hand way – it's time we began to go up again.'

For eight dark hours, not counting two brief halts, they marched on, and met no danger, and heard nothing and saw nothing but the faint gleam of the wizard's light bobbing like a will-o'-the-wisp in front of them. The passage they had chosen wound steadily upwards, going, as far as they could judge, in great curves, and growing steadily wider. On neither side were there now any openings to other galleries or tunnels, and the floor, though rough in many places, was sound and without pits or cracks. They went quicker than the day before, and must have covered some twenty miles or more, perhaps fifteen in a straight line eastwards. As they went upwards Frodo's spirits rose a little; but still he felt oppressed, and still at times he heard or thought he heard away behind and through the patter of their own feet a following footfall that was not an echo.

They had gone nearly as far as the hobbits could endure without rest and sleep, and they were all thinking of a place to halt for the night, when suddenly the walls to right and left vanished. They halted. Gandalf seemed well pleased. 'I think we have reached the

habitable parts,' he said, 'and are no great way from the eastern side. I can feel a change in the air, and guess we are in a wide hall. I think I will risk a little light.'[31]

He raised his wand and for a brief moment it blazed out like a flash of lightning. Great shadows leapt up and fled, and for a second or two they saw a vast roof high above their heads. On every side stretched a huge empty hall with straight hewn walls. Four entrances they glimpsed: dark arches in the walls: one at the west by which they had come, one before them in the east, and one on either side. Then the light went out.

'That is all I shall venture on for the present,' said the wizard. 'There used to be great windows on the mountain-side, and shafts leading out to the light and the upper reaches of the mines. I think that is where we are. But it is night now, and we cannot tell till morning. If I am right, tomorrow we may actually see the morning peeping in. But in the meanwhile we had better go no further without exploration. There will still be a good way to go before we are through – the East Gates are on a much lower level than this, and it is a long road down. Let us rest if we can.'

They spent that night in the great empty hall, huddled in a corner to escape the draught – there seemed to be a steady flow of chill air in through the eastern archway. The vastness and immensity of the tunnels and excavations filled the hobbits with bewilderment.[32] 'There must have been a mighty tribe o' dwarves here at one time,' said Sam; 'and every one as busy as a badger for a hundred years to make all this – and most in hard rock too. What did they do it all for? They didn't live in these darksome holes, surely?'

'Not for long,' said Gandalf;[33] 'though the miners often took long spells underground, I believe. They found precious metals, and jewels – very abundantly in the earlier days. But the mines were most renowned for the metal which was only found here in any quantity: Moria-silver, or true-silver as some call it. *Ithil*[34] the Elves call it, and value it still above gold.[35] It is nearly as heavy as lead, and malleable as copper, but the dwarves could by some secret of theirs make it as hard as steel. It surpasses common silver in all save beauty, and even in that it is its equal. In their day the dwarflords of Urukthar bun[36] were more wealthy than any of the Kings of Men.'

'Well, *we* haven't clapped eyes on any kind of silver since we came in,' grunted Sam; 'nor any jewels neither. Nor on any dwarves.'

'I don't think we are likely to until we get further up[37] and nearer to the eastern entrances,' said Gandalf.

'I hope we do find dwarves in the end,' said Frodo. 'I would give a great deal to see old Balin. Bilbo was fond of him and would be delighted to have news of him. He visited him in Hobbiton once long ago, but that was before I went to live there.'

But these words carried his thoughts far away from the darkness; and memories of Bag-end while Bilbo was still there crowded [?thickly] into his mind. He wished with all his heart that he was back there, mowing the lawn, or pottering among the flowers, and that he had never heard of the Ring.[38] It was his turn to watch. As silence fell and one by one the others fell asleep he felt the strange dread assail him again. But though he listened endlessly through the slow hours till he was relieved he heard no sound of any footfall. Only once, far away where he guessed the western archway stood, he fancied he saw two pale points of light – almost like luminous eyes. He started – 'I must have nearly fallen asleep,' he thought; 'I was on the edge of a dream.' He rubbed his eyes and stood up, and remained standing peering into the dark until he was relieved by Merry. He quickly fell asleep, but after a while it seemed to him in his dream that he heard whispers, and saw two pale points of light approaching. He woke – and found that the others were speaking softly near him, and that a dim light was actually falling on his face. High up above the eastern arch, through a shaft near the roof, came a grey gleam. And across the hall through the northern arch light also glimmered faint and distantly.

Frodo sat up. 'Good morning!' said Gandalf. 'For morning it is again at last. I was right, you see. Before today's over we ought to get to the Eastern Gate and see the waters of Helevorn in the Dimrilldale before us.'[39]

All the same the wizard felt some doubt as to their exact position – they might be far to the north or the south of the Gates. The eastern arch was the most likely exit to choose, and the draught that flowed through it seemed to promise a passage leading before long to the outer air; but beyond the opening there was no trace of light. 'If I could only see out of one of these shafts,' he said, 'I should know better what to do. We might wander backwards and forwards endlessly, and just miss the way out. We had better explore a little before we start. And let us go first towards the light.'

Passing under the northern arch they went down a wide

corridor and as they went the glimmer of light grew stronger. Turning a sharp corner they came to a great door on their right. It was half open, and beyond there was a large square chamber. It was only dimly lit, but to their eyes, after so long in the dark, it seemed almost dazzlingly light, and they blinked as they entered. Their feet disturbed deep dust and stumbled amongst things lying on the floor within the doorway whose shapes they could not at first make out.

They saw now that the chamber was lit by a wide shaft high up in the far wall – it slanted upwards and far above a small square patch of sky could be seen where it issued outwards. The light fell directly on a table in the midst of the chamber, a square block some three feet high upon which was laid a great slab of whitened stone.

'It looks like a tomb!' [muttered >] thought Frodo, and went forward to look at it more closely with a curious sense of foreboding. Gandalf came quickly to his side. On the slab was deeply cut in Runes:[40]

BALIN SON OF BURIN LORD OF MORIA

Gandalf and Frodo looked at one another. 'He is dead then. I feared it somehow,' said Frodo.

Although the outline for the story of the passage of Moria continues well beyond this point (p. 443), this first draft of the narrative stopped here. My father pencilled some barely legible notes on the blank remainder of the page, and years later (when, as I think, the page had become detached from the rest of the chapter: see note 40) he deciphered them as follows.

Balin son of *Burin* was changed to Balin son of *Fundin*, as in *The Hobbit* (see p. 444).

At the end of the narrative in ink is written, as in FR: 'Gimli cast his hood over his face.'

'Runes of ?Dwarves'

'(they) look about and see broken swords and ?axe-heads and cloven shields'

'The ?trodden book is bloodstained & tossed in a corner. Only some can be read. Balin was slain in ?fray in Dimrill dale. They have taken the gates they are coming'

On the back of the page is a first scribbled sketch of a 'Page of Balin's Book' (see note 40).

It may be that my father did not at this time feel that he had reached the end of a chapter, and intended to continue the story; but it is known from his own words in the Foreword to the Second Edition (1966), in which he set down some recollections of the stages in the writing of the book, that he stopped for a long time at precisely this point. He said there that by the end of 1939 'the tale had not yet reached the end of Book I' (and it is clear that he referred to Book I of FR, not to Volume I of *The Lord of the Rings*); and that

> In spite of the darkness of the next five years I found that the story could not now be wholly abandoned, and I plodded on, mostly by night, till I stood by Balin's tomb in Moria. There I halted for a long while. It was almost a year later when I went on and so came to Lothlórien and the Great River late in 1941.

This can only mean that the story was broken off in Moria late in 1940.

It seems impossible to accommodate these dates to such other evidence as exists on the subject. I think it extremely probable, even virtually certain, that these last chapters, taking the story from Rivendell to Moria, belong to the latter part of 1939; and indeed my father himself said, in a letter to Stanley Unwin dated 19 December 1939, that he had 'never quite ceased work' on *The Lord of the Rings*, and that 'it has reached Chapter XVI' (*Letters* no. 37). The chapter-numbers at this stage are unfortunately so erratic that the evidence they provide is very difficult to use; but when it is observed that the number 'XV' was pencilled on the original manuscript of 'The Council of Elrond', and that the chapter which afterwards continued the story from the point where the present text ends – originally called 'The Mines of Moria (ii)' and afterwards 'The Bridge of Khazad-dûm' – is numbered 'XVII', it seems probable that it was to 'The Mines of Moria' that my father referred in the letter of December 1939. In any case 'Chapter XVI' could not by any reckoning be one of the chapters of Book I in FR. I feel sure, therefore, that – more than a quarter of a century later – he erred in his recollection of the year. But it would be out of the question that he should err in his recollection that he 'halted for a long while by Balin's tomb in Moria.' Internal evidence in any case suggests that the 'wave' of composition which had carried the story from the Council of Elrond to the chamber of Balin's tomb came to an end here. All subsequent texts rest on a developed form of the Council and a different composition of the Company of the Ring.

There this history halts also. But before ending there remains another outline scrap, found on the same isolated page as bears the preliminary sketches for the descent from the Red Pass (p. 431, note 1) and the spell that held the West Gate of Moria (p. 444). It is in fact a continuation of the 'Sketch of the Moria chapter' given on pp. 442–3, which ends with the words: 'Pursuit is after them. Here follows the loss of Gandalf.' Written in a faint pencilled scribble it is extremely difficult to read.

They are pursued by goblins and a B[lack] R[ider] [*written above:* a Balrog] after escaping from Balin's Tomb – they come to a bridge of slender stone over a gulf.

Gandalf turns back and holds off [?enemy], they cross the bridge but the B[lack] R[ider] leaps forward and wrestles with Gandalf. The bridge cracks under them and the last they see is Gandalf falling into the pit with the B[lack] R[ider]. There is a flash of fire and blue light up from abyss.

Their grief. Trotter now guides party.

(Of course Gandalf must reappear later – probably fall is not as deep as it seemed. Gandalf thrusts Balrog under him and so . . . . . and eventually following the subterranean stream in the gulf he found a way out – but he does not turn up until they have had many adventures: not indeed until they are on [?borders] of Mordor and the King of Ond is being beaten in battle.)

This seems to show clearly that before ever the story of the fall of Gandalf from the Bridge of Khazad-dûm was written, my father fully intended that he should return.

NOTES

1 To this point the text of this 'Sketch' was struck through, but the remainder was not.

2 See p. 437, note 35; and cf. the corresponding passage in FR (p. 338), where Gandalf says: 'There are Orcs, very many of them. And some are large and evil: black Uruks of Mordor.'

3 In FR (p. 313) the Company moved south towards Moria by day, and they 'wandered and scrambled in a barren country of red stones. Nowhere could they see any gleam of water . . .'

4 My father first wrote here (changing it at once): '*Caradras dilthen* the Little Redway'. For *Caradras* as the name of the river Redway (later Silverlode) on the other side of the Mountains see p. 433, note 15.

5 It was now the night of 5 December, and full moon was on the 7th (see p. 434, note 19).

6 This sentence was enclosed within square brackets, and the concluding words 'from whence they heard the splash of running water' struck out. These changes belong with the writing of the manuscript.

7 Though the word 'pool' is used, the reference is clearly to the lake and not to the 'pool' which they had just walked through. The 'soft bubbling noise' comes from the 'lake'.

8 The whole passage from 'Well, here we are at last' on p. 448 to this point is a rider on a slip, replacing the following in the original text:

> 'Here is the gate,' said Gandalf. 'This is where the road from Hollin ended, and the elves planted these trees in old days; for the west-gates were made chiefly for their use in their traffic with the dwarves.'

The replacement certainly belongs with the first writing of the chapter, for the dispatch of the ponies by Sam and Trotter is subsequently referred to in the text as written.

9 The word 'wholly' is enclosed in square brackets.

10 In FR (p. 318) the hammer and anvil are 'surmounted by a crown with seven stars', and 'more clearly than all else there shone forth in the middle of the door a single star with many rays.' The original draft has no mention of the two trees bearing crescent moons.

11 In FR the inscription on the doors is of *ithildin* which mirrors only starlight and moonlight (p. 318). In this original draft, of course, the time-scheme is different – the middle of the day, not early night (see note 28).

12 This was first written: 'Narfi made the Doors'.

13 Merry replaced Frodo, who replaced Boromir; it was apparently said of Boromir that he was not much disturbed by Gandalf's bristling brows, and that he secretly wished that the doors might stay shut.

14 I cannot interpret this. In FR (p. 320) Gandalf's invocation means: Elvish gate open now for us; doorway of the Dwarf-folk listen to the word [*beth*] of my tongue.'

15 The text of this passage, from 'Then he sat down in silence', as first written read:

> Only Trotter seemed troubled. Boromir was smiling broadly behind his back. Sam ventured to whisper in Frodo's ear: 'I've never seen old Gandalf at a loss for words before,' he said. 'It looks as if we were not *meant* to pass these gates, somehow.'
>
> 'I have a feeling of dread,' said Frodo slowly, 'either of the gates or of something else. But I do not think Gandalf is beaten – he is thinking hard, I fancy.'

Subsequently Sam's whispered speech to Frodo was given to Merry, with the addition: 'He ought not to have sent off the ponies till he got them open.'

16 Written in pencil here: 'Sound of wolves far off at same time as swish in water'. But this would have been added when the time of their entry into the Mines had been altered; cf. FR p. 321 and note 28.

17 These words were struck out in pencil and the form *Melin* substituted. In the *Etymologies* (V.372), stem MEL, are given Noldorin *mellon* and *meldir* 'friend', and also Quenya *melin* 'dear'.

18 In FR there are two doors; and despite the single door described here, the inscription bears the words 'The Doors of Durin'; Gandalf

tells them: 'these doors open outwards, but nothing can open them inwards. They can swing out, or they can be broken . . .'

19 As first written (and not struck out) this passage read: 'They had just time; Trotter who came last was not more than four steps up when the arms of the creature in the water came feeling and fingering the wall.'

20 In the first of these lacunas the text seems to read *in it*, or possibly *with* (in which case *his wand* was omitted; cf. FR p. 322, 'he thrust his staff against the doors'). In the second, the word looks like *open* (perhaps for *opening*).

21 The illegible word is just a series of wiggles; certainly not *stood*, the word here in FR. Just possibly, *survived*.

22 The actual reading here is '– not by accident'. The sentence was enclosed in square brackets at the time of writing, but a similar sentence remains in FR.

23 *Dunruin* replaced, apparently at the time of writing, *Carondoom* (see p. 433, note 13). Subsequently *Dimrilldale* was written in in pencil.

24 This sentence was a replacement (to all appearance made at the time of writing; see note 31) of: 'In the confusion of the attack at the Westgate some of the bundles and packages had been left on the ground; but they had still with them one bundle of torches which they had brought with them in case of need, but never yet used.'

25 The words following *Glamdring* are enclosed in square brackets. Glamdring has appeared in the 'Sketch' for the chapter; see pp. 442–4.

26 This sentence was changed in the act of writing, the successive stages not being crossed out: 'than any cat that ever walked', 'than is the cat of Benish Armon', 'than the cats of Queen [?Tamar >] Margoliantë Beruthiel' – both these names being left to stand.

27 The original passage that follows here was enclosed in square brackets and later struck out in pencil:

> While the others were trying to keep up their spirits with hopeful talk, and were asking whispered questions concerning the lands [*struck out:* of Dunruin and Fangorn] beyond the mountains, the vale of Redway, the forest of Fangorn, and beyond, he felt the certainty . . .

This derives from the 'Sketch' for the chapter (see p. 442).

28 In the 'Sketch' (p. 442) it is said, as here, that 'it was about 10 o'clock in the morning' when they entered the Mines. This does not agree with what is said on p. 447, that when 'the sun *reached the south*' Gandalf 'stood up and said that it was high time to begin to search for the gates', and the sun was shining across the face of the cliff when he made the signs appear. This suggests that the door was opened in the early afternoon. The sentence in the text here was altered in pencil to 'five o'clock in the evening', but it is hard to say

to what form of the story this refers. In FR it was fully dark – 'the countless stars were kindled' – when they entered the Mines (pp. 320, 326), and though it was early December it was surely after five o'clock. A few lines below in the present text, however, another change in the time-scheme clearly introduces that of FR; see note 29.

29 The words 'the night is already come' were changed in pencil to 'the night is already old'; and the following sentence, which had been enclosed in square brackets, was struck out. As written, the text agrees with the story that they went into the Mines at about ten in the morning – it would now be about 8 p.m. (see note 28). As changed, it agrees with FR, p. 326 ('outside the late Moon is riding westward and the middle-night has passed').

30 'Sam' replaced 'Merry' at the time of writing, since at the end of this episode it is Sam, not changed from Merry, who takes the first watch as a punishment for casting the stone into the well.

31 This passage was much changed in the course of composition. At first 'Gandalf allowed two torches to be lit to help in exploration. Their light found no roof, but was sufficient to show that they had come (as they had guessed) into a wide space high and broad like a great hall.' It has however been said, by a change apparently made during the initial composition (see note 24), that they had neither torches nor means of making them.

32 The passage in FR p. 329 from 'All about them as they lay hung the darkness . . .' to 'the actual dread and wonder of Moria' was first drafted in the margin of the manuscript here, perhaps quite soon after the writing of the main text.

33 'Gandalf' is an early emendation from 'Trotter', and in the following speech.

34 *Ithil* is an early, perhaps immediate, change from *Erceleb*.

35 This passage was changed in the act of writing from:

> – very abundantly in the earlier days, and especially the silver. Moria-silver was (and still is) renowned; and many held it a precious

This is where the conception of *mithril* first emerged, though not yet the name (see note 34). The reference to *mithril* in *The Hobbit* (Chapter XIII, 'Not at Home') entered in the third edition of 1966: until then the text read: 'It was of silvered steel, and ornamented with pearls, and with it went a belt of pearls and crystals.' This was changed to: 'It was of silver-steel, which the elves call *mithril*, and with it went a belt of pearls and crystals.'

36 Against *Uruktharbun* is pencilled *Azanulbizâr*, which in FR is the Dwarvish name of Dimrill-dale. If *Uruktharbun* is Moria (and the next revision of this text has 'the dwarflords of Khazad-dûm'), *Azanulbizâr* may have been intended to replace it and to have referred at first to Moria; on the other hand, my father may perhaps

have wished to name the 'dwarflords' as lords in the Dimrill-dale. It may be mentioned that placed in this manuscript, though written on different paper and presumably belonging to a later stage when Gimli had become a member of the Company, is a sheet of primary workings for his song in Moria; and in these occur the lines:

When Durin came to Azanûl
and found and named the nameless pool.

In notes written years later (after the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*) my father observed that 'the interpretation of the Dwarf names (owing to scanty knowledge of Khuzdul) is largely uncertain, except that, since this region [i.e. Moria and Dimrill-dale] was originally a Dwarf-home and primarily named by them, the Sindarin and Westron names are probably in origin of similar senses.' He interpreted (hesitantly) *Azanulbizar* as containing ZN 'dark, dim', *ûl* 'streams', and *bizar* a dale or valley, the whole thus meaning 'Vale of Dim Streams'.

The name *Khazad-dûm* had already appeared in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.274), where it was the name of the Dwarf-city in the Blue Mountains which the Elves called *Nogrod*.

37 The word *up* here is odd (and my father later put a query against it), since the statement that the East Gates were on a much lower level than the great hall where they now were is part of the original composition.

38 This passage survives in FR (pp. 331–2), but there Frodo's thoughts turn to Bilbo and Bag End for a different reason – the mention by Gandalf of Bilbo's corslet of mithril-rings. Moria-silver had only just emerged (note 35), and the connection with Bilbo's mailcoat had not been made.

39 In the previous chapter the name *Dimrilldale* appears as a correction (p. 433, note 13), together with the first mention of the lake in the dale, there called *Glassmere*; *Mirrormere* is named on the map reproduced on p. 439. The Elvish name *Helevorn* (in the *Etymologies*, V.365, translated 'black-glass') given to it here had appeared in the *Quenta Silmarillion* as the name of the lake in Thargelion beside which dwelt Cranthir, son of Fëanor. No other Elvish name for Mirrormere is recorded in published writing, but in the notes referred to in note 36 my father said that the Sindarin name, not given in LR, was in fact *Nen Cenedril* 'Lake Looking-glass'. Translating *Kheled-zâram* as 'probably "glass-pool"', he noted: '*kheled* was certainly a Dwarf word for "glass", and seems to be the origin of Sindarin *heleð* "glass". Cf. Lake *Hele(ð)vorn* near the Dwarf-regions in the north of Dor Caranthir [Thargelion]: it means "black glass", and is probably also a translation of a Dwarf-name (given by the Dwarves: the same is probably the case in the Moria region) such as *Narag-zâram* (that NRG was Khuzdul for "black" is seen in the Dwarf-name for Mordor: *Nargûn*).'

40 As the manuscript of this chapter was found among my father's papers it ended at the foot of a page, at the words 'a great slab of whitened stone' on p. 460. I had assumed that this was where my father broke off, until, a few days before the typescript of this book was due to go to the printers, I came most unexpectedly upon a further page, beginning at the words '"It looks like a tomb!" thought Frodo', which had evidently been separated from the rest of the chapter long ago, on account of the inscriptions. It was of course too late to reproduce these in this book, but an account of the runic alphabets as my father conceived them at this time and of the writing on Balin's tomb and in the Book of Mazarbul will, I hope, be published in Volume VII.

It may be noticed here, however, that it was at this point that my father decided to abandon the Old English (or 'Hobbit') runes and to use the real runes of Beleriand, which were already in a developed form. The inscription on the tomb (*Balin Son of Burin Lord of Moria*) was first written in the former, and then immediately below in 'Angerthas', twice, with the same words but in runes that differ in certain points.

On the back of this newly discovered page, and as I think very probably dating from the same time, is a very roughly pencilled design of a 'Page of Balin's Book', in runes representing English spelt phonetically, which reads thus:

> We drove out the Orcs fro(m) . . . guard
> . . . . (f)irst hall. We slew many under the bright sun
> in the dale. Flói was killed by an arrow . . . . . .
> We did . . . . . .
> . . . . . We have occupied the twenty-first hall of
> . . . . . north end. There there is . . . . . .
> . . . . . shaft is . . . . . .
> (B)alin has set up his chair in the chamber of Mazar
> bul . . . . . Balin is Lord of
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And on the right-hand bottom corner of the page, torn off from the rest, is the name *Kazaddūm*.

INDEX

This Index is made on the same lines as those of the previous volumes, but the extreme fluidity of names in this case, especially among the hobbits, has proved taxing, as a glance at the entries under *Took* will show. The complexity of the matter to be indexed scarcely allows of a consistent presentation.

Certain names appear constantly throughout the book, and where possible I have reduced the more intimidating blocks of references by using the word *passim* to mean that a name is missing only from a single page here and there in a long series.

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~ *Vigo* Odo's grandfather. 317.
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THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE-EARTH

Volume 6

CHRISTOPHER TOLKIEN

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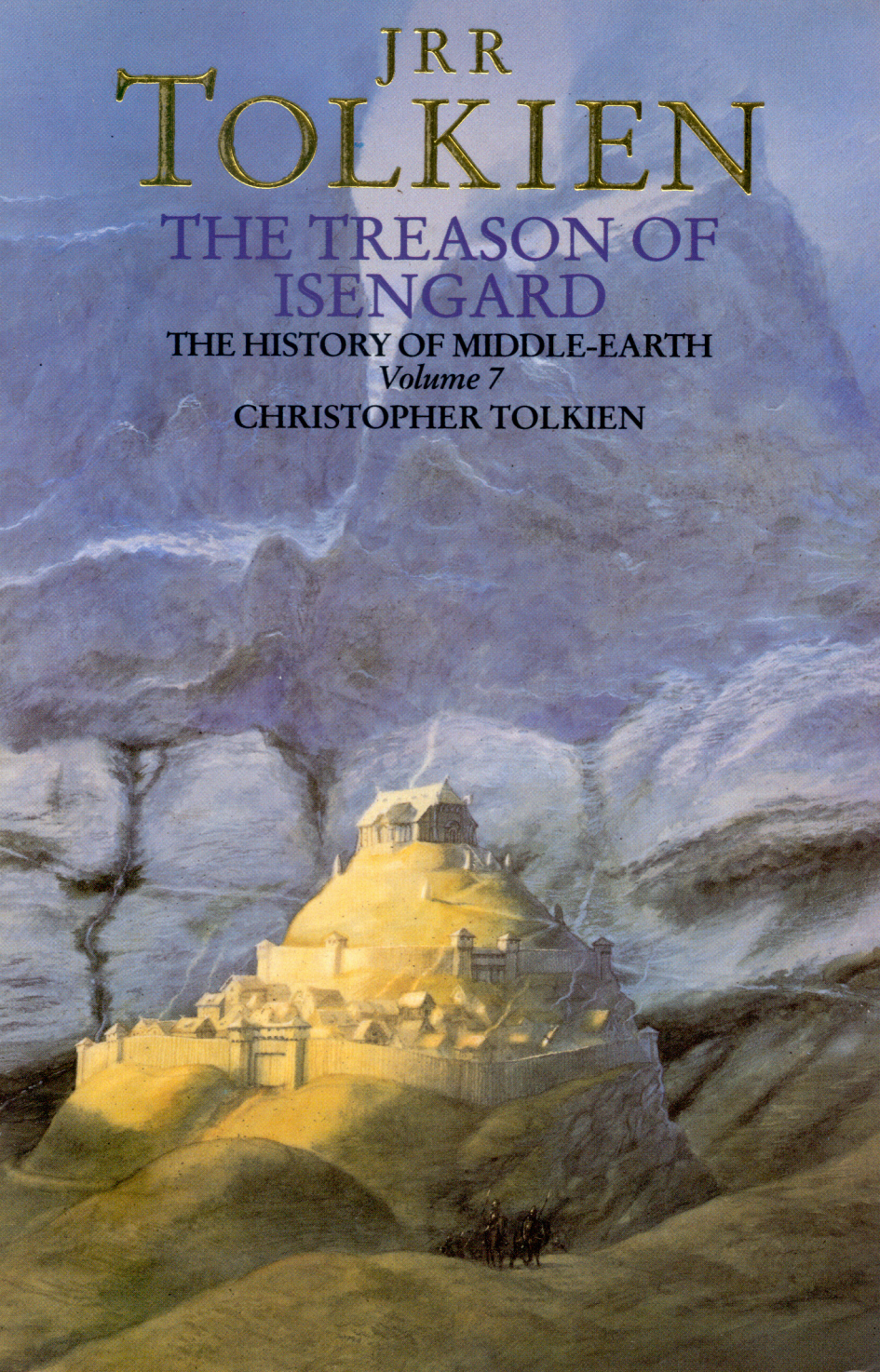
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THE TREASON OF ISENGARD
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Volume 7
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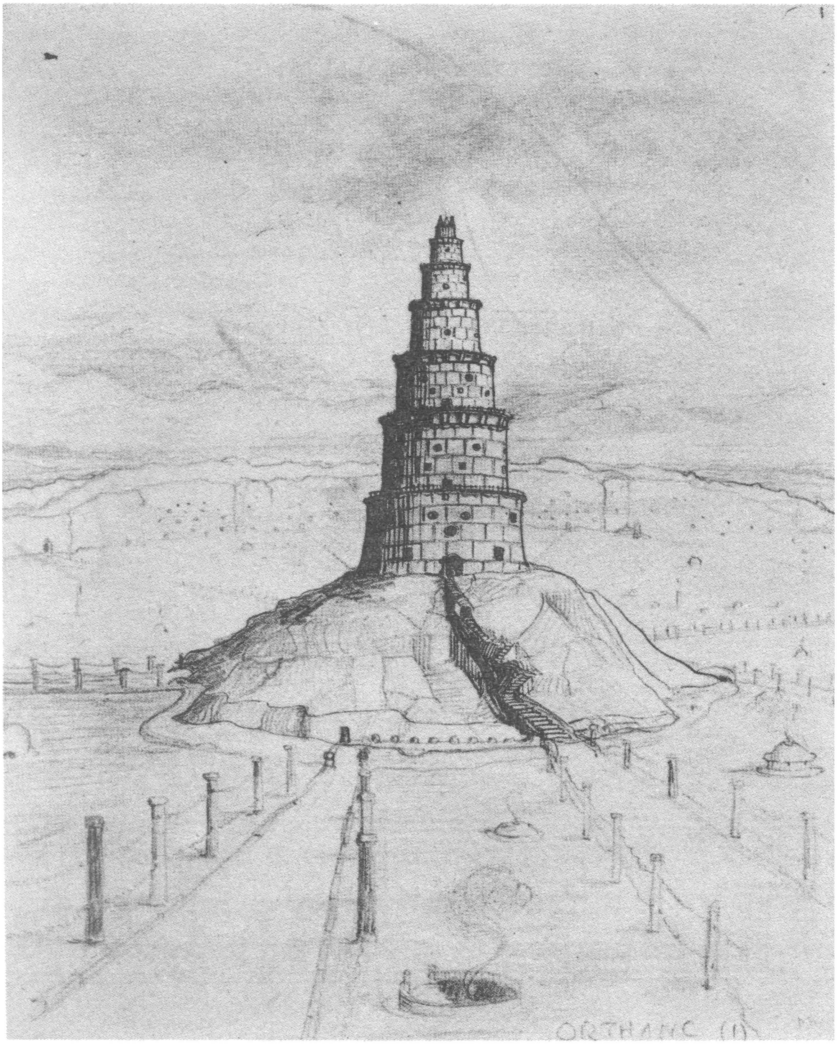
THE HISTORY OF THE LORD OF THE RINGS, PART TWO



THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE-EARTH

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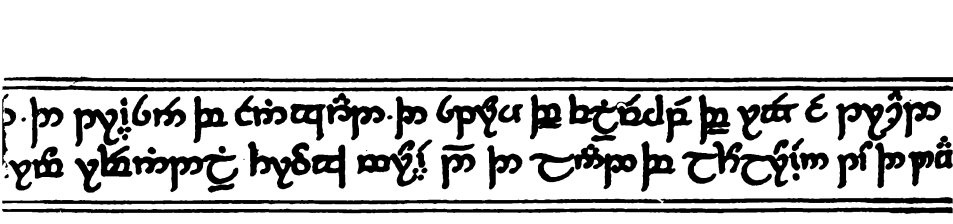

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Part Two

CHRISTOPHER TOLKIEN

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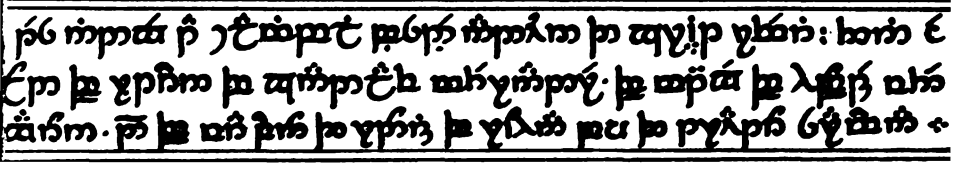

HarperCollins*Publishers*
77–85 Fulham Palace Road,
Hammersmith, London W6 8JB

This paperback edition 1993
9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

Previously published in paperback by Grafton 1992

First published in Great Britain by
Unwin Hyman 1989
© Unwin Hyman Limited 1989

™ © 1990 Frank Richard Williamson
and Christopher Reuel Tolkien,
executors of the estate of the late
John Ronald Reuel Tolkien.

ISBN 0 261 10220 6

Printed in Great Britain by
HarperCollinsManufacturing Glasgow

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FOREWORD

In 'The History of Middle-earth' I have tried to make each book as much an independent entity as possible, and not merely a section cut off when the book had reached a certain size; but in the history of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* this has proved difficult. In *The Return of the Shadow* I was able to bring the story to the point where my father, as he said, 'halted for a long while' while the Company of the Ring stood before the tomb of Balin in the mines of Khazad-dûm; but this meant leaving till later the further complex restructurings of earlier parts of *The Fellowship of the Ring* that belong to that period.

In this volume my hope and intention was to reach the second major halt in the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*. In the Foreword to the Second Edition my father said that in 1942 he 'wrote the first drafts of the matter that now stands as Book III [the story from 'The Departure of Boromir' to 'The Palantír'], and the beginnings of Chapters 1 and 3 of Book V ['Minas Tirith' and 'The Muster of Rohan']; and there as the beacons flared in Anórien and Théoden came to Harrowdale I stopped. Foresight had failed and there was no time for thought.' It seems to have been around the end of 1942 that he stopped, and he began again ('I forced myself to tackle the journey of Frodo to Mordor') at the beginning of April 1944, after an interval of well over a year.

For this reason I chose as a title for this book *The Treason of Isengard*, that being a title my father had proposed for Book III (the first Book of *The Two Towers*) in a letter to Rayner Unwin of March 1953 (*The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien* no. 136). But I have found repeatedly that a history of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* tends to set its own pace and scale, and that there comes a sort of critical point beyond which condensation of the intricacies of the evolving structure is not possible, without changing the nature of the enterprise. Finding that the story was not moving rapidly enough to reach the great ride of Gandalf with Pippin on Shadowfax before I ran out of space, I rewrote a great part of the book in an attempt to shorten it; but I found

that if I rejected material as being less essential or of less interest I was always confronted at a later point with the need for explanations that destroyed my gains. Finally I decided that 'The King of the Golden Hall' does in fact provide a very suitable stopping-place, not in terms of the movement of composition but in terms of the movement of the story; and I have retained the title *The Treason of Isengard*, because that was the central new element in this part of *The Lord of the Rings*, even though in this book the account of the destruction of Isengard and the reward of Saruman's betrayal is only reached in a preliminary outline.

Of course it would be possible to shorten my account very considerably by treating such matters as the chronology and geography far more superficially, but as I know well there are some who find these often exceedingly complex questions of great interest, and those who do not can easily pass them by. Or I might have omitted some passages of original writing where it is not very distinctively different from the published work; but it has been my intention throughout this 'History' that the author's own voice should be largely heard.

The way in which *The Return of the Shadow* was constructed has meant that the first part of *The Treason of Isengard* must deal at some length with further developments in *The Fellowship of the Ring* up to the point reached in the first book, and this part is of necessity a continuation of the account in *The Return of the Shadow* and stands in very close relation to it – though most of the many page-references made to it are no more than references and need not be looked up in order to follow the discussion.

This book is again very largely descriptive in intent; and in general I have thought it more useful to explain why I believe the narrative to have evolved as I describe it than to enlarge on my own views of the significance of particular features.

As the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* proceeds the initial draftings become more and more difficult to read; but for obvious reasons I have not hesitated to try to present even the most formidable examples, such as the original description of Frodo's vision on Amon Hen (pp. 372–3), though the result must be peppered all over with dots and queries.

In the preparation of this book I have again been greatly indebted to the help of Mr Taum Santoski generously and unfailingly given, and to that of Mr John D. Rateliff who has

assisted in the analysis of manuscripts in the possession of Marquette University. I thank also Mr Charles B. Elston, the Archivist of the Memorial Library at Marquette, for providing photographs of the designs on the West Gate of Moria and the inscription on Balin's Tomb, and Miss Tracy Muench, who has been responsible for the photocopying of many manuscripts.

Mr Charles Noad very kindly undertook an additional and independent reading of the proofs, together with a meticulous checking of all references and citations from published works. In this connection I must explain, what I should have explained in *The Return of the Shadow*, a perhaps rather misleading device that I have employed in these books: when relating an earlier text to the published form I often treat passages as identical although the wording actually differs in unimportant ways. Thus for example (p. 370) 'Sam broke in on the discussion... with "Begging your pardons, but I don't think you understand Mr Frodo at all" (FR p. 419)' is not a misquotation of *The Fellowship of the Ring* (which has '"Begging your pardon," said Sam. "I don't think you understand my master at all"'), but a 'shorthand' by which I indicate the precise point in *The Fellowship of the Ring* but also cite accurately the reading of the earlier text. I do this also when relating successive early versions to each other.

The illustration of Orthanc in the Ring of Isengard reproduced as the frontispiece is the earliest of successive conceptions of the tower, and may be taken to represent my father's image of it at the time when the texts in this book were written. It was done on the back of an examination script in 1942, and was found, together with other drawings, among the original drafts of 'The Road to Isengard'. The evolution of Orthanc will be described in Volume VIII, but it seemed suitable to use this picture as the frontispiece to *The Treason of Isengard*.

As in *The Return of the Shadow*, when citing texts I follow my father's representation of names, which was very inconsistent, especially in the use of capital letters. I abbreviate *The Fellowship of the Ring* as FR, *The Two Towers* as TT, and *The Lord of the Rings* as LR; and I refer to the previous volumes in this 'History', listed on the title-page, as (e.g.) 'II.189, V.226'.

I take this opportunity to explain an error in *The Return of the Shadow* (not present in the first American printing). After correction of the second proofs, lines 11–12 on page 32 of that

book came to be repeated in lines 15–16 in place of the correct text, which should read:

Bingo's last words, 'I am leaving after dinner', were corrected on the manuscript to 'I am leaving now.'

I
GANDALF'S DELAY

In *The Return of the Shadow*, after citing and discussing the remarkable notes and plot-outlines bearing the date August 1939 (Chapter XXII: 'New Uncertainties and New Projections'), I turned to the continuation of the story at Rivendell and after, as far as Moria. But at this time (towards the end of 1939) my father was also engaged in substantial further revision to what ultimately became Book I of *The Fellowship of the Ring* (FR), arising primarily from a changed story of Gandalf's movements, and an explanation of his delay. I doubt that it would be possible to deduce a perfectly clear and coherent, step-by-step chronology of this period in the narrative evolution, or to relate precisely the development of the early chapters of what became Book II to the new work on Book I; for my father moved back and forth, trying out new conceptions and then perhaps abandoning them, and producing such a tangle of change as cannot always be untied: and even if it could be, it would require a vast amount of space to make it all remotely comprehensible without the manuscripts. However, granting that many uncertainties remain, I do not think that they constitute a real impediment to understanding the development in all essentials.

Most of this new work on the story as far as Rivendell can be treated in terms of the individual chapters, but some outlines, time-schemes, and notes are best collected together, though I cannot certainly determine the order in which they were set down. These are the subject of this chapter.

(1) This slip of paper begins 'State of Plot assumed after XI. (Much of explanation in XII and of incident in Bree chapter will have to be rewritten.)' The reference is clearly to Chapter XII 'The Council of Elrond', which at this stage included the narrative afterwards separated off as 'Many Meetings' (see VI.399–400). Then follows:

> Bilbo gives Party and goes off. At that time he does not know anything about the ring's powers or origin (other than invisibility). Motive writing book (bring in his wry expression about 'living happily to end of [his] days') – and a restlessness: desire to see either Sea or Mountains while his days last. Confesses to a slight reluctance to leave the ring, mixed with an oddly opposite feeling. Says to Gandalf he sometimes feels it is like an eye looking at [him].

These two things give Gandalf food for thought. He helps Bilbo therefore with his preparations – but keeps an eye on the Ring.

(Cut out a lot of the genealogical stuff and most of the Sackville-Baggins stuff.)

Then Gandalf goes off and is absent for 3 and 7 years. At the end of the last absence (14–15 years after Bilbo's disappearance) Gandalf returns and actually stays with Frodo. Then he explains what he has discovered. But he does *not* advise Frodo yet to go off, though he does mention the Cracks of Doom and the Fiery Mountain.

He departs again; and Frodo becomes restless. As Gandalf does not come back for a year and more Frodo forms the idea of going *perhaps* to the Cracks of Doom, but at any rate to Rivendell. There he will get advice. He finally makes his plans with his friends Merry and [Folco >] Faramond[1] (no Odo) and Sam. They go off just as the Black Riders come to Hobbiton.

Gandalf finds out about the Black Riders but is delayed, because the Dark Lord is hunting him (or because of Treebeard). He is alarmed at finding Frodo gone and immediately rides off to Buckland, but is again too late. He loses their trail owing to the Old Forest escapade, and actually gets ahead. He falls in with Trotter. Who is Trotter?

At the end of this sketch my father for a moment contemplated an entirely novel answer to this question: that Trotter was 'a disguised elf – friend of Bilbo's in Rivendell.' He was one of the Rivendell scouts, of whom many were sent out, and he 'pretends to be a ranger'. This was struck out, probably as soon as written.

If this is compared with the note dated August 1939 given in VI.374 it will be seen that a passage in the latter bears a distinct similarity to what is said here:

> Gandalf does *not* tell Frodo to leave Shire ... The plan for leaving was entirely Frodo's. Dreams or some other cause [*added:* restlessness] have made him decide to go journeying (to find Cracks of Doom? after seeking counsel of Elrond). Gandalf simply vanishes for years. ... Gandalf is simply trying to *find* them, and is desperately upset when he discovers Frodo has left Hobbiton.

That Treebeard was a hostile being, and that he held Gandalf in captivity during the crucial time, appeared in the 'third phase' Chapter XII (VI.363); cf. also VI.384, 397.

(2) In another undated scrap is seen the actual emergence of 'Trotter's' true name – as a Man: *Aragorn*.

> Trotter is a man of Elrond's race descendant of [*struck out at once:* Túrin][2] the ancient men of the North, and one of Elrond's house-

hold. He was a hunter and wanderer. He became a friend of Bilbo. He knew Gandalf. He was intrigued by Bilbo's story, and found Gollum.[3] When Gandalf went off on the last perilous quest – really to find out about Black Riders and whether the Dark Lord would attack the Shire – he [> Gandalf and Bilbo] arranged with Trotter (real name [*other unfinished names struck out in the act of writing:* Bara / Rho / Dam] Aragorn son of Aramir) to go towards the Shire and keep a lookout on the road from East (Gandalf was going South). He gives Aragorn a letter to Frodo. Aragorn pretends he is a Ranger and hangs about Bree. (He also warns Tom Bombadil.)

Reason of wooden shoes – no need in this case because Aragorn is a man.[4] Hence there is no need for Gandalf...[5] The cache of food at Weathertop is Aragorn's. Aragorn steers them to Weathertop as a good lookout.

But how could Trotter miss Gandalf?

What delayed Gandalf? Black Riders or other hunters. Treebeard.

Aragorn did not miss Gandalf and arranged tryst on Weathertop.

At the end is written very emphatically and twice underlined: NO ODO.

The likeness of what is said of Trotter/Aragorn here (he was a man of Elrond's race and household, he became a friend of Bilbo's, and he 'pretends he is a Ranger') to the proposal at the end of §1 (Trotter was 'a disguised elf', one of the Rivendell scouts, a friend of Bilbo's in Rivendell, and he 'pretends to be a ranger') may suggest that the one arose directly from the other. On the other hand, my father had still not finally decided the question; for on the reverse of this piece of paper and undoubtedly at the same time he wrote:

Alternative function for Trotter. Trotter is Peregrin Boffin that Bilbo took away with him or who ran off with Bilbo – but this rather duplicates things – unless you cut out all Frodo's friends.[6]

If Trotter is Peregrin Boffin then Bilbo must go off quietly and Peregrin simply vanish *about the same time.*

This is followed by a brief passage sketching a rough narrative on these lines:

There was peace in Hobbiton for many years. Gandalf came seldom and then very quietly and mainly to visit Bilbo. He seemed to have given up trying to persuade even [?young] Tooks to go off on mad adventures out of the Shire. Then suddenly things began to happen. Bilbo Baggins disappeared again – that is hardly exact: he walked off without saying a word except to Gandalf (and to his nephews Peregrin and Frodo,[7] it may be supposed). It was a great blow to Frodo. He found Bilbo had left everything he possessed to himself and Peregrin. But Peregrin also disappeared, leaving a will in which his share

Here these notes end, the idea abandoned. Perhaps it was here that Trotter ceased finally to be a hobbit, Peregrin Boffin.

(3) A page of clear notes in ink, agreeing in part with features of §1 and §2, is headed optimistically *Final decisions. Oct. 8 1939.* This was subsequently emended in pencil, but I give it first as it was written.

> (1) General plot as at present. Bilbo vanishes at party (but all that chapter will have to be reduced, especially the Sackville-Baggins business). (Begin with a conversation between Bilbo and Frodo?)[8]
> (2) Gandalf *not* expected by Frodo. Gandalf had not been seen for 2/3 *years*. Frodo grew restless and went off – although Gandalf had really not wished him to go till he returned.
> (3) When Bilbo went Gandalf *not* sure of nature of Ring. Bilbo's longevity had made him suspicious – and he induced Bilbo *not* to take Ring with him. Bilbo had no idea that Ring was dangerous – hence simplify all Bilbo's motives, and remove the difficulty of his burdening Frodo with it.
> (4) Frodo's friends are Meriadoc Brandybuck and Peregrin Boffin called Merry and Perry (only; no Odo). Peregrin drops off at Crickhollow. Merry at Rivendell. Sam only goes on to end.
> (5) Trotter is not a hobbit but a real *ranger* who had gone to live in Rivendell after much wandering. Cut out shoes.

In (4) it is seen that despite the decision – which was indeed final – that Trotter was a Man, 'Peregrin Boffin' survived the loss of his *alter ego*, remaining an intimate of the owner of Bag End in a later generation; and for a brief moment may be said to step into the shoes of Odo Bolger – since he 'drops off at Crickhollow'.

Pencilled emendations were made to (4) and (5). To (4) was first added: 'Peregrin stays at Hobbiton and tells Gandalf.' This was struck out, and the first sentence of the note was changed to read: 'Frodo's friends are Meriadoc Brandybuck and Ham [ilcar] Bolger and Faramond Took, called Merry, Ham, and Far', with the further addition: 'Ham drops off at Crickhollow, but is picked up by Gandalf and used as a decoy. ?' (On this see under §6 below, p. 13.) Thus once more 'Odo Bolger' will bounce back, but now under the name of Hamilcar of that ilk. 'Hamilcar' has appeared hitherto only in a note dated August 1939, where it is proposed that 'Odo' be changed to 'Hamilcar' or 'Fredegar' (VI.373). 'Peregrin Boffin' disappears again – but only temporarily.

To (5) was added in pencil, after 'a real *ranger*': 'descendant of Elendil. Tarkil.' The name *Tarkil* appears in the *Etymologies* in V.364 (stem KHIL 'follow'): **tāra-khil*, in which the second element evidently bears the sense 'mortal man' (*Hildi* 'the Followers', an Elvish name for Men, V.245).

(4) A page of very rough notes in pencil, covered with emendations

and additions, is dated 'Autumn 1939' and headed *New Plot*. There now enters a very important development: a far more explicit account of what had caused Gandalf's delay than anything that has been said hitherto; and the evil figure of 'Giant Treebeard', his captor, disappears – though not for good (see p. 72).

> Time Scheme won't work out for Gandalf to be ahead.
> (1) Crickhollow scene – only Hamilcar [*struck out:* or Folco][9] there. He blows horn and startles the Riders' horses, which bolt. They run out of the house, and find a way[10] as the hue and cry wakes.
> (2) Gandalf is *behind* at Bree. He knows Trotter (real name Aragorn). Trotter helped him track Gollum. He brings Trotter back in April 1418 to keep watch especially S.E. of Shire. It was a message of Trotter's in July (?) that took Gandalf away[11] – fearing Black Riders. He meets Trotter at Sarn Ford.[12] He then tells him of Frodo's intended departure on Sept. 22. Begs him to watch East Road in case anything happens to Gandalf himself. He visits Bree on way back to Shire on Sept. [*date illegible*]. But is pursued and tries to get round to west of Shire.
>
> Black Riders pursue them [*read* him] – Gandalf has insufficient magic to cope with Black Riders unaided, whose king is a wizard. They pursue him over Sarn Ford and he cannot (or dare not) go back to Shire.
>
> Eventually he is besieged in the *Western Tower*. He cannot get away while they guard it with five Riders. But when Black Riders have located Frodo and found that he has gone off without Gandalf they ride away. Three are ahead. Three follow Frodo, but miss him and get ahead at Bree. Three come behind.[13] Gandalf follows after – meets Peregrin [*written above*: news from Gaffer].

The remainder of this outline is a very rough and much corrected chronology of Gandalf's subsequent movements, which is best considered together with other chronologies of this time (§6).

A remarkable feature of this 'New Plot' is the date April 1418, for this is the first appearance of any 'exterior' chronology; moreover 1418 is the year in LR, Appendix B – according to the Shire Reckoning, i.e. 3018 of the Third Age. At the present time, at any rate, I am unable to cast any light on the chronology underlying this date, or to make any suggestion as to the process by which it had arisen.

(5) On the reverse of the page bearing this 'New Plot' is a series of notes on unconnected topics.

(1) Some mention of Bill Ferney's pony. Does this remain at Rivendell? [The question is answered 'Yes'.]
(2) Real name of Trotter? [Pencilled against this: 'Aragorn'. See §§ 2, 4.]

(3) Elrond should tell more of Gilgalad?
(4) New name of Dimrilldale (now transferred to South). River Hoarwell flowing out of ? Hoardale. Nen fimred. Wolfdale [*written above:* Entishdale]. The region west of the Misty Mountains north of Rivendell is called the Entishlands – home of Trolls.[14]
(5) Gandalf says Tom Bombadil never leaves his own ground. How then known to Butterbur? Tom's boundaries are from Bree to High Hay?[15] [Against the words 'How then known to Butterbur?' my father pencilled 'Not'.]
(6) Trotter is a Ranger – descendant of Elendil? – he is known to Bilbo, and Gandalf. He has previously been to Mordor and been tormented (caught in Moria). Gandalf brought him back towards borders of Shire in April. It was a message from Trotter that fetched Gandalf away in summer before Frodo left.
(7) Note Frodo's red sword is broken. Hence he accepts Sting.[16]

A final note was added in pencil: '(8) Not *Barnabas* Butterbur.' – In the remarks about Trotter here the only point that has not appeared in notes already given is that Trotter was captured in Moria: cf. the original story of the Council of Elrond (VI.401): 'Trotter had tracked Gollum as he wandered southwards, through Fangorn Forest, and past the Dead Marshes, until he had himself been caught and imprisoned by the Dark Lord.' It is seen here that the story of Trotter's capture and torturing survived his change from hobbit to man.

Since Trotter's real name is not yet known these notes evidently preceded those in §2 and §4; but no doubt they all come from the same time.

(6) *Time-schemes.* In this section I attempt to present four chronologies of Gandalf's movements, which I label A, B, C, D. A is the conclusion of the 'New Plot' given in §4 above, and was probably the first to be set down. The schemes vary among themselves, each one giving slightly different chronologies; and it is hard to be sure to what extent the story differed in each, since my father was more explicit and less explicit at different points in the different schemes. They were working chronologies, much confused by alternatives and additions, and they cannot be usefully reproduced as they stand, but in the table on p. 12 I set out comparatively the (final) dates in each, with statements in the original wording or closely based on it. The dates of Frodo's journey from Hobbiton to Weathertop remain of course unchanged, but I repeat them here for convenience:

Thurs. Sept.	22	Frodo's party
Fri.	23	Frodo and his friends leave Hobbiton
Sat.	24	Night with the Elves
Sun.	25	Farmer Maggot; reach Crickhollow
Mon.	26	Old Forest; first night with Bombadil

Tues.		27	Second night with Bombadil
Wed.		28	Leave Bombadil; Barrow-downs
Thurs.		29	Reach Bree
Fri.		30	Leave Bree; in Chetwood
Sat.	Oct.	1	In Chetwood
Sun.		2	In the Midgewater Marshes
Mon.		3	Second day in the Marshes
Tues.		4	Camp by stream under alders
Wed.		5	Camp at feet of the hills
Thurs.		6	Reach Weathertop; attack at night

Notes on the Time-schemes (table on p. 12).

The relative chronology of Gandalf's movements is much the same in all four, though the actual dates differ; but in C he takes longer from Hobbiton to Crickhollow, and in D he takes a day less from Bree to Weathertop. In A and B the date of Gandalf's escape from the Tower was first given as 24 September, the night that Frodo and his companions passed with the Elves in the Woody End, and in B there is a suggestion, struck out, that Frodo 'dreamt his dream at night with the Elves'; as is seen from the other schemes, he dreamed of Gandalf in the Western Tower. In C it is said that Frodo dreamt of the Tower when 'with the Elves near Woodhall', but against this my father wrote: 'No – at Crickhollow'; he also noted here that the attack on Crickhollow should be told on the night of *The Prancing Pony* (whence the 'doubled' opening of FR Chapter 11, 'A Knife in the Dark'). In D the placing of Frodo's 'vision of Gandalf' or 'Dream of the Tower' hesitates between the night he spent with the Elves, the night at Crickhollow, and the first night at Bombadil's house. – For the remarkable history of the dream see pp. 33–6.

The mention in A and B of Gandalf's meeting with Peregrin Boffin (Perry) at Hobbiton after his escape belongs with the addition made to the 'final decisions' given in §3 above: 'Peregrin stays at Hobbiton and tells Gandalf.' This was a short-lived idea – indeed already in the 'New Plot' (§4) my father scribbled in here 'news from Gaffer': a reference to the story that will appear in the next phase of work on 'The Council of Elrond' (p. 135; FR p. 276).

Scheme A makes no mention of what happened at Crickhollow, but the 'New Plot' that precedes it begins with the statement that only Hamilcar Bolger was there, and that the horses of the Riders bolted when he blew a horn: which presumably means that the attack took place before Gandalf arrived. An addition to B (contradicting the chronology of that scheme) says that

> The Black Riders creep into Buckland, but too late to see Frodo depart. They track him to Crickhollow and guard it, and see Gandalf enter. But Gandalf (and Ham pretending to be Frodo) burst out on night of Sept. 29.

Journeys of Gandalf

	A	B	C	D
Sun. Sept. 25	Escapes from Tower	Escapes from Tower at dawn	Leaves White Tower at dawn	
Tues. Sept. 27		Reaches Hobbiton; sees Perry Boffin (morning)	Reaches Hobbiton	
Wed. Sept. 28	Reaches Hobbiton; sees Perry Boffin	Reaches Crickhollow late		Returns to Shire
Thurs. Sept. 29	Crickhollow	Leaves Crickhollow early, goes to Bombadil	Reaches Crickhollow via Bridge, evening. Riders attack at night	Riders attack Crickhollow; carry off Ham, pursued by Gandalf (midnight)
Fri. Sept. 30	Leaves Crickhollow, goes to Bombadil	Leaves Bombadil, reaches Bree late, 'very tired'	Dawn: breaks out with Ham and 'rides off' to Bombadil	Early morning: rescues Ham, goes to Bombadil
Sat. Oct. 1	Leaves Bombadil; reaches Bree	Leaves Bree early	Reaches Bree in evening	Leaves Bombadil early, reaches Bree
Sun. Oct. 2	Leaves Bree in morning		Leaves Bree	Leaves Bree with Ham early
Mon. Oct. 3		Reaches Weathertop late		Reaches Weathertop in evening. Holds out during night
Tues. Oct. 4	Breaks through Riders and reaches Weathertop	Pursued by Riders leaves Weathertop early	Reaches Weathertop in evening. Leaves during night	Flies from Weathertop pursued by Riders

With this cf. the addition to §3 above: 'Ham drops off at Crickhollow, but is picked up by Gandalf and used as a decoy.' Scheme C says that it was at dawn on the 30th (the morning on which the hobbits left Bree with Trotter after the attack on the inn) that 'Gandalf broke out with Ham'; he then 'rode off to Tom' (which way did he go?).

A different story is seen in D, in which it is told that at midnight on the 29th/30th Black Riders crossed the Brandywine by the Ferry, attacked the house at Crickhollow, and *carried off* Ham, 'pursued by Gandalf'; and that in the early morning of the 30th Gandalf *rescued* Ham, the Black Riders fled in terror to their King, and Gandalf went on to visit Tom.

For narrative drafts reflecting these versions of the events at Crickhollow see pp. 53–6, 68–70.

All the schemes agree that Gandalf went from Buckland to visit Tom Bombadil; cf. the original version of 'The Council of Elrond', VI.401, where Gandalf says that 'when I had chased the Riders from Crickhollow I turned back to visit him.'

Scheme D has a note that 'Trotter reaches the Shire border Sept. 14 and hears ill news on morning of 25th from Elves.' This scheme also provides an account of the movements of the individual Riders, who are identified by the letters A to I. It was D who came to Hobbiton on 23 September, the night on which Frodo left, and it was D and E who trailed the hobbits in the Shire, while GHI were on the East Road and F was to the southward. On the 25th, the day that Frodo reached Crickhollow, DEGHI assembled at the Brandywine Bridge; G waited there while H and I passed through Bree on Monday the 26th. On the 27th D and E 'got into Buckland and looked for Baggins'; on the 28th they 'located' him and went to get the help of G. On the night of the 29th DEG crossed the River by the Ferry; and on the same night H and I returned and attacked *The Prancing Pony*. Pursued by Gandalf from Crickhollow DEG fled to the King. ABCDEFG 'rode East after Gandalf and the supposed Baggins' on 1 October; F and G were sent direct to Weathertop, and the other five, together with H and I, rode through Bree at night, throwing down the gates, and from the inn (where Gandalf was) the noise of their passage was heard like a wind. F and G reached Weathertop on the 2nd; Gandalf was pursued North from Weathertop by CDE, while ABFGHI patrolled the East Road.

Of these four time-schemes only D treats fully the chronology from Weathertop to the Ford. A mentions that Gandalf went North 'via Entish Lands' and reached Rivendell on 14 October; two Riders pursued him 'towards Entish Dale; these are they that came from the flank at the Ford.'[17] B also has Gandalf reach Rivendell on the 14th, and says:

> But messages from the Elves of the Shire have travelled swiftly since Sept. 24. Already Elrond has heard in Rivendell that the Ring had

set out alone, and that Gandalf is missing, and the Ringwraiths are out. He sends out scouts North, South, and West. These scouts are Elves of power. Glorfindel goes along the Road. He reaches the Bridge of *Mitheithel*[18] at dawn on Oct. 12 and drives off the Black Riders and pursues them West till they escape. On Oct. 14 he turns and searches for traces of Frodo's party for several days (2/3), finds them, and then comes after them, catching them up on the evening of Oct. 18.

In Scheme D the final chronology for this part of the story, agreeing (except in one point) with that in LR Appendix B though fuller, was attained. For earlier phases of the development see VI.219, 360.

October			
Wed.	5	Camp near hills	
Thurs.	6	Attack on camp at Weathertop	
Fri.	7	Frodo leaves Weathertop	
Sat.	8	Frodo in the Cheerless Lands	News reaches Elrond
Sun.	9		Glorfindel leaves Rivendell
Mon.	10		
Tues.	11		Gandalf at Hoarwell (Mitheithel)
			Rain. Glorfindel at Bridge of Mitheithel
Wed.	12	Frodo and Trotter see Road and rivers	
Thurs.	13	Frodo crosses Last Bridge	
Fri.	14	Frodo in hills	Glorfindel finds tracks
Sat.	15	Hills (wet)	
Sun.	16	Hills (shelf) [See FR p. 214: 'a stony shelf']	
Mon.	17	Troll-ridge	
Tues.	18	Trolls	Gandalf and Ham reach Rivendell
			Glorfindel finds Trotter etc.
Wed.	19	Bend [See FR p. 224: 'the Road bent right']	
Thurs.	20	Battle at Ford of Bruinen[19]	
Fri.	21	Frodo unconscious	
Sat.	22		
Sun.	23		
Mon.	24	Frodo wakes	
Tues.	25		
Wed.	26	Council of Elrond	

The only point in which this differs from the final chronology is that a whole day passes between Frodo's waking and the Council of Elrond, which thus takes place here on the 26th of October, not on the 25th.

But this is not a slip, for the same appears in other closely related chronologies of this period.

NOTES

1 *Faramond Took* replaced *Folco Took* in the original version of 'The Council of Elrond', VI.406 and subsequently.

2 Túrin of course had no descendants. Possibly *Túrin* was a slip for *Tuor*, grandfather of Elrond.

3 That it was Trotter who found Gollum appears in the original version of 'The Council of Elrond' (VI.401 and note 20).

4 The meaning of this very elliptical remark is possibly that when Trotter was a hobbit the injury to his feet caused him to wear shoes, which for a hobbit was highly unusual; but if he was a man that would not be the case.

5 From its appearance the illegible word could well be *otiose*, but that does not seem likely. If however this is what it is, 'Hence there is no need for' must be a sentence left in the air, followed by 'Gandalf otiose' – i.e. Gandalf need have nothing to do with Weathertop: Aragorn 'steered them to Weathertop' simply because it was 'a good lookout'. But the whole passage is very obscure.

6 I.e., if Bilbo went off with Peregrin Boffin there would be a duplication when Frodo in his turn went off with younger companions.

7 Cf. the story of Peregrin Boffin in VI.385–6: there Peregrin and Frodo stood in the same relationship (first cousins once removed) to Bilbo.

8 The bracketed sentence was struck out, with the note: 'No, because that would give away suspense.' On the same piece of paper as these 'final decisions' there is a sketch of such a conversation, although in this there is no suggestion of a party:

> 'I am going for a holiday, a long holiday!' said Bilbo Baggins to his young 'nephew' Frodo. 'What is more, I am going tomorrow. It will be April 30th, my anniversary and a good day to start on. Also the weather is fine!'
>
> Bilbo had made this announcement a great many times before; but each time he made it, and it became plainer that he really meant it, Frodo's heart sank lower. He had lived with Bilbo for nearly 12 years and known him longer, and he was devoted to him. 'Where are you going?' he asked, but he did not expect any answer, as he had also asked this question often before and got no satisfactory reply.
>
> 'I would tell you if I knew myself for certain – or perhaps I would,' answered Bilbo as usual. 'To the Sea maybe, or the

Mountains. Mountains, I think; yes, Mountains,' he said, as if to himself.

'Could I come with you?' asked Frodo. He had never said that before; and he had not really any desire to leave Bag-End or the Shire that he loved; but that night with Bilbo's departure so near

Here this fragment ends.

9 *or Folco*: cf. §3 (4): 'Peregrin [Boffin] drops off at Crickhollow.'

10 *find a way* is clear, but my father possibly intended *ride away*, or *flee away*, or something similar.

11 In the 'third phase' version Gandalf still left Bag End 'one wet dark evening in May' (VI.323). In FR (p. 76) he left at the end of June.

12 The name *Sarn Ford* is here met for the first time. It is found on the most original part of the original LR map (pp. 299, 305).

13 The numbers were first written two ahead, four following Frodo, three behind. The passage was bracketed with a note: 'No, see Black Riders' movements': this is a reference to the full account in Scheme D (see p. 13).

14 For the transference of *Dimrill-dale* to the South and the other side of the Misty Mountains and its replacement by *Hoardale* see VI.432–3, notes 3 and 13. The present note is very probably where the River *Hoarwell* (see VI.192, 360) rising in *Hoardale*, and the *Entish Lands*, first emerged. No doubt it was at this time that *Hoardale* was written on the manuscript of the first version of 'The Ring Goes South' (VI.432, note 3); but *Entish Dale* evidently soon replaced it – it is found in one of the Time-schemes (p. 13) and was written in on the present note. On *Ent* as used in these names, in the sense of Old English *ent* 'giant', the *Ents* of Fangorn not having yet arisen, see VI.205.

15 In the 'third phase' narrative Tom Bombadil was still thought of as visiting *The Prancing Pony* (VI.334), but in the first version of 'The Council of Elrond' (VI.402) Gandalf says that 'the mastery of Tom Bombadil is seen only on his own ground – from which he has never stepped within my memory.'

16 Bilbo's gift to Frodo of Sting is first mentioned in the initial draft for 'The Council of Elrond' (VI.397), and Frodo's possession of it in the sketch for the Moria story (VI.443). – Why is Frodo's sword called 'red'? In another isolated note, written much later, this reappears: 'What happened to the red sword[s] of the Barrows? In Frodo's case it is broken at the Ford and he has Sting.' In the 'third phase' version of 'Fog on the Barrow-downs' they were 'bronze swords, short, leaf-shaped and keen' (VI.128, 329); at some later time the reading of FR (p. 157), according to which they were 'damasked with serpent-forms in red and gold', was entered on that manuscript.

17 On *Entish Dale* see note 14. – In the 'third phase' version of the story there were six Riders in ambush at the Ford (VI.361); in FR there were four (cf. p. 62).

18 This is the first appearance in the texts of the Elvish name *Mitheithel* of the River Hoarwell (see note 14) and of the Last Bridge, by which the East Road crossed the river (but they are found on the sketch-maps redrawn in Vol. VI, p. 201).

19 This is the first occurrence of the name *Bruinen*, other than on one of the sketch-maps mentioned in note 18.

II
THE FOURTH PHASE (1): FROM HOBBITON TO BREE

The rethinking and rewriting of this period led to an extremely complex situation in the actual constituent chapter-manuscripts of the book as it stood. Some of the manuscripts of the 'third phase' were now in their turn covered with corrections and deletions and interspersed with inserted riders, so that they became chaotic (cf. VI.309). In this case, however, since substantial parts of those manuscripts were in no need of correction, or of very little, my father wrote out fair only those parts of the chapters that had been much affected by revision, and added to these the unaffected portions of the original 'third phase' texts. For this 'fourth' phase, therefore, some of the manuscripts are textually hybrids, while others remain common to both 'phases' (no doubt a somewhat artificial conception).

The rejected parts of the 'third phase' manuscripts were separated and set aside and in a sense 'lost', so that when the 'fourth phase' series was sent to Marquette University some eighteen years later these superseded pages – and a good deal of preliminary draft writing for their replacement – remained in England. To put it all together again, and to work out the intricacies of the whole complex become so widely separated, has been far from easy; but I have no doubt that in the result the history of these texts has been correctly ascertained.[1]

Where necessary to distinguish rough revision in draft and the fair copy manuscript based on it I shall call the former 'A' and the latter 'B' for the purpose of this chapter.

The revision of this period came very near to attaining the text of FR Book I through a great part of its length, though with certain major and notable exceptions; and in what follows a host of minor changes is to be presupposed, since there would be little purpose in spelling them out. It is indeed remarkable to see that by the end of 1939 the story as far as Rivendell had been brought, after so many and such meticulous revisions, to a point where one could read the greater part of it and scarcely suspect any difference from FR without careful comparison; yet at this time my father was without any clear conception of what lay before him.

In my account chapter by chapter of the 'fourth phase' I shall concentrate on the major elements of reconstruction that belong to this time.

Chapter I: 'A Long-expected Party'

The sixth or 'third phase' version of this chapter (VI.314–15) was heavily reworked in certain passages, bringing the story at almost all points virtually to the form in FR. The substantial rider added at the beginning, introducing the story of the youth of Peregrin Boffin or Trotter (see VI.384–6), was rejected when the decision was finally taken that Trotter was a Man, and does not appear in the fair copy B.

Many changes reflect suggestions in the notes dated August 1939 given in VI.370 ff., and some new features derive from the notes and outlines given in Chapter I of this book. Thus Bilbo took with him 'a bundle wrapped in old cloths': his 'elf-armour' (see VI.371–2). Now, just as in FR (p. 40), he put the envelope on the mantlepiece (but suddenly took it down and stuck it in his pocket), and Gandalf entered at that moment (changing the previous story, in which Gandalf met Bilbo at the bottom of the hill, VI.315). Their conversation (for the form of it before this revision see VI.238–40) becomes exactly as in FR, as far as 'It's time he was his own master now' (p. 41), and this clearly derives from the 'August 1939' note given in VI.374: 'Neither Bilbo nor Gandalf must know much about the Ring, when Bilbo departs. Bilbo's motive is simply *tiredness*, an unexplained restlessness...' Bilbo's words about his book, which Gandalf says nobody will read, are taken up from the note given in VI.371.[2] But here this 'fourth phase' version shows a significant difference from FR: for there is *no quarrel* between them as yet, though it hovers on the verge of being devised (on the first germ of the quarrel see VI.378–9). I give the passage in the form of the fair copy B (which the draft A approaches very closely):

'Everything?' said Gandalf. 'The ring as well?'

'Well, or yes I suppose so,' stammered Bilbo.

'Where is it?'

'I put it in an envelope for him, and put it on the mantle – well no! Isn't that odd now! Here it is in my pocket!'

Gandalf looked again very hard at Bilbo, and his eyes glinted. 'I think, Bilbo,' he said quietly, 'I should leave it with him. Don't you want to?'

'Well yes – and yet it seems very difficult to part with it somehow. Why do you want me to leave it behind?' he asked, and a curious note of suspicion came into his voice. 'You are always worrying about it lately, but you have never bothered me about the other things I got on my journey.'

'Magic rings are – well, *magic*,' answered Gandalf; 'and they are not, nowadays, very common. Let's say that I am professionally interested in your ring, and would like to know where it

is. Also I think *you* have had it long enough. You won't want it any more, Bilbo, unless I am quite mistaken.'

'Oh, very well,' said Bilbo. 'It would be a relief, in a way, not to be bothered with it. It has been rather growing on my mind lately. Sometimes I have felt that it was like an eye looking at me;[3] and I am always wanting to put it on and disappear, don't you know, or wondering if it is safe and pulling it out to make sure. I tried leaving it locked up, but I found I couldn't rest without it in my pocket. I don't know why. Well! Now I must be starting, or somebody else will catch me. I have said good-bye, and I couldn't bear to do it all over again.' He picked up his bag and moved towards the door.

'You have still got the ring in your pocket,' said the wizard.

'So I have, and my will and all the other documents too!' cried Bilbo. 'I had better give them to you to deliver to Frodo. That will be safest.' He held out the envelope, but just as Gandalf was about to take it, Bilbo's hand jerked and the envelope fell on the floor. Quick as lightning the wizard stooped and seized it, before Bilbo could pick it up. An odd look passed over the hobbit's face, almost like anger. Suddenly it gave way to a look of relief and a smile.

'Well, that's that!' he said. 'Now I'm off!'

From this point the revision brings the narrative almost to the final form. The dwarves, now three and no longer named, play only the same rôle as in FR; and when Frodo returns to Bag End he finds Gandalf sitting in the dark, whereupon the conversation between them in FR (pp. 44–5) follows. A minute but characteristically subtle difference remaining is that it is not said, in the passage just cited, that when the envelope fell to the floor Gandalf 'set it in its place' on the mantlepiece; and now Gandalf says to Frodo: 'He left a packet with me to give to you. Here it is!' Then Frodo took the envelope from the wizard. In FR Gandalf pointed to it on the mantelpiece; he would not sit waiting for Frodo with the envelope containing the Ring in his hand.

Once again the list of Bilbo's labelled legacies changes (see VI.247), in that Uffo Took now receives the final name Adelard, while the somnolent Rollo Bolger, recipient of the feather-bed, makes his last appearance, his first name changed to Odovacar, in A; in B he has gone.

The conversation between Gandalf and Frodo at Bag End on the following day (see VI.242–3) now becomes precisely as in FR with, of course, the one major difference that there is no reference to the variant stories which Bilbo had told concerning his acquisition of the

Ring (p. 49). The rewriting of this conversation again clearly springs from the note of August 1939 (VI.374) referred to above, to the effect that Gandalf still did not know very much about the Ring at this time; for Gandalf now knows less about it than he had done. He no longer warns Frodo against allowing it to gain power over him, nor is there now any mention in their conversation of Bilbo's state of 'preservation', and his restlessness, as concomitants of his possession of the Ring.

The revision got rid of the Dwarf Lofar, who had previously remained at Bag End after Bilbo's departure with the other Dwarves, but at first provided no clear substitute for Frodo's aide-de-camp whose task (as it turned out) was to receive the Sackville-Bagginses. In the fair copy B this is Merry, as in FR; but in the draft revision A my father replaced Lofar by one scribbled name after another: 'Merry' > 'Peregrin Boffin' > 'Folco Took'; at subsequent occurrences in this episode 'Peregrin Boffin' > 'Folco', and once 'Peregrin' retained. 'Peregrin Boffin' had been moved from the rôle of Trotter in his youth, but survived as one of Frodo's intimates: as such we have already met him (pp. 8, 11). See further pp. 30–2.

Chapter II: 'Ancient History'

This chapter (ultimately one of the most worked upon in all *The Lord of the Rings*) underwent very substantial rewriting at this time in certain passages, but remained still in important respects far different from 'The Shadow of the Past' in FR. The 'third phase' manuscript (VI.318 ff.), not much changed in substance from the second version (VI.250 ff.), was reduced to a wreck in the process; and here again my father made a new text (B) of the chapter, taking up all this rough correction and new writing (A), but incorporated into the new manuscript those parts of the old that were retained more or less intact, so that the new version is again textually a hybrid.

In draft revision of the beginning of the chapter Frodo's 'closest companions were Folco Took [*pencilled above:* Faramond] and Meriadoc Brandybuck (usually called Merry), both a few years younger than himself' (cf. VI.318); in B his companions become Faramond Took, Peregrin Boffin, and Hamilcar Bolger, while his closest friend was Merry Brandybuck. With this cf. the notes given on p. 8. In the drafts (A) the names Folco, Faramond, Peregrin, shift and replace each other at every occurrence, and it is scarcely possible to say whether characters or merely names are in question.

Otherwise, the new version reaches the final form in most respects for a long stretch. The chronology of Gandalf's visits to Bag End, from the Party to the time of this chapter, becomes precisely that of FR (p. 55); but the passage (FR pp. 52–3) concerning the 'rumours of strange

things happening in the world outside' was at this stage left virtually unchanged – which means that it still essentially took the form it had in the second version, VI.253.

The first part of the conversation between Gandalf and Frodo now takes a great step towards that in FR (pp. 55–6; cf. VI.319), but Gandalf as yet says nothing of the making of rings 'in Eregion long ago', nor does he speak here of the Great Rings, the Rings of Power. Though his words are the same as in FR, they apply only to the ring in Frodo's possession: thus he says 'Those who keep this ring do not die,' &c. His account of Bilbo's knowledge of and feeling about his ring are very much as in FR, but he says here that Bilbo 'knew, of course, that it made one invisible, if it encircled any part of the body.' In rejected drafts for this passage occur the following:

> He certainly had not yet begun to connect his long life and 'good preservation' with the ring – but he had begun to feel the restlessness that is the first symptom of the stretching of the days.
>
> On that last evening I saw plainly that the ring was trying to keep hold of him and prevent his parting with it. But he was not yet conscious of it himself. And certainly he had no idea that it would have made him permanently invisible, nor that his long life and 'good preservation' – how the expression annoyed him! – had anything to do with it.

From Frodo's question at the end of Gandalf's remarks about Bilbo, the new version retains the existing text (VI.319) concerning Gandalf's memories, but is then developed quite differently, though still far from that of FR (p. 57):

> 'How long have you known?' asked Frodo again.
>
> 'I knew very little of these things at first,' answered Gandalf slowly, as if searching back in memory. The days of Bilbo's journey and the Dragon and the Battle of Five Armies seemed dim and far off, and many other dark and strange adventures had befallen him since. 'Let me see – it was after the White Council in the South that I first began to give serious thought to Bilbo's ring. There was much talk of rings at the Council: even wizards have much to learn as long as they live, however long that may be. There are many sorts of ring, of course. Some are no more than toys (though dangerous ones to my mind), and not difficult to contrive if you go in for such things – they are not in my line. But what I heard made me think a good deal, though I said nothing to Bilbo. All seemed well with him. I thought he was safe enough from any evil of that sort. I was nearly right but not quite right. Perhaps I should have been

more suspicious, and have found out the truth sooner than I did – yet if I had, I don't know what else could have been done.

'Then, of course, I noticed that he did not seem to grow older. But the whole thing seemed so unlikely that I did not get seriously alarmed, never until the night he left this house. He said and did things then that were unmistakeable signs of something wrong.[4] From that moment my chief anxiety was to get him to go and give up the ring. And I have spent most of the years since in finding out the truth about it.'

'There wasn't any permanent harm done, was there?' asked Frodo anxiously. 'He would get right in time, wouldn't he – be able to rest in peace, I mean?'

'That I don't know for certain,' said Gandalf. 'There is only one [*added:* Power] in this world who knows all about the ring and its effects. But I don't think you need fear for him. Of course, if anyone possessed the ring for many years, it would probably take a long while for the effects to wear off. How long is not really known. He might live for ages. But not wearily, I think. He would, I now believe, just stop as he was when he parted with the ring; and would be happy, if he parted with it of his own accord and with good intent. Though as far as I know that has only happened once. I was not troubled about dear Bilbo any more, once he had let the ring go. It is for *you* that I feel responsible...'[5]

There is of course no reference here to Bilbo's 'two stories' of how he came by the Ring; nor does Saruman appear. Yet Gandalf's mention of the discussion of Rings at the White Council, and his suggestion that there are wizards who, unlike himself, 'go in for such things', prepares the place that Saruman would fill when he had arisen – although, characteristically, he did not arise in order to fill that place.

The new version introduced no changes into Gandalf's account of the Ruling Ring and its history (for the text as it had developed through the three preceding versions see VI.78, 258–61, 319–20): indeed almost all of this part of the chapter is constituted from pages taken out of the 'third phase' manuscript (see p. 18). Before the new version of the chapter was completed, however (see note 12), my father changed Gollum's original name from *Dígol* (through *Deagol*) to *Smeagol*, and introduced a rider telling the story of Deagol and his murder:

He had a friend called Deagol, of similar short, sharper-eyed but not so quick and strong. They were roaming together, when

in the mud of a river-bank, under the twisted roots of an ancient thorn-tree,[6] Deagol found the Ring. Smeagol came up behind him, just as he was washing the mud off, and the Ring gleamed yellow.

'Give us that, Deagol my love,' said Smeagol over his friend's shoulder.

'Why?' said Deagol.

'Because it's my birthday...

The remainder of the inserted text is virtually word for word as in FR (p. 62). On this new story see pp. 27–8.

Very substantial rewriting begins again with Gandalf's discussion of Gollum's motives (FR pp. 63–6; for the previous versions see VI.79–80, 261–2, 320–1). Here there is more than one draft preceding the new manuscript B, and the relations between these texts are not entirely clear, though they differ chiefly only in the placing of certain elements. I give this passge in the form of B, with some variants from the drafts A recorded in the notes.

'Gollum!' said Frodo. 'Do you mean the very Gollum-creature that Bilbo met? Is that his history? How loathsome!'

'I think it is a sad story,' said the wizard, 'and it might have happened to others, even to some hobbits I have known.'

'I can't believe Gollum was connected with hobbits, however distantly,' said Frodo with some heat. 'What an abominable idea!'

'It is true all the same,' replied Gandalf. 'It is suggested even by Bilbo's own account; and partly explains the very curious events. There was a lot in the background of their minds and memories that was very similar: Bilbo and Gollum understood one another (if you think of it) better than hobbits have ever understood dwarves or goblins, or even elves. Think of the riddles they both knew, for one thing!'

'But why did Gollum start the Riddle-game, or think of giving up the Ring at all?' asked Frodo.[7]

'Because he was altogether miserable, and yet could not make up his wretched mind. Don't you realize that he had possessed the Ring for ages, and the torment was becoming unendurable? He was so wretched that he knew he was wretched, and had at last understood what caused it. There was nothing more to find out, nothing left but darkness, nothing to do but furtive eating and regretful remembering. Half his mind wanted above all to

be rid of the Ring, even if the loss killed him. But he hated parting with it as much as keeping it. He wanted to hand it on to someone else, and to make him wretched too.'

'Then why didn't he give it to the Goblins?'

'Gollum would not have found that amusing! The Goblins were already beastly and miserable. And anyway he was afraid of them: naturally he had no fancy for an invisible goblin in the tunnels. But when Bilbo turned up half his mind saw that he had a marvellous chance; and the other half was angry and frightened, and was thinking how to trap and eat Bilbo. So he tried the Riddle-game, which might serve either purpose: it would decide the question for him, like tossing up. Very hobbit-like, I call that. But of course, if it had really come to the point of handing the Ring over, he would have immediately desired it terribly, and have hated Bilbo fiercely. It was lucky for Bilbo that things were arranged otherwise.'[8]

'But how was it that Gollum did not realize that he had got rid of it, if Bilbo had the Ring already?'

'Simply because he had only lost it for a few hours: not nearly long enough for him to feel any change in himself. And also he had not given it away of his own free will: that is an important point. All the same I have always thought that the strangest thing about Bilbo's whole adventure was his finding the Ring like that: just putting his hand on it in the dark. There was something mysterious in that; I think more than one power was at work. The Ring was trying to get back to its master. It had ruined Gollum, and could make no further use of him; he was too small and mean. It had already slipped from one owner's hand and betrayed him to death. It now left Gollum: and that would probably have proved Gollum's death, if the finder had not been the most unlikely creature imaginable: a Baggins all the way from the Shire! But behind all that there was something at work beyond any design of the Ringmaker. I can put it no plainer than by saying that *Bilbo was meant* to find the Ring, and *not* by its maker. In which case *you* were also meant to have it, and that may be an encouraging thought, or it may not.'

'It isn't,' said Frodo, 'though I am not sure that I understand you. But how have you learned all this about the Ring, and about Gollum? Do you really know it all, or are you guessing?'

'I have learned some things, and guessed others,' answered Gandalf. 'But I am not going to give you an account of the last few years just now. The story of Gilgalad and Isildur and the

One Ring is well known to the learned in Lore. I knew it myself, of course, but I have consulted many other Lore-masters. Your ring is shown to be that One Ring by the fire-writing, quite apart from other evidence.'

'And when did you discover that?' asked Frodo interrupting.

'Just now in this room, of course,' answered Gandalf sharply. 'But I expected to find it. I have come back from many dark journeys to make that final test. It is the last proof, and all is now clear. Making out Gollum's part, and fitting it into the gap in the history, required some thought; but I guessed very near the truth. I know more of the minds and histories of the creatures of Middle-earth than you imagine, Frodo.'

'But your account does not quite agree with Bilbo's, as far as I can remember it.'

'Naturally. Bilbo had no idea of the nature of the Ring, and so could not guess what was behind Gollum's peculiar behaviour. But though I started from hints and guesses, I no longer need them. I am no longer guessing about Gollum. I know. I know because I have seen him.'[9]

'You have seen Gollum!' exclaimed Frodo in amazement.

'The obvious thing to try and do, surely,' said Gandalf.

'Then what happened after Bilbo escaped from him?' asked Frodo. 'Do you know that?'

'Not so clearly. What I have told you is what Gollum was willing to tell – though not, of course, in the way I have reported it. Gollum is a liar, and you have to sift his words. For instance, you may remember that he told Bilbo that he had been given the Ring as a birthday present long ago when such rings were less uncommon.[10] Very unlikely on the face of it: no kind of magic ring was ever common in his part of the world. Quite incredible, when one suspects what ring this one really was.[11] It was a lie, though with a grain of truth. I fancy he had made up his mind what to say, if necessary, so that the stranger would accept the Ring without suspicion, and think the gift natural. And that is another hobbit-like thought! Birthday present! It would have worked well with any hobbit. There was no need to tell the lie, of course, when he found the Ring had gone; but he had told that lie to himself so many times in the darkness, trying to forget Deagol,[12] that it slipped out, whenever he spoke of the Ring. He repeated it to me, but I laughed at him. He then told me more or less the true story, but with a lot of snivelling and snarling. He thought he was misunderstood and ill-treated...

In the third version of this chapter Gandalf had said (VI.321): 'Very unlikely on the face of it: incredible when one suspects what kind of ring it really was. It was said merely to make Bilbo willing to accept it as a harmless kind of toy' (i.e., Gollum, speaking – according to Gandalf's elaborate theory – from that part of his mind that wished to get rid of the Ring, said off the top of his head that it had been a birthday present in order to get Bilbo to accept it more readily). While drafting a new version of this passage, my father was struck by a perturbing thought. He stopped, and across the manuscript he wrote: 'It must be [i.e. It must have been] a birthday present, as the birthday present is not mentioned by Gollum until after he finds the ring is *lost*'.[13] In other words, if the story of its being a birthday present was a fabrication pure and simple, why should Gollum only trot it out when there was no longer any use for it? Apparently in order to counter this, Gandalf's words were changed:

It was a lie, though with a grain of truth. But how hobbit-like, all that talk of birthday-presents! I fancy he had made up his mind what to say, if it came to the point of giving, so that Bilbo would accept the Ring without suspicion, and think it just a harmless toy. He repeated this nonsense to me, but I laughed at him.

The implication of this seems to be that Gollum brought out this story of the Ring having been a birthday present to him long ago only when he found that he had it no longer, because it had 'a grain of truth'; and it was because it had 'a grain of truth' that he had decided on this story. But there is no suggestion in the draft of what this grain of truth might be. Only with the fair copy B does it appear – and there only by implication: 'There was no need to tell the lie, of course, when he found the Ring had gone; but he had told that lie to himself so many times in the darkness, *trying to forget Deagol*, that it slipped out, whenever he spoke of the Ring.' This shows of course that the Deagol story (pp. 23–4) had already entered; but my father made the point clearer by pencilling on the fair copy after the words 'though with a grain of truth': *He murdered Deagol on his birthday.*

He was being driven to more and more intricate shifts to get round what had been said in *The Hobbit*. But it seems to me very likely that it was precisely while he was pondering this problem that the story of the murder of Deagol (and incidentally the changing of Gollum's true name to Smeagol) arose. That Gollum had *lied* about its being a birthday present was an obvious necessity, from the story of the Ring that had come into being; but Gandalf's theory in the third version that Gollum told this lie to Bilbo in order to get him to accept the Ring had a serious weakness: why did Gollum only do so (as the story was told in *The Hobbit*) *after* he found that he had lost it? The answer to

this was that it was an invention of Gollum's that he had come partly to believe, quite independently of Bilbo's arrival; but why was that?

And this story of the murder of Deagol on Smeagol's birthday, the ground of Smeagol's 'lie with a grain of truth', became a permanent element in the tale of Gollum; surviving when, years later, the story of 'Riddles in the Dark' was recast and the very difficulty that (if I am right) had brought it into being was eliminated.

From 'He thought he was misunderstood and ill-treated' (p. 26) this fourth version of 'Ancient History' scarcely differs for a long stretch from the third, whose pages were largely retained;[14] and since the third version closely followed the second, this part of the conversation of Gandalf and Frodo preserves, apart from detail of expression, the text given in VI.263–5. But from 'The Wood-elves have him in prison, if he is still alive, as I expect; but they treat him with such kindness as they can find in their wise hearts' the new version reaches the form in FR (p. 69) with almost no difference to the end of the chapter. Gandalf's words about the fire that could melt and consume the Rings of Power (FR p. 70) remain however nearer to the earlier form:

It has been said that only dragon-fire can melt any of the Twenty Rings of Power; but there is not now any Dragon left on earth in whom the old Fire is hot enough to harm the Ruling Ring. I can think of only one way: one would have to find the Cracks of Doom in the depths of Orodruin, the Fire-Mountain, and cast the Ring in there, if he really wished to destroy it, or put it beyond all reach until the End.

The name *Orodruin* is met here for the first time.[15] In another point also the former version is retained: Gandalf still says when he goes to the window and draws aside the curtain (VI.322):

'In any case it is now too late. You would come to hate me and call me a thief; and our friendship would cease. Such is the power of the Ring. Keep it, and together we will shoulder the burden that is laid on us.'

Lastly, Gandalf does not in this version give Frodo a 'travelling name' ('When you go, go as Mr. Underhill', FR p. 72).

The subsequent history of this chapter, traced in detail, would itself almost constitute a book, for apart from the marvellous intricacies of the route by which the story of Gollum and the 'birthday present' was ultimately resolved, Gandalf's conversation with Frodo became the vehicle for the developing history of the Rings of Power, afterwards removed from this place, and the chapter could not be treated separately from 'The Council of Elrond'. But the great mass of this work, and probably all of it, belongs to a later time than we have

reached; and in any case the attempt to trace in 'linear' fashion the history of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* cannot at the same time take full account of the great constructions that were rising behind the onward movement of the tale. So far as the story of Bilbo and Gollum is concerned it seems that this fourth version of 'Ancient History', in which my father was still constrained within the words of the original story told in *The Hobbit*, remained for some time as the accepted form.

Chapter III: 'Three is Company'

The third version of this chapter, described in VI.323–5, was also revised at this time. The title was now changed from 'Delays are Dangerous' to 'Three is Company' (cf. the original title, 'Three's Company and Four's More', VI.49 and note 2); and the order of the opening passages was reversed, so that the chapter now begins as in FR with '"You ought to go *quietly*, and you ought to go *soon*," said Gandalf', and his conversation with Frodo precedes the speculations in the *Ivy Bush* and *Green Dragon* (see VI.274 and note 1). This reorganisation and rewriting was very roughly done on the pages of the third phase manuscript and on inserted riders ('A'); the revised opening was then written out fair ('B'), as far as Gaffer Gamgee's conversation with the Black Rider in Bagshot Row, and the remainder of the existing text added to it, to form textually speaking a hybrid, just as in the case of the first two chapters.

The draft revision A of Gandalf's departure from Bag End takes this form:

> Gandalf stayed at Bag-End for over two months. But one evening, soon after Frodo's plan had been arranged, he suddenly announced that he was going off again next morning. 'I need to stretch my legs a bit, before our journey begins,' he said. 'Besides, I think I ought to go and look round, and see what news I can pick up down south on the borders, before we start.'
>
> He spoke lightly, but it seemed to Frodo that he looked rather grave and thoughtful. 'Has anything happened? Have you heard something?' he asked.
>
> 'Well, yes, to tell you the truth,' said the wizard, 'I did hear something today that made me a bit anxious. But I won't say anything, unless I find out more for certain. If I think it necessary for you to get off at once, I shall come back immediately. In the meanwhile stick to your plan . . .'

The remainder of his farewell words are as in FR (p. 76), except that he says 'I think you will need my company on the Road', not that

'after all' Frodo 'may' need it. As written in the fair copy B the passage is the same as this, except that Gandalf no longer refers to 'our journey' – he says: 'I need to stretch my legs a bit. There are one or two things I must see to: I have been idle longer than I should'; and his last words are: 'I think after all you will need my company on the Road.'

Frodo's friends, who came to stay with him to help in the packing up of Bag End, are now (as also in the contemporary rewriting of 'Ancient History', p. 21) Hamilcar Bolger, Faramond Took,[16] and his closest friends Peregrin Boffin and Merry Brandybuck. It is now Hamilcar Bolger who goes off to Buckland with Merry in the third cart.[17] In the draft revision A 'Peregrin Boffin went back home to Overhill after lunch', whereas in B 'Faramond Took went home after lunch, but Peregrin and Sam remained behind', and Frodo 'took his own tea with Peregrin and Sam in the kitchen.' At the end of the meal 'Peregrin and Sam strapped up their three packs and piled them in the porch. Peregrin went out for a last stroll in the garden. Sam disappeared.'

Throughout these manuscripts 'Pippin' appears as a later correction of 'Folco'; and in the passage referred to above, naming Frodo's four friends who stayed at Bag End, 'Faramond Took' was changed subsequently to 'Folco Boffin', 'Peregrin Boffin' to 'Pippin Took', and 'Hamilcar Bolger' to 'Fredegar Bolger'. These, with Merry Brandybuck, are the four who are present on this occasion in FR (p. 76). But such corrections as these prove nothing as to date: they could have been entered on the manuscript at any subsequent time.

Nonetheless, it must have been at this stage, I think, that 'Peregrin Took' or 'Pippin' at last entered. Under Chapter V 'A Conspiracy Unmasked' below, it will be seen that in a rewritten section of the manuscript from this time (as distinct from mere emendation to the existing 'third phase' text) not only does 'Hamilcar' appear, as is to be expected, but 'Pippin' appears for the first time *as the text was written*. This rewritten section of 'A Conspiracy Unmasked' certainly belongs to the same time as the rewritten ('fourth phase') parts of 'Ancient History' and 'Three is Company'. The correction of 'Folco (Took)' to 'Pippin' in these manuscripts therefore does in fact belong to the same period; though they are carefully written texts, the final stage in the evolution of the 'younger hobbits' was taking place as my father wrote them; and though at the beginning of the B text of 'Three is Company' Frodo's friend was Peregrin Boffin, he may have already been Peregrin Took by the time he took his last stroll in the Bag End garden.

The question is not perhaps worth spending very long on, since it is now very largely one of name simply, but I have followed the tortuous trail too long to leave it without an attempt at analysis at the end. What happened, I think, was as follows. Folco Took of the 'third

phase' (who had an interesting and complex genesis out of the original 'young hobbits', Frodo (Took) and Odo, see VI.323–4) was renamed Faramond Took (p. 15, note 1). At this time 'Peregrin Boffin', who had first entered as the 'explanation' of Trotter, became one of Frodo's younger friends. This is the situation in the rewritten or 'fourth phase' portions of Chapters II and III (pp. 21, 30). In Chapter III Faramond Took 'went home after lunch', and he is then out of the story. 'Peregrin' and Sam stayed on at Bag End, and it is clear that they are going to be Frodo's companions on the walk to Buckland.

'Peregrin' (Boffin) is thus stepping into the narrative place of Folco (briefly renamed Faramond) Took; or rather – since the narrative was now in a finished form – this *name* takes over the character. Just why Folco/Faramond Took would not do I cannot say for certain. It may have been simply a preference of names. But if Faramond Took is got rid of and Peregrin Boffin made the third member of the party walking to Buckland, there would be no Took at all: my father would have left himself with a Baggins, a Boffin, a Brandybuck, and a Gamgee. Perhaps this is why the Boffin was changed into a Took, and the Took into a Boffin: Peregrin Boffin became Peregrin (or Pippin) Took, and Faramond Took, reverting to his former name Folco, became Folco Boffin (who 'went home after lunch' in FR, p. 77). These corrections to the new text of Chapter III were evidently made before my father rewrote the ending of Chapter V, where 'Pippin' first appears in a text as written and not by later correction.

Thus it is that Peregrin Took of LR occupies the same *genealogical* place as did Frodo Took of the earliest phases (see VI.267, note 4): and thus 'Folco' of the 'third phase' manuscripts is corrected everywhere to 'Pippin'.

It would be legitimate, I think, to see in all this a single or particular hobbit-character, who appears under an array of names: Odo, Frodo, Folco, Faramond, Peregrin, Hamilcar, Fredegar, and the very ephemeral Olo (VI.299) – Tooks, Boffins, and Bolgers. Though no doubt a very 'typical' hobbit of the Shire, this 'character' is in relation to his companions very distinct: cheerful, nonchalant, irrepressible, commonsensical, limited, and extremely fond of his creature comforts. I will call this character 'X'. He begins as Odo Took, but becomes Odo Bolger. My father gets rid of him from the first journey (to Buckland), and as a result Frodo Took (Merry Brandybuck's first cousin), who had been potentially a very different character (see VI.70), becomes 'X', while retaining the name Frodo Took. Odo, however, reappears, because he has gone on ahead to Buckland with Merry Brandybuck while the others are walking; he may be called 'XX'. He will have a separate adventure, riding with Gandalf to Weathertop and ultimately turning up again at Rivendell, where (for a very brief time in the development of the narrative) he will rejoin 'X', now renamed 'Folco Took' (since Bingo Baggins has taken over the name Frodo).

In the 'third phase' of the narrative, then, 'X' is Folco Took, Merry's cousin; and 'XX' is Odo Bolger. But now 'X' is renamed Faramond Took, and 'XX' is renamed Hamilcar Bolger. A new character called Peregrin Boffin appears: beginning as a much older figure, originally a hobbit of the Shire who became through his experiences a most unusual person, known as 'Trotter', he, or rather his name, survives to become one of Frodo's younger friends. 'Faramond Took' is pushed aside and left with scarcely any rôle at all, becoming the shadowy Folco Boffin; and 'Peregrin Boffin', becoming 'Peregrin Took' or 'Pippin', becomes 'X' – and Merry's first cousin.

Looking back to the beginning, therefore, 'Pippin' of LR will largely take over 'Odo's' remarks; but as I said (VI.70), 'the way in which this came about was strangely tortuous, and was by no means a simple substitution of one name for another.' For Pippin is Merry's first cousin, and is derived through Folco/Faramond from the original Frodo Took: he is not derived from Odo, who was moved sideways, so to speak, becoming Hamilcar (Fredegar). But Pippin *is* derived from Odo, in the sense that he like Odo is 'X'.

For the rest, Lobelia Sackville-Baggins' son, while keeping his name Cosimo, loses his pimples and gains 'sandy-haired' as his defining epithet. Gaffer Gamgee's observation on the subject of having Lobelia as his neighbour is recorded: ' "I can't abide changes at my time of life," said he (he was 99),[18] "and anyhow not changes for the worst." ' In FR the Gaffer's complaint was reported by Gandalf to the Council of Elrond (p. 276).

From the point where my father merely retained the manuscript of the 'third phase', and in subsequent chapters, 'Folco' was corrected to 'Pippin'.

Chapter IV: 'A Short Cut to Mushrooms'

In this case the third phase manuscript was retained intact (apart from 'Peregrin' or 'Pippin' for 'Folco' throughout), the final form having already been attained (see VI.325).

Chapter V: 'A Conspiracy Unmasked' (with 'The Dream of the Tower')

A rough draft of a rewriting of the end of this chapter survives (for the previous forms of the passage see VI.104–5, 301–2, 326). Odo has become Hamilcar, and the conversation proceeds now almost exactly as in FR p. 118: that Hamilcar should stay behind was part of the original plan. Frodo no longer gives a letter to Odo/Hamilcar (VI.326), but says: 'It would not have been safe to leave a written message: the Riders might get here first, and search the house.' The

only elements in FR that are still lacking are that Hamilcar's family came from Budgeford in Bridgefields,[19] and that 'he had even brought along some old clothes of Frodo's to help him in playing the part.' This rewriting stops before the account of Frodo's dream that night, of a sea of tangled trees and something snuffling among the roots (VI.302), but it is clear that at this stage it remained unchanged.

It is necessary here to turn aside for a moment from the end of 'A Conspiracy Unmasked' and to bring in a remarkable brief narrative of this time, extant in several texts, which may be called 'The Dream of the Tower'. In the narrative outline dated 'Autumn 1939' given on p. 9 Gandalf is 'besieged in the *Western Tower*. He cannot get away while they guard it with five Riders. But when Black Riders have located Frodo and found that he has gone off without Gandalf they ride away.' This is what Frodo saw in his dream.

My father was much exercised about the placing of it (see p. 11). In the Time-schemes A and B the date of Gandalf's escape from the Western Tower was first given as 24 September, and there is a suggestion that Frodo dreamt his dream of the event that night, when with the Elves in the Woody End. The date was then changed to the 25th, when Frodo was at Crickhollow, and so appears in schemes A, B, and C. Scheme D gives no date for Gandalf's escape, and places the 'Dream of the Tower' variously on the 24th, 25th, or 26th. For some reason, however, my father decided to place it after the event, on the night of the 29th, when Frodo was at Bree, and Gandalf was at Crickhollow.

The text of Frodo's dream at Bree is found in three forms, two preparatory drafts and a finished manuscript.[20] I give it here in the third form, since the only significant difference from the drafts is that in them the figure who summons the watchers from the Tower is seen by the dreamer ('another dark-robed figure appeared over the brow of the hill: it beckoned and gave a shrill call in a strange tongue').

The narrative begins almost exactly as in FR p. 189, with Frodo waking suddenly in the room at *The Prancing Pony*, seeing Trotter sitting alert in his chair, and falling asleep again.

Frodo soon went to sleep again; but now he passed at once into a dream. He found himself on a dark heath. Looking up, he saw before him a tall white tower, standing alone upon a high ridge. Beyond it the sky was pale, and far off there came a murmur like the voices of the Great Sea which he had never heard nor beheld, save in other dreams. In the topmost chamber of the tower there shone dimly a blue light.

Suddenly he found that he had drawn near and the tower loomed high above him. About its feet there was a wall of faintly shining stones, and outside the wall sat silent watchers:

black-robed figures on black horses, gazing at the gate of the tower without moving, as if they had sat there for ever.

There came at last the soft fall of hoofs, climbing up the hill. The watchers all stirred and turned slowly towards the sound. They were looking towards Frodo. He did not dare to turn, but he knew that behind him another dark figure, taller and more terrible, had appeared: it beckoned, and called out in a strange tongue. The horsemen leaped to life. They raised their dark heads towards the lofty chamber, and their mocking laughter rang out cruel and cold; then they turned from the white wall and rode down the hill like the wind. The blue light went out.

It seemed to Frodo that the riders came straight towards him; but even as they passed over him and beat him to the ground, he thought in his heart: 'I am not here; they cannot hurt me. There is something that I must see.' He lifted his head and saw a white horse leap the wall and stride towards him. On it rode a grey-mantled figure: his white hair was streaming, and his cloak flew like wings behind him. As the grey rider bore down upon him he strove to see his face. The light grew in the sky, and suddenly there was a noise of thunder.

Frodo opened his eyes. Trotter had drawn the curtains and had pushed back the shutters with a clang. The first grey light of day was in the room. The vision of his dream faded quickly, but its mingled fear and hope remained with him all the day; and for long the far sound of the Sea came back to him whenever great danger was at hand.

As soon as Trotter had roused them all he led the way to their bedrooms.

The manuscript continues a little further, almost word for word as in FR, and ends with Butterbur's 'Guests unable to sleep in their beds, and good bolsters ruined and all! What are we coming to?'

Taking into account the words of the outline given on p. 9 that Gandalf, pursued by the Riders, tried to get round to the west of the Shire, and the mention of the sound of the Sea in the text, it is seen that Gandalf had fled to the Elf-towers[21] on the Tower Hills beyond the west marches of the Shire – those towers which, at the very beginning of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*, Bingo said that he had once seen, shining white in the Moon: 'the tallest was furthest away, standing alone on a hill' (VI.93; cf. VI.312 and FR p. 16).

Turning back to 'A Conspiracy Unmasked': my father now rewrote the ending again, on the basis of the draft already referred to, and added it to the 'third phase' manuscript, rejecting the existing

conclusion of the chapter.[22] In this new text he still kept the original dream, but now combined with it the 'Dream of the Tower', transferring it back from Frodo's night at Bree to his night at Crickhollow (see p. 33). Thus Frodo has the vision of Gandalf's escape from the Western Tower on the night of the event itself, the 25th of September. The new version reads thus, in part:

When at last he got to bed, Frodo could not sleep for some time. His legs ached. He was glad that he was riding in the morning. Eventually he fell into a vague dream, in which he seemed to be looking out of a high window over a dark sea of tangled trees. Down below among the roots there was the sound of creatures crawling and snuffling. He felt sure they would smell him out sooner or later.

Then he heard a noise in the distance. At first he thought it was a great wind coming over the leaves of the forest. Then he knew that it was not leaves, but the sound of the Sea far-off: a sound he had never heard in waking life, though it had often troubled other dreams. Suddenly he found he was out in the open. There were no trees after all. He was on a dark heath, and there was a strange salt smell in the air. Looking up he saw before him a tall white tower, standing alone on a high ridge. In its topmost chamber a blue light shone dimly.

As he drew nearer the tower loomed high above him. About its feet there was a wall of faintly gleaming stones, and outside the wall sat silent watchers: there seemed to be four blackrobed figures seated on black horses, gazing at the tower without moving, as if they had sat there for ever.

He heard the soft fall of hoofs climbing up the hill behind him. The watchers all stirred...

From this point the vision is told in practically the same words as in the previous text, and ends in the same way: 'A light grew in the sky, and there was a noise of thunder.' When Frodo had dreamt the dream at Bree, the light in the sky and the noise of thunder were associated with Trotter's opening the shutters with a clang and the light of morning entering the room.

In this text 'Pippin' is the name that was first written, not a subsequent correction of 'Folco'; see p. 30.

Later (see p. 139, note 36), when the story of Gandalf had been further changed, the description of the Western Tower and the siege of the Riders was largely, but not entirely, struck out on this manuscript: the opening was retained, as far as 'Looking up he saw before him a tall white tower, standing alone on a high ridge.' At the same time a brief new conclusion was added:

A great desire came over him to climb the tower and see the Sea. He started to struggle up the ridge towards the tower; but suddenly a light came in the sky, and there was a noise of thunder.

Thus altered, this is the text of FR, pp. 118–19. And so the tall white tower of Frodo's dream at Crickhollow in the final tale remains from what was the precursor of Orthanc; and the thunder that he heard goes back to the interruption of his dream by Trotter's thrusting back the shutters at *The Prancing Pony*. But Frodo would still dream of Gandalf imprisoned in a tower: for as he slept in the house of Tom Bombadil he would see him standing on the pinnacle of Isengard.

Chapter VI: 'The Old Forest'

The existing 'third phase' manuscript of this chapter was retained, but with a good deal of correction, evidently deriving from different times. To this period belong the alteration of 'Odo' to 'Hamilcar' at the beginning of the chapter, and 'Folco' to 'Pippin'; I would ascribe to it also the attainment of the final form of the hobbits' descent out of the forest to the Withywindle (see VI.327), and the final ascription of the parts in the encounter with Old Man Willow, with Merry exchanging rôles with Frodo as the one trapped in the tree and the one pushed into the river (*ibid.*).

Chapter VII: 'In the House of Tom Bombadil'

In this chapter as in the last, the existing manuscript was retained intact. As the story stood in that text, Gandalf came to Crickhollow and routed the Riders on the night of Monday 26 September, the first night spent by the hobbits in the house of Tom Bombadil, and the account of the attack on Crickhollow was introduced as a short separate narrative in the body of Chapter VII (see VI.303–4, 328). But this had now been changed, and the attack by the Riders delayed by three days, with the postponement of Gandalf's coming to Bree. My father therefore wrote on the manuscript at this point: 'This did not occur till Sept. 29', i.e. the night passed by the hobbits at Bree (see the time-schemes tabulated on p. 12). The episode was now in the wrong chapter, and was struck from the text here.

It is often difficult or impossible to say with certainty when changes to the manuscripts that are unrelated to movements in the narrative structure (or to movements in names) were made. Thus the introduction of Frodo's dream of Gandalf on Orthanc is obviously later; but the striking out of 'I am Ab-Origine, that's what I am' (and the substitution of Tom's words in FR, p. 142: 'Don't you know my name

yet?...'), and of 'He saw the Sun rise in the West and the Moon following, before the new order of days was made' (see VI.329) may well belong to this time.

Chapter VIII: 'Fog on the Barrow-downs'

The original manuscript was again retained, and most of the changes that were made to it were from a later time (notably those introducing Carn Dûm and Angmar, FR pp. 154, 157). The final page of the 'third phase' manuscript was however rejected and replaced by a new ending to the chapter, most of which is found also in a preparatory draft, marked 'Revised ending of VIII to fit revised plot (concerning Gandalf's delay and Trotter's knowledge of the name Baggins)'. Now Frodo says, 'Please note – all of you – that the name Baggins must *not* be mentioned again. I am Mr *Green*, if any name must be given.' In the narrative of the third phase, as in that of the second, Frodo took the name of 'Mr Hill of Faraway' (VI.280, 334). 'Green' as a pseudonym (for Odo) goes back to the original version (VI.135 etc.).

At this time Tom's words (VI.329) 'he [Butterbur] knows Tom Bombadil, and Tom's name will help you. Say "Tom sent us here", and he will treat you kindly' were rejected, and Tom's parting words in FR appear: 'Tom's country ends here: he will not pass the borders.' In this connection see the note given on p. 10 concerning the boundaries of Tom's domain: there my father was thinking of harmonising Gandalf's remark at the Council of Elrond that Bombadil never left his own ground with the story that he was known to Butterbur by supposing that Tom's 'boundaries' extended to Bree. But he concluded that Tom Bombadil was not in fact known to Butterbur, and the changes here reflect that decision.

NOTES

1 The texts in such a situation are often very tricky to interpret, for there are these possible ingredients or components: (1) a page from the 'third phase' manuscript corrected but retained; (2) a page from the 'third phase' manuscript rejected and replaced; (3) draft version(s) for replacement of rejected 'third phase' manuscript; (4) fair copy replacement of rejected 'third phase' manuscript (with or without preceding draft). A correction, say of a name, made in a case of (1) will stand on the same footing in the textual history as the name first written in a case of (3) or (4), but the latter provide more certain indication of the relative dating.

2 With Bilbo's remark 'I have thought of a nice ending for it: *and he lived happily ever after to the end of his days*' (FR p. 41) cf. the outline §1 on p. 5. With the passage that follows, in which Bilbo says of Frodo

He would come with me, of course, if I asked him. In fact he offered to once, just before the party. But he does not really want to, yet. I want to see the wild country again before I die, and the Mountains; but he is still in love with the Shire...

cf. the fragment of narrative given in note 8 to the preceding chapter (p. 15).

3 Cf. the outline §1 on p. 5: 'Says to Gandalf he sometimes feels it is like an eye looking at him.'

4 Gandalf's words 'He said and did things then that were unmistakeable signs of something wrong' refer of course to his parting conversation with Bilbo in this 'phase', given on pp. 19–20, where Bilbo's behaviour was still not violently out of character as it afterwards became.

5 This is the form of the text in B. The draft A has no reference to the discussion of Rings at the White Council.

6 At this stage the old story of how the Ring was found 'in the mud of the river-bank under the roots of a thorn tree' (VI.78) was retained.

7 In the later form of 'Riddles in the Dark' in *The Hobbit* there was no question of Gollum's giving up the Ring, of course: Bilbo's prize if he won the competition was to be shown the way out, and Gollum only went back to his island in the lake to get the Ring so that he might attack Bilbo invisibly.

8 This passage, from 'But of course...', was added to the text, but it takes up a draft passage against which my father had written 'Omit?':

Yet I wonder what would have happened in the end, if he had been obliged to hand it over. I don't think he would have dared to cheat openly; but I am sure he would have tried to get the Ring back. He would have immediately desired it terribly, and have hated Bilbo fiercely. He would have tried to kill him. He would have followed him, visible or invisible, by sight or smell, till he got a chance.'

9 The draft text still retained the curious passage, going back through the third to the second version of the chapter (VI.263), in which Gandalf has Frodo quote the first riddle that Gollum asked, and then says, in this version: 'Roots and mountains: there's a good deal of Gollum's mind and history in that.'

10 This was said in the original story of Gollum in the first edition of *The Hobbit*: 'in the end Bilbo gathered that Gollum had had a ring – a wonderful, beautiful ring, a ring that he had been given for a birthday present, ages and ages before when such rings were less uncommon.'

11 Draft texts still retain the wording of the third version (VI.321): 'what *kind of ring* it really was.'

12 The words *trying to forget Deagol* are a part of the text B as

written, and show that the passage (pp. 23–4) concerning the murder of Deagol was inserted before this version was completed.

13 In the original story in *The Hobbit* it was only when Gollum came back from his island in the lake, where he had gone to get the 'present', that Bilbo learnt – from Gollum's 'tremendous spluttering and whispering and croaking' – about the ring and that it had been a birthday present; see note 10.

14 The change noted in VI.320, whereby Gandalf ceases to be the one who actually tracked Gollum down, belongs to this 'fourth phase'.

15 Above *-ruin* was pencilled *-naur*, sc. *Orodnaur*.

16 In the draft revision A of this passage Faramond is called 'Faramond II and the heir apparent'; cf. VI.251, where Faramond's precursor Frodo Took is called 'Frodo the Second ... the heir and rather desperate hope of the Hole of Took, as the clan was called.'

17 In the draft revision A at this point 'Ham (that is Hamilcar)' was replaced by 'Freddy (that is Fredegar)', but Ham/Hamilcar was then restored. Cf. the note dated August 1939 given in VI.373: 'Odo > Fredegar Hamilcar Bolger'.

18 In the genealogy in LR, Appendix C, Gaffer Gamgee was 92, and he died at the age of 102.

19 Neither Budgeford nor Bridgefields appear on my father's original map of the Shire (frontispiece to Vol. VI). On my large map of the Shire made in 1943 (VI.107) both names were lightly pencilled in by him, Budgeford being the crossing of the Water by the road (pencilled in at the same time) to Scary. See note 22.

20 The second version stands as the opening of a chapter, numbered 'X' and without title (corresponding to the 'second opening' of Chapter XI 'A Knife in the Dark' in FR, after the 'Crickhollow episode'); the third likewise, but numbered 'XI' (because by then the 'Bree' chapter had been divided, see p. 40), and with an erased title 'The Way to Weathertop'.

21 In some rough chronological workings there is a reference to Gandalf's being besieged in 'the West Towers', which is what Trotter called the Elf-towers in VI.155, 159.

22 Hamilcar's family now comes from Bridgefields in the Eastfarthing. Budgeford was written in later, perhaps much later. See note 19.

III
THE FOURTH PHASE (2): FROM BREE TO THE FORD OF RIVENDELL

Chapter IX: 'At the Sign of the Prancing Pony (i) The Cow Jumped over the Moon'

The 'third phase' version of this chapter (VI.331 ff.) had been developed in two forms, in the first of which the story of the coming of Gandalf and Odo to Bree was told by Butterbur, while in the second (the 'red version' as my father called it) it was told by the narrator (VI.344–7); and in the second the coming of the four Riders to the west gate of Bree on the evening of Wednesday 28 September was described (VI.347–8). The already complex manuscript was then used for a rough, drastic recasting of the narrative, the 'blue version' (see VI.343): this belongs with the new plot, and all reference to a visit of Gandalf to Bree in the days immediately preceding Frodo's arrival is cut out. A 'blue' rider to the original 'third phase' manuscript is written on the back of a calendar page for September 1939.

So far as it went, this was effectively a draft ('A') for a new version of this always crucial chapter; and in this case my father set aside the now chaotic 'third phase' manuscript entirely (though taking from it the pages containing the text of *The Cat and the Fiddle*), and it got left behind in England many years later; the 'fourth phase' version is a new manuscript ('B'), and this went to Marquette. Notably, this bears a date on the first page: 'Revised Version Oct. 1939'.

It remained at this time a single, very long chapter, extending through FR Chapter 10 'Strider'; but my father decided (doubtless on account of its length) to divide it into two chapters, 'IX' and 'X', both called 'At the Sign of the Prancing Pony', but with sub-titles; and these names rèmained for a long time. This arrangement was apparently made soon after the new text was completed, and it is convenient to follow it here.

The new version, to the point where the hobbits returned from the common room of the inn after Frodo's 'accident', now reaches, except in a few features, the final form, and variation even from the precise wording of FR is infrequent. The most notable respect in which it differs is that at this stage my father preserved the account of the black horsemen who spoke to Harry Goatleaf the gatekeeper on the evening of the 28th of September:

The fog that enveloped the Downs on Wednesday afternoon lay deep about Bree-hill. The four hobbits were just waking from their sleep beside the Standing Stone, when out of the mist four horsemen rode from the West and passed through the gates at dusk. . . .

The episode closely follows that in the 'red version' of the 'third phase' (VI.347–8), but of course Harry Goatleaf no longer refers to 'a hobbit riding behind an old man on a white horse, last night', and his conversation with the Rider takes this form:

'We want news!' hissed a cold voice through the key-hole.

'What of?' he answered, shaking in his boots.

'News of hobbits, riding on ponies out of the Shire. Have they passed?'

Harry wished they had, for it might have satisfied these riders if he could have said *yes*. There was a threat in the cold voice; but he dared not risk a *yes* that was not true. 'No sir!' he said in a quavering voice. 'There's been no Shire-hobbits on ponies through Bree, and there isn't likely to be any.'

A hiss came through the key-hole, and Harry started back, feeling as if something icy cold had touched him. 'Yes, it is likely!' said the voice fiercely. 'Three, perhaps four. You will watch. We want Baggins. He is with them. You will watch. You will tell us and not lie! We shall come back.'[1]

This episode was struck from the text, but I cannot say when this was done.

The conversation between Frodo and Merry and the gatekeeper is as in FR. The gatekeeper still however calls out to 'Ned' (his brother, presumptively) to watch the gate a while, since he has 'business up at *The Pony*' (as in VI.349); then follows: 'He had been gone only a moment, and Ned had not yet come out, when a dark figure climbed in quickly over the gate and vanished in the dark in the direction of the inn.' The reference to Harry Goatleaf's visit to the inn was afterwards struck out, and does not appear in FR (see below).

There is now, as is to be expected, no reference to Tom Bombadil when the hobbits arrive at *The Prancing Pony*, and Frodo's pseudonym is 'Mr Green' (see p. 37); the reference in FR (p. 167) to the Underhills of Staddle is of course absent. Folco is still Folco, corrected to Pippin, which shows that this text was written before the revised ending of Chapter V (pp. 30, 35).[2] Frodo still noticed the gatekeeper among the company in the common room of the inn, wondering whether it was his night off duty, but this was struck out, and does not appear in FR. Folco/Pippin now tells the story of the collapse of the 'Town Burrow' in Michel Delving, though the fat

Mayor is unnamed. Trotter is of course a Man, but the description of him is that of the old versions (VI.137, 334): he is still, as he was when he was a hobbit, 'queer-looking, brown-faced', with a short-stemmed pipe under his long nose, and nothing is said of his boots (FR p. 168).

When Bill Ferney and the Southerner left the common room, 'Harry the gatekeeper went out just behind them.' This, like the other references to the gatekeeper's presence at the inn noted above, was struck out. An isolated note of this time proposes: 'Cut out Harry – he is unnecessary': clearly referring to his visit to the inn after the arrival of the hobbits and his vaguely sinister association with Bill Ferney, not to his function as gatekeeper, which is certainly necessary. It is curious therefore that in the typescript that followed the present manuscript this last reference, though very clearly crossed out in the manuscript, was reinstated, and so appears in FR (p. 172), but quite anomalously, since all the references to his presence at the inn up to this point had been removed.

Chapter X: 'At the Sign of the Prancing Pony (ii) All that is gold does not glitter'

In the 'blue version' recasting of the 'third phase' narrative, or 'A', the story of Trotter's 'eavesdropping' beside the Road reaches the final form, in association with the new ending to Chapter VIII (p. 37): he hears the hobbits talking with Bombadil, and Frodo declaring that he is to be called 'Mr Green' (for the previous story, in which Trotter overheard Gandalf and Odo talking, see VI.337). After Trotter's 'I should advise him and his friends to be more careful what they say and do' (FR p. 176) there follows in A:

'I have not "left my name behind", as you put it,' said Frodo stiffly. 'My reason for taking another here is my own affair. I do not see why my real name should interest anyone in Bree; and I have still to learn why it interests *you*. Mr Trotter may have an honest reason for spying and eavesdropping; but if so I should advise him to explain it!'

'That's the line to take!' laughed Trotter. 'But you wait till old Butterbur has had his private word with you – you'll soon find out how your real name could be guessed, and why it may be interesting in Bree. As for myself: I was looking for Mr Frodo Baggins, *because I had been told to look for him*. And I have already given you hints, which you have understood well enough, that I know about the secret you are carrying.'

'Don't be alarmed!' he cried, as Frodo half rose from his seat, and Sam scowled. 'I shall take more care of the secret than you do. But now I had better tell you some more about myself.'

At that moment he was interrupted by a knock at the door. Mr Butterbur was there with a tray of candles...

Butterbur now has only news of the Black Riders to communicate. The story he tells is as before (VI.338–40), but the first Rider passed through Bree on the Tuesday, not the Monday, preceding, three not four of them came to the inn-door, and of course he does not refer to Gandalf and 'Baggins' (Odo) having gone off eastwards. The conversation continues:

'"Baggins!" said I. "If you are looking for hobbits of that name, you'd best look in the Shire. There are none in Bree. The last time one of that name came here was nigh on a score of years back.[3] Mr Bilbo Baggins he was, as disappeared out of Hobbiton: he went off East long enough ago."

'At that name he drew in his breath and sat up. Then he stooped at me again. "But there is also Frodo Baggins," said he,[4] in a whisper like a knife. "Is he here? Has he been? Do not lie to us!"

'I was all of a twitter, I can tell you; but I was angry as well. "*No* is the answer," said I; "and you'll get no lies here, so you'd best be civil. If you have any message for any party, you may leave it, and I'll look out for them." "The message is *wait*," said he. "We may return." And with that the three of them turned their horses and rode off into the fog. Now, Mr Green, what do you say to that?'

'But they asked for Baggins, you say, not Green,' said Frodo warily.

'Ah!' said the landlord with a knowing wink. 'But they wanted news of hobbits out of the Shire, and such a party doesn't come here often. It would be queer, if there were two different parties. And as for *Baggins*: I've heard that name before. Mr Bilbo was here more than once, in my dad's time and mine; and some funny tales have come out of the Shire since he went off: vanished with a bang while he was speaking, they say. Not that I believe all the tales that come out of the West – but here you go vanishing in the middle of a song by all accounts, right in my house. And when I have time to scratch my head and think, I remember noticing your friends call you Frodo, and I begin to wonder if Baggins should not come next. "Maybe those black men were right," I says to myself. Now the question is, what shall I say, if they come back? Maybe you want to see them, and more likely not. They mean no good to anyone, I'll wager. Now you and your friends *seem* all right in spite of your

pranks, so I thought I had best tell you and find out what you wish.'

'They mean no good at all,' said Frodo. 'I did not know they had passed through Bree, or I should have stayed quiet in this room, and I wish I had. I ought to have guessed it, from the way the gatekeeper greeted us – and you, Mr Butterbur; but I hoped perhaps Gandalf had been here asking for us. I expect you know who I mean, the old wizard. We hoped to find him here or have news of him.'

'Gandalf!' said the landlord. 'Know him! I should think I do. He was here not so long back, in the summer. A good friend of mine is Gandalf, and many a good turn he has done me. If you had asked after him sooner I should have been happier. I will do what I can for any friends of his.'

'I am very grateful,' said Frodo, 'and so will he be. I am sorry I can't tell you the whole story, but I assure you we are up to no mischief. I *am* Frodo Baggins, as you guess, and these – er – Black Riders are hunting for me, and we are in danger. I should be thankful for any sort of help, though I don't want you to get into trouble on my account. I only hope these Riders won't come back.'

'I hope not indeed,' said the landlord with a shiver. 'But spooks or no spooks, they'll have to mend their manners at my door.'

The latter part of this version is in hasty pencil, and soon after this point it peters out without further significant development. Obviously Gandalf's letter will still come from Trotter, not from Butterbur.

As I have said, this revision belongs with the new conception of Gandalf's movements: he only got ahead of Frodo and his friends by racing on horseback to Weathertop while they were toiling through the Midgewater Marshes. In the outline given on p. 9 there is mention of a visit of Gandalf to Bree before Frodo set out, and before his captivity in the Western Tower; and Butterbur says in this draft that he saw him 'not so long back, in the summer' (cf. also note 1). This led, I think, to the bringing back of the story (present in one of the alternative versions of the original 'Bree' chapter, VI.156) that it was Butterbur and not Trotter who had the letter from Gandalf; and this in turn led to refinement of the scene at the inn where Trotter proves that he is a friend.

As in the draft A above (p. 42), in the new or 'fourth phase' manuscript B Trotter says: 'I was looking for Mr Frodo Baggins, *because I had been told to look for him.*' But an important change in the structure now enters. In A Trotter has just said 'But now I had

better tell you some more about myself' when he is interrupted by Mr Butterbur's knock on the door – an interruption at this point that goes back through the earlier versions: see VI.338 ('third phase'), VI.150 (original text). In the new account, Trotter is not interrupted at this point. After saying that he will take more care of the secret than they do, the story now proceeds thus:

'...But now I had better tell you some more.' He leaned forward and looked at them. 'Black horsemen have passed through Bree,' he said in a low voice. 'On Tuesday morning one came up the Greenway; and two more appeared later. Yesterday evening in the fog three more rode through the West-gate just before it was closed. They questioned Harry the gatekeeper and frightened him badly. I heard them. They also went eastward.'

There follows a passage quite closely approaching that in FR (pp. 176–7, from 'There was a silence'), with Frodo's regret that he had gone to the common room of the inn, and Trotter's recounting that the landlord had prevented him from seeing the hobbits until it was too late. But to Frodo's remark that the Riders 'seem to have missed me for the present, and to have gone on ahead' Trotter replies:

'I should not be too sure of that. They are cunning, and they divide their forces. I have been watching them. Only six have passed through Bree. There may be others. There are others. I know them, and their proper number.' Trotter paused and shivered. 'Those that have passed on will probably return,' he went on. 'They have questioned folk in the village and outlying houses, as far as Combe [> Archet], trying to get news by bribes and threats – of a hobbit called Baggins. There were others beside Harry Goatleaf in the room tonight who were there for a purpose. There was Bill Ferney. He has a bad name in the Bree-land, and queer folk call at his house sometimes. You must have noticed him among the company: a swarthy sneering fellow. He was very close with one of the southern strangers, and they slipped out together just after your "accident". Harry is an old curmudgeon, and he is frightened; but he won't do anything, unless they go to him.[5] Ferney is a different matter – he would sell anything to anybody; or make mischief for the fun of it.'

From this point (Frodo's 'What will Ferney sell?') the text of FR is largely achieved, as far as Trotter's question: 'Will you have him?' Then follows:

Frodo made no answer. He looked at Trotter: grim and wild and rough-clad. It was hard to know what to do, or to feel sure of his good will. He had been successful in one thing at any rate: he had made Frodo suspect everybody, even Mr Butterbur. And all his warnings could so well apply to himself. Bill Ferney, Trotter: which was the most likely to betray them? What if Trotter led them into the wild, to 'some dark place far from help'? Everything he had said was curiously double-edged. He had a dark look, and yet there was something in his face that was strangely attractive.

The silence grew, and still Frodo found no answer. 'There is one obvious question you have not put,' said Trotter quietly. 'You have not asked me: "Who told you to look out for us?" You might ask that before you decide to class me with Bill Ferney.'

'I am sorry,' stammered Frodo; but at that moment there came a knock at the door. Mr Butterbur was there with candles...

The interruption by Mr Butterbur takes place at structurally the same point as in FR (p. 178), though the conversation he interrupts is quite different. Trotter now withdrew into a dark corner of the room, and when Nob had gone off with the hot water to the bedrooms, the landlord began thus:

'I've been asked to look out for a party of hobbits, and for one by the name of Baggins in particular.'

'What has that got to do with me, then?' asked Frodo warily.

'Ah!' said the landlord with a knowing wink. 'You know best; but old Barnabas can add up two and two, if you give him time. Parties out of the Shire don't come here often nowadays, but I was told to look out for one at just about this time. It would be queer, if there was no connexion, if you follow me. And as for Baggins, I've heard that name before. Mr Bilbo was in this house more than once, and some funny stories have come out of the Shire since he went off: vanished with a bang, while he was speaking, they say. Not that I believe all the tales that come from the West – but here you go vanishing in the middle of a song by all accounts, right in my house. Maybe you did, and maybe there was some mistake, but it set me thinking. And when I have time to scratch my head, I remember noticing how your friends call you *Frodo*; so I begin to wonder if Baggins should not come after it.[6] For it was Frodo Baggins I was told to

look for; and I was given a description that fits well enough, if I may say so.'

'Indeed! Let's hear it then!' said Frodo, a little impatient with the slow unravelling of Mr Butterbur's thoughts.

'*A round-bellied little fellow with red cheeks*,' answered the landlord with a grin. 'Begging your pardon; but he said it, not me.' Folco [> Pippin] chuckled, but Sam looked angry.

'*He* said it? And who was he?' asked Frodo quickly.

'Oh, that was old Gandalf, if you know who I mean. A wizard they say he is, but he is a right good friend of mine, whether or no. Many a good turn has he done me. "Barney," he says to me, it would be a matter of a month and more ago, in August,[7] if I recollect rightly, when he came in late one evening. Very tired he was, and uncommon thirsty. "Barney," he says, "I want you to do something for me." "You've only to name it," said I. "I want you to look out for some hobbits out of the Shire," said he. "There may be a couple, and there may be more. Nigh the end of September[8] it will be, if they come. I hope I shall be with them, and then you'll have no more to do than draw some of your best ale for us. But if I'm not with them, they may need help. One of them will be Frodo Baggins, if it is the right party: a great friend of mine, a round-bellied..." '

'All right!' said Frodo, laughing in spite of his impatience. 'Go on! We've heard that already.'

Mr Butterbur paused, put out of his stride. 'Where was I?' he said. 'Ah yes. "If this Frodo Baggins comes," said he, "give him this"; and he handed me a letter. "Keep it safe and secret, and keep it in your mind, if your head will hold anything so long," says he. "And don't you mention all this to anybody." I've kept that letter by me night and day, since he gave it to me.'

'A letter for me from Gandalf!' interrupted Frodo eagerly. 'Where is it?'

'There now!' cried Mr Butterbur triumphantly. 'You don't deny the name! Old Barney can put two and two together. But it's a pity you did not trust me from the beginning.' Out of an inner pocket he brought a sealed letter and handed it to Frodo.[9] On the outside it was inscribed: TO F.B. FROM G. ⁂

'There's another thing I ought to say,' Mr Butterbur began again. 'I guess you may be in trouble, seeing how Gandalf isn't here, and *they* have come, as he warned me.'

'What do you mean?' said Frodo.

'The black horsemen,' said Butterbur. ' "If you see horsemen

in black," says Gandalf to me, "look out for trouble! And my friends will need all the help you can give." And they have come, sure enough: yesterday and the day before.[10] The dogs all yammered, and the geese screamed at them. Uncanny, I call it. They've been asking for news of a hobbit called Baggins, I hear. And that Ranger, Trotter, he has been asking questions, too. Tried to get in here, before you had had bite or sup, he did.'

'He did!' said Trotter suddenly, coming forward into the light. 'And a lot of trouble would have been saved, if you had let him in, Barnabas.'

The landlord jumped with surprise. 'You!' he cried. 'You're always popping up. What do *you* want?'

'He's here with my leave,' said Frodo. 'He's offering us his help.'

'Well, you know best, maybe,' said Mr Butterbur, looking doubtfully at Trotter. 'Of course, I don't know what's going on, or what these black fellows want with you. But they mean no good to you, I'll swear.'

'They mean no good to anyone,' answered Frodo. 'I am sorry I can't explain it all. I am tired and very worried, and it is a long tale. But tell Gandalf everything, if he turns up, and he will be very grateful, and he may tell you more than I can. But I ought at least to warn you what you are doing in helping me. The Black Riders are hunting me, and they are perilous. They are servants of the Necromancer.'

'Save us!' cried Mr Butterbur, turning pale. 'Uncanny I knew they were; but that is the worst bit of news that has come to Bree in my time!'

This version now attains the form in FR (p. 181) as far as Butterbur's departure to send Nob out to look for Merry with scarcely any deviation. Trotter speaks of 'the Shadow in the South', not 'in the East', and refers of course to 'Mr Green', not 'Mr Underhill'; and after Butterbur's remark that there are others in Bree quicker in the uptake than Nob is, he adds: 'Bill Ferney was here tonight, and he's an ugly customer.' – It will be seen that with the structural change in the ordering of the chapter (bringing the landlord to the hobbits' room at a later point) the information about the Black Riders (itself very brief) is now given by Trotter, while Butterbur himself is left with only a few words on the subject.[11] In previous versions his account of the coming of the Riders to the inn door was a chief element in the conversation; now there is no mention of it (though it reappears briefly in FR, p. 180).

In this version, the landlord before leaving the room asks if Trotter

is going to stay there, to which Trotter replies: 'I am. You may need me before the morning.' 'All right, then,' said the landlord, 'if Mr Green is willing.' When Butterbur has gone:

'Well, now you ought to guess the answer to the question I spoke of before he came in,' said Trotter. 'But aren't you going to open the letter?'

Frodo looked carefully at the seal before he broke it. It seemed certainly to be Gandalf's. Inside, written in the wizard's thin long-legged script,[12] was the following message. Frodo read it aloud.[13]

The Prancing Pony, Bree; Tuesday, September 12th.[14] *Dear F. I am starting back tomorrow, & should reach you in a day or two. But things have become very dangerous, and I may not get through in time. (He has found the Shire: the borders are watched, and so am I.) If I fail to come, I hope that will be sufficient warning to you, & you will have sense to leave Shire at once. If so, there is just a chance you will get through as far as Bree. Look out for* horsemen in black. *They are your worst enemies (save one): they are Ringwraiths. Do not use* It *again: not for any reason at all. Do not move in the dark. Try and find* Trotter the ranger. *He will be looking out for you: a lean, dark, weatherbeaten fellow, but one of my greatest friends. He knows our business. He will see you through, if any one can. Make for Rivendell as fast as possible. There I hope we may meet again. If not, Elrond will advise you. Yours* X F ✝ ⋈ F ᛚ ᚴ ⁘ ⊠ ⁘

PS. You can trust Barnabas Butterbur and Trotter. But make sure it is really *Trotter. The real Trotter will have a sealed letter from me with these words in it*

All that is gold does not glitter,
all that is long does not last,
All that is old does not wither,
not all that is over is past.

PPS. It would be worse than useless to try and go beyond Bree on your own. If Trotter does not turn up, you must try and get Butterbur to hide you somewhere, and hope that I shall come.

PPPS. I hope B. does not forget this! If he remembers to give it to you, tell him I am very grateful, & still more surprised. Fare well wherever you fare. ⊠

'Well, that is from Gandalf all right, quite apart from the

hand and the signature,' said Frodo as he finished. 'What about your letter, Trotter?'

'Do you need it? I thought you had made up your mind about me already! If not, you ought not to have let me stay; and you certainly ought not to have read that aloud to me.'

'I haven't made up *my* mind,' said Sam suddenly. 'And I am not going to see Mr Frodo made fun of and put upon. Let's see that letter, or Sam Gamgee'll take a hand!'

'My good Sam,' said Trotter. 'I've got a weapon under my cloak, as well as you! And I don't mind telling you that if I was not the real Trotter, you would not have a chance, not all three of you together. But steady there!' he said, as Sam sprang up. 'I *have* got a letter, and here it is!'

Onto the table he tossed another sealed letter, outwardly exactly like the other. Sam and Folco [> Pippin] looked at it, as Frodo opened it. Inside there was a small paper in Gandalf's hand. It said:

All that is gold does not glitter;
all that is long does not last;
All that is old does not wither;
not all that is over is past.

This is to certify that the bearer is Aragorn son of Celegorn,[15] *of the line of Isildur Elendil's son, known in Bree as Trotter; enemy of the Nine, and friend of Gandalf.* X ᚨ ᛉ ᛞ ᚨ ᛚ ᚴ ⁘ ᛝ ⁘

Frodo stared at the words in amazement. 'Of the line of Elendil!' he said, looking with awe at Trotter. 'Then It belongs to you as much as to me, or more!'

'It does not belong to either of us,' said Trotter; 'but you are to keep it for a while. For so it is ordained.'[16]

'Why didn't you show this to us sooner? It would have saved time, and prevented me, and Sam, from behaving absurdly.'

'Absurdly! Not at all. Sam is very sensible: he doubted me to the last, and I think he still does. Quite right, too! If you'd had more experience of your Enemy, you would not trust your own hands, except in broad daylight, once you knew that he was on your track. I had to make sure of *you*, too. That was one reason why I delayed. The Enemy has set snares for me before now. But I must admit that I tried to persuade you to take me as a friend, for my own sake without proofs. A hunted wanderer wearies sometimes of distrust, even while he is preaching it.[17] But there, I fear my looks are against me.'

There follows the ill-judged intervention of Folco/Pippin – '*Handsome is as handsome does* we say in the Shire', which had remained unchanged from Odo's original remark in VI.155; then follows:

Folco [> Pippin] subsided; but Sam was not daunted, and he still eyed Trotter dubiously. 'You could make yourself look like you do, if you were play-acting,' he said. 'What *proof* have we had that you are the real article, I should like to know?'

Trotter laughed. 'Don't forget Butterbur's letter, Sam!' he said. 'Think it out! Butterbur is certainly the real Butterbur, unless the whole of Bree is bewitched. How could the words *all that is gold* appear in Butterbur's letter and in mine, unless Gandalf wrote them both? You may be sure Gandalf did not give a spy a chance of knowing that Butterbur's letter existed. Even if he did, a spy could not know the key-words, without reading the letter. How could that have been done without Butterbur's knowledge?'

Sam scratched his head long and thoughtfully. 'Ah!' he said at last. 'I dessay it would have been difficult. But how about this: you could have done in the real Trotter and stolen his letter, and then popped it out, like you did, after hearing Butterbur's and seeing how the land lay? You seem mighty unwilling to show it. What have you got to say to that?'

'I say you are a splendid fellow,' said Trotter. 'I see why Gandalf chose you to go with your master. You hang on tight. I am afraid my only answer to you, Sam, is this: if I had killed the real Trotter, I could kill you, and I should have killed you already without so much talk. If I was after the Ring, I could have it – now!' He stood up, and seemed suddenly to grow taller. In his face there gleamed a light, keen and commanding. They did not move. Even Sam sat still, staring dumbly at him.

'But I am the real Trotter, fortunately,' he said, looking down at them with a sudden kindly smile. 'I am Aragorn son of Celegorn, and if by life or death I can save you, I will.' There was a long silence.

At last Frodo spoke hesitatingly. 'Did those verses of Gandalf's apply to you, then?' he asked. 'I thought at first they were just nonsense.'

'Nonsense, if you will,' answered Trotter. 'Don't worry about them. They have served their turn.'

'If you want to know,' said Frodo, 'I believed in you before Butterbur came in. I was not trying to trust you, but struggling not to trust you, to follow your own teaching. You have

frightened me several times tonight, but never in the way that servants of the Enemy would, or so I imagine. I think one of those would ... would, well, seem fairer and feel fouler. You ... well, it is the other way round with you.'

'I look foul and feel fair, is it?' laughed Trotter. 'We'll leave it at that, and say no more about round bellies!'

'I am glad you are to be our guide,' said Folco [> Pippin]. 'Now that we are beginning to understand the danger, we should be in despair without you. But somehow I feel more hopeful than ever.'

Sam said nothing.

Afterwards my father abandoned this spider's web of argumentation, arising from there being two letters from Gandalf, and handled the question of the verse of recognition *All that is gold does not glitter* and Aragorn's knowledge of it extremely adroitly by making Aragorn use the words himself (not having seen or heard Gandalf's one letter) à propos Frodo's remark (already present in this version) about 'foul and fair' (FR p. 184). But the complication of the two letters survived the crucial decision that Gandalf's letter to Frodo was written to be received by him before he left Bag End and failed in delivery through Butterbur's forgetfulness.

After 'Sam said nothing' this version is the same as FR (p. 184), with Trotter's words about the leaving of Bree and the making for Weathertop. But his answer to Frodo's question about Gandalf is much slighter:

Trotter looked grave. 'I don't know,' he said. 'To tell you the truth, I am very troubled about him – for the first time since I have known him. He meant to arrive here with you two days sooner than this. We should at least have had messages. Something has happened. I think it is something that he feared, or he would not have taken all these precautions with letters.'

From Frodo's question 'Do you think the Black Riders have anything to do with it?' the remainder of FR Chapter 10 was now attained except in a few minor particulars, the chief of which occurs in Merry's account of his experience. This story now returns to the original version (VI.161–2), according to which the Rider went eastwards through the village and stopped at Bill Ferney's house (whereas in the 'third phase' version, VI.353–4, it went in the other direction to the West-gate); but it differs from FR (p. 185) in that when Merry was about to bolt back to the inn 'another black shape rose up before me – coming down the Road from the other gate – and ... and I fell over.' In this version Trotter says: 'They may after all try some attack before

we leave Bree. But it will be dark. In the light they need their horses.'[18]

For the subsequent history of this chapter see pp. 76–8.

Chapter XI: 'A Knife in the Dark'

This chapter was another of those that my father at this time reconstituted partly from the existing 'third phase' text (the latter part of Chapter X and the first part of Chapter XI, see VI.359) and partly from new manuscript pages, and as with the previous chapters in this form some rejected pages of the older version became separated and did not go to Marquette.

The new text opens with the attack on Crickhollow, which with the change in its date had been moved from its original place in Chapter VII (see p. 36). For the previous form of the episode see VI.328; this was almost identical to the original text, VI.303–4. To both of these my father pencilled in glimpses of the story that Odo left with Gandalf as he rode after the Black Riders – a story that seems only to have entered the 'third phase' narrative when the 'Bree' chapter was reached: see VI.336. But in the second version Crickhollow was not empty: a curtain moved in a window – for Odo had stayed behind.

I give first a preliminary draft of the attack on Crickhollow written for its new place in the story.

As they slept there in the inn of Bree, darkness lay on Buckland. Mist strayed in the dells and along the river-bank. The house at Crickhollow stood silent. Not long before, when evening had just fallen, there had been a light in a window. A horse came quickly up the lane, and halted. Up the path in haste a figure walked, wrapped in a great cloak, leading a white horse. He tapped on the door, and at once the light went out. The curtain at the window stirred, and soon after the door was opened and he passed quickly in. Even as the door closed a black shadow seemed to move under the trees and pass out through the gate without a sound.[19] Then darkness slowly deepened into night, a dead and misty night: no stars shone over Buckland.

There came the soft fall of hoofs, horses were drawing near, led slow and cautiously. The gate in the hedge opened, and up the path filed three shapes, hooded, swathed in black, and stooping low towards the ground. One went to the door, one to each corner of the house-end on either side; and there they stood, silent as the black shadows of stones, while time went slowly on, and the house and the trees about it seemed to be waiting breathlessly.

There was a faint stir in the leaves, and a cock crowed. The cold hour before dawn had come.[20] Suddenly the figure by the door moved. In the dark, without star or moon, the blade that was drawn gleamed, as if a chill light had been unsheathed. There was a blow, soft but heavy, and the door shuddered.

'Open in the name of Sauron!' said a voice, cold and menacing. At a second blow the door yielded, and fell back with its lock broken and timbers burst. The black figures passed swiftly in.

At that moment, nearby among the trees a horn rang out. It rent the night like fire on a hill-top, echoing over the land. *Awake! Fear! Fire! Foes! Awake!* Someone was blowing the Horn-call of Buckland, which had not been sounded for a hundred years, not since the white wolves came in the Fell Winter when the Brandywine was frozen. Far away[21] answering horns were heard. Distant sounds of waking and alarm came through the night. The whole of Buckland was aroused.

The black shapes slipped swiftly from the house. In the lane the sound of hoofs broke out, and gathering to a gallop went racing into the darkness. Behind them a white horse ran. On it sat an old man clad in grey, with long silver hair and flowing beard. His horn still sounded over hill and dale. In his right hand a wand flared and flickered like a sheaf of lightning.[22] Behind him, clinging to his cloak, sat a hobbit. Gandalf and Hamilcar were riding to the North Gate, and the Black Riders fled before them. But they had found out what they wished to know: Crickhollow was empty and the Ring had gone.

The story here must be that Gandalf and Hamilcar left the house by the back door, as Fredegar Bolger did in FR (p. 188), but then waited among the trees surrounding the open space in which the house stood. A note added to the time-scheme B (p. 11) seems to fit this version: 'The Black Riders creep into Buckland, but too late to see Frodo depart. They track him to Crickhollow and guard it, and see Gandalf enter. But Gandalf (and Ham pretending to be Frodo) burst out on night of Sept. 29.'

Another short text, written on the same slip of paper and obviously at the same time as that just given, provided only the end of the episode; and in this text, which was later struck through, there is no mention of Gandalf:

Ham Bolger was blowing the Horn-call of Buckland, which had not been sounded for a hundred years... [*&c. as before*] The black shapes slipped swiftly from the house.

In the lane the sound of hoofs broke out and gathering to a gallop raced off madly northwards into the dark. The black riders had fled, for their concern was not yet with the little folk of the Shire, but only with the Ring. And they had discovered what they wished to know: Crickhollow was empty and the Ring had gone.

This perhaps goes with the outline §4 on p. 9: 'Crickhollow scene – only Hamilcar there. He blows horn . . .'

The version of the story that appears in the 'fourth phase' manuscript changes again. It begins thus:

As they slept there in the inn at Bree, darkness lay on Buckland: mist strayed in the dells and along the river-bank. The house at Crickhollow stood silent. A curtain stirred in a window and for a moment a light gleamed out. At once a black shadow moved under the trees and passed out through the gate without a sound. The night deepened. There came the soft fall of hoofs . . .

The draft text given on p. 53 is then followed closely; but from 'The black figures passed swiftly in' there is a new story:

The black figures passed swiftly in. In a moment they came out again; one was carrying a small bundled figure in an old cloak: it did not struggle. Now they leaped upon their horses without caution; in the lane the noise of hoofs broke out, and gathering to a gallop went hammering away into the darkness.

At the same moment, [*struck out:* from the direction of the Ferry,] another horse came thundering along the lane. As it passed the gate a horn rang out.[23] It rent the night like fire on a hill-top . . . [*&c. as before*] Far away answering horns were heard; the alarm was spreading. Buckland was aroused.

But the Black Riders rode like a gale to the North Gate. Let the little people blow! Sauron would deal with them later. In the meanwhile they had earned his thanks: Baggins was caught like a fox in a hole. They rode down the watchmen, leaped the gate, and vanished.

And that is how Hamilcar Bolger first crossed the Brandywine Bridge.

This version evidently belongs with the story in the time-scheme D (p. 12), where on September 29 'the Riders attack Crickhollow and carry off Ham, pursued by Gandalf' – although there this took place at midnight, whereas here it was 'the cold hour before dawn'. Gandalf arrived just too late, and (and as will appear later) thought that it was

Frodo who had been taken; but the further story of Hamilcar Bolger must be briefly postponed (see pp. 68 ff.).

Frodo's 'dream of the tower' had been removed from the night at Bree to the night at Crickhollow (see pp. 33–6), and his sleep at Bree is now described as it is in FR: 'his dreams were again troubled with the noise of wind and of galloping hoofs ... far off he heard a horn blowing wildly.'

New writing (i.e. replacement of the 'third phase' manuscript) continues as far as the departure of the hobbits with Trotter from Bree and their coming into open country. At this stage Folco was still Folco, not Pippin; but the text of FR (pp. 189–93) was reached in all but trifling details.[24] The later story of Merry's ponies now appears, changed from the earlier (VI.164) in which Tom Bombadil, when he found them, went to the inn at Bree to find out what had happened to the hobbits, and paid Mr Butterbur for the ponies; the relationship between Bombadil and Butterbur had been abandoned (pp. 10, 37).

From the point where the companions saw the houses and hobbit-holes of Staddle on their left (FR p. 193) the 'third phase' manuscript was retained, and lightly corrected, as far as the arrival of Trotter, Frodo, and Merry on the summit of Weathertop. As the manuscript stood at this stage the text of FR was very nearly attained, but some additions were later: such as the lights in the eastward sky seen from the Midgewater Marshes, the burnt turf and blackened stones on the summit of Weathertop, and the ring of ancient stonework about it; apparently the alteration of Trotter's remark that 'not all the rangers are to be trusted, nor all the birds and beasts', which goes back to the original form of the story (VI.167), to 'not all the birds are to be trusted, and there are other spies more evil than they are' was also a much later change. Strider's account in FR (p. 197) of the great watchtower on Weathertop and its ruin is not entered on the manuscript at all, and the text remains here unchanged from its earliest form (VI.169, 355). Sam's song of Gil-galad was written at this time, and entered into the manuscript.[25]

On the summit of Weathertop the old story underwent an important change. Gandalf's message on a paper that fluttered from the cairn of stones (VI.170, 355) has gone, and the text of FR (p. 199) is reached (without, as already noted, any mention of a fire: the stone on which the marks were found was not 'flatter than the others, and whiter, as if it had escaped the fire', but 'smaller than the others, and of different colour, as if it had been rubbed clean'). The scratches on the stone were X : IIII (the Old English G-rune still being used), interpreted to mean that Gandalf had been there on 4 October. The marks were however changed to read X : I.III, and a new passage was inserted (and subsequently rejected):

'But there's a dot between the first 1 and the next three,' said

Sam poring over the stone. 'It doesn't say G.4, but G.1.3.'

'Quite right!' agreed Trotter. 'Then if Gandalf made these marks, it might mean that he was here from the first to the third; or perhaps that he and another were here on the third.'

This is odd, because Sam stayed down in the dell and did not go up to the summit of Weathertop; moreover this inserted discussion takes place at the summit, so that it is no help to suppose that Trotter brought the stone down with him to the dell. – Later, the marks were changed again to X:III.

To Frodo's 'It would be a great comfort to know that he was on the way to Rivendell' Trotter replies simply: 'It would indeed! But in any case, as he is not here himself, we must look after ourselves, and make our own way to Rivendell as best we can.' In answer to Merry's question 'How far is Rivendell?' Trotter at first replied very much as in the original version (VI.171), but distinguished between three weeks in fair weather and a month in foul weather from Brandywine Bridge to the Ford, and concludes: 'So we have at least twelve days' journey before us,[26] and very likely a fortnight or more.' This was rejected in the act of writing and the text of FR substituted, in which Trotter states the time it took from Weathertop to the Ford without computing it so elaborately: 'twelve days from here to the Ford of Bruinen, where the Road crosses the Loudwater[27] that runs out of Rivendell.'

In the 'third phase' the chapter ended with Trotter, Frodo, and Merry slipping down from the summit, and the next chapter began with 'Sam and Folco had not been idle' (in the dell). In the new version the chapter continues, and as in FR includes the attack by the Black Riders. The passage opens exactly as in FR (p. 201), and Gandalf's supplies of *cram*, bacon, and dried fruits (VI.357) have gone,[28] but Trotter has different things to report from his examination of the tracks in the dell, and he does not assert that Rangers had been there recently, and that it was they who had left the firewood.

'It is just as I feared,' he said when he came back. 'Sam and Folco [> Pippin] have trampled the soft ground, and the marks are spoilt or confused. There has been somebody here in *boots* lately, which means somebody who is not a Ranger, but that is all I can say for certain. But I don't quite like it: it looks as if there had been more than one pair of boots.' To each of the hobbits there came the thought of the cloaked and booted riders. If they had already found the dell, the sooner Trotter took them somewhere else the better. But Trotter was still considering the meaning of the footprints.

'There was also something even more strange,' he went on: 'I think there are hobbit-tracks, too: only I can't now be sure that

there is a third set, different from Folco's [> Pippin's] and Sam's.'

'But there aren't any hobbits in this part of the world, are there?' said Merry.

'There are four here now,' answered Trotter, 'and one more can't be called impossible; but I have no idea what that would mean.'

'It might mean that these black fellows have got the poor wretch as a prisoner,' said Sam. He viewed the bare dell with great dislike...

Sam's remark is of course a mere surmise, and he speaks without any particular reference: boots and hobbit-tracks merely suggest the possibility that the Riders might have a hobbit with them. But though Trotter's remarks are inconclusive, and within the narrative intentionally so, it is obvious that the story of Hamilcar Bolger's ride with Gandalf is present here.

Merry's question to Trotter beginning 'Can the Riders *see*?' now takes the same form as in FR (p. 202), and Trotter's reply is similar but less elaborate.[29]

In this text, as noted above, Trotter does not say anything about its being a Rangers' camp in the dell, and the firewood is left unexplained. Where in FR he says simply: 'Let us take this wood that is set ready for the fire as a sign', here he adds: 'Whoever left it, brought it and put it here for a purpose; for there are no trees near. Either he meant to return, or thought that friends in need might follow him. There is little shelter or defence here, but fire will make up for both. Fire is our friend in the wilderness.'[30]

The passage in the previous version (VI.358) describing Trotter's tales as they sat by the fire in the dell was changed, presumably at this time, to its reduced form in FR (p. 203); and his story of Beren and Lúthien now appears in the form that it has in FR (pp. 205–6). The song itself is missing; but the final form was apparently achieved at this time, since it is found written out roughly but in finished composition among draft papers of this period.[31]

Chapter XII: 'Flight to the Ford'

This chapter was constituted from the existing text, with replacement of some pages; but in this case the whole manuscript was kept together. Folco is still Folco in the passages of new writing, but was corrected to Pippin or Peregrin throughout.

The River Hoarwell or Mitheithel, and the Last Bridge, have now emerged, and the Ettenmoors and Ettendales[32] of FR (the Dimrill-dale(s) of the 'third phase') are now the Entish Lands and Entish Dales

(see p. 10 and note 14, and p. 14 and note 18). The 'Riven River' or 'Rivendell River' of the 'third phase' (VI.360) is now the Loudwater or Bruinen (note 27); and Trotter tells his companions that the Hoarwell joins the Loudwater away in the South: 'Some call it the Greyflood after that' (FR p. 212).

Trotter finds the elf-stone in the mud on the Last Bridge; but the passage in which he speaks of the country to the north of the Road remains virtually as it was in the earliest form of the story (VI.192–3; cf. FR p. 214): he does not say that he once dwelt in Rivendell, and the history of Angmar and the North Kingdom had not emerged (cf. pp. 37, 56).

The removal of the names 'Bert' and 'William' from the Stone Trolls was also a later decision; but it was now that Sam's 'Troll Song' was introduced (after some hesitation). My father's original intention had been to have Bingo sing it at *The Prancing Pony* (see VI.142, notes 11 and 12), and he had made a rough, uncompleted version for that occasion, developed and much changed from the original Leeds song *The Root of the Boot* of the 1920s (given in Vol.VI, see pp. 142–4).[33]

The 'Troll Song' is found here in three distinct and carefully written versions, beside much rough working; the third version was taken up into the manuscript. The 'Bree' version, which I did not print in Vol.VI, was already much closer to the first of these than to *The Root of the Boot*, from which my father rejected all such references as 'churchyard', 'aureole', 'wore black on a Sunday', etc. I give the first text here, in the form in which it was written out fair in ink; there are many pencilled variants, here ignored. For the development of the second and third versions see note 35.

In *The Root of the Boot* the Troll's opponent was named Tom, and his uncle John; in the 'Bree' version he was John, and his uncle Jim, with John changed back to Tom while the text was being worked on. In all three of the present texts the names are John and Jim, as they still were when my father sang the song to Mr and Mrs George Sayer at Malvern in 1952;[34] in FR they are Tom and his uncle Tim.

A troll sat alone on his seat of stone,
And munched and mumbled a bare old bone;
For many a year he had gnawed it near,
And sat there hard and hungry.
Tongue dry! Wrung dry!
For many a year he had gnawed it near
And sat there hard and hungry.

Then up came John with his big boots on.
Said he to the troll: 'Pray, what is yon?
For it looks like the shin o' my nuncle Jim,
As went to walk on the mountain.
Huntin'! Countin'!

It looks like the shin o' my nuncle Jim,
As went to walk on the mountain.'

'My lad,' said the troll, 'this bone I stole;
But what be bones that lie in a hole?
Thy nuncle were dead as a lump o' lead,
Before I found his carkis.
Hark'ee! Mark'ee!
Thy nuncle were dead as a lump o' lead,
Before I found his carkis.'

Said John: 'I doan't see why the likes o' thee
Without axin' leave should go makin' free
With the leg or the shin o' my kith and my kin,
So hand the old bone over!
Rover! Trover!
So give me the shin o' my kith and my kin,
And hand the old bone over!'

'For a couple o' pins,' says the troll, and grins,
'I'll eat thee too, and gnaw thy shins.
A bit o' fresh meat will go down sweet,
And thee shall join thy nuncle!
Sunk well! Drunk well!
A bit o' fresh meat will go down sweet,
And thee shall join thy nuncle.'

But just as he thought his dinner was caught,
He found his hands had hold of naught;
But he caught a kick both hard and quick,
For John had slipped behind him.
Mind him! Blind him!
He caught a kick both hard and quick,
For John had slipped behind him.

The troll tumbled down, and he cracked his crown;
But John went hobbling back to town,
For that stony seat was too hard for feet,
And boot and toe were broken.
Token! Spoken!
That stony seat was too hard for feet,
And boot and toe were broken.

There the troll lies, no more to rise,
With his nose to earth and his seat to the skies;
But under the stone is a bare old bone
That was stole by a troll from its owner.
Donor! Boner!

Under the stone lies a broken bone
That was stole by a troll from its owner.[35]

At the end of the recital Frodo says of Sam: 'First he was a conspirator, now he's a jester. He'll end up by becoming a wizard – or a toad!' – The stone that marked the place where the trolls' gold was hidden is still marked with Old English G and B runes in a circle, and the text remains as in the 'third phase' (VI.360).

Glorfindel now hails Trotter, not as in the previous version with *Ai, Du-finnion!* but with *Ai, dennad Torfir!* A short preparatory draft for the passage beginning with Glorfindel's greeting to Frodo (VI.361, FR p. 222) is found, as follows:

'Hail, and well met at last!' said the elf-lord to Frodo. 'I was sent from Rivendell to look for your coming. Gandalf feared that you might follow the Road to the Ford.'

'Gandalf has reached Rivendell then?' cried Frodo joyfully.

'More than five days ago,' answered Glorfindel. 'He rode out of the Entish Dales over the Hoarwell springs.'

'Out of the Entish Dales!' exclaimed Trotter.

'Yes,' said Glorfindel, 'and we thought you might come that way to avoid the peril of the Road. Some are seeking you in that region. I alone have come this way. I rode as far as the Bridge of

Here the text breaks off. That Glorfindel should have set out after Gandalf reached Rivendell is at variance with the time-schemes (p. 14) and this brief draft must have preceded them. Abandoned in mid-sentence, it was replaced by another very close to what Glorfindel says in FR: he had left Rivendell nine days before; Gandalf had not then come; and Elrond had sent out from Rivendell not on account of Gandalf but because he had had news from Gildor's people – 'some of our kindred journeying beyond the Branduin (which you turned into Brandywine)'. This was taken up into the manuscript of the chapter (without the reference to the hobbits' name for the river: the moment was too urgent for such reflections).[36] It may be that this change in the story came about from the consideration that too little time was allowed for Gandalf's great detour northward through the Entish Dales.

In any case, the time-scheme D reflects the revised text: Glorfindel left Rivendell on 9 October and found Trotter and the hobbits nine days later, on the 18th, while Gandalf and Ham Bolger only reached Rivendell on that same day, having taken a full fortnight from Weathertop.

In the new version, Sam's protective fierceness when Frodo was attacked by pain and swayed is more bitterly expressed: ' "My master is sick and wounded, though perhaps Mr Trotter has not told you that," said Sam angrily.' Much later, the latter part of this was struck out.

At the end of the chapter the three Riders who came out of the tree-hung cutting become, by correction to the existing manuscript, five, and the six who came from ambush away to the left become four. This change goes of course with the change of three Riders to five in the attack on Weathertop (see note 31).

NOTES

1 In the draft A there is also a rejected version of the words between the Rider and the gatekeeper:

> 'Have you seen Gandalf?' said the voice after a pause.
> 'No sir, not since midsummer,' said Harry.
> 'You will watch for him,' said the voice slowly. 'You will watch for hobbits. We want Baggins. He is with them....'

2 In the fair copy B of the end of Chapter V (pp. 34–5); in the draft A (p. 32) the name is still Folco.

3 'nigh on a score of years back' refers to Bilbo's passage through Bree after his Farewell Party, on his way to Rivendell. Butterbur had therefore seen Bilbo since he 'vanished with a bang while he was speaking', as the landlord goes on to say. See p. 83.

4 This development, showing the Riders to be well informed about the Bagginses of Bag End, was not retained.

5 On Trotter's references to Harry Goatleaf see pp. 41–2.

6 This speech of Butterbur's is largely derived from the draft text A (p. 43), where however it stands in a different context: there, it was on account of the questions of the Black Riders at the inn door, whereas here Butterbur has not mentioned the Riders.

7 'a month' was corrected to 'a fortnight', and at the same time 'in August' was struck out. The date on Gandalf's letter (p. 49) is 12 September, showing that these changes were made while the chapter was in progress.

8 'September' was corrected to 'this month'; see note 7.

9 The relations between the versions in respect of Gandalf's letter are:

'Third phase' of the 'Bree' chapter:
Butterbur tells Frodo of Gandalf's visit two days before, and of his message to hurry on after him (VI.338–9)
Trotter has the letter from Gandalf (VI.343)

Draft revision A of the 'third phase' version:
Butterbur has nothing to communicate from Gandalf, who has not recently been in Bree (p. 43)
Trotter has the letter from Gandalf (p. 44)

The present text:
Butterbur tells Frodo of Gandalf's visit to Bree (in August >) on 12 September (p. 47 and note 7)

Butterbur has the letter from Gandalf (p. 47)

The Fellowship of the Ring:
Butterbur tells Frodo of Gandalf's visit at the end of June, leaving with the landlord a letter to be taken to the Shire, which was not done (p. 179).

10 'yesterday and the day before': i.e. Tuesday and Wednesday, 27 and 28 September. Similarly in A the first Rider passed through Bree on the Tuesday (p. 43), not as in the previous versions on the Monday (VI.151, 339). In FR (pp. 176, 180) the first appearance of the Black Riders in Bree was again on Monday the 26th.

11 This is in fact a reversion to the alternative text 'B' of the original 'Bree' chapter (see VI.159), where Butterbur does not encounter the Riders and has nothing to say about them.

12 'thin long-legged script': 'strong but graceful script' FR. In the earlier versions Gandalf's handwriting is 'trailing' (VI.154, 352).

13 There are two very rough draft versions of the letter. The first reads:

> *The Prancing Pony* Aug. 30. Tuesday. Dear F. I hope you will not need this. If you get this (I hope old Butterbur will not forget) things will be far from well. I hope to get back in time, but things have happened which make it doubtful. This is to say: look out for horsemen in black. Avoid them: they are our worst enemies (save one). Don't use It again, *not for any reason whatever*. Make for Rivendell as fast as you possibly can; but *don't move in the dark*. I hope, if you reach Bree, you will meet Trotter the Ranger: a dark rather lean weather-beaten fellow, but my great friend, and enemy of our enemies. He knows all our business. He has been watching the east borders of the Shire since April, but for the moment has disappeared. You can trust him: he will see you through if it can be done. I hope we may meet in Rivendell. If not Elrond will advise you. If I don't come I can only hope that will be sufficient warning for you, and that you (and Sam, too, at least) will leave the Shire as soon as possible.

The other draft is the very close forerunner of the letter in the present manuscript, and scarcely differs from it, but it bears no date. – For previous forms of the letter see VI.154, 158, 352.

14 On the date 12 September (beside 30 August in the draft, note 13) see notes 7 and 8.

15 'Aragorn son of Celegorn' is certainly later than 'Aragorn son of Aramir' (p. 7). – The original form of the name of the third son of Fëanor was *Celegorm*, but this was changed to *Celegorn* in the course of the writing of the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.226, 289). Later it became *Celegorm* again.

16 These words of Frodo and Aragorn were afterwards used in 'The Council of Elrond' (see p. 105, note 3).

17 There is much initial drafting in exceedingly rough form for this part of the chapter. The first form of this passage was:

> The Enemy has set snares for me before now. Of course I did not really doubt you after seeing you with Tom Bombadil, and certainly not after hearing Frodo's song. Bilbo wrote that, and I don't see how servants of the Enemy could possibly have known it. But I had to teach you caution and convince you that I was personally to be trusted all the same – so that you should have no doubts or regrets later. Also a wanderer, an old ranger, had a desire to be taken as a friend for his own sake for once, and without proofs.

For the origin of this speech of Trotter's see VI.155.

18 With 'In the light they need their horses' cf. Strider's words on Weathertop (FR p. 202): 'the black horses can see, and the Riders can use men and other creatures as spies'; for earlier forms of this see VI.178, 357, and p. 58 and note 29.

19 I take the significance of this to be that the one Rider who had stood sentinel under the trees went to fetch the other two.

20 These two sentences replaced, soon after the time of writing, 'A curtain in one of the windows moved' (cf. VI.328).

21 'Far away answering horns were heard': in all the variant forms of the 'Crickhollow episode' the reading is 'Far away' (adverbial). The reading of FR (p. 189), 'Far-away answering horns' (adjectival), which appears already in the first impression of the first edition, is I think an early error.

22 The expression *a sheaf of lightning*, going back to the earliest form of the episode (VI.304), seems not to be recorded. The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives a meaning of *sheaf* 'a cluster of jets of fire or water darting up together', with quotations from the nineteenth century, but I doubt that this is relevant. Conceivably my father had in mind a 'cluster' or 'bundle' of lightnings', like a 'sheaf of arrows'.

23 These sentences (from 'At the same moment...') were a replacement, made as I think at or very soon after the time of composition, of 'Nearby among the trees a horn rang out.'

24 Some corrections made to attain it were put in subsequently, as is seen at once from the fact that in one of them 'Pippin' is the name written, not changed from 'Folco'; but I doubt that they were much later, and the question has here no importance.

25 The original workings of Sam's song of Gil-galad are extant, with the original form of the dialogue that followed his recital:

> The others turned in amazement, for the voice was Sam's. 'Don't stop!' said Folco.
>
> 'That's all I know, sir,' stammered Sam blushing. 'I learned it out of an old book up at Mr. Bilbo's, when I was a lad. I always was as one for elves: but I never knew what that bit was about,

until I heard Gandalf talking. Mr. Frodo'll remember that day.'

'I do,' said Frodo; 'and I know the book. I often wondered where it came from, though I never read it carefully.'

'It came from Rivendell,' said Trotter. 'That is part of

Here the text breaks up into a mass of rough variants, including 'It comes from "The Fall of Gilgalad", which is in an old tongue. Bilbo must have been translating it', and 'I know the book you mean (said Frodo). Bilbo wrote his poems in it. But I never thought of them as true.'

26 'at least twelve days' journey before us': i.e. 21 less 9 (2 from the Brandywine Bridge to Bree, 7 from Bree to Weathertop).

27 *Bruinen* occurs in the time-scheme D, p. 14; *Loudwater* is first met here (but is found also on one of the sketch-maps redrawn in VI.201).

28 In draft fragments there are many versions of the passage concerning the problem of provisions that now beset the travellers, and in these there are still several mentions of 'the additional supplies left by Gandalf.'

29 The passage in the final form 'but our shapes cast shadows in their minds ... they smell the blood of living things, desiring and hating it' is lacking. The final text is found in this manuscript, but whether added at this time or later I cannot say.

30 Aragorn's remark in FR about the Riders and fire ('Sauron can put fire to his evil uses...') was added to the manuscript. – In a draft for the earlier passage where he examines the traces in the dell he says:

> 'The wood is interesting. It is beech. There are no trees of that sort for many miles from this place, so the wood was brought from a distance. It must have been hidden here for a purpose: that is, either the campers meant to stay or to return, or they thought friends were likely to follow.'

31 Two differences from FR that remained in the 'third phase' were corrected on this manuscript: 'three tall figures' to 'five', and Frodo's cry to *O Elbereth! Gilthoniel!* (see VI.358).

32 The *Ettenmoors* and *Ettendales* of FR (pp. 212, 215) were written into this manuscript, but certainly at some later time – replacing *Entish Lands* and *Entish Dales* when the word *Ent* had acquired its special meaning. It may be that *Etten-* from Old English *eoten* 'giant, troll' (Grendel in *Beowulf* was an *eoten*), Middle English *eten*, was first devised on this manuscript, in the passage where Trotter says 'If we keep on as we are going we shall get up into the Entish Dales far north of Rivendell' (FR p. 215), for my father wrote here *Thirs* before he wrote *Ettendales*. He must have been thinking of using the Old English word *þyrs*, of the same general meaning as *ent*, *eoten*, Middle English *thirs* (and other forms). On the other hand a note on the First

Map (see p. 306) seems also to show *Etten-* at the moment of its emergence.

33 There was also a fleeting idea that it would be Bilbo's song at Rivendell (see VI.412, note 6).

34 See Humphrey Carpenter, *Biography*, p. 213; *Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien* no. 134 (29 August 1952). The tape-recording of the 'Troll Song' made by Mr. Sayer on that occasion is heard on the Caedmon record (TC 1477) issued in 1975. The version sung by my father was the third of the present texts.

35 The second text is much closer to that in FR, but still distinct: in the first verse *And sat there hard and hungry* stands in place of *For meat was hard to come by*, in the third *Before I found his carkis* for *Afore I found his shin-bone*, and in the fifth *Thee'll be a nice change from thy nuncle!* for *I'll try my teeth on thee now*. In this text the fifth, sixth, and seventh lines of each verse were omitted, but were pencilled in later, mostly as they appear in FR.

The third text changed *And sat there hard and hungry* in the first verse to *And seen no man nor mortal* (with rhyming words *Ortal! Portal!*), which goes back to *The Root of the Boot* in *Songs for the Philologists* (VI.143), but this was corrected on the manuscript to the final line *For meat was hard to come by* (and was so sung by my father in 1952, see note 34). The third verse preserved *Afore I found his carkis* (with the last line *He's got no use for his carkis*), and the fifth preserved *Thee'll be a nice change from thy nuncle!*

36 But the information that the Baranduin was the Brandywine survived as a footnote at this point in FR (p. 222). – This is no doubt the first occurrence of *B(a)randuin* in the narrative, origin of the 'popular etymology' *Brandywine* among the hobbits. Both *Branduin* and *Baranduin* are given in an added entry in the *Etymologies* in Vol. V (stem BARÁN, p. 351). – As the passage appears in the manuscript, the name of the river was written *Branduin*, corrected to *Baranduin*, and (much later) to *Malevarn*.

IV
OF HAMILCAR, GANDALF, AND SARUMAN

On 5 August 1940 the Registrar of Oxford University wrote to my father enclosing examination scripts that had been received from an American candidate in the Honour School of English. These provided a good quantity of paper, and my father used it for the continuation of the interrupted story of the Mines of Morià and for revisions of the story already in existence; he was still using it when he came to the departure of the Company from Lothlórien.[1] In the Foreword to the Second Edition of *The Lord of the Rings* he said that he 'halted for a long while' by Balin's tomb in Moria; and that 'it was almost a year later' when he went on 'and so came to Lothlórien and the Great River late in 1941.' I have argued (VI.461) that in saying this he erred in his recollection, and that it was towards the end of 1939, not of 1940, that he reached Balin's tomb; and the use of this paper, received in August 1940, for the renewed advance in the narrative seems to support this view.[2] Of course it may be that he did not begin using it until significantly later, though that does not seem particularly likely.

At any rate, for the attempt to deduce a consecutive account of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* this was a most fortunate chance, since the use of a readily recognisable paper the supply of which was limited makes it possible to gain a much clearer idea of the development that took place at this time than would otherwise be the case. I shall refer to this paper as 'the August 1940 examination script'.

It is not, to be sure, clear whether my father meant that he put the whole thing away for the better part of a year, or whether he distinguished between 'new narrative' – the onward movement of the story from the Chamber of Mazarbul – and the rewriting of existing chapters. Dates in the latter part of 1939 have appeared in the preceding chapters: the 'final decisions' of 8 October 1939 (p. 8), the 'New Plot' of Autumn 1939 (p. 9), and the date October 1939 of the 'fourth phase' version of the long 'Bree' chapter (p. 40). A 'New Plot', given in the present chapter, is dated August 1940. It may be much oversimplified to suppose that nothing at all was done between the last months of 1939 and the late summer of 1940, but at least it is convenient to present the material in this way, and in this chapter I collect together various texts that certainly belong to the latter time.

In the 'fourth phase' version of 'A Knife in the Dark' the story of the attack on Crickhollow took this form (p. 55): the Black Riders carried Hamilcar Bolger out of the house as an inert bundle, and as they rode away 'another horse came thundering along the lane. As it passed the gate a horn rang out.' I noted that this story belongs with what is said in the time-scheme D (p. 12: Thursday 29 September: 'Riders attack Crickhollow and carry off Ham, pursued by Gandalf').

A very rough manuscript written on the August 1940 examination script described above gives a version of the event as recounted later at Rivendell by Gandalf and Hamilcar Bolger. This text takes up at the point where Frodo, leaving his bedroom at Rivendell, goes down and finds his friends in the porch (for the previous state of this part of the story see VI.365); but I do not think that anything has been lost before this point – it was a particular passage of the 'Many Meetings' chapter rewritten to introduce the new story.

There seemed to be three hobbits sitting there with Gandalf. 'Hurray!' cried one of them, springing up. 'Here comes our noble cousin!' It was Hamilcar Bolger.

'Ham!' cried Frodo, astounded. 'How did you come here? And why?'

'On horseback; and representing Mr. F. Baggins of Crickhollow, and late of Hobbiton,' answered Ham.

Merry laughed. 'Yes,' he said. 'We told him so, but he didn't believe it: we left poor old Ham in a dangerous post. As soon as the Black Riders had found Crickhollow, where Mr. Baggins was popularly supposed to be residing, they attacked it.'

'When did that happen?' asked Frodo.

'Before dawn on Friday morning,[3] four days nearly after you left,' said Ham. 'They got me' – he paused and shuddered – 'but Gandalf came in the nick of time.'

'Not quite the nick,' said Gandalf. 'A notch or two behind, I am afraid. Two of the Riders must have crept into Buckland secretly, while a third took the horses down the other side of the River inside the Shire. They stole the ferryboat from the Buckland shore on Thursday night, and got their horses over. I arrived too late, just as they reached the other side. Galeroc had to swim the river. Then I had a hard chase: but I caught them ten miles beyond the Bridge. I have one advantage: there is no horse in Mordor or in Rohan that is as swift as Galeroc.[4] When they heard his feet behind them they were terrified: they thought I was somewhere else, far away. I was terrified too, I may say: I thought it was Frodo they had got.'

'Yes!' said Hamilcar with a laugh. 'He did not know whether

he was relieved or disgusted when he found it was only poor old Ham Bolger. I was too crushed to mind at the time: he bowled the Rider that was carrying me clean over; but I feel rather hurt now.'

'You are perfectly well now,' said Gandalf; 'and you have had a free ride all the way to Rivendell, which you would never have seen, if you had been left to your own sluggishness. Still, you have been useful in your way.' He turned to Frodo: 'It was from Ham that I heard you had gone into the Old Forest,' he said; 'and that filled me with fresh anxiety. I turned off the Road at once, and went immediately to visit Bombadil. That seems to have proved lucky; for I believe the three Riders reported that Gandalf and "Baggins" had ridden East. Their chieftain was at Amrath, far down the Greenway in the south, and the news must have reached him late on Friday. I fancy the Chief Rider was sorely puzzled when the advance guard reported that Baggins and the Ring had been in Bree the very night when they thought they had caught him in Crickhollow! Some Riders seem to have been sent straight across country to Weathertop. Five[5] came roaring along the Road. I was safe back at the *Pony* when they passed through Bree on Saturday night. They leaped the gates and went through like a howling wind. The Breelanders are still shivering and wondering what is happening to the world. I left Bree next morning, and rode day and night behind them, and we reached Weathertop on the evening of the third.'

'So Sam was right!' said Frodo. 'Yes, sir, seemingly,' said Sam, feeling rather pleased;[6] but Gandalf frowned at the interruption.

'We found two Riders already watching Weathertop,' he went on. 'Others soon gathered round, returning from the pursuit further east along the Road. Ham and I passed a very bad night besieged on the top of Weathertop. But they dared not attack me in the daylight. In the morning we slipped away northwards into the wilds. Several pursued us; two followed us right up the Hoarwell into the Entishlands. That is why they were not in full force when you arrived, and did not observe you at once.'

Here the text ends, but it is followed by another version of the last part, following on from 'we slipped away northwards into the wilds':

... not too secretly – I wanted to draw them off. But the Chief Rider was too cunning: only four came after us, and only two

pursued us far; and they turned aside when we reached the Entishlands and went back towards the Ford, I fancy. Still, that is why they were not in full force when you arrived, and why they did not at once pursue [you] in the wild / Still, that is why they did not immediately hunt for you in the wilderness, or observe your arrival at Weathertop; and why they were not in full force for the attack on you.

Comparison of this account with the time-scheme D (pp. 12–13) will show that the narrative fits the scheme closely. In both, the Riders crossed the Brandywine by the Ferry on the night of Thursday 29 September; Gandalf rescued Ham from the Riders on Friday morning; two Riders (as the narrative was first written, see note 5) were sent direct to Weathertop, and (again as first written) seven rode through Bree, throwing down or leaping the gates, on the night of Saturday 1 October, while Gandalf and Ham were at *The Prancing Pony*; two Riders were already at Weathertop when Gandalf and Ham got there in the evening of Monday 3 October, after riding day and night; and Gandalf and Ham left Weathertop on the following morning.

Gandalf's horse is now named *Galeroc*, replacing earlier *Narothal* (VI.345); and the name *Amrath* appears, of the place where the chief of the Riders remained, 'far down the Greenway in the south.'[7]

This narrative seems to belong also with the 'fourth phase' version of 'A Knife in the Dark' (p. 55): the horse that came racing up the lane as the Riders rode off with Ham Bolger was bearing Gandalf from the Ferry, 'a notch or two behind' the nick of time, as he said at Rivendell. Yet there is a difficulty, or at any rate a difference; for the story of the attack on Crickhollow in this version, as in all those preceding it, described a long period ('time went slowly on') between the coming of the Riders into the garden of Crickhollow and the breaking into the house. If Gandalf came to Bucklebury Ferry just as the Riders with their horses reached the other side, and he at once put Galeroc to swim the river, he cannot have been more than a matter of minutes behind them.

A new narrative outline, written roughly and rapidly on two sides of a single sheet, is headed: '*New Plot*. Aug. 26–27, 1940'. This outline was subsequently altered and added to, but I give it here as first written. I have expanded contractions and in other small ways slightly edited the text to make it easier to follow.

> The wizard Saramond the White [*written above at the same time:* Saramund the Grey] or Grey Saruman sends out a message that there is important news: Trotter hears that Black Riders are *out* and moving towards the Shire (for which they are asking). He sends word to Gandalf, who leaves Hobbiton at the end of June. He goes

S.E. (leaving Trotter to keep an eye on the Shire-borders) towards Rohan (or Horserland).

Gandalf knows that 9 Black Riders (and especially their king) are too much for him alone. He wants the help of Saramund. So he goes to him where he lived on the borders of Rohan at Angrobel (or Irongarth).

Saramund betrays him – having fallen and gone over to Sauron: (*either*) he tells Gandalf false news of the Black Riders, and they pursue him to the top of a mountain; there he is left standing alone with a guard (wolves, orcs, etc. all about) while they ride off with mocking laugh; (*or else*) he is handed over to a giant Fangorn (Treebeard) who imprisons him?

Meanwhile the Black Riders attack the Shire, coming up the Greenway and driving a crowd of fugitives among which are one or two evil men, Sauronites.[8] The King of the Black Riders encamps at Amrath to guard Sarn Ford and Bridge.

6 Riders (DEFGHI) go ahead and invade the Shire. The vanguard Rider (D) reaches Bag-End on Sept. 23 (night). Two (DE) then trail Frodo etc. to the Ferry (Sept. 25). FGHI are on the main road. DE, foiled at the Ferry (Sept. 25), ride off to Brandywine Bridge and join FGHI (dawn on Sept. 26).

HI then ride along scouring both sides of the Road and reach Bree up and down Greenway [*sic*] on Tuesday Sept. 27.[9]

On night (cockcrow) of Sept. 26–27 DEF attack Crickhollow. There they carry off Ham. G was left guarding the Bridge but now comes with them.

HI go on through Bree asking for news, to make sure 'Baggins' has not escaped and got ahead. They get in touch with Bill Ferney.

DEFG with poor Ham now ride to Greenway (does Harry see them? Probably not). At Amrath they meet the King (A) and BC, on Wednesday 28th, leaving for the moment the Road deserted. The King is angry at this. He is suspicious of a plot since Ham has no Ring. DE are sent back to Bree, arriving late on Thursday 29th. (Meanwhile the hobbits have got to the Inn.) FG go back to the Shire.

DE get in touch with Bill Ferney, and hear of news at the Inn. [*Struck out at once:* They attack the Inn but fail (and get the idea that 'Green'[10] has gone off?)] They fear 'Trotter', but get Bill Ferney and the Southerner to burgle the Inn and try and get more news, especially of the Ring. (They are puzzled by two Bagginses.) The burglary fails; but they drive off all the ponies.

FG bring news to the King that Gandalf has escaped and is in the Shire (which he reached on Wednesday 28th [> Thursday 29th night], and visited Bag-End and the Gaffer).

DE return to the King and report (Sept. 30): he is puzzled by 'Green' and the Ring, by Baggins and Ham, and troubled by news of

Gandalf behind. He does not kill Ham because he wants to find out more, and Sauron has ordered him to bring 'Baggins' to Mordor. HI return (Oct. 1) reporting nothing on the Road as far as Weathertop, and that Green and Trotter have left Bree and vanished. The King decides to pursue Green with all his forces, carrying Ham with him.

Gandalf goes to Crickhollow late on Thursday 29th and finds it deserted. Old cloak of Frodo dropped. Gandalf is terrified lest Frodo is captive. (? Does he visit Tom – if so make him arrive in the Shire on the 28th and visit Buckland on the 29th; if not, arrive in the Shire on the 29th, visit Buckland on the 30th.) Either visiting Tom or not, Gandalf reaches Bree on Saturday Oct. 1 (after the hobbits have gone). He rides after them. The Black Riders meanwhile have left Amrath and revisited Bree to get news of Green, and gone off along the Road on both sides. Gandalf crashes into DE who are carrying Ham and rescues him. He gallops to Weathertop, reaching it on Oct. 3. He sees Black Riders gather and goes off North (three Riders, DEF, pursue him). The rest patrol round and watch Weathertop.

Here we have the story of the capture of Hamilcar Bolger again, but with a significant difference. In Time-scheme D (p. 12), and in the story told by Gandalf at Rivendell (p. 68), the attack on Crickhollow took place on the night of Thursday–Friday 29–30 September; and the story there was that Gandalf arrived just as the Riders left, and he was able to catch them up ten miles east of the Brandywine Bridge. In the present outline, the attack on Crickhollow took place three nights earlier, on that of Monday–Tuesday 26–27 September (Frodo and the others having left on the Monday morning), and since Gandalf still arrives there late on the 29th (or the 30th) he finds the trail cold; but he also finds Frodo's cloak dropped on the step. He still rescues Ham, but not till his captors have passed Bree. It is curious therefore that (though he was uncertain about it) my father had not decisively rejected the visit to Tom Bombadil, since with this plot Gandalf could have had no notion that the hobbits had entered the Old Forest.

This is very probably the first appearance of Saruman (Saramond, Saramund), who steps into the narrative quite unheralded – but he enters at once as a Wizard whose aid Gandalf seeks, and who has 'fallen and gone over to Sauron'; moreover he dwells at *Angrobel* or 'Irongarth' (cf. *Isengard*) 'on the borders of Rohan'. But my father was still quite uncertain what happened to Gandalf, having rejected the story of the Western Tower: the possibilities suggested here show that the imprisonment in a tower had been for the moment abandoned. Giant Fangorn or Treebeard again appears as a hostile being (cf. p. 9).

I suspect that the primary question that my father was pondering here was that of the emergence of the Ringwraiths from Mordor, Gandalf's knowledge of this in the summer before Frodo left Bag End,

and Trotter's message. It has been said already (p. 9) that 'It was a message of Trotter's in July (?) that took Gandalf away – fearing Black Riders', and again (p. 10) 'It was a message from Trotter that fetched Gandalf away in summer before Frodo left'. These notes indicate that Gandalf already had reason, when he left Hobbiton, to suspect the emergence of the Ringwraiths; but it is now told, at the beginning of the present outline, that the message from Trotter (itself emanating from Saruman) was an actual report that the Nine had left Mordor and were moving towards the Shire. This would raise the question: why, in that case, did Gandalf, before he went off, not urge Frodo to leave for Rivendell as soon as he could? Scribblings on the manuscript of this outline show my father concerned with the question: 'Both Gandalf and Trotter must go away *together* and not fear to be captured, or else Gandalf would have sent a message to Frodo to start, or Trotter would have.' Then follows a suggestion that Trotter 'got cut off from Gandalf, only arriving in Bree hard on the tracks of the Black Riders.' But this does not seem entirely to meet the difficulty. Later my father noted here: 'Leaves Butterbur a letter which he *forgets* to send to Frodo', and this is clearly where that essential idea arose.

In FR (p. 269) the problem is resolved by reverting to the story that when Gandalf left Hobbiton he had no definite knowledge, and by the introduction of Radagast. 'At the end of June I was in the Shire, but a cloud of anxiety was on my mind, and I rode to the southern borders of the little land; for I had a foreboding of some danger, still hidden from me but drawing near.' It was Radagast who told Gandalf that the Nine were abroad, whereupon Gandalf, at Bree, wrote the letter to Frodo which Butterbur forgot to send.

Another brief but distinctive narrative passage is clearly associated with this 'August 1940' outline. It was substituted in the manuscript of the 'fourth phase' version of Chapter IX ('At the Sign of the Prancing Pony (i)') for that in which the Black Riders spoke to Harry Goatleaf, the gatekeeper at Bree, on the evening of Wednesday the 28th of September (pp. 40–1), and was itself subsequently rejected.

The rain that swept over the Forest and the Downs on Tuesday was still falling long and grey on Bree when evening came. The lights were just being lit in Tom's house,[11] when the noise of horses approaching came down the Road from the west. Harry Goatleaf the gatekeeper peered out of his door and scowled at the rain. He had been thinking of going out to close the gate, when he caught the sound of the horsemen. Reluctantly he waited, wishing now that he had shut the gate earlier: he did not like the sound. Two horsemen had appeared in Bree late the day before[12] and wild stories were going about. People had been scared; some said the riders were uncanny: dogs yam-

mered, and geese screamed at them. Yet they were asking for news of hobbits out of the Shire, especially for one called Baggins. Very queer.

Harry thought it even queerer a minute later. He went out, grumbling at the rain, and looking up the Road he thought he saw dark figures approaching swiftly, three or maybe four. But suddenly they turned left at the Cross Roads[13] just beyond the gate, and went off southwards and down the Greenway; all sound of their horses' feet died away on the grass-grown track.

'Queerer and queerer!' he thought. 'That way leads nowhere. Who would turn off on a wet night just in sight of the Inn at Bree?' He shivered suddenly all down his back. Locking the gate he hurried into his house and bolted the door.

Wednesday turned foggy after midday; but still the queer events went on. Out of the mists up the Greenway there straggled such a company as had not been seen in Bree for many a year: strange men from the South, haggard and wayworn, and bearing heavy burdens. Most of them had a hunted look and seemed too tired and scared to talk; but some were ill-favoured and rough-spoken. They made quite a stir in Bree.

The next day, Thursday, was clear and fine again, with a warm sun and a wind that veered from East towards the South. No traveller passed the western gate all day, but Harry kept on going to the gate, even after nightfall.

This would then join on to the next part of the text, 'It was dark, and white stars were shining, when Frodo and his companions came at last to the Greenway-crossing and drew near the village' (cf. VI.348).

With this compare the 'August 1940' outline (p. 71): 'DEFG with poor Ham now ride to Greenway (does Harry see them? Probably not).' I think it is clear that when Harry Goatleaf saw the dark figures mysteriously turn off down the Greenway at the crossroads in the rain at dusk, they had Hamilcar Bolger with them, bearing him to the King at Amrath. And with the description of the company that came up the Greenway on the Wednesday cf. an earlier passage in the same outline: 'Meanwhile the Black Riders attack the Shire, coming up the Greenway and driving a crowd of fugitives among which are one or two evil men, Sauronites.'

In the margin of the 'fourth phase' version of the attack on Crickhollow (p. 55) my father later noted:

> Omit, or bring into line with old version (in middle of Chapter VII). Ham cannot be captured (Black Riders would obviously kill him). It probably spoils surprise to show what Gandalf is up to at this point. Gandalf can briefly explain that [? he was at] Crickhollow.

There is a definitive tone about this that suggests that this is where the 'Odo-Hamilcar' adventure was finally abandoned; and if this is so it must be placed, of course, after the outline dated 'Aug. 26–27, 1940'. Presumably it was at this time that the 'fourth phase' version of the 'Crickhollow episode' was struck through.

Labelling this rejected form 'A', my father seems now to have tried out a version (labelled 'B') which follows his direction to 'bring (the story) into line with the old version (in middle of Chapter VII)' – i.e. the original form of the episode, which was inserted in the course of the 'second phase' into Chapter VII 'In the House of Tom Bombadil' (VI.303–4), at which stage the story was that the house at Crickhollow was empty when the Riders came, for no hobbit had been left behind there. In version 'B' there is no mention of Hamilcar Bolger at all. The 'man in grey', leading a white horse, comes up the path, looks in at the windows, and disappears round the corner of the house; then the Black Riders come; at first cockcrow they break in the door; and at that moment the horn call rings out, the Riders flee, with 'a cry like the cry of hunting beasts stricken unawares' (cf. VI.304), and Gandalf appears wielding horn and wand and thunders after them.

A page of notes is associated with these attempts to find the right form for the opening of 'A Knife in the Dark'. These begin:

> It will improve matters to cut out Ham Bolger. Version B will provide for that. (Gandalf arrives, takes Ham Bolger out of the house, and chases off the Black Riders.)

This is obscure, since there is no mention in the version labelled 'B' of Gandalf's entering the house, no mention of a light in the window, nor any suggestion that it was inhabited. But in any case it was clearly not my father's meaning when he wrote 'It will improve matters to cut out Ham Bolger' that he intended to cut him out of the narrative altogether: he meant only that Ham was to be excluded from further adventures after the 'Crickhollow episode' was ended. Conceivably, he had here a passing notion that Gandalf came to Crickhollow, entered secretly, told Ham Bolger to clear out, and proceeded to look after the Black Riders himself. Whatever the meaning, these notes continue:

> But better would be this:
>
> Gandalf is captured by [Saramund >] Saruman.
>
> Elves send word that he is missing, which reaches Rivendell Sat. 8th.[14] Glorfindel is sent out, and messengers sent to Eagles. The Eagles are told about Oct. 11. They fly all over the lands, and find Gandalf about Sat. 15. Bring ... to Rivendell Wed. 19th.
>
> The XIII and wood are Sam's discovery. Trotter says it is *a rangers' camp*.
>
> Weakness of this is that Black Riders are sure to make *some* attempt on Crickhollow. How was it foiled?

Ham flies as shown overleaf.

Then Gandalf can come and find house deserted and only old cloak of Frodo's. He thinks Frodo [*struck out:* is capt(ured)]. He follows like thunder.

'Ham flies as shown overleaf' refers to a third version, labelled 'C', which (though at first differently ordered in the articulation of the narrative) scarcely differs from that in FR (with Ham opening the door of the house, seeing a black shape in the garden, and fleeing out of the back door and over the fields), apart of course from the fact that this is Hamilcar and not Fredegar, and apart from the notable words, afterwards lost, following 'Ham Bolger had not been idle': 'Terror will drive even a Bolger to action'. The hobbit-cloak let fall by one of the Riders as he fled reappears from the 'August 1940' outline (p. 72). At the head of this version my father noted:

> Gandalf *does not follow* [i.e. he does not follow the Black Riders from Crickhollow]. Either he comes later, Saturday Oct. 1 or [Sunday Oct.] 2 (and finds cloak), or else he is taken by eagles ... to Rivendell.

This no doubt preceded the notes given above. These are certainly the first references to Gandalf's escape from captivity by the aid of the Eagles; and the entry of Radagast is now on the threshold.[15]

The apparently irrelevant mention of Trotter's saying that 'it is a rangers' camp' is presumably associated with the idea that the Eagles found Gandalf and carried him to Rivendell – so that, with this story, he would never go to Weathertop at all. But what the significance of 'The XIII and wood are Sam's discovery' may be I cannot say. Sam's *interpretation* of the 'X:IIII' has appeared, but that was only a refinement of Trotter's view that they were marks made by Gandalf on the stone found on the summit of Weathertop and referred to the date: see pp. 56–7. I have noticed there that Sam's intervention does not fit the story, since there is never any suggestion that he was among those who went up to the high place where the stone was found; and also that 'X:IIII' was subsequently changed to 'X:III'. Conceivably, the passing idea here was that the 'X III', retained but given a different significance (a Rangers' mark?), was not found on the stone on the cairn, but on the firewood in the dell.

At this time Chapter X, 'At the Sign of the Prancing Pony (ii)', was once more heavily overhauled.[16] This revision was carried out in two stages, clearly not long separated. The completion of the revision was written on pages of the August 1940 examination script; and with this the chapter as it stands in FR was achieved in all points, save for a few minor additions and alterations that were certainly later.

By this time 'Pippin' was firmly established. In the first stage of revision Frodo's assumed name at Bree was still 'Green', but became

'Underhill' in the second. Mr Butterbur is still Barnabas, not Barliman. His account of Frodo's distinguishing marks as received from Gandalf (in addition to his bring 'a round-bellied little fellow with red cheeks') at first gave him 'a white lock of hair by his left ear and a wart on his chin.' The second version made him 'broader than most and fairer than some', and still with a wart on his chin. The final description came in later.

The scribbled suggestion on the manuscript of the 'New Plot' (p. 73), 'Leaves Butterbur a letter which he *forgets* to send to Frodo', was now taken up, but it was not until the second stage of revision that the form of the episode in FR was reached. At first the preceding version was more largely retained, notably in the story of the two letters (pp. 49 ff.). The substance of Gandalf's letter to Frodo reaches the form in FR (with the date now Friday July 2nd), but there are differences in the postscripts:

PS. Look out for horsemen in black. Deadly enemies, especially after dark. Do not move by night. Do not use IT again, not for any reason whatever.

PPS. Make sure it is the real Trotter. His true name is Aragorn son of Celegorn.[17]

All that is gold does not glitter,
not all those that wander are lost;
All that is old does not wither,
and fire may burn bright in the frost;
Not all that have fallen are vanquished,
not only the crowned is a king;
Let blade that was broken be brandished,
and Fire be the Doom of the Ring![18]

Aragorn would know that rhyme. Ask him what follows after All that is gold does not glitter.

PPPS. I hope Butterbur sends this promptly. A worthy man, but his mind is like a lumber-room: things wanted always buried. If he forgets, I shall have words with him one day.

The real Trotter will have a sealed letter (addressed to you) with these words inside: All that is gold does not glitter etc.

At this stage Frodo still read Gandalf's letter aloud; and Trotter produced the second letter, which after the verse reads:

This is to witness that the bearer is Aragorn son of Celegorn [> *Kelegorn*] *known as the Trotter. Who trusts Gandalf may trust him.*

As there is now no mention of Elendil, the passage that followed in the former version ('Then It belongs to you as much as to me, or more' etc., p. 50) was removed (see p. 105, note 3); and Trotter now says, after 'The Enemy has set traps for me before now', 'I was puzzled –

because you did not produce your letter or ask for the pass-words. It was not till old Barnabas confessed that I understood.'

I do not think that it was long before my father abandoned the story of the second letter, and on pages of the August 1940 script the FR text was reached – with Gandalf's letter read silently, Trotter using the words *All that is gold does not glitter* quite independently, and drawing out the Sword that was Broken (see p. 116). The date of Gandalf's letter now becomes Wednesday June 30th, and (probably at this time) the verse was changed again:

> *All that is gold does not glitter,*
> *not all those that wander are lost;*
> *All that is old does not wither,*
> *and bright may be fire in the frost.*
> *The fire that was low may be woken;*
> *and sharp in the sheath is the sting;*
> *Forged may be blade that was broken;*
> *the crownless again may be king.*[19]

Gandalf's signature remains still in Old English runes.

Aragorn's account of his last meeting with Gandalf at Sarn Ford on the first of May (FR p. 184) now appears, and in the same words.[20] The story in the 'New Plot' (p. 70) that 'Trotter hears that Black Riders are *out* and moving towards the Shire.... He sends word to Gandalf, who leaves Hobbiton at the end of June' had presumably been abandoned, and the rôle of Radagast in telling Gandalf of the emergence of the Ringwraiths introduced (see pp. 82, 131).

The now chaotic text of the chapter, a mass of emendations, rejected pages, and inserted riders, was later replaced by a typescript fair copy: how much later I cannot say. Near the end of the chapter (FR p. 184) Trotter says (in the manuscript): 'Well, with Sam's permission we'll call that settled. Trotter shall be your guide. *And now I think it is time you went to bed and took what rest you can.* We shall have a rough road tomorrow....' In the typescript text that followed (the latter part of which was not typed by my father) the italicised words were omitted; but there is no suggestion in the manuscript that they should be, and indeed the words 'We shall have a rough road tomorrow' clearly depend on them. But the omission was never picked up, and the sentence does not appear in FR.

The series of rewritings of the beginning of Chapter XI, 'A Knife in the Dark', leading to the final elimination of Ham Bolger's ride with Gandalf, have been considered already (pp. 74–6). An associated revision belonging to this time removed the passage (pp. 57–8) in which Trotter thought that he found hobbit footprints in the dell below Weathertop that might be distinct from those of Pippin and Sam, and replaced it by a form very close to that in FR p. 201 (beginning

'Rangers have been here lately. It is they who left the firewood behind'; cf. 'Trotter says it is *a rangers' camp*', p. 75).

NOTES

1 The candidate's name was Richard Creswell Rowland. The scripts had been sent from the United States. At first my father received only the scripts in the subjects that personally concerned him as an examiner, but subsequently most or all of the candidate's writing came to him. He used not only the blank verso sides of the paper, but also the blue covers of each booklet, where his writing becomes peculiarly hard to decipher.

2 A further argument in favour of this dating can now be adduced. In notes dated Autumn 1939 and October 8 1939 (pp. 8–9) Trotter has definitively ceased to be a hobbit and has become a man, Aragorn; but in the original 'Moria' chapter he was still a hobbit (or at any rate he certainly was in the original version of 'The Ring Goes South', with which 'The Mines of Moria' was continuous). See further p. 379.

3 'Before dawn on Friday morning' was an immediate change from 'Thursday night'; cf. p. 55.

4 I do not think that there is any suggestion here that Galeroc was a horse from Rohan: he is simply Gandalf's horse, and it is essential that he be extraordinarily swift.

5 In the preceding sentence 'Some Riders' (those sent to Weathertop) was first written 'Two Riders', and 'Five' here (those who rode along the Road to Bree) was written 'Seven', agreeing with the scheme D (p. 13). 'Two' was then changed to 'Four' and 'Seven' to 'Five'; finally 'Four' to 'Some'. – By *roaring along the Road* my father meant going at wild speed, with also a suggestion of the great noise of their passage.

6 This refers to the markings on the stone at Weathertop, which (by a change introduced into the 'fourth phase' version of 'A Knife in the Dark') Sam realised were to be read, not as G.4, but as G.1.3, and which Trotter in his turn thought might mean that Gandalf and another were at Weathertop on 3 October; see pp. 56–7.

7 With this cf. *Unfinished Tales* p. 348: 'The Black Captain established a camp at Andrath, where the Greenway passed in a defile between the Barrow-downs and the South Downs.' On the First Map (p. 305) *Andrath* (very probably first written *Amrath*, p. 298) is marked as a point beside the Greenway a little nearer to Bree than to Tharbad.

8 Cf. the end of the short text given on pp. 73–4.

9 The date Tuesday Sept. 27 was subsequently altered to 'late Monday 26th'; see p. 63, note 10, and note 12 to this chapter.

10 Frodo's assumed name 'Green' (replacing 'Hill') has already appeared (pp. 37, 41, etc.).

11 Tuesday 27 September was the second night spent by the hobbits in the house of Tom Bombadil.

12 The riders H and I, according to the outline (p. 71), where their arrival in Bree was altered from Tuesday 27 September to Monday the 26th (note 9).

13 'turned *left* at the Cross Roads': i.e. from the point of view of the gatekeeper, who was looking out westwards.

14 Word reaches Rivendell that Gandalf is missing on Saturday 8 October: cf. the time-scheme D, p. 14.

15 Radagast has been named, but no more, in previous texts (VI.379, 397), and with no indication of what part my father was envisaging for him.

16 A development from this time in Chapter IX, 'At the Sign of the Prancing Pony (i)', has been given on pp. 73–4.

17 *Aragorn* was later changed here to *Elfstone*, *Erkenbrand*, again *Elfstone*, *Ingold*, and finally back to *Aragorn*, and in the passage 'I am Aragorn son of Kelegorn, and if by life or death I can save you, I will' the name was changed to *Elfstone son of Elfhelm*. But these changes were made after the second stage of revision had been completed. The renaming of Aragorn and its implications are discussed on pp. 277–8.

18 An earlier stage in the evolution of the verse, following from the original form in the 'fourth phase' version of the chapter (pp. 49–50), was:

All that is gold does not glitter;
not all those that wander are lost.
All that grows old does not wither;
not every leaf falls in the frost.
Not all that have fallen are vanquished;
a king may yet be without crown,
A blade that was broken be brandished;
and towers that were strong may fall down.

19 In all these versions of *All that is gold does not glitter*, including the original form on pp. 49–50, the verses are written in the manuscript as long lines (i.e. four lines not eight).

20 In FR Gandalf arrived at Bag End after his long absence on an evening of early April (pp. 54–5); 'two or three weeks' later he advised Frodo that he ought to leave soon (p. 74); and he 'stayed in the Shire for over two months' (p. 76) before he left at the end of June. There is no reference to his having left Hobbiton during this time.

V

BILBO'S SONG AT RIVENDELL: *ERRANTRY* AND *EÄRENDILLINWË*

We come now again to Rivendell, and to Book II of *The Fellowship of the Ring*. In the 'third phase' the chapter which afterwards became 'Many Meetings' was numbered XII and entitled 'The Council of Elrond' (VI.362) – because at that stage my father thought that it would include not only Frodo's conversation with Gandalf when he awoke at Rivendell, the feast, and his meeting with Bilbo, but the deliberations of the Council also. Trotter was still at that time, of course, a hobbit. I have argued (VI.369) that this chapter (and the 'third phase' of writing) ended abruptly in the middle of Glóin's conversation with Frodo at the feast – at precisely the same point as did the original form of the story in the 'first phase'; and that the remainder of the chapter in this manuscript was added in later – when Trotter had become Aragorn. Simply for the purpose of this discussion I will call the first or 'third phase' part of the manuscript (VI.362–6) 'I', and the second part 'II'. Behind 'II' lie the rough draftings given in VI.391–4 (in which Trotter was still the hobbit Peregrin Boffin).

I have not been able to determine when 'II' was written, but it perhaps comes from the period of work represented by the notes and rewritings of the 'fourth phase' in the first three chapters of this book. Both 'I' and 'II' were subjected to emendation at different times: for one substantial passage of rewriting the August 1940 examination script was used, but many other minor alterations may be earlier or later. In view of these uncertainties I shall do no more here than look briefly through the chapter (now numbered XIII, since the 'Bree' chapter had been divided into two, IX and X) and show what seems to have been its form at the stage of development we have now reached.

Looking first at changes made to section 'I' of the manuscript, the passage in the third phase version (VI.362–3) beginning 'It is no small feat to have come so far and through such dangers, still bearing the Ring', in which Gandalf told of his captivity at the hands of Giant Treebeard and teased Frodo's curiosity about Trotter, was entirely rewritten. It now begins:

'We should never have done it without Trotter,' said Frodo.

'But we needed you. I did not know what to do without you.'

'I was delayed,' said Gandalf; 'and that nearly proved our ruin. And yet I am not sure: it may have been better so. Knowing the peril I should not have dared to take such risks, and we might either have been trapped in the Shire, or if I had tried some long way round we might have been hunted down in some wild place far from all help. As it is we have escaped the pursuit – for the moment.'

To Frodo's astonished 'You?' when Gandalf said that he was held captive his reply now takes this form:

'Yes, I, Gandalf the Grey,' said the wizard solemnly. 'There are many powers greater than mine, for good or evil, in the world. I cannot stand alone against all the Black Riders.'[1]

'Then you knew of the Riders already – before I met them?'

The text is then as in FR, including Gandalf's words 'But I did not know that they had arisen again or I should have fled with you at once. I heard news of them only after I left you in June' (see p. 78). He says: 'There are few left in Middle-earth like Aragorn son of Kelegorn.[2] The race of the Kings from over the Sea is nearly at an end', and Frodo in reply says: 'Do you really mean that Trotter is of the race of Númenor?'[3] To Frodo's 'I thought he was only a Ranger' Gandalf replies 'indignantly':

'Only a Ranger! Many of the Rangers are of the same race, and the followers of Aragorn: all that he has left of the realm of his fathers. We may need his help before all is over. We have reached Rivendell; but the Ring is not yet at rest.'

From this point to the end of section 'I' of the manuscript the 'third phase' text was little changed, and the differences from FR noted in VI.363–6 were mostly still present. Gandalf's words 'And the Elves of Rivendell are descendants of his chief foes' (VI.364) were changed to 'And among the Elves of Rivendell are some descendants of his chief foes', and 'the Wise say that he [the Dark Lord] is doomed in the End, though that is far away' (*ibid.*) was removed. Also removed of course were the references to Odo's arrival, and when Frodo goes down with Sam to find his friends in the porch Odo's remarks are given to Pippin. The sentence describing Elrond's smile and laughter (VI.365) was struck out, and Glóin's wink (VI.366) also disappears: his reply to Frodo's question concerning his errand from the Lonely Mountain now takes the form it has in FR (p. 240).

In section 'II' of the manuscript (see p. 81), beginning at Frodo's question 'And what has become of Balin and Ori and Oin?', the text of

FR (pp. 241 ff.) was very largely reached (apart from the absence of Arwen), and there are only a few particular points to notice.

When in the first draft (VI. 392) Bilbo said 'I shall have to get that fellow *Peregrin* to help me', he now says the same of *Aragorn*, changed in the act of writing to *Tarkil* (in FR, *the Dúnadan*). At this stage Aragorn's absence from the feast was still explained by his being much in demand in the kitchens.

I noted that in the original draft 'the entire passage (FR pp. 243–4) in which Bilbo tells [Frodo] of his journey to Dale, of his life in Rivendell, and his interest in the Ring – and the distressing incident when he asks to see it – is absent.' In this version Bilbo does give an account of his journey, but it was at first different from what he says in FR:

When he had left Hobbiton he had wandered off aimlessly along the Road, but somehow he had steered all the time for Rivendell.

'I got here in a month or two without much adventure,' he said, 'and I stayed at *The Pony* in Bree for a bit;[4] somehow I have never gone any further. I have almost finished my book. And I make up a few songs which they sing occasionally...'

This was changed, probably soon, to the text of FR, in which Bilbo tells of his journey to Dale. The rest of the passage, in which Bilbo speaks of Gandalf and the Ring, was present in this version from the start, the only differences being that Bilbo names the Necromancer, not the Enemy, and where in FR he says that he could get little out of Gandalf concerning the Ring but that 'the Dúnadan has told me more', here he calls him *Tarkil*, and adds 'He was in the Gollum-hunt' (this being afterwards struck out).

The episode of Bilbo's asking to see the Ring is present as in FR, the only difference here being that where FR has 'When he had dressed, Frodo found that while he slept the Ring had been hung about his neck on a new chain, light but strong', this version has 'When he dressed Frodo had hung the Ring upon a chain about his neck under his tunic.'

When Aragorn joins Bilbo and Frodo, the conversation is as in FR, with *Tarkil* for *Dúnadan*, *the Dúnadan*; but Bilbo's reply to Frodo's 'What do you call him *Tarkil* for?' is different:

'Lots of us do here,' answered Bilbo, 'just to show off our knowledge of the old tongue, and to show our deep respect. It means Man of the West, out of Númenor, you know, or perhaps you don't. But that is another story. He can tell it you some other time. Just now I want his help. Look here, friend Tarkil, Elrond says this song of mine is to be finished before the end of the evening...'

This was changed to:

'He is often called that here,' answered Bilbo. 'It is a title of honour. The Elder Tongue is remembered in Rivendell; and I thought you knew enough at least to know *tarkil*: Man of Westernesse, Númenórean. But this isn't the time for lessons. Just now I want your Trotter's help in something urgent. Look here, friend Tarkil...'[5]

The passage leading up to Bilbo's song is much as in FR (pp. 245–6), but the sentence beginning 'Almost it seemed that the words took shape...' is absent, and where FR has 'the interwoven words in elven-tongues' ('in the Elven-tongue', First Edition) this text has 'the interwoven words in the high elven-tongue'.

The reception of the song moves close to the text of FR (p. 249), but with some differences. No Elf is individually named (*Lindir* in FR). From Bilbo's words about Men and Hobbits – 'They're as different as peas and apples' – this version has:

'No! – little peas and large peas!' said some. 'Their languages all taste much the same to us, anyway,' said others.

'I won't argue with you,' said Bilbo. 'I am sleepy after so much music and singing. I'll leave you to guess, if you want to.'

'Well, we guess that you thought of the first two lines, and Tarkil did all the rest for you,' they cried.

'Wrong! Not even warm; stone cold, in fact!' said Bilbo with a laugh. He got up and came towards Frodo.

'Well, that's over!' he said in a low voice. 'It went off better than I expected. I don't often get asked for a second hearing, for any reason. As a matter of fact quite a lot of it was Tarkil's.'

'I'm not going to try and guess,' said Frodo, smiling. 'I was half asleep when you began – it seemed to follow on from something I was dreaming about, and I didn't realize it was really you who were speaking until near the end.'

The chapter ends now as it does in FR, except that the old form of the chant to Elbereth remains (VI.394), and the passage following it, concerning Aragorn and Arwen, is of course absent.

★

No poem of my father's had so long and complex a history as that which he named *Errantry*. It issued ultimately in two entirely distinct poems, one of which was the song that Bilbo chanted at Rivendell; and this is a convenient place to set out fairly fully the nature of this divergence, this extraordinary shape-changing.

My father described the origin and nature of *Errantry* in a letter written to Donald Swann on 14 October 1966. (*Errantry* had been published in *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil* in 1962, and it was set to music by Donald Swann in *The Road Goes Ever On*, 1967: see his remarks on the poem in his foreword to that book.) In this letter my father said:

> With regard to *Errantry*: I am most interested in your suggestion. I wonder if it is not too long for such an arrangement? I looked to see if it could be abbreviated; but its metrical scheme, with its trisyllabic near-rhymes, makes this very difficult. It is of course a piece of verbal acrobatics and metrical high-jinks; and was intended for recitation with great variations of speed. It needs a reciter or chanter capable of producing the words with great clarity, but in places with great rapidity. The 'stanzas' as printed indicate the speed-groups. In general these were meant to begin at speed and slow down. Except the last group, which was to begin slowly, and pick up at *errand too!* and end at high speed to match the beginning.[6] Also of course the reciter was supposed at once to begin repeating (at even higher speed) the beginning, unless somebody cried 'Once is enough'.[7]
>
> The piece has had a curious history. It was begun very many years ago, in an attempt to go on with the model that came unbidden into my mind: the first six lines, in which, I guess, *D'ye ken the rhyme to porringer* had a part.[8] Later I read it to an undergraduate club that used to hear its members read unpublished poems or short tales, and voted some of them into the minute book. They invented the name *Inklings*, and not I or Lewis, though we were among the few 'senior' members. (The club lasted the usual year or two of undergraduate societies; and the name became transferred to the circle of C. S. Lewis when only he and I were left of it.)[9] It was at this point that *Errantry* began its travels, starting with a typed copy, and continuing by oral memory and transmission, as I later discovered.

The earliest version that my father retained is a rough pencilled manuscript without title: there were certainly preliminary workings behind it, now lost, since this text was set down without hesitations or corrections, but it seems very probable that it was in fact the first complete text of the poem, possibly that from which he read it to the original 'Inklings' in the early 1930s. The page has many alterations and suggestions leading to the second version, but I give it here as it was first set down.

There was a merry passenger,
a messenger, an errander;
he took a tiny porringer
and oranges for provender;

he took a little grasshopper
and harnessed her to carry him;
he chased a little butterfly
that fluttered by, to marry him.
He made him wings of taffeta
to laugh at her and catch her with;
he made her shoes of beetle-skin
with needles in to latch them with.
They fell to bitter quarrelling,
and sorrowing he fled away;
and long he studied sorcery
in Ossory a many day.
He made a shield and morion
of coral and of ivory;
he made a spear of emerald
and glimmered all in bravery;
a sword he made of malachite
and stalactite, and brandished it,
he went and fought the dragon-fly
called wag-on-high and vanquished it.
He battled with the Dumbledores,
and bumbles all, and honeybees,
and won the golden honey-comb,
and running home on sunny seas,
in ship of leaves and gossamer
with blossom for a canopy,
he polished up and burnished up
and furbished up his panoply.
He tarried for a little while
in little isles, and plundered them;
and webs of all the attercops
he shattered, cut, and sundered them.
And coming home with honey-comb
and money none – remembered it,
his message and his errand too!
His derring-do had hindered it.[10]

Among my father's papers are five further texts, all titled *Errantry*, before the poem's publication in *The Oxford Magazine*, Vol. LII no. 5, 9 November 1933, which I give here. In fact, the form published in 1933 was virtually achieved already in the second version, apart only from the beginning, which went through several stages of development: these are given at the end of the *Oxford Magazine* version.

There was a merry passenger
a messenger, a mariner:
he built a gilded gondola

to wander in, and had in her
a load of yellow oranges
and porridge for his provender;
he perfumed her with marjoram
and cardamom and lavender.

He called the winds of argosies
with cargoes in to carry him
across the rivers seventeen
that lay between to tarry him.

He landed all in loneliness
where stonily the pebbles on
the running river Derrilyn
goes merrily for ever on.
He wandered over meadow-land
to shadow-land and dreariness,
and under hill and over hill,
a rover still to weariness.

He sat and sang a melody
his errantry a-tarrying;
he begged a pretty butterfly
that fluttered by to marry him.
She laughed at him, deluded him,
eluded him unpitying;
so long he studied wizardry
and sigaldry and smithying.

He wove a tissue airy-thin
to snare her in; to follow in
he made a beetle-leather wing
and feather wing and swallow-wing.
He caught her in bewilderment
in filament of spider-thread;
he built a little bower-house,
a flower house, to hide her head;
he made her shoes of diamond
on fire and a-shimmering;
a boat he built her marvellous,
a carvel all a-glimmering;
he threaded gems in necklaces –
and recklessly she squandered them,
as fluttering, and wavering,
and quavering, they wandered on.

They fell to bitter quarrelling;
and sorrowing he sped away,

on windy weather wearily
and drearily he fled away.

He passed the archipelagoes
where yellow grows the marigold,
where countless silver fountains are,
and mountains are of fairy-gold.
He took to war and foraying
a-harrying beyond the sea,
a-roaming over Belmarie
and Thellamie and Fantasie.

He made a shield and morion
of coral and of ivory,
a sword he made of emerald,
and terrible his rivalry
with all the knights of Aerie
and Faërie and Thellamie.
Of crystal was his habergeon,
his scabbard of chalcedony,
his javelins were of malachite
and stalactite – he brandished them,
and went and fought the dragon-flies
of Paradise, and vanquished them.

He battled with the Dumbledores,
the Bumbles, and the Honeybees,
and won the Golden Honeycomb;
and running home on sunny seas
in ship of leaves and gossamer
with blossom for a canopy,
he polished up, and furbished up,
and burnished up his panoply.

He tarried for a little while
in little isles, and plundered them;
and webs of all the Attercops
he shattered them and sundered them –
Then, coming home with honeycomb
and money none, to memory
his message came and errand too!
In derring-do and glamoury
he had forgot them, journeying,
and tourneying, a wanderer.

So now he must depart again
and start again his gondola,
for ever still a messenger,

a passenger, a tarrier,
a-roving as a feather does,
a weather-driven mariner.[11]

In the second version the poem began thus:

There was a merry messenger,
a passenger, an errander;
he gathered yellow oranges
in porringer for provender;
he built a gilded gondola
a-wandering to carry him
across the rivers seventeen
that lay between to tarry him.

He landed there in loneliness
in stoniness on shingle steep,
and ventured into meadow-land
and shadow-land, and dingle deep.

He sat and sang a melody, &c.

The poem otherwise, as I have said, scarcely differs from the *Oxford Magazine* version; but the last four lines were:

for ever still a-tarrying,
a mariner, a messenger,
a-roving as a feather does,
a weather-driven passenger.[12]

The third version reached the opening of the published form, except that it began 'There was a merry *messenger*, a *passenger*, a mariner', and retained the lines

He landed all in loneliness
in stoniness on shingle steep,
and wandered off to meadowland,
to shadowland, to dingle deep.

The fourth version reached the published form except in this third verse, which now read:

He landed all in loneliness
where stonily on shingle go
the running rivers Lerion
and Derion in dingle low.
He wandered over meadow-land
to shadow-land and dreariness, &c.

Rayner Unwin mentioned in a letter to my father of 20 June 1952 that he had received an enquiry from someone unnamed about a poem

called *Errantry*, 'which made such a deep impression on him that he is most anxious to trace it again.' To this my father replied (22 June 1952, *Letters* no. 133):

> As for 'Errantry': it is a most odd coincidence that you should ask about that. For only a few weeks ago I had a letter from a lady unknown to me making a similar enquiry. She said that a friend had recently written out for her from memory some verses that had so taken her fancy that she was determined to discover their origin. He had picked them up from his son-in-law who had learned them in Washington D.C. (!); but nothing was known about their source save a vague idea that they were connected with English universities. Being a determined person she apparently applied to various Vice-Chancellors, and Bowra[13] directed her to my door. I must say that I was interested in becoming 'folk-lore'. Also it was intriguing to get an oral version – which bore out my views on oral tradition (at any rate in early stages): sc. that the 'hard words' are well preserved,[14] and the more common words altered, but the metre is often disturbed.

In this letter he referred to two versions of *Errantry*, an 'A.V.' ('Authorised Version'), this being the *Oxford Magazine* text, and an 'R.V.' ('Revised Version'). The 'R.V.', in which substantial alterations were made to the 'A.V.', is the text published in *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil* ten years later. – He also said in this letter that the poem was

> in a metre I invented (depending on trisyllabic assonances or near-assonances, which is so difficult that except in this one example I have never been able to use it again – it just blew out in a single impulse).

On this Humphrey Carpenter remarked (*Letters* p. 443):

> It may appear at a first glance that Tolkien did write another poem in this metre, 'Eärendil was a mariner', which appears in Book II Chapter 1 of *The Lord of the Rings*. But this poem is arguably a development of 'Errantry' rather than a separate composition.

That this is true will be seen from the earlier forms of Bilbo's song at Rivendell.

*

There are no less than fifteen manuscript and typescript texts of the 'Rivendell version', and these may be divided into two groups: an earlier, in which the poem begins with the line *There was a merry messenger* (or in one case a variant of it), and a later, in which the poem begins *Earendel was a mariner* (the name being spelt thus in all texts). The textual history of the first group is very complex in detail,

and difficult to unravel with certainty owing to the fact that my father hesitated back and forth between competing readings in successive texts.

In the earliest text of all the poem was still in the process of emergence. The opening lines are here particularly interesting, for they remain so close to the first verse of *Errantry* as to be scarcely more than a variant:

> There was a merry messenger
> a passenger a mariner:
> he built a boat and gilded her,
> and silver oars he fashioned her;
> he perfumed her with marjoram
> and cardamon[15] and lavender,
> and laded her with oranges
> and porridge for his provender.

Eärendel is hardly present here! Yet this initial text at once moves away from *Errantry*, and the new poem in its first 'phase' was already quite largely achieved in this manuscript. It was followed, no doubt immediately, by the version that I print below. It is indeed extremely difficult and even unreal to delimit 'versions' in such cases, where my father was refining and enlarging the poem in a continuous process; but this second text was originally set down as if in a finished and final form, and in this form I give it here.[16]

> There was a gallant passenger
> a messenger, a mariner:
> he built a boat and gilded her
> and silver oars he fashioned her;
> her sails he wove of gossamer
> and blossom of the cherry-tree,
> and lightly as a feather
> in the weather went she merrily. 8
>
> He floated from a haven fair
> of maiden-hair and everfern;
> the waterfalls he proudly rode
> where loudly flowed the Merryburn;
> and dancing on the foam he went
> on roving bent for ever on,
> from Evermorning journeying,
> while murmuring the River on 16
> to valleys in the gloaming ran;
> and slowly then on pillow cool
> he laid his head, and fast asleep
> he passed the Weepingwillow Pool.

The windy reeds were whispering,
and mists were in the meadow-land,
and down the River hurried him
and carried him to Shadowland.

The Sea beside a stony shore
there lonely roared, and under Moon
a wind arose and wafted him
a castaway beyond the Moon.

He woke again forlorn afar
by shores that are without a name,
and by the Shrouded Island o'er
the Silent Water floating came.

He passed the archipelagoes
where yellow grows the marigold,
and landed on the Elven-strands
of silver sand and fallow gold,
beneath the Hill of Ilmarin
where glimmer in a valley sheer
the lights of Elven Tirion,
the city on the Shadowmere.

He tarried there his errantry,
and melodies they taught to him,
and lays of old, and marvels told,
and harps of gold they brought to him.
Of glamoury he tidings heard,
and binding words of sigaldry;
of wars they spoke with Enemies
that venom used and wizardry.

In panoply of Elvenkings,
in silver rings they armoured him;
his shield they writ with elven-runes,
that never wound did harm to him.
His bow was made of dragon-horn,
his arrows shorn of ebony,
of woven steel his habergeon,
his scabbard of chalcedony.
His sword was hewn of adamant,
and valiant the might of it;
his helm a shining emerald,
and terrible the light of it.

His boat anew for him they built
of timber felled in Elvenhome;
upon the mast a star was set,

its spars were wet with silver foam;
and wings of swans they made for it,
and laid on it a mighty doom
to sail the seas of wind and come
where glimmering runs the gliding moon.[17]

From Evereven's lofty hills,
where softly spill the fountains tall,
he passed away, a wandering light
beyond the mighty Mountain-wall;
and unto Evernight he came,
and like a flaming star he fell:
his javelins of diamond
as fire into the darkness fell.
Ungoliant abiding there
in Spider-lair her thread entwined;
for endless years a gloom she spun
the Sun and Moon in web to wind.[18]

His sword was like a flashing light
as flashing bright he smote with it;
he shore away her poisoned neb,
her noisome webs he broke with it.
Then shining as a risen star
from prison bars he sped away,
and borne upon a blowing wind
on flowing wings he fled away.

To Evernoon at last he came,
and passed the flame-encircled hill,
where wells of gold for Melineth
her never-resting workers build.
His eyes with fire ablaze were set,
his face was lit with levin-light;
and turning to his home afar,
a roaming star at even-light
on high above the mists he came,
a distant flame, a marineer
on winds unearthly swiftly borne,
uplifted o'er the Shadowmere.
He passed o'er Carakilian,
where Tirion the Hallowed stands;
the sea far under loudly roared
on cloudy shores in Shadowland.

And over Evermorn he passed,
and saw at last the haven fair,
far under by the Merry-burn

in everfern and maidenhair.
But on him mighty doom was laid,
till moon should fade and all the stars,
to pass, and tarry never more
on hither shore where mortals are,
for ever still a passenger,
a messenger, to never rest,
to bear his burning lamp afar,
the Flammifer of Westernesse.

The chief changes introduced on this manuscript were in lines 14–17, altered to read:

on roving bent from hitherland,
from Evermorning journeying,
while murmuring the River ran
to valleys in the Gloaming fields

and in lines 93–6, which were rewritten and extended thus:

The seven-branchéd Levin-tree
on Heavenfield he shining saw
upflowering from its writhen root;
a living fruit of fire it bore.
The lightning in his face was lit,
ablaze were set his tresses wan,
his eyes with levin-beams were bright,
and gleaming white his vessel shone.

From World's End then he turned away
and yearned again to seek afar
his land beneath the morning light
and burning like a beacon star
(on high above the mists he came, &c.)

The *seven-branchéd Levin-tree* was first *everbranching*, and it bore *a living fruit of light.*

The third version was that in the text of 'Many Meetings' described at the beginning of this chapter. The pages in that manuscript (at Marquette) bearing the poem have been lost, but Taum Santoski has provided me with a transcription of the pages that he made before the loss occurred. This text was remarkably close to the second version (as emended) printed above. The opening now returns to *There was a merry messenger*;[19] *from Evermorning* in line 15 becomes *through Evermorning*; *the Weepingwillow Pool* in line 20 becomes *Pools* (a return to the earliest workings); and lines 67–8 become:

to sail the windy skies and come
behind the Sun and light of Moon.

This, then, was the form at the time we have reached. It will be seen that in this poem the Merry Messenger, the Passenger, the Mariner, 'changes shape' and emerges as the figure of Eärendel (though he is not named). At the beginning he *dances on the foam* in his boat with *sails of gossamer and blossom of the cherry-tree*, and he still *passed the archipelagoes where yellow grows the marigold*, but he is drawn into the gravity of the myth and *mighty doom* is laid on him; the dance dies out of the verse, and he ends as the *Flammifer of Westernesse*. There is no question now of returning to the beginning, even though the fate of Eärendel remains that of the Merry Messenger: *for ever still a passenger, a messenger, to never rest...*

Many years later my father ingeniously related the two poems thus, in the Preface to *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil* – when the Eärendel version was of course that given in FR:

> [Errantry] was evidently made by Bilbo. This is indicated by its obvious relationship to the long poem recited by Bilbo, as his own composition, in the house of Elrond. In origin a 'nonsense rhyme', it is in the Rivendell version found transformed and applied, somewhat incongruously, to the High-elvish and Númenorean legends of Eärendil. Probably because Bilbo invented its metrical devices and was proud of them. They do not appear in other pieces in the Red Book. The older form, here given, must belong to the early days after Bilbo's return from his journey. Though the influence of Elvish traditions is seen, they are not seriously treated, and the names used (*Derrilyn*, *Thellamie*, *Belmarie*, *Aerie*) are mere inventions in the Elvish style, and are not in fact Elvish at all.

Yet the places of Eärendel's journey in this first phase of the Rivendell version are not by any means entirely identifiable in terms of *The Silmarillion*. Was his journey to the Sea a journey down Sirion? Are *the Weepingwillow Pools* Nan-tathren, the Land of Willows? Or are they still 'mere inventions in the *Silmarillion* style'? And what of *the seven-branchéd Levin-tree on Heavenfield*, and *the wells of gold for Melineth* that *her never-resting workers build*? These certainly do not suggest 'mere invention' like *Thellamie* or *Derrilyn*.

Some names are in any case clear in their reference: as *Tirion* (in the *Quenta Silmarillion* still named *Tûn* or *Túna*, upon the hill of Kôr), *Carakilian* (in the *Quenta Silmarillion* in the form *Kalakilya*, the Pass of Light). *The Hill of Ilmarin* (a name not met before) is Taniquetil, and *the mighty Mountain-wall* is the Pelóri, the Mountains of Valinor. *The Shadowmere* perhaps looks back to the 'shadowy arm of water', the 'slender water fringed with white', which is described in the old tale of *The Coming of the Elves* (I.122). *The Shrouded Island* is perhaps the Lonely Isle: it was subsequently changed to *the Shrouded Islands*, but then became *the Lonely Island* before the line was lost. That Eärendel slew Ungoliant 'in the South' is recorded in the *Sketch*

of the Mythology (IV.38), and in the *Quenta Noldorinwa* (IV.149, 152); cf. also the very early notes on Eärendel's voyages, II.254, 261.[20]

But the legend of Eärendel as found in the existing sources is not present here.[21] Indeed, it seems as if he arose unbidden and unlooked for as my father wrote this new version of the poem: for how could Eärendel be called *a merry messenger*? Years later, in the Preface to *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil* just cited, my father described the transformation as 'somewhat incongruous' – and he was then referring of course to the form of the poem in FR, where the transformation had gone far deeper than in the present version. Yet there was a 'congruity' that made this original transformation possible, and even natural. Behind both figures lay the sustaining idea of the wanderer, a restless spirit who seeks back to the places of his origin, but cannot escape the necessity of passing on. At this stage therefore we should not, I believe, try to determine where was Evernoon, or to give any other name to

> the haven fair,
> far under by the Merry-burn
> in everfern and maidenhair.

They belong to the same geography as *the archipelagoes where yellow grows the marigold.*

Following the third version, lost but happily not unknown, there are six further texts in the 'Merry Messenger' phase. Five of these are typescripts that can be readily placed in order. The sixth is a beautiful small manuscript, written on four slips of paper the last of which is the back of a letter addressed to my father and dated 13 December 1944. Precisely where the manuscript comes in this series is not perfectly clear, but it seems most likely to have preceded the first typescript.[22] Thus there was an interval of several years between the first three and the next six texts. Progressive emendation of these gave a final version in this 'phase':

> There was a merry messenger,
> a passenger, a mariner:
> he built a boat and gilded her,
> and silver oars he fashioned her;
> her sails he wove of gossamer
> and blossom of the cherry-tree
> and lightly as a feather in
> the weather went she merrily. 8
>
> He floated from a haven fair
> of maidenhair and ladyfern;
> the waterfalls he proudly rode
> where loudly flowed the Merryburn;
> and dancing on the foam he went

on roving bent from Hitherland
through Evermorning journeying,
while murmuring the river ran
to valleys in the Gloaming-fields;
then slowly he on pillow cool
let fall his head, and fast asleep
he passed the Weeping-willow Pools.

The windy reeds were whispering,
and mists were in the meadowland,
and down the river hurried him,
and carried him to Shadowland.
He heard there moan in stony caves
the lonely waves; there roaring blows
the mighty wind of Tarmenel.
By paths that seldom mortal goes
his boat it wafted pitiless
with bitter breath across the grey
and long-forsaken seas distressed;
from East to West he passed away.

Through Evernight then borne afar
by waters dark beyond the Day
he saw the Lonely Island rise
where twilight lies upon the Bay
of Valinor, of Elvenhome,
and ever-foaming billows roll;
he landed on the elven-strands
of silver sand and yellow gold
beneath the Hill of Ilmarin,
where glimmer in a valley sheer
the lights of towering Tirion,
the city on the Shadowmere.

He tarried there from errantry,
and melodies they taught to him,
and lays of old and marvels told,
and harps of gold they brought to him.
Of glamoury he tidings heard,
and binding words of wizardry;
they spoke of wars with Enemies
that venom used and sigaldry.

In panoply of Elven-kings,
in silver rings they armoured him;
his shield they writ with elven-runes
that never wound did harm to him.
His bow was made of dragon-horn,

his arrows shorn of ebony,
of mithril was his habergeon,
his scabbard of chalcedony.
His sword of steel was valiant;
of adamant his helm was wrought,
an argent wing of swan his crest;
upon his breast an emerald.

His boat anew they built for him
of timber felled in Elvenhome;
upon the mast a star was set,
her spars were wet with driven foam;
and eagle-wings they made for her,
and laid on her a mighty doom,
to sail the windy skies and come
behind the Sun and light of Moon.

From Evereven's lofty hills,
where softly silver fountains fall,
he passed away a wandering light
beyond the mighty Mountain Wall.
From World's End then he turned away,
and yearned again to seek afar
his land beneath the morning-light;
and burning like a beacon-star
on high above the mists he came,
a distant flame, a marineer,
on winds unearthly swiftly borne,
uplifted o'er the Shadowmere.

He passed o'er Calacirian,
where Tirion the hallowed stands;
the Sea below him loudly roared
on cloudy shores in Shadowland;
and over Evermorn he passed
and saw at last the haven fair
far under by the Merryburn
in ladyfern and maidenhair.

But on him mighty doom was laid,
till Moon should fade, an orbéd star
to pass and tarry never more
on Hither Shores where mortals are;
for ever still a passenger,
a messenger, to never rest,
to bear the burning lamp afar,
the Flammifer of Westernesse.

The major change in the poem, rendering it substantially shorter than before, had come about in two stages. By emendation to the second of these typescripts the original lines 25–8 (p. 92) became:

> The Sea beside a stony shore
> there lonely roared; and wrathful rose
> a wind on high in Tarmenel,
> by paths that seldom mortal goes
> on flying wings it passed away,
> and wafted him beyond the grey
> and long-forsaken seas distressed
> from East or West that sombre lay.

In this text the remainder of the poem was unaffected by any important changes, and remained close to the original form (with of course the alterations given on p. 94). In the last two of these typescripts, however, a new form of lines 25 ff. entered, as given above: *He heard there moan in stony caves*, &c.[23] Now *Evernight* is named at this point, and at the same time the entire section of the poem in the existing text from line 73 *and unto Evernight he came* to *From World's End then he turned away* (pp. 93–4) was eliminated, with the disappearance of Ungoliant and the mysterious scenes of Evernoon, the 'Tree of Lightning' with its seven branches and the *wells of gold for Melineth* in *the flame-encircled hill.*

*

While I certainly do not know this as a fact, I think that there is a strong presumption that there was a further long interval between the 'Merry Messenger' versions and the second group beginning *Eärendel was a mariner.*

The first text of this group, which I will for convenience call A, I give in full. It will be seen that while it advances far towards the poem in FR, much is retained from the preceding version, and notably the arming of Eärendel (*In panoply of Elven-kings...*, p. 97 lines 53 ff.) stands in its former place, during his sojourn in Tirion, and not as in FR at the beginning of his great voyage.

> Eärendel was a mariner
> that tarried in Arvernien;
> he built a boat of timber felled
> in Nimbrethil to journey in;
> her sails he wove of silver fair
> of silver were her lanterns made,
> her prow he fashioned like a swan,
> and light upon her banners laid. 8
>
> Beneath the moon and under star
> he wandered far from northern strands,

bewildered on enchanted ways
beyond the days of mortal lands.
From gnashing of the Narrow Ice
where shadow lies on frozen hills,
from nether heat and burning waste
he turned in haste, and roving still
on starless waters far astray
at last he came to night of Naught,
and passed, and never sight he saw
of shining shore nor light he sought.
The winds of wrath came driving him,
and blindly in the foam he fled
from West to East, and errandless,
unheralded he homeward sped.

As bird then Elwing came to him,
and flame was in her carcanet,
more bright than light of diamond
was fire that on her heart was set.
The Silmaril she bound on him
and crowned him with a living light,
and dauntless then with burning brow
he turned his prow, and in the night
from otherworld beyond the Sea
there strong and free a storm arose,
a wind of power in Tarmenel;
by paths that seldom mortal goes
his boat it bore with mighty breath
as driving death across the grey
and long-forsaken seas distressed;
from East to West he passed away.

Through Evernight then borne afar
by waters dark beyond the Day,
he saw the Lonely Island rise,
where twilight lies upon the Bay
of Valinor, of Elvenhome,
and ever-foaming billows roll.
He landed on forbidden strands
of silver sand and yellow gold;
beneath the Hill of Ilmarin
a-glimmer in a valley sheer
the lamps of towering Tirion
were mirrored on the Shadowmere.

He tarried there from errantry
and melodies they taught to him,

and lays of old and marvels told,
and harps of gold they brought to him.
In panoply of Elven-kings,
in serried rings they armoured him;
his shield they writ with elven-runes
that never wound did harm to him,
his bow was made of dragon-horn,
his arrows shorn of ebony,
of silver was his habergeon,
his scabbard of chalcedony;
his sword of steel was valiant,
of adamant his helmet tall,
an argent flame upon his crest,
upon his breast an emerald.

His boat anew they built for him
of mithril and of elven-glass;
the Silmaril was hanging bright
as lantern light on slender mast;
and eagle-wings they made for her,
and laid on her a mighty doom,
to sail the shoreless skies and come
behind the Sun and light of Moon.

From Evereven's lofty hills,
where softly silver fountains fall,
he rose on high, a wandering light
beyond the mighty Mountain Wall.
From World's End then he turned away,
and yearned again to seek afar
his land beneath the morning-light,
and burning like a beacon-star
on high above the mists he came,
a distant flame, a marineer,
on winds unearthly swiftly borne,
uplifted o'er the Shadowmere.

He passed o'er Calacirian
where Tirion the hallowed stands;
the sea below him loudly roared
on cloudy shores in Shadowland;
and over Middle-earth he passed,
and heard at last the weeping sore
of women and of Elven-maids
in Elder Days, in years of yore.

But on him mighty doom was laid,
till Moon should fade, an orbéd star,

to pass, and tarry never more
on Hither Shores where mortals are;
for ever still on errand, as
a herald that should never rest,
to bear his shining lamp afar,
the Flammifer of Westernesse. 104

The next text (B) is a typescript of A, but introduces some minor changes that were retained in the FR version (*his boat it bore with biting breath / as might of death* 37–8, *the lamplit towers of Tirion* 51), and line 25 is here *Bird-Elwing thither came to him*. My father then used this typescript B as the vehicle for massive rewriting, including the movement of the 'arming of Eärendel' to its later place as the second stanza. A new typescript (C)[24] was made incorporating all this, and the form of the poem in FR was now virtually achieved; a very few further minor changes were made, and entered on this text.[25] Careful examination of these texts shows the development from A to the published form with perfect clarity.

But the history of this, perhaps the most protean, in its scale, of all my father's works, does not end here. It ends, in fact, in the most extraordinary way.

This text C was not the last, although the published form of the poem was achieved in it. Another typescript (D) was made, doubtless at the same time as C, and given the title *The Short Lay of Eärendel*: In this, a new element entered at the beginning of the fourth stanza (*There flying Elwing came to him*): the attack of the four surviving sons of Fëanor on the Havens of Sirion, Elwing's casting herself into the sea, bearing the Silmaril, and her transformation into a seabird, in which guise she flew to meet Eärendel returning (IV.152–3).

In wrath the Fëanorians
that swore the unforgotten oath
brought war into Arvernien
with burning and with broken troth;
and Elwing from her fastness dim
then cast her in the roaring seas,
but like a bird was swiftly borne,
uplifted o'er the roaring wave.
Through hopeless night she came to him
and flame was in the darkness lit,
more bright than light of diamond
the fire upon her carcanet.
The Silmaril she bound on him (&c.)

There then followed a fine manuscript (E), with elaborate initials to the stanzas, and this was entitled *The Short Lay of Eärendel:*

Eärendillinwë. In this text a rewriting of lines 5–8, which had been entered in the margin of D, appears:

> Her woven sails were white as snow,
> as flying foam her banner flowed;
> her prow was fashioned like a swan
> that white upon the Falas goes.

But my father abandoned E at the foot of the first page, the end of the third stanza, and the reason why he abandoned it was that he had already begun to rewrite in the margin both the lines just given and also the second stanza (*In panoply of ancient kings*). So he began once again, with a very similar and equally beautiful manuscript (F), bearing the same title; and this was completed. The revisions made to D and to E (so far as that went) were taken up; and this manuscript remained intact, without the smallest further change.

It was in fact the last, the ultimate development of the poem. The history I have attempted to convey is schematically thus:

A – B { – C (the form in FR achieved)
{ – D – E – F (the ultimate form of the poem)

I have studied all these texts at length and at different times, and it had always seemed strange to me that the chain of development led at last to a superb manuscript (F) without any disfigurement through later changes, but which was *not* the form found in FR. The solution was at last provided by the text C at Marquette, which showed that there were *two lines of development* from B.

What actually happened one can only surmise. I believe the most likely explanation to be that the texts D, E, F were mislaid, and that at the crucial time the version represented by C went to the publishers, as it should not have done. It looks also as if these lost texts did not turn up again until many years had passed, by which time my father no longer remembered the history. In what are obviously very late notes he went so far as to analyse their readings in relation to the published form, and was evidently as puzzled as I was: his analysis at that time contains demonstrably incorrect conclusions – because he assumed, as I did, that all these texts must have *preceded* the 'final form' in FR.

I give finally the *Eärendillinwë* in the form in which it should have been published.[26]

Stanza 1 Eärendil was a mariner
that tarried in Arvernien:
he built a boat of timber felled
in Nimbrethil to journey in.
Her sails he wove of silver fair,
with silver were her banners sewn;
her prow he fashioned like the swans
that white upon the Falas roam.

Stanza 2 His coat that came from ancient kings
of chainéd rings was forged of old;
his shining shield all wounds defied,
with runes entwined of dwarven gold.
His bow was made of dragon-horn,
his arrows shorn of ebony,
of triple steel his habergeon,
his scabbard of chalcedony;
his sword was like a flame in sheath,
with gems was wreathed his helmet tall,
an eagle-plume upon his crest,
upon his breast an emerald.

Stanza 3 As in FR, but with *winds of fear* for *winds of wrath* in line 13 of the stanza.

Stanza 4 In might the Fëanorians
that swore the unforgotten oath
brought war into Arvernien
with burning and with broken troth;
and Elwing from her fastness dim
then cast her in the waters wide,
but like a mew was swiftly borne,
uplifted o'er the roaring tide.
Through hopeless night she came to him,
and flame was in the darkness lit,
more bright than light of diamond
the fire upon her carcanet.
The Silmaril she bound on him,
and crowned him with the living light,
and dauntless then with burning brow
he turned his prow at middle-night.
Beyond the world, beyond the Sea,
then strong and free a storm arose,
a wind of power in Tarmenel;
by paths that seldom mortal goes
from Middle-earth on mighty breath
as flying wraith across the grey
and long-forsaken seas distressed
from East to West he passed away.

Stanza 5 As in FR.

Stanza 6 As in FR, but with a difference in the twelfth line:[27]

for ever king on mountain sheer;

Stanza 7 A ship then new they built for him
of mithril and of elvenglass

with crystal keel; no shaven oar
nor sail she bore, on silver mast
the Silmaril as lantern light
and banner bright with living flame
of fire unstained by Elbereth
herself was set, who thither came (&c. as in FR)

Stanza 8 As in FR.

Stanza 9 As in FR except at the end:

till end of Days on errand high,
a herald bright that never rests,
to bear his burning lamp afar,
the Flammifer of Westernesse.

Only one line survived now from *Errantry* (as published in 1933): *his scabbard of chalcedony.*

NOTES

1 This suggests that the story of Gandalf's captivity found in the 'New Plot' of August 1940 was present (p. 71): 'Saramund betrays him ... he tells Gandalf false news of the Black Riders, and they pursue him to the top of a mountain ...' The final story of what had happened to Gandalf (set to stand on the pinnacle of Orthanc) first appears in this period of the work (pp. 131 ff.).

2 Changed in pencil later to *Elfstone son of Elfhelm*; see p. 80 note 17. At one occurrence of Trotter in this passage, where Gandalf names him, this too was changed to *Elfstone*; at the other two *Trotter* was retained, since it is Frodo who is speaking.

3 In a preliminary draft for this passage Frodo says 'in wonder': 'Is he of that race?' Then follows:

> 'Didn't he tell you, and didn't you guess?' said Gandalf. 'He could have told you even more: he is Aragorn son of Kelegorn, descended through many fathers from Isildur the son of Elendil.'
>
> 'Then It belongs to him as much as to me or more!' said Frodo.
>
> 'It does not belong to either of you,' said Gandalf; 'but you, my good hobbit, are to keep it for a while. For so it is ordained.'

This was the second time that this dialogue had been used; it first occurred at Bree between Trotter and Frodo (p. 50), when Gandalf named Aragorn as a descendant of Elendil in his letter, but this had now been removed (p. 77). It was finally used in 'The Council of Elrond'.

4 See p. 43 and note 3. The words 'I stayed at *The Pony* in Bree for a bit' were crossed out before the rest of the passage was changed, perhaps at the time of writing.

5 On *Tarkil* see p. 8. *Westernesse*: Númenor.

6 In the version of *Errantry* published in 1962 the last stanza began not as in the 1933 *Oxford Magazine* version but at *He tarried for a little while* (p. 88).

7 One of the early texts has the head-note: 'Elaboration of the well-known pastime of the never-ending Tale'; and at the end, after the last line *a weather-driven mariner*, returns to *He called the winds of argosies* in the second verse (p. 87), with the note: *da capo, ad lib, et ad naus.*

8 I cannot explain this reference.

9 See Humphrey Carpenter, *The Inklings*, pp. 56–7; also *Letters* no. 133 (to Rayner Unwin, 22 June 1952) and no. 298 (to W. L. White, 11 September 1967).

10 *morion*: helmet. *bravery*: splendour, finery. *dumbledore*: bumble-bee. *panoply*: suit of armour. *attercop*: spider (Old English *attor* 'poison'; cf. *cobweb*, 'cop-web'). Bilbo called the spiders in Mirkwood *Attercop*.

On the back of the page, with every appearance of having been written at the same time, is a section of a dramatic dialogue in rhyming verse that preceded by more than twenty years the publication of *The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorhthelm's Son* in *Essays and Studies*, 1953. The Englishmen who took the body of Beorhtnoth from the battlefield at Maldon are here called Pudda and Tibba. – *Panta* (Old English) is the river Blackwater.

Pudda Come, hurry. There may be more. Let's get away
Or have the pirate pack on us.
Tibba Nay, nay.
These are no Northmen. What should such come for?
They are all in Ipswich drinking to Thor.
These have got what they deserved, not what they sought.
Pudda God help us, when Englishmen can be brought
By any need to prowl like carrion-bird
And plunder their own.
Tibba There goes a third
In the shadows yonder. He will not wait,
That sort fight no odds, early or late,
But sneak in when all's over. Up again!
Steady once more.
Pudda Say, Tibba, where's the wain?
I wish we were at it! By the bridge you say –
Well, we're nearer the bank. 'Tis more this way,
If we're not to walk in Panta, and the tide's in.

Tibba Right! here we are.
Pudda How did they win
Over the bridge, think you? There's little sign
Here of bitter fight. And yet here the brine
Should have been choked with 'em, but on the planks
There's only one lying.
Tibba Well, God have thanks.
We're over! Gently! Up now, up! That's right.
Get up beside. There's a cloth; none too white,
But cover him over, and think of a prayer. I'll drive.
Pudda Heaven grant us good journey, and that we arrive!
Where do we take him? How these wheels creak!
Tibba To Ely! Where else?
Pudda A long road!
Tibba For the weak.
A short road for the dead – and you can sleep.

This text is extremely rough, one would say in the first stage of composition, were there not another text still rougher, but in very much the same words (though with no ascription of the speeches to speakers), in the Bodleian Library, where it is preserved (I believe) with my father's pictures. This begins at *In the shadows yonder* and continues a few lines further. On it my father wrote: 'early version in rhyme of Beorhtnoth'.

11 *sigaldry*: sorcery (see note 14). *glamoury*: magic.

12 Preliminary lines of a new ending were written on the manuscript of the first version:

So now he must depart again
and start again his gondola,
a silly merry passenger,
a messenger, an errander,
a jolly, merry featherbrain,
a weathervane, a mariner.

Other differences in the second version from that published in 1933 were:

he wrought her raiment marvellous
and garments all a-glimmering

in the fifth verse; and 'He made a *sword* and morion' in the eighth (with *spear* for *sword* in the third line).

13 Maurice Bowra, at that time Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.

14 In the letter to Donald Swann cited on p. 85 my father gave an example of this (Swann had himself known the poem by 'independent tradition' for many years before its publication in *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil*): 'A curious feature was the preservation of the word *sigaldry*, which I got from a 13th century text (and is last recorded in the Chester Play of the

Crucifixion).' The word goes back to the second version of *Errantry*; it was used also in the *Lay of Leithian* line 2072, written in 1928 (*The Lays of Beleriand*, p. 228).

15 *cardamon* is so spelt, but *cardamom* in preliminary rough workings, as in the *Oxford Magazine* version of *Errantry*.

16 I ignore all variants (though a few, as *merry* written above *gallant* in line 1, *ladyfern* above *everfern* in line 10) may belong to the time of writing. A few inconsistencies of hyphenation are preserved. In the latter part of the poem the stanza-divisions are not perfectly clear. Line-numbers at intervals of 8 are marked on the original.

17 This verse is absent from the first text, but a space was left for it, with the note: 'They enchant his boat and give it wings'.

18 A four-line stanza follows here:

> She caught him in her stranglehold
> entangled all in ebon thread,
> and seven times with sting she smote
> his ringéd coat with venom dread.

But this was struck out, apparently at once, since the line-numbering does not take account of it. – *ebon*: old form for *ebony*; here meaning 'black, dark'.

19 In the second version (that printed here) *merry* was written as a variant to *gallant*; in the third *gallant* is a variant to *merry*.

20 The encounter of the Messenger with the Attercops in *Errantry* was a point of contact with the Eärendel legend.

21 The texts are found in II.252–77; IV.37–8, 41, 148–54; V.324–9.

22 The manuscript was perhaps a development from the third version parallel to the first typescript, for it takes up certain variants from the former (as *everfern* in line 10, *Gloaming-bree* (bree 'hill') in line 17), where the first typescript takes up others (*ladyfern*, *Gloaming-fields*).

23 An intermediate version of these lines was:

> He heard there moan in stony caves
> the lonely waves of Orfalas;
> the winds he heard of Tarmenel:
> by paths that seldom mortals pass
> they wafted him on flying wings
> a dying thing across the grey
> and long-forsaken seas distressed;
> from East to West he passed away.

24 This is the typescript of 'Many Meetings' that followed the version described at the beginning of this chapter.

25 These were made on B also, and so appear in the other line of development as well.

26 It could be argued of course that my father actually *rejected* all

the subsequent development after the text C, deciding that that was the version desirable at all points; but this would seem to me to be wholly improbable and far-fetched.

27 This case is slightly different, in that it is the only point where text C does not reach the form in FR (*in Ilmarin on mountain sheer*), but has the line found also in D (followed by E and F), *for ever king on mountain sheer*. This must have been a final emendation in the 'first line' of development, and might of course have been made to the 'second line' as well if that had been available.

VI
THE COUNCIL OF ELROND (1)

The Second Version

A new version of this part of the narrative[1] is a characteristic 'fair copy': too close to the preceding text (VI.399 ff.) to justify the space needed to set it out, but constantly differing in the expression chosen. The chapter is numbered XIV (see p. 81), but has no title.

The story was still that Bilbo and Gandalf came to Frodo's room in the morning (VI.395); and those present at the Council were in no way changed (VI.400). Boromir still comes from 'the Land of Ond, far in the South'.[2] The first important change comes after Gandalf's speech, in which he 'made clear to those who did not already know it the tale of the Ring, and the reasons why the Dark Lord so greatly desired it.' Here, in the original version, Bilbo's story followed; but in this text the following passage enters:

When he told of Elendil and Gilgalad and of their march into the East, Elrond sighed. 'I remember well their array,' he said. 'It reminded me of the Great Wars and victories of Beleriand, so many fair captains and princes were there, and yet not so many or so fair as when Thangorodrim was broken [> taken].'

'You remember?' said Frodo, breaking silence in his astonishment, and gazing in wonder at Elrond. 'But I thought the fall of Gilgalad was many ages ago.'

'So it was,' said Elrond, looking gravely at Frodo; 'but my memory reaches back many ages. I was the minstrel and counsellor of Gilgalad. My father was Eärendel, who was born in Gondolin, seven years before it fell; and my mother was Elwing, daughter of [Dior, son of] Lúthien, daughter of Thingol, King of Doriath; and I have seen many ages in the West of the World. I knew Beleriand before it was broken in the great wars.'

This is the origin of the passage in FR p. 256; but it goes back to and follows quite closely part of an earlier and isolated writing, given in VI.215–16,[3] in which the story of Gil-galad and Elendil was told at much greater length by Elrond to Bingo, apparently in a personal

conversation between them; and that text was in turn closely related to the conclusion of the second version of *The Fall of Númenor* (V.28–9).

The new text continues:

They passed then from the winning and losing of the Ring to Bilbo's story; and once more he told how he had found it in the cave of the Misty Mountains. Then Aragorn took up the tale, and spoke of the hunt for Gollum, in which he had aided Gandalf, and of his [> their] perilous journey through southern Mirkwood, and into Fangorn Forest, and over the Dead Marshes to the very borders of the land of Mordor. In this way the history was brought slowly down to the spring morning ... (&c. as VI.401).

In the first version Trotter was still the hobbit Peregrin, with his wooden shoes (VI.401 and note 20).

Gandalf in his reply to Elrond's question about Bombadil 'Do you know him, Gandalf?' now says:

'Yes. And I went to him at once, naturally, as soon as I found that the hobbits had gone into the Old Forest. I dare say he would have kept them longer in his house, if he had known that I was so near. But I am not sure – not sure that he did not know, and not sure that he would have behaved differently in any case. He is a very strange creature, and follows his own counsels: and they are not easy to fathom.'

It seems that when my father wrote this he cannot have had in mind the outline dated August 26–27 1940, in which Gandalf arrived at Crickhollow and found it deserted (p. 72), since Gandalf could only have learnt from Hamilcar Bolger that the other hobbits had gone into the Old Forest. On the other hand my father was still uncertain (p. 72), in that outline and with that plot, whether Gandalf had visited Bombadil or not. At any rate, by what looks to be an almost immediate change, the wizard's remarks were rewritten:

'I know of him, though we seldom meet. I am a rolling stone, and he is a gatherer of moss. Both have a work to do, but they do not help one another often. It might have been wiser to have sought his aid, but I do not think I should have gained much. He is a strange creature...'

It must have been at this point that my father finally decided that there had been no visit to Bombadil, and the story reverted to its earlier form (see VI.413 note 23).

The sentence in Gandalf's reply to Erestor 'I doubt whether Tom

Bombadil alone, even on his own ground, could withstand that Power'[4] (VI.402) was soon rewritten thus (anticipating in part both Gandalf and Glorfindel in FR p. 279): 'Whether Bombadil alone, even on his own ground, could withstand that Power is beyond all guessing. I think not; and in the end, if all else is conquered, Tom will fall: last as he was first, and the Night will come. He would likely enough throw the Ring away, for such things have no part in his mind.'

Glóin's answer to Boromir's question concerning the Seven Rings remains almost exactly as it was (VI.403–4),[5] but Elrond's reply to the question about the Three Rings has certain changes: notably, he now states as a fact known to him what Gandalf (in 'Ancient History', VI.320) had asserted only as his belief: 'The Three Rings remain still. But wisely they have been taken over the Sea, and are not now in Middle-earth.' He continues:

From them the Elvenkings have derived much power, but they have not availed them in their strife with Sauron. For they can give no skill or knowledge that he did not himself already possess at their making. To each race the rings of the Lord bring such power as each desires and can best wield. The Elves desired not strength, or domination, or hoarded wealth, but subtlety of craft and lore and knowledge of the secrets of the world's being. These things they have gained, yet with sorrow. But all in their mind and heart which is derived from the rings will turn to their undoing, and become revealed to Sauron, if he regains the Ruling Ring, as was his purpose.'

The omission here of the words in the original text 'For they came from Sauron himself' does not, I think, show that the conception of the independence of the Three Rings of the Elves from Sauron had arisen, in view of the following words which were retained: 'For they can give no skill or knowledge that he did not himself already possess at their making'; moreover Boromir still in his question concerning them says that 'these too were made by Sauron in the elder days', and he is not contradicted. See further pp. 155–6.

The next text then follows the old very closely indeed (VI.404–7), until the point where Gandalf, in the afternoon following the Council, overtakes Frodo, Merry, and Faramond (still so called, with Peregrin written in later) walking in the woods; and here the new version diverges for a stretch, Gandalf's remarks about the composition of the Company being quite different – and not only because Trotter is now Aragorn: a doubt here appears about the inclusion of the two younger hobbits.

'... So be careful! You can't be too careful. As for the rest of the party, it is too soon to discuss that. But whether any of you go

with Frodo or not, I shall make other arrangements for the supply of intelligence.'

'Ah! Now we know who really is important,' laughed Merry. 'Gandalf is never in doubt about that, and does not let anyone else forget it. So you are already making arrangements, are you?'

'Of course,' said Gandalf. 'There is a lot to do and think of. But in this matter both Elrond and Trotter will have much to say. And indeed Boromir, and Glóin, and Glorfindel, too. It concerns all the free folk left in the world.'

'Will Trotter come?' asked Frodo hopefully. 'Though he is only a Man, he would add to the brains of the expedition.'

'"Only a Man" is no way to speak of a *tarkil*, and least of all Aragorn son of Celegorn,' said Gandalf. 'He would add wit and valour to any expedition. But as I said, this is not the time and not the place to discuss it. Yet I will say just this in your ears.' His voice sank to a whisper. 'I think *I* shall have to come with you.'

So great was Frodo's delight at this announcement that Gandalf took off his hat and bowed. 'But I only said: I *think* I shall have to go, and perhaps for part of the way only. Don't count on anything,' he added. 'And now, if you want to talk about such things, you had better come back indoors.'

They walked back with him in silence; but as soon as they were over the threshold Frodo put the question that had been in his mind ever since the Council. 'How long shall I have here, Gandalf?' he asked.

'I don't know,' answered the wizard. 'But we shan't be able to make our plans and preparations very quickly. Scouts have already been sent out, and some may be away a long while. It is essential to find out as much as we can about the Black Riders.'

The new version then returns to the first and follows it very closely to the end of that text ('... waiting for him to set out', VI.409). But it then continues into 'The Ring Goes South' (VI.415) without break or heading, and again follows the old pretty closely for some distance – as far as Gandalf's words 'And the hunters will have to come all the way back to the Ford to pick up the trail – if we are careful, and lucky' (VI.416). There are a few differences to be noted. This version begins: 'When the hobbits had been some three weeks in the house of Elrond, and November was passing' (see VI.415 and note 2); the scouts who had gone north had been 'almost as far as Hoardale' (later > 'as far as the Hoardales'), where in the original text they had reached 'the

Dimrill-dales' (see p. 10 and note 14); and it is said of the High Pass: 'where formerly the Goblins' door had been'. Very faint pencillings at the foot of the page give Elvish names of the places mentioned in the text, just as are found in the preceding version (see VI.432 note 4), but these are not the same. The note reads:

In Elvish *Annerchion* = Goblin Gate
Nenvithim = Hoardales
Ruinnel = Redway
Palath-ledin = Gladden Field[s]
Palath = Iris

But where in the first version Gandalf says: 'We had better get off as soon as possible now – and as quietly', and the story then passes almost at once to the day of departure, this text diverges to the first full and clear account of the selection of the Company of the Ring – who are still to be seven (see VI.409–10); and the selection now takes place at the same point in the narrative as it does in FR (pp. 288–9).

'... It is time we began to make preparations in earnest, and the first thing to do is to decide who is going. I have my own ideas, but I must consult Elrond.'

Both Elrond and the wizard were agreed that the party must not be too large, for their hope lay in speed and secrecy. 'Seven and no more should there be,' said Elrond. 'If Frodo is still willing, then Frodo as ring-bearer must be the first choice. And if Frodo goes, then Sam Gamgee must go too, because that was promised, and my heart tells me that their fates are woven together.'

'And if two hobbits go, then I must go,' said Gandalf, 'for my wits tell me that I shall be needed; and indeed *my* fate seems much entangled with hobbits.'

'That is three then,' said Elrond. 'If there are others, they should represent the other free folk of the world.'

'I will go on behalf of Men,' said Trotter. 'I claim some right to share in the adventures of the Ring; but I wish also to go out of friendship for Frodo, and therefore I will ask his leave to be his companion.'

'I could choose no one more gladly,' said Frodo. 'I had thought of begging what is freely offered.' He took Trotter's hand.

'Boromir will also come,' said Gandalf. 'He is resolved to return as soon as he can to his own land, to the siege and war[6] that he has told of. His way goes with ours. He is a valiant man.'

'For the Elves I will choose Galdor of Mirkwood,' said Elrond, 'and for the Dwarves Gimli son of Glóin. If they are

willing to go with you, even as far as Moria, they will be a help to you. That is seven and the full tale.'

'What about Meriadoc and Faramond [> Peregrin]?' said Frodo, suddenly realizing that his friends were not included. 'Merry has come far with me, and it will grieve him to be left behind now.'

'Faramond [> Peregrin] would go with you out of love for you, if he were bidden,' said Gandalf; 'but his heart is not in such perilous adventures, much though he loves you. Merry will be grieved, it is true, but Elrond's decision is wise. He is merry in name, and merry in heart, but this quest is not for him, nor for any hobbit, unless fate and duty chooses him. But do not be distressed: I think there may be other work for him to do, and that he will not be left long idle.'

When the names and number of the adventurers had thus been decided, it was agreed that the day of departure should be the following Thursday, November the seventeenth. The next few days were busy with preparations, but Frodo spent as much time as he could alone with Bilbo. The weather had grown cold, and was now cheerless and grey, and they sat often together in Bilbo's own small room. Then Bilbo would read passages from his book (which seemed still very incomplete), or scraps of his verses, and take notes of Frodo's adventures.

On the morning of the last day, Bilbo pulled out from under his bed a wooden box, and lifted the lid, and fumbled inside. 'You have got a good sword of your own, I believe,' he said hesitatingly to Frodo; 'but I thought, perhaps, you would care to have this as well, or instead, don't you know.'

From this point the new text reaches virtually the final form in FR pp. 290–1,[7] as far as 'I should like to write the second book, if I am spared.' This was evidently where the chapter ended at this stage.

For a brief while my father evidently suspected that Meriadoc and Faramond/Peregrin would be superfluous in what he conceived to be the last stage of the Quest. – It is curious that Elrond, when declaring his choice of Galdor of Mirkwood and Gimli son of Glóin, here refers to Moria as if the passage of the Mines were already determined; but this cannot have been intentional.

Later pencilled changes made to the name *Ond* in this manuscript may be mentioned here. At the first occurrence *the Land of Ond* was struck out, and in the margin my father wrote *Minas-tir Minas-ond Minas-berel*, finally putting *the City of Minas-tirith*. This may be the place where *Minas Tirith* (which already existed in the *Quenta*

Silmarillion, V.264, 269) first emerged in this application. At a subsequent occurrence *Ond* was changed to *Minas-berel* and then to *Minas Tirith*.

*

A very rough pencilled outline, written on the 'August 1940' examination script described on p. 67, brings in entirely new aspects of the discussion at the Council. At the head of the page stand these names:

Minas Giliath *Minas rhain*[8] *Othrain* = ... city[9] *Minas tirith*

Then follows:

At Council.
Aragorn's ancestry.
Glóin's quest – to ask after Bilbo. ? News of Balin. ??
Boromir. Prophecies had been spoken. The Broken Sword should be reforged. Our wise men said the Broken Sword was in Rivendell.
I have the Broken Sword, said Tarkil. My fathers were driven out of your city when Sauron raised a rebellion, and he that is now the Chief of the Nine drove us out.
Minas Morgol.
War between Ond and Wizard King.
There Tarkil's sires had been King. Tarkil will come and help Ond. Tarkil's fathers had been driven out by the wizard that is now Chief of the Nine.
Gandalf's story of Saruman and the eagle. Elrond explains that Eagles had been sent to look. This only if Gandalf goes straight to Rivendell. Otherwise how could the eagles find Gandalf?

The Broken Sword appears in the last revisions to the 'Prancing Pony' story (written on the same paper as this outline), where Trotter draws it out in the inn (p. 78).[10] – The meaning of the last two sentences of the outline is presumably that Gandalf went straight to Rivendell when he left Hobbiton in June, and there told Elrond that he intended to visit Saruman. Compare the notes given on p. 75: 'Gandalf is captured by Saruman. Elves send word that he is missing... Glorfindel is sent out, and messengers sent to Eagles. ... They fly all over the lands, and find Gandalf...'

The Third Version

More is told of this story of 'Tarkil's sires' and Ond in a manuscript written on the same paper, which I give next, and which despite its being so rough and incomplete I will call 'the Third Version'. This text develops Glóin's story, and is followed by the account given by Galdor of Mirkwood of Gollum's escape, which here first enters.[11] In these

parts of the text there is a great advance towards FR (pp. 253–5, 268–9), where however the ordering of the speeches made at the Council is quite different. Finally we reach the story of the Númenórean kingdoms in Middle-earth, still in an extremely primitive form, and written in a fearsome scrawl; most unhappily a portion of this is lost.

There are a fair number of alterations in pencil, but I think that these belong to much the same time as the writing of the manuscript (which ends in pencil). I take these up silently where they are of slight significance, but in many cases I show them as such in the text.

Much was said of events in the world outside, especially in the South, and in the wide lands east of the Mountains. Of these things Frodo had already heard many rumours. But the tales of Glóin and of Boromir were new to him, and he listened attentively. It appeared that the hearts of the Dwarves of the Mountain were troubled.

'It is now many years ago,' said Glóin, 'that a shadow of disquiet fell upon our folk. Whence it came we did not at first know. Whispered words began to be spoken: it was said that we were hemmed in a narrow place, and that greater wealth and splendour were to be found in the wider world. Some spoke of Moria – the mighty works of our fathers of old, that we called in our ancient tongue Khazaddûm – and they said that we now had the power and numbers to return and there re-establish our halls in glory and command the lands both West and East of the Mountains. At the last, some score of years ago, Balin departed, though Dáin did not give leave willingly, and he took with him Óin and Ori and many of our folk, and they went away south. For a while we heard news, and it seemed good: messages reported that Moria had been re-entered, and great work begun there. Then all fell silent. There was peace under the Mountain again for a space, until rumour of the rings began to be heard.

'Messages came a year ago from Mordor far away; and they offered us rings of power such as the lord of Mordor could make – on condition of our friendship and aid. And they asked urgently concerning one Bilbo, whom it seemed they had learned was once our friend. They commanded us to obtain from him if we could, willing or unwilling, a certain ring that he had possessed. In exchange for this we were offered three such rings as our fathers had of old. Even for news of where he might be found we were promised lasting friendship and great reward.

'We knew well that the friendship of such messages was

feigned and concealed a threat, for by that time many rumours of evil also reached us concerning Mordor. We have returned yet no answer; and I have come first from Dáin, to warn Bilbo that he is sought by the Dark Lord, and to learn (if may be) why this is so. Also we crave the counsel of Elrond, for the shadow grows. We perceive that messages have also been sent to King Brand in Dale, and that he is afraid to resist. Already there is war gathering on his southern borders. If we make no answer the Dark Lord will move other men to assail him and us.'

'You have done well to come,' said Elrond. 'You will hear today all that is necessary for the understanding of the Enemy's purposes, and why he seeks Bilbo. There is nought you can do other than to resist, whether with hope or without it. But as you will hear, your trouble is only part of ours [> the troubles of others]; and your hope will rise and fall with the fortunes of the Ring. Let us now hear the words of Galdor of Mirkwood, for they are yet known to few.'

Galdor spoke. 'I do not come,' he said, 'to add to all the accounts of gathering war and unrest, though Mirkwood is not spared, and the dark things that fled from it for a while are returning in such number that my people are hard put to it. But I am sent to bear tidings: they are not good, I fear; but how ill, others must judge. Smeagol that is now called Gollum has escaped.'

'What!' cried Trotter in surprise. 'I judge that to be ill news, and you may mark my words: we shall regret this. How came the Wood-elves to fail in their trust?'

'Not through lack of vigilance,' said Galdor; 'but perhaps through overmuch kindness, and certainly through aid from elsewhither. He was guarded day and night; but hoping for his cure we had not the heart to keep him ever in dungeons beneath the ground.'

'You were less tender to me,' said Glóin with a flash of his eye, as ancient memories of his prison in the halls of the Elven-king were aroused.

'Now, now!' said Gandalf. 'Don't interrupt! That was a regrettable misunderstanding.'

'In days of fair weather we led him through the woods,' Galdor went on; 'and there was a high tree, standing alone far from others, which he liked to climb. Often we let him climb in it till he felt the free wind; but we set a guard at the foot. One day he would not descend, and the guards having no mind to

climb after him (he could cling to branches with his feet as well as with his hands) sat by the tree into the twilight. It was on that very evening in summer under a clear moon that the Orcs came down upon us. We drove them off after some time; but when the battle was over, we found Gollum was gone, and the guards had vanished also. It seems clear that the attack was arranged for the rescue of Gollum, and that he knew of it beforehand; but in what way we cannot guess. We failed to recapture him. We came on his trail and that of some Orcs, and it seemed to plunge deep into Mirkwood going south and west; but ere long it escaped even our skill, nor dare we continue the hunt, for we were drawing near the Mountains of Mirkwood in the midst of the forest, and they are become evil, and we do not go that way.'

'Well, well!' said Gandalf. 'He has got away, and we have no time or chance now to go after him again. Evidently the Enemy wants him. What for, we may discover in good time, or in bad time.[12] I still had some hopes of curing him; but evidently he did not wish to be cured.'

'But now our tale goes far away and long ago,' said Elrond [> Gandalf]. [*Direction here for insertion of a rider which is not extant; but see p. 126.*] 'In the days that followed the Elder Days after the fall of Númenor the men of Westernesse came to the shores of the Great Lands, as is recorded still in history and legend [> in lore]. Of their kings Elendil was the chief, and his ships sailed up the great river which flows out of Wilderland [*in margin, struck out in pencil:* This river they name *Sirvinya*, New Sirion.] and finds the Western Sea in the Bay of [Ramathor Ramathir >] Belfalas. In the land about they made a realm [> In the land about its lower course he established a realm]; and the [> his] chief city was Osgiliath the Fort of Stars, through which the river flowed. But other strong places were set upon hills upon either side: Minas Ithil the Tower of the Moon in the West, and Minas Anor the Tower of the Sun in the East [> Minas Ithil the Tower of the Rising Moon in the East, and Minas Anor the Tower of the Setting Sun in the West].

'And these cities were governed by the sons of Elendil: Ilmandur [*struck out in pencil*], Isildur, and Anárion. But the sons of Elendil did not return from the war with Sauron, and only in Minas Ithil [> Anor] was the lordship of the West maintained. There ruled the son of Isildur [> Anárion] and his sons after him. But as the world worsened and decayed Osgiliath fell into ruin, and the servants of Sauron took Minas

Anor [*not changed to* Ithil], and it became a place of dread, and was called Minas Morgol, the

The whole of the last paragraph was struck through in pencil. The last words stand at the foot of a page, and the following page is lost. This is a misfortune, since a part of the earliest form of the history is lost with it. The text when it takes up again is complex, and it is clearest to number it in sections from (i) to (iii). We are now in the middle of a speech by Boromir.

(i)

'...But of these words none of us could understand anything, until we learnt after seeking far and wide that *Imlad-ril* [> *Imlad-rist*] was the name of a far northern dale, called by men [> men in the North] Rivendell, where Elrond the Half-elven dwelt.'

'But the rest shall now be made clear to you,' said Trotter, standing up. He drew forth his sword, and cast it upon a table before Boromir: in two pieces. 'Here is the Sword that was Broken, and I am the bearer.'

'But who are you, and what have you or it to do with Minas Tirith?' asked Boromir.

'He is Aragorn son of Celegorn, descended in right line [*added:* through many fathers] from Isildur of Minas Ithil, son of Elendil,' said Elrond. 'He is *tarkil* and one of the few now left of that people.'

(At this point there is a mark of insertion for another passage, here identified as (iii), which is to replace what now follows, the continuation of passage (i).)

(ii)

'And the Men of Minas Tirith drove out my fathers,' said Aragorn. 'Is not that remembered, Boromir? The men of that town have never ceased to wage war on Sauron, but they have listened not seldom to counsels that came from him. In the days of Valandur they murmured against the Men of the West, and rose against them, and when they came back from battle with Sauron they refused them entry into the city.[13] Then Valandur broke his sword before the city gates and went away north; and for long the heirs of Elendil dwelt at Osforod the Northburg in slowly waning glory and darkening days. But all the Northland

has now long been waste; and all that are left of Elendil's folk few.

'What do the men of Minas Tirith want with me – to return to aid [them] in the war and then reject me at the gates again?'

This passage (ii) was struck through in pencil. Hurled onto the page, this narrative is only one stage advanced from the highly provisional outlines which my father made at various points as the work proceeded. I think that this obscure story, with its notable suggestion of a subject population that was not Númenórean (although the cities were founded by Elendil), was rejected almost as soon as written; it may be that it was the earliest form of the history of the Númenórean realms in exile that my father conceived.

The passage to replace (ii) was scribbled very rapidly and in pencil; it was not struck out.

(iii)

'Then it belongs to you as much as me, or more!' cried Frodo, looking at Trotter in amazement.

'It does not belong to either of us,' said Trotter, 'but it is ordained that you should keep it for a while.[14] Yes, I am the heir of Elendil,' said he, turning again to Boromir; [*all the following struck out at the time of writing:* 'for I have heard it said that long ago you drove out the Men of the West from Minas Anor. You have ever fought against Sauron, but not seldom you have hearkened to counsels that came from him. Do you wish that I should return to Minas Morgol or to Minas Tirith? For Valandil son of Elendil was taken [?as child] For the Men of Minas Ithil] 'For Valandil son of Isildur remained among the Elves, and was saved, and he went at last with such of his father's men as remained, and dwelt in the North in Osforod, the Northburg, which is now waste, so that its very foundations can scarce be seen beneath the turf. And our days have ever waned and darkened through the years. But ever we have wandered far and wide, yes, even to the borders of Mordor, making secret war upon the Enemy. But the sword has never been reforged. For it was Elendil's and broke under him as he fell, and was brought away by his esquire and treasured. And Elendil said: "This sword shall not be brandished again for many years; but when a cry is heard in Minas Anor, and the power of Sauron grows great in the Middle-earth, then let it be whetted."'

Finally, (ii) continues in pencil from the point reached ('... and then reject me at the gates again?'), and this was not struck out:

'They did not bid me to make any request,' said Boromir, 'and asked only for the meaning of the words. Yet we are sorely pressed, and if Minas Tirith falls and the land of Ond, a great region will fall under the Shadow.'

'I will come,' said Trotter. 'For the half-high have indeed set forth, and the spoken days are near.' Boromir looked at Frodo and nodded with sudden understanding.

The text ends here. In these earliest workings it is interesting to see that the Sword that was Broken existed before the story that it was broken beneath Elendil as he fell: indeed it is not clear that at first it was indeed Elendil's sword, nor how Valandur (whose sword it was) was related to him (though it seems plain that he was a direct descendant of Elendil: very possibly he was to be Isildur's son).

In the passage (iii) the final story of the Broken Sword is seen at the moment of its emergence. Valandil appears as the son of Isildur, and there is a glimpse of the later story that Valandil, the youngest son, remained on account of his youth in Imladris at the time of the War of the Last Alliance, that he received the sword of Elendil, and that he dwelt in Elendil's city of Annúminas.

As my father first wrote the present text he evidently meant (p. 119) that Ilmandur (probably the eldest son of Elendil) ruled Osgiliath, the name of his city being appropriate to his own name (*Ilmen*, region of the stars), as were the cities which they ruled to his brothers' names; but Ilmandur was removed and Osgiliath became Elendil's city – for in this text Elendil sailed up the Great River (which receives ephemerally the name *Sirvinya* 'New Sirion', displacing *Beleghir* 'Great River', VI.410) and established a realm in the land about its lower course. This is entirely at variance with the story found much earlier in Elrond's conversation with Bingo (see p. 110; VI.215–16), where Elrond told that Elendil was 'a king in Beleriand', that 'he made an alliance with the Elf-king of those lands, whose name is Gilgalad', and that their joined armies 'marched eastward, and crossed the Misty Mountains, and passed into the inner lands far from the memory of the Sea.'

That text was very closely related to the end of the second version of *The Fall of Númenor* (V.28–9), and used many of the same phrases. Subsequently a new ending to *The Fall of Númenor* was substituted; this has been given in V.33, but I cite it again here.

> But there remains a legend of Beleriand. Now that land had been broken in the Great Battle with Morgoth; and at the fall of Númenor and the change of the fashion of the world it perished; for the sea covered all that was left save some of the mountains that

remained as islands, even up to the feet of Eredlindon. But that land where Lúthien had dwelt remained, and was called Lindon. A gulf of the sea came through it, and a gap was made in the Mountains through which the River Lhûn flowed out. But in the land that was left north and south of the gulf the Elves remained, and Gil-galad son of Felagund son of Finrod was their king. And they made Havens in the Gulf of Lhûn whence any of their people, or any other of the Elves that fled from the darkness and sorrow of Middle-earth, could sail into the True West and return no more. In Lindon Sauron had as yet no dominion. And it is said that the brethren Elendil and Valandil escaping from the fall of Númenor came at last to the mouths of the rivers that flowed into the Western Sea. And Elendil (that is Elf-friend), who had aforetime loved the folk of Eressëa, came to Lindon and dwelt there a while, and passed into Middle-earth and established a realm in the North. But Valandil sailed up the Great River Anduin and established another realm far to the South. But Sauron dwelt in Mordor the Black Country, and that was not very distant from Ondor the realm of Valandil; and Sauron made war against all Elves and all Men of Westernesse or others that aided them, and Valandil was hard pressed. Therefore Elendil and Gil-galad seeing that unless some stand were made Sauron would become lord of [?all] Middle-earth they took counsel together, and they made a great league. And Gil-galad and Elendil marched into the Middle-earth [?and gathered force of Men and Elves, and they assembled at Imladrist].

These three accounts can only be placed in this sequence:

(I) Elrond's account to Bingo (together with the original ending of the second version of *The Fall of Númenor*): Elendil in Beleriand.

(II) The present text (the 'third version' of 'The Council of Elrond'): Elendil comes up the Great River and founds a realm in the South.

(III) The revised ending of *The Fall of Númenor*, cited above: Elendil comes to Lindon; Valandil his brother comes up the Great River and founds the realm of Ondor in the South.

That (I) is the earliest is shown of course by the name Bingo; that (III) followed (II) is shown by the names *Anduin* and *Ondor*. But this is hard to understand: for the story seen emerging in (II), pp. 119–21 above – Isildur and Anárion the rulers of Minas Ithil and Minas Anor, and Valandil Isildur's son surviving and dwelling in the North – is the story that endured into *The Lord of the Rings*.

A single sheet of manuscript found in isolation bears on this question without aiding its solution; it is also of great interest in other respects.

After the 'breaking of the North' in the Great Battle, the shape of the North-west of Middle-earth was changed. Nearly all Beleriand was drowned in the Sea. Taur na Fuin became an Island. The mountains of Eredwethion &c. became small isles (so also Himling). Eredlindon was now near the Sea (at widest 200 miles away). A great gulf of the Sea came in through Ossiriand and a gap made in the Mountains through which [the Branduinen flowed (later corrupted to Brandywine) >] the Lhûn flowed. In what was left between the Mountains and the Sea the Elves of Beleriand remained in North and South Lindon; and Havens of Escape were made in the Gulf. The lord was Gilgalad (son of [*struck out:* Fin...] Inglor?). Many of his people were Gnomes; some Doriath-Danians.

Between Eredlindon and Eredhithui [*written above:* Hithdilias] (Misty Mountains) many Elves dwelt, and especially at Imladrist (Rivendell) and Eregion (Hollin). In Hollin there was a colony of Gnomes, who would not depart. Down in Harfalas (or Falas) ...[15] the Black Mountains [Ered Myrn >] Eredvyrn (Mornvenniath) dwelt a powerful assembly of Ilkorins.

Elendil and Valandil kings of Númenórë sailed to the Middle-earth and came into the mouths of the Anduin (Great River) and the Branduinen and the Lhûn (Blue River).

Here the name *Anduin* shows that this text followed (II), the present version of 'The Council of Elrond'. Here, as in (III), Elendil has a brother Valandil (and they are called 'kings of Númenórë'),[16] and the meaning of the last sentence is presumably that, again as in (III), they came separately to Middle-earth and sailed up different rivers.

The simplest conclusion, indeed the only conclusion that seems available, is that my father for some time held different views of the coming of the Númenóreans, and pursued them independently.

Other features of this text must be briefly noticed. That it preceded (III) seems clear from its being at first the Branduinen (Brandywine), subsequently changed to the Lhûn, that flowed through the great gap in Eredlindon (the Blue Mountains), whereas in (III) Lhûn was written from the first. This indicates also that the text preceded that portion of the original map (Map I, p. 302) which shows these regions. On the other hand the statement that Eredlindon was now at no point further than 200 miles from the Sea agrees well with that map;[17] and we meet here an apparently unique reference to the isles of *Tol Fuin* and *Himling*, which are shown on it.[18]

The Misty Mountains receive for the first time Elvish names (*Eredhithui*, *Hithdilias*), as do the Black Mountains in the South, afterwards the White Mountains, (*Eredvyrn*, *Mornvenniath*); and the

name *Eregion* of Hollin appears. The name of Gil-galad's father as first written cannot be interpreted; the fourth letter seems to be an *r*, but the name is certainly not *Finrod*. *Inglor*, though here marked with a query, agrees with (III), which has *Felagund*; in the texts that I have called (I) above he was a descendant of Fëanor.

I return now to the 'third version' of 'The Council of Elrond'.

The verse (if it was already a verse) that brought Boromir to Rivendell is lost in its earliest form with the lost page (p. 120), but from what follows it is plain that it referred to the Sword that was Broken, which was in *Imlad-ril*, and to 'the half-high', who will 'set forth' (cf. FR p. 259).

There are several interesting names in this text.

Khazaddûm (p. 117) is here first used – in the narrative – of Moria (see V.274, VI.466), but it appears in the original sketch of a page from the Book of Mazarbul: see VI.467 and the Appendix to this book, p. 458.

The city of *Osgiliath* on the Great River appears, with the fortresses of *Minas Anor* and *Minas Ithil* on either side of the river valley, though their positions were originally reversed, with Minas Ithil in the west becoming *Minas Tirith* and Minas Anor in the east becoming *Minas Morgol*.

The *Bay of Belfalas* (replacing at the time of writing *Ramathor*, *Ramathir*) here first appears (see VI.438–9). On the name *Sirvinya* 'New Sirion' of the Great River see p. 122.

Imlad-ril is no doubt the earliest form and first appearance of the Elvish name of Rivendell; *Imlad-rist* which here replaced it is the form found in the texts given on pp. 123–4. *Imladris* is found in the *Etymologies* (V.384, stem RIS).

With *Osforod* 'the Northburg' cf. the later *Fornost (Erain)*, 'Norbury (of the Kings)'.

At the end of the manuscript there are a few lines concerning Bombadil: '"I knew of him," answered Gandalf. "Bombadil's one name. He has called himself by others, suiting himself to the times. Tombombadil's for the Shire-folk. We have seldom met."'

Pencilled scribbles beneath this, difficult to interpret, give other names of Bombadil: *Forn for the Dwarves*[19] (as in FR p. 278); *Yárë for the Elves*, and *Iaur* (see the *Etymologies*, V.399, stem YA); *Erion* for the Gnomes; *Eldest for m[en]* (cf. FR p. 142: 'Eldest, that's what I am').

The Fourth Version

The next complete manuscript of the chapter is a formidably difficult document. It contains pages 'cannibalised' from the second version, with just such elements retained from them as were still suitable, and it

also contains later writing at more than one stage in the evolution of the Council, with further emendation on top of that clearly deriving from different times. It is difficult to determine how this complex evolved; but I think a good case can be made for the account of the evolution that I give here, in which a 'fourth' and a 'fifth' version are separated out.

On this view, my father now decided that the extremely difficult and incomplete 'third version', introducing so much new material, called for an ordered text in clear manuscript. The chapter (XIV) was now titled 'The Council of Elrond', and it begins (on the 'August 1940' examination script) with a revised version of the opening (see p. 110): Frodo and Sam now meet Gandalf and Bilbo sitting 'on a seat cut in the stone beside a turn in the path', as in FR (p. 252). But there is no further development at this stage in the membership of the Council: the Elf of Mirkwood is still Galdor. Boromir is now 'from the city of Minas Tirith in the South'.

From the start of the Council itself, the 'third version', taking up at the words 'Much was said of events in the world outside' (p. 117), was for the most part closely followed, though with movement in detail towards the expression in FR. Glóin is still followed by Galdor's news of Gollum's escape and Gandalf's resigned observations on the matter. But after 'And now our tale goes far away and long ago' Elrond here adds:

'for all here should learn in full the tale of the Ring. I know,' he added with a glance at Boromir, who seemed about to speak. 'You think that you should speak now in turn after Galdor. But wait, and you will see that your words will come in more fitly later.'

This passage may very well represent what was contained in the missing rider referred to on p. 119.

Elrond's brief account of the foundation of the realm of Ond is not changed from the 'third version' (as emended: see p. 119). Elendil still established it, about the lower course of the Great River (here not given any other name), and 'his chief city was Osgiliath, the Fortress of Stars', while Isildur and Anárion governed Minas Ithil and Minas Anor. But where the previous text has (as emended) 'But the sons of Elendil did not return from the war with Sauron, and only in Minas Anor was the lordship of the West maintained. There ruled the son of Anárion and his sons after him' this fourth version greatly expands Elrond's speech:

'...But Isildur, the elder, went with his father to the aid of Gilgalad in the Last Alliance. Very mighty was that host.' Elrond paused for a while, and sighed. 'I remember well the splendour of their banners,' he said...

Elrond's recollection of the mustering of the hosts of the Last Alliance, and Frodo's astonished interjection, now reach the form in FR (p. 256; for the earlier forms of the passage see p. 110); but after 'I have seen many ages in the West of the World, and many defeats, and many fruitless victories' the new text proceeds:

'... Such proved indeed the alliance of Gilgalad and Elendil.'

And thereupon Elrond passed to the tale of the assault upon Mordor that Frodo had heard already from Gandalf / yet not so fully or so clearly; and he spoke of the winning of the Ring [*changed perhaps at this time to:* But now all was set forth in full, and memories were unlocked that had long lain hidden. Great forces were gathered together, even of beasts and of birds; and of all living things some were in either host, save only the Elves. They alone were undivided, and followed Gilgalad.[20] Then Elrond spoke of the winning of the Ring], and the flight of Sauron, and the peace that came to the West of Middle-earth for a time.

'Yet,' said Elrond, 'Isildur, who took the Ring, and greatly diminished the power of Sauron, was slain, and he came never back to Minas Ithil, in the Land of Ond, nor did any of his folk return. Only in Minas Anor was the race of Westernesse maintained for a while.[21] But Gilgalad was lost, and Elendil was dead; and in spite of their victory, Sauron was not wholly destroyed, and the evil creatures that he had made or tamed were abroad, and they multiplied. And Men increased, and Elves were estranged from them; for the people of Númenor decayed, or turned to dark thoughts, and destroyed one another; and the world worsened. Osgiliath fell into ruin; and evil men took Minas Ithil, and it became a place of dread, and was called Minas-Morgol, the

It is at this point that the previous manuscript breaks off, through the loss of a leaf, and does not take up again till after Boromir has declared the 'dream-verse' of Minas Tirith, concerning which he came to Rivendell (p. 120).

Tower of Sorcery, and Minas Anor was renamed Minas Tirith the Tower of Guard. And these two cities stood opposed to one another, and were ever at war; and in the ruins of Osgiliath shadows walked. So it has been for many lives of men. For the men of Minas Tirith fight on, though the race of Elendil has long failed among them. But listen now to Boromir, who is come from Minas Tirith in the Land of Ond.'

'Truly in that land,' said Boromir proudly, taking up the tale, 'we have never ceased to defend ourselves, and to dispute the passage of the River with all enemies from the East. By our valour some peace and freedom has been kept in the lands to the West behind us. But now we are pressed back, and are near to despair, for we are beset and the crossing of the River has been taken.[22] And those whom we defend shelter behind us, and give us much praise and little help.

'Now I am come on an errand over many dangerous leagues to Elrond. But I do not seek allies in war; for the might of Elrond is not in numbers, nor do the High-elves put forth their strength in armies. I come rather to ask for counsel and the unravelling of hard words. A dream came many months ago to the Lord of Minas Tirith in the midst of a troubled sleep; and afterward a like dream came to many others in the City, and even to me. Always in this dream there was the noise of running water upon one hand, and of a blowing fire upon the other; and in the midst was heard a voice, saying:

Seek for the Sword that was broken:
in Imlad-rist it dwells,
and there shall words be spoken
stronger than Morgol-spells.
And this shall be your token:
when the half-high leave their land,
then many bonds shall be broken,
and Days of Fire at hand.

Of these words none of us could understand anything,[23] until after long seeking we learned that *Imlad-rist* was the elvish name of a far northern dale, called by Men in the North *Rivendell*, where Elrond Halfelven dwelt.

The third version is then followed closely (pp. 120–1, passages (i) and (iii)) as far as 'but it has been ordained that you should have it for a while'; then follows in this fourth version:

'Yes, it is true,' he said, turning to Boromir with a smile. 'I do not look the part, maybe: I have had a hard life and a long, and the leagues that lie between here and Ond would go for little in the count of my wanderings. I have been in Minas Tirith, and walked in Osgiliath by night, and even to Minas Morgol I have been, and beyond.' He shuddered. 'But my home, such as I have, has been in the North; for Valandil son of Isildur was harboured by the Elves in this region after the death of his father;

and he went at last with such of his folk as remained, and dwelt in Osforod the North-burg. But that is now waste, so that its very foundations can scarce be seen beneath the turf. And our days have ever waned and darkened through the years; and we are become a wandering folk, few and secret and sundered, pursued ever by the Enemy, and pursuing him. And the sword has never been reforged. For it was Elendil's, and broke beneath him in his fall; and it was brought away by his esquire and treasured. For Elendil said in his last hour: "This blade shall not be brandished again for many ages. And when a voice is heard in Minas Anor, and the shadow of Sauron grows great again in Middle-earth, let it then be remade." '

It seems to me extremely probable that it was here, very near the point where the draft third version ended, that my father abandoned in its turn this fourth version, or more accurately went back over what he had written, changing the sequence of the speeches at the Council and introducing much new material. He then continued to the end of the chapter; and this is the fifth version.

In the third and fourth versions, ending (on this view) at much the same place, the sequence had been the same:

(1) Glóin's account of the return to Moria and the messages from Mordor;
(2) Galdor's news of Gollum's escape;
(3) Elrond's story ('But now our tale goes far away and long ago...');
(4) Boromir and the 'dream-verse' of Minas Tirith;
(5) Aragorn produces the Sword of Elendil, and Elrond proclaims his ancestry; Frodo says 'Then it belongs to you as much as me, or more!'
(6) Aragorn speaks of Valandil son of Isildur and the life of his descendants in the North.

The differences between this structure and that of FR are essentially that in the final form the story of (Galdor) Legolas comes in much later, and that after Frodo's exclamation in (5) and Aragorn's reply Gandalf calls on Frodo to bring forth the Ring – whereupon Elrond says 'Behold Isildur's Bane!'; this in turn leads to Aragorn's account of himself, Aragorn being followed by Bilbo's story and then Frodo's.

A single page of rough drafting shows both developments: Frodo's bringing forth the Ring at this juncture and Elrond's naming it 'Isildur's Bane' (which would lead to the insertion of the name into the 'dream-verse', from which it was at first absent, p. 128), and also a scheme for a new sequence. In this, after Aragorn's explanation to Boromir of the Broken Sword (FR p. 260), there follows:

(1) Bilbo's story;

(2) Gandalf's account of the Rings, and of the identification of Bilbo's Ring with Isildur's Bane;
(3) The story of the hunt for Gollum;
(4) Galdor's tidings of Gollum's escape;
(5) Frodo's story;
(6) 'Gandalf's captivity';
(7) 'Question about Tom Bombadil'.

Although in FR (2) was very greatly enlarged, and embraces Aragorn's story (3), this is essentially the final sequence, with the exception of (5): in FR Frodo follows Bilbo. An intervention, following Frodo's story, by the Elf from the Grey Havens (Galdor, not yet present) leads in FR to Gandalf's two long accounts (2) and (6), into which (4) comes as an interruption.

The sequence given above is found in the fifth version, to be given (in part) shortly; and the way in which the speeches at the Council were relinked to achieve the final sequence can be understood from a comparison of FR with the material presented here.

Gandalf's Tale

I think it very likely, indeed almost certain, that it was at this juncture, before he began on the fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond', that my father finally set down the full story of why Gandalf failed to return to Hobbiton before Frodo's departure. Only a few hints towards this had been put in writing. Saruman appeared for the first time in the outline dated 26–27 August 1940 (pp. 70–1), where the earliest ideas concerning him and his rôle emerge. He dwells at Angrobel or Irongarth, on the borders of Rohan; he 'sends out a message that there is important news' (that the Ringwraiths had come forth from Mordor); Gandalf wants his help against them; but Saruman has 'fallen and gone over to Sauron'. At that stage my father was still entirely uncertain what in fact happened to Gandalf – whether he was pursued by the Riders to the top of a mountain from which he could not escape, or whether he was handed over to Treebeard and imprisoned by him; and in that outline there is no mention of his escape from whatever durance he suffered. In the brief scheme given on p. 116, however, there is mention of 'Gandalf's story of Saruman and the eagle'; and the question is touched on there, how did the Eagles know where to seek for Gandalf? – unless he had gone at once to Rivendell when he left the Shire in June, and had told Elrond of his intention.

Now at last the final story emerges; and the earlier conception of the Western Tower, an Elf-tower of Emyn Beraid, in which Gandalf stood guarded by the Ringwraiths sitting motionless on their horses, as Frodo saw them in his dream (see pp. 33–6), changes into Orthanc,

Saruman's tower within the circuit of the 'Irongarth'; and Saruman is his captor.

This first draft, for which my father used the blue booklet-covers of the 'August 1940' examination script, was written in his most rapid handwriting, in which words were often reduced to mere marks or lines with slight undulations, and I have not been able to interpret it at every point. But this original text of Gandalf's story is of much interest, and I give it here in full so well as I can. It will be seen that while the texture of the narrative is thinner than in the final form (FR pp. 269 ff.), many essential features were already present. The pages of the manuscript are lettered from 'b' onwards, showing that the first page is lost.

'It has', said Gandalf, 'and I was about to give an account.[24] At the end of June a cloud of anxiety came upon my mind and I went through the Shire to its southern borders. I had long felt a foreboding of some danger that was still hidden from me. I passed down the Baranduin as far as Sarn Ford, and there I met a messenger. I found I knew him well, for he leapt from his horse when he saw me and hailed me: it was Radagast who dwelt once upon a time near the southern borders of Mirkwood.

Here my father broke off, and without striking out what he had written began again in the course of the second sentence.

and rode round the borders of the Shire, for I felt a foreboding of some danger that was still hidden from me. I found nothing, though I came upon many fugitives, and it seemed to me that on many a fear sat of which they could not speak. I came up from the South and along the Greenway, and not far from Bree I came upon a man sitting by the roadside. His [?dappled grey] horse was standing by. When he saw me he leaped to his feet and hailed me. It was Radagast my cousin,[25] who dwelt once upon a time near the southern borders of Mirkwood. I had lost sight of him for many years. "I am seeking you," he said. "But I am a stranger in these parts, and I heard a rumour that you were in a land called by a strange name: the Shire." "I was," said I, "and you are near. ... [?River] but [?far] to East. What do you want with me so urgently?" For he is never a great traveller.

'He then told me dread news and revealed to me what I had feared without knowing it. This is what he said. "The Nine Wraiths are released," he said. "The Enemy must have some great and urgent need, but what it is that should make him

look to these desolate ... parts where men and wealth are scanty I do not know." "What do you mean?" said I. "The Nine are coming this way," he said. "Men and beasts are flying before them. [*Added in pencil:* They have taken the guise of horsemen clad in black as of old.]"

'Then my heart failed for a moment; for the Chief of the Nine was of old the greatest of all the wizards of Men, and I have no power to withstand the Nine Riders when he leads them.

'"Who sent you?" I asked. "It was Saruman the [Grey >] White,"[26] he said, [*added in pencil:* "and he bids me say that though the matter is too great for you he will help, but you must seek his help at once, and this seemed good to me"] and then I had a light of hope. For Saruman the [Grey >] White is as you know the greatest among us, and was chief of the White Council. Radagast the Grey [*in pencil* > Brown] is of course a master of shapes and changes of hue,[27] and has much lore of beast, bird, and herb; but Saruman has long studied the works of the Enemy to defeat him, and the lore of rings was his especial knowledge. The last of the 19 rings he had....[28]

'"I will go to Saruman," I said. "Then you must go now," said Radagast; "for the time is very short, and even if you set out this hour you will hardly come to him before the Nine cross the Seven Rivers.[29] I myself shall take my horse and ride away now, since my errand is at an end." And with that he mounted and rode off without another word – and that seemed to me very strange. [*Marginal addition:* and would have ridden off there and then. "Stay a moment, Radagast," I said. "We need help of many kinds. Send out messages to all the birds and beasts that are your friends. Tell them to bring news to Saruman and Gandalf. Let any message go to Orthanc."][30] But I could not follow him. I had ridden far and Galeroc[31] was weary. I stayed the night in Bree and departed at dawn – and if I ever see the [?innkeeper] again there will be no Butter left in Butterbur. I will melt the fat from him....[32] But bless him, he is a worthy man and seems to have shown a stout heart. I shall probably relent. However, being in great need I trusted him to send the message to Frodo, and went off at dawn; and I came at last to the dwelling of Saruman the White. And that is in Isengard, in the north of the Black Mountains in the South.[33] There there is a circle of sheer-sided hills that enclose a vale, and in the midst of the vale is a tower of stone that is called Orthanc. I came to the great gate in the wall of rock and they said that Saruman

expected me;[34] and I rode in, and the gate closed behind, and a sudden fear came on me.

'Saruman was there but he had changed. He wore a ring on his finger. "So you have come, Gandalf," he said to me, and I seemed to see a deadly laughter in his eyes. "Yes, I have come for your aid, Saruman the White." But that title seemed to fill him with anger. "For aid?" he said coldly. "It is seldom heard that Gandalf the *Grey* sought for aid, one so cunning and so wise, wandering about the lands, and concerning himself in every business, be it his own or others".'

'"But now matters are afoot," I said, "that need all our strengths [?in union]. The Chief of the Nine is guised as a Rider in Black and his companions likewise. This Radagast told me."

'"Radagast the Brown," he said, and shook with laughter. "Radagast the Simple, Radagast the Fool. [*Added in pencil:* Yet he had just the wits to play the part that I set him.] He must have played his part well nonetheless. For here you are [*added in pencil:* and that is the purpose of the message]. And, Gandalf the Grey, here you will stay. For I am Saruman: Saruman the Wise, Saruman of many colours. For white cloth may be dyed, and the white page overwritten, and the white light broken." [*Pencilled in margin without direction for insertion:* And I looked then and saw that his robes were not white as had been his custom, but were of many hues, and with every movement he changed hue.]

'"In which case it is no longer white," I said. "For white may be blended of many colours, but many colours are not white." "You need not speak to me as to one of the fools that you make your friends," he said. "I have not brought you here to be instructed, but to give you a choice. A new power has arisen. Against it there is no hope. With it there is such hope as we never had before. The power is going to win. [*Added in margin without direction for insertion:* We fight against it in vain – and in any case foolishly; for we have looked always at it from the outside with hatred, and have not considered what are its further purposes. We have seen only the things done, often under necessity, or caused by resistance and foolish rebellion.] I shall grow as it grows, until all things are ours. In the end, I – or *we*, if you will join me – may in the end come to control that Power. Indeed why not? Could not we by this means accomplish all, and more than all, that we have striven for before with the help of the weak Men and fugitive Elves?"

'"Be brief!" I said. "Name your choice! It is this, is it not? To submit as you have to Sauron [*alternative reading:* To submit to you and to Sauron], or what?"

'"To stay here till the end," said he.

'"Till what end?"

'"Till the Lord has time to consider what fate for you would give him most pleasure."

'They took me,' said Gandalf, 'and placed me on the pinnacle of Orthanc, in the place where Saruman of old was wont to watch the stars. There is no descent but by a narrow stair. And the vale that was once fair was filled with wolves and orcs, for Saruman was there mustering a great force for the service of his new master.[35] I had no chance of escape, and my days were bitter. For I had but little room in which to walk to and fro, and brood on the coming of the Riders to the North. But there was always a hope that Frodo had set forth as I had bidden, and would reach Rivendell ere the inescapable pursuit began. But both my fear and my hope were cheated. For I made the mistake that others have made. I did not yet understand that in the Shire the power of Sauron would halt and fumble, and the hunt be at a loss. And my hope was founded on an innkeeper: one of the best in the world, but not made to be a tool in high matters.'

'Who sent the eagles?' said Frodo eagerly, for suddenly the strange dream that he had had came back to him.

Gandalf looked at him in surprise. 'I thought you asked what had happened to me,' he said. 'But you seem to know, and don't need... the telling of my tale...'

'Your words have recalled a dream,' said Frodo, 'that I thought only a dream and had forgotten.'

'Well,' said Gandalf, 'your dream was true.[36] Gandalf was caught like a fly in a spider's web; yet he is an old fly that has known many spiders. I was not content to send a message only to the Shire. At first I feared, as Saruman wished that I should, that Radagast had also fallen. But it is not so: he trusted Saruman, who had not revealed his purposes to him. And the very fact that Saruman had so successfully deceived Radagast proved the undoing of his scheme. For Radagast did as I bid.[37] And the Eagles of the Misty Mountains kept watch and they saw the mustering of orcs, and got news of the escape of Gollum, and they sent word to Orthanc of this to me. And so it was when the moon was still young on a night of autumn that Gwaewar the Windlord[38] chief of the eagles came to me; and I

spoke to him and he bore me away before Saruman was aware, and the orcs and wolves that he released found me not.

'"How far can you bear me?" said I to Gwaewar.

'"Many leagues," he said; "but not to the ends of the earth. Had I known that you wished to fly I would have brought helpers. I was sent as the swiftest and as a bearer of [?tidings]."

'"Then I must have a steed," I said, "and a steed of surpassing swiftness; for I have never had such a need."

'"Then I will take you to Rohan," he said, "for that is not far off. For in Rohan [*added:* the ?Riddermark] the Rohiroth[39] the horse-masters dwell still, and there are no horses like the horses of that land."

'"But are they yet to be trusted?" "They pay tribute ... yearly in horses to Mordor," said Gwaewar, "but they are not yet under the yoke;[40] yet their doom is not far off, if Saruman is fallen."

'I reached Rohan ere dawn, and there I got a horse the like of which I have never seen.'

'He is indeed a fine steed,' said [Elrond >] Aragorn; 'and it grieves me that Sauron should have such tribute. For in the steeds of Rohan there is a strain that ... descended from the Elder Days.'

'One at least is saved,' said Gandalf; 'for there I got my grey horse, and I name him Greyfax. Not even the Chief of the Nine could go with such tireless speed; and by day his coat glistens like silver, and at night it is as unseen as a shadow. So swift was my going from Rohan that I reached the Shire within a week of the appointed day, and I came to his[41] home and found he was gone. I found in fact the Sackville-Bagginses there and was [?ordered off]. I went to the Gaffer's and he was hard to comfort; but I had need of comfort myself, for amidst his confused talk I gathered that the Riders had come even as you left; and I rode to Buckland and all was in uproar; but I found Crickhollow broken and empty, and on the threshold I picked up a cloak that was Frodo's.

'That was my worst moment. I rode then on the trail of the Black Riders like the wind, and I came behind them as they rode through Bree. They threw down the gates ... and passed by like a wind. The Breelanders I guess are quaking still, and expect the end of the world. This was on the night after you had left, I now know. Next day I rode on, and in two days I reached Weathertop, and there I found two of the Enemy already, but

they drew off before my [?wrath]. But that night ... gathered, and I was besieged on the top, but I perceived they had not got you.

The text ends with the words: 'Fled at sunrise'. – With only slight prevision (as it appears), a massive new element and dimension had entered the history. There were of course certain essential features lacking. Most important, Saruman was not acting independently of the Dark Tower (see note 35); and while Gandalf's great ride from Rohan on 'Greyfax' now enters, there is no suggestion that the relations of Rohan with Mordor will have any especial significance in the story (though those relations are now differently conceived: see note 40) – and Gandalf's remark 'In Rohan I found evil already at work' (FR p. 275) is absent.

The story of Hamilcar Bolger's ride with Gandalf has finally gone (see p. 75), as has that of Gandalf's visit to Tom Bombadil (see p. 111).

A notable feature is the evolution of the 'colours' of the wizards, Gandalf, Saruman, and Radagast, which came to the final form in the course of the writing of this draft. Saruman is at first 'the Grey',[42] becoming at once 'the White', and Radagast immediately takes on the epithet 'Grey' (p. 132). But Gandalf then becomes 'the Grey',[43] and Saruman calls Radagast 'the Brown' in the text as written on p. 133.

NOTES

1 This text has been put together from pages used in a subsequent version that went to Marquette University and others that were left behind. Many changes were made to it afterwards, but in the citations that I make from it here I take account only of those that were made in ink and at or very near to the time of composition.

2 Elrond still says of Boromir that he 'brings tidings that must be considered', but as in the original version (VI.409) we are again not told what they were, and no explanation is given of his journey to Rivendell. Subsequently in this version, however, Gandalf says that Boromir 'is resolved to return as soon as he can to his own land, to the siege and war that he has told of.'

3 That my father had the earlier text before him is shown by the recurrence here of the casual error (which I did not observe in Vol. VI) 'Elwing daughter of Lúthien': Elwing was the daughter of Dior, son of Lúthien.

4 In the preceding sentence, 'In time the Lord of the Ring would find out its hiding-place', just as in the first version (VI.402 and note 25) *Lord of the Rings* was first written but changed at once to *Lord of the Ring*.

5 'Thráin father of Thrór' (VI.403 and note 28), contradicting *The Hobbit*, was repeated. See pp. 159–60.

6 See note 2.

7 That Bilbo gave Frodo Sting and his mailcoat appears in the original outline for 'The Council of Elrond', VI.397. Bilbo does not here, as he does in FR, produce the pieces of Frodo's sword, nor indeed refer to the fact of its having been broken, though the story of its being broken at the Ford of Bruinen goes back to the beginning (VI.197). – The coat of mail (which Bilbo still calls his 'elf-mail') is described as 'studded with pale pearls' ('white gems', FR); cf. the original text of *The Hobbit*, before it was changed to introduce 'mithril': 'It was of silvered steel, and ornamented with pearls' (VI.465, note 35).

8 See p. 287 note 3.

9 The illegible word probably begins with F and might be 'Fire'.

10 It is possible that the Sword that was Broken actually emerged from the verse 'All that is gold does not glitter': on this view, in the earliest form of the verse in which the Broken Sword is referred to (p. 80, note 18) the words *a king may yet be without crown, A blade that was broken be brandished* were no more than a further exemplification of the general moral.

11 Gollum's escape, though only now emerging, had been a necessity of the story ever since Gandalf told Bingo (VI.265) that 'the Wood-elves have him in prison', if Gollum was to reappear at the end, as had long been foreseen (see VI.380–1).

12 Afterwards it is Treebeard who says this (*The Two Towers* III.4, p. 75): 'There is something very big going on, that I can see, and what it is maybe I shall learn in good time, or in bad time.'

13 Cf. the outline given on p. 116: 'My [i.e. Aragorn's] fathers were driven out of your city when Sauron raised a rebellion', and 'There Tarkil's sires had been King'.

14 For previous uses of this dialogue in other contexts see pp. 50 and 105 note 3.

15 The illegible word is an abbreviation, perhaps 'bet.', which my father used elsewhere for 'between'; if this is what it is, he may have intended (the manuscript is very hasty) to write 'between the Black Mountains and the Sea'. *Harfalas* is not named here on the First Map (p. 309, map III).

16 Cf. p. 119: 'Of their kings [i.e. of the Men of Westernesse] Elendil was the chief'.

17 Text (III), the revised ending to *The Fall of Númenor*, says that 'the sea covered all that was left ... *even up to the feet of Eredlindon*' (pp. 122–3), but this can be accommodated to the map by supposing that it refers to the northern extent of the range (where it bent North-east).

18 In the Introduction to *Unfinished Tales* (p. 14) I said that 'though the fact is nowhere referred to it is clear that Himring's top rose above the waters that covered drowned Beleriand. Some way to

the west of it was a larger island named *Tol Fuin*, which must be the highest part of *Taur-nu-Fuin*.' When I wrote that I did not know of the existence of this text. – The later form *Himring* had appeared already in the second text of the *Lhammas* (V.177, 189), and in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.263, 268); *Himling* here and on the map are surprising, but can have no significance for dating.

19 This is Old Norse *forn* 'ancient'.

20 Cf. *Of the Rings of Power*, in *The Silmarillion* p. 294: 'All living things were divided in that day, and some of every kind, even of beasts and birds, were found in either host, save the Elves only. They alone were undivided and followed Gil-galad.'

21 In this text there is no reference to the death of Anárion. It is made clear that he did not go to the War of the Last Alliance.

22 Contrast FR: 'But if the passages of the River should be won, what then?' In FR (pp. 258–9) Boromir describes the assault on Osgiliath: 'A power was there that we have not felt before. Some said that it could be seen, like a great black horseman, a dark shadow under the moon'; but 'still we fight on, holding all the west shores of Anduin'. An addition to the present text may belong to this time or later: 'Nine horsemen in black led the host of Minas Morgol that day and we could not withstand them.' See p. 151.

23 Here the 'third version' draft takes up again after the missing page (p. 120).

24 Cf. the next version (p. 149): '"It has much to do with it," said Gandalf, "and if Elrond is willing I will give my account now."'

25 Cf. *The Hobbit*, Chapter VII 'Queer Lodgings': '"I am a wizard," continued Gandalf. "I have heard of you, if you have not heard of me; but perhaps you have heard of my good cousin Radagast who lives near the Southern borders of Mirkwood?"' – On Radagast's appearance in the story see p. 76 and note 15.

26 The change of *Grey* to *White* followed the same change in the next sentence, which was made in the act of writing; a little further on *Saruman the White* was written thus from the first.

27 Can this have been suggested by Beorn's acquaintance with Radagast? (see note 25).

28 I cannot make out the two concluding words, though the first might be 'gathered'. But whatever the words are, the meaning is clearly that Saruman had acquired the last of the Rings – and wore it on his finger, as appears subsequently in this text (cf. FR p. 271). – In the last text of 'Ancient History' that has been given Gandalf refers to the discussion of the Rings at the White Council, and to those who 'go in for such things'; see p. 22.

29 The *Seven Rivers*: see pp. 310–12.

30 It is seen subsequently (see note 37) that this addition was made

while the writing of this text was in progress; and it is seen from the addition that Radagast first entered the story as the means by which Gandalf was lured to Saruman's dwelling. The abrupt haste of Radagast's departure seemed to Gandalf 'very strange', and it is possible that when first drafting the story my father supposed that Radagast's part was not simply that of innocent emissary: later, at Isengard, Saruman says (p. 133) 'He must have played his part well nonetheless'. This is not in FR. When the addition here was made, Radagast became also the means by which the Eagles knew where to find Gandalf (see p. 130); and this development necessarily disposed of the idea that Radagast had been corrupted – but Gandalf's fear that he had been remains: 'At first I feared, as Saruman wished that I should, that Radagast had also fallen' (p. 134; this is preserved in FR, p. 274). – This is the first appearance of the name *Orthanc*, though its first actual use in the narrative is probably in the description of Isengard that immediately follows.

31 *Galeroc*: see pp. 68 and note 4, 70.

32 The illegible words are perhaps 'fingers and all' ('butterfingers').

33 The name *Isengard* first occurs here (cf. *Angrobel* or *Irongarth*, p. 71), and it is placed, not at the southern end of the Misty Mountains, but in the north of the Black Mountains.

34 This is the first description of Isengard. – There is a faint pencilled addition at this point: 'But something strange in their look and voices struck me; and I dismounted from my horse and left him without. And that was well, for' (here the addition breaks off). This was perhaps a thought, abandoned as soon as written, for some other story of Gandalf's escape, and his need for a horse to take him back to the Shire. The great speed of Galeroc had been emphasised earlier (p. 68: 'there is no horse in Mordor or in Rohan that is as swift as Galeroc').

35 Cf. FR pp. 273–4: 'for Saruman was mustering a great force on his own account, in rivalry of Sauron and not in his service yet.'

36 Before writing this passage about Frodo's dream ('"Who sent the eagles?"...) my father first put '"And how did you get away?" said Frodo.' It was thus probably at this very point that he decided to introduce Frodo's vision of Gandalf on the pinnacle of Orthanc into his dream in the house of Tom Bombadil (FR p. 138; for previous narratives of his dream on that night see VI.118–20, 328). His vision of Gandalf imprisoned in the Western Tower had also of course to be removed (see p. 35).

37 It is seen from this passage that the addition discussed in note 30 was put in while the draft was in course of composition.

38 On the form *Gwaewar* (*Gwaihir* in LR) see V.301.

39 The name following *Rohan* is very unclear, but can scarcely be other than the first occurrence of *Riddermark*. *Rohiroth*, *Rochi-*

roth is found on the earliest rough map of the region, VI.439–40.

40 Cf. VI.422 (the earliest text of 'The Ring Goes South'): 'The Horse-kings have long been in the service of Sauron.'

41 'his', though Frodo has not been mentioned, because 'the appointed day' replaced 'Frodo's departure'.

42 In the plot dated 26–27 August 1940 (p. 70), where Saruman first appears, he was 'Saramond the White or Grey Saruman'.

43 He calls himself 'Gandalf the Grey' in the version of his conversation with Frodo at Rivendell cited on p. 82, but that is not earlier than the present text.

VII
THE COUNCIL OF ELROND (2)

The Fifth Version

A fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond' followed, and is conveniently placed here, though it is not necessarily the case that these revisions proceeded in unbroken sequence while other writing remained at a standstill. This version incorporated the changed sequence of speakers (pp. 129–30) and Gandalf's story, and changed the history of Elendil and his sons; but for this rewriting and reconstruction my father made use of existing material, whence arises the extraordinarily complicated state of the manuscript. Many emendations were made to this version at different times. In this case they can be readily separated into two groups, on the basis of a typescript that was made of the fifth version after a certain amount of change had been carried out.

This typescript was very carefully and accurately made, with a remarkably small number of errors, seeing that the typist seems not to have been well acquainted with the story: the name *Saruman* was typed *Samman* throughout (*ru* and *m* being very similar or identical in my father's handwriting). Where my father missed a needed change (as *Galdor* > *Legolas*) the typist dutifully set down the manuscript form. These characteristics make the typescript a mirror of the state of the manuscript when it was made. This is to be sure of only limited value without knowledge of when that was; but I think that it belongs clearly to this period.

In those parts of the fifth version that are cited here, I indicate only those subsequent emendations to the manuscript (and only if of significance) that appear in the typescript as typed.

Glóin's story was altered in the following way. In the third version, retained in the fourth, he had said: 'At the last, some score of years ago, Balin departed, though Dáin did not give leave willingly, and he took with him Óin and Ori and many of our folk, and they went away south' (p. 117). This was now replaced by the following, written on a page of the 'August 1940' examination script.

'... For Moria was of old one of the wonders of the Northern world. It is said that it was begun when the Elder Days were young,[1] and Durin, father of my folk, was king; and with the passing of the years and the labour of countless hands its mighty

halls and streets, its shafts and endless galleries, pierced the mountains from east to west and delved immeasurably deep. But under the foundations of the hills things long buried were waked at last from sleep, as the world darkened, and days of dread and evil came. Long ago the dwarves fled from Moria and forsook there wealth uncounted; and my folk wandered over the earth until far in the North they made new homes. But we have ever remembered Moria with fear and hope; and it is said in our songs that it shall be re-opened and re-named ere the world ends. When again we were driven from the Lonely Mountain, Erebor,[2] in the days of the Dragon, Thrór returned thither. But he was slain by an Orc, and though that was revenged by Thorin and Dáin, and many goblins were slain in war, none of Thrór's folk, neither Thráin, nor Thorin his son, nor Dáin his sister-son, dared to pass its gates; until at last Balin listened to the whispers that I have spoken of, and resolved to depart. Though Dáin did not give leave willingly, he took with him Óin and Ori and many of our people, and they went away south. That was two score years ago.

This passage, of which only a trace remains in FR (pp. 253–4), reveals the development of new conceptions in the history of the Dwarves. In the original text of 'The Ring Goes South' (VI.429) Gandalf said that *the Goblins drove the Dwarves from Moria*, and most of those that escaped removed into the North. This must have been based on what was told in *The Hobbit*: in Chapter III Elrond had said that 'there are still forgotten treasures to be found in the deserted caverns of the mines of Moria, since the dwarf and goblin war', and in Chapter IV there was a reference to the goblins having 'spread in secret after the sack of the mines of Moria'. Presumably therefore what my father said in the first version of 'The Ring Goes South' was what he actually had in mind when he wrote those passages in *The Hobbit*: the Goblins drove the Dwarves out of Moria.

If this is so, it was only now that a new story emerged, in which the Dwarves left Moria for an entirely different reason. In the present passage the cause of their flight is indeed only hinted at most obliquely: 'they delved immeasurably deep', and 'under the foundations of the hills things long buried were waked at last from sleep'. With this compare LR Appendix A (III):

> The Dwarves delved deep at that time.... Thus they roused from sleep a thing of terror that, flying from Thangorodrim, had lain hidden at the foundations of the earth since the coming of the Host of the West: a Balrog of Morgoth. Durin was slain by it, and the

year after Náin I, his son; and then the glory of Moria passed, and its people were destroyed or fled far away.

On this question see further pp. 185–6.

Concomitantly with this, the 'dwarf and goblin war' took on a new interpretation and history (and this was why the word 'sack' in the sentence quoted from Chapter IV of *The Hobbit* above was changed in the third edition (1966) to 'battle'). It was the savage murder of Thrór, Thorin's grandfather, on his return to Moria, that led to the war of the Dwarves and the Orcs, ending in the fearsome victory of the Dwarves in the battle of Azanulbizar (Dimrill Dale), described in LR Appendix A (III). The passage in the present text, telling that Thrór 'was slain by an Orc, and though that was revenged by Thorin and Dáin, and many goblins were slain in war, none of Thrór's folk, neither Thráin, nor Thorin his son, nor Dáin his sister-son, dared to pass [Moria's] gates', suggests that the essentials of the later story were now already present. In the story told in LR Appendix A (III) Thorin played an important part in the battle, and from his prowess derived his name 'Oakenshield'; and Dáin slew Azog, the slayer of Thrór, before the East Gate of Moria. This latter event was indeed derived from *The Hobbit*, where in Chapter XVII Gandalf said of Dáin that he slew the father of Bolg (leader of the Goblins in the Battle of Five Armies) in Moria.[3] It is further told in Appendix A (III) that after the death of Azog Dáin came down from the Gate 'grey in the face, as one who has felt great fear'; and that he said to Thráin, Thorin's father:

> 'You are the father of our Folk, and we have bled for you, and will again. But we will not enter Khazad-dûm. You will not enter Khazad-dûm. Only I have looked through the shadow of the Gate. Beyond the shadow it waits for you still: Durin's Bane. The world must change and some other power than ours must come before Durin's Folk walk again in Moria.'

It appears from *The Hobbit* Chapter XV that Dáin of the Iron Hills was Thorin Oakenshield's cousin (and from Chapter XVII that his father was called Náin). In the present text Dáin is called Thráin's sister-son. In the table given in LR Appendix A (III), however, he is not Thráin's sister-son: his father Náin was Thráin's first cousin, and thus Thorin Oakenshield and Dáin Ironfoot were second cousins.

After Elrond's words to Glóin 'You will learn that your trouble is only part of the trouble that we are here met to consider' (cf. p. 118), Galdor of Mirkwood no longer follows (see pp. 129–30), and the fifth version reads here:[4]

'For hearken all!' said Elrond in a clear voice. 'I have called you together to listen to the tale of the Ring. Some part of that

tale is known to all, but the full tale to few. Other matters may be spoken of, but ere all is ended, it will be seen that all are bound up with the Ring, and all our plans and courses must wait upon our decision in this great matter. For, what shall we do with the Ring? That is the doom that we must deem ere we depart.

'Behold, the tale begins far away and long ago. In the Black Years that followed the Elder Days, after the fall of Númenor the Men of Westernesse returned to the shores of Middle-earth, as is recorded still in lore. Of their kings Elendil the Tall was their chief, and his sons were Isildur and Anárion, mighty lords of ships. They sailed first into the Gulf of Lindon, where the Elf-havens were and still are, and they were befriended by Gilgalad, King of the High-elves of that land. Elendil passed on into Middle-earth and established a realm in the North, about the rivers Lhûn and Branduin, and his chief city was called Tarkilmar [> Torfirion] (or Westermanton), that now is long desolate. But Isildur and Anárion sailed on southwards, and brought their ships up the Great River, Anduin,[5] that flows out of Wilderland and finds the Western Sea in the Bay of Belfalas. In the lands about its lower courses they established a realm where are now the countries of Rohan and Ondor.[6] Their chief city was Osgiliath, the Fortress of Stars, through the midst of which the river flowed. Other strong places they made: Minas Ithil, the Tower of the Rising Moon, to the eastward upon a spur of the Mountains of Shadow; and Minas Anor, the Tower of the Setting Sun, westward at the feet of the Black Mountains. But Sauron dwelt in Mordor, the Black Country, beyond the Mountains of Shadow, and his great fortress, the Dark Tower, was built above the valley of Gorgoroth; and he made war upon the Elves and the Men of Westernesse; and Minas Ithil was taken. Then Isildur sailed away and sought Elendil in the North; and Elendil and Gilgalad took counsel together, seeing that Sauron would soon become master of them all, if they did not unite. And they made a league, the Last Alliance, and marched into Middle-earth gathering great force of Elves and Men. Very mighty was that host.

It will be found that in this passage are the bones of a part of the narrative of the separate work *Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age*, which was published in *The Silmarillion* (see pp. 290–3). In the later development of 'The Council of Elrond' the chapter became the vehicle of a far fuller account of the early Númenórean kingdoms in

Middle-earth, and much of this is now found not in *The Lord of the Rings* but in *Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age*.

Here the later story of Elendil enters (see pp. 122–4), in which Elendil remained in the North, whereas his sons sailed south down the coasts of Middle-earth and brought their ships up the Great River. Elendil's city in the North emerges, afterwards *Annúminas*, but here bearing the names *Tarkilmar* or *Westermanton*: on the western portion of the First Map (pp. 304–5) the Elvish name is *Torfirion*, to which *Tarkilmar* was changed on the present manuscript. In Mordor the valley of *Gorgoroth* appears, the name deriving from the *Ered Orgoroth (Gorgoroth)*, the Mountains of Terror south of Taur-na-Fuin in the Elder Days; and the *Mountains of Shadow* are the first mention of the later-named *Ephel Dúath*, the great chain fencing Mordor on the West and South.

From 'Very mighty was that host' my father returned to and retained the pages of the preceding (fourth) version, pp. 126–8. The result of this combination of the new passage just given with the text of the fourth version was to *repeat the taking of Minas Ithil*. In the original account (pp. 119–20) Elrond told that *after* the war with Sauron 'as the world worsened and decayed Osgiliath fell into ruin', and the servants of Sauron took the eastern city, so that 'it became a place of dread, and was called Minas Morgol'. In the fourth version (pp. 126–7) this was repeated more fully and plainly; and the structure of Elrond's story here can be summarised thus:

- Isildur went to the War of the Last Alliance
- Elrond recalls the mustering of the hosts
- He tells of the war
- Isildur's death; 'he came never back to Minas Ithil, nor did any of his folk return. Only in Minas Anor was the race of Westernesse maintained for a while'
- Despite the victory over Sauron, the world worsened; the Númenóreans decayed and were corrupted, 'Osgiliath fell into ruin; *and evil men took Minas Ithil*, and it became a place of dread, and was called Minas-Morgol'

But in the fifth version the structure of Elrond's story becomes:

- *Sauron captured Minas Ithil.* Thereupon Isildur departed and went north, *and there followed the War of the Last Alliance*
  (The story returns to the fourth version)
- Elrond recalls the mustering of the hosts
  (&c. as in the fourth version)

This is the form of the story in the typescript made from the fifth version. It is not clear to me whether my father fully intended this result. As the fifth version stands, Minas Ithil was captured by Sauron *before* the War of the Last Alliance, and indeed its capture was a prime cause of the making of the league; yet it is still said that Isildur 'came never back to Minas Ithil', and it is still told that *long after the war*

'evil men took Minas Ithil'. This is of course perfectly explicable: when Sauron was cast down Minas Ithil was retaken from his servants, and only much later did the 'evil men' repossess it. But one might expect this to have been made explicit; and the impression remains of a 'doubled' account arising from the use of the fourth version material at this point.

However this may be, it is curious that the history of Minas Ithil never was made entirely explicit. In *Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age* nothing is said of its retaking after the war, nor indeed of its history until the time of the great plague that came upon Gondor in the seventeenth century of the Third Age, when 'Minas Ithil was emptied of its people' (*The Silmarillion* p. 296).

Various changes were made to the manuscript, which is common to both fourth and fifth versions, in this part of the chapter (extending as far as 'it has been ordained that you should have it for a while', p. 128). These changes were apparently made at different times; those that were taken up into the typescript (see p. 141) are given here.

Elrond now says that 'It was even at Imladris, here in Rivendell, that they were mustered'. *Ond* becomes *Ondor* (see note 6), and *Minas-Morgol* becomes *Minas-Morghul*. The sentence 'Only in Minas Anor was the race of Westernesse maintained for a while' was cut out, and the following inserted at this point: 'And Anárion was slain in battle in the valley of Gorgoroth' (see p. 127 and note 21). In the 'dream-verse' of Minas Tirith *Imlad-rist* was altered to *Imlad-ris*, and the second half of the verse was changed to read:

This sign shall there be then
that Doom is near at hand:
The Halfhigh shall you see then
with Isildur's bane in hand.

On *Isildur's bane* see pp. 129–30. At every occurrence of *Trotter* or *Aragorn* in this passage, and throughout the manuscript, the name *Elfstone* was written in, and is the name found in the typescript, and *Aragorn son of Kelegorn* becomes *Elfstone son of Elfhelm* (cf. p. 80 note 17, and for discussion of this question see pp. 277–8).

But at Aragorn's words 'it has been ordained that you should have it for a while' the new structure enters, with '"Bring out the Ring, Frodo!" said Gandalf solemnly' (see pp. 129–30), and the text that follows in FR (pp. 260–1) is all but achieved. It is (significantly) not said that 'Boromir's eyes glinted as he gazed at the golden thing'; but Aragorn's explanation to him of the meaning of the 'Sword that was broken' in the 'dream-verse' is as in FR, with his reference to the prophecy that it should be re-made when Isildur's Bane was found, and he ends 'Do you wish for the house of Elendil to return to the land of Ond [> Ondor]?'[7] Bilbo in irritation at Boromir's doubtfulness of Aragorn 'bursts out' with the verse *All that is gold does not glitter*[8]

('"I made that up for Tarkil [> Elfstone]," he whispered to Frodo with a grin, "when he first told me his long tale"'). But Aragorn's speech to Boromir (cf. pp. 121, 128) is still substantially different from that in FR, and lacks much that he afterwards said.

Aragorn [> Elfstone] smiled; then he turned again to Boromir. 'I do not look the part, truly,' he said; 'and I am but the heir of Elendil, not Elendil himself. I have had a hard life and a long; and the leagues that lie between here and Ond [> Ondor] are a small part in the count of my journeys. I have crossed many mountains, and many rivers, and trodden many plains, even into far regions where the stars are strange. I have been in Minas Tirith unknown,[9] and have walked in Osgiliath by night; and I have passed the gates of Minas-Morgol [> Minas-Morghul]; further have I dared even to the Dark Borders, and beyond. But my home, such as I have, is in the North. For Valandil, Isildur's son, was harboured by the Elves in this region when his father was lost; and he went at last with such of his folk as remained to him, and dwelt in Osforod [> Fornobel],[10] the North Burg. But that is now waste, and the foundations of its walls can scarce be seen beneath the turf.

'Our days have ever waned and darkened through the years, and we are dwindled to a wandering folk, few and secret and sundered, pursued ever by the Enemy. And the sword has never yet been re-forged, for Isildur's Bane was lost. But now it is found and the hour has come. I will return to Minas-Tirith.'

At the end of Aragorn's speech the fourth version of 'The Council of Elrond' ended (p. 129). The fifth version continues:

'And now,' said Elrond, 'the tale of the Ring comes down the years. It fell from Isildur's hand and was lost. And it shall now be told in how strange a manner it was found. Speak Bilbo! And if you have not yet cast your story into verse,' he added with a smile, 'you may tell it in plain words.'

To some of those present Bilbo's tale was new, and they listened with amazement while the old hobbit (not at all displeased) retold the story of his adventure with Gollum, not omitting a single riddle.

Then Gandalf spoke, and told of the White Council that had been held in that same year, and of the efforts that had been made to drive the Necromancer from Mirkwood, and how that had failed to check the growth of his power. For he had taken again his ancient name, and established a dominion over many

men, and had re-entered Mordor. 'It was in that year,' said Gandalf, 'that rumour first came to us that he was seeking everywhere for the lost Ring; and we[11] gathered such lore as we could from far and wide concerning its fashion and properties, but we never thought that it would be found again to our great peril.' Gandalf spoke then of the nature and powers of the One Ring; and how it had at last become clear that the ring of Gollum was indeed Isildur's Bane, the Ruling Ring.

He told how he had searched for Gollum; and then the story was taken up first by Galdor [> Legolas] of the Wood-elves,[12] and in the end by Aragorn [> Elfstone]. For in that chase he had made a perilous journey following the trail from the deep places of Mirkwood through Fangorn Forest and the Riddermark, Rohan the land of Horsemen, and over the Dead Marsh [> Marshes] to the very borders of the land of Mordor.

'And there I lost the trail,' he said, 'but after a long search I came upon it again, returning again northwards. It was lurking by a stagnant pool, upon the edge of the Dead Marsh [> Marshes], that I caught Gollum; and he was covered with green slime. I made him walk before me, for I would not touch him; and I drove him towards Mirkwood. There I gave him over to Gandalf and to the care of the Elves, and was glad to be rid of his company, for he stank. But it is as well that he is in safekeeping. We do not doubt that he has done great harm, and that from him the Enemy has learned that the Ring is found; but he might well do further ill. He did not return, I am sure, of his own will from Mordor, but was sent forth from there to aid in the design of Sauron.'

'Alas!' said Galdor [> Legolas] interrupting, 'but I have news that must now be told. It is not good, I fear; but how ill, others must judge. All that I have heard warns me that you may take it amiss. Smeagol, who is now called Gollum, has escaped.'

'What!' cried Aragorn [> Elfstone] in angry surprise. 'Then all my pains are brought to nothing! I judge that to be evil news indeed. You may mark my words: we shall all rue this bitterly. How came the Wood-elves to fail in their trust?'

Galdor's story, which was already close (see pp. 118–19) to that in FR, now moves still closer in detail of expression. Gandalf's rather resigned comments on Gollum's escape remain as they were; now however he ends by saying: 'But now it is time that the tale came to Frodo' (on the sequence here see p. 130). Frodo's story, and Bilbo's remarks about it, are very much as in FR, where they come in at a

different point, pp. 262–3: here his brief conversation with Bilbo forms the link to Gandalf's story, which is given a heading in the manuscript,

Gandalf's tale

'There are whole chapters of stuff before you ever got here!'

'Yes, it made quite a long tale,' answered Frodo; 'but the story doesn't seem complete to me. I still want to know a good deal.'

'And what question would you ask?' said Elrond, overhearing him.

'I should like to know what happened to Gandalf after he left me, if he is willing to tell me now. But perhaps it has nothing to do with our present business.'

'It has much to do with it,' said Gandalf, 'and if Elrond is willing I will give my account now. At the end of June a cloud of anxiety came upon my mind...

Gandalf's story in this version is still fairly close to the preliminary draft (pp. 131–5), but the writing is much developed towards the form in FR. A detailed comparison of the three would take a great deal of space, but I notice here all the chief features of difference.

Gandalf now calls Radagast his 'kinsman', not his 'cousin', and his dwelling is named (but by an addition to the manuscript: see p. 164) *Rhosgobel*; he still says that the Nine Wraiths 'have taken the guise of Riders in black, *as of old*' (this was a pencilled addition to the draft, p. 132); he does not name them *Nazgûl*. Gandalf says of the 'fell captain of the Nine' that he was 'a great king of old'; and of Saruman he says:

...For Saruman the White is, as some of you know, the greatest of my craft, and was the leader in the White Council. ... But Saruman long studied the arts of the Enemy, and was thus often able to defeat him; and the lore of rings was one of his chief studies. He knew much of the history [of the rings of power >] of the Nine Rings and the Seven, and somewhat even of the Three and the One; and it was at one time rumoured that he had come near the secret of their making.

Radagast tells Gandalf that 'even if you set out from this spot you will hardly reach him before the Nine have crossed the seventh river' (cf. p. 132). Gandalf's horse, formerly Galeroc, is not now named.

Isengard is still in the Black Mountains, but is now defined as being 'not far from the great vale that lies between them and the last hills of the Misty Mountains, in that region which is known to some as the

Gap of Rohan' (which is here first named); and of Orthanc Gandalf now says that in the midst of the valley of Isengard 'is the tower of stone called Orthanc, for it was made by Saruman, and it is very great, and has many secrets, but it looks not to be a work of craft. It cannot be reached save by passing the circle of Isengard, and in that there is only one gate.' The implication of the word *for* in 'for it was made by Saruman' is that the tower was called *Orthanc* (Old English *orþanc* 'artifice, device, work of craft') because it was such (it was made by Saruman); yet it did not look to be.

Saruman says nothing of Gandalf's having concealed from him 'a matter of greatest import' (FR p. 272); and Gandalf still says as in the draft (p. 133): 'For white may be blended of many colours, but many colours are not white', not 'And he that breaks a thing to find out what it is has left the path of wisdom'.

Saruman's declamatory and visionary speech to Gandalf at this stage may be cited in full:

'He stood up then, and began to declaim as if he were speaking to many: "A new Power has arisen. Against it, there is no hope. With it, there is such hope as we never had before. None can now doubt its victory, which is near at hand. We fought it in vain – and foolishly. We knew much but not enough. We looked always at it from the outside and through a mist of old falsehood and hate; and we did not consider its high and ultimate purpose. We saw not the reasons, but only the things done, and some of those seemed evil; but they were done under necessity. There has been a conspiracy to hinder and frustrate knowledge, wisdom, and government. The Elder Days are gone. The Middle Days are passing. The Younger Days are beginning. The day of the Elves is over. But Our Days are begun! The Power grows, and I shall grow as it grows, until all things are ours. And listen, Gandalf my old friend," he said, coming near and speaking now suddenly in a soft voice. "In the end, I – or *we*, if you will join with me – we may come to control that Power. We can bide our time. We can keep our thoughts in our hearts. There need not be any real change of purpose – only of method. Why not use this new strength? By it we may well accomplish all and more than all that we have striven to do with the help of the weak and foolish. And we shall have time, more time. Of that I can assure you."[13]

'"I have heard this before, but in other places," I said. "I do not wish to hear it again. All that I wish to hear is the choice that I am offered. One half at least is already clear. I am to submit to you and to Sauron, or – what?"

'"To stay here till the end," he said.

'"Till what end?"

'"Till the Power is complete, and the Lord has time to turn to lighter matters: such as the pleasure of devising a fitting end for Gandalf the Grey."

'"There is a chance that I may not prove one of the lighter matters," said I. I am not given to idle boasting; but I came near it then.'

At this point, separate from the text but I think belonging to the same time, my father wrote: 'I don't suppose my fate would have been much different if I had welcomed his advance; but I have no doubt that Saruman will prove a faithless ally; and less doubt that the Dark Lord knows it, well.' This was marked with a query; and it does not appear in the typescript text (see note 16). – Saruman is of course still 'mustering a great force for the service of his new master', as in the draft (p. 134 and note 35).

Frodo's interruption concerning his dream is now given in two forms, marked as alternatives. The first reads:

'I saw you!' said Frodo, 'walking backwards and forwards: the moon shone in your hair.'

Gandalf looked at him in amazement. 'Wake up, Frodo,' he said, 'you are dreaming.'

'I *was* dreaming,' said Frodo. 'Your words suddenly recalled a dream I had. I thought it was only a dream and had forgotten it. I think it was in Bombadil's house. I saw a shadow–'

'That's enough!' laughed Gandalf. 'It was a dream, but a true one, it seems. However, the story is mine, and you need not spoil the telling of it.'

This was rejected in favour of the second version, which begins in the same way and follows with the dialogue preserved in FR (p. 274).

The Eagles of the Misty Mountains are now said by Gandalf to have seen, not 'the Nine Riders going hither and thither in the lands', as in FR, but 'the Nine Riders driving back the men of Minas Tirith'. This goes with the addition to Boromir's speech given on p. 138, note 22, where he speaks of the nine horsemen in black who led the host of Minas Morgol when the crossing of the Anduin was taken. The Eagle who came to Orthanc is still *Gwaewar* (and also *Gwaiwar*), not *Gwaihir*, but he is now called 'swiftest of the Great Eagles', not 'chief of the eagles' as in the draft. In Gandalf's conversation with Gwaewar as they flew from Isengard Rohan was first called *the Horsermark*, changed at once to *the Riddermark*; the men of Rohan are still the *Rohiroth*. Gandalf still makes no reference to his having found 'evil already at work' in Rohan (see p. 136). Aragorn says of the horses of

Rohan that 'in them is a strain that is descended from the days of Elendil', not 'from the Elder Days'; and of the horse that he got in Rohan Gandalf says: 'One at least is saved. He is a grey horse and was named Halbarad,[14] but I have called him [Greyfax *changed at once to*] Shadowfax. Not even the horses of the Nine are so tireless and swift. ...'

When Gandalf came to Crickhollow 'hope left me; till I found Hamilcar Bolger. He was still shaking like a leaf, but he had the wits to rouse all the Brandybucks.' This was changed at the time of writing to the reading of FR (p. 276): 'and I did not wait to gather news, or I might have been comforted.' His thought of Butterbur is expressed thus: '"Butterbur they call him," thought I; "but he will be plain Bur when I leave him, or nothing at all: I will melt all the butter in him..."' His account of his visit to Bree and his ride to Weathertop, and the siege of him there by the Riders, reached almost the final form (FR p. 277): his defence by fire ('such light and flame cannot have been seen on Weathertop since the war-beacons of old') now at last appears (see p. 56).

Lastly, Gandalf's journey from Weathertop to Rivendell, 'up the Hoarwell and through the Entish lands', took him ten days – 'I was only three days ahead of you at the end of the chase';[15] and he makes no further mention of Shadowfax (in FR he 'sent him back to his master', since he could not ride him on that journey).

At the end of Gandalf's tale there follows:

There was a silence. At last Elrond spoke again. 'This is grave news concerning Saruman,' he said. 'All trust is shaken in these days. But such falls and betrayals, alas! have happened before.[16] Of all the tales the tale of Frodo was most strange to me. I have known few hobbits save Bilbo here; and it seems to me now that he is perhaps not so alone and singular as I had thought. The world has changed much since I was last in the West. The Barrow-wights we knew of by many names;[17] and of the Old Forest, that was once both ancient and very great, many tales have been told; but never before have I heard tell of this strange Bombadil. Is that his only name? I would like to know more of him. Do you know him, Gandalf?'

'I knew *of* him,' answered the wizard. 'Bombadil is one name. He has called himself others, suiting himself to times and tongues. Tom-bombadil's for the Shirefolk; Erion is for Elves, Forn for the dwarves, and many names for men.[18] We have seldom met. I am a rolling-stone and he is a moss-gatherer. There is work for both, but they seldom help one another. It might have been wise to have sought his aid, but I do not think I

should have gained much.[19] He is a strange creature, and follows his own counsels – if he has any: chance serves him better.'

'Could we not now send messages to him, and obtain his help?' asked Erestor. 'It seems that he has a power even over the Ring.'

'That is not quite the way of it,' said Gandalf. 'The Ring has no power over him, or for him: it cannot either cheat or serve him. He is his own master. But he has no power *over* it, and he cannot alter the Ring itself, nor break its power over others. And I think that the mastery of Bombadil is seen only on his own ground, from which he has never stepped within my memory.'[20]

The discussion of what to do with the Ring is much developed from the original form (VI.402–3), which had been little changed in the second version; but it remains far from the debate in FR (pp. 279–80). It is still Gandalf, not as in FR Glorfindel, who expounds the ultimate futility of entrusting the Ring to Bombadil, since he could not withstand the assault of the Dark Lord (cf. p. 112); but then follows in the new version:

'In any case,' said Glorfindel, 'his ground is far away; and the Ring has come from his house hither only at great hazard. It would have to pass through far greater peril to return. If the Ring is to be hidden, it is here in Rivendell that we must hide it – if Elrond has the might to withstand the coming of Sauron at the last, when all else is conquered.'

'I have not the might,' said Elrond.

'In that case,' said Glorfindel, 'there are but two things for us to attempt: we may send the Ring West over Sea; or we may destroy it.'[21]

'There is great peril in either course, but more hope in the former,' said Erestor: 'we must send the Ring West. For we cannot, as Gandalf has revealed, destroy it by our own skill; to destroy it we must send it to the Fire. But of all journeys that journey is the most perilous, and leads straight to the jaws of the Enemy.'

'I judge otherwise,' said Glorfindel. 'The peril of the road of flight is now the greater; for my heart tells me that Sauron will expect us to take the western way, when he hears what has befallen. Too often have we fled, and too seldom gone forward against him. As soon as news reached him that any from Rivendell were journeying westwards, he would pursue them

swiftly, and he would send before us and destroy the Havens to prevent us. Let us hope, indeed, that he does not assail the Towers and the Havens in any case, so that hereafter the Elves may have no way of escape from the shadows of Middle-earth.'

'Then there are two courses,' said Erestor, 'and both are without hope. Who will read this riddle for us?'

'None here can do so,' said Elrond gravely. 'None can foretell what will betide if we take this road or that, whether good or ill – if that is what is meant. But it is not hard to choose which is now the right road. The Ring must be sent to the Fire. All else is but postponement of our task. In the One Ring is hidden much of the ancient power of Sauron before it was first broken. Even though he himself has not yet regained it, that power still lives [*struck out:* and works for him and towards him]. As long as the Ring remains on land or in the sea, he will not be overcome. He will have hope; and he will grow, and all men will be turned to him; and the fear lest the Ring come into his hand again will weigh on all hearts, and war will never cease.

'Yet it is even as Glorfindel says: the way of flight is now the more perilous. But on the other road, with speed and care travellers might go far unperceived. I do not say that there is great hope in this course; but there is in other courses less hope, and no lasting good.'

'I do not understand all this,' said Boromir. 'Though Saruman is a traitor, did he not have some glimpse of wisdom? Why should not the Elves and their friends use the Great Ring to defeat the Enemy? And I say that all men will *not* turn to him. The Men of Minas Tirith are valiant and they will *never* submit.'

'*Never* is a long word, Boromir,' replied Elrond.

From this point the conclusion of the chapter remains little changed from the second version, whose pages my father retained here, which is to say that it is little changed from the original text, VI.403 ff. Glóin's reply to Boromir's question about the Rings of the Dwarves now however takes this form (and appears thus in the typescript):

'I do not know,' answered Glóin. 'It was said in secret that Thrór, father of Thráin, father of Thorin who fell in battle, possessed one that had descended from his sires. Some said it was the last. But where it now is no dwarf knows. We think maybe it was taken from him, ere Gandalf found him in the dungeons of the Necromancer long ago, or maybe it was lost in

the mines of Moria. We guess that it was partly in hope to find the ring of Thráin that Balin went to Moria. For the messages of Sauron aroused old memories. But it is long since we heard any news: it is unlikely that he found any Ring.'

'It is indeed unlikely,' said Gandalf. 'Those who say that the last ring was taken from Thrór by the Necromancer speak truly.'

This passage was the product of emendation on the manuscript of the second version at different times, and in the result a strange confusion was produced.

In the earliest sketch for 'The Council of Elrond' (VI.398) Glóin said: 'Thráin of old had one that descended from his sires. We do not now know where it is. We think it was taken from him, ere you found him in the dungeons long ago (or maybe it was lost in Moria).' The same is said in the first full form of the chapter (VI.403), where however Glóin's words begin: 'It was said in secret that Thráin (father of Thrór father of Thorin who fell in battle) possessed one that had descended from his sires.' This was a contradiction of the text of *The Hobbit*, where Thrór was the father of Thráin, not his son; but it was repeated in the second version of 'The Council of Elrond' (p. 136 note 5). On this question see the Note at the end of this chapter, pp. 159–60.

In the present text the genealogy is corrected (Thrór – Thráin – Thorin), but it now becomes *Thrór* who was found in the dungeons of the Necromancer, and Gandalf says that the ring was taken there from *Thrór*; whereas in *The Hobbit* it was explicit that Thrór was killed by a goblin in Moria, and his son Thráin was captured by the Necromancer. On the other hand Glóin says here that the Dwarves believe that it was partly in hope to find the ring of *Thráin* that Balin went to Moria.[22]

In the original version of the chapter Elrond had said (VI.404) that 'The Three Rings remain still', and he continued:

> 'They have conferred great power on the Elves, but they have never yet availed them in their strife with Sauron. For they came from Sauron himself, and can give no skill or knowledge that he did not already possess at their making. And to each race the rings of the Lord bring such powers as each desires and is capable of wielding. The Elves desired not strength of domination or riches, but subtlety of craft and lore, and knowledge of the secrets of the world's being. These things they have gained, yet with sorrow. But they will turn to evil if Sauron regains the Ruling Ring; for then all that the Elves have devised or learned with the power of the rings will become his, as was his purpose.'

This was largely retained in the second version (p. 112), with the

difference that Elrond now declared that the Three Rings had been taken over the Sea. In the fifth version he says:

'The Three Rings remain. But of them I am not permitted to speak. Certainly they cannot be used by us. From them the Elvenkings have derived much power, but they have not been used for war, either good or evil. For the Elves desire not strength, or domination, or hoarded wealth, but subtlety of craft and lore...'

and continues as in the second version. Thus, while in the second version the original words 'For they came from Sauron himself' were removed but 'they can give no skill or knowledge that he did not himself already possess at their making' were retained, in this text the latter words are also lost. Yet *Certainly they cannot be used by us* in the new version seems to me to imply that they were made by Sauron; and the argument that I suggested (p. 112) in connection with the second version, that when Boromir says that they were made by Sauron he is not contradicted, holds here with equal force.

There were no further changes of any moment[23] from the original text of the chapter (VI.405–7, scarcely altered in the second version); but the chapter now ends at virtually the same point as in FR ('A nice pickle we have landed ourselves in, Mr. Frodo!'), continuing only with the brief further passage that goes back to the original version (VI.407):

'When must I start, Master Elrond?' asked Frodo.

'First you shall rest and recover full strength,' answered Elrond, guessing his mind. 'Rivendell is a fair place, and we will not send you away until you know it better. And meanwhile we will make plans for your guidance, and do what we can to mislead the Enemy and discover what he is about.'

NOTES

1 Cf. VI.429 (the original text of 'The Ring Goes South'), where Gandalf said that the Mines of Moria 'were made by the Dwarves of Durin's clan many hundreds of years ago, when elves dwelt in Hollin'.

2 The first occurrence of the name *Erebor*, which in the narrative of LR is not found before Book V, Chapter IX of *The Return of the King*.

3 In the original edition of *The Hobbit* the goblin who slew Thrór in Moria was not named, as he is not in the present passage ('he was slain by an Orc'). In the third edition of 1966 the name *Azog* was introduced (from LR) in Chapter I as that of the slayer of

Thrór, and a footnote was added in Chapter XVII stating that Bolg, leader of the Goblins in the Battle of Five Armies, was the son of Azog.

4 The new passage was written in ink over pencil, but the underlying text, which has been deciphered by Taum Santoski, was little changed. The name *Anduin* was not present, though *Ond* was already *Ondor* (see notes 6 and 7); and the translated name of Elendil's city Tarkilmar was both *Westermanton* and *Aldemanton* (*Alde* probably signifying 'old', sc. 'the "town" of the ancient Men (of the West)').

5 This is the first occurrence of the name *Anduin*, as originally written, in the narrative texts of LR – as they are here presented, but it is not in the over-written pencilled text of the passage (note 4).

6 This is the first occurrence of *Ondor* for *Ond*, and is so written in both pencilled text and ink overlay (note 4).

7 It is curious that here, in a passage of new manuscript, and again a few lines below, the form should have been first written *Ond*, whereas on p. 144 it is *Ondor* (note 6).

8 The verse remains in the latest form that has been given (p. 78).

9 Aragorn had said in the fourth version (p. 128) that he had been in Minas Tirith, but the word 'unknown' here is possibly the first hint of the story of Aragorn's service in Minas Tirith under the name Thorongil (LR Appendix A (I, iv, *The Stewards*), Appendix B (years 2957–80)).

10 *Fornobel* is the name on the First Map (Map II, pp. 304–5).

11 Written above 'we' and probably at once, but struck out: 'Saruman our chief'.

12 It is not clear why Galdor/Legolas should have contributed to the story of Gollum at this point, but cf. 'Ancient History' (VI.320), where Gandalf says 'it was friends of mine who actually tracked him down, *with the help of the Wood-elves*'.

13 Various minor changes (mostly expansions) were made to the manuscript in Saruman's speech, and since these appear in the typescript (p. 141) I have included them in the text. – In speaking of 'more time' Saruman was referring to possession of the Ring. In a later change to the typescript he adds after 'more time': 'longer [> lasting] life'.

14 Afterwards *Halbarad* became the name of the Ranger who bore Aragorn's standard and died in the Battle of the Pelennor Fields.

15 That Gandalf should have taken only ten days from Weathertop to Rivendell does not agree with the dating. He left Weathertop early on 4 October, and if he reached Rivendell three days before Frodo he arrived on the 17th, i.e. just under a fortnight from Weathertop, not ten days. This is in fact what he says in the same passage in FR (p. 278): 'It took me nearly fourteen days from

Weathertop ... I came to Rivendell only three days before the Ring.' But this does not agree with LR Appendix B (nor with the Time-scheme D on p. 14), where he arrived on the 18th, only two days before Frodo.

16 Struck out here: 'Sauron it would seem has gained an ally already faithless to himself; yet I do not doubt that he knows it and laughs'. This is very similar to the sentence doubtfully given to Gandalf on p. 151.

17 In a rejected draft of this passage Elrond goes on: 'There are others elsewhere, wherever the men of Númenor sought dark knowledge under the shadow of death in Middle-earth, and they are akin to the' [Ringwraiths]. Cf. VI.118–20, 401.

18 See p. 125. The reading given is the product of much changing on the manuscript. At first my father wrote: *Yárë's for the Elves, Erion is for Gnomes, Forn for the dwarves*; and names of Bombadil among Men, all struck out, were *Oreald*, *Orold* (Old English: 'very old'), and *Frumbarn* (Old English: 'first-born'). In FR (p. 278) Bombadil was called *Orald* 'by Northern Men'.

19 This passage in which Gandalf contrasts his nature with Bombadil's entered in the second version, p. 111, replacing the earlier story that Gandalf had visited him as a matter of course. Much further back, however, in an isolated draft for a passage in Gandalf's conversation with Bingo at Rivendell on his first waking (VI.213–14), he spoke of Bombadil in a way not unlike his words here (though his conclusion then was entirely different):

> We have never had much to do with one another up till now. I don't think he quite approves of me somehow. He belongs to a much older generation, and my ways are not his. He keeps himself to himself and does not believe in travel. But I fancy somehow that we shall all need his help in the end – and that he may have to take an interest in things outside his own country.

20 Gandalf's account of Bombadil's power and its limitations goes back almost word for word to the original text of 'The Council of Elrond', VI.402.

21 This speech was first given to Erestor, as in the original version (VI.402). When my father gave it to Glorfindel instead, he followed it at first with the remainder of Erestor's original speech, in which he defined the opposing perils, and ended 'Who can read this riddle for us?' This speech was struck out as soon as written, and in its place Erestor was given the speech that follows in the text ('There is great peril in either course...'), in which he argues that the Ring must be sent to the Grey Havens and thence over the Sea.

22 The following seems a plausible explanation of this strange situation. My father added Glóin's surmise that Balin had hoped

to find the ring of *Thráin* in Moria to the existing (second) version while the statement 'It was said in secret that Thráin, father of Thrór, father of Thorin who fell in battle, possessed one' still stood. Subsequently he added in Gandalf's assurance that the last ring had indeed been taken from the captive dwarf in the dungeons of the Necromancer. Now since according to the story in *The Hobbit* it was the son (Thorin's father) whom Gandalf found in the dungeon, and the son had received the map of the Lonely Mountain from *his* father (Thorin's grandfather), he made it *Thrór* who was captured by the Necromancer – for the erroneous genealogy Thráin – Thrór – Thorin was still present. Finally he realised the error in relation to *The Hobbit*, and roughly changed Glóin's opening words to 'It was said in secret that *Thrór*, father of *Thráin* ... possessed one', without observing the effect on the rest of the passage; and in this form it was handed over to the typist.

In Glóin's story at the beginning of the chapter, p. 142, the correct genealogy is present.

23 A correction to the manuscript which is also found in the typescript as typed altered Elrond's reply to Boromir's question 'What then would happen, if the Ruling Ring were destroyed?' Instead of 'The Elves would not lose what they have already won; but the Three Rings would lose all power thereafter' his answer becomes: 'The Elves would not lose that knowledge which they have already won; but the Three Rings would lose all power thereafter, and many fair things would fade.'

Note on Thrór and Thráin

There is no question that the genealogy as first devised in *The Hobbit* was Thorin Oakenshield – Thrain – Thror (always without accents). At one point, however, Thror and Thrain were reversed in my father's typescript, and this survived into the first proof. Taum Santoski and John Rateliff have minutely examined the proofs and shown conclusively that instead of correcting this one error my father decided to extend Thorin – Thror – Thrain right through the book; but that having done so he then changed all the occurrences back to Thorin – Thrain – Thror. It is hard to believe that this extraordinary concern was unconnected with the words on 'Thror's Map' in *The Hobbit*: 'Here of old was *Thrain* King under the Mountain'; but the solution of this conundrum, if it can be found, belongs with the textual history of *The Hobbit*, and I shall not pursue it further. I mention it, of course, because in early manuscripts of *The Lord of the Rings* the genealogy reverts to Thorin – Thror – Thrain despite the publication of Thorin – Thrain – Thror in *The Hobbit*. The only solution I can propose for this is that having, for whatever reason, hesitated so long between the

alternatives, when my father was drafting 'The Council of Elrond' Thorin – Thror – Thrain seemed as 'right' as Thorin – Thrain – Thror, and he did not check it with *The Hobbit*.

Years later, my father remarked in the prefatory note that appeared in the second (1951) edition:

> A final note may be added, on a point raised by several students of the lore of the period. On Thror's Map is written *Here of old was Thrain King under the Mountain*; yet Thrain was the son of Thror, the last King under the Mountain before the coming of the dragon. The Map, however, is not in error. Names are often repeated in dynasties, and the genealogies show that a distant ancestor of Thror was referred to, Thrain I, a fugitive from Moria, who first discovered the Lonely Mountain, Erebor, and ruled there for a while, before his people moved on to the remoter mountains of the North.

In the third edition of 1966 the opening of Thorin's story in Chapter I was changed to introduce Thrain I into the text. Until then it had read:

> 'Long ago in my grandfather's time some dwarves were driven out of the far North, and came with all their wealth and their tools to this Mountain on the map. There they mined and they tunnelled and they made huge halls and great workshops...'

The present text of *The Hobbit* reads here:

> 'Long ago in my grandfather Thror's time our family was driven out of the far North, and came back with all their wealth and their tools to this Mountain on the map. It had been discovered by my far ancestor, Thrain the Old, but now they mined and they tunnelled and they made huger halls and greater workshops...'

At the same time, in the next sentence, 'my grandfather was King under the Mountain' was changed to 'my grandfather was King under the Mountain again.'

The history of Thráin the First, fugitive from Moria, first King under the Mountain, and discoverer of the Arkenstone, was given in *The Lord of the Rings*, Appendix A (III), *Durin's Folk*; and doubtless the prefatory note in the 1951 edition and the passage in Appendix A were closely related. But this was the product of development in the history of the Dwarves that came in with *The Lord of the Rings* (and indeed the need to explain the words on the map 'Here of old was Thrain King under the Mountain' evidently played a part in that development). When *The Hobbit* was first published it was Thrain son of Thror – the only Thrain at that time conceived of – who discovered the Arkenstone.

VIII
THE RING GOES SOUTH

The intractable problems that had beset *The Lord of the Rings* thus far were now at last resolved. The identity of Trotter had been decisively established, and with the work done in successive versions of 'The Council of Elrond' his place and significance in the history of Middle-earth was already made firm – meagre though that history still was by comparison with the great structure that would afterwards be raised on these foundations. The hobbits were equally secure in number and in name, and the only Bolger who ever roved far afield would rove no more. Bombadil is to play no further part in the history of the Ring. Most intractable of all, the question of what had happened to Gandalf was now conclusively answered; and with that answer had arisen (as it would turn out) a new focal point in the history of the War of the Ring: the Treason of Isengard.

There still remained of older narrative writing the journey of the Company of the Ring from Rivendell to the Red Pass beneath Caradras, and the passage of the Mines of Moria as far as Balin's tomb. One major question remained, however, and a final decision must imperatively be made: who were the members of the Company to be?

Notes and drafts written on the 'August 1940' examination script show my father pondering this further. One manuscript page reads as follows:

> Chapter XV. Cut out converse in garden.[1]
> Begin by saying hobbits were displeased with Sam.
> Tell them of the scouts going out.
> Elrond then says *union of forces* is impossible. We cannot send or summon great force to aid Frodo. We must send out messages to all free folk to resist as long as possible, and that a new hope, though faint, is born. But with Frodo must go helpers, and they should represent all the Free Folk. Nine should be the number to set against the Nine Evil Servants. But we should support the war in Minas Tirith.
>
> | | *Galdor* | *Legolas*[2] |
> |---|---|---|
> | Hobbits | Frodo | 1 |
> | | Sam (promised) | 2 |
> | Wizard | Gandalf | 3 |

Elf	Legolas	4
Half-elf	Erestor	5

The road *should go to Minas Tirith*, therefore so far at least should go:

Men	Aragorn	6
	Boromir	7
Dwarf	Gimli son of Glóin	8

Merry, Pippin. They insist on going. [*Struck out:* Pippin only if Erestor does not go.] Elrond says there may be work in the Shire, and it may prove ill if they all go.

Shall Pippin return to the Shire?

Then come preparations, and the scene with Bilbo and Frodo and giving of Sting &c.

Here the number of Nine members of the Company, expressly corresponding to the Nine Ringwraiths, is reached;[3] but even so there remains a doubt as to its composition where the hobbits are concerned (see p. 115), and my father's lingering feeling that one at least should return to the Shire at this stage was still a factor, especially since the inclusion of Erestor 'Half-elf'[4] took the number to eight. But this was the last moment of indecision. A short draft, written hastily in ink on the same paper, introduces the final complement of the Company of the Ring. On it my father pencilled: 'Sketch of reduction of the choosing of the Company'.[5]

In the end after the matter had been much debated by Elrond and Gandalf it was decided that the Nine of the Company of the Ring should be the four hobbits, aided by Gandalf; and that Legolas should represent the Elves, and Gimli son of Glóin the Dwarves. On behalf of Men Aragorn should go, and Boromir. For they were going to Minas Tirith, and Aragorn counselled that the Company should go that way, and even maybe go first to that city. Elrond was reluctant to send Merry and Pippin, but Gandalf [?supported].

My father now proceeded to a new text of 'The Ring Goes South'; and of preliminary work nothing survives, if any existed, apart from a few passages in rough drafting from the beginning of the chapter. The new version is a good clear manuscript in ink, using in part the 'August 1940' script that had been used for the drafting of major developments in 'The Council of Elrond'. The story now advanced confidently, and for long stretches scarcely differs from that in FR in the actual wording of the narrative and the speeches of the characters. There are a number of later emendations, a good many of which can be shown to come from a little later in the same period of composition. As written, the chapter had no title, various possibilities being pencilled in afterwards: although in the original text, when the chapter was continuous with 'The Council of Elrond', there was a sub-heading

'The Ring Goes South' (VI.415), my father now tried also 'The Company of the Ring Departs' and 'The Ring Sets Out'.

Since the previous chapter now ended where it ends in FR, at the conclusion of the Council, the ensuing conversation among the hobbits, interrupted by Gandalf, was moved to the beginning of 'The Ring Goes South'. My father now took up his direction to 'cut out converse in garden' (see note 1), and the chapter begins exactly as in FR, with the hobbits talking in Bilbo's room later on the same day, and Gandalf looking in through the window. The new conversation almost reaches the form in FR (pp. 285–7), and only the following differences need be mentioned. Gandalf speaks of 'the Elves of Mirkwood', not of 'Thranduil's folk in Mirkwood', and he does not say that 'Aragorn has gone with Elrond's sons' (who had not yet emerged); and Bilbo's remarks about the season of their departure were first written:

> '... you can't wait now till Spring, and you can't go till the scouts come back. So off you go nice and comfortable just when winter's beginning to bite.'
>
> 'Quite in the Gandalf manner,' said Pippin.
>
> 'Exactly,' said Gandalf.

This was replaced at once by Bilbo's verse (*When winter first begins to bite*) that he speaks here in FR. Lastly, Gandalf says: 'In this matter Elrond will have [the decision >] much to say, and your friend Trotter, Aragorn the tarkil, too' (FR: 'and your friend the Strider').

While still writing the opening of the chapter, my father hesitated about the structure. One possibility seems to have been to keep the new conversation in Bilbo's room but to put it back into the end of 'The Council of Elrond', ending at Sam's remark 'And where will they live? That's what I often wonder'; another, to cut out the conversation among the hobbits, and Gandalf's intervention at the window, almost in its entirety. He went so far as to provide a brief substitute passage; but decided against it.[6]

The chronology in FR, according to which the Company stayed more than two months in Rivendell and left on 25 December, had not yet entered. In the second version of 'The Council of Elrond', which continued for some distance into the narrative of 'The Ring Goes South', 'the hobbits had been some three weeks in the house of Elrond, and November was passing' when the scouts began to return; and at the Choosing of the Company the date of departure was settled for 'the following Thursday, November the seventeenth' (pp. 113, 115).[7] In the new text the same was said ('some three weeks ... November was passing'), but this was changed, probably at once, to 'The hobbits had been nearly a month in the house of Elrond, and November was half over, when the scouts began to return'; and subsequently (as in FR p. 290) Elrond says: 'In seven days the Company must depart.' No

actual date for the leaving of Rivendell is now mentioned, but it had been postponed to nearer the end of the month (actually to 24 November, see p. 169).

The account of the journeys of the scouts moves on from the previous versions (VI.415–16 and VII.113–14), and largely attains the text in FR, apart from there being, as at the beginning of the chapter, no mention of Aragorn's having left Rivendell, nor of the sons of Elrond. Those scouts who went north had gone 'beyond the Hoarwell into the Entishlands', and those who went west had 'searched the lands far down the Greyflood, as far as Tharbad where the old North Road crossed the river by the ruined town'. This is where *Tharbad* first appears.[8] Those who had climbed the pass at the sources of the Gladden[9] had 'reached the old home of Radagast at Rhosgobel': this is where *Rhosgobel* is first named, and in the margin my father wrote 'Brownhay'.[10]

These last 'had returned up the Redway[11] and over the high pass that was called the Dimrill Stair'. The name 'Dimrill Stair' for the pass beneath Caradras has appeared in later emendations to the original version of 'The Ring Goes South' (VI.433–4, notes 14 and 21). In the present passage the name was not emended at any stage; but further on in the chapter, where in this text Gandalf says 'If we climb *the pass that is called the Dimrill Stair* ... we shall come down into the deep dale of the Dwarves', my father (much later) emended the manuscript to the reading of FR (p. 296): 'If we climb *the pass that is called the Redhorn Gate* ... we shall come down *by the Dimrill Stair* into the deep vale of the Dwarves' (and thus Robert Foster, in *The Complete Guide to Middle-earth*, defines *Dimrill Stair* as 'Path leading from Azanulbizar to the Redhorn Pass'). The name of the pass (called in this text the 'Dimrill Pass' as well as the 'Dimrill Stair') was changed also at other occurrences in this chapter, but at this place my father having missed it in the manuscript it was retained in the typescript that soon followed (note 6), and so survived into FR, p. 287: 'over the high pass that was called the Dimrill Stair' – an error that was never picked up.

The Choosing of the Company is found in this manuscript in two alternative versions. Though the essential content is the same in both, and both end with the inclusion of Merry and Pippin after Gandalf's advocacy, the one written first is rather nearer to the preceding version (pp. 113–15): the chief difference between them being that in the first the formation of the Company is seen as it takes place, whereas in the second (which is almost identical to the form in FR) the deliberations have been largely completed and Elrond announces the decision to the hobbits.[12]

There are several differences worth noticing in the first of these versions. After Gandalf's remark that his fate 'seems much entangled with hobbits' Elrond says: 'You will be needed many times before the journey's end, Gandalf; but maybe when there is most need you will

not be there. This is your greatest peril, and I shall not have peace till I see you again.' The loss of Gandalf was of course foreseen (VI.443, 462). Aragorn, after saying to Frodo that since he himself is going to Minas Tirith their roads lie together for many hundreds of leagues, adds: 'Indeed it is my counsel that you should go first to that city'. And after saying that for the two unfilled places needed to make nine he may be able to find some 'of my own kindred and household' Elrond continues (but the passage was at once deleted): 'The elf-lords I may not send, for though their power is great it is not great enough. They cannot walk unhidden from wrath and spirit of evil, and news of the Company would reach Mordor by day or night.'

In these passages, and throughout the rest of the chapter (in intention), *Aragorn* was again changed to *Elfstone*, and *son of Kelegorn* to *son of Elfhelm* (see pp. 277–8), as also was *Trotter*, except where he is directly addressed thus by one of the hobbits.

The reforging of the Sword of Elendil now enters, and the description of it is at once precisely as in FR (p. 290), with the 'device of seven stars set between the crescent moon and the rayed sun', save that the reforged sword is given no name. This was added in somewhat later: 'And Elfstone gave it a new name and called it *Branding*' (see p. 274 and note 19).

For the next part of the chapter (Bilbo and Frodo during the last days at Rivendell) my father simply took over the actual manuscript pages of the second version of 'The Council of Elrond', from 'The weather had grown cold ... ' (p. 115); this passage was already close to the form in FR.[13] After 'I should like to write the second book, if I am spared' (which is where the second version of 'The Council of Elrond' ended) my father wrote on the manuscript 'Verses?', but Bilbo's song *I sit beside the fire and think* is not found in this manuscript. The original workings for the song are extant, however, and certainly belong to this time.[14]

The day of departure was 'a cold grey day near the end of November' (see p. 164). At first there were two ponies, as in the original version (VI.416), but 'Bill' bought in Bree, and greatly invigorated by his stay in Rivendell, was substituted as my father wrote.[15] The departure was at this time much more briefly treated than it is in FR: there is no blowing of Boromir's war-horn, no account of the arms borne by each member of the Company or of the clothing provided by Elrond, and no mention of Sam's checking through his belongings – so that the important minor element of his discovery that he has no rope is absent (cf. pp. 183, 280).

The story of the journey from Rivendell to Hollin is now very close to FR, but there are differences in geography and geographical names, which were evolving as the new version progressed. The journey had still taken 'some ten days' to the point where the weather changed (VI.418), whereas in FR it took a fortnight; and there was only one

great peak, not three. An Elvish name for Hollin: '*Nan-eregdos* in the elfspeech' was added, apparently at the time of writing.[16] Gandalf estimates that they have come 'fifty leagues as the crow flies' ('five-and-forty leagues as the crow flies' FR, 'eighty leagues' in the original version). And where in the first version, in reply to the observation of Faramond (Pippin) that since the mountains are ahead they must have turned east, Gandalf said 'No, it is the mountains that have turned', he now replies, 'No, it is the mountains that have bent west' (FR: 'Beyond those peaks the range bends round south-west'). On this difficult question of geography see VI.440–1.

Gimli's speech about the Mountains is present, almost word for word as in FR, except that the three peaks not yet being devised his words 'we have wrought the image of those mountains into many works of metal and of stone, and into many songs and tales' seem to have a more general bearing. But he continues (as in FR): 'Only once before have I seen them from afar in waking life, but I know them and their names, for under them lies Khazad-dûm, the Dwarrowdelf, that is now called the Black [Gulf >] Pit,[17] Moria in the elvish tongue', and it seems that he is here speaking of certain notable and outstanding peaks, distinctive in the chain of the Misty Mountains, beneath which lay Moria. (The three great Mountains of Moria were in any case just about to enter, in Gimli's next speech.) Here he says, as in FR, 'Yonder stands Barazinbar, the Redhorn, cruel Caradhras', 'cruel' being altered at the moment of writing from 'the windy', and that from 'the tall', as also was *Caradhras* from *Caradras*.[18] And he speaks also of 'Azanulbizâr, the Dimrill-dale that elves call Nanduhirion'.[19]

Gandalf's reply, and Gimli's further words about the Mirrormere, are a difficult complex of rapid changes in the manuscript, when new elements are seen at the moment of emergence. With some slight doubt as to the precise sequence of correction, the passage seems to have developed thus:

'It is for Dimrill-dale that we are making,' said Gandalf. 'If we climb the pass that is called the Dimrill Stair under the red side of Caradhras, we shall come down into the deep dale of the Dwarves.[20] There the River [Redway rises in the black wat(er) Morthond Blackroot >] Morthond the cold rises in the Mirrormere.'

'Dark is the water of Kheledzâram,' said Gimli, 'and mirrors only the far sky and three white peaks; and cold is the water of Buzundush. My heart trembles at the thought that I may see them soon.'

Obviously, it was as my father began to write the words he intended: 'the River Redway rises in the black wat[er of the Mirrormere]' that he changed the name of the river to *Morthond*, 'Blackroot'; and I think

that it was here also that the three peaks above Moria entered, mirrored in the water.[21] He then wrote a new passage, no doubt intended to supersede part of that just given, but struck it out, probably immediately:

There lies Kheledzâram, the Mirror-mere, deep and dark, in which can be seen only the far sky and three white peaks. From it issues Buzundush, the Blackroot River, Morthond cold and swift. My heart trembles at the thought that I may see them soon.'[22]

Gandalf replying said: '... we at least cannot stay in that valley. We must go down the Morthond into the woods of Lothlórien...' (FR: 'into the secret woods'). This is where, as it seems, the name *Lothlórien* first appears. And when Merry asked: 'Yes, and where then?' the wizard answered: 'To the end of the journey – in the end. It may be that you will pass through Fangorn, which some call the Topless Forest. But we must not look too far ahead. ...' The reference to Fangorn was deleted.

Several versions of Legolas' words about the forgotten Elves of Hollin were written before the final form was achieved: the first reads:

'That is true,' said Legolas. 'But the Elves of this land were of a strange race, and the spirit that dwells here is alien to me, who am of the woodland folk. Here dwelt Noldor, the Elven-wise, and all the stones about cry to me with many voices: they built high towers to heaven, and delved deep to earth, and they are gone. They are gone. They sought the Havens long ago.'

The story of the great silence over all the land of Hollin, the flights of black crows, Pippin's disappointment at the news and Sam's failure to comprehend the geography, the mysterious passage of something against the stars, and the sight of Caradhras close before them on the third morning from Hollin, all this is told in words that remained virtually unchanged in FR, save for a few details. Trotter says that the crows are 'not natives to this place', but does not add that 'they are *crebain* out of Fangorn and Dunland'; and after saying that he has glimpsed many hawks flying high up, he says 'That would account for the silence of all the birds', this being struck out immediately (see VI.420 and note 17). Sam calls Caradhras 'this Ruddyhorn, or whatever its name is', as he did in the original version (VI.421), but *Ruddyhorn* was then to be its accepted English name (VI.419 and note 11).

As the Company walked on the ancient road from Hollin to the Pass, the moon rose over the mountains 'almost at the full'; as in the original version it is said that the light was unwelcome to Trotter and

Gandalf, and 'they were relieved when at last late in the night the moon set and left them to the stars'. In the original text it was a crescent moon (VI.421 and note 19), and 'it stayed but a little while'; in FR the moon was full, and still low in the western sky when the shadow passed across the stars.

In the original version it was Trotter who favoured the passage of Moria, Gandalf who favoured the Pass, and what they said was coloured by their opinions. This was still the case when my father came to the new version, although what is said is virtually what is said in FR (p. 300):

'Winter is behind,' [Gandalf] said quietly to Trotter. 'The peaks away north are whiter than they were; snow is lying far down their shoulders.'

'And tonight,' said Trotter, 'we shall be on our way high up the Dimrill Stair. If we are not seen by watchers on that narrow path, and waylaid by some evil, the weather may prove as deadly an enemy as any. What do you think of our course now?'

Frodo overheard these words [*&c. as in FR*]

'I think no good of any part of our course from beginning to end, as you know well, Aragorn', answered Gandalf, his tone sharpened by anxiety. 'But we must go on. It is no good our delaying the passage of the mountains. Further south there are no passes, till one comes to the Gap of Rohan. I do not trust that way, since the fall of Saruman. Who knows which side now the marshals of the Horse-lords serve?'

'Who knows indeed!' said Trotter. 'But there is another way, and not by the pass beneath Caradhras: the dark and secret way that we have spoken of.'

'And I will not speak of it again. Not yet. Say nothing to the others, I beg. Nor you, Frodo,' said Gandalf, turning suddenly towards him. 'You have listened to our words, as is your right as Ring-bearer. But I will not say any more until it is plain that there is no other course.'

'We must decide before we go further,' said Gandalf.

'Then let us weigh the matter in our minds, while the others rest and sleep,' answered Trotter.

Since the speakers of the last two speeches are out of order with the preceding conversation, it was at this point that my father 'realised' that it was Trotter and not Gandalf who especially feared Moria, and at once changed the text of the passage accordingly.

Gandalf's words to the Company at the end of his discussion with Trotter, and the whole account of the snowstorm, are very much as in

FR (pp. 300–2), though in the latter part of this chapter the actual wording underwent more development later to reach the FR text than had been the case till now. Boromir says that he was born in the Black Mountains (see VI.436, note 31); and the reference to Bilbo alone of hobbits remembering the Fell Winter of the year 1311 is absent. Another use of names from the legends of the Elder Days, immediately rejected, appears in Boromir's words about the snowstorm: 'I wonder if the Enemy has anything to do with it? They say in my land that he can govern the storms in [*struck out:* Mountains of Shadow Daedeloth Deldúath] the Mountains of Shadow that lie on the confines of Mordor.'[23]

In Frodo's dream, as he fell into a snow-sleep, Bilbo's voice said: *Snowstorm on December the ninth* (in the original version 2 December, VI.424; in FR 12 January). The journey from Rivendell to Hollin had taken 'some ten days' (p. 165); and a chronological scheme that seems clearly to derive from this time and to fit this narrative gives the date of departure from Rivendell as the evening of Thursday 24 November. According to this scheme the Company reached Hollin on 6 December, the journey from Rivendell having thus taken eleven days (and twelve nights), and 'Snow on Caradras' is dated 9 December.

The liquor that Gandalf gives to the Company from his flask is still called 'one of Elrond's cordials', as in VI.424, and the name *miruvor* does not appear. Gandalf, as the flame sprang up from the wood, said: 'I have written *Gandalf is here* in signs that even the blind rocks could read', but he does not say, as he thrusts his staff into the faggot, *naur an edraith ammen!*[24]

The account of the descent remains distinctively different from the story in FR, and closer to the original (VI.426–7), despite the fact that Trotter was there still a hobbit, and Gimli and Legolas not present.

'The sooner we make a move and get down again the better,' said Gandalf. 'There is more snow still to come up here.'

Much as they all desired to get down again, it was easier said than done. Beyond their refuge the snow was already some feet deep, and in places was piled into great wind-drifts; and it was wet and soft. Gandalf could only get forward with great labour, and had only gone a few yards on the downward path when he was floundering in snow above his waist. Their plight looked desperate.

Boromir was the tallest of the Company, being above six feet and very broad-shouldered as well. 'I am going on down, if I can,' he said. 'As far as I can make out our course of last night, the path turns right round that shoulder of rock down there. And if I remember rightly, a furlong or so beyond the turn there was a flat space at the top of a long steep slope – very heavy

going it was as we came up. From that point I might be able to get a view, and some idea of how the snow lies further down.'

He struggled slowly forward, plunging in snow that was everywhere above his knees, and in places rose almost shoulder-high. Often he seemed to be swimming or burrowing with his great arms rather than walking. At last he vanished from sight and passed round the turn. He was long gone, and they began to be anxious, fearing that he had been engulfed in some drift or snow-filled hollow, or had fallen over the hidden brink into the ravine.

When more than an hour had passed they heard him call. He had reappeared round the bend in the path and was labouring back towards them, 'I am weary,' he said; 'but I have brought back some hope. There is a deep wind-drift just round the turn, and I was nearly buried in it, but fortunately it is not wide. Beyond it the snow suddenly gets less. At the top of the slope it is barely a foot deep, and further down, white though it looks, it seems to be but a light coverlet: only a sprinkling in places.'

'It is the ill will of Caradras,' muttered Gimli. 'He does not love dwarves, or elves. He has cast his snow at us with special intent. That drift was devised to cut off our descent.'

'Then Caradras happily has forgotten that we have with us a mountaineer who knows his far kindred, the peaks of the Black Mountains,' said Gandalf. 'It was a good fortune that gave us Boromir as a member of our Company.'

'But how are *we* to get through this drift, even if we ever get as far as the turn?' asked Pippin, voicing the thoughts of all the hobbits.

'It is a pity,' said Legolas, 'that Gandalf cannot go before us with a bright flame, and melt us a path.'

'It is a pity that Elves cannot fly over mountains, and fetch the Sun to save them,' answered Gandalf. 'Even I need something to work on. I cannot burn snow. But I could turn Legolas into a flaming torch, if that will serve: he would burn bright while he lasted.'

'Spare me!' cried Legolas. 'I fear that a dragon is concealed in the shape of our wizard. Yet a tame dragon would be useful at this hour.'

'It will be a wild dragon, if you say any more,' said Gandalf.

'Well, well! *When heads are at a loss, bodies must serve*, as they say in my country,' said Boromir. 'I have some strength still left; and so has Aragorn. We must use that, while it lasts. I will

carry one of the Little Folk, and he another. Two shall be set on the pony, and led by Gandalf.'

At once he set about unlading Bill. 'Aragorn and I will come back when we have got the Little Folk through,' he said. 'You, Legolas and Gimli, can wait here, or follow behind in our track, if you can.' He picked up Merry and set him on his shoulders. Trotter took Pippin. Frodo was mounted on the pony, with Sam clinging behind. They ploughed forward.

At last they reached and passed the turn, and came to the edge of the drift. Frodo marvelled at the strength of Boromir, seeing the passage that he had already forced through it with no better tool than his sword and his great arms.[25] Even now, burdened as he was with Merry clinging on his back, he was thrusting the snow forward and aside, and widening the passage for those who followed. Behind him Trotter was labouring. They were in the midst of the drift, and Boromir and Merry were almost through, when a rumbling stone fell from the slope above and, hurtling close to Frodo's head, thudded deep into the snow. But with the casting of that last stone the malice of the mountain seemed to be expended, as if it were satisfied that the invaders were in retreat and would not dare to return. There was no further mishap.

On the flat shelf above the steep slope they found, as Boromir had reported, that the snow was only shallow. There they waited, while Trotter and Boromir returned with the pony to fetch the packs and burdens and give some help to Legolas and the dwarf.

By the time they were all gathered together again morning was far advanced.

It was Gandalf's reply here ('It is a pity that Elves cannot fly over mountains, and fetch the Sun to save them') to Legolas' remark (originally Boromir's, VI.426) about melting a path that led to Legolas' saying in FR 'I go to find the Sun!', and was very probably (as I think) the source of the idea that the Elf, so far from being as helplessly marooned as Gimli, Gandalf, and the hobbits, could run upon the snow. It is noticeable that Gandalf's real ill-humour in the original version is here diminished, while in FR it has probably disappeared.

The remainder of the chapter is as in FR, but it ends thus:

The wind was blowing stiffly again over the pass that was hidden in cloud behind them; already a few flakes of snow were curling and drifting down. Caradras had defeated them. They

turned their backs on the Dimrill Stair, and stumbled wearily down the slope.

NOTES

1 This refers to the story, first appearing in the original version of 'The Council of Elrond' (VI.407) and retained in the second (p. 112), that Gandalf came upon the hobbits walking in the woods in the afternoon following the Council.

2 This is probably the point at which my father determined on the change of *Galdor* to *Legolas* (see p. 141). Legolas Greenleaf the keen-eyed thus reappears after many years from the old tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* (II.189, etc.); he was of the House of the Tree in Gondolin, of which Galdor was the lord.

3 In fact, nine had been the original number, in the first sketch for 'The Council of Elrond' (VI.397): Frodo, Sam; Gandalf; Glorfindel; Trotter; Burin son of Balin; Merry, Folco, Odo. It is curious to see how close in its conception the complement of the Company was at the very beginning to the final form, though it was at once rejected.

4 On Erestor 'Half-elf' see VI.400 and note 17.

5 The word 'reduction' may however imply that the first of two alternative versions of the final 'Choosing of the Company' had already been written; see note 12.

6 This latter option survived into a typescript text made not long after (probably by myself), where the long and short openings of the chapter are set out one after the other as variants.

7 On the days of the week in relation to the dates see p. 14. Frodo's escape over the Ford of Bruinen took place on Thursday 20 October. If precisely three weeks are counted from that day we are brought to Thursday 10 November.

8 *Tharbad*: see the *Etymologies*, V.392, stem THAR; and see Map II on p. 305.

9 In the original form of the passage (VI.416) and in that in the second version of 'The Council of Elrond', as well as in the present text, my father wrote 'the *sources* of the Gladden'. This was obviously based on the Map of Wilderland in *The Hobbit*, where the Gladden, there of course unnamed, rises in several streams falling from the Misty Mountains (these are not shown on the First Map (Map II, p. 305), but the scale there is much smaller). In the typescript that followed the present text the typist put *source*, and my father corrected it to *sources*. I suspect therefore that *source* in FR is an error.

10 *Rhosgobel* has appeared previously, but as a subsequent addition

to the fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond' (p. 149); the present passage is clearly where the name was devised. In *Brownhay* 'Brown' is evidently to be associated with Radagast 'the Brown', and 'hay' is the old word meaning 'hedge', as in the *High Hay*, *Ringhay* (= Crickhollow, VI.299). For the etymology of *Rhosgobel* see V.385, Noldorin *rhosc* 'brown' (stem RUSKĀ), and V.380, Noldorin *gobel* 'fenced homestead', as in *Tavrobel* (stem PEL(ES)).

11 *Redway*: original name of the Silverlode.

12 The brief account of the 'Choosing' given on p. 162 may be compared: 'In the end *after the matter had been much debated by Elrond and Gandalf* it was decided ... ' It is possible that this text followed the first and preceded the second of the alternative versions: my father referred to the second as the 'short version' (though it is not markedly shorter than the other), which may explain why he noted on the brief draft text that it was a sketch of a 'reduction' of the choosing of the Company. – As with the variant openings of the chapter (note 6) both alternatives were retained in the typescript.

13 A few minor changes were introduced (but not the mention of the lay of Beren and Lúthien heard by the hobbits in the Hall of Fire); Bilbo now refers to the fact that Frodo's sword had been broken (see p. 136, note 7), but does not produce the pieces (and the mailcoat remains 'elf-mail', not 'dwarf-mail').

14 In these workings the last verse (for which there is a preparatory note: 'He ends: but all the while he will think of Frodo') reads:

But all the while I sit and think
I listen for the door,
and hope to hear the voices come
I used to hear before.

This is the form of the verse in the typescript text, where the song first appears in the chapter.

15 A halfway stage is found in a draft for the passage: here there were still two pack-ponies, but one of them was the beast bought in Bree; this Sam addresses as 'Ferny', though it is also called 'Bill'. Cf. the note about Bill Ferny's pony given on p. 9: 'Does this remain at Rivendell? – Yes.'

16 *Eregion* was written in subsequently (this name appears in the isolated text given on p. 124). No Elvish name is given in the typescript.

17 This is the first occurrence of the name *Dwarrowdelf*. Cf. my father's letter to Stanley Unwin, 15 October 1937 (*Letters* no. 17): 'The real "historical" plural of *dwarf* ... is *dwarrows*, anyway: rather a nice word, but a bit too archaic. Still I rather wish I had used the word *dwarrow*.' – 'Black Gulf' as a translation of *Moria* is found several times in the original text of

'The Ring Goes South', once as a correction of 'Black Pit' (VI.435, note 24).

18 This is the first occurrence of the Dwarvish name *Barazinbar*, concerning which my father wrote long after (in the notes referred to in VI.466, notes 36, 39) that Khuzdul *baraz* (BRZ) probably = 'red, or ruddy', and *inbar* (MBR) a horn, Sindarin *Caradhras* < *caran-rass* being a translation of the Dwarvish name. – Subsequently both *Caradhras* and *Caradras* occur as the manuscript was originally written, but the latter far more frequently.

19 On *Azanulbizâr* see VI.465, note 36. *Nanduhirion* here first occurs, but the form *Nanduhiriath* is found as an emendation to the text of the original version of the chapter, VI.433, note 13.

20 On *Dimrill Stair* as the name of the Redhorn Pass see p. 164.

21 The names of the other Mountains of Moria were not devised at once, however, since though entered on the manuscript they are still absent from the typescript, where my father inserted them in the same form. As first devised, the names of the other peaks were *Silverhorn, Celebras (Kelebras) the White* (in FR *Silvertine, Celebdil*), and *the Horn of Cloud, Fanuiras the Grey* (in FR *Cloudyhead, Fanuidhol*); the Dwarvish names were as in FR, *Baraz, Zirak, Shathûr* (but *Zirak* was momentarily *Zirik*). In the later notes referred to in note 18 my father said that since *Shathûr* was the basic Dwarvish name the element probably refers to 'cloud', and was probably a plural 'clouds'; *Bund(u)* in the fuller name *Bundu-shathûr* 'must therefore mean "head" or something similar. Possibly *bund* (BND) – *u* – *Shathûr* "head in/of clouds".' On *Zirak* and the longer form *Zirakzigil* see note 22.

22 When *Silverlode* superseded *Blackroot*, as it did before the original text of the 'Lothlórien' story was completed, the passage was changed to its form in FR: '"Dark is the water of Kheled-zâram," said Gimli, "and cold are the springs of Kibil-nâla."' The name *Kheledzâram* first appears in these variant passages; see VI.466, note 39, where I cited my father's much later note explaining the name as meaning 'glass-pool'. In the same notes he discussed the Dwarvish word for 'silver':

> *Zirak-zigil* should mean 'Silver-spike' (cf. 'Silvertine', and *Celebdil* < Sindarin *celeb* 'silver' + *till* 'tine, spike, point'). But 'silver' is evidently KBL in *Kibil-nâla* – KBL seems to have some connexion with Quenya *telep-* 'silver'. But all these peoples seem to have possessed various words for the precious metals, some referring to the material and its properties, some to their colour and other associations. So that *zirak* (ZRK) is probably another name for 'silver', or for its grey colour. *Zigil* is evidently a word for 'spike' (smaller and more slender than a 'horn'). Caradhras seems to have been a great mountain

tapering upwards (like the Matterhorn), while Celebdil was simply crowned by a smaller pinnacle.

Still later pencilled notes reversed this explanation, suggesting that *zigil* (ZGL) meant 'silver' and *zirak* meant 'spike'. – Of *Kibil-nâla* my father noted that 'the meaning of *nâla* is not known. If it corresponds to *rant* [in *Celebrant*] and *lode* [in *Silverlode*], it should mean "path, course, rivercourse or bed".' He added later: 'It is probable that the Dwarves actually found silver in the river.'

23 *Deldúath*: 'Deadly Nightshade', Taur-na-Fuin; *Dor-Daedeloth*: 'Land of the Shadow of Dread', the realm of Morgoth. See references in the Index to Vol. V, entries *Deldúwath*, *Dor-Daideloth*.

24 Literally: 'fire be for saving of us'.

25 The passage that follows here must have been rejected as soon as written:

> As he stepped forward Boromir suddenly stumbled on some hidden point of stone, and fell headlong. Trotter, who was just behind, was taken unawares and fell on top of him. Merry and Pippin were flung from their shoulders and vanished deep into the snow.

This, though changed to suit the altered story of the descent, was derived from the old version, VI.427.

IX
THE MINES OF MORIA (1): THE LORD OF MORIA

It seems very probable, if not actually demonstrable, that a new version of the first part of the Moria story (corresponding to FR II Chapter 4, 'A Journey in the Dark') preceded the first draft of its continuation, and I therefore give the texts in their narrative sequence. The original draft of 'The Mines of Moria' (VI.445–60) had come to an end as the Company stood before the tomb of Balin, and at this time the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings* went no further – apart from a preliminary sketch of the further events in Moria, VI.442–3 and 462. This therefore is the last chapter for which formed narrative from an earlier phase of work existed.

In a manuscript that bears a distinct resemblance in style to that of the new version of 'The Ring Goes South' described in the last chapter, my father now rewrote the first part of the story of the journey through the Mines. As in the last chapter, there are a few pages of rough initial drafting for particular passages, but (unless more have been lost) the development of the new version was very largely achieved in the actual writing of this manuscript, which is a mass of (mostly small) corrections made at the time of composition. Of subsequent pencilled emendation there is not a great deal, for the text of FR II.4 was effectively reached here: for most of its length the only differences from the final form are extremely minor points of sentence structure and choice of words, with no significance for the narrative, and for substantial stretches the two texts are identical. There are however certain features where this is not the case.

The chapter, numbered XVI, was given a title, 'The Mines of Moria (i)'. Pencilled titles were written in beside this: 'The Lord of Moria' and 'The Tomb'; the latter was struck through, and the typescript that followed this manuscript was titled: 'The Mines of Moria (1): The Lord of Moria'. The original version had included the debate of the Company after the descent from the Pass of Cris-caron and the discussion of Moria in 'The Ring Goes South' (VI.428–30), and 'The Mines of Moria' had begun at 'Next day the weather changed again' (VI.445; FR p. 313). Now, of course, the new chapter XVI follows on from the end of the new chapter XV, and the division is as in FR.

Aragorn is called *Trotter* throughout, and throughout *Trotter* was changed later in pencil to *Elfstone* (see pp. 277–8).

In the debate of the Company Boromir's references to the geography of the southern lands are very curious (cf. FR p. 309):

'It is a name of ill-omen,' said Boromir. 'Nor do I see the need to go there. If we cannot cross the mountains, let us take the road to my land that I followed on my way hither: through Rohan and the country of Seven Streams. Or we could go on far into the South and come at length round the Black Mountains, and crossing the rivers Isen and Silverlode[1] enter Ond from the regions nigh the sea.'

'Things have changed since you came north, Boromir,' said Gandalf. 'Did you not hear what I told of Saruman? We must not come near Isengard or the Gap of Rohan. As for the even longer road, we cannot afford the time....'

The remainder of Gandalf's reply is very much as in FR, except that he tells Boromir that 'you are free to leave us and return to Minas Tirith by any road you choose.'

The 'Seven Rivers' have been referred to in the first version of Gandalf's story to the Council of Elrond, where he reported Radagast's words to him (p. 132): 'even if you set out this hour you will hardly come to him [Saruman] before the Nine cross the Seven Rivers' (in the next version this becomes 'before the Nine have crossed the seventh river', p. 149).

Features of the geography much further to the South were already in being. Before the story had got very much further it is made plain that 'the Land of Seven Streams' lay 'between the mountains [i.e. the Black Mountains, the later White Mountains] and the sea' (see p. 272); yet Boromir's words here seem only to allow of a quite contrary interpretation of 'the country of Seven Streams'. The choices he proposes are essentially as in FR: through Rohan from the West (i.e. passing through the Gap of Rohan) and so to Minas Tirith, or going on South, crossing the Isen, and coming to Minas Tirith through the lands between the mountains and the sea; but they will traverse 'the country of Seven Streams' if they choose the *first* option, and pass north of the mountains. I cannot explain this, except on the assumption that it was a mere slip, or else on the assumption that the geography of these regions was still in a more fluid state than one would otherwise suppose.

The river Isen first appears here in the narrative,[2] and the 'Silverlode', which was afterwards the 'Blackroot', the two names being transposed (see p. 235). In this passage also are the first occurrences of an Elvish name for Sauron's dwelling in Southern Mirkwood, and of the name *Barad-dûr*:

'I alone of you have ever been in the dungeons of the Dark Lord;

and only in his older and lesser dwelling at Dol-Dúgol in Southern Mirkwood. Those who pass the gates of Barad-dûr, the Dark Tower in the Land of Shadow, do not return.'

The confusion over Thrór and Thráin is no longer present: 'Yet it will not be the first time that I have been to Moria: I sought there long for Thráin son of Thrór after he was lost.' And Trotter utters his warning to Gandalf (on the change of rôles between Gandalf and Trotter in their willingness to consider the passage of Moria see p. 168).

The episode of the attack by the Wargs enters in this text, and reached virtually the final form outright, with relatively little correction in the course of composition;[3] and the account of the journey of the Company from the little hill where the attack took place to the arrival of Gandalf, Gimli, and Frodo at the top of the steps by the Stair Falls reaches the FR text in almost every point.[4] But Gandalf's words when they saw what had happened to the Gate-stream were much changed. At first he made no reference to the Door(s); then the following was substituted:

'That is where the Door stood once upon a time,' said Gandalf pointing across the water to the cliff opposite. But Frodo could see nothing that marked the spot, unless it was some bushes at the foot of the wall, and some rotting stems and branches that stood up from the water near its further side.

This was in turn rejected and replaced by:

'That is where the Doors stood once upon a time,' said Gandalf pointing across the water. 'There was the Elven-door at the end of the road from Hollin by which we have come, [*struck out:* and the Dwarven-door further south]. We must get across [*struck out:* to the Elven-door] as quickly as we can. This way is blocked....'

The idea that there were two distinct western entrances to Moria had appeared in the original version, where Gandalf said (VI.429): 'There were two secret gates on the western side, though the chief entrance was on the East.' Gandalf's words in the present passage in FR (p. 315): 'And there the Gate stood once upon a time, *the Elven Door* at the end of the road from Hollin by which we have come' derive from this, although in the context of FR, where there is no 'Dwarven Door', the 'Elven Door' is understood in relation to what Gandalf said subsequently: 'the West-door was made chiefly for [the Elves'] use in their traffic with the Lords of Moria' (an idea which in fact goes back to the original version, VI.448: 'the westgates were

made chiefly for their use in their traffic with the dwarves'). See further p. 191 and note 3.

The many references to the Moon in this part of the chapter were almost all removed by emendation to the typescript that followed this manuscript, and do not appear in FR. All references to the time of day, and the sunset, are here precisely as in FR to this point in the story, but after the words 'The day was drawing to its end' (FR p. 315) my father wrote: 'and the moon was already shining on the edge of the sunset', where FR has 'and cold stars were glinting in the sky high above the sunset'. As Pippin, the last in the Company (in FR Sam), stepped onto the dry ground after wading through the 'green and stagnant pool' (following the old version: in FR 'a narrow creek') at the northernmost end of the lake, and there was 'a swish, followed by a plop' in the distant water, 'at that moment shadows came over the last gleams of the sunset, and the rising moon was veiled in a passing cloud.' 'Rising' can only be a slip without significance; but here FR has: 'The dusk deepened, and the last gleams of the sunset were veiled in cloud.' The two great holly-trees beneath the cliff stood 'stiff, dark, and silent, throwing deep shadows in the moon', where FR has 'throwing deep night-shadows about their feet'. Thus in FR there is no reference to the moon until Gandalf passed his hands over the smooth space on the cliff-wall and 'The Moon now shone upon the grey face of the rock'.

After this point, other references to the Moon were similarly removed. When Gandalf's spells had no effect, it is said here that 'the moon shone pale, the wind blew cold, and the doors stood fast'; in FR 'the countless stars were kindled,' etc. When the doors at last opened, 'a shadowy stair could be seen climbing steeply up. The moonlight fell upon the lower steps, but beyond the darkness was deeper than night'; in FR the reference to the moonlight on the steps is absent. The tentacles of the Watcher in the Water 'came wriggling over the threshold, glistening in the moon', where FR (p. 322) has 'glistening in the starlight'. But inside Moria, when Gandalf stood in doubt before the archway opening into three passages, and said in the present text 'It is all night inside here; but outside the moon has long sunk and the night is getting old [> the moon is sinking and the dark hours are passing]', in FR he said 'outside the late Moon is riding westward and the middle-night has passed.'

My father had said that six nights before, the first night march of the Company from Hollin (p. 167), the Moon was 'almost at the full' ('at the full', FR); and on the previous night, when the Wargs attacked again, 'the night was old, and westward the waning moon was setting' (so also in FR). My father had forgotten this, and as he wrote the present version he evidently saw a young moon in the West ('shining on the edge of the sunset'). When he realised that the moon must now be almost into its last quarter and rising late he changed the text as

described above; but surely the reference to the moon shining on the cliff-face should have been removed with all the others?[5]

A narrative element that came to nothing is seen in some rejected passages. While Gandalf was 'gazing at the blank wall of the cliff' (FR p. 317) it is said that Legolas (who in FR was 'pressed against the rock, as if listening') 'exploring southward along the lake-side was lost in the twilight'; and when the ripples on the water came closer to the shore 'the voice of Legolas was calling; his feet were running in haste towards them.' As Bill the pony dashed away into the darkness 'Legolas ran up breathless with his drawn knife in his hand; he was talking wildly in the elvish tongue' – but this was evidently rejected as soon as written in view of what is said subsequently, when Gandalf drove the Company into the doorway: 'Legolas at last came running up, gasping for breath' and sprang over the tentacles that were already fingering the cliff-wall; 'Gimli grasped him by the hand and dragged him inside.' It was at this point that my father abandoned the idea.[6]

As first written, the description of the design that Gandalf brought to light was scarcely developed from the original account (VI.449). Beneath the arch of interlacing letters 'in the elvish character' there were 'the outlines of an anvil and hammer surmounted by a crown and crescent moon. More clearly than all else there shone forth three stars with many rays.' It is now Gimli, not Gandalf, who says 'There are the emblems of Durin!', and Legolas says 'And there are the star-tokens of the High-elves!' Gandalf still says that 'they are made of some silver substance that is seen only when touched by one who knows certain words', but he adds: 'and I guess too that they shine only in the moonlight' (in the original text, when the story was that the sun was shining on the cliff-wall, he said 'at night under the moon they shine most bright'). His words were changed, apparently at once, to the text of FR: 'They are made of *ithildin*[7] that mirrors only the starlight and the moonlight, and sleeps until it is touched by one who speaks words now long forgotten in Middle-earth.'

The description of the design itself was changed to read:

> ... the outlines of an anvil and hammer surmounted by a crown with seven stars. Below were two trees bearing a crescent moon. More clearly than all else there shone forth in the middle of the door a single star with many rays.
>
> 'There are the emblems of Durin!' cried Gimli.
>
> 'And there is the Tree of the High-elves!' said Legolas.
>
> 'They are made of *ithildin*,' said Gandalf...

Gandalf's reference in FR to 'the Star of the House of Fëanor' is thus absent.

There is found in this manuscript, as an integral part of the text, the

earliest drawing of the arch and the signs beneath (reproduced on p. 182).[8] It will be seen that this drawing fits the *revised* description, in that the crown is accompanied by seven stars, there are two trees surmounted by crescent moons, and there is only one star in the centre, not three as in the first description. The natural assumption would be that the alteration of the description in the text, which stands on the page preceding the drawing, was made immediately; but in that case it is very puzzling that a little later in this version, when Gandalf uttered the word *Mellon*, 'the *three stars* shone out briefly, and faded again' (which was not corrected).

Taum Santoski has provided the explanation of this characteristic textual impasse. The fuzziness at the top of the trees is caused by heavy erasures; and he suggests that in the drawing as it was originally made, accompanying the first description in the text, there were three stars: the one in the centre was retained, but the two to either side were erased and replaced by trees. I have no doubt whatever that this is the correct solution. The revised description in the text thus fits the revised drawing; and at that time my further merely failed to notice the subsequent reference to the three stars when Gandalf spoke the word *Mellon*.

An erasure above the crown shows that there was originally a crescent moon here, as in the first form of the description. Taum Santoski has also been able to see that in a preliminary stage of the introduction of the two trees they were larger, and each had both a circle (whether a sun or a full moon) and a crescent above it.[9]

When Gandalf was striving to find the spell that would open the doors he said that he once knew 'every spell in all the tongues of Elf, Dwarf, or Goblin' (FR 'of Elves or Men or Orcs') that was ever so used; he did not say 'I shall not have to call on Gimli for words of the secret dwarf-tongue that they teach to none'; and he declared that 'the opening word was Elvish' (FR 'the opening words were Elvish') – anticipating the solution of the riddle. The words of the first spell that Gandalf tried remain exactly as in the original version (VI.451); but as already indicated the opening word is now *Mellon* as in FR, not the plural *Mellyn* as formerly.

When Frodo asked Gandalf what he thought of the monster in the water of the lake (FR p. 323) Gandalf at first replied: 'I do not know. I have never before seen or heard tell of such a creature'. This was struck out and replaced by the words in FR, 'but the arms were all guided by one purpose'. Possibly in relation to this, there is a pencilled note at this point in the manuscript: '? Insert words of Gimli saying that there were traditions among the Dwarves about strangling fingers in the dark.' – 'Goblins' appear again, as in the old version, where FR has 'Orcs', in Gandalf's 'There are older and fouler things than goblins in the deep places of the world.'

In the account of the two long marches through Moria there are

The West Gate of Moria:
the earliest drawing of the inscription and signs.

scarcely any differences to be remarked. It is 'the hobbits' (not Pippin) who dared not make the leap over the great fissure (FR p. 325); and Sam's mention of rope ('I knew I'd want it, if I hadn't got it!') is absent – just as the passage in which he goes through his belongings before leaving Rivendell and discovers that he has no rope ('Well, I'll want it. I can't get it now', FR p. 294) is absent from the preceding chapter (p. 165).[10]

When the Company came to the great hall in which they passed the second night (and which Gandalf declared, as in FR, was a good deal higher than 'the Dimrill Gate'), Gimli replied thus to Sam's question 'They didn't live down in these nasty darksome holes, surely?':

'They were not nasty holes, and even now they are not so, unless others than the dwarves here made them so. How would you have passed through, and breathed and lived, if it were not for the skill of the builders long ago? Though many shafts, I doubt not, are blocked and broken with the years, the air still flows and is for the most part good. And of old the halls and mines were not darksome

Here the text breaks off, all of Gimli's speech being struck through and replaced by his words in FR: 'These are not holes. This is the great realm and city of the Dwarrowdelf. And of old it was not darksome but full of light and splendour, as [I will sing you a song >] is still remembered in our songs.' There is an isolated draft for this rejected speech of Gimli's, in which it is completed: 'And of old they were not darksome: they were lit with many lights and sparkled with polished metals and with gems.'

Gimli's song here appears (in a rider to the manuscript) written out clear in its final form (but with *countless lamps* for *shining lamps* in the third verse, and *There ruby, beryl, opal pale* for *There beryl, pearl, and opal pale* in the fourth). A few pages of rough drafting are found (one of which begins with the draft of Gimli's words in praise of Moria just mentioned), but these do not carry the development of the song very far; more workings must have been lost. Only the verse beginning *The world was fair, the mountains tall* was achieved here, and there is little else save fragmentary and rejected lines. There is also drafting (no doubt the earliest) for a form in four-line stanzas with a rhyme scheme *aaba* and internal rhyme in the third line; of this three quatrains were completed:

The world was young, the mountains green,
No mark upon the moon was seen,
When Durin came and gave their name
To lands where none before had been.
nameless lands had been.

The world was fair, the mountains tall,
With gold and silver gleamed his hall,
When Durin's throne of carven stone
Yet stood behind the guarded wall.

The world is dark, the mountains old,
In shadow lies the heapéd gold;
In Durin's halls no hammer falls,
The forges' fires are grey and cold.

Among many other half-formed lines or couplets are:

When Durin woke and gave to gold
its first and secret name of old

When Durin came to Azanûl
and found and named the nameless pool[11]

There are also the isolated words *Where Nenechui cold* > *Where cold Echuinen spills. Nen Echui* has occurred as the Noldorin name for *Cuiviénen*, the Waters of Awakening (V.366, 406); here my father was pondering its application to Mirrormere (for the much later Elvish name *Nen Cenedril* 'Lake Looking-glass' see VI.466, note 39).

On one of the pages of drafting for Gimli's song my father wrote: 'Gandalf on *Ithil Thilevril*[12] *Mithril*' (i.e. Gandalf is to speak on this subject). This is the first appearance of the name *Mithril*, replacing the passing *Thilevril*, *Ithil*, and the original *Erceleb* (see VI.458 and notes 34–5); and an isolated page of drafting shows my father developing Gandalf's account of it. This text begins with various forms of Gandalf's reply to Sam's question 'Are there piles of jewels and gold lying about here then?' Several answers to this question were tried. In one Gandalf said: 'There may be.... For the wealth of Durin was very great: not only in such things as were found in the Mines themselves. There was a great traffic to his gates from East and West.' In another he said: 'No. The dwarves carried much away; and though the dread of its dark mazes has protected Moria from Men and Elves it has not defended it from the goblins, who have often invaded it and plundered it.' Against these my father wrote: 'Mithril is now nearly all lost. Orcs plunder it and pay tribute to Sauron who is collecting it – we don't know why – for some secret purpose of his weapons not for beauty.'[13]

The final version here, written in a rapid scrawl with pencilled additions and alterations, is as follows:

'No one knows,' said Gandalf. 'None have dared to seek for the armouries and treasure chambers down in the deep places since the dwarves fled. Unless it be plundering orcs. It is said that they were laid under spells and curses, when the dwarves fled.'

'They were,' said Gimli, 'but orcs have plundered often inside Moria nonetheless [*added:* and nought is left in the upper halls].'

'They came here because of Mithril,' said Gandalf. 'It was for that that Moria was of old chiefly renowned, and it was the foundation of the wealth and power of Durin: only in Moria was mithril found save rarely and scantily. Moria-silver or true-silver some have called it. Mithril was the Elvish name: the dwarves have a name which they will not tell. Its value was thrice that of gold, and now is beyond price. It was nearly as heavy as lead, malleable as copper, but the dwarves could by some secret of theirs make it as hard as [> harder than] steel. It surpassed common silver in all save beauty, and even in that it is its equal. [*Added:* It was used by the Elves who dearly loved it – among many other things they [?wrought] it to make *ithildin*. *Also perhaps to be placed here:* ... the dwarflords of Khazad-dûm were wealthier than any of the Kings of Men, and the traffic to the Gates brought them jewels and treasure from many lands of East and West.] Bilbo had a corslet of mithril-rings that Thorin gave him. I wonder what he did with it. I never told him, but its worth was greater than the value of the Shire and everything in it.'[14]

[*Added:* Frodo laid his hand under his tunic, and felt the rings of the mail-shirt, and felt somewhat staggered to think he was walking about with the price [of the] Shire...]

The text of the passage that appears in the completed manuscript is very close to FR. It is still said that *mithril* was not found only in Moria: 'Here alone in the world, save rarely and scantily in far eastern mountains, was found Moria-silver.' The reference to Bilbo's having given his mailcoat to 'Michel Delving Museum' (not 'Mathom-house') appears.

But there is one important difference. It is said in this text: 'The dwarves tell no tale, but even as *mithril* was the foundation of their wealth so also it was their destruction: they delved too greedily and too deep, and disturbed that from which they fled.'[15] This is exactly as in FR, but without the last two words: *Durin's Bane*. In this connection also, where Gandalf says in FR: 'And since the dwarves fled, no one dares to seek the shafts and treasuries down in the deep places: they are drowned in water – or in a shadow of fear', my father first wrote in this manuscript: '... some are drowned in water, and some are full of the evil from which the dwarves fled and of which they will not speak.' This was changed to: '... they are drowned in water – or in shadow.'

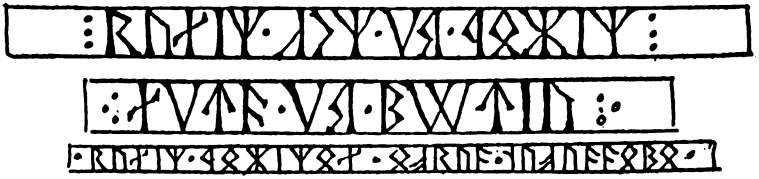
The absence of the words 'Durin's Bane' does not of course prove

that the conception of 'Durin's Bane' had not yet arisen; while a feeling that the words 'some are *full of the evil* from which the dwarves fled' are not really appropriate to the Balrog is too slight to build on. That there was a Balrog in Moria appears in the original sketch for the story given in VI.462. Even so, I think it probable that at this stage it was not the Balrog that had caused the flight of the Dwarves from the great Dwarrowdelf long before. The strongest evidence for this comes from the original version of the Lothlórien story, where it is at least strongly suggested (being represented as the opinion of the Lord and Lady of Lothlórien) that the Balrog had been sent from Mordor not long since (see further on this question p. 247 and note 11). Moreover, in the texts of the story of the Bridge of Khazad-dûm from this time Gimli does not cry out 'Durin's Bane!' (pp. 197, 202–3).

I think also that Gandalf is represented as not knowing himself what was the evil from which the Dwarves fled (it cannot be said, of course, what my father knew).[16]

There is nothing else to note in the remainder of the chapter except the Runic inscription on the tomb of Balin (on which see the Appendix on Runes, pp. 456–7). Gandalf's words about the inscription differ from what he says in FR: 'These are dwarf-runes, such as they use in the North. Here is written in the old tongue and the new: *Balin son of Fundin, Lord of Moria.*' In FR he says: 'These are Daeron's Runes, such as were used of old in Moria. Here is written in the tongues of Men and Dwarves...'

The inscription is written on a strip of blue paper,[17] and since that could not be reproduced in black and white there is here reproduced instead the version from the typescript that followed the manuscript, this being very closely similar to the first in its design and identical in all its forms.



The inscription reads:

BALIN SON OF FUNDIN
LORD OF MORIA
Balin Fundinul Uzbad Khazaddūmu

NOTES

1 *Silverlode* was changed in pencil to *Blackroot*; see p. 235. At the same time *Ond* was changed to *Ondor*.

2 On the First Map the name was first *Iren*, changed to *Isen*; see p. 298.

3 Gandalf's cry as he tossed the blazing brand into the air (FR p. 312) here takes the form: *Naur ad i gaurhoth!*

4 The references to the 'power that wished now to have a clear light in which things that moved in the wild could be seen from far away', and Gandalf's remark that 'here Aragorn cannot guide us; he has seldom walked in this country', are lacking; while a comment is made in this text on the fact of the land in which Gandalf sought for the Sirannon, the Gate-stream, being 'bleak and dry': 'not a flake of snow seemed to have fallen there.'

5 The change in the present text of 'outside the moon has long sunk' to 'outside the moon is sinking' implies the corrected view of the moon's phase, but none of the previous references were emended on the manuscript.

6 This is a convenient place to mention a textual detail. Gimli says that Dwarf-doors are invisible when shut, 'and their own makers cannot find them or open them, if their secret is forgotten.' *Makers* is certain (but could be misread), and seems altogether more appropriate and likely than *masters*. This, appearing in the first typescript of the chapter, was clearly an error, perpetuated in FR (p. 317).

7 The name *ithildin* was devised here. My father first wrote *starmoon or thilevril* (on *thilevril* see p. 184 and note 12).

8 This has been previously reproduced by Humphrey Carpenter, *Biography*, facing p. 179. – The writing on the arch, but nothing more, appears in the original version of the chapter, VI.450.

9 The trees in the design reproduced on p. 182 are of a highly stylized form seen frequently in my father's pictures (for example, the tree in the drawing of Lake-town in *The Hobbit*). These trees might be further formalized into geometrical shapes, or their surfaces cut into planes (so that they appear like rocks rising from trunks). The tree pencilled in above the arch, with distinct branches, single large leaves, and a crescent moon as its topmost growth, was the model for a second version of the design (also at Marquette University), which differs from the first only in the form of the trees. It may be that it was to this that the corrected text in the manuscript refers, since the trees are said to *bear* crecent moons. In a third version (in the Bodleian Library) the trees, much larger, still bear a crescent moon at the summit, but the branches also curl over into crescents (as in the final form). A fourth version (also in the Bodleian) differs from the final form

only in that the branches pass behind and do not entwine the pillars.

It can be seen in the narrative passage above the first version of the design that the name *Narvi* was first spelt *Narf[i]*, as in the original text (VI.449). The stroke through the first *m* of *Celebrimbor* in the transcription of the *tengwar* at the bottom of the page removes an erroneous *m*; the stroke through the second removes a necessary *m*. – The second *tengwa* in the penultimate word of the inscription, transliterated as *i·ndíw*, is used in the words *ennyn* and *minno* to represent *nn*, not *nd*. Perhaps to be connected with this is the form of the eighth *tengwa* in *Celebrimbor*, which would naturally be interpreted as *mm*, not *mb*.

10 The origin of Gandalf's sword Glamdring is still referred to here, as in VI.454, since the passage where it occurs in FR (p. 293), the account of the arms borne by the members of the Company, had not yet been added to the previous chapter.

11 Cf. VI.466, note 36.

12 *Thilevril* was thus a rejected possibility for both *ithildin* and *mithril* (see note 7).

13 Another draft puts this slightly more fully: 'They give it in tribute to Sauron, who has long been gathering and hoarding all that he can find. It is not known why: not for beauty, but for some secret purpose in the making of weapons of war.'

14 This is the point (at least in terms of actual record) at which the connection was made between *mithril* or 'Moria-silver' and Bilbo's mailcoat, ultimately leading to an alteration in the text of *The Hobbit*, Chapter XIII: see VI.465–6, notes 35, 38. The mailcoat will no longer be called 'elf-mail' (see p. 173, note 13).

15 A final draft for this passage ends illegibly: 'The dwarves will not say what happened; but mithril is rich only far down and northward towards the roots of Caradras, and some ... [?think] they disturbed some [?guarding]'. – *Caradras* is spelt thus also in the text of the passage in the completed manuscript; see p. 174, note 18.

16 In the fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond' (p. 142) Glóin says that the Dwarves of Moria 'delved immeasurably deep', and 'under the foundations of the hills things long buried were waked at last from sleep'.

In FR there seems to be some ambiguity on the question of what Gandalf knew. He says that the Dwarves fled from Durin's Bane; but when the Balrog appeared, and Gimli cried out 'Durin's Bane!', he muttered: 'A Balrog! Now I understand.' (These words, like Gimli's cry, are lacking in the versions of the scene from this time, pp. 197, 202–3). What did Gandalf mean? That he understood now that the being that had entered the Chamber of Mazarbul and striven with him for the mastery

through the closed door was a Balrog? Or that he understood at last what it was that had destroyed Durin? Perhaps he meant both; for if he had known what Durin's Bane was, would he not have surmised, with horror, what was on the other side of the door? – 'I have never felt such a challenge', 'I have met my match, and have nearly been destroyed.'

17 The blue paper is from the cover of one of the booklets of the 'August 1940' examination script, which my father was still using for drafting. The strip was pasted onto the manuscript page, covering an earlier form of the Runic inscription; for this see the Appendix on Runes, p. 457.

X
THE MINES OF MORIA (2): THE BRIDGE

We come at last to the point where my father took up the narrative again beside Balin's tomb in Moria. A sketch for the fight in the Chamber of Mazarbul was in existence (VI.443), going back to the time when he wrote the original text of 'Moria (i)', and this sketch he now for the most part followed closely. There was also a sketch from the same time (VI.462) of Gandalf's encounter on the bridge and his fall, when his opponent was to be a Black Rider.

The new chapter, numbered XVII, was entitled 'The Mines of Moria (ii)', and corresponds to Book II Chapter 5 in FR, 'The Bridge of Khazad-dûm'. The original manuscript is in pencil, ink, and ink over pencil, and was written on the same 'August 1940' examination script as was used for so much of the preceding work. It is a very rough draft indeed: parts of it would be quite beyond the limits of legibility were it not for clues provided by later texts. Some very minor editorial alteration is made here in respect of punctuation and the breaking of sentences, increasing the readability and comprehensibility of the text though disguising the furious haste in which it was written.

That this manuscript followed the new text of 'The Ring Goes South' is seen at once from the occurrence of the name *Blackroot* (the later *Silverlode*) in the Book of Mazarbul; for *Blackroot* replaced *Redway* as that text was being written (p. 166). For evidence that it followed the second version of 'Moria (i)' see note 3.

Two notes are written at the head of the first page: '2 West Gates' (see note 3), and 'No dates in Book'.

THE MINES OF MORIA (ii)

The Company of the Ring stood some time in silence beside the tomb of Balin. Frodo thought of Bilbo and his friendship with the dwarf, and Balin's visit to Bilbo long ago.

After a while they looked about the chamber to see if they could discover any tidings or signs of Balin's people. There was another door on the other side, under the shaft. By both doors they now saw that in the dust were lying many bones, and among them broken swords, and axe-heads, cloven shields and

helms. Some of the swords were crooked: orc-weapons with black blades.

There were recesses and shelves cut in the wall, and in them were large iron-bound chests: all had been broken open and plundered; but beside the broken lid of one lay the tattered fragments of a book. It had been hewn with a sword and stabbed, and was so stained with dark marks like old blood that only little of it could be read. It only a cover [*sic*][1] and much was missing or in small pieces. Gandalf laid it carefully on the slab and pored over it; it was written in dwarvish and elvish script by many different hands.

'It is a record of the fortunes of Balin's folk,' said the wizard, 'and seems to begin with their coming to the Great Gate 20 years ago. Listen!

'*We drove out Orcs from ... first hall. We slew many under the bright sun in the Dale. Flói was killed by an arrow. He slew... We have occupied* [> *taken*] *the Twenty-first Hall of North-end* [added: *to dwell in*]. *There is there ... shaft is... Balin has set up his seat in the Chamber of Mazarbul... gold... Durin's axe. Balin is Lord of Moria... We found true-silver... Well-forged... (To)morrow Óin is... seek* [> *Óin to seek*] *for the upper armouries and treasury of the Third Deep ... mithril.*

'There are one or two more rather ill-written and much-damaged pages of that sort. Then there must be a number missing, and some I cannot read. Let me see. No, it is burned and cut and stained. I can't read that. Wait! Ah, here is one more recent, well-written. Fifth year of their colony. Look – a large hasty hand and using *elvish* character!

'*Balin Lord of Moria fell in Dimrill Dale. He went alone to look in Mirror-mere. an orc shot him from behind a stone. We slew the orc, but many ... up from East up Blackroot...* Now two lines are gone. *We have barred the Gates.* No more is clear on that page. What is this? The last written page – rest seems blank [> stuck to the cover]. *We cannot get out. We cannot get out. The Pool is up to the Wall in the West. There lies the Watcher in the Water. It took Óin. We cannot get out.*

'*They have taken the Gates. Frár and Lóni and Náli*[2] *fell there ... noise in the Deeps.* Poor things. They could not get out by either Gate. It was perhaps well for us that the water had sunk somewhat, and that the Watcher was guarding the Dwarf-door not the Elfdoor we came by.[3] The last thing written,'

said Gandalf, 'is a hasty scrawl in elf-letters. *They are coming.*'

He looked round. 'They seem to have made a last stand by both the doors of this chamber,' he said. 'But there were not many left by that time. So ended the attempt to re-take Moria. It was brave but foolish. The time is not yet. Their end must have been desperate. But I fear we must now say farewell to Balin son of Fundin: he was a noble dwarf. Here may he lie in the halls of his fathers. We will take this book, and look at it more carefully later. You had better keep it, Frodo, and give it to Bilbo. It will interest him though I fear it will grieve him.[4] I think I know where we are now. This must be the Chamber of Mazarbul and that hall the 21st Hall of the North-end. Then we ought to leave either by the south or the east arch in the hall, or possibly by this other eastward door here. I think we will return to the Hall. Come, let us go! The morning is passing.'

At that very moment there was a great sound, a great rolling *boom* that seemed to come from far below and to tremble in the stone at their feet. They sprang to the door in alarm. But even as they did so there was an echoing blast; a great horn was being blown in the hall, and answering horns and harsh cries were heard in the corridors; there was a hurrying sound of many feet.

'Fool that I have been!' cried Gandalf, 'to delay here. We are nicely trapped just as they were before. But I was not here then: we will see what–'

Boom came the shuddering noise again, and the walls shook.

'Slam the doors and wedge them!' shouted Trotter. 'And keep your packs on: we may get a chance to cut a way out.'

'No!' said Gandalf. 'Wedge them but keep them just ajar. We must not get shut in. We'll go by the further door if we get a chance.'

There was another harsh horn-call and shrill cries coming down the corridor. There was a ring and clatter as the Company drew their weapons. [*Added:* Glamdring and Sting were shining with whitish flames, glinting at the edges.] Boromir thrust wedges of broken blades and splinters of wooden chest under the bottom of the western door by which they had entered. Then Gandalf went and stood behind it. 'Who comes here to disturb the rest of Balin Lord of Moria?' he cried in a loud voice.

There was a rush of hoarse laughter like the fall of a slide of stones into a pit, but amid the clamour there was one deep voice. *Boom boom boom* went the noises in the deep. Swiftly

Gandalf went to the opening and thrust forward his staff. There was a blinding flash that lit the chamber and the passage beyond. For an instant Gandalf looked out. Arrows whined and whistled down the corridor as he sprang back.

'There are goblins: very many of them,' he said. 'Evil they look and large: black Orcs.[5] They are for the moment hanging back, but there is something else there. A troll, I think, or more than one. There is no hope of escape that way.'

'And no hope at all if they come at the other door as well,' said Boromir.

'But there is no sound outside,' said Trotter, who was standing by the eastern entrance listening. 'The passage here goes down steps: it [?prob(ably)] does not give on to the hall at all. Our only chance is to gather here. Do what damage we can to the attackers and then fly down these steps. If only we could block the door as we went: but they both open inwards.'

Heavy feet were heard in the corridor. Boromir kicked the wedges away from the west door and heaved it to.[6] They retreated toward the still open eastern door, first Pippin and Merry, then Legolas, then Frodo with Sam at his side, then Boromir, Trotter, and last Gandalf. But they had no chance to fly yet. There was a heavy blow at the door, and it quivered; and immediately it began to move inwards grinding at the wedges and thrusting them back. An enormous arm and shoulder with dark green scaly skin (or clad in some horrible mesh) thrust through the widening gap. Then a great three-toed foot was thrust in also. There was dead silence outside.

Boromir leaped forward and hewed the arm with his sword[7] but it glanced aside and fell from his shaken hand: the blade was notched.

Frodo suddenly, and very unexpectedly, felt a great wrath leap up in his heart. 'The Shire,' he cried, and ran forward with Sting stabbing at the hideous foot. There was a bellow and the foot jerked back, nearly wrenching the blade from his hand: drops dripped from it and smoked on the stone.

'One for the Shire!' cried Trotter delightedly. 'You have a good blade, Frodo son of Drogo.' Sam looked as if for the first time he really liked Trotter. There was a crash and another crash: rocks were being heaved with huge strength against the door. It staggered back and the opening widened. Arrows came whistling in, but struck the north wall and fell to the ground. The horns rang again, there was a rush of feet, and orcs one

after another leaped in. Then Legolas loosed his bow. Two fell pierced through the throat. The sword of Elendil struck down others.[8] Boromir laid about him and the orcs [?feared] his sword. One that dived under his arm was cloven ... by Gimli's axe. Thirteen orcs they slew and the others fled. 'Now is the time if ever,' said [Trotter >] Gandalf, '– before that Troll-chief or more of them return. Let us go!'

But even as they retreated once more a huge orc-chief, almost man-high, clad in black mail from head to foot, leaped through the door. Behind him but not yet daring to advance stood many followers. His eyes were like coals of fire. He wielded a great spear. Boromir who was at the rear turned, but with a thrust of his shield the orc put aside his stroke and with huge strength bore him back and flung him down. Then leaping with the speed of a snake he charged and smote with his spear straight at Frodo. The blow caught him on the right side. Frodo was hurled against the wall and pinned. Sam with a cry hewed at the spear and it broke. ... but even as the orc cast the shaft aside and drew his scimitar the sword of Elendil drove down upon his helm. There was a flash like flame and the helm burst. The orc-chieftain fell with cloven head. His followers who were ... by the now nearly open door yelled and fled in dismay. *Boom, boom* went the noises in the Deep. The great voice rolled out again.

'Now!' said Gandalf. 'Now is the last chance!' He picked up Frodo and sprang through the eastern door. The others followed. Trotter the last to leave pulled the door behind him. It had a great iron ring on either side, but no lock to be seen.

'I am all right,' gasped Frodo. 'Put me down!'

Gandalf nearly dropped him in amazement.

Without striking out this last passage my father at once went on to rewrite it:

'Now!' cried Gandalf. 'Now is the last chance!' Trotter picked up Frodo and sprang through the eastern door. Even in the heat of battle Gimli bowed to Balin's tomb. Boromir heaved the door to: it had a great iron ring on each side but the key was gone and the lock broken.

'I am all right,' gasped Frodo. 'Put me down!'

Trotter nearly dropped him in amazement. 'I thought you were dead,' he cried. 'Not yet,' said Gandalf turning round. 'But there is no time [*struck out:* to count (*sc.* wounds)].[9] Get away

down these stairs, and look out! Wait a moment for me and then run: bear right and south.'

As they went down the dark stairs they saw the pale light gleam from the wizard's staff. He was still standing by the closed door. Frodo leaning on Sam halted a moment and peered back. Gandalf seemed to be thrusting the tip of his staff into the ancient keyhole.

Suddenly there was a flash more dazzling ... [than] any that they had ever conceived of. They all turned. There was a deafening crash. The swords in their hands leaped and wrenched in their fingers, and they stumbled and fell to their knees as the great blast passed down the stairway. Into the midst of them fell Gandalf.

'Well, that's that,' he said. 'It was all I could do. I expect I have buried Balin. But alas for my staff: we shall have to go by guess in the dark. Gimli and I will lead.'

They followed in amazement, and as they stumbled behind he gasped out some information. 'I have lost my staff, part of my beard, and an inch of eyebrows,' he said. 'But I have blasted the door and felled the roof against it, and if the Chamber of Mazarbul is not a heap of ruins behind it, then I am no wizard. All the power of my staff was expended [?in a flash]: it was shattered to bits.'

Here the text in ink stops for the moment. My father at once heavily rewrote the passage beginning 'Suddenly there was a flash ...' in pencil and then continued on in pencil from the point he had reached (cf. note 4). There is of course no question that the story was coming into being in these pages, and the handwriting is so fast as to be practically a code, while words are missed out or misrepresented, so that one must try to puzzle out not merely what my father did write, but what he intended.

Suddenly they heard him cry out strange words in tones of thunder, and there was a flash more dazzling ... [than] any that they had ever conceived of: it was as if lightning had passed just before their eyes and seared them. The swords in their hands leapt and wrenched in their fingers. There was a deafening crash, and they fell or stumbled to their knees as a rush of wind passed down the stairway. Into the midst of them fell Gandalf.

'Well, that's that,' he said. 'I have buried poor old Balin. It was all I could do. I nearly killed myself. [*Struck out as soon as written:* It will take me years to recover my strength and

wizardry.] Go on, go on! Gimli, come in front with me. We must go in the dark. Haste now!'

They followed in amazement feeling the walls, and as they stumbled behind him he gasped out some information. 'I have lost part of my beard and an inch of my eyebrows', he said. 'But I have blasted the door and felled the roof against it, and if the Chamber of Mazarbul is not a heap of ruins behind it, then I am no wizard. But I have expended all my strength for the moment. I can give you no more light.'

The echoes of Gandalf's blast seemed to run to and fro, ... ing in the hollow places of stone above them. From behind they heard *boom, boom*, like the beating and throbbing of a drum. But there was no sound of feet. For an hour they [?hurried on guided by Gandalf's nose]; and still there was no sound of pursuit. Almost they began to hope that they would escape.

'But what about you, Frodo?' asked Gandalf, as they halted to take a gasping breath. 'That is really important.'

'I am bruised and in pain, but I am whole,' said Frodo, 'if that is what you mean.'

'I do indeed,' said Gandalf. 'I thought it was a heroic but dead hobbit that Aragorn picked up.'

'... it seems that hobbits or this hobbit is made of a stuff so tough that I have never met the like,' said Trotter. 'Had I known I would have spoken softer in the Inn at Bree. That spear thrust would have pierced through a boar.'

'Well, it has not pierced through me,' said Frodo, 'though I feel as if I had been caught between a hammer and anvil.' He said no more. His breath was difficult, and he thought explanations could wait.

From this point ('They now went on again', FR p. 342) the original text is very largely lost for some distance, because my father overwrote it (and largely erased it first) as part of a revised version, but something can be read at the end of this section:

There was no time to lose. Away beyond the pillars in the deep [?gloom] at the west end of the hall to the right there came cries and horn calls. And far off again they heard *boom, boom* and the ground trembled [?to the dreadful drum taps]. 'Now for the last race!' said Gandalf. 'Follow me!'

The remainder of the original text is in ink and is at first fairly legible, but towards the end becomes in places impossible to decipher,

being written at great speed, with small words indicated by mere marks, word-endings omitted, and scarcely any punctuation.

He turned to the left and darted across the floor of the hall. It was longer than it looked. As they ran they heard behind the beat and echo of many feet running on the floor.[10] A shrill yell went up: they had been seen. There was a ring and clash of steel: an arrow whistled over Frodo's head.

Trotter laughed. 'They did not expect this,' he said. 'The fire has cut them off for the moment. We are on the wrong side!'

'Look out for the bridge!' cried Gandalf over his shoulder. 'It is dangerous and narrow.'

Suddenly Frodo saw before him a black gulf. Just before the end of the hall the floor vanished and fell into an abyss. The exit door could not be reached save by a narrow railless bridge of stone that spanned the chasm with a single curving leap of some fifty feet. Across it they could only pass in single file. They reached the chasm in a pack and halted at the bridge-end for a moment. More arrows whistled over them. One pierced Gandalf's hat and stuck there like a black feather. They looked back. Away beyond the fiery fissure Frodo saw the swarming black figures of many orcs. They brandished spears and scimitars which shone red as blood. *Boom, boom* rolled the drumbeats now advancing louder and louder and more and more menacing. Two great dark troll-figures could be seen [?towering] among the orcs. They strode forward to the fiery brink.

Legolas bent his bow. Then he let it fall. He gave a cry of dismay and terror. Two great dark troll-shapes had appeared; but it was not these that caused his cry.[11] The orc-ranks had opened as if they themselves were afraid. A figure strode to the fissure, no more than man-high yet terror seemed to go before it. They could see the furnace-fire of its yellow eyes from afar; its arms were very long; it had a red [?tongue]. Through the air it sprang over the fiery fissure. The flames leaped up to greet it and wreathed about it. Its streaming hair seemed to catch fire, and the sword that it held turned to flame. In its other hand it held a whip of many thongs.

'Ai, ai,' wailed Legolas. '[The Balrogs are >] A Balrog is come.'

'A Balrog,' said Gandalf. 'What evil fortune – and my power is nearly spent.'

The fiery figure ran across the floor. The orcs yelled and shot many arrows.

'Over the Bridge,' cried Gandalf. 'Go on! Go on! This is a foe beyond any of you. I will hold the Bridge. Go on!'

When they gained the door they turned, in spite of his command. The troll-figures strode across the fire carrying orcs across. The Balrog rushed to the Bridge-foot. Legolas [?raised] his bow, and [an] arrow pierced his shoulder. The bow fell useless. Gandalf stood in the midst of the bridge. In his hand Glamdring gleamed. In his left he held up his staff. The Balrog advanced and stood gazing at him.

Suddenly with a spout of flame it sprang on the Bridge, but Gandalf stood firm. 'You cannot pass,' he said. 'Go back [*struck out probably as soon as written:* into the fiery depths. It is forbidden for any Balrog to come beneath the sky since Fionwë son of Manwë overthrew Thangorodrim]. I am the master of the White Fire. The red flame cannot come this way.' The creature made no reply, but standing up tall so that it loomed above the wizard it strode forward and smote him. A sheet of white flame sprang before him [?like a shield], and the Balrog fell backward, its sword shivered into molten pieces and flew, but Gandalf's staff snapped and fell from his hand. With a gasping hiss the Balrog sprang up; it seemed to be [?half blind], but it came on and grasped at the wizard. Glamdring shore off its empty right hand, but in that instant as he [?delivered the stroke] the Balrog [?struck with] its whip. The thongs lashed round the wizard's knees and he staggered.

Seizing Legolas' bow Gimli shot, [but] the arrow fell ... Trotter sprang back along the bridge with his sword. But at that moment a great troll came up from the other side and leaped on the bridge. There was a terrible crack and the bridge broke. All the western end fell. With a terrible cry the troll fell after it, and the Balrog [?tumbled] sideways with a yell and fell into the chasm. Before Trotter could reach the wizard the bridge broke before his feet, and with a great cry Gandalf fell into the darkness.[12]

Trotter [?recoiled]. The others were rooted with horror. He recalled them. 'At least we can obey his last command,' he said. They [?passed] by the door and stumbled wildly up the great stair beyond, and beyond [?up there] was a wide echoing passage. They stumbled along it. Frodo heard Sam at his side weeping as he ran, and then he [?realized] that he too was weeping. *Boom, boom, boom* rang the echo of ... behind them.

On they ran. The light grew. It shone through great shafts.

They passed into a wide hall, clear-lit with high windows in the east. [?Through that] they ran, and suddenly before them the Great Gates with carven posts and mighty doors – cast back.

There were orcs at the door, but amazed to see that it was not friends that ran they fled in dismay, and the Company took no heed of them.

The original draft of the chapter ends here, and does not recount the coming of the Company into Dimrill Dale. There is a pencilled note written on the manuscript against the description of the Balrog: 'Alter description of Balrog. It seemed to be of man's shape, but its form could not be plainly discerned. It *felt* larger than it looked.' After the words 'Through the air it sprang over the fiery fissure' my father added: 'and a great shadow seemed to black out the light.' And at the end of the text – before he had finished it, for the concluding passage is written around the words – he wrote: 'No – Gandalf breaks the bridge and Balrog falls – but lassoos him.'

It will be seen that for much of its length this chapter was very fully formed from its first emergence; while scarcely a sentence remained unchanged into FR, and while many details of speech and event would be altered, there really was not very far to go. But in certain passages this earliest draft underwent substantial development in the narrative.

The first of these is the account of Gandalf's blocking of the east door out of the Chamber of Mazarbul (FR pp. 340–1), where there was as yet no suggestion that some greater power than any orc or troll had entered the chamber, and where the blasting of the door and felling of the roof was not caused by competing spells of great power, but was a deliberate act on Gandalf's part to preserve the Company from pursuit down the stair.

It cannot be said precisely how the story stood in the lost passage (p. 196), though from a word still decipherable here and there it can be seen that Gimli saw a red light ahead of them, and that Gandalf told them that they had reached the First Deep below the Gates and were come to the Second Hall. Clearly then the essential elements of the final narrative were already present.

The second passage in which the original draft would undergo major development is the narrative of the final attack on the fugitives and the battle on the Bridge of Khazad-dûm (FR pp. 343–5). That there was a bridge in Moria, that Gandalf would hold it alone against a single adversary of great power, and that both would fall into an abyss when the bridge broke beneath them, had been foreseen in the original sketch (VI.462); but the final form of the famous scene was not achieved at a stroke. Here, the trolls do not bring great slabs to serve as gangways over the fiery fissure, but carry orcs across (it may be noted incidentally that 'orcs', rather than 'goblins', becomes

pervasive in this text: see note 5); the form of the Balrog is clearly perceived; there is no blast of Boromir's horn; Legolas is pierced in the shoulder by an arrow as he attempts to shoot; and Aragorn and Boromir do not remain with Gandalf at the end of the bridge. The physical contest between Gandalf and the Balrog is differently conceived: Gandalf's staff breaks at the moment when the Balrog's sword shivers into molten fragments in the 'sheet of white flame', and though the whip catches Gandalf round his knees it is not the cause of his fall. Here, it is the great troll leaping onto the bridge that causes it to break, carrying with it troll, Balrog, and wizard together. But even before he had finished the initial draft of the chapter my father saw 'what really happened': 'Gandalf breaks the bridge and the Balrog falls – but lassoos him'. He thereupon moved the 'sheet of white flame' and the snapping of Gandalf's staff from the initial clash between the adversaries to the point where Gandalf broke the bridge.

It is clear that my father turned at once to the making of a fair copy of the original draft text – that he did so at once, before continuing the story, is seen from the fact that Sam's wound in the affray in the Chamber of Mazarbul only appears in the new version but is present at the beginning of 'Lothlórien'.

The new version (a good clear manuscript in ink, with little hesitation in the course of composition and without a great deal of subsequent pencilled alteration) was still called 'The Mines of Moria, 2'; a subtitle was added in pencil, 'The Bridge'. For some distance the text proceeds as a characteristic polishing and slight elaboration of the draft, bringing it very close to FR, which I take here as the basis with which the present text is compared.

The Book of Mazarbul is not described as 'partly burned', and its pages are said to have been written 'in both dwarf-runes and elvish script', where in FR a distinction is made between the runes of Moria and of Dale. The text of the first page that Gandalf read out runs thus:

'*We drove out Orcs ... from guard* something *and first hall. We slew many under the bright sun in the Dale. Flói was killed by an arrow. He slew* ... then I can only read stray words for many lines. Then comes *We have taken the Twenty-first Hall of North-end to dwell in. There is* ... I cannot read what: a *shaft* is mentioned. Then *Balin has set up his seat in the Chamber of Mazarbul.*'

'The Chamber of Records,' said Gimli. 'I guess that is where we now stand.'

'Well, I can read no more for a long way, except the word *gold*,' said Gandalf; 'and, yes, *Durin's axe* and something *helm*. Then *Balin is Lord of Moria*. After some stars there comes *We found true-silver* and later the word *well-forged*; then some-

thing, I have it! *Óin to seek for the upper armouries and treasury of the Third Deep and* ... but I can make out no more on the page but *mithril*, *west*, and *Balin*.'

This text corresponds almost exactly to the third drawing of the page (see the Appendix, p. 459).

The text of the second page that Gandalf read out, in 'a large bold hand writing in elvish script', now identified by Gimli as Ori's, scarcely differs from the text given on p. 191, except that after *We have barred the Gates* Gandalf can doubtfully read *horrible* and *suffer: all is*. Thus the passage giving the date (10 November) of Balin's death in Dimrill Dale is still absent. The earliest, or earliest extant, drawing of Ori's page was done at the same time as the third drawing of the first page (see the Appendix, p. 459), and obviously accompanies the present version of the narrative.

The text of the last page of the book remains exactly the same as that given on p. 191; and the earliest extant drawing (accompanying the third of the first page and the first of Ori's page) fits it exactly.

In this version Gandalf no longer makes any mention of the Watcher in the Water and the two Doors, but Gimli says: 'It was well for us that the pool had sunk a little, and that *we came to the Elven-door that was closed*. The Watcher was sleeping, or so it seems, down at the southern end of the pool.' The italicized words were struck out, probably at once, and so the conception of the two separate entrances into Moria from the West was finally abandoned. Gandalf still gives the Book of Mazarbul to Frodo, for him to give to Bilbo 'if you get a chance.'

In his last words before the attack on the Chamber of Mazarbul began Gandalf says that 'the Twenty-first Hall should be on the seventh level, that is five above the Gate level' (six in FR). He still says 'There are goblins ... They are evil and large: black Orcs', but the troll becomes 'a great cave-troll' as in FR, and its three-toed foot was changed on the manuscript to a toeless foot.[13] Sam now gets a wound in the affray, 'a cut on the arm', which as mentioned above appears in the original draft of 'Lothlórien' ('The cut in his arm was paining him', p. 220). A rider to the present text changed this to 'a glancing cut in his shoulder'. 'The sword of Elendil' still has no other name, *Branding* being substituted later in pencil (see p. 165, and p. 274 and note 19).

In the story of the flight of the Company from the Chamber of Mazarbul the new version followed the original draft fairly closely. As Frodo and Sam peered up the steps they heard Gandalf muttering, and the sound, they thought, of his staff tapping. The searing flash like lightning, the wrenching of their swords in their hands, and the great rush of wind down the stairs forcing them to their knees, were still present (the blasting of the Chamber remaining a deliberate act); and Gandalf still says 'I have lost part of my beard and an inch of my

eyebrows'. The long descent in the dark down flights of stairs now enters, Gandalf feeling the ground with his staff 'like a blind man'; but at the words 'Almost they began to hope against hope that they would escape' (FR p. 341) this new version stops, and all this part of the story, from the killing of the orc-chieftain in the Chamber, was rejected.[14]

The development of the chapter from this point took much unravelling, but it seems clear that my father decided at this juncture that further drafting was required before the fair copy on which he was engaged could be continued. He therefore wrote now a new rough draft carrying the story from the flight of the Company from the Chamber of Mazarbul to their final escape out of Moria; and having done this, he returned to the fair copy and went on with it again, following the draft quite closely. I believe that all this was continuous work, that it can be shown that the story of the chapter 'The Bridge of Khazad-dûm' was brought almost to its final form before the story of Lothlórien was begun (see p. 204 and note 20). For clarity, in the remainder of this chapter I will call the new draft 'B' and the fair copy manuscript 'C', the original draft, which has been given in full, being 'A'.[15]

This new draft B for the latter part of the chapter was written very fast, mostly in soft pencil, and is hard to read, but for much of its length the final narrative was now almost achieved, with scarcely any differences of substance. Gandalf still says 'I nearly killed myself', and he does not say 'I have met my match, and have nearly been destroyed'; he knows 'one or two (shutting-spells) that will hold, though they don't stop the door being smashed if great strength comes'; and he says that the Orcs on the other side of the door 'seemed to be talking their horrible secret language, which I never knew more than a word or two of.' In the fair copy C these become: 'I ran up against something unexpected I haven't met before'; 'I know several that will hold'; and 'talking their hideous secret language.'

The overwriting of the erased passage in the primary text A (p. 196) forms a part of the new draft, and the new text (from 'They now went on again' to ' "Now for the last race!" cried Gandalf') is so close to the final form in FR (pp. 342–3) as to need no commentary.

In the last part of the chapter (from 'He turned left and sped across the smooth floor of the hall') the drafting of the new version is as rough as was the original text A that it replaced in this part, the language unpolished and the conclusion scarcely legible. The actual narrative of FR pp. 344–6 is present, however, except in these points. The Balrog when first seen beyond the fiery fissure is described as 'of man-shape maybe, and not much larger' (cf. pp. 197, 199). The fair copy C has here likewise 'and not much greater' (FR: 'of man-shape maybe, yet greater').[16] Gimli's cry of 'Durin's Bane!' and Gandalf's words 'Now I understand' were still absent from both B and C,

Gimli's words (only) being added in pencil to the latter; on this matter see pp. 185–6 and note 16 to the last chapter.

Following Legolas' cry 'Ai! Ai! A Balrog is come!' it is told in B that 'he turned to fly and an arrow struck him in the shoulder. He stumbled and began to crawl on all fours along the Bridge.' That an arrow pierced Legolas in the shoulder is told in the original version of the story (p. 198). In B my father struck out the incident, then ticked it for retention; but it is absent from C. Boromir's horncall is absent from both texts, though my father added it in pencil to C, at first placing it after 'A Balrog is come!' but then deciding to put it in earlier, before 'Legolas turned and set an arrow to the string', so that it was the Orcs who were momentarily halted by the blast of the horn and not the Balrog. In neither text do Aragorn and Boromir remain at the bridge-foot, and thus it is said subsequently that Trotter 'ran back out to the bridge' and 'ran out onto the Bridge', i.e. from the doorway where he had been standing with the others.

In B it is said only that the Balrog 'stood facing him': in C 'the Balrog halted facing him, and the shadow about him reached out like great wings'.[17] Immediately afterwards, where in FR the Balrog 'drew itelf up to a great height, and its wings were spread from wall to wall', neither B nor C has the words 'to a great height' nor speaks of the 'wings'. Gandalf's words to the Balrog remain in B very close to the original draft (p. 198), with 'White Fire' for 'the White Fire'; in C this was changed in the act of writing: 'You cannot pass. I am the master of White Flame. [Neither Red Fire nor Black Shadow can >] The Red Fire cannot come this way. Go back to the Shadow!'

Both B and C continued a little way beyond the point where 'The Bridge of Khazad-dûm' ends in FR, the former giving first a description of Dimrill Dale and Mirrormere, which was omitted in C.

Northward it ran up into a glen of shadows between two great arms of the mountains, over which towered three white peaks. Before them (west) [*read* east][18] the mountains marched to a sudden end. To their right (south) they receded endlessly into the distance. Less than a mile away (and below them where they stood on the skirts of the mountains) lay a mere – just clear of the shadow, under the sunny sky. But its waters looked dark, a deep blue such as the night sky seen through a lighted window. Its surface was utterly still. About it lay a smooth sward, sloping swiftly down on all sides towards its bare unbroken brink. There lay the Mirror Mere. High on the shores above stood a rough broken column. Durin's Stone.

This passage was an overwriting in ink, but the pencilled text beneath, visible here and there, was written continuously with what precedes

(the Company looking back at Moria Gate), and is certainly the most original form of the description of Mirrormere. Against it my father wrote *Not yet used.* He used it in fact in the original draft of 'Lothlórien' (p. 219): a clear demonstration that the new draft B of the latter part of the present chapter preceded work on 'Lothlórien' (see note 20).

B then continues to its conclusion thus:

'So we have passed through Moria,' said Trotter at last, passing his hand over his eyes. 'I know not what put the words into my mouth, but did I not say to Gandalf: If you pass the Gates of Moria, beware![19] Alas that I should have spoken true. No fortune could have been so ill as this: hardly ... had all perished. But now we must do as we can without our friend and guide. At least we may yet avenge him. Let us gird ourselves. It is better for us to strike hard than to mourn long.'

With slightly altered wording this was used as the conclusion of the chapter in the fair copy C also.[20]

Throughout C, *Trotter* (as he is named at every occurrence save once where Gandalf names him) was subsequently changed to *Elfstone* (see pp. 277–8).

NOTES

1 Though the words 'it only a cover' seem clear, my father cannot have intended 'it only had a cover', as the following text shows.

2 A dwarf *Frár*, companion of Glóin, appeared in the earliest drafts of 'The Council of Elrond' (VI.397, 412), where he was replaced by Burin son of Balin. The three Dwarf-names *Frár*, *Lóni*, *Náli*, retained in FR, were again taken from the Old Norse *Elder Edda* – whereas *Flói* (slain in the Dimrill Dale) was not.

3 On the conception of two distinct entrances to Moria from the West, which goes back to the original version of 'The Ring Goes South', see p. 178. The striking out (probably at once) of the reference in the previous chapter (*ibid.*) to 'The Dwarven-door further south' (i.e. south of the Elven-door at the end of the road from Hollin) could be taken as an indication that the present text in fact preceded the new version of 'Moria (i)'. On the other hand, if this were so, it is hard to see why my father should have put in the direction '2 West Gates' at the beginning of the present text (p. 190), seeing that the two entrances were already present in the oldest version of the story of Moria. It seems to me most probable that he wrote '2 West Gates' precisely because he had now changed his mind again; this detail being therefore actually evidence that the first writing of 'Moria (ii)' did follow the new

version of 'Moria (i)'. – Further, in the fair copy text of the present chapter Gimli says (p. 201) that 'it was well for us that... we came to the Elven-door that was closed', though this was at once or soon rejected.

4 In FR Gandalf entrusted the book to Gimli, to give to Dáin. – The first page of the manuscript, which ends at approximately this point, was written in pencil, but from the beginning of Gandalf's reading from the book my father overwrote it in ink – and then, from this point, carried on the initial text in ink. Thus the original drafting of the words and phrases which Gandalf could interpret in the Book of Mazarbul is partly obliterated; but most of the underlying pencil can be made out, and it can be seen that the text given here (itself emended) did not greatly differ from what it superseded.

5 My father first wrote here: 'veritable Orcs'. Cf. the original sketch for the chapter given in VI.443: 'Gandalf says there are goblins – of very evil kind, larger than usual, real orcs', and my discussion of 'goblins' and 'orcs' in VI.437 note 35. In FR at this point Gandalf says: 'There are Orcs, very many of them. And some are large and evil: black Uruks of Mordor.'

6 In FR it was at this point that Boromir, closing the west door of the chamber, wedged it with broken sword-blades and splinters of wood. It is odd that in the present text it is said here that Boromir kicked the wedges away from the door and heaved it to, and yet immediately afterwards the door 'began to move inwards grinding at the wedges and thrusting them back.'

7 This sentence replaced: 'Gandalf leaped forward and hewed the arm with Glamdring.'

8 The reforging of the Sword of Elendil has been told in the new version of 'The Ring Goes South' (p. 165).

9 In a subsequent version of the passage Gandalf says 'There is no time for counting wounds.'

10 This sentence was first written: 'As they ran cries and the noise of many feet entered the far end behind them.'

11 This passage, with the two references to the appearance of the Trolls, is confused. Though all was written at the same time, phrases were added and rejected phrases were left standing, and my father's intention is in places impossible to determine.

12 Written in the margin at the time of composition: 'Go on... Do I fight in vain? Fly!' Cf. Trotter's words 'At least we can obey his last command' in the text immediately following.

13 The oddity of the original story (see p. 193 and note 6) in the matter of the wedging of the western door is now removed, for when Boromir had kicked away the wedges and heaved it to he then re-wedged it. All the passages concerned were corrected, probably at once, to give the story as it is in FR.

14 The rejected part of the manuscript (a single sheet written on both sides) was found among my father's papers, the rest of it having gone to Marquette.

15 The sequence of development in this chapter can be expressed thus:

A → C (C interrupted); B → C (C continued).

16 In a pencilled addition in C to the scene of the Balrog's fall from the Bridge my father changed 'the stone upon which it stood' (the text of FR) to 'the stone upon which *the vast form* stood'.

17 The second *him* is Gandalf, not only from the syntax, but also because the Balrog is always referred to as *it*. FR has 'the shadow about it'.

18 See p. 237 note 5.

19 Aragorn's words to Gandalf *If you pass the doors of Moria, beware!* had entered in 'Moria (i)', p. 178.

20 With this revised wording the passage is found at the beginning of the first draft of 'Lothlórien' (p. 219). In the fair copy C of the present chapter my father subsequently struck it out, and wrote at the end of the text that precedes it: *End of Chapter*. It is clear from this that not only the draft B but also the fair copy of 'The Mines of Moria (ii): The Bridge' were completed before 'Lothlórien' was begun.

XI
THE STORY FORESEEN FROM MORIA

At about this time, and still using the reverse pages and blue covers of the same invaluable examination script, my father wrote a much more elaborate outline of the story to come than any he had yet done. When this was written in relation to the narrative that had been achieved cannot be precisely demonstrated, but far the most likely time, to judge from the beginning of the outline, would be when 'The Mines of Moria (ii)' was at least initially drafted (and probably actually completed in the fair copy) and 'Lothlórien' was immediately contemplated; and therefore I give it in this place.

It is particularly interesting to observe what elements in this new plot derive from earlier sketches, and how those ideas had evolved by this time, as the actual writing of the narrative drew nearer. These are: (1) an isolated page which I have tentatively dated to August 1939 (VI.380); (2) a page actually dated August 1939 (VI.381); (3) an outline set down at the time of the first drafting of 'The Council of Elrond' (VI.410–11).

The new text was written very quickly and roughly, mostly in pencil, and is in places hard to make out. I have expanded contractions and made a few other very small editorial clarifications. It will be seen that despite its fullness it does not at all represent a clearly defined, step-by-step sequence: ideas were emerging and evolving as my father wrote it.

Sketch of Plot

Reach Lothlórien Dec. 15.[1] Take refuge up Trees. Elves befriend them. Dec. 15, 16, 17 they journey to Angle between Anduin and Blackroot.[2] There they remain long. (While they are up trees orcs go by – also Gollum.)

At Angle they debate what is to be done. Frodo feels it is his duty to go straight to Fire Mountain. But Aragorn and Boromir wish to go to Minas Tirith, and if possible gather force. Frodo sees that that will not help. As Minas Tirith is still a long way from Fire Mountain and Sauron will only be the more warned. (Boromir is secretly planning to use the Ring, *since Gandalf is gone.*)

Boromir takes Frodo apart and talks to him. Begs to see Ring again. Evil enters into his heart and he tries to daunt Frodo and then to take it by force. Frodo is obliged to slip it on to escape him. (What does he see then – cloud all round him getting nearer and many fell voices in air?)

Frodo seeing that evil has entered into the Company dare not stay and does not want to imperil hobbits or others. He flies. His loss is not discovered for some time because of Boromir's lies. (Boromir says he has climbed a tree and will be coming back soon?) The hunt eventually fails because Frodo went a long way invisible.

The search. Sam is lost. He tries to track Frodo and comes on Gollum. He follows Gollum and Gollum leads him to Frodo.

Frodo hears following feet. And flies. But Sam comes up too to his surprise. The two are too much for Gollum. Gollum is *daunted* by Frodo – who has a power over him as Ringbearer. (But use of Ring proves bad since it re-establishes power of Ring over Frodo after his cure. At end he cannot willingly part with it.)

Gollum pleads for forgiveness and feigns reform. They make him lead them through the Dead Marshes. (Green faces in the pools.) Lithlad Plain of Ash. The Searching Eye of Barad-dur (a single light in a high window).

★ At point where Sam, Frodo and Gollum meet return to others – for whose adventures see later. ***But they should be told at this point.***

The Gap of Gorgoroth not far from Fire Mountain. There are Orc guard-towers on either side of Gorgoroth.[3] They see a host of evil led by Black Riders. Gollum betrays Frodo. He is beaten off, but escapes shrieking to the Black Riders. The Black Riders now have taken form of demonic eagles and fly before host, or [?take eagle-like] vulture birds as steeds.

Frodo toils up Mountain to find Crack.

Rumour of Battle had already reached Frodo, Sam and Gollum. (That is why the host of Mordor was riding out.)

While Frodo is toiling up Mountain he looks back and sees Battle gathering. He hears faint sound of horns in the hills. A great dust where the Horsemen are coming. Thunder from Baraddur and a black storm comes up on an East wind. Frodo wonders what is happening but has no hope that he himself can be saved. The Ringwraiths swoop back. They have heard Gollum's cries.

Orodruin [*written above:* Mount Doom] has three great fissures North, West, South [> West, South, East] in its sides. They are very deep and at an unguessable depth a glow of fire is seen. Every now and again fire rolls out of mountain's heart down the terrific channels. The mountain towers above Frodo. He comes to a flat place on the mountain-side where the fissure is full of fire – Sauron's well of fire. The Vultures are coming. He *cannot* throw Ring in. The Vultures are coming. All goes dark in his eyes and he falls to his knees. At that moment Gollum comes up and wrestles with him, and takes Ring. Frodo falls flat.

Here perhaps Sam comes up, beats off a vulture and hurls himself and Gollum into the gulf?

Function for Sam? Is he to die? (He said there is something I have to do before [I die >] the end.)[4]

Sam could get hold of the Ring. Frodo betrayed by Gollum and taken by orcs (?) to Minas Morgol.[5] They take his ring and find it is no good; they put him in a dungeon, and threaten to send him to Baraddur.

How can Sam get hold of Ring? He keeps watch at night and hears Gollum muttering to himself, words of hatred for Frodo. He draws his sword and leaps on Gollum, [?dragging] him off. He tries to [*insert* utter] horrible words over Frodo – incantation of sleep. A spider charm, or does Gollum get spiders' help? There is a ravine, a spiders' glen, they have to pass at entrance to Gorgoroth. Gollum gets spiders to put spell of sleep on Frodo. Sam drives them off. But cannot wake him. He then gets idea of taking Ring. He sits beside Frodo. Gollum betrays Frodo to the Orc-guard. They are overwhelmed and Sam knocked silly with a club. He puts on Ring and follows Frodo. (A ring from Mazarbul would be useful.)[6]

Sam comes and *uses* Ring. Passes into Morgol and finds Frodo. Frodo feels hatred of Sam and sees him as an orc. But suddenly the orc speaks and holds out Ring and says: Take it. Then Frodo sees it is Sam. They creep out. Frodo is unable.... Sam dresses up like an orc.

They escape but *Gollum follows*.

It is *Sam* that wrestles with Gollum and [?throws] him finally in the gulf.

How are Sam and Frodo saved from the eruption?[7]

An additional passage, but contemporary with the rest, is marked for insertion to this part of the outline.

When Ring *melts* Dark Tower falls or is buried in ash. A great

black cloud and shadow floats away east on a *rising west wind.* (The smell and sound of the Sea?)

Eruption. The forces of Mordor flee and Horsemen of Rohan pursue.

Frodo standing on side of Fire Mountain holds up sword. He now commands Ringwraiths and bids them be gone. They fall to earth and vanish like wisps of smoke with a terrible wail.

How is Frodo (and Sam) saved from Eruption?

Story turns for a while – after first meeting of Sam, Frodo and Gollum – to others.

Owing to Boromir's treachery and Frodo's use of Ring the hunt fails. Merry and Pippin are distracted by loss of Sam and Frodo. They themselves get lost following echoes. They come to Entwash and the Topless Forest,[8] and fall in with Treebeard and his Three Giants.

Legolas and Gimli also get lost and get captured by Saruman.?

Boromir and Aragorn (who notes a change in Boromir – who is keen to break off the chase and go home) reach Minas Tirith, which is besieged by Sauron except at back. ? Siege is briefly told from point of view of watchers on battlements. Evil has now hold of Boromir who is jealous of Aragorn. The Lord of Minas Tirith is slain[9] and they choose Aragorn. Boromir deserts and sneaks off to Saruman, to get his help in becoming Lord of Minas Tirith.

How does Gandalf reappear?

All this section, concerned with the 'western story', was struck out and replaced, immediately, by a fuller and altered version, in which the idea that Legolas and Gimli were captured by Saruman is rejected and their new story is linked to the reappearance of Gandalf.

Story turns for a while to the others – ? after first meeting of Sam, Frodo and Gollum.

(one chapter) Owing to Boromir's treachery and Frodo's use of Ring the hunt fails. Aragorn is overwhelmed with grief, thinking he has failed trust as Gandalf's successor. Merry and Pippin are distracted by losing Sam and Frodo, and wandering far (deluded by echoes) they also get lost. Merry and Pippin come up Entwash into Fangorn and have adventure with Treebeard. Treebeard turns out a decent giant. They tell him their tale. He is very perturbed by news of Saruman, and more so by the fall of Gandalf. He won't go near Mordor. He offers to carry them to Rohan and perhaps Minas Tirith. They set off.

(one chapter) Boromir, Aragorn, and Legolas and Gimli.

Legolas feels the Company is broken up, and Gimli has no more heart. The four part. Aragorn and Boromir to Minas Tirith, Legolas and Gimli north. Legolas means to join Elves of Lothlórien for a while. Gimli means to go back up Anduin to Mirkwood and so home. They journey together. Legolas and Gimli both sing laments. Suddenly they meet Gandalf!

Gandalf's story. Overcame Balrog. The gulf was not deep (only a kind of moat and was full of silent water). He followed the channel and got down into the Deeps. ?? Clad himself in Mithril-mail and fought his way out slaying many trolls.

[?Does] Gandalf *shine* in the sun. He has a new power after overcoming of Balrog? *He is now clad in white.*

Gandalf is dreadfully downcast at the news of the loss of Frodo. He hastens south again with Legolas and Gimli.

(one chapter) Inside Minas Tirith. Aragorn began to suspect Boromir at the time of the loss of Frodo. A sudden change seems to come over Boromir. He is anxious to go away home at once and not look for Frodo.

Minas Tirith is besieged by Sauron's forces that have crossed Anduin at Osgiliath, and by Saruman who is come up in rear. There seems no hope. Evil has now got complete hold of Boromir. The Lord of Minas Tirith is slain. They choose Aragorn as chief. Boromir is jealous and enraged – he deserts and sneaks off to Saruman, seeking his aid in getting lordship.

At this point the siege must be broken by Gandalf with Legolas and Gimli and by Treebeard. (But not too much fighting or it will spoil last battle of Gorgoroth.) Gandalf might simply walk through lines, or else have a contest with Saruman. Treebeard walks through. They see a huge tree walking over plain.

Saruman shuts himself up in Isengard.

Sally from Minas Tirith. Gandalf drives Black Riders back and takes crossing of Anduin at Osgiliath. Horsemen ride behind him to Gorgoroth. Hear a great wind and see flames out of Fire Mountain.

Somehow or other Frodo and Sam must be found in Gorgoroth. Possibly by Merry and Pippin. (If any one of the hobbits is *slain* it must be the cowardly Pippin doing something brave. For instance –

Here the outline breaks off, but after a large space continues again lower down on the same page, and now with numbered chapters,

beginning at 'XXVI'. Since 'Moria (ii)' was XVII, my father envisaged eight further chapters to this point.

After fall of Mordor. They return to Minas Tirith. Feast. Aragorn comes to meet them. Moon rises [?on] Minas Morgol.
XXVI Aragorn looks out and sees moon rise over Minas Morgol. He remains behind – and becomes Lord of Minas *Ithil.* What about Boromir? Does he repent? [*Written later in margin:* No – slain by Aragorn.]

Gandalf calls at Isengard (see addition). [*This addition is found on a separate slip:* On way home: they ride horses from Rohan. The[y] call at Isengard. Gandalf knocks. Saruman comes out very affable. 'Ah, my dear Gandalf. What a mess the world is in. Really we must consult together – such men as we are needed. Now what about our spheres of influence?'

Gandalf looks at him. 'I am the White Wizard now,' he said – 'look at your many colours.' Saruman is [?clad] in a filthy mud colour. 'They seem to have run.' Gandalf takes his staff and breaks it over his knee. [?He gives a thin shriek.] 'Go, Saruman,' he said, 'and beg from the charitable for a day's digging.'

Isengard is given to the Dwarves. Or to Radagast?]

They ride home to Rivendell.
XXVII Song of the Banished Shadow.

Rivendell. Meeting with Bilbo.
XXVIII What happens to Shire?

Last scene. *Sailing away of Elves* [*added faintly*: Bilbo with them] and the [*sic*]
XXIX Sam and Frodo go into a green land by the Sea?

Certain of these narrative ideas had appeared before, in the earlier plot-sketches referred to on p. 207, such as the siege of Minas Tirith, Frodo's separation from the Company and Sam's seeking for him, Gollum's seeming reform and guidance to the Mountain of Fire, the Searching Eye, the 'host of evil' led by Black Riders, Gollum's treachery, Frodo's inability to cast the Ring into the Fire, and the eruption of the Mountain. But now the structure becomes more solid and secure.

To look through this new outline in sequence: the fact that nothing is told here about Lothlórien (though its people are mentioned – 'Elves befriend them', and later it is told that it was Legolas' intention 'to join Elves of Lothlórien for a while') suggests, not that the Lothlórien story had been written, but that my father was on the verge of writing it and had no need to set down much about it. If it had been written he would surely not have included it in the outline at all; and the words

'While they are up trees orcs go by – also Gollum' look like the first written emergence of this element in the story. But the actual name *Lothlórien* has already made its appearance in the LR papers, in the new version of 'The Ring Goes South', p. 167.

The 'angle' between the river flowing down from Dimrill Dale (Redway, Blackroot, Silverlode) and the Great River (see the original rough sketch-map given in VI.439) is now called *Angle*. Here the Company 'remained long', but there is no indication whether Elves of Lothlórien were present. It is at Angle that a major feature of the structure of LR first enters. In an earlier outline (VI.410) Frodo becomes separated from the Company, involuntarily as it seems, through fear of Gollum; but now (being already determined to go directly to Mordor rather than by way of Minas Tirith) he is brought to the point of fleeing away alone through Boromir, who desires to appropriate the Ring for the purposes of Minas Tirith. Already my father foresaw that Boromir, speaking to Frodo apart, would ask to see the Ring again, that (as is implied) Frodo would refuse, and that Boromir would then try to take it by force and oblige Frodo to put it on in order to escape from him – explaining how it was that Frodo got clear away and could not be found despite the hunt for him. On the other hand, since all this takes place at Angle, there is *no journey down Anduin*, boats are never mentioned – and there is no mention even of Frodo's need to cross the river. The whole story of how Sam would come to accompany Frodo on his journey to the Fiery Mountain would be entirely changed (though not before it had been further developed from its form in this outline).

In the account of that journey several new names appear. *Lithlad* the Plain of Ash appears once in LR (*The Two Towers* IV.3, 'the mournful plains of Lithlad and of Gorgoroth'), though for some reason the name was not entered on either of the maps published in LR; it is found however on the First Map (p. 309) and subsequently. The plain of Lithlad lay south of Ered Lithui, the Ash Mountains, away to the east of Barad-dûr; there would thus seem no reason for Frodo and Sam ever to have come to it, as seems to be implied in this outline. The valley of Gorgoroth, above which was built the Dark Tower, appears in the fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond' (p. 144), and the Gap of Gorgoroth ('with Orc guard-towers on either side') in this outline is the first intimation of a pass between the mountain-walls fencing Mordor on north and west (afterwards Udûn, between the Morannon and the Isenmouthe).

The winged Nazgûl – Black Riders horsed now upon vultures – appear, but here in the rôle of leaders of the host of Mordor as it rides out to battle. Sam's part in the final events was still very shadowy and speculative, but already the idea enters that Gollum (whose inner motives seem to have been far less complex in respect of Frodo than they afterwards became) would betray Sam and Frodo to spiders in a

ravine or glen 'at the entrance to Gorgoroth'. At this stage, as will be seen later, the entry into Mordor by way of the Stairs of Cirith Ungol did not exist, and when that name appears it will bear a different geographical sense. The spiders seem to have arisen in the context of explaining how Sam came to take the Ring from Frodo; and features of the later story begin to take shape: Sam's rout of the spider(s), Gollum's betrayal of the unconscious Frodo to the orcs, his capture and imprisonment (but here in Minas Morgol), Sam's entry into the fortress wearing the Ring, Frodo's sudden hatred of Sam whom he sees as an orc, and their escape.

The Breaking of the Fellowship imposed on my father the need to follow two distinct narrative paths, but he would still follow the fortunes of Frodo and Sam somewhat further before returning to the others (since the reunion of Sam and Frodo, involving Sam's first falling in with Gollum, was much less swiftly achieved than it is in FR).

The second narrative again takes a huge step forward here, but there was still a great way to go. Most important, Merry and Pippin now move into a central position in the story, and it is they (not as in a former outline Frodo, VI.410) who encounter Treebeard – although the entire narrative of the attack by Orcs on the camp beneath Amon Hen, Boromir's death, the forced march across Rohan, and the battle between the Rohirrim and the Orcs on the eaves of Fangorn is absent. Merry and Pippin merely become lost as they seek for Frodo and Sam, and wandering along the river Entwash (which here first appears) come to the Forest of Fangorn without any relation to the larger story; but through them Treebeard (now finally established as a 'decent' sort of person, cf. p. 71) comes to play a part in the breaking of the siege of Minas Tirith.

On the other hand, for Aragorn and Boromir my father had at this time a plan almost wholly different from what would soon emerge. Departing together to Minas Tirith, the original Company will be still further fragmented, for Legolas and Gimli (escaping the fate of capture by Saruman momentarily projected for them, p. 210) set off north together. It is indeed Legolas and Gimli who fall in with Gandalf returned, now clad in white and possessed of new powers, and with him they turn back and hasten south; but there is no indication of where they met him (save that it was south of Lothlórien), and in fact no indication of geography for any of these events. Rohan plays no part in the story at all (beyond the several mentions of the Horsemen riding against Mordor), and the Siege of Minas Tirith is (mysteriously) to be 'broken by Gandalf with Legolas and Gimli and by Treebeard.' Boromir would play a shameful part, treacherously fleeing to Saruman (a faint adumbration of Wormtongue?) in his hatred for Aragorn, chosen to be successor to the slain lord of Minas Tirith. Isengard remains inviolate, and the Ents do not appear[10] – yet the visit of

Gandalf to Saruman in his fortress, and his humiliation, is present, placed here on the homeward journey.

Much of the narrative 'material', it may be said, was now assembled. But the structure of that narrative in the lands west of Anduin as my father now foresaw it would be wholly changed, and changed above all by the emergence of the Kingdom of Rohan into the full light of the story, and of its relations with Gondor and with Isengard.[11]

NOTES

1 'Reach Lothlórien Dec. 15': this date does not agree with the chronology, which is surprising. The time-scheme referred to on p. 169, which clearly accompanied this state of the narrative, continues on from 'December 9 Snow on Caradras' (a date that actually appears in the text) thus:

Dec. 10 Retreat. Wolves at night.
11 Start for Moria. Reach Doors at sundown. Travel in Mines till midnight (15 miles).
12 Well-chamber. All day in Moria (20 miles). Night in 21st Hall.
13 *Mazarbul.* Battle of Bridge. Escape to Lothlórien.

This scheme was made when the 'Lothlórien' story was at any rate in progress, but the earliest sketch of the march of the Company from Dimrill Dale (p. 218) demands the date 13 December.

2 The name *Anduin*, thus written and not the result of subsequent correction, occurs in the fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond' (p. 157 note 5). The name *Blackroot* shows that this outline was written after the new version of 'The Ring Goes South' (see p. 166).

3 This sentence was put in as an afterthought at a different point in the manuscript, but it seems appropriate to insert it here.

4 Sam said this to Frodo after the night spent with the Elves in the Woody End (FR p. 96).

5 This part of the text was written in pencil, but these few lines were overwritten in ink later (apparently simply for clarity's sake), and the form as overwritten is actually *Morgul*; elsewhere in the outline, however, the form is *Morgol.*

6 The 'ring from Mazarbul' evidently refers back to what is said earlier: 'They take [Frodo's] ring and find it is no good.'

7 A scrap of torn paper found in isolation bears the following pencilled notes dashed down in haste:

Could Sam *steal the Ring* to save Frodo from danger?

The Black Riders capture Frodo and he is taken to Mordor – but he has no Ring and is put in prison.

Sam flees – but is pursued by Gollum.
It is Sam and Gollum that wrestle on the Mountain.
Frodo is saved by the fall of the Tower.

It seems very probable that these notes belong to the same time as the present outline. On the same scrap are notes referring to the Shire at the end of the story, when Frodo and Sam returning find that 'Cosimo [Sackville-Baggins] has industrialised it. Factories and smoke. The Sandymans have a biscuit factory. Iron is found.' The last words are: 'They go west and set sail to Greenland.' *Greenland* is clear, however improbable it may seem; but cf. the last words of the present outline (p. 212): 'Sam and Frodo go into a *green land* by the Sea'.

8 Fangorn is called 'the Topless Forest' in a rejected sentence in the new version of 'The Ring Goes South', p. 167.

9 In the outline given in VI.411 the King of Ond was Boromir's father.

10 Since in the sketch-plot given in VI.410 the 'tree-giants' assailed the besiegers of Ond, it may be that their presence was understood in this outline also; but this is not in any way suggested.

11 Looked at in terms of the movements of the principal persons, it seems that a crucial idea, though at once rejected, would turn out to have been the capture of Legolas and Gimli by Saruman (p. 210). My father remained convinced, perhaps, that Saruman did nonetheless play a part in the fragmentation of the Company of the Ring; and the aimless wanderings of Merry and Pippin along the Entwash that brought them to Treebeard's domain were transformed into the forced march of captives to Isengard – for Isengard was close to the Forest of Fangorn. Thus entered also the death of Boromir, and the withdrawal of Aragorn from immediate departure to Minas Tirith.

XII
LOTHLÓRIEN

In the first fully-written narrative, the two chapters 6 and 7 in Book II of FR ('Lothlórien' and 'The Mirror of Galadriel') are one, though here treated separately. This text is extremely complex in that, while it constitutes a nearly complete narrative, the form in which it exists is not the result of writing in a simple sequence; parts of it are later, with later names, and were written over a partly or wholly erased earlier form. Other parts were not rewritten and earlier names appear, sometimes corrected, sometimes not; and the original text was much emended throughout.

In fact, it seems to me certain that the whole text, including some scraps of initial drafting and outlining on isolated pages, belongs to the same time and the same impulse. The 'August 1940' examination script was once again used for the entire complex of papers. The manuscript varies greatly in difficulty, some sections being fairly clear and legible, others very much the reverse. In places words are so reduced and letter-shapes so transformed that one might well hit upon the right word but not know it, if there are insufficient clues from the context or from the later text. Word-endings are miswritten or omitted, successive forms of a sentence are left standing side by side, and punctuation is constantly lacking. This is a case where the actual appearance of the manuscript is exceedingly different from the printed interpretation of it.

No satisfactory presentation of such a text as this is really possible. If the earliest form of the story is given, and the later alterations ignored, then difficulties such as the following are encountered. In the passage where Legolas reports to the others his conversation with the Elves in the mallorn-tree (FR p. 357) the original narrative (in ink) had:

> Now they bid us to climb up, three in each of these trees that stand here near together. I will go first.

This was corrected (in pencil) to a form close to that of FR:

> Now they bid me to climb up with Frodo, of whom they seem to have heard. The rest they ask to wait a little, and to keep watch at the foot of the tree.

But the primary narrative then continues (in pencil) on the next sheet

with this revised story, in which Legolas and Frodo are the first to ascend (with Sam behind). On the other hand, if all later alteration (which is in any case far from achieving an overall consistency) is admitted, the FR form is closely approached and the earlier stages ignored. I have adopted therefore the former method, and attempt to clarify complexities as they arise. The notes to this chapter form a commentary on the text and are integral to its presentation.

A few brief notes about the sojourn of the Company in Lothlórien begin the long preparatory synopsis given in the last chapter (p. 207). There is there no suggestion of Galadriel and Celeborn; and it is 'at Angle', between Blackroot and Anduin, that Boromir accosts Frodo and attempts to take the Ring. The first march from Moria is more fully sketched in the following notes.

> They pass into Dimrill Dale. It is a golden afternoon, but dark in the Dale.
>
> Mirrormere. Smooth sward. Deep blue like night sky.
>
> [*Notes scribbled in later:* Orcs won't come out by day. Frodo's wounds dressed by Trotter, so they discover the mithril-mail.]
>
> No time to stay. Gimli's regret. See the black springs of Morthond;[1] follow it.
>
> Make for Lothlórien. Legolas' description. The wood is in winter but still bears leaves that have turned golden. They do not fall till spring, when the green comes, and great yellow flowers. It was a garden of the Wood-elves long ago – before the dwarves disturbed the evils beneath the mountains, he said (Gimli does not like that). They lived in houses in trees before the darkening world drove them underground.[2]
>
> In dusk Frodo again hears feet but cannot see anything following. They march on into the dusk.
>
> They take refuge in trees, and see Orcs march by beneath.
>
> Frodo long after sees a sloping back[ed] figure moving swiftly. It sniffs under the tree, stares up, and then disappears.

The passage of the Orcs beneath, and the coming of Gollum, were first referred to in the outline given on p. 207.

I turn now to the narrative. The chapter is numbered XVIII, and paginated continuously (with one gap), but it has no title. As I have said, I give (so far as possible) the most original form of the text, and do not, as a rule, indicate small subsequent emendations bringing it nearer to FR, though many or all of them may well belong to the same time.

'Alas, I fear we cannot wait here longer!' said Aragorn. He looked towards the mountains, and held up his sword. 'Farewell, Gandalf,' he cried. 'Did I not say to you: *if you pass*

the doors of Moria, beware? I know not what put the words into my mouth, but alas! that I spoke true. No fortune could have been more grievous. What hope have we without you?' He turned to the Company. 'We must do without hope!' he said. 'At least we may yet be avenged. Let us gird ourselves and weep no more. It is better to strike hard than to mourn long![3] Come! We have a long road and much to do!'

They rose and looked about them. Northward the Dale ran up into a glen of shadows between two great arms of the mountains, above which three tall white peaks towered.[4] Many torrents fell white over the steep sides into the valley. A mist of foam hung in the air.

To the west [*read* east][5] the mountains marched to a sudden end, and far lands could be descried beyond them vague and wide. To the south the mountains receded endlessly as far as sight could reach. Less than a mile away, and below them a little (for they stood still on the skirts of the mountains) lay a mere: it was long and oval, shaped like a great spear-head that thrust up deep into the northern glen. Its southern end was beyond the edge of the shadow, under the sunny sky. But its waters were dark: a deep blue like the night sky seen through a lighted window. Its face was still and unruffled. About it lay a smooth sward shelving on all sides down to its bare unbroken rim.[6]

'There lies Kheledzâram,[7] the Mirror-mere!' said Gimli sadly. 'I hoped to look on it in joy and linger here a while. I remember that he said: "May you have joy of the sight, but whatever you may do I cannot stay." Now it is I that must hasten away, and he that must stay.'

The Company went down the road, fading and broken, but still showing that here a great paved way had once wound up from the lowlands to the gate. It passed hard by the sward of Mirror-mere, and there not far from the road by the brink of the water there stood a single column, now broken at the top.

'That is Durin's Stone,' said Gimli. '[We >] I cannot pass without pausing there a minute, to look upon the wonder of the Dale.'

'Be swift then,' said Trotter, looking back towards the Gate. 'The sun sinks early. Orcs will not come out till it is dusk, but we must be far away ere night comes. The moon will appear for the last time tonight and it will be dark.'

'Come with me, Frodo,' said the dwarf, 'and any else who wish.' But only Sam and Legolas followed.[8] He ran down the

sward and looked at the pillar. The runes upon it were worn away. 'This stone marks the spot where Durin first looked in the Mirror-mere,' said the dwarf. 'Let us look.' They stooped over the water.

For a while they could see nothing. No shadow of themselves fell on the mere. Slowly at the edges they saw the forms of the encircling mountains revealed, mirrored in a profound blue, and amidst it a space of sky. There like jewels in the deep shone glinting stars, though the sunlight was in the sky above. No shadow of themselves was seen.

'Fair Kheledzâram,' said Gimli. 'There lies the crown of Durin till he wakes. Farewell.' He bowed and turned away, and hastened back up the sward to the road again.

It wound now quickly down running away southwest [*read* southeast][9] out from between the arms of the mountains. A little below the Mere they came upon a deep well of dark water almost black; from it a freshet fell over a stone lip and ran gurgling away in a stony channel. 'This is the spring whence the Blackroot rises,' said Gimli. 'Do not drink from it: it is icy cold.'

'Soon,' said Trotter, 'it will become a swift river, fed by many other torrents from [?all the land]. Our road leads beside it. And we must go swifter than it runs. There is our way.' Out on before them they could see the Blackroot winding away in the lower land, until it was lost in a distance that glowed like pale gold on the edge of sight.

'There lie the woods of Lothlórien,' said Trotter. 'Their eaves are yet many miles away (four leagues or more), but we must reach them before night.'

[Now they went on silently][10] for some time, but every step grew more painful for Frodo. In spite of the bright [?winter] sun the air seemed biting after the warm dark of Moria. Sam at [his] side was also failing. The cut in his arm was paining him.[11] They lagged behind together. Trotter looked back anxiously. 'So much has happened,' he said, 'that I had forgotten you, Frodo, and Sam. I am sorry: you are both hurt, and we have done nothing to ease you or to find out how serious are your hurts. What shall we do? There is nothing we can do in this empty region, with the gate and our foes so near behind.'

'How far is there still to go?' said Frodo.

They have a first meal 2½ hours after noon. Beside a beautiful little fall in the Blackroot, where another torrent coming from west flowed out and they both fell over some green

stone. Trotter dresses Sam's wound. 'The cut is looking ill – but luckily is not (as orc-cuts may be) poisoned.' Trotter bathes it in the water and lays a leaf of *athelas* against it.

Then he turns attention to Frodo. Reluctantly he strips off his jacket and tunic, and suddenly the mithril-corslet shines and flashes in the sun. Trotter strips it from him and holds it up. Description of its radiance.

'This is a pretty hobbit-skin!' said Trotter. 'If it were known they wore such a hide, all the hunters of the world would be crowding to the Shire.'

'And all the hunters of the world [would] shoot in vain,' said Gimli, staring in amazement. 'Bilbo saved your life – it was a generous and timely gift.'

There was a great dark bruise on Frodo's side and breast, the rings driven through shirt into flesh... His left side also was bruised against the wall.

'Nothing is broken,' said Trotter.

The text now becomes for a space very ragged, the story being in its most primitive form of composition, and soon passes into a rough sketch of the narrative to come.

Kindle fire warm water bathed in *athelas*. Pads fastened under the mail, which is put on again.

They hurry on again. Sun sinks behind mountains. Shadows creep out down mountain side and over the land. Dusk is about them, but there is a glow on the land to the East. ... pale yellow in dusk.[12] They have come 12–14 miles from Gate and are nearly done. Legolas describes Lothlórien.

Near forest gate another small river comes in from right (west) across the path. The bridge is no longer there. They wade across and halt on other side with water as defence. Climb trees.

Orcs ... at night. But a pleasant [?adventure] with Wood-elves next day. They are escorted to Wood-elves' houses in trees in angle of Blackroot and Anduin by light marches (no orc comes). Several (2–3) pleasant days. 40 miles. Sorrow of whole world for news of fall of Gandalf. They are now nearly 100 leagues (300 miles) south of Rivendell.[13]

An isolated page of very rough drafting takes up with Frodo's reply to Gimli's question ('"What is it?" said the dwarf', FR p. 351):

'I don't know,' said Frodo. 'I thought I heard feet, and I thought I saw light – like eyes. I have done so often since we entered Moria.'

Gimli paused and stooped to the ground. 'I can hear nothing but

the night-speech of plant and stone,' he said. 'Come, let us hurry! The others are out of sight already.'

The night wind blew chill up the valley to meet them. They passed many scattered trees, tall with pale stems. In front a great shadow loomed, and the endless rustle of leaves like poplars in the breeze.

'Lothlórien,' said Legolas. 'Lothlórien. We are come to the [?gates] of the golden wood. Alas that it is winter.'

Here the formed narrative takes up again.[14]

Under the night the trees stood tall before them, arched over the stream and road that ran suddenly beneath their spreading boughs. In the dim light of the stars their stems were grey, and their quivering leaves a hint of fallow gold.

'Lothlórien!' said Aragorn. 'Glad I am to hear the leaves! We are barely five leagues from the Gates, but we can go no further. Let us hope that there is some virtue of the Elves that will protect us this night – if Elves indeed dwell here still in the darkening world.'[15]

'It is long since any of my folk returned hither,' said Legolas; 'for we dwell now very far away; yet it is told that though some have gone for ever some abide still in Lothlórien, but they dwell deep in the wood many leagues from here.'[16]

'Then we must fend for ourselves tonight,' said Aragorn. 'Let us go on yet a little way until the wood is all about us, and then will turn aside from the road.'

A mile within the wood they came upon another stream flowing down swiftly from the tree-clad slopes that climbed back towards the Mountains. They heard it splashing over a fall away among the shadows on their right. Its dark hurrying waters ran across the path before them and joined the [Blackroot >] Morthond in a swirl of dim pools among the roots of trees.

'Here is the [Taiglin >] Linglor,' said Legolas. 'Of it the wood-elves made many songs, remembering the rainbow upon its singing falls and the golden flowers that floated in its foam. All is dark now, and the Bridge of Linglor that the elves made is broken down. But it is not deep. Let us wade across. There is healing in its [cold >] cool waters / But I will bathe my feet in it – for it is said that its waters are healing. On the further bank we can rest, and the sound of running water may bring us sleep.'[17]

They followed the elf, and one by one climbed down the steep bank and bathed their [feet][18] in the stream. For a moment

Frodo stood near the bank and let the cold water flow about his tired feet. It was cold but its very touch was clean, and as it mounted to his knees he felt that the stain of travel and the weariness of his limbs was washed away.

When all the Company had crossed they sat and rested and ate a little food, while Legolas told them tales of Lothlórien before the world was grey.

Here there is a space in the manuscript, with the words *insert song*. There are many pages of rough working for Legolas' song of Amroth and Nimrodel, leading to a version that (while certainly belonging to this time) is for much of its length very close to the form in FR (pp. 354–5). The name of the maiden is *Linglorel* (once *Inglorel*), becoming *Nimladel*, *Nimlorel* (see note 17), and in the final version found here *Nimlothel* (corrected to *Nimrodel*). Her lover was *Ammalas* (as he appears in the narrative that follows), and the form *Amroth* can be seen emerging as my father wrote the first line of the ninth verse: 'When Ammalas beheld the shore', with a rejected name *Amaldor* momentarily appearing before the line became 'When *Amroth* saw the fading shore'.

Associated with the texts of the song is a version of the words of Legolas that preceded it (FR p. 353):

> 'I will sing you a song,' he said. 'It is a fair song in the woodland tongue: but this is how it runs in the common speech, as some in Rivendell have turned it.' In a soft voice hardly to be heard amid the rustle of the leaves above he began.

This is apparently the first appearance of the term *Common Speech*. – The final version found here is virtually as that in FR through the first six verses (but with the name *Nimlothel*); then follows:

A wind awoke in Northern lands
and loud it blew and free,
and bore the ship from Elven-strands
across the shining sea.

Beyond the waves the shores were grey,
the mountains sinking low;
as salt as tears the driving spray
the wind a cry of woe.

When Amroth saw the fading shore
beyond the heaving swell
he cursed the faithless ship that bore
him far from Nimlothel.

An Elven-lord he was of old
before the birth of men

when first the boughs were hung with gold
in fair Lothlórien.

A variant of this verse is given:

An Elven-lord he was of old
when all the woods were young
and in Lothlórien with gold
the boughs of trees were hung.

The eleventh verse, and the last verse, are as in FR, but the twelfth reads here:

The foam was in his flowing hair,
a light about him shone;
afar they saw the waves him bear
as floats the northern swan.

Pencilled suggestions in the margins, no doubt of this same time, move the verses a little further towards the final form; and at the end of the song my father noted: 'If all this is included, Legolas will have to say that it represents only a few of the verses of the original (e.g. the departure from Lórien is omitted).'

An outline for the next part of the story may be given here. It is very roughly written indeed, and I have made one or two obvious corrections.

Legolas sings song of Linglorel.
Legolas describes the houses of the Galadrim.
Gimli says trees would be safer.
Aragorn decides to climb for night.

They find a group of great trees near the falls (to right). Legolas is about to climb one with many low boughs when a voice in elven-speech comes from above. He fears arrows. But after a converse in elven-speech reports that all is well. Warnings of things afoot have reached folk of Lórien from the Gladden Fields, when Elrond's messengers came East. They have set guards. (Saw many orcs passing west of Lórien towards Moria: put this in later, when Elves talk to Company.) [See pp. 227–8.]

They did not challenge or shoot because they heard Legolas' voice – and after the sound of his song. They have a great platform in 2 trees by the falls.

Legolas, Sam and Frodo go on platform with 3 elves. Others on another platform and Aragorn and Boromir in crotch of a large tree.

Orcs come to Linglorel in night. The Elves do not shoot because they are in too great number: but one slips away to warn folk in wood and prepare an ambush.

After all is quiet again Frodo sees Gollum creep into wood. He looks up and begins to climb, but just as the Elves fit arrows to bow Frodo stays them. Gollum has a sense of danger and fades away.

Next day the Elves lead them to Angle.

After the song of Legolas the narrative continues:

His voice faltered and fell silent. 'I do not remember all the words,' he said. 'It is a fair song, and that is but the beginning; for it is long and sad. It tells how sorrow came upon Lothlórien, Lórien of the flowers, when the world darkened, and the dwarves awakened evil in the Mountains.'

'But the dwarves did not make the evil,' said Gimli.

'I said not so,' said Legolas sadly. 'Yet evil came. And it was told that Linglorel[19] was lost. For such was the name of that maiden, and they gave the same name to the mountain-stream that she loved: she sang beside the waterfalls playing upon a harp. There in spring when the wind is in the new leaves the echo of her voice may still be heard, they say. But the elves of her kindred departed, and she was lost in the passes of the mountains,[20] and none know where she now may be. It is said in the song that the elven ship waited in the havens long for her, but a wind arose in the night and bore him into the West; and when Ammalas[21] her lover saw that the land was far away he leaped into the sea, but whether he came ever back to the Hither Shores and found Linglorel is not told.

'It is said that Linglorel had a house built in branches of a tree; for that was the manner of the Elves of Lórien, and may be yet; and for that reason they are called Galadrim, the Tree-people.[22] Deep in the wood the trees are very tall and strong. And our people did not delve in the ground or build fastnesses before the Shadows [*read* Shadow] came.'

'Yet even so, in these latter days, a dwelling in the trees might be thought safer than sitting on the ground,' said Gimli. He looked across the water to the road that led back to Dimrill Dale, and then up into the roof of dark boughs above them.

'Your words bring good counsel, Gimli,' said Aragorn.[23] 'We have no time to build, but tonight we will become Galadrim and seek refuge in the tree-tops, if we can. We have sat here beside the road longer already than was wise.'

The Company now turned aside from the path, and went into the shadows of the deeper woods westward, away from the Blackroot. Not far from the falls of Linglorel they found a

cluster of tall strong trees, some of which overhung the stream.[24]

'I will climb up,' said Legolas, 'for I am at home among trees, or in their branches; though these trees are of a kind strange to me. *Mallorn* is their name, those that bear the yellow blossom, but I have never climbed in one. I will see now what is their shape and growth.' He sprang lightly upward from the ground and caught a branch that grew from the tree-bole high above his head. Even as he swung a voice spoke from the shadows above them.

'*Daro!*'[25] it said, and Legolas dropped back again in surprise and fear. He shrank against the tree-bole. 'Stand still,' he whispered to the others, 'and do not speak!'

There was a sound of laughter above their heads and another clear voice spoke in the Elven-tongue. Frodo could catch little that was said, for the speech of the silvan folk east of the mountains, such as they used among themselves, was strange.[26] Legolas looked up and answered in the same tongue.

'Who are they and what do they say?' said [Pippin >] Merry.

'They're elves,' said Sam. 'Can't you hear the voices?'

'They say,' said Legolas, 'that you breathe so loud that they could shoot you in the dark. But that you need have no fear. They have been watching us for a long time. They heard my voice across the Linglorel and knew of what people I came, so that they did not oppose our crossing. And they have heard my song and heard the names of Linglorel and Ammalas. Now they bid us to climb up, three in each of these trees that stand here near together. I will go first.'

The last part of Legolas' remarks was changed in pencil to the text of FR: 'Now they bid me to climb up with Frodo, of whom they seem to have heard. The rest they ask to wait a little, and to keep watch at the foot of the tree.' The manuscript then continues for a short stretch in pencil, and clearly belongs with this alteration, since Legolas and Frodo are the first to ascend.

Out of the shadows there was let down a ladder of silver rope – very slender it looked, but proved strong enough to bear many men. Legolas climbed swiftly followed more slowly by Frodo, and behind came Sam trying not to breathe loud. The tree was very tall [*written above:* a mallorn], and its large bole was fair and round with a smooth silken bark. The branches grew out nearly straight at first and then swept upwards; but near the top

of the main stem dwindled into a crown, and there they found a wooden platform [*added:* or 'flet' as such things were called in those days: the elves called it *talan*. It was] made of grey close-grained wood – the wood of the mallorn.

Three elves were seated on it. They were clad in grey, and could not be seen against the tree-stems unless they moved. One of them uncovered a small lamp that gave out a slender silver beam and held it up, looking at their faces. Then he shut out the light and spoke words of welcome in the Elven tongue. Frodo spoke haltingly in return.

'Welcome,' they said again in ordinary speech. Then one spoke slowly. 'We speak seldom any tongue but our own,' he said; 'for we dwell now in the heart of the woods and do not willingly have dealings with any other folk. Some only of us go abroad for the gathering of tidings and our protection. I am one. Hathaldir is my name. My brothers Orfin and Rhimbron speak your tongue but little. We have heard of your coming, for the messengers of Elrond passed through Lothlórien on their way home by the Dimrill Stair.[27] We had not heard of hobbits before, nor even seen one until now. You do not look evil, and you come with Legolas, who is of our northern kindred. We are willing to do as Elrond asked and befriend you. Though it is not our custom we will lead you through our land. But you must stay here tonight. How many are you?'[28]

'Eight,' said Legolas. 'Myself, four hobbits, two men (one is Aragorn, an elf-friend, beloved of Elrond), and a dwarf. [And we are yet weighed with sorrow, for our leader is lost. Gandalf the wizard was lost in Moria.]'[29]

'A dwarf!' said Hathaldir. 'I do not like that. We do not have dealings with dwarves since the evil days. We cannot allow him to pass.'

'But he is an elf-friend and known to Elrond,' said Frodo. 'Elrond chose him to be of our company; and he has been valiant and faithful.'

The Elves spoke together in soft voices, and questioned Legolas in their own tongue. 'Well then,' said Hathaldir. 'We will do this though it is against our liking. If Aragorn and Legolas will guard him and answer for him he shall go blindfold through Lothlórien.

'But now there is need of haste. Your company must not remain longer on the ground. We have been keeping watch on the rivers, ever since we saw a great troop of orcs going north

along the skirts of the mountains towards Moria many days ago. Wolves were howling on the wood's border. If you have indeed come from Moria the peril cannot be far behind. Tomorrow you must go far. The hobbits shall climb up here and stay with us – we do not fear them! There is another [guard's nest > flet >] *talan* in the next tree. There the others must go. You Legolas must be our security. And call to us if aught is amiss. Have an eye on that dwarf!'

Legolas went down again bringing Hathaldir's message; and soon afterwards Merry and Pippin climbed up onto the high [?platform]. 'There,' said Merry, 'we have brought up your blankets for you. The rest of our baggage Aragorn has hidden in a deep drift of old leaves.'

'There was no need,' said Hathaldir. 'It is chill in the tree tops in winter, though the wind is southward; but we have drink and food to give you that will keep out night chills, and there are skins and wraps to spare with us.'

The hobbits accepted the second supper gladly, and soon, wrapped as warmly as they could, they tried to get to sleep. Weary as they were it was not easy for them, for hobbits do not like heights and do not sleep upstairs (even when they have any upstairs, which is rare). The flet was not at all to their liking. It had no kerb or rail, and only a wind screen on one side which could be moved and fixed in different places. 'I hope if I do get to sleep I shan't roll off,' said Pippin. 'Once I get to sleep, Mr Pippin,' said Sam, 'I shall go on sleeping whether I roll off or no.'

Frodo lay for a while and looked at the stars that glinted now and again through the thin roof of pale rustling leaves above him. Sam was snoring at his side before he himself, lulled by the wind in the leaves above and the sweet murmur of the falls of Nimrodel[30] below, fell into a sleep with the song of Legolas still running in his mind. Two of the elves sat with arms about their knees speaking in whispers; one had gone down to take up his post on one of the lower boughs.

Late in the night Frodo woke. The other hobbits were asleep. The elves were gone. The last thin rind of the waning moon was gleaming dimly in the leaves. The wind was still. A little way off he heard a harsh laugh and the tread of many feet. Then a ring of metal. The sounds died away southward going deeper into the wood.

The grey hood of one of the elves appeared suddenly above

the edge of the flet. He looked at the hobbits. 'What is it?' said Frodo, sitting up.

'Yrch!' said the Elf in a hissing whisper, and cast onto the flet the rope-ladder rolled up.

'Orcs,' said Frodo, 'what are they doing?' But the Elf was gone.

There was no more sound; even the leaves were silent. Frodo could not sleep. Thankful as he was that they had not been caught upon the ground, he knew that the trees offered little protection save concealment, if orcs discovered where they were, and they have a scent keen as hounds. He drew out Sting and saw it glow like a blue flame, and slowly fade.

[Before long Hathaldir came back to the flet and sat near the edge with drawn bow and arrow in the string. Frodo rose and crawled to the edge of the flet and peered over.][31] Nonetheless the sense of immediate danger did not leave him. Rather it deepened. He crawled to the edge of the flet and peered over. He was almost sure he heard the soft sound of stealthy movement in the leaves at the tree's foot far below. Not the elves, he feared, for the woodland folk were altogether noiseless in their movements (so quiet and deft as to excite the admiration even of hobbits). And there seemed to be a sniffing noise. Something was scrabbling on the bark of the tree. He lay looking down holding his breath. Something was climbing, and breathing with a soft hissing sound. Then coming up close to the stem he saw two pale eyes. They stopped and gazed upwards unwinking. Suddenly they turned away and a shadowy figure slipped round the trunk and vanished on the further side. Shortly afterwards Hathaldir climbed up.

'There was something in this tree that I have never seen before,' he said. 'Not an orch [*sic*]. But I did [not] shoot because I was not sure, and we dare not risk battle. It fled as soon as I touched the tree-stem. There was a strong company of orcs. They crossed the Nimrodel (curse them for defiling our water) and went on – though they seemed to pick up some scent, and halted for a while searching on both sides of the path where you sat last evening. We dare not risk a battle, three against a hundred, and we did not shoot, but Orfin has gone back by secret ways to our folk, and we shall not let them return out of Lórien if we can help it. There will be many elves hidden [?beside] Nimrodel ere another night is gone. But now we too must take the road as soon as it is light.'

Dawn came pale from the East. As the light grew it filtered through the golden leaves of the mallorn, and chill though the dawn-wind blew it seemed to be sunshine of an early summer morning. The pale blue sky peeped between the moving leaves. Climbing a slender branch up from the flet Frodo looked out and saw all the valley southward, eastward of the dark shadow of the mountains, lying like a sea of fallow gold tossing gently in the breeze.

[When they had eaten the sweet food of the elves, sparing their own dwindling store,] The morning was still young and cold when / the Company set out again, guided by Hathaldir. Rhimbron remained on guard on the flet. Frodo looked back and caught a gleam of white among the grey tree-stems. 'Farewell Nimrodel!' said Legolas. 'Farewell,' said Frodo. It seemed to him that he had never heard a running water so musical: ever changing its note and yet playing ever the same endless music.

They went some way along the path on the east [*read* west][32] of the Blackroot, but soon Hathaldir turned aside into the trees and halted on the bank under their shadow. 'There is one of my people over there on the other side,' he said, 'though you may not see him. But I see the gleam of his hair in the shadow.' He gave a call like the low whistle of a bird, and from the tree-stems an elf stepped out, clad in grey, but with his hood thrown back. Skilfully Hathaldir flung over the stream to him a coil of stout grey rope. He caught it and fastened it to a tree-stem near the bank.

'The river has already a strong stream here,' said Hathaldir. 'It is not wide; but it is too deep to wade. And it is very cold. We do not set foot in Morthond unless we are compelled. This is how we cross! Follow me!' Securing his end of the rope to another tree, he stepped onto it and ran lightly across, as if he was on a firm path.

'I can walk this path,' said Legolas, 'but only with care, for we have not this skill in Mirkwood; but the rest cannot. Must they swim?'

'No,' said Hathaldir. 'We will cast two more ropes. Fasten them to the tree man-high and half-high, and then with care they can cross.' The Elves drew the strong grey ropes taut across the stream. Then first Aragorn crossed slowly, holding the upper rope. When it came to the hobbits' turn Pippin went first. He was light of foot and went across with fair speed, holding

only with one hand on the lower rope. Merry trying to rival him slipped for a moment and hung over the water. Sam shuffled across slowly and cautiously behind Frodo, looking down at the dark eddying water below his feet as if it was a chasm of many fathoms deep. Gimli and Boromir came last.

When they had all crossed Rhimbron[33] untied the ends of the ropes and cast two back. Then coiling up the other he returned to Nimrodel to keep watch in his post.

'Now,' said Hathaldir, 'you have entered the Gore, Nelen[34] we call it, which lies in the angle between Blackroot and Anduin the Great River. We do not allow strangers to walk here if we can prevent it, nor to go deep into the angle where [our dwellings are >] we live. As was agreed I shall here blindfold the eyes of Gimli the dwarf; the others shall walk free for a while until we get nearer to our hidden dwellings.'

This was not at all to Gimli's liking. 'The agreement was made without my consent,' he said. 'I will not walk blindfold like a prisoner or traitor. My folk have ever resisted the Enemy, nor had dealings with orcs or any of his servants. Neither have we done harm to the Elves. I am no more likely to betray your secrets than Legolas or any others of the Company.'

'You speak truly, I do not doubt,' said Hathaldir. 'Yet such is our law. I am not master of the law, and cannot set it aside at my own judgement. I have done all that I dared in letting you set foot in [Nelen >] the Gore.'

But Gimli was obstinate. He set his feet firmly apart and laid his hand upon the haft of his axe. 'I will go forward free, or I will go back north alone, though it be to perish in the wilderness,' he said.

'You cannot depart,' said Hathaldir grimly. 'You cannot cross Morthond, and behind you north are hidden defences and guards across the open arms of the Angle between the rivers. You will be slain before you get nigh them.' The other elf fitted an arrow to his bow as Gimli drew his axe from his belt.

'A plague on dwarves and their stiff necks!' muttered Legolas.

'Come!' said Aragorn. 'If I am to lead the Company you must all do as I bid. We will all be blindfold, even Legolas. That will be best, though it will make the journey slow and dull.'

Gimli laughed suddenly. 'A merry troop of fools we shall look!' he said. 'But I will be content, if only Legolas shares my blindness.'

This was little to Legolas' liking.

'Come!' said Aragorn. 'Let us not cry "plague on your stiff neck" also. But you shall not be our hostage. We will all share the necessity alike.'

'I shall claim full amends for every fall and stubbed toe, if you do not lead us well,' said Gimli as they bound a cloth about his eyes.

'You will not have need,' said Halthadir. 'We shall lead you well, and our paths are smooth and green.'

'Alas! for the folly of these days,' said Legolas in his turn. 'Here all are enemies of the one Enemy, and yet I must walk blind, while the sun is shining in the woodland under leaves of gold!'

'Folly it may seem,' said Hathaldir. 'And in truth in nothing is the evil of the Enemy seen more clear than in the estrangements that divide us all. Yet so little faith and trust is left that we dare not endanger our dwellings. We live now in ever-growing peril, and our hands are more often set to bowstring than to harp. The rivers have long defended us, [but] they are no longer a sure guard. For the Shadow has crept northward all about our land. Some speak [?already] of departing, yet for that maybe it is already too late. The mountains to the west have an evil name for us. To the east the land is waste. It is rumoured that we cannot with safety go south of the mountains through Rohan, and that even if we did pass into the western lands the shores of the sea are no longer secure. It is still said that there are havens in the north beyond the land of the half-high,[35] but where that lies we do not know.'

'You might at least guess now,' said Pippin. 'The havens lie west of my land, the Shire.'

The elf looked at him with interest. 'Happy folk are hobbits,' he said, 'to dwell near Havens of Escape. Tell me about them, and what the sea is like, of which we sing, but scarce remember.'

'I do not know,' said Pippin. 'I have never seen it. I have never been out of my land before. And had I known what the world was like outside, I do not think I should have had the heart to leave it.'

'Yes, the word is full of peril, and dark places,' said Hathaldir. 'But still there is much that is very fair, and though love is now mingled with grief it is not the less deep. And some there are among us who sing that the Shadow will draw back again and peace shall be. Yet I do not believe that the world will be again as of old, or the light of the sun as it was before. For the

Elves I fear it will mean only a peace in which they may pass to the Sea unhindered and leave the middle-earth for ever. Alas! for Lothlórien. It would be a life far from the *mellyrn*. But if there are mallorn-trees beyond the Sea none have reported it.'

As they spoke thus the Company went slowly along paths in the wood. Hathaldir led them and the other elf walked behind. Even as Hathaldir had said they found the ground beneath their feet smooth and soft, and they walked slowly but without fear of hurt or fall.[36] Before long they met many grey-clad elves going northward to the outposts.[37] They brought news, some of which Legolas interpreted. The orcs had been waylaid, and many destroyed; the remainder had fled westward towards the mountains, and were being pursued as far as the sources of Nimrodel. The elves were hastening now to guard the north borders against any new attack.

I interrupt the text here to introduce a page of fearsomely rough notes which show my father thinking about the further course of the story from approximately this point. They begin with references to *Cerin Amroth* and to 'a green snowdrop', with the Elvish words *nifred* and *nifredil*. It may well be that this is where the name *nifredil* arose (both *nifred* 'pallor' and *nifredil* 'snowdrop' are given under the stem NIK-W in the *Etymologies*, V.378). Then follows:

> News. H[athaldir] says he has spoken much of Elves. What of Men? The message spoke of 9. Gandalf. Consternation at news.

With this cf. p. 227 and note 29. My father was thinking of postponing the revelation of Gandalf's fall to the halt at Cerin Amroth, before he finally decided that it should not be spoken of until they came to Caras Galadon.

There is then a sentence, placed within brackets, which is unhappily – since it is probably the first reference my father ever made to Galadriel – only in part decipherable: '[?Lord] of Galadrim [?and ?a] Lady and ..... [?went] to White Council.' The remaining notes are as follows:

> They climb Cerin Amroth. Frodo says [*read* sees] Anduin far away a glimpse of Dol Dúgol.[38] H[athaldir] says it is reoccupied and a cloud lowers there.
>
> They journey to Nelennas.[39]
>
> Lord and Lady clad in white, with *white hair*. Piercing eyes like a lance in starlight.[40] Lord says he knows their quest but won't speak of it.
>
> They speak [of] Gandalf. Song of Elves.
>
> Of the [?harbour] to Legolas and aid to Gimli. Beornings.[41]
>
> Leave Lothlórien. Parting of ways at Stonehills.

I return now to the draft text.

'Also,' said Hathaldir, 'they bring me a message from the Lord of the Galadrim. You may all walk free. He has received messages from Elrond, who begs for help and friendship to you each and all.' He removed the bandage from Gimli's eyes. 'Your pardon,' he said bowing. 'But now look on us nonetheless with friendly eyes. Look and be glad, for you are the first dwarf to behold the sun upon the trees of Nelen-Lórien since Durin's day!'

As the bandage dropped from his eyes Frodo looked up. They were standing in an open space. To the left stood a great mound covered with a sward of grass, as green as if it were springtime. Upon it as a double crown grew two circles of trees: the outer had a bark of snowy white and were leafless but beautiful in their slender and shapely nakedness; the inner were mallorn-trees of great height, still arrayed in gold. High amid their branches was a white flet. At their feet and all about the sides of the hill the grass was studded with small golden starshaped flowers, and among them nodding on slender stalks flowers of a green so pale[42] that it gleamed white against the rich green of the grass. Over all the sky was blue and the sun of afternoon slanted among the tree-stems.

'You are come to Coron [*written above:* Kerin] Amroth.[43] For this is the mound of Amroth, and here in happier days his house was built. Here bloom the winter flowers in the unfading grass: the yellow *elanor*[44] and the pale *nifredil*. Here we will rest a while, and come to the houses of the Galadrim[45] at dusk.'

They cast themselves on the soft grass at the mound's foot;[46] but after a while Hathaldir took Frodo and they went to the hill top, and climbed up to the high flet. Frodo looked out East and saw not far away the gleam of the Great River which was the border of Lórien. Beyond the land seemed flat and empty, until in the distance it rose again dark and drear. The sun that lay upon all the lands between seemed not to lie upon it.

'There lies the fastness of Southern Mirkwood,' said Hathaldir. 'For the most part it is a forest of dark pine and close fir – but amidst it stands the black hill Dol-Dúgol, where for long the Necromancer had his [?fort]. We fear it is now rehabited and threatens, for his power is now sevenfold. A dark cloud lies often above it. [?? Fear of the time is] war upon our eastern borders.'

The draft text continues ('The sun had sunk behind the mountains') without a break, whereas in FR a new chapter, 'The Mirror of Galadriel', now begins; and I also pause in the narrative here (it was not long before my father introduced this division). It will be noticed that towards the end of the earliest 'Lothlórien' material given thus far the narrative is less advanced towards the final form, and notably absent is Frodo's sight southward from Cerin Amroth of 'a hill of many mighty trees, or a city of green towers', Caras Galad(h)on (FR p. 366).

The next text of 'Lothlórien' is a good clear manuscript, thus titled, with a fair amount of alteration in the process of composition; but it cannot be entirely separated off from the initial drafting as a distinct 'phase' in the writing of the story, for it seems certain that at the beginning of the chapter the draft and the fair copy overlapped (see note 14). There seems nothing to show, however, that the rest of the new text actually overlapped with the drafts, and it is in any case most convenient to treat it separately.

The text of 'Lothlórien' in FR was now for the most part very closely approached, the chief differences of substance being the absence of all passages referring to or implying Aragorn's previous knowledge of Lothlórien,[47] and the meeting of the Company with the Elves coming up from the south shortly after their rest at noon on the first day of their journey from Nimrodel (see note 37). The original story was still followed in various minor points, as in its being Pippin and not Merry who speaks to Haldir (replacing Hathaldir of the draft text, see note 28) of the Havens (p. 232); Sam does not refer to his uncle Andy (FR p. 361), and it was still in his arm that he was wounded in Moria (p. 201).[48]

By an addition to the text that looks as if it belongs with the first writing of the manuscript the *Dimrill Stair* acquires its later meaning (see p. 164): ' "Yonder is the Dimrill Stair," said Aragorn pointing to the falls. "Down the deep-cloven way that climbs beside the torrent we should have come, if fortune had been kinder" ' (FR p. 347).

The Silverlode was at first named Blackroot or Morthond, but in the course of the writing of the manuscript the name became Silverlode (the Elvish name *Kelebrant* being added afterwards). The Company 'kept to the old path on the west side of the Blackroot' (FR p. 360; cf. note 32); but ten lines later Haldir says, in the text as written, 'Silverlode is already a strong stream here'. It was presumably at this juncture that my father decided on the transposition of the names of the northern and southern rivers (see note 36), a transposition that had already taken place in the initial drafting of 'Farewell to Lórien' (p. 279).

One of Haldir's brothers is still called *Orfin* as in the original draft; at one occurrence only, he is changed to *Orofin*, and in the drafting of

'Farewell to Lórien' he is *Orofin* (p. 279; FR *Orophin*). The other, in the draft text *Rhimbron*, is now *Romrin*, becoming *Rhomrin* in the course of the writing of the manuscript.

The Elvish name for 'the Gore' is here *Narthas*, where the original text (p. 231) has *Nelen* (replacing *Nelennas*): 'you have entered Narthas or the Gore as you would say, for it is the land that lies like a spear-head[49] between the arms of Silverlode and Anduin the Great', and 'I have done much in letting you set foot in Narthas'. But Haldir here says also: 'The others may walk free for a while until we come nearer to *the Angle, Nelen, where we dwell*', where the original draft has 'until we get nearer to our hidden dwellings'; and when they come to Kerin Amroth (as it is now written) he tells Gimli that he is 'the first dwarf to behold the trees of *Nelen-Lórien* since Durin's Day!' – where the original draft has *Nelen-Lórien* likewise (p. 234).

This seems to show that in the first stage my father intended *Nelen*, *Nelen-Lórien*, 'the Gore', 'the Gore of Lórien', as the name for Lórien between the rivers, without devising an Elvish name for the southward region where the Elves of Lórien actually dwelt; while in the stage represented here *Narthas* 'the Gore' is the larger region, and *Nelen* 'the Angle' the smaller, the point of the triangle or tip of the spearhead. If this is so, when Hathaldir/Haldir first spoke of 'the trees of Nelen-Lórien' the name bore a different sense from what he intended by the same words in the present manuscript.[50]

In the first sentence of this chapter in this manuscript *Trotter* is so named, as he was throughout the preceding one (p. 204); this was changed at once to *Aragorn*, and he is *Aragorn* as far as the Company's coming to the eaves of the Golden Wood, where he becomes *Elfstone* in the text as written.[51] Subsequently *Aragorn*, so far as it went, was changed to *Ingold*, and *Elfstone* was likewise changed to *Ingold*; then *Ingold* was changed back to *Elfstone*.[52]

There remain to notice some remarkable pencilled notes that occur on pages of this manuscript. The first is written on the back of the page (which is marked as being an insertion into the text) that bears the Song of Nimrodel, and reads:

> Could not Balrog be Saruman? Make battle on Bridge be between Gandalf and Saruman? Then Gandalf ... clad in white.

The illegible words might conceivably be *comes out*. This was struck through; it had no further significance or repercussion, but remains as an extraordinary glimpse into reflections that lie beneath the written evidence of the history of *The Lord of the Rings* (and the thought, equally baldly expressed, would reappear: p. 422).

A second rejected note was written at some later time against Haldir's words 'they bring me a message from the Lord and Lady of the Galadrim':

> Lord? If Galadriel is alone and is wife of Elrond.

A third note, again struck through, is written on the back of the inserted page that carries the preliminary draft of Frodo's perceptions of Lothlórien (note 46):

Elf-rings
.... [*illegible word or name*]
The power of the Elf-rings must *fade* if One Ring is *destroyed.*

NOTES

1 On 'the black springs of Morthond' see p. 166.

2 At this point, then, my father conceived of the Elves of Lothlórien as dwelling underground, like the Elves of Mirkwood. Cf. Legolas' later words on p. 225: 'It is said that Linglorel had a house built in branches of a tree; for that was the manner of the Elves of Lórien, and may be yet... And our people [i.e. the Elves of Mirkwood] did not delve in the ground or build fastnesses before the Shadow came.'

3 This passage was first used at the end of the preceding chapter, 'Moria (ii)': see p. 204 and note 20.

4 On the emergence of the three peaks (the Mountains of Moria) in the new version of 'The Ring Goes South' see p. 166.

5 The word *west* is perfectly clear, but can only be a slip; FR has of course *east*. The same slip occurs in the first emergence of this passage at the end of 'Moria (ii)' (p. 203), and it occurs again in the fair copy of 'Lothlórien'.

6 This passage, from 'Northward the Dale ran up into a glen of shadows', was first used at the end of 'Moria (ii)': see pp. 203–4.

7 For the first appearance of *Kheledzâram* see p. 166.

8 In FR Legolas did not go down with Gimli to look in Mirrormere.

9 The word *southwest* is clear (and occurs again in the fair copy of 'Lothlórien'), yet is obviously a slip; cf. note 5.

10 The words *Now they went on silently* were struck out emphatically, but they are obviously necessary.

11 It is not told in the original text of 'Moria (ii)' (p. 194) that Sam received any wound in the Chamber of Mazarbul; this story first appears in the fair copy of that chapter (see p. 201).

12 The text becomes illegible for a couple of lines, but elements of a description of the wood can be made out.

13 This passage possibly suggests that at this stage the Company did not encounter Elves on the first night. The 'several (2–3) pleasant days' are clearly the days of their journey through Lothlórien, not the days they spent at 'Angle' (cf. the plot outline, p. 207: 'Dec. 15, 16, 17 they journey to Angle between Anduin and Blackroot. There they remain long').

That they were now nearly 300 miles south of Rivendell accords precisely with the First Map: see Map II on p. 305, where the distance from Rivendell to the confluence of Silverlode and Anduin on the original scale (squares of 2 cm. side, 2 cm. = 100 miles) is just under six centimetres measured in a straight line. Aragorn's reckoning, when they came to the eaves of the Golden Wood, that they had come 'barely five leagues from the Gates', does not accord with the First Map, but that map can scarcely be used as a check on such small distances.

14 It seems that my father began making a fair copy of the chapter when the draft narrative had gone no further than the point where Frodo and Sam began to lag behind as the Company went down from Dimrill Dale. When he came to this point he stopped writing out the new manuscript in ink, but continued on in pencil on the same paper, as far as Legolas' words 'Alas that it is winter!' He then overwrote this further passage in ink and erased the pencil; and then went back to further drafting on rough paper – which is why there is this gap in the initial narrative, and why it takes up again at the words 'Under the night the trees stood tall before them...' Overlapping of draft and fair copy, often writing the preliminary draft in pencil on the fair copy manuscript and then erasing it or overwriting it in ink, becomes a very frequent mode of composition in later chapters.

15 In FR these last words are given to Gimli, for Aragorn in the later story had of course good reason to know that Elves did indeed still dwell in Lothlórien.

16 In a preliminary draft of Legolas' words here they take this form:

> So it is said amongst us in Mirkwood, though it is long since we came so far. But if so they dwell deep in the woods down in Angle, *Bennas* between Blackroot and Anduin.

The name *Bennas* occurs only here in narrative, but it is found in the *Etymologies*, V.352, under the root BEN 'corner, angle': Noldorin *bennas* 'angle'. The second element is Noldorin *nass* 'point; angle' (V.374–5).

17 The passage beginning 'A mile within the wood...' (of which the first germ is found on p. 221) appears also in a superseded draft:

> A mile within the wood they came upon another stream flowing down swiftly from the tree-clad slopes that climbed back towards the Mountains to join the Blackroot (on their left), and over its dark hurrying waters there was now no bridge.
>
> 'Here is the Taiglin,' said Legolas. 'Let us wade over if we can. Then we shall have water behind us and on the east, and only on the west towards the Mountains shall we have much to fear.'

In the consecutive narrative at this point the name *Taiglin* (from

The Silmarillion: tributary of Sirion in Beleriand) underwent many changes, but it is clear that all these forms belong to the same time – i.e., the final name had been achieved before the first complete draft of the chapter was done (see note 30). *Taiglin* was at once replaced by *Linglor*, and then *Linglor* was changed to *Linglorel*, the form as first written shortly afterwards in the manuscript and as found in the rough workings for Legolas' song. This was succeeded by *Nimladel*, *Nimlorel*, and finally *Nimrodel*.

18 The word actually written was *waters*.

19 *Linglorel* was altered in pencil, first to *Nimlorel* and then to *Nimrodel* (see note 17). I do not further notice the changes in this case, but give the name in the form as it was first written.

20 *the mountains* changed to *the Black Mountains* (*the White Mountains* FR).

21 *Ammalas* changed in pencil to *Amroth*; see p. 223.

22 In a separate draft for this passage the reading here is: 'Hence the folk of Lórien were called *Galadrim*, the Tree-folk (*Ornelië*)'.

23 *Aragorn* was here changed later to *Elfstone*, and at some of the subsequent occurrences; see p. 236 and note 52.

24 Written in the margin here: 'Name of the tree is *mallorn*'. This is where my father first wrote the name; and it enters the narrative immediately below.

25 On *daro!* 'stop, halt' see the *Etymologies*, V.353, stem DAR.

26 A detached (earlier) draft describes the event differently:

> Turning aside from the road they went into the shadows of the deeper wood westward of the river, and there not far from the falls of Linglorel they found a group of tall strong trees. Their lowest boughs were above the reach of Boromir's arms; but they had rope with them. Cast[ing] an end about a bough of the greatest of the trees Legolas ... up and climbed into the darkness.
>
> He was not long aloft. 'The tree-branches form a great crown near the top,' he said, 'and there is a hollow where even Boromir might find some rest. But in the next tree I think I saw a sheltered platform. Maybe elves still come here.'
>
> At that moment a clear voice above them spoke in the elven-tongue, but Legolas drew himself hastily [?close] to the tree-bole. 'Stand still', he said, 'and do not speak or move.' Then he called back into the shadows above, [?answering] in his [?own] tongue.
>
> Frodo did not understand the words, for [the speech of the wood-elves east of the mountains differed much from] the language was the old tongue of the woods and not that of the western elves which was in those days used as a common speech among many folk.

There is a marginal direction to alter the story to a form in which the voice from the tree speaks as Legolas jumps up. The passage which I have bracketed is not marked in any way in the manuscript, but is an example of my father's common practice when writing at speed of abandoning a sentence and rephrasing it without striking out the first version.

For a previous reference to the 'Common Speech' see p. 223; now it is further said that the Common Speech was the tongue of 'the western elves'.

27 The words *by the Dimrill Stair* still refer to the pass (later the Redhorn Pass or Redhorn Gate): see p. 164. FR has here (p. 357) *up the Dimrill Stair*.

28 In a rejected draft for this passage, in content otherwise very much the same as that given, none of the three Elves of Lórien speak any language but their own, and Legolas has to translate. The three Elves are here called *Rhimbron*, [*Rhimlath* >] *Rhimdir*, and *Haldir*: when this last name replaced *Hathaldir* it was thus a reversion. – *Hathaldir the Young* was the name of one of Barahir's companions on Dorthonion (V.282).

29 This passage was enclosed in square brackets in the manuscript, and subsequently struck out. It is explicit later (p. 247) that the loss of Gandalf was not spoken of at this time.

30 The name *Nimrodel* now appears in the text as written; see notes 17 and 19.

31 These two sentences are not marked off in any way in the manuscript, but were nonetheless obviously rejected at once. In the narrative that follows Hathaldir did not climb up to the flet until Gollum had disappeared (as in FR, p. 360); Frodo's peering over the edge is repeated; and 'Nonetheless the sense of immediate danger did not leave him' must follow on the fading of Sting at the end of the previous paragraph.

32 'They went back to the old path on the west side of the Silverlode', FR p. 360 (second edition: 'to the path that still went on along the west side of the Silverlode'). Since the Nimrodel flowed in from the right, and they had to cross it, the road or path from Moria was on the right (or west) of the Blackroot (Silverlode), which was on their left, as is expressly stated (see note 17); the word *east* here, though perfectly clear, is therefore a mere slip (cf. notes 5 and 9).

33 Earlier (p. 230) Rhimbron has remained at the flet, and the Company is guided by Hathaldir alone; now Rhimbron, like Rúmil in FR (pp. 360–1), comes with Hathaldir as far as the crossing of the river and then returns. It is seen from the manuscript that my father perceived here the need for Rhimbron's presence at the crossing.

34 A rejected form here was *Nelennas*; cf. *Bennas* 'Angle' in note 16, and stem NEL 'three' in the *Etymologies*, V.376. On *Nelennas* see note 39.

35 Contrast Hathaldir's words earlier (p. 227): 'We had not heard of hobbits before' (i.e. before they received tidings of the Company from the messengers of Elrond). At the corresponding point in FR (p. 357) Haldir said: 'We had not heard of – hobbits, of halflings, for many a long year, and did not know that any yet dwelt in Middle-earth.'

36 An isolated passage, dashed down on a sheet of the same paper as that used throughout and clearly belonging to the same time, shows the first beginning of the passage in FR p. 364, 'As soon as he set foot upon the far bank of Silverlode a strange feeling had come upon him . . .':

> As soon as they pass Silverlode into Angle Frodo has a curious sense of walking in an older world – unshadowed. Even though 'wolves howled on the wood's border' they had not entered. Evil had been heard of, Orcs had even set foot in the woods, but it had not yet stained or dimmed the air. There was some secret power of cleanness and beauty in Lórien. It was winter, but nothing was dead, only in a phase of beauty. He saw never a broken twig or disease or fungus. The fallen leaves faded to silver and there was no smell of decay.

A part of this appears a little later in FR, p. 365, where however the 'undecaying' nature of Lothlórien is expressed in terms less immediate: 'In winter here no heart could mourn for summer or for spring. No blemish or sickness or deformity could be seen in anything that grew upon the earth.' Cf. note 46.

Silverlode has here replaced *Blackroot*: see p. 235. On the same page as this passage are the following notes:

> Transpose names *Blackroot* and *Silverlode*. *Silverlode* dwarfish *Kibilnâla* elvish *Celeb(rind)rath*.

The meaning of this is seen from Boromir's words in the new version of 'Moria (i)', p. 177: 'Or we could go on far into the South and come at length round the Black Mountains, and crossing the rivers Isen and *Silverlode* enter Ond from the regions nigh the sea.' The two river-names being transposed, *Silverlode* in this speech of Boromir's in the earlier chapter was changed at this time to *Blackroot* (p. 187 note 1); and in the new version of 'The Ring Goes South' the Dwarvish name of the northern river was changed from *Buzundush* to *Kibil-nâla* (p. 167 and note 22).

In the original text of 'The Ring Goes South' occurs by later substitution the form *Celebrin* (VI.434 note 15). For *rath* in *Celeb(rind)rath* (and also *rant* in the later name *Celebrant*) see the *Etymologies*, V.383, stem RAT.

37 The following passage was rewritten several times. In the original form this dialogue occurs:

> 'What is this?' said one of the Elves, looking in wonder at Legolas. 'By his raiment of green and brown [?he is an] Elf of the North. Since when have we taken our kindred prisoner, Hathaldir?'
>
> 'I am not a prisoner,' said Legolas. 'I am only showing the dwarf how to walk straight without the help of eyes.'

Later, a passage was inserted making the blindfold march longer:

> All that day they marched on by gentle stages. Frodo could hear the wind rustling in the leaves and the river away to the right murmuring at times. He had felt the sun on his face when they passed across a glade, as he guessed. After a rest and food at noon, they went on again, turning it seemed away from the river. After a little while they heard voices about them. A great company of elves had come up silently, and were now speaking to Hathaldir.

In the corresponding passage in FR (p. 364) they had passed a day and a night blindfold, and it was at noon on the second day that they met the Elves coming from the south and were released from their blindfolds.

38 *Dol Dúgol* occurs in 'Moria (i)', p. 178.

39 'They journey to Nelennas': at an earlier occurrence of *Nelennas* (see p. 231 and note 34) it was changed to *Nelen*, 'the Gore'. Since they are now deep in 'the Gore', *Nelennas* perhaps refers here to the city (Caras Galadon); see p. 261 note 1.

40 It is notable that the Lady of Lothlórien at first had white hair; this was still the case in the first actual narratives of the sojourn of the Company in Caras Galadon (pp. 246, 256).

41 For explanation of these references see p. 248 and note 15.

42 The actual text here is extremely confused, and I set it out as a characteristic, if extreme, example of my father's way of writing when actually composing new narrative (nothing is struck out except as indicated):

> ... the grass was studded with small golden [*struck out:* flowers] starshaped and slanting [?leaved] and starshaped and among them on slender nodding on slender stalks flowers of a green so pale...

43 In the *Etymologies*, V.365, stem KOR, both *coron* and *cerin* appear as Noldorin words, the latter being the equivalent of Quenya *korin* 'circular enclosure' (cf. the *korin* of elms in which Meril-i-Turinqi dwelt in *The Book of Lost Tales*, where the word is defined (I.16) as 'a great circular hedge, be it of stone or of thorn or even of trees, that encloses a green sward'). But the meaning of *cerin* in *Cerin Amroth* is certainly 'mound', and indeed long afterwards my father translated the word as 'circular

mound or artificial hill'. – *Amroth* has now replaced *Ammalas* in the text as written; see note 21.

44 This is the first appearance of the name *elanor*, which replaced at the time of writing another name, *yri* (see note 45).

45 After 'the houses of the Galadrim' my father wrote *Bair am Yru* (see note 44), but struck it out.

46 A page inserted into the manuscript (but obviously closely associated in time with the surrounding text) gives the primitive drafting for the passage in FR p. 365 beginning 'The others cast themselves down upon the fragrant grass' and continuing to Sam's words about the 'elvishness' of Lórien. The latter part of this is of an extreme roughness, but I give the rider in full as a further exemplification of the actual nature of much preliminary drafting:

> The others cast themselves down on the fragrant grass, but Frodo stood for a while lost in wonder. Again it seemed to him as if he had stepped through a high window that looked on a vanished world. It was a winter that did not mourn for summer or for spring, but reigned in its own season beautiful and eternal and perennial. He saw no sign of blemish or disease, sickness or deformity, in anything that grew upon the earth, nor did he see any such thing in [Nelen >] the heart of Lórien.
>
> Sam too stood by him with a puzzled expression rubbing his eyes as if he was not sure that he was awake. 'It's sunlight and bright day,' he muttered. 'I thought Elves were all for moon and stars, but this is more Elvish than anything in any tale.'
>
> and caught his breath for the sight was fair in itself but it had a quality different to any that he felt before [*variant:* had beside a beauty that the common speech could not name]. The shapes of all that he saw All that he saw was shapely but its shapes seemed at once clearcut and as if it had been but newly conceived and drawn with swift skill swift and [?living] and ancient as if [it] had endured for ever. The hues were green, gold and blue white but fresh as if he but that moment perceived them and gave them names.

47 Thus the entire passage (FR pp. 352–3) in which Boromir demurs at entering the Golden Wood and is rebuked by Aragorn is absent, as also is the conclusion of the chapter in FR, from 'At the hill's foot Frodo found Aragorn, standing still and silent...' (pp. 366–7).

This is a convenient point to mention a small textual corruption in the published form of this chapter (FR p. 359). In the fair copy manuscript Pippin says: 'I hope, if I do get to sleep in this bird-loft, that I shan't roll off'; but in the typescript that followed, not made by my father, *bird-loft* became *bed-loft*, and so remains.

48 A few other details worth recording are collected here:

wood-elves (p. 222) remains, where FR (p. 353) has *Silvan Elves*.

the common speech (p. 223) remains, where FR (p. 353) has *the Westron Speech*.

in ordinary speech (p. 227) becomes *in ordinary language*, changed later to *in the Common Tongue* (*in the Common Language* FR p. 357).

Hathaldir's words about hobbits (p. 227) are scarcely changed: *We had not heard of – hobbits before, and never until now have we seen one*; see note 35.

and that even if we did pass into the western lands the shores of the sea are no longer secure in the original draft (p. 232) becomes *and the mouths of the Great River are held by the Enemy* (*are watched by the Enemy*, FR p. 363).

there are still havens to be found, far north and west, beyond the land of the half-high (cf. p. 232 and note 35), where FR (p. 363) has *havens of the High Elves ... beyond the land of the Halflings*.

near Havens of Escape (p. 232) was at first retained, but changed at once to *near the shores of the Sea*, as in FR.

49 'Narthas or the Gore as you would say, *for* it is the land that lies like a spear-head': the word *for* (preserved in FR p. 361) is used because *gore*, Old English *gāra* (in modern use meaning a wedge-shaped piece of cloth, but in Old English an angular point of land) was related to *gār* 'spear', the connection lying in the shape of the spear-head.

50 Later, *Narthas* and *Nelen-Lórien* were changed to *the Naith (of Lórien)*, though in 'the Angle, Nelen, where we dwell' *Nelen* was left to stand. – *Dol Dúgol*, retained from the original draft, with the reference to the Necromancer (p. 234), was later changed to *Dol Dûghul*.

51 This is to be connnected with the interruption in the writing of the fair copy manuscript (note 14).

52 In fact, there is a good deal of variation, since when making these name-changes my father worked through the manuscripts rapidly and missed occurrences. Thus in this manuscript, in addition to *Aragorn* > *Ingold* > *Elfstone* and *Elfstone* > *Ingold* > *Elfstone*, there is found also: *Aragorn* > *Elfstone*; *Elfstone* > *Ingold*; *Elfstone* > *Ingold* > *Aragorn*; *Elfstone* > *Aragorn*. This apparently patternless confusion can be explained: see pp. 277–8. The name *Ingold* for Aragorn has been met before, in later emendation to the text of Gandalf's letter at Bree (p. 80 and note 17).

XIII
GALADRIEL

I have divided the draft manuscript of the 'Lothlórien' story into two parts, although at this stage my father continued without break to the end of FR Book II Chapter 7, 'The Mirror of Galadriel'; and I return now to the point where I left it on p. 234. From the coming of the Company to Cerin Amroth the draft is in thick, soft pencil, and very difficult.

The sun had sunk behind the mountains, and the shadows were falling in the wood, when they went on again. Now their paths went deep into dense wood where already a grey dusk had gathered. It was nearly night under the trees when they came out suddenly under a pale evening sky pierced by a few early stars. There was a wide treeless space running in a vast circle before them. Beyond that was a deep grass-clad dike, and a high green wall beyond. [?Rising] ground inside the circle was [??thick with] mallorn-trees, the tallest they had yet seen in that land. The highest must have been nearly 200 feet high, and of great girth. They had no branches lower than 3 fathoms above their roots. In the upper branches amid the leaves hundreds of lights gold and white and pale green were shining.

'Welcome to Caras Galadon,' he said, 'the city of Nelennas which [?mayhap] in your tongue is called Angle.[1] But we must go round; the gates do not look north.'

There was a white paved road running round the circuit of the walls. On the south side there was a bridge over the dike leading to great gates set on the side where the ends of the wall overlapped. They passed within into deep shadow where the two green walls ended [?in a] lane. They saw no folk on guard,[2] but there were many soft voices overhead, and in the distance he [*sc.* Frodo] heard a voice falling clear out of the air above them.

The original pencilled text continues for some distance from this point, but my father partly overwrote it in ink, and (more largely) erased it wholly before the new text was set down in its place. Here and there bits of the original text were retained, and where it was not erased but overwritten a name or a phrase can be made out. There was

no long interval between the two forms of the text; my father may in any case have rewritten this section mainly because it was so nearly illegible.

They passed along many paths and climbed many flights of steps, until they saw before them amid a wide lawn a fountain. It sprang high in the air and fell in a wide basin of silver, from which a white stream ran away down the hill. Hard by stood a great tree. At its foot stood three tall elves. They were clad in grey mail and from their shoulders hung long white cloaks. 'Here dwell Keleborn and Galadriel,[3] the Lord and Lady of the Galadrim,' said Halldir.[4] 'It is their wish that you should go up and speak to them.'

One of the elf-wardens then blew a clear note on a small horn, and a ladder was let down. 'I will go first,' said Haldir. 'Let the chief hobbit go next, and with him Legolas. The others may follow as they wish. It is a long climb, but you may rest upon the way.'

As he passed upwards Frodo saw many smaller flets to this side or that, some with rooms built on them; but about a hundred feet above the ground they came to a flet that was very wide – like the deck of a great ship. On it was built a house so large that almost it might have been a hall of men upon the earth. He entered behind Haldir, and saw that he was in a chamber of oval shape, through the midst of which passed the bole of the great tree. It was filled with a soft golden light. Many elves were seated there. The roof was a pale gold, the walls of green and silver. On two seats at the further end sat side by side the Lord and Lady of Lothlórien. They looked tall even as they sat, and their hair was white and long.[5] They said no word and moved not, but their eyes were shining.

Haldir led Frodo and Legolas before them, and the Lord bade them welcome, but the Lady Galadriel said no word, and looked long into their faces.

'Sit now, Frodo of the Shire,' said Keleborn. 'We will await the others.' Each of the companions he greeted courteously by name as they entered. 'Welcome, Ingold son of Ingrim![6] he said. 'Your name is known to me, though never in all your wanderings have you sought my house. Welcome, Gimli son of Glóin! It is almost out of mind since we saw one of Durin's folk in Calas Galadon. But today our long law is broken: let it be a sign that though the world is dark, better things shall come, and friendship shall grow again between our peoples.'

When all the Company had come in and were seated before him, the Lord looked at them again. 'Is this all?' he asked. 'Your number should be nine. For so the secret messages from Rivendell have said. There is one absent whom I miss, and had hoped much to see. Tell me, where is Gandalf the grey?'[7]

'Alas!' said Ingold. 'Gandalf the grey went down into the shadows. He remains in Moria, for he fell there from the Bridge.'

At these words all the Elves cried aloud with grief and amazement. 'This is indeed evil tidings,' said Keleborn, 'the most evil that have here been spoken for years uncounted. Why has nothing been said to us of this before?' he asked, turning to Haldir.

'We did not speak of it to [your people >] Haldir,' said Frodo. 'We were weary and danger was too nigh, and afterwards we were overcome with wonder.[8] Almost we forgot our grief and dismay as we walked on the fair paths of Lothlórien. But it is true that Gandalf has perished. He was our guide, and led us through Moria; and when our escape seemed beyond hope he saved us, and fell.'

'Tell me the full talè,' said Keleborn.

Ingold then recounted all that had happened upon the pass of Caradras and afterwards; and he spoke of Balin and his book and the fight in the Chamber of Mazarbul, and the fire, and the narrow bridge, and the coming of the Balrog.

'A Balrog!' said Keleborn.[9] 'Not since the Elder Days have I heard that a Balrog was loose upon the world. Some we have thought are perhaps hidden in Mordor [?or] near the Mountain of Fire, but naught has been seen of them since the Great Battle and the fall of Thangorodrim.[10] I doubt much if this Balrog has lain hid in the Misty Mountains – and I fear rather that he was sent by Sauron from Orodruin, the Mountain of Fire.'

'None know,' said Galadriel, 'what may lie hid at the roots of the ancient hills. The dwarves had re-entered Moria and were searching again in dark places, and they may have stirred some evil.'[11]

There was a silence. At length Keleborn spoke again. 'I did not know,' he said, 'that your plight was so evil. I will do what I can to aid you, each according to his need, but especially that one of the little folk that bears the burden.'

'Your quest is known to me,' said Galadriel, [?seeing] Frodo's look, 'though we will not here speak more openly of it. I was at

the White Council, and of all those there gathered none did I love more than Gandalf the Grey. Often have we met since and spoken of many things and purposes. The lord and lady of Lothlórien are accounted wise beyond the measure of the Elves of Middle-earth, and of all who have not passed beyond the Seas. For we have dwelt here since the Mountains were reared and the Sun was young.[12]

'Now we will give you counsel.[13] For not in doing or contriving nor in choosing this course or that is my skill, but in knowledge of what was and is, and in part of what shall be. And I say that your case is not yet without hope; yet but a little this way or that and it will fail miserably. But there is yet hope, if all the Company remains true.' She looked at each in turn, but none blenched. Only Sam blushed and hung his head before the Lady's glance left him. 'I felt as if I hadn't got nothing on,' he explained afterwards. 'I didn't like it – she seemed to be looking inside me, and asking me whether I would like to fly back to the Shire.' Each of them had had a similar experience, and had felt as if he had been presented with a choice between death and something which he desired greatly, peace, ease [*written above:* freedom], wealth, or lordship.

'I suppose it was just a test,' said Boromir. 'It felt almost like a temptation. Of course I put it away at once. The men of Minas Tirith at any rate are true.'[14] What he had been offered he did not say.

'Now is the time for any to depart or turn back who feels that he has done enough, and aided the Quest as much as he has the will or power to do. Legolas may abide here with my folk, as long as he desires, or he may return home if chance allows. Even Gimli the dwarf may stay here, though I think he would not long be content in my city in what will seem to him a life of idleness. If he wishes to go to his home, we will help him as much as we can; as far as the Gladden Fields and beyond. He might hope thus to find the country of the Beornings, where Grimbeorn Beorn's son the Old is a lord of many sturdy men. As yet no wolf or orc make headway in that land.'

'That I know well,' said Gimli. 'Were it not for the Beornings the passage from Dale to Rivendell would not be possible.[15] My father and I had the aid of Grimbeorn on our way west in the autumn.'

'You, Frodo,' said Keleborn, 'I cannot aid or counsel. But if you go on, do not despair – but beware even of your right hand

and of your left. There is also a danger that pursues you, which I do not see clearly or understand. You others of the little folk I could wish had never come so far. For now unless you will dwell here in exile while outside in the world many years run by, I see not what you can do save go forward. It would be vain to attempt to return home or to Rivendell alone.'

The whole of this passage, from 'Now is the time for any to depart', is marked off with directions 'To come in later' and 'At beginning of next chapter before they go'. At the top of the page, and no doubt written in after this decision was made, is the following:

'Now we have spoken long, and yet you have toiled and suffered much, and have travelled far,' said Keleborn. 'Even if your quest did not concern all free lands deeply, you should here have refuge for a while. In this city you may abide until you are healed and rested. We will not yet think of your further road.'

The character of the manuscript now changes again. Very roughly written in ink, it is evidently the continuation of the original pencilled text that was over-written or erased in the preceding section (see p. 245). At the top of the first page of this part are notes on the names of the Lord and Lady of Lothlórien. In pencilled text visible in the last section their original names *Tar* and *Finduilas* had changed to *Aran* and *Rhien* (note 3), and then to *Galdaran* and *Galdri(e)n* (note 9) – *Galadriel* on p. 246 belongs with the later, overwritten text. Their names now change further:

Galathir = *Galað-hîr* tree-lord
Galadhrien = *Galað-rhien* tree-lady

The name of the Lord does not appear in the concluding part of this chapter, but the name of the Lady is *Galadrien* (at the first occurrence only, *Galdrien*), with pencilled correction in some cases to *Galadriel*.

This is a convenient place to set out my father's original scheme for the next part of the story. This was written at furious speed but has fortunately proved almost entirely decipherable.

They dwell 15 days in Caras Galadon.

Elves sing for Gandalf. They watch weaving and making of the silver rope of the fibre under mallorn bark. The [?trimming] of arrows.

King Galdaran's mirror shown to Frodo. Mirror is of silver filled with fountain water in sun.

Sees Shire far away. Trees being felled and a tall building being made where the old mill was.[16] Gaffer Gamgee turned out. Open trouble, almost war, between Marish and Buckland on one hand – and the West. Cosimo Sackville-Baggins very rich, buying up land. (All / Some of this is future.)

King Galdaran says the mirror shows past, present, and future, and skill needed to decide which.

Sees a grey figure like Gandalf [?going along] in twilight but it seems to be clad in white. Perhaps it is *Saruman*.

Sees a mountain spouting flame. Sees Gollum?

They depart. At departure Elves give them travel food. They describe the Stone hills, and bid them beware of Fangorn Forest upon the *Ogodrûth* or Entwash. He is an Ent or great giant.

It is seen that it was while my father was writing the 'Lothlórien' story *ab initio* that the Lady of Lothlórien emerged (p. 233); and it is also seen that the figure of Galadriel (Rhien, Galadrien) as a great power in Middle-earth was deepened and extended as he wrote. In this sketch of his ideas, written down after the story had reached Caras Galadon, as the name *Galdaran* shows (note 9), the Mirror belongs to the Lord (here called King).

It is also interesting to observe that the images of the violated Shire seen in the Mirror were to be Frodo's. The Stone hills mentioned at the end of this outline are mentioned also in the plot-notes given on p. 233, where the 'parting of the ways' is to take place 'at Stonehills'. The Entwash (though not the Elvish name *Ogodrûth*) has been named in the elaborate outline that followed the conclusion of the story of Moria (p. 210): 'Merry and Pippin come up Entwash into Fangorn and have adventure with Treebeard.' Here the name *Entwash* clearly implies that Treebeard is an *Ent*, and he is specifically so called (for the first time) in the outline just given; but since Treebeard was still only waiting in the wings as a potential ingredient in the narrative this may be only a slight shift in the development of the word. The Troll-lands north of Rivendell were the *Entish Lands* and *Entish Dales* (Old English *ent* 'giant'); and only when Treebeard and the other 'Ents' had been fully realised would the Troll-lands be renamed *Ettendales* and *Ettenmoors* (see p. 65 note 32).

I return now to the narrative, which as I have said recommences here in its primary form (and thus we meet again here the names *Gal(a)drien*, *Hathaldir*, and *Elfstone*, which had been superseded in the rewritten section of the draft text).

'Yet let not your hearts be troubled,' said the Lady Galdrien. 'Here you shall rest tonight and other nights to follow.'

That night they slept upon the ground, for they were safe within the walls of Caras Galadon. The Elves spread them a pavilion among the trees not far from the fountain, and there they slept until the light of day was broad.

All the while they remained in Lothlórien the sun shone and the weather was clear and cool like early spring rather than mid-winter. They did little but rest and walk among the trees,

and eat and drink the good things that the Elves set before them. They had little speech with any for few spoke any but the woodland tongue. Hathaldir had departed to the defences of the North. Legolas was away all day among the Elves. [*Marginal addition of the same time as the text:* Only Frodo and Elfstone went much among the Elves. They watched them at work weaving the ropes of silver fibre of mallorn bark, the [?trimming] of arrows, their broidery and carpentry.]

They spoke much of Gandalf, and ever as they themselves were healed of hurt and weariness the grief of their loss seemed more bitter. Even the Elves of Lothlórien seemed to feel the shadow of that fall. Often they heard near them the elves singing, and knew that they made songs and laments for the grey wanderer [*written above:* pilgrim], as they called him, *Mithrandir*.[17] But if Legolas was by he would not interpret, saying that it passed his skill. Very sweet and sad the voices sounded, and having words spoke of sorrow to their hearts though their minds understood them not.[18]

On the evening of the third day Frodo was walking in the cool twilight apart from the others. Suddenly he saw coming towards him the Lady Galadrien gleaming in white among the stems. She spoke no word but beckoned to him. Turning back she led him to the south side of the city, and passing through a gate in a green wall they came into an enclosure like a garden. No trees grew there and it was open to the sky, which was now pricked with many stars.[19] Down a flight of white steps they went into a green hollow through which ran a silver stream, flowing down from the fountain on the hill. There stood upon a pedestal carved like a tree a shallow bowl of silver and beside it a ewer. With water from the stream she filled the bowl, and breathed on it, and when the water was again still she spoke.

'Here is the mirror of Galadrien,' she said. 'Look therein!'

Sudden awe and fear came over Frodo. The air was still and the hollow dark, and the Elf-lady beside him tall and pale. 'What shall I look for, and what shall I see?' he asked.

'None can say,' she answered, 'who does not know all that is in your heart, in your memory, and your hope. For this mirror shows both the past and the present, and that which is called the future, in so far as it can be seen by any in Middle-earth.[20] But those are wise who can discern [to] which of [these] three [the] things that they see belong.'

Frodo at last stooped over the bowl. The water looked hard

and black. Stars were shining in it. Then they went out. The dark veil was partly withdrawn, and a grey light shone; mountains were in the distance, a long road wound back out of sight. Far away a figure came slowly: very small at first, but slowly it drew near. Suddenly Frodo saw that it was like the figure of Gandalf. So clear was the vision that he almost called aloud the wizard's name. Then he saw that the figure was all clothed in white, not in grey, and had a white staff. It turned aside and went away round a turn of the road with head so bowed that he could see no face. Doubt came over him: was it a sight of Gandalf on one of his many journeys long ago, or was it Saruman?[21]

Many other visions passed over the water one after another. A city with high stone walls and seven towers, a great river flowing through a city of ruins, and then breathtaking and strange and yet known at once: a stony shore, and a dark sea into which a bloodred sun was sinking among black clouds, a ship darkly outlined was near the sun. He heard the faint sigh of waves upon the shore. Then ... nearly dark and he saw a small figure running – he knew that it was himself, and behind him [?stooped to the ground] came another black figure with long arms moving swiftly like a hunting dog.[22] He turned away in fear and would look no more.

'Judge not these visions,' said Galadrien, 'until they are shown true or false. But think not that by singing under the trees [?and alone], nor even by slender arrows from [?many] bows, do we defend Lothlórien from our encircling foes. I say to you, Frodo, that even as I speak I perceive the Dark Lord and know part of his mind – and ever he is groping to see my thought: but the door is closed.' She spread out her hands and held them as in denial towards the East.[23] A ray of the Evening Star shone clear in the sky, so clear that the pillar beneath the basin cast a faint shadow. Its ray lit the ring upon her finger and flashed. Frodo gazed at it stricken suddenly with awe. 'Yes,' she said, divining his thought. 'It is not permitted to speak of it, and Elrond [?said nought]. But verily it is in Lothlórien that one remains: the Ring of Earth, and I am its keeper.[24] He suspects but he knows not. See you not now why your coming is to us as the coming of Doom? For if you fail then we are laid bare to the Enemy. But if you succeed, then our power is minished and slowly Lothlórien will fade.'[25]

Frodo bent his head. 'And what do you wish?' he said at last.

'That what should[26] be shall be,' she said. 'And that you should do with all your might that which is your task. For the fate of Lothlórien you are not answerable; but only for the doing of your own task.'

Here the narrative ends (and on the last page of the manuscript my father wrote 'Chapter ends with Lady's words to Frodo' – meaning of course the whole story from Dimrill Dale), but the text continues at once with Sam's vision in the Mirror (see note 19), which my father did not at this stage integrate with what he had just written. What Sam saw in the water appeared already in the preliminary outline (p. 249), though there given to Frodo.

(Put in *Sam's* vision of the Shire before the ring scene.)

Sam saw trees being felled in the Shire. 'There's that Ted Sandyman,' he said, 'a-cutting down trees that shouldn't be. Bless me, if he's not felling them on the avenue by the road to Bywater where they serve only for shade. I wish I could get at him. I'd fell *him*.' Then Sam saw a great red building with a tall [?smoke] chimney going up where the old mill had been. 'There's some devilry at work in the Shire,' he said. 'Elrond knew what was what, when he said Mr Brandybuck and Pippin should go back.'[27]

Suddenly Sam gave a cry and sprang away. 'I can't stay here,' he said wildly. 'I must go home. They're digging up Bagshot Row and there is the poor old gaffer going down the hill with his bits of stuff in a barrow. I must go home!'

'You cannot go home,' said the Lady. 'Your path lies before you. You should not have looked if you would let anything that you see turn you from your task. But I will say this for your hope: remember that the mirror shows many things, and not all that you see have yet been. Some of the things it shows come never to pass, unless one forsakes the path [?and] turns aside to prevent them.'

Sam sat on the grass and muttered. 'I wish I had never come here.'

'Will you now look, Frodo? said the Lady, 'or have you heard enough?'

'I will look,' said Frodo... Fear was mingled with desire.

Here the manuscript ends, with the following notes scribbled at the foot of the page: 'Chapter ends with Lady's words to Frodo. Next Chapter begins with departure from Lothlórien on New Year's Day, midwinter day, just before the sun turned to the New Year and just after New Moon.'[28]

On a separate slip, certainly of this time, is written (in ink over pencil) the passage in which Frodo sees the searching Eye in the Mirror (see note 23). This is almost word for word the same as in FR (pp. 379–80), except for these sentences: 'the black slit of its pupil opened on a pit of malice and despair. It was not still, but was roving in perpetual search. Frodo knew with certainty and horror...'

On the back of this slip is scribbled the original draft of the speeches of Galadriel and Frodo beside the Mirror in FR pp. 381–2:

> Frodo offers Galadriel the Ring. She *laughs*. Says he is revenged for her temptation. Confesses that the thought had occurred to her. But she will only retain the unsullied Ring. Too much evil lay in the Ruling Ring. It is not permitted to use anything that Sauron has made.
>
> Frodo asks why he cannot *see* the other rings. Have you tried? You can see a little already. You have penetrated my thought deeper than many of my own folk. Also you penetrated the disguise of the Ringwraiths. And did you not see the ring on my hand? Can you see my ring? she said, turning to Sam. No, Lady, he said. I have been wondering much at all your talk.

In this passage there emerges at last and clearly the fundamental conception that the Three Rings of the Elves were not made by Sauron: 'She will only retain the unsullied Ring. Too much evil lay in the Ruling Ring. It is not permitted to use anything that Sauron has made.'

With this compare the passage from the original version of 'The Council of Elrond' (VI.404) cited on p. 155: 'The Three Rings remain still. They have conferred great power on the Elves, but they have never yet availed them in their strife with Sauron. For they came from Sauron himself, and can give no skill or knowledge that he did not already possess at their making.' In the fifth version of that chapter (p. 156) Elrond's words become: 'The Three Rings remain. But of them I am not permitted to speak. Certainly they cannot be used by us. From them the Elvenkings have derived much power, but they have not been used for war, either good or evil.' I have argued in the same place that though no longer explicit the conception must still have been that the Three Rings came from Sauron, both because Boromir asserts this without being contradicted, and because it seems to be implied by 'Certainly they cannot be used by us.' If this is so, there is at least an apparent ambiguity: 'they cannot be used by us', but 'from them the Elvenkings have derived much power' – though in 'they cannot be used by us' Elrond is evidently speaking expressly of their use for war. But any ambiguity there might be is now swept away by Galadriel's assertion: *nothing* that was Sauron's can be made use of: from which it must follow that the Three Rings of the Elves were of other origin.

A page found wholly isolated from other manuscripts of *The Lord*

of the Rings carries more developed drafting for Galadriel's refusal of the Ring. This page had been used already for other writing, on the subject of the origin of the Rings of Power; but I have no doubt at all that the two elements (the one in places written over and intermingled with the other) belong to the same time. This other text consists of several distinct openings to a speech, each in turn abandoned – a speech that I think was intended for Elrond at the Council in Rivendell, since the following very faint pencilling can be made out on this page: '"Nay," said Elrond, "that is not wholly true. The rings were made by the Elves of the West, and taken from them by the Enemy..."'

The first of these openings reads thus, printed exactly as it stands:

> In Ancient Days, the Rings of Power were made long ago in the lands beyond the Sea. It is said that they were first contrived by Fëanor, the greatest of all the makers among the Elves. His purpose was not evil, yet in it was the Great Enemy But they were stolen by the Great Enemy and brought to Middle-earth. Three Rings he made, the Rings of Earth, Sea and Sky.

This was at once replaced by:

> In Ancient Days, before he turned wholly to evil, Sauron the Great, who is now the Dark Lord that some call the Necromancer, made and contrived many things of wonder. He made Rings of Power

Then follows, written out anew, the opening sentence of the first version; and then:

> In Ancient Days the Great Enemy came to the lands beyond the Sea; but his evil purpose was for a time hidden, even from the rulers of the world, and the Elves learned many things of him, for his knowledge was very great and his thoughts strange and wonderful.
>
> In those days the Rings of Power were made. It is said that they were fashioned first by Fëanor the greatest of all the makers among the Elves of the West, whose skill surpassed that of all folk that are or have been. The skill was his but the thought was the Enemy's. Three Rings he made, the Rings of Earth, Sea and Sky. But secretly the Enemy made One Ring, the Ruling Ring, which controlled all the others. And when the Enemy fled across the Sea and came to Middle-earth, he stole the Rings and brought them away. And others he made like to them, and yet false.
>
> And many others he made of lesser powers, and the elves wore them and became powerful and proud

Breaking off here, my father began once more: 'In Ancient Days the Great Enemy and Sauron his servant came'; and at this point, I think, he definitively abandoned the conception.

These extraordinary vestiges show him revolving the mode by

which he should withdraw the Three Rings of the Elves from inherent evil and derivation from the Enemy. For a fleeting moment their making was set in the remote ages of Valinor and attributed to Fëanor, though inspired by Morgoth: cf. the *Quenta Silmarillion*, V.228, §49, 'Most fair of all was Morgoth to the Elves, and he aided them in many works, if they would let him.... the Gnomes took delight in the many things of hidden knowledge that he could reveal to them.' And Morgoth stole the Rings of Fëanor, as he stole the Silmarils.

The fair copy manuscript of 'Chapter XVIII, Lothlórien' (p. 235) continued on without break, following the primary draft, into the account of the arrival of the Company in Caras Galadon and the story of Galadriel's Mirror. My father's decision to divide the long chapter into two seems however to have been made at the point where Galadriel silently searched the minds of each member of the Company in turn;[29] and it had certainly been taken by an early stage in the writing of 'Farewell to Lórien' (p. 272). The new chapter (XIX) was given the title 'Galadriel', which I have adopted here; and it advances in a single stride almost to the text of FR for most of its length, though there remain some notable passages in which the final form in 'The Mirror of Galadriel' was not achieved.

When the Company came to the city of the Galadrim, Haldir said: 'Welcome to Caras Galadon, the city of Angle' (cf. p. 245 and note 1), which was changed in the act of writing to 'Welcome to Caras Galadon, the city of Lothlórien'; continuing 'where dwell the Lord Arafain and Galadriel the Lady of the Elves'. Since the present text is self-evidently the successor of the text (written over the original draft, see p. 245 and note 3) in which *Keleborn* and *Galadriel* first appear, *Arafain* must have been a fleeting substitution for *Keleborn*, which was immediately restored, and is the name as written throughout the remainder of the manuscript. The journey round the circuit of the walls of Caras Galadon seems to have been differently conceived from its representation in the earliest version, to judge by the little sketch inserted into the manuscript (see note 2), from which it appears that the Company, coming from the north, would pass down the western side – as they did in FR (p. 368). Here, on the other hand, the city climbed 'like a green cloud upon their right', and the gates of the city 'faced eastward'.

Both Galadriel and Keleborn still have long white hair (pp. 233, 246), though this was early changed to make Galadriel's hair golden. As in the rewritten portion of the first draft, 'Aragorn' is greeted by Keleborn as 'Ingold, son of Ingrim' (p. 246 and note 6), and Ingold is his name in the text as written at subsequent occurrences in the chapter.[30] Keleborn speaks the same words to him as in the first draft: 'Your name was known to me before, though never yet in all your wanderings have you sought my house'; and no greeting to Legolas is

yet reported, as it is in FR, where he is named 'son of Thranduil'.

In Keleborn's opening words to the Company he says here: 'Your number should be nine: so said the messages. Can we have mistaken them? They were faint and hard to read, for Elrond is far away, and darkness gathers between us: even in this year it has grown deeper.' Galadriel then intervenes: 'Nay, there was no mistake...' (see note 7). But most notably, it is here that the history and significance of the Balrog of Moria first appears (see pp. 185–6, and p. 247 and note 11). The passage in the present version is as follows:

Ingold then recounted all that had happened upon the pass of Caradras, and in the days that followed; and he spoke of Balin and his book, and the fight in the Chamber of Mazarbul, and the fire, and the narrow bridge, and the coming of the Balrog. 'At least, that name did Legolas give to it,' said Ingold. 'I do not know what it was, save that it was both dark and fiery, and was terrible and strong.'

'It was a Balrog,' said Legolas: 'of all elf-banes the most deadly, save the One who sits in the Dark Tower.'

'A Balrog!' said Keleborn. 'Your news becomes ever more grievous. Not since the Days of Flight have I heard that one of those fell things was loose. That one slept beneath Caradras we feared. The Dwarves have never told me the tale of those days, yet we believe that it was a Balrog that they aroused long ago when they probed too deep beneath the mountains.'

'Indeed I saw upon the bridge that which haunts our darkest dreams, I saw Durin's Bane,' said Gimli in a low voice, and terror was in his eyes.

'Alas!' said Keleborn. 'Had I known that the Dwarves had stirred up this evil in Moria again, I would have forbidden you to pass the northern borders, you and all that went with you....'

The remainder of this passage is virtually as in FR (p. 371). – Galadriel's words following 'But we will not here speak more openly of it' were at first retained exactly from the first draft (pp. 247–8), but were changed immediately to read thus:

'... The Lord and Lady of the Galadrim are accounted wise beyond the measure even of the Elves of Middle-earth, and of all who have not passed beyond the Seas. For we have dwelt here since the mountains were reared and the sun was young. Was it not I that summoned the White Council? And if my designs had not gone amiss, it would have been governed by Gandalf the

Grey; and then mayhap things would have gone otherwise. But even now there is hope left....'[31]

The account of the thoughts and sensations of the members of the Company as Galadriel looked at each in turn at first followed closely the text of the original draft (p. 248), but this was changed, probably at once, to the form in FR (pp. 372–3), with however these differences: whereas in the first version 'none blenched' beneath her gaze, and in FR 'none save Legolas and Aragorn could long endure her glance', here 'none of them could long endure her glance' (changed subsequently to 'none of the hobbits'); and their feelings are thus described: 'It seemed that each of them had had a similar experience, and had felt that he was offered a choice between a shadow full of fear and something he greatly desired, that lay clear before his mind lit with an alluring light.' Boromir's remarks on the subject and Ingold's reply here run:

'To me it seemed exceedingly strange,' said Boromir, 'and I do not feel too sure of this elvish lady. Maybe it was only a test, and she sought to read our thoughts for her amusement; but almost I should have said that she was tempting us, and offering us what she had the power to give. It need not be said that I refused to listen, since the gift was not offered to all alike. The Men of Minas-Tirith at least are true to their friends.' But what he thought the Lady had offered him Boromir did not tell.

'Well, whatever you may think of the Lady,' said Ingold, 'she was a friend of Gandalf, it seems. Though this was one of his secrets that he did not tell me. Tonight I shall sleep without fear for the first time since we left Rivendell...'

Nothing is said yet of Frodo's experience.[32]

A curious detail arises here, in that in the conversation of the Company in their pavilion near the fountain, before they began to discuss the encounter with Galadriel, 'they talked of their night before in the tree-tops'. At this stage in the evolution of the narrative they met the northbound Elves at Cerin Amroth, and had their blindfolds removed, on the same day as they left Nimrodel (see pp. 233, 235); the whole journey to Caras Galadon thus took a single day, and so it was indeed 'the night before' that they passed in the tree-tops. In FR (p. 364) the journey was extended, and they passed the first night after leaving Nimrodel in the woods: 'Then they rested and slept without fear upon the ground; for their guides would not permit them to unbind their eyes, and they could not climb.' In the light of this, the passage in FR (pp. 372–3) required revision that it did not receive: the words 'the travellers talked of their night before in the tree-tops' survive from the present version, as does Aragorn's 'But tonight I shall sleep without fear for the first time since I left Rivendell.'

The remainder of the chapter in this manuscript is very close indeed to FR. The Company 'remained many days in Lothlórien, so far as they could tell or remember', where FR has 'some days'; but the meeting with Galadriel was now on the last evening spent there, not 'on the evening of the third day' (p. 251).[33] At first my father followed the original draft of Galadriel's reply to Frodo's questions 'What shall we look for, and what shall we see?' (*ibid.*), then changed it to read: 'None can tell, who do not know fully the mind of the beholder. The Mirror will show things that were, and things that are, and things that yet may be. But which it is that he sees, even the wisest cannot always tell. Do you wish to look?' This was further developed to the text of FR in an inserted rider that I think belongs to the time of the writing of the manuscript.

On the back of this inserted page is the following, struck out:

In Ancient Days Sauron the Great contrived many things of wonder. For a time his purpose was not turned wholly to evil, or was concealed; and he went much among the Elves of Middle-earth and knew their secret counsels; and they learned many things of him, for his knowledge was very great. In those days the Rings of Power were made by elven-smiths, but Sauron was present at their making: his was the thought and theirs the skill; for these Rings (he said) would give the Elves of Middle-earth power and wisdom like that of the Elves of the West. [*Struck out as soon as written:* They made many rings, but One and Three and Seven and Nine were rings of special potency. The One only did Sauron take as his reward]; but he cheated them. [*Struck out as soon as written:* For knowing the secret of the rings he] The Elves made many rings at his bidding: Three, Seven and Nine of special potency, and others of lesser virtue. But knowing the secret of their making, secretly Sauron made One Ring, the Ruling Ring that governed all the rest, and their power was bound up with it, to last only so long as it too should last. And as soon as he had made it and set it upon his hand, the Elves found that he was master of all that they had wrought; and they were filled with fear and anger. Then Sauron sought to seize all the Rings, for he saw that the Elves would not lightly submit to him. But the Elves fled and hid themselves, and the Three Rings they saved; and these Sauron could not find because the Elves concealed them, and never again used them while Sauron's mastery endured. War and enmity has never ceased between Sauron and the Elves since those days.

It seems to have been on this page (in view of the rejected words 'The One only did Sauron take as his reward') that the final

conception of the relation of the Rings of Power to Sauron emerged, at least in this essential: the Rings of Power were made by the Elven-smiths under the guidance of Sauron, but he made the One in secret to govern all the rest. (This idea had indeed been approached in one of the passages given on p. 255, but there it had been Fëanor himself who made the Rings of Power, and Morgoth who made the Ruling Ring in secret.) It is not said in the passage just cited that Sauron had no part in the making of the Three, which were unsullied by his hand, although this is very clearly implied in the original draft of Galadriel's refusal of Frodo's offer of the One (p. 254).

As with the earlier passages on this subject, I do not think it was written for inclusion in 'Galadriel', but its association with this chapter is again not accidental: for here the questions of the relation of the Three to the One, and the nature of the Three, were at last – through the showing forth of the Ring of Earth on Galadriel's finger – brought to the point where they must necessarily be answered. Ultimately, this passage foreshadows that in *Of the Rings of Power* in *The Silmarillion* (pp. 287–8); my father at this stage probably intended it for 'The Council of Elrond' (cf. p. 255).

Sam's visions in the Mirror, Galadriel's response to his outburst, and Frodo's visions of the wizard and of Bilbo proceed almost word for word as in FR; but the further scenes that appeared to Frodo follow the draft given in note 21, without the mysterious 'vast figure of a man' leaning on a tree. Gollum is no longer seen (p. 252); and the vision of the Eye reaches the form in FR, as does all that follows, with these differences. The white stone in Galadriel's ring is not mentioned; and as in the original text she still calls it 'the Ring of Earth.' In response to Frodo's offer to her of the One Ring Galadriel laughed 'with a sudden clear laugh of pure merriment': 'pure' was struck out early, and afterwards 'of merriment'. And as my father first wrote her words she said: 'And now at last it comes, the final probe.'[34]

A further text of this chapter may be mentioned here. This is an unfinished typescript of the fair copy manuscript just described. Some early emendations made to the manuscript were taken up, but there is no variation whatsoever in the phrasing (always a clear sign that a text was not made by my father). I have noticed (p. 256 and note 30) that in the manuscript Aragorn was 'Ingold' throughout, changed at one occurrence to 'Aragorn' and at another to 'Elfstone', but at the other three left unchanged. The typescript has 'Ingold' at all occurrences except at that where in the manuscript the name was changed to 'Elfstone'. From this I judge that it belongs to the period we have reached, i.e. before 'Aragorn' was restored (see pp. 277–8). But this typescript stops at the bottom of its sixth page, at the words *The air was cool and soft, as if it were* (FR p. 374); and the text is continued to the end of the chapter in a very carefully written manuscript that I

made when I was seventeen, beginning at the head of 'page 7' with the words that follow: *early spring, yet they felt about them the deep and thoughtful quiet of winter* (it is thus obvious that my manuscript simply took up from the point where the typescript stopped). The text in my copy shows no further development from my father's manuscript: thus Galadriel's ring remains the Ring of Earth, and she still laughs 'with a sudden clear laugh of merriment'. At the end of it I wrote the date: 4 August 1942.

Whatever the date of the typewritten part of this composite text, my continuation of it in manuscript was certainly made well after my father had completed work on the 'Lothlórien' story. He himself declared, many years later, that he reached Lothlórien and the Great River late in 1941, and it will be seen subsequently that he was writing 'The Breaking of the Fellowship' and 'The Departure of Boromir' in the middle of the winter of that year (p. 379).

NOTES

1 My father first wrote here 'Welcome to Nelennas', immediately striking out *Nelennas* and substituting *Caras Galadon* (which here first appears), and continuing 'the city of Nelennas which [?mayhap] in your tongue is called Angle'. This seems to show that *Nelennas* was very briefly the name of the city, as I have suggested (p. 242 note 39) is the case in the plot-notes given on p. 233: 'They journey to Nelennas'. But the alteration changes the meaning of *Nelennas* back to the 'Gore' or 'Angle', replacing *Nelen* (see p. 231 and note 34).

2 A little rough diagram set in the body of the text shows a circular figure shaped like one ring of a coil, with a very substantial overlap between the ends of the line: the external opening (the entrance into Caras Galadon through the walls) is on the left side of the figure, and the internal opening (the opening from the 'lane' into the city) is at the bottom (i.e. the walls overlap for a full quarter of the circuit or more).

There is no mention of how they passed through the gates (contrast FR p. 368). My father actually wrote here: 'They saw ... the elves on guard at the gate they saw no folk on guard', etc., striking no words out.

3 This is the first appearance of Celeborn and Galadriel. Just visible in the underlying pencilled text are other names: *Tar* and *Finduilas* struck out, and then *Aran* and *Rhien*. *Rhien* is perhaps to be equated with *Rían* (the name of Tuor's mother); cf. the *Etymologies*, V.383, stem RIG: '*Rhian* name of a woman, = "crown-gift", *rīg-anna*'. See notes 5 and 9.

4 The first occurrence of *Halldir* (*sic*) for *Hathaldir*; a few lines further on the name is spelt *Haldir* and so remains. *Haldir* was the original name for this Elf; see p. 240 note 28. In the underlying text the superseded name *Hathaldir* can be seen.

5 This passage (from 'The roof was a pale gold') was retained (i.e. not overwritten in ink or erased) from the original pencilled text, and here reappear (after the words 'side by side') the names *Aran* and *Rhien* (see note 3), subsequently struck out. On the white hair of Galadriel cf. the plot-notes given on p. 233.

6 *Ingold son of Ingrim* for Aragorn replaced *Elfstone* (see p. 239 note 23), since that name can be made out in the pencilled text beneath. At his last appearance in this manuscript (p. 232) he was still *Aragorn*; and it is thus here that *Elfstone* first appears *ab initio* (as also does *Ingold* in the secondary text).

7 Written in here is the following, apparently of the same time but disconnected from the narrative:

> 'Nay, there was no mistake,' said Galadriel, speaking for the first time. Her voice was deeper but clear and musical / clear and musical but deep, and seemed to carry knowledge that was too deep for mirth.

This depends on something said by Keleborn, of which however there is no trace in this manuscript; see p. 257.

8 See p. 227 and note 29.

9 In the underlying pencilled text *Aran* was changed here, as my father wrote, to *Galdaran*; and at the head of the page are written the names *Galdaran* and *Galdrin* (perhaps miswritten for *Galdrien*, see pp. 249–50).

10 On the survival of Balrogs from the Elder Days see V.336, §16.

11 Parts of the underlying pencilled text of this passage can be made out, and the purport of Keleborn's words was very much the same – except that it was Keleborn (Galdaran) himself, not Galadriel, who raised a doubt:

> 'A Balrog,' said [Aran >] Galdaran. 'Of them I have not heard since the Elder Days ... had hidden in Mordor but of them naught has been seen since the fall of Thangorodrim. I doubt much if this Balrog has ... and I fear rather ... Orodruin in Mordor by Sauron. Yet who knows what lies hid at the roots of the ancient hills ...'

At the bottom of the page is a variant, added to the revised text but belonging to the same time, in which it is Galadriel who expresses the opinion previously given to Keleborn, and more decisively:

> 'No Balrog has lain hid in the Misty Mountains since the fall of Thangorodrim,' said Galadriel. 'If truly one was there, as is told, then it is come from Orodruin, the Mountain of Fire, and was sent by the Lord whom we do not name in this land.'

In FR, of course, the view expressed here by Keleborn or Galadriel that the Balrog, sent from Mordor, had entered Moria not long since ('*it is come* from Orodruin') has no place. In LR the Balrog of Moria came from Thangorodrim at the end of the First Age, and 'had lain hidden at the foundations of the earth since the coming of the Host of the West' (see pp. 142–3).

I have suggested (p. 186) that although a Balrog appears in the original sketch of the Moria story, the connection with the flight of the Dwarves from Moria had not yet been made. The present passage is the chief evidence for this. It is true that in the version in the main text Galadriel is less positive than Keleborn, but in the subsequent variant she utters an emphatic denial that a Balrog could have 'lain hid in the Misty Mountains since the fall of Thangorodrim' (not that anybody present had suggested that it did). This must have been my father's view, since it would be strange indeed to introduce the Lord and Lady of Lothlórien, 'accounted wise beyond the measure of the Elves of Middle-earth', in the immediate expression of an erroneous opinion.

12 The phrases 'The lord and lady of Lothlórien are accounted wise *beyond the measure of the Elves of Middle-earth*' and 'For we have dwelt here *since the Mountains were reared and the Sun was young*' strongly suggest that my father conceived them to be Elves of Valinor, exiled Noldor who did not return at the end of the First Age. The Noldor came to Middle-earth in exile at the time of the making of the Sun and the Hiding of Valinor, when the Mountains of the West were 'raised to sheer and dreadful height' (V.242). Afterwards, when my father returned to *The Silmarillion* again, Galadriel entered the legends of the First Age as the daughter of Finarfin and sister of Finrod Felagund.

13 The first word in this sentence could be 'Nor' or 'Now', but must in fact be 'Now' since it is followed by 'we will', not 'will we'. But in FR Galadriel says 'I will not give you counsel', and her explanation of why she will not is almost word for word the same as what she says here. I think therefore that my father must have changed his mind concerning Galadriel's speech as he wrote, but failed to alter her opening words.

14 A scribble at the foot of the page advances Boromir's words towards the form in FR (p. 373): 'she was tempting me, and offered something that she had the power to give. It need not be said that I refused to listen.' Cf. p. 258.

15 A first suggestion of Keleborn's offer to Legolas and Gimli appears in the plot-notes on p. 233. The last two sentences of Keleborn's speech and the first part of Gimli's reply were subsequently used in Glóin's conversation with Frodo at Rivendell (FR p. 241): 'Frodo learned that Grimbeorn the Old, son of Beorn, was now the lord of many sturdy men, and to their land

between the Mountains and Mirkwood neither orc nor wolf dared to go. "Indeed," said Glóin, "if it were not for the Beornings the passage from Dale to Rivendell would long ago have become impossible." '

16 The biscuit factory of Sandyman & Son (p. 216).

17 This is the first appearance of the name *Mithrandir* (see V.345).

18 Scribbled notes at this point direct that Merry and Pippin should speak of Gandalf, and that they should speak of the 'temptation of Galadriel'; there is also a reference to the 'Song of Frodo and Sam' (FR pp. 374–5). A page of rough workings for the song is found with these papers, though without any narrative framework. The first and third verses were almost in final form; the second at this time read:

When morning on the Hill was bright
across the stream he rode again;
beside our hearth he sat that night
and merry was the firelight then.

The second verse in FR, *From Wilderland to Western shore*, was added in, apparently to stand between verses 2 and 3. The fourth verse ran:

A shining sword in deadly hand,
a hooded pilgrim on the road,
a mountain-fire above the land,
a back that bent beneath the load.

The fifth verse had virtually reached the form in FR; the sixth read:

Of Moria, of Khazaddûm
all folk shall ever sadly tell
and now shall name it Gandalf's tomb
where hope into the Shadow fell.

19 The meeting with Galadriel was altered at the time of writing to the form given. At first my father did not say that it was the *evening* of the third day, and when they came to 'a green hollow over which there was no roof or trees' the sun, which was in the south, looked down into it; cf. the outline given on p. 249; 'Mirror is of silver filled with fountain water in sun'.

A note in the margin directs that Sam should also be present, and another reads: 'Answer to remarks of Sam and Frodo that these elves seem simple woodland folk, skilled, but not specially magical' (cf. FR pp. 376–7).

20 At this point the following was entered disconnectedly in the manuscript: 'Frodo (Sam?) had been heard to say to Elfstone: Elves seem quiet, and ordinary. Have they magic as is reported?' Cf. note 19.

21 Against this passage my father wrote in the margin: *Bilbo*. In an isolated draft developing this passage the vision of Bilbo in his room at Rivendell (FR p. 379) is found almost as in the final

form. In this draft the vision of 'a fortress with high stone walls and seven towers' is followed by 'a vast figure of a man who seemed to be standing leaning on a tree that was only up to his breast'; this was placed in brackets. This is followed by 'a great river flowing through a populous city' (as in FR), and then by the vision of the Sea and the dark ship, as in the primary text.

22 Cf. the outline of the visions in the Mirror given on p. 250: 'Sees Gollum?'

23 It is notable that in this earliest form of the story the visions that Frodo sees in the Mirror have no reference to Sauron, yet Galadriel at once speaks of him, and the contest of their minds, introducing thus her revelation that she is the keeper of the Ring of Earth. In FR (p. 380) it is because Galadriel knows that Frodo has seen the Eye that she at once speaks to him of the Dark Lord, and the showing of her Ring is directly related to his vision: 'it cannot be hidden from the Ring-bearer, and one who has seen the Eye.'

24 For 'the Ring of Earth' see VI.260, 269, 319.

25 Cf. the isolated note concerning the fading of the power of the Elf-~~rings~~ if the One Ring were destroyed, p. 237.

26 The word could be equally well read as 'shall' or 'should'; 'should' in the next manuscript of the chapter (and in FR).

27 Cf. pp. 115, 162. In FR Sam says here that 'Elrond knew what he was about when he wanted to send Mr. Merry back'; earlier (FR p. 289) Elrond had said that he had thought to send both Merry and Pippin back to the Shire, but after Gandalf's support for their inclusion in the Company he expressed doubt specifically concerning Pippin.

28 In the outline given on p. 249 'They dwell 15 days in Caras Galadon'. Starting from 15 December as the date of arrival in Lothlórien, even though that seems to be two days out (see p. 215 note 1), and seeing that in the original story it was only a single day's journey from the night spent on the flet near the falls of Nimrodel to the arrival in Caras Galadon at nightfall, the date of departure can be reckoned to be 1 January.

29 Up to this point the pagination is doubled, e.g. 'XVIII.34 / XIX.8'; from this point only that of 'XIX' is given.

30 At three occurrences *Ingold* was never changed; at one it was changed afterwards to *Elfstone*, and at one to *Aragorn*. See pp. 277–8.

31 An addition to the manuscript after the words 'For we have dwelt here since the mountains were reared and the sun was young' reads: 'And I have dwelt here with him since the days of dawn, when I passed over the seas with Melian of Valinor; and ever together we have fought the long defeat.' This was not taken up into the following typescript text (p. 260), though it was entered

onto it in manuscript, and no doubt belongs to a later time. For the coming of Melian to Middle-earth in a very remote age of the world see IV.264, V.111.

32 There are pencilled additions to the manuscript after the words 'But what he thought the Lady had offered him Boromir did not tell': 'Here insert what Frodo thought?' and 'Neither did Frodo. Whether it had been a temptation, or a revealing to himself of the way of escape from his task that he had already secretly considered, he could not tell. But now that the thought had been made plain he could not forget it.' Against this my father wrote: '(rather so:) And as for Frodo, he would not speak, though Boromir pressed him with questions. "She held you long in her gaze, Ringbearer," he said. "Yes," said Frodo, "but I will say no more than this: to me no choice was given." He drooped and laid his head upon his knees.'

Frodo's reply to Boromir was then struck out, with the note: 'No! for this does not fit with the scene at the Mirror', and the following substituted: ' "Yes," said Frodo, "but whatever came into my mind then, I will keep there" ' (as in FR, p. 373).

None of this appears in the following typescript text (though the two latter versions were written onto it in turn), and as with the passage cited in note 31 must be accounted a later revision. But what is hinted at in the words 'the way of escape from his task that he had already secretly considered'? My father meant, I think, that Frodo, under Galadriel's gaze, pondered the thought of surrendering the Ruling Ring to her (cf. the passage cited on p. 254).

33 Of Frodo's song of Gandalf it is said: 'yet when he wished to repeat it to Sam only snatches remained that said little of what he had meant.' At this point there is a large space on the manuscript page and a pencilled note: 'Insert Frodo's Song?' The verses are found on a page of the familiar examination script, headed 'Frodo's Song', and were evidently written before this point in the manuscript was reached. For the earliest form of the song see note 18. The song has now 8 verses, since both *When morning on the Hill was bright* and *From Wilderland to Western shore* are included, and the last verse in FR *He stood upon the bridge alone* here appears as the penultimate (with the fourth line *the cloak of grey is cast aside*), the final verse being the same as in the earliest version, *Of Moria, of Khazad-dûm*.

34 '*Eärendil*, the Evening Star' is spelt thus, not *Eärendel* (see p. 290 note 22). – In Frodo's question 'why cannot I see all the others' (FR p. 381) 'I' should be italicized; and in Sam's reply to Galadriel's question at the end of the chapter 'Did you see my ring?' he should say 'I saw a star through your fingers', not 'finger'.

XIV
FAREWELL TO LÓRIEN

In the earliest materials for this chapter (without title) my father did not complete a continuous primary text, but (as it might be described) continually took two steps forward and one step back. He halted abruptly, even at mid-sentence, at certain points in the narrative, and returned to revise what he had written, often more than once; the result is a great deal of near-repetition and a very complex sequence. On the other hand, much (though by no means all) of this drafting is written in ink in a quick but clear and orderly hand on good paper (the 'August 1940' examination script being now virtually exhausted).

The reason for this situation is clear. The first consecutive text of the chapter, a well-written 'fair copy' manuscript, stands in very close relation to the draft materials. By this time it had become my father's method to begin making a fair copy before a new stretch of the narrative had proceeded very far: it has been seen in 'The Bridge of Khazad-dûm' (p. 202) and in 'Lothlórien' (pp. 221–2 and note 14) that drafting and fair copy to some extent overlapped. This was the case here also (thus the extracts from Keleborn's description of the Great River given on pp. 282–3 were drafts for the text found in the fair copy, and they immediately preceded that point in the writing of that text), but to a much more marked degree: for in this case, as I think, the fair copy was built up in stages, as the different sections of draft were completed.

Before turning to the original text, or texts, of this chapter, however, I give first some very difficult pencilled outlines, which I will call *(a)*, *(b)* and *(c)*. I take *(a)* to be the first since in it the name *Toll-ondren*, which occurs also in the others, is seen at the point of emergence. The pencil is now faint to the point of vanishing, and the first lines (as far as 'the Bridges of Osgiliath'), which were written before and apparently disconnectedly from the following portion, are partly illegible.

(a)

The travellers must choose which side of Anduin [?to be on] at [?Naith] Lórien. River is narrow but... at Stone Hills.[1] Not possible to cross without a boat until the Bridges of Osgiliath.

Keleborn says they must [?journey] in the morning. Though his people do not often go outside borders he will send them by *boat* as far as [*struck out: Toll-ondu Toll-onnui*] *Toll-ondren* the Great Carrock.[2] The east bank is perilous to elves. River winds among the Border Hills [*struck out: Duil*] *Emyn Rain*.[3] There they must decide because the Wetwang *Palath Nenui*[4] lies before them and to reach Minas Tirith they must go west round and across [*added:* along hills and then across] Entwash. But to go the other way they must cross Dead Marshes.

(b)

This outline is also extremely faint. It takes up towards the end of the narrative in this chapter and extends beyond it, but was written at an early stage in the development of the story, since the presence of Elves accompanying the travellers is mentioned, and this element was soon abandoned.

This is the Naith or Angle.[5] Calendil or the Green Spit.
[*Struck out:* Nelen] Calennel[6]

We are come before you to make all ready, said the Lady Galadriel, and now at last we must bid you farewell. Here you are come at last to the end of our realm, to Calendil, the green-spit tongue. Green-tine.[7] Three boats await you with rowers.

They get into the boats. Elv[en] archers in one behind and before. Company 2 in first, Ingold, Boromir. Hobbits in middle. Legolas, Gimli behind.

Parting gifts.

Warning against Entwash (Ogodrûth) and Fangorn[8] – not necessary to Boromir and Ingold, but probably Gandalf did not tell them all.

Blessing of Galadriel on Frodo.
Song of Farewell of Elves.
Swift passing down the River.
Description of the [?Green Ravines].
Tollondren.
Scene with Boromir and loss of Frodo.
End of Chapter.

In this outline the names *Galadriel* and *Ingold* were written *ab initio*.

(c)

This third outline, again in very faint pencil, belongs with the others; a further section was added to it, but not I think after any significant interval.

Argument in pavilion at night.

They postpone decision until they reach Tolondren the Great Carrock.

They sail in [*number changed between* 2, 3, 4, *final figure probably* 3] boats. 1 filled with bowmen before and after.

Farewell of Galadriel.

They pass into the Rhain hills[9] where river winds in deep ravines.

A few arrows from East.

Elves give travellers special food and grey cloaks and hoods.

They say farewell at Tol Ondren and leave travellers [*struck out:* a boat > 2 small boats].

The Company lands and goes up into Rhain Hills for a safe place. The debate. Then comes Boromir's attempt at seizing Ring and Frodo's flight.

Arrows from East shore as they pass down river?

The Company lands on Tollondren. Then debate. Frodo (and Sam) want to go on with the Quest and get it over. Boromir against it (vehemently?). They beg Elves to wait while they decide. They cross to East bank and go up into Green Hills (or Emyn Rhain?) to look around.

The journey by boat down Anduin enters in outline *(a)* (see p. 213); in *(b)* the 'scene with Boromir and loss of Frodo' is removed from 'Angle' (see pp. 207–8, 213) and takes place after the journey down the river, while in *(c)* it occurs in the 'Rhain Hills'.

The geography of these regions was coming into being. My father knew at this stage that the Great River wound in ravines (the 'Green Ravines' doubtfully read in outline *(b)*?) through a range of hills (Stone Hills; Emyn Rhain, Rhain Hills, Border Hills; Green Hills – which were not merely alternative names, as will be seen in the next chapter); and that there was a great rock or tall island (the Great Carrock; *Tolondren*, variously spelt) in the midst of Anduin. This was associated with the hills, since the Company lands on the island and goes up into Emyn Rhain or into the Green Hills. In the added section of *(c)* they cross the river to do so. The Wetwang now appears, obviously if not explicitly associated with the confluence of Anduin and Entwash (or *Ogodrûth*), flowing out of Fangorn (p. 210).

I turn now to the earliest narrative texts of 'Farewell to Lórien', in which indications are found that the fair copy manuscript of 'Galadriel' was already in existence (notes 10 and 21). The opening portion of the chapter, in which the Company came before Keleborn and Galadriel on the eve of departure and then returned to their pavilion to debate their course, is extant in several different versions. The earliest of them begins clearly but soon descends to my father's roughest script; it was written in ink over a faint pencilled text some of which can be read (see note 12).

(i)

That night[10] the Company was summoned again to the chamber of Keleborn, and the Lord and Lady of the Galadrim looked upon their faces. After a silence Keleborn spoke to them.

'Now is the time,' he said, 'when those who wish to continue the Quest must harden themselves to depart. And now is the time for those to say farewell to the Company who feel that they have gone as far as they have the strength to go. All that do not wish to go forward may remain here until there is a chance for them to return to their own homes.[11] For we stand now on the edge of doom; and ere long things will grow better, or will grow so evil that all must fight and fall where they stand. There will be no homes to seek, save the long home of those that go down in battle. Here you may abide the oncoming of the hour till the ways of the world lie open again, or we summon you to help us in the last stand of Lórien.'[12]

'They are all resolved to go forward,' said Galadriel.

'As for me,' said Boromir, 'my way home lies onward.'

'That is true,' said Keleborn. 'But are all the Company going with you to Minas Tirith?'

'We have not decided that yet,' said Ingold.

'But you must do so soon,' said Keleborn. 'For after you leave Lothlórien the River cannot easily be crossed again until you come to Ondor,[13] if indeed the passage of the river in the South is not held by the Enemy. Now the way to Minas Tirith lies on this side of the River, on the West bank, but the straight way of the Quest lies upon the other, upon the East bank. You should choose before you go.'

'If they take my advice it will be the west side,' said Boromir, 'but I am not the leader.'

'It shall be as you choose. But as you seem still in doubt, and do not maybe wish to hasten your choice, this is what I will do. It will speed your journey somewhat, and show you my good will – for I do not send my people often and only at [?great] need beyond my borders. I will furnish you with boats which we use upon the rivers. Some of my folk shall go with you as far as the Green Hills, where the river winds deep among [?wooded] slopes. But beyond the Toll-ondren, the isle that is there amid the river flood, they shall not go. Even so far there are perils for Elves upon the East bank; beyond that it is not safe for any to go by water.'

The words of Keleborn lightened their hearts a little that were

heavy with the thought of departure. They took leave of the Lord and Lady and went back to their pavilion. Legolas was with them. They debated long but they came to no decision. Ingold was evidently torn between two things. His own plan and desire was to have gone to Minas Tirith; but now that Gandalf was lost he felt that he could not abandon Frodo if he could not be persuaded to come. To the others there was little choice, for they knew nothing of the ... of the land in the South. Boromir said little but kept his eyes ever fixed on Frodo as if he waited for his decision. At length he spoke. 'If you are to *destroy the Ring*,' he said, 'then there is little use in arms, and Minas Tirith cannot help you greatly. But if you wish to *destroy the Lord*, then there is little use in going without force into his domain. That is how it seems to me.'

Here this text ends.

(ii)

The next version is a fair copy of (i) so far as it went, and follows it closely, improving the wording but introducing few significant changes; but it extends further into the chapter.

Keleborn now speaks with greater certainty of the crossings of Osgiliath: 'it is said that the Enemy holds the passages [> bridges].' Elves of Lórien shall go with the Company 'as far as the Green Hills where the river winds among deep ravines'; here *Rhain* is written in pencil over *Green*. 'There is a wooded island there, Toll-ondren, amid the branching waters. There at last in the midst of the stream you must decide your courses, left or right.' Above *(Toll-)ondren* is written in pencil *Galen?*, i.e. *Tol Galen*: another use of a name from the legends of the Elder Days (the Green Isle in the river Adurant in Ossiriand, home of Beren and Lúthien after their return, and a further instance of an island amid a river's 'branching waters' – from which indeed the *Adurant* took its name, V.268).

In the part of this version that extends beyond the point reached in (i) the text of FR (pp. 385–6) is closely approached. Boromir now breaks off at the words 'and no sense in throwing away...', finishing his sentence lamely after a pause with 'no sense in throwing lives away, I mean.' And as in FR Ingold was deep in his thoughts and made no sign at this, while Merry and Pippin were already asleep.

The passage describing the bringing of the Elvish cakes and Gimli's delight at discovering that they were not *cram* is at once almost exactly as in FR, the only difference being that the words 'But we call it *lembas* or waybread' do not appear. The description of the cloaks is however

much briefer than in FR – and there is no mention of the leaf-shaped brooches that fastened them.

For each member of the Company they had provided a grey hood and cloak made according to his size of the light but warm silken stuff that the Galadrim used.

'There is no magic woven in these cloaks,' they said, 'but they should serve you well. They are light to wear, and at need warm enough and cool enough in turn . . .'

Later, my father would not have the Elves introduce the idea of 'magic' cloaks, and it is Pippin who uses the word, which the leader of the Elves finds hard to interpret. The remainder of the passage is as in FR, except just at the end: 'We have never before clad strangers in the garb of our own people, certainly never a dwarf.' With these words the second text stops abruptly.

(iii)

The next text, going back once more to the beginning of the chapter, carries the number XX, showing that the story of Galadriel's Mirror had been separated off, as XIX 'Galadriel', from XVIII 'Lothlórien' (see p. 256). This manuscript rapidly becomes very complex through a process of what might be called 'overlapping false starts'. The form in FR is now very closely approached as far as the point where Keleborn says 'I see that you have not decided this matter' (cf. FR p. 383). It is to be noted that *Ingold* was changed subsequently, at both occurrences in the opening dialogue, first to *Elfstone* and then to *Trotter* (see pp. 277–8). Keleborn now says: 'And are not the bridges of Osgiliath broken down, and the passages of the river held now by the Enemy since his late assault?'[14] But from the point mentioned the story is developed thus:

'I see that you have not decided this matter, nor yet made any plan,' said Keleborn. 'It is not my part to choose for you, but I will do what I can to help you. Are there any among you that can manage boats upon a strong river?'

Boromir laughed. 'I was born between the mountains and the sea, on the borders of the Land of Seven Streams,'[15] he said, 'and the Great River flows through Ondor.'

'I have journeyed by boat on many rivers,' said Ingold;[16] 'and Legolas here is from the elf-folk of Mirkwood who use both rafts and boats on the Forest River. One at least of the hobbits is of the riverside folk that live on the banks of Baranduin. The rest can at least sit still. They have all now passed through such

perils that I do not think a journey by boat would seem so terrible as once it might.'

'That is well,' said Keleborn. 'Then I will furnish you with two small boats. They must be small and light, for if you go far by river there are places where you will have to carry your craft: there are the falls of Rhain where the River runs out of the ravines in the Green Hills,[17] and other places where no boat can pass. [*The following struck out as soon as written:* This I will do to show you my good will. Two Elves shall guide you for a short way, but far abroad I cannot permit my folk to stray in these evil days. But when you leave the River, as you must whichever way you go at the last, I ask only that you should not destroy my boats save only to keep them from the orcs, and that you should draw them ashore and] In this way your journey will be made less toilsome for a while, though perhaps not less perilous. How far you can go by water who now can tell? And the gift of boats will not decide your purpose: it may postpone your choice, yet at the last you must leave the River and go either east or west.'

Ingold thanked Keleborn many times in the name of all the Company. The offer of the boats comforted him much, and indeed it cheered most of the travellers. Their hearts were heavy with the thought of leaving Lothlórien, but now for a while the toils of the road at least would be lessened, though the dangers doubtless would remain. Sam only felt a little alarm. In spite of all the perils he had now passed through

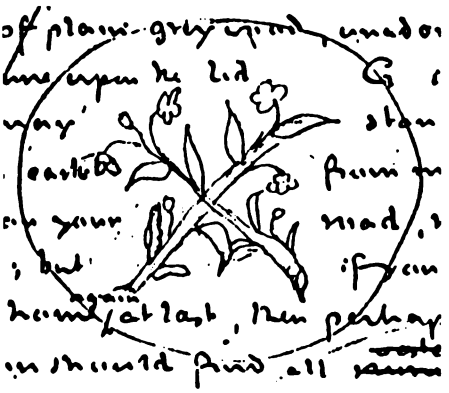
(iv)

Here the third text breaks off, and all from 'Are there any among you that can manage boats upon a strong river?' was rejected, and begun again; the narrative now becoming close to the form in FR: 'There are some at least among you that can handle boats: Legolas, whose folk go on rafts and boats on the Forest River; and Boromir of Ondor, and Ingold [> Elfstone] the traveller.' The Elves to accompany them down the River have now gone; and *the falls of Rhain* 'where the River runs out of the ravines in the Green Hills' become *the Falls of Rosfein* (with the same comment).

After Ingold (> Elfstone > Trotter) had thanked Keleborn, and after the account of the lightened hearts of all the travellers,[18] the new text continues with Keleborn's words 'All shall be prepared for you and await you before noon tomorrow at the haven' (FR p. 384); but whereas in texts (i) and (ii) – as in FR – Keleborn's offer of boats is

followed by the withdrawal of the Company to their pavilion, and there is no mention of gifts, this new version has Galadriel say: 'Good night, fair guests! But before you go I have here parting gifts which I beg you to take, and remember the Galadrim and their Lord and Lady.' The outline *(b)* on p. 268, obviously earlier than the stage now reached since there is mention in it of Elves going with the Company in boats, placed the Parting Gifts at the time of the final departure down the River, and this must have been my father's original intention, which he now temporarily changed. In this version (iv) there now follows the recital of the gifts to each member of the Company.

Galadriel's gift to Ingold (the name not here changed) is the sheath that had been made to fit his sword, which is called *Branding*:[19] overlaid with silver and with runes of gold declaring the name of the sword and its owner. Nothing more is said, and there is no mention of the great green stone (FR p. 391). Boromir's belt of gold, the silver belts for Merry and Pippin, and the bow of the Galadrim given to Legolas, appear and are described in the same words as in FR. Galadriel's gift to Sam and her words to him are almost exactly as in FR. The box containing earth from her garden was 'unadorned save for a single flowering rune upon the lid' ('a single silver rune,' FR). On the manuscript page my father drew an Old English G-rune ('X') in the form of two flowering branches crossed one upon the other:[20]



The word 'flowering' was later crossed out, and another, purely formal elaboration of the rune was drawn at the head of the next page:

The gift to Gimli differs, however, from his gift in FR, and differs in the most remarkable way.

'And what gift would a dwarf ask of Elves?' said the Lady to Gimli.

'None, Lady,' answered Gimli. 'It is enough for me to have seen the Lady of the Galadrim and known her graciousness. I will treasure the memory of her words at our first meeting.'[21]

[*Rejected, but not struck out, as soon as written:* 'Hear, all you Elves!' said the Lady, turning to those about her. 'And say not that dwarves are all rough and ungracious, grasping at gifts and / I have heard it said that dwarves are openhanded – to receive, and count their words – when they give thanks'] 'It is well that those about me should hear your fair words,' said Galadriel, 'and may they never again say that dwarves are grasping and ungracious. Let this small token be given as a sign that goodwill may be remade between dwarves and elves, if better days should come.' She put her hand to her throat and unclasped a brooch, and gave it to Gimli. On it was an emerald of deep green set in gold. 'I will set it near my heart,' he said, bowing to the floor, 'and Elfstone shall be a name of honour in my [?kin] for ever, and like a leaf [?amid] ... gold.'

Once again the text was stopped short, before Frodo's gift was reached. Beneath the last words my father wrote: *Elfstone Elfhelm*, and then:

'Hail, Elfstone,' she said. 'It is a fair name that merits a gift to match.'

It was clearly at this point that 'the Elfstone' first emerged, as a green gem set in a brooch worn by Galadriel and given as a parting gift to Gimli; and it seems equally plain that my father immediately adopted it (or more accurately, re-adopted it) as the true name of Trotter. To this question I will return in a moment.

(v)

He now started again from Keleborn's words 'All shall be prepared for you and await you at the haven before noon tomorrow' (p. 273), and repeated what he had written of the gifts to Boromir, Merry, Pippin, and Sam, but omitting Ingold; and now Gimli's request and gift (a strand of Galadriel's hair) are told word for word as they appear in FR (pp. 392–3), the sole difference being that at the end, after 'and yet over you gold shall have no dominion', Galadriel said: 'Dark are the waters of Kheledzâram, yet there maybe you shall one

day see a light.' The phial in which was caught the light of Eärendel's star,[22] her gift to Frodo, now appears, and this passage also is almost word for word as in FR.

It looks as if Ingold's gift was omitted inadvertently; or else my father may have briefly intended to make it the last. There are four versions describing it, the final one being a rider marked for insertion into the text at the beginning of the gift-giving.

It has been seen that the Elfstone was at first the gift to Gimli, and that Gimli in accepting it took it also as a name; but that the moment he had set this down my father wrote: '"Hail, Elfstone," she said. "It is a fair name that merits a gift to match"'; and this is obviously addressed to Trotter. The variant versions of the description of Galadriel's gift to the leader of the Company are developed from this; and the pages on which they stand are covered with names: *Elfstone*, *Elfstone son of Elfhelm*, *Elfstan*, *Eledon*, *Aragorn*, *Eldakar*, *Eldamir*, *Qendemir*. There is no need to cite these successive variants except in their opening sentences, until the last, which I give in full.

(1) 'Eledon!' she said to Trotter. 'Elfstone you are named; it is a fair name, and my gift shall match it.' (She then gives him a green gem.)

(2) 'Elfstone,' she said. 'It is a fair name...' (as in 1, except that here she unclasps the gem from her throat).

(3) 'Here is the gift of Keleborn to the leader of the Company,' she said to Trotter...' (continuing as in the final version, 4).

(4) (The version inserted into the text)

'Here is the gift of Keleborn to the leader of your Company,' she said to Elfstone [> Trotter], and gave him a sheath that had been made to fit his sword. It was overlaid with a tracery of flowers and leaves wrought of silver and gold, and on it were set in runes formed of many gems the name Branding and the lineage of the sword. 'The blade that is drawn from this sheath shall not be stained or broken even in defeat,' she said. 'Elfstone is your name, Eldamir in the language of your fathers of old, and it is a fair name. I will add this gift of my own to match it.'[23] She put her hand to her throat and unclasped from a fine chain a gem that hung before her breast. It was a stone of clear green set in a band of silver. 'All growing things that you look at through this,' she said, 'you will see as they were in their youth and in their spring. It is a gift that blends joys and sorrow; yet many things that now appear loathly shall seem otherwise to you hereafter.'

The seeming conundrum presented by the bewildering movements in the names which replaced 'Aragorn' in this phase of the work must now be confronted.

For all the apparently contradictory changes, whereby *Aragorn* becomes *Elfstone* but *Elfstone* also becomes *Aragorn*, and *Elfstone* becomes *Ingold* but *Ingold* also becomes *Elfstone*, it is in fact perfectly clear that the first change was from *Aragorn* to *Elfstone*. This took place in the course of the writing of the original draft of the long 'Lothlórien' chapter (see p. 262 note 6) and in the fair copy (p. 236). That this is so is confirmed and explained by a note on the 'August 1940' examination script:

> NB. Since Aragorn [> Trotter] is a *man* and the common speech (especially of mortals) is represented by English, then he must not have an Elvish name. Change to *Elfstone* son of *Elfhelm*.

Beside this are written other names, *Elf-friend*, *Elfspear*, *Elfmere*. It was now that *Aragorn* (or *Trotter*) was changed to *Elfstone* in earlier chapters;[24] but at this stage the name 'Elf-*stone*' will not have had any particular significance or association.

That *Ingold* was a replacement of *Elfstone* is shown by its appearance *ab initio* (i.e. not as a correction of an earlier name) in the overwritten part of the original draft of the 'Lothlórien' story, where *Elfstone* can be read in the primary pencilled text beneath (p. 262 note 6). This change is the subject of another note written on the same paper as the first:

> Instead of Aragorn son of Kelegorn *and* instead of the later variant Elfstone son of Elfhelm use *Ingold son of Ingrim*; since Trotter is a *man* he should not have a Gnome-elvish name like Aragorn.[25] The *Ing-* element here can represent the 'West'.

Some texts, therefore, call him *Ingold* from the first; and at the same time *Ingold* replaced (in principle) *Elfstone* in texts already extant at this time.

When my father wrote the first version of the Parting Gifts passage (p. 275) the gift of Galadriel to Gimli of the green gem set in gold was totally unforeseen, as was Gimli's thereupon taking the name *Elfstone* to be 'a name of honour' in his kin. At that very moment a sudden new possibility and connection emerged. Trotter had been for a while *Elfstone* – a name chosen for linguistic reasons; that had been rejected and replaced by *Ingold*; but now it turned out that *Elfstone* was after all the right name. The Elfstone was the Lady's gift to him, not to Gimli; and in giving it to him she made a play on his name.

The next step, therefore, and principal cause of the apparent confusion, was a *reversion* from the short-lived *Ingold* to *Elfstone*, and the chain of changes now becomes:

Aragorn (or *Trotter*) > *Elfstone* > *Ingold* > *Elfstone*

The further emendation of this new *Elfstone* to *Trotter* (pp. 272–3, 276) does not necessarily mean that *Elfstone* had been abandoned again as his real name, but rather that my father now wished to make

his name *Trotter* for general use in the immediate narrative (thus he is *Trotter* throughout the fair copy manuscript of 'Farewell to Lórien', see p. 293). Ultimately *Aragorn* returned; and thus the circular series is completed:

Aragorn (or *Trotter*) > *Elfstone* > *Ingold* > *Elfstone* (> *Trotter*) > *Aragorn*

This series appears in more or less fragmentary form in the manuscripts (cf. p. 244 note 52) for various reasons, but largely because my father carried out the corrections to the extant texts at each stage rather haphazardly. In some cases only parts of the series are found because in these cases the succession of changes was already more or less advanced; in some cases the expected change is not made because the text was rejected before the occasion for it arose (note 16). Running through and crossing this is the name *Trotter*, which might be changed or retained according to my father's changing view of when it should be employed.

Afterwards, of course, when Galadriel gave Aragorn the Elfstone she *conferred* on him the name 'that was foretold' for him (FR p. 391); Aragorn became *Elessar, the Elfstone* in that hour. On the history and properties of the Elfstone or Elessar see *Unfinished Tales* pp. 248 ff.; cf. especially 'For it is said that those who looked through this stone saw things that were withered or burned healed again or as they were in the grace of their youth.' In FR nothing is said of the properties of the stone.

This text (v) continues – since the gift-giving took place on the last night, in the chamber of Keleborn and Galadriel – with a further version of the debate of the Company, and the gifts next morning of elven-cloaks and food for the journey. The text of FR is further approached in many details of wording; but of Trotter's thoughts on the question of what they should do now this is said:

> Elfstone [> Trotter] was himself divided in mind. His own plan and desire had been to go with Boromir, and with his sword help to deliver Ondor. For he had believed that the message of the dreams was a summons, and that there in Minas Tirith he would become a great lord, and maybe would set up again the throne of Elendil's line, and defend the West against assault. But in Moria he had taken on himself Gandalf's burden...

The remainder of the debate is now virtually as in FR (p. 385), the only difference being that the sentence 'He [Boromir] had said something like this at the Council, but then he had accepted the correction of Elrond' is here absent. The passage concerning the cloaks remains the same as in the previous draft (p. 272), except that the

Elves now add that 'All who see you clad thus will know that you are friends of the Galadrim', and the words 'certainly never a dwarf' are omitted. Thus there is still no mention of the detail, afterwards important, that each cloak was fastened with a leaf-shaped brooch. But the sentence previously absent (p. 271), 'But we call it *lembas* or waybread', now appears.

(vi)

For the next part of the chapter, from 'After their morning meal they said farewell to the lawn by the fountain' (FR p. 386), the form of the text changes, though the actual writing was clearly continuous with what precedes. There was first a draft in very faint pencil which went as far as the Elves' warning about the handling of the boats, and then became an outline of the further course of the narrative:

> They were arranged thus. Elfstone and Frodo and Sam in one, Boromir and Merry and Pippin in another, and in a third Legolas and Gimli (... dwarf become more friendly).[26] The last boat being more lightly burdened with passengers took more of the packs. They are steered and driven by broad-bladed paddles. They practise on advice of Elves and though they will only be going downstream practise going up the Silverlode.
>
> Thus they meet the Lord and Lady in their *swan-shaped* barge. Curved neck, and jewelled eyes, and half-raised wings. They take a meal on the grass and then a last farewell. Here comes in advice of Keleborn and last farewell of Galadriel.
>
> Frodo looks back and sees in the westering sun upon the haven a tall, slender, and sad figure with an upraised hand. Last sight of the Ring of Earth. (He never saw it again?)
>
> Song of Galadriel.

On top of the pencilled draft my father wrote a new text in ink, so that virtually all – except the outline just given, which was left intact – was obliterated. He then continued this new text, which soon became very rough and petered out at Keleborn's invitation to eat with them. Since this was in turn overtaken by a further version which followed it closely so far as it went, nothing is lost by turning at once to that.

(vii)

This text is in soft pencil on large and now very battered sheets, but legible. The story as told in FR appears fully formed, even to much of its wording, and I shall not give it in full; there are however many interesting features of names and geography.

With Haldir, returned from the 'northern fences' and acting as guide to the Company from Caras Galadon, his brother Orofin came also. It

is said that 'Haldir brought news': '"There are strange things happening away back there," he said. "We do not know the meaning of them. But the Dimrill Dale is full of clouds of smoke and vapour..."' (see note 11).

The Tongue is thus described (cf. FR p. 387):

The lawn ran out into a narrow tongue of green between bright margins: on the right and west glittered the narrower and swifter waters of the Silverlode, and on the left and east ran the broader greener waters of the Great River. On the far banks the woodlands still marched southwards as far as they could see, but beyond the Naith or Angle (as the elves called this green sward) and upon the east side of the Great River all the boughs were bare. No mallorn-trees grew there.[27]

On 'Naith or Angle' as a name of the Tongue see note 5. This sentence was corrected, probably at once, to: 'but beyond the Tongue (*Lamben* the elves called this green sward)'; then the words '*Lamben* the elves called this green sward' were in turn crossed out. On Elvish names of the Tongue see p. 268 and note 6.

The passage in FR concerning the ropes and Sam's interest in rope-making is wholly absent, just as his realisation too late that he has no rope before leaving Rivendell (p. 165) and his bemoaning that he has none in Moria (p. 183) are also lacking.[28] The old text reads here:

Three small grey boats had already been prepared for the travellers, and in these the elves stowed their goods.

'You must take care,' they said. 'The boats are light-built, and they will be more deeply laden than they should be, when you go aboard. It would be wise if you accustomed yourselves to getting in and out here, where there is a landing-place, before you set off downstream.'

In the first draft (vi) of this passage Trotter is here called *Elfstone*, and it is said that 'Trotter led them up the Silverlode'; in this second version (vii) he is *Eldamir* at both occurrences, replaced (at the time of writing) by *Trotter*. *Eldamir* ('Elfstone') appears in Galadriel's address to him at the time of her parting gifts (p. 276); as will be seen shortly, my father was on the point of removing the gift-giving from the evening before their departure to their final farewell on the Tongue, and this apart from any other consideration would probably explain his removing *Eldamir* at this point in the story.

A curious detail in the description of the swan-boat was subsequently removed:

Two elves, clad in white, steered it with black paddles so

contrived that the blades folded back, as a swan's foot does, when they were thrust forward in the water.

It may be that my father saw this as too much of a 'contrivance', too much a matter of ingenious carpentry. – There is no suggestion that Galadriel's song on the swan-boat, though it is referred to in the same words as in FR, was or would be reported.

Where FR has 'There in the last end of Egladil upon the green grass' (see note 5), this earliest version had 'There in the green Angle', changed to 'There in the Tongue of Lórien'; this was a change made at the time of composition. The description of Galadriel as Frodo saw her then is almost exactly as in FR; but as my father wrote it there was included in it a notable phrase which he (then or later) struck out:

She seemed no longer perilous or terrible, nor full of hidden power; but elven-fair she seemed beyond desire of heart. Already she appeared to him (since her refusal in the garden)[29] as by men of later days elves at times are seen: present, and yet remote, a living vision of that which has already passed far down the streams of time.

I cite in full the text of Keleborn's advice to the Company:

As they ate and drank, sitting upon the grass, Keleborn spoke to them again of their journey, and lifting his hand he pointed south to the woods beyond the Tongue. 'As you go down the water,' he said, 'you will find that for a while the trees march on. For of old the Forest of Lórien was far greater [*added:* than the small realm which we still maintain between the rivers].[30] Even yet evil comes seldom under the trees that remain [*added:* from ancient days]. But you will find that at length the trees will fail, and then the river will carry you through a bare and barren country / before it flows [*replaced by:* winding among the Border Hills before it falls down] into the sluggish region of Nindalf. The Wetwang men call it, a marshy land where the streams are tortuous and much divided: there the Entwash River flows in from the West. Beyond that are [*struck out:* Emyn Rhain the Border Hills and] the Nomenlands, dreary Uvanwaith that lies before the passes of Mordor. When the trees fail, you should travel only by dusk and dark and even then with watchfulness. The arrows of the orcs are bitter and fly straight. Whether you will journey on by river after the falls I do not know. But beyond the Entwash it may be that [Ingold >] Elfstone[31] and Boromir know the lands well enough to need no counsel. If you decide to go west to Minas Tirith, you will do

best to leave the river where the isle of Toll-ondren stands in the stream above the falls of Rosfein and cross the Entwash above the marshes. But you will be wise not to go far up that stream, or to risk becoming entangled in the Forest of Fangorn. But that warning I need hardly give to a man of Minas Tirith.'

'Indeed we have heard of Fangorn in Minas Tirith,' said Boromir. 'But what I have heard seem to me for the most part old wives' tales, such as are told to our children. For all that lies north of Rohan seems now to us so far away that fancy can wander freely there. Of old Fangorn lay upon the borders [of the realm of Anárion >] of our realm; but it is now many lives of men since any of us visited it to prove or disprove the legends that have survived. I have not myself been there. When I was sent out as a messenger – being chosen as one hardy and used to mountain-paths, I went round by the south about the Black Mountains and up the Greyflood – or the Seventh River as we call it.[32] A long and weary journey [*struck out:* but not at that time yet one of great peril, other than from thirst and hunger]. Four hundred leagues I reckoned it, and it took me many months, for I lost my horses at the crossing of the Greyflood at Tharbad.[33] After that journey, and the road I have so far travelled with this Company, I do not much doubt that I shall find a way through Rohan, and Fangorn too, if need be.'

'Then I will say no more,' said Keleborn. 'But do not wholly forget the old wives' tales!'

Then follows: 'Remove the gift scene and place it at this point just before drink of farewell.'

On an isolated page are two further versions of Keleborn's description of the Great River, immediately preparatory to the passage in the fair copy manuscript, and both beginning in mid-sentence. The first of these was at once replaced by the second and need only be cited in its opening sentences:[34]

(i) [For of old the Forest of Lórien] was greater than it now is, and even yet evil comes seldom under the trees upon the shores of the River. But after some nine leagues you will be brought to a bare and barren country of heath and stone, and the river will wind in deep ravines until it divides about the tall island of Tolondren....

(ii) [you will find that] the trees will fail, and you will come to a barren country. There the river flows in stony vales among high moors, until it comes to the tall island of Tolondren. About the rocky shores of the isle it casts its arms, and then falls with noise

and smoke over the cataracts of Rhosfein [*written above in pencil:* Dant-ruin] down into the Nindalf – the Wetwang as it is called in your speech. That is a wide region of sluggish fen, where the stream becomes tortuous and much divided; there the Entwash river flows in by many mouths from the West. Beyond, on this side of the Great River, lies Rohan. On the further side are the bleak hills of Sarn-gebir [*in version (i)* Sarn > Sern Gebir]. The wind blows from the East there, for they look out over the Dead Marshes and the Nomenlands [*in version (i)* the Nomenlands (of Úvanwaith)] to the passes of Mordor: Kirith Ungol.

This passage in its variant forms is the fullest account of the geography of these regions yet encountered, and I postpone discussion of it, in relation to the earliest map of *The Lord of the Rings*, to the next chapter.

Despite his direction to bring in the gift scene 'just before the drink of farewell' (p. 282) my father now changed his mind, and introduced the cup of parting here, in the same place as in FR (pp. 390–1), and in the same words, except that Galadriel first said 'though the hour of shadow has come in its appointed time', and then 'though shadows long foretold approach', before her words in FR were reached: 'though night must follow noon, and already our evening draweth nigh.' After 'Then she called to each in turn' my father directed: 'Here take in gift-scene (in short or longer form).' The 'short form' of the scene is found under the heading 'If the gift-scene is cut out, or down, it might run thus:'

To each of the guests she gave a small brooch shaped like a golden flower with three leaves of jewelled green. 'This shall be in remembrance of Lothlórien,' she said, 'and all elves that see these shall know that you are friends. For you two,' she said, turning to Frodo and Sam, 'I have also small gifts of my own in remembrance of our last meeting. To you, little gardener and lover of trees, I will give this, though it may seem little to look on. She beckoned to Sam and laid in his hand (... so to end of Sam ...)

'And for you, Frodo, I have prepared this,' she said...

(The last part of this text is written thus in the original.)

(viii)

The conclusion of the chapter in its earliest extant form is written in ink in clear script with little hesitation in the phrasing, and closely approaches FR (despite very many small differences in the actual words). The feeling of the Company as the River bore them away from Lórien is expressed thus (and is the first suggestion of the idea that

Lórien existed in a mode of Time distinct from that of the world beyond its borders, unless it is present in Keleborn's words on p. 249):

Lórien was slipping backward like a green vessel masted with trees sailing to forgotten shores, while they were cast again on the grey never-halting water of time.

Galadriel's song heard in the distance as the boats slipped down Anduin is not recorded; indeed there is a clear suggestion that when he first wrote this concluding passage my father did not intend that it should be (although the words 'Song of Galadriel' in the outline on p. 279 perhaps suggest otherwise):

But she sang in [the ancient elvish tongue >] some ancient hidden tongue, and he heard not the words. [*Added:* The music was fair but it bore no heart's ease.] Then suddenly the river swept round a bend and the banks rose upon either side. They saw her never more. Turning now their faces to their journey they faced the sun...

The initial workings for Galadriel's songs were nonetheless found with the earliest manuscripts of this chapter, both her song upon the swan-boat (of which there is also a finished text) and *Namarië*. The completed form of the first reads:

I sang of leaves, of leaves of gold, and leaves of gold there grew:
Of wind I sang, a wind there came and in the branches blew.
Beyond the Sun, beyond the Moon, the foam was on the Sea,
And by the strand of Tirion there grew a golden Tree.
Beneath the stars of Evereve in Eldamar it shone,[35]
In Eldamar beside the walls of Elven Tirion.
But far away and far away beyond the Shadow-meres
Now long the golden leaves have grown upon the branching years.
And Lórien, O Lórien! the river flows away
And leaves are falling in the stream, and leaves are borne away;
O Lórien, too long I dwell upon this Hither Shore
And in a fading crown I twine the golden elanor.
But if a ship I now should sing, what ship would come to me,
What ship would bear me ever back across so wide a sea?

Pencilled changes bring the song in all points to the form in FR. My father was working at the same time on the Elvish song, which had reached this form:

Ai! laurie lantar lassi sūrinen
inyalemīne rāmar aldaron

inyali ettulielle turme mārien
anduniesse la mīruvōrion
Varda telūmen falmar kīrien
laurealassion ōmar mailinon.

Elentāri Vardan Oiolossëan
Tintallen māli rāmar ortelūmenen
arkandavā-le qantamalle tūlier
e falmalillon morne sindanōrie
no mīrinoite kallasilya Valimar.

I have mentioned earlier (p. 266) the very close relationship between the writing of the foregoing drafts and the writing of the fair copy manuscript; and the result of this mode of composition is that there is very little that need be said about the new text (numbered XX but without title: 'Farewell to Lórien' was pencilled in later).

In Keleborn's words to the Company on the last evening (see p. 273) he still speaks of 'the great falls of Rosfein, where the River runs out of the ravines among the Green Hills', but this was changed, before the manuscript was completed, to 'where the River thunders down from Sarn-gebir'. His parting advice at the Tongue on the following day naturally scarcely differs from the text (pp. 282–3) which was written for this place in the fair copy (note 34); but 'the cataracts of Rhosfein' become 'the cataracts of Dant-ruinel' (*Dant-ruin* is pencilled over *Rhosfein* in the draft text), and at the end of the passage Keleborn says, not 'to the passes of Mordor: Kirith Ungol', but 'to Kirith Ungol, and the gates of Mordor'.

Pencilled alterations to the passage in the fair copy manuscript changed *Tolondren* to *Eregon*, then to *Brandor*, then to *the Tindrock that we call Tol Brandor*; and *Dant-ruinel* to *Rauros* (with marginal notes *Rauros* = 'Rush-rain' or 'Roar-rain'). At this time *Rosfein* in Keleborn's earlier speech was changed to *Rauros*.[36]

The much fuller account in FR (p. 386) of the elven-cloaks provided for the members of the Company (see p. 272) was added in, probably not much later (see p. 343 and note 35), and the words of the Elves 'There is no magic woven in these cloaks' removed with the introduction of Merry's question (Pippin's in FR) 'Are these garments magical?' The leaf-brooches were a further and subsequent addition (see p. 398).

When Haldir reappeared to act as their guide from Caras Galadon (now without his brother Orofin) he said, just as in the draft for this passage, 'There are strange things happening away back there. We do not know what is the meaning of them' (see pp. 279–80). This was subsequently struck out on the fair copy, but then marked *Stet*; this was in turn struck out, and Haldir's words do not appear in the following text of the chapter or in FR (p. 387). It is very hard to see why my father removed them, and why he hesitated back and forth

before finally doing so. Apparently as a comment on this, he pencilled a note on the manuscript: 'This won't do – if Lórien is timeless, for then *nothing* will have happened since they entered.' I can only interpret this to mean that within Lórien the Company existed in a different Time – with its mornings and evenings and passing days – while in the world outside Lórien no time passed: they had left that 'external' Time, and would return to it at the same moment as they left it. This question is further discussed later (pp. 367–9). But it does not seem to me to explain why only Haldir's opening words were removed. His announcement, which was allowed to stand, that the Dimrill Dale was full of smoke and that there were noises in the earth, merely explains what the 'strange things' were which the Elves did not understand; and these 'strange things' had obviously only begun *since* the Company entered the Golden Wood.

As in the draft (p. 281) the words of Galadriel's song on the swan-boat are not reported, but my father subsequently put a mark of insertion on the manuscript, with the word 'Song'. On the completed text of her song found with the draft papers and given on p. 284 he then wrote 'Galadriel's Song for XX.8', this being the number of the page in the present manuscript. Similarly there is no suggestion that Galadriel's parting song ('in some ancient tongue of the West, from beyond the margin of the world') should be given, though 'he heard not the words' was changed on the manuscript to 'he did not understand the words', as in FR; but here again my father subsequently pencilled a mark of insertion and the word 'Song' in the margin.

'They saw her never more' of the draft (p. 284) becomes now 'Never again did Frodo see the Lady Galadriel', where in FR it is said 'To that fair land Frodo never came again.'

The following outline is found on a small, isolated scrap of paper. The only evidence of date that I can see is the fact that 'Sam's casket' (i.e. his gift from Galadriel) is referred to, and it therefore followed the present chapter. But this seems as good a place as any to give it, in relation to the end of the major outline which I have called 'The Story Foreseen from Moria' on p. 212.

The Three Rings are to be *freed*, *not* destroyed by the destruction of the One. Sauron cannot arise again in person, only work through men. But Lórien is saved, and Rivendell, and the Havens – until they grow weary, and until Men (of the East) 'eat up the world'. Then Galadriel and Elrond will sail away. But Frodo saves the Rings.

Frodo saves the Shire; and Merry and Pippin become important.
Sackville-Bagginses are chucked out (become pot-boys at Bree).
Sam's casket restores Trees.

When old, Sam and Frodo set sail to island of West and [*sic*] Bilbo finishes the story. Out of gratitude the Elves adopt them and give them an island.

At the head of the page is written: 'Saruman becomes a wandering conjuror and trickster'.

NOTES

1 The Stone Hills are named in the outlines given on pp. 233 and 250. The last word in the illegible phrase preceding 'at Stone Hills' might possibly be 'drop', which taken with the note in the outline on p. 233 that the 'parting of ways' would take place 'at Stonehills' might suggest that this was a first hint of the great falls in Anduin.

2 The word *Carrock* is very indistinct; it occurs again in outline *(c)*, but is there equally so. Yet I think that this is what it must certainly be, especially since it seems very suitable: for Tolondren was the origin of Tol Brandir, and thus the 'Great Carrock' would answer to Beorn's 'Little Carrock' or 'Lesser Carrock', itself also rising amid the waters of Anduin but far to the North; *ondren* being no doubt a derivative of the stem GOND 'stone' (*Etymologies*, V.359).

3 With the rejected word *Duil* cf. *Duil Rewinion*, name of the Hills of the Hunters (west of the river Narog) on the first *Silmarillion* map, IV.225. – *Emyn Rain* is subsequently spelt *Rhain* (see note 9); cf. the *Etymologies*, V.383, stem REG, Noldorin *rhein*, *rhain* 'border', also *Minas rhain* (Minas Tirith) p. 116.

4 This is the first occurrence of the *Wetwang*. The second word in the Elvish name *Palath Nenui* is slightly uncertain, but seems probable. Cf. the *Etymologies*, V.380, stem PAL, Noldorin *palath* 'surface'; also *palath* 'iris', VI.432, VII.101. *Palath Nen[ui]* occurs also on the First Map (see pp. 299, 308).

5 The word *Naith* 'Angle' (see the Etymologies, V.387, stem SNAS, Noldorin *naith* 'gore') seems in the context of this outline to be a name for the 'green spit' or 'Tongue' where the Company embarked from Lórien on their journey down Anduin (cf. also *Naith Lórien* in outline *(a)*); and subsequently (p. 280) this is expressly stated: 'The Naith or Angle (as the elves called this green sward)'.

The name *Angle* is variously used. In the earliest mention of the Lórien story, p. 207, the Company 'journey *to Angle* between Anduin and Blackroot. *There they remain long*'; and '*at Angle* they debate what is to be done.' Since this was written before the actual story of Lothlórien had been begun, the precise wording cannot perhaps be pressed; and in the original text of the first

'Lothlórien' chapter the meaning seems entirely unambiguous. As soon as they had crossed the Blackroot Hathaldir told them that they had 'entered the Gore, Nelen we call it, which lies in the angle between Blackroot and Anduin' (p. 231), and he told Gimli (*ibid.*) that in the north there were 'hidden defences and guards *across the open arms of the Angle between the rivers*'. The other references in that text do not contradict the obvious conclusion from these two passages, that whatever the extent of the woods of Lothlórien may have been, the Angle or Gore (*Bennas*, *Nelen*, *Nelennas*) was 'the heart of Lórien' (see p. 243 note 46), Lórien-between-the-Rivers, the base of the triangle being the eaves of the forest in the North.

Thus 'Naith or Angle' in this outline, and again in the text of the present chapter, referring expressly to the 'Tongue' (the apex of the triangle), represents either a changed meaning of *Angle*, or else perhaps the use of the English word to signify both the large triangle ('Lórien-between-the-Rivers') and the very small triangle (the Tongue) that was the apex of the other.

On the other hand, in the fair copy manuscript of 'Lothlórien' the distinction is between *Narthas* 'the Gore', the larger region, and *Nelen* 'the Angle', the region in the south where the Elves dwelt (see p. 236). I doubt that any clearly correct and consecutive formulation can be reached amid such fluidity.

In FR (p. 361) 'the Naith of Lórien, or the Gore' is the large triangle, entered after passage of the Silverlode; and in the same passage Haldir speaks of the dwellings of the Elves *down in Egladil, in the Angle between the waters*. *Egladil* occurs once again in FR, p. 389: 'There in the last end of Egladil upon the green grass the parting feast was held.' Robert Foster, in *The Complete Guide to Middle-earth*, defines *Naith* as 'That part of Lórien between Celebrant and Anduin', adding: 'The Naith included Egladil but was of greater extent'; and he defines *Egladil* as 'The heart of Lórien, the area between Anduin and Celebrant near their confluence. Called in Westron the Angle.'

6 *Nelen* (with changed application) and *Calennel* were presumably other possible names, beside *Naith* (see note 5) and *Calendil*, of the 'green spit' or 'Tongue', for which in FR no Elvish name is given.

7 *Green-tine*: translation of *Calendil*; Old English *tind* (cf. the *Tindrock*, Tol Brandir), later *tine*, spike, prong, tooth of a fork; now probably known chiefly of the branches of a deer's horn. Cf. *Silvertine*, one of the Mountains of Moria (*Celebdil*).

8 Cf. the outline on p. 250: the Company is told to 'beware of Fangorn Forest upon the Ogodrûth or Entwash'.

9 In the original text of the chapter the word is clearly spelt *Rhain*, while *Rain* is clear in outline *(a)*. In this outline *(c)* it seems to be

Rhein at the first occurrence, with *Rhain* written above, but *Rhan* at the second and third; but the writing is very unclear and I read *Rhain* here also.

10 The showing of the Mirror now took place on the last evening in Lothlórien: see p. 259. Very probably the fair copy manuscript of 'Galadriel' was now in existence.

11 Obviously written at the same time as the rest of the text on the page is a disconnected passage that seems best placed here:

> At present that is not possible. Westward the servants of Sauron are far abroad and are ... the land ... the Baranduin and the Greyflood. Northward there are strange things happening which we do [not] understand clearly. The Dimrill [Dale] is filled with ash and smoke, and the mountains are troubled. You, Gimli and Legolas, would find it hard to make your way back even with a great company.
>
> 'What of the Beornings?' said Gimli.
>
> 'I do not know,' said Keleborn. 'They are far away. But I do not think you could now reach them'

The illegible passage could possibly be read (assuming rejection of the word 'are') as 'and have taken over the land between the Baranduin and the Greyflood.' See further note 12. – A part of Keleborn's speech here was afterwards given to Haldir, returned from the northern borders of Lórien to guide the Company from Caras Galadon: pp. 280, 285–6.

12 With this speech of Keleborn's compare that in the last chapter (pp. 248–9) which was marked for transference to the beginning of this. That passage was indeed quite different, in that Keleborn seemed almost to assume that Gimli and Legolas at least would not continue the Quest, and offered them both the hospitality of Lórien, while also advising Gimli that he might be able to make his way back through the land of the Beornings. Now (quite closely approaching the text of FR, p. 383) he offers a generalised invitation to remain to any of the Company who wish. But from what can be read of the underlying pencilled text it is seen that my father at first retained the passage transferred from the previous chapter in much the same form. The passage given in note 11 shows a change of mind: Gimli and Legolas would stand little chance if they tried to return.

13 The form *Ondor* (as written *ab initio*) occurs in the fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond' (p. 144 and note 6).

14 In a rejected form of this passage Keleborn takes up Ingold's remark that he doubted whether even Gandalf had had any clear plan:

> 'Maybe,' said Keleborn. 'Yet he knew that he would have to choose between East and West ere long. For the Great River lies between Mordor and Minas Tirith, and he knew, as do you

Men at least of this Company, that it cannot be crossed on foot, and that the bridges of Osgiliath are broken down or in the hands of the Enemy since the late assault.'

15 On 'the Land of Seven Streams' see p. 177 and pp. 310–12.

16 Here and again below ('Ingold thanked Keleborn many times') *Ingold* was not changed to *Elfstone* because the passage was rejected before my father decided to abandon the name *Ingold* (see pp. 277–8).

17 This is the first mention of the great falls in Anduin (apart from a very doubtful hint of their existence referred to in note 1).

18 As the text was written Sam's attitude to the boats was different from what it had been in the previous version (where he felt 'a little alarm') and from what it is in FR:

> Even Sam felt no alarm. Not long ago crossing a river by a ferry had seemed to him an adventure, but since then he had made too many weary marches and passed through too many dangers to worry about a journey in a light boat and the peril of drowning.

This was subsequently changed to the passage in FR.

19 The name of the Sword of Elendil reforged, *Branding*, was first devised here, and then written into 'The Ring Goes South' at the time of the reforging in Rivendell: 'and Elfstone gave it a new name and called it *Branding*' (p. 165). *Branding* is obviously an 'English' name (Old English *brand* 'sword'), and consorts with the names *Ingold*, *Elfstone*: see my father's notes on this subject cited on p. 277.

20 The drawing, in pencil, is now very faint. I have reinforced the drawing on a photocopy, and the reproduction is based on this.

21 In the original account of the first meeting of the Company with the Lord and Lady of the Galadrim (pp. 246 ff.) Galadriel addresses no words to Gimli. These first appear in the fair copy manuscript of 'Galadriel', where she says just as in FR (p. 371) 'Dark is the water of Kheled-zâram, and cold are the springs of Kibil-nâla...': a further indication that that text was already in existence.

22 Although *Eärendil* appears in the fair copy manuscript of 'Galadriel' (p. 266 note 34), *Eärendel* is the spelling here, both in the draft and in the fair copy. In my copies of these chapters made in 1942 I wrote *Eärendil* in Chapter XIX and *Eärendel* in Chapter XX.

23 The meaning of Galadriel's words to Trotter is plainly that *Elfstone* was his real name. The fact that the final version of the passage begins '"Here is the gift of Keleborn to the leader of your Company," she said to Elfstone' – before the green gem, the Elfstone, has been mentioned – is decisive.

24 This change has often been remarked in earlier parts of this book.

The first examples of *Aragorn* > *Elfstone* are p. 80 note 17 (at Bree) and pp. 146 ff. (the fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond'). It was carried through the fair copy manuscripts of 'The Ring Goes South' (p. 165; including *Trotter* > *Elfstone*), and of the two 'Moria' chapters (pp. 176, 204, the change here being always *Trotter* > *Elfstone*).

25 With the statement in both these notes that Trotter's real name must not be 'Elvish' or 'Gnome-elvish' ('like Aragorn') contrast LR Appendix F ('Of Men'): 'The Dúnedain alone of all races of Men knew and spoke an Elvish tongue; for their forefathers had learned the Sindarin tongue, and this they handed on to their children as a matter of lore, changing little with the passing of the years', together with the footnote to this passage: 'Most of the names of the other men and women of the Dúnedain [i.e. those whose names were not Quenya], such as *Aragorn*, *Denethor*, *Gilraen* are of Sindarin form . . .'

26 In the first draft following this outline it is said of Gimli and Legolas that they 'had grown more and more friendly during their stay in Lothlórien'; in the following version (vii) that they 'had grown strangely friendly of late'. In FR they 'had now become fast friends'. – The complement of each boat is now as in FR, and not as in outline *(b)* to this chapter (p. 268), although there already Legolas and Gimli were placed together in the third boat.

27 In the fair copy manuscript of 'Farewell to Lórien' the text here is:

> On the further shores the woodlands still marched on southwards, as far as eye could see; but beyond the Tongue and upon the east side of the River all the boughs were bare. No mallorn-trees grew there.

The intended meaning seems clear: on the west bank beyond the confluence of Silverlode and Anduin, and all along the east bank of Anduin, there was still forest, but the trees not being mallorns they were leafless. So Keleborn says that as they go down the River they will find that 'the trees will fail', and they will come to a barren country. In the following manuscript, which I made (undated, but clearly following on my copy of 'Galadriel' dated 4 August 1942, p. 261), the sentence reads 'all the *banks* were bare'. This, I think, must have been a mere error (as also was 'the eye could see' for 'eye could see', retained in FR), since (in relation to 'the woodlands still marched on southwards') it is obviously a less well-chosen and somewhat ambiguous word: 'bare banks' suggests treeless banks, not wooded banks in winter.

Probably in order to correct this, but without consulting the earlier manuscript and so not seeing that it was an error, my father at some stage changed 'further shores' to 'further western shores' on my copy, but this still gives a confused picture. The

text in FR (p. 387) removes the reference to the west shores of Anduin altogether, but retains the 'bare banks', which must therefore be interpreted as 'wooded banks in winter'.

28 In the earliest draft for the scene in the first 'Lothlórien' chapter in which the Company encounters the Elvish scouts near the falls of Nimrodel (p. 239 note 26) the lowest boughs of the trees 'were above the reach of Boromir's arms; but they had rope with them. Casting an end about a bough of the greatest of the trees Legolas ... climbed into the darkness.'

29 There is no more than the briefest outline sketch of Galadriel's 'refusal in the garden' in the original 'Lothlórien' chapter (p. 254), whereas in the fair copy the scene is fully formed (p. 260).

30 This reference to the once far greater extent of the Forest of Lothlórien is not found in FR (see note 34). Perhaps to be compared is *Unfinished Tales*, p. 236: 'the Nandorin realm of Lórinand [Lórien] ... was peopled by those Elves who forsook the Great Journey of the Eldar from Cuiviénen and settled in the woods of the Vale of Anduin; and it extended into the forests on both sides of the Great River, including the region where afterwards was Dol Guldur.'

31 *Ingold* here can only have been a slip for *Elfstone*.

32 The *Seventh River* has been mentioned in the fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond', p. 149. See pp. 310–12.

33 *Tharbad* has been named in the second version of 'The Ring Goes South', p. 164 and note 8.

34 These passages were actually written when the fair copy had reached this point. In the fair copy a page ends with the words 'you will find that for a while the trees march on. For of old the Forest of Lórien'. It was at this point that my father wrote the first of these passages, which was in fact simply the top of the next page of the fair copy. Deciding however to cut out the reference to the once much greater extent of Lothlórien, he struck out these words at the bottom of the preceding page in the fair copy, and wrote the second draft given here.

35 In the original workings the fourth line was *And by the mere of Tirion there grew the golden tree*. Another version of the fifth line was *Beneath the Hill of Ilmarin lies Aelinuial – Aelinuial* 'Lakes of Twilight' being the name of the region of great pools at the confluence of the rivers Aros and Sirion in Beleriand; cf. *the Shadow-meres* in the seventh line. In Bilbo's song at Rivendell occur the lines

beneath the hill of Ilmarin
where glimmer in a valley sheer
the lights of Elven Tirion
the city on the Shadowmere

and also *From Evereven's lofty hills* (see pp. 93, 98; FR pp. 247–8).

36 Boromir's words 'I have not myself been there' (referring to Fangorn), p. 282, were changed to 'I have not myself ever crossed Rohan.'

Additional Notes on the name Elfstone

A puzzling detail in the fair copy manuscript of this chapter is that while Trotter is referred to as *Trotter* throughout the narrative (see pp. 277–8), on the two occasions where he is named by Keleborn the name is *Ingold*. According to the explanation advanced on pp. 277–8 he should now, if called by his true name, be *Elfstone*. Moreover when we come to the scene of the Parting Gifts in this manuscript Galadriel's words to Trotter remain exactly as in the draft text on p. 276 ('Elfstone is your name ... and it is a fair name. I will add this gift of my own to match it'). How then can Keleborn call him *Ingold*?

The answer, I feel sure, is (as I have suggested, p. 267) that the fair copy manuscript itself grew in close relation to the drafts, where the names were not stable; and that it was not carefully revised in this point. In the first case, near the beginning of the chapter, where in the draft text Keleborn names 'Boromir of Ondor and Ingold the traveller' among those of the Company accustomed to boats, *Ingold* was changed subsequently to *Elfstone* (p. 273), but in the fair copy 'Ingold the traveller' remained unchanged. In the second case also, towards the end of the chapter, where in the draft Keleborn says 'it may be that Ingold and Boromir know the lands well enough to need no counsel' – which can only have been a casual inadvertence, note 31 – *Ingold* was corrected to *Elfstone* in the draft but not in the fair copy.

Later, my father corrected the second *Ingold* on the fair copy to *Aragorn* but did not notice the first. Without knowledge of the earlier texts this hasty and incomplete revision of names can produce incomprehensible tangles later on, when amanuenses such as myself simply followed what they saw before them: so in the next text of this chapter, a manuscript that I made (note 27), I wrote *Ingold* at the first occurrence and *Aragorn* at the second.

Galadriel's words at the gift-giving, *Elfstone is your name, Eldamir in the language of your fathers of old, and it is a fair name*, were struck out on the fair copy, with the curious result that in the manuscript that I wrote in 1942 Galadriel says: 'The blade that is drawn from this sheath shall not be stained or broken even in defeat. I will add this gift of my own to match it.' Later on, my father wrote on his fair copy manuscript (but not on the one that I made), against the description of Galadriel's gift and her words concerning it (retained exactly from the draft on p. 276): *Make this the reason for his taking the name Elfstone*; and after the words 'yet many things that now appear loathly will appear otherwise to you hereafter' he wrote in: 'And

[Eldamir >] Elessar shall be a name for you hereafter, Elfstone in [the tongues of common speech >] your speech. Long may it be remembered.'

XV

THE FIRST MAP OF THE LORD OF THE RINGS

Of the various small-scale maps of the western regions of Middle-earth that my father made, one is very easily seen to be the earliest; and I have no doubt at all that this was not only the earliest of the maps that are extant, but was in fact the first one that he made (other than the hasty sketches of particular regions published in Vol. VI).

This 'First Map' is a strange, battered, fascinating, extremely complicated and highly characteristic document. To gain understanding of it, its construction must first be described. It consists of a number of pages glued together and on to backing sheets, with a substantial new section of the map glued over an earlier part, and small new sections on top of that. The glue that my father used to stick down the large new portion was strong, and the sheets cannot be separated; moreover through constant folding the paper has cracked and broken apart along the folds, which are distinct from the actual joins of the map-sections. It was thus difficult to work out how the whole was built up; but I am confident that the following account is correct. In this account I refer to the figure 'Construction of the Original Map of The Lord of the Rings' on p. 297. This is a diagram and not a map, but I have inserted a few major features (the sea-coast, Anduin, Mirkwood, the rough outlines of the mountainous regions) as a guide.

The original element in the map consisted of two pages glued together along their vertical edges, and is the big rectangle framed in the figure by a black and white line and lettered **A**. East of the vertical line of squares numbered 22 it extended for a further three lines, but these were left blank.

A new section (made up of three portions glued together) extended the original map to North and West. (I say 'new section', since the paper is slightly different, and it was obviously added to what was already in existence.) This section is marked **B** on the figure and framed in double lines. It extends north of what is shown on the figure by five more horizontal lines of squares (A–E, 1–17).

As already mentioned, a third section, marked **C** on the figure and framed in double lines (squares O–W, 9–19), was superimposed on a part of the original map 'A', obliterating almost all of its southern half.

This new section 'C' extends further south than did 'A', by three horizontal lines of squares (U–W, 9–19). Fortunately, a good part of this section has no backing paper, and by shining a bright light through it it has been possible to make out certain names and geographical features on the 'lost', southern half of 'A'. This is a difficult and confusing operation, and the results are very incomplete, but they are quite sufficient to show the essentials of what lies beneath 'C'. All that I can make out after long peering is shown on the map numbered III[A] (p. 308).

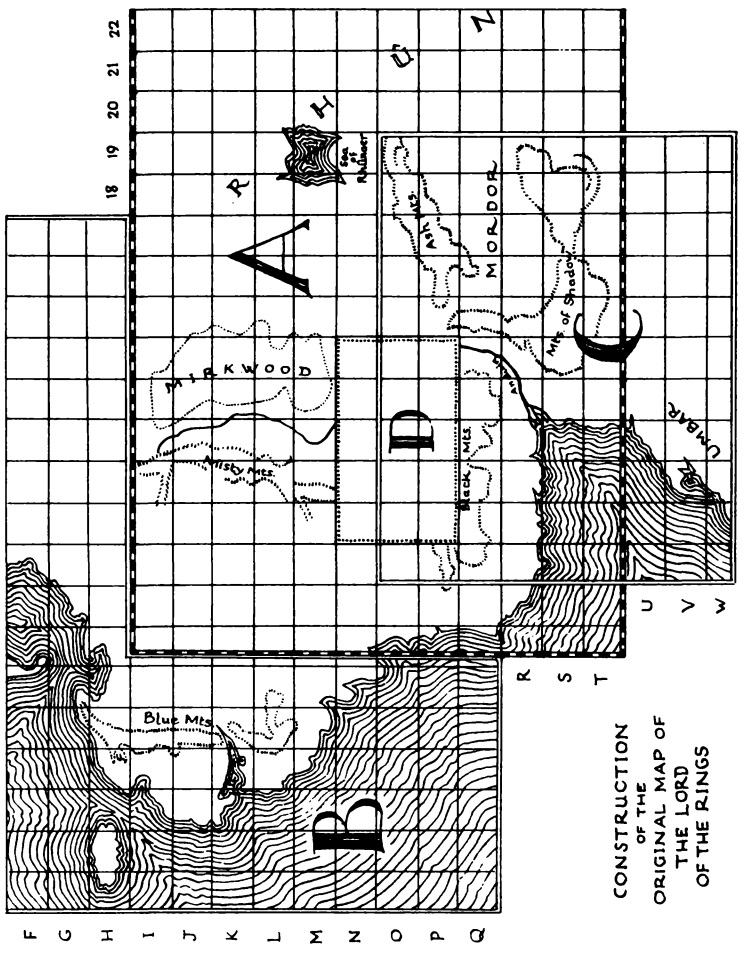
The small rectangle lettered D on the figure and framed in dots was replaced over and over again, and is by far the most complex part of the map, as the region covered is also crucial in the story: from the Gap of Rohan and Isengard to Rauros and the mouths of Entwash.

The original element in the First Map

The First Map was my father's working map for a good while, and thus as it stood when he left it – as it stands now – it represents an evolution, rather than a fixed state of the geography. Determination of the sequence in which the map was built up does not, of course, demonstrate that names or features on 'A' are necessarily earlier than names or features on 'B' or 'C', since when 'A' + 'B' + 'C' were in being the map was a single entity. There are, however, certain clues to relative dating. The earliest layer of names is recognisable from the style of lettering, and also to some extent from the fact that my father at that stage used red ink for certain names, chiefly in the case of alternatives (as for example *Loudwater* in black ink, *Bruinen* beside it in red). On the directly visible part of 'A', virtually all of which is shown on Map II (p. 305), all the names are 'original' with the exception of the following: *Torfirion (Westermanton)*; *North Downs*, *Fornobel (Northbury)*; *Forodwaith (Northerland)*; *Enedwaith (Middlemarch)*; *Caradras*; *Nimrodel*, *Silverlode*; *Mirkwood the Great*, *Southern Mirkwood*, *Rhovanion*; *Rhosgobel*, *Dol Dúghul* (but *Dol Dúgol* in red ink, struck out, on M 15–16 is original); *Bardings*; *Sea of Rhûnaer* and *Rhûn*. Notable is the case of *Silverlode*: here the original name was *Redway*, struck out and changed in the same script to *Blackroot*, and this change is very precisely documented in the second version of 'The Ring Goes South', p. 166.

In this 'original layer' of names are a few others which I have not included in the redrawn map (II) since I could not find room for them without unnecessarily confusing it, the scale being so small: these are *Chetwood*, *Midgewater*, *Forest River*, *Woodmen*, *Wood Elves*, *Dale*. *F.I.* (so written in the original) on the Road east of Bree stands for *Forsaken Inn*. On the *River Rushdown (Rhimdad)* cf. V.384, VI.205, where the form is *Rhimdath* (also *Rhibdath*).

Three of the original names were changed, and I have entered the



CONSTRUCTION OF THE ORIGINAL MAP OF THE LORD OF THE RINGS

later form. These are the river *Isen*, first written *Iren* on P 8 (Old English, 'iron', which varied with *Isen*); *Andrath* on L 8, where the original form is unclear since a broken fold of the map runs through it, but seems to have been *Amrath* (as in a draft for a portion of the chapter 'Many Meetings', see pp. 69–70 and note 7); and *Anduin* (M–N 13, Maps II and IV[A]), first written *Andon* (see p. 299).

Of geographical features, most of what is represented on the directly visible part of 'A' goes back to the beginning, and of course a substantial part of that was derived from the Map of Wilderland in *The Hobbit*. Elements that are not 'original' are the highlands in the North-west of Map II (I 8–9, J 7–8); the markings representing the Iron Hills (though the name itself is original); the Sea of Rhûnaer, the mountainous region to the South-west of it, the river flowing into it from the Iron Hills, and the lower course of the (unnamed) River Running, which as the map was first made scarcely extended beyond the eastern edge of the Wilderland Map in *The Hobbit*.

Some other geographical features are slightly doubtful, but the western arm of the Misty Mountains across squares I 10–11 was probably a subsequent addition, and the vast region of highland between Mirkwood and the Sea of Rhûnaer, together with the streams flowing from it into the Dead Marshes (N 16), almost certainly so. The original siting of the name *Dol Dúgol* (M 15; see p. 296) probably had nothing to do with these highlands (at the first occurrence of the name on p. 178 Gandalf speaks of Sauron's 'older and lesser dwelling at Dol-Dúgol in Southern Mirkwood'): faint traces of green colour suggest to me that originally Mirkwood extended much further to the South-east, covering L 15 and a good part of M–N 15–16, and that this region of the forest was erased. The hills that emerge onto N 15 from the area which I have left blank on Map II are also additional: this region will be discussed later in this chapter.

The river Isen is a bit doubtful, since though the name as originally written (*R. Iren*, see above) clearly belongs with the primary layer of names, the coastline as drawn had no river-mouth opposite the off-shore island on P 7, and a pencilled indentation was made subsequently. The same is true of the unnamed river (afterwards Lefnui) to the south of Isen, whose mouth was drawn in on R 8 (Map III).

On the part of the original map 'A' that is obliterated by the sticking on of portion 'C' some names and features can be seen, as already described (p. 296; Map III[A]). It is clear that at that stage relatively little was entered on the map. Those in black ink can be readily seen, and I do not think that there were any others beyond *Land of Mor-dor*, *Minas Morgol* (with *Ithil* in red ink), *Osgiliath*, *Minas Tirith* (with *Anor* in red ink), *Blackroot* > *Silverlode* (see under Map II on p. 306), *Tolfalas*, *Bay of Belfalas*, and *Ethir-andon* (as it seems to have been written, before being changed to *-anduin*, as on the northern part

of 'A'). *Dead Marshes* is in red ink; other names seem to have been entered in red chalk (*Land of Ond*) or pencil. The actual sites of Minas Morgol and the Dark Tower cannot be seen, nor can the last two letters of *Palath Nen[ui]* (on which see p. 268 and note 4); and the mountain-chains are extremely hard to make out. The bits of the mountains of Mordor in the North-west that I have been able to distinguish with certainty suggest however a disposition essentially the same as that in 'C'. The occurrence of *Dol [?Amroth]* at this stage is notable.

It is thus clear that, whenever the First Map was actually begun, it had reached the stage seen in the original 'layer' of portion 'A' before the time we have now reached in the texts, and also that much of that layer belongs to this period of the work: many of these original names on the map emerge first in the texts given in this book – for example *Sarn Ford* (p. 9), *Entish Land* (p. 10), *Mitheithel* (p. 14), *Bruinen* (p. 14), *Minas Tirith* (p. 115), *Minas Morgol* (p. 116), *Minas Anor*, *Minas Ithil* (p. 119), *Bay of Belfalas* (p. 119), *Tharbad* (p. 164), etc. *Andon (Ethir-andon)* was a form preceding *Anduin* which never occurred in the texts: *Anduin* appears in the fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond' where the name *Sirvinya* 'New Sirion' appears in the third (pp. 119, 144).

The 1943 Map

In 1943 (see *Letters* nos. 74 and 98) I made a large elaborate map in pencil and coloured chalks, companion to a similar one of the Shire (see VI.107, 200). It was the First Map that I had in front of me when I made it. My map is thus of historical value in showing what the state of the First Map was at that time – especially in respect of names, for though I was as faithful to the courses of rivers and coasts as I have attempted to be 45 years later, I used pictorial forms for the mountains and hills, which are less precise.[1]

The redrawn maps in this book

In *Unfinished Tales* I referred (pp. 13–14) to my father's maps of *The Lord of the Rings* as 'sketch-maps'; but this was an ill-chosen word, and in respect of the First Map a serious misnomer. All parts of the First Map were made with great care and delicacy until a late stage of correction, and it has an exceedingly 'Elvish' and archaic air. The difficulties of interpretation do not arise from any roughness in the original execution, but in part from subsequent alteration in very small space, and in part from its present condition: it is wrinkled, creased, and broken from constant use, so that connections are lost,

and many names and markings added in pencil are so blurred and faint as to be almost invisible. My father made a good deal of use of pencil and coloured chalks: mountain-chains are shaded in grey, rivers (for the most part) represented in blue chalk, marshland and woodland in shades of green (Mirkwood is conveyed by little curved marks in green chalk, suggestive of treetops); and this colouring is rubbed and faded (it is often very difficult to be sure of the courses of rivers). In regions where the development of the story caused substantial alteration in the geography, notably where the hills and mountains were much changed and overlaid by new representations, there are so many lines and strokes and dots that it is impossible to feel certain what my father intended, or even to make out what there is on the paper.[2]

Inevitably, the attempt to redraw the map involves more than merely copying (and since it must be represented in black and white, different symbolisation, notably of wooded regions, must to some extent be used, or else dispensed with); to redraw is in such a case to interpret. My redrawings are therefore to an extent simpler, less subtle, and more decisive in detail, than the original, and of course uniform in appearance, since they have all been made at one time and with the same pens. These maps are therefore quite insufficient in themselves as a substitute for the original, and the discussion of the redrawn maps is an integral part of my attempt to present this remarkable document.

The major question to resolve, however, arose from the fact that this map was a continuous development, evolving in terms of, and reacting upon, the narrative it accompanied. To redraw it involved a decision on what to include and what to exclude. But to attempt to limit its content to the names and features that might be supposed to have been present at a particular time (in terms of the narrative) would involve a host of complexities and dubious or arbitrary decisions. It was clearly far better to represent the map in a developed form; and except in the case of Map III^{A} (where a large part of the original map 'A' was early abandoned) and of maps IV^{A-E} (where there are six successive and distinct versions) I have therefore taken my 1943 map as a conveniently fixed and definite terminus, though not without a number of exceptions. It is to be understood throughout the following discussion that everything on my redrawn versions in this book appears in that form on the 1943 map unless something is said to the contrary. Many of the subsequent alterations made to the First Map or to the 1943 map or to both are however mentioned.

The map-squares of the original are of 2 centimetre side (on my 1943 map the squares were enlarged to 4 centimetres). No scale is given; but a later and much rougher map, also ruled in squares of this size, gives 2 centimetres = 100 miles, and this was clearly the scale of the First Map also.

Maps I and I[A]

Map I, with the extreme North and North-east on I[A], gives virtually the whole of the added portion 'B' (see the figure on p. 297): thus 'B' extends from A to H, 1–17, and from I to Q, 1–6 and a portion of 7. The section marked off on the right-hand side of Map I is the left-hand side of the original portion 'A', and this is duplicated on Map II.

This portion 'B' received no emendation whatsoever after its first drawing except in one minor point. The great highlands (afterwards called the Hills of Evendim) between the river Lune and the North Downs certainly belong with the rest of 'B', and were extended into square J 7 of 'A', already in existence; and the North Downs were entered on 'A' at the same time (for the place-names see under Map II).

This is the only map that shows the far northern coast, and the vast bay shaped like a human head and face (E–G 7–9, on map I[A]). In view of Appendix A (I. iii) to *The Lord of the Rings*, where there is a reference to 'the great cape of Forochel that shuts off to the north-west the immense bay of that name', it is clear that this bay is 'the Icebay of Forochel' (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 13 and footnote) – although on a subsequent map of my father's the much smaller southern bay (H 6–7) is very clearly labelled and limited 'the Icebay of Forochel', as it is on my map published with *The Lord of the Rings*[3]. No names are given in this region on the First Map, but subsequently my father pencilled in *North Sea* across G 4–5, and this I entered on my 1943 map, though inadvertently omitted on Map I.

On the islands of *Tol Fuin* and *Himling* see p. 124 and note 18. – The 'sea-lines' are not present in the original, but they are marked on parts 'A' and 'C' and I have therefore extended them throughout. – I cannot explain the wavy line that extends roughly parallel to the coast from H 4 to K 3[4].

It will be seen on Map I that the distinction between the North and South Havens (here *Forlorn* and *Harlorn* for later *Forlond* and *Harlond*), situated in bays of the Gulf of Lune, and *Mithlond*, the Grey Havens, at the head of the gulf, was already present (but see p. 423).

With this first representation of Ered Luin, the Blue Mountains, in the context of *The Lord of the Rings* cf. the revision of the end of *The Fall of Númenor* cited on pp. 122–3. Very notable is the appearance of *Belegost* (L 5), which is marked on the 1943 map also, but on no subsequent one. The Dwarf-cities of the Blue Mountains were not originally marked on the second *Silmarillion map* (V.409, 411), but were put in roughly later: Belegost being situated on the eastern side of the mountains somewhat north of Mount Dolmed and the pass by which the Dwarf-road crossed them. Cf. *Unfinished Tales* p. 235:

> There were and always remained some Dwarves on the eastern side of Ered Lindon, where the very ancient mansions of Nogrod and

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D
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K
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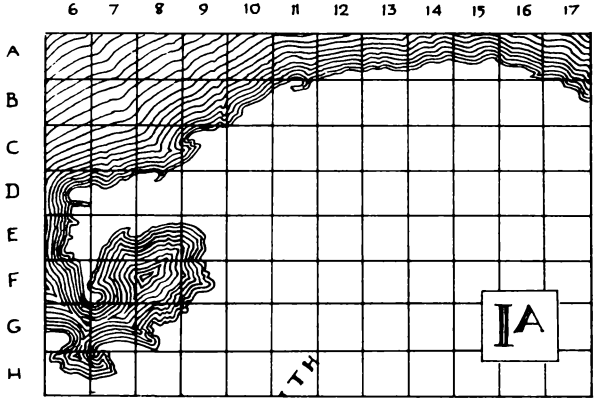
N
O
P
TOL FUIN
Himling
North Lindon
Forlindon
North Haven (Forlorn)
Gulf of Lune
South Haven (Harlorn)
Mithlond
EREDLUIN (Blue Mts)
R. Lune (Lhûn)
Tower Hills
Torfirion
Westermanton
R. Brandywine
THE SHIRE
South Lindon
Harlindon
Belegost
Sarn
I


6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
IA

Belegost had been – not far from Nenuial; but they had transferred most of their strength to Khazad-dûm.

The White Towers on the Tower Hills are represented by three dots in a line (K 6). – The letter F on square M 7 of Map I and the letters ITH on square H 11 of Map I[A] belong to *Forodwaith*, on which see under Map II.

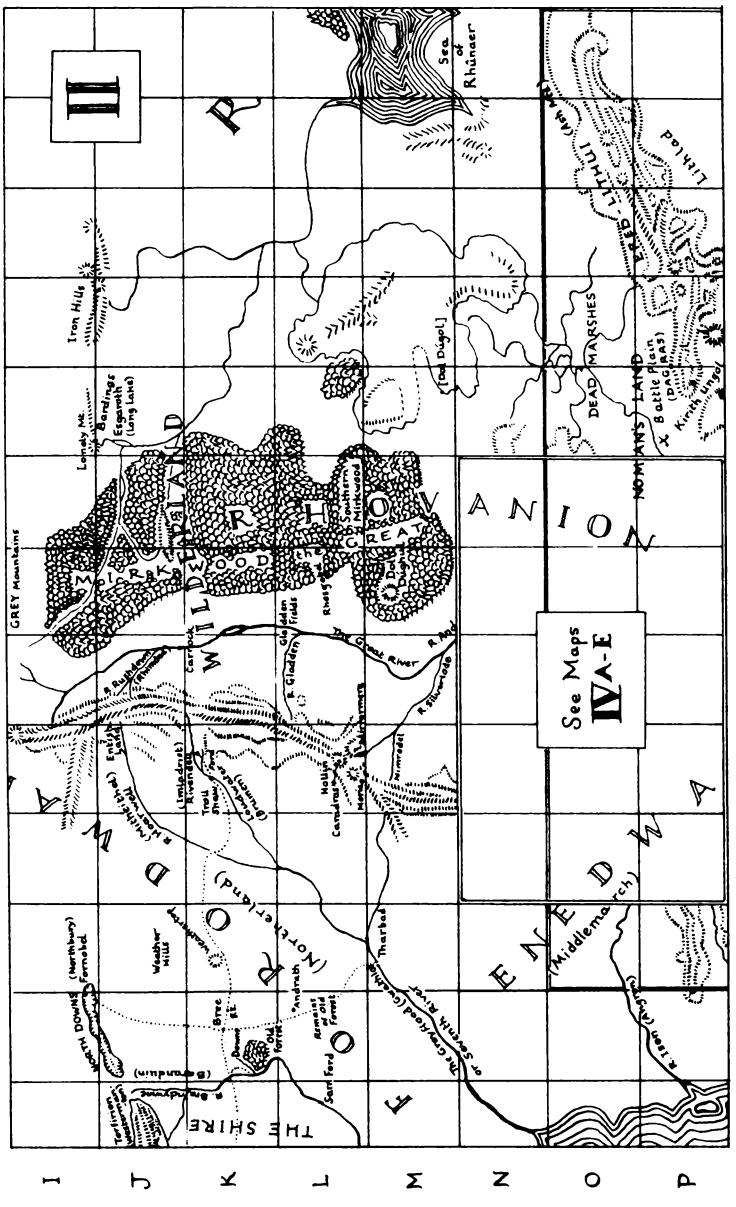
Map II

This redrawing, as will be seen by comparison with the diagram on p. 297, covers almost all the still directly visible part of 'A', the only areas not included being the almost blank squares I–T 20 eastwards and Q–T 7–8 in the South-west, which is mostly sea (and is shown on Map III). It also covers the two top lines of squares of the superimposed portion 'C' (O–P 9–19), and the rectangle 'D', which is here left blank apart from the continuation of certain names. On the left Map II overlaps with Map I and at the bottom with Map III.

I have noted under Map I that the eastern end of the highlands afterwards called the Hills of Evendim and the North Downs were extended onto portion 'A' (I 8–9, J 7–8) when 'B' was added. The names *Torfirion* (changed from *Tarkilmar*) *or Westermanton* occur in the fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond', p. 144; on the First Map my father afterwards scribbled *Annúminas* here, but *Torfirion (Westermanton)* appears on my 1943 map. The name originally written here on the First Map was in fact *Fornobel*, but this seems to have been changed at once, and *Fornobel (Northbury)* written against the habitation on the North Downs. The earlier name for this was *Osforod, the Northburg* (pp. 120–1, 129), but *Fornobel* appears by emendation in the fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond' (p. 147). Here my father scribbled in the later name *Fornost*, but the 1943 map still has *Fornobel (Northbury)*.

Most of the names and features on the 'A' part of Map II are original, and have been commented on already (p. 296). On the significance of *Greyflood or Seventh River* see pp. 310–12. *Gwathlo* is certainly an original name, though it has not appeared in any text.

The various additions made to 'A' (listed on p. 296) were made in the same spidery lettering and very fine lines characteristic of the superimposed section 'C'. The name *Enedwaith (Middlemarch)* was written across 'A' and 'C' after 'C' had been stuck on, and *Forod-(waith) (Northerland)* belongs with it (though *-waith* was a further and rougher addition). *Enedwaith* here denotes a much greater region than it afterwards became (the lands between Greyflood and Isen): the original conception, it is seen, was of a great 'triad', *Forodwaith* or *Northerland*, bounded on the South-east by the Greyflood, *Enedwaith* or *Middlemarch* between Greyflood and Anduin, and *Haradwaith* or


II
See Maps IV A-E
THE SHIRE
ENEDWAITH
ANDUIN VALLEY
WILDERLAND
MIRKWOOD
GREAT RIVER
DEAD MARSHES
NOMAN'S LAND
Battle Plain (DAGORLAD)
Iron Hills
Lonely Mt.
Erebor
Esgaroth (Long Lake)
Sea of Rhûnaer
GREY Mountains
MISTY MTS.
Carrock
Gladden fields
R. Gladden
R. Anduin
R. Celebrant
R. Silverlode
R. Langflood
R. Limlight
R. Entwash
R. Isen
Tol Brandir
Tharbad
Old Ford
Sarn Ford
Weather Hills
Bree
Andrast
Amon Sûl (Weather Hill)
Fornost
Tyrn Gorthad
Dunland
Enedwaith
Minhiriath
Eriador
Rhudaur
Arthedain
Cardolan
Lindon
Forlindon
Harlindon
Mithlond
Grey Havens
Lithlad
Lake Nûrnen
Nurn
Udûn
Orodruin
Mordor
Barad-dûr
Sea of Rhûn
Ered Lithui
Ash Mts.
Khand
Umbar
Harad
Near Harad
Far Harad
Middle-earth
(Northern Waste)
(Northern Rangers)
(Northern Dunedain)
(Northern Rohirrim)
(Northern Gondor)
(Northern Elves)
(Northern Dwarves)
(Northern Men)
(Northern Orcs)
(Northern Trolls)
(Northern Wargs)
(Northern Eagles)
(Northern Ravens)
(Northern Crebain)
(Northern Fell Beasts)
(Northern Nazgûl)
(Northern Ringwraiths)
(Northern Witch-king)
(Northern Lord of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Chief of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Captain of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Lieutenant of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Standard Bearer of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Herald of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Messenger of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Scout of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Spy of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Assassin of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Executioner of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Torturer of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Interrogator of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Prisoner of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Slave of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Servant of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Master of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Lord of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Chief of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Captain of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Lieutenant of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Standard Bearer of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Herald of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Messenger of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Scout of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Spy of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Assassin of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Executioner of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Torturer of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Interrogator of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Prisoner of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Slave of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Servant of the Nazgûl)
(Northern Master of the Nazgûl)
I J K L M N O P
7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

Sutherland (on Map III) bounded on the North-west by Anduin (or by the river Harnen). All this remains on the 1943 map, but my father wrote on that map against Forodwaith: *(or Eriador)*.

On the changed names *Iren* > *Isen*, *Amrath (?)* > *Andrath* (not entered at all on the 1943 map), and *Andon* > *Anduin*, see p. 298.

I have mentioned (p. 298) that the great highland between Mirkwood and the Sea of Rhûnaer was almost certainly not an original element of 'A', and the streams flowing down from it into the Dead Marshes (N 16) were continued with the same pen-strokes onto 'C' (O 16), which had already been added. (Of this highland region there is no trace on my 1943 map: all this area is a pure blank, though the streams on N 16 are shown.) Within the outline of these highlands pencilled markings showing lines of high hills or mountains are now extremely faint, and disrupted by a large cracked fold that extends across the map through line M; and a pencilled name on M 16 is illegible save for the initial element *East*....

The name *Mirrormere* (L 11) is original. The Misty Mountains are not named, nor are the Mountains of Moria other than *Caradras* (an addition); on the 1943 map appears also *Kelebras* (p. 174 note 21), but not the third peak (*Fanuiras*). Afterwards my father pencilled on the First Map the final names *Celebdil* and *Fanuidol* (so spelt). As already mentioned (p. 296) *Silverlode* was a correction (in the style of portion 'C') of *Blackroot*, itself replacing *Redway*; and the southern river *Blackroot* appears on the hidden portion of 'A' (Map III^{A}) – where however it also was changed to *Silverlode*! The change here should have been the other way about: for the names of the two rivers were transposed, the northern 'Blackroot' becoming 'Silverlode', and the southern 'Silverlode' becoming 'Blackroot' (see p. 177 and note 1, and p. 241 note 36). But there is no doubt that the first name written against the southern river was *Blackroot*, and that this was then changed to *Silverlode*. Subsequently my father struck out *Silverlode* and wrote *stet* against *Blackroot*: I suppose therefore that this was either a passing hesitation, when he thought for a moment of going back on his previous decision to change the names, or else a mere slip.

Entish Land (J 11) is original, but is absent from the 1943 map; a later note against this on the First Map says: 'Alter *Entish Lands* to [*Trollfells* > *Bergrisland* >] *Ettenmoor*'. This would seem to be the place where *Ettenmoor(s)* was first devised, but see p. 65 note 32. *Bergrisland* is from Old Norse *berg-risi* 'hill-giant'.

On the two sites of *Dol Dúgol (Dol Dúghul)* see p. 298. For the emergence of the name *Rhosgobel* see p. 164.

Against *Lonely Mt.* is pencilled *Dolereb*, and also *Erebor* with a query (neither of these names appear on the 1943 map). *Erebor* first occurs in the fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond', p. 142 and note 2. The Grey Mountains and the Iron Hills were originally marked only as names, but my father afterwards drew in the latter, and also rather

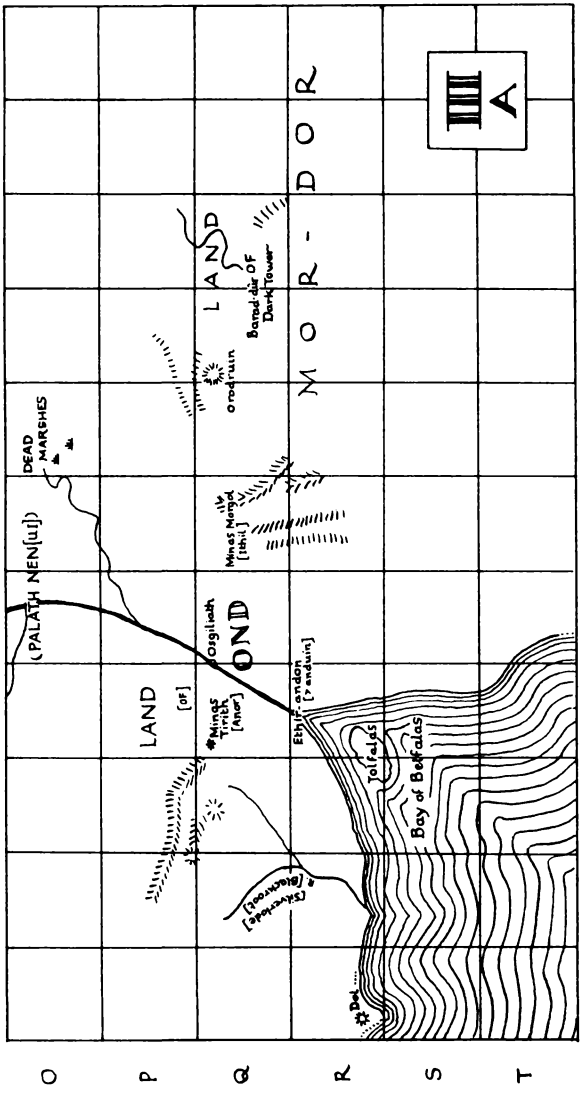
vague pencillings to show a mountainous region to west and south-west of the Sea of Rhûnaer; these features are shown on the 1943 map, as also are the river flowing from the Iron Hills and the eastward extension of the River Running to join it (K 16–17), though on the 1943 map the River Running is very much the major stream and that from the Iron Hills a slender tributary. *Rhûn* was an addition in the 'C' style. The name *Rhûnaer* (i.e. 'Eastern Sea'), also an addition to 'A' (as was the Sea itself), is unclear on the First Map on account of a crack in the paper, but is confirmed by its appearance on the 1943 map and on a later map of my father's, where, though the Sea itself is not included, there is a direction that the River Running flows into the *Sea of Rhûnaer*. On the map published in *The Lord of the Rings*, it is the *Sea of Rhûn*, and there are three references to the *Sea of Rhûn* in Appendix A (see also p. 333 in the next chapter). The forest bordering the Sea of Rhûnaer (L 19) extends on the First Map round the north-eastern point of the Sea and down its eastern shore (L–M 20), and against it my father pencilled *Neldoreth*; no name for the forest is marked on the 1943 map, which ends at the same point eastwards as does Map II in this book.[5] The island in the Sea is coloured green on the First Map, and on the 1943 map is marked as wooded.

The name *Bardings* on J 15 was a pencilled addition that appears on the 1943 map; the pencilled addition of *Eotheod* on I 12, however, does not (on the regions where the Éothéod dwelt, at first between the Carrock and the Gladden Fields and afterwards in the region of the source-streams of Anduin, Greylin and Langwell, see *Unfinished Tales* pp. 288, 295).

For features marked on the south-east corner of Map II, O–P 15–19, see under Map III.

Maps III^{A} and III

The line of squares P 7–19 overlaps with Map II. Map III contains no portion of the original map 'A' except for the two lines of squares on the left, P–T 7–8, where the river (afterwards Lefnui) on Q 8–9, P 9 seems certainly a later addition. Map III^{A} shows the names and geographical features of the original map 'A' that I can make out through the overlay (pp. 298–9). Granting the difficulty of seeing what was there, it is clear, I think, that when this part of 'A' was made the story itself had not advanced into these regions, and only a few names and features were entered. Comparison of Maps III^{A} and III will show that in the second version Ethir Anduin was moved south and east, becoming a vast delta, and the course of Anduin was entirely changed, flowing in a great eastward bend between Nindalf and the Mouths, whereas originally its course was almost in a straight line south-south-west. Concomitantly with this, Minas Tirith and Osgiliath were moved



IIII
A
MOR-DOR
LAND
Barad-dûr OF Dark Tower
Orodruin
Minas Morgul [Ithil]
DEAD MARSHES
(PALATH NEN[uI])
OND
Osgiliath
LAND
[OF]
Minas Tirith [Anor]
Ethir-andon [?anduin]
Tolfalas
Bay of Belfalas
[Sikverlode]
[Blackroot]
Dol
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
O
P
Q
R
S
T

MORDOR
Lithlad
Battle Plain
(DAGRAS)
Kirith Ungol
Ondruin
BARAD DÛR
(Dark Tower)
Gorgoroth
Sea of
Nurnen
Mts of Shadow
DUATH
Margil
Pass
[Lothlann]
HARADWAITH
(Sutherland)
UMBAR
(SWERTINGS)
(Barangils)
Haven
of
Umbar
GONDOR
ITHILIEN
Osgiliath
Minas Ithil
Minas Morgul
Anarion
R. Anduin
Ethir
Anduin
HARONDOR
(S. Gondor)
R. Harnen
ANARIEN
LEBENNIN
(Land of Seven Streams)
Ringlo
R. Morthond or Blackroot
Tolfalas
BAY of BELFALAS
BELFALAS
(Langstrand)
Dol Amroth
R. Isen
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
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8
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P
Q
R
S
T
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V
W
IIII

almost 200 miles to the east. Only the name and not the actual site of Minas Morgol can be seen on the underlying map, but it seems to have been a good deal further to the east of Osgiliath than was subsequently the case.[6] On other features of Map III[A] see pp. 298–9, and on *Blackroot* > *Silverlode* see p. 306.

Turning to the superimposed portion 'C' of the First Map (of which the uppermost horizontal line of squares O 9–19 is found on Map II), as I have said the lettering and representation of geographical features were here done with an exceptionally fine pen-nib; at the same time it is scarcely possible to distinguish earlier and later elements by this means – for example, *Harondor (S. Gondor)* is obviously later than *Ondor*, but there is nothing in the appearance of the lettering to show this. (*Ondor* here replaces *Ond* of the underlying map; for the first appearance of *Ondor* in the *Lord of the Rings* papers see p. 144.) My 1943 map is however effectively identical with the First Map in almost every feature, and only a few points need to be specially noticed here.

I postpone discussion of the *Dead Marshes* and *No Man's Land* to the notes on the development of Map IV. The original name *Dagras* of the Battle Plain was replaced in pencil by *Dagorlad*, which appears on the 1943 map but is omitted on the redrawing through lack of space. *Kirith Ungol* still appears in 1943 as the name of the chief entrance into Mordor, but I placed *Minas Morgul* (Q 15) further to the north, and so further north than Minas Tirith – very near to the northern tip of the Mountains of Shadow (P 15). This change complied with a direction by pencilled arrow on the First Map (where incidentally the name was originally spelt *Minas Morgol*, as on the overlaid portion of 'A' beneath). Among several changes that my father made to the 1943 map in these regions he replaced Minas Morgul in its original position on Q 15. Another was the addition of *Ephel* to *Duath* on both maps. For the significance of the two small circles on either side of the *n* of *Kirith Ungol* on P 15 see p. 349 note 41.

The *Nargil Pass* (S 17) is clearly represented and lettered on the 1943 map, whereas on the First Map it was scribbled in very hastily and is hardly legible (but apparently reads *Narghil Pass*). *Mount Mindolluin* was similarly added in roughly between Minas Tirith and the original mountain shown in the north-east corner of Q 13, but is carefully shown on mine (see note 1); the name is left off the redrawing through lack of space.

On the 1943 map only, my father moved *Dol Amroth* from R 9 to R 11 (south of the mouth of the river Morthond); on both maps he changed *Belfalas* to *Anfalas*; on the First Map only, he changed *Anarion* on Q 14 to *Anórien*, and altered *Land of Seven Streams* to *Land of Five Streams*; and on the 1943 map he struck out *Anarion* and *Lebennin (Land of Seven Streams)* and re-entered *Lebennin* in the place of *Anarion* on Q 14.

This question of the southern rivers is very curious. In the original

draft of Gandalf's story of his adventures to the Council of Elrond (p. 132) Radagast told him that he would scarcely come to Saruman's abode 'before the Nine cross the Seven Rivers', which in the next version (p. 149) becomes 'before the Nine have crossed the seventh river'. In 'the Lord of Moria' (p. 177) Boromir advises that the Company should 'take the road to my land that I followed on my way hither: *through Rohan and the country of Seven Streams*. Or we could go on far into the South and come at length round the Black Mountains, and crossing the rivers Isen and Silverlode [> Blackroot] enter Ond from the regions nigh the sea.' I have remarked there that this can only mean that the Company would pass through 'the country of Seven Streams' if they went to Minas Tirith by way of Rohan, north of the Black Mountains. On the other hand, in 'Farewell to Lórien' (p. 282) Boromir on his journey to Rivendell 'went round by the south about the Black Mountains and up the Greyflood – or the Seventh River as we call it.' And earlier in the same chapter (p. 272) he says that he was born 'between the mountains and the sea, on the borders of the Land of Seven Streams.'

The naming of Greyflood *the Seventh River* is an original element of the oldest portion 'A' of the First Map, and is surely to be associated with *the Land of Seven Streams*, especially in view of the change in the drafts of Gandalf's tale to the Council of Elrond, cited above, from 'the Seven Rivers' to 'the seventh river'. But what then were these rivers? I am certain that there is no river save Blackroot (with a tributary) west of Ethir Anduin on the hidden part of 'A' (Map III^{A}). Even if Anduin itself is counted, and the tributary of Blackroot, and if the unnamed river (later Lefnui) is supposed a very early addition, Isen is the fifth and Greyflood the sixth. I have not been able to find any solution to this puzzle.

With the replacement portion 'C' the nature of the puzzle changes. *Lebennin (Land of Seven Streams)* is a small region, and it is notable that seven rivers are indeed shown here (Map III, Q–R 11–14): Morthond and an unnamed tributary; Ringlo and an unnamed tributary; an unnamed river that enters Anduin above the Mouths; and an unnamed river entering Anduin further up its course (R 14), formed of two tributaries one of which flows from Minas Tirith.[7] But Greyflood, some 450 miles to the north-west of the most westerly of these seven streams, remains *the Seventh River*.[8] A further twist to the problem arises from the fact that *Lebennin* does not in any case mean 'Seven Streams', but 'Five Streams'. The original Quenya word for 'five' was *lemin* (I.246); and in the *Etymologies* (V.368) are found the Quenya word *lempe* 'five' and the Noldorin word *lheben* (cf. Q. *lepse*, N. *lhebed*, 'finger'). *Ossiriand* was the Land of Seven Rivers (cf. the *Etymologies*, V.379, Quenya *otso*, Noldorin *odog* 'seven'). As noted above, my father afterwards changed 'Seven' to 'Five' on the First Map, and in *The Lord of the Rings* the name *Lebennin* means 'Five

Streams': cf. *The Return of the King* V.1 (p. 22), 'fair Lebennin with its five swift streams'.

A later map of my father's does not solve these problems, but carries a note that is very interesting in this connection. When this map was made *Lebennin* had been moved to its final position. The note reads:

Rivers of Gondor
Anduin
From East
Ithilduin or *Duin Morghul*
Poros Boundary
From West
Ereg First
Sirith
Lameduin (of Lamedon) with tributaries *Serni* (E.) and *Kelos* (W.)
Ringlo, *Kiril*, *Morthond* and *Calenhir* that all flow into Cobas Haven
Lhefneg Fifth
} The 5 rivers of Lebennin
In counting only the mouths are counted: *Ereg* 1, *Sirith* 2, *Lameduin* 3, *Morthond* 4, *Lhefneg* 5, *Isen* 6, *Gwathlo* 7

Thus in relation to the final geography of the region:

- *Ereg* (the unnamed river on the First Map flowing into Anduin on R 14) became *Erui*.
- *Sirith* (the unnamed river on the First Map flowing into Anduin on R 13) remained.
- *Lameduin* here has tributaries *Serni* and *Kelos*, which evidently constitute Lameduin from their confluence. On the First Map Lameduin is *Ringlo*, with unnamed tributaries. In the final form Lameduin became *Gilrain*, with its tributary *Serni*, while *Kelos* was transferred to become a tributary of Sirith.[9]
- Of the four rivers *Ringlo*, *Kiril*, *Morthond*, and *Calenhir* 'that all flow into Cobas Haven' the first three only are named on this map; but though the *Calenhir* is not, it is shown as an unnamed river, most westerly of the four, flowing eastwards from Pinnath Gelin. These four rivers join together not far from the coast, and flow (as *Morthond*, according to the list of river-mouths above) into the sea in the bay north of Dol Amroth, which is named *Cobas Haven*.[10] In the final geography this configuration remains, although *Calenhir* is lost.
- *Lhefneg* became *Lefnui*.
- *Isen* remained.
- *Gwathlo or Greyflood* is on this map given an alternative name *Odotheg*, changed to *Odothui* (i.e. 'seventh').

For the first appearance in the texts of the *Mountains of Shadow*

and the *Valley of Gorgoroth* see p. 144; cf. also the *Gap of Gorgoroth*, p. 208. *Kirith Ungol* ('the passes of Mordor') appears in 'Farewell to Lórien', p. 283. For *Lithlad* ('Plain of Ash') see pp. 208, 213, and for the first occurrence of *Orodruin* p. 28. *Lothlann* (U 17–18) was apparently an original name on portion 'C' of the First Map, but it was struck out; whether it appeared on the 1943 map cannot be said, for the bottom right-hand corner of that map was torn off. *Lothlann* ('wide and empty') derives from *The Silmarillion*: see the Index to Vol. V.

On *Haradwaith (Sutherland)* see pp. 304, 306. The name *Swertings* appears in *The Two Towers*, IV.3 (p. 255), where Sam speaks of 'the big folk down away in the Sunlands. Swertings we call 'em in our tales.' *Barangils* is found later as a name in Gondor for the men of the Harad.

Maps IV^{A} to IVE

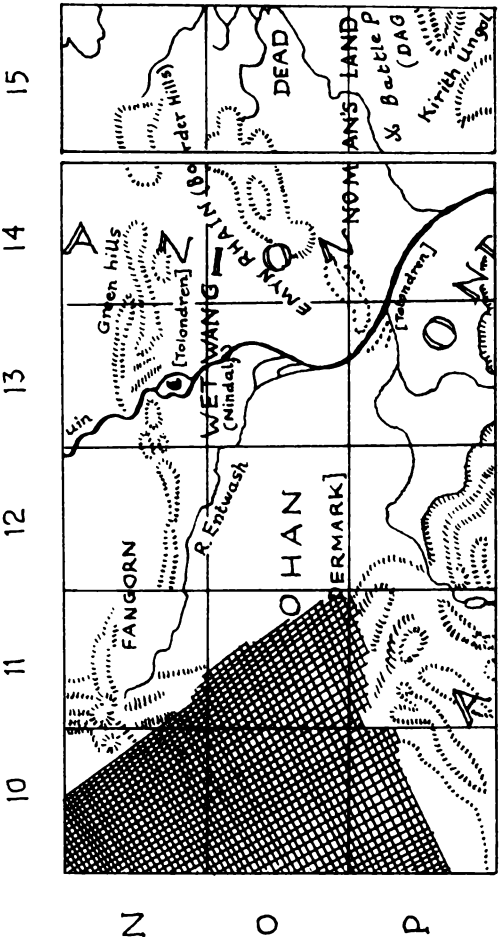
We come now to what is by far the most complex part of the First Map, the rectangle of fifteen squares (N–P 10–14) lettered 'D' on the figure on p. 297, and left blank on Map II. This section was redrawn and replaced many times.

IV^{A}

In Map IV^{A} the uppermost line of squares N 10–14 is part of the original 'A' portion of the First Map, whereas lines O and P are part of the superimposed portion 'C'; but I believe that most of the features and names shown on the line N were added in after portion 'C' had been glued on, and that there is no need to trouble with this distinction. The little that can be seen (and very little seems to have been marked in) on lines O and P of the original 'A' portion is shown on Map III^{A}, where the line of Anduin below Palath Nenui (Wetwang) was entirely different (see p. 307).

The vertical line of squares N–P 15 on the right-hand side of Map IV^{A} is repeated from Map II, and is merely added to make the conjunction easier to follow (it includes also the remainder of the name *Border Hills*, which was later struck out). The shaded area on N–P 10–11 is invisible owing to a later pasted overlay (see under Map IV^{D} below).

I think it is certain that the hills marked *Green Hills* and those marked *Emyn Rhain (Border Hills)* were put in at the same time, at the making of portion 'C'; but I do not think that they were named at once. This matter is rather complex, but it reveals, as I believe, an interesting aspect of the relation between my father's narrative writing and his maps. I set out first the various statements made in the earliest texts of the chapter 'Farewell to Lórien' about the country through which the Anduin flowed south of Lothlórien.


10
11
12
13
14
15
FANGORN
R. Entwash
WET WANG
(Nindal)
[Tolondren]
Green hills
EMYN RHAIN
NOMAN'S LAND
DEAD
Battle P
(DAG
Kirith Ungol
[Tolondren]
N
O
P

IV A

(i) The River *winds among the Border Hills, Emyn Rain.* They must decide their course there, *because the Wetwang lies before them* (p. 268).

(ii) They pass into *the Rhain Hills where the River winds in deep ravines* (p. 269).

(iii) The Company lands (on Tolondren, the island in Anduin) and *goes up into the Rhain Hills* (p. 269).

(iv) The Company lands on Tolondren. . . . They cross to the East bank and *go up into the Green Hills (or Emyn Rhain?)* (p. 269).

(v) Elves of Lórien shall go with the Company *as far as the Green Hills where the River winds among deep ravines* (with *Rhain* written above *Green*) (p. 271).

(vi) Keleborn speaks of *the falls of Rhain where the River runs out of the ravines in the Green Hills* (p. 273).

(vii) Keleborn says that the River will pass through *a bare and barren country before it flows into the sluggish region of Nindalf*, where the Entwash flows in. *Beyond that are Emyn Rhain the Border Hills*... The Company should leave the River *where the isle of Tolondren stands in the stream above the falls of Rosfein* and cross the Entwash above the marshes (pp. 281–2).

(Here the Border Hills are displaced southwards, *beyond* Tolondren and the Nindalf. Keleborn's words were rewritten to say:)

(viii) the River will pass through *a bare and barren country, winding among the Border Hills before it falls down into the sluggish region of Nindalf* (p. 281).

There is clearly a doubt or confusion here as to the Green Hills and the Border Hills, and different views of how the Border Hills relate to Tolondren, the falls, and the Nindalf or Wetwang. I do not think that any definite conclusion can be drawn from these texts taken by themselves, but from the Map IV^{A} I believe that the development can be tolerably well understood.

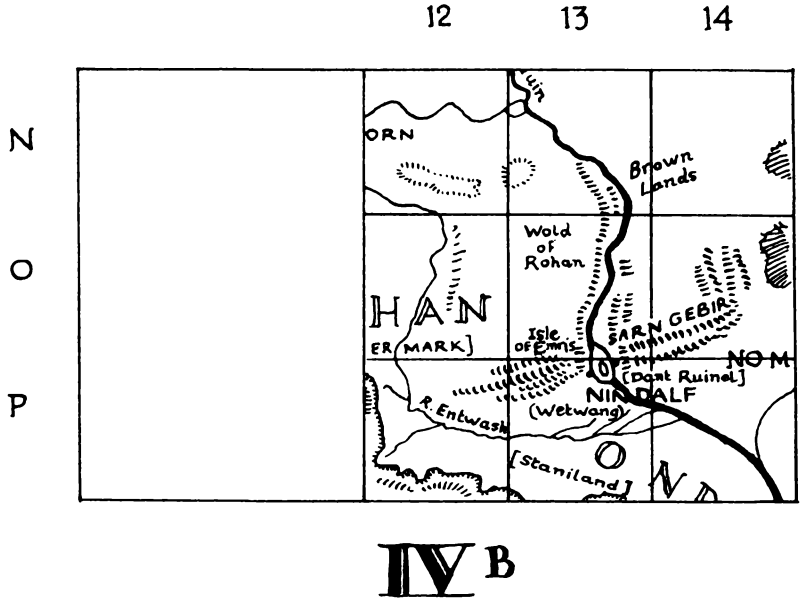
The line of hills extending on either side of Anduin (N 12–14), and the hills rising to east and south-east of these (N–O 14–15), were drawn in at the same time and in the same style, characteristic of portion 'C', with outlining in short strokes. The lettering, I feel sure, was put in subsequently. My belief is that these ranges were a datum already provided, illustrating my father's words in his letter to Naomi Mitchison of 25 April 1954 (*Letters* no. 144): 'I wisely started with a map, *and made the story fit*'; and that the confusing statements in the earliest 'Farewell to Lórien' papers show him moving towards a satisfactory relation between the evolving narrative, his vision of the lands about Anduin in these regions, and what was drawn on the map (i.e. these ranges of hills).

At one stage he decided that the hills should be the Green Hills and the Border Hills respectively. He wrote in these names, and at the same time extended the latter (more roughly, and with dotted outlines) southwest, so as to embrace both sides of Anduin (O 14, P 13–14). This perhaps illustrates Keleborn's words in extract (vii) above, where the Border Hills are south of Tolondren and the Nindalf. But in the margin of the First Map he noted: 'Place [?Tolondren a little more south] and *combine Green Hills with Border Hills*, and make Nindalf or Wetwang all round mouths of Entwash.' The last remark probably refers to the curious feature seen on Map IV^{A}, that the Wetwang lies distinctly northward of the mouths; that concerning Tolondren is no doubt reflected in the striking out of the name on N 13 and its reintroduction in a more southerly position (P 13, at the confluence with Anduin of a stream flowing in from the Black Mountains), where it was again struck out. This bit of the map had clearly become in need of redrawing.

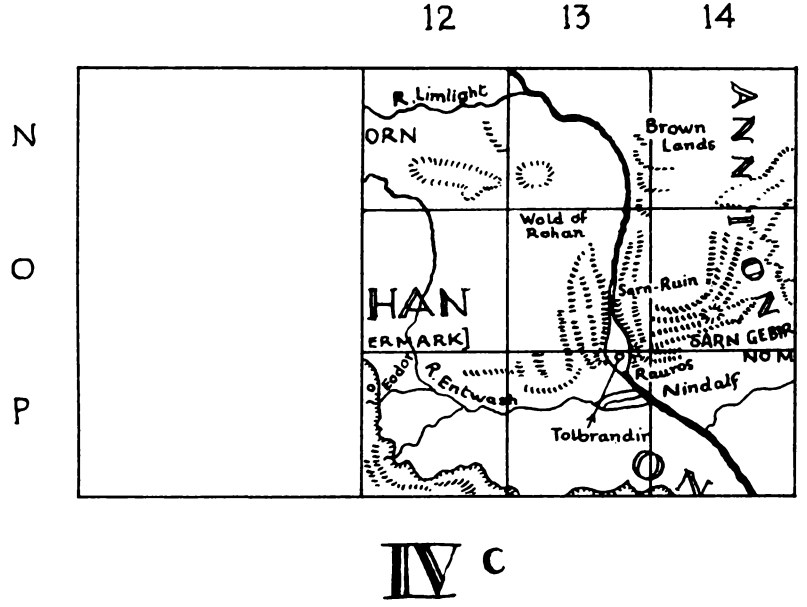
It may be noted incidentally that the stream from the Black Mountains rises in an oval lake on P 11; and it seems perfectly clear that the Morthond rises in this lake also: see Map III, Q 11.

Map IV^{B}

What now happened to the geography is clear. In the extract (viii) above Keleborn says that the River will pass through 'a bare and barren country, winding among the Border Hills before it falls down into the sluggish region of Nindalf.' In the draft (ii) given on p. 282 he says that 'the trees will fail, and you will come to a barren country. There the river flows in stony vales among high moors, until it comes to the tall island of Tolondren' (largely preserved in FR, p. 389). Thus the *Brown Lands* emerge, in place of the original Green Hills, on Map IV^{B}, which is a detached slip of 9 squares that was never pasted in. Here Tolondren (but no longer so named) is definitively in the more southerly position, and in relation to this the course of Entwash is greatly changed, bending in a great southward sweep, *so that the Wetwang is still south of Tolondren and the falls* (here called *Dant Ruinel*, this name being struck out: *Rauros* was later added in pencil).[11] In fact, the new course of Entwash partly takes over that of the unnamed river in IV^{A}, flowing in from the Black Mountains (P 12–13). The southwestward extension of the Emyn Rhain, lightly entered on IV^{A}, is now called *Sarn Gebir* and strongly reinforced (cf. Keleborn's reference to 'the bleak hills of Sarn-gebir', p. 283), but this was done very coarsely, clearly after the little slip was first drawn; on account of the heavy lines marking these hills other markings are difficult to interpret, but it can be seen that there is now a large lake (coloured blue), and a large island in the lake named the *Isle of*


12
13
14
N
O
P
ORN
Brown Lands
Wold of Rohan
HAN
ER MARK]
Isle of Emis
SARN GEBIR
NOM
[Dant Ruinel]
NINDALF
(Wetwang)
R. Entwash
[Staniland]

IV B


12
13
14
N
O
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R. Limlight
ORN
Brown Lands
Wold of Rohan
HAN
ERMARK]
Sarn-Ruin
SARN GEBR
NOM
Fedor
R. Entwash
Rauros
Nindalf
Tolbrandir

IV C

Emris,[12] while on either shore are dark spots, no doubt representing Amon Hen and Amon Lhaw.

The name *[Staniland]* beneath *Ond(or)* was entered in pencil. The Wold of Rohan is coloured green, as are the hills on N 12–13. The river Limlight now appears (N 12–13), though the name was only pencilled in later.

Map IV^{C}

This is another detached slip showing the same 9 squares and not differing greatly from IV^{B}, save in the representation of Sarn Gebir to the west of Anduin, where the line of hills now runs North-South. The names *Tolbrandir*,[13] *Rauros*, and *River Limlight* were now entered (the latter two added in pencil on IV^{B}), and the rapids, called *Sarn-Ruin*, north of the lake. In pencil the names *Westemnet*, *Eastemnet*, and the *Entwade*, not included in the redrawing, were added. *G* was written before *Ondor*, and an arrow moved *Wold of Rohan* to N 12, north of the hills (again coloured green) on N 12–13. The name *(Rhov)annion* is spelt thus, with doubled *n*. The name *Eodor* was entered in pencil on P 12, but struck through, and (apparently) moved westwards onto P 11 (the six squares N–P 10–11 at this time existing in the form they have on Map IV^{A}, where however much is obliterated by later overlay).

Maps IV^{D} and IVE

Map IV^{D} is a section of twelve squares (N–P 10–13) which was glued onto the map when it was in the state represented by Map IV^{A}, but here the glue has only adhered on the left-hand side, and thus much of IV^{A} is revealed. The vertical line of squares N–P 14 was cut off from IV^{C}, and IV^{D} was drawn to join (more or less) with this strip. Then, the four squares O–P 10–11 were overlaid by yet another superimposed section (IVE), and here the corresponding part of IV^{D} is totally hidden.

On IV^{D} pencilled changes made to IV^{C} were now included: *Gondor* for *Ondor*, the *Entwade*, *Eastemnet* and *Westemnet*, and the movement of the *Wold of Rohan* northwards. The two great loops in Anduin on N 13 (afterwards called the North and South Undeeps: see *Unfinished Tales* p. 260 and Index, entry *Undeeps*) appear,[14] while the course of Limlight is changed. No name is given to the rapids in Anduin – *Sarn* is not written to join with *Ruin* on the strip cut from IV^{C}; *Sarn Gebir* was written here subsequently in pencil. The names *Anarion* on Q 14 (Map III) and *Ithilien* opposite on the eastern bank of Anduin were entered at the same time as *Anarion* on P 13 here. On the First Map my father changed *Anarion* to *Anórien* on Q 14; on my 1943 map he changed *Anarion* to *Anórien* on P 13, whereas on Q 14 he changed *Anarion* to *Lebennin* (p. 310). On the western side of the

14
13
12
11
10
ANN
ION
Brown Lands
Ruin
SARN GEBIR
NOM
Nindalf
from IV C
R. Limlight
Wold (of Rohan)
EASTEMNET
Entwade
R. Ent wash
ANARION
Eastfold
ROHAN
WESTE
Dunland
[Westfold]
GAP of ROHAN
Ford
Helm's Deep
Tindtorras
R. Isen
Methedras
Westfold
Eodor
Dunharrow
BLACK MOUNTAINS
N
O
P
D
E
IV D and E

Misty Mountains *Dunland* was entered (N 10), and against the vale to the south was written *Westfold*, which was struck through.

It seems that when map IVE was glued on much of the adjoining region on IV^{D} was rather coarsely overdrawn, and this is a very difficult part to interpret and to represent; but as this part of the geography has not yet been reached in the texts I shall not consider it here. The westward extension of the Black Mountains on P 8–9 (Map III) belongs with this.[15] Map IVE is the first representation of Isengard and the Gap of Rohan that can be reached, IV^{A} and IV^{D} being invisible. Here appear *Helm's Deep*, *Tindtorras* (earlier name for *Thrihyrne*), the *Ford of Isen*, *Dunharrow*, and *Methedras*. *Eodoras* appears on P 11 (see above under Map IV^{C}); *Eastfold* appears to be represented by a dot, which may however be no more than a mark on the paper; and *Westfold* is pencilled in along the northern foothills of the Black Mountains. The letters *rch* on O–P 10 continue the name *Middlemarch* (see Map II).

On IV$^{D–E}$ (but not on the 1943 map) certain roads or tracks are shown which I have not inserted on the redrawing. At about 12 miles NNW of Eodoras there is a road-meeting: one road goes to the Ford of Isen, keeping near to the foothills but running across the outer limits of the Westfold Vale; another goes north-east to the Entwade and then north along the east bank of Entwash, passing between the river and the downs; and a third runs south-east and east to Minas Tirith, crossing the streams that flow down into Entwash.

The 1943 map is here anomalous and I cannot relate it to the series of replacements made to the First Map. My map was obviously made when the First Map had reached its present state (i.e. when IV^{D} had been stuck on, and IVE on top of a part of that), for it agrees in every feature and name in its representation of the Gap of Rohan and Helm's Deep; Dunland, Methedras, Tindtorras, Dunharrow, etc. all appear. On the other hand, the courses of Anduin and Limlight on N 12–13 are very distinctly as on Map IV^{C}. Seeing that the course of the Entwash in the square below (O 12) is carefully represented in the later form of IV^{D}, this is inexplicable, except on the assumption that the courses of Anduin and Limlight on N 12–13 (introducing the Undeeps) were changed after the 1943 map had been made; but I cannot detect any sign of alteration or erasure on IV^{D}. On the 1943 map the rapids in Anduin are named *Sarn Ruin*, and the hills *Sarn Gebir*.

My father afterwards changed *Black Mountains* to *White Mountains* on the 1943 map (only).

No Man's Land and the Dead Marshes

In 'Farewell to Lórien' (p. 281) Keleborn says that beyond the Wetwang are *the Nomenlands, dreary Uvanwaith that lies before the passes of Mordor*; and in a subsequent draft of the passage (p. 283) he

speaks of the bleak hills of Sarn-gebir, where the wind blows from the East, *for they look out over the Dead Marshes and the Nomenlands to the passes of Mordor: Kirith Ungol.* With the later names *Emyn Muil* and *Cirith Gorgor*, this was retained in FR (p. 390): 'On the further side are the bleak hills of the Emyn Muil. The wind blows from the East there, for they look out over the Dead Marshes and the Noman-lands to Cirith Gorgor and the black gates of Mordor.' This is the land described in *The Two Towers*, IV.2 (p. 238):

> The air was now clearer and colder, and though still far off, the walls of Mordor were no longer a cloudy menace on the edge of sight, but as grim black towers they frowned across a dismal waste. The marshes were at an end, dying away into dead peats and wide flats of dry cracked mud. The land ahead rose in long shallow slopes, barren and pitiless, towards the desert that lay at Sauron's gate.

And when Sam and Frodo at last approached the Black Gate (*ibid.* p. 239):

> Frodo looked round in horror. Dreadful as the Dead Marshes had been, and the arid moors of the Noman-lands [*First Edition*: of Nomen's land], more loathsome far was the country that the crawling day now slowly unveiled to his shrinking eyes.

It will be seen that when the mouths of Entwash and the Wetwang were moved south (Maps IV^{B}, IV^{C}) 'No Man's Land' lay between the Wetwang and the Dead Marshes. My 1943 map is in complete agreement with this. On my father's later maps, when the geographical relations in this region had shifted somewhat, the Wetwang and the Dead Marshes are continuous, and no map later than that of 1943 shows *No Man's Land* (*Noman-lands*, *Nomenlands*, *Nomen's Land*). From these passages in *The Two Towers*, however, it is plain that this region of 'long shallow slopes, barren and pitiless', of 'arid moors', that succeeded the marshes still lay between Frodo and Sam and the pass into Mordor (see the large-scale map of Gondor and Mordor accompanying *The Return of the King*).

After this demanding journey across the First Map we can return to the lands themselves, and in the next chapter follow the fortunes of (unexpectedly, as it may seem) Sam and Frodo.

NOTES

1 A note of my father's about this map is extant:

> This map was made before the story was complete. It is incomplete and much is missed out.
>
> Chief errors are in Gondor and Mordor. The White Moun-

tains are not in accord with the story. Lebennin should be Belfalas. Mindolluin should be immediately behind Minas Tirith, and the distance across the vale of Anduin *much* reduced, so that Minas Tirith is close to Osgiliath and Osgiliath closer to Minas Morgul. Kirith Ungol is misplaced.

2 The style in which natural features were represented varied. In particular, my father when drawing the Black Mountains surrounded them with a fine continuous line (whereas for the Mountains of Shadow and Ered Lithui he used small strokes to define the foothills), and this can be very confusing in relation to the similar lines representing streams falling from the mountains (see note 7). To make my redrawing as clear as possible, I have substituted lines of dots or small strokes in representing the foothills of the Black Mountains (see note 15).

3 On the revised map first published in *Unfinished Tales* an arrow directs that the name *Icebay of Forochel* applies to the great bay of which the southern bay is only a small part.

4 In the absence of 'sea-lines' the inner line could itself be taken to be the coast; but on my 1943 map the coastline follows the outer line on the First Map (and neither the inner wavy line nor the small circular area are present). This no doubt followed my father's instruction.

5 For another use of *Neldoreth*, from the legends of the First Age, in *The Lord of the Rings* see VI.384.

6 The three cities were still relatively far apart on the redrawn portion 'C' of the First Map, repeated on the 1943 map; see note 1.

7 That this river flowed from Minas Tirith is not perfectly clear on the First Map, owing to a difficulty in distinguishing between the fine lines that mark the outer contours of the mountains and those that mark streams (see note 2); but on my 1943 map it is shown very clearly as flowing out of the city (and I have so redrawn it on Map III).

8 This is still the case not only on the 1943 map but also on a later map of my father's (p. 312).

9 This is a convenient place to notice that the redrawn version of the LR map first published in *Unfinished Tales* contains an error, in that I showed Sirith as the western arm and Celos, its tributary, as the eastern, whereas it should be the reverse (as it is on the large-scale map of Mordor, Gondor, and Rohan in *The Return of the King*).

10 *Cobas Haven*: cf. *Kópas Alqaluntë* in *The Book of Lost Tales* (I.257 and Index). In the *Etymologies* (V.364–5) Quenya *kópa* 'harbour, bay' was given under the stem KOP, but this entry was replaced by a stem KHOP, whence Quenya *hópa*, Noldorin *hobas*, as in *Alfobas* = *Alqualondë*.

11 For *Dant-ruin*, *Dant-ruinel*, and *Rauros* see pp. 283, 285.

12 This name can in fact only be made out in the light of the appearance of the *Isle of Emris* in a time-scheme of this period (see p. 367), where it was changed to *Eregon*, and that to *Tolbrandir*. On the fair copy manuscript of 'Farewell to Lórien' *Tolondren* was changed to *Eregon* (p. 285).

13 For earlier forms *Brandor*, *Tol Brandor* see p. 285.

14 The divided course of Anduin on O 13 is very clear on the map.

15 I have represented the extension of the Black Mountains on P 8–9 with dots and strokes to make it consistent with the representation of mountains elsewhere on Map III (see note 2); in the original the contours are shown by continuous lines, as on Map IVE.

XVI
THE STORY FORESEEN FROM LÓRIEN

(i)

The Scattering of the Company

It seems certain that *before* my father wrote the conclusion of 'Farewell to Lórien' – that is, from the point where the Company returned to the hythe and departed down the Great River – he began to write a new and very substantial outline of the way ahead. The opening pages of this outline are complex, and at the beginning the text was much altered, though it is clear that my father was changing the embryonic story as he wrote and that the layers of the text belong together. The notes are here again an essential part of the elucidation.

At the head of the text he wrote, in a second stage, 'XXI', then changed it to 'XX continued' and after the opening words 'The Company sets off from Tongue' wrote in 'XXI'. On the arrangement of chapters in this outline see pp. 329–30.[1]

The Company sets off from Tongue.

They are attacked with arrows.[2]

They come to [*struck out:* Stony] Stoneait [*struck out:* Tolharn] Tollernen[3] [*added:* sheersided except on North where there [is] a little shingle beach. It rises to a high brown hill, higher than the low brown hills on either bank. They land and camp on the island]. Debate whether to go East or West. Frodo feels it in his heart that he should go East and crosses over with Sam to east shore and climbs a hill, and looks out south-east towards the Gates of Mordor. He tells Sam that he wishes to be alone for a while and bids him go back [and] guard the boat on which they had crossed from the Island. Meanwhile Boromir taking another boat crossed over. He hides his boat in bushes. [*This passage changed to read:* Debate whether to go East or West. Frodo feels it in his heart that he should go East and climbs the tall hill in the midst of the island. Sam goes with him but near the top Frodo says to him that he is going to sit on hill top alone and bids him wait for him. Frodo sits alone and looks

out towards Mordor over Sarn Gebir and Nomen's land.[4] Meanwhile Boromir has crept away from Company and climbed hill from west side.]

As Frodo is sitting alone on hill top, Boromir comes suddenly up and stands looking at him. Frodo is suddenly aware as if some unfriendly thing is looking at him behind. He turns and sees only Boromir smiling with a friendly face.

'I feared for you,' said Boromir, 'with only little Sam. It is ill to be alone on the east side of the River.[5] Also my heart is heavy, and I wished to talk a while with you. Where there are so many all speech becomes a debate without end in the conflict of doubting wills.'

'My heart too is heavy,' said Frodo, 'for I feel that here doubts must be resolved; and I foresee the breaking up of our fair company, and that is a grief to me.'

'Many griefs have we had,' said Boromir, and fell silent. There was no sound; only the cold rustle of the chill East wind in the withered heather. Frodo shivered.

Suddenly Boromir spoke again.

'It is a small thing that lies so heavy on our hearts, and confuses our purposes,' said Boromir. [Here include conversation written above and bring down to Boromir's attempt to seize the Ring.]

This last sentence was written continuously with the preceding text. The conversation referred to is found on two pages of the 'August 1940' examination paper, written in pencil so faint and rapid that my father went over it more clearly in ink, although, so far as the underlying text can be made out, he followed it almost exactly. This obviously preceded the new outline into which it is inserted, and was a development from the scene in the previous Plot ('The Story Foreseen from Moria') given on p. 208, where the debate, Boromir's intervention, and Frodo's flight wearing the Ring all take place 'at Angle': here the scene is set 'at the Stone Hills, whence Eredwethion[6] can be glimpsed' (these words being visible in the underlying text also). In the notes given on p. 233 the 'parting of the ways' took place 'at Stonehills'; in the outlines for 'Farewell to Lórien' (pp. 268–9) the debate and the 'scene with Boromir' follow the landing on Tolondren and the ascent into the Green Hills, or the Emyn Rhain.

Conversation of Boromir and Frodo at the Stone Hills, whence Eredwethion can be glimpsed like a smudge of grey, and behind it a vague cloud lit beneath occasionally by a fitful glow.

'It is a small thing from which we suffer so much woe,' said Boromir. 'I have seen it but once for an instant, in the house of Elrond. Could I not have a sight of it again?'

Frodo looked up. His heart went suddenly cold. He caught a curious gleam in Boromir's eye, though his face otherwise was friendly and smiling as of old.

'It is best to let it lie hid,' he answered.

'As you will. I care not,' said Boromir. 'Yet I will confess that it is of the Ring that I wish to speak. (Yet hidden or revealed I would wish now to speak to you of the Ring?) . . . [*sic*]

Boromir says that Elrond etc. are all foolish. 'It is mad not to use the power and methods of the Enemy: ruthless, fearless. Many elves, half-elves, and wizards might be corrupted by it – but not so a true Man. Those who deal in magic will use it for hidden Power. Each to his kind. You, Frodo, for instance, being a hobbit and desiring peace: you use it for invisibility. Look what a warrior could do! Think what I – or Aragorn, if you will – could do! How he would fare among the enemy and drive the Black Riders! It would give power of command.

'And yet Elrond tells us not only to throw it away and destroy it – that is understandable (though not to my mind wise since I have pondered on it by night on our journey). But what a way – walk into the enemy's net and offer him every chance of re-capturing it!'

Frodo is obdurate.

'Come at least to Minas-tirith!' said Boromir. He laid his hand on Frodo's shoulder in friendly fashion, but Frodo felt his arm tremble as if with suppressed excitement. Frodo stepped away and stood further off.

'Why are you so unfriendly?' said Boromir. 'I am a valiant man and true,' he said. 'And I give you my *word* that I would not keep it – would not, that is I should say, if you would lend it to me. Just to make trial!'

'No! No!' said Frodo. [*Added:* 'It is mine alone by fate to bear.']

Boromir gets more angry, and so more incautious (or actually evil purpose now only begins to grow in him). 'You are *foolish!*' he cried. 'Doing yourself to death and ruining our cause. Yet the Ring is not yours, save by chance. It might as well have been Aragorn's – or mine. Give it to me! Then you will be rid of it, and of all responsibility. You would be free' (cunningly) 'You can lay the blame on me, if you will, saying that I was too strong

and took it by force. For I *am* too strong for you, Frodo,' he said. And now an ugly look had come suddenly over his fair and pleasant face. He got to his feet and sprang at Frodo.

Frodo could do nothing else. He slipped the Ring on, and vanished among the rocks. Boromir cursed, and groped among the rocks. Then suddenly the fit left him, and he wept.

'What folly possessed me!' he said. 'Come back, Frodo!' he called. 'Frodo! Evil came into my heart, but I have put it away.'

But Frodo was now frightened, and he hid until Boromir went back to camp. Standing on rocks he saw nothing about him but a grey formless mist, and far away (yet black and clear and hard) the Mountains of Mordor: the fire seemed very red. Fell voices in air. Feels Eye searching, and though it does not find him, he feels its attention is suddenly arrested (by himself).[7]

Here the inserted text ends and the new Plot continues:

Then Frodo took counsel with himself, and he perceived that the evil of the Ring was already at work even among the Company. (Also its evil was again on him, since he had put it on again.) He said to himself: this is laid on me. I am the Ringbearer and none can help me. I will not emperil the other hobbits or any of my companions. I will depart alone.

He slips away unseen and coming to the boats takes one and crosses over to the East.

Boromir is now himself frightened and though (half) repenting his own greed for the Ring the curse has not wholly left him. He ponders what tale he shall tell to the others. Hastening back to the River he comes upon Sam, who anxious at Frodo's long absence is coming to the hill-top to find him.

'Where is my master?' says Sam.

'I left him on the hill-top,' said Boromir, but something wild and odd in his face caused Sam sudden fear. 'What have you done with him?' 'I have done nothing,' said Boromir. 'It is what he has done himself: he has put on the ring and vanished!'

'Thank goodness the island is not large,' said Sam in great alarm, but he thought also to himself: 'And what made him do that, I should like to know. What mischief has this great fool been up to?' Without another word to Boromir he ran back to the camp to find Trotter. 'Master Frodo has disappeared!' he cried.

Consternation. The hunt. Some scour the island. But Sam discovers the fact that a boat is missing. Has Frodo gone East or

West? Trotter decides that they cannot hope to recapture Frodo against his will, but they must *follow* him if they can. Which way?

[Or make Island inaccessible: steep shores. Black birds circle high above its tall cliffs and central summit. Distant noise of the falls of Dantruinel.[8] They camp on *west* shore. Hence when Frodo is lost they all go after him. Thus Pippin and Merry get separated.[9] Sam sits alone and so discovers missing boat. He takes another and goes after Frodo.] [*Against this bracketed passage is written* Yes.]

It is clear that my father at once accepted his suggestion in this last passage that the Company camped on the west bank, not on the island in the river, because that passage contains the words 'Sam ... discovers missing boat. He takes another and goes after Frodo', and this, as will be seen in a moment, is a necessary element in the story that follows.

Boromir is for West. In any case he says he is afraid – the Ring will fall now almost certainly into the Enemy's hands. 'This madness was set [in] him for that purpose.'[10] He wishes to get now to Minas-Tirith as quick as possible. Sam goes West [*read* East], others East [*read* West].

Sam picks up trail of Frodo.[11] How? He finds boat knocking against the bank.[12] A little further he finds a scrap of grey stuff on a bramble – a great bramble tract has to be crossed. Very soon Sam discovered that he was lost in a pathless listening land. But he felt sure his master would steer towards the Fiery Mt. Away on his right the falls roared. He climbed down into the Wetwang. Daylight fell. Slept in tree. Heard Gollum at foot and tried to track *him*, thinking he was after Frodo. But Sam is not clever enough for Gollum, who is soon aware of him and turns and discovers him. He confesses to Gollum that he is trying to find Frodo.

Gollum laughs. 'Then his luck is better than he deserves, yes,' said Gollum, 'for Gollum has been following him: Gollum can see footprints where he can't see nothings, no!'

Gollum was so intent on the trail – muttering to himself 'Footsteps, Gollum sees them, and he smells them: Gollum is wary' – that he did not seem aware of Sam's (relatively) clumsy efforts at stalking the stalker.[13]

It was near the evening of the second day when Frodo, every sense keyed up, became suddenly aware of footfalls. He puts on the ring, but Gollum comes up and circles near. To Frodo's

great surprise Sam appears. To the equal surprise of Sam and Gollum Frodo suddenly takes off ring and stands before them.

Gollum is the most surprised: for between Frodo and Sam he is overmatched. He cringes: for as Ringbearer Frodo has a power over him (though he is really an object of great hatred). Gollum pleads for forgiveness, and promises help, and having nowhere else to turn Frodo accepts. Gollum says he will lead them over the Dead Marshes to Kirith Ungol.[14] (Chuckling to himself to think that that is just the way he would wish them to go.)

Here ends Chapter.

At this stage my father was following the previous Plot (p. 208): 'At point where Sam, Frodo and Gollum meet return to others – for whose adventures see later. But they should be told at this point.' He now decided, I think, that not even so much of the story of Frodo and Sam east of Anduin should yet be told, and he bracketed all that follows from 'Sam picks up trail of Frodo', writing against it 'Put in later chapter. XXIV' (subsequently altering XXIV to XXV: see p. 330).[15] At the same time he struck out 'Here ends Chapter' and went on with the story of the other members of the Company.

Dismay of the hunt at finding no trace of Frodo. Boromir, Legolas, Gimli, Trotter return to camp, only to find now that Sam also is missing, and Pippin and Merry as well.

Trotter is overwhelmed with grief, thinking that he has failed in his charge as Gandalf's successor. He imagines that the hobbits are all together; and waits in camp until the morning.[16]

In the morning no sign is found of them. The Company is now broken. Trotter sees nothing for it but to go south to Minas-Tirith with Boromir. But Legolas and Gimli have no further heart for the Quest, and feel that already too many leagues are between them and their homes. They go north again: Legolas meaning to join the Elves of Lothlórien for a while, Gimli hoping to get back to the Mountain.[17]

Here ends Chapter XX.

('Chapter XX' was subsequently changed to 'XXI', and the numbers of the chapter synopses that follow were also altered, as will be explained in a moment.)

XXI What happened to Gimli and Legolas. They meet Gandalf?

XXII What happened to Merry and Pippin. They are lost – led astray by echoes – in the hunt, and wander away up

the Entwash River and come to Fangorn. Here they meet with Giant Fangorn or Tree-beard. He takes them to Minas Tirith.

XXIII What happened in Minas Tirith. Siege by Sauron and Saruman. Treachery of Boromir. Sudden arrival of Gandalf – now become *a white wizard*. Treebeard raises the siege. Enemy driven over the Anduin. Horsemen of Rohan come to assistance.

XXIV What happened to Frodo and Sam.

Comparison with the previous Plot (pp. 210–11) will show that these synopses repeat, much more briefly, what was set out there, and show no further development. At this juncture my father made various alterations of chapter-structure in the plot-sketch. At the beginning, as already noted (p. 324), he indicated that 'The Company sets off from Tongue' should form the conclusion of Chapter XX ('Farewell to Lórien'), while all that follows should constitute XXI (apart from the story of Sam's tracking of Frodo and the encounter with Gollum, which would be placed in a later chapter, as already decided: p. 329). The brief synopses just given were now renumbered and slightly reordered: XXII (Merry and Pippin); XXIII (Gimli and Legolas); XXIV (Minas Tirith); XXV (Frodo and Sam).[18]

(ii) *Mordor*

While my father seems never to have doubted that after the breaking of the Company the 'western' stories must be followed, the 'eastern' story of Frodo and Sam was bursting into life and expression; and he now at once went on with the outline of that story from the point where he had left it (p. 329), noting: 'XXV: continuation after part above.'

They sleep in pairs, so that one is always awake with Gollum.[19]

Gollum all the while is scheming to betray Frodo. He leads them cleverly over the Dead Marshes. There are dead green faces in the stagnant pools; and the dry reeds hiss like snakes. Frodo feels the strength of the searching eye as they proceed.

At night Sam keeps watch, only pretending to be asleep. He hears Gollum muttering to himself, words of hatred for Frodo and lust for the Ring.

The three companions now approach Kirith Ungol, the dreadful ravine which leads into Gorgoroth. Kirith Ungol means Spider Glen: there dwelt great spiders, greater than those

of Mirkwood, such as were once of old in the land of Elves and Men in the West that is now under sea, such as Beren fought in the dark cañons of the Mountains of Terror above Doriath. Already Gollum knew these creatures well. He slips away. The spiders come and weave their nets over Frodo while Sam sleeps: sting Frodo. Sam wakes, and sees Frodo lying pale as death – greenish: reminding him of the faces in the pools of the marshes. He cannot rouse or wake him.[20]

The idea suddenly comes to Sam to carry on the work, and he felt for the Ring. He could not unclasp it, nor cut the chain, but he drew the chain over Frodo's head. As he did so he fancied he felt a tremor (sigh or shudder) pass through the body; but when he paused he could not feel any heart-beat. Sam put the Ring round his own neck.

[Suddenly the Orc-guard of the Pass, guided by Gollum, comes upon them. Sam takes Galadriel's present to Frodo – the phial of light. Sam slips on the Ring, and attempts to fight unseen to defend Frodo's body; but gets knocked down and nearly trampled to death. The Orcs rejoicing pick up Frodo and bear him away, after searching in vain (but only a short while) for 'the other hobbit' reported by Gollum.]

This last paragraph, which I have bracketed, was struck through with a direction to replace it by the following much longer passage on a separate page. It is clear, however, that this replacement was not written significantly later.[21]

Then he sat and made a *Lament for Frodo*. After that he put away his tears and thought what he could do. He could not leave his dear master lying in the wild for the fell beasts and carrion birds; and he thought he would try and build a cairn of stones about him. 'The silver mail of mithril rings shall be his winding-sheet,' he said. 'But I will lay the phial of Lady Galadriel upon his breast, and Sting shall be at his side.'

He laid Frodo upon his back and crossed his arms on his breast and set Sting at his side. And as he drew out the phial it blazed with light. It lit Frodo's face and it looked now pale but beautiful, fair with [an] elvish beauty as of one long past the shadows. 'Farewell, Frodo,' said Sam; and his tears fell on Frodo's hands.

[But] at that moment there was a sound of strong footfalls climbing towards the rock shelf. Harsh calls and cries echoed in the rocks. Orcs were coming, evidently guided to the spot.

'Curse that Gollum,' said Sam. 'I might have known we had not seen the last of him. These are some of his friends.'

Sam had no time to lose. Certainly no time to hide or cover his master's body. Not knowing what else to do he slipped on the Ring, and then he took also the phial so that the foul Orcs should not get it, and girded Sting about his own waist. And waited. He had not long to wait.

In the gloom first came Gollum sniffing out the scent, and behind him came the black orcs: fifty or more it seemed. With a cry they rushed upon Frodo. Sam tried to put up a fight unseen, but even as he was about to draw Sting he was run down and trampled by the rush of the Orcs. All the breath was knocked out of his body. [*Added in pencil:* Courage failed him.] In great glee the Orcs seized Frodo and lifted him.

'There was another, yes,' whined Gollum. 'Where is he, then?' said the Orcs. 'Somewheres nigh. Gollum feels him, Gollum sniffs him.'

'Well, you find him, sniveller,' said the Orc-chief. 'He can't go far without getting into trouble. We've got what we want. Ringbearer! Ringbearer!' They shouted in joy. 'Make haste. Make haste. Send one swift to Baraddur to the Great One. But we cannot wait here – we must [get] back to our guard post. Bear the prisoner to Minas Morgul.' [*Added in pencil:* Gollum runs behind wailing that the Precious is not there.]

Here the replacement text ends.

Even as they do so, Frodo seems to awake, and gives a loud cry, but they gag him. Sam is torn between joy at learning he is alive and horror at seeing him carried off by Orcs. Sam tries to follow, but they go very speedily. The Ring seems to grow in power in this region: he sees clearly in the dark, and seems to understand the orcs' speech. [He fears what may happen if he meets a Ringwraith – the Ring does not confer courage: poor Sam trembles all the time.][22] Sam gathers that they are going to Minas Morgul: since they are not allowed to leave their post – but a messenger has at once been despatched to announce to the Dark Lord the capture of Ringbearer, and to bring back his orders.[23] 'The Mighty One has great business afoot,' says one. 'All that has gone before is but a skirmish compared with the war that is about to be kindled. Fine days, fine days! Blood on blade and fire on hill, smoke in sky and tears on earth. Merry weather, my friends, to bring in a real New Year!'

The Orcs go so fast that Sam soon gets weary and falls behind; but he plods on behind in the direction of Minas Morgul, remembering as much as he could of the maps. The path led up into the mountains – the north horn of the Mountains of Shadow that sundered the ashen vale of Gorgoroth from the valley of the Great River. Sam looking out saw all the plain alive with armies, horse and foot, black plumes, red and black banners. Countless hosts of the wild peoples of Rhûn, and the evil folk of Harad, were pouring out of Kirith Ungol to war. Smoke and dust afar off suggested that away in the East more were coming. [In truth they were – far beyond Sam's eyesight the armies rode and marched: the Dark Lord had determined to strike. From beyond the Inland Sea of Rhûn[24] up the rivers east of Mirkwood, round the towers of Dol Dúghul they poured through fen and forest to the banks of the Great River. Lothlórien was lapped in flame. From the Misty Mountains, from Moria – Khazaddûm and many hidden caves poured the orcs to meet them; from Harad and from Mordor they came against Ondor, and sought the walls of Minas-Tirith; and out from Isengard, seeing the war-beacons afar off blazing in Mordor, came the traitor Saruman with many wolves.][25]

Sam comes so close behind that he sees from below the orc-host entering the gates of the City[26] [*struck out:* – and they have not time to despoil Frodo].

At last Sam saw before him the walled city that had once been the City of the Sun [> Moon]: Minas Anor [> Ithil] in the days of old (Elendil).[27] Amidst it stood a tall tower – from afar off it looked beautiful. But Sam passed into the city and saw that all was defiled: and on every stone and corner were carved figures and faces and signs of horror. Such a dread ran through all the streets that he could hardly drag his legs or force himself along.

'Where in all this devilish hole have they put my poor master,' thought Sam. He feels drawn to the Tall Tower. He wanders up a seemingly endless winding stair, windowless; shrinks into foul-smelling recess[es] when snarling Orcs go up or down. At the top are four locked doors, North, South, East, West. Which is it? And anyway how can he get in: all are locked.

Suddenly Sam took courage and did a thing of daring – the longing for his master was stronger than all other thoughts. He sat on the ground and began to sing. 'Troll-song' – or some other Hobbit song – or possibly part of the Elves' song *O Elbereth*. (Yes).

Cries of anger are heard and guards come from stairs above and from below. 'Stop his mouth – the foul hound' cry the Orcs. 'Would that the message would return from the Great One, and we could begin our Questioning [or take him to Baraddur. He he! They have a pretty way there. There is One who will soon find out where the little cheat has hid his Ring.][28] Stop his mouth.' 'Careful!' cried the captain, 'do not use too much strength ere word comes from the Great One.' By this trick Sam found the door, for an Orc unlocked the East door and went inside with a whip. 'Hold your foul tongue,' he said, as Sam heard the whip crack.

Swift as lightning Sam slipped inside. He longed to stab the Orc but wisely restrained himself. In the light of [the torch >] the small East window he saw Frodo lying on the bare stone – his arms over his face [?guarding] from the whip blow. Muttering the orc went out and closed the door.

Frodo groaned and turned over uncovering his face – still pale from the poison. 'Why do dreams cheat me?' he said. 'I thought I heard a voice singing the song of Elbereth!'

'You were not dreaming!' said Sam. 'It is me, master.' He drew off the Ring.

But Frodo felt a great hatred well up in his heart. Before him there stood a small orc, bowlegged, leering at him out of a gloating face. It reminded him faintly of some one he had once known and loved – or hated. He stood up. 'Thief!' he cried. 'Give it to me.'

Sam was greatly taken aback: and stepped away, so sudden and grim was his master's face. 'The poor dear is still mithered,'[29] he thought.

'Surely, Master Frodo. I have come behind as quick as I could just for to give it you.' And with that he gave the ring into Frodo's snatching hand, and took the chain from about his neck. [Only for two days had he been Ringbearer, yet he felt a curious regret as it left him.][30]

'Sam!' cried Frodo. 'Sam! my dear old Sam. How did you come here? I thought' – and then he leant upon Sam and wept long. 'I thought,' he said again at last. 'Well never mind. I thought I was lost and that they had taken the Ring and all was in ruin. How did you get it – tell me.'

'Not by thieving,' said Sam with an effort at a smile. 'Or not exactly. I took it when I thought you were gone, Master. Yes, I thought you were dead for certain away back in that Kirith

place, with those crawling horrors. That was a black hour, Master Frodo, but it seemed to me that Sam had got to carry on – if he could.' Then he told the tale of the attack and how he had followed. 'And it is in a place called Minas Morgul that we are,' he said, 'and not for a small mercy in the Dark Tower itself, leastways not yet. But Minas whatever it be: we have got to get out quick. And how, I don't see.'

They talked it over long in whispering voices. 'The Ring won't cover two,' said Sam; 'and I think you won't want to part from it again. Anyhow the Ring is yours, master,' said Sam. 'Once out of here you can get away fairly easy, so long as none of the Ring-wraiths or Black Riders turn up, or something worse. There is some nasty eyes in this town, or the pricking of my skin is merely the shivers of a cold coming on. My advice to you is to leg it as quick as may be.'

'And you?' said Frodo.

'O, me,' said Sam. 'That can't be helped. I may find a way out, or I may not. Anyway I have done the job I came to do.'

'Not yet, I think,' said Frodo. 'Not yet. I do not think that we part here, dear friend.'

'Well then, master, tell me how.'

'Let me think,' said Frodo. 'I have a plan,' he said at last. 'A risk, but it may work. Have you still got your sword?'

'I have,' said Sam, 'and Sting too, and your glass of light. I was a-going to lay them by you under the stones,' he stammered, 'when the murdering Orcs came on us. I thought you were dead – until you cried out as they gripped you.'

Frodo smiled and took back his treasures. He drew Sting half from its sheath and the pale blue light of it flickered from the blade. 'Not surprising,' he said, 'that Sting should shine in Minas Morgul! Well now, Sam, get away over there – where you will be behind the door when it opens. Draw your sword. I will lie on the floor as I was. Then you can start your song again – and that should bring in an orc soon enough. Let us hope it is not many more than one.'

'But the whips, master, the murdering hounds will fetch you one for me, and I cannot abide it.'

'You won't have to abide it if you are quick with your sword,' said Frodo. 'But you need not worry! They have not had time to search me – not that Orcs dare touch the Ring that is for none less than servants of the Ring or for Sauron himself. They made sure that I had no sword and flung me on the floor. So I have

still my mithril-coat. That lash you heard as you came in was laid well across my side and back – but I don't think you would find any weal.'

Sam was much relieved. 'Very well, what's the idea, Mr. Frodo?' he asked.

'You must do your best to kill the Orc that comes in,' said Frodo. 'If there is more than one I must leap up and help, and maybe we shall have to try and fight our way out. But to get someone to come in seems our only way of getting out.'

Frodo now began again to sing O Elbereth (a few lines). With an oath the door was flung open and in strode the orc-captain, cracking his lash. 'Lie quiet, you dog,' he shouted, and raised his whip. But even as he did so, Sam leapt from behind the door and stabbed at his throat. He fell with a gurgle. Frodo sprang up, pushed the door gently to, and crouched waiting for any other orc that might come. The sound of harsh voices far off up the further stairs came to them, but no other sounds.

'Now's our chance,' said Frodo. 'Get into his gear as quick as you can.' Swiftly they stripped the orc, peeling off his coat of black scale-like mail, unbuckling his sword, and unslinging the small round shield at his back. The black iron cap was too large for Sam (for orcs have large heads for their size), but he slipped on the mail. It hung a little loose and long. He cast the black hooded cloak about him, took the whip and scimitar, and slung the red shield. Then they dragged the body behind the door and crept out. Frodo went first.

It was dark outside when the door was shut again. Frodo took out the glass of light. They hurried down the stairs. Halfway down they met someone coming up with a torch. Frodo slipped on his Ring and drew aside; but Sam went on to meet the goblin. They brushed into one another and the goblin spoke in his harsh tongue; but Sam answered only with an angry snarl. That seemed satisfactory. Sam was evidently mistaken for someone important. The goblin drew aside to let him pass, and they hastened on. [*Struck out:* They did not guess that it was the messenger returning from Baraddur!]

Now they issued from the Loathly Tower. Evening was falling: away in the West over the valley of the Anduin there was some light. Far away loomed the Black Mountains and the tower of Minas Tirith, had they known. But in the East the sky was dark, with black and lowering clouds that seemed almost to rest upon the land. An uneasy twilight lay in the shadowy

streets. Shrill cries came as it were from underground, strange shapes flitted by or peered out of alley[s] and holes in the [?gaping] houses; there were [??dispirited] voices and faint echoes of monotonous and unhappy song. All the carven faces leered, and their eyes glowed with a fire at great depth.

The hobbits shuddered as they hurried on. Feet seemed to follow them, and they turned many corners, but they never threw them off. Rustling and pattering on the stones they came doggedly after them.

They came to the gates. The main gates were closed; but a small door was still open. Sentinels stood on either side, and at the opening stood an armed warder, gazing out into the gathering dusk. The Orcs were waiting for the messenger from Baraddur.

'Stay here,' whispered Frodo, drawing Sam into a shadow of a pillar just before the gate. 'While I wear the Ring I can understand much of their speech, or of the thought behind it – I don't know which. If I cry out come at a run, and get through the door if you can.'

[*The following was struck out probably as soon as written:* He went forward. The guard at the open door was grumbling. 'One would have thought we had caught no more than a stray elf,' he said. 'Is [?the] Ringbearer [*written above:* Thief] of no matter to them at the Dark Tower now? One would have thought He would have sent a Rider at least. Not even the war that is now set afoot can surely have lessened the worth of the One Treasure.'

Suddenly Frodo stabbed with Sting. The warder fell. But Frodo leant against the door lest a guard should thrust it to and called out. The sentinels sprang up. Sam came running, but at first they took him for a goblin running up to help. He smote one down before they were aware of his enmity and sprang through the door]

'Nay,' said Sam, 'that won't do. If we have a fight at the gate it won't be much use getting through. We'll have the whole wasps' nest a-buzzing after us before we have gone many yards: and they know these nasty mountains as well as I mind me of Bagend. Swagger is the only hope, Mr. Frodo, begging your pardon.'

'Very well, my good Sam,' said Frodo, 'try swagger.'

Feeling as little like 'swagger' as ever in his life, Sam walked as unconcernedly as he could manage into the shadow of the

dark gateway. The sentinels on either side looked at him and did not move. He came beside the warder and looked out. The warder started and looked at him angrily.

Frodo came behind warily. He saw the orc's hand go to the hilt of his scimitar. 'Who are you and who do you think you are pushing,' said he. 'Am I in charge of the gate or not?' Sam tried the trick again. He snarled angrily and stepped out of the gate. But the trick did not work so well a second time. The warder sprang after him and grabbed at his cloak. 'Closing time is [? by *read* past by?] half an hour,' he said, 'and you know that. No one but the Lord's messengers are allowed in or out, and you know that well enough. If I have any more trouble I shall report you to the Captain [*struck out:* of Morgul].' Sam prepared to give battle. He turned to face the warder gripping his hilt and swung round his shield. It was a red shield, and in the midst was painted a single black eye. The warder fell back nimbly. 'Your pardon,' he said, 'O Captain of Morgul. I did not recognize you. I only did my duty as I thought.' Sam, guessing something of what had occurred, snarled again and waved his hand as if in dismissal and walked away down the path into the dusk. The warder stared after him shaking his head. He stood blocking the door so that Frodo could not pass.

Sam had now disappeared on the downward track, and still Frodo waited hoping for a chance to slip out without a fight, before the door was closed. Suddenly there was a loud boom. Dong Dong Dong. A big bell was ringing in the Loathly Tower: the alarm was sounded. Frodo heard distant cries. Soon he could hear voices calling: 'Close the gates. Bar the door. Watch the walls. The Bearer has escaped from the Tower.'

The warder seized the door and began to close it. Feet came running. Frodo took the only chance. Stooping he seized the warder's legs and threw him down and sprang out. As he ran he heard loud shouts and oaths. 'But the Captain is lying dead and stripped in the Tower, I tell you,' he heard. 'Take that for a fool. You have let the bearer escape. Take that for a fool.' There was a blow and a cry. Orcs came pouring out of the gate, and still the bell tolled.

Suddenly dark overhead a black shape appeared flying low out of the east: a great bird it seemed, like an eagle or more like a vulture. The orcs halted chattering shrilly: but Frodo did not wait. He guessed that some urgent message concerning himself had come from the Dark Tower.

Here the text in ink ends, but is followed by a few pencilled notes:

Finds Sam
They escape – and as they are actually making *towards* Mordor this delays hunt which goes towards the Anduin North and West.

End of Chapter XXV
Gorgoroth
How Frodo came to the Fiery Mountain. See sketch (b) (c).

This last is a reference to the pages of the previous Plot, in this book pp. 208–9, from 'The Gap of Gorgoroth not far from Fire Mountain' to 'hurls himself and Gollum into the gulf?'

All this story of the escape from Minas Morgul was developed from the brief words of the earlier Plot (p. 209):

> Sam ... passes into Morgol and finds Frodo. Frodo feels hatred of Sam and sees him as an orc. But suddenly the orc speaks and holds out Ring and says: Take it. Then Frodo sees it is Sam. They creep out. ... Sam dresses up like an orc.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that the text just given, beginning as an outline in the present tense and sliding almost imperceptibly into full narrative, was the actual emergence on paper of what ultimately became 'The Tower of Cirith Ungol' in *The Return of the King* (VI.1). It was written very fast (though surprisingly legibly), with virtually no correction made on grounds of suitability of phrasing, and gives an impression of uninterrupted composition, perhaps even at one sitting. Being written at this stage,[31] its relation to the ultimate form of the story in 'The Tower of Cirith Ungol' is much more remote than has been the case anywhere else, and although certain new elements (not present in the previous Plot) now enter and would be preserved – notably Sam's song, instrumental in his discovery of where Frodo was – the story would be radically refashioned in every point, in geography, in motives, in the structure of events, so as to become almost a new conception.

Some further development seems in fact to have taken place quite soon. Found with this text are some other papers, themselves all of the same time, but entirely distinct in appearance and mode of writing. Here the story of Frodo and Sam is roughly outlined further, and the escape from Minas Morgul is reconsidered and rewritten. I think that this further material belongs in fact to the same or much the same time as the primary text. There are various pointers to this. The suggestion found here that 'it could be Merry and Pippin that had adventure in Minas Morgul if Treebeard is cut out' shows that the fully formed narrative had not at any rate advanced beyond the Breaking of the Fellowship; and the chapter is still referred to as 'XXV', which carries

the same implication (i.e. my father was still assuming the chapters 'XXI–XXIV' as outlined on pp. 329–30 and had not yet embarked on the writing of the 'western' adventures).

The text is written fairly legibly in ink, but towards the end becomes a pencilled scribble, here and there formidably difficult to make out.

Ch. XXV

Minas Morgul must be made more horrible. The usual 'goblin' stuff is not good enough here.

The Gate shaped like a gaping mouth with teeth and a window like an eye on each side. As Sam passes through he feels a horrible shudder.[32] There are two silent shapes sitting on either side as sentinels.

Substitute something of the following sort for p. [337].

The main outer gates were now closed. But a small door in the middle of one was open. (It faced south.) The tunnelled Gate-house was dark as night and the pale skylight showed up as a small patch at the end of a tunnel. As Sam and Frodo crept closer they saw or guessed the great ominous shape of the Sentinels on either side: still sitting soundless and unmoved: but from them there seemed to issue a nameless threat.

'Stay here!' whispered Frodo drawing Sam into the shadow of a wall not far from the gate. 'While I wear the Ring, I can understand much of the speech of the enemies, or of the thought behind their speech: I don't know which. I will go forward, and try and find out something. If I call out, come at a run: and get through the door if you can.'

'Nay!' said Sam, 'that won't do. If we have a fight at the gate, we might as well or better stay inside. We'd have the whole wasps' nest, orcs and bogeys and all, buzzing after us, before we'd gone a dozen yards: and they know these horrible mountains as well as I mind me of Bag-End. Swagger is the only hope, Mr. Frodo, begging your pardon.'

'Very well, my good Sam,' said Frodo, 'try swagger!'

Feeling as little like 'swagger' as ever in his life, Sam walked forward, as bold and unconcerned as he could manage to look, all shaking at the knees as he was, and with a queer tightening of his breath. Each step forward became more difficult. It was as if some will denying the passage was drawn like invisible ropes across his path. He felt the pressure of unseen eyes. It seemed an age before he passed under the gloom of the gate's arch, and he felt tired as if he had been swimming against a strong tide. The

Sentinels sat there: dark and still. They did not move their clawlike hands laid on their knees, they did not move their shrouded heads [*struck out:* staring stiffly] in which no faces could be seen; but Sam felt a sudden prickle in his skin, he sensed that they were alive and suddenly alert. As he came between them he seemed to shrink [and] shrivel, naked as an insect crawling to its hole under the eyes of gigantic birds. He came to the open door: just outside the path ran to a flight of stairs leading to the downward road. Only one step and he would be out – but he could not pass: it was as if the air before him had become stiff. He had to summon up his strength and his will. Like lead he lifted his foot and forced it slowly bit by bit over the threshold, on either side he felt the darkness leer and grin at him. Slowly he pressed his foot down, down. It touched the step outside: and then something seemed to snap. He stood fixed. He thought he heard a cry, but whether just beside him, or far away in some remote watchful tower he could not tell. There was a sudden clash of iron. An Orc ran out from the guard-room.

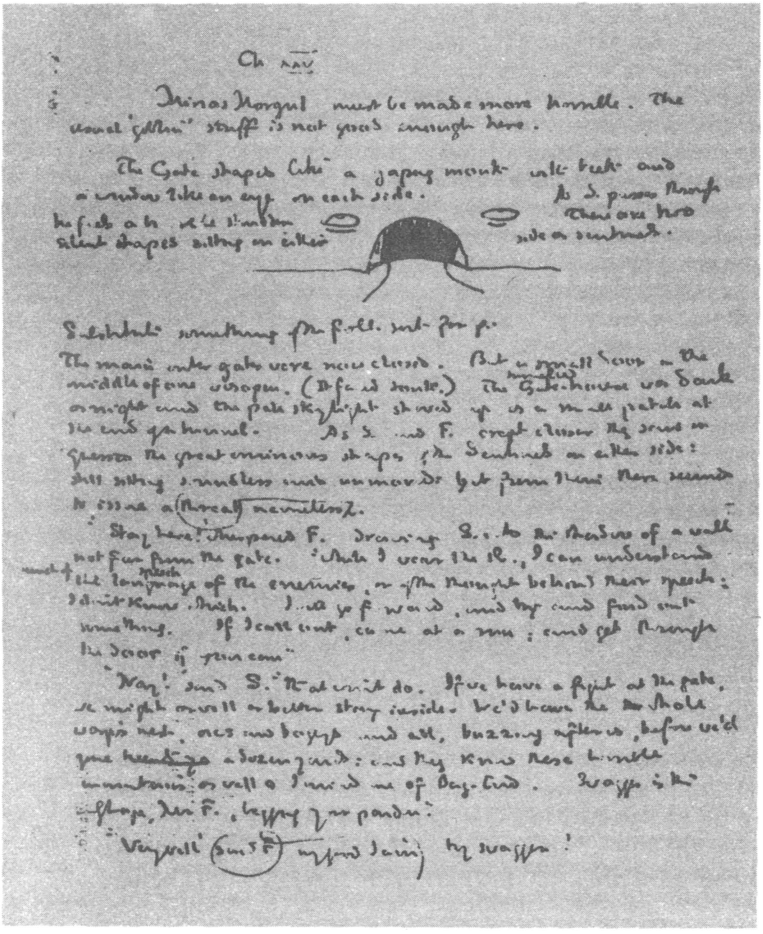
Frodo creeping warily behind was now also under the archway. He heard the guard cry out in harsh tones. 'Ho there: who are you, and what do you think you are doing?' He laid hold of Sam's cloak. Sam snarled angrily, but the trick did not work so well a second time. The guard held him. 'Closing-time is past, half an hour ago,' he growled. 'No one but the Lord's messengers are allowed in or out, and you know that. The door awaits the bringer of word from Baraddur, but it is not for any other.'

Of all this Sam understood only that he was forbidden to pass. He could not move forward: so he stepped suddenly back stepping on the feet of the Orc behind. Frodo saw the guard's hand go to the hilt of his scimitar. 'Hey, who are you stamping on?' said he. Sam prepared for battle. He turned, etc. as before.

[*Struck out:* An alternative would be to make the gate impassable. The alarm is sounded. The City is aroused. The Vulture (Black Rider) arrives in the main square. Frodo at once knows that Ring is useless. He feels almost discovered. Messenger says Ring is still in the town: he feels it.]

Alternative account.

Make light fade in the window as Sam and Frodo talk in the



Sketch for the Gate of Minas Morgul.

Loathly Tower. They try the trick of getting an orc to open the door as twilight deepens. *No dressing up.* They creep out into the town. Something warns Frodo *not* to use the Ring. The elf-hoods prove better in the City of Sorcery than the Ring – the two hobbits (aided by some grace of Galadriel that went with the garments) pass along the streets like mist. The gate is closed – the sentinels described: three a side.[33]

The walls are high and if it were possible to get onto them unseen – it is not: the few ascents are guarded – they could not get down. They are trapped.

A cry from a watch tower. The waning moon rises in East. A dark shape flying out of the East, a black speck against clouds. Vulture bearing a Ringwraith settles in main square. The Ringwraith has come to take Frodo back to the Dark Tower. At that moment *boom*, the alarm is sounded from Loathly Tower. Ringwraith says Ring has not left City: he feels it. Hunt in town. Hairbreadth escape of hobbits. In spite of the Ringwraith a host of orcs assemble to scour mountains (? Frodo and Sam trap two orcs in an alley and take their cloaks and gear. ?) Pass out in rear of the company. Describe the reluctant feeling, and moveless sentinels. Even as they pass the sentinels stir: and give a fell, horrible, far-off cry. The moon is suddenly clouded. A fierce cold wind from East. Rain? The hobbits fling themselves flat among the rocks. Orcs pass over them. Hunt misses them because they go *towards* Mordor. The hunt goes West and North.

Now go on to describe the journey to Fiery Mountain. Footsteps come after them. Gollum has picked up trail.

Frodo and Sam journey by night down the slopes of Duath out into the dreadful waste of Gorgoroth.[34]

[The grey cloaks of Lothlórien must be made more magical and efficacious. 'Are these garments magical?' asks Frodo. 'We do not know what you mean by magical,' said they. 'They have virtues: for they are elvish.' They were green and grey: their property is to blend perfectly with all *natural* surroundings: leaves, boughs, grass, water, stone. Unless a full light of sun was on them, and the wearer was moving or set against the sky, they were not invisible, but *unnoticeable*.][35]

Far away they saw the underside of the Mountains stained red with the glow of Amarthon [*written above:* Dolamarth]: Mount Doom: the Mountain of Fire.[36] There is a constant rumble of thunder. Frodo feels the Eye. They come down a long

ravine opening onto Gorgoroth beyond the south-east end of Kirith Ungol: it is end of road from Barad-dûr to Morgul.[37] Great hideous cavern[38] pillars. They peer [?out ?about] in the grey day over Gorgoroth. Mount Doom is smoking and burning to left. Black cloud lies over Baraddur. Millions of birds – [?led by vultures]: plain seems crawling with insects – a great host assembled – all sweeping out towards Kirith. By evening all plain is silent and empty. Cinders fall on plain. Moon rises late. Very dark. They begin the perilous crossing. Rustle of following feet. Journey all night.

Distances are rather too large – it would be eased if Orcs took Frodo to [?East] Guard Tower of R... – Loath and Grim [*written above:* Fell and Dire]. They could then see easier the host and would not have to cross Kirith Ungol.[39]

[*Struck out:* It could be Merry and Pippin that had adventure in Minas Morgul if Treebeard is cut out.][40]

From Dire-castle Gorgos (and Nargos) it would be only 70 miles. They could creep round edge of Eredlithui.[41]

Sam must fall out somehow. Stumble and break leg: thinks it is a crack in ground – really Gollum. [?Makes ?Make] Frodo go on alone.

Frodo toils up Mount Doom. Earth quakes, the ground is hot. There is a narrow path winding up. Three fissures. Near summit there is Sauron's Fire-well. An opening in side of mountain leads into a chamber the floor of which is split asunder by a cleft.[42]

Frodo turns and looks North-west, sees the dust of battle. Faint sound of horn. This is Windbeam the Horn of Elendil blown only in extremity.[43]

Birds circle over. Feet behind.

It is then at night before ascent of Mount Doom that Frodo sees the lone eye, like a window that does not move and yet searches in Baraddur.

Description of Baraddur seen afar.

I give here the latter part of a time-scheme of this period which covers the events of this outline plot. For the chronological structure in this scheme see p. 367 ('scheme I').

Dec.	25	Reach Tolbrandir in evening.
	26	Flight of Frodo.
Jan.	3	Gollum slips away.
	5	Frodo, Sam [*struck out:* and Gollum] reach Kirith Ungol.
	6	Frodo captured.
	8	Sam rescues Frodo in [Minas Morgul >] Gorgos.

9 Sam and Frodo journey in Duath.
10 Sam and Frodo see host in Gorgoroth and lie hid.
[*These two entries changed to read:* Jan. 9, 10, 11 Sam and Frodo journey in Eredlithui (see hosts going to war).]
12, 13 Ascent of Mount Doom.
14 [?Horns] ... Fall of Mordor.
15 Victory and return to Minas Tirith.
[*Added:* Jan. 25 Reach Minas Tirith. Jan. 26 Great Feast.]

Notable points in this time-scheme are the corroboration of the statement in the text that Sam had been Ringbearer for two days (see p. 334 and note 30); the change in the place of Frodo's imprisonment from Minas Morgul to Gorgos (see p. 344 and notes 39, 41); and the mention of the great feast that followed the victory (cf. p. 212).

NOTES

1 On the back of the first page of this outline are some rough workings for revision of *The Lay of Aotrou and Itroun*, which was completed in its original form in 1930. This stray page perhaps shows my father turning to it again at this time. It was ultimately published in greatly revised form, to which these workings were moving, in 1945.

2 Cf. the outline *(c)* for 'Farewell to Lórien', p. 269: 'Arrows from East shore as they pass down river?'

3 *Tolharn* and *Tollernen* were passing replacements of *Tolondren*. Subsequently *Stoneait* (*ait* 'islet', = *eyot*) and *Tollernen* were struck out in pencil (all other changes in the opening section being made in ink) and replaced by *Eregon (= Stone pinnacle)*. On *Eregon* see p. 323 note 12.

4 Sarn Gebir and Nomen's land (Nomenlands) emerged in the course of the writing of 'Farewell to Lórien' (pp. 281, 283).

5 *It is ill to be alone on the east side of the River*: this was left unchanged when the text immediately preceding was altered to the story that Frodo and Sam did not cross to the east bank but climbed the hill on the island where they camped. – In the outline *(c)* to 'Farewell to Lórien' (p. 269) it is told that 'They' crossed to the east bank and went up into the hills 'to look around', where 'They' may be the whole Company or Frodo and Sam only.

6 *Eredwethion* 'Mountains of Shadow' is derived from *The Silmarillion*.

7 With this scene compare the previous Plot (p. 208):
Boromir takes Frodo apart and talks to him. Begs to see Ring again. Evil enters into his heart and he tries to daunt Frodo and

then to take it by force. Frodo is obliged to slip it on to escape him. (What does he see then – cloud all round him getting nearer and many fell voices in air?)

In that Plot there is no mention of the Eye – but cf. the much earlier outline dated August 1939 (VI.381): 'Horrible feeling of an Eye searching for him'.

8 On the name *Dantruinel* for Rauros see pp. 285, 316.

9 It seems very likely that the reason for shifting the place where the Company camped to the west bank of the river and making the island inaccessible was to allow Merry and Pippin to become separated and lost – a development that had already been conceived in the previous Plot (see note 16).

10 I take these words, set in inverted commas, to be Boromir's, referring deceitfully to Frodo's having put on the Ring.

11 The account of Sam's tracking of Frodo that follows is developed from that in the previous Plot (p. 208):

> The search. Sam is lost. He tries to track Frodo and comes on Gollum. He follows Gollum and Gollum leads him to Frodo.
>
> Frodo hears following feet. And flies. But Sam comes up too to his surprise. The two are too much for Gollum. Gollum is *daunted* by Frodo – who has a power over him as Ring-bearer....
>
> Gollum pleads for forgiveness and feigns reform. They make him lead them through the Dead Marshes.

12 Sam is now on the east side of Anduin, and the boat 'knocking against the bank' is the boat in which Frodo has crossed.

13 This paragraph ('Gollum was so intent on the trail...') evidently replaced the story that preceded, although that was not struck out.

14 Kirith Ungol was at this time the name of the great pass leading into Mordor in the North-west (pp. 283, 285, and Map III on p. 309).

15 At some time later my father struck it all out and wrote in pencil:

> Steep place where Frodo has to climb a precipice. Sam goes first so that if Frodo falls he will knock Sam down first. They see Gollum come down by moonlight *like a fly*.

This is where the story in *The Two Towers* (IV.1, 'The Taming of Smeagol', p. 219) first appears.

16 Cf. the previous Plot, p. 210. It is seen from the synopsis that immediately follows (pp. 329–30) of the chapter telling what happened to Merry and Pippin that my father had still no idea that anything more untoward had happened to them.

17 This passage remains virtually unchanged in substance from the previous Plot (p. 211).

18 At a later stage my father pencilled in various developments to Chapters XXII and XXIII (as renumbered). The synopsis of the

former he altered thus: 'Black orcs of Misty Mountains capture Merry and Pippin, bear them to Isengard. But the orcs are attacked by the Rohiroth on borders of Fangorn, and in the confusion Merry and Pippin escape unnoticed.' Also added here was 'Trotter is led astray by [?finding] orc-prints. He follows the orcs believing Frodo, Sam, etc. captured. He meets Gandalf.' To 'What happened to Gimli and Legolas' he added: 'Went with Trotter to rescue Merry and Pippin.'

19 Noted beside this sentence: SG – F asleep. FG – S asleep. SF – G asleep.

20 The origin of this passage is seen in the earlier Plot (p. 209): 'There is a ravine, a spiders' glen, they have to pass at entrance to Gorgoroth. Gollum gets spiders to put spell of sleep on Frodo. Sam drives them off. But cannot wake him.' Kirith Ungol was not yet its name when that was written: there is mention in that outline of the Gap of Gorgoroth, clearly the pass leading into Mordor (pp. 208, 213), but the words 'a ravine they have to pass' perhaps suggest that the 'spiders' glen' led off the Gap. In the present Plot, however, Kirith Ungol, ravine of spiders, is the pass itself.

21 It was no doubt put in when the story had gone somewhat past this point, since it is avowedly narrative in form and not outline (present tense).

22 This sentence is enclosed in square brackets in the original.

23 At the top of the page is written: 'All Sauron's folk, however, know that if Ringbearer is taken he is to be guarded as their life, but otherwise to be untouched and undespoiled, and brought intact to the Lord.' This was struck out.

24 On the Sea of Rhûn or Rhûnaer see p. 307.

25 This passage is enclosed in square brackets in the original.

26 For the site of Minas Morgul see Map III on p. 309. The Orcs appear to have come from there, in view of 'Sam gathers that they are going to Minas Morgul: since they are not allowed to leave their post'; and 'the path led up into the mountains' suggests that the way to Minas Morgul was by a track leading upwards out of Kirith Ungol; hence Sam sees 'from below' the Orcs entering the City.

27 Unless my father had decided to restore the original conception of Minas *Anor* in the East becoming Minas Morgul, and Minas *Ithil* in the West becoming Minas Tirith, which seems exceedingly improbable, this can only be a momentary confusion. But it occurs again: p. 366 note 19.

28 This passage is enclosed in square brackets in the original.

29 *mithered*: 'confused, bewildered'. My father often used this English dialect word, though as I recollect always in the form *moithered*; but *mithered* is recorded from Staffordshire and

Warwickshire and the neighbouring counties of the English midlands.

30 This sentence is enclosed in square brackets in the original. Two days seems a very long time to have elapsed since Sam took the Ring from Frodo in Kirith Ungol, and is by no means suggested in the narrative; on the other hand, on Map III (p. 309) Minas Morgul was at least 30 miles from the eastern edge of the Mountains of Shadow at Kirith Ungol. See also the time scheme on pp. 344–5.

31 It should be emphasized that the fact of its being written at this stage in the history of *The Lord of the Rings*, and not later, is clear and certain.

32 This refers of course to Sam's entry into Minas Morgul, alone.

33 Cf. 'The Tower of Cirith Ungol' in *The Return of the King*, p. 178: 'They were like great figures seated upon thrones. Each had three joined bodies, and three heads facing outward, and inward, and across the gateway. The heads had vulture-faces, and on their great knees were laid clawlike hands.' – A little diagrammatic sketch is included in the manuscript at this point:

34 *Duath* (replacing *Eredwethion*, p. 325) is the name of the Mountains of Shadow on the First Map and on my map made in 1943; my father added *Ephel* before *Duath* on both maps subsequently (pp. 309–10). – The sentence was changed in pencil to read: 'Frodo and Sam journey by night among the slopes and ravines N. of Duath towards the dreadful waste of Gorgoroth.'

35 The brackets are in the original. This notable passage is the origin of the much enlarged description of the cloaks of Lothlórien which first appears as an addition to the fair copy of 'Farewell to Lórien' (p. 285), though expressed in a wholly different way. The question 'Are these garments magical?', here asked by Frodo, was then given to Merry, and finally (FR p. 386) to Pippin ('Are these magic cloaks?').

36 The first devising of an elvish name for Mount Doom (later *Amon Amarth*).

37 My father first wrote here: 'They come down a long ravine opening on Kirith Un(gol)', striking out this name at once and writing instead 'opening onto Gorgoroth', etc. It is hard to be sure, but it seems likely that he saw a path climbing up to Minas Morgul out of Kirith Ungol (the pass into Mordor), by which Frodo was taken, and another more southerly approach, a road running westwards from the Dark Tower and climbing to Minas

Morgul by the 'long ravine' down which Sam and Frodo made their escape (see Map III, p. 309).

38 This word is clearly written *cavern*, not *carven*.

39 This short paragraph is very hard to read and not easy to interpret, but at least it is clear that here is the first suggestion of a doubt that it was to Minas Morgul that Frodo was taken. The word I have given as *East* begins *Ea* but does not look at all like *East*; yet that seems appropriate to the sense (see further note 41). The name of the tower might be *Rame* or *Raine*, among other possibilities. The words 'They would not have to cross Kirith Ungol' are at first sight puzzling, since it has just been said that they emerged from the long ravine 'beyond the south-east end of Kirith Ungol'; but I think that my father meant that they would not have to cross the open plain between the Mountains of Shadow and the Ash Mountains (Ered Lithui), whether this be called Kirith Ungol or Gorgoroth at that point.

40 See p. 339; and for an earlier suggestion that Merry and Pippin might find themselves in Mordor see p. 211.

41 On the First Map there are two small circles on either side of Kirith Ungol (on my redrawing, square P 15 on Map II, p. 305). These reappear on my 1943 map as two small towers. On neither map are they named; but it seems clear that they represent a western and an eastern guard tower – presumably the Nargos and Gorgos named here (cf. 'There are Orc guard-towers on either side of Gorgoroth', p. 208). The words 'From Dire-castle Gorgos (and Nargos) it would be only 70 miles' mean, I think, 'From the eastern tower Gorgos (and for the matter of that from the western tower Nargos also) it was only 70 miles to Mount Doom.'

42 The three fissures and Sauron's well of fire appear in the earlier Plot (p. 209), but this is the first glimpse of the Sammath Naur.

43 *Windbeam*: if this name occurs elsewhere in my father's writings I have not found it, except in the Last Letter of Father Christmas, where he calls it the Great Horn, and says that he has not had to blow it for over four hundred years (cf. 'only in extremity' here) and that its sound carries as far as the North Wind blows. (Cf. Old English *bēme (bēam)* 'trumpet'.)

XVII
THE GREAT RIVER

It has been seen (pp. 324, 330) that having written an outline of the story from the departure from Lórien to the 'Scattering of the Company' at 'Tollernen' my father decided that the first element in the outline, 'The Company sets off from Tongue', should in fact form the conclusion to Chapter XX ('Farewell to Lórien'), and XXI should take up with 'They are attacked with arrows'.

As I have mentioned (p. 283), the original draft for the last section of 'Farewell to Lórien' (i.e. 'The Company sets off from Tongue') was written in ink in a clear script with little hesitation. That draft section ends with the words 'End of Ch. XX', showing that the chapter-arrangement just referred to had already been devised. The characteristic very pale ink used for this section was also used for the text 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien' and for the first part of the new chapter XXI: the three texts have a strong general likeness, and were obviously written at the same time.

The draft of the last section of 'Farewell to Lórien' ends halfway down a page, and is followed by 'XXI: The Scattering of the Company'; at this stage my father assumed that the narrative outlined on pp. 324–8, 329 (i.e. excluding the story of Sam's tracking of Frodo) would constitute a single chapter. For the journey down the River to 'Tollernen' he had set down no more in the way of event than 'They are attacked with arrows.' I give now the opening draft of the new chapter as it was first written.[1]

Sam woke him. He was lying in a bed of blankets and furs under tall grey-stemmed trees near the river bank. The grey of morning was dim among the bare branches. Gimli was busy with a small fire near at hand. He had slept the first night of their river journey away. They started again before the day was broad. Not that most of the Company were eager to hurry southwards: they were content that the decision which they must make when they came to Rauros and the Isle of Eregon[2] lay yet some days ahead, and still less did they wish to run swiftly into the perils that certainly lay beyond, whatever course they took, but Trotter felt that the time was urgent and that willing or not they should hasten forward.

As the second day of their voyage wore on the lands changed slowly: trees thinned and then failed: on the East bank to their left, long formless slopes stretched up and away towards the sky; brown they looked as if a fire had passed over them, leaving no living thing of green; an unfriendly waste without even a withered tree or a bold stone to break the emptiness. They were come to the Brown Lands, the Withered Wold that lay in a vast desolation between Dol Dúghul in Southern Mirkwood and the hills of Sarn-Gebir: what pestilence of war or fell deed of the Lord of Mordor had so blasted all that region they did not know.[3] Upon the west bank to their right the land was treeless and quite flat, but green: there were forests of reeds of great height in places that shut out the view as the little boats went rustling by along their fluttering borders: the great withered flowering heads bent in the light cold airs hissing softly and waving like funeral plumes. Here and there in open spaces they could see across the wide rolling meads hills far away, or on the edge of sight a dark line where still the southernmost phalanx of the Misty Mountains marched.

'You are looking out across the great pastures of Rohan, the Riddermark, land of the Horsemasters,' said Trotter; 'but in these evil days they do not dwell nigh the river or ride often to its shores. Anduin is wide, yet the orc-bows will with ease shoot an arrow across the stream.'

The hobbits looked from bank to bank uneasily. If before the trees had seemed hostile, as if harbouring secret dangers, now they felt that they were too naked: afloat in little open boats in the midst of wide bare land, on a river that was the boundary of war. As they went on the feeling of insecurity grew upon them. The river broadened and grew shallow: bleak stony beaches lay upon the east, there were gravel shoals in the water and they had to steer carefully. The Brownlands rose into bleak wolds over which flowed a chill air from the East. Upon the other side the meads had become low rolling downs of grey grass, a land of fen and tussock. They shivered thinking of the lawns and fountains, the clear sun and gentle rain of Lothlórien: there was little speech and no laughter among them. Each was busy with his own thoughts. Sam had long since made up his mind that though boats were maybe not as dangerous as he had been brought up to believe, they were far more uncomfortable. He was cramped and miserable, having nothing to do but stare at the winter lands crawling by and the dark grey water, for the

Company used the paddles mainly for steering, and in any case they would not have trusted Sam with a paddle. Merry and Pippin in the middle boat were ill at ease. [*Added and then struck out:* Merry was at the stern, facing Sam and steering.] Boromir sat muttering to himself, sometimes biting his nails as if some restlessness or doubt consumed him. Often Pippin who sat in the prow, looking back, caught a queer gleam in his eye when he peered forward gazing at the boat in front where Frodo sat.

So the time passed until the end of the sixth [> seventh] day. The banks were still bare, but on both sides on the slopes above them bushes were scattered, behind and further south ridges with twisted fir-trees could be glimpsed: they were drawing near the grey hill country of Sarn-Gebir: the southern border of Wilderland, beyond which lay the Nomanland and the foul marshes that lay for many leagues before the passes of Mordor. High in the air there were flocks of dark birds. Trotter looked at them with disquiet.

'I fear we have been too slow and overbold,' he said. 'Maybe we have come too far by day, and ere this we should have taken to journeying between dusk and dawn and lain hidden in the day.'

He stayed his boat with his paddle, and when the others came up he spoke to them, counselling that they should go on into the night, and put off their rest until night was old and dawn was at hand. 'And if we make another two or three leagues,' said he, 'we shall come, if I am right in my memories, to Sarn Gebir, where the river begins to run in deep channels: there maybe we shall find better shelter and more secrecy.'

Already twilight was about them. The hobbits at any rate had been hoping soon for the warmth of a fire to their cold feet, and the feel of solid earth beneath them. But there seemed no place in that houseless country which invited them to halt; and a cold drowsiness was on them, numbing thought. They made no answer, yes or no. Trotter drove his paddle in the water and led them on again. [*Added:* The stars leapt out above. The sky [was] clear and cold. It was nearly night when][4] Just ahead there loomed up rocks in the midst of the stream, nearer to the west bank. To the east there was a wider channel, and that way they turned: but they found the current swift. In the dusk they could see pale foam and water beating against the rocks upon the right hand.

'This is an evil time of day to pass through such a dangerous

reach,' said Boromir. 'Hey Trotter,' he cried, cupping his hands and calling above the noise of the waters to the boat ahead – it was already too dark to see whether it was far or near. 'Hey!' he called. 'Not this way tonight!'

'No indeed,' said Trotter, and they saw that he had turned his boat and had come back almost alongside without their seeing him. 'No: I did not know we had come so far yet: the Anduin flows faster than I reckoned. The rapids of Pensarn[5] are ahead. They are not very long nor very fierce, yet too dangerous to venture on in the dark for those who know the Great River little or only from tales. See,' he said, 'the current has flung us right over to the east shore: in a little we shall be on the shoals. Let us turn and go back to the western side, above the rocks.'

Even as he spoke there was a twanging, and arrows whistled over and among them. One smote Frodo between the shoulders but fell back, foiled by the hidden coat of mail; another passed through Trotter's hair; and a third stood fast in the gunwale of the middle boat close by Merry's hand.

'To the west bank!' shouted Boromir and Trotter together. They leaned forward straining at the paddles – even Sam now took a hand, but it was not so easy. The current was flowing strong. Each one expected at any minute to feel the sting of a blackfeathered orc-arrow. But it was now grown very dark, dark even for the keen night-eyes of goblins; goblins were on the bank, they did not doubt. When they had come into midstream as far as they could judge, and out of the swirl of waters running into the narrow channel, Legolas laid down his paddle, and lifting the bow he had brought from Lórien strung it, and turned, peering back into the gloom. Across the water there came shrill cries; but he could see nothing. The enemy were shooting wildly now and few arrows came near the boats: it was grown very dark: there was not even a grey glimmer on the face of the river, only here and there the broken twinkle reflecting a misty star.

As he gazed into the blackness away east the clouds broke and the white rind of the new moon appeared riding slowly up the sky; [but its faint light did little to illumine the further shore.][6] Sam looked up at it in wonder.[7] Even as he did so a dark shape, like a cloud yet not a cloud, low and ominous, for a moment shut off the thin crescent and winged its way towards them, until it appeared as a great winged shape black against the dark heaven.[8] Fierce voices greeted it from across the water.

Frodo felt a sudden chill about his heart, and a cold like the memory of an old wound in his shoulder: he crouched down in the boat.

Suddenly the great bow of Legolas sang. He heard an arrow whistle / whine. He looked up. The winged shape swerved: there was a harsh croaking cry and it seemed to fall, vanishing down into the darkness of the eastern shore; the sky seemed clean again. They heard a tumult as of many voices murmuring and lamenting [*written above:* cursing], and then silence. No more arrows came towards them.

'Praised be the bow of Galadriel and the keen eye of Legolas!' said Gimli. 'That was a mighty shot in the dark.'

'But what it hit who can say,' said Boromir.

'I cannot,' said Gimli. 'Yet I liked that shape as little as the shadow of the Balrog of Moria.'

'It was not a Balrog,' said Frodo, still shivering. 'I think it was . . .' He did not finish.

'You think what?' asked Boromir quickly.

'I do not know,' said Frodo. 'Whatever it was its fall seems to have dismayed the enemy.'

'So it seems,' said Trotter. 'Yet where they are, and how many, or what they will do next, we do not know. This night must be watchful!'

At last the boats were brought to the western bank again. Here they moored them close inshore. They did not lie on the land that night, but remained in the boats with weapons close to hand. One sat alert and vigilant watching either bank while the other [*? read* others] dozed uneasily.

Sam[9] looked at the moon again, slipping down now swiftly to the horizon. 'It is very strange,' he murmured drowzily. 'The moon I suppose does not change his courses in Wilderland? Then I must be wrong in my reckoning. If you remember, the old moon was at its end as we lay on the flet up in that tree.[10] Well now I can't remember how long we were in that country: it was certainly three nights, and I seem to remember a good many more – but I am certain sure it was not a month. Yet here we are: seven days from Lórien and up pops a New Moon. Why, anyone would think we had come straight from Nimrodel without stopping a night or seeing Caras Galadon. Funny it seems.'

'And that Sam is probably about the truth of it,' said Trotter.

'Whether we were in the past or the future or in a time that does not pass, I cannot say: but not I think till Silverlode bore us back to Anduin did we return to the stream of time that flows through mortal lands to the Great Sea. At least, so I guess: but maybe I dream and talk nonsense. Yet do either of you remember seeing any moon in Lórien, old or young? I remember only stars by night and sun by day.'[11]

The text, becoming ragged at the end, now peters out in pencilled notes for its continuation:

In morning Trotter and Legolas go forward to find path. They lie hid among rocks all day and at evening laboriously cart their boats to end of the rapids. (Hear the sound as they pass.) No sign on far shore. Below rapids stream is soon quiet and deep again – but less broad. They creep along the west bank by night. They pass into the gullies of Sarn Gebir. Pinewoods. About dawn on 10th day come to Eregon [*later* > Tol Brandor *or* -ir] and hear roar and [?foam] of Rauros. Inaccessible isle high peak many birds.[12]

In the journey down Anduin at this stage the chronology differed by one day from that in FR, for the attack at the head of the rapids took place at the end of the seventh day (p. 352), not of the eighth (FR pp. 400–1), and much detail remained to be changed or added: notably the incident of Gollum, the 'log with eyes', was absent. This story was written on a separate sheet while the drafting of the chapter was still in progress, and was immediately achieved in the final form at almost all points. Some of the Company were sleeping that night on the eyot and some in the boats; and after Frodo had seen Gollum's eyes and had put his hand on the hilt of Sting the original text continues:

Immediately they [the eyes] went out, and there was a soft splash and a dark shape shot away downstream into the night. Nothing else occurred, until the first grey of dawn peeped in the East. Trotter awoke on the eyot and came down to the boats. But Frodo now knew that Sam had not been deceived; and also that he must warn Trotter.

'So you know about our little footpad, do you? . . .

Primary drafting from the point reached (the discussion of Time in Lórien) is of an extreme roughness, some of it scribbled faintly between the lines of the candidates' writing on examination scripts, and it is not entirely complete and consecutive. In this case the fair copy manuscript, following immediately on the primary drafting, is

the first complete text, and it is most convenient to turn now to this manuscript.

In this version Chapter XXI bore a succession of titles, all of them pencilled in subsequently: 'Southward'; 'The Company is Scattered'; 'Sarn Gebir'; 'Breaking of the Fellowship'; and finally 'The Great River' – this last not struck out, and obviously arising when my father had decided that his original ideas for XXI had so expanded as to require two chapters to fulfil the narrative. As usual, in point of expression the fair copy advances very largely to the form in FR, although a good deal of change in respect of the actual narrative had still to come.

To the original opening of the chapter (p. 350) my father made the following alteration and addition on the manuscript of the draft:

Sam woke him. He was lying in a bed of blankets and furs under tall grey-stemmed trees near the bank of the Great River, in a corner of quiet woodland where a small stream (the Limlight) flowed in from the western mountains.

This is the first mention of the Limlight in the texts. In the fair copy the chapter opens:

Frodo was roused by Sam. He found that he was lying, well wrapped, under tall grey-skinned trees in a quiet corner of the woodlands. [Beside them a stream ran down from the western mountains far away and joined the Great River close by their camp] on the western bank of the Great River Anduin.

The sentence I have bracketed was struck out as soon as written. That their first night camp on the journey down the River was beside the inflow of Limlight agrees with maps IV^{B} and IV^{C} (p. 317), where the Limlight, here first shown, joins Anduin not far south of Silverlode (see Map II, square M 12); on map IV^{D} the confluence is much further south (p. 319).

Where the draft has 'Rauros and the Isle of Eregon' (p. 350) the new text has 'Rauros and the Isle' (changed later to 'the Tindrock Isle', as in FR). Trotter's policy of letting them drift with the stream as they wished appears; but the chronology remains here as in the draft: 'Nonetheless they saw no sign of any[13] enemy that day. The dull grey hours passed without event. As this second day of their voyage wore on, the lands changed slowly...' The 'Withered Wold' of the draft becomes 'the withered wolds' (and was then struck out). The flight of the black swans is still absent.

Trotter now speaks of the latitude and climate, the Bay of Belfalas, and their distance from the Shire – but here he first said 'I doubt if you are much more than sixty leagues south of the Sarn Ford at the southern end of your Shire', this being changed at once to the reading

of FR; and he says that 'ere long we shall come to the mouth of the Limlight' (see above),[14] defining the Limlight, as in FR, as the north boundary of Rohan. But he says here 'Of old all that lay between Limlight and Entwash belonged to the Horsemasters' (FR: 'all that lay between Limlight and the White Mountains belonged to the Rohir-rim').

In the next part of the chapter (after the episode of Gollum in the river) the story advances to the form in FR, but it was still at the end of the seventh day of the journey, not of the eighth, that they came to the rapids, and there is no mention at this point of the weather, or of the New Moon, which in FR (p. 400) was first seen on the seventh night. Though the bird-haunted cliffs of Sarn Gebir and the flocks of birds circling high above are described in the same words as in FR (p. 401) there is no mention of the eagle seen far off in the western sky. Following the mention of the birds, the new version continues thus:

Trotter had glanced often at them doubtfully, wondering if Gollum had been up to some mischief. But now it was dark: the East was overcast, but in the West many stars were shining.

After they had been paddling for about an hour, Trotter told Sam to lie forward in the boat and keep a sharp look-out ahead. 'We shall soon come to the gates of Sarn-Gebir,' he said; 'and the river is difficult and dangerous there, if I remember rightly. It runs in deep swift channels under overhanging cliffs, and there are many rocks and eyots in the stream. But I do not know these reaches, for I have never journeyed by water in these parts before. We must halt early tonight, if we can, and go on by daylight.'

It was close on midnight, and they had been drifting for a while, resting after a long spell of paddling, when suddenly Sam cried out.

After Boromir's shouted remonstrance ('This is a bad time of day to shoot the rapids!') Trotter, struggling to back and turn his boat, said to Frodo: 'I am out of my reckoning. I didn't know we had come so far. We must have passed the gates of Sarn-Gebir in the dark. The Rapids of Pensarn must be just ahead' (the last two sentences were crossed out, probably immediately). There is no indication here of what 'the gates of Sarn-Gebir' might be (see p. 359).

The attack by Orcs from the east bank, and the struggle to get the boats back to the west bank, follows the draft pretty closely, with some changed or added detail: an arrow passed through Trotter's hood, not his hair; Frodo 'lurched forward with a cry'. The weather is changed from the obscure statements in the draft (note 6): the clouds in the east mentioned earlier had now almost entirely covered the sky,

and so 'it was very dark, dark even for the night-eyes of orcs' as they paddled the boats back. The same is said of the New Moon 'riding slowly up the sky' in 'a sudden break in the cloud-cover away in the East' as in the draft (see note 7); here it is seen 'passing behind dark isles of cloud and out into black pools of night.' In FR (p. 401) it had set hours before.

Sam's remarks about Time in Lothlórien remain almost exactly as in the draft (p. 354), as does Trotter's reply (in FR given to Frodo), except that he now says (as does Frodo in FR): 'In that land, maybe, we were in some time that elsewhere has long gone by.' Then Frodo speaks:

'The power of the Lady was on us,' said Frodo. 'There are days and nights and seasons in Lothlórien; but while she holds the ring, the world grows no older in her realm.'

'That should not have been said,' muttered Trotter, half rising and looking towards the other boats; 'not outside Lórien, not even to me.'[15]

The warm and foggy morning that succeeded the night of the attack and the argument between Aragorn and Boromir about the course to follow were roughly sketched in initial drafting, where the conversation proceeds thus:

'I do not see why we should pass the rapids or follow this cursed River any further,' said Boromir. 'If Pensarn lies before us, then we can abandon these cockles and strike westward, and so come round the east shoulders of Sarn-Gebir and cross the Entwash into my own land of Ondor.'

'We can, if we make for Minas Tirith,' said Trotter. 'But that is not yet agreed. And even so such a course is perhaps more perilous than it seems. The land is flat and shelterless south and east [*read* west] of Sarn-Gebir, and the [?first] ford over Entwash is a great way west.[16] Since the Enemy took ... Osgiliath that land may be full of foes: what do we know of events of late in Rohan or in Ondor?'

'Yet here the Enemy marches all along the east bank,' said Boromir. 'And when you come to Rauros what will you do? You must then either turn back hitherward, or cross the hills of Gebir and land in the marshes, and still have the Entwash to cross.'

'The River is at least a path that cannot be missed. In the vale of Entwash fog is a mortal peril. I would not abandon the boats until we must,' said Trotter. 'And I have a fancy that in some

high place above the Falls we may be able to see some sign that shall direct us.'

That a 'high place' would be the scene of a decisive moment in the unfolding of the story had already been conceived: the summit of the island in the River whence Frodo looked out (p. 324); but there is no suggestion in Trotter's words here that this 'high place' would be an ancient post of the men of Ondor.

In the fair copy manuscript Boromir objects: 'But the Enemy holds the eastern bank. And even if you pass the gates of Gebir, and come unmolested to the Tindrock, what will you do then? Climb down from the hills and land in the marshes?' Here, the 'gates of Gebir' are the later Gates of Argonath; thus the earlier references (p. 357), where Trotter places the 'gates' before the rapids, had already been rejected.

Of Trotter's reply to Boromir's scoffing question there are three forms: a draft text in pencil taking up at this point, and two versions in the fair copy manuscript. The first version in the manuscript has Trotter reply:

'Say rather, climb down from the hills to Rauros-foot and then take boat again, and hope to slip unseen up the mouths of Entwash – if we go to Minas Tirith. Do you choose to forget the ancient path, Boromir, and the high seat upon Tol-Brandir, that were made in the days of Valandil?[17] I at least have a mind to stand in that high place before I decide my course. There maybe we shall see some sign that will direct us.'

This version of Trotter's reply was struck out, and the pencilled draft (which continues on for some distance) seems to have been written at this point. This draft begins:

'No,' said Trotter. 'Do you choose to forget, Boromir, the North Stair, and the high seat upon Tol-Brandir that were made in the days of Isildur? I at least have a mind to stand in that high place again before I decide my course. There maybe we shall see some sign that will guide us. Thence we [may] perhaps descend by the ancient way to Rauros-foot and take again to the water; and those who make for Minas Tirith may slip unseen up the mouths of Entwash.'

Finally, the second version written in the manuscript is as in FR (p. 406), but still with 'in the days of Isildur' for 'in the days of the great kings', and the high seat is still upon the isle – which is here *Tol-Brandor* for *Tol-Brandir* of the previous versions. The isle therefore was not inaccessible; and this is puzzling, for the inaccessibility of Tol Brandir is found both in the outline given on p. 328 and in the preliminary draft material for the present chapter (p. 355).

Trotter's words before he and Legolas set off into the fog to find a path take this form (and are very similar in the draft):

'No road was ever made along this bank by the men of Ondor: for even in their great days their realm did not reach beyond Sarn-Gebir, and the high seat upon the Tindrock was their northmost watchtower. Yet there must be some path, or the remains of one; for light boats used to journey out of Wilderland down to Osgiliath; and still did so, until Sauron returned to Mordor.'

'But he has returned,' said Boromir; 'and if you go forward, you are likely to meet some peril, whether you find a path or no.'

The story of the exploration made by Trotter and Legolas, their return, the portage of the boats and baggage, and the departure of the Company next morning, reaches in the fair copy virtually the text of FR, with *Pensarn* for *Sarn Gebir* as the name of the rapids and the *Gates of Sarn-Gebir* for the *Gates of Argonath*. From painfully difficult writing the original description of the Pillars of the Kings can be extracted out of the initial drafting, of which I give the following as an example:

The great pillars seemed to rise up like giants before him as the river whirled him like a leaf towards them. Then he saw that [they] were carved, or had been carved many ages ago, and still preserved through the suns and rains of many forgotten years the likenesses that had been hewn upon them. Upon great pedestals founded in the deep water stood two great kings of stone gazing through blurred eyes northwards. The left hand of each was raised beside his head palm outwards in gesture of [?warning] and refusal: in each right hand there was a sword. On each head there was a crumbling crown and helm. There was still a power in these silent wardens of a long-vanished kingdom.

In the fair copy the text of FR was almost reached, through a good deal of correction as the manuscript was being written.

Trotter's words as they passed through the chasm ('"Fear not!" said a strange voice behind him...') are exactly as in FR (p. 409), except in two notable respects: 'In the stern sat Elfstone son of Elfhelm' – a decisive demonstration of the correctness of the view (p. 277) that *Elfstone* had reappeared and supplanted *Ingold*; and 'Under their shadow nought has Eldamir son of Eldakar son of Valandil to fear.'[18] It seems very improbable indeed that some other Valandil is meant

and not the son of Isildur: only shortly before Valandil has been named in a draft ('in the days of Valandil', p. 359 and note 17, where the text immediately replacing this has 'in the days of Isildur'), and in the corresponding passage to the present in FR Aragorn calls himself 'son of Arathorn of the House of Valandil Isildur's son'. But if this Valandil is the son of Isildur, then at this stage Trotter / Elfstone / Aragorn was the great-grandson of Isildur; and what then are we to make of the Pillars of the Kings, carved *many ages ago*, preserved through the suns and rains of *many forgotten years*, the silent wardens of *a long-vanished kingdom*? How can Frodo's amazement at the Council of Elrond that Elrond should remember the array of the Last Alliance ('But I thought the fall of Gilgalad was *many ages ago*', p. 110) be reconciled to a matter of four generations of mortal Men? And Gandalf had said to Frodo at Rivendell (p. 105 note 3) that 'he is Aragorn son of Kelegorn, *descended through many fathers* from Isildur the son of Elendil.' For the moment, at any rate, I can cast no light on this.[19]

After the description of the Pillars of the Kings there is no further initial drafting, and the earliest, or earliest extant, text is the fair copy manuscript, in which the conclusion of the chapter 'The Great River' in FR is very closely approached. Trotter, so called throughout the chapter until he becomes 'Elfstone son of Elfhelm' when they pass the Pillars of the Kings, is called 'Elfstone' when he points to Tol Brandir at the far end of the lake (which is not named): see p. 370. And after 'Behold Tol Brandir!' he says no more than 'Ere the shade of night falls we shall come thither. I hear the endless voice of Rauros calling.' The journey had taken nine days; in FR 'the tenth day of their journey was over.'

In the foregoing account I have attempted to discern the form of the fair copy manuscript as my father first set it down; but the text was heavily worked on, and certainty in distinguishing immediate from subsequent corrections is not possible without close examination of the original papers. This manuscript, as emended and added to, reached in fact almost the form of the final text; yet an object of this history is to try to determine the mode and pace in which the whole structure came into being. Since some error is inevitable, I have erred by assuming, if uncertain, a correction to be 'later' rather than 'immediate'; but that a good deal of the development took place during this present phase of writing is clear. In particular, it is clear that the entire section of the narrative from the end of the Gollum episode to the escape of the Company from the rapids had been rewritten before my father reached 'The Departure of Boromir', because an outline for the opening of that chapter (p. 380) refers to Trotter's having seen an eagle far off from the river 'above the rapids of Sarn Ruin',[20] and this element (previously absent, p. 357) is

inseparable from the whole complex of revision at this point in the present chapter.

This revision was carried out on inserted slips, one of which is an Oxford University committee report dated 10 March 1941. This slip provides of course only a *terminus a quo*, and proves no more than that my father was revising this chapter during or after March 1941; while a similar slip, dated 19 February 1941, used for initial drafting at a later point in Chapter XXI (i.e. in the part corresponding to 'The Breaking of the Fellowship' in FR), proves no more. It might be argued that he would scarcely have preserved such reports of committee meetings for use long after, and that these revisions therefore belong to 1941, but this is much too flimsy to support any view of the external dating. See further p. 379.

The next version of the chapter was a manuscript made by myself, presumptively after 4 August 1942, the date that I wrote at the end of my copy of '[The Mirror of] Galadriel' (p. 261). I think that this copy of mine provides exact evidence of the state of this chapter when my father moved on from it to new regions of the story, and I shall now therefore turn to it, noticing first certain names (in the form in which I wrote them, of course, and before subsequent emendation by my father).

Sarn-Gebir remains in my copy, for later *Emyn Muil*; the *Gates of Gebir* or the *Gates of Sarn-Gebir* for the *(Gates of) Argonath*;[21] and *Ondor* for *Gondor*. *Trotter* remains *Trotter*, because my father had not emended it on his manuscript, until the end of the chapter, where the Company passes beneath the Pillars of the Kings, and he is called in the first manuscript 'Elfstone son of Elfhelm': this my father had changed to 'Aragorn son of Arathorn', and my copy follows. On the other hand he did not correct 'Under their shadow nought has Eldamir son of Eldakar son of Valandil to fear', and my copy retains it. This might be thought to be a mere inconsistency of correction on his part; but this is evidently not the case, since on *both* manuscripts he added a further step in the genealogy: 'Eldamir *son of Valatar* son of Eldakar son of Valandil.' Since he did not strike out 'Eldamir son of Eldakar son of Valandil' on my copy, but on the contrary accepted the genealogy and slightly enlarged it, it must be presumed that *Eldamir* beside *Aragorn* was intentional; cf. FR (p. 409): 'Under their shadow Elessar, the Elfstone son of Arathorn ... has nought to dread!', and cf. *Eldamir* > *Elessar*, p. 294. My father's retention of the genealogy, with the addition of Valatar, is also remarkable in that it shows him still accepting the brief span of generations separating Aragorn from Isildur.

By the criterion of presence or absence in my copy of the chapter the flight of the black swans was added early. The chronology remained as it was, the attack at the rapids taking place on the night of the seventh

day; and the references to the New Moon in FR pp. 400–1 are still absent. The New Moon still first appears in the course of the attack, but changed in that the clouds through which it broke were now in the South, and the Moon rode 'across' not 'up' the sky (see pp. 353, 358).

The conversation concerning Time in Lothlórien (p. 358) was developed in several competing and overlapping riders, and when I came to make my copy my father evidently instructed me to set the passage out in variant forms. The opening speeches (Sam's and Trotter's – the latter given in FR to Frodo) remained effectively unchanged – Sam's now ending: 'Why, anyone would think we had come straight on, and never passed no time in the Elvish land at all.'[22] The conversation that follows contains two pairs of alternatives, which I here mark with numbers: 1 to 1 or 2 to 2 being alternatives, and (within 2) 3 to 3 or 4 to 4 being alternatives.

[1] 'The power of the Lady was on us,' said Frodo. 'I do not think that there was no time in her land. There are days and nights and seasons in Lothlórien; and under the Sun all things must wear to an end sooner or later. But slowly indeed does the world wear away in Caras Galadon, where the Lady Galadriel wields the Elven Ring.'[1]

[2] Legolas stirred in his boat. 'Nay, I think that neither of you understand the matter aright,' he said. 'For the Elves the world moves, and it moves both very swift and very slow. Swift, because they themselves change little, and all else fleets by: it is a grief to them. Slow, because they do[23] not count the running years, not for themselves. The passing seasons are but ripples ever repeated in the flowing/endless stream. Yet beneath the Sun all things must wear to an end at last.'

[3] 'But Lórien is not as other realms of Elves and Men,' said Frodo. 'The Power of the Lady was upon us. Slow for us there might time have passed, while the world hastened. Or in a little while we could savour much, while the world tarried. The latter was her will. Rich were the hours and slow the wearing of the world in Caras Galadon, where the Lady Galadriel wields the Elven Ring.'[3]

[4] 'But Lothlórien is not as other realms of Elves and Men,' said Frodo. 'Rich are the hours, and slow the wearing of the world in Caras Galadon. Wherefore all things there are both unstained and young, and yet aged beyond our count of time. Blended is the might of Youth and Eld in the land of Lórien, where Galadriel wields the Elven Ring.'[4, 2]

'That should not have been said,' muttered Trotter, half rising

and looking towards the other boats; 'not outside Lórien, not even to me.'

The night passed silently...

At the end of the chapter the lake remains nameless in my copy, first *Kerin-muil* and then *Nen-uinel* being added to both manuscripts; but an addition to my father's manuscript in which Aragorn speaks of Amon Hen and Amon Lhaw was made before my copy was written. This addition is precisely as in FR p. 410, except that both manuscripts have 'In the days of Isildur' for 'In the days of the great kings', and both add after Amon Lhaw '[Larmindon]' and after Amon Hen '[Tirmindon]'.

The original drafting shows that my father included all the narrative to the end of 'The Fellowship of the Ring' as Chapter XXI, and the fair copy manuscript likewise; but it is convenient to interrupt it at the point where the break (present in my copy) between XXI 'The Great River' and XXII 'The Breaking of the Fellowship' was subsequently made.

NOTES

1 Like the companion texts, the last section of 'Farewell to Lórien' and 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien', this was written very legibly for one of my father's initial drafts, and with remarkably little hesitation. I take up small changes made at the time of composition into the text given.

2 This is the first occurrence of *Rauros* in a text *ab initio*. For *Eregon* see p. 345 note 3.

3 I have attempted to set out the evolution of the Brown Lands in relation to the First Map on pp. 313–16. In this passage appears the description of them that survived with very little change into FR (p. 396).

4 It looks as if this addition were made immediately. See note 6.

5 My father wrote here first *Sarn*, then *Pen*, striking them out in turn before arriving at *Pensarn* (cf. the *Etymologies*, stems PEN, SAR, V.380, 385).

6 The brackets are in the original. – The weather described is obscure. Nothing is in fact said in this earliest form of the narrative about the weather during the journey down Anduin until the evening of the seventh day, when the weather was clear and cold, and starlit (but this was an addition); now, not much

later, it was very dark, though the water reflected here and there a misty star. Then, 'as Legolas gazed into the blackness away east the clouds broke.'

7 'Sam looked up at it in wonder': as well he might, seeing 'the white rind of the new moon' rising in the East and 'riding up the sky'. This is strangely paralleled in VI.325, where the moon on the night spent by the hobbits with the Elves in the Woody End was described thus: 'Above the mists away in the East the thin silver rind of the New Moon appeared, and rising swift and clear out of the shadow it swung gleaming in the sky.' In FR (pp. 400–1) the new moon is seen glimmering in the western sky on the evening before the Orc-attack, and on the evening of the attack 'the thin crescent of the Moon had fallen early into the pale sunset.'

As the text was written it was Trotter who 'looked up at it in wonder'. This was changed first to Merry, then to Sam; see note 9.

8 The dark shape 'like a cloud yet not a cloud' that momentarily cut off the moon's light is surely reminiscent of the shadow that passed over the stars as the Company journeyed on from Hollin in 'The Ring Goes South' (VI.421–2), and which Gandalf unconvincingly suggested might be no more than a wisp of cloud. Then too Frodo shivered, as here he 'felt a sudden chill'. As I noted (VI.434), the former incident was retained in FR but never explained: the Winged Nazgûl had not yet crossed the Anduin. But it seems likely to me that the shadow that passed across the stars near Hollin was in fact the first precocious appearance of a Winged Nazgûl.

9 Sam is again (see note 7) changed from Merry, and Merry from Trotter. In fact, the speech was given to Sam before its end was reached, as is seen from '"And that Sam is probably about the truth of it," said Trotter'; and the transition from one speaker to another is seen in the transition from the very un-Samlike 'The moon I suppose does not change his courses in Wilderland?' to 'up pops a New Moon'.

10 Cf. the original draft of 'Lothlórien', p. 228: 'The last thin rind of the waning moon was gleaming dimly in the leaves.'

11 Cf. the comment on Time in Lórien written on the fair copy manuscript of 'Farewell to Lórien', p. 286; and see further on this matter the 'Note on Time in Lórien' that follows.

12 On the emergence of the idea of the inaccessibility of the island see p. 328.

13 *any enemy* is the correct reading, not *an enemy* (FR p. 396).

14 Sixty leagues (180 miles) south of Sarn Ford agrees well with the more southerly confluence of Limlight and Anduin on Map IV^{D} (p. 319).

15 Aragorn says this ('not even to me') also in FR (p. 405); but at this stage he had no previous knowledge of Lórien, and presumably had no knowledge until this moment of Galadriel's Ring.

16 No doubt the first reference to the Entwade, which was pencilled in on map IV^{C} and entered on IV^{D} (pp. 318–19).

17 Valandil is named as the son of Isildur in texts of 'The Council of Elrond' (pp. 121, 128, 147).

18 For an earlier occurrence of *Eldakar* see p. 276. An isolated scrap (in fact the back of an envelope) has this note:

> *Trotter's names*
> Elessar
> Eldamir (= Elfstone) son of Eldakar (= Elfhelm). Or Eldavel = Elfwold.

On the same envelope is written, in almost identical words, the passage concerning Frodo's thoughts under Galadriel's scrutiny that was added to the fair copy manuscript of 'Galadriel' (p. 266 note 32: 'Neither did Frodo . . .').

19 On the back of the preceding page in the fair copy manuscript my father scribbled down a first version of Trotter's words (in which no genealogy appears), and it is curious that he wrote here: 'How my heart yearns for Minas Ithil . . .', changing *Ithil*, probably at once, to *Anor*: see p. 333 and note 27. – Also noted down here in extreme haste are thoughts for the story immediately to come:

> Frodo on Tol Brandir.
> [?Strong] sight. Sees Minas Tirith and Minas Morgul opposed. Sees Mordor. Sees Gandalf. Suddenly feels the *Eye* and wrenches off the ring and finds himself crying Wait, wait!

20 A passing name for the rapids, replacing *Pensarn*, was *Ruinel*. *Sarn-Ruin* is the name on map IV^{C}, p. 317. Cf. *Dant-ruin*, *Dant-ruinel*, earlier names of Rauros (p. 285).

21 A passing form which my father entered on both manuscripts before *Argonath* was reached was *Sern Aranath*.

22 When the chronology was changed, with the attack at the head of the rapids taking place on the eighth night, and the New Moon seen far away in the West on the seventh and eighth evenings, Sam's words were expanded (and entered on both manuscripts), though subsequently largely rejected:

> Yesterday evening I saw it, as thin as a nail-paring, and this evening it wasn't much bigger. Now that's just as it should be, if we'd only been in the Elvish land for about a day, or more than a month. Why, anyone would think that time slowed down in there!

23 The phrase as my father wrote it was 'because they *need* not count the running years', but in copying I missed out the word *need*. Looking through my copy, but without consulting his own manuscript, he wrote in *do*; and *do* survives in FR (p. 405).

Note on Time in Lórien

The narrative passages that introduce this question are found on pp. 285–6, 354–5, 358, 363, and in note 22 above. This note is primarily concerned with the various time-schemes that bear on it, but for their understanding it is necessary to consider the chronology a little more widely.

The first time-scheme to be considered here I will call 'I'; for previous references to it see pp. 169, 215 note 1, and 344–5. In its 'Lothlórien' section it obviously belongs with the first drafting of the story, and preceded the emergence of the idea that there was a different Time in the Golden Wood. Here the dates are:

Nov. 24 Leave Rivendell
Dec. 6 Hollin (Full Moon)
9 Snow on Caradras
11 Reach Moria
13 Escape to Lothlórien (Moon's last quarter)
14 Go to Caras Galadon
15 Night at Caras Galadon
16 Mirror of Galadrien
17–21 Stay in Caras Galadon (Dec. 21 New Moon)

This stands at the foot of a page, but a second page, though in pencil and not in ink, was clearly continuous:

Dec. 22–31 Remain at Caras Galadon, leave with the New Year (Dec. 28 Moon's first quarter)
Jan. 1–4 No notes against these dates except Jan. 4 Full Moon.

On the departure of the Company from Lórien on New Year's Day see p. 253 and note 28. But at this point, it seems, the idea of the disparity of time entered; for after Jan. 4 my father wrote: 'Dec. 15 onwards time at Caras does not count, therefore they leave on morning of Dec. 15' (cf. p. 286: 'if Lórien is timeless ... *nothing* will have happened since they entered'). The rest of the scheme is based on this chronology (and has been given on pp. 344–5).

At first the journey down the Great River was only to take two days: 'Dec. 17 Reach Tolondren. Dec. 18 Flight of Frodo. Dec. 19 Frodo meets Sam and Gollum.' This was struck out, with the note: 'Take ten days to reach [Emris > Eregon >] Tolbrandir' (on Emris see pp. 316–18 and note 12). The New Moon that caused Sam to raise the question of Time in Lórien was still on Dec. 21; and they reached Tolbrandir in the evening of Dec. 25.

Another scheme ('II') takes up at Dec. 22, but this is based on a later date of departure from Rivendell: Dec. 25, as in FR. The chronology of FR from Rivendell to Lothlórien was not yet reached, however, for two reasons: first, that the journey to Hollin still took eleven days and not fourteen (pp. 165, 169); and second, that in FR there are two

Yule-days after Foreyule (December) 30 as against Dec. 31 in scheme II. Thus II is two days in advance of FR. The numerical dates in II, when the Company left Rivendell on Dec. 25, soon become identical to those in I, when they left on Nov. 24, simply because November has 30 days but December has 31; thus in I they crossed the Silverlode by the rope-bridge and entered the Gore on Dec. 14, and in II on Jan. 14. At this point the scheme in II reads:

Jan. 14 Over Silverlode
Time ceases
Jan. 15 Leave Lórien

Scheme II continues for some way on this basis before petering out. These therefore are the relations between the former chronology (I), the new (II), and FR:

	I	II	FR
Leave Rivendell	Nov. 24	Dec. 25	Dec. 25
Hollin	Dec. 6	Jan. 6	Jan. 8
Snow on Caradras	Dec. 9	Jan. 9	Jan. 11
Reach Moria	Dec. 11	Jan. 11	Jan. 13
Escape from Moria	Dec. 13	Jan. 13	Jan. 15
Cross Silverlode	Dec. 14	Jan. 14	Jan. 16
Leave Lórien	[Jan. 1 >] Dec. 15	Jan. 15	Feb. 16
Reach Tol Brandir	Dec. 25	Jan. 25	Feb. 25
Flight of Frodo	Dec. 26	Jan. 26	Feb. 26

In II the New Moon was on Jan. 21, just as in I it was on Dec. 21, and against this date in II is also: 'Battle with Orcs?' This was the seventh day of the voyage down Anduin, as in the texts. But it is odd that in both I and II the journey took eleven days, whereas in the texts it took nine (pp. 361–2).

At the foot of the page carrying scheme II my father wrote: 'Does Time cease at Lórien or go on faster? So that it might be Spring or nearly so.' With this cf. p. 363: 'The Power of the Lady was upon us. Slow for us there might time have passed, while the world hastened. Or in a little while we could savour much, while the world tarried. *The latter was her will.*'

Another chronology of far greater elaboration, made after the changes introduced in October 1944 (see p. 406), was still based on the conception that 'exterior' Time ceased in Lórien, for it begins:

Thurs. Jan.	19	Fifth day of voyage
Fri.	20	Sixth day
Sat.	21	Seventh day. Sam observes New Moon and is puzzled.

Lastly, another later scheme of dates begins:

> They spend what seems many days in Lórien, but it is about the same time and date when they leave. [*Added:* In fact, one day later, time moving about 20 times slower (20 days = 1).]

Here the Company again leaves Lórien on Jan. 15, but the chronology of the journey approaches that of FR: 'Sam sees New Moon low in West after sunset' on Jan. 21, but as in FR the attack by Orcs takes place on the night of the eighth day, here Jan. 22; and Tol Brandir is reached at dusk on Jan. 24. Here this scheme ends; but across the page my father afterwards wrote these separate notes:

> Why have any difference of time? Shift the dates a month forward.
> If Lórien time is not different, then no need for Sam to see the Moon.
> Better to have *no* time difference.

A passage in the first manuscript of 'The White Rider' (p. 431) may be mentioned here: Gandalf tells that after his rescue by Gwaihir from the peak above Moria he came to Lothlórien and 'tarried there in the long time which in that land counts for but a brief hour of the world'.

Phases of the Moon

Either while the making of Time-scheme I was in progress or at some later point my father wrote at the head of the first page of it: *Moons are after 1941–2 + 6 days*. He changed this to + *5 days*, and added: *thus Full Moon Jan. 2 is Jan. 7*. The phases of the Moon were entered on scheme I in red pencil, and it is very hard to know whether they belong with its making or were put in later. Many of these dates were much changed, but no discernible relation with the phases of 1941–2 emerges, the dates in the scheme varying between two to six days later. The phases as entered, also in red pencil, on scheme II, when the departure from Rivendell took place on Dec. 25, are however regularly five days later than those of 1941–2, beginning with New Moon on Dec. 23, and then First Quarter on Dec. 30, Full Moon Jan. 7, Last Quarter Jan. 15, New Moon Jan. 21 (against which is written the time: 9.32), First Quarter Jan. 29 (time 6.35), Full Moon Feb. 6. It is possible, therefore, though far from certain, that it was only with scheme II and the decision to postpone the departure from Rivendell by a month that my father decided to pattern the phases precisely on those of 1941–2.

It will be seen shortly (p. 379) that my father was working on 'The Departure of Boromir' in the winter of 1941–2. The postponement of the departure from Rivendell is first seen in an outline for the story following the ride of Gandalf and his companions from Fangorn to Eodoras (p. 434 and note 1; see also pp. 422–3).

XVIII
THE BREAKING OF THE FELLOWSHIP

In the latter part of the original chapter 'XXI' initial drafting and 'fair copy' were a continuous process. Up to the point where Sam broke in on the discussion among the Company beside the river with 'Begging your pardons, but I don't think you understand Mr. Frodo at all' (FR p. 419), the drafting is very rough indeed, with separate passages written in slips and not forming a consecutive narrative, while the 'fair copy' is itself a mass of correction and rewriting in the act of composition. Some passages gave my father great difficulty and he experimented with their ordering and phraseology in many forms. But from that point, and evidently made after the 'fair copy' had reached it, there is a clear primary draft, in which the story just as it is in FR (pp. 419–23) 'wrote itself', on the basis of a preliminary outline; and the fair copy from here onwards can be properly so called. In this manuscript the text of FR was effectively reached throughout, but the division of 'XXI' into two, with a new chapter 'XXII The Breaking of the Fellowship', was not made until after the text had been completed.

At first Trotter is 'Elfstone', not corrected, in both draft and fair copy (see p. 361), but soon becomes 'Trotter', and is then so named throughout.

The draft text begins:

That night they went ashore, and camped upon a green sward beneath the slopes of [*added:* Amon Hen] the western hill. They set a watch, but they saw no sign of any enemy or spy. If Gollum had contrived to follow them, he remained unseen. 'I do not think he would dare the passage of the Gates,' said Elfstone. 'But he may have travelled far over the hills, while we were delayed at Pensarn. By now he knows the country well, and he will guess too much of our divided purposes.[1] For we have with us what he long possessed and it draws him ever towards us. "If they turned west at Pensarn," he will say, "then for a time I can do no more. Sooner or later I shall know, and then Gollum can find a way, even to the walls of Minas-Tirith. But if they did not turn west there is but one end to the river-road: Tol Brandir and Rauros, and the North Stair. There they must go West or East. I will watch upon the East." Likely enough he spied us with his

fell eyes far off from the eastern beaches or from some post among the hills.'

The day came like fire and smoke . . .

Amon Hen looks as if it were added immediately, and is probably the first occurrence of the name. An addition to the draft text introduces the nocturnal conversation between Trotter and Frodo and the drawing of Sting to see what its blade would show – a sign that the attack by Orcs had now entered; but here it is Frodo who feels 'some shadow or threat', and it is Frodo who says 'I thought as much. Orcs are near. But how came they across the river? Never have I heard that they came into this region before', with an authoritative tone more characteristic of Trotter. In the fair copy Trotter's surmises about Gollum's intentions were lost, and the opening of the chapter 'The Breaking of the Fellowship' in FR was attained, except that the green lawn beneath Amon Hen was named *Kelufain*, subsequently changed to *Calenbel*.[2]

The description of Tol Brandir as Frodo saw it that morning, already in the primary draft very close to the final form (FR p. 412), with its sides springing sheer out of the running water (where 'no landing place could be seen'), shows that the idea of its inaccessibility was present (see p. 359). The conversation before Frodo departed from the Company alone was very largely achieved at once, but in the fair copy Trotter says: 'My own heart desires to go to Minas-Tirith, but that is for myself and apart from your Quest', this being rejected, probably immediately; and in both texts, in very similar words, he says: 'Very well, Frodo son of Drogo. You shall be alone. But do not let your thoughts be too dark. For after you have chosen you shall not be alone. I will not leave you, should you decide to go to the gates of Baraddur; and there are others of the same mind, I think.' To this Frodo replied, in the fair copy: 'I know, and it does not aid my choice [> it does not help me at all].' The primary draft continues:

The others remained behind near the shore, but Frodo got up and walked away. Sam watched his master with great concern. Then the Company turned again to debating what they could do to aid the Quest, hopeless as it seemed [*struck out:* and whether it were wise to try and end it swiftly or to delay]. Boromir spoke strongly, urging ever the wisdom of strong wills, and weapons, and great plans he drew for alliances, and victories to be, and the overthrow of Mordor.[3]

Sam slipped away unnoticed. 'If orcs are anywhere nigh,' he muttered, 'I am not going to let Mr. Frodo wander about alone. In his frame o' mind he would not see an elephant coming, or he might walk off the edge of a precipice.'

In the meanwhile aimlessly wandering Frodo found that his feet had led him up the slopes of the hill.

The idea that Sam left the Company at this point was evidently very soon abandoned.

The encounter with Boromir on Amon Hen was now developed from the form it had reached in the outline given on pp. 325–7, and with much difficulty the text of FR was achieved. I give here so much as I can puzzle out of the form in which my father first wrote down what Frodo saw when he looked out from Amon Hen wearing the Ring (for the brief suggestions in previous outlines see p. 327 and note 7 and p. 366 note 19): his writing here is at its most difficult, the marks very weak and the pen seeming to float or glide on the paper.

Northward he looked, and the Great River lay like a ribbon beneath him, and the Misty Mountains small and hard as broken teeth. Eastward into wide uncharted lands he looked. West he gazed and saw little horsemen galloping like the wind upon wide green plains, and beyond was the dark tower of [Isengard >] Orthanc in the ring of Isengard.

Southward he looked ..... Ethir Anduin the mighty delta of the Great River, and myriads of seabirds [like a dust of white specks] whirling ... like a white dust, and beneath them a green and silver sea rippling in endless moving lines.

But everywhere he looked he saw signs of war. The Misty Mountains were like anthills to his sight: orcs were [?pouring] out from countless [?holes]. Under the boughs of Mirkwood there was deadly strife. The land of the Beornings was aflame. A cloud was over Dimrilldale / Moria gates. Smoke rose upon the borders of Lórien. [Dol Dúghul] Horsemen galloping wildly on the grass of Rohan, wolves poured forth from Isengard. From the grey southward Havens [*or* Haven] an endless column of armed men came. Out of the wild East men were moving in endless [?shining] swordmen, [?spearmen], bowmen upon horse; chariots and wains: whole peoples. All the power of the Dark Lord was in motion.

Then as he came back south he saw Minas Tirith. Far and beautiful it was, white-walled, many-towered, high upon its mountain seat strong in the sun: its battlements glittered with steel and its turrets were bright with many banners..... was Minas Morgul ..... its dark walls carven with ... shapes, its great tower like a tooth, its banners black, its gates like evil mouths, and to eastward the Shadow of Death the hopeless

[?gates] of Gorgoroth. Then he saw the ..... Mount [Doom >] Dûm: the Hill of Fire and .... Baraddur.

Then suddenly his gaze halted. The [?mists cleared] and he cried aloud in fear. There was an eye in Baraddur. It did not sleep. And suddenly it had become aware of ..... There was a fierce eagerness ... [?will] ... It leapt towards him, almost like a finger he felt it [?feeling] for him. In a minute it would nail him down, know just exactly [?to an inch] where he was. Amon Lhaw it touched, it glanced at Tol Brandir – he cast himself from the seat, [?crouching, covering] his head with his grey hood. He was crying out but whether he was saying Never will it get me, never, or Verily I come, I come to you, he could not say. [?Probably] both.

Then as a flash from some other point of power there came ... another thought. Take it off. Take it off. O foolish! Take it off. The two powers strove in him: for a moment perfectly balanced between their ... points he writhed. Suddenly he was aware of himself.

In the complete manuscript that followed the draft, with much further correction and experimentation of phrase as he wrote, my father reached the final form; but the opening description of Frodo in the high seat (for which there is no earlier drafting) in this manuscript is of much interest. As first written, with a good deal of correction in the process, the passage read:

At first he could see little: he seemed to be in a world of mist in which there were only shadows. The Ring was on him. [Then the virtue (*written above:* power) of Amon Hen worked upon him] Then here and there the mists gave way and he saw many things: small and clear as if they were beneath him on a table and yet remote: the world seemed to have shrunk. [*Added:* He heard no sound, seeing only bright images that moved and changed.][4] He looked South and saw below his very feet the Great River curve and bend like a toppling wave and plunge over the falls of Rauros into a foaming pit: the fume rosê like smoke and fell like rain lit by a glimmering rainbow of many colours. More remote still beyond the roaring pools were fens and black mountains, many streams winding like shining ribbons. Then the vision changed: nothing but water was below him, a wide rippling plain of silver, and an endless murmur of distant waves upon a shore he could not see.

He looked West and saw horsemen galloping like the wind: their

On beyond the falls his eye wandered, here crossing reed-grown fens, there marking the winding ribbons of swift streams leaping down from small hard black mo(untains).

At this point my father rejected the entire passage from the words 'Then the virtue (power) of Amon Hen worked upon him' and began again:

At first he could see little: he seemed to be in a world of mist in which there were only shadows. The Ring was on him. [*Struck out at once*: But also he sat now upon the seat of Sight which the Men of Númenor had made.] Then here and there the mists gave way and he saw many visions...

The new text then reaches the form in FR (p. 416); Frodo is sitting on 'the seat of Seeing, upon Amon Hen, the Hill of the Eye of the Men of Númenor.'

Frodo 'seemed to be in a world of mist in which there were only shadows. *The Ring was on him. Then the power of Amon Hen worked upon him*': and the mists began to break. Still clearer is the next stage of revision: '... *The Ring was on him. But also* he sat now upon the seat of Sight which the Men of Númenor had made. Then here and there the mists gave way...' Only one interpretation seems possible: the wearing of the Ring *inhibited his sight* – he was in a world of mists and shadows; but nonetheless he was sitting on the Seat of Seeing on the Hill of the Eye, and 'the power of Amon Hen worked upon him.' On the other hand, in the last outline written before this point in the narrative was actually reached, the idea of the 'Seat of Seeing' had not emerged (p. 327): Frodo was 'standing on rocks' in the Stone Hills when Boromir attempted to take the Ring. It is said there that from this place the range of the Mountains of Shadow could be glimpsed 'like a smudge of grey, and behind it a vague cloud lit beneath occasionally by a fitful glow'; but when Frodo put on the Ring 'he saw nothing about him but a grey formless mist, and far away (*yet black and clear and hard*) the Mountains of Mordor: *the fire seemed very red.*' In its origin, then, the peculiar clarity of Frodo's vision on this occasion derived solely from the wearing of the Ring. This question is discussed further on pp. 380–1.

When Frodo came down from the summit of Amon Hen, and putting on the Ring again 'vanished and passed down the hill like a rustle of the wind', the primary draft continues: 'The power of the Ring upon him had been renewed; and maybe it aided his choice, drawing him to Mordor, drawing him to the Shadow, alone.'

There exists a rough outline for the last part of the chapter, where

the story turns from Frodo to the Company, sitting where he left them beside the river. This was written in faint pencil, subsequently inked over.

Frodo does not come back in an hour. The hour wears on to two, and the sun is at noon. Trotter gets anxious. He saw Boromir go off, and return. 'Have you seen Frodo?' 'No,' said Boromir, lying with a half truth. 'I looked for him and could not see him.' [*Added:* ? 'Yes,' said Boromir, 'but he ran from me and I could not find him.'] Trotter decides they must search and blames himself for allowing Frodo to go alone. Boromir comes back ?

Great agitation, and before Trotter can control them they all run off into the woods. Trotter sends Boromir after Merry and Pippin. He runs himself toward the Hill of Amon Hen followed by Sam. But suddenly Sam stops and claps his head. 'You're a fool, Sam Gamgee. You know quite well what was in Mr. Frodo's mind. He knew he had to go East – that old Gandalf intended it. But he was afraid, and still more afraid of taking anyone with him. ..... He's run away, that's it – and ..... boat.'[5] Sam dashed down the path. The green camp-ground was empty. As he raced across it he gasped. A boat was grinding on the shingle – seemingly all by itself was slipping into the water. It was floating away. With a cry Sam raced to the water-edge and sprang after it. He missed it by a yard and fell into deep water. He went under with a gurgle.

Conversation of Sam and Frodo. They go off together.

At this stage my father was not intending to end the chapter here, and this sketch continues into the story of what became the first chapter of *The Two Towers*, III.1 'The Departure of Boromir'; but I postpone the remainder of it to the next chapter in this book.

The discussion among the members of the Company during Frodo's absence took draft after draft to achieve,[6] and though the actual content of what was said does not greatly differ from the form in FR (pp. 418–19) it was at first given in part to different speakers (thus in the earlier form it is Trotter who emphasizes, as does Gimli in FR, that on no member of the Company save Frodo was obligation laid).

Notably, there appear in these drafts the phrases found in FR: 'the Lord Denethor and all his men cannot hope to do what Elrond declared to be beyond his power', and 'Boromir will return to Minas Tirith. His father and people need him.' This is where the name *Denethor* first emerged, with only the slightest initial hesitation: my father wrote a B, or perhaps an R, then *Denethor*.[7] That Boromir was

the son of Denethor is clear, and is explicit in the outline given at the beginning of the next chapter; in any case he was named long before as the son of the King of Ond (VI.411).

As I have said, from the point where Sam intervened in the discussion the conclusion of *The Fellowship of the Ring* was virtually achieved at its first drafting and with very little hesitation, and there are only two matters to notice. One concerns the return of Boromir to the Company, where at first he replied to Trotter's question quite differently (cf. the outline on p. 375):

'He has not returned then?' asked Boromir in return.

'No.'

'That's strange. To say the truth I felt anxious about him, and went to seek him.'

'Did you find him?'

Boromir hesitated for an instant. 'I could not see him,' he answered, with half the truth. 'I called him and he did not come.'

'How long ago was that?'

'An hour maybe. Maybe more: I have wandered since. I do not know! I do not know!' He put his head in his hands and said no more.

Trotter looked wonderingly at him.

This was rejected at once and replaced by his account as it stands in FR. – The other passage is that describing Sam's headlong descent down the slopes of Amon Hen:

He came to the edge of the open camping-place[8] where the boats were drawn up out of the water. No one was there. There seemed to be cries and faint hornblasts in the woods behind, but he did not heed them.

Before this was written, my father had already sketched out, in the continuation of the outline of which I have given the first part on p. 375, the story of the Orc-attack and Boromir's death (p. 378). He had now abandoned important elements in his former vision of the course of the story after the disintegration of the Company: the journey of Merry and Pippin up the Entwash, and the evil dealings of Boromir in Ondor (pp. 211–12, 330). So far as written record goes, it was only now that he perceived that Boromir would never return to Minas Tirith.

NOTES

1 I think that Trotter's meaning was: 'he will guess, too, much of our divided purposes.'

2 The fair copy in fact followed the draft in the opening sentences, and the paragraph with which 'The Breaking of the Fellowship' opens in FR, describing the green lawn (*Parth Galen*), was added. As the manuscript was written, the green lawn was not named. See note 8, and p. 382.

3 This sentence was subsequently marked: 'Put this into his talk with Frodo' (cf. FR p. 414).

4 The sentence a little later in this passage, 'an *endless murmur* of distant waves upon a shore he could not see', was not changed when this was added.

5 Written transversely across this part of the text, before the underlying pencil was inked over, and extremely difficult to read, is the following:

> A good arrangement would be for Frodo running down hill to run [?into] orcs attacking Merry and Pippin and Boromir. Boromir is aware of his presence. When Boromir falls Frodo escapes [to *or* (in) the] boat – because Frodo would not leave Merry and Pippin in hands of orcs.

I do not understand the implication of the last sentence.

6 One of these drafts is written on an Oxford University committee report dated 19 February 1941: see p. 362.

7 In the First Age *Denethor* led the Green-elves over Eredlindon into Ossiriand. On the name see V.188.

8 Replaced in pencil in the fair copy manuscript by 'the lawn of Kelufain': see note 2.

XIX
THE DEPARTURE OF BOROMIR

I mentioned in the last chapter that the outline for the end of the story of 'The Breaking of the Fellowship' (p. 375) in fact continues on into the narrative of the first chapter ('The Departure of Boromir') in *The Two Towers* (henceforward abbreviated as TT).

Horns and sudden cries in the woods. Trotter on the hill becomes aware of trouble. He races down. He finds Boromir under the trees lying dying. 'I tried to take the Ring,' said Boromir. 'I am sorry. I have made what amends I could.' There are at least 20 orcs lying dead near him. Boromir is pierced with arrows and sword-cuts. 'They have gone. The orcs have got them. I do not think they are dead. Go back to Minas Tirith, Elfstone, and help my people. I have done all I could.' He dies. Thus died the heir of the Lord of Minas Tirith. Trotter at a loss. He is found standing perplexed and grief-stricken by Legolas and Gimli (who have driven off a smaller company). Trotter is perplexed. Was Frodo one of the hobbits? In any case ought he to follow and try to rescue? Or go to Minas Tirith? He cannot go in any case without burying Boromir. With help of Legolas and Gimli he carries Boromir's body on a bier of branches and sets it in a boat, and sends it over Rauros.

Trotter now finds that one boat is missing. No orc-prints at camp. Whether hobbit-marks are old or new cannot be made out. But Sam is missing. Trotter sees that either Frodo and Sam, and Merry and Pippin, were together, or Frodo (and Sam?) have gone off. Now little or no hope of finding Frodo in latter case. He with Gimli and Legolas decide to follow Merry and Pippin. 'On Amon Hen I said I might see a sign to guide us! We have found a confusion – but our paths at least are set for us. Come, we will rescue our companions or else we will die after slaying all the orcs we can.'

An addition to this text, certainly of much the same time, reads:

Trotter sees by the shape and arms of the dead orcs that they are northern orcs of the Misty Mountains – from Moria? In fact

they are orcs of Moria that escaped the elves, + others who are servants of *Saruman*. They report to Saruman that Gandalf is dead. Their mission is to capture hobbits *including Frodo* and take them to Isengard. (Saruman is playing a double game and wants the Ring.)

At the bottom of the page is written:

Does Trotter have any vision on Amon Hen? If he does, let him see (1) an Eagle coming down. (2) old man, like Frodo [sees] in mirror. (3) orcs creeping under trees.

While working on the book my father would sometimes 'doodle' by writing, often in careful or even elaborate script, names or phrases from a newspaper that lay beside him or on which his paper rested. On the back of the sheet carrying this outline – an examination script, like most of the paper he used – he wrote out many such odds and ends, as 'Chinese bombers', 'North Sea convoy'; and among them are 'Muar River' and 'Japanese attack in Malaya'. It is out of the question, I think, that these writings on the verso should come from a different time from the text on the recto. It is certain, therefore, that the time was now the winter of 1941–2.[1]

This obviously agrees with my father's statement in the Foreword to the Second Edition of *The Lord of the Rings* that he 'came to Lothlórien and the Great River late in 1941.' He said that 'almost a year' had passed since he halted by Balin's tomb in Moria; but I have argued (VI.461), I think with good reason, that he stopped in fact at the end of 1939. To maintain this view it must be supposed of course that something like two years (1940–1) passed between the halt in Moria and the point we have now reached; but further evidence on the subject seems to be lacking.

There are two preliminary versions of 'Trotter upon Amon Hen', the first proceeding directly from the suggestions at the end of the outline just given.

Trotter sped up the hill. Every now and again he bent to the ground. Hobbits go light, and their footprints are not easy even for a ranger to pick up. [Most of the path was stony, or covered with old leaves still lying thick; but in one place a small spring crossed it, and here Trotter stooping saw tracks in the moist earth, and beyond on the stones faint traces. 'I guessed right', he said. 'When he came to the top he saw . . .][2] But not far from the top a small spring crossed the path and in the wet earth he saw what he was looking for. Quickly he ran forward across the flagstones and up the steps. 'He has been here,' he said to

himself. 'Not so long ago his wet feet came this way, [and up the steps.] He climbed to the seat. I wonder what he saw?'

Trotter stood up and looked round. The sun seemed to be darkened, or else the eastern clouds were spreading. He could see nothing in that direction. As his glance swept round it stopped. Under the trees he saw orcs crawling stealthily: but how near to Amon Hen he could not guess. Then suddenly far away he saw an eagle, as he had seen it before above Sarn Ruin.[3] It was high in the air, and the land below was dim. Slowly it circled. It was descending. Suddenly it swooped and fell out of the sky and passed below his [?view].

As Trotter gazed the vision changed. Down a long path came an old man, very bent, leaning on a staff. Grey and ragged he seemed, but when the wind tossed his cloak there came a gleam of white, as if beneath his rags he was clad in shining garments. Then the vision faded. There was nothing more to be seen.

At the end of the text, and I think immediately, my father wrote: 'The second vision on Amon Hen is inartistic. Let Trotter be stopped by noise of orcs, and let him see nothing.'

The second version continues on into Trotter's leaping descent from the summit, his discovery of Boromir, and his words with him before he died. Though written here in the roughest fashion the text was scarcely changed afterwards, except in one respect: here (following the instruction at the end of the first version) Trotter does not go up to the high seat at all:

Trotter hesitated. He himself desired to [sit in the Seat of Seeing >] go to the high seat, but time was pressing. As he stood there his quick ears caught sounds in the woodlands below and to his left, away west of the River and camping-place. He stiffened: there were cries, and among them he feared that he could distinguish the harsh voices of orcs; faintly and desperately a horn was blowing.

In the first version the power of the Seat of Seeing upon Amon Hen 'works upon' Trotter indeed, but the visions he sees are isolated scenes, more akin in their nature perhaps to those in the water of Galadriel's Mirror than to the vast panorama of lands and war vouchsafed to Frodo. In the second draft he does not ascend to the high seat, and therefore sees nothing. In the fair copy manuscript that immediately followed he does go up, as in TT, but again sees nothing, save the eagle descending out of the sky: 'the sun seemed darkened, and the world dim and remote.' Why should this be? The utter

unlikeness of the experiences of Frodo and of Aragorn in the Seat of Seeing is not explained. I have said (p. 374) that as my father first drafted the account of Frodo's vision it is explicit that it was 'the power of Amon Hen', and not the wearing of the Ring, that accorded it to him; and the first version of Aragorn's ascent to the summit shows this still more clearly (by the very fact that he also saw visions there). The final text of Frodo's vision is less explicit, and if this is associated with the fact that in the final form Aragorn does go up but sees nothing it may suggest a more complex relation between the power of Amon Hen and the power of the Ring, a relation which is not uncovered.

As I have said, the second of the original drafts for 'Trotter on Amon Hen'[4] continues to the death of Boromir, and there are a few details worth mentioning: it is not said (nor is it in the fair copy) that the glade where Boromir died was a mile or more from the camping-place (TT pp. 15, 18); Trotter says 'Thus passes the heir of Denethor, Lord of the T[ower]' ('Lord of the Tower of Guard' in the fair copy, as in TT); and very oddly, Boromir says 'Farewell, Ingold' – which can surely be no more than an unwitting reversion to the former name, instead of 'Elfstone'. In the fair copy, where he is otherwise called 'Trotter' throughout, Boromir says 'Farewell, Aragorn'; and this was probably the first time that the name 'Aragorn' was used again (apart, of course, from later correction at earlier points) after its abandonment.

A full and tolerably legible draft takes up just a little further on, from the coming of Legolas and Gimli to the glade, and there are only very minor differences from TT (pp. 16–17) as far as 'The River of Ondor will take care that no enemy dishonours his bones' (here given to Legolas). At this point in the draft manuscript there is a little hasty sketch, reproduced on p. 383, which indicates a difference (though immediately rejected) from the later story: Legolas alone returned to the camping-place. In the sketch are seen the rill that flowed through the greensward there, and the two remaining boats (the third having been taken by Frodo) moored at the water's edge, with Tol Brandir, and Amon Lhaw beyond; X marks the battle where Boromir died. At the shore is the boat brought back by Legolas, marking the place where Boromir's body was set aboard it.

In the draft text there is no mention of finding the hobbits' 'leaf-bladed' knives (cf. VI.128, FR p. 157), nor of Legolas' search for arrows among the slain; the first is absent from the fair copy also. Then follows:

'These are not orcs of Mordor,' said Trotter. 'Some are from the Misty Mountains, if I know anything of orcs and their [gear >] kinds; maybe they have come all the way from Moria. But

what are these? Their gear is not all of goblin-make.' There were several orcs of large stature, armed with short swords, not the curved scimitars usual with goblins, and with great bows greater than their custom. Upon their shields they bore a device Trotter had not seen before: a small white hand in the centre of the black field. Upon the front of their caps was set a rune ᛋ fashioned of some white metal.[5]

'S is for Sauron,' said Gimli. 'That is easy to read.'

'Nay,' said Legolas. 'Sauron does not use the Runes.'

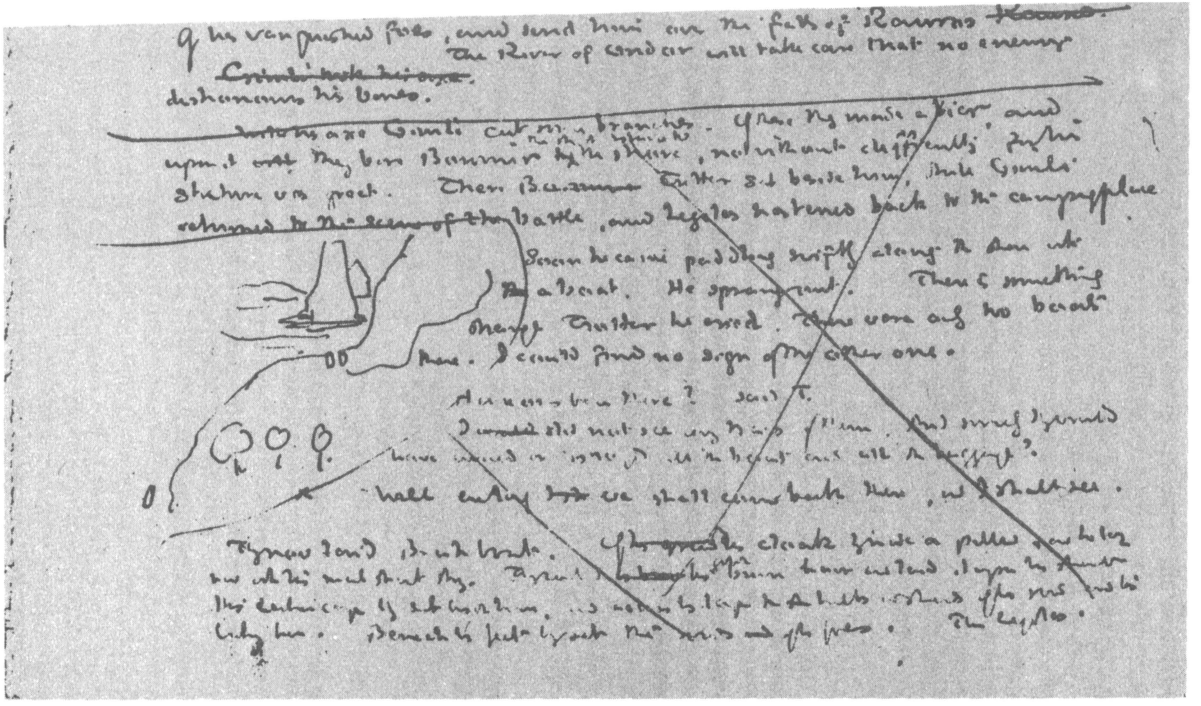
'Neither does he use his right name or permit it to be spelt or spoken,' said Trotter. 'And he does not use white. The orcs of his immediate service bear the sign of the single eye.' He stood for a moment in thought. 'S is for Saruman, I guess,' he said at last. 'There is evil afoot at Isengard, and the West is no longer safe. What is more: I guess that some of our pursuers escaped the vigilance of Lórien or avoided that land, passing through the foothills, and that Saruman also knows now of our journey, and maybe of Gandalf's fall. Whether he is merely working under the command of Mordor, or playing some hand of his own, I cannot guess.'

'Well, we have no time to ponder riddles,' said Gimli.

With this compare the passage added to the outline on pp. 378–9. – Both Legolas and Gimli now went back to the green lawn of the camping-place, which is here named *Kelufain*, corrected to *Forfain*, and that in turn to *Calen-bel* (all these changes being made at the moment of writing),[6] but they returned together in a single boat. Thus whereas in TT, where they brought both the remaining boats, the three companions in the one towed out the other bearing Boromir, and after passing Parth Galen cast it loose, here Legolas took the funeral boat to Calen-bel while Trotter and Gimli returned there on foot. At Calen-bel, 'All three now embarked in the remaining boat, and drew the funeral boat out into the running river.' In the fair copy the final story entered as my father wrote the text.

Apart from this, the account of Boromir's departure is almost word for word as in TT, save that his hair is called 'gold-brown' (so also in the fair copy, changed to 'long brown'; 'dark' in TT), and that it ends:

But in Ondor it was long recorded in song that the elven-boat rode the falls and the foaming pit, and bore him down through Osgiliath, and past the many mouths of Anduin, and out into the Great Sea; and the voices of a thousand seabirds lamented him upon the beaches of Belfalas.



Sketch-plan of the scene of the Breaking of the Fellowship.

There is no suggestion however that any lament was sung for him by his companions; the draft reads here simply:

For a while the three companions remained gazing after him, then silently they turned and drove their boat back against the current to Calen-bel.

'Boromir has taken his road,' said Trotter. 'Now we must swiftly determine our own course....'

The fair copy manuscript is virtually the same. The earliest extant text of the lament for Boromir (*Through Rohan over fen and field*, TT pp. 19–20) was however found with these draft papers, and a finely written text was inserted into the fair copy, with re-writing of the surrounding prose, at some later time. The earliest version is entitled [*Song* >] *Lament of Denethor for Boromir*, and only differs in few and minor points from the form in TT;[7] of rough working there is a page bearing the most primitive sketching of phrases for the lament (including the East Wind, that blows 'past the Tower of the Moon'), and another of rough working for the North Wind (which seems to have been swiftly achieved).

It might seem, from the original title *Lament of Denethor*, that it was at first intended to be indeed the father's own song of grief, and not merely in form: to be brought in at a later point in the story. But against this are the first words on the page of rough working, clearly belonging to the same time: '"They shall look out from the white tower and listen to the sea," said Trotter in a low voice.' The song is, in any case, Denethor's Lament. The occurrence of 'Trotter' here suggests that it belongs to this time, for before much more of the story was written 'Aragorn' would replace 'Trotter' as the name by which he is generally referred to. Another pointer in the same direction is a line found in the rough working: 'The North Wind blows from Calen-Bel', since in the course of the writing of the fair copy manuscript the name changes from *Calen-bel* to *Calembel* (note 6).[8]

Trotter was at first less certain in his observations and conclusions when he examined the ground at Calen-bel; and he did not think to examine the baggage (nor yet in the fair copy). I cite the next part of the draft text, which here becomes very rough, in full:

'No orcs have been here,' he said at last. 'But otherwise it is not possible to say anything: all our footprints are here, and it is not possible to say whether any of the hobbits' feet have returned since the search for Frodo began. I think, but I cannot be sure, that a boat was dragged to the water at this point,' he said, pointing to the bank close to where the rill from the spring trickled into the river.

'How then do you read the riddle?' asked Gimli.

'I think that Frodo returned from the hill-top wearing the Ring,' said Trotter. 'He may have met Sam, but I think not: Frodo was probably wearing the Ring. I think Sam guessed Frodo's mind: he knew it better from love than we from wisdom; and caught him before he went.'

'But that was ill done, to go and leave us without a word, even if he had seen the orcs and was afraid,' said Gimli.[9]

'No, I think not,' said Trotter. 'I think Sam was right. He did not wish us to go to death in Mordor, and saw no other way to prevent that but by going alone and secretly. No, I think not,' said Trotter. 'He had a Something happened on the hill to make him fly. I do not know all, but I know this. Boromir tried to take the Ring by force.'

Exclamation of horror from Legolas and Gimli.

'Think not ill of him,' said Trotter. 'He paid manfully and confessed.'

Then follows in pencil:

Don't let Trotter tell of Boromir's misdeed?

They draw up boat. Set out west after orcs. Trotter's plan is to descend from Sarn Gebir into Rohan and try and learn of orcs and *borrow horses*.

Legolas sees Eagle from escarpment, descending.

They meet an old man coming up hill to meet them. Don't recognize him, though there is something familiar. Suspect he is Saruman?

The final story of the reappearance of Gandalf moves a step closer. In the 'Plot' written before Lothlórien was reached (p. 211) it was Gimli and Legolas, on their way back North, who fell in with Gandalf, Aragorn having gone with Boromir to Minas Tirith; and Gandalf then 'hastens south' with them. This was still the story in the subsequent outline (p. 329). Now, the death of Boromir having entered, Trotter, Gimli and Legolas are as in the final story on the trail of Merry and Pippin when they encounter Gandalf returned; but they are to meet him before their journey through Rohan has begun, before they have set foot in the grasslands. The descending eagle that Legolas saw from the escarpment of Sarn Gebir was bearing Gandalf (see p. 396); and it is clear that the eagle that Trotter saw descending to earth as he looked out from the summit of Amon Hen in the original draft (p. 380) was the first appearance of this idea.[10]

In the fair copy the suggestion in this outline that Trotter should not tell Gimli and Legolas what Boromir had done was taken up:

'... Something occurred after he left us to make his mind up: he must suddenly have overcome his fear and doubt. I do not think that it was a meeting with orcs.' What he thought it was Trotter did not say. The last words of Boromir he kept ever secret.

This was changed, probably at once, to the dialogue in TT (p. 21), but it is still said of Trotter that 'the last words of Boromir he kept ever secret' ('he long kept secret', TT).

The draft text becomes formed narrative again with words of Trotter's that in TT are given to Legolas: '"One thing at least is clear," said Trotter. "Frodo is no longer on this side of the River. Only he could or would have taken the boat. As for Sam, he must be either with Merry or Pippin or Frodo, or dead. He would have returned here otherwise ere now."' Gimli's words that follow, and Trotter's, expounding his decision to follow the Orcs, are much as in TT; and I give the remainder of the draft, which at the end peters out, in full:

They drew up the last boat and carried it to the trees, and laid beside it such of their goods as they did not need and could not carry. Then they struck west. Dusk was already falling.

'Go warily,' said Gimli. 'We are assuming that all the orcs made off after they had slain Boromir and captured Merry and Pippin. But those that attacked Boromir were not the only ones. Legolas and I met some away southwards on the west slopes of Amon Hen. We slew many, creeping on them among the trees: the cloaks of Lórien seem to deceive their sight. But many more may still linger.'

'We have not time for wariness. We will follow the trail from the glade. Well is it that Orcs do not walk like hobbits! No folk, even Men of the cities, make such a trampling, and they slash and hack and beat down growing things as they pass, as if the breaking of things delighted them.

'It is plain to see which way they went – west near to the shore, but not on it, keeping to the trees.'[11]

'But orcs go swiftly,' said Gimli. 'We shall have to run!'

'If my guess is right,' said Trotter, 'and they make for Isengard, they will descend from the hills into Rohan. [*Struck out:* There they will not dare to journey save by night – and I wonder indeed how they cross] Mayhap we can get horses in Rohan,' said Trotter. 'If my guess is right and the orcs are making for Isengard, they will

I interrupt the narrative here because, although my father had no thought of halting, initial drafting from this point is lost (p. 390).

The draft that takes up with the coming of Legolas and Gimli to the glade (p. 381) is numbered on each page 'XXIII', and 'XXIII' continues on through the story of the chase across Rohan; the fair copy likewise begins 'XXIII' at 'Trotter sped on up the hill', with the title 'The Riders of Rohan', though another title apparently underlies this. Although all these were pencilled additions to the manuscripts in ink, I think it very probable that by this time the chapter-divisions of LR had been introduced: XXI 'The Great River' ending after the passage of the Pillars of the Kings and XXII 'The Breaking of the Fellowship' ending at the departure of Frodo and Sam, with XXIII extending all the way from Trotter's ascent of Amon Hen into whatever adventures might befall the three companions from their setting out from Calembel on the trail of the Orcs.

NOTES

1 The Japanese invaded Thailand and N.E. Malaya on 7–8 December 1941. The crossing of the Muar River was on 16 January 1942. This information has been kindly provided by Mr. F. R. Williamson. – Further evidence is provided by the use of the Moon's phases of 1941–2; see p. 369.

2 This passage was placed within square brackets in the original, as also was 'and up the steps' immediately following.

3 On the eagle seen far off on the evening before the Company came to the rapids of Sarn Ruin see pp. 361–2.

4 At the top of the page carrying this text are written many experimental Elvish names: *Llawhen*, *Amon Tirlaw*, *Lhawdir*, *Lasthen*, *Henlas*, *Hendlas*, all being struck out save the first and last. I am at a loss to account for these satisfactorily. Since both *Amon Hen* and *Amon Lhaw* appear in primary drafting and outlines that obviously preceded this text, it is perhaps possible that the names already stood on the page before my father used it for the account of Trotter on Amon Hen. If this were so, it might be – since all of them are compounds of elements one of which refers to hearing (*l(h)aw*, *las(t)*) and the other to sight (*hen(d)*, *tir*) – that they were devised before the eastern and western hills were distinguished as the Hill of Hearing and the Hill of Sight.

5 The Old English S-rune is found also in the fair copy manuscript, but there with the vertical strokes strongly curved, the upper

curve open to the left, the lower to the right. In that text the caps of the Orcs become 'leathern caps' ('iron helms' TT).

6 The name *Kelufain* for the green lawn below Amon Hen was added to the fair copy of 'The Breaking of the Fellowship', and in one instance changed to *Calenbel* (p. 371 and note 2). In the fair copy of the present chapter the name was *Calenbel* at the first occurrence but subsequently *Calembel* (and once *Cálembel*).

7 The differences are:

Verse 1: line 1 *Through the mountain-pass, through Rohan* > *Over mountains tall, through Rohan*
5 *over many streams*
Verse 2: 2 *brings*
4 *Why tarries Boromir the fair? For Boromir I grieve.*
Verse 3: 4 *Where now is Boromir the bold?*
5 *I heard his horn.*

In every case these readings were replaced in careful script by those in TT. At first only the third verse had the concluding couplet beginning *O Boromir!*; but against this my father wrote: 'Omit? Or put extra couplet onto the other stanzas?' and then provided them, as in the final form. Certain other changes were put in later: see note 8.

8 The text of the Lament inserted into the fair copy is the final form, though here written in short lines. An accompanying page gives 'Alternatives to Song of Boromir', which were not used. These change verse 1 line 3 *tonight?* to *this morn?*, line 4 becoming *Have you seen Boromir the fair or heard his blowing horn?*; and verse 2 line 3 *at eve?* to *tonight?*, line 4 becoming *Where tarries Boromir the tall by moon or by starlight?* Another variant given here was to change verse 2 line 3 *at eve?* to *at morn?*, line 4 becoming *Where dwells now Boromir the fair? What valleys hear his horn?* These changes were pencilled also onto the first text of the song. – In LR *Calembel* is a town in Lamedon ('The Passing of the Grey Company', at end).

9 Cf. the passage given on p. 377 note 5.

10 Both sightings of the eagles survived in TT: Aragorn on Amon Hen still sees one descending, and Legolas sees one from the western escarpment of the Emyn Muil (see pp. 396–7).

11 Though no speaker is named, this speech ('We have not time for wariness') is certainly Trotter's.

XX
THE RIDERS OF ROHAN

A single page of extremely rough notes, headed 'Sketch' and 'XXIII' was written in pencil, and partly inked over.

Dusk. Night. Track less easy to follow. Sarn-Gebir runs North-South.[1] They press on through night. Dawn on ridge – then .... the escarpment. Legolas sees eagle far away. (Fangorn.)[2] Rich vegetation.

They see Black Mountains, 100 miles south. Entwash winding. Find orc trail going up river. Meeting with Rohiroth. They ride to Fangorn and hear news of battle and destruction of orcs and mysterious old man who had discomfited orcs. They hear that *no* captives were rescued. Despair. Old man appears.

[*Added:* XXV and later.] They think he is Saruman. Revelation of Gandalf, and his account of how he escaped. He has become a *white* wizard. 'I forgot most of what I knew.[3] I was badly burned or *well* burned.' They go to Minas Tirith and enter in.

Rest of war in which Gandalf and / on his eagle in white leads assault must be told later – partly a dream of Frodo, partly seen by him (and Sam), and partly heard from orcs. (? Frodo looks out of Tower, while prisoner.)

Minas Tirith defeats Haradwaith. They cross at Osgiliath [*written above:* Elostirion], defeat orcs and Nazgûl. Overthrow Minas Morghul, and drive forward to *Dagorlad* (Battle Plain). They get news that Ringbearer is captured.

Now Treebeard.

Then Frodo again.

In those passages where the original text was inked over the underlying pencil can be largely made out, and it is seen that *Haradwaith* was present: this appears on the First Map, translated *Sutherland*, as the name of the great region south of Mordor and east of the Bay of Belfalas (Map III, p. 309).[4] On the other hand *Nazgûl*, here first met with, was not, and nor was *Dagorlad* (the pencilled text had only Battle Plain); the First Map had *Dagras*, changed to *Dagorlad* (p. 310). *Elostirion* above *Osgiliath* was also an addition when the text was inked over; on this new name see p. 423. – There are other notes on the page which do not relate directly to the foregoing consecutive sketch, but which may be given here.

(1) Greyfax [> Shadowfax]. Halbarad. Horse of Gandalf reappears – sent for from Rivendell. Arrives later. It is 500–600 miles from Rivendell and would take Shadowfax 10–14 days.

The name *Halbarad* was added at the same time as *Greyfax* > *Shadowfax*, and these changes look as if they were made at once. In Gandalf's tale in the fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond' the horse that Gandalf got in Rohan was likewise named *Halbarad* and *Greyfax*, and there *Greyfax* was certainly changed to *Shadowfax* in the act of writing. In that text there is no mention of what happened to Shadowfax after Gandalf reached Rivendell (see p. 152); but an isolated slip of paper has a note on this (together with a passage of initial drafting for 'The King of the Golden Hall'): 'Some account of "Shadowfax" in the house of Elrond must be given and what arrangements were made about him. Or did he just run off after Gandalf got to Rivendell? How did Gandalf summon him?'

(2) Rohiroth are relations of Woodmen and Beornings, old Men of the North. But they speak Gnomish – tongue of Númenor and Ondor, as well as [?common] tongue.
(3) Trotter should *know* Eomer.
(4) Marhad Marhath is 2nd Master. [*Written in margin:* Marhad Marhath Marhelm Marhun Marhyse Marulf][5]
(5) Eowyn Elfsheen daughter of Eomund?

On the back of this page is very rough drafting for the conversation with Eomer (p. 400), but there is also here the note: *Eowyn Elfsheen daughter of Theoden.*

The original manuscript of 'The Riders of Rohan' is a difficult and chaotic document, and its textual history was hard to ascertain. In this chapter (numbered throughout 'XXIII' and without new title, see p. 387), as in those that follow, my father adopted the practice, occasionally found earlier, of *erasing* his primary draft, or substantial portions of it, and writing a new version on the pages where it had stood. In this case the original drafting from the point reached on p. 386 ('If my guess is right and the orcs are making for Isengard, they will') is lost for a long stretch through erasure and the re-use of the pages, though here and there bits of it can be read. The original draft, which I will call 'A', emerges however at the point in the narrative (corresponding to TT p. 29) where Aragorn, Legolas and Gimli approached the low downs to the east of the river Entwash, and continues through the story of the encounter with the Riders; at which point my father abandoned it, realizing that the story as he was telling it was 'not what really happened' (see the letter cited on p. 411). It was now that he returned to the beginning, and began a new text ('B') using the erased pages of A up to the point mentioned. It seems clear

that what survives of A survives because it was written largely in ink and not in pencil. The structure of the manuscript is thus:

A erased — B written on erased A
A not erased; ends because abandoned
B continued independently

The textual history of the writing of the chapter is of course simply A followed by B.

Both ways of presenting the material have their disadvantages, but after much experimentation it seems to me best to look first at what remains of A. This I give in full, excepting only one passage.

[Their elven-cloaks faded against the] background, and even in the clear cool sunlight few but elvish eyes would have seen them until close at hand as they passed, running or striding tirelessly with a brief pause every three hours or so.

That evening they reached the low downs. A narrow strip of moist green land some ten miles wide lay between them and the river winding in dim thickets of sedge and reed. Here the Entwash and the line of downs bent due north,[6] and the orc-trail was plain to see under the lee of the hills. 'These tracks were made today,' said Trotter. 'The sun was already high before our enemy passed. We might perhaps have glimpsed them far ahead, if there had been any rising ground to give us a long view.'

'Yet all the while they draw nearer to the mountains and the forest, where our hope of aiding our friends will fail,' said Gimli. Spurred by this thought the companions sped onward again through the dusk, and far into the night. They were already half-way along the downs before Trotter called a halt. The waxing moon was shining bright. 'Look!' he said. 'Even orcs must pause at times.' Before them lay a wide trampled circle, and the marks of many small fires could be seen under the shelter of a low hillock. 'They halted here about noon, I guess,' said Trotter. 'How long they waited cannot be told, but they are not now many hours ahead. Would that we need not stay; but we have covered many a long league since we last slept, and we shall all need our strength maybe tomorrow, if we come up with our enemies at last.'

Before dawn the companions took up the hunt again. As soon as the sun rose and the light grew they climbed the downs and looked out. Already the dark slopes of the forest of Fangorn could be seen, and behind, glimmering, the white head of Methen Amon, the last great peak of the Misty Mountains.[7] Out of the forest flowed the river to meet them. Legolas looked

round, turning his gaze through west to south. There his keen elf-eyes saw as a shadow on the distant green a dark moving blur.

'There are folk behind as well as in front,' he said, pointing away over the river. Trotter bent his ear to the earth, and there was a silence in the empty fields, only the airs moving in the grass could be heard. 'Riders,' said Trotter rising: 'many horsemen in haste. We cannot escape in this wild bare land. Most likely it is a host of the Rohiroth that have crossed the great ford at Entwade.[8] But what part the Horsemasters are minded to play and which side they serve I do not know. We can but hope for the best.'

The companions hastened on to the end of the downs. Behind them now they could hear the beat of many hooves. Wrapping their cloaks about them they sat upon a green bank close to the orc-trail and waited. The horsemen grew ever nearer, riding like the wind. The cries of clear strong voices came down the following breeze. Suddenly they swept up with a noise like thunder: a long line riding free many abreast, but following the orc-trail, or so it seemed, for the leaders rode bent low, scanning the ground even as they raced. Their horses were of great stature...

The account of the Riders and their horses, though rougher in expression, is very much as that in TT pp. 33–4, and the description in this original draft of the wheeling horses suddenly halting was never changed – except in the point that 'fifty lances were at rest pointing towards the strangers', where TT has 'a thicket of spears' (Legolas had counted one hundred and five Riders, p. 32).[9] – The conclusion of the primary draft, the conversation between Eomer and Aragorn in its earliest form, ran thus:

'Who are you, and what are you doing in this land?' said the rider, using the common speech of the West, in manner and tone like Boromir and the men of Minas Tirith.

[*Rejected immediately:* 'I am Aragorn Elessar (*written above:* Elfstone) son of Arathorn.][10] 'I am called Trotter. I come out of the North,' he replied, 'and with me are Legolas [*added:* Greenleaf] the Elf and Gimli Glóin's son the Dwarf of Dale. We are hunting orcs. They have taken captive other companions of ours.'

The rider lowered his spear-point and leaped from his horse, and standing surveyed Trotter keenly and not without wonder. At length he spoke again. 'At first I thought you were orcs,' he

said, 'but that is not so. Indeed you know little about them, if you go hunting them in this fashion. They are swift and well-armed, and there are very many, it is said. You would be likely to change from hunter to quarry, if you ever caught up with them. But there is something strange about you, Master Trotter.' He bent his clear bright eyes again upon the ranger. 'That is no name for a man that you give. And strange is your raiment – almost it seems as if you had sprung out of the grass. How did you escape our sight?'

'Give me your name, master of horses, and maybe I will give you mine, and other news,' answered Trotter.

'As for that,' said the rider, 'I am Eomer son of Eomund, Third Master of the Riddermark. Eowin the Second Master is ahead.'

'And I am Aragorn Elfstone son of Arathorn Tarkil, the heir of Isildur Elendil's son of Ondor,' said Trotter. 'There are not many among mortal men who know more of orcs. But he that lacks a horse must go on foot, and when need presses no more friends may a man take with him than he has at hand. Yet I am not unarmed.' He cast back his cloak: the elven-sheath glittered and the bright blade of Branding shone like a sudden flame as he swept it out. 'Elendil!' cried Trotter. 'See the sword that was broken and is now remade. As for our raiment, we have passed through Lothlórien,' he said, 'and the favour of the Lady of the Galadrim goes with us. Yet great is our need, as is the need of all the enemies of Sauron in these days. Whom do you serve? Will you not help us? But choose swiftly: both our hunts are delayed.'

'I serve the Father and Master of the Riddermark,' said Eomer. 'There is trouble upon all our borders, and even now within them. Fear which was once a stranger walks among us. Yet we do not serve Sauron. Tribute he seeks to lay on us. But we – we desire only to be free, and to serve no foreign lord. Guests we will welcome, but the unbidden robber will find us swift and hard. Tell me [?briefly] what brings you here.'

Then Trotter in few words told him of the assault on Calenbel and the fall of Boromir. Dismay was plain to see on Eomer's face and many of his men at that news. It seemed that between Rohan and Ondor there was great friendship. Wonder too was in the eyes of the riders when they learned that Aragorn and his two companions had come all the way from Tolbrandir since the evening of the third day back on foot.

'It seems that the name of Trotter was not so ill given,' said Eomer. 'That you speak the truth, if not all the truth, is plain. The men of Rohan speak no lies, but they are not easily deceived. But enough – there is now more need of speed than before. We were hastening only to aid of Eowin, since news came back that the orc-host was large and outnumbered the pursuers, but twenty-five that we first sent. But if there are captives to rescue we must ride faster. There is one spare horse that you can have, Aragorn. The others must make shift to ride behind my two esquires.'

Aragorn leapt upon the back of the great grey horse that was given to him.

Here the primary draft A ends, and as my father broke off he noted:

> This complicates things. Trotter etc. should meet Eomer *returning* from battle north of the Downs near forest .... and Eomer should [?deny] any captives.
>
> Trotter learns war has broken out with Saruman [?even] since Gandalf's escape.[11]

From 'Aragorn and his two companions had come all the way from Tolbrandir since the evening of the third day back' the chronology at this stage can be deduced:

Day 1 Death of Boromir. Leave Calenbel; night in Sarn Gebir.
Day 2 First day in plains of Rohan.
Day 3 Second day in plains of Rohan; reach downs in evening.
Day 4 In morning go on to northern end of downs; encounter with Riders.

Despite the radical alteration in the story that now entered (the Riders were returning from battle with the Orcs, not on their way to it) this chronology was retained for a long time.

We come now to the second version 'B'. This text was much worked on subsequently, but I mostly cite it as it was first written, unless a change seems to have been immediate. It was now that my father began to use 'Aragorn' again in place of 'Trotter' as the ordinary name in narrative, though at first he still now and then wrote 'Trotter' out of habit before changing it immediately to 'Aragorn'.

At the point where in TT 'The Departure of Boromir' ends and 'The Riders of Rohan' begins the text reads thus:

'We have no time now for wariness,' said Aragorn. 'Dusk will soon be about us. We must trust to the shadows and our cloaks, and hope for a change of luck.' He hastened forward, hardly pausing in his stride to scan the trail; for it needed little of his skill to find.

'It is well that the orcs do not walk with the care of their captives,' said Legolas, as he leaped lightly behind. 'At least such an enemy is easy to follow. No other folk make such a trampling. Why do they slash and beat down all the growing things as they pass? Does it please them to break plants and saplings that are not even in their way?'

'It seems so,' answered [Trotter >] Aragorn; 'but they go with a great speed for all that. And they do not tire.'

'In both we may prove their equals,' said Gimli. 'But on foot we cannot hope to overtake their start, unless they are hindered.'

'I know it,' said Aragorn; 'yet follow we must, as best we can. And may be that better fortune awaits us if we come down into Rohan. But I do not know what has happened in that land in late years, nor of what mind the Horse-Masters may now be between the traitor Saruman and the threat of Sauron. They have long been friends with the people of Ondor and the lords of Minas Tirith, though they are not akin to them. After the fall of Isildur they came out of the North beyond Mirkwood, and their kinship is rather with the Brandings, the Men of Dale, and with the Beornings of the woods, among whom still may be seen many Men, tall and fair, like the Riders of Rohan. At the least they will not love the Orcs or aid them willingly.'[12]

Dusk deepened. Mist lay behind them among the trees below...

Here in TT the chapter 'The Riders of Rohan' begins, and this earliest extant text is already very close to it in the story of the night spent scrambling on the ridges and in the gullies of *Sern-gebir* (as the name is written at this point) and the discovery of the slain Orcs. The Rohirrim are still the *Rohiroth*, Gondor is *Ondor*, and the White Mountains are the Black Mountains (described in precisely the same words as in TT p. 24, and as there distant 'thirty leagues or more').

Aragorn's verse took this form:

(Aragorn sings a stave)
Ondor! Ondor! Between the Mountains and the Sea
Wind blows, moon rides, and the light upon the Silver Tree
Falls like rain there in gardens of the King of old.
O white walls, towers fair, and many-footed throne of gold!
O Ondor, Ondor! Shall Men behold the Silver Tree
Or West Wind blow again between the Mountain[s] and the Sea?

It can be made out from the erased primary text A that this verse was not present, but only Aragorn's words that precede it. In this earliest form *many-footed throne of gold* was changed, probably very soon, to

wingéd crown and throne of gold as in TT. These are the first references to the Winged Crown and the White Tree of Gondor.[13]

Then follows (as originally written):

The ridge fell steeply before their feet: twenty fathoms or more it stood above the wide shelf below. Then came the edge of a sheer cliff: the East Wall of Rohan. So ended Sarn Gebir, and the green fields of the Horsemasters rolled against its feet like a grassy sea. Out of the high land fell many freshets and threadlike waterfalls, springing down to feed the wandering Entwash, and carving the grey rock of the escarpment into countless crannies and narrow clefts. For a breathing space the three companions stood, rejoicing in the passing of night, feeling the first warmth of the mounting sun pierce the chill of their limbs.

'Now let us go!' said Aragorn, drawing his eyes of longing away from the south, and looking out west and north to the way that he must go.

'See!' cried Legolas, pointing to the pale sky above the blur where the Forest of Fangorn lay far across the plains. 'See! The eagle is come again. Look! He is high, but he is coming swiftly down. Down he comes! Look!'

'Not even my eyes can see him, my good Legolas,' said Aragorn. 'He must be away upon the very confines of the forest. But I can see something nearer at hand and more urgent...'

On previous references to the descending eagle see p. 385. Subsequently my father pencilled in against this passage:

Eagle should be flying *from* Sarn Gebir, bearing Gandalf from Tolbrandir where he resisted the Eye and saved Frodo? If so substitute the following:

'Look!' said Legolas, pointing up in the pale sky above them. 'There is the eagle again. He is very high. He seems to be flying from Sarn Gebir now back northward. He is going back northward. Look!'

'No, not even my eyes can see him, my good Legolas,' said Aragorn. 'He must be far aloft indeed. I wonder what is his errand, if he is the same bird that we have seen before. But look! I can see something'

This is virtually the text of TT (p. 25); and it is curious to see what its meaning was when it was first written – that Gandalf was passing high above their heads. The eagle was flying to Fangorn (and therefore north-west rather than north), whereas in TT Gandalf explains later to

Legolas (pp. 98–9) that he had sent the eagle, Gwaihir the Windlord, 'to watch the River and gather tidings': Gwaihir had told him of the captivity of Merry and Pippin.[14] Against the suggestion here that the eagle was carrying Gandalf from Tol Brandir 'where he resisted the Eye and saved Frodo' my father wrote NO in large letters; cf. TT p. 99: 'I sat in a high place, and I strove with the Dark Tower; and the Shadow passed.' Nonetheless he preserved the new text.

In TT (pp. 25–6) the three companions followed the Orc-trail north along the escarpment to the ravine where a path descended like a stair, and followed the trail down into the plain. In the present text the story is different:

...a rough path descended like a broad steep stair into the plain. At the top of the ravine Aragorn stopped. There was a shallow pool like a great basin, over the worn lip of which the water spilled: lying at the edge of the basin something glistening caught his eye. He lifted it out and held it up in the light. It looked like the new-opened leaf of a beech-tree, fair and untimely in the winter morning.

'The brooch of an elven-cloak!' cried Legolas and Gimli together, and each with his hand felt for the clasp at his own throat; but none of their brooches were missing.

'Not lightly do the leaves of Lórien fall,' said Aragorn solemnly. 'This clasp did not betray its owner, nor stray by chance. It was cast away: maybe to mark the point where the captors turned from the hills.'

'It may have been stolen by an orc and dropped,' said Gimli.

'True enough,' said Legolas, 'but even so it tells us that one at least of our Company was carried off as Boromir said.'

'It may tell no more than that one of our Company was plundered,' answered Gimli.

Aragorn turned the brooch over. The underside of the leaf was of silver. 'It is freshly marked,' he said. 'With some pin or sharp point it has been scored.[15] See! A hand has scratched on it M ᛕ P.'

The others looked at the faint letters eagerly. 'They were both alive then so far,' said Gimli. 'That is heartening. We do not pursue in vain. And one at least had a hand free: that is strange and perhaps hopeful.'

'But the Ringbearer was not here,' said Aragorn. 'At least so we may guess. If I have learned anything of these strange hobbits, I would swear that otherwise either Merry or Pippin

would have put F first, and F alone if time allowed no more. But the choice is made. We cannot turn back.'

The three companions climbed down the ravine. At its foot they came with a strange suddenness upon the grass of Rohan.

I think that it was here, arising out of this moment in the narrative, that the leaf-brooches of Lórien were conceived; they were then written into the fair copy manuscript of 'Farewell to Lórien' (p. 285). But it is strange that Aragorn should speak as though the brooch was at last a clear if not altogether final evidence that Frodo was not a captive of the Orcs, for in drafting for 'The Departure of Boromir' (p. 386) he had said: 'One thing at least is clear. Frodo is no longer on this side of the River. Only he could or would have taken the boat'; and that he should feel that this evidence called for some reinforcement of the decision to pursue the Orcs. – The postponement of the discovery of Pippin's brooch to its place in TT (p. 26) was introduced not long afterwards in a rider; see p. 408.

The entire account in TT from the debate at nightfall of the first day in the plains of Rohan (27 February: the second day of the chase) to their setting off again on the following morning (pp. 27–9) is lacking here. The text reads thus:

... No longer could any sight of them be seen in the level plains.

When night was already far advanced the hunters rested for a while, somewhat less than three hours. Then again they went on, all the next day with scarcely a pause. Often they thanked the folk of Lórien for the gift of *lembas*; for they could eat and find new strength even as they ran.

As the third day [*i.e. of the chase*] wore on they came to long treeless slopes, where the ground was harder and drier and the grass shorter: the land rose, now sinking now swelling up, towards a line of low, smooth downs ahead. To their left the river Entwash wound, a silver thread in the green floor. The dwellings of the Rohiroth were for the most part far away [south >] to the west[16] across the river, under the wooded eaves of the Black Mountains, which were now hidden in mist and cloud. Yet Aragorn wondered often that they saw no sign of beast or man, for the Horsemasters had formerly kept many studs and herds in this eastern region (Eastemnet),[17] and wandered much, living often in camp or tent, even in the winter-time. But all the land was now empty, and there was a silence upon it that did not seem to be the quiet of peace. Through the wide solitude the hunters passed. Their elven-cloaks faded against the background of the green fields ...

It is at this point that the original text A emerges (p. 391). The new version B, still replacing it but no longer destroying it, advances far towards the final text, and for long stretches is almost identical. The original time-scheme, as set out on p. 394, was retained: the three companions still came to the downs at the end of the third day of the chase (i.e. the second day in the plains of Rohan); Aragorn still asserted that the tracks which they found there had been made that day; and they still went on far into the night, not stopping until they were halfway along the downs, where they found the orc-encampment. In this version, in fact, the Orcs were less far ahead than they were in A: ' "They halted here in the early evening, I guess," said Aragorn.' It was at this point that Aragorn lay on the ground for a long time motionless (cf. TT pp. 28–9; but here it was by moonlight, in the night following 'Day 3' of the chase, not at dawn of 'Day 3' and still far east of the downs).

'The rumour of the earth is dim and confused,' he said. 'Many feet I heard, far away; but it seemed to me also that there were horses, horses galloping, and yet all were going away from us. I wonder what is happening in this land. All seems strange. I distrust the very moonlight. Only the stars are left to steer by, and they are faint and far away. I am weary, as a Ranger should never be on a fresh trail; yet we must go on, we must go on.'

In this version they seem not to have slept at all that night: 'when dawn came they had almost reached the end of the downs'; and 'as the sun rose upon the fourth day of the pursuit, and the light grew, they climbed the last height, a rounded hill standing alone at the north end of the downs' – where in TT (p. 31) they spent the night of the fourth day.[18]

The coming of the Rohiroth now reaches the text of TT,[19] and the only difference to mention is that Legolas, seeing them far away, said: 'There are one hundred save three'; this almost certainly indicates, I think, that three Riders had been lost from an *éored* of 100 horse. But 'one hundred save three' was changed to 'one hundred and five' before the end of the chapter was reached, for Eomer subsequently tells Aragorn that they had lost fifteen men in the battle. (On the constitution of an *éored* see *Unfinished Tales* p. 315.)

The first part of Aragorn's conversation with Eomer in B is actually a third version, for it is written over erased pencil drafting, as far as the point where Gimli explains to Eomer the meaning of the word 'hobbits' (TT p. 37); and here the final form is reached apart from one or two details: *Branding* as the name of Aragorn's sword, *Masters* for *Marshals* of the Mark. It is here that *Theoden son of Thengel* first appears: if some other names preceded these they are lost in the

underlying erased text. Theoden is not here called 'King', but 'the First Master'.

For the next portion of the chapter there is some extremely rough drafting, scarcely more than notes, preliminary to the writing of B. In these my father did not see Gandalf as a well-known figure in Rohan, and he still thought that there was another troop of Riders in that region (detached from Eomer's host?):

> The old man who said he had escaped from Orthanc on an eagle! And demanded a horse and got it! Some said he was a wizard. And Shadowfax ... [?came back] only a day ago.
>
> Eomer says some orcs fled towards Wold. Aragorn may meet other Riders: Marhath the Fourth Master [*see p. 390*] is there with a few men. Aragorn wishes to go on. Eomer gives him token to show Marhath. Aragorn pledges his word to return to Theoden and vindicate Eomer. Farewell.

In the part of the B-text developed from these notes the hobbits are called the 'Half-high', not as in TT the 'Halflings': in Gimli's reference to 'the words that troubled Minas Tirith' he says 'They spoke of the Half-high', as in the form of the verse in the fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond' (p. 146).[20] Aragorn's reply to the scoffing question of Eothain 'Are we walking in legends or on the green earth under the daylight?' here takes the form: 'One may do both; and the latter is not always the safer' (added to the manuscript: 'But the green earth is a legend seen under the light of day'). Eomer's remarks about Gandalf, which were achieved in this form through a mass of small changes, now read thus:

> 'Gandalf?' said Eomer. 'We have heard of him. An old man of that name used to appear at times in our land. None knew whence he came or where he went. His coming was ever the herald of strange events. Indeed since his last coming all things have gone amiss. Our trouble with Saruman began from that time. Until then we had counted Saruman our friend, but Gandalf said that evil was afoot in Isengard. Indeed he declared that he had been a prisoner in Orthanc and had escaped. Riding on an eagle! Nonetheless he asked us for a horse! What arts he used I cannot guess, but Theoden gave him one of the *mearas*: the steeds that only the First Master of the Mark may ride; for it is said that [they are descended from the horses which the Men of Westernesse brought over the Great Seas >] their sires came out of the Lost Land over the Great Sea when the Kings of Men came out of the Deeps to Gondor. Shadowfax was the name of that horse. We wondered if evil had befallen the old man; for seven nights ago Shadowfax returned.'[21]

'But Gandalf left Shadowfax far in the North at Rivendell,' said Aragorn. 'Or so I thought.[22] But, alas, however that may be, Gandalf is gone down into the shadows.' Aragorn now told briefly the story of their journey from Moria. To his account of Lórien Eomer listened with amazement. At last Aragorn spoke of the assault of the orcs on Calen-bel, and the fall of Boromir.

Only shortly before in this text the name was still *Ondor*. In view of the fact that it is *Ondor* in the draft and fair copy of 'Treebeard', it may be that the alteration of the sentence about the *mearas*, in which the form *Gondor* appears, was made later. On the actual date of the change *Ondor* > *Gondor* see p. 423.

In the remainder of the conversation with Eomer there are only these differences from the text of TT (pp. 38–41) to notice. There is no suggestion yet of Wormtongue: Eomer does not speak of 'some, close to the king's ear, that speak craven counsels'. He says that there has been war with Saruman 'since the summer' ('for many months', TT); and he remarks of Saruman himself that 'He walks about like an old man, indeed there are some that say Gandalf was only old Saruman in disguise: certainly they are much alike to look on.'[23] In his account of his own present expedition Eomer does not refer to his going without Theoden's leave:

'... I do not know how it all will end. There is battle even now away upon the Westemnet under the shadow of Isengard. Hardly could we be spared. But scouts warned us [> Theoden] of the orc-host coming down out of the East Wall three nights ago: among them they reported some that bore the badges of Saruman. We overtook them yesterday at nightfall, only a little way from the edges of the Forest. We surrounded them, and gave battle at dawn. We lost fifteen of my *eored* and twelve horses, alas!'

On the chronology see the *Note on Chronology* at the end of this chapter. Eomer tells of the Orcs that came in from the East across the Great River, and the Isengard Orcs that came out of the Forest. The story of the finding of Pippin's brooch was still in its former place (p. 397), as is seen from Aragorn's words here: 'Yet our friends are not behind. We had a clear token that they were with the Orcs when they descended into the plain.'[24]

At the end of the conversation Eomer says:

'... But it is hard to be sure of anything among so many marvels. One may pardon Eothain, my squire. The world is all turned strange. Old men upon eagles; and raiment that deceives the eye; and Elves with bows, and folk that have spoken with the

Lady of the Wood, and yet live; and the Sword comes back to war that was broken ere the Fathers of the Fathers rode into the Mark! How shall a man judge what to do in such times. It is against our law to let strangers wander free in our land, and doubly so at this time of peril. I beg you to come back honourably with me, and you will not.'

Aragorn in his reply tells (as in TT p. 41) that he had been in Rohan, and had spoken with Eomund father of Eomer, and with Theoden, 'and with Thengel that was Master before him.' 'None of them would have desired to force a man to abandon friends whom the orcs had seized, while hope or even doubt remained.' Eomer relents. He requests that Aragorn return with the horses over the Entwade to '...*torras* where Theoden now sits.' This name was changed at once or very soon to *Meodarn*, *Meduarn* ('Mead-hall'), and then to '*Winseld* ['Wine-hall'], the high house in Eodor.' *Eodor* (singular, 'fence, enclosure, dwelling') is seen on Map IV^{C} (p. 317); *Eodoras* (plural) on Map IV^{D-E} (p. 319). Eothain's surliness at the loan of the horses is not present. The horses were first given names in Modern English, that for Aragorn being 'Windmane' and that for Legolas 'Whitelock'; these were changed to the Old English names found in TT, *Hasofel* ('Grey-coat', cf. *Hasupada*, note 21) and *Arod* ('Swift').

In the last part of the chapter, after the Riders had gone, the story is for most of its length at once almost as in the final text; but Aragorn's words about Fangorn, the earliest account of it that my father wrote,[25] took this form:

'I do not know what fables men have made out of old knowledge,' said Aragorn. 'And of the truth little is now known, even to Keleborn. But I have heard tell that in Fangorn, clinging here on the east side of the last slopes of the Misty Mountains, the ancient trees have taken refuge that once marched dark and proud over the wide lands, before even the first Elves awoke in the world. Between the Baranduin and the Barrowdowns is another forest of old trees; but it is not as great as Fangorn. Some say that both are but the last strongholds of one mighty wood, more vast than Mirkwood the Great, that held under its dominion all the countries through which now flow the Greyflood and the Baranduin; others say that Fangorn is not akin to the Old Forest, and that its secret is of other kind.'

This was rejected at once and replaced by a shorter passage, close to Aragorn's words in TT (p. 45), though Elrond is not here cited as his authority: 'Some say the two are akin, the last strongholds of the

mighty woods of the Elder days, in which the Elves strayed, when they first awoke.'

At the end of the chapter, when Gimli was watchman and all was silent, save that the tree rustled and that 'the horses, picketed a little way off, stirred now and again,' the old man appeared; and his apparition and disappearance are told in precisely the same words as in TT, except that he was 'clad in rags', not in a great cloak, and his hat was 'battered', not 'wide-brimmed'. But the chapter ended altogether differently.

There was no trace of him to be found near at hand; and they did not dare to wander far – the moon was hidden in cloud, and the night was very dark. [*Struck out:* The horses remained quiet, and seemed to feel nothing amiss.] ? The horses were restive, straining at their tether-ropes, showing the whites of their eyes. It was a little while before Legolas could quiet them.

For some time the companions discussed this strange event. 'It was Saruman, of that I feel certain,' said Gimli. 'You remember the words of Eomer. He will come back, or bring more trouble upon us. I wish that the morning were not so far off.'

'Well, in the meantime there is nothing we can do,' said Aragorn, 'nothing but to get what rest we can, while we are still allowed to rest. I will watch now for a while, Gimli.'

The night passed slowly, but nothing further happened, in any of their two-hour watches. The old man did not appear again.

While this is no more than a guess, I suspect that when my father wrote this he thought that it was Gandalf, and not Saruman, who stood so briefly in the light of the fire (cf. the outline given on p. 389).[26]

NOTES

1 *Sarn-Gebir runs North-South:* see Map IV[C], pp. 317–18.

2 This means that the eagle was seen in the direction of Fangorn; see p. 396.

3 *I forgot most of what I knew:* cf. TT p. 98.

4 *Haradwaith* is here the name of a people: see p. 434, and cf. *Enedwaith*, rendered 'Middlemarch' on the First Map (Map II, p. 305), but afterwards (while remaining the name of a region) 'Middle-folk.'

5 On *Mar-* and *Eo-* names in Rohan see *Unfinished Tales* p. 311 note 6 and p. 315 note 36. – Names in *Eo-* are not written with an accent at this period.

6 None of the successive variants of this section of the First Map illustrate this.

7 *Methen Amon*: earliest name of *Methedras* – which appears on the First Map (Map IV[E], p. 319). For *Methen* see the *Etymologies*, V.373, stem MET: Noldorin *methen* 'end'; and see note 18.

8 This is the first occurrence of the name *Entwade* in the texts: see p. 366, note 16.

9 Aragorn does not (of course) cry out: 'What news from the North, Riders of Rohan?'; it is said only that he 'hailed them in a loud voice.'

10 This is the first occurrence of the name *Arathorn* of Aragorn's father, replacing earlier *Kelegorn* (cf. also *Eldakar* p. 360, *Valatar* p. 362).

11 Gandalf's escape from Orthanc.

12 This passage is found later in TT (p. 33). The reference there to Eorl the Young is here absent; and the *Brandings* of Dale (named from King Brand son of Bain son of Bard) are in TT the *Bardings* (which was added to the First Map, p. 307). See note 19.

13 In a design of my father's for the cover of *The Return of the King* the throne is shown with four feet. This design, in white, gold and green on a black ground shows (as he noted) 'the empty throne awaiting return of the King' with outstretching wings; the Winged Crown; the white-flowering Tree, with seven stars; and dimly seen beyond in the darkness a vision of the fall of Sauron. This design, in simplified form, was used for the cover of the India paper edition of *The Lord of the Rings* published by George Allen and Unwin in 1969.

14 Yet Gandalf had himself been in, or over, those regions, it seems: 'No, I did not find them. There was a darkness over the valleys of the Emyn Muil, and I did not know of their captivity, until the eagle told me.'

15 Altered later to: 'It has been scored with the pin, which is broken off.' – An error in the text of TT may be mentioned here. Aragorn did not say (p. 26) that Pippin was smaller than *the other*' – he would not refer to Merry in such a remote tone – but 'smaller than *the others*', i.e. Merry and Frodo and Sam.

16 *to the west*: subsequently changed back to *to the south*.

17 This is the first occurrence in the texts of the name *Eastemnet*, which is found on the First Map (Map IV[D], p. 319). *Westemnet* occurs later in this text (p. 401).

18 Here, as they looked about them, they saw to their right 'the windy uplands of the Wold of Rohan', and beyond Fangorn the last great peak of the Misty Mountains (first named *Methen Amon*, p. 391 and note 7), *Methendol*, immediately changed to *Methedras*.

19 The passage in which Aragorn tells Gimli what he knows of the

Riders of Rohan (TT p. 33), which had first appeared much earlier in B (p. 395), was transferred subsequently to the place that it occupies in TT on an inserted rider. This retains almost exactly the form in which it was first written, without mention of Eorl the Young, but with *Bardings* for *Brandings*.

20 In the preliminary drafting the Old English form is used: *Halfheah* (*Halfheh*, *Healfheh*).

21 A pencilled rider was inserted into the manuscript later as a substitute for this speech: here the origin of the *mearas* remains the same, but in other respects the text of TT is largely reached: Gandalf (not yet called Greyhame) is murmured by some in Rohan to be a bringer of ill, Theoden is called King, and his anger against Gandalf for taking Shadowfax and the horse's wildness after his return appear. By an addition to the rider Eomer says: 'We know that name, or *Gondelf* as we have it.' *Gondelf* is an 'Anglo-Saxonising' of Norse *Gandalf(r)*. At the foot of the page is written the Old English word *Hasupada* ('Grey-coat'), and it appears from a subsequent typescript text of the chapter that this refers to Gandalf ('Greyhame'): ' "Gandalf!" said Eomer. "We know that name, and the wandering *witega* that claims it. *Hasupada* we call him mostly in our tongue"' (Old English *witega* 'wise man, one who has knowledge').

22 On Shadowfax at Rivendell and after see pp. 390 and 438 note 2.

23 Eomer calls Saruman 'a wizard of great power', changed to 'a wizard and man of craft', and that to 'a wizard and very crafty'. Against the word *wizard* is pencilled *wicca* (Old English, 'wizard', surviving at any rate until recently as *witch*, masculine, not distinct in form from *witch* deriving from the Old English feminine *wicce*).

24 These words are in themselves ambiguous, but what my father intended is shown, I think, by the fact that he afterwards corrected them on the manuscript to 'We had a clear token that one at least was still with the orcs not far from the East Wall.' The original story was still present when he wrote the outline for the next chapter.

25 If the very early images, when Treebeard was a Giant and his forest correspondingly gigantic (VI.382–4, 410), are excepted.

26 Other supports, admittedly slight, for this idea are the statements that the old man was 'clad in rags' (cf. Trotter's vision on Amon Hen, p. 380); that he had a 'battered hat' (cf. Frodo's song in Lórien, FR p. 375: *an old man in a battered hat*); and that 'the horses remained quiet, and seemed to feel nothing amiss.' – It is curious that Aragorn's words in TT, p. 46 (when the old man was certainly Saruman, TT p. 102) 'I marked also that this old man had a hat not a hood' were an addition to the text made long after.

Note on the Chronology

'The Riders of Rohan' is unusual in that the narrative underwent an important change in structure long after it was to all intents and purposes completed.

I set out below the relations between the time-scheme in the second text (B) and that in *The Two Towers*. 'Day 1' is the day of Boromir's death.

	Text B		*The Two Towers*
Day 1	Orcs descend into plains of Rohan at night.	(Feb. 26)	The same
Day 2	Aragorn &c. descend into Rohan in the morning. First day in the plains.	(Feb. 27)	The same
Day 3	Second day in the plains. Aragorn &c. reach the downs in the evening and go on through the night. – Riders overtake Orcs at nightfall.	(Feb. 28)	Aragorn &c. approach downs in the evening and halt for the night. – Riders overtake Orcs at nightfall.
Day 4	Battle of Riders and Orcs at dawn. – Aragorn &c. reach northmost hill of the downs at dawn. Encounter with Riders returning in the morning.	(Feb. 29)	Battle of Riders and Orcs at dawn. – Aragorn &c. reach downs towards noon. Night spent on northmost hill of the downs.
Day 5		(Feb. 30)	Aragorn &c. encounter Riders returning in the morning.

In B, Aragorn, Legolas and Gimli took two days and two nights after their descent from the 'East Wall' to reach the isolated hill at the northern end of the downs where they met the Riders; in TT they took three days and two nights to reach that place, and passed the third night there. In B, they encountered the Riders returning in the morning after the battle at dawn; in TT the meeting was on the following day: the Riders had passed a whole further day and night by the eaves of Fangorn before setting off south again.

This change in the chronology, with very substantial rewriting and reordering (TT pp. 27 ff.) of the existing chapter, was introduced in October 1944. On 12 October my father wrote a letter to me in South Africa in which he said (*Letters* no. 84):

I began trying to write again (I would, on the brink of term!) on

> Tuesday, but I struck a most awkward error (one or two days) in the synchronization, v. important at this stage, of movements of Frodo and the others, which has cost labour and thought and will require tiresome small alterations in many chapters...

Four days later he wrote again (*Letters* no. 85):

> I have been struggling with the dislocated chronology of the Ring, which has proved most vexatious ... I think I have solved it all at last by small map alterations, and by inserting an extra day's Entmoot, and extra days *into Trotter's chase* and Frodo's journey...

(On the extra day of the Entmoot see p. 419.)

In one point however the text of TT retains an uncorrected vestige of the original story. Éomer tells Aragorn (p. 39) that 'scouts warned me of the orc-host coming down out of the East Wall *three nights ago*,' just as he does in the B text (p. 401). But in B this was said on the morning of Day 4, and the reference is to the night of Day 1; in TT it was said on the morning of Day 5. It was therefore not three nights ago, but four, that the Orcs came down from the Emyn Muil.

In *The Tale of Years* in Appendix B to LR the dates are:

Feb. 26 Éomer hears of the descent of the Orc-band from the Emyn Muil.
Feb. 27 Éomer sets out from Eastfold about midnight to pursue the Orcs.
Feb. 28 Éomer overtakes the Orcs.
Feb. 29 The Rohirrim attack at sunrise and destroy the Orcs.
Feb. 30 Éomer returning to Edoras meets Aragorn.

Thus Éomer's 'three nights ago' in TT cannot be explained by taking it to refer, not to the descent of the Orcs into Rohan, but to his receiving news of it.

XXI
THE URUK-HAI

For this chapter there exists, first, a brief outline as follows:

> Some want to go North. Some say ought to go straight to Mordor. The great orcs were ordered to go to Isengard.
>
> They carry prisoners. Neither of them are the One. They haven't got it. Kill 'em. But they're hobbits. Saruman said bring any *hobbit, alive*. Curse Saruman. Who does he think he is? A good master and lord. Man's flesh to eat.
>
> Fight breaks out. Slain orc falls on top of Pippin with blade drawn. Pippin manages to cut wrist bands. Ties cord loosely again.
>
> Isengarders win. Mordor orcs are killed. They start on. [?Leader] called Uglúk [?leaves them]. They rouse Merry, give him drink; cut ankle bonds and drive hobbits with whips. Dark night. Pippin manages to unclasp brooch unseen.
>
> They get into plain. Merry and Pippin made to run till they faint and fall. Orcs carry them.
>
> Pippin awakes to hear horsemen. Night.... Terror of orcs. They run at great speed. Uglúk refuses to let hobbits be slain or cast aside. Horsemen ride up. Uglúk steals off [?from his friends seizing] hobbits. But a horseman rides after him. Pippin pulls Merry down flat and covers him with cloak, the horseman rides past and spears Uglúk. Merry and Pippin fly into forest.

'Uglúk' is here of course the Mordor Orc subsequently called Grishnákh. It is seen that Pippin still drops his brooch before the descent into the plain (p. 401 and note 24).

For almost half of this chapter there is no initial drafting extant, and this is largely because my father again, as in the previous chapter, wrote a new version in ink over erased drafting in pencil; in addition, it seems that some initial drafting on separate pages has been lost. As far, then, as '"Very well," said Uglúk' (TT p. 54) the earliest extant text is this second version or fair copy, in which the story as told in TT was reached almost down to the last detail, with relatively very little subsequent correction and addition. The manuscript begins without title, but my father clearly saw it as a new chapter, 'XXIV'.[1] A title, 'An Orc-raid', was written in later.

The later story of Pippin's casting aside his brooch after the descent into the plain had now entered. The Orc-names are all present:

Lugbúrz, *Uruk-hai*; *Uglúk* (leader of the Isengarders), *Gríshnák* (so spelt), *Lugdush*. Uglúk does not use the word *Halflings* (TT p. 48), but calls them *hobbits*; he says 'We are the servants of *the old Uthwit* and the White Hand' (cf. TT p. 49), this being Old English *ūþwita* 'sage, philosopher, one of great learning'; and he calls the descent into the plain of Rohan 'the Ladder' (changed to 'the Stair': TT p. 50). Gríshnák does not name the Nazgûl (TT p. 49), but says 'The winged one awaits us northward on the east bank'.

At the point where Pippin is given the orc-draught my father wrote a brief outline in the body of the text:

> Uglúk smears Merry's wound. He cries out. Orcs jeer. But torment not the object. Merry recovers.
>
> Orcs become aware of pursuit by horsemen. Merry and Pippin do not know about horsemen; but perceive that orcs are afraid.
>
> Gríshnák brings a small company of Mordor-orcs from the East. Uglúk evidently does not like it. He asks why the Nazgûl has not come to help them. The Nazgûl is not yet permitted to cross River: Sauron is keeping them for the War – and for another purpose.
>
> Gríshnák brings a small company of Mordor-orcs from the East. what a mess you have got into! They fly to the Forest.
>
> When surrounded Gríshnák searches Merry and Pippin and drags them out of ring of horsemen. He is slain, and Merry and Pippin passed over. They run into forest.
>
> Adventure with Treebeard.

From the point where Uglúk sends the 'Northerners' running off towards the Forest (TT p. 54) initial drafting is extant, except for a further passage where my father reverted to the method of erasing it and writing a new version above. This draft text, dashed down in faint pencil and extremely difficult to make out, is astonishingly close to the final form. I give a brief passage in exemplification (TT p. 56), where the draft text is not in fact so close to the final form as it is in some others:

> The Forest was drawing near. Already they had passed a few isolated trees. The land was beginning to slope upward, ever more steeply. But this did not stay the orcs, now desperately putting on their last spurt. Looking to one side Pippin saw that riders coming in the East were already level with them, galloping over the plain, the sunset touching their spears and helmets and their pale flowing hair. They were hemming in the orcs driving them along the line of the river. He wondered very much what sort of folk they were. He wished he had learned more in Rivendell, looked at more maps – but then the journey was all in more competent hands, he had not reckoned on being cut off

from Gandalf and Trotter – and even Frodo. All he could remember about them was that he [*read* they] had given Gandalf a horse. That [?sounded] well.

If the original drafting where it is extant is characteristic of the parts where it is not, as seems very probable, it can be said this chapter was achieved with far greater facility than any previous part of the story of *The Lord of the Rings*.

The second version of the latter part of the chapter only differs in very minor touches here and there from the final form.[2] The watchfires of the Riders were a later addition to the text; Grishnákh (now so spelt) had evidently had personal experience of Gollum, for he says 'That's what he meanss, iss it?' (cf. TT p. 59); and at the point where the chapter ends in TT this text has only:

There he was slain at last by Eomer the Third Master of Rohan, who dismounted and fought him sword to sword. So ended the raid, and no news of it came ever back either to Mordor or to Isengard.[3]

Neither in the draft nor in the second text did my father stop at this point, but continued on into the following chapter in *The Two Towers*, 'Treebeard'.

NOTES

1 The manuscript is paginated 'XXIV', as also is the draft (with numbers written at the same time as the text).

2 The Orc-names *Snaga* and *Mauhúr* appear already in the preliminary draft.

3 The expansion of the end of the chapter came in with the chronological revision made in October 1944 (see pp. 406–7). In notes on the subject my father said that 'at end of "Uruk-hai" the fight should be made to take longer – chase of stray fugitives, etc.', and that something should be said of the burning of the corpses.

XXII
TREEBEARD

Of 'Giant Treebeard' there have been many mentions in the outlines scattered through the early texts of *The Lord of the Rings*, but there was nothing in any of them to prepare for the reality when he should finally appear. My father said years later (*Letters* no. 180, 14 January 1956):

> I have long ceased to *invent* ... : I wait till I seem to know what really happened. Or till it writes itself. Thus, though I knew for years that Frodo would run into a tree-adventure somewhere far down the Great River, I have no recollection of inventing Ents. I came at last to the point, and wrote the 'Treebeard' chapter without any recollection of previous thought: just as it now is.

This testimony is fully borne out by the original text. 'Treebeard' did indeed very largely 'write itself'.

First, however, there is a page of pencilled notes of much interest but with various puzzling features. I give here this text exactly as it stands, and postpone discussion of it till the end.

> Did first lord of the Elves make Tree-folk in order to or through trying to understand trees?
>
> Gimli and Legolas to go with Trotter and Boromir. It must be Merry and Pippin who find Gandalf.
>
> Notes for *Treebeard.*
>
> In some ways rather stupid. Are the Tree-folk ('Lone-walkers') *hnau* that have gone tree-like, or trees that have become *hnau*?[1] Treebeard might be 'moveless' – but here are some notes [?or] first [?suggestions].
>
> There are very few left. Not enough room. 'Time was when a fellow could walk and sing all day and hear no more than the echo of his voice in the mountains.'
>
> Difference between *trolls* – stone inhabited by goblin-spirit, *stone-giants*, and the 'tree-folk'. [*Added in ink:* Ents.]
>
> Treebeard is anxious for news. He never hears much. But he smells things in the air. Prefers breath from South and West of the Sea. Too much East wind these days. He is bothered about Saruman: a machine-minded man. Fondest of Gandalf. Very upset at news of his fall. Only one of the wizards who understood trees.

Tells how the Horsemasters have ridden away south leaving land empty.

There are only three of us left: myself and Skinbark and Leaflock [*written above in ink:* Fangorn Fladrib > Fladrif Finglas]. Saruman has got hold of Skinbark. He went off to Isengard some time ago. Leaflock has gone 'tree-ish'. He seldom comes into the hills: has taken to standing half-asleep all through the summer with the deep grass of the meadows round his knees. Covered with leaves he is. Wakes up a bit in winter. May be somewhere about.

Treebeard offers to take them across Rohan to or towards Minas Tirith. Treebeard smells war.

They see a battle of Wolfriders (Saruman) and the Horsemasters – wild flowing hair and little bows.

How do they meet Gandalf? It should really be *Sam* or Frodo who saw vision in the Mirror of Galadriel.

A possible return of Gandalf would be as an old bent beggar with a battered hat coming to gates of Minas Tirith. He is let in. After, at siege's darkest hour when outer walls have fallen, he throws off cloak and stands up – *white*. He leads sortie. Or he comes with horses of Rohan riding on [*struck out:* Arfaxed] Shadowfax.

Another possibility. Cut out rescue of Frodo by Sam. Let Sam get lost and meet Gandalf, and have adventures getting into Minas Tirith. (But it was Frodo saw vision of Gandalf. Also Sam saw vision of Frodo lying under dark cliff, pale, and of himself on a winding stair.)

The winding stair must be cut in rocks and go up from Gorgoroth to watch-tower. Cut out Minas Morgul.

More roughly scribbled notes were added:

Trotter sends Legolas and Gimli with Boromir to Minas Tirith. He himself wanders looking for the hobbits. He meets Gandalf. He is tempted but forsakes his ambition.

What are Treebeard and Ents to do about Saruman. Seek help of Rohiroth?

It is evident that this page does not belong to the time we have reached in the narrative texts, but to some earlier stage, before the death of Boromir had entered the story. To suppose otherwise would depend, of course, on the assumption that the words 'Gimli and Legolas to go with Trotter and Boromir. It must be Merry and Pippin who find Gandalf' already stood on this page which my father used afterwards for notes on the Ents; but there is nothing in the appearance of the page to suggest it. '*It must be Merry and Pippin* who find Gandalf' suggests the rejection of some earlier idea, and 'How do they meet Gandalf?' later in these notes obviously relates to this. Moreover the notes at the end, in which Boromir is still thought of as going to

Minas Tirith, seem certainly to have been set down after the main text had been written.

In the outline which I have called 'The Story Foreseen from Moria' it was Merry and Pippin who were to encounter Treebeard but Gimli and Legolas who were to meet Gandalf returned (pp. 210–11); and this was repeated in the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien' (pp. 329–30). The reference to the cutting-out of Minas Morgul and the substitution of a watchtower (see on this question p. 344 and note 39) is a reference to the story of Sam and Frodo in 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien'. The death of Boromir entered in an outline for the end of 'The Breaking of the Fellowship', and 'The Departure of Boromir' (pp. 375, 378). On the face of it, then, these notes belong to the time of work on 'The Great River' and 'The Breaking of the Fellowship', and show my father pondering the way ahead after the Company should have been brought to its dismemberment above the falls of Rauros.

The note 'It should really be *Sam* or Frodo who saw vision in the Mirror of Galadriel' – at first sight incomprehensible, since there has never been a suggestion that it was anybody else who looked in the Mirror – is I think to be explained in this way: it would have been clearer if my father had written 'It really *should* be Sam or Frodo...', i.e. the story of the Mirror has been written of Sam and Frodo, and so it should be; it should not be changed. What is the purport of this? I think that my father was changing direction as he wrote – already doubting the rightness of the decision to make it Merry and Pippin who met Gandalf returned; and this seems to have been largely on account of the visions in the Mirror. Hence his suggestion (implying the rejection of the whole story of Sam and Frodo in Mordor as projected in 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien') that Sam should be the one who met Gandalf. Nonetheless he was unwilling to alter the visions seen by Frodo and Sam in the Mirror, to make it Sam who saw Gandalf walking down the long grey road (for that was not 'what really happened'). In the event, of course, Gandalf reappeared to members of the Company who had never looked into the Mirror of Galadriel. Possibly to be connected with this is the vision of Gandalf vouchsafed to Trotter on Amon Hen (pp. 379–80).

The word *Ents* added in ink to the note on the difference between 'trolls' and 'tree-folk' (with its striking definition of 'trolls') was perhaps the first use of it in the new and very particular sense; for its former use in *Entish Lands, Entish Dales* see p. 16 note 14 and p. 65 note 32, and cf. also *Letters* no. 157, 27 November 1954:

> As usually with me they [the Ents] grew rather out of their name, than the other way about. I always felt that something ought to be done about the peculiar Anglo-Saxon word *ent* for a 'giant' or mighty person of long ago – to whom all old works were ascribed.

The textual situation in this chapter is essentially very similar to that

in the last, in that there is initial drafting for part of the chapter, but in the rest of it the draft text was erased and the 'fair copy' written over it; and here again, and even more so, the first draft is for the most part extraordinarily close to the final form. My father's words in the letter cited on p. 411, 'just as it now is', must be modified, however, in respect of certain passages where the narrative leaves the immediate experience of Merry and Pippin and touches on wider themes.

The separation of 'Treebeard' as 'Chapter XXV' from XXIV ('The Uruk-hai') was carried out in the course of the writing of the fair copy.

Taking first the part of the chapter for which the original setting down of the story is available, this runs from the beginning of the chapter in TT to 'they were twisted round, gently but irresistibly' (p. 66), and then from '"There is quite a lot going on," said Merry' (p. 69) to Treebeard's denunciation of Saruman (p. 77). The draft, written so fast as to touch on total illegibility if the later text did not generally provide sufficient clues, remained in all essentials of description into TT, and for long stretches the vocabulary and phrasing underwent only the most minor forms of change. As in the last chapter I give a single brief passage to exemplify this (TT p. 73):

No trees grew there. Treebeard strode up with scarcely any slackening of his pace. Then they saw a wide opening. On either side two trees grew like living gate-posts, but there was no gate save their crossing and interwoven branches; and as the Ent approached the trees raised up their boughs and all their leaves rustled and whispered. For they were evergreen trees, and their leaves were dark and polished like the leaves of the holm-oak.

Beyond the trees there was a wide level space, as though the floor of a great hall had been hewn out of the side of the hill. On either side the walls sloped upward until they were fifty feet in height or more and at their feet grew trees: two long lines of trees increasing in size. At the far end the rock wall was sheer, but in it was cut a shallow bay with an arched roof: the only roof save the branches of the trees which overshadowed all the ground save for a broad aisle/path in the middle. A little stream that escaped from the Entwash spring high above and left the main water fell tinkling down the sheer face of the rear wall, pouring like a clear curtain of silver drops in front of the arched bay. It was gathered again in [a] green rock basin, and thence flowed out down the open aisle/path and on to rejoin the Entwash in its journey through the Forest.

All the tiny meticulous changes of word and rhythm that differentiate this from the text of TT were introduced in the writing of the fair copy manuscript.

There are some small particular points worthy of mention in this first part of the chapter. In the fair copy corresponding to TT pp. 66–7 (the passage is lacking in independent draft) Treebeard's height was changed from ten feet to twelve, and then to fourteen; he says that if he had not seen the hobbits before he heard them 'I should have just batted you with my club'; and his ejaculation 'Root and twig!' replaced 'Crack my timbers!'[2]

When Merry (Pippin in the draft) suggested that Treebeard must be getting tired of holding them up (TT p. 69), he replied, both in draft and fair copy: 'Hm, *tired*? *Tired*? What is that. Ah yes, I remember. No, I am not tired'; and later he says when they come to the Ent-house that perhaps they are 'what you call "tired" '.

The first major development from the original text comes with Treebeard's long brooding discourse on Lórien and Fangorn, as he carried Merry and Pippin through the woods (TT pp. 70–2). At first he said:

'... Neither this country nor anything else outside the Golden Wood is what it was when Keleborn was young. *Tauretavárea tumbalemorna Tumbaletaurea landataváre*.[3] That is what they used to say. But we have changed many things.' (He means they have weeded out rotten-hearted trees such as are in the Old Forest.)

This was changed immediately to:

'... Things have changed, but it is still true in places.'

'What do you mean? What is true?' said Pippin.

'I am not sure I know, and I am sure I could not explain to you. But there are no longer any evil trees here (none that are evil according to their kind and light). ...'

Treebeard's remarks about trees awakening, 'getting Entish', and then showing in some cases that they have 'bad hearts', are very much as in TT; but to Pippin's question 'Like the Old Forest, do you mean?' he replies:

'Aye, aye, something like, but not as bad as that. That was already a very bad region even in the days when there was all one wood from here to Lune, and we were called the East End. But something was queer (went wrong) away there: some old sorcery in the Dark Days, I expect. Ah, no: the first woods were more like Lórien, only thicker, stronger, younger. Those were days! Time was when one could walk and sing all day and hear no more than the echo of his own voice in the mountains. And the scent. I used to spend weeks [?months] just breathing.'

In the fair copy this was greatly expanded, but by no means to the text of TT. Here Treebeard begins as in the original draft (with *Mountains of Lune* for *Lune*) as far as 'this was just the East End', but then continues:

'... Things went wrong there in the Dark [> Elder] Days; some old sorcery, I expect [> some old shadow of the Great Dark lay there]. They say that even the Men that came out of the Sea were caught in it, and some of them fell into the Shadow. But that is only a rumour to me. Anyway they have no treeherds there, no one to care for them: it is a long, long time since the Ents walked away from the banks of the Baranduin.'

'What about Tom Bombadil, though?' asked Pippin. 'He lives on the Downs close by. He seems to understand trees.'

'What about whom?' said Treebeard. '*Tombombadil*? *Tombombadil*? So that is what you call him. Oh, he has got a *very* long name. He understands trees, right enough; but he is not an Ent. He is no herdsman. He laughs and does not interfere. He never made anything go wrong, but he never cured anything, either. Why, why, it is all the difference between walking in the fields and trying to keep a garden; between, between passing the time of a day to a sheep on the hillside, or even maybe sitting down and studying sheep till you know what they feel about grass, and being a shepherd. Sheep get like shepherd, and shepherd like sheep, it is said, very slowly. But it is quicker and closer with Ents and trees. Like some Men and their horses and dogs, only quicker and closer even than that. For Ents are more like Elves: less interested in themselves than Men are, better at getting inside; and Ents are more like Men, more changeable than Elves are, quicker at catching the outside; only they do both things better than either: they are steadier, and keep at it. [*Added:* Elves began it of course: waking trees up and teaching them to talk. They always wished to talk to everything. But then the Darkness came, and they passed away over the Sea, or fled into far valleys and hid themselves. The Ents have gone on tree-herding.] Some of my trees can walk, many can talk to me.

'But it was not so, of course, in the beginning. We were like your Tombombadil when we were young. The first woods were more like the woods of Lórien....'

Most of this passage, including all reference to Bombadil, was bracketed for omission,[4] and my father then struck it all out and substituted a new version on a separate page. It is clear that all this revision belongs to the time of the writing of the fair copy

manuscript.[5] In this new version the text of TT is all but reached; but Treebeard says this of the Old Forest:

'...I do not doubt that there is some shadow of the Great Darkness lying there still away North; and bad memories are handed down; for that Forest is old, though none of the trees are really old there, not what I call old. But there are hollow dales in this land where [the shadow >] the Darkness has never been lifted....'

Treebeard's song (*In the willow-meads of Tasarinan*) was set down in the draft manuscript in a faint scribble that nonetheless reached without hesitation almost the final form.[6]

When in the draft Treebeard reaches the Ent-house (TT p. 73) he makes no remark about the distance they have come, and in the fair copy he says: 'I have brought you three times twelve leagues or thereabouts, if measurements of that kind hold good in the country of Fangorn', where 'three' was changed to 'seven' before the words were rejected and replaced by his computation in 'Ent-strides'. In the draft he says that the place is named *Fonthill*, changed to *Funtial*, then back to *Fonthill*,[7] and finally 'Part of the name of this place could be called *Wellandhouse* in your language' (*Wellinghall* in the fair copy).

Treebeard *stooped* and lifted the two great vessels onto the table (this my father wrote in the fair copy also before at once striking it out); and he said before he lowered himself onto the bed ('with only the slightest bend at the waist') 'I think better flat'.

The next major development in the evolution of the text comes at this point, when Merry and Pippin tell Treebeard their story. Here the draft reads:

They followed no order for Treebeard would often stop them, and go back again or jump forward. He was only interested in parts of the tale: in their account of the Old Forest, in Rivendell, in Lothlórien, and especially in anything to do with Gandalf, most of all in Saruman. The hobbits were sorry that they could not remember more clearly Gandalf's account of that wizard. Treebeard kept reverting to him.

'Saruman has been here some time, a long time you would call it. Too long I should now say. Very quiet he was to begin with: no trouble to any of us. I used to talk to him. Very eager to listen he was in those days, ready to learn about old days. Many a thing I have told him that he would never have known or guessed otherwise. Never. He never repaid me – never told me anything. And he got more like that: his face more like windows in a stone wall, windows with blinds (shutters inside).

'But now I understand. So he's thinking of becoming a Power, is he. I have not troubled myself with the great wars: Elves are not my business, nor Men; and it is with them that wizards are mostly concerned. They are always worrying about the future. I don't like worrying about the future. But I shall have to begin, I see. Mordor seemed a long way, but these orcs! And if Saruman has started taking them up, I have got trouble right on my borders. Cutting down trees. Machines, great fires. I won't stand it. Trees that were my friends. Trees I had known from nut and acorn. Cut down and left sometimes. Orc-work.

'I have been thinking I should have to do something. But I see it will be better sooner than later. Men are better than orcs, especially if the Dark Lord doesn't get at them. But the Rohiroth and the folk of Ondor if Saruman attacks at the back will soon be in a [?lonely].... We shall have [?hordes] from the East and ... [?swarm] of orcs all over us. I shall be [?eaten] up – and there will be nowhere to go. The flood will rise into the pines in the mountains. I don't think the Elves would find room for me in a ship. I could not go over sea. I should wither away from my own soil.

'If you'll come with me we'll go to Isengard! You'll be helping your own friends.'

With the further words '[?Of] the Ents and Entwives' the initial draft peters out here; but in these last hastily jotted lines we see the emergence of a major new idea and new direction. The rôle that Treebeard was to play in the raising of the siege of Minas Tirith (pp. 211, 330, and cf. p. 412) is gone, and all is suddenly clear: Treebeard's part is to attack *Saruman*, who dwells on his very borders.

There is very little further initial drafting for this chapter extant; almost all is lost erased beneath the fair copy text. Rough workings for the Song of the Ent and the Entwife are found (see p. 421); and there is also a little scrap which shows my father's first thoughts for the march on Isengard:

> Ents excited. To Isengard!
> Hobbits see trees behind. Is Forest moving?
> Orc woodcutters come on the Ents. Horrible surprise to find wood alive. They are destroyed. Ents take shields. They go on to Isengard.
> End of Ch. XXV.

But it seems to me most unlikely that those parts of the original drafting that are lost were any less close to the fair copy than are those that survive.[8] The text of the fair copy manuscript in the latter part of the chapter was retained in TT (pp. 75–90) without the smallest

deviation of expression almost throughout its length: Treebeard's thoughts of Saruman and his becoming 'hot', his story of the Entwives, the Entmoot, the time spent with Bregalad, the march of the Ents and Pippin's awareness of the moving groves of trees behind them, to the last words: '"Night lies over Isengard," said Treebeard.'

Exceptions to this are very few.[9] Against the passage in which Treebeard condemns Saruman this note (it is scarcely in Treebeard's style) is written in the margin (and subsequently struck through): 'It is not perhaps mere chance that *Orthanc* which in Elvish means "a spike of rock" is in the tongue of Rohan "a machine".' With this cf. 'The Road to Isengard' (TT p. 160): 'This was Orthanc, the citadel of Saruman, the name of which had (by design or chance) a twofold meaning; for in the Elvish speech *orthanc* signifies Mount Fang, but in the language of the Mark of old the Cunning Mind.'

The alteration to the text made in 1944, extending the Entmoot by an extra day, has appeared already: see p. 407. Until this change was made the Entmoot ended on the afternoon of the second day (cf. TT pp. 87–8):

Most of the time they sat silent under the shelter of the bank; for the wind was colder, and the clouds closer and greyer; there was little sunshine. There was a feeling of expectancy in the air. They could see that Bregalad was listening, although to them, down in the dell of his Ent-house, the sound of the Ent-voices was faint.

The afternoon came, and the sun, going west towards the mountains, sent out long yellow beams...

At the same time as this was rewritten, my father replaced the Entish words (first appearing in the fair copy manuscript) of the song sung by the Ents as they marched from the Moot past Bregalad's house, but not to the text in TT p. 88.[10]

NOTES

1 The word *hnau* is taken from C. S. Lewis, *Out of the Silent Planet*: on Earth there is only one kind of *hnau*, Men, but on Malacandra there are three totally distinct races that are *hnau*.

2 A pencilled note on the fair copy says that 'Crack my timbers' had been 'queried by Charles Williams'. The same change was made at a later point in the chapter (TT p. 75).

3 This was changed to the form in TT already on the draft manuscript, but with *lómeamor* for *lómeanor*, and this remained uncorrected on the fair copy.

4 It would be interesting to know why Treebeard's knowledge of and estimate of Tom Bombadil was removed. Conceivably, my

father felt that the contrast between Bombadil and the Ents developed here confused the conflict between the Ents and the Entwives; or, it may be, it was precisely this passage that gave rise to the idea of that conflict.

5 This is seen from the fact that the new version was still numbered in 'Chapter XXIV', i.e. 'Treebeard' had not yet been separated off as a new chapter, as was done in the course of the writing of the fair copy (p. 414). Moreover, when later the hobbits told Treebeard their story he was 'enormously interested in everything', and 'everything' included Tom Bombadil.

6 The names in the draft have these differences from those in TT: *Dorthonion* is *Orod Thuin* (preceded by *Orod Thon*), which remained in the fair copy and following typescript, changed later to *Orod-na-Thôn* (see the *Etymologies*, V.392); and for *Aldalómë* appears another name that I cannot certainly read: *His.. eluinalda.*

7 The name *Fonthill* is specifically derived from Fonthill in Wiltshire, as is seen from *Funtial*, which is the form of the place-name found in a tenth-century charter. The first element of the name is probably Old English *funta* 'spring', and the second the Celtic word *ial* 'fertile upland region'; but my father no doubt intended it to be taken as if from Old English *hyll* 'hill'.

8 This is supported by the bits of text where the erased draft can to some extent be made out, and by a piece of independent draft revision of a part of the 'Saruman' passage. – The name *Dernslade* (*slade* 'valley, dell, dingle') can be seen in the draft where the fair copy has *Derndingle.*

9 In addition to those mentioned in the text, it may be noted that Treebeard's answer to Pippin's question about the small number of the Ents: 'Have a great many died?' is here briefer: '"Oh no!" said Treebeard. "But there were only a few to begin with, and we have not much increased. There have been no Entings...'

Among names, *Angrenost* (Isengard) now appears; a blank was left for the Elvish name of the Valley of Saruman, *Nan Gurunír* being added in; and Gondor remains *Ondor* (see p. 401).

10 The original form of the Entish words was thus:

Ta-rūta dūm-da dūm-da dūm / ta-rāra dūm-da dūm-da būm /
Da-dūda rūm-ta rūm-ta rūm / ta-dāda rūm-ta rūm-ta dūm /

The Ents were coming: ever nearer and louder rose their song.

Ta-būmda romba būmda-romba banda-romba būm-ta būm /
Da-dūra dāra lamba būm / ta-lamba dāra rūm-ta rūm!
Ta-būm-da-dom / ta-rūm-ta-rom / ta-būm-ta lamba dūm-da-dom //
ta-būm / ta-rūm / ta-būm-ta lamba dūm //

This was changed in 1944 to:

A! rundamāra-nundarūn tahōra-mundakumbalūn,

tarūna-rūna-rūnarūn tahōra-kumbakumbanūn.
The Ents were coming: ever nearer and louder rose their song:
Tarundaromba-rundaromba mandaromba-mundamūn,
tahūrahāra-lambanūn talambatāra-mundarūn,
tamunda-rom, tarunda-rom, tamunda-lamba-munda-tom.

The Song of the Ent and the Entwife

Rough workings and a first completed draft are extant; in this, verses 1 and 3 are as in the final form.

2 When Spring is in the sprouting corn and flames of green arise,
When blossom like a living snow upon the orchard lies,
When earth is warm, and wet with rain, and its smell is in the air,
I'll linger here, and will not come, because my land is fair.

4 When Summer warms the hanging fruit and burns the berry brown,
When straw is long and ear is white and harvest comes to town,
When honey spills and apple swells and days are wealthiest,
I'll linger here, and will not come, because my land is best.

5 When winter comes and boughs are bare and all the grass is grey,
When and starless night o'ertakes the sunless day,
When storm is wild and trees are felled, then in the bitter rain
I'll look for thee, and call to thee, I'll come to thee again.

The blank space in this verse is left thus in the original. Verse 6 differs from the final form only in the first line, with repeated *When Winter comes, when Winter comes*; and the concluding lines differ only in *the roads that lead* for *the road that leads*. A preliminary version of the ending is found, written as prose, thus:

> I'll come back to thee and look for thee again, I'll come to thee and comfort thee, and find thee in the rain. We'll walk the land together and gather seed and set, and journey to an island where both can live again.

XXIII
NOTES ON VARIOUS TOPICS

There are three isolated pages of notes, heterogeneous in content and obviously even on the same page written at different times, but each of which has links to the others. Some of the notes may well be earlier than the time we have reached,[1] others later, but rather than split them up and try to fit them in uncertainly elsewhere it seems best to give them together.

The page that I give first begins with the note 'Wizards = Angels', and this same note is found on the other two pages also. I take it to be the first appearance in written record of this conception, i.e. that the Istari or Wizards were *angeloi*, 'messengers', emissaries from the Lords of the West: see *Unfinished Tales* pp. 388 ff., and especially my father's long discussion in *Letters* no. 156 (4 November 1954). Then follows:

> Gandalf to reappear again. How did he escape? This might never be fully explained. He passed through fire – and became *the* White Wizard. 'I forgot much that I knew, and learned again much that I had forgotten.' *He has thus acquired something of the awe and terrible power of the Ring-wraiths*, only on the good side. Evil things fly from him if he is revealed – when he shines. But he does not as a rule reveal himself.
>
> He should have a trial of strength with Saruman. Could the Balrog of the Bridge be in fact Saruman?
>
> Or better? as in older sketch Saruman is very affable.

With this compare the initial sketch for 'The Riders of Rohan', p. 389. The extraordinary idea that the Balrog of Moria might be Saruman has appeared in a note written on the back of a page of the fair copy manuscript of 'Lothlórien', p. 236: 'Could not Balrog be Saruman? Make battle on Bridge be between Gandalf and Saruman?' The reference to the 'older sketch' – 'Saruman is very affable' – is to 'The Story Foreseen from Moria', p. 212, where on the homeward journey 'They call at Isengard. Gandalf knocks. Saruman comes out very affable', etc.

The next note on this page records my father's decision to move the whole chronology of the Quest forward by a month:

> Time Scheme. Too much takes place in *winter*. They should

remain longer at Rivendell. This would have additional advantage of allowing Elrond's scouts and messengers far longer *time*. He should discover Black Riders have gone back. Frodo should not start until say Dec. 24th.

It seems likely that 24 December was chosen as being 'numerically' one month later than the existing date, 24 November (p. 169); and that it was changed to 25 December to make the new dates agree 'numerically' with the existing time-structure (since November has 30 days but December 31): see p. 368. I do not understand the statement here that 'he [Elrond] should discover Black Riders have gone back', since the final text of 'The Ring Goes South' had been reached in Gandalf's words 'It is rash to be too sure, yet I think that we may hope now that the Ringwraiths were scattered, and have been obliged to return as best they could to their Master in Mordor, empty and shapeless.'

Another note on this page, not written at the same time, refers to 'Chapter XXIV: Open with conversation of Goblins and their quarrel. How are Merry and Pippin armed?' And the last reads: '*Sarn-gebir* = Grailaw or Graidon Hills'. Both these names mean 'Grey Hill(s)': Old English *hlāw* 'hill', Northern English and Scottish *law*, and Old English *dūn*, Modern English *down*.

The second page contains exact repetitions of notes found on the other pages or in outlines already given, and need not be cited. On the third page the following (only) was written in ink, and seems to be the primary element on the page:

Feb. 9 1942 Geography
Ondor > *Gondor*
Osgiliath > *Elostirion*. *Ostirion* = fort. *Lorn* = haven. *Londe* = gulf.

On the date see p. 379, where I have noted that on the back of an outline for 'The Departure of Boromir' is a clear indication that it was written in the winter of 1941–2. The precise date given here for the change of *Ondor* to *Gondor* is notable; in the fair copy of 'Treebeard' the form was still *Ondor* (see p. 401).

Elostirion was written above *Osgiliath* in the outline for 'The Riders of Rohan' given on p. 389. This change was of course impermanent, but the name *Elostirion* became that of the tallest of the White Towers on Emyn Beraid, in which the *palantír* was set (*Of the Rings of Power*, in *The Silmarillion*, p. 292).[2] – With *lorn* 'haven' cf. *Forlorn* 'North Haven' and *Harlorn* 'South Haven' on the First Map (pp. 301–2), for later *Forlond*, *Harlond*; but on that map appears also *Mithlond*, the Grey Havens (where however it is possible that *Mithlond* actually meant 'Grey Gulf').

The other notes on this page are heterogeneous and not necessarily

of the same time. The heading 'Geography' was extended to 'Geography and Language'. Some of these notes are concerned to find a new name for Sarn Gebir: rejected names are *Sern Lamrach*; *Tarn Felin*; *Trandóran*, before (added much later to the page) *Emyn Muil* is reached (for *Muil* see the *Etymologies*, V.374, stem MUY). There are also the English names *Graydon Hills* and *Grailaws*, as on the first page of these notes, and *Hazowland*.[3]

Another group of notes reads:

Language of Shire = modern English
Language of Dale = Norse (used by Dwarves of that region)
Language of Rohan = Old English
'Modern English' is *lingua franca* spoken by all people (except a few secluded folk like Lórien) – but little and ill by orcs.

NOTES

1 It is to be remembered that statements such as 'Gandalf to reappear again' do not by any means imply that this is where the idea first arose: often they are to be taken as reassertions of existing but as yet unachieved ideas.

2 An altogether isolated and undateable note on a slip of paper also evinces dissatisfaction with the name *Osgiliath*. The reverse of the slip carries notes on unconnected matters which my father dated '1940', which may or may not be significant. At the present time, at any rate, I can cast no light on the purport of this note:

Lord of Rings
Osgiliath won't do. Name should = New building 'Newbold'
Town built again *echain Ostechain*

The word 'building' is very unclear, but is assured by 'Newbold', a common English village name meaning 'New building', from Old English *bold* (also *boðl*, *botl*) closely associated with *byldan*, Modern English *build*. I will add here, incidentally and irrelevantly, that another derivative from the same source is *Nobottle* (Northamptonshire), which my father allowed me to add to my map of the Shire made in 1943 (VI.107, item V) and which remains in that published in *The Lord of the Rings*, although at that time I was under the impression that the name meant that the village was so poor and remote that it did not even possess an inn.

3 *Hazowland* is clearly from the Old English poetic word *hasu* (inflected *hasw-*) 'grey, ashen'; cf. *Hasupada* 'Greycoat', name of Gandalf in Rohan (p. 405 note 21), and *Hasofel* (*Hasufel*) of the same meaning, the horse lent to Aragorn by Eomer.

XXIV
THE WHITE RIDER

For the greater part of this chapter the evolution can be traced very clearly. Initial drafting not erased or overwritten, more developed but discontinuous drafting, and a 'fair copy' that itself underwent constant correction in the act of composition, were a continuous process, and the history of almost every sentence can be followed until near the end of the chapter. This was numbered 'XXVI' from an early stage; a title was added to the 'fair copy' later, first *Sceadufax* in Old English spelling, then 'The White Rider'. The process of composition here was continuous and all of the same time, so that 'first draft', 'second draft', 'fair copy', 'corrections to fair copy' cannot be treated as distinct entities, each complete before the next stage.

An example of this overlapping is seen at once. In the original form of the opening, to Gimli's insistence that the old man who stood by the fire in the night was Saruman, Aragorn replies: 'I wonder. The horses showed no signs of fear.' In the 'fair copy' (more accurately, the first coherent manuscript) this became: '"I wonder," said Aragorn. "What did he seem to be? An old man? It is strange enough in itself: that an old man should be walking alone by the eaves of Fangorn. Yet the horses showed no signs of fear."' This obviously belongs with the sentence struck out at the end of 'The Riders of Rohan': 'The horses remained quiet, and seemed to feel nothing amiss', and suggests to my mind that my father believed the old man to be Gandalf (see p. 403 and note 26). Yet in the most 'primitive' drafting further on in the chapter the old man in the night certainly was Saruman (see further pp. 427–8).

The later chronology of the chase across Rohan not being present, of course (see p. 406), Aragorn remarks that the footprints by the riverside 'are a day old'; Gandalf says that the hobbits 'climbed up here yesterday', and that he himself had seen Treebeard 'three days ago': in TT all these are made one day earlier, on account of the extra day added in 1944. At one point, however, the need for correction escaped my father's notice: Legolas' words that the last time he saw the eagle was 'three days ago, above the Emyn Muil' (TT p. 98). This should have been changed to 'four days ago': see the table on p. 406, and cf. *The Tale of Years* in LR: 'February 27 Aragorn reaches the west-cliff at sunrise', and (February having 30 days) 'March 1 Aragorn meets Gandalf the White'.

The story of the first meeting with Gandalf was sketched out in every essential point in the earliest draft. When the three companions saw the old man walking through the wood below them, Gimli's horror of Saruman was at first expressed in more murderous fashion: 'Shoot, Legolas! Draw your bow! Shoot! It is Saruman, or worse. Do not let him speak or bewitch us!' This was retained in the fair copy; and when subsequently it was softened to a demand that Legolas only prepare to shoot, Gimli's following words were retained: 'Why are you waiting? What is the matter with you?' In the earliest draft the wizard wore an 'old hat'; this became a 'battered hat', then a 'wide-brimmed hat' (see p. 403).[1]

The opening of their long conversation proceeds thus in the earliest draft (cf. TT pp. 98–9):

'... At the turn of the Tide. The great storm is coming, but the Tide has turned even at this moment. I have passed through fire and ruin and I have been badly burned, or well burned. But come, tell me now of yourselves. I have seen much in deep places and in high since we parted; I have forgotten much that I knew, and learned again much that I had forgotten.[2] [Some things I can see far off and some close at hand; but not all can I see. *Changed at once to:*] Many things I can see far off but many that are close at hand I cannot see.'

'What do you wish to know?' said Aragorn. 'All that has happened would be a long tale. Will you not first tell us tidings of Merry and Pippin? Did you find them, and are they safe?'

'No, I did not find them,' said Gandalf.[3] 'I was busy with perilous matters, and did not know of their captivity until the eagle told me.'

'The eagle!' said Legolas. 'We have seen an eagle high and far off: the last time was three days ago, above Sarn Gebir.'

'Yes,' said Gandalf, 'that was Gwaewar the Windlord who rescued me from Orthanc. I sent him before me to gather tidings, and to watch the River. His sight is keen, but he cannot see all that passes in wood and valley. But there are some things that I can see unaided. This I may tell you: the Ring has passed beyond my help or the help of any of our original Company. Very nearly it was revealed to the Enemy, but not quite. I had some part in that. For I sat upon the mountains beneath the snows of Methedras and I strove with the Dark Tower, and the shadow passed. Then I was weary: very weary.'

The story that Gandalf was on Tol Brandir when Frodo sat on Amon Hen, and that he was borne across Rohan by the eagle (see p. 396), has

been abandoned; Gwaewar (Gwaihir) is now in his later rôle as gatherer of tidings for Gandalf in the region of Anduin. It is not clear at this stage what had happened to Gandalf, and it seems that my father did not for the moment intend to make it so. Is it to be supposed that he made his way south along the mountains and so came to Methedras, where he sat 'beneath the snows and strove with the Dark Tower' while Frodo wore the Ring on Amon Hen? A single isolated and interrupted sentence says 'Gwaewar found me walking in the woods. Of him I'; which surely means that Gandalf came from Methedras into Fangorn, and that Gwaewar having found him he sent the eagle away east 'to watch the River and gather tidings'. This may suggest that the story of his being borne by the eagle to Lothlórien had not yet arisen.

When drafting the chapter my father had at first no thought, it seems, that Gandalf should display to Aragorn, Legolas and Gimli 'a piece of his mind' (TT p. 100) on the hopes and chances of the War. After Gandalf has been told that they think that Sam went with Frodo to Mordor, he says: 'Did he, indeed. It is news to me, but not at all surprising. But now about Merry and Pippin, for I shall not get your tale out of you before I have told you of them.'

It was perhaps at this point that my father set down a short outline for what Gandalf might now say:

> Eagle sights orcs and hobbits. Saruman about in the woods. Orc-battle. Treebeard. They are safe, but something is going on. Revolt of trees? But we are called south. War is beginning. They must wait in hope and patience to find Merry and Pippin ... – but their friendship and devotion in following them was rewarded. The Company had done nobly and Gandalf was pleased with them. They ask what had happened to him – he won't tell yet.

It seems that the new course of the conversation ('Now sit by me and tell me the tale of your journey', TT p. 99) was at once introduced, leading to Gandalf's account of the intentions, desires, and fears of the Dark Lord and of Saruman. This was a characteristic development in stages by expansion, refinement of expression, and some re-ordering of its structure, but all the essentials of Gandalf's thought were present from the first drafting. There are however in the earlier stages a number of interesting differences to be recorded.

That Saruman was 'about in the woods' is mentioned in the little outline just given; in the first drafting Gandalf tells (as in TT, p. 101) that 'he could not wait at home and came forth to meet his captives', but that he was too late, the battle was over, and being 'no woodcraftsman' he had misinterpreted what had happened. 'Poor Saruman!' Gandalf adds, 'what a fall for one so wise! I fear that [he started too late to make a success of wickedness >] he started in the

race too late. He seems not to have the luck he needs in his new profession. He at least will never sit in the Dark Tower.'

The passage about the Winged Messenger, absent in the draft, appears in the fair copy, where Legolas says that he felled him from the sky 'above Sarn Ruin' (see p. 361 and note 20), and that 'He filled us all with fear, but none so much as Frodo.'

In the first draft Gimli asks: 'That old man. You say Saruman is abroad. Was it you or Saruman that we saw last night?' and Gandalf replies: 'If you saw an old man last night, you certainly did not see me. But as we seem to look so much alike that you wished to make an incurable dent in my hat, I must guess that you saw Saruman [or a vision >] or some wraith of his making. [*Struck out:* I did not know that he lingered here so long.]' Against Gandalf's words my father wrote in the margin: *Vision of Gandalf's thought.* There is clearly an important clue here to the curious ambiguity surrounding the apparition of the night before, if one knew how to interpret it; but these words are not perfectly clear. They obviously represent a new thought: arising perhaps from Gandalf's suggestion that if it was not Saruman himself that they saw it was a 'vision' or 'wraith' that he had made, the apparition is now to emanate from Gandalf himself. But of whom was it a vision? Was it an embodied 'emanation' of Gandalf, proceeding from Gandalf himself, that they saw? 'I look into his unhappy mind and I see his doubt and fear', Gandalf has said; it seems more likely perhaps that through his deep concentration on Saruman he had 'projected' an image of Saruman which the three companions could momentarily see. I have found no other evidence to cast light on this most curious element in the tale; but it may be noted that in a time-scheme deriving from the time of the writing of 'Helm's Deep' and 'The Road to Isengard' my father noted of that night: 'Aragorn and his companions spend night on the battle-field, and see "old man" (Saruman).'

The earliest of several versions of Gandalf's reply to Legolas' question 'Who is Treebeard?' is notable, though extremely difficult to read:

> 'Ah,' said Gandalf, 'Now you are asking. He is Fangorn, that is Treebeard, Treebeard the Ent: what else shall I call him? The eldest of the old, the King of the Treebeards, the dwellers in the Forest. Stone-old, tree-hale, snail-slow, strong as a growing root. I wish you had met him. Your friends were more fortunate. For they came up here, as Aragorn has [?already] discovered. But no marks of them go down, as he may have discovered and soon would. But here ... marks by [?one] [of] Treebeard's feet. This was a place, he often came to it when he wished to be alone and look outside the Forest. He has taken the hobbits away.'
>
> 'Then they are safe, since you speak well of Treebeard?'

'Safe? Yes, as far as the Ents go. But there is [?terrible] hurry.' Gandalf tells them about Ents. Says it was well that Merry and Pippin [?came there]. They did right to follow. Yet to meet the Ents is not their task. Too late anyway. He looks at sun. 'We have spent all the time allowed to a meeting of parted friends. We must go. We are needed South.'

In a more developed draft Aragorn's response to Gandalf's naming 'the Ents' (TT p. 102) reads:

'The Ents!' exclaimed Aragorn. 'Then there is truth in the ancient legends, [and the names that they use in Rohan have a meaning! The Entwash and the Entmark (for that is how they call the Forest)]

Above *Entmark* is written *Entwood.* – These remarks about the names containing *Ent* were bracketed for rejection at once, since the text continues: 'about the dwellers in the deep forest, and the giant Shepherds of the Trees', as in TT. In one of many draftings for Legolas' words at this point he says: 'I thought that [Fangorn] was the name of the Forest. A strange name for a wood, now I consider it.'

The words 'he is the oldest living thing that still walks beneath the sun upon this Middle-earth' appear in the draft, written just so, without any hesitation in reaching them. Of his seeing Treebeard in the woods Gandalf says:

'... I passed him in the forest three days ago; and I do not doubt that he saw me, since the eyes of Treebeard miss little [*written in margin:* and he saw me, indeed he called my name]; but I did not speak, for I had much to think about, and I did not then know that Merry and Pippin had been carried off.'

The text of TT is reached in the fair copy. He says in the draft that 'something is going to happen which has not happened since the Elves awoke'; in the fair copy this becomes 'since the Elves first woke', changed to 'since the Elves were born' ('since the Elder Days', TT p. 103). But when Legolas says 'What is going to happen?' Gandalf replies: 'I do not know. Merry and Pippin do perhaps, by now; but I do not.'

To his words to Aragorn, urging him not to regret his choice 'in the valley of Sarn Gebir', he adds (both in draft and fair copy):

'... Also I say to you that your coming to Minas Tirith will now be very different from what would have been, had you come there alone reporting that Boromir son of the Lord Denethor had fallen, while you lived....'

In the draft text he tells Aragorn that he must go now to Winseld, changed to Eodoras (see p. 402): 'The light of Branding must now be uncovered. There is battle in Rohan and they are hard put to it in the

West, even as the great [?flood] of war comes up from the East.' In the fair copy this becomes: 'There is war in Rohan and it goes ill for the horsemasters': thus again (see p. 401) there is no suggestion of Wormtongue (cf. TT p. 104: 'There is war in Rohan, *and worse evil: it goes ill with Théoden*').

The textual development of the last part of this chapter and its relation to the beginning of the next is complex and doubtful, the manuscript material being very hard to interpret, and I shall not go into the question in any detail. But it is clear that at least half of 'The King of the Golden Hall' had been written before the conclusion of 'The White Rider' approached at all the form it has in *The Two Towers*; for as will be seen (p. 446) Aragorn tells Theoden in Eodoras that Gandalf *had not told them* 'what befell him in Moria'.

How my father ended 'The White Rider' at this stage is not entirely clear to me, but it seems probable that he stopped at Gandalf's words of the Balrog (TT p. 105): 'Name him not!': 'and for a moment it seemed that a cloud of pain passed over his face, and he sat silent, looking old as death.' He would then have begun a new chapter (XXVII) at 'Gandalf now wrapped himself again in his old tattered cloak. They descended quickly from the high shelf...' (TT p. 107).

I cannot say at what precise point my father decided that Gandalf should in fact tell something at least of what had happened to him after his fall from the Bridge of Khazad-dûm, but it must have been in the course of the writing of 'The King of the Golden Hall'. In what is apparently the earliest draft (but written over erased pencil) of Gandalf's story of his escape from Moria[4] the four companions are already riding south from Fangorn when he tells it:

> On the way they ask Gandalf how he escaped. He refuses the full tale – but tells how he passed through fire (and water?) and came to the 'bottom of the world', and there finally overthrew the Balrog, who fled. Gandalf followed up a secret way to Durin's Tower on the summit of the mountains (?of Caradras). There they had a battle – those who beheld it afar thought it was a thunderstorm with lightning. A great rain came down. The Balrog was destroyed, and the tower crumbled and stones blocked the door of the secret way. Gandalf was left on the mountain-top. The eagle Gwaihir rescued him. He went then to Lothlórien. Galadriel arrayed him in white garments before he left. While Gandalf was on mountain top he saw many things – a vision of Mordor etc.

This is the first appearance of the form *Gwaihir* (here apparently first written *Gwaehir*) for earlier *Gwaewar*, which was still the name in the earlier part of this chapter.

A very rough and unfinished draft for the final form and placing of Gandalf's story ('Long I fell, and he fell with me...', TT p. 105) is

found. Here Gandalf describes the Balrog, his fire quenched, thus: 'he was a thing of slime, strong as a strangling snake, sleek as ice, pliant as a thong, unbreakable as steel.' Of the 'dark things unguessed' that gnaw the world 'below the deepest delvings of the dwarves' he says: 'Sauron alone may know of them, or one older than he.' And after his words 'I will bring no report to stain the light of day' the text continues:

> '... Little had I guessed the abyss that was spanned by Durin's Bridge.'
>
> 'Did you not?' said Gimli. 'I could have told you had there been time. No plummet ever found the bottom – indeed none that was ever cast therein was ever recovered.'[5]

The form of Gandalf's story in TT is almost reached in the 'fair copy' manuscript, but there remain some differences. He tells that clutching at the Balrog's heel 'I set my teeth in it like a hunting hound, and tasted venom'; and that Durin's Tower was 'carved in the living rock in the very pinnacle of red Caradras.' This was subsequently changed to 'the living rock [of] Zirakinbar,[6] the pinnacle of the Silverhorn. There upon Kelebras was a lonely window in the snow...' On these names see pp. 174–5, notes 18, 21–2.

Gandalf does not say, as in TT (p. 106), 'Naked I was sent back – for a brief time, until my task is done', but simply 'Naked I returned, and naked I lay upon the mountain-top.'[7] And of his coming thence to Caras Galadon, borne by Gwaihir, he says that he 'found you three days gone', and that he 'tarried there in the long time which in that land counts for but a brief hour of the world' ('in the ageless time of that land', TT): see pp. 368–9.

At this time the messages that he bore from Galadriel to Aragorn and Legolas were very different:

> *Elfstone, Elfstone, bearer of my green stone,*
> *In the south under snow a green stone thou shalt see.*
> *Look well, Elfstone! In the shadow of the dark throne*
> *Then the hour is at hand that long hath awaited thee.*
>
> *Greenleaf, Greenleaf, bearer of the elven-bow,*
> *Far beyond Mirkwood many trees on earth grow.*
> *Thy last shaft when thou hast shot, under strange trees*
> *shalt thou go!*

The dialogue that follows, between Gimli, Legolas, and Gandalf, is however precisely the same as in TT, p. 107. On the significance of the verse addressed to Aragorn see p. 448.

With the addition of Gandalf's story to this chapter, what was originally the opening of 'The King of the Golden Hall' (from 'Gandalf now wrapped himself again in his old tattered cloak', see p. 430) was

incorporated into 'The White Rider', which now ended at Gandalf's words 'Show no weapon, speak no haughty word, I counsel you all, until we are come before Theoden's seat' (TT p. 111). The final form of the story of the departure from Fangorn, the summoning of the horses, the great ride south across the plains with the sight at sunset of smoke rising far off in the Gap of Rohan, and the distant view of Eodoras at sunrise (TT pp. 107–11, where it constitutes the end of the one chapter and the beginning of the next), was achieved almost down to the last detail in the fair copy manuscript.[8] By this time my father had changed the ending of 'The Riders of Rohan' (p. 403) to the form it has in TT, pp. 45–6 ('The horses were gone. They had dragged their pickets and disappeared'), and had changed the beginning of 'The White Rider' similarly to its form in TT, p. 91 (' "Did you hear them, Legolas? Did they sound to you like beasts in terror?" "No," said Legolas. "I heard them clearly. ...I should have guessed that they were beasts wild with some sudden gladness" ').

NOTES

1 A little slip of paper used to draft the moment of recognition of Mithrandir (TT p. 98) was a page from an engagement calendar 'for the week ending Saturday February 22'. February 22 fell on a Saturday in 1941, not in 1942.

2 The forerunner of this phrase appeared in the outline given on p. 389, as also did 'I was badly burned or *well* burned'; cf. also the notes given on p. 422. Gandalf's suggestion that he now 'is' Saruman, in the sense that he is 'Saruman as he should have been', is lacking, but appears in the fair copy as first written.

3 Gandalf's words that follow in TT: 'There was a darkness over the valleys of the Emyn Muil' are absent in the draft, but are found in the fair copy (with *Sarn Gebir* for *the Emyn Muil*).

4 For the earliest notes on Gandalf's escape from Moria see VI.462 and p. 211 in this book.

5 It is interesting to look back to my father's original ideas about the chasm in the passages referred to in note 4: 'probably fall is not as deep as it seemed ... eventually following the subterranean stream in the gulf he found a way out', and 'The gulf was not deep (only a kind of moat and was full of silent water). He followed the channel and got down into the Deeps.'

6 This form *Zirakinbar*, preceding *Zirakzigil*, is found also in an entirely isolated note: '*Barazinbar*, *Zirakinbar*, *Udushinbar*', together with a reference to 'Silverhorn and the Horn of Cloud'.

7 Cf. *Letters* no. 156 (4 November 1954): ' "Naked I was sent back – for a brief time, until my task is done." Sent back by whom, and whence? Not by the "gods" whose business is only with this embodied world and its time; for he passed "out of thought and

time". Naked is alas! unclear. It was meant just literally, "unclothed like a child" (not discarnate), and so ready to receive the white robes of the highest. Galadriel's power is not divine, and his healing in Lórien is meant to be no more than physical healing and refreshment.'

8 Initial drafting is very largely lost through overwriting. – The only points of any significance in which the text of the fair copy differs from that of TT, other than names, are that Theoden is the 'Master of Rohan' and 'lord of the Mark' where in TT he is called 'King' (see p. 444); that Gandalf says to Shadowfax 'Far let us ride now together, ere we part again!' where in TT he says 'and part not in this world again!'; and that 'the mountains of the South' (the Black Mountains) are 'black-tipped and streaked with white', whereas in TT, where they are the White Mountains, they are 'white-tipped and streaked with black': cf. the earlier description in 'The Riders of Rohan' (TT p. 24), where the original text was retained (p. 395), 'rising into peaks of jet, tipped with glimmering snows'.

Among names, *Sarn Gebir* (for *Emyn Muil*), *Winseld*, *Eodoras* are still present. At the end of the chapter, in Gandalf's phrase 'the Horse-masters do not sleep' (TT p. 111), the form *Rohir* (not *Rohiroth*) was written above.

XXV
THE STORY FORESEEN FROM FANGORN

In this chapter I give two outlines of great interest, for in them my father discussed the structural problems of the story that he foresaw at this time. The first one given here was evidently written when 'The White Rider' had been completed in its earlier form (i.e. without Gandalf's story of the Balrog, see p. 430); the ride across Rohan and the distant sight of Eodoras in the morning may or may not have existed yet, but the question is immaterial.

XXVII

Gandalf, Aragorn, Legolas, Gimli reach Eodoras on the morning of Jan. 31.[1] (That aft[ernoon] Merry and Pippin go with Ents to Isengard.)

They enter Theoden's halls. Theoden greets Gandalf dubiously – as herald of trouble. Shadowfax had been reported coming from the West through the Gap and fleeing away north.[2] They feared Gandalf would return. Then Eomer had come riding back, with strange news concerning Gandalf's fall. 'That,' said Theoden, 'was too much to hope, it seems; for now Gandalf returns and worse tidings follow.'

Against this paragraph was written in the margin, at the same time as the text, 'A messenger from Minas Tirith is present.'

There is a battle on the borders of the West Emnet. An invasion of Orcs of Saruman had been driven back (not without loss to the Rohiroth) to the banks of the Isen River. But news came that orcs were pouring out of Isengard, and that men of the Middlemarch[3] (whom Saruman had long subjected) were coming up. 'We cannot hope long to hold the river,' said Theoden. 'Eomer has gone thither with what men could still be spared. And now as we are beset in the West, there comes dire news indeed. The whole of Rhûn the Great, the endless East, is in motion. Under the command of the Dark Lord of Mordor they move from the far North even to the South. Minas Tirith is beset. The fierce dark men of the South, the Haradwaith

(Harwan Silharrows Men of Sunharrowland Men of Harrowland) have come in many ships and fill the Bay of Belfalas, and [have] taken the isle of Tolfalas. They have passed up the Anduin in many galleys, and out of Mordor others have crossed at Elostirion.[4] A tide of war rolls beneath the very walls of Minas Tirith. They have sent us urgent prayer for help. And we cannot give it. Yet if Minas Tirith falls then the dark tide will sweep over us from the East.

Against this passage concerning Minas Tirith was written in the margin, at the same time as the text, 'Not yet have they heard of Boromir's fall.' Later, the whole passage from 'And now as we are beset in the West' to this point was closed off in pencil with the note 'Place after return victorious from Isengard.' Theoden continues:

You come at the end of the days of Rohan. Not long now shall the hall (which Brego son of Brytta [*changed later in pencil to* Eorl son of Eofor] built)[5] stand. Fire shall eat up the high seat. What can you say?'

Gandalf speaks words of comfort. All that can be done is to do one deed at a time and go forward and not look back. Let us assail Saruman and then if fortune is with us turn and face East. There is a hope. Something may happen in West (he does not openly name Ents).

Gandalf begs for the gift of Shadowfax.

Theoden says Yes – that will at least ensure Gandalf's escape, when all else fall. Gandalf does not lose temper. He says there will be no escape for anyone. But he wishes for *gift*, as he will take Shadowfax into great peril: silver against black.

The ceremony of gift. Gandalf casts aside grey robe and becomes White Rider. He bids Theoden arm, old as he is, and follow with all left who can bear arms. The rest shall pack and prepare to flee to the mountains.

They ride off without rest. Meet messengers reporting death of the Second Master and the forces of Rohan hemmed almost in, while the forces of Saruman are continually strengthened.

Gandalf spurs Shadowfax and spurs into the setting sun.

By his help and Aragorn the Isengarders are driven back. The camp of the Rohiroth. *But Isengarders are across the river.*

In the morning they awake and look out in wonder. A *wood* stood where none had been, between the Isengarders and the West. There is clamour and confusion. Vast columns of vapour are seen rising from Isengard, and the rumour of strange noises

and rumblings. The Isengarders are driven into the river. Those who cross are suddenly assailed by the trees which seem to come to life. Only a few escape fleeing southward to the Black Mountains.

The victorious forces under Eomer and Gandalf ride to the gates of Isengard. They find it a pile of rubble, blocked with a huge wall of stone. On the top of the pile sit Merry and Pippin!

Meeting of Treebeard and Gandalf.

How did the Ents overcome Isengard? They open[ed] sluice gates at North end and blocked the outlet near the Great Gate. First they watched all the night seeing more and more orcs etc. pour out of Isengard. Then they simply broke a way in at North end and spied and found Saruman was left nearly all alone in his tower. They broke the door and stairway to the tower and then withdrew. At North end they let in the River Isen but blocked its outflow. Soon all the floor of the circle was flooded to many feet deep. Then while some kept guard the rest fell on the rear of the battle.

Here comes scene of Saruman being let out of his tower and trying to speak in friendly fashion to Gandalf. 'Ah, my dear Gandalf! I am so pleased to see you; we at least (we wizards) understand one another. These people all seem so unnecessarily angry.[6] What a mess the world is in. Really you and I must consult together – such men as we are needed. Now what about our spheres of influence?'

Gandalf looks at him and laughs. 'Yes, I understand you well enough, Saruman. Give me your staff,' he said in a voice of terrible command. He took it and broke it. 'I am the White Wizard now,' he said. 'Behold you are clad in many colours!' They turn his coat inside out. Gandalf gives him a rough staff. [*Added subsequently:* Saruman is to go without a staff, and have no wooden thing to lean on by decree of Treebeard.] 'Go Saruman!' he said, 'and beg from the charitable for a day's digging.'[7] [*Added subsequently:* Or put this toward end of story – in meanwhile give Saruman over to the guard of the Ents. *Further addition:* Yes.]

[*Written in margin at the same time as the text:* Better: the ring of Isengard is broken by Ents, but Saruman shuts himself up in Orthanc and cannot be assailed *yet* for there is no time.]

Another way of telling the story would be to carry on from end of Chapter XXVI and relate the coming of Ents to

Isengard.[8] How they resolved not to break in at first, but came behind the orc-army. Let Merry and Pippin see the orcs driving the men of Rohan back over the River. Ents camp behind them. Then relate the battle from Merry and Pippin's point of view – distant vision of the white rider on a shining horse. They recognize the sword and voice of Aragorn, but do not know who the White Rider is. Gandalf and Treebeard meet after the battle – and then comes the storming of Isengard by Gandalf and the Ents.

Return to Eodoras. Funeral of —— the Second Master[9] [*Added above:* Háma and Theodred]. Feast in Winseld.[10] Eowyn sister of Eomer waits on the guests. Description of her, and of her love for Aragorn.

News comes at the feast or next morning of the siege of Minas Tirith by the Haradwaith.[11] [*Added subsequently:* brought by a dark Gondorian like Boromir.[12] Theoden answers that he does not owe fealty – only to heirs of Elendil. But he will come.] The horsemen of Rohan ride East, with Gandalf, Aragorn, Gimli, Legolas, Merry and Pippin. Gandalf as the White Rider. [*Added subsequently:* Eowyn goes as Amazon.] Vision of Minas Tirith from afar.

In the part of this outline that concerns the immediate story to come, and with which this book ends, it will be seen that while Theoden is unwelcoming and scarcely well-disposed towards Gandalf, he is nothing more than that: of the ugly state of affairs at Eodoras that came in with Wormtongue there is no trace – no hint of the subjugation of Theoden's mind and will, of the disgracing of Eomer, of Gandalf's triumphant display of his power in the hall of Winseld. Eowyn, Eomer's sister, appears, and her love for Aragorn, but not until the funeral feast held in Winseld after the victory.

Judging by the opening of the second outline, this also belongs to about this time.

Order of Tale.

Bring each party to crisis. Ents break off with 'Night lies over Isengard'. End XXVI with far vision of Winseld's golden roof (and sight of the smoke).[13] (Possibly they see men in strange armour riding also from East to Eodoras.)

Now return to Frodo and Sam. Meeting with Gollum. Betrayal by him. Capture of Frodo on *west* side of Kirith Ungol. Frodo imprisoned in tower[14] – because (a) no ring is on him, (b) Sauron is busy with war and it takes time for message to reach him.

Then return to Gandalf and battle of Isen, feast of victory, relief of Minas Tirith, and march of the army of Gandalf towards Dagorlad and gates of Kirith Ungol.
Then return to Frodo. Make him look out onto impenetrable night. Then use phial which has escaped (clutched in his hand or wrapped in rag). By its light he sees the forces of deliverance approach and the dark host go out to meet them.[15] Grieves for Sam – or thinks he has betrayed him too.

The orc-guards come on him and take phial and shutter windows, and he lies in dark and despair.

Where put parley of Sauron and Gandalf? If after capture of Frodo readers will know that Frodo [*written above:* Sauron] has not Ring. [*Added subsequently in two stages:* No, not if you break off with Frodo carried off by Orcs and before Sam rescues him. / Even if Sam's taking of Ring is told,[16] you can make Sam fly among the rocks with Gollum (and orcs) on his trail and his escape seem unlikely.]

Possibly best as originally planned – [?all account] of Gandalf as far as Kirith Ungol – and then return to Sam and Frodo.

Sam rescues Frodo and while battle is joined at mouth of Gorgoroth they fly towards Orodruin.

NOTES

1 The later date of the departure of the Company from Rivendell, 25 December, had now entered (see pp. 422–3): thus 'Day 1' (the day of Boromir's death) in the table on p. 406 was January 26 (see the table on p. 368), and Aragorn, Legolas and Gimli encountered Gandalf in Fangorn on January 30 ('Day 5').

2 In the fifth version of 'The Council of Elrond' (p. 152) Gandalf does not say what happened to Shadowfax, but the isolated note given on p. 390 says that 'some account of Shadowfax in the house of Elrond must be given.' This note asks also, however, 'Or did he just run off after Gandalf got to Rivendell?', and 'How did Gandalf summon him?' In preliminary notes for 'The Riders of Rohan' (p. 390) it is said that 'the horse of Gandalf reappears – sent for from Rivendell'; and in the text of that chapter (pp. 400–1) Eomer tells Aragorn that he had returned seven days before, to which Aragorn replies: 'But Gandalf left Shadowfax far in the North at Rivendell. Or so I thought.' In the present passage Shadowfax had recently come out of the West through

the Gap of Rohan and then gone away north: which surely suggests that he had come from Rivendell and was going north to Fangorn in obedience to a summons from Gandalf mysteriously conveyed to him.

The earliest extant account of Gandalf's summons to Shadowfax with his three great whistles, and his coming across the plain to the eaves of Fangorn with Arod and Hasofel returning, is already exactly as in TT (see p. 432); and this seems to fit the story in the present text, for Gandalf says to Shadowfax 'It is a long way from Rivendell, my friend; but you are wise and swift, and come at need,' and he says to Legolas 'I bent my thought upon him, bidding him to make haste; for yesterday he was far away in the south of this land.' (On the other hand, Legolas says 'I have not seen his like before', which does not suggest that Shadowfax had been at Rivendell when the Company was there.)

The story in the published LR is extremely difficult to understand. In 'The Council of Elrond' (FR p. 278) Gandalf says: 'It took me nearly fourteen days from Weathertop, for I could not ride among the rocks of the troll-fells, and Shadowfax departed. *I sent him back to his master*...' This was about October 4. The next we hear is in 'The Riders of Rohan', where Eomer still tells Aragorn that Shadowfax had returned 'seven nights ago' (but 'now the horse is wild and will let no man handle him'), to which Aragorn replies: 'Then Shadowfax has found his way alone from the far North; for it was there that he and Gandalf parted.' But it was now February 30, so that on his return nearly five months had elapsed since Gandalf dismissed him at Weathertop! And then, at the end of 'The White Rider' (TT p. 108), there is the passage already cited: 'It is a long way from Rivendell, my friend; but you are wise and swift and come at need.' It is hard to resist the conclusion that the alteration in Gandalf's story to the Council of Elrond was not carried through.

3 *Middlemarch:* Enedwaith, between Greyflood and Anduin; see Maps II and III, pp. 305, 309.

4 Cf. the outline given on p. 389: 'Minas Tirith defeats Haradwaith.' – All these names (*Harwan*, *Silharrows*; *Harrowland*, *Sunharrowland*) are derived from the Old English *Sigelhearwan* 'Ethiopians'. My father's article in two parts entitled *Sigelwara land* (*Medium Ævum* 1 and 3, Dec.1932 and June 1934) studied the etymology and meaning of the name *Sigelhearwan*, and concluded that while the meaning of the first element *Sigel* was certainly 'Sun', that of the second element *hearwan* was not discoverable: 'a symbol ... of that large part of ancient English language and lore which has now vanished beyond recall, *swa hit no wære* [as if it had never been].' With these names cf. *Sunlands*, *Swertings*, p. 313. – *Tolfalas* appears on the original element of

the First Map (see p. 298, and Map III[A] on p. 308). – On *Elostirion* for Osgiliath see p. 423.

5 In LR the father of Eorl was Léod, and Brego was Eorl's son; Brytta was the eleventh King of the Mark, some two and a half centuries after Brego (see LR Appendix A (II)).

6 These remarks of Saruman's, from 'we at least...', were bracketed at the time of writing.

7 This sketch of the 'affable' Saruman and Gandalf's breaking of his staff is derived very closely from 'The Story Foreseen from Moria', p. 212; cf. also p. 422.

8 Chapter XXVI is 'The White Rider'.

9 The Second Master was first called *Marhath* (p. 390; this name was then given to the Fourth Master, p. 400), then *Eowin* (pp. 393–4).

10 For the name of the Golden Hall see p. 402.

11 Thus the passage on pp. 434–5 (in which Theoden in his initial conversation with Gandalf speaks of the attack by the Haradwaith on Minas Tirith) bracketed with the note that it should be placed after the victorious return to Eodoras has already been moved.

12 I have not found an explanation of the conception underlying this. Possibly to be compared are Gandalf's words in *The Return of the King*, Ch. 1 'Minas Tirith', p. 31: 'by some chance the blood of Westernesse runs nearly true in him; as it does in his other son, Faramir, *and yet did not in Boromir* whom he loved best.' But this was written several years later.

13 The smoke seen rising at sunset of the day before in the direction of the Gap of Rohan (p. 432).

14 On the taking of Frodo to a guard-tower (not to Minas Morgul) see p. 344 and note 39, and p. 412.

15 The light of the Phial of Galadriel must be conceived here to be of huge power, a veritable star in the darkness.

16 I do not follow the thought here: for Sam's taking of the Ring must in any case be told before Frodo is carried off by the Orcs.

XXVI
THE KING OF THE GOLDEN HALL

The textual history of this chapter is much the same as that of 'The White Rider': the first coherent and legible manuscript is also in a sense the first extant text of the chapter, because the rough drafts were set down, section by section, as the main manuscript proceeded. In other words, that manuscript was the vehicle of the development of the narrative, and the distinction between 'draft' and 'fair copy' is not at all a distinction between two separate manuscript entities, the one completed as a whole before the other was begun. For almost all of the last third of the chapter, however, there is no independent drafting, for the initial conception in pencil was overwritten in ink.

A substantial part of the chapter was in being in some form before Gandalf's story of the Balrog was added to 'The White Rider' (see p. 430), and the point of separation of 'The King of the Golden Hall' (not so named) from 'The White Rider' was twice changed.[1]

In the earliest stage of the narrative, abandoned before it had gone far, Gandalf (with Gimli) left Aragorn and Legolas before they came to Eodoras:

'Eodoras those courts are called,' said Gandalf, 'and Winseld is that golden hall. There dwells Theoden[2] son of Thengel, lord of the mark of Rohan. We are come with the rising of the day. Now the road lies plain to see before you. Make what speed you may!'

Then suddenly he spoke to Shadowfax, and like an arrow from the bow the great horse sprang forward. Even as they gazed, he was gone: a flash of silver, a wind in the grass, a vision that fled and faded from their sight.

Swiftly they urged their horses in pursuit, but if they had walked upon their feet they would have had as much chance of overtaking him. They had gone only a small part of the way when Legolas exclaimed: 'That was a mighty leap! Shadowfax has sprung across the mountain stream and already he has passed up the hill and vanished from my sight.'

The morning was bright and clear about them, and birds were singing, when Aragorn and Legolas came to the stream; running swiftly down into the plain it bent across their path, turning east

to feed the Entwash away to the left in its marshy bed. Here there were many willow-trees, already in this southern land blushing red at the tips of twigs in presage of spring. They found a ford, much trampled upon either bank with the passage of horses, and passed over, and so at length they too rode up along the green road to Eodoras.

At the foot of the hill they passed between seven high green mounds. Already they were starred with small pale flowers, and in the shelter of their western flanks the grass was white with nodding flowers (blossoms) like tiny snowdrops. 'See, Legolas!' said Aragorn, 'we are passing the mounds where the sires of Theoden sleep.' 'Yes,' said Legolas. 'Seven mounds there be, and seven long lives of men it is, since the Rohiroth came hither from the North. Two hundred times and more have the red leaves fallen in Mirkwood in my home since then,[3] and little change does it seem to us. But to them it seems so long ago, that their dwelling in the North is but a memory of song, and their speech is already sundered from their northern kin.'

The companions entered the gates. Horsemen guarded them, and led them to the hall. They dismounted and walked in up the echoing hall. There they saw Theoden the old. Beside him sat Gandalf, and at his feet Gimli the dwarf.

At the foot of the page, where this draft ends, is the note: '? News of the attack on Minas Tirith by Haradwaith in ships'; see pp. 434–5, 437.

It would be interesting to know what thought lay behind this story of the 'divided entry' into Eodoras; but whatever it was, the arrival there and even the entry into Winseld was accomplished, as it appears, without any ceremony, interrogation, or laying aside of arms. There is no suggestion of hostility or even suspicion towards the strangers, and this accords with the first outline given in the last chapter (see p. 437). It will be seen in what follows that the entire conception of the situation at Eodoras arose during the writing of 'The King of the Golden Hall'.

While the story of the divided entry of the four companions was still maintained, however, a strongly 'Beowulfian' reception of Aragorn and Legolas at the gates was at once introduced, in a revised draft.[4]

... they came at last to the wide windswept walls and the gates of Eodoras. There sat men in bright mail upon proud steeds, who spoke to them in a strange tongue.

'Abidath cuman uncuthe! [*Rejected at the time of writing:* Hwæt sindon ge, lathe oththe leofe, the thus seldlice gewerede ridan cwomon to thisse burge gatum? No her inn gan moton ne

wædla ne wæpned mon, nefne we his naman witen. Nu ge feorran-cumene gecythath us on ofste: hu hatton ge? hwæt sindon eower ærende to Theoden urum hlaforde?'[5] Aragorn understood these words] asking their names and errand. These words Aragorn understood and answered. 'Aragorn son of Arathorn am I,' he said, 'and with me is Legolas of Mirkwood. These names maybe ye have already heard, and our coming is awaited? But we ask now to see Theoden your lord; for we come in friendship and it may be that our coming

Here this draft tails off. It does not seem that the story that Gandalf with Gimli went ahead on Shadowfax and entered Eodoras first was taken any further. It is curious, however, that when the story was changed my father seems to have forgotten Gimli: he is not named in the encounter with the guard at the gates, there is no mention of his surrendering his axe at the doors of the house, and my father even wrote 'Now the three companions went forward' up Theoden's hall. These references were added in to the 'fair copy' manuscript, and 'three' changed to 'four'; and Gimli appears as the text was written when he strode forward, and was restrained by Gandalf, at Wormtongue's words about Lothlórien (TT p. 118). I do not think that this can have any narrative significance; but it was certainly an odd lapse, and not easy to explain.[6]

The story of the arrival at Eodoras was now revised again. Gandalf is present when the travellers are challenged at the gates, and the guards, crying *Abidath cuman uncuthe*, are rebuked by him for using the tongue of Rohan.[7] The flowers on the mounds (still seven) become *nifredil*, the flowers of Lórien (see note 4, and pp. 233–4); and Aragorn utters the verse *Where now the horse and the rider?*,[8] referring to 'Eorl the Old', changed at once to 'Eorl the Young', 'who rode down out of the North', and to 'his steed Felaróf, father of horses' (TT p. 112). But at this stage Wormtongue had still not emerged, and the suspicion and hostility of the guards evidently proceeded from Theoden's unfortified dislike and distrust of Gandalf;[9] moreover Eomer had not returned to Eodoras since Aragorn, Legolas and Gimli parted from him:

'...Has not Eomer then returned and given warning of our coming?'

'Nay,' said the guard. 'He has not passed these gates. He was turned aside by messengers from Theoden, and went away west to the war without staying. But maybe, if what you say is true, Theoden will have knowledge of it. I will go to my lord and learn his will. But what names shall I report? ...'

With this cf. TT p. 113. – In the original draft for the scene in which

the travellers must lay aside their weapons before entering Theoden's house there is a brief description of it:

Before Theoden's hall there was a portico, with pillars made of mighty trees hewn in the upland forests and carved with interlacing figures gilded and painted. The doors also were of wood, carven in the likeness of many beasts and birds with jewelled eyes and golden claws.

It is curious that in the 'fair copy' manuscript, and thence in the final text, there is no description at all of the exterior of the house, and I think that it may have got lost in the complexities of redrafting and reordering of the material.[10]

As they stood in the darkness by the doors of the hall and saw on one of the hangings the figure of the young man on a white horse (TT p. 116) Aragorn said: 'Behold Eorl the Young! Thus he rode out of the North to the Battle of the Field of Gorgoroth.' A very difficult draft preceding this has 'the Battle of Gorgoroth where Sauron was [?overthrown],' making it clear that at this stage my father conceived that Eorl came south to the great battle in which Gil-galad and Elendil were slain and Isildur took the Ring.[11]

In the encounter with Theoden the manuscript evidence is not very easy to interpret, but it seems certain that it was at this point that Wormtongue entered the story; for what is obviously the very earliest description of Theoden, written in the faintest scribble, reads thus:

At the far end of the hall beyond the hearth and facing the doors was a dais with three steps, and in the midst of the dais was a great chair. In the chair sat a man so bent with age that he seemed almost a dwarf. His white hair was [?braided] upon his [?shoulders], his long beard was laid upon his knees. But his eyes burned with a keen light that glinted from afar off. Behind his chair stood two fair women. At his feet upon the steps sat a wizened [*struck out:* old] figure of a man with a pale wise face. There was a silence.

In the 'fair copy' the text moves close to that of TT (pp. 116–17), and now appears the 'thin golden circlet' worn by Theoden (who is subsequently called 'King' in this manuscript); but he bears on his forehead 'a large green stone' (not the 'single white diamond' of TT: see p. 448), and there were still 'two fair women' standing behind his chair.

But though Wormtongue was present he did not, as the scene was first drafted, intervene, and it is Theoden who speaks of the death of the Second Master of the Mark, here called *Eofored*,[12] on the west marches of Rohan, and it is Theoden who names Gandalf *Láthspell*,

Ill-news. Gandalf responds, as in TT, by speaking of the different ways in which a man may come with evil tidings, and it is again Theoden, not Wormtongue, who retorts 'Verily he may, or he may be of a third kind', and who decries the idea that Gandalf had ever brought aid to Rohan: 'Last time it seemed to me that you asked my aid rather, and to get you from my land I astonished all men and myself also by lending you Shadowfax.'[13] At this stage Eomer's story remains as it was: 'Eomer has ridden away thither [to the west marches] with all but the last handful of my horsemen.'

At this point, however, before the conversation had proceeded any further, 'the pale man sitting upon the steps of the dais' began to play a part; for he now took over those parts of Theoden's remarks that are given to him in TT. Yet it is interesting to observe that my father did not introduce him into Theoden's household with the conscious intent that he should play the rôle that he did in fact come to play: for he still says, as Theoden had done, 'Now Eomer has ridden away thither with all but our last handful of horsemen.'[14]

After Gandalf's triumph over Wormtongue (who is not yet given any other name) Theoden is assisted down the hall by the two women, and he says to them: 'Go, Idis, and you too Eowyn sister-daughter!'[15] As they went, the younger of them looked back: 'very fair and slender she seemed. Her face was filled with gentle pity, and her eyes shone with unshed tears. So Aragorn saw her for the first time in the light of day, and after she was gone he stood still, looking at the dark doors and taking little heed of other things.'

Looking out from the porch of his house with Gandalf Theoden says: 'Not long now shall stand the high hall which Brego son of Brytta built' (cf. p. 435 and note 5; TT p. 120 'Brego son of Eorl'); and Gandalf tells him, as in TT, to send for Eomer. It was at this point in the writing of the chapter that there entered the story of the imprisonment of Eomer by the instigation of Wormtongue, who now receives his true name: *Frána* (*Gríma* did not replace this till much later).

In TT when Gandalf spoke to Theoden (p. 121) 'his voice was low and secret, and none save the king heard what he said.' In the early form of the chapter, however, this was not so:

His voice was low and secret, and yet to those beside him keen and clear. Of Sauron he told, and the lady Galadriel, and of Elrond in Rivendell far away, of the Council and the setting forth of the Company of Nine, and all the perils of their road. 'Four only have come thus far,' he said. 'One is lost, Boromir prince of Gondor. Two were captured, but are free. And two have gone upon a dark Quest. Look eastward, Theoden! Into the heart of menace they have gone: two small folk, such as you

in Rohan deem but the matter of children's tales. Yet doom hangs upon them. Our hope is with them – hope, if we can but stand meanwhile!'

There are several drafts for this passage preceding that in the fair copy just given, and in one of these occurs the following:

Of the Council and the setting forth of the Company of Nine. So he came at last to the Mines of Moria and the Battle upon the Bridge.

'Then it was not wholly false, the rumour that Eomer brought,' said Theoden.

'No indeed,' said Aragorn, 'for he did but repeat what I said to him. And until this time yestermorning we thought that Gandalf had fallen. Even now he has not said what befell him in Moria. We would gladly hear.'

'Nay,' said Gandalf. 'The sun is riding towards noon.'

This is clear evidence that my father had reached this point, at least, in 'The King of the Golden Hall' *before* he wrote the conclusion of 'The White Rider' in its later form: see p. 430.

The passage just given is followed by a brief outline:

> Eomer returns. *Wes thu Theoden hal.* He rejoices to see Theoden so much better; but begs pardon – save only for his advice to ride west. Says how the day's delay has grieved him.
>
> Gandalf continues tale and holds out a *hope* (of Frodo in the East). But they must ride west.
>
> Theoden bids them stay and rest. But Gandalf won't stay except for food ... Theoden has to take heart and send every man west. He himself is to lead his folk out of Eodoras into the secret refuge[?s] in the mountains – more defensible if all goes ill.
>
> Eomer asks that Wormtongue should go west too. Shadowfax. They set out. Gandalf fleets ahead.

As already mentioned, in the last third of the chapter, from the point where Legolas gazes far off and believes that he can see 'a glint of white' and 'a tiny tongue of flame' (TT p. 121), there is little further independent drafting, the manuscript in ink being written over the original pencilled text. But it is clear that the story as known from *The Two Towers* of the unmasking of Wormtongue, the rehabilitation of Eomer, the meal before departure, the gift of Shadowfax, was achieved almost unhesitatingly.[16] In an important respect, however, my father at first conceived things differently.

In this first version of 'The King of the Golden Hall' the Second Master of the Mark, slain in fighting at the River Isen, is Eofored, and

he is not Theoden's son (p. 444 and note 12).[17] On the other hand, in addition to Eowyn (Eomer's sister, p. 437; addressed by Theoden as 'sister-daughter', p. 445), there is another lady in close association with Theoden, Idis – his daughter. All through this part of the chapter she is present, yet never once does she speak. When Gandalf asks Theoden who shall rule his people in his place when he departs to the war, he replies that Eowyn 'shall be lady in my stead'; and Gandalf says 'That is a good choice.' There is no mention of Idis here; yet she was still present, for at the meal before the riding of the host 'there also waiting upon the king were the ladies, Idis his daughter, and Eowyn sister of Eomer.' It was Eowyn who brought the wine, and Idis is again not mentioned; yet Háma still says, in response to Theoden's words that Eomer is the last of the House of Eorl (TT p. 128): 'I said not Eomer. He is not the last. There are Idis your daughter, and Eowyn his sister. They are wise and high-hearted.' But it was at this point that the brief existence of Idis came to an end; for the next words that my father wrote were: 'All love *her*. Let *her* be as lord to the Eorlingas, while we are gone.' All references to Idis were then removed from the manuscript.

I cannot say what function in the narrative my father had in mind for Idis (and it is notable that in the original outline, p. 437, only Eowyn sister of Eomer is mentioned as waiting on the guests at the feast in Winseld after the victory); still less why the daughter of the King (and older than Eowyn, p. 445) should be so silent and so overshadowed by the niece.

The significance of the meeting of Aragorn and Eowyn, on the other hand, was destined to survive, though fundamentally transformed. In this first version, in a passage already cited (p. 445), after she had gone 'he stood still, looking at the dark doors and taking little heed of other things'; at the meal before the departure 'Aragorn was silent, but his eyes followed Eowyn' (struck out); and when she brought the wine to the guests 'Long she looked upon Aragorn, and long he looked upon her' – for which was substituted: 'As she stood before Aragorn she paused suddenly and looked upon him, as if only now had she seen him clearly. He looked down upon her fair face, and their eyes met. For a moment they stood thus, and their hands met as he took the cup from her. "Hail Aragorn son of Arathorn!" she said.' With this contrast the passage that appears in its place in TT (p. 127). And after Theoden's words 'But in [Dunberg >] Dunharrow the people may long defend themselves, and if the battle go ill thither will come all who escape' (TT p. 128) Aragorn says: 'If I live, I will come, Lady Eowyn, and then maybe we will ride together.' Then Eowyn 'smiled and bent her head gravely.'

There is an isolated list of matters 'to be explained before the end', which in view of the first item seems to have been written just about this time. Only one other item is relevant here, but I give the whole list:

Gandalf's escape – put this at the end of XXVI [i.e. 'The White Rider']
What happens to Bill (the pony)? [*Added:* Goes back to Bree and is found by Sam who rides him home.]
Bill Ferney.
Bree and Merry's ponies.
Barnabas Butterbur [*added*: and the ponies).
Galadriel.
Ents. Treebeard. Entwives.
Aragorn weds Eowyn sister of Eomer (who becomes Lord of Rohan) and becomes King of Gondor.
Feast in Gondor. Home Journey. They pass by round Lórien.[18]

But the story of Aragorn and Eowyn would in the event, of course, be quite otherwise; and in another short group of notes, isolated and undateable, this marital alliance of Rohan and Gondor was rejected (and no other was foreseen):

? Cut out the love-story of Aragorn and Eowyn. Aragorn is too old and lordly and grim. Make Eowyn the twin-sister of Eomund, a stern amazon woman.
If so, alter the message of Galadriel (XXVI.17).
Probably Eowyn should die to avenge or save Theoden.

But my father added in a hasty scribble the possibility that Aragorn did indeed love Eowyn, and never wedded after her death.

The reference 'XXVI.17' is to the page in the 'fair copy' manuscript of 'The White Rider' where appears Galadriel's message to Aragorn delivered to him by Gandalf (p. 431):

Elfstone, Elfstone, bearer of my green stone,
In the south under snow a green stone thou shalt see.
Look well, Elfstone! In the shadow of the dark throne
Then the hour is at hand that long hath awaited thee.

The green stone in the south was borne on Theoden's brow (p. 444), beneath his white hair, and it was Eowyn who would stand in the shadow of the dark throne within his hall.

NOTES

1 Beginning originally at 'Gandalf now wrapped himself again in his old tattered cloak' (p. 430; TT p. 107), the opening of 'The King of the Golden Hall' was then moved to 'The morning was bright and clear about them' (pp. 431–2; TT p. 111). The second rearrangement, giving the form in TT, was made after 'The King of the Golden Hall' was completed.

2 Names in *Theod-*, like names in *Eo-* (p. 403 note 5), are not written with an accent at this time.

3 In TT there are sixteen barrows at the foot of the hill of Edoras, and it is 500 years since Eorl the Young came out of the North. See note 11.

4 The flowers on the burial mounds, 'like tiny snowdrops' in the first draft, became in the second 'tiny flowers star-shaped and frail'. And in the second Legolas says: 'Seven mounds I see, and seven long lives of men it is, since the golden hall was built. [*Struck out at once:* And many more lives still since the Rohiroth first passed into this land.]' It seems curious that such awareness of the history of the Riders of Rohan should be attributed to Legolas.

5 'Stay, strangers unknown! Who are ye, friends or foes, that have come thus strangely clad riding to the gates of this town? None may here enter in, neither beggarman nor warrior, if we know not his name. Now, ye comers from afar, declare to us in haste: what are ye called? What is your errand to Theoden our lord?' – My father first used the Old English letter 'thorn' but changed to 'th' as he wrote.

The passage in *Beowulf* (lines 237–57) in which Beowulf and his companions are accosted by the watchman on the coast of Denmark is very distinctly echoed, as also is the passage in Modern English in TT, p. 113 ('Who are you that come heedless over the plain...').

6 Conceivably there was some confusion arising from the initial idea that Gandalf with Gimli entered Eodoras in advance of Aragorn and Legolas: Gandalf was introduced into the scenes at the gates and the doors, but Gimli, who would play little explicit part in them, was neglected. 'The *three* companions went forward' is certainly very surprising, since here the scene seems to be expressly visualised without Gimli; but this may have been a mere slip, deriving from the frequent use of 'the three companions' (Aragorn, Legolas, and Gimli) in preceding chapters.

7 One of the guards replies that 'None are welcome here in days of war save only those that come from [*struck out: Gemenburg*] *Heatorras Giemen Minas Tirith*', with *Mundbeorg* written in the margin. These Old English words are *gēmen*, *gīemen* 'care, heed, watch'; *Hēatorras* 'high towers'; and *Mundbeorg* 'protection-hill', distinct from *Mundburg* in LR. *Mundbeorg* occurs in another draft: 'And I am Aragorn son of Arathorn ... and it is to Mundbeorg that I journey as to my home' (cf. TT p. 113, 'it is to Mundburg that he goes').

8 An echo of the Old English poem known as *The Wanderer*, line 92: *Hwær cwom mearg? Hwær cwom mago?*

9 It is perhaps possible that the 'Beowulfian' reception at the gates

played some part in the increased hostility of Theoden before ever Wormtongue entered the story.

10 Two small details in the scene before the doors may be mentioned. The guards, turning their sword-hilts towards the strangers, cried *Cumath her wilcuman!* This was later changed to *Wesath hale, feorran cumene*, which appears in TT (p. 114) translated, 'Hail, comers from afar!' And Gandalf speaks to Aragorn with an asperity that was afterwards softened (TT p. 115): 'Needless is Theoden's demand, but needless also is your refusal, Aragorn.'

11 In LR the time-span was of course vastly greater: according to the Tale of Years Eorl the Young won the victory of the Field of Celebrant and the Rohirrim settled in Calenardhon (Rohan as a province of Gondor) in the year 2510 of the Third Age, which was that number of years after the overthrow of Sauron by Gilgalad and Elendil. With the statement here cf. the genealogy that Aragorn gives of himself at the passage of the Pillars of the Kings, in which he is only separated from Isildur by three (subsequently four) generations (pp. 360–1).

It is difficult to explain the name 'Battle of the Field of Gorgoroth': on the First Map the Battle Plain (*Dagras*, later *Dagorlad*) is placed where it remained, outside the mountain-fences of Mordor and separated from Gorgoroth by the great pass, then named Kirith Ungol (Map III, p. 309).

12 Eofored is not named as Theoden's son. In the outline for this chapter the Second Master seems to have been slain in the final battle of the River Isen, and his funeral feast was held after the return to Eodoras (pp. 435, 437). His death has now been moved back to the fighting before Gandalf's arrival.

13 Theoden here says that 'only a few days ago men reported to me that Shadowfax had come back out of the West; but none could lay hands on him, for he went away swiftly northwards.' See p. 434 and note 2. This then became 'men reported that Shadowfax had been seen again, running wild through the land'; and finally, as in TT, 'I heard that Shadowfax had come back riderless'.

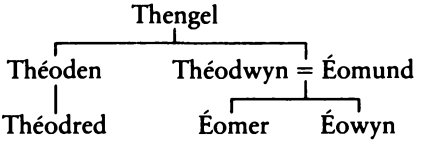
14 Wormtongue still says that 'to the wonder of us all my lord *lent to you* Shadowfax'. This was subsequently changed to his words in TT: 'my lord bade you choose any horse you would and be gone; and to the wonder of us all you took Shadowfax in your insolence.'

15 In the draft for this passage the reading is 'Go [*struck out:* Eowyn and you too Ælflæd Flæd] Idis and you too Eowyn'. Cf. the Old English poetic word *ides* 'woman, lady'. In early notes Eowyn is 'daughter of Theoden' and 'daughter of Eomund' (p. 390).

16 Even to the names of Theoden's sword, *Herugrim*, and his horse, *Snowmane*: only in the case of Dunharrow was there an earlier

form, *Dunberg. Dunharrow* is so named on Map IV[E], p. 319.

17 In LR the genealogy is:



Near the end of the chapter 'Theodred' appears: ' "Behold I go forth," said Theoden. "[*Struck out at once:* Theodred my son] I have no son. I name Eomer my sister-son to be my heir" ' (cf. TT p. 127). On the other hand, in a second version of this passage, Theoden says: 'I have no child. Theodred my brother's son is slain.'

18 To this last item in the list the following was added at some later time:

> No. They learn (in Rivendell?) that Nazgûl razed Lórien and Keleborn fled with a remnant to Mirkwood. Galadriel was lost or was hidden. Or shall Lórien be left slowly to fade? Yes. Galadriel parts with Keleborn who elects to stay in the world and [?woods]. She is seen by Frodo in old age, when he and Sam see Galadriel and Bilbo (and Elrond? No – he has one [*written above*: 3?] [*struck out:* age] life of men still to rule in Rivendell).

APPENDIX ON RUNES

It is notable that all references to runes in *The Lord of the Rings* were associated with Gandalf until my father came to the words graved on Balin's tomb in Moria. In *The Hobbit* runic writing is almost entirely associated with Dwarves (who are said, in Chapter III 'A Short Rest', to have invented the runic Moon-letters), but runes had been an element in Middle-earth from a very early stage.* In his letter to G. E. Selby of 14 December 1937, cited in the Foreword to Vol. VI *The Return of the Shadow*, my father said that he preferred his own mythology 'with its consistent nomenclature and organized history' to *The Hobbit*, and spoke with humorous disparagement of 'this rabble of Eddaic-named dwarves out of Völuspá, new-fangled hobbits and gollums (invented in an idle hour) and *Anglo-Saxon runes*.' As will be seen, when he wrote these last words he was thinking of his own runic alphabets, already at that time highly developed, and not in any way particularly associated with the Dwarves, if associated with them at all. It is conceivable, I think, that it was nonetheless Thror's Map, bearing runic writing of great importance in the story of *The Hobbit*, that brought that close association into being (although the Dwarves always remained the inheritors and not the first devisers of the *Angerthas*).

There seems to be relatively little extant writing concerning the runes from the period we have reached in this book, but my father's linguistic papers and work on scripts and alphabets were left in so chaotic a state that it is often impossible to be sure even of a broad and relative dating. A central problem lies, as always in this context, in the existence of two sets of variables. The richly divergent development of scripts, as of speech-sounds, among different peoples was a datum from the start; but the detail of those divergences was subject to unceasing modification in the mind of their deviser. When the papers (almost always undated and often without consecutive pagination) are so disordered that material which may well be separated by decades is jumbled together, the risk is great of false conjunctions and false constructions.

* The earliest runic document relating to Middle-earth that I know of is a little slip of paper in my father's early handwriting, headed *Gondolinic Runes*. This gives an alphabet in which the values of the runes are almost totally different from the *Angerthas*, but in which the principles of phonetic organisation in relation to letter-shape are strongly evident.

I give here first two brief texts that seem to me to come most likely from the period shortly before the beginning of *The Lord of the Rings* – more or less contemporary with the *Quenta Silmarillion* and the *Lhammas* given in Vol. V, *The Lost Road and Other Writings*. Both are clear manuscripts in ink, and to both of them my father later added in pencil; I give these additions, though I suspect that they were substantially later. It will be seen that these additions concern the especial importance of Runic writing among the Dwarves, of which no mention is made in these texts as written.

(i)

The Elvish Alphabets

These have three main forms: the alphabets of Rúmil, of Fëanor, and [of] Dairon; also called the Valinorian, Túnian, and Beleriandic letters.

The first two are of Noldorin origin and ultimately related; the last is distinct and of Ilkorin origin.

The oldest is the *Alphabet of Rúmil*. This is a final cursive elaboration of the oldest letters of the Noldor in Valinor. Only the completion and arrangement of this system was actually due to Rúmil of Túna; its author or authors are now forgotten. Though originating in Túna it is called 'Valinorian' because it was mainly used for writing of Qenya, and was later ousted from use among the Noldor by the alphabet of Fëanor. It is said still to be used by the Lindar of Valinor; but is not in general use among the Qendi.*

The *Alphabet of Fëanor* was partly derived from this, and partly devised afresh to fit a different system of writing (from left to right). Its actual author – in all forms except the later modifications to fit the changed conditions of Noldorin after the Exile, which were made after his death – was Fëanor. He constructed it both as a general phonetic alphabet, and devised special arrangements to fit the characteristics of Qenya, Noldorin, and Telerin. This alphabet is the one generally used for Qenya, and for all purposes by the surviving Qendi.

The so-called *Alphabet of Dairon* was in origin a 'runic' script devised for inscriptions, especially on wood, that originated among the Ilkorins. It is usually said to have arisen in Doriath, and it certainly there developed most completely, even

* With this passage cf. the *Lhammas* in Vol. V, pp. 173–4.

producing a written form. But probably its actual invention was due to the Danian elves of Ossiriand (who were ultimately of Noldorin race).* The name 'alphabet of Dairon' is due to the preservation in this script of some fragments of the songs of Dairon, the ill-fated minstrel of King Thingol of Doriath, in the works on the ancient Beleriandic languages by Pengolod the Wise of Gondolin. The Noldor did not use this script much, even in Beleriand, though Pengolod cites cases of inscriptions at Nargothrond and Sirion's mouth that are in Noldorin tongue. [*Added in pencil:* But this runic alphabet spread eastward from Ossiriand to the Dwarves, and was largely used by them.]

(ii)

The 'Alphabet of Dairon'

The Ilkorins of Beleriand devised an alphabet of 'runes', or angular letters used in inscriptions. This became widespread in Beleriand, already before the exile of the Noldor of Valinor, and showed various divergences in forms and uses at different times and places. Its chief elaboration took place in Doriath, where a written form was developed. Owing to the ruin of Beleriand, before the departure of the Noldor to Eressëa, no actual inscription or book in this script is now preserved. Knowledge of it [*changed in pencil to:* no actual Elvish inscription or book in this script was preserved. Knowledge of its use by the Elves] is now preserved only in books in Eressëa – in the works of Pengolod of Gondolin upon the Beleriandic languages, and other similar writings. Pengolod copied and gave extracts from various inscriptions and books that were still extant in his day. Of the books, or written form, his principal source was some fragments of the songs of King Thingol's minstrel Dairon. From this fact is derived the [*struck out:* erroneous] name: Alphabet of Dairon.

The origin of the script is probably to be placed in Ossiriand among the Danian elves, many of whom were incorporated in Doriath after the coming of Morgoth and the fall of their king, Denethor.† The Danian elves were ultimately of Noldorin race, and inventions of this sort were a special aptitude of the

* On the Danian elves or *Danas* see especially V.176, 188–9.

† See the *Quenta Silmarillion* in Vol. V, p. 263.

Noldor.* Moreover a related alphabet was early in use among the eastern branch of the Danians, beyond the Blue Mountains, whence it also spread to Men in those regions, becoming the foundation of the Taliskan *skirditaila* or 'runic series'. [*Added in pencil:* Related alphabets were (> A related alphabet was) also borrowed (from both Men and Elves) by the Dwarves; the western Dwarves early borrowed and adapted the full inscriptional 'Alphabet of Dairon', and most of the inscriptions in this form that survived the Great War in Eriador and elsewhere are of Dwarvish origin, though their language is seldom the secret tongue of the Dwarves.]

This alphabet was not much used by the exiled Noldor, but in certain cases, in the absence of parchment or for carving on wood, or where as at Sirion's mouth they were mingled with Ilkorins, they employed these letters during their exile, and modified their forms or applications to fit their own language. Pengolod gives some examples of this Noldorin usage. [*Added in pencil:* The greatest elaboration was reached in Eregion and Moria, where during the Second Age Elves and Dwarves lived in harmony. This later form was called the 'Runes of Moria', because it remained long in use among the Dwarves, and most of the inscriptions employing it survived in the halls and chambers of Moria.]

With this view of the origin of the name *Alphabet of Dairon* cf. *The Lord of the Rings* Appendix E (II): 'Their richest and most ordered form was known as the Alphabet of Daeron, since in Elvish tradition it was said to have been devised by Daeron, the minstrel and loremaster of King Thingol of Doriath.'

The reference to Taliska (for which see V.179, 191, 196: 'the language of the three houses of Bëor, of Haleth, and of Hador') is very interesting as adumbrating a relationship between the runes of Beleriand and the ancient Germanic runes; cf. V.279 on the 'Indo-European' word *widris* 'wisdom' in the ancient tongue of the people of Bëor. It seems clear that the second element of Taliskan *skirditaila* 'runic series' is to be understood as an ancestral cognate of the word seen in Old English *tæl* (with a sense 'number, reckoning, series'; Old Norse *tal*, etc., and cf. Modern English *tale*, *tell*); the first element may perhaps be connected with the Germanic stem *sker-*, seen in Old Norse *skera* 'cut, carve', Old English *sceran* (Modern English *shear*, cf. ultimately related *shard*, *potsherd*).

Detailed exposition from this time of the ancient Elvish runes seems

* Cf. the *Ainulindalë* in Vol. V, p. 162.

to be restricted to a series of five manuscript pages – which are indeed extremely informative. In style and bearing they seem to me to belong with substantial work on Noldorin phonology that certainly comes from the time not long preceding the start of *The Lord of the Rings*. Since it would be extremely difficult to print these pages as part of the text, and since they would be unclear in facsimile reproduction (and require a lot of unnecessary explanation and annotation), I have rewritten and redrawn them as a series of plates, numbered I to IV, at the end of this Appendix. I have attempted to remain very faithful to the originals, and have only edited them in a few minor points that in no way alter their purport; I have not attempted to smooth away the various inconsistencies of presentation. There are a very few pencilled changes that are ignored. At the head of the first sheet my father wrote: 'All this has been revised and rewritten. See Appendices to *Lord of the Rings*.'

On plate V I reproduce a separate manuscript leaf entitled 'Dwarf-runes for writing English (phonetic)', which I shall refer to in this Appendix as 'E'. This is obviously quite distinct from the other pages, but it will be found that it agrees well on the whole with 'the later Noldorin use' on plate II (referred to subsequently as 'N'), though there is some difference in the application of signs, notably in the nasals and in those representing English *š* (*sh*), *ž* (as in *vision*), *tš* (*ch*), and *dž* (*j* as twice in *judge*), which are either used for different sounds in N or not found there. As will be seen shortly, this page evidently dates from the time of my father's return to the Moria story, as described in this book. Curiously, *kw* (*qu*) is absent from E, and the rune ᚳ for *kw* in the Doriath and Noldorin usage is there given to *tš* (*ch*). In E, also, *h* is represented by ᚲ, but by ᚦ in the others.

At the bottom of plate V I have transcribed the runic inscription on Balin's tomb from the end of the original first 'Moria' chapter in Vol. VI (see p. 460 and note 40). As noted there, it was at that point that my father decided to use the Runes of Beleriand in preference to Old English runes, for he first wrote the inscription in the latter but at once wrote it in the former as well – in two forms, which I have marked (i) and (ii). The words *Runes of Dwarves* on the same page (VI.460) no doubt have some significance in this connection; cf. also Gandalf's words in the second version of the chapter ('The Lord of Moria', p. 186): 'These are dwarf-runes, such as they use in the North.' – On the name *Burin* of Balin's father see VI.444.

Version (i) of the tomb-inscription agrees with E (and with N) in every point save one: the use of the rune ᚦ for *s* in *son* instead of ᛋ. In E ᚦ is used for the vowel [ʌ] (as in English *cup*); while in N it is used for *h*.

Version (ii) agrees with (i) in the *s*-rune, but reverses ō and ŏ in *lord* and *Moria*, and for *l* in *lord* substitutes ᛚ for ᛚ: the former is found

in the Doriath and Noldorin use. Here the rune ᚢ is used for the vowel in *son*, where (i) has the unphonetic ᚩ (*o*). In E this rune has the value *ai*, in N the value *ae* (later changed in pencil to *ai* in a reversal of the values *ai* and *ae*).

The next (third) version of the tomb-inscription, at the end of the second version ('The Lord of Moria') of the chapter, is hidden by a fourth version pasted over it; but Taum Santoski has been able to read the underlying inscription by lighting the page from the back. With *Fundin* for *Burin* (see VI.444) the runic writing thus recovered is almost as in version (i), with the same use of ᚳ for *s*; but very curiously this same rune is used for *o* in both occurrences of the word *of*, although ᚩ for *o* appears in *son*, *lord*, and *Moria*. In addition, the Dwarvish words *Balin Fundinul Uzbad Khazaddūmu* are added beneath, the rune for *z* being apparently ᛦ, which is *s* in all the alphabets given here.

The fourth version of the inscription, that pasted over the third, and the fifth, at the end of the typescript text that followed, are identical in all forms; the latter is reproduced on p. 186. So far as the brief text goes, agreement with E is here complete, with *s* represented by ᛦ, *z* represented by ᛋ, and ᚳ used for the vowel [ʌ], which here appears in the word *son*, treated phonetically.

On plate VI I have redrawn the runic writing from the two earliest illustrations of a burnt and blackened page from the Book of Mazarbul. These redrawings are intended to show the runes and their relative placing and nothing more. The earliest form (i) is found on the back of the last page of the original 'Moria' chapter (see VI.460, 467). This is the merest sketch, an indication of what might be done in this direction: it was made very hastily, scribbled down, with little attempt at verisimilitude, the illegible parts of the page being represented by rough scribbled strokes (and the number of missing lines in my redrawing is approximate and impressionistic). The right-hand bottom corner is shown as a triangular detached piece, on which only the word *Kazaddūm* is written. The second form (ii) is a much more developed representation of the slashed and discoloured leaf, done in pencil and coloured chalks; here again the bottom corner is shown as torn right off. (The evolution of this page is emblematic in miniature of my father's mode of work: the evolution of the details of shape is progressive and continuous. In this second version there are two holes on the right hand side of the page and a bite out of the top; in the third and fourth versions these remain, but the bottom corner is added back, with a triangular indentation above, continuing into the page as a black line. In the final form, reproduced in *Pictures by J. R. R. Tolkien* no. 23, the central hole is enlarged and moved to the left, but the black line remains where the bottom corner was originally shown as torn off and separate.)

The words of the original sketch have been given in VI.467, but I repeat them here in phonetic form:

1 Wē drouv aut *the* orks fro[m] .... gard
2 ... [f]irst hōl. Wī slū meni ʌndr *the* brait sʌn
3 in *the* deil. Flōi woz kild bai ʌn arou ....
4 Wī did .....
9 Wī ha[v] okjupaid *the* twentifʌrst hōl ov
10 norþ end. Ðer ðr iz .....
11 ..... šaft iz .....
12 [B]alin haz set ʌp hiz tšēr in *the* tšeimbr ov Mazar
13 bul .....Balin iz lord ov
14 Moria .....
18 Balin .....
20 Kazaddūm

Here there is close but not complete agreement with E. The *s*-rune is ᛦ not ᛋ, the latter being used for [ʌ], as in E; but there is divergence in the *w*-rune, which is here ᚹ, to which E gives the value *dž* (*j*) and N the value *gw*. The short single vertical used in E as abbreviation for *the* when in the upper position and as a sign for the vowel [ə] when in the lower position is here used for *the* in the lower position, but in the upper position for *h* (in *have*, *has*, *his*): in both occurrences of the word *hall* the stroke stands in the lower position, but this may have been no more than an inadvertence, for the runes in this sketch were pencilled very rapidly and several were written erroneously and then corrected. The rune for the initial consonants [š] in *shaft* and [tš] in *chair*, *chamber* also differ in their values from those ascribed to them in E. The use of the *m*-rune for *v* in *we have occupied* (line 9) can only be a slip. Lastly, the vowel [ʌ] is employed not only in *under*, *sun*, *up* but also in *an (arrow)* and in *first* (at the second occurrence).

Comparison with E will show that the second version of the page from the Book of Mazarbul agrees with it in every point and detail. The different form of the *l*-rune in *Flōi* (line 4), with the crossing stroke falling, not rising, to the right, is probably merely accidental (in the third version the shape is normal at this point).

To this version my father appended a phonetic transcription. In this he interpreted *oukn* in line 6 as *?broken*, *it* at the end of line 10 as *?its*, and the word before *helm* in line 17 as *(?sil)vr*, though the last rune is very clearly *n*, not *r* (in the third version an *r*-rune is written here).

The sequence of development in this much-considered passage was very probably as follows. The original form of the text that Gandalf first read out from the Book of Mazarbul seems to have been that of the earliest drawing of the page itself (plate VI, i). Closely related to it is the form in the original pencilled narrative of the scene, which can be largely made out beneath the text written over it in ink (see pp. 191

and 205 note 4). Both forms had *the Orcs* for *Orcs* and Balin's *chair* for Balin's *seat*; but the original narrative text had *we have found truesilver, well-forged,* and *(To)morrow Óin is ... lead ... seek for the upp(er) armoury of the Third Deep,* all of which is absent from the first drawing of the page.

The overwritten text in the first narrative, which is given on p. 191, is effectively the same as the text in the second drawing of the page (plate VI, ii).

The third drawing of the page (which is otherwise very similar to the second, and employs exactly the same runic system) corresponds to the text of the fair copy manuscript of 'The Mines of Moria (ii)' given on pp. 200–1.

It is plain therefore that the first three drawings of this page from the Book of Mazarbul all belong to the same time, and relate step by step to the rewriting of this passage through the original draft and first fair copy of the narrative chapter; and that the runic alphabet set out in E, 'Dwarfrunes for writing English' (plate V), belongs to this time also. But when the fourth version of this page was done the runic values had changed.

The first drawings of the other two pages from the Book of Mazarbul (that written by Ori in Elvish script and the last page of the book, in runes) belong with and were done at the same time as the third drawing of the first page; for the texts see pp. 200–1.

I

Runes of Beleriand

The oldest signs seem to have been the following:–

The distribution of these signs among the required values differed considerably at different times and in different places, but all varieties agreed on taking Series 1 generally as labials and Series 2 as dentals, while the principles were also usually observed that reversal represented a spirant (ᚹ p ꟼ f) and addition voicing (ᛚ t ᚨ d ᛇ đ).

The chief divergence occurred in the invention and application of later signs. As usual in runes there were no horizontal bars in the original runic form; but it may be noted that most of the runes consisted of a single vertical with a side appendage which was never attached to the bottom (except as a reduplication of one already at the top). Later elaborations developed inverted forms as ᚴ ᚦ and here the application was variable.

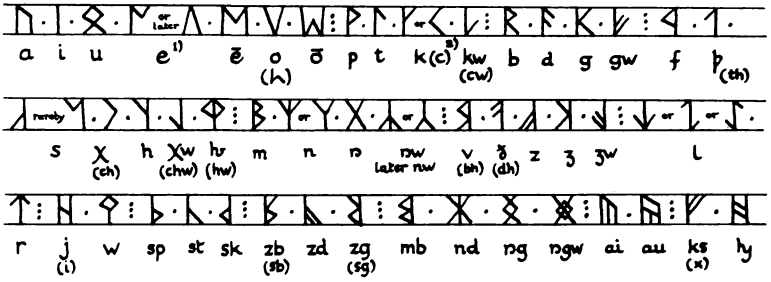
The original Doriath order of letters in transcription (phonetic) was as follows: (1) a. i. u. e. o. (2) p. t. k. (3) b. d. ɡ. (4) f. þ. s. χ (h). (5) ƀ. ɣ. ʒ. l. r. z. (6) m. n. ŋ. ŋg. (7) j. w. In this order it was borrowed in Ossiriand, and so in E. Danian and Taliska.

The runes associated with these values were usually :–

This series was altered by the intrusion of signs for kw etc. (inverted p or k runes being used: ᚦ or ᚴ); and the use of signs for vocalic and consonantal diphthongs; also a differentiation was made between ŋ and ŋg, h and χ, and between ē/e, ō/o (the other long vowels being distinguished

later).

The special Doriath long series thus became as follows:—



(The values in brackets are normal transcriptions).

Notes. 1) o+o V+V > W; therefore M taken as Λ+Λ = long ē. But also Λ = inverted V = o; therefore ᚴ was also used as o. 2) Normally a spirant is a reverse; therefore when > was invented as differentiation of Y = x and h, also < as variant of ᚴ = k,c arose.

The later Noldorin use.

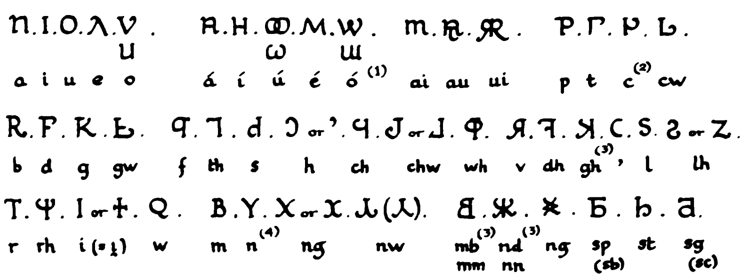
The order was variable. The above order was usual. The only vowel diphthongs ever counted as fixed letters were ai, au, ui: the rest were only occasionally used instead of writing with two letters (aj, uj, aw, ow, ei, ej

III

and so on), which was frequently done even with ai, au, ui.

Since later in Noldorin mb, nd became m(m), n(n) confusion arose with ß ß, and both tended to be used indiscriminately, while ✱ dropped out of use except for occasional employment as nn. ng also became ŋ, so two developments occurred: (a) ✱ was used = ŋ (transcription ng), and X was used for ŋk (transcription nc); or (b) ✱ was dropped and only X used.

The written form, or 'Alphabet of [Pengolod >] Dairon'



Notes. (1) These letters (á í ú é ó) originally longs were variously employed in representations of later Noldorin. (2) Originally C was also employed as a variant; but later it was used as a sign of hiatus between vowels, and especially initially to represent vocalic beginning after loss of Я (gh from g by mutation). (3) These letters though only employed regularly in Old Noldorin were retained in the alphabet and sometimes in orthography — as ZnB = *lamb* pronounced *lăm* (< **lambē*) 'tongue'; but X and ✱ became used as mere variant shapes of the same letter. (4) Originally Ψ was used as a variant of Y = n (and ժ of λ = nw): but later Ψ became used as the sign for initial voiceless r (rh), when the two forms of l became differentiated (as S = l Ƨ or Z = lh).

Other vocalic signs were also often employed but not reckoned as separate letters. Thus ⅄ ei = ΛI; A eo = ΛV; ∀ or ∀ oe = VΛ; and the modifications: V̈ Ẇ = oe monophthong [ö], ⊙, ώ = y.

The signs ⅁ z, Ƃ zd, ժ ngw were no longer retained in the alphabet. Similarly Ƅ (x, ks, hs), H or Ħ = hy were only used in representing foreign words

IV

The smaller and more cursive letters were as follows.

ᚿ ᛁ ᛐ ᛚ ᚡ (u). ᚯ ᚺ ᚹ ᛘ ᚽ (ɯ). ᛠ ᛯ ᛬.
ᚿ ᛁ ᛐ ᛚ ᚡ (u). ᚯ ᚺ ᚹ ᛘ ᚽ ᛠ ᛯ ᛬

ᚹ ᚴ ᚸ ᛒ. ᚱ ᚠ ᚴ ᚦ. ᛩ ᛏ ᛞ ᚥ ᛋ ᛇ (ᛇ) ᚠ.
ᚹ ᚴ ᚸ ᛒ (ᛒ). ᚱ ᚠ ᚴ ᚦ. ᛩ ᛏ ᛞ (ᛇ) ᚾ ᛋ ᛇ ᚠ.

ᛟ ᛉ ᛦ ᚳ ᛊ ᛎ ᛏ ᚿ ᛁ (ᛠ ᛏ) ᛩ. ᛒ ᛉ ᚷ ᛇ. ᛓ ᛘ ᛝ.
ᛟ ᛉ ᛦ ᚳ ᛊ ᛎ ᛏ ᚿ ᛁ ᛠ ᛏ ᛩ. ᛒ ᛉ ᚷ ᛇ. ᛓ ᛘ ᛝ.

ᛒ ᚻ ᛅ
b ᛠ ᛒ h d ᛏ ᛅ

ᛣ ᛅ ᚡ (ᚺ) ᚢ ᚣ ᚩ ᚭ
ᛣi ᛣv uᛣ ᚣ ᚣ ᚩ ᚭ

ᚹᛣᛏᚿᚴ ᛠᚿ·ᚷᚣᛊᚣᛁᛏ pennas na·ngoeloeidh

ᛣᚹᚡᚩᛩᚢᚿᚢ ᛣTᛣFᚩᛣTIVY Eredwethion

V

Dwarf runes for writing English (phonetic)

p b f v m mb w hv (wh)

t d þ ð n nd r l s z

tš (ch) dž (j) š (sh) ž ñ ndž j (y) hy

k g χ (ch) ʒ (gh) ŋ ng h

ps ts dz ks (x) gz (x) bs, bz

General nasal sign ^ as R̂ = mb but on P̂ = mp

a e i o u ^ ə ā ē ī ō ū

ö ø y (ü) æ

ai au oi ou ei eu ui iu

the ' of and

The earliest forms of the inscription on Balin's tomb in Moria

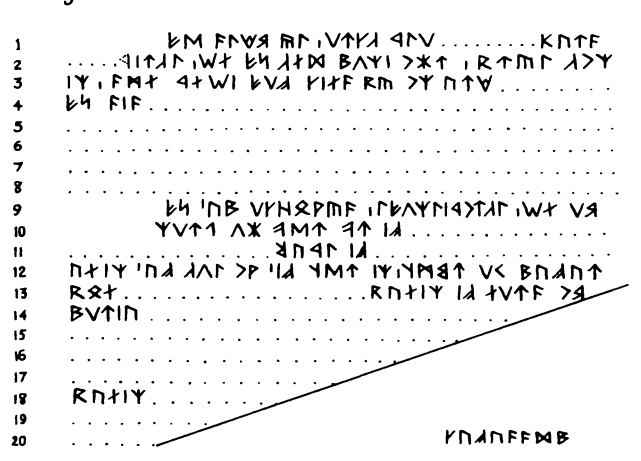
(i)

(ii)

VI

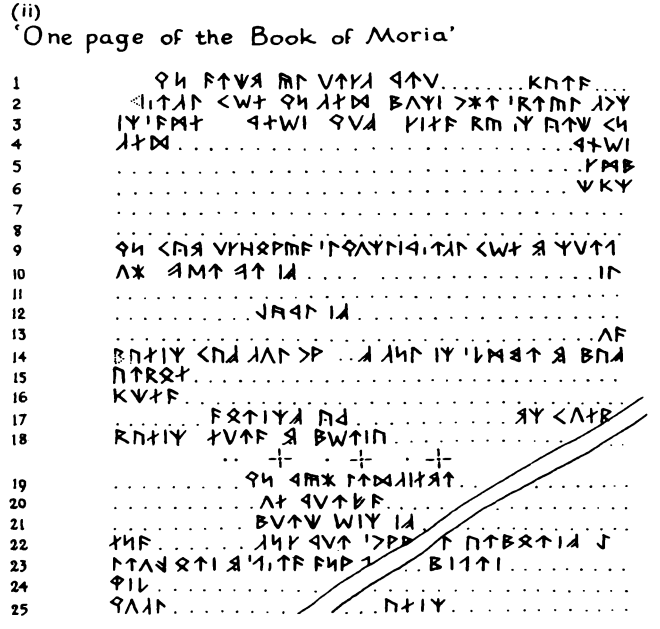
(i)

'Page of Balin's Book'



(ii)

'One page of the Book of Moria'



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As in the Index to *The Return of the Shadow*, I have slightly reduced the number of page-references in the case of names that occur very frequently by using the word *passim* to mean that the name is missing only from a single page here and there in a long series otherwise unbroken.

The very large number of names occurring in this book that were soon rejected and replaced are nearly all given separate cross-references to a primary name; exceptions are cases where such a name falls in immediate proximity to the primary name (thus whereas *Dolamarth* is entered separately from *Amon Amarth*, *Amarthon* is not), and certain purely experimental names (such as the rejected names for *Amon Hen*/*Amon Lhaw*). Names in *Errantry* are all entered under *Errantry*.

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THE TREASON OF ISENGARD

Cover illustration by John Howe

FICTION/FANTASY

ISBN 0-261-10220-6

U UK £9.99
A AUS $24.95*
N CAN $18.95

*recommended price

9 780261 102200 00999>

Harper Collins

THE HISTORY OF THE LORD OF THE RINGS | PART 3

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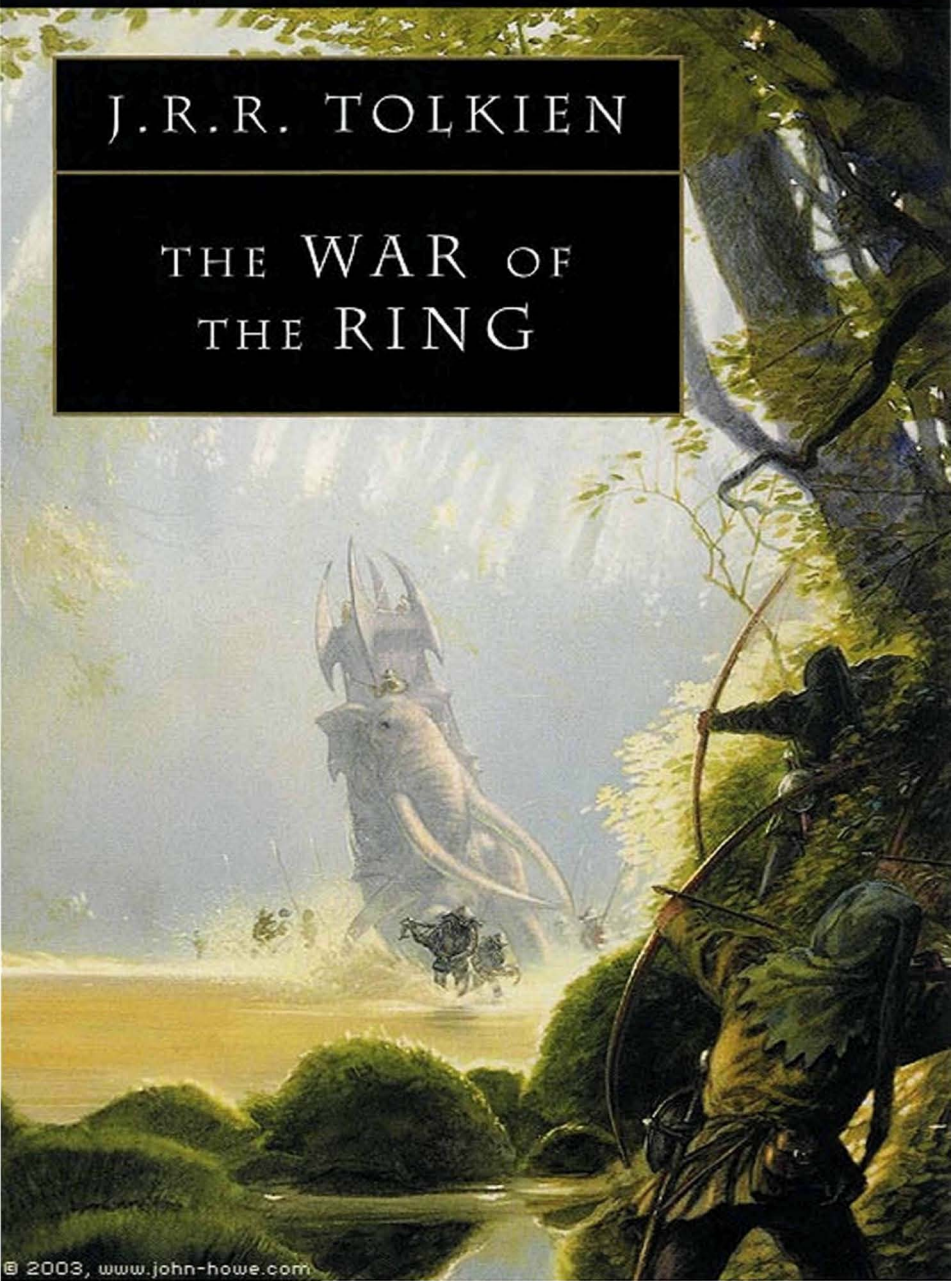
THE WAR OF THE RING



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THE WAR OF THE RING

The History of
The Lord of the Rings
Part Three

Christopher Tolkien

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
Boston New York

First Houghton Mifflin paperback edition 2000

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Tolkien, J.R.R. (John Ronald Reuel), 1892–1973.
The war of the ring: the history of the Lord of the rings, part three / J.R.R. Tolkien ; edited by Christopher Tolkien.
p. cm. (The History of Middle-earth ; 8)
Includes index.
ISBN 0-395-56008-X
ISBN 0-618-08359-6 (pbk.)

1. Tolkien, J.R.R. (John Ronald Reuel), 1892–1973. Lord of the rings — Criticism, Textual. 2. Fantastic fiction, English — Authorship. 3. Middle Earth (Imaginary place) I. Tolkien, Christopher. II. Title. III. Series: Tolkien, J.R.R. (John Ronald Reul), 1892–1973. History of Middle-earth : 8.
PR6039.032L6375 1990 90-4732
823'.912—dc20 CIP

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Printed in the United States of America

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FOREWORD

The title of this book comes from the same source as *The Treason of Isengard*, a set of six titles, one for each 'Book' of *The Lord of the Rings*, suggested by my father in a letter to Rayner Unwin of March 1953 (*The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien* no. 136). *The War of the Ring* was that proposed for Book V, and I have adopted it for this book since the history of the writing of Book V constitutes nearly half of it, while the first part concerns the victory of Helm's Deep and the destruction of Isengard. The second part describes the writing of Frodo's journey to Kirith Ungol, and this I have called 'The Ring Goes East', which was the title proposed by my father for Book IV.

In the Foreword to *The Return of the Shadow* I explained that a substantial collection of manuscripts was left behind in England when the bulk of the papers went to Marquette University in 1958, these manuscripts consisting for the most part of outlines and the earliest narrative drafts; and I suggested that this was a consequence of the papers being dispersed, some in one place and some in another, at that time. But the manuscript materials for *The Return of the King* were evidently preserved with the main body of the papers, for nothing of Books V and VI was left behind beyond some narrative outlines and the first draft of the chapter 'Minas Tirith'. For my account of Book V therefore I have been almost wholly dependent on the provision from Marquette of great quantities of manuscript in reproduction, without which the latter part of *The War of the Ring* could not have been written at all. For this most generous assistance I express my gratitude to all concerned in it, and most especially to Mr Taum Santoski, who has been primarily responsible for the work involved. In addition he has advised me on many particular points which can be best decided by close examination of the original papers, and he has spent much time in trying to decipher those manuscripts in which my father wrote a text in ink on top of another in pencil. I thank also Miss Tracy J. Muench and Miss Elizabeth A. Budde for their part in the work of reproducing the material, and Mr Charles B. Elston for making it possible for me to include in this book several

illustrations from manuscripts at Marquette: the pages carrying sketches of Dunharrow, of the mountains at the head of Harrowdale, and of Kirith Ungol, the plan of Minas Tirith, and the full-page drawing of Orthanc (5).

This book follows the plan and presentation of its predecessors, references to previous volumes in 'The History of Middle-earth' being generally given in Roman numerals (thus 'VII' refers to *The Treason of Isengard*), FR, TT, and RK being used as abbreviations for *The Fellowship of the Ring*, *The Two Towers*, and *The Return of the King*, and page-references being made throughout to the three-volume hardback edition of *The Lord of the Rings* (LR). In several parts of the book the textual history is exceedingly complex. Since the story of the evolution of *The Lord of the Rings* can of course only be discovered by the correct ordering and interpretation of the manuscripts, and must be recounted in those terms, the textual history cannot be much simplified; and I have made much use of identifying letters for the manuscripts in order to clarify my account and to try to avoid ambiguities. In Books IV and V problems of chronological synchronisation became acute: a severe tension is sometimes perceptible between narrative certainties and the demands of an entirely coherent chronological structure (and the attempt to right dislocation in time could very well lead to dislocation in geography). Chronology is so important in this part of *The Lord of the Rings* that I could not neglect it, but I have put almost all of my complicated and often inconclusive discussion into 'Notes on the Chronology' at the end of chapters.

In this book I have used accents throughout in the names of the Rohirrim (*Théoden*, *Éomer*, &c.).

Mr Charles Noad has again read the proofs independently and checked the very large number of citations, including those to other passages within the book, with a strictness and care that I seem altogether unable to attain. In addition I have adopted several of his suggestions for improvement in clarity and consistency in my account. I am much indebted to him for this generous and substantial work.

I am very grateful for communications from Mr Alan Stokes and Mr Neil Gaiman, who have explained my father's reference in his remarks about the origins of the poem *Errantry* (*The Treason of Isengard* p. 85): 'It was begun very many years ago, in an attempt to go on with the model that came unbidden into my mind: the first six lines, in which, I guess, *D'ye ken the*

rhyme to porringer had a part.' The reference is to a Jacobite song attacking William of Orange as usurper of the English crown from his father-in-law, James II, and threatening to hang him. The first verse of this song runs thus in the version given by Iona and Peter Opie in *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (no. 422):

What is the rhyme for porringer?
What is the rhyme for porringer?
The king he had a daughter fair
And gave the Prince of Orange her.

The verse is known in several forms (in one of which the opening line is *Ken ye the rhyme to porringer?* and the last *And he gave her to an Oranger*). This then is the unlikely origin of the provender of the Merry Messenger:

There was a merry passenger,
a messenger, an errander;
he took a tiny porringer
and oranges for provender.

PART ONE

THE FALL OF SARUMAN

I

THE DESTRUCTION OF ISENGARD

(*Chronology*)

The writing of the story from 'The King of the Golden Hall' to the end of the first book of *The Two Towers* was an extremely complex process. The 'Isengard story' was not conceived and set down as a series of clearly marked 'chapters', each one brought to a developed state before the next was embarked on, but evolved as a whole, and disturbances of the structure that entered as it evolved led to dislocations all through the narrative. With my father's method of composition at this time – passages of very rough and piecemeal drafting being built into a completed manuscript that was in turn heavily overhauled, the whole complex advancing and changing at the same time – the textual confusion in this part of *The Lord of the Rings* is only penetrable with great difficulty, and to set it out as a clear sequence impossible.

The essential cause of this situation was the question of chronology; and I think that the best way to approach the writing of this part of the narrative is to try to set out first the problems that my father was contending with, and to refer back to this discussion when citing the actual texts.

The story had certain fixed narrative 'moments' and relations. Pippin and Merry had encountered Treebeard in the forest of Fangorn and been taken to his 'Ent-house' of Wellinghall for the night. On that same day Aragorn, Gimli and Legolas had encountered Éomer and his company returning from battle with the Orcs, and they themselves passed the night beside the battlefield. For these purposes this may be called 'Day 1', since earlier events have here no relevance; the actual date according to the chronology of this period in the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* was Sunday January 29 (see VII.368, 406).

On Day 2, January 30, the Entmoot took place; and on that day Aragorn and his companions met Gandalf returned, and together they set out on their great ride to Eodoras. As they rode south in the evening Legolas saw far off towards the Gap of Rohan a great smoke rising, and he asked Gandalf what it might be: to which Gandalf replied 'Battle and war!' (at the end of the chapter 'The White Rider').

They rode all night, and reached Eodoras in the early morning of Day 3, January 31. While they spoke with Théoden and Wormtongue in the Golden Hall at Eodoras the Entmoot was still rumbling on far

away in Fangorn. In the afternoon of Day 3 Théoden with Gandalf and his companions and a host of the Rohirrim set out west from Eodoras across the plains of Rohan towards the Fords of Isen; and on that same afternoon the Entmoot ended,[1] and the Ents began their march on Isengard, which they reached after nightfall.

It is here that the chronological problems appear. There were – or would be, as the story evolved – the following elements (some of them foreseen in some form in the outline that I called 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn', VII.435–6) to be brought into a coherent time-pattern. The Ents would attack Isengard, and drown it by diverting the course of the river Isen. A great force would leave Isengard; the Riders at the Fords of Isen would be driven back over the river. The Rohirrim coming from Eodoras would see a great darkness in the direction of the Wizard's Vale, and they would meet a lone horseman returning from the battle at the Fords; Gandalf would fleet away westwards on Shadowfax. Théoden and his host, with Aragorn, Gimli and Legolas, would take refuge in a deep gorge in the southern mountains, and a great battle there would turn to victory after certain defeat with the coming of the 'moving trees', and the return of Gandalf and the lord of the Rohirrim whose stronghold it was. Finally, Gandalf, with Théoden, Aragorn, Gimli, Legolas and a company of the Riders would leave the refuge and ride to Isengard, now drowned and in ruins, and meet Merry and Pippin sitting on a pile of rubble at the gates.

I

In the original opening of 'Helm's Deep', as will be seen at the beginning of the next chapter, the cavalcade from Eodoras saw 'a great fume and vapour' rising over Nan Gurunír, the Wizard's Vale,[2] and met the lone horseman returning from the Fords of Isen, *on the same day* (Day 3, January 31) as they left the Golden Hall. The horseman (Ceorl) told them that the Riders had been driven back over the Isen with great loss on the previous day (Day 2, January 30); and it must have been 'the smoke of battle' that Legolas saw in the evening rising from the Gap of Rohan as they rode south from Fangorn – it cannot of course have been the steam rising from the drowning of Isengard by the Ents (see above). In this original story Théoden and his men, with Aragorn, Gimli and Legolas, took refuge in Helm's Deep (not yet so named) that same night (Day 3).

A chronological dislocation seems to have been already present in this: for the events of Days 1–3 as set out above were fixed in relation to each other, and the Ents must arrive at Isengard after nightfall of Day 3 (January 31); yet according to the original opening of 'Helm's Deep' the host from Eodoras sees the 'great fume and vapour' rising over Nan Gurunír (unquestionably caused by the drowning of Isengard) in the evening of that same day.

II

This time-scheme was duly changed: Théoden and his host camped in the plain on the first night out from Eodoras (Day 3, January 31), and it was in the morning of the second day of the ride (Day 4, February 1) that they saw the great cloud over Nan Gurunír:

> As they rode they saw a great spire of smoke and vapour, rising up out of the deep shadow of Nan Gurunír; as it mounted it caught the light of the sun and spread in glowing banks that drifted on the wind over the plains towards them.
>
> 'What do you think of that, Gandalf?' said Théoden. 'One would say that all the Wizard's Vale was burning.'
>
> 'There is ever a fume above that valley in these days,' said Háma; 'but I never saw anything like that before.'

It is now in the evening of this second day of their ride that they met the horseman Ceorl coming from the Fords, and on the night of this day that the battle of the Hornburg took place. The chronology was now therefore:

(Day 3) January 31 Gandalf, Théoden and the Rohirrim depart from Eodoras and camp for the night in the plains. Ents reach Isengard after nightfall and after the departure of the Orc-host begin the drowning of the Circle of Isengard.

(Day 4) February 1 The host from Eodoras sees in the morning the steams rising from the drowning of Isengard; in the evening they meet Ceorl and learn of the defeat at the Fords of Isen on the previous day; and reach Helm's Deep after nightfall. Battle of the Hornburg.

It seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the end of the chapter 'The White Rider' (Legolas' sight of the smoke in the Gap of Rohan on Day 2, January 30) escaped revision when the date of the (Second) Battle of the Fords of Isen was changed to January 31.

III

In the original form of what became the opening of 'The Road to Isengard' Gandalf and Théoden, with Aragorn, Gimli and Legolas and a party of Riders, set out from Helm's Deep shortly after the end of the battle of the Hornburg, without any rest; this was on Day 5, February 2, and *they reached Isengard not long after noon on the same day.* As they approached Nan Gurunír

> they saw rising up out of deep shadows a vast spire of smoke and vapour; as it mounted it caught the light of the sun, and spread in glowing billows in the sky, and the wind bore them over the plain.
>
> 'What do you think of that, Gandalf?' said Théoden. 'One would say that all the Wizard's Vale was burning.'

'There is ever a fume above that valley in these days,' said Éomer; 'but I have never seen anything like this before. These are steams, rather than smokes. Some devilry Saruman is brewing to greet us.'

This dialogue was lifted straight from its earlier place at the beginning of the 'Helm's Deep' story (see II above) – with substitution of Éomer for Háma, slain at the Hornburg, and in 'Helm's Deep' a different passage was inserted, as found in TT pp. 131–2, in which what is seen in the North-west is 'a shadow that crept down slowly from the Wizard's Vale', and there is no mention of fume or steam.

The reason for these changes was again chronological: the host on its way from Eodoras is not to see great steams rising from Isengard on Day 4, but the 'veiling shadow' of the Huorns as they came down into the Wizard's Vale. Thus:

(Day 4) February 1 The host from Eodoras sees in the morning the shade of the moving trees far off in the North-west; the drowning of Isengard was not begun till night. At night Battle of the Hornburg.

(Day 5) February 2 In the morning Théoden and Gandalf and their company ride to Isengard, and find it drowned.

IV

The chronology was then changed to that of 'The Road to Isengard' in TT, whereby Théoden and Gandalf and their company do not leave Helm's Deep until much later on Day 5, pass the night camped below Nan Gurunír, and do not reach Isengard until midday on Day 6 (February 3). This chronology is set out in a time-scheme (additions of mine in brackets):

[Day 3] January 31 Ents arrive at Isengard, night. Break in.

[Day 4] February 1 Dawn, they go away north to make dams. All that day Merry and Pippin alone until dusk. Gandalf arrives at Isengard at nightfall, and meets Treebeard. Drowning of Isengard begins late at night. [Battle of the Hornburg.]

[Day 5] February 2 Isengard steams all day and column of smoke arises in evening. [Gandalf, Théoden, &c. see this from their camp below Nan Gurunír.] Huorns return in night to Isengard.

[Day 6] February 3 Morning, Treebeard returns to Gates. Sets Merry and Pippin to watch. Wormtongue comes. [Gandalf, Théoden, &c. arrive shortly after noon.]

This is the chronology of LR, as set out in *The Tale of Years*, though the actual dates are of course different (in LR March 2 = January 31 in this scheme).

*

This, I believe, is how the chronology evolved; but as will be seen in the following chapters, earlier time-schemes appear in the drafts for passages far on in the actual narrative, because as I have said all this part of LR was written as a whole. Thus for example in the first draft of Merry's story of the destruction and drowning of Isengard (in TT in the chapter 'Flotsam and Jetsam') the chronology belongs with the scheme described in II above, and against it my father noted: 'Drowning must not begin until night of Hornburg battle.'

Despite the way in which this part of the story was written, I think that it will in fact be clearest to break my account into chapters corresponding to those in *The Two Towers*; this inevitably entails a certain amount of advance and retreat in terms of the actual sequence of composition, but I hope that this preliminary account will clarify the shifting chronological basis in the different texts.

NOTES

1 The extra day of the Entmoot (TT pp. 87–8) was not added until much later: VII.407, 419.

2 *Nan Gurunír*, the Valley of Saruman, was added in to a blank space left for the name in the manuscript of 'Treebeard' (VII.420 note 9).

II

HELM'S DEEP

A first draft of this story, abandoned after it had proceeded for some distance, differs so essentially from its form in *The Two Towers* that I give it here in full. This text bears the chapter number XXVIII, without title. For the chronology see p. 4, § I.

There was a much-ridden way, northwestward along the foothills of the Black Mountains. Up and down over the rolling green country it ran, crossing small swift streams by many fords. Far ahead and to the right the shadow of the Misty Mountains drew nearer. Beneath the distant peak of Methedras in dark shadow lay the deep vale of Nan Gurunír; a great fume and vapour rose there and drifted towards them over the plain.[1] Halting seldom they rode on into the evening. The sun went down before them. Darkness grew behind.

Their spears were tipped with fiery red as the last shafts of light stained the clouds above Tindtorras;[2] the three peaks stood black against the sunset upon the northmost arm of the Black Mountains. In that last red light men in the van saw a horseman riding back towards them. As he drew near, the host halted, awaiting him.

He came, a weary man with dinted helm, and cloven shield. Slowly he climbed from his horse, and stood there a while, panting. At length he spoke. 'Is Éomer here?' he asked. 'You come at last, but too late and too few. Things have gone evilly, since Théodred fell.[3] We were driven back over the bend of the Isen with great loss yesterday; many perished at the crossing. Then at night fresh forces came over the river against our camp. All Isengard must be emptied; and the Wizard has armed the wild hill-men and the scattered folk of Westfold,[4] and these also he loosed upon us. We were overmastered. The shieldwall was broken. Trumbold [> Herulf > Heorulf][5] the Westmarcher has drawn off those he could gather towards his fastness under Tindtorras. Others are scattered. Where is Éomer? Tell him there is no hope ahead: he should return to Eodoras, before the wolves of Saruman come there!'

Théoden rode up. 'Come, stand before me, Ceorl!' he said. 'I

am here. The last host of the Eorlingas has ridden forth. It will not return unfought.'

The man's face lightened with wonder and joy. He drew himself up. Then he knelt offering his notched sword to the King. 'Command me, lord,' he cried, 'and pardon me! I did not know, I thought—'

'You thought I remained in Eodoras, bent like an old tree under winter snow. So it was when you went. But a wind has shaken off somewhat the cold burden,' said Théoden. 'Give this man a fresh horse. Let us ride to the aid of Trumbold [> Heorulf]!'

Forward they rode again, urging on their horses. Suddenly Gandalf spoke to Shadowfax, and like an arrow from the bow the great horse sprang away. Even as they looked, he was gone: a flash of silver in the sunset, a wind in the grass, a shadow that fled and faded from sight. For a while Snowmane and the horses of the King's guard strained in pursuit, but if they had walked they would have had as much chance of overtaking him.

'What does that mean?' said Háma to a comrade. 'Ever he comes and goes unlooked-for.'

'Wormtongue, were he here, would not find it hard to explain,' said the other.

'True,' said Háma, 'but for myself I will wait till we see him again.'

'If ever we do,' said the other.

It was night and the host was still riding swiftly, when cries and hornblasts were heard from the scouts that rode ahead. Arrows whistled overhead. They were crossing a wide vale, a bay in the mountains. On the further side the Tindtorras were hidden in darkness. Some miles ahead still lay the opening of the great cleft in the hills which men of that land called *Heorulf's Clough*:[6] steep and narrow it wound inward under the Tindtorras, and where it issued in the vale, upon an outjutting heel of rock, was built the fastness of Heorulf's Hold.[7]

The scouts rode back and reported that wolfriders were abroad in the vale, and that a host of orcs and wild men, very great indeed, was hastening southward over the plain to gain the gates of the Nerwet.[8]

'We have found some of our men slain as they fled,' said one of the scouts; 'and scattered companies we have met, going this

way and that, leaderless; but many are making for Herulf's Hold, and say that Herulf is already there.'

'We had best not give battle in the dark, nor await the day here in the open, not knowing the number of the coming host,' said Éomer, who had ridden up to the King's side. 'What is your counsel, Aragorn?'

'To drive through such enemies as are before us, and encamp before the Nerwet Gate to defend if may be, while the men who have fought rest behind our shield.'

'Let it be so!' said Théoden. 'We will go thither in many [separate comp]anies: let a man who is nightsighted and knows [well the land] go at the head of each.'[9]

At this point my father stopped, and returned to 'It was night and the host was still riding swiftly ...' In the passage just given is the first appearance of Helm's Deep ('Heorulf's Clough') and the Hornburg ('Heorulf's Hold') on its 'outjutting heel of rock'; Heorulf being the precursor of Erkenbrand of Westfold.

Night had fallen, and still the host was riding swiftly on. They had turned northward, and were bearing towards the fords of the Isen, when cries and hornblasts were heard from their scouts that went in front. Arrows whistled over them. At this time they were at the outer end of a wide vale, a bay in the mountains of the south. On its further western side the Tindtorras were hidden in darkness; beneath their feet [> the peaks], some miles away, lay the opening of the great cleft in the hills which men of that land called Heorulf's Clough [> lay the green coomb out of which opened a great cleft in the hills. Men of that land called it Helm's Deep],[10] after some hero of ancient wars who had made his refuge there. Ever steeper and narrower it wound inward under the Tindtorras, till the crowhaunted cliffs on either side towered far above and shut out the light. Where it issued in the vale, upon [*added*: the Stanrock,] an outjutting heel of land, was built the fastness of Heorulf's Hoe[11] (Hold?). Stanrock. [> was built the fastness of Helmsgate. There Heorulf the Marcher had his hold.]

A scout now rode back and reported that wolfriders were abroad in the valley, and that a host of orcs and wild men, very great indeed, was hurrying southward over the plain towards Heorulf's Hold.

'We have found many of our own folk lying slain as they fled thither,' said the scout. 'And we have met scattered companies,

going this way and that, leaderless. Some are making for the Clough [> Helmsgate], but it seems that Nothelm [> Heorulf] is not there. His plan was changed, and men do not know whither he has gone. Some say that Wormtongue was seen today [> Some say that Wormtongue was seen in the evening going north, and in the dusk an old man on a great horse rode the same way].'

'Well, if Nothelm be in the Hold or not, [> 'It will go ill with Wormtongue, if Gandalf overtakes him,' said Théoden. 'Nonetheless I miss now both counsellors, old and new. Yet it seems to me that whether Heorulf be in his Hold or no,] in this need we have no better choice than to go thither ourselves,' said Théoden. 'What is your counsel?' he said, turning to Éomer who had now ridden up to the King's side.

'We should be ill advised to give battle in the dark,' said Éomer, 'or to await the day here in the open, not knowing the number of the oncoming host. Let us drive through such foes as are between us and Herulf's Clough [> the fastness], and encamp before the Hold [> its gate]. Then if we cannot break out, we may retreat to the Hold. There are caves in the gorge [> Helm's Deep] behind where hundreds may hide, and secret ways lead up thence, I am told, onto the hills.'

'Trust not to them!' said Aragorn. 'Saruman has long spied out this land, Still, in such a place our defence might last long.'

'Let us go then,' said Théoden. 'We will ride thither in many separate companies. A man who is nightsighted and knows well the land shall go at the head of each.'

I interrupt the text here to discuss some aspects of this story. The names present an apparently impenetrable confusion, but I think that the development was more or less as follows. My father was uncertain whether 'Heorulf' ('Herulf') was the present lord of the 'Hold' or the hero after whom the 'Clough' was named. When he wrote, in the passage just given, 'which men of that land called Heorulf's Clough, after some hero of ancient wars who had made his refuge there' he had decided on the latter, and therefore the name of the present 'Westmarcher' (precursor of Erkenbrand) was changed, becoming *Nothelm*. Then, changing again, *Nothelm* reverted to *Heorulf*, while the gorge was named after *Helm*: *Helmshaugh* (note 10), then *Helm's Deep*. The fastness (*Heorulf's Hoe* or *Hold*) standing on the *Stanrock* is now called *Helmsgate*, which in LR refers to the entrance to Helm's Deep across which the Deeping Wall was built.

The image of the great gorge and the fortress built on the jutting

heel or 'hoe' arose, I believe, as my father wrote this first draft of the new chapter. In the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn' (VII.435) Gandalf's sudden galloping off on Shadowfax is present, and 'by his help and Aragorn the Isengarders are driven back'; there is no suggestion of any gorge or hold in the hills to the south. So again in the present narrative he says nothing before he rides off; whereas in TT he tells Théoden not to go the Fords of Isen but to ride to Helm's Deep. Thus in the original story it was not until 'cries and hornblasts were heard from their scouts that went in front' and 'arrows whistled over them' that the leaders of the host decided to make for the Hold; in TT (where the actual wording of the passage is scarcely changed) the host was 'in the low valley before the mouth of the Coomb' when these things happened.

The present text agrees well with the First Map (redrawn section IV[E], VII.319). At this time the host was 'at the outer end of a wide vale, a bay in the mountains of the south'; and 'Heorulf's Clough' lay somewhere near the western end of this 'bay'. The First Map is in fact less clear at this point than my redrawing makes it, but the map that I made in 1943, which was closely based on the First Map (see VII.299), shows Helm's Deep very clearly as running in towards the Tindtorras (Thrihyrne) from a point well to the north and west of the 'bay in the mountains' – the Westfold Vale, in the present text not yet named (see note 4).[12]

On the page of the completed manuscript in which the final form of this passage (TT p. 133) was reached the text reads thus: 'Still some miles away, on the far side of the Westfold Vale, a great bay in the mountains, lay a green coomb out of which a gorge opened in the hills.' There is no question that this is correct, and that this was what my father intended: the great bay in the mountains was of course the Westfold Vale. In the typescript based on this, however, the sentence became, for some obscure reason (there is no ambiguity in the manuscript): 'Still some miles away, on the far side of the Westfold Vale, lay a green coomb, a great bay in the mountains, out of which a gorge opened in the hills.' This error is perpetuated in *The Two Towers*.

In this original narrative it was on the night of the day of departure from Eodoras that the host came to the hold in the hills; subsequently[13] it was on the night of the second day (for the chronology see pp. 4–5, §§ I–II). In the later story it is said (TT p. 131) that 'Forty leagues and more it was, as a bird flies, from Edoras to the fords of the Isen', and this agrees very well with the First Map, where the distance is almost 2.5 cm., or 125 miles (= just over 40 leagues). It may have been a closer look at the map that led to the extension of the ride across the plain by a further day. On the other hand, there was also an evident difficulty with the chronology as it now stood: see p. 4, § I.

The original draft continues:

Aragorn and Legolas rode with Éomer's *éored*. That company needed no guide more keen of sight than Legolas, or a man who knew the land, far and wide about, better than Éomer himself. Slowly, and as silently as they might, they went through the night, turning back from the plain, and climbing westward into the dim folds about the mountains' feet. They came upon few of the enemy, except here and there a roving band of orcs who fled ere the riders could slay many; but ever the rumour of war grew behind them. Soon they could hear harsh singing, and if they turned and looked back they could see, winding up from the low country, red torches, countless points of fiery light. A very wood of trees must have been felled to furnish them. Every now and then a brighter blaze leaped up.

'It is a great host,' said Aragorn, 'and follows us close.'

'They bring fire,' said Éomer, 'and are burning as they come all that they can kindle: rick and cot and tree. We shall have a great debt to pay them.'

'The reckoning is not far off,' said Aragorn. 'Shall we soon find ground where we can turn and stand?'

'Yes,' said Éomer. 'Across the wide mouth of the coomb, at some distance from Helmsgate there is a fall in the ground, so sharp and sheer that to those approaching it seems as if they came upon a wall. This we call [Stanshelf Stanscylf >][14] Helm's dike. In places it is twenty feet high, and on the top it has been crowned with a rampart of great stones, piled in ancient days. There we will stand. Thither the other companies will also come. There are three ways that lead up through breaches in the cliff:[15] these we must hold strongly.'

It was dark, starless and moonless, when they came to [the Stanshelf >] Helm's dike. Éomer led them up by a broad sloping path that climbed through a deep notch in the cliff and came out upon the new level some way behind the rampart. They were unchallenged. No one was there before them, friend or foe.[16] At once Éomer set guards upon the [breaches >] Inlets. Ere long other companies arrived, creeping up the valley from various directions. There were wide grass-slopes between the rampart and the Stanrock. There they set their horses under such guards as could be spared from the manning of the wall.

Gimli stood leaning against a great stone at a high point of the [Stanshelf >] dike not far from the inlet by which they had entered. Legolas was on the stone above fingering his bow and peering into the blackness.

'This is more to my liking,' said the dwarf, stamping his feet on the ground. 'Ever my heart lightens as we draw near the mountains. There is good rock here. This country has hard bones. I feel it under my feet. Give me a year and a hundred of my kin and we could make this a place that armies would break against like water.'

'I doubt it not,' said Legolas. 'But you're a dwarf, and dwarves are strange folk. I like it not, and shall like it no more by the light of day. But you comfort me, Gimli, and I am glad to have you stand by me with your stout legs and hard axe.'

Shapes loomed up beside them. It was Éomer and Aragorn walking together along the line of the rampart. 'I am anxious,' said Éomer. 'Most have now arrived; but one company is still lacking, and also the King and his guard.'

'If you will give me some hardy men, I will take Gimli and Legolas here, and go a little down the valley and look for tidings,' said Aragorn.

'And find more than you are looking for,' said Gimli.

'That is likely,' said Éomer. 'We will wait a while.'

A slow time passed, when suddenly at no great distance down the valley a clamour broke out. Horns sounded. 'There are some of our folk come into an ambush, or taken in the rear,' cried Éomer. 'Théoden will be there. Wait here, I will hold the men back to the wall, and choose some to go forth. I will be back swiftly.'

Horns sounded again, and in the still darkness they could hear the clash of weapons. In brief while Éomer returned with twenty men.

'This errand I will take,' said Aragorn. 'You are needed on the wall. Come, Legolas! Your eyes will serve us.' He sped down the slope.

'Where Legolas goes, I go,' said Gimli, and ran after them.

The watchers on the wall saw nothing for a while, then suddenly there were louder cries, and wilder yells. A clear voice rang, echoing in the hills. *Elendil!* It seemed that far below in the shadows a white flame flashed.

'Branding goes to war at last,' said Éomer.

A horseman appeared before the main breach, and was admitted. 'Where is Théoden King?' asked Éomer.

'Among his guard,' said the man. 'But many are unhorsed. We rode into an ambush, and orcs sprang out of the ground

among us, hamstringing many of our steeds. Snowmane and the King escaped; for that horse is nightsighted, and sprang over the heads of the orcs. But Théoden dismounted and fought among his guard. Herugrim sang a song that has long been silent. Aragorn is with them, and he sends word that a great host of orcs is on his heels. Man the wall! He will come in by the main breach if he can.'

The noise of battle drew nearer. Those on the rampart could do nothing to aid. They had not many archers among them, and these could not shoot in the darkness while their friends were still in front. One by one men of the missing company came in, till all but five were mustered. Last came the King's guard on foot, with the King in their midst, leading Snowmane.

'Hasten, Lord!' cried Éomer.

At that moment there was a wild cry. Orcs were attacking the [breaches >] inlets on either hand, and before the King had been brought in to safety out of the darkness there sprang a host of dark shapes driving towards the great breach. A white fire shone. There in their path could be seen for a moment Aragorn son of Arathorn: on his one side was Gimli, on the other Legolas.

'Back now, my comrades!' cried Aragorn. 'I will follow.' Even as Gimli and Legolas ran back towards the rampart, he leaped forward. Before the flame of Branding the orcs fled. Then slowly Aragorn retreated walking backward. Even as he did so step by step one great orc came forward, while others stalked behind him. As Aragorn turned at last to run up the inlet, the orc sprang after him: but an arrow whined and he fell sprawling and lay still. For some time no others dared to draw near. 'Sure is the shaft of the elven bow, and keen are the eyes of Legolas!' said Aragorn as he joined the elf and they ran together to the rampart.

Thus at last the King's host was brought within the fastness, and turned to bay before the mouth of Helm's Deep. The night was not yet old, and many hours of darkness and peril yet remained. Théoden was unhurt; but he grieved for the loss of so many of the horses of his guard, and he looked upon Snowmane bleeding at the shoulder: a glancing arrow had struck him. 'Fair is the riding forth, friend,' he said; 'but often the road is bitter.'

'Grieve not for Snowmane, lord,' said Aragorn. 'The hurt is light. I will tend it, with such skill as I have, while the enemy still

holds off. They have suffered losses more grievous than ours, and will suffer more if they dare to assail this place.'

Here the original draft ends as formed narrative, but continues as an outline, verging on narrative. This was written over a faint pencilled text that seems to have been much the same.

There is an attack. Endless numbers. Grappling hooks, ladders, piled slain. Riders block breaches with stones from high places, and with bodies. Orcs keep on getting in. Riders lose few men, most at breaches. Orcs once got near the horses. Late in the night the (waning?) moon shone fitfully, and the defenders see a boiling throng beneath the wall. Slowly the dead were piling up.

Wild men in steel mesh forced the north breach, and turning south began to drive men from the rampart. Orcs clamber over. Dawn sees the Men of Rohan giving way all along. The horses are taken away to Helm's Deep, with the King. They make a shieldwall and retreat slowly up towards the Stanrock.

The sun comes out, and then all stare: defenders and attackers. A mile or so below the Dike, from North to South in a great crescent, they beheld a marvel. Men rubbed their eyes thinking that they dreamed or were dizzy with wounds and weariness. Where all had been upland and grass-clad slopes, there stood now a wood of great trees. Like beeches they were, robed in withered leaves, and like ancient oaks with tangled boughs, and gnarled pines stood dark among them. The orcs gave back. The Wild Men wavered crying in terrified voices, for they came from the woods under the west sides of the Misty Mountains.

At that moment from the Stanrock a trumpet sounded. Forth rode Théoden with his guard, and a company (of Heorulf's men?). They charged down crashing into the Wild Men and driving them back in ruin over the cliff.

'Wizardry is abroad!' said [?men]. 'What can this betoken?'

'Wizardry maybe,' said Éomer. 'But it seems not to be any device of our enemies. See how dismayed they are.'

A few lines of very rapid and partly illegible notes follow:

Their horses were often nightsighted; but the men were not so nightsighted as the orcs. Rohan at a disadvantage in dark. As soon as it grows light they are able to fight. The orcs are no match for the horsemen on the slopes before the Stanrock. Sorties from Helm's Deep and Stanrock. Orcs dive back over wall. It is then that the Wood is seen.

Orcs trapped. Trees grab them. And the wood is full of Herulf's folk. Gandalf has collected the wanderers. [?About] 500. Hardly any of the attackers escape. So hopelessness turns to victory. Meanwhile Herulf told by Gandalf to hold the .... rode ..... another force sent .... Eodoras. This is now caught between Herulf and the victorious forces of the King. In a battle on the plain ..... terror struck by Aragorn and Gandalf. The host not wishing to rest rides down the fleeing remnant [?back towards] Isengard.

The sentence beginning 'Meanwhile Herulf told by Gandalf to hold the' might possibly, but very doubtfully indeed, be completed: 'eastern rode [*for* road] has resisted another force sent towards Eodoras.'

This then was the original story of Helm's Deep, to become far more complex in its development with the emergence of a much more elaborate system of fortification across the mouth of the Deep (the description and narrative in *The Two Towers* can be followed, incidentally, very precisely in my father's drawing, 'Helm's Deep and the Hornburg', in *Pictures by J. R. R. Tolkien*, no. 26). In this earliest account the 'fastness' consisted only of the sudden natural fall in the land across the mouth of the coomb, fortified with a parapet of great stones; in this there were three 'breaches', a word that my father changed to 'inlets', perhaps to suggest that they had been deliberately made. The nature of the 'hold' of Heorulf on the Stanrock is not indicated; and all the battle of Helm's Deep took place along the line of Helm's Dike.

An isolated scrap of drafting that was not finally used evidently belongs with the original story and may be included here:

Aragorn was away behind the defences tending the wound in Snowmane's shoulder, and speaking gentle words to the horse. As the fragrance of *athelas* rose in the air, his mind went back to the defence on Weathertop, and to the escape from Moria. 'It is a long journey,' he said to himself. 'From one hopeless corner we escape but to find another more desperate. Yet alas, Frodo, I would be happier in heart if you were with us in this grim place. Where now do you wander?'

Written on this same page is an outline in which the radical alteration of the story of the assault first enters.

When Éomer and Aragorn reach Dike they are challenged. Heorulf has left watchers on Dike. They report that the fort of Helm's Gate is manned – mainly older men, and most of the folk of the Westmarch have taken refuge in the Deep. Great store of food and fodder is in the caves.

Then follows story as told above until rescue of King.[17]

Éomer and Aragorn decide that they cannot hold Dike in dark (without archers). The Dike is over a mile – 2 miles? – long. The main host and King go to Stanrock. The horses are led to the Deep. Aragorn and Éomer with a few men (their horses ready in rear) hold the inlets as long as they dare. These they block with stones rolled from the rampart.

The assault on the inlets. Soon drives in as the Orcs clamber up rampart in between. Ladders? Wild men drive in from North Inlet. The defenders flee. Tremendous assault upon the mouth of the Deep where a high stone wall was built. [*Added here but at the same time:* breastwork crowned with stones. Here G[imli] speaks his words. *Reduce description of Helm's Dike* – it is *not* fortified.] Orcs boil round foot of the Stanrock. Then describe the assault as above.[18] Orcs piling up over the wall. Wild men climb on the goblins' dead bodies. Moon ... men fighting on the wall top.[19] Disadvantage of the Riders. The wall taken and Rohan driven back into the gorge. Dawn. Éomer and Aragorn go to the Stanrock to stand by the King in the Tower.

They see in the sunlight the wonder of the Wood.

Charge of Théoden (Éomer left, Aragorn right). [? With day fortunes change.] Men issue on horses. But the host is vast, only it is disconcerted by the Wood. Almost [? the watchers could] believe it had moved up the valley as the battle raged.

Trees should come right up to Dike. In the midst out rides Gandalf from the wood. And rides through the orcs as if they were rats and crows.

My father began a new text of the chapter before important elements in the story and in the physical setting had been clarified, and as a result this (the first completed manuscript) is an extremely complicated document. It was only after he had begun it that he extended the ride from Eodoras by a further day, and described the great storm coming up out of the East (TT pp. 131–2); and when he began it he had not yet realised that Helm's Dike was not the scene of the great assault: 'what really happened' was that the men manning the Dike were driven in, and the defence of the redoubt was at the line of a great wall further up at the mouth of the gorge – the 'Deeping Wall' – and the Hornburg. At this point in the manuscript the story can be seen changing as my father wrote: in Éomer's reply to Aragorn's question 'Shall we soon find ground where we can turn and stand?' (p. 13) he begins as before with an account of the fortification of the Dike ('crowned with a rampart of great stones, piled in ancient

days'), but by the end of his reply he is saying that the Dike cannot be held:

'... But we cannot long defend it, for we have not enough strength. It is near two miles from end to end, and is pierced by two wide breaches. We shall not be able to stand at bay till we get to the Stanrock, and come behind the wall that guards the entrance to the Deep. That is high and strong, for Heorulf had it repaired and raised not long ago.'

Immediately after this the Deeping Stream entered, and the two breaches in the Dike were reduced to one: there 'a stream flows down out of the Deep, and beside it the road runs from Helm's Gate to the valley.'[20] At this stage, however, the final story was still not reached, but follows the outline just given (p. 18):

The King and the main part of his host now rode on to man the Stanrock and Heorulf's wall. But the Westmarchers would not yet abandon the dike while any hope remained of Heorulf's return. Éomer and Aragorn and a few picked men stayed with them guarding the breach; for it seemed to Éomer that they might do great harm to the advance-guard of the enemy and then escape swiftly ere the main strength of the orcs and wild men forced the passage.

The story from this point was built up in a textually extremely complex series of short drafts leading to more finished forms, while earlier portions of the chapter were changed to accommodate the evolving conception of the redoubt as the scene of the battle. To follow this evolution in all its detail would require a very great deal of space, and I record only certain rejected narrative ideas and other particular points of interest.

Before the story (TT pp. 138–40) of the sortie of Éomer and Aragorn from the postern gate emerged, the repulse of the attack on the great gates of the Hornburg was differently conceived:

Now with a great cry a company of the wild men moved forward, among them they bore the trunk of a great tree. The orcs crowded about them. The tree was swung by many strong hands, and smote the timbers with a boom. At that moment there was a sudden call. Among the boulders upon the flat and narrow rim beneath the fastness and the brink a few brave men had lain hidden. Aragorn was their leader. 'Up now, up now,' he shouted. 'Out Branding, out!' A blade flashed like white fire. 'Elendil, Elendil!' he shouted, and his voice echoed in the cliffs.

'See, see!' said Éomer. 'Branding has gone to war at last. Why am I not there? We were to have drawn blades together.'

None could withstand the onset of Aragorn, or the terror of his sword. The orcs fled, the hill-men were hewn down, or fled leaving their ram upon the ground. The rock was cleared. Then Aragorn and his men turned to run back within the gates while there was yet time. His men had passed within, when again the lightning flashed. Thunder crashed. From among the fallen at the top of the causeway three huge orcs sprang up – the white hand could be seen on their shields. Men shouted warning from the gates, and Aragorn for an instant turned. At that moment the foremost of the orcs hurled a stone: it struck him on the helm and he stumbled, falling to his knee. The thunder rolled. Before he could get up and back the three orcs were upon him.

Here this story was overtaken by that of the sortie from the postern. In the final manuscript form of this, Aragorn, looking at the gates, added after the words (TT p. 139) 'Their great hinges and iron bars were wrenched and bent; many of their timbers were cracked': 'The doors will not withstand another such battering.' These words were left out of the typescript that followed, but there is nothing in the manuscript to suggest that they should be, and it seems clear that their omission was an error (especially since they give point to Éomer's reply: 'Yet we cannot stay here beyond the walls to defend them').

Gimli's cry as he sprang on the Orcs who had fallen on Éomer: *Baruk Khazâd! Khazâd ai-mênu!* appears in this form from the first writing of the scene. Years later, after the publication of LR, my father began on an analysis of all fragments of other languages (Quenya, Sindarin, Khuzdul, the Black Speech) found in the book, but unhappily before he had reached the end of FR the notes, at the outset full and elaborate, had diminished to largely uninterpretable jottings. *Baruk* he here translated as 'axes', without further comment; *ai-mênu* is analysed as *aya*, *mēnu*, but the meanings are not clearly legible: most probably *aya* 'upon', *mēnu* 'acc. pl. you'.

A curious point arises in Gimli's remark after his rescue of Éomer during the sortie from the postern gate (TT p. 140): 'Till now I have hewn naught but wood since I left Moria.' This is clearly inconsistent with Legolas' words in 'The Departure of Boromir', when he and Gimli came upon Aragorn beside Boromir's body near Parth Galen: 'We have hunted and slain many Orcs in the woods'; compare also the draft of a later passage (VII.386) where, when Aragorn, Legolas and Gimli set out in pursuit of the Orcs, Gimli says: '... those that attacked Boromir were not the only ones. Legolas and I met some away southwards on the west slopes of Amon Hen. *We slew many*, creeping on them among the trees ...' I do not think that any

'explanation' of this will serve: it is simply an inconsistency never observed.[21]

The 'wild hill-men' at the assault on Helm's Deep came from 'Westfold', valleys on the western side of the Misty Mountains (see p. 8 and note 4), and this application of 'Westfold' survived until a late stage of revision of the manuscript: it was still present in drafting for what became 'The Road to Isengard'.[22] Until the change in application was made, the Westfold Vale was called 'the Westmarch Vale'.

In this connection there are two notable passages. The dialogue between Aragorn and Éomer and Gamling the Westmarcher on the Deeping Wall, hearing the cries of the wild men below (TT p. 142), takes this form in a rejected draft:

'I hear them,' said Éomer; 'but they are only as the scream of birds and the bellowing of beasts to my ears.'

'Yet among them are many that cry in the tongue of Westfold [*later* > in the Dunland tongue],' said Aragorn; 'and that is a speech of men, and once was accounted good to hear.'

'True words you speak,' said Gamling, who had climbed now on the wall. 'I know that tongue. It is ancient, and once was spoken in many valleys of the Mark. But now it is used in deadly hate. They shout rejoicing in our doom. "The king, the king!" they cry. "We will take their king! Death to the Forgoil! Death to the Strawheads! Death to the robbers of the North." Such names they have for us. Not in half a thousand years have they forgot their grievance, that the lords of Gondor gave the Mark to Eorl the Young as a reward for his service to Elendil and Isildur, while they held back. It is this old hatred that Saruman has inflamed. ...'

With this compare the passage in drafting of 'The King of the Golden Hall' (VII.444) where Aragorn, seeing on one of the hangings in the Golden Hall the figure of the young man on a white horse, said: 'Behold Eorl the Young! Thus he rode out of the North to the Battle of the Field of Gorgoroth' – the battle in which Sauron was overthrown by Gil-galad and Elendil.[23] On the enormously much briefer time-span that my father conceived at this time see VII.450 note 11.

An extremely rapid initial sketch for the parley between Aragorn, standing above the gates of the Hornburg, and the enemy below shows an entirely different conception from that in TT (p. 145):

Aragorn and the Captain of Westfold.

Westfolder says if the King is yielded all may go alive. Where to? To Isengard. Then the Westmarch is to be given back to us, and all the .... land.

Who says so? Saruman. That is indeed a good warrant.

Aragorn rebukes Westfolder for [??aiding] Orcs. Westfolder is humbled.

Orc captain jeers. Needs must accept the terms when no others will serve. We are the Uruk-hai, we slay!

Orcs shoot an arrow at Aragorn as they retreat. But the Westfold Captain hews down the archer.

On the back of the page in which the new story of the assault entered (p. 17) my father wrote the following names: *Rohirwaith Rochirchoth Rohirhoth Rochann Rohann Rohirrim*; and also *Éomeark Éomearc*. I do not know whether *Rochann*, *Rohann* is to be associated with the use of *Rohan* on pp. 16, 18 apparently as a term for the Riders.[24]

In a draft for the passage describing the charge from the Hornburg the King rode with Aragorn at his right hand and Háma at his left. For Háma's death before the gates of the Hornburg see p. 41 note 8.

Lastly, at the end of the chapter, Legolas, seeing the strange Wood beyond Helm's Dike, said: 'This is wizardry indeed! "Greenleaf, Greenleaf, when thy last shaft is shot, under strange trees shalt thou go." Come! I would look on this forest, ere the spell changes.' The words he cited were from the riddling verse addressed to him by Galadriel and borne by Gandalf ('The White Rider', VII.431):

Greenleaf, Greenleaf, bearer of the elven-bow,
Far beyond Mirkwood many trees on earth grow.
Thy last shaft when thou hast shot, under strange trees
shalt thou go!

His words were not corrected on the manuscript, and survived into the typescript that followed (see p. 420).

NOTES

1 For the subsequent history of this passage see pp. 4–6.

2 *Tindtorras*: earlier name for the *Thrihyrne*; see VII.320.

3 In the first version of 'The King of the Golden Hall' the Second Master of the Mark was Eofored, and when Théodred appears he is not Théoden's son (see VII.446–7 and note 17). The 'First Battle of the Fords of Isen', in which Théodred fell, was now present (VII.444 and note 12), and in a contemporary time-scheme is dated January 25, the day before the death of Boromir and the Breaking of the Fellowship (in LR February 25 and 26).

4 On the First Map (redrawn section IV^{D}, VII.319) *Westfold* was written against a vale on the western side of the Misty Mountains, south of *Dunland* (though afterwards struck out in this position and reinserted along the northern foothills of the Black Mountains west of Eodoras). It cannot be said whether *Dunland*

and *Westfold* originally stood together on the map as names of distinct regions, or whether *Dunland* was only entered when *Westfold* was removed.

5 The change from *Trumbold* to *Herulf*, *Heorulf* (afterwards Erkenbrand) was made while this initial drafting was in progress.

6 My father first wrote *Dimgræf*, but changed it as he wrote to *Heorulf's Clough*; above this he wrote *the Dimhale* (*hale* representing Old English *halh*, *healh*, 'corner, nook of land'), and after it *Herelaf's Clough*, this being struck out. In the margin he wrote *Nerwet* (Old English, 'narrow place'); and at the head of the page *Neolnearu* and *Neolnerwet* (Old English *neowol*, *nēol* 'deep, profound'), also *the Clough*, *the Long Clough*, and *Theostercloh* (Old English *þēostor* 'dark'). *Clough* is from Old English *clōh* 'steep-sided valley or ravine'.

7 Following this my father wrote, but struck out, '*Dimhale's Door*, by some called *Herulf's Hold (Burg)*'; and in the margin he wrote *Dimgraf's gate*, and *Dimmhealh* (see note 6).

8 *Nerwet*: see note 6.

9 The words enclosed in square brackets are lost (but are obtained from the following draft) through a square having been cut out of the page: possibly there was a small sketch-map here of 'Heorulf's Clough' and the 'Hold'.

10 Before *Helm's Deep* my father first wrote *Helmshaugh*, *haugh* being the Northern English and Scottish development of Old English *halh* (note 6).

11 *Heorulf's Hoe*: *Hoe* is from Old English *hōh* 'heel' (used in place-names in various senses, such as 'the end of a ridge where the ground begins to fall steeply').

12 The map redrawn on p. 269 is anomalous in this respect as in many others.

13 The extension of the ride across the plain by a day, and the shift in the date of the (second) battle of the Fords of Isen to January 31, entered in revision to the completed manuscript of 'Helm's Deep': see p. 18.

14 *Stanscylf*, beside *Stanshelf*, has the Old English form *scylf* (*sc* = *sh*).

15 *the cliff*: i.e. the Stanshelf, the great natural fall in the ground, constituting a rampart.

16 Cf. the two versions of the scout's report: 'many are making for Herulf's Hold, and say that Herulf is aleady there' (p. 10); 'some are making for the Clough, but it seems that Nothelm [> Heorulf] is not there' (p. 11).

17 In the first draft the fastness was deserted when the host from Eodoras arrived (p. 13). 'Then follows story as told above until rescue of King' refers to the story in the first draft given on pp. 13–16.

18 This presumably refers to the outline given on p. 16, where the assault was at the line of Helm's Dike, unless some other early account of the assault has been lost.

19 A scrap of drafting has the phrase 'Fitful late moon saw men fighting on the top of the wall'; but the illegible word here is not *saw*, though that may have been intended.

20 It is subsequently said (but rejected) of the Deeping Stream in this manuscript that 'far to the north it joined the Isen River and made the western border of the Mark.'

21 The second of these passages (VII.386) was lost in TT (p. 22). In the fair copy manuscript of 'The Departure of Boromir' as originally written Legolas in the first passage (TT p. 16) said only: 'Alas! We came when we heard the horn, but we are too late. Are you much hurt?'; the fuller form of his opening words on seeing Aragorn, in which he mentions the hunting and slaying of Orcs with Gimli in the woods, was added later (both to the manuscript and the following typescript). It is therefore possible that my father had now rejected the idea that appears in the second passage ('We slew many'), and did not reinstate it again until after the writing of 'Helm's Deep'. But this seems unlikely, and in any case does not alter the fact of the inconsistency in the published work. This inconsistency may have been observed before, but it was pointed out to me by Mr. Ralph L. McKnight, Jr.

22 Another notable instance of the overlapping in this part of the story is found in the name *Erkenbrand*. This appears in late stages of the revision of the completed manuscript of 'Helm's Deep', but it was a replacement of *Erkenwald* (itself replacing *Heorulf*); and *Erkenwald* is still the name of the Lord of Westfold in drafting for what became the chapter 'Flotsam and Jetsam'. See p. 40 note 2.

23 In TT (p. 142) Gamling says: 'Not in half a thousand years have they forgotten their grievance that the lords of Gondor gave the Mark to Eorl the Young *and made alliance with him*.'

24 In addition, the form *Rohir* is found in this chapter; this has occurred in the manuscript of 'The White Rider' (VII.433 note 8). *Rohirrim* is found in the completed manuscript of 'Helm's Deep', but it was not yet established, for *Rohir* appears in the final fair copy manuscript of 'The Road to Isengard' (p. 40), and much later, in 'Faramir' ('The Window on the West'), both *Rohir* and *Rohiroth* are used (pp. 155–6).

III

THE ROAD TO ISENGARD

This chapter was at first continuous with 'Helm's Deep', and when the division was made it received the title 'To Isengard' (Chapter XXIX). The preparatory drafting was here much more voluminous than that of 'Helm's Deep', because the first form of the story had reached a developed form and a clear manuscript before it was rejected. The interpretation of the very confused papers for this chapter is particularly difficult, since it is necessary to distinguish between drafts (often closely similar) for passages in the first version and drafts for passages in the second.

The essential differences in the original version from the form in *The Two Towers* are these: Gandalf and Théoden and their companions left Helm's Deep shortly after the end of the battle (see p. 5, § III); they did not see the Ents as they left the mysterious wood, and they did not go down to the Fords of Isen; but they encountered, and spoke with, Bregalad the Ent, bearing a message from Treebeard, in the course of their ride to Isengard, which they reached on the same day. In this chapter I shall give those parts of the original version that are significantly different from the later form, citing them from the completed manuscript of that version but with certain passages from the initial drafts given in the notes.[1]

First, however, there is an outline that my father evidently set down before he began work on the chapter. This was written in the rapid and often barely legible soft pencil that was usual for these preliminary sketches, but in this case a good deal of the outline was inked over.

Meeting of the chieftains. Éomer and Gimli return from Deep. (Both wounded and are tended by Aragorn?) Gandalf explains that he had ridden ranged about gathering scattered men. The coming of the King had diverted Isengard from Eodoras. But he [Gandalf] had sent some men back to defend it against marauders. Erkenbrand[2] had been [?ambushed] and the few horses remaining after the disaster at Isenford had been lost. He had [?perforce retreated] into hills.

They ask Gandalf about the Trees. The answer lies in Isengard, he said. We go now thither speedily – such as will.

Aragorn, Éomer, Gimli, Legolas, King Théoden and his company and [?a force] .... to Isengard. Erkenbrand. Gamling. Repair of Hornburg.

They pass down a great .... aisle among the trees that [?seems now to have opened]. No orcs to be seen. Strange murmurs and noises and half-voices among the trees. [*Added:* Gandalf discusses his tactics. Gimli describes the caves. *Here the overwriting in ink begins:*]

The sun shines in the plain. They see a tall giant figure striding towards them. The Riders draw swords, and are astonished. The figure greets Gandalf.

I am Bregalad the Quickbeam, he said. I come from Treebeard.

What does he wish? said Gandalf.

He wishes you to hasten. He wants to know what he is to do with Saruman!

Hm! said Gandalf. That is a problem. Tell him I am coming!

What was that, said Théoden. And who is Treebeard?

He was an Ent, said Gandalf. And so is Treebeard.

They hasten and enter Nan Gurunír. There they find a heap of ruins. The great walls of Isengard were burst and flung down in confusion. Only the tower of Orthanc stood alone in the midst of desolation, from which a great smoke went up. The great arch still stands, but a pile of rubble stands before it. On the top of the pile sat — Merry and Pippin, having lunch.[3] They jumped up, and as Pippin had his mouth full, Merry spoke.

'Welcome, lords, to Isengard!' he said. 'We are the doorwardens: Meriadoc son of Caradoc of Buckland is my name; and my companion is Peregrin son of Paladin of Tuckborough.[4] Far in the North is our home. The lord Saruman is within, but [alas, he is indisposed and unable to receive guests. >] at the moment he is closeted with one Wormtongue discussing urgent business.'

'It is possible that we could help in the debate,' laughed Gandalf. 'But where is Treebeard? I have no time to jest with young hobbits.'

'So we find you at last,' said Aragorn. 'You have given us a long journey.'

'How long have you been at Isengard?' said Gimli.

'Less than a day,' said Pippin.[5]

I turn now to the first version of the story, that is the first completed and coherent manuscript. In this, Théoden's words with Gandalf about riding to Isengard (TT p. 149) have a different outcome:

'Nonetheless to Isengard I go,' said Gandalf. 'Let those who are weary rest. For soon there will be other work to do. I shall not stay long. My way lies eastward. Look for me in Eodoras, ere the moon is full!'

'Nay,' said Théoden. 'In the dark hour before dawn I doubted. But we will not part now. I will ride with you, if that is your counsel. And now I will send out messengers with tidings of victory through all the vales of the Mark; and they shall summon all men, old and young, to meet me at Eodoras, ere the moon wanes.'

'Good!' said Gandalf. 'Then in one hour we ride again. ...'[6]

After a brief hour of rest and the breaking of their fast, those who were to ride to Isengard made ready to depart.[7]

The account of the treatment of the men of Dunland and the burials (TT p. 150) reaches the final form,[8] but the description of the departure of the trees in the night and of the valley after they had gone, told in almost the same words as in TT,[9] first entered at this point, whereas in TT it is postponed till much later in the chapter (p. 158). The passage of the wood, and Gimli's description to Legolas of the Caves of Helm's Deep, reach in the completed manuscript of the first version almost exactly the form in TT (pp. 152–3), but with a slight structural difference, in that here the company had already left the trees and come to the road-parting when this conversation took place:

They passed through the wood and found that they had come to the bottom of the coomb, where the road from Helm's Deep branched, going one way to Eodoras and the other to the fords of the Isen. Legolas looked back with regret.

'Those are the strangest trees that ever I saw,' he said ...

Thus at the end of their talk together the old version again differs:

'You have my promise,' said Legolas. 'But now we must leave all that behind. How far is it to Isengard, Gandalf?'

'It is about twelve [*later* > fourteen > eleven] leagues from the bottom of Deeping Coomb to the outer wall of Isengard,'[10] said the wizard, turning round.

'And what shall we see there?' asked Gimli. 'You may know, but I cannot guess.'

'I do not know myself for certain,' answered Gandalf. 'Things may have changed again, since I was there last night. But we

shall all know before long. If we are eager for the answer to riddles, let us quicken the pace!'

[*Added:* 'Lead us!' said Théoden. 'But do not let Shadowfax set a pace we cannot keep!'

The company rode forward now with all the speed they could, over the wide grasses of the Westemnet.]

Thus the Caves of Helm's Deep do not receive from Gandalf here the name 'the Glittering Caves of Aglarond', which was only added to the typescript text at a later stage (see p. 77).

The first version of the story now becomes decisively different from that in *The Two Towers* (pp. 154 ff.).

The sun shone upon the vale about them. After the storm the morning was fresh, and a breeze was now flowing from the west between the mountains. The swelling grass-lands rose and fell, with long ridges and shallow dales like a wide green sea. Upon their left long slopes ran swiftly down to the Isen River, a grey ribbon that bent westward, winding away out of sight through the great Gap of Rohan to the distant shores of Belfalas.[11] Below them now lay the fords of Isen, where the river spread in stony shoals between long grassy terraces. They did not go that way. Gandalf led them due north, and they passed by, riding along the high ground on the east of the river; yet as they rode other eyes were turned towards the stony fords and the battlefield where so many good men of the Mark had fallen.[12] They saw crows wheeling and crying in the air, and borne upon the wind they heard the howling of wolves. The carrion-birds were gathered at the fords, and even the bright day had not driven them from their business.

'Alas!' cried Théoden. 'Shall we leave the steeds and riders of the Mark to be picked and torn by fowl and wolf? Let us turn aside!'

'There is no need, lord,' said Gandalf. 'The task would take us long, were it still left to do; but it is not. No horse or rider of your folk lies there unburied. Their graves are deep and their mounds are high; and long may they watch the fords! My friends have laboured there.[13] It is with the orcs, their masters, that the wolves and carrion-birds hold their feast: such is the friendship of their kind.'

'You accomplished much in an evening and a night, Gandalf my friend,' said Théoden.

'With the help of Shadowfax – and others,' answered Gandalf. 'And this I can report for your comfort: the losses in the battles of the ford were less grievous than we thought at first. Many men were scattered but not slain. Some I guided to join Erkenwald, and some I gathered again and sent back to Eodoras. I found that all the strength of Saruman was hurrying to Helm's Deep; for the great force that had been ordered to go straight to Eodoras was turned aside and joined to those that had pursued Erkenwald. When it was known that you, Théoden King, were in the field, and Éomer beside you, a mad eagerness came upon them. To take you and slay Éomer was what Saruman most desired. Nonetheless I feared that wolf-riders and cruel plunderers might be sent swiftly to Eodoras and do great harm there, since it was unmanned. But now I think you need not fear; you will find the Golden Hall to welcome your return.'

They had been riding for about an hour since they left the Coomb, and already the dark mountainous arms of Nan Gurunír were opening wide before them. It seemed filled with smoke. Out of it the river flowed, now near upon their left. Suddenly they were aware of a strange figure striding south along the stream towards them.

This last paragraph was replaced by the following:

They had been riding for almost an hour [> It was close on noon. They had been riding for two hours][14] since they left the Coomb, and now the mountainous arms of Nan Gurunír began to stretch towards them. There seemed to be a mist about the hills, and they saw rising up out of deep shadows a vast spire of smoke and vapour; as it mounted it caught the light of the sun, and spread in glowing billows in the sky, and the wind bore them over the plain.

'What do you think of that, Gandalf?' said Théoden. 'One would say that all the Wizard's Vale was burning.'

'There is ever a fume above that valley in these days,' said Éomer; 'but I have never seen anything like this before. These are steams, rather than smokes. Some devilry Saruman is brewing to greet us.'

'Maybe,' said Gandalf. 'If so, we shall soon learn what it is.'[15]

Out of the steaming vale the river Isen flowed, now close upon their left hand. As they were gazing north, they were suddenly aware of a strange figure striding south along the east

bank of the stream. It went at great speed, walking stilted like a wading heron, and yet the long paces were as quick, rather, as the beat of wings; and as it approached they saw that it was very tall, a troll in height, or a young tree.

Many of the horsemen cried aloud in wonder, and some drew their swords. But Gandalf raised his hand.

'Let us wait,' he said. 'Here is a messenger for me.'

'A strange one to my eyes,' said Théoden. 'What kind of creature may it be?'

'It is long since you listened to tales by the fireside,' answered Gandalf; 'and in that rather than in white hairs you show your age, without increase in wisdom.[16] There are children in your land that out of the twisted threads of many stories could have picked the answer to your question at a glance. Here comes an Ent, an Ent out of Fangorn, that your tongue calls the Entwood – did you think the name was given only in idle fancy?[17] Nay, Théoden, it is otherwise: to them you are but the passing tale: all the years from Eorl the Young to Théoden the Old are of little count to them.'

Théoden was silent, and all the company halted, watching the strange figure with wondering eyes as it came quickly on to meet them. Man or troll, he was ten or twelve feet high, strong but slim, clad in glistening close-fitting grey and dappled brown, or else his smooth skin was like the rind of a fair rowan-tree. He had no weapon, and as he came his long shapely arms and many-fingered hands were raised in sign of peace. Now he stood before them, a few paces off, and his clear eyes, deep grey with glints of green, looked solemnly from face to face of the men that were gathered round him.[18] Then he spoke slowly, and his voice was resonant and musical.

'Is this the company of Théoden, master of the green fields of Men?' he said. 'Is Gandalf here? I seek Gandalf, the white rider.'

'I am here,' said Gandalf. 'What do you wish?'

'I am Bregalad Quickbeam,' answered the Ent. 'I come from Treebeard. He is eager for news of the battle, and he is anxious concerning the Huorns.[19] Also he is troubled in his mind about Saruman, and hopes that Gandalf will come soon to deal with him. [*Added:* There is no sign or sound from the tower.]'

Gandalf was silent for a moment, stroking his beard thoughtfully. 'Deal with him,' he said. 'That may have many meanings [> That may have more meanings than one].[20] But how it will go, I cannot tell till I come. Tell Treebeard that I am on the way,

and will hasten. And in the meanwhile, Bregalad, tell him not to be troubled about the Huorns. They have done their task, and taken no hurt. They will return.'

'That is good news,' said the Ent. 'May we soon meet again!' He raised his hand, and turned, and strode off back up the river, so swiftly that before the king's company had recovered from their wonder he was already far away.

The riders now went at greater speed. At last they rode up into the long valley of Nan Gurunír. The land rose steeply, and the long arms of the Misty Mountains, reaching towards the plains, rose upon either side: steep, stony ridges, bare of trees. The valley was sheltered, open only to the sunlit South, and watered by the young river winding in its midst. Fed by many springs and lesser streams among the rain-washed hills, it flowed and bubbled in its bed, already a swift strong water before it found the plain; and all about it once had lain a pleasant fertile land.[21]

The description of Nan Gurunír as it was now is almost as in TT (p. 159), but after the words 'many doubted in their hearts, wondering to what dismal end their journey led' there follows:

Soon they came upon a wide stone-bridge that with a single arch spanned the river, and crossing it they found a road that with a wide northward sweep brought them to the great highway to the fords: stone-paved it was, well-made and well-tended, and no blade of grass was seen in any joint or crack. Not far before them now they knew that the gates of Isengard must stand; and their hearts were heavy, but their eyes could not pierce the mists.

Thus the black pillar surmounted by the White Hand is absent. Being on the east side of Isen they cross the river by a bridge, and come to 'the great highway to the fords'. In TT they followed that road on the west side of Isen up from the fords, and it was at this point that the road became 'a wide street, paved with great flat stones'.[22]

Already in preliminary drafting the description of the Circle of Isengard reached almost its form in TT (pp. 159–60),[23] but that of the tower of Orthanc underwent many changes, which can be related to a series of contemporary illustrations. These descriptions, for clarity in my account, I label A, B, C, D.

The description in the preliminary draft is as follows:

(A) And in the centre from which all the chained paths ran was a tower, a pinnacle of stone. The base of it, and that two hundred

feet in height, was a great cone of rock left by the ancient builders and smoothers of the plain, but now upon it rose a tower of masonry, tier on tier, course on course, each drum smaller than the last. It ended short and flat, so that at the top there was a wide space fifty feet across, reached by a stair that came up the middle.

This description fits the picture captioned 'Orthanc (1)' that was reproduced as frontispiece to Vol. VII, *The Treason of Isengard*,[24] except in one respect: in the text there was 'a wide space fifty feet across' at the top, whereas in the picture the tower is surmounted by three pinnacles or horns (see under 'C' below).

In the completed manuscript of the first version the description begins in the same way,[25] but after 'left by the ancient builders and smoothers of the plain' it continues:

(B) ... a tower of masonry marvellously tall and slender, like a stone horn, that at the tip branched into three tines; and between the tines there was a narrow space where a man could stand a thousand feet above the vale.

This accompanies the drawing labelled 'Orthanc (2)', reproduced on p. 33, where the basal cone is black, and steeper than in 'Orthanc (1)', and the tower much more slender. Against this second description of the tower my father subsequently wrote:

(C) Or – if first picture [i.e. 'Orthanc (1)'] is adopted (but with cone-like rock as in second picture) [i.e. 'Orthanc (2)']:
[a tower of masonry] marvellously tall and strong. Seven round tiers it had, dwindling in girth and height, and at the top were three black horns of stone upon a narrow space where a man could stand a thousand feet above the plain.

This precisely fits 'Orthanc (1)'. It seems likely then that that picture was made after the first description 'A' was written, since it differs from 'A' in that the tower possess three horns at the summit.

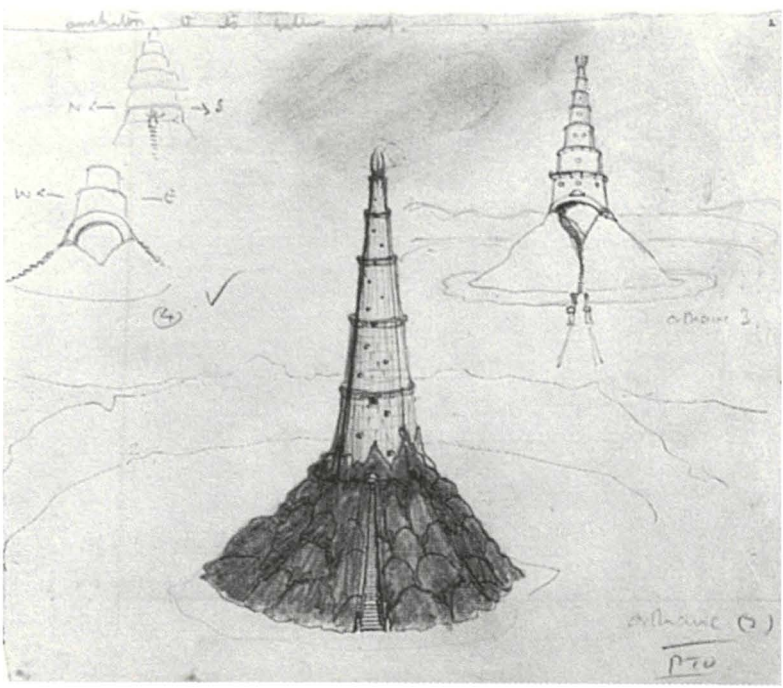
The accounts 'B' and 'C' were rejected together and replaced in the manuscript by the following (all this work obviously belonging to the same period):

(D) And in the centre, from which all the chained paths ran, there stood an island in a pool, a great cone of rock, two hundred feet in height, left by the ancient builders and smoothers [> levellers] of the plain, black and smooth and exceeding hard. A yawning chasm clove it from tip to middle into two great fangs and over the chasm was a mighty arch of masonry, and upon the arch a tower was founded, marvellously tall and strong. Seven round

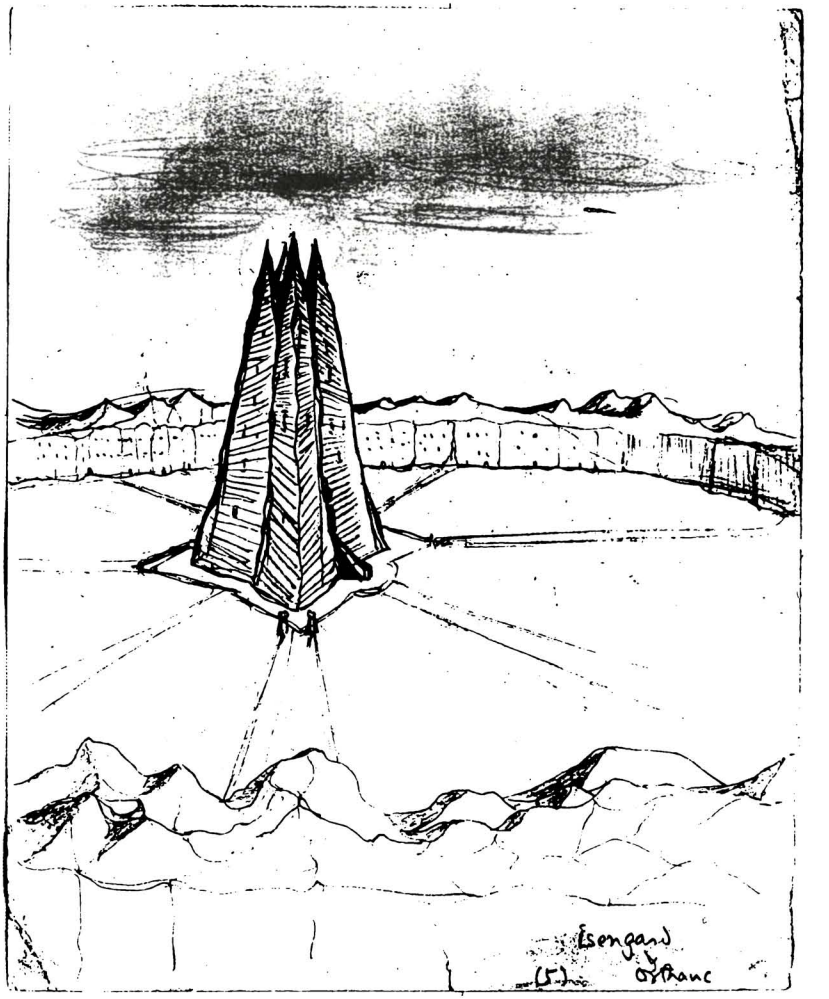
tiers it had, dwindling in girth and height, and at the top were three black horns of stone upon a narrow space, where a man could stand a thousand feet above the plain.

This conception is illustrated in the drawings 'Orthanc (3)' and '(4)' on the same page as 'Orthanc (2)' and reproduced below (the distinction between the two enters into successive descriptions of the tower in 'The Voice of Saruman', pp. 61–2). On the back of the page bearing 'Orthanc (1)' my father wrote: 'This is wrong. The rock should be steeper and *cloven*, and the tower should be founded over an *arch* (with greater "horns" at top), as is shown in small sketch (3).' He also wrote here: 'Omit the water-course', but struck this out. A stream or 'moat' surrounding the basal cone is seen in 'Orthanc (1)'. In description 'D' the tower stands on 'an island in a pool' ('in the lake', see note 25).

Finally, a rider was inserted into the first manuscript bearing the definitive description as found in TT (p. 160): 'A peak and isle of rock it was, black, and gleaming hard; four mighty piers of many-sided stone were welded into one, but near the summit they opened into



Orthanc '2', '3' and '4'



Orthanc '5'

gaping horns, their pinnacles sharp as the points of spears, keen-edged as knives'. The only difference here from the final text is that my father first wrote that the top of Orthanc was three hundred feet above the plain; but this was changed, perhaps at once, to five hundred as in TT. On this rider he wrote: 'to fit Picture (5)', which is reproduced on p. 34. Here the conception is radically changed, and the 'horns', now four, are no longer a device surmounting the tower of diminishing cylindrical tiers but are integral to the marvellous structure of Orthanc.[26]

The successive versions of the description of the tower differ in the statements made about the name *Orthanc* (the earliest statement on the subject appears in a rejected note to the manuscript of 'Treebeard', VII.419: 'It is not perhaps mere chance that *Orthanc* which in Elvish means "a spike of rock" is in the tongue of Rohan "a machine".'). The preliminary draft, following description 'A', has:

> This was Orthanc, the citadel of Saruman, the name of which had double meaning (by design or chance); for in the tongue of the Mark *Orthanc* signified cunning craft, invention, (machine such as those have who fashion machines), but in the elvish speech it means the stony heart, [?tormented] hill.

The original text of the first completed manuscript, following description 'B', has:

> ... for in the language of the Mark *orthanc* signified 'cunning craft', but in the elvish speech it means 'Stone Fang'.

To this 'Cloven-hill' was added subsequently – when the conception of the great cleft in the basal cone arose. Following the description ('D') of that conception the statement about the meaning of the name is the final form: 'for in the elvish speech *orthanc* signifies Mount Fang, but in the language of the Mark of old the Cunning Mind.' It may be therefore that the translation 'Mount Fang' actually arose in association with the description of the cone as cloven 'into two great fangs'.

From here on the text of TT was reached at almost all points in the manuscript of this version to the end of the chapter,[27] but there are some interesting points in the preliminary drafting.

Gandalf's reply to the opening address of Merry (who declares himself 'Meriadoc, Caradoc's son of Buckland'), ending 'or doubtless he would hasten hither to welcome such honourable guests', originally took this form:

> 'Doubtless he would,' laughed Gandalf. 'But what he would say to find two young hobbits mocking him before his gates I do not know. Doubtless it was he that ordered you to guard his doors and watch for their arrival.'

Pippin's first observation and its effect on the Riders went thus:

> '... Here we are sitting on the field of victory amid the plundered ruins of an arsenal and you wonder where we came by this and that.'
>
> All those of the Riders that were near laughed, and none more loudly than Théoden.

Théoden's loud laughter remained into the completed manuscript, but then his gravity (at least of bearing) was restored and it was removed.

The dialogue concerning hobbits went like this in the draft:

> '... This day is fated to be filled with marvels: for here I see alive yet others of the folk of story: the half-high.'
>
> 'Hobbits, if you please, lord,' said Pippin.
>
> 'Hobbits,' said Théoden. '*Hoppettan*?[28] I will try to remember. No tale that I have heard does them justice.'

In the completed manuscript Théoden said: 'Hobbits? It is a strange name, but I will not forget it.' In the preliminary draft he said subsequently: 'all that is told among us is that away in the North over many hills and rivers (over the sea say some) dwell the half-high folk, [*holbylta(n)*>] *holbytlan* that dwell in holes in sand-dunes...' This is where the word *Holbytla* arose.[29] The manuscript follows this, and Théoden does not say, as he does in TT, 'Your tongue is strangely changed.'

A wholly different and much longer lecture on the subject of tobacco was delivered by Merry in the first of several drafts of this passage:

> 'For one thing,' said Théoden, 'it was not told that they spouted smoke from their lips.'
>
> 'Maybe not. We only learned the pleasure of it a few generations back. It is said that Elias Tobiasson of Mugworth[30] brought the weed back to Manorhall in the South Farthing. He was a much travelled hobbit. He planted it in his garden and dried the leaves after a fashion he had learned in some far country. We never knew where, for he was no good at geography and never could remember names; but from the tale of leagues that he reckoned on his fingers people calculated that it was far South, 1200 miles or more from Manor Hall. [*Here is written* Longbottom.]'
>
> 'In the far South it is said that men drink smoke, and wizards I have heard do so. But always I had thought it was part of their

incantations or a process aiding in the weaving of their deep thoughts.'[31]

'My lord,' said Merry, 'it is rest and pleasure and the crown of the feast. And glad I am that wizards know it. Among the wreckage floating on the water that drowned Isengard we found two kegs, and opening them what should we discover but some of the finest leaf that ever I fingered or set nose to. Good enough is the Manorhall leaf – but this is...[32] It smells like the stuff Gandalf would smoke at times when he returned from journeys. Though often he was glad enough to come down to Manorhall.'

At this time, and still in the same context (conversation at the Gate of Isengard), my father developed Merry's disquisition through three further drafts to a form approaching §2 *Concerning Pipe-weed* in the Prologue to LR. In the next stage, his account to Théoden of the history of tobacco in the Shire[33] proceeds thus:

'It is said that the art was learned of travelling dwarves, and that for some time folk used to smoke various herbs, some fairer and some fouler. But it was Tobias Smygrave[34] of Longbottom in the Southfarthing that first grew the true pipe-weed in his garden in the year 902, and the best Home-grown comes still from that part. How old Tobias came by the plant is not known for certain, for he never told, and the Smygraves own all [> most (of)] the crops to this day.'

'In the far East uncouth men drink smoke, or so I have heard,' said Théoden. 'And it is said that wizards do so also. But I supposed that this was but part of their secret lore, and a device to aid the weaving of their thoughts.'

'Maybe it does, lord,' said Merry, 'but even wizards use it for no better reason than common folk. It is rest and pleasure and the crown of the feast. ...'

The remainder of this draft is as the first, except that Merry here says 'Good enough is Longbottom leaf, but this far surpasses it' (see note 32), and he says that Gandalf 'did not disdain Longbottom if he stayed until his own store was short. Before Saruman took to making worse things with greater labour, he must once have had some wisdom.'

In the next version the context has probably changed to the conversation between the hobbits and Aragorn, Gimli and Legolas after Gandalf and Théoden had gone (see p. 49 and note 8). Here Tobias (not Tobold) Hornblower appears,[35] the date of his first growing of the plant in his gardens becomes 953 ('according to our

reckoning'), and Merry says that 'some think that he got it in Bree': to which Aragorn replies:

'True enough, I guess. Bree-folk smoked long before Shire-folk, and the reason is not far to seek. Rangers come there, as you may remember, unless you have already forgotten Trotter the ranger. And it was Rangers, as they call them in Bree, and neither wizard nor dwarf who brought the art to the North, and found plants that would thrive in sheltered places. For the plant does not belong there. It is said that far away in the East and South it grows wild, and is larger and richer in leaf; but some hold that it was brought over the sea. I expect Saruman got his leaf by trade; for he had little knowledge or care for growing things. Though in old days the warm valley of Nan Gurunír could have been made to grow a good crop.'

Finally, and still in the same context, the passage was developed to a form that my father evidently felt had outgrown its place, for he marked it 'Put into Foreword'.[36] Here the date of the first growing of pipe-weed at Longbottom by 'Old Toby' (still standing for Tobias) becomes 'about the year 1050', 'in the time of Isengrim Took the First';[37] and Merry now says of Old Toby:

'... He knew a great deal about herbs, but he was no traveller. It is said he went often to Bree, but he certainly never went further from the Shire than that. Some think he got the plant in Bree; and I have heard it said that Bree-folk claim to have found its uses long before Shire-folk. Certainly it grows well now on the south side of Bree-hill. And it was probably from Bree that the art spread in the last couple of hundred years, among dwarves and such folk as ever come westward nowadays.'

'Meaning Rangers,' said Aragorn smiling. 'They go to Bree as you may remember. And if you really want to know the truth I will tell it you. It was the folk that Bree-folk call Rangers who brought the plant from the South. For it does not belong natively to Bree and the Shire, and only flourishes so far north in warm and sheltered places. Green [Fuilas > Marlas > Romloth >] Galenas we called that kind. But it had long run wild and unheeded. This credit is certainly due to hobbits: they first put it into pipes. Not even the wizards thought of that before them, though one at least that I know took up the notion, and is now as skilful in that art as in all other things he puts his mind to.'

'More than one,' said Merry. 'Saruman likely enough got the idea from Gandalf: his greatest skill seems to have been in

picking other people's brains. But I am glad of it, in this case. Among the wreckage floating on the water . . .'

This version concludes with Merry's saying 'Longbottom Leaf is good enough, but this is better. I wonder where it came from. Do you think Saruman grew it?' And Aragorn replies: 'I expect so. Before he took to making worse things with greater labour, he must have had some wisdom. And this warm valley would grow a good crop, if properly tended.'

The decision to remove most of this to the Foreword had already been taken when the first completed manuscript was written, for here Merry says no more than the few words that Gandalf allows him in TT (p. 163) – with Tobias for Tobold and the date 1050.

Lastly, the conversation near the end of the chapter in the manuscript (there is no initial drafting for this) brings in the meeting with Bregalad on the journey to Isengard, and runs thus:

'It is past noon,' said Gandalf, 'and we at least have not yet eaten. Yet I wish to see Treebeard as soon as may be. If Bregalad took my message, Treebeard has forgotten it in his labours. Unless, as does not seem to be beyond belief, he left us some word with these door-wardens, which their noon-meal has driven from their minds.'

'Bless me! yes, of course,' said Pippin, tapping his forehead. '"One thing drives out another," as Butterbur would say. Of course. He said: Greet the Lord of Rohan, fittingly. Tell him that Saruman is locked in Orthanc, and say that I am busy near the north gate.[38] If he and Gandalf will forgive me, and will ride there to find me, I will welcome them.'

'Then why did you not say so before?' said Gandalf.

'Because Gimli interrupted my fitting words,' answered Merry. 'And after that it appeared that hobbits had become the chief wonder and matter of debate.'

The chapter did not at this time end with Pippin's 'A fine old fellow. Very polite', but went on with 'Gandalf and the King's company rode away, turning east to make the circuit of the ruined Ring of Isengard', which in TT is the opening of 'Flotsam and Jetsam'.

Further abundant drafting, again discontinuous and closely related to the finished text, exists for the second stage in the development of the chapter. Here can be seen the new or altered elements in the narrative as they arose – the postponed departure from Helm's Deep, the Ents at the edge of the Huorn wood[39] that displaced the meeting with Bregalad, the passage of the Fords, the dry river, the burial

mound, the Isen suddenly running again in the night. At first, though the time of departure had been changed to the evening, the encounter with Bregalad was still present – but ends differently: for despite Gandalf's message to Treebeard, 'to the surprise of all he [Bregalad] raised his hand and strode off, not back northward but towards the Coomb, where the wood now stood as dark as a great fold of night.' The scene at the Fords likewise evolved in stages: at first there was no mention of the burial mound, then there were two, one on either bank of the Isen, and finally the island or eyot in the middle of the river appeared.[40] The passage describing the departure of the Huorns from the Deeping Coomb and the Death Down (see p. 27) was first moved to stand (apparently) after Gandalf's reply to Legolas' question concerning the Orcs: 'That, I think, no one will ever know' (TT p. 151), for an isolated draft of it begins: 'And that proved true. For in the deep of the night, after the departure of the king, men heard a great noise of wind in the valley ...'[41]

The second main manuscript of the chapter was a fair copy that remained so, being only lightly emended after its first writing. A few details still survived from the first stage: Merry's father Caradoc; Tobias Hornblower and the year 1050; *Eodoras*; and the form *Rohir*, not *Rohirrim* (the two latter being changed later on the manuscript). The assembly at Eodoras is still to be, as in the first version (p. 27), 'before the waning of the moon' (changed later to 'at the last quarter of the moon').

Lastly, in the account of the burials after the Battle of the Hornburg, there were not only the two mounds raised over the fallen Riders: following the words 'and those of Westfold upon the other' (TT p. 150) there stands in the manuscript 'But the men of Dunland were set apart in a mound below the Dike' (a statement that goes back through the first complete manuscript to the original draft of the passage, see note 8). This sentence was inadvertently omitted in the following typescript (not made by my father), and the error was never observed.

NOTES

1 A short section of initial drafting was written on the back of a letter to my father bearing the date 31 July 1942.

2 One would expect *Erkenwald*: see p. 24, note 22. In the first occurrence here my father in fact wrote *Erkenw* before changing it to *Erkenbrand*. It may be that he was for a time undecided between the two names, and that there was not a simple succession *Erkenwald* > *Erkenbrand*.

3 Cf. the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn', VII.436: 'The

victorious forces under Éomer and Gandalf ride to the gates of Isengard. They find it a pile of rubble, blocked with a huge wall of stone. On the top of the pile sit Merry and Pippin!'

4 *Caradoc Brandybuck*: see VI.251 and note 4. This is the first appearance of Pippin's father Paladin Took: see VI.386.

5 *Less than a day*: this must imply the shortest possible time-scheme (see Chapter I):

Day 3 (January 31) Ents break into Isengard at night and divert the Isen; Théoden to Helm's Deep, Battle of the Hornburg.

Day 4 (February 1) Théoden, Gandalf, &c. to Isengard.

6 This conversation is found in no less than seven separate forms for the first version of the story alone. In one of these Théoden says to Gandalf: 'But would you assault the stronghold of Saruman with a handful of tired men?', and Gandalf replies: 'No. You do not fully understand the victory we have won, Lord of the Mark. The hosts of Isengard are no more. The West is saved. I do not go to an assault. I have business to settle, ere we turn back – to graver matters, and maybe to harder fortune.' — In different versions Gandalf advises Théoden to order an assembly at Eodoras 'on the second day from now' and 'at the full moon four days from now.'

7 In TT the company did not leave for Isengard until the late afternoon, and on the way they camped for the night below Nan Gurunír; see pp. 5–6, §§ III–IV.

8 In preliminary drafting for this passage the bodies of the Orcs were burned; the men of Dunland were still the men of Westfold; it was Gamling who addressed them, not Erkenbrand ('Help now to repair the evil in which you have joined ...'); the dead of this people were buried in a separate mound below the Dike (a statement that was retained in both the finished manuscripts of the chapter, though lost in TT: see p. 40); the slain Riders were buried in a single mound (not two); and Háma, whose death before the Gates of the Hornburg here first appears (see p. 22), was buried among them, yet he gave his name to the mound: 'the [*Hamanlow* >] *Hamelow* it was called in after years' (i.e. Old Engish *Hāman hlāw*, the Mound of Háma). In TT (p. 150) Háma was laid in a grave alone under the shadow of the Hornburg.

9 The Death Down, where the bodies of the Orcs were buried, was first called the Barren Hill ('for no grass would grow there').

10 See note 14.

11 See the First Map (redrawn map III, VII.309), where the Isen flows into the Great Sea in the region then named Belfalas.

12 In the draft for this passage the battlefield 'was but a mile or two away'. — In TT the company crossed the Fords of Isen (by moonlight) in order to follow the 'ancient highway that ran down from Isengard to the crossings'

13 That the slain Riders had been buried by Ents is stated subsequently: see pp. 47, 49, 54. Contrast TT (p. 157): 'More [Riders] were scattered than were slain; I gathered together all that I could find. . . . Some I set to make this burial.'

14 In this version the company was riding fast, but even so my father seems to have been working on the basis of a much shorter distance from Helm's Deep to Isengard: contrast TT (p. 156): 'They had ridden for some four hours from the branching of the roads when they drew near to the Fords.' In a chronology written at this time, when the story was that Gandalf and Théoden and their company left Helm's Deep very soon after the end of the Battle of the Hornburg (see p. 5, § III), he said that they left about 9 a.m. Changing this to the story that they stopped for the night on the way (p. 6, § IV), he said that they left at 3.30 p.m., and noted: 'It is forty miles and they arrive about 12.30 p.m. on *next day*, Feb. 3.' This is followed by notes of distances that are in close agreement with the First Map (see p. 78 note 2), but 'Isengard Gates to mouth of Deeping Coomb' is given as 33 > 41 > 45 miles (cf. p. 27, where Gandalf's estimate was changed from 12 to 14 to 11 leagues).

As well as I have been able to interpret the First Map here I make the distance 1 cm. or 50 miles, and my map made in 1943 agrees. Section IVE of the First Map (VII.319) is stuck onto a portion of IV^D that is totally hidden, and it is possible that at this stage the Gap of Rohan was less wide. In any case, considerations of distance as well as of chronology evidently dictated the change whereby Gandalf and Théoden did not reach Isengard till the following day.

15 On the removal of this dialogue from the (revised) opening of 'Helm's Deep' and the chronological considerations that led my father to do so see pp. 5–6, §§ II–III.

16 This extremely squashing (and revealing) remark of Gandalf's to the King of Rohan was subsequently very firmly struck through on the manuscript.

17 Cf. Aragorn's words (at once rejected) in a draft for 'The White Rider', VII.429: 'The Ents! Then there is truth in the ancient legends, *and the names that they use in Rohan have a meaning!*'

18 In the original draft for this passage 'the strange figure came quickly on to meet them until it was about fifty [*written above:* a hundred] yards away. Then it stopped and lifting its grey arms and long hands to its mouth it called in a loud voice like a [?ringing] trumpet. "Is Gandalf with this company?" The words were clear for all to hear.'

19 The page of the manuscript that includes this passage was replaced by another, which introduced little significant change; but in the rejected page Bregalad and Gandalf speak of 'the trees',

and only in the replacement do they call them 'the Huorns'. Several other terms in fact preceded *Huorns*: see pp. 47, 50, 52.

20 In the rejected page referred to in note 19 Bregalad said that Treebeard 'wishes to know what to do with Saruman', at which Gandalf 'laughed softly, and then was silent, stroking his beard thoughtfully. "Hm," he mused, "hm – yes, that will be a problem."' Cf. the outline for the chapter (p. 26).

21 The original drafting for the description of Nan Gurunír reads thus:

> On either side the last long arms of the Misty Mountains reached out down into the plain, bare and broken ridges half-hidden now in smoke. And now they came upon a strange thing. It seemed to them that ruinous rocks lay ahead, out of which in a new-riven channel came the river, flowing where they stood back into its old course; yet higher up the valley the former bed was dry.
>
> 'Yes, I knew it,' said Gandalf. 'Therefore I drew you this way. We may cross with no difficulty to the Gates of Isengard. As some of you who have journeyed here may know, of old the Isen flowed down, fed by many mountain-springs and streams, until it was already a swift and powerful water ere it left Nan Gurunír – it swept past the walls of Isengard upon the East. That river you claimed as your boundary, but Saruman did not agree. But things have changed. Come and see!'

This was not used at all in the completed text of the first version of the story. It was not the first appearance of the diversion of the Isen: cf. 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn', VII.436: 'At North end [of Isengard] they let in the River Isen but blocked its outflow. Soon all the floor of the circle was flooded to many feet deep.'

In the passage just cited the meaning must be that the Isen had not been sent back into its former course after the drowning of the Circle of Isengard, but continued to flow in its new channel. Gandalf's words 'I knew it. Therefore I drew you this way. We may cross with no difficulty to the Gates of Isengard' must mean that that is why he had led the company along the east bank of the Isen from the Fords (p. 28), for thus they would only have to cross the dry former bed of the river, to the east of its new course.

22 Later, in 'Flotsam and Jetsam', Merry told (TT p. 171) that when the great host left Isengard 'some went off down the highway to the Fords, and some turned away and went eastward. A bridge has been built down there, about a mile away, where the river runs in a very deep channel.' See p. 56.

23 Differences from the final form were that a part of the Circle of Isengard on the western side was formed of the mountain-wall itself (this was taken up from the draft but rejected from the

completed manuscript in the act of writing); there were two entrances, there being in addition to the great southern arch 'a small gate at the north, near the mountains' feet'; the circle was 'almost two miles from rim to rim' ('a mile', TT); 'through it by many carven channels water flowed, entering as a stream from the mountains beneath the northern gate, and watering all the hidden land'; and the windows in the walls of the circle are described (in the preliminary drafting only) as 'countless dark windows and deep, square-cut, menacing'.

24 This picture was drawn on the back of a page of the examination script of the poet John Heath-Stubbs, who took the final examinations in English at Oxford in 1942.

25 The opening of the description is confused. Apparently my father at first followed the draft 'A' very closely, writing: 'And in the centre ... was a tower, a pinnacle of stone. The base of it, and that two hundred feet in height, was a great cone of rock ...', but altered this at once to 'was an isle of stone, two hundred feet in height, a great cone of rock ...' Subsequently he changed 'was an isle of stone' to 'there stood an island in the lake.' See the description 'D' in the text.

26 On the back of this drawing my father wrote: 'This picture should be combined with old one': i.e. for a final version, which was never made, features of 'Orthanc (1)' should be incorporated. — 'Picture 5' went to Marquette with the second completed manuscript of the chapter, whereas the others remained in England. — The conception of 'Orthanc (5)' is seen also in *Pictures by J. R. R. Tolkien*, no. 27, viewed from the side in which were the stairway and the door.

27 In a draft of the paragraph beginning 'A strong place and wonderful was Isengard' (TT p. 160) these words were followed by 'or *Ang(ren)ost* in elvish speech'. *Angrenost* has appeared before (VII.420); the variant *Angost* occurs subsequently (p. 72).

28 Perhaps *Hoppettan* was Théoden's turning of *Hobbits* into the sounds and grammatical inflexion of the language of the Mark – or else he was merely struck by the resemblance to the (Old English) verb *hoppettan* 'to hop, leap, jump for joy'.

29 *Holbytla* 'Hole-builder' has the consonants *lt* (*Holbylta*) reversed, as in the closely related Old English *botl*, *boðl* beside *bold* 'building' (see my note on Nobottle in the Shire, VII.424).

30 This name can be read either as *Mugworth* or as *Mugwort*, but the latter (a plant-name, and one of the family names in Bree) seems very unlikely as the name of a place. *Mugworth* is not recorded as a village name in England.

31 This passage about tobacco was dashed down in a single spurt without any corrections, and there is no indication that these

sentences were spoken by Théoden; but that they were so is seen from the following draft.

32 The illegible word might possibly be 'grand'.

33 A pencilled note suggests that this should be 'a conversation at [the] feast'. See pp. 72–3.

34 *Smygrave*: with the first element cf. *Smial* (Old English *smygel*). The second element is probably Old English *græf*.

35 With the later change of *Tobias* to *Tobold* Hornblower cf. *Barliman* for earlier *Barnabas* Butterbur.

36 Cf. my father's letter to me of 6 May 1944 (*Letters* no. 66), referring to Faramir, then newly arrived on the scene: 'if he goes on much more a lot of him will have to be removed to the appendices – where already some fascinating material on the hobbit Tobacco industry and the Languages of the West have gone.'

37 *Isengrim Took the First* and the date 1050: in the Prologue to LR *in the days of Isengrim Took the Second* and the date 1070. See the original genealogical table of the Tooks in VI.316–17, according to which Isengrim the First would have been 400 years old at the time of Bilbo's Farewell Party. Since the Shire Reckoning date 1418 (as in LR) has already appeared for the year of Frodo's departure from Bag End (VII.9), Isengrim the First (afterwards Isengrim II) was born in S.R. 1001. According to the genealogical tree of the Tooks in LR Appendix C the dates of this Isengrim were S.R. 1020–1122. — The varieties of pipe-weed from the Southfarthing are here given as *Longbottom-leaf*, *Old Toby*, and *Hornpipe Shag*.

38 On the north gate of Isengard see note 23.

39 In the draft of this scene the three Ents who came out from the trees were not wholly indifferent to the company: 'Silently they stood, some twenty paces off, regarding the riders with solemn eyes.' But this was changed immediately.

In a draft for the passage that follows (TT p. 155), in which Théoden reflects on the Ents and the narrow horizons of the people of Rohan, it is Gandalf who speaks the thought that the war will bring about the disappearance of much that was beautiful in Middle-earth:

> 'You should be glad, Théoden King,' said Gandalf. 'For not only your little life of men is now endangered, but the life of those things also which you have deemed the matter of song and legend. Some we may save by our efforts, but however the fortune of war goes, it may soon come to pass that much that is fair and wonderful shall pass for ever out of Middle Earth. The evil that Sauron works and has worked (and has had much help of men in it) may be stayed or ended, but it cannot be wholly cured, nor made as if it had not been.'

40 The *Fords of Isen* in the plural appears earlier, however (pp. 10, 27–8, 31).

41 For another proposed placing of the description of the passing of the Huorns see p. 70.

IV

FLOTSAM AND JETSAM

The first completed manuscript of 'The Road to Isengard' was originally continuous with Chapter XXVIII 'The Battle of Helm's Deep' (the original title), but I think that the division was introduced at a fairly early stage, with a new chapter numbered XXIX beginning with the meeting of Gandalf and Théoden beside the Deeping Stream after the Battle of the Hornburg. The first completed manuscript of XXIX, of which the original title was 'To Isengard', ran on without break through the later 'Flotsam and Jetsam' and 'The Voice of Saruman', but a division between XXIX and XXX ('Flotsam and Jetsam') was made before it was completed: XXX then included the later 'Voice of Saruman' as well. A very rough and difficult outline for this part of the story in fact begins at the end of 'The Road to Isengard', and the chapter was then expressly to end with the return to Eodoras.

Gandalf asks where Treebeard is?
(Guarding Orthanc, says Merry. Some Ents still demolishing.)
He takes Théoden off.

Aragorn takes the hobbits aside and they sit and eat and chat on the stone heaps. Aragorn smokes. Talk about wizards and tobacco.

Aragorn and Gimli are told about Orc-raid and Treebeard. Merry gives up hope of describing them; says you will see them soon. How shall I describe them to Bilbo? (This was when he first tried to collect his ideas.)

Describes destruction of Isengard. Saruman not strong or brave. Merry tells all he knows about the battles of Ford. How trees dogged orcs.

Treebeard knocks on gates of Isengard. Arrows no good.[1] Saruman flies to Orthanc and sends up fires from floor of plain. Scorched Ents go mad. But Treebeard stops them. They let in Isen River by North Gate[2] and flood the bowl. Terrific fume and steam. Terrible noises, drowned wolves and slaves and smiths. The Ents pull the wall to pieces. They send Galbedirs (Talking Trees) to help Gandalf. They bury dead at Fords.

Gandalf's speech with Saruman. He rides over flooded causeway. Saruman looks out of window above door. Asks how he

dares to come without permission. Gandalf says he thought that as far as Saruman was concerned he was still a lodger in Orthanc.[3]

'Guests that leave from the roof have not always a claim to come in by the door.' Saruman refuses to repent or submit.

Gandalf gives Treebeard task of [?caring] for him. 'I do not doubt there are delved ways under Orthanc. But every time water subsides let it in again, till all these underground places are submerged. Then make a low bank and plant trees round it. Guard Orthanc with Ents.'

Théoden thinks a Nazgûl may carry him off. 'Let him!' says Gandalf. 'If Saruman thinks of that last treachery ... cannot pity him for the terrible fate that awaits him. Mordor can have no love [for] him. Indeed what he will do

Say that this must be clear to Saruman himself. Would it not be more dramatic to [?make] Saruman offer help: Gandalf says no – he knows that if Mordor wins he is done for now. Even the evidence that he had made war on us won't help him. Sauron knows that he did so only for [his] own ends. But if we win – with his belated help he hopes to re-establish himself and escape punishment. Gandalf demands his staff of office. He refuses; then Gandalf orders him to be shut up, as above.[4]

They rest the night in the ruins and ride back to Eodoras.

Feast on evening of their return and coming of the messenger – that ominous dark-visaged man[5] should end this chapter.

Another outline (in ink over pencil, but the underlying text though briefer was not greatly different) reads as follows:

Treebeard (and Merry and Pippin) relate events – their arrival at Isengard. They saw Saruman send out all his forces to overwhelm the Riders at Isenford. As soon as Isengard was well-nigh empty, the Ents attacked. Merry and Pippin tell of the terrifying anger and strength of the Ents. Saruman really had little power beyond *cunning*, persuasive words – when he had no slaves at hand to do his will and work his machines or light his fires he could do little himself. All his studies had been given to trying to discover how rings were made. He let his wolves out – but they were useless. A few of the Ents were scorched with fire – then they went mad. They drowned Isengard, by letting in River and blocking the outlet.

All the day they were destroying and making havoc of the outer walls and all within. Only Orthanc resisted them. Then

just ere nightfall Gandalf came riding up like the wind.[6] He told them of King Théoden's danger. A considerable force of walking trees had already stalked after the orcs the night before. The Ents now sent a much great[er] force and commanded them all to gather at the mouth of the Coomb and let no *orc* come out alive. A few Ents had gone to Isenford, and buried the dead men of the Mark.

In the margin against the last sentences of this outline is written: 'Shall there be *more* real Ents?' Notably, a sentence in the underlying pencilled text reads: 'The Ents sent a force of walking trees (with split trunks). They crept on in darkness following the victorious orcs.'

There is not a great deal to notice in the scanty initial drafting or in the first completed manuscript as far as the beginning of Merry's story of the attack on Isengard (TT p. 170). The meal provided by the hobbits was not eaten in the guard-house by the gates: Merry and Pippin went off to get the food and returned with it, Pippin explaining that 'There is a door not far inside the old tunnel that leads down into some well-stocked stores' (cf. the outline, p. 47: they sit and eat 'on the stone heaps'). Of Ents, where in TT (p. 167) Pippin says: 'Oh, well, you have seen some at a distance, already', here he says 'Oh well, you have seen Quickbeam' – this being of course a reference to the earlier version of 'The Road to Isengard', where Gandalf and Théoden and their company met Bregalad on their ride from Helm's Deep.[7] And he says also, as in the outline on p. 47: 'But I wish Bilbo could have seen Treebeard: how we shall manage to describe him to the old hobbit, if ever we get back, I can't think.'

In a draft for the discussion of pipes (TT pp. 167–8) Aragorn leapt down from the stone heap and went to the saddle-bags that lay nearby. 'From them he drew out an old cloak, and a worn purse of soft hide. Coming back he wrapped himself in the cloak, and opened the purse, and drew out a blackened pipe of clay.' Before Pippin produced his spare pipe, Merry said: 'There are none to be found. Orcs don't smoke, and Saruman did not give his leaf to his slaves.' And when Pippin said 'Look! Trotter the Ranger has come back!' Aragorn replied: 'He has never been away. I am Trotter and Aragorn, and belong both to Gondor and the North.'[8]

A few other details in the opening of the chapter may be noted. There is no mention of Aragorn's returning of the hobbits' knives,[9] or of Pippin's brooch (TT p. 169). After Merry's story of Grishnákh[10] Aragorn spoke at greater length about Sauron and Saruman:

'All this about the orcs of Lugburz (Mordor, I suppose, from the Red Eye) makes me uneasy,' said Aragorn. 'The Dark Lord already knew too much, and Grishnákh clearly got some

message across the River after the quarrel. [But still there are some hopeful points. Saruman is in a cleft stick of his own cutting. Gandalf ought not to have much difficulty in convincing him that a victory for Mordor would not be pleasant for him, now. Indeed' (and here Aragorn lowered his voice) 'I do not see what can save him, except the Ring itself. It is well that he has no idea where it is. And we should do best never to mention it aloud: I do not know what powers Saruman in his tower may have, nor what means of communication with the East there may be.] From your tale it is plain that he thought one of you was possibly the Ringbearer; and Sauron must therefore have the same doubt. If so, it will hasten his attack westward: Isengard has fallen none too soon. But there are some hopeful points. All this doubt may help poor Frodo and Sam. But at any rate Saruman is in a cleft stick of his own cutting.

The part of this text (rather more confused in the manuscript than I have represented it) enclosed in square brackets, was rejected immediately and replaced by what follows ('From your tale it is plain ...'); this was rejected later, leaving only the last sentence. — Lastly, Pippin chants, in addition to *Though Isengard be strong and barred* [*sic*], the Entish *Ta-rūta, dūm-da, dūm-da dūm! ta-rāra dūmda dūmda-būm!* (see VII.420).

In the original draft Merry's story (TT pp. 170 ff.) was at first very different from what it became, and I give this text (written in ink over very faint pencil) in part. Of the opening of his story my father noted on the manuscript that he should know less: 'His account of the war is too detailed.'

'... We came down over the last ridge into Nan Gurunír after night had fallen. It was then that I first got an inkling that the forest was moving behind – or a lot of it was: all the Galbedirs [> Lamorni > Ornómar] were coming, as the Ents call them in their short language (which seems to be an oldfashioned Elvish): Talking Trees, that is, that they have trained and made half-entish.[11] All this must have been happening while you were riding south.[12] As far as I can make out, from Treebeard and Gandalf, the war seems to have gone like this: Saruman opened the game some weeks ago, and sent raiders into the west of Rohan. The Rohan-men sent out strong forces, and they retreated over the fords of Isen, and the Riders rather rashly pursued them right up to the bottom of Nan Gurunír. There

they were ambushed by a host of Saruman's folk and one of the chieftains of Rohan seems to have been killed. That must be a good many days ago.[13] Then more Rohan-men arrived coming from Westfold[14] away south, and the Riders still remained on both sides of the River keeping the Isengarders from breaking out of the valley. Up to then Saruman was only fencing; then he struck. Men came up from the land away west, old enemies of Rohan, and the Riders were driven over the Fords. The next stage we were just in time to see.

'As we crept down into Nan-Gurunír – and there was no sign or challenge. [*sic*] Those Ents and their flocks can creep if they wish. You stand still, looking at the weather and listening to the rustling of the leaves, maybe, and then suddenly you find you are in the middle of a wood, with trees all round you. "Creepy" is the word for it! It was very dark, a cloudy night. The moon got up late – and long before it rose there was a deep and sombre forest all round the upper half of Isengard Ring without a sign of challenge. There was a light gleaming from one of the windows in the tower, that was all. Treebeard and some of the elder Ents crept on, right round to within sight of the gates. We were with him. I was sitting on Treebeard's shoulder and could feel a trembling tenseness in him, but even when roused the Ents can be very cautious and patient: they stood still as statues, listening and breathing. Then all at once there was a great stir. Trumpets blared, and all the Ring echoed. We thought that we had been spotted, and battle was going to begin. But nothing of the kind. It seems that news had come in that the Riders had been defeated and driven over the Fords, but were still trying to hold out on the east bank. Saruman sent out his whole forces: he pretty well emptied Isengard. Gandalf says that he was probably in a great taking, thinking that the Ring might have gone to Eodoras, and meant to blot out Théoden and all his folk, before they had time to do anything about it. But there were one or two bits of essential information he lacked: the return of Gandalf, and the rising of the Ents. He thought the one was finished for good, and the others no good, old slow-witted back-numbers. Two very bad mistakes. Anyway that is what he did. I saw them go – endless lines of Orcs, and squadrons/ troops of them mounted on great wolves (a Saruman notion?), and whole regiments of men, too. Many of them carried torches, and by the flame I could see their faces. Some were just Men, rather tall, dark-haired, not particularly evil-looking.'

'Those would be Dunlanders,' said Aragorn. 'An upland folk from the west of the Misty Mountains, remnants of the old peoples that once dwelt in Rohan and all about the Black Mountains, south and north.'

The following dialogue, concerning the 'goblin-men' reminiscent of the squint-eyed Southerner at Bree, and Merry's estimate of the forces that left Isengard that night, is much the same as in TT (p. 171), except that Aragorn says that they had had many of the goblin-men to deal with at the Hornburg 'last night' (see note 7), and that there is here no mention of the bridge over the Isen over which a part of the host had passed. Then follows:

'... I thought it looked black for the Riddermark. But it seems in the end the only way in which Saruman could have been overcome. One wonders how much Gandalf knew, guessed, or planned. But Treebeard anyway let them go. He said that his concern was Isengard. "Stone – that we can fight," he said.

'But he sent off a whole wood of the Ornómi[15] down the valley after the army, as soon as the gates of Isengard were shut again. I don't know, of course, much of what happened away south down there; but you will tell us later.'

'I can tell you now briefly,' said Aragorn. 'The Saruman army came down on both sides of the Isen and overwhelmed the men of Rohan, and most of the survivors scattered. A strong force under Erkenwald of Westfold[16] fled south towards the Black Mountains. We met a survivor of the battles of the fords yesterday evening, and were just in time to take refuge in Helm's Deep, a gorge in the hills, before the whole pack came on us.'

'I don't know how you survived,' said Merry. 'But you helped us. As soon as all the army had gone, the fun began here. Treebeard went up and began hammering on the gates. ...'

Merry's account of the Ents' destruction of the gates of Isengard was already in this preliminary draft very close to that in TT (p. 172), but his estimate of Saruman was expressed more largely and with a degree of scornful and rather jaunty assurance that his experience of the master of Orthanc scarcely justified; and Aragorn does not here interrupt him with a more cautious view of Saruman's innate power (indeed the hypnotic potency of the wizard's voice only emerged, or was at any rate only fully realised, when the meeting with him came to be written).

'I don't know what Saruman thought was happening. But all that I have seen since leads me to think that either he was never really a first-class wizard (not up to his reputation, which was partly due to Isengard, and that was not his making to begin with), or he had been deteriorating – relying on wheels and what not, and not on wisdom. And he does not seem to have much heart in any sense: certainly he had been going back in plain courage. The old fool had really become dependent on all his organized slaves. He had a daunting way with him: power of dominating minds and bewildering or persuading them was his chief asset all along, I fancy. But without his armies to do as he commanded, he was just a cunning old man, very slippery, but with no grit. And the old fool had sent all his armies off! ...'

Merry's account (given to Pippin in TT) of Saruman's flight into Orthanc chased by Bregalad, the spouting of fires and gases from vents in the plain of Isengard ('as soon as Saruman got back into his control-room he got some of his machinery working'), the scorching of some of the Ents and the quelling of their fury by Treebeard, is present in the draft in all essentials, though more briefly told (and the horrible fate of the Ent Beechbone does not yet appear). The time-scheme was still at the stage described in § II on p. 5, with the drowning of Isengard beginning later in the same night (31 January) as the Ents came there,[17] and so the story is much condensed in the draft text by comparison with that in TT. Gandalf came to Isengard 'yesterday at nightfall' (i.e. 1 February, the night of the Battle of the Hornburg); and where in TT (p. 175) Pippin says that he was surprised at the meeting of Gandalf and Treebeard 'because neither of them seemed surprised at all', here Merry says:

'... I do not know who was most surprised at their meeting, Gandalf or Treebeard. Gandalf, I think, for once. For from a look he gave us when we first met I have a fancy Treebeard had spotted Gandalf in Fangorn; but would not say anything even to comfort us. He has very much to heart the elvish saw of Gildor's: Do not meddle in the affairs of wizards; for they are subtle and quick to wrath.'[18]

'But Gandalf knew Treebeard was on the move,' said Gimli. 'He knew there was going to be an explosion.'

'But not even Gandalf could guess what that was going to be like,' said [Merry >] Pippin. 'It has never happened before. And even wizards know little about Ents. But talking about surprise – we were the surprised ones: coming on top of the astonishing rage of the Ents, Gandalf's arrival was like a thunderclap. We

had very little to do, except try and trot round after Treebeard (when he was too busy to carry us) and see the fun. We had a high time for a moment, when we got left alone, and came in front of a rush of some terrified wolves, and we had a brush with two or three stray orcs. [But when Gandalf arrived, I just stood staring with my mouth open, and then I sat down and laughed. >] But when Gandalf's horse came striding up the road, like a flash of silver in the dusk, well, I just gasped, and then I sat down and laughed, and then I wept. And did he say *pleased to see you again*? No, indeed. He said "Get up, you tom-fool of a Took. Where in the name of wonder in all this mess is Treebeard? Hurry, hurry, hurry, my lad! Don't let your toes grow whiskers." But later he was a bit gentler, after he had seen the old Ent: he seemed very pleased and relieved. He gave us a few minutes of concentrated news, a pat on the head, a sort of hasty blessing, and vanished away south again. We got some more news out of Treebeard after he had gone. But there must be much more to tell. We should have been far more worried and anxious about you, I expect, only it was difficult what with Treebeard and Gandalf to really believe you would come to grief.'

'Yet we nearly did,' said Aragorn. 'Gandalf's plans are risky, and they lead often to a knife-edge. There is great wisdom, forethought and courage in them – but no certainty. You have to do your part as it comes to you; or they would not work.'

'After that, said Merry, 'the Ents just went on and carefully and neatly finished the drowning of Isengard. I don't know what else, do you?'

'Yes,' said Aragorn, 'some went to the Fords to bury the men of Rohan who had fallen there; and to gather all the – what did you say they were called – the Ornómi, the moving woods, to the Deeping Coomb. Aye, that was a wonder and a victory as great as the one here. No orc is left. It was a long night, but the dawn was fair.'

'Well, let us hope that it is the beginning of better things,' said Gimli. 'Gandalf said the tide was turning.'

'Yes,' said Aragorn, 'but he also said that the great storm was coming.'

'Oh,' said Merry, 'I forgot. Not long before Gandalf, about sunset, a tired horse came up the valley with a pack of wolf-riders round it.[19] The Ents soon settled them, though one of Quickbeam's folk, a rowan-ent, got a bad axe-stroke, and

that enraged the Ents mightily. On the horse there was a queer twisted sort of man: I disliked him at sight. It says a great deal about Treebeard and Ents generally, if you think about it – in spite of their rage, and the battle, and the wounding of Bregalad's friend Carandrian, that the fellow was not killed out of hand. He was miserable in his fear and amazement. He said he was a man called Frána, and was sent with urgent messages from Théoden and Gandalf to Saruman, and had been captured by orcs on the way (I caught him squinting at Treebeard to see how it went, especially the mention of Gandalf). Treebeard looked at him in his long slow way for many minutes. Then he said: "Hoom, ha, well, you can go to Saruman! I guess somehow that you know pretty well how to find him, though things have changed a little here. But false or true, you will do little harm now."

'We told Gandalf about it. He laughed, and said: "Well, I fancy of all the surprised people he had the worst shock. Poor Wormtongue! He chose badly. Just for a little I feel hardhearted enough to let those two stay and live together. They will be small comfort to each other. And if Wormtongue comes out of Orthanc alive, it will be more than he deserves."'

Against this passage my father wrote: 'No, Wormtongue must come after Gandalf'; and at the foot of the page: 'Shall Wormtongue actually murder Saruman?'

'Well,' he continued. 'Our job was to get rooms ready and prepare stuff for your entertainment. All yesterday and most of last night we worked. Indeed, say what you like, we did not knock off till close on noon this morning. And I don't know if we should even then, only Pippin found two tubs floating on the water'

Here this draft breaks off. The first completed manuscript, from the point where Merry's story begins, was based fairly closely on the draft text (pp. 50–5) in its narrative, but moved far towards the text of TT in expression. The passage about the 'Talking Trees' (p. 50) was developed thus:

'... The Ornómi were coming. That is what the Ents call them in their "short language", which seems to be an old-fashioned Elvish: *trees with voices* it means, and there is a great host of them deep in Fangorn, trees that the Ents have trained so long that they have become half entish, though far wilder, of course, and crueller.'

This was rejected, probably at once, and a passage for the most part very close to that in TT (p. 170) substituted. *Ornómi* was here replaced by *Huorns* in the act of writing and is the point where that name arose. Merry is now uncertain about their nature: 'I cannot make out whether they are trees that have become Entish, or Ents that have become tree-like, or both.'

At first Merry was still going to give a summary and commentary on the course of the war:

'... It seems that news had come in that the [Rohir >] Horsemen had been defeated and driven back across the Isen, but some were still trying to hold out on the eastern bank. We got this out of some of Saruman's men that the Ents captured and questioned. Saruman thought that no more was left of the King's forces, except what he would keep by him to guard his town and hall. He decided to finish off the Rohir with a decisive blow.'

But it must have been at this point that my father noted on the draft (p. 50) that Merry should be much less well-informed on these matters, and the passage just given was rejected and the text of TT (p. 171) substituted: 'I don't know much about this war ...'

Merry now tells (as he does not in the draft, p. 51) that when the great host left Isengard 'some went off down the main road to the fords, but still more turned off towards the bridge and the east side of the river'. This was changed in a hasty pencilled emendation to 'turned off towards where I believe Saruman has recently made a bridge'. See p. 31 and note 22.

Aragorn's brief account of what had happened southwards was still retained from the draft (p. 52), and here he adds the surmise (in the draft Gandalf's, reported by Merry, p. 51) about Saruman's purposes: '... the whole pack came howling after us. They had learned that the King was in the field, so none of them went to Eodoras. Saruman wanted the King and Éomer, his heir, dead or alive. He was afraid that the Ring might get into their hands after the battle from which you escaped.' He also gives the information that the force that fled south from the Fords to the Black Mountains numbered about a thousand men. With this passage cf. Gandalf's remarks to Théoden as they rode to Isengard (p. 29).

Merry's rather overconfident assessment of Saruman was reduced, in stages, virtually to its compass in TT, and Aragorn's intervention now appears, very much as in TT (p. 172), with his emphasis on the peril of private conversation with the master of Orthanc.

In this version a new time-scheme had entered, as is seen from the story of the drowning of Isengard:

'... They calmly settled down to carry out a plan that Treebeard had made in his old head all along: they drowned Isengard. Day was dawning by that time. They set a watch on the tower, and the rest just faded away in the grey light. Merry and I were left alone most of that day, wandering and prying about. The Ents went north up the valley. They dug great trenches under the shadow of the Huorns, and made great pools and dams, and when all was ready, last night, about midnight, they poured in all the Isen, and every other stream they could tap, through a gap by the north-gate, down into the ring. ...'

'Yes, we saw the great vapour from the south this morning as we rode from Helm's Deep,' said Aragorn. ...

'By morning there was a fog about a mile thick,' said Merry. '... Treebeard stopped the inflow some hours ago, and sent the stream back into its old course. Look, the water is sinking again already. There must be some outlets from the caverns underneath. But Gandalf came before the drowning began. He may have guessed or been told by Treebeard what was afoot, but he did not see it happen. When he arrived the digging and damming was not quite finished, but old Treebeard had returned, and was resting. He was only about fifty yards away, soothing his arrow-smarts by pulling down a bit more of the southern wall in a leisurely fashion. ...'

This is still not quite the final time-scheme for the story of the destruction of Isengard (see pp. 5–6, §§ III–IV), because the party from Helm's Deep still reached Isengard in a single day (2 February); so here Pippin tells that it was 'last night' (1 February) that the drowning began, and Aragorn says that they had seen the great cloud of steam as they rode up from Helm's Deep 'this morning'.

All the last part of what would become the chapter 'Flotsam and Jetsam' was discarded from this manuscript and replaced by new pages, in which the text of TT (pp. 174–7, describing the day spent by Merry and Pippin alone while the Ents prepared the diversion of the Isen, Gandalf's coming, and the filling of the Ring of Isengard by moonlight) was reached save for the choice of a different word here and there. But the time-scheme of the rejected pages was still present, with the extra day still not inserted and the time during which the waters of Isen flowed into the Ring correspondingly shorter.[20] On this account the last part of the hobbits' story still differs from that in TT, and Merry ends thus:

'... By morning there was a fog about a mile high, but it was beginning to rise and sail away out of the valley. And the lake

was overflowing, too, and pouring out through the ruined gate, bringing masses of wreckage and jamming it near the outlet of the old tunnel. Then the Ents stopped the inflow, and sent the Isen back into its old course. Since then the water has been sinking again. There must be outlets somewhere from the caves underneath, or else they are not all filled up yet. There is not much more to tell. Our part, Pippin's and mine, was chiefly that of onlookers: rather frightened at times. We were all alone while the drowning was going on, and we had one or two bad moments. Some terrified wolves were driven from their dens by the flood, and came howling out. We fled, but they passed by. And every now and then some stray orc would bolt out of the shadows and run shrieking off, slashing and gnashing as he went. The Huorns were waiting. There were many of them still in the valley until the day came. I don't know where they have all gone. It seems very quiet now after such a night. I could sleep.'

But the coming of Wormtongue is now placed according to the direction on the draft text ('Wormtongue must come after Gandalf', p. 55): he came 'early this morning', and the story of his arrival is now much as in TT, though briefer. Aragorn's curiosity about tobacco from the Southfarthing turning up in Isengard appears (see note 8), and Pippin reports the same date on the barrels as in TT: 'the 1417 crop'.

After 'it is not a very cheerful sight', with which the later chapter 'Flotsam and Jetsam' ends, this text goes straight on to 'They passed through the ruined tunnel', with which 'The Voice of Saruman' begins.

NOTES

1 *Arrows no good*: i.e., against Ents.
2 On the North Gate of Isengard see p. 43 note 23.
3 *He was still a lodger in Orthanc*: i.e., Gandalf had never 'officially' left after his enforced residence in the tower.
4 This paragraph was enclosed in square brackets and marked with a query.
5 *That ominous dark-visaged man*: cf. 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn' (VII.437): 'Return to Eodoras. ... News comes at the feast or next morning of the siege of Minas Tirith by the Haradwaith, brought by a dark Gondorian like Boromir.'
6 The time-scheme here is that described on p. 5, § II.
7 In that version Théoden and Gandalf and their company left Helm's Deep in the morning and reached Isengard on the same day, and so here in answer to Pippin's question (TT p. 168)

'What is today?' Aragorn replies 'The second of February in the Shire-reckoning' (see p. 5, § III). Pippin then calculates on his fingers that it was 'only a week ago' that he 'woke up in the dark and found himself all strung-up in an orc-camp' (i.e. from the night of Thursday 26 January to Thursday 2 February). And again, when Pippin asks when it was that Aragorn, Gimli and Legolas 'caught a glimpse of the old villain, or so Gandalf hints' (as Gimli said) at the edge of Fangorn (TT p. 169), Aragorn replies: 'Four nights ago, the twenty-ninth.'

These dates were changed on the manuscript to 'The third of February', 'only eight days ago', and 'Five nights ago': see p. 6, § IV.

8 In an earlier version of this Aragorn's reply (here assembled from scarcely differing variants) was different:

> 'For a spell,' said Aragorn, with a glint of a smile. 'This is good leaf. I wonder if it grew in this valley. If so, Saruman must have had some wisdom before he took to making worse things with greater labour. He had little knowledge of herbs, and no love for growing things, but he had plenty of skilled servants. Nan Gurunír is warm and sheltered and would grow a good crop, if it were properly tended.'

With this cf. the passages given on pp. 37–9. — The decision, or perception, that the tobacco had not in fact been grown in Nan Gurunír, but that Saruman had obtained it from the Shire, appears in a rider pinned to the first complete manuscript, in which Merry tells Gimli that it is Longbottom-leaf, with the Hornblower brandmarks on the barrels (TT p. 167).

9 The finding of the hobbits' leaf-bladed knives and their sheaths at the site of the battle beneath Amon Hen (TT p. 17) is absent from the draft and the fair copy manuscript of 'The Departure of Boromir' (VII.381).

10 *Grishnákh* was changed on the manuscript at each occurrence to *Grishnák*, a reversion to the original form (VII.409–10). — On the back of this page is a reference that shows it was written during or more probably after June 1942.

11 This is the reverse of what Merry says in TT (p. 170): 'I think they are Ents that have become almost like trees, at least to look at.'

12 Merry was a day out: the march of the Ents on Isengard was in the evening of 31 January, and Aragorn, Gimli and Legolas had reached Eodoras early that morning (see pp. 3–4).

13 The death of Théodred in the First Battle of the Fords of Isen on 25 January (see p. 22 note 3).

14 *Westfold*: see p. 21.

15 *Ornómi*: in the underlying pencilled text the name *Galbedirs* can be read. At the earlier occurrence in this draft (p. 50) *Galbedirs*

was changed first to *Lamorni* and then to *Ornómar* – all these names having the same meaning.

16 *Erkenwald of Westfold*: see p. 24 note 22.

17 Thus Merry says that '*by morning* there was a fog a mile thick', Aragorn says 'we could see the great vapour from the south *as we rode towards the Fords*' (i.e. as the host rode from Eodoras on 1 February), and my father wrote in the margin of the text: 'Drowning must not begin until night of Hornburg battle'.

18 In the first complete manuscript this becomes: '"Don't be hasty" is his motto, and also that saying Sam says he picked up from the Elves: he was fond of whispering it to me when Gandalf was peppery: "Do not meddle in the affairs of wizards ..."' For its original appearance see 'Three is Company', FR p. 93. In TT (p. 196) Merry quotes it to Pippin à propos Pippin's interest in the *palantír*.

19 Cf. 'Helm's Deep' in TT (p. 134): 'Some say also that Wormtongue was seen earlier, going northward with a company of Orcs.' But in the present passage in TT (p. 178) Wormtongue arrived alone.

20 In the time-scheme followed here it lasted from midnight on 1 February till the morning of 2 February; in the final story it lasted till the night of 2 February (TT p. 177: 'The Ents stopped the inflow in the night'), = 4 March.

V

THE VOICE OF SARUMAN

Book III Chapter 10 'The Voice of Saruman' in *The Two Towers* is in the first completed manuscript simply the further extension of Chapter XXX (see p. 47). The opening of this part of the narrative is here almost as in the final form (see note 8), but the conversation with Gandalf is much briefer; after Merry's 'Still, we feel less ill-disposed towards Saruman than we did' it continues:

'Indeed!' said Gandalf. 'Well, I am going to pay him a farewell visit. Perhaps you would like to come?'

'I should,' said Gimli. 'I should like to see him, and learn if he really looks like you.'

'You may not see him close enough for that,' laughed Gandalf. '[He has long been a shy bird, and late events may not have >] He may be shy of showing himself. But I have had all the Ents removed from sight, so perhaps we shall persuade him.'

They came now to the foot of Orthanc.

In TT Gandalf's last remarks were developed to: 'And how will you learn that, Master Dwarf? Saruman could look like me in your eyes, if it suited his purpose with you. And are you yet wise enough to detect all his counterfeits? Well, we shall see, perhaps. He may be shy of showing himself before many different eyes together....'

The description of Orthanc in this text at first ran like this:

... A few scorings, and small sharp splinters near the base, were all the marks it showed of the fury of the Ents. In the middle from two sides, north and south, long flights of broad stairs, built of some other stone, dark red in hue, climbed up to the great chasm in the crown of the rock. There they met, and there was a narrow platform beneath the centre of the great arch that spanned the cleft; from it stairs branched again, running up west and east to dark doors on either side, opening in the shadow of the arch's feet.

This is the general conception described in version 'D' of the passage in 'The Road to Isengard' (p. 32), and precisely illustrated in the

drawing 'Orthanc (3)' reproduced on p. 33. But the text just given was replaced at the time of writing by the following:

... the fury of the Ents. On two sides, west and east, long flights of broad stairs, cut in the black stone by some unknown art, climbed up to the feet of the vast arch that spanned the chasm in the hill. At the head of each stair was a great door, and above it a window opening upon a balcony with parapet of stone.

This is the rather simpler conception illustrated in the drawing 'Orthanc (4)' reproduced on p. 33. At a later stage this was rejected and replaced on a slip inserted into the manuscript by the description in TT, where of course the conception of Orthanc had been totally changed (pp. 33–5, and the drawing reproduced on p. 34).

The description of Orthanc was followed immediately by 'Gandalf led the way up the western stair. With him went Théoden and Éomer, and the five companions.' There is thus no discussion here of who shall go up, or how close they shall stand.

From this point initial drafting (inked over very faint pencil, which is effectively illegible) exists for the interview with Saruman, and this was pretty closely followed in the first completed manuscript. Saruman's voice was at this stage differently described, and this was at first repeated in the manuscript: 'The window closed. They waited. Suddenly another voice spoke, low, melodious, and yet it seemed unpleasant [> unpleasing: its tone was scornful].'[1] This was changed, probably at once, to: 'low, melodious, and persuasive; yet now its tone was of one who, in spite of a gentle nature, is aggrieved.' All else that is said of that voice in TT (p. 183) is here absent; and the description of Saruman is briefer: 'His face was long with a high forehead; he had deep darkling eyes; his hair and beard were white, smudged with darker strands. "Like and unlike", muttered Gimli.'

With the opening of the conversation at this stage (cited here from the completed manuscript rather than from the draft text) cf. the original outline on pp. 47–8.

'Well?' said Saruman. 'You have a voice of brass, Gandalf. You disturb my repose. You have come to my private door without leave. What is your excuse?'

'Without leave?' said Gandalf. 'I had the leave of such gatekeepers as I found. But am I not a lodger in this inn? My host at least has never shown me the door, since he first admitted me!'

'Guests that leave by the roof have no claim to re-enter by the door at their will,' said Saruman.

'Guests that are penned on the house-top against their will have a right to knock and ask for an apology,' answered Gandalf.[2] 'What have you to say, now?'

'Nothing. Certainly not in your present company. In any case I have little to add to my words at our last meeting.'

'Have you nothing to withdraw?'

Saruman paused. 'Withdraw?' he said slowly. 'If in my eagerness and disappointment I said anything unfriendly to yourself, consider it withdrawn. I should probably have put matters right long ago. You were not friendly yourself, and persisted in misunderstanding me and my intentions, or pretending to do so. But I repeat: I bore you no ill-will personally; and even now, when your – your associates have done me so much injury, I should be ready to forgive you, if you would dissociate yourself from such people. I have for the moment less power to help you than I had; but I still think you would find my friendship more profitable in the end than theirs. We are after all both members of an ancient and noble profession: we should understand one another. If you really wish to consult me, I am willing to receive you. Will you come up?'

This passage, whose original germ is seen in the outlines given in VII.212, 436, was developed into that in TT pp. 186–7. The draft text[3] goes on at once to 'Gandalf laughed. "Understand one another? ..."', and there is nothing said about the effect of Saruman's words on the bystanders; but in the manuscript his speech was changed, apparently at once, to a form somewhat nearer to that in TT (with 'a high and ancient order' for 'an ancient and noble profession'), and this was followed by the passage (TT p. 187) in which the voice of Saruman 'seemed like the gentle remonstrance of a kindly king with an errant but beloved minister'. But here the words 'So great was the power that Saruman exerted *in this last effort* that none that stood within hearing were unmoved' are absent; for of all that precedes this in TT, his long opening trial of Théoden's mind and will, with the interventions of Gimli and Éomer, there is no hint or suggestion in either draft or finished text. The interview is conducted exclusively between the two wizards.

For the remainder of the dialogue between them I give here the original draft:[4]

Gandalf laughed. 'Understand one another? I don't know. But I understand you at any rate, Saruman – well enough. No! I do not think I will come up. You have an excellent adviser with you, adequate for your understanding. Wormtongue has cun-

ning enough for two. But it had occurred to me that since Isengard is rather a ramshackle place, rather old-fashioned and in need of renovation and alteration, you might like to leave – to take a holiday, say. If so, will you not come down?'

A quick cunning look passed over Saruman's face; before he could conceal it, they had a glimpse of mingled fear and relief/hope. cunning. They saw through the mask the face of a trapped man, that feared both to stay and to leave his refuge. He hesitated. 'To be torn by the savage wood-demons?' he said. 'No, no.'

'O do not fear for your skin,' said Gandalf. 'I do not wish to kill you – as you would know, if you really understood me. And no one will hurt you, if I say no. I am giving you a last chance. You can leave Orthanc – free, if you choose.'

'Hm,' said Saruman. 'That sounds well. More like the old Gandalf. But why should I wish to leave Orthanc? And what precisely is "free"?'

'The reasons for leaving lie all around,' said Gandalf. 'And free means not a prisoner. But you will surrender to me the key of Orthanc – and your staff: pledges for your conduct. To be returned, if I think fit, later.'

Saruman's face was for a moment clouded with anger. Then he laughed. 'Later!' he said. 'Yes – when you also have the keys of Baraddur, I suppose; and the crowns of seven kings, and the staffs of the five wizards,[5] and have purchased yourself a pair of boots many sizes larger than those you have now. A modest plan. But I must beg leave to be excused from assisting. Let us end this chatter. If you wish to deal with me, deal with me! Speak sense – and do not come here with a horde of savages, and these boorish men, and foolish children that dangle at your tail.'

He left the balcony. He had hardly turned away, when a heavy thing came hurtling down from above. It glanced off the parapet, narrowly missed Gandalf, and splintered [*struck out:* into fragments] on the rock beside the stair. It seemed to have been a large ball of dark shining crystal.

'The treacherous rogue,' cried Éomer, but Gandalf was unmoved. 'Not Saruman this time,' he said. 'It came from a window above. That was a parting shot from Master Wormtongue, I fancy. I caught the flash of a hand. And ill-aimed. Which do you think it was meant for, me or Saruman?' 'I think maybe the aim was ill because he could not make up his mind

which he hated most' (? said Gimli). 'I think so too,' said Gandalf. 'There will be pleasant words in the Tower when we are gone.'

'And we had better go quickly out of stone's throw at least,' said Éomer.

'It is plain to me that Saruman has not yet given up hope [*added:* in his own devices],' said Gandalf. 'Well, he must nurse his hope in Orthanc.'

Here this draft stops, the ending being very ragged. It is notable that in this text there is no mention of Gandalf's summons to Saruman to return to the balcony when he turned away, and so the breaking of his staff does not appear (in the original sketches of the scene in the outlines referred to above, where Saruman was not in his tower, Gandalf took his staff from him and broke it with his hands).[6]

Since there is no evidence at all that the conception of the *palantír* had arisen at any earlier stage or in any earlier writing, this must be presumed to be its first appearance, but the draft does not make it clear whether my father perceived its nature at the moment of its introduction as Wormtongue's missile – Gandalf does not say what he thought of it, nor hint that it might be a device of importance to Saruman. In his letter to W. H. Auden of 7 June 1955 my father said (immediately following the passage from that letter cited at the beginning of *The Return of the Shadow*): 'I knew nothing of the *Palantíri*, though the moment the Orthanc-stone was cast from the window, I recognized it, and knew the meaning of the 'rhyme of lore' that had been running in my mind: *seven stars and seven stones and one white tree.*'[7] On the other hand, in this initial version of the scene he saw the ball of crystal as shattered by the impact, and still in the finished manuscript immediately following this draft he wrote that the ball 'splintered on the rock beside the stair. It seemed *from the fragments*', before breaking off at this point and writing that it smote the stair, and that it was the stair that cracked and splintered while the globe was unharmed. What further significance for the story could it have had if it were immediately destroyed?

The completed text develops the dialogue of Gandalf and Saruman a good way towards the form in TT, though much still remains from the original draft. But there now enters, almost in the final form, Gandalf's summons to Saruman to come back, his final admonition to him, and the breaking of his staff. The crystal ball now rolled down the steps, and it was 'dark but shining with a heart of fire'. In reply to Aragorn's suggestion that Wormtongue could not make up his mind whom he hated most Gandalf says: 'Yes, that may be so. There will be some debate in the Tower, when we are gone! We will take the ball. I

fancy that it is not a thing that Saruman would have chosen to cast away.'

Pippin's running down the stair to pick up the globe, and Gandalf's hasty taking of it and wrapping it in the folds of his cloak, were later additions (see p. 79 note 12). Yet that the globe was to be important is now plain. The scene ends thus in this version:

'Yet there may be other things to cast,' said Gimli. 'If that is the end of the debate, let us go out of stone's throw, at least.'

'It is the end,' said Gandalf. 'I must find Treebeard and tell him how things have gone.'

'He will have guessed, surely?' said Merry. 'Were they likely to end any other way?'

'Not likely,' answered Gandalf. 'But I had reasons for trying. I do not wish for mastery. Saruman has been given a last choice, and a fair one. He has chosen to withhold Orthanc at least from us, for that is his last asset. He knows that we have no power to destroy it from without, or to enter it against his will; yet it might have been useful to us. But things have not gone badly. Set a thief to hinder a thief! [*Struck out:* And malice blinds the wits.] I fancy that, if we could have come in, we should have found few treasures in Orthanc more precious than the thing which the fool Wormtongue tossed down to us!'

A shrill shriek, suddenly cut off, came from an open window high above. 'I thought so,' said Gandalf. 'Now let us go!'

The end of the chapter in TT, the meeting of Legolas and Gimli with Treebeard, his parting from Merry and Pippin, and the verse in which the Hobbits are entered into 'the Long Lists', is present in this first completed text all but word for word, save only at the very end, where his last words are brief:

'Leave it to Ents,' said Treebeard. 'Until seven times the years in which he tormented us have passed, we shall not tire of watching over him.'[8]

NOTES

1 The draft has: 'low, rather melodious, and yet unpleasant: it spoke contemptuously.'

2 Though this exchange was subsequently lost, the reference to Gandalf's manner of departure from Orthanc on the previous occasion was brought in at a later point (TT p. 187): 'When last I visited you, you were the jailor of Mordor, and there I was to be

sent. Nay, the guest who has escaped from the roof will think twice before he comes back in by the door.'

3 The draft of Saruman's speech is very close to that cited from the completed manuscript, but after 'We should understand one another' Saruman says 'Building not breaking is *our* work.'

4 Not strictly the original draft, since as already noted it is inked over a faint and illegible pencilled text.

5 The first reference to the Five Wizards.

6 In drafting for the end of the chapter Gandalf's reply to Treebeard's 'So Saruman would not leave? I did not think he would' (TT p. 192) runs thus: 'No, he is still nursing what hope he has. He is of course pretending that he loves me and would help me (if I were reasonable – which means if I would serve him, and help him to power without [?bounds]). But he is determined to wait – sitting among the ruins of his old plans to see what comes. In that mood, and with the Key of Orthanc *and his staff* he must not be allowed to escape.'

7 The need that the *palantír* would come to fulfil had already been felt, as is seen from Aragorn's (rejected) remarks on p. 50: 'And we should do best never to mention it [the Ring] aloud: I do not know what powers Saruman in his tower may have, nor *what means of communication with the East there may be*.'

8 The meeting of Treebeard with Legolas and Gimli and his parting from Merry and Pippin was very largely achieved in preliminary drafting, but was placed at a different point, since it begins: 'The afternoon was half gone and the sun going behind the western arm of the valley when Gandalf and the King returned. With them came Treebeard. Gimli and Legolas gazed at him in wonder. "Here are my companions that I have spoken of to you," said Gandalf. The old Ent looked at them long and searchingly', &c. This was how the part of the narrative afterwards constituting 'The Voice of Saruman' originally began.

VI
THE PALANTÍR

Drafts and outlines for the opening of this chapter show my father very uncertain of the immediate course of events when the company left Isengard. These pages are extremely difficult to interpret and to place in sequence, but I take the one that I give now to be that first written, since it treats as the actual event what would become merely the abandoned plan ('When we came, we meant to go straight from Isengard back to the king's house at Edoras over the plains', TT p. 194).

The sun was sinking behind the long western arm of the mountains when Gandalf and his companions, and the King with his riders, set out from Isengard.

Ents in a solemn row stood like statues at the gate, with their long arms uplifted; but they made no sound. Merry and Pippin looked back as they passed down hill and turned into the road that led to the bridge.[1] Sunlight was shining in the sky, but long shadows reached out over Isengard. Treebeard stood there still, like a dark tree in the shade; the other Ents were gone, back to the sources of the stream.

By Gandalf's advice the company crossed the bridge and then struck away from the river, southward and east, making straight across the rolling plains of Rohan back to Eodoras: a journey of some forty-eight leagues.[2] They were to ride more with secrecy than speed, by dusk and night, hoping to reach the king's house by nightfall of the second day. By that time many of the king's men who had fought at the Fords and at Helm's Deep would be gathering at Eodoras.

'We have gained the first victory,' said Gandalf, 'yet that has some danger. There was a bond between Isengard and Mordor. Of what sort and how they exchanged their news I have not discovered. But the eyes of the Dark Tower will look now in this direction, I think.

'There is no one of this company, I think, whose name (and deeds) is not noted now in the dark mind of Sauron. We should walk in shadow, if we walk abroad at all – until we are ready. Therefore, though it may add to the miles, I counsel you go now

by night, and go south so that day does not find us in the open plain. After that we may ride with many men, or ride maybe [??back to the] Deeping Coomb that would be better by ways among the foothills of your own mountains Théoden, and come thus down to Eodoras ... long ravines about Dunharrow.

The last few lines are a ragged scrawl, across which my father wrote (at the same time) 'They meet Huorns returning'. Since against the statement that 'they passed down hill and turned into the road that led to the bridge' he noted in the margin 'No they rode south to the Fords', and against 'the company crossed the bridge and then struck away from the river' he wrote 'No, they go south', it seems clear that it was as he was writing this first draft of the opening that he realised that the company did not in fact make straight for Eodoras but went first to Helm's Deep – and therefore abandoned this text.[3]

In a rejected speech of Aragorn's (p. 67 note 7) there was a suggestion that he had given some thought to the matter, but there is here the first clear expression of the idea that there must have been some means by which news was rapidly exchanged between Orthanc and Barad-dûr. Why Gandalf was so certain of this is not made plain,[4] and one might wonder whether the idea did not arise from the *palantír* rather than the other way about.

On the reverse of this page is an outline that one would naturally suppose to have been written continuously with the text on the other side. That it followed the abandoned narrative draft is obvious from the fact that here the company did not head straight for Eodoras but rode down from Isengard to the Fords. The writing is here exceptionally difficult, not only extremely rapid but with letters idiosyncratically formed.

This was the Orthan[c] Stone [*written above: Orthancstone Orthankstone Orþancstán*] which kept watch on movements in neighbourhood but its range was limited to some 100 leagues?[5] It will help to keep watch on Orthanc from afar.

Night comes swiftly. They come to the Fords and note the river is failing and running dry again.[6] The starry night. They cross and pass the mounds.

They halt under stars and see the great black shadow passing between [?them] and stars. Nazgûl.

Gandalf takes out dark globe and looks at it. Good, he said. It shows little by night. That is a comfort. All they could see [?was] stars and [?far away] small batlike shapes wheeling. At the edge was a river in the moon. The moon is already visible in Osgiliath said Gandalf. That seems the edge of sight.[7]

As they draw near Helm's Deep a shadow comes up like a mist. Suddenly they hear a rustling whisper and on both sides of them so that they are in a lane .... Shadows pass away northward. Huorns. Insert now page 3 of Ch.XXIX.

Next day they ride with many men in the Westfold Vale and .... by [?paths winding] among the mountains. They strike the Dunharrow ravine on the second day. And find folk streaming back to Eodoras. Aragorn rides with Éowyn.[8]

Gandalf looks at the Dark Crystal on the terrace before King's House. They see quite clearly Orthanc – Ents [?moving] ..... water all very [?small] and clear. Horsemen riding over plain from west and north. Strange [?figures of various kind]. And from Minas Tirith. It only shows *lights and men* [?no country].

The reference to 'page 3 of Chapter XXIX' is to the first completed version of 'The Road to Isengard', where the description of the departure of the Huorn wood from the Deeping Coomb was placed before Théoden and Gandalf and their company left for Isengard, and so before they passed through the wood (p. 27). It is clear from the passage of the Huorns at this point in the story that the final time-scheme had not yet been reached (see pp. 5–6, §§ III–IV): Théoden and Gandalf and their company still reached Isengard on the day (2 February) following the Battle of the Hornburg and did not spend the night of 2 February encamped below Nan Gurunír (where in TT, p. 158, they heard the Huorns passing, and after which the passage about the departure of the wood from the Deeping Coomb, and the Death Down, finally found its place).

In this outline there is nothing to suggest that the 'dark globe' was the means of communication between Orthanc and Barad-dûr – indeed, rather the reverse, since when Gandalf looks into it somewhere near the Fords of Isen the range of its sight does not extend beyond Osgiliath (although his words 'It shows little by night. That is a comfort' suggest that he had feared that it might make them visible to a hostile eye). On the other hand, in the preceding narrative draft Gandalf is seen to be much concerned with that question of communication: 'There was a bond between Isengard and Mordor. Of what sort ... I have not discovered.' It seems hard to believe that even though Gandalf had not yet put two and two together my father had failed to do so. A possible explanation is that when he wrote this outline he did indeed already know the significance of the Dark Crystal, but that Gandalf had not yet fathomed the full extent of its range and powers, or did not yet know how to make use of them. Or it may be truer to say simply that in these notes we see the formative moment in which the significance of the Seeing Stone was at the point

of emergence: the fateful 'device' – devised long before – which in the final story would prove to have been of vast though hidden importance in the War of the Ring.[9]

A little scribbled note in isolation may be cited here:

The black-red ball shows movements. They see the lines of war advancing. [?Ships are seen] and Théoden's men in Helm's Deep and assembling in Rohan.

The context of this is altogether obscure: for who is seeing these things?

Another text – a brief and tantalising set of notes scrawled down very rapidly in faint soft pencil, vestiges of fugitive thoughts – shows further debate on the meaning of the Orthanc-stone. I cannot see any clear indication of where it would be placed in the narrative, or even of where it stands in the sequence of these preliminary papers;[10] but from various points it seems to have preceded the text that follows it here.

I said that Isengard was overthrown, and the Stone was going on a journey, said Gandalf. And that I would [look >] speak to it again later when I could, but [?at the] moment I was in a hurry.
auctor (No I think the dark globe to be in contact with Mordor is too like the rings)

Gandalf discovers that the Orthanc-stone is a far-seer. But he could not make out [how] to use it. It seemed capricious. It seems still to be looking in the directions in which it was last used, he said.

Hence, vision of the [*added:* 7] Nazgûl above the battlements. He was looking towards Mordor.

Can one see back. Possibly said Gandalf. It is perilous but I have a mind to use it.

He stands back. He has been seen [?bending over it].?

No, he said, this is an ancient stone set in an upper chamber of the tower long long ago before the Dark Tower was strong. It was used by the [?wardens] of Gondor. One also must have been in the Hornburg, and in Minas Tirith, and in Minas Morghul, and in Osgiliath. (Five).

They saw the Hornburg. They saw Minas Tirith. They saw Nazgûl above the battlements of Osgiliath. So Saruman learned some of his news he said.

The bracketing of the words 'No I think the dark globe to be in contact with Mordor is too like the rings' and the marginal *auctor* (meaning that this was my father's thought, not Gandalf's) were

added in ink. The implication of these words must be that Gandalf, in the opening sentences of this text, was speaking to a person in Mordor: and if that person was none other than Sauron himself, there is a delightful glimpse of Gandalf telling the Dark Lord that he was busy. — That here only five of the Seeing Stones are named (given a habitation) does not mean of course that at this stage there were only five, but that these were the five Stones of the southern kingdom (Gondor). In subsequent enumerations there were five Stones in Gondor, where in LR there were four.

Lastly, there is a brief outline, ending in a ragged scrawl, that seems to have preceded the first continuous drafting of the chapter in formed narrative.

Conversation with Saruman begins about 3.15 and ends about 4.30 (that is about sunset). Dark comes about 5.30. Gandalf leads them south in the dark – because now they must be more secret than ever. (Wonders what the connexion was between Saruman and Sauron.)

They pass out of Nan Gurunír at about 9 p.m. Camp under shadow of the last western hill. Dolbaran. They will ride fast on morrow. Two men are sent ahead to warn men that king is returning to Helm's Deep and that a strong force should be ready to ride with him. No men more than two or three are to ride openly on the plain. The king will go by mountain paths to Dunharrow.

Then episode of Pippin and Stone.

Gandalf says this is how Saruman fell. He studied such matters. The old far-seers of the Men of Númenor who made Amon Hen and Amon Lhaw One in Hornburg, Osgiliath, Minas Tirith, Minas Morghul, Isengard [Angrenost >] Angost.[11] That is how Saruman got news – though Hornburg and Minas Tirith were 'dark', their balls lost or destroyed. But he tried to peep at Barad-dur and got caught.

Nazgúl.

Feb. 4 They ride to Fords mid-morning (11 a.m.), rest an hour, and reach Deeping Coomb road-fork at 3 p.m. Helm's Deep at about 4. They rest, gather men, and ride by hill-paths lost to sight. Hobbits are given ponies – and Gimli!

Feb. 5, 6 Journey.

Feb. 7 Dunharrow. Joy of people. Éowyn comes forth. The King rides down the mountain valley with Éowyn and Éomund [*read* Éomer] on either side, Gandalf, Legolas, Aragorn beside them. The hobbits and Gimli ...

[?Regency.] Feast. Tobacco. Messenger.

In the previous text (p. 71) it is not actually stated that the Seeing Stones of Gondor 'answered' or corresponded one to another, but the idea was at the moment of emergence, as is seen from my father's passing doubt whether 'the dark globe to be in contact with Mordor is too like the rings', while 'Can one see back' seems clearly to refer to reciprocal vision between one Stone and another rather than to vision of past time. In the present outline this conception is fully present and accepted, and with it the central idea that it was through his knowledge of these matters that Saruman was corrupted, being snared by his use of the Stone of Orthanc to look towards Barad-dûr.

The 'episode of Pippin and the Stone' has arisen (though so far as the evidence goes it had not yet been committed to paper in any form); and the various elements were now coming to interlock in a beautifully articulated conception. The original idea (p. 69) that when Gandalf looked into the dark globe he saw 'small batlike shapes wheeling' will be retained but become Pippin's vision, and the explanation of why it should be that vision and no other (cf. 'It seems still to be looking in the directions in which it was last used', p. 71) will be found in the constant intercourse of Saruman and Sauron by means of the Seeing Stones (itself answering the question of the method of communication between Isengard and the Dark Tower), so that 'the Orthanc-stone [became] so bent towards Barad-dûr that, if any save a will of adamant now looks into it, it will bear his mind and sight swiftly thither' (TT p. 204).

The final time-scheme had now entered (see p. 6, § IV): Théoden and Gandalf and their company came to Isengard on 3 February and left that evening, two nights after the Battle of the Hornburg. It is remarkable that even when the plot had advanced to this stage, with the 'episode of Pippin and the Stone', and the first appearance of a Nazgûl west of Anduin, blacking out the stars (already present in the outline on p. 69), Gandalf was not impelled to ride on ahead in haste to Minas Tirith, but is present at the feast in Eodoras – that feast, often foreseen, which would never in the event take place. For the significance of the reference to tobacco here see p. 37 and note 33. But pencilled notes added to this outline later show the story of Gandalf's sudden departure: 'Feb. 4 Gandalf and Pippin reach Deeping Coomb before dawn', and 'Feb. 4–5 Gandalf rides all night and all day Feb. 5 reaching Minas Tirith at sunset on Feb. 5'.

There are no other writings extant before we come to a first draft of the chapter – which extends however only so far as the conclusion of Gandalf's words with Pippin after his vision in the Seeing Stone (TT p. 199).[12] This was written very fast and apparently set down without any preliminary workings, but the final text of the chapter to this point was achieved at once in all essentials – there are of course countless differences in the expression and a few in very small points of narrative detail, and many of these differences survived into the first

completed manuscript of the chapter.[13] The chief difference from the final text comes as Gandalf knelt by Pippin's body (TT p. 198): 'He removed the ball and wrapped it in a cloth again. "Take this and guard it, Aragorn," he said. "And do not uncover it or handle it yourself, I beg." Then he took Pippin's hand and bent over his face ...' Thus Gandalf hands the globe to Aragorn simply as a bearer whom he can trust, in contrast to the story in TT (pp. 199–200), where the charging of Aragorn with the Orthanc-stone takes place at a different point and is given much greater significance through Aragorn's claiming it by right. But Pippin's account of what happened to him when he looked into the globe and '*he* came' was achieved at once in this draft.

From this point there is very little further preliminary drafting, and for almost all the rest of the chapter the earliest available text is that of the first completed manuscript, much of which is written over erased pencil. This manuscript was later given the chapter-number XXXI, and the title 'The Orthanc-stone The Palantir', this being written over an erased title of which only 'The' can be read.

As this manuscript was first written Gandalf in his concluding words to Pippin said a good deal more than he does in TT (p. 199). Some of this was moved to his conversation with Théoden and Aragorn after he had carried Pippin back to his bed: that Pippin had saved him from the dangerous blunder of using the Stone himself, and of Sauron's delusion that the Stone, and the hobbit, were in Orthanc. But here Gandalf goes on:

'Very odd, very odd how things work out! But I begin now to wonder a little.' He stroked his beard. 'Was this ball really thrown to slay me after all? Or to slay me if it might, and do something else if it missed? Was it thrown without Saruman's knowledge? Hm! Things may have been meant to go much as they have gone – except that you looked in, not me! Hm! Well. They have gone so, and not otherwise; and it is so that we have to deal with.

'But come! This must change our plans. We are being careless and leisurely.

Against the paragraph beginning 'Very odd, very odd how things work out!' my father wrote in the margin: 'No! because if Saruman had wished to warn Mordor of the ruin of Isengard and the presence of Gandalf and hobbits he had only to use Glass in normal fashion and inform Sauron direct. ? But he may have wished (a) to kill Gandalf, (b) to get *rid* of the link. Sauron may have been *pressing* him to come to the stone?' He evidently decided that these were unprofitable speculations, and abandoning the direction Gandalf's words had taken returned to an earlier point in his final address to Pippin.

The text in this first manuscript then (with rewriting of some passages, obviously belonging to the same time) all but reaches that of TT (pp. 199–203) as far as Gandalf's opening remarks to Pippin about the Seeing Stones as they rode towards the Deeping Coomb. Only two matters need be noted. When Gandalf gives the Stone to Aragorn (cf. p. 74) he says here: 'It is a dangerous charge, but I can trust you even against yourself', and Aragorn replies only: 'I know the danger. I will not uncover it, or handle it.' Secondly, there is a curious series of shifts in the precise wording of Gandalf's remarks about his failure to understand immediately the nature of the ball thrown down from Orthanc. At first he said: 'I said nothing, because I knew nothing. I guessed only. I know now.' In the first rewriting of this passage he said: 'I ought to have been quicker, but my mind was bent on Saruman. And I did not guess *the full nature of the stone* – not until now. But now I know the link between Isengard and Mordor, which has long puzzled me.' This was again rewritten at this stage to read: 'And I did not guess *the nature of the stone, till I saw it in his* [Pippin's] *hands*. Not until now was I sure.' In further revision of the passage carried out much later it became: 'I did not guess the nature of the stone, *until it was too late*. Only now am I sure of it.' In the final form (TT p. 200) this was changed once more: 'I did not at once guess the nature of the stone. Then I was weary, and *as I lay pondering it, sleep overcame me*. Now I know!' There is, to be sure, among all these formulations no great difference in the actual meaning, but it was evidently a detail that concerned my father: just how much did Gandalf surmise about the *palantír* before Pippin's experience brought certainty, and how soon?

An element of ambiguity does in fact remain in LR. Already in the first manuscript of 'The Voice of Saruman' Gandalf had said: 'I fancy that, if we could have come in, we should have found few treasures in Orthanc more precious than the thing which the fool Wormtongue tossed down to us!' The nature of Wormtongue's missile cannot have been fully apparent to my father himself at that stage: it was in that manuscript, only a few lines above, that he changed, as he wrote, the initial story of the globe's having smashed into fragments on the rock (p. 65). But even when he had fully established the nature of the *palantír* he retained those words of Gandalf (TT p. 190) at the moment when it bursts upon the story – *although*, as Gandalf said at Dol Baran, 'I did not at once guess the nature of the Stone'. But then why was he so emphatic, as he stood beneath the tower, that 'we could have found few treasures in Orthanc more precious' – even before Wormtongue's shriek gave reinforcement to his opinion? Perhaps we should suppose simply that this much at least was immediately clear to him, that a great ball of dark crystal in Orthanc was most unlikely to have been nothing but an elegant adornment of Saruman's study.

At the words 'Hobbits, I suppose, have forgotten them' (the Rhymes

of Lore), following Gandalf's recital of the words of the Rhyme *Tall ships and tall kings / Three times three* (TT p. 202), a brief passage of original drafting, written out separately in ink and so not lost in erasure of pencil as elsewhere, takes up: the first framing of Gandalf's declaration of the history of the Seeing Stones, here called *Palantirs*, a word that so far as record goes now first appears.

They [the Rhymes of Lore] are all treasured in Rivendell. Treebeard remembers most / some of them: Long [Rolls >] Lists and that sort of thing. But hobbits I suppose have forgotten nearly all, even those that they ever knew.

And what is that one about: the seven stones and seven stars?

About the Palantirs of the Men of Old, said Gandalf. I was thinking of them.

Why, what are they?

The Orthanc stone was one, said Gandalf.

Then it was not made, Pippin hesitated, by the Enemy, he asked [?at a rush].

No, said Gandalf. Nor by Saruman; it is beyond his art, and beyond Sauron's too maybe. No, there was no evil in it. It has been corrupted, as have so many of the things that remain. Alas poor Saruman, it was his downfall, so I now perceive. Dangerous to us all are devices made by a knowledge and art deeper than we possess ourselves. I did not know that any Palantir had survived the decay of Gondor and the Elendilions until now.

Seven they set up. At Minas Anor that is now Minas Tirith there was one, and one at Minas Ithil, and others at Aglarond the Caves of Splendour which men call Helm's Deep, and at Orthanc. Others were far away, I know not where, maybe at Fornost, and at Mithlond [*struck out:* where Cirdan harboured the ... ships ...] (in) the Gulf of Lune where the grey ships lie. But the chief and master .... [?of (the) stones] was at Osgiliath before it was ruined.

In this passage are the first occurrences of *Aglarond* (see p. 28) and of *Fornost*, which on the First Map was named *Fornobel*, and still so on my map made in 1943, VII.304. Here also is the first appearance of *Cirdan* in the manuscripts of *The Lord of the Rings*.

In the first complete manuscript this was developed towards the form in TT. Gandalf now tells that 'The *palantirs* came from beyond Westernesse, from Eldamar. The Noldor made them: Fëanor himself maybe wrought them, in days so long ago that the time cannot be measured in years.' He speaks of Saruman as he does in the final text; but here he ends: 'No word did he ever speak of it to any of the

Council. It was not known that any of the *palantirs* had escaped the ruin of Gondor. Their very existence was preserved only in a Rhyme of Lore among Aragorn's people.' This was changed to: 'It was not known to us that any of the *palantirs* had escaped the ruin of Gondor. Outside the Council it was not among elves and men even remembered that such things had ever been, save only in a Rhyme of Lore preserved among Aragorn's people.'[14]

The remainder of the chapter in the first manuscript reaches the final form in all but a few respects. There were still five *palantirs* anciently in Gondor, one being still that of Aglarond (translated, as in the draft, 'Caves of Splendour', but changed to 'Glittering Caves').[15] Of the other two, Gandalf still says that they were far away, 'I do not know where, for no rhyme says. Maybe they were at Fornost, and with Kirdan at Mith[l]ond[16] in the Gulf of Lune where the grey ships lie.'

In answer to Pippin's question concerning the coming of the Nazgûl (TT p. 204) Gandalf here says only: 'It could have taken you away to the Dark Tower', and goes on at once: 'But now Saruman is come to the last pinch of the vice that he has put his hand in.' He says that 'It may be that he [Sauron] will learn that I was there and stood upon the stairs of Orthanc – with hobbits at my tail. That is what I fear.'[17] And at the end of the chapter he tells Pippin: 'You may see the first glimmer of dawn upon the golden roof of the house of Eorl. At sunset on the day after you shall see the shadow of Mount Tor-dilluin fall upon the white walls of the tower of Denethor.'[18]

★

In his foreword to the Second Edition of *The Lord of the Rings* my father said that in 1942 he 'wrote the first drafts of the matter that now stands as Book III, and the beginnings of Chapters 1 and 3 of Book V ['Minas Tirith' and 'The Muster of Rohan']; and there as the beacons flared in Anórien and Théoden came to Harrowdale I stopped. Foresight had failed and there was no time for thought.'[19] It seems to have been about the end of 1942 or soon after that he stopped; for in a letter to Stanley Unwin of 7 December 1942 (*Letters* no. 47) he said that the book had reached Chapter XXXI 'and will require at least six more to finish (these are already sketched).' This chapter was undoubtedly 'The Palantír' (not 'Flotsam and Jetsam', *Letters* p. 437, note to letter 47).

In the foreword to the Second Edition he went on: 'It was during 1944 that ... I forced myself to tackle the journey of Frodo to Mordor', and this new beginning can be very precisely dated; for on 3 April 1944 he said in a letter to me (*Letters* no. 58):

> I have begun to nibble at Hobbit again. I have started to do some (painful) work on the chapter which picks up the adventures of

Frodo and Sam again; and to get myself attuned have been copying and polishing the last written chapter (Orthanc-Stone).

Two days later, on 5 April 1944 (*Letters* no. 59) he wrote to me:

I have seriously embarked on an effort to finish my book, & have been sitting up rather late: a lot of re-reading and research required. And it is a painful sticky business getting into swing again. I have gone back to Sam and Frodo, and am trying to work out their adventures. A few pages for a lot of sweat: but at the moment they are just meeting Gollum on a precipice.

The 'copying and polishing' of 'The Orthanc-Stone' that my father did at this time is the second, very finely written manuscript of the chapter. Well over a year had passed since the first manuscript of the chapter was written, but not unnaturally no changes of significance were made in the new text: thus Aragorn's reception of the *palantír* remains in the simple form it had (p. 75); Gandalf does not refer to the possibility that Wormtongue might have recognised Aragorn on the stairs of Orthanc (note 17); Aglarond was still one of the ancient sites of the *palantíri* of Gondor, and Gandalf still says that he does not know where the others had been 'for no rhyme says', but maybe in Fornost and with Cirdan at the Grey Havens.[20]

NOTES

1 On 'the road that led to the bridge' see p. 31, where coming in the other direction the company had crossed the bridge and 'found a road that with a wide northward sweep brought them to the great highway to the fords.'

2 In the notes on distances referred to on p. 42 note 14 *Eodoras to Isenford* is given as 125 miles, which agrees well with the First Map (VII.319) and with the statement in TT ('Helm's Deep', p. 131) that it was 'forty leagues and more': see p. 12. *Eodoras to Isengard* is given in these notes as 140 miles (46·6 leagues), which again agrees closely with the First Map (about 2·8 cm.). *Eodoras to Helm's Deep or mouth of Coomb* is 110 miles; in my redrawing this distance is 100 miles (2 cm.), but the map is here very difficult to interpret and I have probably not placed Helm's Deep at precisely the point my father intended: on my map made in 1943 the distance as the crow flies is 110 miles. – The idea that after the visit to Isengard Théoden and his companions returned to Eodoras goes back to the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn', VII.437.

3 There is a second draft of the opening, which need not be given in full. Here it is noted how they rode: 'Gandalf took Merry behind him, and Aragorn took Pippin; Gimli rode as before with Éomer,

and Legolas was upon Arod at his side'; but this was immediately changed to 'Legolas and Gimli rode together again.' After a further hesitation, whether the company went down to the Fords or passed over the bridge below Isengard and went east, this draft ends:

> Gandalf's plan had at first been to ride straight to Eodoras from Isengard. But he said 'Victory has its dangers', and Théoden had best ride with secrecy now, and with many men. They would return to the Deeping Coomb and send on a messenger, bidding the men who were labouring there to hasten their work and be prepared to ride on the morrow by hill-paths. So now the company rode at a gentle [pace]

4 Cf. *Unfinished Tales* p. 405: 'It needed the demonstration on Dol Baran of the effects of the Orthanc-stone on Peregrin to reveal suddenly that the "link" between Isengard and Barad-dûr (seen to exist after it was discovered that forces of Isengard had been joined with others directed by Sauron in the attack on the Fellowship at Parth Galen) was in fact the Orthanc-stone – and one other *palantír*.'

5 The distance from Orthanc to Barad-dûr on the First Map is 12·3 cm., = 615 miles or 205 leagues. – This is a convenient place to notice that in my redrawing of section IVE of the First Map (VII.319) what I have represented as a small circle on the western side of the Wizard's Vale seems not to be so, but is rather an alteration in the line marking the edge of the vale. At the upper end of the vale is a minute circle that must represent Isengard.

6 The story here was that the Ents (who at the beginning of the draft on p. 68 are said to have gone back to the sources of the stream, leaving Treebeard alone at the gate of Isengard) had at once obeyed Gandalf's parting request to Treebeard (TT p. 192) that the waters of Isen be again poured into the Ring.

7 From Isenford to Osgiliath on the First Map is 8·6 cm., = 430 miles or 143 leagues.

8 Cf. VII.447: 'If I live, I will come, Lady Éowyn, and then maybe we will ride together.'

9 Cf. Gandalf's words in *The Two Towers*, p. 203: 'Alas for Saruman! It was his downfall, as I now perceive'; and in *The Return of the King*, p. 133: 'Thus the will of Sauron entered into Minas Tirith.'

10 It is written in fact on the back of one of the pages of the initial continuous drafting of the chapter (p. 73), but seems entirely unconnected with it.

11 *Angost* was a passing substitution for *Angrenost*: see p. 44 note 27.

12 One of the pages of this draft carries also drafting of the passage in 'The Voice of Saruman' in which Gandalf, seeing Pippin

carrying the *palantír*, cries out 'Here, my lad, I'll take that! I did not ask you to handle it.' See p. 66.

13 I mention the following as examples of such differences in the detail of this part of the story. In Gandalf's talk with Merry as they rode from Isengard (TT p. 194), after saying that he had not yet fathomed what the link was between Saruman and Sauron and that 'Rohan will be ever in his thought', he used again the words found in the soon abandoned draft for the opening of the chapter (p. 68): 'There is no one of this company, be sure, whose name and deeds are not noted now in the mind of Sauron'; but my father bracketed this, with the marginal note: 'No: Gandalf's return hidden.' In the night halt beneath Dolbaran (so written, as also in the outline on p. 72) Merry and Pippin lay not far from Gandalf; when Pippin got up from his bed 'the two guards sitting on their horses had their backs to the camp'; Pippin saw a glitter from Gandalf's eyes as he slept 'Under his long dark lashes' ('long lashes' TT); the *palantír* lay beside the wizard's left hand.

14 This was preserved in the First Edition of *The Two Towers*.

15 As in TT, Gandalf guesses that the *palantír* of Barad-dûr was the Ithil-stone.

16 *Mithond* must be a mere slip, though it was left uncorrected. It is curious that in the next manuscript, made in 1944 (pp. 77–8), the form in this passage was *Mithrond*, corrected to *Mithlond*.

17 In TT 'That is what I fear' refers to additional sentences inserted after 'with hobbits at my tail': 'Or that an heir of Elendil lives and stood beside me. If Wormtongue was not deceived by the armour of Rohan, he would remember Aragorn and the title that he claimed.' But this insertion was made long after (on 'the armour of Rohan' borne by Aragorn see TT p. 127, and in this book p. 304 and p. 317 with note 9).

18 *Tor-dilluin* was emended to *Mindolluin*. The mountain was added roughly to the First Map and not named, but carefully shown on the 1943 map (VII.310). – With Gandalf's forecast that they will come to Minas Tirith at sunset cf. p. 73 (Gandalf reaches Minas Tirith at sunset on February 5).

19 Cf. my father's letter to Caroline Everett, 24 June 1957 (*Letters* no. 199):

> I was in fact longest held up – by exterior circumstances as well as interior – at the point now represented by the last words of Book iii (reached about 1942 or 3). After that Chapter 1 of Book v remained very long as a mere opening (as far as the arrival in Gondor); Chapter 2 [The Passing of the Grey Company] did not exist; and Chapter 3, Muster of Rohan, had got no further than the arrival at Harrowdale. Chapter 1 of Book iv [The Taming of Sméagol] had hardly got beyond Sam's opening words (Vol. II p. 209). Some parts of the

adventures of Frodo and Sam on the confines of Mordor and in it had been written (but were eventually abandoned).

The last sentence evidently refers to the text that I called 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien', in VII.324 ff.

In fact, there is very clear evidence that my father erred in his recollection that the abandoned beginnings of Chapters 1 and 3 of Book V belonged to the time that we have now reached (i.e. the end of Book III); see pp. 231 ff., where the question is discussed in detail.

20 The text has *Mithrond* here, corrected to *Mithlond*: see note 16. – I collect a few further details from this second manuscript. *Palantirs* became *Palantíri* in the course of writing it. – Osgiliath is named *Elostirion* (*Elostirion* being roughly substituted for *Osgiliath* in the first manuscript, but very probably at this time). This change was introduced in a note dated February 9 1942 (VII.423), and appears in the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn' (VII.435). *Osgiliath* in the drafting and first manuscript of 'The Palantír' was thus a reversion, and *Elostirion* in 1944 another. Finally *Elostirion* was afterwards corrected back to *Osgiliath* on the 1944 manuscript.

Lastly, there was much hesitation about the phase of the moon on the night of the camp below Dol Baran. In the original draft no more was said than that 'The moon was shining' when Pippin got up from his bed. In the first manuscript 'The moon had risen far away but could not yet be seen; a pale sheen was in the sky above the bushes and the eastern rim of the dell'; with this compare perhaps the early notes given on p. 69, where Gandalf looks into the Seeing Stone and says 'The moon is already visible in Osgiliath.' This was changed to 'The moon was shining cold and white into the dell and the shadows of the bushes were black'; but on both the first and second manuscripts my father then shifted back and forth between the two statements, until he finally decided on the latter, which is the reading of TT (p. 196).

On the first manuscript he noted in the margin the following times (which show a much more rapid journey from Isengard than in the outline on p. 72): 'Sunset about 5 p.m. They camped about 6 p.m. This [i.e. Pippin's looking into the *palantír*] happened about 11 p.m. Moon rose 6.34 p.m.' According to the elaborate time-scheme that was made after the introduction of changes in October 1944 (VII.368), the New Moon had been on 21 January, the First Quarter on 29 January, and Full Moon was on 6 February, three nights after the camp beneath Dol Baran.

PART TWO

THE RING GOES EAST

I

THE TAMING OF SMÉAGOL

In his letter of June 1957 cited in note 19 to the last chapter (p. 80) my father said that at the time of this long break in the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* 'Chapter 1 of Book iv had hardly got beyond Sam's opening words (Vol. II p. 209)'. That beginning of a new story of Sam and Frodo in Mordor,[1] for so long set aside, can I think be identified: it consists of a brief narrative opening that soon breaks down into outline form ('**A**'), and a portion of formed narrative ('**B**') that ends at Sam's words (TT p. 210) 'a bit of plain bread, and a mug aye half a mug of beer would go down proper'. The original draft A went thus:

'Well Master this is a nasty place and no mistake,' said Sam to Frodo. They had been wandering for days in the hard barren heights of Sarn Gebir. Now at last on the fifth evening since their flight[2] they stood on the edge of a grey cliff. A chill east wind blew. Far below the land lay green at the feet of the cliff, and away S.W. [*read* S.E.] a pall of grey cloud or shadow hung shutting out the remoter view.

'It seems we have come the wrong way altogether,' went on Sam. 'That's where we want to get, or we don't want to but we mean to. And the quicker the better, if we must do it. But we can't get down, and if we do get down there is all that nasty green marsh. Phew, can you smell it.' He sniffed the wind: cold as it was it seemed heavy with a stench of cold decay and rottenness.

'We are above the Dead Marshes that lie between Anduin and the pass into Mordor,' said Frodo. 'We have come the wrong way – [we >] I should have left the Company long before and come down from the North, east of Sarn Gebir and over the hard of Battle Plain. But it would take us weeks on foot to work back northward over these hills. I don't know what is to be done. What food have we?'

A couple of weeks with care.

Let us sleep.

Suspicion of Gollum that night. They work northward.

Next day footfalls on the rock. Frodo sends Sam ahead and hides behind a rock *using ring*.[3] Gollum appears. Frodo over-

come with sudden fear flies, but Gollum pursues. They come to a cliff rather lower and less sheer than that behind. In dread of Gollum they begin to climb down.

Here my father abandoned this draft, and (as I think) followed at once with a new opening (B), in which the text of TT is closely approached at almost all points (but the hills are still named *Sarn Gebir*, and the time is 'the [*struck out:* fourth or] fifth evening since they had fled from the Company'). With Sam's longing for bread and beer this manuscript ends, not at the foot of a page; and it is, I feel sure, the abandoned opening of the chapter to which my father referred.[4] When it was written, in relation to the work on Book III, there seems no way of telling.[5]

'A few pages for a lot of sweat,' my father said in his letter of 5 April 1944 (see p. 78), in which he told me of his turning again to the adventures of Sam and Frodo; and 45 years later one can feel it, reading these pages in which he struggled (in increasingly impossible handwriting) to discover just how Sam and Frodo did in the end get down out of the twisted hills into the horrible lands below.

When he took the chapter up again in 1944, he did not rewrite the original opening (which survives with little change into TT), but taking a new sheet began: 'The sun was caught into clouds and night came suddenly' (cf. TT p. 210). This text, which I will call 'C', soon degenerates into a terrible scrawl and at the end becomes in part altogether illegible.

The sun was caught into clouds and night came suddenly. They slept in turns, as best they could, in a hollow of the rocks, sheltered from the easterly wind.

'Did you see them again, Mr Frodo?' asked Sam, as they sat, stiff and chilled, munching wafers of *lembas* in the cold grey of early morning.

'Yes, once,' said Frodo. 'But I heard the snuffling several times, and it came nearer than it has before.'

'Ah!' said Sam. 'Growing bolder, it seems. I heard him, too, though I saw no eyes. He's after us still: can't shake him off nohow. Curse the slinking varmint. Gollum! I'd give him *gollum* if I could get my hands on his neck. As if we hadn't enough trouble in front, without him hanging on behind.'

'If only I dared use the Ring,' muttered Frodo, 'maybe I could catch him then.'

'Don't you do that, master!' said Sam. 'Not out up here! He'd see you – not meaning Gollum either. I feel all naked on the east side, if you understand me, stuck up here on the skyline with

nought but a big flat bog between us and that shadow over yonder.'[6] He looked hurriedly over his shoulder towards the East. 'We've got to get down off it,' he said, 'and today we're going to get down off it somehow.'

But that day too wore towards its end, and found them still scrambling along the ridge. Often they heard the following footsteps, and yet however quick they turned they could not catch sight of the pursuer. Once or twice they lay in wait behind a boulder. But after a moment the *flip-flap* of the footsteps would halt, and all went silent: only the wind sighing over stones seemed to remind them of faint breathing through sharp teeth.

Toward evening Frodo and Sam were brought to a halt. They came to a place where they had at last only two choices: to go back or to climb down. They were on the outer eastward ridge of the Emyn Muil,[7] that fell away sheerly on their right. For many miles it had been falling lower towards the wet lands beyond; here after tending northwards it reared suddenly up again many fathoms in a single leap and went on again on a high level far above their heads. They were at the foot of a cliff facing S.W., cut down as if with a knife-stroke. There was no going further that way. But they were also at the top of another cliff facing east.

Frodo looked over the edge. 'It's easier to get down than up,' he said.

'Yes, you can always jump or fall, even if you can't fly,' said Sam.

'But look, Sam!' said Frodo. 'Either the ridge has sunk or the lands at its feet have swelled up – we are not nearly so high up as we were yesterday: about 30 fathoms,[8] not much more.'

'And that's enough,' said Sam. 'Ugh! How I do hate looking down from a height, and that's not so bad as climbing.'

'But here I almost think we could climb,' said Frodo. 'The rock is different here.' The cliff was indeed no longer sheer, but sloped somewhat backward, and the rock was of such a kind that great flat slabs seemed to have split away and fallen. It looked rather as if they were sitting on the eaves of a great roof of thin stone-shingles or tiles that had tipped over leaving their rough edges upwards.

'Well,' said Sam, standing up and tightening his belt. 'What about trying it? It'll give that flapping footpad something to think about anyway.'

'If we are going to try today we had better try at once,' said Frodo. 'It's getting dark early. I think there's a storm coming.'

The dark smudge of the mountains in the East was lost in a deeper blackness, that was already sending out great arms towards them. There was a distant rumble of thunder. 'There's no shelter at all down there,' said Frodo. 'Still, come on!' He stepped towards the brink.

'Nay, Mr Frodo, me first!' cried Sam.

'Why so eager?' said Frodo. 'Do you want to show me the way?'

'Not me,' said Sam. 'But it's only sense. Have the one most like to slip lowest. I don't want to slip, but I don't want to slip and come down atop of you and knock you off.'

'But [?I'd] do the same to you.'

'Then you'll have something soft to fall on,' said Sam, throwing his legs over the edge, and turning his face to the wall. His toes found a ledge and he grunted. 'Now where do we put our hands next?' he muttered.

'There's a much wider ledge about twice your height below you,' said Frodo from above, 'if you can slide down to it.' 'If!' said Sam. 'And what then?' 'Come, I'll get alongside and try it, and then we need not quarrel about first or second.' Frodo slid quickly down till he stood splayed against the cliff a yard or two to the right of Sam. But he could find no handhold between the cliff-top and the narrow ledge at his toes, and though the slope lean[t] forwards[9] he had not the skill nor the head to make the passage to the wider foothold below.

From about this point the text becomes increasingly rough and increasingly difficult to read: I reproduce a leaf of the manuscript on p. 90 (for the text of this leaf as best as I can interpret it see p. 91).

'Hm!' grunted Sam. 'Here we are side by side, like flies on a fly-paper.'

'But we can at least still get back,' said Frodo. 'At least I can. There's a hold just above my head.'

'Then you'd best get back,' said Sam. 'I can't manage this, and my toes are aching cruel already.'

Frodo hauled himself back with some difficulty, but he found that he could not help Sam. When he leaned down as far as he dared Sam's upstretched hand was just out of reach.

'Lor, this is a pickle I am in,' said poor Sam, and his voice

began to quaver. The eastern sky grew black as night. The thunder rolled nearer.

'Hold up, Sam,' said Frodo. 'Just wait till I get my belt off.' He lowered it buckle first. 'Can you grasp it?'

'Aye,' said Sam. 'A bit lower till I get my two hands on it.'

'But now I haven't enough to hold myself, and anyway I can't lean back or get my foot against a stop,' said Frodo. 'You'll just pull me over, or pull the belt out of my hands. O for a rope.'

'Rope,' said Sam. 'I just deserve to hang here all night, I do. You're nobbut a ninnyhammer Sam Gamgee: that's what the Gaffer said to me many a time, that being a word of his. Rope. There is one of those grey ropes in my pack. You know, that one we got with the boats in Lórien. I took a fancy to it and stowed it away.'

'But the pack's on your back,' said Frodo, 'and I can't reach it, and you can't toss it up.'

'It did ought to be but it ain't,' said Sam. 'You've got my pack,' said Sam.

[?'How's that?'] .....

'Now do make haste, Mr Frodo, or my toes'll break,' said Sam. 'The rope's my only chance.' It did not take Frodo long to tip up the pack, and there indeed at the bottom was a long coil of silk[en] grey rope. In a moment Sam [?tied] an end round his waist and ... clutched ... above his head [?with].[10] Frodo ran back from the brink and braced his foot against a crevice. Half hauled, half scrambling Sam came puffing and blowing up the few feet of cliff that had baffled him. He sat down and stroked his toes.

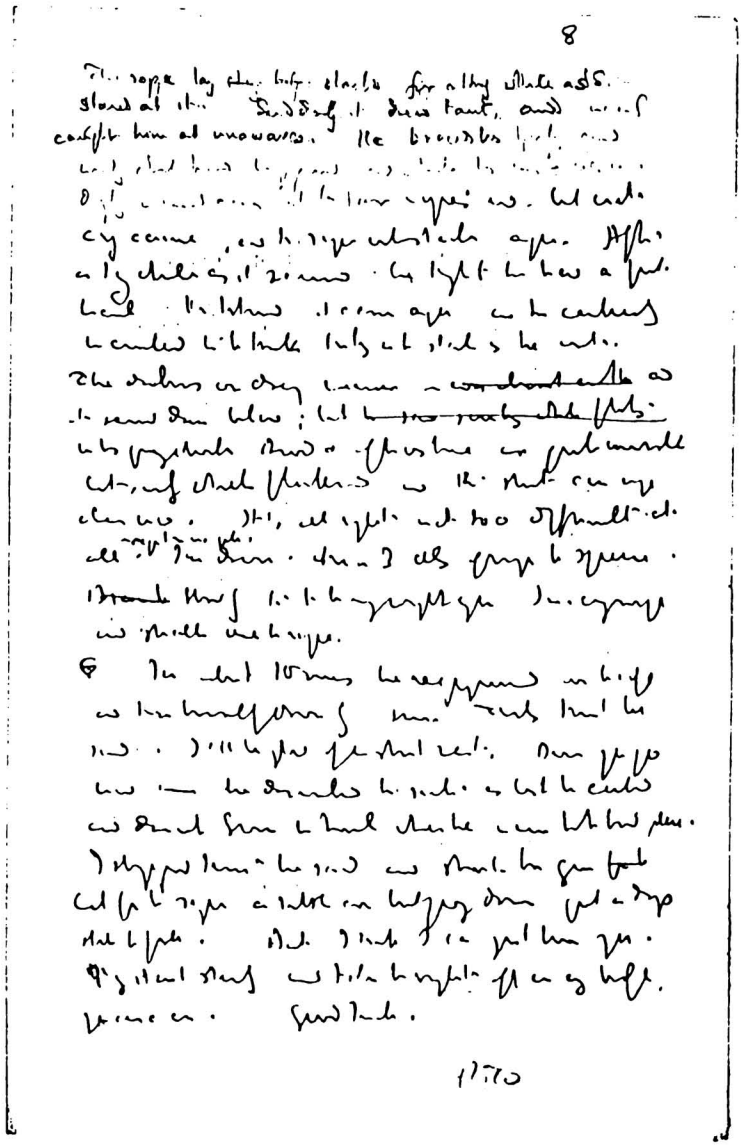
'Numbpate and Ninnyhammer,' he repeated. 'How long's that rope, I wonder.' Frodo wound it [?round his] elbows. '10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 hobbit-ells,' he said. 'Who'd have thought it.'

'Ah, who would,' said Sam. 'A bit thin, but it seems mighty tough. Soft to the hand as milk. 80 ells.[11] Well, *one* of us can get down, seemingly, or near enough, if your guess weren't far out.'

'That would not be much good,' said Frodo. 'You down and me up, or the other way. Is there nothing to make an end fast to up here?'

'What,' said Sam, 'and leave all handy for that Gollum!'

'Well,' said Frodo after some thought. 'I am going down with the rope on, and you're going to hold on to the end up here. But I am only going to use the rope for a precaution. I am going to



A page from the first manuscript of 'The Taming of Sméagol'

see if I can find a way down that I can use without a rope. Then I climb up with your help, and then you go down with the rope and I follow. How's that?'

Sam scratched his head. 'I don't like it, Mr Frodo,' he said, 'but it seems the only thing to do. Pity we didn't think out this rock-climbing business before we started. I'll have to stand down there [?staring] and waiting to catch you. Do you be careful.'

Frodo went to the edge again. A few yards from the brink he thought he saw a better point for a descent. 'I am going to try here,' he said. 'Get a purchase somewhere Sam for your foot, but don't let the rope [?saw] over a [?sharp ... edge]. It may be elf-spun, but I shouldn't try it too far.' He stepped over the brink ... There was a ledge for his feet before he had gone his full height down: it sloped gently downward to the right. 'Don't pull on the rope unless I shout,' he said, and he had disappeared.

*The rope lay slack for a long while as Sam stared at it. Suddenly it drew taut, and nearly caught him at unawares. He braced his feet, and wondering [*read* wondered] what had happened and whether his master was now dangling in mid-air at the far rope's end, but not [*read* no] cry came, and the rope went slack again. After a long while as it seemed he thought he heard a faint hail. He listened, it came again, and cautiously he crawled to the brink taking in the slack as he went. The darkness was drawing nearer – and it seemed dim below; but in his grey cloak Frodo if he was there was quite invisible. But something white fluttered and the shout came up clear now. 'It's all right, not too difficult at all except in one place. I'm down. [?I've] 3 ells of rope to spare. Slowly [?to take] my weight ... I'm coming up and shall use the rope.'

In about 10 mins. he reappeared over the edge and threw himself down by Sam. 'That's that,' he said. 'I'll be glad of a short rest. Down you go now' – he described the route as best he could and direct[ed] Sam to hail when he came to the bad place. 'I slipped there,' he said, 'and [?should have gone] but for the rope, a little over halfway down, quite a drop [?start to finish]. But I think I can just ... you.[12] Pay it out slowly and take the weight off on any ledge you come on. Good luck.'

* At this point the text of the manuscript page reproduced on p. 90 begins, and continues to the end of the second paragraph.

With a grim face Sam went to the edge, [?turned], and found the first ledge. 'Good luck,' said Frodo.

... [?time to time] the rope went slack as Sam found some ledge to rest ..., but for the most part his weight was taken by the rope. It was ..... minutes before Frodo heard his call.

First he lowered his pack by the rope, then he cast it loose. He was left alone at the top. At that moment there was a great clap of dry thunder overhead and the sky grew dark. The storm was coming up the Emyn Muil on its way to Rohan and to the Hornburg far away where the riders were at bay.[13] He heard Sam cry from below, but could not make out the words, nor see Sam's pointing hands. But something made him look back. There not far away on a rock behind and overlooking him was a black figure [?whose glimmer(ing)] eyes like distant lamps were fixed on him. Unreasoning fear seized him for a moment – for after all it was Gollum there, it was not a whole ...., and he had Sting at his belt and mithril beneath his jacket: but he did not stop to think of these things. He stepped over the edge, which for the moment frightened him less, and began to climb down. Haste seemed to aid him, and all went well until he came to the bad place.

Perhaps my father was at just about this point when he wrote on 5 April 1944, in the letter cited on p. 78, that 'at the moment they are just meeting Gollum on a precipice'. — From here to the end of the draft there are so many 'bad places' and even sheer drops that I shall not attempt to represent the text as it stands. There follows an account of Frodo's descent: how he slipped again, and slithered down the cliff-face clinging with his fingers till he came up with a jolt, nearly losing his balance, on a wide ledge — 'and after that he was soon down.' There came then the great storm of wind and thunder, with a torrent of rain lashing down; and looking up 'they could see two tiny points of light at the cliff edge before the curtain of rain blotted them out. "Thank goodness you've done it," said Sam. "I near swallowed my heart when you slipped. Did you see him? I thought so, when you started to climb so quick." "I did," said Frodo. "But I think we've set him a bit of a puzzle for those [?soft padding] feet of his. But let's look about here. Is there no shelter from the storm?" '

They looked for shelter, and found some fallen rocks lying against the foot of the cliff, but the ground was wet and soggy; they themselves were not drenched through apparently on account of the elven-cloaks (this passage is very largely illegible). The storm passed on over the Emyn Muil and stars came out; 'far away the sun had set behind Isengard'. The draft ends with Sam's saying: 'It's no good

going that way [i.e. towards the marshes] in the dark and at night. Even on this trip we've had better camping-places: but here we'd best stay.'

There was very evidently great need for a better text: my father himself would have had difficulty with this, when the precise thought behind the words had dimmed. He began again therefore at the beginning of the chapter, giving it now its title and number (XXXII) and the completed manuscript ('D') that evolved from this new start was the only one that he made (i.e., subsequent texts are typescripts). The opening of the chapter (text B), which went back to the time before the long break during 1943–4 (p. 86), was written out again, and effectively reached the form in TT (but when the story opens it was still 'the fifth evening' since they had fled from the Company, not as in TT the third: see the Note on Chronology at the end of this chapter).

When my father came to the point where his new draft (C) took up the tale ('The sun was caught into clouds and night came suddenly', p. 86), beyond rounding out the expression and making it less staccato he did not at first change any feature of the story until the beginning of the attempt to climb down – apart from introducing the point that on the last day in the Emyn Muil Sam and Frodo had been making their way along at some distance from the outer precipice, perhaps to explain why it was that they had not observed that the cliff was now less high and no longer sheer; but the long gully or ravine by which in TT they made their way to the precipice when their way forward was blocked was not yet present. The fir-trees in the gully would have a narrative function in the final form of the story, in that 'old broken stumps straggled on almost to the cliff's brink' (TT p. 212): for Sam would brace his foot against one of those stumps, and tie the rope to it (TT pp. 215–16), in contrast to text C, p. 89 ('Is there nothing to make an end fast to up here?' ... 'I am going down with the rope on, and you're going to hold on to the end up here').

My father at first retained the story in C (p. 88) that Frodo followed Sam over the edge and that they both stood splayed against the rock-face together, until Frodo climbed back up again. But as he wrote he changed this: before Frodo had time to say anything to Sam,

> The next moment he gave a sharp cry and slithered downwards. He came up with a jolt to his toes on a broader ledge a few feet lower down. Fortunately the rockface leant well forwards, and he did not lose his balance. He could just reach the ledge he had left with his fingers.
>
> 'Well, that's another step down,' he said. 'But what next?'
>
> 'I don't know,' said Frodo peering over. 'The light's getting so dim. You started off a bit too quick, before we'd had a good

look. But the ledge you're on gets much broader to the right. If you could edge along that way, you'd have room enough, I think, to stoop and get your hands down and try for the next ledge below.'

Sam shuffled a little, and then stood still, breathing hard. 'No, I can't do it,' he panted. 'I'm going giddy. Can't I get back? My toes are hurting cruelly already.'

Frodo leaned over as far as he dared, but he could not help. Sam's fingers were well out of his reach.

'What's to be done?' said Sam, and his voice quavered. 'Here am I stuck like a fly on a fly-paper, only flies can't fall off, and I can.' The eastern sky was growing black as night, and the thunder rolled nearer.

'Hold on, Sam!' said Frodo. 'Half a moment, till I get my belt off.'

Having thus got rid of the unnecessary incident of Frodo's going down to the first ledge with Sam and then climbing back again, the new text then follows the former (C) – the failure of the experiment with the belt, Sam's sudden recollection of the rope, and his telling Frodo that they are wearing each other's packs – as far as 'He sat down well away from the edge and rubbed his feet' (p. 89; he felt 'as if he had been rescued from deep waters or a fathomless mine').

'Numbpate and Ninnyhammer!' he muttered.

'Well, now you're back,' said Frodo, laughing with relief, 'you can explain this business about the packs.'

'Easy,' said Sam. 'We got up in the dim light this morning and you just picked mine up. I noticed it and was going to speak up, when I noticed that yours was a tidier sight heavier than mine. I reckoned you'd been carrying more than your share of tackle and what not ever since I set off in such a hurry, so I thought I'd take a turn. And I thought less said less argument.'

'Well meant cheek,' said Frodo; 'but you've been rewarded for the well meaning anyway.' They sat for a while and the gloom grew greater.

'Numbpate,' said Sam suddenly, slapping his forehead. 'How long's that rope, I wonder.'

Here my father abandoned this story, feeling perhaps that it was all becoming too complicated, and rejecting these new pages he returned again, not to the beginning of the chapter, but to the beginning of the draft C, that is to say to the point where Frodo and Sam awoke on their last morning in the Emyn Muil (p. 86), with Frodo now saying, in

answer to Sam's question 'Did you see them again, Mr Frodo?', 'No, I have heard nothing for three nights now.' From this point the final story was built up in the completed manuscript D. Some of it was written out first on independent draft pages,[14] but some of the pencilled drafting was overwritten in ink and included in the manuscript. It is plain, however, that the final story now evolved confidently and clearly, and since there is very little of significant difference to the narrative to be observed in those parts of the initial drafting that I have been able to read, I doubt that there is any more in those that I have not.

My father now saw at last how Sam and Frodo did manage the descent from the Emyn Muil, and he resolved their difficulty about leaving the rope hanging from the cliff-top for Gollum to use by simply not introducing the question into their calculations until they had both reached the bottom. In this text the further course of the storm was described thus:

The skirts of the storm were lifting, ragged and wet, and the main battle had passed – hastening with wind and thunder over the Emyn Muil, over Anduin, over the fields of Rohan, on to the Hornburg where the King Théoden stood at bay that night, and the Tindtorras now stood dark against the last lurid glow.

At a later stage (see the Note on Chronology at the end of this chapter) the following was substituted:

The skirts of the storm were lifting, ragged and wet, and the main battle had passed to spread its great wings over the Emyn Muil, upon which the dark thought of Sauron brooded for a while. Thence it turned, smiting the vale of Anduin with hail and lightning, and rolled on slowly through the night, mile by mile over Gondor and the fields of Rohan, until far away the Riders on the plain saw its black shadow moving behind the sun, as they rode with war into the West.

Sam's uncle, the Gaffer's eldest brother, owner of the rope-walk 'over by Tighfield', now appears (cf. VII.235), but he was at first called Obadiah Gamgee, not Andy.

The earlier drafts did not reach the point of Gollum's descent of the cliff-face, and it may be that my father had foreseen it long since. On the manuscript of the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien' he struck out his first ideas for the encounter of Frodo and Sam with Gollum, and wrote: 'Steep place where Frodo has to climb a precipice. Sam goes first so that if Frodo falls he will knock Sam down first. They see Gollum come down by moonlight *like a fly*' (see VII.329 and note 15). But there is no way of knowing when he wrote this, whether when

he first began writing 'The Taming of Sméagol', or when he took it up again in April 1944.

In initial drafting the discussion between Sam and Frodo after Gollum's capture, in which Frodo heard 'a voice out of the past', went like this:

> 'No,' said Frodo. 'We must kill him right out, Sam, if we do anything. But we can't do that, not as things are. It's against the rules. He's done us no harm.'
>
> 'But he means to / meant to, I'll take my word,' said Sam.
>
> 'I daresay,' said Frodo. 'But that's another matter.' Then he seemed to hear a voice out of the past saying to him: *Even Gollum I fancy may have his uses before all's over.* 'Yes, yes, may be,' he answered. 'But anyway I can't touch the creature. I wish he could be cured. He's so horribly wretched.'
>
> Sam stared at his master, who seemed to be talking to someone else not there.

At this stage in the evolution of the chapter 'Ancient History', at the point in his conversation with Gandalf at Bag End which Frodo was remembering, the text of the 'second phase' version (given in VI.264–5) had been little changed. The actual reading of the 'current' ('fourth phase') text of 'Ancient History' (cf. VII.28) is:

> '... What a pity Bilbo did not stab that vile creature, before he left him!'
>
> 'What nonsense you do talk sometimes, Frodo!' said Gandalf. 'Pity! Pity would have prevented him, if he had thought of it. But he could not kill him anyway. It was against the Rules. ...'
>
> 'Of course, of course! What a thing to say. Bilbo could not do anything of the kind, then. But I am frightened. And I cannot feel any pity for Gollum. Do you mean to say that you, and the Elves, let him live on after all those horrible deeds? Now at any rate he is worse than a goblin, and just an enemy.'
>
> 'Yes, he deserved to die,' said Gandalf, 'and I don't think he can be cured before he dies. Yet even Gollum might prove useful for good before the end. Anyway we did not kill him: he was very old and very wretched. The Wood-elves have him in prison ...'

It is not often that the precise moment at which my father returned to and changed a passage much earlier in *The Lord of the Rings* can be determined, but it can be done here. When he came to write the passage in the manuscript (D) of 'The Taming of Sméagol', Frodo's recollection of his conversation with Gandalf began at an earlier point than it had in the draft cited above:

> It seemed to Frodo then that he heard quite plainly but far off voices out of the past.

What a pity Bilbo did not stab the vile creature, before he left him!

Pity! Pity would have prevented him. He could not kill him. It was against the Rules.

I do not feel any pity for Gollum. He deserves death.

It was at this point that my father perceived that Gandalf had said rather more to Frodo, and on another page of drafting for 'The Taming of Sméagol' he wrote:

> Deserved it! I daresay he did / does, said Gandalf. Many that live do deserve death. And some that die deserve life. Can you give it to them? Then be not eager to deal out death even in the name of justice. For even the very wise cannot see all ends. I do not much hope that Gollum can be cured

This was then (as I judge) written into the manuscript of 'The Taming of Sméagol', in a slightly different form:

> *Deserves death! I daresay he does. Many that live deserve death. And some that die deserve life. Can you give that to them? Then be not too eager to deal out death in the name of justice, fearing for your own safety. Even the very wise cannot see all ends. Maybe the Enemy will get him. Maybe not. Even Gollum may do some good, willy nilly, before the end.*

It was certainly at this time that my father changed the passage in 'Ancient History'. Omitting the words 'fearing for your own safety', he joined the new passage into that given on p. 96: '... Even the wise cannot see all ends. I do not much hope that Gollum can be cured before he dies. Yet even Gollum might prove useful for good before the end.' The two passages, that in 'The Shadow of the Past' (FR p. 69) and that in 'The Taming of Sméagol' (TT. p. 221), remain different in detail of wording, perhaps not intentionally at all points.

Lastly, there is an interesting difference between the passage in which Gollum makes his promise to Frodo as it was at this time and as it stands in TT. When Gollum said 'Sméagol will swear on the precious', there followed both in initial drafting and in the manuscript:

> Frodo stepped back. 'On the precious!' he said. 'Oh, yes! And what will he swear?'
>
> 'To be very, very good,' said Gollum. Then crawling to Frodo's feet ...

This was changed at once, again both in draft and manuscript, to:

> Frodo stepped back. 'On the precious?' he asked, puzzled for a moment: he had thought that *precious* was Gollum's self that he

talked to. 'Ah! On the precious!' he said, with the disconcerting frankness that had already startled Sam [*draft text:* that surprised and alarmed Sam, and still more Gollum].

'*One Ring to rule them all and in the Darkness bind them.*

Would you commit your promises to that, Sméagol? ...' (&c. as in TT, pp. 224–5]

The final text of this passage was not substituted till much later.[15]

NOTES

1 For the earliest ideas for this part of the narrative, when Sam crossed the Anduin alone and tracked Frodo together with Gollum, see the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien', VII.328–9.

2 See the Note on Chronology following these Notes.

3 In 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien', VII.328, Frodo put on the Ring to escape from Gollum.

4 An argument against this is that in the 1957 letter my father gave the page-reference II.209, whereas this text extends to II.210. But there are various ways of explaining this, and the evidence of the manuscripts seems to me to count more heavily.

5 Together with these earliest manuscripts of 'The Taming of Sméagol' was found a slip bearing the following pencilled notes, which may very well not have been written all at one time (I have added the numbers)

(1) Account of Rings in Ch. II ['Ancient History'] needs altering a little. It was *Elves* who made the rings, which Sauron *stole*. He only made the One Ring. The *Three* were never in his possession and were unsullied.

(2) Tom could have got rid of the Ring all along [?without further] ..... – if asked!

(3) The Company must carry *ropes* – either from Rivendell or from Lórien.

(4) *Emyn Muil* = Sarn Gebir as a knot or range of stony hills. [*Sern Erain* >] *Sarn Aran* the King Stones = the Gates of Sarn Gebir.

With (1) cf. VI.404; VII.254–5 and 259–60. In (2), most frustratingly, I have not been able to form any guess even at the altogether illegible word. (3) seems quite likely to have arisen while my father was pondering the descent from Sarn Gebir (Emyn Muil). On the absence of the mentions in LR of Sam's having no rope, and the absence of the passage concerning ropes at the leaving of Lothlórien, see VII.165, 183, 280. As regards (4), in the long-abandoned opening of the chapter the hills were

still called *Sarn Gebir*, but when my father took it up again in 1944 they had become the *Emyn Muil* (note 7). Many ephemeral names to replace *Sarn Gebir* are found in notes given in VII.424. *Sern Aranath* replaced *the Gates of Sarn Gebir* on the manuscripts of 'The Great River' (VII.362 and note 21).

6 This sentence, little changed, is given to Frodo in TT (p. 211).

7 The first occurrence of *Emyn Muil* as written in a text *ab initio*. See note 5.

8 30 fathoms: 180 feet.

9 *leant forwards*: i.e. sloped down outwards from the vertical, what my father earlier in this account called 'backward': 'The cliff was indeed no longer sheer, but sloped somewhat backward.'

10 In the following text the corresponding passage has: 'He cast the end to Sam, who tied it about his waist, and grasped the line above his head with both hands.' In the present text the sentence seems to have been left unfinished and in the air.

11 These figures were much changed. At first, as shown in any case by *hobbit-ells*, my father did not intend the 'English ell' of 45 inches, for by that measure 80 ells is 300 feet or 50 fathoms, getting on for double the height of the cliff as Frodo had reckoned it: whereas Sam thought that the rope of 80 ells would only be 'near enough' to Frodo's guess of 30 fathoms or 180 feet. My father seems first to have changed '80' to '77', and in the margin he wrote '2 feet' and '154'. He then changed '2 feet' to '2½ feet', by which measure 77 ells would give 192½ feet. At some point he struck out *hobbit-* in *hobbit-ells*; and finally he substituted 50 ells for the length of the rope. He had then evidently decided on the measure of 1 ell = 45 inches, according to which 50 ells would be equivalent to 187½ feet, just a little longer than the height of the cliff as Frodo had estimated it. This was the measure in TT, where the cliff was about 18 fathoms, and the rope about 30 ells; taking these figures as exact, there would be 4½ feet of rope to spare ('there was still a good bight in Frodo's hands, when Sam came to the bottom', TT p. 216).

12 The meaning is presumably 'I think I can just hold you', but *hold* is certainly not the word written.

13 See the Note on Chronology below.

14 My father now introduced a further obstacle to the sleuth by using the same piece of paper to write, one on top of the other, drafts for wholly different portions of the narrative.

15 In these texts the word *precious* when referring to the Ring is not capitalised, but capitals were introduced in subsequent typescripts before the passage was changed to the final form.

Note on the Chronology

In this chapter the narrative opens on *the fifth evening* since Frodo and Sam had fled from the Company. That night also they passed in the Emyn Muil, and it was at dusk on the following day (therefore 'the sixth evening') that they made their descent. Since the date of the Breaking of the Fellowship and the flight of Frodo and Sam was 26 January (for the chronology at this period see pp. 3–4, and VII.368, 406), this should mean that the chapter opens on the evening of the 30th, and that they climbed down from the hills on the evening of the 31st. On the other hand, the great storm is described (p. 95) as 'hastening with wind and thunder over the Emyn Muil, over Anduin, over the fields of Rohan, on to the Hornburg where the King Théoden stood at bay that night'. But the Battle of the Hornburg was fought on the night of 1 February (pp. 5–6).

Two brief time-schemes, which I will call Scheme 'A' and Scheme 'B', bear on the question of the chronology of Frodo's wandering in the Emyn Muil relative to events in the lands west of Anduin. Scheme 'B', which begins at this point, is perfectly explicit:

Thursday Jan. 26 to Wednesday Feb. 1 Frodo and Sam in Emyn Muil (Sarn Gebir).

Night Feb. 1–2 Frodo and Sam meet Gollum. (Storm that reached Helm's Deep about midnight on Feb.1–2 passed over Emyn Muil earlier in the night.)

Scheme 'A', also beginning here, has:

Jan. 31 Cold night

Feb. 1 Descend, dusk (5.30). Meet Gollum about 10 p.m. Journey in gully till daybreak.

According to these, it would have been on the *sixth* evening since the flight of Frodo and Sam, not the fifth, that the chapter opens.

Since Vol. VII *The Treason of Isengard* was completed I have found two manuscript pages that are very clearly notes on chronological alterations needed that my father made in October 1944, some four and a half months after he had reached the end of *The Two Towers* (see VII.406–7). On 12 October (*Letters* no. 84) he wrote to me that he had 'struck a most awkward error (one or two days) in the synchronization', which would 'require tiresome small alterations in many chapters'; and on 16 October (*Letters* no. 85) he wrote that he had devised a solution 'by inserting an extra day's Entmoot, and extra days into Trotter's chase and Frodo's journey ...'

These notes refer chapter by chapter to the changes that would have to be made (but not to all). Some of them have been encountered already: the complex alterations to 'The Riders of Rohan' in VII.406; the additional day of the Entmoot in VII.419; and the changes in 'The White Rider' in VII.425. Nothing further need be said of these. But in a note on 'The Taming of Sméagol' the question of the storm is raised;

and here my father directed that the reference to Théoden and the Hornburg should be cut out, because it 'won't fit'. He noted that the thunderstorm over the Emyn Muil was at about five o'clock in the evening of 31 January, while the thunder in the Battle of the Hornburg was about midnight of 1 February, and that 31 hours to travel a distance of some 350 miles was too slow; but no solution was proposed.

I have referred (VII.368) to an elaborate time-scheme that was made after the changes of October 1944 had been introduced. This, being a major working chronology, is in places fearsomely difficult to interpret, on account of later alterations and overwritings in ink over the original pencil. It is arranged in columns, describing 'synoptically', and fairly fully, the movements of all the major actors in the story on each day. It begins on the fifth day of the voyage down Anduin and ends at the beginning of the ascent to the pass of Kirith Ungol; and I would guess that it belongs with the work on chronology in October 1944, rather than later. On this scheme, which I will call 'S', my father afterwards wrote 'Old Timatal stuff' (Icelandic *tímatál* 'chronology').

In this scheme S the death of Boromir and the Breaking of the Fellowship was put back by a day, to Wednesday 25 January.

Jan. 25 Company broken up. Death of Boromir. ... Frodo and Sam cross river eastward and fly into E. of Emyn Muil.
Jan. 26 Frodo and Sam wandering in Emyn Muil (1st evening since flight).
Jan. 27 In Emyn Muil (2nd evening).
Jan. 28 In Emyn Muil (3rd evening).
Jan. 29 In Emyn Muil (4th evening).
Jan. 30 On brink of Emyn Muil. Spend cold night under a rock (5th evening).
Jan. 31 Descent from Emyn Muil at nightfall. Meet Gollum about 10 p.m.
Journey in the gully (Jan.31/Feb.1).

Here therefore the opening of the story in 'The Taming of Sméagol' was on the evening of Jan. 30, and that was explicitly the sixth evening since the flight; but my father was for some reason not counting the first evening in the Emyn Muil (Jan. 25), and so he called that of Jan. 30 the fifth. Perhaps it was the same counting that explains the discrepancy between Scheme B and the text of the chapter (p. 100). And it may well be in any case that the records of these complicated manoeuvres are insufficient, or that there are clues which I have failed to perceive.

In Scheme B, as in the completed manuscript of the chapter (p. 95), it is explicit that the storm over the Emyn Muil reached the Hornburg later that same night; it was moving fast ('hastening with wind and thunder'). In Scheme S, however, this is not so; for (just as in the note

of October 1944 referred to above) the descent of Frodo and Sam from the Emyn Muil was at nightfall of Jan. 31, but the Battle of the Hornburg began on the night of Feb. 1. S as written had no mention of the great storm, but my father added in against Jan. 31 'Thunder at nightfall', and then subsequently 'It crawls west', with a line apparently directing to Feb. 1. The storm over Rohan, slowly overtaking the Riders as they rode west across the plains on their second day out of Edoras (at the beginning of the chapter 'Helm's Deep') and bursting over the Hornburg in the middle of the night, was already present when my father came to write 'The Taming of Smeagol'. The storm over the Emyn Muil moving westwards, if not actually conceived for the purpose, obviously had the desirable effect of drawing the now sundered stories, east and west of Anduin, together. The revised passage about the storm in 'The Taming of Sméagol' given on p. 95 was clearly intended to allow for another day in the storm's progress, and implies that Frodo and Sam climbed down out of the hills on the day *before* the Battle of the Hornburg, as in S; and this resolves the problem of time and distance stated in the note of October 1944 by asserting that the great storm did not 'hasten', but 'rolled on slowly through the night.'

But in *The Tale of Years* the relative dating is entirely different:

Scheme S

Frodo enters Emyn Muil	(25 Jan.)	*Day 1*
In Emyn Muil	(26 Jan.)	*Day 2*
In Emyn Muil	(27 Jan.)	*Day 3*
In Emyn Muil	(28 Jan.)	*Day 4*
In Emyn Muil	(29 Jan.)	*Day 5*
In Emyn Muil	(30 Jan.)	*Day 6*
Descent from Emyn Muil	(31 Jan.)	*Day 7*
Battle of the Hornburg	(1 Feb.)	*Day 8*

The Tale of Years

Frodo enters Emyn Muil	(26 Feb.)	*Day 1*
In Emyn Muil	(27 Feb.)	*Day 2*
In Emyn Muil	(28 Feb.)	*Day 3*
Descent from Emyn Muil	(29 Feb.)	*Day 4*
	(30 Feb.)	*Day 5*
	(1 Mar.)	*Day 6*
	(2 Mar.)	*Day 7*
Battle of the Hornburg	(3 Mar.)	*Day 8*

Thus in the final chronology the Battle of the Hornburg took place *four nights after* the descent of Frodo and Sam and the meeting with Gollum. Yet the revised description of the westward course of the storm in 'The Taming of Sméagol' (p. 95) survived into the proof stage

of *The Lord of the Rings*. On the proof my father noted against the passage: 'Chronology wrong. The storm of Frodo was 3 days before Théoden's ride' (i.e. 29 February and 2 March, the day on which Théoden rode from Edoras). The passage as it stands in TT, pp. 215–16, was substituted at the eleventh hour: giving the great storm a more widely curving path, and suggesting, perhaps, a reinforcement of its power and magnitude as it passed slowly over Ered Nimrais.

II

THE PASSAGE OF THE MARSHES

The writing of this chapter can again be closely dated from the letters that my father wrote to me in South Africa in 1944. On the 13th of April (*Letters* no. 60) he said that on the previous day he had read his 'recent chapter' ('The Taming of Sméagol') to C. S. Lewis and Charles Williams, and that he had begun another. On the 18th April (*Letters* no. 61) he wrote: 'I hope to see C.S.L. and Charles W. tomorrow morning and read my next chapter – on the passage of the Dead Marshes and the approach to the Gates of Mordor, which I have now practically finished.'[1] And on the 23rd of April (*Letters* no. 62) he wrote: 'I read my second chapter, Passage of the Dead Marshes, to Lewis and Williams on Wed. morning [19 April]. It was approved. I have now nearly done a third: Gates of the Land of Shadow. But this story takes me in charge, and I have already taken three chapters over what was meant to be one!' The completed manuscript of 'The Passage of the Marshes' was indeed first entitled 'Kirith Ungol' (that being still the name of the main pass into Mordor) – for he began writing the manuscript before he had by any means finished the initial drafting of the chapter.

Essential ideas for this part of the narrative had in fact emerged a long time before, in the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien' (VII.329–30) – when he estimated that the chapter would be numbered XXV, eight less than the event had proved. In that outline he wrote:

> Gollum pleads for forgiveness, and promises help, and having nowhere else to turn Frodo accepts. Gollum says he will lead them over the Dead Marshes to Kirith Ungol. (Chuckling to himself to think that that is just the way he would wish them to go.) ...
>
> They sleep in pairs, so that one is always awake with Gollum.
>
> Gollum all the while is scheming to betray Frodo. He leads them cleverly over the Dead Marshes. There are dead green faces in the stagnant pools; and the dry reeds hiss like snakes. Frodo feels the strength of the searching eye as they proceed.
>
> At night Sam keeps watch, only pretending to be asleep. He hears Gollum muttering to himself, words of hatred for Frodo and lust for the Ring.
>
> The three companions now approach Kirith Ungol, the dreadful ravine which leads into Gorgoroth. Kirith Ungol means Spider Glen: there dwelt great spiders ...

A single page of notes shows my father's thoughts as he embarked at last on the writing of this story. These notes were not written as a continuous outline and not all were written at the same time, but I give them in the sequence in which they stand on the page.

Food problem. Gollum chokes at *lembas* (but it does him good?). Goes off and comes back with grimy fingers [?and face]. Once he heard him crunching in dark.

Next chapter

Gollum takes them down into the water gully and then turns away eastward. It leads to a hard point in the midst of the Marshes. Over Dead Marshes. Dead faces. In some of the pools if you looked in you saw your own face all green and dead and corrupted. To Kirith Ungol.

Change in Gollum as they draw near

Gollum sleeps quite unconcerned – quietly at first; but as they draw near to Mordor he seems to get nightmares. Sam hears him beginning to hold colloquies with himself. It is a sort of good Smeagol angry with a bad Gollum. The latter [?grows] – filled with hatred of the Ring-bearer, in longing to be Ring-master himself.

Laid up [?in] rock near gates see great movements in and out. Explanation of why they had escaped the war-movement.

They lie up in day in beds of reeds

Feeling of weight. Ring feels heavier and heavier on Frodo's neck as Mordor approaches. He feels the Eye.

Another page, written at any rate before 'The Passage of the Marches' had proceeded very far, outlines the story thus:

They come to a point where the gully falls into the marshes. Brief description of these (which take about 3 to 4 days to cross). Pools where there are faces some horrible, some fair – but all corrupted. Gollum says it is said that they are memories (?) of those who fell in ages past in the Battle before Ennyn Dûr the Gates of Mordor in the Great Battle. In the moon if you looked in some pools you saw your own face fouled and corrupt and dead. Describe the pools as they get nearer to Mordor as like green pools and rivers fouled by modern chemical works.

They lie up in foothills and see armed men and orcs passing in. Soon all is clear. Sauron is gathering his power and hiding it in Mordor in readiness. (Swart men, and wild men with long braided hair out of East; Orcs of the Eye etc.)

On the far (East) Horn of the Gates is a tall white tower. Minas Ithil now Minas Morghul which guards the pass. It was originally built by the men of Gondor to prevent Sauron breaking out and was manned by the guards of Minas Ithil,[2] but it fell soon into his hands. It now prevented any coming in. It was manned by orcs and evil spirits. It had been called [Neleg Thilim >] Neleglos [the Gleaming >] the White Tooth.[3]

This last passage is accompanied by a little sketch, reproduced on p. 108 (no. I). Until now, the pass and chief entry into Mordor had been named *Kirith Ungol* (cf. the citation from 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien' on p. 104). When contemplating the story ahead as he drafted 'The Passage of the Marshes' my father saw that this was not so: Kirith Ungol was a distinct way through the mountains – and (plainly enough) it is this path that Sam and Frodo are going to take. Concomitantly with this, he was proposing to change the site of Minas Morgul as he had long conceived it, and as it appears on the First Map (see Map III, VII.309).[4] There, the pass of Kirith Ungol was guarded by two towers, one on either side (see VII.349, note 41), and Minas Morgul was away to the west, on the other side of the mountains (i.e. on the western side of the northern extremity of the Dúath, the Mountains of Shadow); whereas now Minas Morgul is to be the tower that guards the pass.[5] A virtually identical sketch to this, in faint pencil, is found on a page of drafting for 'The Black Gate is Closed'. It clearly does not belong with that, however (the later text is written across it), but with the present passage; and accompanying this pencilled version of the sketch is this note:

> It is better for the later story that Minas Ithil (Morghul) should be actually at the Gates of Mordor on its East side.

The scene is thus depicted from the North.

On a page used also for drafting of 'The Passage of the Marshes' there is another sketch of the tower and the pass (also reproduced on p. 108, no. II), very similar except in one important respect: whereas in Sketch I the cleft of Kirith Ungol is placed immediately below Minas Morgul (which thus stands on a high ridge or 'horn' *between* the 'cleft' and the 'pass'), in Sketch II Kirith Ungol lies on the far side of the pass from the tower. The scene is again depicted from the North, for the accompanying text reads: 'Kirith Ungol is *not* the main entrance but a narrow cleft to [S(outh) >] West.' I think it almost certain that Sketch II represents a further stage in the development of the conception, not its first appearance.

Most of 'The Passage of the Marshes' is extant in preliminary drafting (and most of it in excruciatingly difficult handwriting); in this

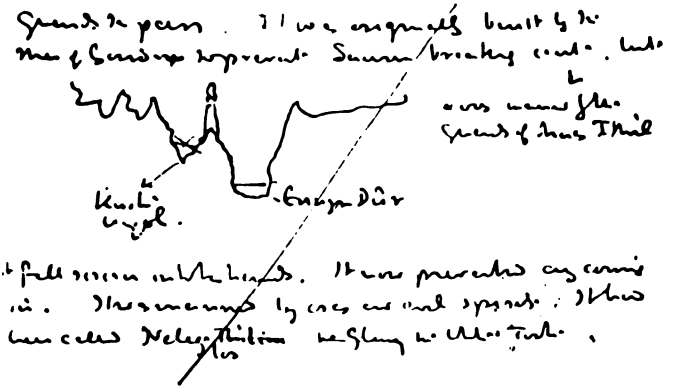
chapter my father made no use of his method of writing a text in pencil and then setting down a more finished version in ink on top of it. The narrative in the draft is not perfectly continuous, and it is clear that (as commonly) he built up the completed manuscript – the only one made of this chapter – in stages. The initial drafting is mostly extremely rough, written at great speed, and in places the completed manuscript (while perfectly legible – it was the text from which my father read the chapter to Lewis and Williams on April the 19th) is itself really the primary composition, constantly corrected and changed in the act of writing. Nonetheless the story of the passage of the Dead Marshes as it appears in *The Two Towers* seems to have been achieved almost to the form of every sentence (apart from certain substantial alterations made very much later) in that week of April 1944.

Only in one respect did the initial drafting differ significantly from the story as it appears in the manuscript. This was primarily a matter of the narrative structure, but I give most of the passage in question, so well as I can make it out, as exemplification. It takes up from Gollum's words 'Snakes, worms in pools. Lots of things in the pools. No birds' (TT p. 234).

So passed the third day of their travelling with Gollum.[6]

All the night they went on with brief halts. Now it was really perilous at least for the hobbits. They went slowly keeping close in line and following every move of Gollum's attentively. The pools grew larger and more ominous and the places where feet could tread without sinking into [?chilly] gurgling mires more and more difficult to find. There were no more reeds and grasses.

Later in the night, after midnight, there came a change. A light breeze got up and grew to a cold wind: it came from the North and though it had a bitter tang it seemed kindly to them, for it bore at last a hint of untainted airs and drove the reeking mists into banks with dark channels in between. The cloudy sky was torn and tattered and the moon nearly full rode among the [?wrack]. Gollum cowered and muttered but the hobbits looked up hopefully. A great dark shadow came out of Mordor like a huge bird crossed the moon and went away west. Just the same feeling came on them as at the ..... they cast themselves down in the mire. But the shadow passed quickly. Gollum lay like one stunned and they had to rouse him. He would say only Wraiths wraiths [?under] the moon. The precious the precious is their master. They see everything everywhere. He sees. After that [?even] Frodo sensed a change in Gollum once more. He was [?even] more fawning [and] friendly but he talked more often in



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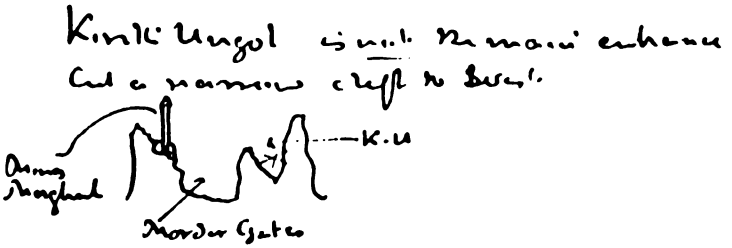


II

Two early sketches of Kirith Ungol

[his] old manner. They had great difficulty in making him go on while the moon

The last passage was then rewritten ('After that Sam thought he sensed a change in Gollum again' ...) and the draft continues with a description of Frodo's weariness and slowness and the weight of the Ring that approaches the text in TT (p. 238). Then follows:

He now really felt it as a weight: and he was getting conscious of the Eye: it was that as much as the weight that made him cower and stoop as he walked. He felt like someone hidden in a room (?garden) when his deadly enemy comes in: knowing that he is there though he cannot yet see him the enemy stands at gaze to espy all comers with his deadly eye. Any movement is fraught with peril.[7] Gollum probably felt something of the same sort. After the passing of the shadow of the Nazgûl that flew to Isengard it was difficult to get him to move if there was light. As long as the moon lasted he would only creep forwards on his hands cowering and whimpering. He was not much use as a guide and Sam took to trying to find a path for himself. In doing so he stumbled forward and came down on his hands in sticky mire with his face bending over a dark pool that seemed like some glazed but grimed window in the moonlight. Wrenching his hands out of the bog he sprang back with a cry. There are dead faces ..... dead faces in the pool he cried, dead faces!

Gollum laughed. The Dead Marshes, yes, yess. That is their name. Should not look in when the White Eye is up.[8] What are they, who are they, asked Sam shuddering and turning to Frodo who came up behind him. I don't know said Frodo. No don't master said Sam, they're horrible. Nonetheless Frodo crawled cautiously to the edge and looked. He saw pale faces – deep under water they looked: some grim some hideous, some noble and fair: but all horrible, corrupted, sickly, rotting ..... Frodo crawled back and hid his eyes. I don't know who they are but I thought I saw Men and Elves and Orcs, all dead and rotten. Yes yes, said Gollum cackling. All dead and rotten. The Dead Marshes. Men and Elves and Orcs. There was a great Battle here long long ago, precious, yes, when Smeagol was young and happy long ago:[9] before the precious came, yes, yes. They fought on the plain over there. The Dead Marshes have grown greater.

But are they really there? Smeagol doesn't know, said Gollum. You can't reach them. I we tried, yes we tried, precious,

once: but you can't touch them. Only shapes to see perhaps, not to touch, no precious! Sam looked darkly at him and shuddered, thinking he guessed why Smeagol had tried to reach them.

The moon was now sinking west into cloud that lay above far Rohan beyond Anduin. They went on and Gollum again took the lead by [*read* but] Sam and Frodo found that he [*read* they] could not keep their [?fascinated] eyes from straying whenever they passed some pool of black water. If they did so they caught glimpses of the pallid dead faces. At last they came to a place where Gollum halted, a wide pool ..... barred their way.

The pools lit by *will o' the wisp* fire reveal dead faces. The moon shows their own.[10]

..... The moon came out of its cloud. They looked in. But they saw no faces out of the vanished past. They saw *their own.* ..... Sam Gollum and Frodo looking up with dead eyes and livid rotting flesh at them.

Let's get out of this foul place!

Long way to go yet said Gollum. Must get to somewhere to lie up before day.

This section of drafting peters out here. In the manuscript the text becomes that of TT at almost all points: the sequence of the story has been reconstructed, so that the change in the weather and the flight of the Nazgûl follows the passage of the pools of the dead faces; and there is no further hint of the idea (going back to the preliminary notes, p. 105) that the beholder's own face was mirrored as dead when the moonlight shone on the pools.

It is notable that in the draft the Nazgûl is said to have been flying to Isengard. In the manuscript as first written this was not said: '... a vast shape winged and ominous: it scudded across the moon, and with a deadly cry went away westward, outrunning the moon in its fell speed. ... But the shadow passed quickly, and behind it the wind roared away, leaving the Dead Marshes bare and bleak.' After the last sentence, however, my father added, probably not long after, 'The Nazgûl had gone, flying to Isengard with the speed of the wrath of Sauron.' The rewriting of the passage, so that the Nazgûl returns and, flying lower above them, sweeps back to Mordor, was done at a later time (see the Note on Chronology at the end of this chapter); but the words in TT (p. 237) 'with a deadly cry *went away westward*' are in fact a vestige of the original conception.

Among various other differences and developments the following seem the most worth remarking.

In the original draft, and at first in the manuscript, Gollum's 'song' (TT pp. 227–8) was wholly different after the first line:

The cold hard lands
To feet and hands
they are unkind.
There wind is shrill,
The stones are chill;
there's nought to find.

Our heart is set
On water wet
in some deep pool.
O how we wish
To taste of fish
so sweet and cool!

There was no reference to 'Baggins' and the fish-riddle.

The story that they slept the whole of the day after they had come down from the Emyn Muil was not present at first. In the preliminary draft of the opening of the chapter Sam, after testing that Gollum was really asleep by saying *fissh* in his ear, did not fall asleep:

> Time seemed to drag; but after an hour or two Gollum sat up suddenly wide awake as if he had been called. He stretched, yawned, got up and began to climb out of the gully. 'Hi, where are you off to?' cried Sam. 'Smeagol's very hungry,' said Gollum. 'Be back soon.'

In the manuscript the final story appears, to the extent that Sam does fall asleep; but when he wakes 'the sky above was full of bright daylight.' This however was changed immediately: Sam and Frodo slept the whole day away, not waking until after sunset, and Gollum's departure to find something to eat is postponed to the evening.[11]

There can be no doubt that the geography of the region in which the Dead Marshes lay had now been substantially changed. It is said in TT (p. 232):

> The hobbits were now wholly in the hands of Gollum. They did not know, and could not guess in that misty light, that they were in fact only just within the northern borders of the marshes, the main expanse of which lay south of them. They could, if they had known the lands, with some delay have retraced their steps a little, and then turning east have come round over hard roads to the bare plain of Dagorlad.

This passage appears in the manuscript, and is found embryonically in the original draft, of which, though partly illegible, enough can be made out to see that the new conception was present: 'They were in fact just within the north-west bounds of the Dead Marshes', and '[they could] have come round the eastern side to the hard of Battle Plain.' The First Map (Maps II and IV^{c}, VII.305, 317) and the large map based on it that I made in 1943 are entirely at variance with this: for in that conception the No Man's Land lay between Sarn Gebir (Emyn Muil) and the pass into Mordor. There could be no reason for one journeying in those hills to enter the Dead Marshes if he were making for the pass (Kirith Ungol on those maps); nor, if he were at the edge of the marshes, would he by any means come to Dagorlad if

instead of going through them he went round to their east. Essentially what has happened is that the Dead Marshes have been moved south-west, so that they lie between the Emyn Muil and the Gates of Mordor – into the region marked 'No Man's Land' on the First Map – and so become continuous with the Wetwang or Nindalf (see VII.320–1 and below); this is the geography seen on the large-scale map of Gondor and Mordor accompanying *The Return of the King*.[12]

In reply to Frodo's question whether they must cross the Dead Marshes, Gollum answered in the original draft (cf. TT p. 233): '"No need. Back a little, and round a little" – his skinny arm waved away north and east – "and you can come dry-foot to the Plain. Dagorlad that is, where the Battle was fought and He lost the precious, yess" – he added this in a sort of whisper to himself.' The manuscript here has the text of TT; but subsequently, in Gollum's explanation of the dead faces in the marshes (TT p. 235), he says: 'There was a great Battle long ago, yes, so they told him when Smeagol was young, long ago, before the Precious came. They took It from the Lord then, Elves and Men took It. It was a great battle. They fought on the plain for days and months and years at the Gates of Mornennyn [> Morannon]' (for the original draft of this see p. 109). Gollum's reference to the story of the taking of the Ring from Sauron was removed much later.

The account of the morning after the night of the dead faces in the pools and the flight of the Nazgûl, and of the lands through which they passed after leaving the marshes, was different in important respects from that in TT, pp. 238–9. The manuscript reads (following an initial draft):

> When day came at last, the hobbits were surprised to see how close the ominous mountains had drawn: the outer buttresses and the broken hills at their feet were now no more than a dozen miles away. Frodo and Sam looked round in horror: dreadful as the Marshes had been in their decay their end was more loathsome still. Even to the mere of the dead faces some haggard phantom of green spring would come ... (&c. as in TT p. 239)

The extended and altered passage that replaces this in TT, introduced at a later stage, was due to considerations of geography and chronology. With this new passage two more nights are added to the journey (see the Note on Chronology at the end of this chapter and the map on p. 117), and during this stage of it they pass through a country seen from the end of the marshes as 'long shallow slopes, barren and pitiless', and described subsequently as 'the arid moors of the Nomanlands'. Here this name reappears from Celeborn's words to the Company in 'Farewell to Lórien' (FR p. 390) and the old maps: see VII.320–1 and above.

An isolated page carries two distinct elements, though very probably both were set down at the same time. The change of the name of the Gates of Mordor in the act of writing from *Ennyn Dûr* (the name on Sketch I, p. 108) first to *Morennyn* and then to *Mornennyn* shows that this page preceded the point in the writing of the manuscript text where Gollum speaks of the dead faces in the pools, for there *Mornennyn* appears (p. 112), but it is convenient to give it here since it concerns the narrative of the end of the chapter (and the beginning of the next).

> The famous pass of [Ennyn (Dûr) > Morennyn >] Mornennyn the Gates of Mordor was guarded by two towers: the Teeth of Mordor [Nelig Morn Mel >] Nelig Myrn. Built by Gondorians long ago: now ceaselessly manned. Owing to ceaseless passage of arms they dare not try to enter so they turn W. and South. Gollum tells them of Kirith Ungol beneath shadow [of] M. Morgul. It is a high pass. He does not tell them of the Spiders. They creep in to M[inas] M[orgul].

This text is accompanied by a further sketch of the site of Kirith Ungol, reproduced on p. 114. It is clear from this that the transference of Minas Morgul to become the fortress guarding the Black Gates was a passing idea now abandoned; and it was no doubt at this very point (Minas Morgul being restored to its old position in the Mountains of Shadow a good way south of the Black Gates) that the southward journey along the western side of the mountains entered the narrative. But it is also clear that the Tower of Kirith Ungol had not yet emerged: the cleft of the spiders passes beneath Minas Morgul, on the south side (on the assumption that the scene is depicted from the West); and the original story in the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien' is again present, that Frodo and Sam entered Minas Morgul (but there is here no mention of Frodo's capture).

In the text accompanying Sketch I on p. 108 it is Minas Morghul, above the Black Gates, that was called 'the White Tooth', *Neleglos*; now there emerge (or perhaps re-emerge, from the original two towers guarding the pass, see p. 106) the Teeth of Mordor, *Nelig Myrn*.

It will be seen subsequently (p. 122) that at this stage 'the Gates of Mordor', 'the Black Gates' (*Ennyn Dûr*, *Mornennyn*) were specifically names of the pass, not of any barrier built across it.

The other brief text on this page places Sam's overhearing of Gollum's disputation with himself (foreseen already in the preliminary notes to the chapter, p. 105) at this point in the narrative (though it seems that at this stage my father envisaged them passing a night, not a day, before the Black Gates).

> The night watching the [Ennyn D(ûr) >] Mornennyn. It is Frodo's turn to watch. Sam sleeps and suddenly awakes thinking he has

Third sketch of Kirith Ungol

heard his master calling. But he sees Frodo has fallen asleep. Gollum is sitting by him, gazing at him. Sam hears him arguing with himself: Smeagol versus 'another'. Pale light and a green light alternate in his eyes. But it is not *hunger* or desire to *eat* Frodo that he is battling with: it is the call of the Ring. His long hand keeps on going out and paw[ing] towards Frodo and then is pulled back. Sam rouses Frodo.

The actually reported 'colloquy' of Gollum was developed in stages. His references to 'She' ('She might help'), and Sam's passing reflection on who that might be, were added subsequently, doubtless when that part of the story was reached. A change made much later altered what the 'two Gollums' said about Bilbo and the 'birthday present'; roughly in the initial draft, and then in the manuscript and subsequent typescripts, the passage read:

> 'Oh no, not if it doesn't please us. Still he's a Baggins, my precious, yes a Baggins. A Baggins stole it.'
>
> 'No, not steal: it was a present.'
>
> 'Yes, steal. We never gave it, no never. He found it and he said nothing, nothing. We hates Baggins.'

Lastly, in the manuscript and following typescripts the chapter ended at the words: 'In the falling dusk they scrambled out of the pit and slowly threaded their way through the dead land' (TT p. 242). All that follows in TT, describing the menace of a Ringwraith passing overhead unseen at dusk and again an hour after midnight, and the prostration of Gollum, was added to the typescripts at a later stage (see the Note on Chronology below).

NOTES

1 My father went on to speak of a letter he had written adjudicating a dispute in an army mess concerning the pronunciation of the name of the poet Cowper (*Letters* no. 61). A draft for this letter is found on a page of drafting for the passage describing the change in the weather over the marshes, TT pp. 236–7.

2 This, I believe, is the first appearance of the conception that the fortresses on the confines of Mordor had been built looking inwards and not outwards.

3 Cf. the *Etymologies* (V.376), stem NÉL-EK 'tooth'.

4 My father had in fact moved Minas Morgul further north from its position as originally shown on the First Map (east of Osgiliath), and placed it not far from the northern tip of the Mountains of Shadow (see VII.310). With this cf. 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien', where Minas Morgul was said to be reached by a path that 'led up into the mountains – the north horn of the Mountains of Shadow that sundered the ashen vale of

Gorgoroth from the valley of the Great River' (VII.333). But Minas Morgul was still on the western side of the mountains (i.e. on the other side of the mountains to the Pass of Kirith Ungol).

5 In notes at the end of 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien' my father had suggested that Frodo should be taken as captive to one of the guard-towers of the pass, and in a time-scheme of that period he changed 'Sam rescues Frodo in Minas Morgul' to 'Sam rescues Frodo in Gorgos' (see VII.344); and again (VII.412): 'The winding stair must be cut in rocks and go up from Gorgoroth to watch-tower. Cut out Minas Morgul.' Now, as it appears, these conceptions were to be fused: Frodo was again to be taken to Minas Morgul, but Minas Morgul was itself the watch-tower above the pass.

6 *the third day:* see the Note on Chronology below.

7 This passage was developed in the manuscript thus, before being changed to the text of TT (p. 238):

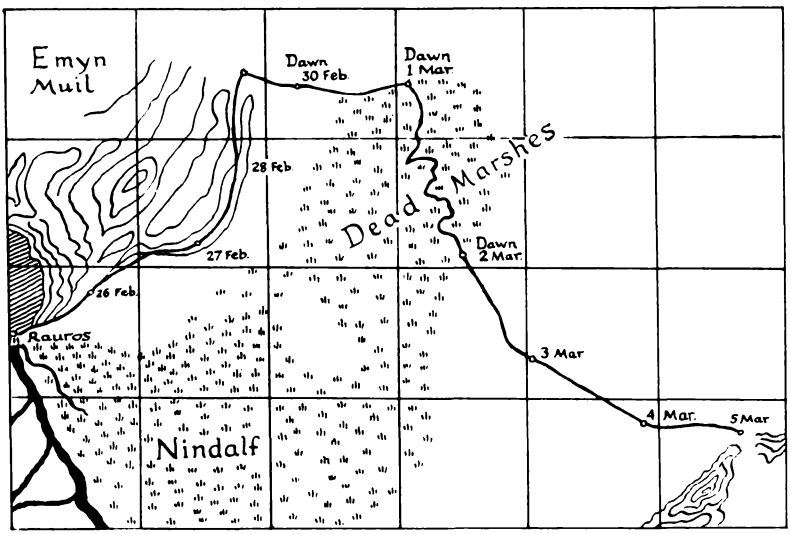
> Frodo knew just where the present habitation and heart of that will now was. He could have walked, or flown straight there. He was facing it: and its potency beat upon his brow if he raised it for a moment. He felt like someone who, covered only by a grey garment, has strayed into a garden, when his enemy enters. The enemy knows he is there, even if he cannot yet see him, and he stands at gaze, silent, patient, deadly, sweeping all corners with the hatred of his eye. Any movement is fraught with peril.

8 *when the White Eye is up:* throughout this part of the story Gollum's names for the Sun and Moon were originally the Yellow Eye and the White Eye, not the Yellow Face and the White Face. — TT has here, as does the manuscript, 'when the candles are lit': see note 10.

9 Cf. Gollum's words in TT (p. 235): 'There was a great battle long ago, yes, so they told him when Sméagol was young'. His words in the present draft ('a great battle here long long ago when Sméagol was young') might suggest the far shorter time-span (see p. 21, and VII.450 note 11); but the manuscript had from the first 'so they said when Smeagol was young'.

10 This was no doubt the point at which the idea of the marsh-lights entered (*ignis fatuus, will-o'-the-wisp, jack-o'-lantern*). In TT, as in the manuscript, Gollum calls them 'candles of corpses', and in time-schemes of this period my father referred to the 'episode of the corpse-candles'. *Corpse-candle* is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as 'a lambent flame seen in a churchyard or over a grave, and superstitiously believed to appear as an omen of death, or to indicate the route of a coming funeral.'

11 In the conversation between Frodo and Sam that follows (TT



Frodo's journey to the Morannon

p. 231), in Frodo's words 'If we can nurse our limbs to bring us to Mount Doom' the name is spelt thus in the preliminary draft, but the manuscript has 'Mount Dûm': this spelling is found also in the preliminary draft of Frodo's vision on Amon Hen, VII.373.

12 The large-scale map of Gondor and Mordor was closely based on a map of my father's. This included the track of Frodo's journey from Rauros to the Morannon, and I have redrawn this section from the original (p. 117). My father's map is in some respects hard to interpret, for it was made roughly and hastily in point of its actual execution, the 'contour-lines' being very impressionistic, while the Nindalf and the Dead Marshes are shown merely by rough pencil hatching, for which I have substituted conventional reed-tufts; but I have attempted to redraw it as precisely as I can. The features of the uppermost line of squares were only roughed in on the original, above the top of the map, in order to show the track of the journey, and my version published in *The Return of the King* excluded this element. The squares are of one inch side, = 25 miles.

Note on the Chronology

As the story stood when the manuscript of this chapter was completed but before those changes were made to it that belong to a later stage the chronology was as follows (proceeding from the date February 1, when Frodo and Sam climbed down out of the Emyn Muil, p. 100):

Feb. 1–2 Night. They advance along the gully. *(Journey 1)*

(Day 1) Feb. 2 They sleep in the gully all day.

Feb. 2–3 Night. They continue along the gully and come to its end towards daybreak. *(Journey 2)*

(Day 2) Feb. 3 They enter the marshes and continue the journey by day ('So passed the third day of their journey with Gollum', manuscript text and TT p. 234). *(Journey 3)*

Feb. 3–4 Night. They see the dead faces in the pools. 'It was late in the night when they reached firmer ground again', manuscript text and TT p. 236; followed by change in the weather and flight of the Nazgûl. *(Journey 4)*

(Day 3) Feb. 4 When day came 'the outer buttresses and broken hills' at the feet of the mountains were 'no more than a dozen miles away' (p. 112). They were among the slag-mounds and poisonous pits. Day spent hiding in a hole. At dusk they went on (night of Feb. 4–5). *(Journey 5)*

(Day 4) Feb. 5 (Beginning of the next chapter) They reach the Black Gate at dawn.

Both of the brief time-schemes of which the beginnings are given on p. 100 express precisely this chronology. Scheme B was written, apparently, when the story had already reached the departure from

Henneth Annûn, but A accompanied the writing of the present chapter and scarcely extends beyond it. Notably, in A the actual journeys they made are numbered (as I have numbered them in the chronology set out above), and it may well be that '3' against February 3 explains the statement cited above: 'So passed the third day of their journey with Gollum' – for it was the third journey, but not the third day.

Both schemes refer to the flight of the Nazgûl. In B, under February 3, 'Nazgûl passes over marshes and goes to Isengard', with a subsequent addition 'reaching there about midnight'. This is hard to understand, since already in the completed manuscript 'it was *late in the night* when they reached firmer ground again', and that was before the change in the weather and the flight of the Nazgûl. In A it is said that 'Nazgûl goes over at early morning before daybreak' (of February 4), agreeing with the text of the chapter; but Théoden and Gandalf and their company left Isengard on the evening of February 3, and camped below Dol Baran (over which the Nazgûl passed) that night, so that this offers equal difficulty.

In his notes of October 1944 (see p. 100) my father commented, under the heading 'Passage of the Marshes', that 'the Nazgûl over marshes cannot be the same as passed over Dolbaran', and directed that the relevant passage in that chapter, and also that at the end of 'The Palantír', should be changed. It must have been at this time, then, that the description of the Nazgûl's flight over the marshes was altered – it wheeled round and returned to Mordor (p. 110); while at the same time, in 'The Palantír', Gandalf's original words to Pippin 'It could have taken you away to the Dark Tower' (p. 77) were extended by Pippin's further question 'But it was not coming for me, was it?' and Gandalf's reply: 'Of course not. It is 200 leagues or more in straight flight from Baraddur to Orthanc, and even a Nazgûl would take some hours to fly between them, or so I guess – I do not know. But Saruman certainly looked in the Stone since the orc-raid, and more of his secret thought, I do not doubt, has been read than he intended. A messenger has been sent to find out what he is doing. ...'

Scheme S (in which the dates of Frodo's journey are a day earlier than in A and B, see p. 101) has the following chronology:

(Day 2) Feb. 2 Journey in the marshes by day.
Feb. 2–3 Night. 'Episode of corpse-candles' (see note 10).
(Day 3) Feb. 3 Reach slag-mounds at dawn. Day spent hiding in a hole, going on at nightfall. Gandalf, Théoden, etc. leave Isengard at sunset and camp at Dolbaran.
(Day 4) Feb. 4 Reach the Black Gate at daybreak and hide all day. Gandalf and Pippin sight Edoras at dawn.

In the notes accompanying the changes made in October 1944 my father also directed that 'the first Nazgûl' should pass over Frodo and his companions at dusk (5 p.m.) on the evening of February 3 'just

about when they start from the slag-mounds', and reach Dol Baran about 11 p.m. 'The second Nazgûl, sent after Pippin used the Stone', despatched from Mordor about one o'clock in the morning of the night of Feb. 3–4, should pass over Frodo at the end of the chapter 'Passage of the Marshes' before they reach the Morannon. This Nazgûl would pass over Edoras on February 4, about six hours later. 'But both may pass high up and only give them faint uneasiness.'

Scheme S is confused on the subject of the flights of the Nazgûl, offering different formulations, but in the result it agrees well with the notes just cited; here however the second Nazgûl leaves Mordor 'at 11 p.m.' or 'about midnight', and it 'scouts around the plain and passes over Edoras at ? 8 a.m.' These movements fit very well with the added conclusion to 'The Passage of the Marshes' (TT pp. 242–3; see p. 115), which I presume was introduced at this time. Thus the unseen Ringwraith that passed overhead soon after they left the hole amid the slag-heaps, 'going maybe on some swift errand from Barad-dûr', was the one that passed over Dol Baran six hours later (on its way to Orthanc to 'find out what Saruman was doing'); and that which passed over an hour after midnight, 'rushing with terrible speed into the West', was the one sent in response to Pippin's looking into the *palantír*.

In the final chronology as set out in *The Tale of Years* two days were added to the journey to the Morannon, during which Frodo and his companions passed through 'the arid moors of the Noman-lands' (see p. 112):

(Day 2) Mar. 1 Frodo begins the passage of the Dead Marshes at dawn.
Mar. 1–2 Night. Frodo comes to the end of the Marshes late at night.
(Day 3) Mar. 2–3 Night. Frodo journeys in the Noman-lands.
(Day 4) Mar. 3–4 Night. Frodo journeys in the Noman-lands. Battle of the Hornburg.
(Day 5) Mar. 4 Dawn, Frodo reaches the slag-mounds (and leaves at dusk). Théoden and Gandalf set out from Helm's Deep for Isengard.
(Day 6) Mar. 5 Daybreak, Frodo in sight of the Morannon. Théoden reaches Isengard at noon. Parley with Saruman in Orthanc. Winged Nazgûl passes over the camp at Dol Baran.

Thus according to the final chronology neither of the unseen Nazgûl that passed over high up at the end of the chapter 'The Passage of the Marshes' (at dusk on March 4, and again an hour after midnight) can have been the one that wheeled over Dol Baran on the night of March 5, nor the one that passed over Edoras on the morning of March 6. A rigorous chronology led to this disappointing conclusion.

III
THE BLACK GATE IS CLOSED

I have already quoted (p. 104) my father's letter of 23 April 1944 in which he said that he had 'nearly done' the chapter which he called 'Gates of the Land of Shadow'. Since in the first fair-copy manuscript of this chapter the text goes on without a break through what was subsequently called 'Of Herbs and Stewed Rabbit', he had probably at that date got well beyond the point where 'The Black Gate is Closed' ends in TT (at Frodo's decision to take the southward road); and this is borne out by what he said on the 26th (continuation of a letter begun on 24 April, *Letters* no. 63): 'At this point I require to know how much later the moon gets up each night when nearing full, and how to stew a rabbit!'

Here I restrict my account to the portion of the new chapter that corresponds to 'The Black Gate is Closed'. This was a part of the narrative that largely 'wrote itself', and there is not a great deal to record of its development; it was achieved, also, in a much more orderly fashion than had been the case for a long time. Here there is a continuous, and for most of its length readily legible, initial draft, which extends in fact to the point where 'The Black Gate is Closed' ends in TT, and then becomes a brief outline that brings Frodo, Sam and Gollum to the Cross-roads and up the Stairs of Kirith Ungol – showing that at that time my father had no notion of what would befall them on the southward road. He headed this draft 'Kirith Ungol' (the original title of 'The Passage of the Marshes', p. 104), sure that he could get them there within the compass of this new chapter (but 'Kirith Ungol' now bore a different significance from what it had when he gave it to the previous chapter, see p. 106).

The draft was followed by a fair copy manuscript (in this chapter called 'the manuscript', as distinguished from 'the draft') which, as already noticed, extends without break through 'Of Herbs and Stewed Rabbit', and here again the first title given to it was 'Kirith Ungol', changed to 'The Gates of the Land of Shadow' (the title my father used in his letter of 23 April), and then to 'Kirith Gorgor: The Black gate is Closed'. At some stage, for some reason, he made a further manuscript of the chapter (ending it at the point where it ends in TT) in his most beautiful script, and this was copied in the first typescript. The chapter number is XXXIV.

In the (first) manuscript the text as it stands in TT was achieved in almost all points without much hesitation in the writing; but there was

much further shifting in the names that occur in this region. The opening passage concerning the defences of Mordor and their history differed in some respects from the form in TT (p. 244). The words following 'But the strength of Gondor failed, and men slept': *and for long years the towers stood empty*, are lacking.[1] The paragraph beginning 'Across the mouth of the pass, from cliff to cliff, the Dark Lord had built a rampart of stone. In it there was a single gate of iron, and upon its battlement sentinels paced unceasingly' was first written thus, both in draft and manuscript:

> No rampart, or wall, or bars of stone or iron were laid across the Morannon;[2] for the rock on either side was bored and tunnelled into a hundred caves and maggot-holes. A host of orcs lurked there ... (&c. as in TT)

This was changed in the manuscript as soon as written to the text of TT, introducing the rampart of stone and the single gate of iron; and it is thus seen that up to this point the 'Black Gate(s)' was the name of the pass itself.[3] So also at the beginning of the passage, where TT has 'between these arms there was a deep defile. This was Cirith Gorgor, the Haunted Pass, the entrance to the land of the Enemy', both draft and manuscript have 'between these arms there was a long defile. *This was the Morannon*, the Black Gate, the entrance to the land of the Enemy.' When the rampart and iron gate had been introduced this was changed in the manuscript to 'This was Kirith Gorgor, the Dreadful Pass, the entrance to the land of the Enemy.'[4]

The Mountains of Shadow were still in the draft named the *Dúath*, as on the First Map (Map III, VII.309); in the manuscript the name is *Hebel Dúath*, later changed to *Ephel Dúath* (see VII.310).[5] The 'Teeth of Mordor' are named in the draft *Nelig Morn* (cf. *Nelig Morn* > *Nelig Myrn*, p. 113);[6] in the manuscript they are *Naglath Morn*, which was subsequently struck out and not replaced.

It is convenient to notice here a few other points concerning names in this chapter. The name *Elostirion* for Osgiliath, used in the fine manuscript of 'The Palantír' made earlier in April (p. 78 and note 20), was retained in the draft[7] and in the following manuscript of 'The Black Gate is Closed', with *Osgiliath* later substituted in the latter (TT p. 249). The name of Sauron's stronghold in Mirkwood remains *Dol Dúghol*, the change to *Dol Guldur* being made at a very late stage.[8]

A curious vestige is seen in the name *Goodchild* pencilled above *Gamgee* in Sam's remark 'It's beyond any Gamgee to guess what he'll do next' (TT p. 247). In his letter to me of 31 May 1944 (*Letters* no. 72) my father said:

> Sam by the way is an abbreviation not of *Samuel* but of Samwise (the Old E. for Half-wit), as is his father's name the Gaffer (Ham)

> for O.E. Hamfast or Stayathome. Hobbits of that class have very Saxon names as a rule – and I am not really satisfied with the surname Gamgee and shd. change it to Goodchild if I thought you would let me.

I replied that I would never wish to see *Gamgee* changed to *Goodchild*, and urged (entirely missing the point) that the name *Gamgee* was for me the essential expression of 'the hobbit peasantry' in their 'slightly comical' aspect, deeply important to the whole work. I mention this to explain my father's subsequent remarks on the subject (28 July 1944, *Letters*, no. 76):

> As to Sam Gamgee, I quite agree with what you say, and I wouldn't dream of altering his name without your approval; but the object of the alteration was precisely to bring out the comicness, peasantry, and if you will the Englishry of this jewel among the hobbits. Had I thought it out at the beginning, I should have given all the hobbits very English names to match the shire. ... I doubt if it's English [i.e. the name Gamgee]. ... However, I daresay all your imagination of the character is now bound up with the name.

And so Sam Gamgee remained.

Turning now to the narrative itself, there are only certain details to mention. The distance from the hollow in which Frodo and his companions lay to the nearer of the Towers of the Teeth was in the initial drafting and in both manuscripts estimated at about a mile as the crow flies (a furlong in TT, p. 245). The description of the three roads leading to the Black Gate (TT p.247) was present in all essentials from the outset (they were in fact marked in by dotted lines on the First Map, though not included on my redrawing),[9] as were Frodo's stern words to Gollum (TT p. 248), and the conversation about the southward road; but Gollum's remembered tales of his youth and his account of Minas Morgul (TT pp. 249–50) differed from the final form in these respects. When Frodo said: 'It was Isildur who cut off the finger of the Enemy', Gollum replied: 'The tales did not say that'; then Frodo said: 'No, it had not happened then' (becoming in the second manuscript 'No, it had not happened when your tales were made').[10] Secondly, Gollum's reference to 'the Silent Watchers' in Minas Morgul (TT p. 250) was added to the manuscript, which as written had only: 'Nothing moves on the road that they don't know about. The things inside know.' Thirdly, after Gollum's explanation of why Sauron did not fear attack by way of Minas Morgul (his speech beginning 'No, no, indeed. Hobbits must see, must try to understand'), Sam says:

'I daresay, but even so we can't walk up along your climbing road and pass the time of day with the folk at the gates and ask if

we're all right for the Dark Tower. Stands to reason,' said Sam. 'We might as well do it here, and save ourselves a long tramp.'

Thus his jibe at Gollum ('Have you been talking to Him lately? Or just hobnobbing with Orcs?'), and Gollum's reply ('Not nice hobbit, not sensible ...') are lacking. With the expanded text (written into the manuscript later) there enters the second reference to 'the Silent Watchers' (and Sam's sarcasm 'Or are they too silent to answer?').

The brief text given on p. 113 and reproduced with the accompanying sketch on p. 114, in which Kirith Ungol is 'beneath the shadow of Minas Morgul', and in which Frodo and Sam actually enter Minas Morgul, shows that only a short time before the point we have reached the later story and geography had not emerged. But the conception of the entrances into Mordor was changing very rapidly, and the original draft of 'The Black Gate is Closed' shows a major further shift. The conversation following Sam's remarks about the futility of going on a long tramp south only to find themselves faced with the same impossibility of entering unseen (TT p. 251) ran thus in the draft:

'Don't joke about it,' said Gollum. 'Be sensible hobbits. It is not sensible to try to get in to Mordor at all, not sensible. But if master says I will go or I must go then he must try some way. But he must not go to the terrible city. That is where Smeagol helps. He found it, he knows it – if it is still there.'

'What did you find?' said Frodo.

'A stair and path leading up into the mountains south of the pass,' said Gollum, 'and then a tunnel, and then more stairs and then a cleft high above the main pass: and it was that way Smeagol got out of Mordor long ago. But it may [?have vanished] ...'

'Isn't it guarded?' said Sam incredulously, and he thought he caught a sudden gleam in Gollum's eye.

'Yes perhaps,' said he, 'but we must try. No other way,' and he would say no more. The name of this perilous place and high pass he could not or would not tell. Its name was Kirith Ungol, but that the hobbits did not know, nor the meaning of that dreadful name.

As the following manuscript was first written this was not significantly changed (the path and stair are still 'south of the pass'); the passage in which Frodo intervenes and challenges Gollum's story that he had escaped from Mordor, citing Aragorn's view of the matter, was added in a rider to the manuscript later.[11]

Thus Kirith Ungol is now not the pass guarded by Minas Morgul, as in the text given on p. 113, but a climbing stair high above it; it is

however very difficult to say how my father saw the further course of the story at this time. In the text on p. 113 Frodo and Sam 'creep into Minas Morgul', which suggests that the story of Frodo's capture in 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien' had been temporarily abandoned – though it is not clear why they should be obliged to enter 'the terrible city'. With the new geography, however, it seems that they are going to avoid Minas Morgul, passing through the mountains high above it. Does it follow that the Tower of Kirith Ungol had already been conceived?

There is nothing in draft or manuscript to show that it had – but that proves little in itself, since in all texts from the original draft Gollum refuses to say clearly whether Kirith Ungol is guarded (cf. 'The Stairs of Cirith Ungol', TT p. 319: 'It was a black tower poised above the outer pass. ... "I don't like the look of that!" said Sam. "So this secret way of yours is guarded after all," he growled, turning to Gollum'). The gleam in Gollum's eye that Sam caught when he asked him if it were guarded certainly means that Gollum knew that it was, but does not at all imply that it was guarded by a tower. I feel sure that Gollum was thinking of the spiders (at this stage in the evolution of the story). The only other evidence is found in the outline which ends the original draft of 'The Black Gate is Closed':

> Frodo makes up his mind. He agrees to take the south way.
>
> As soon as dusk falls they start. Needing speed they use the road though fearful of meeting soldiers on it hurrying to the muster of the Dark Lord. Gollum says it is twenty leagues perhaps to the Cross Roads in the wood. They made all the speed they could. The land climbs a little. They see Anduin below them gleaming in the moon. Good [?water]. At last late on the third [day of their daylight journey >] night of journey from Morannon they reach the crossroads and pass out of the wood.
>
> See the moon shining on Minas Ithil Minas Morghul.
>
> Pass up first stair safely. But tunnel is black with webs [of] spiders. ... force way and get up second stair. They [??had] reach[ed] Kirith Ungol. Spiders are aroused and hunt them. They are exhausted.

This does not of course imply that the spiders were the only danger they faced in taking the way of Kirith Ungol, but possibly suggests it.

However this may be, and leaving open the question of whether at this stage my father had already decided that Kirith Ungol was guarded by its own tower, it would be interesting to know whether that decision had been taken when he introduced into the manuscript Gollum's references to 'the Silent Watchers'. The Watchers, called 'the

Sentinels', had already appeared in 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien' (see VII.340–3 and note 33); there of course they were the sentinels of Minas Morgul. Here too Gollum is speaking of Minas Morgul (at this point in the chapter he has not even mentioned the existence of Kirith Ungol). It would seem rather odd that my father should bring in these references to the Silent Watchers of Minas Morgul if he had already decided that the actual encounter with Silent Watchers should be at the Tower of Kirith Ungol; and one might suspect therefore that when he wrote them into the text the idea of that tower had not yet arisen. But this is the merest conjecture.[12]

The passage telling where Gandalf was when Frodo and his companions lay hidden in the hollow before the Black Gate underwent many changes. The original draft reads:

Aragorn perhaps could have told them, Gandalf could have warned them, but Gandalf was ? flying over the green [?plain] of Rohan upon Shadowfax climbing the road to the guarded gates of Minas Tirith and Aragorn was marching at the head of many men to war.

This seems to express two distinct answers to the question, where was Gandalf? — In the manuscript this becomes:

Aragorn could perhaps have told them that name and its significance; Gandalf would have warned them. But they were alone; and Aragorn was far away, a captain of men mustering for a desperate war, and Gandalf stood upon the white walls of Minas Tirith deep in troubled thought. It was of them chiefly that he thought: and over the long leagues his mind sought for them.

In the second manuscript, taking up a revision made to the first, Gandalf is again riding over the plains:

... But they were alone, and Aragorn was far away, a captain of men mustering for a desperate war, and Gandalf was flying upon Shadowfax over the fields of Rohan swifter than the wind to the white walls of Minas Tirith gleaming from afar. Yet as he rode, it was chiefly of them that he thought, of Frodo and Sam, and over the long leagues his mind sought for them.

This was changed afterwards to the text of TT (p. 252):

... and Gandalf stood amid the ruin of Isengard and strove with Saruman, delayed by treason. Yet even as he spoke his last words to Saruman, and the *palantír* crashed in fire upon the

steps of Orthanc, his thought was ever upon Frodo and Samwise, over the long leagues his mind sought for them in hope and pity.

On the significance of these variations see the Note on Chronology at the end of this chapter.

The distant flight of the Nazgûl (TT p. 253) and the arrival of the southern men observed and reported on by Gollum differ already in the draft text in no essential points from the final text (except that it is Gollum who calls them *Swertings*); but Sam's verse of the Oliphaunt was not present. It is found in abundant rough workings and a preliminary text before being incorporated in the manuscript; my father also copied it out for me in a letter written on 30 April 1944 (*Letters* no. 64), when the story had reached the end of what became 'Of Herbs and Stewed Rabbit', saying: 'A large elephant of prehistoric size, a war-elephant of the Swertings, is loose, and Sam has gratified a life-long wish to see an Oliphaunt, an animal about which there was a hobbit nursery-rhyme (though it was commonly supposed to be mythical).'[13]

NOTES

1 In a very rough initial sketching of the opening of the chapter, preceding the continuous draft, the reading is: 'They were built by the Men of Gondor long ages after the fall of the first Dark Tower and Sauron's flight, lest he should seek to [?retake] his old realm.' This was repeated in the draft text of the chapter ('after the felling of the first Dark fortress'), but changed immediately to 'after the overthrow of Sauron and his flight'.

2 The earliest sketch of the opening passage, referred to in note 1, has a name that ends in *-y*; it could be interpreted as *Mornennyn* with the final *-n* omitted, but is written thus at both occurrences. For *Mornennyn*, replacing *Ennyn Dûr*, see pp. 112–13.

3 The Old English word *geat* 'gate' is found in a number of English place-names in the sense 'pass, gap in the hills', as *Wingate* (pass through which the wind drives), *Yatesbury*.

4 It seems in fact that my father did not immediately transfer the name *Morannon* to the actual 'Black Gate' built by Sauron, but retained it for a time as the name of the pass: so later in the manuscript text (TT p. 247) Frodo 'stood gazing out towards the dark cliffs of the Morannon' (changed subsequently to *Kirith Gorgor*).

5 Here appear also the plain of *Lithlad* (see VII.208, 213) and 'the bitter inland sea of *Nûrnen*', shown on the First Map (Map III, VII.309).

6 In the text given on p. 113 and reproduced on p. 114 *Nelig Myrn* replaced *Nelig Morn* at the time of writing; yet it seems obvious that that text was written during the original composition of 'The Passage of the Marshes'.

7 The draft text has in fact *Osgiliath* at one occurrence, in the first description of the southward road (TT p. 247): 'It journeyed on into the narrow plain between the Great River and the mountains, and so on to Osgiliath and on again to the coasts, and the far southern lands'. But *Elostirion* is the name in this same text in the passage corresponding to TT p. 249.

8 The name *Amon Hen* was changed at its first occurrence in the manuscript (TT p. 247) to *Amon Henn*, but not at the second (TT p. 252). On the second manuscript the name was written *Amon Henn* at both occurrences.

9 The southward road is shown running a little to the east of Anduin as far as the bottom of square Q 14 on Map III, VII.309. The eastward road runs along the northern edges of Ered Lithui as far as the middle of square O 17 on Map II, VII.305. The northward road divides at the bottom of square O 15 on Map II, the westward arm running to the hills on the left side of O 15, and the northward arm bending north-east along the western edge of the Dead Marshes and then turning west to end on the left side of N 15.

The passage describing the southward road was several times changed in respect of its distance from the hollow where Frodo, Sam and Gollum hid. In the original draft it was 'not more than a furlong or so'; in the first manuscript the distance was changed through 'a couple of furlongs', 'fifty paces', and 'a furlong', the final reading (preserved in the second manuscript) being '[it] passed along the valley at the foot of the hillside where the hobbits lay and not many feet below them.' For one, rather surprising, reason for this hesitation see pp. 172–3.

In the First Edition the description of the topography differed from that in the Second Edition (TT p. 247), and read:

> The hollow in which they had taken refuge was delved in the side of a low hill and lay at some little height above the level of the plain. A long trench-like valley ran between it and the outer buttresses of the mountain-wall. In the morning-light the roads that converged upon the Gate of Mordor could now be clearly seen, pale and dusty; one winding back northwards; another dwindling eastwards into the mists that clung about the feet of Ered Lithui; and another that, bending sharply, ran close under the western watch-tower, and then passed along the valley at the foot of the hillside where the hobbits lay and not many feet

below them. Soon it turned, skirting the shoulders of the mountains ...

This is the text of the second manuscript.

10 Frodo's meaning must be that these particular tales known to Gollum, concerning the cities of the Númenóreans, originated in the time before the Last Alliance and the overthrow of Sauron.

11 As the rider was first written there was this difference from the text of TT (p. 251):

> For one thing he noted Gollum used *I*, as he had hardly done since he was frightened out of his old bad wits away back under the cliff of Emyn Muil.

This was changed to: '... Gollum used *I*, and that seemed usually to be a sign, on its rare appearances, that Smeagol was (for the moment) on top', and then to the final text.

12 Even if this was so, it cannot be supposed that my father still thought that Frodo and Sam would enter Minas Morgul, and encounter the Silent Watchers there. The outline with which the draft text ends (p. 125) would obviously have said so if that had been in his mind. Moreover, not long after, in his letter of 30 April 1944 (*Letters* no. 64), he said that 'in the chapter next to be done they will get to Kirith Ungol and *Frodo will be caught*.'

13 It is hard to be sure, but it seems from the manuscript evidence that originally Sam's word was *oliphant*, and that *oliphaunt* was used only in the rhyme. — The form is mediaeval French and English *olifa(u)nt*. There are no differences in the texts, except that in the draft version and in the form cited in my father's letter line 11 reads 'I've stumped' for 'I stump', and in line 15 'Biggest of all' is written 'Biggest of All'.

Note on the Chronology

Where was Gandalf when Frodo, in hiding before the Morannon, was thinking of him? Four versions of the passage in question (TT p. 252) have been given on pp. 126–7. The original draft (1) seems to leave it open whether Gandalf was riding across Rohan or was almost at the end of his journey, climbing the road to the gates of Minas Tirith; in the following manuscript (2) he was standing on the walls of Minas Tirith; in the second manuscript (3) he was again riding across Rohan; and finally (4), as in TT, he was standing on the steps of Orthanc.

These versions reflect, of course, the difficulty my father encountered in bringing the different threads of the narrative into chronological harmony. According to the 'received chronology' at this time, the day in question here (spent by Frodo, Sam and Gollum in hiding before the Morannon) was 5 February (see p. 118); while Gandalf, Théoden and their companions left Isengard in the evening of 3 February (pp. 6, 73), camping at Dol Baran that night – the great

ride of Gandalf with Pippin therefore began during the night of 3–4 February.

At the end of the fine manuscript of 'The Palantír' that my father had made at the beginning of April 1944 (p. 78) Gandalf had said to Pippin as they passed near the mouth of the Deeping Coomb, following the first manuscript of the chapter: 'You may see the first glimmer of dawn upon the golden roof of the House of Eorl. At sunset on the day after you shall see the purple shadow of Mount Mindolluin fall upon the walls of the tower of Denethor.' This was said, according to the chronology at the time, in the small hours of the night of 3–4 February; and Gandalf was therefore forecasting that they would reach Minas Tirith at sunset on the fifth.

This is the chronology underlying the words of the original draft (version 1). Subsequent shifting in the dates, so that Gandalf and Pippin reached Minas Tirith later and Frodo reached the Morannon earlier, meant that Gandalf was less far advanced in his journey, but his ride across Rohan still coincided with Frodo at the Morannon (version 3). None of the time-schemes, however, allows Gandalf to have actually reached Minas Tirith at that time, and I cannot explain version 2.

The final version 4 of this passage, as found in TT, reflects of course the final chronology, according to which Frodo was in hiding before the Black Gate on the same day (5 March) as Gandalf spoke with Saruman on the steps of Orthanc.

IV

OF HERBS AND STEWED RABBIT

For this chapter, written as a continuation of 'The Black Gate is Closed' and only separated from it and numbered 'XXXV' after its completion, there exists a good deal of (discontinuous) initial drafting, some of it illegible, and a completed manuscript, some of which is itself the primary composition. As in the last chapter I distinguish the texts as 'draft' and 'manuscript' (in this case no other manuscript was made, see p. 121).

On 26 April 1944, in a letter to me already cited (p. 121), my father said that on the previous day he had 'struggled with a recalcitrant passage in "The Ring"', and then went on to say that 'at this point I require to know how much later the moon gets up each night when nearing full, and how to stew a rabbit!' From drafts and manuscript it is easy to see what this recalcitrant passage was: the southward journey as far as the point where Sam's thoughts turned to the possibility of finding food more appetizing than the waybread of the Elves (TT p. 260).

The original draft begins thus:

They rested for the few hours of daylight that were left, ate a little and drank sparingly, though they had hope of water soon in the streams that flowed down into Anduin from Hebel Dúath. As the dusk deepened they set out. The moon did not rise till late and it grew soon dark. After a few miles over broken slopes and difficult [?country] they took to the southward road, for they needed speed. Ever they listened with straining ears for sounds of foot or hoof upon the road ahead and behind ...

After the description of the road, kept in repair below the Morannon but further south encroached upon by the wild, the opening draft peters out, and at this point, probably, my father began the writing of the manuscript. Here the single red light in the Towers of the Teeth appears, but they passed out of sight of it after only a few miles, 'turning away southward round a great dark shoulder of the lower mountains', whereas in TT this took place 'when night was growing old and they were already weary'.[1] In this text they came to the less barren lands, with thickets of trees on the slopes, during that first night, and the shrubs which in TT the hobbits did not know (being strange to them) were here 'unrecognizable in the dark'. After a short

rest about midnight Gollum led them down onto the southward road, the description of which follows.

The precise sequence of composition as between drafts and manuscript is hard to work out, but I think that it was probably at this point that my father wrote a very brief outline for the story to come, together with notes on names. Frustratingly, his writing here has in places resisted all attempts to puzzle it out.

After so much labour and peril the days they spent on it seemed almost a rest. In Gollum's reckoning it was some 20 [*changed from some other figure*] leagues from the Morannon to the outer wards of Minas Morghul, maybe more. Gollum finds food. Night of Full Moon, they see a white ... far away up in the dark shadow of the hills to left, at head of a wide [?re-entrant, *sc. valley*], Minas Morghul.[2] Next night they come to the cross roads. An[d] a great [?stone] figure ... [3] back to Elostirion ... [*Struck out:* Sarnel Ubed.[4] Ennyn. Aran] Taur Toralt [*struck out*: Sarn Torath.] Annon Torath. Aranath. reminding Frodo of the Kings at Sern Aranath. or Sairn Ubed.

But his head was struck off and in mockery some orcs? had set ... a clay ball with ... The red eye was ... [?painted over].[5]

For *Sern Aranath* as the name of the Pillars of the Kings see VII.366 note 21; and cf. TT p. 311 (at the end of 'Journey to the Cross-roads'): 'The brief glow fell upon a huge sitting figure, still and solemn as the great stone kings of Argonath.' It is not clear to me whether *Sairn Ubed* is an alternative to *Sern Aranath*. On this same page, later but not much later, my father made further notes on names (see p. 137), and among these appears the following:

The two King Stones Sern Ubed (denial)
Sern Aranath

The word *denial* makes one think of the description of the Pillars of the Kings in 'The Great River' (FR p. 409), where in the earliest draft of that passage (VII.360) 'the left hand of each was raised beside his head palm outwards in gesture of warning and *refusal*.'[6]

It is plain from this text that at this time the emergence of Faramir and the Window on the West was totally unforeseen, while on the other hand the broken statue at the Cross-roads was already present.

The next step in the development of the 'recalcitrant passage' is seen, I think, in what follows the description of the southward road in the manuscript:

After the labours and perils they had just endured the days that they spent upon the road seemed almost pleasant, though fear was about them and darkness lay before them. The weather

now was good, though the wind blowing from the north-west over the Misty Mountains far away had a sharp tooth. They passed on into the northern marches of that land that men once called Ithilien, a fair country of climbing woods and swift falling streams. In Gollum's reckoning it was some thirty leagues from the Morannon to the crossing of the ways above Elostirion, and he hoped to cover that distance in three journeys. But maybe the distance was greater or they went slower than he hoped, for at the end of the third night they had not come there.

This passage was rejected at once, but before this was done 'thirty leagues' was changed to 'twenty', and it was perhaps at this time that a sentence was added earlier, following 'But they were not going quick enough for Gollum' (TT p. 256): 'In his reckoning it was twenty leagues from the Morannon to the crossing of the ways above Osgiliath,[7] and he hoped to cover that distance in three journeys' (where TT has 'nearly thirty leagues' and 'four journeys').

My father now, if my analysis of the sequence is correct, decided that he was treating the journey from the Morannon to the Cross-roads too cursorily; and his next step, on the same page of the manuscript, was to return to the first night (which was that of 5 February):

All that night they plodded on, and all the next. The road drew ever nearer to the course of the Great River and further from the shadow of Hebel Dúath on their left. That second night the moon was full. Not long before the dawn they saw it sinking round and yellow far beyond the great vale below them. Here and there a white gleam showed where Anduin rolled, a mighty stream swollen with the waters of Emyn Muil and of slow-winding Entwash. Far far away, pale ghosts above the mists, the peaks of the Black Mountains were caught by the beaming moon. There glimmered through the night the snows on Mount Mindolluin; but though Frodo's eyes stared out into the west wondering where in the vastness of the land his old companions might now be, he did not know that under

This passage was in its turn struck out. The last words stand at the foot of a page.[8]

It was now, as it seems, that my father decided to introduce the episode of the rabbits caught by Gollum (developing it from the passage where it first appears, given in note 6).

All that night they plodded on. At the first sign of day they halted, and lay beneath a bank in a brake of old brown bracken

overshadowed by dark pinetrees. Water flowed down not far away, cold out of the hills, and good to drink.

Sam had been giving some earnest thought to food as they marched. Now that the despair of the impassable Gate was behind him, he did not feel so inclined as his master to take no thought for their livelihood beyond the end of their errand; and anyway it seemed wiser to him to save the elvish bread for worse times ahead. Two days or more had gone since he reckoned that they had a bare supply for three weeks.[9] 'If we reach the Fire in that time we'll be lucky at this rate,' he thought. 'And we may be wanting to come back. We may.' Besides at the end of [?their] long night march he felt more hungry than usual.

With all this in his mind he turned to look for Gollum. Gollum was crawling away through the bracken. 'Hi!' said Sam. 'Where are you going? Hunting? Now look here, my friend, you don't like our food, but if you could find something fit for a hobbit to eat I'd be grateful.'

Yes, yess.

Gollum brings back 2 rabbits. Angry at fire (a) fear (b) rage at nice juicy rabbits being spoiled. Pacified by Frodo (promise of fish?).

Night of full moon and vision of Anduin.

Third night. They do not reach the cross ways. [?Trying] to hasten they journey by day through wood. They come to cross ways and peer at it out of thicket.

The headless king with a mocking head made by orcs and scrawls on it.

That night they turn left. Vision of Minas Morghul in the moon high up in re-entrant.[10]

Here this text ends, and was followed by another draft, beginning precisely as does that just given, in which the story of Sam's cooking was developed almost to the final form. On one of the pages of this text my father pencilled a note: 'Describe baytrees and spicy herbs as they march.' It was thus the cooking of the rabbits that led to the account of the shrubs and herbs of Ithilien (TT p. 258) – 'which is proving a lovely land', as he said in his letter of 30 April 1944 (*Letters* no. 64).

He now returned again to the fair copy manuscript, and without changing, then or later, the opening of the chapter he wrote the story almost as it stands in TT, pp. 258 ff. (from 'So they passed into the northern marches of that land that Men once called Ithilien'). At this stage, therefore, the chronology of the journey was thus:

Feb. 5 Left the Morannon at dusk, and came into a less barren country of heathland. Took to the southward road about midnight (p. 132).

Feb. 6 Halted at dawn. Description of Ithilien and its herbs and flowers. Sam's cooking, and the coming of the men of Gondor.

With the introduction of a long rider to the following typescript text an extra day and night were inserted into the journey between the Morannon and the place of Sam's cooking (see the Note on Chronology at the end of this chapter). At dawn of this added day they found themselves in a less barren country of heathland, and they passed the day hidden in deep heather (TT p. 257); at dusk they set out again, and only now took to the southward road.

At the end of the episode of 'Stewed Rabbit' there is a brief sketch in the manuscript of the story to come, written in pencil so rapid that I cannot make all of it out; but it can be seen that Sam finds that Gollum is not there; he puts out the fire and runs down to wash the pans; he hears voices, and suddenly sees a couple of men chasing Gollum. Gollum eludes their grasp and vanishes into a tangled thicket. They go on up the hill, and Sam hears them laugh. 'Not an orc,' says one. Sam creeps back to Frodo, who has also heard voices and hidden himself, and they see many men creeping up towards the road.

Another page found separately seems quite likely to be the continuation of this outline, and is equally hard to read. There is to be a description of men like Boromir, dressed in lighter and darker green, armed with knives; the hobbits wonder who they are – they are certainly not scouts of Sauron. The fight on the road between the men of Harad and the men of Minas Tirith is mentioned; then follows:

A slain Tirith-man falls over bank and crashes down on them. Frodo goes to him and he cries *orch* and tries to ... but falls dead crying 'Gondor!' The Harad-men drive the Gondorians [?down] hill. The hobbits creep away through thickets. At last they climb tree. See Gondorians fight and win finally. At dusk Gollum climbs up to them. He curses Sam for [?bringing enemies]. They dare not go back to road, but wander on through the wild glades of Ithilien that night. See Full Moon. Meet no more folk.

Strike the road to Osgiliath far down, and have to go back long [?detour] East. Deep Ilex woods. Gollum goes [?on] by day. Evening of third day they reach Cross ways. See broken statue.[11]

The story of the ambush[12] of the Southron men thus seems at this stage to have had no sequel. But from the point where this outline begins (when Sam calls to Gollum that there is some rabbit left if he wants to change his mind, but finds that he has disappeared, TT

p. 264) the final form of the story, partly extant in rough drafting, was achieved without hesitation – with, however, one major difference: the leader of the Gondorians was *not* Faramir, brother of Boromir. At this time he was Falborn son of Anborn (and remained so in the manuscript). Mablung and Damrod, the two men who were left to guard Frodo and Sam,[13] told them that Falborn was a kinsman of Boromir, and that 'he and they were Rangers of Ithilien, for they were descended from folk who lived in Ithilien at one time, before it was overrun' (cf. TT p. 267).

For the rest, Falborn's conversation with Frodo and Sam proceeds almost exactly as does that with Faramir in TT.[14] Mablung and Damrod used 'sometimes the Common Speech, but after the manner of older days, sometimes some other language of their own', but the description of this other tongue (TT p. 267) was added to the typescript that followed the manuscript at some later time. Their account of the Southrons scarcely differs from the final form, but where Mablung in TT (p. 268) speaks of 'These cursed Southrons', in the manuscript he says 'These cursed Barangils, for so we name them' (subsequently changed to the later reading). The name *Barangils* is written on the First Map beside *Swertings* (see Map III, VII.309).

The account of the Oliphaunt was never changed, save only in the name by which the great beasts were known in Gondor (*Mûmak* in TT). In the original draft Mablung[15] cried *Andabund!*, and this was the form first written in the manuscript also. This was changed to *Andrabonn*,[16] then to *Múmund*. These were immediate changes, for a few lines later appears 'the *Múmund* of Harad was indeed a beast of vast bulk', where drafting for the passage has *Múmar*. Soon after, the form *Mâmuk* was introduced in both passages: this was the form my father used in his letter to me of 6 May 1944 (*Letters* no. 66).

Lastly, in the manuscript Damrod cries 'May the gods turn him aside', where in TT he names the Valar; *gods* was preceded by a rejected word that I cannot interpret.

On 30 April 1944 (*Letters* no. 64) my father described to me the course of the story that I had not read:

> ['The Ring'] is growing and sprouting again ... and opening out in unexpected ways. So far in the new chapters Frodo and Sam have traversed Sarn Gebir,[17] climbed down the cliff, encountered and temporarily tamed Gollum. They have with his guidance crossed the Dead Marshes and the slag-heaps of Mordor, lain in hiding outside the main gates and found them impassable, and set out for a more secret entrance near Minas Morghul (formerly M. Ithil). It will turn out to be the deadly Kirith Ungol and Gollum will play false. But at the moment they are in Ithilien (which is proving a lovely land); there has been a lot of bother about stewed rabbit; and they have been captured by Gondorians, and witnessed them ambushing a

> Swerting army (dark men of the South) marching to Mordor's aid. A large elephant of prehistoric size, a war-elephant of the Swertings, is loose, and Sam has gratified a life-long wish to see an Oliphaunt ... In the chapter next to be done they will get to Kirith Ungol and Frodo will be caught. ... On the whole Sam is behaving well, and living up to repute. He treats Gollum rather like Ariel to Caliban.

Since it was not until a week later that he referred to the sudden and totally unexpected appearance of Faramir on the scene, it seems to me that when he wrote this letter he had not progressed much if at all beyond the end of the Oliphaunt episode; for in the manuscript of the chapter that became 'Of Herbs and Stewed Rabbit' the leader of the Gondorians is Falborn, not Faramir, and there is as yet no indication that he will play any further part (cf. the outline on p. 135).[18]

This chapter (including what became 'The Black Gate is Closed') was read to C. S. Lewis on the first of May 1944 (*Letters* no. 65).

This is a convenient place to set down the notes on names added later to the page transcribed on p. 132:

Change *Black Mountains* to the *White Mountains*. *Hebel* [*Orolos*>] *Uilos Nimr*[*?ais*]
Alter the *Morannon* to *Kirith Naglath* Cleft of the Teeth
Gorgor
The two King Stones *Sern Ubed* (denial)
Sern Aranath
Rohar?

To these pencilled notes my father added in ink:

Not *Hebel* but *Ephel*. *Et-pele* > *Eppele*. *Ephel-duath*. *Ephel* [*Nimras* >] *Nimrais*. *Ered Nimrath*.

With *Kirith Naglath* cf. *Naglath Morn*, p. 122; and on the reference to *Sern Ubed* and *Sern Aranath* see p. 132. On the change of the Black Mountains to the White see VII.433.

NOTES

1 In the manuscript as in the draft, 'The moon was not due until late that night'; in TT 'the moon was now three nights from the full, but it did not climb over the mountains till nearly midnight.'

2 That the illegible word is *re-entrant* seems assured by the recurrence of this word in perfectly clear form and in the same context in the text given on p. 134. In the present text at this point there is drawn a wavy line; this clearly indicates the line of the mountains pierced by a very wide valley running up into a point.

3 The illegible word is certainly not *pointing*. It begins with an *f* or a *g* and probably ends in *ing*, but does not suggest either *facing* or *gazing*.

4 The word *Ubed*, occurring twice here and again in the further notes on names on this page (where it is translated 'denial'), is written at all occurrences in precisely the same way, and I do not feel at all certain of the third letter.

5 Before the words 'The red eye' were written my father drew an Old English S-rune (cf. VII.382), but struck it out.

6 The remainder of this page carries disjointed passages: as elsewhere my father probably had it beside him and used it for jotting down narrative 'moments' as they came into his mind. The first reads:

> that great mountain's side was built Minas Tirith, the Tower of Guard, where Gandalf walked now deep in thought.

On this see note 8. Then follows:

> For a third night they went on. They had good water in plenty, and Gollum was better fed. Already he was less famished to look at. At early morning when they lay hidden for rest, and at evening when they set out again, he would slip away and return licking his lips. Sometimes in the long night he would take out something ..... and would crunch it as he walked.
>
> ..... and lay under a deep bank in tall bracken under the shadow of pine trees. Water flowed not far away, cold, good to drink. Gollum slipped away, and returned shortly, licking his lips; but he brought with him also a present for the hobbits. Two rabbits he had caught.

With Sam's having no objection to rabbit but a distaste for what Gollum brought, and a reference to his prudent wish, in contrast to Frodo's indifference, to save the elvish waybread for worse times ahead, these exceedingly difficult 'extracts' come to an end. It was clearly here that the episode of the stewed rabbit entered; but it seems scarcely possible to define how my father related it to the whole sequence of the journey from the Black Gate.

7 On the continued hesitation between *Elostirion* and *Osgiliath* at this time see p. 122 and note 7.

8 The last sentence is in fact, and rather oddly, completed by the first passage given in note 6, thus:

> There glimmered through the night the snows on Mount Mindolluin; but though Frodo's eyes stared out into the west wondering where in the vastness of the land his old companions might now be, he did not know that under / that great mountain's side was built Minas Tirith, the Tower of Guard, where Gandalf walked now deep in thought.

See the Note on Chronology below.

9 This sentence replaced a form of it in which Sam's reckoning had

been that they had 'a bare ten days' supply of waybread: that left eight.' In the manuscript of 'The Passage of the Marshes', corresponding to that in TT p. 231, Sam said 'I reckon we've got enough to last, say, 10 days now'. This was changed to 'three weeks or so', no doubt at the same time as the sentence in the present text was rewritten.

In TT (p. 260) it is said at this point that 'Six days or more had passed' since Sam made his reckoning of the remaining *lembas*, whereas here it is 'Two days or more'. Three days had in fact passed, the 3rd, 4th and 5th of February (p. 118). In TT the length of the journey had been increased, both by the two extra days during which they crossed the Noman-lands (pp. 112, 120), and by an extra day added to the journey from the Morannon to the place of the stewed rabbit episode (p. 135).

10 *re-entrant*: see note 2.

11 The brief remainder of this outline is illegible because my father wrote across it notes in ink on another subject (see p. 145).

12 It is not clear that it was first conceived as an ambush, which perhaps only arose when the story came to be written – and it was then that my father added to the manuscript at an earlier point 'They had come to the end of a long cutting, deep, and sheer-sided in the middle, by which the road clove its way through a stony ridge' (TT p. 258).

13 In a pencilled draft so faint and rapid as to be largely illegible another name is found instead of Mablung, and several names preceded Damrod, but I cannot certainly interpret any of them.

14 Rivendell is still *Imladrist* and the Halflings are still the *Halfbigh* (see VII.146). Boromir is called 'Highwarden of the White Tower, and our captain general', as in TT (p. 266).

15 Damrod in TT; the speeches of Damrod and Mablung were shifted about between the two.

16 Cf. the *Etymologies*, V.372, stem MBUD 'project': * *andambundā* 'long-snouted', Quenya *andamunda* 'elephant', Noldorin *andabon*, *annabon*.

17 *Sarn Gebir*: an interesting instance of the former name reappearing mistakenly – unless my father used *Sarn Gebir* deliberately, remembering that I had not read any of Book IV, in which the name *Emyn Muil* was first used. Cf. however p. 165 note 7.

18 It is clear that in the manuscript the chapter halted at Sam's words (TT p. 270) 'Well, if that's over, I'll have a bit of sleep.' The following brief dialogue between Sam and Mablung (with the hint that the hobbits will not be allowed to continue their journey unhindered: 'I do not think the Captain will leave you here, Master Samwise') was written in the manuscript as the beginning of the next chapter ('Faramir'), and only subsequently joined to

the preceding one and made its conclusion; and by then Falborn had become Faramir.

Note on the Chronology

The brief time-scheme B has the following chronology (see pp. 118, 135):

(Day 3) Feb. 4 Frodo, Sam and Gollum come to the Barren Lands and Slag-mounds. Stay there during day and sleep. At night they go on 12 miles and come before the Morannon on Feb. 5.

(Day 4) Feb. 5 Frodo, Sam and Gollum remain hidden all day. Pass southward to Ithilien at dusk.

(Day 5) Feb. 6 Full Moon. Stewed rabbit. Frodo and Sam taken by Faramir. Spend night at Henneth Annûn.

There are two other schemes ('C' and 'D'), the one obviously written shortly after the other, both of which begin at February 4. As originally written, both maintain the chronology of B, but both give some information about other events as well, and in this they differ. Scheme C reads thus:

(Day 3) Feb. 4 Gandalf and Pippin pass Fords and reach mouth of Coomb about 2.30 a.m. [*Added:* and rides on till day-break and then rests in hiding. Rides again at night.]

Théoden sets out from Dolbaran and reaches Helm's Deep soon after dawn.

Frodo comes to the Barren Lands and Slag-mounds and stays there during day.

(Day 4) Feb. 5 Théoden leaves Helm's Deep on return journey. Aragorn rides on ahead with Gimli and Legolas.

Gandalf abandons secrecy and after short rest rides all day to Minas Tirith. He and Pippin reach Minas Tirith at sunset.

At dawn on Feb. 5 Frodo comes before the Morannon. Frodo, Sam and Gollum lie hid all day and go south towards Ithilien at nightfall.

(Day 5) Feb. 6 Frodo and Sam in Ithilien. They are taken by Faramir. Battle with the Southrons. Frodo spends night at Henneth Annûn.

Scheme D, certainly following C, runs as follows (as originally written):

(Day 3) Feb. 4 Gandalf and Pippin begin their ride to Minas Tirith (pass Fords and reach mouth of Deeping Coomb about 2 a.m.). At dawn come to Edoras (7.30). Gandalf fearing

Nazgûl rests all day. Orders assembly to go to Dunharrow. Nazgûl passes over Rohan again.

(Day 4) Feb. 5 Gandalf rides all night of 4–5 and passes into Anórien. Pippin sees the beacons blaze up on the mountains. They see messengers riding West.

Aragorn (with Legolas and Gimli) rides fast by night (4–5) to Dunharrow via Edoras, reaches Edoras at morning and passes up Harrowdale. Théoden with Éomer and many men goes by mountain-roads through south [*sic*] skirts of mountains to Dunharrow, riding slowly.

Frodo at dawn comes before the Morannon. At nightfall Frodo with Sam and Gollum turns south to Ithilien.

(Day 5) Feb. 6 Full Moon (rises about 9.20 p.m. and sets about 6.30 a.m. on Feb. 7). Gandalf rides all night of 5–6 and sights Minas Tirith at dawn on 6th.

Théoden comes out of west into Harrowdale some miles above Dunharrow, and comes to Dunharrow before nightfall. Finds the muster already beginning.

Frodo and Sam in Ithilien; taken by Faramir; battle with Southrons; night at Henneth Annûn.

On the statement in scheme D that Théoden came down into Harrowdale *some miles above Dunharrow* see p. 259. The full moon of February 6 is the full moon of February 1, 1942, as explained in VII.369.

It will be seen that in their dating these time-schemes proceed from the schemes A and B (see p. 118), in which the day passed by Frodo among the slag-mounds was February 4, and in which he came before the Morannon at dawn on February 5. While these schemes obviously belong to 1944, and were made when Book IV was largely or entirely written (pp. 182, 226), it seems clear that they *preceded* the chronological problems that my father referred to in his letters of 12 and 16 October 1944 (see p. 100): for in the second of these he mentioned that he had made a small alteration in Frodo's journey, 'two days from Morannon to Ithilien', and this change is not present in these schemes, C and D.

Scheme D was revised at that time to provide the extra day in the journey from the Morannon to Ithilien, and this was done by revising the dates backwards: thus Frodo now comes before the Morannon on February 4, and on February 5 'lies in heather on the borders of Ithilien' (see p. 135 and TT p. 257); thus the episode of the stewed rabbit still takes place on February 6. Since this scheme only begins on February 4 it is not shown how the earlier arrival before the Morannon was achieved.

It is clear therefore that scheme S was devised following the chronological modifications of 12–16 October 1944; for in S the extra

day in the journey from the Morannon was present from its making, and the date of the extra day was February 5 (as in Scheme D revised), because in this scheme the date of the Breaking of the Fellowship was put back from January 26 to January 25 (see pp. 101, 119). The chronology in S I take therefore to represent the structure when my father wrote on 16 October 'I think I have solved it all at last':

(Day 3) Feb. 3 Frodo etc. reach slag-mounds at dawn, and stay in a hole all day, going on at nightfall. Nazgûl passes high up on way to Isengard about 5 p.m. Another one hour after midnight.

Gandalf and company leave Isengard and camp at Dolbaran. Episode of the Orthanc-stone. Nazgûl passes over about 11 p.m.

(Day 4) Feb. 4 Frodo etc. reach dell in sight of Morannon at daybreak, and lie hid there all day. See the Harad-men march in. At dusk they start southward journey.

Gandalf and Pippin ride east. Sight Edoras at dawn. Nazgûl passes over Edoras about 8 a.m.

(Day 5) Feb. 5 Frodo etc. reach borderlands and lie in heather sleeping all day. At night go on into Ithilien.

Gandalf passes into Anórien.

(Day 6) Feb. 6 Frodo etc. camp in Ithilien. Episode of Stewed Rabbit. Frodo captured by Faramir and taken to Henneth Annûn.

[Gandalf and Pippin reach Minas Tirith.]

The original entries concerning Gandalf on February 5 and 6 in this scheme cannot be read after the words 'Gandalf passes into Anórien', because they were afterwards overwritten, but it is clear that as in scheme D he reached Minas Tirith at dawn on February 6.

In this chapter relation to the movements of other members of the original Company arises in the rejected passage given on p. 133, interrupted in the manuscript but concluded as shown in note 8. In this passage, written before the episode of the stewed rabbit and the coming of the men of Gondor had entered the story, Frodo was walking southward through Ithilien, and in the late night of February 6–7 (the second of this journey) he saw the full moon sinking in the West. In its light he glimpsed from far off the snows on Mount Mindolluin; and at that same time Gandalf was walking 'deep in thought' below that mountain in Minas Tirith. When the story was entirely changed by the entry of Faramir it was from Henneth Annûn, before dawn on the 7th, that Frodo saw the setting of the full moon of that night, and in the original draft of 'The Forbidden Pool' appears his sad speculation on the fate of his former companions 'in the vastness of the nightlands' (TT p. 293). When that was written the

story was still that Gandalf and Pippin had already reached Minas Tirith.

In the final chronology the relations were altered. Pippin riding with Gandalf on Shadowfax caught as he fell asleep on the night of March 7–8 'a glimpse of high white peaks, glimmering like floating isles above the clouds as they caught the light of the westering moon. He wondered where Frodo was, and if he was already in Mordor, or if he was dead; and he did not know that Frodo from far away looked on that same moon as it set beyond Gondor ere the coming of the day' (*The Return of the King* p. 20). That was still the night that Frodo passed in Henneth Annûn; but now Gandalf did not ride up to the wall of the Pelennor until dawn of the ninth of March.

V
FARAMIR

On the 26th of April 1944 my father said (*Letters* no. 63) that he needed to know how to stew a rabbit; on the 30th (no. 64) he wrote that 'A large elephant of prehistoric size, a war-elephant of the Swertings, is loose' (but made no mention of anything further); on the 4th of May (no. 65), having read a chapter to C. S. Lewis on the 1st, he was 'busy now with the next'; and on the 11th (no. 67) he said that he had read his 'fourth new chapter ("Faramir")' to Lewis and Williams three days before.[1] It seems, then, that what was afterwards called 'The Window on the West' was achieved in not much more than a week. That must have been a time of intense and concentrated work, for the volume of writing that went into this chapter, the redrafting and reshaping, is remarkable. It is also very complex, and it has taken me a lot longer than a week to determine how the chapter evolved and to try to describe it here. In what follows I trace the development fairly closely, since in 'Faramir' there are bearings on other parts of *The Lord of the Rings* and much of special interest in Faramir's discourse on ancient history, most notably in his remarks on the languages of Gondor and the Common Speech (entirely lost in *The Two Towers*).

The various draft-sequences that constitute the history of the chapter are so confusing that I shall try to make my account clearer by using letters to distinguish them when it seems helpful. There was only one manuscript made, titled 'XXXVI. Faramir':[2] this is a good clear text, not extensively emended later, and in it the final form was achieved, with however certain important exceptions. It must have been from this text (referred to in this chapter as 'the completed manuscript', or simply 'the manuscript') that my father read 'Faramir' to Lewis and Williams on 8 May 1944. At this time the chapter began at '"Sleep while you may," said Mablung': see p. 139 note 18.

The original draft for the end of what became 'Of Herbs and Stewed Rabbit', which I will call 'A', continued on from Sam's 'If that's over I'll have a bit o' sleep' (TT p. 270) thus:

He turned and spoke in Frodo's ear. 'I could almost sleep on my legs, Mr Frodo,' he said. 'And you've not had much yourself. But these men are friends, it seems: they seem to come from Boromir's country all right. Though they don't quite trust us, I can't see any cause to doubt them. And we're done anyway if they turn nasty, so we'd best rest.'

'Sleep if thou wilt,' said Mablung. 'We will guard thee and thy master until Falborn comes. Falborn will return hither, if he has saved his life. But when he cometh we must move swiftly. All this tumult will not go unmarked, and ere night is old we shall have many pursuers. We shall need all speed to gain the river first.'

It seemed to Sam only a few minutes before he woke and found that Falborn had returned and several men with him. They were talking nearby. Frodo was awake and among them. They were debating what to do about the hobbits.

Sam sat up and listened and he understood that Frodo had failed to satisfy the leader of the men of Gondor on some points: which part he had to play in the company sent from Rivendell, why they had left Boromir, and where he was now going. To the meaning of Isildur's Bane he kept on returning, but Frodo would not tell the story of the Ring.

'But the words said *with Isildur's Bane in hand*,' said Falborn.[3] 'If you are the Half-high then you should have that thing in hand, whatever it be. Have you it not? Or is it hidden because you choose to hide it?'

'Were Boromir here he would answer your questions,' said Frodo. 'And since Boromir was many days ago at Rauros on the way to your city, if you return swiftly you will learn the answer. My part in this company was known to him and to all and to the Lord Elrond indeed. The errand given to me brings me into this land, and it is not [?wise] that any enemy of the Dark Lord should hinder it.'

'I see there is more in this than I first perceived,' said Falborn. 'But I too am under command: to slay or take prisoner as [?reason justifies] all found in Ithilien. There is no cause to slay thee.'

Here this barely legible draft ends. At the end of it is written in pencil: *Death of Boromir known*. This is probably to be associated with the following notes written across the outline given on p. 135 (see note 11 to the last chapter):

Is Boromir known to be dead?

Only by a vision of the boat with a light about it floating down the river and a voice. And by some things of his drifting?

This is Feb. 6. Gandalf only arrives at sunset on Feb. 5 and the Rangers must have left Tirith long before that. Hardly time for messenger from Edoras to Minas Tirith (250 miles).

..... Jan. 31 morning to [Feb. 4 >] night Feb. 3. 3½ days.
Rangers must have left on night of Feb. 3rd.
NO.

On the date 6 February see pp. 140–2. 31 January was the day on which Gandalf came with Aragorn, Legolas and Gimli to Edoras and left with Théoden, riding west across the plains (see pp. 3–5). My father was evidently calculating that a man riding 70 miles a day could have brought the news of Boromir's death by word of mouth to Minas Tirith before Falborn and his men left the city to cross the river into Ithilien, but decided that this was not what had happened.

A new draft text ('B'), at the outset clearly written, was now begun, opening with Mablung's words 'Sleep, if thou wilt,'[4] and continuing as in the original draft A (p. 145): there is thus still no suggestion at this point that the hobbits will not be allowed to go on their way (see note 18 to the last chapter), and the leader of the men of Gondor is still Falborn. A was followed closely in this new text (which was a good deal emended subsequently) almost to its end,[5] but at the point where Frodo says 'But those who claim to oppose the Dark Lord would do well not to hinder it' the dialogue moves to the same point in TT (p. 272): 'Frodo spoke proudly, whatever he felt, and Sam very much approved of it; but it did not appease Falborn', and continues almost as in the final form, through the wary conversation about Boromir, as far as Frodo's 'though surely there are many perils in the world.' At Falborn's reply 'Many indeed, and treachery not the least' Sam does not in this text intervene, and Falborn continues: 'But thou askest how do we know that our captain is dead. We do not know it for a certainty, but yet we do not doubt it.' And he asks Frodo whether he remembers anything of special mark that Boromir bore with him among his gear, and Frodo fears a trap and reflects on his danger just as in TT (pp. 273–4). Then follows:

'I remember that he bore a horn,' he said at last.

'Thou rememberest well, as one who hath verily seen him,' said Falborn. 'Then maybe thou canst see it in thy mind's eye: a great horn of the wild ox of the [Eastern wilderness >] East, bound with silver, and written with his name, [*struck out:* worn upon a silver chain]. That horn the waters of Anduin brought unto us maybe [> more than] seven nights now gone. An ill token we thought it, and boding little joy to Denethor father of Boromir; for the horn was cloven in twain as by sword or axe. The halves of it came severally to shore ...'

Falborn's account of how the pieces of the horn were found now follows as in TT (p. 276),[6] ending 'But murder will out, 'tis said'; then he continues:

'Dost thou not know of the cleaving of the horn, or who cast it over Rauros – to drown it for ever in the eddies of the fall, doubtless?'

'No,' said Frodo, 'I do not know. But none of our Company has the will for such a deed, and none the strength unless it were Aragorn. But though it may be a token of ill, a cloven horn does not prove the wearer's death.'

At this stage, therefore, Boromir's death was a supposition in Minas Tirith depending solely on the finding of the pieces of his horn in the river. But now there follows (and at this point my father's handwriting speeded up markedly and becomes very difficult, often a sign that a new conception had entered that would entail the rewriting and rejection of what had preceded, so that what follows slips back, as it were, into a more 'primitive' stage of composition):

'No. But the finding of the horn followed another and stranger thing,' said Falborn. 'And that sad chance befell me, and others beside [*changed to:* 'No,' said Falborn. 'But the finding of the horn followed another and stranger thing that befell me, and others beside]. I sat at night beside the waters of Anduin, just ere the first quarter of the moon, in the grey dark watching the ever moving stream and the sad reeds rustling. ...'

The account of the boat bearing the body of Boromir is for most of its length very close indeed to that in TT (p. 274), and it is here, most curiously, that Falborn becomes Boromir's brother, though he does not change his name: 'It was Boromir my brother, dead.' It is as if he slipped without conscious decision into the rôle that had been preparing for him. What else could he be, this captain of Gondor so concerned with Frodo's story and the fate of Boromir? Foreshortening the actual development, my father wrote in his letter of 6 May 1944 (*Letters* no. 66):

> A new character has come on the scene (I am sure I did not invent him, I did not even want him, though I like him, but there he came walking into the woods of Ithilien): Faramir, the brother of Boromir ...

Falborn's story is different in its ending from the final form:

'... The boat turned into the stream and passed into the night. Others saw it, some near at hand, others from far off. But none dare touch it, nor maybe would even the evil hands of those that hold Osgiliath dare to hinder it.

'[?This] I thought was a vision though one of evil boding, and even when I heard the tale of others we doubted, Denethor my father and I, if it were more, though it boded evil. But none can doubt the horn. It lies now cloven in twain upon the lap of Denethor. And messengers ride far and wide to learn news of Boromir.'

'Alas,' said Frodo. 'For now I do not on my side doubt your tale. The golden belt was given him in Lórien by the Lady Galadriel. It was she who clothed us as you see us. This brooch is of the same workmanship' – he touched the [?enamelled] leaf that caught his cloak about his neck. Falborn looked at it curiously. 'Yes,' he said, 'it is work of the same [?manner].'

'Yet even so,' said Frodo, 'I think it can have been but a vision that you saw. How could a boat have ridden the falls of Rauros and the [?boiling] floods, and naught have been spilled but the horn, and founder not with its burden of water?'

'I know not,' said Falborn, 'but whence came the boat?'

'From Lórien, it was an elven-boat,' said Frodo.

'Well,' said Falborn, 'if thou wilt have dealings with the mistress of magic that ....eth [*added:* dwells] in the Golden Wood then they [*sic*] must look for strange things and evil things to follow.'

This was too much for Sam's patience. He stood up and walked into the debate. 'Not evil from Lórien,' he said. 'Begging your pardon, Mr Frodo,' he said, 'but I have been listening to a deal of this talk. Let's come to the point before all the Orcs of Mordor come down on us. Now look here, Falborn of Gondor if that is your name' – the men looked in amazement (not in merriment) at the small ... hobbit planted firmly on his feet before the seated figure of the captain. 'What are you getting at? If you think we murdered your brother and then ran away, say so. And say what you mean to do about it.'

'I was in mind to say so,' answered Falborn. 'Were I as hasty as thou I would have slain thee long ago. But we have taken but a few minutes in speech to learn what sort ye be. I am about to depart at once. Ye will come with me. And in that count yourselves fortunate!'

Here this second draft B ends,[7] and my father now proceeded to a third version ('C'), beginning at the same point as did draft B (p. 146) with Mablung's words 'Sleep, if you will', and extending no further into the chapter, but C is written on odd bits of paper, much of it very roughly, is not continuous, and contains some sections of the narrative

in divergent forms. It seems clear therefore that these pages accompanied the commencement of the completed manuscript.

This third drafting C, in which *Falborn* has become *Faramir*,[8] largely retains the structure of B, while at the same time moving in detail of expression a good way towards the form of the opening dialogue between Faramir and Frodo in TT (pp. 271–6). There were various intricate shiftings and displacements and new conjunctions within the matter of this dialogue before my father was satisfied with its structure, and these I largely pass over. The essential differences from the final form are that Sam's indignation does not explode at Faramir's words 'and treachery not the least', but as in the second draft B at his disparaging remark about Lórien; and that Faramir's tale of how he heard far off, 'as if it were but an echo in the mind', the blowing of Boromir's horn had not entered.

There are a number of particular points to notice. At the beginning of his interrogation of Frodo ('which now looked unpleasantly like the trial of a prisoner') Faramir no longer cites the words of the verse as *with Isildur's Bane in hand* (see p. 145 and note 3), but as *Isildur's Bane upholding*,[9] and continues – in the completed manuscript as well as the draft – 'If you be the Halfling that was named, then doubtless you held it before the eyes of all the Council of which you speak, and Boromir saw it.' In TT (p. 271), when the concluding words of the verse were *For Isildur's Bane shall waken,/ And the Halfling forth shall stand*, Faramir says: 'But it was at the coming of the Halfling that Isildur's Bane should waken ... If then you are the Halfling that was named, doubtless you brought this thing, whatever it may be, to the Council of which you speak, and there Boromir saw it.'

When Frodo says that if any could claim Isildur's Bane it would be Aragorn, Faramir replies, both in the draft and in the manuscript: 'Why so, and not Boromir, prince of the city that Elendil and his sons founded?', where in TT (p. 271) he speaks of 'the sons of Elendil' as the founders. The story that Elendil remained in the North and there founded his realm, while his sons Isildur and Anárion founded the cities of the South, appears in the fifth version of the 'Council of Elrond' (VII.144); and this may suggest that that version of 'The Council of Elrond' was written later than I have supposed.

As already mentioned, the sound of Boromir's horn blowing far off was not yet present in this third drafting C; and Faramir still relates the finding of the pieces of the horn before he tells of the funeral boat passing down Anduin. In answer to Frodo's objection that 'a cloven horn does not prove the wearer's death' (p. 147) there now follows: '"No," said Faramir. "But the finding of the shards of the horn followed another and stranger thing that befell me, as if it were sent to confirm it beyond hope."' Thus the words '(that befell me) and others beside' in B are omitted; but in this tale of the boat that bore Boromir's corpse Faramir still declares that he was not the only one to see it:

'Others too saw it, a grey shadow of a vessel from afar.' In yet another revision of this passage before the final form was reached he ends: 'A vision out of the borders of dream I thought it. But I do not doubt that Boromir is dead, whether his body of a truth has passed down the River to the Sea, or lies now somewhere under the heedless skies.'

The remote sound of Boromir's horn blowing only entered in the manuscript, and Faramir there says that he heard it 'eight days ere I set out on this venture, eleven days ago at about this hour of the day', where TT (p. 274) has the same, but with 'five' for 'eight'.[10] As my father wrote this passage in the manuscript he went on, after 'as it might be only an echo in the mind': 'And others heard it, for we have many men that wander far upon our borders, south and west and north, even to the fields of Rohan.' This was apparently struck out immediately.

To Sam's indignant and courageous confrontation of this great man from Minas Tirith Faramir's response in this draft was gentle:

'... Say what you think, and say what you mean to do.'

'I was about to do so,' said Faramir smiling, and now less stern. 'Were I as hasty as you I might have slain you long ago. I have spared the short part of [?an hour] in spite of peril to judge you more justly. [?Now] if you wish to learn what I think: I doubted you, naturally, as I should. But if I am a judge of the words and deeds of men I may perhaps make a guess at hobbits. I doubted but you were friends or allies of the orcs, and though the likes of you could not have slain my brother, you might have helped or fled with some picking.'

Here this third phase of drafting (C) ends.[11] — It is curious that in the completed manuscript Sam's intervention has entirely disappeared: the dialogue between Faramir and Frodo in the passage where it originally took place now reaches the form in TT (p. 275) and Faramir no longer expresses so conventional a view of the Lady of the Golden Wood (cf. p. 148).

It is plain, I think, that at this point, at Frodo's words 'Go back Faramir, valiant captain, and defend your city while you may, and let me go alone where my doom takes me', the writing of the manuscript was halted, and that at that time nothing further had been written: in other words, this chapter, in terms of composition, falls into two parts, all up to this point (apart from the absence of Sam's outburst) having been brought virtually to the final form before the story proceeded.

Very rough and here and there altogether illegible outline sketches show my father's preliminary thoughts for its continuation. One of these, impossibly difficult to read, begins at the point where the draft C ends, with Faramir still speaking to Sam: 'But you have not the

manners of orcs, nor their speech, and indeed Frodo your master has an air that I cannot ..., an elvish air maybe.' In this text Faramir shows no hesitation about his course and does not postpone his decision, but concludes sternly: 'You shall be well treated. But make no doubt of it. Until my father Denethor releases you, you are prisoners of Gondor. Do not try to escape, if you do not wish to be slain' (cf. the passage given in note 7). Then follows:

In a few minutes they were on their way again down the slopes. Hobbits [?tired]. Mablung carries Sam. They get to the fenced camp in a dense wood of trees, 10 miles away. They had not gone far before Sam suddenly said to Frodo: 'Gollum! Well thank heavens we've lost him!' But Frodo not so sure. 'We have still to get into Mordor,' he said, 'and we do not know the way.' Gollum rescues them

The last three words are very unclear, but I have no doubt that this is what they are – though what story lay behind them will never be known.

Another short text reads as follows:

Faramir says he no longer doubts. If he is any judge of men. But he says that much [more] lies upon it than at first he thought. 'I should' he said 'take you back to Minas Tirith, and if things went ill my life would be forfeit. But I will not decide yet. Yet we must move at once.' He gave some orders and the men broke up into small groups and faded away into the trees. Mablung and Damrod remained. 'Now you will come with me,' he said. 'You cannot go along the road if you meant to. And you cannot go far for you are weary. So are we. We go to a secret camp 10 miles away. Come with us. Before morn we will decide.'

They .... Faramir spoke. 'You do not deal openly. You were not friendly with Boromir. I see S.G. thinks ill of him. Now I loved him, yet I knew him well. Isildur's Bane. I say that this lay between you in some way. Heirlooms do not breed peace among companions. Ancient tales.'

'And ancient tales teach us not to blab,' said Frodo.

'But you must know that much is known in Minas Tirith that is not spoken aloud. Therefore I dismissed my men. Gandalf was here. We the rulers know that I[sildur] carried off the Ruling Ring. Now this is a terrible matter. I can well guess that Boromir, proud, ever anxious for the glory of Minas Tirith (and his own renown) might wish to seize it. I guess that you have the Ring, though how it could ...

The rest of the sentence is illegible. The brief sketch ends with Faramir's words 'I would not touch it if it lay by the highway' and his expression of his love for and desires for Minas Tirith (TT p. 280); the last words are 'I could advise you if you would tell me more.' It is a pity that the passage about the Ring is so brief and elliptical; but the implication must surely be that the rulers of the city knew that Isildur carried off the Ruling Ring because Gandalf had told them. This, of course, was not at all the way in which the story would unfold when it came to be written down.

Another page of even more hasty and staccato sketching takes up from the point reached in the first, and may be its continuation (cf. TT p. 280, where Faramir's words 'it may be that I can advise you ... and even aid you' are followed by 'Frodo made no answer').

Frodo does not say more. Something holds him back. Wisdom? Memory of Boromir? Fear of the power and treachery of what he carried – in spite of liking Faramir. They speak of other things. Reasons of decline of Gondor. Rohan (alter Boromir's words saying he did not go there).[12] Gondor gets like Rohan, loving war as game: so Boromir. Sam says little. Delighted that Gollum seems forgotten. Faramir falls silent. Sam speaks of elvish power, boats, ropes, cloaks. Suddenly aware that Gollum is padding behind. But when they halt he sheers off.

Faramir in accord with law makes them be blindfold as they reach secret stronghold. They talk. Faramir warns him, warns against Gollum. Frodo reveals that he has to go to Mordor. Speaks of Minas Ithil. Moonrise. Faramir bids farewell in morning. Frodo promises to come back to Minas Tirith and surrender to him if he returns.

At this stage, before the chapter proceeded further, Sam's intervention in the initial interrogation of Frodo by Faramir was reintroduced, at an earlier place in the dialogue (at 'and treachery not the least'), and inserted into the manuscript on a rider.[13]

The latter part of the chapter is extant in continuous and for the most part clearly written drafting, with a good deal of my father's characteristic 'over-lapping' – when the narrative takes a wrong direction or is in some respect unsatisfactory, collapses into a scrawl, and is replaced by a new page beginning at an earlier point (thus producing sections of near repetition). This drafting led to the finished manuscript, in which there were still important differences from the text in *Two Two Towers*: it will be seen that at this time there was much development still to come in the past history of Rohan and Gondor.

The new draft ('D') begins (as also does the recommencement of the manuscript, closely based on D) '"I do not doubt you any more," said Faramir.'[14] The narrative from this point (TT p. 276), as far as Sam's glimpse of Gollum as they walked through the woodland (TT p. 281), already in the draft very largely achieved the final text; but there are some interesting differences.[15]

It is here that the Stewards of Gondor first appear, and the passage concerning them (TT p. 278) was written in the draft text virtually without hesitation or correction, although there is no preliminary material extant. It is notable that from his first appearance in 'The Breaking of the Fellowship' (VII.375–6) Denethor has never been called King: he is the Lord Denethor, Denethor Lord of the Tower of Guard. It seems more than likely, therefore, that this cardinal element in the history and government of Gondor was already of long standing, though never until now emerging into the narrative. The line of Denethor is traced in the draft to *Máraher* the good steward, changed probably at once to *Mardil* (the name in the manuscript); but the last king of the line of Anárion, in whose stead Mardil ruled when he went away to war, was not Eärnur. Both in draft and manuscript he is named *King Elessar*.

Gandalf's recital of his names, as reported by Faramir (who calls him in the draft 'the Grey Wanderer': 'the Grey Pilgrim' in the manuscript), was intricately changed in its initial composition, but apparently developed thus:

> [*Added:* Mithrandir among the Elves. Sharkûn to the Dwarves.] [The name of my youth in the West is forgotten >] [Olórion >] Olórin I was in my youth that is forgotten; [*struck out:* Shorab *or* Shorob in the East,] [Forlong >] Fornold in the South, Gandalf in the North. To the East I go not. [*Struck out:* Not everywhere]

The passage was then written out again in the draft, in the same form as it has in TT, but with the names *Sharkûn* and *Fornold*, this latter being subsequently changed to *Incânus*. In the manuscript *Sharkûn* (for later *Tharkûn*) remains. — Here the name *Olórin* first appears, changed from *Olórion*. On Gandalf's names 'in the South', *Forlong* changed to *Fornold*, I can cast no light; I do not know whether it is relevant that in Appendix F to LR the name of Forlong, Lord of Lossarnach (who died in the Battle of the Pelennor Fields), is said to be among the names in Gondor that 'were of forgotten origin, and descended doubtless from days before the ships of the Númenoreans sailed the Sea.'

Faramir's words about Gandalf's eagerness for stories of Isildur were much changed: 'he was eager for stories of Isildur, though of him we had less to tell, [for Isildur was of the North in Fornost, and the realm of Gondor held from Anárion. > for to Gondor no sure tale

had ever come concerning his end, only rumour that he perished in the River being shot by orc-arrows. >] for nought was ever known for certain of his end.' For the first occurrence of the name *Fornost* in the texts, replacing *Fornobel*, see p. 76.

A last point here is that (both in draft and manuscript) Faramir says: 'Isildur took somewhat from the hand of the Unnamed, ere he went away from the battle', where in TT (p. 279) he says 'went away from Gondor'. Cf. 'The Council of Elrond' in FR (p. 265), where Gandalf says: 'For Isildur did not march away straight from the war in Mordor, as some have told the tale', and Boromir interrupts: 'Some in the North, maybe. All know in Gondor that he went first to Minas Anor and dwelt a while with his nephew Meneldil, instructing him, before he committed to him the rule of the South Kingdom.' Cf. also the beginning of 'The Disaster of the Gladden Fields' in *Unfinished Tales*.

At the point where Sam, listening to but not entering the conversation, and observing that Gollum was never mentioned, sees him slipping behind a tree, the draft text (which, since it was soon replaced by another, I will call 'D 1') continues thus:

He opened his mouth to speak, but did not. He could not be sure, and 'why should I mention the old villain anyway, until I'm obliged,' he thought.

After a while Frodo and Faramir began to speak again, for Frodo was eager to learn news of Gondor and its folk and of the lands about them, and what hope they had in their long war.

'It is long since we had any hope,' said Faramir.

These last words appear much later in TT (p. 286). Thus the entire story in TT pp. 281–6 is lacking at this stage: the blindfolding, the coming to Henneth Annûn, the account of the cave, the report of Anborn about the 'black squirrel' in the woods, the evening meal, and Frodo's stories of their journey (although the fact that Frodo and Sam would be blindfolded before they came to the 'secret stronghold' was known to my father: see the outline on p. 152). All this is found in the completed manuscript in virtually the final form.

Faramir's account of the history of Gondor and the coming of the Horsemasters (TT pp. 286–7) was developed in two stages before it was written in the manuscript. Already in the first version (D 1) Faramir speaks very much as in TT of the evils and follies of the Númenóreans in the Great Lands,[16] and of their obsession with death. But after 'Childless lords sat musing in hollow halls, or in high cold towers asked questions of the stars' he continues:

'... But we were more fortunate than other cities, recruiting our strength from the sturdy folk of the sea-coasts, and the

hardy people of the White Mountains[17] — where lingered once many remnants of races long forgot. And then there came the men out of the North, the [Horse-marshals >] Rohir. And we ceded them the fields of [Rohan >] Elenarda [*written above:* Kalen(arda)] that are since called Rohan,[18] for we could not resist their rude strength, and they became our allies and have ever proved true, and they learn of our lore and speak our speech. Yet they hold by their old ways and their own speech among themselves. And we love them for they remind us of the youth of men as they were in the old tales of the wars of the Elves in Beleriand. Indeed I think that in [?that] way we are remotely akin, and that they are come of that old stock, the first to come out of the East from which the Fathers of the Fathers of Men were come, Beren and Barahir and Huor and Húrin and Tuor and Túrin, aye and Earendel himself the half-elven, first king of Westernesse. So does some kinship in tongue and heart still tell. But they never crossed the Sea or went into the West and so must ever remain [?alien]. Yet we intermarry, and if they have become somewhat like us and cannot be called wild men, we have become like them and are no longer Númenóreans. For now we love war and valour as things good in themselves, and esteem warriors above all others. Such is the need of our days. ...'

In this notable passage are adumbrated new elements of ancient history that were no doubt long preparing before they appeared in any narrative text, though Eorl the Young had entered in 'The King of the Golden Hall', riding out of the North to 'the Battle of the Field of Gorgoroth' in which Sauron was overthrown (see VII.444 and note 11). That 'between Rohan and Ondor there was great friendship' appeared in the initial draft of 'The Riders of Rohan' (VII.393), and in the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn' (VII.437), after 'News comes ... of the siege of Minas Tirith by the Haradwaith', was added: 'Théoden answers that he does not owe fealty — only to heirs of Elendil.'

The mention of Earendel as the 'first king of Westernesse' is strange indeed, but I think probably not significant, a passing inadvertence: see further p. 158 and note 26.

This draft D 1 continues on for some way, written fast, and I will return to it; but it is convenient now to turn to the draft that replaced it ('D 2'), and which takes up with Sam's decision to say nothing about Gollum:

'... why should I remind them of the old villain, if they choose to forget him? I wish I could.'

After a while Frodo and Faramir began to talk again, and Frodo asked many questions concerning Gondor and its people and the lands about them, and what hope they had in their long war. He was interested in such matters, but also he wished to discover, if he could, how much Faramir knew of old lore, and how he knew it. He remembered now that at the Council Boromir had shown much knowledge of these things [*struck out:* naming the number of the rings of].

The last part of this was changed to read:

He was interested in such matters, but also he thought of Bilbo. 'He'll want accounts of all these things,' he thought. 'It is long since I made any note in my diary: tonight perhaps, as we rest.' Then he smiled at himself: 'But he lives in the House of Elrond and can have more for the asking than all that is remembered in Gondor! O but well, he'll like it best from a hobbit, personal recollections. He will, if ever I see him again, alas!'

All this was struck from the page subsequently, when the later structure of the narrative was imposed; but the text as written continues (cf. p. 154): '"What hope have we?" said Faramir. "It is long since we had any hope. ...', and then proceeds to develop Faramir's discussion of Gondor and Rohan to a form much closer to that in *The Two Towers*, though still with important differences.

Where in the first version D 1 (p. 154) he said: 'But we were more fortunate than other cities, recruiting our strength from the sturdy folk of the sea-coasts, and the hardy people of the White Mountains', he now says: 'But we were wiser and more fortunate than some; wiser, for we recruited the strength of our people from the sturdy folk of the sea-coasts and the hardy mountaineers of Hebel Nimrath;[19] more fortunate in our foes that became our friends.'[20] Faramir still gives no indication of when the Horsemen came out of the North: 'For on a time there came men out of the North and assailed our borders, men of fierce valour, but not servants of the Dark Lord, not the wild hordes of the East, or the cruel hosts of the South. Out of the North came the Rohiroth,[21] the Eorlingas, and at the last we ceded to them the fields of Kalinarda[22] that are since called Rohan; for long these had been sparsely peopled, and we could not resist the strength of these golden-haired horsemen. And they became our vassals or indeed our allies ...' He continues very much as in TT (p. 287). In the completed manuscript Faramir gives this indication of the date of their coming: 'On a time in the days of Mardil's son there came men out of the North ...' But of course this conveys very little.

Of the origin of the Rohiroth this draft D 2 gives the following

version. The passage was heavily emended, and I show the significant alterations:

'... Indeed, it is said by the loremasters among us that they are somewhat our kin in blood and in speech, being descended [from those of the Three Houses of Men who went not over sea into the West >] from those same Three Houses of Men as were the Númenóreans, from Beor and Hador and Haleth, but from such as went not over sea into the West at the calling of the Powers. Thus they have to us a kinship, [such as the Exiled Elves that linger still in the West (of such indeed is the Lady of the Golden Wood) and returned not to Elvenhome have to those who departed. But they have never returned. >] such as the High Elves that do here and there abide still in the West of these lands have to those who lingered and went never to Elvenhome. Such is the kinship of the Lady of the Golden Wood to the folk she rules.[23] And so, as the Elves are divided into three: the High Elves, and the Middle Elves, [the Lingerers the Elves of the Woods >] their kindred that lingered on the shores, and the Wild Elves [the Refusers >] of the woods and mountains, so we divide Men, calling them the High or the Men of [Light >] the West, which are the Númenóreans, and the Middle or the Men of Shadow, such as the Rohiroth and other of their kindred in Dale and Mirkwood, and the Wild Men, or the Men of the Darkness. And of the truth of this their likeness of tongue and heart still speaks. Nonetheless those of Númenor passed over the Sea indeed, even if they after forfeited their kingdom and returned, and so they became a people apart and should remain so. Yet if the Rohir became in some ways more like to us, enhanced in art and gentleness, we too have become more like to them, and do not now rightly claim the title High. We are become Middle Men, of the Shadow, but with memory of other things. ...'

This was very largely retained, as emended, in the manuscript, but with these chief differences: 'they are come from those same Three Houses of Men as were the Númenóreans, from Hador the Golden-haired, the Elf-friend maybe, but from such of their sons as went not over the Sea into the West, refusing the call';[24] there is no mention of the Lady of the Golden Wood; and 'the Middle People or the Men of the Shadows, such as the Rohiroth and others of their kindred in Dale and the upper waters of Anduin'.

The threefold division of the Elves here (lost in *The Two Towers*) is that introduced into the *Quenta Silmarillion* after the return of the

manuscript from the publishers at the end of 1937 (see *The Lost Road* pp. 200, 219): the Elves of Valinor; the *Lembi* or Lingerers; and the *Avari*, the Unwilling.

The draft D 1, left on p. 155, continues through Faramir's reply to Sam's remark about the Elves, and this is of great interest. Though a good deal was retained in TT (pp. 287–8) I give it here in full. At the end the writing becomes very fast and the draft ends in scrawled notes. Passages in square brackets are thus bracketed in the original.

'You don't say much in all your tales about the Elves, sir,' said Sam, suddenly plucking up courage: he was rather in awe of Faramir since his encounter on his master's behalf.

'No, Master Samwise,' said Faramir, 'and there you touch upon another point in which we have changed, becoming more as other men. For (as you may know, if Mithrandir was your guest; and you have spoken with Elrond) the Númenóreans were elf-friends, and came of those men who aided the Gnomes in the first wars, and were rewarded by the gift of the kingdom in the midst of the Sea, within sight of Elvenhome whither the High Elves withdrew [*written above:* where the High Elves dwelt]. But in the Great Lands[25] men and elves were estranged, by the arts of the Enemy [who had suborned most men (save only the Fathers of the Númenóreans) to his service] and by the slow changes of time in which each kind walked further down their sundered roads. Men fear and misdoubt the Elves, distinguishing not between the High-elves (that here and there remain) and those that like themselves never went over the Sea. And Elves mistrust men, who so often have served the Enemy. And we grow like other men, like the men even of Rohan who see them not if they pass (or persuade themselves that they do not see), and who speak of the Golden Wood in dread. Yet there are Elf-friends among us in Gondor still, more than among any other people; for though the blood of Númenor is now run thin in Gondor, still it flows there, indeed even Elvish blood maybe: for our kings of old were half-elven, even our first king Elros son of Earendel and brother of Elrond.[26] And 'tis said that Elendil's house was a younger branch of Elros. Some there are of Gondor who have dealings with the Elves, some even still fare to the Golden Wood (though often they return not). One great advantage we have: we speak an elvish speech, or one so near akin that we can in part understand them and they us.'

'But you speak the ordinary language,' exclaimed Sam. 'Like us, or a bit old-fashioned like, if you'll pardon me saying so.'

'Yes,' said Faramir, 'we do, for that is our language. The Common Tongue, as some call it, is derived from the Númenórean, being a changed form of that speech of men which the fathers used, Beren and Túrin and Earendel and those others. [Hence its remote kinship with the tongues of Rohan and of Dale and of Westfold and Dunland and other places.] This language it is that has spread through the western world among all that are of good will, and among others also. But the lords of Númenor spoke the Gnomish tongue of the Noldor to whom they were allied, and that tongue, changed somewhat and mingled, still lives among us, though we do not commonly speak it. So it is that our earliest names were in the High Elvish Quendian, such as Elendil, Isildur, and the rest, but the names we have given to places, and still give to women and men, are of Elvish sort. Often we give them out of the old tales: so is Denethor, and Mablung, and many others.'

Here the draft D 1 peters out, and I return to D 2, left on p. 157, at the same point ('You don't say much in all your tales about the Elves, sir'). In his reply to Sam Faramir here says of the Elf-friends of the ancient wars of Beleriand that they 'were rewarded (such as would take it) by the gift of the Kingdom in the midst of the Sea, within sight of Elvenhome, which they had leave to visit.'[27] And he continues: 'But in the Great Lands Men and Elves were estranged in the days of Darkness ...' He no longer speaks of the men of Rohan being unable to see the Elves, or pretending to themselves that they do not see them if they do, but as in TT says only that they shun them; and he declares, again as in TT, that he would not himself go to Lothlórien, judging it 'perilous now for mortal men, at least to seek the Elder People wilfully.' But his answer to Sam's 'But you speak the ordinary language! Same as us, though a bit old-fashioned like' was substantially changed:

'Of course we do,' said Faramir. 'For that is our own tongue which we perhaps preserve better than you do far in the North. The Common Tongue, as some call it, is derived from the Númenóreans,[28] being but a form changed by time of that speech which the Fathers of the Three Houses [*struck out:* Hador and Haleth and Beor] spoke of old. This language it is that has spread through the western world amongst all folk and creatures that use words, to some only a second tongue for use in intercourse with strangers, to some the only tongue they know. But this is not an Elvish speech in my meaning. All speech of men in this world is Elvish in descent; but only if one go back

to the beginnings. What I meant was so: [the lords >] many men of the Three Houses long ago gave up man-speech and spoke the tongue of their friends the Noldor or Gnomes:[29] a high-elvish tongue [*struck out:* akin to but changed from the Ancient Elvish of Elvenhome]. And always the lords of Númenor knew that tongue and used it among themselves. And so still do we among ourselves, those who have the blood of Númenor still in our veins, though mayhap we have changed it somewhat mingling it like our blood with other strains. Thus it is that all our names of town and field, hill and river are in that tongue, and the names of our women and of our men. [*Struck out:* Only in the oldest days did we use the High Ancient Elven for such purposes: of that sort are Elendil and Isildur.] Indeed many of these we still take from tales of the old days: such are Mablung and Damrod, and mine own,[30] and my father's Denethor, and many others.'

'Well sir, I am glad you don't think ill of Elves at any rate,' said Sam. 'Wonderful folk, I think, sir. And the Lady of Lórien, Galadriel, you should see her, indeed you should, sir. I am only a hobbit, if you understand me, and gardening's my job at home ...'

This draft D 2 continues on through Sam's speech (essentially as in TT p. 288), his blurting out that Boromir always sought the Ring, and Faramir's response; but now in its turn it becomes quickly rougher and less formed (for its continuation beyond this point see p. 163) and was replaced by new drafting ('D 3') beginning at 'Indeed many of these we still take from tales of the ancient days ...'

In the text of the completed manuscript the draft D 2 just given was repeated with scarcely any change until towards the end. Faramir now says of the Elvish tongue spoken by the lords of Gondor that 'we can in part understand Elves [*struck out:* and they us] even when they speak to one another secretly', but all that he says in D 2 of the Common Tongue is repeated exactly as far as: 'All speech of men in this world is Elvish in descent; but only if one goes back to the beginnings.' The following sentence in D 2 ('What I meant was so: many men of the Three Houses long ago gave up man-speech and spoke the tongue of their friends the Noldor or Gnomes') was at first taken up in the manuscript, but struck out in the act of writing and replaced by the following (thus eliminating the reference to the abandonment of their own speech by the men of the Three Houses, see note 29):

'... What I meant was so: many men of the Three Houses long ago learned the High-elven tongues, as they were spoken

[in Beleriand >] in Gondolin or by the Sons of Fëanor. And always the Lords of Númenor knew these tongues, and used the Gnomish speech among themselves. And so still do we, the rulers of Minas Tirith, in whom the blood of Númenor still flows ...'[31]

And Faramir, giving examples of names taken 'from tales of the Elder Days', adds Díriel to those he gave before.

Among occasional previous references to the Common Speech only once is its nature defined, and there in a wholly different way. This is in an early draft for a passage in the chapter 'Lothlórien' (VII.239 note 26), where it is said that Frodo did not understand the speech of the Elves of Lórien 'for the language was the old tongue of the woods and not that of the western elves which was in those days used as a common speech among many folk.'

With the present passage, in its various forms, concerning the Common Speech and the knowledge of the High-elven tongue of the Noldor among the lords of Gondor may be compared what is said in Appendix F to *The Lord of the Rings*:

> The *Westron* was a Mannish speech, though enriched and softened under Elvish influence. It was in origin the language of those whom the Eldar called the *Atani* or *Edain*, 'Fathers of Men', being especially the people of the Three Houses of the Elf-friends who came west into Beleriand in the First Age, and aided the Eldar in the War of the Great Jewels against the Dark Power of the North. ...
>
> The *Dúnedain* alone of all races of Men knew and spoke an Elvish tongue; for their forefathers had learned the Sindarin tongue, and this they handed on to their children as a matter of lore, changing little with the passing of the years. And their men of wisdom learned also the High-elven Quenya and esteemed it above all other tongues, and in it they made names for many places of fame and reverence, and for many men of royalty and great renown.
>
> But the native speech of the Númenoreans remained for the most part their ancestral Mannish tongue, the Adûnaic, and to this in the latter days of their pride their kings and lords returned, abandoning the Elven-speech, save only those few that held still to their ancient friendship with the Eldar.

There follows an account of the spread of Adûnaic along the coasts before the Fall of Númenor, becoming a Common Speech in those regions, and of the use of it by the Elf-friends who survived the Downfall 'in their dealing with other folk and in the government of their wide realms', enriching it with many Elvish words.

> In the days of the Númenorean kings this ennobled Westron speech spread far and wide, even among their enemies; and it

became used more and more by the Dúnedain themselves, so that at the time of the War of the Ring the Elven-tongue was known to only a small part of the peoples of Gondor, and spoken daily by fewer.

This much more complex conception seems nonetheless not radically different as regards the nature and origin of the Common Speech from that which Faramir presents here: for in both accounts, early and late, the Common Speech was directly descended from the ancestral tongue of the 'Fathers of Men'. It is thus curious to see that by later pencilled correction to the manuscript this was changed, Faramir now saying:

'Of course we do ... For that is also our own tongue, which we ourselves made, and here preserve better perhaps than do you far in the North. The Common Tongue, as some call it, is derived from the Númenóreans; for the Númenóreans coming to the shores of these lands took the rude tongue of the men that they here found and whom they ruled, and they enriched it, and it spread hence through the Western world ...'

And at the end of Faramir's discourse on linguistic history, after his examples of Gnomish names in Gondor, he now adds: 'But in intercourse with other folk we use the Common Speech which we made for that purpose.'

Here the idea that the Common Speech was derived from 'that speech which the Fathers of the Three Houses spoke of old' is denied.

In his letter of 6 May 1944 my father continued from the passage cited on p. 147:

(A new character has come on the scene ... Faramir, the brother of Boromir) – and he is holding up the 'catastrophe' by a lot of stuff about the history of Gondor and Rohan (with some very sound reflections no doubt on martial glory and true glory): but if he goes on much more a lot of him will have to be removed to the appendices – where already some fascinating material on the hobbit Tobacco industry[32] and the Languages of the West have gone.

The passage on linguistic history in the present chapter (with the emendations just given concerning the nature of the Common Speech) survived into subsequent typescripts, and was only removed at a later time; thus the excluded material on 'the Languages of the West' to which my father referred in this letter was not the account given by Faramir.

As already remarked (p. 160), a new 'overlapping' draft D 3 takes up at the end of Faramir's exposition, and in this Sam shows himself as more impressed by what he has been told than in the previous version, and has more to say about Elves before he gets on to the subject of Galadriel. This passage was retained and slightly extended in the

manuscript (in which form I cite it here), and it survived in the following typescripts until it was removed from the chapter together with the account of languages that preceded it.

Sam looked at Faramir wide-eyed and almost with awe. To have an elvish name, and even a possible claim to Elvish blood however remote, seemed to him royalty indeed. 'Well Captain, your lordship, I should say, it is good to hear you speak so fair of Elves, sir. I wish I had an elvish name. Wonderful folk they are, aren't they? Think of the things they can make and the things they say! You don't find out their worth or their meaning all at once, as it were: it comes out afterwards, unexpected like. Just a bit of well-made rope in a boat, and there it is: one day it's just what you want, and it unknots itself when you ask it and jumps to your hand. And the boat: I agree with your lordship; I think it rode the falls and took no harm. Of course it would, if that was needed. It was an Elven-boat, sir; though I sat in one for many a day, and never noticed nothing special.'[33]

'I think you are right, Master Samwise,' said Faramir smiling; 'though some would say the White Lady had enchanted you.'

'And she did, sir!' said Sam. 'The Lady of Lórien! Galadriel! you should see her, indeed you should, sir. I am only a hobbit, and gardening's my job at home ...'[34]

I have mentioned (p. 160) that the Draft D 2, now become very ragged, continued on through Sam's description to Faramir of Galadriel, and his blurting out the truth, so long and so carefully concealed by Frodo, that 'Boromir wanted the Ring!'[35] In this draft, where in TT 'Frodo and Sam sprang from their stools and set themselves side by side with their backs to the wall, fumbling for their sword-hilts', and 'all the men in the cave stopped talking', all that is said is: 'Frodo and Sam sprang side by side, fumbling for their swords.' Faramir sat down and began to laugh, and then became suddenly grave. It is clear that he sat on the ground, where they were, in the woods. The last words of this draft before it was abandoned, barely legible, are:

'Do not fear. I do not wish to see or touch it – my only fear is lest I see it and be tempted. But now indeed it becomes my duty to aid you with all that I have. If this is the counsel of Mithrandir, that this [?dreadful] Thing should be sent [?a-wandering] in the borders of Mordor in the keeping of two hobbits, then he is desperate indeed and at his wits' end. Come, let us get to cover as quick as we may.'

It has been seen (pp. 154, 163) that in the drafting (D 1–2) for the latter part of this chapter the entire story of the coming to Henneth Annûn was absent, and the entire conversation that in TT took place there after the evening meal here took place as they walked through the woods. When we come to the third overlapping portion of the draft (D 3), however, at the dénouement, the revelation of the Ring, they are in the cave, and all is as in TT. It is clear therefore that it was only when he had come to the very end of the chapter that my father realised that the long conversation with Faramir had been interrupted by their coming to the refuge; and perhaps it was only now that he perceived what that refuge was: the Window of the Sunset, Henneth Annûn. Drafting for the new passage (TT pp. 281–6, from 'So they passed on, until the woodlands grew thinner ...') is found separately, with very little significant divergence from the finished form. There is no mention of Anborn and the sighting of Gollum in the woods at dusk: this first appears in the completed manuscript;[36] and Faramir says to Frodo and Sam before the meal: 'Do as we do, I pray. So do we always, look towards Númenor that was, and to Elvenhome beyond, and to that which is beyond Elvenhome, Valinor the Blessed Realm.'[37]

On the page of this drafting where appear Faramir's words 'This is the Window of the West' (changed to 'Window of the Sunset') my father wrote many names and forms before achieving *Henneth Annûn*: *Nargalad*, *Anngalad*, *Carangalad*; *Henneth Carandûn*, *Henneth Malthen*; *Henlo Naur*, *Henlo n'Annun*; *Henuil n'Annun*.

NOTES

1 The 'new chapters' were: (1) 'The Taming of Smeagol'; (2) 'The Passage of the Marshes'; (3) 'The Black Gate is Closed' (including 'Of Herbs and Stewed Rabbit'); (4) 'Faramir'. See note 2.

2 Since 'The Taming of Smeagol' was Chapter XXXII, 'The Passage of the Marshes' XXXIII, and 'The Black Gate is Closed' XXXIV, 'Faramir', the 'fourth new chapter', should be XXXV. Its actual number XXXVI implies that 'Of Herbs and Stewed Rabbit' had already been separated off as XXXV – but then of couse 'Faramir' became the fifth new chapter. Perhaps the actual number XXXVI was written in subsequently. See further p. 171.

3 This refers to the form of the 'dream-verse of Minas Tirith' in which the second half ran thus (see VII.146):

This sign shall there be then
that Doom is near at hand:
The Halfhigh shall you see then
with Isildur's bane in hand.

4 Throughout this draft Falborn addresses Frodo as 'thou', but this usage was emended throughout and does not appear in the following text.

5 The men of Gondor were in this draft B 'sitting in a ring, in the middle of which were Falborn and Frodo. It seemed that there was a debate going on.' – Frodo refers to 'Elrond of Imlad-rist': cf. p. 139 note 14.

6 In a rejected version of this 'the other half was found further down the river above Osgiliath by other watchers.'

7 On the same page are written other passages that were presumably potential ingredients in Sam's remonstration to Falborn:

> It's a pity the folks against Mordor fall out so easy. I should have thought it as plain as a pikestaff.
>
> Boromir was on his way to Minas Tirith. We decided not to go that way and went on our own road. Boromir was not dead when we left, but orcs knew of our journey: they attacked us above the rapids beyond Sarn Gebir. What's in it?
>
> I daresay now we made a mistake. I don't know the lie of the lands; but maybe we'd have got there quicker through Minas Tirith. But here we would have come. And if you drag us back there'll be some that do not like it. Boromir would not. Nor Aragorn.

With *Sarn Gebir* here for *Emyn Muil* cf. p. 136 and note 17. – Another passage here, in part totally illegible, is a draft for a more substantial conclusion to the interrogation of Frodo by Falborn: harshly uncomprehending in tone compared to the later Faramir, and suggesting that no further conversation between them had been thought of at this stage.

> 'Thou'rt commanded to go – somewhere. But I too am under command: to slay all that roam in Ithilien unanswerable, or at least to take them prisoner to Minas Tirith. I see no cause to slay you, or at least too great doubt. But to Minas Tirith ye shall go. And if Boromir is there it will ... with you. If Boromir's death be proved it will interest Denethor to speak with those who saw him last before he died. If he [?cometh] doubtless ye will be glad – maybe not. Of your own errand ..... [*the following sentences are effectively illegible*] ..... Maybe if you would say more of the truth and reveal your errand we would help you and not hinder. But if you will not speak I have no choice in my doubt.'
>
> 'Maybe you would, and maybe not,' said Frodo. 'But it is not a matter to speak of to such as you are – not were the walls of [?Mordor] a thousand miles away, whereas they be but a few leagues.'

Also here are inconclusive rewritings of the second part of the 'dream-verse of Minas Tirith'.

8 *Falborn* was emended to *Faramir* (but not consistently) on the

second draft B, where also many other changes leading to the third version C were entered.

9 This line does not appear in the rewritings of the verse referred to at the end of note 7, but *A sign shall be upholden* is found there. It may be that no such form of the verse was ever actually written. The manuscript at first followed the draft, but was then changed to 'But the words said that the Halfling would hold up Isildur's Bane'. *Halfling* for *Half-high* entered by emendation to the second draft B: 'If you be the Half-high' > 'If you be the Halfling'.

10 The date of Boromir's death was 26 January (and in one of the time-schemes the hour of his death is stated to be 'noon'); it was now 6 February, eleven days later. (In the margin of the manuscript my father wrote 'twelve' beside 'eleven', which however was not struck out. This presumably depends on the chronology in time-scheme 'S', in which Boromir died on 25 January: see pp. 101, 142.) In *The Tale of Years* the corresponding dates are 26 February and 7 March, also eleven days later (February having 30 days). In the notes given on p. 146 Faramir and his men left Minas Tirith on 3 February, thus three days before; and both in the draft and in the manuscript he tells Frodo that no members of the Company had reached the city when he left it three days before (where TT has six days, p. 272). In *The Tale of Years* he left on 1 March, thus six days before.

11 A further isolated scrap of drafting may be noticed. It represents presumably unused words of Frodo's when he spoke to Faramir about the boats of Lothlórien: 'These boats are crafty and unlike those of other folk. They will not sink, not though they will be laden more than is their wont when you are all aboard. But they are wayward, and if mishandled' (the sentence ends here).

12 This apparently refers to a passage in 'Farewell to Lórien'. In the fair copy manuscript of that chapter Boromir's original words 'I have not myself been there' (referring to Fangorn) had become 'I have not myself ever crossed Rohan' (VII.282, 293 note 36). This was now changed on that manuscript to 'I have myself been seldom in Rohan, and have never crossed it northwards' (cf. FR p. 390).

13 Rough drafting for this new placing of Sam's intervention is found. In this, rather oddly, Faramir's reply continues on into his astute guessing about Frodo's relationship with Boromir and about Isildur's Bane, and Frodo's quickly smothered desire to 'tell all to this kindly but just man'. In TT this passage, in much more developed form, does not arise until after they have begun their journey to Henneth Annûn. However, this was clearly no more than a sketching of new elements in the dialogue; it was not a

draft for the overhaul of all that had been achieved in the chapter thus far.

14 Cf. the beginning of the sketch given on p. 151. — The passage that precedes this in TT p. 276, from 'For me there is no comfort in our speech together' to 'But whatever befell on the North March, you, Frodo, I doubt no longer' (in which Faramir suggests that some of the Company are still alive, since who else can have arrayed Boromir in the funeral boat), did not enter till later (it was added to the first typescript of the chapter).

15 Various elements are lacking in the draft but are present in the manuscript: such are 'He wished this thing brought to Minas Tirith' (TT p. 278); and the passage concerning Gandalf (p. 279), from 'Are you sure of this' to 'He got leave of Denethor, how I do not know, to look at the secrets of our treasury' — where the draft text reads: '... so much lore be taken from the world. He had leave to look at the secrets of our treasury ...' The draft text has a few features lost in the manuscript: thus after 'There is a something, I know not what, an elvish air maybe, about you' (TT p. 276) it continues: 'And that is not what I should look for, if old tales and rumours from afar told the whole truth concerning the little people.' This was rejected and replaced by: 'Some power greater than the stature of your kind', also rejected. And after 'unlike they were, and yet also much akin' (TT p. 280) the draft goes on: 'Faramir was doubtless of a different temper, but Frodo feared the power and treachery of the thing he bore: the greater and wiser the stronger the lure and the worse the fall.' With this cf. the sketch given on p. 152.

16 *Great Lands*: this survival of old usage remains at this place in *The Two Towers* (p. 286), its only occurrence in *The Lord of the Rings*. At a subsequent occurrence of *Great Lands* in this chapter (p. 158) TT has *Middle-earth* (p. 288), suggesting that its appearance in the first passage was an oversight.

17 *White Mountains: White* was added, but almost certainly as the text was in progress. Cf. the notes given on p. 137: 'Change *Black Mountains* to the *White Mountains*'.

18 The writing of the name *Elenarda* is perfectly clear and unambiguous, and it was not struck out when *Kalen(arda)* was written above it (but see p. 156 and note 22). It is strange to find it applied to Rohan; for this old mythological word derives from the conception of the three 'airs' in the cosmology expounded in the *Ambarkanta*. There it is translated 'Stellar Kingdom', and is another name for the middle region of *Ilmen*, in which move the Sun, the Moon, and the stars (see IV.240–3, 253). — On the name Rohir in the preceding sentence see p. 22 and note 24.

19 *Hebel Nimrath* was the name of the White Mountains written in

the manuscript, subsequently changed to *Ered Nimras*. With these names cf. those given in the notes on p. 137.

20 In the manuscript Faramir says, as in TT (p. 286), 'But the stewards were wiser and more fortunate.' The Stewards of Gondor, ruling in Minas Tirith after the death of the last and childless king of the line of Anárion, have appeared already in the earlier part of the dialogue of Frodo and Faramir (p. 153). In the manuscript Faramir's balance of phrases ('wiser and more fortunate; wiser ..., more fortunate ...') was preserved ('more fortunate, for our most dangerous foes became our friends'); by alteration of the text here at a later time this was lost in TT.

21 *Rohiroth*: see p. 22. In the first of these drafts (D 1) the form is *Rohir* (note 18); in the present draft (D 2) both *Rohir* and *Rohiroth* are found in close proximity. In the manuscript the form is *Rohiroth*.

22 In the manuscript my father wrote *Kalin*, striking it out at once and writing *Calenardan*, then altering this to *Calenardhon*, all these changes being made in the act of writing. See note 18.

23 The difference between these formulations is evidently that in the rejected version the relationship is between the Noldor (such as Galadriel) who remained after the overthrow of Morgoth and those who departed and went to Tol Eressëa; whereas in the second version the relationship is between the Noldor who remained and the Elves who never went to Valinor (such as the Elves of Lothlórien). — Cf. the passage in the chapter 'Galadriel' in VII.248, with note 12.

24 In TT (p. 287) the reading is '*not* from Hador the Goldenhaired, the Elf-friend, maybe ...' This *not* was inserted by my father on a late typescript of the chapter; it was put in very hurriedly, and it seems to me possible that he read the sentence differently from his original meaning — which was certainly 'They may be descended from Hador indeed, *but if so*, then of course from those of Hador's descendants who did not pass over the Sea.' — In the manuscript 'such of their sons' was later emended to 'such of his people', and this seems to have been misinterpreted by the typist as 'such of his sons and people'.

It may be noted here that at the same time as this correction to the manuscript the words 'they became a people apart and should remain so' were changed to 'and should have remained so'.

25 *Great Lands*: here TT has *Middle-earth*; see note 16.

26 This sentence was apparently evolved thus: 'even Earendel our first king and Elros brother [*sc.* of Elrond]' > 'even our first king Elros son of Earendel and brother of Elrond'. See p. 155.

27 It was explicit from the beginning that the Númenóreans were expressly forbidden by the Gods to sail westward beyond the Lonely Isle (see the original outline and the original versions of

The Fall of Númenor in *The Lost Road*, pp. 11, 14, 26). *Elvenhome* here means the Lonely Isle: for that isle lay in the Bay of Elvenhome (cf. *The Lost Road* p. 103: 'the Isle of Eressëa in Elvenhome'); and this is the meaning also in the same passage in TT (p. 288), where the words 'within sight of Elvenhome' are retained — cf. the passage in the *Akallabêth* (*The Silmarillion*, pp. 262–3) where the remote vision from Númenor of Avallónë, haven of Eressëa, is described. This is made certain, apart from any other considerations, by the passage given on p. 164.

28 The word *Númenórean(s)* is variously marked, with an accent on the first syllable or on the third, or no accent. Here the word is written *Númenóreans*, and I have extended this throughout.

29 Cf. the later *Annals of Beleriand* in *The Lost Road*, p. 131: 'the folk of Hádor abandoned their own tongue and spoke with the speech of the Gnomes'; also the *Lhammas* § 10, *ibid.* p. 179.

30 The name *Faramir* does not appear in any earlier writing.

31 By later pencilled correction of the manuscript Faramir's words were changed so that the reference is only to Noldorin: 'many men of the Three Houses long ago learned the High-elven tongue of the Noldor, as it was spoken in Gondolin or by the Sons of Fëanor. And always the Lords of Númenor knew that tongue, and used it among themselves.'

32 On the removal of the history of Pipe-weed from the text see pp. 36–9.

33 With these remarks of Sam's cf. the initial sketch given on p. 152: 'Sam speaks of elvish power, boats, ropes, cloaks.' This was written before the entry of Faramir's account of language (the cause of its loss from the chapter in *The Two Towers*).

34 In neither of the draft versions of Sam's words about Galadriel does Faramir interject: 'Then she must be lovely indeed. Perilously fair', leading (in the manuscript, and in TT) to Sam's consideration of the justice of the word *perilous* as applied to Galadriel; but in both drafts Sam nonetheless says 'I don't know about perilous', and makes the same observations. At this stage he was referring back to Faramir's earlier 'I deem it perilous now for mortal men, at least to seek the Elder People wilfully' (p. 159).

35 In this draft (D 2) Sam's gaffe is preceded by the same words as in TT (p. 289), but he ends: 'and it's my opinion as soon as he first heard of it he wanted the Ring.' Thus he does not refer to Lórien as the place where Boromir (in the words of the final draft, D 3) 'first saw himself clear, and saw what I saw sooner'.

36 The man who saw Gollum was first named *Falborn* in the manuscript, later altered to *Anborn* (this change was actually made in the course of the initial drafting of 'The Forbidden Pool'). In draft and manuscript of 'Of Herbs and Stewed Rabbit'

(p. 136) Anborn was the father of Falborn leader of the men of Gondor in Ithilien, who became Faramir.

37 On *Elvenhome* here (Tol Eressëa) see note 27. The manuscript has the final text (TT p. 285): '... towards Númenor that was, and beyond to Elvenhome that is, and to that which is beyond Elvenhome and will ever be.' Cf. *Letters* no. 211, footnote to p. 281, where the words 'that which is beyond Elvenhome and ever will be' [*sic*] are interpreted as 'is beyond the mortal lands, beyond the memory of unfallen Bliss, beyond the physical world.'

VI

THE FORBIDDEN POOL

The 'fourth new chapter ("Faramir")' had been read to C. S. Lewis and Charles Williams on 8 May 1944 (see p. 144) – 'fourth', because 'The Black Gate is Closed' and 'Of Herbs and Stewed Rabbit' had not yet been separated (see p. 164, notes 1 and 2). On 11 May my father wrote (*Letters* no. 67) that another chapter was in progress, 'leading to disaster at Kirith Ungol where Frodo is captured. Story then switches back to Gondor, & runs fairly swiftly (I hope) to denouement.' On the following day (*Letters* no. 68) he said that 'we are now in sight of Minas Morghul'; and he also quoted Faramir's words to Frodo: 'When you return to the lands of the living,[1] and we re-tell our tales, sitting by a wall in the sun, laughing at old grief, you shall tell me then.' In *The Two Towers* these words stand just before the end of 'The Forbidden Pool'. On the morning of 15 May 1944 (*Letters* no. 69) he read his '6th new chapter "Journey to the Cross Roads"' to C. S. Lewis.

Initial drafting for what became 'The Forbidden Pool' runs on continuously into what became 'Journey to the Cross-Roads', and in the completed fair copy manuscript likewise the two chapters are one, titled 'XXXVII. Journey to the Cross Roads'; the latter title and chapter-break were inserted into the manuscript later, when the first part became 'The Forbidden Pool'.[2] Since my father would not have called his 'new chapter' 'Journey to the Cross Roads' if Frodo, Sam and Gollum did not get there in the course of it, I conclude that this was where they were, beside the broken statue in the ring of trees, when he read his '6th new chapter' to Lewis on the 15th of May (by this time, presumably, he had divided 'Of Herbs and Stewed Rabbit' from 'The Black Gate is Closed', so making 'Faramir' the fifth). In his letter recording this (no. 69) he went on: 'So far it has gone well: but I am now coming to the nub, when the threads must be gathered and the times synchronized and the narrative interwoven; while the whole thing has grown so large in significance that the sketches of concluding chapters (written ages ago) are quite inadequate, being on a more "juvenile" level.'

This part of the story unfolded, once my father began to write it, virtually without any hestitation between rival courses; there is however a little sketch that he wrote for it, exceedingly hard to make out, when all was not yet plain.

They are roused late at night. Moonset over Mindolluin. Sam grumbles at being waked only to see moonlight.

They see Gollum fishing below the pool.

Faramir says he must shoot to kill, or Frodo must help to capture him.

Frodo and some men go out. Frodo calls Gollum and Gollum is caught still clutching a fish.

Faramir warns Frodo against Gollum.

[*Struck out:* Frodo tells him] No it is Gollum.

Frodo begs for his life. It is granted if Frodo will induce Gollum to come and .....[3]

Gollum is caught by guards and brought in.

He [?feigns] great delight at Frodo. Nice fish. Begs him not to delay but start in morning.

They go back to sleep till morning.

They go on through woods by day. No orcs. Farewell. They are out of reckoning, and take long[?er than]

Here these notes end. The sentences 'Frodo and some men go out. Frodo calls Gollum and Gollum is caught still clutching a fish' are marked with a line in the margin, which probably implies that this is the version to be followed, rather than 'Gollum is caught by guards and brought in. He feigns great delight at Frodo.' I cannot explain the rejected words 'Frodo tells him', followed by 'No it is Gollum'.

Drafting for the chapter (much of it in handwriting so difficult that were it not generally already close to the final form parts of it would be virtually uninterpretable) suggests extremely fluent composition, and there is very little to say of it. New elements entered in successive pages of drafting, but the fair copy manuscript, from which the chapter was read to C. S. Lewis on 15 May, reached the text of *The Two Towers* in all but a few minor points.

Minor in itself, but very notable, is what Faramir says of the Moon. In TT (p. 293) he says: 'Fair Ithil, as he goes from Middle-earth, glances upon the white locks of old Mindolluin'; but in the original draft of the passage he said: 'Fair Ithil touches with *her* fingers the white locks of old Mindolluin', and still in the manuscript, where the text is otherwise that of TT, he said: 'as *she* goes from Middle-earth ...'[4]

In the original draft of Frodo's reply to Faramir's question concerning Gollum ('Why does he so?', TT p. 294) he says, in support of his suggestion that Gollum does not realise that men are concealed there, that 'He has night-eyes, but he is nearsighted and I doubt if he could see us up here.' In a second draft of the passage the last phrase became '... and sees to no great distance clearly'; in the manuscript, '... and distant things are dim to him.' Against this, in the second of these

drafts, my father wrote (at the same time): 'Make it *not* Gollum who looked out at Morannon – or make it 100 yards' (with '200 yards' written above). But the reference to Gollum's nearsightedness was struck from the typescripts and does not appear in TT, and Gollum remained the one who looked out from the hollow before the Black Gate and saw the 'very cruel wicked Men' coming up the road from the south. My father hesitated much over the distance from the hollow to the road, and this was clearly one of the reasons for it; see p. 128 note 9. — The 'froglike figure' that climbed out of the water as Frodo and Faramir looked down on the pool was a subsequent change from 'spidery figure'.

In very rough and rapid initial drafting for the concluding part of the chapter in TT (pp. 300–2) Frodo says no more of the way past Minas Morghul than that Gollum had said that there was such a way, 'up in a high pass in the mountains'. Then follows Faramir's declaration of the name Kirith Ungol, as in TT. In the fair copy manuscript my father first wrote here:

'I do not know clearly,' said Frodo, 'but it climbs, I think, up into the mountains on the southern side of that vale in the mountains on the northern side of which the old city stands. It goes up to a high cleft and so down to – that which is beyond.'

This was subsequently changed to the text of TT. On the earlier idea that Kirith Ungol was on the south side of the valley see p. 113.

At the end of this initial draft my father briefly outlined the further course of the story: the blindfolding of the hobbits and Gollum, the report of the scouts on the strange silence and emptiness in the land, Faramir's advice to go by day through the woods 'skirting the last fall of the land before the river vale', and his farewell. At the foot of this page is a pencilled note only a part of which can I make out:

> K[irith] U[ngol] must not be mentioned before Frodo ... to tell Faramir of Gollum.
> Yes he found the ring many many years ago, said Frodo. He is the means by which all this great matter has been set going.

Two sentences follow in which I can make out nothing at all, except perhaps 'where the ring had been'. But in any case this was evidently a very short-lived idea.

NOTES

1 The original draft of the passage in 'The Forbidden Pool' was almost as in TT: 'If ever you return to the lands of the living ...'

2 A subsequent tentative arrangement was to put 'The Forbidden Pool' with 'Faramir', calling the first part 'Faramir (1): The

Window of the West' (not 'on the West'), and the second 'Faramir (2): The Forbidden Pool'.

3 The illegible end of this sentence looks in fact more like 'visit them' than anything else. If so, the meaning is presumably 'if Frodo can induce Gollum to leave the pool and come up with him to Faramir's presence'; the word is oddly chosen, but these notes were written at great speed.

4 *she* was corrected to *he* on the first typescript. Cf. the *Quenta Silmarillion* in *The Lost Road*, p. 241 §78: 'Varda commanded the Moon to rise only after the Sun had left heaven, but he travels with uncertain pace, and still pursueth her ...'

Another matter concerning the Moon may be mentioned. At the beginning of the chapter, when Faramir waking Frodo says 'the full moon is setting', my father changed this on the manuscript to 'rising'; when they came out from the stairway in the rock the words 'Far off in the West the full moon was sinking' were changed to 'Behind him the round moon, full and majestic, rose out of the shadow of the East'; and Faramir's 'Moonset over Gondor' was changed to 'Moonrise over Gondor'. This would of course make it very much earlier in the night. But all these alterations were returned to the original readings, presumably at once, since subsequently 'It was now dark and the falls were pale and grey, reflecting only the lingering moonlight of the western sky' (TT p. 295) was not changed.

VII
JOURNEY TO THE CROSS-ROADS

I have recounted the original relationship of 'The Forbidden Pool' and 'Journey to the Cross-roads'[1] at the beginning of the last chapter. Preliminary drafting for this second part of the original single chapter runs continuously, in excruciatingly difficult handwriting, as far as the coming of Frodo and his companions to the ridge covered with whortleberry and gorse-bushes so tall that they could walk upright beneath them (TT p. 307).[2] The story to this point differed from that in *The Two Towers*. The journey took a day less: they came to the road from Osgiliath at dusk of the day on which they left Henneth Annûn in the morning; and their taking refuge in the great holm-oak was described at much greater length (cf. TT pp. 306–7, from 'Gollum reluctantly agreed to this'):

Gollum agreed to this, and the travellers turned back from the road, but Gollum would not rest on the ground in the open woodland. After some search he chose a large dark ilex with great branches springing together high up from a great bole like a [?giant] pillar. It grew at the foot of a small bank [?leaning] a little westward. From the bank Gollum leaped with ease upon the trunk, climbing like a cat and scrambling up into the branches. The hobbits climbed only with the help of Sam's rope and in that task Gollum would not help, he would not lay a finger on the elven rope. The great branches springing almost from the same point made a wide bowl and here they [?managed] to find some sort of comfort. It grew deep dark under the great canopy of the tree. They could not see the sky or any star.

'We could sleep snug and safe here, if it wasn't for this dratted Gollum,' thought Sam. Whether he was really as forgiving as he claimed or not, Gollum at least had no fear of his companions, and curled up like some tree-animal and soon went to sleep, or seemed to. But the hobbits did not trust it – neither of them (certainly not Sam) were likely to forget Faramir's warning. They took [it] in turn to watch and had about 3 hours' sleep each. All the while Gollum did not stir. Whether the 'nice fish' had given him strength to last for a bit or whatnot else, he did not go out to hunt.

Shortly before midnight he woke up suddenly and they saw his pale eyes unlidded staring in the darkness.

At the point where this opening draft ended my father wrote *Thunder*. But at this stage there is no suggestion in the text of any change in the weather or in the feeling of the air. Other points worth mentioning are that the staves given to Frodo and Sam by Faramir had 'carven heads like a shepherd's crook'; that the tree of which they were made was first named *melinon* (the last two letters are not perfectly clear), then *lebendron*, and finally *lebethras*, all these changes being made in the act of writing;[3] and that though Faramir warns them against drinking of any water that flows from the valley of Morghul he does not name it *Imlad Morghul* (but the name occurs soon after: p. 223, note 25).

A second draft takes up at the beginning of the passage just given ('Gollum agreed to this'), and the episode of the oak-tree was rewritten. In this text appears the first reference to an approaching change in the weather.

They were steadily climbing. Looking back they could see now the roof of the forests they had left, lying like a huge dense shadow spread under the sky. The air seemed heavy, no longer fresh and clear, and the stars were blurred, and when towards the end of the night the moon climbed slowly above Ephel Dúath[4] it was ringed about with a sickly yellow glare. They went on until the sky above the approaching mountains began to grow pale. Gollum seemed to know well enough where he was. He stood for a moment nose upward sniffing. Then beckoning to them he hurried forward. Following him wearily they began to climb a great hogback of land. ...

After the description of the great gorse-bushes and their hiding in a brake of tangled thorns and briars there follows (cf. TT p. 308):

There they lay glad to be at rest, too tired as yet to eat, and watched the slow growth of day. As the light grew the mountains of Ephel-dúath seemed to frown and lower at them across the tumbled lands between. They looked even nearer than they were, black below where night lingered, with jagged tips and edges lined in threatening shapes against the opening sky.

Away a little northward of where the hobbits lay they seemed to recede eastwards and fall back in a great re-entrant, the nearer shoulder of which thrusting forward hid the view in that direction. Below out of the great shadow they could see the road

from the River for a short stretch as it bent away north-east to join the southward road that still lay further off [?buried] in the crumpled land.

'Which way do we go from here?' said Frodo.

'Must we think of it yet?' said Sam. 'Surely we're not going to move for hours and hours?'

'No surely not,' said Gollum. 'But we must move sometime. ..... back to the Cross-roads that we told the hobbits about.'

'When shall we get there?'

'We doesn't know,' said Gollum. 'Before night is over perhaps, perhaps not.'

At this point the second draft breaks down into an outline of the story to come, and the handwriting becomes in places altogether inscrutable.

Gollum away a large part of the day. Reach Cross-roads in fact owing to difficult country not until evening. Start at dusk about 5.30 and do not reach Cross-roads and headless statue until morning [*sic*]. Gollum in a great state of fright. Weather changed. Sky above Ephel Dúath absolute black. Clouds or smoke? drifting on an East wind. Rumbles? Sun hidden. In this darkness they get out of the wood and see Minas Morghul. It shines amid a deep gloom as if by an evil moon – though there is no moon.

Horror of hobbits. Weight of Ring. ..... vale of Morghul. Where road went away to the north shoulder and bases of the fortress they turned aside and climbed away southward to other side of V [*i.e.* Vale of Morghul]. Frodo and Sam ..... see a track. They are already some way up and the gates of Minas Morghul frown at them when there is a great roll and rumble. Blast of Thunder .... rain. Out of gates comes host led by B[lack] R[ider].

It was in this text that the idea of the great cloud spreading out of Mordor emerged. In a third section of drafting my father returned to the point where the second had become a sketch, following Gollum's words about the Cross-roads: 'The sun that had risen with a red glare behind the Ephel-dúath passed into dark clouds moving slowly from the East. It was a gloomy morning. The hobbits took some food and settled to rest ...'

After Gollum's reappearance from his long absence that day this draft too turns to outline:

When he returns he says they ought to start. Hobbits think something has worried him (or ?). They are suspicious but have to agree. The [early evening >] afternoon is threatening and overcast. At evening they come to the Cross-roads in a wood. Sun goes down bloodred in the west over Osgiliath. Terrible darkness begins.

The completed fair copy manuscript did not in this case reach the form of the story in *The Two Towers*, for Frodo and his companions still only took two days from Henneth Annûn to the Cross-roads, and a major later change was the lengthening of their journey by a further day. This was achieved by the insertion of the following passage into a typescript of the chapter, following the words (TT p. 305) 'The birds seemed all to have flown away or to have fallen dumb':

Darkness came early to the silent woods, and before the fall of night they halted, weary, for they had walked seven leagues or more from Henneth Annûn. Frodo lay and slept away the night on the deep mould beneath an ancient tree. Sam beside him was more uneasy: he woke many times, but there was never a sign of Gollum, who had slipped off as soon as the others had settled to rest. Whether he had slept by himself in some hole nearby, or had wandered restlessly prowling through the night, he did not say; but he returned with the first glimmer of light, and roused his companions.

'Must get up, yes they must!' he said. 'Long ways to go still, south and east. Hobbits must make haste!'

That day passed much the same as the day before had done, except that the silence seemed deeper; the air grew heavy, and it began to be stifling under the trees. It felt as if thunder was brewing. Gollum often paused, sniffing the air, and then he would mutter to himself and urge them to greater speed.

(As the third stage of their day's march drew on ...)

This was retained almost exactly in TT. In the manuscript the text passes at once from 'The birds seemed all to have flown away or to have fallen dumb' to 'As the third stage of their day's march drew on', and thus in this narrative (as in the original draft, p. 175) they came to the Cross-roads at sunset of the second day. They had come to Henneth Annûn at sunset on 6 February (pp. 135, 141); they left on the morning of the 7th, and coming to the Osgiliath road at dusk of that day passed the first part of the night in the great oak-tree; they went on again 'a little before midnight', and passed most of the daylight hours of 8 February hiding in the thorn-brake before going on

to the Cross-roads (see further the Note on Chronology at the end of this chapter).

Thus the phrase 'As the third stage of their day's march drew on' referred, when it was written, to the statement then immediately preceding: 'Twice that day they rested and took a little of the food provided by Faramir'; as it stands in TT its reference is less clear.

In this inserted passage occurs the first reference in TT to the heaviness in the air and the feeling of thunder. In the manuscript as in the draft (p. 176) the first reference to the change in the weather does not appear until they set out again and began to climb eastwards, after spending the first part of the night (the second night in TT) in the oak-tree; at this point in TT, by a later change, 'There seemed to be *a great blackness* looming slowly out of the East, eating up the faint blurred stars.' On the following morning, as they lay hidden under the thorns, the manuscript retained the story in the draft: the hobbits 'watched the slow growth of day', and saw the mountain-tops outlined against the sunrise; and here again this was afterwards changed to the reading of TT (p. 308): the hobbits 'watched *for* the slow growth of day. *But no day came*, only a dead brown twilight. In the East there was a dull red glare under the lowering cloud: *it was not the red of dawn.*' Where the manuscript, again following the draft (p. 177), has 'The sun that had risen with a red flare behind Ephel-dúath passed soon into dark clouds moving slowly from the East. It was going to be a gloomy day, if no worse' TT has 'The red glare over Mordor died away. The twilight deepened as great vapours rose in the East and crawled above them.' On the other hand, the further references in this chapter to the darkness (and to the deep rumbling sounds) were already present in the original version, and at the end it is said, almost as in TT (p. 311): 'There, far away, the sun was sinking, finding at last the hem of the great slow-rolling pall of cloud, and falling in an ominous fire towards the yet unsullied sea.'[5]

Comparing the text as it stands in the manuscript with that in TT one might well suppose at first sight that all these careful alterations show my father at a later time (when he had reached Book V) developing the original idea of a great thunderstorm arising in the mountains into that of the 'Dawnless Day', an emanation of the power of Mordor that obliterated the sunrise and turned day into night, that stroke of Sauron's that preceded his great assault. But it is clear that this is not so. That conception was already present. In fact, the essential reason for these changes was chronological, and they are to be associated with the extra day of the journey from Henneth Annûn. The slow approach of the great cloud out of the East had to be advanced at each succeeding stage of the journey to the Cross-roads (see the Note on Chronology at the end of this chapter). It is also true, however, that the rewriting of these passages intensified the Darkness and made it more potent and sinister.

Lastly, another later alteration to the text in the manuscript was the sentence (TT p. 306) 'and the sound of the water seemed cold and cruel: the voice of Morgulduin, the polluted stream that flowed from the Valley of the Wraiths.'

On p. 181 is reproduced a plan of the Cross-roads and Minas Morghul.[6]

NOTES

1 My father wrote the word 'Cross-roads' very variously, but in this chapter I spell it thus throughout, as in TT.

2 Cf. *Unfinished Tales*, p. 99 and note 15.

3 In the fair copy manuscript it was still said that the heads of the staves were in the form of a shepherd's crook, though this was subsequently rejected (see p. 207), but the name of the tree was *lebethron* as first written.

4 In the first draft the form was still *Hebel Dúath*. On this change see p. 137. — This reference to the moon climbing above Ephel Dúath 'towards the end of night' is curious, in view of the opening of 'The Forbidden Pool', where towards the end of the previous night the full moon was setting in the West. The original draft here is even odder:

> The moon rose at last out of [?high] shadows ahead of them. It hardly showed yet any ... of its full light, but already away behind the mountains and the hollow land and the empty wastes day was beginning to grow pale.
>
> 'There comes White Face,' said Gollum. 'We doesn't like it. And Yellow Face is coming soon, sss. Two faces in sky together at once, not a good sign. And we've got some way to go.'

My father was certainly, as he wrote to me on 14 May 1944 (*Letters* no. 69), having 'trouble with the moon'.

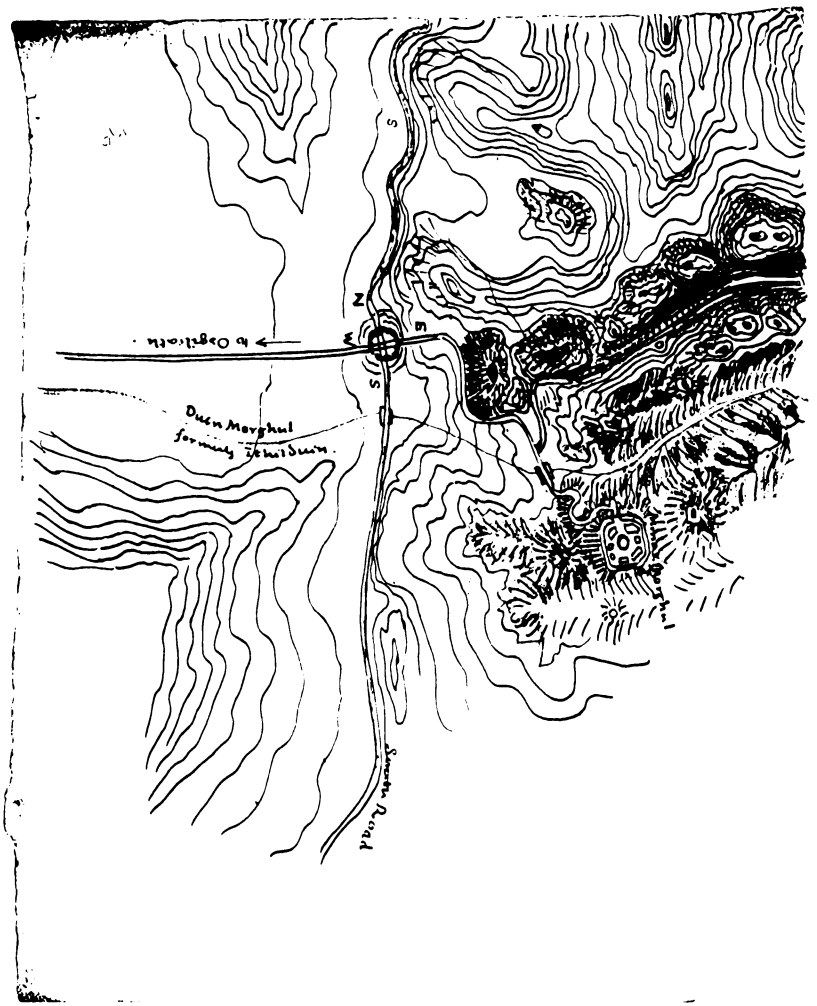
In the manuscript the moon is still climbing above Ephel Dúath late in the night; only by a later change does it become 'the sinking moon' that 'escaped from the pursuing cloud' (TT p. 307).

5 The words in TT 'beyond sad Gondor now overwhelmed in shade' were a later addition.

6 At the head of the first stair there is evidently a track and not a tunnel, and therefore the later conception of the ascent to the pass is present (pp. 198–200).

Note on the Chronology

The time-schemes referred to as Scheme C and Scheme D (pp. 140–1) both cover this part of the narrative. Scheme C reads as follows (for comparison with the citations from *The Tale of Years* that follow I have added 'Day 1' etc. in both cases).



Minas Morghul and the Cross-roads

[Day 1] *Monday Feb. 6* Frodo and Sam in Ithilien. They are taken by Faramir. Battle with the Southrons. Frodo spends night at Henneth Annûn.

[Day 2] *Tuesday Feb. 7* Gollum captured in the Pool of Annûn in the early hours (5.30–6). Frodo Sam & Gollum leave Faramir, and journey all day reaching Osgiliath road at dusk, and go *east* just before midnight.

Faramir leaves Henneth Annûn for Minas Tirith.

[Day 3] *Wednesday Feb. 8* Faramir rides to Minas Tirith late in day and brings news to Gandalf.

Frodo lies hid in thornbrake until late afternoon (Gollum disappears and returns about 4.30). Sound of drums or thunder. They reach the Cross-roads at sunset (5.5 p.m.). Pass Minas Morghul, and begin ascent of Kirith Ungol. The host of Minas Morghul goes out to war.

[Day 4] *Thursday Feb. 9* Frodo etc. all day and night in the Mountains of Shadow.

Host of Minas Morghul reaches Osgiliath and crosses into realm of Gondor.

Here this scheme ends. Scheme D is precisely the same in dates and content, but continues further (see p. 226) and has some entries concerning Théoden's movements: Feb. 7 'Théoden prepares to ride to Gondor. Messengers from Minas Tirith arrive. Also tidings of the invasion of North Rohan and war in the North'; Feb. 8 'Théoden rides from Edoras'. The fully 'synoptic' scheme S also agrees, and in addition mentions the coming on of 'the Great Darkness' on Feb. 8.

It will be seen that this chronology precisely fits the narrative as it stands in the manuscript, i.e. before it was altered by the insertion of the extra day. When that was done, the (relative) chronology of *The Tale of Years* was reached:

[Day 1] *March 7* Frodo taken by Faramir to Henneth Annûn.

[Day 2] *March 8* Frodo leaves Henneth Annûn.

[Day 3] *March 9* At dusk Frodo reaches the Morgul-road.

[Day 4] *March 10* The Dawnless Day. Frodo passes the Cross Roads, and sees the Morgul-host set forth.

The synchronization of Frodo's story with that of the events west of Anduin required both that Frodo should take longer and that 'Day 4' should be the Dawnless Day. Thus in the original story Frodo and Sam see the red sunrise from their hiding in the thornbrake on 'Day 3'; in the final form they are hiding in the thornbrake on 'Day 4', and there is no sunrise, but a red glare over Mordor that 'was not the red of dawn'.

VIII
KIRITH UNGOL

In this chapter I shall describe the writing of the three last chapters of *The Two Towers*: 'The Stairs of Kirith Ungol', 'Shelob's Lair', and 'The Choices of Master Samwise'. As will be seen, this is dictated by the way in which my father developed the narrative.

This is the last part of *The Lord of the Rings* for which precise dating is possible, for when the doors of the Tower of Kirith Ungol slammed in Sam's face my father halted again for a long time, and when I returned to England in 1945 the constant correspondence between us naturally ceased. He wrote on 12 May 1944 (*Letters* no. 68) that 'we are now in sight of Minas Morghul'; and a good part of the work studied in this chapter must have been done during the following ten days, for on 21 May (*Letters* no. 70) he said:

> I have taken advantage of a bitter cold grey week ... to write: but struck a sticky patch. All that I had sketched or written before proved of little use, as times, motives, etc., have all changed. However at last with v. great labour, and some neglect of other duties, I have now written or nearly written all the matter up to the capture of Frodo in the high pass on the very brink of Mordor. Now I must go back to the other folk and try and bring things to the final crash with some speed. Do you think *Shelob* is a good name for a monstrous spider creature? It is of course only 'she + lob' (= spider), but written as one, it seems to be quite noisome.

Adding to this letter on the following day, Monday 22 May, he said:

> It was a wretched cold day yesterday (Sunday). I worked very hard at my chapter – it is most exhausting work; especially as the climax approaches and one has to keep the pitch up: no easy level will do; and there are all sorts of minor problems of plot and mechanism. I wrote and tore up and rewrote most of it a good many times; but I was rewarded this morning, as both C.S.L. and C.W. thought it an admirable performance, and the latest chapters the best so far. Gollum continues to develop into a most intriguing character.

At first sight the references in this letter seem inconsistent: in the past week he had written all or nearly all the story up to the capture of Frodo; he had just spent a day working hard 'at my chapter' (in the singular); and that morning he had read 'it' to Lewis and Williams. There are various ways of explaining this: my guess is that he had at

this time got the whole story in draft, which he was still working on, and which he thought of as a 'chapter'; but what he read to Lewis and Williams was 'The Stairs of Kirith Ungol'. That this last is certainly the case is seen from his letter of 31 May 1944 (*Letters* no. 72):

> The rest of my time ... has been occupied by the desperate attempt to bring 'The Ring' to a suitable pause, the capture of Frodo by the Orcs in the passes of Mordor, before I am obliged to break off by examining. By sitting up all hours, I managed it: and read the last 2 chapters (*Shelob's Lair* and *The Choices of Master Samwise*) to C.S.L. on Monday morning.

It had indeed been a great labour. The elements were present: the climb to the high pass, the spider's lair, the webs in the tunnel, the use of the phial of Galadriel, the disappearance of Gollum, his treachery, the attack of the spider, the tower guarding the pass, the coming of the Orcs; but they long defied a satisfactory articulation. Perhaps in no part of *The Lord of the Rings* can the work behind the finished text be more clearly discerned than here.

Already when drafting the chapter 'The Black Gate is Closed' my father had sketched out his idea of the approach to Kirith Ungol (p. 124): there Gollum tells Frodo and Sam of 'A stair and path leading up into the mountains south of the pass, and then a tunnel, and then more stairs and then a cleft high above the main pass'. And in the outline that ends the original draft of that chapter (p. 125) it is foreseen that after leaving the Cross-roads they will see the moon shining on Minas Morghul; they will pass up the first stair, force their way through the tunnel 'black with webs of spiders', and get up the second stair which will bring them to Kirith Ungol; but 'Spiders are aroused and hunt them. They are exhausted.' Whether at that stage Kirith Ungol was guarded by a tower is not clear (see pp. 125–6).

But long before this, my father had written an account of the entry of Frodo and Sam into Mordor, which beginning as outline soon became narrative ('The Story Foreseen from Lórien', in *The Treason of Isengard*, pp. 330 ff.).[1] That story was very largely concerned with Sam's rescue of Frodo from Minas Morghul, which does not concern us here; but the first part of it is very relevant, for my father had it before him in May 1944, and I cite a portion of it again here (taking up the various additions made to the text that were certainly present when he now turned to it).

> The three companions now approach Kirith Ungol, the dreadful ravine which leads into Gorgoroth.[2] Kirith Ungol means Spider Glen: there dwelt great spiders, greater than those of Mirkwood, such as were once of old in the land of Elves and Men in the West that is now under sea, such as Beren fought in the dark cañons of the Mountains of Terror above Doriath. Already Gollum knew these

creatures well. He slips away. The spiders come and weave their nets over Frodo while Sam sleeps: sting Frodo. Sam wakes, and sees Frodo lying pale as death – greenish: reminding him of the faces in the pools of the marshes. He cannot rouse or wake him.

The idea suddenly comes to Sam to carry on the work, and he felt for the Ring. He could not unclasp it, nor cut the chain, but he drew the chain over Frodo's head. As he did so he fancied he felt a tremor (sigh or shudder) pass through the body; but when he paused he could not feel any heart-beat. Sam put the Ring round his own neck.

Then he sat and made a *Lament for Frodo*. After that he put away his tears and thought what he could do. He could not leave his dear master lying in the wild for the fell beasts and carrion birds; and he thought he would try and build a cairn of stones about him. 'The silver mail of mithril rings shall be his winding-sheet,' he said. 'But I will lay the phial of Lady Galadriel upon his breast, and Sting shall be at his side.'

He laid Frodo upon his back and crossed his arms on his breast and set Sting at his side. And as he drew out the phial it blazed with light. It lit Frodo's face and it looked now pale but beautiful, fair with an elvish beauty as of one long past the shadows. 'Farewell, Frodo,' said Sam; and his tears fell on Frodo's hands.

But at that moment there was a sound of strong footfalls climbing towards the rock shelf. Harsh calls and cries echoed in the rocks. Orcs were coming, evidently guided to the spot.

'Curse that Gollum,' said Sam. 'I might have known we had not seen the last of him. These are some of his friends.'

Sam had no time to lose. Certainly no time to hide or cover his master's body. Not knowing what else to do he slipped on the Ring, and then he took also the phial so that the foul Orcs should not get it, and girded Sting about his own waist. And waited. He had not long to wait.

In the gloom first came Gollum sniffing out the scent, and behind him came the black orcs: fifty or more it seemed. With a cry they rushed upon Frodo. Sam tried to put up a fight unseen, but even as he was about to draw Sting he was run down and trampled by the rush of the Orcs. All the breath was knocked out of his body. Courage failed him. In great glee the Orcs seized Frodo and lifted him.

'There was another, yes,' whined Gollum. 'Where is he, then?' said the Orcs. 'Somewheres nigh. Gollum feels him, Gollum sniffs him.'

'Well, you find him, sniveller,' said the Orc-chief. 'He can't go far without getting into trouble. We've got what we want. Ringbearer! Ringbearer!' They shouted in joy. 'Make haste. Make haste. Send one swift to Barradur to the Great One. But we cannot wait here – we must get back to our guard post. Bear the prisoner to Minas

Morgul.' (Gollum runs behind wailing that the Precious is not there.)

Even as they do so, Frodo seems to awake, and gives a loud cry, but they gag him. Sam is torn between joy at learning he is alive and horror at seeing him carried off by Orcs. Sam tries to follow, but they go very speedily. The Ring seems to grow in power in this region: he sees clearly in the dark, and seems to understand the orcs' speech. He fears what may happen if he meets a Ringwraith – the Ring does not confer courage: poor Sam trembles all the time. Sam gathers that they are going to Minas Morgul ...

Sam follows the Orcs as they march off to Minas Morgul, and sees them entering the city; then he follows them in.

My father now wrote a new outline, and it is clear that he wrote it before he had proceeded far with the story that constitutes the chapter 'The Stairs of Kirith Ungol'. The original draft of 'Journey to the Cross-roads' in fact continued straight on into what would become the next chapter, but soon became no more than a sketch. Frodo's sudden crazed dash towards the bridge (TT p. 313) was absent; after scarcely legible words corresponding to the later 'Frodo felt his senses reeling and his mind darkening' follows:

Gollum again drew him away. Not that way ..... he hissed ..... but the sound seemed to tear the air like a whistle. Not that way. He drew them aside and [?shrinking] after him they left the road and began to climb up into the darkness on the northern side of the valley, ... their eyes away from the city on their right, but always looking back again.

It is here that the placing of the high pass (Kirith Ungol) on the north side of the Morghul Vale first appears. Then follows:

They came to a .... and steps and laboured on. As they rose above the exhalations of the valley their track became easier and the [*or* their] steps less heavy and slow. But at last they could go no further. They were in a narrow place where the path or road – if it were one – was no more than a wide ledge winding along the face of the mountain shoulder. Before them it seemed to vanish into the shadow or into the very rock itself.

They halted and at that moment a great red flash lit up the valley. In that place of shadow and pale phosphorescent light it seemed unbearable, suddenly fierce and cruel. Two peaks with notches between sprang suddenly [?black] into view against the [?sudden] fire behind. At the same moment a great [?crack] of thunder .....

There follows an illegible sentence that seems to refer to the great screeching cry, and the text ends with a reference to the coming forth of the host of Morghul.

At this point the new outline for the whole 'Kirith Ungol' story begins. Written at great speed and in pencil, it is often exceedingly difficult to make out, and in one passage very hard to follow.

Description of the endless long black lines. *Rider ahead.* He halts and sweeps glance round valley. Frodo's temptation to put on Ring. At last the host [?passes] away.

The [?storm] is bursting – they are going to Osgiliath and the crossing of the River he said. Will Faramir be across? Will army slay them?

[*Added:* long [?journey] up. Frodo uses phial.]

They pass into the tunnel. Halfway through they find it blocked with webs. Gollum refuses to say what they are. Frodo goes ahead and hews a path with Sting. Sam helps.

At other end after long struggle in dark he finds a *stair*. They can no longer see into valley, as sheer walls of rock are on either side. The stair goes up, up endlessly. [?Occasional] webs across path.

Gollum hangs back. They begin to have suspicion of him. Description of the spiders? There dwelt great creatures in spider form such as lived once of old in the Land of the Elves in the West that is now under the Sea, such as Beren fought in the dark ravines of the Mountains of Terror above Doriath. All light they snared and wove into impenetrable webs. Pale-fleshed, many-eyed, venomous they were, older and more horrible than the black creatures of Mirkwood. Already Gollum had met them: he knew them well. But thought to use them for his purposes.

They come out at last to the head of the stair. The road opens a little. There is still an ominous glare. They see the road [?clearly] .. through a [?narrow] cleft and now the right wall sinks and they look down into a vast darkness, the great cleft which was the head of Morghul Vale. On the left sharp jagged pinnacles full of black crevices. And high upon one tip a small black tower.[3]

What is that tower? said Frodo full of suspicion. Is there a guard? Then they found Gollum had slipped away and vanished.

Frodo is full of fear. But Sam says Well we're up this .... near very top of mountains. Further than we ever hoped to get. Let's go on and get it over.

Frodo goes forward and Sam follows. Sam is suddenly lassooed and falls back. He calls out but Frodo does not come. He struggles up and falls again – something is round his feet. Slashes himself free in a fury of rage. Frodo master he cries, and then sees the great spider that has attacked him. He lunges forward but the creature makes off. Then he sees that there [are] a great number about – issuing out of the crevices, but they are all hurrying forward along the road, taking no further notice of him.

Lines are drawn on the manuscript here, and though the immediately preceding passage was not struck out it was obviously rejected at this point. Its meaning is not immediately plain: does 'him' in 'the great spider that has attacked him' refer to Sam or to Frodo? On general grounds it might seem at first sight more likely to be Frodo: in both the earlier outlines it was Frodo who was the victim, and so also in the version that replaced this. That Frodo would be the victim here also cannot indeed be doubted; but it seems to me certain that 'him' is in fact Sam – precisely because he escaped (and the words 'lassooed' and 'slashes himself free' clearly refer to attack by a spider). Sam had to be delayed in some way so that he was not at hand when the attack on Frodo took place. The first idea was that one of the spiders went for Sam too, but unsuccessfully; my father then saw at once that it was not a spider that came on him from behind, but Gollum. What idea lay behind the statement that the other spiders were all hurrying forward along the path and taking no further notice of Sam is not clear, but presumably they were going after Frodo (instigated by Gollum?).

Returning to the beginning of the last paragraph, the outline continues:

Sam suddenly sees the spiders coming out of crevices. He can't see Frodo and calls out in warning, but at that moment he is seized from behind. He can't draw sword. Gollum trips him and he falls. Gollum tries to get at Sam's sword. Sam has long fight and eventually gets hand on his stave and deals Gollum a blow. Gollum wriggles aside and only gets a whack across his hands. He lets go. Sam is aiming another blow at him when he springs away and going like lightning disappears into a crevice. Sam rushes forward to find Frodo. He is too late. There are great spiders round him. Sam draws sword and fights but they don't seem to [?heed] it. Then he found Sting lying by Frodo's outstretched arm. (2 or 3 dead spiders by him.)

He seizes Sting and drives off the spiders. Frodo lying as if dead. Spiders have stung him. He is pale as death. Sam uses

phial. Reminds Sam of his vision in the mirror of Galadriel.[4] All efforts to rouse his master fail. He can hear or feel no heart beat. He is dead. Sam [?falls] first into senseless rage against Gollum [?beating] the stones and shouting at him to come out and fight. Then into a black despair of grief. How long he sat there he never knew. He came out of this black trance to find Frodo still just as he had left him, but now greenish in hue, a horrible dead look with a ....[5]

Sam remembers he himself had said that he had a job to do. Wonders if it has come to him now. He takes the phial and Sting and buckles belt. Sam the two-sworded he says grimly. Prays for strength to fight and avenge Frodo. At that moment he would have marched straight to death, straight to the very Eye of Baraddur.

Two additions were made at the time of writing to the text on this page, the first directed to this point by an arrow: 'Lament see 5c'. This is a reference to the previous outline story, where the words 'Then he sat and made a *Lament for Frodo*' (p. 185) appear on a page numbered '5 continued'. The other addition is conveniently given here, since it is needed to explain the narrative immediately following:

Orcs have *captured* Gollum – all his little plan of getting Frodo tied up by spiders has gone [?wrong]. They are driving Gollum.

The text continues:

Noise of [?approaching] Orc-laughter. Down out of a cleft Gollum leading comes a band of black orcs. Desperate Sam draws off the ring from Frodo's neck and takes it. He could not unclasp it or cut the chain so he slipped it over Frodo's neck and put it on. As he did so he stumbled forward, it was as if a great stone had been suddenly strung about his neck. At that moment up come orcs. Sam slips on Ring.

Frodo cries – or is Sam's motive simply that [?wishing] to bury Frodo: he won't see Frodo's body carried off. Also wanting to get at Gollum.

To clarify the syntax of the sentence beginning 'Frodo cries' the word *wishing* (?) might be read as *wishes* (sc. 'he wishes'), or *of* might be understood before *wishing*; but even so my father's thought is most elliptically expressed and difficult to follow. However, since immediately beneath these last two sentences he drew lines on the manuscript, implying that the story just sketched was about to be modified, I think that an interpretation on these lines may be correct. 'Frodo cries' is to be understood in relation to the earlier outline

(p. 186): when the Orcs take Frodo he 'seems to awake, and gives a loud cry'. The following words ('or is Sam's motive...') show my father breaking off altogether, and questioning the rightness of what he had just outlined: perhaps this story of Sam's taking the Ring from Frodo because of the approaching Orcs was wrong. Perhaps Sam's only 'motive' (meaning his only purpose, or desire) at this juncture was not to leave Frodo simply lying where he fell (cf. the previous outline, p. 185: 'He could not leave his dear master lying in the wild for the fell beasts and carrion birds; and he thought he would try and build a cairn of stones about him') – and his desire to take revenge on Gollum. I think that some such interpretation is borne out by the revised story that immediately follows.

Make Sam *sit* long by Frodo all through night. Hold phial up and see him elvish-fair. Torn by not knowing what to do. He lays Frodo out, and folds his hands. Mithril coat. Phial in his hand. Sting at side.

Tries to go on and finish job. Can't force himself to. How to die [?soon]. Thinks of jumping over brink. But might as well try to do *something*. Crack of Doom? Reluctantly as it seems a theft in a way he takes Ring. Goes forward on the path in a violent sorrow and despair. [*In margin:* Red dawn.] But cannot drag himself away from Frodo. Turns back – resolved to lie down by Frodo till death comes. Then he sees Gollum come and paw him. He gives a start and runs back. But orcs come out and Gollum bolts. Orcs pick up Frodo and carry him off. Sam plods after them. *Sam puts on ring!* It seems to have grown in might and power. It weighs down his hand. But he can see with terrible clearness – even *through* the rocks. He can see every crevice filled with spiders. He can understand orc speech. But the ring does *not* confer courage on Sam.

It seems they had been warned for *special vigilance*. Some spy of more than usual importance could try to get in somehow. If any were caught messenger to be [?sent]. *Phial taken*. Sam follows up a long stair to the tower. He can see all plain below. The Black Gate and Ithilien and Gorgoroth and Mt. Doom.

Here this outline ends. As revised in the course of its composition, the story now stood thus in its essential structure:

- They enter a tunnel, which halfway through is blocked with webs. Frodo shears the webs with Sting.
- At the end of the tunnel they come to a long stair. (Description of the spiders, which are well known to Gollum.)

- At the top of the stair they see the tower; and find that Gollum has disappeared.
- Frodo goes ahead; Sam behind sees spiders coming and cries out to Frodo, but at that moment is grappled by Gollum from behind. Sam fights him off, and Gollum escapes.
- Sam finds Frodo dead, as he thinks, stung by spiders. He seizes Sting and drives them off; he sits by Frodo all night; puts the phial in his hand and Sting beside him.
- He thinks that he must himself attempt Frodo's task, takes the Ring and sets off.
- But he cannot do this, and turns back; he sees Gollum come out and paw at Frodo, but as he runs back Orcs come and Gollum flees.
- The Orcs pick up Frodo and carry him off.
- Sam puts on the Ring, and follows the Orcs up a stair to the tower.

Comparison of this outline with the old one shows that the new narrative was a development from it, and by no means an entirely fresh start; here and there even the wording was preserved. The single Great Spider had not yet emerged. But (considered simply as a step-by-step structure) it was already transformed, partly through the wholly different conception of the pass of Kirith Ungol, partly through the changed view of Gollum's rôle; and even as the new outline was set on paper his rôle was changed further. At first the Orcs were guided to the spot by Gollum, though he was forced to do so, his own nefarious plan being entirely based on the spiders; but by the time my father had reached the end of it he had decided that Gollum had in fact no traffic whatsoever with the Orcs.

The idea that the tunnel was barred by great webs is present, but since Frodo was able to cut a way through with Sting their presence does not affect the actual evolution of the plot. The words 'Gollum refuses to say what they are' suggest that they entered the story as the explanation of what Gollum's 'little plan' had actually been: and that, I take it, was that Frodo and Sam should be entrapped in the tunnel and so delivered to the spiders. But he had not envisaged that Frodo's elvish blade would be able to cut the strands.

The important element now enters that Frodo went ahead when they issued from the tunnel (and thus Sam had become separated from him when he was attacked by the spiders), although no explanation of this is given.

A very notable feature of this outline is that Sam's clarity of vision when he wears the Ring is not merely retained from the old plot ('The Ring seems to grow in power in this region: he sees clearly in the dark', p. 186), but is greatly increased: he can even see *through* the rocks; in TT (p. 343), on the other hand, 'all things about him now were not

dark but vague; while he himself was there in a grey hazy world, alone, like a small black solid rock'. On this question see VII.373–4, 380–1; and for the further development of this element (the effect of the Ring on Sam's senses) see pp. 212, 214.

The fair copy manuscript was built up in stages. From the beginning of the chapter 'The Stairs of Kirith Ungol', as far as 'Frodo felt his senses reeling, his limbs weakening' (cf. TT p. 313), it was developed from the original draft (p. 186) and virtually attained the form in TT; but from this point my father briefly returned to his frustrating practice of erasing his pencilled draft and writing the fair copy on the pages where it had stood. This only extends for a couple of pages, however, and some words and phrases escaped erasure; while on the third page the draft was not erased but overwritten, and here much of the original text can be read. This carries the narrative to the point (TT p. 317) where the host out of Minas Morghul had disappeared down the westward road and Sam urged Frodo to rouse himself; and there is no reason whatever to think that the lost pages of the draft were other than a more roughly expressed version of the final narrative.[6]

But from this point (where the pencilled draft reads: 'Frodo rose, grasping his staff in one hand and the phial in the other. Then he saw that a faint light was welling through his fingers and he thrust it in his bosom') the original narrative diverged, and was followed in the fair copy manuscript (where it was subsequently replaced by the later story). This first form of the fully-written story may be called 'Version 1'. The textual situation at this point is odd and perplexing, but it is sufficient to say here that the opening of this section (of no great length) is lost, both in draft and fair copy, and the story only takes up again with the strange smell that the hobbits could not identify (cf. 'Shelob's Lair' in TT, p. 326).[7]

I feel certain that the lost lines carried an account of the climbing of *the first stair*, leading to an opening in the rock which was *the mouth of the tunnel*, from which the strange smell came (whereas in TT the text at this point tells how after the passage of the ledge the path came to 'a narrow opening in the rock' which was the entry to the high-walled *first stair*). My father still had in mind the series described in the draft text of 'The Black Gate is Closed' (p. 124), where Gollum says 'a *stair* and path, and *then a tunnel*, and *then more stairs* and then a cleft high above the main pass', and again in the following outline (p. 125), where they 'pass up *first stair* safely. But *tunnel* is black with webs of spiders. ... force way and get up *second stair*.' And again, in the original draft for 'The Stairs of Kirith Ungol' (p. 186), when they began to climb up from the valley they came to 'steps'. Further evidence in support of this will appear shortly.

After the obliterated lines the original story continues thus.

... a strange odour came out of it – not the odour of decay in

the valley below, an odour that the hobbits did not recognize, a repellent taint on the air.[8]

Resigning themselves to fear they passed inside. It was altogether lightless. After some little time Sam suddenly tumbled into Gollum ahead of him and Frodo against Sam. 'What's up now?' said Sam. 'Brought us to a dead end, have you?' 'Dead end – that's good,' he muttered. 'It about describes it.' 'What's up, you old villain?' Gollum did not answer him.

Sam pushed him aside and thrust forward, only to meet something that yielded but would not give way, soft, unseen and strong as if the darkness could be felt. 'Something's across the path,' he said. 'Some trap or something. What's to be done? If this old villain knows about it, as I bet he does, why won't he speak?'

'Because he doesn't know,' hissed Gollum. 'He's thinking. We didn't expect to find this here, did we precious? No, of course not. We wants to get out, of course we does, yes, yes.'

'Stand back,' said Frodo, and then suddenly drawing his hand from his bosom he held aloft the phial of Galadriel. For a moment it flickered, like a star struggling through the mists of Earth, then as fear left him it began to burn[9] with dazzling silver light, as if Earendel himself had come down from the sunset paths with the Silmaril upon his brow. Gollum cowered away from the light, which for some reason seemed to fill him with fear.

Frodo drew his sword, and Sting leapt out. The bright rays of the star-glass sparkled upon the blade, but on its edges ran an ominous blue fire – to which at that time Frodo nor Sam gave heed.

'Version 1' in the fair copy manuscript stops here, at the foot of a page, the remainder having been taken out of it when rejected and replaced.[10] The next page of 'Version 1' is preserved, however; it was separated from the other 'Kirith Ungol' papers many years ago, and is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, among other illustrations to *The Lord of the Rings* – for the verso of the page, in addition to text, bears a picture of the ascent to Kirith Ungol. This was reproduced in *Pictures by J. R. R. Tolkien* (no. 28, 'Shelob's Lair'), and is reproduced again in this book (first frontispiece). That the recto of the page is the continuation of the text from the point reached is assured both by the page-number '[6]', following '[5]' in the fair copy manuscript, and by internal association, notably Sam's words when he sees that they are confronted by spiders' webs: 'Why didn't you speak, Gollum?' (cf. his

words on the preceding page: 'Something's across the path... If this old villain knows about it, as I bet he does, why won't he speak?'). The recto reads thus:

Before them was a greyness which the light did not penetrate. Dull and heavy it *absorbed* the light. Across the whole width of the tunnel from floor to floor and side to side were .... [11] webs. Orderly as the webs of spiders, but far greater: each thread as thick as a great cord.

Sam laughed grimly when he saw them. 'Cobwebs,' he said. 'Is that all! Why didn't you speak, Gollum? But I might have guessed for myself! Cobwebs! Mighty big ones, but we'll get at them.' He drew his sword and hewed, but the thread that he struck did not break, it yielded and then sprang back like a bowstring, turning the blade and tossing his sword and arm backward. Three times Sam struck, and at last one thread snapped, twisting and curling, whipping about like a snapped harpstring. As an end lashed Sam's hand and stung like a whip. [*sic*] He cried out and stood back. 'It'd take weeks this way,' he said. 'Let me try Bilbo's sword,' said Frodo. 'I will go ahead now: *hold my star-glass behind me.*' Frodo drew Sting[12] and made a great sweeping stroke and sprang back to avoid the lashing of the threads.

The sharp elven-blade blue-edged sparkling shore through the netted ropes and that web was destroyed. But there were others behind. Slowly Frodo hewed his way through them until at last they came to a clear way again. Sam came behind holding up the light and pushing Gollum – strangely reluctant – before him. Gollum kept on trying to wriggle away and turn back.[13]

At length they came to more webs, and when they had cut through these the tunnel came to an end.

The rock wall opened out and sprang high and the second stair was before them: walls on either side towering up to a great height – how high they could not guess, for the sky was hardly less black than the walls – and could only be discerned by an occasional glow and flicker of red on the underside of the clouds. The stair seemed endless, up, up, up. Their knees cracked. Here and there was a web across the way. They were in the very heart of the mountains. Up, up.

At last they got to the stair-head. The road opened out. Then all their suspicions of Gollum came to a head. He sprang unexpectedly out of Sam's reach forward, and thrusting Frodo

aside ran out emitting a shrill sort of whistling cry, such as they had never heard him make before.

'Come here! you wretch,' cried Sam darting after him. Gollum turned once with his eyes glittering, and then vanished quite suddenly into the gloom, and no sign of him could they find.[14]

The verso of the page, numbered '[7]', carrying the picture of the ascent to the pass,[15] has the following text.

'That's that!' said Sam. 'What I expected. But I don't like it. I suppose now we are just exactly where he wanted to bring us. Well, let's get moving away as quick as we can. The treacherous worm! That last whistle of his wasn't pure joy at getting out of the tunnel, it was pure wickedness of some sort. And what sort we'll soon know.'

'Likely enough,' said Frodo. 'But we could not have got even so far without him. So if we ever manage our errand, then Gollum and all his wickedness will be part of the plan.'

'So far, you say,' said Sam. 'How far? Where are we now?'

'About at the crest of the main range of Ephel-dúath, I guess,' said Frodo. 'Look!' The road opened out now: it still went on up, but no longer sheerly. Beyond and ahead there was an ominous glare in the sky, and like a great notch in the mountain wall a cleft was outlined against it — so [*here is a small sketch*]. On their right the wall of rock fell away and the road widened till it had no brink. Looking down Frodo saw nothing but the vast darkness of the great ravine which was the head of Morghul dale. Down in its depths was the faint glimmer of the wraith-road that led over the Morghul pass from the city. On their left sharp jagged pinnacles stood up like towers carved by the biting years, and between them were many dark crevices and clefts. But high up on the left side of the cleft to which their road led (Kirith Ungol) was a small black tower, and in it a window showed a red light.

'I don't like the look of that,' said Sam. 'This upper pass is guarded too. D'you remember he never would say if it was or no. D'you think he's gone to fetch them – orcs or something?'

'No, I don't think so,' said Frodo. 'He is up to no good, of course, but I don't think that he's gone to fetch orcs. Whatever it is, it is no slave of the Dark Lord's.' 'I suppose not,' said Sam. 'No, I suppose the whole time it has been the ring for poor

Smeagol's own. That's been his scheme. But how coming up here will help him, I can't guess.' He was soon to learn.

Frodo went forward now – the last lap – and he exerted all his strength. He felt that if once he could get to the saddle of the pass and look over into the Nameless Land he would have accomplished something. Sam followed. He sensed evil all round him. He knew that they had walked into some trap, but what? He had sheathed his sword, but now he drew it in readiness. He halted for a moment, and stooped to pick up his staff with his left hand

Here the text on the 'Bodleian page' ends, but the further continuation of this extraordinarily dismembered text is found among the papers that failed to go to Marquette.[16] The next page is duly numbered '[8]' and '[9]', and continues as before in ink over pencilled drafting.

– it had a comfortable feel to his hand. As he stood up again, he saw issuing out of a crevice at the left the most monstrous and loathly form that he had ever beheld – beyond his imagination.[17] Spider-like it was in shape, but huge as a wild beast, and more terrible because of the malice and evil purpose in its eyes. These were many, clustered in its small head, and each of them held a baleful light. On great bent legs it walked – the hairs of them stuck out like steel spines, and at each end there was a claw. The round swollen body behind its narrow neck was dark blotched with paler livid marks, but underneath its belly was pale and faintly luminous as its eyes. It stank. It moved with a sudden horrible speed running on its arms, and springing. Sam saw at once that he [*sic*] was hunting his master – now a little ahead in the gloom and apparently unaware of his peril. He whipped out his sword and yelled. 'Look out! Mr Frodo! Look out! I'm —' But he did not finish. A long clammy hand went over his mouth and another caught his neck, while something wrapped itself about his legs. Taken off his guard he fell backwards in the arms of his attacker.

'Got you!' hissed Gollum in his ear. 'At last my precious one, we've got him yes, the nasty hobbit. We takes this one. She'll get the other. O yes. Ungoliant will get him.[18] Not Smeagol. He won't hurt master, not at all. He promised. But he's got you, you nasty dirty little thing!'

The description of the fight is closely similar to that in TT (p. 335), with some difference in the detail of the wrestling.[19] After the second blow, falling across Gollum's back, the text continues:

But it was enough for Gollum! Grabbing from behind was an old game for him – and had never before failed him. But everything had gone wrong with his beautiful plan, since the unexpected web in the path. Here now he was faced by a furious enemy, little less than his own size, with a stout staff. This was not for him. He had no time even to grab at the sword lying on the ground. He squealed as the staff came down once more,[20] and sprang aside onto all fours, and then leaped away like a cat in one big bound. Then with astonishing speed he ran back and vanished into the tunnel. Sweeping up his sword Sam went after him – for the moment forgetful of all else, but the red light of fury in his brain. But Gollum had gone before he could reach him. Then as the dark hole and the stench smote him, like a terrible clap of thunder the thought of Frodo came back to Sam's mind. He span round, and rushed on up the road calling. He was too late. So far Gollum's plot had succeeded.

Frodo was lying on the ground and the monster was bending over him, so intent upon her victim that she seemed not to heed anything else until Sam was close at hand. It was not a brave deed Sam then did, for he gave no thought to it. Frodo was already bound in great cords round and round from ankle to breast, and with her great forelegs she was beginning to half lift, half drag him, but still his arms were free: one hand was on his breast, one lay spread wide, limp upon the stone, and the staff of Faramir broken under him.

At the point where Sam sees that Frodo is bound with cords the underlying pencilled draft stops; the legible fair copy in ink written over it continues, but at the same point declines very rapidly into the handwriting characteristic of initial drafting, decipherable only with labour and in this case often not at all.[21] This continues to the end of the page ('9' in the Version I text, the last page in this numeration), with Sam's attack on 'Ungoliant'. Many words and even whole sentences are totally illegible, but enough can be made out to see that in this earliest form of the story it was Sam's slash with Sting across Ungoliant's belly that caused her to leap back: there is no suggestion of the great wound she suffered when she drove her whole bulk down onto the point of the sword (TT p. 338). When she sprang back 'Sam stood reeling, his legs astride his master, but she a few paces off eyed him: and the green venom that was her blood slowly suffused the pale

light of her eyes. Sting held before him, Sam now .... and ere she attacked again he found his master's hand in his bosom. It was cold and limp, and quickly but gently he took from it the glass of Galadriel. And held it up.'

This rough drafting continues on other pages (not numbered on from '9', though that proves little); but I doubt that much more of it, if any, was written at this juncture (see p. 209). The question is not of much importance in the study of the evolution of the story, and in any case it is more convenient to pause here in the original draft.

The fact that my father had overwritten legibly in ink the original draft as far as the stinging of Frodo by Ungoliant suggests confidence in the story, while the sudden change from 'fair copy' to 'preliminary draft' at this point suggests that he now realised that important changes were required. The immediate reason for this may well have been that he observed what he had just written, as it were inadvertently: 'Then with astonishing speed [Gollum] ran back and vanished *into the tunnel.* ... Then as the dark hole and the stench smote him ... the thought of Frodo came back to Sam's mind. He span round, and rushed on up the road calling.' But in this version the far end of the tunnel was immediately succeeded by the agonisingly long second stair, and it was only after they reached the head of it that Gollum ran off (p. 194). The picture of the ascent to the pass contained in this text (see p. 193) shows with perfect clarity the *first stair* climbing up to the tunnel, and the *second* stair climbing away beyond it.[22] It is obviously out of the question that my father imagined that Gollum fled all the way down the second stair with Sam in pursuit, and that Sam then climbed up again! I think that the developing narrative was forcing a new topography to appear even as he wrote (see below).

There seem in fact to have been several interrelated questions. One was this of topography: the relation of the stairs and the tunnel. Another was the time and place of Gollum's disappearance. In the outline (p. 187) he is found to have vanished when they come to the head of the second stair; and in the present version he ran off with a strange whistling cry when they came to that place. And another was the question of Gollum's plan and its miscarriage. My father had written (p. 197): 'But everything had gone wrong with his beautiful plan, *since the unexpected web in the path.*' It certainly seems to be the case in this version that Gollum was very put out when they encountered it in the tunnel: 'We didn't expect to find this here, did we precious? No, of course not' (p. 193); and after the first webs had been cut through Gollum was 'strangely reluctant' to go on, and 'kept on trying to wriggle away and turn back.'

Leaving the 'Version I' text, now reduced to very rough drafting, at some point not determined, my father scribbled on a little bit of paper:

Must be stair — stair — tunnel. Tunnel is Ungoliante's lair. The tunnel has unseen passages off. One goes right up to dungeons of tower. But orcs don't use it much because of Ungoliant. She has a great hole in the midst of path. Plan fails because she has made a *web* across path and is daunted by the phial-light. Stench out of *hole* which phial prevents Frodo and Sam falling into. Gollum disappears and they think he may have fallen in hole. They cut their way out of web at far end. Ungoliant comes out of tunnel.

Thus the series 'first stair — tunnel — second stair' inherent in the Version 1 story is changed. The reason for this was, I think, as follows. The arrangement 'stair — tunnel — stair' arose when there were many spiders in the pass; in the outline the tunnel seems only one part of their territory, and there are webs also across the second stair (p. 187) — the impression is given that all the cliffs and crags bordering the path are alive with them. But with the reduction of the spider-horde to one Great Spider, whose lair is very clearly in the tunnel (where the great webs were), her attack on the hobbits at the head of the second stair, high above the tunnel, becomes unsatisfactory. It was therefore not long after the emergence in Version 1 of Ungoliant as the sole breeder of the terror of Kirith Ungol that this version collapsed, and my father abandoned the writing of it in fair copy manuscript. Associated with this would have been the decision that Gollum deserted Frodo and Sam while they were still in the tunnel.

The plot outlined in the brief text just given is not very clear; but at this same time, perhaps on the same day, my father wrote the fuller note, together with a plan of the tunnels, that is reproduced on p. 201. This also is in the Bodleian Library (see p. 193). The title *Plan of Shelob's Lair* was written onto the page subsequently, since the name of the Spider in the text is Ungoliant(e); cf. note 15.

This text reads:

Must be Stair — Stair — Tunnel. Tunnel is Ungoliante's Lair.

This tunnel is of orc-make (?) and has the usual branching passages. One goes right up into the dungeons of the Tower – but orcs don't use it much because of Ungoliante.[23] Ungoliante has made a hole and a trap in the middle of the floor of the main path.

Gollum's plan was to get Frodo into trap. He hoped to get Ring, and leave the rest to Ungoliant. Plan failed because Ungoliant was suspicious of him —? he had come nosing up as far as the tunnel the day before? — and she had put a web on near (west) side of hole. When Frodo held up the phial she was daunted for [a] moment and retreated to her lair. But when the

hobbits issued from tunnel she came out by side paths and crept round them.

Phial prevents F. and S. falling into the hole; but a horrible stench comes out of it. Gollum disappears and they fear he has fallen in the hole. But they do not go back — (a) they see tower with a light on cliffs at head of pass and (b) while they are wondering about this and suspect betrayal the attack is made: Ungoliant going for Frodo, while Gollum grapples Sam from behind. Ungol[iant] specially wants the star-glass? (Frodo had hidden it again when he came out of tunnel).

Web at end of tunnel?

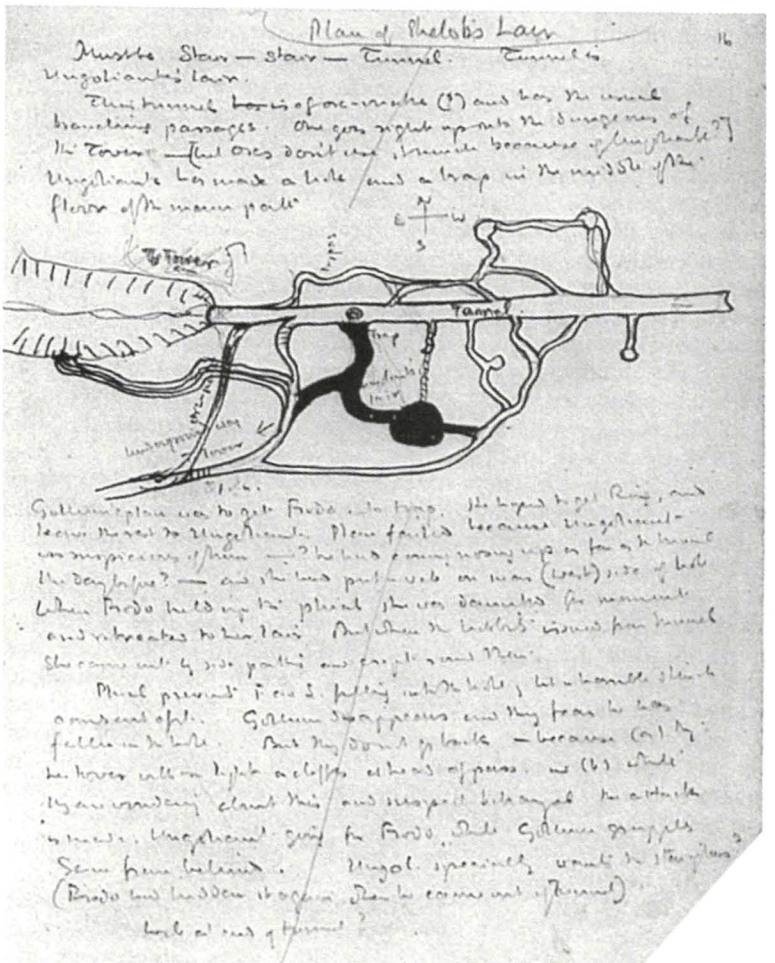
The plan of the tunnel was mostly drawn in pencil and then overdrawn in black ink. The word pencilled against the minor tunnel to the north of the main passage seems to read 'Bypas[s]'. The pencilled circle in the main passage is marked 'Trap', and the large black circle 'Ungoliant's lair'. Of the two southward tunnels that leave the main one near its eastern end, the westerly one is marked 'Underground way to Tower', and the broad tunnel (drawn with several lines) that leaves this one eastwards will be the way by which Ungoliant emerged to the attack. The last tunnel branching southwards from the main one was added in blue ball-point pen, and is marked 'orc-path'.[24]

Since my father is seen in these notes actually setting down his decision that the second stair preceded the tunnel, it was presumably at this juncture that (leaving aside the question of how far the further story had progressed at this time) he turned back to the point where the faulty conception entered the narrative (see p. 192); and indeed on the back of the first of these notes is found drafting for the new version of the story dependent on the decision (cf. TT p. 317):

> Following him they came to the climbing ledge. Not daring to look down to their right they passed along it. At last it came to a rounded angle where the mountain-side swelled out again before them. There the path suddenly entered into a dark opening in the rock, and there before them was the first stair that Gollum had spoken of.

Then follows the description of the first stair. Thus the 'opening in the rock' was neatly transformed from the mouth of the tunnel into the beginning of the stair (p. 192).

Continuous drafting is found for the revised narrative ('Version 2'), and the story as told in TT was very largely achieved already in the draft as far as the events in the tunnel: the climbs up the Straight Stair and the Winding Stair, the hobbits' rest beside the path, their talk of the need to find water[25] leading to the conversation about tales (written down *ab initio* in a form closely similar to that in TT), their



Plan of Shelob's Lair (1)

realisation that Gollum had disappeared, his return, finding them asleep (with the description of his 'interior debate', looking back up towards the pass and shaking his head, his appearance as of 'an old weary hobbit who had lived beyond his time and lost all his friends and kin: a starved old thing sad and pitiable'), and Sam's unhappy mistaking of his gesture towards Frodo (TT pp. 317–25, where the chapter 'The Stairs of Cirith Ungol' ends). A few passages in TT are lacking in the draft, but they are not of importance to the narrative and in any case they appear in the fair copy manuscript.

A little pencilled sketch appears on the page of the draft where they first see the tower (TT p. 319) – just as there was a picture of the earlier conception of Kirith Ungol at this point in Version 1 (where they had already passed through the tunnel). In the foreground of this sketch is seen the path from the head of the Second Stair, where (in the words of the draft text) the hobbits 'saw jagged pinnacles of stone on either side: columns and spikes torn and carven in the biting years and forgotten winters, and between them great crevices and fissures showed black even in the heavy gloom of that unfriendly place.' The place where they rested ('in a dark crevice between two great piers of rock') is marked by a spot on the right hand side of the track. Beyond is seen the 'great grey wall, a last huge upthrusting mass of mountain-stone' (TT p. 326, at the beginning of 'Shelob's Lair'), in which is the mouth of the tunnel, and beyond it, high above, the 'cleft ... in the topmost ridge, narrow, deep-cloven between two black shoulders; and on either shoulder was a horn of stone' (TT p. 319). A developed form of this sketch is found at the same place in the fair copy manuscript; this is reproduced on p. 204.[26]

The draft continues on into 'Shelob's Lair' without break. Of the narrative constituting the opening of the later chapter there is little to say. In the draft the Elvish name of the tunnel is *Terch Ungol* 'the Spider's Lair'; and the description of the stench from the tunnel is retained from Version 1 (pp. 192–3): 'Out of it came an odour which they could not place: not the sickly odour of decay by the meads of Morghul, but a repellent noisome stuffy smell: a repellent evil taint on the air.' In the fair copy my father first put *Te*, changing it as he wrote to *Torech Ungol* 'the Spider's Hole', and changing this as he wrote to 'Shelob's Lair' (the name *Shelob* having been already devised when he wrote this manuscript). Here he first described the reek from the tunnel in these words: 'Out of it came a stench: not the sickly odour of decay from the meads of Morghul, but a choking rankness, noisome, a reek as of piled and hoarded filth beyond reckoning, tainting even the open air with evil.' But he queried in the margin whether this description was not too strong: if the stench had been so unendurably horrible even from outside 'would they ever have gone in?'; and replaced it immediately with the description in TT (p. 326). He hesitated too about the width of the tunnel.

The new story in the draft version reaches the final form in their realisation that there were side tunnels, and in the things that brushed against them as they walked, until they passed the wide opening on the left from which the stench and the intense feeling of evil came. From this point the draft text reads:

... a sense of evil so strong that for a moment he grew faint. Sam also lurched. 'There's something in there,' he says. 'It smells like a death-house. Pooh.' Putting out their remaining strength and resolution they went on. Presently they came to what almost seemed a fork in the tunnel: at least in the absolute gloom they were in doubt.

'Which way's Gollum gone,' said Sam, 'I wonder.'

'Smeagol!' said Frodo. 'Smeagol!' But his voice fell back dead from his lips. There was no answer, not even an echo. 'He's really gone this time, I fancy.'

'Now we are just exactly where he wanted to bring us, I fancy. But just what he means to do in this black hole I can't guess.' He had not to wait long for the answer.

'What about that star-glass?' said Sam. 'Did not the Lady say it would be a light in dark places? And we need some to be sure now.'

'I have not used it,' said Frodo, 'because of Gollum. I think it would have driven him away, and also because it would be so bright. But here we seem to have come to a desperate pass.' Slowly he drew his hand from his bosom and held aloft the phial of Galadriel. For a moment it flickered like a star struggling through the mists of Earth, then as fear left them it began to burn into a dazzling brilliant silver light, as if Earendel himself had come down from the sunset paths with the last Silmaril upon his brow. The darkness receded from it and it shone in a globe of space enclosed with utter blackness. But before them within the radius of its light were two openings. Now their doubt was resolved, for the one to the left turned quickly away, while the one to the right went straight on only a little narrower than the tunnel behind.

At that moment some prescience of malice or of some evil regard made them both turn. Their hearts stood still. [There was a shrill whistling cry of Gollum?] Not far behind, ... by the noisome opening perhaps, were eyes: two great clusters of eyes. Whether they shone of their own light or whether the radiance of the star-glass was reflected in their thousand facets ..... Monstrous and abominable and fell they were: bestial yet filled

Kirith Ungol

with a malice and purpose and even with a hideous glee and delight such as no beast's eyes can show. An evil mind gloated behind that baleful light.

At this point my father stopped, and noted that the eyes must come first, and then the star-glass (necessarily implying that the eyes of the Spider shone with their own light). An outline follows:

The creature backs away. They retreat up the tunnel. Frodo holds glass aloft and ..... [27] and each time the eyes halt. Then filled with a sudden resolve he drew Sting. It sparkled, and calling to Sam he strode back towards the eyes. They ... [?turned] retreated and disappeared. Sam full of admiration. 'Now let's run for it!' he said. They ran, and suddenly [?crashed] into [?greyness] which rebounded and turned them back. Sam cannot break the threads. Frodo gives him Sting. And Sam hews while Frodo stands guard.

The web gives way. They rush out and find web was over the mouth of the tunnel. They are in the last gully and the horn-pass ... before them.

'That's the top,' said Sam. 'And we've come out of it. Our luck's in still. On we go now, and take the last bit while the luck lasts.'

Frodo ran forward placing his star-glass in his bosom, no thought for anything but escape. Sam follows with Sting drawn – constantly turning to watch the mouth of the tunnel – thinking too little of the craft of Ungoliant. She had many exits from her lair.

Frodo was gaining on him. He tried to run, and then some way ahead he saw issuing out of a shadow in the wall of the ravine the most monstrous and loathsome shape. Beyond the imagination of his worst dreams.

This account agrees well with the plan reproduced on p. 201: they had passed the wide opening on the left which led to the lair of Ungoliant, and the fork in the tunnel, where 'the one to the left turned quickly away, while the one to the right went straight on only a little narrower than the tunnel behind', can be readily identified. But the story has shifted radically from the outline accompanying the plan (pp. 199–200), which apparently never received narrative form, where the story ran thus:

– Ungoliant had stretched a web on the west side of the trap (hole) in the main tunnel. The stench arose from the hole.

- Frodo held up the phial (cutting of the webs is not mentioned) and Ungoliant retreated to her lair.
- By the light of the phial they avoided the hole. Gollum disappeared, and they feared he had fallen into it.
- They left the tunnel, whereupon Ungoliant, having come round ahead of them by a side path, attacked Frodo, and Gollum grappled Sam from behind.

In the very similar short version of this plot (p. 199) it is said in addition that 'They cut their way out of web at far end.'

The story in the present draft has moved much nearer to the final form: they passed the opening to the lair, whence the stench came, and there is no mention of the 'trap' or 'hole' in the floor of the main passage; and they came to the fork in the tunnel.[28] But in this version the phial of Galadriel is used at this juncture, in order to show them which tunnel to take; and turning round on account of a sense of approaching evil the light of the phial is reflected in the eyes of the Spider. My father's direction at this point that the eyes must come before the star-glass clearly means that the eyes, shining with their own light, appeared in the tunnel, and that only then did the thought of the star-glass arise. The remainder of the episode is now essentially as in the final form – except that as they run from the tunnel Sam has Sting and Frodo has the phial of Galadriel.

The fair copy manuscript when it reached this point still did not attain the final story in all respects, and this section of it was subsequently rejected and replaced. In the first stage, the idea in the draft that the phial was used simply to illuminate the tunnel (with Frodo's explanation that he had not used it before for fear it would drive Gollum away) was abandoned, and as in TT it was the sound only of the Spider's approach, the 'gurgling, bubbling noise' and the 'long venomous hiss', that inspired Sam to think of it (thus reversing the decision that the eyes must come first and then the star-glass); the light of the phial illumined the eyes (although 'behind the glitter a pale deadly fire began steadily *to glow within*, a flame kindled in some deep pit of evil thought'). But at this stage the idea that the light did, if only incidentally, show the way to take, was retained: 'And now the way was clear before them, for the light revealed two archways; and the one to the left was not the path, for it narrowed quickly again and turned aside, but that to the right was the true way and went straight onward as before.'[29]

The pursuit of the 'eyes', and the rout of the Spider when Frodo confronted her with the phial in his left hand and the blue-flickering[30] blade of Sting in his right, is in the final form, but my father still followed the draft in making it Sam who cut the web at the far end of

the tunnel with Sting. The text here reads thus, from Sam's 'Gollum! May the curse of Faramir bite him' (cf. TT p. 331):[31]

'That will not help us,' said Frodo. 'Come! I will hold up the light while my strength lasts. Take my sword. It is an elven blade. See what it may do. Give me yours.'

Sam obeyed and took Sting in his hand, a thrill running through his hand as he grasped its fair hilt, the sword of his master, of Bilbo, the sword that Elrond had declared to come out of the great wars before the Dark Years when the walls of Gondolin still stood.[32] Turning he made a great sweeping stroke and then sprang back to avoid the lashing [?threads]. Blue-edged, glinting in the radiance of the star, the elven blade shore through the netted ropes. In three swift blows the web was shattered and the trap was broken. The air of the mountains flowed in like a river.

'It's clear,' Sam cried. 'It's clear. I can see the [?night] light in the sky.'

No! Make Sam hold light and so *Frodo goes out first*, and so as he has the light Shelob attacks Frodo.

Sam sweeps up Frodo's sword from ground.

He drops the Phial in struggle with Gollum.

Cut out the staffs.

This is followed by a suggestion, not entirely legible, that the staffs should 'hang on *thongs*', and another that Frodo should tap the walls of the tunnel with the staffs. My father was apparently concerned here with the problem arising from having only two hands. No doubt it was at this time that the reading of the fair copy manuscript of 'Journey to the Cross-roads', where the heads of the staves were still in the form of a shepherd's crook (p. 176 and note 3), was changed to that of TT (p. 303): 'staves ... with carven heads through which ran plaited leathern thongs'. The text continues:

When Sam cannot hew web, Frodo says: 'I do not feel the eyes any longer. For the moment their regard has moved. You take the light. Do not be afraid. Hold it up. I will see what the elven-sword may do.'

Frodo hews the webs asunder. And so the trap as it was planned was frustrated. For though once long ago he [Gollum] had seen it, the nature of that sword he did not know, and of the Phial of Galadriel he had never heard.[33]

They rush out. Sam comes behind and suddenly they are aware (a) of red window (b) of the blue light of Sting. 'Orcs',

said Sam, and closing his hand about the phial hid it beneath his cloak again. A sudden madness (?) on Frodo. He sees the red cleft the goal of all his effort before him. No great distance, half a mile. Gain it in a rush. Run! ..... Sam, he said. The door, the path. Now for it, before any can stay us.

Sam tries to keep up. Then the spider attacks, and Gollum.

And so this extraordinarily resistant narrative was at last shaped at almost all points to my father's satisfaction: 'a sticky patch' he described it, achieved with 'very great labour'; and further drafting led to the final text of 'Shelob's Lair' in the fair copy manuscript. Yet even now he seems not to have been entirely confident of the rightness of the story, for the manuscript carries also a second text of the episode in the tunnel (marked 'other version'), and it seems beyond question that this was written *after* the other.[34] It takes up after the words 'a gurgling, bubbling noise, and a long venomous hiss' (TT p. 328).

They wheeled round, but at first they saw nothing. Still as stones they stood waiting, for they did not know what. Then, not far down the tunnel, just at the opening where they had reeled and stumbled, they saw a gleam. Very slowly it advanced. There were eyes in the darkness. Two great clusters of eyes. They were growing larger and brighter as very slowly they advanced. They burned steadily with a fell light of their own, kindled in some deep pit of evil thought. Monstrous and abominable they were, bestial and yet filled with purpose, and with hideous delight: beyond all hope of escape their prey was trapped.

Frodo and Sam backed away, their gaze held by the dreadful stare of those cold eyes, and as they backed so the eyes came on, unhurried, gloating. Suddenly both together, as if released simultaneously from the same spell, the hobbits turned and fled blindly up the tunnel. [*Struck out:* The left-hand opening was blocked with some unseen barrier; wildly they groped and found the right-hand opening, and again they ran.] But as they ran they looked back, and saw with horror the eyes come leaping up behind.

Then there came a breath of air: cold and thin. The opening, the upper gate, the end of the tunnel – at last: it was just ahead. Desperately they threw themselves forward, and then staggered backwards. The passage was blocked by some unseen barrier: soft, strong, impenetrable. Again they flung themselves upon it. It yielded a little and then like taut cords hurled them back once more. The eyes were nearer now, halted, quietly watching them,

gloating, glittering with cruel amusement. The stench of death was like a cloud about them.

'Stand!' said Frodo. 'It's no use struggling. We're caught.' He turned to face the eyes, and as he did so, he drew his sword. Sting flashed out, and about the edges of the sharp elven-blade a blue fire flickered.

Sam, sick, desperate, but angry more than all, groped for the hilts of his own short sword, carried so far and to so little purpose all the way from the Barrowdowns. 'I wish old Bombadil was near.' he muttered. 'Trapped in the end! Gollum – may the curse of Faramir bite him.' Darkness was about him and a blackness in his heart. And then suddenly even in those last moments before the evil thing made its final spring he saw a light, a light in the darkness of his mind...

The text continues as in the other version (TT p. 329), but without the sentences 'The bubbling hiss drew nearer, and there was a creaking as of some great jointed thing that moved with slow purpose in the dark. A reek came on before it'; and it ends at *A light when all other lights go out!* There is then a direction to 'proceed' as in the other version.

This also was a good story. There is here a formally simpler disposition of the elements: for Frodo and Sam are caught directly between the monster and the trap – trapped indeed 'beyond all hope of escape',[35] and are saved in the very last nick of time by the Phial of Galadriel.

The Choices of Master Samwise

I left 'Version 1', the original narrative in which there was no encounter with the Spider in the tunnel, and the attack on Frodo took place at the head of the Second Stair (above the tunnel), at the point where my father abandoned that version as a 'fair copy' manuscript and the text precipitously collapsed into fearfully difficult drafting: see pp. 197–8.

It is difficult to be sure of the precise development from this point, because this very rough drafting runs on continuously to the end of the story in *The Two Towers*, being indeed the original setting down of the narrative of 'The Choices of Master Samwise', and yet it cannot have been an uninterrupted continuation of Version 1. The last page that was certainly a part of Version 1 ends with a near-illegible initial account of Sam's attack on Ungoliant and his holding up the phial that he took from Frodo's body (p. 198). The conclusion of the encounter with Ungoliant may belong to Version 1, but not much more, for when Sam, arising from his long trance of despair, composes Frodo's

body he says: 'He lent me Sting and that I'll take'. This of course depends on the developed story (Version 2) in which Frodo gave Sting to Sam for an attack on the web at the end of the tunnel while he himself held the phial (see pp. 205–7).

From the point where Sam holds up the phial against Ungoliant the draft continues:

'Galadriel!' he cried. 'Elbereth! Now come, you filthy thing. Now at last we know what holds this path. But we are going on. Come on, let's settle before we go.' As if his wrath and courage set its potency in motion, the glass blazed like a torch – like [a] flash not of lightning but of some searing star cleaving the dark air with intolerable radiance white and terrible. No such light of heaven had ever burned in her face before.[36]

The account of Ungoliant's retreat is largely illegible, but phrases can be read: 'She seemed ... to crumple like a vast bag', 'her legs sagged, and slowly, painfully, she backed from the light away in the opening in the wall', 'gathering her strength she turned and with a last ..... jump and a foul but already pitiable ... [37] she slipped into the hole.'

The declaration that whatever might have been the fate of Ungoliant thereafter 'this tale does not tell' appears in the draft, as does (in very rough form) the passage that follows in TT (pp. 339–40) to the point where Sam composes Frodo's body. Here the draft text reads:

He laid his master upon his back, and folded his cold hands. 'Let the silver mail of mithril be his winding sheet,' he said.[38] 'He lent me Sting and that I'll take, but a sword shall be at his side.' And the phial he put into his right hand and hid it in his bosom. 'It's too good for me,' he said, 'and She gave it to him to be a light in dark places.' There were no stones for a cairn, but he rolled the only two he could find of a wieldy size one to Frodo's head and another to his feet. And then he stood and held up the star-glass. It burned gently now with a quiet radiance as of the evening star in summer, and in its light Frodo's hue ..... [?pale] but fair, and an elvish beauty was in his face, as of one that is long past the shadows.

And then he strove to take farewell. But he could not. Still he held Frodo's hand and could not let it go.

An arrow directs that the placing of the phial in Frodo's hand and Sam's words 'It's too good for me ...' should follow '... as of one long past the shadows'.

The account of Sam's agonized debate was not different from its form in *The Two Towers* (pp. 341–2) in the progression of his thoughts, and his parting words and the taking of the Ring are virtually in the final form; but he does not take the phial, which in this version of the story remains hidden in Frodo's hand. From this point I give the original draft in full.

At last with a great effort he stood up and turned away and seeing nothing but a grey mist stumbled forward towards the pass now straight ahead. But still his master drew him: Sam's mind was not at peace, not really made up. (He was acting as best he could reason but against his whole nature.) He hadn't gone far when he looked back and through his tears saw the little dark patch in the ravine where all his life had fallen in ruin. Again he turned and went on, and now he was come almost to the V [*i.e. the Cleft*]. So the very gate of parting. Now he must look back for the very last time. He did so.

'No I can't do it,' he said. 'I can't. I'd go to the Dark Tower to find him, but I can't go and leave him. I can't finish this tale. It's for other folk. My chapter's ended.' He began to stumble back. And then suddenly to his wrath and horror he thought he saw a slinking thing creep out of the shadow and go up to Frodo and start pawing him.[39] Anger obliterating all other thoughts blazed up again. 'Gollum! After his precious – thinks his plot has worked after all. The dirty –' He began to run silently. There wasn't more than 20 [?yards] to cover. He got his sword out. Gollum! He ground his teeth.

But suddenly Gollum paused [and] looked round, not at Sam, and with all his speed bolted diving back towards the wall and to [the] same opening out of which Ungoliant had come.

Sam realized that Gollum had not fled from him or even noticed him. Almost at once he saw the reason. Orcs! Orcs were coming out of the tunnel. He halted in his tracks. A new choice was on him and a quick one this time. Then from behind also he heard orc-voices. Out of some path leading down from the tower orcs were coming. He was between them. No going back now – Sam would never reach the Pass of Kirith Ungol now. He gripped on Sting. A brief thought passed through his mind. How many would he kill before they got him? Would any song ever mention it? How Samwise fell in the High Pass – made a wall of bodies for his master's body. No, no song, for the Ring would be captured and all songs cease for ever [in] an age of Darkness ... The Ring. With a sudden thought and impulse

he *put it on!* [*Added:* His hand hangs weighed down and useless.] At first he noticed nothing – except that he seemed to see much clearer. Things seemed hard and black and heavy, and the voices loud. The orc-bands had sighted one another and were shouting. But he seemed to hear both sides as if they were speaking close to him. And he understood them. Why, they were speaking plain language. Maybe they were, or maybe the Ring which had power over all Sauron's servants and was grown in power as the place of its forging was approached brought the thought of their minds in plain speech direct to Sam.

'Hola! Gazmog,' said the foremost of the orcs coming out of the tunnel.

'Ho you Zaglûn. So you've come at last. Have you heard them? Did you see it?'

'See what? We've just come through the tunnel of She-lob.[40] What should we see or hear?'

'Shouting and crying out here and lights. Some mischief afoot. But we're on guard in the tower and not supposed to leave. We waited but you didn't come. Hurry now for we must get back. There's only Naglur-Danlo and old Nûzu up here and he's in a taking.'

Then suddenly the orcs from the tower saw Frodo and while Sam still hesitated they swept past him with a howl and rushed forward. (Sting must be sheathed.) One thing the Ring did not confer was courage – rather the reverse, at any rate on Sam. He did not now [?rush] in – or make a hill of bodies round his master. There were about three dozen of them in all, and they were talking fast and excitedly. Sam hesitated. If he drew Sting they'd see that. They wouldn't ....: Orcs never did – but 36! They [?*read* They'd] see where he was.

No – above won't do, he must see Orcs from a greater distance and *follow them.* The cleft must be no great distance, 100 yards? from Frodo's body and that 20–30 yards from tunnel. *Cut out Gollum.*

Sam sees orcs coming *down* from tower as he turns back [for the] last time. They seem from afar to spot the little shape of Frodo and give a yell. It is answered by a yell – other orcs are coming out of the tunnel! Then put in the part about his thoughts of *song* as he runs back. Puts on ring and cannot wield sword.[41] Changes it to left hand [*broken staff* (Sam's broke on Gollum)].[42] By that time orcs have picked up Frodo and are off

to tunnel. Sam follows. Ring confers language knowledge – not courage.

Sam follows and hears conversation as they go through tunnel. Orcs discuss Frodo. Special vigilance ordered. What is it? Leader [B.....] Zaglûn says[43] orders are for messages [*or* messengers] to go to Morgul *and* direct to Lugburz. They [?groan]. Talk of Shelob and the worm (= Gollum).

Big things are on. Only preliminary strokes. News. Osgiliath taken and ford. Army has also left North Gate. [?Other crossing] away up north somewhere and into the north part of the Horseboys' land – no opposition there. We'll be at the Mouths of Anduin in a week and at the Gulf of Lûne before the summer's out – and then nowhere to escape. How we'll make 'em sweat! We haven't begun yet. Big stuff's coming.

Big stick if you don't hurry.

Prisoner is to be stripped naked. Teeth and nails? No. Is he half elf and man – [?there's] a fair blend of folly and mischief. Quick end better. Quick!

They round a corner. Sam sees red light in an arch. Underground door to tower. Horrified to see that tunnel deceived him: they're further ahead than he thought. He runs forward but the iron door closes with a clang. He is outside in the darkness.

Now go back to Gandalf.

[*Added:* Make most of goblin conversation await the rescue chapter?]

In the next stage of development my father returned to the words 'At last with a great effort he stood up and turned away and seeing nothing but a grey mist stumbled forward towards the pass now straight ahead' (p. 211), and now continued thus (cf. TT pp. 342–3):

He had not far to go. The tunnel was some fifty yards behind; the cleft a couple of hundred yards or less. There was a path visible in the dusk running now quickly up, with the cliff on one side, and on the other a low wall of rock rising steadily to another cliff. Soon there were broad shallow steps. Now the orc-tower was right above him, frowning black, and in it the red eye glowed. Now he was passing up the steps and the cleft was before him.

'I have made up my mind,' he kept saying to himself. But he had not. What he did, though he had long to think it out, was altogether against the grain. To stick by his master was his true

nature. 'Have I got it wrong,' he muttered. 'Was there something else to do?' As the sheer sides of the cleft closed about him and before he reached the summit, before he looked upon the descending path beyond, he turned, torn intolerably within. He looked back. He could still see like a small blot in the gathering gloom the mouth of the tunnel; and he thought he could see or guess where Frodo lay, almost he fancied there was a light or a glimmer of it down there. Through tears he saw that lonely, stony high place where all his life had fallen into ruin.

What was the 'light, or a glimmer of it' (meaning, I suppose, 'a light, or the glimmer of a light') that Sam saw? It survives in TT (p. 343): 'He fancied there was a glimmer on the ground down there, or perhaps it was some trick of his tears'. Can the original meaning have been that there was a faint shining from the Phial of Galadriel, very probably at this stage (see pp. 210–11) still left clasped in Frodo's hand?

From '"No I can't do it," he said' (p. 211) my father repeated the original text almost exactly, but excising the return of Gollum. When he came to Sam's putting on the Ring he wrote: 'The Ring. With a sudden impulse he drew it out and *put it on*. The weight of it weighed down his hand. For a moment he noticed no change, and then he seemed to see clearer.' But at this point he stopped, marked what he had written with an X, and wrote: 'No! hear[d] clearer, crack of stone, cry of bird, voices, Shelob bubbling wretchedly deep in the rocks. Voices in the dungeons of the tower. But all was not dark but hazy, and himself like a black solid rock and the Ring like hot gold. Difficult to believe in his invisibility.' The account of Sam's understanding of what the Orcs said here takes this form: 'Did the Ring give power of tongues or did it give him comprehension of all that had been under its power [*written above:* Sauron's servants], so that he heard direct? Certainly the voices seemed close in his ears and it was very difficult to judge their distance.' With a reference to the Ring's increasing power in that region and its not conferring courage on its wearer this draft ends, followed by an outline of the salient points in what Sam heard:

> Why such a long delay of Orcs to come? Terrified of Shelob. They know another spy is about. Leader says orders are for messengers to go to Morgul and direct to Baraddur Lugburz. Orcs [?groan]. Talk of Shelob and the Spider's worm [who] has been here before. News of war.

In further drafting the coming of the Orc-bands is described thus:

Then suddenly he heard cries and voices. He stood still. Orc-voices: he had heard them in Moria and Lórien and on the Great River and would never forget them. Wheeling about he

saw small red lights, torches perhaps, issuing from the tunnel away below. And only a few yards below him, out of the very cliff as it seemed, through some gap or gate near the tower's foot he had not noticed as he passed debating on the road, there were more lights. Orc-bands. They were come at last to hunt. The red eye had not been wholly blind.

And a noise of feet and shouts came also through the cleft. Orcs were coming up to the pass out of Mordor too.

This conception of three Orc-bands converging survived into the fair copy manuscript, where however it was removed at once, or soon, for there is no further reference to it; here 'orcs were coming up to the pass out of the land beyond', while 'only a few yards off' lights and 'black orc-shapes' were coming through 'some gap or gate at the tower's foot'. In the event (TT p. 343) the Orcs of the tower appeared from the far side of the Cleft.

The draft continues:

Fear overwhelmed him. How could he escape? So now *his* chapter would be ended. It had not had above a page longer than Frodo's. How could he save the Ring? The Ring. He was not aware of any thought or decision: he simply found himself drawing out the chain and taking the Ring in his hand. The orcs coming towards him grew louder. Then he *put it on*.[44]

The achievement of the conversation between the leaders of the two Orc-bands in the tunnel took a good deal of work, extending into the fair copy, and to detail all the rearrangements, shifts of speakers, and so on would require a great deal of space. But there is one draft that deserves quotation in full, for very little of it survived. Here the two Orcs, and especially he of Minas Morghul, are greatly concerned with the precise timing of the various communications that had passed.

In the darkness [*of the tunnel*] he seemed now more at home; but he could not overcome his weariness. He could see the light of torches a little way ahead, but he could not gain on them. Goblins go fast in tunnels, especially those which they have themselves made, and all the many passages in this region of the mountains were their work, even the main tunnel and the great deep pit where Shelob housed. In the Dark Years they had been made, until Shelob came and made her lair there, and to escape her they had bored new passages, too narrow for her [as she slowly grew >] growth, that crossed and recrossed the straight way.[45]

Sam heard the clamour of their many voices flat and hard in the dead air, and somewhere he heard two voices louder than the rest. The leaders of the two parties seemed to be wrangling as they went.

'Can't you stop your rabble's racket?' said one. 'I don't care what happens to them, but I don't want Shelob down on me and my lads.'

'Yours are making more than half the noise,' said the other. 'But let the lads play. No need to worry about Shelob for a bit. She's sat on a pin or something, and none of us will weep. Didn't you see the signs then? A claw cut off, filthy gore all the way to that cursed crack (if we've stopped it once we've stopped it a hundred times). Let the lads play. We've struck a bit of luck at last: we've got something He wants.'

'Yes, *we*, Shagrat.[46] *We*, mark you. But why we're going to your miserable tower I don't know. We found the spy, my lot were there first. He should be ours. He should be taken back to Dushgoi.'[47]

'Now, now, still at it. I've said before all there is to be said, but if you must have more arguments, they're here: I've got ten more swords than you, and thirty more just up yonder at call. See? Anyway orders are orders, and I've mine.'

'And I've mine.'

'Yes, and I know them, for I was told 'em by Lugburz, see? *Yagûl*[48] *from Dushgoi will patrol until he meets your guard, or as far as Ungol top: he will report to you before returning to report to Dushgoi.* Your report was *nothing*. Very useful. You can take it back to Dushgoi as soon as you like.'

'I will, but I don't like [to] just yet. I found the spy, and I must know more before I go. The Lords of Dushgoi have some secret of quick messages and they will get the news to Lugburz quicker than anyone you can send direct.'

'I know all that, and I'm not stopping you taking news to them. I know all the messages. They trust me in Lugburz, He knows a good orc when he sees one. This is what happened: message from Dushgoi to Lugburz: *Watchers uneasy. Fear elvish agent passed up the Stair. Guard pass.* Message from Lugburz to Ungol: *Dushgoi uneasy. Redouble vigilance. Make contact. Send report by Dushgoi and direct.* And there you are.'

'No, I'm not there, not yet. I'm going to take a report back, my own report, Master Shagrat, and I want to know this first. When did you get this message? We set out as soon as possible

after the forces left, and we see no sign of you till we're right through the Tunnel – a filthy place and inside *your* area. Then we see you just starting. Now I guess you got that message early today, this morning probably, and you've been drinking since to give you the guts to look at the hole. That's what you think of orders that don't suit you.'

'I've no need to account for myself to you Dushgoi horseboys, Master Yagûl. But if you're so curious to know: the message from Dushgoi was sent out late: things seem a bit slack with the Lord away. Lugburz did not get it till *last night*, mark you, nor me till this afternoon. By which time messages were hardly needed. I'd had my lads out some time. There were very odd things happening. Lights in the tunnel, lights outside, shouting and whatnot. But Shelob was about. My lads saw her, and her worm.'

'What's that?'

The remainder of this text is very rough working for what follows from this point in TT (pp. 348–50). In a following draft Yagool (as he is spelt) says of Frodo: 'What is it, d'you think? Elvish I thought by his nasty smooth peaky face. But undersized.' Here the conversation moves closer to the form in TT, and the long discussion between Yagool and Shagrat about the messages is greatly reduced, though the messages are still given, in very much the same form; but that from Minas Morghul begins *Nazgûl of Dushgoi to Lugburz.* In another brief passage of drafting this dialogue occurs:

'I tell you, nearly two days ago the Night Watcher smelt something, but will you believe me it was nearly another day before they started to send a message to Lugburz.'

'How do they do that?' said Shagrat. 'I've often wondered.'

'I don't know and I don't want to ...'

The manuscript of 'The Choices of Master Samwise'[49] was in almost all respects very close to the chapter in *The Two Towers.* Various points in which it differed as first written have been noticed, but there remain a few others. The following account of Shelob was rejected as soon as written and replaced by that in TT (p. 337):

Shelob was not as dragons are, no softer spot had she save only in her eyes; not as the lesser breeds of Mirkwood was their dam, and her age-old hide, knobbed and pitted with corruption but ever thickened with layer on layer within, could not be pierced by any blade of Middle-earth, not though elf or dwarf

should make it and all runes were written upon it, not though the hand of [*struck out:* Fingon wielded it whose] Beren or of Túrin wielded it.

Shagrat's reply to Yagûl's opening sally ('Tired of lurking up there, thinking of coming down to fight?') took this form:

'Tired! You've said it. Waiting for nothing, except to be made into Shelob's meat. But we've got orders, too. Old Shagram's in a fine taking. Your lot's to blame. These Dushgoi bogey-men: sending messages to Lugburz.'

This was rejected as soon as written, replaced by 'Orders to you. I'm in command of this Pass. So speak civil', and with it went the last appearance of the name *Dushgoi* of Minas Morghul. Who 'old Shagram' was is not clear, but he is evidently 'old Nûzu' of the original draft (p. 212), also reported to be 'in a taking', apparently because the garrison of the Tower of Kirith Ungol had been depleted. Possibly he was the actual captain of the Tower, until this point, when Shagrat asserts that he himself is the commander of the pass; but Shagrat's words in the draft cited on p. 216, 'They trust me in Lugburz, He knows a good orc when he sees one' suggest that he was so already.

Lastly, the words of Sam's Elvish invocation (TT p. 339) in his fight with the Spider take in a draft for this passage the same form as they did in the original verse chanted in Rivendell (VI.394), and this form was retained in the manuscript as written, the only difference being *lír* for *dir* in the third line:[50]

O Elbereth Gilthoniel
sir evrin pennar óriel
lír avos-eithen míriel

This was changed on the manuscript to give this text:

O Elbereth Gilthoniel
silevrin pennar óriel
hír avas-eithen míriel
a tíro'men Gilthoniel!

★

It was a long time before my father returned to Frodo and Sam. In October 1944 he briefly took up again the stories 'west of Anduin' from where he had left them nearly two years earlier, but soon abandoned them (see pp. 233–5).

On 29 November 1944 (*Letters* no. 91), when he was sending me the typescripts of 'Shelob's Lair' and 'The Choices of Master Samwise', he said that he had 'got the hero into such a fix that not even an author will be able to extricate him without labour and difficulty.' He had by this time conceived the structure of *The Lord of the Rings* as

five 'Books', of which four were written (cf. also his letter to Stanley Unwin of March 1945, *Letters* no. 98); and in this same letter of November 1944 he forecast what was still to come:

> Book Five and Last opens with the ride of Gandalf to Minas Tirith, with which The Palantir, last chapter of Book Three closed. Some of this is written or sketched.[51] Then should follow the raising of the siege of Minas Tirith by the onset of the Riders of Rohan, in which King Theoden falls; the driving back of the enemy, by Gandalf and Aragorn, to the Black Gate; the parley in which Sauron shows various tokens (such as the mithril coat) to prove that he has captured Frodo, but Gandalf refuses to treat (a horrible dilemma, all the same, even for a wizard). Then we shift back to Frodo, and his rescue by Sam. From a high place they see all Sauron's vast reserves loosed through the Black Gate, and then hurry on to Mount Doom through a deserted Mordor. With the destruction of the Ring, the exact manner of which is not certain – all these last bits were written ages ago, but no longer fit in detail, nor in elevation (for the whole thing has become much larger and loftier) – Baraddur crashes, and the forces of Gandalf sweep into Mordor. Frodo and Sam, fighting with the last Nazgul on an island of rock surrounded by the fire of the erupting Mount Doom, are rescued by Gandalf's eagle; and then the clearing up of all loose threads, down even to Bill Ferny's pony,[52] must take place. A lot of this work will be done in a final chapter where Sam is found reading out of an enormous book to his children, and answering all their questions about what happened to everybody (that will link up with his discourse on the nature of stories in the Stairs of Kirith Ungol). But the final scene will be the passage of Bilbo and Elrond and Galadriel through the woods of the Shire on their way to the Grey Havens. Frodo will join them and pass over the Sea (linking with the vision he had of a far green country in the house of Tom Bombadil). So ends the Middle Age and the Dominion of Men begins, and Aragorn far away on the throne of Gondor labours to bring some order and to preserve some memory of old among the welter of men that Sauron has poured into the West. But Elrond has gone, and all the High Elves. What happens to the Ents I don't yet know. It will probably work out very differently from this plan when it really gets written, as the thing seems to write itself once I get going, as if the truth comes out then, only imperfectly glimpsed in the preliminary sketch.

From a letter to Stanley Unwin written on 21 July 1946 (*Letters* no. 105), now more than two years since the doors of the underground entrance to the Tower of Kirith Ungol were slammed in Sam's face, and getting on for two since 'the beacons flared in Anórien and Théoden came to Harrowdale', it is clear that he had done no more. He was then hopeful that he would soon be able to begin writing

again; and in another letter to Stanley Unwin of 7 December 1946 (*Letters* no. 107) he was 'on the last chapters'.

NOTES

1 This text went back in turn to an earlier outline, 'The Story Foreseen from Moria', VII.209.

2 At that time *Kirith Ungol* was the name of the main pass into Mordor.

3 The first mention of the Tower of Kirith Ungol.

4 As I have noted in VII.260, Sam's visions in the Mirror of Galadriel were already in the fair copy manuscript of 'Galadriel' almost exactly as in FR (p. 377); the actual words used in the manuscript of this vision were: 'and now he thought he saw Frodo lying fast asleep under a great dark cliff: his face was pale.' When my father wrote this the words of the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Moria' (VII.209) had already been written: 'Gollum gets spiders to put spell of sleep on Frodo. Sam drives them off. But cannot wake him.'

5 The illegible word might possibly be 'grin'.

6 The fair copy manuscript, with some correction and addition from the time of composition, reaches the text of TT, pp. 312–17, in all respects save one: the passage describing Frodo's dash towards the bridge is still absent. The manuscript reads here:

> ... Frodo felt his senses reeling and his limbs weakening.
>
> Sam took his master's arm. 'Hold up, Mr Frodo!' he whispered, but his breath seemed to tear the air like a whistle. 'Not that way! Gollum says not that way – thank goodness! I agree with him for once.'
>
> Frodo took a grip on himself and wrenched his eyes away.

The reading of TT, introduced later, thus in part returns to the outline given on p. 186.

7 In general I do not go into the detail of textual problems, but this is a very unusual case, and the reconstruction of the evolution of the story to some degree depends on the view taken of it; I therefore give here some account of it.

Page 4 of the manuscript, on which the pencilled draft though overwritten can mostly be read, ends with the words: 'Then he saw that a faint light was welling through his fingers and he thrust it in his bosom.' Page 5 was likewise originally a page of rough, continuous, pencil drafting. The top of this page, some 14 lines or so, was erased, and the *later* narrative was written in this space (ending at 'and there it suddenly entered a narrow opening in the rock. They had come to the first stair that Gollum had

spoken of', TT p. 317). Towards the end of this short section, however, the erasure was not complete, and the following can be read: 'not the odour of decay in the valley below ..... that the hobbits could recognize, a'. Thus the original narrative was here entirely different, for within a short space they are already at the mouth of the tunnel.

The strange thing is that from this point the original pencilled draft (continuing with 'repellent evil taint on the air'), not erased any further but overwritten, was *overwritten with the earlier narrative* ('Version 1'). Thus as the text in ink stands on this page it reads:

> ... and there it suddenly entered a narrow opening in the rock. They had come to the first stair that Gollum had spoken of [TT p. 317].
> repellent evil taint on the air.

The text following on from 'that Gollum had spoken of' is found on another sheet. The only explanation that I can see is that my father for some reason left the first (approximately) fourteen lines in pencil, and only began to overwrite it in ink at an arbitrary point ('repellent evil taint on the air'). The first part of the page thus fell victim to erasure and re-use when the later story had come into being, but from the point where it had been overwritten in ink the earlier story (Version 1) could not be so used, and was merely struck out.

8 This version of the sentence is found in isolation on a slip, slightly different from and beginning slightly earlier than the form of it that can be read in the pencilled draft (see note 7).

9 With 'then as fear left him it began to burn' cf. the derived passage in 'Shelob's Lair', TT p. 329: 'then as its power waxed, and hope grew in Frodo's mind, it began to burn'; cf. also 'As if his indomitable spirit had set its potency in motion, the glass blazed suddenly' (TT p. 339).

10 This much of 'Version 1' (struck through) was preserved in the manuscript because the page carried a portion of the later story also, as explained in note 7.

11 The Bodleian page '6/7', like page '5', is written in ink over the underlying pencilled draft. At this point there is an adjective, describing the webs and ending in *-ing*, which my father could not read; he therefore merely let the pencilled word stand, without writing anything on top of it.

12 The words *hold my star-glass behind me* are underlined in the original – possibly because my father was emphasising to himself that Frodo had actually given the phial to Sam, though whereas in TT (p. 334) Sam did not give it back to Frodo, later in this version (p. 198) he takes it from Frodo's hand during his fight with Ungoliant.

Frodo drew Sting: on the previous page '5' of the manuscript Frodo had already drawn Sting (p. 193), but this, I feel certain, is no more than an oversight, and does not call into question the succession of the two pages.

13 In the margin is written here: 'Dis. into a side hole?', where 'Dis.' obviously stands for 'Disappears'. This was added later, when my father was pondering the idea that Gollum in fact disappeared while they were still in the tunnel.

14 At the foot of the page is written in pencil: 'Make Gollum come reluctantly back.' This clearly belongs with the underlying pencilled draft; when over-writing the draft in ink my father put a query against these words.

15 The caption of the picture, *Shelob's Lair*, was added afterwards; at this time the name of the Great Spider was Ungoliant (p. 196).

16 At the time of writing, page 4/5 of 'Version 1' is in the United States, page 6/7 in England, and page 8/9 in France.

17 This is the first appearance of the one Great Spider (as opposed to many spiders).

18 On the name *Ungoliant(e)*, derived from *The Silmarillion*, see the *Etymologies*, V.396.

19 When Sam twisted round as Gollum seized him from behind, in TT Gollum's hold on Sam's mouth slipped, whereas in Version 1 it was his hold with his left hand on Sam's neck that slipped (down to his waist). Thus it is not said in Version 1 that 'all the while Gollum's other hand was tightening on Sam's throat'. When Sam hurled himself backwards and landed on Gollum 'a sharp hiss came out of him, and for a breathless second his left arm that was about Sam's waist relaxed' (in TT 'for a second his hand upon Sam's throat loosened'). Sam's second blow, falling across Gollum's back, did not break the staff, and the third blow aimed by Sam was with the staff, not with his sword.

20 Sam's staff was not broken at the second blow, as it was in TT; see notes 19 and 42.

21 The handwriting is so difficult that my father pencilled in glosses here and there where he had evidently been puzzled by what he had written not long before. – It is often the case with a very difficult preliminary draft, which can really only be deciphered by recourse to the following text, that some particularly puzzling word or phrase cannot be solved in this way: another expression appears in its place; and in such cases one may often suspect that my father could not make it out himself. Cf. note 11.

22 On the right is seen the 'Wraith-road' from Minas Morghul rising to the main pass in this region (p. 195).

23 The brackets round this sentence, seen in the reproduction, were put in subsequently, and probably the question mark also. On the tunnel being the work of Orcs see p. 215.

24 I cannot read the word at the bottom of the plan of the tunnels, also in blue ball-point pen, though possibly it also reads 'orc-path'.

25 Here appears the name Imlad Morghul (see p. 176).

26 On lines 3–4 of the page reproduced on p. 204 are the words 'where forgotten winters in the Dark Years had gnawed and carved the sunless stone.' In TT (p. 319) the words *in the Dark Years* are absent. Seven lines from the bottom of the page the text reads: 'or so it seemed to him in feeling not in reason', with pencilled correction to the reading of TT: 'or so it seemed to him in that dark hour of weariness, still labouring in the stony shadows under Kirith Ungol.'

27 The illegible words look most like 'flies back'. If this is what they are, the meaning must be very elliptically expressed: Frodo flees and the eyes pursue, but every time he turns round holding up the phial the eyes halt.

28 A trace of a stage in which the 'trap' or 'hole' in the floor of the tunnel was present as well as the branching ways is found on a slip carrying very disjointed drafting:

> Suddenly a thought came into Frodo's mind. Gollum, he had been ahead: where was he? Had he fallen into that awful lurking hole? 'Gollum! I wonder whether he's all right,' he muttered. 'Smeagol!'
>
> Groping in the dark they found that the opening or arch to the left was blocked a few feet inside, or so it seemed: they could not push their way in, it was
>
> he called or tried to call Smeagol! But his voice cracked and
>
> They tried first the opening to the left, but quickly it grew narrower and turned away mounting by long shallow steps towards the mountain wall. 'It can't be this way,' said Frodo. 'We must try the other.'
>
> 'We'll take the broader way,' said Frodo. 'Any passage that turns sideways .....'

29 Frodo's cry here has the form *Alla Earendel Elenion Ankalima*, and *Alla* remained through the following texts, only being changed to *Aiya* after the book was in type.

30 The word *flicked* in TT p. 330 ('but at its edge a blue fire flicked') is an error for *flickered* which was missed in the proof.

31 Perhaps for no other reason than that this section of the manuscript had become very ragged through emendation, and would have to be replaced, it had well before this point degenerated into rough pencil, at the end becoming an outline very hard to read.

32 The reference is to *The Hobbit*, Chapter III 'A Short Rest', where Elrond, speaking of the swords Glamdring and Orcrist taken from the trolls' hoard, says (in the text of the original edition):

'They are old swords, very old swords of the elves that are now called Gnomes. They were made in Gondolin for the Goblin-wars.'

33 This sentence ('For though once long ago he had seen it ...') was at first retained in the final fair copy manuscript, with the addition: 'neither did he understand his master.'

34 It is clearly written in the 'fair copy' style, but with some repetition and other features pointing to immediate composition, and it was corrected subsequently in pencil; I cite it here as corrected.

35 These words are used also in the story in *The Two Towers* (p. 330), but there only Shelob knows of the web at the end of the tunnel.

36 If this part of the draft did in fact belong with Version 1 there had been no encounter with the Spider in the tunnel, so that when this scene (surviving of course in TT, p. 339) was first written this was the first time that she had been confronted with the light of Earendel's star in the Phial of Galadriel.

37 The words 'foul but already pitiable' are read from a subsequent gloss of my father's. He gave up on the next word and wrote a query about it; it may perhaps be 'scuttle'. The words 'but already pitiable' are notable. In TT there is no trace of the thought that Shelob, entirely hateful and evil, denier of light and life, could ever be 'pitiable' even when defeated and hideously wounded.

38 This goes back to the original outline 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien' (p. 185), as does Sam's thought of building a cairn of stones, and the phrase later in this passage 'an elvish beauty as of one that is long past the shadows', which survives in TT.

39 Cf. the initial outline, p. 190: 'Turns back – resolved to lie down by Frodo till death comes. Then he sees Gollum come and paw him. He gives a start and runs back. But orcs come out and Gollum bolts.'

40 The first occurrence of the name *Shelob* (see p. 183).

41 Cf. the sentence added earlier in this draft at the point where Sam puts on the Ring: 'His hand hangs weighed down and useless.'

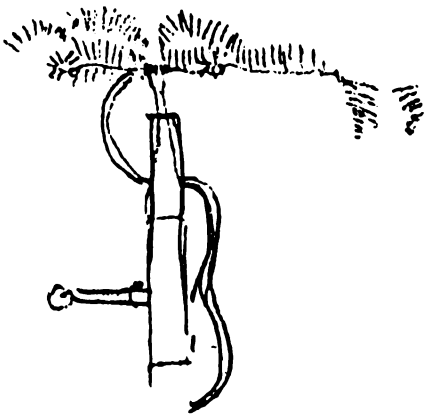
42 In the original account of Sam's fight with Gollum his staff was not broken (notes 19 and 20); this was where, and why, that element entered the story. The words 'The staff cracked and broke' were added to the fair copy (TT p. 335).

43 This is obscure. A proper name beginning with B, possibly *Ballung* or something similar, is followed by a sign that might represent 'and' or 'or'; but 'and' would mean that *Leader* and *says* were miswritten for *Leaders* and *say*, and though in this exceedingly rapid script words are frequently defective or miswritten the sentence reappears (p. 214), and there the words are

again *Leader* and *says*. Perhaps my father intended 'or' and was merely hesitating between two possible names for the Orc.

44 On this page of drafting is a hasty pencilled sketch of the final approach to the Cleft, and a little plan of the tunnel. In the first of these the place where Frodo lay is marked by an X on the path, and just to the left of it in the cliff-wall is the opening from which Shelob came. Another entry is seen in the distance at the top of the steps leading to the summit of the pass, at the foot of the cliff on which the Tower stands.

The plan of the tunnel is reproduced here. It will be seen that it differs from the elaborate earlier plan reproduced on p. 201 in that only one passage is shown leading to the left off the main tunnel at the eastern end, curving round and leading to the Tower.



45 With this account of the origin of the tunnels cf. the outline accompanying the plan (p. 199): 'This tunnel is of orc-make (?) and has the usual branching passages.' It survived into the fair copy, where it was subsequently replaced by that in TT (p. 346).

46 The names of the leaders of the Orc-bands were rather bewilderingly changed in the drafts (and some transient forms cannot be read). At first (p. 212) they were *Gazmog* (of the Tower) and *Zaglûn* (of Minas Morghul), and in another brief draft of their genial greetings they become *Yagûl* and *Uftak Zaglûn* – so written: *Zaglûn* may have been intended to replace *Uftak*, but on the other hand the double-barrelled Orc-name *Naglur-Danlo* is found (p. 212). The name *Ufthak* was subsequently given to the Orc found (and left where he was) by Shagrat and his friends in Shelob's larder, 'wide awake and glaring' (TT p. 350). In the present text the names were at first *Yagûl* (of the Tower) and *Shagrat* (of Minas Morghul), but were reversed in the course of

writing (and in a following draft the names became reversed again at one point, though not I think intentionally). At this point, where the Orc from Morghul is speaking, my father first wrote *Shag*[*rat*], changed it to *Yagûl*, and then again changed it to *Shagrat*. See note 48. — *Yagûl* was replaced by *Gorbag* in the course of writing the fair copy.

47 *Dushgoi*: Orc name for Minas Morghul.

48 The text actually has *Shagrat* here, but this should have been changed to *Yagûl* (see note 46).

49 The story of the ascent of the Pass of Kirith Ungol was early divided into three chapters, with the titles which were never changed; the numbers being XXXVIII, XXXIX, and XL. See my father's letters cited on pp. 183–4.

50 After the verse my father wrote: 'such words in the Noldorin tongue as his waking mind knew not', striking this out at once.

51 This was work done in October 1944: see pp. 233–4.

52 Cf. VII.448.

Note on the Chronology

Time-scheme D continues somewhat further than does C (see p. 182):

Friday Feb. 10 Frodo and Sam come to Shelob's lair early in the morning. They get out in the late afternoon – nearly at top of the pass. Frodo is captured and carried to orc-tower at night.

Saturday Feb. 11 Attack at dawn on besieged Minas Tirith. Riders of Rohan suddenly arrive and charge, overthrowing the leaguer. Fall of Théoden. Host of Mordor flung into River.

Sunday Feb. 12 Gandalf (Éomer and Aragorn and Faramir) advance into Ithilien.

Time-scheme S goes no further than February 8.

Pencilled entries were added to February 11 in Scheme D: 'Sam at the Iron Door early hours of Feb. 11. Sam gets into orc-tower. Rescues Frodo. They fly and descend into Mordor'; and 'Ships of Harad burnt'.

PART THREE

MINAS TIRITH

I

ADDENDUM TO 'THE TREASON OF ISENGARD'

After the publication of 'The Treason of Isengard' I came upon the following manuscript page. It had ended up in a bundle of much later writings concerned with the events of Books V and VI, and when going through these papers I had failed to see its significance. It is in fact the concluding page of the first of the two outlines that I gave under the heading 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn' in VII.434 ff.; and since it represents my father's earliest recorded conception of the events of Book V this seems the best place to give it. I repeat first the conclusion of the part printed in Vol. VII (p. 437):

> News comes at the feast [at Eodoras] or next morning of the siege of Minas Tirith by the Haradwaith. ... The horsemen of Rohan ride East, with Gandalf, Aragorn, Gimli, Legolas, Merry and Pippin. Gandalf as the White Rider. ... Vision of Minas Tirith from afar.

The text begins in the same pale ink as was used for the earlier part of the outline but soon turns to pencil. At the head of the page is written (later, in a different ink): 'Homeric catalogue. Forlong the Fat. The folk of Lebennin' (see p. 287).

Battle before walls. Sorties from city. Aragorn puts the Haradwaith to flight. Aragorn enters into Minas Tirith and becomes their chief. Recollection of the boding words (as spoken by Boromir).

The forces of Minas Tirith and Rohan under Aragorn and Gandalf cross the Anduin and retake Elostirion. The Nazgûl. How Gandalf drove them back. Wherever the shadow of the Nazgûl fell there was a blind darkness. Men fell flat, or fled. But about Gandalf there was always a light – and where he rode the shadow retreated.

The forces of West worst Minas Morghul [*written above:* Morgol] and drive back the enemy to the Field of Nomen's Land before Kirith Ungol. Here comes the embassy of Sauron. He sends to say that [*Here the ink text ends and is followed by pencil, the word* that *crossed out*] to Gandalf and Aragorn that he has got Frodo the Ringbearer captive. (Dismay of Aragorn.)

Sauron's messenger declares that Frodo has begged for deliverance at any price. Sauron's price is the immediate withdrawal of all forces west of Anduin – and eventual surrender of all land up to west of Misty Mountains (as far as Isen). As token Sauron's messenger shows Sting (or some other object taken – the phial?) taken when Frodo was prisoner – this would have to be something Sam overlooked [*written in margin:* mithril coat]. But Gandalf utterly rejects the terms.

'Keep your captive until the battle is over, Sauron! For verily if the day goes to me and we do not then find him unharmed, it shall go very ill with you. Not you alone have power. To me also a power is given of retribution, and to you it will seem very terrible. But if the day is yours then you must do with us all that remain alive as you will. So indeed you would do in any case, whatever oath or treaty you might now make.'

Gandalf explains that Frodo is probably *not* captive – for at any rate Sauron has not got the Ring. Otherwise he would not seek to parley.

The story must return to Sam and Frodo at the moment when Gandalf and Aragorn ride past Minas Morghul. ? And go down to moment when Ring is destroyed.

Then just as Gandalf rejects parley there is a great spout of flame, and the forces of Sauron fly. Aragorn and Gandalf and their host pour into Gorgoroth.

Part of Battle could be seen by Frodo from [?his] tower while a prisoner.

With the last part of this text compare the second part of the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn', VII.438.

II

BOOK FIVE BEGUN AND ABANDONED

(i) Minas Tirith

My father recorded years later (see p. 77 and note 19) that before the long gap in the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* in 1943–4 he had written the beginnings of Book V Chapters 1 and 3 ('Minas Tirith' and 'The Muster of Rohan'); but 'there as the beacons flared in Anórien and Théoden came to Harrowdale I stopped'. A preliminary question is whether the abandoned opening of 'Minas Tirith' still exists and can be identified.

What is certainly the earliest of several 'beginnings' ('**A**') consists first of a few lines clearly written in ink:

Pippin looked out from Gandalf's arms. Though he was awake now he felt that he was still in a swift-moving dream. Still the world of grey and green rushed by and the sun rose and sank and the wind sang in his ears. He tried to reckon the time, but he could not be sure.

From this point the text is continued in a rapid pencilled scribble:

Two days ago it was that he saw the sun glinting on the roof of the king's great house, and then he had slept, dimly aware of the bustle and a coming and going about him. Coming of Nazgûl. Then more darkness and wind, and then again. Yes, this must be the third riding. The stars seemed to be fleeing overhead.

He stirred. Where are we, he said.

Passing [?through] the land of Anórien, which is [?a realm] of Gondor, said Gandalf. Now we have turned southward. Dawn is at hand. Open your eyes.

Beacons. Messengers riding West.

Description of Minas Tirith and its immense concentric walls.

They come to presence of Denethor and hear news which Gandalf supplements.

Gandalf remains hidden [?communing] with himself. Pippin on the battlements. The allies come in. Faramir returns. War and siege. Gondor defeated. Ships of Harad. New force from North. Episode of the Palantír and Gandalf.

No sign of Riders.

This pencilled continuation was obviously written all at one time, and it was written therefore *after* May 1944, when Faramir, whose return to Minas Tirith is mentioned here, entered the story of *The Lord of the Rings*: it is new work on the story after Book IV had been completed. That the brief initial passage in ink ('Pippin looked out from Gandalf's arms ...') should be separated from its pencilled continuation by a long interval seems to me so unlikely as to be out of the question. Far more probably my father abandoned it because he had changed his mind about Gandalf's riding by day, and (as he often did in such cases) then sketched out the changed conception very rapidly (see the Note on Chronology at the end of this chapter).

This was followed by a further draft of the opening ('**B**'), a single page roughly written in ink that went no further than the errand-riders racing from Gondor to Edoras. I give this brief text in full, ignoring a few subsequent changes in pencil.

Pippin looked out from the shelter of Gandalf's cloak. He was awake now, though he had been sleeping, but he felt that he was still in a swift-moving dream. Still the dark world seemed to be rushing by, and a wind sang loudly in his ears. He could see nothing but the wheeling stars, and away to the right vast shadows against the sky, where the mountains of the south marched by. Sleepily he tried to reckon the time, but he could not be sure of his memory. This was the beginning of the second night of riding since he had seen the pale gleam of gold in the chill dawn and had come to the great empty house upon the hill in Edoras. There he had slept only dimly aware of much coming and going and of the great outcry when the winged flier had passed over. And since then riding, riding in the night.

A pale light came in the sky, a blaze of yellow fire was lit behind dark barriers. For a moment he was afraid, wondering what dreadful thing lay ahead; he rubbed his eyes, and then he saw it was the moon rising full out of the eastern shadows. So they had ... for four hours since dusk![1]

'Where are we, Gandalf?' he asked.

'Anórien the realm of Gondor is still fleeting by,' said Gandalf.

'What is that?' said Pippin, suddenly clutching at Gandalf's cloak. 'Fire! I thought for a moment it might be a dragon. I feel that anything might happen in this land. Look there is another!'

'On, Shadowfax!' cried Gandalf. 'We must not rest this night. Those are the beacons of Gondor calling for aid. War is kindled. See, there is the light on Amon Thorn, and a flame on Elenach;

and look there they go speeding west, Nardol, Penannon, Orodras, and Mindor Uilas on the borders of Rohan. Haste!'

And Shadowfax leaped forward, and as he sprang forward he neighed pricking his ears. Neighing of horses answered and like shadows flying on a wild wind riders went by them thundering west in the gloom.

'Those are post riders,' said Gandalf, 'riding from message post to message post – bearing tidings and summons. The message will reach Edoras by nightfall tonight.'[2]

This text was followed by another single page ('C'). This was typed by my father in the 'midget type' which he used in his letters to me from 7 July 1944 (see the beginning of no. 75 in *Letters*) and frequently until October of that year; and thus this one sheet carries the story as far as the point where Shadowfax passes through the narrow gate in the Pelennor wall (RK p. 21) – the text stopping just before the name *Pelennor* would appear (see p. 277). The final text was now very closely approached. The names of all the beacons (now seven, not six) are here in the final form: Amon Dîn, Eilenach, Nardol, Erelas, Minrimmon, Calenhad, and Halifirien on the borders of Rohan. There are however a few differences. Gandalf here tells Pippin that the message-posts were at distances of 'every fifty miles or so, where errand-riders were always in readiness to carry messages to Rohan or elsewhere' (in RK, p. 20, no distance is mentioned, and Belfalas is named as another destination of such errands). The passage in which Pippin, falling asleep, thinks of Frodo runs thus:

He wondered where Frodo was and if he was already in Mordor, little thinking that Frodo on that same night saw from afar the white snows under the moon; but the red flames of the beacons he did not see, for the mists of the Great River covered all the land between.

On this see the Note on Chronology at the end of this chapter.[3] — The leader of the men at the Pelennor wall is here named Cranthir, not Ingold.

The next stage in the evolution of 'Minas Tirith' was a complete, or nearly complete, draft text; that the page 'C' preceded it and was not an abortive start to a typescript of it is certain (e.g., the leader of the men at the wall is now Ingold).

My father here set a most curious puzzle. The datum is that (as he said) he abandoned 'Minas Tirith' about the end of 1942, as 'the beacons flared in Anórien': the story only went 'as far as the arrival in Gondor'. A single typescript page ('C') does precisely that, and when I first studied these papers I felt certain that it was the 'abandoned

opening'; but it is clear and obvious that 'C' was developed from 'B' and that from 'A', and in 'A' there is a reference to Faramir, who only entered the story in 1944. Moreover 'C' was typed with a special type which my father seems only to have begun using in 1944. The emphatically underlined words in A '*Beacons. Messengers* riding West' certainly suggest that this is where those ideas actually arose; but how could they have done so, since 'the beacons flared in Anórien' already in the original opening of 1942? I was therefore forced to the conclusion that that was lost.

But this conclusion is wrong; and there is very clear evidence that my father erred in his recollection. The solution lies in a passage from his letter of Thursday 12 October 1944, which I have cited before (p. 100), but not in full:

> I began trying to write again (I would, on the brink of term!) on Tuesday, but I struck a most awkward error (one or two days) in the synchronization, v. important at this stage, of movements of Frodo and the others, which has cost labour and thought and will require tiresome small alterations in many chapters; *but at any rate I have actually begun Book Five* (and last: about 10 chapters per 'book').

I had taken (in view of what he said years later) the words that I have italicised to mean that my father had begun 'Minas Tirith' anew, and supposed that in this brief reference he simply passed over the fact that the beginning of the chapter (and the beginning of 'The Muster of Rohan') was long since in existence – or else that the earlier beginning had now been rejected and set aside. But the words are much more naturally taken to mean what they say: 'I have actually begun Book Five' – on 10 October 1944, *ab initio*; and if they are so taken the entire problem disappears. The abandoned opening is not lost, and it is indeed the curious isolated page 'C' in 'midget type'; but it was written in 1944, not 1942. The page 'A', preceding 'B' and 'C', is indeed where the ideas of the beacons and the westbound errand-riders first emerged – and since it was written in 1944 the appearance of Faramir represents no difficulty. Thus in his letter of 29 November 1944 cited on p. 219 my father could say that 'Book Five and Last opens with the ride of Gandalf to Minas Tirith ... *Some of this is written or sketched*': it had been 'written or sketched' in the previous month.

The reason for this error, made many years later, is easy to see: for there was indeed a long hiatus in the writing of 'Minas Tirith' (and 'The Muster of Rohan'). But it fell not in the long halt of 1943–4, between Book III and Book IV; it fell in the long halt between October 1944 and the summer of 1946 (see pp. 219–20), after Book IV was completed. That this is so is strongly supported by the time-schemes. I have argued (p. 141) that the schemes C and D preceded the chronological problems that emerged in October 1944, while scheme S represents their resolution. All three, however, deal both with Frodo

and Sam on the one hand and the events in Rohan and Gondor on the other; and it seems therefore very probable that they are all to be associated with the new narrative opening at that time. It was precisely because my father was now, in the latter part of 1944, returning 'west of Anduin' for the first time since he finished 'The Palantír' that the need for all this chronological synchronisation arose. See further the Note on Chronology at the end of this chapter.

The first full draft of 'Minas Tirith' belongs of course to the final period in the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*. This text was left behind in England; but apart from this, almost all manuscript material from the final period (Books V and VI), including outlines and initial draftings, went to Marquette University in the original consignment of papers.

(ii) The Muster of Rohan

The original draft for the opening of 'The Muster of Rohan', here called 'A', is a rapidly pencilled text in my father's most difficult script, some of which has defied repeated attempts to decipher it; I give it here as best I can. The opening paragraph was rejected as soon as written, but it was not struck through. It may be mentioned before giving the text that it had long been known that Théoden would return from Isengard through the mountains to Dunharrow: see the outlines given on pp. 70, 72 (written before Gandalf's sudden departure for Minas Tirith on Shadowfax had entered). In LR the journey of Théoden, Aragorn and their company from Dol Baran is described in 'The Passing of the Grey Company', but that had not yet been written.

Morning was come again, but dim still lay the deep dale about them. Dark and shadowy the great woods of fir climbed upon the steep sides of the ... hills. Long now it seemed to the travellers since they had ridden from Isengard, longer even than [?the] time of their weary journey.[4]

Day again was fading. Dim lay the high dale about them. Night had already come beneath the great woods of murmuring firs that clothed the steep mountain-sides. But now the travellers rode down a steep track and passing out of the scented sighing gloom of the pines they [?followed a] ..... they found themselves at the ... where it passed into a wider vale. The long vale of Harrowdale. Dark on the right loomed the vast tangled mass of Dunharrow, its great peak now lost to sight, for they were crawling at its feet. Lights twinkled before them on the other side of the valley, across the river Snowborn[5] white and fuming on its stones. They were come at last at the end of many days to the old mountain homes of folk forgotten – to the Hold

of Dunharrow. Long it seemed since they rode from Isengard. [?It was] ... days since they rode from Isengard, but it seemed ..., with little else but weary riding. So King Théoden came back to his people.

As dusk fell they came to the river and the old stone bridges that [?were there]. There they sounded a horn. Horns answered gladly from above. Now they climbed up a winding path which brought them slowly up to a wide upland field set back into the side of the great [?bones of Dunharrow. Treeclad walls half embraced it].[6] The Snowborn issued and fell down with a waterfall. The rock behind was full of caves that had been bored and cut with great labour in the rock walls. Legend said that here was a dwelling and a [?holy] place of forgotten men in the Dark Years – [?before ever] the ships came to Belfalas or Gondor was built. What had become of them? Vanished, gone away, to mingle with the people of Dunland or the folk of Lebennin by the sea. Here the Eorlingas had made a stronghold, but they were not a mountain folk, and as the days grew better while Sauron was far away they passed down the vale and built Edoras at the north of Harrowdale. But ever they kept the Hold of Dunharrow as a refuge. There still dwelt some folk reckoned as Rohir, and the same in speech, but dark with grey eyes. The blood of the forgotten men ran in their veins.

Now all [?about] the vale on [?flat] sides of the Snowborn they saw ... and ... of men, fires kindled. The [?upland plain] was filled [?too]. Trumpets rang, glad was the cry of men to welcome Théoden.

Éowyn comes forth and greets Théoden and Aragorn.

Gandalf's message tells her to hold assembly at Dunharrow.

This is not the House of Eorl. But [?that is guarded]. Here we will [?hold] the feast of victory so long delayed, and the [ale >] ... ale[7] of Háma and all who fell.

The torchlit stone hall.

Merry sat beside Théoden as was promised.[8]

Éowyn brings in the cup for the drinking.

Even as Théoden drains it the messenger comes.

Aragorn had already arrived and greets King Théoden[9] side by side with Éowyn.

Halbarad sister-son of Denethor.[10] He asks for ten thousand spears at once.

Men are [?gathering] in the East beyond the Inland Sea of Nurnen, and far north. Eventually they may assail the East

Emnet, but that would not come yet. Now Orcs have passed south through Nargil pass in the Southland beyond [?River] Harnen.[11]

I postpone discussion of this earliest conception of Harrowdale and the Hold of Dunharrow to the end of the next version. This, which I will call 'B', began as a fully articulated narrative in ink and in clear script, but swiftly collapsed. The opening passage was much corrected both at the time of writing and subsequently; I give it here as it seems to have stood when my father abandoned it.

Day was fading. The high valley grew dim about them. Night had already come beneath the murmuring firwood that clothed the steep mountain-sides. Their path turning a sharp shoulder of rock plunged down into the sighing gloom under dark trees. At last they came out again and saw that it was evening, and their journey was nearly at an end. They had come down to the edge of the mountain-stream, which all day they had followed as far below it clove its deep path between the tree-clad walls. And now through a narrow gate between the mountains it passed out, and flowed into a wider vale.

'At last!' said Éomer. 'We are come

Here my father stopped. Perhaps at once, he added in pencil 'to Harrowdale', then struck out Éomer's words and continued the text in pencil, which soon becomes difficult to read, and finally as nearly impossible as text A.

They followed it, and saw the Snowborn white and fuming upon its stones rush down upon its swift journey to Edoras at the mountains' feet. To their right, now dark and swathed in cloud, loomed the vast tumbled mass of great Dunharrow, but his/its tall peak and cap of snow they could not see, for they were crawling under the shadow of his knees. Across the dale before them lights were twinkling.

'Long now it seems since we rode from Isengard about this hour of the day,' said Théoden. 'We have journeyed by dusk and night and by day among the hills, and I have lost count of time. But was not the moon full last night?'

'Yes,' said Aragorn. '[Five >] Four days have we passed on the road, and now six remain before the day that you appointed for the assembly at Edoras.'

'Then here at Dunharrow maybe we can rest a while,' said the King.

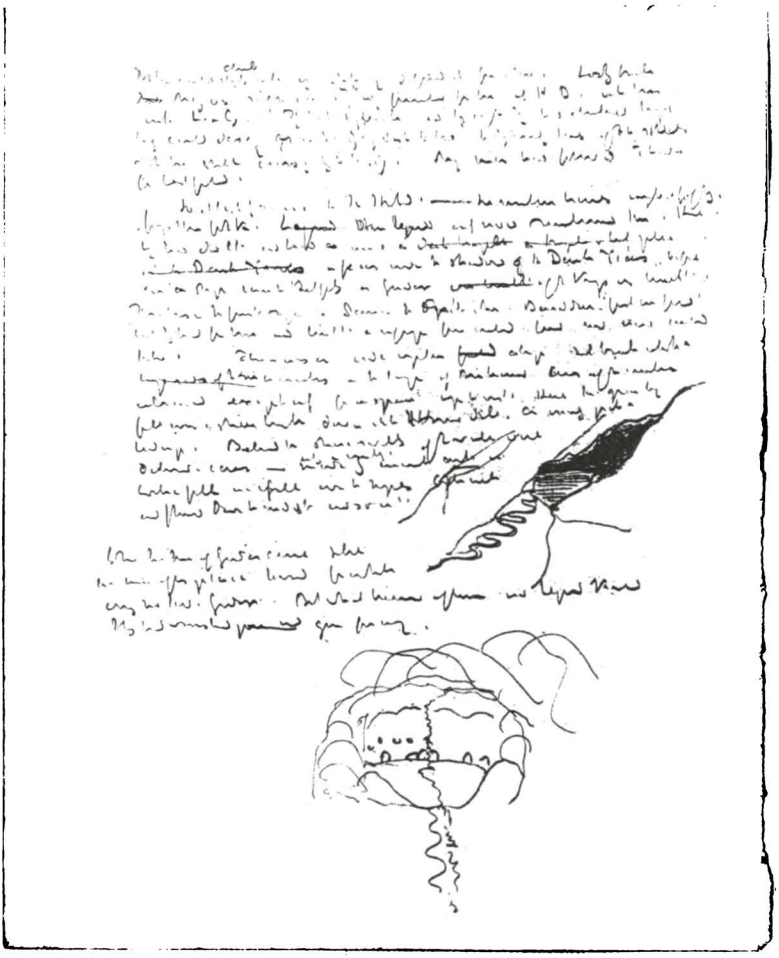
They came now [?under] dusk over a stone bridge across the

river; and when the head of [?his] long line had passed it a man sounded a loud call upon [a] horn. It echoed in the valley, and horn[s] answered it from far above. Lights sprang out and men rode forward to meet them. King Théoden was welcomed back with joy, and he rode on with Éomer and Aragorn and his company up the steep winding path that led to the Hold of Dunharrow on the mountain's knee. No foe could climb that way while any defended it from above. [Looking back] Merry was riding now on a pony furnished for him at Helm's Deep. With him [?went] Legolas and Gimli. They looked back and long after they had climbed high they could descry in the grey dusk below the long winding line of the Riders of Rohan still crossing by the bridge. Many men had followed Théoden from Westfold.

So at last they came to the Hold – the mountain homes of long forgotten folk. Dim legends only now remembered them. Here they had dwelt [and had made a dark temple a temple and holy place in the Dark Years] in fear under the shadow of the Dark Years, before ever a ship came to Belfalas or Gondor of the Kings was built. That was in the first [?reign] of Sauron the [?Great] when Baraddur first was founded, but they had ... [?him] and built a refuge ..... [?that no enemy] could take. There was a wide upland [field > ?slope] set back into the mountain – the lap of Dunharrow. Arms of the mountain embraced [it] except only for a space upon the west. Here the [?green bay] fell over a sheer brink down into Harrowdale. A winding path led up. Behind the sheer walls of the vale were ..... caves – made by ancient art. [?Water fell in a fall over the ..... and flowed ... the midst ...]

When the men of Gondor came [?there] the men of this place lived for a while [?owning] no lord of Gondor. But what became of them no legend knew. They had vanished and gone far away.

As my father wrote the end of this text he drew two little sketches of the Hold of Dunharrow, and this page is reproduced on p. 239 (see also note 6). These sketches show his earliest imagining of the Hold very clearly: a natural 'amphitheatre' with caves in the further rock-wall, and a stream (in text A stated to be the Snowbourn) falling down from the heights behind and over the central door, thence crossing the open space ('the lap of Dunharrow') and falling again over the lower cliff up which the path climbs. It is less easy to be sure of the situation of the Hold in relation to Harrowdale. When Théoden and his company enter the dale 'the vast tumbled mass of great



Dunharrow

Dunharrow' is on their right; Dunharrow is the name of the mountain (on the First Map, IV[E], VII.319, 'Dunharrow' is written against the mountain at the head of the great valley extending south-west from Edoras). They crossed the Snowbourn by a stone bridge; the path, steep and winding, then led them up to the Hold 'on the mountain's knee'; and the 'amphitheatre' was open to the west. The most natural interpretation is that the Hold was on the far (eastern) side of Harrowdale, and near the head of the valley.

The references in A to the Hold having been preserved as a refuge, and to 'the torchlit stone hall' in which the feast was held, are explained and expanded in subsequent texts.

Text B was followed, no doubt immediately, by a third version ('C'), clearly written in ink, which however again stops at the same point. Here the entry of the Riders into Harrowdale is described in very much the same way as it is in B:

They followed it [the mountain-stream] and saw it spring with a last leap into the Snowbourn River that white and fuming on its stones rushed down upon its swift journey to Edoras far below. To their right, dark and swathed in cloud, loomed the vast tumbled mass of great Dunharrow, but its peak and cap of snow they could not see, for they were crawling under the shadow of its knees. Across the valley upon the mountain-side lights were twinkling.

It was now Éomer, not Aragorn, who replied to Théoden's question 'But was it not the full moon last night?'; for Aragorn was no longer a member of the King's company.

'No, the night before,' said Éomer. 'Five days we have passed on the road: it has been slow since we took to the mountain-paths; five days remain until the day that you appointed for the muster at Edoras.'

'Then here at Dunharrow maybe we can rest a while,' said the King.

'If you would take my counsel, lord,' said Éomer, 'you would remain here until the war that threatens is over, lost or won. [*Struck out at once:* You have ridden far and taxed your strength in the war with Saruman. Victory will have little joy for me, or for your people, unless we can lay our swords at your feet.]'

'We will speak of that later,' said Théoden.

They rode on. Merry looked about him. He was tired, for he was riding himself now, on a sturdy hill-pony furnished for him

at Helm's Deep; but he had enjoyed the journey among the passes and high dales, the tall pine-woods, and the bright waterfalls. He loved mountains, and the desire to see and know them had moved him strongly when he and his friends had plotted to go with Frodo, far away in the Shire.

He rode with the King's company, and often he had jogged along beside Théoden himself, telling him of the Shire, and the doings of hobbit-folk. They had got on well together, although much of Merry's language was hard for Théoden to understand. But all the same, and in spite of the honour, he was lonely, especially at the day's end. Aragorn had ridden on far ahead with the swifter riders, taking Legolas and Gimli; and he missed Pippin deeply. The fellowship seemed now altogether scattered.

They came now in the dusk to a stone bridge across the Snowbourn ...

It would be interesting to know why (at this stage in the development of the narrative, when they would all meet again at Dunharrow) Aragorn with Legolas and Gimli and others went on ahead (see note 9), but no explanation is given.

Text C now follows B very closely, and is largely identical with it. The mention of Legolas and Gimli riding with Merry is of course removed. Of the ancient men of Dunharrow it is said that 'their name was lost', and that here they 'had their refuge and hidden fane'; 'those were the days when Sauron first was lord, and Baraddur was founded; but they had not served him, making here a refuge that no foe could take.' The 'wide upland slope' is again named 'the Lap of Dunharrow', and it is again said to open on the west; 'There there was a sheer brink that fell some hundreds of feet down to the Snowbourn. Up this the winding path climbed. Inside the amphitheatre (?) was clasped by sheer walls of rock rising at the back to a great precipice; and the walls'

Here text C stops; there is thus no mention here of the falling stream referred to in A (where it is actually the Snowbourn) and B and shown on one of the accompanying sketches, nor of the relations of the men of Dunharrow with the men of Gondor.

A fourth text ('D') followed, in which the actual words of the opening of 'The Muster of Rohan' in RK were quite closely approached for the most part, but this extends no further than a single page, ending with Merry's 'listening to the noise of water, the murmur of dark trees, the crack of stone, and the vast waiting silence that brooded behind all sound.' The most notable feature of this brief text is the following passage:

To their right, dark and swathed in cloud, loomed the vast tumbled mass of [*struck out immediately:* great Du] mighty Starkhorn, [*struck out:* the grim mountain,] but its gnarled and jagged peak they could not see, for they were crawling under the shadow of its knees. Across the valley upon the lap of the great mountain lights were twinkling.

At this point, it is clear, the great mountain 'Dunharrow' became the Starkhorn, and though the text does not extend far enough to make the matter certain the last sentence of this extract suggests strongly (especially from the use of the word 'lap') that the Hold of Dunharrow, in which lights were twinkling, was situated on the lower slopes of the Starkhorn.

The next stage seems to have been two pages of notes in very rapid pencil ('E'), some but not all of which my father overwrote clearly in ink, and against some names and words putting queries.

When the Eorlingas came first to Dun Harrow they had found only one old man living in a cave, speaking in a strange tongue. None could understand him. Often he spoke and seemed to desire to tell them something, but he died before any could read his words. Where were all the rest of his folk?

Aragorn and Éowyn meet the King. They say that Riders are mustering at Dun Harrow – Gandalf's command: he had passed by Edoras some days ago. Many have already come in – and many strange folk. I do not .... understand how, but a summons went forth long ago. Rangers have come and Dunlanders and messengers from the Woodmen of Mirkwood.

They say that but for the shadow of the new war they would make a feast of victory. Even so they will feast and rejoice because of the King's return.

Torchlit stone hall.

Merry sat beside Théoden as promised.

The following was overwritten in ink, apparently only to clarify the pencilled text (parts of which can be made out), not to alter or expand it. Several of the names have queries against them in the ink overwriting, and some of the pencilled words my father could not interpret.

Éowyn bears wine to him, bidding him drink and be glad.

Even as Théoden drinks the cup, the messenger of Minas Tirith arrives. ? Barahir ? Halbarad.

He asks for ten thousand spears at once! The Swertings have come. The forces of Sauron have crossed the Nargul ? Pass and raised the men of Harad and of ? Umbor. A fleet has put out from the Havens of Umbor – once Gondor's, but long lost – and sailed up the Anduin and reached Anárion, at the same time more enemies have crossed the river and taken the fords of Osgiliath again – won back hardly in the winter. [*In margin, ink over pencil:*] Swertings are only just moving, and a few preliminary ravages of Lebennin. Spies report a great fleet ? [*concluding pencilled words were illegible*]

Théoden replies that that is more than he could have mustered in a ? [*pencilled word was illegible*] at his height, and before the war with Saruman.

Éowyn says that women must ride now, as they did in a like evil time in the days of Brego son of [*mark showing name omitted*] Eorl's son, when the wild men of the East came from the Inland Sea into the Eastemnet.

[*Pencilled text struck through and not overwritten:*] Théoden decides to pass over the [*struck out:* Rath] Scada pass to the vale of Blackroot into Lebennin and fall on enemy in rear.

[*Ink over pencil:*] Aragorn [*in margin:* Éomer?] begs leave to take a force over the Scāda Pass and fall on the enemy's rear. 'I will go with you in my brother's stead' said Éowyn [*added:* to King Théoden].

[*Ink text original:*] As had been promised him at Isengard, Merry sat beside [*written above:* near] the King himself. On either side of the King were Éowyn and Éomer, and Aragorn beside Éowyn. Merry sat with Legolas and Gimli not far from the fire and spoke together – while all about rolled the speech of Rohan.

[*Ink over pencil:*] They had been bidden to the King's table but said that the lords would wish to talk high matters, and they wished to talk together. ? Legolas ? [*in margin:* No, King surely?] tells history of Dunharrow: how the men of Dunharrow lived in the valley; how Dunharrow was furnished; how the Kings of the Mark had once dwelt here – and still returned once a year in autumn. But Théoden had not kept this custom for several years. The Feast-hall had been long silent [*pencilled text:* But Théoden had not done so for many years].

Éowyn brings wine.

[*Ink text original:*] Remembering his promise at Isengard, Théoden summoned Merry and set him at his left hand at the

high table upon the stone dais. On the King's right sat Éowyn[12] and Éomer, and at the table's end Aragorn. Legolas and Gimli sat beside Merry. The three companions spoke much together in soft voices, while all about them the speech of Rohan rolled loud and clear.

These notes – very much a record of 'thinking with the pen' – have several curious features. The conception of the Hold of Dunharrow as a great redoubt of the Kings of the Mark, with a hall of feasting in its caverns (whence came the lights twinkling on the mountain-side), reappears from text A, and the last survivor of the ancient people of Harrowdale emerges.

Aragorn (with Gimli and Legolas) has ridden on ahead to Dunharrow, as in text C (p. 241); and in these notes is the first mention of the coming south of a body of Rangers. Éowyn's reference to the assault on Rohan long before, when in the days of Brego 'the wild men of the East came from the Inland Sea into the Eastemnet', is a sign that the history of Rohan had been evolving unseen. In LR (Appendix A (II), 'The Kings of the Mark') Eorl the Young fell in battle with the Easterlings in the Wold of Rohan, and his son Brego, builder of the Golden Hall, drove them out. In the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn' (VII.435) and in drafting for 'The King of the Golden Hall' (VII.445) Brego, builder of the hall, was the son of Brytta. In the present notes Brego is the grandson of Eorl, and a blank is left for the name of his father.

Among other names that appear here, I cannot certainly explain the queries that my father set against the first occurrence of *Umbor* and against *Nargul (Pass)*.[13] For *Anárion* as the name of a region of Gondor see VII.309–10, 318–19; *Anárion* on both the First Map and my 1943 map is given not only to *Anórien* (north of Minas Tirith) but also to the region south of Minas Tirith. For the former, *Anórien* appears already in the draft A of the opening of 'Minas Tirith', p. 231. The *Scāda Pass* leading over the mountains into the Blackroot Vale is not named on any map.[14] It is here that the possibility first appears that Aragorn (or Éomer) will lead some part of the forces mustering at Dunharrow across the mountains, rather than ride to Minas Tirith along their northern skirts, in view of the news brought by the messenger from Gondor (see further pp. 252–3). The name proposed here for the messenger, *Halbarad* (beside *Barahir*), has appeared already in the original draft A of 'The Muster of Rohan': see p. 236 and note 10.

A new version of the narrative ('F') was now begun, clearly written at the outset but soon collapsing into a scrawl; in this the story extends rather further. In the opening passage of this text lights still twinkle across the valley 'on the lap of the great mountain'; Éomer still

informs Théoden that the moon was full two nights before, that they have passed five days on the journey, and that five remain to the muster at Edoras; and the Riders still cross the Snowbourn by a stone bridge (not as in RK by a ford), here described as 'a bare arch, wide and low, without kerb or parapet'. The horns blown from far above answering the blast blown as the King's company passed over the bridge now become 'a great chorus of trumpets from high above' that 'sounded in some hollow place that gathered them into one great voice and sent it forth rolling and beating on the walls of stone.' When this was written, as will be seen shortly, the 'hollow place' was the interior of the Hold of Dunharrow – in the sense that my father originally intended by that name: the rock-ringed recess or 'amphitheatre' and the great caverns in the cliff; but the description survived into RK (with the addition of the words 'as it seemed' after 'some hollow place'), when the Hold of Dunharrow was used to refer to the Firienfeld, the wide upland reached by the twisting road, where the upper camps were set. There is no mention (at this point) of Gandalf's passage through Edoras, nor of the great encampment of Riders in Harrowdale (cf. RK pp. 66–7, and see note 16); after the words 'So the King of the Mark came out of the west to Dunharrow in the hills' the text continues at once with 'Leading up from the valley there was a road made by hands in years beyond the reach of song.'

The description of the climbing road here reached virtually its form in RK, and now appear the Púkel-men described word for word as in RK apparently without any previous sketching. But they were called by the Riders of Rohan *Hoker-men* (Old English *hocor* 'mockery, derision, scorn') – changed subsequently to *Pookel-men*.[15]

I give the remainder of this text in full.

After a time he [Merry] looked back and found that he had mounted some hundreds of feet above the valley, but still far below he could dimly see a winding line of riders crossing the bridge. Many men had followed Théoden from Westfold to the muster of Rohan.[16]

At last they came to a sharp brink and the road passed between walls of rock and led them out onto a wide upland: the Lap of Starkhorn men called it, [rising gently beyond the sheer wall of the valley towards a great northern buttress of the mountain >] a green mountain-field of grass and heath above the sheer wall of the valley that stretched back to the feet of a high northern buttress of the mountain. When it reached this at one place it entered in, forming a great recess, clasped by walls of rock that rose at the back to a lofty precipice. More than a half-circle this was in shape, [and its entrance looked west, a gap some fifty yards wide between sharp pinnacles of stone >]

its entrance a narrow gap between sharp pinnacles of rock that opened to the west. Two long lines of unshaped stones marched from the brink of the cliff [up to the slope to the Hold-gate >] towards it, and [in the middle of the Hold one tall pointed stone stood alone >] in the middle of its rock-ringed floor under the shadow of the mountain one tall menhir stood alone. [Beyond it in the eastern wall >] At the back under the eastern precipice a huge door opened, carved with signs and figures worn by time that none could read. Many other lesser doors there were at either side, and peeping holes far up in the surrounding walls.

This was the Hold of Dunharrow: the work of long-forgotten men.[17] No song or legend remembered them, and their name was lost. For what purpose they had made this place, a town, or secret temple, or a tomb of hidden kings, no one could say. Here they had dwelt under the shadow of the Dark Years, before ever ship came to the mouths of Anduin or Gondor of the Kings was built; and now they had vanished, and only the old Hocker-men [*later* > Pookel-men] were left, still sitting at the turnings of the road.

As the King climbed out upon [the Lap of Starkhorn >] the mountain's lap, and Snowmane paced forward up the long avenue of stones, riders came down to meet him, and again the trumpets sang. [*Struck out:* Now Merry saw that they were blown inside Dunharrow, and understood the great echo that they made.][18]

He looked about and marvelled, for there were many lights on either side of the road. Tents and booths clustered thick on the slopes and the smokes of little fires curled up in the dim air. Then again the trumpets rang, echoing in the hollow of the Hold, and riders came forth to meet him [Théoden] as Snowmane paced forward up the long avenue of stones.

As they drew near Merry saw to his delight that Aragorn rode at their head, and beside him was a woman with long braided hair, yet she was clad as a warrior of the Mark, and girt with a sword.

Very glad was the meeting of the lady Éowyn with Théoden the King and with Éomer her brother; but Merry did not wait for leave, while they spoke together he rode forward.

'Trotter, Trotter,' he cried. 'I am glad to see you again. Is Pippin here? or Legolas and Gimli?'

'Not Pippin,' said Aragorn. 'Gandalf has not been here [*later* > to Dunharrow], but Legolas and Gimli are here. You may

find them in Dunharrow [*later* > the Hold] if you like to go and look, but don't wander in through the doors if they are not in the open. Without a guide you will get lost in that place, and we might spend days looking for you.' Merry rode on up the line of stones and Aragorn turned back to the King.

'Is there any news, Aragorn?' said Théoden. 'Only this,' said Aragorn. 'The men of Rohan are mustering here as you see. The Hold is full and the fields round about will soon be covered over. This is Gandalf's doing. It seems that he passed by Edoras going East many days ago and gave word that no great gathering of men should be held on the edge of the plain, but that all should come to meet you here. Many have already come, and with them many strange folk not of Rohan. For in some manner the rumour of war has long been abroad and men from far away say that they have had summons / a word that all who hate Mordor should come to Edoras, or to Minas Tirith. There are Dunlanders here, and some even of the Woodmen from the borders of Mirkwood, and wandering folk of the empty lands; and even some of the Rangers of the North, last remnant of Elendil's race: my own folk: they have come seeking me.'

'And you, Éowyn, how has it fared with you?'

'Well, Théoden King,' she answered. 'It was a long weary road for the people to take from their homes, and there were many hard words but no evil deeds. Then hardly had we come to Dunharrow and ordered ourselves when tidings came of your victory, and the fall of Isengard. There was great rejoicing, though I thought the tale had grown as it travelled along the road, until Aragorn came back as he promised.[19] But all have missed you, lord, especially in the hour of victory. It is overshadowed now by new fear, yet not dimmed altogether. Tonight all are preparing the feast. For you do not come unexpected. Aragorn named the very hour at which we might look for you. And behold you come.' She clasped his hand. 'Now I will admit, Théoden, brother of my mother, that it is beyond any hope I had when you rode away. This is a glad hour. Hail, Lord of the Mark, may I never again be taken from your side while you live still and rule the Eorlingas. Father you are to me since Éothain my father fell at Osgiliath far away.[20] Come now – all is prepared for you. And though Dunharrow is a dark place, full of sad shadow, tonight it shall be filled with lights.'

So they passed on, through the pinnacles of the gate, and

beside the Middle-stone, and dismounting before the dark portal they went in. Night gathered outside.

Far within Dunharrow there was a great cavern enlarged by many hands [*added later:* at different ages] until it ran back deep into the mountain, a great hall with pillars of living stone. At the far end it rose by [?steep short steps] to a platform of rock that rose far up above the light of torch. There was no hearth and no louvre for the smoke that could be seen; but fires of pinewood were lit all down the centre between the pillars, and the air was full of the scent of burning pinewood, but the smoke rose and escaped through fissures or channels that could not be seen. Torches blazed on wall and pillar. Three thousand men could stand there when the hall was cleared; but at the feast when all the benches and tables were arranged five hundred sat that night at the King's feast.

Here this text ends, and was followed, no doubt at once, by a second version ('G') of the latter part of F, beginning at the description of the Hold of Dunharrow (p. 245) and ending at the same point ('some five hundred sat that night at the King's feast').

While the description of the Hold was repeated virtually unchanged from F (as emended) – the 'Hoker-men' or 'Hocker-men' become 'Pookel-men' – the story that follows was rearranged and expanded. Merry does not now have any speech with Aragorn when he appears with Éowyn, and it is Éowyn that Théoden first addresses; in her reply she says:

There were hard words, for it is long since war has driven us from the quiet life of the green hills and the fields; but there have been no evil deeds. We had scarcely come to Dunharrow and all was still in turmoil, when tidings came of your victory at Helm's Deep. There was great rejoicing, and many at once went back to the lowlands, caring nothing for rumours of greater perils to come. I hindered as many as I could, for I thought that the tale had grown as it travelled – until Aragorn returned, yesterday morning, even as he said. Then we learned of the fall of Isengard and many other strange happenings. And we missed you, lord, desiring to make merry. ...

The remainder of her words are as in F, but she does not now mention her father. When she has finished speaking the text continues:

Now they rode on. Aragorn was beside the King, and Éowyn rode beside her brother exchanging many glad words. Merry

jogged along behind, feeling forlorn: Aragorn had smiled at him, but he had no chance to get a word with him, or find out what had become of Legolas or Gimli, or Pippin.

'Have you gathered any tidings by the way, Aragorn?' asked the King. 'Which way did you ride?'

'Along the skirts of the hills,' said Aragorn. 'Being few we did not take to the mountain-paths, but came to Edoras and then up the Harrowdale. No enemy has been to Edoras or harmed your house. A few men have been left to hold the walls, and send word if any evil thing is seen in the plains. But the men of Rohan are mustering here, as you see. The Hold is full, and the uplands round about are covered with the camps of men. This is Gandalf's doing. We found that he had passed by Edoras before us, riding East, and had given orders in your name that no great gathering should be held on the edge of the plains, but that all men should come to meet you here. Most were willing enough. The dark shadow that we saw flying to Isengard was seen there also; and it, or another like it, has been seen twice again, darkening the stars. They say that men cower with fear as it passes, men who have never feared any enemy before.

'Not all your folk that can come have assembled yet, for the Last Quarter of the Moon was the day set; but most have already arrived. And with them have come also strange folk that are not of Rohan. For in some manner, the rumour of war seems to have gone far abroad long days ago, and men in distant countries have heard the word go forth that all who hate Mordor should come to Edoras or Minas Tirith. There are tall warriors of Dunland, some that fought against you, and some that never listened to Saruman, hating the Orcs far more than the Rohir! There are even Woodmen from the borders of Mirkwood, and wanderers of the empty lands. Last and fewest, but to me not least, there have come seven Rangers out of the North, my own folk, remnant of Elendil's race: they have sought me here.'

'How many spears and horses can we muster, if sudden need should come?' asked Théoden.

'Somewhat short of ten thousand,' answered Aragorn: 'but in that count I reckon only men well-horsed, fully armed, and with gear and provision to ride to battle far away, if needs be. As many again there are of men on foot or with ponies, with sword and shield, or bowmen and light-armed men of the dales: a good force to defend strong places, if war should come to the

land of Rohan itself. If your Riders leave the land, then, lord, I should gather all your home-keeping men in one or at most two strong places.'

'It is my purpose to hold the Hornburg and Dunharrow,' said Théoden. 'I have left Erkenbrand and three hundred good men in Helm's Deep, together with many stout country folk, and yeomen of Westfold; and men skilled in the mountains are to keep watch on the tracks and passes that lead from there to here. The guard at Edoras I shall strengthen, commanding them to hold it as long as they may, and defend the mouth of Harrowdale. But here, where now the most part of my people who are willing to leave their homesteads and seek refuge is now gathered, I will leave the main host of my men that do not ride away. Not while any crumb of food remains will any foe overtake us here.'

'Not without wings,' said Aragorn.

So at length they passed the pinnacles of the gate, and the tall Middle Stone, and dismounted before the dark portals of Dunharrow. The king entered, and they followed him. Night drew down outside.

The description of the great hall in Dunharrow was scarcely changed from that in the text F (p. 248). The platform of stone at the far end was 'reached by seven shallow steps'; and 'two thousand men, maybe, could have stood in that place' when no tables and benches were set out.

It is interesting to observe that the picture in crayon of 'Dunharrow' in *Pictures by J.R.R. Tolkien* (1979), no. 29, reproduced as second frontispiece, represents this original conception: the dark cleft to which the double line of standing stones leads is (as I think) the 'gate of the Hold', the 'Hold' itself, the 'recess' or 'amphitheatre' with doors and windows in the cliff at the rear, being in this picture invisible.

Lastly, there is a typescript ('H') typed in the same 'midget type' as was used for the text 'C' of 'Minas Tirith' (see p. 233); this is only a little longer than the other, and the two texts are so closely similar in every respect that I think it certain that they come from the same time – i.e., this typescript of the present chapter belongs with all this original material for the opening of 'The Muster of Rohan', composed before my father again abandoned work on *The Lord of the Rings* towards the end of 1944.

It is therefore remarkable that in this typescript (which in other respects closely followed the previous version F, pp. 244–6) my father had already abandoned an essential element in the conception

he had devised. No lights now twinkled on the far side of the valley as the King and his company came into Harrowdale; and after the description of the Pukelmen (so spelt) at the turns of the climbing road the text reads thus:

> At last the king's company came to a sharp brink, and the road passed between walls of rock and led out onto a wide upland. The Firienfeld men called it, a green mountain-field of grass and heath high above the sheer wall of the valley. Beyond it was a dark wood that climbed steeply on the sides of a great round hill; its bare black head rose above the trees far above and on it stood a single pinnacle of ruined stone. Two long lines of unshaped stones marched from the brink of the cliff towards it and vanished in the gloom of the trees. Those who followed that road came in the sighing darkness of the Firienholt to a huge doorway in the side of the black hill of Firien;[21] signs and figures were above it, worn by time, that none could read. Within were vast caverns, so men said, though in living memory none had ever dared to enter. Such was the dark Dunharrow, the work of long-forgotten men.

Then follows the passage cited from text F on p. 246 ('No song or legend remembered them ...'), which was little further changed in RK (p. 68); and the typescript breaks off at the words 'As the king climbed out upon the upland field'.

What was the thought that lay behind this change, whereby 'dark Dunharrow' was now set within 'the black hill of Firien', a pinnacle of stone on its bare head, and became, so far from a place of feasting for the lords of Rohan, a place of fear that no man dared to enter? Perhaps my father felt that there was too much likeness between Dunharrow as first conceived and Helm's Deep: 'There are caves in Helm's Deep where hundreds may lie hid' (TT p. 134), 'Behind us in the caves of the Deep are three parts of the folk of Westfold ... great store of food, and many beasts and their fodder, have also been gathered there' (TT p. 136). Perhaps also the idea that Aragorn would pass over the mountains by the Scāda Pass, as proposed in the notes E (p. 243), had already led to a new idea, that his road would lead *through* Dunharrow (cf. the outline V in the next section, p. 262). However this may be, I believe that it was here that my father laid aside *The Lord of the Rings*, at least in the actual written evolution of the narrative, until a further year and a half had passed.

There remains a further difference to notice in this last text from the preceding versions. To Théoden's question 'Was it not the full moon last night?' Éomer now replies: 'Nay, lord, the full moon will rise

tonight four hours after dark. Tomorrow ere evening you shall come to Edoras and keep tryst with your Riders.'

(iii) Sketches for Book Five

I give here first (the most convenient place for it) a brief text of especial interest that stands quite apart from the outlines that follow, those being of much larger narrative purview and concerned to work out a coherent chronology for the extremely complex story to come. This text is found on a single page torn into halves and preserved separately among the manuscripts of 'The Siege of Gondor' at Marquette University – the reason for this being that my father later used the reverse of one half of the torn sheet to draft a revision of the opening of that chapter; but the original text belongs with the initial work on Book V studied here, and represents in fact a very early stage in that work. It is written in rapid pencil and is in places very difficult to make out, but the first part of it (as far as 'Muster in Minas Tirith') was overwritten clearly in ink, and so far as I can see my father scarcely altered the underlying text, his sole purpose being clarification. The whole page was struck through. At the head is written in pencil '250 miles', which probably refers to the distance from Edoras to Minas Tirith.

Evil counsels for evil days.

Éomer rides away and the king laments – for the snow is still deep and the wind over the Scāda has been the death of many a man.

Now it is to be told that King Théoden rested a day in Dunharrow and rode then to Eodoras and passed thence with five ? thousand riders, fully armed and horsed, and took the road to Minas Tirith. Others were to follow.

In ? five days they came within sight of Minas Tirith (Feb. 15 ?).

Merry's first sight of Minas Tirith from afar.

The plain below the hill covered with camps.

It would be better geographically if the main attack were made to come from the direction of Kirith Ungol – and the Swertings only a diversion, which nearly turns the scale.

Muster in Minas Tirith. [*Here the overwriting in ink ends.*]

People come from Belfalas and Dol Amroth and from the Five Streams of Lebennin in [?Anárion].[22] [?There came] Inram the tall from the vale of .....[23] and Nosdiligand[24] and the people of the Delta and Benrodir prince of [?Anárion], and the remnants of the folk of [?Ithilien] across the [??vale], and .....

from Rhovanion ..... men of the East,[25] and Rangers from the empty North, and even some of the folk of Dunland. [*Written against this passage in the margin*: King of Rohan Men of Rohan come *after* the assembly. Only Aragorn rode .. to it.]

And the counsel of Denethor was to retake the Fords [*of Osgiliath*] and drive back the Orcs. So they sounded their trumpets and flew the red banner from the tower and rode to meet the enemy. And the enemy could not withstand the swords of Gondor, and before the sword of Elendil they fled like ... But Gandalf stood on the hill and [?watched afar]. Then comes the fleet of the Swertings [> Harns] up from the Delta and the Swertings come up through Ithilien.

They watch for the men of Rohan who [?are late]. Men of Rohan camp nearby and charge in the morning. Then the Nazgûl come

Here the text stops abruptly. In its opening ('Éomer rides away ...') it is closely associated with a passage in the notes E in the preceding section, where is found the only other reference to the Scāda Pass, leading over the mountains to the Blackroot Vale on their southern side (see pp. 243–4): 'Aragorn [*in margin:* Éomer?] begs leave to take a force over the Scāda Pass and fall on the enemy's rear.' Thus the present text, where it is Éomer who takes this road, preceded – in this opening passage – the definitive emergence of the story that it was Aragorn who 'went with his rangers over the mountains' (see outline III on p. 260) or 'passed into the mountains with his Rangers' (see outline V on p. 262). On the other hand, in this earliest form of the 'catalogue'[26] of the peoples of Southern Gondor mustering in Minas Tirith mention is also made of men of Rhovanion, and Dunlanders, and 'Rangers from the empty North' coming into the city; whereas in the notes E (p. 242) it is to Dunharrow, not to Minas Tirith, that 'Rangers have come and Dunlanders and messengers from the Woodmen of Mirkwood' (and similarly in Aragorn's account to Théoden at Dunharrow in the text F, p. 247: 'There are Dunlanders here, and some even of the Woodmen from the borders of Mirkwood ...').

The present text seems then evidence of a fleeting stage in which certain important narrative ideas had emerged, but when their potential significance for the whole structure of Book V had not yet been realised. From the host mustering at Dunharrow, intending to ride to Minas Tirith by the Anórien road, a detachment is separated and passes over the mountains in order to come down swiftly into Southern Gondor (and this is above all on account of news of the great fleet approaching from the South, whose coming had long been foreseen, and which seems to have been originally the chief menace in the assault on Minas Tirith: see VII.435, 437). And Rangers

come out of the North. These elements were of course essential to the story of 'the Grey Company' and all that flowed from it. But those who leave the main host of the Rohirrim are here led by Éomer, not Aragorn; and the Rangers come not to Dunharrow, but to Minas Tirith.

But if this is so, the stage was certainly fleeting. Apparently, even as he wrote this brief text my father began to move in a new direction. The Orcs before the city 'fled before the sword of Elendil' – and that can only mean that it was Aragorn who came over the mountains and so reached Minas Tirith before the main host out of Rohan. The marginal note ('Men of Rohan come *after* the assembly. Only Aragorn rode ... to it', where the illegible word might be 'in' but does not look like it) was obviously written concurrently with the passage that it adjoins, since in the sketch of the war that then follows the Men of Rohan are obviously *not* present at the 'assembly' at Minas Tirith.

In the conclusion of the text there seems to be no suggestion that the city was laid under siege. Of course it is very easy to misinterpret these allusive and elliptical outlines, in which my father would pick out salient 'moments' and pass over others equally essential to the narrative in silence; but although 'the siege of Minas Tirith by the Haradwaith' is mentioned in 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn' (VII.437) I think that no siege is mentioned here because none existed, or at any rate not in a form significant for the narrative. The force of his remark 'It would be better geographically if the main attack were made to come from the direction of Kirith Ungol – and the Swertings only a diversion, which nearly turns the scale' must surely be that he had supposed hitherto that in the strategy of the Enemy the attack from the South was to be the major blow against the city. In the sketch of events given here the attack out of Mordor is repulsed with rapid victory by the forces riding out of Minas Tirith (which included Aragorn); but Gandalf 'stood on the hill' (of the city) and (if I read the words aright) 'watched afar': '*then* comes the fleet of the Harns up from the Delta and the Swertings come up through Ithilien' – and 'nearly turn the scale'. And so here, where (so far as record goes) the charge of the Rohirrim in the morning first appeared, it is against the attack from the South that the horsemen ride. If the city had been in anything like a state of siege, it was surely besieged no longer when they came.

Of the names that appear in this text, *Eodoras* can be no more than a casual reversion to the earlier form. On *Anárion* (?) see note 22. The reference to 'the Five Streams of Lebennin' is remarkable, since in the first full text of the chapter 'Minas Tirith', deriving from the period of renewed work on Book V in 1946, Lebennin is still 'the Land of Seven Rivers' (see p. 278). So far as I know, neither *Harns* (presumably = Haradwaith, Haradrim), nor the names of the rulers in Southern Gondor, Inram the tall of the Morthond Vale (? – see note 23),

Benrodir prince of Anárion (?), Nosdiligand of the people of the Delta, ever appear again.

There are half a dozen outlines sketching out the content of 'Book Five and Last' – at this stage my father was determined that *The Lord of the Rings* should extend to one further 'part' only: as he wrote to Stanley Unwin in March 1945 (*Letters* no. 98): 'It is divided into Five Parts, of 10–12 chapters each (!). Four are completed and the last begun.' It is not easy to determine the order in which these outlines were written down, and though the sequence in which I give them seems to me probable other arrangements are possible. There is however fairly clear evidence that all belong with the abandoned openings of 'Minas Tirith' and 'The Muster of Rohan' in October 1944.

The outline that I give first, numbering it 'I', obviously belongs to the earlier time, in view of the date of Gandalf's arrival at Minas Tirith: 'Feb 5 or 6' (see the Note on Chronology at the end of this chapter); and the date February 8 of Théoden's arrival at Dunharrow appears to agree with the third version C and the fifth version F of the opening of 'The Muster of Rohan' (*ibid.*). A part of this text, all of it originally written in pencil, was overwritten in ink, but the part that was not is here and there altogether illegible.

(I) Book V

Gandalf comes with Pippin to Minas Tirith. Feb 5 or 6 [*later* > 6].

Faramir. The allies come in. Urgent messages are sent to Théoden.

(Messages[27] must bid Rohirrim assemble at Edoras as soon as may be after the Full Moon of Feb. 6. Théoden reaches Dunharrow Feb. 8. Edoras Feb. 10 ...)[28]

Denethor only willing to hold his walls. Knowing war drawing near he has long sent out summons to allies. They are coming in. But the messengers to Théoden, his chief ally, have not returned yet. Gandalf tells of Théoden's war. Gandalf and Pippin on battlements. See shadow as Nazgûl sweep over river. Faramir comes on night of Feb. [7 >]8. At same time [> Next day] comes news of war at Osgiliath. Orcs led by Nazgûl have crossed river. Fleet from Umbar is approaching mouths of Anduin.

Faramir supports Gandalf's policy of attack by sortie *on the plain*. The first battle. The mountaineers drive the orcs back and burn ships. But orcs [?win through]. Nazgûl. Minas Tirith forces driven back. Still Gandalf .... [?on] the battlements.

Théoden leaves Edoras Feb. 11 with Éomer and Éowyn. Ents drive off the attack in north of Rohan. They drive back orcs out of west [?Anórien] and [*struck out:* Feb. 15 Last Quarter.] Reach battle Feb. 15.[29] Siege relieved by the Rohirrim and the allies of Lebennin. Gandalf comes forth and the enemy driven off. Théoden

slain and Éowyn slays the King of the Nazgûl and is mortally wounded. They lie in state in the white tower.[30] Gandalf ..... [?Aragorn]. Cross the River at Osgiliath. Elves and Ents drive Orcs back. They reach Minas Morgul and press on to Dagorlad. Parley with Sauron.

Another outline, 'II', gives a brief, and increasingly brief, pencilled synopsis of each of the ten chapters that were to constitute Book V and complete *The Lord of the Rings*.

(II) Bk. V

1. Gandalf goes to Minas Tirith. Mustering of forces. War breaks out. Gondor driven back. No sign of Riders.
2. Théoden comes to Dunharrow. Beacons. Messengers arrive from Minas Tirith. Also from far afield reporting orcs across the river in Wold.

Théoden rides on the evening of Feb. 8.[31] Éowyn goes with him. Gamling is left in command in Westfold. The old seneschal of Edoras in Eastfold (Dunharrow).

Aragorn and Éomer ride to beat off orcs. They come back and rejoin main body reporting that Ents and Lórien Elves have driven back the north thrust. They ride to Minas Tirith.

3. Charge of the Riders of Rohan breaks siege. Death of Théoden and Éowyn in killing the Nazgûl King. Gondor destroys ships of Harad and crosses into Ithilien.
4. Sack of Minas Morgul. Victorious Gandalf [?pursues] on to Dagorlad. Elves of Lórien and Ents come from North. Parley with Mor..[32] Sauron's messenger.
5. Frodo from high tower sees the coming of the hosts of the West and the great assembly of secret army of Sauron.[33]

Rescue of Frodo by Sam.

[?This army] goes out, as he and Sam pass into Gorgor all is still and empty and the noise of the war is far away.

Gandalf is ambushed in Kirith Ungol and comes to edge of defeat.

6. Destruction of the Ring. Fall of Baraddur. Allies enter Mordor. Rescue of Frodo by Eagle.
7. Return to Gondor. Crowning of Aragorn. Funeral of Théoden and Éowyn.

The Hobbits depart north. [*Struck out:* Pass Lórien and]
Fall of Sauron.
Galadriel's land ruined.[34]

8. Rivendell.
9. Shire.
10. Epilogue. Sam's book.

There is no clear indication in this synopsis or in synopsis I that

Aragorn entered Gondor by a different route (indeed in II, § 2 the reverse seems to be implied).

This page carries also two notes deriving from the same time as the synopsis by chapters. One of these reads:

> Gandalf keeps back, not to reveal himself. As the siege grows and the armies of Gondor are pressed back he looks in the Palantír. He catches sight of Frodo in tower and then Sauron cuts in. Gandalf gives a great shout and hurls the Stone from the battlements. It slays ? a captain. Gandalf is now revealed. He rides forth. Nazgûl come. [?Host] comes out of Dagorlad.

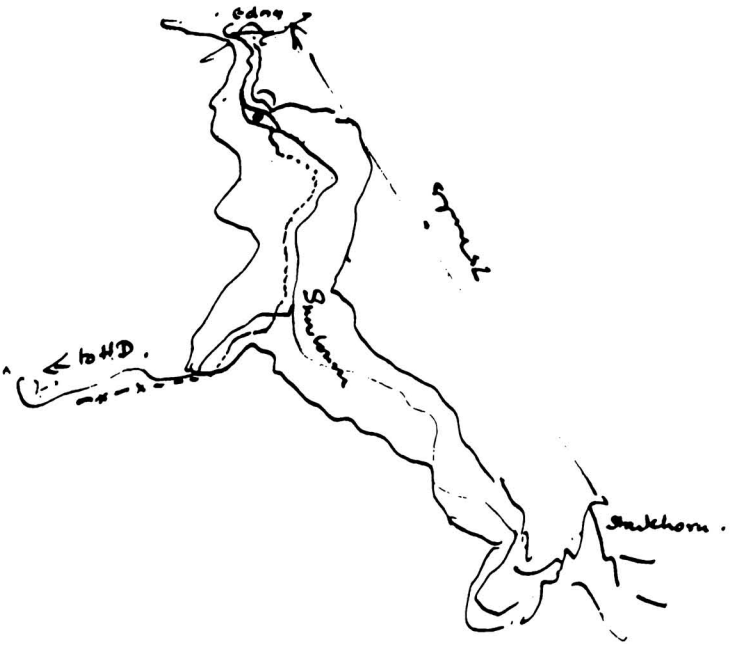
Above the third sentence is written: 'Sauron holding the coat'. – With this note cf. the words 'Episode of the Palantír and Gandalf' in outline A for 'Minas Tirith', p. 231. This is the original germ of the story of Denethor and the Palantír of the White Tower, and also perhaps of that of the revelation of Aragorn to Sauron in the Hornburg.

The second of these notes is as follows:

> The Firien (Firgen) [*added:* or the Halifirien] is a hill surrounded by a dark pinewood (the Firienholt). In it is a great cave, the Dunharrow. No one has ever been in the cave. It is said to be a *haliern*,[35] and to contain some ancient relic of old days before the Dark. ?
>
> It is 22 miles up Harrowdale from Edoras.

This statement clearly agrees with the idea of Dunharrow that entered in the typescript H (p. 251), where the hill, clothed in a dark wood but with bare head, is named *Firien* and the wood *Firienholt*; and where it is told that 'in living memory none had ever dared to enter' Dunharrow. Perhaps this synopsis II and accompanying notes immediately preceded H.[36] The addition 'or the Halifirien' is not obviously later than the rest of this note on Dunharrow; it was presumably rejected at once, for in the companion typescript C of 'Minas Tirith' the names of all the beacons are in the final form, ending with 'the Halifirien on the borders of Rohan' (p. 233).

On the same piece of paper as synopsis II is a small sketch-map very hastily drawn in ink; this is reproduced on p. 258. At the top is Edoras at the entrance to the long valley of Harrowdale, through which flows the Snowbourn, rising in the Starkhorn at the head of the valley. The distance from the Starkhorn to Edoras is marked as 75 miles; on the First Map (IVE, VII.319), where the valley runs south-west, the distance between Edoras and the mountain against which is written 'Dunharrow' is also 75 miles.[37] About half-way up the valley the path taken by Théoden and the Riders, following the course of the mountain-stream, is seen descending into Harrowdale from the west; this path crosses the stream before it joins the Snowbourn (whereas in all early versions of the opening of 'The Muster of Rohan', including



Gandalf keeps back and to reveal himself.
~~Accounts~~ At the ford Gandalf and the counsel of Gandalf
are pressed back by the hosts of Balcombir. The
Sauron knights & captains.
Celebs knight of Erebor & Thorin and the Sauron cash-
in Gandalf gives a great shout and hurls his
staff to the battle and he flings ? a eagle
Gandalf is more revealed. The great battle. Royal
came. Death and end of Dagnir.

Harrowdale

the typescript H, the stone bridge is over the Snowbourn itself), and turns north towards Edoras, ending at a place marked by a small circle but without a name. The circle is enclosed within two lines forming an oval shape. It can be seen in the original that the lower line is the course of the Snowbourn as first drawn, and that the upper line was put in with a subsequent stroke. However these markings, and the detached crescent line above them, are to be interpreted, there can be no doubt that this is the site of Dunharrow; both from the fact that the path leads to it, and from the statement in the time-scheme D (p. 141): 'Théoden comes out of west into Harrowdale *some miles above Dunharrow*, and comes to Dunharrow before nightfall.'

As regards the distances, if the Starkhorn is 75 miles from Edoras, then Dunharrow on this map is considerably less than 22 miles from Edoras (as stated in the note on the same page, cited above), indeed scarcely more than half as far; but perhaps the discrepancy can be accounted for by supposing that it was 22 miles on foot by a winding track, whereas the 75 miles is shown as a linear distance between two points.

An explanation of this curious stage in the evolution of the geography of Harrowdale can be found by combining the evidence of synopsis II, the time-scheme D, and the narrative opening of 'The Muster of Rohan' in the typescript H. Abandoning the idea that Dunharrow was a cavernous hold opening onto the green mountain-field that was called the Lap of Starkhorn (p. 245), and that within it there was a huge feasting-hall, to be used that very night to celebrate the King's return, my father at the same time moved its site far down the valley towards Edoras, and made it a cave or caves in a hill ('Firien') some 50 miles or so from the Starkhorn.

A third outline ('III') also sets out a scheme for Book V by chapters, but does not proceed very far.

(III) Book V

Ch. 1. Gandalf and Pippin reach Minas Tirith (Feb. 6 morning). They see Denethor. Reasons for the beacons: (a) news from scouts in Ithilien. (b) news reached Denethor on Feb. 5 that fleets of Southrons had set sail. Gondor musters its forces. Pippin sees full moon rising and wonders where Frodo is. No sign of Rohan.

2. Théoden comes to Dunharrow. Pukel men. (Feb. 6 [> 5]). Beacons and messengers [*added:* morning 6]. Tidings of orc-invasions of Wold. Théoden rides out on night of Feb. 8 [> 6]. Éomer and Éowyn ride with him. Gamling is left in command in Westfold. The old seneschal of Edoras in Eastfold. [Aragorn and Éomer ride north to beat off orcs. They come back >] Éomer rides north to beat off orcs. He comes back and rejoins main body,

reporting that Ents and Lórien Elves have destroyed the northern diversion. They all ride to Minas Tirith. Where is Aragorn? He went with his rangers over the mountains.

3. Great Darkness. Faramir returns (8). Host of Morghul crosses River (9). Southron fleets assail the south of Gondor (10 [> 9]). Gondor defeated and besieged (10 [> 9]). Gandalf in White Tower does not yet reveal his power or ..... [?name].

Final assault on Minas Tirith [*added:* [11 >] 10 night]. Nazgûl appear. Pelennor wall is taken. Sudden charge of Rohan breaks siege. Théoden and Éowyn destroy Nazgûl and Théoden falls [*struck out:* Feb. 12]. Aragorn arrives (having crossed the mountains with his rangers, he drove off the Southrons). Aragorn enters Minas Tirith and meets Denethor and Faramir.

4. [*Added:* 12] Gandalf and Aragorn and Éomer and Faramir defeat Mordor. Cross into Ithilien. Ents arrive and Elves out of North. Faramir invests Morghul and main force comes to Morannon. Parley.

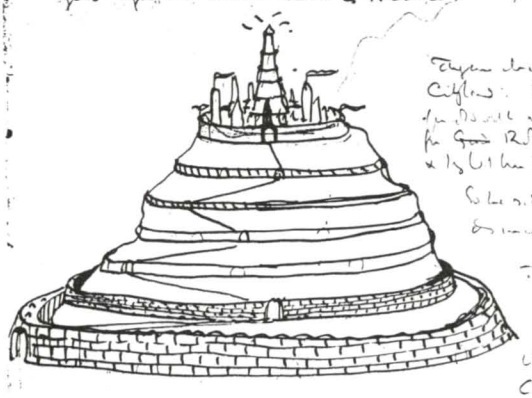
A suggestion that Aragorn should cross the mountains into Gondor is found in the notes E on p. 243; in these notes is found also the first mention of the coming of Rangers from the North, referred to also in the narratives F and G (pp. 247, 249). The Púkel-men entered in F (p. 245), where they are called *Hoker-men*, *Hocker-men*; in G they are *Pookel-men* (p. 248), and in typescript H *Pukelmen* (p. 251).

The text that I give next, 'IV', is reproduced on p. 261. This is a very battered page[38] of great interest, since it carries what is undoubtedly the earliest drawing of Minas Tirith, around which is written an outline in faint pencil. The line that runs up to the right of the White Tower indicates the mountain behind the city, with the name *Mindolluin* written across the summit. Whether my father already conceived the 'Hill of Guard' to be joined to the mountain mass by a shoulder cannot be said.

The outline reads as follows (with contractions expanded and some punctuation added):

(IV) Gandalf and Pippin reach Minas Tirith dawn. Description of Minas Tirith and its huge 'cyclopean' concentric walls – it is in fact a fort and town the size of a small mountain. It has 7 circles with 7 – 6 – 5 – 4 – 3 – 2 – 1 gates before the White Tower is reached.

They are challenged on the borders of the Cityland, Pelennor,[39] about which ruins of an old wall ran. Gandalf [?carries messages] from Rohan and speaks some pass[?word] and they let him by in wonder. So he rides up to the 6th court and dismounts. There Pippin is re..... They pass into High City (Taurost) and so come before Denethor who at first does not recognize Gandalf.



The earliest sketch of Minas Tirith

Denethor comes out to his [?throne]. News. Denethor has lit the beacons because what his spies tell. Faramir. Boromir.

Throne empty. Denethor has seat in front. He comes in after Gandalf arrives. He has a secret letter from Faramir (telling of Boromir's death and meeting with Frodo, but not overtly mentioning Ring).

This seems to have been my father's first setting down on paper of his conception of Minas Tirith.

The next two outlines ('V' and 'VI') were developed from III, and are very closely related: they were certainly written at the same time. From the rejected sentence in VI 'He has a secret' it is seen that my father had IV in front of him, for in that text appears 'He has a secret letter from Faramir'. The rejected reference in V to 'Dunharrow under the Halifirien' relates this outline to the note on Dunharrow in II (see p. 257). There is thus good reason to think that V and VI derive from 1944 rather than 1946, and it is notable that in V appears the first glimpse of the story that would emerge as the passage of the Paths of the Dead.

(V) Book V

Gandalf and Pippin ride to Minas Tirith (3–4, 4–5 arriving at sunrise on 6). Interview with Denethor – reasons for the beacons: a great fleet from south is approaching mouths of Anduin. Also messages from secret scouts in Ithilien report that 'storm is about to burst'.

Muster of Gondor (Forlong the Fat etc.). Pippin on the battlements sees the full moon; and thinks of Frodo.

Théoden reaches Dunharrow [*struck out:* under the Halifirien] (Feb. 5 evening). Púkel-men. They find muster already begun and not at Edoras. Rangers have come! Gandalf had been at Edoras and issued orders: Nazgûl crossed the plain (3–4 and on 4). Beacons are reported that night. Messengers arrive in morning. Théoden prepares to ride. Gamling in charge at Helm's Deep. Galdor the old seneschal[40] of Edoras in Eastfold. Éowyn rides with Éomer and Théoden.

Théoden sets out at nightfall (6). At Edoras they hear tidings of invasion of Wold. ? Éomer rides off north but rejoins main host later with news that the Ents have come out of Fangorn and destroyed this N. diversion. They pass on at all speed into Anórien.

Aragorn is not there. He had fallen into converse with the messengers of Gondor and getting guides from the men of Harrowdale had passed into the mountains with his Rangers.

Great darkness over land (Feb. 8). Faramir comes. Host of Morghul crosses Great River at Osgiliath (night of 8) and assails

Gondor (9). At same time S[outhron] fleets come up the Great River and send a host into Lebennin, while another host from Morannon crosses River to north on a boat-bridge and links with the Morghul-host. Gondor is defeated in night battle 9–10. Gandalf in White Tower does not yet reveal himself. [*In margin:* Gandalf looks in Palantír?] Black hosts gather about the wall of Pelennor. Morning of 10 Nazgûl are seen: men fly. At sunrise on 10 there is a sound of horns. Charge of Rohan. Rout of the enemy. [*Scribbled in margin:* Éomer wounded.] Théoden is slain by Nazgûl; but he is unhorsed[41] and the enemy is routed. [*Added:* Gandalf leads charge in white.] Théoden is laid in state in tomb of kings. [*Struck out:* Great grief of Merry. Meeting of Merry and Pippin.]

[*Added:* News comes that fleet is coming up River. .....] News comes from South that a great king has descended out of the mountains where he had been entombed, and set such a flame into men that the mountaineers (where the purer blood of Gondor lingered?) and the folk of Lebennin have utterly routed the Southrons, and burned [> taken] their ships. The fleet sailing up the River is an ally! Aragorn reaches Osgiliath by ship like a great king of old. (Frodo's vision?)[42] Meeting of Gandalf and Aragorn and Faramir at Osgiliath evening of 10.

Closely related to outline V is the following text ('VI'), which I incline to think was written second.

(VI) Gandalf and Pippin ride to Minas Tirith (3–4, 4–5, 5–6) arriving at the Outer Wall of Pelennor at daybreak and seeing sunrise on the White Tower on morning of Feb. 6. On night of 5–6 they see the beacons flare up, and are passed by messengers riding to Rohan. Pippin sees moonrise about 9 p.m.

Description of Minas Tirith and its 7 concentric walls and gates. Gandalf and Pippin come into the presence of Denethor. Empty throne. Denethor has a seat in front. [*Struck out:* He has a secret] They exchange news. Reasons of Beacons: news of scouts in Ithilien that 'storm is coming'; Southrons are marching in; most of all – a great fleet from South is approaching the mouths of Anduin. Muster of Rohan [*read* Gondor] is going apace – catalogue.

(7) Great Darkness spreads from East. Faramir returns. Pippin on the battlements.

Théoden reaches Dunharrow (5 evening). Merry sees Púkelmen. They find Muster has already begun, owing to special instructions by Gandalf, who had stayed at Edoras on 4 and owing to passage of Nazgûl. Rangers have come! [*Struck out:* Aragorn and Éomer already there?] That night the beacon lights are reported. In morning messengers arrive from Gondor.

Théoden gets ready to ride. Éowyn and Éomer go with him. [*Struck out:* But Aragorn (after secret converse with Aragorn takes Merry]

Here outline VI ends, but the lower half of the page is taken up by a map, which is redrawn in part and discussed in a note at the end of this chapter.

NOTES

1 The illegible word might be *already*, in which case my father omitted the words *been riding*. The word I have given as *four* might be read as *five*.

2 The words *by nightfall tonight* are perfectly plain, but my father must have intended something else, since it was now several hours after nightfall. In the outlines V and VI (pp. 262–3) the messengers from Minas Tirith reach Edoras the following morning (6 February).

3 As in text B, the moon rises 'round and full out of the eastern shadows' ('now almost at the full,' RK). — At this stage the beacons were fired on the last night of Gandalf's ride; in the final form it was on the night preceding the last (the journey taking four nights), and so when Pippin woke in the dawn beside the wall of the Pelennor 'Another day of hiding and a night of journey had fleeted by' (RK p. 20). This sentence was added to the text of the chapter much later.

4 Possibly this means 'longer than the time that they had in fact taken'.

5 Here and subsequently, and again in text B, the river's name is written *Snowborn*, but at two of the occurrences in A the *u* was inserted.

6 At this point my father drew in the text a very simple little sketch of the 'upland field' set into the mountain's side, essentially the same as the lower of the two sketches on the page reproduced on p. 239, but without the falling stream.

7 My father first wrote 'ale of Háma', i.e. his 'funeral-ale', funeral feast (cf. *bridal* from *bride-ale*, marriage feast). He changed this to ... *ale of Háma*, intending some compound term of the same sense, but I cannot decipher it.

8 This is a reference to Théoden's words to Merry and Pippin at the end of 'The Road to Isengard': 'May we meet again in my house! There you shall sit beside me ...'

9 This contradicts the statement a few lines above that 'Éowyn comes forth and greets Théoden and Aragorn.' The story that Aragorn (with Legolas and Gimli) had gone on ahead and

reached Dunharrow before Théoden is not present in text B, which undoubtedly followed A; it appears however in the time-schemes C and D (pp. 140–1).

10 *Halbarad* first appeared in *The Lord of the Rings* as the name of Shadowfax: see VII.152, 390.

11 The Sea of Nurnen, the Nargil Pass, and the River Harnen all appear on the First Map (Map III, VII.309). — The text ends with a reference to Umbar that I cannot decipher.

12 *Éowyn* was struck out, and *wine!* written in the margin; which I take to mean that Éowyn was not seated, for she bore the wine.

13 The queries might mean that my father was uncertain of the correctness of his interpretation of the pencilled forms (in the one case it might be *Umbor* or *Umbar*; in the other the second vowel of *Nargil*, *Nargul* cannot now be read under the ink overlay). But this does not seem very likely. Both these names appear in text A (p. 237), where *Nargil* is clear, though *Umbar* could be read as *Umbor*. *Umbar* and *Haven of Umbar* appear on the First Map (VII.309) and on the map that I made in 1943; and on the latter the pass through the southern mountains of Mordor is named *Nargil* (on the First Map the name was pencilled in roughly and is hard to read, but was apparently *Narghil*, VII.310).

14 As originally drawn, a pass over the mountains in this region is clearly defined on the First Map: see Map IV^{A}, square P 11 (VII.314), connecting to Map III, square Q 11 (VII.309). Here the Blackroot rises in an oval lake. With the superimposed portion Map IV$^{D–E}$ (VII.319) the connections become unclear, especially since a different convention was used in the representation of the mountains, but at any rate there is no clear indication of a pass. The 1943 map retains the oval lake and the broad pass, but its relation to the First Map is here difficult to interpret (VII.320). Possibly it was to this feature that my father referred in his note on that map (VII.321 note 1): 'The White Mountains are not in accord with the story'. On late maps, as is to be expected, no pass breaks the line of the mountains.

15 In the *Guide to the Names in The Lord of the Rings* (*A Tolkien Compass*, ed. Lobdell, p. 200) my father noted of the name *Púkel-men*: 'It represents Old English *púcel* (still surviving as *puckle*), one of the forms of the *puk-* stem (widespread in England, Wales, Ireland, Norway and Iceland) referring to a devil, or to a minor sprite such as Puck, and often applied to ugly misshapen persons.'

16 In place of this, RK has: '... a winding line of Riders crossing the ford and filing along the road towards the camp prepared for them. Only the king and his guard were going up into the Hold.'

17 RK has here: 'Such was the dark Dunharrow, the work of long-forgotten men'; cf. text H, p. 251.

18 At this point my father's writing suddenly becomes very much more rapid and rough.

19 Cf. 'The King of the Golden Hall' in VII.447, where Aragorn says: 'If I live, I will come, Lady Éowyn, and then maybe we will ride together.'

20 I think that Éowyn's naming her father *Éothain* is most likely to be a mere slip, for *Éomund* father of Éomer and Éowyn was established (VII.393 etc.), and *Éothain* was the name of Éomer's squire (VII.400–2); but see further p. 350 and note 13. In LR Appendix A (II) it is said that Eomund, chief Marshal of the Mark, was slain in the year 3002 in pursuit of Orcs on the borders of the Emyn Muil.

21 Old English *fyrgen*, *firgen* 'mountain'; the word *fyrgen-holt* 'mountain-wood' occurs in *Beowulf*, line 1393. — Afterwards, when the Firien had become the Dwimorberg and the Firienholt the Dimholt, the Firienfeld remained (RK p. 67).

22 This name undoubtedly begins with *An*, and the word preceding it is almost certainly 'in'; equally certainly it is this same name that appears below, as the land of the prince Benrodir. The remaining letters of the name are uninterpretable as they stand, but their vague shapes do not exclude 'Anárion', and this name, found on the First Map (VII.309) of the region south of Minas Tirith, appears in the notes E on p. 243: 'A fleet has put out ... and sailed up the Anduin and reached Anárion' (see further p. 244).

23 This lacuna is where the page is torn across, cutting through a line of text. It might perhaps be read, but very uncertainly, as 'from the vale of Morthond and his ... sons, dark-haired, grey-eyed'.

24 *Nosdiligand*: the second and third letters of this name are not perfectly clear, but can hardly be other than *os*. Without striking through the first syllable my father wrote another form above, apparently *Northiligand*.

25 The illegible words might just possibly be 'fugitives' and 'representing'.

26 My father called it a 'catalogue': pp. 229, 263.

27 These messages, distinct of course from those just referred to, must have been sent from Isengard or Helm's Deep.

28 The illegible word might possibly be 'morn(ing)'.

29 It is not clear whether 'Reach battle Feb. 15' refers to the Ents or to the Rohirrim; but in any case the Ents were certainly present after the siege of Minas Tirith was relieved ('Elves and Ents drive Orcs back'; cf. also outline II §4 'Elves of Lórien and Ents come from North', and similarly outline III §4). Thus the original idea that 'tree-giants' (see VI.410), or Treebeard (see VII.211, 214), played a part in the breaking of the siege survived at least in the

idea that Ents were present in the last stage of the war in the South, though this would never receive narrative form. See further pp. 343, 345–6, 361.

30 Cf. the notes given in VII.448: 'Probably Éowyn should die to avenge or save Théoden.' These notes contain also the suggestion that the mutual love of Éowyn and Aragorn should be removed.

31 This is the date given in the time-scheme D (p. 182); see the Note on Chronology following.

32 The last two letters of this name might be read as *du*, sc. *Mordu*.

33 With this cf. the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn' (VII.438): 'Then return to Frodo. Make him look out into impenetrable night. Then use phial ... By its light he sees the forces of deliverance approach and the dark host go out to meet them'; also p. 230 in this book.

34 Cf. the outline given in VII.448: 'They pass by round Lórien' (on the homeward journey), with the later addition (VII.451 note 18): 'No. They learn (in Rivendell?) that Nazgûl razed Lórien ...'

35 Old English *haliern* (*hálig-ern* or *-ærn*) 'holy place, sanctuary'. Cf. my father's note on *Dunharrow* in the *Guide to the Names in The Lord of the Rings* (*A Tolkien Compass*, ed. Lobdell, p. 183): '*Dunharrow*. A modernisation of Rohan *Dūnhaerg* "the heathen fane on the hillside", so-called because this refuge of the Rohirrim at the head of Harrowdale was on the site of a sacred place of the old inhabitants (now the Dead Men). The element *haerg* can be modernised in English because it remains an element in place-names, notably *Harrow (on the Hill)*.'

36 Outline II was written on the same thin yellowish paper as was used for text H of 'The Muster of Rohan' and text C of 'Minas Tirith' (the two pages in the 'midget type'). This paper was also used for the time-schemes C, D, and S. See note 38.

37 On my father's later large-scale map of Rohan, Gondor and Mordor (on which my map published in RK was based) the distance from Edoras to Dunharrow (at the head of Harrowdale) is 16 miles and from Edoras to the Starkhorn 19 miles.

38 Outline IV was written on the same paper as that referred to in note 36.

39 *Pelennor*: see p. 277.

40 *Galdor* was preceded by *Ealdor*.

41 In outlines I, II and III it is said that Théoden and Éowyn (who is not mentioned here) 'slew' or 'killed' or 'destroyed' the King of the Nazgûl.

42 Frodo's vision of a ship with black sails and a banner bearing the emblem of a white tree (FR p. 379) was added afterwards to the text of 'The Mirror of Galadriel'.

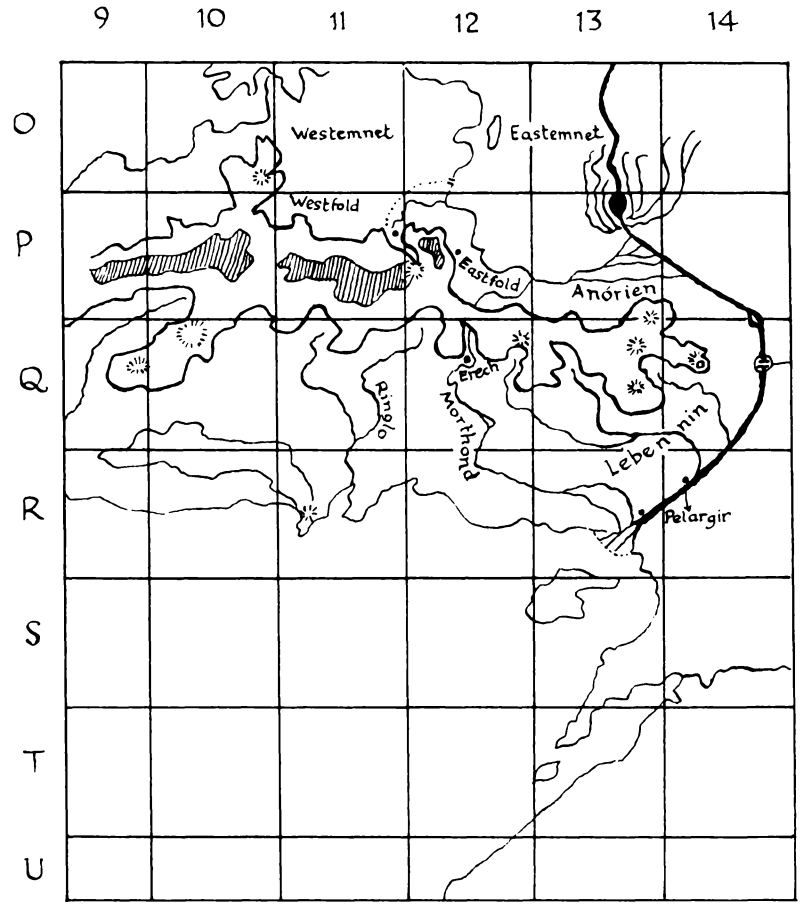
Note on the map accompanying outline VI

This map, drawn fairly rapidly in pencil (with the rivers in blue crayon), covers the White Mountains and the lands to the south of them; it is laid out like the First Map in squares of 2 cm. side. In my redrawing I have numbered the uppermost horizontal line of squares O 9–14 according to the First Map, although there is some discrepancy, and continued this numbering throughout, where the discrepancy becomes much greater. This is done deliberately in order to emphasize the curiously anomalous nature of this map among my father's later maps to *The Lord of the Rings*. Comparison with the First Map (VII.309, 319) and those published in LR will show substantial shifts in the geographical relations: thus Ethir Anduin is further to the east, directly south of Rauros, and the Havens of Umbar are shown as much less far to the south, and east of Tolfalas. On no other map is this so.

I strongly suspect that (for whatever reason) my father made this map from memory, and that it played no further part in the geographical evolution; and I think that its starting-point and primary purpose was to depict the region (pencilled more heavily than other parts of the map) between Harrowdale and the source of Morthond: with the emergence of the story that Aragorn passed *through* the Mountains into Gondor the map of *The Lord of the Rings* needed to be altered to show that there was no pass in this region (see note 14 above). It will be seen that the southern rivers have been substantially changed, though by no means reaching the final form: Morthond of the First Map is now named Ringlo, while the new Morthond flows east into the delta of Anduin. Erech is marked, south of the rising of Morthond, as is also Pelargir on Anduin (neither of which is mentioned in any of these outlines).* Harrowdale is shown running south-east, as on the little map reproduced on p. 258.

The map as squared out on the page extended through five vertical lines of squares east of Osgiliath (cf. VII.309), but these were apparently left blank. Subsequently my father attached a moveable portion covering O 13–14, P 13–15, and at the same time very roughly drew in the outlines of the mountains encircling Mordor, which here form more nearly a complete wall on the east than on any other map. The Dark Tower is shown as standing on a 'peninsula' thrust out southwards from the Ash Mountains, with Mount Doom to the north-west of it, very much as on the Second Map as originally drawn,

* Pelargir was first placed at the top of the delta of Anduin. On the First Map (VII.309) a pencilled dot within a circle was placed beside Anduin at the point where rivers flow in from east and west on R 13: this is obviously Pelargir, and was no doubt entered at this time. Another pencilled dot within a circle was put in to the east of the original Morthond on First Map Q 12 (just to the right of the *i* of *Enedwaith*), and this is evidently Erech.



The White Mountains and South Gondor

pp. 435, 438. I have not attempted to redraw this added portion, for the pass into Mordor (here called Kirith Gorgor) was apparently moved eastwards from the position in which it was first drawn, resulting in a confusion of lines that I cannot interpret; and Osgiliath was now moved a good way to the north, so that it lies north-east of Minas Tirith (as is shown on the Second Map, p. 434, and on my large-scale map of Rohan, Gondor and Mordor published in RK, but not on my general map accompanying LR). On this attached portion the Dead Marshes are named, but not the Nomenlands; the rapids in Anduin are still called *Sarn Ruin*. The course of Anduin below Rauros was changed on the new P14 to flow as it does on the First Map (see VII.319) in a wide easterly curve, not in a straight line south-east (and thus the mouths of Entwash had to be shifted to the east). This supports my suggestion that the present map was drawn from memory: in this one area it was corrected by reference to the First Map.

Note on the Chronology

(i) Pippin and Frodo see the Full Moon

It would be interesting to know just what was the 'most awkward error in the synchronization ... of movements of Frodo and the others' that arrested the progress of *The Lord of the Rings* in October 1944 (see p. 234). It seems to me most likely to have been their relative 'positions' at the time of the Full Moon on 6 February.

I think it is clear that the time-schemes C, D, and S belong with the work set out in this chapter, and indeed that they were closely associated with the chronological problem that my father had encountered: see pp. 141–2, 234–5. In scheme C (p. 140) Gandalf and Pippin came to Minas Tirith at sunset on Feb. 5. They had left Dol Baran on the night of Feb. 3–4, passed Feb. 4 'in hiding' (presumably at Edoras), ridden through the night of Feb. 4–5, and then after a short rest had 'abandoned secrecy' and ridden all through the next day (Feb. 5) to reach the city at sunset. It seems likely that the original brief narrative opening (A) of 'Minas Tirith', in which as they rode 'still the world of grey and green rushed by and the sun rose and sank', was associated with this scheme, and that it was abandoned because my father decided that Gandalf did not in fact ride by day (see pp. 231–2). In the pencilled continuation of that opening (p. 231) the new story had entered: it is night, two days since Pippin 'saw the sun glinting on the roof of the king's great house', and the 'third riding', thus the night of Feb. 5–6. They see the beacons and the westbound messengers, but the moon is not mentioned; and it is obvious that in this story they will arrive at the wall of the Pelennor in the morning (Feb. 6). This is the story in scheme D (p. 141), except that there the beacons and the messengers are seen on the second night of the ride (Feb. 4–5). In that

scheme the Full Moon 'rises about 9.20 p.m. and sets about 6.30 a.m. on Feb. 7. Gandalf rides all night of 5–6 and sights Minas Tirith at dawn on 6th.'

It was a datum of Frodo's journey that he came before the Black Gate at dawn of Feb. 5, leaving at nightfall; and he was in Ithilien (the episode of the stewed rabbit) and was taken by Faramir to Henneth Annûn on Feb. 6 (the night of Full Moon, which Frodo saw in the small hours of Feb. 7 setting over Mindolluin). In my father's letter of 16 October 1944 he said that among the alterations made to resolve 'the dislocated chronology' he had increased the journey from the Morannon by a day; this alteration was made to scheme D, and was present in scheme S as first written (see pp. 141–2). But the alteration was made by pushing Frodo's journey back by a day, so that he came before the Morannon on Feb. 4; he still comes to Henneth Annûn on the 6th. Therefore, when he looked out from the Window of the West and saw the moon setting, Gandalf and Pippin were already in Minas Tirith; the time-schemes are explicit (and it was presumably on this basis that in outline III, p. 259, Pippin in Minas Tirith on the evening of the 6th 'sees the full moon rising and wonders where Frodo is'; similarly in outline V, p. 262, and also in the outline given in the next chapter, p. 276).

In the second draft (B) of the opening of 'Minas Tirith' (p. 232) Pippin on the night of Feb. 5(–6) saw the full moon rising out of the eastern shadows as he rode with Gandalf; and in the third draft (C, in 'midget type', p. 233) Pippin wonders where Frodo might be, 'little thinking that Frodo on that same night saw from afar the white snows under the moon.' Surely my father's intention here was to relate Pippin's thought to Frodo's at Henneth Annûn (as in RK); but there was a day out. Was this the chronological problem?

On the face of it, apparently not; for the modifications made to the chronology did not correct it. On the other hand, that my father was concerned with precisely this question is seen from an isolated page of notes on diverse subjects, one of which casts some very cloudy light on the matter:

> Whole of Frodo's and Sam's adventures must be set back *one day*, so that Frodo sees moon-set on morning (early hours) of Feb. 6, and Faramir reaches Minas Tirith on night of the 7th, and Great Darkness begins on 7th. (This can be done by making Frodo and Sam only wander 4 days in the Emyn Muil.) The next night Frodo would see from far away the full moon set beyond Gondor and wonder where he was in the mists of the West, and the war-beacons would be hid from him in the darkness of the world.

This is very difficult to understand. Frodo's adventures are to be set back by a day, and he will see the setting of the moon (not yet quite at the full) from Henneth Annûn in the later night of Feb. 5–6, when

Pippin was on the last lap to Minas Tirith, and thought of him. But then why is it not till the next night (Feb. 6–7) that Frodo thinks of Pippin (if 'him' is Pippin), and why is it on this night that the beacons of Gondor are burning?

(ii) Théoden comes to Harrowdale

In the second version (B) of 'The Muster of Rohan' (p. 237) Aragorn agrees with Théoden, as they enter Harrowdale, that the moon was full the night before, and he says that they have been four (changed from five) days on the road, so that six remained before the day appointed for the muster at Edoras. In time-scheme C (p. 140) Théoden reaches Helm's Deep from Isengard soon after dawn on Feb. 4, and he leaves Helm's Deep on Feb. 5 (when also 'Aragorn rides on ahead with Gimli and Legolas': this appears in the third narrative C, p. 241). Nothing further is said about Théoden's movements in time-scheme C; but if the two texts are combined we get the following chronology:

Feb. 4 Théoden reaches Helm's Deep soon after dawn
Feb. 5 Théoden leaves Helm's Deep
Feb. 6 Full Moon
Feb. 7 Théoden reaches Harrowdale at dusk
Feb. 13 Date appointed for the muster

If this is correct, the 'four days on the road' include the day spent at Helm's Deep.

In the third version C (p. 240) Éomer says that the moon was full on the night before the last, that five days have passed on the journey, and that five remain until the muster; and all this is repeated in the next version (F) in which the passage appears (pp. 244–5). In these versions the journey has taken one day more, as it appears:

Feb. 5 Théoden leaves Helm's Deep
Feb. 6 Full Moon
Feb. 7
Feb. 8 Théoden reaches Harrowdale.

Time-scheme D (pp. 141, 182) gives the following chronology (with which the fully 'synoptic' scheme S agrees):

Feb. 4–5 Aragorn rides by night to Edoras, which he reaches in the morning, and passes up Harrowdale
Feb. 5 Théoden leaves Helm's Deep
Feb. 6 Full Moon rises about 9.20 p.m. Théoden comes to Dunharrow before nightfall
(Feb. 7 Théoden prepares to ride to Gondor. Messengers from Minas Tirith arrive
Feb. 8 Théoden rides from Edoras)

This is the chronology of the typescript text H (pp. 251–2), to the extent at least that the moon is full (rising four hours after dark) on the

night of Théoden's arrival in Harrowdale: the journey through the mountains now took only two days. It is not the chronology of *The Tale of Years* in LR, in which Théoden set out from Helm's Deep on March 6 but did not reach Dunharrow until March 9.

The date appointed for the muster at Edoras as deduced above from the original narrative openings of the chapter, Feb. 13 (a week after the full moon of Feb. 6), is presumably to be associated with the change in the second manuscript of 'The Road to Isengard' from 'before the waning of the moon' to 'at the last quarter of the moon' (see pp. 27, 40). In the text H (p. 252) Éomer says to the King that 'Tomorrow ere evening you shall come to Edoras and keep tryst with your Riders'; with this perhaps cf. outline I (p. 255): 'Messages must bid Rohirrim assemble at Edoras as soon as may be after the Full Moon of Feb. 6.'

III
MINAS TIRITH

'I hope after this week actually to – write,' my father wrote to Stanley Unwin on 21 July 1946 (*Letters* no. 105); and it is clear that he did – at any rate on 7 December of that year he said that he was 'on the last chapters' (whatever that may have meant). Another synopsis of the proposed content of 'Book V' shows much further development in the narrative of the opening chapters, and I incline to think that it belongs to 1946 and was set down as a guide to the new work now beginning; I therefore give it here rather than with the outlines that I believe to date from 1944 (pp. 252 ff.). My father had now re-ordered earlier chapters, and so numbered the first of Book V in this synopsis '44' (not '41': see p. 226 note 49).[1] The text was written in pencil and then overwritten in ink: the underlying text was far briefer, but is barely legible except at the end, where the overwriting ceases.

Book V

Ch. 44 (1). Gandalf (and Pippin) rides to Minas Tirith and see[s] Denethor. Pippin on walls. Coming in of last allies. Great Darkness begins that night.

45. King and Aragorn (with Merry, Legolas, Gimli) ride to the Hornburg. Overtaken by the Sons of Elrond[2] and 30 Rangers seeking Aragorn (probably because of messages sent by Galadriel to Elrond). King rides to Dunharrow by mountain roads. Aragorn (Legolas and Gimli) and Rangers go by open road. Aragorn reveals he has looked in Palantír, and seeks the Paths of the Dead. King arrives at Dunharrow dusk 2 days later[3] and finds Aragorn has gone on Paths of the Dead. Errand riders of Gondor come. Muster of Rohan takes place in Harrowdale (by Gandalf's orders) not Edoras, and King sets out next morning for Edoras.

46. Pippin on walls. Several days later when Host of Morghul is victorious. News comes through of flanking attacks on Lórien and by Harad in South. A great army has crossed into Wold of Rohan. They fear Rohirrim will not come. Dark grows but even so the Nazgûl cause a greater darkness. Gandalf shines in the field. Pippin sees the light of him as he and Faramir rally men. But at last the enemy are at the gates, and the Nazgûl fly

over the city. Then just as gate is giving way they hear the horns of Rohan!

47. Go back to Merry. Charge of Rohan. Orcs and Black Riders driven from gate. Fall of Théoden wounded, but he is saved by a warrior of his household who falls on his body. Merry sits by them. Sortie saves King who is gravely wounded. Warrior found to be Éowyn. The Hosts of Morghul reform and drive them back to the gate. At that moment a wind rises, dark is rolled back. Black ships seen. Despair. Standard of Aragorn (and Elendil). Éomer's wrath. Morghul taken between 2 forces and defeated. Éomer and Aragorn meet.

48. Gandalf and Denethor learn of the defeat of the flank attacks by Shadow Host[4] and by Ents. They cross Anduin victorious and invest Minas Morghul. Gandalf and Aragorn come to Morannon and parley.

49. Return to Frodo and Sam.

At this point the overwriting in ink ceases – perhaps because my father saw that at this rate he was going to be very hard put to it to complete the story in 'Book Five and Last' (p. 219). In the pencilled underlying text he had had this programme for the last seven chapters:

48. Gandalf comes to the Black Gate.
49. Frodo and Sam come to Orodruin.
50. .... and return.
51. Feast at Minas Tirith.
52. Funeral at Edoras.
53. Return to Rivendell. Meeting with Bilbo.
54. Sam's Book and the passing of all Tales.

It was perhaps immediately before he turned to the chapter 'Minas Tirith' again that my father set down a further and very precise outline, which follows here (the figures refer of course to the dates in the month of February).

Gandalf and Pippin ride to Minas Tirith (3/4, 4/5, arriving at sunrise on 6). Pass Fords of Isen and reach mouth of Deeping Coomb about 2 a.m. (4). Come at daybreak to Edoras. Gandalf remains there during daylight. 2nd Nazgûl passes over Rohan (it left Mordor about midnight 3/4 but spies out plain and flies low over Edoras in early morn[ing]).[5] Gandalf rides again on night of 4/5 and passes into Anórien, where he lies hid in hills during daylight (5). Riding for third night (5/6) they see the beacons flare out, and are passed by messengers on swift horses speeding from Minas Tirith to Edoras. They reach the Pelennor Wall at first dawn, and after speech with guards pass through

and sight Minas Tirith in the sunrise (6). They pass up through the 7 concentric walls and gates to the White Tower. Pippin sees white houses and domes on the slopes of the mountain above the city. Gandalf explains they are the 'houses of the kings' – i.e. dead tombs. (Before the gate of the White Tower they see the ruin of the Tree, and Fountain?) They are admitted to the audience chamber, and see the throne. Denethor comes in, and does not sit in the throne, but on a smaller chair lower down and in front. Interview with Denethor and his grief at news of Boromir. They learn reason of beacons: a great fleet has been sighted coming from Umbar to mouths of Anduin. Also messages from spies etc. in Ithilien report that 'storm is about to burst'. Denethor is vexed that no aid has come from Rohan. Gandalf explains the situation. Also warns Denethor that help may even now be delayed as almost certainly Rohan will be attacked on eastern flank north of Emyn Muil. He counsels Denethor to muster what he can at once. 'The muster has already begun,' said Denethor. (Forlong the Fat etc., but too few come from Lebennin owing to threat of sea-attack.)

Pippin on the battlements has talk with a sentinel. He sees the moonrise on night of 6 (about 8.45 p.m.) and thinks of Frodo.[6]

Aragorn takes Legolas and Gimli and Merry and proposes that what is left of the Company shall be reunited. He says his heart now urges him to speed, for the time of his own revealing approaches. They may have a hard and dangerous journey, for now the real business is beginning, beside which the battle of the Hornburg is but a skirmish by the way. They agree and Aragorn and his company leave Dolbaran ahead of the king at about midnight. Merry rides with Aragorn, and Gimli with Legolas. They go fast and reach Westfold at daybreak (4) and [*struck out at once:* do not turn aside but go straight] see the 2nd Nazgûl flying.

A great deal of the first part of this derives directly from earlier outlines, but by no means all (thus it is here that the great tombs of Minas Tirith are first mentioned, and it is here that Pippin's friend of the Citadel guard – Beregond in RK – first appears). The concluding portion of the outline, however, telling that Aragorn with Merry, Legolas and Gimli left together from Dol Baran ahead of the king about midnight, reaching Westfold at dawn of the following day and not so very many hours after Gandalf, is an odd and surprising development.[7] But it seems to have been abandoned at once, without further issue.

Taking up the opening chapter 'Minas Tirith' again, my father followed closely the abandoned opening (the text C in 'midget type') so far as it went, and the new text still differs from RK pp. 19–21 in the points mentioned on p. 233, except that the leader of the men at the Pelennor Wall is now Ingold, not Cranthir.[8] Written for most of its length rapidly but generally legibly in ink, the draft extends almost to the end of the chapter; and from the point in the story where C ended (in the conversation with the men repairing the wall), for which my father had only very sketchy notes, he advanced confidently through the account of Minas Tirith seen across the 'townlands', the structure of the city, the entry of Gandalf and Pippin, the 'audience' with Denethor, and Pippin's meeting with Beregond (not yet nor for a long time so named). This draft underwent countless changes afterwards, yet from its first writing the story was present in all essentials of narrative structure, of atmosphere, and of tone. In what follows it can be assumed that every significant feature of description and conversation in the chapter was present in the draft unless something is said to the contrary. On the other hand I do not record all the small touches that were added in later: for example, Denethor does not in the draft text lay down his rod in order to lift the horn from his lap; Pippin is not said to receive back his sword and put it in its sheath; chairs are brought for Gandalf and Pippin, not a chair and a stool; the room in which they were lodged had only one window, not three; and so on.

As noted earlier, the text C stops just before Gandalf tells Cranthir / Ingold that 'you are overlate in repairing the wall of the Pelennor' (p. 233; RK p. 21), so that this name does not appear. In the new draft Gandalf, in his words with Ingold, speaks of 'the wall of Pelennor' – but it appears immediately afterwards that this was the name of the wall itself:

Gandalf passed now into the wide space beyond the Pelennor. So the men of Gondor called the wall that was built long ago after Ithilien fell into the hands of the Enemy.

The name appears also in several of the outlines that I have attributed to 1944 and given in the last chapter: 'Pelennor wall' (p. 260), 'the wall of Pelennor' (p. 263), 'the Outer Wall of Pelennor' (p. 263), but in the light of the present draft these are ambiguous; on the other hand, in outline IV (p. 260) occurs 'the Cityland, Pelennor, about which ruins of an old wall ran', which is not at all ambiguous. On the face of it, my father twice changed his mind about the meaning of this name; for in RK (p. 22) the wall is named *Rammas Echor* and the Pelennor is again the name of the 'fair and fertile townlands' of Minas Tirith (see pp. 287–8).

The description in the draft continues:

It went in a wide circle from the mountains' feet and back to

them, always distant some seven leagues from the First Gate of the City that looked eastward. Thus it enclosed the fair and fertile townlands on the long green slopes falling to the River, and at its easternmost point overlooked from a frowning bank the marshy levels. There it was loftiest and most guarded, for on a walled causeway the road from the fords of Osgiliath, a league away, came in through a great gate between two towers. But few men save herdsmen and tillers dwelt in the townlands, for the most part of the people of Gondor dwelt in the seven circles of the city of Minas Tirith, or in the deep vales of the mountains' borders; and away southward in Lebennin the land of Seven Rivers lived a hardy folk between the mountains and the mouths of Anduin and the Sea; and they were reckoned men of Gondor, yet their blood was mixed and if their stature and faces told the truth came more from those men who dwelt in the dark hills in the Dark Years ere the coming of the kings.

But now the light of day grew, and Pippin looked up ...

Thus the townlands were at first conceived altogether differently, as a great half-circle centred on the city and always with a radius of seven leagues, whereas in RK the enclosing wall was at its furthest point four leagues from the city and at its nearest little more than one.[9] In this draft text there is no mention of Emyn Arnen, of the Harlond, of Lossarnach, of Belfalas, or of Imrahil of Dol Amroth, and Lebennin is still 'the land of Seven Rivers' (see VII.310–12, and pp. 252, 254 in this book).

Pippin's first sight of Minas Tirith and Gandalf's encounter with the guards at the Great Gate is very much as in RK (p. 23), except that in the following passage from RK the bracketed part is absent:

> but to his right great mountains reared their heads, [ranging from the West to a steep and sudden end, as if in the making of the land the River had burst through a great barrier, carving out a mighty valley to be a land of battle and debate in times to come. And there where the White Mountains of Ered Nimrais came to their end] (and) he saw, as Gandalf had promised, the dark mass of Mount Mindolluin ...

Also, the Tower of Ecthelion is here called the Tower of Denethor (see p. 281).

In the draft text the description of Minas Tirith is as follows:

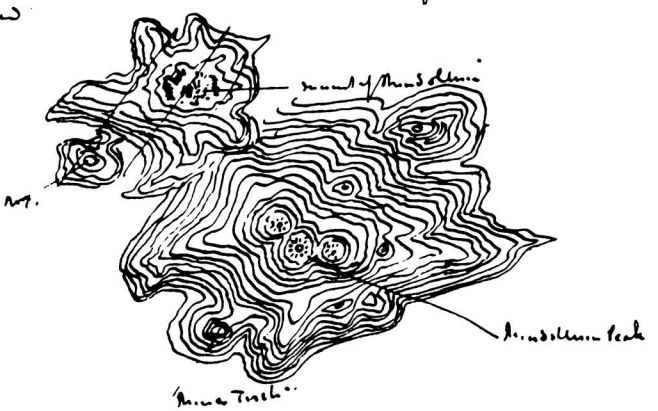
For the manner of Minas Tirith was such that it was builded upon seven levels each carved in the hill, and each had a wall, and in each wall was a gate. But the gates were not made in a line, for the outer and lowest gate was in the east, but the next

faced half south and the third half north, and so on, so that the pave[d] way that led up without break or stair turned first this way and [then] that way across the face of the hill, until the seventh gate was reached that led to the great court and citadel on the levelled summit about the feet of the crowning tower. And that gate also looked due east, being there seven hundred feet above the plain before the walls, and the tower on the summit was three hundred feet from base to pinnacle. A strong citadel indeed it was and not to be taken by a host of men if there were any within that could hold weapons, unless some enemy could come behind and scale Mindolluin and so come behind upon the shoulder that joined the Hill of Guard to the mountain mass. But that shoulder which was at the height of the fifth wall was walled right up [to] the precipice that overhung it, and there stood the great domed tombs of bygone kings and lords, at once memorials and fortresses if need should come.

In the original hasty sketch of Minas Tirith reproduced on p. 261 the gates appear to be arranged in two lines meeting at the uppermost level, the one proceeding from the Great Gate (1 – 3 – 5 – 7), and the other proceeding from the second gate (2 – 4 – 6 – 7).[10] In the text just cited the configuration described in RK is present, with the Great Gate facing east, the second gate south-east, the third north-east, and so on up to the entrance to the Citadel, again facing east. On this page of the draft (reproduced on p. 280) my father drew a plan in which this arrangement is shown. The upper figure on the page is in fact two conjoined: the smaller area at the upper left (marked with 'M.T.' and 'summit of Mindolluin') was that first made, and this was struck out with three transverse lines. — It will be seen that the 'vast pier of rock whose huge out-thrust bulk divided in two all the circles of the City save the first' (RK p. 24), causing the mounting road to pass through a tunnel each time it crossed the line from the Great Gate to the Citadel, was not yet present.

Pippin's sense of the diminishment and decay of Minas Tirith, with its great silent houses, is told in the draft in words closely similar to those of the passage in RK (p. 24);[11] but the accoutrement of the guards of the Seventh Gate is thus described:

The guards of the gate were robed in white, and the[ir] helms were of strange shape, shining like silver, for they were indeed of *mithril*, heirlooms from the glory of old days, and above either cheekpiece were set the wings of sea-birds. Upon the breast of their surcoats were embroidered in white a tree blossoming like snow and above it a silver crown.



Minas Tirith and Mindolluin

It is added here that beside the guards of the Citadel one other wore this livery of the heirs of Elendil: 'the warden of the door of the hall of the kings aforetime where now dwelt the Lord Denethor'; and at the door there is one 'tall guard' ('the tall silent door-wardens', RK). Perhaps the change in the colour of the livery from white to black was on account of the white tree embroidered on the coats.

The dead Tree in the court of the Fountain, with Pippin's recollection of Gandalf's words *Seven stars and seven stones and one white tree*, and Gandalf's warning to him to bear himself discreetly before Denethor, survived into the final text with very little change; but Gandalf says only of Denethor and Boromir: 'He loved him greatly, too much, perhaps', and does not add 'and the more so because they were unlike' (yet later, when they have left Denethor, he says, much as in RK: 'He is not quite as other men, Pippin, and whatever be his ancestry by some chance the blood of the men of Westernesse runs true in him, as it does in his other son Faramir, and yet not in Boromir whom he loved most. They have long sight.'). And of Aragorn he says that 'if he comes it may be in some way that no one expects. And Denethor at least does not expect him in any way, *for he does not know that he exists*.'

The great hall was conceived from the first almost exactly as the description of it stands in RK (p. 26): the great images between the pillars, reminding Pippin of 'the kings of Argonath',[12] the empty throne, the old man in the stone chair gazing at his lap. Only the carved capitals of the pillars are not mentioned; on the other hand the floor of the hall is described: 'But the floor was of shining stone, white-gleaming, figured with mosaics of many colours' (see p. 288). The name of Denethor's father, Ecthelion, entered here, with only momentary hesitation (earlier in the draft the White Tower is called the Tower of Denethor, not as in RK the Tower of Ecthelion; p. 278).[13]

When Pippin cried 'that is the horn that Boromir always wore!' this dialogue follows in the draft:

'Verily,' said Denethor. 'And in my turn I wore it, and so did each eldest son of our house far back into the mists of time, before the failing of the kings, since [Mardil >] Faragon father of Mardil hunted the wild oxen of Araw[14] in the far fields of Rhûn. But we heard it blowing dimly in the North twelve days ago,[15] and now it will blow no more.'

'Yes,' said Pippin. 'I stood beside him as he blew it, and it shook the woods; but no help came. Only more orcs.'

Pippin's account of Boromir's death, his offer of his service to Denethor, and the swearing of the oath were very largely achieved in

the draft text,[16] save in one notable point: it is Gandalf, not Denethor, who speaks the words of the oath: '"Take the hilts," said Gandalf, "and speak after me." The old man laid the sword along his lap and Pippin laid his hand on the hilts and said slowly after Gandalf ...' The oath and its acceptance were scarcely changed from the original formulation in the draft, except only in the point that Denethor did not there name himself 'Steward of the High King'.

The words between Denethor and Gandalf that follow (RK p. 29), and Pippin's perception of the tension between them, and of Gandalf's greater power (though veiled), reached immediately the final text in almost every point; but Pippin's reflection on Gandalf's age and being took this form: 'Whence and what was Gandalf: when and in what far time and place [was he born >] did he come into the world and would he ever die?' His passing thought 'Treebeard had said something about wizards, but even then he had not thought of Gandalf as one of them' does not appear; it is not said that 'it was Denethor who first withdrew his gaze'; and Denethor says only 'for though the Stones are lost', without adding 'they say'.

In the margin of the page that bears this passage my father wrote: 'For his wisdom did not consider Gandalf, whereas the counsels of Denethor concerned himself, or Gondor which in his thought was part of himself'. There is no indication where this was to be placed, but I think that it would follow 'Pippin perceived that Gandalf had greater power, and deeper wisdom – and a majesty that was veiled.'

The interview with Denethor ended far more abruptly in the draft than in RK (pp. 30–1): at Denethor's words 'Let your wrath for an old man's seeming folly run off, and return to my comfort' there follows only: '"I will return as soon as may be," said Gandalf. "But I crave sometime words with you alone." And he strode from the hall with Pippin running at his side.'

After Gandalf had left the house in which they were lodged Pippin encountered a man clad in grey and white who named himself Beren son of Turgon (Beregond son of Baranor, clad in black and white, in RK). In their opening conversation and visits to Shadowfax and the buttery a number of small alterations and additions were made to the narrative later, but all are slight points: for example, Beren says to Pippin that 'It is said that you are to be treated as a guest for this day at the least', and that 'Those who have had heavy duty – and *guests* – take somewhat to refresh their strength in the mid-morning'; Pippin does not express his disappointment at seeing no inns in Minas Tirith; and the following curious dialogue was afterwards removed (cf. RK p. 34):

'... For now I may say that strange accents do not mar fair speech, and hobbits are well-spoken folk.'

'So Denethor, I mean the high Lord, said.'

'Did he indeed?' said Beren. 'Then you have received a mark of favour such as few guests have got from him.'

The keeper of the buttery was named *Duilas* (?), with a later pencilled alteration to *Garathon*.[17] Pippin tells Beren: 'I am only a boy in the reckoning of our people, for I am only twenty years old and we are not held to be grown-up as we say in the Shire for a dozen years more.'[18]

As Beren and Pippin looked out from the walls, 'Away down in the vale-bottom 7 leagues or so as the eye leaps, the Great River now flowed grey and glittering, coming out of the north-west and curving south-west till it was lost to view round the shoulders of the mountains in a haze and shimmer' (see pp. 288–9), whereas it is distant 'five leagues or so' in RK (p. 36): on this difference see p. 278. Immediately after this the original draft jumps, in relation to RK, from 'far beyond which lay the Sea fifty leagues away' to '"What do I see there?" asked Pippin, pointing due eastward down to the river'; thus the entire passage is lacking in which Pippin sees the traffic of waggons crossing the Pelennor and turning south, and Beregond explains to him that they are taking 'the road to the vales of Tumladen and Lossarnach, and the mountain-villages, and then on to Lebennin.' But from this point the conversation of Beren/Beregond and Pippin to its conclusion, as it stands in RK (pp. 36–40), was achieved, roughly indeed, but with scarcely any significant detail lacking, and often very close to the final text: the darkness in the East,[19] the passage of the Nazgûl far overhead, Beren's account of the battles for the crossings at Osgiliath,[20] of Denethor's far sight,[21] of the approach of the great fleet manned by the corsairs of Umbar,[22] of Faramir, and his invitation to Pippin to join his company for that day.

At this point the story told in the draft becomes altogether different from that of RK, and I give the remainder (very roughly written) of this earliest text in full:

Gandalf was not in the lodging, and Pippin went with Beren of the Guard, and he was shown to the others of the third company and welcomed by them, and made merry with them, taking his midday meal among them in a little hall near the north wall, and going here and there with others until the evening meal, and the closing hour, and the lowering of standards. Then he himself after the manner of Gondor soon went to his bed. Gandalf had not come or left any message. He rolled into bed and soon slept. In the night he was awakened by a light and saw Gandalf in the room outside the alcove. He was pacing to and fro. 'When will Faramir return?' he heard him mutter, as he peered out of the dark window. Then Pippin went to sleep again.

The next day still no commands came from Denethor. 'He is full of cares and busyness,' said Gandalf, 'and for the moment you are out of his mind. But not for good! He does not forget. Make use of your leisure while you can. Have a look round the City.'[23]

Beren was on duty and Pippin was left alone; but he had learned enough to find his way to the hatches at midmorning. For the rest of the time until noon he walked in the sixth circle, and visited Shadowfax, taking him some morsels that he had saved, which Shadowfax graciously accepted. In the afternoon Pippin walked down the ways of the City to the lowest circle and the great East Gate.

People stared much at him as he passed, and he would hear calls behind him, and those out of doors cried to others within to come see Mithrandir's halfling; but to his face most were courteous, saluting him gravely after the manner of Gondor with outstretched hand and a bowing of the head. For who he was and much concerning him was now noised through Minas Tirith.

He came at last by windy ways and many fair alleys and arches to the lower circles where there [were] many smaller houses. And here and there he saw children – and he was glad, for to his eyes it had seemed that too many of the folk of Minas Tirith were old. He passed a larger house with a pillared porch and steps and boys were playing there. As soon as he saw him one of the boys leapt down the steps into the street and stood in front of Pippin, looking him up and down.

'Well met,' said the lad. 'Are you not a stranger?'

'I was,' said Pippin. 'But they say I am now a man of Gondor.'

'Man!' said the boy. 'How old are you, and what is your name? I am ten already and soon shall be five feet high. Look, I am taller than you. But then my father is a soldier, one of the tallest.[24] I shall be a soldier too. What is your father?'

'Which question shall I answer first?' said Pippin. 'My father is like me a hobbit not a man, and he owns the land and fields round Whitwell near Tuckborough on the edge of the Westfarthing in the Shire. I am 21 years old[25] so I pass you there, though I am but four feet four, and that is reckoned a good height in my land, and I do not hope to better it much. For I shall not grow upward much before I come of age; though maybe I shall thicken and put on some weight, or should, if food were plentiful for travellers in the wild places.'

'Twenty-one,' said Gwinhir, and whistled. 'Why, you are quite old. Still, I wager I could stand you on your head, or lay you on your back.'

'Maybe you could if I let you,' said Pippin with a laugh. 'We know a trick or two of wrestling in my little country. But I do not much like standing on my head; what, if it came to a sticking point, and nothing else would serve, I have a sword, master Gwinhir.'

'A sword, have you?' said Gwinhir. 'Then you must be a soldier. Though you don't look like one.'

'I am and I do not indeed,' said Pippin. 'But when you have seen more than 10 years, if you live long enough, young friend, and survive the days that are coming, you will learn that folk are not always what they seem. Why, you might take me for a kind-hearted fool of a stranger lad. But I am not. I am a hobbit and the devil of a hobbit, companion of wizards, friend of Ents, member of the Company of Nine of whom your lord Boromir was one, of the ... of the Nine I should say, and I was at the battle of the Bridge of Moria and the sack of Isengard, and I wish for no wrestling or rough play. So let me be lest I bite.'

'Ai, Ai,' said Gwinhir. 'You do sound fierce, a ferret in the garb of a rabbit. But you have left your boots behind, master, maybe because you have outgrown them too quickly. Come on, good ferret, bite if you like,' and he ... up his fists. But at that moment a man came out from the door and sprang down into the street and grabbed the lad by the back of his tunic.

'What is this, Gwinhir, you ruffling young fool,' said the man. 'Will you waylay anything in the street that seems smaller than yourself? Will you not choose something larger? Shame on a son of mine, brawling before my doors like a young orc.'

'Nay, nay, not like an orc, Master Thalion, if that be your name,' said Pippin. 'I have seen enough orcs and all too close to be in any error. Here is nothing but a warlike lad spoiling for something to do. Will you not let him walk with me a while, and be my guide? For I am new come and there is much to see while the sun still shines. .....'

'I have already heard that the halflings are courteous of speech, if that one that came hither with Mithrandir is a sample,' said Thalion.[26] 'Yes indeed, the young ruffian shall go with you if you wish. Go now and keep a fair tongue in your head,' he said to Gwinhir, giving him a smart blow on his seat. 'But see that he returns ere the closing hour and the dusk.'

'I wanted a game,' said Gwinhir to Pippin as they set off. 'There are few lads of my age in this quarter, and such as there are are no match for me. But my father is stern, and I was near to a beating just now. When he says "orc" 'tis an ill omen for one's back. But you got me off very finely, and I thank you. What shall I show you?'

'I do not know,' said Pippin, 'but I am going to the East Gate, and we shall see.'

As they drew near the East Gate there was much sound of running and bustle, and Pippin thought he heard horns and trumpets blowing. For a moment his heart beat for he thought it might be a signal that war had begun. But Gwinhir cried out. 'They are come. Some of the folk from beyond the walls that have been rumoured. Hasten now, they'll be riding [?in by] the East Gate.

Here the draft ends, abandoned. Why my father rejected this story one can only surmise; a clue is perhaps to be found at the point in the text where Pippin, at the end of his first day (6 February) in Minas Tirith (spent in the company of Beren and other men of the Guard), 'after the manner of Gondor soon went to his bed' (p. 283). Here my father added a note on the manuscript in pencil, reminding himself to look up what had been said of the weather in the story of Frodo and Sam in Ithilien, and saying that 'if possible' the sunset of 6 February should be 'ominous': 'Darkness began next morning, a fiery haze.' When he wrote this he may have intended to rewrite the story only to the extent that Pippin should see the 'ominous' sunset as he went back to his lodging on the first night, and then when he woke next morning the great pall should have overspread the sky: in deepening darkness he would make his way down to the Great Gate, and encounter the aggressive Gwinhir. Or it may be that it was when writing this note that he decided to change the structure of the story, and abandoned the draft. At any rate, he evidently decided that it would be better to compress the whole story of this chapter into a single day, concluded by the first presage of the Darkness approaching and the smouldering sunset at the closing of the gates, when the last of the men of the Outlands had entered the City. Chronological considerations may have played a part in this.

He now turned back to the point where Beren invited Pippin to join his company for that day, and began anew. This new drafting was written in soft pencil at great speed, and would be hard indeed to interpret and often altogether illegible were the new text not so close to the final form: the story becomes that of RK in virtually every point[27] and largely in the same words. But it peters out shortly before the end

of the chapter, at the words 'But the dying sun set it all afire and Mindolluin was black against a dull smoulder' (RK p. 44).

Beren now becomes *Barathil*, changed in the course of the writing of the text to *Barithil*; his father's name does not appear. His son was named Bergil from the first. The Street of the Lampwrights has the Elvish name *Rath a Chalardain* (*Rath Celerdain* in RK); and Pippin is called *Ernil a Pheriannath* (*i* for *a* in RK).

The 'Homeric catalogue', as my father called it (p. 229), of the reinforcements entering Minas Tirith[28] from the Outlands was written out twice, the first form being jumbled and unclear, and at the second writing (beginning after the arrival of Forlong, at the words 'And so the companies came and were hailed and cheered ...', RK p. 43) it becomes remarkably close to the form in RK. I have the strong impression that the new names that appear here were devised in the composition of this text. Forlong the Fat, however, had appeared several times previously, pp. 229, 262, 276. He was here first said to be, as in RK, 'lord of the vale of Lossarnach',[29] but *Lossarnach* was struck out and replaced by 'the Ringlo away in Lebennin' (see Map III in VII.309). Yet this is immediately contradicted in both forms of the text, where we find just as in RK 'the men of Ringlo Vale behind Dervorin, son of their lord, striding on foot: three hundreds.' In the first form the vale is called Imlad-Ringlo. Duinhir and his five hundred bowmen from the Blackroot Vale (Morthond Vale and Imlad Morthond in the first form) is named (but not his sons, Duilin and Derufin in RK). After them come the men of 'Dor-Anfalas [*changed from* Belfalas], the Langstrand far away': see again Map III in VII.309, where 'Belfalas (Langstrand)' is the region afterwards named Anfalas. Their lord is Asgil-Golamir (Golasgil in RK). Then the hillmen of Lamedon, a name that first appears here; the fisher-folk of the Ethir; and Hirluin the Fair from the green hills of Pinnath Gelin, also first occurring here (but he is at first said to be from Erech). The Prince of Dol Amroth, kinsman of the Lord of Minas Tirith, bears the token of a golden ship and a silver swan; but he is given no name.

There is no other initial drafting extant (except for a roughly pencilled slip giving the revised conclusion of the conversation with Denethor, RK pp. 30–1). The first complete text is a typescript: I think it all but certain that my father made this before he proceeded much, if any, further in the narrative.

The title of the chapter as typed was: *Book V Chapter XLIV: Peregrin enters the service of the Lord of Minas Tirith.* For the most part the differences between the original draft and RK noticed above (pp. 277–83 and notes) were retained in this text: some but by no means all of these were changed in pencil on the typescript. Thus Gandalf's ride still took three nights, not four. The description of the 'townlands' of Minas Tirith remains as it was (pp. 277–8), with the sole

difference that the *Pelennor* now becomes the name of the townlands, and the wall is named *Ramas Coren* (changed in pencil to *Rammas Ephel*).[30] On the other hand, the passage cited on p. 278 concerning the River is now present as in RK, except for the sentence 'And there where the White Mountains of Eredfain came to their end' (changed on the typescript to Ered Nimrais). The White Tower remains the Tower of Denethor; and the description of Minas Tirith remains as it was in the draft, with no material difference save in the height of the Tower, here said to be two hundred, not three hundred feet. Thus the great out-thrust pier of rock was still absent, and it was not introduced into this text. On the reverse of the preceding typescript page is a plan of the city, reproduced on p. 290; here appears the name *Rath Dínen*, and also *Othram or City Wall*, of the wall of the outermost circle, pierced by the Great Gate.[31]

In the account of the great hall the description of the floor is retained from the draft, and that of the capitals introduced, thus:

> Monoliths of black marble, they rose to great capitals carved in many figures of strange beasts and leaves; and far above in shadow the wide vaulting gleamed with dull gold. The floor was of polished stone, white-gleaming, inset with flowing traceries of many colours.

This was repeated in the following typescript; but in the final typescript, from which the text in RK was printed, the sentence was compressed: '... gleamed with dull gold, inset with flowing traceries of many colours.' Since there is no indication on the second typescript that any change was intended, it seems certain that this was a casual 'line-jumping' error, causing the 'flowing traceries' to be ascribed to the vaulting.

Denethor now names the father of Mardil *Orondil* (*Faragon* in the draft, *Vorondil* in RK). It is still Gandalf, not Denethor, who speaks the words of the oath which Pippin repeats; but the conclusion of the conversation between Gandalf and Denethor (also found in preliminary drafting, p. 287) is now present, and differs from the form in RK only in that after Gandalf's words 'Unless the king should come again?' he continues: 'That would be a strange conclusion. Well, let us strive to keep some kingdom still against that event!'

Barathil, *Barithil* of the second draft (p. 287) is now *Barithil*, becoming in the course of the typing of this text *Berithil*; he is the son of Baranor, as is Beregond in RK. The man at the buttery hatch is now Targon, as in RK.

In the description of the view eastward from the walls of Minas Tirith the Anduin is still some seven leagues away, and as it bends 'in a mighty sweep south and west again' it is still 'lost to view *round the shoulders of the mountains* in a haze and shimmer' (p. 283). The

italicized words were afterwards struck from the typescript; the reason for this can be seen from a comparison of Map III in VII.309 with the large map of Rohan, Gondor and Mordor in *The Return of the King*, where the view of the Great River from Minas Tirith is not impeded by the eastern end of the mountains. The passage in RK which was absent from the draft, describing the traffic across the Pelennor, is now present and reaches the final form in every point, save only that Berithil here says: 'That is the road to the vales of Tumladen and Glossarnach' (see note 29); but this was changed in pencil to *Lossarnach*, and later in the text Forlong the Fat is named 'lord of Lossarnach'.[32]

Of the part of the text covered by the second draft (pp. 286–7) there is little to note, since the final form was already very largely achieved. In the 'catalogue' of the peoples of the Outlands the lord of Anfalas (so named) is now Golasgil, as in RK, but the prince of Dol Amroth is still not further identified. The conclusion of the chapter, not found in the draft, is here almost exactly as in RK. After the words (RK p. 45) 'The lodging was dark, save for a little lantern set on the table' my father first typed: 'Beside it was a scribbled note from Gandalf', but he barred this out immediately and substituted 'Gandalf was not there'. The chapter ends: 'No, when the summons comes, not at sunrise. There will be no sunrise. The darkness has begun.'

NOTES

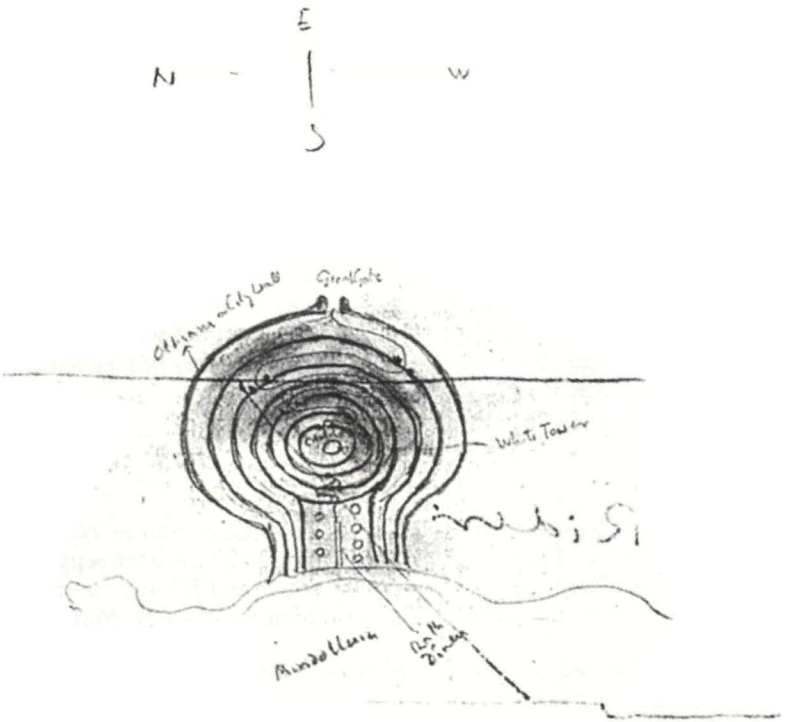
1 Book V, Chapter 1 'Minas Tirith' is the 44th chapter in *The Lord of the Rings*. 'The Departure of Boromir' had now been separated off from 'The Riders of Rohan', 'Flotsam and Jetsam' from 'The Voice of Saruman', and 'The Forbidden Pool' from 'Journey to the Cross-roads'.

2 This is the first appearance of the Sons of Elrond (see VII.163–4, and p. 297 in this book).

3 According to time-schemes D and S (p. 272) Aragorn reached Edoras and went up Harrowdale on the morning of February 5, while Théoden came to Dunharrow at nightfall of the 6th.

4 This is the first reference to the part played by the Dead Men of Dunharrow. For the earliest hint of the story see outline V on p. 263: 'News comes from South that a great king has descended out of the mountains where he had been entombed, and set such a flame into men that the mountaineers ... and the folk of Lebennin have utterly routed the Southrons and burned [> taken] their ships.'

5 This was the Nazgûl (as the chronology was at this time) sent out from Mordor after Pippin looked into the *palantír* of Orthanc, passing high overhead and unseen 'about an hour after midnight'



Plan of Minas Tirith

when Frodo, Sam and Gollum had not long left the pit among the slag-mounds: see pp. 119–20.

6 *Pippin on the battlements ... sees the moonrise on night of* 6 ... *and thinks of Frodo*: see p. 271.

7 I presume that the rejected words at the end of the outline 'do not turn aside but go straight (on)' mean that they passed the mouth of the Deeping Coomb and did not go up to the Hornburg. According to time-scheme D (p. 140) Gandalf reached Edoras at dawn on February 4, and he stayed there throughout the daylight hours. If Aragorn and his companions rode on at all speed making for Edoras, without any long halt, they would have caught him up!

8 Thus the passage in which Pippin thinks of Frodo remains the same as in text C, though with a difference in wording: 'little thinking that Frodo would see from far away the white snows under that same moon as it set beyond Gondor.' Gandalf's journey still takes three nights, not four as in RK.

9 On the First Map (Map III in VII.309) the distance from Minas Tirith to Osgiliath is about 70 miles (more than 23 leagues); and on the map made in October 1944 that I have redrawn on p. 269 it is still about 50 miles (which, since in the present draft the fords of Osgiliath were a league from the Pelennor wall, would give a radius of some 15 and a half leagues). In the note that my father wrote about my 1943 version of the First Map (see VII.322 note 1) he said that 'the distance across the vale of Anduin [should be] *much* reduced, so that Minas Tirith is close to Osgiliath and Osgiliath closer to Minas Morgul'; and the distance from the city to the Rammas Echor in the direction of Osgiliath is 10 miles on my map published in RK (on the original map on which mine was based 12 miles, agreeing with 'four leagues' in the text of RK, p. 22).

10 In the drawing the seventh gate faces in the same direction (north-east?) as the second gate, but the drawing may be defective: gates 1 – 3 – 5 – 7 are in a line.

11 In the draft, when Gandalf and Pippin came to the Seventh Gate, 'the sun that looked down on Ithilien and Sam busy with his steaming pan and herbs glowed on the smooth walls and the marbled arch and pillars.' It was the morning of February 6, the day on which Frodo and Sam encountered Faramir and went to Henneth Annûn. In RK the sentence is different: 'the warm sun that shone down beyond the river, as Frodo walked in the glades of Ithilien ...' — for on the day that Gandalf and Pippin arrived in Minas Tirith (March 9) Frodo and Sam reached the Morgul-road at dusk.

12 This is the first appearance of the name Argonath (see VII.359–60, 362).

13 In LR (*The Tale of Years*) it was the Steward Ecthelion I who rebuilt the White Tower in the year 2698, more than three centuries before this time; Denethor's father Ecthelion was the second Steward of that name (which derives from the legend of the Fall of Gondolin: see II.212, footnote). — 'The tower of Denethor' was named in the chapter 'The Palantír', p. 77.

14 *Vorondil father of Mardil* in RK, p. 27; and see LR Appendix A (I, ii). — A space was left for the name of the god, apparently filled in immediately, first with *Ramr* which was struck out before completion, then with *Araw*. On *Araw* beside *Oromë* see the *Etymologies*, V.379, stem ORÓM.

15 *twelve days ago* (*thirteen days ago* in RK): see p. 150 and note 10. In *The Tale of Years* the dates are February 26 (death of Boromir) and March 9 (Gandalf reaches Minas Tirith).

16 Denethor says of Pippin's sword: 'Surely it is a sax wrought by our own folk in the North in the deep past?', where RK has 'blade' and 'kindred'. The word *sax* (Old English *seax*, dagger, short sword) was the final choice in the draft after rejection of 'blade', 'knife' and 'dagger'.

17 Many other pencilled alterations were made to this part of the manuscript, mostly to clarify the writing, which is here rather rough. Among these the following may be noted: as Beren and Pippin sat on the seat beside the battlement Beren said: 'We thought it was the whim our lord to take him a page boy', and this was changed by the addition of 'after the manner of the old kings that had dwarves in their service, if old tales be true.'

18 *only twenty years old* was changed in pencil to *little more than twenty years old*. In RK Pippin told Beregond that 'it will be four years yet before I "come of age", as we say in the Shire.'

19 Of the shadow in the East it is said in the draft: 'Maybe it was mountains looming like clouds on the edge of sight ... 100 miles away'; cf. RK p. 37: 'Perhaps it was mountains looming on the verge of sight, their jagged edges softened by wellnigh twenty leagues of misty air.'

20 Where in RK (p. 37) Beregond tells that the Fell Riders won back the crossings 'less than a year ago', and that after Boromir had driven the enemy back 'we hold still the near half of Osgiliath', in the draft Beren says: 'And the Fell Riders but a little while ago [?two] years or more won back the crossings and came [?over] into this western land. But Boromir drove them back. And still we hold the crossings.'

21 Beren says as in RK that 'some say that as he sits alone in his high chamber in the Tower at night ... he can even read somewhat of the mind of the Enemy'; he does not speak of 'wrestling', nor add the words 'And so it is that he is old, worn before his time.'

22 The coming of the great fleet from the south is referred to in all but one of the outlines given in the last chapter. In the draft Beren says of the Corsairs of Umbar that they have 'long forsaken the suzerainty of Gondor' ('long ceased to fear the might of Gondor', RK). And he says of the fleet: 'Now that will draw off much help that we might look to from Lebennin south away between the mountains and the Sea, where folk are numerous.' Thus Belfalas is not named, as it is in RK ('from Lebennin and Belfalas', p. 38). The name *Belfalas* was originally applied to the coastal lands in the west subsequently named *Anfalas* (*Langstrand*): this change was made to the First Map and the 1943 map (VII.309–10). Precisely where my father placed Belfalas when Anfalas was substituted is not clear, but his note correcting the 1943 map (VII.322 note 1) says: 'Lebennin should be Belfalas'. That Belfalas was in the region of the Mouths of Anduin might seem to be suggested by the passage describing the journey of the funeral boat in drafting for 'The Departure of Boromir' (VII.382): 'and the voices of a thousand seabirds lamented him upon the beaches of Belfalas'; but Belfalas seems to have retained its original sense up to this time, since it was replaced by Dor-Anfalas in drafting for the present chapter (p. 287). On the Second Map (by a later addition) it is placed as on the map published in LR (see pp. 434, 437).

23 At this point my father scribbled down some very rough notes in pencil, but the following paragraph ('Beren was on duty ...') was then written over them, so that they are hard to read: 'rude boy of the City Gates password *Gir.. edlothiand na ngalad melon i ni [ʔsevo] ni [ʔedran].* Sees the hosts ride in from Lebennin.'

24 Written in the margin here: 'He is called Thalion, and my name is Ramloth.' Beneath *Ramloth* is written *Gwinhir*, and at the first occurrence of the boy's name in the actual narrative my father began *Ram*, changed it to *Arad*, and then wrote *Gwinhir*. — *Thalion* 'steadfast' was the 'surname' of Húrin.

25 *I am 21 years old:* see note 18.

26 Added here: 'But do not speak so darkly.' I do not know what this refers to. Perhaps Pippin's concluding sentence, consisting of three or four wholly illegible words, was equally obscure to Thalion.

27 The greeting of Gondor is still 'with outstretched hand', not 'with hands upon the breast'; and Pippin still says that he is 21 years old (see note 25).

28 For the earliest form of the 'catalogue', bearing little relation to this, see p. 252. The name Forlong the Fat is written on the manuscript of 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn', p. 229, but this is obviously not contemporary with that outline.

29 *G* was written before *Lossarnach*, but struck out before *Lossarnach* was entered: see p. 289.

30 This passage was afterwards rejected and replaced by a carefully written rider, introducing the description as it stands in RK p. 22, with the name Rammas Echor, and mention of Emyn Arnen, the Harlond, Lossarnach, 'Lebennin with its five swift streams', and Imrahil of Dol Amroth 'in the great fief of Belfalas'. As this rider was first written, 'the quays and landings of the Harlond' were 'the quays and landings of Lonnath-Ernin'.

31 The two cross lines above and below the word 'Rider' reversed show through from the other side of the page: this is the rider referred to in note 30. — The reference to the sun looking down on 'Sam busy with his steaming pan and herbs' (see note 11) remained, but was altered in pencil to 'the warm sun that shone down beyond the River, as Frodo saying farewell to Faramir walked in the glades of Ithilien' (in RK the words 'saying farewell to Faramir' are absent). The altered text represents the synchronization discussed in the Note on Chronology below, whereby Frodo left Henneth Annûn on the same morning as Gandalf reached Minas Tirith.

32 The treatment in this text of other differences of detail between the original draft and RK may be mentioned here. The description of the livery and helms of the guards of the Citadel (p. 279) now becomes precisely as in RK; but Gandalf's words 'And Denethor at least does not expect him in any guise, for he does not know that he exists' remain. Denethor still declares that the horn was heard blowing upon the northern marches twelve days ago (note 15), and he still calls Pippin's sword a *sax* (note 16). Berithil is still clad in grey and white, and his reference to 'the old kings that had dwarves in their service' remains (note 17). Pippin tells him that he has 'not long passed twenty years' (note 18), and later tells Bergil that he is 'nearly twenty-one' (p. 284). Of the mountains in the East it is said that 'their jagged edges [were] softened by wellnigh a hundred miles of misty air' (note 19). Berithil says that 'the Fell Riders, but two years ago, won back the crossings' (note 20); his words about Denethor in the Tower are now precisely as in RK (note 21); and he says that the Corsairs of Umbar 'have long forsaken the friendship of Gondor', and again does not mention Belfalas as a source of aid to the city (note 22).

Note on the Chronology

In the chapter 'Journey to the Cross-roads' (pp. 175 ff.) Frodo and Sam left Henneth Annûn in the morning of February 7 and reached the Osgiliath road at dusk of that day. During the night of February 7–8

the air became heavy, and dark clouds moved out of the East during the morning of the 8th; they reached the Cross-roads at sunset, and saw the sun 'finding at last the hem of the great slow-rolling pall of cloud'.

In the present chapter Gandalf and Pippin arrived at Minas Tirith at sunrise on February 6, and in the note added to the original draft (see p. 286) my father said that the sunset of that day was to be ominous, with the Darkness beginning next morning, the 7th. There is thus a day out between 'Journey to the Cross-roads' and 'Minas Tirith'. (In the outlines for Book V given in the last chapter the Darkness begins on the 8th in outlines III and V, but on the 7th in outline VI.)

I cannot certainly explain this. Presumably my father had introduced a change in the chronology of the movements of Frodo and Sam in Ithilien, or at any rate intended to, and it may be that the rather obscure note given on p. 271 is connected with this: 'Whole of Frodo's and Sam's adventures must be set back *one day*, so that Frodo sees moon-set on morning (early hours) of Feb. 6, and Faramir reaches Minas Tirith on night of the 7th, and Great Darkness begins on 7th.' This gives the following relations (and see note 31 above):

Feb. 6 Frodo leaves Henneth Annûn; reaches Osgiliath road at dusk.
Gandalf reaches Minas Tirith. Ominous sunset.
Feb. 7 Great Darkness begins. Frodo reaches Cross-roads at sunset.

See further the note on chronology on pp. 321–2. — The final synchronization of the stories east and west of Anduin was differently achieved, with extension of Gandalf's ride to Minas Tirith from three nights to four (p. 264 note 3), and of Frodo's journey from Henneth Annûn from two days to three (p. 182). Thus in *The Tale of Years* in LR:

March 8 Frodo leaves Henneth Annûn.
March 9 Gandalf reaches Minas Tirith. At dusk Frodo reaches the Morgul-road [= Osgiliath road]. Darkness begins to flow out of Mordor.
March 10 The Dawnless Day. Frodo passes the Cross Roads.

IV

MANY ROADS LEAD EASTWARD (1)

The original draft ('A') for Chapter XLV (Book V Chapter 2, afterwards called 'The Passing of the Grey Company') was written in pencil in my father's roughest script, and extended only as far as Théoden's words about the Rangers: 'thirty such men will be a strength not to be counted by heads' (RK p. 48). At this stage, I think, he wrote a brief outline for the next part of the chapter which takes up from the point reached in A.

The night was old and the East grey when they came at last to the Hornburg and there rested.

Rangers say that messages reached them through Rivendell. They suppose Gandalf or Galadriel or both?

Merry sat at the king's side in Hornburg, regrets that Pippin was away.

They prepare to ride by secret ways to Dunharrow. Aragorn does not sleep but becomes restless. Takes the Orthanc stone to the tower of the Hornburg and looks in it.

He comes out of the chamber looking very weary, and will say naught but goes to sleep till evening.

'There is evil news,' he said. 'The black fleet is drawing near to Umbar [*sic*]. That will disturb counsels. I fear we must part, Éomer. To meet again later. But not yet. How long will it take to Dunharrow?' 'Two days. If we ride on the 5th we shall reach there by evening of the 6th.'[1]

Aragorn fell silent. 'That will do,' he said.

The reverse of this page is a contoured map of the White Mountains, ruled in squares of 2 cm. side, extending some 90 miles east and west of Edoras, with no features (other than mountain peaks) marked save the Morthond and the Stone of Erech in the south and Edoras and the Snowbourn in the north. Harrowdale here runs a little west of south, in contrast to the map redrawn on p. 258 where it runs south-east, and Erech is a very little east of south from Edoras (assuming that the map is oriented north-south). A pencilled note against the Stone of Erech gives a distance: '62 miles as crow flies from Dunharrow' (where the second figure seems to have been changed from 3); and in the margin is written: 'Scale 4 times main map'. Whichever map

my father was referring to[2] this would mean that 1 mm. = 1.25 miles; and a dot pencilled in subsequently very near the head of Harrowdale and obviously representing the place of Dunharrow is at a distance of 51 mm. from the Stone of Erech (= 63.75 miles).[3]

He now returned to the opening of the chapter and overwrote the brief pencilled text in ink, so that it is obscured.[4]

The new draft ('**B**') in ink, as far as the point where the underlying pencilled text ends, reaches that of RK (pp. 46–8) in all but a few points. In the opening paragraph of the chapter it is said of Merry's possessions only that 'he had few things to pack', and this was bracketed; at the head of the page my father wrote: 'Hobbit packs lost at Calembel? replenished at Isengard' (for *Calembel* see the Index to Vol. VII, s.v. *Calenbel*). To Aragorn's words 'But why they come, and how many they are, Halbarad[5] shall tell us' Halbarad replies: 'Thirty we are, and the brethren Elboron and Elbereth are among them. More of us could scarcely be found in these dwindling days, as you well know; and we had to gather in haste. We came because you summoned us. Is that not so?' To which Aragorn replies: 'Nay, save in wish.'[6]

The coming of the sons of Elrond with the Rangers is referred to in the outline given on p. 274. It is interesting to see that the names first given to them, *Elboron* and *Elbereth*, were originally those of the young sons of Dior Thingol's Heir, the brothers of Elwing, who were murdered by 'the evil men of Maidros' host' in the attack on Doriath by the Fëanorians (*The Annals of Beleriand*, in IV.307, V.142); they were thus the great-uncles of the sons of Elrond. But the names *Elboron* and *Elbereth* of Dior's sons had been replaced by *Elrûn* and *Eldûn* (IV.325–6; V.147, 351–3; VI.68).

The new draft B continues on from the point reached in the pencilled opening, but the passage that immediately follows in RK (in which Elrohir son of Elrond delivers his father's message to Aragorn concerning the Paths of the Dead, and Aragorn asks Halbarad what it is that he bears) is entirely absent. The text continues (RK p. 48):

The night was old and the East grey when they rode at last up from the Deeping Coomb and came back to the Hornburg. There they were to lie and rest for a while and take counsel.

Merry slept, until he was roused by Legolas and Gimli. 'The sun is high,' said [Gimli >] Legolas. 'Everyone else is out and about. Come and look round. There was a great battle here only three nights ago. I would show you where the Huorn-forest stood.'

'Is there not time to visit the Caves?' said Gimli.

'I have given my word to go with you,' said Legolas. 'But let

that be later and do not spoil the wonder with haste. It is near the hour of noon, and after we have eaten we are to set out swiftly, or so I hear.'

Merry sighed; he was lonely without Pippin and felt that he was only a burden, while everybody was making plans for a business he did not much understand.

'Aragorn has a company of his own now,' said Gimli. '[He seems changed somewhat, and some dark care is on him. But [he] looks more like a king than Théoden himself.][7] They are stout men and lordly. The Riders look almost like boys beside them; for they are grim and worn for the most part, such as Aragorn was. But he seems changed somewhat: a kingly man if ever there was one, though some dark care or doubt sits on him.'

'Where is he?' said Merry.

'In a high chamber in the tower,' said Gimli. 'He has not rested or slept, I think. He went there soon after we came here, saying he must take thought, and only his kinsman Halbarad went with him.'

Merry walked about with Legolas and Gimli for a while, while they spoke of this and that turn of the battle; and they passed the ruined gate and the mounds of the fallen, and they stood upon the dike looking down the Coomb. The Dead Down stood black and tall and stony amid the trampled grass. The Dunlanders and other men of the garrison were busy here and there, on the dyke and in the fields or on the battered walls. At length they returned and went to the meal in the hall of the burg. There Merry was called and was set beside the King.

The conversation of Merry with Théoden, leading to the offer of his service and its acceptance, is virtually the same as in RK (pp. 50–1) and need not be cited. Then follows:

They spoke together for a while. Then Éomer said: 'It is near the hour we set for our departing. Shall I bid men sound the horns? And where is Aragorn? His place is empty and he has not eaten.'

The horns were sounded and men got ready to ride, the Riders of Rohan now in a great company, for the King was leaving but a small garrison in the Burg, and all that could be spared were riding to the muster with him. A thousand spears had already ridden away at night to Edoras; and yet now there

were still some three hundred or more that had gathered from the fields about.

In a group by themselves were the Rangers. They were clad in dark grey and their horses were rough-haired. Hoods were over the[ir] helms. They [?wore] spear and bow and sword. There was nothing fine or splendid in their array, no sign or badge, save this only, that each cloak was pinned on the left shoulder by a silver brooch shaped like a rayed star.[8] Dark and sombre and proud men they looked.

Presently Éomer came out of the gate of the Burg, and with him came Halbarad and Aragorn. They came down the ramp and walked to the waiting horses. Merry sitting on his pony by the King was startled by Aragorn. He looked grim, grey-faced, weary, old, and leant a little on Halbarad.

'I have evil tidings, lord,' he said standing before the King. 'A grave peril unlooked for threatens Gondor. A great fleet is drawing near from the south, and will cut off all but scanty help from that region. From Rohan alone can they expect much help now. But I must take new counsel. I fear, lord, and Éomer my friend, we must part – to meet again, maybe, or maybe not. But how long will you take to reach Dunharrow?'

'It is now an hour after noon,' said Éomer. 'On the evening of the second day from now we should come there. That night the moon will rise full, and the muster that the King commanded will begin the day after.'[9]

Aragorn fell silent as if considering. 'Two days,' he said. 'It cannot be much speeded. Well, by your leave, lord, I will forsake this secrecy. The time for it is passed for me. I will eat now and then I and my rangers will ride as swift as steed may go direct to Edoras. We shall meet at Dunharrow ere we part. Farewell. May I commit my friend and charge Meriadoc to your care?'

'No need,' said Théoden, 'he has sworn himself to my service. He is my esquire.'

'Good,' said Aragorn. 'All that you do is kingly. Farewell.'

'Goodbye, Meriadoc,' said Gimli, 'but we're going with Aragorn. It seems that he needs us. But we'll meet again, I think. And yours for the present is the better road, I think. Jogging on a nice pony, while I cling on behind Legolas and try to keep pace with these Rangers!'

'Farewell,' said Merry regretfully.

A horn was sounded and the Riders set forth, and rode down

the Coomb, and turning swiftly west [*read* east] took a path that skirted the foothills for a mile or so and then turned back in among the hills and slopes and disappeared.

Aragorn watched until the King's men were far down the Coomb. Then he turned to Halbarad. 'I must eat,' he said, 'and then we must speed on our way. Come Legolas and Gimli. I would speak to you as I eat.'

'Well,' said Aragorn as he sat at the table in the hall. 'I have looked in the Stone, my friends. For my heart [foreboded that] told me that there was much to learn.'

'You looked in the Stone!' said Gimli, amazed, awestruck, and rather alarmed. 'What did you tell – him?'

'What did I tell him?' said Aragorn sternly, and his eyes glinted. 'That I had a rascal of a rebel dwarf here that I would exchange for a couple of good orcs, thank you! I thought I had the strength, and the strength I had. I said naught to him and wrenched the Stone from him to my own purpose. But he saw me, yes and he saw me in other guise maybe than you see me. If I have done ill I have done ill. But I do not think so. To know that I lived and walked the earth was something of a blow to his heart, and certainly he will now hasten all his strokes – but they will be the less ripe. And then I learned much. For one thing, that there are yet other Stones. One is at Erech and that is where we are going. [*Struck out:* At the Stone of Erech Men shall ... be seen.][10] Halbarad bears this message:

Out of the mountain shall they come their tryst keeping;
at the Stone of Erech their horn shall blow,
when hope is dead and the kings are sleeping
and darkness lies on the world below:
Three lords shall come from the three kindreds
from the North at need by the paths of the dead
elflord, dwarflord, and lord forwandréd,
and one shall wear a crown on head.[11]

And that is an old rhyme of Gondor which none have understood; but I think I perceive somewhat of its sense now. To the Stone of Erech by the paths of the Dead!' he said rising. 'Who will come with me?'

The last two sentences were inked in over pencil, and the rest of the text consists of jottings in ink and pencil. These begin:

So now all roads were running together to the East and the coming of the War. And even as Pippin stood at the Gate and

saw the Prince of Dol Amroth ride into the city with his banners the King of Rohan came down out of the hills.

This is the beginning of 'The Muster of Rohan' in RK.[12] It is followed by a sketch of the Starkhorn, and then by rough drafting developing the conversation of Théoden and Éomer as they came into Harrowdale nearer to its form in RK. On the significance of this see pp. 306–7.

This draft was followed (as I judge, immediately) by another ('C'), numbered 'XLV' but without title, more clearly written, but not much advancing on its predecessor. At the beginning of the chapter, Merry 'had few things to bring, for the hobbits had lost their packs at Calembel (Calledin), and though Merry and Pippin had found some new ones at Isengard and had picked up a few necessaries, they made only a light bundle' (see p. 297). In the conversation of Legolas, Gimli and Merry at the Hornburg (RK p. 49) Legolas now speaks of the sons of Elrond, still named Elboron and Elbereth (and it is only now actually made clear who these were, cf. p. 297): 'Sombre is their gear like the others', but they are fair and gallant as Elven-lords. And that is not to be wondered at, for they are the own sons of Elrond of Rivendell.' From Merry's question 'Why have they come? Have you heard?' the conversation then proceeds as in RK, with Gimli quoting the message that came to Rivendell and ascribing it to Gandalf, and Legolas suggesting that it came more likely from Galadriel.[13] Aragorn's horse Roheryn, brought by the Rangers (RK p. 51) has not yet entered (when he left for Edoras he still rode Hasufel), nor is Merry's pony (Stybba in RK) yet given a name; but the sons of Elrond are described in the same words as in RK, and their armour of bright mail cloaked in silver-grey (thus apparently contradicting Legolas' earlier remark 'Sombre is their gear like the others' ', where in RK he says 'Less sombre is their gear than the others' ').

When Aragorn came from the gate of the Burg the new text follows the earlier closely (pp. 299–300), but he does not name the 'grave peril unlooked for' that threatens Gondor, and he no longer says 'We shall meet at Dunharrow ere we part', but 'I shall be gone ere you come there, if my purpose holds'. His account of his looking into the *palantír* of Orthanc is somewhat developed, though his sarcasm to Gimli remains; from his words 'If I have done ill I have done ill, but I do not think so' this text continues:

'To know that I lived and walked the earth was a blow to his heart, I deem, for he knew it not till now. But he has not forgotten the sword of Isildur or his maimed hand and the pain that lives ever with him. That in this very hour of his great designs the heir of Isildur should be revealed and the sword of

Elendil – for I showed him that – will disturb his counsels. Certainly now he will hasten all his strokes, but the hasty stroke goes often wild.

'And I learned much. For one thing, that there are other Stones yet preserved in this ancient land. One is at Erech. And thither we are going. To the Stone of Erech, if we can find and dare the Paths of the Dead.'

'The Paths of the Dead?' said Gimli. 'That has a fell name! Where does it lie?'

'I do not know yet,' said Aragorn. 'But I know much old lore of these lands, and I have learned much myself in many journeys; and I have a guess. To prove it we shall ride fast ere the day is much older. But harken, here is an old rhyme of my kindred, almost forgotten. It was not said openly, but Halbarad tells me that the message that came to Rivendell ended so. "Bid Aragorn remember the dark words of old:

Out of the mountain shall they come their tryst keeping;
At the Stone of Erech their horns shall blow ..."'

The only differences in this form of the verse from that in the previous draft B (p. 300) are: *horns* for *horn* in line 2; *lost* for *dead* in line 3; *shadow* for *darkness* in line 4; and *man* for *lord* in line 7.

This text C was very substantially altered, by pencilled changes, and by the substitution of rewritten pages to replace existing ones. I doubt that much time if any elapsed between the initial writing of the manuscript and the making of these changes: my impression is that the text as first written ended at this point, with 'the dark words of old', at almost the same point as the preceding draft B ended (p. 300), and that my father at once began to develop it further.

The points in which B differed from RK, mentioned in note 6, were now all altered to the final form (save that the name *Dúnadan* had not yet arisen); and while *Elboron* remained, *Elbereth* was changed to *Elrohir*. The passage (RK p. 48) in which Elrohir delivers Elrond's message to Aragorn, and Halbarad speaks the message of Arwen accompanying her gift, is still altogether lacking; but after the description of the Rangers (RK p. 51) the following was inserted:

Halbarad their leader carried a tall staff, upon which it seemed was a great standard, but it was close-furled and covered with a black cloth bound about it with many thongs.

A major rewriting[14] was inserted into the C manuscript at the point where Aragorn came from the gate of the Burg; the text of RK is now

much more nearly approached, yet not reached, for Aragorn seeks knowledge of the Paths of the Dead, whereas in RK (p. 52) he does not.

'I am troubled in mind, lord,' he said, standing by the king's stirrup. 'Strange words have I heard and I see new perils afar off. I have laboured long in thought, and now I fear that I must change my purpose. But tell me, Théoden, what do you know in this land of the Paths of the Dead?'

'The Paths of the Dead!' said Théoden. 'Why do you speak of them?' Éomer turned and gazed at Aragorn, and it seemed to Merry that the faces of the Riders that sat within hearing turned pale at the words, and he wondered what they could mean.

'Because I would learn where they are,' said Aragorn.

'I do not know if indeed there be such paths,' said Théoden; 'but their gate stands in Dunharrow, if old lore be true that is seldom spoken aloud.'

'In Dunharrow!' said Aragorn. 'And you are riding thither. How long will it be ere you come there?'

'It is now two hours past noon,' said Éomer. 'Before the night of the second day from now we should come to the Hold. That night the moon will rise at the full, and the muster that the king commanded will begin the day after. More speed we cannot make, if the strength of Rohan is to be gathered.'

Aragorn was silent for a moment. 'Two days,' he murmured, 'and then the muster of Rohan will only be begun. But I see that it cannot now be hastened.' He looked up, and it seemed that he had made some decision; his face was less troubled.

'Well, by your leave, lord, I must take new counsel. For myself and my kindred, we will now be secret no longer. For me the time of stealth has passed. I will make ready now, and then with my own folk I will ride the straight and open way with all speed to Edoras, and thence to Dunharrow, and thence – who shall say?'

'Do as you will,' said Théoden. 'Your foes are mine; but let each fight as his wisdom guides him. Yet now I must take the mountain-roads and delay no longer. Farewell!'

'Farewell, Aragorn!' said Éomer. 'It is a grief to me that we do not ride together.'

'Yet in battle we may meet again, though all the hosts of Mordor should lie between,' said Aragorn.

'If you seek the Paths of the Dead,' said Éomer, 'then it is little

likely that we shall meet among living men. Yet maybe it is your doom to tread strange ways that others dare not.'

'Goodbye, Aragorn!' said Merry. 'I did not wish to be parted from the remnant of our Company, but I have entered the King's service.'

'I could not wish you better fortune,' said Aragorn.

'Goodbye, my lad,' said Gimli. 'I am sorry, but Legolas and I are sworn to go with Aragorn. He says that he needs us. Let us hope the Company will be gathered again some day. And for the next stage yours will be the better road, I think. As you jog on your pony, think of me clinging here, while Legolas vies at horse-racing with those fell Rangers yonder.'

'Till we meet again!' said Legolas. 'But whatever way we chose, I see a dark path and hard before each of us ere the end. Farewell!'

The text then continues with Merry's sad farewell, and the departure of the Riders down the Coomb (in this text spelt throughout *Combe*), but Aragorn's words with Halbarad about Merry and the Shire-folk are absent. Aragorn's account of the Orthanc-stone was now rewritten again, with various minor changes bringing the text still closer to that in RK (his words 'The eyes in Orthanc did not see through the armour of Théoden' are however not present: see p. 77 and note 17). But in answer to Gimli's objection 'But he wields great dominion, nevertheless, and now he will move more swiftly' he replies in this revised version:

'The hasty stroke goes often astray,' said Aragorn. 'And his counsels will be disturbed. See, my friends, when I had mastered the Stone I learned many things. A grave peril I saw coming unlooked-for upon Gondor from the South that will draw off great strength from the defence of Minas Tirith. And there are other movements in the North. But now he will hesitate, doubting whether the heir of Isildur hath that which Isildur took from him, and thinking that he must win or lose all before the gates of the City. If so, that is well, as well as an evil case may be.

'Another thing I learned. There are other Stones yet preserved in this ancient land. One is at Erech. Thither I will go. To the Stone of Erech, if we can find the Paths of the Dead.'

'The Paths of the Dead!' said Gimli. 'That is a fell name, and little to the liking of the men of Rohan, as I saw. Where do they lie, and why must we seek them?'

'I do not yet know where they lie,' said Aragorn. 'But in Dunharrow it seems that we may learn the answer. To Dunharrow at the swiftest, then, I will go.'

'And you would have us ride with you?' said Legolas.

'Of your free will I would,' said Aragorn. 'For not by chance, I deem, are we three now left together of the Company. We have some part to play together. Listen! Here is an old rhyme of my kindred, almost forgotten, never understood.

The days are numbered; the kings are sleeping.
It is darkling time, the shadows grow.
Out of the Mountain they come, their tryst keeping;
at the Stone of Erech horns they blow.
Three lords I see from the three kindreds:
halls forgotten in the hills they tread,
Elflord, Dwarflord, Man forwandréd,
from the North they come by the Paths of the Dead![15]

Why does this point to us, you may ask. I deem it fits the hour too well for chance. Yet if more is needed: the sons of Elrond bring this word from their father in Rivendell: "Bid Aragorn remember the Paths of the Dead."

'Come then!' Aragorn rose and drew his sword and it flashed in the twilight of the dim hall of the Burg. 'To the Stone of Erech! I seek the Paths of the Dead! Come with me who will!'

Legolas and Gimli answered nothing, but they rose also and followed Aragorn from the hall. There on the green waited silently the hooded Rangers. Legolas and Gimli mounted. Aragorn sprang on Hasufel. Then Halbarad lifted a great horn and the blast of it echoed in Helm's Deep; and they leapt away, riding down the Combe like thunder, while all the men that were left on Dike or Burg stared in amaze.

The last page of the manuscript carries the words pencilled at the end of version B (p. 300): 'So now all roads were running together to the East ...', the paragraph that opens 'The Muster of Rohan' in *The Return of the King*.

At this point my father typed a fair copy, which I will call 'M',[16] very closely based on the manuscript C as revised. This text, numbered 'XLV', bore the title 'Many Roads Lead Eastward'. Only a few passages need be noted. I have mentioned (p. 304) that after the departure of Théoden from the Hornburg 'Aragorn's words with Halbarad about Merry and the Shire-folk are absent' in C revised; but the forerunner of the passage in RK (p. 53) now appears:

Aragorn rode to the Dike and watched till the king's men were far down the Combe. Then he turned to Halbarad. 'There go three that I love,' he said, 'and not least the hobbit, Merry, most dearly. For all our love and dooms, Halbarad, and our deeds of arms, still they have a great worth, that greatheart little people; and it is for them that we do battle, as much as for any glory of Gondor. And yet fate divides. Well, so it is. I must eat a little, and then we too must haste away ...'[17]

Secondly, after Aragorn's words, 'If so that is well, as well as an evil case can be' (p. 304) he now continues:

'... These deadly strokes upon our flanks will be weakened. And we have a little room in which to play.

'Another thing I learned. There is another Stone preserved in the land of Gondor *that he has not looked in.* It is at Erech. Thither I will go. ...'

And lastly, Aragorn now introduces the 'old rhyme' in these words: 'Listen! Here is an old rhyme-of-lore among my kindred, almost forgotten, never understood: it is but a shard of the rhymes of Malbeth, the last Seer of our folk in the north' (see note 15). The verse differs from the form in C revised (p. 305) in lines 2–4, which here read:

It is darkling time, the shadow grows.
Out of the Mountain he comes, his tryst keeping;
At the Stone of Erech his horn he blows.

From the point where 'Aragorn sprang on Hasufel' the typescript M continues thus:

... Then Halbarad lifted a great horn, and the blast of it echoed in Helm's Deep, and with that they leapt away, riding down the Combe like thunder, while all the men that were left on Dike or Burg stared in amaze.

So now all roads were running together to the East to meet the coming of war and the onset of the Shadow. And even as Pippin stood at the Gate of the City and saw the Prince of Dol Amroth ride in with his banners, the King of Rohan came down out of the hills.

Day was waning. In the last rays of the sun the Riders cast long pointed shadows that went on before them. ...

The paragraph 'So now all roads were running together to the East ...' had been written at the ends of texts B and C (pp. 300, 305), from which it was already clear that my father had in mind a chapter

that should fall into two parts: first, the story of the return of Théoden and Aragorn to the Hornburg and Aragorn's looking into the *palantír* of Orthanc, followed by the separate departures of Théoden and the Riders and of Aragorn and the Rangers; and second, the story of Théoden's coming to Dunharrow. The paragraph 'So now all roads were running together to the East' was devised as the link between them (and provided the title of the chapter in the typescript, which I have adopted here). In terms of RK, this 45th chapter of *The Lord of the Rings* consisted of 'The Passing of the Grey Company' (pp. 46–56) and 'The Muster of Rohan' (pp. 64 ff.); but all account of Aragorn and the Rangers after they had left the Hornburg was to be postponed.

By the time typescript M was made, much further work had been done on what it is convenient to call by the later title 'The Muster of Rohan', extending it from the point reached in October 1944, as detailed in Chapter II ('Book Five Begun and Abandoned'). I shall therefore postpone the second part of 'Many Roads Lead Eastward' to my next chapter; but the subsequent history of the first or 'Hornburg' part may be briefly noticed here. The typescript M, retitled 'Dunharrow', became the vehicle of much of the later development (doubtless at different times) as far as the departure of Aragorn and the Rangers from the Hornburg, with such changes as *Parth Galen* for *Calembel* (and a proposed name *Calembrith*), *Elladan* for *Elboron*, the introduction of the passage (RK p. 48) in which Elrohir and Halbarad deliver the messages from Elrond and Arwen ('the Lady of Rivendell'), and of Aragorn's account (RK p. 55) of the oathbreaking of the Men of the Mountains and the words of Isildur to their king. Nonetheless, the verse of Malbeth did not at this stage reach the alliterative form in RK:

'... Listen! This is the word that the sons of Elrond bring to me from their father in Rivendell, wisest in lore:

'"Bid Aragorn remember the Paths of the Dead. For thus spoke Malbeth the Seer:

When the land is dark where the kings sleep
And long the Shadow in the East is grown,
The oathbreakers their tryst shall keep,
At the Stone of Erech shall a horn be blown:
The forgotten people shall their oath fulfill.
Who shall summon them, whose be the horn?
For none may come there against their will.
The heir of him to whom the oath was sworn;
Out of the North shall he come, dark ways shall he tread;
He shall come to Erech by the Paths of the Dead."'

At the stage represented by the further development of this typescript with its manuscript additions my father added (as the pagination shows), in a roughly written continuation that is however close to the form in RK, the story of the coming of the Grey Company (not yet so called) to Dunharrow, and the meeting that night, and again next day at dawn, of Aragorn and Éowyn (RK pp. 56–9).[18] It is clear from the pagination that at this stage the muster in Harrowdale was still to be included in this chapter ('Dunharrow'); and that the passage of the Paths of the Dead was not yet told in this part of the narrative.

NOTES

1 A note in the margin of this text says 'Night of 3, day of 4th', i.e. they came to the Hornburg at dawn of the 4th of February. The chronology envisaged here was presumably that Théoden would leave the Hornburg early on the 5th. See note 9.

2 On the First Map 'Dunharrow' was the name of the mountain afterwards called Starkhorn (VII.319 and p. 240 in this book); the distance from that 'Dunharrow' to the spot added later to mark the position of the Stone of Erech (p. 268, footnote) is 18.5 mm or 92.5 miles. Precisely the same, though I think that this is by chance rather than design, is found on the anomalous map redrawn on p. 269 for the distance from Erech to a little mark in Harrowdale that probably represents Dunharrow. The Second Map (p. 434) gives (probably) 45 miles; and this is also the distance on my father's large-scale map of Rohan, Gondor and Mordor (and on my reproduction of it published in *The Return of the King*).

3 A wooden ruler that may have been the one used by my father at this time gives 50 mm. = 62.5 miles.

4 Taum Santoski has been able however to read a good deal of it, especially in the latter part of the text where the arrival of the Rangers is described: here there is no difference of any significance between the original draft and the overwriting in ink. Of the opening passage of the chapter less can be made out; but it can be seen that Aragorn, in answer to Legolas' question 'Where?' ('And then whither?' in RK) replied: 'I cannot say yet. We shall go to the Hold of Dunharrow, to Edoras I guess for the muster that the King ordered in [three > ?four] nights' time from now. But that may prove too tardy.' He seems not to have said anything equivalent to 'An hour long prepared approaches'; and in answer to his question 'Who will go with me?' it is Merry alone who replies: 'I will. Though I promised to sit by the King when he gets back in his house and tell him about the Shire.' To this Aragorn replies: 'That must wait, I fear – [?indeed] I fear it shall

prove one of the fair things that will not come to flower in this bitter spring.'

5 For earlier applications of the name *Halbarad* see p. 236 and note 10.

6 A few other details in which the text differs from RK may be mentioned. Aragorn's reply to Merry's remark about his promise to Théoden remains as it was (note 4). In the encounter with the Rangers Merry's thoughts are not reported; Halbarad does not name himself *Dúnadan*; and neither Aragorn nor Halbarad dismount at first – not until the 'recognition' do they leap down from their horses.

7 The brackets are in the original.

8 In *The Tale of Years* (LR Appendix B) the entry for the year 1436 in the Shire Reckoning states that the King Elessar, coming to the Brandywine Bridge, gave the Star of the Dúnedain to Master Samwise. In my note 33 to *The Disaster of the Gladden Fields* in *Unfinished Tales* (pp. 284–5) I said that I was unable to say what this was. This is a convenient place to mention that after the publication of *Unfinished Tales* two correspondents, Major Stephen M. Lott and Mrs. Joy Mercer, independently suggested to me that the Star of the Dúnedain was very probably the same as the silver brooch shaped like a rayed star that was worn by the Rangers in the present passage (RK p. 51); Mrs. Mercer also referred to the star worn by Aragorn when he served in Gondor, as described in Appendix A (I.iv, *The Stewards*): 'Thorongil men called him in Gondor, the Eagle of the Star, for he was swift and keen-eyed, and wore a silver star upon his cloak.' These suggestions are clearly correct.

9 The chronology is now thus:

February 4 Théoden and Aragorn reach the Hornburg at dawn. In the afternoon Théoden and the Riders leave for Dunharrow, and soon after Aragorn and the Rangers leave for Edoras.

At the Hornburg Éomer says: 'On the evening of the second day from now we should come there [to Dunharrow]. That night the moon will rise full.'

February 6 Full moon. Théoden arrives at Dunharrow at dusk.

10 In a later text (see p. 397) the black Stone of Erech, brought from Númenor, was not a *palantír*, but a *palantír* was preserved in the Tower of Erech. In the present text (and in the subsequent revisions, pp. 302, 304–5), on the other hand, the most natural interpretation of the words seems to be that the Stone of Erech was itself the *palantír*. On the sites of the *palantíri* as originally conceived see pp. 76–7. — Against Aragorn's speech is pencilled in the margin: 'He has not forgotten the sword of Isildur. Doubtless

he will think that I have got the treasure.' Cf. the subsequent text (p. 304): 'But now he will hesitate, doubting whether the heir of Isildur hath that which Isildur took from him.'

11 I have punctuated this verse according to the subsequent version of it, which is almost identical. In the fourth line my father wrote *over earth*, changing *earth* to *the world*, and I have substituted *on* for *over*, as in the following version. — *forwandréd*: worn and weary from wandering.

12 The original texts of the abandoned opening of 'The Muster of Rohan' began 'Day was (fading) waning'; the paragraph cited ('So now all roads were running together to the East ...') precedes 'Day was waning' in RK.

13 In the message that came to Rivendell the wording in this text is: *The Lord Aragorn has need of his kindred. Let the last of the Kings of Men in the North ride to him in Rohan*, where RK has *Let the Dúnedain* ... In a rejected form of this passage preceding it in the manuscript the wording is: *Let all that remain of the* [struck out: *Tarkil*] *Kings of Men ride to him in Rohan.*

Legolas' support for his opinion that it was Galadriel who sent the message, 'Did she not speak through Gandalf of the ride of the Grey Company from the North?', is absent here. The reference is to 'The White Rider' (TT p. 106) and Galadriel's verse addressed to Aragorn spoken to him by Gandalf in Fangorn:

Near is the hour when the Lost should come forth,
And the Grey Company ride from the North.
But dark is the path appointed for thee:
The Dead watch the road that leads to the Sea.

It was at this stage in the evolution of the story that Galadriel's message in verse to Aragorn was changed from its earlier and altogether different form: see VII.431, 448.

When the three companions went down from the broken gates they 'passed the new mounds of the fallen raised on the Gore' ('on the greensward', RK p. 50); and 'the Riders were assembling upon the Gore' ('on the green', RK p. 51). Cf. the description of the Hornburg in the chapter 'Helm's Deep' (TT p. 134): 'About the feet of the Hornrock it [the Deeping Stream] wound, and flowed then in a gully through the midst of *a wide green gore*'; also the drawing of Helm's Deep and the Hornburg in *Pictures by J. R. R. Tolkien*, no. 26.

14 An odd detail may be mentioned here. In his conversation with Legolas and Merry Gimli says in the C version, as first written: 'I played a game which I won by no more than one orc' (cf. RK p. 49). This was now altered to: 'and here Legolas and I played a game which I *lost* only by a single orc', and this survived into the first typescript. But in the second completed manuscript of 'The Road to Isengard', written long before this time, the text is

precisely as in TT, p. 148: '"You have passed my score by one," answered Legolas.'

15 A rejected version of this form of the verse is also found in the manuscript: in this the first two lines read:

The Shadow falls; the kings are sleeping.
It is darkling time, all lights are low.

The remainder of the verse is the same as that given in the text. Although Aragorn describes it only as 'an old rhyme of my kindred', the words 'Three lords I see' perhaps suggest the utterance of a seer; and Aragorn attributes it in the following text (p. 306) to 'Malbeth, the last Seer of our folk in the North' (cf. RK p. 54, where he declares that the wholly different verse that he recites in this place was spoken by 'Malbeth the Seer, in the days of Arvedui, last king at Fornost'). — In none of these texts is there any indication of what the 'tryst' might be. In the outline given on pp. 274–5 there is mention of the defeat of the Haradwaith by 'the Shadow Host'.

16 The reason for calling the typescript 'M' is that as will be seen shortly it covers, in a single chapter (XLV), both the story of Aragorn at the Hornburg (preceded by texts A to C) and the story of the Muster of Rohan (preceded by texts A to L).

17 This was changed on the typescript to read: '"There go three that I love," he said, "and the halfling, Merry, most dearly. ... and for them also we do battle, not only for the glory of Gondor. And yet fate divides us. ..."'

18 It is said in this continuation that Aragorn came to Edoras 'at dusk on the next day' (February 5), and that they did not halt there but passed up Harrowdale and came to Dunharrow 'late at night'; and Aragorn says to Éowyn on the following morning (February 6) that Théoden and Éomer will not return 'until the day is old'. See note 9.

V

MANY ROADS LEAD EASTWARD (2)

When my father made the typescript (M) of the long chapter 'Many Roads Lead Eastward' he had not only written a good deal of what afterwards became 'The Passing of the Grey Company': he had also greatly extended the story that would later become 'The Muster of Rohan' from the opening abandoned in October 1944. A new text of the latter (following the last of the earlier ones, that in 'midget type' which I have called H, p. 250) takes up at the point where Éomer says 'Harrowdale at last!' (RK p. 65); this I will call 'J'. Tolerably clearly written in ink, it extends only as far as Merry's wonderment at the line of standing stones across the Firienfeld (RK p. 68), the last lines being roughly pencilled, and then peters out into a brief outline; but so far as it goes the first part of 'The Muster of Rohan' in RK was now achieved almost word for word, except just at the point where it breaks off.[1] The text ends thus:

At last they came to a sharp brink, and the climbing road passed into a low cutting between walls of rock and passed up a slope out onto a wide upland. The Firienfeld men called it, a green mountain field of grass and heath above the deep-delved valley, on the lap of the great mountains behind: the Starkhorn southward, and westward [*read* northward][2] the many-peaked mass of Iscamba[3] Irensaga [*written above:* Ironsaw], between which lower, but steep and grim, stood the black wall of the Dwimorberg, rising out of thick slopes of sombre firs/pines. Towards this marched from the very brink of the stairs to the dark edge of the wood a line a double line [*sic*] of standing stones. Worn and black, some leaning, some fallen, some cracked or broken, they were like old teeth. Where they vanished into the wood there was a dark opening into a cavern or recess in the [?western] side. Just within dimly seen was a tall standing pillar.

Merry looked at this strange line of stones and wondered what they could be. He

Éowyn says Aragorn has gone by the Paths of the Dead.

The huts and pavilions of the hold.

To the king's pavilion come the messengers of Gondor.

The king promises 7 thousand horse to ride as soon as may

be. At same [time] messengers come from Eastemnet saying that an orc-host has crossed the river, below the Limlight.

It is a gloomy evening repast.

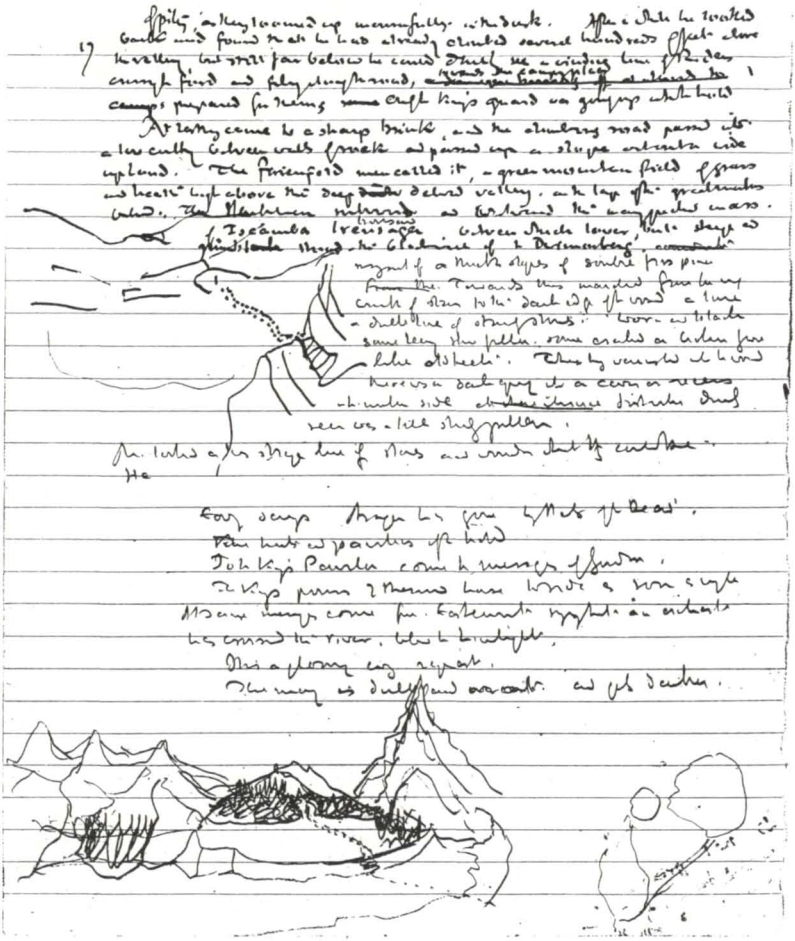
The morning is dull and overcast, and gets darker.

On this page, which is reproduced on p. 314, are two rapid pencilled sketches which amply illustrate the final conception of Harrowdale and Dunharrow.

It is to be remembered that at this time the further story of Aragorn and the Grey Company, their coming to Dunharrow and their entering the Gate of the Dead, was not present in the narrative: the present passage was to be the first account of the Dwimorberg, the Firienfeld, the line of standing stones, the Dimholt, and the great monolith before the Dark Door. When afterwards the structure of the narrative was changed my father largely retained this description in the chapter 'The Muster of Rohan' (RK pp. 67–8): he treated the coming of the Grey Company to Dunharrow two nights before the arrival of Théoden in a single sentence ('they passed up the valley, and so came to Dunharrow as darkness fell', RK p. 56), and said almost nothing of the scene – they 'sat at supper' with Éowyn, 'as Aragorn came to the booth where he was to lodge with Legolas and Gimli, and his companions had gone in, there came the Lady Éowyn after him and called to him', and that is all. The approach of the Company to the Dark Door next morning is described with a mysterious brevity: the double line of standing stones across the Firienfeld is mentioned cursorily, as if their existence were already known to the reader: 'A dread fell on them, even as they passed between the lines of ancient stones and so came to the Dimholt' (RK p. 59).

The text J was followed by another, 'K', beginning at the same point ('Harrowdale at last!'); this was clearly written in ink as far as the point where Éowyn says to Théoden: 'And your pavilion is prepared for you, lord, for I have had full tidings of you' (cf. RK p. 68). In this text the description of the Firienfeld runs as follows (the passage here set between asterisks was rejected, but is not marked in any way in the manuscript):

The Firienfeld men called it, a green mountain-field of grass and heath, high above the deep-delved valley [> course of the Snowbourn], on the lap of the great mountains behind: the Starkhorn southwards to the right, and [westward in front >] northward to the left the many-peaked mass of Irensaga Ironsaw, between which there faced them, darkly frowning, the grim black wall of Dwimorberg, rising out of thick slopes of sombre pines. *[Towards these woods >] Across the wide field there marched, from the brink of the stair to the dark edge of



Starkhorn, Dwimorberg and Irensaga

the woods, a double line of standing stones, worn and black. Some leaning, some fallen, some cracked or broken, they looked like rows of old and hungry teeth. Where they entered the wood there was a [dark opening >] way in the trees: just within dimly to be seen was a tall standing pillar and beyond it the dark opening of a cavern or great door.* Dividing the upland into two there marched a double line of standing stones that dwindled in the dusk and vanished into the trees. Those who followed that road came to a dark clearing amid the sighing gloom of the Firienholt,[4] and there like a shadow stood a single pillar of stone, and beyond a huge doorway in the side of the black cliff. Signs and figures were set about it that none could read, worn by the years and shrouded from the light.[5] In long memory none had dared to pass that door. Such was the dark Dunharrow, the work of long-forgotten men. ...

The text then continues very close indeed to RK (p. 68), ending with Éowyn's words to Théoden 'I have had full tidings of you', which do not stand at the foot of a page. The next words, '"So Aragorn has come," said Éomer' (RK p. 69), stand at the head of a new page, and there follows a manuscript pencilled in my father's most impossible handwriting, effectively indecipherable except insofar as later versions provide clues – as is however largely the case here. This further text can be regarded as a continuation of K. It carries the narrative of 'The Muster of Rohan' as far as the conclusion of Théoden's words with the errand-rider of Gondor, RK p. 73; and while it is naturally rough and hasty in expression, and would be greatly refined, the story was effectively present from the first. The following passage, however, I cite in full, following Éomer's words (cf. RK p. 70) 'For the road we have climbed is the approach to the Door. Yonder is the Firienholt. But what lies beyond no man knows.' For the earliest reference to the old man of Dunharrow see the notes ('E') given on p. 242.

'Only legend of old days has any report to make,' said Théoden. 'But if these ancient tales are to be believed, then the Door [?in] Dwimorberg leads to a secret way that goes under the mountains. But none have dared ever to explore it since Baldor son of Bregu dared to pass the Door, and came never back. Folk say that Dead Men out of ... Years guard the way and will suffer none to come to their secret halls. But at whiles they may be seen [?rush]ing out like shadows and down the Stony Road. Then the men of Harrowdale shut fast their doors and shroud their windows and are afraid. But seldom do the Dead come forth, and only at times of great peril.'

'Yet it is said in Harrowdale,' said Éowyn quietly, 'that they came forth in the moonless nights [?just past].'

'But why has Aragorn gone that way?' said Merry.

'Unless he has spoken to you his friend, then you have heard as much as we,' said Éowyn. 'But I thought that he had changed much since I saw him in Meduseld.[6] Fey he seemed to me, and as one that the Dead call.'

'Maybe,' said Théoden. 'Yet my heart tells me that he is a kingly man of high destiny. And take comfort in this, daughter, since comfort you seem to need in your grief for this passing guest. It is said that when the Eorlingas came first out of the North and passed up the Snowbourn seeking strong places of refuge in time of need, that Bregu and his son Baldor climbed the Stair of the Hold and [?passed] to the Door; and there there sat an old man aged beyond count of years, withered as old stone. Very like to the Púkel-men he was as he sat upon the threshold of the dark Door.

'Nothing he said until they sought to pass him and enter, and then a voice came out of him as if it were out of a stone, and to their amazement it spoke in their own tongue. *The way is shut.*

'Then they halted and looked at the old man whom [?the king] had at first taken for [??an image] such as stood at the turnings of the Stair. But he did not look at them. *The way is shut* the voice said again. *It was made by those who are Dead and [??for] the Dead [??to] keep until the time comes.*

'*And when will that be?* said Baldor.

'But no answer did he ever get. For the old man died in that hour and fell upon his face, and no other [??words] of the ancient dwellers in the mountains did [?our] folk ever learn. Yet maybe the time has come and Aragorn will pass.'

'And whether the time is [?come] or no,' said Éomer, 'none can discover save by daring the door. A [?true]-hearted man was Aragorn, and still against hope I hope to see his face once again. Yet our roads lie' And then he paused, for there was a noise without of men's voices and the challenges of the king's guard.

Then Dúnhere entered and announced the coming of the messenger (or messengers)[7] of Gondor. In his opening words Dirgon, as he is called here (Hirgon in RK), says: 'Often you have aided us, but now the Lord Denethor begs for all your strength, and all your speed, lest Gondor fall. Then would the tide sweep over the fields of Calenardon.'[8] From Théoden's words 'And yet he knows that we are a scattered people and take time to gather in our riders' the text runs far

more briefly than in RK to the end of his speech with the messenger. Dirgon does not speak again, and Théoden refers only, and briefly, to the war with Saruman and the lesser number of Riders that he can send; concluding 'Yet all is more advanced than I hoped. We may ride on the [?third] day from now.'

A further pencilled text ('L'), as fearsomely scrawled as K or worse, takes up after a short gap for which there is no drafting with Merry's words: 'I will not be left behind to be called for on return' (RK p. 73). It is curious that this text is headed 'XLVI' (without title), whereas the typescript M, obviously developed from L, includes this story of the departure of the Riders from Harrowdale as the conclusion of 'XLV: Many Roads lead Eastward'. I can only suppose that my father briefly intended to begin a new chapter with Merry's words, but thought better of it.

The opening of the text L is very close to RK pp. 73–5. The darkness that has spread out of the East and reached far into the western sky is described in the same words; the first messenger from Gondor is now named Hirgon, and the second (never named) is present – but this latter says of the darkness only: 'It comes from Mordor, lord. It began last night at sunset, and now the great cloud lies on all the [?land] between here and the Mountains of Shadow, and it is deepening. By the fire-signals war has already begun.' To this Théoden replies: 'Then the die is cast. There is no longer need or profit in hiding. We will muster at once and wait not. Those who are not here must be left behind or follow. ...'

Merry's story at this point was somewhat different from its form in RK. After his expostulation to Théoden ('Then tie me on to one, or let me hang on a stirrup ...') the text, hurled onto the paper, continues:

Théoden smiled. 'You shall ride before me on Snowmane [?rather than wander in the plains] of Rohan. Go now and see what the armourers have prepared for you.'

'It was the only request that Aragorn made,' said Éowyn. 'And it has been granted.'

With that she led him from the pavilion to a booth at some distance among the lodgings of the king's guard, and there a man brought out to her a small helm and a coat of mail and a shield like to the one that had been given to Gimli.[9] 'No mail we had to fit you nor time to forge a hauberk for you,'[10] she said, 'but here is a short jerkin of leather and a shield and a [?short] spear. Take them and bear them to good fortune. But now I have ..... to look to. Farewell. But we shall meet again, my heart foretells, thou and I, Meriadoc.'

So it was that amid the gathering gloom the King of the Mark set out. Not many hours had passed, and now in the half-light

beside the grey rush of the Snowbourn he sat proudly on his white horse, and five [and] fifty hundreds of Riders, besides men ..... with spare horses bearing light burdens, [?were ranged]. They [?were to ride down] to Edoras and [?thence out and away] along the well-beaten road eastward, pass along the skirts of the hill[s] to [?Anórien] and the walls of Minas Tirith. Merry sat on his pony that was to bear him down the [?stony] valley, and after that he was to ride with the king or some other of his company.

A trumpet sang. The king raised his hand, and without any sound of voice, silently, without shout or song, the great ride began. The king passed along the lines followed by Merry and Éomer and the errand-riders of Gondor and Dúnhere, and then his guard of twelve picked spearmen. To Éowyn he had said farewell above in the Hold.

It is clear, from Théoden's 'You shall ride before me on Snowmane rather than wander in the plains of Rohan. Go now and see what the armourers have prepared for you', and from the words 'Merry sat on his pony that was to bear him down the stony valley, and after that he was to ride with the king or some other of his company', that at this stage Merry was to go with the Rohirrim to Minas Tirith openly, with the concurrence of Théoden, and without any assistance from Éowyn. This does not mean, of course, that Éowyn was not present among the Riders in disguise, although no covert reference is made to her in this original account of the departure from Harrowdale; and indeed her death before Minas Tirith had been long foreseen (see VII.448; also the outline given on p. 256 and especially that on p. 275). In any case, a further draft for the story of the departure follows in text L:

First there went twelve of the king's household-men [?and] guard, picked spearmen. Tall and stern they looked to Merry, and one among them, less tall and broad than the others, glanced at the hobbit as he passed, and Merry caught the glint of clear grey eyes. He shivered a little, for it seemed to him that the face was of one that goes knowingly to death. The king followed with Éomer on his right and Dúnhere on his left. He had said farewell to Éowyn above in the Hold. Merry followed with the errand-riders of Gondor and behind went twelve more of the guard. Then in [?ordered] lines the companies of the riders turned and rode after them as was appointed. They passed down the road beside the Snowbourn, and through the hamlets of Upbourn and Underharrow where many sad faces looked from dark doors. And so the great ride to the East began,

with which the songs of Rohan were busy for many lives of men thereafter.

Here the text L ends, and here the typescript M ends also.

In this second part of the chapter 'Many Roads lead Eastward' the typescript text shows great refinement in detail over these exceedingly rough and obviously primary drafts, but no texts are found to bridge them; and it seems possible that the developed form in M was actually achieved on the typewriter (there are in fact several passages that could suggest this). To a great extent the text of RK in 'The Muster of Rohan' was now present; but there remained still some differences, and among these I notice the following.[11]

Éowyn now says of the coming forth of the Dead (see p. 316): 'Yet it is said in Harrowdale that they came forth again in the moonless nights but little while ago, a great host in strange array, and none saw them return, they say.' The old man beside the Dark Door is still said to resemble one of the Púkel-men.[12] On the front of Hirgon's helm 'was wrought as an emblem a small silver crown' ('star' in RK). The second, unnamed errand-rider from Gondor says here of the darkness spreading out of Mordor: 'From my station by the beacon of Minrimmon I saw it rise', where in RK he says: 'From the hills in the Eastfold of your realm I saw it rise'. Notably, the conversation between Merry and Théoden now takes this form:

Théoden smiled. 'Rather than that I will bear you with me on Snowmane,' he said. 'I guessed your words before you spoke them. But at the least you shall ride with me to Edoras and look on Meduseld, for that way I shall go. So far Stybba can bear you: the great race will not begin till we reach the plains.'

'And over the plains with you to the end of the road your squire will ride,' said Éowyn. 'That you know in your heart, and others also have foreseen it. Come now, Meriadoc, and I will show you the gear that is prepared for you. It was the only request that Aragorn son of Arathorn made of us ere he departed.'

With that she led the hobbit from the king's pavilion to a booth among the lodges of the king's guard near by; and there a man brought out to her a small helm and a spear and round shield, and other gear.

The account of the departure follows that in text L (p. 318); the Rider who looked at Merry as he passed is still among the twelve household-men that preceded the host, 'somewhat less in height and girth than the others'; and nothing is said of what arrangement had been made for Merry after the departure of the host from Edoras.

The chapter 'Many Roads Lead Eastward' ended, both in manuscript and typescript, at the ride of the Rohirrim down Harrowdale: 'And so the great ride to the East began, with which the songs of Rohan were busy for many lives of men thereafter' (p. 319; RK p. 76). The conclusion of 'The Muster of Rohan' as it stands in RK was added later, but not much later (at least in terms of the progress of the narrative: what halts and of what duration took place in the writing of Books V and VI there seems no way of telling); it first appeared, in fact, as the opening of Chapter XLVII, 'The Ride of the Rohirrim', and I postpone it to that place (p. 349).

NOTES

1 On a rejected page in this manuscript, however, Théoden expresses some amazement at the scene in Harrowdale: 'The king looked with surprise about him, for there was a great concourse of men ... "What is the meaning of this?" asked the king. "Was not the muster set to begin tomorrow at Edoras?"' Then a man, unnamed, explains how this is due to Gandalf, and a note follows: 'Gandalf must tell the king as he rides off that he will order the muster at Dunharrow and speed it up. That will necessitate altering remarks about the full moon' (see the Note on Chronology below). This rejected page then concludes with a brief passage that depends on the note: 'So they saw that Gandalf must have done as he promised. The muster was here, not at Edoras, and already the greater part of the men of Rohan were assembled.'

The words 'Gandalf must tell the king as he rides off' can only refer to his leaving Dol Baran on Shadowfax after the Nazgûl passed over; but no such change was in fact introduced in that place.

At the foot of this rejected page is written: 'Éowyn tells of Aragorn's coming and his departure. The Paths of the Dead. The road of Monoliths.'

2 *westward* was, I think, no more than a slip. It was repeated in the following text (p. 313) but corrected, probably at once.

3 *Iscamba:* cf. Old English *camb* (Modern English *comb*), comb, crest (as of a cock, a helmet, etc.).

4 For the name *Firienholt* of the later *Dimholt* see p. 251 and note 21.

5 For the origin of this sentence see p. 246. It reappears in changed form in 'The Passing of the Grey Company' in RK (p. 59), where the Company halted before the Dark Door: 'Signs and figures were carved above its wide arch too dim to read, and fear flowed from it like a grey vapour.'

6 The first part of the name of the Golden Hall is so scrawled that it could be read in almost any way, but it is clearly not *Wínseld*, the earlier name, and is almost certainly the first occurrence of *Meduseld*.

7 Apparently there were two messengers, for while the writing is so fast that no detail of letter is entirely certain, my father seems to have written 'Men are here, errand-riders out of Gondor.' Théoden's reply could be equally well read as 'Let him come' or 'Let them come'. But only one man enters. — The war-arrow that he bears is green-feathered (black in RK).

8 The name *Calenard(h)on* emerged in the course of writing the chapter 'Faramir': see pp. 155–6, with notes 18 and 22.

9 The reference is to 'The King of the Golden Hall', TT p. 127: '[Gimli] chose a cap of iron and leather that fitted well upon his round head; and a small shield he also took. It bore the running horse, white upon green, that was the emblem of the House of Eorl.' This passage, in which is recounted also the arming of Aragorn and Legolas 'in shining mail', was added on a rider to the fair copy manuscript of 'The King of the Golden Hall'.

10 Thus the provision of a coat of mail for Merry, referred to in the preceding sentence, was immediately denied.

11 The following names and name-forms in the typescript may be mentioned. The *Firienholt* remains, for later *Dimholt*. *Brego* is now again spelt thus, not *Bregu*, but his son's name is here *Bealdor* (changed to *Baldor* on the typescript): both of these are Old English variants. The path down from the Dark Door ('the road of Monoliths', note 1) is again called 'the Stony Road', capitalised, as in the text K (p. 315). Hirgon speaks of *the Harad*, where RK has *the Haradrim*.

12 In RK (p. 71) the old withered man is said to have been once 'tall and kingly'. Cf. *The Lord of the Rings* Appendix F (*Of Men*): 'The Dunlendings were a remnant of the peoples that had dwelt in the vales of the White Mountains in ages past. The Dead Men of Dunharrow were of their kin.'

Note on the Chronology

In the last of the texts (H) of the abandoned opening of 'The Muster of Rohan' Théoden asked if the moon had not been full on the night before, and Éomer replied that on the contrary the moon would be full that night (pp. 251–2, 272–3). In the first of the later texts (J) Théoden himself says 'Tonight the moon will be full, and in the morning I shall ride to Edoras to the gathering of Rohan', and this remained into the typescript M.

In 'The Road to Isengard' the date of the muster at Edoras was changed over and over again according to the shifting chronology. For

the earliest texts see p. 27 and note 6; the second fair copy of that chapter had 'before the waning of the moon', changed to 'at the last quarter of the moon'. This was retained in the following typescript, but there changed subsequently to 'on the first day after the full moon' – which is the date in the present texts. (In 'The Road to Isengard' in TT, p. 150, the date of the muster is to be 'the second day after the full moon', and so at the beginning of 'The Muster of Rohan' in RK, p. 65, Théoden says: 'Last night the moon was full, and in the morning I shall ride to Edoras to the gathering of the Mark.')

In the note on text J (see note 1 above) it is said that 'Gandalf must tell the king as he rides off [from Dol Baran] that he will order the muster at Dunharrow and speed it up', and that this 'will necessitate altering remarks about the full moon.' I do not understand this. If my father was referring to the passage in 'The Road to Isengard' in which the date of the muster is set, this would seem to have no relevance: for Gandalf was proposing, in view of the coming of the Nazgûl, to *change* the arrangement that had been made and 'speed up' the muster.

All these later 'Muster of Rohan' texts agree that the moon was full on the night that Théoden came to Harrowdale (February 6); cf. p. 299 and note 9. This was the night following the day on which Gandalf and Pippin reached Minas Tirith at sunrise; the sunset of that day was 'ominous', and the Darkness began on February 7 (p. 295). With this the present texts agree: the second errand-rider from Gondor, arriving on the morning of the 7th, says that the Darkness 'began last night at sunset' (p. 317), and the departure of the Riders from Dunharrow takes place in deepening gloom. It is interesting to see that in text K, as Merry sat alone in his tent on the Firienfeld, 'Slowly night came on, and the half-seen heads of the mountains were crowned with small stars in the West, but the East was dark and shadowy, *and the moon did not appear until late at night*'; whereas in the typescript M (where it was still the night of full moon) the moon is not mentioned. The natural presumption is that the moon was hidden by the vast cloud spreading out of Mordor.

How my father was at this stage relating the full moon of February 6 to Frodo's movements is not clear to me. In *The Tale of Years* in LR the full moon was on March 7 (since Frodo left Henneth Annûn on March 8, and he saw the full moon setting before dawn on the morning of his departure: 'The Forbidden Pool', TT pp. 292–3), and Théoden came to Dunharrow on the evening of March 9; but with this the king's words in 'The Muster of Rohan', RK p. 65, 'Last night the moon was full', do not accord, and should have been 'Two nights ago'. This in turn would require alteration of the date set for the muster in 'The Road to Isengard' (see above).

VI
THE SIEGE OF GONDOR

My father's first start on this chapter was a brief, roughly pencilled text ('**A**') which he then wrote over in ink, so that a good deal is lost, especially of the latter part of it; but Taum Santoski has managed to recover quite enough to show that the ink overwriting ('**B**') followed it for the most part very closely. I shall here describe B rather than A, noting subsequently passages in which A is significantly different.

Text B (numberless and titleless) begins as does Chapter 4 in *The Return of the King* with 'Pippin was roused by Gandalf', and extends through the paragraph beginning 'It was dark and dim all day' (RK p. 80). After Pippin's question 'Why did you bring me here?' the text differs from that of RK:

'Because it was not safe to leave you behind,' answered the wizard. 'Safe for others, I mean. It is no safe place here for you or anyone else, as you'll probably soon discover. But you brought it on yourself.' Pippin said no more.

Before long he was walking with Gandalf back again down the long cold passage to the doors of the Tower Hall. Within Denethor sat in a grey gloom, like an old patient spider, Pippin thought, and looking as if he had not moved since he dismissed his new esquire the day before. He beckoned Gandalf to a seat, but Pippin was left standing for a while unheeded. Presently the old man turned to him with a cold smile, whether of mockery or welcome Pippin could not tell.

'And why have you come, Peregrin son of Paladin?' he said.

'I was told that you wanted me, sir,' said Pippin, 'to, well, to learn my new duties.'

'Ah yes,' said Denethor. 'It is to be hoped that you spent yesterday well and to your liking, if less in eating [*struck out:* and sleeping] than you might wish. Today you shall take your turn to wait on me. I have little more now to do, until my son Faramir returns with tidings. And if there comes no ill news and the great ones' (he looked at Gandalf) 'do not occupy all my leisure, you shall talk to me. Can you sing?'

Pippin's apologetic account of the songs he knew and his horror at the thought of singing a comic song of the Shire before the grim

Steward of Minas Tirith follows as in RK, as does Denethor's discussion with Gandalf, the arming and clothing of Pippin,[1] and the darkness over the city, up to 'as if all the Vale of Anduin waited for a ruinous storm.' Then follows:

His duties he found irksome and dull, so much so that he would even have welcomed a chance to sing one of his comic songs. But he was not asked to sing, and indeed few spoke to him at all.

Here the overwritten text B ends. In the underlying pencilled text A the discussion between Gandalf and Denethor did not concern Rohan, but was on the subject of the immediate strategy: though very little of it can be made out, the phrase 'Gandalf had already been urging on the Steward' and the name 'West Osgiliath' can be read. After Pippin had returned from the armoury it is said that he spent the day idly, 'for Denethor sat mostly behind closed doors'; and at some point during the day 'There was a clamour in the city. Faramir had returned. Pippin witnesses the greeting of Denethor and Faramir.'

The pencilled and the overwritten texts end at the same point on the page, although in substance they had diverged.

My father evidently doubted the rightness of beginning the chapter in this way, for at the head of the first page of this 'doubled' text he wrote in pencil: '? Begin with Pippin and Berethil[2] talking again on wall on eve[ning] of 9th. ...' This was in fact overwritten by part of the B text in ink, and as a result some further words of the note cannot be read; presumably therefore my father had (but only temporarily) abandoned the idea that the chapter might open differently.

At the end of the 'doubled' text the following notes were written in pencil:

? Sunset – a gleam far off. Gandalf says there is hope still in the West.

Next day there is a council and soon Faramir departs. Pippin has more talk with Berethil and hears that Faramir has gone to Osgiliath. Time passes slowly. Ill news comes on 11th March (next day) that there is a Fell Captain on the enemy's side. He has won the Crossings and Faramir is driven to Ramas Coren.[3] Still the darkness grows. It is like a slow disease, thought Pippin.

Some time on 9th Pippin must look out from the walls and see Nazgûl (6 or 7) flying over Pelennor, and see them pursue a few riders. But Gandalf rides out – and saves them. It is Faramir! Just in time. Great joy in City. Faramir sees Pippin as he comes up to the Citadel, and is astonished.

In these notes is the first appearance of the final calendar, the month being now March instead of February. Whether it entered at this very time or somewhat earlier cannot be said: but the last actual date found in the texts is February 5–6 in the outline for a part of 'Many Roads Lead Eastward' given on p. 296, so that the change had at any rate been made not long since. The conception of the month 'lost' in Lórien had now been abandoned: see VII.367–9. The relative dates have however not been changed: in the note suggesting a different way of opening the chapter Pippin and Berethil are to be talking on the wall of the city 'on the evening of the 9th', which would be February 7 according to the former dating (see the Note on Chronology at the end of this chapter).

My father now returned to the idea of a different opening, and began a new draft ('C') in which the matter of the opening already written was omitted or compressed, and referred to only in retrospect. This draft was written in thick soft pencil, in ink over pencil, and in ink with pencilled corrections and clarifications, and is throughout a formidably difficult manuscript. I have no doubt that it all proceeded from the same time and impulse.

This new text is numbered 'XLVI', without title; it begins with the words 'It had been dark all day; from the sunless dawn until the evening the heavy gloom had deepened ...', and continues essentially as in RK pp. 80–1 as far as 'now he was one small soldier in a city preparing for a great assault, clad in the grim and sombre manner of the Tower of Guard'; but there is no reference to the errand of Berethil (Beregond) across the Pelennor, nor to the last gleam of the sun as it escaped from the pall of cloud (see below). Then follows:

For in the morning Denethor had summoned him, and bidden him to take up his duties as the lord's esquire; and he had been sent straight to the armouries where already clothes and gear were made ready for him by Denethor's command.

In some other time and place he might have taken pleasure in his new array, but he knew now too clearly that this was a deadly serious matter, and no masquerade in borrowed plumes. The small coat of black mail seemed heavy and burdensome, and the helmet with its wings weighed on his head. Black too was the tunic or surcoat that he now wore above his mail, except where upon the breast was broidered in white the device of the Tree. He had been permitted to retain the grey cloak of Lórien [*added:* when not on duty], but that was now cast aside on the seat beside him, for the air was close. He turned his gaze away from the darkling plain far below, and yawned, and then he sighed.

In Pippin's complaint to Berethil and their words about the Darkness, the failure of Faramir to return across the River and Gandalf's anxiety, and the sudden cry of the Nazgûl, the draft reaches the text of RK pp. 81–2 almost word for word (save only that Pippin does not name the Prince of Dol Amroth as present at the deliberations with Denethor, and he says that Gandalf left the council before the evening meal, where RK has 'noon-meal'); but when Pippin climbs on to the seat and looks out there enters the description of the last gleam of sun that shone also on the head of the ruined king at the Cross-roads, omitted at its place in RK (on the synchronisation see the note at the end of this chapter). Then again the draft reaches the final text in almost every turn of expression in the description of the Nazgûl swooping on the horsemen, the distant sound of Faramir's horn call, and the radiance of the White Rider racing towards them, as far as Pippin's wild shouting 'like an onlooker at a great race urging on a runner who is far beyond encouragement.' At this point my father stopped and set down a brief outline:

Gandalf saves Faramir. Faramir sees Pippin at gate of Citadel and wonders – Gandalf introduces them, and takes Pippin along to Denethor's council. So Pippin hears a lot and hears Faramir accept orders to go to Osgiliath. Denethor and Faramir marvel at Gandalf's power over Nazgûl. Gandalf says things are still not so bad – because the W[izard] King has not yet appeared. He reveals that he is a renegade of his own order ... [?from] Númenor. 'So far I have saved myself from him only by flight – for many an age he has lain in hiding or sleep while his master's power waned. But now he is grown more fell than ever. Yet it was foretold that he should be overthrown, in the end, by one young and gallant. But maybe that lies far in the future.'

He hears about Frodo and Sam. Also how Faramir crossed from Tol Varad (the Defended Isle) [> Men Falros] with three companions, and came on horse. The rest of the 'task force' he had despatched to the Pelennor Gate.

Last half of chapter must deal with situation after taking of Pelennor, the battle of Pelennor and the fall of the Gate.[4]

The draft continues with 'And now the swooping dark shadows were aware of the newcomer' (RK p. 83), and again the final form is closely approached, if with rougher and less full expression, through the coming of Faramir with Gandalf to the Citadel, his wonderment at seeing Pippin, and his story told in Denethor's private chamber. Only Pippin's emotion when he first saw Faramir was at this time different from the form in RK (pp. 83–4): the passage 'Here was one with an air

of high nobility such as Aragorn at times revealed ...' is lacking (and remains absent in the following fair copy manuscript).

From the point where Faramir reached the story of his meeting with Frodo and Sam I give the draft text in full, for though in many respects it closely approaches that of RK there are also many differences, and some are very noteworthy.

As the tale of his meeting with Frodo and Sam was unfolded, Pippin became aware that Gandalf's hands were trembling as they clutched the carven wood; white they seemed now and very old, and as he looked at them suddenly with a thrill of fear he knew that Gandalf – Gandalf himself was afraid, mastering a great dread, and not yet daring to speak. At last when Faramir told how he had parted with the travellers and that they were resolved to take the road to Kirith Ungol his voice fell, and he shook his head and sighed. But Gandalf sprang up. 'Kirith Ungol and Morghul Vale,' he cried. 'The time, Faramir. When was this, do you say? Tell me, tell me. When did you part with them? When would they reach the Morghul Vale? When did this darkness begin? Do you not see – that it may be a sign that all is indeed lost?'

'I spoke with them yestermorn,'[5] said Faramir. 'It is nigh on [20 >] 7 leagues from Henneth Annûn to the road that runs from M[inas Morghul] to Osgiliath, [and from the nearest point up that road west [*sic*] of our landing place it is 5 or 6 leagues to the Vale of Dread >] and if they went straight southward then they would find the road some 5 or 6 leagues west of the Vale of Dread. But the darkness came soon; I deem [?under cover] of that very night, long ere they could reach the vale. Indeed I see your fear; but it is clear to me that the Enemy had long planned this war, and the hour was already determined and nought to do with the errand of the travellers.'

Gandalf paced up and down. 'Yesterday morn?' he said. 'Then you have been swift. How far hence is the place where you parted?'

'Maybe 75 leagues[6] as bird flies,' said Faramir. 'But I *am* swift. Yestereve I lay at Men Falros, the isle in the river northward which we hold in defence, and on the hither bank we keep horses. As the darkness drew on I saw that haste was needed. So I rode hither with the four men that could be horsed, and sent the rest of my company to strengthen the guard at the fords of Osgiliath. Have I done ill?'

'Ill!' said Denethor, and suddenly his eyes blazed. 'Why do

you ask? Do you need my judgement? Your bearing is lowly as is fitting, but it is long since you turned from your own way at my counsel. You have spoken skilfully and discreetly, but have I not seen your eyes fixed on Mithrandir, seeking to learn how much you should say? He has your heart in keeping.

'My son, your father is old, but he is not yet a dotard. I can see and hear as was my wont, and not much of what you have left unsaid or half said is now hidden. I know the answer to the riddling words and to other riddles besides. Now I understand the ...[7] of Boromir and his [?death].'

'If you [are] angry, father,' said Faramir, 'tell me what other courses you would have had me take.'

'You have done as I should have expected, for I know you well,' said Denethor. 'Ever your desire is to be lordly and generous as a king of old – gracious and gentle. And that well befits men of high lineage who sit in power amid peace. But in these black hours gentleness may be bought with death.'

'So be it,' said Faramir.

'So be it,' said Denethor; 'but not by your death only. The death also of your father and of all your people whom it will be your part to rule ere long – now Boromir is no more.' He paused, clutching his [?wand].

'Do you wish then,' said Faramir, 'that our places had been exchanged?'

'Yes, I wish that indeed,' said Denethor. 'Or no,' and then he shook his head; and rising suddenly laid his hand on his son's shoulder. 'Do not judge me harshly, my son,' he said, 'or think that I am harsh. Love is not blind. I knew your brother also. I would wish only that he had been in your place, if I were sure of one thing.'

'And what is that, my father?'

'That he was as strong in heart as you, and as trustworthy. That taking this thing he had brought it to me, and not fallen under thraldom. For Faramir, and you Mithrandir, amid all your far flung policies, there is another way that is not yours nor Boromir's. It is one thing to take and wield this power for one's own victory – you, Mithrandir, may think what you will of me–'

'What I think of you is at least one part of my mind that you do not seem to have read,' said Gandalf.

'As you will, but I have in this as much wisdom as yourself,' said Denethor. 'I would not use it. On the other hand, at this

hour to send the bearer, and such a one, helpless into Mordor itself, or as my son to let him go with that burden to Kirith Ungol, that also seems to me folly patent.'

'What then is wisdom?' said Gandalf.

'To do neither,' answered Denethor. 'Certainly not to risk the maker recovering it to our final ruin. To keep it – hidden, deep hidden, yet not used – hidden beyond his grasp until at last [?either] he wins all by war and we are dead.[8] Would that I had that thing now: in the deep chambers of this citadel, and then we should not shake with dread ...'

The remainder of the conversation between Gandalf and Denethor reaches effectively the form in RK, p. 87 (but Gandalf says: 'had you taken this thing by force or daunting you would not have escaped'; 'if you had received this thing, it would have overthrown you', RK). The episode ends thus in the draft:

He turned to Faramir. 'What news from the garrison at Osgiliath?'

'I have sent the company from Ithilien to strengthen it, as I said,' replied Faramir. 'It will be there, I think, that the first assault will fall.'

He rose, and suddenly he swayed and leant upon his father. 'You are weary, my son,' said Denethor. 'You have not spoken of your ride from Men Falros – and the dreadful wings.'

'I do not wish to,' said Faramir.

'Then do not so,' said Denethor. 'Go now to sleep, and think that such things shall not come here within shot of our bows – not this night at least. Tomorrow will need new counsels.'

Gandalf's talk with Pippin after they returned to their lodging as it stands in RK (pp. 88–9) was closely approached here,[9] and I cite only one brief passage:

'... But in truth I believe that the news that Faramir brings has more hope in it than seemed at first. For if Frodo was still so far away yestermorn, then that which I hoped might be has probably happened. The Enemy has made war in haste *without* the Ring and thinking that it is with us. And even if all goes as he plans, and it will not if I can prevent it, he will have his eyes in many places, far from his own land. There is a gleam of hope there. So I told Aragorn when we rode to Rohan.[10] But still, I did not expect it so soon. Something else has happened to stir him.'

The draft text now races towards its more and more illegible conclusion. Some passages were added in ink, and these I include, marking them as such, since they clearly belong to much the same time. The last section opens with 'The next day came like a brown dusk' (RK p. 89), and continues very much as in the final text as far as the departure of Faramir to Osgiliath and the mutterings against Denethor.

'The Lord drives his son too hard, and now he must do duty for the one that is dead as well.' [*Added in ink:* But in truth Faramir went at his own will, and he it was that most swayed the council of the captains.][11] The council of the Lord had decided that with the threat in the South their force was too weak to make any stroke of war on their own part. They must man the defences and wait. Yet ever Faramir had urged that their outer defences must not be abandoned, and the River was the one that the Enemy should buy most dearly. It could not be crossed by a great host north of Men Falros because of the marshes, and away south in Lebennin it became too broad without many boats. So now he was gone again, taking such few men as Denethor would spare to strengthen the force that held the western ruins of Osgiliath. [*Added in ink:* 'But hold not too long so far afield,' said Denethor as he went out. 'Though you slay ten times your number at the crossing, the Enemy has more to spare. And your retreat will be hazardous. And do not forget that ... danger in the North. Not one army only will be sent at this time from the Black Gate.']

Hardly had he gone when a rider came in reporting that a host was approaching and ... had reached East Osgiliath. [*Added in ink:* and a Black Captain of great terror [?came] there out of Minas Morghul.] With that ominous news ended Pippin's third day in the Tower.

The next day the darkness, though perhaps little more, weighed yet heavier on men's minds, and it seemed that slowly fear grew. Late in the day evil news was brought by riders. The passage of the Anduin had been won. Faramir was retreating to the Pelennor Wall and the fort[s] that guarded the entrance of the causeway into the townlands; but he could not hold them long. He was much outnumbered and had 4 leagues or more of open land to cross with few defences when he must give back again.

'Mithrandir's help fails now,' said some. For Gandalf had ridden down to Osgiliath at Faramir's side.[12] But others said

'Nay, he has never given any, not of such a kind. He is not a captain of war.'

But late that night he returned riding with the last wains filled with wounded men. 'They have paid dearly for the causeway,' he said, 'although they had prepared all things well. They have been building barges and boats secretly in East Osgiliath to the ruin of Ithilien's trees. But the river is now half choked with them. But he has come whom I feared.' 'Not the Dark Lord,' cried Pippin. 'No, he will not come except in triumph,' said Gandalf. 'He wields others as his weapons. I speak of one whom you have met. The Wizard King, captain of those you called the Black Riders. Most fell of all the servants of the Dark Tower. But he has not [*struck out (?):* yet] taken to winged steeds. [In him I am not overmatched, and yet still I am matched, for he was a member of our order before evil took him.][13] Now his fury and malice are grown to the full, and men fly before him. [*Written in ink at the head of the page:* But the Wizard King has not shown himself. He wields far behind a great fear that will drive his soldiers whither he will, even to cast themselves into the River that others [?can] walk on their bodies. But he will come forth yet.]'

So the storm broke at last.

The next day the causeway fort[s] fell and Faramir began his desperate retreat across the Pelennor, [*in ink, replacing a passage in pencil:* the enemy pouring through the wall behind and sweeping away the ... rearguard. Fires glowing red in the mist could be seen far off, and once and again [a] red flash and then slowly a dull rumble would come rolling across the darkened fields. The ... were destroying the wall and blasting great breaches in it so that they could enter at any point. Soon the tide of war [?would cross]. The companies of Gondor could be seen [?hastening] back. And with that out of the][14] And now the Nazgûl [?stooped again] and the retreat became a rout, and [?many] men threw away spear and shield and sword and ran shrieking, or flung themselves to the ground and were trampled.

Then there was a sortie from the city led by the Prince of Dol Amroth kinsman of Faramir and his folk, and Gandalf at his side. In the [?notch] of time they came up, and [?two] miles from the city drove back the enemy, making great slaughter, for the enemy cavalry were [?few] and [?little] ...; the Nazgûl [?would (not) stand] the onslaught of Gandalf, for their Captain was not with them.

So now the City prepared for a last siege. The Pelennor wall was abandoned, and all that could be [?withdrawn] behind the gates. Orcs and [?wild horsemen] roam[ed] the townlands lighting the black night with fires, and the more bold rode within earshot of watchers on the walls, crying with hideous voices, and many bore upon their spears the heads of men they had slain and hewn.

Here the draft C ends. It was followed by a fair copy manuscript ('D'), in which the text of RK was very largely achieved: but it took a great deal of further work to reach it. This manuscript can be seen as divided roughly between the part that was based on C, and the part that extended beyond the point where C ended. Like the draft, it is numbered 'XLVI', but has no title; and the chapter again begins with the words 'It had been dark all day.'

In the first part it is notable that while my father went to great pains with the detail of expression, and clearly intended it to stand, in all those passages in which Denethor showed himself less coldly obdurate and hostile to Faramir than he became in *The Return of the King* the original draft was followed closely. His sudden softening in response to Faramir's question 'Do you wish then that our places had been exchanged?' (p. 328) remains:

'Yes, I wish that indeed,' said Denethor. 'Or no.' And then he shook his head, and rising swiftly he laid his hand upon his son's bowed head. 'Do not judge me harshly, my son,' he said quietly, 'or believe me more harsh than I am. I knew your brother well also. Love is not blind. I could wish that Boromir had been at Henneth Annûn when this thing came there, only if I were sure of one thing.'

'Sure of what, my father?'

'That he was as strong in heart and selfless as you, my son. That taking this thing he would have brought it here and surrendered it, and not fallen swiftly under its thraldom. For, Faramir – and you too, Mithrandir, amid all your wide webs and policies – there is a third way, that is neither the folly of wizards nor the lust of warriors. ...'

It is certain that there was no element of embittered banter in these words, 'That he was as strong in heart and selfless as you, my son.' Denethor was coldly watchful as always of those he spoke to, but he expressed the true bearing of his mind. His gentler good-night to Faramir, with a suggestion of a comforting word (p. 329), remains; and in this brief passage it can be seen how Denethor's harshness towards Faramir was enforced in later revision by the slightest of

touches: as in the movement from 'You are weary, my son' to 'You are weary, I see.'

Again, in the debate on the following day (p. 330), it is still Faramir who argues that an attempt must be made to hold the outer defences at the line of the Anduin (but so far does the new writing go towards the actual words of RK (pp. 89–90) that when my father came to revise the passage he had little more to do than to give the speeches to different speakers). In this version the speech made by Prince Imrahil (RK p. 90), warning of another host that may come from Mordor, is given to Gandalf, and it is Faramir who is adamant and concludes the debate with words that afterwards became his father's:

'Much must be risked in war,' said Faramir. 'But I will not yield the River and the fields of Pelennor unfought, unless my father commands me beyond denial.'

'I do not,' said Denethor. 'Farewell, and may your judgement prove just: at least so much that I may see you again. Farewell!'

When he rejected this account of what happened at that meeting of the council my father wrote in the margin of the page: 'This must be altered to make Faramir only go to please his father against his own counsel and to "take Boromir's place".' And on a slip of paper he wrote a brief statement of how, and why, the existing portrayal of Denethor's relations with Faramir must be changed:

The early conversation of Faramir and his father and motives must be altered. Denethor must be *harsh*. He must say he did wish Boromir had been at Henneth Annûn – for he *would* have been loyal to his father and brought him the Ring. (Gandalf may correct this.) Faramir grieved but patient. Then Denethor must be all for holding Osgiliath 'like Boromir did', while Faramir (and Gandalf?) are against it, using the arguments previously given to Denethor. At length in submission, but proudly, to please his father and show him that not only Boromir was brave [he] accepts the command at Osgiliath. Men in the City do not like it.

This will not only be truer to previous situation, but will explain Denethor's breaking up when Faramir is brought back *dying*, as it seems.

The first part of this passage was struck through, as far as 'Faramir grieved but patient', and the second part allowed to stand; but this was then rejected also. Finally the whole was marked with a tick, when my father at length decided that this was how it should in fact be.

Also on this slip is a note written independently: 'Something should

be said between Gandalf and Pippin about the scene between Faramir and his father', but this suggestion was not taken up.

Not only in these passages, but in almost all the points where the draft C differed from RK, the manuscript D, as my father first wrote it, retained his first conceptions.[15] When (in relation to further progress in the narrative) the very substantial alterations to this part of the chapter in D were carried out I cannot say for certain. After this, the text as it stands in RK was present in all essentials; but at this stage my father was still uncertain whether or not to adopt the 'longer opening', as he called it, in which the chapter opens with Gandalf's waking Pippin in their lodging (see pp. 324–5).[16]

Drafting for the latter part of the chapter is not as coherent and continuous as it is for the former. My impression is that having written the fair copy manuscript D on the basis of the draft C so far as it went, or so far as it usefully went, my father then simply went on with it, writing sections of draft *pari passu* with progress on the fair copy, which was itself in places the primary composition. There is no way of knowing over how long a period all this work was spread.

The last part of C, from 'The next day the darkness, though perhaps little more, weighed yet heavier on men's minds' (p. 330), where the draft text became very cursory and rushed, was developed to the form in RK (pp. 91 ff.): Gandalf does not now ride down to Osgiliath with Faramir, and the account of the barge-building in East Osgiliath and the fear of the Black Captain is given by the messenger; it is only at this news that Gandalf leaves the City, returning at mid-morning on the next day with the wains bearing the wounded, and there follows his conversation with Denethor (RK pp. 91–3), here set 'in a high chamber near the summit of the White Tower'. In this all is almost as in the final form; but Denethor, revealing the mail in which he was clad beneath his long cloak, says nothing of it (he does not reveal that he wears it night and day), and Gandalf still as in the draft (p. 331) reminds Pippin who the Black Captain is: 'You have met him, Peregrin son of Paladin, though then he was far from home, veiled to your eyes, when he stalked the Ringbearer. Now he is come forth in power again, growing as his Master grows.' Gandalf now names him 'King of Angmar long ago', and this is the first appearance of the conception of the Kingdom of Angmar in the texts of *The Lord of the Rings*. To Denethor's 'Or can it be that you have withdrawn because you are overmastered?' (causing Pippin to fear that 'Gandalf would be stung to sudden wrath') the wizard answers 'lightly' ('softly' in RK); and after 'But our trial of strength is not come yet' he recalls a prophecy concerning the fate of the Lord of the Nazgûl different from that in the brief outline given on p. 326:

'... And if words spoken of old come true, he is not doomed to

fall before warrior or wise [> men of war or wisdom]; but in the hour of his victory to be overthrown by one who has never slain a man [> by one who has slain no living thing]. ...'

In RK this becomes: 'not by the hand of man shall he fall, and hidden from the Wise is the doom that awaits him' (cf. RK p. 116). At the end of this conversation Denethor says: 'Some have unjustly accused you, Mithrandir, of delighting to bear ill news'; before 'unjustly' my father pencilled 'no doubt', but afterwards removed both qualifications.

For all the story of the sortie for the rescue of Faramir and the out-companies and the mounting of the siege there is preliminary drafting, in which almost all features of the final narrative were already present.[17] In the fair copy there is a remarkable addition pencilled in to the description of the Nazgûl circling over the City on the first day of the siege:

The Nazgûl came once more, slaves of the Nine Rings, and to each, since now they were utterly subject to his will, their Lord had given again that ring of power that he had used of old.

This survived into the first typescript, where it was afterwards replaced by the words in RK (p. 97): 'The Nazgûl came again, and as their Dark Lord now grew and put forth his strength, so their voices, which uttered only his will and his malice, were filled with evil and horror.'

In initial drafting for the last part of the chapter the central story of Denethor's madness can be seen emerging as my father wrote (torrentially, with scarcely-formed letters).

And Faramir lay in his chamber wandering in fever, dying as it was said, while his father sat beside him and heeded little the ending of the defence. It seemed to Pippin, who often watched by his side or at the door, that at last something had snapped in the proud will of Denethor: whether grief at the harsh words he spoke before Faramir rode out,[18] or the bitter thought that whatever now should happen in the war, his line too was ending, and even the House of the Stewards would fail, and a lesser house rule the last remnant of the kings of men.

So it was that without word spoken or any commission from the Lord, Gandalf took command of the defence. Wherever he came men's hearts were lifted and the winged shadows passed from memory. Tirelessly he went from Citadel to the Gate, from north to south about the wall, and yet – when he had gone the shadow seemed to close on men again, and vain it seemed to resist, to wait there for cold sword or cruel hunger [*sic*].

And so they passed out of a dim day of fear to the shadow of desperate night. Fire now raged in the lowest circle of the City. The garrison on the walls was well nigh cut off, those that indeed had not already fled. And then in the middle night the assault was loosed.

[Messengers came to the high tower and Denethor looked at them. 'The [?outer] circle is burning, lord,' they said, 'men are flying from the walls.' 'Why?' said Denethor. 'It is well to burn soon than late. I will go now to my own pyre. Farewell, Peregrin son of Paladin, your service has been short. I release you from it, unless you would still use your sword in defence of what is lost. Go now if you will to him that brought you here, to your death.'

He rose and bidding men take up Faramir's bed and follow him left the White Tower and paced slowly, pausing only for a moment at the ... tree, passed out of the Citadel, and going laid himself in the house of tombs under the shadow of Mindolluin with Pippin by his side.]

This passage that I have enclosed in square brackets was an addition to the manuscript, but it can be seen clearly from the manuscript that my father inserted it while he was actually writing the description of the black horseman and the destruction of the Gate. A later note scribbled against the passage reads: 'Pippin follows the cortège until it enters the tombs and then flies down in search of Gandalf. Meets Berithil and together they go through the city. Pippin arrives in time to see Gandalf and the Sorcerer King.'

The vanguard passed over narrow ways between the trenches and suffered loss where they bunched, but too few archers left on the walls. [?Front of war] not in the north or south, but a great weight came to the gate. The ground was choked with bodies but still they came on.

There Gandalf stood. And then over the hill in the flare of the fire a great Black Horseman came. For a moment he ... halted menacing, and lifted up a great ... sword red to the hilt. Fear fell on all ..... Then great rams went on before, but the steel only shook and boomed. The Black Captain ..... lifted again his hand crying in a dreadful voice. In some forgotten tongue he spoke crying aloud words of power and terror. Thrice the rams boomed. Thrice he cried, and then suddenly the gate as if stricken by some blast burst [?asunder], and a great flash as of lightning, burst and fell, and in rode the Lord of the Nazgûl. But there waiting still before the gate sat Gandalf, and Shadowfax

alone among the free horses of the earth did not [?quail] but stood rooted as an image of grey marble.

'You cannot pass,' said Gandalf. 'Go back to the black abyss prepared for you, and fall into nothingness that shall come upon your Master.'

The Black Rider [?lay *for* laid] back his hood and ..... crown that sat upon no visible head save only for the light of his pale eyes.[19] A deadly laughter [?rang] out.

'Old fool,' he said. 'Old fool. Do you not know death when you see it? Die now and curse in vain. This is my hour of victory.' And with that he lifted his great sword. [*Added:* And then suddenly his hand wavered and fell and it seemed that he shrank.] And [> For] in that very moment away behind in some courtyard of the city a cock crowed. Shrill and clear he crowed, recking nothing of wizardry or war, welcoming only the morning that far above the shadows of death was now coming once again.

And as if in answer there came from far away another note. Horns, horns, horns, great horns of the north wildly blowing. The riders of Rohan had come at last.

From short passages of further drafting, either separate or pencilled on the fair copy manuscript itself and then overwritten, the final form of the story was largely reached, and there is nothing to notice in this development. But as the fair copy was left to stand there remained a few differences from RK. The account of Pippin's watching beside Denethor and Faramir remained essentially as it was in the initial draft (see p. 335), where Denethor himself does not speak, and the cause of his devastation is expressed as a surmise of Pippin's: 'Grief maybe had wrought it: grief at the harsh words he spoke when Faramir returned [> remorse for the harsh words he spoke that sent Faramir out into needless peril],[20] and the bitter thought that, whatever might now betide in war, woe or victory beyond all hope, his line too was ending ...'

The description of the journey of the bearers of Faramir, with Denethor and Pippin, after they had passed through the gate of the Citadel, begins thus (cf. RK pp. 99–100):

Turning westward they came at last to a dark door, used only by the Lord of the City, for it opened on a winding way that descended by many curves down to the narrow land under the shadow of Mindolluin's precipice where stood the tombs of the Kings and their Stewards.

But from this point the text reaches effectively the form in RK in the

description of the descent to Rath Dínen, the Silent Street.[21] The passage just cited reappears in the first typescript of the chapter, with the addition that the door was 'in the rearward wall of the sixth circle'; but the final text was entered on the typescript in a rider, and here the name of the door appears: '*Fenn Fornen*, for it was kept ever shut save at times of funeral'.[22]

Pippin's encounter with Berithil as he fled from the horrifying scene in Rath Dínen begins differently from its form in RK (p. 101):

'Whither do you run, Master Peregrin?' he said.

'To find Mithrandir,' answered Pippin.

'Then have you left the service of the Lord so soon? We hold that it is the duty of those who wear the black and silver to remain in the Citadel of Gondor whatever else may chance, until death release them.'[23]

'Or the Lord,' said Pippin.

'Then he sends you on some errand that I should not hinder. But tell me, if you may, what goes forward? ...'

The text then continues as in RK; but Pippin was still permitted at this fateful moment a more Shire-like turn of phrase: 'Something is wrong with him', he says of Denethor (where in RK he says 'He is fey and dangerous'), and he tells Berithil: 'Don't bother about "orders" and all that!'

Lastly, it is worth remarking that the importance of the Prince of Dol Amroth was enlarged as the chapter evolved. In the draft C Pippin did not name him among the 'great persons' present at the council held before Faramir's return from Henneth Annûn (p. 326), and this remains the case in the fair copy D. The Prince's intervention in the deliberations before Faramir went to Osgiliath is absent in the first version of D (p. 333): it enters with the revision (where he is called 'Dol Amroth'). His bringing of Faramir to the White Tower was never added to D (note 17). And in drafting for the latter part of D he is not mentioned as accompanying Gandalf in his tireless permabulation of the City (p. 335) – the passage in which he is introduced here (RK p. 98), with the reference to there being 'Elvish blood in the veins of that folk, for the people of Nimrodel dwelt once in that land long ago', was in fact written into the D manuscript as an afterthought soon after my father had passed this point. At this stage the name *Imrahil* had still not emerged (see pp. 287, 289).

NOTES

1 The account of Pippin's livery is in every point as described in RK, save only that the silver star on the circlet of his helm is not mentioned.

2 *Berethil* is clearly written so, *Berithil* in the first typescript of 'Minas Tirith', p. 288; after further occurrences of *Berethil*, however, *Berithil* reappears.

3 *Ramas Coren*: earlier name of the Wall about the Pelennor (p. 288).

4 I have inverted the order of the last two paragraphs of this outline.

5 On this and subsequent references to days and times see the Note on Chronology below.

6 75 leagues from Henneth Annûn to Minas Tirith: 25 leagues in RK. The distance on my father's large map of Rohan, Gondor and Mordor which I redrew in *The Return of the King* is about 23 leagues. The figure 75 in the present text is however perfectly clear, although the following text D, directly based here on the present draft, has 25. On the First Map the distance can be very roughly computed to something in the region of 75 miles, and I suppose that my father, working very fast, simply wrote 'leagues' for 'miles'.

7 The illegible word seems to begin with *d* and might be *duty*, but the writing is so unclear that it might be *dealings*, or some other word. In the following text, where Denethor still says that he knows 'the answer to the riddling words', the sentence is replaced by 'Poor Boromir!' > 'Alas for Boromir!'

8 The word I have given as '[?either]' is in fact hard to interpret in any other way. Possibly the sentence was left unfinished. The following text has the reading of RK (p. 87), 'save by a victory so final that what then befell would not trouble us, the dead [> being dead].'

9 Pippin says of Frodo: 'Just think, he was alive at least up to this time yesterday, and not so far away across the River!' I do not know why Pippin should say 'at least up to this time yesterday', since Faramir had said that he had parted with Frodo and Sam 'yestermorn'. The following text has: 'he was alive and talking to Faramir only yesterday'. — In Gandalf's reckoning of the time he says: 'Let me see, he would discover some four days ago that we had thrown down Saruman – and had the Stone,' where RK has 'five'. See the Note on Chronology below.

10 The following text has: 'So I told Aragorn, on the day when we met again in Fangorn and rode down to Rohan.' The reference is to 'The White Rider', TT p. 100: 'For imagining war he has let loose war, believing that he has no time to waste ... So the forces that he has long been preparing he is now setting in motion, sooner than he intended.'

11 Cf. the original outline on p. 326: 'Pippin ... hears Faramir accept orders to go to Osgiliath.'

12 In RK (p. 91) Gandalf does not leave the City until news comes of Faramir's retreat to the wall of the Pelennor.

13 The square brackets are in the original.

14 Here the passage in ink breaks off; the sentence would have continued with the sortie from the Gate.

15 I note here a few details. All the references to date remain as in the draft. The distance from Henneth Annûn to Minas Tirith becomes 25 leagues (see note 6). Peregrin's friend is Berithil (see note 2; Beregond only entered at a late stage). The island in Anduin receives momentarily the name *Cairros*, changed immediately to *Andros* (and later to *Cair Andros*).

16 This appears from a note written on a slip in which the existing opening of the chapter (see p. 325) was rewritten. In this revision was introduced the fact of Berithil's having just returned from an errand over the Pelennor 'to *Bered Ondrath*, the guard-towers upon the entrance of the causeway'. This name was subsequently lost.

17 I notice here two features in which the narrative differed from that in RK, and a few other details. The account of Prince Imrahil's bringing Faramir to Denethor in the White Tower, and the light seen flickering in the high chamber (RK pp. 94–5), is absent not only from the initial draft but also from the fair copy D; and the last men to come into the City before the Gate was shut (RK p. 95), reporting the 'endless companies of men of a new sort' who held the northward road or had gone on into Anórien, are not said to be led by Ingold in the draft.

In both draft and fair copy the 'wild Southron men' of RK (p. 95) are 'wild eastlanders'. The wall of the Pelennor is still called Ramas Coren in both texts where RK has 'the Rammas' (p. 95), with '(? Corramas)' added at the time of writing. In the sentence (RK p. 94) 'And in his arms before him on his horse he [the Prince] bore the body of his kinsman, Faramir son of Denethor' a word is written above 'kinsman' in the draft text which looks like 'cousin'; this seems to have been struck through. The genealogy of the house of Dol Amroth is found in LR, Appendix A (I, iv): Denethor married (late) Finduilas daughter of Adrahil of Dol Amroth. Elsewhere it is recorded (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 248) that Adrahil was the father of Imrahil, so that Imrahil (brother of Finduilas) was Faramir's uncle.

18 This is curious, because in the D manuscript as written (when it was Faramir who imposed his own will on the council in his demand to lead a force to Osgiliath) Denethor (as reported) spoke no harsh words to Faramir, and indeed bade him farewell with the words 'may your judgement prove just: at least so much that I may see you again' (p. 333). This may suggest that the later version of this episode was already in being, in which Denethor says: 'But I will not yield the River and the fields of the Pelennor unfought – not if there is a captain that will do my will, and quail

not' (cf. RK p. 90).

19 The handwriting here is such that many words could not be interpreted at all in isolation, without context or other clues, but 'save only for the light of his pale eyes' seems tolerably clear. Cf. p. 365.

20 See note 18.

21 The name *Rath Dínen* appears on the plan of the city reproduced on p. 290 from the first typescript of the chapter 'Minas Tirith', where however the conception of it was decisively different.

22 Other names are written beside this rider: *Fenn Forn the Closed Door*, *Fenn uiforn the Ever Closed*, also *Uidavnen* and the word *davnan*.

23 These words, slightly changed, were afterwards spoken by Gandalf to Pippin at the beginning of the chapter 'The Pyre of Denethor' (RK p. 126).

Note on the Chronology

The new 'calendar' (i.e. with dates in March instead of February, see p. 325) can be equated with the old from the date of the first day of the Darkness, Pippin's second day in Minas Tirith, which had been February 7 and is now March 9. I presume that my father calculated this on the basis that all months now had thirty days. Thus proceeding from 26 December = 26 January, the day of Frodo's flight (see VII.368), there are the following equations: December 31 = February 1; January 1 = February 2; January 29 = February 30; January 30 = March 1; January 31 = March 2; February 1 = March 3.

The chronology, however, is still not that of LR (see *The Tale of Years*). At this stage Faramir says (on 9 March) that he had parted with Frodo and Sam at Henneth Annûn on the morning of the previous day ('in the morning two days ago', RK p. 85), and he says that the Darkness began to come over that night ('yestereve', RK). The relation between the two chronologies can be set out thus:

	The present chronology	*The chronology in LR*
March 7	Frodo taken by Faramir to Henneth Annûn.	Frodo taken by Faramir to Henneth Annûn.
March 8	Frodo leaves Henneth Annûn. Gandalf reaches Minas Tirith.	Frodo leaves Henneth Annûn.

March 9	The Dawnless Day. Faramir rescued on the Pelennor. Frodo reaches the Cross-roads.	Gandalf reaches Minas Tirith.
March 10	Faramir goes to Osgiliath.	The Dawnless Day. Faramir rescued on the Pelennor. Frodo reaches the Cross-roads.
March 11	Faramir retreats to the Causeway Forts.	Faramir goes to Osgiliath.

Thus the horns of the Rohirrim are heard at cockcrow on March 14 in the chronology of the present texts, but on March 15 in LR. At this stage Frodo still takes two days, not three, from Henneth Annûn to the Cross-roads (see p. 182), and Gandalf takes three nights, not four, from Dol Baran to Minas Tirith (see p. 264 note 3).

Gandalf, speaking to Pippin on the night of 9 March, reckons that it was now four days since Sauron discovered 'that we had thrown down Saruman – and had the Stone' (note 9), whereas in RK (p. 88), on 10 March, he reckons the time as five days. He is referring to 5 March (= February 3), and the difference is again due to the longer time taken on his ride.

VII
THE RIDE OF THE ROHIRRIM

A single manuscript page ('**A**') gives an outline for the narrative of this chapter. It was written in ink over a pencilled text – which at this stage had again and unhappily become my father's frequent method of composition. The figures introducing each paragraph are of course the dates in the month of March.

(9) Théoden leaves Dunharrow on 9th. He rides 25 miles to Edoras. After a halt there and reviewing the garrison he sets out East. At first they go slow to conserve strength. Merry is given leave to go to war, and is assigned to ride with one of the king's guard: the one who seems young and light and so less burden to his steed. He is silent and never speaks. They halt not far from where the Snowbourn runs into Entwash 25 miles from Edoras – they bivouac in dense willow-thickets.
(10) They ride steadily and halt now nearly 100 miles from Edoras.
(11) They ride again. When 125 miles out about midday fugitives and late joining riders bring news of attacks in North, and of forces crossing above Sarn Gebir[1] into the Wold of Rohan. Théoden decides that he has left sufficient garrison (or all possible) in his strong places, and must ride on: soon the marshes of Entwash mouth will cover his flank. They cross into Anórien (of Gondor) and camp under Halifirien (160 [miles]). Mysterious drums are heard in the woods and hills. Théoden resolves to ride warily, and sends out scouts.
(12) They halt some 230 miles on at dusk (64 miles or a day's ride from Pelennor). They camp in the skirts of the Forest of Eilenach out of which rises Eilenach Beacon. Scouts return with the errand-riders of Minas Tirith (who had ridden ahead but found entrance closed). There is a great camp of enemy under [Amon Dîn >] Min Rimmon about [25 >] 50 miles west of the Pelennor or about [40 >] 14 miles further on:[2] Orcs are roving along the road. Dark men of Eilenach come in. They decide to push on by night. Suddenly they see fires ahead and hear cries. A great *hoom hom* is heard. Ents! Treebeard cries Merry. The enemy camp is in confusion. Dark men of Eilenach

have attacked it, and suddenly coming out of North after a victory over Orcs in Wold ([250 >] 225 miles) Treebeard and a company of Ents. The Rohirrim come round to rear [and] sweep the remnants away N.W. into marshes. They halt under Min Rimmon and take counsel of war.
(13) Morning of 13th. Scouts report that siege is now [?strait] and great fires and engines are all about walls. They ride about 20 miles and [?hide] in the woods and hills of Amon Dîn ready to move at night and attack with dawn.
(14) At dawn they charge. Rammas has been destroyed at this point.

At the foot of the page, in pencil, is a list of distances: *Eilenach* 215 (written beneath: 219); *Min Rimmon* 245 (written beneath: 246); *Amon Dîn* 270; *Rammas* 294; *Minas Tirith* 306.[3] Beside this list is a note: 'Camp just west of Min Rimmon (243 miles) on night of 12th.'

The names of the beacons in their final forms and final order (which I count eastwards from Edoras) had appeared long before in the abandoned opening C of 'Minas Tirith' (p. 233; repeated in the first text of the chapter), but now the order has been changed:

Early texts of 'Minas Tirith' and LR	*The present text*
1 Halifirien	1 Halifirien
2 Calenhad	2 Calenhad
3 Min Rimmon	3 Erelas
4 Erelas	4 Nardol
5 Nardol	5 Eilenach
6 Eilenach	6 Min Rimmon
7 Amon Dîn	7 Amon Dîn

I can offer no explanation for this other than the obvious but not entirely convincing one that my father had misremembered the order as it stood in the 'Minas Tirith' text, and that afterwards, looking back through the papers, he returned to it.

So in the outline A the Rohirrim camped on the night of March 12 'in the skirts of the Forest of Eilenach out of which rises Eilenach Beacon', and here 'the dark men of Eilenach' enter the story, forerunners of the Woses or Wild Men of the Woods, though nothing is said of them other than that they attacked the enemy camp (the drumming in the hills is heard, however, from the camp under Halifirien on the previous night, March 11). Thus the Forest of Eilenach is the forerunner of the Druadan Forest, but Eilenach Beacon is the fifth, and beyond it are still Min Rimmon and Amon Dîn.

Treebeard and the Ents reappear, coming south 'after a victory over Orcs in the Wold', and clearly they play a part in the attack on the camp

(I take it that the meaning of the text at this point is 'Dark men of Eilenach have attacked it, and so also have Treebeard and a company of Ents suddenly coming out of the North'). In the early outlines for Book V there are several references to the southward march of the Ents after the destruction of the Orcs on the Wold (see p. 255 and note 29), but these all specifically refer to their arrival (together with Elves from Lórien) *after* the siege of Minas Tirith had been broken: there has been no suggestion that they appeared earlier, in Anórien.

Merry is here 'given leave to go to war, and is assigned to ride with one of the king's guard: the one who seems young and light and so less burden to his steed.' This is presumably the story that my father had in mind at the end of 'Many Roads Lead Eastward' (see p. 318), where one among the guard, noticeably slighter in build (and certainly Éowyn), looked at Merry as the ride began from Dunharrow: this Rider would be *assigned* to carry the hobbit.

Two pages of pencilled text are hard to place since they are very largely illegible on account of subsequent overwriting in ink; but they are very noteworthy, since from what little can be read it is seen that my father was here developing the story of the coming of the Ents into Anórien from the outline just given. The narrative envisaged clearly ran into difficulties, and was decisively abandoned, without any repercussions in the development of the chapter; for this reason it seems most probable that they should be placed here. The ink overwriting that so obscured them bears no relation to the pencilled text beneath.[4]

On one of these pages (which I take to be the first in order since the arrival of Treebeard appears, whereas on the other he is already present) Treebeard's call of *hoom hom* (or something similar) is heard; 'Merry sprang up. "Treebeard!" he cried. Treebeard comes with good news. The Ents and the Huorns had ..... the invaders on the Wold and driven them into the River.' Fragments of the following sentence refer to rumour of the ride of the Rohirrim having reached the Ents, and to their great march southwards to aid the king. 'Friendship and reward the king offered. But he asked only leave when war was over to return to Fangorn and there be troubled by ..... For reward he would take .....'

No more than broken fragments can be discerned in the remainder of this page, but these suggest uncertainty of direction. 'They plan to divide into three. The Ents would come on the camp from the north first while the main host ...'; 'and so come down to the plain [?somewhat] behind the camp between it and the leaguer of the city'; 'Or remove the host of orc-men'; and later: 'In that case the wild men slay orcs but also turn against king. But the riders brush them aside and reach Amon Dîn ...'

The other page begins thus: 'But the wild men were nowhere to be seen. At the first sight of the Ents they had cried out shrieks of fear and

fled back to vanish into the hills ..... what dark and distant legends out of [?elder] days held their minds enthralled none could say. But Treebeard soon found for himself what he needed ..... a [?pool] under the side of Amon Dîn fed by a spring [?above]. There he stood and [?laved] himself while the king and his captains held council under the trees.' After '"Both ... and warriors are needed, lord," said Éomer' follows: 'Some few at least must have escaped eastward to give warning of our approach.' Does this refer to the Wild Men?

From the rest of this page scarcely anything useful can be gleaned, but the sentence 'The wild men lead them again along hill-paths' is clear; which is puzzling, since there seems not to be enough text intervening to explain the reversal of the story just given.

Nothing more is found anywhere touching on the appearance of the Ents in Anórien, and the reason for their disappearance can only be guessed at. It seems to me possible that something on the following lines may lie behind it. The vast armies at the disposal of Mordor made it a certainty that a host would be dispatched beyond Minas Tirith into Anórien in order to block any attempt from Rohan to come to the aid of the city: this could be said to be a datum of the story. But an assault on the orc-camp would necessarily constitute a major episode, and my father wanted such an episode at this juncture no more than did the Rohirrim. The Wild Men, who (as 'the dark men of Eilenach') had entered in outline A as attackers of the orc-camp, found their rôle in leading the Rohirrim by forgotten roads through the hills known only to themselves, so that the orc-camp was entirely circumvented. The Ents therefore had no clear function left to them. This is of course pure speculation; there are no notes found pertaining to the question. But at any rate the explanation cannot be that my father had come to feel (independently of the immediate story as it was emerging here) that Treebeard should not appear again in person until the reunited Company met him once more on the homeward journey: see p. 361.

My father had great difficulty with the question of how Merry went to Minas Tirith, and indeed with finding a satisfactory opening to the chapter. The previous chapter in the narrative sequence ('Many Roads Lead Eastwards') had ended with the host of the Rohirrim passing down Harrowdale; now something must be told of the halt at Edoras – but at the same time he would prefer to pass over the uneventful first days of the ride and begin the chapter at a later point.

His first solution, in a very brief and very rough text ('**B**'), was to open with the Riders halted on the third night (March 11) below the Halifirien, where, as in the outline A, the mysterious drums are heard in the hills, and to introduce the halt at Edoras as a retrospect of Merry's as he reviewed his situation, lying under the trees in the darkness.

It was so dark that Merry could see nothing as he lay rolled in his blankets; but though it was an airless windless night all about was the soft whisper of endless dark trees. He lifted his head. There it was again, a sound like faint drums in the wooded hills and mountain-steps to the south, drums that stopped and seemed to be answered from other places. He wondered if the watchmen heard it. Though he could not see them he knew that all round him were companies upon companies of the Riders. He could smell the horses in the dark, and hear now and again their stamping and shifting on the soft needle-clad ground. They were bivouacked in the pinewoods that clustered about the dark Halifirien: a great hill, flat-topped, standing out from the [?main] range beside the road from Edoras on the borders of Anórien.

He was tired but could not sleep. He had ridden now for three days since the dark morning of the muster at Dunharrow, and at each halt the darkness seemed to deepen, and his heart and spirits to fall lower. There was now no song or speech on the way in all the great host of Rohan. At Edoras they had halted for a while and then at last he obtained the king's permission to go on to battle with him. He now wondered why. It was arranged that he was to ride before one of the king's guard, and it seemed that the young man whom he had noticed had claimed him, since he was lighter of build than the others, so that his steed was less burdened. At any rate as they rode forth at last from Edoras Merry had been helped up to this man's seat, and there he had [?sat] ... while men were riding, but never a word did his companion utter, at mounting or dismounting or on the way.

All the last part of this text (from 'At Edoras they had halted ...') was struck out, and the following substituted: 'and already he wondered why he had been so determined to come against [?even] the king's command. Not a word more since the first day had Grímhelm spoken [?whether] at mounting or dismounting or on the road.'

My father had come to the conclusion that Merry had *not* been given permission by Théoden to come with the host of Rohan to Minas Tirith; and he had decided also – perhaps for this reason – that the halt at Edoras had best be recounted in direct narrative. He therefore began a new opening for the chapter in another extremely rough manuscript ('C'), entitled 'The Ride of the Rohirrim':

The king came to Edoras in the gathering dark, though it was but noon. There he halted and said farewell to his golden hall

and the people of his house. Merry begged not to be parted from him.

'This is no journey for Stybba,' said Théoden. 'We ride to war, and in such battle as we hope to make what would you do, Master Holbytla, sworn swordthain though you are and greater of heart than of ...?'

'As for that, who can tell?' answered Merry. 'And why did you take me as swordthain if I was to be left behind when my lord rides to war?'

'If the battle were here we would see how you bore yourself,' said Théoden, 'but it is 100 leagues or more to Mundbeorg[5] where Denethor is lord. And the first thing for my swordthain to do is to hear the commands of his lord.'

Merry went out unhappy and looked at the lines of horses. The companies were already being ordered for the start. Suddenly a Rider came up to him, and spoke softly in a whisper. 'Where will wants not, a way opens, say we,' he said. 'So have I found myself.' Merry [?looked] ... rider of the king's guard whom he noticed before. 'You wish to go where the lord of the Eorlingas goes?'

'I do,' said Merry. 'Then you shall ride before me,' said the Rider. 'Such good will shall not be wasted. Say nothing more, but come.'

'Thank you indeed, thank you sir – I do not know your name.'

'Do you not?' said the Rider softly. 'Then call me [Cyneferth >] Grímhelm.'[6]

(9) So it was that when the king set forth again before Grímhelm sat Meriadoc the hobbit, and his great grey steed made little of the burden, for Grímhelm was less in build than most of the guard though lithe and well-knit in shape. That [?evening] they camped in the willow thickets where Snowbourn ... into Entwash 12 leagues or more east of Edoras.

The text then tails off into scrawled and partly illegible notes about the next two days' journey: on the third day, with the date March 11 (cf. outline A, p. 343), 'men rode in joining the muster late, and they brought rumours of war in the North and of Orcs crossing into the Wold above Sarn Gebir'; to which news Éomer said: 'Too late to turn back or aside.'

It was now, as the name Grímhelm shows, that the conclusion of the text B, with the story that Merry rode with the king's permission, was rejected (p. 347).[7]

My father evidently decided now (probably, as I have suggested, because he did not wish to treat each day of the ride from Edoras in consecutive narrative) that this passage, recounting the king's denial of Merry's request and Grímhelm's stepping secretly into the breach, had best be placed at the end of 'Many Roads Lead Eastward' ('The Muster of Rohan'); and the next text ('D')[8] was marked 'Place this at the end of Chapter II of Book V'. The alliterative song *From dark Dunharrow in the dim morning* had not yet arisen. The 'young rider of the guard' still names himself Grímhelm, but with an alternative *Derning*, and a further suggestion *Dernhelm*. The conclusion of the passage in RK (p. 78, the end of 'The Muster of Rohan') is now present, with mention of the Folde and the Fenmarch, but whereas in RK four beacon-hills are named after Halifirien (Calenhad, Min-Rimmon, Erelas, Nardol) here there are only three: Calenhad, Erelas, Nardol, with omission of Min-Rimmon (see p. 344).

Rough workings for *From dark Dunharrow in the dim morning* are found, and the song was then incorporated into a further text ('E')[9] ('to be added to Chapter II of Book V'). The Rider who bears Merry is here still called Grímhelm (with 'Dernhelm?' written beside); and four beacon-hills are now named, but still with the omission of Min-Rimmon: Calenhad, Erelas, Nardol, Eilenach (because, when this was written, Eilenach had already been passed when the story told in 'The Ride of the Rohirrim' begins).

Finally, the alliterative song with the following text was copied in a fine manuscript and attached to the typescript M of 'Many Roads Lead Eastward': here the song is all but in final form.[10] There are now no differences from RK in the conclusion of the earlier chapter, except that Dernhelm remains 'a young rider of the guard'.[11]

The development of the new opening of 'The Ride of the Rohirrim' (i.e., when the story of the halt at Edoras had been removed) is particularly hard to analyse. There is here no continuous primary text followed by a continuous second version: my father wrote in a series of overlapping and partly discontinuous stages, some of which are in pencil overwritten in ink. I shall not attempt here to describe this complex in detail, especially since much of it is repetition, as my father sought to find a satisfactory articulation of existing elements in the story.

In the earliest brief text of this new start to the chapter (in pencil, but largely legible despite the overwriting) the host of the Rohirrim is 'bivouacked in the pinewoods that clustered about Minrimmon Beacon'. Merry hears a sound like faint drums in the wooded hills. They had been riding for four days, and were now less than a day's ride from the walls of the Pelennor. Scouts sent ahead had returned with the errand-riders of Gondor and reported that Minas Tirith was besieged, that another host was holding the approach to the City, and

that a part of that force was marching west along the road. 'Suddenly Merry heard the soft whisper of Dernhelm again. Not a word more had he spoken since Edoras, either at mounting or dismounting or upon the way. "Come!" he said. "We ride again by night. Battle comes to meet us."' Here this text ends. It is clear that 'Minrimmon Beacon' has now replaced 'Eilenach Beacon' of the outline A (p. 343);[12] and in the ink text written over it (with the chapter number 'XLVII') Min Rimmon Beacon is 'a tall hill standing up from the long ridges of the forest of Taur-rimmon'.

In a second pencilled text, again overwritten but again largely legible, the scouts report that the enemy host was encamped on the road 'between Amon Dîn and the walls'. Dernhelm is now more communicative, for when the night riding has begun Merry ventures to put a question to him, and gets an answer. 'Drums, Dernhelm. Do you hear them, or am I dreaming? Is that the enemy?' Dernhelm replies very much as does Elfhelm the Marshal in RK (p. 105) after he stumbled over Merry in the dark, though more briefly: 'It is the wild men of the hills. In many wooded vales they live secretly, but most in this region, remnants of the Dark Years. They go not to war for Gondor or the Mark, and ask but to live wild. But now the darkness troubles them and the coming of orcs: they fear lest the Dark Years be come again. Let us be thankful. For they have offered service to Théoden. They are now our guides.' Here this text ends in its turn.

Ink overwriting advances the story: Éothain 'captain of the guard'[13] stumbles over Merry lying on the ground, and it is he who tells Merry about the meaning of the drums: 'Those are not orc-drums. You hear the wild men of the hills: so they talk together. In many wooded vales of these regions they live few and secretly.' Éothain makes no mention of the use of poisoned arrows by the Wild Men, and nothing is told here of any colloquy with one of them. The text concludes (from the end of Éothain's words to Merry):

'... Let us be thankful; for they have offered service to Théoden. They have spied on the enemy, and will guide us, they say, by cunning paths.'

'Where?' said Merry.

'That we shall learn ere long, I doubt not,' said Éothain. 'But I must hasten. The guard is to lead a flank march, and I must soon be ready.' He vanished in the dark, and at that moment 'Come,' said the soft voice of Dernhelm in Merry's ear. 'We ride again. I am ready.'

Soon Merry found himself riding again, slowly, warily. The guard led the way but beside each horse walked with long strides strange shapes of men, hardly to be seen in the gloom, and yet somehow Merry was reminded of the Púkel-men of

Dunharrow. Guided by these unlooked for friends they turned away southward towards the hills, filing among the trees, and then turning again moved further along hidden tracks through narrow dales and over the shoulders of dark hills.

No words were spoken. Hours seemed to pass, and yet still the night held on.

A new draft in ink (the one that was written over and so obscured the pencilled text concerning the Ents and the Wild Men, p. 345) takes up at the point where the captain of the guard (here left unnamed and referred to as 'X') stumbles over Merry. He tells him that the Wild Men of the Woods 'still haunt Rimmon Forest, it is said'; he does not mention their poisoned arrows, but he says that 'even now one of their headmen is being taken to the king.' From here the story moves confidently into the conversation of the king and Éomer with the headman Ghân-buri-Ghân (so named unhesitatingly from his first appearance), near the end of which this text ends. Already in this draft the final form is very nearly achieved, with Ghân-buri-Ghân's names for the orcs (*gorgûn*), and for Minas Tirith (*Stonehouses*).[14] Of the ancient road made by the men of Gondor through the hills he says this:

'... They went to Eilenach with great wains. Forgotten now, but not by wild men. Paths in hills and behind hills. Long road runs still under tree and grass behind Rimmon down to Dîn, and so back to horsemen road.'

It is to be remembered that at this stage the Rohirrim were bivouacked in the forest of Taur-rimmon, out of which rose the tall hill of Min Rimmon Beacon, and that the order of the last three beacons was Eilenach, Min Rimmon, Amon Dîn (see p. 344). It is natural therefore that Ghân-buri-Ghân should speak of the old wain-road to Eilenach running 'behind Rimmon down to Dîn' (see below).

Turning now to the first completed text, this manuscript begins as a fair copy of the draft work already described, but for the latter part of the chapter (from the end of the conversation with Ghân-buri-Ghân) it is based variously on overwritten pencilled text and independent passages of preliminary drafting in ink. In this manuscript the chapter as it stands in RK was largely reached, and there are only relatively minor matters to mention. It is numbered 'XLVII' and titled '(i) The Ride of the Rohirrim'; beside this my father wrote afterwards 'and the Battle of the Pelennor Field', then struck it out.

The Rohirrim are still camped in 'Taur-rimmon Forest' from which rises Min Rimmon beacon. Ghân-buri-Ghân tells of the wains that went to Eilenach passing 'through Rimmon', where he clearly means 'the forest of Rimmon'; and he speaks as in the draft of the lost road

that lies 'there behind Rimmon and down to Dîn'. Changes made to the manuscript in these passages produced the text of RK (pp. 104, 106–7), but this development is rather puzzling. The host now lies in the Druadan Forest out of which rises Eilenach Beacon; and Ghân-buri-Ghân now says that the wains went 'through Druadan to Rimmon'; but his words about the old road remain unchanged from the draft, 'there behind Rimmon and down to Dîn'. If we suppose that after the order of the beacons had been changed the ancient wain-road went all the way to Min Rimmon (and the change of 'They went through Rimmon to Eilenach' to 'They went through Druadan to Rimmon' was not casually made: my father wrote *Rimmon* twice and twice crossed it out before finally settling on this name), it nonetheless seems strange that Ghân-buri-Ghân, in the Druadan Forest, should say 'there behind Rimmon', since Min Rimmon was now the third beacon, not the sixth, and some seventy-five miles to the west of Eilenach.

The Rider who stumbles over Merry is now again named Éothain (see p. 350), but he is now 'captain of Éomer's company (éored)'. By subsequent correction he becomes 'Déorwin, chief of the king's knights since Háma's death', and he speaks to Merry of 'the Druedain, Wild Men of the Woods', who 'still haunt Druadan Forest, it is said.' The name *Druedain* is not found in the published LR (in the present manuscript it was afterwards replaced by *Woses*), but reappears in *Unfinished Tales*. At a later stage, the Rider who fell over Merry and cursed him for a tree-root became Elfhelm, while Déorwin (Déorwine) survived in the story, still as chief of the king's knights, to be slain in the Battle of the Pelennor Fields, his name remembered in the song of the Mounds of Mundburg (RK pp. 120, 125). Elfhelm makes his first appearance by correction to the present manuscript, taking over from Éomer the speech beginning 'We need no further guides ...' (RK p. 109): here he is described as 'one of the captains'. In the typescripts of the chapter, where he has replaced Déorwine as the stumbling Rider, he is called 'captain of the company with which he [Merry] was riding'; the change to 'the Marshal, Elfhelm' was made when the book was in proof.

After Éomer's counsel that the Rohirrim should rest now and set out again at night, and the words 'To this the king assented, and the captains departed' (RK p. 109), my father set down a brief outline:

On the grass way they find Hirgon's body and dead horse – facing back west. They are drawing near the Rammas when they meet a runner in the dark and take him captive; but he proves to be a soldier of Gondor that escaping through a postern has slipped through the leaguer and run for 14 miles. He falls dying of wounds and exhaustion. 'Too late you come!'

he cried. 'The first circle is burning and abandoned. The Lord will not give heed to the defence. Great siege towers and engines. They are bringing up a huge Ram for the Gates.'

Then suddenly as he looked at the flame far off the heart swelled in Théoden, as of one who is fey, and without more counsel he seized a great horn and blew it, and all the horns in the host took up the challenge. Then without more debate the Rohirrim poured in upon the fields of Gondor like a great torrent.

This passage was struck through; and from this point the development becomes for a stretch entirely obscure, a mosaic of repetitions and overwritings leading to the final text; but this was not achieved until after the manuscript was completed – the pagination shows that a page was added in here subsequently. Before this, the story was still that Dernhelm rode as a member of the king's guard, in the leading *éored* (see note 17); with the addition on the added page of the statement (RK p. 110) that 'Elfhelm's company came next, and now Merry noticed that Dernhelm had left his place and in the darkness was moving steadily forward until at last he was riding just in rear of the king's guard' that story is seen to be abandoned: Dernhelm had been riding from Edoras in the second *éored*.

On the added page is a small map. This marks the Druadan Forest and Stonewain Valley, the Anórien road, Eilenach (in its final position as the sixth beacon) and Amon Dîn, the 'Grey Woods' south-east of Amon Dîn, Mindolluin, Minas Tirith, and Osgiliath. The island of Cair Andros is shown, though not named, and most notably the Anduin now bends strongly west below Osgiliath, so that the walls of the Pelennor run along its bank for a stretch, and then turns still more sharply southwards (but the hills of Emyn Arnen are not shown): on this see p. 438. In one respect only does this map differ from the large-scale map of Rohan, Gondor and Mordor, and that is in the relation of Minas Tirith to Osgiliath.[15] Here the road across the Pelennor runs due east to the Causeway Forts (marked with small circles), and Osgiliath is due east of the city, whereas on the large map it lies to the north-east, and the road runs likewise; see the Second Map, pp. 434, 438.

In the remainder of 'The Ride of the Rohirrim' the final form was achieved in this manuscript almost word for word:[16] the speech of Wídfara about the change in the wind, the disposition of the companies of the Rohirrim,[17] Merry's fear that the king would quail and turn back, his great cry (with echoes of the Old Norse *Völuspá*) 'Arise, arise, Riders of Théoden ...', and the likening of Théoden to 'Oromë the Great in the Battle of the Valar when the world was young.'

Lastly I must mention the interesting name *Forannest*. Isolated notes

show my father working out this name, without giving any indication of its reference,[18] and on a page of the earliest drafting for the chapter, written above and perhaps associated with the sentence 'They were less than a day's ride from the Rammas', *Forannest* appears again, followed by the words 'North entrance [?in]'. That *Forannest* (whatever the name actually means) was the 'north-gate in the Rammas' (RK p. 111) is made certain by an isolated slip[19] giving the distances, east of Edoras, of the Mering Stream and the seven beacons; for here, following Amon Dîn, appears *Forannest (Rammas Echor)*.

NOTES

1 *Sarn Gebir:* the rapids in Anduin.

2 In the pencilled text the enemy camp is near Amon Dîn, and the distances are greater: 245 or 250 miles to the halt in the Forest of Eilenach, 285 to Amon Dîn.

3 The distance from the Rammas to Minas Tirith given here (12 miles or 4 leagues) obviously refers to the distance from the city to the point in the wall where the Rohirrim entered (where the North Road from Anórien ran into the townlands); and while in RK (p. 22) the city was four leagues from the wall at the widest extent of the Pelennor (in the direction of Osgiliath) and the north gate in the Rammas rather less ('maybe ten miles or more', RK p. 111), my father had now abandoned the original conception that the Pelennor had at all points a radius of seven leagues (see pp. 277–8, 287). Cf. also the draft for 'The Siege of Gondor' (p. 330), where it is said that when Faramir was forced to abandon the Causeway Forts he had '4 leagues or more of open land to cross', i.e. across the Pelennor.

On the Second Map a line of five dots (shown on the redrawing, p. 434) runs northwest from Minas Tirith. These might seem rather too far north of the mountains to represent the beacons; but that they do so is seen from the fact that the distance measured in a direct line from Edoras to that nearest Minas Tirith is 270 miles, to the next 245 miles, and to the next 218 miles. These are virtually the same as the distances given here for Edoras to Amon Dîn, Min Rimmon, and Eilenach. On the other hand the distance on the Second Map from Edoras to the Rammas is about 285 miles, and to Minas Tirith about 295.

4 My references to and citations from the overwritten pencilled texts, here and subsequently, are very largely based on the work done on them by Taum Santoski.

5 In the following text of this passage the distance from Edoras to Minas Tirith becomes 'a hundred and one leagues', changed at once to 'a hundred leagues and two', as in RK. On my father's large-scale map of Rohan, Gondor and Mordor the distance in a

direct line is 302 miles, but he noted against a pencilled line connecting them '304'. — On the form *Mundbeorg* 'hill of protection' for *Mundburg* in LR see VII.449 note 7.

6 *Cyneferth* has the very common Old English name-element *cyne-* 'royal'; *Grímhelm* means 'visored helm', cf. *gríma* 'mask', the name of Wormtongue.

7 On a torn half-sheet, subsequently used for other writing on the reverse, are the remains of a time-scheme which is very difficult both to read and to place in sequence, especially since some dates are lost and can only be deduced from those that are left. It seems that Théoden here remains a whole day at Dunharrow before setting out on the 10th of March, and on the 11th, after news has come in of an Orc-host entering Rohan from north of the Emyn Muil, Éomer leaves the host, rejoining it on the 12th. Against March 10 (?) is written: 'Merry insists on going to war and is taken up by [Grim >] Dúnhere who rides with the King, *Éowyn*, and Éomer.' It is hard to know what to make of this. A possibility is that my father had briefly decided to abandon the story of the 'young rider of the guard' (Éowyn), for Éowyn will now come openly to Minas Tirith, while Merry, equally openly, is taken by Dúnhere, chief of the men of Harrowdale. In support of this is the abandoned name *Grim-* (for *Grímhelm?*), and perhaps the underlining of *Éowyn*. But this seems to me very unlikely. It seems more probable that this text represents *earlier* ideas for this element in the story: not only is Merry permitted to go with the host, but Éowyn rides also as a matter of course (in which case the name *Grim-* is without significance, for *Grímhelm* had not yet arisen). In support of this is the diversion of Éomer northwards, mentioned in several of the early outlines for Book V, but not subsequently.

8 This text was in fact 'doubled', pencil overwritten in ink; but much of the pencilled form was left clear, and it shows no significant difference from the version in ink.

9 In this first finished version of *From dark Dunharrow in the dim morning* line 2 reads (as also in the first workings) *fate defying rode Fengel's son*, alliterating on *f*, with *Thengel?* in pencil in the margin (*with thane and captain rode Thengel's son*, RK). Both *fengel* and *þengel* were Old English poetic words for 'king, prince', and since *Thengel* as the name of Théoden's father appears in early texts of 'The Riders of Rohan' and 'The King of the Golden Hall' (VII.399, 402, 441) the appearance of *Fengel* here may have been inadvertent.

Line 8 reads *where deep once he drank ere darkness fell*, changed to *where long he had lived ere the light faded*. In line 10 *faith compelled him* preceded *Fealty kept he*. Line 12, where the original workings had *five days and nights*, changed to *four*

nights and days, retains the latter (*five* in RK). Line 14 reads *through Folde and Fenmarch past Firienlode*: *Firienlode* is clearly a river, and so perhaps the original name of the Mering Stream, which flowed through the Firien Wood. In line 16 *Minas Tirith* is *Mundberg*(see note 5; *berg* and *beorg*, 'hill, mountain', were Old English variants).

10 This text still has *Four nights and days* for *Five*, and *Mundberg* for *Mundburg* (see note 9).

11 This was subsequently altered on the manuscript. I presume that my father's thought was that for Éowyn to be disguised as a member of the king's own guard, and distinct among them by slightness of build, would obviously make her presence more readily detected; but see p. 369.

12 Cf. the note at the end of outline A (p. 344): 'Camp just west of Min Rimmon on night of 12th'. — The phrase 'bivouacked in the pinewoods that clustered about (Minrimmon Beacon)' was first used of the Halifirien (p. 347). In the final form it would be used of Eilenach, when that became again the sixth beacon (RK p. 104).

13 The name *Éothain* now appears in a third application (see p. 247 and note 20), for this Éothain, captain of the guard, can hardly be the same Rider as Éomer's squire in 'The Riders of Rohan' (see p. 266 note 20).

14 The appearance and clothing of Ghân-buri-Ghân are not described: 'There sat Théoden and Éomer and before [them] on the ground was a strange squat shape of a man. Merry felt that he had seen him before, and suddenly he remembered: the Púkelmen of Dunharrow. Almost it seemed that here was one come to life. Looking about he saw that in a ring just outside the light squatted other similar figures, while Riders on guard stood in a circle behind.' Ghân-buri-Ghân 'spoke after a fashion the Common Speech as it was in Gondor.' At the point where this draft ends he replies to the king's offer of reward and friendship thus: 'No need. Ghân-buri-Ghân himself go with you [?lord]. If he leads into trap you will kill him. If he lead well then we say farewell and ask only to be left in the woods.'

15 Whereas on the large map the Anduin bends southward after Cair Andros and is running north-south at Osgiliath, on this map it continues south-east after Cair Andros and then swings back south-west to Osgiliath. No features are shown here other than the course of the River itself.

16 The fair copy was here written over a pencilled text. Most of this Taum Santoski has been able to read, and it is seen that the final text was already closely approached.

17 After 'The first *éored* drew up behind him [Théoden] and about him on either side' (RK p. 111) this text continues: 'Elfhelm was

away on the right ...': thus the words 'Dernhelm kept close to the king, *though* (Elfhelm's company was away on the right)' are lacking. This implies that the story was still present that Dernhelm rode as a member of the leading *éored* with the king's household-men (RK p. 110), not as one of Elfhelm's company; see p. 353.

18 Rejected forms in these notes are *fornest*, *Anfornest*, together with words *nesta*, *nethra*, *nest*, the last with meanings (apparently: the writing is very obscure) 'heart, core'.

19 The reverse of this slip (which is the lower half of a torn page) carries the following text:

> ... war would be useless, disastrous ..... something much simpler, smaller and more desperate.
>
> 'I see you have something in mind,' said Thorin. 'What is it?'
>
> 'Well, this first,' I answered: 'you will have to go on your quest *secretly*, and that means you must go yourself, without messengers or embassies, and go with only a few faithful kinsmen or followers of your house. But you will need something more. There is a piece missing from the plan.
>
> For I needed thought. Thorin's tale had roused memories in my mind. Many years before I had been to Dol Guldur, as you know. You will know what I mean since you know Bilbo's story. I remembered the unhappy dying dwarf in the pits of Dol Guldur and the torn map and old key. Except that he was of Durin's folk of Erebor (as the map showed) I had no idea who he was. Of some importance perhaps since he was bearing a Ring, though he might have come by it in many ways. None but the Dwarves, and only a few of them, know who were the possessors of their great rings. But I had other far more perilous business on hand, and after I escaped from Dol Guldur many urgent cares. I stowed the things away till perhaps time would show their meaning. Now it had done so. I saw that I [had] heard the last wandering words of Thráin II Thrór's son, though he could not speak his own name or his son's. By what toughness of resistance he had kept these small things hidden in his torments, I do not know. But I think that

Comparison with *The Quest of Erebor* in *Unfinished Tales* will show that these passages are the forerunners of two in that (see p. 332 for the first, p. 324 for the second). My father said (*Unfinished Tales* p. 11) that this account of Gandalf's 'was to have come in during a looking-back conversation in Minas Tirith'; the present text may perhaps be assigned therefore to a time when *The Lord of the Rings* was approaching completion, if not actually finished; and this is supported by the reference to Thráin II (see VII.160). Since the notes on distances are obviously

a secondary use of the page, it would follow that the name *Forannest* was not abandoned, but was merely not used in the published work.

It is strange that Gandalf says here of the unknown Dwarf in Dol Guldur that he was 'of some importance perhaps since *he was bearing a Ring*, though he might have come by it in many ways' – and the following sentence 'None but the Dwarves, and only a few of them, know who were the possessors of their great rings' must imply that it was one of the Seven Rings of the Dwarves. But the story that Thráin's ring was taken from him in the dungeons of Sauron goes back to the earliest sketch for 'The Council of Elrond': 'But Thráin of old had one that descended from his sires. We do not now know where it is. We think it was taken from him, ere you found him in the dungeons long ago' (VI.398). It is surely incredible that at this stage my father should have entertained the idea that Thráin had managed to retain his ring in Dol Guldur. I can only suppose therefore, though it is not a natural interpretation of the words 'he was bearing a Ring', that he meant that Thráin told Gandalf that he *had been* the bearer of one of the Seven Rings of the Dwarves – even though he was so far gone that 'he could not speak his own name or his son's.' In the later form of this passage in *The Quest of Erebor* Gandalf did not discover in Dol Guldur who the Dwarf was, yet he did learn that he had been the possessor of a great Ring: 'Nearly all his ravings were of that. *The last of the Seven* he said over and over again.'

VIII

THE STORY FORESEEN FROM FORANNEST

I have called this outline 'The Story Foreseen from Forannest' (the north gate of the Pelennor Wall) because it takes up at the point in the narrative where the Rohirrim poured through the outwalls of Minas Tirith in that place. But it will be seen that a part was foreseen for Denethor in no way consonant with the story of his madness and suicide, and this outline must come therefore from before the writing of at any rate the latter part of 'The Siege of Gondor', in which that story entered as the original draft was in progress (pp. 335–6).

A briefer, rougher form of this outline is found, extending only as far as the coming of the Host of the West before the Morannon. This my father rejected immediately and began on the fuller outline given here. A few differences in the first form are given in the notes.

The second form of the outline was given a heading 'Gandalf, Rohan, and Aragorn'; this was added to the text subsequently.

15 [March]. Horns of Rohan heard in the morning. Great charge of the Rohirrim through breach in north of Ramas-Coren. Rohirrim reach field before Great Gate, and men of Minas Tirith throw out enemy. But Wizard King takes to air and becomes Nazgûl,[1] rallies host of Morghul, and assails king. Théoden falls from horse sorely wounded; he is saved by Merry and Éowyn, but sortie from Gate does not reach them in time, before Éowyn is slain.[2] Grief and wrath of Éomer.

Éomer leads Rohirrim in a second reckless charge; but at that moment there is a cry from the city. A black fleet is seen coming to Haramon.[3] Men are landing. Then as final despair comes on, and Rohirrim give back, [west >] south wind rolls back cloud, and noon-sun gleams through. Aragorn unfurls his great standard from ship-top. The crown and stars of Sun and Moon shine out.[4] Men cry that Elendil has come back to life or Nume....[5]

Éomer charges again and the enemy is routed and so Éomer and Aragorn meet again on the field 'though all the hosts of Mordor lay between'.[6]

By evening of 15th [*in pencil* > 14] in a bloodred sun victory is complete. All enemy is driven into or back over Anduin. Aragorn sets up his pavilion and standard outside gate, but will not enter city, yet. Denethor comes down to greet the victors. Théoden dies. He bids farewell to Gandalf, Aragorn, Éomer and Merry. Théoden and Éowyn laid for a time in the royal tombs.

Words of Aragorn and Denethor. Denethor will not yield Stewardship, yet: not until war is won or lost and all is made clear. He is cold and suspicious and ? mock-courteous. Aragorn grave and silent. But Denethor says that belike the Stewardship will run out anyway, since he seems like to lose both his sons. Faramir is sick of his wounds. If he dies then Gondor can take what new lord it likes. Aragorn says he will not be 'taken', he will take, but asks to see Faramir. Faramir is brought out and Aragorn tends him all that night, and love springs between them.[7]

Aragorn and Gandalf counsel immediate action. Gandalf does not hope to conquer Mordor or overthrow Sauron and his tower. 'Not in these latter days, nor ever again by force of arms.' Yet arms have their place; and sloth now might be ruinous. Gandalf advises at least the taking and destruction of Minas Morghul.[8]

[N.B. Sauron already troubled by news of the victory of the Ents on March 11th – Ents another detail left out of his plans – first hears of Frodo on 15 of March, and at the same time, by Nazgûl, of the defeat in Pelennor and the coming of Aragorn. He is wrathful and afraid, but puzzled, especially by news of Frodo. He sends the Nazgûl to Kirith Ungol to get Frodo, but thinks chiefly of his war, and suspecting that Gondor will follow up victory he plans a counter-attack and withdraws all his forces to Morannon and Kirith Gorgor.]

The hosts, as many as are unhurt, of Rohan and Gondor, with Rangers, set out on 16th [*in pencil* > 17] and cross Anduin, and find Osgiliath empty. On 17th they march on Minas Morghul and the van (Riders of Rohan and Rangers and Gandalf) reach it on 18th [*in pencil* > 19] noon and find it dark and deserted. They burn the fields and Gandalf destroys its magic.[9] They now plan to march on the Morannon. A guard is set on Road, lest an army come up from South, or Sauron lets any sortie out through Kirith Ungol (no very great force could come that way in a hurry). They have now, however, to go more slow, and keep all their host together, moving only at the speed

of infantry. The footmen come up on 19th. On 20th they set out for Morannon (120 [*in pencil* > 100] miles by road). They march through empty lands unassailed 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 and reach Morannon – just as Frodo [is beginning the ascent of Orodruin > is crossing Kirith Gorgor >] draws near Orodruin. There they to joy and surprise are joined by Ents, with new forces (out of North, including Elves of Lórien).

[Ents had victory on 11 March. It appears that Treebeard was told by Eagles sent by Galadriel of the assault on Lórien and the crossing of host to the Wold of Rohan on 7th. Treebeard and many Ents set out at once at great speed and cover over 200 miles, coming down on the enemy camp at south end of Downs in Eastemnet on 11 March; they destroyed many and drove rest in rout back over Anduin, where they had made bridges of boats above Sarn Gebir (about where Legolas shot down Nazgûl) – but in too great disarray to destroy the pontoons. So Ents cross. Treebeard is here joined by Elves of Lórien. They pursue the enemy round north and east of Emyn Muil and come down on the Hard of Dagor-lad (300 miles and more from Down-end to Morannon by this route): they move swiftly but mostly at night, for away here the Darkness is not over sky, only a great blackness is seen in the South, extending in breadth from Rauros to Linhir.[10] They arrive at same time as Gandalf.]

Now follows the Parley [*added:* on 25th]. Aragorn and Éomer wind horns before the Morannon, and summon Sauron to come forth. There is no answer at first, but Sauron had already laid his plans and an embassy was already coming to the Black Gate. The Wizard King? He bears the Mithril coat and says that Sauron has already captured the messenger[11] – a *hobbit*. How does Sauron know? He would of course guess from Gollum's previous visits that a small messenger might be a *hobbit*. But it is probable that either Frodo *talked in his drugged sleep* – not of the Ring, but of his name and country; and that Gorbag had sent tidings. The messenger jeers at Gandalf for sending a weak spy into the land where he dare not go himself, since his wizardry is no match for the Master. Now Sauron has the messenger, and what happens to him depends on Gandalf and Aragorn. He sees their faces blench. And jeers again. 'So!' he says – 'he was dear to you, or his errand was vital? So much the worse for you. For he shall endure slow torment of years, and then be released when broken, unless you accept Sauron's terms.'

'Name the terms,' said Gandalf, and tears were in his eyes, and all thought he was defeated and would yield – and of course be cheated.

The terms are that the Hosts of Gondor and Rohan shall withdraw at once beyond Anduin. All land east of Anduin to be Sauron's for ever, solely; and west of Anduin as far as Misty Mountains shall be tributary to Mordor and swear vassalage: Gondor and Rohan: as far as the river Isen. The Ents shall help rebuild Isengard and be subject to its lord – not Saruman, but one more trustworthy!

Gandalf replies, 'Yea, and what surety have we that Sauron will keep his part? Let him yield first the prisoner.' (That is awkward for the ambassador as in fact Sauron has not got him! But he laughs.) 'Take it or leave it so,' he said.

'We will take it,' said Gandalf, '— this the mithril-coat in memory. But as for your terms we reject them utterly.' Horror of Pippin and Merry if they are present? 'For in any case you would not keep them. Do as you will. And let fear eat your heart – for if you so much as set a thorn in the flesh of Frodo you shall rue it.' The ambassador laughs, and gives a dreadful cry. Flinging off his garments he vanishes; but at that cry the host prepared in ambush sally from the mountains on either side, and from the Teeth, and pour out of the Gate. The host of Gondor taken at unawares wavers, and the leaders are surrounded. [*Added in pencil:* All the Nine Nazgûl remounted[12] swoop down; but the Eagles come to give battle.]

At that moment (25th) the Ring goes into Crack of Doom and the mountain vomits, and Baraddur crashes, and all things done by Sauron are cast down, the Black Gates fall. The Host of Mordor is dismayed, and flees back for refuge into Kirith Gorgor. The victorious host of Gondor and Rohan pours in in pursuit.

[*Remainder of the text is in pencil:*] Gandalf knows that Ring must have reached fire. Suddenly Sauron is aware of the Ring and its peril. He sees Frodo afar off. In a last desperate attempt he turns his thought from the Battle (so that his men waver again and are pressed back) and tries to stop Frodo. At same time he sends the Wizard King as Nazgûl[13] to the Mountain. The whole plot is clear to him. ? He blasts the Stone so that at that moment the Orthanc-stone explodes: it would have killed Aragorn had he had it in hand?

Gandalf bids Gwaihir fly swiftly to Orodruin.

This account of the Parley before the Black Gate may be compared with that in the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn', written years before (pp. 229–30).

As I have said, this text certainly preceded at any rate the latter part of 'The Siege of Gondor', in view of what is told here of Denethor. On the other hand, it equally clearly followed the initial drafting of 'The Ride of the Rohirrim', since the Ents here crossed the Anduin north of the Emyn Muil after their victory in the Wold of Rohan and came south to the Morannon through the lands east of the River: their appearance in Anórien had already been rejected.[14] While I have necessarily treated these chapters as separate narrative entities, whose development from initial draft to virtually final form proceeded without interruption, I think it is in fact very probable that my father moved back and forth between them.

NOTES

1 *But Wizard King takes to air and becomes Nazgûl.* These words can only mean that *Nazgûl* refers specifically to the Ring-wraiths *as borne upon 'winged steeds'*. But my father cannot have intended this. I presume that since in this part of *The Lord of the Rings* the Ringwraiths were 'winged', and their power and significance for the story lies in their being 'winged', he had nonetheless made this equation, and so slipped into saying that when the Black Captain (Lord of the Nazgûl) himself mounted on one of the monstrous birds he 'became a Nazgûl'. This occurs again at the end of the outline.

2 On the death of Éowyn see p. 318.

3 At the equivalent point in the first form of the outline there is a note in the margin: 'Pelennor wall here only 10 miles away and the wall right above stream which bends round the Hills of Haramon.' *Haramon*, the original name of Emyn Arnen, appears on the Second Map: see pp. 353; 434, 438.

4 The first form of the outline has: 'Sungleam shines on the [Tree >] Crown and stars of Sun and Moon.'

5 The first four letters of this name are certain, but it can scarcely be *Númenor*; the likeliest interpretation is *Numerion*.

6 The first form of the outline has here: 'Enemy is caught between Aragorn and the Dúnedain and Éomer and so Éomer and Aragorn meet.' This is the first time that the name Dúnedain is met with *ab initio* in the texts.

7 Of this passage, from 'Aragorn sets up his pavilion and standard outside gate', there is very little in the first form of the outline: 'Denethor comes down to welcome Aragorn; but will not yield the Stewardship, until all is proven and war is lost or won.

Aragorn agrees.' Then follows: 'Aragorn and Gandalf counsel immediate action.'

8 This passage is the first germ of 'The Last Debate'.

9 The first form of the outline has 'They burn the poisoned fields'; and distances are given: 'Minas Tirith to Osgiliath 26 miles. West edge of Osgiliath to Minas Morghul [50 >] 60 miles?' (with 55 written above 60).

10 This is the first reference to Linhir (see pp. 436–7).

11 It is curious and confusing that Sauron's messenger should refer to Frodo as a 'messenger'.

12 Earlier in this outline my father had questioned whether the ambassador was not in fact the Wizard King himself, and he appears again at the end, dispatched by Sauron to Orodruin (his fate on the fields of the Pelennor was therefore not yet finally decided). Since at the end of the parley the ambassador casts off his garments and vanishes, he was certainly a Ringwraith; is this the meaning of 'All the Nine Nazgûl remounted'?

13 On the implication of *he sends the Wizard King as Nazgûl* – that *Nazgûl* means specifically the winged Wraiths – see note 1. On the other hand, *All the Nine Nazgûl remounted* (note 12) carries the opposite implication.

14 It cannot be actually demonstrated that the story of the coming of Treebeard and the Ents to Anórien did not follow, and supersede, their appearance at the Black Gate; but this seems extremely improbable.

IX

THE BATTLE OF THE PELENNOR FIELDS

I give first a remarkable writing entitled *Fall of Théoden in the Battle of Osgiliath*. It is clearly written in ink, with only a few changes made at the time of writing; there are also a small number of pencilled corrections, which I show as such.

Then Théoden gave a great shout 'Forth Eorlingas!' and spurred Snowmane rearing into the deeps of the great shadow. But few followed him; for his men quailed and grew sick in that ghastly shade, and many fell upon the ground. The light of his golden shield grew dim. Still he rode on, and darts flew thick about him. Many fell before his spear, and almost he had reached to the standard of the Haradoth [> Haradhoth], when suddenly he gave a great cry, and fell. A black arrow had pierced his heart. And at the same moment Snowmane stumbled forward and lay still. The great shadow descended. Slowly the huge vulture-form [> Slowly as a settling cloud it] came down, lifted its wings, and with a hoarse croaking cry settled upon the body of the fallen king, digging in its talons and stooping its long [*added:* naked] neck. Upon its back there sat a shape. Black robed it was, and above the robe there was a steel crown, borne by no visible head save where between crown and cloak there was a pale and deadly gleam as it were of eyes.[1] But Théoden was not alone. One had followed him: Éowyn daughter of Éomund, and all had feared the light of her face, shunning her as night fowl turn from the day. Now she leapt from her horse and stood before the shadow; her sword was in her hand.

'Come not between the Nazgûl and his prey,' said a cold voice, 'or he will bear thee away to the houses of lamentation, beyond all darkness where thy flesh shall be devoured and thy shrivelled mind be left naked.'

She stood still and did not blench. 'I do not fear thee, Shadow,' she said. 'Nor him that devoured thee. Go back to him and report that his shadows and dwimor-lakes[2] are powerless even to frighten women.' The great bird flapped its wings and leapt into the air, leaving the king's body, and falling upon her

with beak and claw. Like a shaft of searing light a pale sword cold as ice was raised above her head.

She raised her shield, and with a swift and sudden stroke smote off the bird's head. It fell, its vast wings outspread crumpled and helpless on the earth. About Éowyn the light of day fell bright and clear. With a clamour of dismay the hosts of Harad turned and fled, and over the ground a headless thing crawled away, snarling and snivelling, tearing at the cloak. Soon the black cloak too lay formless and still, and a long thin wail rent the air and vanished in the distance.

Éowyn stepped to the king. 'Alas, Théoden son of Thengel,'[3] she said. 'But you have turned the tide. See, they fly. The enemy is broken by fear. Never did an old Lord of Men die better. You shall sleep well, and no Shadow nor foul thing assail your bed.'

Then there was a sound of a great ...[4] and the men of Minas Tirith and of the Mark released from the Shadow swept up, the light reborn was strong on their swords and spears. They drove the enemy into the River. Some stayed by their king.

I think that my father wrote this well before the period of composition we have now reached, and I would be inclined to associate it (very tentatively) with the outline sketches for Book V, where the event described here is several times referred to, and especially with Outlines III and V. In these, in contrast to what is said in I and II (p. 256), there is no mention of Éowyn's wounding or death: 'Théoden and Éowyn destroy Nazgûl and Théoden falls' (III, p. 260); 'Théoden is slain by Nazgûl; but he is unhorsed and the enemy is routed' (V, p. 263). Although in my father's narrative sketches silence is a bad guide, it is possible that these brief statements are nonetheless to be associated with what is certainly a notable feature of the present text, that there is no suggestion that Éowyn was in any way hurt in the encounter with the Lord of the Nazgûl or after (while Théoden is felled and dies without speaking). A difficulty with this view is that in Outline V the Nazgûl King is 'unhorsed', whereas in 'The Fall of Théoden in the Battle of Osgiliath' his descent on a 'huge vulture-form' is at the centre of the story. Since the 'vultures' are referred to as 'winged steeds', it is possible that the word 'unhorsed' was used in this sense, though that does not seem very likely.

It is obvious that no part was foreseen for Merry in the great event; and it seems that (in strong contrast to the final story, RK p. 117) it was the beheading of the great bird that in itself caused the defeat and flight of the Lord of the Nazgûl, deprived of his steed.

Whatever its relative dating, the piece certainly gives an impression of having been composed in isolation, a draft for a scene that my

father saw vividly before he reached this point in the actual writing of the story. When he did so, he evidently had it before him, as is suggested by the words of the Lord of the Nazgûl (cf. RK p. 116).

When my father came to write the story of the Battle of the Pelennor Fields he all but achieved the form in which it stands in *The Return of the King* in a single manuscript ('**A**'). He adopted here the method of building up the completed narrative through massive correction and interpolation of his initial text; and the greater part if not all of this work clearly belongs to the same time. Beneath the writing in ink on the first page of this manuscript there is however a pencilled text, and this bears further on the subject of Théoden and the Lord of the Nazgûl.

This underlying text is largely illegible on account of the ink overwriting, which is closely-packed, but from what can be seen it seems not to have differed greatly (the opening paragraph of the chapter, mostly legible, is very close to the ink version on top of it) – as far as the passage where the golden shield of Théoden is dimmed, horses reared and screamed, and men falling from their horses lay upon the ground. But then follows: 'And through the ranks of the enemy a wide lane opened.' The rest of the pencilled text is almost entirely lost, but isolated words and phrases can be made out: 'There came riding ..... a great ..... [*struck out:* The Black Captain] ..... stood ..... the Black Captain robed ..... and above the robes was a crown ..... ' This can scarcely mean anything other than that the Lord of the Nazgûl did *not* descend upon the battle borne upon the back of a great vulture.

Various statements have been made on this subject, beginning with that in Outline V, cited above, that the Nazgûl was 'unhorsed'. In the rough draft of 'The Siege of Gondor' (p. 331) Gandalf, speaking to Pippin of the Wizard King, says that 'he has not [*struck out(?):* yet] taken to winged steeds'; in the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Forannest' (p. 359) 'the Wizard King takes to the air and becomes Nazgûl'; and of course there is the evidence of 'The Fall of Théoden in the Battle of Osgiliath'. That my father should at this stage have abandoned, however briefly, the story of the Winged Nazgûl descending upon Théoden is certainly surprising; but it seems plain that he did so.

The first manuscript A has no title, and was paginated continuously with 'The Ride of the Rohirrim'; a subsequent fair copy manuscript ('**B**') was afterwards given the number and title 'XLVIII The Battle of the Pelennor Fields'. The opening passage in A is distinct from the form in RK:

But it was no orc-chief or brigand that led the assault on Gondor. Who knows whether his Master himself had set a date

to the darkness, designing the fall of the City for that very hour and needing light for the hunting of those that fled, or fortune had betrayed him and the world turned against him? None can tell. Dismayed he may have been, cheated of victory even as he grasped it. Cheated, not yet robbed. He was still in command, wielding great power, Lord of the Nazgûl. He had many weapons. He left the Gates and vanished.

There is no mention of Dernhelm in the passage 'He [Théoden] slackened his speed a little, seeking new foes, and his knights came behind him. Elfhelm's men were among the siege-engines ...', where RK has 'and his knights came about him, and Dernhelm was with them.' This shows, I think, that Dernhelm was still conceived to have been riding with the king's knights throughout the journey from Edoras.[5]

When the Lord of the Nazgûl says to Éowyn[6] 'No living man may hinder me!' she replies, as the text was first written: 'I am no living man. You look upon a woman. Éowyn I am, Éomund's daughter. You stand between me and my kin. Begone! For though I have slain no living thing, yet I will slay the dead [> yet I will slay the Undead].' This rests on the earlier form of the prophecy concerning the Lord of the Nazgûl: 'he is not doomed to fall before men of war or wisdom; but in the hour of his victory to be overthrown by one who has slain no living thing' (pp. 334–5). This was changed on the manuscript to: 'Begone, if thou be not deathless! For living or dark undead, I will hew thee, if thou touch me.'

In the passage that follows, Éowyn's hair is described as 'shorn upon her neck', and this survived through the fair copy B into the first typescript, where it was changed to the reading of RK (p. 116): 'her bright hair, released from its bonds'. And Merry's thought is directly reported: 'I must do something. If only I can get away from those eyes!'

After the great cry of the Lord of the Nazgûl as he departed there follows: 'And far up above [?the] Nazgûl hearing that cry were filled with great terror, and fled away to Baraddur bearing ill tidings.' This was not taken up into the fair copy (B).[7]

At Théoden's death the text here is briefer, and no reference is made to the taking up of the banner from its dead bearer and the sign made by the king that it be given to Éomer: 'Grief and dismay fell upon Éomer as he leaped from the saddle and stood by the king. Slowly the old man opened his eyes again. "Hail, King of the Mark!" he said. ...' In the fair copy B the banner-bearer is named Guthwin (Guthláf in RK).

Of Merry's sword it was first said in this text: 'So passed the sword of the Barrow-downs, work of Westernesse. Glad would he have been to know its fate who wrought it slowly long ago, for the sorcerer-king

he knew and the dread realm of Angmar in the ancient North, hating all his deeds.' The text of RK (pp. 119–20), 'who wrought it slowly long ago in the North-kingdom when the Dúnedain were young ...', was substituted, probably at once.[8]

The passage (RK p. 120) recording the burying of the carcase of the great beast and of Snowmane, with the horse's epitaph, is absent; and the great rain that came from the sea ('it seemed that all things wept for Théoden and Éowyn', recalling the grief for Baldr) likewise, being added in only on the first typescript. A page of the manuscript (A) in which the encounter of the Prince of Dol Amroth with the bearers of Théoden and Éowyn is described, and his discovery that Éowyn was still alive, was rejected and at once rewritten; in the rejected form occurs this passage in the words of the Prince (still given no other name) with the bearers:

'Bring him to the City,' he said. 'The gate is wide open, and by his own deed the way thither is made free.' And then he rose and looked on Éowyn and was amazed. 'Here is a woman!' he said. 'Do even the women of Rohan come to war in our aid?' he asked.

'It is the Lady Éowyn sister of King Éomer,' they said. 'And we do not know how she came here, but it seems that she took the place of one of his knights. [*Rejected at once:* Dernhelm ... a young kinsman of the king.] It is a grief beyond words to us.'

This is the only trace of the idea that Éowyn escaped detection by substituting herself for a young Rider among the king's knights actually named Dernhelm. No doubt it arose here and was abandoned here; probably because of the meaning of the name (*derne* 'hidden, secret'; cf. the earlier name by which Éowyn was to ride, *Grímhelm*, p. 355 note 6).

In the rewritten version of this passage the text of RK is reached, and here at last appears the name *Imrahil* of the Prince of Dol Amroth, entering apparently without any hesitation as to its form.

Among the horsemen of Gondor (RK p. 121) appears Húrin the Tall, 'Warden of the City', changed at once to 'Warden of the Keys'. In an immediately rejected version of the passage in which the new hosts streaming in from Osgiliath are described it was said of the Black Captain: 'He was gone, and the Nazgûl in fear had fled back to Mordor bearing ill tidings' (see note 7); but this was lost in the rewriting of the passage, where appear Gothmog lieutenant of Morghul,[9] the Variags of Khand (both names written without any precedent forms), and the black 'half-trolls' of Far Harad.[10]

The course of Anduin, as seen by the watchmen on the walls when the black fleet approached (RK p. 122), was first described thus:

For south away the river went in a knee about the out-thrust of the hills of Emyn Arnen in lower Ithilien,[11] and Anduin bent then in upon the Pelennor so that its outwall was there built upon the brink, and that at the nearest was no more than [five >] four miles from the Gates; [*added:* and quays and landings were made there for boats coming upstream from the Outlands;] but thence the river flowed southeast for three leagues and all that reach could be seen in line by farsighted men on high. And they looking forth cried in dismay, for lo! up the reach of Arnen a black fleet could be seen ...

Striking out this passage my father noted against the first part of it: 'This is now told before in XLIV' (i.e. the chapter 'Minas Tirith'). He was referring to a rider introduced into the first typescript of that chapter (see p. 294 note 30) entirely recasting the original description of the Pelennor and the Outlands (pp. 278, 287) to its form in RK (p. 22), where the bend in Anduin about Emyn Arnen appears. This rider was already in existence, though obviously belonging to this phase of writing, as is seen from the name *Lonnath-ernin* of the landings, subsequently changed (presumably at this very juncture) to *Harlond*. In the present text the passage just cited was removed immediately, and the much briefer passage as found in this place in RK (p. 122) follows in the manuscript, with the name *Harlond*.[12]

The great banner of Aragorn is described in the same words as in RK (p. 123), except that in the sentence 'for they were wrought of gems *by Arwen daughter of Elrond*' the italicised words are absent. In the fair copy manuscript (B) 'by Finduilas Elrond's daughter'[13] was added in the margin, changed later to 'Arwen daughter of Elrond'. Aragorn is named 'Elessar, Isildur's heir'; and when men leapt from the ships to the quays 'There came Legolas and Gimli wielding his axe, and Halbarad with the standard, and Elboron and Elrohir with stars on their brow, and the dourhanded Dúnedain, Rangers of the North; and in the hand of Aragorn Branding was like a new fire kindled, Narsil reforged[14] as deadly as of old, and about his helm there was a kingly crown.' Thus *Elboron* still survived, for *Elladan* (see pp. 297, 302), the change being made on the fair copy. *Branding*, for *Andúril, Flame of the West*, remained until changed on the first typescript; while 'about his helm there was a kingly crown' was not replaced by 'upon his brow was the Star of Elendil' until the book was in proof.

At the end of the chapter as first written Duinhir of Morthond is named among the fallen, whereas in RK it is his sons, 'Duilin and his brother' (Derufin), who were trampled by the *mûmakil*.[15] Grimbold of Grimslade is not named (though he has appeared in 'The Ride of the Rohirrim'), and instead the sentence in which he is named in RK

reads: 'Neither Hirluin the Fair would return to his green hills, nor Elfhelm to Eastfold [*written above:* Westfold],[16] nor Halbarad to the Northlands, dourhanded Ranger.'

In the alliterative song 'The Mounds of Mundburg' (not yet so named) there was much variation in the recording of those who died in the Battle of the Pelennor Fields. The earliest complete, though still very rough, form of the song reads:

As long after a maker[17] in Rohan said in his song:

We heard in the hills the horns ringing,[18]
of swords shining in the South kingdom:
steeds went striding to the Stoningland
a wind in the morning, war at sunrise.
There Théoden fell, Thengling mighty,
life and lordship long had he wielded
hoar king and high, Harding and Grimbold,
Dúnhere and [Elfhelm >] Marculf, Déorwin the marshal.
Hirluin the fair to the hills by the sea,
nor Forlong the great to the flowering vales
ever of Arnach in his own country
returned in triumph, nor the tall bowman
doughty Duinhir to the dark waters,
meres of Morthond under mountain-shadows.
Death in the morning and at day's ending
lords took and lowly. Long now they sleep
under grass in Gondor by the Great River.
Red it ran then. Red was the sunset,
the hills under heaven high snowmantled
bloodred burning. Blood dyed the earth
in the Field of Mundberg in the far country.

Another rough text, moving nearer to the final form in some lines but petering out before the conclusion, has in the line corresponding to the 8th in the version just given *Dúnhere and [Elfhelm >] Guthwin, Déorwin the marshal.* Guthwin was the banner-bearer of the king (see p. 368). The first good text reaches the final form (with the name Rammas Echor in the last line) in all but the names of the dead Riders:

Harding and Guthwin,
Dúnhere and Marculf, Déorwin and Grimbold,
Herufare and Herubrand, Horn and Fastred,
fought and fell there in a far country;
in the mounds of Mundberg under mould they lie
with their league-fellows, lords of Gondor.[19]

NOTES

1 Cf. the initial drafting for the end of 'The Siege of Gondor' (p. 337): '... crown that sat upon no visible head save only for the light of his pale eyes.'

2 *dwimorlakes*: 'illusions, phantoms'. Old English *(ge)dwimor*, *-er*; cf. Wormtongue's name *Dwimordene* of Lórien in 'The King of the Golden Hall' (TT p. 118), and *Dwimorberg*. In the present chapter in RK (p. 116) Éowyn calls the Lord of the Nazgûl 'foul dwimmer-laik', *-laik* being the Old Norse ending *-leikr* corresponding to Old English *-lāc*, here 'modernised' as *-lake*.

3 *Théoden son of Thengel*: see p. 355 note 9.

4 The word is most naturally read as 'sound', in which case my father inadvertently repeated it instead of the word he had in mind, e.g. 'riding'.

5 The statement in 'The Ride of the Rohirrim' that 'Dernhelm had left his place and in the darkness was moving steadily forward until at last he was riding just in rear of the king's guard' (p. 353) was added after the writing of the present passage; see also p. 356 note 17.

6 Éowyn calls the Lord of the Nazgûl 'foul dwimmerlake', where *-lake* was changed subsequently to *-lord*. See note 2.

7 Cf. 'The Story Foreseen from Forannest', p. 360, in which it is said that Sauron heard from the Nazgûl of the defeat on the Pelennor and the coming of Aragorn.

8 For the first appearance of *Angmar* see p. 334, and of *Dúnedain* p. 363 note 6.

9 The name *Gothmog* is one of the original names of the tradition, going back to *The Book of Lost Tales*; Lord of Balrogs, slayer of Fëanor and Fingon.

10 *Khand*, *Near Harad*, and *Far Harad* were roughly entered on the Second Map.

11 *Emyn Arnen* has replaced *Haramon* (see p. 359 and note 3). On the origin of the great bend in the Anduin around the hills of Emyn Arnen see p. 438.

12 As first written, those who saw the black sails cried out: 'The Corsairs of Umbar! See! The Corsairs are coming. They have overrun Amroth and Belfalas and Lebennin are destroyed!'

13 In the First Age *Finduilas* was the daughter of Orodreth King of Nargothrond; she plays a major part in the *Túrinssaga*.

14 *Narsil reforged*: although it has been said that Aragorn gave the name *Branding* to the Sword of Elendil after its reforging (see VII.274 and note 19), its ancient name has never been told until now.

15 In the account of the men of the Outlands entering Minas Tirith given on p. 287 Duinhir is mentioned, but not his sons.

16 In LR Elfhelm was not slain in the Battle of the Pelennor Fields, but survived to command the three thousand Riders of Rohan who were sent to 'waylay the West Road against the enemy that was in Anórien' (RK p. 158; the leader of this force was not named in the First Edition, but Elfhelm is named in both editions as among those who stood before the gates of Minas Tirith when the Captains of the West returned, RK p. 244).

17 *maker*: used in the long since lost sense 'poet'.

18 *We heard of the horns in the hills ringing* is a variant entered at the time of writing both in this text and in that following.

19 *Guthwin* was later changed to *Guthlaf* on this manuscript (see p. 368). *Herufare* is written so (for expected *-fara*) both here and (apparently) in a scrap of rough drafting for the passage; *Herefara* in RK.

X

THE PYRE OF DENETHOR

The original brief draft of this chapter ('**A**'), mercifully written fairly legibly in ink and not in pencil subsequently overwritten, extended from 'When the dark shadow at the Gate withdrew' as far as 'There was no guard at the gate of the Citadel. "Berithil has gone then," said Pippin' (RK p. 127). The final text was naturally not reached in every turn of expression or every detail, but apart from the absence of the meeting with Prince Imrahil as Gandalf and Pippin rode up from the Gate on Shadowfax there is no narrative difference of any significance.[1] At this point my father stopped and set down a brief outline ('**B**').

? Porter dead at Closed Door. ? They see fire and smoke below as they hurry down the winding road. Berithil has rebelled, and taking some of the guard has fought with the household men. Before they could gain entrance to the tomb, one of these dashed back and set a torch in the wood. But Berithil was just in time to save Faramir. But Denethor leaped back into the flames and was now dead. Gandalf closed the door. 'That ends a chapter!' he said. 'Let the Stewards burn – their days are over.' Light is growing fast. Faramir is borne away to the house where women were who remained in city to tend sick.

A large question mark was placed against the first part of this, and it was evidently rejected as soon as written and replaced by the following:

? Berithil and guard had gone and stopped the burning. Gandalf reasons with Denethor. 'I have seen' says Denethor 'ships coming up Anduin: I will no more yield to an upstart – and even if his claim be true of the younger line: I am Steward for the sons of Anárion not of Isildur – than [to] my dark foe.'

The development from this point is hard to be sure of, but I am almost certain that the next step was the following outline ('**C**'), written in ink around and through (but not over) a much rougher outline also in ink (briefer but essentially the same, with mention of the *palantír*):

Gandalf and Pippin hear clash of arms as they hasten down

the winding road to Rath Dínen. When they reach the Tombs they find Berithil holding the door alone against the household-men, who wish to obey Denethor's orders and come and set fire to the pyre. From within comes Denethor's voice commanding Berithil by his oaths to let them enter.

Gandalf sweeps aside the men and goes in. He upbraids Denethor, but Denethor laughs at him. Denethor has a *palantír*! He has seen the coming of Aragorn. But he has also seen the vast forces still gathered in Mordor, and says that victory in arms is no longer possible. He will *not* yield up the Stewardship 'to an upstart of the younger line: I am Steward of the sons of Anárion.' He wants things to be as they were – or not at all.

Gandalf demands the release of Faramir, and when Denethor attempts to slay him ('he shall not live to bow down!') Gandalf strikes the sword from his hand, and lets suddenly be seen his power so that even Denethor quails. Gandalf bids the men lift up Faramir and bear him from the chamber.

Denethor says 'At least so far my rule still holds that I may determine my own death.' He sets fire to the wood which is oil-drenched. Then he leaps onto the stone bed. He breaks the wand of his Stewardship and lays the pieces on his lap, and lies down taking the Stone between his hands. Then Gandalf leaves him. He closes the door and the flames roar within. They hear Denethor give a great cry, and then no more. 'So passes the Stewardship of Gondor!' said Gandalf. It is said that ever after, if anyone looked in that Stone, unless he had great strength of will, he saw only two old hands withering in flames. [*Added:* Gandalf bids Berithil and household men not to mourn – or be too downcast. Each side has tried to do their duty.]

They now bear Faramir to the house of the sick. As Gandalf and Pippin climb back up the road they hear the last shriek in the air of the Nazgûl. Gandalf stands still a moment. 'Some evil has befallen!' he says, 'which but for the madness of Denethor I could have averted. So far is the reach of the Enemy. But we know how his will had entry to the White Tower. *By the Stone.* Though he could not daunt Denethor or enslave him, he could fill him with despair, mistrust and unwisdom.' When Faramir is placed under care with Berithil as guard they meet the funeral cortège. Where is Merry? Pippin volunteers to try and find Merry.

Most of the essential ideas of the chapter were present here – and one that was rejected: Denethor knew who was aboard the black fleet

and what his coming meant (see pp. 378–9). This knowledge he derived from the *palantír*; and since it is present also in the brief preceding outline B the existence of the *palantír* in the White Tower must be presumed there also.[2]

At this stage, I think, my father began on a new text of the chapter ('D'), continuing as far as Gandalf's words concerning 'the heathen kings' (RK p. 129). The final text is here very closely approached[3] until near the end (which is very rough and has various alternative readings):

Then Gandalf showing now a marvellous strength leapt up on the faggots and raising the sick man bore him out of the deadly house; and as he was moved Faramir moaned and spoke his father's name.

Then Denethor stepped forward and the flame died in his eyes and he wept, and he said: 'Do not take my son from me. He calls for me.'

'He calls for you,' said Gandalf. 'But you cannot come to him save in one way. You must go out to the battle of your City putting away despair and risking death in the field; and he must struggle for life against hope in the dark ways of his fever. Then perchance you may meet again. / For unless you go out to the battle of your City putting away despair and risking death in the field you will never speak again with him in the waking world.'

'He will not wake again,' said Denethor. 'His house is crumbling. Let us die together.' / 'At least we can go to death side by side,' said Denethor. 'That lies not in the will of the Lord of this City or of any other,' said Gandalf. 'For you are not yet dead. And so do the heathen kings under the dominion of the Dark Lord, to slay themselves in pride and despair or to slay their kin for the easing of their own death.'

In RK this is followed by 'Then passing through the door he took Faramir from the deadly house and laid him on the bier on which he had been brought, and which had now been set in the porch. Denethor followed him ...'; for it is clear that Gandalf, bearing Faramir, had halted at Denethor's words 'Do not take my son from me!', and only now moved through the door. But in the text just given it is said that Gandalf bore Faramir 'out of the deadly house' as soon as he had lifted him from the pyre.

It was perhaps at this stage that my father wrote a single discontinuous page ('E') beginning with the words 'Gandalf now takes Faramir'. Here as in RK Denethor follows him; but no further words are spoken until, after a long hesitation while he looks on Faramir, he

declares that he will rule his own end, and his death follows immediately. It is curious that Denethor is here said to die clasping the *palantír*, yet there is no drafting of the scene in which he reveals his possession of it.

Gandalf now takes Faramir.

Denethor now followed him to the door. And he trembled, looking in longing at his son and hesitating. Yet in the end his pride and wilfulness overmastered him and he was fey again. 'At least in this you shall not defy and snatch my power away,' he said. And stepping suddenly forth he seized a torch from the hand of one of his servants, and moving back thrust it among the wood, which being drenched in oil roared at once into flame and a black smoke filled the house. Then Denethor leaped again onto the table amid the fire and fume, and breaking the staff of his stewardship on his knee he cast it into the flames and laid himself back on his pillow clasping the *palantír* with both hands to his breast.

Gandalf in sorrow and horror turned his face away and came forth, closing the door. For a while he stood in thought silently upon the topmost step. And they heard the roar and crackle of the flames within; and then Denethor gave a great cry, and afterward spoke no more, nor was seen again by mortal man.

'So passes the Stewardship of Gondor!' said Gandalf. And he turned to Berithil and the lord's servants. 'Do not mourn overmuch,' he said. 'For the old days have passed for good or evil. And be not grieved with your own deeds. For all here, as I see it, have striven to do as they judged right, whether in obedience and the keeping of vows or in the breaking. For you servants of the Lord owed obedience only to your Lord, but Berithil owed also allegiance first to the Lord Faramir the captain of the guard. So let now all hate or anger that lies between you fall away and be forgotten. Bear away those who have fallen in this unhappy place. And we will bear Faramir to a place where he can die in peace if that is his doom, or find healing.'

So now Gandalf and Berithil taking up the bier that stood still in the porch before the doors set Faramir upon it and slowly bore him away to the houses of the sick, and the servants came behind bearing their fellows. And when they came at length through the closed door Gandalf bade Berithil who had the key to lock it. And as they passed into the upper circles of the City there was heard in the air the cry of the Lord of the Nazgûl as it

rose and passed away for ever. And they stood for a moment stricken with wonder.

This was followed (again with some doubt as to the sequence) by another discontinuous page ('F') that takes up in the course of Gandalf's reply to Denethor's words 'Do not take my son from me! He calls for me':

'... But he now must strive for life in the dark ways of his fever seeking healing; and you must go out to the battle of your city, risking death, if it must be, in the field. This you know well in your heart.'

But Denethor laughed. And going back to the table he lifted from it the pillow that he had lain on. And lo! in his hand he bore a *palantír*. 'Pride and despair!' he said. 'Did you think that [the] eyes of the White Tower were blind?' he said. [*Added in pencil, without direction for insertion:* This the Stone of Minas Tirith has remained ever in the secret keeping of the Stewards in the topmost chamber.] Nay, nay, I see more than thou knowest, Grey Fool ...'[4]

The page then continues very close to the final text (RK pp. 129–30), except in the view taken of Denethor's knowledge of Aragorn and the black fleet. In RK, as final proof that the power arrayed against Minas Tirith is too great for any withstanding, Denethor declares to Gandalf that 'even now the wind of thy hope cheats thee and wafts up Anduin a fleet with black sails.' He therefore does not know who is aboard. But (after Gandalf's reply 'Such counsels will make the Enemy's victory certain indeed') he goes on to accuse him of commanding Pippin 'to keep silence', and of installing him as a spy in his chamber; 'and yet in our speech together I have learned the names and purpose of all thy companions. So! With the left hand thou wouldst use me for a little while as a shield against Mordor, and with the right bring up this Ranger of the North to supplant me.' As the text stands in RK it is not clear what Denethor means by 'with the right hand'; for he does not know that it is the 'upstart' Aragorn who is coming up the Great River.

From the present text F, however, it is clear what Denethor did originally mean by 'with his right hand'. Here, he does not mention the black fleet in the first of these speeches; and in the second he makes no reference at all to Pippin – so that it is not from Pippin that he has learned of Aragorn's coming. But then he goes on: 'But I know your mind and its plots. Do I not see the fleets even now coming up Anduin! So with the left hand you would use me as a shield against Mordor, and with the right hand bring up this Ranger of the North to take my place.' Here it is obvious that he does know who is aboard (with

his left hand, one might suppose, he gestures towards Osgiliath and with his right towards Pelargir); and he knew it from use of the *palantír*, as is expressly stated in the outline C (p. 375): 'Denethor has a *palantír*! He has seen the coming of Aragorn.'

This text (F) ends thus:

'But who saith that the Steward who faithfully surrenders shall have diminishment of love and honour! And at the last you shall not rob your son of his choice, slaying him in your proud wickedness while yet healing is in doubt. This you shall not do. Yield me now Faramir!'

It is hard to know what these last words imply, since at this point Gandalf must have already raised Faramir from the stone table and moved towards the door. It seems possible that some drafting has been lost, which would have made clearer the evolution of the final structure in this chapter.

At any rate, my father now began another text ('G'), for which he used the initial pages of D (p. 376), but soon diverged into new manuscript, roughly written but now completing the chapter; and here the substance and structure of RK was reached with few differences. The manuscript had originally no title, but at some point he wrote on it 'XLVIII The Pyre of Denethor': at that stage, presumably, he was treating 'The Ride of the Rohirrim' and 'The Battle of the Pelennor Fields' as one chapter (see pp. 351, 367). 'XLVIII' was subsequently changed to 'XLIX' and 'V.6'.[5]

As first written, the different view of Denethor's knowledge of Aragorn and the black fleet was preserved, though changed later on the manuscript to the final form (on this question see pp. 390–1). Gandalf still said 'So passes the Stewardship of Gondor' for 'So passes Denethor, son of Ecthelion'; and in his address to Berithil and the servants of Denethor who stood by he said: 'But Berithil of the guard owed allegiance first to his captain, Faramir, to succour him while he lived' (cf. p. 377). This was changed on the manuscript to read:

'... For you servants of the Lord owed obedience to him only. And he who says: "my master is not in his mind, and knows not what he bids; I will not do it", is in peril, unless he has knowledge and wisdom. But to Berithil of the guard such discernment was a duty, whereas[6] also he owed allegiance first to his captain, Faramir, to succour him while he lived.'

This was preserved in the fair copy ('H') that followed, and was not rewritten to the form in RK (p. 131) until the typescript stage was reached. At the end of this passage my father wrote, as in D, that Gandalf and Berithil bore Faramir to 'the houses of the sick', but he changed this to 'the Houses of Healing', with the Elvish name *Berin a*

Nestad, changed at once to *Bair Nestedriu*, both of which were struck out; but a little later in the chapter ('So now at last they passed into the high circles of the City, and in the light of morning they went towards the houses that were set apart for the tending of men hurt or dying', cf. RK p. 131) the name *Bair Nestedriu* reappears. In the fair copy H there is no Elvish name for the Houses of Healing in the first of these passages, but at the second the form *Bair Nestad* is found. In the first typescript, in this same passage, the name is *Edeb na Nestad*, which was struck through.

At this time the story was that Gandalf and Pippin rode through the Closed Door on their way to Rath Dínen (see note 3). Now, as Berithil and Gandalf bore the bier, 'behind them walked Pippin and beside him Shadowfax with downcast head'; and when they came back to the Door (here called 'the Steward's Door' as in RK; 'the Stewards' Door' in the fair copy) Gandalf sent Shadowfax back to his stable, dismissing him in the same words that in RK (p. 127) he used when they first came to the Door.

At the point in the narrative where the dome of the House of the Stewards in Rath Dínen cracked and fell, and 'then in terror the servants fled, and followed Gandalf', my father set down an outline, which was struck through.

Gandalf must say something about the Stone. How it was kept in Tower but only *kings* supposed to look in it.[7] Denethor in his grief when Faramir returned must have looked in it – hence his madness and despair. For though not yielding to Enemy (like Saruman) he got an impression of the Dark Lord's overwhelming might. The will of the Lord thus entered the Tower, confused all counsels, and kept Gandalf from the field. All this takes about 1½ hours to nearly 8 o'clock? So as they come out into the upper circles they hear the dreadful shriek of the Nazgûl's end. Gandalf forbodes evil. Does Gandalf look out from a high place? When [he] has put Faramir in the sick quarters with Berithil as his servant and guard, Gandalf and Pippin go back down towards the Gates and meet the cortège with bodies of Éowyn and Théoden.[8] Gandalf takes charge; but Pippin goes in search of Merry; and meets him wandering half blind. Eventually Gandalf and Pippin stand on battlement and watch progress of battle. Gandalf says he is not needed there so much as with the sick. Pippin (and Gandalf?) see the coming of Aragorn and the fleet. Eventually the captains return after victory at the Red Sunset.

Council must follow next day. Is any account of Aragorn's march put in at council?

The text in this manuscript (G) was then continued to the end; and when my father came to record Gandalf's words about the *palantír* of Minas Tirith they took this form:

'... Alas! but now I perceive how it was that his will was able to enter among us into the very heart of this City.

'Long have I guessed that here in the White Tower, as at Orthanc, one of the great Stones of Sight was preserved. Denethor did not in the days of his wisdom ever presume to use it, nor to challenge Sauron, knowing the limits of his own powers. But in his grief for Faramir, distraught by the hopeless peril of his City, he must have dared to do this: to look in the Stone. He hoped maybe to see if help was drawing nigh; but the ways of the Rohirrim in the North were hidden; and he saw at first only what was preparing in the South. And then slowly his eye was drawn east, to see what it was willed that he should see. And this vision [*struck out:* true or false] of the great might of Mordor, fed the despair that was already in his heart until it rose and engulfed his mind.'

['That fits well with what I saw,' said Pippin. 'The Lord went away from the room where Faramir lay; and it was when he came back that I first thought he was changed, old and broken.'

'It was in the very hour that Faramir was brought back that many saw a strange light in the topmost chamber of the Tower,' said Berithil.

'Alas! then I guess truly,' said Gandalf.] 'Thus the will of Sauron entered into the Tower; and thus I have been delayed here. ...'

The passage that I have enclosed in square brackets was an addition, but pretty clearly one made at the time of writing. In the fair copy manuscript of 'The Siege of Gondor' the passage describing how Prince Imrahil brought Faramir to the White Tower after his rescue, how Denethor then went up to the secret room under the summit of the Tower, and how a light was seen flickering there (RK pp. 94–5), was absent: see p. 340 note 17. It was no doubt at this time that it was added. The fair copy H retains the form of the passage just given; it was not until later that it was revised to introduce Gandalf's guess that Denethor had looked many times into the *palantír*, and Berithil's corroboration 'But we have seen that light before, and it has been rumoured in the City that the Lord would at times wrestle in thought with his Enemy.' In the original manuscript of 'Minas Tirith' he had said to Pippin as they sat on the battlements that Denethor was reputed to be able to 'read somewhat of the mind of the Enemy' as he

sat in his high chamber at night, but he did not then add the words 'wrestling with him', nor 'And so it is that he is old, worn before his time' (RK p. 37; p. 292 note 21). Thus Pippin's words, preserved in RK, 'it was only when he returned that I first thought he was changed, old and broken' were written when my father believed that it was only now and for the first time that Denethor had dared to look into the Seeing Stone of Minas Tirith.

NOTES

1 Gandalf says here: 'Is it not a law in the City that those who wear the black and silver must stay in the Citadel unless their lord leaves it?' And Pippin replies: 'He has left it.' For a previous use of this passage in a different context see p. 338 and note 23.

2 Cf. the original manuscript of the chapter 'Minas Tirith', p. 281: 'And Denethor at least does not expect him in any way, *for he does not know that he exists*.' This in fact survived through all the typescripts and was only changed on the proof to the reading of RK: 'Though if he comes, it is likely to be in some way that no one expects, *not even Denethor*.'

3 A minor narrative difference is that when Gandalf and Pippin came to the Closed Door on Shadowfax they rode through it, though on the steep winding road beyond 'they could go only at a walk.' In RK Gandalf 'dismounted and bade Shadowfax return to his stable' (see p. 380).

4 When writing a very rapid draft my father would move from 'thou' to 'you' in the same speech, but his intention from the first was certainly that in this scene Denethor should 'thou' Gandalf, while Gandalf should use 'you'. In one passage confusion between 'thou' and 'you' remains in RK (Denethor's speech beginning 'Hope on then!', p. 129). Here in the fair copy manuscript my father wrote: 'Do I not know that you commanded this halfling here to keep silence?'; subsequently he changed 'you commanded' to 'thou commandedst', but presumably because he disliked this form he changed the sentence to 'Do I not know that this halfling was commanded by thee ...' At the same time he added the sentence 'That you brought him hither to be a spy within in my very chamber?', changing it immediately and for the same reason to 'That he was brought hither ...' For some reason the 'you' constructions reappeared in the first typescript, and so remained.

5 'V.6', not 'V.7' as in RK, because 'The Passing of the Grey Company' and 'The Muster of Rohan' were still one chapter, 'Many Roads Lead Eastward'. The fair copy manuscript (H) was also numbered 'XLIX' and 'V.6', with the title '(a) The Pyre of Denethor'.

6 The meaning of *whereas* here is 'inasmuch as', 'seeing that'.
7 I take this to mean, in a colloquial sense of 'supposed', 'it was only the kings who were held to be permitted to look in it', rather than 'it was only the kings who looked in it, as it was thought.'
8 The story now was that Éowyn was still alive: p. 369.

XI
THE HOUSES OF HEALING

On the same page that my father used for the original opening draft (A) of 'The Pyre of Denethor' (p. 374) he also wrote a brief passage for another place in the narrative, beginning: '"Well, Meriadoc, where are you going?" He looked up, and there was Gandalf.' This was, I feel certain, the opening of a new chapter; and since it stands first on the page, with the opening of 'The Pyre of Denethor' below it, it seems to me likely that my father for a moment thought to continue the narrative after 'The Battle of the Pelennor Fields' in this way. But however this may be, he subsequently on another page (numbered 'a') wrote a new opening ('A mist was in Merry's eyes of tears and of weariness when they drew near to the ruined Gates of Minas Tirith'), and joined this on to the first opening (now numbered 'b') already in existence. This first part ('a') of the brief composite text is already very close indeed to the opening of the chapter in RK; the second (earlier) part 'b' differs from the text of RK in that it is Gandalf, not Pippin, who finds Merry wandering in the streets of the City:

'Well, Meriadoc, where are you going?'

He looked up, and the mist before his eyes cleared a little,[1] and there was Gandalf. He was in a narrow empty street, and no one else was there. He passed his hand over his eyes. 'Where is the king?' he said, 'and Éowyn, and —' he stumbled and sat down on a doorstep and began to weep again.

'They have gone into the Citadel,' said Gandalf. 'You must have fallen asleep on your feet and taken a wrong turning. You are worn out, and I will ask no questions yet, save one: are you hurt, or wounded?'

'No,' said Merry, 'well, no, I don't think so. But I cannot use my right arm, not since I stabbed him. The sword has burned away like wood.'

Gandalf looked grave. 'Well, you must come with me. I will carry you. You are not fit to walk. They should not have let you. But then they did not know about you or they would have shown you more honour. But when you know more you will pardon them: many dreadful things have happened in this City.'

'Pardon them? What for?' said Merry. 'All I want is a bed if there's one to have.'

'You'll have that,' said Gandalf, 'but you may need more.' He looked grave and careworn. 'Here is yet another on my hands,' he sighed. 'After war comes the woe and hopeless oft seems the task of the healer.'

At this point the part 'b' ends and is followed by 'When the dark shadow at the Gate withdrew Gandalf still sat motionless', the opening of 'The Pyre of Denethor', as described above.

My father now wrote an outline, obviously before the story had proceeded further.

Pippin meets Merry wandering half blind and witless – (as in scene previously written: but *not* humorous). Merry also is taken to sickhouse (Faramir, Éowyn, Merry).

[King Théoden is laid on bier in Hall of the Tower covered with gold. His body is embalmed after the manner of Gondor. Long after when the Rohirrim carried it back to Rohan and laid it in the mounds, it was said that he slept there in peace unchanged, clad in the cloth of gold of Gondor, save that his hair and beard still grew but were golden, and a river of gold would at times flow from Théoden's Howe. Also a voice would be heard crying

Arise, arise, Riders of Théoden
Fell deeds awake. Forth Eorlingas!

when peril threatened.][2]

Now the Captains return. But Aragorn sets his pavilion in the field before the gate and will not enter without permission and sends in word begging leave to enter and speak with the Steward. They tell him that the Steward is dead by his own hand and the Lord Faramir sick, to death. Then he lays aside all the badges of Elendil, and enters as a plain man. Aragorn meets Pippin and Gandalf and asks after Merry. He is given news of Éowyn. Great joy of Éomer.

All that night Aragorn tends the sick, for the Kings of Gondor had both a craft and a power of healing, and by this [?latter] it was made clear that the true king was returned. Faramir opens his eyes and looks on Aragorn and love springs between them. Merry too recovers.

Counsel [*read* Council] of the Lords. Gandalf warns them that what Denethor had said is true: there was no final victory in arms against the Enemy. We fought here as best we could, because we had to; and it is so appointed in this world that resistance must be made to evil without final hope. But when we

take arms *to attack* we are using that power which is pre-eminently found in the Ring, and it would be logical to do as Denethor desired in that case: to use the Ring. So indeed we should probably [?now] have victory and overthrow Sauron. But only to set up another. So that in the end the result would be as evil, if different, or possibly worse, as if Sauron recovered the Ring. Therefore have I .....[3] recovery in order that for a great age victory should be otherwise.

But we must still use such power as we have. And not delay. Sauron must still be kept busy and deem we have the Ring.

Another page of outline-notes, very roughly pencilled, probably followed this.

Long sojourn of rest in Minas Tirith and coming of Finduilas?[4] [*written above:* and Galadriel].

Hobbits all go home via Rohan: funeral of Théoden, and then through Gap and up west of Misty Mountains to Rivendell and then home.

Yes, said Sam, as he closed the Book. That all happened a long time ago.

Aragorn will only enter as lord of the Forod, not as king.[5]

Lords ride in, and see Théoden lying in state. Where is Gandalf? He comes in late [*or* later] and tells of Théoden's fall,[6] and Yoreth's words.

They go to Houses of Healing, and Aragorn asks for *athelas*. He heals the sick. Yoreth says he must be king. After supper he heals many sick.

Council next day. Gandalf's advice. Merry wakes up feeling nearly well. While Council is [?on] Gimli, Legolas and Pippin talk. They ..... and hear of the love of Éowyn for Aragorn at Dunharrow. And of the great ride to Pelargir.

The lords ride east: 1000 Rohirrim, Dol Amroth and [?so on]. And a first force to hold Morgul. They ride into shadow of ambush. Peril.

A complete draft ('**A**') for the chapter now followed, written rapidly but legibly in ink. In the first part of the chapter there are passages of marked divergence from the story that followed. The manuscript A was followed by a fair copy '**B**', for which some pages were taken out of A, including the opening page bearing the chapter number and title: 'Ch.L The Houses of Healing', the number changed subsequently to 'XLIX (b)'.[7]

The first divergence in A from RK comes with Gandalf's words

when he came on Pippin and Merry on the pavement of the main street up to the Citadel (RK p. 135):

'He should have been borne in honour into this City,' he said. 'Greater was the wisdom of Elrond than mine. For if I had had my way neither you nor he, Pippin, would have set out; and then far more grievous would the evils of this day have been. Faramir and Éowyn would be dead, and the Black Captain would be abroad to work ruin on all hope.'

This was repeated in the fair copy B, and (with loss of the final sentence 'Faramir and Éowyn would be dead ...') in the following typescripts: the change to 'He has well repaid my trust: for if Elrond had not yielded to me, neither of you would have set out' was not made until the book was in proof. This is decidedly strange: for the form of the Choosing of the Company in *The Fellowship of the Ring* (p. 289), in which it was through Gandalf's advocacy *against* Elrond that Merry and Pippin were included, had been reached long before in the second version of 'The Ring Goes South' (VII.164). Earlier than this, it is true, Gandalf had also been opposed to their inclusion ('Elrond's decision is wise', he had said, VII.115), but only here, and again in 'The Last Debate' (p. 415), is there any suggestion that it was Elrond who advocated their inclusion in opposition to Gandalf.

In the passage that follows, after the account of the 'leechcraft of Gondor' and the unknown malady named 'the Black Shadow' that came from the Nazgûl, the text of A is much briefer than that of RK (p. 136):

And those that were so stricken fell slowly ever into a deeper dream, and from fever passed to a deadly cold and so died. But Faramir burned with a fever that would not abate.

And an old wife, Yoreth ...

Thus there is no reference here to the morning wearing away and the day passing to sunset, while 'still Gandalf waited and watched and did not go forth'; and after Yoreth had uttered the old saying that 'The hands of the king are the hands of a healer' A diverges altogether from the later story.

'Mithrandir is wise and skilful,' said another. 'In this at least he is not a king,' said the old wife. 'He has done much for us, but rather his skill lies in the teaching of men, to do what they can or should.'

But Gandalf seeing that all was done that could be done for the present arose and went out, and calling for Shadowfax rode away.

But Pippin and Berithil found themselves together little needed while the sick were yet in peril, and while such errands as were needful were done by the boys, Bergil and his friends, who had been saved from the wreck of the Rath a Chelerdain and sent up hither. So they went to the roof of the house that stood above the battlement of the wall, and they looked out. The battle now raged upon the fields; but it was far from the walls, and all the enemy had now been drawn away from the City; and they could not mark how fortune went: nought but a dust and a smoke in the distance away southward, and a far crying of horn and of trumpet. Yet so it was that Pippin with the farsighted eyes of his people was the first to descry the coming of the fleet.

'Look, look, Berithil!' he cried. 'The Lord was not all demented. He saw something in truth. There are ships on the River.'

'Yes,' said Berithil. 'But not such as he spoke of. I know the ...[8] of those ships and their sails. They come from Umbar and the havens of the Corsairs. Hark!'

And all about them men were crying in dismay: 'The Corsairs of Umbar!'

'You may say what you like and so may they,' said Pippin, 'but this I will say for my lord who is dead: I will believe him. Here comes Aragorn. Though how, and why in this way I cannot guess. Here comes the heir of Elendil!' he shouted; but no one, not even Berithil, took any heed of his small voice.

Yet true he proved. And at last it was known in the City. And all men were full of wonder. And so hope grew as the day rose to noon and waned, and at last it came to the red sunset. And watchers looking out saw all the fields before them dyed as with blood, and the sky above them was bloodred, and at last ere the red burned out to evening ash-grey over the fields of the Pelennor rode the captains in victory to the City.

Aragorn and Éomer and Imrahil now drew near the City with their captains and knights; and when they came before the Gates Aragorn said: 'Behold the setting of the sun in fire ...'

Aragorn's words are then as in RK p. 137, and his speech with Éomer that follows; but with Imrahil's intervention the original text diverges again:

And the Prince Imrahil said: 'Wise are your words, lord, if one who is kinsman of the house of the Stewards may venture to

give counsel. Yet I would not have you remain at the door like a beggar.'

'Then I will not,' laughed Aragorn. '[*added:* I will enter as one.] The banner shall be furled and the tokens no more displayed.' And he bade Halbarad [> Elladan][9] to furl the standard, and he removed the crown and stars[10] and gave them to the keeping of the sons of Elrond. And he entered the City on foot clad only in a grey mantle above his mail and bearing no other token save the green stone of Galadriel, and he said: 'I come only as Aragorn Lord of the Rangers of Forod.'[11]

And so the great captains of victory passed through the city and the tumult of the people, and mounted to the Citadel, and came to the Hall of the Tower seeking the Steward.

The description of Théoden lying in state follows as in RK (pp. 137–8), but then the story of his afterlife in the mound at Edoras is introduced and expanded from the outline given on p. 385; I cite it here from the fair copy B, where the text is all but identical to A except in the words heard from the mound.[12]

And thus, it was said in song, he remained ever after while the realm of Rohan endured. For when later the Rohirrim bore his body away to the Mark and laid it in the mounds of his fathers, there, clad in the cloth of gold of Gondor, he slept in peace unchanged, save only that his hair still grew and was turned to silver, and at times a river of silver would flow from Théoden's Howe. And that was a token of prosperity; but if peril threatened then at whiles men would hear a voice in the mound crying in the ancient tongue of the Mark:

Arísath nú Rídend míne!
Théodnes thegnas thindath on orde!
Féond oferswithath! Forth Eorlingas!

Then follow the questions of Imrahil and Éomer in the Hall of the Tower, whereby they learn that 'the Steward is in the Houses of Healing' (thinking that this means Denethor), and Éomer learns that Éowyn is still living, just as in RK, except that when Éomer leaves the hall 'the others followed him' ('and the Prince followed him' RK), because Aragorn is present.

And when they came forth evening had come, with many stars. And even as the light waned Gandalf returned alone out of the East up the road from Osgiliath, glimmering in the twilight. And he went also to the Houses of Healing, and he met

the Lords before its doors. And they greeted him; and they said: 'We seek the Steward and it is said that he is in this house. ...'

In the passage that follows there are differences from RK, in that Aragorn does not only now appear as 'the cloaked man' come with Gandalf, unrecognised until he steps into the lantern-light. Thus Imrahil says: 'Shall it not be the lord Aragorn?', and Aragorn replies: 'No, it shall be the Lord of Dol Amroth until Faramir awakes. But it is my counsel that Mithrandir should rule us all in the days that follow and our dealings with the Enemy.' Then Gandalf speaks as in RK of his sole hope for the sick resting in Aragorn, and quotes the words of Yoreth.

When Aragorn encounters Berithil and Pippin at the door Pippin says: 'Trotter! How splendid. There, Berithil, you see Denethor was right after all.' The last sentence was struck out, and replaced by Pippin's words in RK (p. 139): 'Do you know, I guessed it was you in the black ships. But they were all shouting *Corsairs* and would not listen to me. How did you do it?' And when Imrahil says to Éomer 'Yet perchance in some other name he will wear his crown', Aragorn overhearing replies: 'Verily, for in the high tongue of eld I am Elessar, Elfstone, the renewer.'[13] Then lifting the green stone of Galadriel he says: 'But Trotter shall be the name of my house, if ever that be established; yet perhaps in the same high tongue it shall not sound so ill, and *tarakil*[14] I will be and all the heirs of my body.'

In the following passage the first section that I have enclosed in square brackets is so enclosed in the manuscript, with a query against it, though it was used in RK; the second section in square brackets has a line drawn round it in the manuscript with a mark of deletion and a query against it. In the fair copy the first is again put within square brackets, and the second does not appear.

And so they went in. [And as they passed towards the rooms where the sick were tended Gandalf told of the deeds of Éowyn and Meriadoc. 'For,' he said, 'long have I stood by them, and at first they spoke much in their sleep dreaming, before they sank into a yet deeper darkness. Also it is given to me to see many things afar off.] [And when there came a ...[15] cry from the fields I was near to the walls and looked out. And even as I did, the doom long foretold came to pass, though in a manner that had been hidden from me. Not by the hand of man was the Lord of the Nazgûl doomed to fall, and in that doom placed his trust. But he was felled by a woman and with the aid of a halfling;[16] and I heard the fading of his last cry borne away by the wind.']

It will be seen that there were major differences in the structure of the story as told in A from its form in RK. In the first place, the distant

view of the battlefield seen by Pippin and Berithil from the roof of the Houses of Healing is told in direct narrative, and thus the coming of the black fleet up Anduin is repeated from 'The Battle of the Pelennor Fields'. Since Pippin and Berithil were present at the House of the Stewards in Rath Dínen they had heard Denethor accuse Gandalf of intriguing to displace him: 'But I know your mind and its plots. Do I not see the fleets even now coming up Anduin! So with the left hand you would use me as a shield against Mordor, and with the right hand bring up this Ranger of the North to take my place' (p. 378). This knowledge Denethor had acquired from the *palantír*. The idea that Denethor knew that Aragorn was in command of the ships of the Corsairs was changed on the draft manuscript (G) of 'The Pyre of Denethor' (p. 379), and in the fair copy of that chapter, already as first written, his knowledge of Aragorn is derived as in RK from his conversations with Pippin: his sight of the black fleet becomes for him an overpowering proof of the futility of resistance to Mordor. The present text must therefore have preceded the fair copy of 'The Pyre of Denethor'.

In the form of the story in A Pippin has a reason for declaring that Aragorn is coming with the fleet ('There, Berithil, you see Denethor was right after all', p. 390) and for shouting 'Here comes the heir of Elendil!' when everyone was crying 'The Corsairs of Umbar!' (p. 388); in RK he can have no reason at all for his words to Aragorn ('Do you know, I guessed it was you in the black ships'), nothing but a strange presentiment.

In the second place, Gandalf leaves the Houses of Healing long before sunset and disappears on Shadowfax. Aragorn does not refuse to enter Minas Tirith with Éomer and Imrahil; and thus he is present at the door of the Houses of Healing when Gandalf comes back, returning alone 'up the road from Osgiliath' in the dusk (p. 389). Nothing is told of his errand (but I think it can be seen what it was from the B version of this part of the story, to be given shortly). In the changed story he did not leave the Houses of Healing until sunset, and his errand was to bring Aragorn in from outside the walls: this being a sudden decision inspired by the words of Yoreth. In the A version he does not appear to take any particular account of her words, and he leaves when he sees that 'all was done that could be done for the present'; yet when he returns he says as in RK that 'only in [Aragorn's] coming have I any hope for those that lie within', quoting the words of Yoreth.

A remarkable short text evidently belongs to this phase in the development of the story, as is seen from the fact that Aragorn has entered the city without Gandalf, who is looking for him. This text is found on an isolated slip in my father's worst handwriting, which he partly elucidated in pencil (with some queries), and slightly changed, in not quite his worst handwriting.

'Did you ride with the Rohirrim?' said Gandalf.

'Nay indeed,' said Legolas. 'A strange journey we have had with Aragorn by the Paths of the Dead, and we came here at the last in ships taken from our foes. Not often has one the chance to bring news to you, Gandalf!'

'Not often,' said Gandalf heavily. 'But my cares are many in these days, and my heart is sad. I am growing weary at last, Glóin's son, as this great matter draws to the final edge of its doom. Alas! alas! How our Enemy contrives evil out of our good. For the Lord of the City slew himself in despair seeing the black fleet approach. For the coming of the fleet and the sword of Elendil secured the victory but gave the last stroke of despair to the Lord of the City. But [?come], I must still labour. Tell me, where is Aragorn? Is he in these tents?'

'Nay, he has gone up into the City,' said Legolas, 'cloaked in grey and secretly.'

'Then I must go,' said Gandalf.

'But tell us in return one thing first,' said Gimli. 'Where are those young friends of ours who cost us such great pains? It is to be hoped that they were not [?worsted] and they are still alive.'

'One is lying grievously sick in the City after a great deed,' said Gandalf, 'and the other stays beside him.'

'Then may we come with you?' said Gimli.

'You may indeed!' said Gandalf.

This encounter on the fields of the Pelennor was lost, and nowhere else is Gandalf's meeting with Legolas and Gimli after they parted at Dol Baran recorded.

As the fair copy B was first written, Gandalf's earlier departure from the Houses of Healing and the scene in which Berithil and Pippin see the black fleet from the roof were retained;[17] but there are two significant differences. After Yoreth's words it is now said: 'But Gandalf *hearing this saying*, and seeing that all was done that could be done *by the leechcraft of Gondor*, arose and went out'; and the conversation of Berithil and Pippin is now changed:

'Look, look, Berithil!' he cried. 'The Lord did not see only visions of madness. Here come the ships up the River that he spoke of. What are they?'

'Alas!' answered Berithil. 'Now I can almost forgive his despair. I know the fashion of these ships and their sails, for that is the duty of all watchmen. They come from Umbar and the Haven of the Corsairs! Hark!'

And all about them men were now crying in dismay: 'The Corsairs of Umbar!'

Pippin's heart sank. It seemed bitter to him that after the joy of the horns at dawn hope should be destroyed again. 'I wonder where Gandalf has gone,' he thought. And then another question arose in his mind: 'Aragorn: where is he? He should have come with the Rohirrim, but he doesn't seem to have done so.'

'Berithil,' he said, 'I wonder: could there be any mistake? What if this was really Aragorn with the Broken Sword coming in the nick of time?'

'If so, he is coming in the ships of our enemies,' said Berithil.

It seems that Pippin's thought here, 'I wonder where Gandalf has gone' giving rise to the question 'Aragorn: where is he?', taken with the more explicit statement concerning Gandalf's departure, makes it certain that he had gone, as in the later story, to find Aragorn and (because 'the hands of the king are the hands of a healer') to bring him urgently to the Houses of Healing.[18] But why Gandalf did not return till dusk, after Aragorn had entered the city, is not explained.

At this point my father struck from the B manuscript all that followed 'and then passed to silence and a deadly cold, and so died' (RK p. 136; see p. 387) and replaced it with the text that stands in RK, with Gandalf leaving the Houses of Healing at sunset, his thought and purpose now perfectly plain: 'Men may long remember your words, Yoreth; for there is hope in them. Maybe a king has indeed returned to Gondor; or have you not heard the strange tidings that have come to the City?' To the point we have reached in A ('Also it is given to me to see many things afar off', p. 390) the fair copy B (apart from the passage concerning Théoden's Howe at Edoras already cited, and a few points that are mentioned in the notes) then has the text of RK.

The latter part of the chapter in A was written with remarkable fluency – or, at any rate, the text as it stands in this original draft[19] was scarcely changed afterwards. The only notable divergence from RK is found in the passage where Aragorn, Éomer, and Gandalf speak beside Éowyn's bed; for while the actual words of RK (p. 143) are present, what became Gandalf's speech is given to Aragorn. He begins: 'My friend, you had horses and deeds of arms ...', and continues to '... a hutch to trammel some wild thing in?' (where Gandalf ceases in RK), and then (without the sentence 'Then Éomer was silent, and looked on his sister, as if pondering anew all the days of their past life together') goes on, from the point where he begins in RK: 'I saw also what you saw. And few other griefs amid the ill chances of this world ...' Above 'said Aragorn' at the beginning of the speech my father wrote, almost certainly while still writing this

manuscript, 'Gandalf?'; and subsequently he made in pencil the changes that give the passage the form that it has in RK.

Beyond this there are only details to mention. The herb-master, in his discourse concerning the plant *kingsfoil*, declares it to be named *athelas* 'in the noble tongue, or to those who know somewhat of the Númenórean — ', 'Númenórean' being changed later both on A and on B to 'Valinorian' (and afterwards to 'Valinorean'); and Aragorn replies: 'I do so, and care not whether you say now *asea aranaite* or *kingsfoil*, so long as you have some.' The form *aranaite* became *aranion* on the final typescript.

When Aragorn leaves Merry (RK p. 146) he says: 'May the Shire for ever live unwithered and unchanged. For this, maybe, more than all else, I hope and labour';[20] the last part of this, from 'and unchanged', being struck from the fair copy.[21]

The chapter in A ended with Gandalf's words with the Warden of the Houses of Healing: '"They are a remarkable race," said the Warden, nodding his head. "Very tough in the fibre, I deem." "It goes deeper than the fibre," said Gandalf.' The conclusion of the chapter in RK is roughed out in a pencilled text that was subsequently overwritten by material belonging to 'The Last Debate' (cf. note 19), but some of it can be read. Where the fair copy B has (as in RK) 'and so the name which it was foretold at his birth that he should bear was chosen by his own people', this first draft has 'and so his own choice was fulfilled [?in] the title chosen long before.' The final passage is largely illegible, but the following can be seen: 'And [?in the morning] when he had slept a little he arose and ..... called a council and the captains met in a chamber of the Tower ...' The fair copy ends as does the chapter in RK, with Aragorn leaving the city just before dawn and going to his tent; and pencilled beneath the last words of the text is this note: 'Aragorn will not go in the City again. So Imrahil, Gandalf and Éomer hold council [in the] tents with the sons of Elrond.'

NOTES

1 *and the mist before his eyes cleared a little*: this was added after the 'a' part of the text was written and joined on to 'b'.

2 This passage is enclosed within square brackets in the manuscript.

3 A first illegible word here almost certainly begins *res* and ends *ed*, but cannot as it stands be read as *resisted*. A second word could be 'the' or 'his'.

4 For a previous mention of Finduilas Elrond's daughter see p. 370.

5 Cf. the first narrative text (A) of the chapter, p. 389: 'I come only as Aragorn Lord of the Rangers of Forod.'

6 *and tells of Théoden's fall:* i.e. (I take it) the manner of Théoden's fall, of which Gandalf knew (cf. the second passage in square brackets on p. 390).

7 The first text A was paginated continuously on from 'The Pyre of Denethor', as also was the fair copy B. At some point my father wrote on the opening page of 'The Houses of Healing' (this page being common to both texts) the chapter number 'L', i.e. separating it from 'The Pyre of Denethor'; but the number 'XLIX (b)', following 'XLIX (a)' for 'The Pyre of Denethor' (see p. 382 note 5), again makes them subdivisions of a single chapter, without an overall title.

8 The word might, just possibly, be 'crewmen'. B has 'fashion' (p. 392).

9 Halbarad was named among the slain in the original drafting of 'The Battle of the Pelennor Fields' (p. 371).

10 *he removed the crown and stars:* the word 'and' was struck out; the replacement is illegible, but may be 'of' with another word struck out, i.e. 'crown of stars'. In B this becomes simply 'the crown'; altered on the first typescript to 'the crown of the North Kingdom', this survived into the proof, on which it was altered to 'the Star of the North Kingdom'. Cf. 'The Battle of the Pelennor Fields', p. 370, where 'about his helm there was a kingly crown' was replaced on the proof by 'upon his brow was the Star of Elendil'.

11 Cf. RK p. 138 (at a different point in the narrative): 'I am but the Captain of the Dúnedain of Arnor'. In the fair copy manuscript, at the same point in the narrative as in RK, Aragorn says: 'I am but the Captain of the Rangers of Forod'.

12 In the first text A the verse is in modern English in the same words as in the outline on p. 385. In both A and B the passage is enclosed in square brackets.

13 In B the text remained almost the same: 'Verily, for in the high tongue of old I am Elessar, the Elfstone, and the Renewer', and this is the reading of the First Edition of LR. In the Second Edition *Envinyatar* was added before 'the Renewer'.

14 *tarakil:* the fourth letter *(a)* is not certain, but is very probable, especially in view of the form in B, where the text remained the same as in A but with *Tarakon* here. This was altered to *Tarantar*, which survived into the first typescript, where it was altered to *Telkontar* (> *Telcontar* on the proof).

15 The word begins with *gr(e)*, but is certainly not *great*. Possibly the word intended was *great*, but the last letters, which look like *ry*, were due to the following word *cry*.

16 On the doom of the Lord of the Nazgûl see pp. 334–5, 368.

17 It is said of Bergil and his friends in this version (see p. 388): 'When the fire-bolts had fallen in the City they had been sent [to]

the upper circle; but the fair house in the Street of the Lampwrights had been destroyed.'

18 Cf. also the brief outline given on p. 386: 'Where is Gandalf? He comes in late and tells of Théoden's fall, *and Yoreth's words.*'

19 A part of the conclusion of the chapter, from '"He [Merry] lies nearby in this house, and I must go to him," said Gandalf' to 'For I have not slept in such a bed since I rode from Dunharrow, nor eaten since the dark before dawn' (RK pp. 145–6), is in fact extant in a preliminary pencilled text, subsequently over-written by a text in ink that belongs to the story of 'The Last Debate'. This draft, most of which has been read by Taum Santoski, shows no significant differences from the more finished version in A.

20 Cf. Aragorn's words to Halbarad at Helm's Deep, p. 306.

21 I collect here a few other details. For 'whether Aragorn had indeed some forgotten *power of Westernesse*' (RK p. 144) A, and at first B, had 'art or wizardry'. The name *Imloth Melui* in Yoreth's recollection of her youth (RK p. 142) appears thus from the first; and as in RK (p. 146) Aragorn says to Merry that the herb-master will tell him that tobacco is called '*westmansweed* by the vulgar, and *galenas* by the noble', where the pencilled draft that is extant for this portion of the chapter (note 19) has 'pipeweed' and 'sweet *galenas*'. For the name *galenas* see p. 38.

XII
THE LAST DEBATE

At some time before he began work on this chapter my father set down an outline entitled 'The march of Aragorn and defeat of [the] Haradrim.' This must have preceded 'The Battle of the Pelennor Fields', since the name *Haramon* appears, not *Emyn Arnen* (see p. 370 and note 11);[1] it was almost certainly a companion to the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Forannest' (pp. 359 ff.), but is obviously best given here. At the head of the page my father afterwards pencilled a note asking whether it might not be a good idea 'to have part of this told by a man of Morthond Vale', but nothing ever came of this. Pencilled changes made to the text are shown.

Aragorn takes 'Paths of the Dead' morning of 8 March, passes tunnels of mountains. (This tale will have to be told in brief later, probably at feast of victory in Minas Tirith – by Gimli and/or Legolas.) They see skeleton in armour of Bealdor son of Brego.[2] But except for dark and a feeling of dread meet no evil. The tunnels become the issuing caverns of Morthond. It is dusk [> afternoon] of 8 March when Aragorn and his company come out into the uplands of the head of the Vale of Morthond; and ride to Stone of Erech.[3] This was a black stone, according to legend brought from Númenor, set up to mark the meeting place of Isildur and Anárion with the last king of the dark men of the Mountains, who swore allegiance to the sons of Elendil, vowing to aid them and their kin for ever, 'even though Death should take us.' The stone was enclosed in a now ruined ring-wall and beside it the Gondorians had anciently erected a tower, and there had been kept one of the *palantíri.* No men went near the tower. Rumour of terror flies through the vales, for the 'King of the Dead' has come back – and behold behind the *living men* a great host of shadow-men, some riding some striding but all moving like the wind, are seen.

Aragorn goes to Erech at midnight, blows horns (and dim shadow horns echo him) and unfurls banner. The star on it shines in the dark. He finds the *palantír* (unsullied) buried in a vault. From Erech he sets out [*added:* dark] morn of March 9 [*added:* at 5 a.m.]. For [*read* From ?] Erech to Fords of Lameduin (say Linhir?) is 175 miles direct, about 200 by road.[4]

Great terror and wonder precedes his march. At Linhir on Lameduin men of Lebennin and Lamedon are defending passage of river against Haradwaith. Aragorn reaches Linhir at evening on March 10 after two days and night[s] forced riding with host of shadow behind in the deepening dark of Mordor. All fly before him. Aragorn crosses Lameduin into Lebennin at morning of March 11 and hastens to Pelargir [*added:* 100 miles].[5]

From this point the outline, becoming very rough, was struck out and replaced, immediately, by a new text on the reverse of the sheet of paper. At the head of this page is the following brief passage concerning Frodo and Sam, which (while certainly written at the same time as the outline of Aragorn's journey) probably already stood there:

Rescue of Frodo. Frodo is lying naked in the Tower; but Sam finds by some chance that the elven-cloak of Lórien is lying in a corner. When they disguise themselves they put on the grey cloaks over all and become practically invisible – in Mordor the cloaks of the Elves become like a dark mantle of shadow.

Then follows, returning to the outline:

Aragorn crosses into Lebennin on March 11th (morning) and rides with all speed to Pelargir – the Shadow Host follows. The Haradrim fly before him in dismay. Some hearing news of his coming in time get their ships off and escape down Anduin, but most are not manned. Early on 12th Aragorn comes on the fleet driving all before him. Many of the ships are stuffed with captives, and they are partly manned (especially the oars) by captives taken in raids on Gondor, or slave-descendants of captives taken long before. These revolt. So Aragorn captures many ships and mans them, though several are burned. He works feverishly because he knows that doom of Minas Tirith is near, if he does not come in time. That night the Shadow Host vanishes and goes back into the mountain valleys, and finally disappears into the Paths of the Dead and is never seen again to come forth.[6]

He sets out at 6 a.m. on 13 March, rowing. On the south plain of Lebennin the Anduin is very broad (5–7 miles) and slow. So with many oars they make about 4 miles an hour and by 6 a.m. on 14th are 100 miles on way. It is 125 miles by river from Pelargir to that place where Anduin takes a west-loop round the feet of Haramon, a great hill in South Ithilien, and

bends into the Pelennor, so that here the Ramas-Coren is but 15 [> 5] miles from the City,[7] and stands right on the water brink. Just before that point the river course runs nearly North-South (slightly N.W.) and points straight towards Minas Tirith so that watchers can see that reach – about 10 miles long.[8]

On morning of the 15th [*written above:* 14] a wind rises [*added:* at dawn] and freshens from S.W. The cloud and gloom begins to roll back. They hoist sails and now go with [*struck out:* more] speed. About 9 a.m. they can be seen by watchers from Minas Tirith who are dismayed. As soon as Aragorn catches sight of the city, and of the enemy, he hoists his standard (the White Crown with the stars of Sun and Moon on either hand: Elendil's badge).[9] A sun-gleam from the S.E. lights it up and it shines afar like white fire. Aragorn lands and drives off enemy.

Especially notable here is the recurrence of the idea that appeared in 'Many Roads Lead Eastward' (pp. 300, etc.): there was a *palantír* at Erech (in the earlier chapter Aragorn seemed to say that the Stone of Erech was itself the *palantír*, p. 309 note 10). This Stone replaced that of Aglarond (pp. 76–8), so that there were still five *palantíri* in the South.

When my father came to write the chapter his intention – and achievement – was that in it should be recounted not only the debate of the commanders following the Battle of the Pelennor Fields but also the story of the journey of the Grey Company as recounted by Gimli and Legolas to Merry and Pippin – and that it should then carry the story on to the arrival of the Host of the West before the Morannon. The manuscript, or manuscript corpus, was originally entitled 'The Parley at the Black Gate'.[10] It was a huge labour to achieve the final arrangement, entailing draft upon draft upon draft, with the most complicated re-use of existing pages, or parts of them, as he experimented with different solutions to the structural problem. It is more than likely that when this great mass of manuscript and typescript left his hands it was already in dire confusion, and its subsequent ordering into wholly factitious textual entities made it seem that in 'The Last Debate' my attempt to discern the true sequence of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* would finally founder. But it has proved otherwise, and since no significant element seems to have been lost out of the whole complex the sequence of development in fact emerges here at least as clearly as in some far less difficult parts of the narrative. But of course to describe in detail each textual pathway would demand far more space than can be allowed to it.

It seems that before my father began the coherent drafting of the

chapter – while he was in fact still writing 'The Houses of Healing' – he set down a form of the speeches at the opening of the debate that had arisen in his mind and would not be postponed.[11] Since a great deal of this does not appear in RK I give it in full.

'My lords,' said Gandalf. '"Go forth and fight! Vanity! You may triumph on the fields of Pelennor for a day. But against the Power that now arises there is no victory." So said the Steward of this City before he died. And though I do not bring you counsels of despair, yet ponder the truth in this. The people of the West are diminished; far and wide the lands lie empty. And it is long since your rule retreated and left the wild peoples to themselves, and they do not know you; and [they] will come seeking new lands to dwell in. Now were it but a matter of war between Men, such as has been for many ages, I would say: You are now too few to march East either in wrath or friendship, to subdue or to teach. Yet you might take thought together, and make such boundaries, and such forts and strongholds, as could long be maintained and restrain the gathering tide [> ?wild]. But your war is not only against numbers, and swords and spears, and untamed peoples. You have an Enemy of great power and malice, and he grows, and he it is that fills all the hearts of the wild peoples with hate, and directs and governs that hatred, and so they are become no longer like waves that may roll at whiles against your battlements, to be withstood with valour and defeated with forethought. They are rising in a great tide to engulf you. What then shall you do? Seek to overthrow your Enemy.'

'Overlate should we begin that task!' said Prince Imrahil. '[Had Minas Morgul been destroyed in ages past, and the watch upon the Black Gate maintained We slept, and no sooner had he re-entered the Nameless Land] We slept, and awoke to find him already grown beyond our measure. And to destroy him we must overthrow first all the allies that he has gathered.'

'That is true,' said Gandalf. 'And their numbers are too great, as Denethor indeed saw. Therefore this war is without final hope, whether you sit here to endure siege upon siege, or march out to be overwhelmed beyond the River. Prudence would counsel you to await onset in strong places, for so at least shall the time before the end be made a little longer.

'But now into the midst of all these counsels of war comes the Ring. Here is a thing which could command victory even in our present plight.'

'I have heard only rumour of this,' said Imrahil. 'Is it not said the One Ring of Sauron of old has come back to light, and that if he regain it then he will be as mighty as he was in the Dark Years?'

'It is said so and said truly,' answered Gandalf. 'Only he will be more mighty than of old and more secure. For there is no longer any land beyond the Sea from which help may come; [and those who dwell beyond even the West will not move, for they have committed the Great Lands to the keeping of Men.]'[12]

'But if we should find the Ring and wield it, how would it give us victory?' asked Imrahil.

'It would not do so all in a day,' answered Gandalf. 'But were it to come to the hand of some one of power [?or] royalty, as say the Lord Aragorn, or the Steward of this City, or Elrond of Imladrist,[13] or even to me, then he being the Ringlord would wax ever in power and the desire of power; and all minds he would cow or dominate so that they would blindly do his will. And he could not be slain. More: the deepest secrets of the mind and heart of Sauron would become plain to him, so that the Dark Lord could do nothing unforeseen. The Ringlord would suck the very power and thought from him, so that all would forsake his allegiance and follow the Ringlord, and they would serve him and worship him as a God. And so Sauron would be overthrown utterly and fade into oblivion; but behold, there would be Sauron still ..... but upon the other side, [a tyrant brooking no freedom, shrinking from no deed of evil to hold his sway and to widen it].'

'And worse,' said Aragorn. 'For all that is left of the ancient power and wisdom of the West he would also have broken and corrupted.'

'Then what is the use of this Ring?' said Imrahil.

'Victory,' said [Gandalf >] Húrin Warden of the Keys.[14] 'At least we should have won the war, and not this foul lord of Mordor.'

'So might many a brave knight of the Mark or the Realm speak,' said Imrahil. 'But surely more wisdom is required of lords in council. Victory is in itself worthless. Unless Gondor stand for some good, then let it not stand at all; and if Mordor doth not stand for some evil that we will not brook in Mordor or out of it, then let it triumph.'

'Triumph it will, say or do what we will, or so it seems,' said Húrin. 'But after many words still I do not hear what is our

present purpose. Surely, it is but a plain choice between staying here and marching forth. And if those who are wiser or more farsighted than I tell me there is no long[er] hope in waiting here, then I for one am for marching forth, and taking doom by the outstretched hand. So we may give it a wrench at the least before it grips us.'

'And in this at any rate I approve Húrin's words,' said Gandalf. 'For all my speech was leading to just such counsel. This is not a war for victory that cannot be won by arms.[15] I have rejected the use of the Ring, for that would make victory the same as defeat. I have (like a fool, said Denethor) set the Ring at a great risk that our Enemy will regain it, and so utterly overwhelm us; for to retain it would be to risk the certainty that ere the last throes came upon us one among us would take it, and so bring about at least as great an evil. But still we have set our hands to war. For resist we must while we have strength – and hope. But now our salvation, if any can be achieved, does not rest upon our deeds of arms, yet it may be aided by them. Not by prudence, as I say, of the lesser wars of Men. But by a boldness, even a rashness, that in other case would be folly. For our hope is still, though daily it grows fainter, that Sauron has not recovered the Ring, and while that is so he will be in doubt and fear lest we have it. The greater our rashness the greater his fear, and the more will his eye and thought be turned to us and not elsewhere where his true peril is. Therefore I say we should follow up this victory as soon as we may and move East with all such force as we have.'

'Yet still there must be prudence,' said Imrahil. 'There is scarce a man or horse alive among us that is not weary, even those that are not sick or hurt. And we learn that there is an army left unfought upon our north flank. We cannot wholly denude the city, or it will burn behind us.'

'True enough, I would not counsel it,' said Gandalf. 'Indeed for my design the force we lead East need not be great enough for any assault in earnest upon Mordor, so long as it is great enough to challenge a battle.'

Turning now to the primary manuscript of the chapter, this is itself a massive complex of rejected and retained material, but it cannot be satisfactorily separated into distinct 'layers', and I shall treat it as a single entity, referring to it as 'the manuscript'.

The opening achieves almost word for word the form in RK pp. 148–9, beginning 'The morning came after the day of battle' and

continuing as far as Gimli's remark to Legolas: 'It is ever so with all the things that Men begin: there is a frost in spring, or a blight in summer, and they fail of their promise.' A servant of Imrahil then guided them to the Houses of Healing, where they found Merry and Pippin in the garden, 'and the meeting of those friends was a merry one.' The narrative then moves directly into the debate: as in RK (p. 154) Imrahil and Éomer went down from the city to the tents of Aragorn, and there conferred with Gandalf, Aragorn, Elrohir and Elladan. 'They made Gandalf their chief and prayed him to speak first his mind'; and as in RK he began by citing the words of Denethor before his death, bidding his listeners ponder the truth of them. But now he went on, following and condensing a passage in the draft just given:

'The peoples of the West are diminished; and it is long since your rule retreated and left the wild peoples to themselves; and they do not know you, and neither love nor fear will long restrain them. And you have an Enemy of great power and malice, who fills all their hearts with hatred, and governs and directs that hatred, so that they are no longer like waves that roll at whiles against your walls to be thrown back one by one: they are united, and they are rising as a great tide to engulf you.

'The Stones of Seeing do not lie, and not even the Lord of Barad-dûr can make them do so ...'

The remainder of Gandalf's speech, with the interventions of Imrahil,[16] Aragorn, and Éomer, was achieved through a series of drafts that need scarcely be considered more closely, except for one version of Gandalf's reply to Éomer (RK pp. 155–6). In this, after saying that the Dark Lord, not knowing whether they themselves possessed the Ring, would look for those signs of strife that would inevitably arise among them if they did, Gandalf goes on:

'Now it is known to you that I have set the Ring in peril. From Faramir we learn that it passed to the very borders of Mordor before this assault began, maybe on the first day of the darkness. And, my lords, it went by the way of Morgul. Slender indeed is the hope that the bearer can have escaped the perils of that way, of the horrors that wait there; still less is the hope that even if he comes through them to the Black Land he can pass there unmarked. Six days have gone, and hourly I watch the signs with great dread in my heart.'

'What are these signs that you look for, an enemy ... you on our ...' asked Imrahil.

'Darkness,' said Gandalf. 'That is my dread. And darkness began, and therefore for a while I felt a despair deeper than Denethor. But the darkness that is to be feared is not such as we have endured: it would need no clouds in the air; it would begin in our hearts feeling afar the power of the Ringlord, and grow till by sunlight or moonlight or under heaven or under roof all would seem dark to us. This darkness was but a device to make us despair and it has, as such deceits will, ... our enemy. The next sign is strife among the lords.'

A following draft reaches Gandalf's argument as it appears in RK, but here he adds to those signs that Sauron will have observed: 'He may also have seen in the Stone the death of Denethor, and since he judges all by himself he may well deem that a first sign of strife among his chief foes.' In the same text, after saying that 'we must at all costs keep his eye from his true peril', he adds: 'A single regiment of orcs set about Orodruin could seal our ruin' (in a subsequent version: 'A mere handful of orcs at watch on Orodruin would seal our doom').

At the end of the debate, following Aragorn's words (RK p. 158) 'no gates will endure against our Enemy if men desert them', an initial draft has a development that was not pursued:

Then even as they debated a rider came in search of Éomer. 'Lord,' he said, 'word has come from Anórien from the north-roads. Théoden King, when we rode hither, left men behind to watch the movements of enemy at Amon Dîn. They send word that there has been war far away in the Wold, and thence come strange tidings. For some say [the very woods have] that wild things of the woods have fallen on the orcs and driven them into the River and the rapids of Sarn Gebir. But the army that was on the road has heard this news, and also of our victory here, and is afraid, and is even now hastening back.'

'Ha!' said Éomer. 'If they dare to assail us they will rue it. If they seek to fly past they shall be smitten. We must cut off this finger of the Black Hand ere it is withdrawn.'

The numbers of those who should set out from Minas Tirith were differently conceived, for 'the great part of these should be horsed for swifter movement' (in contrast to RK: 'the great part of this force should be on foot, because of the evil lands into which they would go'): Éomer leading three thouand of the Rohirrim, Aragorn five hundred horse and fifteen hundred foot, and Imrahil a thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot; and there was no suggestion that any force of the Rohirrim were sent to 'waylay the West Road against the enemy that was in Anórien' (RK p. 158). The manuscript was however

subsequently corrected and the muster as enumerated in RK introduced, with three thousand of the Rohirrim left behind.

After the words 'And he drew forth Branding and held it up glittering in the sun' (which is where in RK 'The Last Debate' ends), the original chapter then continues with a transition back to Legolas and Gimli: 'While the great captains thus debated and laid their designs, Legolas and Gimli made merry in the fair morning high up in the windy circles of Minas Tirith.' Legolas' sight of the gulls flying up Anduin follows, and the emotion that they stirred in him, are described in much the same words as in RK; but the conversation that follows is altogether different. At this stage no account had been given of the Paths of the Dead; in the outline at the beginning of this chapter (p. 397) my father had suggested that the story would be told 'at feast of victory in Minas Tirith', and had mentioned that in tunnels under the mountains the company saw the 'skeleton in armour of Bealdor son of Brego', but that except for the dark and a feeling of dread they met no evil.

There is at first both a draft and a more finished version; I give the latter, since it follows the former very closely.

'... No peace shall I have again in Middle-earth!'

'Say not so!' said Gimli. 'There are countless things still to see there, and great work to be done. But if all the Fair Folk, that are also wise, take to the Havens, it will become a duller world for those that are doomed to stay.'

'It is already rather dull,' said Merry, sitting and swinging his legs as he sat on the brink of the wall. 'At least it is for hobbits, cooped up in a stone city, and troubled with wars, while their visitors talk and nod together about their strange journey, and tell no one else about it. I last saw you at the Hornburg, and then I thought you were going to Dunharrow,[17] but up you come on ships out of the South. How did you do it?'

'Yes, do tell us,' said Pippin. 'I tried Aragorn, but he was too full of troubles, and just smiled.'

'It would be a long story fully told,' said Legolas, 'and there are memories of that road that I do not wish to recall. Never again will I venture on the Paths of the Dead, not for any friendship; and but for my promise to Gimli I would vow never to go into the White Mountains again.'

'Well, for my part,' said Gimli, '[wonder was stronger than fear >] the fear is past, and only wonder remains; yet it cannot be denied that it is a dreadful road.'[18]

'What are the Paths of the Dead?' said Pippin. 'I have never heard them named before.'

'It is a path through the Mountains,' began Gimli.

'Yes, I saw the door from a distance,' Merry broke in. 'It is up in Dunharrow, in the mountains behind Théoden's town and hall at Edoras. There is a long row of old stones leading across a high mountain field to a forbidding black mass, the Dwimorberg they call it, and there is a cave and a great opening at the foot of it, which nobody dares to enter. I think the Rohirrim believe that inside there dwell Dead Men, or their shadows, out of a past long before they came to that land.'

'So they told us,' said Legolas, 'and they forbade us to go in; but Aragorn could not be turned from it. He was in a grim mood. And that fair lady that lies now in the Houses below, Éowyn, wept at his going. Indeed at the last in the sight of all she set her arms about him imploring him not to take that road, and when he stood there unmoved, stern as stone, she humbled herself to kneel in the dust. It was a grievous sight.'

'But do not think that he was not moved,' said Gimli. 'Indeed, I think Aragorn himself was so deeply grieved that he went through all perils after like a man that can feel little more. He raised her up and kissed her hand, and then without a word we set out,[19] before the sun came over the black ridges of the mountain. I do not know how to put it into words, but even as we passed the last great standing stone a dread fell on me, of what I could not say, and my blood seemed running cold. I lifted my feet like lead across the threshold of that darkling door; and hardly had we passed within when a blindness of very night came upon us.

'Madness it would seem to try and take horses on such a road, but Aragorn said that we must attempt it, for every hour lost was perilous. We had to dismount and lead them, but I do not think they would have gone far, if it had not been for Legolas. He sang a song that went softly in the darkness, and though they sweated and trembled they did not refuse the road. I am speaking of our horses that the Rohirrim gave us;[20] the horses of the Rangers, it seemed, were so faithful to them that nothing would stay them if their masters were beside them.

'We had brought a few torches, and Elladan [> Aragorn] went ahead bearing one, and Elrohir [> Elladan] with another went at the rear. Bats flew over us, and [> We saw nothing, but] if we halted there seemed an endless whisper of voices all about, that sometimes rose into words, though not of any tongue that I have ever heard. Nothing assailed us, and yet steadily fear grew

on us, as we went on. Most of all because we knew, how I know not but we knew, that we could not turn back: that all the black road behind us was packed with things that followed us but could not be seen.

'So it went on for some hours, and then we came to a sight that I cannot forget. The road, for so it was: no mere cavern-track, had been wide, so far as we could judge, and though it was utterly dark the air was clean. But now we came suddenly into a great empty space through which the way ran on. The dread was so great on me that I could hardly walk. Away to the left something glittered in the gloom as Aragorn's torch went by. ...

It will be seen that when my father transformed this story told by Gimli of the Paths of the Dead and placed it much earlier in the book (while in 'The Last Debate' merely referring to it as having been told to Merry and Pippin by Legolas: 'Swiftly then he told of the haunted road under the mountains,' RK p. 150), he retained Gimli as the one through whose experience the passage of the tunnels is described.

Gimli described the mailclad skeleton clutching at the door in almost the same words as are found in 'The Passing of the Grey Company' (RK pp. 60–1), with the addition that on the helm and the hilts of the sword there were 'north-runes'. But Aragorn here named the dead warrior:

'"Here lies Baldor son of Brego," he said, "first heir of that Golden Hall to which he never returned. He should be lying now under the flowers of Evermind[21] in the Third Mound of the Mark; but now there are nine mounds and seven green with grass, and through all the long years he has lain here at the door he could not open. But whither that door led, and why he wished to pass, none now shall ever know."

At this stage in the evolution of the book Théoden had told at Dunharrow how Baldor son of Brego passed the Dark Door and never returned (p. 315; cf. 'The Muster of Rohan' in RK, p. 70). But with the removal of the story of the Paths of the Dead from the present chapter to 'The Passing of the Grey Company', the discovery of the skeleton of Baldor came to stand *before* Théoden's words about him at Dunharrow; and this I suppose was why my father changed the passage. It was certainly not because he concluded that Aragorn did not know who he was. In the passage in RK it is clear that he did know, though he did not name him; for he knew that he had lain there in the dark 'through all the long years' as the burial mounds of the Kings of the Mark were raised one by one.

There are now nine mounds and seven at Edoras.[22] In the original draft of this passage the text is interrupted at Aragorn's words 'Here lies Bealdor son of Brego' by a very roughly written list of the Kings of the Mark, set down in two columns, thus:

1	Eorl	10	[Bealdor > Folca >] Fréalaf Éowyn's son (sister-son of king)
2	Brego (Bealdor)	11	[Brego >] Háma
3	Aldor	12	Walda
4	Fréa	13	Folca
5	Fréawine	14	Folcwine
6	Goldwine	15	Fengel
7	Déor	16	Thengel
8	Gram	17	Théoden
9	Helm		

The names Folca and Folcwine replaced rejected forms that I cannot make out. It will be seen that these are the names found in Appendix A (II, *The House of Eorl*) to *The Lord of the Rings*, with the sole exception of the eleventh king Háma (in LR the eleventh king was Brytta: this name has already appeared in early texts as the father of Brego, VII. 435, 445, but is here absent). Beneath is written a long series of Old English names, many of them those that appear in the list of kings above, together with others, such as *Beorn*, *Brytta*, *Hæleth*, *Léod*, *Oretta*, *Sigeric*, *Sincwine*, &c. I suppose that it is possible that this series of names was written first, though it stands second, and that the names of the kings in the numbered list were selected from it. At any rate, it looks very much as if it were at this very point that the First Line and the Second Line of the Kings of the Mark, and their names, came into being.[23]

Beside the names of the kings are written dates. My impression (not having studied the actual original page) is that only the dates of Fengel, Thengel, and Théoden belong with the writing of the manuscript page and the list of kings, but that these certainly do so. The dates are:

Fengel	born 1268, died 1353
Thengel	born 1298, died 1373
Théoden	born 1328, died 141[?8]

The last figure in the date of Theoden's death is unfortunately obscure, but is certainly not 9. The dates of these kings in LR are 2870–2953, 2905–2980, and 2948–3019, which in the Shire Reckoning become 1270–1353, 1305–1380, and 1348–1419. It is clear then that at this stage in the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* my father was working with a chronology that is esentially similar to that of LR in respect of Rohan – but the actual numerical years are given according to the Shire Reckoning.[24]

Gimli does not record any words of Aragorn's to the Dead that followed:

'And so we turned away and left the dead untouched, and passed out of the hall that was his tomb, and hurried on, for behind us now fear seemed treading ever closer. And just when we felt that we could endure no more, and must either find an ending and escape, or else turn and run back in madness to meet the following fear, our last torch sputtered out.

'Of the next hour or hours I remember little, save a blind groping dread that pressed behind us, and a rumour that came behind like the shadow of the noise of endless feet, as horrible as the ghosts of men themselves. And we stumbled on till some of us were crawling on the ground like beasts.

'Then suddenly I heard the trickle of water ...

Allowing of course for the difference in mode of narration (e.g. 'Then Legolas turning to speak to me looked back, and I can remember still the glitter in his bright eyes before my face', cf. RK p. 61), the story of the emergence of the Company from the caverns and descent down the Vale of Morthond was little changed afterwards. Legolas takes up the narration at:

'The Dead were following,' said Legolas. 'A great grey host I saw come flowing behind us like a shadowy tide: shapes of men there were, and horses, and grey banners like shreds of cloud, and spears like winter thickets on a misty night. "The Dead are following," I said. "Yes, the Dead ride behind," said Elladan. "Ride on!"'

It seems that Gimli then takes up the tale again with 'And so we came at last out of the ravine as suddenly as if we had issued from a crack in a wall', for he refers to himself as 'Gimli of the Mountain' in his description of the ride to Erech. Elladan's answer to Gimli's question in RK 'Where in Middle-earth are we?' does not appear; it is here Gimli who describes the course of Morthond (with the explanation 'so I was after told'). He says that the river 'flows at last to sea past Barad Amroth[25] where dwells Prince Imrahil'; and he does not refer, as does Elladan in RK, to the significance of the name *Blackroot.* The ride to Erech is described thus:

'Bells I heard ringing in fear far below, and all the people fled before our faces; but we being in haste rode swiftly as though in pursuit, until our horses were stumbling weary, and [*struck out:* I at least,] even Gimli of the Mountain, was spent. And thus just ere the midnight hour – and black it was wellnigh as in the

caverns, for though we did not know it yet the darkness of Mordor was creeping over us – just ere midnight we came to the Hill of Erech.'

On the Darkness out of Mordor coming over the sky as the Company rode to Erech see the Note on Chronology at the end of this chapter. – The text at this point becomes the primary draft, and continues:

'And what is that?' asked Merry.

'You should ask Aragorn,' said Gimli, 'or the brethren: they know, as is fitting, all the lore of Gondor of old. It is a black stone, they say, that old tales tell was brought[26] in ages past from Númenor before its fall, when its ships would come to the west shores of the world. And it was set upon a hill. And thereon the King of the [*struck out:* Dark] Men of the Mountains had sworn [> once swore] allegiance to the West; but afterwards the [?Shadow] Men fell again under the dominion of Sauron. Isildur came to the Stone of Erech, when he gathered strength to resist the power of Mordor, and he summoned the Men of the Mountains to come to his aid, and they would not.

'Then Isildur said to their king of that day: "Thou shalt be the last. Yet if the West prove mightier than thy black Master, this curse I set on thee and thy folk: to rest never till your oath is fulfilled. For this war shall last down many ages, and you shall be summoned once again ere the end." And they fled before the wrath of Isildur, and did not dare to go forth to war on Sauron's part. And they hid themselves in secret places in the mountains and seldom came forth again, but slowly died and dwindled in the barren hills.

This account of Gimli's to Merry and Pippin at Minas Tirith is the forerunner of Aragorn's to Legolas and Gimli at the Hornburg (RK p. 55). I think that it may very well have been at this point that the story of the breaking of their oath to Isildur by the Men of the Mountains first emerged, and that it was now that Aragorn's words at the Hornburg were enlarged to include it.

Gimli continues:

'But afterwards, in the days of Gondor's later power, men set a ring-wall about the Stone of Erech, and built beside it on the hilltop a tall dark tower, and there was guarded the seventh *Palantír*, which now is lost.[27] The tower is ruinous and the ring-wall is broken, and all about the land is empty, for none will dwell near the Hill of Erech, because it is said that at times

the Shadow-men will gather there, thronging about the ruined wall, and whispering. And though their tongue is now long forgotten, it is said that they cry "We are come!" and they wish to fulfill the broken oath and be at rest. But the terror of the Dead lies on that hill and all the land about.

'Thither in the blackness before the storm we came. And at last we halted. And Elladan blew his silver horn, and Elrohir unfurled the banner that at the Hornburg he bore still wrapped in grey [*later* > black];[28] and dark as it was the stars glinted on it, as it was spread on a wind like a breath of ghosts coming down from the mountains. Nothing could we see but the seven stars of Elendil, and yet we were aware of a great host gathered all about us upon the hill, and of the sound of answering horns, as if their echo came up out of deep caverns far away.

'But Aragorn stood by the banner and cried aloud. "The hour is come at last, and the oath shall be fulfilled. I go to Pelargir, and ye shall come behind me. And when all this land is clean, return, and be at peace! For I am Elessar, Isildur's heir of Gondor."

'Then there was a silence, and no whisper or rustle did we hear as the night wore away. We lay within the ruined ring-wall, and some slept; though we felt the terror of the Dead that hedged us round.

At this point a revised version begins, and I follow this, since it adheres very closely to the initial draft (see however notes 33, 34, and 35).

'Then followed the weariest journey that I have ever known, wearier than our hunting of orcs over wide Rohan on our feet; three days and nights and on into another day with little pause or rest.[29] No other mortal men could have endured it and fought at the end of it, save only the Dúnedain, these Rangers of the North. They are as tough as dwarves, I swear it, though none of my kin should believe me. Almost I wished I was an elf and had no need of sleep, or could both sleep and wake at once, as it seems that Legolas can.

'I was never in that land before, and I could not tell you much of our road, even if you wished to hear. But it is, I reckoned, some 60 leagues as birds fly from Erech, over Tarlang's Neck[30] into Lamedon, and so, crossing Kiril and Ringlo, to Linhir beside the waters of Gilrain, where there are fords that lead into

Lebennin. And from Linhir it is a hundred miles, if it is a step, to Pelargir on Anduin.[31]

'The next morning day did not dawn, as you will remember well, but it must have been before the sun rose above the vapours of Mordor that we set out again,[32] and east we rode to meet the gathering gloom; and ever close behind us came the Shadow Host, some riding, some striding, but all moving silently and with the same great speed, and when they overtook our horses, though we pressed them to their utmost, the Shadow Host swept about us wide on either flank, and some went on ahead.

'Terror and wonder ran on wings before us, and all that was left of the folk of Lamedon hid, or fled to the woods and hills.[33] Thus we came at nightfall of the second day from Erech to Linhir. There the men of Lamedon had been contesting the passage of Gilrain with a great strength of the Haradrim, and of their allies the Shipmen of Umbar, who had sailed up Gilrain-mouth and far up the waters of Anduin with a host of ships and were now ravaging Lebennin and the coast of Belfalas. But defenders and invaders alike fled at our approach. And thus we crossed into Lebennin unopposed, and there we rested, and sorely we needed it.

'Next day we made our greatest endeavour, for Aragorn was pressed with a great fear lest all that he did would prove too late. "I counted on two days more at the least," he said; "but those who challenge Sauron will ever fall short of their reckoning. Now already Minas Tirith is beset, and I fear it will fall ere we can come to its aid."

'So we rose ere night had passed, and went as swift as our stouthearted horses could endure over the flat plains of Lebennin; and behind us and about us the host of the Dead flowed like a grey tide.

'Great rumour of dismay went on before us. I do not know who set the tales on the wing, but as we learned after among both friends and foes the tidings ran wild: "Isildur has come back from the dead. The dead are come to war, but they wield living swords. [The Lord of the Ring has arisen!]"[34] And all the enemy who heard these things fled as best they could back to Anduin, for they had many ships there and great strength; and we hunted them out of the land: all that day and through the next night, with few brief halts, we rode. And so we came at the bitter last to the Great River again, and we knew ere we came

that it was near, for there was salt in the air. The mouths of Anduin were indeed still far away south and west of us, but Anduin is even at Pelargir so great and wide that almost it seems a slow-flowing sea, and countless birds are on its shores.

'It was day, I guessed, by the veiled/hidden sun – the fourth since we left Dunharrow – when we reached those shores, and saw the fleets of Umbar. And then we had to fight, at last. But fear was our mightiest weapon. Many of those who learned of our coming had already gone aboard and thrust off and escaped down Anduin to the the Sea. But the enemy, whose main task it was to ravage South Gondor and prevent help going north to the City, had been too wide-scattered for all to escape so. And while they marched abroad their ships were left with small guard. But there were among them captains sent by Mordor, and orc-chieftains, and they were not so easily dismayed, and they endeavoured to hold their men to a defence. And indeed the Haradrim are a grim folk, and not easily daunted by shade or blade. But their resistance did not last long. For now seeing that we were indeed come to aid them, many of the more stouthearted men of the land gathered to Aragorn. And on the ships the slaves rebelled. For the Corsairs of Umbar had in their ships many new-captured prisoners, and the oarsmen were all slaves, many taken in Gondor in petty raids, or unhappy descendants of slaves made in years gone by. Before the fifth day was over we had taken well nigh all the fleet, save some ships that their masters set ablaze; and all the enemy that were not slain or drowned were gone flying over the [?borders] into the desert that lies north of Harad.[35]

Here the revised version stops, at the foot of a page, and my father struck out the whole page (which begins at 'So we rose ere night had passed', p. 412) and wrote a pencilled note:

> No fight, but Shadows [?flow into] the ships and all men leap overboard except the chained captives. But Rangers went to each ship and comforted the captives.

He then rewrote the page – and this was obviously done immediately – beginning at the same words.

'So we rose ere night had passed, and went as swift as our stouthearted horses could endure over the green plains of Lebennin darkling under the shade of Mordor; and all about us the Host of the Dead flowed on like a grey tide. Still the rumour

of our coming went before us and all men were dismayed, and none neither foe nor friend would wait for our approach. For the darkness weighed on the allies of Mordor, not being orcs or folk bred in the Black Land, and those that could fled back to Anduin, where they had gathered many ships. Thus we hunted them from Gondor all that day and on through the next night, halting seldom and sleeping not at all, until we came at the bitter end to the Great River.'

'I knew it,' said Legolas, 'long ere we reached it, for there was salt in the air. And my heart was troubled for I thought that I drew near the Sea, but indeed the Mouths of Anduin were far away to the south. ... '

This is only the second time that Legolas has spoken since Gimli's story of the journey began. He speaks now of the great breadth of Anduin as Gimli had done (p. 413);[36] and (following the note at the end of the previous version of this section of the story) he goes on:

'... But fear was the only weapon that we needed, for the grey host passed on to every ship whether drawn up or anchored in the tide, and all the men that were in them fled, or leaped overboard, save the slaves of the oars that were chained, or captives under hold.'

Legolas describes how to each of the greater ships one of the Rangers went to comfort the captives, bidding them put aside fear and be free (RK p. 152).

'And when all the fleet was in our hands Aragorn went up on that ship which he took for his own and let sound many trumpets, and the Shadow Host withdrew to the shores, and stood in great array there silently, and there was a red light in the gloom, for some of the enemy had fired their ships ere they abandoned them.'

Aragorn's words to the Dead ('Now I will hold your oath all fulfilled') are close to those in RK (p. 153).[37] It is 'a tall figure of shadow', not as in RK said to be the King of the Dead, that steps forth and breaks his spear. The remainder of the story is very much as in RK, though here told by Legolas: the rest of the Company that night 'while others laboured', the release of the captives from the ships, the coming of the men of Lebennin (but Angbor of Lamedon is not named), the slow passage by oar up Anduin (but it was 'the fifth morning, that is the day before yesterday' that the fleet set out from Pelargir: see the Note on Chronology at the end of this chapter), Aragorn's fear that they would be too late ('for it is forty leagues and

two by river from Pelargir to the landings under the Pelennor wall'), and the red glow to the north from the burning of Minas Tirith. Legolas' discourse ends, as does Gimli's in RK, with 'It was a great hour, and a great day, whatever may come after', to which Gimli replies: 'Yes, whatever come after. Yet for all our victory the faces of Gandalf and Aragorn look grave. I wonder what counsel they are taking in the tents below. For my part I wish it were all well over. Yet, whatever is still to do, I hope I may have part in it, for the honour of the folk of the Lonely Mountain.' To this was added later: '"And I for the folk of the Wood," said Legolas.' Then follows:

His [> Their] wish was granted. Two days later the army of the West that was to march forth was all assembled on the Pelennor. The host of orcs and easterlings had turned back out of Anórien and harried and scattered by the Rohirrim had fled with little fight towards Cair Andros ...

This is the beginning of 'The Black Gate Opens' in RK, but with a major difference from the subsequent story: for here Pippin as well as Merry was left behind.

... To their bitter grief the hobbits were not in that riding.

'Merry is not fit for such a journey yet,' said Aragorn, 'even if he could ride a swift steed. And you Peregrin will lighten his grief if you stay with him. So far you have kept even with one another as well as your fortunes allowed – and indeed if you did no more to the end of your days you have earned honour, and justified the wisdom of Elrond.[38] And indeed we are all in like peril. For though it may be our part to find a bitter end before the gate of Mordor, if we do so, then you will have your chance or necessity also of a last stand either here or wherever the black tide overtakes you. Farewell!'

And so despondently Merry and Pippin stood before the ruined gates of Minas Tirith with young Bergil and saw the great army mustered. Bergil was downcast and grieved at heart, for his father was commanded to march and lead a company of the men of Imrahil. For he having broken his oaths could no longer remain in the guard of the Citadel, until his case was judged.[39]

The trumpets rang and the host began to move. [First rode Aragorn and Gandalf and the sons of Elrond with the banner and the knights of Dol Amroth. Then came Éomer with the [?chosen] Riders, and afterwards came those of his men that were on foot, and men of Lebennin, and last the great com-

panies of Minas Tirith led by Imrahil.][40] And long after it had passed away out of sight down the great road to the Causeway the three stood there, until the last glint of the morning sun on spear and helm twinkled and was lost.

At this point my father decided that Pippin did in fact go with the host to the Black Gate, and he began anew at the words 'His [> Their] wish was granted' following the end of 'The Tale of Gimli and Legolas', continuing as before with 'Two days later the army of the West that was to march forth was all assembled on the Pelennor.' The text then continued both in initial draft and in a fair copy to the end of the story afterwards called 'The Black Gate Opens', with continuous pagination all the way through from the meeting of Gimli and Legolas with Imrahil before they went to the Houses of Healing. It is thus clear that the whole of the last part of Book V was in a completed (though not final) and coherent form before any structural reorganisation of the narrative took place. The structure was:

Gimli and Legolas meet Imrahil and go to the Houses of Healing.
The Last Debate.
The Tale of Gimli and Legolas in the garden of the Houses of Healing.
The journey to the Morannon and the Parley.

The next stage was the decision to reorganise the narrative so that 'Gimli's Tale' should stand independently – and therefore precede the Debate. To this end my father wrote a tentative conclusion for 'The Tale of Gimli and Legolas':

And so ended the tale of Legolas and Gimli concerning the ride of Aragorn by the Paths of the Dead, which long was recalled and sung in Gondor in after days, and it was said that never again were the Shadow-men seen by mortal men on mountain or in vale, [and the road from Dunharrow was free to all who were willing to take that way. Yet few did so, for the memory of fear abode there still; and none ever dared to open Baldor's door. *Struck out immediately:* A tomb they made for him in that dark place and so built it that none could come at that door.]

The passage that I have bracketed was replaced, probably at once, by the following:

but the stone of Erech stood ever alone, and on that hill no bird would alight nor beast feed; and the memory of fear still abode in the dark ways from Dunharrow, and few were willing to take that road; and none ever dared to open Baldor's door.

Concomitantly with this the words 'Their wish was granted' (following the end of 'The Tale of Gimli and Legolas' and beginning the story of the march from Minas Tirith) were circled, with a direction to omit them if this 'end-piece' to the 'Tale' were added to it; and a note was scribbled on the manuscript beside the opening of the debate (p. 403): 'It might be better to take out the debate (shorten it) and put it at the beginning of the Parley chapter.' Thus the decision was taken to divide the chapter as it stood (entitled 'The Parley at the Black Gate', p. 399) into two: the first to be called 'The Paths of the Dead' and consisting solely of the tale told to Merry and Pippin in the garden of the Houses of Healing, the second to be called 'Parley at the Gate' and beginning with the debate in Aragorn's tent.

Relatively little adjustment of the existing material was needed to achieve this. From the point in the narrative where Gimli and Legolas found Merry and Pippin ('and the meeting of those friends was a merry one') my father simply dropped the transition to the debate (see p. 403) and continued with the conversation in the garden of the Houses of Healing (see p. 405 and RK p. 149): 'For a while they walked and talked, rejoicing for a brief space in peace and rest under the fair morning high up in the windy circles of the City.' The conversation leading into the 'Tale' was somewhat changed. In contrast to the earlier version Merry is no longer represented as being ignorant (as he could not have been) of Aragorn's passage under the mountains (see p. 405 and note 17). After Pippin's words 'Come, Legolas! You and Gimli have mentioned your strange journey with Trotter about a dozen times already this morning. But you haven't mentioned anything about it' this dialogue follows:

'I know some of the story and I guess some more,' said Merry. 'For I hear that you came in ships from the South. So I know that somehow you must have got through, though in Dunharrow all the people were afraid, and Éowyn I thought had been weeping. Come now! The sun is shining and we can bear it. Tell us about the Paths of the Dead!'

'The sun may shine,' said Gimli, 'still there are memories of that road that I do not wish to recall. Had I known what was before me I think that not for any friendship would I have taken those paths.'

'For my part,' said Legolas, 'I do not fear the Dead; but I hate the darkness under earth far from hope of the sky. It was a dreadful journey!'

'The Dead?' said Pippin. 'The Paths of the Dead? I have never heard of them before. Won't you tell us some more?'

'It is the name of a road that goes through the mountains,'

said Merry. 'I saw the Gate, as they call it, from a distance when I was in Dunharrow ...'

Merry then continues as he does in the earlier version, and is followed by Legolas and Gimli describing the departure and Éowyn's distress (cf. p. 406 and note 19):

'... I think the men of the Mark believe that inside there dwell the shadows of Dead Men, out of a past long before they came to that land.'

'So they told us,' said Legolas. 'And that lady who lies now below in the Houses, Éowyn, she begged Aragorn not to go in; but he could not be turned from it. He was in haste, and in a stern mood.'

'And at the last when she saw that he would go,' said Gimli, 'then she begged to come with us! Indeed she knelt before him. Yet she is a proud lady. I wondered much what it all might mean, and I was grieved; for she was young and much troubled. But he raised her up and kissed her hand and without more words we departed. Yet I saw that he, too, was greatly grieved.'

The earlier version was for the rest of its length very largely repeated: that is to say, the original pages were retained with their pagination altered and some passages rewritten. Legolas now plays a larger part in the narration, describing the ride to Erech (see pp. 409–10), at which point Gimli re-enters: '"Yes, indeed, and never shall I forget!" said Gimli, taking up the tale again. "For the terror of the Dead lay on the hill and all the land about it"'; he continues much as in RK pp. 62–3, but he does not say that Isildur set up the Stone of Erech at his landing ('It looked as if it had fallen from the sky, but it was brought out of the West, we were told'), and he still repeats the story (p. 411) that when the Shadow-men gathered about the Stone 'sometimes a cry would be heard in our speech:[41] "We have come!"' The tower and ring-wall on the Hill of Erech, and the *palantír*, have now disappeared.

For the second of the new chapters my father wrote a new opening, beginning (cf. p. 403) 'In the meanwhile Imrahil sent for Éomer and went down with him, and they came to the tents of Aragorn...' To this he added the existing pages of the manuscript recounting the course of the debate, which ended at 'And he drew forth Branding and held it up glittering in the sun' (p. 405), and then the manuscript of the story of the journey to the Morannon and the Parley. On the new opening he pencilled the title 'Parley at the Gate' and the chapter number 'LI', so that 'The Paths of the Dead' was 'L' (see note 10). The structure was now (see p. 416):

The Paths of the Dead Gimli and Legolas go to the Houses of Healing, and Merry and Pippin hear the tale of the journey of the Grey Company from Dunharrow to the Battle of the Pelennor Fields.

Parley at the Gate 'The Last Debate', ending with Aragorn's drawing the sword of Elendil; the journey to the Morannon, and the parley with the Lieutenant of Barad-dûr.

It was probably now that my father made a typescript of the two chapters, the text diverging very little from the manuscript material as now reorganised;[42] but he treated them as subdivisions of a single chapter, without an overall title, and with the puzzling number 'XLIX' (see note 10): (i) 'The Paths of the Dead' and (ii) 'Parley at the Black Gate'.

The subsequent history of the chapter is textually exceedingly complicated, but I shall treat it briefly. The first typescript was very heavily revised, and two large sections of it were written out anew in a separate manuscript. The effect of all this was to bring the narrative closer in very many points to the texts in RK, and indeed much of the earlier part now required little more than grammatical alteration to bring Gimli's story to the direct author's narrative in 'The Passing of the Grey Company.'[43]

In the ride from Erech over Tarlang's Neck into Lamedon the deserted town of Calembel upon Ciril (so spelt, with C) appears,[44] and the blood-red sunset behind Pinnath Gelin (RK p. 63): the final chronology had now entered (see the Note at the end of this chapter). Angbor of Lamedon is now named, but the new text differs here from that of RK (p. 151):

'Then Aragorn said to Angbor their captain who alone stayed to meet him: "Behold! I am not the King of the Dead, but the Heir of Isildur, and I live yet for a while. Follow me, if you wish to see the end of this darkness and the downfall of Mordor."

'And Angbor answered: "I will gather all men that I may, and follow after you swiftly." His was a stout heart indeed, and I grieve that he fell beside me, as we clove our way from the Harlond.

In RK (p. 153) Angbor of Lamedon came to Pelargir but did not go up Anduin in the black fleet; he is last referred to by Aragorn in the debate in his tent (p. 157) as marching at the head of four thousand men from Pelargir through Lossarnach and expected soon to arrive at Minas Tirith.

To Legolas' words about the Sea (p. 414) he now adds his second reference to the gulls (RK p. 151): 'Alas! for the wailing of the gulls. Did not the Lady tell me to beware of them? For they cannot be

forgotten.' He is thinking of Galadriel's message to him, spoken by Gandalf in Fangorn (TT p. 106):

Legolas Greenleaf long under tree
In joy thou hast lived. Beware of the Sea!
If thou hearest the cry of the gull on the shore,
Thy heart shall then rest in the forest no more.

For Galadriel's original message to Legolas, and its application, see p. 22.

There is an interesting passage immediately following in this revised version. In the version given on p. 413 there was fighting on the shores, for 'there were captains sent by Mordor, and orc-chieftains, and they were not so easily dismayed, and they endeavoured to hold their men to a defence. And indeed the Haradrim are a grim folk, and not easily daunted by shade or blade.' This was rejected, following a note that there was in fact no fighting at Pelargir: '*But fear was the only weapon that we needed*, for the grey host passed on to every ship ... and all the men that were in them fled, or leaped overboard' (p. 414). My father now went back on this decision.

'I soon forgot them [the gulls] for my part,' said Gimli. 'For at last we came to a battle. The Haradrim were driven now to despair, and could fly no longer. There at Pelargir lay the fleets of Umbar, fifty great ships and many smaller vessels beyond count. Some few of our enemies reached their ships and put off, seeking either to escape down the River or to reach the far shores; and some they set fire to. But we came too swiftly upon them for many to slip from us so. We were joined by some of the hardier folk of Lebennin and the Ethir, but we were not many when the corsairs turned to bay; and seeing our weakness their hearts revived and they assailed us in their turn. There was stern work there in the twilight by the grey waters, for the Shadow Host halted and wavered, unwilling at the last, as it seemed, to make war on Sauron. Then Aragorn let blow a horn and cried aloud, saying that if they broke their oath a second time

Here my father stopped and rewrote the passage to a form not essentially different from that in RK, where the Shadow Host is still said to have 'hung back at the last', but with no explicit suggestion that they were reluctant to fulfil the oath, and where for the living there was no need for 'stern work in the twilight by the grey waters'.

At this time my father also wrote an experimental version 'with entrance to the Door told at end of Chapter II of Book V' – that is, at the end of 'Many Roads Lead Eastward'. This begins: 'But Aragorn and his company rode across the high mountain-field upon which was set the refuge of the Rohirrim; and the paths were laid between rows

of standing stones hoar with age uncounted. The light was still grey, for the sun had not yet climbed over the black ridges of the Haunted Mountain ...' It must be presumed that the story of the coming of the Grey Company to Dunharrow, and Aragorn's parting from Eowyn, had now been added to 'Many Roads Lead Eastward' (see note 19). The text ends thus: '... a groping blindness overcame him, even Gimli Glóin's son the Dwarf, who had walked in many deep places under earth. So the Grey Company dared the forbidden door, and vanished from the land of living men.'

Although this shows that my father was pondering the possibility of removing some part of the story told in the Houses of Healing and rewriting it as direct narrative in its chronological place, the following typescript is a text of the whole 'Tale of Gimli and Legolas' incorporating all revision to that time, and ending with the words 'and none ever dared to move Baldor's bones' (cf. p. 416).

There followed a rough manuscript in which the first part of the 'Tale' was written out as direct narrative, to stand in its chronological place in the earlier chapter, thus greatly shortening the material of the end of Book V. A further typescript has the structure of 'The Last Debate' in RK, with the story of the passage of the Paths of the Dead removed and only mentioned as having been told, though here it was still Gimli who told it:

'Alas! I had heart only for myself,' said Gimli, 'and I do not wish to recall that journey.' He fell silent; but Pippin and Merry were so eager for news that at last he yielded and told them in halting words of the dreadful passage of the mountains that led to the black Stone of Erech. But when he came to the Day without Dawn he ceased. 'I am weary recalling that weariness, and the horror of the Dark,' he said.

'Then I will say on,' said Legolas.[45]

The structure of the narrative in RK had been at last achieved, with the debate in the tent of Aragorn following in the same chapter the end of the story told to Merry and Pippin in the Houses of Healing.[46] I see no way to determine at what stage all this later work was done.

NOTES

1 On Haramon see p. 359 and note 3. The reading 'the Hills of Haramon' (plural) in the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Forannest' is certain, in contrast to the 'great hill' referred to in the present text.

2 For Bealdor (Baldor) son of Brego see pp. 315–16, and on the spelling of the name p. 321 note 11.

3 A pencilled note in the margin reads: '25 miles. Dunharrow > Erech 55.' Presumably '25 miles' refers to the distance from the issue of the Paths of the Dead to the Stone of Erech. On the distance from Dunharrow to Erech see pp. 296–7 note 2.

4 By '(say Linhir?)' I suppose that my father meant that since the road to Pelargir crossed the Lameduin (later Gilrain) at Linhir, 'Linhir' would do as well as 'Fords of Lameduin'. Linhir appears also in 'The Story Foreseen from Forannest' (p. 361); it is marked on the Second Map (see p. 437) at some distance above the head of the estuary of Lameduin, the direct distance from here to Erech on this map being 36 mm. or 180 miles.

5 From Linhir to Pelargir direct is 2 cm. or 100 miles on the Second Map.

6 The rejected portion of the outline has here: 'The Haradwaith try to fly. Some take ship back again down Anduin. But Aragorn overtakes them and captures most of the ships. Some are set fire to, but several manned by slaves and captives are captured.' (Then follows the passage about the Gondorian captives.) 'Aragorn embarks with men of South Gondor; the Shadow Host disperses, pursuing the Haradwaith about the vales.'

7 Cf. 'The Battle of the Pelennor Fields', p. 370: 'south away the river went in a knee about the out-thrust of the hills of Emyn Arnen in lower Ithilien, and Anduin bent then in upon the Pelennor so that its outwall was there built upon the brink, and that at the nearest was no more than [five >] four miles from the Gates.' In 'The Story Foreseen from Forannest' (p. 363 note 3) the Pelennor Wall is at this point ten miles away from the City.

8 On the Second Map it is 125 miles (the figure given in the text) up river from Pelargir to the angle of the 'knee' in Anduin (see note 7), and thus the straight stretch of ten miles 'just before that point', visible from Minas Tirith, is the 'leg' below the 'knee'. In the further continuation of the passage from 'The Battle of the Pelennor Fields' cited in note 7 (see p. 370) the length of 'the reach of Arnen' is given as 'three leagues'; but on the Second Map, on which both these passages were based, it is substantially longer. In RK (p. 122) 'Anduin, from the bend at the Harlond, so flowed that from the City men could look down it lengthwise for some leagues.'

9 Cf. 'The Story Foreseen from Forannest' (p. 359): 'Then as final despair comes on, and Rohirrim give back, [west >] south wind rolls back cloud, and noon-sun gleams through. Aragorn unfurls his great standard from ship-top. The crown and stars of Sun and Moon shine out.'

10 The opening page of the manuscript bears the chapter-numbers 'XLI', 'L', 'L(b)', and 'XLIX', all of which were struck out except the last. 'XLI' is an obvious slip (for 'LI'?), since the chapter could

not possibly bear this number; but it is hard to see how it could be 'XLIX' either (see p. 386 and note 7).

11 This draft for the debate follows immediately on an abandoned sentence of 'The Houses of Healing', thus:

> Gandalf and Pippin then came to Merry's room and there saw Aragorn stand
>
> 'My lords,' said Gandalf. ...

The text that follows is written in ink over pencilled drafting for 'The Houses of Healing'.

12 This sentence is bracketed in the original, as also is that a little further on ('a tyrant brooking no freedom ...').

13 *Imladrist:* cf. p. 139 note 14 and p. 165 note 5.

14 My father struck out 'Gandalf' immediately. He then wrote 'Warden of the Keys' but put dots for the name, writing in 'Húrin' before he had gone much further. It would seem therefore that this was where the name arose, but since 'Húrin' appears in the first manuscript of 'The Battle of the Pelennor Fields' (p. 369) it seems clear that my father had merely forgotten momentarily here what name he had chosen for him.

15 Gandalf cannot have said this. Either *not* must be removed or *cannot* > *can*.

16 In a draft for this passage Imrahil called Dol Amroth *Castle Amroth*; this was repeated in a following draft, where it was changed to *Barad Amroth* (and finally *Barad* > *Dol*).

17 Merry of course knew that Aragorn did go to Dunharrow (cf. RK pp. 69–70; the final text of 'The Muster of Rohan' was now largely in being, p. 319). See p. 417.

18 This passage contrasts greatly with RK, where it is Gimli who will not speak of the Paths of the Dead, and Legolas who says 'I felt not the horror, and I feared not the shadows of Men, powerless and frail as I deemed them.' See p. 417.

19 I think that the parting of Aragorn and Éowyn would not have been recounted so fully by Legolas and Gimli here if the story of the coming of the Grey Company to Dunharrow already existed in the earlier chapter (RK pp. 56–9); see p. 308.

20 *our horses that the Rohirrim gave us:* 'horses', because Aragorn's horse was still Hasufel (pp. 301, 305–6); when Roheryn, his own horse brought from the North by the Rangers, was introduced, it was only Arod, the horse bearing Legolas and Gimli, that was of Rohan, and he alone is mentioned in the equivalent passage in RK ('The Passing of the Grey Company', p. 60).

21 In the early drafts for 'The King of the Golden Hall' the mounds of the kings at Edoras were first described as 'white with nodding flowers like tiny snowdrops', the flowers being subsequently *nifredil* (VII.442–3). In RK ('The Passing of the Grey Company', p. 61) Aragorn calls the flowers *simbelmynë*, but cf. 'The King of

the Golden Hall' (TT p. 111), where Gandalf says: 'Evermind they are called, *simbelmynë* in this land of Men, for they blossom in all the seasons of the year, and grow where dead men rest.'

22 In the first manuscript of 'The King of the Golden Hall' Legolas said of the barrows at Edoras: 'Seven mounds I see, and seven long lives of men it is, since the golden hall was built' (see VII.442 and 449 note 4). This was changed on that manuscript to the reading of TT (p.111): '"Seven mounds upon the left, and nine upon the right," said Aragorn. "Many long lives of men it is since the golden hall was built."'

23 If this is so, it was of course at this time that the first manuscript of 'The King of the Golden Hall' was emended to say that there were 'seven mounds upon the left, and nine upon the right' (see note 22).

24 The dates of the kings before the last three were so much changed and confused by overwriting that I can form no clear idea of what my father intended: it is at least plain, however, that they correspond in their pattern to those in LR – as adjusted for the Shire Reckoning.

25 *Barad Amroth*: see note 16. Later *Barad* was changed to *Dol*.

26 As first written, but immediately rejected, the text continued from this point: '... was brought from Númenor, and marks still the place where Isildur met the last king of the Dark Men of the Mountains, when he established the bounds of Gondor. And there he swore an oath, for Isildur and Elendil and his sons [*sic*] had the gift of tongues as many of the Númenóreans, and the tongues of men ..... [?of the wild] were known to him, for'

27 The ring-wall and tower on the Hill of Erech, in which was kept the *palantír*, are referred to in the outline given on p. 397; it is told there that Aragorn actually found the *palantír* of Erech, in a vault of the tower.

28 It is strange that it should be Elrohir who unfurled the banner (and bore it at the Hornburg), for from the first mention of the banner (p. 302) it was as in RK Halbarad the Ranger who bore it (and it was covered in a black cloth). — In RK (p. 63) no device could be seen on it in the darkness.

29 On this and subsequent references to the days of the journey see the Note on Chronology at the end of these Notes.

30 Tarlang's Neck is seen on the Second Map, though it is not named. For the geography of these regions see pp. 433 ff.

31 Sixty leagues in direct line from Erech to Linhir, and a hundred miles from Linhir to Pelargir, agrees with RK (p. 150): 'ninety leagues and three' from Erech to Pelargir.

32 *we set out again:* i.e. from Erech. — It is approximately here that the part of Gimli's story that was transferred to 'The Passing of the Grey Company' ends, and the part that remained actually

reported in 'The Last Debate' begins; there is some overlap in RK (pp. 63, 151).

33 At this point there follows in the initial draft:

> '... But when we came over Tarlang's Neck Elladan and two Rangers rode ahead and spoke to any that they could find willing to stay and listen to them, and told them that a great help was coming to them against the Shipfoes and the Southrons, and that it was not the King of the Dead but the heir of the Kings of Gondor that had returned. A few listened and believed, and at the crossings of Kiril we found food and fodder set for our need though no man had dared to stay beside it, nor any fresh horses for which we hoped.

34 The square brackets are in the original. The initial draft text has here:

> '"... but they wield living swords." And some cried [*struck out:* though they knew not what it meant]: "The Lord of the Rings has arisen".'

In the margin of this page in the draft text my father subsequently wrote the following remarkable passage:

> 'Indeed all the folk of Lebennin call Aragorn that.'
>
> 'I wonder why?' said Merry. 'I suppose it is some device to draw the eyes of Mordor that way, to Aragorn, and keep them from Frodo'; and he looked east and shuddered. 'Do you think all his great labour and deeds will be in vain and too late in the end?' he said.
>
> 'I know not,' said Gimli. 'But one thing I know, and that is, not for any device of policy would Aragorn set abroad a false tale. Then either it is true and he has a ring, or it is a false tale invented by someone else. But Elrohir and Elladan have called him by that name. So it must be true. But what it means we do not know.'

There is nothing on this page of the draft, or indeed anywhere in the manuscript, that this can refer to but the cry 'The Lord of the Rings has arisen'. I have found only one scrap of writing that seems to bear on this. Under the text in ink of a piece of rough drafting (that referred to in note 39) for the beginning of the story of the march from Minas Tirith are a few furiously pencilled lines, parts of which can be read:

> Galadriel must give her ring to Aragorn (..... to wed Finduilas?). Hence his sudden access of power ..... [?that won't work. It will leave] Lórien defenceless also Lord of the Ring will be too ...

This raises many more questions than it answers; but it cannot be unconnected with the strange suggestion that in Lebennin Aragorn was called 'The Lord of the Ring(s)'. I do not know whether it is significant that in the first draft the *s* of *Rings* was not written

consecutively with *Ring*, but was added to the word – maybe immediately. This however only raises the question why, if Aragorn was called 'The Lord of the Ring' because it was thought that he possessed a Ring, did my father change it to 'The Lord of the Rings'? The only and rather desperate suggestion I can make is that he wished to mark the confusion of mind on the part of the people who uttered this cry (cf. 'though they knew not what it meant' in the draft text).

35 The initial draft has here: 'and all of the enemies that were not slain or drowned were flying away over the Poros into Lothland desert.' This name is not perfectly clear, but I take it as certain in view of the occurrence of Lothlann on the First Map (VII.309, 313); the form *Lothland* is found in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.264, 283). On the Second Map (p. 435) the region south of Mordor is named, but in pencil now so faint that it is hard to be sure of the name: the likeliest interpretation is 'Desert of Lostladen' (cf. the *Etymologies*, V.370, stem LUS).

36 Legolas says in this second version that the day they came to Pelargir was 'the fifth of our journey', whereas in the previous version (p. 413) 'it was the fourth since we left Dunharrow'; but I think that both expressions mean the same (see the Note on Chronology below).

37 The original primary draft reaches this point:

> 'And when all was won Aragorn let sound a host of trumpets from the ship that he took for himself, and behold the Shadow host drew near to the shore, and all others fled away. But Aragorn set a line of torches along the shore and these they would not pass, and he spoke to the Dead Men: "Now I will count the oath fulfilled," he said, "when every stranger of Harad or of Umbar is hunted out of this land west of Anduin. When that is done go back and trouble never the valleys again – but go and be at rest."

With this cf. the rejected portion of the outline given at the beginning of this chapter (note 6 above): 'The Shadow Host disperses, *pursuing the Haradwaith about the vales.*'

38 *and justified the wisdom of Elrond:* see p. 387.

39 In a rough draft for this passage Aragorn speaks to Berithil: 'It is not yet my part to judge you, Master Berithil. If I return I will do so with justice. But for this present you shall leave the guard in the Citadel and go out to war.'

40 The square brackets are in the original.

41 *in our speech* was corrected to *in the old speech of Númenor*, then changed back to *in our speech*.

42 Legolas now plays no part in the narration until Pelargir is reached.

43 The story in this version is expressly to be Gimli's: at the

beginning, in response to Pippin's 'Won't you tell us some more?' he says: 'Well, if you must hear the tale, I will tell it briefly.' As in the unrevised typescript (note 42) Legolas says nothing until he breaks in on Gimli at his mention of the Great River ('I knew it long ere we reached it', p. 414); but by an alteration to this revised version he breaks silence at Gimli's words '[we] went as swiftly as our stouthearted horses could endure over the plains of Lebennin':

> 'Lebennin!' cried Legolas. All the while he had kept silence, gazing away southward, while Gimli spoke; but now he began to sing: *Silver flow the streams from Celos to Erui* ...

The text of his song is at once in the final form. In RK it is Legolas who tells the whole story up to this point, and Gimli who here takes it up.

44 The place where Kiril was crossed was named on the Second Map *Caerost on Kiril* (p. 437).

45 On the back of the last page of this typescript is the following remarkable passage, on which I can cast no light. It is written in a fine ornate script, together with other odds and ends of phrases in the same script, characteristic of my father's habit of 'doodling' in this way (cf. VII.379):

> Then spoke Elessar: Many Guthrond would hold that your insolence merited rather punishment than answer from your king; but since you have in open malice uttered lies in the hearing of many, I will first lay bare their falsehood, so that all here may know you for what you are, and have ever been. Afterwards maybe a chance shall be given you to repent and turn from your old evil.

46 The title that my father first chose for the chapter when the final structure had been reached was 'Tidings and Counsel': the 'tidings' of Gimli and Legolas, and the 'counsel' of Gandalf at the debate of the lords.

Note on the Chronology

In the outline 'The march of Aragorn and the defeat of the Haradrim' (pp. 397–9) the dates of Aragorn's journey are as follows:

March

8	(morning)	Enters the Paths of the Dead
	(midnight)	Comes to Erech
9	(early morning)	Leaves Erech under the Darkness from Mordor
10	(evening)	Reaches Linhir
11	(morning)	Crosses River Lameduin into Lebennin
12	(early morning)	Reaches Pelargir

13	(early morning)	Sets out up river from Pelargir
14	(early morning)	100 miles up river
15	(early morning)	Wind rises and sails hoisted on the ships; c. 9 a.m. fleet is seen from Minas Tirith

The latter part of this chronology seems obviously unsatisfactory, in that the fleet is 100 miles up Anduin in the early morning of March 14, and yet nothing is said of any further journeying on the 14th: the last stretch is accomplished under sail on the morning of the 15th. Against this date (p. 399) my father wrote '14'; and in the companion outline 'The Story Foreseen from Forannest' (p. 360) the charge of the Rohirrim on the 15th was likewise changed to the 14th – which was the date in 'The Siege of Gondor', p. 342.

With the date of Aragorn's entering the Paths of the Dead cf. pp. 309 and 311, notes 9 and 18 (February 6 = March 8). The Dawnless Day is still March 9 (cf. p. 342).

In the manuscript of 'The Tale of Gimli and Legolas' this chronology is preserved – with March 14 as the date of the Battle of the Pelennor Fields. Thus Gimli tells that the Company came to Erech 'just ere the midnight hour – and black it was wellnigh as in the caverns, for though we did not know it yet the darkness of Mordor was creeping over us' (p. 410), and again (p. 412): 'The next morning day did not dawn' (in the margin of the manuscript the figure 9 is written here). 'At nightfall of the second day from Erech' they came to Linhir (and here 10 is written in the margin). They 'rose ere night had passed' (i.e. before dawn on March 11) and rode across Lebennin, 'all that day and through the next night'; and Gimli says that 'it was day, I guessed, by the hidden sun – the fourth since we left Dunharrow' (p. 413) when they reached the shores of Anduin at Pelargir, i.e. the morning of March 12. 'Before the fifth day was over we had taken well nigh all the fleet', which as will be seen in a moment means 'the fifth day of the journey', i.e. March 12.

The first version of the events at Pelargir ends here; in the second version Legolas says (note 36) that the day they reached Pelargir was 'the fifth of our journey' (March 12), that they rested that night 'while others laboured' – but also that the fleet set out up Anduin 'on the fifth morning, that is the day before yesterday' (March 13). This shows clearly that Legolas was distinguishing between 'the fifth day of our journey' (March 12) and 'the fifth morning since we left Dunharrow' (March 13) – so also in RK (p. 153) 'the sixth [morning] since we rode from Dunharrow' is the seventh day of the whole journey. Since it was now the day after the Battle of the Pelennor Fields, and the fleet left Pelargir on 'the day before yesterday', the battle took place on March 14.

The difference of this chronology from that of LR is therefore thus:

The journey of Aragorn

Day	*March*	*The present chronology*	*Chronology of LR*
1	8	Reaches Erech at midnight	The same
2	9	The Dawnless Day	
3	10	Reaches Linhir	The Dawnless Day
4	11		Reaches Linhir
5	12	Reaches Pelargir	
6	13	Sets out from Pelargir	Reaches Pelargir
7	14	Battle of the Pelennor Fields	Sets out from Pelargir
8	15		Battle of the Pelennor Fields

In the chronology of the manuscript text Aragorn's journey from Dunharrow to Pelargir took four days and nights, reaching the Anduin on the fifth day, and setting out up river on the morning of the sixth day. In LR Aragorn took three days, not two, from Erech to Linhir, and so five days and nights to Pelargir. Thus in the manuscript (p. 411) Gimli says that from Erech 'then followed the weariest journey that I have ever known ... three days and nights and on into another day', whereas when in RK (p. 150) Legolas speaks of the great ride from Erech to Pelargir he says: 'Four days and nights, and on into a fifth, we rode from the Black Stone'.

Lastly, whereas in the manuscript text the Darkness out of Mordor came over the sky during the night of March 8, and 'the next morning day did not dawn', in RK (p. 151) 'one day of light we rode, and then came the day without dawn' (and in the earlier passage at the end of 'The Passing of the Grey Company', RK p. 63, in the evening of the day on which they left Erech at dawn 'the sun went down like blood behind Pinnath Gelin away in the West behind them', and 'the next day there came no dawn').

XIII
THE BLACK GATE OPENS

As I have explained in the last chapter (p. 416), the story of the journey to the Morannon, the parley with the Lieutenant of Barad-dûr, and the attack on the Host of the West in the slag-hills before the Gate, was written before my father made any move to break up and reorganize the presentation of the narrative in the single very long chapter, which would ultimately be distributed between 'The Passing of the Grey Company', 'The Last Debate', and 'The Black Gate Opens'.

For the conclusion of Book V he had in fact already written some time before a very full outline ('The Story Foreseen from Forannest', pp. 360–2), and this, when he came to write the narrative, he followed remarkably closely. Already present in the outline were the coming of the vanguard to Minas Morghul and the burning of the lands about, the silence that followed the summons to Sauron to come forth, the embassy from the Dark Tower already prepared, the display of Frodo's mithril coat, the blackmailing terms for the surrender of Frodo, Gandalf's refusal to treat and taking of the mithril coat, and the hosts lying ready in ambush. The chief differences from the final story were the coming of the Ents (with Elves of Lórien) to the Morannon (with an express declaration by the ambassador of Sauron that the Ents shall help to rebuild Isengard), uncertainty whether Merry and Pippin were present, and the person of the ambassador: doubtfully identified as the Wizard King (implying a different view of the outcome of his encounter with Éowyn and Merry in the Battle of the Pelennor Fields), but certainly a Nazgûl ('flinging off his garments he vanishes').

For the narrative there is both initial draft and fair copy, which doubtless belong to the same time, since the first two pages are common to both: from the point where the first text became quicker and rougher my father replaced it; but in the first draft the story as it stands in RK was already present in almost every point. Aragorn's dismissal of the faint-hearted (as it is described in *The Tale of Years*) was however (in both texts) Gandalf's, and the cause of their faint-heartedness more immediate (cf. RK p. 162):

... and they could descry the marshes and the desert that stretched north and west to the Emyn Muil. And now the Nazgûl swept down over them unceasingly, and often daring within bowshot of the earth they would plunge shrieking down,

and their fell voices made even the boldest blench. Some there were who were so unmanned that they could neither walk nor ride further north.

This survived into the fair copy, where it was replaced by the text of RK (p. 162), in which the Nazgûl did not closely approach the Host of the West until the final attack on the Slag-hills. In the draft text it is said that 'some 500 left the host' and went off south-west towards Cair Andros.

No more is said in the draft of the history of the Lieutenant of Baraddûr,[1] the nameless Mouth of Sauron, than that 'It is told that he was a living man, who being captured as a youth became a servant of the Dark Tower, and because of his cunning grew high in the Lord's favour ...' In the fair copy this was repeated, but was changed subsequently to: 'But it is said that he was a renegade, son of a house of wise and noble men in Gondor, who becoming enamoured of evil knowledge entered the service of the Dark Tower, and because of his cunning [and the fertile cruelty of his mind] [and servility] he grew ever higher in the Lord's favour ...' (these phrases being thus bracketed in the original). In RK (p. 164) the Mouth of Sauron 'came of the race of those that are named the Black Númenóreans'.[2]

NOTES

1 First written 'the Lieutenant of Morgul', but this may very probably have been no more than a slip.

2 A few other minor points may be mentioned together. The Morgul Pass (RK p. 161) is called 'the Pass of Kirith Ungol' in the fair copy, and the Pass of Cirith Gorgor (RK p. 162) is 'the Pass of Gorgoroth' in both texts, changed to 'the Pass of Kirith-Gorgor' in the fair copy. In the draft text Damrod of Henneth Annûn reappears again, with Mablung, as a leader of the scouts in Ithilien (RK p. 162); the host can see from their camp on the last night the red lights in the Towers of the Teeth; and in Gandalf's concluding words to the Mouth of Sauron (RK p. 167) he retains the words he used in the original outline (p. 362): 'Begone! But let fear eat your heart: for if you so much as set a thorn in the flesh of your prisoner you shall rue it through all ages.'

Note on the Chronology

In *The Tale of Years* in LR the following dates are given:

March 18 The Host of the West marches from Minas Tirith.
19 The Host comes to Morgul-vale.
23 The Host passes out of Ithilien. Aragorn dismisses the faint-hearted.

24 The Host camps in the Desolation of the Morannon.
25 The Host is surrounded on the Slag-hills.

In both manuscript texts the same indications of date are given, and in the same words, as in RK, except in one point. The Host here left Minas Tirith on 17 March (this date being written in the margin), and since this was two days after 'the Last Debate', which itself took place on the day after the battle, the date of the Battle of the Pelennor Fields was here the 14th of March, not the 15th (see p. 428). In the present versions, however, the difference of one day in the date of the departure from Minas Tirith is soon lost, for this reason: where in RK (p. 160) the first day's march ended five miles beyond Osgiliath, but 'the horsemen pressed on and ere evening they came to the Cross Roads' (i.e. 18 March), it is said here that '*Next day* the horsemen pressed on and ere evening they came to the Cross Roads' (i.e. 18 March); and it was again 'on the next day' that 'the main host came up' (with the date '19' in the margin). Thus where it is said in RK (p. 161) 'The day after, being the third day since they set out from Minas Tirith, the army began its northward march along the road', it is here 'the fourth day', with the date '20' written in the margin.

	The present version	*The Return of the King*
March 17	March begins, and ends at Osgiliath	
18	Horsemen reach the Cross Roads before evening	March begins, and ends near Osgiliath, but the horsemen go on and reach the Cross Roads before evening.
19	Main host comes to the Cross Roads	
20	The host begins northward march	

It may be noted lastly that where in RK (p. 163) on the night of 24 March 'the waxing moon was four nights old', here it was 'but three days from the full moon' on the night before the day on which the Ring was destroyed.

XIV
THE SECOND MAP

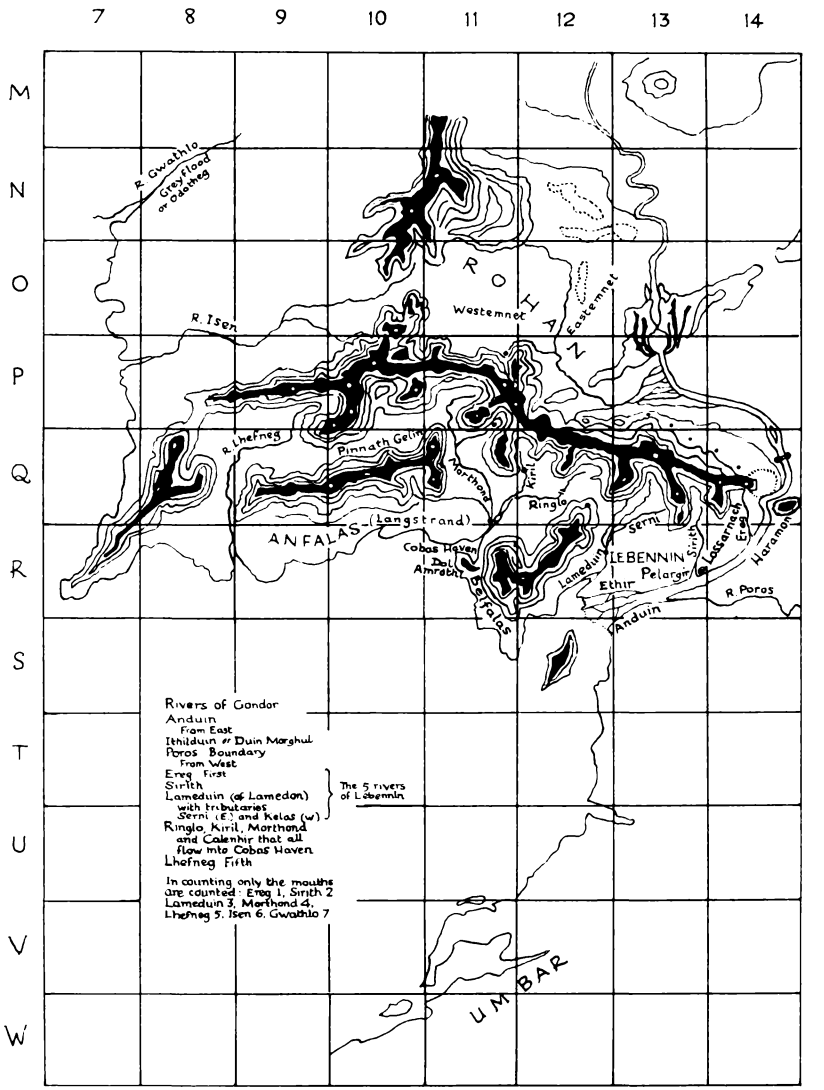
Whenever this map was first made, it was certainly my father's working map during the writing of Book V of *The Lord of the Rings*.[1] The first stage in its making was carried out in black ink, but black ink was also used later, and since it was not drawn and lettered at its first making with the meticulousness of the earlier stages of the First Map it is scarcely possible to isolate the layers of accretion by this means. Red ink was also used for a few alterations, and in the final stage of its useful life corrections and additions were very roughly made in blue ink (also in blue crayon and pencil).

The single sheet of paper on which it was made is now, after so much use many years ago, limp, torn, wrinkled, stained, and rubbed, and some of the later pencillings can scarcely be seen. It is ruled in squares of 2 cm. side (= 100 miles), the squares being lettered and numbered according to the First Map. In my redrawing I have divided it into a western and an eastern portion, with the central vertical line of squares (14) repeated.

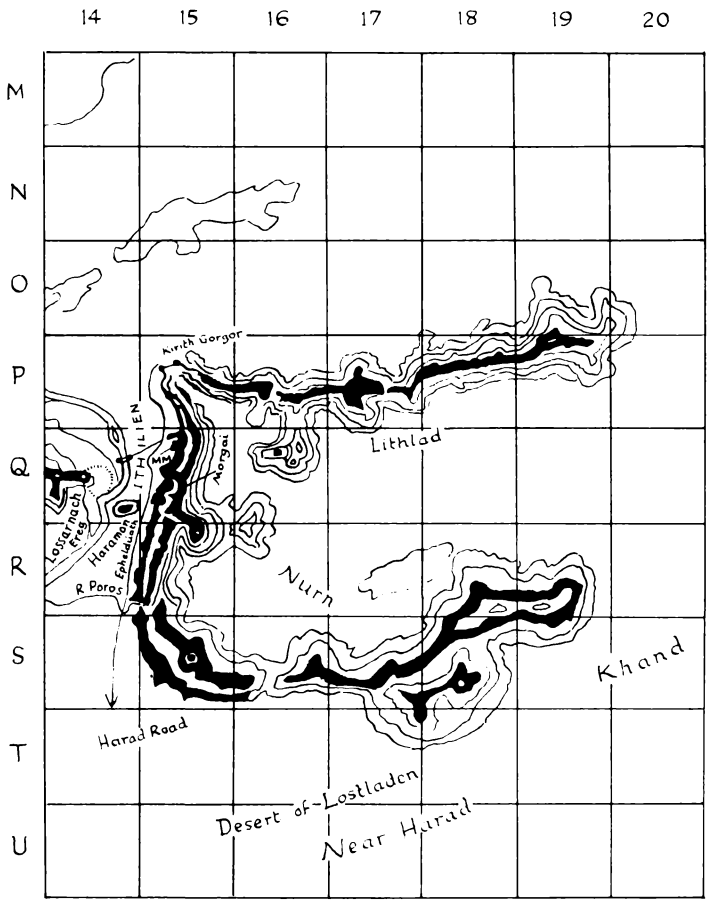
The attempt to redraw it posed difficulties. In places there is such a cobweb of fine crisscrossing and competing lines (the 'contours' are very impressionistic) as to bewilder the eye, and the redrawing had to be done while holding a lens; even so, I have certainly not followed every last wiggle with fidelity. Here and there it is hard to make out what the markings actually are or to interpret what they represent. In the region south of the White Mountains the map is so extremely crowded, and there are so many alterations and additions of names made at different times, that (since a primary aim of the redrawing is clarification) I have found it best to omit a number of names and explain the changes in the account of the map that follows; and for the same reason I have shown the new course of Anduin at Minas Tirith but not the new sites of Barad-dûr and Mount Doom. The redrawing is therefore avowedly inconsistent in what is shown and what is not, but I think inevitably so; and the following notes are an essential part of its presentation.

I refer to the map of Rohan, Gondor and Mordor published in *The Return of the King* as 'the large LR map'.

The account of the Rivers of Gondor written on this map has been given in Vol. VII (p. 312) in a discussion of peculiarities in the original conception of the southern rivers, but since in reducing my redrawing



The Second Map (West)



The Second Map (East)

to the size of the printed page the writing becomes extremely small I repeat it here:

Rivers of Gondor
Anduin
From East
Ithilduin or *Duin Morghul*
Poros Boundary
From West
Ereg First
Sirith
Lameduin (of Lamedon) with tributaries *Serni* (E.) and *Kelos* (W.)
Ringlo, *Kiril*, *Morthond* and *Calenhir* that all flow into Cobas Haven
Lhefneg Fifth
In counting only the mouths are counted: *Ereg* 1, *Sirith* 2, *Lameduin* 3, *Morthond* 4, *Lhefneg* 5, *Isen* 6, *Gwathlo* 7

(The 5 rivers of Lebennin)

Ereg (later *Erui*) has now essentially its final place and course; *Sirith* likewise, but with no western tributary (*Kelos* on the large LR map) – the lines on the map in this valley are a dense maze and I have simplified them in the redrawing, but it is clear that there is only a single stream. *Lossarnach* seems to have been a much larger region than it is on the LR maps, but this may be due merely to the lettering of a long name in a small space.

Lameduin, while clearly written with final *-n* in the list of rivers (as also in the text given on pp. 397 ff.) is equally clearly written *Lamedui* on the map itself, and should perhaps have been so represented. It is also clear that there are three tributary streams marked, although only two, *Serni* and *Kelos*, are referred to in the list (and there is no place for another in 'the five rivers of Lebennin'); only the easternmost, *Serni*, is named on the map. All three join together at a place marked with a black dot (R 12), though this was at first given no name (see below).

Ringlo, *Kiril*, and *Morthond* have essentially the final courses; but Kiril is not a tributary of Ringlo as it is on the LR maps, and a fourth river, unnamed on the map but called *Calenhir* in the list of rivers, comes in from Pinnath Gelin to the westward. At the junction of the four streams the map is very hard to interpret: it is not clear which rivers have joined at the place marked by a black dot (Q 11) and which flow independently into Cobas Haven, the bay north of Dol Amroth. Beside the dot (in small lettering as if referring to the dot) was originally written *Lamedon*, which was struck through, and which I think was probably a simple error (in view of *Lameduin* many miles to the east). Above *Lamedon* was written *Linhir*, also struck through. The earliest reference to Linhir in the texts is found in the outline 'The

Story Foreseen from Forannest' (p. 361), where the Darkness out of Mordor is seen by the Ents as 'a great blackness ... extending in breadth from Rauros to Linhir': this could imply the earlier position, above Cobas Haven, but perhaps more probably the later, on Lameduin (Gilrain). The crossing of Ringlo was a later addition in red ink.

The name *Lamedon* was written a second time across R 13 (beneath *Serni* and above *Lebennin*), and this placing obviously consorts with the river-name *Lameduin*. In this position it was again struck out, *Lameduin* changed to *Gilrain*, and *Linhir* written against the dot on R 12 where the three streams join. *Lamedon* was later written in a third and final location (but see note 2) at the top of Q 12, across the upper waters of Kiril and Ringlo.

The emergence of the new geography can be traced in the texts. In the outline 'The march of Aragorn and defeat of the Haradrim' (see pp. 397–8 and note 4) occurs the following:

> Erech to Fords of Lameduin (say Linhir?) is 175 miles direct, about 200 by road. ... At Linhir on Lameduin men of Lebennin and Lamedon are defending passage of river against Haradwaith.

When this was written Lamedon still lay north of Ethir Anduin, a northward region of Lebennin, and 'the men of Lebennin and Lamedon' had withdrawn westwards to the line of the river, which they were attempting to hold. But already in the original drafts for the story of the ride of the Grey Company in 'The Last Debate' (see pp. 411–12) they passed 'over Tarlang's Neck into Lamedon', Lameduin has become Gilrain, and (as in RK, p. 151) it was the men of Lamedon who contested the passage of Gilrain against the Haradrim.[2]

The dot near the bottom right-hand corner of P 11 marks *Erech* (named on the original); this was an addition, as was the river flowing down from Erech to join the course of Morthond as originally marked on P–Q 11. To the dot on the river Kiril (Q 12), a later addition, is attached the pencilled name *Caerost on Kiril*; this was the forerunner of *Calembel*, where Kiril was crossed (RK p. 63). Neither *Caerost* nor *Calembel* is found in the original manuscript of 'The Last Debate' (see p. 419). The other dot on Q 12, east of the crossing of Ringlo, is marked with the pencilled name *Tarnost*, which so far as I know does not appear elsewhere.

The name Belfalas was a late addition (see p. 293 note 22); and a note added early to the map directs that *Pinnath Gelin* should be made into 'lower Green Hills'.

The name *Odotheg* 'Seventh' of Gwathlo or Greyflood was changed in pencil to *Odothui*; on this name see VII.311–12. The last letter of *Lhefneg* was also changed: most probably it was first written *Lhefned* and then immediately altered to *Lhefneg*, the form of the name in the list of rivers written on the map.

North of the White Mountains a line of dots on squares P 13, Q 13–14 represents the beacon hills; on this see p. 354 note 3.

Moving eastwards to Q 14, the original course of Anduin can be discerned on the original, running in a straight line from below the confluence of Ereg to where the river bends north-west below Osgiliath. The great elbow in Anduin here and the hills of Haramon that caused it were superimposed later in blue ink, *Haramon* being afterwards struck out and *Emyn Arnen* substituted (with some totally illegible name preceding it). In the original text of the chapter 'Minas Tirith' (p. 278) there was no mention of this feature. It is shown (but without the hills around which the river bends) on the little map drawn on a page added to the manuscript of 'The Ride of the Rohirrim' (p. 353); and it first appears in the texts in the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Forannest' (see p. 359 and note 3): 'the [Pelennor] wall right above the stream which bends round the Hills of Haramon'. The name *Emyn Arnen* appears in the drafting of 'The Battle of the Pelennor Fields' (p. 370). I have very little doubt that it was indeed the development of the story of the battle that brought the great bend in Anduin around the hills of Haramon / Emyn Arnen into being; for so the black fleet could be brought right under the wall of the Pelennor, and victory assured in the face of disaster by the exceedingly dramatic and utterly unlooked for arrival, on the very field, of Aragorn with the Rangers and the sons of Elrond, and all the men newly gathered from the southern fiefs.

Osgiliath is now north-east of Minas Tirith (see pp. 269–70, 353). A note on the map says that 'Minas Morgul must be rather more north' (cf. the plan reproduced on p. 181 and the large LR map).

Within the confines of Mordor a major change was made in the last stage of the use of this map. The great peninsula of high land (Q 16) thrust out southwards from the Ash Mountains, on which stood Barad-dûr, was struck through, and Barad-dûr was moved north-west (to P 16). This was where Orodruin had stood as the map was first drawn.[3] Orodruin was moved to stand near the bottom right-hand corner of P 15. I have in this case preserved the original site of Barad-dûr in my redrawing, for the alterations were carried out very roughly. Other additions of this time were the rough outline of the Sea of Nurnen, the names *Lithlad*, *Morgai*, and *Nurn*, and also *Gorgoroth* of the vale running back from the Morannon. *Gorgoroth* was struck out, and in its place was pencilled here the name *Narch Udûn*.

NOTES

1 The fact that the track of Frodo's journey from the Emil Muil to the Morannon (not shown on my redrawing) is very carefully marked and probably belongs to the first 'layer' does not demonstrate that in its making this map goes back to the writing of Book

IV. For one thing, it seems unlikely that my father would have made the map redrawn on p. 269 if the Second Map had been already in existence.

2 A name in scarcely visible pencilling that is almost certainly *Lamedon* can be seen written right across Q 11–12 (from below the *r* of *Morthond* to east of the crossing of Ringlo), which suggests that Lamedon was at first a larger region.

3 When Barad-dûr was moved to the site of Orodruin the original markings were obliterated.

4 The names *Harad Road*, *Near Harad* (and an arrow directing to *Far Harad*), *Desert of Lostladen* (see p. 426 note 35), *Khand* (see p. 369), and *Umbar* were scribbled in pencil or blue crayon.

INDEX

In this book the variables are so many that the arrangement of the index, if it is to be more than a simple list of forms, becomes to some degree a matter of choice; for on the one hand there was a great deal of alteration and substitution among the names themselves, while on the other their application changed as the narrative, and the geography, changed. Thus for example the *Stone of Erech* was originally a *palantír*, but when it became a stone brought from Númenor the *palantír* (or *Stone*) of Erech was for a time still present; *Kirith Ungol* and *Minas Morghul (Morgul)* were several times shifted in relation to each other; and the Lord of Westfold was in succession *Trumbold*, *Heorulf (Herulf)*, *Nothelm*, *Heorulf*, *Erkenwald*, *Erkenbrand*, while *Westfold* was originally *Westmarch* and the original *Westfold* was a region in the west of the Misty Mountains. I hope at any rate that my attempt will be found accurate and serviceable for all the inconsistencies of presentation.

With constantly recurring names I have used the device employed in *The Return of the Shadow* and *The Treason of Isengard* whereby the word *passim* means that in a long run of references no more than one page here and there happens not to carry that name. Names occurring on the maps and on the pages reproduced from the original manuscripts are not indexed, and only exceptionally those in chapter-titles. Under the entry *Old English* are collected only special instances, and not of course the very large number of names in Rohan that are in fact Old English.

Adrahil of Dol Amroth 340
Adûnaic 161
Aglarond 28, 76–8, 399; *Caves of Splendour* 76–7; *Glittering Caves* 28, 77; *Caves of Helm's Deep, the Caves* 26–8, 297. The *palantír* of Aglarond 76–8, 399
Akallabêth 169
Aldor Third King of the Mark. 408
Ambarkanta 167
Amon Dîn The seventh beacon in Anórien. 233, 343–6, 350–1, 353–4, 404; *Dîn* 351–2. Earlier name *Amon Thorn* 232
Amon Hen 20, 59, 72, 118, 128; *Amon Henn* 128
Amon Lhaw 72
Amon Thorn See *Amon Dîn*.
Amroth See *Dol Amroth*.

Anárion 149, 153, 168, 397; *sons of* 374–5; name of region 243–4, 252, 254–5, 266
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Andabund, Andrabonn 'elephant'. 136, and see 139. See *Múmak, Oliphaunt.*
Andros See *Cair Andros.*
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THE HISTORY OF THE LORD OF THE RINGS | PART 4

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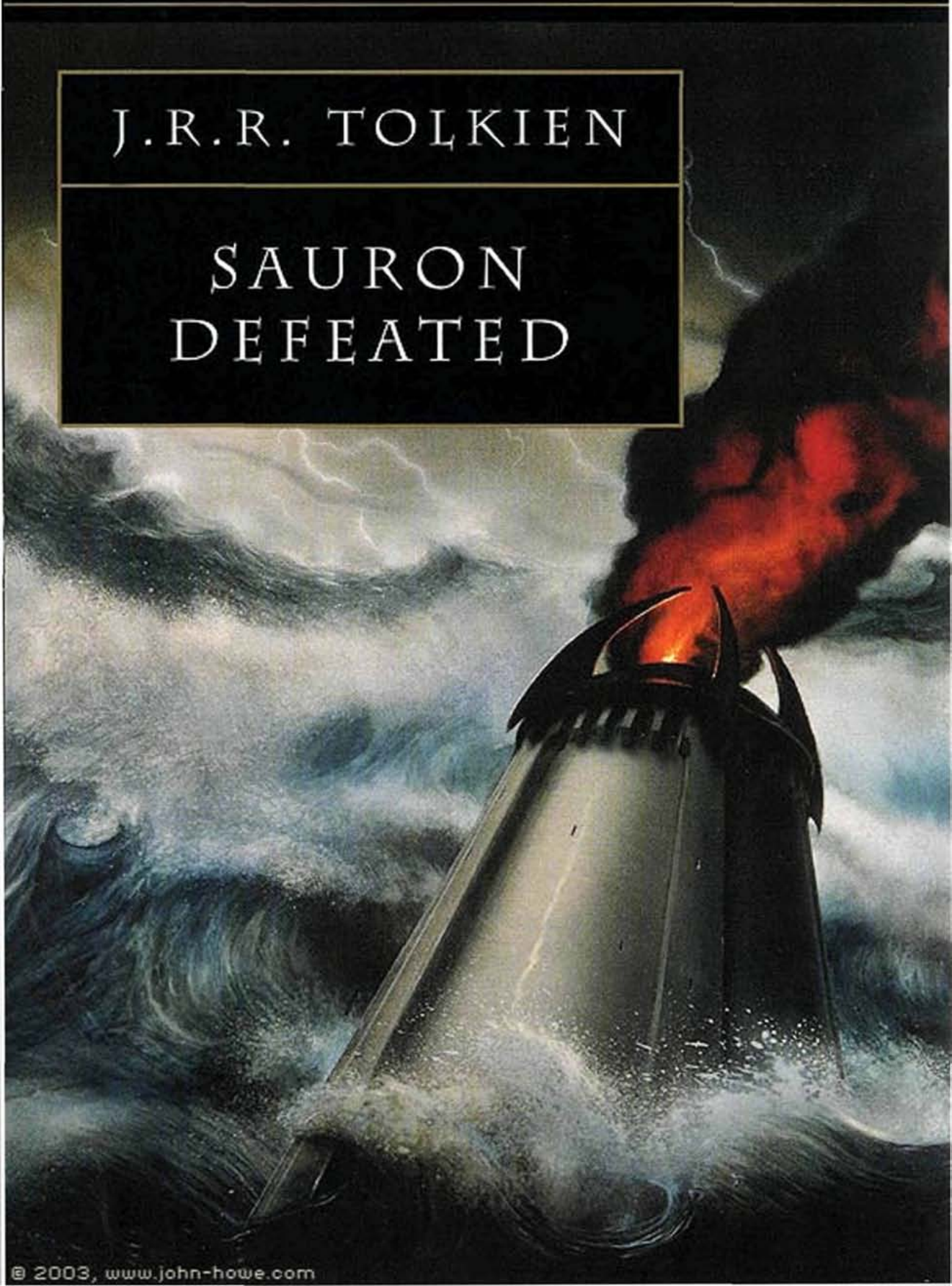

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SAURON DEFEATED

THE END OF THE THIRD AGE
(The History of The Lord of the Rings
Part Four)

THE NOTION CLUB PAPERS
and
THE DROWNING OF ANADÛNÊ

Edited by Christopher Tolkien

Boston New York
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

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215 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10003.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Tolkien, J. R. R. (John Ronald Reuel), 1892–1973.
Sauron defeated : the history of the Lord of the rings, part four.
The Notion Club papers, and, The drowning of Anadûnê / J.R.R.
Tolkien ; edited by Christopher Tolkien.
p. cm. — (The History of Middle-earth ; 9)
ISBN 0-395-60649-7
1. Tolkien, J. R. R. (John Ronald Reuel), 1892–1973. Lord of the
rings—Criticism, Textual. 2. Fantastic fiction, English—
Criticism, Textual. 3. Middle Earth (Imaginary place)
I. Tolkien, Christopher. II. Tolkien, J. R. R. (John Ronald Reuel),
1892–1973. Notion Club papers. 1992. III. Tolkien, J. R. R. (John
Ronald Reuel), 1892–1973. Drowning of Anadûnê. 1992. IV. Title.
V. Series: Tolkien, J. R. R. (John Ronald Reuel), 1892–1973.
History of Middle-earth ; 9.
PR6039.O32L63743 1992
823'.912 — dc20 92-14587
CIP

Printed in the United States of America

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To
TAUM SANTOSKI

FOREWORD

With this book my account of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* is completed. I regret that I did not manage to keep it even within the compass of three fat volumes; but the circumstances were such that it was always difficult to project its structure and foresee its extent, and became more so, since when working on *The Return of the King* I was largely ignorant of what was to come. I shall not attempt a study of the history of the *Appendices* at this time. That work will certainly prove both far-ranging and intricate; and since my father soon turned again, when *The Lord of the Rings* was finished, to the myths and legends of the Elder Days, I hope after this to publish his major writings and rewritings deriving from that period, some of which are wholly unknown.

When *The Lord of the Rings* had still a long way to go – during the halt that lasted through 1945 and extended into 1946, *The Return of the King* being then scarcely begun – my father had embarked on a work of a very different nature: *The Notion Club Papers*; and from this had emerged a new language, Adunaic, and a new and remarkable version of the Númenórean legend, *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, the development of which was closely entwined with that of *The Notion Club Papers*. To retain the chronological order of writing which it has been my aim to follow (so far as I could discover it) in *The History of Middle-earth* I thought at one time to include in Volume VIII, first, the history of the writing of *The Two Towers* (from the point reached in *The Treason of Isengard*) and then this new work of 1945–6, reserving the history of *The Return of the King* to Volume IX. I was persuaded against this, I am sure rightly; and thus it is in the present book that the great disparity of subject-matter appears – and the great difficulty of finding a title for it. My father's suggested title for Book VI of *The Lord of the Rings* was *The End of the Third Age*; but it seemed very unsatisfactory to name this volume *The End of the Third Age and Other Writings*, when the 'other writings', constituting two thirds of the book, were concerned with matters pertaining to the Second Age (and to whatever Age we find ourselves in now).

Sauron Defeated is my best attempt to find some sort of link between the disparate parts and so to name to the whole.

At a cursory glance my edition of *The Notion Club Papers* and *The Drowning of Anadûnê* may appear excessively complicated; but I have in fact so ordered them that the works themselves are presented in the clearest possible form. Thus the final texts of the two parts of the *Papers* are each given complete and without any editorial interruption, as also are two versions of *The Drowning of Anadûnê*. All account and discussion of the evolution of the works is reserved to commentaries and appendages which are easily identified.

In view of the great disparity between Part One and Parts Two and Three I have thought that it would be helpful to divide the Index into two, since there is scarcely any overlap of names.

I acknowledge with many thanks the help of Dr Judith Priestman of the Bodleian Library, and of Mr Charles B. Elston of Marquette Unversity, in making available photographs for use in this book (from the Bodleian those on pages 42 and 138–41, from Marquette those on pages 19 and 130). Mr John D. Rateliff and Mr F. R. Williamson have very kindly assisted me on particular points in connection with *The Notion Club Papers*; and Mr Charles Noad has again generously given his time to an independent reading of the proofs and checking of citations.

This book is dedicated to Taum Santoski, in gratitude for his support and encouragement throughout my work on *The Lord of the Rings* and in recognition of his long labour in the ordering and preparation for copying of the manuscripts at Marquette, a labour which despite grave and worsening illness he drove himself to complete.

Since this book was set in type Mr Rateliff has pointed out to be the source of Arundel Lowdham's allusion to 'the Pig on the Ruined Pump' (p. 179), which escaped me, although my father knew the work from which it comes well, and its verses formed part of his large repertoire of occasional recitation. It derives from Lewis Carroll, *Sylvie and Bruno*, chapter X – where however the Pig sat beside, not on, the Pump:

There was a Pig, that sat alone,
Beside a ruined Pump.
By day and night he made his moan:

It would have stirred a heart of stone
To see him wring his hoofs and groan,
Because he could not jump.

In *Sylvie and Bruno Concluded*, chapter XXIII, this becomes the first verse of a poem called *The Pig-Tale*, at the end of which the Pig, encouraged by a passing Frog, tries but signally fails to jump to the top of the Pump:

Uprose that Pig, and rushed, full whack,
Against the ruined Pump:
Rolled over like an empty sack,
And settled down upon his back,
While all his bones at once went 'Crack!'
It was a fatal jump.

On a very different subject, Mr Noad has observed and communicated to me the curious fact that in the Plan of Shelob's Lair reproduced in *The War of the Ring*, p. 201, my father's compass-points 'N' and 'S' are reversed. Frodo and Sam were of course moving eastward in the tunnel, and the South was on their right. In my description (p. 200, lines 16 and 20) I evidently followed the compass-points without thinking, and so carelessly wrote of the 'southward' instead of the 'northward' tunnels that left the main tunnel near its eastern end.

PART ONE

THE END OF THE THIRD AGE

I

THE STORY OF FRODO AND SAM IN MORDOR

Long foreseen, the story of the destruction of the Ring in the fires of Mount Doom was slow to reach its final form. I shall look back first over the earlier conceptions that have appeared in *The Return of the Shadow* and *The Treason of Isengard*, and then give some further outlines of the story.

The conception of the Fiery Mountain, in which alone the Ring could be destroyed, and to which the Quest will ultimately lead, goes back to the earliest stages in the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*. It first emerged in Gandalf's conversation with Bingo Bolger-Baggins, predecessor of Frodo, at Bag End (VI.82): 'I fancy you would have to find one of the Cracks of Earth in the depths of the Fiery Mountain, and drop it down into the Secret Fire, if you really wanted to destroy it.' Already in an outline that almost certainly dates from 1939 (VI.380) the scene on the Mountain appears:

> At end
> When Bingo [> Frodo] at last reaches Crack and Fiery Mountain *he cannot make himself throw the Ring away.* ? He hears Necromancer's voice offering him great reward – to share power with him, if he will keep it.
>
> At that moment Gollum – who had seemed to reform and had guided them by secret ways through Mordor – comes up and treacherously tries to take Ring. They wrestle and Gollum *takes Ring* and falls into the Crack.
>
> The mountain begins to rumble.

Two years later, in a substantial sketch of the story to come ('The Story Foreseen from Moria') it was still far from clear to my father just what happened on the Mountain (VII.209):

> Orodruin [*written above:* Mount Doom] has three great fissures North, West, South [> West, South, East] in its sides. They are very deep and at an unguessable depth a glow of fire is seen. Every now and again fire rolls out of mountain's heart down the terrific channels. The mountain towers above Frodo. He comes to a flat place on the mountain-side where the fissure is full of fire – Sauron's well of fire. The Vultures are coming. He *cannot* throw Ring in. The Vultures are coming. All goes dark in his eyes and he falls to his

knees. At that moment Gollum comes up and wrestles with him, and takes Ring. Frodo falls flat.

Here perhaps Sam comes up, beats off a vulture and hurls himself and Gollum into the gulf?

Subsequently in this same outline is found:

They escape [from Minas Morgol] but *Gollum follows.*

It is *Sam* that wrestles with Gollum and [?throws] him finally in the gulf.

Not long after this, in the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien' (VII.344), my father noted that 'Sam must fall out somehow' (presumably at the beginning of the ascent of Mount Doom) and that Frodo went up the mountain alone:

Sam must fall out somehow. Stumble and break leg: thinks it is a crack in ground – really Gollum. [?Makes ?Make] Frodo go on alone.

Frodo toils up Mount Doom. Earth quakes, the ground is hot. There is a narrow path winding up. Three fissures. Near summit there is Sauron's Fire-well. An opening in side of mountain leads into a chamber the floor of which is split asunder by a cleft.

Frodo turns and looks North-west, sees the dust of battle. Faint sound of horn. This is Windbeam the Horn of Elendil blown only in extremity.

Birds circle over. Feet behind.

Since the publication of *The Treason of Isengard* there has come to light an outline that is obviously closely related to this passage from 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien' (which does not necessarily mean that it belongs to the same time) but is very much fuller. This I will refer to as I. The opening sentences were added at the head of the page but belong with the writing of the text.

(I) Sam falls and hurts leg (really tripped by Gollum). Frodo has to go alone. (Gollum leaps on Sam as soon as Frodo is away.)

Frodo toils on alone up slope of Mt.Doom. Earth quakes; the ground becomes hot. There is a narrow path winding up. It crosses one great fissure by a dreadful bridge. (There are three fissures (W. S. E.).) Near the summit is 'Sauron's Fire-well'. The path enters an opening in the side of the Mt. and leads into a low chamber, the floor of which is split by a profound fissure. Frodo turns back. He looks NW and sees dust and smoke of battle? (Sound of horn – the Horn of Elendil?) Suddenly he sees birds circling above: they come down and he realizes that they are Nazgûl! He crouches in the chamber-opening but still dare not enter. He hears feet coming up the path.

At same moment Frodo suddenly feels, many times multiplied, the impact of the (unseen) *searching eye*; and of the enchantment of the Ring. He does not wish to enter chamber or to throw away the Ring. He hears or feels a deep, slow, but urgently persuasive voice speaking: offering him life, peace, honour: rich reward: lordship: power: finally a share in the Great Power – *if* he will stay and go back with a Ring Wraith to Baraddur. This actually terrifies him. He remains immovably balanced between resistance and yielding, tormented, it seems to him a timeless, countless, age. Then suddenly a new thought arose – not from outside – a thought born inside *himself*: *he* would keep the Ring himself, and be master of all. Frodo King of Kings. Hobbits should rule (of course he would not let down his friends) and Frodo rule hobbits. He would make great poems and sing great songs, and all the earth should blossom, and all should be bidden to his feasts. *He puts on the Ring!* A great cry rings out. Nazgûl come swooping down from the North. The *Eye* becomes suddenly like a beam of fire stabbing sheer and sharp out of the northern smoke. He struggles now to take off the Ring – and fails.

The Nazgûl come circling down – ever nearer. With no clear purpose Frodo withdraws into the chamber. Fire boils in the Crack of Doom. All goes dark and Frodo falls to his knees.

At that moment Gollum arrives, panting, and grabs Frodo and the Ring. They fight fiercely on the very brink of the chasm. Gollum breaks Frodo's finger and gets Ring. Frodo falls in a swoon. Sam crawls in while Gollum is dancing in glee and suddenly pushes Gollum into the crack.

Fall of Mordor.

Perhaps better would be to make Gollum repent in a way. He is utterly wretched, and commits suicide. Gollum has it, he cried. No one else shall have it. I will destroy you all. He leaps into crack. Fire goes mad. Frodo is like to be destroyed.

Nazgûl shape at the door. Frodo is caught in the fire-chamber and cannot get out!

Here we all end together, said the Ring Wraith.

Frodo is too weary and lifeless to say nay.

You first, said a voice, and Sam (with Sting?) stabs the Black Rider from behind.

Frodo and Sam escape and flee down mountain-side. But they could not escape the running molten lava. They see Eagles driving the Nazgûl. Eagles rescue them.

Make issue of fire *below* them so that bridge is cut off and *a sea of fire bars their retreat* while mountain quivers and crumbles. Gandalf on *white* eagle rescues them.

Against the sentence 'He is utterly wretched, and commits suicide' my father subsequently wrote *No.*

Another outline, which I will call II, is closely related to outline I just given. It is written in ink over a briefer pencilled text, very little of which can be read – partly because of the overwriting, partly because of the script itself (my father could not read the conclusion of the first sentence and marked it with dots and a query).[1]

(II) Frodo now feels full force of the Eye ..... ? He does not want to enter Chamber of Fire or throw away the Ring. He seems to hear a deep slow persuasive voice speaking: offering life and peace – then rich reward, great wealth – then lordship and power – and finally a share of the Great Power: if he will take Ring intact to the Dark Tower. He rejects this, but stands still – while thought grows (absurd though it may seem): he will keep it, wield it, and himself have Power alone; be Master of All. After all he is a great hero. Hobbits should become lords of men, and he their Lord, King Frodo, Emperor Frodo. He thought of the great poems that would be made, and mighty songs, and saw (as if far away) a great Feast, and himself enthroned and all the kings of the world sitting at his feet, while all the earth blossomed.

(Probably now Sauron is aware of the Ring and its peril, and this is his last desperate throw to halt Frodo, until his messenger can reach Orodruin.)

Frodo puts on Ring! A great cry rings out. A great shadow swoops down from Baraddur, like a bird. The Wizard King is coming. Frodo feels him – the one who stabbed him under Weathertop. He is wearing Ring and has been seen. He struggles to take off Ring and cannot. The Nazgûl draws near as swift as storm. Frodo's one idea is to escape it, and without thinking of his errand he now flies into the Chamber of Fire. A great fissure goes across it from left to right. Fire boils in it. All goes dark to Frodo and he falls on his knees. At that moment *Gollum* arrives panting and grabs at the Ring. That rouses Frodo, and they fight on the brink of the chasm. Gollum breaks Frodo's finger and gets Ring. Frodo falls in swoon. But Sam who has now arrived rushes in suddenly and pushes Gollum over the brink. Gollum and Ring go into the Fire together. The Mountain boils and erupts. Barad-dur falls. A great dust and *a dark shadow* floats away NE on the rising SW wind. Frodo suddenly thinks he can hear and smell Sea. A dreadful shuddering cry is borne away and until it dies far off all men and things stand still.

Frodo turns and sees door blocked by the Wizard King. The mountain begins to erupt and crumble. Here we will perish together, said the Wizard King. But Frodo draws Sting. He no longer has any fear whatsoever. He is master of the Black Riders. He

commands the Black Rider to follow the Ring his master and drives it into the Fire.

Then Frodo and Sam fly from the chamber. Fire is pouring out of the mountain-side by three great channels W, SE, S, and makes a burning moat all round. They are cut off.

Gandalf, of course, now knows that Frodo has succeeded and the Ring has perished. He sends Gwaihir the Eagle to see what is happening. Some of the eagles fall withered by flame?[2] But Gwaihir sweeps down and carries off Sam and Frodo back to Gandalf, Aragorn, etc. Joy at the reunion – especially of Merry and Pippin?

There seems to be no certain way in which to date this text, but the reference to the coming of the Wizard King from Barad-dûr shows at any rate that his fate on the Pelennor Fields had not yet arisen. I incline to think that it is relatively late, and would associate it tentatively with the end of the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Forannest' (VIII.362):

> Gandalf knows that Ring must have reached fire. Suddenly Sauron is aware of the Ring and its peril. He sees Frodo afar off. In a last desperate attempt he turns his thought from the Battle (so that his men waver again and are pressed back) and tries to stop Frodo. At same time he sends the Wizard King as Nazgûl to the Mountain. The whole plot is clear to him. ...
>
> Gandalf bids Gwaihir fly swiftly to Orodruin.

With this cf. the words of outline II just given: 'Probably now *Sauron is aware of the Ring and its peril*, and this is his *last desperate throw to halt Frodo*'; and 'Gandalf, of course, now knows that Frodo has succeeded and the Ring has perished. He sends Gwaihir the Eagle to see what is happening.'

I turn now to other outlines that preceded any actual narrative writing of Book VI. The first of these, Outline **III**, also only came to light recently; it is a somewhat disjointed page, with deletions and additions, but all belonging to the same time. I believe that time to be the brief period of work (October 1944) when my father began writing 'Minas Tirith' and 'The Muster of Rohan', and wrote also many outlines for Book V; with the opening of the present text cf. VIII.260: '[12] Gandalf and Aragorn and Éomer and Faramir defeat Mordor. Cross into Ithilien. Ents arrive and Elves out of North. Faramir invests Morghul and main force comes to Morannon. Parley.' It will be seen that the story of the fighting and slaughter in the Tower of Kirith Ungol had not yet arisen.

(**III**) They pass into Ithilien [12 >] 11[3] [and turn >] Éomer and Faramir invest Minas Morghul. The rest turn / north to Morannon. Joined by Ents and Elves out of Emyn Muil. Camp on [*added:* S. edge (of)] Battle Plain [14 >] evening of 12. Parley. Messengers

[*sic*] of Sauron. Gandalf refuses. [*Added:* begins assault on Morannon.]

Sam rescues Frodo night of 11/12. They descend into Mordor. [Gollum comes after them. They see a vast host gathering in Kirith Gorgor, and have to lie hid (12). 12/13 They go on and are tracked by Gollum. *This was struck out and replaced by the following:*] Frodo from the high tower holds up phial and as if with Elvish sight[4] sees the white army in Ithilien. On the other side he sees the vast secret host of Mordor (not yet revealed) gathered on the dead fields of Gorgor. ? Sauron delays to take Frodo because of the defeat at Gondor.

Mt.Doom (Orodruin) stands in plain at inner throat of Kirith Gorgor, but a complete darkness comes over land, and all they can see is Mt.Doom's fire and far away the Eye of Baraddur. They cannot find a path? It is not until night of 12 that they reach rocky slopes above the levels of Kirith Gorgor. There they see an immense host camped: it is impossible to go further. They remain in hiding during 13 – and are tracked down by Gollum. Suddenly the whole host strikes camp and pours away leaving Mordor empty. Sauron himself has gone out to war.[5] They cross plain and climb Mt.Doom. Frodo looks back and sees the white army driven back.

Frodo captured on night 10/11. But Shagrat persuades Gorbag not to send message at once,[6] until he's had a look for the *real* warrior still loose. Orcs scatter and hunt in Kirith Ungol (11). Sam at last finds way in – he has to go back and down pass[7] – then he finds quite a small fort[8] of many houses and a gate and a path leading up to the cliff. It is not until [evening >] night of 11 that he manages to get in.

Rescue of Frodo early on 12. Shagrat sends message to Lugburz. [*Added:* How do messages work. Signal from Tower to Eye. News.] Nazgûl arrives at Tower and takes coat of mail and [clothes etc. >] a sword to Baraddur (12).

Frodo and Sam hide in rocks. The Gorgor plain is covered with armies. They are in despair, for crossing is impossible. Slowly they work their way north to where the defile narrows, to a point nearer Mt.Doom [> Dûm].[9]

Another outline (IV) describes the capture of Frodo and his rescue by Sam from the Tower of Kirith Ungol; and this is yet another text of which I was not aware until recently. Like outline II it is written in ink over an underlying, and much briefer, pencilled text. It was written, very obviously at the same time, on the reverse of a page that carries a rejected preliminary version (also in ink over pencil) of the outline 'The march of Aragorn and defeat of the Haradrim' given in VIII.397–9, which preceded the writing of 'The Battle of the Pelennor Fields' and very probably accompanied the outline 'The Story Foreseen from

Forannest' (see VIII.397). This preliminary version of 'The march of Aragorn and defeat of the Haradrim', which contains remarkable features, is given at the end of this chapter (p. 14).

In this outline IV Gorbag is expressly the 'Master of the Tower', whereas in the fair copy manuscript of 'The Choices of Master Samwise' he is the Orc from Minas Morghul, as in RK. It is notable however that at his first appearance in this text he is the Orc from Minas Morghul, changed immediately to Shagrat – which is however marked with a query. This query suggests to me that after so much changing back and forth of the names of these beauties (see VIII.225, note 46) my father could not remember what decision he had come to, and did not at this time check it with the manuscript of the end of Book IV (cf. the case of 'Thror' and 'Thrain', VII.159–60). The same uncertainty is seen in outline III above (see note 6).

(IV) Frodo is captured night of 10–11. Mar.12 Frodo in prison. (Sauron is distracted by news of the Ents and defeat of his forces in Eastemnet by Ents and Elves of Lórien.)

No message is sent for some time to Dark Tower – partly because of general .....[10] Frodo is stripped, and the *Mithril* coat is found.

[Gorbag >] Shagrat (?) covets this, and tries to stop Gorbag sending message: at first pleading need of searching for confederate. But quarrel breaks out, and Shagrat and Gorbag fight and their men take sides. Sam at last finds way in – by a front gate overlooking Mordor – and a steep descent down into a long narrow dale or trough beyond which is a lower ridge.[11] In end Gorbag (Master of the Tower) wins, because he has more men, and Shagrat and all his folk are slain. Gorbag then sends tidings to Baraddur together with the Mithril coat – but overlooks Lórien cloak.[12] Gorbag has only very few men left, and has to send two (since one won't go alone for fear of the missing spy) to Baraddur. Sam slips in and slays one of Gorbag's remaining two at the gate, another on stair, and so wins his way in to the Upper Chamber. There he finds Gorbag. Sam takes off his Ring and fights him and slays him. He then enters Frodo's chamber. Frodo lying bound and naked; he has recovered his wits owing to a draught given him by orcs to counter poison – but he has talked in his delirium and revealed his name and his country, though not his errand.[13] Frodo is filled with fear, for at first he thinks it is an orc that enters. Then hatred for the bearer of the Ring seizes him like a madness, and he reproaches Sam for a traitor and thief. Sam in grief; but he speaks kindly, and the fit passes and Frodo weeps. This is night of 13th. Sam and Frodo escape from Tower on 14th.

It might be a good thing to increase the reckoning of time that Frodo, Sam and Gollum took to climb Kirith Ungol by a day, so that Frodo is not taken until night of 11–12. Quarrel between Orcs on 12th and sending of message that night or morning of 13th when

Gorbag is victorious. Sam gets in on 13th. Otherwise Sam will have to spend all 11, 12 and part of 13 trying to get into Tower.

Make Sam get in before fight and get mixed up with it. And so let Sam hear message sent to Baraddur?

The last outline (V), while written independently of IV, evidently belongs closely with it, and has the same story of the Tower of Kirith Ungol – Gorbag is the captain of the garrison, and Sam slays him. This text, giving the first detailed account of the journey of Frodo and Sam to Mount Doom, is identical in appearance to 'The Story Foreseen from Forannest' and was clearly a companion to it.

At the head of the page are written these notes on distances, which were struck through:

Minas Tirith to Osgiliath (W. end) 24–5 miles. Width of city [*written above:* ruin] 4 miles. East end of Osgiliath to Minas Morghul about 60 miles (52 to Cross Roads?). Minas Morghul to top of Kirith Ungol (and pass below Tower) 15 miles on flat. Kirith Ungol to crest of next (lower) ridge beyond Trough is about 15 miles.

The opening paragraph of the main text is enclosed in square brackets in the original. All the changes shown were made subsequently in pencil, including the reduction of most of the dates by a day.

(V) [Gorbag sends swift runner to Baraddur on morn(ing) of 13th. He does not reach plain and make contact with any horseman until end [> morn(ing)] of 14th? A rider reaches Baraddur on 15th [> night of 14], and at same time by Nazgûl news of the defeat before Gondor and the coming of Aragorn is brought to him [Sauron].[14] He sends the Nazgûl to Kirith Ungol to learn more. The Nazgûl discovers Tower full of dead and the prisoner flown.]

Sam rescues Frodo and slays Gorbag on 14th [> 13]. Frodo and Sam escape: when clear of the Tower, they disguise themselves in orc-guise. In this way they reach the bottom of the Trough at night on 14th [> 13]. They are surprised that there seems no guard and no one about; but they avoid the road. (A steep stair-path leads down from Tower to join the main road from Minas Morghul over Kirith Ungol pass to the Plain of Mordor and so to Baraddur.) The darkness is that of night.[15]

On 15th [> 14] March they climb the inner ridge – about 1000 feet at most, sheer on W. side, falling in jumbled slopes on E. side. They look out on the Plain of Mordor, but can see little owing to dark [*added:* but the clouds are blown away]. Though by the wizardry of Sauron the air is clear of smokes (so that his troops can move) it hangs like a great pall in the upper air. It seems largely to issue from Orodruin – or so they guess, where far away (50 miles) under the pall there is a great glow, and a gush of flame. Baraddur

(further and S. of the Mountain) is mantled in impenetrable shadow. Still, Frodo and Sam can see that all plain is full of troops. Hosts of fires dot the land as far as they can see. They cannot hope to cross. Frodo decides to try and find a point where the open land is narrower, in or nearer to Kirith Gorgor. They descend into Trough again and work north. They begin to count their food anxiously. They are very short of water. Frodo weak after poison – though the orcs gave him something to cure it, and *lembas* seems specially good as antidote; he cannot go fast.[16] They manage 10 miles along Trough.

On 16th [> 15] they continue to crawl along Trough, until they are some 25–30 miles north of Kirith Ungol.

On 17th [> 16] they climb ridge again, and lie hid. They hardly dare move again even in the gloom, since they can see below them great hosts of warriors marching into the defile out of Mordor. Frodo guesses they are going to war and wonders what is happening to Gandalf etc. [*Added:* No, most of troops are now *coming back in.*]

On 19th [> 18] being desperate they go down and hide in the rocks at the edge of the defile. At last Sauron's troop-movements cease. There is an ominous silence. Sauron is waiting for Gandalf to come into trap. Night of 19–20 [> 18–19] Frodo and Sam try to cross the defile into Ered-Lithui. (About this time let Sam have suspicion that Gollum is still about, but say nothing to Frodo?)

After various adventures they get to Eredlithui at a point about 55 miles NW of Orodruin. 20 (part), 21, 22, 23 they are working along slopes of Eredlithui.[17]

On 24th their food and water is all spent – and Frodo has little strength left. Sam feels a blindness coming on and wonders if it is due to water of Mordor.

24th. Frodo with a last effort – too desperate for fear – reaches foot of Orodruin and on 25 begins the ascent. There is a constant rumble underground like a war of thunder. It is night. Frodo looks round fearing the ascent – a great compulsion of reluctance is on him. He feels the weight of the Eye. And behold the mantle of shadow over Baraddur is drawn aside: and like a window looking into an inner fire he sees the Eye. He falls in a faint – but the regard of the Eye is really towards Kirith Gorgor and the coming battle, and it sweeps past Orodruin.

Frodo recovers and begins ascent of Mt.Doom. He finds a winding path that leads up to some unknown destination; but it is cut across by wide fissures. The whole mountain is shaking. Sam half-blind is lagging behind. He trips and falls – but calls to Frodo to go on: and then suddenly Gollum has him from behind and chokes his cries. Frodo goes on alone not knowing that Sam is not behind, and is in danger. Gollum would have killed Sam but is suddenly

filled with fear lest Frodo destroy Ring. Sam is half throttled, but he struggles on as soon as Gollum releases him.

Here the text ends, and at the end my father wrote in pencil: 'Carry on now with old sketch.' Possibly he was referring to outline II (p. 6), although there seems reason to think (p. 7) that that outline belongs to much the same time as the present text.

★

The chronology of writing

I take it as certain that my father took up *The Lord of the Rings* again, after the long halt at the end of 1944, in the latter part of 1946: this was when he returned to the abandoned openings of the chapters 'Minas Tirith' and 'The Muster of Rohan'. For the subsequent chronology of writing there is little evidence beyond the rather obscure statements in his letters. On 30 September 1946 (*Letters* no.106, to Stanley Unwin) he said that he 'picked it up again last week' and wrote a further chapter, but there is really no knowing what this was; and on 7 December 1946 (*Letters* no.107, to Stanley Unwin) he wrote: 'I still hope shortly to finish my "magnum opus": the Lord of the Rings: and let you see it, before long, or before January. I am on the last chapters.'

In an unpublished letter to Stanley Unwin of 5 May 1947 he wrote: 'It [Farmer Giles] is hardly a worthy successor to "The Hobbit", but on the real sequel life hardly allows me any time to work'; and in another of 28 May 'I have not had a chance to do any writing.' On 31 July 1947 (*Letters* no.109) he was saying: 'The thing is to finish the thing as devised and then let it be judged'; and a further eight months on (7 April 1948, *Letters* no.114, to Hugh Brogan) he wrote: 'Only the difficulty of writing the last chapters, and the shortage of paper have so far prevented its printing. I hope at least to finish it this year ...' Then, on 31 October 1948 (*Letters* no.117, again to Hugh Brogan), he said, 'I managed to go into "retreat" in the summer, and am happy to announce that I succeeded at last in bringing the "Lord of the Rings" to a successful conclusion.'

The only other evidence that I know of is found in two pages on which my father made a list of candidates for an academic post with notes on their previous experience. Against several of the names he noted both date of birth and present age, from which it is clear that the year was 1948. On the reverse of one of these pages is drafting for the passage in 'The Land of Shadow' in which Frodo and Sam see the darkness of Mordor being driven back (RK p. 196); the second part is overwritten with drafting for the discussion of food and water in 'The Tower of Kirith Ungol' (RK p. 190), while the reverse of it carries very rough sketching of the discovery of Frodo by Sam in the Tower.

Thus in December 1946 he was 'on the last chapters' of *The Lord of the Rings*, and hoped to finish it 'before January'; but in 1948 he was drafting the opening chapters of Book VI. The explanation must be, I think, that by the end of 1946 he had completed or largely completed Book V, and so (in relation to the whole work) he could feel that he was now 'on the last chapters'; and greatly underestimating (as he had so often done before) how much needed to be told before he reached the end, he thought that he could finish it within the month. But 1947 was largely unproductive, as the letters imply; and Book VI was not written until 1948.

NOTES

1 The few words and sentences that I can make out are sufficient to show that the story in the underlying text was substantially the same. The ink overwriting ends before the pencilled text does, and the last sentence of the latter can be read: 'Thorndor sweeps down and carries off Sam and Frodo. They rejoin the host on Battle Plain.' The naming of the rescuing eagle *Thorndor* (earlier form of *Thorondor*) is very surprising, but is perhaps to be explained as an unconscious reminiscence (when writing at great speed) of the rescue of Beren and Lúthien in *The Silmarillion*.

2 Cf. the fate of the Nazgûl in RK (p. 224): 'And into the heart of the storm ... the Nazgûl came, shooting like flaming bolts, as caught in the fiery ruin of hill and sky they crackled, withered, and went out.'

3 The dates are still in February. For the change in the month see VIII.324–5; and with the chronology of this text cf. that given in VIII.226.

4 Cf. the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Fangorn' (VII.438): 'Then return to Frodo. Make him look out onto impenetrable night. Then use phial which has escaped ... By its light he sees the forces of deliverance approach and the dark host go out to meet them.' On this I remarked (VII.440, note 15): 'The light of the Phial of Galadriel must be conceived here to be of huge power, a veritable star in the darkness.'

5 *Sauron himself has gone out to war:* despite the apparent plain significance of the words, it is impossible that my father should have meant that Sauron was no longer present in the Dark Tower.

6 *Gorbag* replaced *Yagûl* as the name of the Orc from Minas Morghul in the fair copy manuscript of 'The Choices of Master Samwise' (see VIII.225, note 46). Here 'Shagrat persuades Gorbag not to send message at once' suggests that Gorbag is the Orc from the Tower, whereas a few lines later 'Shagrat sends message to Lugburz'; see further outline IV, p. 9.

7 *he has to go back and down pass:* i.e., Sam had to go back out of the tunnels and up to the pass, then down the other side of it (cf. RK pp. 173–5).

8 *quite a small fort:* I think that this means, not 'only a *small* fort', but 'an actual fort, if not very large, not simply a tower'.

9 For the spelling *Mount Dûm* see VII.373, VIII.118.

10 My father could not read the pencilled words here and wrote queries against them.

11 This is the first description of the Morgai (which is marked and named on the Second Map, VIII.435, 438).

12 The outline 'The march of Aragorn and defeat of the Haradrim', closely associated with the present text, has a brief passage about the rescue of Frodo concerned with the cloak of Lórien (VIII.398):

> Rescue of Frodo. Frodo is lying naked in the Tower; but Sam finds by some chance that the elven-cloak of Lórien is lying in a corner. When they disguise themselves they put on the grey cloaks over all and become practically invisible – in Mordor the cloaks of the Elves become like a dark mantle of shadow.

13 Cf. 'The Story Foreseen from Forannest' (VIII.361):

> He [the ambassador of Sauron to the Parley] bears the Mithril coat and says that Sauron has already captured the messenger – a *hobbit*. How does Sauron know? He would of course guess from Gollum's previous visits that a small messenger might be a *hobbit*. But it is probable that either Frodo *talked in his drugged sleep* – not of the Ring, but of his name and country; and that Gorbag had sent tidings.

14 A pencilled X is written against this sentence. Cf. 'The Story Foreseen from Forannest' (VIII.360): 'Sauron ... first hears of Frodo on 15 of March, and at the same time, by Nazgûl, of the defeat in Pelennor and the coming of Aragorn. ... He sends the Nazgûl to Kirith Ungol to get Frodo ...'

15 Against this paragraph is written in the margin: 'Frodo's horror when Sam comes in and looks like a goblin. Hate for the Ringbearer seizes him and bitter words of reproach for treachery spring to his lips.'

16 In the margin is written here: 'Ring a great burden, worse since he had been for a while free of it.'

17 Beside these dates is written '10 miles, 15, 15, 15'.

★

The rejected preliminary version of 'The March of Aragorn and defeat of the Haradrim'

I have mentioned (pp. 8–9) that on the reverse of the page bearing outline IV (describing the capture and rescue of Frodo) is the original

form of the outline given in VIII.397–9, entitled 'The march of Aragorn and defeat of the Haradrim'. This is a very puzzling text, and I give it in full. It was in fact written in three forms. The first is a pencilled text (**a**) as follows:

> Aragorn takes Paths of the Dead early on March 8th. Comes out of the tunnel (a grievous road) and reaches head of the Vale of Morthond at dusk. He blows horns [*struck out:* and unfurls standard] to amazement of the people; who acclaim [him] as a king risen from the Dead. He rests three hours and bidding all to follow and send out the war-arrows he rides for the Stone of Erech. This is a stone set up between the mouths of Lamedui and the Ethir Anduin delta to commemorate the landing of Isildur and Anárion. It is about 275 miles by road from the issuing of the Paths of the Dead. Aragorn rides 100 miles and reaches the Ringlo Vale (where men are assembling) on March 9. There he gathers news and men. He rides after short rest into Lamedon (10) and then goes to

Here this version was abandoned and a new start made, also in pencil, at 'Aragorn takes Paths of the Dead'; but this text (**b**) was overwritten in ink and can only be read here and there. The overwritten form (**c**) reads thus:

> Aragorn takes Paths of the Dead morn(ing) 8 March, passes tunnels of the mountains and comes out into the head of Morthond Vale at dusk. Men of the Dale are filled with fear for it seems to them that behind the dark shapes of the living riders a great host of shadowy men come nearly as swift as riders. Aragorn goes on through night and reaches Stone of Erech at morn(ing) on March 9. Stone of Erech was black stone fabled to have been brought from Númenor, and set to mark the landing of Isildur and Anárion and their reception as kings by the dark men of the land. It stood on the shores of Cobas, near the outflow of Morthond, and about it was a ruined wall within which was also a ruined tower. In the vault under the tower forgotten was one of the Palantir[i]. From Erech a road ran by [the] sea, skirting in a loop the hills of Tarnost, and so to Ethir Anduin and the Lebennin.
>
> At Stone of Erech Aragorn unfurls his standard (Isildur's) with white crown and star and Tree and blows horns. Men come to him. (The Shadow-men cannot be seen by day.) Aragorn learns that what he saw in Palantir was true indeed: Men of Harad have landed on the coasts near the Ethir, and their ships have sailed up the estuary as far as Pelargir. There the men of Lebennin have made a block – on the basis of an ancient defence. The Haradwaith are ravaging the land. It is nearly 350 miles by coast road from Erech to Pelargir. Aragorn sends out swift riders north into the Dales, summoning what men remain to march on Pelargir. He does not himself take

coast-road, since it is infested, but after a rest he sets out at dusk of March 9 – and goes like wind by rough paths over Linhir and so to Fords of Lameduin (about 150 miles away). The Shadow Host is seen to follow. He crosses Morthond at Linhir, passes into Ringlo Vale, and sets all land aflame for war. He reaches Lameduin evening of March 10. Men are assembled there, and are resisting an attempt of the Haradwaith to cross Lebennin > NW. Aragorn and the Shadow Host come out of the dark with the white star shining on the banner and the Haradwaith are terrified. Many drowned in the river Lameduin. Aragorn camps and crosses Lameduin into Lebennin and marches on Pelargir morn(ing) of 11 March. The terror of 'the Black King' precedes him, and the Haradwaith try to fly: some ships escape down Anduin, but Aragorn comes up driving Haradwaith before him. The Shadow Host camps on shores of Anduin before Pelargir on evening of March 11th. By night they set fire in guarded ships, destroy the Haradwaith and capture 2 vessels. On morn(ing) of 12th they set out up Anduin, with Haradwaith captains rowing.

The extraordinary thing about this, of course, is the site of Erech. It seems plain beyond any question from all the evidence presented in *The War of the Ring* (see especially the chapter 'Many Roads Lead Eastward (1)') that from its first emergence Erech was in the southern foothills of Ered Nimrais, near the source of Morthond: Erech stands self-evidently in close relationship with the Paths of the Dead. Why then did my father now move it, first (in **a**) to the coast between the mouths of Lameduin and Ethir Anduin, and then (in **b** and **c**) to Cobas Haven (north of Dol Amroth: see the Second Map, VIII.434)? I am unable to propose any explanation.

The geography of the **c**-version is at first sight hard to follow. In **a** Aragorn's route can be understood: all that is said here is that he rode from the head of Morthond Vale 'for the Stone of Erech'; he reaches the Ringlo Vale, and then continues into Lamedon (which at this stage lay east of the river Lameduin: see VIII.437). The distance of 275 miles from the issuing of the Paths of the Dead to Erech 'between the mouths of Lamedui and the Ethir Anduin delta' is however much too great, and was perhaps an error for 175. (On the form *Lamedui* see VIII.436.) In version **c**, however, Aragorn leaves Erech 'on the shores of Cobas, near the outflow of Morthond', and 'goes like wind by rough paths *over Linhir and so to Fords of Lameduin* (about 150 miles away). ... *He crosses Morthond at Linhir, passes into Ringlo Vale* ... *He reaches Lameduin.*' As it stands this makes no sense; but the explanation is that his journey is described twice in the same passage. The first statement is comprised in the words 'He goes like wind by rough paths over Linhir, and so to Fords of Lameduin (about 150 miles away).' The second statement is 'He crosses Morthond at

Linhir, passes into Ringlo Vale ... He reaches Lameduin.' This must mean that Linhir is here in the earlier position, above Cobas Haven (see VIII.437).

It is said in **c** that the coast road from Erech skirted in a loop 'the Hills of Tarnost'. This name is written in pencil against a dot on the square Q 12 of the Second Map, at the northern extremity of the hills between the rivers Lameduin and Ringlo (see VIII.434, 437, where I said that so far as I then knew the name *Tarnost* does not occur elsewhere).

Lastly, in the concluding lines of **b**, which were not overwritten, the name *Haradrians* is given to the Haradwaith.

II
THE TOWER OF KIRITH UNGOL

It seems that my father returned to the story of Frodo and Sam more than three years after he had 'got the hero into such a fix' (as he said in a letter of November 1944, VIII.218) 'that not even an author will be able to extricate him without labour and difficulty.' As one of the outlines given in the preceding chapter shows, however, he had continued to give thought to the question, and while Book V was still in progress he had discovered the essential element in Sam's rescue of Frodo: the quarrel of Shagrat and Gorbag in the Tower of Kirith Ungol, leading to the mutual slaughter of almost all the orcs both of the Tower and of Minas Morgul before Sam arrived (p. 9).

His first draft ('A') of the new chapter extended as far as the point where Sam, descending the path from the Cleft, sees the two orcs shot down as they ran from the gateway of the Tower, and looking up at the masonry of the walls on his left realises that to enter in 'the gate was the only way' (RK p. 178). In this draft the text of RK was largely achieved, but not in all respects. In the first place, the chapter begins thus: 'For a while Sam stood stunned before the closed door. Far within he heard the sounds of orc-voices clamouring ...' It is clear that he was not physically stunned, as he was in the final story. On this see pp. 21–2.[1]

Secondly, when Sam, groping his way back from the under-gate in the tunnel, wondered about his friends (RK p. 173), 'Out in the world it was the dark before dawn on the twelfth of March in Shire-reckoning, the third day since he and Frodo came to the Cross Roads, and Aragorn was drawing near to Anduin and the fleet of Umbar, and Merry was beginning the third day of his ride from Dunharrow, and the forest of Druadan lay before him; but in Minas Tirith Pippin stood sleepless on the walls [?waiting] for [the] Causeway Forts had fallen and the enemy was coming.'

Thirdly, the fortress of Kirith Ungol was at first conceived as rising 'in four great tiers', not three as in RK (p. 176), and its strange structure, as it were flowing down the mountain-side, is sketched on the page of the draft (reproduced on p. 19) beside the description in the text; this description, originally in pencil but overwritten in ink, runs as follows:

And in that dreadful light Sam stood aghast; for now he could see the Tower of Kirith Ungol in all its strength. The horn that

The Tower of Kirith Ungol

those could see who came up the pass from the West was but its topmost turret. Its eastern face stood up in four great tiers from a shelf in the mountain wall some 500 feet below. Its back was to the great cliff behind, and it was built in four pointed bastions of cunning masonry, with sides facing north-east and south-east, one above the other, diminishing* as they went up, while about the lowest tier was a battlemented wall enclosing a narrow courtyard. Its gate open[ed] on the SE into a broad road. The wall at the [?outward] .... was upon the brink of a precipice.

*[The bottom one was probably projected some 50 yards from the cliff, the next 40, the next 30, the top 20 – and on the top [*or* tip] of it was the turret-tower. Their heights were 50 ft., 40 ft., 30 ft., 20 ?]

With black blank eyes the windows stared over the plains of Gorgoroth and Lithlad; some [?form(ed)] a line of red-lit holes, climbing up. Maybe they marked some stair up to the turret.

With a sudden shock of perception Sam realized that this stronghold had been built not to keep people out of Mordor, but to keep them in! It was indeed in origin one of the works of Gondor long ago: the easternmost outpost of the defence of Ithilien and Minas Ithil, made when after the overthrow of Sauron, in the days of the Last Alliance, the Men of the West kept watch upon the evil land where still his creatures lurked. But as with the Towers of the Teeth that watch[ed] over Kirith Gorgor, Nargos and ? [*sic*][2], so here too the watch and ward had failed and treachery had yielded up the Tower to the Ringwraiths. [?And] now for long it had been occupied by evil things. And since his return to Mordor Sauron had found it useful.

The pencilled passage that follows the end of the overwriting in ink reads as follows:

... keep watch upon the evil land where still his creatures lurked. But as with the Towers of the Teeth upon Kirith Gorgor, so here the watch and ward had failed and treachery had yielded up the Tower. But Sauron too had found it useful. For he had few servants and many slaves. Still its purpose was as of old to keep people in.

Sam looked and he saw how the tower commanded the main road from the pass behind; the road he was on was only a narrow way that went corkscrewing down into the darkness and seemed to join a broad way from the gate to the road.

This page was removed from the original draft text A on account of the illustration (the only one that my father ever made of the Tower of Kirith Ungol), which was squared off with rough lines, and placed with the second fair copy manuscript (E), although by then the fortress was built in three tiers not four.

This original draft continues on to its end thus, and in this appears the most important difference from the story of RK (pp. 176–8):

There was no doubt of the path he must take, but the longer he looked the less he liked it. He put on the Ring again and began to go down. Now he could hear the cries and sounds of fighting again. He was about halfway down when out of the dark gate into the red glow came two orcs running. They did not turn his way but were making for the main road, when they fell and lay still. Apparently they had been shot down by others from the wall of the lower course or from the shadow of the gate.[3] After that no more came out. Sam went on. He came now [to] the point where [the] descending path hugged the lower wall of the tower as it stood out from the rock behind. There was a narrow angle there. He stopped again, glad of the excuse; but he soon saw that there was no way in. There was no purchase in the smooth rock or [?jointed] masonry and 100 feet above the wall hung beetling out. The gate was the only way.

Here the first draft stops. Thus the entire passage in RK (p. 177) in which Sam is tempted to put on the Ring and claim it for his own, his mind filling with grandiose fantasies (deriving from those of Frodo on Mount Doom in outlines I and II, pp. 5–6), is lacking; but at the point where the draft ends my father wrote (clearly at the same time): *Sam must not wear Ring*. No doubt it was this perception that caused him to abandon this text.

He began at once on a second draft, 'B', for most of its length written legibly in ink, with the number 'LII'[4] and the title 'The Tower of Kirith Ungol'. This opened in the same way as did A (p. 18): 'For a while Sam stood stunned before the closed door. Far within he heard the sounds of orc-voices clamouring . . .' In the fair copy manuscript of 'The Choices of Master Samwise' it had been said (following the original draft) that 'Sam hurled himself against it, and fell', changed in pencil to 'Sam hurled himself against the bolted plates, and fell to the ground.' This was repeated in the first typescript of that chapter; only in the second typescript was the word 'senseless' introduced. The explanation of this is that while writing the present draft B of 'The Tower of Kirith Ungol' my father was struck by a thought which he noted in the margin of the page, telling himself that he 'must leave time for Frodo to recover and to fight'[5] and that in order to achieve this

'Sam must *swoon* outside the undergate.' It was no doubt at this time that he changed the opening of B:

> For a while Sam stood dumb before the closed door. Then desperate and mad he charged at the brazen door, and fell back stunned; down into darkness he sank. How long it lasted he could not tell; but when he came to himself still all was dark.

Against the passage in the draft A referring to other events in the world at that hour (p. 18) my father noted: 'Make Frodo and Sam one day more in Epheldúath. So Frodo is captured night of 12, when Merry was in Druadan Forest and Faramir lay in fever and Pippin was with the Lord, but Aragorn was manning his fleet.' In B the passage now becomes:

> Out westward in the world it was deep night upon the twelfth of March by Shire-reckoning, three days since he and Frodo had passed the peril of Minas Morgul; and now Aragorn was manning the black fleet on Anduin, and Merry in the Forest of Druadan was listening to the Wild Man, while in Minas Tirith the flames were roaring and [the great assault upon the Gates had begun >] the Lord sat beside the bed of Faramir in the White Tower.

Against 'March' in this passage my father scribbled in the margin: 'Make Hobbit names of months.'

At the point where Sam at the crest of the pass looked out over Mordor to Orodruin ('the light of it ... now glared against the stark rock faces, so that they seemed to be drenched with blood', RK p. 176) my father halted briefly and wrote the following note across the page:

> Change in the Ring as it comes in sight of the furnace where it was made. Sam feels *large* – and naked. He knows that he must *not* use the Ring or challenge the Eye; and he knows he is not big enough for that. The Ring is to be a desperate burden and no help from now onwards.

The Tower of Kirith Ungol is still built in four tiers, not three, and the note concerning the dimensions of the bastions was retained (see p. 20), though the dimensions were changed:

> [The bottom tier projected some 40 yards from the nearly perpendicular cliff, the second 30, the third 20, the topmost 10; and their height diminished similarly, 80 ft., 70 ft., 60 ft., 40 ft., and the topmost turret some 50 ft. above the top of .... mountain wall.]

The road from Minas Morgul over the Pass of Morgul is said here to pass 'through a jagged cleft in the inner ridge out into the valley of Gorgor on its way to the Dark Tower'; the name *Morgai* had not yet been devised (cf. RK p. 176). *Gorgor* was changed, probably im-

mediately, to *Gorgoroth* (cf. VIII.256). The Towers of the Teeth were at first not named in this text, but *Narchost and Carchost* was added in subsequently.

Following the note on the subject of the Ring just given, this draft now effectively reaches the text of RK in the account of Sam's temptation and his refusal of it, as far as the point where A ended ('The gate was the only way', RK p. 178). From this point B becomes rough and is partly in outline form.

Sam wonders how many orcs lived in the Tower with Shagrat and how many men Gorbag had [*marginal note:* Make Gorbag's men more numerous in last chapter of Book IV][6] and what all the fighting was about. 'Now for it!' he cried. He drew Sting and ran towards the open gate – only to feel a shock, as if he had run into some web like Shelob's but *invisible*. He could see no obstacle, but something too strong for his will to overcome barred the way. Then just inside the gate he saw the Two Watchers. They were as far as he could see in the gloom like great figures sitting on chairs, each had three bodies, and three heads, and their legs facing inward and outward and across the gateway. Their heads were like vulture-faces, and on their knees were laid clawlike hands.[7] They were carved of black stone, it seemed, moveless, and yet they were aware; some dreadful spirit of evil vigilance dwelt in them. They knew an enemy, and forbade his entry (or escape). Greatly daring, because there was now nothing else to do, Sam drew out the phial of Galadriel. He seemed to see a glitter in the jet-wrought eyes of the Watchers, but slowly he felt their opposition melt into fear. He sprang through, but even as he did so, as if it was some signal given by the Watchers, far up in the Tower he heard a shrill cry.

In RK (p. 179), even as Sam sprang through the gateway, 'he was aware, as plainly as if a bar of steel had snapped to behind him, that their vigilance was renewed. And from those evil heads there came a high shrill cry that echoed in the towering walls before him. Far up above, like an answering signal, a harsh bell clanged a single stroke.' In the margin of the present text, against the foregoing passage, is a note: 'Or make Watchers close with a snap. Sam is in a trap once more.'

The courtyard was full of slain orcs. Some lay here and there, hewn down or shot, but many lay still grappling one another, as they throttled or stabbed their opponents. Two archers right in

the gateway – probably those who shot down the escaping orcs – lay pierced from behind with spears. [Sting, Sam noticed, was only shining faintly.]

Sam rushed across the court, and to his relief found the door at the base of the Tower ajar. He met no one. Torches are flaring in brackets. A stair, opening on right, goes up. He runs up it, and so out into the narrow yard before the second door. 'Well!' he said to himself, his spirits rising a little, 'Well! It looks as if Shagrat or Gorbag was on my side and has done my job for me. There's nobody left alive!' And with that he halted, suddenly realizing the full meaning of what he had said: nobody was left alive. 'Frodo! Frodo!' he called, forgetful of all else, and ran to the second door. An orc leaps out at him [*in margin:* Two orcs].

Sam kills the [> one] orc and the other runs off yelling for Shagrat. Sam climbs warily. The stair now rises at the back of the entrance passage, and climbs right up to the Turret (the Brazen Gate enters about on a level with the courtyard?). Sam hears voices, and stalks them. The orc is pattering away up the stairs. 'Shagrat!' he calls. 'Here he is, the other spy.' Sam follows. He overhears the orc reporting to Shagrat. Shagrat is lying wounded by dead body of Gorbag. All Gorbag's men have been killed, but they have killed all Shagrat's but these two.

An isolated slip of paper seems very likely to be the continuation of this outline, and the first sketching of the new story of the escape from the Tower. The writing declines towards the end into such a scrawl that many words and phrases are impossible to make out.

Shagrat has in vain tried to get messages away to Baraddûr. The Quarrel arose about the treasures. Gorbag coveted the mithril coat, but pretended that they must search for the missing spy first. He sent his men to capture wall and gate, and demanded mithril coat. But Shagrat won't agree. Frodo was thrust in chamber of turret and stripped. Shagrat gives him some medicine and begins to question him. Shagrat puts things together to send to Baraddur (Lugburz). Gorbag tries to fight way in and slay Frodo.

Gorbag and Shagrat fight.

When Shagrat hears news (although orc says the other spy is not a large warrior) he is frightened, as he is wounded. He makes the treasures into a bundle and tries to creep off. He must get to Lugburz. So when Sam leaps out with phial and shining sword he flees. Sam pursues; but gives up for he [?hears] Frodo

[?crying]. He sees Shagrat far below rushing out of gate – and does not at first realize the misfortune of news getting to Lugburz. The orc left behind is tormenting Frodo. Sam rushes in and slays him.

Scene of yielding up Ring. Frodo has lost his cloak and ....[8] He has to dress in the orc's clothes [*or* in orcs' clothes]. Sam does likewise but keeps cloak and Sting. Frodo has to have orc-weapons. The sword is gone.[9] He tells Sam about the fight. They make their plans.

The opposition of the Watchers. The Tower seems full of evil. Cry goes up as they escape. And as if in answer a Nazgûl comes dropping down out of the black sky, [?shining .... ?with] a fell red, and perches on the wall. Meanwhile they dash down the road, and as soon as they can leave it and climb into the shelter of the rocks near bottom of trough. They wonder what to do.

Food.[10] Drink. They had found Frodo's sack and ..... [?in corner] rummaged – but orcs would not touch *lembas*. They gathered up what was left of it, in broken fragments. Orcs must drink. [?They see] [a] well in the courtyard. Sam tastes it – says Frodo not to risk it. It seems all right. They fill their water bottles. It is now 13th of March, make it 14th? They reckoned they have [?enough] for about a week with care or at a desperate pinch ten days. How far is it.

They climb to lower ridge and find they dare not go across the plain at that point – where it is broad and full of enemies.

The Nazgûl [?explores] Tower and sees there is [??trouble] and flies off. Frodo thinks it best to go north to where the plain narrows – he had seen sketch of Mordor in Elrond's house – and away from Kirith Ungol to which [??attention is now directed]. He bemoans fact that Shagrat had got away with *tokens*.

Chapter ends with the Nazgûl shining red circling over Tower [??and he cries as] ..... of orcs begin to search the [?pass] and the road and lands about.

I believe that at this stage my father began the chapter again, and this was the first completed manuscript ('D'). It was numbered 'LII' but given a new title 'The Orc-tower'; the number was later changed to 'L' (which I cannot explain) and the title 'The Tower of Kirith Ungol' (which it had borne in the draft B) restored.

New initial drafting begins at the point where Sam enters the gate of the Tower, but up to this point the final text was now written out on the basis of the drafts A and B described above, in a form only

differing in a few minor points from that in RK. The chapter now opens exactly as it does in the published work (see p. 22), and Sam now has to climb back over the stone door leading into the passage to the under-gate, since he still cannot find the catch (note 1). The events 'out westward in the world' are described in the same words as in RK (with the addition, after 'Pippin watched the madness growing in the eyes of Denethor', of 'and Gandalf laboured in the last defence'); but the date ('noon upon the fourteenth day of March' in RK) is now 'morning upon the thirteenth day of March'. The name *Morgai* appears as an early addition to the text (p. 22). The Tower now has three tiers, and the note about the dimensions of the bastions, still present (see pp. 20, 22), was accommodated to this: the tiers now projected 40, 30 and 20 yards from the cliff, and their heights were 80, 70, and 60 feet, changed at the time of writing to 100, 75, and 50 feet. 'The top was 25 feet above Sam, and above it was the horn-turret, another 50 feet.'[11]

From '"That's done it!" said Sam. "Now I've rung the front-door bell!"' a draft text ('C') takes up. This is written in a script so difficult that a good deal of it would be barely comprehensible had it not been closely followed in the fair copy D.[12] The final story was now reached, and there is little to record of these texts. At the point in the narrative where Sam climbed up to the roof of the third (topmost) tier of the Tower there is a little diagram in D showing the form of the open space (not clearly seen in the drawing reproduced on p. 19): rectangular at the base but with the sides drawing together to a point (cf. the 'pointed bastions' referred to in the description of the Tower), roughly in the shape of a haystack. To the statement that the stairhead was 'covered by a small domed chamber in the midst of the roof, with low doors facing east and west' D adds 'Both were open': this was omitted in the second manuscript ('E'), perhaps inadvertently. The name of the sole surviving orc beside Shagrat is *Radbug* in both C and D (*Snaga* in RK; see LR Appendix F, p. 409), *Radbug* being retained in the final story as the name of an orc whose eyes Shagrat says that he had squeezed out (RK p. 182); in C the orcs whom Sam saw running from the gate and shot down as they fled are *Lughorn* and *Ghash* > *Muzgash* (*Lagduf* and *Muzgash* in D, as in RK). Where in RK Snaga declares that 'the great fighter' (Sam) is 'one of those bloody-handed Elves, or one of the filthy *tarks*', and that his getting past the Watchers is '*tark's* work',[13] C has 'that's Elvish work'; D has 'one of these filthy wizards maybe' and 'that's wizard's work' ('wizard' being changed in pencil to '*tark*', which appears in the second manuscript E as written).

Only in one point does the story as told in the draft C differ from that in D. When Gorbag rouses himself from among the corpses on the roof Sam sees in the latter, as in RK (p. 183), that he has in his hand 'a broad-headed spear with a short broken haft'; in C on the other hand he has 'a red [?and shining] sword. It was his own sword, the one he

left by Frodo.' With this cf. text B (p. 25 and note 9): 'Frodo has to have orc-weapons. The sword is gone.'

Sam's song as he sat on the stair in the horn-turret was much worked on.[14] I give it here in the form that it has in D, which was preceded by rougher but closely similar versions.

I sit upon the stones alone;
the fire is burning red,
the tower is tall, the mountains dark;
all living things are dead.
In western lands the sun may shine,
there flower and tree in spring
is opening, is blossoming;
and there the finches sing.

But here I sit alone and think
of days when grass was green,
and earth was brown, and I was young:
they might have never been.
For they are past, for ever lost,
and here the shadows lie
deep upon my heavy heart,
and hope and daylight die.

But still I sit and think of you;
I see you far away
Walking down the homely roads
on a bright and windy day.
It was merry then when I could run
to answer to your call,
could hear your voice or take your hand;
but now the night must fall.
And now beyond the world I sit,
and know not where you lie!
O master dear, will you not hear
my voice before we die?

The second verse was altered on the manuscript:

For they are gone, for ever lost,
and buried here I lie
and deep beneath the shadows sink
where hope and daylight die.

At the same time the last two lines of the song became:

O Master, will you hear my voice
and answer ere we die?

In this form the song appears in the second manuscript E. At a later stage it was rewritten on this manuscript to become virtually a different song, but still retaining almost unchanged the second half of the original first verse, which now became the opening lines:

In western lands the Sun may shine;
there flower and tree in Spring
are opening, are blossoming,
and there the finches sing.

Further correction of these lines on the manuscript produced the final form (RK p. 185).

A last point concerns the ladder: 'Suddenly the answer dawned on Sam: the topmost chamber was reached by a trap-door in the roof of the passage', RK p. 185. In my account of the fair copy manuscript of 'The Choices of Master Samwise' I did not describe a development in the last words of Shagrat and Gorbag that Sam overheard before they passed through the under-gate of the Tower (TT p. 351). In the draft text, only Shagrat speaks:

> 'Yes, up to the top chamber,' Shagrat was saying, 'right at the top. No way down but by the narrow stair from the Look-out Room below. He'll be safe there.'

In the fair copy this was retained, but Shagrat begins 'Yes, that'll do' (as if the suggestion had come from Gorbag), and 'the ladder' was substituted for 'the narrow stair'. It is thus seen that this element in the story was already present when Book IV was completed. The further development in the conversation of the orcs, in which Gorbag argues against Shagrat's proposal, and Shagrat declares that he does not trust all of his own 'lads', nor any of Gorbag's, nor Gorbag himself (and does not mention that the topmost chamber was reached by ladder), was added to the first typescript of 'The Choices of Master Samwise' at this time, as is seen from the fact that rough drafting for it is found on a page carrying drafts for passages for 'The Land of Shadow'. Curiously, my father wrote at the head of this: 'No way up but by a ladder', as if this idea had only now emerged.[15]

NOTES

1 When Sam came back to the stone door of the orc-passage 'on the inner side he found the catch' (whereas in RK he could not find it and had to climb over). This was retained in the second draft B.

2 For earlier names of the Towers of the Teeth see the Index to *The War of the Ring*, entries *Naglath Morn*, *Nelig Myrn*. The name *Nargos* here is a reversion to one of the original names (*Gorgos* and *Nargos*) of the towers guarding Kirith Ungol, when that was

still the name of the chief pass into Mordor: see VII.344 and note 41.

3 These two orcs, who survived into the final text (RK p. 178), originally appeared in outline IV (p. 9) as messengers sent to Barad-dûr. At that time there was no suggestion that they did not make good their errand.

4 At this stage, presumably, 'The Pyre of Denethor' and 'The Houses of Healing' constituted the two parts of Chapter XLIX (VIII.386), while the remainder of Book V was divided between L and LI (the fair copy manuscript of 'The Black Gate Opens' is numbered LI).

5 In the event, of course, Frodo did not fight, and no draft of this period suggests that he did. Possibly at this stage, before he had come to write the new story of the rescue of Frodo, my father was still thinking in terms of the original plot in 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien', when Frodo was more active (VII.335 ff.).

6 In the fair copy manuscript of 'The Choices of Master Samwise' Sam asked himself: 'How many are there? Thirty, forty, or more?' The change to 'Thirty of forty from the tower at least, and a lot more than that from down below, I guess' (TT p. 344) was made on the first typescript of the chapter. – In outline IV (p. 9) the orcs of the Tower are the more numerous.

7 Cf. the original conception of the Sentinels guarding the entrance to Minas Morgul in 'The Story Foreseen from Lórien' written years before (VII.340–1): 'It was as if some will denying the passage was drawn like invisible ropes across his path. He felt the pressure of unseen eyes. ... The Sentinels sat there: dark and still. They did not move their clawlike hands laid on their knees, they did not move their shrouded heads in which no faces could be seen ...' See also the diagrammatic sketch of the Sentinels in VII.348.

8 The illegible word might possibly be *jewel* (i.e. the brooch of his elven-cloak).

9 *The sword is gone:* this is Sam's sword from the Barrow-downs; cf. 'The Choices of Master Samwise' (TT p. 340): '"If I'm to go on," he said, "then I must take your sword, by your leave, Mr. Frodo, but I'll put this one to lie by you, as it lay by the old king in the barrow ..."' See pp. 26–7.

10 This passage concerning their provision of food and water is marked to stand earlier – no doubt after the words 'They make their plans'. The illegible words in the sentence following 'Food. Drink.' could conceivably be read as *stick thrust*, i.e. 'They had found Frodo's sack and stick thrust in corner, rummaged.'

11 A few other differences of detail are worth recording. Where in RK (p. 176) the text reads: 'not even the black shadows, lying deep where the red glow could not reach, would shield him long

from the night-eyed orcs' D continues: 'that were moving to and fro.' This was taken up from the draft B, and remained into the second manuscript of the chapter (E), where it was removed. – Sam's rejection of the temptation to claim the Ring as his own was expressed thus: 'The one small garden of a free gardener was all his need and due, not a garden swollen to a realm; his own hands to command, not the hands of others. Service given with love was his nature, not to command service, whether by fear or in proud benevolence.' – After the words 'He was not really in any doubt' (RK p. 177) there follows in D: 'but he was lonely and he was not used to it, or to acting on his own.' To this my father subsequently added, before striking it all out, 'Since no one else was there he had to talk to himself.'

12 Some passages are absent from the draft C, but not I think because pages are lost: rather D becomes here the initial narrative composition. Thus the passage in RK p. 181 from 'Up, up he went' to '"Curse you, Snaga, you little maggot"' is missing; and here the D text becomes notably rougher and full of corrections in the act of writing. The very rough draft C stops near the beginning of Sam's conversation with Frodo in the topmost chamber (RK p. 187), and from that point there are only isolated passages of drafting extant; but the latter part of D was much corrected in the act of writing, and was probably now to a large extent the primary composition.

13 Cf. LR Appendix F (RK p. 409): in Orkish Westron '*tark*, "man of Gondor", was a debased form of *tarkil*, a Quenya word used in Westron for one of Númenorean descent'.

14 For my father's original ideas for the song that Sam sang in this predicament see VII.333.

15 When Frodo and Sam passed out through the gate of the Tower Frodo cried: *Alla elenion ancalima! Alla* was not changed to *Aiya* until the book was in type (cf. VIII.223, note 29).

III

THE LAND OF SHADOW

It seems plain that 'The Land of Shadow' was achieved swiftly and in a single burst of writing; the draft material (here compendiously called '**A**') consists largely of very roughly written passages immediately transferred to and developed in the first continuous manuscript ('**B**'), which was given the number 'LIII' (see p. 25) and the title 'Mount Doom', subsequently changed to 'The Land of Shadow'. Only in a few passages did my father go momentarily down an unsuccessful turn in the story.

The first of these concerns the overhearing by Sam and Frodo of the conversation of orcs in the valley beneath the Morgai, which was at first conceived very differently from the story in RK (pp. 202–3). The draft text A is here, as throughout, exceedingly difficult to read.

Presently [three >] two orcs came into view. They were in black without tokens and were armed with bows, a small breed, black-skinned with wide snuffling nostrils, evidently trackers of some kind. ..... they were talking in some hideous unintelligible speech; but as they passed snuffling among the stones scarcely 20 yards from where the hobbits lurked Frodo saw that one was carrying on his arm a black mail-shirt very like the one that he had abandoned. He sniffed it as [he] went as if to recall its scent. All at once lifting his head he let out a cry. It was answered, and from the other direction (from Kirith Ungol now some miles behind) ... large fighting orcs came up with shields ..... [?painted] with the Eye.

A [?babble] of talk in the common tongue now broke out. 'Nar,' said the tracker, 'not a trace further along. Nor o' this smell, but we're not [?easy]. Somebody that has no business here has been about. Different smell, but a bad smell: we've lost that too, it went up into the mountains.'

'A lot of use you little snufflers are,' grunted a bigger orc. 'I reckon eyes are better than your snotty noses. Have you seen anything?'

'What's to look for?' grunted the tracker.

Amid much further orcish dissension in confused drafting the final story emerges, with two orcs only, a soldier and a small tracker: my

father had some trouble in deciding which offensive remark belonged to which speaker.

Drafting for the passage in which Sam described to Frodo all that had happened (RK p. 204) runs thus:

When he had finished Frodo said nothing for some time, but took Sam's hand and pressed it. At length he stirred. 'So this is what comes of eavesdropping, Sam,' he said. 'But I wonder if you'll ever get back. Perhaps it would have been safer to have been turned into a toad as Gandalf threatened. Do you remember that day, Sam,' he said, 'and clipping the edges under the window?'

'I do, Mr. Frodo. And I bet things are in [a] nasty mess there now with [?that] Lobelia and her Cosimo,[1] begging your pardon. There'll be trouble if ever we get back.'

'I shouldn't worry about that if I were you,' said Frodo. 'We've got to go on again now. East, East, Sam, not West. I wonder how long it will be before we are caught and all this slinking and toiling will be over?'

It is curious that Sam, speaking darkly of the state of affairs in the Shire, should ascribe it to Lobelia and Cosimo Sackville-Baggins. In the original sketch of the Mirror of Lothlórien, when it was King Galdaran's Mirror, and when it was Frodo who saw the visions of the Shire, he was to see 'Cosimo Sackville-Baggins very rich, buying up land'; but there is no mention of Cosimo in the first narrative of the scene (VII.249, 253).

Frodo's entrusting of Sting and the Phial of Galadriel to Sam entered in the first manuscript (B) in this form:

'You must keep the Lady's gift for me, Sam,' he said, 'I've nowhere to store it now, except in my hand, and I need both in the dark. And you must keep Sting too, since I have lost your sword. I have got an orc-blade, but I do not think it is my part to strike any blows again.'

It was at this time, as it appears, that my father came to a new perception of the lands in the north-western extremity of Mordor, and saw that the vale behind the Morannon was closed also at the southward end by great spurs that thrust out from Ephel Dúath and Ered Lithui. As first written in B, Frodo told Sam this concerning his knowledge of Mordor (cf. RK p. 204):

'No very clear notion, Sam,' said Frodo. 'In Rivendell before I set out I saw old maps made before the Dark Lord came back

here, and I remember them vaguely. I had a little secret plan with names and distances: it was given to me by Elrond, but that has gone with all my other things. I think it was ten leagues or even a dozen from the Bridge to the Narrows, a point where the western and northern ranges send out spurs and make a sort of gate to the deep valley that lies behind the Morannon. The Mountain stands out alone on the plain, but nearer the northern range. Nearly fifty miles I think from the Narrows, more, of course, if we have to keep to the edge of the hills on the other side.'

In a revised version of this Frodo says: 'I guess, not counting our wasted climb, we've done say [twenty miles >] six or seven leagues north from the Bridge since we started.' The final version in this manuscript gives seven leagues as the distance they have traversed, 'ten leagues or so' from the Bridge to the meeting of the mountain-spurs, and still fifty miles from there to Mount Doom. In RK these distances are twelve leagues, not seven; twenty leagues, not ten; and sixty miles, not fifty: see further the Note on Geography at the end of this chapter.

When Frodo and Sam at last set eyes on the north-western confines of Mordor as seen from the south (RK p. 205) the names *Durthang* and *Carach Angren 'the Iron Jaws'* appear in the original draft, but the valley behind Carach Angren is named *the Narch*.[2] The draft text is here partly illegible, but enough can be read to show that the landscape was perfectly clear to my father's eyes as soon as he reached this point in the narrative. In the B text the name *Isenmouthe* appears, though the valley behind is still called 'the deep dark valley of Narch.'[3]

A notable feature in the original draft of the story is that there is no mention of Gollum (see RK p. 206). While Frodo slept Sam went off by himself and found water, as in RK, but then 'the rest of that grey day passed without incident. Frodo slept for [?hours]. Sam did not wake him, but trusting once more to "luck" slept for a long while beside him.' Gollum enters in the B text in these words:

At that moment he thought he caught a glimpse of a black form or shadow flitting among the stones above, near to Frodo's hiding. He was almost back to his master before he was sure. There was Gollum indeed! If his will could have given him strength for a great bound Sam would have sprung straight on his enemy's back; but at that moment Gollum became aware of him and looked back. Sam had a quick glimpse of two pale eyes now filled with a mad malevolent light, and then Gollum, jumping from rock to rock with great agility, fled away onto the ridge and vanished over its crest.

The end of the chapter, the story of Frodo and Sam being forced to join the orc-band coming down from Durthang and their escape from it in the confusion at the road-meeting near the Isenmouthe, was achieved in all but minor details unhesitatingly.[4]

NOTES

1 For Cosimo Sackville-Baggins, later Lotho, see VI.283, VII.32.

2 It was while working on the latter part of 'The Land of Shadow' that my father first mapped this new conception of the north-western extremity of Mordor, on a slip of paper that bears on the reverse drafting for the story of the forced march of Frodo and Sam in the troop of orcs moving from Durthang to the Isenmouthe. On this little sketch-map the closed vale between the Morannon and the Isenmouthe is named *The Narch*, subsequently overwritten *Udûn*. In my description of the Second Map in VIII.438 I noted that the vale was first marked *Gorgoroth*, but that this was struck out, 'and in its place was pencilled here the name *Narch Udûn*.' It is in fact clear that *Narch* alone was first written, and that *Udûn* was intended as a replacement.

3 This was changed later to 'the deep dale of Kirith Gorgor', and then to 'the deep dale of Udûn' (see note 2).

4 A few such details from the earliest form of the conclusion of the chapter may be mentioned. The orc 'slave-drivers' are called 'two of the large fierce *uruks*, the fighting-orcs', and this seems to be the first time that the word was used (though the name *Uruk-hai* had appeared long since, VII.409, VIII.22, see also p. 436); and it is said that 'one of the slave-drivers *with night-sighted eyes* spied the two figures by the roadside.' Where in RK this orc says 'All your folk should have been inside Udûn before yesterday evening' he says here 'inside the Narch-line'; and following his words 'Don't you know we're at war?' he adds: 'If the elvish folk get the best of it, they won't treat you so kindly.'

Note on the Geography

In the first draft of the chapter, when Frodo and Sam climbed to the crest of the Morgai and looking out eastwards saw Mount Doom, it was 'still 30 miles away, perhaps, due East from where the hobbits stood.' In the B text, in the following manuscript, and in the final typescript for the printer, the distance became 'seven leagues or more', and was only altered to 'forty miles at least' (RK p. 200) at a late stage. It is impossible to relate '30 miles', still less 'seven leagues', to any of the maps. On the Second Map the distance due East from the Morgai to Mount Doom (in its second, more westerly, position, see VIII.438) is just under 50 miles, while on the Third Map (the last general small-scale map that my father made) it became 80 miles. On the

large-scale map of Rohan, Gondor and Mordor the distance is somewhat under 60 miles, as Mount Doom was first placed; but when it was moved further to the west it became about 43 miles (under 40 in my redrawing of the map published in *The Return of the King*), with which the text of RK agrees.

The distance from the Morgai bridge below Kirith Ungol to the Isenmouthe was roughly estimated from memory by Frodo (p. 33) as 'ten leagues or even a dozen' (30–36 miles); and 'ten leagues at least' remained into the final typescript before being changed to the figure in RK (p. 204), 'twenty leagues at least'. The Second Map does not allow of precise measurement of the distance from the Morgai bridge to the Isenmouthe, since the conception of the closing of the vale behind the Morannon by spurs of Ephel Dúath and Ered Lithui had not arisen when it was made, but it could be minimally calculated as between 30 and 40 miles; on the large-scale map it becomes 56 miles or just under 19 leagues, agreeing with the twenty leagues of RK.

Frodo's estimation of the distance from the Isenmouthe to Mount Doom as about fifty miles likewise remained through all the texts until replaced at the very end by sixty. This distance is roughly 50 miles on the Second Map, about 80 on the Third Map, and 62 on the large-scale map as Mount Doom was first placed; when it was moved further west the distance from the Isenmouthe became 50 miles. The change of 50 to 60 at the end of the textual history of RK is thus, strangely, the reverse of the development of the map.

In the original draft Sam and Frodo joined the road to the Isenmouthe 'after it had already run down some 4 miles from the orc-hold of Durthang and turned away somewhat northward so that the long descent behind was hidden from them [?hurrying] on the stony road. They had been going an hour and had covered perhaps some 3 miles without meeting any enemy when they heard what they had all along dreaded ...' In B 'they came at last to the road where, after descending swiftly from Durthang, it became more level and ran under the ridge towards the Isenmouthe, a distance of perhaps ten miles.' As in A, they had only been on the road for an hour when they were overtaken by the orcs, and it is added in B at this point 'it was maybe six miles yet before the road would leave its high shelf and go down into the plain.' In the following manuscript and in the final typescript for the printer the hobbits still reached the road 'at the point where it swung east towards the Isenmouthe ten miles away', and it was still after only an hour on the road that they halted, and were shortly afterwards overtaken. On the typescript my father emended 'ten miles' to 'twenty miles', and 'an hour' to 'three hours', but the final reading of RK was 'after doing some twelve miles, they halted.' On the large-scale map the track of Frodo and Sam up the valley below the Morgai is marked, and the point where their track joined

the road from Durthang is 20 miles from the Isenmouthe; the change in the text was thus very probably made to accommodate it to the map. The change whereby the hobbits had gone for three hours or twelve miles along the road before being overtaken clearly followed from the increased distance to the Isenmouthe, in order to reduce the time that Frodo and Sam had to submit to the punishing pace set by the orcs before they escaped.

Note on the Chronology

Dates are written in the margins of the original texts of this chapter. At this stage the chronology of the journey from Kirith Ungol can be set out thus:

March 14 Dawn: Frodo and Sam climb down into the valley below the Morgai. Wind changes and the darkness begins to be driven back.

Night of March 14–15: They sleep below the crest of the Morgai; Sam sees a star.

March 15 They reach the top of the Morgai and see Mount Doom; descend and continue up the valley; overhear the two orcs quarrelling.

Night of March 15–16: They continue up the valley northward.

March 16 They spend the day in hiding in the valley.

Night of March 16–17: They continue up the valley.

March 17 In hiding. They see Durthang and the road descending from it. Gollum reappears.

Night of March 17–18: They take the road from Durthang and are forced to join the orc-company.

This chronology accords with the date March 14 of the Battle of the Pelennor Fields (see VIII.428–9); in both the drafting A and the first manuscript B of the chapter 'It was the morning of the fourteenth of March ... Théoden lay dying on the Pelennor Fields.' Here in RK (p. 196) it was the morning of March 15; and all the dates as given above are in the final story one day later.

IV
MOUNT DOOM

The original draft of the chapter 'Mount Doom' was written continuously with the first completed manuscript B of 'The Land of Shadow', which at this stage was called 'Mount Doom' (see p. 31); but the division into two chapters was soon made.

The latter part of the original single chapter (which I will continue to call '**B**') is remarkable in that the primary drafting constitutes a completed text, with scarcely anything in the way of preparatory sketching of individual passages, and while the text is rough and full of corrections made at the time of composition it is legible almost throughout; moreover many passages underwent only the most minor changes later. It is possible that some more primitive material has disappeared, but it seems to me far more probable that the long thought which my father had given to the ascent of Mount Doom and the destruction of the Ring enabled him, when at last he came to write it, to achieve it more quickly and surely than almost any earlier chapter in *The Lord of the Rings*. He had known from far back (see p. 3) that when Frodo (still called 'Bingo') came to the Crack of Doom he would be unable to cast away the Ring, and that Gollum would take it and fall into the chasm. But how did he fall? In subsequent outlines Sam's part was pondered. My father knew that Sam was attacked by Gollum on the way up the Mountain and delayed, so that Frodo made the final ascent alone; and he knew that Gollum got hold of the Ring by taking Frodo's finger with it. But for a long time he thought that it was Sam who, finally making his way to the Chamber of Fire, pushed Gollum with the Ring into the abyss. In none of the later outlines given in Chapter I did he achieve the final articulation of the story; but there seems good reason to think that these belong to the period of the writing of Book V, and if my chronological deductions are correct (see pp. 12–13), he had had plenty of time to 'find out what really happened' before he came actually to describe the final moments of the Quest.

As I have said, the final form of 'Mount Doom' was quite largely achieved in the first draft (B), and I give the following brief passage (interesting also for another reason) as exemplification (cf. RK p. 223):

'Master!' he cried. Then Frodo stirred, and spoke with a clear voice, indeed a voice clearer and more powerful than Sam had

ever heard him use, and it rose above the throb and turmoils of the chasm of Mount Doom, echoing in the roof and walls.

'I have come,' he said. 'But I cannot do what I have come to do. I will not do it. The Ring is mine.' And suddenly he vanished from Sam's sight. Sam gasped, but at that moment many things happened. Something struck Sam violently in the back, his legs were knocked from under him and he was flung aside striking his head against the stony floor. He lay still.

And far away as Frodo put on the Ring the Power in Baraddur was shaken and the Tower trembled from its foundations to its proud and bitter crown. The Dark Lord was suddenly aware of him, the Eye piercing all shadows looked across the plain to the door in Orodruin, and all the plot [> devices] was laid bare to it. Its wrath blazed like a sudden flame and its fear was like a great black smoke, for it knew its deadly peril, the thread upon which hung its doom. From all its policies and webs its mind shook free, and through all its realm a tremor ran, its slaves quailed, and its armies halted and its captains suddenly steerless bereft of will wavered and despaired. But its thought was now bent with all its overwhelming force upon the Mountain; and at its summons wheeling with a ...ing cry in a last desperate race there flew, faster than the wind, the Nazgûl, the Ringwraiths, with a storm of wings they hurtled towards Mount Doom.

Frodo's words 'But *I cannot do* what I have come to do' were changed subsequently on the B-text to 'But *I do not choose now to do* what I have come to do.' I do not think that the difference is very significant, since it was already a central element in the outlines that Frodo would *choose* to keep the Ring himself; the change in his words does no more than emphasize that he fully willed his act. (In the second text of the chapter, the fair copy manuscript 'C',[1] Sam cried out just before this not merely 'Master!' as in the first text and in RK but 'Master! Do it quick!' – these words being bracketed probably at the time of setting them down.)

This passage is notable in showing the degree to which my father had come to identify the Eye of Barad-dûr with the mind and will of Sauron, so that he could speak of 'its wrath, its fear, its thought'. In the second text C he shifted from 'its' to 'his' as he wrote out this passage anew.

Some other differences in the original text are worth recording. On the morning after they escaped from the orc-band marching to the Isenmouthe, following Frodo's words 'I can manage it. I must' (RK p. 211) text B at first continued:

In the end they decided to crawl in such cover as they could towards the north-range [and then turn south >] until they were further from the vigilance on the ramparts, and then turn south.

As they went from hollow to hollow or along cracks in the stony ground, keeping always if they could some screen between them and the north, they saw that the most easterly of the three roads went also in the same direction. It was in fact the road to the Dark Tower, as Frodo guessed.

He looked at it. 'I shall wear myself out in a day of this crawling and stooping,' he said. 'If we are to go on we must risk it. We must take the road.'

Here my father stopped, struck this out, and replaced it by a passage very close to that in RK, where it is Sam who sees that they can go no further in this fashion and must risk taking the road to the Dark Tower.

Another slight difference in the original text follows Frodo's words to Sam on the morning on which they left the road and turned south towards Mount Doom: 'I can't manage it, Sam. It is such a weight to carry, such a weight' (RK p. 214).

Sam knew what he meant, but seeking for some encouragement amid despair he answered: 'Well, Mr Frodo, why not lighten the load a bit. We're going that way as straight as we can make.' He pointed to the Mountain. 'No good taking anything we're not sure to need.'

Like a child, distracted from its trouble by some game of make-believe, Frodo considered his words seriously for a moment. Then 'Of course,' he said. 'Leave everything behind we don't want. Travel light, that's the thing, Sam!' He picked up his orc-shield and flung it away, and threw his helmet after it; and undoing his heavy belt cast it and the sword and sheath with it clattering on the ground. Even his grey cloak he threw away.

Sam looked at him with pity.

This was struck out immediately and replaced by the text of RK, in which Sam suggests that he should bear the Ring for a while. But neither in the text B nor in the fair copy C is there mention of the phial of Galadriel or of the little box that she gave to Sam.[2]

The height of Mount Doom was at first differently conceived: 'It was indeed some 3000 feet or so from foot to the .... broken crater at its crown. A third of that height now lay below him ...' Text C still differs from RK (p. 218): 'The confused and tumbled shoulders of its great sprawling base rose for maybe three[3] thousand feet above the

plain, and above them was reared, *almost as high again*, its tall central cone, like a vast oast or chimney capped by a jagged crater. But already Sam stood *half way up* the base ...' (where RK has 'half as high again' and 'more than half way up'). My father's drawing, reproduced in *Pictures by J. R. R. Tolkien* no. 30, and in this book on p. 42, from a small page that carries also a scrap of drafting for this part of the chapter, seems to show the final conception, with the cone 'half as high again' in relation to the 'base'; but in this drawing the door of the Sammath Naur is at the foot of the cone, whereas in all versions of the text the climbing road came 'high in the upper cone, but still far from the reeking summit, to a dark entrance'.[4]

When Gollum fell upon Sam as he carried Frodo up the road, both in the original text and in the fair copy C Sam not only tore the backs of his hands as he crashed forward (RK p. 220) but also cut his forehead on the ground. In B, against the words 'But Sam gave him no more heed. He suddenly remembered his master. He looked up the path and could not see him' (RK p. 222) my father wrote in the margin: 'his head was bleeding?' This was not taken up in C, but a little earlier, after the words 'Sam's hand wavered. His mind was hot with wrath and the memory of evil' (RK p. 221) C has: 'Blood trickled down his forehead.' Both these references to Sam's bleeding forehead were later struck from C. It is not clear to me what my father had in mind here. At first sight there might seem to be a connection with Sam's blindness in outline V (p. 11): 'Sam feels a blindness coming on and wonders if it is due to water of Mordor ... Sam half-blind is lagging behind', but that seems to have been introduced to explain how it was that when Gollum attacked Frodo went on unaware of what had happened; whereas here the blood in Sam's eyes was the result of Gollum's attack, and he himself urged Frodo to go on. Possibly the cutting of his forehead was intended to explain why Sam could not see Frodo when he looked up the path, and was removed when my father came to the point when Sam was again felled by Gollum in the Sammath Naur: 'He was dazed, and blood streaming from his head dripped in his eyes' (RK p. 223).

When Sam urged Frodo to go on up alone while he dealt with Gollum Frodo replied, both in B and C: 'The Quest shall now be all fulfilled', where in RK he said: 'This is the end at last.'

At the end of the chapter, after the words 'Down like lashing whips fell a torrent of black rain' (RK p. 224), the first text moves at once to '"Well, this is the end, Sam," said a voice by his side.' Here my father wrote in the margin soon after: 'Put in here (or in next chapter?) vision of the cloudwrack out of Baraddur [?growing] to shape of a vast black [?man] that stretches out a menacing unavailing arm and is blown away.' The word 'man' is very unclear but I cannot see how else it could be read. Later at this point in the manuscript he wrote 'Fall of Ringwraiths' with a mark of insertion, and the passage 'And into the

heart of the storm, with a cry that pierced all other sounds . . .' appears in C.

Lastly, Sam's feelings were thus described in B: 'If he felt anything in all that ruin of the world, it was perhaps most of all a great joy, to be servant once again, and know his master [*added:* and surrender to him the leadership].' This was repeated in C, but rejected and replaced by the reading of RK. In Frodo's final words he did not, in the original text, speak of forgiving Gollum.[5]

NOTES

1 The fair copy manuscript C is entitled 'Mount Doom' and numbered 'LIV' (see pp. 31, 37), the number changed subsequently to 'LII' (see p. 25).

2 Sam's vain use of the Phial when he entered the Sammath Naur (RK p. 222) appears in B. The addition concerning the Phial and the box was made later to text C.

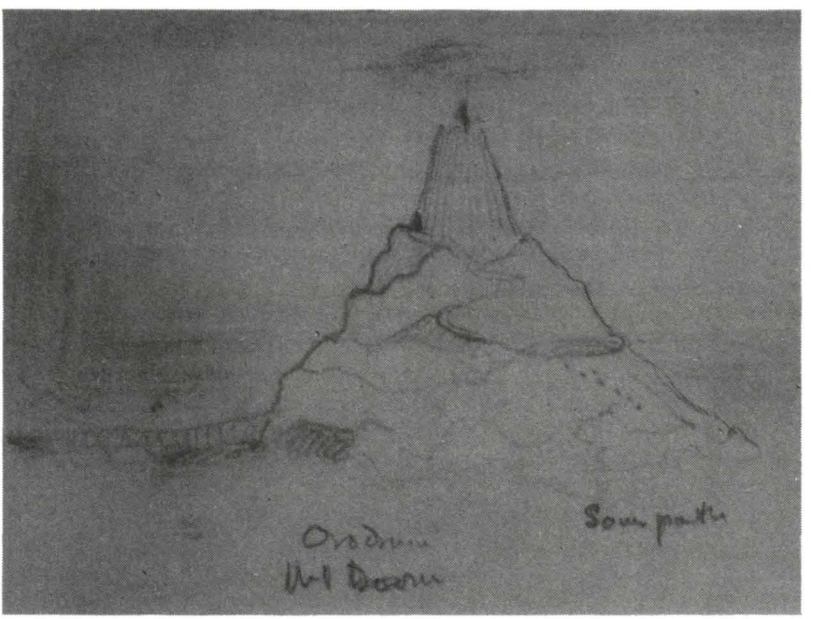
The passage in which Sam remembered paddling in the Pool at Bywater with the children of Farmer Cotton (RK p. 216) is also absent from B. This is one of the few passages in this chapter for which a separate draft is found (before its introduction into text C), and here the names of the Cotton children are seen emerging.

3 *three* was changed in pencil to *two* on the manuscript (C), but *three* survived.

4 In both B and C, despite the earlier statement (as in RK p. 219) that the road came 'high in the upper cone . . . to a dark entrance', it is said in the passage corresponding to that in RK p. 222 that the road 'with a last course passed *across the base of the cone* and came to the dark door', where in RK 'with a last eastward course [it] passed *in a cutting along the face of the cone* and came to the dark door'.

In B there is a little sketch of Mount Doom which my father struck through, and here the entrance to the Sammath Naur is placed about a third of the way up the cone (which is here shorter in relation to the base than in the drawing reproduced on p. 42). The road here disappears round the eastern side of the cone, below the door, and seems (the drawing is hard to make out) to reappear further up, coming from the left (east) and ending at the door.

5 A couple of points concerning names in this chapter may be mentioned. In the opening paragraph both B and C have 'He heard the scuffling and cries die down as the troops passed on into the Narch', where RK has 'passed on through the Isenmouthe'; see p. 33. The name *Sammath Naur* does not appear in B, but enters in C without any initial hesitation as to its form.



Mount Doom

Note on the Chronology

The chronology was still a day behind that of RK (see p. 36). At nightfall of the day on which they escaped from the orc-band at the Isenmouthe my father wrote in the margin of text B '18 ends'; this was March 19 in RK (in *The Tale of Years* 'Frodo and Samwise escape and begin their journey along the road to the Barad-dûr'). The reference to the passing of the Cross Roads by the Captains of the West and the burning of the fields of Imlad Morghul (so spelt) is however present in B at the same point as in RK (p. 212): see VIII.432.

In B, against the words 'There came at last a dreadful evening; and even as the Captains of the West drew near the end of the living lands, the two wanderers came to an hour of blank despair' (cf. RK p. 212), my father wrote 'end of 22'. This was the same date as in RK, and thus there follows in the original text 'Five days had passed since they escaped the orcs' (i.e. March 18–22), where RK has 'Four'.

V

THE FIELD OF KORMALLEN

In the first draft of this chapter my father again achieved for most of its length an extraordinarily close approach to the final form, and this is the more remarkable when one considers that he had no plan or outline before him. There had been many mentions of a great feast to follow the final victory (VII.212, 345, 448; VIII.275, 397), but nothing had ever been said of it beyond the fact that it was to take place in Minas Tirith.[1] That this text ('**A**') was indeed the first setting down on paper of the story and that nothing preceded it seems obvious from the nature of the manuscript itself, which has all the marks of primary composition.[2] It was followed by a fair copy manuscript ('**B**'), bearing the number and title 'LV The Field of Kormallen', which was also pencilled in later on A.

Not until the end of the minstrel's song of Frodo of the Nine Fingers and the Ring of Doom did the first text A diverge in any narrative point, and little even in expression, from the form in RK. There are however several interesting details.

One of these concerns the Eagles. As the passage (RK p. 226) describing their coming above the Morannon was first written it read:

> There came Gwaihir, the Wind-lord, and Lhandroval his brother, greatest of all the eagles of the north, mightiest of the descendants of [*added:* Great > old] Thorondor who built his eyries in the immeasurable peaks of Thangorodrim [*changed immediately to* the Encircling Mountains] when Middle-earth was young.

In the *Quenta* §15 (IV.137) it is told that after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears 'Thorndor King of Eagles removed his eyries from Thangorodrim to the northward heights of the Encircling Mountains [*about the plain of Gondolin*], and there he kept watch, sitting upon the cairn of King Fingolfin.' In the *Quenta Silmarillion* of 1937 there is no mention of the Eagles dwelling on Thangorodrim, and at the time of the fall of Fingolfin in his duel with Morgoth, before the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, Thorondor came for the rescue of the king's body 'from his eyrie among the peaks of Gochressiel' (i.e. the Encircling Mountains; V.285, §147). On the other hand, in the abandoned story 'Of Tuor and the Fall of Gondolin' given in *Unfinished Tales*, a story that I believe to have been written in 1951, Voronwë speaks to Tuor of

'the folk of Thorondor, who dwelt once even on Thangorodrim ere Morgoth grew so mighty, and dwell now in the Mountains of Turgon since the fall of Fingolfin' (p. 43).

Gwaihir the Windlord had of course appeared often before this in *The Lord of the Rings* (for long *Gwaewar*, but becoming *Gwaihir* in the course of the writing of 'The White Rider', VII.430). In the *Quenta Silmarillion* (see V.301) Gwaewar had been one of the three eagles that came to Angband for the rescue of Beren and Lúthien; the earliest form of that passage reads:

> Thorondor led them, and the others were Lhandroval (Wide-wing) and Gwaewar his vassal.

The following text (also belonging to 1937) has:

> Thorondor was their leader; and with him were his mightiest vassals, wide-winged Lhandroval, and Gwaewar lord of the wind.

In a revision of the passage which can be dated to 1951 *Gwaewar* was changed to *Gwaihir*. As I have noticed in V.301, the names of the vassals of Thorondor were suppressed in the published *Silmarillion* (p. 182) on account of the present passage in RK, but this was certainly mistaken: it is clear that my father deliberately repeated the names. As in so many other cases in *The Lord of the Rings*, he took the name *Gwaewar* for the great eagle, friend of Gandalf, from *The Silmarillion*, and when *Gwaihir* replaced *Gwaewar* in *The Lord of the Rings* he made the same change to the eagle's name in *The Silmarillion*. Now he took also *Lhandroval*[3] to be the name of Gwaihir's brother; and added a new name, *Meneldor* (RK p. 228).

At the fall of the Black Gate Gandalf said only: 'The Realm of Sauron is ended'; but to this my father added, probably immediately: 'So passes the Third Age of the World.' This was placed within brackets, and 'The Ringbearer has fulfilled his Quest' written in the margin.

To Gwaihir Gandalf said: 'You will not find me a burden any greater than when you bore me from Zirakinbar where my old life burned away.' *Zirakinbar* remained through all the texts of the chapter and was only changed to *Zirakzigil* on the galley proof. On these names see VII.174 and 431 with note 6.

Another difference in A which survived long (into the final typescript of the chapter) was the absence of Sam's expression of astonishment at seeing Gandalf at his bedside ('Gandalf! I thought you were dead! But then I thought I was dead myself. . . .', RK p. 230).

The date of the Field of Kormallen (as the name was spelt until the final typescript) was expressed by Gandalf thus in A:

> 'Noon?' said Sam, puzzling his brains. 'Noon of what day?'
> 'The third day of the New Year,' said Gandalf, 'or if you like

the twenty-eighth day of March in the Shire-reckoning. But in Gondor the New Year will always begin upon the 25th of March when Sauron fell, and when you were brought out of the fire to the King. ...'[4]

If March 25th was New Year's Day, the 28th was the fourth day of the New Year in Gondor, and my father wrote 'fourth' above 'third', without however striking out 'third'. In pencil he wrote 'seventh' against this, and 'the last day' above 'the twenty-eighth day', although this would give 31 days to the month. His reason for this is obscurely indicated by a note in the margin: 'More time required for [?gathering] of goods, say' (i.e., 'say the seventh').[5]

In the fair copy B as written Gandalf said 'The Seventh of the New Year; or if you like, the last day of March in the Shire-reckoning'; this was changed later to 'The Fourteenth of the New Year' and 'the sixth day of April in the Shire-reckoning'. Even allowing 31 days to the month, the sixth of April would be the thirteenth day of the New Year, and 'sixth' was afterwards changed to 'seventh', and finally to 'eighth', as in RK. I do not know precisely what considerations impelled my father so greatly to prolong the time during which Sam and Frodo lay asleep.

Their first conversation with Gandalf ends thus in A:

'What shall we wear?' said Sam, for all he could see were the old and tattered clothes that they had journeyed in, lying folded on the ground beside their beds.

'The clothes that you were found in,' said Gandalf. 'No silks and linen, nor any armour or heraldry, could be more honourable. But afterwards we shall see.'

This survived through all the texts to the galley, where 'The clothes that you were found in' was changed to 'The clothes that you journeyed in'. It was not until the Second Edition of 1966 that the passage was altered and extended, by changing Gandalf's words to 'The clothes that you wore on your way to Mordor.[6] Even the orc-rags that you bore in the black land, Frodo, shall be preserved', and by his return of the Phial of Galadriel and the box that she gave to Sam (RK pp. 230–1; cf. p. 39 and note 2).

The crying of praise as Frodo and Sam came to the Field of Kormallen underwent many changes. In all the texts of the chapter Old English phrases cried by the Riders of Rohan were mingled. The form of the 'Praise' in A runs thus (with some punctuation added from the B-text, which is closely similar):

Long live the halflings! Praise them with great praise! Cuio i Pheriannath anann, aglar anann! Praise them with great praise!

Hale, hale cumath, wesath hale awa to aldre. Fróda and Samwís! Praise them! Kuivië, kuivië! laurea'esselínen![7] *Praise them!*

In the fair copy B the Old English words were changed to *Wilcuman, wilcuman, Fróda and Samwís!* and the Quenya words became *Laitalle, laitalle, andave laita!* In the first typescript the Old English *Uton herian holbytlan!* was added before *Laitalle, laitalle*; and in the second (final) typescript the Quenya words became *A laituvar, laituvar, andave laita!* This was then changed on the typescript to *A laita te, laita te! Andave laituvalme!* Thus the form as it appears on the galley proof is:

Long live the Halflings! Praise them with great praise! Cuio i Pheriannath anann! Aglar anann! Praise them with great praise! Wilcuman, wilcuman, Fróda and Samwís! Praise them! Uton herian holbytlan! A laita te, laita te! Andave laituvalmet! Praise them! The Ringbearers, praise them with great praise!

The final text of the 'Praise', as it appears in RK, was typed onto the galley proof.

From the end of the minstrel's song (RK p. 232) the original text A runs thus:

And then Aragorn stood up and all the host rose, and they passed to a pavilion made ready, there to eat and drink and make merry.

But as Sam and Frodo stepped down with Aragorn from the throne Sam caught sight of a small man-at-arms as it seemed in the silver and sable of the guards of the king: but he was small and he wondered what such a boy was doing in such an army. Then suddenly he exclaimed: 'Why, look Mr Frodo. Look here. Bless me if it's not Pippin, Mr Peregrin Took I should say. Bless me but I can see there's more tales than ours to hear. It'll take weeks before we get it all right.'

'Yes,' said Frodo. 'I can see myself locked up in a room somewhere making notes for days or Bilbo will be bitterly disappointed.'

And so they passed to the feast and at a sign from Aragorn Pippin went with them.[8]

The page carrying this text was rejected; on the back of it is an outline of the story to come (see p. 51, 'The Story Foreseen from Kormallen'). A replacement page was substituted, but again the development turned out to be unsatisfactory:

But first Frodo and Sam were led apart and taken to a tent, and there their old raiment was taken off, but folded and set aside with honour; and clean linen was brought to them. But Gandalf came and with him went an esquire, no more than a small lad he seemed, though clad in the silver and sable of the king's guard, and to the wonder of Frodo and Sam they bore the sword and the elven-cloak and the mithril-coat that had been taken from them; and for Sam they brought a coat of gilded mail, and on Frodo's right hand upon the middle[9] and little fingers they set small rings of mithril set each with a gem like a star. But the wonder of all these things was as little to the wonder on Sam's face as he looked on the face of the esquire and knew him.

And he cried out: 'Why look, Mr. Frodo. Look here! Save me, if it isn't Pippin, Mr. Peregrin Took, I should say. Why bless us all, but I can see there's more tales to tell than ours. It will take weeks of talk before we get it all sized up.'

'It will indeed,' said Pippin. 'But at present it is time for a feast, and you must not keep it waiting. Later on, Frodo must be locked up in a tower in Minas Tirith till he's made notes of all our doings, or Bilbo will be dreadfully disappointed.'

This passage was at once reconstructed to remove Pippin from the scene, and Gandalf comes to the tent alone, as in RK (p. 233). When he has set the rings of mithril on Frodo's fingers the feast follows at once:

... and on Frodo's right hand, upon the middle and little fingers, he set fine rings of mithril, slender as threads of silk but bearing each a small gem shining like a star.[10] And when they were made ready, and circlets of silver were set upon their heads, they went to the feast, and sat with Gandalf, and there was Aragorn and King Éomer of Rohan and all the Captains of the West, and there too were Legolas and Gimli.

[*Struck out at once:* 'That's six of the Company,' said Sam to Frodo. 'Where are the o(thers)] But when wine was brought there came in an esquire to serve the Kings of Gondor and Rohan, or so he seemed, and he was clad in the silver and sable of the guards of the King; but he was small, and Sam wondered what such a boy was doing in an army of mighty men. [*Then follows Sam's recognition of Pippin, as above.*]

'It will indeed,' said Pippin, 'and we'll begin as soon as this feast is ended. In the meantime you can try Gandalf. He's not as

close as he used to be, though he laughs now more than he talks.'

And so at last the glad day ended; and when the sun was gone and the crescent moon[11] rode slowly above the mist of Anduin and flickered through the fluttering leaves, Frodo and Sam sat amid the night-fragrance of fair Ithilien, and talked deep into the night with Pippin and Gandalf and Legolas and Gimli.

At last Gandalf rose. 'The hands of the King are hands of healing, dear friends,' he said. 'But you went near to the very brink of death, and though you have slept long and blessedly, still it is now time to rest again. Not you only, Frodo and Sam, but you Peregrin also. For when they lifted you from under the slain it is said that even Aragorn despaired of you.'

Probably at once, this was emended throughout to make Merry also present (see note 8), and the last part of it (Gandalf's parting words) was in turn rejected. In very rough further drafting the final text was approached, though not achieved, in the manuscript A. Gimli's speech (RK p. 234) at this time ended thus:

'... And when I heaved that great carcase off you, then I made sure you were dead. I could have torn out my beard. And that was but a week ago. To bed now you go. And so shall I.'

From this it is seen that it was 'the seventh day of the New Year': see p. 46.[12] The draft continues to its end thus:

'And I,' said Legolas, 'shall walk in the woods of this fair land, which is rest enough. And in days to come, if my Elven lord will allow it, some of our folk shall remove hither, for it is more lovely than any lands they have yet dwelt in;[13] and then it will be blessed for a while. But Anduin is near and Anduin leads down to the sea. To the sea, to the sea, and the white gulls crying, to the sea and the sea and the white foam flying,' and so singing he went away down the hill.

And then the others departed and Frodo and Sam went to their beds and slept; and in the morning the host prepared to return to Minas Tirith. The ships had come and they were lying under Cair Andros, and soon all would be set across the Great River, and so in peace and ease fare over the green swards of Anórien and to the Pelennor and the towers under tall Mindolluin, the city of the men of Gondor, last memory of Westernesse.

Thus the name *Kormallen* did not enter in the original text of the

chapter, and it is not said that the Field was near to Henneth Annûn; but scribbled drafting put in later on the last page of the manuscript shows the final text emerging:

And in the morning they rose again and spent many days in Ithilien, for the Field of Kormallen where the host was encamped was near to Henneth Annûn, and they wandered here and there visiting the scenes of their adventures, but Sam lingered ever in some shadow of the woods to find maybe some sight of the Oliphaunt. And when he heard that in the seige of Gondor there had been fifty of them at the least, but all were dead, he thought it a great loss. And in the meanwhile the host rested, for they had laboured much and had fought long and hard against the remnant of the Easterlings and Southrons; and they waited also for those that were to return.

In the fair copy B the final text of the First Edition was present in all but a few points, most of which have been mentioned in the foregoing account and in the notes;[14] but an important change in the description of the dressing of Frodo and Sam before the feast (RK p. 233) was made in the Second Edition. As the text stood in the First Edition (going back unchanged to the fair copy manuscript B) it ran:

> ... For Sam he brought a coat of gilded mail, and his elven-cloak all healed of the soils and hurts that it had suffered; and when the Hobbits were made ready, and circlets of silver were set upon their heads, they went to the King's feast, and they sat at his table with Gandalf ...

In the Second Edition the passage was added in which Gandalf brought Sting and Sam's sword, and Frodo had to be persuaded to wear a sword and to accept back Sting. At this time also the reference was added to 'the Standing Silence' before the feast began.

NOTES

1 There had been a suggestion (VIII.397) that the tale of the passage of the Paths of the Dead should be told at the 'feast of victory in Minas Tirith', but that idea had of course been overtaken.

2 It may be that the first draft of 'The Field of Kormallen' was written before the fair copy manuscript of 'Mount Doom'. A pointer to this is the fact that where in RK (p. 228) 'a great smoke and steam belched from the Sammath Naur' A has 'a great fire belched from the cave': see p. 41 note 5.

3 The first draft A has the spelling *Lhandroval* at all occurrences, but the fair copy B has *Landroval*, as in RK.

4 Both in A and B it is Frodo who asks 'What king, and who is he?' On the first typescript Sam's question 'What shall we wear?' was transferred to Frodo, but in the final typescript given back to Sam.

5 Perhaps to be compared is the sentence in 'The Steward and the King', RK pp. 241–2: 'Merry was summoned [*from Minas Tirith*] and rode away with the wains that took store of goods to Osgiliath and thence by ship to Cair Andros.'

6 Frodo was naked when Sam found him in the Tower of Kirith Ungol; he had to dress in 'long hairy breeches of some unclean beast-fell, and a tunic of dirty leather' (RK p. 189).

7 *laurea'esselínen* was changed at the time of writing to *an-kalim'esselínen*.

8 At this stage, when only a little time had passed since the fall of Sauron, Merry would still have been in Minas Tirith; cf. note 5.

9 My father named the penultimate finger (the 'fourth finger' or 'ring-finger') the 'third finger'; so Frodo's 'third finger was missing' (RK p. 229).

10 The rings of mithril set on Frodo's fingers were retained in the fair copy B, where the passage was struck out.

11 The 'crescent moon' remained in B and in the first typescript, where it was changed to 'the round moon'.

12 It is strange that in B Gimli said here, not as in RK 'And it is only a day yet since you were first up and abroad again', but 'a few days' (this being corrected on the manuscript).

13 This sentence was retained in B and the first typescript, where it was struck out.

14 To these may be added the retention of the name *Narch* in 'And they passed over the Narch and Gorgoroth' (RK p. 228), subsequently emended to *Udûn*. At the end of the chapter it was said at first in B that 'when the month of May was passed seven days the Captains of the West set out again', but this was changed to 'when the month of May was drawing near', and at the same time the last sentence of the chapter was changed from 'for the King would enter his gates with the rising of the Sun' by the addition of the words 'it was the Eve of May, and (the King would enter . . .)'.

THE STORY FORESEEN FROM KORMALLEN

This page (see p. 47) was scribbled down in pencil in my father's most impossible handwriting. I have not marked with queries a number of words that I think are probable but not altogether certain, and I have expanded several names given only as initials. The first sentence was written separately from the rest of the outline, whether before or after.

Gimli explains how Pippin was saved.

Next scene – The Host sets out from Cair Andros and [*read* in] the ships and passes into Gondor.
Scene shifts to Merry and to Faramir and Éowyn.
Return of King Elessar. His crowning. His judgements ..... of Berithil.
The hobbits wait. For there is to be a wedding. Elrond and Galadriel and Celeborn come and bring Finduilas.
The wedding of Aragorn and Finduilas.
Also Faramir and Éowyn.
The end of the Third Age is presaged. What the Rings had done. Their power waned. Galadriel and Elrond prepare to depart.
The hobbits return with Éomer to the funeral of Théoden and then on through the Gap of Rohan [?with ..... and the Dúnedain].
They come on Saruman and he is [?pardoned].
They come to Rivendell and see Bilbo. Bilbo gives him Sting and the coat. But he is getting old.
They come back to the Shire [*added in margin:* via Bree, pick up pony] and drive out Cosimo Sackville-Baggins. Lobelia is dead – she had a fit in [?quarrel]. Sam replants the trees. Frodo goes back to Bag End. All is quiet for a year or two. And then one day Frodo takes Sam for a walking [?tour] to the Woody End. And [?behold there go many] Elves. Frodo rides to the Havens and says farewell to Bilbo. End of the Third Age.
Sam's Book.

It is plain that my father wrote this outline while he was working on 'The Field of Kormallen', and indeed the precise stage in that work can probably be deduced: for Gimli's words at the end of the evening, in which he spoke of finding Pippin under the heap of slain, had not entered ('Gimli explains how Pippin was saved'). The precise placing of these notes in the history of the composition of Book VI gives them a particular interest. Several features of the end of the story now appear for the first time: as the marriage of Faramir and Éowyn; Bilbo's giving of the mithril-coat and Sting to Frodo ('forgetting that he had already done so', RK p. 265); the time of peace and quiet after the return of the hobbits to the Shire (but that 'Sam's casket restores Trees' had been known for a long time, VII.286); and Frodo's walk with Sam to the Woody End. But the death, before the return of the hobbits, of Lobelia Sackville-Baggins in a fit (of fury? – the word I have given as *quarrel* is scarcely more than a guess) was not permanent: she would be resurrected, survive her imprisonment during the troubles of the Shire, and end her days in a much more enlightened fashion.

This outline is as elliptical as were so many of my father's sketches of the further course of the story, concentrating on particular elements and ignoring or only hinting at others; and it is hard to know what

narrative idea underlay the words 'Frodo rides to the Havens and says farewell to Bilbo'. Many years before (VI.380) he had written that when 'Bingo' returned to the Shire he would make peace, and would then 'settle down in a little hut on the high green ridge – until one day he goes with the Elves west beyond the towers' (cf. also another note of that time, VI.379: 'Island in sea. Take Frodo there in end'). In the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Moria' (VII.212) he had concluded his synopsis thus:

XXVIII What happens to Shire?

Last scene. Sailing away of Elves [*added:* Bilbo with them] ...

XXIX Sam and Frodo go into a green land by the Sea?

In another note of that period (VII.287) he said: 'When old, Sam and Frodo set sail to island of West ... Bilbo finishes the story.' Probably about the time of the writing of 'The King of the Golden Hall' he had written (VII.451) that in old age Frodo with Sam had seen Galadriel and Bilbo. On the other hand, in his letter to me of 29 November 1944 (see VIII.219) he was entirely clear – and accurate – in his prevision:

> But the final scene will be the passage of Bilbo and Elrond and Galadriel through the woods of the Shire on their way to the Grey Havens. Frodo will join them and pass over the Sea (linking with the vision he had of a far green country in the house of Tom Bombadil).

Since this is of course the story in the last chapter of *The Lord of the Rings* it is strange indeed to find in the present text that he had departed from it – for 'Frodo rides to the Havens and says farewell to Bilbo' can obviously be interpreted in no other way. I suspect therefore that there is in fact no mystery: that in notes written at great speed my father merely miswrote 'Bilbo' for 'Sam'.

Remarkable also is the reference to the encounter with Saruman – the word *pardoned* here is not certain, but can hardly be read otherwise. That they would meet Saruman again on the homeward journey was an old idea (see 'The Story Foreseen from Moria', VII.212), but then it had taken place at Isengard, and the matter of that scene had of course been removed to a much earlier place in the narrative (VII.436). A later note (VII.287) says that 'Saruman becomes a wandering conjuror and trickster', but nothing further has been told of him since he was left a prisoner in Orthanc guarded by the Ents until now.

VI

THE STEWARD AND THE KING

My remarks about 'The Field of Kormallen' (p. 44) can be repeated of 'The Steward and the King': the preliminary draft ('A') of this chapter, though written roughly and rapidly, was changed very little afterwards. There are nonetheless a number of differences in detail.[1]

A had no title, but 'Faramir and Éowyn' was pencilled in subsequently. A fair copy manuscript 'B' followed, with the chapter-number 'LVI' but no title; to this text the title 'The Watchers on the Walls' was added in pencil, and this was changed to 'The Steward and the King'. In B the page-numbers run only as far as 'And she abode there until King Éomer came' (RK p. 243); at 'All things were now made ready in the City', at the top of a new page, a new numbering from '1' begins.

Of this chapter my father made a third, very fine manuscript 'C', numbering it 'LIV'. Beneath the title 'The Steward and the King' he pencilled '(i) The Steward'; but although there is a large space in the text after 'And she remained there until King Éomer came', where the new page-numbering begins in B, there is no second sub-title.

At the beginning of the chapter in A the Warden of the Houses of Healing, after the words 'He sighed and shook his head' (RK p. 237), continues:

> 'It may come thus to us all yet,' he said, 'choosing or not choosing. But in the meantime we must endure with patience the hours of waiting. It is not always the easier part. But for you, Lady, you will be the better prepared to face evil that may come in your own manner, if you do as the healers bid, while there is still time.'

This was rejected before the chapter had proceeded much further, for similar words were given to Faramir subsequently in the initial text (RK p. 238). And when the Warden looked out from his window and saw Faramir and Éowyn, finding in the sight a lightening of his care, it is said: 'For it had been reported to him that the Lord Aragorn had said "If she wakes to despair then she will die, unless other healing comes which I cannot give."'

The blue mantle set with stars which Faramir gave to Éowyn when the weather turned cold is in A said to have been made for his mother 'Emmeril', changed in the act of writing to 'Rothinel of Amroth, who

died untimely'. This name survived into the following manuscript B, where it was changed to Finduilas (see pp. 58–9).

The words of the Eagle that bore tidings to Minas Tirith of the fall of the Dark Tower were first reported thus:

The realm of Sauron hath ended and the Ring of Doom is no more and the King is victorious, he has passed through the Black Gate in triumph and all his enemies are fled.

The name *Kormallen* entered in this text. My father left a blank for the name as he wrote: 'And Éowyn did not go, though her brother sent word begging her to come to the field of [between Henneth Annûn and Cair Andros]' (cf. RK p. 242 and p. 50 above), but he evidently wrote the name in the margin at once, since it appears in the text as written a few lines later.

In the conversation between Éowyn and Faramir that follows she said, in A, 'I love or have loved another.' This survived in B, where her words were changed to 'I hoped to be loved by another', and then at once to 'I wished'.

Somewhat later in the chapter (RK p. 244) Ioreth (now so spelt; hitherto Yoreth) names the hobbits *Periannath* (cf. *Ernil i Pheriannath* in the chapter 'Minas Tirith', RK p. 41, *Ernil a Pheriannath* VIII.287), and this survived into the First Edition of LR, changed to *Periain* in the Second.

There were substantial differences in the original account of Aragorn's coming to Minas Tirith and his coronation before the walls from the story in RK (pp. 244–6). The entry of Aragorn, Gandalf, Éomer, Imrahil and the four hobbits into the cleared space before the Gateway was very briefly described in A: there was no mention of the Dúnedain nor of Aragorn's apparel. The casket in which the White Crown was laid was not described ('of black *lebethron* bound with silver' B, as in RK; cf. VIII.180). When Faramir, surrendering his office as 'the Last Steward of Gondor', gave Aragorn the white rod Aragorn did not return it to him; he said nothing to Faramir at this point, and Faramir at once proclaimed: 'Men of Gondor, you have no longer a Steward, for behold one has returned to claim the kingship at last. Here is Aragorn son of Arathorn ...' Among Aragorn's titles Faramir names him 'chieftain of the Dúnedain of the North' and does not name him 'bearer of the Star of the North'. After the description of the crown there follows:

And Aragorn knelt, and Faramir upon the one hand and upon the other the Prince Imrahil set the crown upon his head, and then Gandalf laid his hand on Aragorn's shoulder and bade him arise. And when he arose all that beheld him gazed in silence ...

and a light was about him. And then Faramir said 'Behold the King!' and he broke his white rod.

Lastly, when Aragorn came to the Citadel a marginal addition to A says that 'the banner of Tree Crown and Stars was raised above it' ('the banner of the Tree and the Stars' B, as in RK); see VIII.279, 389, 399.

The reference to the Dúnedain 'in silver and grey' and the description of Aragorn's black mail and white mantle clasped with a great green stone was added to B, but the 'star upon his forehead bound by a slender fillet of silver' did not enter until the Second Edition; similarly Faramir still proclaimed him 'chieftain of the Dúnedain of the North' ('of Arnor', Second Edition) and did not name him 'bearer of the Star of the North' in the First Edition (see VIII.299, 309; 389 and note 10).

Rough marginal additions to A make Aragorn return the white rod to Faramir with the words 'That office is not yet wholly at an end' (cf. RK p. 245: 'That office is not ended, and it shall be thine and thy heirs' as long as my line shall last'), and give a first draft of his wish that he should be crowned by those 'by whose labours and valour I have come to my inheritance'. Here the ceremony takes this form: 'Gandalf took the crown and bade Frodo and Sam lay their hands also upon it, and they set the White Crown of Gondor upon the head of Aragorn'; whereas in RK, at Aragorn's request, Frodo brought the crown to Gandalf, who then performed the crowning alone. In B the text of RK was reached at all points in this scene apart from the words of Elendil repeated by Aragorn when he held up the crown,[2] which take the form: *Et Eärello Endorenna lendien. Símane maruvan, ar hildinyar, kenn' Iluve-metta!* A translation pencilled in later is virtually the same as that in RK (p. 246): 'Out of the Great Sea to Middle-earth have I come. Here will I abide, and my heirs, unto the ending of the world.' In the third manuscript C the words remained the same as in B, apart from *tenn'* (as in RK) for *kenn'*, but were subsequently changed to *Et Ëarello Endorenna nilendie. Sinome nimaruva yo hildinyar tenn' Ambar-metta!*

A notable visitor to Minas Tirith among the many embassies that came to the King is found in A:

... and the slaves of Mordor he set free and gave them all the lands about Lake Núrnen for their own. And last of all there came to him Ghân-buri-Ghân of the Wild Woods and two of the headmen, and they were clad in garments of green leaves to do honour to the king, and they laid their foreheads on his feet; but he bade them rise up and blessed them and gave them the Forest of Druadan for their own, so that no man should ever enter it without their leave.

This was not rejected on the manuscript, but it is not present in B. For the further history of the last encounter with the Wild Men of the Woods see pp. 61–2, 67–8.

Éowyn's words to Faramir (RK p. 248), saying that she must now return to Rohan with Éomer, but that after the funeral of Théoden she will return, are absent from A (but were added to B). The statements in RK that the Riders of Rohan left Minas Tirith on the eighth of May and that the sons of Elrond went with them are not found in any of the texts, and they remain absent in the First Edition; on the other hand the return of Elladan and Elrohir to Minas Tirith with the company from Rivendell and Lothlórien (RK p. 250) is already found in A. It is told in A that 'the Companions of the Ring lived with Gandalf in a house in the Citadel, and went to and fro as they wished; but Legolas sat most[ly] on the walls and looked south towards the sea.' That the house was in the Citadel was not repeated in B, which retained however the words concerning Legolas; these were lost, possibly unintentionally, in C.

In the story of the ascent of Mindolluin by Gandalf and Aragorn (RK pp. 248–50) there are some differences from the final form to mention. In the original text it is not said that they went up by night and surveyed the lands in the early morning, nor is there mention of the ancient path to the hallow 'where only the kings had been wont to go'; and Gandalf in his words to Aragorn does not speak of the Three Rings, but says:

'... For though much has been saved, much is passing away. And all these lands that you see, and those that lie about, shall be dwellings and realms of Men, whom you must guide. For this is the beginning of the Dominion of Men, and other kindreds will depart, dwindle, and fade.'

B has the final text in all this. In A Aragorn says 'I have still twice the span of other men'; this was retained through the following texts and not changed until the galley proof to the reading of RK (where there is a difference between the First and Second Editions: in the First he says 'I may have life far longer than other men', but in the Second 'I shall').

When Aragorn saw the sapling at the edge of the snow he cried, in A, *En túvien!*, which in B becomes *En a túvien!* This was retained in C but corrected to *En* [*?in*]*túviet*; on the final (typescript) text of the chapter this was retained, but then erased and *Yé! utúvienyes* written in its place. The passage continues in A, in extremely difficult handwriting:

'... I have found it, for here is a scion of Nimloth eldest of trees. And how comes it here, for it is not yet itself seven years old?'

And Gandalf said: 'Verily here is a sapling of the line of Telperion Ninquelóte that the Elves of Middle-earth name Nimloth. Nimloth the fair of many names, Silivros and Celeborn[3] and Galathilion of old. But who shall say how it comes here in the hour that is appointed? But the birds of the air are many, and maybe down the ages as lord followed lord ..... in the City and the tree withered, here where none looked for it the [?race] of Nimloth has [?flowered already] hidden on the mountain, even as Elendil's race lay hid in the wastes of the North. Yet the line of Nimloth is older far than your line, lord Elessar.'

With the names that appear in this passage cf. the *Quenta Silmarillion* in V.209, §16:

> Silpion the one was called in Valinor, and Telperion and Ninquelótë and many names in song beside; but the Gnomes name him Galathilion.

A footnote to the text (V.210) adds:

> Other names of Silpion among the Gnomes are Silivros glimmering rain (which in Elvish form is Silmerossë), Nimloth pale blossom, Celeborn tree of silver ...

B has here the text of RK, in which Aragorn does not name 'the Eldest of Trees', and Gandalf says: 'Verily this is a sapling of the line of Nimloth the fair; and that was a seedling of Galathilion, and that a fruit of Telperion of many names, Eldest of Trees.' In *The Silmarillion* chapter 5 (p. 59) it is told that Yavanna made for the Elves of Tirion

> ... a tree like to a lesser image of Telperion, save that it did not give light of its own being; Galathilion it was named in the Sindarin tongue. This tree was planted in the courts beneath the Mindon and there flourished, and its seedlings were many in Eldamar. Of these one was afterwards planted in Tol Eressëa, and it prospered there, and was named Celeborn; thence came in the fullness of time, as is elsewhere told, Nimloth, the White Tree of Númenor.[4]

In A the sapling did not 'hold only lightly to the earth', but 'Aragorn and Gandalf dug deep.'

In the account of the riding from Rivendell and Lórien at the end of the chapter it is not said in any of the texts that Elrond brought the sceptre of Annúminas and surrendered it to Aragorn; this was only inserted on the final proof. Elrond's daughter is named Finduilas (VIII.370, 386, 425; at this stage Faramir's mother was named Rothinel, p. 54); and in A my father added, after 'Finduilas his daughter', '[and daughter of Celebrian child of Galadriel].' This is the first mention of Celebrian, by this or any name. In the last sentence of the chapter in A Aragorn 'wedded Finduilas Halfelven'; this name survived into B, where Faramir's mother Rothinel was changed to

Finduilas, and Elrond's daughter Finduilas was changed to Arwen, called Undómiel.[5]

NOTES

1 All names in RK not mentioned in my account can be presumed to be present already in A, with the exception of *Beregond*, which was only changed from *Berithil* on manuscript C. Thus Elfhelm is called 'Elfhelm the Marshal' (RK p. 244; cf. VIII.352); and the last king of the line of Anárion is Ëarnur, here first named (RK p. 245; cf. VIII.153). The rather puzzling reference to Min-Rimmon (RK p. 245: 'tidings had gone out into all parts of Gondor, from Min-Rimmon even to Pinnath Gelin and the far coasts of the sea') goes back to A.

2 The words of Elendil do not appear in A.

3 In A the name *Celeborn* is spelt with *C*; so also *Celebrian*. In this chapter and in the next the *C* spelling reverted to *K* in the finely-written third manuscripts, but on both it was then corrected back to *C*.

4 Cf. also the *Akallabêth* in *The Silmarillion*, p. 263, and *Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age*, *ibid.* p. 291.

5 Arwen first emerged in the fair copy of the following chapter, 'Many Partings': see p. 66.

Note on the Chronology

A curious point of chronology that arises in this chapter concerns the lapse of time between the departure of the host from Minas Tirith and the destruction of the Ring.

At the beginning of the chapter, against the words 'When the Captains were but two days gone', the figure '19' is written in the margin of A, i.e. March 19. This is the chronology described in VIII.432, according to which the march from Minas Tirith began on the 17th (the 18th in RK).

When in RK (p. 239) it is said that 'the fifth day came since the Lady Éowyn went first to Faramir', and that was the day of the destruction of the Ring and the fall of the Dark Tower, the same is said in A (and subsequent texts); and at the head of that page my father noted: 'F. sees E. on 19. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.' This day was therefore the 24th of March. But this is strange, since already in the first draft of 'The Field of Kormallen' Gandalf had declared that 'in Gondor the New Year will always begin on the 25th of March when Sauron fell ...' (p. 46). In A, Éowyn says that this day was 'seven days since [Aragorn] rode away' (RK p. 240), which agrees with the date of March 24 for the destruction of the Ring. But my father changed 'seven', as he wrote, to 'nine', which would presumably give March 26 as the day of deliverance. He then changed 'nine' to 'eight', giving the

25th as the day, and 'eight' is the reading in B and C, changed in C to 'seven' as in RK: this presumably implies that the date of the departure from Minas Tirith had been changed to the 18th. – On the significance of the date 25 March see T. A. Shippey, *The Road to Middle-Earth* (1982) pp. 151–2.

VII
MANY PARTINGS

The original draft of this chapter ('**A**') was paginated continuously with that of 'The Steward and the King' and bore no title. In comparison with its subsequent form my father's initial account of the 'many partings' was remarkably brief and spare; and though his handwriting is very difficult and here and there altogether illegible I shall give a substantial part of it in full, for it differs in very many points from the story in RK.

The opening, however, remained almost unchanged from first draft to final text (apart from *Queen Finduilas* for *Queen Arwen*), as far as '"Then I beg leave to depart soon," said Frodo.' Then follows (with no mention of the Queen's gift):

'In three days we will go,' said Aragorn. 'For we shall ride with you great part of the way. We too have errands to do.'

And so it was that the King of Gondor and his Queen set out once more upon the North Roads, and many knights rode with them; and the Princes of Dol Amroth and of Ithilien; and King Éomer and his householdmen were also in that riding, for he had come to the wedding of his lord and brother. And with slow songs of the Mark they brought from the Halls [*probably for* Hallows] and his resting in Rath Dínen King Théoden upon a golden bier; and as one that still slept deeply they laid him upon a great wain with Riders of Rohan all about it, and his banner borne before. And Merry being his esquire, and a Knight of the Riddermark, rode upon the wain and kept the arms of the dead king. But for the other companions steeds were furnished according to their stature, and Frodo and Sam rode at the king's side with Gandalf upon Shadowfax; and with them also went Legolas and Gimli upon Hasufel[1] who had borne them so far.[2]

And slowly and at peace they passed into Anórien. And .... the Greywood[3] under Amon Dîn.

Here my father stopped and asked whether the homage of the Wild Men should be put here – referring, presumably, to the story in the original text of 'The Steward and the King', where Ghân-buri-Ghân and two of his headmen actually came to Minas Tirith (p. 56). He then

wrote: 'and there stood Ghân-buri-Ghân by the eaves of the trees, and did them homage as they passed' (see p. 67). The text continues:

And so at last after many days (15?) they brought King Théoden back to his own land, and they came to Edoras, and there they stayed and rested; and never so fair and full of light was the Golden Hall, for no king of the City of the South had ever come thither before. And there they held the funeral of Théoden, and he was laid in a house of stone with many fair things, and over him was raised a great mound, the eighth of those upon the east side of the Barrowfields, and it was covered with green turves of grass [and] of fair Evermind. And then the Riders of the King's House rode about it, and one among them sang a song of Théoden Thengel's son that brought light to the eyes of the folk of the Mark and stirred the hearts of all, even those that knew not [that] speech. And Merry who stood at the foot of the mound wept.[4]

And when the burial was over and the last song was ended there was a great feast in the hall, and when they came to the time when all should drink to the memories of mighty men forth came Éowyn Lady of Rohan, golden as the sun and white as snow, and she brought forth the cup to Eomer King of the Mark, and he drank to the memory of Théoden. And then a minstrel sang naming all the kings of the [?Mark] in their order, and last King Éomer; and Aragorn arose and [?wished him] hail [and] drank to him. And then Gandalf arose and bid all men rise, and they rose, and he said: 'Here is a last hail[5] ere the feast endeth. Last but not least. For I name now [one >] those who shall not be forgotten and without whose valour nought else that was done would have availed; and I name before you all Frodo of the Shire and Samwise his servant. And the bards and the minstrels should give them new names: *Bronwe athan Harthad* and *Harthad Uluithiad*, Endurance beyond Hope and Hope unquenchable.'[6]

And to those names men drank in honour; but Sam went very red, and murmured to Frodo: 'I don't know what my Dad would think of the change: he was always against outlandish names. "The gentry can do as they please," he said, "with their Roriuses and Ronshuses, but for plain folk something shorter wears better." But even if I could say the name, I think it don't suit. My hope ... . low, Mr. Frodo, ...'[7]

The announcement by Éomer of the betrothal of Faramir and

Éowyn and the words of Éowyn with Aragorn are particularly hard to read, but the passage does not differ significantly from that in RK (pp. 255–6). The text then continues:

And after the feast those that were to go took leave of King Éomer, and Faramir abode with him, for he would not be far from Éowyn any longer. And Finduilas also remained and took leave of her father and brethren. But Aragorn rode on with the companions, and they passed on to Helm's Deep and there rested. And then Legolas repaid his vow to Gimli and went into the Glittering Caves; and when he returned he was silent, for he said that only Gimli could find fit words. 'And now,' said he, 'we will go to Fangorn', at which Gimli looked little pleased.

And so they passed .... to Isengard and saw how the Ents had busied themselves, for all the stone circle was removed and was planted with trees, but in the midst of the orchards Orthanc rose up still, tall and [? unapproachable]. And there was Treebeard and other Ents to welcome them, and he praised all their deeds, of which it seemed he had full tidings. 'But Ents played their part,' said he. 'And there would have been no Golden Hall to return to but for Treebeard and his folk. For we caught a great army of those – *burarum* – those orcs that were coming down through the Wold and we drove them away. Or otherwise the king of the grassland would [?have never] ridden far.'

And Gandalf praised his work, and at last he said farewell with many long words, saying that he had added some new lines. And when Merry and Pippin at last said farewell he .... them and said 'Well, my merry folk! Take a draught before you go!' And they said 'Yes, indeed!' And he looked at them over the bowl, and he said 'Take care! For you have already grown since I saw you!' And they laughed, and then he [?went] sad, and he said 'And don't forget that if you ever hear news of the Entwives you must send word to us.' And Aragorn said 'The East lands now lie open.' But Treebeard shook his head and said that it was far away.

But Legolas and Gimli here said goodbye, and went into Fangorn, and from there they purposed [? to journey] together to their own countries. 'Alas, that our lands lie so far apart! But we will send word to Rivendell.' And Elrond looked at them and said: 'Send rather to the Shire.'

Then they rode to the Gap of Rohan, and Aragorn took leave of them in that very place where Pippin had looked in the Palantír. And Pippin said 'I wish we could have one to see all

our friends.' 'But one only now remains,' said Aragorn ....., 'and the king must keep that. But forget not that my realm lies now also in the North; and later on I may come again.'

And so slowly they passed in[to] the waste lands west of the mountains and fared north, and summer wore away; and Galadriel and Celeborn and their folk passed over the Dimrill Stair and went back to Lórien. But Elrond and Gandalf and the hobbits came back at last to Rivendell.

The chapter ends in this earliest form with very rough sketching of the time that the hobbits spent with Bilbo, but most of the essentials of the final form are present. The chief difference lies in Bilbo's gifts: 'Then Bilbo gave Frodo his coat and sword, and he gave Sam a lot of books of lore, and he gave Merry and Pippin a lot of good advice.' Bilbo's verse (*The Road goes ever on and on*) is lacking, but that there should be a verse at this point is indicated on the manuscript. Gandalf's intimation that he would go with the hobbits 'at least as far as Bree' is lacking; and at the departure from Rivendell Elrond's words of farewell to Frodo, though the same as in RK (suggesting that 'about this time of the year' he should 'look for Bilbo in the woods of the Shire'), were heard also by the others: 'And they did not fully understand what he meant, and Gandalf of course would not explain.' The text then runs straight on into what would become the opening of the next chapter, 'Homeward Bound'.

This first manuscript was greatly enlarged by the insertion of new material. The story of the visit to Isengard was elaborated, and Treebeard's account of the release of Saruman from Orthanc now enters – the necessary prelude, of course, to the encounter with Saruman and Wormtongue on the northward journey of the remaining company. There are a number of differences from the text of RK, but they are minor.[8] The farewell speeches of Treebeard with Celeborn and Galadriel now appear, differing from the final form only in the Quenya phrase: *O vanimar vanimalion ontari* (see note 16).

A long rider takes up at the words 'Then they rode towards the Gap of Rohan' (cf. RK p. 260), and the departure of Aragorn is told in almost the same words as in RK; but Galadriel said to him: 'Elfstone, through darkness you have come to your desire. Use well the days of light', and Celeborn said: 'Kinsman, farewell, but your doom is like to mine; for our treasure shall outlast us both' (see pp. 124–5 and note 16).

The story of the meeting with Saruman, which had been very obliquely referred to in 'The Story Foreseen from Kormallen' ('They come on Saruman and he is [?pardoned]', p. 52), was now fully told, but with a number of differences, one very notable. No indication is given of where or when the encounter took place: after the company had crossed the Isen they 'passed into the waste land west of the

mountains, and they turned north, and summer wore away. And many days afterward they overtook an old man leaning on a staff ...' See further p. 69.

To Saruman's remark 'I am seeking a way out of his realm' Gandalf at first replies:

'Then you are going the wrong way [*bracketed:* as seems to be your doom], unless you wish to pass into the utter North and there freeze to death. For from the Sea in the West to Anduin and thence many days' march east is the realm of the King, and east ere long it will spread beyond the water of Rúnaeluin.'[9]

Without striking this out my father replaced it by:

'Then you have far to go,' said Gandalf, 'and should be going eastward. Yet even so you would have to travel far, and find the border of his realm ever marching up behind you.'

This was struck through, and the final text here is: '"Then you have far to go," said Gandalf, "and I see no hope in your journey. ..."'

Wormtongue still names himself *Frána*, not *Gríma* (cf. VII.445, VIII.55). Most curious is my father's remarkably different initial conception of Saruman's response to Merry's generosity (the sentence that I have bracketed was presumably rejected):

'Mine, mine, yes, and dearly paid for,' said Saruman, clutching at the pouch. And then suddenly he seemed touched. 'Well, I thank you,' he said. '[You do not crow, and your kind looks maybe are not feigned.] You seem an honest fellow, and maybe you did not come to crow over me. I'll tell you something. When you come to the Shire beware of Cosimo, and make haste, or you may go short of leaf.'

'Thankyou,' said Merry, 'and if you get tired of wandering in the wild come to the Shire.'

My father knew that Saruman acquired his supply of pipe-weed from the Shire (see VIII.59, note 8). There is no certain indication that he had at this stage begun to conceive of any more far-reaching relations between Saruman and Cosimo Sackville-Baggins, but in the original draft of 'The Scouring of the Shire' this idea was very fully present (see p. 84). On the other hand, it is a very notable feature of that draft that Saruman was *not* present in person in the Shire and did not preside over the last stages of its spoliation.

Since as will be seen subsequently the whole of the conclusion of *The Lord of the Rings* from 'Many Partings' to the 'Epilogue' was written in one continuous draft, it seems perfectly possible that all this new material was introduced into the original draft of 'Many Partings'

after the first draft of 'The Scouring of the Shire' had been written. If this is so, it was very probably when writing and developing the present passage that my father first conceived of Saruman's visit to the Shire (as in the story itself the decision to do so also arose in Saruman's mind at this juncture, RK p. 298); possibly it was in fact Merry's extraordinarily artless invitation (though immediately abandoned, as will be seen in a moment) that was the germ of the story.

Precisely what my father had in mind when he wrote Saruman's words here, 'When you come to the Shire beware of Cosimo, and make haste, or you may go short of leaf', I do not know. It certainly shows that Saruman knew what was going on there, but equally certainly it was intended to be taken as good advice on Saruman's part to repay Merry for his gift. But my father marked Merry's reply with a large query, and at once, on the same page, recognising that the pride, bitterness and malevolence of Saruman could never be pierced by such a gesture on the part of Merry Brandybuck, he wrote the passage that stands in RK (p. 262): 'This is but a repayment in token. You took more, I'll be bound . . .'

The first draft A was followed by a much-needed fair copy 'B', and that (as in 'The Steward and the King') by a third text 'C' in my father's most handsome script. B was subsequently given the number and title 'LVII Many Partings'.[10] While the final form of the chapter was very largely achieved in B, there remain a number of minor differences from the text of RK; I mention here some of the more noteworthy, and collect a few further details in note 16.

It was in B that the name *Arwen* at last emerged. In the opening paragraph of the chapter in this text the Queen was named *Ellonel*, but this was at once changed back to *Finduilas*, and she is *Finduilas* at the two following occurrences (and *Evenstar* in 'But wear this now in memory of Elfstone and Evenstar with whom your life has been woven,' RK p. 253). It must have been at this point that my father determined that her name was not *Finduilas*, and that he must find out what it was; for on a page of rough drafting for sentences in the opening of the chapter he is seen experimenting with other names, as *Amareth*, *Emrahil*. He wrote *Elrond Elladan Elrohir Emrahil*, *Finduilas* > *Emrahil*, and beside this (evidently to avoid the clash with *Imrahil*) *Imrahil* > *Ildramir*; but then, clearly and firmly, *Arwen Undómiel*. Immediately after this in text B as written Éomer says to Gimli 'But now I will put Queen Arwen Evenstar first' (RK p. 253).

In a first form of Arwen's words to Frodo she says: 'Mine is the choice of Lúthien, and I have chosen as she at last', the words 'at last' being omitted in a second version of the passage; and of her gift to him she says in B:

'. . . But in my stead you shall go, Ringbearer, when the time comes, and if you then desire it: for your wounds have been

grievous and your burden heavy. But you shall pass into the West until all your wounds and weariness are healed. [*Struck out at once:* Take this token and Elrond will not refuse you.' And she took from her hair a white gem like a star] Take with you the Phial of Galadriel and Círdan will not refuse you. But wear this now in memory of Elfstone and Evenstar with whom your life has been woven!' And she took a white gem ...

In the third manuscript C the text of RK was reached.

Merethrond, the Great Hall of Feasts in Minas Tirith (RK p. 253) is said in B to be 'in the Citadel' (a statement omitted in C). On a page of rough drafting for this passage my father dashed off a little plan of the Citadel. This is shown as a circle with seven small circles (towers) at equal distances within the circumference, one of these standing beside the entrance. Beyond the Court of the Fountain is marked, at the centre, the White Tower and Hall of the Kings, and beyond that again, on the west side of the Citadel, the King's House. To the right (north) of the White Tower is the Hall of Feasts. The outlines of other buildings are roughed in between the towers.

When Aragorn and Éomer came to the Hallows 'they came to the tomb that had been built in Rath Dínen' (where C has the reading of RK, 'the tombs in Rath Dínen'); and returning with the bier they 'passed through the City, where all the people stood in silence; but the knights of Rohan that followed the bier sang in their own tongue a lament for the fallen' (so in A, p. 61, 'with slow songs of the Mark'). This was changed to 'the knights of Rohan ... walked also in silence, for the time for song was not yet come' (cf. RK p. 253).

The encounter with Ghân-buri-Ghân (see pp. 61–2) was further developed, re-using the original passage in the previous chapter (p. 56) where Ghân-buri-Ghân came to Minas Tirith:

... and they came to the Grey Wood under Amon Dín. And there beside the road in the shadow of the trees stood Ghân of the Wild Woods and two of his headmen beside him, and they were clad all in garments of green leaves to do honour to the king. For Ghân-buri-Ghân said: 'He was great king; he drove away dark with bright iron. And now men of Stonehouses have king, he will not let dark come back.' And he and his headmen laid their foreheads upon Aragorn's feet; and he bade them rise up, and he blessed them, and gave them the Forest of Druadan to be their own, so that no man should ever enter it without their leave. Then they bowed and vanished into the trees.

This was struck through, and a version replacing it is found written on the last page of text B of 'The Steward and the King', almost as in

RK (p. 254), in which the Wild Men remain invisible and only their drums are heard. In this version the heralds added: 'and whoso slays one of his people slays the king's friends.'

All the names of the Kings of the Mark, recited by the minstrel in the Golden Hall, are now given, but my father missed out *Folcwine*, great-grandfather of Théoden: this was a mere slip, since Folcwine appears in the earliest list of the kings (VIII.408), and without him there are only seven mounds on the east side of the Barrowfield. But the omission escaped notice, and Folcwine was not inserted until the Second Edition. The eleventh king (*Háma* in the original list) now becomes *Léof* (changed to *Léofa* in the Second Edition).[11]

In the parting of Merry from Éomer and Éowyn (RK p. 256) they address him as 'Meriadoc of the Shire and of the Mark' – the name *Holdwine* ('of the Mark') was only introduced on the galley proof; and Éomer says this of the gift of the horn, which he does not attribute to Éowyn:

'... but you will take naught but the arms that were given to you. This I suffer, because though we are of other lands and kind, still you are to me a dear kinsman whose love can only be requited with love. But this one gift I beg you now to take ...'

The horn is described in the same words as in RK; but then follows:

'This is an heirloom of our house,' said Éowyn, 'and in the deeps of time it was made for our forefathers by the dwarves [*struck out:* of Dale], and Eorl the Young brought it from the North.'

The statement that the horn 'came from the hoard of Scatha the Worm' entered on the galley proof.

The meeting with Treebeard reaches in this text B the form in RK at almost all points. Treebeard's denunciation of the Orcs runs here: *henulka-morimaite-quingatelko-tingahondo-rakkalepta-sauri-kumba.*[12] A curious point is that Gandalf says here 'The Third Age begins', which was repeated in C but there emended to 'The New Age begins' as in RK. With this may be compared my father's letter of November 1944 (*Letters* no. 91, also VIII.219): 'So ends the Middle Age and the Dominion of Men begins', and, further back, Saruman's speech to Gandalf in Isengard (VII.150): 'The Elder Days are gone. The Middle Days are passing. The Younger Days are beginning'; but in 'The Story Foreseen from Kormallen' (p. 52) is found 'The end of the Third Age is presaged' and 'End of the Third Age'.

Gandalf's response to Treebeard's report that he had allowed Saruman to go free remains as it was in A (see note 8): Treebeard now says 'A snake without fangs may crawl where he will', but this does not yet prompt Gandalf to the observation that Saruman 'had still one

tooth left ... the poison of his voice', which entered in C. Gimli, in his farewell, still concludes as in A (p. 63): 'Alas! that our lands lie so far apart. But we will send word to Rivendell when we may'; to which Elrond now replies: 'Send rather to Gondor, or else to the Shire!'

Again as in A (note 8), Treebeard does not say when the release of Saruman had taken place, and this remained into the First Edition; in the Second Edition 'Yes, he is gone' was changed to 'Yes, he is gone seven days.'[13]

The actual encounter with Saruman now differed virtually not at all from RK, but the placing of it was somewhat different in the First Edition from the revised version in the Second. The text of the First Edition ran thus (RK pp. 260–1):

> Soon the dwindling company came to the Isen, and crossed over it, and came into the waste lands beyond, and then they turned northwards, and passed by the borders of Dunland. And the Dunlendings fled and hid themselves, for they were afraid of Elvish folk, though few indeed ever came to their country. But the travellers did not heed them, for they were still a great company and were well provided with all that they needed; and they went on their way at their leisure, setting up tents when they would; and as they went the summer wore away.
>
> After they had passed by Dunland and were come to places where few folk dwelt, and even birds and beasts were seldom to be seen, they journeyed through a wood climbing down from the hills at the feet of the Misty Mountains that now marched on their right hand. As they came out again into open country they overtook an old man leaning on a staff ...

As noted above, in the Second Edition Treebeard told Gandalf that Saruman had been gone seven days; and in the revision of the passage just cited the First Edition text 'After they had passed by Dunland and were come to places where few folk dwelt, and even birds and beasts were seldom to be seen, they journeyed through a wood ...' was altered to 'On the sixth day since their parting from the King they journeyed through a wood ...' By this change the company was still in Dunland when they came upon Saruman, and a little later in the narrative, after 'I fancy he could do some mischief still in a small mean way' (RK p. 263), my father added in the Second Edition: 'Next day they went on into northern Dunland, where no men now dwelt, though it was a green and pleasant country' (northern Dunland, rather than the country north of Dunland, now becoming the uninhabited region).

From this point, the end of the Saruman episode, the text B continues:

> September came in with a golden morning shimmering above

silver mists; and looking out they saw away to the east the sun catching three peaks that thrust up through floating cloud into the sky: Caradhras, Celebras, and Fanuiras.[14] They were near once more to the Gates of Moria. And now came another parting...

This must mean that it was on the first of September that they saw the Mountains of Moria. This was developed by a late emendation to C to the reading of the First Edition:

September came in with golden days and silver nights. At last a fair morning dawned, shimmering above gleaming mists; and looking from their camp on a low hill the travellers saw away in the east the Sun catching three peaks that thrust up into the sky through floating clouds: Caradhras, Celebdil, and Fanuidhol. They were near to the Gates of Moria.

Here now for seven days they tarried, for the time was at hand for another parting...

In the Second Edition this passage (from 'September came in ...') was extended by references to the Swanfleet river, the falls, and the ford by which the company crossed.[15]

In various small points B received further alteration in the story of the sojourn of the hobbits in Rivendell, but effectively the final form was now reached.[16]

NOTES

1 *Hasufel* was presumably no more than a slip of memory, though it survived until emended on the third manuscript. Hasufel was Aragorn's horse of Rohan, and the horse that carried Legolas and Gimli was Arod.

2 Pippin is not mentioned, but in a rejected form of the passage it is said that he 'rode with the Prince of Ithilien, for he was the esquire of the Steward.'

3 *the Greywood*: previously named ('Grey Woods') only on a small map in a draft text of 'The Ride of the Rohirrim', VIII.353.

4 Here there is a mark of insertion, probably referring to verses that would be given at this point (although there are no verses here in the second and third manuscripts: see note 16).

5 In *wished him hail* (if correctly read) in the preceding sentence *hail* means 'health, happiness, welfare'; in Gandalf's *Here is a last hail* the word seems to be used elliptically, as if 'Here is a last drinking (of) hail'.

6 The word that I give as *athan* is very unclear and uncertain.

7 Gandalf's praise of Frodo and Sam, and this engaging glimpse of

the Gaffer amid the ceremoniousness of Edoras, had disappeared in the second text. *Ronshus* is evidently his clipped form of *Gerontius*, the name of the Old Took; and I suppose that he attached the 'learned' or high-falutin ending *-us* to Rory (Brandybuck). But the Gaffer's views were not entirely lost. When discussing with Frodo the name of his eldest child ('The Grey Havens', RK p. 306) Sam said: 'I've heard some beautiful names on my travels, but I suppose they're a bit too grand for daily wear and tear, as you might say. The Gaffer, he says: "Make it short, and then you won't have to cut it short before you can use it."' – Sam's final remark is unfortunately altogether illegible; the word preceding *low* might possibly be *getting*, or *pretty*, but the word preceding that is certainly not *was*.

8 The two sentinel trees that grew now where the gates of Isengard had stood do not appear. The words of Aragorn and Gandalf with Treebeard after his mention of the destruction of the Orcs (whom he apostrophises only in English adjectives) in the Wold were different from those in RK (p. 258), though a part of this dialogue was used a little later in the final text:

> 'We know it,' said Aragorn, 'and never shall it be forgotten, nor your storming of Isengard, and it is our hope that your forest may grow again in peace. There is room and to spare west of the mountains.'
>
> 'Forest may grow,' said Treebeard sadly; 'woods may spread, but not Ents; there are no Entings now.'
>
> 'Never at least while the Mark and Gondor remain,' said Gandalf; 'and that will have to be very long indeed to seem long to Ents. But what of your most important task, Fangorn? ...'

Treebeard does not say how long it was since Saruman had gone (see p. 69); and Gandalf does not tell him that Saruman had found his soft spot and persuaded him by 'the poison of his voice', but says merely 'Well, he's gone then, and that is all there is to be said' (reminiscent of his resigned 'Well, well, he is gone' when he heard from Legolas at the Council of Elrond of Gollum's escape, FR p. 269). Quickbeam does not appear in the handing over of the keys to Orthanc: '"It is locked," said Treebeard, "locked by Saruman, and here are the keys," and he gave three black keys to Aragorn.'

9 *Rúnaeluin*: the last four letters are not perfectly clear, but this seems much the most probable interpretation. Can *Rúnaeluin* be the Sea of Rhûn?

10 The third manuscript C was given the chapter-number 'LV'. This reduction of the numbers by two begins with 'The Tower of Kirith Ungol' (p. 25).

11 In the First Edition, while the eleventh king is named *Léof* by the minstrel in Edoras in 'Many Partings', in the list of the Kings of the Mark in Appendix A (II) the eleventh king is *Brytta*, with no explanation given. In the Second Edition the explanation was added: 'He was called by his people *Léofa*, for he was loved by all; he was openhanded and a help to all the needy.'

12 The English adjectives in B are the same as those in RK: 'evileyed, blackhanded, bowlegged, flinthearted, clawfingered, foulbellied, bloodthirsty'. In C the words *quingatelko* and *rakkalepta* were omitted, and then *henulka* and *saurikumba* were struck out and *tingahondo* changed to *sincahondo*. Finally *sincahondo* was changed on the printer's typescript to *sincahonda* as in RK.

13 On a copy of the First Edition that my father used to make alterations for incorporation in the Second Edition he added to the section 'The Chief Days from the Fall of the Barad-dûr to the End of the Third Age' in Appendix B the entry '*August 15* Treebeard releases Saruman', but this was not for some reason included in the Second Edition. See the Note on Chronology below.

14 On the names *Celebras* and *Fanuiras* see VII.174, 306.

15 The course of this river was marked already on the First Map (VII.305), flowing down from the Misty Mountains to join the Greyflood above Tharbad. It was not referred to in the text of the First Edition, but was named the *Glanduin* in Appendix A (I, iii, first paragraph). The accidents or misunderstandings that bedevilled its representation on the map accompanying *The Lord of the Rings* are detailed in *Unfinished Tales* pp. 263–5.

16 It is not said in B that the only part of the hobbits' story that really interested Bilbo was the account of the crowning and marriage of Aragorn; nor that he had forgotten that he had already given Sting and the mithril-coat to Frodo; nor that his books of lore had red backs. All these changes entered in the third manuscript C. The books were labelled *Translations from the Elvish, by B. B. Esquire*; *Esquire* was removed on the galley proof.

I record here various other details, mostly concerning names, in which B differed from RK.

The reference to Merry as 'a Knight of the Riddermark' was retained from A (p. 61) and then struck out. On *Hasufel* for *Arod* see note 1.

The alliterative verses of the song of the Riders of Rohan as they rode round Théoden's barrow were only introduced on a rider to the fourth text, the typescript for the printer, together with the passage preceding them in which the song of the Riders brought to mind 'the voice of Eorl crying above the battle upon the Field of Celebrant', and 'the horn of Helm was loud in the mountains'. The king's minstrel, who made the song, was

Gleowin in B, *Gléowine* in C; and *the Barrowfields* of A become *the Barrowfield* in B.

In Éomer's farewell words to Merry (RK p. 256) he speaks of his deeds 'upon the fields of Mundberg', emended on C to *Mundburg* (see VIII.355–6).

Treebeard's name of Lórien was spelt *Laurelindórinan*, and this survived into the First Edition, becoming *Laurelindórenan* in the Second. He still says to Galadriel and Celeborn *O vanimar vanimalion ontari* (p. 64), *O* being changed to *A* on text B and *ontari* to *nostari* on C. The comma after *vanimar* was added in the Second Edition. In VIII.20 I mentioned late notes of my father's on the fragments of other languages found in *The Lord of the Rings*, which for the greater part of the book are so hastily written as to be mostly unusable. His translation of *O vanimar, vanimálion nostari* can however be made out (in the light of the Quenya words themselves): 'fair ones begetters of fair ones', and with this is a note '*nosta* beget'; cf. the *Etymologies* in Vol.V, stems BAN, NŌ, ONO.

Wormtongue's name remained *Frána* (p. 65) in B and C, but was changed to *Gríma* on the final typescript; and Gandalf still calls Butterbur *Barnabas* (RK p. 265).

Note on the Chronology

In the original draft A of this chapter there were scarcely any indications of chronology: Aragorn tells Frodo (p. 61) that they will depart from Minas Tirith in three days' time, but this only relates to the end of 'the days of rejoicing', of indeterminate length; and it was fifteen days' journey from Minas Tirith to Rohan.

In B Aragorn tells Frodo that they will leave in seven days, and that 'in three days now Éomer will return hither to bear Théoden back to rest in the Mark', as he duly did; and all this is retained in *The Lord of the Rings*, together with the fifteen days of the journey to Rohan. But neither B nor C give much more indication than did the original draft of the time taken over the stages of the journey from Edoras to Rivendell, and it may be that my father did not attend to the matter closely until the final preparation of the book. It is a curious fact that the chronology of 'The Chief Days from the Fall of the Barad-dûr to the End of the Third Age' in Appendix B (and which is the same in this respect in both editions) does not agree with the text of 'Many Partings' in respect either of Éomer's return in relation to the setting out for Edoras or of the time taken on that journey. In the chronology of 'The Chief Days' Éomer returned to Minas Tirith on July 18, and the riding from the City with King Théoden's wain took place on the following day, July 19, not four days later as in 'Many Partings'; while

the arrival at Edoras is dated August 7, eighteen days later, not fifteen as in the text.

As I have noted already, no indication of date was given for the meeting of Saruman with the travellers as they rode north even in the First Edition; in the Second Edition the passage was altered to say that the meeting took place on the sixth day since they parted from the King, and they were still in Dunland (see p. 69). But in fact this dating was already present in the First Edition, in the chronology of 'The Chief Days' in *The Tale of Years:*

August 22 They come to Isengard; they take leave of the King of the West at sunset.

August 28 They overtake Saruman; Saruman turns towards the Shire.

As the third text C was written it was still on September 1 that the travellers saw the Mountains of Moria, but late emendation (see p. 70) produced, or satisfied, the chronology of 'The Chief Days':

September 6 They halt in sight of the Mountains of Moria.

September 13 Celeborn and Galadriel depart, the others set out for Rivendell.

On September 21, the day before Bilbo's birthday, Gandalf and the hobbits returned to Rivendell, having taken (being mounted) a much shorter time than they took to reach Moria on their outward journey, nine months before.

VIII
HOMEWARD BOUND

The original draft A of 'Many Partings' continued on into the opening of 'Homeward Bound' (see p. 64), but my father drew a line of separation, and began a new pagination, probably at an early stage. At the same time he scribbled in a title for the new chapter: 'Homecoming'. This text runs on with continuous pagination right through to the end of *The Lord of the Rings*, and included the Epilogue.

This last of the first drafts ends the work in style: if not the most difficult of all the manuscripts of *The Lord of the Rings* it certainly has few rivals. As far as the Battle of Bywater (see p. 93) it gives the impression of having been written in one long burst, and with increasing rapidity. Ideas that appear in earlier reaches of the text are contradicted later without correction of the former passages. In the part of it that corresponds to 'Homeward Bound' and the beginning of 'The Scouring of the Shire', however, the text does not present excessive difficulty, chiefly because the final form of the story was not very substantially changed from that in the original draft, but also because my father's handwriting, while very rough throughout, declined only gradually as the text proceeded.

I break the text here into three chapters as in RK. Throughout, the original draft is of course called 'A'. Of the tale of the visit to *The Prancing Pony* there is not a great deal to record. It opens thus (RK p. 268):

So now they turned their faces for home; and though they rode now they rode but slowly. But they were at peace and in no haste, and if they missed their companions of their adventures, still they had Gandalf, and the journey went well enough when once they passed beyond Weathertop. For at the Fords of Bruinen Frodo halted and was loth to ride through, and from here on to Weathertop he was silent and ill at ease; but Gandalf said nothing.

And when they came to the hill he said 'Let us hasten', and would not look towards it. 'My wound aches,' he said, 'and the memory of darkness is heavy on me. Are there not things, Gandalf, that cannot ever be wholly healed?'

'Alas, it is so,' said Gandalf.

'It is so I guess with my wounds,' said Frodo. ...

This page of A (carrying the end of the later 'Many Partings' and the beginning of 'Homeward Bound') was replaced, in all probability very soon, by a new page with a chapter number, 'LVIII', and in this the opening passage draws nearer to that in RK: the date of the crossing of the Fords of Bruinen is given (the sixth of October, as in RK), and Frodo speaks of his pain there, not below Weathertop; but he says: 'It's my shoulder, my wound aches. And my finger too, the one that is gone, but I feel pain in it, and the memory of darkness is heavy on me.'[1]

When Butterbur came to the door of *The Prancing Pony* he did not, as in RK, misunderstand Nob's cry 'They've come back' and come rushing out armed with a club:

And out came Barnabas wiping his hand on his apron and looking as bustled as ever, though there seemed few folk about, and not much talk in the Common Room; indeed he looked in the dim lamplight rather more wrinkled and careworn.

'Well, well,' he said, 'I never expected to see any of you folk again and that's a fact: going off into the wild with that Trotter . . .'

Whatever response Butterbur made to Gandalf's request 'And if you have any tobacco we'll bless you. Ours has long since been finished' is not reported. When Butterbur objects (RK p. 272) that he doesn't want 'a whole crowd of strangers settling here and camping there and tearing up the wild country' Gandalf tells him:

'. . . There's room enough for realms between Isen and Greyflood, and along the shores between Greyflood and Brandywine. And many folk used to dwell north away, a hundred miles and more from you, on the North Down[s] and by Nenuial or Evendimmer, if you have heard of it. I should not wonder if the Deadmen's Dike is filled with living men again. Kings' Norbury is its right name in your tongue. One day the King may come again.'[2]

Apart from these passages the text of 'Homeward Bound' in RK was virtually present in the draft text,[3] though naturally with many small changes in the dialogue still to come, until the end of the chapter: here there is a notable difference in the story. The conversation of the hobbits as they left Bree is much as in RK, but without Merry's reference to pipe-weed and without Gandalf's reference to Saruman and his interest in the Shire:

'I wonder what he [Butterbur] means,' said Frodo.

'I can guess some of it at any rate,' said Sam gloomily. 'What I saw in the Mirror. Trees cut down and all, and the old gaffer turned out. I ought to have turned back sooner.'

'Whatever it is it'll be that Cosimo at the bottom of it,' said Pippin.

'Deep but not at the bottom,' said Gandalf.

This stands near but not at the foot of a page. Across the empty space my father wrote this note:

Gandalf should stay at Bree. He should say: 'You may find trouble, but I want you to settle it yourselves. Wizards should not interfere in such things. Don't crack nuts with a sledge-hammer, or you'll crack the kernels. And many times over anyway. I'll be along some time.'

The empty space had perhaps been intended to mark a pause; at any rate this note was written in later (though not much later), since the text continues on the following page and Gandalf has not left the hobbits: he is present at and plays a part in the encounter with the gate-guards on the Brandywine Bridge (at the beginning of the next chapter in RK, 'The Scouring of the Shire': pp. 79–80).

They passed the point on the East Road where they had taken leave of Bombadil, and half they expected to see him standing there to greet them as they went by. But there was no sign of him, and there was a grey mist over the Barrow-down[s] southward and a deep veil hid the Old Forest far away.

Frodo halted and looked wistfully south. 'I should like to see the old fellow again. I wonder how he's getting on.'

'As well as ever, you may be sure,' said Gandalf. 'Quite untroubled, and if I may say so not at all interested in anything that has happened to us. There will be time later to visit him. If I were you I should press on for home now, or we'll not come to Brandywine Bridge till the gates are locked.'

'But there aren't any gates,' said Merry, 'at least not on the Road. There's the Buckland Gate of course.'

'There weren't any gates, you mean,' said Gandalf. 'I think you'll find some now.'

They did. It was long after dark when tired and wet they came to the Brandywine and found the way barred at both ends of the Bridge . . .

The first draft was followed by a fair copy ('**B**') of 'Homeward Bound' with that title, and then by a fine and elegant manuscript ('**C**').

Already in B the final form of the chapter was achieved at almost every point.[4]

NOTES

1 The reason for the change was that the recurrence of the pain of Frodo's wound should depend on the date, not on the place. See further p. 112, notes 3 and 4.

2 The name *Nenuial* first occurs here. The curious (but certain) form *Evendimmer* I cannot explain; *Evendim* (and *Fornost Erain*) appear in the second text of the chapter.

3 The return of Bill the Pony is recorded by Butterbur in almost the same words as in RK (cf. VII.448, VIII.219). – Two other minor points may be mentioned here. Gandalf's sword (RK p. 272) is called *Orcrist* (the name of the sword of Thorin Oakenshield): this was a mere slip, which however survived into the third manuscript of the chapter, where it was changed to *Glamdring*. The entrance into Bree by the road from Weathertop was called 'the East-gate', and only changed to 'the South-gate' on the typescript for the printer; cf. the plan of Bree, VI.335.

4 In his parting words to the hobbits Gandalf says in B: 'I am not coming to the Shire. You must settle its affairs yourselves. To bring me in would be using a sledgehammer to crack nuts.' With the last sentence cf. the note, written on text A, given on p. 77. – *Trotter* and *Cosimo* survived into the third manuscript C and were only then changed to *Strider* and *Lotho*; *Barnabas* survived into the final typescript and was corrected on that to *Barliman*.

IX

THE SCOURING OF THE SHIRE

As has been seen in the last chapter, the long draft text A moves on into what became 'The Scouring of the Shire' without break; Gandalf's departure to seek out Tom Bombadil, where the chapter break would come, was not yet present. When the travellers came to the Brandywine Bridge their reception was just as in RK, but Sam's shouted 'I'll tear your notice down when I find it' is followed by:

'Come along now!' said the wizard. 'My name is Gandalf. And here is a Brandybuck, a Took, a Baggins, and a Gamgee, so if you don't open up quick there will be more trouble than you bargain for, and long before sunrise.'

At that a window slammed, and a crowd of hobbits poured out of the house with lanterns, and they opened the far gate, and some came over the Bridge. When they looked at the travellers they seemed more frightened than ever.

'Come, come,' said Merry, recognizing one of the hobbits. 'If you don't know me, Hob Hayward, you ought to. ...'

Before the narrative had proceeded much further the text was corrected and Gandalf's words were given to Frodo: '"Come along now!" said Frodo. "My name is Frodo Baggins. And here is a Brandybuck, a Took, and a Gamgee..."'

The questioning of Hob Hayward (RK p. 277) is a tangle of names and titles. So far as I can see, it ran thus as first written, with some changes made immediately:

'I'm sorry, Mr. Merry, but we have orders.'

'Whose orders?'

'The Mayor's, Mr. Merry, and the Chief Shirriff's.'

'Who's the Mayor?' said Frodo.

'Mr. [Cosimo >] Sackville of Bag-End.'

'Oh is he, indeed,' said Frodo. 'And who's the Chief Shirriff?'

'Mr. [Baggins >] Sackville of Bag-End.'

'Oh, indeed. Well, I'm glad he's dropped the Baggins at least. And he'll leave Bag-End too if I hear any more nonsense.'

A hush fell on the hobbits beyond the gate. 'It won't do no good to talk that way,' said Hob. 'He'll get to hear of it. And if you make so much noise you'll wake up the Big Man.'

'I'll wake him up in a way that'll surprise him,' said Gandalf. 'If you mean that your precious Mayor is employing ruffians out of the wild, then we've not come back too soon.' He leaped from his horse and put his hand to the gate and tore the notice from it, and threw it on the path in the faces of the hobbits.[1]

This was the last appearance of Gandalf before the final leave-taking at the Grey Havens.[2] 'Gandalf' was changed here to 'Frodo', and 'horse' to 'pony', and it was presumably at this point that the note given on p. 77 ('Gandalf should stay at Bree ...') was written on the manuscript. It will be seen in what follows that in this original version of the story Frodo played a far more aggressive and masterful part in the events than he does in RK, even to the slaying of more than one of the ruffians at Bywater and their leader at Bag End, despite his words to Sam already present in the first manuscript of 'The Land of Shadow' (p. 32; RK p. 204): 'I do not think it is my part to strike any blows again' (see the added sentence given in note 23).

The account of the hobbits' lodging that night in the guard-house by the Brandywine Bridge is much as in the final form, but lacks a few details (as Hob Hayward's remark that stocks of pipe-weed had been 'going away quietly' even before Frodo and his companions left the Shire, and the remonstrance of other hobbits against Hob's indiscretion, RK p. 279). It is Frodo, not Merry, who threatens Bill Ferny and gets rid of him. In the story of their 'arrest' at Frogmorton[3] 'one of the Shirriffs' told them that on the orders of the Chief Shirriff (see note 1) they were to be taken to the *Lock-holes* in Michel Delving (cf. RK p. 280), which is where the term first appears (see pp. 98–9). It turns out that, unlike the later story, Robin Smallburrow was actually the leader of the band of Shirriffs (see p. 95):

To the discomfiture of the Shirriffs Frodo and his companions all roared with laughter. 'Go on,' said Frodo. 'Robin Smallburrow, you're Hobbiton-bred. Don't be silly. But if you're going our way we'll go with you as quiet as you could wish.'

'Which way be you going, Mister Baggins?' said Shirriff Smallburrows,[4] a grin appearing on his face which he quickly smoothed away.

'Hobbiton, of course,' said Frodo. 'Bag End. But you needn't come any further than you wish.'

'Very well, Mr. Baggins,' said the Shirriff, 'but don't forget we've arrested you.'

Sam's conversation with Robin Smallburrows was concluded more abruptly in A (cf. RK pp. 281–2):

'... You know how I went for a Shirriff seven years ago, before

all this. Gave you a chance of walking round the Shire and seeing folk and hearing the news, and keeping an eye on the inns. But we all has to swear to do as the Mayor bids. That was all right in the days of old Flourdumpling. Do you remember him? – old Will Whitfoot of Michel Delving. But it's different now. Yet we still has to swear.'

'You shouldn't,' said Sam, 'you should cut out the Shirriffing.'

'Not allowed to,' said Robin.

'If I hear "not allowed" much oftener,' said Sam, 'I'm going to get angry.'

'Can't say I'd be sorry to see it,' said Robin, and he dropped his voice. 'Tell you the truth, your coming back and Mr. Frodo and all is the best that's happened in a year. The Mayor's in a fine taking.'

'He'll be in a fine getting before many days are over,' said Sam.

The Shire-house[5] at Frogmorton was as bad as the gate-houses. ...

It was Frodo, not Merry, who made the Shirriffs march in front on the journey from Frogmorton, and there is no mention of his looking 'rather sad and thoughtful' as his companions laughed and sang. The incident of the old 'gaffer' by the wayside who laughed at the absurd scene, and Merry's refusal to allow the Shirriffs to molest him, is absent;[6] but when the Shirriffs gave up their forced march at the Three-Farthing Stone while Frodo and his friends rode on to Bywater, the leader saying that they were breaking arrest and he could not be answerable, it was again Frodo, not Pippin, who said 'We'll break a good many things yet, and not ask you to answer.'

The horror especially of Frodo and Sam when they came to Bywater and saw what had been done there is told in A very much as in the final form; but from Sam's words 'I want to find the Gaffer' (RK p. 283) I give the text in full, for differences now begin to multiply, and before long the story evolves in a way totally unlike that of the final form of the chapter. By this point my father's handwriting is of extraordinary difficulty, and gets worse; it has been a struggle to elucidate it even to the extent that it is printed here. I have supplied much of the punctuation, and I have silently entered omitted words where these are obvious, corrected words given wrong endings, and so forth.

'It'll be dark, Sam, before we can get there,' said Frodo. 'We'll get there in the morning. One night now won't make any difference.'

'I wish we'd turned down into Buckland first,' said Merry. 'I feel trouble's ahead. We'd have heard all the news there and got some help. Whatever Cosimo's been up to it can't have gone far in Buckland. Bucklanders wouldn't stand any dictating from him!'

All the houses were shut and no one greeted them. And they wondered why, till coming to the Green Dragon, almost the last house on the Hobbiton side, they were astonished and disturbed to see four ill-favoured men lounging at the street-end. Squint-eyed fellows like the one they saw at Bree. 'And at Isengard too,' muttered Merry. They had clubs in their hands and horns in their belts. When they saw the travellers they left the wall they had been leaning on and walked into the road, blocking the way.

'Where do you think you're going?' said one. 'This ain't the road to Michel Delving. And where's the perishing Shirriffs?'

'Coming along nicely,' said Frodo. 'A bit footsore maybe. We'll wait for them.'

'Garn, I told the Boss [> Big Sharkey] it was no good sending the little fools. We ought to have a'gone, but the Boss [> Sharkey] says no, and ..... [> the Boss let him have his way.][7]

'And if you had gone, what difference would that have made, pray?' said Frodo quietly. 'We are not used to footpads in this country, but we know how to deal with them.'

'Footpads, eh,' said the man, 'so that's your tone, is it? I'll learn you manners if you ain't careful. Don't you trust too much to the Boss's kind heart. [*Added in margin:* He's all right if you treat him right, but he won't stand talk of that sort.] He's soft enough. But he's only a hobbit. And this country needs something a bit bigger to keep it in order. It'll get it, too, and before the year's out, or my name's not Sharkey. Then you'll learn a thing or two, you little rat-folk.'

'Well,' said Frodo, 'I find that very interesting. I was thinking of waiting here and calling in the morning, but now I think I had better call on the Boss at once, if you mean my cousin Mr. Cosimo. He'd like to know what's afoot in good time.'

The squinting man laughed. 'Oh, he knows alright though he pretends not to. When we've finished with bosses we get rid of them. And of anyone who gets in our way, see?' [*Added in margin, as a replacement or variant:* 'O, Cosimo,' he said, and he laughed again and looked sidelong at his mates. 'Ah, Boss

Cosimo! [*Struck out:* He knows all right, or he did.] Don't you worry about him. He sleeps sound, and I shouldn't try and wake him now. But we're not going to let you pass. We get enough of ..... in our way.']

'Yes, I see,' said Frodo. 'I'm beginning to see a great deal. But I fear you're behind the times and the news here, Ruffian Sharkey. Your day's over. You come from Isengard, I think. Well, I have myself come from the South, and this news may concern you. The Dark Tower has fallen, there is a King in Gondor, Isengard is no more, and Saruman is a beggar in the wilderness. You are the fingers of a hand that has been cut off, and arm and body too are dead. The King's messengers will be coming soon up the Greenway, not bullies of Isengard.'

The man stared at him, taken aback for a moment. Then he sneered. 'Swagger it, swagger it, little cock-a-whoop on your pony,' he said. 'Big words and fat lies won't scare us. King's messengers?' he said. 'When I see them I'll take notice maybe.'

This was too much for Pippin. As he thought of the minstrel upon Kormallen and the praise of all the fair host, and here this squint-eyed rascal calling the Ringbearer little cock-a-whoop. [*sic*]

He flashed out his sword and rode forward, casting aside his cloak so that the silver and sable of Gondor which he still wore could be seen. 'We are the King's messengers,' he said. '[And I'm the squire of Frodo of the Nine Fingers, Knight of Gondor, and down you go in the road on your knees or we'll deal with you. >] And I am the esquire of the Lord of Minas Tirith, and here is Frodo of the Nine Fingers renowned among all peoples of the West. You're a fool. Down on your knees in the road, or I'll set this troll's bane in you.' His sword glinted red in the last rays of the sun. Merry and Sam drew and rode up beside him; but Frodo made no move.

The man and his fellows taken aback by the weapons and the sudden fierce speech gave way and ran off up the road to Hobbiton, but they blew their horns as they ran.

'Well, we've come back none too soon,' said Merry.

'Not a day too soon,' said Frodo. 'Poor Cosimo. I hope we haven't sealed his doom.'

'What do you mean, Frodo?' said Pippin. 'Poor Cosimo? ... I'd seal his doom if I could get at him.'

'I don't think you understand it all quite,' said Frodo. 'Though you should. You've been in Isengard. But I've had

Gandalf to talk to, and we've talked much on the long miles. Poor Cosimo! Well, yes. He's both wicked and silly. But he's caught in his own net. Can't you see? He started trading with Saruman and got rich secretly and bought up this and that on the quiet, and then he's [?hired] these ruffians. Saruman sent them to "help" him, and show him how to build and [??repair] ... all ... And now of course they're running things in his name – and not in his name for long. He's a prisoner [?really] in Bag End, I expect.'

'Well, I am staggered,' said Pippin. 'Of all the ends to our journey this is the last I expected: to fight half-orcs in the Shire itself to rescue Cosimo the Pimple of all people!'[8]

'Fight?' said Merry. 'Well, it looks like it. But we're after all only 4 hobbits even if we're armed. We don't know how many ruffians there are about. I think we may really need the sledgehammer for this nut after all.'[9]

'Well, we can't help Cousin Pimple tonight,' said Frodo. 'We must find cover for the night.'

'I've an idea, Mr. Frodo,' said Sam. 'Let's go to old Jeremy Cotton's.[10] He used to be a stout fellow, and he has a lot of lads, all friends of mine.'

'What, Farmer Cotton down South Lane?' said Frodo. 'We'll try it!' They turned and a few yards back rode into the lane, and in a quarter of a mile came to the gates. Though it was early all the farmhouse was dark, and not a dog barked. '"Not allowed", I suppose,' grunted Sam. They knocked on the door, twice. Then slowly a window was opened just above and a head peered out.

'Nay, it's none o' them ruffians,' whispered a voice. 'It's only hobbits.'

'Don't you pay no heed anyway, Jeremy,' said a voice (the farmer's wife by the sound of it). 'It'll only bring trouble, and we've had enough.'

'Go away, there's good fellows,' said the farmer hoarsely. 'Not the front door anyway. If there's anything you want badly come round to the back first thing in the morning before they're about. There's a lot in the street now.'

'We know that,' said Frodo. 'But we've sent them off. It's Mr. Frodo Baggins and friends here. We've come back. But we want shelter for a night. The barn will do.'

'Mr. Frodo Baggins?' gasped the farmer. 'Aye, and Sam with him,' added Sam.

'All right! But don't shout,' said the farmer. 'I'm coming down.'

The bolts were drawn back stealthily and it crossed Sam's mind that he had never known that door to be locked let alone bolted before. Farmer Cotton put a head round and looked at them in the gloaming. His eyes grew round as he looked at them and then grave. 'Well,' he said, 'voices sound all right, but I wouldn't a' knowed you. Come in.' There was dim light in the passage, and he scanned their faces closely. 'Right enough,' he said, and laughed with relief. 'Mr. Baggins and Sam and Mr. Merry and Mr. Pippin. Well, you're welcome, more than welcome. But it's a sorry homecoming. You've been away too long.'

'What's come of my gaffer?' said Sam anxiously.

'Not too well, but not too bad,' said Farmer Cotton. 'He's in one of [?they new] Shire-houses, but he comes to my backdoor and I sees he's better fed than some of the poor things. He's not too bad.'

Sam drew a breath of relief. 'Shire-houses,' he said. 'I'll burn the lot down yet.'

They went into the kitchen and sat down by the fire, which the farmer blew up to a blaze. 'We go to bed early these days,' he said. 'Lights o'night bring unwelcome questions. And these ruffians, they lurk about at night and lie abed late. Early morning's our best time.'

They talked for a while and learned that Frodo's guesses had been near the mark. There were some twenty ruffians quartered in Hobbiton, and Cosimo was up at Bag End; but was never seen outside of it. 'His ma, they took her and put her in the Lockholes at Michel Delving three [?months] ago,' said the farmer. 'I'm less sorry for her than I am for some as they've took. But she did stand up to them proper, there's no denying. Ordered them out of the house, and so they took her.'

'Hm,' said Frodo. 'Then I am afraid we've brought you trouble. For we've threatened four of them and sent them off. The chief of them is one Sharkey by his own naming. I feared there were more. They blew horns and went off.'

'Ah, I heard 'em,' said the farmer. 'That's why we shut down. They'll be after you soon enough, unless you've scared 'em more than I guess. Not but what I think they'd run quick enough from anything of their own size. We'd clear 'em out of the country if only we'd get together.'

'Have they got any weapons?'

'They don't show 'em, no more than whips, clubs, and knives, enough for their dirty work,' said the farmer. 'But maybe they have. Some have got bows and arrows, anyhow, and shoot [?pretty quick] and straight. They've shot three in this district to my knowledge.' Sam ground his teeth.

There came a great bang at the front door. The farmer went quietly down the passage putting out the light and the others followed him. There was a second louder bang. 'Open up you old rat, or we'll burn you out,' shouted a hoarse voice outside.

'I am coming,' said the farmer, all of a [?quake.] 'Slip up and see how many there is,' said Sam. And he [?rattled the chains] and ..... ed the bolts as the farmer ran up the stairs and back.

'I should say a dozen at the least, but all the lot, I guess,' he said.

'All the better,' said Frodo. 'Now for it.'

The four hobbits stood back to the wall towards which the door swung. The farmer [?unbolted] the bolts, turned the key, and then [?slipped back] up the stairs. The door swung open and in [?peered] the head and shoulders of Sharkey. They let him come in; and then quickly Frodo drove the point of his sword into his neck. He fell, and there was a howl of rage outside. 'Burn them, burn them,' voices cried, 'go and get fuel.' 'Nar, dig them out,' said two, and thrust into the passage. They had swords in their hands, but Frodo now behind the door swung it suddenly in the face of the rear one, while ... Sam ran Sting through the other.[11] Then the hobbits leaped out. The ruffian who had been down on his face was [?leaning against the doorpost]. He fled, blood pouring from his nose. The farmer ... took the sword from the fallen ruffian and stood guard at the door. The hobbits ranged about the yards stealthily. They came on two ruffians bringing wood from the woodpile and .... ed and killed them before they knew they were attacked. 'It is like a rat hunt,' said Sam. 'But that's only four and one with a broken nose.'

At that moment they heard Merry shouting, 'Gondor to the Mark', and they ran and found him in a corner of the stack yard with four ruffians [?pressing] on him, but held at bay by his sword. They had only knives and clubs. Frodo and Sam came running from one side and Pippin from another. The ruffians fled blowing horns, but one more fell to Frodo's sword before he could escape.

They heard the farmer calling. They ran back. 'One less,' said Farmer Cotton. 'I got him as he ran. The rest have run off down the lane blowing like a hunt.'

'That's six altogether,' said Frodo. 'But no doubt the horns will bring more. How many are there in the neighbourhood?'

'Not many,' said the farmer. 'They mostly bide here or at Michel Delving, and go anywhere's there's any dirty work. No more of [?them's] come in since last spring. I ... say there's not much [more than] a hundred in the whole Shire. If we could only join together.'

'Then let's start tonight,' said Frodo. 'Rouse up the folk. Put lights in the houses. Get out all the lads and grown hobbits. Block the road south and send out scouts round the place.'

It was not long before all Bywater was alive and awake again. Lights shining in windows and people at their doors. And there were even cheers for Mr. Frodo. Some lit a bonfire at the Road Bend[12] and danced round it. It was after all not more than [the] six[th of] October[13] on a fair evening of late autumn. Others went off to spy the land round about.

Those that went up Hobbiton way said that there was quite a hubbub there. News of Mr. Frodo's return had come in and folk were coming out. The ruffians seemed to have left the place clear. 'Bolted towards Michel Delving where they've made the Lockholes into a fortress, that's what they've a' done, I guess,' said Farmer Cotton. 'But they'll come back. There's no way from the West.[14] They don't go down the Tuckborough way. They've never given in there. And they've [?beaten] up more than one ruffian in the Took-house.[15] There is a kind o' siege going on.'

'We'll send word to them. Who'll go?' No answer.

'I'll go of course,' said Pippin. 'It's my own country. I'm proud of it. It's not more than 14 miles, as the crow flies or as Took goes who knows all the ways, from here where I stand to the Long Smial of [?Tuckborough] where I was born.[16] Anyone come with me? Well, never mind. I'll be bringing some [?stout] Tooklanders this way in the morning.'

Frodo sent out other messengers to all hamlets and farms near enough for folk to be willing to run to them.

Nothing more that night.

In the morning from Hobbiton and Bywater and round about there were about 100 fullgrown hobbits gathered together with sticks, staves, knives, pitchforks and mattocks and axes and

scythes. Messages came in to say that a dozen or more ruffians had been seen going west to Michel Delving the evening before. Then a hobbit ran in to say that about fifty Tooklanders had come in on ponies to the East Road junction and a couple of hundred were marching up behind. 'Whole country's up, like a fire,' he said. 'It's grand! Right glad we are you came back, Mr. Frodo. That's what we needed.'

Frodo now had forces enough. He had [?the] block .. ... the East .....[17] and put a lot of them behind the hedge on each side of the way. They were under Pippin's command. 'I don't know what you think,' he said to Merry and Sam. 'But it seems to me that either the ruffians are all going to gather in Michel Delving and fight it out there: in that case we'll have to raise the Shire and go and dig them out; or more likely they'll come back in full force this way to their precious Boss. It's forty miles if it's a foot to Michel Delving. Unless they get ponies (which wouldn't help much) or have got horses they can't come back for a day or two.'

'They'll send a messenger,' said Sam, 'and wait somewhere till their friends arrive; that'll speed things up a bit. Even so I don't see how they can do it till the day after tomorrow at quickest.'

'Well then,' said Frodo, 'we'd best spend the time by going to Hobbiton and have a word with Cousin Cosimo.'

'Right you are, Mr. Frodo,' said Sam, 'and I'll look up the gaffer.'

So leaving Pippin in charge on the Road and Farmer Cotton in Bywater, Frodo, Sam and Merry rode on to Hobbiton. It was one of the saddest days of their lives. The great chimney rose up before them, and as they came in sight of the village they saw that the old mill was gone and a great red brick building straddled the stream. All along the Bywater road every tree was felled, and little ugly houses with no gardens in [?desert] ..... of ash or gravel. As they looked up the hill they gasped. The old farm on the right had been turned into a [?long ?big] work-shop or [?building] with many new windows. The chestnuts were gone. Bagshot Row was a yawning sand-pit, and Bag End up beyond could not be seen for a row of sheds and ugly huts.[18]

[*The following was struck out and replaced immediately:* A [?surly dirty] ill-favoured hobbit was lounging at the new mill-door. He was [?smut]-faced and [?chewing]. 'As good a small model of Bill Ferny as I've seen,' said Sam.

Ted Sandyman did not seem to recognize them but stared at them with a leer until they had nearly passed.

'Going to see the Boss?' he said. 'It's a bit early. But you'll see the notice on the gate. Are you the folks that have been making all the row down at Bywater? If you are, I shouldn't [?try] the Boss. He's angry. Take my advice and sheer off. You're not wanted. We've got work to do in the Shire now and we don't want noisy riffraff.'

'You don't always get what you want, Ted Sandyman,' said Sam. 'And I can tell you what's coming to you, whether you like it or no: a bath.' He jumped from his pony and before the astonished Ted knew what was coming Sam hit him square on the nose, and lifting him with an effort threw him over the bridge with a splash.]

A dirty surly-looking hobbit was lounging on the bridge by the mill. He was grimy-faced and grimy-handed, and was chewing. 'As good a small copy of Bill Ferny as you could ask for!' said Sam. 'So that's what Ted Sandyman admires, is it. I'm not surprised.'

Ted looked at him and spat. 'Going to see the Boss?' he said. 'If you are you're too early. He don't see no visitors till eleven, not even them as thinks themselves high and mighty. And he won't see you anyway. You're for the Lockholes, where you belong. Take my advice and sheer off before they come for you. We don't want you. We've work to do in the Shire now.'

'So I see,' said Sam. 'No time for a bath, but time for wall-propping. Well, never you mind, Ted, we'll find you something to do before this year's much older. And in the meantime keep your mouth shut. I've a score to pay in this village, and don't you make it any longer with your sneers, or you'll foot a bill too big for you to pay.'

Ted laughed. 'You're out o' date, Mr. Samwise, with your elves and your dragons. If I were you I'd go and catch one of them ships that [are] [?always] sailing, according to your tale. Go back to Babyland and rock your cradle, and don't bother us. We're going to make a big town here with twenty mills. A hundred new houses next year. Big stuff coming up from the South. Chaps who can work metals, and make big holes in the ground. There'll be forges a-humming and [?steamwhistles] and wheels going round. Elves can't do things like that.'

Sam looked at him, and his retorts died on his lips. He shook his head.

'Don't worry, Sam,' said Frodo. 'He's day-dreaming, poor wretch. And he's right behind the times. Let him be. But what we shall do with [him] is a bit of a worry. I hope there's not many caught the disease.'

'If I had known all the mischief Saruman had been up to,' said Merry, 'I'd have stuffed my pouch down his throat.'

They went sadly up the winding road to Bag End. The Field of the Party was all hillocks, as if moles had gone mad in it, but by some miracle the tree was still standing, now forlorn and nearly leafless.[19] They came at last to the door. The bell-chain dangled loose. No bell could be rung, no knocking was answered. At last they pushed and the door opened. They went in. The place stank, it was full of filth and disorder, but it did not appear to have been lived in for some time. 'Where is that miserable Cosimo hiding?' they said. There was nothing living to be found in any room save mice and rats.

'This is worse than Mordor,' said Frodo. 'Much worse in some ways.' 'Ah,' said Sam, 'it goes home as they say, because this is home, and it's all so, so mean, dirty [and] shabby. I'm very sorry, Mr. Frodo. But I'm glad I didn't know before. All the time in the bad places we've been in I've had the Shire in mind, and that's what I've rested on, if you take my meaning. I'd not have had a hope if I'd known all this.'

'I understand,' said Frodo. 'I said much the same to Gandalf long ago.[20] Never mind, Sam. It's our task to put it all right again. Hard work, but we'll not mind. Your box will come in useful.'

'My box?' said Sam. 'Glory and sunshine, Mr. Frodo, but of course. She knew, of course she knew. Showed me a bit in the Mirror. Bless her. I'd well-nigh forgotten it. But let's find that Boss first.'

'Hi you, what're you doing? Come out of it!' A loud voice rang out. They ran to the door and saw a large man, bowlegged, squinteyed, [?painfully ??bent] coming up the field from one of the sheds. 'What in Mordor do you mean by it?' he shouted. 'Come out of it. Come here, you Shire-rats. I [?saw] you.'

They came out and went to meet him. When they drew near enough for him to see them he stopped and looked at them, and to Frodo it seemed that he was .... [?and] a little afraid. 'We're looking for the Boss,' he said, 'or so I think you call him. Mr. Cosimo of Bag End. I'm his cousin. I used to live here.'

'Hi lads, hi, [?come here],' shouted the man. 'Here they are. We've got 'em.'

But there was no answer.

Frodo smiled. 'I think, Ruffian Sharkey, [?we] should cry "We've got him"? If you're calling for your other ruffians I'm afraid they've made off. To Michel Delving, I'm told. I am told you sleep sound.[21] Well, what about it now.' The hobbits drew their swords and pressed near him; but he backed away. Very orc-like all his movements were, and he stooped now with his hands nearly touching the ground. 'Blast and grind the fools,' he said. 'Why didn't they warn me?'

'They thought of themselves first, I expect,' said Frodo, 'and anyway you've given strict orders that your sleep is not to be disturbed. It's on every notice. Come. I want to see the Boss. Where is he?'

The man looked puzzled. Then he laughed. 'You're looking at him,' he said. 'I'm the Boss. I'm Sharkey all right.'

'Then where is Mr. Cosimo of Bag End?'

'Don't ask me,' said the man. 'He saw what was coming, and he legged it one night. Poor booby. But it saved us the trouble of wringing his neck. We'd had enough of him. And we've got on better without him. He hadn't the guts of his ma.'

'I see,' said Frodo. 'So you ruffians from Isengard have been bullying this country for a year, and [??pretending] to be Mayor and Shirriff and what not, and eating most of the food and ... ing folk and setting up your filthy hutches. What for?'

'Who are you,' said the man, 'to "what for" me? I'm the Boss. And I do what I like. These little swine have got to learn how to work and I'm here to learn 'em. Saruman wants goods and he wants provisions, and he wants a lot of things lying idle here. And he'll get them, or we'll screw the necks of all you little rats and take the land for ourselves.'

'Isengard is a ruin and Saruman walks as a beggar,' said Frodo. 'You've outlived your time, Ruffian Sharkey. The Dark Tower has fallen and there is a King in Gondor, and there is a King also in the North. We come from the King. I give you three days. After that you are outlaw, and if you're found in this Shire you shall be killed, as you killed the [?wretch] Cosimo. I see in your eye that you lie, and in your hands that you strangled him. Your way leads downhill and [to] the East. Quick now!'

The orc-man looked at them with such a leer of hatred as they had not seen even in all their adventures. '... you're liars like all

your kind. Elf-friends and ..... And four to one, which makes you so bold.'

'Very well,' said Frodo, 'one to one.' He took off his cloak. Suddenly he shone, a small gallant figure clad in mithril like an elf-prince. Sting was in his hand;[22] but he was not much more than half Sharkey's stature. Sharkey had a sword, and he drew it, and in a [?fury] hewed double-handed at Frodo. But Frodo using the advantage of his size and [?courage] ran in close holding his cloak as a shield and slashed his leg above the knee. And then as with a groan and a curse the orc-man [?toppled] over him he stabbed upwards, and Sting passed clean through his body.

So died Sharkey the Boss [?on the] .... where Bilbo's garden had been. Frodo [??crawling] from under him looked at him as he wiped Sting on the grass. 'Well,' he said, 'if ever Bilbo hears of this he'll believe the world has really changed! When Gandalf and I sat here long ago, I think that at least one thing I could never have guessed would be that the last stroke of the battle would be at this door.'[23]

'Why not?' said Sam. 'Very right and proper. And I'm glad that it was yours, Mr. Frodo. But if I may say so, though it was a grand day at Kormallen, and the happiest I have known, I never have felt that you got as much praise as you deserve.'

'Of course not, Sam,' said Frodo. 'I'm a hobbit. But why grumble? You've been far more neglected yourself. There's never only one hero in any true tale, Sam, and all the good folk are in others' debt. But if one had to choose one and one only, I'd choose Samwise.'

'Then you'd be wrong, Mr. Frodo,' said Sam. 'For without you I'm nothing. But you and me together, Mr. Frodo: well, that's more than either alone.'

'It's more than anything I've heard of,' said Merry. 'But as for the last stroke of battle, I'm not so sure. You've finished the beastly Boss, while I only looked on. I've a [?feeling] from the horns in the distance you'll find that Pippin and the Tooks have had the last word. Thank heaven my ..... is Took Brandybuck.'

It was as he said. While they had dealt with the Boss things had flared up in Bywater. The ruffians were no fools. They had sent a man on a horse to [?within] horn cry of Michel Delving (for they had many horn-signals). By midnight they had all assembled at Waymoot,[24] 18 miles west of the Bywater Road [?crossing]. They had [?horses of their own] on the White

Downs and rode like the fire. They charged the road-barrier at 10 a.m. but fifty were slain. The others had scattered and escaped. Pippin had killed [?five] and was wounded himself.

So ended the [??fierce] battle of Bywater, the only battle ever fought in the Shire. And it has at least a chapter all to itself in all standard histories.

It was some time before the last ruffians were hunted out. And oddly enough, little though the hobbits were inclined to believe it, quite a number turned out to be far from incurable.

This ends a page, and with it the now fearsomely difficult writing comes to an end: for the next page is perfectly legible, and this better script continues to the end of the draft, which is also the end of *The Lord of the Rings*. The pagination is continuous, however, and the likeliest explanation seems to be that there was simply a break in composition at this point.

The division between 'The Scouring of the Shire' and 'The Grey Havens' occurs at a point in RK that has nothing corresponding in the original draft, but it is convenient to make a break here, after one further paragraph concerning the fate of the 'ruffians', and to give the further continuation of the draft in the following chapters.

If they gave themselves up they were kindly treated, and fed (for they were usually half-starved after hiding in the woods), and then shown to the borders. This sort were Dunlanders, not orc-men/halfbreeds, who had originally come because their own land was wretched, and Saruman had told them there was a good country with plenty to eat away North. It is said that they found their own country very much better in the days of the King and were glad to return; but certainly the reports that they spread (enlarged for the covering of their own shame) of the numerous and warlike, not to say ferocious, hobbits of the Shire did something to preserve the hobbits from further trouble.

It is very striking that here, virtually at the end of *The Lord of the Rings* and in an element in the whole that my father had long meditated, the story when he first wrote it down should have been so different from its final form (or that he so signally failed to see 'what really happened'!). And this is not only because the original story took a wrong direction, as it turned out, when all four of the 'travellers' went to Farmer Cotton's house, nor because he did not perceive that it was Saruman who was the real 'Boss', Sharkey, at Bag End, but most of all because Frodo is portrayed here at every stage as an energetic and commanding intelligence, warlike and resolute in action; and the

final text of the chapter had been very largely achieved when the changed conception of Frodo's part in the Scouring of the Shire entered.

It is perhaps a minor question, to try to resolve how my father was developing the idea of 'Sharkey' as he wrote this text, but it is certainly not easy to do so. The statements made are as follows:

– The chief of the orcish men at Bywater said (p. 82) that he had told the Boss that it was no good sending hobbits, and that the men ought to have gone, but the Boss had said no. This was changed to make the man say that he had given this advice to 'Big Sharkey', but Sharkey had said no, and 'the Boss let him have his way'.

– Later in the same conversation, this man says: 'It'll get it too, and before the year's out, or my name's not Sharkey.' Then Frodo calls him (p. 83) 'Ruffian Sharkey'.

– When the ruffians came to Farmer Cotton's house it was 'Sharkey' who peered in at the door; and Frodo slew him with his sword.

– The man who accosted the hobbits at Bag End (whose orc-like character is much emphasised) is called by Frodo 'Ruffian Sharkey' (p. 91).

– Frodo tells this man that he wants to see the Boss; to which he replies: 'I'm the Boss. I'm Sharkey all right.'

– Subsequently Frodo again calls him 'Ruffian Sharkey'; and he slays him with Sting in single combat.

As the text stands there can be no solution to this unless it is supposed that my father changed his conception as he wrote without altering the earlier passages. This would probably mean that the name 'Sharkey', whatever its basis as a name, was transferred from the squint-eyed rascal at Bywater when my father saw that 'the Boss' (Cosimo Sackville-Baggins) was being used now purely nominally by some more ruthless and sinister presence at Bag End: this was 'Sharkey'.[25] Then, suddenly, after the present draft was completed, my father saw who it really was that had supplanted Cosimo, and Saruman took over the name 'Sharkey'.[26]

At any rate, it is altogether certain that Saruman only entered the Shire in person in the course of the development of the present chapter. On the other hand, his previous baleful association with Cosimo Sackville-Baggins was present in the original draft, as is seen from Frodo's remarks at Bywater (p. 84) and Merry's at Bag End (p. 90: 'If I had known all the mischief Saruman had been up to, I'd have stuffed my pouch down his throat').

It required much further work to attain the story as it stands in *The Return of the King*, and the vehicle of this development was the complicated second manuscript **B**', which was numbered 'LIX' and at first given the title 'The Mending of the Shire'. It seems very probable that Saruman's presence at Bag End had already arisen when my

father began writing this text, and the references to 'Sharkey' are as in RK; but while in detail and in wording it advances far towards the final form he was still following A in certain features, and the major shift in the plot (whereby the fight at Farmer Cotton's house was removed) took place in the course of the writing of the manuscript.

Before that point in the story is reached the most notable feature is that Frodo retains his dominance and his resolute captaincy. The incident of the old 'gaffer' who jeered at the band of Shirriffs on their forced march from Frogmorton entered in B, but it was Frodo, not Merry, who sharply ordered their leader to leave him alone. The leader was still, and explicitly, Robin Smallburrow ('"Smallburrow!" said Frodo. "Order your fellows back to their places at once"'); but his displacement by the officious and anonymous leader took place in the course of the writing of this manuscript.[27]

There was a notable development in B of Frodo's exposition to Pippin concerning Cosimo and Saruman and the pass to which the Shire has been brought (see pp. 83–4). This was removed (cf. RK p. 285) when, on a rider inserted into B, it became Farmer Cotton who recounted from personal knowledge the recent history; but Cotton, of course, did not know who Sharkey was, and presumably would not have been much enlightened to learn that he was Saruman.

'I don't think you understand it quite,' said Frodo. 'Though you were at Isengard, and have heard all that I have since. Yes, Poor Cosimo! He has been a wicked fool. But he's caught in his own net now. Don't you see? Saruman became interested in us and in the Shire a good while ago, and began spying. [*Added:* So Gandalf said.] A good many of the strange folk that had been prowling about for a long while before we started must have been sent by him. I suppose he got into touch with Cosimo that way. Cosimo was rich enough, but he always did want more. I expect he started trading with Saruman, and getting richer secretly, and buying up this and that on the quiet. [*Added:* Saruman needed supplies for his war.]'

'Ah!' said Sam, 'tobacco, a weakness of Saruman's. [> 'Yes!' said Pippin. 'And tobacco for himself and his favourites!] I suppose that Cosimo must have got his hands on most of it. And on the South-farthing fields, too, I shouldn't wonder.'

'I expect so,' said Frodo. 'But he soon got bigger ideas than that. He began hiring [> He seems to have hired] ruffians; or Saruman sent them to him, to "help him". Chimneys, tree-hacking, all those shoddy little houses. They look like imitations of Saruman's notions of "improvement". But now, of course, the ruffians are on top . . .'

The text then becomes that of RK; but after Frodo's admonition on the subject of killing (RK p. 285) it continues thus, following and expanding A (p. 84):

'It depends on how many of these ruffians there are,' said Merry. 'If there are a lot, then it will certainly mean fighting, Frodo. And it isn't going to be as easy after this. It may prove a nut tough enough for Gandalf's sledgehammer. After all we're only four hobbits, even if we're armed.'

'Well, we can't help Cousin Pimple tonight,' said Pippin; 'we need to find more out. You heard that horn-blowing? There's evidently more ruffians near at hand. We ought to get under cover soon. Tonight will be dangerous.'

'I've an idea,' said Sam. 'Let's go to old Cotton's. He always was a stout fellow, and he's a lot of lads that were all friends of mine.'

'D'you mean Farmer Cotton down South Lane?' said Frodo. 'We'll try him!'

They turned, and a few yards back came on South Lane leading out of the main road; in about a quarter of a mile it brought them to the farmer's gates.

In the story of their arrival at the farm, their welcome there and conversation with Farmer Cotton, my father followed A (pp. 84–6) closely, with some minor expansion but no movement away from the draft narrative (except that the imprisonment of Lobelia Sackville-Baggins is made longer: '"They took his ma six months ago," said Cotton, "end o' last April" '). But from the bang on the front door the story changes:

There came at that moment a loud bang on the door. Farmer Cotton went softly down the passage, putting out the light. The others followed. There was a second louder bang.

'Open up, you old rat, or we'll burn you out!' shouted a hoarse voice outside. Mrs. Cotton in a nearby room stifled a scream. Down the stairs that led into the kitchen five young hobbits came clattering from the two upper rooms where they slept. They had thick sticks, but nothing more.

'I'm coming,' shouted the farmer, rattling the chains and making a to-do with the bolts. 'How many is there?' he whispered to his sons. 'A dozen at least,' said Young Tom, the eldest, 'maybe all the lot.'

'All the better,' said Frodo. 'Now for it! Open up and then get back. Don't join in, unless we need help badly.'

The four hobbits with swords drawn stood back to the wall against which the door swung. There came a great blow on the lock, but at that moment the farmer drew the last bolt, and slipped back with his sons some paces down the passage [*added:* and round the corner out of sight]. The door opened slowly and in peered the head of the ruffian they had already met. He stepped forward, stooping, holding a sword in his hand. As soon as he was well inside, the hobbits, who were now behind the opened door, flung it back with a crash. While Frodo slipped a bolt back, the three others leaped on the ruffian from behind, threw him down on his face and sat on him. He felt a cold blade of steel at his neck.

'Keep still and quiet!' said Sam. 'Cotton!' called Merry. 'Rope! We've got one. Tie him up!'

But the ruffians outside began attacking the door again, while some were smashing the windows with stones. 'Prisoner!' said Frodo. 'You seem a leader. Stop your men, or you will pay for the damage!'

They dragged him close to the door. 'Go home, you fools!' he shouted. 'They've got me, and they'll do for me, if you go on. Clear out! Tell Sharkey!'

'What for?' a voice answered from outside. 'We know what Sharkey wants. Come on, lads! Burn the whole lot inside! Sharkey won't miss that boob; he's no use for them as makes mistakes. Burn the lot! Look alive and get the fuel!'

'Try again!' said Sam grimly.

The prisoner now desperately frightened screamed out: 'Hi, lads! No burnings! No more burnings, Sharkey said. Send a messenger. You might find it was you as had made a mistake. Hi! D'you hear?'

'All right, lads!' said the other voice. 'Two of you ride back quick. Two go for fuel. The rest make a ring round the place!'

'Well, what's the next move?' said Farmer Cotton. 'At least they won't start burning until they've ridden to Bag-end and back: say half an hour, allowing for some talk. The murdering villains! Never thought they'd start burning. They burned a lot of folk out earlier, but they've not done [any] for a long while. We understood the Boss had stopped it. But see here! I've got the wife and my daughter Rosie to think of.'

'There's only two things to be done,' said Frodo. 'One of us has got to slip out and get help: rouse the folk. There must be

200 grown hobbits not far away. Or else we've got to burst out in a pack with your wife and daughter in a huddle, and do it quick, while two are away and before more come.'

'Too much risk for the one [that] slips out,' said Cotton. 'Burst out together, that's the ticket, and make a dash up the lane.'

The concluding passage, from 'There's only two things to be done,' was written in a rapidly degenerating scribble, and the text ends here, not at the foot of a page. The story of the attack on the farmhouse had already shifted strongly away from that in the original draft (in which Frodo and Sam slew two of the marauders at the front door and four others were killed in the yard before the remainder fled); and at this point my father decided that he had taken a wrong turning. Perhaps he could not see any credible way in which they could burst out of the house (with the young Cottons and their mother in the midst) and through the ring of men unscathed. At any rate, the whole of this part of the B text, from '"D'you mean Farmer Cotton down South Lane?" said Frodo' (p. 96), was removed from the manuscript and replaced by a new start, with Frodo's saying in response to Sam's suggestion that they all go to Farmer Cotton's: 'No! It's no good getting "under cover"', as in RK (p. 286), where however it is Merry who says this. It is Frodo also, not Merry, who answers Pippin's question 'Do what?' with 'Raise the Shire! Now! Wake all our people!', and tells Sam that he can make a dash for Cotton's farm if he wants to; he ends 'Now, Merry, you have a horn of the Mark. Let us hear it!'

The story of the return of the four hobbits to the middle of Bywater, Merry's horn-call, Sam's meeting with Farmer Cotton and his sons, his visit to Mrs. Cotton and Rose, and the fire made by the villagers, is told in virtually the same words as in RK (pp. 286–8), the only difference being that it was on the orders of Frodo, not of Merry, that barriers were set up across the road at each end of Bywater. When Farmer Cotton tells that the Boss (as he is still named throughout B, though emended later to 'the Chief') has not been seen for a week or two B diverges a little from RK, for Tom Cotton the younger interrupts his father at this point:

'They took his ma, that Lobelia,' put in Young Tom. 'That'd be six months back, when they started putting up sheds at Bag End without her leave. She ordered 'em off. So they took her. Put her in the Lock-holes. They've took others that we miss more; but there's no denying she stood up to 'em bolder than most.'

'That's where most of them are,' said the farmer, 'over at Michel Delving. They've made the old Lock-holes into a regular

fort, we hear, and they go from there roaming round, "gathering". Still I guess that there's no more than a couple of hundred in the Shire all told. We can master 'em, if we stick together.'

'Have they got any weapons?' asked Merry.

This perhaps implies that the *Lock-holes* were a prison in the days before any 'ruffian' came to the Shire. Subsequently Young Tom's story of Lobelia was removed from this part of the narrative, and replaced by Pippin's question 'Hobbiton's not their only place, is it?', which leads into Farmer Cotton's account of where else the 'ruffians' hung out beside Hobbiton, as in RK (p. 288), and a different idea of the origin of the Lock-holes: 'some old tunnels at Michel Delving'.

Merry's question 'Have they got any weapons?' leads, as in RK, to Farmer Cotton's account of the resistance of the Tooks, but without his reference to Pippin's father (Paladin Took), the Thain, and his refusal to have anything to do with the pretensions of Lotho (Cosimo):

'There you are, Frodo!' said Merry. 'I knew we'd have to fight. Well, they started it.'

'Not exactly,' said Farmer Cotton, 'leastways not the shooting. Tooks started that. You see, the Tooks have got those deep holes in the Green Hills, the Smiles[28] as they call 'em, and the ruffians can't come at 'em ...'

With Frodo still firmly in the saddle at Bywater, Merry rode off with Pippin to Tuckborough (as he does not in RK). After they had gone, Frodo reiterated his injunction against any killing that could be avoided (as in RK, p. 289), but then continued: 'We shall be having a visit from the Hobbiton gang very soon. It's over an hour since we sent the four ruffians off from here. Do nothing, until I give the word. Let them come on!' In RK it is Merry who gives the warning that the men from Hobbiton will soon be coming to Bywater, and he concludes 'Now I've got a plan'; to which Frodo merely replies 'Very good. You make the arrangements.' The arrival of the men, and the trapping of them beside the fire where Farmer Cotton was standing apparently all alone, follows exactly as in the final story, except that it is of course Frodo, not Merry, who accosts the leader; and when this encounter is over, and the men bundled off into one of their own huts, Farmer Cotton says 'You came back in the nick, Mr. Frodo.'

Then follows Cotton's account to Sam of the condition of the Gaffer ('he's in one of them new Shire-houses, Boss-houses I call 'em'), and Sam's departure to fetch him, virtually as in RK (p. 291). Once again, it is Frodo not Merry who posts look-outs and guards, and he goes off alone with Farmer Cotton to his house: 'He sat with the family in the kitchen, and they asked a few polite questions, but were far more concerned with events in the Shire. In the middle of the talk in burst

Sam, with the Gaffer.' The farmer's account of the 'troubles', ending with Young Tom's story of the carting off of Lobelia to the Lock-holes (RK p. 291–3), was inserted into B on a long rider; and at this time Frodo's earlier suppositions about how it all began (p. 95) and Young Tom's earlier remarks about Lobelia (p. 98) were removed.[29]

The incursion of the Gaffer into the Cottons' kitchen is told as in RK (pp. 293–4); but then follows in B:

In the morning early they heard the ringing call of Merry's horn, and in marched nearly a hundred of Tooks and other hobbits from Tuckborough and the Green Hills. The Shire was all alight, they said, and the ruffians that prowled round Tookland had fled; east to the Brandywine mostly, pursued by other Tooks.

There were now enough forces for a strong guard on the East Road from Michel Delving to Brandywine, and for another guard in Bywater. When all that had been settled and put in the charge of Pippin, Frodo and Sam and Merry with Farmer Cotton and an escort of fifty set out for Hobbiton.

The text then continues with the story of their coming to Hobbiton and meeting with Ted Sandyman, and their entry into Bag End, told almost word for word as in RK (pp. 296–7);[30] and ends with the advent of Saruman and his murder by Wormtongue (on which see pp. 102–3). The text B ends just as does the chapter in RK, with Merry's saying 'And the very last end of the War, I hope', Frodo's calling it 'the very last stroke', and Sam's saying 'I shan't call it the end, till we've cleared up the mess.' But there is thus no Battle of Bywater!

The Battle is found on inserted pages that are numbered as additional ('19a, 19b') to the consecutive pagination of the text just described. If this pagination means that these pages were written and inserted subsequently, and it is hard to see what else it could mean, it might seem that my father (still following the story in A, in which the visit to Hobbiton preceded the battle, p. 92) had driven on to the end of the Bag End episode without realising that the story of the Battle of Bywater had yet to be told. But this seems incredible. Far more likely he saw, as he wrote the story of the visit to Hobbiton, that the order of the narration in A must be reversed, so that the chapter would end with the last stroke of the War 'at the very door of Bag End'; but he postponed the battle, and inserted it subsequently into the text already continuously paginated.

Whenever this was done, the existing text (in which the dispositions for defence next morning were followed at once by the visit to Hobbiton) was altered to that of RK (p. 294), and the approach of the men along the road from Waymoot and their ambush on the high-banked road to Bywater was told almost as in the final story: the

few differences in this passage are chiefly caused by Merry's having gone to Tuckborough with Pippin. The messenger from the Tookland does not refer to the Thain (see p. 99), and tells that 'Mr. Peregrin and Mr. Merry are coming on with all the folk we can spare'; it was Nick Cotton, not Merry, who had been out all night and reported the approach of the men, whom he estimated to number 'fifty or more' ('close on a hundred', RK); and when the Tooks came in 'the ringing call of Merry's horn was heard.' But from the point where the way back out of the ambush was blocked against the ruffian men, when the hobbits pushed out more carts onto the road, the B text diverges remarkably from the story told in RK:

A voice spoke to them from above. 'Well,' said Frodo, 'you have walked into a trap. Your fellows from Hobbiton did the same, and are all prisoners now. Lay down your weapons! Then go back twenty paces and sit down. Any who try to break out will be shot.'

Many of the men, in spite of the curses of their more villainous mates, at once obeyed. But more than a score turned about and charged back down the lane. Hobbit archers at gaps in the hedges shot down six before they reached the waggons. Some of them gave up, but ten or more burst through and dashed off, and scattered across country making for the Woody End it seemed.

Merry blew a loud horn-call. There were answering calls from a distance. 'They won't get far!' he said. 'All that country is now alive with hunters.'

The dead ruffians were laden on waggons and taken off and buried in an old gravel-pit nearby, the Battle Pits as they were called ever afterwards. The others were marched off to the village to join their fellows.

So ended the Battle of Bywater, 1419, the [only >] last battle fought in the Shire, and the only battle since the Greenfields, 1137,[31] away up in the North Farthing. In consequence, although it only cost six ruffian lives and no hobbits it has a chapter to itself in all the standard histories, and the names of all those who took part were made into a Roll and learned by heart. The very considerable rise in the fame and fortunes of the Cottons dates from this time.

The connection with the visit to Hobbiton was made in these words:

When all was settled, and a late midday meal had been eaten, Merry said: 'Well now, Frodo, it's time to deal with the Chief.'

Farmer Cotton collected an escort of some fifty sturdy hobbits, and then they set out on foot for Bag End: Frodo, Sam, Merry and Pippin led the way.

The words 'When all was settled' are used now to refer to the ending of the battle and the disposal of the dead and captured ruffians; previously (p. 100) they had referred to the arrangements made to meet the approaching enemy.

The story of the meeting with Saruman at Bag End was written out twice in B, the first form soon declining into a scribble when my father thought better of the opening of the episode. The first opening I give here:

'No doubt, no doubt. But you did not, and so I am able to welcome you home!' There standing at the door was Saruman, looking well-fed and a great deal less wretched than before; his eyes gleamed with malice and amusement.

A sudden light broke on Frodo. 'Sharkey!' he said. Saruman laughed. 'So you've heard that, have you? I believe all my men used to call me that in the better times. They were so devoted. And so it has followed me up here, has it? Really I find that quite cheering.'

'I cannot imagine why,' said Frodo. 'And what are you doing here anyway? Just a little shabby mischief? Gandalf said he thought you were still capable of that.'

[*Struck out:* 'Need you ask?' said Saruman.] 'You make me laugh, you hobbit lordlings,' said Saruman. 'Riding along with all these great people so secure and so pleased with yourselves; thinking you have done great things and can now just come back and laze in the country. Saruman's home can be ruined, and he can be turned out. But not Mr. Baggins. Oh, no! He's really important.

'But Mr. Baggins is a fool all the same. And can't even mind his own affairs, always minding other people's. To be expected of a pupil of Gandalf. He must dawdle on the way, and ride twice as far as he need. The Shire would be all right. Well, after our little meeting I thought I might get ahead of you and learn you a lesson. It would have been a sharper lesson if only you had dawdled longer. Still I have done a little that you'll find it hard to mend in your time. It'll be a warning to you to leave other folk alone, and not to be so cocksure. And it will give me something quite pleasant to think about, to set against my own injuries.'

The second version of the episode in B is virtually as in RK, except that it entirely lacks any reference to the dreadful corpse of Saruman and the mist that rose above it and loomed 'as a pale shrouded figure' over the Hill of Hobbiton; and this passage did not enter until my father wrote it in on the page proofs of *The Return of the King*.

A note that he pencilled against the episode in a copy of the First Edition is interesting:

> Saruman turned back into Dunland[32] on Aug. 28. He then made for the old South Road and then went north over the Greyflood at Tharbad, and thence NW. to Sarn Ford, and so into the Shire and to Hobbiton on Sept. 22: a journey of about 460 [miles] in 25 days. He thus averaged about 18 miles a day – evidently hastening as well as he could. He had thus only 38 days in which to work his mischief in the Shire; but much of it had already been done by the ruffians according to his orders – already planned and issued before the sack of Isengard.

September 22 is the date given in *The Tale of Years* for Saruman's coming to the Shire, and October 30 for the coming of the 'travellers' to the Brandywine Bridge.

At a late stage of work on the B text (but before the insertion of the long rider in which Farmer Cotton recounts the history of the Shire since Frodo and his companions left, see p. 100 and note 29) my father perceived that Frodo's experience had so changed him, so withdrawn him, as to render him incapable of any such rôle in the Scouring of the Shire as had been portrayed. The text as it stood required no large recasting; the entirely different picture of Frodo's part in the events was brought about by many small alterations (often by doing no more than changing 'Frodo' to 'Merry') and a few brief additions. Virtually all of these have been noticed in the foregoing account.

A third, very fine manuscript ('C') followed B, and here the text of RK was reached in all but a few passages, most of these being very minor matters. It was on this manuscript that Cosimo Sackville-Baggins became Lotho, and the references to the Thain were introduced (see pp. 99, 101). The number of men at the Battle of Bywater had been enlarged to 'more than seventy', and the battle had become much fiercer, with the trapped men climbing the banks above the road and attacking the hobbits, already as C was first written; by later emendation the numbers of the men and of the slain on both sides were further increased. The original reading of C 'Merry himself slew the largest of the ruffians' was altered to '... the leader, a great squint-eyed brute like a huge orc'; with this cf. the description of the orc-man 'Sharkey' at Bag End in the A version, pp. 90–1. Lastly, an important addition was made to C concerning Frodo: 'Frodo had been

in the battle, but he had not drawn sword, and his chief part had been to prevent the hobbits in their wrath at their losses from slaying those of their enemies who threw down their weapons' (RK pp. 295–6).

There lacked now only the passage describing the departure of the spirit of Saruman, and his corpse.

NOTES

1 Subsequently the passage was corrected in pencil. The question 'Who's the Mayor?' was given to Merry, and the answer became 'The Boss at Bag End'; Frodo's 'And who's the Chief Shirriff?' received the same answer. Then follows: 'Boss? Boss? You mean Mr. Cosimo, I suppose.' 'I suppose so, Mr. Baggins, but we have to say just The Boss nowadays.'

Further on, where in RK (p. 279) it is said that 'The new "Chief" evidently had means of getting news', A has 'the New Mayor [?or] Chief Shirriff'; but this was changed to 'the Boss or Chief Shirriff'. When 'arrested' at Frogmorton Frodo and his companions are told that 'It's [Mayor's >] the Chief Shirriff's orders', where RK (p. 280) has 'It's the Chief's orders'.

2 But see p. 111.

3 The village was named *Frogbarn*, with *Frogmorton* written above as an alternative (and *Frogmorton* occurs in the text subsequently); and the date of their ride from the Brandywine Bridge was 'the fifth of November in the Shire-reckoning', with '1st' (the date in RK) written above. The village was 'about 25 miles from the Bridge' ('about twenty-two miles' in RK).

4 The name *Smallburrow* was written so, as in RK, at the first occurrence, but thereafter *Smallburrows*.

5 'Shire-house' is used in A for 'Shirriff-house' in RK. Sam asks what the term means, and Robin Smallburrows replies: 'Well, you ought to know, Sam. You were in one last night, and didn't find it to your liking, we hear.'

6 See p. 95.

7 The text here is very difficult. Above '(I told) the Boss' my father first wrote 'Long Tom' before changing this to 'Big Sharkey'. The end of the ruffian's remarks as first written cannot be read: 'but the Boss says no, and [?Long Tom] ..... way' (just possibly 'goes his way').

8 There is a note on the manuscript here which is partly illegible: '..... only Cosimo ..... What happened to Otho?' In 'Three is Company' (*The Fellowship of the Ring* p. 75) it is said that Otho Sackville-Baggins 'had died some years before, at the ripe but disappointed age of 102', and this goes back to an early stage.

9 See the note given on p. 77 ('Gandalf should stay at Bree ...').

10 In RK Farmer Cotton is named Tom.

11 Sting had been given to Sam by Frodo in 'The Land of Shadow' (p. 32; RK p. 204); but Frodo wields Sting in his combat at Bag End with the chief of the orc-men (p. 92). In a passage that was introduced in the Second Edition Frodo was induced to receive it back at the Field of Cormallen (see p. 50).

12 *the Road Bend:* the westward turn in the road to Hobbiton at Bywater Pool. On the large-scale map of the Shire that I made in 1943 (VI.107) the bend is more marked and more nearly a right angle than it is on the small map in *The Fellowship of the Ring*.

13 *October* is a slip for *November*: see note 3.

14 By 'There's no way from the West' Farmer Cotton meant, I suppose, that there was no other way back from Michel Delving but by taking the East Road, since the ruffians could not or would not pass through the Tookland.

15 There are a couple of pages of roughly pencilled text which repeat, with minor alterations and extensions, this section of the chapter in A, made perhaps because my father recognised the near-illegibility of the original, and these pages have provided help in elucidating it here and there (characteristically, the words or phrases that defy elucidation in the original text are expressed differently in the second). At this point the pencilled text has: 'They've caught a ruffian or two and thrashed 'em in the Tookus' (*Tookus* < *Took-house*, as *workhouse* became *workus*).

16 I do not know whether *the Long Smial* is to be equated with *the Took-house*. – This is the first appearance of the word *smial*, which seems clearly to be written thus, although in the second text of 'The Scouring of the Shire' it is written *Smiles* (see p. 99 and note 28). Since Pippin was born in the Long Smial, it must be the forerunner of the Great Smials. These were at Tuckborough (Pippin speaks in Fangorn Forest of 'the Great Place of the Tooks away back in the Smials at Tuckborough', TT p. 64), but the name as written here is not in fact *Tuckborough*: it looks more like *Tuckbery* (not *Tuckbury*). However, there are many words wrongly written in this manuscript (in the next line of the text, for instance, the word I have given as '[?stout]' can really only be interpreted as 'stood').

17 The text could conceivably be interpreted as 'he had the block on the East [Road] strengthened', although no road-block on the East Road has been mentioned. The second, pencilled text of this part of the chapter (see note 15) has here: 'He had a block made on the Road at the waymeet.' This text gives out a few lines beyond this point.

18 It is interesting to look back at early references to the destruction in the Shire. In a note probably belonging to the time of the outline 'The Story Foreseen from Moria' (VII.216) my father

wrote: 'Cosimo has industrialised it. Factories and smoke. The Sandymans have a biscuit factory. Iron is found'; and in the earliest reference to the Mirror in Lothlórien Frodo was to see 'Trees being felled and a tall building being made where the old mill was. Gaffer Gamgee turned out. Open trouble, almost war, between Marish and Buckland on one hand – and the West. Cosimo Sackville-Baggins very rich, buying up land' (VII.249; cf. also VII.253, where there is a reference to the tall chimney being built on the site of the old mill).

In 'The old farm on the right' one should possibly read 'left' for 'right'; cf. my father's painting of Hobbiton, and the words of the final text of 'The Scouring of the Shire' (RK p. 296): 'The Old Grange on the west side had been knocked down, and its place taken by rows of tarred sheds.'

19 Later in this manuscript (p. 108) the Tree in the Party Field had been cut down and burned.

20 The reference is to 'The Shadow of the Past' (FR p. 71): 'I feel that as long as the Shire lies behind, safe and comfortable, I shall find wandering more bearable: I shall know that somewhere there is a firm foothold, even if my feet cannot stand there again.'

21 *I am told you sleep sound:* cf. the words of the orc-man at Bywater, speaking of Cosimo (an addition to the text, p. 83): 'He sleeps sound, and I shouldn't try and wake him now.'

22 Earlier in this narrative Sam wielded Sting: p. 86 and note 11.

23 At the top of the page on which Frodo's words appear my father wrote: 'Ah, and you said in Mordor you'd never strike another blow,' said Sam. 'Just shows you never know.' See p. 80.

24 *Waymoot*: *Waymeet* in RK. My original large-scale map of the Shire made in 1943 (VI.107) has *Waymoot*, as also that published in *The Fellowship of the Ring*; but the second manuscript of 'The Scouring of the Shire' has *Waymeet*. Presumably my father changed his mind about the form but neglected the map.

25 It is not explained how Frodo knew that this person, when he met him at Bag End, was called 'Sharkey'.

26 Cf. Saruman's words at the end of the chapter (p. 102): 'I believe all my men used to call me that in the better times. They were so devoted' (RK: 'All my people used to call me that in Isengard, I believe. A sign of affection, possibly'). The footnote to the text in RK p. 298 'It was probably Orkish in origin: *Sharkū* [Second Edition *Sharkû*], "old man" ' was not added until the book was in page proof.

27 A rewritten account of the arrest at Frogmorton and Sam's conversation with Robin Smallburrow was inserted into manuscript B. This is almost as in RK, but as first written Robin's reply to Sam's question 'So that's how the news of us reached you, was it?' was different:

'Not directly. A message came down from the Chief at Bag End, about two hours ago, that you were to be arrested. I reckon someone must have slipped down from the Bridge to Stock, where there's a small gang of his Men. Someone went through Frogmorton on a big horse last night.'

This was changed at once to the text of RK (p. 282), but with 'One [runner] came in from Bamfurlong last night'. *Bamfurlong* was the reading of the First Edition here. In the Second Edition it was changed to *Whitfurrows* (which though shown on the map of the Shire was never mentioned in the text of the First Edition), and the name *Bamfurlong* was given to Maggot's farm in 'A Short Cut to Mushrooms' (FR p. 100): 'We are on old Farmer Maggot's land' of the First Edition became 'This is Bamfurlong; old Farmer Maggot's land.'

28 Cf. *the Long Smial* in A (note 16). A draft for the present passage has: 'those deep places the Old Smiles in the Green Hills'. I would guess that my father introduced *Smiles* as being the most natural spelling if the old word had survived into Modern English, but then abandoned it (it was changed to *Smials* on the B text) as being capable of an absurd interpretation. Cf. Appendix F (II, 'On Translation'): '*smial* (or *smile*) "burrow" is a likely form for a descendant of *smygel*'.

29 This rider was inserted at a late stage, for as in RK Merry interrupts Farmer Cotton with a question ('Who is this Sharkey?'); thus he was no longer away in Tuckborough with Pippin, but had assumed his rôle as commander of the operations at Bywater.

30 The only differences worth noting are that the trees had been felled along the Bywater Road 'for fuel for the engine'; and that a few men were still present in the huts at Hobbiton, who 'when they saw the force that approached fled away over the fields.'

31 It is said in the Prologue to *The Lord of the Rings* that 'before this story opens' 'the only [battle] that had ever been fought within the borders of the Shire was beyond living memory: the Battle of Greenfields, S.R.1147, in which Bandobras Took routed an invasion of Orcs.' The date 1137 was corrected to 1147 on the text C. – See p. 119.

32 In the First Edition the meeting with Saruman took place after the company had left Dunland: see p. 69.

X

THE GREY HAVENS

The original writing down of the last chapter of *The Lord of the Rings* was the continuation of the long uninterrupted draft text ('A') that extends back through 'The Scouring of the Shire' and 'Homeward Bound' (see pp. 75, 79), and which I left at the end of the Battle of Bywater on p. 93. That text continues:

And so the year drew to its end. Even Sam could find no fault with Frodo's fame and honour in his own country. The Tooks were too secure in their traditional position – and after all their folkland was the only one that had never given in to the ruffians – and also too generous to be really jealous; yet it was plain that the name of Baggins would become the most famous in Hobbit-history.

From this point the text of A, rough but now fully legible, differs chiefly from the final form of the chapter not in what is actually told nor in how it is told but in the absence of several significant features and a good deal of detail that were added in later. For example, while the rescue of Lobelia Sackville-Baggins from the Lockholes in Michel Delving and the disposition of her property is told much as in RK, there is no mention of Fredegar Bolger; and nothing is said of the hunting out of the gangs of men in the south of the Shire by Merry and Pippin. Frodo became the Mayor, not the Deputy Mayor, although the difference was only one of title, since he made it a condition of his acceptance that Will Whitfoot should become Mayor again 'as soon as the mess is cleared up'; and his inactivity in the office is not mentioned. As my father first set it down the account in RK (pp. 302–4) of the work of restoration and repair, of Sam's planting of young trees, of the fruitfulness of the year 1420,[1] and of Sam's marriage to Rose Cotton was very largely reached. In this text there is no reference to 'Sharkey's Men', and the jocular name given in Bywater to the restored Bagshot Row was 'Ruffians' End'. The seed in Galadriel's box is described as 'like a nut or a dried berry', its colour golden-yellow; Sam planted it in the Party Field 'where the tree had been burned' (see p. 90).

There is in A no reference to Frodo's first illness in March of 1420, when in Sam's absence Farmer Cotton found him on his bed 'clutching a white gem that hung on a chain about his neck' (the gift of Arwen recorded in 'Many Partings'). The passage in RK (p. 305) describing

the finery and magnificence of Merry and Pippin, in contrast to the 'ordinary attire' of Frodo and Sam, is lacking, and so the further reference to the white jewel that Frodo always wore is also absent. Since my father had written a couple of pages earlier that 'Even Sam could find no fault with Frodo's fame and honour in his own country', the sharply contrasting picture in RK is of course lacking: 'Frodo dropped quietly out of all the doings of the Shire, and Sam was pained to notice how little honour he had in his own country. Few people knew or wanted to know about his deeds and adventures . . .'

Frodo's illness on the sixth of October 1420, the date of the attack of the Ringwraiths at Weathertop two years before, is recorded, but not that in March 1421. The naming of Sam's eldest daughter *Elanor* ('born on 25 March as Sam duly noted') on Frodo's suggestion is told, and the big book with red leather covers is described, without however any mention of the title page and the sequence of Bilbo's rejected titles; the writing in the book ended at Chapter 77 (the number being marked with a query).[2]

The last part of the chapter was set down with great sureness, though not all elements in the final story were immediately present. At the meeting of Frodo and Sam with the Elves in the Woody End there is no mention of the Great Rings of Elrond and Galadriel;[3] at Mithlond Círdan the Shipwright does not appear (but enters in a later marginal addition), nor is Gandalf said to bear the Third Ring; and Frodo's sight of the 'far green country under a swift sunrise' is absent (though this also is roughed in marginally; the linking of Frodo's passage over the Sea 'with the vision he had of a far green country in the house of Tom Bombadil' had been referred to in my father's letter of November 1944, see p. 53). I give here the text of A from the coming of the company to Mithlond:

And when they had passed the Shire by the south skirts of the White Downs they came to the Far Downs and the Towers and looked on the Sea; and rode down at last to Mithlond the Grey Havens in the long firth of Lūne. And there was a ship lying at the haven, and upon the quays stood one robed also in white. It was Gandalf, and he welcomed them; and they were glad for then they knew that he also would take ship with them.

But Sam was now sad at heart, and it seemed to him that if the parting would be bitter, even worse would be the lonely ride home. But even as they stood there and were ready to go aboard, up rode Merry and Pippin in great haste. And amid his tears Pippin laughed. 'You tried to give us the slip once before and failed, Frodo, and this time you have nearly done it, but you've failed again.' 'It was not Sam this time who gave you away,' said Merry, 'but Gandalf himself.'

'Yes,' said Gandalf. 'It will be better to ride back three together than one alone. Well, here at last, dear friends, on the shores of the Sea comes an end of our fellowship in Middle-earth. Go in peace; and I will not say, do not weep, for not all tears are an evil.'

Then Frodo kissed Merry and Pippin and last of all Sam, and went aboard, and the sails were drawn up, and the wind blew, and slowly the ship sailed away down the [?pale] Gulf of Lune. And it was night again; and Sam looked on the grey sea and saw a shadow on the waters that was lost in the West. And he stood a while hearing the sigh and murmur of the waves on the shores of Middle-earth, and the sound of it remained in his heart for ever, though he never spoke of it. And Merry and Pippin stood silent beside him.

The long ride back to the Shire is told in almost the same words as in *The Return of the King*. And thus the Third Age was brought to its final end, in this most memorable of partings, without hesitation and with assured simplicity; the unmistakeable voices of Merry and Pippin, the still more unmistakeable voice of Gandalf in his last words on Middle-earth, and the beginning of the voyage that was bearing away into the True West the hobbits, Bilbo and Frodo, leaving Sam behind.

A manuscript of the chapter as a separate entity ('**B**') followed, subsequently numbered 'LX' and entitled 'The Grey Havens'. It was written before the changed view of Frodo's reputation in the Shire had entered, but with emendations and additions it reached the final form in almost all the features in which A differed from it. My father did not yet realise, however, that Fredegar Bolger languished in the Lockholes along with Will Whitfoot and Lobelia Sackville-Baggins; and of Lobelia it was said in a first draft of the passage concerning her that 'She never got over the news of poor Cosimo's murder, and she said that it was not his fault; he was led astray by that wicked Sharkey and never meant any harm.'

Frodo's first illness was still absent as B was originally written, and when it was introduced it was in these words:

Sam was away on his forestry work in March, and Frodo was glad, for he had been feeling ill, and it would have been difficult to conceal from Sam. On the twelfth of March[4] he was in pain and weighed down with a great sense of darkness, and could do little more than walk about clasping the jewel of Queen Arwen. But after a while the fit passed.

An idea that was never carried further appears in a hastily scribbled passage on this manuscript, apparently intended for inclusion before 'Little Elanor was nearly six months old, and 1421 had passed to its autumn' (RK p. 306):

At midsummer Gandalf appeared suddenly, and his visit was long remembered for the astonishing things that happened to all the bonfires (which hobbit [?children] light on midsummer's eve). The whole Shire was lit with lights of many colours until the dawn came, and it seemed that the fire [??ran wild for him] over all the land so that the grass was kindled with glittering jewels, and the trees were hung with red and gold blossom all through the night, and the Shire was full of light and song until the dawn came.

No other trace of this idea is found. Perhaps my father felt that when Gandalf declared that his time was over he meant no less.[5]

The title page of the Red Book of Westmarch first appears in B, with Bilbo's titles written one above the other and all struck through (which was the meaning of the word 'so' in 'crossed out one after another, so:', RK p. 307):

Memoirs of An Amateur Burglar
My Unexpected Journey
There and Back Again and What Happened After
Adventures of Five Hobbits
The Case of the Great Ring (compiled from the records and notes of B. Baggins and others)
What the Bagginses Did in the War of the Ring
(here Bilbo's hand ended and Frodo had written:)
The
Downfall
of
The Lord of the Rings
and
The Return of the King
(as seen by B. and F. Baggins, S. Gamgee, M. Brandybuck, P. Took, supplemented by information provided by the Wise)

In the typescript that followed B the following was added:

Together with certain excerpts from Books of Lore
translated by B. Baggins in Rivendell[6]

In B appeared the Three Rings of the Elves on the fingers of their bearers, but they were not yet named. It was not until the book was in galley proof that 'Vilya, mightiest of the Three' was added to the description of Elrond's Ring, Gandalf's Ring was named 'Narya the

Great', and that of Galadriel became 'Nenya, the ring wrought of *mithril*'.

Lastly, both in A and in B my father set within square brackets, his usual sign of doubt, certain of Frodo's words to Sam in the Woody End, thus: 'No, Sam. Not yet anyway, not further than the Havens. [Though you too were a Ringbearer, if only for a little while: your time may come.]'

NOTES

1 Absent from the account of the year 1420 is the sentence in RK, p. 303: 'All the children born or begotten in that year, and there were many, were fair to see and strong, and most of them had a rich golden hair that had before been rare among hobbits.' This entered in the first typescript text. See p. 134, note 12.

2 In the following text the last, unfinished chapter in the Red Book was numbered '72', and on the first typescript this was changed to '80', as in RK.

3 The chant to Elbereth began thus:

O Elbereth Gilthoniel
Silivren pennar oriel!
Gilthoniel O Elbereth ...

Cf. VI.394. This was repeated in the second text of the chapter, but *oriel* was emended to *íriel*. This in turn was repeated on the first typescript, and then the opening was changed to its form in RK:

A! Elbereth Gilthoniel
silivren penna míriel
o menel aglar elenath ...

To Bilbo's question (RK p. 309) 'Are you coming?' Frodo replies here: 'Yes, I am coming, *before the wound returns*. And the Ringbearers should go together.' Frodo was speaking of the sickness that had come on him on October the sixth, the date of his wounding at Weathertop, in each of the following years. It was now 22 September (Bilbo's birthday); on the twenty-ninth of the month the ship sailed from the Grey Havens. On the third anniversary of the attack at Weathertop *The Lord of the Rings* ends, for it was on that day, according to *The Tale of Years*, that Sam returned to Bag End.

4 The date was corrected to the thirteenth of March on the following typescript text. This in the final chronology was the anniversary of the poisoning of Frodo by Shelob, as noted in *The Tale of Years*. Frodo's third illness, in the following year, also fell on March 13, according to *The Tale of Years*.

5 But he had perhaps intended that a final visit by Gandalf to the Shire should be recorded; as Gandalf said when he parted from the

hobbits in the note on the draft manuscript of 'Homeward Bound' (p. 77): 'I'll be along some time.'

6 In the two typescript texts of the chapter the crossings-out were omitted, and Bilbo's first title 'Memoirs of an Amateur Burglar' was replaced by 'My Diary'. 'What Happened After' was still shown as an addition, and the words 'and friends' were added after 'Bagginses' in Bilbo's final title; in the margins of both typescripts my father noted that the corrections were to be printed as such, representing the original title-page. The final form of the page was introduced on the galley proof.

XI
THE EPILOGUE

The words that end *The Lord of the Rings*, '"Well, I'm back," he said', were not intended to do so when my father wrote them in the long draft manuscript A which has been followed in the previous chapters. It is obvious from the manuscript that the text continued on without break;[1] and there is in fact no indication that my father thought of what he was writing as markedly separate from what preceded. I give now this last part of A: very rough, but legible throughout. The ages of Sam's children were added, almost certainly at the time of writing: Elanor 15, Frodo 13, Rose 11, Merry 9, Pippin 7.

And one evening in March [*added:* 1436][2] Master Samwise Gamgee was taking his ease by a fire in his study, and the children were all gathered about him, as was not at all unusual, though it was always supposed to be a special treat.

He had been reading aloud (as was usual) from a big Red Book on a stand, and on a stool beside him sat Elanor, and she was a beautiful child more fair-skinned than most hobbit-maids and more slender, and she was now running up into her 'teens; and there was Frodo-lad on the heathrug, in spite of his name as good a copy of Sam as you could wish, and Rose, Merry, and Pippin were sitting in chairs much too big for them. Goldilocks had gone to bed, for in this Frodo's foretelling had made a slight error and she came after Pippin, and was still only five and the Red Book rather too much for her yet. But she was not the last of the line, for Sam and Rose seemed likely to rival old Gerontius Took in the number of their children as successfully as Bilbo had passed his age. There was little Ham, and there was Daisie in her cradle.

'Well dear,' said Sam, 'it grew there once, because I saw it with my own eyes.'

'Does it grow there still, daddy?'

'I don't see why it shouldn't, Ellie. I've never been on my travels again, as you know, having all you young folk to mind –

regular ragtag and bobtail old Saruman would have called it. But Mr. Merry and Mr. Pippin, they've been south more than once, for they sort of belong there too now.'

'And haven't they grown big?' said Merry. 'I wish I could grow big like Mr. Meriadoc of Buckland. He's the biggest hobbit that ever was: bigger than Bandobras.'

'Not bigger than Mr. Peregrin of Tuckborough,' said Pippin, 'and he's got hair that's almost golden. Is he Prince Peregrin away down in the Stone City, dad?'

'Well, he's never said so,' said Sam, 'but he's highly thought of, that I know. But now where were [we] getting to?'

'Nowhere,' said Frodo-lad. 'I want to hear about the Spider again. I like the parts best where you come in, dad.'

'But dad, you were talking about Lórien,' said Elanor, 'and whether my flower still grows there.'

'I expect it does, Ellie dear. For as I was saying, Mr. Merry, he says that though the Lady has gone the Elves still live there.'

'When can I go and see? I want to see Elves, dad, and I want to see my own flower.'

'If you look in a glass you'll see one that is sweeter,' said Sam, 'though I should not be telling you, for you'll find it out soon enough for yourself.'

'But that isn't the same. I want to see the green hill and the white flowers and the golden and hear the Elves sing.'

'Then maybe you will one day,' said Sam. 'I said the same when I was your age, and long after, and there didn't seem no hope, and yet it came true.'

'But the Elves are sailing away still, aren't they, and soon there'll be none, will there, dad?' said Rose; 'and then all will be just places, and very nice, but, but . . .'

'But what, Rosie-lass?'

'But not like in stories.'

'Well, it would be so if they all was to sail,' said Sam. 'But I am told they aren't sailing any more. The Ring has left the Havens, and those that made up their mind to stay when Master Elrond left are staying. And so there'll be Elves still for many and many a day.'

'Still I think it was very sad when Master Elrond left Rivendell and the Lady left Lórien,' said Elanor. 'What happened to Celeborn? Is he very sad?'

'I expect so, dear. Elves are sad; and that's what makes them so beautiful, and why we can't see much of them. He lives in his

own land as he always has done,' said Sam. 'Lórien is his land, and he loves trees.'

'No one else in the world hasn't got a Mallorn like we have, have they?' said Merry. 'Only us and Lord Keleborn.'[3]

'So I believe,' said Sam. Secretly it was one of the greatest prides of his life. 'Well, Keleborn lives among the Trees, and he is happy in his Elvish way, I don't doubt. They can afford to wait, Elves can. His time is not come yet. The Lady came to his land and now she is gone;[4] and he has the land still. When he tires of it he can leave it. So with Legolas, he came with his people and they live in the land across the River, Ithilien, if you can say that, and they've made it very lovely, according to Mr. Pippin. But he'll go to Sea one day, I don't doubt. But not while Gimli's still alive.'

'What's happened to Gimli?' said Frodo-lad. 'I liked him. Please can I have an axe soon, dad? Are there any orcs left?'

'I daresay there are if you know where to look,' said Sam. 'But not in the Shire, and you won't have an axe for chopping off heads, Frodo-lad. We don't make them. But Gimli, he came down to work for the King in the City, and he and his folk worked so long they got used to it and proud of their work, and in the end they settled up in the mountains up away west behind the City, and there they are still. And Gimli goes once every other year to see the Glittering Caves.'

'And does Legolas go to see Treebeard?' asked Elanor.

'I can't say, dear,' said Sam. 'I've never heard of anyone as has ever seen an Ent since those days. If Mr. Merry or Mr. Pippin have they keep it secret. Very close are Ents.'

'And have they never found the Entwives?'

'Well, we've seen none here, have we?' said Sam.

'No,' said Rosie-lass; 'but I look for them when I go in a wood. I would like the Entwives to be found.'

'So would I,' said Sam, 'but I'm afraid that is an old trouble, too old and too deep for folks like us to mend, my dear. But now no more questions tonight, at least not till after supper.'

'But that won't be fair,' said both Merry and Pippin, who were not in their teens. 'We shall have to go directly to bed.'

'Don't talk like that to me,' said Sam sternly. 'If it ain't fair for Ellie and Fro to sit up after supper it ain't fair for them to be born sooner, and it ain't fair that I'm your dad and you're not mine. So no more of that, take your turn and what's due in your time, or I'll tell the King.'

They had heard this threat before, but something in Sam's voice made it sound more serious on this occasion. 'When will you see the King?' said Frodo-lad.

'Sooner than you think,' said Sam. 'Well now, let's be fair. I'll tell you all, stay-uppers and go-to-bedders, a big secret. But don't you go whispering and waking up the youngsters. Keep it till tomorrow.'

A dead hush of expectancy fell on all the children: they watched him as hobbit-children of other times had watched the wizard Gandalf.

'The King's coming here,' said Sam solemnly.

'Coming to Bag End!' cried the children.

'No,' said Sam. 'But he's coming north. He won't come into the Shire because he has given orders that no Big Folk are to enter this land again after those Ruffians; and he will not come himself just to show he means it. But he will come to the Bridge. And —— ' Sam paused. 'He has issued a very special invitation to every one of you. Yes, by name!'

Sam went to a drawer and took out a large scroll. It was black and written in letters of silver.

'When did that come, dad?' said Merry.

'It came with the Southfarthing post three days ago [*written above:* on Wednesday],' said Elanor. 'I saw it. It was wrapped in silk and sealed with big seals.'

'Quite right, my bright eyes,' said Sam. 'Now look.' He unrolled it. 'It is written in Elvish and in Plain Language,' said Sam. 'And it says: *Elessar Aragorn Arathornsson the Elfstone King of Gondor and Lord of the Westlands will approach the Bridge of Baranduin on the first day of Spring, or in the Shire-reckoning the twenty-fifth day of March next, and desires there to greet all his friends. In especial he desires to see Master Samwise Mayor of the Shire, and Rose his wife, and Elanor, Rose, Goldilocks and Daisie his daughters, and Frodo, Merry, and Pippin and Hamfast his sons.* There you are, there are all your names.'

'But they aren't the same in both lists,' said Elanor, who could read.

'Ah,' said Sam, 'that's because the first list is Elvish. You're the same, Ellie, in both, because your name is Elvish; but Frodo is *Iorhail*, and Rose is *Beril*, and Merry is *Riben* [> *R..el* > *Gelir*], and Pippin is *Cordof*, and Goldilocks is *Glorfinniel*, and Hamfast is *Marthanc*, and Daisy [*so spelt*] is *Arien*. So now you know.'

'Well that's splendid,' said Frodo, 'now we all have Elvish names, but what is yours, dad?'

'Well, that's rather peculiar,' said Sam, 'for in the Elvish part, if you must know, what the King says is *Master Perhail who should rather be called Lanhail*, and that means, I believe, "Samwise or Halfwise who should rather be called Plain-wise". So now you know what the King thinks of your dad you'll maybe give more heed to what he says.'

'And ask him lots more questions,' said Frodo.

'When is March the 25th?' said Pippin, to whom days were still the longest measures of time that could really be grasped. 'Is it soon?'

'It's a week today,' said Elanor. 'When shall we start?'

'And what shall we wear?' said Rose.

'Ah,' said Sam. 'Mistress Rose will have a say in that. But you'll be surprised, my dears. We have had warning of this a long time and we've prepared for the day. You're going in the most lovely clothes you've ever seen, and we're riding in a coach. And if you're all very good and look as lovely as you do now I shouldn't be at all surprised if the King does not ask us to go with him to his house up by the Lake. And the Queen will be there.'

'And shall we stay up to supper?' said Rose, to whom the nearness of promotion made this an ever-present concern.

'We shall stay for weeks, until the hay-harvest at least,' said Sam. 'And we shall do what the King says. But as for staying up to supper, no doubt the Queen will have a word. And now if you haven't enough to whisper about for hours, and to dream about till the sun rises, then I don't know what more I can tell you.'

The stars were shining in a clear sky: it was the first day of the clear bright spell that came every year to the Shire at the end of March, and was every year welcomed and praised as something surprising for the time of the year.

All the children were in bed. Lights were glimmering still in Hobbiton and in many houses dotted about the darkening countryside. Sam stood at the door and looked away eastward. He drew Mistress Rose to him and held her close to his side. 'March 18th [> 25th]',[5] he said. 'This time seventeen years ago, Rose wife, I did not think I should ever see thee again. But I kept on hoping.'

['And I never hoped at all, Sam,' she said, 'until that very day; and then suddenly I did. In the middle of the morning I began singing, and father said "Quiet lass, or the Ruffians will come," and I said "Let them come. Their time will soon be over. My Sam's coming back." And he came.'][6]

'And you came back,' said Rose.

'I did,' said Sam; 'to the most belovedest place in all the world. I was torn in two then, lass, but now I am all whole. And all that I have, and all that I have had I still have.'

Here the text as it was written ends, but subsequently my father added to it the following:

They went in and shut the door. But even as he did so Sam heard suddenly the sigh and murmur of the sea on the shores of Middle-earth.

It cannot be doubted that this was how he intended at that time that *The Lord of the Rings* should end.

A fair copy ('**B**') followed, and this was headed 'Epilogue', without chapter-number; subsequently 'Epilogue' was altered to 'The End of the Book', again without number. The changes made to the original draft were remarkably few: very minor adjustments and improvements in the flow of the conversation between Sam and his children, and the alteration or enlargement of certain details.

Merry Gamgee now knows that Bandobras Took 'killed the goblin-king': the reference is to 'An Unexpected Party' in *The Hobbit*, where it is told that the Bullroarer 'charged the ranks of the goblins of Mount Gram in the Battle of the Green Fields, and knocked their king Golfimbul's head clean off with a wooden club.' Of the sailing of the Elves Sam now says, not that 'they aren't sailing any more', but that 'they are not sailing often now', and he continues: 'Those that stayed behind when Elrond left are mostly going to stay for good, or for a very long time. But they are more and more difficult to find or to talk to.' Of Ents he observes that they are 'very close, very secret-like, and they don't like people very much'; and of the Dwarves who came from Erebor to Minas Tirith with Gimli he says 'I hear they've settled up in the White Mountains not very far from the City', while 'Gimli goes once a year to see the Glittering Caves' (in Appendix A III, at end, it is said that Gimli 'became Lord of the Glittering Caves').

The King's letter now begins *Aragorn Arathornsson Elessar the Elfstone*; and the date of his coming to the Brandywine Bridge was now 'the eighth day of Spring, or in the Shire-reckoning the second of April', since my father had decided, already while writing A (see note 5), that the 25th of March was not the day on which the King would

come to the Bridge, but the day on which *The Lord of the Rings* came to an end.[7]

Daisie Gamgee's name is now *Erien* (*Arien* in A); and in the King's letter he calls Sam *Master Perhail who should rather be called Panthail*, which Sam interprets as 'Master Samwise who ought to be called Fullwise'.

Other changes were made to B later, and these were taken up into the third and final text 'C' of this version of the 'Epilogue', a typescript. To this my father gave the revised title of B, 'The End of the Book', with a chapter-number 'LVIII',[8] but he then struck out both title and number and reverted to 'Epilogue.' The text now opens thus:

One evening in the March of 1436 Master Samwise Gamgee was taking his ease by the fire in his study, and his children were gathered round him, as was not at all unusual. Though it was always supposed to be a special occasion, a Royal Command, it was one more often commanded by the subjects than by the King.

This day, however, really was a special occasion. For one thing it was Elanor's birthday;[9] for another, Sam had been reading aloud from a big Red Book, and he had just come to the very end, after a slow progress through its many chapters that had taken many months. On a stool beside him sat Elanor ...

Sam now says of the Entwives: 'I think maybe the Entwives don't want to be found'; and after his words 'But now no more questions tonight' the following passage was introduced:

'Just one more, please!' begged Merry. 'I've wanted to ask before, but Ellie and Fro get in so many questions there's never any room for mine.'

'Well then, just one more,' said Sam.

'About horses,' said Merry. 'How many horses did the Riders lose in the battle, and have they grown lots more? And what happened to Legolas's horse? And what did Gandalf do with Shadowfax? And can I have a pony soon?' he ended breathlessly.

'That's a lot more than one question: you're worse than Gollum,' said Sam. 'You're going to have a pony next birthday, as I've told you before. Legolas let his horse run back free to Rohan from Isengard; and the Riders have more horses than ever, because nobody steals them any longer; and Shadowfax went in the White Ship with Gandalf: of course Gandalf couldn't have a' left him behind. Now that'll have to do. No more questions. At least not till after supper.'

The letter of the King now begins *Aragorn Tarantar* (at which Sam explains 'that's Trotter') *Aranthornsson* &c. *Tarantar* was altered on the typescript to *Telcontar* ('that's Strider'): see VIII.390 and note 14. Rose's name in Elvish becomes *Meril* (for *Beril*), and Hamfast's *Baravorn* (for *Marthanc*); the Elvish name of Daisy (so spelt in C) reverts to *Arien* (for *Erien*), the form in A.

Though never published, of course, this version of the Epilogue is, I believe, quite well known, from copies made from the text at Marquette University. My father would never in fact have published it, even had he decided in the end to conclude *The Lord of the Rings* with an epilogue, for it was superseded by a second version, in which while much of Sam's news from beyond the Shire was retained its framework and presentation were radically changed.[10] Of this there are two texts. The first is a good clear manuscript with few corrections; it has neither title nor chapter-number. The second is a typescript, which though made by my father followed the manuscript very closely indeed; this is entitled 'Epilogue', with the chapter-number 'X' (i.e. of Book Six). I give here the text of the typescript in full.

The second version of the Epilogue

EPILOGUE

One evening in the March of 1436 Master Samwise Gamgee was in his study at Bag End. He was sitting at the old well-worn desk, and with many pauses for thought he was writing in his slow round hand on sheets of loose paper. Propped up on a stand at his side was a large red book in manuscript.

Not long before he had been reading aloud from it to his family. For the day was a special one: the birthday of his daughter Elanor. That evening before supper he had come at last to the very end of the Book. The long progress through its many chapters, even with omissions that he had thought advisable, had taken some months, for he only read aloud on great days. At the birthday reading, besides Elanor, Frodo-lad had been present, and Rosie-lass, and young Merry and Pippin; but the other children had not been there. The Red Book was not for them yet, and they were safely in bed. Goldilocks was only five years old, for in this Frodo's foretelling had made a slight error, and she came after Pippin. But she was not the last of the line, for Samwise and Rose seemed likely to rival old Gerontius Took as successfully in the number of their children as Bilbo had in the number of his years. There was little Ham,

[and there was Daisy still in her cradle >] and Daisy, and there was Primrose still in her cradle.[11]

Now Sam was 'having a bit of quiet'. Supper was over. Only Elanor was with him, still up because it was her birthday. She sat without a sound, staring at the fire, and now and again glancing at her father. She was a beautiful girl, more fair of skin than most hobbit-maidens, and more slender, and the firelight glinted in her red-gold hair. To her, by gift if not by inheritance, a memory of elven-grace had descended.[12]

'What are you doing, Sam-dad[13] dear?' she said at last. 'You said you were going to rest, and I hoped you would talk to me.'

'Just a moment, Elanorellë,' said Sam,[14] as she came and set her arms about him and peered over his shoulder.

'It looks like Questions and Answers,' she said.

'And so it is,' said Sam. 'Mr. Frodo, he left the last pages of the Book to me, but I have never yet durst to put hand to them. I am still making notes, as old Mr. Bilbo would have said. Here's all the many questions Mother Rose and you and the children have asked, and I am writing out the answers, when I know them. Most of the questions are yours, because only you has heard all the Book more than once.'

'Three times,' said Elanor, looking at the carefully written page that lay under Sam's hand.

Q. *Dwarves, &c.* Frodo-lad says he likes them best. What happened to Gimli? Have the Mines of Moria been opened again? Are there any Orcs left?

A. *Gimli:* he came back to work for the King, as he said, and he brought many of his folk from the North, and they worked in Gondor so long that they got used to it, and they settled there, up in the White Mountains not far from the City. Gimli goes once a year to the Glittering Caves. How do I know? Information from Mr. Peregrin, who often goes back to Minas Tirith, where he is very highly thought of.

Moria: I have heard no news. Maybe the foretelling about Durin is not for our time.[15] Dark places still need a lot of cleaning up. I guess it will take a lot of trouble and daring deeds yet to root out the evil creatures from the halls of Moria. For there are certainly plenty of Orcs left in such places. It is not likely that we shall ever get quite rid of them.

Q. *Legolas.* Did he go back to the King? Will he stay there?

A. Yes, he did. He came south with Gimli, and he brought many of his people from Greenwood the Great (so they call it now). They say it was a wonderful sight to see companies of Dwarves and Elves journeying together. The Elves have made the City, and the land where Prince Faramir lives, more beautiful than ever. Yes, Legolas will stay there, at any rate as long as Gimli does; but I think he will go to the Sea one day. Mr. Meriadoc told me all this, for he has visited the Lady Éowyn in her white house.

Q. *Horses.* Merry is interested in these; very anxious for a pony of his own. How many horses did the Riders lose in the battles, and have they got some more now? What happened to Legolas's horse? What did Gandalf do with Shadowfax?

A. *Shadowfax* went in the White Ship with Gandalf, of course. I saw that myself. I also saw Legolas let his horse run free back to Rohan from Isengard. Mr. Meriadoc says he does not know how many horses were lost; but there are more than ever in Rohan now, because no one steals them any longer. The Riders also have many ponies, especially in Harrowdale: white, brown, and grey. Next year when he comes back from a visit to King Éomer he means to bring one for his namesake.

Q. *Ents.* Elanor would like to hear more about them. What did Legolas see in Fangorn; and does he ever see Treebeard now? Rosie-lass very anxious about Entwives. She looks for them whenever she goes in a wood. Will they ever be found? She would like them to be.

A. Legolas and Gimli have not told what they saw, so far as I have heard. I have not heard of any one that has seen an Ent since those days. Ents are very secret, and they do not like people much, big or little. I should like the Entwives to be found, too; but I am afraid that trouble is too old and deep for Shire-folk to mend. I think, maybe, Entwives do not want to be found; and maybe Ents are now tired of looking.

'Well dear,' said Sam, 'this top page, this is only today's batch.' He sighed. 'It isn't fit to go in the Book like that. It isn't a bit like the story as Mr. Frodo wrote it. But I shall have to make

a chapter or two in proper style, somehow. Mr. Meriadoc might help me. He's clever at writing, and he's making a splendid book all about plants.'

'Don't write any more tonight. Talk to me, Sam-dad!' said Elanor, and drew him to a seat by the fire.

'Tell me,' she said, as they sat close together with the soft golden light on their faces, 'tell me about Lórien. Does *my* flower grow there still, Sam-dad?'

'Well dear, Celeborn still lives there among his trees and his Elves, and there I don't doubt your flower grows still. Though now I have got you to look at, I don't hanker after it so much.'

'But I don't want to look at myself, Sam-dad. I want to look at other things. I want to see the hill of Amroth where the King met Arwen, and the silver trees, and the little white niphredil, and the golden elanor in the grass that is always green. And I want to hear Elves singing.'

'Then, maybe, you will one day, Elanor. I said the same when I was your age, and long after it, and there didn't seem to be no hope. And yet I saw them, and I heard them.'

'I was afraid they were all sailing away, Sam-dad. Then soon there would be none here; and then everywhere would be just places, and'

'And what, Elanorellë?'

'And the light would have faded.'

'I know,' said Sam. 'The light is fading, Elanorellë. But it won't go out yet. It won't ever go quite out, I think now, since I have had you to talk to. For it seems to me now that people can remember it who have never seen it. And yet,' he sighed, 'even that is not the same as really seeing it, like I did.'

'Like really being in a story?' said Elanor. 'A story is quite different, even when it is about what happened. I wish I could go back to old days!'

'Folk of our sort often wish that,' said Sam. 'You came at the end of a great Age, Elanorellë; but though it's over, as we say, things don't really end sharp like that. It's more like a winter sunset. The High Elves have nearly all gone now with Elrond. But not quite all; and those that didn't go will wait now for a while. And the others, the ones that belong here, will last even longer. There are still things for you to see, and maybe you'll see them sooner than you hope.'

Elanor was silent for some time before she spoke again. 'I did not understand at first what Celeborn meant when he said

goodbye to the King,' she said. 'But I think I do now. He knew that Lady Arwen would stay, but that Galadriel would leave him.[16] I think it was very sad for him. And for you, dear Sam-dad.' Her hand felt for his, and his brown hand clasped her slender fingers. 'For your treasure went too. I am glad Frodo of the Ring saw me, but I wish I could remember seeing him.'

'It was sad, Elanorellë,' said Sam, kissing her hair. 'It was, but [it] isn't now. For why? Well, for one thing, Mr. Frodo has gone where the elven-light isn't fading; and he deserved his reward. But I have had mine, too. I have had lots of treasures. I am a very rich hobbit. And there is one other reason, which I shall whisper to you, a secret I have never told before to no one, nor put in the Book yet. Before he went Mr. Frodo said that my time maybe would come. I can wait. I think maybe we haven't said farewell for good. But I can wait. I have learned that much from the Elves at any rate. They are not so troubled about time. And so I think Celeborn is still happy among his trees, in an Elvish way. His time hasn't come, and he isn't tired of his land yet. When he is tired he can go.'

'And when you're tired, you will go, Sam-dad. You will go to the Havens with the Elves. Then I shall go with you. I shall not part with you, like Arwen did with Elrond.'

'Maybe, maybe,' said Sam kissing her gently. 'And maybe not. The choice of Lúthien and Arwen comes to many, Elanorellë, or something like it; and it isn't wise to choose before the time.

'And now, my dearest, I think that it's time even a lass of fifteen spring-times should go to her bed. And I have words to say to Mother Rose.'

Elanor stood up, and passed her hand lightly through Sam's curling brown hair, already flecked with grey. 'Good night, Sam-dad. But'

'I don't want *good night but*,' said Sam.

'But won't you show it me first? I was going to say.'

'Show you what, dear?'

'The King's letter, of course. You have had it now more than a week.'

Sam sat up. 'Good gracious!' he said. 'How stories do repeat themselves! And you get paid back in your own coin and all. How we spied on poor Mr. Frodo! And now our own spy on us, meaning no more harm than we did, I hope. But how do you know about it?'

'There was no need for spying,' said Elanor. 'If you wanted it kept secret, you were not nearly careful enough. It came by the Southfarthing post early on Wednesday last week. I saw you take it in. All wrapped in white silk and sealed with great black seals: any one who had heard the Book would have guessed at once that it came from the King. Is it good news? Won't you show it me, Sam-dad?'

'Well, as you're so deep in, you'd better be right in,' said Sam. 'But no conspiracies now. If I show you, you join the grown-ups' side and must play fair. I'll tell the others in my own time. The King is coming.'

'He's coming here?' Elanor cried. 'To Bag End?'

'No, dear,' said Sam. 'But he's coming north again, as he hasn't done since you was a mite.[17] But now his house is ready. He won't come into the Shire, because he's given orders that no Big Folk are to enter the land again after those Ruffians, and he won't break his own rules. But he will ride to the Bridge. And he's sent a very special invitation to every one of us, every one by name.'

Sam went to a drawer, unlocked it, and took out a scroll, and slipped off its case. It was written in two columns with fair silver letters upon black. He unrolled it, and set a candle beside it on the desk, so that Elanor could see it.

'How splendid!' she cried. 'I can read the Plain Language, but what does the other side say? I think it is Elvish, but you've taught me so few Elvish words yet.'

'Yes, it's written in a kind of Elvish that the great folk of Gondor use,' said Sam. 'I have made it out, enough at least to be sure that it says much the same, only it turns all our names into Elvish. Yours is the same on both sides, Elanor, because your name *is* Elvish. But Frodo is *Iorhael*, and Rose is *Meril*, and Merry is *Gelir*, and Pippin is *Cordof*, and Goldilocks is *Glorfinniel*, and Hamfast is *Baravorn*, and Daisy is *Eirien*. So now you know.'

'How wonderful!' she said. 'Now we have all got Elvish names. What a splendid end to my birthday! But what is your name, Sam-dad? You didn't mention it.'

'Well, it's rather peculiar,' said Sam. 'For in the Elvish part, if you must know, the King says: "Master *Perhael* who should be called *Panthael*". And that means: Samwise who ought to be called Fullwise. So now you know what the King thinks of your old father.'

'Not a bit more than I do, Sam-dad, *Perhael-adar*[18] dearest,' said Elanor. 'But it says the second of April, only a week today![19] When shall we start? We ought to be getting ready. What shall we wear?'

'You must ask Mother Rose about all that,' said Sam. 'But we *have* been getting ready. We had a warning of this a long time ago; and we've said naught about it, only because we didn't want you all to lose your sleep of nights, not just yet. You have all got to look your best and beautifullest. You will all have beautiful clothes, and we shall drive in a coach.'

'Shall I make three curtsies, or only one?' said Elanor.

'One will do, one each for the King and the Queen,' said Sam. 'For though it doesn't say so in the letter, Elanorellë, I think the Queen will be there. And when you've seen her, my dear, you'll know what a lady of the Elves looks like, save that none are so beautiful. And there's more to it even than that. For I shall be surprised if the King doesn't bid us to his great house by Lake Evendim. And there will be Elladan and Elrohir, who still live in Rivendell – and with them will be Elves, Elanorellë, and they will sing by the water in the twilight. That is why I said you might see them sooner than you guessed.'

Elanor said nothing, but stood looking at the fire, and her eyes shone like stars. At last she sighed and stirred. 'How long shall we stay?' she asked. 'I suppose we shall have to come back?'

'Yes, and we shall want to, in a way,' said Sam. 'But we might stay until hay-harvest, when I must be back here. Good night, Elanorellë. Sleep now till the sun rises. You'll have no need of dreams.'

'Good night, Sam-dad. And don't work any more. For I know what your chapter should be. Write down our talk together – but not to-night.' She kissed him, and passed out of the room; and it seemed to Sam that the fire burned low at her going.

The stars were shining in a clear dark sky. It was the second day of the bright and cloudless spell that came every year to the Shire towards the end of March, and was every year welcomed and praised as something surprising for the season. All the children were now in bed. It was late, but here and there lights were still glimmering in Hobbiton, and in houses dotted about the night-folded countryside.

Master Samwise stood at the door and looked away eastward. He drew Mistress Rose to him, and set his arm about her.

'March the twenty-fifth!' he said. 'This day seventeen years ago, Rose wife, I didn't think I should ever see thee again. But I kept on hoping.'

'I never hoped at all, Sam,' she said, 'not until that very day; and then suddenly I did. About noon it was, and I felt so glad that I began singing. And mother said: "Quiet, lass! There's ruffians about." And I said: "Let them come! Their time will soon be over. Sam's coming back." And you came.'

'I did,' said Sam. 'To the most belovedest place in all the world. To my Rose and my garden.'

They went in, and Sam shut the door. But even as he did so, he heard suddenly, deep and unstilled, the sigh and murmur of the Sea upon the shores of Middle-earth.

★

In this second Epilogue Sam does not read out the King's letter (since Elanor could read), but associated with it (as is seen from the name-forms *Eirien*, *Perhael*, *Panthael*) are three 'facsimiles' of the letter, written in *tengwar* in two columns.

The first of these ('I') is reproduced on p. 130. It is accompanied by a transliteration into 'plain letters' of both the English and the Sindarin. The transliteration of the English does not precisely correspond to the *tengwar* text, for the former omits *Arathornsson*, and adds *day* where the *tengwar* text has 'the thirty-first of the Stirring'. The words *and Arnor*, *ar Arnor* were added in to both the *tengwar* texts and are lacking in the transliterations. As my father wrote them they read as follows:

Aragorn Strider The Elfstone, King of Gondor and Lord of the Westlands, will approach the Bridge of Baranduin on the eighth day of Spring, or in the Shire-reckoning the second day of April. And he desires to greet there all his friends. *In especial* he desires to see Master *Samwise*, Mayor of the Shire, and *Rose* his wife; and *Elanor*, *Rose*, *Goldilocks*, and *Daisy* his daughters; and *Frodo*, *Merry*, *Pippin* and *Hamfast* his sons.

To Samwise and Rose the King's greeting from Minas Tirith, the thirty-first day of the Stirring, being the twenty-third of February in their reckoning.

A · E ·

Elessar Telcontar: Aragorn Arathornion Edhelharn, aran

Gondor ar Hîr i Mbair Annui, anglennatha i Varanduiniant erin dolothen Ethuil, egor ben genediad Drannail erin Gwirith edwen. Ar e aníra ennas suilannad mhellyn în phain: *edregol* e aníra tírad i Cherdir *Perhael* (i sennui *Panthael* estathar aen) Condir i Drann, ar *Meril* bess dîn, ar *Elanor*, *Meril*, *Glorfinniel*, ar *Eirien* sellath dîn; ar *Iorhael*, *Gelir*, *Cordof*, ar *Baravorn*, ionnath dîn.

A *Pherhael* ar am *Meril* suilad uin aran o Minas Tirith nelchaenen uin Echuir.

A · E ·

The change of pen after *ar Elanor* was no doubt made in order to fit the Sindarin text onto the page.

The second 'facsimile' ('II'), not accompanied by a transliteration and not reproduced here, is very similar to I, but *and Arnor*, *ar Arnor* is part of the texts as written, there is no variation in the boldness of the lettering, and the texts end at the words *his sons*, *ionnath dîn*, followed by the initials A · E ·, so that there is here no mention of the date and place of the letter.

The third of these pages ('III'), preserved with the typescript text of the second Epilogue and accompanied by a transliteration, is reproduced on p. 131. In this case the use of vowel-*tehtar* above consonants in the Sindarin text greatly reduced its length. The English text is the same as in I, but the note of the date is different: 'From Minas Tirith, the twenty-third of February 6341' [= 1436]. The Sindarin text differs from that of I and II in the word order:

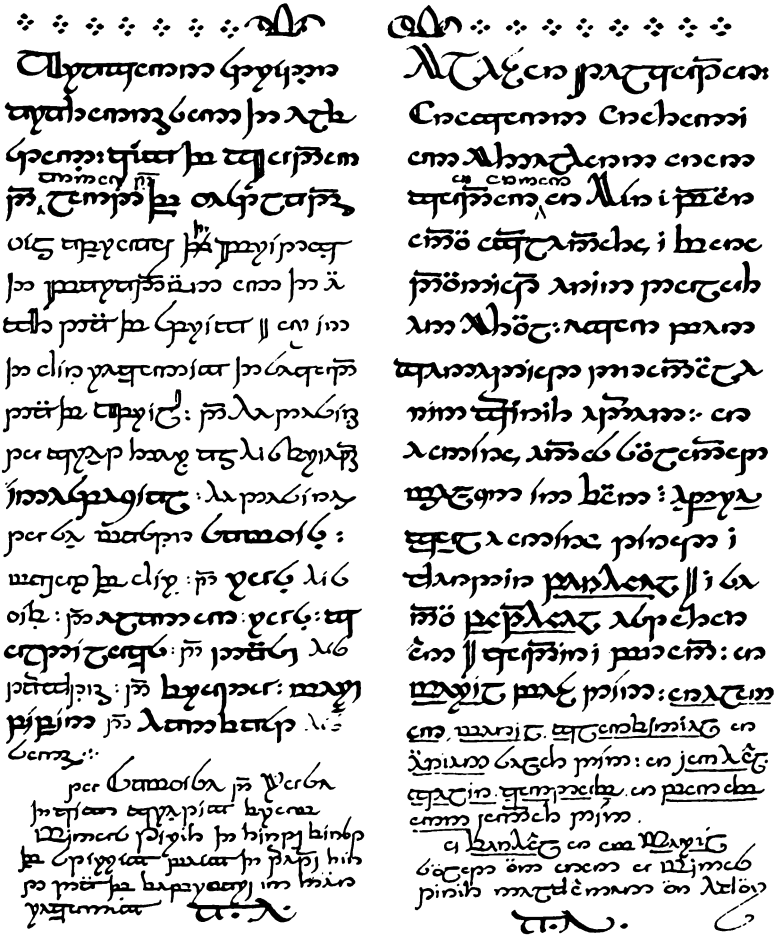
> Aragorn Arathornion Edhelharn anglennatha iVaranduiniant erin dolothen Ethuil (egor ben genediad Drannail erin Gwirith edwen) ar ennas aníra i aran Gondor ar Arnor ar Hîr iMbair Annui [*written* Anui][20] suilannad mhellyn in phain ...

The note of date at the end of the Sindarin text reads:

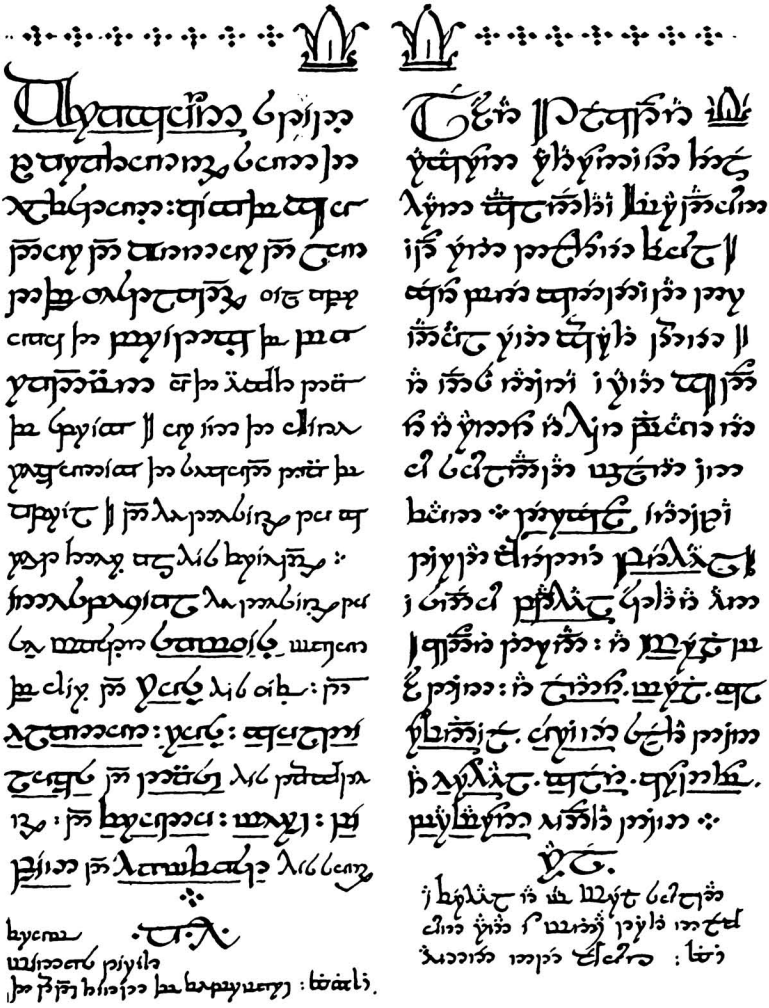
> a Pherhael ar am Meril suilad uin aran o Minas Tirith nelchaenen ned Echuir: 61.[21]

It emerges from the account of his works that my father wrote for Milton Waldman in 1951 that the second version of the Epilogue was written at a very late stage. In this account he included what he called 'a long and yet bald résumé' of the story of *The Lord of the Rings*; this was omitted in *Letters* (no. 131), and I give here its closing passages.

> The 'Scouring of the Shire' ending in the last battle ever fought there occupies a chapter. It is followed by a second spring, a marvellous restoration and enhancement of beauty, chiefly wrought by Sam (with the help of gifts given him in Lórien). But Frodo cannot be healed. For the preservation of the Shire he has sacrificed himself, even in health, and has no heart to enjoy it. Sam has to choose



First copy of the King's letter



Third copy of the King's letter

between love of master and of wife. In the end he goes with Frodo on a last journey. At night in the woods, where Sam first met Elves on the outward journey, they meet the twilit cavalcade from Rivendell. The Elves and the Three Rings, and Gandalf (Guardian of the Third Age) are going to the Grey Havens, to set sail for the West, never to return. Bilbo is with them. To Bilbo and Frodo the special grace is granted to go with the Elves they loved – an Arthurian ending, in which it is, of course, not made explicit whether this is an 'allegory' of death, or a mode of healing and restoration leading to a return. They ride to the Grey Havens, and take ship: Gandalf with the Red Ring, Elrond (with the Blue) and the greater part of his household, and Galadriel of Lórien with the White Ring, and with them depart Bilbo and Frodo. It is hinted that they come to Eressëa. But Sam standing stricken on the stone quay sees only the white ship slip down the grey estuary and fade into the darkling West. He stays long unmoving listening to the sound of the Sea on the shores of the world.

Then he rides home; his wife welcomes him to the firelight and his first child, and he says simply 'Well, I've come back.'[22] There is a brief epilogue in which we see Sam among his children, a glance at his love for Elanor (the Elvish name of a flower in Lórien) his eldest, who by a strange gift has the looks and beauty of an elven-maid; in her all his love and longing for Elves is resolved and satisfied. He is busy, contented, many times mayor of the Shire, and struggling to finish off the Red Book, begun by Bilbo and nearly completed by Frodo, in which all the events (told in The Hobbit and The Lord [of the Rings]) are recorded. The whole ends with Sam and his wife standing outside Bag-end, as the children are asleep, looking at the stars in the cool spring sky. Sam tells his wife of his bliss and content, and goes in, but as he closes the door he hears the sighing of the Sea on the shores of the world.

It is clear from the words 'we see Sam among his children' that my father was referring to the first version of the Epilogue.

He was persuaded by others to omit the Epilogue from *The Lord of the Rings*. In a letter to Naomi Mitchison of 25 April 1954 (*Letters* no. 144) he wrote:

> Hobbit-children were delightful, but I am afraid that the only glimpses of them in this book are found at the beginning of vol. I. An epilogue giving a further glimpse (though of a rather exceptional family) has been so universally condemned that I shall not insert it. One must stop somewhere.

He seems both to have accepted and to have regretted that decision. On 24 October 1955, a few days after the publication of *The Return of the King*, he wrote to Katherine Farrer (*Letters* no. 173):

I still feel the picture incomplete without something on Samwise and Elanor, but I could not devise anything that would not have destroyed the ending, more than the hints (possibly sufficient) in the appendices.

NOTES

1 The 'Epilogue' text begins at the head of a page, but this is merely because the words '"Well, I'm back," he said' stand at the foot of the preceding one.

2 '1436' was pencilled in subsequently. Apparently my father first wrote 'And one evening Master Samwise ...', but changed this at once to 'And one evening in March Master Samwise ...' This does not suggest the passage of many years since the sailing of the ship from Mithlond, but that such was the case is immediately plain in the same opening sentence ('and the children were all gathered about him'); the absence of a date in the text as first written must therefore be casual and without significance.

3 *Keleborn:* immediately above the name was spelt *Celeborn*; here, the *K* was changed from C in the act of writing the letter.

4 On the development of the legends of Galadriel and Celeborn see *The History of Galadriel and Celeborn* in *Unfinished Tales*, Part Two §IV.

5 *March 18th |> 25th|:* the King had declared in his letter that he would be coming to the Brandywine Bridge on March 25; Elanor had said that that was 'a week today'; and as my father wrote this concluding passage Sam said to Rose at the door of Bag End 'March 18th'. On the change to the 25th, apparently made immediately, see note 7.

6 The brackets are in the original.

7 The change in the King's letter from March 25 to April 2 was in fact, and at first sight very oddly, an emendation made on the B text. This question of the dates is minor, complicated, and explicable. When my father wrote the text A the great day of the King's coming north to the Brandywine Bridge was to be the 25th of March, the date of the destruction of the Ring and the downfall of Sauron (see pp. 59–60); and Elanor said (p. 118) that that was 'a week today', so that the occasion of Sam's conversation with his children recorded in the Epilogue was March 18. When Sam and Rose stood outside Bag End that night Sam said: 'March 18th. Seventeen years ago ...' (p. 118). My father changed '18' to '25' on the manuscript A (and probably at the same time added in the words '*This time* (seventeen years ago)') because he decided, just at that point, that the end of *The Lord of the Rings* (in its Epilogue) should fall on that date (possibly also because he recalled that it was Elanor's birthday, which had of

course been chosen for the same reason); but he failed to postpone the date in the King's letter earlier in A (p. 117).

Writing out the fair copy B, in which he followed A very closely, he momentarily forgot this decision, and repeated the date in A of the King's coming to the Bridge, March 25. Subsequently, while writing B, he realised that this was now erroneous, and changed it to April 2; so at the end of B Sam says (as he had in A): 'March the twenty-fifth! This time seventeen years ago...'

Elanor's answer to Pippin's question 'When is the second of April?' was changed subsequently on B from 'a week today' to 'a week tomorrow', which is the reading in the typescript C. This, however, was erroneous, since it gives March thirty-one days; 'a week today' was restored in the second version of the Epilogue, p. 127.

8 Chapter-number 'LVIII': the basis of the revised numbering of the chapters of Book Six is not clear to me. The sequence ran from LII 'The Tower of Kirith Ungol' (p. 25) to LX 'The Grey Havens' (p. 110), but on some of the chapters these numbers were reduced by two; here the reduction is by three.

9 Elanor's birth on 25 March (1421) was mentioned in the original draft of 'The Grey Havens', p. 109.

10 In this second version Sam is making notes, which are cited and which are an essential part of the Epilogue, for the filling of the empty pages at the end of the Red Book; and it seems odd that the title 'The End of the Book', so suitable to the second version, should have been used, and rejected, on texts B and C of the first (pp. 119–20).

11 This emendation was made on the typescript only. In 'The Longfather-tree of Master Samwise' in Appendix C Daisy Gamgee was born in 1433 and Primrose in 1435; Bilbo Gamgee was born in the year of the Epilogue, 1436, and was followed by three further children, making thirteen in all.

12 A footnote to the record of the birth of Elanor in *The Tale of Years* states: 'She became known as "the Fair" because of her beauty; many said that she looked more like an elf-maid than a hobbit. She had golden hair, which had been very rare in the Shire; but two others of Samwise's daughters were also golden-haired, and so were many of the children born at this time.' Cf. the reference in 'The Grey Havens' to the golden-haired children born in the Shire in the year 1420 (RK p. 303; see p. 112, note 1).

13 *Sam-dad:* this address to Sam by his children entered in text B of the first version.

14 In the manuscript 'said Sam' is followed by 'sucking his pen-holder'; this was probably omitted inadvertently, as were other phrases afterwards picked up and reinserted in the typescript.

15 Sam was no doubt thinking of the end of Gimli's song in Moria, by which he was greatly struck (FR p. 330):

> There lies his crown in water deep,
> Till Durin wakes again from sleep.

Or else of Gimli's words when Frodo and Sam looked with him into Mirrormere: 'O Kheled-zâram fair and wonderful! There lies the crown of Durin till he wakes.' '"What did you see?" said Pippin to Sam, but Sam was too deep in thought to answer' (FR p. 348).

16 Elanor's words refer to RK p. 260 ('Many Partings'): 'But Celeborn said: "Kinsman, farewell! May your doom be other than mine, and your treasure remain with you to the end!"' For the original form of Celeborn's farewell to Aragorn see p. 64.

17 I do not know of any other reference to this northern journey of Aragorn in the early years of his reign.

18 In the manuscript (which had *ai* forms, later emended, in the names *Iorhail*, *Perhail*, *Panthail*) Elanor calls her father *Panthail-adar*.

19 *only a week today:* see note 7, at end.

20 My father's transliteration has *ar ennas i aran Gondor ar Arnor ar Hîr iMbair Annui aníra* . . .

21 61 = 16, i.e. year 16 of the Fourth Age, which means that the Fourth Age began in 1421 (see Appendix D to *The Lord of the Rings*, at end).

22 In all the texts of 'The Grey Havens' from the earliest draft Sam said to Rose when he returned to Bag End 'Well, I'm back.' 'Well, I've come back' does not mean the same thing.

APPENDIX

Drawings of Orthanc and Dunharrow

When I wrote Volume VIII, *The War of the Ring*, it entirely and most regrettably escaped my memory that there are several unpublished drawings of Orthanc and Dunharrow in the Bodleian Library. As these are of much interest I reproduce them belatedly here, as a final appendix to the history of *The Lord of the Rings*.

The upper drawing on the page called here 'Orthanc I' shows a conception essentially similar to that of the little sketch 'Orthanc 3' reproduced in VIII.33 and described in the first manuscript of the chapter 'The Voice of Saruman', VIII.61. In this, the tower was founded on a huge arch spanning the great cleft in the rock; flights of stairs led up on two sides to a narrow platform beneath the arch, whence further stairs ran up 'to dark doors on either side, opening in the shadow of the arch's feet'. But in the present drawing the rock of Orthanc is enormously much greater in relation to the tower than in 'Orthanc 3'; the tower has only three tiers (seven in 'Orthanc 3' and in the description associated with it, VIII.32–3); and the horns at the summit are very much smaller.

In the lower drawing on this page, showing the Circle of Isengard in Nan Gurunír between the mountains' arms, is seen the feature described in the original drafting of the chapter 'The Road to Isengard' but rejected from the first completed manuscript (VIII.43, note 23): the western side of the Circle was formed by the mountain-wall itself. The dark letter C was a change made later to the faintly pencilled name of the Wizard's Vale, *Nan Gurunír* becoming *Nan Curunír*.

The page 'Orthanc II' carries two designs for 'Orthanc's roof'; and on 'Orthanc III' the final conception is seen emerging, in which the 'rock' of Orthanc becomes itself the 'tower'. The drawing on the right has in fact been previously published: it was used in *The Lord of the Rings Calendar 1977*, and so appears in *Pictures by J. R. R. Tolkien*, no. 27 (see VIII.44, note 26).

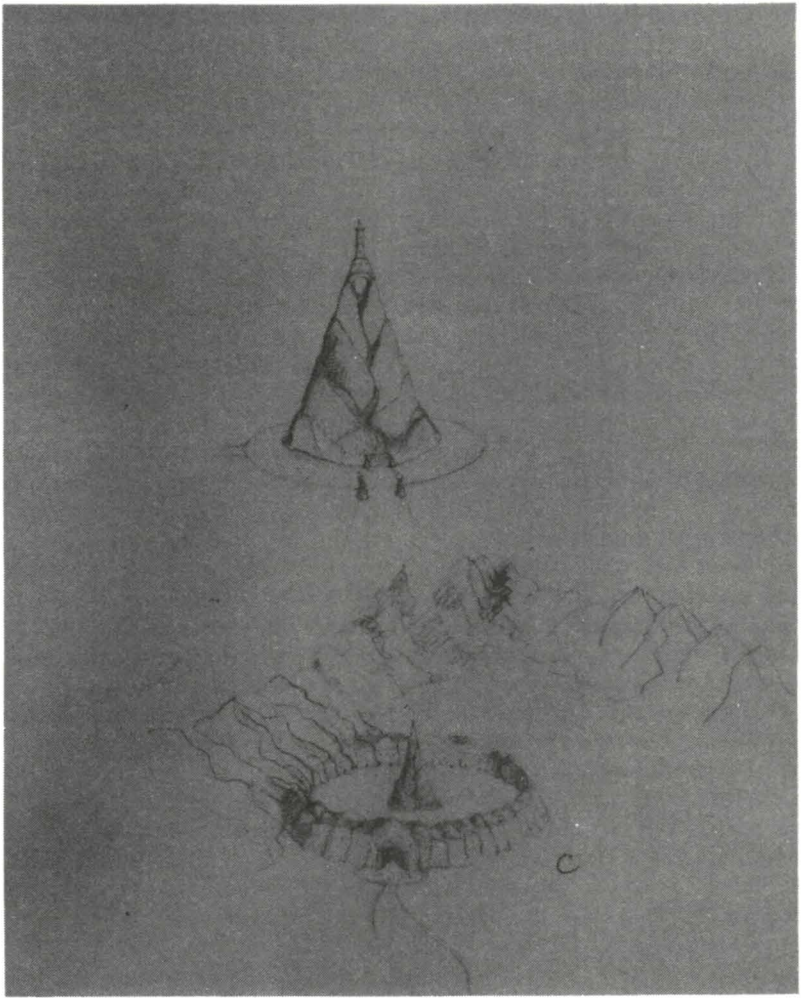
The two pages of drawings of Dunharrow are not easy to interpret, more especially 'Dunharrow I' (for the early conceptions of Dunharrow and the first sketches see VIII.235 ff.). Of 'Dunharrow I' it can at least be said that this idea of the approach to the Hold was never described in words. Apparently, the path winding up from the valley passed near the top of the cliff through the great door in the foreground and entered a steeply ascending tunnel, climbing up by

stairs inside the cliff, the head of which can be seen emerging from a large opening or hole in the flat land above. The single menhir, first mentioned in the text F of the original work on the chapter 'The Muster of Rohan' (VIII.246) as standing in the rock-ringed floor of the Hold, is seen; but since there is no sign of the lines of standing stones across the upland (nor of the Púkel-men at the turns in the climbing path) I would be inclined to place this drawing after the earliest drafts of the chapter and the little sketches reproduced in VIII.239 but before the writing of the text F.

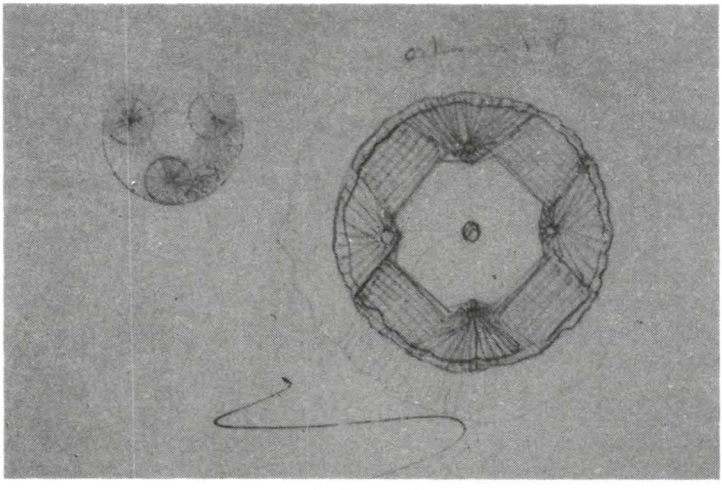
A very puzzling feature of this drawing is the wavy line at bottom left, hiding one of the bends in the climbing path.

The upper drawing on the page 'Dunharrow II' has a general likeness in the lie of the mountain side to the coloured drawing reproduced as the first frontispiece (but which should have been the second) to *The War of the Ring*, but there the resemblance ceases. In that other picture a double line of huge standing stones crosses the upland from the brink of the cliff to a dark cleft in the mountain, where the road so marked out disappears; and I suggested (VIII.250) that the dark cleft is '"the gate of the Hold", the "Hold" itself, the "recess" or "amphitheatre" with doors and windows in the cliff at the rear, being in this picture invisible.' In the present drawing the Púkel-men are seen at the turns of the path coming up from the valley; at the top of the cliff the road continues to wind, but the turns are now marked by pointed stones. There is then a straight stretch across the upland field, unmarked by stones; and the road passing (apparently) between two stones or pillars leads into the Hold, in which the door into the cliff behind can be seen. In the left-hand lower drawing the Púkel-men reappear, and in the right-hand drawing a double line of cone-shaped stones leads across the upland and into the Hold, with a single stone standing in the middle of the 'amphitheatre'.

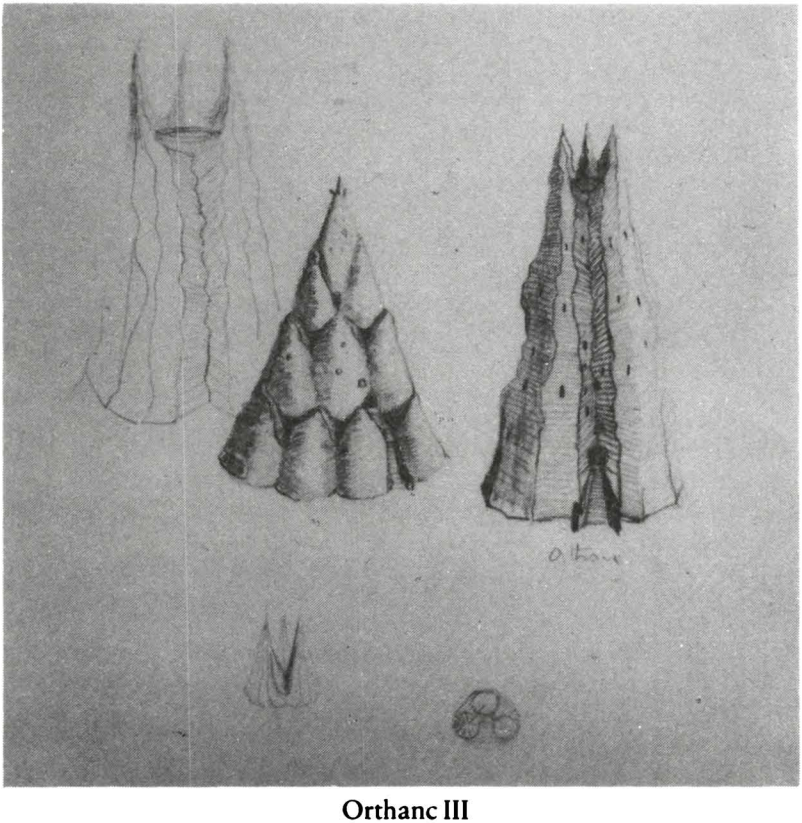
My guess is that the upper drawing on this page shows a stage in the development of the conception of Dunharrow when the Púkel-men had emerged, but not the double line of stones: these are seen at the moment of their emergence in one of the lower sketches. In relation to the manuscript evidence, 'Dunharrow I' would then belong with, but actually precede, the text F of 'The Muster of Rohan', in which both the Púkel-men (then called the Hoker-men) and the lines of stones are present.



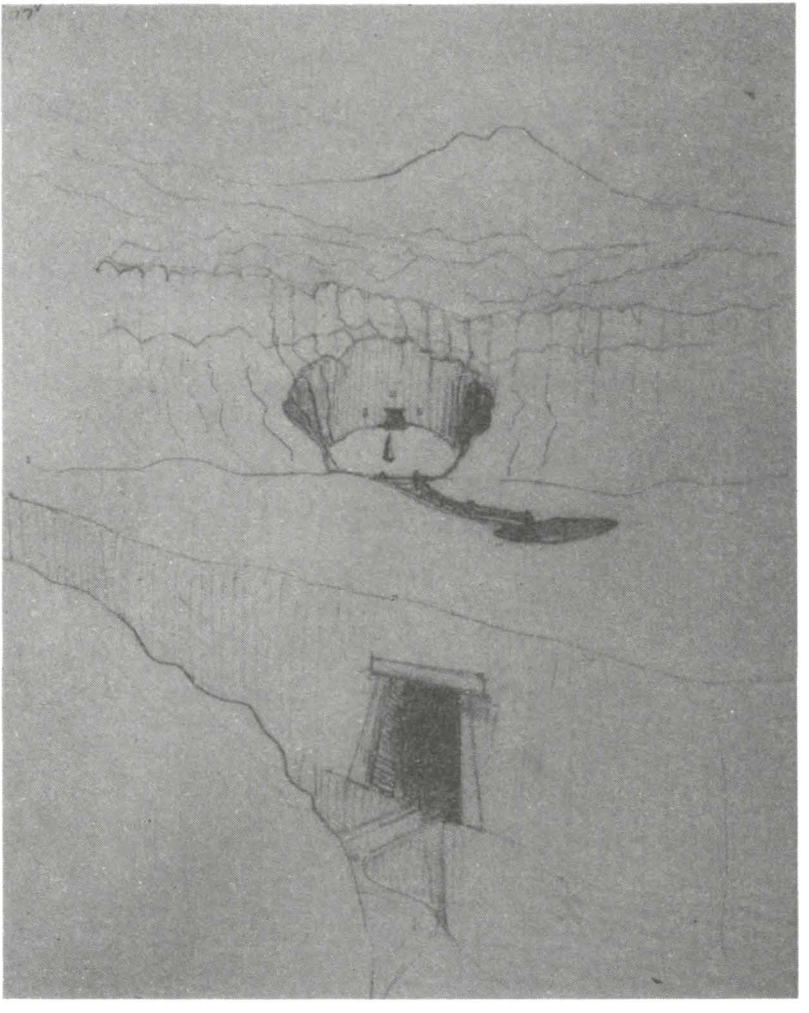
Orthanc I



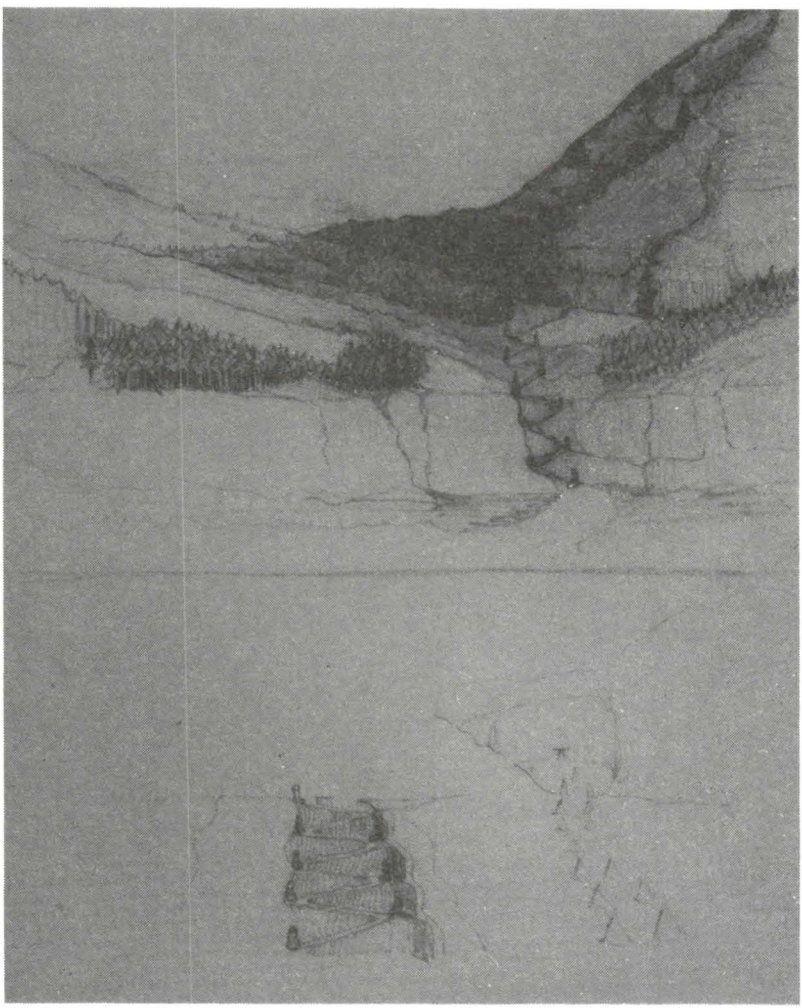
Orthanc II



Orthanc III



Dunharrow I



Dunharrow II

PART TWO

THE NOTION CLUB PAPERS

THE NOTION CLUB PAPERS

Introduction

On 18 December 1944, when *The Lord of the Rings* had reached the end of what would become *The Two Towers* (and a few pages had been written of 'Minas Tirith' and 'The Muster of Rohan' at the beginning of Book V), my father wrote to me (*Letters* no. 92) that he had seen C. S. Lewis that day: 'His fourth (or fifth?) novel is brewing, and seems likely to clash with mine (my dimly projected third). I have been getting a lot of new ideas about Prehistory lately (via Beowulf and other sources of which I may have written) and want to work them into the long shelved time-travel story I began. C. S. L. is planning a story about the descendants of Seth and Cain.' His words are tantalizingly difficult to interpret; but by 'clash with mine' he surely meant that the themes of their books ran rather close.[1]

Whatever lies behind this, it is seen that he was at this time turning his thoughts to a renewed attempt on the 'time-travel story', which would issue a year later in *The Notion Club Papers*. In his letter to Stanley Unwin of 21 July 1946 (*Letters* no. 105) he said that he hoped very shortly 'actually to – write', to turn again to *The Lord of the Rings* where he had left it, more than a year and a half before: 'I shall now have to study my own work in order to get back to it,' he wrote. But later in that same letter he said:

> I have in a fortnight of comparative leisure round about last Christmas written three parts of another book, taking up in an entirely different frame and setting what little had any value in the inchoate *Lost Road* (which I had once the impudence to show you: I hope it is forgotten), and other things beside. I hoped to finish this in a rush, but my health gave way after Christmas. Rather silly to mention it, till it is finished. But I am putting *The Lord of the Rings*, the *Hobbit* sequel, before all else, save duties that I cannot wriggle out of.

So far as I have been able to discover there is no other reference to *The Notion Club Papers* anywhere in my father's writings.

But the quantity of writing constituting *The Notion Club Papers*, and the quantity of writing associated with them, cannot by any manner of means have been the work of a fortnight. To substantiate this, and since this is a convenient place to give this very necessary information, I set out here the essential facts of the textual relations of all this material, together with some brief indication of their content.

As the development of *The Notion Club Papers* progressed my father divided it into two parts, the second of which was never completed, and although he ultimately rejected this division[2] I have found it in every way desirable to preserve it in this book. Part One was 'The Ramblings of Michael Ramer: *Out of the Talkative Planet*', and this consists of a report in direct speech of the discussions at two successive meetings[3] of 'the Notion Club' at Oxford far in the future at the time of writing. On the first of these occasions the conversation turned on the problem of the vehicle, the machine or device, by which 'space-travellers' are transported to their destination, especially in respect of its literary credibility in itself and its effect on the story contained within the journeys; on the second, of which the report is much longer, one of the members, Michael Ramer, expounded his ideas concerning 'true dreams' and his experiences of 'space-travel' in dream.

The earliest manuscript, here called '**A**', is a complete text of Part One. It is roughly written and hastily expressed, there is no title or explanatory 'scene-setting', and there are no dates; but while the text would undergo much expansion and improvement, the essential structure and movement of the dialogue was already largely present.

The second manuscript, '**B**', is also a complete text of Part One, but is much fuller than A, and (with many changes and additions) advances far towards the final form. Here also the two meetings, as the text was first written, have no dates, and the numbers given to the meetings imply a much longer history of the Club than is suggested for it subsequently. For the elaborate title or prolegomenon to this version see pp. 148–9.

The third manuscript, '**C**', is written in a fine script, but is not quite complete: it extends to Ramer's words 'So there does appear to be at least one other star with attendant planets' (p. 207), and it is clear that no more was written of this text (which, incidentally, it would have taken days to write).

A typescript '**D**', made by my father, is the final form of Part One. In one section of the text, however, D seems to have preceded C, since it has some B readings which were then changed to those of C; but the final form of the text is scarcely ever in doubt, and even where it is the differences are entirely trivial. Where C ends, the typescript follows B, the place of transition being marked on the B manuscript. (A second typescript – not, I think, made by my father – was begun, but abandoned after only a few pages; this has no independent value.)

Part Two, 'The Strange Case of Arundel Lowdham', records a number of further meetings of the Notion Club, continuous with those of Part One. This second Part is largely devoted to the intrusion of the Matter of Númenor into the discussions of the Notion Club, but of this there are only two texts, a manuscript ('**E**') and a typescript ('**F**').

Both end at the same point, with the next meeting of the Club arranged and dated, but never written.

The typescript F is a complex document, in that my father rejected a substantial section of it ('F 1') as soon as he had typed it, replaced it ('F 2'), and then continued on to the end, the structure of the text being thus F 1, F 1 > F 2, F 2 (see p. 237 and note 37).

For both Parts, but especially for Part Two, there is a quantity of rough, discontinuous drafting, often scarcely legible.

While Part Two was being further developed (that is, after the completion of the manuscript E so far as it went) the Adunaic* language emerged (as it appears), with an abandoned but elaborate account of the phonology, and *pari passu* with *The Notion Club Papers* my father not only wrote a first draft of an entirely new version of the story of Númenor but developed it through further texts: this is *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, in which all the names are in Adunaic.

How is all this to be equated with his statement in the letter to Stanley Unwin in July 1946 that 'three parts' of the work were written in a fortnight at the end of 1945? Obviously it cannot be, not even on the supposition that when he said 'a fortnight' he greatly underestimated the time. Though not demonstrable, an extremely probable explanation, as it seems to me, is that at the end of that fortnight he stopped work in the middle of writing the manuscript E, at the point where *The Notion Club Papers* end, and at which time Adunaic had not yet arisen. Very probably Part One was at the stage of the manuscript B.[4] On this view, the further development of what had then been achieved of Part One, and more especially of Part Two (closely associated with that of the Adunaic language and the writing of *The Drowning of Anadûnê*), belongs to the following year, the earlier part of 1946. Against this, of course, is the fact that the letter to Stanley Unwin in which my father referred to the *Papers* was written in July 1946, but that letter gives no impression of further work after 'my health gave way after Christmas'. But it is to be remembered that *The Lord of the Rings* had been at a halt for more than a year and a half, and it may well be that he was deeply torn between the burgeoning of Adunaic and Anadûnê and the oppression of the abandoned *Lord of the Rings*. He did not need to spell out to Stanley Unwin what he had in fact been doing! But he said that he was 'putting *The Lord of the Rings* before all else', which no doubt meant 'I am *now going to put it* before all else', and that included Adunaic. To the interrupted *Notion Club Papers* he never returned.

The diverse and shifting elements in all this work, not least the complex but essential linguistic material, have made the construction

Adunaic is always so spelt at this time (not *Adûnaic*), and I write it so throughout.

of a readily comprehensible edition extremely difficult, requiring much experimentation among possible forms of presentation. Since *The Notion Club Papers* are now published for the first time, the final typescripts D of Part One and F of Part Two must obviously be the text printed, and this makes for difficulties of presentation (it is of course very much easier to begin with an original draft and to relate it by consecutive steps to a final form that is already known). The two Parts are separated, with notes following each Part. Following the text of the *Papers* I give important sections that were rejected from or significantly changed in the final text, earlier forms of the 'Númenórean' fragments that 'came through' to Arundel Lowdham and of the Old English text written by his father, and reproductions of the 'facsimiles' of that text with analysis of the *tengwar*.

Although the final text of Part Two of the *Papers* and *The Drowning of Anadûnê* were intimately connected,[5] especially in respect of Adunaic, any attempt to combine them in a single presentation makes for inextricable confusion; the latter is therefore treated entirely separately in the third part of this book, and in my commentary on Part Two of the *Papers* I have not thought it useful to make continual reference forward to *The Drowning of Anadûnê*: the interrelations between the two works emerge more clearly when the latter is reached.

There are some aspects of the framework of the *Papers*, provided by the Foreword of the Editor, Mr. Howard Green, and the list of members of the Notion Club, which are better discussed here than in the commentary.

The Foreword

The original manuscript A of Part One, as already noticed, has no title or introductory statement of any kind, but begins with the words 'When Ramer had finished reading his latest story . . .' The first page of B begins thus:

> Beyond Lewis
> or
> Out of the Talkative Planet
>
> Being a fragment of an apocryphal Inklings' Saga, made by some imitator at some time in the 1980s.
>
> Preface to the Inklings
>
> While listening to this fantasia (if you do), I beg of the present company not to look for their own faces in this mirror. For the mirror is cracked, and at the best you will only see your countenances distorted, and adorned maybe with noses (and other features) that are not your

own, but belong to other members of the company – if to anybody.

Night 251

When Michael Ramer had finished reading his latest story ...

This was heavily emended and then struck through, and was replaced by a new, separate title-page (made when B had been completed):

Beyond Probability[6]
or
Out of the Talkative Planet

The Ramblings of Ramer
being Nights 251 and 252 of *The Notion Club Papers*

[Little is known about this rare book, except that it appears to have been written after 1989, as an apocryphal imitation of the *Inklings' Saga Book*. The author identifies himself with the character called in the narrative Nicholas Guildford; but Titmouse has shown that this is a pseudonym, and is taken from a mediaeval dialogue, at one time read in the Schools of Oxford. His real identity remains unknown.]

An aside to the audience. While listening to this hotch-potch (if you do), I beg of the present company not to look for their own faces in my mirror. For the mirror is cracked ...

This is followed by a list of the persons who appear (see p. 151). It seems clear that at the stage when the text B was written my father's idea was far less elaborate than it became; intending perhaps, so far as the form was concerned, no more than a *jeu d'esprit* for the entertainment of the Inklings – while the titles seem to emphasise that it was to be, in part, the vehicle of criticism and discussion of aspects of Lewis's 'planetary' novels. Perhaps he called to mind the witty and ingenious method that Lewis had devised for his criticism of *The Lay of Leithian* in 1930 (see *The Lays of Beleriand*, p. 151). – So far as I can see, there is no indication that at this stage he envisaged the form that Part Two of the *Papers* would take, and definite evidence to the contrary (see pp. 281–2).

There are several drafts for a more circumstantial account of the *Papers* and of how they came to light, preceding the elaborate form in the final text that follows. They were found at the University Press waiting to be pulped, but no one knew how they had got there; or they were found 'at Messrs. Whitburn and Thoms' publishing house'.[7]

The mediaeval dialogue from which the name Nicholas Guildford is derived is *The Owl and the Nightingale*, a debate in verse written between 1189 and 1216. To the Owl's question, who shall decide between them, the Nightingale replies that *Maister Nichole of Guldeforde* is the obvious choice, since he is prudent, virtuous, and wise, and an excellent judge of song.

The List of Members

At the top of a page that preceded the manuscript A and is almost certainly the first setting down of the opening passage of Night 60 of the *Papers* (see p. 211, note 7) my father wrote these names:

Ramer Latimer Franks Loudham Dolbear

Beneath *Ramer* he wrote 'Self', but struck it out, then 'CSL' and 'To', these also being struck out. Beneath *Latimer* he wrote 'T', beneath *Franks* 'CSL', beneath *Loudham* 'HVD' (Hugo Dyson), and beneath *Dolbear* 'Havard'.

This is the only actual identification of members of the Notion Club with members of the Inklings that is found. The name *Latimer* (for *Guildford*) remained that of the Club's 'reporter' in manuscript A; it is derived from Old French *latinier* ('Latiner', speaker of Latin), meaning an interpreter. *Loudham* (so spelt in A and B, and initially in the manuscript E of Part Two) would obviously be Dyson even without 'HVD' written beneath (see Humphrey Carpenter, *The Inklings*, pp. 212–13); and since *Franks* (only becoming *Frankley* in the third text C) is here Lewis, I suppose that my father felt that the name was appropriate to his character. The other two names were presumably 'significant', but I do not know what the significance was. *Dolbear* is an uncommon surname, but there was a chemist's shop in Oxford called Dolbear & Goodall, and I recollect that my father found this particularly engaging; it may be that he simply found in Dolbear the chemist a comic appropriateness to Havard, or to Havard as he was going to present him. *Ramer* is very puzzling; and here there is no certain identification with one of the Inklings in the list. The various dictionaries of English surnames that I have consulted do not give the name. The only suggestion that I can make is that my father derived it from the dialectal verb *rame*, with these meanings given in the *Oxford English Dictionary*: 'to shout, cry aloud, scream; keep up the same cry, continue repeating the same thing; obtain by persistent asking; repeat, run over'; cf. also the *English Dialect Dictionary*, ed. Joseph Wright (with which he was very familiar: he called it 'indispensable', *Letters* no. 6), *ream* verb 3, also *raim*, *rame*, etc., which gives similar meanings, and also 'to talk nonsense, rave'. But this seems far-fetched.

At any rate, this list is interesting as suggesting that my father started out with the idea of a series of definite 'equivalences', distorted no doubt but recognisable. But I think that this plan very quickly dissolved, because he found that it would not suit his purpose; and not

even in the earliest text does there seem to be any clearer association with individual Inklings than there is in the final form of the *Papers*, with the possible exception of Lowdham. In A his interventions are limited to jocular facetiousness, and the interest that in the later form of Part One (pp. 199–201) he shows in 'Old Solar' and in Ramer's names of other worlds is in A given to Dolbear (and then in B to Guildford).

It would not suit my father's purpose, because in 'The Ramblings of Ramer' he wished to allow his own ideas the scope, in the form of a discussion and argument, that they would never have had in fact, in an actual meeting of the Inklings. The professional knowledge and intellectual interests of the members of the Notion Club are such as to make this symposium possible. On p. 149 I have given the second version of a title-page, in which after the author's 'aside to the audience', warning them 'not to look for their own faces in my mirror', there follows a list of the members of the Club. At this stage only six members were listed (plus Cameron); and of these six, Ramer is Professor of Finno-Ugric, Guildford is a Comparative Philologist, and Loudham has 'special interests in Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon', while the chemist Dolbear 'concerns himself with psychoanalysis and related aspects of language'. At this stage Frankley is a lecturer in French, changed to the Clarendon Reader in English Literature, 'with a taste for the Romance literatures and a distaste for things Germanic', while the statement of Jeremy's position and interests is much as in the final list. Ramer, Jeremy, Guildford and Frankley all have 'a taste for romances of travel in Space and Time.'

The enlarged list of members in the final form (pp. 159–60), most of whom do not have even walk-on parts, served the purpose, I suppose, of creating an impression of a more amorphous group surrounding the principals. The polymathy of the monk Dom Jonathan Markison extends to some very recondite knowledge of Germanic origins, while Ranulph Stainer appears in Part Two as a sceptical and rather superior onlooker at the strange proceedings. The surname of the apparently speechless undergraduate John Jethro Rashbold is a translation of *Tolkien* (*Toll-kühn*: see *Letters* no. 165 and note 1). In Part Two appears 'old Professor Rashbold at Pembroke', the Anglo-Saxon scholar described by Lowdham as 'a grumpy old bear' (p. 256 and note 72). There are no doubt other hidden puns and jokes in the list of members.

In my view it would be useless to seek even any 'intellectual equivalence' with historical persons, let alone portraiture (for a list of those who came often – but not all at the same period – to the Inklings, with brief biographies, see Humphrey Carpenter, *The Inklings*, Appendix A). The fact that Lowdham is 'loud' and makes jokes often at inappropriate moments derives from Dyson (but he was wittier than Lowdham), yet Lowdham is the very antithesis of Dyson in his learning and interests; no doubt Frankley's *horror borealis* is a reminiscence of

Dyson also, though it is profoundly un-Dysonian to have read mediaeval works on Saint Brendan (p. 265). In earlier drafts of the list of members Dolbear has no position in the University, and with his red hair and beard and his nickname in the Club (see *Letters* no. 56) he can be seen as a sort of parody of Havard. But these things are marginal to the ideas expounded and debated in the *Papers*; essentially, the members of the Notion Club are fictions, and become more obviously so in Part Two.

Scarcely a sentence remained entirely unchanged between text A and text D of Part One, but in my notes all this development is largely ignored when (as for the most part it is) it is a matter of improvement in the expression or of amplification of the argument. Similarly, the ascription of speeches to speakers underwent many changes in the earlier texts, but in general I do not record them.

I do not enter in this book into any critical discussion of the topics and issues raised in 'The Ramblings of Michael Ramer'. This is partly because I am not well qualified to discuss them, but also because they fall somewhat outside the scope and aim of *The History of Middle-earth*, which is above all to present accurate texts accurately ordered (so far as I am able) and to elucidate them comparatively, within the context of 'Middle-earth' and the lands of the West. With very limited time at my disposal for this book I have thought that I could better devote it in any case to clarification of the complexities of the 'Númenórean' material. The notes are therefore very restricted in scope and are often trivial in relation to the content of the discussion, being mostly concerned with the elucidation of references that may be obscure and not easily tracked down, with comparison of earlier forms of certain passages, and with citation of other writings of my father's. I do not suppose that many readers of this book will be unacquainted with the novels of C. S. Lewis, *Out of the Silent Planet* (1938), *Perelandra* (1943), and *That Hideous Strength* (1945), but I have provided a few explanations and references.

Why my father abandoned *The Notion Club Papers* I do not know. It may be that he felt that the work had lost all unity, that 'Atlantis' had broken apart the frame in which it had been set (see pp. 281–2). But I think also that having forced himself to return to *The Lord of the Rings*, and having brought it to its end, he was then deflected into the very elaborate further work on the legends of the Elder Days that preceded the actual publication of *The Lord of the Rings*. However it was, the Notion Club was abandoned, and with it his final attempt to embody the riddle of Ælfwine and Eadwine in a 'tale of time'. But from its forgotten *Papers* and the strange figure of Arundel Lowdham there emerged a new conception of the Downfall of Númenor, embodied in a different tradition, which would come to constitute a major element in the *Akallabêth* many years later.

NOTES

1 In a note to this passage in my father's letter Humphrey Carpenter remarks: 'Lewis's next published novel after *That Hideous Strength* and *The Great Divorce* was *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*. Tolkien is, however, almost certainly referring to some other book of Lewis's that was never completed.' *The Great Divorce* was published in 1946; Lewis was reading it aloud in April and May 1944 (*Letters* no. 60, 69, 72).

It may be mentioned here that my father had evidently discussed with Lewis the matter of 'true dreams': an important element in the plot of *That Hideous Strength* is Jane Studdock's 'tendency to dream real things', in the words of Miss Ironwood (Chapter 3, §iii), and this can hardly be a mere coincidence. It is presumably not coincidental either that there should be so many references to 'Numinor' in *That Hideous Strength* (published in 1945); see p. 303 and note 15.

2 On the final text D of Part One the heading of the first page (after 'Leaves from the Notion Club Papers'):'Part I / The Ramblings of Michael Ramer / *Out of the Talkative Planet*' was struck out. The final text F of Part Two has no heading at the beginning. A pencilled title page apparently accompanying the manuscript E has 'Leaves from the Notion Club Papers / II / The Strange Case of Arundel Lowdham'.

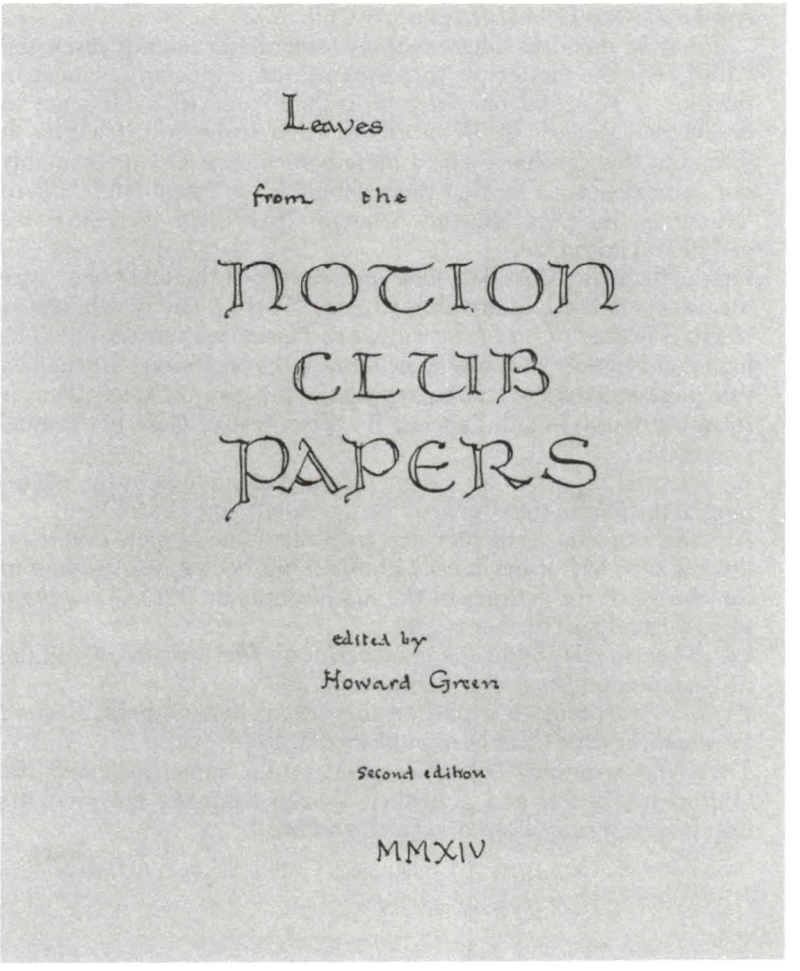
3 A very brief report of an earlier meeting was added at the beginning of the text in the course of the development of Part One.

4 A pointer to this is the fact that in B the name is spelt *Loudham* throughout; in E it begins as *Loudham* but becomes *Lowdham* in the course of the writing of the manuscript; in C it is *Lowdham* from the first. See further p. 282.

5 Cf. the close relation of the manuscript of *The Lost Road* and the original text of *The Fall of Númenor*, V.9.

6 *Beyond Probability* is a pun on the title of Lewis's book *Beyond Personality*, which had been published in 1944.

7 That *Whitburn (and Thoms)* is a play on the name *Blackwell*, the Oxford bookseller and publisher, is seen from the fact that the firm was originally *Basil Blackwell and Mott*.


Leaves
from the
NOTION
CLUB
PAPERS
edited by
Howard Green
second edition
MMXIV

Leaves from

THE NOTION CLUB PAPERS

FOREWORD

These Papers have a rather puzzling history. They were found after the Summer Examinations of 2012 on the top of one of a number of sacks of waste paper in the basement of the Examination Schools at Oxford by the present editor, Mr. Howard Green, the Clerk of the Schools. They were in a disordered bundle, loosely tied with red string. The outer sheet, inscribed in large Lombardic capitals:

NOTION CLUB PAPERS,

attracted the notice of Mr. Green, who removed them and scrutinized them. Discovering them to contain much that was to him curious and interesting, he made all possible enquiries, without result.

The Papers, from internal evidence, clearly had no connexion with any examinations held or lectures given in the Schools during Mr. Green's many years of office. Neither did they belong to any of the libraries housed in the building. Advertisement has failed to find any claimant to ownership. It remains unknown how the Papers reached the waste-paper sack. It seems probable that they had at some time been prepared for publication, since they are in many places provided with notes; yet in form they are nothing more than an elaborate minute-book of a club, devoted to conversation, debate, and the discussion of 'papers', in verse or prose, written and read by its members, and many of the entries have no particular interest for non-members.

The minutes, or reports, covered probably about 100 meetings or 'nights' during the years of last century, approximately 1980 to 1990. It is, however, not the least curious fact about these Papers that no such club appears ever to have existed. Though certain resemblances are inevitable between a group of imaginary academic persons and their real contemporaries, no such persons as those here depicted, either with such names, or

such offices, or such tastes and habits, can be traced in the Oxford of the last generation, or of the present time.

The author appears in one or two passages, and in the occasional notes, to identify himself with the character called in the dialogues Nicholas Guildford. But Mr. J. R. Titmass, the well-known historian of twentieth-century Oxford, who has given all possible assistance to the present editor, has shown that this is certainly a fictitious name and derived from a mediaeval dialogue at one time read in the Schools of Oxford.

On examination the bundle was found to contain 205 foolscap pages, all written by one hand, in a careful and usually legible script. The leaves were disarranged but mostly numbered. The bundle contains the entries for Nights 51 to 75, but they are defective and several leaves appear to have been lost; some of the longer entries are incomplete. It is probable that three other bundles, containing Nights 1–25, 26–50, 76–100, once existed. Of the missing sections, however, only a few scattered sheets were found in the sack, and these, so far as can be discerned, belonged originally to the entries 1–25. Among them was a crumpled and much corrected sheet, of a different paper, containing a list of members.

The total on this scale would have made a volume of considerable bulk, but its size will be overestimated, if calculation is based on the length of the extracts here printed. Many Nights are represented only by a few lines, or by short entries, of which Nights 54 and 64 have been included as specimens. As a rule these short items have been omitted, unless they bear closely on the longer reports here selected and presented to those interested in literary curiosities.

Note to the Second Edition

Mr. W. W. Wormald of the School of Bibliopoly, and Mr. D. N. Borrow of the Institute of Occidental Languages, found their curiosity aroused by the published extracts, and asked Mr. Green for permission to examine the manuscript of the Papers. They have now sent in a joint report, which raises some interesting points.

'Paper of this kind,' they write, 'is, of course, very difficult to trace or to date. The sheets submitted to us are of a poor quality much inferior to the paper now in general use for such purposes. Without venturing on a definite opinion, we record our sus-

picion that these sheets are much older than the dates of the supposed meetings of the Club, perhaps 40 to 50 years older, belonging, that is, to the period during or just after the Six Years' War. This suspicion is supported by various items of internal evidence, notably the idiom of the dialogues, which is old-fashioned and does not represent with any fidelity the colloquial language either of the nineteen-eighties or of the present time. We conclude, then, that *The Notion Club Papers* were written sixty years ago, or more.

'It remains, nonetheless, on this hypothesis a puzzling fact that the Great Explosion of 1975 is referred to, and even more precisely, the Great Storm, which actually occurred on the night of Thursday, June 12th, 1987;[1] though certain inaccuracies appear in the account given of the progress and effects of the latter event. Mr. Green has proposed to us a curious explanation of this difficulty, evidently suggested to him by the contents of the Papers: the future events were, he thinks, "foreseen". In our opinion a less romantic but more probable solution is this: the paper is part of a stock purchased by a man resident in Oxford about 1940. He used the paper for his minutes (whether fictitious or founded on fact), but he did not use all his stock. Much later (after 1987) he copied out his matter again, using up the old paper; and though he did not make any general revision, he moved the dates forward and inserted the genuine references to the Explosion and the Storm.'

Mr. Green rejoins: 'This is one of the most fantastic "probable solutions" I have yet met, quite apart from the unlikelihood of an inferior paper being stored for about fifty years and then used for the same purpose again. The writer was not, I think, a very young man; but the handwriting is certainly not that of an old man. Yet if the writer was not young in 1940, he must have been old, very old, in 2000. For it is to that date, not to 1987, that we must look. There is a point that has escaped the notice of Messrs. Wormald and Borrow: the old house, no. 100 Banbury Road, the last private dwelling house in that block, was in fact the scene of "hauntings",* a remarkable display of poltergeist activity, between the years 2000 and 2003, which only ended when the house was demolished and a new building, attached to the Institute of National Nutrition, erected on the site. In the year 2003 a person possessed of the paper, the

* See Night 61, p. 179.

pen-habits,* and the idiom of the period of the Six Years' War would have been an oddity that no pseudonym could conceal from us.

'In any case, the Storm is integral to all the entries from Night 63 to Night , [*sic*] and is not just "inserted". Messrs. Wormald and Borrow must either neglect their own evidence and place the whole composition after 1987, or else stick to their own well-founded suspicions of the paper, the hand,* and the idiom, and admit that some person or persons in the nineteen-forties possessed a power of "prevision".

'Mr. Titmass informs me that he cannot find any record in the nineteen-forties of the names given in the list. If therefore, any such club existed at that earlier period, the names remain pseudonyms. The forward dating might have been adopted as an additional screen. But I am now convinced that the Papers are a work of fiction; and it may well be that the predictions (notably of the Storm), though genuine and not coincidences, were unconscious: giving one more glimpse of the strange processes of so-called literary "invention", with which the Papers are largely concerned.'

MEMBERS OF THE NOTION CLUB

The Notion Club, as depicted, was informal and vague in outline. A number of characters appear in the dialogues, some rarely or fitfully. For the convenience of readers the List of Members found among the Papers is here printed, though several of the persons named do not appear in this selection. The order is not alphabetical and seems intended to represent some kind of seniority: the first six names were written earlier and larger; the rest were added at various times and in different inks, but in the same hand. There are also later entries inserted after some of the names, recording details of their tastes or history. A few further details, gleaned from the Papers themselves, have been added in brackets.

*Mr. Wormald himself, something of an expert in such matters, before he proposed his 'probable solution', ventured the opinion that the handwriting of the Papers in general character went with the old-fashioned idiom and belonged to the same period. The use of a pen rather than a typewriter would indeed, in itself, already have been most unusual for a man of 1990, whatever his age.

MICHAEL GEORGE RAMER. Jesus College. Born 1929 (in Hungary). Professor of Finno-Ugric Philology; but better known as a writer of romances. His parents returned to England when he was four; but he spent a good deal of time in Finland and Hungary between 1956 and 68. [Among his interests are Celtic languages and antiquities.]

RUPERT DOLBEAR. Wadham. Born 1929. Research Chemist. Has many other interests, notably philosophy, psychoanalysis, and gardening. [A close friend of Ramer. He is redhaired and redbearded, and known to the Club as Ruthless Rufus.]

NICHOLAS GUILDFORD. Lincoln. Born 1937. Archaeologist. The Club reporter; because he likes it and knows shorthand. [He is seldom recorded as reading anything to the Club, and it is then not reported; but he appears to have written several novels.]

ALWIN ARUNDEL LOWDHAM. B.N.C. Born 1938. Lecturer in English Language. Chiefly interested in Anglo-Saxon, Icelandic, and Comparative Philology. Occasionally writes comic or satirical verse. [Known as Arry.]

PHILIP FRANKLEY. Queen's. Born 1932. A poet, once well-known as a leader of the Queer Metre movement; but now just a poet, still publishing volumes of collected verse; suffers from *horror borealis* (as he calls it) and is intolerant of all things Northern or Germanic. [He is, all the same, a close friend of Lowdham.]

WILFRID TREWIN JEREMY. Corpus Christi. Born 1942. University Lecturer in English Literature. He specializes in Escapism, and has written books on the history and criticism of *Ghost-stories*, *Time-travel*, and *Imaginary Lands*.

James Jones. Born 1927. Has been a schoolmaster, journalist, and playwright. Is now retired, living in Oxford, and divides his time between producing plays and his hobby of private printing. A very silent man, but assists the Reporter with his retentive memory.

Dr. Abel Pitt. Trinity. Born 1928. Formerly Chaplain of Trinity College; now Bishop of Buckingham. Scholar, occasional poet.

Colombo Arditi. St. John's. Born 1940. Tempestosa Professor of Italian. Is fond of (and not unskilled in) singing (basso), swimming, and the game of bowls. Collects books and cats.

Dom Jonathan Markison, O.S.B.[2] New College, Master of St. Cuthbert's Hall. [Polymath.]

Sir Gerard Manface. All Souls. Lawyer. Mountaineer; much travelled. Has many children, for whom he wrote many (unpublished) books and tales. [Seldom appears. A special friend of Frankley, but not resident in Oxford.]

Ranulph Stainer. University College. Born 1936. Professionally an expert in banking and economics; privately devoted to the history and practice of music, and has composed several works, major and minor, including one (moderately successful) opera: *Midas.*

Alexander Cameron. Exeter. Born 1935. Modern historian, specially interested in Spanish and South American history. Collects coins and stamps. Plays a pianola. [No one remembers his being invited to join the Club, or knows why he comes; but he appears from time to time.]

John Jethro Rashbold. Magdalen. Born 1965. Undergraduate. Classical scholar; apprentice poet. [Introduced by Frankley, to whom he is much attached.]

Note. It is represented as the habit of the Club for all members to initial the record of any meeting at which they were present, whether they are reported as speaking or not. Presumably the initialling, which in the extant Papers is in the same hand as the text, took place after N.G.'s report has been seen and passed, and before the fair copy was made. Mr. Cameron's initials never appear.

Leaves from The NOTION CLUB PAPERS

[PART ONE][3]

Night 54. Thursday, November 16th, 1986.[4]

A wet night. Only Frankley and Dolbear arrived (Dolbear's house). Dolbear reports that Philip never said a word worth recording, but read him an unintelligible poem about a Mechanical Nightingale (or he thought that was the subject). Frankley reports that Rufus was drowsy and kept on chuckling to himself. The only clearly audible remark that he made was *going off the deep end, I think*. This was in reply to an enquiry about Michael Ramer, and whether D. had seen him lately. After F. had read a poem (later read again) called *The Canticle of Artegall* they parted. R.D. P.F.[5]

[One or two minor entries, defectively preserved, are here omitted.]

Night 60. Thursday, February 20th, 1987.[6] [Defective at the beginning. Ramer's story is lost.]

[When Michael Ramer had finished] reading his story, we sat in silence for a while. He had not read us anything for a long time; in fact he had seldom appeared at meetings for a year or more. His excuses for absence, when he gave any, had been vague and evasive. On this occasion the Club was better attended than usual, and no more easy to please. That hardly accounted for Ramer's nervousness. He is one of our oldest members, and was at one time one of our most frequent performers; but to-night he read hastily, boggling and stumbling. So much so that Frankley made him read several sentences over again, though these interruptions, which only made matters worse, are omitted above. Now he was fidgetting.

'Well?' he said at last. 'What do you think of it? Will it do?'

A few of us stirred, but nobody spoke.

'Oh, come on! I may as well get the worst over first. What have *you* got to say?' he urged, turning to Guildford in the next chair.

'I don't know,' Guildford answered reluctantly. 'You know how I dislike criticizing . . .'

'I've never noticed it before,' said Frankley.

'Go on, Nicholas!' laughed Lowdham. 'You dislike it about as much as Philip dislikes interrupting.'

'At any rate I don't criticize unfinished sentences,' said Guildford. 'If I'd not been interrupted, I was going to say *I dislike criticizing off-hand, and still in the heat of listening.*'

'In the chill's your more usual temperature,' said Lowdham.[7]

'Most unfair! I'm a voracious reader, and I like stories.'

A chorus of incredulous shouts followed, but Guildford could just be heard amending his words, first to *I read a good many tales and like most of them*, and finally to *I do like some stories, including one or two of Ramer's*. 'But it's much more difficult,' he went on at last, 'to say anything about the *liking*, especially so soon. Liking is often much more complex than dislike. And it's less necessary to say anything about it in a hurry. The feeling of liking has a very lasting flavour; it can wait, it's often better for being stored for a bit. But defects stick out all hard and painful, while one's still close at hand.'

'For those who have the knack of seeing them in *every* literary landscape,' Ramer interposed.

'There are minor ones,' Guildford went on unperturbed, 'that may, of course, get forgotten, or be overlooked by familiarity; but they are better removed while fresh.'

'The sort that Philip corrects at once while you are reading?' said Ramer.

'Yes,' said Guildford. 'But there are more serious faults than his anacolutha and split infinitives that may also get passed, if the thing's allowed to harden. It may be painful for the author to have the blindness of paternal love removed, but it seems the most useful thing to do on the spot. What's the good of sitting here, hearing things before they're in print, if all we're to do is to pat the father's back and murmur: *Any child of yours is welcome, Mr. Ramer. Your fiftieth, is it? Well, well! How they do all take after their dear father, don't they?*'

Lowdham laughed. 'And what you're longing to say, I suppose, is: *Why don't you wipe the brat's nose, and get its hair cut?*'

'*Or strangle it!*' said Ramer impatiently.

'No, seriously,' Guildford protested, 'I only objected to parts, not to the whole of your latest infant, Michael. Only to the first chapter and the end of the last one, really. But there! I suppose no one has ever solved the difficulty of arriving, of getting to another planet, no more in literature than in life. Because the

difficulty is in fact insoluble, I think. The barrier cannot and will not ever be passed in mortal flesh. Anyway, the opening chapters, the journey, of space-travel tales seem to me always the weakest. Scientifiction, as a rule: and that is a base alloy. Yes it is, Master Frankley, so don't interrupt! Just as much as the word is an ill-made portmanteau: rotten for travelling with. And that goes for your machine, too, Ramer. Though it's one of the better failures, perhaps.'

'Thankyou for that!' Ramer growled. 'But it's just like you, Nicholas, to pick on the frame, which is an awkward necessity of pictures, and easy to change anyway, and say nothing about what's inside it. I suppose you must have seen something to praise inside: we know how painful you find praising anything. Isn't that the real reason why you postpone it?'

'Nonsense!' said Guildford. 'I thought what was inside was very good, if you must have it. Though I felt there was something very odd about it.'

'I'm sure you did!'

'I mean *odd* coming from you. And in its setting. For you won't get away with that framed excuse. A picture-frame is not a parallel. An author's way of getting to Mars (say) is part of *his* story of *his* Mars; and of *his* universe, as far as that particular tale goes. It's part of the picture, even if it's only in a marginal position; and it may seriously affect all that's inside.'

'Why should it?' said Frankley.

'Well, if there are space-ships at all in your imagined universe, you'll fail to sell it to me, for one thing,' said Guildford.

'That's carrying your anti-machine mania too far,' said Lowdham. 'Surely poor writers can include things *you* don't like in their stories?'

'I'm not talking about dislike at the moment,' Guildford returned. 'I'm talking about *credibility*. I don't like heroic warriors, but I can bear stories about them. I believe they exist, or could. I don't think space-ships do, or could. And anyway, if you pretend that they do, and use them for space-journeys in the flesh, they'll land you in space-ship sort of adventures. If you're spaceship-minded and scientifictitious, or even if you let your characters be so, it's likely enough that you'll find things of that order in your new world, or only see sights that interest such folk.'

'But that isn't true,' Frankley objected. 'It's not true of this story of Ramer's.'

'It's generally true, all too ghastly true,' said Guildford. 'But

of course there is a way of escape: into inconsistency, discord. Ramer takes that way, like Lindsay,[8] or Lewis, and the better post-Lewis writers of this sort of thing. You *can* land on another world in a space-ship and then drop that nonsense, if you've got something better to do there than most of the earlier writers had. But personally I dislike that acutely. It makes the scientifictitious bunkum all the worse by contrast. Crystal torpedoes, and "back-rays", and levers for full speed-ahead (faster than light, mark you), are bad enough inside one of those hideous magazines – Dead Sea fruit with gaudy rinds; but in, say, *A Voyage to Arcturus** they are simply shocking. All the more so for being unnecessary. David Lindsay had at least two other better methods up his sleeve: the séance connexion; or the suggestion of the dark tower at the end. Thank goodness, there was at any rate no return by crystal torpedo in that tale!'[9]

'But the trick in *Out of the Silent Planet*, getting the hero kidnapped by space-ship villains, so as to explain how an interesting man ever got inside one, was not bad,' said Frankley. 'And the stupid villainy of the space-ship folk was essential. They behaved as such people would, and the plot depends on that.'

'Not bad, I agree,' said Guildford. 'Still it was, as you say, a trick. And not first rate, not if you want sheer literary credibility, the pure thing, rather than an alloy with allegory and satire. Ramer is not after any such Lewisite alloy; and I think his device of letting an intelligent artist get into a contraption by accident, not knowing what it is, is a mere trick. But what I really object to, in any such tale, however tinged, is the pretence that these contraptions could exist or function at all. They're indefinitely less probable – as the carriers of living, undamaged, human bodies and minds – than the wilder things in fairy-stories; but they pretend to be probable on a more material mechanical level. It's like having to take Heath-Robinsons seriously.'

'But you've got to have some kind of removal van,' said Frankley, 'or else do without this kind of story. They may not be

* This book had recently been rescued from oblivion by Jeremy's book on *Imaginary Lands*. See the account of his reading parts of this to the Club, above, Nights 30, 33, 40 [not preserved]. Most of the members are fairly well-read in twentieth-century books of travel in Space and Time. N.G.

your sweetmeat, Nicholas, but I've got a tooth for them; and I'm not going to be done out of them by you.'

'You can wallow in Scientifiction mags, for all I care,' said Guildford; 'but I've got to have literary belief in my removal van, or I won't put my furniture into it. I have never met one of these vehicles yet that suspended my disbelief an inch off the floor.'

'Well, your disbelief evidently needs a power-crane,' said Frankley. 'You should look at some of the forgotten Old Masters, like Wells, if you've ever heard of him. I admit that what his first men found in the Moon was a bathos after the journey. But the machine and the journey were splendid. I don't of course, believe in a gravitation-insulator outside the story, but inside the story it worked, and Wells made damned good use of it. And voyages can end in grubby, vulgar, little harbours and yet be very much worth while.'

'It wouldn't be easy to miss the name of Wells with Jeremy always about,' said Guildford. 'And I *have* read *The First Men in the Moon*, and *The Time Machine*. I confess that in *The Time Machine* the landfall was so marvellous that I could have forgiven an even more ridiculous transport – though it would be difficult to think of one! All the same, the machine was a blemish; and I'm quite unconvinced that it was a necessary one. And if it had been removed – the effect on the whole thing! Enormous enhancement even of that remarkable tale.

'No doubt authors are in as great a hurry to get there as we are; but eagerness doesn't excuse carelessness. And anyway, we're older. We may allow the primitives their ingenuousness: we can't imitate it. Isn't it always so? What might do once won't do any longer. I used to read with gusto romances in which the hero just pushed off into the Blue, over mountains and deserts, without water supplies. But now I feel that procedure is slipshoddy.'

'There's no such word,' said Frankley.

'Shut up!' said Lowdham.

'I want my man to have his adventures in the Blue, as much as ever, but I want to be made to feel that the author has faced the difficulties and not ignored them, or fudged them. It's usually all the better for the tale in the long run.

'Certainly I'll admit that if I allow Wells his "cavorite",[10] then he makes good use of it. If I'd been a boy when the tale was new, I should have allowed it and enjoyed it. But I can't allow it

now. I'm post-Wells. And we're not criticizing him but Ramer, for using at this much later date a rather similar device. Any one who touches space-travel now has got to be much more convincing: if indeed a convincing machine is at present possible. Command of power has prodigiously increased, but the problems have become more complex, and not simpler. Scientists can't destroy simple faith and hope still to keep it for themselves. A gravitation-insulator won't do. Gravity can't be treated like that. It's fundamental. It's a statement by the Universe of where you are in the Universe, and the Universe can't be tricked by a surname with *ite* stuck on the end, nor by any such abracadabra.

'And what of the effect on a man of being hurled out of one gravitational field through zero into another? Even on so elementary a journey as one to the Moon?'

'Oh! difficulties of that sort will be got over all right,' said Frankley. 'At least that is what most of the scientists say who are concerned with space-projects.'

'Scientists are as prone to wishful thinking (and talking) as other men, especially when they are thinking about their own romantic hopes and not yours,' said Guildford. 'And they like opening vague, vast, vistas before gapers, when they are performing as public soothsayers.'

'I'm not talking about that kind,' said Frankley. 'There are quiet unpublicized people, quite scientific medicos, for instance, who'll tell you that your heart and digestive arrangements, and all that, would function all right, even at, say, zero gravity.'

'I dare say they will,' said Guildford. 'Though I still find it difficult to believe that a machine like our body, made to function under definite earth-conditions, would in fact run on merrily when those were greatly changed – and for a long time, or permanently. Look how quickly we wilt, even on this globe, if we're transferred to unusual heights or temperatures. And the effect on you of greatly *increased* gravity is rather hushed up, isn't it?* Yet after all that is what you'd be most likely to get at the other end of your journey.'

'That's so,' said Lowdham. 'But people of this blessed century think primarily of travelling and speed, not of destination, or

* Not, of course, in Scientifiction. There it is usually exorcized by mere abracadabra in bogus 'scientific' form. N.G.

settling. It's better to travel "scientifically", in fact, than to get anywhere; or the vehicle justifies the journey.'

'Yes, and it is *speed* that really bothers me,' said Guildford, 'more than these other difficulties. I don't doubt the *possibility* of sending a rocket to the Moon. The preparations were knocked back by the Great Explosion,[11] but they say they're under way again. I'll even admit the eventual possibility of landing undamaged human goods on the lunar landscape – though what they'll do there is dubious. But the Moon is very parochial. Rockets are so slow. Can you hope to go as fast as light, anything like as fast?'

'I don't know,' said Frankley. 'It doesn't seem likely at present, but I don't think that all the scientists or mathematicians would answer that question with a definite *no*.'

'No, they're very romantic on this topic,' said Guildford. 'But even the speed of light will only be moderately useful. Unless you adopt a Shavian attitude and regard all these light-years and light-centuries as lies, the magnitude of which is inartistic. If not, you'll have to plan for a speed greater than light; much greater, if you're to have a practical range outside the Solar System. Otherwise you will have very few destinations. Who's going to book a passage for a distant place, if he's sure to die of old age on the way?'

'They still take tickets on the State Railways,' said Lowdham.

'But there's still at least a chance of arriving before death by coach or train,' said Guildford. 'I don't ask for any greater degree of probability from my author: just a possibility not wholly at variance with what we know.'

'Or think we know,' Frankley murmured.

'Quite so,' Guildford agreed. 'And the speed of light, or certainly anything exceeding it, is on that basis incredible: if you're going to be "scientific", or more properly speaking "mechanical". At any rate for anyone writing now. I admit the criteria of credibility may change; though as far as I can see, genuine Science, as distinct from mechanical romance, narrows the possibilities rather than expands them. But I still stick to my original point: the "machine" used sets the tone. I found space-ships sufficiently credible for a raw taste, until I grew up and wanted to find something more useful on Mars than ray-guns and faster vehicles. Space-ships will take you to that kind of country, no doubt. But I don't want to go there. There's no need now to travel to find it.'

'No, but there is an attraction in its being *far away*, even if it's nasty and stupid,' said Frankley. 'Even if it's the same! You could make a good story – inevitably satirical in effect, perhaps, but not really primarily so – out of a journey to find a replica of Earth and its denizens.'

'I daresay! But aren't we getting a bit mixed?' said Lowdham. 'Nick's real point, which he seems to have forgotten as well as the rest of us, was incoherence – discord. That was really quite distinct from his dislike, or his disbelief in mechanical vehicles; though actually he dislikes them, credible or not. But then he began confusing *scientific probability* with *literary credibility*.'

'No, I didn't and I don't,' said Guildford. 'Scientific probability *need* not be concerned at all. But it *has* to be, if you make your vehicle mechanical. You cannot make a piece of mechanism even sufficiently credible in a tale, if it seems outrageously incredible *as a machine* to your contemporaries – those whose critical faculties are not stunned by the mere mention of a machine.'

'All right, all right,' said Lowdham. 'But let's get back to the incoherence. It's the discord between the objects and the findings of the better tales and their machines that upsets you. And I think you have something there. Lewis, for instance, used a space-ship, but he kept it for his villains, and packed his hero the second time in a crystal coffin without machinery.'

'Half-hearted,' said Guildford. 'Personally, I found the compromise very unconvincing. It was wilfully inefficient, too: poor Ransom[12] got half toasted, for no sound reason that I could see. The power that could hurl the coffin to Venus could (one would have thought) have devised a material that let in light without excessive heat. I found the coffin much less credible than the Eldils,[13] and granted the Eldils, unnecessary. There was a page or two of smoke-screen about the outward journey to Perelandra, but it was not thick enough to hide the fact that this semi-transparent coffin was after all only a material packing-case, a special one-man space-ship of unknown motive power. It was necessary to the tale, of course, to have safe delivery of Ransom's living terrestrial body in Venus: but this impossible sort of parcel-post did not appeal to me as a solution of the problem. As I say, I doubt if there is a solution. But I should prefer an old-fashioned wave of a wizard's wand. Or a word of power in Old Solar[14] from an Eldil. Nothing less would suffice: a miracle.'

'Why have anything at all?' little Jeremy asked suddenly. So far he had sat curled up on the floor, as near to the fire as he could get, and he had said nothing, though his black birdlike eyes had hopped to and fro from speaker to speaker. 'The best stories I know about imaginary times and lands are just stories about them. Why a wizard? At least, why a wizard, outside the real story, just to waft you into it? Why not apply the *Once-upon-a-time* method to Space? Do you need more than author's magic? Even old Nick won't deny authors the power of seeing more than their eyes can. In his novels he lets himself look into other people's heads. Why not into distant parts of Space? It's what the author has really got to do, so why conceal it?'

'No, of course I don't deny authors their right of invention, *seeing*, if you like to call it that,' said Guildford.

At that point Dolbear stirred and seemed about to wake up; but he only settled more comfortably into his chair, and his loud breathing went on, as it had since the early part of Ramer's story.

'But that's a different kind of story, Jeremy,' objected Frankley. 'Quite good in its way. But I want to travel in Space and Time myself; and so, failing that, I want people in stories to do it. I want contact of worlds, confrontation of the alien. You say, Nick, that people cannot leave this world and live, at least not beyond the orbit of the Moon?'

'Yes, I believe they could not, cannot, and never will.'

'Very well then, all the more reason for having stories about *they could* or *they will*. Anybody would think you'd gone back to all that old-fashioned stuff about escapism. Do you object to fairy-tales?'

'No, I don't. But they make their own worlds, with their own laws.'

'Then why can't I make mine, and let its laws allow spaceships?'

'Because it won't then be your private world, of course,' said Guildford. 'Surely that is the main point of that kind of story, at an intelligent level? The Mars in such a story *is* Mars: the Mars that is. And the story is (as you've just admitted) a substitute for satisfaction of our insatiable curiosity about the Universe as it is. So a space-travel story ought to be made to fit, as far as we can see, the Universe as it is. If it doesn't or doesn't try to, then it

does become a fairy-story – of a debased kind. But there is no need to travel by rocket to find Faërie. It can be anywhere, or nowhere.'

'But supposing you did travel, and did find Fairyland?' asked Ramer, suddenly. For some time now he had been staring at the fire, and had seemed to take very little interest in the battle that had been going on about him. Jeremy gaped at him, and jumped to his feet.

'But not by space-ship surely!' he cried. 'That would be as depressingly vulgar as the other way about: like an awful story I came across once, about some men who used a magic carpet for cheap power to drive a bus.'

'I'm glad to get *you* as an ally!' laughed Guildford. 'For you're a hardened sinner: you read that bastard stuff, scientifiction, not as a casual vice, but actually as a professional interest.'

'The stuff is extremely interesting,' said Jeremy. 'Seldom as art. Its art level is as a rule very low. But literature may have a pathological side – still you've heard me on all that often enough. On this point I'm with you. Real fairy-stories don't pretend to produce impossible mechanical effects by bogus machines.'

'No. And if Frankley wants fairy-tales with mechanized dragons, and quack formulas for producing power-swords, or anti-dragon gas, or scientifictitious explanations of invisibility, well, he can have 'em and keep 'em. No! For landing on a new planet, you've got your choice: miracle; magic; or sticking to normal probability, the only known or likely way in which any one has ever landed on a world.'

'Oh! So you've got a private recipe all the time, have you?' said Ramer sharply.

'No, it's not private, though I've used it once.'

'Well? Come on! What is it?'

'Incarnation. By being born,' said Guildford.[15]

At that point Dolbear woke up. He yawned loudly, lifted his heavy lids, and his blue-bright eyes opened wide under his red brows. He had been audibly sleeping for a long while,* but we

* He often slept loudly, during a long reading or discussion. But he would rouse up in the middle of a debate, and show that he had the odd faculty of both sleeping and listening. He said that it was a time-saving habit that long membership of the Club had forced him to acquire. N.G.

were used to the noise, and it disturbed us no more than the sound of a kettle simmering on the fire.

'What have you got to say to that, Ramer?' he asked. He shot a sharp glance at him, but Ramer made no reply. Dolbear yawned again. 'I'm rather on Nick's side,' he said. 'Certainly about the first chapter in this case.'

'Well, that was read at the beginning, before you settled down for your nap,' said Lowdham.

Dolbear grinned. 'But it was not that chapter in itself that interested me,' he said. 'I think most of the discussion has been off the point, off the immediately interesting point. The hottest trail that Nicholas got on to was the *discord*, as you said yourself, Arry.[16] That's what you should follow up now. I should feel it strongly, even if space-ships were as regrettably possible as the Transatlantic Bus-service. Michael! Your real story is *wholly* out of keeping with what you called the frame. And that's odd in you. I've never felt such a jar before, not in any of your work. I find it hard to believe that the machine and the tale were made by the same man. Indeed, I don't think they were. You wrote the first chapter, the space-voyage, and also the homecoming (rather slipshod that, and my attention wandered): you *made it up*, as they say. And as you've not tried your hand at that sort of thing before, it was not much above the average. But I don't think you wrote the story inside. I wonder what you've been up to?'

'What are you driving at?' said Jeremy. 'It was typical Ramer all through, nearly every sentence was hall-marked. And even if he wanted to put us off with borrowed goods, where could he get them from?'

'You know his itch to re-write other people's bungled tales,' said Lowdham. 'Though certainly he's never tried one on us before, without telling us.'

'I know all that,' said Jeremy, hopping about angrily. 'I mean: where could he get this tale from? If he has found any printed space-travel story that I don't know, then he's been doing some pretty hot research. I've never met anything like it at all.'

'You're missing my point,' said Dolbear. 'I shouldn't have said *wrote*. I should have said *made up*, *invented*. I say again: I wonder what you've been up to, Ramer?'

'Telling a story,' answered Ramer glumly, staring at the fire.

'Yes,' said Dolbear. 'But don't try to do that in the nursery sense, or we'll have to roast you.' He got up and looked round

at us all. His eyes looked very bright under bristling brows. He turned them sharply on Ramer. 'Come!' he said. 'Come clean! Where's this place? And how did you get there?'

'I don't know where it is,' said Ramer quietly, still staring at the fire. 'But you're quite right. I went there. At least ... well, I don't think our language fits the case. But there is such a world, and I saw it – once.' He sighed.

We looked at him for a long while. All of us – except Dolbear, I think – felt some alarm, and pity. And on the surface of our minds blank incredulity, of course. Yet it was not quite that: we did not feel the underlying emotion of incredulity. For apparently all of us, in some degree, had sensed something odd about that story, and now recognized that it differed from the norm like seeing does from imagining. I felt that it was like the difference between a bright glimpse of a distant landscape: threadlike waters really falling; wind ruffling the small green leaves and blowing up the feathers of birds on the branches, as that can be seen through a telescope: limited but clear and coloured; flattened and remote, but moving and real – between that and any picture. Not, it seemed to me, an effect to be explained simply by art. And yet – the explanation offered was nonsense outside the pages of a romance; or so I found that most of us felt at that moment.

We tried a few more questions, but Ramer would not say any more that night. He seemed disgruntled, or tired; though we had not scoffed. To relieve the tension, Frankley read us a short poem he had recently written. It was generous of him, for it was a good piece; but inevitably it fell rather flat. It is, however, pretty well-known now, as it appeared as the opening poem of his 1989 volume: *Experiments in Pterodactylics.*

We broke up soon after he had read it.

'Ramer,' I said at the door, 'we *must* hear some more about this, if you can bear it. Can't you come next week?'

'Well, I don't know,' he began.

'O don't go off to New Erewhon again just yet!' cried Lowdham, a bit too jocularly. [I don't think so. A.A.L.] 'We want more News from Nowhere.'[17]

'I did not say it was Nowhere,' said Ramer gravely. 'Only that it was Somewhere. Well, yes, I'll come.'

I walked part of the way home with him. We did not talk. It was a starry night. He stopped several times and looked up at

the sky. His face, pale in the night, had a curious expression, I thought: like a man in a strange country trying to get the points of the compass, and wondering which way his home lies.

In the Turl[18] we parted. 'I think what the Club really needs is not more stories – yet,' I said. 'They need, I specially want, some description of the method, if you could manage it.' Ramer said nothing. 'Well, good night!' I said. 'This has been one of the great Club evenings, indeed! Who'd have thought that in starting up that literary hare about the most credible way of opening a space-tale I'd blunder on the lair of a real winged dragon, a veritable way of travelling!'

'Then you do believe me?' said Ramer. 'I thought that all of you but Dolbear thought I was spoofing, or else going batty. You in particular, Nick.'

'Certainly not spoof, Michael. As for battiness: well, in a sense, your claim is a batty one, even if genuine, isn't it? At least, it is, if I've any inkling of it. Though I've nothing to go on but impressions, and such hints as I've managed to get out of Rufus about your recent doings. He's the only one of us that has seen much of you for quite a time; but I rather fancy that even he does not know a great deal?'

Ramer laughed quietly. 'You're a hound, I mean a sleuth-hound, by nature, Nicholas. But I am not going to lay down any more trail tonight. Wait till next week! You can then have a look at my belfry and count all the bats. I'm tired.'

'Sleep well!' I said.

'I do,' said Ramer. 'Very well indeed. Good night!'

MGR. NG. AAL. PF. WTJ. RD. JJ.

Night 61. Thursday, February 27th, 1987.[19]

A week later we were all together again, in Frankley's rooms this time; and even Cameron had come. As will be seen, he actually made a remark on this occasion, more than his stock 'Thanks for a very enterrtaining evening.' It was generally understood that Ramer was going to read a paper on *Real Space-travel.*

He was the last to arrive, and we were pleasantly surprised to see that he looked quite well, quite normal, and had not even the rather haggard look he used to have after writing a paper. He spends a frightful lot of late hours on such things, and burns more paper than he keeps.

Arry Lowdham[20] tapped him all over and pretended to be disappointed by the result. 'No models!' he cried. 'No plans of cylinders, spheres, or anything! Not even a Skidbladnir for a pocket-handkerchief!'[21]

'Now, none of that Nordic stuff, please!' groaned Frankley, who regards knowledge of his own language at any period before the Battle of Bosworth as a misdemeanour, and Norse as a felony.[22]

'No, not even a paper,' said Ramer.

'Why not?' we all cried.

'Because I haven't written one.'

'Oh I say!' we protested. 'Then you were spoofing all the time?' said Lowdham.

'No,' said Ramer. 'But I'm not going to read a paper. I didn't write one, because it would have been a great sweat; and I wasn't sure that you'ld really want to hear any more about it all. But if you do, I'm ready to talk.'

'Come on!' we said. Frankley shoved him down into a chair, and gave him a tankard of beer, and a box of matches – for him to strike, hold over a dead pipe, and throw away, as usual.

'Well,' he said after a short silence. 'It begins some way back. And the threads may seem a bit disconnected at first. The origins were literary, of course, like the discussion last week. I've always wanted to try a space-travel story, and have never dared. It was one of my earliest ambitions, ever since *Out of the Silent Planet* appeared, when I was a small boy. That puts it back a bit.'

'Yes, 1938,' said Cameron,[23] whose memory is like that. I doubt if he has ever read the book. The memoirs of minor modern diplomats are more in his line. The remark was his sole contribution.

'I never did write one,' said Ramer, 'because I was always bothered by the machinery, in a literary sense: the way of getting there. I didn't necessarily object to machines; but I never met and couldn't think of any credible vehicle for the purpose. I really agree very much with Nicholas on that point.'

'Well, you tried a pretty ordinary machine on us in that tale,' said Frankley.

'And seemed pretty disgruntled with me for objecting to it,' said Guildford.

'I was not really disgruntled,' said Ramer. 'A bit put out,

perhaps, as one is when one's disguise is pierced too quickly. Actually I was interested in the way you all felt the discord: no more than I did myself. But I felt that I had to tell that story to somebody, to communicate it. I wanted to get it out. And yet, and yet now I'm rather sorry. Anyway, I put it in that quickly-made cheap frame, because I didn't want to discuss the way I came by it – at least not yet. But Ruthless Rufus with his "third degree" has landed me here.'

'Yes, he has!' said Dolbear. 'So get on with your confession!'

Ramer paused and considered. 'Well, thinking about methods of getting across Space, I was later rather attracted by what you may call the telepathic notion – merely as a literary device, to begin with. I expect I got the idea from that old book you lent me, Jeremy: *Last Men in London*, or some name like that.[24] I thought it worked pretty well, though it was too vague about the *how*. If I remember rightly, the Neptunians could lie in a trance and let their minds travel. Very good, but *how* does the mind travel through Space or Time, while the body is static? And there was another weakness, as far as I was concerned: the method seemed to need rational creatures with minds at the other end. But I did not myself particularly want to see – or I should say at that stage, perhaps, write about – what Lewis called *hnau*.[25] I wanted to see things and places on a grand scale. That was one thread.

'Another thread was dreams. And that had a literary origin, too, partly. Because Rufus and I have long been interested in dreams, especially in their story-and-scene-making, and in their relation to waking fiction. But as far as I could judge such things, it did seem to me that a pretty good case had been made out for the view that in dream a mind can, and sometimes does, move in Time: I mean, can observe a time other than that occupied by the sleeping body during the dream.'

'But of course it can, and without sleeping,' said Frankley. 'If we were confined to the present, we couldn't think at all, even if we could perceive or feel.'

'But I mean *moving* not by memory, or by calculation, or by invention, as the waking mind can be said to *move*; but as a perceiver of the external, of something new that is not yet in the mind. For if you can see, in other times than the time of dreaming, what you never saw in waking life, so that it is not in your memory – seeing the future, for instance, would be a clear

case, and it cannot reasonably be doubted that that occurs – then obviously there is a possibility of real first-hand seeing of what is "not there", not where your body is.'

'Not even your eyes?' said Frankley.

'Ah,' said Ramer, 'that is of course a point. I shall come to that later. It is probably a case of "translation"; but leave it for a bit. I was thinking of dreaming chiefly, though I don't suppose the possibility is really limited to that state. Only, if you live in a never-ending racket of sense-impressions, other more distant noises have to be very loud to be heard. And this *movement*, or transference of observation: it is clearly not limited to Other Time; it can occur in Other Space, or in both. A dreamer is not confined to the events of Other Time occurring in his bedroom.'

'But wouldn't you expect to be limited to the places where you yourself *have been*, or *will be*, in Other Time?' asked Guildford.

'That's not the general human tradition about visions,' said Ramer. 'Nor is it borne out by authenticated modern instances. And it is not my experience, as you will see. But naturally I thought about that point. I think, actually, that it is clear that the mind can be in two places at one time: two or more; once you have made it more than one, the figure is, perhaps, not very important. For I suppose, as far as the mind goes, you can't get nearer to saying where it is than to say where its attention is. And that, of course, may be decided by various causes, internal and external.

'You can get a sort of literary parallel. I think it is a pertinent one, actually; for I don't think literary invention, or fancy, is mixed up in all this by accident. When you are writing a story, for instance, you can (if you're a vivid visualizer, as I am, and are clearly visualizing a scene) *see* two places at once. You can see (say) a field with a tree and sheep sheltering from the sun under it, and be looking round your room. You are really seeing both scenes, because you can recollect details later. Details of the waking scene not attended to, because you were *abstracted*: there's no doubt of that. I should as certainly add: details of the inner scene, blurred because you were to some extent *distracted*.

'As far as my own visualizing goes, I've always been impressed by how often it seems independent of my will or planning mind (at the moment). Often there is no trace of composing a scene or building it up. It comes before the mind's eye, as we say, in a way that is very similar to opening closed eyes on a

complete waking view.*[26] I find it difficult, usually quite impossible, to alter these pictures to suit myself, that is my waking purpose. As a rule I find it better, and in the end more right, to alter the story I'm trying to tell to suit the pictures. If the two really belong together – they don't always, of course. But in any case, on such occasions you are really seeing double, or simultaneously. You tend to associate the two views, inner and outer, though the juxtaposition of them may be, usually is, their only connexion. I still associate a view of a study I no longer possess and a pile of blue-and-yellow-covered exam-scripts (long burnt, I hope) with the opening scene of a book I wrote years ago: a great morain high up in the barren mountains.'

'I know', said Jeremy, 'the foot of the Glacier in *The Stone-eaters*.'[27]

'I think a connexion could be made out between those two scenes,' said Frankley.

'It's very difficult to find any two things that the story-making faculty cannot connect,' said Ramer. 'But in this case the story-scene came into my head, as it is called, long before the examination reality. The two are connected only because I was re-visualizing, revisiting, the Glacier-foot very strongly that day.'

'That doesn't quite get rid of some connexion other than coinciding in time,' said Frankley.

'Well, never mind. They did coincide,' said Ramer. 'And that is my point at the moment. The mind can be in more than one place at a given time; but it is more properly said to be where its attention is. And that, I suppose, is in one place only: for most human minds, or at any rate for my mind.

'But I'm afraid this is a digression. To go back to dreams. Of course, the memory of such true dreams, or free dreams, is notoriously rarish and chancy, and also scrappy as a rule. But it is not legitimate, it is pretty plainly wrong, to assume that what is ordinarily remembered by ordinary people of their dreaming is either most of the total, or the most important part of it. And the will to remember can be strengthened, and the memory can

* Ramer said later: 'It is still more like re-viewing in memory a place that one has really been to; it is like *memory* in its quality as compared with *sightseeing*, but on the first occasion of its arising in the mind it does not seem to be "remembering".' N.G.

be enlarged. Rufus has had a good deal of experience in that direction, and he has helped me from time to time.'

Dolbear stirred and opened his eyes. 'So his suspicion was not due to pure literary criticism of discords?' said Frankley.

'Well, I haven't the faintest idea of what Michael is driving at, yet – if that's what you mean,' said Dolbear. 'Or rather, I understand what he's saying and more or less agree with it, but what it has to do with that vision of, of what was it?'

'Emberü,' said Ramer. 'I don't yet see,' Dolbear ended.[28]

'Well, here is a third thread,' Ramer went on. 'I had the notion, as others probably have too, that for movement or travelling the mind (when abstracted from the flood of sense) might use the memory of the past and the foreshadowing of the future that reside in all things, including what we call "inanimate matter". Those are not the right words, but they'll have to do: I mean, perhaps, the causal descent from the past, and the casual probability in the present, that are implicit in everything. At any rate, I thought that might be one of the mind's vehicles.[29] But an incarnate mind seemed rather a problem to me.'

'Not a very new one!' said Guildford.

Ramer laughed. 'Don't be too hard on me,' he said. 'I'm not at all original. And anyway my problem was practical rather than philosophical. I was puzzled about *jumping*. I didn't see how it could be done. I'm not a philosopher, but an experimenter, a man driven by desires – if not very fleshly ones, still very incarnate ones. Being an *incarnate* mind, I am conditioned by Time and Space, even in my curiosities; though being a *mind*, I want to get beyond the range of my own body's senses and history.

'Of course, you might imagine the mind, by some special effort of its own, doing something analogous to the body's leaping from place to place, especially in a less trammelled state like sleep, or trance. But I thought the analogy probably false – for a living man, anchored even in trance to the body, however long and thin the rope. The mind may be neither in Time nor Space, except in so far as it is specially associated with a body; but while you're alive the bond holds, I thought. Mind-body: they jump together, or neither jumps at all.

'I hardly need to say again that by *jump* I do not mean the movement of thought to objects already in its grasp, or memory: shifting instantaneously from, say, considering the peculiar

configuration of Rufus's face to thinking of Table Mountain (which I once saw). I wanted to observe new things far off in Time and Space beyond the compass of a terrestrial animal.'

'And so,' said Lowdham, 'like the Pig on the Ruined Pump, day and night you made your moan, because you could not jump?'[30]

'Exactly,' said Ramer; 'for of course by this time I was really thinking more about travelling myself than writing a travel-story. But I didn't want to die. And I thought that all I could do was to refine my observation of other things that have moved and will move: to inspect the history of things whose paths have, at some point of time and space, crossed the path of my body.

'The mind uses the memory of its body. Could it use other memories, or rather, records? What kind of record of past events and forms could there be? In the time-sequence the disintegration of a form destroys the memory – or the special record – of the history of that form, unless it has got into a mind first. The fragments, right down to the smallest units, no doubt preserve the record of their own particular history, and that may include some of the history of the combinations that they've entered into. But take a haunted house, for instance.'

'Take a house!' interrupted Jeremy. 'All houses are haunted.'

'I agree,' said Ramer. 'But I'm using the words, as they're commonly used, to mean a house where some particular detail of the haunting has become specially perceptible; how or why that occurs is another question.'

'But *haunting*, and *atmosphere* (which I suppose is what Jeremy means), are something added by accident of history,' objected Frankley. 'They're not part of the house itself, *qua* house.'

'I'm not sure I understand you,' said Ramer. 'But I'm quite sure that I personally am not interested in 'housiness' in itself, but in this or that thing which you may class as a house, part of which (the most interesting part to me) is its history. If I say No. 100 Banbury Road,[31] I mean the shape which you call house *and* all that you call the accidents of its history: what it is at present. So do you. And if you destroy an actual house *qua* house, you also destroy, or dissipate, the special haunting. If a haunted house were pulled to pieces, it would stop being haunted, even if it were built up as accurately as possible again. Or so I think, and so-called 'psychical' research seems to bear

me out. In a way analogous to life in a body. If all the king's horses and all his men had put Humpty Dumpty together again, they'ld have got, well, an egg-shell.'

'But you can go a long way, short of destruction, without wholly banishing atmosphere or quite laying ghosts,' said Jeremy. 'Bricking up windows, changing staircases, and things like that.'

'Quite right,' said Lowdham. 'There was one poor ghost I heard of, and when they raised the floor of his favourite corridor, he went on walking on the old level. So people in the passage below could see the old fellow's feet trudging along under the ceiling. That's how they discovered he had holes in his soles. Don't laugh!' he said indignantly. 'It's a most melancholy case, and well authenticated.'

'I dare say!' said Ramer. 'But quite apart from such forlorn ghosts, and Arry's authorities (whoever they may be), I expect there are in fact lots of neglected chances of historical research, with proper training; especially among old houses and things more or less shaped by man. But that was not my chief interest. I wanted to travel a long way.

'So I tried various experiments, on myself; various forms of training. It's difficult to concentrate, chiefly because it's difficult to get quiet enough. The body makes such a noise itself, quite apart from the din of sensations coming from outside. I wanted to discover if my mind had any power, any trainable latent power, to *inspect* and *become aware* of the memory or record in other things, that would be in them anyway, even if not inspectable by me. For, I suppose, what we call memory, human memory, is both the power to inspect and be aware of the record within us, *and* the record that would be there anyway. The power of inspection and awareness is always there; and so is the material and record, I suppose, unless it is smashed up. Though the inspector cannot always get at the records. We aren't in full control of ourselves, even, so obviously it wouldn't be easy to deal with other things.'

'But the mind seems also to have its own storehouses, as well as keys of inspection, doesn't it?' said Guildford. 'I mean, it can remember past inspections, and retains what it has noted.'

'Yes, I think so,' said Ramer; 'but it is difficult, of course, when you're dealing with a mind-body, an association in which neither can do anything without having some effect on the other. I don't think an incarnate mind ever gets really free of its

body, wherever it strays, until a man dies, if then. However, I went on trying to train myself for this kind of, well, historical inspection and awareness. I don't think I have any special talent for it. I don't *know*, for so few people seem to have tried it. But I fancy that Jeremy, for instance, has more of a bent in this direction than I have.

'It is difficult, and it's also frightfully slow. Less slow, of course, with things that have organic life, or any kind of human associations: but they don't carry you very far. It's slow, and it's *faint*. In inorganic things too faint to surmount the blare of waking sense, even with eyes shut and ears stopped.

'But here the threads begin to join. Remember, I was also training my memory on dreams at the same time. And that is how I discovered that the other experiments affected them. Though they were blurred, blurred by the waking senses beyond recognition, I found that these other perceptions were not wholly unnoted; they were like things that are passed over when one is abstracted or distracted, but that are really "taken in". And, asleep, the mind, rootling about, as it does, in the day's leavings (or the week's), would inspect them again with far less distraction, and all the force of its original desire. I dare say it enjoyed it.

'But it couldn't make much of it. By which I suppose I mean that I couldn't remember much about such inspections, although I was now becoming pretty good at remembering large passages of more vivid and pictorial dreams. And that means I suppose also, that my mind was not able (at least not without more practice) to translate the notes into the terms of the senses which I can handle when awake. All the same, I used to get at that time very extraordinary geometric patterns presented to me, shifting kaleidoscopically but not blurred; and queer webs and tissues, too. And other non-visual impressions also, very difficult to describe; some like rhythms, almost like music; and throbs and stresses.

'But all the time, of course, I wanted to get off the Earth. That's how I got the notion of studying a meteorite, instead of mooning about with houses, ruins, trees, boulders, and all sorts of other things. There is a very large meteorite in a park, Gunthorpe Park in Matfield,[32] where I lived as a boy, after we came back from abroad; even then it had a strange fascination for me. I wondered if it could have come from Malacandra. I took to hobnobbing with it again, in the vacs. Indeed, I made

myself ridiculous and an object of suspicion. I wanted to visit the stone alone at night – to lessen the distractions; but I was not allowed to: closing hours were closing hours. So I gave that up. It seemed to be quite without results.'

'So the poor old stone was left all alone?' said Lowdham.

'Yes,' said Ramer. 'It was. It is a very long way indeed from home, and it *is* very lonely. That is, there is a great loneliness in it, for a perceiver to perceive. And I got a very heavy dose of it. In fact I can't bear to look at such things now. For I found, about the end of the long vac. two years ago, after my final visit, that there *had* been results. It had evidently taken some time to digest them, and even partially translate them. But that is how I first got away, out beyond the sphere of the Moon, and very much further.'

'Travelling on a dream-meteor!' said Frankley. 'Hm! So that's your method, is it?'

'No,' said Ramer. 'Not if you mean how I got the news of Emberü that I put into my tale.[33] But I did work back into the meteorite's history, I think; though that sort of vehicle does not readily give any place or time references that can be related to our waking point. I did get, all the rest of that term, and I still do get occasionally, some very odd dreams or sleep-experiences: painful often, and alarming. Some were quite unpictorial, and those were the worst. Weight, for instance. Just Weight with a capital W: very horrible. But it was not a weight that was pressing on *me*, you understand; it was a perception of, or sympathy in, an experience of almost illimitable weight.[34] And Speed too. Heavens! waking up from that one was like hitting a wall, though only a wall of light and air in my bedroom, at a hundred miles a second – or rather, like knowing about it.

'And Fire! I can't describe that. Elemental Fire: fire that is, and does not consume, but is a mode or condition of physical being. But I caught sight of blazing fire, too: some real pictures. One, I think, must have been a glimpse of the meteorite hitting our air. A mountain corroded into a boulder in a few seconds of agonizing flame. But above, or between, or perhaps through all the rest, I knew endlessness. That's perhaps emotional and inaccurate. I mean Length with a capital L, applied to Time; unendurable length to mortal flesh. In that kind of dream you can know about the feeling of aeons of constricted waiting.

'Being part of the foundations of a continent, and upholding immeasurable tons of rock for countless ages, waiting for an

explosion or a world-shattering shock, is quite a common situation in parts of this universe. In many regions there is little or no "free will" as we conceive it. Also, though they are large and terrific, events may be relatively simple in plan, so that catastrophes (as we might call them), sudden changes as the end of long repeated series of small motions, are "inevitable": the present holds the future more completely. A perceiving but passive mind could see a collapse coming from an immense distance of time.

'I found it all very disturbing. Not what I wanted, or at least not what I had hoped for. I saw, anyway, that it would take far too much of a mortal human life to get so accustomed to this kind of vehicle that one could use it properly, or selectively, at will. I gave it up. No doubt, when any degree of control was achieved, my mind would no longer have been limited to that particular vehicle or chunk of matter. The waking mind is not confined to the memories, heredity, or senses, of its own normal vehicle, its body: it can use that as a platform to survey the surroundings from. So, probably, it could, if it ever mastered another vehicle: it could survey, in some fashion, other things where the meteorite (say) came from, or things it had passed in its historical journey. But that second transference of observation would certainly be much more difficult than the first, and much more uncertain and inefficient.

'So I turned more than ever to dream-inspection, trying to get "deeper down". I attended to dreams in general, but more and more to those least connected with the immediate irritations of the body's senses. Of course, I had at times experienced, as most people have, parts of more or less rationally connected dreams, and even one or two serial or repeating dreams. And I have had also the not uncommon experience of remembering fragments of dreams that seemed to possess a "significance" or emotion that the waking mind could not discern in the remembered scene.[35] I was not at all convinced that this "significance" was due to obscured symbols, or mythical values, in the dream-scenes; or at least I didn't and don't think that that is true of most of such dream-passages. Many of these "significant patches" seemed to me much more like random pages torn out of a book.'

'But you didn't wriggle out of Rufus's clutches that way, did you?' said Guildford. 'He'll analyse a whole book as cheerfully as a page.'

'It depends on the contents,' said Ramer. 'But I'll come back to that. For at about that time something decisive happened. It seemed to sweep away all other trials and experiments; but I don't think they were really wasted. I think they had a good deal to do with precipitating the, well, catastrophe.'

'Come on, come on! What was it?' said Dolbear. He stopped snoring and sat up.

'It was most like a violent awakening,' said Ramer. He was silent for almost a minute, staring at the ceiling as he lay back in his chair.

At last he went on. 'Imagine an enormously long, vivid, and absorbing dream being shattered – say, simultaneously by an explosion in the house, a blow on your body, and the sudden flinging back of dark curtains, letting in a dazzling light: with the result that you come back with a rush to your waking life, and have to recapture it and its connexions, feeling for some time a shock and the colour of dream-emotions: like falling out of one world into another where you had once been but had forgotten it. Well, that was what it was like *in reverse*; only recapturing the connexions was slower.

'I was awake in bed, and I *fell wide asleep*: as suddenly and violently as the waker in my illustration. I dived slap through several levels and a whirl of shapes and scenes into a connected and remembered sequence. I could remember all the dreams I had ever had, of that sequence. At least, I remember that I could remember them while I was still "there", better than I can "here" remember a long sequence of events in waking life. And the memory did not vanish when I woke up, and it hasn't vanished. It has dimmed down to normal, to about the same degree as memory of waking life: it's edited: blanks indicating lack of interest, some transitions cut, and so on. But my dream-memories are no longer fragments, no longer like pictures, about the size of my circle of vision with fixed eyes, surrounded with dark, as they used to be, nearly always. They are wide and long and deep. I have visited many other sequences since then, and I can now remember a very great number of serious, free, dreams, my deep dreams, since I first had any.'

'What a lumber-room!' said Lowdham.

'I said *my serious dreams*,' said Ramer. 'Of course, I can't, don't want to, and haven't tried to remember all the jumble of marginal stuff – the rubbish the analysts mostly muck about

with, because it's practically all they've got – no more than you try to recollect all the scribbling on blotting-paper, the small talk, or the idle fancies of your days.'

'How far have you gone back?' Lowdham asked.

'To the beginning,' Ramer answered.

'When was that?'

'Ah! That depends on what you mean by *when*,' said Ramer. 'There are seldom any data for cross-timing as between waking and dreaming. Many dreams are in, or are concerned with, times remote from the standpoint of the body. One of those dreams might be said to occur before it started; or after. I've no idea how far I've gone *back* in that sense, backward in the history of the universe, you might say. But sticking to the waking time, then I suppose I cannot have begun dreaming until I had begun to be: that is, until the creation of my mind, or soul. But I doubt if any ordinary time-reference has any real meaning with regard to that event considered in itself; and the word *dreaming* ought to be limited to the ... er ... spare-time, off-duty, activities of an incarnate mind. So I should say my dreaming began with the entry of my mind into body and time: somewhere in the year 1929. But that fifty-odd years of our time *could* contain various indefinite lengths of experience, or operation, or journeying. My earlier experiments were not necessary, except perhaps to help in the precipitation of memory, as I said. My mind "asleep" had long done that sort of thing very much better.'

He paused, and we looked at him, some of us a bit queerly. He laughed. 'Don't imagine me walking about "in a dream", as people say. The two modes are no more confused than before. If you had two homes in quite different places, say in Africa and Norway, you'ld not usually be in doubt which one you were staying in at any given time, even if you could not remember the transition. No, at the worst my situation is only like that of a man who has been reading a deeply interesting book, and has it "on his mind", as he goes about his affairs. But the impression can pass off, or be put aside, as in the case of a book. I need not think about my dreams, if I don't wish to, no more than I need think about any book or re-read it.'

'You say *re-read*. Can you will, now when awake, to go back to any particular dream, to repeat it or go on with it?' asked Frankley. 'And can you remember your waking life while in a dream?'

'As to the last question,' Ramer replied, 'the answer is: in a sense *yes*. As clearly as you can remember it while writing a story, or deeply engrossed in a book. Only you can't give direct attention to it. If you do, you wake up, of course.

'The other question's more difficult. Dreams are no more all of one sort than the experiences of waking life; less so in fact. They contain sensations as different as tasting butter and understanding a logical argument; stories as different in length and quality as one of Arry's lower anecdotes and the Iliad; and pictures as unlike as a study of a flower-petal and those photographs of the explosion in the Atomic Reservation in the seventies,[36] which blew the Black Hole in the States. Dreams happen, or are made, in all sorts of ways. Those that people mostly remember, and remember most of, are marginal ones, of course, or on the upper levels . . .'

'Margins? Upper levels? What d'you mean?' snapped Jones,[37] breaking in, to our surprise. 'Just now you spoke of diving. When do we get to the bottom?'

'Never,' Ramer laughed. 'Don't take my words too literally, at any rate no more literally than I suppose you take the *sub* in *subconscious*. I'm afraid I haven't thought out my terminology very carefully, James; but then I didn't mean to talk about these things to you, not yet. I've been put on the mat. I think I meant *deep* as in *deeply interested*; and down, lower, upper, and all the rest have crept in afterwards, and are misleading. Of course there isn't any *distance* between dreams and waking, or one kind of dream and another; only an increase or decrease of abstraction and concentration. In some dreams there's no distraction at all, some are confused by distractions, some just *are* distractions. You can lie "deep" and sodden in body-made dreams, and receive clear visions in "light" sleep (which might seem on the very margin of waking). But if I use "deep" again you'll know that I mean dreams as remote as may be from disturbance, dreams in which the mind is seriously engaged.

'By the marginal ones I meant those that are produced when the mind is playing, idling, or fooling, as it often is, mooning aimlessly about among the memories of the senses – because it's tired, or bored, or out of mental sorts, or worried by sense-messages when its desires or attention are elsewhere; the devil's tattoo of dreaming as compared with the piano-playing. Some minds, perhaps, are hardly capable of anything else, sleeping or waking.

'And the machinery may go on ticking over, even when the mind is not attending. You know how you've only got to do something steadily for hours – like picking blackberries, say – and even before you're asleep the manufacture of intricate trellises of briars and berries goes on in the dark, even if you're thinking of something else. When you begin to dream you may start by using some of those patterns. I should call that "marginal". And anything else that is largely due to what is actually going on, in and around the body: distraction complexes in which such things as "noises off", indigestion, or a leaking hot-water-bottle play a part.

'Asking if you can re-visit that stuff is like asking me if I can will to *see* (not make) rain tomorrow, or will to be waked up *again* by two black cats fighting on the lawn. But if you're talking about serious dreams, or visions, then it's like asking if I shall walk back up the road again last Tuesday. The dreams are for your mind events. You can, or might – waking desire has some effect, but not much – go back to the same "places" and "times", as a spectator; but the spectator will be the you of now, a later you, still anchored as you are, however remotely, to your body time-clock here. But there are various complications: you can re-inspect your memories of previous inspections, for one thing; and that is as near to dreaming the same dream over again as you can get (the closest parallel is reading a book for a second time). For another thing, thought and "invention" goes on in dreams, a lot of it; and of course you can go back to your own work and take it up again – go on with the story-making, if that is what you were doing.'

'What a busy time we all seem to have been having without knowing it,' said Lowdham. 'Even old Rufus may not be quite such a sloth as he looks. Anyway you've given him a jolly good excuse to fall back on. "Goodbye all! I'm off to my dream-lab to see if the retorts are bubbling," says he, and he's snoring in two ticks.'

'I leave the bubbling retorts to you,' said Dolbear, opening his eyes. 'I am afraid I've not yet got down to such high levels as Michael, and I muck about still with the marginal stuff, as he calls it. Tonight at any rate I've been having a bit of a dream: in the rootling stage, I suppose, owing to the distraction of this discussion going on round my body. I got a picture of Ramer, equipped with Frankley's long nose, trying to extract whiskey out of a bottle; he couldn't pour it out, as he had no arms, only

a pair of black wings, like a devil in a stuffed M.A. gown.'

'The whiskey-bottle was not derived from the sense-data in this room,' said Lowdham.

'Now I can sympathize with the psychoanalysts,' said Frankley, rising and getting a bottle out of the cupboard. 'The difficulty they must have in sorting out dreams from the malicious inventions of the patient's waking mind!'

'No difficulty with Rufus,' said Lowdham. 'The drink-urge explains most of him. And I don't think he's got a Censor, sleeping or waking.'

'Hm! I'm glad I'm so transparent,' said Dolbear. 'Not everyone is so simple, Arry. You walk in disguises, even when awake. But they'll slip, my lad, one day. I shouldn't wonder if it was fairly soon.'[38]

'Lor!' said Lowdham. 'Have I come out in a false beard and forgotten it, or something?' But at that moment he caught a glint in Dolbear's eye, and stopped suddenly.

'Go on, Michael, and don't take any notice of them!' said Jeremy.

'Shall I?' he asked, absentmindedly drinking the whiskey that Frankley had put at Dolbear's elbow.

'Of course!' we said. 'We are fortified now.'

'Well, seriously,' he went on, 'I don't think the marginal stuff is very interesting in normal people: it's so ravelled, and more bother to unravel than it's worth. It's very much like the idleness and foolery of the waking mind. The chief distinction is, I think, that when a man's awake he's attending more to the foolery; and when he's asleep his attention is probably already far away: so the foolery is less good of its kind. But as for his mind being *busy*, Arry: I only said, if you remember, that your life *could* contain a lot of dream-work or events. I don't think it usually does. Minds can be lazy on their own account. Even for the energetic ones sleep is largely a rest. But of course, for a mind rest is not oblivion, which is impossible for it. The nearest it can get to that is passivity: the mind can be very nearly passive, contemplating something worthy of it, or what seems worthy. Or it can take the kind of holiday we call "a change", doing something different to the work imposed on it by needs or duties when it is awake. If it has by nature, or has acquired, some dominant interest – like history, or languages, or mathematics – it may at times work away at such things, while

the old body is recuperating. It can then construct dreams, by no means always pictorial. It can plan and calculate.

'My mind, like many others, I imagine, makes up stories, composes verse, or designs pictures out of what it has got already, when for some reason it hasn't at the moment a thirst to acquire more. I fancy that all waking art draws a good deal on this sort of activity.[39] Those scenes that come up complete and fixed that I spoke of before, for instance; though some of them, I believe, are visions of real places.

'And that strong feeling of hidden significance in remembered fragments: my experience now, though it is still very imperfect, certainly bears out my guess, as far as my own dreams go. *My* significant fragments were actually often pages out of stories, made up in quieter dream-levels, and by some chance remembered. Occasionally they were bits of long visions of things not invented.

'If long ago you'd either read or written a story and forgotten it, and then in an old drawer you came on a few torn pages of it, containing a passage that had some special function in the whole, even if it had no obvious point in isolation, I think you'ld get very similar feelings: of hidden significance, of lost connexions eluding you, and often of regret.'

'Could you give us any examples?' asked Jeremy.

Ramer thought for a moment. 'Well,' he said, 'I could have done so. I've placed several of my fragments in their proper setting now. But the difficulty is that when once you've got the whole story, you tend very soon to forget which part of it was the bit you used to remember torn out. But there are a couple that I still remember, for I only placed them recently; and I still remember my disappointment. The whole stories are often not particularly good or interesting, you know; and the charm of the fragments is often largely in being unfinished, as sometimes happens in waking art. The sleeping mind is no cleverer than itself; only it can be less distracted and more collected, more set on using what it has.

'Here's one case: it's only interesting as an illustration.

A row of dark houses on the right, going up a slight slope. Their backs had little gardens or yards fenced with hedges, and a narrow path behind them. It was miserably dark and gloomy. Not a light in the houses, not a star, no moon. He was going up the path for no particular reason, in a heavy aimless mood. Near the top of the slope he heard a noise: a

door had opened at the back of one of the houses, or it had closed. He was startled and apprehensive. He stood still. End of fragment.

What would you expect the emotion to be that this aroused?'

'Like going round to the back-door after closing-time and hearing that just being shut as well?' suggested Lowdham.

'It sounds reasonable enough,' agreed Ramer with a laugh. 'Actually it was a happiness that brings tears, like the thrill of the sudden turn for good in a dangerous tale; and a kind of dew of happiness was distilled that spilled over into waking, lasted for hours, and for years was renewed (though diminishingly) on recollection.

'All my waking mind could make of it was that the picture was sombre. It did rather remind me of – or rather, I identified it, in spite of some misfit, with a row of cottages near where I lived as a small boy. But that did not explain the joy. And, by the way, if it had really been a picture of that row, there should have been a pump just at the top of the slope. I put it in. I see it now in dark silhouette. But it was not there in my earliest recollection, not in the original version. Also, I was only the *he* of the scene in the way one does (or I do) identify oneself variably with this or that character in a tale, especially with regard to the point of vision. The scene was observed more or less from *his* point of view, though I (the producer) was just behind (and a little above) *him* – until he stopped. At the emotion-point I took his place.

'The story that scene came out of is known to me now; and it's not very interesting. Apparently it's one I made up years ago,[40] somewhere in the fifties, at a time when, while awake, I wrote lots of things of the sort. I won't bother you with it all: it had a long and complicated plot,[41] mainly dealing with the Six Years' War; but it wasn't very original, nor very good of its kind. All that matters at the moment is that this scene came just before a lovers' reunion, beyond the hope of either the man or the woman. On hearing the noise he halted, with a premonition that something was going to happen. The woman came out of the door, but he did not recognize her till she spoke to him at the gate. If he hadn't halted, they would have missed one another, probably for ever. The plot, of course, explained how they both came to be there, where neither of them had been before; but that doesn't matter now. The interesting thing is that the remembered fragment, for some reason, ended with the sound

of the door and the halting; but the *emotion* left over was due to part of the story immediately following, which was not remembered pictorially at all. But there was no trace of the emotions of still later parts of the story, which did not finally have a happy ending.

'Well, there it is. Not very exciting, but suggestive, perhaps. Do you want the other case?'

Dolbear gave a loud snore. 'Hark at him!' said Lowdham. 'I expect he's analysed you enough already, and doesn't want any more of your juvenilia to interrupt his slumber.'

'Oh go on, Ramer!' said Jeremy. 'Let's have it!'

'It's your evening, and we asked for it,' said Guildford. 'Carry on!'

'Well, here's another picture,' said Ramer.

A pleasant small room: a fire, a lot of books, a large desk; a golden light from a lamp. He is sitting at the desk. The dreamer's attention, from slightly above his head, is concentrated on the circle of light, but is vaguely aware of dim figures away in front, moving about, taking books from shelves, reading in corners. He is looking at an open book at his left hand, and making notes on a paper. General air of cheerfulness and quiet. He pauses and looks up as if thinking, knocking his pipe-stem between his teeth. He turns a leaf of the book – and sees a new light, makes a discovery; but the fragment ends.

What do you make of that?'

'He'd solved the acrostic with the aid of a dictionary?' said Frankley.

'Emotion: Jack-Hornerism, quiet bibliophilous gloating?' said Lowdham.

'No!' said Ramer. 'Though you're getting warm, Arry. But the emotion associated was *worry*, with a heavy hang-over into waking hours of a dull sense of loss, as heavy as anything you felt in childhood when something precious was broken or lost.'

'Well, New Readers now go back to Chapter One,' said Lowdham. 'What is it?'

'Rather more unusual than the first case, so I'll tell it more fully,' said Ramer. 'He was the librarian in a small university. The room was his office-study: quite comfortable, but it had a glass wall on one side, through which he could overlook the main hall of the library. He was feeling cheerful, for a few years back a local magnate had left the university a splendid book-

collection, and most of his money for the enlargement and upkeep of the library. The library had become important; so had he, and his salary as curator of the endowed collection was generous. And after a lot of delay a new wing had been built, and the books transferred. For some time he'd been carefully re-examining the more interesting items. The book to his left was a volume made up of various manuscript-fragments bound together, probably in the sixteenth century, by some collector or pilferer.

'In the remembered bit of the dream I knew I had been able to read the page before he turned over, and that it was not English; but I could remember no more than that – except that I was delighted, or he was. Actually it was a leaf, a unique fragment of a MS. in very early Welsh, before Geoffrey,[42] about the death of Arthur.

'He turned to look at the back of the leaf – and he found, stuck between it and the next, a document. It turned out to be a will made by the Donor. This book of fragments was one of the last things the magnate had acquired, just before his death. The will was later than the proved and executed will by nearly two years. It was in form, and witnessed, and it did not mention the university, but directed that the books should be dispersed and sold, and the proceeds should go to found a Chair of Basic English in London; while the rest of the estate should go to a nephew, previously passed over.

'The librarian had known the magnate, and had often been to his house: he had helped in cataloguing his collection. He saw that the witnesses were two old servants that had died soon after their master. The emotions are easy to understand: the librarian was proud of his library, a scholar, a lover of real English, and the father of a family; but he was also an honest man. He knew that the Donor had disliked the new Vice-Chancellor very much; also that the nephew was the Donor's next of kin, and poor.'

'Well, what did he do with the will?' said Jeremy.

'On second thoughts he thought it best to stuff it in the old oak chest?' said Lowdham.

'I don't know,' said Ramer. 'Of course it would have been easy and probably quite safe to suppress the will. But I found I had never finished the tale properly, though plenty of sequels could be invented. I found one or two ideas, not worked out, floating at the end. One was that the librarian went to the

Vice-Chancellor, who begged him to keep his discovery quiet; he gave way, and was later blackmailed by the Vice-Chancellor himself. But evidently that hadn't seemed satisfactory, or I'd lost interest in the whole thing beyond the recorded situation. I left a good many such yarns incomplete at that time.

'There's little merit in these stories, as you see. But they do illustrate one or two points about fragmentary memory, and about dream-storywriting. For it is not, of course, writing, but a sort of realized drama.'

'Elvish Drama,'[43] Jeremy interposed; 'there's something about it ...' But we had heard him on that topic before. 'Ramer has the floor!' we cried.

'Well anyway,' Ramer went on: 'the whole story as it is told becomes visible and audible, and the composer is inside it – though he can take his stand in some odd positions (often high up), unless he puts himself into the play, as he can at any moment. The scenes *look* real, but are feigned; and the composition is not complete like a "slice of life": it can be given in selected scenes, and compressed (like a drama). Also it can, when you're working over it again or merely re-inspecting it, be reviewed in any order and at varying speeds (like re-reading or reconsidering a book). I think that is one, though only one, of the reasons why the memory of such dreams, when any survives at all, is so often dissolving or jumbled. The dreamer is aware, of course, that he is author and producer, at any rate while he is at work asleep; but he can get far more absorbed by his work than a waking man is by any book or play that he is either writing or reading; and he can feel the emotions very strongly – excessively sometimes, because they are heightened by the excitement of combining authorship with an acting part; and in memory they may be exaggerated still more through getting dislocated, abstracted from the sounds and scenes that would explain them.

'The cases I've cited are without any symbolism. Just plain emotional situations. I can't say much about symbolic or mythical significances. Of course they exist. And really I can only put them back one stage. For the dreamer can work on myth, and on fairy-tale, quite as much as on novelette. I did. I do. And with a more complete text, so to speak, the excerpted scenes are often much easier to understand, and the functions of the symbols are plainer – but their final solution recedes.

'There are good dreams, apparently of the sort I mean, quoted in books. My own were not so good: the ones I used to

remember when awake, that is; they were only significant fragments, more statically pictorial, seldom dramatic, and usually without figures of humane shape.[44] Though I sometimes retained the memory of significant words or sentences without any scenery: such as *I am full of sovereign remedies.* That seemed a wise and satisfactory utterance. I have never yet found out why.

'Here are some of my fragments of this kind. There is the empty throne on the top of a mountain. There is a Green Wave, whitecrested, fluted and scallop-shaped but vast, towering above green fields, often with a wood of trees, too; that has constantly appeared.[45] I saw several times a scene in which a wide plain lay before the feet of a steep ridge on which I stood; the opposing sky was immense, rising as a vertical wall, not bending to a vault, ablaze with stars strewn almost regularly over all its expanse. That is an omen or presage of catastrophe. A dark shape sometimes passes across the sky, only seen by blotting out the stars as it goes. Then there is the tall, grey, round tower on the sheer end of the land. The Sea cannot be seen, for it is too far below, too immeasurably far; but it can be smelt. And over and over again, in many stages of growth and many different lights and shadows, three tall trees, slender, foot to foot on a green mound, and crowned with an embracing halo of blue and gold.'

'And what do you think they all mean?' asked Frankley.

'It took me quite a time, far too long, to explain the very minor story of the librarian,' said Ramer. 'I could not embark tonight on even one of the immense and ramified legends and cosmogonies that these belong to.'

'Not even on the Green Wave?' said Lowdham;[46] but Ramer did not answer him.

'Are the Blessed Trees religious symbolism?' asked Jeremy.

'No, not more than all things mythical are; not directly. But one does sometimes see and use symbols directly religious, and more than symbols. One can pray in dreams, or adore. I think I do sometimes, but there is no memory of such states or acts, one does not revisit such things. They're not really dreams. They're a third thing. They belong somewhere else, to the other anchorage, which is not to the Body, and differ from dreams more than Dream from Waking.

'Dreaming is not Death. The mind is still, as I say, anchored to the body. It is all the time inhabiting the body, so far as it is *in*

anywhere. And it is therefore in Time and Space: attending to them. It is meant to be so. But most of you will agree that there has probably been a change of plan; and it looks as if the cure is to give us a dose of something higher and more difficult. Mind you, I'm only talking of the seeing and learning side, not for instance of morality. But it would feel terribly *loose* without the anchor. Maybe with the support of the stronger and wiser it could be celestial; but without them it could be bitter, and lonely. A spiritual meteorite in the dark looking for a world to land on. I daresay many of us are in for some lonely Cold before we get back.

'But out of some place beyond the region of dreams, now and again there comes a blessedness, and it soaks through all the levels, and illumines all the scenes through which the mind passes out back into waking, and so it flows out into this life. There it lasts long, but not for ever in this world, and memory cannot reach its source. Often we ascribe it to the pictures seen on the margin radiant in its light, as we pass by and out. But a mountain far in the North caught in a slow sunset is not the Sun.

'But, as I said, it is largely a rest-time, Sleep. As often as not the mind is inactive, not making things up (for instance). It then just inspects what is presented to it, from various sources – with very varying degrees of interest, I may say. It's not really frightfully interested in the digestion and sex items sent in by the body.'

'What is *presented* to it, you say?' said Frankley. 'Do you mean that some of the presentments come from outside, are *shown* to it?'

'Yes. For instance: in a halting kind of way I had managed to get on to other vehicles; and in dream I did it better and more often. So other minds do that occasionally to me. Their resting on me need not be noticed, I think, or hardly at all; I mean, it need not affect me or interfere with me at all; but when they are doing so, and are in contact, then my mind can use *them*. The two minds don't tell stories to one another, even if they're aware of the contact. They just are in contact and can learn.*[47] After

*See the further discussion of this point on the following Night 62. N.G. [Only a fragment of that meeting is preserved, and the only part that could correspond to this note is as follows. ' "How can the dreamer distinguish them?" said Ramer. "Well, it seems to me that

all, a wandering mind (if it's at all like mine) will be much more interested in having a look at what the other knows than in trying to explain to the stranger the things that are familiar to itself.'

'Evidently if the Notion Club could all meet in sleep, they'ld find things pretty topsy-turvy,' said Lowdham.

'What kind of minds visit you?' asked Jeremy. 'Ghosts?'

'Well, yes of course, ghosts,' said Ramer. 'Not departed human spirits, though; not in my case, as far as I can tell. Beyond that what shall I say? Except that some of them seem to know about things a very long way indeed from here. It is not a common experience with me, at least my awareness of any contact is not.'

'Aren't some of the visitors malicious?' said Jeremy. 'Don't evil minds attack you ever in sleep?'

'I expect so,' said Ramer. 'They're always on the watch, asleep or awake. But they work more by deceit than attack. I don't think they are specially active in sleep. Less so, probably. I fancy they find it easier to get at us awake, distracted and not so aware. The body's a wonderful lever for an indirect influence on the mind, and deep dreams can be very remote from its disturbance. Anyway, I've very little experience of that kind – thank God! But there does come sometimes a frightening ... a sort of knocking at the door: it doesn't describe it, but that'll

the chief divisions are *Perceiving* (free dreams), *Composing and Working*, and *Reading*. Each has a distinctive quality, and confusion is not as a rule likely to occur, while it is going on; though the waking mind may make mistakes about disjointed memories. The divisions can be subdivided, of course. *Perceiving* can be, for instance, either inspections and visits to real scenes; or apparitions, in which one may be deliberately visited by another mind or spirit. *Reading* can be simply going over the records of any experiences, messing about in the mind's library; or it can be perceiving at second hand, using minds, inspecting *their* records. There's a danger there, of course. You might inspect a mind and think you were looking at a record (true in its own terms of things external to you both), when it was really the other mind's composition, *fiction*. There's *lying* in the universe, some very clever lying. I mean, some very potent fiction is specially composed to be inspected by others and to deceive, to pass as record; but it is made for the malefit of Men. If men already lean to lies, or have thrust aside the guardians, they may read some very maleficial stuff. It seems that they do." ']

have to do. I think that is one of the ways in which that horrible sense of *fear* arises: a fear that doesn't seem to reside in the remembered dream-situation at all, or wildly exceeds it.

'I'm not much better off than anyone else on this point, for when that fear comes, it usually produces a kind of dream-concussion, and a passage is erased round the true fear-point. But there are some dreams that can't be fully translated into sight and sound. I can only describe them as resembling such a situation as this: working alone, late at night, withdrawn wholly into yourself; a noise, or even a nothing sensible, startles you; you get prickles all over, become acutely self-conscious, uneasy, aware of isolation: how thin the walls are between you and the Night.

'That situation may have various explanations here. But out (or down) there sometimes the mind is suddenly aware that there *is* a Night outside, and enemies walk in it: one is trying to get in. But there are no walls,' said Ramer sombrely. 'The soul is dreadfully naked when it notices it, when that is pointed out to it by something alien. It has no armour on it, it has only its being. But there is a guardian.

'He seems to command precipitate retreat. You could, if you were a fool, disobey, I suppose. You could push him away. You could have got into a state in which you were attracted by the Fear. But I can't imagine it. I'ld rather talk about something else.'

'Oh!' said Jeremy. 'Don't stop there! It's been mostly digressions since the meteorite. My fault largely. Won't you go on?'

'I should like to, if the Club can bear it. A little longer. I only meant: I'ld rather get back to the visions and the journeys. Well, apart from such dangers – which I've not experienced often or thought much about – I think that what one calls "interests" are sometimes actually stimulated, or even implanted by contacts. As you might get a special interest in China, through being visited by a Chinaman, especially if you got to know him and something of his mind.'

'Have you gone to any Celestial China?' asked Frankley. 'Or anywhere more interesting than your invented tales: something more like Emberü?'

'I've never *gone* anywhere,' said Ramer, 'as I've tried to explain. But I suppose I could say that I've *been* in places, and I'm still busy trying to sort out my observations. If you mean

places off the Earth, other heavenly bodies: yes, I've seen several besides Emberü, either through other minds, or by vehicles and records; possibly by using light.* Yes, I've been to several strange places.

'The one I told you about, Green Emberü,[48] where there was a kind of organic life, rich but wholesome and longeval: that was where I landed when I first fell wide asleep. It seems a long while ago now. It is still very vivid to me, or was until last week.' He sighed.

'I cannot remember the original again now, somehow; not when awake. I've an idea that writing these memories up, re-telling them in waking life and terms, blurs or erases them in waking memory; overlays them into palimpsests. One can't have it both ways. Either one must bear the pains of not communicating what one greatly desires to share, or one must remain content with the translation. I wrote that account for you, and all I'll have now is that, and stirrings and faint traces of what lies beneath: the vision of Emberü!

'It's the same with Ellor. Ellor!' he murmured. 'Ellor Eshúrizel! I drew it once in words as best I could, and now it *is* words. That immense plain with its silver floor all delicately patterned; the shapely cliffs and convoluted hills. The whole world was designed with such loveliness, not of one thought, but of many in harmony; though in all its shapes there was nowhere any to recall what we call organic life. There "inanimate nature" was orderly, symmetrical, unconfused, yet intricate, beyond my mind's unravelling, in its flowing modulations and recollections: a garden, a paradise of water, metal, stone, like the interwoven variations of vast natural orders of flowers. Eshúrizel! Blue, white, silver, grey, blushing to rich purples were its themes, in which a glint of red was like an apocalyptic vision of essential Redness, and a gleam of gold was like the glory of the Sun. And there was music, too. For there were many streams, water abundant – or some fairer counterpart, less wayward, more skilled in

* Jones says that Ramer explained: 'I think that as the *seeing* in free dream is not done with eyes, it is not subject to optical laws. But light can be used, like any other mode of being. The mind can, as it were, travel back up-stream, as it can go back into the historical record of other things. But it seems tiring: it requires a great energy and desire. One can't do it often; nor can one go to an indefinite distance of Time and Space.' N.G.

the enchantment of light and in the making of innumerable sounds. There the great waterfall of Öshül-küllösh fell down its three hundred steps in a sequence of notes and chords of which I can only hear faint echoes now. I think the En-keladim dwell there.'[49]

'The En-keladim?' asked Jeremy softly. 'Who are they?'

Ramer did not answer. He was staring at the fire. After a pause he went on. 'And there was another world, further away, that I came to later. I won't say very much. I hope to look on it again, and longer: on Minal-zidar the golden, absolutely silent and quiescent, a whole small world of one single perfect form, complete, imperishable in Time, finished, at peace, a jewel, a visible word, a realization in material form of contemplation and adoration, made by what adoring mind I cannot tell.'

'Where is Minal-zidar?' asked Jeremy quietly.

Ramer looked up. 'I don't know where or when,' he answered. 'The travelling mind does not seem very interested in such points, or forgets to try and find out in the absorption of beholding. So I have very little to go on. I did not look at the sky of Minal-zidar. You know, if you were looking at the face of somebody radiant with the contemplation of a great beauty or a holiness, you'ld be held by the face for a very long time, even if you were great enough (or presumptuous enough) to suppose that you could see for yourself. Reflected beauty like reflected light has a special loveliness of its own – or we shouldn't, I suppose, have been created.

'But in Ellor there seemed to be lights in the sky, what we should call stars, not suns or moons, and yet many were much larger and brighter than any star is here. I am no astronomer, so I don't know what that may imply. But I suppose it was somewhere far away, beyond the Fields of Arbol.'[50]

'Fields of Arbol?' said Lowdham. 'I seem to have heard that before. Where do you get these names from? Whose language are they? Now that would really interest me, rather than geometry and landscape. I should use *my* chances, if ever I got into such a state, for language-history.'[51]

'Arbol is "Old Solar" for the Sun,' said Jeremy.[52] 'Do you mean, Ramer, that you can get back to Old Solar, and that Lewis* did not merely invent those words?'

* Referring to *Out of the Silent Planet* and *Perelandra*, which we had all read some time ago, under pressure from Jeremy (while he was

'Old Solar?' said Ramer. 'Well, no. But of course I was quoting Lewis, in saying Fields of Arbol. As to the other names, that's another matter. They're as firmly associated with the places and visions in my mind as *bread* is with Bread in your minds, and mine. But I think they're *my* names in a sense in which *bread* is not.*

'I daresay it depends on personal tastes and talents, but although I'm a philologist, I think I should find it difficult to learn strange languages in a free dream or vision. You *can* learn in dreams, of course; but in the case of real visions of new things you don't talk, or don't need to: you get the meaning of minds (if you meet any) more directly. If I had a vision of some alien people, even if I heard them talking, their *sense* would drown or blur my reception of their *sounds*; and when I woke up, if I remembered what had been said, and tried to relate it, it would come out in English.'

'But that wouldn't apply to pure names, proper nouns, would it?' said Lowdham.

'Yes, it would,' said Ramer. 'The voice might say *Ellor*, but I should get a glimpse of the other mind's vision of the place. Even if a voice said *bread* or *water*, using "common nouns", I should be likely to get, as the core of a vague cloud (including tastes and smells), some particular glimpse of a shaped loaf, or a running spring, or a glass filled with transparent liquid.

'I daresay that you, Arry, are more phonetical, and more sound-sensitive than I am, but I think even you would find it difficult to keep your ear-memory of the alien words unblurred

writing his book on *Imaginary Lands*). See note to Night 60, p. 164. Jeremy was an admirer of the *Public-house School* (as he himself had dubbed them), and soon after he became a Lecturer he gave a series of lectures with that title. Old Professor Jonathan Gow had puffed and boggled at the title; and J. had offered to change it to *Lewis and Carolus, or the Oxford Looking-glass*, or *Jack and the Beanstalk*; which did not smooth matters. Outside the Club J. had not had much success in reviving interest in these people; though the little book of anonymous memoirs *In the Thirsty Forties, or the Inns and Outs of Oxford* attracted some notice when it came out in 1980. N.G.

* Lowdham says that Ramer told him after the meeting that he thought *Minal-zidar* meant Poise in Heaven; but *Emberü* and *Ellor* were just names. *Eshúrizel* was a title, signifying in an untranslatable way some blend or scheme of colours; but *Öshül-küllösh* meant simply Falling Water. N.G.

by the impact of the direct meaning in such dreams. If you did, then very likely it would be only the sounds and not the sense that you'ld remember.

'And yet ... especially far away outside this world of Speech, where no voices are heard, and other naming has not reached ... I seem to hear fragments of language and names that are not of this country.'

'Yes, yes,' said Lowdham. 'That's just what I want to hear about. What language is it? You say not Old Solar?'

'No,' said Ramer, 'because there isn't any such tongue. I'm sorry to disagree with your authorities, Jeremy; but that is my opinion. And by the way, speaking as a philologist, I should say that the treatment of language, intercommunication, in tales of travel through Space or Time is a worse blemish, as a rule, than the cheap vehicles that we were discussing last week. Very little thought or attention is ever given to it.[53] I think Arry will agree with me there.'

'I do,' said Lowdham, 'and that's why I'm still waiting to hear where and how you got your names.'

'Well, if you really want to know what these names are,' said Ramer, 'I think they're my *native* language.'

'But that is English, surely?' said Lowdham. 'Though you were born in Madagascar, or some strange place.'

'No, you ass! Magyarország, that is Hungary,' said Ramer. 'But anyway, English is *not* my native language. Nor yours either. We each have a native language of our own – at least potentially. In working-dreams people who have a bent that way may work on it, develop it. Some, many more than you'ld think, try to do the same in waking hours – with varying degrees of awareness. It may be no more than giving a personal twist to the shape of old words; it may be the invention of new words (on received models, as a rule); or it may come to the elaboration of beautiful languages of their own in private: in private only because other people are naturally not very interested.

'But the inherited, first-learned, language – what is usually mis-called "native" – bites in early and deep. It is hardly possible to escape from its influence. And later-learned languages also affect the natural style, colouring a man's linguistic taste; the earlier learned the more so. As Magyar does mine, strongly – but all the more strongly, I think, because it is in many ways closer to my own native predilections than English is. In language-invention, though you may seem to build only out of

material taken from other acquired tongues, it is those elements most near to your native style that you select.

'In such rare dreams as I was thinking about, far away by oneself in voiceless countries, then your own native language bubbles up, and makes new names for strange new things.'

'Voiceless countries?' said Jeremy. 'You mean regions where there is nothing like our human language?'

'Yes,' said Ramer. 'Language properly so called, as we know it on Earth – token (perceived by sense) plus significance (for the mind) – that is peculiar to an embodied mind; an essential characteristic, the prime characteristic of the fusion of incarnation. Only *hnau*, to use Jeremy's Lewisian word again, would have language. The irrational couldn't, and the unembodied couldn't or wouldn't.'

'But spirits are often recorded as *speaking*,' said Frankley.

'I know,' Ramer answered. 'But I wonder if they really do, or if they make you hear them, just as they can also make you see them in some appropriate form, by producing a direct impression on the mind. The clothing of this naked impression in terms intelligible to your incarnate mind is, I imagine, often left to you, the receiver. Though no doubt they can cause you to hear words and to see shapes of their own choosing, if they will. But in any case the process would be the reverse of the normal in a way, outwards, a translation from meaning into symbol. The audible and visible results might be hardly distinguishable from the normal, even so, except for some inner emotion; though there is, in fact, sometimes a perceptible difference of sequence.'

'I don't know what spirits can do,' said Lowdham; 'but I don't see why they cannot make actual sounds (like the Eldil in *Perelandra*): cause the air to vibrate appropriately, if they wish. They seem able to affect "matter" directly.'

'I dare say they can,' said Ramer. 'But I doubt if they would wish to, for such a purpose. Communication with another mind is simpler otherwise. And the direct attack seems to me to account better for the feelings human beings often have on such occasions. There is often a shock, a sense of being touched in the quick. There is movement from within outwards, even if one feels that the cause is outside, something other, not you. It is quite different in quality from the reception of sound inwards, even though it may well happen that the thing communicated directly is not strange or alarming, while many things said in the ordinary incarnate fashion are tremendous.'

'You speak as if you *knew*,' said Jeremy. 'How do you know all this?'

'No, I don't claim to *know* anything about such things, and I'm not laying down the law. But I feel it. I *have* been visited, or spoken to,' Ramer said gravely. 'Then, I think, the meaning was direct, immediate, and the imperfect translation perceptibly later: but it was audible. In many accounts of other such events I seem to recognize experiences similar, even when far greater.'

'You make it all sound like hallucination,' said Frankley.

'But of course,' said Ramer. 'They work in a similar way. If you are thinking of diseased conditions, then you may believe that the cause is nothing external; and all the same something (even if it is only some department of the body) must be affecting the mind and making it translate outwards. If you believe in possession or the attack of evil spirits, then there is no difference in process, only the difference between malice and good-will, lying and truth. There is Disease and Lying in the world, and not only among men.'

There was a pause. 'We've got rather away from Old Solar, haven't we?' said Guildford at last.

'No, I think what has been said is very much to the point,' said Ramer. 'Anyway, if there is, or even was, any Old Solar, then either Lewis or I or both of us are wrong about it. For I don't get any such names as *Arbol* or *Perelandra* or *Glund*.[54] I get names much more consonant with the forms I devise, if I make up words or names for a story composed when awake.

'I think there might be an Old Human, or Primitive Adamic – certainly was one, though it's not so certain that all our languages derive from it in unbroken continuity; the only undoubted common inheritance is the aptitude for making words, the compelling need to make them. But the Old Human could not possibly be the same as the Prime Language of other differently constituted rational animals, such as Lewis's Hrossa.[55] Because those two embodiments, Men and Hrossa, are quite different, and the physical basis, which conditions the symbol-forms, would be *ab origine* different. The mind-body blends would have quite different expressive flavours. The expression might not take vocal, or even audible form at all. Without symbols you have no language; and language begins only with incarnation and not before it. But, of course, if you're going to confuse language with forms of *thought*, then you can

perhaps talk about Old Solar. But why not Old Universal in that case?[56]

'However, I don't think the question of Old Solar arises. I don't think there are any other *hnau* but ourselves in the whole solar system.'

'How can you possibly know that?' asked Frankley.

'I think I know it by looking,' Ramer answered. 'I only once anywhere saw what I took to be traces of such creatures, but I'll tell you about that in a minute.

'I'll grant you that there is a chance of error. I have never been very interested in people. That's why when I first began to write, and tried to write about people (because that seemed to be the thing done, and the only thing that was much read), my efforts were so footling, as you see, even in dream. I'm now abnormally little interested in people in general, though I can be deeply interested in this or that unique individual; and the fewer I see the better I'm pleased. I haven't scoured the Fields of Arbol seeking for them! I suppose in dream I might have ignored or overlooked them. But I don't think it's at all likely. Because I like solitude in a forest and trees not manhandled, it does not follow that I shall overlook the evidence of men's work in a wood, or never notice any men I meet there. Much the reverse!

'It's true that I've not seen the solar planets often, nor explored them thoroughly: that's hardly necessary in most cases, if you're looking for any conceivable organic life resembling what we know. But what I *have* seen convinces me that the whole system, save Earth, is altogether barren (in our sense). Mars is a horrible network of deserts and chasms; Venus a boiling whirl of wind and steam above a storm-racked twilit core. But if you want to know what it looks and sounds like: a smoking black Sea, rising like Everest, raging in the dusk over dim drowned mountains, and sucking back with a roar of cataracts like the end of Atlantis – then go there! It is magnificent, but it isn't Peace. To me indeed very refreshing – though that's too small a word. I can't describe the invigoration, the acceleration of intellectual interest, in getting away from all this tangle of ant-hill history! I am *not* a misanthrope. To me it's a more inspiring and exacting, a much more responsible, perilous, lonely venture: that Men are in fact *alone* in EN.[57] In EN. For that is the name to me of this sunlit archipelago in the midst of the Great Seas.

'We can cast our own shadows out on to the other islands, if

we like. It's a good and lawful form of invention; but an invention it is and proceeds out of Earth, the Talkative Planet. The only *hnau* ever to dwell in red *Gormok* or in cloud-bright *Zingil*[58] will be put there by us.'

'What reason have you for thinking that you've seen them at all, and not other places in remoter Space?' asked Frankley.[59]

'Well, I went to them in a more questioning mood,' said Ramer, 'and I looked for such signs as I could understand. They were planets. They went round the Sun, or a sun, in more or less the ways and times the books say, so far as I could observe. And the further heavens had much the same pattern, just the same to my little knowledge, as they have here. And old *Eneköl*, Saturn,[60] is unmistakable; though I suppose it is not quite impossible that he has his counterpart elsewhere.'

'Won't you describe what you saw there?' said Frankley. 'I once tried to describe a Saturnian landscape myself,*[61] and I should like to know if you support me.'

'I do, more or less,' said Ramer. 'I thought so at once when I landed there, and I wondered if you had been there too, or had heard some reliable news – though you may not remember it when awake. But it is getting late. I am tired, and I am sure you all are.'

'Well, something to wind up with!' Jeremy begged. 'You haven't really told us very much news yourself yet.'

'I'll try,' said Ramer. 'Give me another drink, and I'll do my best. As I haven't had time, when awake, either to name or to translate half of the shapes and sensations, it is impossible for me to do more than suggest the thing. But I'll try and tell you about one adventure among my deep dreams: or high ones, for this occurred on one of the longest journeys I have ever had the opportunity or the courage for. It illustrates several curious things about this sort of venture.

'Remember that dream-sequences dealing with astronomical exploration or space-travel are not very frequent in my collection. Nor in any one's, I should think. The chances of making such voyages are not frequent; and they're ... well, they take a bit of daring. I should guess that most people never get the chance and never dare. It is related in some way to *desire*, no

* In *The Cronic Star*. This appeared in his volume *Feet of Lead* (1980). One of the critics said that this title, taken with the author's name, said all that was necessary. N.G.

doubt; though which comes first, chance or wish, is hard to say – if there's any real question of priority in such matters. I mean: my ancient attraction to waking stories about space-travel, was it a sign that I was really already engaged on exploration, or a cause of it?

'In any case I have only made a few journeys, as far as I yet know; few, that is, compared with other activities. My mind "adream" is perhaps not daring enough to fit waking desire; or perhaps the interests I'm most conscious of awake are not really fundamentally so dominant. My mind actually seems fonder of mythical romances, its own and others'. I could tell you a great deal about Atlantis, for instance; though that is not its name to me.'

'What *is* its name?' asked Lowdham sharply, leaning forward with a curious eagerness; but Ramer did not answer the question.

'It's connected with that Fluted Wave,'[62] he said; 'and with another symbol: the Great Door, shaped like a Greek ⊓ with sloping sides.[63] And I've seen the En-keladim, my En-keladim, playing one of their Keladian plays: the Drama of the Silver Tree:[64] sitting round in a circle and singing in that strange, long, long, but never-wearying, uncloying music, endlessly unfolding out of itself, while the song takes visible life among them. The Green Sea flowers in foam, and the Isle rises and opens like a rose in the midst of it. There the Tree opens the starred turf like a silver spear, and grows, and there is a New Light; and the leaves unfold and there is Full Light; and the leaves fall and there is a Rain of Light. Then the Door opens – but no! I have no words for that Fear.'

He stopped suddenly. 'That's the only thing I've ever seen,' he said, 'that I'm not sure whether it's invented or not.[65] I expect it's a composition – out of desire, fancy, waking experience, and "reading" (asleep and awake). But there is another ingredient. Somewhere, in some place or places, something like it really happens, and I have seen it, far off perhaps or faintly.

'My En-keladim I see in humane forms of surpassing and marvellously varied beauty. But I guess that their true types, if such there be, are invisible, unless they embody themselves by their own will, entering into their own works because of their love for them. That is, they are *elvish*. But very different from Men's garbled tales of them; for they are not lofty indeed, yet they are not fallen.'

'But wouldn't you reckon them as *hnau*?' asked Jeremy. 'Don't they have language?'

'Yes, I suppose so. Many tongues,' said Ramer. 'I had forgotten them. But they are not *hnau*; they are not bound to a given body, but make their own, or take their own, or walk silent and unclad without sense of nakedness. And their languages shift and change as light on the water or wind in the trees. But yes, perhaps *Ellor Eshúrizel* – its meaning I cannot seize, so swift and fleeting is it – perhaps that is an echo of their voices. Yes, I think Ellor is one of their worlds: where the governance, the making and ordering, is wholly in the charge of minds, relatively small, that are not embodied in it, but are devoted to what we call matter, and especially to its beauty. Even here on Earth they may have had, may have still, some habitation and some work to do.

'But I'm still wandering. I must go back to the adventure that I promised to tell. Among my few travel-sequences I recall one that seemed to be a long inspection (on several occasions) of a different solar system. So there does appear to be at least one other star with attendant planets.[66] I thought that as I wandered there I came to a little world, of our Earth's size more or less – though, as you'll see, size is very difficult to judge; and it was lit by a sun, rather larger than ours, but dimmed. The stars too were faint, but they seemed to be quite differently arranged; and there was a cloud or white whorl in the sky with small stars in its folds: a nebula perhaps, but much larger than the one we can see in Andromeda. Tekel-Mirim[67] it was, a land of crystals.

'Whether the crystals were really of such great size – the greatest were like the Egyptian pyramids – it is hard to say. Once away from Earth it is not easy to judge such things without at least your body to refer to. For there is no scale; and what you do, I suppose, is to focus your attention, up or down, according to what aspect you wish to note. And so it is with speed. Anyway, there on Tekel-Mirim it was the inanimate matter, as we should say, that was moving and growing: into countless crystalline formations. Whether what I took for the air of the planet was really air, or water, or some other liquid, I am not able to say; though perhaps the dimming of sun and stars suggests that it was not air. I may have been on the floor of a wide shallow sea, cool and still. And there I could observe what was going on: to me absorbingly interesting.

'Pyramids and polyhedrons of manifold forms and sym-

metries were growing like ... like geometric mushrooms, and growing from simplicity to complexity; from single beauty amalgamating into architectural harmonies of countless facets and reflected lights. And the speed of growth seemed very swift. On the summit of some tower of conjoined solids a great steeple, like a spike of greenish ice, would shoot out: it was not there and then it was there; and hardly was it set before it was encrusted with spikelets in bristling lines of many pale colours. In places forms were achieved like snowflakes under a microscope, but enormously larger: tall as trees some were. In other places there were forms severe, majestic, vast and simple.

'For a time I could not count I watched the "matter" on Tekel-Mirim working out its harmonies of inherent design with speed and precision, spreading, interlocking, towering, on facet and angle building frets and arabesques and frosted laces, jewels on which arrows of pale fire glanced and splintered. But there was a limit to growth, to building and annexation. Suddenly disintegration would set in – no, not that, but reversal: it was not ugly or regrettable. A whole epic of construction would recede, going back through shapeliness, by stages as beautiful as those through which it had grown, but wholly different, till it ceased. Indeed it was difficult to choose whether to fix one's attention on some marvellous evolution, or some graceful devolving into – nothing visible.

'Only part of the matter on Tekel-Mirim was doing these things (for "doing" seems our only word for it): the matter that was specially endowed; a scientist would say (I suppose) that was of a certain chemical nature and condition. There were floors, and walls, and mighty circles of smooth cliff, valleys and vast abysses, that did not change their shape nor move. Time stood still for them, and for the crystals waxed and waned.

'I don't know why I visited this strange scene, for awake I have never studied crystallography, not even though the vision of Tekel-Mirim has often suggested that I should. Whether things go in Tekel-Mirim exactly as they do here, I cannot say. All the same I wonder still what on earth or in the universe can be meant by saying, as was said a hundred years ago (by Huxley, I believe) that a crystal is a "symmetrical solid shape assumed spontaneously by lifeless matter".[68] The free will of the lifeless is a dark saying. But it may have some meaning: who can tell? For we have little understanding of either term. I leave it there. I merely record, or try to record, the events I saw, and

they were too marvellous while I could see them in far Tekel-Mirim for speculation. I'm afraid I've given you no glimpse of them.

'It was on one occasion, returning – or should I say "back-dreaming"? – from Tekel-Mirim, that I had the adventure that I'll close with. Speed, as I said, like size is very difficult to judge with no measure but vague memories of earth-events far away. Maybe I had been speeding up, that is moving quickly down Time in Tekel-Mirim, so as to get as long a story or sequence as I could. In Tekel-Mirim I must have been not only far away in Space but in a time somewhat before my earth-time, or I should have overrun the point for my withdrawal. For I had to withdraw on that visit earlier than my body usually summons me. A determination of my own will, set before I went to sleep, had fixed a time of waking, for an appointment. And the hour was coming near.

'It is no good harking back, when you do not want to repeat but to see on; and so I withdrew, with my mind still so filled with the wonder of Tekel-Mirim that I could not even adream, and still less awake, recall the transitions or the modes of travelling, until my attention was loosened from my recollections and I found that I was looking at a twinkling sphere. I knew that I had seen it, or something like it, on one of my other journeys; and I was tempted to examine it again. But time was running on, and dimly, like a remote shred of a dream (to one awake) I was aware of my body beginning to stir unwillingly, feeling the returning will. So there and then I "harked back" suddenly with as great an effort as I could manage; and at the same time I closed in to look for a while at this strange ball.

'I found a horrible disorderly shifting scene: a shocking contrast to Tekel-Mirim, and after Emberü and Ellor intolerable. Dark and light flickered to and fro over it. Winds were whirling and eddying, and vapours were rising, gathering, flashing by and vanishing too quick for anything to be discerned but a general ragged swirl. The land, if that is what it was, was shifting too, like sands in a tide, crumbling and expanding, as the sea galloped in and out among the unsteady edges of the coast. There were wild growths, woods you could hardly say; trees springing up like mushrooms, and crashing and dying before you could determine their shapes. Everything was in an abominable flux.

'I came still closer. The effort to attend carefully seemed to

steady things. The flicker of light and dark became much slower; and I saw something that was definitely a small river, though it waggled a little, and broadened and narrowed as I looked at it. The trees and woods in its valley held their shapes now for some time. Then "*Hnau* at last!" I said to myself; for in the vale, down by the river among the trees I saw shapes, unmistakable shapes of houses. At first I had thought that they were some kind of quick-growing fungus, until I looked more steadily. But now I saw that they were buildings, but still fungus-buildings, appearing and then falling to pieces; and yet their agglomeration was spreading.

'I was still rather high above it all, higher than a man in a very tall tower; but I could see that the place was crawling or rather boiling with *hnau* of some sort – if they were not very large ant-creatures, endowed with amazing speed: darting about, alone or in bunches, bewilderingly; always more and more of them. Often they went shooting in or out like bullets along the tracks that led to the horrible, crumbling, outgrowing sore of house-shapes.

'"This really is frightful!" I thought. "Is this a diseased world, or is it a planet really inhabited by may-fly men in a sort of tumultuous mess? What's come to the land? It's losing most of its hair, going bald, and the house-ringworm goes on spreading, and starting up in fresh patches. There's no design, or reason, or pattern in it." And yet, even as I said this, I began to see, as I looked still more carefully, that there were in fact some shapes that did suggest crude design, and a few now held together for quite a long while.

'Soon I noticed down by the river, near the heart of the agglomeration, where I had observed it beginning, several constructions that endured. Two or three had some real form, not without an echo of beauty even to one fresh from Tekel-Mirim. They continued standing, while the ringworm ate its way further and further around them.

'"I must have a really close look," I thought; "for if there are *hnau* here, it is important, however nasty they may be; and I must take some notes. Just a look, and then I must be off. Now, what is that thing like a great fluted mushroom with an odd top? It hasn't been here as long as some of the other larger things." With that I came right down.

'Of course, if one really concentrates on things – especially to observe their static forms, not their changes, as I'd been doing in

Tekel-Mirim – then they tend to halt, as it were. The speed is in you, when you're not tied to a time-clock of a body. So as I bent my attention, I lost all the acceleration that the excitement of Tekel-Mirim had induced. Things stood still for a moment, rock-hard.

'I was gazing at the Camera.[69] I was about thirty feet above the ground in Radcliffe Square. I suppose I had at first been seeing the Thames Valley, at a huge speed; and then, slower and slower, Oxford since I don't know when, since the beginning of the University probably.

'The clock on Saint Mary's struck 7 a.m. – and I woke up for my appointment. To go to Mass. It was the morning of the feast of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, June 29th 1986, by our reckoning. That's all for tonight! I must go to bed.'

'Well, I must be off too,' said Cameron. 'Thanks for a very enterrtaining evening!'

MGR. NG. PF. AAL. RD. WTJ. RS. JJ. JJR.

NOTES

1 The Great Storm of June 12th, 1987: my father's 'prevision' was only out by four months. The greatest storm in living memory struck southern England, causing vast damage, on October 16th, 1987. It is curious in the light of this to read Mr. Green's remarks (p. 158): 'it may well be that the predictions (notably of the Storm), though genuine and not coincidences, were unconscious: giving one more glimpse of the strange processes of so-called literary "invention", with which the Papers are largely concerned.'

2 *O.S.B.*: 'Order of Saint Benedict'.

3 For the title as typed in the final text D, but subsequently rejected, see p. 153 note 2.

4 In A and B the report of Night 54 is absent (cf. Mr. Green's Foreword, p. 156: 'Many Nights are represented only by a few lines, or by short entries, of which Nights 54 and 64 have been included as specimens').

5 I cannot explain *The Canticle of Artegall.* Irish *arteagal* = 'article'; and an isolated note of my father's reads: 'My/The Canticle of Night in Ale', 'Artegall', 'article Artegall'. But this does not help very much.

6 In B Night 60 is Night 251, without date (see p. 149).

7 I have mentioned (p. 150) a page that preceded text A and carries the identifications of members of the Notion Club with members of the Inklings. On this page are found two brief, abandoned

openings for *The Notion Club Papers*. In the first Ramer asks Latimer (predecessor of Guildford) for his opinion of his story. With '"Yes, I suppose it'll do," I answered' this opening breaks off, and is followed by:

> When I had finished reading my story, we sat in silence for a while. 'Well?' I said. 'What do you think of it? Will it do?' Nobody answered, and I felt the air charged with disapproval, as it often is in our circle, though on this occasion the critical interruptions had been fewer than usual. 'Oh, come on. What have *you* got to say? I may as well get the worst over,' I urged turning to Latimer. He is not a flatterer.
>
> 'Oh yes, it'll do, I suppose so,' he answered reluctantly. 'But why pick on me? You know I hate criticizing offhand and still in the heat of listening – or the chill.'

Here this second opening was abandoned. It is presumably to be connected with the word 'Self' written under *Ramer* at the head of the page (p. 150).

8 David Lindsay, author of *A Voyage to Arcturus*, published in 1920, to which Guildford refers subsequently (see note 9).

9 Cf. my father's letter to Stanley Unwin of 4 March 1938, concerning *Out of the Silent Planet* (*Letters* no. 26):

> I read 'Voyage to Arcturus' with avidity – the most comparable work, though it is both more powerful and more mythical (and less rational, and also less of a story – no one could read it merely as a thriller and without interest in philosophy religion and morals).

10 *Cavorite* was the substance 'opaque to gravitation' devised by the scientist Cavor in H. G. Wells's *The First Men in the Moon* (1901).

11 For 'the Great Explosion' see Mr. Green's Foreword, p. 157, and p. 186.

12 *Ransom:* Dr. Elwin Ransom was the Cambridge philologist who in *Out of the Silent Planet* went under duress to Mars (Malacandra), and in *Perelandra* went to Venus by the mediation of the Oyarsa of Malacandra (see next note).

13 At the beginning of *Perelandra* the *Eldils* are described thus:

> For Ransom had met other things in Mars besides the Martians. He had met the creatures called *eldila*, and specially that great eldil who is the ruler of Mars or, in their speech, the *Oyarsa* of *Malacandra*. The eldila are very different from any planatary creatures. Their physical organism, if organism it can be called, is quite unlike either the human or the Martian. They do not eat, breed, breathe, or suffer natural death, and to that extent resemble thinking minerals more than they resemble anything we should recognise as an animal. Though they appear on planets and may even seem to our senses to be

sometimes resident in them, the precise spatial location of an eldil at any moment presents great problems. They themselves regard space (or 'Deep Heaven') as their true habitat, and the planets are to them not closed but merely moving points – perhaps even interruptions – in what we know as the Solar System and they as the Field of Arbol.

14 *Old Solar*: cf. *Perelandra* Chapter 2, in which Ransom speaks to Lewis before his journey to Venus begins:

'... I rather fancy I am being sent because those two blackguards who kidnapped me and took me to Malacandra, did something which they never intended: namely, gave a human being a chance to learn that language.'

'What language do you mean?'

'*Hressa-Hlab*, of course. The language I learned in Malacandra.'

'But surely you don't imagine they will speak the same language on Venus?'

'Didn't I tell you about that?' said Ransom ... 'I'm surprised I didn't, for I found out two or three months ago, and scientifically it is one of the most interesting things about the whole affair. It appears we were quite mistaken in thinking *Hressa-Hlab* the peculiar speech of Mars. It is really what may be called Old Solar, *Hlab-Eribol-ef-Cordi*.'

'What on earth do you mean?'

'I mean that there was originally a common speech for all rational creatures inhabiting the planets of our system: those that were ever inhabited, I mean – what the eldils call the Low Worlds. ... That original speech was lost on Thulcandra, our own world, when our whole tragedy took place. No human language now known in the world is descended from it.'

For Ramer's observations on this subject see p. 203 and note 55.

15 In the original text A (still followed in B) Dolbear, waking up, says with reference to these words of Guildford's ('Incarnation. By being born'): 'Then try reincarnation, or perhaps transcarnation without loss of memory. What do you say, Ramer?'

16 *Arry*, for *Arundel*, became the name by which Lowdham was known in text C; in the earliest lists of members of the Notion Club he was simply *Harry Loudham*. For the significance of this see pp. 233–4, 281–2.

17 *New Erewhon: Erewhon* (= 'Nowhere') is the title of a satire by Samuel Butler (1872). *News from Nowhere:* a fantasy of the future by William Morris (1890).

18 *Turl Street* or *the Turl* is a narrow street running between High Street and Broad Street in Oxford, onto which open the gates of Ramer's college Jesus, Guildford's college Lincoln, and Exeter College.

19 In B Night 61 is Night 252, without date (see p. 149).

20 B has *Harry Loudham*: see note 16.

21 In the 'Prose Edda' the Icelander Snorri Sturluson tells of Skidbladnir:

> 'Skíðblaðnir is the best of ships and made with great skill ... Certain dwarves, the sons of Ívaldi, made Skíðblaðnir and gave the ship to Freyr; it is so large that all the Æsir [gods] can man it with their weapons and equipment of war, and it has a favourable wind so soon as the sail is set, wherever it is bound; but when it is not going to sea it is made of so many pieces and with such great cunning that it can be folded up like a napkin and kept in one's pouch' (*Snorra Edda*, *Gylfaginning* §42).

22 The Battle of Bosworth Field (1485), in which King Richard III was defeated and slain by Henry Tudor (Henry VII). A has here 'at any period before the accession of Richard II' (1377). On Frankley's *horror borealis* see pp. 151–2, 159.

23 *'Yes, 1938,' said Cameron:* in A this observation is given to Loudham, and rather surprisingly Latimer's comment is much as Guildford's in the final text: 'whose memory is like that. I doubt if he ever read the book. Memoirs of the courts of minor 18th century monarchs are his natural browsing-ground.' Yet at this earliest stage Loudham's interest in Norse was perhaps already present, since it is he who makes the joke about Skidbladnir immediately before. As B was written the remark was still attributed to Loudham, and Guildford's comment remains the same as in A; later Loudham was changed to Franks (the earlier name of Frankley) and then to Cameron. See pp. 281–2.

24 *Last Men in London* by Olaf Stapledon (1932).

25 *hnau*: rational embodied beings.

26 I have added the footnote from the third manuscript C; it is not in the final typescript D, but was perhaps omitted inadvertently.

27 In A there is no reference to the Glacier or any mention of what the scene in the book was; but a later addition in the margin runs:

> and the chief difference (since both were now inner) is that the one is tinged with sadness for it is past, but the other, the Glacier, is not so tinged, has only its own proper flavour, because it is not past or present with reference to the world.

28 In A Dolbear does not speak at this point; Ramer says: 'And the will to remember can be strengthened; and the memory enlarged. (Dolbear helped me in that: I suppose that is what made him so suspicious.) Now here comes another thread.' Thus neither *Emberü* nor any other name appear here in A; in B the name is *Gyönyörü*, changed subsequently to *Emberü*.

29 Following this, the text of Ramer's remarks in A and B is different from that in the final form. I give the B version:

A living body can move in space, but not without an effort (as in a leap), or a vehicle. A mind can move more freely and very much quicker than a living body, but not without effort of its own kind, or without a vehicle. [*Added:* This is distinct from the instantaneous movement of thought to objects already in its grasp as memory.] And Space and Time do exist as conditions for it, especially while it is incarnate, and certainly if it is (largely for that reason) interested in them and studying them. How and how far in either dimension can it jump, without a vehicle? I asked myself. It probably cannot travel in empty Space, or eventless Time (which is the duration of empty Space): it would not be aware of it, if it did, anyway. How far can it jump over it? How can it jump at all?

The mind uses the memory of its body . . .

30 For the source of Lowdham's allusion to the Pig on the Ruined Pump see the Foreword.

31 The Banbury Road leads north out of the centre of Oxford. I do not think that there was any special reason for the choice of this particular late Victorian house (the reference to it only enters in C, where my father first wrote 'No. *x* Banbury Road', changing this subsequently to 'No. 100'). Mr. Green, the putative editor of the *Papers* refers in his Foreword (p. 157) to poltergeist activity at this house in the early years of the twenty-first century.

32 *Gunthorpe Park in Matfield:* so far as I can discover, the only Matfield in England is in Kent, but there is no Gunthorpe Park in its vicinity.

33 *Emberü:* A has here: 'Not if you mean for getting such news as I put into that tale you've heard', and no name appears; B has, as at the previous occurrence (note 28) *Gyönyörü* > *Emberü.*

34 My father once described to me his dream of 'pure Weight', but I do not remember when that was: probably before this time.

35 Of this experience also my father spoke to me, suggesting, as does Ramer here, that the significance did not lie in the remembered passage itself. See Ramer's subsequent remarks on this topic, pp. 189 ff.

36 See pp. 157, 167. A has here: 'pictures as unlike as seeing a small flower growing and a whole world shattered'; B places the great explosion 'in the sixties'.

37 The intervention of James Jones (see p. 159) first appears in C. In B Ramer's explanation of what he meant by *deep dreams* is given in a footnote by Guildford ('Ramer said later . . .').

38 In B Dolbear replies differently to Lowdham ('If I was to reveal some of the situations I've seen you in, Harry my lad'). His pregnant remarks 'You walk in disguises, even when awake. But they'll slip, my lad, one day. I shouldn't wonder if it was fairly soon' entered in the C text.

39 A continues from this point:

> ... on this sort of activity – the best bits and passages, especially, those that seem to come suddenly when you're in the heat of making. They sometimes fit with an odd perfection; and sometimes good in themselves don't really fit.

B has here:

> ... on this sort of activity. Those scenes that come up complete and fixed, that I spoke of before, for instance. I think that those really good passages that arise, as it were, suddenly when you're abstracted, in the heat of making, are often long-prepared impromptus.

40 *it's one I made up years ago:* i.e., made up in dream.

41 In A, and (at first) in B, Ramer interpreted the first of his 'fragments' far more elaborately, giving the entire plot of the story. This is, as Ramer admitted, 'not very interesting'; and as B was first written Loudham says (in answer to Ramer's 'Do you want another case?') 'Not particularly, unless it's better than the last, which I don't expect.'

42 Geoffrey of Monmouth (died in 1155), author of *The History of the Kings of Britain*, a chief contribution to the popularity, outside the Celtic lands, of King Arthur and 'the Matter of Britain'. Such a manuscript leaf as this in Ramer's dream-narrative would be of superlative importance in the study of the Arthurian legend.

43 *Elvish Drama.* In A it is Ramer himself who speaks of 'elf-drama' ('it is not writing but elf-drama'), and again in B, which has:

> '... For it is not of course writing, but a sort of realized drama. The Elvish Drama that Lewis speaks of somewhere.'
>
> 'Not Lewis, said Jeremy. 'It comes in one of those essays of the circle, but it was by one of the minor members.'

The passage in question comes from the essay *On Fairy-Stories*, which my father had delivered at the University of St. Andrews in 1939, but which was not published until two years after the writing of *The Notion Club Papers*, in the memorial volume *Essays Presented to Charles Williams* (Oxford 1947). The passage is interesting in relation to Ramer's discourse and I cite a part of it:

> Now 'Faërian Drama' – those plays which according to abundant records the elves have often presented to men – can produce Fantasy with a realism and immediacy beyond the compass of any human mechanism. As a result their usual effect (upon a man) is to go beyond Secondary Belief. If you are present at a Faërian drama you yourself are, or think that you are, bodily inside its Secondary World. The experience may be very similar to Dreaming and has (it would seem) sometimes (by men) been confounded with it. But in Faërian drama you

are in a dream that some other mind is weaving, and the knowledge of that alarming fact may slip from your grasp. To experience *directly* a Secondary World: the potion is too strong, and you give to it Primary Belief, however marvellous the events. You are deluded – whether that is the intention of the elves (always or at any time) is another question. They at any rate are not themselves deluded. This is for them a form of Art, and distinct from Wizardry or Magic, properly so called.

J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*, 1983, p. 142; cf. also p. 116 in that edition of the essay ('In dreams strange powers of the mind may be unlocked . . .').

44 *of humane shape:* texts B, C, and D all have *humane*; cf. p. 206 ('humane forms') and note 55 below.

45 Cf. my father's letter to W. H. Auden of 7 June 1955 (*Letters* no. 163):

> . . . the terrible recurrent dream (beginning with memory) of the Great Wave, towering up, and coming in ineluctably over the trees and green fields. (I bequeathed it to Faramir.) I don't think I have had it since I wrote the 'Downfall of Númenor' as the last of the legends of the First and Second Age.

By 'beginning with memory' I believe that my father meant that the recurrence of the dream went as far back in his life as his memory reached. – Faramir told Éowyn of his recurrent dream of the Great Wave coming upon Númenor as they stood on the walls of Minas Tirith when the Ring was destroyed ('The Steward and the King', in *The Return of the King*, p. 240).

46 This remark of Lowdham's is absent from B and first enters in C; cf. note 38.

47 In B the footnote at this point does not derive as in the final text largely from Mr. Green but entirely from Nicholas Guildford, citing Ramer: 'Later Ramer enlarged on this point, in the course of a discussion of the various kinds of "deep dreams", and how the dreamer could distinguish them. He divided them . . .' What follows is closely similar to the later version of the note, but it ends thus: '"Made for the Malefit of Men," he said. "To judge by the ideas men propagate now, their curious unanimity, and obsession, I should say that a terrible lot of men have thrust aside the Guardians, and are reading very maleficial stuff." N.G.' There was thus at this stage no reference to 'Night 62' (see p. 222 and note 2).

The word *maleficial* is occasionally recorded, but *malefit*, occuring in both versions of this note, is a coinage echoing *benefit*, as if ultimately derived from Latin *malefactum* 'evil deed, injury'.

48 The world *Emberü* has not been named in A (see notes 28, 33), but at this point Ramer says in A: 'The one I told you about,

Menelkemen' (Quenya, 'Sky-earth'). In this original text the description of Menelkemen is (though briefer) that given in the final text of Ellor Eshúrizel, 'that immense plain with its floor of silver', ending with the account of the great waterfall, here called *Dalud dimran* (or perhaps *dimron*), with *Eshil dimzor* written above and *Eshil külü* (> *külö*) in the margin. There is no mention here of the *En-keladim*. At the end of the description of Menelkemen Jeremy asks 'Where is it, do you think?', which in the final text he asks after Ramer's description of the third world, Minal-zidar (p. 199).

In B (as originally written) Ramer says 'The one I told you about, Emberü the golden', and here the description of Emberü is that of Minal-zidar in the final version:

> '... I wrote that account (not the frame) some time ago, and all I'll have now is that, and stirrings and faint traces of what lies beneath: the first vision of Emberü: golden, absolutely silent and quiescent, a whole small world of perfect form, imperishable in Time ...'

This description of Emberü ends, as does that of Minal-zidar in the final text, with 'made by what adoring mind I cannot tell'; then follows: 'And there was Menel-kemen.'

At this point in B my father stopped, struck out what he had written about 'the first vision of Emberü', and wrote instead: 'the first vision of Emberü: that immense plain with its silver floor all delicately patterned ...' – which in the final text is the description of Ellor Eshúrizel. Here the great waterfall is called *Öshül-külö*, and Ramer says: 'I think the Enkeladim dwell there.' My father then inserted in B, after 'the first vision of Emberü', the words '"It is the same with Ellor. Ellor!" he murmured. "Ellor Eshúrizel! I drew it once in words as best I could, and now it *is* words. That immense plain with its silver floor ...'; and (all these changes being made at the time of composition) introduced at the end of the description of Ellor the third world, 'Minal-zidar the golden'.

Thus the images were developed and separated into distinct 'world-entities' in rapid succession. In A *Menelkemen* is the only world that Ramer describes, the world of the story that he had read to the Notion Club, the inorganic, harmonious world of metal, stone, and water, with the great waterfall. In B the world that Ramer described in his story is *Emberü* (replacing *Gyönyörü* of the earlier parts of the manuscript), the silent 'golden' world; but this was changed immediately (reverting to A) to make Emberü 'that immense plain with its silver floor', and then changed again to make this description that of a second world, *Ellor Eshúrizel*, while the 'golden' world becomes a third scene, *Minal-zidar*. The final stage was to call the first world *Green*

Emberü, 'where there was a kind of organic life, rich but wholesome and longeval.'

49 On the *En-keladim* see p. 206 and notes 64, 65, and pp. 397, 400.

50 *the Fields of Arbol*: the Solar System in Lewis's novels (see note 13).

51 In A it is Dolbear, not Loudham, who asks: 'Where do you get all these names from? Who told you them? That [would] interest me more really than the geometry and landscape. I should, of course as you know, use my chance if I got into such a state for language-research.' In B this was still said by Dolbear, changed to Guildford and then to Loudham. See p. 151.

52 At this point both A and B continue with an account of Jeremy's attempt to arouse interest in the works of Lewis and Williams, which in the final text is put into a footnote of Guildford's here. I give the text of B, which follows that of A very closely but is clearer.

> '*Arbol* is "Old Solar" for the Sun,' said Jeremy. 'Do you mean that you can get back to Old Solar, [*struck out:* or Old Universal,] and that Lewis was right?'
>
> Jeremy was our Lewis-expert, and knew all his works, almost by heart. Many in Oxford will still remember how he had, a year or two before, given some remarkable lectures on Lewis and Williams. People had laughed at the title, because Lewis and all that circle had dropped badly out of fashion. Old Bell-Tinker, who was still Chairman of the English Board then, had boggled and puffed at it. 'If you must touch such a subject,' he snorted, 'call it Lewis and cut it Short.'
>
> Jeremy had retorted by offering to change the title to 'Lewis and Carolus or the Oxford Looking-glass'. 'Or "Jack and the Beanstalk", if you like,' he added, but that was too recondite a joke for the English Board. I believe, before Jeremy spoke up, few even of the Twentieth Century experts could have named any work of Williams, except perhaps *The Octopus*. That was still occasionally played, because of the great revival of missionary interest after the Far-eastern martyrdoms in the sixties. *The Allegory of Love* was all of Lewis that the academicians ever mentioned (as a rule unread and slightingly). The other minor lights were only known by the few who read old C. R. Tolkien's little books of memoirs: *In the Roaring Forties*, and *The Inns and Outs of Oxford*. But Jeremy had made most of our club read some of those people (the Public-house School as it was called); though beside Jeremy only Ramer and Dolbear bothered with Tolkien père and all the elvish stuff.
>
> '"Old Solar"?' said Ramer. 'Well, no. . . .

'Old Bell-Tinker' derives his name from a book of translations of

Anglo-Saxon literature by Bell and Tinker. His very bad joke 'call it Lewis and cut it Short' refers to the *Latin Dictionary* by Lewis and Short. The title of Jeremy's lectures, which aroused laughter, is omitted, but was presumably the same as in the final text, *The Public-house School* (because the Inklings met in pubs). 'Few bothered with Tolkien père and all the elvish stuff' was doubtless no more than a self-deprecating joke – but implies that the 'elvish stuff' had at least been published! (cf. p. 303 and note 14). *In the Roaring Forties* is a pun on the name of the regions of the southern oceans, between forty and fifty degrees south, where there are great winds.

53 Since Ramer's criticism of the standard of linguistic invention characteristic of tales of space-travel and time-travel follows immediately on his denial that there could be any such language as Old Solar, he appears to be including Lewis in his criticism. Some years before, however, in his letter to Stanley Unwin of 4 March 1938 (*Letters* no. 26), my father had said of *Out of the Silent Planet*:

> The author holds to items of linguistic invention that do not appeal to me ...; but this is a matter of taste. After all your reader found my invented names, made with cherished care, eye-splitting. But the linguistic inventions and the philology on the whole are more than good enough. All the part about language and poetry – the glimpses of its Malacandrian nature and form – is very well done, and extremely interesting, far superior to what one usually gets from travellers in untravelled regions. The language difficulty is usually slid over or fudged. Here it not only has verisimilitude, but also underlying thought.

54 *Glund:* the name of Jupiter in Old Solar (also *Glundandra*).

55 *I think there might be an Old Human, or Primitive Adamic ...*: A has here: 'But I think there might be, certainly was, an Old Humane or Adamic. But it could not possibly be the same as the Prime Language of Hrossa, *Hressa-hlab*.' This was retained in B (with Old Human for Old Humane: see note 44). The *Hrossa* were one of the three totally distinct kinds of *hnau* found on Malacandra; the language of the Hrossa was *Hressa-hlab*, which is 'Old Solar': see note 14.

56 *Old Universal*: see the beginning of the passage given in note 52.

57 *En:* this name appears already in A, with various predecessors, *An*, *Nor*, *El*, all struck out immediately.

58 *Gormok, Zingil:* in A Ramer's name for Mars is the Elvish word *Karan* ('red'); Venus was *Zingil* in A, though immediately replacing another name that cannot be read.

59 In A it is Jeremy who speaks at this point, asking: 'How do you know you've been there?' And Ramer replies: 'I don't: I have seen the places, not been there. My body's never travelled. I have seen

the places either indirectly through other records, as you could say you'd seen Hongkong if you'd looked at many long accurate coloured films of it; or directly by using light. But how I know what the places are is another matter.'

60 Saturn is not mentioned in A. B has: 'And *Gyürüchill*, Saturn, is unmistakable'. *Gyürüchill* was changed to *Shomorú*, and then to *old Eneköl*.

61 *The Cronic Star* (in the footnote by Guildford at this point): Saturn (in astrology the leaden planet). *Cronic* is derived from *Kronos*, the Greek god (father of Zeus) identified by the Romans with Saturn; wholly distinct etymologically from *chronic*, derived from Greek *chronos* 'time'.

62 On the 'Fluted Wave' see p. 194.

63 In A Ramer says here: 'I could tell you about Atlantis (though that's not its name to me, nor Númenor): it is connected with that Fluted Wave. And the Door ᚴᛏ [which is connected with the Meg(alithic) >] of the Megalithic is too.' In B he speaks as in the final text, but says again 'though that's not its name to me, nor Númenor' – the last two words being later strongly struck out, and Loudham's question (asked with 'a curious eagerness') 'What *is* its name?' inserted (when the peculiar association of Lowdham with Númenor had entered: see notes 38, 46). In the final text of the *Papers* the emergence of the name *Númenor* is postponed until Part Two (p. 231).

64 A has here: 'But I've seen my Mârim [*changed probably at once to* Albarim] playing one of their Albar-plays: the drama of the Silver Tree.' In A the name *En-keladim* has not occurred (see note 48). With 'the Drama of the Silver Tree' cf. the citation from *On Fairy-Stories* given in note 43.

65 In A Ramer says: 'I don't think that's invented: not by me anyway. It seems to take place on this earth in some time or mode or [?place].' In A he goes straight on from 'Atlantis' to his final story.

In B Ramer comments on the Drama of the Silver Tree as in the final text, as far as 'something like it really happens, and I have seen it, far off perhaps or faintly.' Then follows:

> I guess that the true types of my Enkeladim are invisible, unless they turn their attention to you. That is, they are Eldilic in Lewis's terms, in some lesser rank [*added:* or perhaps like Tolkien's Unfallen Elves, only they were embodied].

All this was struck out, and replaced on a rider by the final text, as far as 'entering as it were into their own works because of their love for them.' Then follows: 'that is, that they are of a kind other than Lewis's Eldila (even of lesser rank); and yet not the same as Tolkien's Unfallen Elves, for those were embodied.'

The original B text continues with 'I think [Emberü >] Ellor is

one of their worlds ...', as in the final form. Against *Ellor* is a footnote:

> Ramer said that it was queer how the syllable cropped up: first in Tolkien's Eldar, Eldalie, then in Lewis's Eldil, and then in his Ellor. He thought it *might* be an 'elvish' or Keladian word. The Enkeladim are language-makers. NG.

66 Here the fair copy manuscript C ends, and the typescript D from here on follows B (see p. 146).

67 In A the name was *Tekel-Ishtar*, becoming *Tekel-Mirim* before the manuscript was completed.

68 Thomas Huxley, *Physiography*, 1877, cited in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

69 The Radcliffe Camera, a great circular domed building standing in Radcliffe Square, Oxford, on the south side of which stands St. Mary's church and on the north side the Bodleian Library. *Camera* is used in the Latin sense 'arched or vaulted roof or chamber' (Latin *camera* > French *chambre*, English *chamber*).

[PART TWO][1]

Night 62.[2] Thursday, March 6th, 1987. [Of this meeting only half a torn sheet is preserved. The relevant part will be found in the note to Night 61, p. 195. There appears to have been further discussion of Ramer's views and adventures.]

Night 63. Thursday, March 13th, 1987. [Only the last page of the record of this meeting is preserved. The discussion seems to have proceeded to legendary voyages of discovery in general. For the reference to the *imrám* see Night (69).][3]

[Good] night Frankley!'

Lowdham seemed to feel a bit guilty about his ragging; and when the meeting finally broke up, he walked up the High with Ramer and myself. We turned into Radcliffe Square.[4]

'Played the ass as usual, Ramer,' said Lowdham. 'Sorry! I felt all strung up: wanted a fight, or a carouse, or something. But really I was very interested, especially about the *imrám*.[5] Underneath we Nordics[6] have some feelings, as long as the Dago-fanciers will only be reasonably polite.' He hesitated. 'I've had some rather odd experiences – well, perhaps we'll talk about it some other time. It's late. But in the vac. perhaps?'

'I shall be going away,' said Ramer, a trifle coldly, 'till after Easter.'

'Oh well. But do come to the meetings next term! You must have lots more to tell us. I'll try and be good.'

It was a cool clear night after a windy day. It was starry in the west, but the moon was already climbing. At B.N.C.[7] gate Lowdham turned. The Camera looked vast and dark against the moonlit sky. Wisps of long white cloud were passing on an easterly breeze. For a moment one of them seemed to take the shape of a plume of smoke issuing from the lantern of the dome.

Lowdham looked up, and his face altered. His tall powerful figure appeared taller and broader as he stood there, gazing, with his dark brows drawn down. His face seemed pale and angry, and his eyes glittered.

'Curse him! May the Darkness take him!' he said bitterly. 'May the earth open ——' The cloud passed away. He drew his hand over his brow. 'I was going to say,' he said. 'Well, I don't remember. Something about the Camera, I think. Doesn't matter. Good night, chaps!' He knocked, and passed in through the door.

We turned up along the lane. 'Very odd!' I said. 'What a queer fellow he is sometimes! A strange mixture.'

'He is,' said Ramer. 'Most of what we see is a tortoise-shell: armourplate. He doesn't talk much about what he really cares for.'

'For some reason the last two or three meetings seem to have stirred him up, unsettled him,' I said. 'I can't think why.'

'I wonder,' said Ramer. 'Well, good night, Nick. I'll see you again next term. I hope to start attending regularly again.' We parted at the Turl end of the lane.

PF. RD. AAL. MGR. WTJ. JJR. NG.

Night 64. Thursday, March 27th, 1987.[8]

There was only one meeting in the vacation. Guildford's rooms. Neither Ramer nor Lowdham were present (it was a quiet evening). Guildford read a paper on Jutland in antiquity; but there was not much discussion. [No record of the paper is found in the minutes.]

PF. WTJ. JM. RS. JJ. RD. NG.

Night 65. Thursday, May 8th, 1987.[9]

This was the first meeting of Trinity term. We met in Frankley's rooms in Queen's. Jeremy and Guildford arrived first (in time); others arrived one by one at intervals (late). There was nothing definite on for the evening, though we had hoped for some more talk from Ramer; but he seemed disinclined to say anything further. Conversation hopped about during the first hour, but was not notable.

Lowdham was restless, and would not sit down; at intervals he burst into a song (with which he had, in fact, entered at about half past nine). It began:

I've got a very Briny Notion
To drink myself to sleep.

It seldom progressed further, and never got beyond:

Bring me my bowl, my magic potion!
Tonight I'm diving deep.
down! down! down!
Down where the dream-fish go.

It was not well received, least of all by Ramer. But Lowdham subsided eventually, into a moody silence – for a while.

About ten o'clock the talk turned to neologisms; and Lowdham re-entered in their defence, chiefly because Frankley was taking the other side. (No. Pure love of truth and justice. AAL)

Lowdham to Frankley: 'You say you object to *panting*, which all the younger people use now for *desire* or *wish*?'

'Yes, I do. And especially to *having a great pant for* anything; or worse *having great pants for* it.'

'Well, I don't think you've got any good grounds for your objection: nothing better than novelty or unfamiliarity. New words are always objected to, like new art.'

'Nonsense! Double nonsense, Arry!' said Ramer.[10] 'Frankley is complaining precisely because new words are *not* objected to. And anyway, I personally object to lots of old words, but I have to go on using 'em, because they're current, and people won't accept my substitutes. I dislike many products of old art. I like many new things but not all. There is such a thing as merit, without reference to age or to familiarity. I took to *doink* at once: a very good onomatopoeia for some purposes.'

'Yes, *doink* has come on a lot lately,' said Lowdham. 'But it's not brand-new, of course. I think it's first recorded, in the Third

Supplement to the N.E.D.,[11] in the fifties, in the form *dŏing*: seems to have started in the Air Force in the Six Years' War.'[12]

'And it's an onomatopoeia, mark you,' said Frankley. 'It's easy to appraise the merits of that kind of word, if you can call it a real word. Anyway, adopting that is not at all on all fours with misusing an established word, robbing Peter to relieve the poverty of Paul: lexicographical socialism, which would end by reducing the whole vocabulary to one flat drab Unmeaning, if there were no reactionaries.'

'And won't anybody give poor Peter his pants back?' Lowdham laughed. 'He's got some more pairs in the cupboard, you'll see. He'll just have to take to wearing modern *whaffing* and *whooshing*. And why not? Do you object to Language, root and branch, Pip? I'm surprised at you, and you a poet and all.'

'Of course I don't! But I object to ruining it.'

'But are you ruining it? Is it any worse off with *panting: whaffing* than with *longing: panting*? This is not only the way language is changed, it is how it was made. Essentially it consists in the contemplation of a relationship "sound : sense; symbol : meaning". It's not only when this is new (to you at any rate) that you can appraise it. At inspired moments you can catch it, get the thrill of it, in familiar words. I grant that an onomatopoeia is a relatively simple case: *whaff*. But "*to pant for* equals *to long for*" contains the same element: new phonetic form for a meaning. Only here a second thing comes in: the interest, pleasure, excitement, what you will, of the relation of old sense to new. Both are illumined, for a time, at any rate. Language could never have come into existence without the one process, and never have extended its grasp without the other. Both must go on! They will, too.'

'Well, I don't like this example of the activity,' said Frankley. 'And I detest it, when philologues talk about Language (with a capital L) with that peculiarly odious unction usually reserved for capitalized Life. That we are told "must go on" – if we complain of any debased manifestations, such as Arry in his cups. He talks about Language as if it was not only a Jungle but a Sacred Jungle, a beastly grove dedicated to Vita Fera,[13] in which nothing must be touched by impious hands. Cankers, fungi, parasites: let 'em alone!

'Languages are *not* jungles. They are gardens, in which sounds selected from the savage wilderness of Brute Noise are turned into words, grown, trained, and endued with the scents

of significance. You talk as if I could not pull up a weed that stinks!'

'I do not!' said Lowdham. 'But, first of all, you have to remember that it's not *your* garden – if you must have this groggy allegory: it belongs to a lot of other people as well, and to them your stinking weed may be an object of delight. More important: your allegory is misapplied. What you are objecting to is not a weed, but the soil, and also any manifestations of growth and spread. All the other words in your refined garden have come into being (and got their scent) in the same way. You're like a man who is fond of flowers and fruit, but thinks loam is dirty, and dung disgusting; and the uprising and the withering just too, too sad. You want a sterilized garden of immortelles, no, paper-flowers. In fact, to leave allegory, you won't learn anything about the history of your own language, and hate to be reminded that it has one.'[14]

'Slay me with pontifical thunder-bolts!' cried Frankley. 'But I'll die saying *I don't like pants for longings.*'

'That's the stuff!' laughed Lowdham. 'And you're right of course, Pip. Both are right: the Thunder and the Rebel. For the One Speaker, all alone, is the final court of doom for words, to bless or to condemn. It's the agreement only of the separate judges that seems to make the laws. If your distaste is shared by an effective number of the others, then *pants* will prove – a weed, and be thrust in the oven.

'Though, of course, many people – more and more, I sometimes feel, as Time goes on and even language stales – do not judge any longer, they only echo. Their native language, as Ramer would call it, dies almost at their birth.

'It's not so with you, Philip my lad; you're ignorant, but you have a heart. I dare say *pants* just doesn't fit your native style. So it has always been with full men: they have had their hatreds among the words, and their loves.'

'You talk almost as if you'd seen or heard Language since its beginning, Arry,' said Ramer, looking at him with some surprise. It was a long time since Lowdham had let himself go at such length.

'No! Not since its beginning,' said Lowdham, while a strange expression came over his face. 'Only since – but ... Oh well!' He broke off and went to the window. It was dark but clear as glass in the sky, and there were many white stars.

The conversation drifted again. Starting from the beginnings

of Language, we began to talk about legends of origins and cultural myths. Guildford and Markison began to have an argument about Corn-gods and the coming of divine kings or heroes over the sea, in spite of various frivolous interjections from Lowdham, who seemed curiously averse to the turn of the talk.

'The Sheaf personified,'* said Guild[ford. Here unfortunately one leaf is missing.] .....

[Jeremy] .... 'as you said. But I don't think one can be so sure. Sometimes I have a queer feeling that, if one could go back, one would find not myth dissolving into history, but rather the reverse: real history becoming more mythical – more shapely, simple, discernibly significant, even seen at close quarters. More poetical, and less prosaic, if you like.

'In any case, these ancient accounts, legends, myths, about the far Past, about the origins of kings, laws, and the fundamental crafts, are not all made of the same ingredients. They're not wholly inventions. And even what is invented is different from mere fiction; it has more roots.'

'Roots in what?' said Frankley.

'In Being, I think I should say,' Jeremy answered; 'and in human Being; and coming down the scale, in the springs of History and in the designs of Geography – I mean, well, in the pattern of our world as it uniquely is, and of the events in it as seen from a distance. A sort of parallel to the fact that from far away the Earth would be seen as a revolving sunlit globe; and that is a remote truth of enormous effect on us and all we do, though not immediately discernible on earth, where practical men are quite right in regarding the surface as flat and immovable for practical purposes.

'Of course, the pictures presented by the legends may be partly symbolical, they may be arranged in designs that compress, expand, foreshorten, combine, and are not at all realistic or photographic, yet they may tell you something true about the Past.

'And mind you, there are also real details, what are called facts, accidents of land-shape and sea-shape, of individual men and their actions, that are caught up: the grains on which the stories crystallize like snowflakes. There was a man called Arthur at the centre of the cycle.'

* [See Night 66, p. 236.]

'Perhaps!' said Frankley. 'But that doesn't make such things as the Arthurian romances real in the same way as true past events are real.'

'I didn't say *in the same way*,' said Jeremy. 'There are secondary planes or degrees.'

'And what do you know about "true past events", Philip?' asked Ramer. 'Have you ever seen one, when once it was past? They are all stories or tales now, aren't they, if you try to bring them back into the present? Even your idea of what you did yesterday – if you try to share it with anyone else? Unless, of course, you can go back, or at least see back.'

'Well, I think there's a difference between what really happened at our meetings and Nicholas's record,' said Frankley. 'I don't think his reports erase the true history, whether they're true in their fashion to the events or not. And didn't you claim to be able sometimes to re-view the past as a present thing? Could you go back into Guildford's minutes?'

'Hmm,' Ramer muttered, considering. 'Yes and no,' he said. 'Nicholas could, especially into the scenes that he's pictured or re-pictured fairly solidly and put some mental work into. We could, if we did the same. People of the future, if they only knew the records and studied them, and let their imagination work on them, till the Notion Club became a sort of secondary world set in the Past: they could.'

'Yes, Frankley,' said Jeremy, 'you've got to make a distinction between lies, or casual fiction, or the mere verbal trick of projecting sentences back by putting the verbs into the past tense, between all that and *construction*. Especially of the major kind that has acquired a secondary life of its own and passes from mind to mind.'

'Quite so!' said Ramer. 'I don't think you realize, I don't think any of us realize, the force, the daimonic force that the great myths and legends have. From the profundity of the emotions and perceptions that begot them, and from the multiplication of them in many minds – and each mind, mark you, an engine of obscured but unmeasured energy. They are like an explosive: it may slowly yield a steady warmth to living minds, but if suddenly detonated, it might go off with a crash: yes: might produce a disturbance in the real primary world.'

'What sort of thing are you thinking of?' said Dolbear, lifting his beard off his chest, and opening his eyes with a gleam of passing interest.

'I wasn't thinking of any particular legend,' said Ramer. 'But, well, for instance, think of the emotional force generated all down the west rim of Europe by the men that came at last to the end, and looked on the Shoreless Sea, unharvested, untraversed, unplumbed! And against that background what a prodigious stature other events would acquire! Say, the coming, apparently out of that Sea, riding a storm, [of] strange men of superior knowledge, steering yet unimagined ships. And if they bore tales of catastrophe far away: battles, burned cities, or the whelming of lands in some tumult of the earth – it shakes me to think of such things in such terms, even now.'

'Yes, I'm moved by that,' said Frankley. 'But it's large and vague. I'm still stuck a good deal nearer home, in Jeremy's casual reference to King Arthur. There you have a sort of legendary land, but it's quite unreal.'

'But you'll allow, won't you,' said Ramer, 'that the Britain of Arthur, as now imagined, even in a debased when-knights-were-bold sort of form, has some kind of force and life?'

'Some kind of literary attraction,' said Frankley. 'But could you go back to King Arthur's Camelot, even on your system? Of which, by the way, I'm not yet convinced: I mean, what you've told us seems to me very likely no more than an exceptionally elaborate, and exceptionally well-remembered form of what I call "dreaming" simply: picture-and-story-spinning while asleep.'

'And anyway: if legend (significant on its own plane) has gathered about history (with its own importance), which would you go back to? Which would you see, if you saw back?' asked Guildford.

'It depends on what you yourself are like, and on what you are looking for, I imagine,' Ramer answered. 'If you were seeking the story that has most power and significance for human minds, then probably that is the version that you'ld find.

'Anyway, I think you could – I think I could go back to Camelot, *if* the conditions of my mind and the chances of travel were favourable. The chances are not, as I told you, more than very slightly affected by waking desire. An adventure of that sort would *not* be the same thing as re-viewing what you'ld call Fifth-century Britain. Neither would it be like making a dream-drama of my own. It would be more like the first, but it would be more active. It would be much less free than the second. It would probably be more difficult than either. I fancy it might be

the sort of thing best done by one or two people in concert.'

'I don't see how that would help,' said Frankley.

'Because different people have different views, or have individual contributions to make: is that what you mean?' asked Guildford. 'But that would be just as true of historical research or "backsight".'

'No, it wouldn't,' said Jeremy. 'You're mixing up history in the sense of a story made up out of the intelligible surviving evidence (which is not necessarily truer to the facts than legend) and "the true story", the real Past. If you really had a look back at the Past as it was, then everything would be there to see, if you had eyes for it, or time to observe it in. And the most difficult thing to see would be, as it always is "at present", the pattern, the significance, yes, the moral of it all, if you like. At least that would be the case, the nearer you come to our time. As I said before, I'm not so sure about that, as you pass backward to the beginnings. But in such a thing as a great story-cycle the situation would be different: much would be vividly real and at the same time ... er ... portentous; but there might be, would be, uncompleted passages, weak joints, gaps. You'ld have to consolidate. You might need help.'

'You might indeed!' said Frankley. 'Riding down from Camelot (when you had discovered just where that was) to most other places on the legendary map, you'ld find the road pretty vague. Most of the time you'ld be lost in a fog! And you'ld meet some pretty sketchy characters about the court, too.'

'Of course! And so you would about the present court,' said Markison, 'or in any Oxford quadrangle. Why should that worry you? Sketchy characters are more true to life than fully studied ones. There are precious few people in real life that you know as well as a good writer knows his heroes and villains.'

'Riding down to Camelot. Riding out from Camelot,' murmured Lowdham. 'And there was a dark shadow over that too. I wonder, I wonder. But it is still only a tale to me. Not all legends are like that. No, unfortunately. Some seem to have come to life on their own, and they will not rest. I should hate to be cast back into some of those lands. It would be worse than the vision of poor Norman Keeps.'

'What on earth is he talking about now?' said Guildford.

'The cork's coming out pretty soon, I think,' grunted Dolbear without opening his eyes.

'Oh, Norman Keeps is our barber,'[15] said Frankley. 'At least

that's what Arry and I call him: no idea what his real name is. Quite a nice and moderately intelligent little man: but to him everything beyond a certain vague distance back is a vast dark barren but utterly fixed and determined land and time called The Dark Ages. There are only four features in it: Norman Keeps (by which he means baronial castles, and possibly the house of any man markedly richer than himself); Them Jameses (meaning roughly I suppose the kings One and Two); The Squires (a curious kind of bogey-folk); and The People. Nothing ever happened in that land but Them Jameses shutting up The People in the Keeps (with the help of The Squires) and there torturing them and robbing them, though they don't appear ever to have possessed anything to be robbed of. Rather a gloomy legend. But it's a great deal more fixed in a lot more heads than is the Battle of Camlan!'[16]

'I know, I know,' said Lowdham loudly and angrily. 'It's a shame! Norman Keeps is a very decent chap, and would rather learn truth than lies. But Zigūr[17] pays special attention to the type. Curse him!'

Conversation stopped, and there was a silence. Ramer and Guildford exchanged glances. Dolbear opened his eyes quietly without moving his head.

'Zigūr?' said Jeremy, looking at Lowdham. 'Zigūr? Who is he?'

'No idea, no idea!' said Lowdham. 'Is this a new game, Jerry? Owlamoo,[18] who's he?' He strode to the window and flung it open.

The early summer night was still and glimmering, warmer than usual for the time of year. Lowdham leant out, and we turned and stared at his back. The large window looked west, and the two towers of All Souls' stuck up like dim horns against the stars.

Suddenly Lowdham spoke in a changed voice, clear and ominous, words in an unknown tongue; and then turning fiercely upon us he cried aloud:

Behold the Eagles of the Lords of the West! They are coming over Nūmenōr![19]

We were all startled. Several of us went to the window and stood behind Lowdham, looking out. A great cloud, coming up slowly out of the West, was eating up the stars. As it approached it opened two vast sable wings, spreading north and south.

Suddenly Lowdham pulled away, slammed the window down, and drew the curtains. He slumped into a chair and shut his eyes.

We returned to our seats and sat there uncomfortably for some time without a sound. At last Ramer spoke.

'*Nūmenōr*? *Nūmenōr*?' he said quietly. 'Where did you find that name, Arundel Lowdham?'

'Oh, I don't know,' Lowdham answered, opening his eyes, and looking round with a rather dazed expression. 'It comes to me, now and again. Just on the edge of things, you know. Eludes the grasp. Like coming round after gas. But it's been turning up more often than usual this spring. I'm sorry. Have I been behaving oddly or something, not quite my old quiet friendly self? Give me a drink!'

'I asked,' said Ramer, 'because *Nūmenōr* is my name for Atlantis.'[20]

'Now that *is* odd!' began Jeremy.

'Ah!' said Lowdham. 'I wondered if it might be. I asked you what your name was that night last term; but you didn't answer.'

'Well, here's a new development!' said Dolbear, who was now wide awake. 'If Arry Lowdham is going to dive where the dreams go and find the same fish as Ramer, we shall have to look into the pool.'

'We shall,' said Jeremy; 'for it's not only Ramer and Arry. I come into it too. I knew I had heard that name as soon as Arry said it.[21] But I can't for the life of me remember where or when at the moment. It'll bother me now, like a thorn in the foot, until I get it out.'

'Very queer,' said Dolbear.

'What do you propose to do?' said Ramer.

'Take your advice,' said Jeremy. 'Get your help, if you'll give it.'

'Go into memory-training on the Rufus-Ramer system and see what we can fish up,' said Lowdham. 'I feel as if something wants to get out, and I should be glad to get it out – or forget it.'

'I'm a bit lost in all this,' said Markison. 'I've missed something evidently. Philip has told me a bit about the Ramer revelations last term, but I'm still rather at sea. Couldn't you tell us something, Lowdham, to make things a little clearer?'

'No, really, I'm feeling frightfully tired,' said Lowdham. 'You had better read up the records, if Nick has written them out

yet.[22] I expect he has. He's pretty regular, and pretty accurate, if a bit hard on me. And come along to the next meeting. And we'd better make that in a fortnight's time, I think. You can have my room, if you think you can all get in. We'll see what we have got by then. I've nothing much to tell yet.'

The conversation then dropped back uncertainly towards the normal, and nothing further occurred worth noting.

As we went out Lowdham said to Ramer: 'D'you think I could come round and talk to you, and to Rufus, some time soon?'

'Yes,' said Ramer. 'The sooner the better. You come too, Jeremy.'

MGR. PF. RD. JM. JJ. RS. AAL. WTJ. NG.

Night 66. Thursday, May 22nd, 1987.

A crowded evening. Lowdham's rather small room was pretty packed. The idea of Arry 'seeing things' was sufficiently astonishing to attract every member who was in Oxford. (Also I am supposed to keep more bottles in my cupboard than some that I could name. AAL)

Lowdham seemed in a bright and rather noisy mood again; reluctant to do anything but sing. Eventually he was quietened and got into a chair.

'Well now,' said Markison, 'I've read the records. I can't say I've made my mind up about them yet; but I'm very interested to hear how you come into such business, Arry. It doesn't seem in your line.'

'Well, I'm a philologist,' said Lowdham, 'which means a misunderstood man. But where I come in is, I think, at the point you've mentioned: at *Arry*. The name Arry, which some of you are pleased to attach to me, is *not* just a tribute to my vulgar noisiness, as seems assumed by the more ignorant among you: it is short not for Henry or Harold, but for Arundel. In full *Alwin Arundel Lowdham* your humble jester, at your service.'

'Well, what has that got to do with it?' said several voices.

'I'm not quite sure yet,' said Lowdham. 'But my father's name was Edwin.'[23]

'Illuminating indeed!' said Frankley.

'Not very, I think,' said Lowdham. 'Not illuminating, but puzzling. My father was an odd sort of man, as far as I

remember. Large, tall, powerful, dark. Don't stare at me! I'm a reduced copy. He was wealthy, and combined a passion for the sea with learning of a sort, linguistic and archaeological. He must have studied Anglo-Saxon and other North-western tongues; for I inherited his library and some of his tastes.

'We lived in Pembrokeshire, near Penian:[24] more or less, for we were away a large part of the year; and my father was always going off at a moment's notice: he spent a great deal of his time sailing about Norway, Scotland, Ireland, Iceland, and sometimes southward to the Azores and so on. I did not know him well, though I loved him as much as a small boy can, and used to dream of the time when I could go sailing with him. But he disappeared when I was only nine.'

'Disappeared?' said Frankley. 'I thought you told me once that he was lost at sea.'

'He disappeared,' said Lowdham. 'A strange story. No storm. His ship just vanished into the Atlantic. That was in 1947, just forty years ago next month. No signals (he wouldn't use wireless, anyway). No trace. No news. She was called *The Éarendel*.[25] An odd business.'

'The seas were still pretty dangerous at that time, weren't they?' said Stainer. 'Mines all over the place?'

'Not a spar at any rate was ever found,' said Lowdham. 'That was the end of *The Éarendel*: a queer name, and a queer end. But my father had some queer fancies about names. I am called Alwin Arundel, a mouthful enough, out of deference to prudence and my mother, I believe. The names he chose were Ælfwine Éarendel.

'One of the few conversations I remember having with him was just before he went off for the last time. I had begged to go with him, and he had said NO, of course. "When can I go?" I said.

' "Not yet, Ælfwine," he said. "Not yet. Some time, perhaps. Or you may have to follow me."

'It was then that it came out about my names. "I modernized 'em," he said, "to save trouble. But my ship bears the truer name. It does not look to Sussex,[26] but to shores a great deal further off. Very far away indeed now. A man has more freedom in naming his ship than his own son in these days. And it's few men that have either to name."

'He went off next day. He was mad to be at sea again, as he had been kept ashore all through the Six Years' War,[27] from the summer of 1939 onward, except I believe just at the Dunkirk

time in 1940. Too old – he was fifty when the war broke out, and I was only a year; for he had married late – too old, and I fancy a good deal too free and unbiddable to get any particular job, and he had become fiercely restless. He only took three sailors with him,[28] I think, but of course I don't know how he found them, or how they ever managed to get off, in those days of tyranny. I fancy they just cleared out illegally, somehow. Whither, I wonder? I don't think they meant to return. Anyway I never saw him again.'

'I can't see the connexion of this thread at all yet,' said Guildford.

'Wait a bit!' said Ramer. 'There is a connexion, or we think so. We've discussed it. You'd better let Arundel have his say.'

'Well – as soon as he'd gone ... I was only nine at the time, as I said, and I had never bothered much about books, let alone languages, naturally at that age. I could read, of course, but I seldom did ... as soon as my father had gone, and we knew that it was for good, I began to take up with languages, especially making them up (as I thought). After a time I used to stray into his study, left for years it was, just as it had been when he was alive.

'There I learned a lot of odd things in a desultory way, and I came across some sort of a diary or notes in a queer script. I don't know what happened to it when my mother died. I only found one loose leaf of it among the papers that came to me. I've kept it for years, and often tried and failed to read it; but it is mislaid at present. I was about fourteen or fifteen when I got specially taken with Anglo-Saxon, for some reason. I liked its word-style, I think. It wasn't so much what was written in it as the flavour of the words that suited me. But I was first introduced to it by trying to find out more about the names. I didn't get much light on them.

'*Éadwine* friend of fortune? *Ælfwine* elf-friend? That at any rate is what their more or less literal translation comes to. Though, as most of you will know (except poor Philip), these two-part names are pretty conventional, and not too much can be built on their literal meaning.'

'But they must originally have been made to have a meaning,' said Ramer. 'The habit of joining, apparently at random, any two of a list of beginners and enders, giving you Spear-peace and Peace-wolf and that sort of thing, must have been a later development, a kind of dried-up verbal heraldry. *Ælfwine* any-

way is one of the old combinations. It occurs outside England, doesn't it?'

'Yes,' said Lowdham. 'And so does *Éadwine*. But I could not see that any of the many recorded Ælfwines were very suitable: Ælfwine, grandson of King Alfred, for instance, who fell in the great victory of 937; or Ælfwine who fell in the famous defeat of Maldon, and many others; not even Ælfwine of Italy, that is Albuin son of Auduin, the grim Langobard of the sixth century.'[29]

'Don't forget the connexion of the Langobards with King Sheaf,'[30] put in Markison, who was beginning to show signs of interest.

'I don't,' said Lowdham. 'But I was talking of my earliest investigations as a boy.'

'Nor the repetition of the sequence: Albuin son of Auduin; Ælfwine son of Éadwine; Alwin son of Edwin,' said Ramer.[31]

'Probably deliberately imitated from the well-known story of Rosamund,'[32] objected Philip Frankley. 'Arry's father must have known it. And that's quite enough to explain Alwin and Ælfwine, when you're dealing with a family of Nordic philologues.'

'Perhaps, O Horsefriend of Macedon!'[33] said Lowdham. 'But it doesn't take in *Éarendel*. There's little to be found out about that in Anglo-Saxon, though the name is there all right. Some guess that it was really a star-name for Orion, or for Rigel.[34] A ray, a brilliance, the light of dawn: so run the glosses.[35]

Éalá Éarendel engla beorhtost
ofer middangeard monnum sended!'

he chanted. '"Hail Earendel, brightest of angels, above the middle-earth sent unto men!" When I came across that citation in the dictionary I felt a curious thrill, as if something had stirred in me, half wakened from sleep. There was something very remote and strange and beautiful behind those words, if I could grasp it, far beyond ancient English.

'I know more now, of course. The quotation comes from the *Crist*; though exactly what the author meant is not so certain.[36] It is beautiful enough in its place. But I don't think it is any irreverence to say that it may derive its curiously moving quality from some older world.'

'Why *irreverent*?' said Markison. 'Even if the words do refer to Christ, of course they are all derived from an older pre-christian world, like all the rest of the language.'

'That's so,' said Lowdham; 'but *Éarendel* seems to me a

special word. It is not Anglo-Saxon;[37] or rather, it is not *only* Anglo-Saxon, but also something else much older.

'I think it is a remarkable case of linguistic coincidence, or congruence. Such things do occur, of course. I mean, in two different languages, quite unconnected, and where no borrowing from one to the other is possible, you will come across words very similar in both sound and meaning. They are usually dismissed as accidents; and I daresay some of the cases are not significant. But I fancy that they may sometimes be the result of a hidden symbol-making process working out to similar ends by different routes. Especially when the result is beautiful and the meaning poetical, as is the case with *Éarendel*.'

'If I follow all this,' said Markison, 'I suppose you are trying to say that you've discovered *Éarendel*, or something like it, in some other unconnected language, and are dismissing all the other forms of the name that are found in the older languages related to English. Though one of them, *Auriwandalo*, is actually recorded as a Langobardic name, I think. It's odd how the Langobards keep cropping up.'

'It is,' said Lowdham, 'but I am not interested in that at the moment. For I do mean that: I have often heard *éarendel*, or to be exact *ëarendil*, *e-a-r-e-n-d-i-l*, in another language, where it actually means Great Mariner, or literally Friend of the Sea; though it also has, I think, some connexion with the stars.'

'What language is that?' said Markison, knitting his brows. 'Not one I've ever come across, I think.' (He has 'come across' or dabbled in about a hundred in his time.)

'No, I don't suppose you've ever met it,' said Lowdham. 'It's an unknown language. But I had better try and explain.

'From the time of my father's departure I began to have curious experiences, and I have gone on having them down the years, slowly increasing in clearness: visitations of linguistic ghosts, you might say. Yes, just that. I am not a *seer*. I have, of course, pictorial dreams like other folk, but only what Ramer would call marginal stuff, and few and fleeting at that: which at any rate means that if I see things I don't remember them. But ever since I was about ten I have had words, even occasional phrases, ringing in my ears; both in dream and waking abstraction. They come into my mind unbidden, or I wake to hear myself repeating them. Sometimes they seem to be quite isolated, just words or names. Sometimes something seems to "break my dream"[38] as my mother used to say: the names seem to be

connected strangely with things seen in waking life, suddenly, in some fleeting posture or passing light which transports me to some quite different region of thought or imagination. Like the Camera that night in March, Ramer, if you remember it.

'Looking at a picture once of a cone-shaped mountain rising out of wooded uplands, I heard myself crying out: "Desolate is Minul-Tārik, the Pillar of Heaven is forsaken!" and I knew that it was a dreadful thing. But most ominous of all are the Eagles of the Lords of the West. They shake me badly when I see them. I could, I could – I feel I could tell some great tale of Nūmenor.

'But I'm getting on too fast. It was a long time before I began to piece the fragments together at all. Most of these "ghost-words" are, and always were, to all appearance casual, as casual as the words caught by the eye from a lexicon when you're looking for something else. They began to come through, as I said, when I was about ten; and almost at once I started to note them down. Clumsily, of course, at first. Even grown-up folk make a poor shot, as a rule, at spelling the simplest words that they've never seen, unless they have some sort of phonetic knowledge. But I've still got some of the grubby little note-books I used as a small boy. An unsystematic jumble, of course; for it was only now and again that I bothered about such things. But later on, when I was older and had a little more linguistic experience, I began to pay serious attention to my "ghosts", and saw that they were something quite different from the game of trying to make up private languages.

'As soon as I started looking out for them, so to speak, the ghosts began to come oftener and clearer; and when I had got a lot of them noted down, I saw that they were not all of one kind: they had different phonetic styles, styles as unlike as, well – Latin and Hebrew. I am sorry, if this seems a bit complicated. I can't help it: and if this stuff is worth your bothering about at all, we'd better get it right.

'Well, first of all I recognized that a lot of these ghosts were Anglo-Saxon, or related stuff. What was left I arranged in two lists, A and B, according to their style, with a third rag-bag list C for odd things that didn't seem to fit in anywhere. But it was language A that really attracted me; it just suited me. I still like it best.'

'In that case you ought to have got it pretty well worked out by now,' said Stainer. 'Haven't you got a *Grammar and Lexicon of Lowdham's Language A* that you could pass round? I

wouldn't mind a look at it, if it isn't in some hideous phonetic script.'

Lowdham stared at him, but repressed the explosion that seemed imminent. 'Are you deliberately missing the point?' he said. 'I've been painfully trying to indicate that I do *not* believe that this stuff is "invented", not by me at any rate.

'Take the Anglo-Saxon first. It is the only known language that comes through at all in this way, and that in itself is odd. And it began to come through *before* I knew it. I recognized it as Anglo-Saxon only after I began to learn it from books, and then I had the curious experience of finding that I already knew a good many of the words. Why, there are a number of ghost-words noted in the very first of my childish note-books that are plainly a beginner's efforts at putting down spoken Old English words in modern letters. There's *wook*, *woak*, *woof* = crooked, for instance, that is evidently a first attempt at recording Anglo-Saxon *wōh*.

'And as for the other stuff: A, the language I like best, is the shortest list. How I wish I could get more of it! But it's *not* under my control, Stainer. It's not one of my invented lingoes. I have made up two or three, and they're as complete as they're ever likely to be; but that's quite a different matter. But evidently I'd better cut out the autobiography and jump down to the present.

'It's now clear to me that the two languages A and B have got nothing to do with any language I've ever heard, or come across in books in the ordinary way. Nothing. As far as it is possible for any language, built out of about two dozen sounds, as A is, to avoid occasional resemblances to other quite unrelated tongues: nothing. And they have nothing to do with my inventions either. Language B is quite unlike my own style. Language A is very agreeable to my taste (it may have helped to form it), but it is independent of me; I can't "work it out", as you put it.

'Any one who has ever spent (or wasted) any time on composing a language will understand me. Others perhaps won't. But in making up a language you are free: too free. It is difficult to fit meaning to any given sound-pattern, and even more difficult to fit a sound-pattern to any given meaning. I say *fit*. I don't mean that you can't assign forms or meanings arbitrarily, as you will. Say, you want a word for *sky*. Well, call it *jibberjabber*, or anything else that comes into your head

without the exercise of any linguistic taste or art. But that's code-making, not language-building. It is quite another matter to find a relationship, sound plus sense, that satisfies, that is when made *durable*. When you're just inventing, the pleasure or fun is in the moment of invention; but as you are the master your whim is law, and you may want to have the fun all over again, fresh. You're liable to be for ever niggling, altering, refining, wavering, according to your linguistic mood and to your changes of taste.

'It is not in the least like that with my ghost-words. They came through made: sound and sense already conjoined. I can no more niggle with them than I can alter the sound or the sense of the word *polis* in Greek. Many of my ghost-words have been repeated, over and over again, down the years. Nothing changes but, occasionally, my spelling. They don't change. They endure, unaltered, unalterable by me. In other words they have the effect and taste of real languages. But one can have one's preferences among real languages, and as I say, I like A best.

'Both A and B I associate in some way with the name *Nūmenor*. The rag-bag list has got pretty long as the years have gone on, and I can now see that, among some unidentified stuff, it contains a lot of echoes of later forms of language derived from A and B. The Nūmenorean tongues are old, old, archaic; they taste of an Elder World to me. The other things are worn, altered, touched with the loss and bitterness of these shores of exile.' These last words he spoke in a strange tone, as if talking to himself. Then his voice trailed off into silence.

'I find this rather hard to follow, or to swallow,' said Stainer. 'Couldn't you give us something a bit clearer, something better to bite on than this algebra of A and B?'

Lowdham looked up again. 'Yes, I could,' he said. 'I won't bother you with the later echoes. I find them moving, somehow, and instructive technically: I am beginning to discern the laws or lines of their change as the world grew older; but that wouldn't be clear even to a philologist except in writing and with long parallel lists.

'But take the name *Nūmenōre* or *Nūmenor* (both occur) to start with. That belongs to Language A. It means Westernesse, and is composed of *nūme* "west" and *nōre* "folk" or "country". But the B name is *Anadūnē*, and the people are called *Adūnāim*, from the B word *adūn* "west". The same land, or so I think, has

another name: in A *Andōre* and in B *Yōzāyan*,[39] and both mean "Land of Gift".

'There seems to be no connexion between the two languages there. But there are some words that are the same or very similar in both. The word for "sky" or "the heavens" is *menel* in Language A and *minil* in B: a form of it occurs in *Minul-tārik* "Pillar of Heaven" that I mentioned just now. And there seems to be some connexion between the A word *Valar*, which seems to mean something like "The Powers", we might say "gods" perhaps, and the B plural *Avalōim* and the place-name *Avallōni*. Although that is a B name, it is with it, oddly enough, that I associate Language A; so if you want to get rid of algebra, you can call A Avallonian, and B Adunaic. I do myself.

'The name *Ëarendil*, by the way, belongs to Avallonian, and contains *ëare* "the open sea" and the stem *ndil* "love, devotion": that may look a bit odd, but lots of the Avallonian stems begin with *nd*, *mb*, *ng*, which lose their *d*, *b*, or *g* when they stand alone. The corresponding Adunaic name, apparently meaning just the same, is *Azrubēl*. A large number of names seem to have double forms like this, almost as if one people spoke two languages. If that is so, I suppose the situation could be paralleled by the use of, say, Chinese in Japan, or indeed of Latin in Europe. As if a man could be called Godwin, and also Theophilus or Amadeus. But even so two different peoples must come into the story somewhere.

'Well there you are. I hope you are not all bored. I could give you long lists of other words. Words, words, mostly just that. For the most part significant nouns, like *Isil* and *Nīlū* for the Moon; fewer adjectives, still fewer verbs, and only occasional connected phrases. I love these languages, though they are only fragments out of some forgotten book. I find both curiously attractive, though Avallonian is nearest to my heart. Adunaic with its, well, faintly Semitic flavour belongs more nearly to our world, somehow. But Avallonian is to me beautiful, in its simple and euphonious style. And it seems to me more august, more ancient, and, well, sacred and liturgical. I used to call it the Elven-Latin. The echoes of it carry one far away. Very far away. Away from Middle-earth altogether, I expect.' He paused as if he was listening. 'But I could not explain just what I mean by that,' he ended.

There was a short silence, and then Markison spoke. 'Why did you call it Elven-Latin?'[40] he asked. 'Why Elven?'

'I don't quite know,' Lowdham answered. 'It seems the nearest English word for the purpose. But certainly I didn't mean *elf* in any debased post-Shakespearean sort of sense. Something far more potent and majestic. I am not quite clear what. In fact it's one of the things that I most want to discover. What is the real reference of the *ælf* in my name?

'You remember that I said Anglo-Saxon used to come through mixed up with this other queer stuff, as if it had some special connexion with it? Well, I got hold of Anglo-Saxon through the ordinary books later on: I began to learn it properly before I was fifteen, and that confused the issue. Yet it is an odd fact that, though I found most of these words already there, waiting for me, in the printed vocabularies and dictionaries, there were some – and they still come through now and again – that are not there at all. *Tíwas*,[41] for instance, apparently used as an equivalent of the Avallonian *Valar*; and *Nówendaland*[42] for *Nūmenōre*. And other compound names too, like *Fréafíras*,[43] *Regeneard*,[44] and *Midswípen*.[45] Some were in very archaic form: like *hebaensuil* "pillar of heaven", or *frumaeldi*; or very antique indeed like *Wihawinia*.'[46]

'This is dreadful,' sighed Frankley. 'Though I suppose I should be grateful at least that Valhalla and Valkyries have not made their appearance yet. But you'd better be careful, Arry! We're all friends here, and we won't give you away. But you will be getting into trouble, if you let your archaic cats out of your private bag among your quarrelsome philological rivals. Unless, of course, you back up their theories.'[47]

'You needn't worry,' said Lowdham. 'I've no intention of publishing the stuff. And I haven't come across anything very controversial anyway. After all Anglo-Saxon is pretty near home, in place and time, and it's been closely worked: there's not much margin for wide errors, not even in pronunciation. What I hear is more or less what the received doctrine would lead me to expect. Except in one point: it is so slow! Compared with us urban chirrupers the farmers and mariners of the past simply mouthed, savoured words like meat and wine and honey on their tongues. Especially when declaiming. They made a scrap of verse majestically sonorous: like thunder moving on a slow wind, or the tramp of mourners at the funeral of a king. We just gabble the stuff. But even that is no news to philologists, in theory; though the realization of it in sound is something mere theory hardly prepares you for. And, of course, the

philologists would be very interested in my echoes of very archaic English, even early Germanic – if they could be got to believe that they were genuine.

'Here's a bit that might intrigue them. It's very primitive in form, though I use a less horrific notation than is usual. But you had better see this.' He brought out from his pocket several scraps of paper and passed them round;

westra lage wegas rehtas, wraikwas nu isti.

'That came through years ago,[48] long before I could interpret it, and it has constantly been repeated in various forms:

westra lage wegas rehtas, wraikwas nu isti.
westweg wæs rihtweg, wóh is núþa

and so on and on and on, in many snatches and dream-echoes, down from what looks like very ancient Germanic to Old English.

a straight way lay westward, now it is bent.

It seems the key to something, but I can't fit it yet. But it was while I was rummaging in an Onomasticon,[49] and poring over the list of Ælfwines, that I got, seemed to *hear* and *see*, the longest snatch that has ever come through in that way. Yes, I said I wasn't a *seer*; but Anglo-Saxon is sometimes an exception. I don't see pictures, but I see letters: some of the words and especially some of the scraps of verse seem to be present to the mind's eye as well as to the ear, as if sometime, somewhere, I had seen them written and could almost recall the page. If you turn over the slips I gave you, you'll see the thing written out. It came through when I was only sixteen, before I had read any of the old verse; but the lines stuck, and I put them down as well as I could. The archaic forms interest me now as a philologist, but that's how they came through, and how they stand in my note-book under the date October 1st 1954. A windy evening: I remember it howling round the house, and the distant sound of the sea.

Monath módaes lust mith meriflóda
forth ti foeran thaet ic feorr hionan
obaer gaarseggaes grimmae holmas
aelbuuina eard uut gisoecae.
Nis me ti hearpun hygi ni ti hringthegi
ni ti wíbae wyn ni ti weoruldi hyct
ni ymb oowict ellaes nebnae ymb ýtha giwalc.

It sounds to me now almost like my own father speaking across grey seas of world and time:

> My soul's desire over the sea-torrents
> forth bids me fare, that I afar should seek
> over the ancient water's awful mountains
> Elf-friends' island in the Outer-world.
> For no harp have I heart, no hand for gold,
> in no wife delight, in the world no hope:
> one wish only, for the waves' tumult.

'I know now, of course, that these lines very closely resemble some of the verses in the middle of *The Seafarer*, as that strange old poem of longing is usually called. But they are not the same. In the text preserved in manuscript it runs *elþéodigra eard* 'the land of aliens', not *aelbuuina* or *ælfwina* (as it would have been spelt later) 'of the Ælfwines, the Elven-friends'. I think mine is probably the older and better text – it is in a much older form and spelling anyway – but I daresay I should get into trouble, as Pip suggests, if I put it into a "serious journal".[50]

'It was not until quite recently that I picked up echoes of some other lines that are not found at all among the preserved fragments of the oldest English verses.[51]

> *Þus cwæð Ælfwine Widlást Éadwines sunu:*
> *Fela bið on Westwegum werum uncúðra,*
> *wundra and wihta, wlitescéne land,*
> *eardgeard ælfa and ésa bliss.*
> *Lýt ænig wát hwylc his langoð síe*
> *þám þe eftsíðes eldo getwæfeð.*

'Thus spake Ælfwine the Fartravelled son of Éadwine:
There is many a thing in the west of the world unknown to men; marvels and strange beings, [a land lovely to look on,] the dwelling place of the Elves and the bliss of the Gods. Little doth any man know what longing is his whom old age cutteth off from return.

'I think my father went before Eld should cut him off. But what of Éadwine's son?

'Well, now I've had my say for the present. There may be more later. I am working at the stuff – as hard as time and my duties allow, and things may happen. Certainly I'll let you know, if they do. For now you have endured so much, I expect you will want some more news, if anything interesting turns up.

If it's any comfort to you, Philip, I think we shall get away from Anglo-Saxon sooner or later.'

'If it's any comfort to you, Arry,' said Frankley, 'for the first time in your long life as a preacher you've made me faintly interested in it.'

'Good Heavens!' said Lowdham. 'Then there must be something *very* queer going on! Lor bless me! Give me a drink and I will sing, as the minstrels used to say.

Fil me a cuppe of ful gode ale,
for longe I have spelled tale!
Nu wil I drinken or I ende
that Frenche men to helle wende!'[52]

The song was interrupted by Frankley. Eventually a semblance of peace was restored, only one chair being a casualty. Nothing toward or untoward occurred for the remainder of the evening.

AAL. MGR. WTJ. JM. RD. RS. PF. JJ. JJR. NG.

Night 67. Thursday, June 12th, 1987.[53]

We met in Ramer's rooms in Jesus College. There were eight of us present, including Stainer and Cameron, and all the regulars except Lowdham. It was very hot and sultry, and we sat near the window looking into the inner quadrangle, talking of this and that, and listening for the noises of Lowdham's approach; but an hour passed and there was still no sign of him.

'Have you seen anything of Arry lately?' said Frankley to Jeremy. 'I haven't. I wonder if he's going to turn up at all tonight?'

'I couldn't say,' said Jeremy. 'Ramer and I saw a good deal of him in the first few days after our last meeting, but I haven't set eyes on him for some time now.'

'I wonder what he's up to? They say he cancelled his lectures last week. I hope he's not ill.'

'I don't think you need fret about your little Elf-friend,' said Dolbear. 'He's got a body and a constitution that would put a steamroller back a bit, if it bumped into him. And don't worry about his mind! He's getting something off it, and that will do him no harm, I think. At least whatever it does, it will do less harm than trying to cork it up any longer. But what on earth it all is – well, I'm still about as much at sea as old Edwin Lowdham himself.'

'Sunk, in fact,' said Stainer. 'I should say it was a bad attack of repressed linguistic invention, and that the sooner he brings out an Adunaic Grammar the better for all.'

'Perhaps,' said Ramer. 'But he may bring out a lot more besides. I wish he would come!'

At that moment there was the sound of loud footsteps, heavy and quick, on the wooden stairs below. There was a bang on the door, and in strode Lowdham.

'I've got something new!' he shouted. 'More than mere words. Verbs! Syntax at last!' He sat down and mopped his face.

'Verbs, syntax! Hooray!' mocked Frankley. 'Now isn't that thrilling!'

'Don't try and start a row, O Lover of Horses[54] and Horseplay!' said Lowdham. 'It's too hot. Listen!

'It's been very stuffy and thundery lately, and I haven't been able to sleep, a troublesome novelty for me; and I began to have a splitting headache. So I cleared off for a few days to the west coast, to Pembroke. But the Eagles came up out of the Atlantic, and I fled. I still couldn't sleep when I came back, and my headache got worse. And then last night I fell suddenly into a deep dark sleep – and I got this.' He waved a handful of papers at us. 'I didn't come round until nearly twelve this morning, and my head was ringing with words. They began to fade quickly as soon as I woke; but I jotted down at once all I could.

'I have been working on the stuff every minute since, and I've made six copies. For I think you'll find it well worth a glance; but you fellows would never follow it without something to look at. Here it is!'

He passed round several sheets of paper. On them were inscribed strange words in a big bold hand, done with one of the great thick-nibbed pens Lowdham is fond of. Under most of the words were glosses in red ink.[55]

I

(A)	*O*	*sauron*	*túle*	*nukumna*	... *lantaner*	*turkildi*
	and	?	came	humbled	... fell	?
	nuhuinenna	... *tar-kalion*		*ohtakáre*	*valannar*	...
	under shadow	... ?		war made	on Powers	...
	númeheruvi	*arda*	*sakkante*	*leném*e	*ilúvatáren*	...
	Lords-of-West	Earth	rent	with leave	of ?	...

ëari ullier ikilyanna ... númenóre ataltane
seas should flow into chasm ... Numenor fell down

* * *

(B) *Kadō zigūrun zabathān unakkha ... ēruhīnim*
and so ? humbled he-came ... ?

dubdam ugru-dalad ... ar-pharazōnun azaggara
fell ?shadow under ... ? was warring

avalōiyada ... bārim an-adūn yurahtam dāira
against Powers ... Lords of-West broke Earth

sāibēth-mā ēruvō ... azrīya du-phursā akhāsada
assent-with ?-from ... seas so-as-to-gush into chasm

... anadūnē zīrān hikallaba ... bawība dulgī
... Numenor beloved she-fell down ... winds black

... balīk hazad an-nimruzīr azūlada
... ships seven of ? eastward

II

(B) *Agannālō burōda nēnud ... zāira nēnud*
Death-shadow heavy on-us ... longing (is) on-us

... adūn izindi batān tāidō ayadda: īdō
... west straight road once went now

kātha batīna lōkhī
all roads crooked

(A) *Vahaiya sín Andóre*
far away now (is) Land of Gift

(B) *Ēphalak īdōn Yōzāyan*
far away now (is) Land of Gift

(B) *Ēphal ēphalak īdōn hi-Akallabēth*
far far away now (is) She-that-hath-fallen

(A) *Haiya vahaiya sín atalante.*
far far away now (is) the Downfallen.[56]

'There are two languages here,' said Lowdham, 'Avallonian and Adunaic: I have labelled them A and B. Of course, I have put them down in a spelling of my own. Avallonian has a clear simple phonetic structure and in my ear it rings like a bell, but I

seemed to feel as I wrote this stuff down that it was not really spelt like this. I have never had the same feeling before, but this morning I half glimpsed quite a different script, though I couldn't visualize it clearly. I fancy Adunaic used a very similar script too.

'"I believe these are passages out of some book," I said to myself. And then suddenly I remembered the curious script in my father's manuscript. But that can wait. I've brought the leaf along.

'These are only fragmentary sentences, of course, and not by any means all that I heard; but they are all that I could seize and get written down. Text I is bilingual, though they are not identical, and the B version is a little longer. That's only because I could remember a bit more of it. They correspond so closely because I heard the A version, a sentence at a time, with the B version immediately following: in the same voice, as if someone was reading out of an ancient book and translating it bit by bit for his audience. Then there came a long dark gap, or a picture of confusion and darkness in which the word-echoes were lost in a noise of winds and waves.

'And then I got a kind of lamentation or chant, of which I have put down all that I can now remember. You'll notice the order is altered at the end. There were two voices here, one singing A and the other singing B, and the chant always ended up as I have set it out: A B B A. The last word was always *Atalante*. I can give you no idea of how moving it was, horribly moving. I still feel the weight of a great loss myself, as if I shall never be really happy on these shores again.

'I don't think there are any really new words here. There are a lot of very interesting grammatical details; but I won't bother you with those, interesting as they are to me – and they seem to have touched off something in my memory too, so that I now know more than is actually contained in the fragments. You'll see a lot of query marks, but I think the context (and often the grammar) indicates that these are all names or titles.

'*Tar-kalion*, for instance: I think that is a king's name, for I've often come across the prefix *tar* in names of the great, and *ar* in the corresponding Adunaic name (on the system I told you about) is the stem of the word for "king". On the other hand *turkildi* and *ēruhīnim*, though evidently equivalent, don't mean the same thing. The one means, I think, 'lordly men', and the other is rather more startling, for it appears to be the name of

God the Omnipotent with a patronymic ending: in fact, unless I am quite wrong, "Children of God". Indeed, I need not have queried the words *ēruvō* and *ilúvatáren*: there can't really be any doubt that *ēruvō* is the sacred name *Ēru* with a suffixed element meaning "from", and that therefore *ilúvatáren* means the same thing.

'There is one point that may interest you, after what we were saying about linguistic coincidence. Well, it seems to me a fair guess that we are dealing with a record, or a legend, of an Atlantis catastrophe.'

'Why *or*?' said Jeremy. 'I mean, it might be a record *and* a legend. You never really tackled the question I propounded at our first meeting this term. If you went back would you find myth dissolving into history or history into myth? Somebody once said, I forget who, that the distinction between history and myth might be meaningless outside the Earth. I think it might at least get a great deal less sharp on the Earth, further back. Perhaps the Atlantis catastrophe was the dividing line?'

'We may be able to deal with your question a great deal better when we've got to the bottom of all this,' said Lowdham. 'In the meantime the point I was going to bring up is worth noting. I said "Atlantis" because Ramer told us that he associated the word Nūmenor with the Greek name. Well, look! here we learn that Nūmenor was destroyed; and we end with a lament: *far, far away, now is Atalante. Atalante* is plainly another name for Nūmenor-Atlantis. But only after its downfall. For in Avallonian *atalante* is a word formed normally from a common base *talat* "topple over, slip down": it occurs in Text I in an emphatic verbal form *ataltane* "slid down in ruin", to be precise. *Atalante* means "She that has fallen down". So the two names have approached one another, have reached a very similar shape by quite unconnected routes. At least, I suppose the routes are unconnected. I mean, whatever traditions may lie behind Plato's *Timaeus*,[57] the name that he uses, Atlantis, must be just the same old "daughter of Atlas" that was applied to Calypso. But even that connects the land with a mountain regarded as the pillar of heaven. Minul-Tārik, Minul-Tārik! Very interesting.'

He got up and stretched. 'At least I hope you all think so! But, good lord, how hot and stuffy it is getting! Not an evening for a lecture! But anyway, I can't make much more out of this with only words, and without more words. And I need some pictures.

'I wish I could *see* a little, as well as hear, like you, Ramer. Or

like Jerry. He's had a few glimpses of strange things, while we worked together; but he can't hear. My words seem to waken his sight, but it's not at all clear yet. Ships with dark sails. Towers on sea-washed shores. Battles: swords that glint, but are silent. A great domed temple.[58] I wish I could see as much. But I've done what I can. *Sauron. Zigūrun, Zigūr.* I can't fathom those names. But the key is there, I think. *Zigūr.*'

'Zigūr!' said Jeremy in a strange voice.[59] We stared at him: he was sitting with his eyes closed, and he looked very pale; beads of sweat were on his face.

'I say, what's the matter, Jerry?' cried Frankley. 'Open the other window, Ramer, and let's have some more air! I think there's a storm brewing.'

'Zigūr!' cried Jeremy again, in a remote strained voice. 'You spoke of him yourself not long ago, cursing the name. Can you have forgotten him, Nimruzīr?'[60]

'I had forgotten,' Lowdham answered. 'But now I begin to remember!' He stood still and clenched his fists. His brow lowered, and his eyes glittered. There was a glimmer of lightning far away through the darkening window. Away in the west over the roofs the sky was going dead black. There came a distant rumour of thunder.

Jeremy groaned and laid his head back.

Frankley and Ramer went to him, and bent over him; but he did not seem to notice them. 'It's the thunder, perhaps,' said Frankley in a low voice. 'He seemed all right a few minutes ago; but he looks pretty ghastly now.'

'Leave him alone,' growled Dolbear. 'You'll do no good hovering over him.'

'Would you like to lie down on my bed?' said Ramer. 'Or shall I get the car out and run you home?'

'Are you feeling ill, old man?' said Frankley.

'Yes,' groaned Jeremy without moving. 'Deathly. But don't trouble me! Don't touch me! *Bā kitabdahē!*[61] Sit down. I shall speak in a moment.'

There was a silence that seemed long and heavy. It was then nearly ten o'clock, and the pale sky of summer twilight was pricked by a few faint stars; but the blackness crawled slowly onwards from the West. Great wings of shadow stretched out ominously over the town. The curtains stirred as with a presage of wind, and then hung still. There was a long mutter of thunder ending in a crack.

Lowdham was standing erect in the middle of the floor, looking out of the window with staring eyes. Suddenly:

'*Narīka 'nBāri 'nAdūn yanākhim*,'[62] he shouted, lifting up both his arms. 'The Eagles of the Lords of the West are at hand!'

Then all at once Jeremy began to speak. 'Now I see!' he said. 'I see it all. The ships have set sail at last. Woe to the time! Behold, the mountain smokes and the earth trembles!'

He paused, and we sat staring, oppressed as by the oncoming of doom. The voices of the storm drew nearer. Then Jeremy began again.

'Woe to this time and the fell counsels of Zigūr! The King hath set forth his might against the Lords of the West. The fleets of the Nūmenoreans are like a land of many islands; their masts are like the stems of a forest; their sails are golden and black. Night is coming. They have gone against Avallōni with naked swords. All the world waiteth. Why do the Lords of the West make no sign?'[63]

There was a dazzle of lightning and a deafening crash.

'Behold! Now the black wrath is come upon us out of the West. The Eagles of the Powers of the World have arisen in anger. The Lords have spoken to Ēru, and the fate of the World is changed!'[64]

'Do you not hear the wind coming and the roaring of the sea?' said Lowdham.

'Do you not see the wings of the Eagles, and their eyes like thunderbolts and their claws like forks of fire?' said Jeremy. 'See! The abyss openeth. The sea falls. The mountains lean over. *Urīd yakalubim!*' He got up unsteadily, and Lowdham took his hand, and drew him towards him, as if to protect him. Together they went to the window and stood there peering out, talking to one another in a strange tongue. Irresistibly I was reminded of two people hanging over the side of a ship. But suddenly with a cry they turned away, and knelt down covering their eyes.

'The glory hath fallen into the deep waters,' said Jeremy weeping.

'Still the eagles pursue us,' said Lowdham. 'The wind is like the end of the world, and the waves are like mountains moving. We go into darkness.'[65]

There was a roar of thunder and a blaze of lightning: flashes north, south, and west. Ramer's room flared into a blistering light and rocked back into darkness. The electric light had

failed. At a distance there was a murmur as of a great wind coming.

'All hath passed away. The light hath gone out!' said Jeremy.

With a vast rush and slash rain came down suddenly like waterfalls out of the sky, and a wind swept the city with wild wings of fury; its shriek rose to a deafening tumult. Near at hand I heard, or I thought I heard, a great weight like a tower falling heavily, clattering to ruin. Before we could close the windows with the strength of all hands present and heave the shutters after them, the curtains were blown across the room and the floor was flooded.

In the midst of all the confusion, while Ramer was trying to find and light a candle, Lowdham went up to Jeremy, who was cowering against the wall, and he took his hands.

'Come, Abrazān!'[66] he said. 'There is work to do. Let us look to our folk and see to our courses, before it is too late!'

'It is too late, Nimruzīr,' said Jeremy. 'The Valar hate us. Only darkness awaits us.'

'A little light may yet lie beyond it. Come!' said Lowdham, and he drew Jeremy to his feet. In the light of the flickering candle that Ramer now held in a shaking hand, we saw him drag Jeremy to the door, and push him out of the room. We heard their feet stumbling and clattering down the stairs.

'They'll be drowned!' said Frankley, taking a few steps, as if to follow them. 'What on earth has come over them?'

'The fear of the Lords of the West,' said Ramer, and his voice shook. 'It is no good trying to follow them. But I think it was their part in this story to escape from the very edge of Doom. Let them escape!'

And there this meeting would have ended, but for the fact that the rest of us could not face the night and dared not go.

For three hours we sat huddled up in dim candle-light, while the greatest storm in the memory of any living man roared over us: the terrible storm of June 12th 1987,[67] that slew more men, felled more trees, and cast down more towers, bridges and other works of Man than a hundred years of wild weather.*

*The centre of its greatest fury seems to have been out in the Atlantic, but its whole course and progress has been something of a puzzle to meteorologists – as far as can be discovered from accounts it seems to have proceeded more like blasts of an explosion, rushing eastward and slowly diminishing in force as it went. N.G.

When at last it had abated in the small hours, and through the rags of its wild retreat the sky was already growing pale again in the East, the company parted and crept away, tired and shaken, to wade the flooded streets and discover if their homes and colleges were still standing. Cameron made no remark. I am afraid he had not found the evening entertaining.

I was the last to go. As I stood by the door, I saw Ramer pick up a sheet of paper, closely covered with writing. He put it into a drawer.[68]

'Good night – or good morning!' I said. 'We should be thankful at any rate that we were not struck by lightning, or caught in the ruin of the college.'

'We should indeed!' said Ramer. 'I wonder.'

'What do you wonder?' I said.

'Well, I have an odd feeling, Nick, or suspicion, that we may all have been helping to stir something up. If not out of history, at any rate out of a very powerful world of imagination and memory. Jeremy would say "perhaps out of both". I wonder if we may not find ourselves in other and worse dangers.'

'I don't understand you,' I said. 'But at any rate, I suppose you mean that you wonder whether they ought to go on. Oughtn't we to stop them?'

'Stop Lowdham and Jeremy?' said Ramer. 'We can't do that now.'

MGR. RD. PF. RS. JM. NG. Added later AAL. WTJ.

Night 68. June 26th, 1987.

Frankley's rooms. A small attendance: Frankley, Dolbear, Stainer, Guildford.

There is not much to record. Most of the Club, present or absent, were in one way or another involved in examinations, and tired, and more bothered than is usual at this season.*

* The extraordinary system of holding the principal examinations of the year in the summer, which must have been responsible for an incalculable amount of misery, was still in force. During the period of 'reforms' in the forties there was talk of altering this arrangement, but it was never carried out, though it was one of the few thoroughly desirable minor reforms proposed at the time. It was the events of the summer of 1987 that finally brought things to a head, as most of the examinations had that year to be transferred to the winter, or held again after the autumn term. N.G.

Things had been rather shaken up by the storm. It had come in the seventh week, right in the middle of the final examinations; and amongst a lot of other damage, the Examination Schools had been struck and the East School wrecked.

'What a time we've been having, ever since old Ramer started to attend again!' said Frankley. 'Notion Club! More like the Commotion Club! Is there any news of the Commoters?'

'D'you mean Lowdham and Jeremy?' said Stainer. 'Promoters, I should say! I've never seen anything better staged – and with Michael Ramer, as a kind of conniving chorus. It was wonderfully well done!'

'Wonderfully!' said Dolbear. 'I am lost in admiration. Think of their meteorological information! Superb! Foreseeing like that a storm not foretold, apparently, by any station in the world. And timing it so beautifully, too, to fit in neatly with their prepared parts. It makes you think, doesn't it? – as those say, who have never experienced the process. And Ramer says flatly that he was bowled over, altogether taken by surprise. Whatever you may think of his views, it would be very rash to assume that he was lying. He takes this affair rather seriously. "Those two are probably dangerous," he said to me; and he wasn't thinking merely of spoofing the Club, Stainer.'

'Hm. I spoke too hastily, evidently,' said Stainer, stroking his chin. 'Hm. But what then? If not arranged, it was a very remarkable coincidence.'

'Truly remarkable!' said Dolbear. 'But we'll leave that question open for a bit, I think; coincidence or connexion. They're both pretty difficult to accept; but they're the only choices. Pre-arrangement is impossible – or rather it's a damned sight more improbable, and even more alarming. What about these two fellows, though? Has anything been heard of them?'

'Yes,' said Guildford. 'They're alive, and neither drowned nor blasted. They've written me a joint letter to lay before the Club. This is what they say:

Dear Nick,

We hope every one is safe and sound. We are. We were cast up far away when the wind fell, but we're dry again at last; so now we're off, more or less in the words of the old song, 'on some jolly little jaunts to the happy, happy haunts where the beer flows wild and free'. In due course (if ever) we'll let our colleges have our addresses. A.A.L.

That is the end of Arry's great big fist. Jeremy adds:

> We are researching. More stuff may come through, I think. What about a vacation meeting? Just before the racket of term. What about Sept. 25th? You can have my rooms. Yrs. W.T.J.'

'What about the racket of the vacation!' said Frankley. 'They're damned lucky not to be in the schools[69] this year, or they'ld have to come back, wherever the wind may have blown them. Any idea where that was, Nick?'

'No,' said Guildford. 'The postmark is illegible,[70] and there's no address inside. But what about the proposed meeting? I suppose most of us will be about again by then.'

September 25th was agreed to. At that moment Michael Ramer came in. 'We've heard from them!' Frankley cried. 'Nicholas has had a letter. They're all right, and they're off on a holiday somewhere: no address.'

'Good!' said Ramer. 'Or I hope so. I hope they won't wreck the British Isles before they've finished.'

'My dear Ramer!' Steiner protested. 'What do you mean? What can you mean? Dolbear has been preaching the open mind to my incredulity. He had better talk to you. The other extreme is just as bad.'

'But I haven't any fixed opinions,' said Ramer. 'I was merely expressing a doubt, or a wild guess. But actually I am not really very much afraid of any more explosions now. I fancy that that force has been spent, for the present, for a long time to come perhaps.

'But I *am* a little anxious about Arry and Wilfrid themselves. They may quite well get into some danger. Still we can only wait and see. Even if we could find them we could do no more. You can't stop a strong horse with the bit between its teeth. You certainly could not rein Arry in now, and Wilfrid is evidently nearly as deeply in it as Arry is.

'In the meantime I have got something to show you. Arry dropped a leaf of paper in my room that night. I think it is the leaf of his father's manuscript that he told us about. Well – I've deciphered it.'

'Good work!' said Guildford. 'I didn't know you were a cryptographer.'

'I'm not,' Ramer laughed, 'but I have my methods. No, no – nothing dreamy this time. I just made a lucky shot and landed

on the mark. I don't know whether Arry had solved it himself before he dropped it, but I think not; for if he had, he would have included it in the stuff he showed us. It's quite plain what held him up: it was too easy. He was looking for something remote and difficult, while all the time the solution was right on his own doorstep. He thought it was Nūmenorean, I guess; but actually it is Old English, Anglo-Saxon, his own stuff!

'The script is, I suppose, Nūmenorean,[71] as Arry thought. But it has been applied by someone to ancient English. The proper names, when they're not Old English translations, are in the same script, but the letters are then quite differently used, and I shouldn't have been able to read them without the help of Arry's texts.

'I wonder who had the idea of writing Anglo-Saxon in this odd way? Old Edwin Lowdham seems at first a likely guess; but I'm not so sure. The thing is evidently made up of excerpts from a longish book or chronicle.'

'Well, come on!' cried Frankley. 'How you philologists do niggle! Let's see it, and tell us what it says!'

'Here it is!' said Ramer, taking three sheets out of his pocket and handing them to Frankley. 'Pass it round! I've got a copy. The original is only a small octavo page as you see, written on both sides in a large hand in this rather beautiful script.

'Now, I said to myself: "If this is in one of Arry's languages, I can't do anything with it; no one but he can solve it. But he failed, so probably it isn't. In that case, what language is it most likely to be, remembering what Arry told us? Anglo-Saxon. Well, that's not one of my languages, though I know the elements. So when I'd made a preliminary list of all the separate letters that I could distinguish, I trotted round to old Professor Rashbold at Pembroke,[72] though I didn't know him personally. A grumpy old bear Arry has always called him; but evidently Arry has never given him the right sort of buns.

'He liked mine. He didn't care tuppence about what the stuff said, but it amused him to try and solve the puzzle, especially when he heard that it had defeated Arry. "Oh! Young Lowdham!" he said. "A clever fellow under that pothouse manner. But too fly-away; always after some butterfly theory. Won't stick to his texts. Now if *I* had had him as my pupil, I should have put some stiffening into him." Well, starting out with my guess that the stuff might be Anglo-Saxon, old Rashbold didn't take long. I don't know his workings. All he said before I left

was: "Never seen this script before; but I should say it was a consonantal alphabet, and all these diacritics are vowel-signs. I'll have a look at it." He sent it back to me this morning, with a long commentary on the forms and spellings, which I am not inflicting on you, except his concluding remarks.

'"To sum up: it is in Old English of a strongly Mercian (West-Midland) colour, ninth century I should say.[73] There are no new words, except possibly *to-sprengdon*. There are several words, probably names and not Old English, that I have not succeeded in getting out; but you will excuse me from spending more time on them. My time is not unlimited. Whoever made the thing knew Old English tolerably well, though the style has the air of a translation. If he wanted to forge a bit of Old English, why did not he choose an interesting subject?"

'Well, I solved the names, as I told you; and there you have the text as old Rashbold sent it back, with the names put in. Only as my typewriter has no funny letters I have used *th* for the old thorn-letter. The translation is Rashbold's too.[74]

Hi alle sǽ on weorulde oferliodon, sohton hi nyston hwet; ah ǽfre walde heara heorte westward .... forthon hit swé gefyrn arǽdde se Ælmihtiga thæt hi sceoldan steorfan 7 thás weoruld ofgeofan .... hi ongunnon murcnian .... hit gelomp seoththan thæt se fúla deofles thegn se the Ælfwina folc (Zigūr) nemneth wéox swíthe on middangearde 7 he geáscode Westwearena meht 7 wuldor .... walde héalecran stól habban thonne Earendeles eafera seolf ahte ..... Thá cwóm he, (Tarcalion) se cyning up on middangeardes óran 7 he sende sóna his érendwracan to (Zigūre): heht hine on ofste cuman to thes cyninges manrǽdenne to búganne. 7 he (Zigūr) lytigende ge-éadmedde hine thæt he cwóm, wes thæh inwitful under, fácnes hogde Westfearena théode ..... swé adwalde he fornéan alle tha (Numenor)iscan mid wundrum 7 mid tácnum .... 7 hi gewarhton micelne alh on middan (Arminalēth)[75] there cestre on thæm héan munte the ǽr unawídlod wes 7 wearth nu to hæthenum herge, 7 hi thér onsegdon unase[c]gendlic lác on unhálgum weofode ... Swé cwóm déathscua on Westfearena land 7 Godes bearn under sceadu féollon .... Thes ofer feola géra hit gelomp thæt (Tarcalione) wearth ældo onsége, thý wearth he hréow on móde 7 thá walde he be (Zigūres) onbryrdingum (Avalloni) mid ferde gefaran. Weron Westfearena scipferde swéswe

unarímedlic égland on there sǽ .... ah tha Westfrégan gebédon hi to thæm Ælmihtigan 7 be his léafe tosprengdon hi tha eorthan thæt alle sǽ nither gutan on efgrynde, 7 alle tha sceopu forwurdan, forthon seo eorthe togán on middum gársecge .... swearte windas asteogon 7 Ælfwines seofon sceopu eastweard adræfdon.

Nu sitte we on elelonde 7 forsittath tha blisse 7 tha eadignesse the iú wes 7 nu sceal eft cuman nǽfre. Ús swíthe onsiteth déathscua. Ús swíthe longath ..... On ærran mélum west leg reht weg, nu earon alle weogas wó. Feor nu is léanes lond. Feor nu is Neowollond[76] thæt geneotherade. Feor nu is Dréames lond thæt gedrorene.

All the seas in the world they sailed, seeking they knew not what; but their hearts were ever westward .... because so had the Almighty ordained it of old that they should die and leave this world .... they began to murmur .... It afterwards came to pass that the foul servant of the devil, whom the people of the ?Ælfwines name (Zigūr), grew mightily in middle-earth, and he learned of the power and glory of the *Westware* (Dwellers in the West) .... desired a higher throne than even the descendant of Earendel possessed ..... Then he, King (Tarcalion) landed on the shores of middle-earth, and at once he sent his messengers to (Zigūr), commanding him to come in haste to do homage to the king; and he (Zigūr) dissembling humbled himself and came, but was filled with secret malice, purposing treachery against the people of the Westfarers ..... Thus he led astray wellnigh all the (Numenore)ans with signs and wonders .... and they built a great temple in the midst of the town (of Arminalēth) on the high hill which before was undefiled but now became a heathen fane, and they there sacrificed unspeakable offerings on an unholy altar ... Thus came death-shade into the land of the Westfarers and God's children fell under the shadow .... Many years later it came to pass that old age assailed (Tarcalion); wherefore he became gloomy in heart, and at the instigation of (Zigūr) he wished to conquer (Avallōni) with a host. The ship-hosts of the Westfarers were like countless islands in the sea .... But the West-lords prayed to the Almighty, and by his leave split asunder the earth so that all seas should pour down into an abyss and the ships should perish; for the earth gaped open in the midst of the ocean .... black winds arose and drove away Ælfwine's seven ships.

> Now we sit in the land of exile, and dwell cut off from the bliss and the blessedness that once was and shall never come again. The death-shade lies heavy on us; longing is on us ..... In former days west lay a straight way, now are all ways crooked. Far now is the land of gift. Far now is the ?prostrate land that is cast down. Far now is the land of Mirth that is fallen.

'Well, old Rashbold may not have found that interesting. But it depends what you're looking for. You people at any rate will find it interesting, I think, after the events of that night. You will notice that the original text is written continuously in bold-stroke hand (I don't doubt that the actual penman was old Edwin), but there are dividing dots at intervals. What we have is really a series of fragmentary extracts, separated, I should guess, by very various intervals of omission, extremely like Arry's snatches of Avallonian and Adunaic. Indeed this stuff corresponds closely to his (which in itself is very interesting): it includes all that he gave us, but gives a good deal more, especially at the beginning. You notice that there is a long gap at the same point as the break between his Text I and II.

'Of course, when old Rashbold said "the style has the air of a translation", he simply meant that the fabricator had not been quite successful in making the stuff sound like natural Anglo-Saxon. I can't judge that. But I daresay he is right, though his implied explanation may be wrong. This probably *is* a translation out of some other language into Anglo-Saxon. But not, I think, by the man who penned the page. He was in a hurry, or like Arry trying to catch the evanescent, and if he had had any time for translation he would have done it into modern English. I can't see any point in the Anglo-Saxon unless what he "saw" was already in it.

'I say "saw". For this stuff looks to me like the work of a man copying out all he had time to see, or all he found still intact and legible in some book.'

'Or all he could get down of some strongly visualized dream,' said Dolbear. 'And even so, I should guess that the hand that penned this stuff was already familiar with the strange script. It's written freely and doesn't look at all like the work of a man trying to copy something quite unknown. On your theory, Ramer, he wouldn't have had time, anyway.'

'Yes, it's a pretty puzzle,' said Frankley. 'But I don't suppose we shall get much forrarder[77] without Arry's help. So we must

wait in patience till September, and hope for a light beyond the sea of Scripts. I must go. The scripts that are waiting for me are much longer and hardly more legible.'

'And probably more puzzling,' said Stainer. 'Surely there's no great mystery here, in spite of Ramer's attempts to create one. Here we have a specimen of old Edwin Lowdham's queer hobby: the fabrication of mythical texts; and the direct source of all Arry's stuff. He seems to have taken after his father, in more senses than one; though he's probably more inventive linguistically.'

'Really you're unteachable, Stainer,' said Dolbear. 'Why do you always prefer a theory that cannot be true, unless somebody is lying?'

'Who am I accusing of lying?'

'Well, wait until September, and then say what you've just said slowly and carefully to Arry, and you'll soon discover,' said Dolbear. 'If you've forgotten everything he said, I haven't. Good night!'

RD. PF. RS. MGR. NG.

Night 69. Thursday, 25 September, 1987.

There was a large meeting in Jeremy's rooms. Jeremy and Lowdham had reappeared in Oxford only the day before, looking as if they had spent all the vacation examining rather than holidaymaking. There were eight other people present, and Cameron came in late.

After the experiences of June 12th most of the Club felt a trifle apprehensive, and conversation began by being jocular, in consequence. But Lowdham took no part in the jesting; he was unusually quiet.

'Well, Jerry,' said Frankley at last, 'you're the host. Have you arranged any entertainment for us? If not, after so many weeks, I daresay several of us have got things in our pockets.'

'That means that you have at any rate,' said Jeremy. 'Let's have it! We want, or at least I want, some time to tell you about what we've been doing, but there's no hurry.'

'That depends on how long your account of yourselves is going to take,' said Stainer. 'Did you do anything except drink and dawdle about the countryside?'

'We did,' said Lowdham. 'But there's no special reason to suppose that you'ld be interested to hear about it, Stainer.'

'Well, I'm here, and that indicates at least a faint interest,' said Stainer.

'All right! But if the Club really wants to hear us, then it's in for one or two meetings in which we shall take up all the time. Pip will burst, I can see, if he has to wait so long. Let him let his steam off first. What's it about, Horsey?'

'It'll explain itself, if the Club really wants to hear it,' said Frankley.

'Go on! Let's have it!' we said.

Frankley took a piece of paper out of his pocket and began.[78]

The Death of St. Brendan

At last out of the deep seas he passed,
and mist rolled on the shore;
under clouded moon the waves were loud,
as the laden ship him bore
to Ireland, back to wood and mire,
to the tower tall and grey,
where the knell of Cluain-ferta's bell[79]
tolled in green Galway.
Where Shannon down to Lough Derg ran
under a rainclad sky
Saint Brendan came to his journey's end
to await his hour to die.

'O! tell me, father, for I loved you well,
if still you have words for me,
of things strange in the remembering
in the long and lonely sea,
of islands by deep spells beguiled
where dwell the Elven-kind:
in seven long years the road to Heaven
or the Living Land did you find?'

'The things I have seen, the many things,
have long now faded far;
only three come clear now back to me:
a Cloud, a Tree, a Star.
We sailed for a year and a day and hailed
no field nor coast of men;
no boat nor bird saw we ever afloat
for forty days and ten.
We saw no sun at set or dawn,
but a dun cloud lay ahead,

and a drumming there was like thunder coming
and a gleam of fiery red.

Upreared from sea to cloud then sheer
a shoreless mountain stood;
its sides were black from the sullen tide
to the red lining of its hood.
No cloak of cloud, no lowering smoke,
no looming storm of thunder
in the world of men saw I ever unfurled
like the pall that we passed under.
We turned away, and we left astern
the rumbling and the gloom;
then the smoking cloud asunder broke,
and we saw that Tower of Doom:
on its ashen head was a crown of red,
where fires flamed and fell.
Tall as a column in High Heaven's hall,
its feet were deep as Hell;
grounded in chasms the waters drowned
and buried long ago,
it stands, I ween, in forgotten lands
where the kings of kings lie low.

We sailed then on, till the wind had failed,
and we toiled then with the oar,
and hunger and thirst us sorely wrung,
and we sang our psalms no more.
A land at last with a silver strand
at the end of strength we found;
the waves were singing in pillared caves
and pearls lay on the ground;
and steep the shores went upward leaping
to slopes of green and gold,
and a stream out of the rich land teeming
through a coomb of shadow rolled.

Through gates of stone we rowed in haste,
and passed, and left the sea;
and silence like dew fell in that isle,
and holy it seemed to be.

As a green cup, deep in a brim of green,
that with wine the white sun fills
was the land we found, and we saw there stand
on a laund between the hills
a tree more fair than ever I deemed
might climb in Paradise:
its foot was like a great tower's root,
it height beyond men's eyes;
so wide its branches, the least could hide
in shade an acre long,
and they rose as steep as mountain-snows
those boughs so broad and strong;
for white as a winter to my sight
the leaves of that tree were,
they grew more close than swan-wing plumes,
all long and soft and fair.

We deemed then, maybe, as in a dream,
that time had passed away
and our journey ended; for no return
we hoped, but there to stay.
In the silence of that hollow isle,
in the stillness, then we sang –
softly us seemed, but the sound aloft
like a pealing organ rang.
Then trembled the tree from crown to stem;
from the limbs the leaves in air
as white birds fled in wheeling flight,
and left the branches bare.
From the sky came dropping down on high
a music not of bird,
not voice of man, nor angel's voice;
but maybe there is a third
fair kindred in the world yet lingers
beyond the foundered land.
Yet steep are the seas and the waters deep
beyond the White-tree Strand.'

'O! stay now, father! There's more to say.
But two things you have told:
The Tree, the Cloud; but you spoke of three.
The Star in mind do you hold?'

'The Star? Yes, I saw it, high and far,
at the parting of the ways,
a light on the edge of the Outer Night[80]
like silver set ablaze,
where the round world plunges steeply down,
but on the old road goes,
as an unseen bridge that on arches runs
to coasts than no man knows.'

'But men say, father, that ere the end
you went where none have been.
I would hear you tell me, father dear,
of the last land you have seen.'

'In my mind the Star I still can find,
and the parting of the seas,
and the breath as sweet and keen as death
that was borne upon the breeze.
But where they bloom those flowers fair,
in what air or land they grow,
what words beyond the world I heard,
if you would seek to know,
in a boat then, brother, far afloat
you must labour in the sea,
and find for yourself things out of mind:
you will learn no more of me.'

In Ireland, over wood and mire,
in the tower tall and grey,
the knell of Cluain-ferta's bell
was tolling in green Galway.
Saint Brendan had come to his life's end
under a rainclad sky,
and journeyed whence no ship returns,
and his bones in Ireland lie.

When Frankley stopped there was a silence. If he had hoped for critical comments, adverse or favourable, he got none.

'Very odd indeed! Very odd!' said Lowdham at last. 'Have you been in touch with our minds on the Ramer-system, Philip? Anyway, when did you write that, and why?'

'There have been many more minds than yours, Arundel, working on this theme, as has been pointed out before,' said Ramer. 'Tell us about it, Philip!'

'There's nothing much to tell,' said Frankley. 'I woke up about four days ago with the thing largely fixed, and the name Brendan running in my head. The first dozen lines were already made (or were still remembered), and some of the rest was too. The pictures were quite clear for a while. I read the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, of course, once upon a time, years ago, as well as that early Anglo-French thing, Benedeit's *Vita*. But I've not looked at them again – though perhaps if I did, I might find them less dull and disappointing than I remember them.'

'I don't think you would,' said Lowdham; 'they're rather dismal. Whatever merits they may have, any glimmer of a perception of what they are talking about is not one of them, trundling the magnificent theme to market like bunches of neatly cut and dried flowers. The Old French thing may be very interesting linguistically, but you won't learn much about the West from that.

'Still that seems to be where you got your Volcano and Tree from. But you've given them a twist that's not in your source. You've put them in a different order, I think, making the Tree further west; and your Volcano is not a hell-smithy, but apparently a last peak of some Atlantis.[81] And the Tree in St. Brendan was covered with white birds that were fallen angels. The one really interesting idea in the whole thing, I thought: they were angels that lived in a kind of limbo, because they were only lesser spirits that followed Satan only as their feudal overlord, and had no real part, by will or design, in the Great Rebellion. But you make them a third *fair* race.'

'And that bit about the "round world" and the "old road",' said Jeremy, 'where did you get that from?'

'I don't know,' said Frankley. 'It came in the writing. I got a fleeting picture, but it's faded now.'

'The Parting of the Ways!' muttered Lowdham. 'What do you know of that?'

'Oh, nothing. But, well – well, but you cannot really find or see Paradise by ship, you know.'[82]

'No,' said Lowdham. 'Not in the High Legends, not in those that have power. No longer. And it was seldom permitted anyway, even before.' He said no more, and we all sat still for a while.

The silence was finally broken by Markison. 'Well,' he said, 'I hope you're not going to take the line of St. Brendan to the

monk: "you will learn no more of me." Have you two nothing more to say?'

'Yes indeed!' said Jeremy. 'But we've not been to Paradise.'

'Where have you been then?'

'We ended up at Porlock[83] on the 13th, that's last Saturday week,' said Jeremy.

'Why Porlock? Not a very exciting place, is it?'

'Not now, maybe,' Lowdham answered. 'You'll see a sort of reason for it, though. But if you mean: did we wittingly pick on Porlock? the answer is no.'

'We started off down in Cornwall, Land's End,' said Jeremy. 'That was just before the end of June.'

'Started off?' said Guildford. 'I got your letter on June 25th, but that still leaves a bit of a gap. We last saw you on the night of June 12th: not a date we're likely to forget in a hurry. What happened during the next ten days?'

'Was it as long as that?' said Lowdham blankly. 'I don't really know. We landed in a cove. I seem to remember the boat grinding on rocks and then being flung up on the shingles. We were damned lucky. She was holed and sinking, and we ought to have been drowned. Or did I dream it?' He knitted his brows. 'Bless me, if I'm sure. D'you remember, Trewyn?'[84]

'No,' said Jeremy, thinking. 'No, I don't. The first thing I can remember is your saying: "We'd better let Nick have a line to know that we haven't been drowned." Yes, yes of course: we'd been caught at sea in a storm of wind and lightning, and as you all knew we had gone sailing, we thought you might be anxious.'

'Don't you remember the night up in my rooms, the night of the great storm?' said Ramer.

'Yes, I remember bringing some texts round,' said Lowdham. 'And I remember the Eagles. But surely the storm came afterwards, after we had started on our research tour?'

'All right,' said Dolbear. 'Don't bother with all that now; there will be plenty of time to talk about it later. Get on with your own tale.'

'Well,' said Jeremy, 'we stuck to the west coasts as much as we could, staying by the sea, and walking as near to it as possible, when we did not go by boat. Arry is an able seaman, and you can still get small sailing craft in the West, and sometimes an old sailor to help who can still handle a boat

without petrol. But after our wreck we did not sail again till we got round to North Devon. We actually crossed by boat from Bideford to South Wales in July, and then we went on to Ireland, right up the west coast of it by stages.

'We took a look at Scotland, but no further north than Mull. There seemed nothing for us there, no feel in the air at all. So we went back to Hibernia.[85] The great storm had left more traces there than anywhere, and not only in visible damage. There was a good deal of that, but much less than you would expect, and it did not interest us so much as the effect on the people and the stories that we found going about. People in Galway – well, for the matter of that, from Brandon Hill to Slieve League[86] – seemed to have been pretty well shaken by it, and were still scared for weeks afterwards. If the wind got up at all, as of course it did from time to time, they huddled indoors; and some would begin to trek inland.

'We both heard many tales of the huge waves "high as hills" coming in on the Black Night. And curiously enough, many of the tale-tellers agreed that the greatest waves were like phantoms, or only half real: "like shadows of mountains of dark black wicked water". Some rolled far inland and yet did little damage before, well, disappearing, melting away. We were told of one that had rolled clean over the Aran Isles[87] and passed up Galway Bay, and so on like a cloud, drowning the land in a ghostly flood like rippling mist, almost as far as Clonfert.

'And we came across one old man, a queer old fellow whose English was hardly intelligible, on the road not far from Loughrea.[88] He was wild and ragged, but tall and rather impressive. He kept pointing westward, and saying, as far as we could gather: "It was out of the Sea they came, as they came in the days before the days". He said that he had seen a tall black ship high on the crest of the great wave, with its masts down and the rags of black and yellow sails flapping on the deck, and great tall men standing on the high poop and wailing, like the ghosts they were; and they were borne far inland, and came, well, not a soul knows where they came.

'We could get no more out of him, and he went on westward and vanished into the twilight, and who he was or where he was going we did not discover either. Apart from such tales and rumours we had no real adventures. The weather was not too bad generally, and we walked a lot, and slept pretty well. A good many dreams came, especially in Ireland, but they were

very slippery; we couldn't catch them. Arry got whole lists of ghost-words, and I had some fleeting pictures, but they seldom fitted together. And then, when we thought our time was up, we came to Porlock.

'As we crossed over the Severn Sea[89] earlier in the summer, Arry had looked back, along the coast to the south, at the shores of Somerset, and he had said something that I couldn't catch. It was ancient English, I think, but he didn't know himself: it faded from him almost as soon as he had spoken. But I had a sudden feeling that there was something important waiting for us there, and I made up my mind to take him back that way before the end of our journey, if there was time. So I did.

'We arrived in a small boat at Porlock Weir on Saturday, September 13th. We put up at The Ship, up in Porlock itself; but we felt drawn back shorewards, and as soon as we had fixed our rooms we went out and turned westward, going up onto the cliffs and along as far as Culbone and beyond. We saw the sun set, dull, hazy, and rather grim, about half past six, and then we turned back for supper.

'The twilight deepened quickly, and I remember that it seemed suddenly to grow very chilly; a cold wind sprang up from the land and blew out westward towards the dying sun; the sea was leaden. We both felt tired and anxious, for no clear reason: we had been feeling rather cheery. It was then that Arry turned away from the sea and took my arm, and he said quite clearly, and I heard him and understood him: *Uton efstan nú, Tréowine! Me ofthyncth thisses windes. Mycel wén is Deniscra manna to niht.*[90] And that seemed to break my dreams. I began to remember, and piece together a whole lot of things as we walked back to the town; and that night I had a long series of dreams and remembered a good deal of them.'

'Yes,' said Lowdham, 'and something happened to me at that moment, too. I began to *see* as well as to hear. Tréowine, that is Wilfrid Trewyn Jeremy, and I seemed to have got into the same dream together, even before we were asleep. The faces in the hotel looked pale and thin, and the walls and furniture only half real: other things and faces were vaguely moving behind them all. We were approaching the climax of some change that had begun last May, when we started to research together.

'Anyway, we went to bed, and we both dreamed; and we woke up and immediately compared notes; and we slept again and woke and did the same. And so it went on for several days,

until we were quite exhausted. So at last we decided to go home; we made up our minds to come back to Oxford the next day, Thursday. That night, Wednesday, September 17th, something happened: the dreams coalesced, took shape, and came into the open, as you might say. It seemed impossible to believe when it was over that years had not slipped by, and that it was still Thursday, September 18th, 1987, and we could actually return here as we had planned. I remember staring incredulously round the dining-room, that seemed to have grown strangely solid again, half wondering if it was not some new dream-trick. And we went into the post-office and a bank to make sure of the date! Then we crept back here secretly, a week ago, and stayed in retreat until yesterday, conferring and putting together all we had got before we came out of hiding. I think I'll leave Trewyn to do the telling. He's better at it than I am; and he saw more, after the earlier scenes.'

'No!' said Jeremy. 'Alwin had better begin. The earlier part is his, more than mine. He remembers more of what was said by me than I do myself. Go on now, Arry!'

'Well', said Lowdham, 'it seemed to me like this. I woke with a start.[91] Evidently I had been dozing on a bench near the fire. The voices seemed to pour over me like a stream. I felt that I had been dreaming, something very odd and vivid, but I could not catch it; and for a minute or two the familiar scene in the hall seemed strange, and the English speech about me sounded alien and remote, although the voices were for the most part using the soft speech of western Wessex that I knew so well. Here and there I caught the tones of the Marchers from up beyond Severnmouth; and I heard a few speaking queerly, using uncouth words after the manner of those from the eastern shires.

'I looked down the hall, hoping to see my friend Tréowine Céolwulf's son. There was a great crowd in hall, for King Eadweard was there. The Danish ships were in the Severn Sea, and all the south shores were in arms. The heathen earls had been defeated away up in the west marches at Archenfield, but the pirates were still at large off the Welsh coast, trying to get food and supplies, and the Devenish men and Somersets[92] were on guard. There had been a bitter affray at Watchet a few nights before, but the Danish men had been driven off. Porlock's turn might come.

'I looked round at the faces of the men: some old and worn,

some still young and keen; but they seemed dim, almost dreamlike in the wavering torches. The candles on the high table were guttering. A wind was blowing outside the great wooden hall, surging round the house; the timbers creaked. I felt tired. Not only because Tréowine and I had had a long spell of coastguard duty, and had had little sleep since the raid on Watchet; but I was tired of this woeful and dishevelled world, slipping slowly back into decay, as it seemed to me, with its petty but cruel wars, and all the ruin of the good and fair things there had been in my grandsires' days. The hangings on the wall behind the dais were faded and worn, and on the table there were but few vessels or candlesticks of gold and silver smithcraft that had survived the pillage of the heathen.

'The sound of the wind disturbed me and brought back to me old longings that I thought I had buried. I found myself thinking of my father, old Éadwine Óswine's son,[93] and the strange tales he had told me when I was a small lad and he a grizzled seaman of more than fifty winters: tales of the west coasts, and far islands, and of the deep sea, and of a land there was far away, where there was peace and fruitfulness among a fair folk that did not wither.

'But Éadwine had taken his ship, Éarendel, out into the deep sea long ago, and he never returned. What haven received him no man under heaven could tell. That was in the black winter, when Alfred went into hiding[94] and so many men of Somerset fled over sea. My mother fled to her kindred among the West Welsh[95] for a while, and I had seen only nine winters in this world, for I was born just before the holy Éadmund was done to death by the heathen.[96] I learned the Welsh tongue and much craft upon the wild waters, before I came back in full manhood to Somerset and the service of the good king in his last wars.[97]

'I had been in Íraland more than once; and wherever I went I sought tales of the Great Sea and what lay out upon it, or beyond, if haply it had any further shore. Folk had not much to tell for certain; but there was talk of one Maelduin[98] who had sailed to new lands, and of the holy Brendan and others. And some there were who said that there had been a land of Men away west in long days of yore, but that it had been cast down and those that escaped had come to Ériu[99] (so they called Íraland) in their ships, and their descendants lived on there, and in other lands about the shores of Gársecg. But they dwindled and forgot, and nought now was left of them but a wild strain in

the blood of men of the West. "And you will know those that have it by the sea-longing that is on them," they said; "and it is many that it draws out west to their death or to come never back among living men".

'And I thought that maybe the blood of such men ran in my father's veins and my own, for our kin had long been settled at Glastonbury, where there was rumour of strange comers out of the sea in days of old. And the sound of the winds and seas on the west beaches was ever a restless music to me, at once a pain and a desire; and the pain was keener in Spring, and the desire stronger in Autumn. And now it was Autumn, and the desire was scarcely to be borne; for I was growing old. And the seas were wide. So I mused, forgetting once again where I was, but not sleeping.

'I heard the crash of waves on the black cliffs, and sea-birds wailing; snow fell. Then the sea opened before me, pale and boundless. And now the sun shone above me, and the land and the sound of it and the smell of it fell far behind. Tréowine was beside me, and we were alone, going west. And the sun came down and sank towards the sea before us, and still we sailed west, on towards the setting sun, and the longing in my heart drew me on against my fear and land-bound will. And so I passed into night in the midst of the deep waters, and I thought that a sweet fragrance was borne on the air.

'And suddenly I was brought back to Porlock and the hall of the king's thegn Odda. Men were calling out for a minstrel, and a minstrel I was, when the mood was on me. The king himself, stern Éadweard Alfred's son – tired before old age he looked – sent to me, bidding me sing or speak. He was a stern man, as I say, but like his father in having an ear, when he had the time, for the sound of the old measures. I rose and walked to the steps of the dais, and bowed.

'"*Westu hál, Ælfwine!*" said the king. "*Sing me nú hwætwegu: sum eald léoth, gif thu wilt.*"

'"*Ic can lýt on léothcræft, hláford,*" I said; "*ac this geworht'ic unfyrn thé to weorthmynde.*"

'And then I began, and let my voice roll out; but my mouth did not speak the words that I had purposed: of all that I had so carefully devised against the event, in the night watches or pacing on the cold cliffs, not a stave came out.

Hwæt! Éadweard cyning Ælfredes sunu
beorna béaggifa on Brytenríce

æt Ircenfelda[100] *ealdorlangne tír*
geslóg æt sæcce sweorda ecgum *

and all the rest, of such sort as kings look for: not a word of it. Instead I said this:[101]

Monath módes lust mid mereflóde
forth tó féran, thæt ic feor heonan
ofer gársecges grimme holmas
Ælfwina eard út geséce.
Nis me tó hearpan hyge ne tó hringthege,
ne tó wífe wynn, ne tó worulde hyht,
ne ymb ówiht elles, nefne ymb ýtha gewealc.

Then I stopped suddenly, and stood confused. There was some laughter, from those not under the king's eye, and a few mocking calls. There were many folk in hall who knew me well, and they had long been pleased to make a jest of my talk of the Great Sea; and it now pleased them to pretend that I had spoken of *Ælfwines eard*, as if I had a realm of my own out westward.

'"If England is not good enough, let him go find a better land!" they cried. "He need go no further than Íraland, if he longs for elves and uncouth wights, God save him! Or he can go with the heathen to the Land of Ice that they say they have found."

'"If he has no mind to sing for the raising of our hearts, let us find a *scop* who will."

'"We have had enough of the sea," shouted one of the Marchers. "A spell of Dane-hunting round the rim of Wales would cure him."

'But the king sat gravely and did not smile, and many besides were silent. I could see in his eyes that the words had touched him, though I doubt not, he had heard others like them often before.

'"Peace!" said old Odda of Portloca, master of the hall. "Ælfwine here has sailed more seas than you have heard of, and

* Lowdham provides the following translations 'for Philip's benefit'.

'Greetings, Ælfwine,' said the king. 'Recite me something, some old poem if you like.' 'I have little skill in poetry, my lord,' I said, 'but I composed this in your honour a little while ago.'

'Lo! Éadweard the king, Alfred's scion, brave men's patron, in Britain's island at Archenfield undying fame in battle reaped him with reddened blades.'

For the translation of the next verses see Night 66, p. 244. N.G.

the lands of the Welsh and Irish are not strange to him. With the king's leave let him say what his mood bids him. It is no harm to turn from these sorry shores for a while and speak of marvels and strange lands, as the old verse-makers often did. Will you not speak us something by the elder poets, Ælfwine?"

'"Not now, lord," I said; for I was abashed and weary, and I felt as a man in a dream who finds himself unclad in the market-place. "There are others in hall. Men of the Marches I hear by their speech; and they were used to boast of their songcraft, before the Danes came. With the king's leave I will sit."

'At that a man from among the Marchers leapt to his feet and got leave to speak; and lo! I saw it was my friend Tréowine. A small dark man he was, but he had a good voice, if a strange way with his words. His father Céolwulf, I had heard, claimed to come of the kin of the kings that sat at Tamworth[102] of old; but Tréowine had come south many years before. Ere I had found a seat, he had a foot on the step and had begun.

'His verse was in the old style, indeed it was the work of some old poet, maybe, though I had not heard it before, and many words were dark to us of later times; but he gave them out strong and true, now loud, now soft, as the theme asked, without help of harp. Thus he began, and soon all the hall was stone-still:

Hwæt! wé on geárdagum of Gársecge
fyrn gefrugnon of feorwegum
to Longbeardna londgemærum
tha hí ær héoldon, íglond micel
on North-théodum, nacan bundenne
scírtimbredne scríthan gangan ...

'But if it was dark to some of our younger men of Wessex, it will be as night to you, who have passed so much further down the streams of time, since the old poets sang in Angel of the grey North-seas; so I have cast it into the speech of your age. And I have done so, for by chance, or more than chance, this song had a part in what befell after, and its theme was knit up with my own thoughts, and it whetted my longing the more.

King Sheave[103]

In days of yore out of deep Ocean to the Longobards, in the land dwelling that of old they held in the isles of the North, a ship came sailing, shining-timbered, without oar or mast,

eastward floating. The sun behind it sinking westward with flame kindled the fallow water. Wind was wakened. Over the world's margin clouds grey-helméd climbed slowly up, wings unfolding wide and looming, as mighty eagles moving onward to eastern Earth, omens bearing.

Men there marvelled, in the mist standing of the dark islands in the deeps of time: laughter they knew not, light nor wisdom; shadow was upon them, and sheer mountains stalked behind them, stern and lifeless, evil-haunted. The East was dark.

The ship came shining to the shore driven, and strode upon the strand, till its stern rested on sand and shingle. The sun went down. The clouds overcame the cold heavens. In fear and wonder to the fallow water sad-hearted men swiftly hastened, to the broken beaches, the boat seeking gleaming-timbered in the grey twilight. They looked within, and there laid sleeping a boy they saw breathing softly: his face was fair, his form lovely; his limbs were white, his locks raven golden-braided. Gilt and carven with wondrous work was the wood about him. In golden vessel gleaming water stood beside him; strung with silver a harp of gold beneath his hand rested; his sleeping head was softly pillowed on a sheaf of corn shimmering palely, as the fallow gold doth from far countries west of Angol. Wonder filled them.

The boat they hauled, and on the beach moored it high above the breakers, then with hands lifted from the bosom its burden. The boy slumbered. On his bed they bore him to their bleak dwellings, dark-walled and drear, in a dim region between waste and sea. There of wood builded high above the houses was a hall standing, forlorn and empty. Long had it stood so, no noise knowing, night nor morning, no light seeing. They laid him there, under lock left him lonely sleeping in the hollow darkness. They held the doors. Night wore away. New awakened, as ever on earth, early morning; day came dimly. Doors were opened. Men strode within, then amazed halted; fear and wonder filled the watchmen. The house was bare, hall deserted; no form found they on the floor lying, but by bed forsaken the bright vessel dry and empty in the dust standing. The guest was gone.

Grief o'ercame them. In sorrow they sought him, till the sun rising over the hills of heaven to the homes of men light came bearing. They looked upward, and high upon a hill hoar and treeless gold was glimmering. Their guest stood there with head

uplifted, hair unbraided; harpstrings they heard in his hand ringing, at his feet they saw the fallow-golden corn-sheaf lying. Then clear his voice a song began, sweet, unearthly, words in music woven strangely in a tongue unknown. Trees stood silent, and men unmoving marvelling harkened.

Middle-earth had known for many ages neither song nor singer; no sight so fair had eyes of mortal, since the earth was young, seen when waking in that sad country long forsaken. No lord they had, no king, nor counsel, but the cold terror that dwelt in the desert, the dark shadow that haunted the hills and the hoar forest: Dread was their master. Dark and silent, long years forlorn lonely waited the hall of kings, house forsaken without fire or food.

Forth men hastened from their dim houses. Doors were opened, and gates unbarred. Gladness wakened. To the hill they thronged, and their heads lifting on their guest they gazed. Grey-bearded men bowed before him and blessed his coming their years to heal; youths and maidens, wives and children, welcome gave him. His song ended. Silent standing he looked upon them. Lord they called him; king they made him, crowned with golden wheaten garland: white his raiment, his harp his sceptre. In his house was fire, food and wisdom: there fear came not. To manhood he grew, might and glory.

Sheave they called him, whom the ship brought them, a name renowned in the North-countries ever since in song; but a secret hidden his true name was in tongue unknown of a far country, where the falling seas wash western shores, beyond the ways of men since the world worsened. The word is forgotten and the name perished.

Their need he healed, and laws renewed long forsaken. Words he taught them wise and lovely: their tongue ripened in the time of Sheave to song and music. Secrets he opened, runes revealing. Riches he gave them, reward of labour, wealth and comfort from the earth calling, acres ploughing, sowing in season seed of plenty, hoarding in garner golden harvest for the help of men. The hoar forest in his days drew back to the dark mountains; the shadow lifted, and shining corn, white ears of wheat, whispered in the breezes where waste had been. The woods blossomed.

Halls and houses hewn of timber, strong towers of stone steep and lofty, golden-gabled, in his guarded city they raised and roofed. In his royal dwelling of wood well-carven the walls were

wrought; fair-hued figures filled with silver, gold, and scarlet, gleaming hung there, stories boding of strange countries, were one wise in wit the woven legends to thread with thought. At his throne men found counsel and comfort and care's healing, justice in judgement. Generous-handed his gifts he gave. Glory was uplifted. Far sprang his fame over fallow water; through Northern lands the renown echoed of the shining king, Sheave the mighty.

'When he ended there was loud applause – loudest from those who understood least, so that men should perceive how well they could thread the old songs; and they passed a horn to Tréowine's hand. But ere he drank, I rose up, and there where I stood I finished his song for him:

Seven sons he begat, sire[104] of princes, men great of mood, mighty-handed and high-hearted. From his house cometh the seed of kings, as songs tells us, fathers of the fathers, who before the change in the Elder Years the earth governed, Northern kingdoms named and founded, shields of their people: Sheave begat them: Sea-danes and Goths, Swedes and Northmen, Franks and Frisians, folk of the islands, Swordmen and Saxons, Swabians, Angles, and the Longobards, who long ago beyond Mircwudu a mighty realm and wealth won them in the Welsh countries, where Ælfwine, Éadwine's son in Italy was king. All that has passed!

'And with that, while men still stared – for there were many that knew my name and my father's – I beckoned to Tréowine, and we strode from the hall into the darkness and the wind.

'And there I think I must end for tonight,' said Lowdham, with a sudden change of tone and voice that startled us: we jumped like men waked suddenly from a dream. It seemed as if one man had vanished and another had sprung up in his place, so vividly had he presented Ælfwine to us as he spoke. Quite plainly I had seen him standing there, a man very like Arry but not the same – rather taller and less thick, and looking older and greyer, though by his account he was just Arry's age it seemed; I had seen the glittering of his eyes as he looked round and strode out. The hall and the faces I saw in a blur behind him, and Tréowine was only a dim shadow against the flicker of far candles as he spoke of King Sheave; but I heard the wind rushing above all the words.

'Next meeting Tréowine and I will go on again, if you want any more of this,' said Lowdham. 'Ælfwine's tale is nearly done; and after that we shall flit more quickly, for we shall pass further and further from what Stainer would call History – in which old Ælfwine really walked, at least for the most part, I guess.

'If you haven't got a horn, fill me a mug! For I have done both Ælfwine's part and Tréowine's, and it is thirsty work, a minstrel's.'

Markison handed him a pewter tankard full. '*Béo thu blíthe æt thisse béorthege!*'[105] he said, for ancient English is only one of the innumerable things he knows.

Lowdham drained the tankard at a draught. And so ended the sixty-ninth night of the Notion Club. It was agreed to meet again in only one week's time, on October 2nd, lest the onset of term should hinder the further tales of Ælfwine and Tréowine.

WTJ. AAL MGR. RD. PF. RS. JM. JJR. NG.

Night 70. Thursday, 2 October, 1987.

Here the typescript text ends, not at the foot of a page; and here the manuscript ends also, without the date-heading for the next meeting. It is certain that my father wrote nothing further. There are, however, two brief texts, written very fast in pencil but fortunately just about legible, which give a glimpse of what he had in mind. Though both obviously belong to the same time, it is not clear which preceded the other; the one that I give first was written on the back of a draft for the passage in E beginning 'It was then that Arry turned away from the sea' (p. 268).

The Danes attack Porlock that night. They are driven off and take refuge by swimming out to the ships and so to 'Broad Relic'.[106] A small 'cnearr'[107] is captured.

It is not well guarded. Ælfwine tells Tréowine that he has stores laid up. They move the boat and stock it the following night and set sail West.

The wind is from the East, and they sail on and on, and come to no land; they are exhausted, and a dreamlike death seems to be coming over them. They smell [? the] fragrance. *Swéte is blóstma bræþ begeondan sæ*[108] says Ælfwine, and struggles to rise. But the wind changes: great clouds come out of the West. 'Behold the Eagles of the Lords of the West coming over Númenor' said Ælfwine, and fell back as one dead.

Tréowine sees the round world [?curve] below, and straight ahead a shining land, before the wind seizes them and drives them away. In the gathering dark [*or* dusk] he sees a bright star, shining in a rent in the cloud in the West. *Éalá Éarendel engla beorhtast.* Then he remembers no more.

'Whether what follows is my direct dream,' said Jeremy, 'or the dreams of Tréowine and Ælfwine in the deeps of the sea I cannot say.'

I woke to find myself

Here this sketch tantalisingly breaks off. On the same page and fairly certainly written at the same time stands this note:

The theory is that the sight and memory goes on with *descendants* of Elendil and Voronwë (= Tréowine) but *not* re-incarnation; they are different people even if they still resemble one another in some ways even after a lapse of many generations.

The second sketch is at first fuller (and may for that reason be thought to have followed the other), but then passes into an outline of headings and brief statements.

Danes attack that night but are driven off. Ælfwine and Tréowine are among those who capture a small ship that had ventured close inshore and stuck. The rest escape to 'Broad Relic'.

It is grey dawn ere all is over. 'Going to rest?' said Tréowine to Ælfwine. 'Yes, I hope so,' said Ælfwine, 'but not in this land, Tréowine! I am going – to seek a land, whence King Sheaf came, maybe; or to find Death, if that be not the name for the same place.'

'What do you mean?'

'I am sailing,' said Ælfwine. 'The wind blows westward. And here's a ship that knows the sea. The king himself has given it to me. I have handled many such before. Will you come? Two could make shift to sail her.'

'We should need more; and what of water and victual?'

'I have all prepared,' said Ælfwine, 'for this venture has long been brewing in my mind, and now at last chance and desire are matched. There is provision down in my house by the weir, and we'll find a couple of lusty men of Somerset whom I know. They'll go as far as Ireland at the least, and then we'll see.'

'Yes, you'll find madmen enough there,' said Tréowine, 'but I'll go with you so far at the least.'

When it was dark on the following night Ælfwine brought along Ceola (of Somerset) and Geraint (of West Wales) and we stowed her, and thrust her off. The east wind freshened, and we set sail and drove out into the dark waters. There's no need to make long tale of it: we bent our course past the horns of Pembrokeshire and so out to sea. And then we had a change of weather, for a wild wind from the South-west drove us back and northward, and we hardly made haven upon a long firth in the South-west of Ireland. I'd never been there before, for I was younger than Ælfwine. We sat out the storm there, and got fresh supplies, and then Ælfwine spoke of his desire to Ceola and Geraint.

Tréowine sees the straight road and the world plunging down. Ælfwine's vessel seems to be taking the straight road and falls [*sic*] in a swoon of fear and exhaustion.

Ælfwine gets view of the Book of Stories; and writes down what he can remember.

Later fleeting visions.

Beleriand tale.

Sojourn in Númenor before and during the fall ends with *Elendil* and *Voronwë* fleeing on a hill of water into the dark with Eagles and lightning pursuing them. Elendil has a book which he has written.

His descendants get glimpses of it.

Ælfwine has one.

On the same slip of paper and written at the same time as this second text is a note saying that Edwin Lowdham's page 'should be in Anglo-Saxon *straight*, without some scraps of Númenórean', and that 'the Anglo-Saxon should *not* be written in Númenórean script'. Finally there stands this last note: 'At end Lowdham and Jeremy can revisualize some more fragments, but it is hardly needed, as Lowdham and Jeremy have a vivid dream of the Fall of Númenor.'

From the beginning of this history, the story of the Englishman Ælfwine, called also Eriol, who links by his strange voyage the vanished world of the Elves with the lives of later men, has constantly appeared. So in the last words of the *Quenta Noldorinwa* (IV.165) it is said:

> To Men of the race of Eärendel have they [*the tales of the Quenta*] at times been told, and most to Eriol, who alone of the mortals of

> later days, and yet now long ago, sailed to the Lonely Isle, and came back to the land of Leithien [*Britain*] where he lived, and remembered things that he had heard in fair Cortirion, the city of the Elves in Tol Eressëa.

He is seen in Tavrobel of Tol Eressëa translating *The Annals of Valinor* and *The Annals of Beleriand* from the work of Pengolod the Wise of Gondolin, and parts of his Anglo-Saxon text are preserved (IV.263, 281 ff.); the *Ainulindalë* was spoken to him by Rúmil of Tûn (V.156); the *Lhammas* of Pengolod was seen by Ælfwine 'when he came into the West' (V.167). To the *Quenta Silmarillion* his note is appended (V.203): 'The work of Pengolod I learned much by heart, and turned into my tongue, some during my sojourn in the West, but most after my return to Britain'; after which follow the lines of Ælfwine Wídlást that Arundel Lowdham heard, as Alboin Errol had heard them: *Fela bið on Westwegum werum uncuðra, wundra ond wihta, wlitescyne lond...*

Crossing this theme, and going back to one form of the old story *Ælfwine of England* (II.322 and note 42), was the story that Ælfwine never set foot on the Lonely Isle. So in my father's sketches for those further reaches of *The Lost Road* that he never wrote, Ælfwine on the one hand (V.78) awakes on the beach of the Lonely Isle 'to find the ship being drawn by people walking in the water', and there in Eressëa he 'is told the Lost Tales'; but in other notes of that time (V.80), after 'the vision of Eressëa', the 'west wind blows them back', and they come to shore in Ireland. In the note to the final version of the poem *The Song of Ælfwine* (a version which I suggested was 'probably from the years after *The Lord of the Rings*, though it might be associated with the *Notion Club Papers* of 1945', V.100) it is told (V.103):

> Ælfwine (Elf-friend) was a seaman of England of old who, being driven out to sea from the coast of Erin, passed into the deep waters of the West, and according to legend by some strange chance or grace found the 'straight road' of the Elvenfolk and came at last to the Isle of Eressëa in Elvenhome. Or maybe, as some say, alone in the waters, hungry and athirst, he fell into a trance and was granted a vision of that isle as it once had been, ere a West-wind arose and drove him back to Middle-earth.

In the first of the sketches just given Ælfwine and Tréowine are in sight of the 'shining land' when the wind drives them away; but in the second my father once more sees Ælfwine in the Lonely Isle looking at 'the Book of Stories'. But the whole conception has now developed a disturbing complexity: the Downfall of Númenor, the Straight Road into the West, the ancient histories in unknown language and unknown script preserved in Eressëa, the mysterious voyage of Edwin Lowdham in his ship *The Éarendel* and the single preserved page of his

book in Anglo-Saxon, the 're-emergence' in his son Arundel (Éarendel) and his friend Wilfrid Trewin Jeremy of 'the sight and memory' of their forebears in distant ages communicated in dreams, and the violent irruption of the Númenórean legend into the late twentieth century – all framed within an elaborate foreseeing of the future (not without comic and ironic elements).

There is a slip of paper on which my father sketched out very rapidly ideas for what would become 'Part Two' of *The Notion Club Papers*; this was undoubtedly written before he began the writing of the manuscript E, but it is most conveniently given here.

Do the Atlantis story and abandon Eriol-Saga, with Loudham, Jeremy, Guildford and Ramer taking part.

After night 62.[109] Loudham, walking home with Guildford and Ramer, apologizes for appearing to scoff. They halt in Radcliffe Square and Loudham looks up at the Camera. It is starry, but a black cloud is coming up out of the West [*changed at once to* (but) caught like smoke in the moon a wisp of cloud seemed to be issuing from the lantern of the dome]. Loudham halts and looks up, passing [his] hand over his forehead. 'I was going to say,' he says, 'that – I don't know. I wonder.' He hopped into college and said no more.

Night 65. Truncated. It begins after lacuna. Conversation had been about myths, but Loudham had been restless, walking about twisting his handkerchief and making some unsuccessful jests.

Suddenly he went to the window. It was a summer night and he looked out, then spoke in a loud solemn voice. 'Behold the Eagles of the Lords of the West coming over Númenor.' We were startled. Some of us went and looked out. A great cloud was eating up the stars, spreading two vast dark wings south and north.

Loudham drew away. They discuss Númenor? Loudham's ancestry?

The words with which this sketch begins, 'Do the Atlantis story and abandon Eriol-Saga ...', are remarkable. In the first place, they seem to support the analysis of the way in which *The Notion Club Papers* developed that I have suggested at various points, and which I will state here in a more coherent form.

'Part One' of the *Papers* (not at this time conceived to be so) had reached the stage of the completed manuscript B (see p. 147 and note 4), and at this stage Harry Loudham was not seen as contributing greatly to the discussions of the Notion Club: a maker of jokes and

interjections. Above all, he had no especial interest in the question of Atlantis or in names from unknown worlds. Examples of this have been pointed out in the notes to Part One.[110]

Only when the manuscript B was completed (and the text of 'Part One' of the *Papers* very largely achieved) did the thought enter: 'Do the Atlantis story.' With Loudham's standing beneath the Radcliffe Camera and staring up at the sky the whole course of the *Papers* was changed. Adjustments and additions were subsequently made to 'Part One', hinting at his peculiar 'affinity' with the legend of the downfall of the island empire, and changing the nature of his interests: for whereas in B Guildford could say of him (p. 214 note 23): 'Memoirs of the courts of minor 18th century monarchs are his natural browsing-ground', in the list of members of the Club given on p. 151 (made when B had been completed)[111] he has 'special interests in Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon'. And as the writing of 'Part Two' in the manuscript E proceeded he ceased to be Harry and became Arry, for Arundel (Éarendel).

But when my father wrote 'Do the Atlantis story' he also said that the 'Eriol-Saga' should be abandoned, although there is no mention of any such matter in the text of 'Part One'. The only explanation that I can see is that the 'Eriol-Saga' had been, up to this time, what my father had in mind for the further course of the meetings of the Notion Club, but was now rejecting in favour of 'Atlantis'.

In the event he did not do so; he found himself drawn back into the ideas that he had sketched for *The Lost Road* (see V.77–8), but now in a conception so intricate that one need perhaps look no further for an answer to the question, why were *The Notion Club Papers* abandoned?

NOTES

1 Pencilled at the head of the first page of the sole manuscript ('E') of 'Part Two' is 'The Strange [Investigation >] Case of Arundel Loudham', and the same title together with the number '[Part] II' is found on a separate title-page that seems to belong with E (p. 153 note 2). The second text of this Part, the typescript 'F', while distinct from the typescript D of Part One and with a separate pagination, has no title or heading before 'Night 62'. — *Loudham* is spelt thus in E at first, but becomes *Lowdham* in the course of the writing of the manuscript (p. 153 note 4).

2 In E there is no Night 62: see p. 195 (Guildford's footnote) and note 47.

3 In E there is no head-note to Night 63 except the word 'defective', and thus no reference to 'the *imrám*'. In the final text, the typescript F, the number of the night to which the mention of the *imrám* is referred was left blank; I have added '69', since on that night Frankley read his poem on Saint Brendan (pp. 261 ff.). — The bracketed opening word 'Good', supposed to be absent in the original, was added by the editor.

4 *the High:* High Street; *Radcliffe Square*, see p. 222 note 69.

5 For 'especially about the *imrám*' E has 'especially about the Enkeladim', changed soon to 'the Imrám'. For references to the *Enkeladim (En-keladim)* in Part One see pp. 199, 206–7, 221 note 65; and for the *imrama* (tales of seavoyaging) see V.81–2.

6 *Nordics*: E has 'philologists' (but Ramer himself was a philologist).

7 *B.N.C.*: the common abbreviation of Brasenose College, whose gate is in Radcliffe Square. The 'lane' along which Ramer and Guildford walked after Lowdham had left them is Brasenose Lane, leading from Radcliffe Square to Turl Street (p. 213 note 18). — For *The Camera* in the following sentence see p. 222 note 69.

8 On the inclusion of Night 64 see the Editor's Foreword, p. 156.

9 In E as originally written the entire opening of Night 65 had been lost, and the text only takes up with '[Jeremy] ... "as you said. ..."' — which is where in F the text takes up again after the loss of a page in the middle of the record of the meeting (p. 227). Thus in E the conversation concerning neologisms was at first lacking; it was added in to the manuscript subsequently.

10 In E it was Dolbear, not Ramer, who objected thus to Lowdham's remark. *Arry* (for *Harry*) entered in the course of the writing of E; see p. 213 note 16.

11 *N.E.D.: A New English Dictionary*, the actual title of the *Oxford English Dictionary* or *O.E.D.*

12 The expression *the Six Years' War* is used in the Foreword and several times in the text. In E my father called it here *the Second German War*.

13 *Vita Fera*: literally 'savage life' (*ferus* 'wild, untamed, savage, fierce').

14 Cf. p. 174: Frankley, according to Guildford, 'regards knowledge of his own language at any period before the Battle of Bosworth as a misdemeanour'.

15 *Norman Keeps* was an historical person, who expounded to my father the view of English history here recounted by Philip Frankley while plying his trade at the barbering establishment of Weston and Cheal in the Turl Street.

16 *Battle of Camlan:* the battle in which King Arthur and his nephew Modred fell.

17 *Zigūr:* the Adunaic name of Sauron, which is the name that Lowdham uses in E here.

18 *Owlamoo:* This was in fact the name of a bogey conceived by my brother Michael (and of which my father made a picture, dated 1928, now in the Bodleian Library); but of course Lowdham intended no more than any old absurd name: in E he says 'Wallamaloo, who's he?'

19 *Nūmenōr:* so F at all occurrences here (the long mark over the *o* being added subsequently); E has *Númenor.*

20 *Nūmenōr is my name for Atlantis:* see p. 221 note 63.

21 *I knew I had heard that name as soon as Arry said it:* see pp. 306–7.

22 A footnote to the text in E at this point reads: 'The records were supposed to be written up and presented for correction at the end of each term. Before being passed they were initialled by all persons mentioned in them. N.G.' Cf. the Note to the list of members of the Notion Club in F, p. 160.

23 *My father's name was Edwin:* in initial drafting (and in E as first written) Lowdham's father was called *Oswin Ellendel* (a 'modernisation' of *Elendil*) and he himself was *Alboin Arundel* (cf. Oswin Errol father of Alboin in *The Lost Road*, V.36 ff.). Oswin Loudham was at first to be a sailor by profession, or else the somewhat absentee Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge ('I believe he did know some Anglo-Saxon' said his son).

24 I have not been able to discover a place named Penian in Pembrokeshire.

25 *The Éarendel:* in E the ship was named *Éarendel Star.*

26 *It does not look to Sussex:* Arundel in Sussex (explained as Old English *hārhūn-dell*, 'hoarhound valley', the name of a plant) has of course no connection whatsoever with *Éarendel*, merely a likeness of sound.

27 E has 'the War of 1939' (see note 12).

28 *three sailors:* E has only 'And he'd had great difficulty in collecting any sort of crew.' Cf. the three mariners who accompanied Eärendel and Elwing on the voyage to Valinor in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.324, 327).

29 With this passage cf. V.37–8 and my commentary V.53–5.

30 *the connexion of the Langobards with King Sheaf:* see p. 227, and V.92 ff.

31 In E Ramer says: 'Nor the repetition of the sequence: *Alboin* son of *Audoin* = *Alwin* son of *Edwin.*' The addition in F of *Ælfwine son of Éadwine* is curious, since no actual Ælfwine son of Éadwine has been mentioned (merely the Old English forms of *Alwin* and *Edwin*). Possibly it should be understood that Ramer in his discussion with Lowdham before the present meeting

(p. 235) had learnt of the verses ascribed to *Ælfwine Wídlást Éadwines sunu* (p. 244).

32 *Rosamund:* see V.54.

33 *O Horsefriend of Macedon!* A Lowdham joke on Frankley's first name (of which one is reminded immediately above), referring to King Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great (Greek *phil-ippos* 'horse-loving').

34 *a star-name for Orion, or for Rigel:* see p. 301 and note 6.

35 *the glosses:* translations into Anglo-Saxon of individual words in Latin manuscripts. See my father's (draft) letter written in August 1967 to a correspondent known only as Mr. Rang (*Letters* no. 297), in which he gave a long account of the relation between Anglo-Saxon *Éarendel* and the *Eärendil* of his mythology. The relevant part of this letter is reprinted in II.266, but without the footnote to the words 'To my mind the Anglo-Saxon uses seem plainly to indicate that it was a star presaging the dawn (at any rate in English tradition)':

> Its earliest recorded A-S form is *earendil (oer-)*, later *earendel, eorendel.* Mostly in glosses on *jubar* = *leoma*; also on *aurora.* But also in *Blickling Homilies* 163, *se níwa éorendel* applied to St John the Baptist; and most notably *Crist* 104, *éalá! éarendel engla beorhtast ofer middangeard monnum sended.* Often supposed to refer to Christ (or Mary), but comparison with Blickling Homilies suggests that it refers to the Baptist. The lines refer to a *herald*, and divine messenger, clearly not the *sóðfæsta sunnan léoma* = Christ.

The last words of this note refer to the following lines in the poem *Crist*:

> *Éalá Éarendel engla beorhtast*
> *ofer middangeard monnum sended,*
> *ond sóðfæsta sunnan léoma,*
> *torht ofer tunglas – þú tída gehwane.*
> *of sylfum þé symle inlíhtes.*

'... and true radiance of the sun, bright above the stars – thou of thy very self illuminest for ever every season.' — *The Blickling Homilies* are a collection of Old English sermons preserved in a manuscript at Blickling Hall in Norfolk.

36 E has 'what Cynewulf meant'. Of Cynewulf, author of the *Crist* and other poems, nothing is certainly known beyond his name, which he preserved by setting the runic letters composing it into short passages in the body of his poems, so that the actual names of the runes (as for example the W-rune was called *wynn* 'joy') have a meaning in the context.

37 From this point to the end of Night 66 there are not two but three texts to be considered (as already noted, p. 147), for this part of the typescript F was rejected and replaced by a new

version, while both typescript versions differ radically from E in respect of Lowdham's linguistic discoveries. The divergences have many notable features, and the superseded versions are given separately, pp. 299 ff.

38 'That breaks my dream' was an expression of my mother's, meaning that something in waking life had suddenly reminded her of a passage in a dream. In the original version of Night 66 (p. 303) Jeremy says 'That breaks *my* dream!' when Lowdham's words suddenly recall to his mind the place where, in his dream, he had found the reference to Númenor. — The *Oxford English Dictionary* does not give the expression, and the only place that I have found it is in the *English Dialect Dictionary*, ed. Joseph Wright, *Break* 27 (3), with a reference to West Yorkshire.

39 *Yōzāyan:* this Adunaic name occurs in *Aldarion and Erendis* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 184): 'Do you not love the Yôzâyan?'

40 The term *Elf-latin* (also *Elven-latin*) occurs frequently in *The Lost Road* and *The Lhammas*: see the Index to Vol.V. Alboin Errol called the first language (*'Eressëan'*) that 'came through' to him *Elf-latin*, but it is not explained why he did so.

41 *Tíwas: Tíw* was the name in Old English of the Germanic god equated with Mars (whence *Tuesday*, based on Latin *dies Martis*; French *Mardi*), and known in Old Norse as *Týr*. The name is generally derived from an earlier **Tiwaz*, cognate with Latin *deus* (< **deiwos*), and so meaning originally 'god'; in Old Norse the plural *Tívar* 'gods' is found, of which *Tíwas* (= 'Valar') is the unrecorded Old English equivalent that 'came through' to Lowdham.

42 *Nówendaland:* derived from the recorded Old English word *nówend* 'shipmaster, mariner'. For another occurrence of *Nówendaland* see p. 317.

43 *Fréafíras:* this word is found elsewhere (see p. 317) as a translation of the word *turkildi* in Lowdham's Fragment I (p. 246), which he translated 'lordly men' (p. 248): Old English *fréa* 'lord', often found also as the first element of compounds, and *fíras* 'men', a word used in Old English poetry (cf. IV.206, 208, 211–12).

44 *Regeneard:* this was no doubt used in reference to Valinor. In Old English the element *regn-* occurs in compounds with an intensive force ('greatness, power'), and also in proper names (as *Regenweald*, revived as *Reginald*). In the ancient Norse poems *Regin*, plural, meant the gods, the rulers of the world, and occurs in *Ragna-rök* 'the doom of the gods' (mistakenly transformed into 'the twilight of the gods' by confusion with the word *rökr* 'twilight'). Old English *eard* 'land, country, dwelling, home'; thus *Regeneard* 'God-home', Valinor.

45 *Midswípen:* a word *midja-sweipains* is found in Gothic,

apparently meaning 'cataclysm, flood of the middle(-earth)', *midja* being a reduced form of *midjun-* as in Gothic *midjungards* (the inhabited world of men, 'Middle-earth'). This is clearly the basis of Lowdham's unrecorded Old English *Midswípen.*

46 *hebaensuil:* in later spelling *heofonsýl*; cf. the Old English text given on p. 314. *frumaeldi:* 'First Age'. I cannot certainly interpret *Wihawinia.*

47 In *The Lost Road* (V.43) Oswin Errol tells Alboin: 'But you'll get into trouble, if you let your cats out of the bag among the philologists – unless, of course, they back up the authorities.' Like Edwin Lowdham, Oswin Errol had studied Old English (V.44).

48 *westra lage wegas rehtas, wraikwas nu isti*: the line 'came through' also to Alboin Errol in *The Lost Road* (V.43), but ending *nu isti sa wraithas*; see p. 304.

49 *Onomasticon:* alphabetic list of proper names, especially of persons.

50 In *The Lost Road* Ælfwine chanted a form of these lines in the hall before King Edward the Elder (V.84), where they are not given in an archaic form but in the spelling of the manuscript of *The Seafarer* (see V.85):

Monað modes lust mid mereflode
forð to feran, þæt ic feor heonan
ofer hean holmas, ofer hwæles eðel
elþeodigra eard gesece.
Nis me to hearpan hyge ne to hringþege
ne to wife wyn ne to worulde hyht
ne ymb owiht elles nefne ymb yða gewealc.

A prose translation is given (whereas Lowdham translates into alliterative verse): 'The desire of my spirit urges me to journey forth over the flowing sea, that far hence across the hills of water and the whale's country I may seek the land of strangers. No mind have I for harp, nor gift of ring, nor delight in women, nor joy in the world, nor concern with aught else save the rolling of the waves.'

In *The Seafarer* the text is somewhat different:

monað modes lust mæla gehwylce
ferð to feran, þæt ic feor heonan
elþeodigra eard gesece

(which is then followed by five lines omitted in Ælfwine's version); *mæla gehwylce* 'on every occasion', *ferð (ferhð)* 'heart, spirit', i.e. literally 'the desire of my spirit urges my heart on every occasion to journey'. These alterations reappear in Lowdham's version here, and they depend, I imagine, on my father's judgement that the preserved text of *The Seafarer* is corrupt.

The third line in *The Lost Road* text, *ofer hean holmas, ofer hwæles eðel*, not found in *The Seafarer*, is replaced in Lowdham's version by the less banal *ofer gársecges grimme holmas* (writing it in later spelling), 'over the grim waves of Gársecg (the ocean)'; for *Gársecg* see the references given in V.82.

The fourth line of Lowdham's version differs, as he points out, from that in *The Seafarer* in the reading *aelbuuina eard* (= later *ælfwina eard*) 'land of the Elf-friends' for *elþeodigra eard* 'land of strangers, aliens'; the substitution of *ælfwina* for *elþeodigra* requires the presence of the word *uut (út)* for metrical reasons. The text of *The Lost Road* follows *The Seafarer*.

In *The Notion Club Papers* Ælfwine's chant before the king (p. 272) is exactly as Lowdham's version here, but given in later spelling; see also p. 304.

51 These lines Alboin Errol recited to his father in *The Lost Road* (V.44) in precisely the same form, except that Ælfwine is not there called *Éadwines sunu*. For other appearances of these lines see V.55. In the translation the words 'a land lovely to look on' (*wlitescéne land*) have been added from the first typescript (see note 37): they were inadvertently omitted in the second.

52 Lowdham concludes his lecture in the manner of the ending of a medieval minstrel's romance, and with a swipe at Frankley. *or I ende:* 'before I end.'

53 From Night 67 onwards there are again only the manuscript E and the typescript F, the latter being the continuation of the revised typescript (see p. 147 and note 37 above).

54 *O Lover of Horses:* see note 33.

55 Lowdham's 'fragments' are inserted into the typescript on separate sheets. They are in two forms: a typescript, printed here, and a manuscript of two pages, reproduced as frontispieces to this book, representing Lowdham's copies 'in a big bold hand, done with one of the great thick-nibbed pens Lowdham is fond of', with 'glosses in red ink': for unglossed words there are however (unlike what Lowdham said of his copies, p. 248) no query marks. In the typescript text of the fragments the Avallonian and Adunaic words are given all in capital letters, but I print them here in italic, capitalising according to the manuscript version.

56 Comparison of the typescript text of the fragments printed here with the manuscript version reproduced as frontispieces will show that the only differences in actual word-forms are manuscript *hikalba* 'she fell' in I (B), where the typescript has *hikallaba*; manuscript *katha* 'all' in II, where the typescript has *kātha*; and manuscript *īdō* 'now' at all three occurrences in II, but *īdōn* at the last two in the typescript, with the gloss 'now (is)'. There are many minor differences in Lowdham's glosses.

The typescript text of the fragments was no doubt made to accompany the final typescript F of the narrative, but it is not clear to me whether it preceded or followed the manuscript pages. Earlier forms of these pages are given on pp. 311–12. For the form of the fragments in E see p. 309.

57 Plato's dialogue *Timaeus* is the source (together with the long unfinished dialogue *Critias*) of the legend of Atlantis, the great island empire in the western ocean which, expanding aggressively against the peoples of the Mediterranean, was defeated by the Athenians, and was swallowed up 'in a single day and night' by the sea, leaving a vast shoal of mud that rendered the waters impassable in the region where Atlantis had been. According to Plato, the story was told (about the beginning of the sixth century B.C.) by an Egyptian priest to Solon the Athenian, and it came down thence by several intermediaries to Critias, a relative of Plato's, who tells the story in the two dialogues. In the *Critias* a long and extremely detailed account of Atlantis is given, of its great city, the temple of Poseidon with its colossal statue of the god, the wealth of the land in all resources of minerals, animals, timber, flowers and fruits, the horse-racing, the bull-sacrifice, the laws governing the realm. At the end of this account the narrator tells that the men of Atlantis fell away from the justice, wisdom and virtue of earlier generations, and that Zeus, perceiving their debasement and corruption, and wishing to punish them, called all the gods together and spoke to them; but at this point the *Critias* breaks off unfinished. The story of the war with the Greeks and the downfall of Atlantis is told, very briefly, in the other dialogue, the *Timaeus*.

The eldest child of Poseidon (tutelary god of Atlantis) by a mortal woman became the first king, and Poseidon named him Atlas, 'and after him the whole island and ocean were called Atlantis.'

Ultimately the name *Atlas* is that of the Titan who upheld the heavens on his head and his hands, according to Hesiod in the far western regions of the earth, near the dwelling of the Hesperides. He was the father of the Pleiades, and also, in Homer, of Calypso, on whose island Ogygia Odysseus was shipwrecked.

58 Cf. *The Lost Road*, where Audoin Errol, son of Alboin, speaks to himself of his dreams (V.52): 'Just pictures, but not a sound, not a word. Ships coming to land. Towers on the shore. Battles, with swords glinting but silent. And there is that ominous picture: the great temple on the mountain, smoking like a volcano.'

59 E has here: '"... But I've done what I can. *Sauron* and *nahamna* remain to be solved." "Sauron!" said Jeremy in a strange voice.'

Lowdham refers only to unknown Quenya words because, as will be seen more fully later, in E there was no Adunaic element in the fragments he received. The word *nahamna* preceded *nukumna* 'humbled' of the later text of the Quenya fragment (p. 246), and was uninterpretable also by Alboin Errol in *The Lost Road* (V.47).

60 The name *Nimruzīr* appears in Fragment I (B), 'seven ships of Nimruzīr eastward'. In E Jeremy addresses Lowdham as *Ëarendil*, changed subsequently to *Elendil*.

61 The Adunaic words *Bā kitabdahē!* are absent in E (see note 59).

62 In E Lowdham cries out: '*Es sorni heruion an!* The Eagles of the Lords are at hand!' This was changed later to 'The Eagles of the Powers of the West are at hand! *Sorni Nūmevalion anner!*' In an earlier, rejected version of the passage Lowdham's words were: '*Soroni núméheruen ettuler!*'

63 In E Jeremy speaks of 'the fell counsels of Sauron', not 'of Zigūr'. He says that 'Tarkalion has set forth his might', where F has 'the King', and the sails of the Númenórean ships are 'scarlet and black' ('golden and black', F). He ends in E: 'The world waits in fear. The Númenóreans have encompassed Avallon as with a cloud. The Eldar mourn and are afraid. Why do the Lords of the West make no sign?'

64 For 'The Lords have spoken to Ēru, and the fate of the World is changed' E has 'The Lords have spoken to Ilúvatar [> the Maker], and the counsel of the Almighty is changed, and the fate of the world is overturned.'

65 For the passage in F beginning 'See! The abyss openeth ...' E (as first written: the wording was changed in detail subsequently) has:

> 'Ah! Look! There is a chasm in the midst of the Great Seas and the waters rush down into it in great confusion. The ships of the Númenóreans are drowned in the abyss. They are lost for ever. See now the eagles of the Lords overshadow Númenor. The mountain goes up to heaven in flame and vapour; the hills totter, slide, and crumble: the land founders. The glory has gone down into the deep waters. Dark ships, dark ships flying into darkness! The eagles pursue them. Wind drives them, waves like hills moving. All has passed away. Light has departed!'
>
> There was a roar of thunder and a blaze of lightning ...

Thus there is no mention in E of Lowdham and Jeremy moving to the window and 'talking to one another in a strange tongue.'

66 For *Abrazān* E has *Voronwë*, 'Steadfast', 'Faithful'; this was the name of the Elf who guided Tuor to Gondolin, *Unfinished Tales* pp. 30 ff. Cf. Jeremy's second name, Trewin (see note 84).

67 On 'the Great Storm' see p. 157 and note 1.

68 The statement that Ramer picked up a piece of paper covered with writing and put it in a drawer is present in E as written. See note 70.

69 *in the schools:* acting as examiners in the final examinations, held at the end of the summer term (cf. Guildford's footnote on p. 253).

70 In E the letter was postmarked in London. — As E was written, the record of the meeting of Night 68 ended immediately after Guildford had read the letter aloud, with the words: 'We agreed to Thursday 25th of September', and is followed by Night 69 on that date. Thus, although at the end of Night 67 Guildford's statement that he saw Ramer pick up the leaf of Edwin Lowdham's manuscript and put it in a drawer was present in E as originally written, on Night 68 Ramer does not appear and the paper is not mentioned (which is why the account of Night 68 begins with the words 'There is not much to record' – words that should have been removed). In E Night 69 (the last meeting recorded in *The Notion Club Papers*) proceeds essentially as in F (pp. 260–77). The matter of 'Edwin Lowdham's page' on Night 68 was inserted into E, but the structure of the manuscript and its pagination show clearly that this was not done until the text of Night 69 had been completed.

71 In E Ramer's remarks about 'Edwin Lowdham's page' and his discovery that the language was Old English are very much the same as in F, but he gives an opinion about the dialect and date: 'He thought it was Númenórean, I guess. But actually it is just Old English – latish West Saxon, I think, but I'm no expert. The script is, I think, plainly Númenórean ...' See further notes 72 and 74.

72 *Rashbold* is a translation of *Tolkien*: see p. 151. Pembroke is the college to which the professorship of Anglo-Saxon is attached, its holder being *ex officio* a fellow of the college. — In E Professor Rashbold does not appear, and it is Ramer himself who deciphered, transcribed, and translated the page ('And here's the transcription, with such a translation as I could make').

73 Cf. the third Old English version of *The Annals of Valinor*, of which I noted (IV.290) that the language is that of ninth-century Mercia. There are several references in my father's letters to his particular liking for and sense of affinity with the West Midlands of England and its early language. In January 1945 he had said to me (*Letters* no. 95): 'For barring the Tolkien (which must long ago have become a pretty thin strand) you are a Mercian or Hwiccian (of Wychwood) on both sides.' In June 1955 he wrote to W. H. Auden (*Letters* no. 163): 'I am a West-midlander by blood (and took to early west-midland

Middle English as a known tongue as soon as I set eyes on it)'; and in another letter of this time (*Letters* no. 165): '... it is, I believe, as much due to descent as to opportunity that Anglo-Saxon and Western Middle English and alliterative verse have been both a childhood attraction and my main professional sphere.'

74 The Old English version (not in the Mercian dialect, see note 71) written to accompany the manuscript E is given on pp. 313–14, and the representation of the original form of it in Edwin Lowdham's *tengwar* on pp. 319–20. Of the subsequent Old English (Mercian) version, printed here from F, my father began a text in *tengwar* but abandoned it after a single page; this is reproduced on p. 321.

75 *Arminalēth:* Adunaic name of the City of the Númenóreans, found also in *The Drowning of Anadûnê*. In *The Fall of Númenor* (§2) it was named *Númenos* (V.25, and in this book p. 333). On the site of the temple see p. 384.

76 *Neowollond*: in Professor Rashbold's translation (p. 259) this is rendered 'the ? prostrate land'; in the earlier Old English version accompanying E, which was translated by Michael Ramer (note 72), the name (in the form *Niwelland*) is rendered 'the Land that is fallen low' (pp. 314–15). Old English *neowol* (*néol*, *niwol*) 'prostrate, prone; deep, profound'; cf. the early names for Helm's Deep, *Neolnearu*, *Neolnerwet*, VIII.23 note 6.

77 *forrarder:* 'further forward'.

78 On the texts and titles of this poem see the note on pp. 295–6, where also the published version is given.

79 *Cluain-ferta:* Clonfert, near the river Shannon above Lough Derg. The monastery was founded by Saint Brendan Abbot of Clonfert, called the Navigator, about the year 559.

80 *a light on the edge of the Outer Night:* cf. the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.327): 'But [the Valar] took Vingelot [the ship of Eärendel], and they hallowed it, and they bore it away through Valinor to the uttermost rim of the world, and there it passed through the Door of Night and was lifted up even into the oceans of heaven.' The following line in the present text, *like silver set ablaze*, is replaced in the final form of the poem (p. 298, line 104) by *beyond the Door of Days*.

81 The passage Lowdham refers to is lines 33–52, where when 'the smoking cloud asunder broke' they 'saw that Tower of Doom': in the earliest text of the poem the mariners 'looked upon Mount Doom' (p. 295).

82 Cf. the outline for *The Lost Road* in V.80, where 'Ælfwine objects that Paradise cannot be got to by ship – there are deeper waters between us than Garsecg. *Roads are bent:* you come back in the end. No escape by ship.'

83 *Porlock:* on the north coast of Somerset.

84 *Trewyn:* Jeremy's second name is spelt *Trewin* in the lists of members of the Notion Club. The Old English name is *Tréowine* (which Lowdham uses subsequently, p. 268), 'true friend'; cf. the Elvish name *Voronwë* 'Steadfast' by which Lowdham names him in the text E (note 66).

85 *Hibernia:* Ireland (see note 99).

86 *Slieve League* is a mountain on the coast of Donegal, *Brandon Hill* on the coast of Kerry; thus Lowdham means 'all down the west coast of Ireland'.

87 The *Aran Isles* lie across the entrance to Galway Bay.

88 *Loughrea:* a town and lake to the east of Galway.

89 *the Severn Sea:* the mouth of the Severn.

90 'Let us hasten now, Tréowine! I do not like this wind. There is a great likelihood of Danes tonight.'

91 The opening of Lowdham's story is closely based on the account in *The Lost Road* (V.83), although there Ælfwine's part is reported by the narrator, and it is his son Éadwine that he looks for in the hall, not his friend Tréowine. For a brief account of the historical setting in the years of King Edward the Elder (son of King Alfred), the defeat of the Danes at Archenfield in Herefordshire, and the raids on Watchet and Porlock, see V.80–1.

92 *Devenish men and Somersets: Devenish* is Old English *Defenisc* 'of Devon'; *Defnas*, *Defenas* 'men of Devon' is the origin of the name *Devon*. *Somersets* is from Old English *Sumorsæte* 'men of Somerset' with the later plural ending added; as with *Defnas* > *Devon*, *Sumorsæte* became the name of the region *Somerset*.

93 Edwin Lowdham's father has not been mentioned, but as is seen here he was Oswin Lowdham.

94 *Alfred went into hiding:* in the Isle of Athelney in Somerset, in 878.

95 *the West Welsh:* the people of Cornwall (Old English *Cornwealas* 'the Welsh in Cornwall' became the name of the region, *Cornwall*). On Ælfwine's mother, who came 'from the West', see II.313, V.85.

96 Saint Edmund, King of East Anglia, was defeated by the Danes in 869 and (according to the tenth century life of the king) murdered by them: he was tied to a tree and shot through with many arrows. The Danish raids in the region of the Severn took place in 914, and thus 'Ælfwine' was about 45 years old at this time (see V.80, 85), since he was born 'just before' the death of Saint Edmund. Arry Lowdham was born in 1938, and was now 48 or 49. Subsequently Guildford says (p. 276) that in his vision of Ælfwine in the hall at Porlock he had looked older than

Lowdham, 'though by his account he was just of Arry's age it seemed'.

97 *the good king in his last wars:* King Alfred (died 899).

98 *Maelduin:* see V.81–2.

99 *Ériu:* the Old Celtic name **Iveriu* (whence Latin *Hibernia*) became Irish *Eriu* (accusative case *Eirinn*, Erin). From the same source is Old English *Íras*, *Íraland*.

100 *æt Ircenfelda:* Archenfield in Herefordshire; see V.80 (the Old English *Ircingafeld* given there is an earlier form).

101 *Monath módes lust . . .:* on these verses see note 50.

102 *Tamworth:* in Staffordshire: the chief residence of the Mercian kings.

103 *King Sheave:* for discussion of the legend of 'Sheaf' and notes on the text of the poem see V.91–6.

Among the manuscripts of *The Lost Road* material (see V.85 ff.) there are two texts of the poem, the one (which I will here call 'V') written out in verse lines, the other ('P') written as prose. In *The Lost Road* I printed V only, since the two versions differ only in a few minor details. In V there is a short narrative opening, in which it is told that Ælfwine chanted the poem; in P there is only a title, *King Sheave*.

In the manuscript E of *The Notion Club Papers* it is not Tréowine who recites the poem, as it is the typescript F:

> At that one of the Marchers leaped to his feet and got leave to speak. Even before I had found a seat beside Tréowine, whom I espied far down the hall, the fellow had a foot on the step and had begun. He had a good voice, if a strange way with his words. Céolwulf, as I heard later, was his name, and he claimed to come of the blood of their kings that sat at Tamworth of old. His verse was in the old style . . .

This was changed in pencil to the later account. In E there is only a direction 'Here follows the Lay of King Sheave', which stands at the bottom of page 42 in the manuscript. The text continues on another page with 'When he ended there was loud applause . . . and they passed a horn of ale to Céolwulf's hand.' When I edited *The Lost Road* I did not observe that this page is numbered 46, while the manuscript P of *King Sheave* (in which the poem is written out as prose) is numbered 43 to 45. Thus the manuscripts V and P, which I took to be 'obviously closely contemporary' (V.87), were in fact separated by some eight years: a misjudgement based on the fact of the texts being placed together in my father's archive and their close similarity, although the evidence of the pagination is perfectly clear.

The manuscript P, then, was written in 1945 on the basis of the much earlier V, and was the text from which the typescript F given here was taken (with a few further changes); and all

differences between the text given on pp. 273 ff. in this book and that on pp. 87 ff. in *The Lost Road* belong to 1945.

The last eight lines of the supplementary part of the poem (*The Lost Road* p. 91, lines 146–53, beginning 'Sea-danes and Goths ...'), which do not appear in the manuscript V, also belong apparently to the time of *The Notion Club Papers*.

104 The text P has *sires*, but both V and the typescript F of the *Papers* have *sire*.

105 *æt thisse béorthege:* Old English *béorðegu* 'beer-drinking'.

106 I cannot explain the reference of 'Broad Relic'.

107 *cnearr:* 'ship', a very rare Old English word probably taken from Norse, since it is only applied to vessels of the Vikings.

108 'Sweet is the breath of flowers beyond the sea.'

109 *After night 62:* this is the later Night 63.

110 See p. 214 note 23; p. 194 and note 46; p. 199 and note 51; p. 206 and note 63.

111 That this list, following the revised title-page given on p. 149, was made after the completion of manuscript B is seen from the name *Frankley* for earlier *Franks* (p. 150).

Note on 'The Death of Saint Brendan' with the text of the published form 'Imram'

A great deal of work went into this poem, with its elaborate versification: there are no less than fourteen closely-written pages of initial working, and there follow four finished manuscript texts preceding the typescript text printed on pp. 261–4. Much further work on it followed later. It is notable, however, that already in the earliest text the final form reached in *The Notion Club Papers* was very closely approached: there is in fact only one passage that shows a significant difference (and this was corrected already on the first manuscript to the later form). This concerns lines 43–53, where the earliest text reads:

then the smoking cloud asunder broke
and we looked upon Mount Doom:
tall as a column in high Heaven's hall,
than all mortal mountains higher,
the tower-top of a foundered power,
with crown of redgold fire.

We sailed then on ...

The first text bears the title *The Ballad of St. Brendan's Death*. The second text, which as the pagination shows belongs with the manuscript E of *The Notion Club Papers*, is entitled *The Death of St. Brendan*. The third (with this title) and the fourth (without title) are finely written manuscripts, and the fifth (with the title *The Death of St.*

Brendan pencilled in as shown on p. 261) is part of the typescript F of *The Notion Club Papers*.

The poem, entitled *Imram* (Irish: 'sailing, voyaging') was once previously printed, in the issue of the periodical *Time and Tide* for 3 December 1955 (where it was illustrated by a woodcut of Saint Brendan and the great fishes by Robert Gibbings, originally made for Helen Waddell's book of translations *Beasts and Saints*, 1934). Three further typescripts, all with the title *Imram*, clearly belong to the later time. I print here in its entirety the text as it was published in *Time and Tide*, for that is now scarcely obtainable, and although the opening and concluding verses underwent very little alteration my father greatly changed most of the poem from its form in *The Notion Club Papers*.

IMRAM

At last out of the deep sea he passed,
  and mist rolled on the shore;
under clouded moon the waves were loud,
  as the laden ship him bore
to Ireland, back to wood and mire
  and the tower tall and grey,
where the knell of Clúain-ferta's bell
  tolled in green Galway.
Where Shannon down to Lough Derg ran
  under a rain-clad sky
Saint Brendan came to his journey's end
  to find the grace to die.

'O tell me, father, for I loved you well,
  if still you have words for me,
of things strange in the remembering
  in the long and lonely sea,
of islands by deep spells beguiled
  where dwell the Elvenkind:
in seven long years the road to Heaven
  or the Living Land did you find?'

'The things I have seen, the many things,
  have long now faded far;
only three come clear now back to me:
  a Cloud, a Tree, a Star.

'We sailed for a year and a day and hailed
  no field nor coast of men;
no boat nor bird saw we ever afloat
  for forty days and ten.

Then a drumming we heard as of thunder coming,
and a Cloud above us spread;
we saw no sun at set or dawn,
yet ever the west was red.

'Upreared from sea to cloud then sheer
a shoreless mountain stood;
its sides were black from the sullen tide
up to its smoking hood,
but its spire was lit with a living fire
that ever rose and fell:
tall as a column in High Heaven's hall,
its roots were deep as Hell;
grounded in chasms the waters drowned
and swallowed long ago
it stands, I guess, on the foundered land
where the kings of kings lie low.

'We sailed then on all till winds failed,
and we toiled then with the oar;
we burned with thirst and in hunger yearned,
and we sang our psalms no more.
At last beyond the Cloud we passed
and came to a starlit strand;
the waves were sighing in pillared caves,
grinding gems to sand.
And here they would grind our bones we feared
until the end of time;
for steep those shores went upward leaping
to cliffs no man could climb.
But round by west a firth we found
that clove the mountain-wall;
there lay a water shadow-grey
between the mountains tall.
Through gates of stone we rowed in haste,
and passed, and left the sea;
and silence like dew fell in that isle,
and holy it seemed to be.

'To a dale we came like a silver grail
with carven hills for rim.
In that hidden land we saw there stand
under a moonlight dim
a Tree more fair than ever I deemed
in Paradise might grow:
its foot was like a great tower's root,
its height no man could know;

and white as winter to my sight
the leaves of that Tree were;
they grew more close than swan-wing plumes,
long and soft and fair.

'It seemed to us then as in a dream
that time had passed away,
and our journey ended; for no return
we hoped, but there to stay.
In the silence of that hollow isle
half sadly then we sang:
softly we thought, but the sound aloft
like sudden trumpets rang.
The Tree then shook, and flying free
from its limbs the leaves in air
as white birds rose in wheeling flight,
and the lifting boughs were bare.
On high we heard in the starlit sky
a song, but not of bird:
neither noise of man nor angel's voice,
but maybe there is a third
fair kindred in the world yet lingers
beyond the foundered land.
But steep are the seas and the waters deep
beyond the White-tree Strand!'

'O stay now, father! There is more to say.
But two things you have told:
the Tree, the Cloud; but you spoke of three.
The Star in mind do you hold?'

'The Star? Why, I saw it high and far
at the parting of the ways,
a light on the edge of the Outer Night
beyond the Door of Days,
where the round world plunges steeply down,
but on the old road goes,
as an unseen bridge that on arches runs
to coasts that no man knows.'

'But men say, father, that ere the end
you went where none have been.
I would hear you tell me, father dear,
of the last land you have seen.'

'In my mind the Star I still can find,
and the parting of the seas,

and the breath as sweet and keen as death
that was borne upon the breeze.
But where they bloom, those flowers fair,
in what air or land they grow,
what words beyond this world I heard,
if you would seek to know,
in a boat then, brother, far afloat
you must labour in the sea,
and find for yourself things out of mind:
you will learn no more of me.'

In Ireland over wood and mire
in the tower tall and grey
the knell of Clúain-ferta's bell
was tolling in green Galway.
Saint Brendan had come to his life's end
under a rain-clad sky,
journeying whence no ship returns;
and his bones in Ireland lie.

MAJOR DIVERGENCES IN EARLIER VERSIONS OF THE NOTION CLUB PAPERS (PART TWO)

(i) The earlier versions of Night 66

I have mentioned previously that from Lowdham's words '*Éarendel* seems to me a special word. It is not Anglo-Saxon' (see p. 237 and note 37) there is a third text to be considered: for the part of the typescript F that follows from this point and extends to the end of Night 66 (p. 245) was rejected and replaced by another version. I shall refer to the rejected portion as **'F 1'**, and its replacement as **'F 2'**. That this rewriting was carried out while the typescript was being made is seen from the fact that at the end of the rewritten section it is F 2 that continues to the end of the *Papers*.

For some distance the original manuscript E was followed closely in F 1 and for this part it is only necessary to give the text of the latter.

'In any case,' said Lowdham, '*Éarendel* is not Anglo-Saxon. Or rather, it is and it isn't. I think it is one of those curious cases of "linguistic coincidence" that have long puzzled me. I sometimes think that they are too easily dismissed as "mere accident". You know the sort of thing that you can find in any dictionary of a strange language, and which so excites the amateur philologists, itching to derive one tongue from another

that they know better: a word that is nearly the same in form and meaning as the corresponding word in English, or Latin, or Hebrew, or what not. Like *mare* 'male' in the New Hebrides and Latin *maris*, *marem*.[1] Or the example that used to be given as a frightful warning in the old text-books: that *popol* means 'people' or 'popular assembly' in Tamil, but has no connexion whatever with *populus* and its derivatives, and is really derived, they say, from a Tamil word for a mat for the councillors to squat on.

'I dare say some of these things are mere chance, or at least not very significant. Yet I think it also happens that a word-form may be arrived at by different routes, in far separated times and places, and yet the result may be the product of a hidden symbol-making process working out to a similar end. Or in any case the "accident" may touch off, as it were, deeper or sleeping mind-echoes, so that the similar form thus acquires similar significance or emotional content. Every language has words in which its genius seems to come to flash-point, words whose form, though it remains within the general style, achieves a brilliance or a beauty of universal virtue.'

'If I follow all this, and I'm not at all sure that I do,' said Markison, 'I suppose you are trying to say that you've discovered *Éarendel* or something like it in some strange language. Is that so?'

'I think I come in for a moment here,' said Jeremy, who had been as restless as a bird on a twig ever since the word *Éarendel* had cropped up. 'We've been trying to strengthen our recollections under tuition; but I've not had much success yet. Still I have succeeded in connecting *Nūmenor* a little more clearly with a library,[2] with something I came across once when I was working on Ghost-stories. I can't get it more exact, or I couldn't. But a result of the effort to remember has been to drag up a good many vague dream-scenes of that rather troubled searching-for-something-missing variety: wandering about in libraries looking for a lost book, getting dusty and worried.

'Then two nights ago I got a dream of which I still remember one fairly clear passage. I took down a folder, or a cardboard case, from a high shelf, and in it I found a manuscript. It was in an ornamental and rather archaic hand, yet I seem to remember that I knew that it was not really old (by the paper, or the ink, or something), but belonged to this century. Here and there were passages in an unknown character.'

'I've found that missing leaf of my father's book,' interposed Lowdham.[3] 'I've shown it to Jeremy, and he's quite certain that the character is the same. Though we've not succeeded in deciphering it. It's not any alphabet known to the books.'

'And what is more peculiar', said Jeremy, 'there is nothing at all to connect my dream-vision or dream-manuscript with Edwin Lowdham: the style of the hands is wholly different, though the letter-forms are the same. Old Edwin's is a large, black, broad-stroke round hand; mine was more delicate and pointed.

'Well, unfortunately I don't recollect anything very clear or connected about the contents of my dream-manuscript – I call it that because I begin to wonder if this dream is really founded on any waking experience at all – but it contained, I think, some kind of legendary history,[4] full of strange names all seeming to belong to the same language. This much I do remember: the name *Nūmenor* or *Nūmenōre* was frequent; and so was the name *Ëarendil*. Very nearly the same, you see, but actually spelt: *ë-a-r-e-n-d-i-l*, *Ëarendil*.

'So I think Arry must be right. It is a case of linguistic coincidence or congruence, and the key is not to be found in Anglo-Saxon. We need not bother with the connexions of English *Éarendel* in the other related languages, like the proper names *Ōrendel*, and *Aurvendill*, or Saxo's *Horwendillus*.'[5]

'But is not *Auriwandalo* actually recorded as a name in Langobardic?' said Markison, who has a finger in most pies of learning. 'Odd how the Langobards crop up.'

'It is,' said Lowdham.

'Hm, yes, and there is a connexion between these names and the stars,' said Jeremy. 'Didn't Thor throw Aurvendil's toe up into the sky, Arry?[6] And *Ëarendil* certainly had a connexion with a star in the strange tongue. Somehow I feel sure of that.'[7]

'Yes, that's so,' said Lowdham; 'but in the unknown language it was only a legendary connexion, not a linguistic one, I think. *Ëarendil* meant Sea-friend.[8] I am quite sure of that, because – well, perhaps I'd better go on where I left off.

'From the time of my father's departure . . .

The following passage in E / F 1 was retained in the revised typescript F 2 (p. 237–8) as far as 'some great tale of Nūmenor' almost without change, and there is no need to repeat it. The only difference between the texts is in the name of the 'cone-shaped mountain', and this is a difference very important in determining the relation of the

texts of *The Drowning of Anadûnê* to those of *The Notion Club Papers*. Where F 2 has 'Desolate is *Minul-Tārik*, the Pillar of Heaven is forsaken!' the name in E is *Menelminda*, changed in pencil to *Meneltyúla*, while in F 1 it is *Menel-tūbel*, changed to *Menel-tūbil*.

From 'some great tale of Nūmenor', however, all three texts diverge among themselves, and the major divergence is between the manuscript E and the first typescript F 1. I continue now therefore with the text of E (cf. pp. 238 ff.).

'But most of the word-recollections are, as it were, casual; as casual as the words caught by the eye from a lexicon when one is looking for something else. It was a long time before I began to note them down, and use them for the language I was amusing myself by "making up". They did not fit, or rather they took control and bent that language to their own style. In fact it became difficult to tell which were my invented words and which the ghost-words; indeed I've a notion that "invention" gradually played a smaller and smaller part. But there was always a large residue that would not work in.

'I soon found, as I got to know more, that some of the ingredients were Anglo-Saxon, and other things: which I'll mention in a minute. But when I weeded them out there was still a large amount of words left over, and in worrying over these I made a discovery. They belonged to another ghost-language, and to one that was related to the other. I could perceive a good many of the laws or rules of change: for the Númenórean style was in most points the older, more archaic, while the other had been altered (as if by contact with our western shores) to a style much more like that of the older north-western tongues.'

'I don't follow all this,' said Stainer. 'Nor do I,' said both Markison and Guildford. 'Give them some of the examples you gave me, Arry,' said Ramer.

'Well,' said Lowdham hesitating, 'if I can remember any of the examples where the relationship is clear to lay folk (it is often rather complex). Yes, *lōme* is 'night' (but *not* 'darkness') and *lōmelinde* is 'a nightingale': I feel sure of that. In the second language it is *dūmh*, later *dū*; and *duilin*. I refer them to a Primitive Western *dōmi*, *dōmilindē*. *Alda* means a 'tree' – it was one of the earliest certain words I got – and *orne* when smaller and more slender like a birch or rowan; in the second language I find *galað*, and *orn* (plural *yrn*): I refer them to *galadā*, and *ornē* (plural *ornei*). Sometimes the forms are more similar: the Sun and Moon, for instance, appear as *Anār*, *Isil* beside *Anaur* (later

Anor) and *Ithil*. I liked first the one language and then the other in different linguistic moods,[9] but the older seemed always the more august, somehow, the more, I don't know ... liturgical, monumental: I used to call it the Elven-latin; and the other seemed more resonant with the loss and regret of these shores of exile' – he paused – 'but I don't know why I say that.'

'But why *Elven*-latin?' asked Markison.

'I don't quite know,' said Lowdham. 'I certainly don't mean Elves in any of the more debased post-Shakespearean sort of ways. Actually the language is associated in my mind with the name *Eressë*: an island, I think. I often call it Eressëan.[10] But it is also associated with names like *Eldar*, *Eldalie* which seem to refer to, well, something like Ramer's *Enkeladim*.'[11]

'That breaks *my* dream!' cried Jeremy.[12] 'Of course! Now I know. It wasn't a library. It was a folder containing a manuscript, on a high shelf in Whitburn's second-hand room,[13] that funny dark place where all sorts of unsaleable things drift. No wonder my dreams were full of dust and anxiety! It must have been fifteen years ago since I found the thing there: *Quenta Eldalien, being the History of the Elves, by John Arthurson*[14] – in a manuscript much as I've described it. I took an eager but hasty glance. But I had no time to spare that day, and I could find no one in the shop to answer any enquiries, so I hurried off. I meant to come back, but I didn't, not for almost a fortnight. And – then the manuscript had vanished! They had no record of it, and neither old Whitburn nor anyone else there remembered ever seeing any such thing. I recall now what a catastrophe it seemed to me at the time; but I was very busy with other work, and soon forgot all about it.'

'It certainly looks as if more than one mind had been working back along similar lines,' said Ramer. 'Several minds indeed; for our expert is at fault for once. Lewis also mentions the name somewhere.'

'So he does!' cried Jeremy. 'In a preface, was it? But he was quoting from someone, I think, from a source that hasn't been traced. And he used the form *numinor*. All the other sources have *númenor*, or *númenórë* – that's so, isn't it, Arry?'[15]

'Yes,' said Lowdham. '*nūmē* is West, and *nōrĕ* is kindred, or land. The ancient English was *Westfolde*, Hesperia.[16] But you wanted to know why *Elven*. Well, I got that from another line, too. You remember I mentioned that Anglo-Saxon used to come through mixed up with this other queer stuff? Well, I got hold

of Anglo-Saxon through the ordinary books, of course, fairly early, and that confused the issue; though some words and names came through to me that are not in the dictionaries . . .'

From here to the end of Night 66 the version in the original manuscript E is very close to the final form (pp. 242–5), though some elements are lacking, notably Lowdham's description of the ancient slowness and sonorousness of diction (p. 242): following Frankley's 'Unless, of course, you back up their theories' Lowdham goes on: 'As a matter of fact, I think they do. At least, here is a bit that came through very early, long before I could interpret it; and it has been repeated over and over again in various forms:

Westra lage wegas rehtas wraithas nu isti . . .'[17]

The Old English lines beginning *Monaþ módes lust* are in later spelling, but have the same form as that in F 2 (see pp. 243–4 and note 50, and p. 272). There is no reference in E to the date of the 'coming through' of these lines, nor to its being an evening of high wind.

The remarkable feature of this original version is of course that Lowdham's two 'ghost-languages' were Quenya and Sindarin (or rather, the language that would come to be called Sindarin). Lowdham's account in this version thus maintains the linguistic experience of Alboin Errol in *The Lost Road* (cf. note 9): '*Eressëan* as he called it as a boy . . . was getting pretty complete. He had a lot of Beleriandic, too, and was beginning to understand it, and its relation to Eressëan' (V.45).

The first typescript version F 1 follows the manuscript E at the beginning of the section just given ('But most of these word-recollections . . .', p. 302), in Lowdham's description of how the 'ghost-words' 'soon took control and bent my [invented] language to their own style'; but when he comes to tell that as he sifted the 'large residue [of words] that would not work in' he made a discovery, his discovery is totally different from that in the original text. This is where Adunaic first appeared. It may be that my father had been long cogitating this new language; but even if this is so, it would seem that it had not reached a form sufficiently developed to enter as Lowdham's 'second language' in manuscript E. In fact, I doubt that it is so. It seems to me to be overwhelmingly probable that Adunaic actually arose at this time (see further p. 147).

I give here the text of F 1 from this point (corresponding to the E text on p. 302 and the final text F 2 on p. 238).

'I found, when I got to know more, that some of the ingredients were Anglo-Saxon and other related things: I'll deal with that in a minute; it was not a large part. Working over the

rest, collecting and sifting it, I made a discovery. I had got *two* ghost-languages: Nūmenorean A and B. Most of what I had got at an early period was B; later A became more frequent, but B remained the most common language, especially in anything like connected passages; A was chiefly limited to single words and names, though I think that a lot of it is incorporated in my invented language.

'As far as I could or can see, these languages are unrelated, though they have some words in common. But in addition to these tongues there remains a residue, and I now see that it consists of some echoes of other later tongues that are later than Nūmenorean A and B, but are derived from them or from their blending. I can discern some of the laws or lines of change that they show. For the Nūmenorean tongues, I feel, are archaic and of an elder world, but the others are altered and belong to Middle-earth.'

'I don't follow all this,' said Stainer. Most of us felt the same, and said so.

'Couldn't you give them some of the examples that you gave to me, Arry?' said Ramer. 'Some of the important names, and a word or two; it would be clearer with something definite to go on.'

Lowdham hesitated. 'I'll try,' he said. 'But I shan't be able to give many examples of the later changed forms; the relations would seldom be clear, even to philologists, without many instances side by side in writing.

'Well, take the name *Nūmenor* or *Nūmenōre*. That belongs to language A. It means Westernesse, and is composed of *nūme* "west" and *nōre* "folk" or "country"; but the B name is *Anadūn*, and the people are called *Adūnāi*. And the land had another name: in A *Andōre*, and in B *Athānāti*; and both mean "land of gift". There seems no connexion between the two languages here; but in both *menel* means "the heavens". It occurs in the B name *Menel-tūbil* that I mentioned just now. And there seems to be some connexion between the A word *Valar*, which appears to mean something like "gods", and the B plural *Avalōi* and the place-name *Avallōni*.

'The name *Ëarendil*, by the way, belongs to language A, and contains *eäre* "the open sea" and the stem *ndil* "love, devotion". The corresponding B name is *Pharazīr*, made of *pharaz* and the stem *iri-* [*changed in ink on the typescript to*: *Azrubēl*, made of *azar* "sea" and the stem *bel-*]. A large number of the names seem

to have double forms like this, almost as if one people spoke two languages. If that is so, I suppose the situation could be paralleled by the use of, say, Chinese in Japan, or indeed of Latin in Europe. As if a man could be called Godwin and also Theophilus or Amadeus. But even so, two different peoples must come into the story somewhere.

'I don't know if you want any more examples; but the words for the Sun and Moon in A are *Anar* and *Isil* (or in their oldest form *Anār* and *Ithīl*); and in B they are *Ūri* and *Nīlu*. These words survive in not much changed shapes in the later languages that I spoke of: *Anor (Anaur)* and *Ithil*, beside *Uir*, *Ȳr* and *Nil*, *Njūl*. Again the A and B forms seem unconnected; but there is a word that often occurs and is nearly the same in both: *lōme* in A, and *lōmi* in B. That means "night", but as it comes through to me I feel that it has no evil connotations; it is a word of peace and beauty and has none of the associations of fear or groping that, say, "dark" has for us. For the evil sense I do not know the A word. In B and its derivatives there are many words or stems, such as *dolgu*, *ugru*, *nūlu*.

'Well, there you are. I hope you are not all bored. I love these languages. I call them Avallonian and Adunaic.[18] I find first the one and then the other more attractive, in different linguistic moods; but A, the Avallonian, is the more beautiful, with the simpler and more euphonious phonetic style. And it seems to me the more august, somehow, the more ancient, and, well, sacred and liturgical. I used to call it the Elven-latin. But the Adunaic is more resonant with the loss and regret of Middle-earth, these shores of exile.' He paused, as if he heard echoes from a great distance. 'But I do not know why I say that,' he ended.

There was a short silence, and then Markison spoke. 'Why did you call it Elven-latin?' he asked. 'Why Elven?'

'It seemed to fit,' Lowdham answered. 'But certainly I didn't mean *elf* in any debased post-Shakespearean sort of sense. ...

The remainder of Night 66 is the same as in F 2 (pp. 242–5), except that, as in E, Lowdham's account of the ancient mode of utterance is absent.

It will be seen that in F 1, as in E, Wilfrid Jeremy interrupts to speak of his 'dream-manuscript' (p. 300), found in a library, in which occurred the names *Nūmenor* and *Ëarendil*: the unknown character of some passages in it was the same as that of the single leaf preserved from Edwin Lowdham's 'notes in a queer script' (p. 235), which Arundel Lowdham had now found again; but that this passage is

entirely absent in F 2 (p. 237). Subsequently, in E, Jeremy returns to the subject ('That breaks *my* dream!', p. 303), remembering both that he found – in waking life, years before – the manuscript not in a library but in the second-hand room of a bookshop, and that the manuscript bore the title *Quenta Eldalien, being the History of the Elves, by John Arthurson*; and this leads to a mention of Lewis's use of the name *Numinor*. This second interruption of Jeremy's is *not* in F 1, which is on the face of it strange, since his first speech was surely intended to lead on to his second. A probable explanation of this is that my father decided to discard this element of Jeremy's manuscript (perhaps as complicating excessively the already complex conception) while he was making the typescript, and that this was one reason why he produced the revised version at this point. But Jeremy's remarks at the previous meeting (Night 65, p. 232: 'I come into it too. I knew I had heard that name as soon as Arry said it. But I can't for the life of me remember where or when at the moment. It'll bother me now, like a thorn in the foot, until I get it out') should have been removed.

NOTES

1 The genitive and accusative cases *maris*, *marem* are given because the nominative is *mas* ('male').

2 Jeremy is referring to the earlier passage (Night 65, p. 232) in which he claimed that he himself had heard the name *Númenor*, but could not remember when.

3 In the revised text F 2 there is no mention of the missing leaf having been found under Night 66 – naturally enough, since it was at this meeting that Lowdham referred to it as having been mislaid (p. 235). It was an odd oversight in E and F 1 that at the same meeting Lowdham both first mentions it and says that he cannot find it at the present time, and also declares that he has found it and discussed it with Jeremy. In F 2 he brings the leaf to the next meeting (p. 248).

4 E has here: '... the contents of the dream-manuscript – I call it that, because I doubt now whether this dream is really founded on any waking experience at all; though I don't somehow doubt that such a manuscript exists somewhere, probably in Oxford: it contains, I think, some kind of legendary history ...'

5 *Ōrendel* in German, *Aurvandill* in Norse, *Horwendillus* in Latinized form in the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus (latter half of the twelfth century). The form in Norse is *Aurvandill*, but at the occurrences of the name both in E and F 1 my father spelt it *Aurvendill*. See note 6.

6 In the 'Prose Edda' of Snorri Sturluson a strange tale is told by the god Thor, how he 'carried Aurvandill in a basket on his back

from the North out of Jötunheim [land of giants]; and he added for a token that one of his toes had stuck out of the basket and become frozen; and so Thor broke it off and cast it into the sky, and made a star of it, which is called *Aurvandilstá* [Aurvandil's Toe]' (*Snorra Edda, Skáldskaparmál* §17). Association of Aurvandill with Orion is the basis of the suggestions mentioned by Lowdham earlier (p. 236): 'Some guess that it [Éarendel] was really a star-name for Orion, or for Rigel' – Rigel being the very bright star in the left foot of Orion (as he is drawn in the old figure).

7 E has: 'And *Ëarendil* certainly had a connexion with a star in the strange tongue: I seem to remember that: like the ship' – the last words being changed from 'And the ship was *Éarendel's Star*'. Earlier in E (p. 284 note 25) the ship was called *Éarendel Star.*

8 In E Lowdham translates *Ëarendil* as 'Lover of the Great Seas'; in the final text F 2 as 'Great Mariner, or literally Friend of the Sea' (p. 237).

9 This passage is modelled on Alboin Errol's words to his father in *The Lost Road* (V.41), using the same examples, with the same distinction in respect of the word *lōme* ('night' but not 'darkness'), the same note that *alda* was one of the earliest words to appear, and the same remark that (in Alboin's words) 'I like first one, then the other, in different moods.'

10 *Eressëan* was Alboin Errol's name for his first language, 'Elf-latin'; the second was *Beleriandic.*

11 Cf. p. 221 note 65: the passage cited there from the B manuscript of Part One, in which 'Tolkien's Unfallen Elves' and 'Tolkien's Eldar, Eldalie' are referred to, though not struck out on that manuscript, must by now have been rejected; it is clear that Lowdham means that *Eldar, Eldalie* had 'come through' to him, and that he only knew them so. See further note 14.

12 See p. 286 note 38.

13 *Whitburn:* see p. 149 and note 7.

14 My father's father was Arthur Tolkien; he was referring of course to his manuscript of *The Silmarillion*, which had never been published but had washed up, forgotten and disregarded, in the second-hand room of a bookshop. The author of *The Silmarillion* is disguised by a pseudonym; for no reference can now be made to the works of *Tolkien*, least of all as having been published and known to members of the Notion Club (see the citation from manuscript B of Part One, p. 220 note 52 at end). — In a rejected form of this passage the title of the manuscript was not *Quenta Eldalien* but *Quenta Eldaron.*

15 Ramer's remark 'Lewis also mentions the name somewhere' is at first sight puzzling, since it was Lowdham's mention of *Eldar, Eldalie* that brought back to Jeremy's mind the manuscript by

'John Arthurson' that he had once seen, and the name *Númenor* has not been mentioned for some time. But Ramer was following his own thought, that 'several minds' had been 'working back along similar lines' (and of course it was the name *Númenor* that had originally caught Jeremy's attention and finally led to his recollection of the manuscript). — Jeremy's words 'In a preface, was it?' presumably refer to Lewis's preface to *That Hideous Strength*: 'Those who would like to learn further about Numinor and the True West must (alas!) await the publication of much that still exists only in the MSS. of my friend, Professor J. R. R. Tolkien.' But then why does Jeremy say 'from a source that hasn't been traced', since the source, though unpublished, was stated by Lewis? Such an untiring researcher as Wilfrid Jeremy would have found out who J. R. R. Tolkien was, even if now forgotten!

By 'All the other sources' Jeremy presumably means his own recollection of the manuscript by 'John Arthurson' and the name that had 'come through' to Ramer (p. 232) and Lowdham.

There are a number of references to *Numinor* in *That Hideous Strength*, as: 'Merlin's art was the last survival of something older and different – something brought to Western Europe after the fall of Numinor' (Chapter 9, §v); again with reference to Merlin, 'something that takes us back to Numinor, to pre-glacial periods' (Ch.12, §vi); (Merlin) '"Tell me, slave, what is Numinor?" "The True West," said Ransom' (Ch.13, §i); other references in Ch.13, §v.

16 *Westfolde* (*folde* 'earth, land, country') seems not to be recorded in Old English. This is the same as *Westfold* in *The Lord of the Rings*. – *Hesperia*: 'western land' (*hesperus* 'western', 'the evening star').

17 Above the *th* of *wraithas* is written *kw* (see p. 287 note 48).

18 In F 1 Lowdham's words about *Avallōni* in F 2 (p. 241) are absent ('Although that is a B name, it is with it, oddly enough, that I associate language A; so if you want to get rid of algebra, you can call A Avallonian, and B Adunaic'). Thus there is no explanation in F 1 why he calls the A language *Avallonian* despite the fact that *Avallōni* is a B name.

(ii) The original version of Lowdham's 'Fragments' (Night 67)

In the manuscript E Lowdham's fragments are, like Alboin Errol's in *The Lost Road* (V.47) in one language only, Quenya ('Eressëan'). Lowdham bursts in to Ramer's rooms and tells of his visit to Pembrokeshire just as he does in F (p. 246), but he does not bring copies of the text that has come to him – he asks Ramer for a large sheet of paper to pin up on a board. Then he says: 'Well, here it is! It's Númenórean or Eressëan, and I'll put the text that I can remember

down first large, and the English gloss (where I can give any) underneath. It's fragmentary, just a collection of incomplete sentences.'

The first of the two fragments reads thus, as E was originally written (the change of *ilu* to *eru* was very probably made at the time of writing: for *ilu* 'the World' see IV.241–5):

ar sauron túle nahamna ... lantier turkildi
and ? came ? ... they-fell ?

unuhuine ... tarkalion ohtakāre valannar ...
under-shadow ... ? war-made on-Powers ...

Herunūmen [ilu >] eru terhante ... Ilūvatāren ...
Lord-of-West world sunder-broke ... of-God ...

ëari ullier kilyanna ... Nūmenōre ataltane.
seas they-should-pour in-Chasm ... Numenor down-fell.

It will be seen that the Elvish here, apart from the curious change from *ilu* to *eru*, is identical in its forms with that of Alboin Errol's first fragment; and the only differences in the glosses are 'of-God' for Alboin's 'of-Ilúvatar', 'sunder-broke' for 'broke', and 'they-should-pour' for 'poured'. A few changes were made subsequently: *lantier* > *lantaner*, *eru* > *arda*, *terhante* > *askante*, and the addition of *lenēme* 'by leave' – the changed forms being found in the final version (p. 246) with the exception of *askante*, where the final version has *sakkante* 'rent'.

Then follows (where in *The Lost Road* it is said: 'Then there had seemed to be a long gap'): 'After that there came a long dark gap which slipped out of memory as soon as I woke to daylight. And then I got this:'

Malle tēna lende nūmenna ilya sī maller
road straight went westward all now roads

raikar ... turkildi rōmenna ... nūruhuine
bent ... ? eastward ... death-shadow

mēne lumna ... vahāya sīn atalante.
on-us is-heavy ... far-away now ?

This is also very close to Alboin Errol's second passage. The word *tēna* 'straight' was changed from *tēra* (as in *The Lost Road*), perhaps in the act of writing; otherwise the only differences in the Quenya words are *mēne lumna* for *mel-lumna* in *The Lost Road* (glossed 'us-is-heavy'), and *sīn* for *sin*, where Lowdham's gloss was changed from 'now' (as in *The Lost Road*) to 'now-is'. This fragment appears in Adunaic in the final version (Fragment II, p. 247), apart from the words *vahaiya sín Andóre / atalante.*

In E Lowdham makes the same observations as in F (pp. 247–8) about

his glimpse of the script, with the thought that these were passages out of a book; and he says likewise 'And then suddenly I remembered the curious script in my father's manuscript – but that can wait', without however adding, as he does in F, 'I've brought the leaf along', although at the end of the meeting, after the storm, Ramer picks up the leaf from the floor and puts it in a drawer (p. 291, notes 68 and 70). Lowdham remarks that 'there are some new words here', and that 'all except *nahamna* I at once guessed to be names'. He naturally has less to say in E about the language of the fragments than he does in F, noting only that he thought that *Tarkalion* was a king's name and that *Turkildi* was 'the name of a people: "lordly men", I think', and commenting on *Atalante* in very much the same words as in F, translating it as '"It (or She) that is downfallen", or more closely "who has slipped down into an abyss"'.

(iii) The earlier versions of Lowdham's 'Fragments' in Adunaic (Night 67)

There are two manuscript pages of Lowdham's fragments in Quenya and Adunaic preceding those reproduced as frontispieces. The first of these pages, here called (1), has interlinear glosses in English in red ink; the second, (2), has not. In the Quenya fragment I (A) the development from the form found in E to the final form (pp. 246–7) can be observed, but there are only a few points to mention. The word *nahamna*, which neither Alboin Errol nor Lowdham could translate, became in (1) *kamindon*, still untranslatable but with the gloss *-ly* beneath, and in (2) *akamna*, changed to *nukumna*. The name *herunūmen* survived in (1) and (2), but was changed in the latter to *Nūmekundo* (*númeheruvi* in the final form).

The Adunaic fragments, I (B) and II (B), underwent a great deal of change, and I give here the text in (1), showing the changes made carefully to the text in ink, but ignoring scribbled pencilled emendations which are mostly very difficult to interpret.

Kadō *zigūrun* *zabathān* [*hunekkū* >] *unekkū* ... *eruhīn*
and so ? humbled he-came ... ?

udūbanim *dalad* *ugrus* ... *arpharazōn*
fell under horror? shadow? ... ?

azgaranādu *avalōi-*[*men* >] *si* ... *bārun-adūnō*
was waging war? Powers on ... the Lord of West

rakkhatū *kamāt* *sōbēthumā* *eruvō* ... *azrē*
broke asunder earth assent-with of God ... seas

nai [*phurusam* >] *phurrusim* *akhās-ada.* *anadūni* *akallabi.*
might-flow Chasm-into Westernesse fell in ruin.

Adūnāim *azūlada* ... *agannūlō* *burudan*
The Adunai (Men of W.) eastward ... death-shade heavy-is

nēnum ... *adūn* *batān* *akhaini* *ezendi* *īdō* *kathī*
on-us ... West road lay straight lo! now all

batānī *rōkhī-nam* ... [*vahaia sīn atalante*] ... *ēphalek*
ways bent-are ... far away

īdōn *akallabēth* ... [*haia vahaia sīn atalante*] ...
lo! now is She-that-is-fallen ...

ēphal *ēphalek* *īdōn* *athanātē*
far far away is now Athanātē (the Land of Gift)

In the rejected typescript F 1 of Night 66 appears *Athānāti* (p. 305), where F 2 has *Yōzāyan* (p. 241).

In text (2) the final text of the fragments was very largely reached, but still with a number of differences. I list here all of these, in the order of the occurrence of the words in the final text, giving the final form first:

unakkha: *unakkha* > *yadda* > *unakkha*
dubdam: *dubbudam* > *dubdam*
ar-pharazōnun: *ar-pharazōn* > *ar-pharazōnun*
azaggara: *azagrāra*, with *azaggara* as alternative
bārim: *bārun*
yurahtam: *urahhata* > *urahta*
hikallaba (typescript), *hikalba* (manuscript): *hikallaba* > *hikalba*
bawība dulgī: *dulgu bawīb*
an-nimruzīr: *nimruzīr*
At the beginning of II *Adunāim azūlada* retained from (1), then struck out
burōda nēnud: *buruda nēnu*
adūn izindi batān tāidō ayadda: *adūn batān ēluk izindi yadda*
īdō (manuscript) at last two occurrences, *īdōn* (typescript): *īdōn*
hi-Akallabēth: *Akallabēth*

Eru. The appearance of the name *Eru* in these texts is interesting: Lowdham says (pp. 248–9) that he thinks that *ēruhīnim* in I (B) must mean 'Children of God'; that *ēruvō* 'is the sacred name *Ēru* with a suffixed element meaning "from"'; and that 'therefore *iluvatáren* means the same thing.' In a list of 'Alterations in last revision [of The Silmarillion] 1951' my father included *Aman*, *Arda*, *Eä*, *Eru*, and other names (V.338). It seems very probable that the name *Eru (Ēru)* – and *Arda* also – first emerged at this time, as the Adunaic equivalent of *Ilúvatar* (for the etymology of *Ēru* in Adunaic see p. 432). The

appearance of *eru* in the E text (p. 310), replacing *ilu* 'world' and in turn displaced by *arda*, could be explained as the first emergence of *eru*, as a Quenya word, and with a different meaning.

(iv) Earlier versions of Edwin Lowdham's Old English text

Two texts of a longer Old English version are extant, the second of these, followed here, being a revision of the first but closely similar to it and accompanied by a translation. This version belongs with the manuscript E: there are no Adunaic names, and a complete facsimile of Edwin Lowdham's text in Númenórean script (*tengwar*) bears a page reference to the manuscript. In those passages where this version and the later one (pp. 257–8) can be compared many differences in the forms of words will be seen, for this does not represent the old Mercian dialect (see p. 291 note 71).

I give the text here as my father wrote it in a rapidly pencilled manuscript. The two sides of Edwin Lowdham's page in *tengwar* are reproduced on pp. 319–20; the *tengwar* text was directly based on the Old English that now follows, and (in intention) scarcely deviates from it. There are a very few minor differences in spelling between the two, including the last word, the name *Niwelland*, which in the *tengwar* text is given as *Neowolland* (p. 292 note 76).

Ealle sǽ on worulde hí oferlidon, sohton hí nyston hwæt ac æfre wolde hyra heorte westweard, forðamðe hí ofhyngrede wurdon ðære undéadlican blisse ðære *Eldalie* 7 swa hyra wuldor wéox swa æfre hyra langung 7 hyra unstilnes wurdon ðe má ætiht ..... þá forbudon ða *Eldan* him on *Eresse* úp to cumanne, forðam hí mennisce wæron 7 déadlice 7 þéahþe ða Wealdend him langes lífes úðon ne mihton hí alýsan hí of ðære woruldméðnesse ðe on ealle men ǽr ðam ende færeð 7 hí swulton efne hyra héacyningas, *Éarendles* yrfenuman, 7 hyra líffæc þúhte ðam *Eldum* scort. Forðon hit swá gefyrn arǽdde se Ælmihtiga ðæt hí steorfan sceoldon 7 þás woruld ofgyfan ..... ac hí ongunnon murcnian, sægdon ðæt þis forbod him unryht þuhte. Þonne on dígle asendon hí scéaweras on *Avallon* ða dyrnan láre ðara *Eldena* to asméaganne; ne fundon ðeah nawðer ne rúne ne ræd ðe him to bóte wæron ..... Hit gelamp siþþan ðæt se fúla Déofles þegn ðe Ælfwina folc *Sauron* nemneð wéox swíðe on middangearde 7 hé geaxode Westwarena miht 7 wuldor 7 ðæt hí gyt holde wæren Gode; ongunnon úpahæfenlice swaðeah ... Þá gehyrde Westwarena cyning æt his sǽlidum be *Saurone* ðæt he wolde cyning béon ofer eallum cyningum 7 héalicran stól habban wolde ðonne *Éarendles* afera sylf ahte. Þonne sende hé *Tarcalion* se cyning bútan Wealdendra ræde oþþe *Eldena* his ǽrendracan to *Saurone*, abéad him ðæt he on ofste on Westfoldan cwóme þǽr to ðæs cyninges manrǽdenne to búganne 7

hé *Sauron* lytigende geéadmédde hine ðæt he cwóm, wæs þeah inwitful under, fácnes hogode Westwarena þéode. Þá cwóm he úp æt sumum cyrre on *Rómelonde* ðære hýðe 7 sóna adwealde fornéan ealle ða *Númenóriscan* mid wundrum 7 mid tácnum; forðam he mihte mycel on gedwimerum 7 drýcræftum ..... 7 hí geworhton mycelne ealh on ðam héan 'munte' ðe *Meneltyúla* – ðæt is to secganne Heofonsýl – hátte – se ðe ǽr wæs unawídlod; dydon ða hálignesse to hǽðenum hearge 7 þǽr onsægdon unasecgendlíce lác on unhalgum wéofode ... swa cwóm se déaþscúa on Westfarena land.....

Þæs ofer fela géara hit gelamp ðæt *Tarcalione* wearþ yldo onsége 7 þý wearð he hréow on móde 7 þa wolde he be *Saurones* onbryrdingum *Avallon* mid fyrde gefaran, forðamðe *Sauron* him sægde ðæt ða *Eldan* him on wóh éces lífes forwyrnden ..... wæron Westwarena scipfyrda swaswa unarímedlic ígland on ðære sǽ 7 hyra mæstas gelíce fyrgenbéamum on beorghliðum, 7 hyra herecumbol gelíce þunorwolcnum; wæron hyra segl blódréad 7 blacu ..... Nú sitte wé on elelande 7 forgytað ðære blisse ðe iú wæs 7 nú sceal eft cuman nǽfre. Ús swíðe onsitt Déaþscúa. Wóh biþ seo woruld. Feor nú is Niwelland ð.

I cannot explain the *ð* at the end of this text, which stands at the end of a line but not at the end of the page, and which must have a significance since the symbol for *th* concludes the version in *tengwar* (and concludes the page). The translation reads thus:

All the seas in the world they sailed, seeking they knew not what; but their hearts were turned ever westward, for they were become greatly desirous of the undying bliss of the Eldalie, and as their power and glory grew so was their longing and their unquiet ever the more increased ..... Then the Eldar forbade them to land on Eresse, for they were of human kindred and mortal; and albeit the Powers had granted them long life, they could not release them from the weariness of the world that comes upon all men ere the end, and they died, even their high-kings, descendants of Éarendel; and their life-span seemed short to the Eldar. For thus had the Almighty ordained it, that they should die and leave this world ..... But they began to murmur, saying that this prohibition seemed to them unjust. Then they sent out in secret spies to Avallon to explore the hidden knowledge of the Eldar; but they discovered neither lore nor counsel that was of any avail to them .....

It came to pass afterward that the foul servant of the Devil whom the people of the Ælfwinas call Sauron grew mightily in the Great Lands, and he learned of the power and glory of the Westware, and that they were still faithful to God, but were behaving arrogantly nonetheless ... Then the King of the Westware heard news from his

mariners concerning Sauron, that he desired to be King over all Kings and to have a more exalted throne than even the heir of Éarendel himself possessed. Then he, Tarkalion the King, without counsel either of the Powers or of the Eldar, sent his ambassadors to Sauron, commanding him to come with all speed to Westfolde, there to do homage to the King. And Sauron, dissembling, humbled himself and came, being filled with malice beneath, and designing wickedness against the people of the Westware. He landed then one day at the haven of Rómelonde, and straightway he deluded well nigh all the Númenóreans with signs and wonders; for he had great craft in phantoms and in wizardry ... and they builded a great temple on that high mountain that was called Meneltyúla (that is to say the Pillar of Heaven), which before was undefiled, and there they did sacrifice unspeakable offerings upon an unholy altar ... thus came the Deathshadow upon the land of the Westware .....

Many years afterward it came to pass that old age assailed Tarkalion, so that he became exceedingly sad in mind, and he determined then (being goaded by Sauron) to invade Avallon with an army; for Sauron said to him that the Eldar refused to him the gift of everlasting life, wrongfully ..... The fleets of the Númenóreans were as uncounted islands in the sea and their masts were like unto tall trees upon the mountain-sides, and their war-banners like to thunder-clouds, and their sails were bloodred and black .....

Now we dwell in the land of exile and forget the bliss that once was and now shall come again never. Heavy lies upon us the Deathshadow. Bent is the world. Far now is the Land that is fallen low.

At the end the following bracketed sentence was added subsequently: '[that is Atalante which was before called Andor and Vinyamar and Númenor.]'

A remarkable feature of this text is the ascription to the *Eldar* of a ban on Númenórean landing in Eressëa, and still more the statement that Sauron told Tarkalion that the *Eldar* 'refused to him the gift of everlasting life'; on this see pp. 355–6.

Of names in this text the following may be noted. There is an Old English form *Eldan* for 'Eldar', with genitive plural *Eldena*, dative plural *Eldum*. For *Meneltyúla* (in the first draft of this version *Menelmindo*) see p. 302, and for *Heofonsýl* p. 242 and note 46. The statement that Sauron landed 'at the haven of *Rómelonde*' (in the first draft *Rómelónan*) is interesting: with *Rómelonde* 'East-haven' cf. the great harbour of *Rómenna* 'Eastward' in the later form of the legend. Also notable is the name *Vinyamar* of Númenor in the addition at the end of the translation: with this cf. *Vinya* 'the Young', 'the New Land' in *The Fall of Númenor* (V.19, 25, and in this book p. 332) and in *The*

Lost Road (V.64). Later *Vinyamar* 'New Dwelling' became the name of the house of Turgon on the coast of Nevrast, before he removed to Gondolin (Index to *Unfinished Tales*).

With the sails of the Númenórean ships that were 'bloodred and black' cf. p. 290 note 63, where Jeremy sees them as 'scarlet and black' in E, but 'golden and black' in F.

There are several other Old English texts and scraps of texts extant. In one of these a much fuller account of the drowning of Númenor is given, to which I append a translation:

> Ac þá þá Tarcaligeones foregengan dyrstlæhton þæt híe on þæt land astígen and híe þær dydon micel yfel ond atendon Túnan þa burg, þá hréowsode Ósfruma and he gebæd him to þam Ælmihtigan, and be þæs Scyppendes ræde 7 léafe onhwierfed wearþ worulde gesceapu. Wearð Ósgeard from eorþan asundrod, 7 micel æfgrynde ætíewde on middum Gársecge, be éastan Ánetíge. 7 þa sæ dufon niþer inn on þæt gin, ond mid þam bearhtme þara hréosendra wætera wearþ eall middangeard afylled; 7 þara wætergefealla se þrosm stanc up oþ heofon ofer þara écra munta héafdu.
>
> Þær forwurdon eall Westfarena scipu, and adranc mid him eall þæt folc. Forwurdon éac Tarcaligeon se gyldena 7 seo beorhte Iligen his cwén, féollon bútú niþer swaswa steorran on þystro and gewiton seoþþan of eallra manna cýþþe. Micle flódas gelumpon on þam tíman and landa styrunga, and Westfolde þe ær Númenor hátte wearð aworpen on Gársecges bósm and hire wuldor gewát.
>
> But when those who went before Tarcalion dared to go up into the land, and did there great evil and set fire to the city of Túna, then the Lord of the Gods grieved, and he prayed to the Almighty; and by the counsel and leave of the Creator the fashion of the world was changed. Ósgeard [Valinor] was sundered from the earth, and a great abyss appeared in the midst of Gársecg [the Ocean], to the east of Ánetíg [the Lonely Isle]. And the seas plunged down into the chasm, and all Middle-earth was filled with the noise of the falling waters; and the smoke of the cataracts rose up to heaven above the heads of the everlasting mountains.
>
> There perished all the ships of the Westfarers, and all that people were drowned with them. There perished also Tarcalion the golden and bright Ilien his queen; they fell both like stars into the darkness and passed out of all men's knowledge. There were great floods in that time and tumults of the lands, and Westfolde, which before was named Númenor, was cast down into the bosom of Gársecg, and its glory perished.

Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle, is named *Ánetíg* in the Old English version of the earliest *Annals of Valinor* (IV.281, etc.). In that work Valinor was *Godéþel* changed to *Ésa-eard* (IV.283), *Ésa* being the

genitive plural of *Ós* 'god', as here in *Ósgeard* (Valinor) and in *Ósfruma* 'Lord of the Gods' (Manwë). *Tarcaligeon*, *Iligen* are Old English spellings representing *Tarcalion*, *Ilien*.

Comparison of this text with *The Fall of Númenor* §§6–8 (pp. 336–7) will show a close relation between the two. I think it very probable that this text represents my father's original idea for the single preserved page of Edwin Lowdham's manuscript, before he decided that the page should consist, in Ramer's words (p. 259), of 'a series of fragmentary extracts, separated, I should guess, by very various intervals of omission'.

A portion of this text is also found written in *tengwar*, with an interlinear gloss in modern script. This, I think, was the first of the texts in *tengwar* (see the next section).

Other Old English names found in these papers are *Ealfæderburg* 'the mountain of Allfather (Ilúvatar)' as an alternative name for *Heofonsýl* 'Pillar of Heaven'; *Héafíras* 'High Men', of the Númenóreans (cf. *Fréafiras* mentioned below); and *se Malsca*, of Sauron (cf. *Malscor*, a name of Morgoth found in a list of Old English equivalents of Elvish names associated with the *Quenta*, IV.209; an Old English noun *malscrung* 'bewitching, bewildering' is recorded).

Lastly may be mentioned a slip of paper giving the Quenya fragments in their original form (that is, in the form in which they are found in *The Lost Road* and preceding that in manuscript E, as is seen from *tēra* 'straight' for *tēna*, p. 310), with the usual English glosses and queries, but also with a translation into Old English (rapidly jotted down and hard to read):

> 7 Saweron cóm to hýþe. Gedruron Fréafíras under sceadu. Tarkalion wíg gebéad þam Héamægnum. Þa tocléaf Westfréa þas woruld be þæs Ælmihtigan léafe. 7 fléowon þa sǽ inn on þæt micle gin 7 wearþ Nówendaland ahwylfed.
>
> Géo læg riht weg westanweard, nú sind alle wegas [?forcrymbed]. Fréafíras éastweard. Déaþscúa ús líþ hefig on. Nú swíþe feor is seo Niþerhrorene.

It is curious to see that *nahamna* (marked as usual with a query in the modern English gloss) was translated to *hýþe* 'to haven'. The Old English words *be ... léafe* 'with leave' correspond to dots in the Elvish text (the word *lenēme* being introduced here later in E, p. 310). *Fréafíras* and *Nówendaland* are mentioned by Lowdham (p. 242 and notes 42, 43) among names that have 'come through' to him which are not recorded in Old English. *Héamægnum: héah-mægen* 'great power'. *Westfréa* ('Lord of the West') was struck out and replaced by (apparently) *Regenríces Wealdend* ('Ruler of Valinor': cf. *Regeneard* p. 242 and note 44). No verb *(for)crymban* is recorded, but cf. Old English *crumb* 'crooked, bent', and *crymbing* 'curvature, bend'.

(v) The page preserved from Edwin Lowdham's manuscript written in Númenórean script

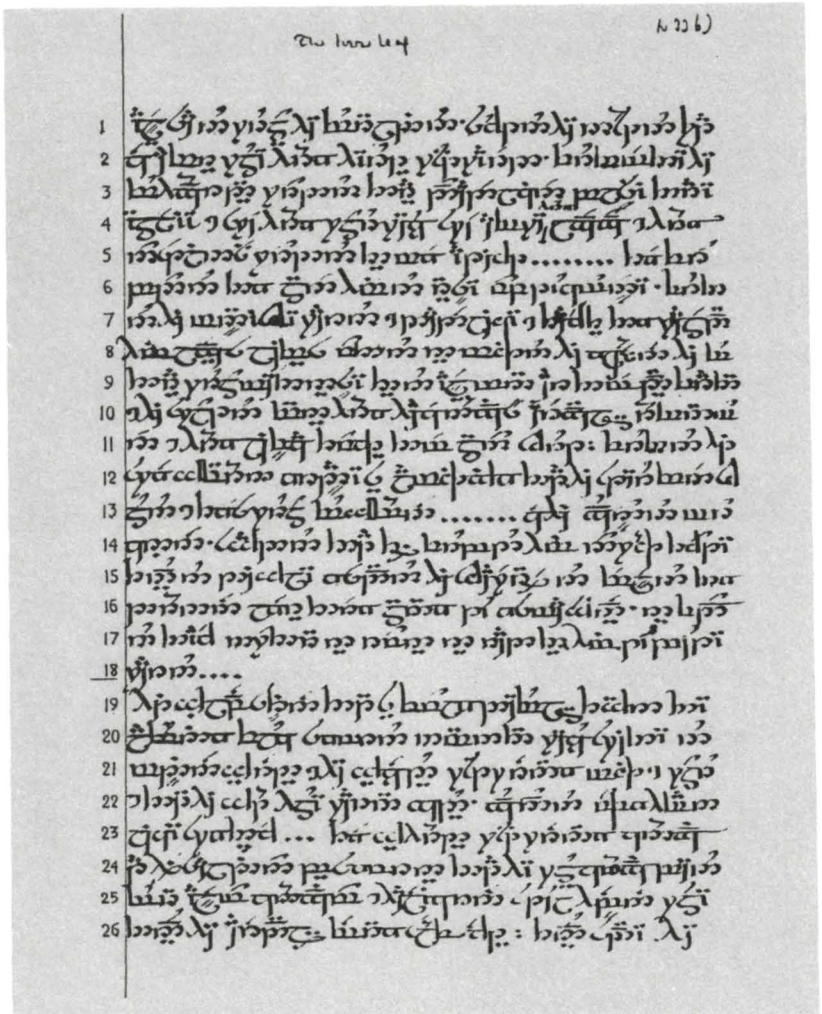
My father's representations of this page are reproduced on pp. 319–21. The first form, here called Text I, is written on both sides of a single sheet as was Edwin Lowdham's, and represents the Old English text given on pp. 313–14; as already explained, this was written to accompany the account in the manuscript E. My father wrote it with a dipping pen, and where the ink ran pale parts of many letters, especially the fine strokes, are extremely faint in the original and disappear entirely in reproduction. To remedy this I have worked over a photocopy of the original and darkened the strokes to make them visible; and I have added line-numbers in the margins to make my commentary on the *tengwar* easier to follow.

Text II corresponds to the later Old English version in the typescript F, but it covers only one side of a sheet and extends only to the words *swé adwalde he for(néan)* (p. 257): at that point, as it appears, it was abandoned. This may or may not relate to my father's note (p. 279): 'the Anglo-Saxon should *not* be written in Númenórean script'.

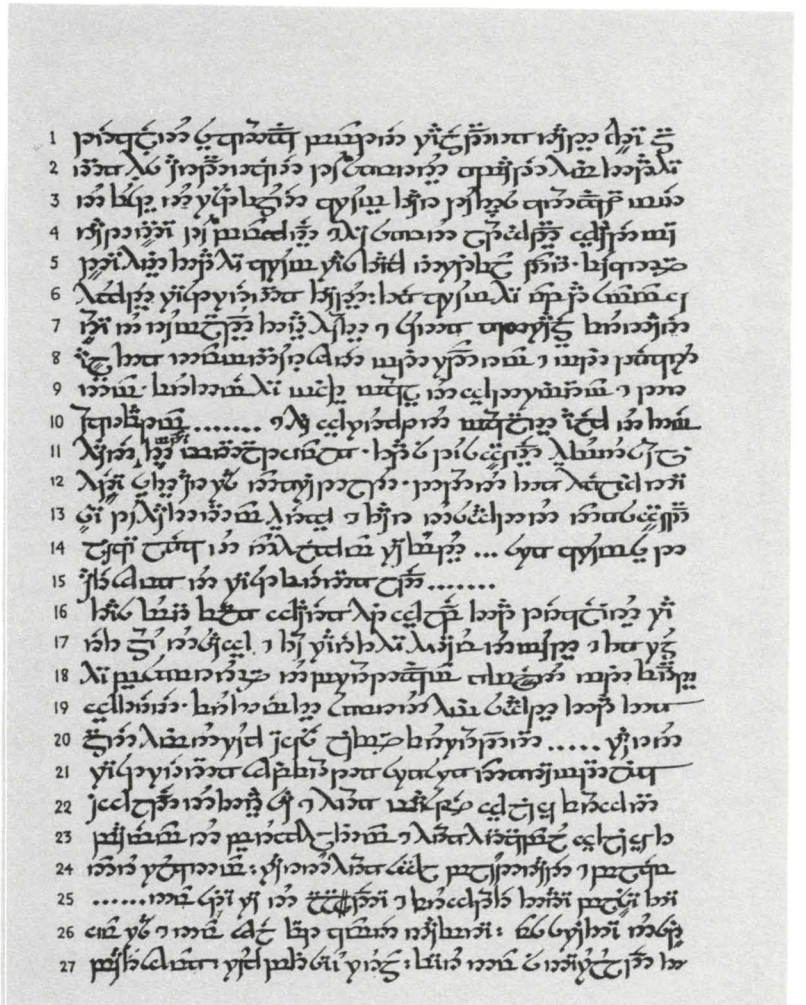
The reproductions of these pages are followed by commentaries on the scripts, which differ in the two versions. These commentaries are reproduced from my manuscript, since it would be very much more difficult to print them.

Text I was written quickly and has a number of errors; Text II was more carefully done. Some pages of notes accompany the original texts, but these are very rough and difficult jottings and have not proved of much help in deducing the structure. There can be no doubt that these texts were to some degree experimental, especially in the use of the diacritic marks and in the application of the script to Old English.

In what I take to be the first of these *tengwar* texts (not reproduced), corresponding to part of the Old English text given on p. 316, the vowel-diacritics differ from the usage in Text I. Those used for *o* and *y* in Text I are here used for *u* and *o*, while *y* is rendered by that for *u* together with a single dot (= *i*), reflecting the historical origin of Old English *y* in many instances from *u* followed by *i* in the next syllable.



The surviving page of Edwin Lowdham's manuscript
Text I, recto



The surviving page of Edwin Lowdham's manuscript
Text I, verso

The surviving page of Edwin Lowdham's manuscript
Text II

Text I

In the following analysis references to the text are by page and line-number, as '2 : 26' = line 26 of the verso page. The consonants are set out simply in alphabetical order, not according to phonetic function.

b [illegible]

c [illegible]; [illegible] In Old English the letter *c* had 'front' and 'back' ('palatal' and 'velar') values, the front stop becoming [tš] as in *church* in later Old English. This distinction is represented here:

[illegible] for the back stop, as in [illegible] *ac* (1:2), [illegible] *folc* (1:20);

[illegible] for the original front stop, as in [illegible] *cyrre* (2:6-7, where [illegible] is the last letter of line 6), [illegible] *eces* (2:20). Thus the *c* in *undeadlican* (1:3) and in *deadlice* (1:7) is differently represented: ~ [illegible] and ~ [illegible]

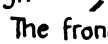
d [illegible] For *ld* see *l*.

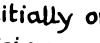
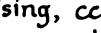
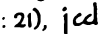
f [illegible] In Old English the letter *f* was used in medial positions between voiced sounds to represent the voiced spirant [v]; thus [illegible] 'v' will be found in many words where the Old English text has *f*, as [illegible] *lifes* (1:8), [illegible] *næfre* (2:26).

g [illegible], [illegible]; [illegible], [illegible] In Old English the letter *g* (ʒ) had not only front and back values but also stop and spirant. The back stop is represented here by [illegible], as in [illegible] *gode* (1:22); also in *ng*, where the nasal is indicated by a horizontal line above: [illegible] *langung* (1:4).

The back spirant has the vertical rising not descending, [illegible], as in [illegible] *hogode* (2:6), [illegible] *unhalgum* (2:14).

The front stop is represented by [illegible]. In late Old English this became [dž] as in *judge*; this appears in the words

secganne (2:11), *unasecgendlice* (2:13-14), where *cg* is a graph for *gg*, hence the mark of doubling placed below the sign:  *secganne*.

The front spirant, which in Modern English has become *y* initially or has combined to form diphthongs, has the vertical rising, , as in *þegn* (1:19), *~gearde* (1:21),  *igland* (2:22),  *fyrgen* [cf. *Firien* in LR] (2:22),  *segl* (2:24).

h λ ; ȡ The breath [h], only found initially, is represented by λ. The voiceless back spirant [χ] is represented by ȡ (cf. ƍ under *g*), as in *þeah* (1:17), *ealh* (2:10), *woh* (2:20).

ht may be represented by a combinatory sign as in *þuhte* (1:11), or as in *mihton* (1:8), according to the front or back position of the spirant (, ȡ); but the verticals may be written separately, as *ahte* (1:26).

l ↄ ; *ld* ꝛ as in *wuldor* (1:4)

m m

n ɱ

p ꝑ (written in *upahæfenlice* 1:22)

r ꝛ

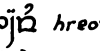
s ƅ ; at the end of words often written as a curl, as for ex- in *facnes* (2:5). As in the case of *f*, in Old English *s* was used in medial positions between voiced sounds to repre- -sent the voiced spirant [z]. The only example of [z] in the text is *alysan* (1:8), where it is written with the sign ȝ.

sc (becoming in the course of Old English [ʃ] as in *ship*) is written with a combinatory sign ꝺ as in *scort* ['short'] (1:11), *deapscua* (2:15).

t ꝑ For *ht* see *h*.

th ꝥ; ꝥ In Old English, as with *f/v*, *s/z*, the voiceless spirant (as in Modern English *thin*) and the voiced (as in *other*) appear in different positions in words, but in this case there were two symbols, the barred *d* '*ð*' and the Runic '*þ*' ('*thorn*'). These were not used, however, to distinguish the sounds.

The Old English text uses the signs indiscriminately, as is commonly the case in O.E. manuscripts; thus for example both *þeah* and *ðeah* occur. But it is curious that although the distinction between ꝥ and ꝥ was phonetic, between voiceless and voiced, no use is made of it: thus we find ꝥïd at 2:5 (where the text in modern script has *þeah*) but ꝥïd at 1:17 (where it has *ðeah*).



v ꝫ On the frequent occurrence of ꝫ where the Old English word is spelt with an *f* see under *f*. The only other instance is ꝫꝫꝫ *Avallon* (2:18).

w ꝩ In ꝩꝩꝩ *hreow* (2:17) the sign ꝫ '*u*' is used (see under *Vowels*).

hw is represented by ꝩ as in ꝩꝩ *hwæt* (1:1).

x ꝩ as in ꝩꝩꝩ *weox* (1:20).

z ꝩ See under *s*.

Vowels

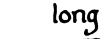
Vowels are normally expressed by diacritic signs (*tehtar*):

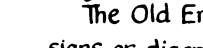
a	´	i	·
æ	∴	o	ʼ
e	··	u	ʼ
		y	ʼ

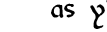
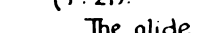
These *precede* the consonant if placed *above* it and follow it if placed below, as in ꝥꝫꝫ *ðære*, ꝫꝫ *ende*. The dia-

critics of *o* and *u* are not used in the subscript position.

The diacritics are very frequently borne on 'carriers', the short carrier ı being used for short vowels and the long carrier ȷ for long vowels (as *sǽ*, 1:1).

The Old English diphthongs are not represented by simple signs or diacritics: thus *heorte* (1:2) The diphthong *ea* as representing [æa] is written with the diacritics of *æ* and *a*, as  *westweard* (1:2); but *e+a* in *gearde* (1:21).

The glide '*i, y*' is *a* in  *Mendtyula* (2:11), *iú* (2:26).

In certain positions (chiefly in prefixes and finally) *a* is written as a letter, ɑ, though not invariably: so  *swa hyra* (1:4),  *swa ærædde* (1:12); also always ɑ in *Sauron*. Long *a* has both letter and diacritic in *má* (1:5) Similarly *u* may be written as a letter; ʋ, ; so *nú* (2:26), *scúa* (2:27).

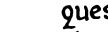
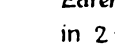
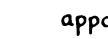
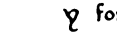
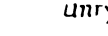
Other signs

Doubling is shown by two inclined strokes beneath the letter, or in the case of within it: as *Eresse* (1:6), *calle* (1:1).

A horizontal line above the letter represents a nasal in such combinations as *nd, ng, mp*, as *ende* (1:9), *cyning* (1.23); in *nn* it therefore acts as a doubling sign, as *þonne* (1:15).

The Old English sign *ond, and* 'and' is used (1:21 &c).

Errors

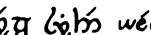
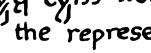
The text was written quickly, and there are a number of unquestionable errors, as for example: for *Éarendles* in 1:10, for *Eldum* in 1:11,  *'Sauron'* in 2:4,  for *gefaran* in 2:19. In some cases apparent errors may reflect indecision or rejected forms, as for *r* in  *æfre* 1:4 ( *næfre* 2:26),  *unryht* 1:14, and *he* for *hi* twice in 1:1 and again in 1:2.

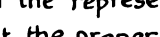
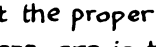
Text II

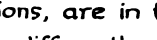
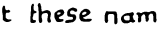
In this form of the script the values of the *tengwar* are the same, the differences from Text I lying chiefly in the use of the vowel diacritics. In Text II the diacritics follow the consonants; and while *i, o, u, y* remain the same those representing *a, æ, e* are now:

a ∴
æ ..
e /

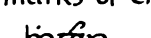
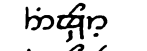
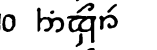
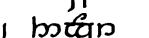
Thus *gefyrn* in Text I (1:12) is written , but in Text II (line 2)

Further, the diacritics of *o* and *u* can be written subscript, as for example in  *weorulde*,  *oferliodon*, both in line 1.

As in Text I the Old English diphthong written *ea* but phonetically [æa] is represented by the diacritics of *æ* and *a*, thus  *heara* in line 2; on the other hand, in  *Westwearena* (lines 6-7) *ea* is represented by *e+a*.

In Text II long vowels can be shown by a subscript ȷ; this is evidently the tail of the long carrier ȷ. So  *sǽ* (line 1), *þás* (3),  *wéox swíðe* (6).

A problem lies in the representation of names. Ramer says of the text that the proper names, when they are not Old English translations, are in the same script, 'but the letters are then quite differently used'. In the Old English text in modern script these names are set within brackets. In Text II appear only *Zigūr* (*Zigūre*) and *Tarcalion*, which are placed between marks of citation and represented thus:

line 5  *Zigūr*
line 10  *(to) Zigūre*
line 11  *Zigūr*
line 8  *Tarcalion*

ᚦ is here used with the value 'z'. (It is a feature of the script in Text II that ᚦ and ᚦ (= 'th') are often but not always written with the vertical stroke extended downwards, to a greater or lesser degree: so ᛒᚢᚦᚢᚢ (*forðon*, line 2), ᛋᛒᚢᚦᚢᚢ (*seoþþan*, line 4), ᚦᚢᚦ (*þæt*, line 3), but ᚦᛁᛁᚢ (*þegn*, line 5). In ᚦ = 'z' the vertical is not extended downwards; but whether this distinction, not in any case very clearly marked, is significant I cannot say.)

The other consonants in *Zigūr*, and in *Tarcalion*, are not different from those used to represent the Old English; but the use of the diacritics is mysterious. In *Zigūr(e)* ˙ = *i*, ˆ = *u*, ˊ = *e*, and a subscript ˛ = long vowel, as in the rest of the text; but in one case of *Zigūr* a single dot is placed under *r*, in the other not. In *Tarcalion* single dots are placed under *r* and *n*; ᛁᛈ presumably represents *lio* (but with ˙˙ = *i*), but there is no representation of the two occurrences of *a* in the name.

In this text there is only one clear error: this is the word ᛋᚢ 'sté' in the last line of the page, for ᛋᚢ *swé* ('so'), written as ᛋᚢᛁ in line 2.

PART THREE

THE DROWNING OF ANADÛNÊ

With the Third Version of
THE FALL OF NÚMENOR

And Lowdham's Report on
THE ADUNAIC LANGUAGE

THE DROWNING OF ANADÛNÊ

(i) The third version of The Fall of Númenor

Before coming to *The Drowning of Anadûnê* it is necessary to turn first to the original narrative of the legend of Númenor, which arose in close association with *The Lost Road* (see V.9). This, *The Fall of Númenor*, is extant (in addition to an initial sketch) in two versions, given in V.13 ff., which I called FN I and FN II, the second being closely similar to the first for the greater part of its length. Some subsequent work was done on this text during the period of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*, including a rewriting of the passage describing 'the World Made Round' and a development of the concluding section concerning Beleriand and the Last Alliance (see V.31 ff.); but since the name *Ondor* appears in the latter passage it can be dated before February 1942, when *Ondor* became *Gondor* (VII.423); at that time my father was working on Book III of *The Lord of the Rings*.

Now there is a further text of *The Fall of Númenor* in fine manuscript, which I referred to but did not print in Vol.V; I noted there that 'this version, improved and altered in detail, shows however very little further advance in narrative substance,' and concluded therefore that it belongs to the same period as the revisions just referred to, i.e. to a relatively early stage in the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*. Since *The Drowning of Anadûnê* shows such an extraordinary departure from *The Fall of Númenor* I give the third version of the latter in full here, calling it 'FN III', to make comparison of the two works easier. I have again introduced the paragraph numbers that I inserted in the earlier versions; and various alterations that were made to FN III subsequently are shown as such.

The Last Tales

1. The Fall of Númenor

§1 In the Great Battle, when Fionwë son of Manwë overthrew Morgoth, the three houses of the Men of Beleriand were friends and allies of the Elves, and they wrought many deeds of valour. But men of other kindreds turned to evil and fought for Morgoth, and after the victory of the Lords of the West those that were not destroyed fled back east into Middle-earth. There many of their race wandered still in the unharvested lands, wild

and lawless, refusing the summons alike of Fionwë and of Morgoth to aid them in their war. And the evil men who had served Morgoth became their masters; and the creatures of Morgoth that escaped from the ruin of Thangorodrim came among them and cast over them a shadow of fear. For the gods [> Valar] forsook for a time the Men of Middle-earth who had refused their summons and had taken the friends of Morgoth to be their lords; and men were troubled by many evil things that Morgoth had devised in the days of his dominion: demons, and dragons and ill-shapen beasts, and the unclean orcs, that are mockeries of the creatures of Ilúvatar; and the lot of men was unhappy.

But Manwë put forth Morgoth, and shut him beyond the World in the Void that is without; and he cannot [> could not] return again into the World, present and visible, while the Lords are [> the Lords of the West were] enthroned. Yet his will remaineth, and guideth [> remained, and guided] his servants; and it moveth [> moved] them ever to seek the overthrow of the gods [> Valar] and the hurt of those that obey [> obeyed] them. When Morgoth was thrust forth, the gods [> Valar] held council. The Elves [> Eldar] were summoned to return into the West; and those that obeyed dwelt once more in Eressëa, the Lonely Isle; and that land was named anew Avallon: for it is hard by Valinor and within sight of the Blessed Realm. But to men of the three faithful houses rich reward was given. Fionwë son of Manwë came among them and taught them; and he gave them wisdom, and power, and life stronger than any others have of mortal race. [*Added:* and the span of their years, being unassailed by sickness, was thrice that of Men of Middle-earth, and to the descendants of Húrin the Steadfast even longer years were granted, / even to three hundreds [> as is later told].][1]

§2 A land was made for them to dwell in, neither part of Middle-earth, nor of Valinor; for it was sundered from either by a wide sea, yet it was nearer to Valinor. It was raised by Ossë out of the depths of the Great Water, and it was established by Aulë and enriched by Yavanna; and the Eldar brought thither flowers and fountains out of Avallon, and they wrought gardens there of great beauty, in which at times the children of the Gods [> Valar] would walk. That land the Valar called Andor, the Land of Gift; and by its own folk it was at first called Vinya, the Young; but in the days of its pride they named it Númenor, that is Westernesse, for it lay west of all lands inhabited by mortals;

yet it was far from the true West, for that is Valinor, the land of the Gods. But the glory of Númenor was thrown down [> overthrown] and its name perished; and after its ruin it was named in the legends of those that fled from it Atalantë, the Downfallen.

Of old the chief city and haven of that land was in the midst of its western coasts, and it was called Undúnië [> Andúnië],[2] because it faced the sunset. But the high place of the king was at Númenos in the heart of the land, the tower and citadel that was built by Elros son of Ëarendel [>Ëarendil], whom the gods and elves and men chose to be the lord [> who (was) appointed to be the first lord] of the Númenóreans. He was descended from the line of both Hador and Bëor, fathers of Men, and in part also from both the Eldar and the Valar, for Idril and Lúthien were his foremothers. But Elros and all his folk were mortal; for the Valar may not withdraw the gift of death, which cometh to men from Ilúvatar. [*This passage, from 'He was descended ...', was struck out and replaced by the following rider:* 'Now Elrond, and Elros his brother, were descended from the line of both Hador and of Bëor, fathers of Men, and in part also both from the Eldar and the Valar, for Idril and Lúthien daughter of Melian were their foremothers. None others among Men of the Elder Days had kinship with the Elves, and therefore they were called Halfelven. The Valar indeed may not withdraw the gift of death, which cometh to Men from Ilúvatar, but in the matter of the Halfelven Ilúvatar gave them judgement. And this they judged: choice should be given to the brethren. And Elrond chose to remain with the Firstborn, and to him the life of the Firstborn was given, and yet a grace was added, that choice was never annulled, and while the world lasted he might return, if he would, to mortal men, and die. But to Elros, who chose to be a king of men, still a great span of years was granted, seven times that of mortal men; and all his line, the kings and lords of the royal house of Númenor, [*added:* being descended from Húrin,] had long life even according to the span of the Númenóreans, for some of the kings that sat at Númenos lived four hundred years. But Elros lived five hundred years, and ruled the Númenóreans four hundred years and ten. Thus, though long in life and assailed by no sickness, the men of Númenor were mortal still.] Yet the speech of Númenor was the speech of the Eldar of the Blessed Realm, and the Númenóreans conversed with the Elves, and were permitted to look upon Valinor from afar; for

their ships went often to Avallon, and there their mariners were suffered to dwell for a while.

§3 In the wearing of time the people of Númenor grew great and glorious, in all things more like to the Firstborn than any other of the kindreds of Men; yet they were less fair and less wise than the Elves, though greater in stature. For the Númenóreans were exceedingly tall, taller than the tallest of the sons of men in Middle-earth. Above all arts they nourished ship-building and sea-craft, and became mariners whose like shall never be again, since the world has been diminished. They ranged from Eressëa in the West to the shores of Middle-earth, and came even into the inner seas; and they sailed about the North and the South and glimpsed from their high prows the Gates of Morning in the East. And they appeared among the wild men and filled them with wonder and dismay; for men in the shadows of the world deemed that they were gods or the sons of gods out of the West. Here and there the Númenóreans sowed good seed in the waste-lands, and they taught to the wild men such lore and wisdom as they could comprehend; but for the most part the men of Middle-earth feared them and fled; for they were under the sway of Sauron and the lies of Morgoth and they believed that the gods were terrible and cruel. Wherefore out of that far time are descended the echoes of legends both bright and dark; but the shadow lay heavy upon men, for the Númenóreans came only seldom among them and they tarried never long in any place. Upon all the waters of the world they sailed, seeking they knew not what, yet their hearts were set westward; and they began to hunger for the undying bliss of Valinor, and ever their desire and unquiet increased as their power and glory grew.

§4 The gods forbade them to sail beyond the Lonely Isle and would not permit them to land in Valinor; for the Númenóreans were mortal, and though the Lords of the West had rewarded them with long life, they could not take from them the weariness of the world that cometh at last, and they died, even their kings of the seed of Ëarendel, and their span was brief in the eyes of the Elves. And they began to murmur against this decree, and a great discontent grew among them. Their masters of knowledge sought unceasingly for secrets that should prolong their lives; and they sent spies to seek hidden lore in Avallon; and the gods were angered.

§5 Now it came to pass [*added:* in the days of Tar-kalion,

and twelve kings had ruled that land before him,][3] that Sauron, servant of Morgoth, grew strong in Middle-earth; and he learned of the power and splendour of the Númenóreans, and of their allegiance to the gods; and he feared lest they should come and wrest from him the dominion of the East and rescue the men of Middle-earth from the Shadow. And the king from his mariners heard also rumour of Sauron, and it was reported that he would make himself a king, greater even than the king of Númenor. Wherefore, taking no counsel of the gods or of the Elves, Tar-kalion the king sent his messengers to Sauron and commanded him to come and do homage. And Sauron, being filled with malice and cunning, humbled himself and came; and he beguiled the Númenóreans with signs and wonders. Little by little Sauron turned their hearts towards Morgoth, his master; and he prophesied to them, and lied, saying that Morgoth would come again into the world. And Sauron spake to Tar-kalion, and to Tar-ilien his queen, and promised them life unending and the dominion of the earth, if they would turn unto Morgoth. And they believed him, and fell under the Shadow, and the greater part of their people followed them. And Tar-kalion raised a great temple to Morgoth upon the Mountain of Ilúvatar in the midst of the land; and Sauron dwelt there, and all Númenor was under his vigilance. [*This passage, from 'upon the Mountain of Ilúvatar ...', was struck out and replaced by the following:* in the midst of the city of Númenos,][4] and its dome rose like a black hill glowering over the land; and smokes issued from it, for in that temple the Númenóreans made hideous sacrifice to Morgoth, beseeching the Lord of Darkness to deliver them from Death. But the hallowed place of Ilúvatar was upon the summit of the Mountain Menelmin, Pillar of Heaven, in the midst of the land, and thither men had been wont to climb to offer thanksgiving. There only in all Númenor Sauron dared never to set his foot, and he forbade [any] to go there under pain of death. Few dared to disobey him, even if they so wished, for Sauron had many eyes and all the ways of the land were under his vigilance. But some there were who remained faithful, and did not bow to him, and of these the chief were Elendil the fair, and his sons Anárion and Isildur, and they were of the royal blood of Ëarendel, though not of the line direct.]

§6 But in the passing of the years Tar-kalion felt the oncoming of old age, and he was troubled; but Sauron said that

the bounty of Morgoth was withheld by the gods, and that to obtain plentitude of power and freedom from death the king must be master of the West. And the fear of death was heavy upon Tar-kalion. Therefore at his command the Númenóreans made a great armament; and their might and skill had grown exceedingly in those days, for they had in these matters the aid of Sauron. The fleets of the Númenóreans were like a land of many islands, and their masts were like a forest of mountain-trees, and their banners like the streamers of a thunderstorm, and their sails were scarlet and black. And they moved slowly into the West, for all the winds were stilled, and all the world was silent in the fear of that time. And they encompassed Avallon; and it is said that the Elves mourned and sickness came upon them, for the light of Valinor was cut off by the cloud of the Númenóreans. Then Tar-kalion assailed the shores of Valinor, and he cast forth bolts of thunder, and fire came upon Túna, and flame and smoke rose about Taniquetil.

§7 But the gods made no answer. Then the vanguard of the Númenóreans set foot upon the forbidden shores, and they encamped in might upon the borders of Valinor. But the heart of Manwë was sorrowful and dismayed, and he called upon Ilúvatar, and took power and counsel from the Maker; and the fate and fashion of the world was changed. The silence of the gods was broken and their power made manifest; and Valinor was sundered from the earth, and a rift appeared in the midst of the Great Sea, east of Avallon.

Into this chasm the Great Sea plunged, and the noise of the falling waters filled all the earth, and the smoke of the cataracts rose above the tops of the everlasting mountains. But all the ships of Númenor that were west of Avallon were drawn down into the abyss, and they were drowned; and Tar-kalion the golden and bright Ilien his queen fell like stars into the dark, and they perished out of all knowledge. But the mortal warriors that had set foot upon the Land of the Gods were buried under fallen hills; there it is said they lie imprisoned in the Caves of the Forgotten until the day of Doom and the Last Battle.

§8 Then Ilúvatar cast back the Great Seas west of Middle-earth and the Empty Lands east of it, and new lands and new seas were made; and the world was diminished, for Valinor and Eressëa were taken from it into the realm of hidden things. And thereafter, however a man might sail, he could never again reach the True West, but would come back weary at last to the

place of his beginning; for all lands and seas were equally distant from the centre of the earth. There was flood and great confusion of waters in that time, and sea covered much that in the Elder Days had been dry, both in the West and East of Middle-earth.

§9 Númenor, being nigh to the east of the great rift, was utterly thrown down, and overwhelmed in the sea, and its glory perished, and only a remnant of all its people escaped the ruin of those days. Some by the command of Tar-kalion, and some of their own will (because they still revered the gods and would not go with war into the West) had remained behind when the fleets set sail, and they sat in their ships upon the east coast of the land, lest the issue of war should be evil. Therefore, being protected for a while by the wall of their land, they avoided the draught of the sea; and many fled into the East, and came at length to the shores of Middle-earth.

Small remnant of all the mighty people that had perished were those that came up out of the devouring sea upon the wings of the winds of wrath, and shorn were they of their pride and power of old. But to those that looked out from the seaward hills and beheld their coming, riding upon the storm out of the mist and the darkness and the rumour of water, their black sails against the falling sun, terrible and strong they seemed, and the fear of the tall kings came into lands far from the sea.

§10 For lords and kings of men the Númenóreans became, and nigh to the western shores of Middle-earth they established realms and strong places. Some few were indeed evil, being of those who had hearkened to Sauron and still did not forsake him in their hearts; but the most were those of good will who had revered the gods and remembered the wisdom of old. Yet all alike were filled with the desire of long life upon earth, and the thought of death was heavy upon them. Their fate had cast them east upon Middle-earth, but their hearts still were westward. And they built mightier houses for their dead than for their living, and endowed their buried kings with unavailing treasure; for their wise men hoped still to discover the secret of prolonging life, and maybe of recalling it. Yet it is said that the span of their lives, which had of old been thrice that of lesser men, dwindled slowly; and they achieved only the art of preserving incorrupt the dead flesh of men. Wherefore the kingdoms of the western world became a place of tombs and

were filled with ghosts. And in the fantasy of their hearts, amid the confusion of legends concerning half-forgotten things that once had been, they imagined in their thought a land of shades, filled with the wraiths of the things that are upon the mortal earth; and many deemed that this land was in the West and ruled by the gods, and that in shadow the dead should come there, bearing with them the shadows of their possessions, who could in the body find the True West no more. Therefore in after days many would bury their dead in ships, setting them forth in pomp upon the sea by the west coasts of the ancient world.

§11 Now the blood of the Númenóreans remained most among men of those western lands and shores; and the memory of the primeval world abode most strongly there, where the old paths to the West had aforetime set out from Middle-earth. For the ancient line of the world remained in the mind of Ilúvatar, and in the thought of the gods, and in the memory of the world, as a shape and plan that has been changed and yet endureth. And it has been likened to a plain of air, or to a straight vision that bendeth not to the curving of the earth, or to a level bridge that rises slowly above the heavy air. Of old many of the exiles of Númenor could still see, some clearly and some more faintly, the paths to the True West; and they believed that at times from a high place they could descry the peaks of Taniquetil at the end of the Straight Road, high above the world. Therefore they built very high towers in those days, and their holy places were upon the tops of mountains, for they would climb, if it might be, above the mists of Middle-earth into the clearer air that doth not veil the vision of things far off.

§12 But ever the number of those that had the ancient sight dwindled, and those that had it not and could not conceive it in their thought scorned the builders of towers, and trusted to ships that sailed upon the water. But they came only to the lands of the new world, and found them like to those of the old and subject to death; and they reported that the world was round. For upon the Straight Road only the gods could walk, and only the ships of the Elves could journey; for being straight that road passed through the air of breath and flight and rose above it, and traversed Ilmen in which no mortal flesh can endure; whereas the surface of the earth was bent, and bent were the seas that lay upon it, and bent also were the heavy airs that were above them. Yet it is said that even of those Númenóreans of old who had the straight vision there were some who did not

comprehend this, and they were busy to contrive ships that should rise above the waters of the world and hold to the imagined seas. But they achieved only ships that would sail in the air of breath. And these ships, flying, came also to the lands of the new world, and to the East of the old world; and they reported that the world was round. Therefore many abandoned the gods and put them out of their legends. But men of Middle-earth looked up with fear and wonder seeing the Númenóreans that descended out of the sky; and they took these mariners of the air to be gods, and some of the Númenóreans were content that this should be so.

§13 Yet not all the hearts of the Númenóreans were crooked; and knowledge of the days before the Downfall and of the wisdom descended from the Elf-friends, their fathers, was long preserved among them. And the wisest among them taught that the fate of Men was not bounded by the round path, nor set for ever upon the straight. For the round has no end, but no escape; and the straight is true, but has an end within the world, and that is the fate of the Elves. But the fate of Men, they said, is neither round nor ended, and is not complete within the world.

But even the wisdom of the wise was filled with sorrow and regret; and they remembered bitterly how the ruin was brought about and the cutting off of Men from their portion of the Straight Path. Therefore they avoided the shadow of Morgoth according to their power, and Sauron they held in hatred. And they assailed his temples and their servants, and there were wars among the mighty of Middle-earth, of which only the echoes now remain.

The concluding section (§14) of the earlier versions of *The Fall of Númenor* concerning Beleriand (see p. 331) was omitted in FN III.

Accepting the conclusion (see p. 331) that the version just given, as it was originally written, comes from a much earlier stage in the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* than do *The Notion Club Papers*, it seems almost certain that the alterations and additions made to it belong to the period of the *Papers* and *The Drowning of Anadûnê*. The chief evidence for this[5] lies in the addition to §5 stating that Tar-kalion was the thirteenth king of Númenor, and in the correction in §5 of the description of the temple: it was not on the Mountain of Ilúvatar, but 'in the midst of the city of Númenos' (see notes 3 and 4).

The most remarkable, and indeed astonishing, feature of these later additions to FN III is the statement in §2 that while 'the life of the Firstborn' was given to Elrond in accordance with his choice, 'yet a

grace was added, that choice was never annulled, and while the world lasted he might return, if he would, to mortal men, and die.' To my present knowledge no such thing is said elsewhere of the Choice of Elrond; and contrast Appendix A (I, i) to *The Lord of the Rings*: 'At the end of the First Age the Valar gave to the Half-elven *an irrevocable choice* to which kindred they would belong.' This passage in FN III concerning Elrond and Elros reappeared years later in the *Akallabêth*, but with this sentence removed (*The Silmarillion*, p. 261).

NOTES

1 On the threefold span of the Númenóreans see p. 378, §13. – *The descendants of Húrin the Steadfast*: presumably an inadvertence, for Huor, father of Tuor, father of Eärendil; but *Húrin* is repeated in the addition to §2. Cf. the note given in VII.6, 'Trotter is a man of Elrond's race descendant of Túrin', where *Túrin* is presumably a slip for *Tuor*.

2 *Undúnië: Andúnië* is the form in FN II, but on the amanuensis typescript made from FN II (V.31) the form was changed to *Undúnië*.

3 Tar-kalion became the fourteenth (not the thirteenth) king of Númenor by correction of the second text of *The Drowning of Anadûnê* (see p. 381, §20).

4 On uncertainty with regard to the site of the temple see p. 384, §32.

5 On the back of the slip carrying the long addition to §2 concerning Elrond and Elros are rough notes in which there is a reference to the Adunaic language; but these are not dateable.

(ii) The original text of The Drowning of Anadûnê

It will become very evident that *The Drowning of Anadûnê* was as closely associated with Part Two of *The Notion Club Papers* as was the original *Fall of Númenor* with *The Lost Road*. I shall give first the original draft, and postpone observations about it to the conclusion.

The draft is a typescript of extreme roughness, with a great many typing errors, and I have little doubt that my father, for some reason, and for the first time, composed a primary draft entirely *ab initio* on a typewriter, typing at speed. Certainly there is no trace among all this great collection of texts and notes of any still more 'primary' narrative (although there are preliminary sketches which are given later, pp. 397 ff.). I print it here essentially as it was typed, correcting the obvious errors and here and there inserting punctuation, but ignoring subsequent correction. Such correction is largely confined to the opening paragraphs, after which it ceases: it looks as if my father saw that it would be impossible to carry out a wholesale rewriting on a single-spaced typescript with narrow margins. In any case these corrections

were taken up into the second text, which I also give in full. One name that was consistently changed, however, is *Balāi* > *Avalāi*, as far as §16, where *Avalāi* appears in the typescript as typed. I have extended the marks of length over vowels throughout the text: my father's typewriter having no such marks, he inserted them in pencil, and often omitted them.

The numbered paragraphs have of course no manuscript warrant: I have inserted them to make subsequent reference and comparison easier. This first text has in fact little division into paragraphs, and my divisions are made largely on the basis of the following version.

I shall refer to this text subsequently as '**DA I**'. It had no title as typed, but *The Drowning of Númenor* was pencilled in afterwards.

§1 Before the coming of Men there were many Powers that governed Earth, and they were Eru-bēnī, servants of God, and in the earliest recorded tongue they were called Balāi. Some were lesser and some greater. The mightiest and the chieftain of them all was Mēlekō.

§2 But long ago, even in the making of Earth, he pondered evil; he became a rebel against Eru, desiring the whole world for his own and to have none above him. Therefore Manawē his brother endeavoured to rule the earth and the Powers according to the will of Eru; and Manawē dwelt in the West. But Mēlekō remained, dwelling in hiding in the North, and he worked evil, and he had the greater power, and the Great Lands were darkened.

§3 And at the appointed time Men were born into the world, and they came in a time of war; and they fell swiftly under the domination of Mēlekō. And he now came forth and appeared as a Great King and as a god, and his rule was evil, and his worship unclean; and Men were estranged from Eru and from the Balāi, his servants.

§4 But there were some of the fathers of Men who repented, seeing the evil of King Mēlekō, and their houses returned with sorrow to the allegiance of Eru, and they were befriended by the Balāi, and they were called the Eruhil, the children of God. And the Balāi and the Eruhil made war on Mēlekō, and for that time they destroyed his kingdom and threw down his black throne. But Mēlekō was not destroyed and he went again for a while in hiding, unseen by Men. But his evil was still ever at work, and cruel kings and evil temples arose ever in the world, and the most part of Mankind were their servants; and they made war on the Eruhil.

§5 And the Balāi in grief withdrew ever further west (or if they did not so they faded and became secret voices and shadows of the days of old); and the most part of the Eruhil followed them. Though it is said that some of these good men, simple folk, shepherds and the like, dwelt in the heart of the Great Lands.

§6 But all the nobler of the Eruhil and those closest in the friendship of the Balāi, who had helped most in the war on the Black Throne, wandered away until they came to the last shores of the Great Seas. There they halted and were filled with dread and longing; for the Balāi for the most part passed over the sea seeking the realm of Manawē. And there instructed by the Balāi men learned the craft of ship-building and of sailing in the wind; and they built many small ships. But they did not dare to essay the deep waters, and journeyed mostly up and down the coasts and among the nearer isles.

§7 And it was by their ships that they were saved. For evil men multiplied in those days and pursued the Eruhil with hatred; and evil men inspired by the evil spirit of Mēlekō grew cunning and cruel in the arts of war and the making of many weapons; and the Eruhil were hard to put to it to maintain any land in which to dwell.

§8 And in those dark days of fear and war there arose a man among the Eruhil and his name was Earendil the Sea-friend, for his daring upon the sea was great. And it came into his heart that he would build a ship greater than any that had yet been built, and that he would sail out into the deep water and come maybe to the land of Manawē and there get help for his kinsfolk. And he let build a great ship and he called it Wingalōtē,[1] the Foam-flower.

§9 And when it was all ready he said farewell to his sons and his wife and all his kin; for he was minded to sail alone. And he said: 'It is likely that you will see me never again, and if you do not, then continue your war, and endure until the end. But if I do not fail of my errand, then also you may not see me again, but a sign you will see, and then have hope.'

§10 But Earendel[2] passed over the Great Sea and came to the Blessed Realm and spoke to Manawē.

§11 [*Rejected at once:* And Manawē said that he had not now the power to war against Mēlekō, who moreover was the rightful governor of Earth, though his right might seem to have been destroyed by his rebellion; and that the governance of the

earth was now in the hands of] And Manawē said that Eru had forbidden the Balāi to make war by force; and that the earth was now in the hands of Men, to make or to mar. But because of their repentance and their fidelity he would give, as was permitted to him, a land for the Eruhil to dwell in if they would. And that land was a mighty island in the midst of the sea. But Manawē would not permit Earendil to return again amongst Men, since he had set foot in the Blessed Realm, where as yet no Death had come. And he took the ship of Earendil and filled it with silver flame and raised it above the world to sail in the sky, a marvel to behold.

§12 And the Eruhil on the shores of the sea beheld the light of it; and they knew that it was the sign of Earendil. And hope and courage was born in their hearts; and they gathered their ships, small and great, and all their goods, and set sail upon the deep waters, following the star. And there was a great calm in those days and all the winds were stilled. And the Eruhil came to the land that had been set for them, and they found it fair and fruitful, and they were glad. And they called that land Andōrē,[3] the land of Gift, though afterward it was mostly named Nūmenōrē, Westernesse.

§13 But not so did the Eruhil escape the doom of death that had been pronounced upon all Mankind; and they were mortal still; though for their fidelity they were rewarded by a threefold span, and their years were long and blissful and untroubled with sickness, so long as they remained true. And the Nūmenōreans grew wise and fair and glorious, the mightiest of men that have been; but their number was not great, for their children were few.

§14 And they were under the tutelage of the Balāi, and they took the language of the Balāi and forsook their own; and they wrote many things of lore and beauty in that tongue in the high tide of their realm, of which but little is now remembered. And they became mighty in all crafts, so that if they had had the mind they might easily have surpassed the evil kings of Middle-earth in the making of weapons and of war; but they were as yet men of peace; and of all arts they were most eager in the craft of ship-building, and in voyaging was the chief feat and delight of their younger men.

§15 But the Balāi as yet forbade them to sail westward out of sight of the western shores of Nūmenōr; and the Nūmenōreans were as yet content, though they did not fully understand

the purpose of this ban. But the purpose was that the Eruhil should not be tempted to come to the Blessed Realm and there learn discontent, becoming enamoured of the immortality of the Balāi, and the deathlessness of all things in their land.

§16 For as yet the Balāi were permitted by Eru to maintain upon earth upon some isle or shore of the western lands still untrodden (it is not known for certain where; for Earendel alone of Men came ever thither and never again returned) an abiding place, an earthly paradise and a memorial of that which might have been, had not men turned to Mēlekō. And the Nūmenōreans named that land Avallondē the Haven of the Gods, for at times when all the air was clear and the sun was in the east they could descry, as them seemed, a city white-shining on a distant shore and great harbours and a tower; but only so when their own western haven, Andūniē of Nūmenōr, was low upon the skyline, and they dared not break the ban and sail further west. But to Nūmenōr the Avalāi came ever and anon, the children and the lesser ones of the Deathless Folk, sometimes in oarless boats, sometimes as birds flying, sometimes in other fair shapes; and they loved the Nūmenōreans.

§17 And so it was that the voyages of the men of Westernesse in those days went east and not west from the darkness of the North to the heats of the South and beyond to the nether darkness. And the Eruhil came often to the shores of the Great Lands, and they took pity on the forsaken world of Middle-earth; and the young princes of the Nūmenōreans would come among the men of the Dark Ages, and they taught them language (for the native tongues of men of Middle-earth were yet rude and unshapen) and song, and many arts, such as they could compass, and they brought them corn and wine.

§18 And the men of Middle-earth were comforted, and in some places shook off somewhat the yoke of the offspring of Mēlekō; and they revered the memory of the Men out of the Sea and called them Gods, for in that time the Nūmenōreans did not settle or dwell in Middle-earth for long. For though their feet were set eastward their hearts were ever westward.

§19 Yet in the end all this bliss and betterment turned to evil again, and men fell, as it is said, a second time. For there arose a second manifestation of the power of darkness upon earth, and whether that was but a form of the Ancient or one of his old servants that waxed to new strength, is not known. And

this evil thing was called by many names, but the Eruhil named him Sauron, and men of Middle-earth (when they dared to speak his name at all) named him mostly Zigūr the Great. And he made himself a great king in the midst of the earth, and was at first well-seeming and just and his rule was of benefit to all men in their needs of the body; for he made them rich, whoso would serve him. But those who would not were driven out into the waste places. Yet Zigūr desired, as Mēlekō before, to be both a king over all kings and as a god to men. And slowly his power moved north and south, and ever westward; and he heard of the coming of the Eruhil and he was wroth. And he plotted in his heart how he might destroy Nūmenōr.

§20 And news came also to Nūmenōr and to Tarkalion the king, Earendel's heir (for this title had all the kings of Nūmenōr, and they were indeed descended in unbroken line from Elros the son of Earendel), of Zigūr the Great, and how he purposed to become master of all Middle-earth and after of the whole world. And Tarkalion was angered, for the kings of Nūmenōr had grown very glorious and proud in that time.

§21 And in the meanwhile evil, of which once long ago their fathers had tasted, albeit they had after repented, awoke again in the hearts of the Eruhil; for the desire of everlasting life and the escape from death grew ever stronger upon them as their lot in the land of Nūmenōr grew more blissful. And they began to murmur in their hearts (and anon more openly) against the doom of men; and especially against that ban which forbade them to sail west or to visit the Blessed Realm.

§22 'For why should the Avalāi sit in peace unending there,' said they, 'while we must die and go we know not whither, leaving our own home; for the fault was not ours in the beginning; and is not the author of evil Mēlekō himself one of the Avalāi?'

§23 And the Avalāi knowing what was said, and seeing the cloud of evil grow, were grieved, and they came less often to Nūmenōr; and those that came spoke earnestly to the Eruhil; and tried to teach them of the fashion and fate of the world, saying that the world was round, and that if they sailed into the utmost West, yet would they but come back again to the East and so to the places of their setting out, and the world would seem to them but a prison.

§24 'And so it is to those of your strange race,' said the Avalāi. 'And Eru does not punish without benefit; nor are his

mercies without sternness. For we (you say) are unpunished and dwell ever in bliss; and so it is that we do not die, but we cannot escape, and we are bound to this world, never again to leave it, till all is changed. And you (you murmur) are punished, and so it is that ye die, but ye escape and leave the world and are not bound thereto. Which therefore of us should envy the other?

§25 'Ye us maybe, for of you is required the greater trust, knowing not what lies before you in a little while. But whereas we know nothing of the mind of Eru in this (for he has not revealed anything of his purpose with you unto the Avalāi), we say to you that that trust, if you give it, will not be despised; and though it take many ages of Men, and is yet beyond the sight of the Avalāi, that Iluvatar the Father will not let those perish for ever who love him and who love the world that He has made.'

§26 But only a few of the Nūmenōreans harkened to this counsel. For it seemed hard to them, and they wished to escape from Death in their own day, and they became estranged from the Avalāi, and these came now no more to Nūmenōr save seldom and in secret, visiting those few of the faithful. Of whom the chief was one Amardil and his son Elendil (who was called also Earendil for his love of the sea, and for his father, though not of the elder line which sat upon the throne of Nūmenōr, was also of the blood of Earendil of old).

§27 But Tarkalion the king fell into evil mood, and the worship of Eru upon the high place the mountain of Meneltyūlā in the midst of the land was neglected in those days.

§28 But Tarkalion hearing of Sauron determined, without counsel of the Avalāi, to demand his allegiance and homage; for he thought that no king so mighty [could] ever arise as to vie with the lords of Nūmenōr; and he began in that time to smithy great hoard of weapons of war, and he let build great ships; and he sailed into the east and landed upon Middle-earth, and bade Sauron come and do homage to him. And Sauron came, for he saw not his time yet to work his will with Nūmenōr, and he was maybe not a little astonied at the majesty of the kings of men; and he was crafty. And he humbled himself and seemed in all things fair and wise.

§29 And it came into the heart of Tarkalion the King that for the better keeping of Sauron and his new promises of fealty he should be brought to Nūmenōr as his own hostage. And to

this Sauron assented willingly, for it chimed with his own desire. And Sauron looking upon Nūmenōr in the days of its glory was indeed astonied; but his heart within was all the more filled with hatred.

§30 Such was his craft and cunning that ere long he became closest to the counsels of the King; and slowly a change came over the land, and the hearts of the Faithful, the Avaltiri, were darkened.

§31 For with subtle arguments Sauron gainsaid all that the Avalāi had taught. And he bade them think that the world was not a closed circle; and that therein there were many lands yet for their winning, wherein was wealth uncounted; and even yet, when they came to the end thereof, there was the Dark without, out of which came all things. 'And Dark is the Realm of the Lord of All, Mēlekō the Great, who made this world out of the primeval darkness. And only Darkness is truly holy,' said he.

§32 And Tarkalion the King turned to the worship of the Dark and of Mēlekō the Lord thereof. And the Meneltyūlā was deserted in those days and none might ascend it under pain of death, not even those of the faithful who yet kept Eru in their hearts. But Sauron let build on a hill in the midst of the city of the Nūmenōreans, Antirion the Golden, a great temple; and it was in the form of a circle at the ground, and its walls were fifty feet thick, and they rose five hundred feet, and they were crowned with a mighty dome, and it was wrought all of silver, but the silver was black. And this was the mightiest of the works of the Nūmenōreans, and the most evil, and men were afraid of its shadow. And from the topmost of the dome, where was an opening or great louver, there issued ever and anon smoke, and ever the more often as the evil of Sauron grew. For there men sacrificed to Mēlekō with spilling of blood and torment and great wickedness; and ofttimes it was those of the faithful that were chosen as victims. But never openly on the charge that they would not worship Mēlekō; rather was cause sought against them that they hated the King or falsely that they plotted against their kin and devised lies and poisons.

§33 And for all this Death did not depart from the land. Rather it came sooner and more often and in dreadful guise. For whereas aforetime men had grown slowly old, and laid them down as to sleep in the end when they were weary at last of this world, now madness and sickness assailed them, and yet they were afraid to die and go out into the dark, the realm of the lord

they had taken. And men made weapons in those days and slew one another for little cause.

§34 Nonetheless it seemed that they prospered. For their wealth increased mightily with the help of Sauron, and they built ever greater ships. And they sailed to the Middle-earth to get them new wealth; but they came no longer as the bringers of gifts, but as men of war. And they hunted the men of Middle-earth and enslaved them and took their goods; but they built fortresses and great tombs upon the western shores in those days. And men feared them, and the memory of the kindly kings of the Elder Days faded in the world and was overlaid with many a dread legend.

§35 Thus waxed Tarkalion the King to the mightiest tyrant that had yet been seen in the world since the rule of Mēlekō; and yet nonetheless he felt the shadow of death approach as his days lengthened. And he was filled with anger and with fear. And now came the hour that Sauron had planned. For he spoke now to the King saying evil of Eru, that he was but a phantom, a lie devised by the Avalāi to justify their own idleness and greed; and that the Avalāi withheld the gift of everlasting life out of avarice and fear lest the kings of men should wrest the rule of the world and the Blessed Realm from them. 'And though doubtless the gift of everlasting life is not for all, and only for such as are worthy, being men of might and pride and great lineage, still,' said Sauron, 'it is against all justice that this gift, which is his least due, should be withheld from Tarkalion the King, mightiest of the sons of Earth. To whom only Manawē can compare, if even he.' And Tarkalion being besotted and also under the shadow of Death, for his span was drawing to an end, harkened to him, and devised war against the Avalāi. Long was he in pondering this design, and it could not be hidden from all.

§36 And in those days Amardil, who was of the royal house as has been told, and faithful, and yet so noble and so well-beloved of all save the most besotted of the people, that even in the days of Sauron the King dared lay no hand on him as yet, he learned of the secret counsels of the King, and his heart was filled with sorrow and great dread. For he knew that Men could not vanquish the Avalāi in war, and that great ruin must come upon the world, if this war were not stayed. Therefore he called his son Elendil Earendil and he said to him: 'Behold, the days are dark and desperate; therefore I am minded to try that rede

which our forefather Earendil took: to sail into the West (be there ban or no ban) and speak to the Avalāi, yea even to Manawē himself if may be, and beseech his aid ere all is lost.'

'Would you then bewray the King?' said Elendil.

'For that very thing do I purpose to go,' said Amardil.

'And what then, think you, is like to befall those of your house whom you leave behind, when your deed becometh known?'

§37 'It must not become known,' said Amardil. 'I will prepare it in secret and I will set sail at first into the East, whither many ships daily set out, and then round about. But you and your folk, I counsel that you should prepare yourself ships and put on board all such things as your heart cannot bear to part with, and lie ready. But you should hold your ships in the eastern havens; and give out among men that you purpose, maybe, when all is ready to follow me into the East. And I think not that your going will be letted; for the house of Amardil is no longer so dear to our kinsman on the throne of Earendil that he will grieve over much if we seek to depart. But do not take many men with you, or he may become troubled because of the war that he now plots, for which he will need all the force that he hath. Do not take many, and only such as you may be sure that they are faithful. Even so open not your design to any.'

§38 'And what design is this that you make for me?'

'Until I return I cannot say. But to be sure it is like to be flight far from fair Andōrē that is now so defiled, and from our people; east or west the Avalāi alone shall say. But it is likely enough that you shall see me never again, and that I shall show you no sign such as Earendil our sire showed of old. But hold you ever in readiness, for the end of the world that we have known is at hand.'

§39 And it is said that Amardil set sail at night and went east and then about, and he took three servants with him, dear to his heart, and never again were they heard of by word or sign in this world; nor is there any tale or guess of their fate. But this much may be seen, that men could not be a second time saved by any such embassy; and for the treason of Nūmenōr there was no easy assoiling. But Elendil abode in the east of the land and held him secret and meddled not in the deeds of those days; and looked ever for the sign that came not. At whiles he would journey to the western shores of the land and gaze out at the sea, and sorrow and yearning was upon him, for he had loved his

father – but further he was not suffered to go; for Tarkalion was now gathering his fleets in the havens of the west.

§40 Now aforetime in the isle of Nūmenōr the weather was ever fair, or leastways apt to the liking and needs of men, rain in due seasons and in measure, and sunshine, now warm now cooler, and winds from over the sea; and when the wind was in the west it seemed to many that it was filled with a fragrance, fleeting but sweet, heart-stirring, as of flowers that bloom for ever in undying meads and have no names on mortal shores. But now that too was changed. For the sky itself was darkened and there were storms of rain and hail in those days, and ever and anon the great ships of the Nūmenōreans would founder and return not to haven. And out of the West there would come at whiles a great cloud, shaped as it were an eagle with pinions spread to the North and to the South; and slowly it would creep up blotting out the sunset – for at that hour mostly was it seen; and then uttermost night would fall on Nūmenōr. And soon under the pinions of the eagles was lightning borne, and thunder rolled in the heaven, such a sound as men of that land had not before heard.

§41 Then men were afraid. 'Behold the Eagles of the Lords of the West coming over Nūmenōr!' they cried, and they fell upon their faces. And some would repent, but others hardened their hearts and shook their fists at heaven, and said: 'The Lords of the West have made the war. They strike the first blow, the next shall be ours.' And these words were spoken by the King and devised by Sauron.

§42 But the lightnings increased and slew men upon the hills and in the meads, and ever the darts of greatest fury smote at the dome of the Temple. But it stood firm.

§43 And now the fleets of the Nūmenōreans darkened the sea upon the west of the land, like an archipelago of mighty isles, and their masts were as forests, and their banners red as the dying sun in a great storm and as black as the night that cometh after. But the Eagles of the Lords of the West came up now out of the dayfall, in a long line one behind the other, as if in array of battle, and as they came their wings spread ever wider, until they embraced the heavens.

§44 But Tarkalion hardened his heart, and he went aboard his mighty ship Andalōkē and let spread his standard, and he gave the order for the raising of anchors.

§45 And so the fleet of the Nūmenōreans set forth into the teeth of the storm, and they rowed resolutely into the West; for they had many slaves. And when the storm had abated the sky cleared, and a wind came up out of the East (by the arts of Sauron, some have said), and there was a false peace over all the seas and land while the world waited what should betide. And the fleets of the Nūmenōreans sailed out of sight of Andūniē and broke the ban, and held on through three nights and days; and they passed out of the sight of all watchers.

§46 And none can tell the tale of their fate, for none ever returned. And whether they came ever in truth to that haven which of old men thought that they could descry; or whether they found it not or came to some other land and there assailed the Avalāi, who shall say, for none know. For the world was changed in that time, and the memory of all that went before is become dim and unsure.

§47 But those that are wisest in discernment aver that the fleets of the Nūmenōreans came indeed to Avallondē and encompassed it about, but that the Avalāi made no sign. But Manawē being grieved sought the counsel at the last of Eru, and the Avalāi laid down their governance of Earth. And Eru overthrew its shape, and a great chasm was opened in the sea between Nūmenōr and Avallondē and the seas poured in, and into that abyss fell all the fleets of the Nūmenōreans and were swallowed in oblivion. But Avallondē and Nūmenōrē that stood on either side of the great rent were also destroyed; and they foundered and are no more. And the Avalāi thereafter had no local habitation on earth, nor is there any place more where memory of an earth without evil is preserved; and the Avalāi dwell in secret or have faded to shadows, and their power is minished.

§48 But Nūmenōr went down into the sea, and all its children and fair maidens and its ladies, and even Tar-Ilien the Queen, and all its gardens and halls and towers and riches, its jewels and its webs and its things painted and carven, and its laughter and its mirth and its music and its wisdom and its speech, vanished for ever.

§49 Save only the very top of Meneltyūlā, for that was a holy place and never defiled, and that maybe is still above the waves, as a lonely isle somewhere in the great waters, if haply a mariner should come upon it. And many indeed after sought it, because it was said among the remnant of Nūmenōr that those

with holy sight had been able from the top of Meneltyūlā to see the haven of Avallondē, which otherwise only those could see who sailed far westward. And the hearts of the Nūmenōreans even after their ruin were still set westward.

§50 And though they knew that Nūmenōr and Avallondē were no more they said: 'Avallondē is no more and Nūmenōr is not; yet they were, and not in this present darkness; yet they were, and therefore still are in true being and in the whole shape of the world.' And the Nūmenōreans held that men so blessed might look upon other times than those of their body's life, and they longed ever to escape from the darkness of exile and see in some fashion the light that was of old. 'But all the ways are now crooked,' they said, 'that once were straight.'

§51 And in this way it came to pass that any were spared from the downfall of Nūmenōrē; and maybe that was the answer to the errand of Amardil. For those that were spared were all of his house and kin. For Elendil had remained behind, refusing the King's summons when he set out to war, and he went aboard ship, and abode there riding out the storm in the shelter of the eastern shore. And being protected by the land from the great draught of the sea that drew all down into the abyss, he escaped from death in that time. And a mighty wind arose such as had not before been, and it came out of the West, and it blew the sea into great hills; and fleeing before it Elendil and his sons in seven ships were carried far away, borne up on the crests of great waves like mountains of Middle-earth, and they were cast at length up far inland in Middle-earth.

§52 But all the coasts and seaward lands of Middle-earth suffered great ruin and change in that time. For the earth was sorely shaken, and the seas climbed over the lands and shores foundered, and ancient isles were drowned and new were uplifted, and hills crumbled and rivers were turned to strange courses.

§53 And here ends the tale to speak of Elendil and his sons who after founded many kingdoms in Middle-earth, and though their lore and craft was but an echo of that which had been ere Sauron came to Nūmenōr, yet did it seem very great to the men of the wild.

§54 And it is said that Sauron himself was filled with terror at the fury of the wrath of the Avalāi and the doom of Eru, for it was greater far than any that he had looked for, hoping only for the death of the Nūmenōreans and the defeat of their proud

king. But he himself sitting in his black seat in the midst of his temple laughed when he heard the trumpets of Tarkalion sound for battle; and he laughed yet again when he heard afar the noise of the thunder; and a third time even as he laughed at his own thought (thinking what he would do now in Middle-earth, being rid of the Eruhil for ever) he was caught in the midst of his mirth, and his temple and his seat fell into the abyss.

§55 [*Rejected at once:* It was long before he appeared in visible form upon the earth again] But Sauron was not of mortal flesh, and though he was robbed of that form in which he had wrought evil for so long, as Zigūr the great, yet ere long he devised another; and he came back unto Middle-earth and troubled the sons of Elendil and all men beside. But that cometh not into the tale of the Downfall of Nūmenōr, Atalante the downfallen, as the exiles ever after named her whom they had lost, the land of Gift in the midst of the Sea.

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There are two definitive clues to the date of this text. One is that at the foot of one of its pages are typed the words 'Ramer discusses the feeling of lost significance' (see pp. 183, 189); and the other is that the name of the Pillar of Heaven in Númenor is *Meneltyūlā*, which appears as a pencilled correction of the original name *Menelminda* in the manuscript E of Part Two of *The Notion Club Papers* (p. 302), while the next text of the *Papers* (the typescript F 1) has *Menel-tūbel*, changed to *Menel-tūbil*. It is thus certain that this first draft of *The Drowning of Anadûnê* was written in the course of work on Part Two of *The Notion Club Papers*, and can indeed be placed, presumably, precisely between the manuscript E and the typescript F 1.

Comparison with the text of the third version of *The Fall of Númenor* (FN III) given on pp. 331 ff. will show that this is an entirely new work, an altogether richer conception, and with many remarkable differences. But comparison with the much later *Akallabêth* (in the published *Silmarillion*, pp. 259–82) will also show that it is the direct ancestor of that work, to a much greater extent than *The Fall of Númenor*, although that also was used in the *Akallabêth*.

One of the most extraordinary features of this text lies in the conception of the *Balāi*, whom I shall call rather the *Avalāi*, since this name superseded the other before the typing of DA I was completed. At the beginning (§1) this is a name, 'in the earliest recorded tongue', of the *Eru-bēnī*, 'servants of God', who 'governed Earth'; 'some were lesser and some greater', and 'the mightiest and the chieftain of them

all was Mēlekō', brother of Manawē (see V.164, note 4). In §4 it is told that certain of the fathers of Men who repented, and who were named *Eruhil* 'Children of God', made war on Mēlekō in concert with the Avalāi and cast him down; but (§5) in grief at the evil works of Men the Avalāi withdrew ever westwards ('or if they did not so they faded and became secret voices and shadows of the days of old'), and the most part of the Eruhil followed them. And when they came to the shores of the Great Sea (§6) the Avalāi 'for the most part passed over the sea seeking the realm of Manawē', but the Eruhil of the western coasts were taught by the Avalāi the craft of ship-building.

After the coming of the Eruhil to Númenor 'they took the language of the Avalāi and forsook their own' (§14); and the Avalāi 'forbade them to sail westward out of sight of the western shores of Nūmenōr' (§15). The Avalāi dwelt somewhere in the West unknown to Men, who called that land *Avallondē*, translated 'the Haven of the Gods', for at times they could see a distant city far off in the West; and 'to Nūmenōr the Avalāi came ever and anon, the children and the lesser ones of the Deathless Folk, sometimes in oarless boats, sometimes as birds flying, sometimes in other fair shapes' (§16). Avalāi came to Númenor and attempted to persuade the Eruhil of the error of their thoughts (§§23–5); and when the fleets of Númenor came to Avallondē the Avalāi 'laid down their governance of Earth' (§47). At the Cataclysm Avallondē and Nūmenōrē were overwhelmed and swallowed up, 'and the Avalāi thereafter had no local habitation on earth ... and [they] dwell in secret or have faded to shadows, and their power is minished' (§47).

Who then are the Avalāi? Looking no further than the present text, the name must be said to represent the whole 'order' of deathless beings who, before the coming of Men, were empowered to govern the world within a great range or hierarchy of powers and purposes. Looking at it in relation to the earlier narrative, *The Fall of Númenor*, the distinction between 'Gods' and 'Elves' is here lost. In that work, after the Great Battle in which Morgoth was overthrown, 'the Elves were summoned to return into the West; and those that obeyed dwelt once more in Eressëa, the Lonely Isle; and that land was named anew Avallon: for it is hard by Valinor ...' (FN III §1, p. 332); and 'the speech of Númenor was the speech of the Eldar of the Blessed Realm, and the Númenóreans conversed with the Elves, and were permitted to look upon Valinor from afar; for their ships went often to Avallon, and there their mariners were suffered to dwell for a while' (FN III §2, p. 333). *The Fall of Númenor* was a vital and far-reaching extension of the legends embodied in the *Quenta Silmarillion*, but it was congruent with them. This earliest text of *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, in which the Elves are not distinctly represented, and Valinor and Eressëa are confused, is not.

Even more startling perhaps is the loss in this narrative of the

conception that the world was made round at the Downfall of Númenor. Here, the Avalāi, coming to Númenor and attempting to teach the Eruhil 'of the fashion and fate of the world', declared to them 'that *the world was round*, and that if they sailed into the utmost West, yet would they but come back again to the East and so to the places of their setting out, and the world would seem to them but a prison' (§23); but when Sauron came to Númenor he 'gainsaid all that the Avalāi had taught. And he bade them think that *the world was not a closed circle*' (§31). Most striking is a hastily pencilled passage written alongside §§49–50, which was not taken up in the following text: 'For they believed still *the lies of Sauron that the world was plain* ['flat'; see footnote to p. 392], until their fleets had encompassed all the world seeking for Meneltyūlā, and they knew that it was round. Then they said that the world was bent, and that the road to Avallondē could not be found, for it led straight on.' No direction is given for the insertion of this; but I think that it was intended to replace the sentence at the end of §50: '"But all the ways are now crooked," they said, "that once were straight."'

In this connection the earlier version of the Old English text (the single preserved leaf of Edwin Lowdham's book) that accompanied the manuscript E of *The Notion Club Papers* (pp. 313–15) is interesting. In the Old English it was the *Eldar* who forbade the Númenóreans to land on Eresse (whereas in *The Fall of Númenor* it was the Gods who imposed the ban on sailing beyond Tol Eressëa, §4), because they were mortal, although it was 'the Powers' (*Wealdend*) who had granted them long life; and very remarkably Sauron declared to Tarkalion that 'the *Eldar* refused to him the gift of everlasting life'. The Númenóreans are here said to have 'sent out in secret spies to Avallon to explore the hidden knowledge of the Eldar' (a reminiscence of FN §4: 'they sent spies to seek hidden lore in Avallon'). The reference of *Avallon* is not explained in the Old English text, but it is surely the same as *Eresse* (in FN §1 Eressëa was renamed Avallon); yet Tarkalion determined to invade Avallon, because Sauron said that the Eldar had denied him everlasting life (whereas in FN §6 the fleets of the Númenóreans, having 'encompassed Avallon', 'assailed the shores of Valinor').

This Old English version came in point of composition between the completion of manuscript E of the *Papers* and the writing of DA I.[4] There is thus a development from a text in which both 'the Powers' and 'the Eldar' appear, but in which the Eldar have powers far greater and of a different order than could properly be ascribed to them, to a text (DA I) in which 'the Powers' (Valar) and 'the Eldar' are confused under the single term *Avalāi*; and in the Old English the name *Avallon* seems to be used confusedly (in contrast to the earlier *Fall of Númenor*), while in DA I *Avallondē* is a vague term, related to the vagueness of the name *Avalāi*.

The further development and the significance of these extraordinary departures is discussed later: see pp. 391 ff. and 405 ff.

In this text DA I there are many other important developments in the legend of Númenor which were retained in the later story. The Ban now becomes more severe, for the Númenóreans are not permitted 'to sail westward out of sight of the western shores of Nūmenōr' (§15); the importance of the eastward voyages emerges, the coming of 'the Men out of the Sea' at first as teachers and enlighteners of the men of Middle-earth (§17), but afterwards as oppressors and enslavers (§34); and the 'Avalāi' are remembered as coming out of the West to Númenor, and attempting to avert the growing hostility to the Ban. The temple is now built, not on the Mountain sacred to Ilúvatar, but 'in the midst of the city of the Nūmenōreans, Antirion the Golden' (§32), and ascent of the Mountain is forbidden under pain of death. The 'Faithful' (named *Avaltiri*, §30) are referred to, and the story of Amardil (for later Amandil) and his son Elendil is told, with the statement that although Amardil was not of the elder line from which came the kings of Númenor, he also was descended from Eärendil (§§26, 36, 38). These are only the most striking new developments in the narrative, and moreover comparison with the *Akallabêth* will show that some of the prose itself remained unchanged into the final form.

It seems that in DA I Adunaic was at the point of emergence, with *Eru-bēnī*, *Avalāi*, and *Zigūr* (said to be the name of Sauron among the men of Middle-earth, §19).

NOTES

1 *Wingalōtē:* in the *Quenta* (Index to Vol.IV) the form was *Wingelot* > *Vingelot*, in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (Index to Vol.V) *Vingelot*. *Wingalōtē* was subsequently corrected to *Vingalōtē* on this typescript (see p. 377, §8).

2 The form *Earendel* occurs also in §§16, 20, but it was clearly no more than a casual reversion. Already in the manuscript E of Part Two of the *Papers* Wilfrid Jeremy notes that the name that he saw in his 'dream-manuscript' was *Earendil*, not *Earendel*.

3 *Andōrē*: *Andor* in *The Fall of Númenor* (§2) and *The Lost Road* (V.65).

4 The matter of 'Edwin Lowdham's page' was inserted into manuscript E of the *Papers* after the manuscript was completed so far as it went (see p. 291 note 70), and the name of the Pillar of Heaven in the accompanying Old English text was already *Meneltyúla* (p. 314; for earlier *Menelminda* in E), as in DA I, so that this name is not here indicative of relative date. On the other hand, in the Old English text Sauron built the great temple on the *Meneltyúla* itself,

not in the midst of the city, which is good evidence that it was the earlier composition. So also, the ban upon landing on Eressëa in the Old English text (p. 313) was clearly a development from the original story in *The Fall of Númenor* (§4), that the Númenóreans must not sail beyond Eressëa, towards that in DA I that they must not sail beyond sight of the western coasts of Númenor.

(iii) The second text of The Drowning of Anadûnê

This text, **'DA II'**, is a typescript typed with care and almost free of error. A paper folded round it, in my father's writing, bears my name and the words 'Fair copy Anadūnē'. DA II represents so great an advance on and elaboration of DA I that (since it is almost free of alterations or hesitations during the original typing) it is hard to believe that no drafting intervened between the two, although there is no trace now of anything of the sort; but I do not think that I typed DA II (see p. 389, §28).

The title is *The Drowning of Anadûnê*. A fair number of alterations were pencilled on the typescript, and in addition several passages were rewritten or extended on typewritten slips attached to the body of the text. These are ignored in the text printed, but all changes of any substance are recorded in the commentary on DA II, pp. 376 ff.

I give the text in full, although this involves a certain amount of repetition especially in the latter part of the narrative, for the sake of clarity in the commentary and in making comparison with the *Akallabêth*. The paragraphs are numbered to provide convenient reference to DA I. In DA II both long marks and circumflex accents are used (inserted in pencil); the circumflex superseded the long mark, as is seen from the fact that it is found chiefly in corrected or added passages and on corrected names, and only here and there in the original text. The third text of *The Drowning of Anadûnê* uses the circumflex exclusively, and it is more convenient to do the same here.

THE DROWNING OF ANADÛNÊ

§1 Before the coming of Men there were many Powers that governed the Earth, and these were the Eru-bênî, servants of God. Many were their ranks and their offices; but some there were among them that were mighty lords, the Avalôi, whom Men remembered as gods, and at the beginning the greatest of these was the Lord Arûn.

§2 But it is said that long ago, even in the making of the Earth, the Lord Arûn turned to evil and became a rebel against Eru, desiring the whole world for his own and to have none above him. Therefore his brother Amân endeavoured to rule the Earth and the Powers according to the will of Eru; and Amân dwelt in the West.

But Arûn remained on Earth, dwelling in hiding in the North, and he worked evil, and he had the greater power. And the Earth was darkened in that time, so that to Arûn a new name was given, and he was called Mulkhêr, the Lord of Darkness; and there was war between Mulkhêr and the Avalôi.

§3 At the appointed hour Men were born into the world, and they were called the Eru-hîn, the children of God; but they came in a time of war and shadow, and they fell swiftly under the domination of Mulkhêr, and they served him. And he now came forth and appeared as a Great King and as a god; and his rule was evil, and his worship unclean, and Men were estranged from Eru and from his servants.

§4 But some there were of the fathers of Men who repented, seeing the evil of the Lord Mulkhêr and that his shadow grew ever longer on the Earth; and they and their sons returned with sorrow to the allegiance of Eru, and they were befriended by the Avalôi, and received again their ancient name, Eruhîn, children of God. And the Avalôi and the Eruhîn made war on the servants of Mulkhêr; and for that time they destroyed his kingdom and threw down his temples. But Mulkhêr fled and brooded in the darkness without, for him the Powers could not destroy. And the evil that he had begun still sprouted like a dark seed in Middle-earth, bearing bitter grain, which though it were ever reaped and burned, was never at an end. And still cruel kings and unholy temples arose in the world, and the most part of Mankind were their servants; for Men were corrupt and still hankered in their hearts for the Kingdom of Arûn, and they made war on the Eruhîn and pursued them with hatred, wheresoever they might dwell.

§5 Therefore the hearts of the Eruhîn were turned westward, where was the land of Amân, as they believed, and an abiding peace. And it is said that of old there was a fair folk dwelling yet in Middle-earth, and Men knew not whence they came. But some said that they were the children of the Avalôi and did not die, for their home was in the Blessed Realm far away, whither they still might go, and whence they came, working the will of Amân in all the lesser deeds and labours of the world. The Eledâi they were named in their own tongue of old, but by the Eruhîn they were called Nimrî, the Shining Ones, for they were exceeding fair to look upon, and fair were all the works of their tongues and hands. And the Nimrî became sorrowful in the darkness of the days and withdrew ever

westward; and never again was grass so green, nor flower so fair, nor water so filled with light when they had gone. And the Eruhîn for the most part followed them, though some there were that remained in the Great Lands, free men, serving no evil lord; and they were shepherds and dwelt far from the towers and cities of the kings.

§6 But those of the Eruhîn who were mightiest and most fair, closest in friendship with the Nimrî, most beloved by the Servants of God, turned their faces to the light of the West; and these were the children of the fathers that had been most valiant in the war upon Mulkhêr. And at the end of journeys beyond memory they came at last to the shores of the Great Seas. There they halted and were filled with great dread, and with longing; for the Nimrî passed ever over the waters, seeking the land of Amân, and the Eruhîn could not follow them.

Then such of the Nimrî as remained in the west of the world took pity on the Eruhîn, and instructed them in many arts; and the Eruhîn became wiser in mind, more skilled in hand and tongue, and they made for themselves many things that had not before been seen. In this way the dwellers on the shore learned the craft of ship-building and of sailing in the wind; and they built many fair ships. But their vessels were small, and they did not dare to essay the deep waters; for though their desire was to the unseen shores, they had not as yet the heart for the wastes of the Sea, and they sailed only about the coasts and among the hither isles.

§7 Yet it was by their ships that they were saved and were not brought to nought. For evil men multiplied in those days, and pursued the Eruhîn with hatred; and the men of Middle-earth, being filled with the spirit of Mulkhêr, grew cunning and cruel in the arts of war and the making of many weapons, so that the Eruhîn were hard put to it to maintain any land in which to dwell, and their numbers were diminished.

§8 In those dark days of fear there arose a man, and his daring upon the Sea was greater than that of all other men; and the Nimrî gave him a name and called him Ëarendil, the Friend of the Sea, Azrabêl in the language of the Eruhîn. And it came into the heart of Azrabêl that he would build a ship, fairer and more swift than any that men had yet made; and that he would sail out over deep water and come, maybe, to the land of Amân, and there get help for his kinsfolk. And with the help of the

Nimrî he let build a ship, fair and valiant; white were its timbers, and its sails were white, and its prow was carven in the light of a silver bird; and at its launching he gave it a name and called it Rôthinzil, Flower of the Foam, but the Nimrî blessed it and named it also in their own tongue, Vingalôtë. This was the first of all the ships of Men to bear a name.

§9 When at last his ship was ready, then Azrabêl said farewell to his wife and to his sons and all his kin; for he was minded to sail alone. And he said to them: 'It is likely that ye will see me never again; and if ye do not, then harden your hearts, and cease not from war, but endure until the end. But if I do not fail of my errand, then also ye may not see me again; but a sign you will see, and new hope shall be given to you.'

§10 And it was at the time of evening that Azrabêl set forth, and he sailed into the setting sun and passed out of the sight of men. But the winds bore him over the waves, and the Nimrî guided him, and he went through the Seas of sunlight, and through the Seas of shadow, and he came at last to the Blessed Realm and the land of Amân and spoke unto the Avalôi.

§11 But Amân said that Eru had forbidden the Avalôi to make war again by force upon the kingdoms of Mulkhêr; for the Earth was now in the hands of Men, to make or to mar. Yet it was permitted to him, because of their fidelity and the repentance of their fathers, to give to the Eruhîn a land to dwell in, if they would. And that land was a mighty island in the midst of the sea, upon which no foot had yet been set. But Amân would not permit Azrabêl to return again among Men, since he had walked in the Blessed Realm where yet no death had come. Therefore he took the ship Rôthinzil and filled it with a silver flame, and raised it above the world to sail in the sky, a marvel to behold.

§12 Then the Eruhîn upon the shores of the Sea beheld the new light rising in the West as it were a mighty star, and they knew that it was the sign of Azrabêl. And hope and courage were kindled in their hearts; and they gathered all their ships, great and small, and their wives and their children, and all the wealth that they could bear away, and they set sail upon the deep waters, following the star. And there was a great calm in those days and all the winds were stilled. So bright was Rôthinzil that even at morning men could see it glimmering in the West; and in the cloudless night it shone alone, for no other star might come beside it. And setting their course towards it the

Eruhîn came at last to the land that had been prepared for them, and they found it fair and fruitful, and they were glad. And they called that land Amatthânê the Land of Gift, and Anadûnê, which is Westernesse, Nûmenôrë in the Nimrian tongue.

§13 But not so did the Eruhîn escape the doom of death that had been pronounced upon all Mankind, and they were mortal still, although for their faithfulness they were rewarded by life of threefold span, and their years were full and glad and they knew no grief nor sickness, so long as they remained still true. Therefore the Adûnâi, the Men of Westernesse, grew wise and fair and glorious; but their numbers increased only slowly in the land, for though sons and daughters were born to them fairer than their fathers, and they loved their children dearly, yet their children were few.

§14 Thus the years passed, and the Adûnâi dwelt under the protection of the Avâlôi, and in the friendship of the Nimrî; and the kings and princes learned the Nimrian tongue, in which much lore and song was preserved from the beginning of the world. And they made letters and scrolls and books and wrote in them many things of wisdom and wonder in the high tide of their realm, of which all is now forgot. And they became mighty in all other crafts, so that if they had had the mind, they would easily have surpassed the evil kings of Middle-earth in the making of war and the forging of weapons; but they were become men of peace. In ship-building still was their chief delight, and this craft they followed more eagerly than all others; and voyaging upon the wide seas was the chief feat and adventure of their younger men.

§15 But the Avalôi forbade them to sail so far westward that the coasts of Anadûnê could no longer be seen; and the Adûnâi were as yet content, though they did not fully understand the purpose of this ban. But the purpose of Amân was that the Eruhîn should not be tempted to seek for the Blessed Realm, nor desire to overpass the limits set to their bliss, becoming enamoured of the immortality of the Avalôi and the land where all things endure.

§16 For as yet Eru permitted the Avalôi to maintain upon Earth, upon some isle or shore of the western lands (Men know not where), an abiding place, an earthly memorial of that which might have been, if Mulkhêr had not bent his ways nor Men followed him. And that land the Adûnâi named Avallôni, the Haven of the Gods; for at times when all the air was clear and

the sun was in the east they could descry, as then seemed, a city white-shining on a distant shore, and great harbours, and a tower. But this only from the topmost peak of their island could the far-sighted see, or from some ship that lay at anchor off their western shores, as far as it was lawful for any mariner to go. For they did not dare to break the ban. And some held that it was a vision of the Blessed Realm that men saw, but others said that it was only a further isle where the Nimrî dwelt and the little ones that do not die; for mayhap the Avalôi had no visible dwelling upon Earth.

And certain it is that the Nimrî had some dwelling nigh unto Anadûnê, for thither they came ever and anon, the children of the Deathless Folk, sometimes in oarless boats, sometimes as birds flying, sometimes by paths that none could see; for they loved the Adûnâi.

§17 Thus it was that the voyages of the Adûnâi in those days went ever eastward and not west, from the darkness of the North to the heats of the South, and beyond the South to the Nether Darkness. And the Eruhîn came often to the shores of the Great Lands, and they took pity on the forsaken world of Middle-earth. And the princes of the Adûnâi set foot again upon the western shores in the Dark Years of Men, and none now dared withstand them; for most of the peoples of that age that sat under the shadow were now grown weak and fearful. And coming among them the sons of the Adûnâi taught them many things. Language they taught them, for the tongues of men on Middle-earth were fallen into brutishness, and they cried like harsh birds or snarled like the savage beasts. And corn and wine the Adûnâi brought, and they instructed men in the sowing of seed and the grinding of grain, in the shaping of wood and the hewing of stone, and in the ordering of life, such as it might be in the lands of little bliss.

§18 Then the men of Middle-earth were comforted, and here and there upon the western shores the houseless woods drew back, and men shook off the yoke of the offspring of Mulkhêr, and unlearned their terror of the dark. And they revered the memory of the tall Sea-kings, and when they had departed called them gods, hoping for their return; for at that time the Adûnâi dwelt never long in Middle-earth nor made any habitation of their own: eastward they must sail, but ever west their hearts returned.

§19 Thus came the lightening of the shadow upon the Earth and the beginning of betterment, of which the songs of men preserve still the distant memory like an echo of the Sea. And yet in the end new good turned again to evil, and Men fell, as it is said, a second time. For there arose a second manifestation of the power of darkness upon Earth: a new shape of the Ancient Shadow, it may be, or one of its servants that drew power from it and waxed strong and fell. And this evil thing was called by many names; but its own name that it took in the arising of its power was Zigûr, Zigûr the Great. And Zigûr made himself a mighty king in the midst of the Earth; and well-seeming he was at first, and just, and his rule was of benefit to all men in the needs of the body. For he made them rich, whoso would serve him; but those who would not he drove out into the waste places. Yet it was the purpose of Zigûr, as of Mulkhêr before him, to make himself a king over all kings, and to be the god of Men. And slowly his power moved north and south, and ever westward; and he heard of the coming of the Eruhîn, and he was wroth, and he plotted in his heart how he might destroy Anadûnê.

§20 And tidings of Zigûr came also to Anadûnê, to Ar-Pharazôn the king, heir of Azrabêl; for this title had all the kings of Amatthânê, being descended indeed in unbroken line from Indilzar son of Azrabêl, and seven kings had ruled the Adûnâi between Indilzar and Ar-Pharazôn, and slept now in their deep tombs under the mount of Menel-Tûbal, lying upon beds of gold. For high and glorious had grown the kings of Amatthânê; and great and proud was Ar-Pharazôn, sitting upon his carven throne in the city of Ar-Minalêth in the noontide of his realm. And to him came the masters of ships and men returning out of the East, and they spoke of Zigûr, how he named himself the Great, and purposed to become master of all Middle-earth, and indeed of the whole world, if that might be. Great was the anger of Ar-Pharazôn when he heard these things, and he sat long in thought, and his mood darkened.

§21 For it must be told that evil, of which once long ago their fathers had partaken, albeit they had after repented, was not banished wholly from the hearts of the Eruhîn, and now again was stirring. For the desire of everlasting life, to escape from death and the ending of delight, grew ever stronger upon them as their lot in the land of Amatthânê grew more full of bliss. And the Adûnâi began to murmur, at first in their hearts

and anon in words, against the doom of Men; and most of all against that ban which forbade them to sail into the West or to seek for the land of Amân and the Blessed Realm.

§22 And they said among themselves: 'Why do the Avalôi sit in peace unending there, while we must die and go we know not whither, leaving our own home and all that we have made? For the fault was not ours in the beginning, seeing that Mulkhêr was stronger and wiser than our fathers; and was not he, even the Lord Arûn, author of this evil, one of the Avalôi?'

§23 And the Nimrî reported these words to the Avalôi, and the Avalôi were grieved, seeing the clouds gather on the noontide of Amatthânê. And they sent messengers to the Adûnâi, who spoke earnestly to the king and to all who would listen to them, teaching them concerning the fashion and fate of the world.

'The doom of the world,' they said, 'One alone can change, who made it. And were you so to voyage that, escaping all deceits and snares, you came indeed to the Blessed Realm, little good would it do to you. For it is not the land of Amân that maketh its people deathless, but the dwellers therein do hallow the land; and there you should rather wither the sooner, as moths in a flame too bright and hot.'

But Ar-Pharazôn said: 'And doth not Azrubêl [*sic*] my father live? Or is he not in the land of Amân?'

To which it was answered: 'Nay, he is not there; though maybe he liveth. But of such things we cannot speak unto you. And behold! the fashion of the Earth is such that a girdle may be set about it. Or as an apple it hangeth on the branches of Heaven, and it is round and fair, and the seas and lands are but the rind of the fruit, which shall abide upon the tree until the ripening that Eru hath appointed. And though you sought for ever, yet mayhap you would not find where Amân dwelleth, but journeying on beyond the towers of Nimroth would pass into the uttermost West. So would you but come at the last back to the places of your setting out: and then the whole world would seem shrunken, and you would deem that it was a prison.

§24 'And a prison, maybe, it hath indeed become to all those of your race, and you cannot rest anywhere content within. But the punishments of Eru are for healing, and his mercies may be stern. For the Avalôi, you say, are unpunished, and so it is that they do not die; but they cannot escape and are bound to this world, never again to leave it, till all is changed. And you, you

say, are punished, and so it is that you die; but you escape, and leave the world, and are not bound thereto. Which of us therefore should envy the other?'

§25 And the Adûnâi answered: 'Why should we not envy the Avalôi, or even the least of the deathless? For of us is required the greater trust, knowing not what lieth before us in a little while. And yet we too love the world and would not lose it.'

And the messengers answered: 'Indeed the mind of Eru concerning you is not known to the Avalôi, and he hath not yet revealed it. But earnestly they bid you not to withhold again that trust to which you are commanded and your fathers returned in sorrow. Hope rather that in the end even the least of your desires shall have fruit. For the love of this Earth was set in your hearts by Eru, who made both it and you; and Eru doth not plant to no purpose. Yet many ages of men unborn may pass ere that purpose is made known.'

§26 But few only of the Adûnâi gave heed to this counsel. For it seemed hard to them and full of doubt, and they wished to escape from Death in their own day, not waiting upon hope; and they became estranged from the Avalôi, and would no longer receive their messengers. And these came now no more to Anadûnê, save seldom and in secret, visiting those few that remained faithful in heart.

Of these the chief was one Arbazân, and his son Nimruzân, great captains of ships; and they were of the line of Indilzar Azrabêlo, though not of the elder house, to whom belonged the crown and throne in the city of Arminalêth.

§27 But he Ar-Pharazôn the king fell into doubt, and in his day the offering of the first-fruits was neglected; and men went seldom to the hallow in the high place upon Mount Menel-Tûbal that was in the midst of the land; and they turned the more to works of handicraft, and to the gathering of wealth in their ships that sailed to Middle-earth, and they drank and they feasted and they clad themselves in silver and gold.

And on a time Ar-Pharazôn sat with his counsellors in his high house, and he debated the words of the messengers, saying that the shape of the Earth was such that a girdle might be set about it. 'For if we shall believe this,' he said, 'that one who goeth west shall return out of the East, then shall it not also be that one who goeth ever east shall come up at last behind the West, and yet break no ban?'

But Arbazân said: 'It may be so. Yet nought was said of how long the girdle might be. And mayhap, the width of the world is such that a man would wear the whole of his life, or ever he encompassed it. And I deem it for a truth that we have been set for our health and protection most westward of all mortal men, where the land of those that do not die lies upon the very edge of sight; so that he that would go round about from Anadûnê must needs traverse well nigh the whole girdle of the Earth. And even so it may be that there is no road by sea.' And it has been said that at that time he guessed aright, and that ere the shape of things was changed, eastward of Anadûnê the land stretched in truth from the North even into the uttermost South, where are ices impassable.

But the king said: 'Nonetheless we may give thought to this road, if it may be discovered.' And he pondered in his secret thought the building of ships of great draught and burden, and the setting up of outposts of his power upon far shores.

§28 Thus it was that his anger was the greater, when he heard those tidings of Zigûr the Mighty and of his enmity to the Adûnâi. And he determined, without counsel of the Avalôi or of any wisdom but his own, that he would demand the allegiance and homage of this lord: for in his pride he thought that no king could ever arise so mighty as to vie with the heir of Azrabêl. Therefore he began in that time to smithy great hoard of weapons of war, and he let build great ships and stored them with arms; and when all was ready he himself set sail into the East, and he landed upon Middle-earth; and he commanded Zigûr to come to him and to swear him fealty. And Zigûr came. For he saw not his time yet to work his will with Anadûnê; and he was maybe for the time astounded by the power and majesty of the kings of men, which surpassed all rumour of them. And he was crafty, well skilled to gain what he would by subtlety when force might not avail. Therefore he humbled himself before Ar-Pharazôn, and smoothed his tongue, and seemed in all things fair and wise.

§29 And it came into the heart of Ar-Pharazôn the king that, for the better keeping of Zigûr and his oaths of fealty, he should be brought to Anadûnê, and dwell there as a hostage for himself and all his servants. And to this Zigûr assented willingly, for it chimed with his desire. And Zigûr coming looked upon Anadûnê and the city of Ar-Minalêth in the days of its glory, and he was

indeed astounded; but his heart within was filled the more with envy and with hate.

§30 Yet such was his cunning that ere three years were past he had become closest to the secret counsels of the king; for flattery sweet as honey was ever on his tongue, and knowledge he had of many hidden things; and all the counsellors, save Arbazân alone, began to fawn upon him. Then slowly a change came over the land, and the hearts of the Faithful grew full of fear.

§31 For now, having the ear of men, Zigûr with many arguments gainsaid all that the Avalôi had taught. And he bade men think that the world was not a circle closed, but there lay many seas and lands for their winning, wherein was wealth uncounted. And still, should they at the last come to the end thereof, beyond all lay the Ancient Darkness. 'And that is the Realm of the Lord of All, Arûn the Greatest, who made this world out of the primeval Darkness; and other worlds he yet may make and give them in gift to those that serve him. And Darkness alone is truly holy,' he said and lied.

§32 Then Ar-Pharazôn the king turned back to the worship of the Dark, and of Arûn-Mulkhêr the Lord thereof; and the Menel-tûbal was utterly deserted in those days, and no man might ascend to the high place, not even those of the Faithful who kept Eru in their hearts. But Zigûr let build upon a hill in the midst of the city of the Eruhîn, Ar-Minalêth the Golden, a mighty temple; and it was in the form of a circle at the base, and there the walls were fifty feet in thickness, and the width of their base was five hundred feet across the centre, and they rose from the ground five hundred feet, and they were crowned with a mighty dome; and it was wrought all of silver, but the silver was turned black. And from the topmost of the dome, where was an opening or great louver, there issued smoke; and ever the more often as the evil power of Zigûr grew. For there men would sacrifice to Mulkhêr with spilling of blood and torment and great wickedness, that he should release them from Death. And ofttimes it was those of the Faithful that were chosen as victims; but never openly on the charge that they would not worship Mulkhêr, rather was cause sought against them that they hated the king and were his rebels, or that they plotted against their kin, devising lies and poisons. And these charges were for the most part false, save that wickedness breeds wickedness, and oppression brings forth murder.

§33 But for all this Death did not depart from the land. Rather it came sooner and more often and in dreadful guise. For whereas aforetime men had grown slowly old and laid them down in the end to sleep, when they were weary at last of the world, now madness and sickness assailed them; and yet they were afraid to die and go out into the dark, the realm of the lord that they had taken; and they cursed themselves in their agony. And men took weapons in those days and slew one another for little cause, for they were become quick to anger; and Zigûr, or those whom he had bound unto himself, went about the land setting man against man, so that the people murmured against the king and the lords and any that had aught that they had not, and the men of power took hard revenge.

§34 Nonetheless for long it seemed to the Adunâi that they prospered, and if they were not increased in happiness yet they grew more strong and their rich men ever richer. For with the aid of Zigûr they multiplied their wealth and they devised many engines, and they built ever greater ships. And they sailed with power and armoury to Middle-earth, and they came no longer as the bringers of gifts, but as men of war. And they hunted the men of Middle-earth and took their goods and enslaved them, and many they slew cruelly upon their altars. For they built fortresses and temples and great tombs upon the western shores in those days; and men feared them, and the memory of the kindly kings of the Elder Days faded in the world and was darkened by many a tale of dread.

§35 Thus Ar-Pharazôn the King of the land of the Star of Azrabêl grew to the mightiest tyrant that had yet been seen in the world since the reign of Mulkhêr, though in truth Zigûr ruled all from behind the throne. And the years passed, and lo! the king felt the shadow of Death approach as his days lengthened; and he was filled with rage and fear. And now came the hour that Zigûr had planned and long awaited. And Zigûr spoke to the king, saying evil of Eru, that he was but a phantom, a lie devised by the Avalôi to justify their own idleness and greed.

'For the Avalôi,' said he, 'withhold the gift of everlasting life out of avarice and fear, lest the kings of Men should wrest from them the rule of the world and take for themselves the Blessed Realm. And though, doubtless, the gift of everlasting life is not for all, but only for such as are worthy, being men of might and pride and great lineage, yet against all justice is it done, that this

gift, which is his least due, should be withheld from the King, Ar-Pharazôn, mightiest of the sons of Earth, to whom Amân alone can be compared, if even he.' And Ar-Pharazôn, being besotted, and walking under the shadow of Death, for his span was drawing to an end, harkened to Zigûr; and he began to ponder in his heart how he might make war upon the Avalôi. Long was he in preparing this design, and he spoke of it to few; yet it could not be hidden from all for ever.

§36 Now there dwelt still in the east of Anadûnê, nigh to the city of Ar-Minalêth, Arbazân, who was of the royal house, as has been told, and he was faithful; and yet so noble had he been and so mighty a captain of the sea that still he was honoured by all save the most besotted of the people, and though he had the hatred of Zigûr, neither king nor counsellor dared lay hand on him as yet. And Arbazân learned of the secret counsels of the king, and his heart was filled with grief and great dread; for he knew that Men could not vanquish the Avalôi in war, and that great ruin must come upon the world, if this war were not stayed. Therefore he called his son Nimruzân, and he said to him: 'Behold! the days are dark and desperate. Therefore I am minded to try that rede which our forefather Azrabêl took of old: to sail into the West (be there ban or no ban), and to speak to the Avalôi, yea, even to Amân himself, if may be, and beseech his aid ere all is lost.'

'Would you then bewray the King?' said Nimruzân.

'For that very thing do I purpose to go,' said Arbazân.

'And what then, think you, is like to befall those of your house whom you leave behind, when your deed becometh known?'

§37 'It must not become known,' said Arbazân. 'I will prepare my going in secret, and I will set sail into the East, whither daily many ships depart from our havens, and thereafter, as wind and chance may allow, I will go about through south or north back into the West, and seek what I may find.

'But you and your folk, my son, I counsel that you should prepare yourself other ships, and put aboard all such things as your hearts cannot bear to part with, and when the ships are ready you should take up your abode therein, keeping a sleepless watch. And you should lie in the eastern havens, and give out among men that you purpose, when you see your time, to set sail and follow me into the East. Arbazân is no longer so dear to our kinsman upon the throne that he will grieve over

much, if we seek to depart for a season or for good. But let it not be seen that you intend to take many men, or he may become troubled because of the war that he now plots, for which he will need all the force that he may gather. Seek out rather the Faithful that are known to you, and let them lie ashore at call, if they are willing to go with you. But even to these men do not tell more of your design than is needful.'

§38 'And what shall that design be, that you make for me?' said Nimruzân.

'Until I return, I cannot say,' his father answered. 'But to be sure most like is it that you must fly from fair Amatthânê that is now defiled, and lose what you have loved, foretasting death in life, seeking a lesser land elsewhere. East or West, the Avalôi alone can say.

'And it may well prove that you shall see me never again, and that I shall show you no such sign as Azrabêl showed of old. But hold you ever in readiness, for the end of the world that we have known is now at hand.'

§39 And it is said that Arbazân set sail in a small ship at night, and steered first eastward and then went about and passed into the West. And he took three servants with him, dear to his heart, and never again were they heard of by word or sign in this world; nor is there any tale or guess of their fate. But this much may be seen that Men could not a second time be saved by any such embassy, and for the treason of Anadûnê there was no easy assoiling. But Nimruzân did all that his father had bidden, and his ships lay off the east coast of the land, and he held himself secret and did not meddle with the deeds of those days. At whiles he would journey to the western shores and gaze out upon the sea, for sorrow and yearning were upon him, for he had greatly loved his father; but nought could he descry but the fleets of Ar-Pharazôn gathering in the havens of the west.

§40 Now aforetime in the isle of Anadûnê the weather was ever apt to the liking and the needs of men: rain in due seasons and ever in measure, and sunshine, now warm now cooler, and winds from over the sea; and when the wind was in the West, it seemed to many that it was filled with a fragrance, fleeting but sweet, heart-stirring, as of flowers that bloom for ever in undying meads and have no names on mortal shores. But all this was now changed. For the sky itself was darkened, and there

were storms of rain and hail in those days, and violent winds; and ever and anon a great ship of the Adûnâi would founder and return not to haven, though never had such a grief betid before since the rising of the Star. And out of the West there would come at whiles a great cloud, shaped as it were an eagle, with pinions spread to the North and to the South; and slowly it would loom up, blotting out the sunset (for at that hour mostly was it seen), and then uttermost night would fall on Anadûnê. And anon under the pinions of the eagles lightning was borne, and thunder rolled in heaven, such a sound as men of that land had not heard before.

§41 Then men grew afraid. 'Behold the Eagles of the Lords of the West!' they cried; 'the Eagles of Amân are over Anadûnê!' and they fell upon their faces. And some few would repent, but the others hardened their hearts and shook their fists at heaven, and said: 'The Lords of the West have desired this war. They strike first; the next blow shall be ours.' And these words the king himself spoke, but Zigûr devised them.

§42 Then the lightnings increased and slew men upon the hills, and in the fields, and in the streets of the city; and a fiery bolt smote the dome of the Temple and it was wreathed in flame. But the Temple was unshaken; for Zigûr himself stood upon the pinnacle and defied the lightnings; and in that hour men called him a god and did all that he would. When therefore the last portent came they heeded it little; for the land shook under them, and a groaning as of thunder underground was mingled with the roaring of the sea; and smoke appeared upon the top of Menil-Tûbal [*sic*]. But still Ar-Pharazôn pressed on with his designs.

§43 And now the fleets of the Adûnâi darkened the sea upon the west of the land, and they were like an archipelago of a thousand isles; their masts were as a forest upon the mountains, and their sails were like a brooding cloud; and their banners were black and golden like stars upon the fields of night. And all things now waited upon the word of Ar-Pharazôn; and Zigûr withdrew into the inmost circle of the Temple, and men brought him victims to be burned. Then the Eagles of the Lords of the West came up out of the dayfall, and they were arrayed as for battle, one after another in an endless line; and as they came their wings spread ever wider, grasping all the sky; but the West burned red behind them, and they glowed like living blood beneath, so that Anadûnê was illumined as with a dying fire,

and men looked upon the faces of their fellows, and it seemed to them that they were filled with wrath.

§44 Then Ar-Pharazôn hardened his heart, and he went aboard his mighty ship, Aglarrâma, castle of the sea; many-oared it was and many-masted, golden and sable, and upon it the throne of Ar-Pharazôn was set. Then he put on his panoply and his crown, and let raise his standard, and he gave the signal for the weighing of the anchors; and in that hour the trumpets of Anadûnê outrang the thunder.

§45 And so the fleets of the Adûnâi moved against the menace of the West; and there was little wind, but they had many oars, and many strong slaves to row beneath the lash. The sun went down, and there came a silence; and over the land and all the seas a dark stillness fell, while the world waited for what should betide. Slowly the fleets passed out of the sight of the watchers in the havens, and their lights faded upon the sea, and night took them; and in the morning they were gone. For at middle night a wind arose in the East (by Zigûr's art, it is said), and it wafted them away; and they broke the ban of the Avalôi, and sailed into forbidden seas, going up with war against the Deathless Folk, to wrest from them life everlasting in the circle of the world.

§46 And who shall tell the tale of their fate? For neither ship nor man of all that host returned ever to the lands of living men. And whether they came in truth to that harbour which of old the Adûnâi could descry from Menel-Tûbal; or whether they found it not, or came to some other land and there assailed the Avalôi, it is not known. For the world was changed in that time, and the memory of all that went before is unsure and dim.

§47 Among the Nimrî only was word preserved of the things that were; of whom the wisest in lore of old have learned this tale. And they say that the fleets of the Adûnâi came indeed to Avallôni in the deeps of the sea, and they encompassed it about; and still all was silent, and doom hung upon a thread. For Ar-Pharazôn wavered at the end, and almost he turned back; but pride was his master, and at last he left his ship and strode upon the shore. Then Amân called upon Eru, and in that hour the Avalôi laid down the governance of the Earth. But Eru showed forth his power, and he changed the fashion of the world; and a great chasm opened in the sea between Anadûnê and the Deathless Land, and the waters flowed down into it, and the noise and the smoke of those cataracts went up to

heaven, and the world was shaken. And into the abyss fell all the fleets of the Adûnâi and were swallowed in oblivion. But the land of Amân and the land of his gift, standing upon either side of the great chasm in the seas, were also destroyed; for their roots were loosened, and they fell and foundered, and they are no more. And the Avalôi thereafter had no habitation on Earth, nor is there any place more where a memory of a world without evil is preserved; and the Avalôi dwell in secret, or have become as shadows and their power has waned.

§48 In an hour unlooked-for this doom befell, on the seventh evening since the passing of the fleets. Then suddenly there was a mighty wind and a tumult of the Earth, and the sky reeled and the hills slid, and Anadûnê went down into the sea with all its children, and its wives, and its maidens, and its ladies proud; and all its gardens and its halls and its towers, its riches and its jewels and its webs and its things painted and carven, and its laughter and its mirth and its music and its wisdom, and its speech, they vanished for ever. And last of all the mounting wave, green and cold and plumed with foam, took to its bosom Ar-Zimrahil the Queen, fairer than silver or ivory or pearls; too late she strove to climb the steep ways of Menel-Tûbal to the holy place, for the waters overtook her, and her cry was lost in the roaring of the wind.

§49 But indeed the summit of the Mountain, the Pillar of Heaven, in the midst of the land was a hallowed place, nor had it ever been defiled. Therefore some have thought that it was not drowned for ever, but rose again above the waves, a lonely island lost in the great waters, if haply a mariner should come upon it. And many there were that after sought for it, because it was said among the remnant of the Adûnâi that the far-sighted men of old could see from Menel-Tûbal's top the glimmer of the Deathless Land. For even after their ruin the hearts of the Adûnâi were still set westward.

§50 And though they knew that the land of Amân and the isle of Anadûnê were no more, they said: 'Avallôni is vanished from the Earth, and the Land of Gift is taken away, and in the world of this present darkness they cannot be found; yet they were, and therefore they still are in true being and in the whole shape of the world.' And the Adûnâi held that men so blessed might look upon other times than those of the body's life; and they longed ever to escape from the shadows of their exile and to see in some fashion the light that was of old. Therefore some

among them would still search the empty seas; 'but all the ways are crooked that once were straight,' they said.

§51 And in this way it came to pass that any were spared from the downfall of Anadûnê; and maybe this was the answer to the errand of Arbazân. For those that were spared were all of his house and kin, or faithful followers of his son. Now Nimruzân had remained behind, refusing the king's summons when he set out to war; and avoiding the soldiers of Zigûr that came to seize him and drag him to the fires of the Temple, he went aboard ship and stood out a little from the shore, waiting on the hour. There he was protected by the land from the great draught of the sea that drew all down into the abyss, and afterward from the first fury of the storm and the great wave that rolled outwards when the chasm was closed and the foundations of the sea were rocked.

But when the land of Anadûnê toppled to its fall, then at last he fled, rather for the saving of the lives of those that followed him than of his own; for he deemed that no death could be more bitter than the ruin of that day. But the wind out of the West blew still more wild than any wind that men had known; and it tore away sail and threw down mast and hunted the unhappy men like straws upon the water. And the sea rose into great hills; and Nimruzân, and his sons and people, fleeing before the black gale from twilight into night were borne up upon the crests of waves like mountains moving, and after many days they were cast away far inland upon Middle-earth.

§52 And all the coasts and seaward regions of the world suffered great ruin and change in that time; for the Earth was sorely shaken, and the seas climbed over the lands, and shores foundered, and ancient isles were drowned, and new isles were uplifted; and hills crumbled, and rivers were turned into strange courses.

§53 And here ends the tale to speak of Nimruzân and his sons who after founded many kingdoms in Middle-earth; and though their lore and craft was but an echo of that which had been ere Zigûr came to Anadûnê, yet did it seem very great to the wild men of the world.

§54 And it is said that Zigûr himself was filled with dread at the fury of the wrath of the Avalôi and the doom that Eru wrought; for it was greater far than aught that he had looked for, hoping only for the death of the Adûnâi and the defeat of their proud king. And Zigûr sitting in his black seat in the midst

of his temple laughed when he heard the trumpets of Ar-Pharazôn sounding for battle; and again he laughed when he heard the thunder of the storm; and a third time, even as he laughed at his own thought (thinking what he would now do in the world, being rid of the Eruhîn for ever), he was taken in the midst of his mirth and his seat and his temple fell into the abyss.

§55 But Zigûr was not of mortal flesh, and though he was robbed of that shape in which he had wrought so great an evil, yet ere long he devised another; and he came back also to Middle-earth and troubled the sons of Nimruzân and all men beside. But that comes not into the tale of the Drowning of Anadûnê, of which all is now told. For the name of that land perished, and that which was aforetime the Land of Gift in the midst of the sea was lost, and the exiles on the shores of the world, if they turned to the West, spoke of Akallabê that was whelmed in the waves, the Downfallen, Atalantë in the Nimrian tongue.

★

I have shown (p. 353) that the original text of *The Drowning of Anadûne* (DA I) can be placed between the composition of the manuscript (E) of Part Two of *The Notion Club Papers* and the rejected section F 1 of the typescript, on the evidence of the name of the Pillar of Heaven: *Meneltyûlâ* in DA I (appearing as an emendation in E) but *Menel-tûbel* (>*-tûbil*) in F 1 (from here onwards, in comparative passages, I use the circumflex accent on all forms whatever the usage in the text cited). On the same basis the present text DA II belongs with F 1, since the Pillar of Heaven is here *Menel-Tûbal*, whereas the replacement section F 2 of the typescript of the *Papers* has *Minul-Târik*. Similarly DA II and F 1 agree in *Avalôi, Adûnâi* for F 2 *Avalôim, Adûnâim* (for the different forms of Adunaic names in F 1 and F 2 see pp. 240–1, 305).

On the other hand, DA II has *Anadûnê*, as does F 2, whereas F 1 has *Anadûn*; and F 1 had the Adunaic name of Eärendil as *Pharazîr*, changed on the typescript to *Azrubêl*, while DA II has *Azrabêl* from the first. In DA II appears the name *Amatthânê* of 'the Land of Gift', which supplanted the name in F 1, *Athânâti* (see p. 378, §12); F 2 has the final name, *Yôzâyan*.

From this comparison it is clear that the writing of DA II fell between the original and rewritten forms (F 1 and F 2) of Lowdham's account of Adunaic in Night 66 of *The Notion Club Papers*.

This greatly extended version of *The Drowning of Anadûnê* serves, looking further on, as an extraordinarily clear exemplification of my

father's method of 'composition by expansion'. Separated by years and many further texts from the published *Akallabêth*, in DA II (most especially in the latter part of it) a very great deal of the actual wording of the *Akallabêth* was already present. The opening of DA II is totally distinct (for here the *Akallabêth* was expanded from *The Fall of Númenor*); but beginning with §12 (the sailing to Anadûnê following the Star) I calculate that no less than three-fifths of the precise wording of DA II was preserved in the *Akallabêth*. This is the more striking when one looks at it in reverse: for I find that, beginning at the same point in the *Akallabêth* (p. 260), only three-eighths of the latter (again, in precisely the same wording) are present in DA II. In other words, very much more than half of what my father wrote at this time was exactly retained in the *Akallabêth*; but very much less than half the *Akallabêth* was an exact retention from DA II.

A good deal of this expansion came about through the insertion (at different stages in the textual history) of phrases or brief passages into the body of the original text (and a small part of this belongs to the further textual history of *The Drowning of Anadûnê*). To a much greater extent the old narrative was transformed by the introduction of long sections of new writing. There were also significant alterations of structure.

There follows here a commentary, by paragraphs, on DA II, which includes all alterations of significance made to the text after it was typed, and also indications of the later expansions found in the *Akallabeth*.

Commentary on the second version

§1 In DA II the ambiguity of the term *Avalâi* in DA I is removed, and the *Avalôi* are 'mighty lords, whom Men remembered as gods', the Valar; while in §5 appear the *Nimrî* (Eldar). The phrase 'whom Men remembered as gods' was changed to 'who were before the world was made, and do not die'.

This opening paragraph had been very roughtly rewritten on DA I nearly to its form in DA II, but for 'the Lord Arûn' the name was 'the Lord Kherū'.

§2 *his brother Amân* (DA I *Manawē*). In all the texts of *The Drowning of Anadûnê* Manwë is named *Amân*, and this is the sole reference of the name. *Aman* was one of the names that my father listed as 'Alterations in last revision [of *The Silmarillion*] in 1951' (see p. 312), and there seems good reason to suppose that *Amân* actually made its first appearance here, as the Adunaic name of Manwë.

§5 *some said that they were the children of the Avalôi and did not die.* In §16 the Nimrî are called, without any qualification of

'some said', 'the children of the Deathless Folk'. Cf. the opening of the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.204, §2):

> These spirits the Elves name the Valar, which is the Powers, and Men have often called them Gods. Many lesser spirits of their own kind they brought in their train, both great and small; and some of these Men have confused with the Elves, but wrongly, for they were made before the World, whereas Elves and Men awoke first in the World, after the coming of the Valar.

Though not mentioned in this passage, the conception of 'the Children of the Valar' is frequently encountered in the *Quenta Silmarillion*; and cf. especially *The Later Annals of Valinor* (V.110): 'With these great ones came many lesser spirits, beings of their own kind but of smaller might ... And with them also were later numbered their children ...' (see commentary on this, V.120–1).

Eledâi: this name is found elsewhere; see pp. 397 ff.

§7 *and were not brought to nought:* changed to 'and did not perish wholly from the Earth.'

§8 At the end of the opening sentence, '... than that of all other men', the following was added in:

> for often he would launch his boat into the loud winds, or would sail alone far from the sight even of the mountains of his land, and return again hungry from the sea after many days.

Azrabêl: cf. the rejected section F 1 of the typescript of Part Two of the *Papers* (p. 305): '*Azrubēl*, made of *azar* "sea" and the stem *bel-*'. The form *Azrabêl* became *Azrubêl* in the course of typing the third text DA III; but there is a single occurrence of *Azrubêl*, as typed, in DA II (§23). On the significance of the two forms see p. 429.

Rôthinzil: this name is found in the *Akallabêth* (pp. 259–60).

Vingalôtë: in DA I *Wingalôtê*; becoming *Wingalôtë* in DA III, and reverting to *Vingalôtë* in the final text DA IV.

§11 The concluding passage, beginning 'But Amân would not permit Azrabêl ...', was changed to read:

> Azrubêl did not return to bear these tidings to his kindred, whether of his own will, for he could not endure to depart again living from the Blessed Realm where no death had come; or by the command of Amân, that report of it should not trouble the hearts of the Eruhîn, upon whom Eru himself had set the doom of death. But Amân took the ship Rôthinzil and filled it with a silver flame, and set therein mariners of the Nimîr, and raised it above the world to sail in the sky, a marvel to behold.

The form *Nimîr*, for *Nimrî*, appears in the third text DA III.

§12 The name *Amatthânê* ('the Land of Gift') was typed in subsequently over an erasure, but the erased form can be seen to have had eight letters, beginning with *A* and probably ending with *e*. In the text F 1 of Part II of the *Papers* the Land of Gift was *Athānāti* (p. 305), and *Athanātē* occurs in an earlier form of Lowdham's fragment II, p. 312; thus the erased name here was obviously *Athānāte*. Subsequently the name *Amatthânê* appears in DA III as typed.

To this paragraph a typewritten slip was attached, changing the passage following the words 'they set sail upon the deep waters, following the star':

> And the Avalôi laid a peace on the sea for many days, and sent sunlight and a sailing wind, so that the waters glittered before the eyes of the Eruhîn like rippling glass, and the foam flew like shining snow before the stems of their ships. But so bright was Rôthinzil that even at morning men could see it glimmering in the West, and in the cloudless night it shone alone, for no other star might come beside it. And setting their course towards it, the Eruhîn came at last over leagues of sea and saw afar the land that was prepared for them, Zenn'abâr the Land of Gift, shimmering in a golden haze. Then they went up out of the sea and found a country fair and fruitful, and they were glad. And they called that land Gimlad, which is Starwards, and Anadûnê, which is Westernesse, Nûmenôrë in the Nimrian tongue.

This is virtually the text in the *Akallabêth* (pp. 260–1), apart of course from the names. *Zenn'abâr* was subsequently changed to *Zen'nabâr*, and then to *Abarzâyan* (which was the form in the third text DA III). The name *Amatthânê* was not lost, however: see p. 388, §23.

§13 The statement here and in DA I that the Eruhîn were rewarded by a life of threefold span goes back to a change made to FN II, §10 (V.28); cf. also Aragorn's words 'I have still twice the span of other men', p. 57, and the statement in Appendix A (I,i) to *The Lord of the Rings*: the Númenóreans were granted a span of life 'in the beginning thrice that of lesser Men'. For an account of my father's views on the longevity of the Númenóreans see *Unfinished Tales* pp. 224–5.

Between §13 and §14 there is a long passage in the *Akallabêth* in which Andúnië, the Meneltarma, Armenelos, and the tombs of the kings are referred to, and then the ancestry and choices of Elrond and Elros (this being closely derived from a long insertion to FN III §2: see pp. 333, 339–40).

§14 The opening sentence was changed to read:

> Thus the years passed, and while Middle-earth went backward and light and wisdom failed there, the Adûnâi dwelt under the protection of the Avalôi, and in the friendship of the Nimrî, and increased in stature both of body and of mind.

With 'the kings and princes learned the Nimrian tongue, in which much lore and song was preserved from the beginning of the world' cf. FN III §2 (p. 333): 'the speech of Númenor was the speech of the Eldar of the Blessed Realm'. In the *Akallabêth* the linguistic conception is more complex (p. 262): the Númenóreans still used their own speech, but 'their kings and lords knew and spoke also the Elven tongue [Sindarin], which they had learned in the days of their alliance, and thus they held converse still with the Eldar, whether of Eressëa or of the westlands of Middle-earth. And the loremasters among them learned also the High Eldarin tongue of the Blessed Realm, in which much story and song was preserved from the beginning of the world ...' See note 19 to *Aldarion and Erendis* in *Unfinished Tales*, p. 215.

§15 On the progressive restrictiveness of the Ban see p. 356 note 4.

§16 The vagueness of knowledge concerning the dwelling of the Avalôi ('upon some isle or shore of the western lands (Men know not where)') is retained from DA I, and the Adûnâi still name it 'the Haven of the Gods', *Avallôni*, for *Avallondē* in DA I. (In FN §1 the name *Avallon* was given to Tol Eressëa, 'for it is hard by Valinor'. In both versions of Lowdham's exemplification of Númenórean names in *The Notion Club Papers*, pp. 241, 305, he refers to the place-name *Avallōni* without suggesting where or what it might be; and in the second version F 2 he adds that although it is a name of his Language B, Adunaic, 'it is with it, oddly enough, that I associate Language A', Quenya. In both versions he calls Language A 'Avallonian'.) The Adûnâi named the land of the Avalôi 'the Haven of the Gods', *Avallôni*, '*for* at times ... they could descry ... a city white-shining on a distant shore, and great harbours, and a tower.' But there now enters in *The Drowning of Anadûnê* the idea of divergent opinions concerning this vision of a land to the west: 'And some held that it was a vision of the Blessed Realm that men saw, but others said that it was only a further isle where the Nimrî dwelt ... for mayhap the Avalôi had no visible dwelling upon Earth.' The latter opinion is supported by the author of *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, since 'certain it is that the Nimrî had some dwelling nigh unto Anadûnê, for thither they came ever and anon, the children of the Deathless Folk ...'

This was retained through the two further texts of *The*

Drowning of Anadûnê without any significant change save the loss of the words 'the children of the Deathless Folk' (see the note on §5 above). In the *Akallabêth* the true nature of the distant city is asserted: 'But the wise among them knew that this distant land was not indeed the Blessed Realm of Valinor, but was Avallónë, the haven of the Eldar upon Eressëa, easternmost of the Undying Lands' (pp. 262–3). See further the commentary on §47 below.

Before 'the Blessed Realm' the name *Zen'namân* was pencilled on the typescript, and again in §23; in both cases this was struck through. See the commentary on §47.

The reference to 'their own western haven, Andūniē of Nūmenōr' in DA I is now lost. Andúnië had appeared in FN (§2, p. 333): 'Of old the chief city and haven of that land was in the midst of its western coasts, and it was called Andúnië, because it faced the sunset'; this reappears in the *Akallabêth*, p. 261.

§17 In *none now dared withstand them* 'now' was changed to 'yet'; this is the reading of the *Akallabêth*, p. 263.

The whole of §§17–18 was retained in the *Akallabêth*, with the exception of the reference to the brutish speech of the men of Middle-earth (repeated in the following texts of *The Drowning of Anadûnê*). In the *Akallabêth* there appears here a reference to the far eastern voyages of the Númenóreans: 'and they came even into the inner seas, and sailed about Middle-earth and glimpsed from their high prows the Gates of Morning in the East'; this was derived from FN §3 (p. 334; see V.20, commentary on §3). With this cf. the opinion expressed in §27, that there was no sea-passage into the East.

§19 *of which the songs of men preserve still the distant memory like an echo of the Sea.* The song of *King Sheave* is doubtless to be understood as such an echo.

In the *Akallabêth* the first mention of the emergence of Sauron is postponed to a much later point in the narrative, and it is not until §21 that the old version begins to be used again, with the murmurings of the Númenóreans against the Doom of Men and the ban on their westward sailing.

In DA I *Zigūr* is the name which the men of Middle-earth gave to Sauron; it is not said that it was the name that he took for himself.

§20 *Amatthânê:* at the first occurrence in this paragraph the name was left to stand, but at the second (and again in §21) it was changed to *Zen'nabâr* (see under §12 above).

Indilzar: Elros, first King of Númenor. The name was changed to *Gimilzôr* (and so appears in the subsequent texts).

In the later development of the Númenórean legend the name *(Ar-)Gimilzôr* is given to the twenty-third king (father of Tar-Palantir who repented of the ways of the kings and grandfather of Ar-Pharazôn; *Unfinished Tales* p. 223, *Akallabêth* p. 269).

seven kings: here Ar-Pharazôn becomes the ninth king, since it is expressly said that 'seven kings had ruled between Indilzar [Elros] and Ar-Pharazôn'. *Seven* was changed to *twelve*, and this remains into the final text of DA; he thus becomes the fourteenth king. In his long exposition of the 'cycles' of his legends to Milton Waldman in 1951 (*Letters* no. 131, p. 155) my father wrote of 'the thirteenth king of the line of Elros, Tar-Calion the Golden'. It may be that he was counting the kings 'of the line of Elros' and excluding Elros himself; but on the other hand, in an addition to FN III §5 (p. 335) it is said that 'twelve kings had ruled before him', which would make Ar-Pharazôn the thirteenth king including Elros. See further p. 433, Footnote 6.

Menel-Tubâl: see p. 375.

Ar-Minalêth replaces the name of the city in DA I (§32), *Antirion the Golden*; spelt *Arminalēth*, it occurs in the final form of the Old English text of 'Edwin Lowdham's page', pp. 257–8. *Arminalêth* remained into the earlier texts of the *Akallabêth*, with a footnote: 'This was its name in the Númenórean tongue; for by that name it was chiefly known. *Tar Kalimos* it was called in the Eldarin tongue.'

§23 The words 'the Avalôi were grieved' were changed to 'Amân was grieved'; so also the *Akallabêth* has 'Manwë' here (p. 264).

Amatthânê was not changed here (see under §20 above).

Azrubêl: see under §8 above.

In the *Akallabêth* the words of the 'messengers' of Manwë to the Númenóreans are still described as 'concerning the fate and fashion of the world', but the word *fashion* referred originally to their instruction as to its physical shape. In DA I the Avalâi said baldly 'that the world was round, and that if they sailed into the utmost West, yet would they but come back again to the East and so to the places of their setting out'; but now there enters (and this was retained in the following texts of DA) the conception of the Earth (which is 'such that a girdle may be set about it') as 'an apple [that] hangeth on the branches of Heaven', whose seas and lands are as 'the rind of the fruit, which shall abide upon the tree until the ripening that Eru hath appointed.' Nothing of this is left in the later work.

the towers of Nimroth: Nimroth was changed to *Nimrûn*, and so appears in the following texts; neither name is found elsewhere.

§24 The words 'till all is changed' were altered to 'for its life is theirs'.

§25 After 'For of us is required the greater trust' was added: 'and hope without assurance'; and 'he hath not yet revealed it' was changed to 'he hath not yet revealed all things that he hath in store'. Following this a further passage was added on a typewritten slip:

> But this we hold to be true that your home is not here, neither in the land of Amân, nor anywhere else within the girdle of the Earth; for the Doom of Men was not [*added:* at first] devised as a punishment. If pain it hath become unto you, as you say (though this we do not clearly understand), then is that not only because you must now depart at a time set and not of your own choosing? But this is the will of Eru, which may not be gainsaid; and the Avalôi do most earnestly bid you . . .'

At the end of the words of the messengers was added: 'and to you it will be revealed and not to the Avalôim' (the plural ending *-m* in *Adûnâim*, *Avalôim* appears in the next text, DA III; see p. 375).

§26 From the refusal of all but a few of the Númenóreans to give heed to the counsel of the messengers the *Akallabêth* diverges altogether from *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, with the introduction of a very long passage (pp. 265–270) in which the history of Númenor was vastly extended. Here it was also to the thirteenth king (but including Elros as the first: see *Unfinished Tales* pp. 218 ff., and under §20 above) that the messengers came, but he was Tar-Atanamir, and many kings would follow him before Ar-Pharazôn. There follows an account of the decadence of the Númenóreans in that age as their wealth and power increased, of their growing horror of death, and of their expansion into Middle-earth. The brief phrases of the opening of §27 are embedded in this. Then in the *Akallabêth* comes the arising of Sauron, told in entirely different terms from the story in the old version, with mention of Barad-dûr, of the One Ring, and of the Ringwraiths; and all the history of the division of the Númenóreans, the persecution of the Faithful under Ar-Gimilzôr and the banning of the Elvish tongue, and of the line of the Lords of Andúnië and the repentance of Tar-Palantir, the last king before Ar-Pharazôn.

Arbazân and his son *Nimruzân*: Amandil (in the *Akallabêth*) and Elendil. In DA I Elendil's father is *Amardil*; but the Elvish names do not appear again in *The Drowning of Anadûnê*.

Indilzar Azrabêlo was changed to *Indilzar Azrabêlôhin*, and then to *Gimilzôr* (see under §20 above).

§27 *Menel-Tûbal* was here changed to *Menil-Tûbal*, and subsequently.

Of the debate of Ar-Pharazôn with Arbazân on the possibility of sailing east and so coming upon the land of Amân from the west, retained in the following texts, there is no vestige in the *Akallabêth*. On Arbazân's surmise that there might be no eastern passage by sea see under §17 above. It is perhaps possible that an idea of the geographical conception here can be gained from the two maps accompanying the *Ambarkanta* in IV.249, 251: for in the first of these there is very emphatically no sea-passage, and in the North and South there are 'ices impassable', while in the second there are straits by which ships might come into the furthest East. But even if this were so it could of course have no more than a 'pictorial' relevance, for the second map exhibits the convulsions after the breaking of Utumno and the chaining of Melkor in the First Battle of the Gods (*Quenta Silmarillion* §21, V.213).

§28 The story of Ar-Pharazôn's expedition into Middle-earth and the submission of Sauron is much enlarged in the *Akallabêth*, but this enlargement entered already in the third text DA III (see p. 389, §28).

§31 For 'he bade men think that the world was not a circle closed, but there lay many seas and lands for their winning' (retained in the following texts) the *Akallabêth* (p. 271) has: 'he bade men think that in the world, in the east and even in the west, there lay yet many seas and many lands for their winning'.

The concluding passage of §31, 'And that is the Realm of the Lord of All ...', was replaced by the following on a typewritten slip:

> 'And out of it the world was made; and the Lord thereof may yet make other worlds to be gifts to those who serve him, so that the increase of their power shall find no end.'
>
> 'And who is the lord of Darkness?' quoth Ar-Pharazôn.
>
> And behind locked doors Zigûr spoke, and he lied, saying: 'It is he whose name is not now spoken, for the Avalôim have deceived you concerning him, putting forward the name of Eru, a phantom devised in the wickedness [> folly] of their hearts, seeking to chain Men in servitude to themselves. For they are the oracle of this Eru, which speaketh only what they will. But he that is their master and shall yet prevail will deliver you from this phantom; and his name is Arûn, Lord of All.'

Apart from names, this is almost the text of the *Akallabêth*.

§32 After the statement that Ar-Pharazôn 'turned back to the

worship of the Dark' and that most of the people followed him, there enters in the *Akallabêth* (p. 272) the first mention of Amandil and Elendil, taking up the words of DA §26 and the opening sentences of §36 and greatly expanding them, with an account of the friendship of Ar-Pharazôn and Amandil in their youth, of Sauron's hatred of Amandil, and of his withdrawal to the haven of Rómenna.

The sentence 'and no man might ascend to the high place' was changed to 'for though not even Zigûr dared defile the high place, yet the king would let no man, upon pain of death, ascend to it'. The revised form appears in the *Akallabêth*, after which there is a long passage (pp. 272–3) concerning the White Tree of Númenor: of the king's reluctance to fell the Tree at Sauron's bidding, of Isildur's circumventing the guards about Nimloth and taking a fruit, narrowly escaping with many wounds, and of the king's then yielding to Sauron's demand. Then follows the description of the temple, not greatly changed from that in DA II, but with the addition that the first fire made on the altar was kindled with the wood of Nimloth. Of the White Tree of Númenor there is no mention in the texts of *The Drowning of Anadûnê*.

A puzzling reference to the site of the temple may be noticed here. This is in the final version of Edwin Lowdham's page in Old English, that appearing the typescript F 2 of Part Two of *The Notion Club Papers*. In the earlier Old English version (pp. 314–15) the temple was built 'on that high mountain that was called Meneltyúla (that is to say the Pillar of Heaven), which before was undefiled'. In the final version (pp. 257–8; certainly later than DA II, p. 375) it was built 'in the midst of the town of Arminalēth on the high hill which before was undefiled but now became a heathen fane'. Since the same words are used in both Old English texts the second version suggests a halfway stage, in which the temple was still built on the Pillar of Heaven (*on ðæm héan munte*), until now undefiled (*unawídlod*), but the Pillar of Heaven was in the midst of the city of Arminalēth. But this can scarcely be so, for already in DA I the story is present that the Meneltyúla was deserted, and that the temple was built on a hill in the midst of the city (Antirion).

In DA II both references to *Mulkhêr* were changed to *Arûn*, but *Arûn-Mulkhêr* was retained.

§35 For the passage following the words 'And Zigûr spoke to the king' the following (retained almost exactly in the *Akallabêth*) was substituted on a typewritten slip:

> saying that his might was now so great that he might think to have his will in all things and be subject to no command or

ban. 'For behold! the Avalôim have possessed themselves of the land where there is no death; and they lie to you concerning it, hiding it as best they may, because of their avarice and their fear lest the kings of Men should wrest from them the Blessed Realm, and rule the world in their stead. And though, doubtless ...

§38 *Amatthânê* was here changed to *Anadûnê* (see under §§20, 23 above).

§39 In the *Akallabêth* (p. 276) there enters at this point an account of the treasures that were put aboad the ships at Rómenna, with the Seven Stones ('the gift of the Eldar') and the scion of Nimloth the White Tree.

§43 *their banners were black and golden:* in DA I the banners were 'red as the dying sun in a great storm and as black as the night that cometh after.' So in the manuscript E of Part Two of the *Papers* the sails of the Númenórean ships were 'scarlet and black', but 'golden and black' in the typescript F (p. 290 note 63; 'scarlet and black' also in FN III §6, 'bloodred and black' in the earlier Old English text, pp. 314–15).

§44 *Aglarrâma, castle of the sea:* in the *Akallabêth* the name of the great ship of Ar-Pharazôn is *Alcarondas*, with the same meaning.

§47 The radically different conception of the Cataclysm (from both *The Fall of Númenor* and the *Akallabêth*), here derived from the Nimrî but in DA I attributed merely to 'the wisest in discernment', in which the Land of Amân itself foundered, remained in the following texts: 'the fleets of the Adûnâi came indeed to Avallôni in the deeps of the sea, and they encompassed it about', and 'a great chasm opened in the sea between Anadûnê and the Deathless Land ... *But the land of Amân and the land of his gift*, standing upon either side of the great chasm [> rift] in the seas, *were also destroyed* ...'

Against the name *Avallôni* is pencilled *Zen'namân*, and this name appears written beside 'the Blessed Realm' in §§16, 23, though there struck out. At the end of §47 is written, but struck out, *Zen'namân* and *Zen'nabâr*, i.e. 'Land of Amân' and 'Land of Gift' (for *Zen'nabâr* see under §12 above). The references to *Avallôni* seem to amount to this: the distant city glimpsed across the sea was named by the Adûnâi *Avallôni* 'Haven of the Gods' *(Avalôi)* because they thought that it was a vision of the Blessed Realm (§16). Some said that this was not so: it was only an isle on which the Nimrî dwelt that they could see. The question is not resolved; but the name *Avallôni* was nonetheless used in §47 to refer to the Land of Amân. The statement that *Avallôni*

was 'encompassed' by the fleets of the Adûnâi is possibly to be associated with the words of §16, that the Avalôi dwelt 'upon *some isle* or shore of the western lands'.

Apart from the opinion held by some in Anadûnê that the land that they could see was an isle where the Nimrî dwelt, and the certainty that the Nimrî must have some dwelling near to Anadûnê, since they came there, Tol Eressëa is never referred to in *The Drowning of Anadûnê*.

The relation of the *Akallabêth* (pp. 278–9) to the earlier works in this passage is curious and characteristic. Just as in DA it is said that the fleets of Ar-Pharazôn 'came indeed to Avallôni ... and they encompassed it about', so in the *Akallabêth* they 'encompassed Avallónë'; but in the latter *Avallónë* is the eastern haven of Tol Eressëa, and the text continues: '*and all the isle of Eressëa*, and the Eldar mourned, for the light of the setting sun was cut off by the cloud of the Númenóreans.' My father was in fact turning back to *The Fall of Númenor* (§6, p. 336), which is almost the same here – but which has 'they encompassed Avallon', and lacks the words 'and all the isle of Eressëa': for in FN *Avallon* was the name of Eressëa itself.

The description of the 'changing of the fashion of the world' in the *Akallabêth* is almost exactly as in *The Drowning of Anadûnê*:

> ... and a great chasm opened in the sea between Númenor and the Deathless Lands, and the waters flowed down into it, and the noise and smoke of the cataracts went up to heaven, and the world was shaken. And all the fleets of the Númenóreans were drawn down into the abyss, and they were drowned and swallowed up for ever.

But whereas in *The Drowning of Anadûnê* this is followed by the statement that not only Anadûne but the Land of Amân also disappeared into the great rift, in the *Akallabêth* my father again turned to *The Fall of Númenor* (§§7–8), telling that the king and his warriors who had set foot in the Blessed Realm were 'buried under falling hills' and 'lie imprisoned in the Caves of the Forgotten, until the Last Battle and the Day of Doom'; and then, that 'Ilúvatar cast back the Great Seas west of Middle-earth ... and the world was diminished, *for Valinor and Eressëa were taken from it into the realm of hidden things*.' Thus the radical difference in the conception of the loss of the True West between *The Drowning of Anadûnê* and the *Akallabêth* was a *reversion* to that of *The Fall of Númenor*.

The passage 'Ilúvatar cast back the Great Seas ...' was a revision (see V.32) of the original form of *The Fall of Númenor* (V.16; the second text FN II is virtually the same), in which the World Made Round was more unequivocally expressed: the

Gods 'bent back the edges of the Middle-earth, and they made it into a globe ... Thus New Lands came into being beneath the Old World, and all were equally distant from the centre of the round earth ...'

This subject is further discussed on pp. 391 ff.

In the concluding sentence of §47 in DA II, 'and the Avalôi dwell in secret, or have become as shadows and their power has waned', my father was following DA I, where the name *Avalāi* is ambiguously used; in the next text DA III the sentence was changed (p. 391, §§46–7).

§48 *Ar-Zimrahil: Tar-Ilien* in DA I and in FN (§§5, 7); afterwards *Tar-Míriel*, whose Adunaic name was Ar-Zimraphel (*Unfinished Tales* p. 224, *Akallabêth* pp. 269–70).

§§49–50 This passage, despite many small changes in the expression, does not differ at all in its content from that in DA I, except for the addition at the end of §50 of 'Therefore some among them would still search the empty seas'. See further pp. 391 ff.

§51 After 'Nimruzân, and his sons and people' the words 'in their seven ships' were added – presumably they had been omitted unintentionally, since 'in seven ships' is present in DA I. In the *Akallabêth* there were nine ships, 'four for Elendil, and for Isildur three, and for Anárion two'. The sons of Elendil are not named, nor their number given, in *The Drowning of Anadûnê*.

(iv) The final form of The Drowning of Anadûnê

The extensive alterations to the text of DA II detailed in the preceding commentary were taken up into the third text, DA III, which was typed on the same machine and the same paper as DA II. More changes entered in DA III, and the completed typescript was then further altered. Finally another typescript, DA IV, was made, identical in appearance to the two preceding; in this the changes made to DA III were taken up, but the completed text was scarcely emended. With DA IV this phase in the development of the Númenórean legend comes to an end.

There follows here an account, paragraph by paragraph, of the alterations made between DA II, as emended, and the final form, excluding only very minor changes (such as 'appointed time' for 'appointed hour' in §3). In general I do not distinguish between those that entered in DA III and those that were made to it subsequently, appearing in DA IV as typed.

§1 *Avalôi* became *Avalôim* throughout; this is the form in the final text F 2 of Part Two of *The Notion Club Papers* (see p. 375).

Eru (*Eru-bênî*, *Eruhîn*) became *Êru* throughout. In the earlier

form of Lowdham's fragments the name has a short vowel (p. 311), but in the final form a long (p. 247).

§5 The opening sentence was changed to read: 'And out of the sorrows of the world the hearts of the Êruhîn were turned westward, for there, as they believed, was the land of Amân and abiding peace.'

Nimrî became *Nimîr* throughout.

§6 'filled with great dread, and with longing' > 'filled with longing'

§8 *Azrabêl* became *Azrubêl* throughout, at first by emendation of *Azrabêl* on DA III, and then as typed; see p. 377, §8.

Vingalôtë > *Wingalôtë* > *Vingalôtë*, see p. 377, §8.

§12 The Adunaic name of 'the Land of Gift' in DA III was *Abarzâyan* (see p. 378, §12), changed to the final form *Yôzâyan*, which appears in DA IV and in the final text F 2 of *The Notion Club Papers* (pp. 241, 247). It is thus seen that DA III preceded F 2.

§13 'so long as they remained still true' was omitted.

Adûnâi became *Adûnâim* throughout (cf. the note on *Avalôi*, *Avalôim*, §1 above).

§16 'to break the ban' > 'to break the ban of Amân'

'(a vision of the Blessed Realm) that men saw' > 'that men saw by grace'

'the children of the Deathless Folk' was omitted.

§19 'And yet in the end new good turned again to evil, and Men fell, as it is said, a second time' was omitted, the following sentence beginning 'But after an age there arose a second manifestation ...'

'(he heard of the coming) of the Eruhîn' > 'of the Sea-kings out of the deeps'

§20 The name *Minul-Târik* of the Pillar of Heaven, replacing *Menel-Tûbal* (subsequently *Menil-Tûbal*) of DA II, first appears in DA III (see p. 375).

§21 'and now again was stirring' > 'and now the deep-planted seeds were stirring once again'

§23 For *Amatthânê* in DA II §§21, 23 (where it refers to 'the Land of Gift') the following texts have *Anadûnê*; but for *the Blessed Realm* in DA II §23 they have *Amatthâni, the Blessed Realm*. Thus *Amatthânê*, replaced in its application to Anadûnê in turn by *Zen'nabâr*, *Abarzâyan*, *Yôzâyan*, now reappears in the form *Amatthâni* as the name of Valinor; but *Avallôni* is retained in §§16, 47, 50. The etymology of *Amatthâni* is given in Lowdham's 'Report on Adunaic', p. 435.

§25 To the text of the typewritten rider attached to DA II and given on p. 382 the following was added in DA III after the words 'nor anywhere else within the girdle of the Earth': 'for it was not the Avalôim that named you in the beginning Êruhîn, the children of God.'

'who made both it and you' was omitted.

§26 *Arbazân* became *Aphanuzîr*, and *Nimruzân* became *Nimruzîr*, in DA III. Jeremy calls Lowdham *Nimruzīr* in *The Notion Club Papers*, pp. 250, 252, and the name appears in Lowdham's fragment I (B), p. 247, 'seven ships of Nimruzīr eastward'.

§27 After the words of Aphanuzîr (Arbazân) 'It may be so' he observes of the fraudulent argument of Ar-Pharazôn: 'Yet to go behind a command is not to keep it'; and in the passage following his speech the words 'where are ices impassable', first changed to '... is ice ...', were omitted.

§28 The story of the expedition of Ar-Pharazôn to Middle-earth was much enlarged on a typewritten page inserted into DA III. The new text is very close to that in the *Akallabêth* (p. 270), but lacks the reference to the Havens of Umbar:

> ... and when all was ready he himself set sail into the East. And men saw his sails coming up out of the sunset, dyed as with scarlet and gleaming with red gold, and fear fell on them and they fled far away. Empty and silent under the pale moon was the land when the King of Anadûnê [> Yôzâyan] set foot on the shore. For seven days he marched with banner and trumpet, and he came to a hill, and he went up and set there his pavilion and his throne; and he sat him down in the midst of the land, and the tents of his host were laid all about him like a field of proud flowers [> ranged all about him, blue, golden, and white, as a field of tall flowers]. Then he sent forth heralds and commanded Zigûr to come before him and swear to him fealty.

A recollection of mine in connection with this passage is perhaps worth mentioning. I remember my father, in his study in the house in North Oxford, reading me *The Drowning of Anadûnê* on a summer's evening: this was in 1946, for my parents left that house in March 1947. Of this reading I recall with clarity that the tents of Ar-Pharazôn were as a field of tall flowers of many colours. Since the passage only entered with the text DA III, and the naming of the colours of the flowers, 'blue, golden, and white', was pencilled onto the typescript, appearing in the final text DA IV as typed, my father was reading from DA III or DA IV. I have the strong impression that the Adunaic names were strange to me, and that my father read *The Drowning of*

Anadûnê as a new thing that he had written. This seems to support the suggestion I made earlier (p. 147) that the emergence of Adunaic and the evolution of a new form of the legend of the Downfall belong to the first half of 1946.

§30 This paragraph was rewritten to read:

> Yet such was the cunning of his mind, and the strength of his hidden will, that ere three years were passed he had become closest to the secret counsels of the King; for flattery sweet as honey was ever on his tongue, and knowledge he had of many things yet unrevealed to Men. And seeing the favour that he had of their lord, all the counsellors, save Aphanuzîr alone, began to fawn upon him. Then slowly a change came over the land, and the hearts of the Faithful were sorely troubled.

§31 At the end of the text on the replacement slip in DA II given on p. 383, §31, after 'his name is Arûn, Lord of All', was added: 'Giver of Freedom, and he shall make you stronger than they.'

§32 The description of the temple was changed on a retyped page of DA III by the alteration of the sentences following 'a mighty dome':

> And that dome was wrought all of silver and rose glittering in the sun, so that the light of it could be seen afar off; but soon the light was darkened and the silver became black. For in the topmost of the dome there was a wide opening or louver, and thence there issued a great smoke ...

To the second reference to Mulkhêr (> Arûn) in DA II was added 'Giver of Freedom' (cf. §31 above).

The final sentence of the paragraph became: 'These charges were for the most part false; yet those were bitter days, and wickedness begets wickedness.'

§36 The reply of Aphanuzîr (Arbazân) to Nimruzîr's question 'Would you then bewray the King?' was expanded to a form approaching that in the *Akallabêth* (p. 275):

> 'Yea, verily that I would,' said Aphanuzîr, 'if I thought that Amân needed such a messenger. For there is but one loyalty from which no man can be absolved in heart for any cause. And as for the ban, I will suffer in myself alone the penalty, lest all the Êruhîn become guilty.'

§38 'you must fly from fair Amatthânê that is now defiled, and lose what you have loved' > 'you must fly from the land of the Star with no other star to guide you; for that land is defiled. Then you shall lose what you have loved'

§39 'But this much can be seen that' was omitted.

§41 '(the Eagles of Amân) are over Anadûnê!' > 'overshadow Anadûnê!'

§43 'one after another in an endless line' > 'advancing in a line the end of which could not be seen'

§§46–7 This passage in DA II was closely preserved in the final form, including the reference to the fleets of the Adûnâim coming to 'Avallôni in the deeps of the sea', apart from an insertion and alteration following 'For Ar-Pharazôn wavered at the end and almost he turned back' in §47:

> His heart misgave him when he looked upon the soundless shores and saw the Mountain of Amân shining, whiter than snow, colder than Death, silent, alone, immutable, terrible as the shadow of the light of God. But pride was now his master, and at last he left his ship, and strode upon the shore, claiming that land for his own, if none should do battle for it.

This passage was retained in the *Akallabêth* (p. 278), with *Taniquetil* for *the Mountain of Amân* and *Ilúvatar* for *God*.

Following 'the land of Amân and the land of his gift' (near the end of §47) was added 'Amatthâni and Yôzâyan' (see under §23 above).

The final sentence of §47 was changed to read: 'And the Avalôim thereafter had no habitation on Earth, and they dwell invisible; nor is there any place more where a memory of a world without evil is preserved.' See p. 387 (§47, at end).

§§49–50

This crucial passage was at first retained in DA III in exactly the form that it had in DA II (pp. 373–4) with one difference (apart from *Minul-Târik* for *Menil-Tûbal*): the end of §50 was changed to read: 'Therefore some among them would still search the empty seas, *hoping to come upon the Lonely Isle. But they found it not*: "for all the ways are crooked that once were straight," they said.' Already in §49 as it appears in DA I the summit of the Pillar of Heaven is called '*a lonely isle* somewhere in the great waters', if it were to be found rising above the surface of the sea.

Since apart from the statements in §16 that the Nimîr must have dwelt near Anadûnê, and that some said that it was the island of the Nimîr that could be seen, Tol Eressëa is otherwise conspicuous by its absence from *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, and *Avallôni* is a name of the Blessed Realm, it is clear that my father used the name *Lonely Isle* of the summit of the Pillar of Heaven on Anadûnê with a deliberate intention of ambiguity.

Additional typewritten pages were substituted for the conclusion (§§49–55) of the narrative in DA III, and §50 was extended

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in a very remarkable way. The text was not further changed subsequently, and this is the final form of §§49–50 in *The Drowning of Anadûnê* (I give the passage in full for ease of comparison with the conclusion of the *Akallabêth* that follows):

> Now the summit of Mount Minul-Târik, the Pillar of Heaven, in the midst of the land was a hallowed place, for there the Adûnâim had been wont to give thanks to Êru, and to adore him; and even in the days of Zigûr it had not been defiled. Therefore many men believed that it was not drowned for ever, but rose again above the waves, a lonely island lost in the great waters, if haply a mariner should come upon it. And many there were that after sought for it, because it was said among the remnant of the Adûnâim that the far-sighted men of old could see from the Minul-Târik the glimmer of the Deathless Land. For even after their ruin the hearts of the Adûnâim were still set westward; [§50] and though they knew that the world was changed, they said: 'Avallôni is vanished from the Earth, and the Land of Gift is taken away, and in the world of this present darkness they cannot be found; yet once they were, and therefore they still are in true being and in the whole shape of the world.' And the Adûnâim held that men so blessed might look upon other times than those of the body's life; and they longed ever to escape from the shadows of their exile and to see in some fashion the light that was of old. Therefore some among them would still search the empty seas, hoping to come upon the Lonely Isle, and there to see a vision of things that were.
>
> But they found it not, and they said: 'All the ways are bent that once were straight.' For in the youth of the world it was a hard saying to men that the Earth was not plain* as it seemed to be, and few even of the Faithful of Anadûnê had believed in their hearts this teaching; and when in after days, what by star-craft, what by the voyages of ships that sought out all the ways and waters of the Earth, the Kings of Men knew that the world was indeed round, then the belief arose among them that it had so been made only in the time of the great Downfall, and was not thus before. Therefore they thought that, while the new world fell away, the old road and the path of the memory of the Earth went on towards heaven, as it were a mighty bridge invisible. And many were the rumours and tales among them concerning mariners and men forlorn upon the sea, who by some grace or fate had entered in upon

* *plain* is used in the lost sense 'flat'; but cf. the later spelling *plane* of the same word, and the noun *plain*.

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the ancient way and seen the face of the world sink below them, and so had come to the Lonely Isle, or verily to the Land of Amân that was, and had looked upon the White Mountain, dreadful and beautiful, ere they died.

In the *Akallabêth* a good deal of this passage was retained, but given new bearings. I cite it here as it is printed in *The Silmarillion*, pp. 281–2 (some editorial alteration at the beginning and end does not affect the sense of the passage).

Among the Exiles many believed that the summit of the Meneltarma, the Pillar of Heaven, was not drowned for ever, but rose again above the waves, a lonely island lost in the great waters; for it had been a hallowed place, and even in the days of Sauron none had defiled it. And some there were of the seed of Eärendil that afterwards sought for it, because it was said among loremasters that the farsighted men of old could see from the Meneltarma a glimmer of the Deathless Land. For even after the ruin the hearts of the Dúnedain were still set westwards; and though they knew indeed that the world was changed, they said: 'Avallónë is vanished from the Earth and the Land of Aman is taken away, and in the world of this present darkness they cannot be found. Yet once they were, and therefore they still are, in true being and in the whole shape of the world as at first it was devised.'

For the Dúnedain held that even mortal Men, if so blessed, might look upon other times than those of their bodies' life; and they longed ever to escape from the shadows of their exile and to see in some fashion the light that dies not; for the sorrow of the thought of death had pursued them over the deeps of the sea. Thus it was that great mariners among them would still search the empty seas, hoping to come upon the Isle of Meneltarma, and there to see a vision of things that were. But they found it not. And those that sailed far came only to the new lands, and found them like to the old lands, and subject to death. And those that sailed furthest set but a girdle about the Earth and returned weary at last to the place of their beginning; and they said: 'All roads are now bent.'

Thus in after days, what by the voyages of ships, what by lore and star-craft, the kings of Men knew that the world was indeed made round, and yet the Eldar were permitted still to depart and to come to the Ancient West and to Avallónë, if they would. Therefore the loremasters of Men said that a Straight Road must still be, for those that were permitted to find it. And they taught that, while the new world fell away,

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> the old road and the path of the memory of the West still went on, as it were a mighty bridge invisible that passed through the air of breath and of flight (which were bent now as the world was bent), and traversed Ilmen which flesh unaided cannot endure, until it came to Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle, and maybe even beyond, to Valinor, where the Valar still dwell and watch the unfolding of the story of the world. And tales and rumours arose along the shores of the sea concerning mariners and men forlorn upon the water who, by some fate or grace or favour of the Valar, had entered in upon the Straight Way and seen the face of the world sink below them, and so had come to the lamplit quays of Avallónë, or verily to the last beaches on the margin of Aman, and there had looked upon the White Mountain, dreadful and beautiful, before they died.

It will be seen that §49 and the first part of §50 (as far as 'But they found it not') in DA was largely retained in the *Akallabêth* (where however all this passage concerning the speculations of the Exiles was removed to the end of the work). But where DA has 'Avallôni is vanished from the Earth, and the Land of Gift is taken away' the *Akallabêth* has 'Avallónë is vanished from the Earth and the Land of Aman is taken away'. In DA Avallôni *is* the Land of Amân; in the *Akallabêth* it is the haven in Tol Eressëa (see p. 386). In DA those who searched the empty seas hoped to come upon 'the Lonely Isle', which is the summit of the Pillar of Heaven; in the *Akallabêth* they hoped to come upon 'the Isle of Meneltarma'.

In both versions the mariners who sailed west from Middle-earth seeking for the summit of Minul-Târik or Meneltarma discovered by their voyaging that the world was round; but in DA the words are 'that the world was indeed round', whereas in the *Akallabêth* they are 'that the world was indeed *made* round'.

In *The Fall of Númenor* it was explicit, the kernel of the legend of the Cataclysm, that the world was made round at the time of the Downfall (see pp. 386–7): this was the story, and within the story the rounding of the world at that time is a fact, unqualified. In *The Drowning of Anadûnê* the Nimîr (Eldar) had come to the Adûnâim and expressly taught that the world was *of its nature* round ('as an apple it hangeth on the branches of heaven', §23), but Zigûr coming had gainsaid it ('The world was not a circle closed', §31). In this work the author knows that the world is of its nature a globe; but very few of the Adûnâim had believed this teaching until the voyages of the survivors of the Downfall taught them that it was true (cf. the passage

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written on the original text DA I, p. 355: 'For they believed still the lies of Sauron that the world was plain, until their fleets had encompassed all the world seeking for Meneltyūlā, and they knew that it was round'). And so (as he recounts the tradition), rather than accept the true nature of the Round World, 'the belief arose among them that it had so been made only in the time of the great Downfall, and was not thus before.' So it was that the survivors of Anadûnê in the West of Middle-earth came to the conception of the Straight Road: '*Therefore they thought* that, while the new world fell away, the old road and the path of the memory of the Earth went on towards heaven, as it were a mighty bridge invisible.'

This is radically distinct from *The Fall of Númenor* (FN III §11, p. 338): 'For the ancient line of the world remained in the mind of Ilúvatar, and in the thought of the gods, and in the memory of the world, as a shape and plan that has been changed and yet endureth.' The author of *The Fall of Númenor* knows that 'of old many of the exiles of Númenor could still see, some clearly and some more faintly, the paths to the True West'; but for the rationalising author (as he may seem to be) of *The Drowning of Anadûnê* the Straight Road was a belief born of desire and regret.

The author of the *Akallabêth* had both works before him, and in this passage he made use of them both. I give again here the concluding passage of the *Akallabêth* with the sources shown (necessarily somewhat approximately): *The Drowning of Anadûnê* in italic, *The Fall of Númenor* (FN III §§8, 12) in roman between asterisks, and passages not found in either source in roman within brackets.

But they found it not. (And those that sailed far) *came only to the new lands, and found them like to the old lands, and subject to death.* (And those that sailed furthest set but a girdle about the Earth and returned) *weary at last to the place of their beginning;* *and they said: '*All roads are now bent.*'*

Thus in after days, what by the voyages of ships, what by (lore and) *star-craft, the kings of Men knew that the world was indeed* (made) *round,* (and yet the Eldar were permitted still to depart and to come to the Ancient West and to Avallónë, if they would.) *Therefore* (the loremasters of Men said that a Straight Road must still be, for those that were permitted to find it. And they taught) *that, while the new world fell away, the old road and the path of the memory of the* (West still) *went on, as it were a mighty bridge invisible* (that) *passed through the air of breath and of flight* ((which

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were bent now as the world was bent),) *and traversed Ilmen which flesh unaided cannot endure,* (until it came to Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle, and maybe even beyond, to Valinor, where the Valar still dwell and watch the unfolding of the story of the world.) *And tales and rumours* (arose along the shores of the sea) *concerning mariners and men forlorn upon the water who, by some fate or grace* (or favour of the Valar,) *had entered in upon the* (Straight) *Way and seen the face of the world sink below them, and so had come to* (the lamplit quays of Avallónë, or verily to the last beaches on the margin of) *Aman, and there had looked upon the White Mountain, dreadful and beautiful, before they died.*

The intention that lay behind these aspects of *The Drowning of Anadûnê* is discussed in the next section (v).

§51 The description of the gale that followed the Cataclysm was rewritten in DA III to a form close to that in the *Akallabêth* (p. 280), but still retaining the seven ships (see p. 387, §51):

But when the land of Anadûnê toppled to its fall, then he [Nimruzîr] would have been drawn down and perished, and deemed it the lesser grief, for no wrench of death could be more bitter than the ruin of that day; but the wind took him, for it blew still from the West more wild than any wind that Men had known; and it tore away the sails, and snapped the masts, and hunted the unhappy men like straws upon the water; and the deeps rose up in towering anger.

Then the seven ships of Nimruzîr fled before the black gale out of the twilight of doom into the darkness of the world; and waves like moving mountains capped with snow bore them up amid the clouds, and after many days cast them away far inland upon Middle-earth.

On the text of DA IV *seven* was altered in a hastily scribbled change to *twelve*.

§55 At first the conclusion in DA III retained the form in DA II, but it was replaced by the following (with pencilled corrections as shown, appearing in DA IV as typed):

And the name of that land has perished; for neither did men speak of Gimlad, nor of Abarzâyan [> Yôzâyan] the Gift that was taken away, nor of Anadûnê upon the confines of the world; but the exiles on the shores of the Sea, if they turned towards the West, spoke of Akallabê [> Akallabêth] that was whelmed in the waves, the Downfallen, Atalantë in the Nimrian tongue.

Akallabēth is the form in Lowdham's fragments (pp. 247, 312).

*

I have shown (p. 353) that the composition of the original draft DA I of *The Drowning of Anadûnê* fell between that of the sole manuscript E of Part Two of *The Notion Club Papers* and the first typescript F 1 of Night 66 in the *Papers*. The second text DA II fell between F 1 and the replacement F 2 (p. 375), as also did the third text DA III (p. 388, §12). The final text DA IV is the first in which the Adunaic name of 'the Land of Gift' is *Yôzâyan*, the form in F 2; it cannot be seen which of these two texts preceded the other, but this seems to be of slight importance. What is significant about these details, of course, is that they make it certain that the composition of *The Drowning of Anadûnê* was intertwined with and was completed within the same period as the further development of Part Two of *The Notion Club Papers*.

(v) The theory of the work

I turn now to the fundamental question, what is the significance of the extraordinary transformations of, and omissions from, the existing legends in the development of *The Drowning of Anadûnê*? I have headed this section *The theory of the work* because my father used the word in this connection, and because I believe and hope to show that there was a 'theory' behind it.

Before attempting to formulate an answer, there are three extremely curious texts to be considered. All three were written at great speed, dashed down in careless expression as words came to mind, and probably one after the other. Very obviously preceding the emergence of Adunaic, they are a series of sketches of the rapidly evolving conceptions that would underlie the new version of the Númenórean legend that my father was contemplating: the first of them is in fact headed *The theory of this version*.

This first essay, which I will call 'Sketch I', exceedingly rough and disjointed, led on to a second ('Sketch II') which followed I for some distance, enlarging and expanding it, but was then abandoned. It is convenient to give Sketch II first so far as it goes, and then the remainder of I.

Notes on this section will be found on pp. 410 ff.

Evil reincarnates itself from time to time – reiterating, as it were, the Fall.

There were 'Enkeladim' once on earth, but that was not their name in this world: it was *Eledāi* (in Númenórean *Eldar*).[1] After the First Fall they tried to befriend Men, and teach them to love the Earth and all things that grow in it. But evil also was ever at work. There were false Eldar: counterfeits and deceits made by evil, ghosts and goblins, but not always evil to look at. They terrified Men, or else deceived and betrayed them, and hence arose the fear of Men for all the spirits of the Earth.

Men 'awoke' first in the midst of the Great Middle Earth (Europe and Asia), and Asia was first thinly inhabited, before the Dark Ages of great cold. Even before that time Men had spread westward (and eastward) as far as the shores of the Sea. The [Enkeladim >] Eledāi withdrew into waste places or retreated westward.[2]

The Men who journeyed westward were in general those who remained in closest touch with the true Eledāi, and for the most part they were drawn west by the rumour of a land in or beyond the Western Sea which was beautiful, and was the home of the Eledāi where all things were fair and ordered to beauty. This was so for there was a great island in the Ocean where the Eledāi had first 'awakened' when the world was made: that is complete and ready for their operations.

Thus it is that the more beautiful legends (containing truths) arose, of oreads, dryads, and nymphs; and of the *Ljós-alfar*.[3]

At length Men reached the western shores of the Great Lands, and were halted on the shores of the Sea. The shock and awe and longing of that meeting has remained in their descendants ever since, and the Great Sea and the setting sun has been to them the most moving symbol of Death and of Hope for Escape.

In the margin of the text of this page, which ends at this point, my father wrote: 'The Almighty even after the Fall allowed an earthly paradise to be maintained for a while; but the Eledāi were bidden to withdraw thither as men spread – if they would remain as they had been: otherwise they would fade and diminish.'[4]

In times remote, when Men, though they had now wandered for many many lives upon the face of the Earth, were yet young and untutored (save such few kindreds as had become knit in friendship with the western Eledāi, and their language had become enriched, and they knew verse and song and other arts), evil once again took visible shape. A great tyrant arose, first as the war-lord of a tribe, but he grew slowly to a mighty king, magician, and finally a god. In the midst [*written above:* North?] of the Great Lands was the seat of this terrible dominion, and all about men became enslaved to him. In that time Darkness became terrible. The black power slowly extended westward; for Melekō[5] knew that there lingered the most powerful and beneficent of the Eledāi, and that their friendship with Men was the greatest obstacle to his complete dominion.

Those among Men of the West who were most filled with sea-hunger began to make boats, aided and inspired (as in much else) by the Eledāi, and they began to essay the waters, at first with fear, but with growing mastery of wind and tide, and of themselves. But now war broke out, for the forces of Melekō threatened the lands of the west marches of the sea. The Men of the West were strong, and free, and the Easterlings of Melekō were driven back

again and again. But this was only a respite, for the Easterlings were innumerable, and the attack was ever renewed with greater force; and Melekō sent phantoms and demons and spirits of evil into the western lands, so that these also might become intolerable and a time of dread, when men cowered in their houses and looked no more on the stars.

The Eledāi had long disappeared. Some said they had died, or faded into nothing; some that they had never been, and were but the inventions of old-time tales; some few that they had passed over the Sea to their land in the West.

A mariner arose in that time who was called Earendel, and he was king of Men upon the west shore of the Great Sea in the North of the world. He reported that once taken by a great wind he had been borne far out of his course and had indeed seen many islands in the regions of the setting sun – and one most remote from which there came a scent as of gardens of fair flowers. And it came to pass that all the Men of the West who had not died or fallen or fled into waste places were now hemmed in a narrow land, a large island some say, and they were assailed by Melekō, but only because their land was an isle, divided by a narrow water from the Great Lands, were they able still to hold out. Then Earendel took his ship and said farewell to his people. For he said it was his purpose to sail into the West and find the Eledāi and ask for their help. 'But I shall not return,' he said. 'If I fail then the sea will have me, but if I succeed then a new star will arise in heaven.'

And what deeds Earendel did upon his last voyage is not known for certain, for he was not seen again among living Men. But after some years a new star did indeed arise in the West, and it was very bright; and then many men began to look for the return of the Eledāi to their aid; but they were hard pressed by evil.

Here Sketch II ends as a continuously written text, but my father added some scribbled and disjointed notes at the end, which include this passage:

> Melekō was defeated with the aid of the Eledāi and of the Powers, but many Men had seceded to him. The Powers (under orders of Ilúvatar) withdrew the Eledāi to the Isle of Eresse, whose chief haven was westward, Avallon(de).[6] Those that remained in Middle-earth withered and faded. But faithful men of the Eruhildi (Turkildi) were also given an isle, between Eresse and Middle-earth.

Sketch I (written at extreme speed in soft pencil on small slips) was essentially the same as Sketch II, though much briefer, to the point where Earendel enters in the latter. In Sketch I, however, there was no reference to Earendel, and all that is told is that when there came a respite in the war with 'the tyrant' (who is not named in this text) 'and

his Easterlings' the Men of the West set sail, having been instructed in the art of ship-building by 'the last lingering Enkeladim' and they landed 'on a large island in the midst of the Great Sea'. At the head of the page my father noted: 'The first to set sail was Earendel. He was never seen again.' Then follows (in very slightly edited form):

But there is another smaller isle out of sight to the West – and beyond that rumour of a Great Land [?uninhabited] in the West.

This island is called Westernesse Númenor, the other Eressëa.

The religion of the Númenóreans was simple. A belief in a Creator of All, Ilúvatar. But he is very remote. Still they offered bloodless sacrifice. His temple was the *Pillar of Heaven*, a high mountain in the centre of the island. They believed Ilúvatar to dwell outside the world altogether; but symbolized that by saying he dwelt in High Heaven.

[*Added:* But they believe he has under him Powers (Valar), some at his special command, some residing in the world for its immediate government. These though *good* and servants of God are inexorable, and ..... hostile in a sense. They do not pray to them but they fear and obey them (if ever any contact occur). Some are Valandili (Lovers of the Powers).]

But they believe the world flat, and that 'the Lords of the West' (Gods) dwell beyond the great barrier of cloud hills – where there is no death and the Sun is renewed and passes under the world to rise again.

[*Struck out:* His servants for the governance of the world were Enkeladim and other greater spirits. *Added:* There were lesser beings – especially associated with living things and with making ... – called Eldar.] These they asked for assistance in need. Some still sailed to Eressëa. [*In margin:* Elendili] But the most did not, and except among the wise the theory arose that the great spirits or Gods (*not* Ilúvatar) dwelt in the West in a Great Land beyond the sun. [*Bracketed:* The Enkeladim told them that the world was round, but that was a hard saying to them.] Some of their great mariners tried to find out.

They lived to a great age, 200 years or more, but all the more longed for longer life. They envied the Enkeladim. They grew mighty in ship-building, and began to adventure to sea. Some try to reach the West beyond Eressëa but fail to return.

The Pillar of Heaven in neglected by all but a few. The kings build great houses. The custom of sending their bodies adrift to sea in an east wind grows up. The east wind begins to symbolize Death.[7]

Some sail back to the Dark Lands. There they are greeted with awe, for they are very tall ..... They teach true religion but are treated as gods.

Sauron comes into being.

He cannot prevail in arms against the Númenóreans who now have many fortresses in the West.

The text ends with a very rough sketch of the coming of Sauron and the Downfall. 'Sauron is brought to Númenor to do allegiance to Tarkalion'. He 'preaches a great sermon', teaching that Ilúvatar does not exist, but that the world is ruled by the Gods, who have shut themselves in the West, hating Men and denying them life. The one good God has been thrust out of the world into the Void; but he will return. In an added passage (but no doubt belonging to the time of the writing of the text) it is told, remarkably, that 'Sauron says *the world is round*. There is nothing outside but Night – and other worlds.'[8]

Sauron has 'a great domed temple' built on the Pillar of Heaven (see p. 384), and there human sacrifice takes place, the purpose of which is 'to add the lives of the slain to the chosen living'. The Faithful are persecuted, and chosen for the sacrifice; 'a few fly to Eressëa asking for help – but the Eressëans have departed or hidden themselves.' A vast fleet is prepared 'to assault Eressëa and go on to take the West Land from the Gods'; and the text ends with the bare statements that the fleet was sucked into the great chasm that opened, and that 'only those Númenóreans who had withdrawn east of the isle and refused to .... war were saved.' This is followed by a morass of names, including 'Elendil son of Valandil and his sons Árundil and Firiel', from which emerges 'Elendil and his sons Isildur and Anárion'. Finally there are some further notes: 'Sauron flees East also. The Pillar of Heaven is volcanic.[9] Sauron builds a great temple on a hill near where he had landed. The Pillar of Heaven also begins to smoke and he calls it a sign; and most believe him.'

The third text ('Sketch III') begins with a note on names: '*Ilūve Ilu:* Heaven, the universe, all that is (with and without the Earth); *menel:* the heavens, the firmament.'[10] Then follows:

> In the beginning was *Eru* the One God (*Ilúvatar* the Allfather, *Sanavaldo* the Almighty). He appointed powers (*Valar*) to rule and order the Earth (*Arda*). One *Melekō*, the chief, became evil. There were also two kindreds of lesser beings, Elves : *Eldar* (**Eledāi*), and Men (*Hildi* = sons, or followers). The Eledāi came first, as soon as Arda became habitable by living things, to govern there, to perfect the *arts* of using and ordering the material of the Earth to perfection and beauty in detail, and to prepare the way for Men. Men (the Followers or Second Kindred) came second, but it is guessed that in the first design of God they were destined (after tutelage) to take on the governance of all the Earth, and ultimately to become Valar, to 'enrich Heaven', *Ilúve*. But Evil (incarnate in Melekō) seduced them, and they fell. They became immediately estranged from the Eldar and Valar. For Melekō represented their tutelage as usurpation by

Eldar and Valar of Men's rightful heritage. God forbade the Powers to interfere by violence or might. But they sent many messages to Men, and the Eldar constantly tried to befriend Men and to teach them. But the power of Melekō increased, and the Valar retreated to the isle of *Eresse* in the Great Seas far west of the Great Lands (*Kemen*) – where they had always had as it were a habitation and centre in their early strife with Melekō.[11]

Melekō now (because evil decreased him, or to further his designs, or both) took visible shape as a Tyrant King, and his seat was in the North. He made many counterfeits of the Eledāi who were evil (but did not always so appear), and who cozened and betrayed Men, and so increased their fear and suspicion of the true Eldar.

There was war between the Powers and Melekō (the second war: the first had been in the making of the world, before Elves and Men were). Though all Men had 'fallen', not all remained enslaved. Some repented, rebelled against Melekō, and made friends of the Eldar, and tried to be loyal to God. They had no worship but to offer firstfruits to Eru on high places. They were not wholly happy, as Eru seemed far off, and they dared not pray to him direct; and so they regarded the Valar as gods, and so were often corrupted and deceived by Melekō, taking him or his servants (or phantoms) for 'gods'. But in the war against the seats of Melekō in the North there were *three kindreds* of good men (sons of God, *Eruhildi*) who were wholly faithful and never sided with Melekō. Among these there was *Earendel*, and he was alone of Men partly of the kindred of the Eledāi, and he became the first of Men to sail upon the Sea. In the days of the Second War when Men and the remaining Eledāi were hard pressed he set sail West. He said: 'I shall not return. If I fail you will hear no more of me. If I do not fail a new star will arise in the West.' He came to Eresse and spoke the embassy of the Two Kindreds before the Chief of the Valar, and they were moved. But Earendel was not suffered to return among living men, and his vessel was set to rise in the sky as a sign that his message was accepted. And Elves and Men saw it, and believed help would come, and were enheartened. And the Powers came and aided Elves and Men to overthrow Melekō, and his bodily shape was destroyed, and his spirit banished.

But the Powers now withdrew the Eldar to Eresse (where they had themselves dwelled, but now they had no longer any local habitation on earth, and seldom took shape visible to Elves or Men). Those who lingered in Kemen were doomed to fade and wither. But in Eresse was long maintained an earthly paradise filled with all beauties of growth and art (without excesses), the dwelling of the Eldar, a memorial of what Earth 'might have been' but for Evil. But the Men (Eruhildi) of the Faithful Houses were allowed (if they

would) to go and dwell in another isle (greater but less fair) between Eresse and Middle-earth. Elros son of Earendel was their first king, in the land of Andor also called Númenor: so that the kings of the Númenóreans were called 'Heirs of Earendel'. Earendel was not only partly of Elf-kin but he was an Elf-friend (*Elendil*), whence the Kings of Númenor were also called *Elendilli (Ælfwinas)*. [*Marginal addition:* Elrond his other son elected to remain in Kemen and dwell with Men and the Elves that yet [?abode] in the West of Middle-earth.]

In that time the world was very forlorn and forsaken, for only fading Elves dwelt in the West of Middle-earth, and the best of Men (save others of the Eruhildi far away in the midst of Kemen) had gone westward. But even the Eruhildi of Númenor were mortal. For the Powers were not allowed to abrogate that decree of God after the fall (that Men should die and should leave the world not at their own will but by fate and unwilling); but they were permitted to grant the Númenóreans a threefold span (over 200 years).

And in Númenor the Eruhildi became wise and fair and glorious, the mightiest of Men, but not very numerous (for their children were not many). Under the tutelage of the Eressëans – whose language they adopted (though in course of time they altered it much) – they had song and poesy, music, and all crafts; but in no craft did they have such skill and delight as in ship-building, and they sailed on many seas. In those days they were permitted, or such of their kings and wise men who were favoured and called Elf-friends (*Elendilli*), to voyage to Eresse; but there they might come only to the haven of *Avallon(de)* on the east side of the isle and the city of [Túna >] Tirion on the hill behind, there to stay but a short while.[12] Though often the Elendilli craved to abide in Eresse this was not permitted to them by command of the Powers (received from God); for the Eruhildi remained mortal and doomed at the last to grow weary of the world and to die, even their high-kings the heirs of Earendel. And they were not suffered to sail beyond Eresse westward, where they heard rumour of a New Land, for the Powers were not willing that that land should as yet be occupied by Men. But the hearts of the Eruhildi felt pity for the forsaken world of Middle-earth, and often they sailed there, and wise men or princes of the Númenóreans would at times come among men in the Dark Ages and teach them language, and song, and arts, and bring to them corn and wine; and men of Middle-earth revered their memory as gods. And in one or two places nigh to the sea men of the western race made settlements and became kings and the fathers of kings. But at last all this bliss turned to evil, and men fell a second time.

For there arose a second manifestation of Evil upon Earth, whether the spirit of Melekō himself took new (though lesser) form,

or whether it were one of Melekō's servants that had lurked in the dark and now received the [? counsel] of Melekō out of the Void and waxed great and wicked, tales differ. But this evil thing was called by many names, and the Eruhildi called him *Sauron*, and he sought to be both king over all kings, and to Men both king and god. His seat was southward and eastward in Kemen, and his power over Men (especially east and south) grew ever greater and moved westward, driving away the lingering Eledāi and subjugating more and more of the kindred of the Eruhildi who had not gone to Númenor. And Sauron learned of Númenor and its power and glory; and to Númenor in the days of Tarkalion the Golden (the [21st >] tenth in the line from Earendel)[13] news came of Sauron and his power, and that he purposed to take the dominion of all Kemen, and of all the Earth after.

But in the meanwhile evil had been at work [?already] in the hearts of the Númenóreans; for the desire of everlasting life and to escape death grew ever stronger upon them; and they murmured against the prohibition that excluded them from Eresse, and the Powers were displeased with them. And they forbade them now even to land upon the island. At this time of estrangement from Eledāi and Valāi Tarkalion hearing of Sauron determined without counsel of Eldar or Valar to demand the allegiance and homage of Sauron. ... [*sic*]

Númenor cast down.

Eresse and the Eledāi removed from the world save in memory and the world delivered to Men. Men of Númenórean blood could still see Eresse as a mirage [?on] a straight road leading thither.

The ancient Númenóreans knew (being taught by the Eledāi) that the Earth was round; but Sauron taught them that it was a disc and flat, and beyond was nothing, where his master ruled. But he said that beyond Eresse was a land in the [?utter] West where the Gods dwelt in bliss, and usurped the good things of the Earth.[14] And that it was his mission to bring Men to that promised land, and overthrow the greedy and idle Powers. And Tarkalion believed him, being hungry for life undying.

And the Númenóreans after the downfall still spoke of the Straight Road that ran on when the Earth was bent. But the good ones – those that fled from Númenor and took no part in the war on Eresse – used this only in symbol. For by 'that which is beyond Eresse' they meant the world of eternity and the spirit, in the region of Ilúvatar.[15]

Here this text ends, with lines drawn showing that it was completed. All the concluding passage (from 'The ancient Númenóreans knew ...'), concerning the shape of the world and the meaning of the Straight Road, was struck through, the only part of the text so treated.

It will be seen that in the latter part of Sketch III appear a number of phrases that survived into *The Drowning of Anadûnê* (such as 'men fell a second time', 'there arose a second manifestation (of Evil) upon Earth', 'this evil thing was called by many names').

It seems to me that there are broadly speaking two possible lines of explanation of my father's thinking at this time. On the one hand, many years had passed since the progressive development of 'The Silmarillion' had been disrupted, and during all that time the actual narrative manuscripts had lain untouched; but it cannot be thought that he had put it altogether out of mind, that it had not continued to evolve unseen. Above all, the relation between the self-contained mythology of 'The Silmarillion' and the story of *The Lord of the Rings* boded problems of a profound nature. This work had now been at a standstill for more than a year; but *The Notion Club Papers* was leading to the re-emergence of Númenor as an increasingly important element in the whole, even as the Númenórean kingdoms in Middle-earth had grown so greatly in significance in *The Lord of the Rings*.

It might seem at least arguable, therefore, that the departures from the 'received tradition' (not a line of which had been published, as must always be borne in mind) seen in my father's writing at this time represent the emergence of new ideas, even to the extent of an actual dismantling and transformation of certain deeply embedded conceptions. Chief among these are the nature of the 'dwelling' of the Valar in Arda and the interrelated question of 'the shape of the world'; and the 'Fall of Men', seduced in their beginning by 'Mēlekō', but followed by the repentance of some and their rebellion against him.

On the other hand, it may be argued that these developments were inspired by a specific purpose in respect only of *The Drowning of Anadûnê*. Essentially this is the view that I myself take; but the other is not thereby excluded radically or at all points, for ideas that here first appear would have repercussions at a later time.

It will be seen that the 'sketches' just given are remarkably dissimilar in many points, although it is true that their haste and brevity, a certain vagueness of language, and my father's characteristic way of omitting some features and enlarging on others in successive 'outlines', make it often difficult to decide whether differences are more apparent than real. But I shall not in any case embark on any comparative analysis, for I think it will be agreed without further discussion that these 'sketches', taken with the opening texts of *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, give a strong impression of uncertainty on my father's part: they are like a kaleidoscopic succession of different patternings, as he sought for a comprehensive conception that would satisfy his aim.

But what was that aim? The key, I think, is to be found in the treatment of the Elves (*Enkeladim*, *Eledāi*, *Eldar*, *Nimrî* or *Nimîr*). For beyond a few very generalised ideas nothing is known of them: of

their origin and history, of the Great March, of the rebellion of the Noldor, of their cities in Beleriand, of the long war against Morgoth. In the first text of *The Drowning of Anadûnê* this ignorance is extended beyond that of the 'sketches' to a total obscuration of the distinction between Valar and Eldar (see pp. 353–4), although in the second text the Eldar appear under the Adunaic name *Nimrî*. In the 'sketches' the isle of Eressëa (Eresse) appears, yet confusedly, for (in Sketch III) the Valar dwelt on Eresse, and it was to Eresse that Earendel came and spoke before 'the Chief of the Valar'; while in *The Drowning of Anadûnê* Tol Eressëa has virtually disappeared.

Where could such ignorance of the Elves be found but in the minds of Men of a later time? This, I believe, is what my father was concerned to portray: a tradition of Men, through long ages become dim and confused. At this time, perhaps, in the context of *The Notion Club Papers* and of the vast enlargement of his great story that was coming into being in *The Lord of the Rings*, he began to be concerned with questions of 'tradition' and the vagaries of tradition, the losses, confusions, simplifications and amplifications in the evolution of legend, as they might apply to his own – within the always enlarging compass of Middle-earth. This is speculation; it would have been helpful indeed if he had at this time left any record or note, however brief, of his reflections. But many years later he did write such a note, though brief indeed, on the envelope that contains the texts of *The Drowning of Anadûnê*:

> Contains very old version (in Adunaic) which is good – in so far as it is just as much different (in inclusion and omission and emphasis) as would be probable in the supposed case:
> (a) Mannish tradition
> (b) Elvish tradition
> (c) Mixed Dúnedanic tradition

The handwriting and the use of a ball-point pen suggest a relatively late date, and were there no other evidence I would guess it to be some time in the 1960s. But it is certain that what appears to have been the final phase of my father's work on Númenor (*A Description of Númenor, Aldarion and Erendis*) dates from the mid-1960s (*Unfinished Tales* pp. 7–8); and it may be that the *Akallabêth* derives from that period also.

At any rate, there is here unequivocal evidence of how, long afterwards, he perceived his intention in *The Drowning of Anadûnê*: it was, specifically, 'Mannish tradition'. It could well be that – while the 'sketches' preceded the emergence of Adunaic – the conception of such a work was an important factor in the appearance of the new language at this time.

It seems to me likely that by 'Elvish tradition' he meant *The Fall of Númenor*; and since 'Mixed Dúnedanic tradition' presumably means

a mixture of Elvish and Númenórean tradition, he was in this surely referring to the *Akallabêth*, in which both *The Fall of Númenor* and *The Drowning of Anadûnê* were used (see pp. 376, 395–6).

I conclude therefore that the marked differences in the preliminary sketches reflect my father's shifting ideas of what the 'Mannish tradition' might be, and how to present it: he was sketching rapidly possible modes in which the memory, and the forgetfulness, of Men in Middle-earth, descendants of the Exiles of Númenor, might have transformed their early history.[16]

In *The Drowning of Anadûnê* the confusions and obscurities of the 'Mannish tradition' were in fact deepened, in relation to the preliminary sketches: in the submergence of the Elves under the general term *Avalāi* in DA I, and in the virtual disappearance of Tol Eressëa, with the name 'Lonely Isle' given to the summit of the Pillar of Heaven sought by seafarers after the Downfall. It is seen too in the treatment of 'Avallon(de)': for in the sketches (see note 12) this name appears already in the final application, the eastward haven in Tol Eressëa, while in DA I the reference of *Avallondē* is obscure, and in the subsequent texts *Avallôni* is used of the Blessed Realm (see pp. 379 §16, 385 §47). My father seems not to have finally resolved how to present the Blessed Realm in this tradition; or, more probably, he chose to leave it as a matter 'unsure and dim'. In Sketch III it is told that after the banishment of Melekō from the world the Powers 'had no longer any local habitation on earth', and the Land of the Gods in the far West seems to be presented as a lie of Sauron's (see note 14). In *The Drowning of Anadûnê* (§16) those in Anadûnê who argued that the distant city seen over the water was an isle where the Nimrî (Nimîr) dwelt held also that 'mayhap the Avalôi(m) had no visible dwelling upon Earth'; yet later it is recounted (§47, and still more explicitly in the revision made to this passage, p. 391) that Ar-Pharazôn set foot on the Land of Amân, and after the Land of Amân was swallowed in the abyss 'the Avalôi(m) thereafter had no habitation on Earth'.

The attempt to analyse and order these shifting and fugitive conceptions will perhaps yield in the end no more than an understanding of what the problems were that my father was revolving in his mind. But since there is no reason to think that he turned to the subject of Númenor again, after he had forced himself to return to the plight of Sam Gamgee at the subterranean door of the Tower of Kirith Ungol, until many years had passed, it is interesting to see what he wrote of it in his long letter to Milton Waldman in 1951 (*Letters* no. 131): and I reprint two extracts from that letter here.

> Thus, as the Second Age draws on, we have a great Kingdom and evil theocracy (for Sauron is also the god of his slaves) growing up in

Middle-earth. In the West – actually the North-West is the only part clearly envisaged in these tales – lie the precarious refuges of the Elves, while Men in those parts remains more or less uncorrupted if ignorant. The better and nobler sort of Men are in fact the kin of those that had departed to Númenor, but remain in a simple 'Homeric' state of patriarchal and tribal life.

Meanwhile *Númenor* has grown in wealth, wisdom, and glory, under its line of great kings of long life, directly descended from Elros, Earendil's son, brother of Elrond. The *Downfall of Númenor*, the Second Fall of Man (or Man rehabilitated but still mortal), brings on the catastrophic end, not only of the Second Age, but of the Old World, the primeval world of legend (envisaged as flat and bounded). After which the Third Age began, a Twilight Age, a Medium Aevum, the first of the broken and changed world; the last of the lingering dominion of visible fully incarnate Elves, and the last also in which Evil assumes a single dominant incarnate shape.

The *Downfall* is partly the result of an inner weakness in Men – consequent, if you will, upon the first Fall (unrecorded in these tales), repented but not finally healed. Reward on earth is more dangerous for men than punishment! The Fall is achieved by the cunning of Sauron in exploiting this weakness. Its central theme is (inevitably, I think, in a story of Men) a Ban, or Prohibition.

The Númenóreans dwell within far sight of the easternmost 'immortal' land, Eressëa; and as the only men to speak an Elvish tongue (learned in the days of their Alliance) they are in constant communication with their ancient friends and allies, either in the bliss of Eressëa, or in the kingdom of Gilgalad on the shores of Middle-earth. They became thus in appearance, and even in powers of mind, hardly distinguishable from the Elves – but they remained mortal, even though rewarded by a triple, or more than a triple, span of years. Their reward is their undoing – or the means of their temptation. Their long life aids their achievements in art and wisdom, but breeds a possessive attitude to these things, and desire awakes for more *time* for their enjoyment. Foreseeing this in part, the gods laid a Ban on the Númenóreans from the beginning: they must never sail to Eressëa, nor westward out of sight of their own land. In all other directions they could go as they would. They must not set foot on 'immortal' lands, and so become enamoured of an immortality (within the world), which was against their law, the special doom or gift of Ilúvatar (God), and which their nature could not in fact endure.

But at last Sauron's plot comes to fulfilment. Tar-Calion feels old age and death approaching, and he listens to the last prompting of Sauron, and building the greatest of all armadas, he sets sail into

the West, breaking the Ban, and going up with war to wrest from the gods 'everlasting life within the circles of the world'. Faced by this rebellion, of appalling folly and blasphemy, and also real peril (since the Númenóreans directed by Sauron could have wrought ruin in Valinor itself) the Valar lay down their delegated power and appeal to God, and receive the power and permission to deal with the situation; the old world is broken and changed. A chasm is opened in the sea and Tar-Calion and his armada is engulfed. Númenor itself on the edge of the rift topples and vanishes for ever with all its glory into the abyss. Thereafter there is no visible dwelling of the divine or immortal on earth. Valinor (or Paradise) and even Eressëa are removed, remaining only in the memory of the earth. Men may sail now West, if they will, as far as they may, and come no nearer to Valinor or the Blessed Realm, but return only into the east and so back again; for the world is round, and finite, and a circle inescapable – save by death. Only the 'immortals', the lingering Elves, may still if they will, wearying of the circle of the world, take ship and find the 'straight way', and come to the ancient or True West, and be at peace.

Three years later my father said in a letter to Hugh Brogan (18 September 1954, *Letters* no. 151):

> Middle-earth is just archaic English for *ἡ οἰκουμένη*, the inhabited world of men. It lay then as it does. In fact just as it does, round and inescapable. That is partly the point. The new situation, established at the beginning of the Third Age, leads on eventually and inevitably to ordinary History, and we here see the process culminating. If you or I or any of the mortal men (or hobbits) of Frodo's day had set out over sea, west, we should, as now, eventually have come back (as now) to our starting point. Gone was the 'mythological' time when Valinor (or Valimar), the Land of the Valar (gods if you will) existed physically in the Uttermost West, or the Eldaic (Elvish) immortal Isle of Eressëa; or the Great Isle of Westernesse (Númenor-Atlantis). After the Downfall of Númenor, and its destruction, all this was removed from the 'physical' world, and not reachable by material means. Only the Eldar (or High-Elves) could still sail thither, forsaking time and mortality, but never returning.

A week later he wrote to Naomi Mitchison (25 September 1954, *Letters* no. 154):

> Actually in the imagination of this story we are now living on a physically round Earth. But the whole 'legendarium' contains a transition from a flat world (or at least an *οἰκουμένη* with borders all about it) to a globe: an inevitable transition, I suppose, to a modern 'myth-maker' with a mind subjected to the same 'appearances' as ancient men, and partly fed on their myths, but taught that the

Earth was round from the earliest years. So deep was the impression made by 'astronomy' on me that I do not think I could deal with or imaginatively conceive a flat world, though a world of static Earth with a Sun going round it seems easier (to fancy if not to reason).

The particular 'myth' which lies behind this tale, and the mood both of Men and Elves at this time, is the Downfall of Númenor: a special variety of the Atlantis tradition. ...

I have written an account of the Downfall, which you might be interested to see. But the immediate point is that before the Downfall there lay beyond the sea and the west-shores of Middle-earth an *earthly* Elvish paradise Eressëa, and *Valinor* the land of the *Valar* (the Powers, the Lords of the West), places that could be reached physically by ordinary sailing-ships, though the Seas were perilous. But after the rebellion of the Númenóreans, the Kings of Men, who dwelt in a land most westerly of all mortal lands, and eventually in the height of their pride attempted to occupy Eressëa and Valinor by force, Númenor was destroyed, and Eressëa and Valinor removed from the physically attainable Earth: the way west was open, but led nowhere but back again – for mortals.

NOTES

1 The name *Eledāi* occurs in DA II (and subsequent texts) §5, as the name of the Nimrî (Nimîr) in their own language. On Michael Ramer's *Enkeladim* see pp. 199, 206 and note 65, 303.

2 Sketch I has here: 'The Great Central Land, Europe and Asia, was first inhabited. Men awoke in Mesopotamia. Their fates as they spread were very various. But the Enkeladim withdrew ever west.'

3 *Ljós-alfar:* Old Norse, 'Light-elves', mentioned in the 'Prose Edda' of Snorri Sturluson.

4 Cf. DA II (and subsequent texts) §16: 'For as yet Eru permitted the Avalôi to maintain upon Earth ... an abiding place' (DA I 'an abiding place, an earthly paradise').

In my father's exposition of his work to Milton Waldman in 1951 there is a passage of interest in relation to the opening of this sketch (*Letters* no. 131, pp. 147–8):

> In the cosmogony there is a fall: a fall of Angels we should say. Though quite different in form, of course, to that of the Christian myth. These tales are 'new', they are not directly derived from other myths and legends, but they must inevitably contain a large measure of ancient wide-spread motives or elements. After all, I believe that legends and myths are largely made of 'truth', and indeed present aspects of it that can only be received in this mode; and long ago certain truths and modes of this kind were discovered and must always reappear.

There cannot be any 'story' without a fall – all stories are ultimately about the fall – at least not for human minds as we know them and have them.

So, proceeding, the Elves have a fall, before their 'history' can become storial. (The first fall of Man, for reasons explained, nowhere appears – Men do not come on the stage until all that is long past, and there is only a rumour that for a while they fell under the domination of the Enemy and that some repented.) The main body of the tale, the *Silmarillion* proper, is about the fall of the most gifted kindred of the Elves...

Notable here is my father's reference to 'a rumour that for a while [Men] fell under the domination of the Enemy and that some repented', and see also the further citation from this letter on p. 408; with this cf. DA II (and subsequent texts) §§3–4:

At the appointed hour Men were born into the world, and they were called the Eru-hîn, the children of God; but they came in a time of war and shadow, and they fell swiftly under the domination of Mulkhêr, and they served him. ... But some there were of the fathers of Men who repented, seeing the evil of the Lord Mulkhêr and that his shadow grew ever longer on the Earth; and they and their sons returned with sorrow to the allegiance of Eru, and they were befriended by the Avalôi, and received again their ancient name, Eruhîn, children of God.

Of this there is no suggestion in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.274–6); cf. however the suggestions in Chapter 17 of the published *Silmarillion* ('that a darkness lay upon the hearts of Men (as the shadow of the Kinslaying and the Doom of Mandos lay upon the Noldor) [the Eldar] perceived clearly even in the people of the Elf-friends whom they first knew').

At the head of the following page of the text is a very rough and disjointed note in which are named the *Eruhildi*, sons of God, descended from Shem or Japheth (sons of Noah).

5 *Melekō*: a footnote to the text states: 'He had many names in different tongues, but such was his name among the Númenóreans, which means Tyrant.' This is the form of the name in DA I, but with long first vowel: *Mēlekō*.

6 *Eresse* is the form in the earlier version of Edwin Lowdham's Old English text, pp. 313–14. – On the haven of *Avallon(de)* see note 12. In 'whose chief haven was westward' read 'eastward'.

7 In *The Fall of Númenor* (§10) ship-burial came to be practised by the Exiles on the western coasts of Middle-earth.

8 This (presumably) contradicts the earlier, bracketed, statement in this same text (p. 400): 'The Enkeladim told them that the world was round, but that was a hard saying to them.' The statement here is of course the opposite of the story in *The Drowning of*

Anadûnê (§§23, 31), where Sauron taught that the world was flat, contradicting the instruction of the messengers of the Avalôi(m). In Sketch III (p. 404) 'The ancient Númenóreans knew (being taught by the Eledāi) that the Earth was round; but Sauron taught them that it was a disc and flat, and beyond was nothing, where his master ruled.'

9 *The Pillar of Heaven is volcanic:* cf. Lowdham's comment on Frankley's poem (p. 265): 'Your Volcano is ... apparently a last peak of some Atlantis.'

10 On *Ilu*, *Ilúve*, see IV.241, V.47, 63, and the *Etymologies*, stem IL, V.361. The word *menel* first occurs here or in the manuscript E of Part Two of *The Notion Club Papers*, in the name *Menelminda* of the Pillar of Heaven (p. 302).

11 The first occurrence of the word *kemen* in the texts, but cf. the added entry stem KEM- in the *Etymologies*, V.363.

where they had always had as it were a habitation and centre in their early strife with Melekō: the legend that the isle on which the Valar dwelt before Morgoth overthrew the Lamps was also that on which Ulmo ferried the Elves to Valinor, and which Ossë anchored to the sea-bottom far out in the ocean, so that it was named 'the Lonely Isle'. The original form of the story is found in *The Book of Lost Tales* ('The Coming of the Elves', I.118 ff.) and then in the successive versions of 'The Silmarillion': the 'Sketch of the Mythology' from the 1920s (IV.12, 14, 45), the *Quenta Noldorinwa* (IV.80, 86), and the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.208, 221–2).

12 In the earlier version of the Old English text of the surviving page of Edwin Lowdham's manuscript (pp. 313–14) the Númenóreans were forbidden to land on Eresse. Here they may visit the isle, but only briefly, and only the haven of Avallon(de) and the city of [Túna >] Tirion 'on the hill behind'; subsequently the Powers, in their displeasure, transmuted this into a prohibition against landing on Eresse at all (p. 404). On the reference to 'the city of [Túna >] Tirion on the hill behind' see note 16.

In notes added to Sketch II (p. 399), as well as in the present passage, 'Avallon(de)' appears as the name of the haven in Eresse, and this is where the final application of the name (later *Avallónë*) first appears (in FN III *Avallon* was still the name of the Lonely Isle, as it remained in the earlier Old English text referred to above).

13 *tenth in the line from Earendel*: this can be equated with the statement in DA II §20 (see the commentary, p. 381) if Earendel is himself numbered, as the first in the line though not the first king of Númenor.

14 This presumably implies that the idea of a land in the far West where the Gods dwelt was a lie of Sauron's. Earlier in the text

(p. 402) it has been told that the Gods had dwelt in Eresse, but after the final overthrow of Melekō 'they had no longer any local habitation on earth' (cf. also Sketch I, p. 400: 'except among the wise the theory arose that the great spirits or Gods ... dwelt in the West in a Great Land beyond the sun'). See further p. 407.

15 Cf. VIII.164 and note 37.

16 A curious case is presented by the statement in Sketch III, p. 403, that 'the city of [Túna >] Tirion' was 'on the hill behind the haven of Avallon(de)'; for Tún(a), Tirion was of course the city of the Elves in Valinor. One might suppose that Homer nodded here; but in the earliest draft of an Old English text for 'Edwin Lowdham's page' (p. 316), which closely followed *The Fall of Númenor* §6, it is told that the Númenóreans, landing in Valinor, set fire to the city of Túna. The statement in Sketch III is therefore more probably to be taken as intentional, an example of a famous name handed down in tradition but with its true application forgotten.

(vi) Lowdham's Report on the Adunaic Language

This is a typescript made by my father that ends at the bottom of its seventeenth page, at which point he abandoned it (there is no reason to suppose that further pages existed but were lost). That it belongs with the final texts DA III and DA IV of *The Drowning of Anadûnê* is readily seen from various names and name-forms, as *Nimīr*, *Azrubēl*, *Adūnāim*, *Minul-Tārik*, *Amatthāni* (see p. 388, §§5, 8, 13, 20, 23).

In printing 'Lowdham's Report' I have followed my father's text very closely indeed, retaining his use of capitals, italics, marks of length, etc. despite some apparent inconsistency, except where corrections are obvious and necessary. The only point in which I have altered his presentation is in the matter of the notes. These (as became his usual practice in essays of this sort) he simply interspersed in the body of the text as he composed it; but as some of them are very substantial I have thought it best to collect them together at the end. I have added no commentary of my own.

It may be noted that the 'we' of Lowdham's introduction refers to himself and Jeremy; cf. Footnotes 2 and 6 on pp. 432–3.

ADUNAIC

It is difficult, of course, to say anything about the pre-history of a language which, as far as my knowledge goes, has no close relations with any other tongue. The other contemporary language that came through together with Adunaic in my earlier 'hearings', and which I have called Avallonian, appears to be

distinct and unrelated, at least not 'cognate'. But I guess that originally, or far back beyond these records, Avallonian and Adunaic were in some way related. It is in fact clear now that Avallonian is the *Nimriyē* or 'Nimrian tongue' referred to in the very early Exilic text that we have managed to get concerning the Downfall. In that case it must be the language of the *Nimīr*, or a western form of it, and so be the ultimate source of the languages of Men in the west of the Old World. Perhaps I should rather say that the glimpses of the 'Nimrian tongue' that we have received show us a language, itself doubtless much changed, that is *directly* descended from the primeval Nimrian. From that Nimrian in a later stage, but still older than the Avallonian, the ancestor of Adunaic was partly derived.

But Adunaic must then for a long time have developed quite independently. Also I think it came under some different influence. This influence I call Khazadian; because I have received a good many echoes of a curious tongue, also connected with what we should call the West of the Old World, that is associated with the name Khazad. Now this resembles Adunaic phonetically, and it seems also in some points of vocabulary and structure; but it is precisely at the points where Adunaic most differs from Avallonian that it approaches nearest to Khazadian.

However, Adunaic evidently again later came into close contact with Avallonian, so that there is, as it were, a new layer of later resemblances between the two tongues: Adunaic for instance somewhat softened its harder phonetic character; while it also shows a fairly large number of words that are the same as the Avallonian words, or very similar to them. Of course, it cannot always be determined in such cases whether we are dealing with a primitive community of vocabulary, or with a later borrowing of Avallonian terms. Thus I am inclined to think that the Adunaic Base MINIL 'heaven, sky' is a primitive word, cognate with the Nimrian Base MENEL and not borrowed from it at a later time; although certainly, if *Menel* had been so borrowed, it would probably have acquired the form *Minil* [*struck out:* and the actual Adunaic noun *Minal* could be explained as an alteration to fit *Minil* into the Adunaic declensional system]. On the other hand it seems plain that the Adunaic word *lōmi* 'night' is an Avallonian loan; both because of its sense (it appears to mean 'fair night, a night of stars', with no connotations of gloom or fear), but also because it is quite

isolated in Adunaic. According to Adunaic structure, as I shall try to exhibit it, *lōmi* would require either a biconsonantal Base LUM, or more probably a triconsonantal Base LAW'M; but neither of these exist in our material, whereas in Avallonian *lóme* (stem *lómi-*) is a normal formation from an Avallonian biconsonantal Base LOM.

I will try now and sketch the structure and grammar of Adunaic, as far as the material that we have received allows this to be done. The language envisaged is the language about the period of the Downfall, that is more or less during the end of the reign of King Ar-Pharazôn. From that period most of the records come. There are only occasional glimpses of earlier stages, or of the later (Exilic) forms of the language among the descendants of the survivors. Some of our chief texts, notably *The Drowning*, are in point of time of composition Exilic: that is they must have been put together at some time later than the reign of Ar-Pharazôn; but they are in a language virtually identical with the 'classical' Adunaic. This is probably due to two causes: their drawing on older material; and the continued use of the older language for higher purposes. For the actual daily speeches of the Exiles seem in fact to have changed and diverged quickly on the western shores. Of these changed and divergent forms we have only a few echoes, but they sometimes help in elucidating the forms and history of the older tongue.

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General Structure.

The majority of the word-bases of Adunaic were *triconsonantal*. This structure is somewhat reminiscent of Semitic; and in this point Adunaic shows affinity with Khazadian rather than with Nimrian. For though Nimrian has many triconsonantal stems (other than the products of normal suffixion), such as the stem MENEL cited above, these are rarer in Nimrian, and are mostly the stems of *nouns*.

The vocalic arrangements within the base, however, do not much resemble Semitic; neither does Adunaic show anything strictly comparable to the 'gradations' of languages familiar to us, such as the *e/o* variation in the Indo-European group. In an Adunaic Base there is a Characteristic Vowel (CV) which shares with the consonants in characterizing or identifying the Base. Thus KARAB and KIRIB are distinct Bases and may have wholly unrelated meanings. The CV may, however, be modified in

certain recognized ways (described below under the Vowels) which can produce effects not unlike those of gradation.

In addition to the *triconsonantal* Bases, there existed also in Adunaic a large number of *biconsonantal* Bases. Many of these are clearly ancient, though some may have been borrowed from Avallonian, where the biconsonantal Base is normal. These ancient biconsonantal Bases are probably an indication that the longer forms are in fact historically a later development. A few of the commonest verbal notions are expressed by biconsonantal forms, though the verb form of Adunaic is usually triconsonantal: thus NAKH 'come, approach', BITH 'say', contrasted with SAPHAD 'understand', NIMIR 'shine', KALAB 'fall', etc. [*Footnote 1*]

A number of ancient elements also exist: affixes, pronominal and numeral stems, prepositional stems, and so on, that only show *one* consonant. When, however, a 'full word', a noun for instance, has a uniconsonantal form, it must usually be suspected that an older second consonant has disappeared. Thus *pâ* 'hand' is probably derived from a Base PA3.

Consonants.

The following is a table of the Consonants which Adunaic appears originally (or at an earlier stage) to have possessed: [*Footnote 2*]

	(a) p-series	(b) t-series	(c) c-series	(d) k-series
STOPS				
1. *Voiceless:*	P.	T.	C.	K.
2. *Voiced:*	B.	D.	J.	G.
3. *Voiceless aspirated:*	Ph.	Th.	Ch.	Kh.
CONTINUANTS				
4. *Voiceless:*	–	S.	2.	H.
5. *Voiced (weak):*	W.	L, R, Z.	Y.	3. ?.
6. *Voiced: Nasals:*	M.	N.	–	9.

[*Footnote 3*]

The sounds of the C-series: C, J, Ch, 2 were front or 'palatal' consonants originally; that is roughly consonants of the K-series made in the extreme forward or *y*-position, and they might be so represented, but the above notation has been adopted, because their later development was to simple consonants. The

sign 2 represents a voiceless hissed Y, that is the German *ich*-laut, or a rather stronger form of the voiceless Y often heard initially in such an English word as *huge*.

It will be noted that the T-series is the most rich, and possessed *three* voiced continuants. The T-series is probably the most frequently employed in Base-formation; and is certainly the most used in pronominal and formative elements (especially those of uniconsonantal form). The P-series is the poorest and possesses no voiceless hiss; but it is very probable that one anciently existed, a voiceless W (as English *wh*), but became H prehistorically.

H represents the voiceless back hissing sound, the *ch* of Welsh, Gaelic, and German (as in *acht*). 3 is the corresponding voiced spirant, or 'open' G.

Adunaic employs affixion in word-formation, though more sparingly than Avallonian; and in contrast to Avallonian employs prefixion more frequently than suffixion: the latter is sparingly used in forming stems (where the two elements become merged), but is more frequent in inflexion (where the two elements usually remain distinct). The primitive Adunaic combinations of consonants, in consequence, are due mainly to the contact of the basic consonants, and are predominantly of the form 'Continuant + some other consonant', or *vice versa*. This is so, because the predominant (but not exclusive) form of the Adunaic Bases, when triconsonantal, is X + Continuant + X; or X + X + Continuant, where X = any consonant.

A much employed method of derivation, however, is the lengthening or 'doubling' of one of the basic consonants. The consonant doubled is usually either the medial or final consonant of the Base, though in certain formations the initial may be doubled (only *one* of the basic consonants is so treated in any one word).

Similar to this method, and so to some extent competing with it in functions, is the infixion of an homorganic nasal before the final, or less frequently the medial, basic consonant: thus B to MB; D to ND; G to NG. This method cannot, of course, be distinguished from doubling in the case of the Nasals. It is doubtful if it originally occurred before the other continuants: the apparent cases of NZ may be due to *NJ, which became NZ, or to the analogy of such cases. [*Footnote 4*]

Adunaic, like Avallonian, does not tolerate more than a single

basic consonant initially in any word (note that Ph, Th, Kh, are simple consonants). Unlike Avallonian it tolerates a large number of combinations medially, and there consonants in contact are very sparingly assimilated. Finally, in the 'classical' period Adunaic did not possess consonant-combinations, since affixes always ended in a vowel or a single consonant; while basic stems were always arranged in the following forms: ATLA, TAL(A) in the case of biconsonantal bases; AK(A)LAB(A), (A)KALBA in the case of triconsonantals. But the omission of short final A (not I or U), both in speech and writing, was already usual before the end of the classical period, with the consequence that a large number of consonant combinations became final.

The following list will show the normal development of the more primitive consonants in later Adunaic. The consonants are here set out in the order of the former table, and not according to the phonetic classification.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
1.	P.	T.	S.	K.
2.	B.	D.	Z.	G.
3.	Ph.	Th.	S.	Kh.
4.	–	S.	S.	H.
5.	W.	L, R, Z.	Y.	–(G). –.
6.	M.	N.	–	(N) [*Footnote 5*]

It will be observed that the consonants have not suffered any very material change except in the case of the C-series, which has become dental (apart from Y, which remains unchanged). With the development of C, Ch, Z to S may be compared the development of Latin fronted C in part of the Romance area; and the development of Indo-European K to S in Slavonic. Similarly the development of J (fronted G) to Z may be compared with the change of Indo-European fronted G and Gh to Z in Iranian and Slavonic. The assumption of a primitive C-series is based partly on scraps of internal evidence (such as the presence of an infixion NZ, whereas infixion of Nasal does not occur before the genuine consonants); partly on early forms, especially some scraps of an early inscription, [*Footnote 6*] which shows two different S-letters and Z-letters. The treatment of Avallonian loans is also significant; in early loans the Avallonian Ty and Hy (approximately equivalent to the English *t*

in *tune* and *h* in *huge*) both become s in Adunaic: as for instance Adunaic ***sulum*** 'mast', ***sūla*** 'trump' from Nimrian ***kyulumā***, ***hyōlā***, Avallonian ***tyulma***, ***hyóla***.

In the earlier language Ph, Th, Kh had plainly been aspirated stops, as in ancient Greek. This is most clearly seen when these sounds came into contact with others (see below). But it appears from various signs in the spelling, from the later developments in Exilic, and from the actual pronunciations of words coming through in audible form, that before the Downfall these aspirates had become strong spirants: F (bilabial), Þ (as English voiceless *th*), and X (the *ach*-sound originally belonging to H, with which Kh now coalesced in cases where H had not gone on to the breath-H). At the same time the combinations PPh, TTh, KKh became the 'affricates' PF, TÞ, KX, and then the long or double spirants FF, ÞÞ, XX. PTh and KTh appear to have become FÞ, XÞ.

H was originally, as noted above, the voiceless back-spirant; but in the classical language it had usually become the breath H. So, always initially, and medially between vowels. It never, however, becomes silent in these positions. [*Footnote 7*] The spirantal sound of H was retained before S [*added:* and where long or doubled HH] (where it later therefore coalesced with Kh); and in some 'hearings' it seems to occur before T and Th, though usually before consonants it is heard as a breathless puff, having the timbre of the preceding vowel. On the development of H in other contacts, see below.

The original consonants W and Y were weak (consonantal forms of the vowels U and I). Medially they disappeared prehistorically before the vowels U and I respectively. But initially they were strengthened, becoming more spirantal (though W remained bilabial); so that the initial combinations WU and YI remained. The same strengthening occurred between vowels (where W and Y had not been lost). After consonants both W and Y remained weaker, like English W and Y. Before consonants and finally they were vocalized and usually combined with the preceding vowels to form diphthongs (see the *Vowels*). [*Footnote 8*]

The sound ʔ [see Footnote 1] had no sign in Adunaic script, except in the archaic inscription referred to above [page 418 and Footnote 6]. Presumably it disappeared very early. It cannot be determined whether it had ever been used medially as a base-forming consonant. Probably not.

3 became weakened, until in the classical period (parallel with the softening of the voiceless equivalent H to the breath-H) it merged with the adjacent vowels. This softening of the back spirants may be ascribed to Avallonian influence.

Initially 3 disappeared. Medially between vowels it disappeared also, and contractions often resulted (always in the case of like vowels, A3A to Ā); U3 + vowels became UW-, and I3 + vowel became IY-. Finally, or before a consonant, 3 became merged with the preceding vowel, which if short was consequently lengthened; as A3DA to ĀDA.

Assimilations in contact.

As noted above, these were only sparingly made, owing to the strong consciousness of the basic consonantal pattern in Adunaic. And even those assimilations most commonly made in actual speech are seldom represented in writing, except in the comparatively rare cases where the structure of the word was no longer recognized.

The nasals offer, however, a surprising exception to this conservative tendency, both in writing and speech. This is all the more remarkable, since the combinations MP, NT, NK seem not only easy to us, but are highly favoured in Avallonian. They were disliked in Adunaic, and tended to be changed even at the contact point of distinct words in composition: as *Amātthāni* from AMĀN + THĀNI 'the realm of Amān'.

The dental nasal N was in speech assimilated in position to following consonants of other series. It thus became M before P, Ph, B, and M; though notably NW remained unchanged (NW is a favoured combination in Avallonian); and 9 before K, Kh, G, H, 3. Where the nasal still remained a nasal, as in MB, NG, this change of position is often disregarded in writing.

After these changes in position the combinations of Nasal + Voiceless consonant all suffered change. In the combinations MP, MPh, NT, NTh, NK, NKh the nasal was first unvoiced, and then denasalized, the resulting combinations being PP, PPh, TT, TTh, KK, KKh. These changes were recognized as a rule in writing, though a diacritic was usually placed above the P, T, or K that resulted from a nasal; the evidence of the audible forms seems to show that this sign was etymological and grammatical, not phonetic. In old formations N + H became 9H and then HH (phonetically XX, long back voiceless spirant); but in contacts made after the weakening of H to breath-H, or remodelled after

the event, NH remained and is heard as a voiceless NN with breath off-glide. NS became TS.

Since M did not become assimilated in position to following consonants there were the combinations MT, MTh, MK, MKh, MS, and MH. Parallel with the development described above these became PT, PTh, PK, PKh, PS, but no example of P-H for M-H is found. In the few cases of contact of M + H MH is written, and (as in the case of NH) a voiceless MM is heard.

Where the following consonant was voiced the changes are few (other than the changes in position described above). 3 after N or the infixed homorganic 9 does not disappear but becomes nasalized yielding 99, which became NG (phonetically 9G). NR, NL tended to become RR, LL, but usually with the retention of nasality (transferred to the preceding vowel), in speech; the change is not as a rule represented in writing, though such spellings as NRR, NLL are found. M3 became, in accordance with the general tendency of 3 to be assimilated to a preceding voiced sound, MM. MW became in speech MM (colloquially a preceding labial usually absorbs a following W), but this change is usually not shown in spelling.

Other assimilations are rarer and less remarkable. In speech there was a tendency for consonants in contact to be assimilated in the matter of voice; but this tendency is less strong than in, say, English, and is mostly disregarded in writing. Thus we usually find *Sapda* from Base SAPAD, and *Asdi* from Base ASAD, where *sabda* and *azda* may be spoken (though the *z* in such a form is only partly voiced and is not the same as the strongly buzzed sound of a basic Z).

The aspirates Ph, Th, Kh have naturally a strong unvoicing tendency on the sounds that follow, and transfer their aspiration or audible breath off-glide to the end of the group. Thus Ph + D, or T, or Th became PTh (or strictly PhTh). Thus from Base SAPHAD is derived **saphdān* 'wise-man, wizard', becoming later *sapthān* (phonetically, as described above, *safþān*). But such combinations are not very common, and in perspicuous forms (such, for example, as arise in verbal or noun inflexion, or in casual composition) were liable to be remodelled, especially after the change of the aspirates to spirants; thus *usaphda* 'he understood' for *usaptha*.

The continuants W, Y; L, R, Z are pronounced voiceless after the aspirates, but otherwise suffer no change. They are also

unvoiced after S and H. Before H and S the continuants L, R, Z were unvoiced, but W and Y had already become vowels (U and I). M, N were unvoiced after the aspirates (while these remained as such), but not after other sounds; after the later developed spirants F, Þ, X the unvoicing of M, N was only partial.

After voiceless sounds 3 while it still remained an audible consonant became H. After voiced sounds it was assimilated to these, so that for instance B3, D3 became BB, DD. As noted above N3, 93, became 99 and then NG.

After voiced sounds H was not voiced but tended to unvoice the preceding consonant. Similarly where it preceded a voiced continuant (as in HR, HM, HZ, etc.); but before B, D, G it tended to become voiced, that is to become the same as 3, and so to disappear, being merged in the preceding vowel.

The Adunaic Vowels.

Adunaic originally possessed only the three primary vowels: A, I, U; and the two basic diphthongs AI, AU.

Each Base possessed *one* of these vowels: A, I, U as one of its essential components; this I call the CV (Characteristic Vowel).

The normal place of the CV was between the first and second basic consonant: thus NAK-, KUL'B.

The 2-consonant Bases could also add the CV at the end; and the 3-consonant Bases could add it before the last radical: NAKA, KULUB. These forms with two basic vowels may be called the Full forms of the Base.

Various other forms or modifications occurred.

(i) Prefixion of the CV: ANAK, UKULB, IGIML.

(ii) Suffixion of the CV in 3-consonant Bases: KULBU, GIMLI.

(iii) Suppression of the CV in its normal place, in which case it must be present in some other place: -NKA, -KLUB, -GMIL.

This 'suppression' of the normal CV can only occur in 2-consonant Bases where it is also suffixed. It also requires that the CV shall be prefixed: ANKA, UKLUB, IGMIL; or (more rarely) that some other formative prefix ending in a vowel shall be present: DA-NKA, DA-KLUB, DA-GMIL.

These modifications are seldom combined: that is, a basic form does not usually have the CV repeated more than twice (as UKULBU, KULUBU); though such a form as UKULB could not originally stand in Adunaic as a word, some other vowel than the CV was taken as the ending (as UKULBA).

One of the vowels of a basic stem must be either the CV or one of its normal modifications (described below); but the second vowel of the 'Full form' need not be the CV, but may be any one of the primary vowels (or their modification). Thus NAKA — NAKI, NAKU; KULUB — KULAB, KULIB. The prefixed vowel (as distinct from a separate formative prefix) must always be the CV; but the suffixed vowel may also vary: so KULBA, KULBI; GIMLA, GIMLU. [*Footnote 9*]

Every primary vowel A, I, U can show one of the following modifications:

(i) Lengthening: Ā, Ī, Ū.
(ii) Fortification or A-infixion: Ā, AI, AU.
(iii) N-infixion: AN, IN, UN. [*Footnote 10*]

In the older language over-long vowels were recognized, and marked with a special sign, in my transcription represented by ˆ. These occurred: (i) as an actual basic modification: chiefly in 2-consonant Bases, and in any case only before the last basic consonant; (ii) as the product of the contraction of vowels, where one of the merged vowels was already long. Thus Base ZIR 'love, desire' produces both *zīr* and *zîr*; and also *zaira* and *zâir* 'yearning'.

Similar forms were sometimes produced by Bases with medial W, Y and lengthened CV: as Base DAWAR produces **dāw'r* and so *dâur* 'gloom'; *zāyan* 'land' produces plural **zāyīn* and so *zâin*.

Except in the oldest texts and 'heard' forms the diphthongs *ai*, *au* have become monophthongized to long (open) *ē* and *ō* respectively. The long diphthongs remained unchanged, and are usually heard, whatever their origin, as diphthongs with a long vowel as the first element, and a shorter one (always I or U) as the second element; though this second element is rather longer and clearer than in a normal diphthong: the intonation is 'rising-falling'.

The only source of *ē*, *ō* in Adunaic is the older diphthongs *ai*, *au*. The language consequently possesses no short *ĕ* or *ŏ*. Avallonian *ĕ* and *ŏ* are usually represented by *i* and *u*, respectively; though sometimes (especially in unstressed syllables before *r*, or where the Adunaic system favours it) both appear as *a*. In the earlier loans from Avallonian, presumably before the monophthongization of *ai*, *au*, Avallonian *ē* and *ō* appear as *ī* and *ū* respectively; but later they appear as *ē* and *ō*.

Contact of vowels.

This can be produced (i) by the loss of a medial consonant, especially 3; (ii) in suffixion, especially in the addition of the inflexional elements: *ĭ*, *ŭ*, *ă*, *āt*, *im*, etc.

If one or both of the components is long then the product is a long diphthong or an over-long vowel.

U contracts with U; I with I; and A with A.

After U a glide consonant W is developed (so *ŭ̆ – ă̆*, *ŭ̆ – ĭ̆* to *ŭ̆wă̆*, *ŭ̆wĭ̆*), as described above. Similarly after I a Y is developed (so *ĭ̆ – ă̆*, *ĭ̆ – ŭ̆* to *ĭ̆yă̆*, *ĭ̆yŭ̆*).

Earlier Adunaic also possessed the long diphthongs: ÔI, ÔU, and ÊI, ÊU. These were all contraction products, and ÊU was rare. In the classical period ÔI (and ÊU) remained; but ÔU became the over-long simple vowel Ô, and similarly ÊI became Ê.

These diphthongs were mainly found in inflexional syllables, where they appear to be produced by adding such inflexional elements as *-i*, *-u* direct to the uninflected form (come to be regarded as the stem) instead of to the etymological stem. Thus the plural of *manō* 'spirit', from **manaw-*, or **manau*, is *manôi*.

But similar forms can also be produced basically. Thus a Base KUY can produce by 'fortification' *kauy-* to *kōy*, *kôi*. A Base KIW can produce by 'fortification' *kaiw-* to *kēw*, *kêu*. It is possible that the inflexional forms are also, at least partly, of similar origin. If the plural inflexion was in fact originally YĪ not Ī (as it seems to be, because Y was lost before I medially) then the development would be so: *manaw*, *manau* + *yi* to *manōyi* to *manôi*; and similarly *izray*, *izrai* + *yī* to *izrēyī* to *izrêi* to *izrê*.

By the processes (i) of N-infixion, and consonant doubling; and (ii) of varying the position of the CV, and modifying it; and varying the vowels of the subordinate syllables, the Adunaic Bases, and especially those of 3-consonant form, were capable of an enormous number of derivative forms, without recourse to prefixion or suffixion. Naturally no single Base shows more than a few of the possible variations. In any case, any given derivative never shows two of the one *kind* of variation at the same time; for this purpose N-infixion and consonant doubling count as one kind of process; and Lengthening and A-fortification count as another. Alteration in the position of the CV, and variation of the subordinate vowels, can be combined with any other derivative process.

Even with these limitations such Bases as KULUB and GIMIL can for example develop the following variants (among other possible forms):

KULBU, -A, -I; KULAB, KULIB, KULUB; UKLUB — *Kulbō*, *-ā*, *-ē*, *-ū*, *-ī*; *kōlab*, *kōlib*, *kōlub*, *kulōb*, *kulēb*, *kulāb*, *kulūb*, *kulīb*; *uklōb*, *uklūb*

Kullub, *-ib*, *-ab* (with variants showing *-ūb*, *īb*, *āb*, *ēb*, *ōb*); *kulubba*, *kulubbi*, *kulabbu*, *kulabba*, *kulabbi*, *kulibbu*, *kulibbi*, *kulibba; kulumba* (also *kulimba*, *kulamba*, etc., though N-infixion is usually found with the CV preceding the nasal); *uklumba*; etc.

GIMLI, -A, -U; GIMAL, GIMIL, GIMUL; IGMIL with parallel variations, such as GĒMIL, GIMĒL, IGMĒL, GIMMIL, GIMILLA, etc.

The apparent gradations produced by these changes are:

Basic A: a —— ā —— â
Basic I: i —— ī —— î; ē —— âi
Basic U: u —— ū —— û; ō —— âu.

Declension of nouns.

Nouns can be divided into two main classes: *Strong* and *Weak*. *Strong* nouns form the Plural, and in some cases certain other forms, by modification of the last vowel of the Stem. *Weak* nouns add inflexions in all cases.

The stems of strong nouns were doubtless originally all Basic stems in one or other of the fuller forms: as NAKA, GIMIL, AZRA; but the strong type of inflexion had spread to most nouns whose stem ended in a short vowel followed by a single consonant. No nouns with a monosyllabic stem are strong.

The stems of Weak nouns were either monosyllabic, or they ended in a lengthened or strengthened syllable (such as *-ā*, *-ān*, *-ū*, *-ōn*, *-ūr*, etc.), or they were formed with a suffix or added element.

It is convenient also to divide nouns into Masculine, Feminine, Common, and Neuter nouns; though there is not strictly speaking any 'gender' in Adunaic (there is no m. f. or n. form of adjectives, for example). But the *subjective* case, as it may be called, differs in the four named varieties in the singular; and is formed differently in the plural neuter from the method employed in the m. f. and c. This arises because the subjective was originally made with pronominal affixes, and Adunaic distinguishes gender (or rather sex) in the pronouns of the third person.

All nouns are Neuter, except (i) Proper names of persons, and personifications; (ii) Nouns denoting male or female functions; and male or female animals, where these are specifically characterized: as 'master, mistress, smith, nurse, mother, son'; or 'stallion, bitch'.

Masculine or Feminine are the personifications of natural objects, especially lands and cities, which may have a neuter and a personalized form side by side. Often the 'personification' is simply the means of making a proper name from a common noun or adjective: thus *anadūni* 'western', *Anadūnē* f. 'Westernesse'. Abstractions may also be 'personified', and regarded as agents: so *Agān* m. 'Death', *agan* n. 'death'. In such cases, however, as *nīlō* n. 'moon', and *ūrē* n. 'sun', beside the personalized forms *Nīlū* m. and *Ūrī* f., we have not so much mere personification but the naming of real persons, or what the Adūnāim regarded as real persons: the guardian spirits of the Moon and the Sun, in fact 'The Man in the Moon' and 'The Lady of the Sun'.

Common are the noun *anā* 'homo, human being'; the names of all animals when not specially characterized; and the names of peoples (especially in the plural, as *Adūnāim*). [*Footnote 11*]

The stems of nouns can end in any single basic consonant, or in a vowel. It must be noted, however, that the original basic consonants W, Y, 3 have become vocalized finally, and that these final forms tend to become regarded as the actual stems. So *pā* 'hand' probably from **paȝa*, pl. *pâi*; *khâu* and *khō* 'crow' from **khāw* and **khăw*; pls. *khāwī(m)* and *khôi* (the latter should historically be *khăwī*).

Long consonants or combinations of consonants do not occur finally in classical Adunaic. [*Footnote 12*] The stems of nouns consequently can end only in one (or no) consonant. Suffixal elements usually end in a vowel, or in dental stops: *t*, *th*, *d*; or in continuants, especially *s*, *z*, *l*, *r*, the nasals *n* and *m*; less commonly in consonants of the other series such as *h*, *g*, *p*, *ph*, *b*, though *k* is not uncommon.

Where, however, a noun has a basic stem there is no limitation. Thus *pūh* 'breath'; *rūkh* 'shout'; *nīph* 'fool'; *urug* 'bear'; *pharaz* 'gold'. Such 'basic' forms are not very common, except as neuters; and they are very rare as feminines (since specifically feminine words are usually made with the suffixes *-ī*, *-ē* from the masculine or common stem). The only frequent f.

noun of this type is *nithil* 'girl'. The word *mīth* 'baby girl, maid-child' appears to be of this type, but is probably made with an affix *-th* (often met in feminines) from a base MIYI 'small'; cf. the m. form *mīk*, and the dual *miyāt* '(infant) twins'.

In compound nouns and names, however, a bare stem (often containing a lengthened or fortified vowel) is very frequent as a final element. In such formations, whatever the function of the stem used as a simplex, this final element very frequently has an agental force, and so requires the *objective* form in the preceding element (on the objective form see below). So *izindu-bēth* 'true-sayer, prophet'; *Azrubēl* p.n. 'Sea-lover'. Contrast the simplex *bēth* 'expression, saying, word'.

Masculine nouns usually have *ō*, *ŭ*, or *ă* in the final syllable. If they have affixed elements they end in *-ō*, or *-ū*; or in the favoured 'masculine' consonants *k*, *r*, *n*, *d* preceded by *ō*, *ŭ*, or *ă*.

Feminines usually have *ē*, *ĭ*, or *ă* in the final syllable; and if they have affixed elements (as is usual) they end in *-ē* or *-ĭ*; or in the favoured 'feminine' consonants *th*, *l*, *s*, *z* preceded by *ē*, *ĭ*, or *ă*.

Common nouns have 'neuter' stem forms, or favour the ending *-ā* or *-ă* in the final syllable.

Neuter nouns do not show *ī*, or *ū*, in the last syllable of their stems, nor do they employ suffixes that contain *ū*, *ō*, or *ī*, *ē*, as these are signs of the masculine and feminine respectively. [*Footnote 13*]

Nouns distinguish *three* numbers: *Singular*, *Plural*, and *Dual*. In most cases the Singular is the normal form, and the others are derived from it. There are, however, a good number of words with a more or less plural significance that are 'singular' (that is uninflected) in form, while the corresponding singulars are derived from them, or show a less simple form of the base. Thus *gimil* 'stars', beside the sg. *gimli* or *igmil* (the latter usually meaning a star-shaped figure, not a star in the sky). These plural-singulars are really collectives and usually refer to all the objects of their kind (either all there are in the world, or all there are in any specific place that is being thought or spoken of). Thus *gimil* means 'the stars of heaven, all the stars to be seen', as in such a sentence as 'I went out last night to look at the stars'; the plural of the singulars *gimli*, *igmil* — *gimlî*, *igmîl* — mean 'stars, several stars, some stars', and will in consequence be the only forms to be used with a specific numeral, as *gimlî hazid*

'seven stars'. Similarly in the title of the *Avalē* or 'goddess' *Avradī*: *Gimilnitīr* 'Star-kindler', the reference is to a myth, apparently, of her kindling all the stars of heaven; *gimlu-nitīr* would mean 'kindler of a (particular) star'.

The Duals are collectives or pairs, and mean 'both' or 'the two'. Hence they never require the article. They are made with a suffix *-at*. The Dual is only normally used of things that go in natural or customary pairs: as shoes, arms, eyes. For the expression of, say, two separate shoes not making a pair Adunaic would use the *singular* noun with the numeral 'two' *satta* following. But in the older language things only belonging together casually, where we should say 'the two', are sometimes put into the dual.

The chief use in classical Adunaic of the Dual was to make pair-nouns when (a) two objects are generally associated, as 'ears'; or sometimes (b) when they are generally contrasted or opposed, 'day and night'. The first case gives no difficulty: so *huzun* 'ear', *huznat* 'the two ears (of one person)'. In the second case, if the two objects are sufficiently different to have separate names, then either (a) the two stems can be compounded and the dual inflexion added at the end; or occasionally (b) one only of the stems is used, the other being understood, or added separately in the singular. Thus for 'sun and moon' are found *ūriyat*, *ūrinīl(uw)at*, and *ūriyat nīlō*.

Nouns distinguish *two* forms or 'cases' in each number: 1. *Normal* 2. *Subjective*. In addition in the singular only there is an *Objective* form.

The *Normal* (N) shows no inflexion for 'case'.

It is used in all places where *Subjective* (S) or *Objective* (O) are not obligatory. Thus: (i) as the object of a verb. It never immediately precedes a verb of which it is the object. (ii) Before another noun it is either (a) in apposition to it, or (b) in an adjectival or possessive genitive relation. The first noun is the one in the genitive in Adunaic (adjectives normally precede nouns). For that reason cardinal numerals, which are (except 'one') all nouns, follow their noun: *gimlī hazid* = 7 of stars. The two functions: apposition, and genitival adjective, were normally distinguished by stress and intonation. [*Footnote 14*] (iii) Predicatively: *Ar-Pharazōnun Bār 'nAnadūnē* 'King Pharazon is Lord of Anadune'. (iv) As subject when it immediately precedes a fully inflected verb. In that case the verb must contain the

requisite pronominal prefixes. If the subjective is used the verb need not have any such prefixes. Thus *bār ukallaba* 'the lord fell', or *bārun (u)kallaba*; the latter is rather to be rendered 'it was the lord who fell', especially where both subjective and pronominal prefix are used. (v) As the base to which certain adverbial 'prepositional' affixes are added; such as *ō* 'from', *ad, ada* 'to, towards', *mā* 'with', *zē* 'at'.

The *Subjective* (S) is used as the subject of a verb. As shown above the subjective need not be used immediately before a verb with pronominal prefixes; an object noun is never placed in this position. The S. also represents the verb 'to be' as copula; cf. (iii) above. When two or more nouns in apposition are juxtaposed in Adunaic only the last of the series receives the subjective inflexion: thus *Ar-Pharazōn kathuphazgānun* = 'King Ar-Pharazon the Conqueror'. Contrast *Ar-Pharazōnun kathuphazgān* = 'King Ar-Pharazon is (was) a Conqueror'.

The *Objective* form (O) is only used in compound expressions, or actual compounds. Before a verb-noun, or verb-adjective (participle), or any words that can be held to have such a sense, it is then in an objective-genitive sense. Thus *Minul-Tārik* 'Pillar of Heaven', the name of a mountain. Here *minul* is the O. form of *minal* 'heaven', since *tārik* 'pillar' here means 'that which supports'. *minal-tārik* would mean 'heavenly pillar', sc. a pillar in the sky, or made of cloud. Contrast *Azru-bēl* (where *azru* shows the O. form of *azra* 'sea') 'Sea-lover', with *azra-zāin*.

Plural nouns are seldom (and Dual nouns never) placed in such a position. When a plural noun is so used it always stands in *object* and not adjectival or possessive relation to the noun that follows, so that the plural nouns need no special objective form. The genitive of a plural noun can only be expressed with the prefix *an-* described in the note above [see Footnote 14]; thus *Ārū'nAdūnāi* 'King of the Anadunians'.

Plurality is expressed in Adunaic either by *ī* as the last vowel of the stem before the final consonant (in strong nouns), or by the suffixion of the element *-ī*. It is suggested above that the suffix originally had the form *-yī* [see page 424].

Duality is expressed by the suffix *-at*. There are no 'strong' forms.

The *Subjective*: in Neuter nouns this is expressed by *a*-fortification of the last vowel of the stem, in the case of strong nouns: as *zadan* with the S. form *zadān*; in weak nouns the suffix *-a* is used. In Masculine nouns, strong or weak, the suffix *-un* is used; in Feminines the suffix *-in*; in Common nouns the suffix *-an*, or *-n*. In plurals it has the suffix *-a* in Neuters, and in all other nouns the suffix *-im*.

The *Objective* has either the vowel *u* in the last syllable of the stem, or else the suffix *-u*.

Examples of Declension

Nouns may be divided as noted above [see page 425] into Strong and Weak. In *Strong* nouns the cases and plural stems are formed partly by alterations of the last vowel of the stem (originally the variable vowel of the second syllable of basic stems), partly by suffixes; in the *Weak* nouns the inflexions are entirely suffixal.

The Strong nouns may again be divided into Strong I, and Strong II. In I the variable vowel occurs before the last consonant (Base form KULUB); in II the variable vowel is final (Base forms NAKA, KULBA).

Neuter Nouns

Strong I

Examples: *zadan*, house; *khibil*, spring; *huzun*, ear.

Singular	N.	zadan	khibil	huzun
	S.	zadān	khibēl	huzōn
	O.	zadun	khibul	huzun, huznu [*Footnote 15*]
Dual	N.	zadnat	khiblat	huznat
	S.	zadnāt	khiblāt	huznāt
Plural	N.	zadīn	khibīl	huzīn
	S.	zadīna	khibīla	huzīna

The Dual usually shows, as in the above examples, suppression of the final vowel before the suffix *-at*; but the final vowel of the N. form is often retained, especially where suppression would lead to the accumulation of more than two consonants, or where the preceding vowel is long: so usually *tārikat* 'two pillars'.

In all nouns the N. and S. of Duals was only distinguished in earlier texts. Before the Exilic periods the ending *-āt* was used

for both N. and S. This doubtless was due to the coalescence of N. and S. in the very numerous class Strong II.

Strong II

Examples: *azra*, sea; *gimli*, star; *nīlu*, moon.

Singular	N.	azra	gimli	nīlu
	S.	azrā	gimlē	nīlō
	O.	azru	gimlu	nīlu
Dual	N.	azrāt, -at	gimlat, -iyat	nīlat, -uwat
	S.	azrāt	gimlāt, -iyāt	nīlāt, -uwāt
Plural	N.	azrī	gimlī	nīlī
	S.	azrīya	gimlīya	nīlīya

Beside the normal plural *gimli* there exists, as noted above [see page 427], also the plural with singular form *gimil* (declined like *khibil*, only with no plural or dual forms), in the sense 'the stars, all the stars' or 'stars' in general propositions. Other plurals of this type are not uncommon: such as *kulub* 'roots, edible vegetables that are roots not fruits', contrasted with *kulbī* 'roots' (a definite number of roots of plants).

The dual forms N. *azrat*; N. *gimlat*, S. *gimlāt*; N. *nīlat*, S. *nīlāt* are archaic, but in accordance with the basic system of Adunaic, and show a parallel suppression of the variable vowel to that seen in *zadnat*, etc. The later forms are due to the growth of the feeling that the final vowels of the N. forms *azra*, *gimli*, *nīlu* are suffixal and invariable, so that *-āt* was added to the N. form without suppression, producing *azrāt*, *gimilyat*, *nīluwat*. Later forms show *-āt* in both N. and S. owing to the predominance numerically of the nouns with final *-a*.

Weak

Here belong monosyllabic nouns; and disyllabic nouns with a long vowel or diphthong in the final syllable, such as *pūh*, breath; *abār*, strength, endurance, fidelity; *batān*, road, path.

Singular	N.	pūh	abār	batān
	S.	pūha	abāra	batāna
	O.	pūhu	abāru	batānu
Dual	N.	pūhat	abārat	batānat
	S.	pūhāt	abārāt	batānāt

Plural	N.	pūhī	abārī	batānī [*Footnote 16*]
	S.	pūhīya	abārīya	batānīya

Masculine, Feminine, and Common Nouns

M., F., and C. nouns only differ in the Singular Subjective, where the suffix *-n* is usually differentiated by the insertion of the sex or gender signs *u*, *i*, *a*. In later, but still pre-exilic, texts the Feminine Objective often takes the vowel *i* (so *nithli* for *nithlu*) owing to the association of the vowel *u* with the masculine. Feminine nouns are seldom of 'basic' form, that is few belong to Strong declension I*a*, since specifically feminine words are usually formed from the M[asculine]

Here Lowdham's 'Report' breaks off at the foot of a page (see p. 436). The 'footnotes' to the text now follow.

Footnote 1

In reckoning the number of consonants in a Base it must be observed that many bases originally began with weak consonants that later disappeared, notably the 'clear beginning' (or possibly the 'glottal stop') for which I have used the symbol ʔ. Thus Base ʔIR 'one, alone', from which is derived a number of words (e.g. *Ēru* 'God'), is a biconsonantal base.

Footnote 2

In so far as this table differs from the list of the actual consonants of our records, it is arrived at by deduction from the observable changes occurring in word-formation, from variations in spelling in the written documents 'seen' by Jeremy, from the treatment of Avallonian loan-words, and from the alteration of the older forms that have been occasionally noted.

Footnote 3

Adunaic did not possess, as independent Base-forming elements, nasals of the C- or K-series. The latter (here symbolized by 9), the sound of *ng* in English *sing*, occurs, however, as the form taken (a) by an 'infixed' nasal before consonants of the K-series, and (b) by the dental nasal N (not M) when it comes in contact with a consonant of the K-series in the process of word-formation. On 'infixion' see below [see p. 417 and Footnote 4]. Doubtless Adunaic originally possessed similarly a nasal of the C-series, but as these all became dentals, except Y, if it occurred at all, it could only occur in NY. In this combination,

however, the Adūnāim appear to have used the same sign as for dental N.

Footnote 4

Nasal-infixion is of considerable importance in Avallonian; but does not seem to occur at all in Khazadian; so that this element in Adunaic structure may be due to Avallonian influence in the prehistoric period.

Footnote 5

This sound only occurs in the combination NG, for which Adunaic employed a single letter.

Footnote 6

Jeremy could not see this very clearly; it was perhaps already very old and partly illegible at the period to which his 'sight' was directed. We believe it to have been on some monument marking the first landing of Gimilzōr, son of Azrubēl, on the east coast of Anadūnē. It cannot have been quite contemporary, since the texts seem to speak of the Adunaic script as being only invented after they had dwelt some little time in the island. It is likely, nonetheless, to date from a time at least 500 years, and quite possibly 1000 years, before the time of Ar-Pharazōn. This is borne out both by the letter-forms and by the archaism of the linguistic forms. The length of the period during which the Adūnāim dwelt in Anadūnē cannot of course be computed at all accurately from our scrappy material; but the texts seem to show that (a) Gimilzōr was young at the time of the landing; (b) Ar-Pharazōn was old at the time of the Downfall; (c) there were twelve kings in between: that is practically 14 reigns [see p. 381, §20]. But members of the royal house seem often to have lived to be close on 300; while kings seem normally to have been succeeded by the *grandsons* (their sons were as a rule as old as 200 or even 250 before the king 'fell asleep', and passed on the crown to their own sons, so that as long and unbroken a reign as possible might be maintained, and because they themselves had become engrossed in some branch of art or learning). This means that the realm of Anadūnē may have lasted well over 2000 years.

Footnote 7

Apparent cases, such as the variation between pronominal *u-* and *hu-*, are due to the existence of two stems, one beginning

with a weak consonant (3 or ʔ), the other with the intensified H-form.

Footnote 8

In composition or inflexion a 'glide' W was developed between U and a following vowel (other than U), and this developed into a full consonant in Adunaic. Similarly a Y was developed between I and a following vowel (other than I). The best representation of Adunaic W in English letters is probably *w*; but I have used *v* in the Anglicizing of Adunaic names.

Footnote 9

Note that these variations are only permitted where the CV is in normal position; such forms as AN'KU, UKLIB are not permitted.

Footnote 10

These modifications are not held to change the identity of the CV, so that they can occur together with vowel-variation in subordinate syllables: thus from Base GIM'L a form GAIMAL is possible.

N-infixion, though not strictly a vocalic change, is included here because it plays a similar part in grammar and derivation to Lengthening. It only occurs before a medial or final radical (never as in Avallonian before the initial), and there is limited to occurrence before the Stops and Z (on which see above [p. 417]).

Footnote 11

Common nouns can be converted into M. or F. when required by appropriate modifications or affixes; or, naturally, separate words can be used. Thus *karab* 'horse', pl. *karīb*, beside *karbū* m. 'stallion', *karbī* 'mare'; *raba* 'dog', *rabō* m. and *rabē* f. 'bitch'. *anā* 'human being', *anū* 'a male, man', *anī* 'a female'; beside *naru* 'man', *kali* 'woman'. *nuphār* 'parent' (dual *nuphrāt* 'father and mother' as a pair), beside *ammī*, *ammē*, 'mother'; *attū*, *attō* 'father'.

Footnote 12

In most of our records from approximately the time of the Downfall final *-ă* was in fact often omitted in speech, not only before the vocalic beginning of another word, but also (especially) finally (i.e. at the end of a sentence or phrase) and in other cases; so that the spoken language could have various final consonant combinations.

Footnote 13

This use of *ŭ* and *ĭ* (and of *ō* from *au*, *ē* from *ai*) as m. and f. signs runs through all Adunaic grammar. *u* and *i* are the bases of pronominal stems for 'he' and 'she'. The use of the affixed elements *-ū* and *-ī* finally to mark gender (or sex): as in *karbū* 'stallion', or *urgī* 'female bear', is in fact probably a close parallel to such modern English formations as 'he-goat', 'she-bear'.

Footnote 14

In apposition each noun was separate and had an independent accent. In the genitive function the preceding or adjectival noun received a louder stress and higher tone, the second noun being subordinated. These combinations are virtual compounds. They are often in Adunaic script joined with a mark like a hyphen (–) or (=), or are actually compounded. Even when they are not conjoined the end of one noun is often assimilated to the following, as in *Amān-thāni* to *Amāt-thāni*, *Amatthāni* 'Land of Aman'. Adunaic has another way of expressing the genitive, where the nexus is not quite so close: by the adjectival prefix *-an*. Though this resembles the function of English 'of', it is not a preposition (Adunaic prepositions are in fact usually 'postpositions' following their noun); it is the equivalent of an inflexion or suffix. Thus *thāni anAmān*, usually *thāni 'nAmān* 'Land of Aman'. The same prefix occurs in *adūn* 'west, westward', *adūni* 'the West', *anadūni* 'western'. Other examples of the adjectival use are: *kadar-lāi* 'city folk', *azra-zāin* 'sea-lands, sc. maritime regions', *Ar-Pharazōn* 'King Pharazon'.

Footnote 15

The O. form *huznu*, borrowed from the nouns of Strong II and Weak, is frequently found in nouns whose final vowel is *u*. It occurs also in nouns with other final vowels (as *zadnu*), but less frequently.

Footnote 16

Dissyllabic nouns with a long final syllable (containing *a*) sometimes, especially in the older texts, make a strong plural by change of *a* to *i*, but not other strong forms: so *batīn*, *batīna* 'roads'.

*

Of further material on Adunaic in addition to 'Lowdham's Report' there is not a great deal, and what there is consists almost entirely of preliminary working, much of it very rough, for the text given above. From the point where it breaks off (at the beginning of the section on Masculine, Feminine, and Common Nouns, p. 432), however, drafting in manuscript is found for its continuation. The complexities of the passage of these nouns from 'strong' to 'weak' declension are rather obscurely arranged and presented, and there are illegibilities. I have been in two minds whether to print this draft; but on the whole it seems a pity to omit it. The form given here is somewhat edited, by removal of repetition, small clarifications of wording, omission of a few obscure notes, and the use of the macron throughout in place of the confusing mixture of macron and circumflex in the manuscript.

Masculine, Feminine, and Common nouns only differ in the Singular Subjective, where the suffix is M. *-un*, F. *-in*, C. *-(a)n*. Feminines also are very rarely 'basic', being nearly always formed with suffix from a masculine or common noun [see p. 426].

M. and F. nouns also have mainly become weak, since as a rule they show lengthening in the stem (final syllable) as a formative not an inflexional device.

Therefore corresponding to Neuter Strong I we have a small class I(a) as *tamar* 'smith', and a diminishing variety I(b) as *phazān* 'prince, king's son'. Corresponding to Neuter Strong II there is a small class II(a) of mainly common nouns as *raba* 'dog', and II(b) of nouns ending in *ū* (masc.), *ī* (fem.), *ā* (common); to which are joined nouns ending in *ō* (masc.) and *ē* (fem.) [on which see below]. These have usually become weak.

Strong I(a)

Examples: *tamar*, m. 'smith'; *nithil*, f. 'girl'; *nimir*, c. 'Elf'; *uruk*, c. 'goblin, orc.'

Singular	N.	tamar	nithil	nimir	uruk
	S.	tamrun	nithlin	nimran	urkan
	O.	tamur- (tamru-)	nithul- (nithlu-)	nimur- (nimru-)	uruk- (urku-)
Dual		tamrăt	nithlăt	nimrăt	urkăt
Plural	N.	tamīr	nithīl	nimīr	urīk
	S.	tamrim	nithlim	nimrim	urkim

I(b)

Examples: *phazān* 'prince'; *banāth* 'wife'; *zigūr* 'wizard'.

Singular	N.	phazān	banāth	zigūr
	S.	phazānun	banāthin	zigūrun
	O.	(phazūn-)	(banūth-)	(zigūr-)
		phazānu-	banāthu-	zigūru
Dual		phazānăt	banāthăt	zigūrăt
Plural	N.	phazīn	banīth	zigīr
	S.	phazīnim	banīthim	zigīrim

Here belong only masculines with *ā*, *ū* in final syllables and feminines with *ā*. And these may all be declined weak: plural *phazānī*, *-īm*, *banāthī*, *zigūrī*, etc.

II(a)

There are very few M., F., C. nouns here since such have normally long final stems and have become weak. Here belong chiefly archaic *naru* 'male', *zini* 'female' (beside *narū*, *zinī*), and nouns denoting animals, as *raba* 'dog'.

Singular	N.	naru	zini	raba
	S.	narun	zinin	raban
	O.	naru-	zinu-	rabu-
Dual		narăt	zinăt	rabăt
Plural	N.	narī	zinī	rabī
	S.	narīm	zinīm	rabīm

Nouns corresponding to II(b) have all become weak except *anā* 'human being', which makes plural *anī* beside weak *anāi*.

Singular	N.	anā	Dual	anāt	Plural N.	anī
	S.	anān			S.	anīm
	O.	anū-				

Weak (a)

Here belong nouns ending in a consonant. These are seldom 'basic' (except as described above in compounds).
Examples: *bār* 'lord'; *mīth* 'little girl'; *nūph* 'fool' [but *nīph* p. 426].

Singular	N.	bār	mīth	nūph
	S.	bārun	mīthin	nūphan (or m.f. *núphun*, *-in*)
	O.	bāru-	(mīthu-) mīthi-	nūphu- (f. nūphi-)
Dual		bārăt	mīthăt	nūphăt
Plural	N.	bārī	mīthī	nūphī
	S.	bārīm	mīthīm	nūphīm

Weak (b)

Here belong (i) masculines and feminines ending in *ū* and *ī* and common nouns in *ā*. Also (ii) a new class, masculines in *ō*, feminines in *ē*. These are not quite clear in origin. They appear to derive (a) from basic stems in *aw*, *ay*; (b) from *-aw*, *-ay* used as m. f. suffixes as variants of *u*, *i*; (c) from common nouns in *a* + m. *u*, f. *i*, instead of varying vowel. So *raba* > *rabau* > *rabō*. These are specially used in f., since *rabī* would appear the same as the common plural.

Examples: *nardū* 'soldier'; *zōrī* 'nurse'; *mānō* 'spirit'; *izrē* 'sweetheart, beloved'; *anā* 'human'. To this class (especially in plural) belong many names of peoples as *Adūnāi*.

Singular	N.	nardū	zōrī	mānō	izrē
	S.	nardūn	zōrīn	mānōn	izrēn
	O.	nardū-	zōrī- (arch. zōrīyu)	mānō-	izrē (izrāyu)
Dual		nardŭwăt	zōrĭyăt	mānōt (mānawăt)	izrēt (izrayăt)
Plural	N.	nardŭwī	zōrī	mānōi	(izrē) izrēnī
	S.	nardŭwīm	zōrīm	mānōim	(izrēm) izrēnīm

Other rough pages are interesting as showing that a major change in my father's conception of the structure entered as the work progressed: for the Adunaic noun at first distinguished five cases, Normal, Subjective, Gentitive, Dative, and Instrumental. To give a single example, in masculine nouns the genitival inflexion was *ō* (plural *ōm*); the dative *-s*, *-se* (plural *-sim*); and the instrumental *-ma* (plural *-main*), this being in origin an agglutinated post-position meaning 'with', and expressing an instrumental or comitative relation. At this stage the masculine *bār* 'lord' showed the following inflexional system (if I interpret it correctly):

Singular	N.	bār	Dual	bārut	Plural	bāri
	S.	bārun		bārut		bārim

G.	bārō	bārōt	bāriyōm
D.	bārus	bārusit	bārisim
I.	bāruma	bārumat	bārumain

Of notes on other aspects of Adunaic grammar there is scarcely a trace: a few very rough jottings on the verb system are too illegible to make much of. It can be made out however that there were three classes of verbs: I Biconsonantal, as *kan* 'hold'; II Triconsonantal, as *kalab* 'fall down'; III Derivatives, as *azgarā-* 'wage war', *ugrudā-* 'overshadow'. There were four tenses: (1) aorist ('corresponding to English "present", but used more often than that as historic present or past in narrative'); (2) continuative (present); (3) continuative (past); (4) the past tense ('often used as pluperfect when aorist is used = past, or as future perfect when aorist = future'). The future, subjunctive, and optative were represented by auxiliaries; and the passive was rendered by the impersonal verb forms 'with subject in accusative'.

I have remarked before on the altogether unmanageable difficulty that much of my father's philological writing presents: I wrote in *The Lost Road and Other Writings* (V.342):

> It will be seen then that the philological component in the evolution of Middle-earth can scarcely be analysed, and most certainly cannot be presented, as can the literary texts. In any case, my father was perhaps more interested in the processes of change than he was in displaying the structure and use of the languages at any given time – though this is no doubt due to some extent to his so often starting again at the beginning with the primordial sounds of the Quendian languages, embarking on a grand design that could not be sustained (it seems indeed that the very attempt to write a definitive account produced immediate dissatisfaction and the desire for new constructions: so the most beautiful manuscripts were soon treated with disdain).

'Lowdham's Report' is thus remarkable in that it was allowed to stand, with virtually no subsequent alteration; and the reason for this is that my father abandoned the further development of Adunaic and never returned to it. This is emphatically not to suggest, of course, that at the moment of its abandonment he had not projected – and probably quite fully projected – the structure of Adunaic grammar as a whole; only that (to the best of my knowledge) he wrote down no more of it. Why this should have been must remain unknown; but it may well be that his work was interrupted by the pressure of other concerns at the point where 'Lowdham's Report' ends, and that when he had leisure to return to it he forced himself to turn again to *The Lord of the Rings*.

In the years that followed he turned into different paths; but had he returned to the development of Adunaic, 'Lowdham's Report' as we have it would doubtless have been reduced to a wreck, as new

conceptions caused shifts and upheavals in the structure. More than likely, he would have begun again, refining the historical phonology – and perhaps never yet reaching the Verb. For 'completion', the achievement of a fixed Grammar and Lexicon, was not, in my belief, the over-riding aim. Delight lay in the creation itself, the creation of new linguistic form evolving within the compass of an imagined time. 'Incompletion' and unceasing change, often frustrating to those who study these languages, was inherent in this art. But in the case of Adunaic, as things turned out, a stability was achieved, though incomplete: a substantial account of one of the great languages of Arda, thanks to the strange powers of Wilfrid Jeremy and Arundel Lowdham.

INDEX I

To Part One *The End of the Third Age*

This first index is made with the same degree of fulness as those to the previous volumes dealing with the history of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*. As before, names are mostly given in a 'standard' form; and certain names are not indexed: those occurring in the titles of chapters etc.; those of the recipients of letters; and those appearing in the reproductions of manuscript pages. The word *passim* is again used to mean that in a long run of references there is a page here and there where the name does not occur.

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INDEX II

To Part Two *The Notion Club Papers* and Part Three *The Drowning of Anadûnê*

In view of the great array of names occurring in these two parts of the book this second index is a little more restricted in scope than the first, especially in the reduction or omission of explanatory identification in many cases, and to some extent in the amount of cross-reference to related names. A number of names occurring in the Notes to Part Two that are casual and insignificant outside the immediate context have been omitted, but very few from the actual texts of the Papers. Inevitably the choice between omission and inclusion in such cases is rather arbitrary. In the case of names from the works of C. S. Lewis and from Michael Ramer's accounts of his experiences their provenance is indicated by '[Lewis]' and '[Ramer]', often without further explanation.

The exclusions mentioned in the note to Index I are made here also; and names are similarly given in 'standard' form, especially in the matter of accents and marks of length: thus the circumflex is generally used in Adunaic names.

Members of the Notion Club are included under the surname, and references include the initials of members and pages on which the person speaks but is not named. All names of streets, colleges and other buildings in Oxford are collected under the entry *Oxford*. O.E. = Old English.

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JRR

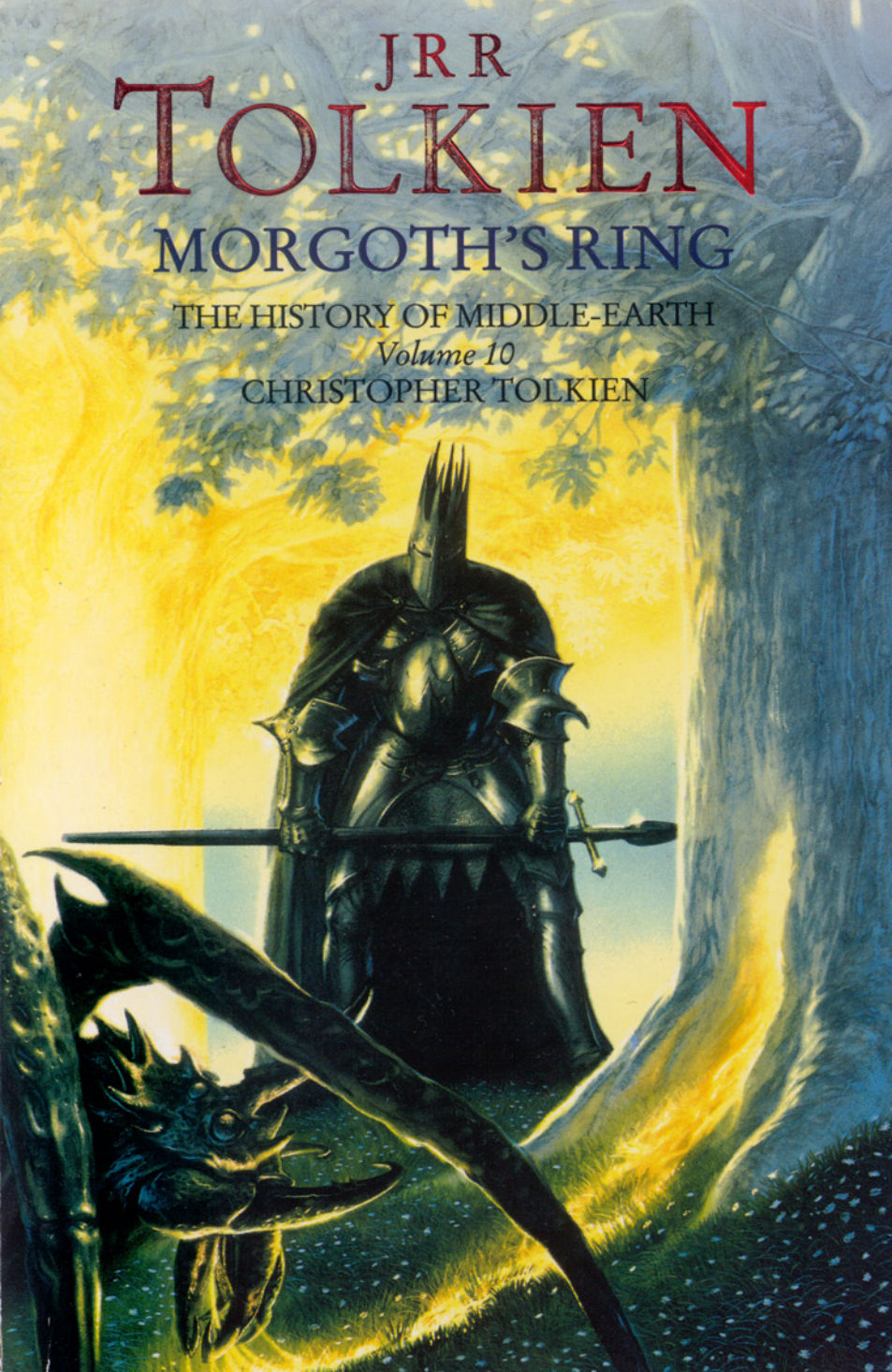
TOLKIEN

MORGOTH'S RING

THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE-EARTH

Volume 10

CHRISTOPHER TOLKIEN



MORGOTH'S RING

The Tale of the Years

From the Coming of the Valar to the Kingdom of Arda until the end of the first age of the Children of Iluvatar

Of the beginning of Time and its Reckoning

Time indeed began with the beginning of Ëa, and in that beginning the Valar came into the world. But the measurement which the Valar made of the Ages of their labours is not known to any of the Children of Iluvatar, until the first flowering of Telperion in Valinor. Thereafter the Valar counted time by the ages of Valinor, whereof each age contained one hundred of the Years of the Valar; but each such year was longer than are now nine years under the Sun. Thus spake Quénnar Onotimo concerning this matter.

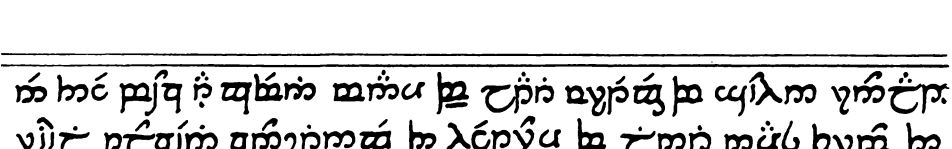
Now measured by the flowering of the Trees there were twelve hours in each Day of the Valar, and one thousand of such days the Valar took to be a year in their realm. It is supposed indeed by the Loremasters that the Valar so devised the hours of the Trees that one hundred of such years so measured should be in duration as one fifth of an Age of the Valar, as those ages were in the days of their labours before the foundation of Valinor; whereas each Age of the Valar is one exact part, how great or how small they alone know, of the whole history of Ëa from its beginning to the End that shall be. But these things are not certainly known even to Vanyar.

As for the Years of the Trees in comparison with those that came after: one such year was longer than nine such as are now. For there were in each Year of the Trees twelve thousand hours. Yet the hours of the Trees were each seven times as long as is one hour of a full day upon Middle-earth from sunset unto sunset beside the Shores of the Great Sea. Therefore each Day of

The Silmarillion, foundation of the imagined world of J.R.R. Tolkien, was as is well known never completed, never brought to a final form after the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*: the work is known from the text published posthumously in 1977, a construction from the narratives that existed, not a completion.

In *Morgoth's Ring*, the first of two companion volumes, Christopher Tolkien describes and documents the later history of *The Silmarillion*, from the time when his father turned again to 'the Matter of the Elder Days' after *The Lord of the Rings* was at last achieved. The text of the Annals of Aman, the 'Blessed Land' in the far West, is given in full; while in writings hitherto unknown is seen the nature of the problems that J.R.R. Tolkien explored in his later years, as new and radical ideas, portending upheaval in the old narratives, emerged at the heart of the mythology, and as the destinies of Men and Elves, mortals and immortals, became of central significance, together with a vastly enlarged perception of the evil of Melkor, the Shadow upon Arda. Among these writings a central place is given to the *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth*, in which the Elvish King of Nargothrond debates with the 'wise-woman' Andreth the injustice of human mortality.

The second part of this history of the later *Silmarillion* will be concerned with developments in the legends of Beleriand after the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*, and will include the unpublished story *The Wanderings of Hurin*.



THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE-EARTH

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XI
THE WAR OF THE JEWELS

J.R.R. TOLKIEN

MORGOTH'S RING

The Later Silmarillion
Part One
The Legends of Aman

Edited by Christopher Tolkien

HarperCollins*Publishers*

HarperCollins*Publishers*
77–85 Fulham Palace Road,
Hammersmith, London W6 8JB

This paperback edition 1994

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

First published in Great Britain by
HarperCollins*Publishers* 1993

Copyright © HarperCollins*Publishers* 1994

™ © 1990 Frank Richard Williamson
and Christopher Reuel Tolkien,
executors of the estate of the late
John Ronald Reuel Tolkien.

A catalogue record for this book
is available from the British Library

ISBN 0 261 10300 8

Set in Sabon

Printed in Great Britain by
HarperCollinsManufacturing Glasgow

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FOREWORD

The *Quenta Silmarillion*, with the *Ainulindalë*, the *Annals of Valinor*, and the *Annals of Beleriand*, as they stood when my father began *The Lord of the Rings* at the end of 1937, were published six years ago in *The Lost Road and Other Writings*. That was the first great break in the continuous development of *The Silmarillion* from its origins in *The Book of Lost Tales*; but while one may indeed regret that matters fell out as they did just at that time, when the *Quenta Silmarillion* was in sight of the end, it was not in itself disastrous. Although, as will be seen in Part One of this book, a potentially destructive doubt had emerged before my father finished work on *The Lord of the Rings*, nonetheless in the years that immediately followed its completion he embarked on an ambitious remaking and enlargement of all the Matter of the Elder Days, without departure from the essentials of the original structure.

The creative power and confidence of that time is unmistakable. In July 1949, writing to the publishers on the subject of a sequel to *Farmer Giles of Ham*, he said that when he had finally achieved *The Lord of the Rings* 'the released spring may do something'; and in a letter to Stanley Unwin of February 1950, when, as he said, that goal had been reached at last, he wrote: 'For me the chief thing is that I feel that the whole matter is now "exorcized", and rides me no more. I can turn now to other things . . .' It is very significant also, I believe, that at that time he was deeply committed to the publication of *The Silmarillion* and *The Lord of the Rings* 'in conjunction or in connexion' as a single work, 'one long Saga of the Jewels and the Rings'.

But little of all the work begun at that time was completed. The new *Lay of Leithian*, the new tale of Tuor and the Fall of Gondolin, the *Grey Annals* (of Beleriand), the revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, were all abandoned. I have little doubt that despair of publication, at least in the form that he regarded as essential, was the prime cause. The negotiations with Collins to publish both works had collapsed. In June 1952 he wrote to Rayner Unwin:

> As for *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Silmarillion*, they are where they were. The one finished (and the end revised), and the other still unfinished (or unrevised), and both gathering dust. I have been both off and on too unwell, and too burdened to do much about them, and too downhearted. Watching paper-shortages and costs mounting against me. But I have rather modified my views. Better something than nothing! Although to me all are one, and the 'Lord of the Rings' would be better far (and eased) as part of the whole, I would gladly consider the publication of any part of this stuff. Years are becoming precious ...

Thus he bowed to necessity, but it was a grief to him.

This second break was destructive – in the sense, that *The Silmarillion* would never now be finally achieved. In the years that followed he was overwhelmed: the demands of his position in the University, and the necessity of moving house, led him to declare that the preparation of *The Lord of the Rings* for publication, which should have been 'a labour of delight', had been 'transformed into a nightmare'. Publication was followed by a huge correspondence of discussion, explanation, and analysis, of which the examples retrieved and published in the volume of his letters provide abundant evidence. It seems not to have been until the end of the 1950s that he turned again seriously to the *Silmarillion* narrative (for which there was now an insistent demand). But it was too late. As will be seen in the latter part of this book, much had changed since (and, as I incline to think, in direct relation to) the publication of *The Lord of the Rings* and its immediate aftermath. Meditating long on the world that he had brought into being and was now in part unveiled, he had become absorbed in analytic speculation concerning its underlying postulates. Before he could prepare a new and final *Silmarillion* he must satisfy the requirements of a coherent theological and metaphysical system, rendered now more complex in its presentation by the supposition of obscure and conflicting elements in its roots and its tradition.

Among the chief 'structural' conceptions of the mythology that he pondered in those years were the myth of Light; the nature of Aman; the immortality (and death) of the Elves; the mode of their reincarnation; the Fall of Men and the length of their early history; the origin of the Orcs; and above all, the power and significance of Melkor-Morgoth, which was enlarged to become the ground and source of the corruption of

Arda. For this reason I have chosen *Morgoth's Ring* as the title of this book. It derives from a passage in my father's essay 'Notes on motives in the *Silmarillion*' (pp. 394 ff.), in which he contrasted the nature of Sauron's power, concentrated in the One Ring, with that of Morgoth, enormously greater, but dispersed or disseminated into the very matter of Arda: 'the whole of Middle-earth was Morgoth's Ring'.

Thus this book and (as I hope) its successor attempt to document two radically distinct 'phases': that following the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*, and that following its publication. For a number of reasons, however, I have found it more satisfactory in presentation to divide the material, not according to these two 'phases', but by separating the narrative into two parts. While this division is artificial, I have been able to include in this book a high proportion of all that my father wrote in the years after *The Lord of the Rings* was finished, both in narrative and discussion (to which must be added of course all the material in the volume of letters), concerning the Elder Days before the Hiding of Valinor. The next volume will contain, according to my intention, all or at any rate most of the original texts relating to the legends of Beleriand and the War of the Jewels, including the full text of the *Grey Annals* and a major narrative remaining unpublished and unknown, *The Wanderings of Húrin*.

The publication of the texts in this book makes it possible to relate, if not at all points or in every detail, the first eleven chapters (with the exception of Chapter II 'Of Aulë and Yavanna' and Chapter X 'Of the Sindar') of the published *Silmarillion* to their sources. This is not the purpose of the book, and I have not discussed the construction of the published text at large; I have presented the material in terms of its evolution from earlier forms, and in those parts that concern the revision and rewriting of the *Quenta Silmarillion* I have retained the paragraph numbers from the pre-*Lord of the Rings* text given in Volume V, so that comparison is made simple. But the (inevitably complex) documentation of the revised *Quenta Silmarillion* is intended to show clearly its very curious relationship to the *Annals of Aman*, which was a major consideration in the formation of the text in the first part of the published work.

I am much indebted to Mr Charles Noad, who has once again undertaken the onerous task of reading the text in proof

independently and checking all references and citations with scrupulous care, to its great improvement.

I am very grateful for the following communications concerning Volume IX, *Sauron Defeated*. Mr John D. Rateliff has pointed out an entry in the diary of W. H. Lewis for 22 August 1946 (*Brothers and Friends: The Diaries of Major Warren Hamilton Lewis*, ed. C. S. Kilby and M. L. Mead, 1982, p. 194). In this entry Warnie Lewis recorded that at the Inklings meeting that evening my father read 'a magnificent myth which is to knit up and conclude his Papers of the Notions [*sic*] Club.' The myth is of course the Drowning of Anadûnê. I was present on this occasion but cannot recall it (in this connection see *Sauron Defeated* p. 389).

Mr William Hicklin has explained why John Rashbold, the undergraduate member of the Notion Club who never speaks, should bear the second name Jethro. In the Old Testament Moses' father-in-law is named both *Jethro* and *Reuel* (Exodus 2:18 and 3:1); thus *John Jethro Rashbold* = *John Reuel Tolkien* (see *Sauron Defeated* pp. 151, 160).

I was unable to explain the reference (pp. 277–8) to the retreat of the Danes from Porlock in Somerset to 'Broad Relic', but Miss Rhona Beare has pointed out that 'Broad Relic' and 'Steep Relic' are in fact names used in manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the islands of Flatholme and Steepholme at the mouth of the river Severn (see *The Lost Road and Other Writings* p. 80); according to Earle and Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (1892; II.128), 'The name "Relic" may point to some Irish religious settlements on these islands; "relicc" (= reliquiae) is the regular Irish name for a cemetery.'

I take this opportunity to notice two important misprints that entered the text of *Sauron Defeated* at a late stage. The first is on p. 297, where line 45 of the poem *Imram* should read *We sailed then on till all winds failed*, etc. The second is on p. 475, where in Index II a line was dropped after the entry *Pharazîr*; the following should be restored: *Pillar of Heaven, The* 238, 241–2, 249, 302, 315, 317, 335, 353.

Lastly, I should mention that after the text of this book was in print I added a discussion of the significance of the star-names that appear on p. 160 to the head-note to the Index.

PART ONE

AINULINDALË

AINULINDALË

The evidence is clear that when *The Lord of the Rings* was at last completed my father returned with great energy to the legends of the Elder Days. He was working on the new version of the *Lay of Leithian* in 1950 (III.330); and he noted (V.294) that he had revised the *Quenta Silmarillion* as far as the end of the tale of Beren and Lúthien on 10 May 1951. The last page of the later *Tale of Tuor*, where the manuscript is reduced to notes before finally breaking off (*Unfinished Tales* p. 56), is written on a page from an engagement calendar bearing the date September 1951, and the same calendar, with dates in September, October, and November 1951, was used for riders to *Tuor* and the *Grey Annals* (the last version of the *Annals of Beleriand* and a close companion work to the *Annals of Aman*, the last version of the *Annals of Valinor*). The account, some ten thousand words long, of the 'cycles' of the legends, written to Milton Waldman of the London publisher Collins and given in part in *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien* (no.131), was very probably written towards the end of that year.

Until recently I had assumed without question that every element in the new work on the Elder Days belonged to the years 1950 and 1951; but I have now discovered unambiguous evidence that my father had in fact turned again to the *Ainulindalë* some years before he finished *The Lord of the Rings*. As will be seen, this is no mere matter of getting the textual history right, but is of great significance.

I had long been aware of extremely puzzling facts in the history of the rewriting of the *Ainulindalë*. The fine pre-*Lord of the Rings* manuscript, lettered '**B**', was described and printed in V.155 ff.; as I noted there (p. 156) 'the manuscript became the vehicle of massive rewriting many years later, when great changes in the cosmological conception had entered.' So drastic was the revision (with a great deal of new material written on the blank verso pages) that in the result two distinct texts of the work, wholly divergent in essential respects, exist physically in the same manuscript. This new text I shall distinguish as '**C**'.

But there is another text, a typescript made by my father, that was also directly based on *Ainulindalë* B of the 1930s; and in this there appears a much more radical – one might say a devastating – change in the cosmology: for in this version the Sun is already in existence from the beginning of Arda. I shall refer to this typescript as '**C***'.

A peculiarity of C* is that for a long stretch it proceeds in very close relationship to C, but yet constantly differs from it, though always in

quite insignificant ways. In many cases my father later *wrote in the* C *reading* on the typescript. I will illustrate this by a single example, a passage in §25 (p. 15). Here C*, as typed, has:

> But when they clad themselves the Valar arrayed themselves in the form and temper some as of male and some as of female; and the choice that they made herein proceeded, doubtless, from that temper that each had from their uttermost beginning; for male and female are not matters only of the body any more than of the raiment.

The C text has here:

> But when they clad themselves the Valar arrayed them in the form some as of male and some as of female; for that difference of temper they had even from their beginning, and it is but bodied forth in the choice of each, not made by the choice; even as with us male and female may be shown by the raiment, but is not made thereby.

Now in C this passage was written at the same time as what precedes it and what follows it – it is all of a piece; whereas in C* the original typed passage was struck through and the C text substituted in pencil.

There seemed no other explanation possible but that C* preceded C; yet it seemed extraordinary, even incredible, that my father should have *first* made a clear new typescript version from the old B manuscript and *then* returned to that manuscript to cover it somewhat chaotically with new writing – the more so since C* and C are for much of their length closely similar.

When working on *The Notion Club Papers* I found among rough notes and jottings on the Adûnaic language a torn half-sheet of the same paper as carries a passage from the *Ainulindalë*, written in pencil in my father's most rapid hand. While not proof that he was working on the *Ainulindalë* so early as 1946 (the year to which I ascribe the development of Adûnaic, when *The Lord of the Rings* had been long halted and *The Return of the King* no more than begun: see IX.12–13, 147) this strongly suggested it; and as will be seen in a moment there is certain evidence that the text C* was in existence by 1948. Moreover in a main structural feature C* follows this bit of text, as C does not (see p. 42); it seemed very probable therefore that C* was typed from a very rough text of which the torn half-sheet is all that remains.

Here it must be mentioned that on the first page of C* my father wrote later 'Round World Version', and (obviously at the same time) on the title-page of B/C he wrote 'Old Flat World Version' – the word 'Old' being a subsequent addition. It would obviously be very interesting to know when he labelled them thus; and the answer is provided by the following evidences. The first is a draft for a letter, undated and with no indication of whom he was addressing:

These tales are feigned to be translated from the preserved works of Ælfwine of England (c.900 A.D.), called by the Elves Eriol, who being blown west from Ireland eventually came upon the 'Straight Road' and found Tol Eressëa the Lonely Isle.

He brought back copies and translations of many works. I do not trouble you with the Anglo-Saxon forms. (The only trace of these is the use of *c* for *k* as in *Celeb-* beside *Keleb-*.)

All these histories are told by Elves and are not primarily concerned with Men.

I have ventured to include 2 others.

(1) A 'Round World' version of the 'Music of the Ainur'.

(2) A 'Man's' version of the *Fall of Númenor* told from men's point of view, and with names in a non-Elvish tongue. 'The Drowning of Anadūnē'. This also is 'Round World'.[1]

The Elvish myths are 'Flat World'. A pity really but it is too integral to change it.

On the back of the paper he wrote: 'For the moment I cannot find the Tale called *The Rings of Power*', and referred again in much the same terms to 'two other tales' that he was 'enclosing'.

There is another draft for this letter which, while again undated, was written from Merton College and addressed to Mrs. Katherine Farrer, the wife of Dr. Austin Farrer, theologian and at that time Chaplain of Trinity College:

Dear Mrs. Farrer,

These tales are feigned (I do not include their slender framework) to be translated from the preserved work of Ælfwine of England (c.900 A.D.), who being blown west from Ireland eventually came upon the 'straight road' and found the Lonely Isle, Tol Eressëa, beyond the seas.

There he learned ancient lore, and brought back translations and excerpts from works of Elvish lore. The specimen of the 'Anglo-Saxon' original is not included.

NB All these histories are told by the Elves, and are not primarily concerned with Men.

I have ventured to include, besides the 'Silmarillion' or main chronicle, one or two other connected 'myths': 'The Music of the Ainur', the Beginning; and the Later Tales:[2] 'The Rings of Power', and 'The Fall of Númenor', which link up with Hobbit-lore of the later or 'Third Age'.

Yours
JRRT

The end of this, from 'and the Later Tales', was struck out and marked 'not included'.

It cannot be doubted that these were drafts for the undated letter to

Katherine Farrer which is printed as no.115 in *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, for though there is not much left from these drafts in that form of it, it contains the words 'I am distressed (for myself) to be unable to find the "Rings of Power", which with the "Fall of Númenor" is the link between the *Silmarillion* and the Hobbit world.'

My father said in the first of the two drafts given above that he was including in the materials to be lent to Katherine Farrer 'two others', one of which was 'a "Round World" version of the "Music of Ainur"'; and this can be taken to mean that he was giving her two versions, 'Flat World' and 'Round World'. Now there is preserved a portion of a letter to him from Katherine Farrer, and on this my father pencilled a date: 'October 1948'. She had by this time received and read what he had given to her, and in the course of her illuminating and deeply enthusiastic remarks she said: 'I like the Flat Earth versions best. The hope of Heaven is the only thing which makes modern astronomy tolerable: otherwise there must be an East and a West and Walls: aims and choices and not an endless circle of wandering.'

It must have been when he was preparing the texts for her that he wrote the words 'Flat World Version' and 'Round World Version' on the texts B/C and C* of the *Ainulindalë*. Beyond this one can only go by guesswork; but my guess is that the 'Flat World Version' was the old B manuscript *before* it had been covered with the revisions and new elements that constitute version C. It may be that Katherine Farrer's opinion had some influence on my father in his decision to make this new version C on the old manuscript – deriving much of it from C*, and emending C* in conformity with new readings. Thus:

- *Ainulindalë* B, a manuscript of the 1930s. When lending this to Katherine Farrer in 1948 he wrote on it 'Flat World Version'.
- A new version, lost apart from a single torn sheet, written in 1946.
- A typescript, *Ainulindalë* C*, based on this text. When lending this in 1948 he wrote on it 'Round World Version'.
- *Ainulindalë* C, made after the return of the texts by covering the old B manuscript with new writing, and removing certain radically innovative elements present in C*.

It would in this way be entirely explicable how it came about that the typescript C* *preceded* the complicated and confusing revision (C) on the old manuscript – this being the precursor of the last version of the work that my father wrote, *Ainulindalë* 'D', made in all probability not long after C.

Ainulindalë C* was thus an experiment, conceived and composed, as it appears, before the writing of *The Return of the King*, and certainly before *The Lord of the Rings* was finished. It was set aside; but as will appear later in this book, it was by no means entirely forgotten.

C* should therefore in strict chronology be given first; but in view

of its peculiarities it cannot be made the base text. It is necessary therefore to change the chronological order, and I give first version C in full, following it with a full account of the development in the final text D, and postponing consideration of C* to the end of Part One.

Before giving the text of C, however, there is another brief document that has value for dating: this is a brief, isolated list of names and their definitions headed *Alterations in last revision 1951.*[3]

Atani N[oldorin] *Edain* = Western Men or Fathers of Men
Pengoloð[4]
Aman name of land beyond Pelóri or mountains of Valinor, of which Valinor is part
Melkor[5]
Arda Elvish name of Earth = our world. Also *Kingdom of Arda* = fenced region. Field of Arda.
Illuin Lamp of North = *Helkar*[6]
Ormal Lamp of South = *Ringil*[6]
Isle of Almaren in the Great Lake
Valaróma = Horn of Oromë
Eru = Ilúvatar
Ëa = Universe of that which Is

Not all these names were newly devised at this time, of course: thus *Eru* and *Arda* go back to my father's work on *The Notion Club Papers* and *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, as also does *Aman* (where however it was the Adûnaic name of Manwë).

In *Ainulindalë* C appear *Arda*, *Melkor*, and *Pelóri*, but the Lamps are called *Foros* and *Hyaras*, not *Illuin* and *Ormal*, and the Isle in the Great Lake is *Almar*, not *Almaren*. The final text D, as originally written, has *Atani*, *Almaren* and *Aman*, but *Aman* did not mean the Blessed Realm; the Lamps are named *Forontë* and *Hyarantë*, and the Horn of Oromë is *Rombaras*. These differences from the '1951 list' show that *Ainulindalë* D was made before that time.

I give now the text of *Ainulindalë* C in full. Since despite radical changes in the structure and the addition of much new material a good deal of the old form does survive, it is not really necessary to do so, but to give it partly in the form of textual notes would make the development very difficult to follow; and *Ainulindalë* C is an important document in the history of the mythological conception of the created Universe. The remodelling that constituted C out of B was in fact done at different times, and is in places chaotic, full of changes and substitutions; I do not attempt to disentangle the different layers, but give the final form after all changes, with a few developments that took place while C was in the making recorded in the notes that follow the text (p. 22). I have numbered the paragraphs as a convenient means of reference subsequently.

On the title-page the original words 'This was written by Rúmil of Tûn' (V.156) were extended thus:

This was written by Rúmil of Túna
and was told to Ælfwine in Eressëa
(as he records)
by Pengoloð the Sage

The form *Túna* for *Tûn* as the name of the city came in with the earliest layer of emendation to QS (pre-*Lord of the Rings*, see V.225, §39). Since the city is *Tirion* in *The Lord of the Rings* it might be thought that this extension of the title was made in the earlier period; but in a later version of the title-page (p. 30) my father retained 'Rúmil of Túna', and in the *Annals of Aman* he frequently used *Túna* (beside *Tirion*) in general reference to 'the city on the hill' (see p. 90, §67).

It is not said in any of the title-pages to the texts of the earlier period that Pengoloð (Pengolod) actually instructed Ælfwine himself; he is cited as the author of works which Ælfwine saw and translated.[7]

The Music of the Ainur and the Coming of the Valar

These are the words that Pengoloð[8] spake to Ælfwine concerning the beginning of the World.

§1 There was Ilúvatar, the All-father, and he made first the Ainur, the Holy Ones, that were the offspring of his thought, and they were with him before aught else was made. And he spoke to them, propounding to them themes of music, and they sang before him, and he was glad. But for a long while they sang only each alone, or but few together, while the rest hearkened; for each comprehended only that part of the mind of Ilúvatar from which he came, and in the understanding of their brethren they grew but slowly. Yet ever as they listened they came to deeper understanding, and increased in unison and harmony.

§2 And it came to pass that Ilúvatar called together all the Ainur, and declared to them a mighty theme, unfolding to them things greater and more wonderful than he had yet revealed; and the glory of its beginning and the splendour of its end amazed the Ainur, so that they bowed before Ilúvatar and were silent.

§3 Then said Ilúvatar: 'Of the theme that I have declared to you, I will now that ye make in harmony together a Great Music. And since I have kindled you with the Flame Imperishable, ye shall show forth your powers in adorning this theme, each with his own thoughts and devices, if he will. But I will sit

and hearken and be glad that through you great beauty has been wakened into song.'

§4 Then the voices of the Ainur, like unto harps and lutes, and pipes and trumpets, and viols and organs, and like unto countless choirs singing with words, began to fashion the theme of Ilúvatar to a great music; and a sound arose of endless interchanging melodies, woven in harmony, that passed beyond hearing into the depths and into the heights, and the places of the dwelling of Ilúvatar were filled to overflowing, and the music and the echo of the music went out into the Void, and it was not void. Never since have the Ainur made any music like to this music, though it has been said that a greater still shall be made before Ilúvatar by the choirs of the Ainur and the Children of Ilúvatar after the end of days.[9] Then shall the themes of Ilúvatar be played aright, and take Being in the moment of their utterance, for all shall then understand his intent in their part, and shall know the comprehension of each, and Ilúvatar shall give to their thoughts the secret fire, being well pleased.

§5 But now Ilúvatar sat and hearkened, and for a great while it seemed good to him, for in the music there were no flaws. But as the theme progressed, it came into the heart of Melkor to interweave matters of his own imagining that were not in accord with the theme of Ilúvatar; for he sought therein to increase the power and glory of the part assigned to himself. To Melkor among the Ainur had been given the greatest gifts of power and knowledge, and he had a share in all the gifts of his brethren; and he had gone often alone into the void places seeking the Imperishable Flame. For desire grew hot within him to bring into Being things of his own, and it seemed to him that Ilúvatar took no thought for the Void, and he was impatient of its emptiness. Yet he found not the Fire, for it is with Ilúvatar. But being alone he had begun to conceive thoughts of his own unlike those of his brethren.

§6 Some of these thoughts he now wove into his music, and straightway discord arose about him, and many that sang nigh him grew despondent and their thought was disturbed and their music faltered; but some began to attune their music to his rather than to the thought which they had at first. Then the discord of Melkor spread ever wider, and the melodies that had been heard at first foundered in a sea of turbulent sound. But Ilúvatar sat and hearkened, until it seemed that about his throne there was a raging storm, as of dark waters that made war one

upon the other in an endless wrath that would not be assuaged.

§7 Then Ilúvatar arose, and the Ainur perceived that he smiled; and he lifted up his left hand, and a new theme began amid the storm, like and yet unlike to the former theme, and it gathered power and had new beauty. But the discord of Melkor arose in uproar and contended with it, and there was again a war of sound more violent than before, until many of the Ainur were dismayed and played no longer, and Melkor had the mastery. Then again Ilúvatar arose, and the Ainur perceived that his countenance was stern; and he lifted up his right hand; and behold, a third theme grew amid the confusion, and it was unlike the others. For it seemed at first soft and sweet, a mere rippling of gentle sounds in delicate melodies, but it could not be quenched, and it grew, and it took to itself power and profundity. And it seemed at last that there were two musics progressing at one time before the seat of Ilúvatar, and they were utterly at variance. One was deep and wide and beautiful, but slow and blended with an immeasurable sorrow, from which its beauty chiefly came. The other had now achieved a unity of its own; but it was loud, and vain, and endlessly repeated, and it had little harmony, but rather a clamorous unison as of many trumpets braying upon a few notes. And it essayed to drown the other music by the violence of its voice, but it seemed that its most triumphant notes were taken by the other and woven into its own solemn pattern.

§8 In the midst of this strife, whereat the halls of Ilúvatar shook and a tremor ran out into the silences yet unmoved, Ilúvatar arose a third time, and his face was terrible to behold. Then he raised up both his hands, and in one chord, deeper than the Abyss, higher than the Firmament, more glorious than the Sun, piercing as the light of the eye of Ilúvatar, the Music ceased.

§9 Then Ilúvatar spoke, and he said: 'Mighty are the Ainur, and mightiest among them is Melkor; but that he may know, and all the Ainur, that I am Ilúvatar, those things that ye have sung and played, lo! I will show them forth, that ye may see what ye have done. And thou, Melkor, shalt see that no theme may be played that has not its uttermost source in me, nor can any alter the music in my despite. For he that attempteth this shall be but mine instrument in the devising of things more wonderful, which he himself hath not imagined.'

§10 Then the Ainur were afraid, and they did not yet

comprehend the words that were said to them; and Melkor was filled with shame, of which came secret anger. But Ilúvatar arose in splendour, and he went forth from the fair regions that he had made for the Ainur; and the Ainur followed him.

§11 But when they were come into the Void, Ilúvatar said to them: 'Behold your Music!' And he showed to them a vision, giving to them sight where before was only hearing; and they saw a new World made visible before them, and it was globed amid the Void, and it was sustained therein, but was not of it. And as they looked and wondered this World began to unfold its history, and it seemed to them that it lived and grew.

§12 And when the Ainur had gazed for a while and were silent, Ilúvatar said again: 'Behold your Music! This is your minstrelsy; and each of you that had part in it shall find contained there, within the design that I set before you, all those things which it may seem that he himself devised or added. And thou, Melkor, wilt discover all the secret thoughts of thy mind, and wilt perceive that they are but a part of the whole and tributary to its glory.'

§13 And many other things Ilúvatar spoke to the Ainur at that time, and because of their memory of his words, and the knowledge that each has of the music which he himself made, the Ainur know much of what was, and is, and is to come, and few things are unseen by them. Yet some things there are that they cannot see, neither alone nor taking counsel together (as thou shalt hear, Ælfwine); for to none but himself has Ilúvatar revealed all that he has in store, and in every age there come forth things that are new and have no foretelling, for they do not spring from the past. And so it was that, as this vision of the World was played before them, the Ainur saw that it contained things which they had not thought. And they saw with amazement the coming of the Children of Ilúvatar, and the habitation that was prepared for them; and they perceived that they themselves in the labour of their music had been busy with the preparation of this dwelling, and yet knew not that it had any purpose beyond its own beauty. For the Children of Ilúvatar were conceived by him alone; and they came with the Third Theme,[10] and were not in the theme which Ilúvatar propounded at the beginning, and none of the Ainur had part in their making. Therefore when they beheld them, the more did they love them, being things other than themselves, strange and free, wherein they saw the mind of Ilúvatar reflected anew and

learned yet a little more of his wisdom, which otherwise had been hidden even from the Holy Ones.

§14 Now the Children of Ilúvatar are Elves and Men, the Firstborn and the Followers. And amid all the splendours of the World, its vast halls and spaces, and its wheeling fires, Ilúvatar chose a place for their habitation in the Deeps of Time and in the midst of the innumerable Stars. And this habitation might seem a little thing to those who consider only the majesty of the Ainur, and not their terrible sharpness – as who should take the whole field of the Sun as the foundations of a pillar and so raise it until the cone of its summit was more bitter than a needle – or who consider only the immeasurable vastness of the World, which still the Ainur are shaping, and not the minute precision to which they shape all things therein. But thou must understand, Ælfwine, that when the Ainur had beheld this habitation in a vision and had seen the Children of Ilúvatar arise therein, then many of the most mighty of the Holy Ones bent all their thought and their desire towards that place. And of these Melkor was the chief, even as he was in the beginning the greatest of the Ainur who took part in the Music. And he feigned, even to himself at first, that he desired to go thither and order all things for the good of the Children of Ilúvatar, controlling the turmoils of the heat and the cold that had come to pass through him. But he desired rather to subdue to his will both Elves and Men, envying the gifts with which Ilúvatar promised to endow them; and he wished himself to have subjects and servants, and to be called Lord, and to be a master over other wills.

§15 But the other Ainur looked upon this habitation in the Halls of Aman,[11] which the Elves call Arda, the Earth, and looking upon light they were joyful, and their eyes seeing many colours were filled with gladness; but because of the roaring of the sea they felt a great unquiet. And they observed the winds and the air, and the matters whereof the Middle-earth was made,[12] of iron and stone and silver and gold and many substances; but of all these water they most greatly praised. And it is said by the Eldar that in water there lives yet the echo of the Music of the Ainur, and many of the Children of Ilúvatar hearken still unsated to the voices of the sea, and yet know not for what they listen.

§16 Now to water had that Ainu whom we call Ulmo most turned his thought, and of all most deeply was he instructed by

Ilúvatar in music. But of the airs and winds Manwë most had pondered, who was the noblest of the Ainur. Of the fabric of Earth had Aulë thought, to whom Ilúvatar had given skill and knowledge scarce less than to Melkor; but the delight and pride of Aulë was in the deed of making, and in the thing made, and not in possession nor in himself, wherefore he became a maker and teacher, and none have called him lord.

§17 Now Ilúvatar spake to Ulmo and said: 'Seest thou not here in this little realm in the Deeps of Time and in the midst of the innumerable Stars how Melkor hath made war upon thy province? He hath bethought him of bitter cold immoderate, and yet hath not destroyed the beauty of thy fountains, nor of thy clear pools. Behold the snow, and the cunning work of frost! Behold the towers and mansions of ice! Melkor hath devised heats and fire without restraint, and hath not dried up thy desire, nor utterly quelled the music of the sea. Behold rather the height and glory of the clouds, and the everchanging mists and vapours, and listen to the fall of rain upon the Earth! And in these clouds thou art drawn yet nearer to Manwë, thy friend whom thou lovest.'

§18 Then Ulmo answered: 'Yea, truly, Water is become now fairer than my heart imagined, neither had my secret thought conceived the snow-flake, nor in all my music was contained the falling of the rain. Lo! I will seek Manwë, that he and I may make melodies for ever and ever to thy delight!' And Manwë and Ulmo have from the beginning been allied, and in all things have served most faithfully the purpose of Ilúvatar.

§19 But behold! even as Ulmo spoke, and while the Ainur were yet gazing upon this vision, it was taken away and hidden from their sight; and it seemed to them that in that moment they perceived a new thing, Darkness, which they had not known before, except in thought. But they had become enamoured of the beauty of the vision, and engrossed in the unfolding of the World which came there to being, and their minds were filled with it; for the history was incomplete and the circles not full-wrought when the vision was taken away, and there was unrest among them.

§20 Therefore Ilúvatar called to them and said: 'I know the desire of your minds that what ye have seen should verily be, not only in your thought, but even as ye yourselves are, and yet other. Therefore I say: Let these things Be! And I will send forth the flame imperishable into the Void, and it shall be at the heart

of the World, and the World shall Be; and those of you that will may go down into it.' And suddenly the Ainur saw afar off a light, as it were a cloud with a living heart of flame; and they knew that this was no vision only, but that Ilúvatar had made a new thing.

§21 Thus it came to pass that of the Holy Ones some abode still with Ilúvatar beyond the confines of the World; but others, and among them many of the greatest and most fair, took the leave of Ilúvatar and descended into it. But this condition Ilúvatar made, or it is the necessity of their love, that their power should henceforth be contained and bounded in the World, and be within it for ever, so that they are its life and it is theirs. And therefore, Ælfwine, we name them the Valar, the Powers of the World.

§22 But behold! when the Valar entered into the World they were at first astounded and at a loss, for it was as if naught was yet made which they had seen in vision, and all was but on point to begin, and yet unshapen; and it was dark. For the Great Music had been but the growth and flowering of thought in the Timeless Halls, and the Vision only a foreshowing; but now they had entered in at the beginning of Time, and the Valar perceived that the World had been but foreshadowed and foresung, and they must achieve it.

§23 So began their great labours in wastes unmeasured and unexplored, and in ages uncounted and forgotten, until in the Deeps of Time and in the midst of the vast halls of the World there came to be that hour and that place where was made the habitation of the Children of Ilúvatar. And in this work the chief part was taken by Manwë and Aulë and Ulmo. But Melkor, too, was there from the first, and he meddled in all that was done, turning it, if he might, to his own desires and purposes; and he kindled great fires. When therefore Earth was young and full of flame Melkor coveted it, and he said to the Valar: 'This shall be my own kingdom! And I name it unto myself!'

§24 But Manwë was the brother of Melkor in the mind of Ilúvatar, and he was the chief instrument of the second Theme that Ilúvatar had raised up against the discord of Melkor; and he called unto himself others of his kin and many spirits both greater and less, and they went down into the Halls of Aman and aided Manwë, lest Melkor should hinder the fulfilment of their labour for ever, and the Earth should wither ere it

flowered. And Manwë said unto Melkor: 'This kingdom thou shalt not take for thine own, wrongfully, for many others have laboured here no less than thou.' And there was strife between Melkor and the Valar, and for a time Melkor departed and withdrew to other regions and did there what he would, but the Earth he could not put from his heart. For he was alone, without friend or companion, and he had as yet but small following; since of those that had attuned their music to his in the beginning not all had been willing to go down with him into the World, and few that had come would yet endure his servitude.

§25 But the Valar now took to themselves shape and form; and because they were drawn thither by love for the Children of Ilúvatar, for whom they hoped, they took shape after that manner which they had beheld in the Vision of Ilúvatar; save only in majesty and splendour, for they are mighty and holy. Moreover their shape comes of their knowledge and desire of the visible World, rather than of the World itself, and they need it not, save only as we use raiment, and yet we may be naked and suffer no loss of our being. Therefore the Valar may walk unclad, as it were, and then even the Eldar cannot clearly perceive them, though they be present. But when they clad themselves the Valar arrayed them in the form some as of male and some as of female; for that difference of temper they had even from their beginning, and it is but bodied forth in the choice of each, not made by the choice; even as with us male and female may be shown by the raiment, but is not made thereby. And Manwë and Ulmo and Aulë were as Kings; but Varda was the Queen of the Valar, and the spouse of Manwë, and her beauty was high and terrible and of great reverence. Yavanna was her sister, and Yavanna espoused Aulë; but Nienna dwells alone, even as does Ulmo. And these with Melkor are the Seven Great Ones of the Kingdom of Arda.[13] But think not, Ælfwine, that the shapes wherein the Great Ones array themselves are at all times like unto the shapes of kings and queens of the Children of Ilúvatar; for at whiles they may clothe them in their own thought, made visible in forms terrible and wonderful. And I myself, long years agone, in the land of the Valar[14] have seen Yavanna in the likeness of a Tree; and the beauty and majesty of that form could not be told in words, not unless all the things that grow in the earth, from the least unto the greatest, should sing in choir together, making unto their

queen an offering of song to be laid before the throne of Ilúvatar.

§26 And behold! the Valar drew unto them many companions, some less, some well-nigh as great as themselves, and they laboured in the ordering of the Earth, and the curbing of its tumults. Then Melkor saw what was done, and that the Valar walked upon Earth as powers visible, clad in the raiment of the World, and were lovely and glorious to see, and blissful; and that Earth was become as a garden for them, for its turmoils were subdued. His envy grew then the greater within him; and he also took visible form, but because of his mood, and the malice that increased in him, that form was dark and terrible. And he descended upon Earth in power and majesty greater than any other of the Valar, as a mountain that wades in the sea and has its head above the clouds and is clad in ice and crowned with fire and smoke; and the light of his eyes was like a flame that withers with heat and pierces with a deadly cold.

§27 Thus began the first battle of the Valar and Melkor for the dominion of Arda; and of those tumults we know but little; for know thou, Ælfwine, what I have declared unto thee is come from the Valar themselves, with whom we of the Eldalië spoke in the land of Valinor, and we were instructed by them; but little would they ever tell of the days of war ere the coming of the Elves. But this we know: that the Valar endeavoured ever, in despite of Melkor, to rule the Earth and to prepare it for the coming of the Children; and they built lands, and Melkor destroyed them; valleys they delved and Melkor raised them up; mountains they carved and Melkor threw them down; seas they hollowed and Melkor spilled them; and naught might come to peace or lasting growth, for as surely as the Valar began a labour so would Melkor undo it or corrupt it. And yet their labour was not vain, and slowly the Earth was shaped and made firm.

§28 But of all such matters, Ælfwine, others shall tell thee, or thou shalt read in other lore; for it is not my part at this time to instruct thee in the history of the Earth. And now behold! here is the habitation of the Children of Ilúvatar established at the last in the deeps of Time and amidst the innumerable stars. And here are the Valar, the Powers of the World, contesting for the possession of the jewel of Ilúvatar; and thus thy feet are on the beginning of the road.

Words of Pengolod[15]

§29 And when he had ended the *Ainulindalë*, such as Rúmil had made it, Pengolod the Sage paused a while; and Ælfwine said to him: Little, you say, would the Valar tell to the Eldar of the days before their coming: but do not the wise among you know more of those ancient wars than Rúmil has here set forth? Or will you not tell me more of the Valar as they were when first your kindred beheld and knew them?

§30 And Pengoloð answered: Much of what I know or have learned from the elders in lore, I have written; and what I have written thou shalt read, if thou wilt, when thou hast learned better the tongue of the Noldor and their scripts. For these matters are too great and manifold to be spoken or to be taught in speech within the brief patience and heedfulness of those of mortal race. But some little more I may tell to thee now, since thou askest it of me.

§31 This tale I have heard also among the loremasters of the Noldor in ages past. For they tell us that the war began before Arda was full-shaped, and ere yet there was anything that grew or walked upon earth, and for long Melkor had the upper hand. But in the midst of the war a spirit of great strength and hardihood came to the aid of the Valar, hearing in the far heaven that there was battle in the Little World. And he came like a storm of laughter and loud song, and Earth shook under his great golden feet. So came Tulkas, the Strong and the Merry, whose anger passeth like a mighty wind, scattering cloud and darkness before it. And Melkor was shaken by the laughter of Tulkas, and fled from the Earth; and there was peace for a long age. And Tulkas remained and became one of the Valar of the kingdom of Arda; but Melkor brooded in the outer darkness, and his hate was given to Tulkas for ever after. In that time the Valar brought order to the seas and the lands and the mountains, and they planted seeds; and since, when the fires had been subdued or buried beneath the primeval hills, there was need of Light they wrought two mighty lamps for the enlightening of the Middle-earth which they had built amid the Encircling Seas, and they set the lamps upon high pillars, loftier far than any of the mountains of the later days. And one they raised near to the North of Middle-earth, and it was named Foros; and the other they raised in the South, and it was called Hyaras.[16] And the light of the lamps of the Valar went out over the Earth so that

all was lit as it were in a changeless day. Then the seeds that the Valar had planted began swiftly to sprout and to burgeon, and there arose a multitude of growing things great and small, grasses, and flowers of many colours, and trees whose blossom was like snow upon the mountains[17] but whose feet were wrapped in the shadow of their mighty limbs. And beasts and birds came forth and dwelt in the green plains or in the rivers and the lakes, or walked in the darkness of the woods. And richest was the growth of plant and beast in the midmost parts of the Earth where the lights of both lamps met and were blended. And there upon the isle of Almar[18] in a great lake was the first dwelling of the gods, when all things were new, and green was yet a marvel in the eyes of the makers.

§32 But at length Melkor returned in secret, and far in the North where the light of Foros was only dim he made a hidden dwelling. And he sent forth his power and turned again to evil much that had been well begun, so that fens became rank and poisonous and forests perilous and full of fear, and beasts became monsters of horn and ivory and dyed the Earth with blood. And when he saw his time he revealed himself and made war again on the Valar, his brethren; and he threw down the lamps, and a new darkness fell on the Earth, and all growth ceased; and in the fall of the lamps (which were very great) the seas were lifted up in fury, and many lands were drowned. And the Valar at that time had long dwelt upon an island in the midst of the Earth,[19] but now they were forced to depart again; and they made their home in the uttermost West,[20] and they fortified it; and they built many mansions in that land upon the borders of the World which is called Valinor; and to fence that land from the East they built the Pelóri Valion,[21] the Mountains of Valinor that were the highest upon Earth. Thence they came with war against Melkor; but he had grown in stature and malice, so that they could not at that time either overcome him or take him captive, and he escaped from their wrath and built himself a mighty fortress in the North of Middle-earth, and delved great caverns underground, and gathered there many lesser powers that seeing his greatness and growing strength were now willing to serve him; and the name of that strong and evil place was Utumno.

§33 Thus it was that Earth lay wrapped in darkness again, save in Valinor, as the ages drew on to the hour appointed for the coming of the Firstborn of the Children of Ilúvatar. And in

the darkness Melkor dwelt, and still often walked abroad in Middle-earth; and he wielded cold and fire, from the tops of the mountains to the deep furnaces that are beneath them, and whatsoever was violent or cruel or deadly in those days was laid to his charge.

§34 And in Valinor dwelt the Valar and all their kin and folk, and because of the bliss and beauty of that land they came seldom to Middle-earth. Yet Yavanna, to whom all things that grow are dear, forsook not the Earth[22] utterly, and leaving the house of Aulë and the light of Valinor she would come at times and heal the hurts of Melkor; and returning she would ever urge the Valar to that war with his evil power that they must surely wage ere the coming of the Firstborn. And Oromë also, the hunter, rode at whiles in the darkness of the unlit forests, sounding his mighty horn, whereat the shadows of Utumno, and even Melkor himself, would flee away.

§35 In the midst of the Blessed Realm Aulë dwelt, and laboured long, for in the making of all things in that land he had the chief part; and he wrought there many fair and shapely things both openly and in secret. Of him comes the love and knowledge of the Earth and of all those things that it contains, whether the lore of those who do not make but seek only for the understanding of what is, studying the fabric of the Earth and the blending and mutation of its elements, or the lore of all craftsmen: the tiller and the husbandman, the weaver, the shaper of wood, or the forger of metals. [And Aulë we name the Friend of the Noldor, for of him they learned much in after days, and they are the wisest and most skilled of the Elves. And in their own fashion, according to their own gifts which Ilúvatar gave to them, they added much to his teaching, delighting in tongues and alphabets and in the figures of broidery, of drawing, and of carving. And the Noldor it was who achieved the invention of gems, which were not in the world before their coming; and the fairest of all gems were the Silmarils, and they are lost.][23]

§36 But Manwë Súlimo, highest and holiest of the Valar, sat upon the borders of the West, forsaking not in his thought the Outer Lands. For his throne was set in majesty upon the pinnacle of Taniquetil, which was the highest of the mountains of the world, standing upon the margin of the Seas. Spirits in the shape of hawks and eagles flew ever to and from his halls; and their eyes could see to the depths of the sea and could pierce the

hidden caverns under the world, and their wings could bear them through the three regions of the firmament beyond the lights of heaven to the edge of Darkness. Thus they brought word to him of well nigh all that passed in Aman:[24] yet some things were hidden even from the eyes of Manwë, for where Melkor sat in his dark thought impenetrable shadows lay. With Manwë dwelt Varda the most beautiful, whom the Noldor name Elbereth, Queen of the Valar; she it was who wrought the stars. And the children of Manwë and Varda are Fionwë Úrion their son, and Ilmarë their daughter;[25] and these were the eldest of the children of the Valar. They dwelt with Manwë, and with them were a great host of fair spirits in great blessedness. Elves and Men revere Manwë most of all the Valar, for he has no thought for his own honour, and is not jealous of his power, but ruleth all to peace. [The Lindar he loved most of all the Elves, and of him they received song and poesy. For poesy is the delight of Manwë, and the song of words is his music.][26] Behold, the raiment of Manwë is blue, and blue is the fire of his eyes, and his sceptre is of sapphire which the Noldor wrought for him; and he is King of the world of gods and elves and men, and the chief defence against Melkor.

§37 But Ulmo was alone, and he abode not in Valinor, but dwelt from the beginning of Arda in the Outer Ocean, as he still does; and thence he governed the flowing of all waters, and the courses of all rivers, the replenishment of springs and the distilling of rain and dew throughout the world. In the deep places he gives thought to music great and terrible; and the echo thereof runs through all the veins of the Earth,[27] and its joy is as the joy of a fountain in the sun whose springs are in the wells of unfathomed sorrow at the foundations of the world. The Teleri learned much of him, and for this reason their music has both sadness and enchantment. Salmar came with him, who made the conches of Ulmo; and Ossë and Uinen, to whom he gave control of the waves and of the inner seas; and many other spirits beside. And thus even under the darkness of Melkor life coursed still through many secret lodes, and the Earth did not die; and ever afterward to all who were lost in that darkness or wandered far from the light of the Valar the ear of Ulmo was open, nor has he ever forsaken Middle-earth, and whatsoever may since have befallen of ruin or change he has not ceased to take thought for it, nor will until the end.[28]

§38 After the departure of the Valar there was silence for an

age, and Ilúvatar sat alone in thought. Then Ilúvatar spake, and he said: 'Behold I love the world, and it is a mansion for Elves and Men. But the Elves shall be the fairest of earthly creatures, and they shall have and shall conceive more beauty than all my children, and they shall have greater bliss in this world. But to Men I will give a new gift.'

§39 Therefore he willed that the hearts of Men should seek beyond the world and find no rest therein; but they should have a virtue to fashion their life, amid the powers and chances of the world, beyond the Music of the Ainur, which is as fate to all things else. And of their operation everything should be, in shape and deed, completed, and the world fulfilled unto the last and smallest. Lo! even we, Elves, have found to our sorrow that Men have a strange power for good or ill, and for turning things aside from the purpose of Valar or of Elves; so that it is said among us that Fate is not master of the children of Men; yet are they blind, and their joy is small, which should be great.

§40 But Ilúvatar knew that Men, being set amid the turmoils of the powers of the world, would stray often, and would not use their gift in harmony; and he said: 'These too, in their time, shall find that all they do redounds at the end only to the glory of my work.' Yet the Elves say that Men are often a grief even unto Manwë, who knows most of the mind of Ilúvatar. For Men resemble Melkor most of all the Ainur, and yet he hath ever feared and hated them, even those who served him.[29] It is one with this gift of freedom that the children of Men dwell only a short space in the world alive, and yet are not bound to it, and depart whither we know not. Whereas the Eldar remain until the end of days, and their love of the world is deeper, therefore, and more sorrowful. But they die not, till the world dies, unless they are slain or waste in grief – for to both these seeming deaths they are subject – nor does age subdue their strength, unless one grow weary of ten thousand centuries; and dying they are gathered in the halls of Mandos in Valinor, whence often they return and are reborn in their children. But the sons of Men die indeed, and leave the World; wherefore they are called the Guests, or the Strangers. Death is their fate, the gift of Ilúvatar unto them, which as Time wears even the Powers shall envy. But Melkor hath cast his shadow upon it, and confounded it with darkness, and brought forth evil out of good, and fear out of hope. Yet it is said that they will join in the Second Music of the Ainur, whereas Ilúvatar has not revealed what he

purposes for Elves and Valar after the World's end; and Melkor has not discovered it.

NOTES

1 It was not until after the publication of *Sauron Defeated* that I remembered the existence of this reference to *The Drowning of Anadûnê* as 'a "Man's" version of the *Fall of Númenor* told from men's point of view', and the description of it as 'Round World': see IX.394–5, 406.

2 The first page of the third version of *The Fall of Númenor* (IX.331) is headed 'The Last Tales', and the tale itself numbered '1'.

3 I have referred to this list before, in V.294 and 338. In the latter passage I took the 'revision' to be that of the *Quenta Silmarillion*; but since not all the names in the list occur in it the reference may be more general.

4 *Pengoloð*: i.e. not *Pengolod*. See note 15.

5 *Me!kor*: i.e. not *Melko*; see V.338.

6 The names *Helkar* and *Ringil* were struck through at the time of writing; this was a shorthand, meaning '*Illuin* and *Ormal* replace *Helkar* and *Ringil*, which are rejected.' See note 16.

7 On Ælfwine in Tol Eressëa see my summary in IX.279–80.

8 Rúmil in *Ainulindalë* B (V.156).

9 See V.164 note 2.

10 There was no suggestion in the earlier versions that the Children of Ilúvatar entered the Music with the Third Theme.

11 Here and in §24 my father wrote *the Halls of Anar*, changing *Anar* to *Aman* later (cf. notes 13 and 24). On the use of these names see pp. 28, 44.

12 See V.164 note 9.

13 *Kingdom of Arda* replaced *Kingdom of Anar* at the time of writing; cf. note 11.

14 Pengoloð refers to the time before the Flight of the Noldor.

15 These words were pencilled lightly on the manuscript. The name is clearly spelt *Pengolod* here and in the paragraph that follows, but *Pengoloð* in §30.

16 In the *Ambarkanta* the northern lamp was *Helkar*, the southern *Ringil*; see p. 7 and note 6, and IV.256.

17 In the *Quenta Silmarillion* §38 (V.222), repeating the words of the *Quenta* (IV.87), it was said that 'the first flowers that ever were east of the Mountains of the Gods' bloomed on the western shores of Tol Eressëa in the light of the Trees that came through the Pass of Kalakilya.

18 The name of the isle was first written *Eccuilë*, changed at once to

Eremar, which was subsequently altered to *Almar* (*Almaren* in the list of alterations made in 1951, p. 7).

19 The concluding sentence of §31 concerning the dwelling of the Valar on 'the isle of Almar in a great lake' was an addition to the main body of the new text; hence the repetition here.

20 My father first wrote here: 'in the uttermost parts of Andúnë'.

21 The name *Pelóri (Valion)* first occurs here; it is found also (under *Aman*) in the list of alterations made in 1951 (p. 7).

22 My father first wrote here 'world', changing it at once to 'earth', which I have capitalised – as also at two other occurrences: capitalisation is inconsistent in *Ainulindalë* C, partly owing to the retention of passages from the original text B.

23 The square brackets enclosing this passage (developed from *Ainulindalë* B, V.162) probably imply its proposed exclusion.

24 The words *in Aman* were added later, at the same time as the change of *the Halls of Anar* to *the Halls of Aman* in §§15, 24 (see note 11).

25 See V.165 note 20.

26 As note 23.

27 *Ainulindalë* B has 'all the veins of the world': this was changed to 'of the Earth', I think simply to avoid repetition, since the sentence ends with 'the foundations of the world'.

28 From this point there is no indication on the manuscript of my father's intention, but in view of the next version D it seems clear that we are to continue with the concluding portion of the old B text (from 'After the departure of the Valar ...', V.163). In D, however, there is an intervening passage (see pp. 35–6) that makes the conclusion more integral with what precedes. – These final paragraphs (§§38–40) were left largely unchanged (though with significant alterations in §40) from the text of B, but I give it in full in order to provide a complete text at this point.

29 This was changed from the B version 'For Men resemble Melko most of all the Ainur, and yet have ever feared and hated him.'

Commentary on the Ainulindalë text C

The revision C introduces a radical re-ordering of the original matter of the *Ainulindalë*, together with much that is new; and it is easiest to show this in the form of a table. This table is in no sense a synopsis of the content, but simply a scheme to show the structural interrelations.

B	C
The playing of the Music	The playing of the Music
Discord of Melko, the Three Themes	Discord of Melkor, the Three Themes

Declaration of Ilúvatar to the Ainur: *the Music has been given Being*; the things that Melko has introduced into the Design

The Ainur see the World made real

Joy of the Ainur in the elements of the Earth

Ulmo's concern with waters, Manwë's with the airs, Aulë's with the fabric of the Earth

Desire of the Ainur for the World, and the desire of Melko to have dominion in it

Elves and Men made by Ilúvatar alone; nature of the Children and their relations with the Ainur

Entry of the Ainur into the World

Melko walked alone; Ulmo dwelt in the Outer Ocean; Aulë in Valinor; Manwë with Varda on Taniquetil. Relations with the Teleri, Noldor, Lindar

The forms taken by the Valar, some male, some female

Declaration of Ilúvatar to the Ainur: 'I will show forth the things that you have played'

The Ainur see the World in vision; they see the coming of the Children of Ilúvatar

Elves and Men made by Ilúvatar alone; the love of the Ainur for them

Desire of the Ainur for the World, and the desire of Melkor to have dominion in it

Joy of the Ainur in the elements of the Earth

Ulmo's concern with waters, Manwë's with the airs, Aulë's with the fabric of the Earth

The vision of the World taken away; unrest of the Ainur

Ilúvatar gives Being to the vision

Entry of the Ainur into the World

The World unshaped; agelong labours of the Valar

Strife between Melkor and the Valar; withdrawal of Melkor from the Earth

The forms taken by the Valar, some male, some female: 'I have seen Yavanna'

Melkor's return; first battle of the Valar for the dominion of Arda; elemental strife

End of the Ainulindalë of Rúmil told to Ælfwine by Pengoloð

Words of Pengoloð

Question of Ælfwine and reply of Pengoloð:

Coming of Tulkas and rout of Melkor

Building of the Lamps. Earth illumined; arising of birds and beasts and flowers

Dwelling of the Valar on the island in the great lake

Secret return of Melkor; blight and monstrosity spread from his hidden dwelling in the North; he cast down the Lamps

Retreat of the Valar into the West and foundation of Valinor

The Valar came with war against Melkor but could not overcome him; Melkor built Utumno

Melkor walked abroad in Middle-earth

The Valar came seldom to Middle-earth save Yavanna and Oromë

Aulë dwelt in Valinor; Manwë with Varda on Taniquetil; Ulmo in the Outer Ocean. Relations with the Noldor, Lindar, Teleri

After the departure of the Valar, Ilúvatar's silence, and then his declaration concerning Elves and Men: the gift of freedom and death to Men; nature of the immortality of the Elves

End of the Ainulindalë spoken by Rúmil to Ælfwine

The central shift in the myth of the Creation lies of course in the fact that in the old form, when the Ainur contemplate the World and find joy in its contemplation and desire it, the World has been given Being by Ilúvatar, whereas in C it is a Vision that has not been given Being. With this may be compared my father's words in the account of his

works written for Milton Waldman in 1951 (*Letters* no.131, p. 146):

> They [the Valar] are 'divine', that is, were originally 'outside' and existed 'before' the making of the world. Their power and wisdom is derived from their Knowledge of the cosmogonical drama, which they perceived first as a drama (that is as in a fashion we perceive a story composed by someone else), and later as a 'reality'.

In the Vision, moreover, in which the Ainur see the unfolding of the history of the World as yet unmade, they see the arising within it of the Children of Ilúvatar (§13); and when the Vision is made real and the Ainur descend into the World, it is their knowledge and love of the Children of Ilúvatar who are to be that directs their shape and form when they make themselves visible (§25). Several passages in letters of my father from the years 1956–8 bear closely on these conceptions (see *Letters* nos.181, 200, 212).

But the nature and extent of the *Ainulindalë* is also greatly changed; it contains now the first battle of Melkor with the Valar for the dominion of Arda, but it does not contain the original concluding passage concerning Ilúvatar's Gift to Men, nor the accounts of Manwë, Ulmo and Aulë: these latter, together with much new material concerning the first wars in Arda, are placed in a sort of Appendix, the Words of Pengoloð to Ælfwine. This is reminiscent of the original *Music of the Ainur* in *The Book of Lost Tales*, with Ælfwine (Eriol) appearing in person as questioner.

In the pre-*Lord of the Rings* texts Melko's part in the beginning of Earth's history was conceived far more simply. As late as the *Ambarkanta* (IV.238) the story was that

> the Valar coming into the World descended first upon Middle-earth at its centre, save Melko who descended in the furthest North. But the Valar took a portion of land and made an island and hallowed it, and set it in the Western Sea and abode upon it, while they were busied in the exploration and first ordering of the World. As is told they desired to make lamps, and Melko offered to devise a new substance of great strength and beauty to be their pillars. And he set up these great pillars north and south of the Earth's middle yet nearer to it than the chasm; and the Gods placed lamps upon them and the Earth had light for a while.

In the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.208) and the *Later Annals of Valinor* (V.110–11) there is no suggestion that Melko departed from the Earth after the first coming of the Valar, and indeed the cosmology described in the *Ambarkanta* could not allow of it: as I said in my commentary (IV.253):

> It is not indeed explained in the *Ambarkanta* how the Valar entered the world at its beginning, passing through the impassable Walls,

and perhaps we should not expect it to be. But the central idea at this time is clear: from the Beginning to the Great Battle in which Melko was overthrown, the world with all its inhabitants was inescapably bounded; but at the very end, in order to extrude Melko into the Void, the Valar were able to pierce the Walls by a Door.

The far more complex account in the new work of the movements of Melkor and of his strife with the Valar is an indication at once, therefore, that shifts have taken place in the cosmology.

In the *Ainulindalë* proper it is now told that Melkor entered the World with the other Ainur at the beginning – he 'was there from the first', and claimed Earth for his own (§23); but he was alone, and unable to resist the Valar, and he 'withdrew to other regions' (§24). There followed the labours of the Valar 'in the ordering of the Earth, and the curbing of its tumults', and Melkor saw from afar that 'Earth was become as a garden for them'; then in envy and malice he 'descended upon Earth' to begin 'the first battle of the Valar and Melkor for the dominion of Arda' (§§26–7). The words 'Earth was become as a garden for them' are not to be interpreted as a reference to the 'Spring of Arda', for the description of this follows in the Words of Pengoloð; where appears also the wholly new element that Tulkas was not one of the Ainur who entered the World at the beginning, but came only when 'in the far heaven' he heard of the war 'in the Little World' (§31).

Then follows the building of the Lamps and the Spring of Arda; for Melkor had fled from the Earth a second time, routed by Tulkas, and 'brooded in the outer darkness'. At the end of 'a long age' he came back in secret to the far North of Middle-earth, whence his evil power spread, and whence he came against the Valar in renewed war, and cast down the Lamps (§32). Then the Valar departed from the island of Almar in the great lake and made their dwelling in the uttermost West; and from Valinor they came against Melkor again. But they could not defeat him; and at that time he built Utumno. There are thus four distinct periods of strife between Melkor and the Valar, and he departed out of Arda and returned to it twice.

We are brought therefore to the forbidding problem of the underlying conception of the World in this phase of my father's later work. In the original *Music of the Ainur* in *The Book of Lost Tales* Ilúvatar 'fashioned [for the Ainur] dwellings in the void, and dwelt among them' (I.52); at the end of the Music he 'went forth from his dwellings, past those fair regions he had fashioned for the Ainur, out into the dark places' (I.55); and 'when they reached the midmost void they beheld a sight of surpassing beauty and wonder where before had been emptiness': 'the Ainur marvelled to see how the world was globed amid the void and yet separated from it' (I.55–6). This may not be a simple conception, but it is pictorially simple. In *Ainulindalë* B it was

not changed (V.159). In the *Ambarkanta* 'the World' *(Ilu)* is 'globed' within the invisible, impassable Walls of the World *(Ilurambar)*, and 'the World is set amid Kúma, the Void, the Night without form or time' (IV.235–7). I take these accounts to be in agreement. 'The World' comprises 'the Earth' *(Ambar)*, the region of the heavenly bodies that pass over it, and the Outer Sea *(Vaiya)*, 'more like to sea below the Earth and more like to air above the Earth', which enfolds or 'englobes' all (IV.236).

In C, likewise, Ilúvatar 'went forth from the fair regions that he had made for the Ainur', and they came into the Void (§§10–11). There Ilúvatar showed them a Vision, 'and they saw a new World ... globed amid the Void, and it was sustained therein, but was not of it' (repeating the words of B, though they were here written out anew). But then it is said in C (§14) that 'amid all the splendours of the World, its vast halls and spaces, and its wheeling fires, Ilúvatar chose a place for their habitation [i.e. the habitation of the Children of Ilúvatar] in the Deeps of Time and in the midst of the innumerable Stars.' This habitation is 'Arda, the Earth', which is 'in the Halls of Aman' (§15). When Ilúvatar gave Being to the Vision, he said (§20): 'Let these things Be! And I will send forth the flame imperishable into the Void, and it shall be at the heart of the World, and the World shall Be; and those of you that will may go down into it.' Some of the Ainur 'abode still with Ilúvatar beyond the confines of the World' (§21); but those who 'entered into the World' (§22) are the Valar, the Powers of the World, and they laboured 'in wastes unmeasured and unexplored ... until in the Deeps of Time and in the midst of the vast halls of the World there came to be that hour and that place where was made the habitation of the Children of Ilúvatar' (§23). It is also said (§24) that the lesser spirits who aided Manwë 'went down into the Halls of Aman'. It is clear that 'the Halls of Aman' are equivalent to 'the World' (and indeed in the following text D the reading of C in §23 'the vast halls of the World' becomes 'the vast halls of Aman'). I am unable however to cast any light on the use of the name *Aman* in the later *Ainulindalë* texts. In *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, where it first appeared, it was the Adûnaic name of Manwë, but that meaning is surely not present here.

It emerges then that the word 'World' is explicitly used in a new sense. In the *Ambarkanta* diagram I (IV.243) Ilu *is* 'the World', the Earth and Sky, two halves of a globe itself globed within Vaiya. In C Arda, the Earth, the habitation of Elves and Men, is *within* 'the World', 'the Halls of Aman'. The evident fact that my father also used 'World' in another sense in C (the clearest case being 'that land upon the borders of the World which is called Valinor', §32) does not make matters any easier, but does not contradict this distinction.

In order to understand the implications of this change, it must first

be asked: What can be said of the nature of *Arda* in this new conception?

In the *Ambarkanta* diagram I my father long afterwards changed the title-word *Ilu* to *Arda* (IV.242). He would scarcely have done this if the conceptions behind the two names did not continue to bear a substantial resemblance to each other. *Arda*, then, retains major characteristics of the image of *Ilu*, and this is shown by what is said in the text of C itself: as that Ulmo 'dwelt from the beginning of Arda in the Outer Ocean' and the echo of his music 'runs through all the veins of the Earth' (§37), or that the spirits flying from Manwë's halls in the shape of hawks and eagles were borne by their wings *'through the three regions of the firmament'* (§36).

On this basis it may be said that the major difference in the new conception is that while Arda is physically the same as Ilu, it is no longer 'the World globed amid the Void': for Arda is within 'the World' – which is itself 'globed amid the Void' (§11).

But we at once meet with a serious difficulty – and there was no second *Ambarkanta* to help in resolving it. For 'the World', 'the Halls of Aman', which surrounds Arda, is not the Void: though Arda 'might seem a little thing to those ... who consider only the immeasurable vastness of the World' (§14), the World is spatially defined ('globed', §11), and it contains 'splendours ... and wheeling fires'; and Ilúvatar chose the habitation of the Children, which is Arda, 'in the midst of the innumerable Stars'. How can this possibly be brought into agreement with the idea (IV.241, 243) of the Tinwë-mallë, the path of the stars, which is the 'middle air' of Ilmen, the second region of the firmament of Ilu? Yet in C (§36) the spirits that fly from Taniquetil pass through 'the three regions of the firmament *beyond the lights of heaven to the edge of Darkness*'. Since this derives without change from B (V.162), and since C is a reworking of the actual B manuscript, it might be thought that this passage was retained unintentionally; but in fact it comes in a part of the text that was written entirely anew, not emended on the original manuscript (much of C was written anew even when the old text was being largely followed).

It has been seen (p. 27) that the greatly enlarged history of Melkor and the Valar in the beginning depends in part on the changed cosmology, for he twice departed out of Arda. This raises the question of the passage of the Walls of the World, and indeed of the form which that conception now took: for, as will be seen, the idea of the Walls had not been abandoned. But I postpone further discussion of this baffling topic until subsequent texts that bear on it are reached.

Ainulindalë D

This next version of the *Ainulindalë* is a manuscript of unusual

splendour, with illuminated capitals and a beautiful script, in which for a part of its length my father made use of Anglo-Saxon letter-forms – even to the extent of using old abbreviations, as the letter 'thorn' with a stroke across the stem for 'that'. This feature at once associates it closely with *Ainulindalë* C, where in the long passages of new text written on the old manuscript he did the same here and there. There can in any case be little question that this new version belongs closely in time with C, which was a very difficult and chaotic text and had to be given more lucid form; and it shares the common characteristic of the various series of my father's manuscripts of beginning as a close (indeed in this case almost an exact) copy of the exemplar but diverging more and more markedly as it proceeds. In this case I give the full text only for certain passages, and for the rest list the changes (other than a small number of slight stylistic changes of a word or two without significance for the conception) by reference to the paragraphs of C.

The text of D was subsequently emended, though not very heavily, in several 'layers', the earlier made with care, the later roughly; where of any importance these are shown as such in the textual representation that follows.

D has a fine separate title-page, with *Ainulindalë* in tengwar, and then:

Ainulindalë
The Music of the
Ainur

This was made by Rúmil of Túna in the Elder Days. It is here written as it was spoken in Eressëa to Ælfwine by Pengoloð the Sage. To it are added the further words that Pengoloð spoke at that time concerning the Valar, the Eldar and the Atani; of which more is said hereafter

The first page of the text is headed *Ainulindalë* (written also in tengwar), and is then as in C (p. 8), with the following added subsequently: 'First he recited to him the Ainulindalë as Rúmil made it.'

§13 '(as thou shalt hear, Ælfwine)' omitted.

§14 'the whole field of the Sun'; D 'the whole field of Arda'

§15 'the Halls of Aman' as in C; not subsequently emended (see p. 37).

§16 As written, D retained the reading of C: 'and not in possession nor in himself, wherefore he became a maker and teacher, and none have called him Lord.' This was emended to: 'and neither in possession nor in his own mastery; wherefore he gives and hoards not, and is free from care, passing ever on to some new

work.' The new text being in the present tense conflicts with 'the delight ... of Aulë was in the deed of making' just preceding.

§17 'Behold the towers and mansions of ice!' omitted, perhaps inadvertently.

§19 After 'when the vision was taken away' there is a footnote that seems to have been an early addition:

> And some have said that the Vision ceased ere the fulfilment of the Dominion of Men and the fading of the Firstborn; wherefore, though the Music is over all, the Valar have not seen as with sight the Later Ages or the ending of the World. Quoth Pengoloð.

§20 Before 'Let these things Be!' the word *'Ea!'* was added subsequently; and after 'Ilúvatar had made a new thing' was added 'Ea, the World that Is.'

§23 'in the midst of the vast halls of the World'; D 'in the midst of the vast halls of Aman'; 'Aman' here later emended to 'Ea' (see note 15 above, and p. 37).

§24 'they went down into the Halls of Aman'; D 'they came down into the fields of Arda'

'but the Earth he could not put from his heart'; D 'but he did not put the desire of the kingdom of Arda from his heart'

The concluding passage of this paragraph, from 'For he was alone, without friend or companion ...', omitted.

§25 'shape and form'; 'form' emended in D to 'hue'.

§27 'But this we know:'; D 'But this said Rúmil in the end of the *Ainulindalë* which I have recounted to thee:'

'the coming of the Children'; D 'the coming of the Firstborn'

'And yet their labour was not vain, and slowly the Earth was shaped and made firm'; D 'And yet their labour was not all in vain; and though nowhere and in no work was their will and purpose wholly fulfilled, and all things were in hue and shape other than the Valar had at first intended, slowly nonetheless the Earth was fashioned and made firm.'

Heading before §29: 'Words of Pengolod'; D 'Here are the words of Pengoloð to Ælfwine'

§29 'Pengolod'; D 'Pengoloð' (but 'Pengoloð' in C §30)

§31 'the loremasters of the Noldor'; D 'the loremasters'

'the Little World'; D 'the Little Kingdom'

After the passage about the coming of Tulkas in §31 the text of D shows so many changes from C that I give the next part in full.

In that time the Valar brought order to the seas and the lands and the mountains, and Yavanna planted at last the seeds that she had long devised. And since, when the fires had been subdued or buried beneath the primeval hills, there was need of light, Aulë wrought two mighty lamps for the enlightenment of the Middle-earth which he had built amid the Encircling Seas. Then Varda filled the lamps and Manwë hallowed them, and the Valar set them upon high pillars, more lofty far than are any mountains of the later days. One lamp they raised near to the North of Middle-earth, and it was named [Forontë >] Illuin; and the other was raised in the South, and it was named [Hyarantë >] Ormal; and the light of the Lamps of the Valar flowed out over the Earth, so that all was lit as it were in a changeless Day.

Then the seeds that Yavanna had sown began swiftly to sprout and to burgeon, and there arose a multitude of growing things great and small, [grasses, and flowers of many hues, and trees whose blossom was like snow upon the mountains, so tall were they, >] mosses and grasses, and great ferns, and trees whose tops were crowned with cloud as they were living mountains, / but whose feet were wrapped in a green twilight. And beasts [*struck out:* and birds] came forth and dwelt in the grassy plains, or in the rivers and the lakes, or walked in the shadow of the woods. [And richest was the growth of plant and beast in the midmost >] As yet no flower had bloomed nor any bird had sung, for these things waited still their time in the bosom of Palúrien; but wealth there was of her imagining, and nowhere more rich than in the midmost / parts of the Earth, where the light of both the Lamps met and blended. And there upon the Isle of Almaren in the Great Lake was the first dwelling of the gods when all things were young, and new-made green was yet a marvel in the eyes of the [makers. >] makers; and they were long content.

§32 But at length Melkor returned in secret, and far in the North, where the beams of [Forontë >] Illuin were cold and dim, he made a hidden dwelling. Thence he sent forth his power and turned again to evil much that had been well begun; so that green things fell sick and rotted, and rivers were choked with weeds and slime, and fens were made, rank and poisonous, and the breeding place of flies; and forests grew dark and perilous, the haunts of fear; and beasts became monsters of horn and ivory and dyed the earth with blood. And when he saw his time,

Melkor revealed himself, and he made war again on the Valar his brethren; and he threw down the Lamps, and a new darkness fell, and all growth ceased. And in the fall of the Lamps, which were very great, the seas were lifted up in fury, and many lands were drowned. Then the Valar were driven from their abode in Almaren, and they removed from the Middle-earth, and made their home in the uttermost West, [*added:*] in Aman the Blessed, / and they fortified it against the onslaught of Melkor. Many mansions they built in that land upon the borders of the world which is since called Valinor, whose western marges fall into the mists of the Outer Sea, and whose fences against the East are the [Pelóri >] Pelóre Valion, the Mountains of Valinor, highest upon Earth.

Thence they came at last with a great host against Melkor, to wrest from him the rule of the Middle-earth; but he now had grown in malice and in strength and was master of many monsters and evil things, so that they could not at that time overcome him utterly, nor take him captive; and he escaped from their wrath, and lay hid until they had departed. Then he returned to his dwelling in the North, and there built for himself a mighty fortress, and delved great caverns underground secure from assault, and he gathered to him many lesser powers that seeing his greatness and growing strength were now willing to serve him; and the name of that evil fastness was Utumno.

§33 Thus it was that the Earth lay darkling again, save only in Valinor, as the ages drew on to the hour appointed by Ilúvatar for the coming of the Firstborn. And in the darkness Melkor dwelt, and still often walked abroad, in many shapes of power and fear; and he wielded cold and fire, from the tops of the mountains to the deep furnaces that are beneath them; and whatsoever was cruel or violent or deadly in those days is laid to his charge.

§34 But in Valinor the Valar dwelt with all their kin and folk, and because of the beauty and bliss of that realm they came seldom now to Middle-earth, but gave to the Land beyond the Mountains their chief care and love.

D omits the remainder of C §34 concerning the visits of Yavanna and Oromë to Middle-earth (see p. 35), and continues from the beginning of C §35: 'And in the midst of the Blessed Realm were the mansions of Aulë, and there he laboured long.' From this point D becomes again much closer to C, and the differences can be given in the form of notes.

§35 'Of him comes the love and knowledge of the Earth'; D 'Of him comes the lore . . .' (both readings certain).

'the fabric of the Earth'; D 'the fabric of the world'

'the tiller and the husbandman, the weaver, the shaper of wood, or the forger of metals'; D 'the weaver, the shaper of wood, and the worker in metals; and the tiller and the husbandman also. Though these last and all that deal with things that grow and bear fruit must look also to the spouse of Aulë, Yavanna Palúrien.'

The passage concerning the Noldor, bracketed in C, was retained in D, with change of 'and they are the wisest and most skilled of the Elves' to 'and they are the most skilled of the Elves'

§36 'all that passed in Aman' retained in D (cf. note to §23 above).

'from the eyes of Manwë'; D 'from the eyes of Manwë and the servants of Manwë'

'she it was who wrought the Stars' altered (late) in D to 'she it was who wrought the Great Stars'

Immediately following this a passage in D is very heavily inked out, so that it is totally illegible; but it was obviously the passage that follows here in C: 'And the children of Manwë and Varda are Fionwë Úrion their son, and Ilmarë their daughter; and these were the eldest of the children of the Valar. They dwelt with Manwë'. A semi-colon was placed after 'Stars', and D as emended continues with 'and with them were a great host of fair spirits', &c.

The passage concerning the Lindar, bracketed in C, was retained in D, with a late change of 'Lindar' to 'Vanyar'.

'and the chief defence against Melkor'; D 'the vicegerent of Ilúvatar, and the chief defence against the evil of Melkor.'

From the beginning of §37 I give the text of D in full to the end of the work.

§37 . But Ulmo was alone, and he abode not in Valinor, nor ever came thither unless there was need for a great council: he dwelt from the beginning of Arda in the Outer Ocean, and still he dwells there. Thence he governed the flowing of all waters, and the ebbing, the courses of all rivers and the replenishment of springs, the distilling of all dews and rain in every land beneath the sky. In the deep places he gives thought to musics great and terrible; and the echo thereof runs through all the veins of the world in sorrow and in joy; for if joyful is the fountain that rises in the sun, its springs are in the wells of sorrow unfathomed at

the foundations of the Earth. The Teleri learned much of Ulmo, and for this reason their music has both sadness and enchantment. Salmar came with him to Arda, he who made the conches of Ulmo that none may ever forget who once has heard them; and Ossë and Uinen also, to whom he gave the government of the waves and the movements of the Inner Seas, and many other spirits beside. And thus it was [*added:*] by the power of Ulmo / that even under the darkness of Melkor life coursed still through many secret lodes, and the Earth did not die; and to all who were lost in that darkness or wandered far from the light of the Valar the ear of Ulmo was ever open; nor has he ever forsaken Middle-earth, and whatso may since have befallen of ruin or of change he has not ceased to take thought for it, and will not until the end of days.

The following passage concerning Yavanna and Oromë derives from §34 in C; it was omitted at that point in D (p. 33).

[§34] And in that time of dark Yavanna also was unwilling utterly to forsake the outer lands; for all things that grow are dear to her, and she mourned for the works that she had begun in Middle-earth but Melkor had marred. Therefore leaving the house of Aulë and the flowering meads of Valinor she would come at times and heal the hurts of Melkor; and returning she would ever urge the Valar to that war with his evil dominion that they must surely wage ere the coming of the Firstborn. And Oromë tamer of beasts would ride too at whiles in the darkness of the unlit forests; as a mighty hunter he came with spear and bow [pursuing to the death the monsters and fell creatures of the kingdom of Melkor. Then borne upon his tireless steed with shining mane and golden hoof, he would sound the great horn Rombaras, whereat >] upon his tireless steed with shining mane and golden hoof, pursuing to the death the monsters and fell creatures of the kingdom of Melkor. Then in the twilight of the world he would sound his great horn, the Valaróma, upon the plains of Arda, whereat / the mountains echoed and the shadows of Utumno fled away, and even the heart of Melkor himself was shaken, foreboding the wrath to come.

The following paragraph, after Pengoloð's address to Ælfwine (not in C), takes up a passage in *Ainulindalë* B, V.160–1 (itself not greatly modified from the original *Music of the Ainur* in *The Book of Lost Tales*, I.57), which was not used in C:

Now all is said to thee, Ælfwine, for this present, concerning the manner of the Earth and its rulers in the time before days and ere the world became such as the Children have known it. Of these thou hast not asked, but a little I will say and so make an end. For Elves and Men are the Children; and since they understood not fully that theme by which they entered into the Music, none of the Ainur dared to add anything to their fashion. For which reason the Valar are to these kindreds rather their elders and their chieftains than their masters; and if ever in their dealings with Elves and Men the Ainur have endeavoured to force them when they would not be guided, this has seldom turned to good, howsoever good the intent. The dealings of the Ainur have been mostly with the Elves, for Ilúvatar made the Eldar more like in nature to the Ainur, though less in might and stature, whereas to Men he gave strange gifts.

§38 For it is said that after the departure of the Valar there was silence and for an age Ilúvatar sat alone in thought. Then he spoke, and he said: 'Behold I love the Earth, which shall be a mansion for the Eldar and the Atani! But the Eldar shall be the fairest of all earthly creatures, and they shall have and shall conceive and bring forth more beauty than all my children; and they shall have the greater bliss in this world. But to the Atani (which are Men) I will give a new gift.'

§39 Therefore he willed that the hearts of Men should seek beyond the world and should find no rest therein; but they should have a virtue to shape their life, amid the powers and chances of the world, beyond the Music of the Ainur, which is as fate to all things else; and of their operation everything should be, in form and deed, completed, and the world fulfilled unto the last and smallest. [*The following passage struck out:* Lo! even we of the Eldalië have found to our sorrow that Men have a strange power for good or for ill, and for turning things aside from the purpose of Valar or of Elves; so that it is said among us that Fate is not the master of the children of Men; yet they are blind, and their joy is small, which should be great.]

§40 But Ilúvatar knew that Men, being set amid the turmoils of the powers of the world, would stray often, and would not use their gifts in harmony; and he said: 'These too in their time shall find that all that they do redounds at the end only to the glory of my work.' Yet we of the Eldar believe that Men are often a grief to Manwë, who knows most of the mind of Ilúvatar. For it seems to us that Men resemble Melkor most of

all the Ainur, and yet he has ever feared and hated them, even those that served him.

It is one with this gift of freedom that the children of Men dwell only a short space in the world alive, and are not bound to it, and depart soon whither we know not. Whereas the Eldar remain until the end of days, and their love of the Earth and all the world is more single and poignant, therefore, and as the years lengthen ever more sorrowful. Memory is our burden. For the Eldar die not till the world dies, unless they are slain or waste in grief (and to both these seeming deaths they are subject); neither does age subdue their strength, unless one grow weary of ten thousand centuries; and dying they are gathered in the halls of Mandos in Valinor, whence often they return and are reborn among their children. But the sons of Men die indeed, and leave the World (it is said); wherefore they are called the Guests, or the Strangers. Death is their fate, the gift of Ilúvatar, which as Time wears even the Powers shall envy. But Melkor has cast his shadow upon it, and confounded it with darkness, and brought forth evil out of good, and fear out of hope. Yet of old the Valar said unto us that Men shall join in the Second Music of the Ainur, whereas Ilúvatar has not revealed what he purposes for the Elves after the World's end, and Melkor has not discovered it.

Commentary on the Ainulindalë text D

It will be seen that this text, which can only in part be called a new version, does not extend, contradict, or clarify the 'new cosmology' in any respect – that is to say, as D was originally written. The alteration in §24 of 'they went down into the Halls of Aman' to 'they came down into the fields of Arda' only makes this particular passage more coherent: for Arda had now been established, and it was to the conflict in Arda that those other spirits came. The change in §23 of 'in the midst of the vast halls of the World' to 'in the midst of the vast halls of Aman' is presumably not significant, since the one is clearly equivalent to the other (see p. 28).

With additions and corrections to the text, however, a new element enters: *Ea*. This was the word that Ilúvatar spoke at the moment of the Creation of the World: '*Ea!* Let these things Be!'; and the Ainur knew that 'Ilúvatar had made a new thing, Ea, the World that Is' (§20). In §23, where the reading of C 'the vast halls of the World' had become in D 'the vast halls of Aman', 'Aman' was replaced by 'Ea'. The failure to change 'the Halls of Aman' to 'the Halls of Ea' in §15 was obviously an oversight. The later meaning of 'Aman', the Blessed

Realm, appears in an addition to the text in §32.

There can be no doubt that *Ea*, the Word of Creation that is also the word for the World Created, functions here as did *Aman*; the 'Being' that the word contained and brought forth was the 'new World ... globed amid the Void' that the Ainur had seen in vision (§11), and which now they saw as a light far off, 'as it were a cloud with a living heart of flame' (§20), and into which those of them who wished descended.

But it is perfectly explicit that the Ainur, created by Ilúvatar (§1), dwelt in 'fair regions' that Ilúvatar had made for them (§10); some of them remained 'beyond the confines of the World' (§21) – and Tulkas heard 'in the far heaven' of the War in Arda. How then can the word *Ea* be defined in the list of '1951 alterations' (p. 7) as 'Universe of that which Is'? This expression can surely not be made equivalent to 'the World that Is' (§20). Must not the '*Universe* of that which Is' contain '*Ea*, the World', and the Ainur who saw it created?

Other points arising from differences between C and D, and from emendations made to D, are referred to under the paragraphs in which they occur:

§31 The omission of the words 'of the Noldor' after 'loremasters' was probably made because Pengoloð is expressly a Noldo: cf. §36, where D has 'whom we Noldor name Elbereth'.

In the substantially revised latter part of this paragraph (p. 32; C text p. 17) the names of the Lamps are changed again, from *Foros* and *Hyaras* to *Forontë* and *Hyarantë*; and by early emendation they reach at last the final forms *Illuin* and *Ormal* (as given in the list of '1951 alterations', p. 7). Now it is specifically Yavanna who planted seeds in Middle-earth; and it is Aulë who made the Lamps – but this was told in both the earlier and later *Annals of Valinor* (IV.263, V.110), and indeed goes back to the original *Music of the Ainur* (I.69).

In the correction made to the passage about the first growth in Arda under the light of the Lamps the narrative is brought back to the older tradition concerning the first flowers (yet 'grasses' already appeared); see p. 22 note 17.

'Almaren in the Great Lake', as in the 1951 list (p. 7), now replaces 'Almar in a great lake'.

§32 *Aman*, in an addition to the manuscript, now acquires its later meaning. – The account of the assault on Melkor by the Valar coming forth from Valinor is slightly extended in D: they came 'with a great host', and Melkor 'lay hid until they had departed', then 'returned to his dwelling in the North', where he built Utumno.

§36 The late change of 'she it was who wrought the Stars' to 'she it

was who wrought the Great Stars' is notable: the suggestion must be that Varda *only* made the Great Stars. See p. 376 and note 4.

§34 (p. 35; passage omitted at its place in C). The name *Rombaras* for the Horn of Oromë is found uniquely here; the name that replaces it in the revision of the passage, *Valaróma*, appears in the 1951 list (p. 7).

D was the last version of the *Ainulindalë*. A typescript was made of it, but this is an amanuensis text of no significance, save for a few notes that my father made on it. This text was taken from D when most, but not all, the corrections had been made to it. At the top of the first page he pencilled the following (unfortunately not entirely legible) note:

The World should be equivalent to Arda (the realm) = our planet.
Creation the Universe (..... universe) should be Ea, What Is.

This raises again, and again inconclusively, the question discussed on pp. 37–8. The note is at least clear to this extent, that 'the World' is no longer to be the 'new World ... globed amid the Void' which the Ainur saw (§11), but is to be applied to Arda – and this is of course a reversion, so far as the word is concerned, to the stage of the *Ambarkanta*, where *Ilu* (Arda) is 'the World' (see p. 28). But the difficulty with the definition of *Ea* as the 'Universe of that which Is' in the 1951 list, or as 'Creation the Universe' in the present note, remains – remains, that is, if the conception of a 'World globed amid the Void' and separate from the Void remained. It looks, indeed, rather as if my father were thinking in quite different terms: Arda, the World, is set within an indefinite vastness in which all 'Creation' is comprehended; but there is no way of knowing when this note was written. See further pp. 62–4.

Another pencilled note on the first page of the typescript reads: 'Ilúvatar All-father (*ilúve* "the whole")'; cf. the *Etymologies* (V.361): stem IL 'all', ILU 'universe', Quenya *ilu*, *ilúve; Iluvatar*. For the original etymology of *Ilúvatar* ('Sky-father') see I.255.

On the title-page of the typescript my father wrote: '*Atani* (Second) Followers = Men'. *Atani* (which is listed among the 1951 alterations) is not found in *Ainulindalë* C, but appears in D (title-page and §38).

*Ainulindalë C**

I have already discussed the relationship of this very remarkable version to *Ainulindalë* C, and shown that it preceded C and was composed before *The Lord of the Rings* was finished (see pp. 3–6). I have noted also that when lending the typescript C* to Katherine Farrer in 1948 my father labelled it 'Round World Version', and that

he gave her also the old B manuscript (in all probability before he covered it with new writing to form version C), which he labelled 'Flat World Version'.

There are only two details to be observed in the first part of this version. In §15 C* had, as did C, 'the Halls of Anar', and again as in C this was later emended to 'the Halls of Aman'. This emendation was made at the same time on both texts; but on C* my father added a footnote: '*Anar* = the Sun' (see p. 44). And in §19, whereas both C and D have 'for the history was incomplete and the circles not full-wrought when the vision was taken away', C* has 'the circles of time' (this reading was adopted in the published *Silmarillion*, p. 20).

But from part way through §23 to the end of §24 C* develops the B text quite differently from C:

§23 So began their great labours [*rejected immediately:* in the beginning of Time and in the immeasurable ages forgotten] in wastes unmeasured and unexplored, and in ages uncounted and forgotten, until in the Deeps of Time and in the midst of the vast halls of the World there came to be that hour and that place where was made the habitation of the Children of Ilúvatar. And many of the Valar repaired thither from the uttermost parts of heaven. But the first of these was Melkor. And Melkor took the Earth, while it was yet young and full of fire, to be his own kingdom.

§24 But Manwë was the brother of Melkor, and he was the chief instrument of the second Theme that Ilúvatar had raised up against the discord of Melkor. And he called unto himself others of his brethren and many spirits both greater and less, and he said to them: 'Let us go to the Halls of Anar [*not emended*], *where the Sun of the Little World is kindled*, and watch that Melkor bring it not all to ruin!'

And they went thither, Manwë and Ulmo and Aulë, and others of whom thou shalt yet hear, Ælfwine, and behold! Melkor was before them; but he had little company, save a few of those lesser spirits that had attuned their music to his; and he walked alone; and the Earth was in flames. The coming of the Valar was not indeed welcome to Melkor, for he desired not friends but servants, and he said: 'This is my kingdom, which I have named unto myself.' But the Valar answered that this he could not lawfully do, for in making and governance they had all their part. And there was strife between the Valar and Melkor; and for a time Melkor departed and *withdrew beyond the arrows of the Sun*, and brooded on his desire.

On the two sentences which I have italicised see pp. 43–4. The narrative in this version differs from that of C, since here Melkor preceded the other Ainur, and Manwë's summons was not made out of Arda to other spirits that had not yet come, but was an invitation to enter Arda with him.

From the beginning of §25 C* reverts to the common text (more accurately, from this point C follows C*); the expression 'Kingdom of Anar' in §25 was later emended to 'Kingdom of Arda' (in C this change was made in the act of writing, p. 22 note 13). But near the end of §27 C* diverges again:

... for as surely as the Valar began a labour so would Melkor undo it or corrupt it; so that forests became fierce and rank and poisonous, and beasts became monsters of horn and ivory, and they fought, and dyed the earth with blood.

In C this passage comes in later (§32), and the corruption described is that worked by Melkor on the living things that came to being in the light of the Lamps; but in C*, as will be seen, the story of the Lamps had been abandoned (p. 43).

C* then jumps from the end of §27 to §31, which in C is a part of the words of Pengolod (Pengoloð) after the end of the *Ainulindalë* proper, and proceeds as follows:

§31 And this tale also I have heard among the sages of the Noldor in ages past: that in the midst of the War, and before yet there was any thing that grew or walked on Earth, there was a time when the Valar came near to the mastery; for a spirit of great strength and hardihood came to their aid, hearing in the far heaven that there was battle in the Little World. And he came like a storm of laughter and loud song, and the Earth shook under his great golden feet. So came Tulkas, the Strong and the Merry, whose anger passeth like a mighty wind, scattering cloud and darkness before it. And Melkor was shaken by the laughter of Tulkas and fled from the Earth. Then he gathered himself together and summoned all his might and his hatred, and he said: 'I will rend the Earth asunder, and break it, and none shall possess it.'

But this Melkor could not do, for the Earth may not be wholly destroyed against its fate; nevertheless Melkor took a portion of it, and seized it for his own, and reft it away; and he made it a little earth of his own, and it wheeled round about in the sky, following the greater earth wheresoever it went, so that Melkor could observe thence all that happened below, and

could send forth his malice and trouble the seas and shake the lands. And still there is rumour among the Eldar of the war in which the Valar assaulted the stronghold of Melkor, and cast him out, and removed it further from the Earth, and it remains in the sky, Ithil whom Men call the Moon. There is both blinding heat and cold intolerable, as might be looked for in any work of Melkor, but now at least it is clean, yet utterly barren; and nought liveth there, nor ever hath, nor shall. And herein is revealed again the words of Ilúvatar; for Ithil has become a mirror to the greater Earth, catching the light of the Sun, when she is invisible; and because of malice silver has been made of gold, and moonlight of sunlight, and Earth in its anguish and loss has been greatly enriched.

But of all such matters, Ælfwine, others shall tell thee ...

These last words are the beginning of §28 in C, the end of the *Ainulindalë* proper, and the paragraph appears in C* in almost exactly the same form. After this C* ends abruptly with the concluding passage, C §§38–40, in which however there are some notable differences. §38 reads thus in C*:

But out beyond the World in the Timeless Halls after the departure of the Valar there was silence, and Ilúvatar sat in thought, and the Holy Ones that stood nigh moved not. Then Ilúvatar spoke and he said: 'Verily I love the World and am glad that it Is. And my thought is bent to that place where are the mansions of the Elves and of Men. Behold! the Eldar shall be the fairest of Earthly creatures, and they shall have and shall conceive more beauty than all other offspring of my thought; and they shall have the greater bliss in the World. But to Men I will give a new gift.'

It is to be noted that the scrap of manuscript found with the Adûnaic papers, discussed on p. 4, has precisely the structure of C*: it begins with 'But of all such matters, Ælfwine ...' and continues to the end of the paragraph '... and thus thy feet are on the beginning of the road', following this with 'But out beyond the World in the Timeless Halls ...'

§39 is virtually the same in both texts; but §40, after the opening sentence (Ilúvatar's words concerning Men), continues thus to the end:

Yet the Eldar know that Men have often been a grief to the Valar that love them, not least to Manwë, who knows most of the mind of Ilúvatar. For Men resemble Melkor most of all the

Ainur; and yet he hath ever feared and hated them, even those that serve him.

It is one with this gift of freedom that the Children of Men dwell only a short space in the world alive, and yet are not bound to it, nor shall perish utterly for ever. Whereas the Eldar remain until the end of days, and therefore their love of the world is deeper and more joyous, save that when evil is done to it, or its beauty is despoiled, then they are grieved bitterly, and the sorrow of the Elves for that which might have been fills now all the Earth with tears that Men hear not. But the sons of Men die indeed and leave what they have made or marred. Yet the Valar say that Men shall join in the Second Music of the Ainur, but Manwë alone knoweth what Ilúvatar hath purposed for the Elves after the World's end: the Elves know not, and Melkor hath not discovered it.

The concluding section §§38–40 was struck through, and against it my father wrote a question, whether to place it 'in The Silmarillion' or to insert it 'in modified form' earlier in the present text.

The fundamental difference between C* and C lies in this, that in C* the Sun is already present from the beginning of Arda (see the italicised passages in §24 on p. 40), and the origin of the Moon, similarly 'de-mythologised' by removal from all association with the Two Trees, is placed in the context of the tumults of Arda's making. It seems strange indeed that my father was prepared to conceive of the Moon – the Moon, that cherishes the memory of the Elves (V.118, 240) – as a dead and blasted survival of the hatred of Melkor, however beautiful its light. In consequence, the old legend of the Lamps was also abandoned: whence the different placing of the passage about Melkor's perversion of living things, p. 41.

There is no indication whatsoever of how the myth of the Two Trees was to be accommodated to these new ideas. But for that time the 'de-mythologising' version C* was set aside; and the D text followed from C without a trace of them. The *Annals of Aman*, certainly later than the end of the *Ainulindalë* series, contains a full account of the Making of the Sun and Moon; and in my father's long letter to Milton Waldman, written almost certainly in 1951, the old myth is fully present and its significance defined (*Letters* no.131):

> There was the Light of Valinor made visible in the Two Trees of Silver and Gold. These were slain by the Enemy out of malice, and Valinor was darkened, though from them, ere they died utterly, were derived the lights of Sun and Moon. (A marked difference here between these legends and most others is that the Sun is not a divine

symbol, but a second-best thing, and the 'light of the Sun' (the world under the sun) become terms for a fallen world, and a dislocated imperfect vision).

In conclusion, there remains the perplexing question of the name *Anar* in C* and C, to which I can find no satisfactory solution. *Anar* occurred first in §15, where the reference is to the 'habitation in *the Halls of Anar* which the Elves call Arda, the Earth'; and here in both texts my father later emended 'Anar' to 'Aman', while in C* he added a footnote: '*Anar* = the Sun'. In §24 the spirits whom Manwë summoned to his aid 'went down into the Halls of Anar', and here again 'Anar' was later changed to 'Aman' in C; in C* the reading is somewhat different, and in this text 'Anar' was left to stand: Manwë said to the other spirits 'Let us go to the Halls of Anar where the Sun of the Little World is kindled'. The retention of 'Anar' in C* seems however to be no more than an oversight. Finally, in §25 are named 'the Seven Great Ones of the Kingdom of Anar', changed subsequently in C* but in the act of writing in C to 'the Kingdom of Arda'.

The name *Anar (Anor)* = 'the Sun' goes back a long way – to *The Lost Road*, the *Quenta Silmarillion*, and the *Etymologies* (see the Index to Vol.V), and had been repeated in *The Notion Club Papers* (IX.302–3, 306), beside *Minas Anor*, *Anárion*, *Anórien* in *The Lord of the Rings*. It seems therefore at first sight very probable that *Anar* means 'the Sun' in these texts of the *Ainulindalë*. On this assumption the footnote to §15 in C* was no more than an explanatory gloss; while 'the Kingdom of Anar' in §25 = 'the Kingdom of the Sun' ('the Sun of the Little World'): cf. the change in D §14 (p. 30) of 'the whole field of the Sun' to 'the whole field of Arda'. The fact that in C, in which the myth of the Making of the Sun and Moon is implicitly present, my father wrote 'the Kingdom of Anar' would be explicable on the basis that he had C* before him, and wrote 'Anar' inadvertently before immediately changing it to 'Arda'.

There is however a radical objection to this explanation. In §§15, 24 'the Halls of Anar' is the name given to 'the vast halls of the World' with their 'wheeling fires', in which Ilúvatar chose a place for the habitation of Elves and Men; and subsequently *Anar* > *Aman* > *Ea* (p. 31, §23). Here the interpretation of *Anar* as 'the Sun' seems impossible. It may be therefore that my father's note to C* §15 '*Anar* = the Sun' (made at the same time as he changed 'Anar' to 'Aman' in the body of the text) implies that he had been using the name in another sense, but was now asserting that this and no other was the meaning of *Anar*.

PART TWO

THE ANNALS OF AMAN

THE ANNALS OF AMAN

The second version (pre-*Lord of the Rings*) of the *Annals of Valinor* (**AV 2**) has been given in V.109 ff. I mentioned there that the first part of AV 2 was – years later – covered with emendation and new writing, and that this new work was the initial drafting of the *Annals of Aman*. In this case I shall spend no time on the original draft, apart from some points arising in it which are mentioned in the notes. It does not extend very far – not even so far as the bringing forth of the Two Trees, and so far as it goes it is extremely close to the *Annals of Aman*; but my father evidently very soon decided to embark on a wholly new text.

Of the *Annals of Aman*, which I shall refer to throughout by the abbreviation '**AAm**', there is a good clear manuscript, with a fair amount of correction in different 'layers'. Emendations belonging to the time of composition, or soon after, were carefully made; and the manuscript gives the impression of being a 'fair copy', a second text. But while passages of drafting may have been lost, I very much doubt that a complete 'first text' of the *Annals* existed (see further p. 121 note 17). The work undoubtedly belongs with the large development and recasting of the Matter of the Elder Days that my father undertook when *The Lord of the Rings* was finished (see p. 3), and it stands in close relationship to the revision at that time of the corresponding parts of the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.204–43, referred to throughout as **QS**), the text that had been abandoned at the end of 1937. Equally clearly it followed the last text of the *Ainulindalë* (**D**).

There is an amanuensis typescript of AAm bearing some late emendations and notes, together with its carbon copy bearing a very few, but different, emendations; I am inclined to date this text to 1958, although the evidence for this is a matter of inference and suggestion (see pp. 141–2, 300). There is also an interesting, divergent typescript of the early part of the work, made by my father (pp. 64–8, 79–80).

I give the whole text of the *Annals* narrative, incorporating the emendations made to it; where earlier readings are of interest they are recorded in the notes. I number the paragraphs for subsequent reference, and since the text is long I have divided it for convenience into six sections. The sections are followed by numbered textual notes (not in the case of section 2), and then by a commentary referenced to the paragraph-numbers.

The dates of the annals of the Years of the Trees were changed very

frequently – in some cases there are as many as six substitutions – and I give only the final form. Since the continual changing of the dates seems in no case to be associated with changes in the actual narrative, and since the final articulation of the dates seems to have been achieved before the completion of the manuscript, I think it is sufficient to notice that my father at first allowed a longer span of years from the arising of the Trees to their destruction. Thus at first the Silmarils were achieved by Fëanor in the Year of the Trees 1600 (later 1450), and Tulkas was sent to lay hands on Melkor in 1700 (later 1490) – though other dates were proposed and rejected as well as these. From this point the revised dating (1490–1500) is the only one, but here too the dates were much altered in detail, and the final result is not at all points perfectly clear.

First section of the Annals of Aman

The first page of AAm is extant in two forms, both fine manuscripts, all but identical in text but differing in title and in the brief preamble. The first has the title *The Annals of Valinor*, and opens thus: 'Here begin the Annals of Valinor, and speak of the coming of the Valar to Arda'; beside the title was added: 'These were written by Quennar i Onótimo who learned much, and borrowed much also, from Rúmil; but they were enlarged by Pengoloð.' This last was struck out, and the title and preamble emended to the form they have on the second copy, as given below, with *Valinor* > *Aman* and the addition of the words 'which Rúmil wrote (made)'. I imagine that my father recopied the page because he wished it to look well, and had spoiled it by these changes. The title *Annals of Aman* came in at this point, therefore, and very possibly the final meaning of the name *Aman* also: it occurs once in *Ainulindalë* D, but as an addition to the text (p. 33, §32).

THE ANNALS OF AMAN

Here begin the Annals of Aman, which Rúmil made, and speak of the coming of the Valar to Arda:

§1 At the Beginning Eru Ilúvatar made Ëa, the World that is,[1] and the Valar entered into it, and they are the Powers of Ëa. These are the nine chieftains of the Valar that dwelt in Arda: Manwë, Ulmo, Aulë, Oromë, Tulkas, Ossë, Mandos, Lorien,[2] and Melkor.

§2 Of these Manwë and Melkor were most puissant and were brethren. Manwë is lord of the Valar, and holy; but Melkor turned to lust of power and pride, and became evil and violent, and his name is accursed, and is not spoken; he is named Morgoth. Oromë and Tulkas were younger in the

thought of Eru ere the devising of the World, and Tulkas came last to the kingdom of Arda. The queens of the Valar are seven: Varda, Yavanna, Niënna, Vairë, Vana, Nessa, and Uinen. No less in might and majesty are they than the chieftains, and they sit ever in the councils of the Valar.

§3 Varda was Manwë's spouse from the beginning, but Aulë espoused Yavanna, her sister, in Ëa.[3] Vana the fair, her younger sister, is the wife of Oromë; and Nessa, the sister of Oromë, is Tulkas' wife; and Uinen, lady of the seas, is the spouse of Ossë. Vairë the Weaver dwells with Mandos. No spouse hath Ulmo, nor Melkor. No lord hath Niënna the sorrowful, queen of shadow, Manwë's sister and Melkor's. The wife of Lorien is Estë the pale, but she goes not to the councils of the Valar and is not accounted among the rulers of Arda, but is the chief of the Maiar.

§4 With these great powers came many other spirits of like kind but less might and authority; these are the Maiar, the Beautiful,[4] the folk of the Valar. And with them are numbered also the Valarindi, the offspring of the Valar, their children begotten in Arda, yet of the race of the Ainur who were before the World; they are many and fair.

At this point my father wrote in: *This is drawn from the work of Quennar Onótimo*. These words refer not to what precedes but to the following passage, headed *Of the Beginning of Time and its Reckoning* (although in the preamble – struck through – of the rejected first page of AAm Quennar i Onótimo is said to have been the author of the *Annals* as a whole, p. 48).

The entire section on the subject of the Reckoning of Time was later marked in pencil: 'Transfer to the Tale of Years'. *The Tale of Years*, a chronological list of the same sort as that in Appendix B to *The Lord of the Rings*, exists in different forms, associated with the earlier and later *Annals*; the later form, closely associated with AAm and its companion the *Grey Annals (Annals of Beleriand)*, is perhaps the most complex and difficult text of all that my father left behind him. This need not concern us here; but associated with it are two very fine manuscripts (one of them, the later of the two, among the most beautiful that he made: see the frontispiece) giving in almost identical form the same text *Of the Beginning of Time and its Reckoning* as is found here in AAm, but placing it as the opening of *The Tale of Years* and the prelude to the chronological list of events. These two manuscripts are of course later than the text in AAm, and some readings in which they differ from it are given in the notes. AAm continues:

This is drawn from the work of Quennar Onótimo.[5]

Of the Beginning of Time and its Reckoning

§5 Time indeed began with the beginning of Ëa, and in that beginning the Valar came into the World. But the measurement which the Valar made of the ages of their labours is not known to any of the Children of Ilúvatar, until the first flowering of Telperion in Valinor. Thereafter the Valar counted time by the ages of Valinor, whereof each age contained *one hundred* of the Years of the Valar; but each such year was longer than are *nine* years under the Sun.[6]

§6 Now measured by the flowering of the Trees there were *twelve* hours in each Day of the Valar, and *one thousand* of such days the Valar took to be a year in their realm. It is supposed indeed by the Lore-masters that the Valar so devised the hours of the Trees that *one hundred* of such years so measured should be in duration as one age of the Valar[7] (as those ages were in the days of their labours before the foundation of Valinor).[8] Nonetheless this is not certainly known.

§7 But as for the Years of the Trees and those that came after,[9] one such Year was longer than nine such years as now are. For there were in each such Year *twelve thousand* hours. Yet the hours of the Trees were each *seven* times as long as is *one* hour of a full-day upon Middle-earth from sun-rise to sun-rise, when light and dark are equally divided.[10] Therefore each Day of the Valar endured for *four and eighty* of our hours, and each Year for *four and eighty thousand*: which is as much as *three thousand and five hundred* of our days, and is somewhat more than are *nine and one half* of our years (nine and one half and eight hundredths and yet a little).[11]

§8 It is recorded by the Lore-masters that this is not rightly as the Valar designed at the making and ordering[12] of the Moon and Sun. For it was their intention that *ten* years of the Sun, no more and no less, should be in length as one Year of the Trees had been; and it was their first device that each year of the Sun should contain *seven hundred* times of sunlight and moonlight, and each of these times should contain *twelve* hours, each in duration one *seventh* of an hour of the Trees. By that reckoning each Sun-year would contain *three hundred and fifty* full days of divided moonlight and sunlight, that is *eight thousand and four hundred* hours, equalling *twelve hundred* hours of the Trees, or *one tenth* of a Valian Year. But the Moon and Sun proved more

wayward and slower in their passage than the Valar had intended, as is hereafter told,[13] and a year of the Sun is somewhat longer than was one tenth of a Year in the Days of the Trees.

§9 The shorter year of the Sun was so made[14] because of the greater speed of all growth, and likewise of all change and withering, that the Valar knew should come to pass after the death of the Trees. And after that evil had befallen the Valar reckoned time in Arda by the years of the Sun, and do so still, even after the Change of the World and the hiding of Aman; but ten years of the Sun they account now as but one year,[15] and one thousand but as a century. This is drawn from the Yénonótië of Quennar: quoth Pengoloð.[16]

§10 It is computed by the lore-masters that the Valar came to the realm of Arda, which is the Earth, five thousand Valian Years ere the first rising of the Moon, which is as much as to say forty-seven thousands and nine hundred and one of our years. Of these, three thousand and five hundred (or thirty-three thousand five hundred and thirty of our reckoning) passed ere the measurement of time first known to the Eldar began with the flowering of the Trees. Those were the Days before days. Thereafter one thousand and four hundred and five and ninety Valian Years (or fourteen thousand of our years and three hundred and twenty-two) followed during which the Light of the Trees shone in Valinor. Those were the Days of Bliss. In those days, in the Year one thousand and fifty of the Valar, the Elves awoke in Kuiviénen and the First Age of the Children of Ilúvatar began.[17]

1 The First Year of the Valar in Arda

§11 After ages of labour beyond knowledge or reckoning in the great halls of Ëa the Valar descended into Arda in the beginning of its being, and they began there their labour fore-ordained for the shaping of its lands and its waters, even from the foundations to the highest towers of the Air.

§12 But their labours were frustrated and turned aside from their design, for Melkor coveted the dominion of Arda, and he claimed the kingship and was at strife with Manwë. And Melkor wrought great ruin with fire and deadly cold and marred all that the other Valar made.

1500

§13 It came to pass that hearing afar of the war in Arda Tulkas the Strong came thither out of distant regions of Ëa to the aid of Manwë. Then Arda was filled with the sound of his laughter, but he turned a face of anger towards Melkor; and Melkor fled before his wrath and his mirth, and forsook Arda, and there was a long peace.

§14 Now the Valar began their labours anew; and when the lands and the waters were ordered the Valar had need of light, that the seeds of Yavanna's devising might grow and have life. Aulë therefore wrought two great lamps, as it were of silver and of gold and yet translucent, and Varda filled them with hallowed fire, to give light to the Earth. Illuin and Ormal they were named. 1900 And they were set upon mighty pillars as mountains in the midst of Arda, to the northward and the southward.

§15 Then the Valar continued their labours until all the kingdom of Arda was ordered and made ready, and there was great growth of trees and herbs, and beasts and birds came forth and dwelt in the plains and in the waters, and the mountains were green and fair to look upon. And the Valar made their dwelling upon a green isle in the midst of a lake; and that lake was between Illuin and Ormal in the midmost of Arda; and there in the Isle of Almaren, because of the blending of the lights, all things were richest in growth and fairest of hue. But the Valar were seldom there gathered in company, for ever they would fare abroad in Arda, each in his own business.

§16 And it came to pass that at last the Valar were content, and they were minded to rest a while from labour and watch the growth and unfolding of the things that they had devised and begun. Therefore Manwë ordained a great feast, and summoned all the Valar and the queens of the Valar unto Almaren, together with all their folk. And they came at his bidding; but Aulë, it is said, and Tulkas were weary; for the craft of Aulë and the strength of Tulkas had been at the service of all without ceasing in the days of their labour.

§17 Now Melkor knew of all that was done; for even then he had secret friends and spies among the Maiar whom he had converted to his cause, and of these the chief, as after became known, was Sauron, a great craftsman of the household of Aulë. And afar off in the dark places Melkor was filled with hatred,

being jealous of the work of his peers, whom he desired to make subject to himself. Therefore he gathered to himself spirits out of the voids of Ëa that he had perverted to his service, and he deemed himself strong. And seeing now his time he drew near again unto Arda, and looked down upon it, and the beauty of the Earth in its Spring filled him the more with hate.

3400

§18 Now therefore the Valar were gathered upon Almaren and feasted and made merry, fearing no evil, and because of the light of Illuin they did not perceive the shadow in the North that was cast from afar by Melkor; for he was grown dark as the Night of the Void.[18] And it is sung that in that feast of the Spring of Arda Tulkas espoused Nessa the sister of Oromë, and Vana robed [her] in her flowers, and she danced before the Valar upon the green grass of Almaren.

§19 Then Tulkas slept, being weary and content, and Melkor deemed that his hour had come. And he passed, therefore, over the Walls of the Night[19] with his host, and he came to Middle-earth in the North; and the Valar were not aware of him.

§20 Now Melkor began the delving and building of a vast fortress deep under Earth, beneath dark mountains where the light of Illuin was dim.[20] That stronghold was named Utumno. And though the Valar knew nought of it as yet, nonetheless the evil of Melkor and the blight of his hatred flowed out thence, and the Spring of Arda was marred, and living things became sick and rotted, or were corrupted to monstrous forms.

3450

§21 Then the Valar knew indeed that Melkor was at work again, and they sought for his hiding-place. But Melkor, trusting in the strength of Utumno and the might of his servants, came forth suddenly to war, and struck the first blow, ere the Valar were prepared. And he assailed the lights of Illuin and Ormal, and he cast down their pillars, and broke their lamps. Then in the overthrow of the mighty pillars lands were broken and seas arose in tumult; and when the lamps were spilled destroying flame was poured out over the Earth. And the shape of Arda and the symmetry of its waters and its lands was marred in that time, so that the first designs of the Valar were never after restored.

§22 In the confusion and the darkness Melkor escaped, though fear fell upon him; for above the roaring of the seas he heard the voice of Manwë as a mighty wind, and the earth trembled beneath the feet of Tulkas. But he came to Utumno ere Tulkas could overtake him; and there he lay hid. And the Valar could not at that time overcome him, for the greater part of their strength was needed to restrain the tumults of the Earth, and to save from ruin all that could be saved of their labour; and afterward they feared to rend the Earth again, until they knew where the Children of Ilúvatar were dwelling, who were yet to come in a time that was hidden from the Valar.

§23 Thus ended the Spring of Arda. And the dwelling of the Valar upon Almaren was utterly destroyed, and the gods had no abiding place upon the face of the earth. Therefore they removed from Middle-earth and went to the Land of Aman, which was westernmost of all lands upon the borders of the world; for its west shores looked upon the Outer Sea that encircled the kingdom of Arda, and beyond were the Walls of the Night.[21] But the east-shores of Aman are the uttermost end of the Great Sea of the West; and since Melkor had returned to Middle-earth, and they could not yet overcome him, the Valar fortified their dwelling, and upon the shores of the Sea they raised the Pelóri, the Mountains of Aman, highest upon earth. And above all the mountains of the Pelóri was that height which was called Taniquetil, upon whose summit Manwë set his throne. But behind the walls of the Pelóri the Valar established their mansions and their domain in that region which is called Valinor. There in the Guarded Realm they gathered great store of light and all the fairest things that were saved from the ruin; and many others yet fairer they made anew, and Valinor became more beautiful even than Middle-earth in the Spring of Arda; and it was blessed and holy, for the gods dwelt there, and there nought faded nor withered, neither was there any stain upon flower or leaf in that land, nor any corruption or sickness in anything that lived; for the very stones and waters were hallowed.

§24 Therefore the Valar and all their folk were joyful again, and for long they were well content, and they came seldom over the mountains to the Outer Lands; and Middle-earth lay in a twilight beneath the stars that Varda had wrought in the ages forgotten of her labours in Ëa.

3500

§25 And it came to pass that, after Valinor was full-wrought and the mansions of the Valar were established and their gardens and woodlands were arrayed, the Valar built their city in the midst of the plain beyond the Pelóri. That city they named Valmar the Blessed. And before its western gate there was a green mound, and it was bare save for a sward of unfading grass.

§26 Then Yavanna and Niënna came to that Green Mound; and Yavanna hallowed it, and sat there long upon the green grass and sang a song of great power, in which was set all her thought of things that grow in the earth. But Niënna thought in silence, and watered the mould with tears. Then all the Valar were gathered together to hearken to the song of Yavanna; and the mound was in the midst of the Ring of Doom before the gates of Valmar, and the Valar sat round about in silence upon their thrones of council, and their folk were set before their feet. And as the gods watched, behold! upon the mound there sprang two green saplings, and they grew and became fair and tall, and they came to blossom.

§27 Thus there awoke in the world the Two Trees of Valinor, of all growing things the fairest and most renowned, whose fate is woven with the fate of Arda. The elder of the Trees was named Telperion, and its blossoms were of shining white, and a dew of silver light was spilled from them. Laurelin the younger Tree was called; its green leaves were edged with gold, and its flowers were like to clusters of yellow flame, and a rain of gold dripped from them to the ground. From those Trees there came forth a great light, and all Valinor was filled with it. Then the bliss of the Valar was increased; for the light of the Trees was holy and of great power, so that, if aught was good or lovely or of worth, in that light its loveliness and its worth were fully revealed; and all that walked in that light were glad at heart.

§28 But the light that was spilled from the Trees endured long, ere it was taken up into the airs or sank into the earth for their enrichment. Therefore of its abundance Varda was wont to gather great store, and it was hoarded in mighty vats nigh to the Green Mound. Thence the Maiar would draw it and bring it to frith and field, even those far removed from Valmar, so that all regions of Valinor were nourished and waxed ever fairer.

§29 Thus began the Days of the Bliss of Valinor, and thus began also the count of Time. For the Trees waxed to full bloom and light, and waned again, unceasingly, without change of speed or fullness. Telperion came first to flower, and a little ere he ceased to shine Laurelin began to bud; and again ere Laurelin had grown dim Telperion awoke once more. Therefore the Valar took the time of the flowering, first of Telperion and then of Laurelin, to be for them a Day in Valinor; and the time when each Tree was flowering alone they divided into five hours, each equal to the time of the mingling of their lights, twice in each Day. There were thus twelve such hours in every Day of the Valar; and one thousand of those Days was held to be a Year, for then the Trees would put forth a new branch and their stature would increase.

The opening section of the *Annals of Aman* ends here; it is followed by a heading *Here begins a new Reckoning in the Light of the Trees*, with dates beginning at Y.T.1, the First Year of the Trees.

NOTES

1 The definition of *Ëa* as 'the World that Is' is found also at the appearance of the name in an addition to the text of *Ainulindalë* D, p. 31, §20. I give it throughout in the form that it has in the texts, *Ea*, *Ëa*, *Eä*.

2 The original form of the name was *Lórien*, but this was changed to *Lŏrien* on the QS manuscript.

3 AV 2 had here (V.110) 'Yavanna, whom Aulë espoused after in the world, in Valinor'; in the later rewriting of the AV 2 manuscript that led directly to AAm (p. 47) this became 'Yavanna, whom Aulë espoused in Arda', where AAm has 'in Ëa'.

4 AV 2 had here (V.110) 'these are the Vanimor, the Beautiful', changed in the later rewriting (see note 3) to 'these are the Mairi . . .', and then to 'these are the Maiar . . .' This was probably where the word *Maiar* first arose.

5 In the earlier (only) of the two manuscripts of the opening of *The Tale of Years* the heading *Of the Beginning of Time and its Reckoning* was subsequently extended by the addition of *From the work of Quennar Onótimo*; see note 6.

6 As this sentence was first written in the draft text for the beginning of AAm (the rewriting of AV 2) it read: 'each such year is in length even as are ten years of the Sun that is now'; i.e., my father still retained the old much simpler computation going back through AV 2 (V.110) to AV 1 (IV.263). This was changed on the draft text to 'each such year is longer than are nine years of

the Sun that is now'. In the earlier of the *Tale of Years* versions the words 'as it now is' were pencilled in after 'nine years under the Sun', while the second reads 'than are now nine years under the Sun'.

The second *Tale of Years* version, which does not refer to Quennar Onótimo in the heading *Of the Beginning of Time and its Reckoning* (note 5), has here: 'Thus spake Quennar Onótimo concerning this matter'. What follows from this point is in all three texts in markedly smaller script, so that the reference to Quennar seems most appropriate here.

7 The later (only) of the *Tale of Years* versions has 'one fifth of an age of the Valar' for 'one age of the Valar'.

8 The earlier of the *Tale of Years* versions adds here: 'whereas each age of the Valar is one exact part (how great or small they alone know) of the whole history of Ëa. But these things are not certainly known even to the Eldar'; the later begins the additional passage in the same way, but ends: '... of the whole history of Ëa from its beginning to the End that shall be. But these things are not certainly known even to [the] Vanyar.'

9 The *Tale of Years* versions have here: 'As for the Years of the Trees in comparison with those that came after', which makes the meaning clear.

10 In the earlier *Tale of Years* version 'from sun-rise to sun-rise' was changed in pencil to 'from sunset to sunset', and the following sentence 'at such times as light and dark are equally divided' was bracketed. The second version has a different reading: 'from sunset unto sunset beside the Shores of the Great Sea'.

11 In the *Tale of Years* versions the words '(nine and one half and eight hundredths and yet a little)' are omitted.

12 In the *Tale of Years* versions the words 'and ordering' are omitted.

13 For 'as is hereafter told' (which refers to the account of the Sun and Moon later in AAm) the *Tale of Years* versions have 'as is elsewhere told'.

14 For 'was so made' the *Tale of Years* versions have 'was appointed by the Valar'.

15 'but one year' becomes in the *Tale of Years* versions 'but one year unto themselves'.

16 The *Tale of Years* versions have here 'Thus speaketh the *Yénonótië* of Quennar'. With *Yénonótië* cf. *Yénië Valinóren* 'Annals of Valinor' in the title-pages of QS (V.202), and the name *Onótimo* itself; see the *Etymologies*, stems NOT 'count', YEN 'year' (V.378, 400).

17 Paragraph §10 had this form in the draft text for the beginning of AAm:

It hath been computed by the Masters of Lore that the Valar

came to the Kingdom of Arda, which is this Earth, five and forty thousand years of our time ere the first rising of the Moon. And of these thirty thousand passed ere the measurement of Time began with the flowering of the Trees. These were the Days before Days. And fifteen thousand years followed after during which the Light of the Trees yet lived, and nigh on six hundred more of the New Sun and Moon after the slaying of the Trees. And these are called the Elder Days, and with their ending ended the First Age of Time, and Melkor was thrust from the world.

Thus whereas in AV 1 and AV 2 the reckoning was thus (V.Y. = Valian Year(s), S.Y. = Sun Year(s)):

V.Y. 1000 = S.Y. 10000 First flowering of the Trees
V.Y. 3000 = S.Y. 30000 Rising of the Moon

this first revision gives:

S.Y. 30000 First flowering of the Trees
S.Y. 45000 Rising of the Moon

This reckoning was then replaced again:

V.Y. 3500 = S.Y. 33530 First flowering of the Trees
V.Y. 5300 = S.Y. 50775 Rising of the Moon

These figures show a ratio of 1 V.Y. = 9·58 S.Y. (see the commentary on §§5–10, pp. 59–60). This last reckoning was the form in AAm as first written, which was then changed many times to give the text printed.

18 The text as written had 'dark as the night that was before Ea', changed later to 'dark as the Night of the Void'.

19 The text as first written had 'over the borders of Ëa'; this was changed later to 'over the Walls of the Night upon the borders of Arda', and then 'upon the borders of Arda' was struck out.

20 The text was first written 'far from the light of Illuin'.

21 The text as written had 'which is westernmost of all lands' and 'look upon the Outer Sea that encircles the kingdom of Arda'; the changes to the past tense were perhaps made at the time of writing, since the next phrase, 'and beyond were the Walls of the Night', had the past tense as written. On the other hand, the following sentence has the present tense ('But the east shores of Aman are the uttermost end of the Great Sea of the West'), where *are* was allowed to stand.

Commentary on the first section of the Annals of Aman

§§1–3 On the occurrence of the name *Eru* see p. 7. The account of the interrelations of the Valar and the queens of the Valar remains closely based on that in AV 2 (V.110), and retains old

phrases (as 'Manwë and Melkor were most puissant and were brethren') going back to the original *Annals* (IV.263). There are however some developments in this opening section. On the phrase in §2, 'Oromë and Tulkas were younger in the thought of Eru ere the devising of the World', see V.120. That Tulkas came last to Arda derives from the rewritten *Ainulindalë* (§31).

It is not said now, as it was in AV 2, that Oromë was the son of Yavanna. On the other hand, it is now said, as in the *Quenta* (Q) and QS, that Vana was the sister of Yavanna (and Varda), whereas this was not said in AV 2. These differences are perhaps connected; for if both accounts are combined Oromë's wife is the sister of his mother. But this may be to take too conventional a view of the divine relations.

The statements that Estë 'goes not to the councils of the Valar and is not accounted among the rulers of Arda', and that she is the chief of the Maiar (see note 4 above), are entirely new.

§4 The passage concerning the 'lesser spirits' shows no significant development from that in AV 2 (V.110) except for the replacement of *Vanimor* by *Maiar* (translated 'the Beautiful' as *Vanimor* had been); the *Valarindi*, Children of the Valar, 'begotten in Arda' and numbered among the Maiar, remain. On the earlier history of these conceptions see V.120–1; and see further p. 69.

§5 *Telperion* first appeared in QS §16 (V.209), but not as the primary name of the Elder Tree, which remained *Silpion*. *Telperion*, used in *The Lord of the Rings*, now became the primary name.

§§5–10 The account of the Reckoning of Time is at first sight somewhat baffling, but it can be clarified.

(i) According to the reckoning by the Trees

12 hours (a full flowering of both Trees) = 1 day

1000 days (12000 hours) = 1 year

100 years = 1 age of the Valar (as the Valar reckoned the ages before the Trees, according to a supposition of the Lore-masters of the Elves; see notes 7 and 8 to the text)

(ii) Relation of the reckoning by the Trees to the reckoning by the Sun

1 hour of the Trees = 7 hours of our time

1 day of the Trees = (7 × 12) 84 hours of our time

1 year of the Trees = (7 × 12000) 84000 hours of our time

There are (365·25 × 24) 8766 hours in a Sun Year, and thus:

1 year of the Trees = (84000 ÷ 8766) 9·582 Sun Years*

* Cf. the text (§7): 'nine and one half and eight hundredths and *yet a little*'.

(iii) Original intention of the Valar for the new reckoning by the Sun and Moon

12 hours of moonlight
12 hours of sunlight } 24 hours = 1 full day

700 times of sunlight and moonlight = 350 full days = 1 Sun Year

1 hour = $\frac{1}{7}$ of 1 hour of the Trees

Therefore:

1 Sun Year would have (24 × 350) 8400 hours = (8400 ÷ 7) 1200 hours of the Trees = $\frac{1}{10}$ of a Valian Year (see (i) above); thus 1 Valian Year would = 10 Sun Years

The matter can be expressed more concisely thus:

1 year of the Trees = (7 × 12000) 84000 hours of our time

84000 ÷ (350 × 24) 8400 = 10

but

84000 ÷ (365·25 × 24) 8766 = 9·582

(iv) The dates of the first flowering of the Trees and the first rising of the Moon (§10)

The Trees first flowered after 3500 Valian Years had passed, which is said to be equal to 33530 Sun Years (this presupposes an equivalence of 9·58; 9·582 gives 33537).

The Moon first rose after 5000 Valian Years had passed, which is said to be equal to 47901 Sun Years (this presupposes an equivalence of 9·5802; if the equivalence is 9·582 the number of Sun Years would be 47910, if 9·58 the number would be 47900).

The Trees shone for 1495 Valian Years, which is said to be equal to 14322 Sun Years (this presupposes an equivalence of almost exactly 9·58).

§§11–29 The great expansion of the pre-*Lord of the Rings* narrative (QS, AV 2) is in part derived from the later *Ainulindalë* (that AAm followed the last version, D, of that work is shown by various details, as for instance the names *Ëa*, *Illuin*, and *Ormal*, the first of these entering D by later addition, and those of the Lamps replacing *Forontë* and *Hyarantë* by emendation). But there is much that is entirely new: as that Manwë held a great feast on the Isle of Almaren, where Tulkas espoused Nessa; that Sauron was 'a great craftsman of the household of Aulë'; that the Valar were unable to overcome Melkor at that time because of the need to subdue the turmoil of the Earth and to preserve what they might of what they had achieved; and other features mentioned below. – The question of the cosmology is discussed at the end of this commentary.

§15 The statement that under the light of the Lamps 'there was great growth of trees and herbs, and beasts and birds came forth' (cf.

also §18, where Vana robed Nessa in flowers at the feast on Almaren) belongs with the *Ainulindalë* (§31): 'flowers of many hues, and trees whose blossom was like snow upon the mountains ... beasts and birds came forth' – where however the text was corrected ('As yet no flower had bloomed nor any bird had sung'). See p. 22 note 17, and p. 38, §31.

§20 A structural difference between AAm and the *Ainulindalë* is that in the latter Melkor did not begin the delving of Utumno until *after* the overthrow of the Lamps and his escape from the Valar (§32) – a story that goes back through the texts to the old 'Sketch of the Mythology'. In AAm, on the other hand, Melkor built Utumno, or was at least far advanced in the work, before the Valar were aware of him, and it was from Utumno that the blight and corruption proceeded; the Valar then perceived his presence in Arda and 'sought for his hiding-place', and it was this (as it appears) that led to Melkor's sudden emergence in open war and the casting down of the Lamps.

§22 The attack on Melkor by the Valar returning out of Valinor, described in the *Ainulindalë* (§32), is not mentioned in AAm, which says only that they 'could not at that time overcome him', taking up the words of QS §12 (V.20ó). That the idea had been abandoned is seen subsequently, p. 78, §47.

§23 That all life in Aman was free from any fading or withering, and free of blight and sickness, had not actually been said in previous texts.

§24 Whereas in the texts of the 1930s the old idea of the *Lost Tales* that the stars were created in two separate acts (I.69, 113–14, 133) had been abandoned, it now reappears: Varda wrought stars 'in the ages forgotten of her labours in Ëa', and later in AAm (p. 71, §35) it is told that 'she made stars newer and brighter' before the awakening of the Elves. This is presumably to be associated with the conception in the later *Ainulindalë* (§§14, 28) of the establishment of Arda 'in the midst of the innumerable stars'.

§§25–6 That the Trees grew on a green mound in the Ring of Doom is a new detail, though the implication of QS §14 (V.209) is that the Trees were in the Ring. The Ring and the Mound are here said to have been before the western gate of Valmar; in the *Lost Tales* the Trees were to the north of the city, and were moreover 'leagues asunder' from each other (I.71, 143).

§28 This account of the light that spilled from the Trees being drawn by Maiar from the wells of Varda to 'water' all the lands of Valinor has its roots in the old idea that the Trees 'must needs be *watered* with light to have sap and live' (I.73).

§29 At the end of this paragraph is a remarkable new detail, that after a thousand days the Trees put out a new branch; and that

this was why a Valian Year was so constituted. It is apparent – and is stated here expressly – that the Valian day had twelve hours because the period of mingled light was exactly five times shorter than the period of full light-flowering of either Telperion or Laurelin; if it had been three times shorter the day would have had eight hours, and so on. The Valian day was therefore *of the Trees' nature*. We now learn that the Valian year of 1000 days was also *due to the Trees' nature*, since after that time the Trees would put out a new branch.

There is no suggestion here that the further calculation that a hundred years constituted a Valian Age (which goes back to the earliest *Annals*, IV.263) was related to the inner structure of the Trees; but it is said in the section *Of the Beginning of Time and its Reckoning* (§6) that the Lore-masters supposed 'that the Valar *so devised* the hours of the Trees that one hundred of such years so measured should be in duration as one age of the Valar (*as those ages were in the days of their labours before the foundation of Valinor*)' – i.e., before the Trees. Since the two passages are only separated by a few pages in the same manuscript the presumption is that they are not contradictory; and taken together the meaning can only be that the periods of the Trees, which were of their nature, were nonetheless related to a mode of measurement of time before the Trees came into existence. That in turn seems to demand that the Valar knew, and had 'devised', before ever Yavanna and Nienna came to the Green Mound, the periodic nature of the Trees' light.

The cosmological problem is here provided with new evidences. The relevant statements in this first section of AAm are these:

§1 Ëa is 'the World that is'; the Valar are 'the Powers of Ëa'.
§11 After ages of labour 'in the great halls of Ëa the Valar descended into Arda in the beginning of its being'.
§13 Tulkas came to Arda 'out of distant regions of Ëa'.
§17 Melkor gathered spirits 'out of the voids of Ëa'; and he 'drew near again unto Arda, and looked down upon it'.
§18 The Valar did not perceive the dark shadow 'cast from afar by Melkor'.
§19 Melkor 'passed over the borders of Ëa' > 'passed over the Walls of the Night upon the borders of Arda' > 'passed over the Walls of the Night' (note 19).
§23 The Outer Sea 'encircled the kingdom of Arda, and beyond were the Walls of the Night'.

The Walls of the Night have not been named elsewhere: but it is hard to see, especially in view of the sentence cited from §23, how they can not be equated with the Walls of the World. I have said (p. 29) that the departure of Melkor from Arda in the *Ainulindalë* – the new story that

came in after *The Lord of the Rings* – raises the question of the passage of the Walls of the World and of the form which that conception now took. The idea of such a passage in fact appeared, and most puzzlingly, in the earlier period, at the end of Q, where it is said that some believe that Melko at times returns to the world, and that he 'creeps back surmounting the Walls' (IV.164, 253). The passage in AAm §19 (as emended) is unequivocal: Melkor *passed over* the Walls of the Night. We have returned to the earliest imagination of the Walls: cf. my remark in I.227, 'the implication seems clear that the Walls were originally conceived like the walls of terrestrial cities, or gardens – walls with a top: a "ring-fence".' Thus, we may suppose, Melkor could 'look down upon Arda' (§17); thus his vast shadow could be cast even before he passed over the Walls (§18); and thus Tulkas (§13) and the spirits summoned by Melkor (§19) could enter the 'fenced region' (as *Arda* is defined, p. 7).

But the phrase 'he passed over the Walls of the Night' was an emendation of what my father first wrote: 'he passed over the borders of Ëa'. Can this mean anything other than that on entering Arda Melkor left Ëa? In this connection one may turn back to the two *Ambarkanta* diagrams of 'Ilu' (IV.242–5), on which much later (perhaps about this time) my father made pencilled corrections to *Ilurambar* 'the Walls of the World', changing this to *Ëarambar* ('the Walls of Ea'). (Of course, if the Walls are no longer conceived as a spherical shell – whence the expression 'globed amid the Void' as used in the early *Ainulindalë* versions – but as a surmountable rampart, the *Ëarambar* cannot be taken as the same conception as the *Ilurambar*, but only as a new name for the Walls, now differently conceived; and the substitution of the new name on the old diagrams is therefore to that extent misleading.) It is likewise hard to see what *Ëarambar* can mean but 'the Walls that *fence out* the dark wastes of "the voids of Ëa" ' (an expression used in §17), in contrast to *Ilurambar* 'the Walls that *fence in* Ilu.'

The difficulty with this, of course, is that Ëa is elsewhere defined as the 'Universe of that which Is' (p. 7), 'Creation the Universe' (p. 39), and Ëa therefore necessarily comprehends Arda; it is in any case abundantly clear from all the texts of the later period that Arda is within Ëa. But it may be that Arda can nonetheless be regarded as separate from Ëa when Ëa is regarded as 'Space'.

Amid all the ambiguities (most especially, in the use of the word 'World'), the testimony seems to be that in these texts the *Ambarkanta* world-image survived at least in the conception of the Outer Sea extending to the Walls of the World, now called the Walls of the Night – though the Walls have come to be differently conceived (see also p. 135, §168). Now in the revision of 'The Silmarillion' made in 1951 the phrase in QS §12 (V.209) 'the Walls of the World fence out the Void and the Eldest Dark' – a phrase in perfect agreement of course with the

Ambarkanta – was retained (p. 154). This is a central difficulty in relation to the *Ainulindalë*, where it is made as plain as could be wished that Ëa came into being *in the Void*, it was *globed amid the Void* (§§11, 20, and see pp. 37–8); how then can the Walls of Arda 'fence out the Void and the Eldest Darknéss'?

A possible explanation, of a sort, may be hinted at in the words cited above from AAm §17: Melkor gathered spirits *out of the voids of Ëa*. It may be that, although AAm is not far distant in time from the last version (D) of the *Ainulindalë*, my father's conception did not in fact now accord entirely with what he had written there; that (as I suggested, p. 39) he was now thinking of Arda as being 'set within an indefinite vastness in which all "Creation" is comprehended', rather than of a bounded Ëa itself set 'amid the Void'. Then, beyond the Walls of the Night, the bounds of Arda, stretch 'the voids of Ëa'. But this suggestion does not, of course, clear up all the problems, ambiguities, and apparent contradictions in the cosmology of the later period, which have been discussed earlier.

★

I have mentioned (p. 47) that there exists a typescript of the early part of AAm that is quite distinct from the amanuensis typescript of the whole work. I was unaware of its existence when the text of *The Silmarillion* was prepared for publication. It was taken directly from and closely based upon the AAm manuscript, and was certainly made by my father, who introduced changes from the manuscript as he typed. It has in fact a great many such changes, mostly minor or very minor, but also some important alterations and additions; and it does not include the section *Of the Beginning of Time and its Reckoning*. None of these changes appear in the emendations made to the amanuensis typescript or its carbon copy, except the removal of the section on the Reckoning of Time (p. 68).

I will refer to this text as '**AAm***'. There seems no way to determine with certainty when it was made, and I can only record my feeling that it belongs with the writing of the AAm manuscript rather than to some later time. At any rate my father soon abandoned it (see p. 80). It may be that having set it aside he forgot about it, or lost it; and when the opportunity arose to have the work typed by a secretary who was a trained typist (as appears to be the case) he simply handed over the AAm manuscript as it stood (including therefore the section on the Reckoning of Time, although in AAm* he had cut this out).

I give now the noteworthy changes in AAm* (which extends a short way beyond the point reached in this first section; for the remainder of the text see pp. 79–80).

The preamble

Here begin the 'Annals of Aman'. Rúmil made them in the Elder

Days, and they were held in memory by the Exiles. Those parts which we learned and remembered were thus set down in Númenor before the Shadow fell upon it.

This is especially interesting since it shows a different mode of transmission from the 'Pengoloð – Ælfwine' tradition: the *Annals* are conceived as a written work made in Númenor, deriving from the 'Exiles', the Noldor in Middle-earth, who themselves derived it from the work of Rúmil. The idea that Númenor was an essential element in the transmission of the legends of the Elder Days will reappear (see especially pp. 370, 373–4, 401–2).

§1 For 'chieftains of the Valar' AAm* has 'lords of the Valar', and subsequently. *Lorien* was changed in pencil on the typescript to *Lorion* (but not in the passage cited under §3 below).

§2 In AAm the old phrase 'Manwë and Melkor were most puissant and were brethren' was preserved, but AAm* has here:

> Melkor and Manwë were brethren in the thought of Eru, and the eldest of their kind, and their power was equal and greater than that of all others who dwelt in Arda. Manwë is King of the Valar ...

It is said in the later *Ainulindalë* (§§5, 9) that Melkor was the mightiest of the Ainur, and this in fact goes back to the pre-*Lord of the Rings* text B of the *Ainulindalë* (see V.164 note 4 for the different statements made on this subject). Later in AAm (p. 97, §102) Fëanor 'shut the doors of his house in the face of the mightiest of all the dwellers in Ëa'.

This text has 'Oromë and Tulkas were the youngest in the thought of Eru' where AAm has 'younger'.

§3 There is a strange mixture of present and past tenses in this passage: thus 'Vána the fair is the wife of Oromë', 'Vairë the Weaver dwells with Mandos', but 'No spouse had Ulmo, nor Melkor', 'No lord had Nienna', 'the wife of Lorien was Estë the Pale'. On this question see pp. 204–5.

It is not now said that Vana (marked Vána at the first occurrence but not subsequently) was the sister of Yavanna (see p. 59).

As typed, the passage beginning 'No lord had Nienna' (spelt thus, not Niënna, at all occurrences in AAm*) ran thus:

> No lord had Nienna, queen of Shadow, Manwë's sister. The wife of Tulkas was Nessa the Young; and the wife of Lorien was Estë the Pale. These do not sit in the councils of the Valar but are the highest among the Maiar.

In AAm it is said of Estë alone that 'she goes not to the councils of the Valar', and her name does not appear in the list of the queens of the Valar: she is 'the chief of the Maiar'. In the present text, despite the exclusion of Nessa also from the councils, and

the statement that she and Estë 'are the highest among the Maiar', her name still stands in the list of the queens. Contemporary emendations to the typescript produced this remarkable change:

> No lord had Nienna, Manwë's sister; nor Nessa the Evermaid. The wife of Tulkas was Lëa the Young; and the wife of Lorien was Estë the Pale ...

The text then continues as before, so that the two who do not sit in the councils of the Valar and are 'the highest among the Maiar' become Lëa and Estë. There is no trace of this development in any other text, but Lëa appears again in AAm* as the text was typed (see under §18 below).

§4 This paragraph was substantially extended:

> With these great powers came many other spirits of the same kind, begotten in the thought of Eru before the making of Eä, but having less might and authority. These are the Maiar, the people of the Valar; they are beautiful, but their number is not known and few have names among Elves or Men.
>
> There are also those whom we call the Valarindi, who are the Children of the Valar, begotten of their love after their entry into Eä. They are the elder children of the World; and though their being began within Eä, yet they are of the race of the Ainur, who were before the world, and they have power and rank below that of the Valar only.

§12 At the end of this paragraph AAm* adds: 'So passed many years of the Valar in strife.'

§14 The date V.Y.1900 of the setting up of the Lamps is omitted in AAm*.

§15 AAm* retains the words of AAm, 'and there was great growth of trees and herbs, and beasts and birds came forth ...' See the commentary on this passage, p. 60: the reference to the appearance of birds and flowers at this time was removed from *Ainulindalë* D by what looks to be a fairly early change in the text, and there is in this a suggestion that the two versions of the opening of the *Annals of Aman* belong fairly closely together (see p. 64).

§17 This paragraph underwent several modifications:

> Now Melkor knew all that was done; for even then he had secret friends among the Maiar, whom he had converted to his cause, whether in the first playing of the Ainulindalë or afterwards in Eä. Of these the chief, as afterwards became known, was Sauron, a great craftsman of the household of Aulë. Thus far off in the dark places of Eä, to which he had retreated, Melkor was filled with new hatred, being jealous of the work of his peers, whom he desired to make subject

to himself. Therefore he had gathered to himself spirits out of the voids of Eä who served him, until he deemed that he was strong; and seeing now his time he drew near to Arda again; and he looked down upon it, and the beauty of the Earth in its Spring filled him with wonder, but because it was not his, he resolved to destroy it.

§18 Here Tulkas' wife Lëa the Young appears again, in the text as typed and not by emendation (see under §3 above), named now *Lëa-vinya* ('Lëa the Young'):

It is told that in that feast of the Spring of Arda Tulkas espoused Lëa-vinya, fairest of the maidens of Yavanna, and Vana robed her in flowers that came then first to their opening; and she danced before the Valar ...

On the reference to the first flowers see under §15 above.

§19 AAm* has 'the Walls of Night' for 'the Walls of the Night', and again in §23.

§20 Now Melkor began the delving and building of a vast fortress deep under the Earth, [*struck out:* beneath the roots of] far from the light of Illuin; and he raised great mountains above his halls. That stronghold was after called Utumno the Deep-hidden; and though the Valar for a long time knew nothing of it ...

In AAm Utumno was delved 'beneath dark mountains'; the new text, in which Melkor raised mountains above it (as Thangorodrim above Angband), arose in the act of typing.

§21 Where AAm has 'And he assailed the lights of Illuin and Ormal' AAm* has:

He came down like a black storm from the North, and he assailed the lights of Illuin and Ormal.

§22 The conclusion of this paragraph in AAm, 'who were yet to come in a time that was hidden from the Valar', is omitted in AAm*.

§23 The word 'gods' was removed in AAm* at both occurrences: at the beginning of the paragraph 'the gods had no abiding place' becomes 'they had', and near the end 'for the gods dwelt there' becomes 'for the Servants of Ilúvatar dwelt there'.

The Land of Aman was 'upon the borders of the ancient world' (i.e. the world before the Cataclysm); 'upon the borders of the world' AAm. The passage concerning Taniquetil was changed to read thus:

But above all the mountains of the Pelóri was that height which was named Taniquetil Oiolossë, the gleaming peak of Everwhite, upon whose summit Manwë set his throne, before the doors of the domed halls of Varda.

§25 In AAm it is said that 'the Valar built their city'; AAm* has:

... in the midst of the plain west of the Pelóri Aulë and his

people built for them a fair city. That city they named Valimar the Blessed.

This reappears from the *Lost Tales*; cf. I.77: 'Now have I recounted the manner of the dwellings of all the great Gods which Aulë of his craftsmanship raised in Valinor.' – This is the first occurrence of the form *Valimar* (again in §§26, 28 of this text).

§26 After the words 'But Nienna sat silent in thought, and her tears fell upon the mould' there is a footnote in the new version:

For it is said that even in the Music Nienna took little part, but listened intent to all that she heard. Therefore she was rich in memory, and farsighted, perceiving how the themes should unfold in the Tale of Arda. But she had little mirth, and all her love was mingled with pity, grieving for the harms of the world and for the things that failed of fulfilment. So great was her ruth, it is said, that she could not endure to the end of the Music. Therefore she has not the hope of Manwë. He is more farseeing; but Pity is the heart of Nienna.

On this passage see p. 388 and note 2. The statement here that Nienna 'could not endure to the end of the Music', and that 'therefore she has not the hope of Manwë', is very striking; but it is not said in what Manwë's hope lies. It may possibly be relevant to recall the Pengoloð footnote to *Ainulindalë* D, §19 (p. 31):

And some have said that the Vision ceased ere the fulfilment of the Dominion of Men and the fading of the Firstborn; wherefore, though the Music is over all, the Valar have not seen as with sight the Later Ages or the ending of the World.

§28 For 'hoarded in mighty vats' AAm* has 'hoarded in deep pools'.

★

It remains to consider the very few emendations made to the amanuensis typescript of AAm in this opening section, and those (almost entirely different) made to the carbon copy. These changes were hasty, and casual, in no sense a real revision of the work. They were made at some later time which I am unable to define; but they have the effect of bringing the opening of AAm into agreement with the latest form of the other tradition, proceeding from QS chapter 1 'Of the Valar' and ultimately issuing in the short independent work *Valaquenta*.

On the top copy of the typescript not only was the section on the Reckoning of Time struck through (see p. 64) but also the compressed account of the Valar at the beginning: a note on the covering page of the text directs that the *Annals* are to start at the First Year of the Valar in Arda (§11 in this book). But pencilled changes had been made to §§1–4 before this:

§1 'nine chieftains' > 'seven chieftains'; Ossë and Melkor were struck from the list. On the removal of Ossë see p. 91, §70.

§2 The word 'also' added in 'The queens of the Valar are also seven'; Estë added, and Uinen removed, so that the list becomes 'Varda, Yavanna, Nienna, Estë, Vairë, Vana, and Nessa'.

§3 'Varda was Manwë's spouse from the beginning' > 'Varda was Manwë's spouse from the beginning of Arda'

'and Uinen, lady of the seas, is the spouse of Ossë' was struck out (a consequence simply of Ossë's being no longer numbered among the 'chieftains').

'Manwë's sister and Melkor's' (of Nienna) was struck out.

'but she goes not to the councils of the Valar and is not accounted among the rulers of Arda, but is the chief of the Maiar' (of Estë) was struck out (a consequence of Estë's now being included in the 'queens').

§4 'And with them are numbered also the Valarindi ...' to the end of the paragraph was struck out (see below).

§28 'mighty vats' > 'shining wells' (cf. the change made in AAm*, p. 68).

Quite distinct changes were made on the carbon copy in this section on the Valar. In §3 'the wife of Oromë' and 'Tulkas' wife' were changed to 'the spouse of Oromë' and 'Tulkas' spouse'; 'No lord hath Nienna' was changed to 'No companion hath Nienna'; and in the margin against these changes my father wrote:

> Note that 'spouse' meant only an 'association'. The Valar had no bodies, but could assume shapes. After the coming of the Eldar they most often used shapes of 'human' form, though taller (*not* gigantic) and more magnificent.

At the same time the passage concerning the Valarindi, the Children of the Valar, at the end of §4 was struck out (as it was also on the top copy), since this note is a most definitive statement that any such conception was out of the question.

A few other pencillings were made at subsequent points in the carbon copy:

§20 Against *Utumno* is pencilled: 'Utupnŭ √TUI? cover over, hide'; with this cf. AAm* §20 (p. 67): 'that stronghold was after called Utumno the Deep-hidden', and see the *Etymologies* (V.394), stem TUB, where the original form of the name is given as **Utubnu*.

§23 Where the word 'gods' was replaced by 'the Servants of Ilúvatar' in AAm* (p. 67) my father corrected it on the carbon copy of the typescript to 'the Deathless'. At the occurrence of 'gods' at the beginning of the paragraph he made the same change (to 'they') as in AAm*.

§25 After 'a green mound' is added *Ezellohar*; and in §26 *Ezellohar* replaces 'that Green Mound'.

Second section of the Annals of Aman

Here begins a new Reckoning in the Light of the Trees

1*

§30 For one thousand years of the Trees the Valar dwelt in bliss in Valinor beyond the Mountains of Aman, and all Middle-earth lay in a twilight under the stars. Thither the Valar seldom came, save only Yavanna and Oromë; and Yavanna often would walk there in the shadows, grieving because all the growth and promise of the Spring of Arda was checked. And she set a sleep upon many fair things that had arisen in the Spring, both tree and herb and beast and bird, so that they should not age but should wait for a time of awakening that yet should be. But Melkor dwelt in Utumno, and he slept not, but watched, and laboured; and the evil things that he had perverted walked abroad, and the dark and slumbering woods were haunted by monsters and shapes of dread. And in Utumno he wrought the race of demons whom the Elves after named the Balrogs. But these came not yet from the gates of Utumno, because of the watchfulness of Oromë.

§31 Now Oromë dearly loved all the works of Yavanna, and he was ever ready to her bidding. And for this reason, and because he desired at whiles to ride in forests greater and wider than the friths of Valinor, he would often come also to Middle-earth, and there go a-hunting under the stars. Then his white horse, Nahar, shone like silver in the shadows; and the sleeping earth trembled at the beat of his golden hooves. And Oromë would blow his mighty horn, whereat the mountains shook, and things of evil fled away; but Melkor quailed in Utumno and dared not venture forth. For it is said that even as his malice grew, and the strength of his hatred, so the heart of Melkor failed; and with all his knowledge and his might and his many servants he became craven, giving battle only to those of little strength, tormenting the weak, and trusting ever to his slaves and creatures to do his evil work. Yet ever his dominion spread southward over Middle-earth, for even as Oromë passed the servants of Melkor would gather again; and the Earth was full of shadows and deceit.

* Pencilled beside '1' is 'YT' (Year of the Trees), and also 'YV 3501' (i.e. Year of the Valar). – The 'YT' dates were very frequently changed on the manuscript, and it is in places very difficult to interpret the changes; I give only the final forms (see pp. 47–8).

1000

§32 It came to pass that the Valar held council, for they became troubled by the tidings that Yavanna and Oromë brought from the Outer Lands. And Yavanna spoke before the Valar, and foretold that the coming of the Children of Ilúvatar was drawing nigh, albeit the hour and the place of that coming was known only to Ilúvatar. And Yavanna besought Manwë to give light to Middle-earth, for the stay of the evils of Melkor and the comfort of the Children; and Oromë and Tulkas spoke likewise, being eager for war with Utumno.

§33 But Mandos spoke and said that though the Coming was prepared it should not yet be for many Years; and the Elder Children should come in the darkness and look first upon the Stars. For so it was ordained.

§34 Then Varda went forth from the council, and she looked out from the height of Taniquetil, and beheld the darkness of the Earth beneath the innumerable stars, faint and far. Then she began a great labour, the greatest of all the works of the Valar since their coming unto Arda.

1000–1050

§35 Now Varda took the light that issued from Telperion and was stored in Valinor and she made stars newer and brighter. And many other of the ancient stars she gathered together and set as signs in the heavens of Arda. The greatest of these was Menelmakar, the Swordsman of the Sky. This, it is said, was a sign of Túrin Turambar, who should come into the world, and a foreshowing of the Last Battle that shall be at the end of Days.

1050

§36 Last of all Varda made the sign of bright stars that is called the Valakirka, the Sickle of the Gods, and this she hung about the North as a threat unto Utumno and a token of the doom of Melkor.

§37 In that hour, it is said, the Quendi, the Elder Children of Ilúvatar, awoke: these Men have named the Elves, and many other names. By the Waters of Awakening, Kuiviénen, they rose from the sleep of Ilúvatar and their eyes beheld first of all things the stars of heaven. Therefore they have ever loved the starlight, and have revered Varda Elentárië above all the Valar.

§38 In the changes of the world the shapes of lands and of seas have been broken and remade; rivers have not kept their courses, neither have mountains remained steadfast; and to Kuiviénen there is no returning. But it is said among the Quendi that it lay far off in Middle-earth, eastward of Endon (which is the midmost point) and northward; and it was a bay in the Inland Sea of Helkar. And that sea stood where aforetime the roots of the mountain of Illuin had been ere Melkor overthrew it. Many waters flowed down thither from heights in the East, and the first sound that was heard by the ears of the Elves was the sound of water flowing, and the sound of water falling over stone.

§39 Long the Quendi dwelt in their first home by the water under stars and they walked the Earth in wonder; and they began to make speech and to give names to all things that they perceived. And they named themselves the Quendi, signifying those that speak with voices; for as yet they had met no other living things that spoke or sang.

§40 At this time also, it is said, Melian, fairest of the Maiar, desiring to look upon the stars, went up upon Taniquetil; and suddenly she desired to see Middle-earth, and she left Valinor and walked in the twilight.

1085

§41 And when the Elves had dwelt in the world five and thirty Years of the Valar (which is like unto three hundred and thirty-five of our years) it chanced that Oromë rode to Endon in his hunting, and he turned north by the shores of Helkar and passed under the shadows of the Orokarni, the Mountains of the East. And on a sudden Nahar set up a great neighing and then stood still. And Oromë wondered and sat silent, and it seemed to him that in the quiet of the land under the stars he heard afar off many voices singing.

§42 Thus it was that the Valar found at last, as it were by chance, those whom they had so long awaited. And when Oromë looked upon them he was filled with wonder, as though they were things unforeseen and unimagined; and he loved the Quendi, and named them Eldar, the people of the stars.

The original manuscript page was interpolated at this point, a passage being written in the margin as follows:

Yet by after-knowledge the masters of lore say sadly that Oromë

was not, mayhap, the first of the Great Ones to look upon the Elves. For Melkor was on the watch, and his spies were many. And it is thought that lurking near his servants had led astray some of the Quendi that ventured afield, and they took them as captives to Utumno, and there enslaved them. Of these slaves it is held came the Orkor that were afterward chief foes of the Eldar. And Melkor's lies were soon abroad, so that whispers were heard among the Quendi, warning them that if any of their kindred passed away into the shadows and were seen no more, they must beware of a fell huntsman on a great horse, for he it was that carried them off to devour them. Hence it was that at the approach of Oromë many of the Quendi fled and hid themselves.

The original text then continues, with a new date 1086, 'Swiftly Oromë rode back to Valinor and brought tidings to the Valar' (see §46 below). But the interpolated passage just given was subsequently replaced on a new page by the following long and important passage §§43–5 (found in the typescript as typed):

§43 Yet many of the Quendi were adread at his coming. This was the doing of Melkor. For by after-knowledge the masters of lore say that Melkor, ever watchful, was first aware of the awakening of the Quendi, and sent shadows and evil spirits to watch and waylay them. So it came to pass, some years ere the coming of Oromë, that if any of the Elves strayed far abroad, alone or few together, they would often vanish and never return; and the Quendi said that the Hunter had caught them, and they were afraid. Even so, in the most ancient songs of our people, of which some echoes are remembered still in the West, we hear of the shadow-shapes that walked in the hills about Kuiviénen, or would pass suddenly over the stars; and of the dark Rider upon his wild horse that pursued those that wandered to take them and devour them. Now Melkor greatly hated and feared the riding of Oromë, and either verily he sent his dark servants as riders, or he set lying whispers abroad, for the purpose that the Quendi should shun Oromë, if ever haply they met.

§44 Thus it was that when Nahar neighed and Oromë indeed came among them, some of the Quendi hid themselves, and some fled and were lost. But those that had the courage to stay perceived swiftly that the Great Rider was noble and fair and no shape out of Darkness; for the Light of Aman was in his face, and all the noblest of the Quendi were drawn towards it.

§45 But of those hapless who were ensnared by Melkor little

is known of a certainty. For who of the living hath descended into the pits of Utumno, or hath explored the darkness of the counsels of Melkor? Yet this is held true by the wise of Eressëa: that all those of the Quendi that came into the hands of Melkor, ere Utumno was broken, were put there in prison, and by slow arts of cruelty and wickedness were corrupted and enslaved. Thus did Melkor breed the hideous race of the Orkor in envy and mockery of the Eldar, of whom they were afterwards the bitterest foes. For the Orkor had life and multiplied after the manner of the Children of Ilúvatar; and naught that had life of its own, nor the semblance thereof, could ever Melkor make since his rebellion in the Ainulindalë before the Beginning: so say the wise. And deep in their dark hearts the Orkor loathed the Master whom they served in fear, the maker only of their misery. This maybe was the vilest deed of Melkor and the most hateful to Eru.

1086

§46 Oromë tarried a while among the Quendi, and then swiftly he rode back to Valinor and brought the tidings to the Valar. And he spoke of the shadows that troubled Kuiviénen. Then the Valar sat in council and debated long what it were best to do for the guarding of the Quendi; but Oromë returned at once to Middle-earth and abode with the Elves.

1090

§47 Manwë sat long in thought upon Taniquetil, and he resolved at the last to make war upon Melkor, though Arda should receive yet more hurts in that strife. For the first time, therefore, the Valar assailed Melkor, not he the Valar, and they came forth to war in all their might, and they defeated him utterly. This they did on behalf of the Elves, and Melkor knew it well, and forgot it not.

1090–2

§48 Melkor met the onset of the Valar in the North-west of Middle-earth, and all that region was much broken. But this first victory of the hosts of the West was swift and easy, and the servants of Melkor fled before them to Utumno. Then the Valar marched over Middle-earth, and they set a guard over Kuiviénen; and thereafter the Quendi knew naught of the Great War of the Gods, save that the Earth shook and groaned beneath them, and the waters were moved; and in the North there were lights as of

mighty fires. But after two years the Valar passed into the far North and began the long siege of Utumno.

1092–1100

§49 That siege was long and grievous, and many battles were fought before its gates of which naught but the rumour is known to the Quendi. Middle-earth was sorely shaken in that time, and the Great Sea that sundered it from Aman grew wide and deep. And the lands of the far North were all made desolate in those days, and so have ever remained; for there Utumno was delved exceeding deep, and its pits and caverns reached out far beneath the earth, and they were filled with fires and with great hosts of the servants of Melkor.

1099

§50 It came to pass that at last the gates of Utumno were broken and its halls unroofed, and Melkor took refuge in the uttermost pit. Thence, seeing that all was lost (for that time), he sent forth on a sudden a host of Balrogs, the last of his servants that remained, and they assailed the standard of Manwë, as it were a tide of flame. But they were withered in the wind of his wrath and slain with the lightning of his sword; and Melkor stood at last alone. Then, since he was but one against many, Tulkas stood forth as champion of the Valar and wrestled with him and cast him upon his face, and bound him with the chain Angainor. Thus ended the first war of the West upon the North.

Commentary on the second section of the Annals of Aman

(There are no textual notes to this section of the text.) In the portion given above the *Annals of Aman* correspond to the opening of Chapter 3 *Of the Coming of the Elves* in the other or 'Silmarillion' tradition (QS §§18–21, V.211–13). Contemporary (more or less) with the writing of the *Annals of Aman* was the major revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, but here comparison must obviously be restricted to the pre-*Lord of the Rings* text, together with AV 2, annals V.Y.1000–1990 (V.111–12).

§30 In AAm there is now recounted the laying by Yavanna of a sleep on living things that had awoken in the Spring of Arda, of which there is no trace in QS (or in the later rewritings).

The making of the Balrogs is then mentioned; and while in AAm (§17) the account of Melkor's 'host', spirits 'out of the

voids of Ëa' and 'secret friends and spies among the Maiar', is fuller than in the other tradition at any stage, the Balrogs are still firmly stated to be *demons of his own making*, and moreover to have been made in Utumno at this time. On the conception of Balrogs in AAm see further under §§42–5, 50 in this commentary, and especially p. 79, §30.

§31 That Oromë's horse was white and shod with gold is stated in QS (§24) and Q (§2), but this is the first appearance of the horse's name *Nahar*. Oromë is here represented as a guardian presence in Middle-earth, to such an extent even that the Balrogs did not issue from Utumno on account of him (§30); cf. AV 2 (V.111) 'Morgoth withdrew before his horn'.

§§34–6 On the two star-makings see p. 61, §24. There is here the remarkable statement that *Menelmakar* (Orion) was 'a sign of Túrin Turambar, who should come into the world, and a foreshowing of the Last Battle that shall be at the end of Days.' This is a reference to the Second Prophecy of Mandos (in the *Quenta*, IV.165):

> Then shall the last battle be gathered on the fields of Valinor. In that day Tulkas shall strive with Melko, and on his right shall stand Fionwë and on his left Túrin Turambar, son of Húrin, Conqueror of Fate, coming from the halls of Mandos; and it shall be the black sword of Túrin that deals unto Melko his death and final end; and so shall the children of Húrin and all Men be avenged.

The Quenya name *Menelmacar* is mentioned in Appendix E (I) to *The Lord of the Rings*; in *The Fellowship of the Ring* (p. 91) appears the Sindarin form: 'the Swordsman of the Sky, Menelvagor with his shining belt'.

§37 That the Elves awoke at the first shining of the Sickle of the Gods is told in AV 2 (V.111); 'at the opening of the first stars' QS §20.

§38 The reference to the site of Kuiviénen is interesting. Of this no more is said in the other tradition than that it lay 'in the East of the Middle-earth' (QS §20, preserved throughout the later texts). In AAm Kuiviénen lay N.E. of Endon, the midmost point. In the list of names accompanying the *Ambarkanta* (IV.241) appears '*ambar-endya* or Middle Earth of which *Endor* is the midmost point', and *Endor* is written over the centre of the middle-land in the *Ambarkanta* diagrams (IV.243, 245) – on the map (IV.248–9) it is marked as a point: 'Endor Earth-middle', and here it was corrected to *Endon*, the form in the present passage of AAm, though later changed back again to *Endor* (so also on the typescript of AAm my father corrected *Endon* to *Endor* here and in §41, p. 80). See IV.254–5.

In AAm Kuiviénen was 'a bay in the Inland Sea of Helkar'; in QS it is 'the starlit mere' (so also in Q), which was retained in the later texts. On the *Ambarkanta* map it is shown to the N.E. of Endor (Endon), and is marked at the eastern side of the Sea of Helkar; in the text it is 'beside the waters of Helkar' (IV.239). It is not clear whether these various statements show one and the same conception. Here in AAm is the first reference to the Sea of Helkar (formed after the fall of the northern Lamp) since the *Ambarkanta* – in which text the Lamp itself was called *Helkar*; see IV.256.

§39 Cf. QS §20: 'For a while [Oromë] abode with them, and taught them the language of the Gods, from whence afterwards they made the fair Elvish speech', and the *Lhammas* (V.168): 'of [Oromë] they learned after their capacity the speech of the Valar; and all the tongues that have been derived thence may be called Oromian or Quendian'. It is now said in AAm that the Quendi had achieved language, and that they gave names 'to all things that they perceived', before ever Oromë came upon them (which was 335 Years of the Sun since their awakening). Cf. *Gilfanon's Tale* in *The Book of Lost Tales* (I.232): 'Now the Eldar or Qendi had the gift of speech direct from Ilúvatar'.

§40 This paragraph was interpolated into the manuscript; it appears in the typescript as typed. The placing of Melian's departure at this time derives from the *Annals of Valinor* (IV.264, V.111); in QS (§31) it is said that she 'often strayed from Valinor on long journey into the Hither Lands'. The meaning of the words of AAm, that Melian, 'desiring to look upon the stars, went up upon Taniquetil', is presumably that she climbed on Taniquetil's eastern slopes, where the light of the Trees was hidden.

§41 As noted in IV.256, the statement that Oromë 'turned north by the shores of Helkar and passed under the shadows of the Orokarni, the Mountains of the East' agrees perfectly with the *Ambarkanta* map (IV.249; on the map the Orokarni are named Red Mountains).

'He heard afar off many voices singing': cf. QS §20: 'But Oromë came upon them ... while they dwelt yet silent beside the starlit mere, Kuiviénen'. See under §39 above.

§42 QS (§20) has here the extraordinary statement that 'Oromë looking upon the Elves was filled with love and wonder; for their coming was not in the Music of the Ainur, and was hidden in the secret thought of Ilúvatar'; see my discussion of this passage, V.216–17.

On the history of the meaning of the name *Eldar* see the references to this given under the entry *Eldar* in the Index to Vol.V.

§§42–5 *The origin of the Orcs.* The first appearance of the idea that their origin was connected with the Elves is in QS §18, and later in QS (§62) it is said that *when Morgoth returned to Middle-earth* after the destruction of the Trees

> he brought into being the race of the Orcs, and they grew and multiplied in the bowels of the earth. These Orcs Morgoth made in envy and mockery of the Elves, and they were made of stone, but their hearts of hatred.

(For my father's changing views concerning the time of the origin of the Orcs in the chronology of the Elder Days see IV.314, V.238.) In the interpolation into the manuscript of AAm and its subsequent rewriting and extension (pp. 72–4) there appears, together with the story of the Rider who was rumoured to carry off the Quendi if they strayed, the theory that Melkor *bred* the Orcs (here called *Orkor*) 'in envy and mockery of the Eldar' *from Quendi enslaved in the east of Middle-earth* before ever Oromë came upon them. It is explicit (§45) that Melkor could *make* nothing that had life of its own since his rebellion; but this is in sharp contradiction to §30, where it is said that 'in Utumno he *wrought* the race of demons whom the Elves after named the Balrogs'. I do not think that the interpolation in which the former of these statements appears was made after any very long interval: my father's views on this subject seem to have been changing swiftly, and a different account of the origin of the Balrogs is found in the soon abandoned typescript which I have called AAm* (see p. 79, §30). The retention of the statement in §30, despite its contradiction to that in §45, was no doubt due to oversight, and both appear in the main typescript of AAm. – See further on the question of the origin of the Orcs p. 123, §127, and pp. 408 ff.

§47 The words 'For the first time, therefore, the Valar assailed Melkor, not he the Valar' show that the story in the *Ainulindalë* that the Valar came against him out of Valinor after the fall of the Lamps had been abandoned (p. 61, §22).

§49 On the changes in the Earth at the time of the Great War of the Gods as described in the *Ambarkanta* see IV.239. While the two texts are not necessarily contradictory, it is curious that it should be said in AAm that at this time 'the Great Sea that sundered [Middle-earth] from Aman grew wide and deep'; for in the *Ambarkanta* (*ibid.*, and see the map, IV.249) the much greater width of the Western Sea than that of the Eastern came about at the time of the foundation of Valinor:

> For their further protection the Valar thrust away Middle-earth at the centre and crowded it eastward, so that it was bended, and the great sea of the West is very wide in the middle, the widest of all waters of the Earth. The shape of the

Earth in the East was much like that in the West, save for the narrowing of the Eastern Sea, and the thrusting of the land thither.

§50 It is notable that the Balrogs were still at this time, when *The Lord of the Rings* had been completed, conceived to have existed in very large numbers (Melkor sent forth 'a host of Balrogs'); see p. 80, §50.

★

The typescript text (AAm*) which my father began but soon abandoned continues for a little way beyond the point reached in the first section (p. 68). Significant differences from AAm are as follows:

§30 ... But Melkor dwelt in Utumno, and he did not sleep, but watched and laboured; and whatsoever good Yavanna worked in the lands he undid if he could, and the evil things that he had perverted walked far abroad, and the dark and slumbering woods were haunted by monsters and shapes of dread. And in Utumno he multiplied the race of the evil spirits that followed him, the Úmaiar, of whom the chief were those demons whom the Elves afterwards named the Balrogath. But they did not yet come forth from the gates of Utumno because of their fear of Oromë.

The latter part of this passage is of much interest as showing a marked development from the idea that Melkor 'made' the Balrogs at this time (see p. 78). They now become 'evil spirits *(Úmaiar)* that followed him' – but he could 'multiply' them. The term *Úmaiar*, not met before, stands to *Maiar* as *Úvanimor* to *Vanimor* (see IV.293, footnote).

§31 ... and there would go a-hunting under the stars. He had great love of horses and of hounds, but all beasts were in his thought, and he hunted only the monsters and fell creatures of Melkor. If he descried them afar or his great hounds got wind of them, then his white horse, Nahar, shone like silver as it ran through the shadows, and the sleeping earth trembled at the beat of his golden hooves. And at the mort Oromë would blow his great horn, until the mountains shook ...

mort: the horn-call blown at the kill.

... and trusting ever to his slaves to do his evil work. [his slaves and creatures, AAm]

§32 It came to pass that Manwë summoned the Valar to council, for they were troubled by the tidings that Yavanna and Oromë brought from the Outer Lands, saying that if Melkor were left longer to work his will unhindered, all Middle-earth would fall into ruin irretrievable; and Manwë knew moreover that the coming of the Children of Ilúvatar

was now drawing near, although the very hour and place of their coming was known only to Ilúvatar himself. And Manwë spoke of this to the Valar; and Yavanna besought him to give light to Middle-earth, for the stay of the evils of Melkor and the comfort of the Children; and

Here the typescript AAm* ends, at the foot of a page. Once again, what began as a copy was changing with gathering speed into a new version. But I see no reason to think that any more of it ever existed.

★

It remains to record a very few late scribbled changes and notes made on one or other copy of the typescript of the whole text.

§§38, 41 *Endon* > *Endor* (see p. 76, §38).

§42 'and named them Eldar, the people of the stars' > 'and called them the people of the stars'. In the margin my father wrote (i.e. with reference to the original text): 'but he could not – [?as this] was later Quenya.'

§43 Against the middle portion of this paragraph is a note in the margin: 'Alter this. Orcs are not Elvish.' See pp. 408 ff.

§50 'a host of Balrogs, the last of his servants that remained' > 'his Balrogs, the last of his servants that remained faithful to him'. In the margin my father wrote: 'There should not be supposed more than say 3 or at most 7 ever existed.' See p. 79, §50.

Third section of the Annals of Aman

1100

The Chaining of Melkor

§51 Then the Valar returned to the Land of Aman, and Melkor was led captive, bound hand and foot and blindfold; and he was brought to the Ring of Doom. There he lay upon his face before the feet of Manwë, and he sued for pardon and freedom, recalling his kinship with Manwë. But his prayer was denied, and it is said that in that hour the Valar would fain have put him to death. But death none can deal to any of the race of the Valar, neither can any, save Eru only, remove them from Ëa, the World that is, be they willing or unwilling. Therefore Manwë cast Melkor into prison, and he was shut in the fastness of Mandos, whence none can escape.

§52 And the Valar doomed Melkor there to abide for three ages of Valinor, ere he should come forth again to be tried by his peers, and sue once more for terms of pardon. And this was done, and peace returned to the kingdom of Arda; and this was

the Noontide of the Blessed Realm. Yet many evil things yet lingered in Middle-earth that had fled away from the wrath of the Lords of the West, or lay hidden in the deeps of the earth. For the vaults of Utumno were many, and hidden with deceit, and not all were discovered by the Valar.

1101

§53 Now the Valar sat again in council and debated what they should do for the comfort and guidance of the Children of Ilúvatar. And at length, because of the great love that the Valar had for the Quendi, they sent a summons to them, bidding them to remove and dwell in bliss in Aman and in the Light of the Trees. And Oromë bore the message of the Valar to Kuiviénen.

1102

§54 The Quendi were dismayed by the summons of the Valar, and they were unwilling to depart from Middle-earth. Therefore Oromë was sent again to them, and he chose from among them ambassadors who should go to Valinor and speak for their people. And three only of the chieftains of the Quendi were willing to adventure the journey: Ingwë, Finwë, and Elwë, who afterward were kings.

§55 The three Elf-lords were brought, therefore, to Valmar, and there spoke with Manwë and the Valar; and they were filled with awe, but the beauty and splendour of the land of Valinor overcame their fear, and they desired the Light of the Trees.

1104

§56 And after they had dwelt in Valinor a while, Oromë brought them back to Kuiviénen, and they spoke before their people and counselled them to heed the summons of the Valar and remove into the West.

1105

§57 Then befell the first sundering of the Elvenfolk. For the kindred of Ingwë, and the most part of the kindreds of Finwë and Olwë, were swayed by the words of their lords, and were willing to depart and follow Oromë. And these were known ever after as the Eldar, by the name that Oromë gave to them in their own tongue. But the kindreds of Morwë and Nurwë were unwilling and refused the summons, preferring the starlight and the wide spaces of the Earth to the rumour of the Trees. Now

these dwelt furthest from the waters of Kuiviénen, and wandered in the hills, and they had not seen Oromë at his first coming, and of the Valar they knew no more than shapes and rumours of wrath and power as they marched to war. And mayhap the lies of Melkor concerning Oromë and Nahar (that above were recalled) lived still among them, so that they feared him as a demon that would devour them.[1] These are the Avari, the Unwilling, and they were sundered in that time from the Eldar, and met never again until many ages were past.

§58 The Eldar now prepared for their Great March, and they went in three hosts. First came the Vanyar, the most eager for the road, the people of Ingwë. Next came the Noldor, a greater host (though some remained behind), the people of Finwë. Last came the Teleri, and they were the least eager. Yet their host that began the March was greatest of all, and they had therefore two lords: Elwë Singollo, and Olwë his brother. And when all was made ready Oromë rode before them upon Nahar, white in the starlight. And they began their long journey and passed by the Sea of Helkar ere they bent somewhat westward.[2] And it is said that before them great clouds hung still black in the North above the ruins of war, and the stars in that region were hidden. Then not a few grew afraid and repented and turned back and are forgotten.

1115

§59 Long and slow was the March of the Eldar into the West, for the leagues of Middle-earth were uncounted, and weary and pathless. Nor did the Eldar desire to hasten, for they were filled with wonder at all that they saw, and by many lands and rivers they would fain abide; and though all were yet willing to wander, not a few rather feared their journey's end than hoped for it. Therefore, whenever Oromë departed, as at times he would, having other matters to heed, they halted and went forward no more until he returned to guide them.

§60 And it came to pass that after ten Years of journeying in this manner (which is to say in such a time as we now should reckon well nigh a century of our years) the Eldar passed through a forest, and came to a great river, wider and broader than any that they yet had seen, and beyond it were mountains whose sharp horns seemed to pierce the realm of the stars.[3]

§61 This river, it is said, was even that river that was after called Anduin the Great, and was ever the frontier of the West-

lands of Middle-earth. But the mountains were the Hithaeglir, the Towers of Mist upon the borders of Eriador; yet they were taller and more terrible in those days, and they were reared by Melkor to hinder the riding of Oromë.[4] Now the Teleri abode long on the east-bank of the River and wished to remain there, but the Vanyar and the Noldor passed the River with the aid of Oromë, and he led them to the passes of the mountains.[5] And when Oromë was gone forward the Teleri looked upon the shadowy heights and were afraid.

§62 Then one arose in the host of Olwë, which was ever hindmost on the march, and his name was Nano (or Dân in the tongue of his own people). And he forsook the westward march, and led away a numerous folk, and they went south down the River, and passed out of the knowledge of the Eldar until long years were over. These were the Nandor.

1125

§63 And when again ten years had passed, the Vanyar and Noldor came at length over the mountains that stood between Eriador and the westernmost land of Middle-earth, that the Elves after named Beleriand. And the foremost companies passed over the Vale of Sirion and came to the shores of the Great Sea. Then great fear came upon them, and many repented sorely of their journey and withdrew into the woods of Beleriand. And Oromë returned to Valinor to seek the counsel of Manwë.

1128

§64 Now the host of the Teleri came at last to Beleriand and dwelt in the eastward region beyond the River Gelion. And they came unwillingly, being urged by Elwë their king; for he was eager indeed to return to Valinor and the light that he had beheld (though his doom forbade it); and he wished not to be sundered from the Noldor, for he had great friendship with Finwë their lord.

1130

§65 At this time Elwë strayed in the woods of Beleriand and was lost, and his people sought him long in vain. For as he journeyed homeward from a meeting with Finwë, he passed by the borders of Nan Elmoth. There he heard the nightingales singing, and he was spell-bound, for they were the birds of

Melian the Maia, who came from the gardens of Lorien in the Blessed Realm. And Elwë followed the birds deep into Nan Elmoth, and there he saw Melian standing in a glade open to heaven, and a starlit mist was about her. Thus began the love of Elwë Greymantle and Melian the fair; and he took her hand, and it is said that thus they stood while the stars measured out the courses of many Years, and the trees of Nan Elmoth grew tall and dark about them.

1132

§66 Now Ulmo, by the counsel of the Valar, came to the shores of Middle-earth and spoke with the Eldar; and because of his words and the music which he made for them upon his conches their fear of the Sea was turned rather to desire. Therefore Ulmo and his servants took an island which long had stood alone amidst the Sea, since the tumults of the fall of Illuin, and they moved it, and brought it to the grey bay of Balar, as it were a mighty ship. And the Vanyar and the Noldor embarked upon the isle, Eressëa, and were drawn over the Sea, and came at last to the land of Aman.[6] But the Teleri remained still in Middle-earth; for many dwelt in East Beleriand and heard not the summons of Ulmo until too late; and many searched yet for Elwë Singollo, their king, and would not depart without him. But when the Teleri learned that Ingwë and Finwë and their peoples were gone, they pressed on to the shore, and there dwelt in longing for their friends that had departed. And they took Olwë, Elwë's brother, to be their king. And Ossë and Uinen came to them and befriended them and taught them all manner of sea-lore and sea-music. Thus it came to be that the Teleri, who were from the beginning lovers of water, and the fairest singers of the Elvenfolk, were after enamoured of the seas, and their songs were filled with the sound of the waves upon the shore.

1133

§67 In this Year the Vanyar and the Noldor came to Aman, and the cleft of the Kalakiryan[7] was made in the Pelóri; and the Elves took possession of Eldamar, and began the building of the green hill of Túna in sight of the Sea. And upon Túna they raised the white walls of the Watchful City, Tirion the Hallowed.

1140

§68 In this year Tirion was full-wrought, and the Tower of

Ingwë was built, Mindon Eldaliéva, and its silver lamp was kindled. But Ingwë and many of the Vanyar yearned for the Light of the Trees, and he and many of his household departed and went to Valinor, and dwell forever with the people of Manwë. And though others of the Vanyar dwelt still in Tirion in fellowship with the Noldor, the sundering of those kindreds and of their tongue was begun; for ever and anon yet more of the Vanyar would depart.

1142

§69 In this year Yavanna gave to the Noldor the White Tree, Galathilion, image of the Tree Telperion, and it was planted beneath the Mindon and grew and flourished.

1149

§70 In this year Ulmo hearkened to the prayers of Finwë and went again to Middle-earth to bring Elwë and his people to Aman, if they would come. And most of them proved now willing indeed; but Ossë was grieved. For his care was for the seas of Middle-earth and the shores of the Outer Lands, and he came seldom to Aman, unless summoned to council; and he was ill-pleased that the fair voices of the Teleri should be heard no more in Middle-earth. Some therefore he persuaded to remain, and those were the Eldar that long abode on the coasts of Beleriand, the first mariners upon earth and the first makers of ships. Their havens were at Brithombar and Eglarest. Cirdan the Shipwright was their lord.

1150

§71 The kinsfolk and friends of Elwë also were unwilling to depart; but Olwë would be gone, and at last Ulmo took all who would embark upon Eressëa and drew them over the deeps of the Sea. And the friends of Elwë were left behind, and they called themselves, therefore, in their own tongue the Eglath, the Forsaken People. And they sought still for Elwë in sorrow. But it was not his doom ever to return to the Light of the Trees, greatly though he had desired it. Yet the Light of Aman was in the face of Melian the fair, and in that light he was content.

1151

§72 Now Ossë followed after the Teleri, and when they were come nigh to the Bay of Eldamar he called to them, and they knew his voice, and they begged Ulmo to stay their voyage.

And Ulmo granted this, and at his bidding Ossë made fast the island and rooted it in the foundations of the Sea; and there the Teleri abode as they wished still under the stars of heaven, and yet within sight of Aman and the deathless shore; and they could see from afar the Light of the Trees as it passed through the Kalakiryan, and touched the dark waves to silver and gold.

§73 Ulmo did this the more readily, for that he understood the hearts of the Teleri, and in the council of the Valar he had chiefly spoken against the summons, deeming that it were better for the Quendi to remain in Middle-earth. But the Valar were little pleased to learn what he had done; and Finwë grieved when the Teleri came not, and yet more when he learned that Elwë was forsaken, and knew that he should not see him again, unless it were in the halls of Mandos.

1152

§74 At this time Elwë Singollo, it is said, awoke from his trance, and he dwelt with Melian in the woods of Beleriand. But he was a great lord and noble, tallest in stature of all the Children of Ilúvatar, and like unto a lord of the Maiar; and a high doom was before him. For he became a king renowned, and his folk were all the Eldar of Beleriand; the Sindar they were named, the Grey-elves, the Elves of the Twilight, and King Greymantle was he, Elu Thingol in the tongue of the Sindar. And Melian was his Queen, wiser than any child of Middle-earth; and of the love of Thingol and Melian there came into the world the fairest of all the Children of Ilúvatar that was or ever shall be.

1161

§75 It came to pass that after the Teleri had dwelt for one hundred years of our reckoning upon the Lonely Isle their hearts were changed, and they were drawn towards the Light that flowed out from Aman. Therefore Ossë[8] taught them the craft of shipbuilding, and when their ships were made ready he brought them, as his parting gift, many strong-winged swans. And the swans drew the white ships of the Teleri over the windless sea. Thus at last and latest they came to Aman and the shores of Eldamar; and there the Noldor welcomed them with joy.

1162

§76 In this year Olwë lord of the Teleri, with the aid of

Finwë and the Noldor, began the building of Alqualondë, the Swanhaven, upon the coast of Eldamar, north of the Kalakiryan.

1165

§77 In this year the last of the Vanyar departed from Tirion, and the Noldor dwelt there alone, and their converse and friendship thereafter was rather with the Teleri.

NOTES

1 This sentence is an interpolation in the manuscript, and is itself rewritten from an earlier interpolation:

> And this, maybe, was also one of the first-fruits of the lies of Melkor for the deceit of the Quendi, that despite his sojourn among them many still feared him and Nahar his steed.

The typescript has the form given in the text.

2 This is an emendation from 'went north until Helkar was passed and then north-west'; the typescript has the emended sentence.

3 My father added hastily here, using a ball-point pen and so apparently much later (see p. 102, §78):

> Here they dwelt for a year, and here Indis wife of Finwë bore him a son, eldest of all the second generation of the Eldar. He was first named Minyon First-begotten, but afterwards Curufinwë or Fëanor.

This was struck out, perhaps as soon as written; see note 5.

4 'and they were reared by Melkor to hinder the riding of Oromë' is a pencilled addition that appears in the typescript as typed.

5 Added to the manuscript here at the same time and in the same way as the passage given in note 3 (and struck out at the same time as that):

> Here Indis wife of Finwë was lost, and fell from a great height. And her body was found in a deep gorge, and there buried. And when Finwë would not go forward, and wished to remain there, Oromë spoke to him of the fate of the Quendi, and how they could return again, if they would, after a while. For their spirits do not die, and yet do not leave Arda, and by the command of Eru a dwelling place is made for them in Aman. Then Finwë was eager to go forward.

6 After this there stood in the manuscript: 'and Ingwë and his household passed into Valinor, and dwell forever with the people of Manwë.' This was struck out and is not in the typescript, but it reappears in the annal for 1140.

7 *Kalakiryan* is a pencilled emendation from *Kalakirya*, and at subsequent occurrences (but at the very end of the *Annals*, p. 133, §180, *Kalakiryan* is the form in the manuscript as written).

8 *Ulmo* in the manuscript as first written, changed early to *Ossë*.

Commentary on the third section of the Annals of Aman

This section of AAm corresponds to QS Chapter 3 *Of the Coming of the Elves* (including 3(b) *Of Thingol* and 3(c) *Of Kôr and Alqualondë*) from §22 to §39 and elements of §§43–5; and to AV 2, Valian Years 1980–2111. These texts are found in V.213 ff., 112–13.

A cursory comparison shows that an enormous extension at large and in detail has taken place; and while concurrent development had proceeded in the 'Silmarillion' tradition also (with which AAm has not a few phrases in common), AAm is a very distinct narrative, with a large number of features absent from the other tradition and some actual divergences. Here, as before, I observe the more important developments in AAm in relation to the pre-*Lord of the Rings* narratives; and in many cases I restrict myself to a simple reference to the new elements that have entered the legends, it being implied in such cases that the matter in question is wholly new.

§51 Melkor sued for pardon in the Ring of Doom; the Valar wished to put him to death, but none can slay any of Valarin race, nor remove them from Eä, save Eru only.

§52 Melkor was condemned to Mandos for three ages (three hundred Valian Years); in AV 2, and in QS (§47), he was condemned for seven ages.

§54 Elwë, the third of the 'ambassadors', is now Thingol himself, whereas in QS he was Thingol's brother; see V.217 §23, and cf. AV 2 (V.112): 'Thingol, brother of Elwë, lord of the Teleri'. The brother of Elwë-Thingol now becomes Olwë (§58).

§57 Only 'the most part' of the kindreds of Finwë and Olwë were willing to depart. The *Avari* were the kindreds of Morwë and Nurwë (and presumably those of the other kindreds who would not go); and an explanation is given of their not going: they dwelt furthest from Kuiviénen and had not seen Oromë at his first coming.

§58 The First Host now bears the name *Vanyar*, not as previously *Lindar* (cf. p. 34, §36). The Third Host, the Teleri, had two lords, the brothers Elwë and Olwë; and Elwë is now called *Singollo* ('Greymantle', §65; in QS *Sindo* 'the Grey', §30). – The route taken by the Eldar on the Great March is described (and it agrees well with the track shown on the *Ambarkanta* map, IV.249). Many turned back in fear at the great clouds still hanging in the North.

§59 The slowness of the journey is described: the wonder of the Elves, the reluctance of many to complete the journey, the long

halts. The journey took twenty Valian Years; in AV 1 it took ten (IV.272), and apparently also in AV 2.

§§60–1 Important names enter from *The Lord of the Rings*: *Anduin*, *Eriador*, *Hithaeglir* ('the Towers of Mist'); the forest east of the river is not named, but is of course Mirkwood. The origin of the Hithaeglir is told: they were raised by Melkor to hinder the riding of Oromë. I noticed (IV.256–7) in connection with the *Ambarkanta* map that there is no trace there of the Misty Mountains or of Anduin (which first appeared, as did Mirkwood, in *The Hobbit*, where the river is called the Great River of Wilderland).

The Teleri remained on the eastern bank of Anduin when the Vanyar and the Noldor crossed the river and went up into the passes of the Misty Mountains.

§62 It was at this point on the Great March that the Nandor broke off, and they went south down Anduin; they were of the Teleri (from the host of Olwë), and their leader's name was *Nano*, or Dân in the speech of his own people. In QS (§28) and AV 2 these people were of the Noldor, and in QS they were called in their own tongue *Danas*, after their first leader Dân; similarly in the *Lhammas* (V.175–6). The name *Nandor* does not appear in these works, but see the *Etymologies*, stems DAN and NDAN (V.353, 375), and also V.188.

§63 The fear of the Sea among the Vanyar and Noldor caused many to withdraw from the shores into the woods of Beleriand; and Oromë returned to Valinor to seek Manwë's counsel.

§64 The Teleri came reluctantly into Beleriand, urged on by Elwë, and dwelt at first in the east, beyond the River Gelion. Elwë had great friendship with Finwë.

§65 Elwë was journeying home from a meeting with Finwë when he entered Nan Elmoth. This name first emerged in the post-*Lord of the Rings* rewriting of the *Lay of Leithian* (III.346–7, 349). In QS (§32) it is not said where the meeting of Thingol and Melian took place; in AV 2 'Melian enchanted him in the woods of Beleriand'. The trance into which Elwë fell endured for many Valian Years (annals 1130, 1152: that is for more than two centuries measured by the Sun).

§66 Ulmo made music for the Elves and turned their fear of the Sea into desire. The Teleri came to the shores of the Sea when they heard that the Vanyar and the Noldor had departed, and took Olwë to be their king.

§67 The name *Kalakilya* 'Pass of Light' is found in QS and the *Lhammas*; cf. Quenya *kilya* 'cleft, pass between hills, gorge', in the *Etymologies*, stem KIL (V.365). The form in AAm, *Kalakiryan*, replaced earlier *Kalakirya* (note 7 above).

'The Elves took possession of Eldamar, and began the building of the green hill of Túna'; cf. also §§75–6 'the shores, coast, of Eldamar'. This contradicts the footnote to QS §39 (never subsequently changed, p. 176), where *Eldamar* is a name of the Elvish city itself and *Eldanor* or *Elendë* the region where the Elves dwelt (earlier, on the *Ambarkanta* map (IV.249), Elvenhome was named *Eldaros*). The usage here (found also in the rewritten *Lay of Leithian*) is in fact a reversion to the earliest meaning of *Eldamar*; see I.251.

The city is now Tirion upon Túna, not Túna upon Kôr; see QS §39 and commentary, and also I.258 (*Kortirion*). But my father continued to use *Túna* also as the name of the city: e.g. p. 97, §101, where Melkor speaks of Fëanor's words 'in Túna'. Tirion is called here *Tirion the Hallowed*, as it was in Bilbo's song at Rivendell (VII.93, 98, 101).

§68 The Tower of Ingwë (*Ingwemindon* in QS) is now *Mindon Eldaliéva*. – In AAm Ingwë and 'many of his household' removed from Tirion only seven Valian Years after the coming of the Vanyar and the Noldor to Aman, and in the year of the completion of Tirion and the kindling of Ingwë's lamp; and the departure of the rest of the Vanyar is represented as a long drawn out movement over 25 Valian Years (see §77). In QS (§45) a different impression is given, for it is said that '*As the ages passed* the Lindar grew to love the land of the Gods and the full light of the Trees, and they forsook the city of Túna'.

§69 In QS (§16) *Galathilion* is the Gnomish name of Silpion (Telperion), and there is no mention of an 'image' of the Elder Tree being given by Yavanna to the Noldor of Tirion (see IX.58).

§70 Ulmo's return to the shores of Middle-earth was on account of the prayers of Finwë. The statement that Ossë 'came seldom to Aman, unless summoned to council' reflects the preservation in AAm (p. 48, §1) of his old status as one of the Valar. The southern Haven of the Falas now reverts to the form *Eglarest*, which preceded *Eglorest* of QS and AV 2. Cirdan the Shipwright, lord of the Havens, appears from *The Lord of the Rings*.

§71 While it is not said in QS that any others of the Teleri, beside the Elves of the Falas, remained in Middle-earth when Ulmo returned, but only that the people of Thingol 'looked for him in vain' (§32), it is told in the *Lhammas* §6 (V.174) that Thingol was 'king in Beleriand of the many Teleri who ... remained on the Falassë, and of others that went not because they tarried searching for Thingol in the woods.' In AAm 'the kinsfolk and friends of Elwë also were unwilling to depart', and they were left behind, and called themselves *Eglath*, the Forsaken People.

§§72–3 Ulmo granted readily the request of the Teleri, for he had

opposed the summoning of the Quendi to Valinor, and Ossë rooted Tol Eressëa to the sea-bottom at Ulmo's command; but the Valar were displeased, and Finwë was grieved (most of all for the knowledge that Elwë Singollo his friend was not in Tol Eressëa). The final form of the legend is thus now present: see QS §37 and commentary.

§74 Thingol's people were 'all the Eldar of Beleriand', and they were named the *Sindar*, the Grey-elves. This is the first time that we meet the name in the texts (as here presented); it does not occur in *The Lord of the Rings* apart from the Appendices. The Sindarin name of Elwë Singollo is *Elu Thingol* (see II.50).

§75 The Teleri dwelt for 100 years of the Sun in Tol Eressëa; in QS (§43) and in AV 2 they dwelt there for 100 Valian Years (see p. 183, §43).

It was Ossë, not as in QS Ulmo, who taught the Teleri the craft of shipbuilding; but as the text was written (note 8 above) it was Ulmo who did so, and it was Ulmo too who gave them the swans (Ossë in QS).

§76 The Teleri had the aid of Finwë and the Noldor in the building of Alqualondë.

The two passages concerning Indis wife of Finwë, roughly written in against §§60 and 61 (notes 3 and 5 above) and then struck out, are notable as the first indications of what would become a major further development in the Valinorian legend, though the stories told here bear no relation to the later narrative. These briefly sketched ideas may have been merely passing, rejected as soon as jotted down; but they show my father's concern with Fëanor, feeling that the greatness of his powers and formidable nature were related to a singularity of origin – he was *the first-born of the Eldar*: that is to say, he did not 'waken' by Kuiviénen, but had a father and mother, and was born in Middle-earth. The idea that Finwë was bereaved also appears; and this is the first appearance of Fëanor's name *Curufinwë*.

★

Finally, I record a few very late notes on one or other of the typescript texts (top copy and carbon) of the *Annals of Aman*:

§65 'the trees of Nan Elmoth' > 'the sapling trees of Nan Elmoth'

§66 Against the word 'conches': 'pipes of shell horns', with a query.

§70 Against the first sentence my father wrote 'Needs revising'; but I do not know in what respect he intended to do so. Against 'summoned to council' he wrote an X and 'he [Ossë] was not a Vala, but a chief of the Maiar, servant of Ulmo.' He had been removed from the Valar by emendation to the typescript in §1 (p. 69).

Fourth section of the Annals of Aman

[This section of the *Annals* has a good many changes made at the time of writing, and also various alterations and additions – some substantial – that seem certainly to belong to much the same time. These are incorporated into the text given here, with details of the more important alterations recorded in the notes that follow it. A few short additions that are decidedly later are placed in the notes.]

1179

§78 Fëanor, eldest son of Finwë, was born in Tirion upon Túna. His mother was Byrde Míriel.[1]

§79 Now the Noldor[2] took delight in all lore and all crafts, and Aulë and his folk came often among them. Yet such skill had Ilúvatar granted to them that in many matters, especially such as needed adroitness and fineness of handiwork, they soon surpassed their teachers. It is said that about this time the masons of the House of Finwë quarrying in the mountains for stone for their building (for they delighted in the building of high towers) first discovered the earth-gems, in which the Land of Aman was indeed surpassingly rich. And their craftsmen devised tools for the cutting and shaping of the gems, and carved them in many forms of bright beauty; and they hoarded them not but gave them freely to all who desired them, and all Valinor was enriched by their labour.[3]

§80 In this year Rúmil, most renowned of the masters of the lore of speech, first devised letters and began recording in writing the tongues of the Eldar and their songs and wisdom.[4]

1190

§81 In this year was born Fingolfin son of Finwë, who after was King of the Exiles.

1230

§82 Finrod Finwë's son was born.

1250

§83 In this time began the flowering of the skill of Fëanor son of Finwë, who was of all the Noldor the greatest maker and craftsman. And he took thought and devised new letters, bettering the devices of Rúmil, and those letters the Eldar have used ever since that day. This was but the beginning of the works of Fëanor. Greatly he loved gems, and he began to study

how by the skill of his hand and mind he could make others greater and brighter than those hidden in the earth.[5]

§84 [In this time also, it is said among the Sindar, the Naugrim[6] whom we also name the Nornwaith (the Dwarves) came over the mountains into Beleriand and became known to the Elves. Now the Dwarves were great smiths and masons, being indeed (it is believed) brought into being by Aulë; yet of old small beauty was in their works. Therefore each people had great profit of the other, though their friendship was ever cool. But at that time no griefs lay between them, and King Thingol welcomed them; and the Longbeards of Belegost aided him in the delving and building of the great halls of Menegroth, where he after dwelt with Melian, his Queen. Thus saith Pengoloð.][7]

1280

§85 In this year Finrod Finwë's son wedded Ëarwen King Olwë's daughter of Alqualondë, and there was a great feast in the land of the Teleri. Thus the children of Finrod, Inglor and Galadriel, were the kin of King Thingol Greymantle in Beleriand.

1350

§86 [At this time a part of the lost Elves of the people of Dân after long wanderings came up into Beleriand from the South. Their leader was Denethor son of Dân, and he brought them to Ossiriand where seven rivers flow down from the Mountains of Lindon. These are the Green-elves. They had the friendship of Thingol. Quoth Pengoloð.][8]

1400

§87 Now it came to pass that Melkor had dwelt alone in the duress of Mandos for the three ages that were doomed by the Valar, and he came before their conclave to be tried. And Melkor sued for pardon at the feet of Manwë, and humbled himself, and swore to abide his rule, and to aid the Valar in all ways that he could, for the good of Arda, and the profit of Valar and of Eldar, if so he should be granted freedom, and a place as the least of all the folk of Valinor.

§88 And Niënna aided his prayer (because of her kinship), and Manwë granted it, for being himself free of all evil he saw not the depths of the heart of Melkor, and believed in his oaths. But Mandos was silent, and Ulmo's heart misgave him.

1410

§89 Then Melkor dwelt for a while in a humble house in Valmar under vigilance, and was not yet suffered to walk abroad alone. But since in that time all his words and works were fair, and he became in outward form and seeming even as the Valar his brethren, Manwë gave him his freedom within Valinor. Yet Tulkas' mirth was clouded whenever he saw Melkor pass by, and the nails of his fingers bit into the palms of his hands, for the restraint that he put upon himself.

§90 And indeed Melkor was false and betrayed the clemency of Manwë, and used his freedom to spread lies abroad and poison the peace of Valinor. Thus a shadow fell upon the Blessed Land and its golden Noon passed; yet it was long ere the lies of Melkor bore fruit, and still the Valar dwelt long in bliss.

§91 Now in his heart Melkor most hated the Eldar, both because they were fair and joyful and because in them he saw the reason for the arising of the Valar and his own downfall and subjection. Therefore all the more did he feign love for them, and sought their friendship, and offered them the service of his lore and labour in any great deed that they would do. And many of the Noldor, because of their desire of all knowledge, hearkened to him and took delight in his teaching. But the Vanyar would have no part with him.

1449

§92 In this Year Fëanor began that labour of his which is renowned above all the works of the Eldalië; for his heart conceived the Silmarils, and he made much study and many essays ere their fashioning could begin. And though Melkor said after that Fëanor had his instruction in that work, he lied in his lust and his envy; for Fëanor was driven by the fire of his own heart only, and was eager and proud, working ever swiftly and alone, asking no aid and brooking no counsel.

1450

The Silmarilli of Fëanor are made

§93 In this year the Silmarils were full-wrought, the wonder of Arda. As three great jewels they were in form. But not until the End, when Fëanor shall return who perished when the Sun was young and sitteth now in the Halls of Awaiting and comes no more amongst his kin; not until Sun passeth and the Moon

falls shall it be known of what substance they were made. Like the crystal of diamonds it appeared and yet was more strong than adamant, so that no violence within the walls of this world could mar it or break it. Yet that crystal was to the Silmarils but as is the body to the Children of Ilúvatar: the house of its inner fire, that is within it and yet in all parts of it, and is its life. And the inner fire of the Silmarils Fëanor made of the blended Light of the Trees of Valinor which lives in them yet, though the Trees have long withered and shine no more. Therefore even in the uttermost darkness the Silmarils of their own radiance shone like the stars of Varda; and yet, as were they indeed living things, they rejoiced in light and received it, and gave it back in hues more lovely than before.

§94 And all the folk of Valinor were amazed at the handiwork of Fëanor, and were filled with wonder and delight, and Varda hallowed the Silmarils, so that thereafter no mortal flesh nor any evil or unclean thing might touch them, but it was scorched and burned with unendurable pain. And Melkor lusted for the Silmarils and the very memory of their radiance was like a gnawing fire in his heart.[9]

1450–1490

§95 Therefore, though he still dissembled his purposes with great cunning, Melkor sought now ever more eagerly how he should destroy Fëanor, and end the friendship of Valar and Eldar. Long was he at work; and slow at first and barren was his labour. But he that sows lies in the end shall not lack of a harvest, and soon he may rest from toil indeed, while others reap and sow in his stead. Ever Melkor found some ears that would heed him, and some tongues that would enlarge what they had heard. For the lies of Melkor take root by the truth that is in them.

§96 Thus it was that whispers arose in Eldamar that the Valar had brought the Eldar to Valinor being jealous of their beauty and skill, and fearing that they should grow too strong to be governed in the free lands of the East. And then Melkor foretold the coming of Men, of which the Valar had not yet spoken to the Elves, and again it was whispered abroad that the gods purposed to reserve the kingdoms of Middle-earth for the younger and weaker race whom they might more easily sway, defrauding the Elves of the inheritance of Ilúvatar.

§97 Then at last the princes of the Noldor began to murmur

against the Valar, and many became filled with pride, forgetting all that the Valar had taught to them and given to them. And in that time (having now awakened anger and pride) Melkor spoke to the Eldar concerning weapons, which they had not before possessed or known; for the armouries of the Valar after the chaining of Melkor were shut. But now the Noldor began the smithying of swords and axes and spears; and shields they made displaying the tokens of many houses and kindreds that vied one with another.

§98 A great smith was Fëanor in those days, and a proud and masterful prince, jealous of all that he had; and Melkor kept watch on him. For still he lusted after the Silmarils; but Fëanor now brought them seldom to light, and kept them locked rather in the darkness of the treasury of Túna; and he began to begrudge the sight of them to all save to his sire and to his seven sons. Therefore Melkor set new lies abroad that Fingolfin was plotting to supplant Fëanor and his father in the favour of the Valar, and was like to succeed, for the Valar were ill-pleased that the Silmarils were not committed to their keeping. Of those lies quarrels arose among the proud children of Finwë and Melkor was well-pleased; for all now went to his design. And suddenly ere the Valar were aware the peace of Valinor was broken and swords were drawn in Eldamar.

1490

§99 Then the Gods were wroth, and they summoned Fëanor before them. And they laid bare all the lies of Melkor; but because it was Fëanor that had first broken the peace and threatened violence in Aman he was by their judgement banished for twenty[10] years from Tirion. And he went forth and dwelt northward in Valinor near to the halls of Mandos, and built a new treasury and stronghold at Formenos; and great wealth of gems he laid there in hoard, but the Silmarils were shut in a chamber of iron. And thither came Finwë, because of the love that he bore to Fëanor; and Fingolfin ruled the Noldor of Túna. Thus the lies of Melkor were made true in seeming, and the bitterness that he had wrought endured long between the sons of Fingolfin and Fëanor.

§100 Straight from the Ring of Doom Tulkas went in haste to lay hands upon Melkor, but Melkor knowing that his devices were bewrayed[11] had hidden himself from the sight of eyes, and a cloud was about him; and it seemed to the folk of Valinor that

the light of the Trees was become dimmer than its wont, and the shadows were darker and longer.

1492

§101 And it is said that Melkor was not seen again for a while; but suddenly he appeared before the doors of the house of Finwë and Fëanor at Formenos, and sought to speak with them. And he said to them: 'Behold the truth of all that I have spoken, and how you are indeed banished unjustly. And think not that the Silmarils lie safe in any treasury within the realm of the gods. But if the heart of Fëanor is yet free and bold as his words were in Túna, then I will aid you, and bring you far from this narrow land. For am I not Vala as are they? Yea, and more than they, and have ever been a friend to the Noldor, most skilled and valiant of all the folk of Arda.'

§102 Then the heart of Fëanor was increased in bitterness and filled with fear for the Silmarils, and in that mood he endured. But Melkor's words touched too deep, and awoke a fire more fierce than he intended; and Fëanor looked upon him with blazing eyes, and lo! he saw through the semblance of Melkor and pierced the cloaks of his mind, perceiving there the lust for the Silmarils. Then hate overcame all fear and he cursed Melkor and bade him begone. 'Get thee from my gate, thou gangrel,[12] jail-crow of Mandos,' said he, and he shut the doors of his house in the face of the mightiest of all the dwellers in Ëa.

§103 And at that time, being himself in peril, Melkor departed, consumed with wrath, and bitter vengeance he plotted for his shame. But Finwë was filled with great fear, and in haste he sent messengers to Manwë in Valmar.

§104 Then Oromë and Tulkas set out in pursuit of Melkor, but ere they had ridden far messengers came from Eldamar, telling that Melkor had fled through the Kalakiryan,[13] passing by the hill of Túna in wrath as a thunder cloud. And with the flight of Melkor the shadow was lifted from Valinor, and for a while all the land was fair again. But the gods sought in vain for tidings of their enemy, and doubt lay heavy upon their hearts what new evil he might attempt.

§105 It is told that Melkor came to the dark region of Arvalin. Now that narrow land lay south of the Bay of Eldamar, but east of the mountains of the Pelóri, and its long and mournful shores stretched away into the South of the world, lightless and unexplored. There, between the sheer walls of the

mountains and the cold dark Sea, the shadows were deepest in the world. And there secretly Ungoliantë had made her abode. Whence she came none of the Eldar know, but maybe she came to the South out of the darkness of Ëa, in that time when Melkor destroyed the lights of Illuin and Ormal, and because of his dwelling in the North the heed of the Valar was turned most thither and the South was long forgotten. Thence she crept towards the realm of the light of the Valar. For she hungered for light and hated it. In a deep cleft of the mountains she dwelt, and took shape as it were a spider of monstrous form, sucking up all such light as she could find, or that strayed over the walls of Valinor, and she spun it forth again in black webs of strangling gloom, until no light more could come to her abode, and she was famished.

§106 It may well be that Melkor, if none other, knew of her being and her abode, and that she was in the beginning one of those that he had corrupted to his service. And coming at length to Arvalin, he sought her out, and demanded her aid in his revenge. But she was loath to dare the perils of Valinor and the great wrath of the gods, and would not stir from her hiding until Melkor had vowed to render her a reward that should heal the gnawing of her hunger and hatred.

1495

§107 At last having well laid their plans Melkor and Ungoliantë set forth. A great darkness was about them that Ungoliantë wove, and black ropes also she span and made fast among the rocks, and so after long labour, from web to web, she climbed at last to the summit of Hyarantar, which is the highest pinnacle of the mountains south of Taniquetil. There indeed (save for that watch-tower of the South) the Pelóri were less lofty, and less was the vigilance of the Valar, for they had ever been on guard rather against the North.

§108 Now Ungoliantë wrought a ladder of ropes and cast it down, and Melkor climbed upon it, and so came to that high place, whence he could look down upon the Guarded Realm. And below lay the wild green-wood of Oromë, and west-away shimmered the fields and pastures of Yavanna, pale gold beneath the tall wheat of the gods. But Melkor looked north, and saw afar the shining plain, and the silver domes of Valmar gleaming in the mingling of the lights of Telperion and Laurelin. Then Melkor laughed aloud, and leapt swiftly down the long

western slopes; and Ungoliantë was at his side and her darkness covered them.

§109 Now it was a time of festival, as Melkor well knew. For though all tides and seasons were at the will of the Valar, and there was in Valinor no winter of death, nonetheless the gods dwelt then in the kingdom of Arda, and that was but a small realm in the halls of Ëa, whose life is Time, which flows ever from the first note to the last chord of Eru. And it was then the pleasure of the Valar (as is told in the *Ainulindalë*) to clothe themselves in the forms of the Children of Ilúvatar; and they ate and they drank and gathered the fruits of Yavanna, and drew strength from the Earth which under Eru they had made.

§110 Therefore Yavanna set times for the flowering and the ripening of all growing things: upspringing, blooming, and seed-time. And at each first gathering of fruits Manwë made a high-tide for the praising of Eru, and all the folk of Valinor poured forth their joy in music and song. Such now was the hour; but Manwë, hoping that indeed the shadow of Melkor was removed from the land, and fearing no worse than maybe a new war with Utumno and a new victory to end all, had decreed that this feast should be more glorious than any that had been held since the coming of the Eldar. He designed moreover to heal the evil that had arisen among the Noldor, and they all were bidden, therefore, to come to him and mingle with the Maiar in his halls upon Taniquetil, and there put aside all the griefs that lay between their princes and forget utterly the lies of their Enemy.

§111 There came the Vanyar, and there came the Noldor, and the Maiar were gathered together, and the Valar were arrayed in their beauty and majesty; and they sang before Manwë in his lofty halls, or played upon the green slopes of Taniquetil that looked west to the Trees. In that day the streets of Valmar were empty and the stairs of Túna were silent; only the Teleri beyond the mountains still sang upon the shores of the Sea, for they recked little of seasons or times, and gave no thought to the cares of the Rulers of Arda or to the shadow that had fallen upon Valinor, for it had not touched them, as yet.

§112 One thing only marred the design of Manwë. Fëanor indeed came, for him alone Manwë had commanded to come; but Finwë came not nor any others of the Noldor of Formenos. For said Finwë: 'While the ban lasts upon Fëanor my son, that he may not go to Túna, I hold myself unkinged, and will not

meet my people, nor those that rule in my stead.' And Fëanor came not in raiment of festival, and he wore no ornament, neither silver nor gold nor any gem; and he denied the sight of the Silmarils to Eldar and Valar, and left them locked in darkness in their chamber of iron. Nonetheless, he met Fingolfin before the throne of Manwë, and was reconciled in words, and Fingolfin set at nought the unsheathing of the sword.

§113 It is said that even as Fëanor and Fingolfin stood before Manwë, and it was the Mingling of the Lights and both Trees were shining and the silent city of Valmar was filled with radiance as of silver and gold, in that hour Melkor and Ungoliantë came over the plain and stood before the Green Mound. Then Melkor sprang up, and with his black spear he smote each Tree to its core, a little above the roots, and their sap poured forth, as it were their blood, and was spilled upon the ground. But Ungoliantë sucked it up, and going then from Tree to Tree she plied her foul lips to their wounds, till they were drained; and the poison that was in her passed into their tissues and withered them; and they died. And still Ungoliantë thirsted, and going to the Vats of Varda she drank them dry; but Ungoliantë belched forth black vapours as she drank, and swelled to a shape so vast and hideous that even Melkor was adread.

§114 Then Darkness fell upon Valinor. Of the deeds of that day much is said in the *Aldudénië* (the Lament for the Trees) that Elemírë of the Vanyar made and is known to all the Eldar. Yet no song or tale could hold all the grief and terror that then befell. The Light failed; and that was woe enough, but the Darkness that followed was more than loss of light. In that hour was made the Dark which seems not lack but a thing with being of its own: for it was indeed made by malice out of Light, and it had the power to pierce the eye, and to enter heart and mind, and strangle the very will.

§115 Varda looked down from the Holy Mountain, and beheld the Shadow soaring up in sudden towers of gloom; Valmar had foundered in a deep sea of night. Soon Taniquetil stood alone, as a last island of light in a world that was drowned. All song ceased. There was silence in Valinor, and no sound could be heard, save only from afar there came on the wind through the pass of the mountains the wailing of the Teleri like the cold cry of gulls. For it blew chill from the East in that

hour, and the vast shadows of the Sea were rolled against the walls of the shore.

§116 But Manwë from his high seat looked out, and his eyes alone pierced through the gloom, and he saw afar off how a Darkness beyond dark moved north over the land, and he knew that Melkor was there. Then the pursuit was begun, and the earth shook beneath the horses of the host of Oromë, and the fire that was stricken from the hooves of Nahar was the first light that returned to Valinor. But so soon as any came up with the Cloud of Ungoliantë, the riders of the Valar were blinded and dismayed, and they were scattered, and went they knew not whither; and the sound of the Valaróma faltered and failed. And Tulkas was as a man caught in a black net at night, and he stood powerless and beat the air in vain. And when the Darkness had passed, it was too late: Melkor had gone whither he would, and his vengeance was full-wrought.

NOTES

1 This annal is an early replacement; the original annal, concerning the marriage of Finrod and Ëarwen Olwë's daughter, reappears in very similar form in the manuscript as originally written under the year 1280. Later, in ball-point pen, my father changed the date of this annal to 1169, and added new annals for 1170, 'Míriel falls asleep and passes to Mandar' (on *Mandar* see p. 205), and 1172 'Doom of Manwë concerning the espousals of the Eldar.' On these matters see pp. 205 ff., and see note 4 below. The new annals appear in the typescript as typed.

2 The name *Noldor* is here written with a tilde, *Noldor* (representing the back nasal, the *ng* of *king*; see IV.174). This becomes the normal form in all my father's later writings, though often casually omitted (none of his typewriters possessed this sign); it is not represented in the spelling of the name *Noldor* in this book.

3 The latter part of this passage, concerning gems, is very largely an addition. As first written, all that was said on the subject was:

> It is said that about this time the craftsmen of the House of Finwë (of whom Fëanor his eldest son was the most skilful) first devised gems; and all Valinor was enriched by their labour.

See note 5.

4 A new annal was added here at the same time as those given in note 1: '1185 Finwë weds Indis of the Vanyar.'

5 This sentence ('Greatly he loved gems ...') is an addition going

with the change and expansion referred to in note 3.

6 *Naugrim* was written in pencil above the original reading *Nauglath* (which however was not struck out), and the word 'also' (in 'whom we also name') added at the same time.

7 This Beleriandic interpolation by Pengoloð, bracketed in the original, was an addition to the manuscript; cf. note 8. Against it my father later pencilled: 'Transfer to A[nnals of] B[eleriand]'.

8 This bracketed interpolation by Pengoloð was an addition to the manuscript; and like that referred to in note 7 it was marked later for transfer to the *Annals of Beleriand*. The name of the leader of the Nandor was first written *Enadar*, changed immediately to *Denethor* (the name in AV 2, QS, and the *Lhammas*).

Later my father added here in pencil a new annal, for 1362: 'Here was born Isfin Fingolfin's daughter, the White Lady of the Noldor' (see note 9).

9 A hasty addition in ink, subsequently struck out, gives an annal for 1469: 'Here was born the first daughter of Fingolfin, the White Lady of the Noldor' (see note 8). It is not said elsewhere that Fingolfin had any daughter but Isfin.

10 The manuscript has 'three' > 'ten' > 'twenty' (Valian Years).

11 *bewrayed*: 'revealed', 'betrayed'.

12 *gangrel* ('vagabond') replaced *beggarman* (see p. 191).

13 My father first wrote *Kalakilya*, the old form, but changed it at once to *Kalakirya*; *-n* was added later (see p. 89, §67).

Commentary on the fourth section of the Annals of Aman

This section of the *Annals* corresponds in content to QS Chapter 4 *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor* (V.227–31), and to AV 2 annals 2500 to the beginning of 2990 (V.113–14). The account in AAm bears no comparison with the cursory AV 2, and represents a wholly different impulse; indeed, in this section we see the annal form disappearing as a fully-fledged narrative emerges. As was often the case in my father's work, the story took over and expanded whatever restrictions of form he had set for it. The new narrative is double the length of that in QS, to which it is closely related in structure. In expression it is almost entirely new; and yet comparison between them will show that AAm tends rather to a greater definition of the narrative than to significant change in the structure or marked new additions – though both are present. The following comments are in no way intended as an analysis of all the differences of emphasis, suggestion, and detail between AAm and QS.

§78 Earlier in AAm, under the year 1115, appear rejected insertions (see p. 87, notes 3 and 5) in which are recorded the birth of Fëanor to Finwë's wife Indis in Middle-earth in the course of the

Great Journey, and her subsequent death in a fall in the Misty Mountains. Written in ball-point pen these insertions would appear to be relatively late; here on the other hand, in what seems to be an early addition (written carefully in ink, and see note 1 above), Fëanor was born in Tirion, and his mother was Míriel, called Byrde Míriel (Old English *byrde*, 'broideress'; see pp. 185, 192). In late insertions (notes 1 and 4 above) it is recorded that in 1170 Míriel 'fell asleep' and passed to Mandos, and in 1185 Finwë married Indis of the Vanyar.

§79 At an earlier point in QS (§40) it is said that the Noldor 'contrived the fashioning of gems'; similarly in AV 2 (V.113) they 'invented gems', and again in *Ainulindalë* B (V.162). This idea is found in all the earlier texts, going back to the elaborate account in the old tale of *The Coming of the Elves* (see I.58, 127). In the later period it survived in the final version D of the *Ainulindalë* (§35, see pp. 19 and 34), and was still present at first in AAm (see note 3 above). The rewriting of this passage rejects the idea of 'invention': the gems of the Noldor were mined in Aman.

§80 The association of the Noldor with alphabetic script goes back to the *Lost Tales*, where this art is ascribed primarily to Aulë (I.58); 'in those days Aulë aided by the Gnomes contrived alphabets and scripts' (I.141). In *Ainulindalë* B (V.162) the Noldor 'added much to [Aulë's] teaching and delighted much in tongues and alphabets', and this survived in the later versions. Now Rúmil and (in §83) Fëanor emerge as the great inventors. Cf. *The Lord of the Rings*, Appendix E (II):

> The *Tengwar* ... had been developed by the Noldor, the kindred of the Eldar most skilled in such matters, long before their exile. The oldest Eldarin letters, the Tengwar of Rúmil, were not used in Middle-earth. The later letters, the Tengwar of Fëanor, were largely a new invention, though they owed something to the letters of Rúmil.

If Rúmil were the author of the *Annals of Aman*, as is said in the preamble (p. 48), he is here describing himself in the words 'most renowned of the masters of the lore of speech'.

§82 *Finrod*: earlier name of Finarfin (Finarphin).

§84 The form *Nauglath* (see note 6, p. 102) is, curiously, a reversion to the original Gnomish name of the Dwarves in the *Lost Tales* (see I.261), although *Naugrim* occurs as an original form in QS at a later point in the narrative (§122). [The entry *Naugrim* was inadvertently dropped from the index to Vol. V. The references are 273, 277, 405.] – On the name *Sindar* see p. 91, §74.

On earlier references to the Dwarves in Beleriand see IV.336; as I noted there, the statement in the second version of the earliest *Annals of Beleriand* (IV.332) that the Dwarves had 'of

old' a road into Beleriand is the first sign of the later idea that the Dwarves had been active in Beleriand long before the Return of the Noldor. But the present passage is the first reference to the Dwarves' aiding of Thingol in the delving and building of Menegroth. – The legend of Aulë's making of the Dwarves is referred to in the texts of the earlier period: AB 2 (V.129), the *Lhammas* (V.178 and commentary), and QS (§123 and commentary).

§85 Here appears the important development whereby the princes of the Third House of the Noldor became close kin to Thingol of Doriath (Elwë Singollo, brother of Olwë of Alqualondë, §58); and Galadriel enters from *The Lord of the Rings*. Cf. Appendix F (I, *Of the Elves*): 'The Lady Galadriel of the royal house of Finrod, father of Felagund, Lord of Nargothrond' (a statement that was changed in the Second Edition of *The Lord of the Rings*, when Finrod had become Finarphin and Inglor had become Finrod (Felagund)).

§86 In AV 2 (V.112, also in an interpolation by Pengolod) and in QS (§115) the Elves under Denethor did not come into Beleriand 'from the South', but came over the Blue Mountains; the meaning here is probably that they crossed the mountains in a region to the south of Ossiriand. There were not seven rivers flowing down from the mountains, but six: the seventh river of Ossiriand was the great river Gelion, into which the six flowed.

§88 *because of her kinship*: in AAm §3 (as in AV 2 and in QS §9) Niënna was 'Manwë's sister and Melko(r)'s'. In AAm* (p. 65) she is named only Manwë's sister.

§92 In AV 2 two ages passed (V.Y.2500–2700) between the making of the Silmarils and the release of Melkor; similarly in QS (§§46–7). In AAm the relation of the two is reversed, with the release of Melkor placed under Year of the Trees 1400 and the final achievement of the Silmarils under 1450.

§93 With what is said here concerning the fate of Fëanor cf. QS §88: 'so fiery was his spirit that his body fell to ash as his spirit sped; and it has never again appeared upon earth nor left the realm of Mandos.'

§97 On the Elves' ignorance of weapons see p. 106, §97.

§98 No mention is made in QS (§52) of the dissensions reaching the point of drawn swords. In AAm §112 'Fingolfin set at nought the unsheathing of the sword'; and in the margin of the typescript text at this point my father wrote: 'refers to what?' A later expansion of the chapter in QS, close in time to the writing of AAm, tells that Fëanor menaced Fingolfin with drawn sword (p. 189, §52); and in view of §112 it seems probable that this was inadvertently omitted here.

§99 The term of Fëanor's banishment (see note 10 above) is not stated in the older texts. – The name *Formenos* now enters, in an addition to the text.

§102 *the mightiest of all the dwellers in Ëa*: see p. 65, §2.

§105 The time of Ungoliantë's coming to Arda is placed (as a surmise) with the entry of Melkor and his host before the overthrow of the Lamps (see p. 53, §19). With 'maybe she came to the South out of the darkness of Ëa' cf. QS §55: 'from the Outer Darkness, maybe, that lies beyond the Walls of the World'.

§106 Though again put as a surmise, Ungoliantë's origin is now found in her ancient corruption by Melkor, and it is suggested that he went to Arvalin of set purpose to find her.

§107 The high mountain in the southern range of the Pelóri now receives a name, *Hyarantar* (later replaced by *Hyarmentir*, see p. 285).

§109–10 In the *Lost Tales* the occasion of the great festival was commemoration of the coming of the Eldar to Valinor (I.143), but in later texts its occasion is not specified. Now a new and remarkable account of it is given, with a reference to the passage in the *Ainulindalë* (§25) where the visible shapes taken by the Valar in Arda are described; and here the idea of these 'shapes' is extended (as it appears) to the point where the great spirits might eat, and drink, and 'draw strength from the Earth'. Wholly new also in this passage is the element of Manwë's purpose to achieve concord among the Noldor.

§112 In QS (§60) Fëanor was present at the festival on Taniquetil; now enters the story that he came alone from Formenos, being commanded so to do by Manwë, in sombre garments, that Finwë refused to come while his son lived in banishment, and that Fëanor was reconciled 'in words' with Fingolfin before Manwë's throne. At this stage, of course, Fëanor and Fingolfin were still full brothers.

§114 There is no trace of the work *Aldudénië* among my father's papers. With the passage concerning the Darkness that came with the extinction of the Light of the Trees cf. the *Ainulindalë* §19: 'and it seemed to [the Ainur] that in that moment they perceived a new thing, Darkness, which they had not known before, except in thought.'

§116 On Oromë's horn *Valaróma* see *Ainulindalë* D, §34 (pp. 35 and 39).

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There are a good many notes and changes made on the typescript, some added by the typist under my father's direction; but only a few of them need be recorded.

§78 The two new annal entries given in note 1 above, and that in note 4, are present in the typescript as typed.

§81 After the entry for 1190 a new entry was added for the year 1200: 'Lúthien born' (with a query).

§84 A blank is left in the typescript where the manuscript has *Naugrim* written above *Nauglath*, possibly because the typist did not know which form to put (see note 6). The blank was not filled in, but the name *Nornwaith* that follows was struck through.

§85 After the annal for 1280 the following Beleriandic entries were added:

1300 Daeron, loremaster of Thingol, contrives the Runes.
Turgon, son of Fingolfin, and Inglor, son of Finrod, born.
1320 The Orcs first appear in Beleriand.

§86 After the annal for 1350 two entries were added:

1362 Galadriel, daughter of Finrod, born in Eldamar.
Isfin, White Lady of the Noldor, born in Tirion.

The second of these appears also as a pencilled addition to the manuscript (note 8).

§97 Against the words 'Melkor spoke to the Eldar concerning weapons, which they had not before possessed or known' my father wrote on the typescript: 'No! They must have had weapons on the Great Journey.' Cf. the passage in QS on this subject (footnote to §49): 'The Elves had before possessed only weapons of the chase, spears and bows and arrows.'

§99 The term of Fëanor's banishment was changed yet again (see note 10), from 'twenty' to 'twelve'.

§113 After 'the Green Mound' was added: 'of Ezellohar'. This name was added to the typescript at earlier occurrences: p. 69, §25. – 'The Vats of Varda' become 'The Wells of Varda'; see p. 69, §28.

§114 The typist misread *Elemírë*, and my father corrected the error to the form *Elemmírë*.

I do not know what intention lay behind the introduction of the Beleriandic entries given under §§81, 85 above.

Fifth section of the Annals of Aman

§117 Thus it came to pass that after a while a great concourse of folk was gathered about the Ring of Doom; and the gods sat in shadow, for it was night. But now night only as it may be in some land of the world, when the stars peer fitfully through the wrack of great clouds, and cold fogs drift in from a sullen shore of the sea. Then Yavanna stood upon the Green

Mound, and it was bare now and black; and she gazed upon the Trees and they were both dead and dark. Then many voices were lifted in lamentation; for it seemed to those that mourned that they had drained to the dregs the cup of woe that Melkor had filled for them. But it was not so.

§118 For Yavanna spoke before the Valar, saying: 'The Light of the Trees hath gone hence, and liveth now only in the jewels of Fëanor. Foresighted was he. Lo! for those even who are mightiest there is some deed that they may accomplish once, and once only. The Light of the Trees I brought into being, and can do so never again within Ëa. Yet had I but a little of that Light, I could recall life to the Trees, ere their roots die; and then our hurt should be healed, and the malice of Melkor be confounded.'

§119 And Manwë spoke, and said: 'Hearest thou, Fëanor, the words of Yavanna? Wilt thou grant what she would ask?'

And there was a long silence, but Fëanor answered no word.

Then Tulkas cried: 'Speak, O Noldo, yea or nay! But who shall deny Yavanna? And did not the light of the Silmarils come from her work in the beginning?'

But Aulë the Maker[1] said: 'Be not hasty! We ask a greater thing than thou knowest. Let him have peace yet a while.'

§120 But Fëanor spoke then, and cried bitterly: 'Verily for the less even as for the greater there is some deed that he may accomplish but once only. And in that deed his heart shall rest. Mayhap I can unlock my jewels, but never again shall I make their like; and if they be broken, then broken will be my heart, and I shall die: first of all the Children of Eru.'

§121 'Not the first,' quoth Mandos, but they understood not his word; and again there was silence, while Fëanor brooded in the dark. And it seemed to him that he was beset in a ring of enemies, and the words of Melkor returned to him, saying that the Silmarils were not safe, if the Valar would possess them. 'And is he not Vala as are they,' said his thought, 'and understandeth their hearts? Yea, a thief shall reveal thieves.' Then he cried aloud: 'Nay, this thing I will not do of free will. But if the Valar will constrain me, then verily shall I know that Melkor is of their kindred.'

§122 'Thou hast spoken,' quoth Mandos; then all sat in silence, while Niënna wept upon Korlairë and mourned for the bitterness of the world. And even as she mourned, messengers came from Formenos, and they were Noldor, and bore new

tidings of evil. For they told now how a blind Darkness came northward, and in the midst walked some power for which there was no name, and the Darkness issued from it. But Melkor also was there, and he came to the house of Fëanor, and there he slew Finwë, king of the Noldor, before the doors, and spilled the first blood of the Children of Ilúvatar. For Finwë alone had not fled from the horror of the Dark. But the stronghold of Formenos Melkor had broken, and had utterly destroyed, and all the wealth of gems he had taken; and the Silmarils were gone.

§123 Then Fëanor rose up and cursed Melkor, naming him *Morgoth*;[2] and he cursed also the summons of Manwë, and the hour in which he came to Taniquetil, thinking in his folly that had he been at Formenos, his strength would have availed more than to be slain also, as Melkor had hoped.[3] But now Fëanor ran from the concourse and fled into the night, as one mad both with wrath and with grief: for his father was dearer to him than the Light of Valinor or the peerless works of his hands; and who among sons, of Elves or of Men, have held their fathers of greater worth?

§124 And those who beheld Fëanor depart grieved sorely for him; but Yavanna was dismayed, fearing now that the Great Darkness would swallow the last rays of Light for ever. For though the Valar did not yet understand fully what had befallen, they perceived that Melkor had called upon some aid that came from Without. The Silmarils had passed away, and all one it may seem, therefore, whether Fëanor would have said[4] yea or nay at the last; yet had he said yea at the first and so cleansed his heart ere the dread tidings came, his after deeds maybe had been other than they were. But now the doom of the Noldor drew nigh.

§125 Meanwhile, it is told, Morgoth escaping from the pursuit of the Valar came to the waste-land of Araman, that northward, as Arvalin to the south, lay between the walls of the Mountains and the Great Sea. Thus he passed to the Helkaraxë where the Strait between Araman and Middle-earth is filled with grinding ice; and he crossed over and came back to the North of the world. Then so soon as they set foot there and were escaped from the land of the Valar, Ungoliantë summoned Morgoth to deliver to her her reward. The half of her fee was the sap of the Trees; the other half was to be a full share in all the jewels they should take. Morgoth yielded these grudgingly,

one by one, until she had devoured all and their beauty perished from the earth, and then huger and darker grew Ungoliantë, and yet she hungered for more.

§126 But Morgoth would give her no part in the Silmarils: these he named unto himself for ever. Thus there befell the first thieves' quarrel, and the fear of Yavanna came not to pass: that the Darkness should swallow the last rays of the Light. But Ungoliantë was wroth, and so great had she become that Morgoth could not master her; and she enmeshed him in her strangling webs, and his dreadful cry echoed through the world. Then there came to his aid the Balrogs, who endured still in deep places in the North where the Valar had not discovered them. With their whips of flame they smote her webs asunder, and they drove Ungoliantë away, and she went down into Beleriand and dwelt awhile beneath Ered Orgoroth in that valley which after was named Nan Dungorthin, because of the fear and horror that she bred there. But when she had healed her hurts and spawned there a foul brood she passed away out of the Northlands, and returned into the South of the world, where she abides yet for all that the Eldar have heard.

§127 Then Morgoth being freed gathered again all his servants that he could find, and he delved anew his vast vaults and his dungeons in that place which the Noldor after called Angband, and above them he reared the reeking towers of Thangorodrim. There countless became the hosts of his beasts and his demons; and thence there now came forth in hosts beyond count the fell race of the Orkor, that had grown and multiplied in the bowels of the earth like a plague. These creatures Morgoth bred in envy and mockery of the Eldar. In form[5] they were like unto the Children of Ilúvatar, yet foul to look upon; for they were bred[6] in hatred, and with hatred they were filled; and he loathed the things that he had wrought, and with loathing they served him. Their voices were as the clashing of stones, and they laughed not save only at torment and cruel deeds. The *Glamhoth*, host of tumult, the Noldor called them. (Orcs we may name them; for in days of old they were strong and fell as demons. Yet they were not of demon kind, but children[7] of earth corrupted by Morgoth, and they could be slain or destroyed by the valiant with weapons of war. [But indeed a darker tale some yet tell in Eressëa, saying that the Orcs were verily in their beginning of the Quendi themselves, a kindred of the Avari unhappy whom Morgoth cozened, and

then made captive, and so enslaved them, and so brought them utterly to ruin.* For, saith Pengoloð, Melkor could never since the *Ainulindalë* make of his own aught that had life or the semblance of life, and still less might he do so after his treachery in Valinor and the fullness of his own corruption.][8] Quoth Ælfwine.)

§128 Dark now fell the shadow on Beleriand, as elsewhere is told; but in Angband Morgoth forged for himself a great crown of iron; and he called himself King of the World.[9] In token of which he set the Silmarils in his crown. His evil hands were burned black by the touch of those hallowed jewels, and black they have been ever since; and he was never again free from the pain of the burning. The crown he never took from his head, though its weight became a weariness unto torment; and never but once only, while his realm lasted, did he depart for a while secretly from his domain in the North.[10] And once only also did he himself wield weapon, until the Last Battle. For now, more than in the days of Utumno ere his pride was humbled, his hatred devoured him, and in the domination of his servants and the inspiring of them with lust of evil, he spent his spirit. Nonetheless his majesty as one of the Valar long remained, though turned to terror, and before his face all save the mightiest sank into a dark pit of fear.

Of the Speech of Fëanor upon Túna

§129 When it was known that Morgoth had escaped from Valinor and pursuit was unavailing, the Valar remained long seated in darkness in the Ring of Doom, and the Maiar and the Vanyar stood by them and wept; but the Noldor for the most part returned sadly to Túna. Dark now was the fair city of Tirion, and fogs drifted in from the Shadowy Seas, and mantled its towers. The lamp of the Mindon burned pale in the gloom.

§130 Then suddenly Fëanor appeared in the city and called on all to come to the high Court of the King upon the summit of Túna. The doom of banishment that had been laid upon him was not yet lifted, and he rebelled against the Valar. A great multitude gathered swiftly, therefore, to hear what he would say, and the hill and all the streets, and the stairs that climbed to

* [footnote to the text] In the Annals of Beleriand it is said that this he did in the Dark ere ever the Quendi were found by Oromë.

the Court were thronged with the many torches that all bore in hand as they came.

§131 Fëanor was a master of words, and his tongue had great power over hearts when he would use it. Now he was on fire, and that night he made a speech before the Noldor which they have ever remembered. Fierce and fell were his words, and filled with anger and pride; and they moved the people to madness like the fumes of hot wine. His wrath and his hate were most given to Morgoth, and yet well nigh all that he said came from the very lies of Morgoth himself. He claimed now the kingship of all the Noldor, since Finwë was dead, and he scorned the decrees of the Valar.

§132 'Why, O my people,' he cried, 'why should we longer serve these jealous gods, who cannot keep us, nor their own realm even, secure from their Enemy? And though he be now their foe, are not they and he of one kin? Vengeance calls me hence, but even were it otherwise, I would not dwell longer in the same land with the kin of my father's slayer and the thief of my treasure. Yet I am not the only valiant in this valiant people. And have ye not all lost your king? And what else have ye not lost, cooped here in a narrow land between the jealous mountains and the harvestless Sea? Here once was light, that the Valar begrudged to Middle-earth, but now dark levels all. Shall we mourn here deedless for ever, a shadow-folk, mist-haunting, dropping vain tears in the salt thankless Sea? Or shall we go home? In Kuiviénen sweet ran the waters under unclouded stars, and wide lands lay about where a free folk might walk. There they lie still and await us who in our folly forsook them. Come away! Let the cowards keep this city. But by the blood of Finwë! unless I dote, if the cowards only remain, then grass will grow in the streets. Nay, rot, mildew, and toadstool.'

§133 Long he spoke, and ever he urged the Noldor to follow him and by their own prowess to win freedom and great realms in the lands of the East ere it was too late; for he echoed the lies of Melkor that the Valar had cozened them and would hold them captive so that Men might rule Middle-earth; and many of the Eldar heard then for the first time of the Aftercomers. 'Fair shall the end be,' he cried, 'though long and hard shall be the road! Say farewell to bondage! But say farewell also to ease! Say farewell to the weak! Say farewell to your treasures – more still shall we make! Journey light. But bring with you your swords! For we will go further than Tauros, endure longer

than Tulkas: we will never turn back from pursuit. After Morgoth to the ends of the Earth! War shall he have and hatred undying. But when we have conquered and have regained the Silmarils that he stole, then behold! We, we alone, shall be the lords of the unsullied Light, and masters of the bliss and the beauty of Arda! No other race shall oust us!'[11]

§134 Then Fëanor swore a terrible oath. Straightway his seven sons leaped to his side and each took the selfsame oath; and red as blood shone their drawn swords in the glare of the torches.

'Be he foe or friend, be he foul or clean,
brood of Morgoth or bright Vala,
Elda or Maia or Aftercomer,
Man yet unborn upon Middle-earth,
neither law, nor love, nor league of swords,
dread nor danger, not Doom itself,
shall defend him from Fëanor, and Fëanor's kin,
whoso hideth or hoardeth, or in hand taketh,
finding keepeth or afar casteth
a Silmaril. This swear we all:
death we will deal him ere Day's ending,
woe unto world's end! Our word hear thou,
Eru Allfather! To the everlasting
Darkness doom us if our deed faileth.
On the holy mountain hear in witness
and our vow remember, Manwë and Varda!'

Thus spoke Maidros and Maglor, and Celegorn, Curufin and Cranthir, Damrod and Díriel, princes of the Noldor. But by that name none should swear an oath, good or evil, nor in anger call upon such witness, and many quailed to hear the fell words. For so sworn, good or evil, an oath may not be broken, and it shall pursue oathkeeper or oathbreaker to the world's end.

§135 Fingolfin, and his son Turgon, therefore spoke against Fëanor, and fierce words awoke, so that once again wrath came near to the edge of swords. But Finrod, who was skilled also in words, spoke softly, as his wont was, and sought to calm the Noldor, persuading them to pause and ponder ere deeds were done that could not be undone. But of his own sons Orodreth alone spoke in like manner; for Inglor was with Turgon his friend,[12] whereas Galadriel, the only woman of the Noldor to stand that day tall and valiant among the contending princes, was eager to be gone. No oaths she swore, but the words of

Fëanor concerning Middle-earth had kindled her heart, and she yearned to see the wide untrodden lands and to rule there a realm maybe at her own will. For youngest of the House of Finwë she came into the world west of the Sea, and knew yet nought of the unguarded lands. Of like mind was Fingon Fingolfin's son, being moved also by Fëanor's words, though he loved him little;[13] and with Fingon as ever stood Angrod and Egnor, sons of Finrod. But these held their peace and spoke not against their fathers.

§136 In the end after long debate Fëanor prevailed, and the greater part of the Noldor there assembled he set aflame with the desire of new things and strange countries. Therefore when Finrod spoke yet again for heed and delay, a great shout went up: 'Nay, let us be gone! Let us be gone!' And straightway Fëanor and his sons began to prepare for the marching forth.

§137 Little foresight could there be for those who dared to take so dark a road. Yet all was done in over-haste; for Fëanor drove them on, fearing lest in the cooling of hearts his words should wane and other counsels yet prevail. And for all his proud words he did not forget the power of the Valar. But from Valmar no message came, and Manwë was silent. He would not yet either forbid or hinder Fëanor's purpose; for the Valar were aggrieved that they were charged with evil intent to the Eldar, or that any were held captive by them against their will. Now they watched and waited, for they did not yet believe that Fëanor could hold the host of the Noldor to his will.

§138 And indeed when Fëanor began the marshalling of the Noldor for their setting out, then at once dissension arose. For though he had brought the assembly in a mind to depart, by no means all were of a mind to take Fëanor as king. Greater love was given to Fingolfin and his sons, and his household and the most part of the dwellers in Tirion refused to renounce him, if he would go with them. Thus at the last the Noldor set forth divided in two hosts. Fëanor and his following were in the van; but the greater host came behind under Fingolfin. And he marched against his wisdom, because Fingon his son so urged him, and because he would not be sundered from his people that were eager to go, nor leave them to the rash counsels of Fëanor. With Fingolfin went Finrod also and for like reason; but most loath was he to depart.

§139 It is recorded that of all the Noldor in Valinor, who were grown now to a great people, but one tithe refused to take

the road: some for the love that they bore to the Valar (and to Aulë not least), some for the love of Tirion and the many things that they had made; none for fear of peril by the way. For they were indeed a valiant people.

§140 But even as the trumpet sang and Fëanor issued from the gates of Tirion a messenger came at last from Manwë, saying: 'Against the folly of Fëanor shall be set my counsel only. Go not forth! For the hour is evil, and your road leads to sorrows that ye do not foresee. No aid will the Valar lend you in this emprise; but lo! they will not hinder you; for this ye shall know: as ye came hither freely, freely shall ye depart. But thou Fëanor Finwë's son by thine oath art exiled. The lies of Melkor thou shalt unlearn in bitterness. Vala he is, thou saist. Then thou hast sworn in vain, for none of the Valar canst thou overcome now or ever within the halls of Eä,[14] not though Eru whom thou namest had made thee thrice greater than thou art.'[15]

§141 But Fëanor laughed, and spoke not to the herald, but to the Noldor, saying: 'So! Then will this valiant people send forth the heir of their King alone into banishment with his sons only, and return to their bondage? But if any will come with me, to them I say: Is sorrow foreboded to you? Verily in Aman we have seen it. In Aman we have come through bliss to woe. The other now we will try: through sorrow to find joy. Or at the least: freedom!'

§142 Then turning to the herald he cried: 'Say this to Manwë Sulimo, High-king of Arda: If Fëanor cannot overthrow Morgoth, at least he delays not to assail him, and sits not idle in grief. And Eru, mayhap, has set in me a fire greater than thou knowest. Such hurt, at the least, will I do the Foe of the Valar that even the mighty in the Ring of Doom shall wonder to hear it. Yea, in the end they shall follow me. Farewell!'

§143 In that hour the voice of Fëanor grew so great and so potent that even the herald of the Valar bowed before him as one full-answered, and departed; and the Noldor were overruled. Therefore they continued their march; and the House of Fëanor hastened before them along the coasts of Elendë: and not once did they turn their eyes backward to Tirion upon Túna. Slower and less eagerly came the host of Fingolfin after them. Of these Fingon was the foremost; but at the rear went Finrod and Inglor, and many of the fairest and wisest of the Noldor; and often they looked behind them to see their fair city,

until the lamp of the Mindon Eldaliéva was lost in the night. More than any others of the exiles they carried thence memories of the bliss that they had forsaken, and some even of the fair things that they had made there they took with them: a solace and a burden on the road.

Of the First Kin-slaying and the Doom of the Noldor

§144 Now Fëanor led the Noldor northward, because his first purpose was to follow Morgoth. Moreover, Túna beneath Taniquetil was set nigh to the girdle of Arda, and there the Great Sea was immeasurably wide, whereas ever northward the sundering seas grew narrower, as the waste-land of Araman and the coasts of Middle-earth drew together. But the hosts had not gone far, ere it came to the mind of Fëanor, over late, that all these great companies, both of the full-grown and war-high and many others, and great store of goods withal, would never overcome the long leagues to the North, nor cross the seas at the last, save with the aid of ships.

§145 Therefore Fëanor now resolved to persuade the Teleri, ever friends of the Noldor, to join with them; for thus he thought to diminish the wealth of Valinor yet further and to increase his own power of war. Thus also he would get ships swiftly. For it would need great time and toil to build a great fleet, even if the Noldor had skill and timber in plenty for such craft, as indeed they had not. He hastened then to Alqualondë, and spoke to the Teleri as he had spoken in Tirion.

§146 But the Teleri were unmoved by aught that he could say. They were grieved indeed at the going of their kinsfolk and long friends, but would rather dissuade them than aid them; and no ship would they lend, nor help in the building, against the will of the Valar. As for themselves they desired now no other home but the strands of Eldamar, and no other lord than Olwë, prince of Alqualondë. And he had never lent ear to Morgoth, nor welcomed him to his land, and he trusted still that Ulmo and the other great among the Valar would redress the hurts of Morgoth, and that the night would pass yet to new dawn.

§147 Then Fëanor grew wroth, for he still feared delay; and he spoke hotly to Olwë. 'Thou renouncest thy friendship, even in the hour of our need,' said he. 'Yet fain were ye of our aid when ye came at last to these shores, fainthearted loiterers, and wellnigh emptyhanded. In huts on the beaches would ye dwell

still, had not the Noldor carved out your haven and toiled on your walls.'

§148 But Olwë answered: 'Nay, we renounce no friendship. But it may be the hard part of a friend to rebuke a friend's folly. And when your folk welcomed us and gave us aid, otherwise then ye spoke: in the land of Aman we were to dwell for ever, as brothers whose houses stand side by side. But as for our white ships: those ye gave us not. That craft we learned not from the Noldor, but from the Lords of the Sea; and the white timbers we wrought with our own hands and the white sails were woven by our fair wives and maidens. Therefore we will neither give them nor sell them for any league or friendship. For I say to thee, Fëanor, these are to us as are the gems of the Noldor: the work of our hearts, whose like we shall not make again.'

§149 Thereupon Fëanor left him, and sat beyond the walls brooding darkly, until his host was assembled. When he deemed that his strength was enough he went to the Haven of the Swans and began to man the ships that were anchored there and to take them away by force. But the Teleri withstood him stoutly, and they cast many of the Noldor into the sea. Then swords were drawn, and a bitter fight was fought upon the ships, and about the lamplit quays and piers of the Haven, and even upon the great arch of its gate. Thrice the folk of Fëanor were driven back, and many were slain upon either side; but the vanguard of the Noldor were succoured by Fingon with the foremost people of Fingolfin. These coming up found a battle joined and their own kin falling, and they rushed in ere they knew rightly the cause of the quarrel: some deemed indeed that the Teleri had sought to waylay the march of the Noldor, at the bidding of the Valar.

§150 Thus at last the Teleri were overcome, and a great part of their mariners that dwelt in Alqualondë were wickedly slain. For the Noldor were become fierce and desperate, and the Teleri had less strength, and were armed mostly with light bows only. Then the Noldor drew away their white ships, and manned their oars as best they might, and rowed them north along the coast. And Olwë called upon Ossë, but he came not; for he had been summoned to Valmar to the vigil and council of the gods; and it was not permitted by the Valar that the Flight of the Noldor should be hindered by force. But Uinen wept for the mariners of the Teleri; and the sea rose in wrath against the slayers, so that many of the ships were wrecked and those in

them drowned. Of the Kin-slaying at Alqualondë more is told in that lament which is named *Noldolantë*,[16] The Fall of the Noldor, which Maglor made ere he was lost.

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§151 Nonetheless the greater part of the Noldor escaped, and when the storm was over they held on their course, some by ship, some by land; but the way was long and ever more evil as they went forward. After they had marched for a great while in the unmeasured night they came at length to the north of the Guarded Realm upon the borders of the empty waste of Araman, which were mountainous and cold. There they beheld suddenly a dark figure standing upon a high rock that looked down upon the shore. Some say that it was Mandos himself and no lesser herald of Manwë. And they heard a loud voice, solemn and terrible, that bade them stand and give ear.[17]

§152 All halted and stood still, and from end to end of the hosts of the Noldor the voice was heard speaking the Prophecy of the North and the Doom of the Noldor. 'Turn back! Turn back! Seek the pardon of the Valar lest their curse fall upon you!' So the voice began, and many woes it foretold in dark words, which the Noldor understood not until the woes indeed after befell them. 'Tears unnumbered ye shall shed; but if ye go further, be assured that the Valar will fence Valinor against you, and shut you out, so that not even the echo of your lamentation shall pass over the mountains.

§153 'Lo! on the House of Fëanor the wrath of the gods lieth from the West into the uttermost East, and upon all that will follow them it shall be laid also. Their Oath shall drive them, and yet betray them, and ever snatch away the very treasures that they have sworn to pursue. To evil end shall all things turn that they begin well; and by the treason of kin unto kin, and the fear of treason, shall this come to pass. The Dispossessed shall they be for ever.

§154 'Behold! Ye have spilled the blood of your kindred unrighteously and have stained the land of Aman. For blood ye shall render blood, and beyond Aman ye shall dwell in Death's shadow. For know now that though Eru appointed unto you to die not in Eä, and no sickness may assail you, yet slain may ye be, and slain ye shall be: by weapon and by torment and by grief; and your houseless spirits shall come then to Mandos. There long shall ye abide and yearn for your bodies and find

little pity though all whom ye have slain should entreat for you. And those that endure in Middle-earth and come not to Mandos, they shall grow weary of the world as with a great burden, and shall wane, and become as shadows of regret before the younger race that cometh after. The Valar have spoken.'

§155 Then many quailed. But Fëanor hardened his heart and said: 'We have sworn, and not lightly. This Oath we will keep. And lo! we are threatened with many evils, and treason not least; but one thing is not said: that we shall suffer from cravens; from cowardice or the fear of cowardice among us. Therefore I say we will go on, and this doom I add: the deeds that we do shall be the matter of song until the last days of Arda.' And the doom of Fëanor was true-spoken also.

§156 But in that hour Finrod forsook the march, and turned back, being filled with grief, and with bitterness against the house of Fëanor, because of his kinship with Olwë of Alqualondë; and many of his people went with him, retracing their steps in sorrow, until they beheld once more the far beam of the Mindon upon Túna still shining in the night, and so came at last to Valinor. There they received the pardon of the Valar, and Finrod was set to rule the remnant of the Noldor in the Blessed Realm. But his sons were not with him, for they would not forsake the sons of Fingolfin; and all Fingolfin's folk went forward still, feeling the constraint of their kinship and the will of Fëanor, and fearing to face the doom of the gods, since not all of them had been guiltless of the kinslaying at Alqualondë. Moreover Fingon and Turgon were bold and fiery of heart and loath to abandon any task to which they had put their hands until the bitter end, if bitter it must be. So the main host held on, and swiftly the evil that was forespoken began its work.

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§157 The Noldor came at last far into the North of Arda, and they saw the first teeth of the ice that floated in the sea, and knew that they were drawing nigh to the Helkaraxë. For between the West-land of Aman that in the north curved eastward and the east-shores of Endar (which is Middle-earth) that bore westward there was a narrow strait, through which the chill waters of the Encircling Sea and the waves of the Great Sea flowed together, and there were vast fogs and mists of deathly cold, and the sea-streams were filled with clashing hills

of ice and the grinding of ice deep-sunken. Such was the Helkaraxë, and there none yet had dared to tread save the Valar only and Ungoliantë.

§158 Therefore Fëanor halted and the Noldor debated what course they should now take. But soon they began to suffer anguish from the cold, and the clinging mists through which no gleam of star could pierce; and many of them repented of the road and began to murmur, especially those that followed Fingolfin, cursing Fëanor, and naming him as the cause of all the woes of the Eldar. But Fëanor, knowing all that was said, took counsel with his sons. Two courses only they saw to escape from Araman and come unto Endar: by the straits or by ship. But the Helkaraxë they deemed impassable, whereas the ships were too few. Many had been lost upon their long journey and there remained now not enough to bear across all the great host together; yet none were willing to abide upon the west-coast while others were ferried first: already the fear of treachery was awake among the Noldor.

§159 Therefore it came into the hearts of Fëanor and his sons to seize all the ships and depart suddenly; for they had retained the mastery of the fleet since the battle of the Haven, and it was manned only by those who had fought there and were bound unto Fëanor. And lo! as though it came at his call there sprang up a wind from the north-west, and Fëanor slipped away[18] secretly with all whom he deemed true to him, and went aboard, and put out to sea, and left Fingolfin in Araman. And since the sea was there narrow, steering east and somewhat south he passed over without loss, and first of all the Noldor set foot once more upon the shores of Middle-earth. And the landing of Fëanor was at the mouth of that firth which was called Drengist, and ran into Dor-lómin.[19]

§160 But when they were landed, Maidros the eldest of his sons (and on a time a friend of Fingon ere Morgoth's lies came between) spoke to Fëanor, saying: 'Now what ships and men wilt thou spare to return, and whom shall they bear hither first? Fingon the valiant?'

§161 Then Fëanor laughed as one fey, and his wrath was unleashed: 'None and none!' he cried. 'What I have left behind I count now no loss: needless baggage on the road it has proved. Let those that cursed my name, curse me still! And whiné their way back to the cages of the Valar, if they can find no other! Let the ships burn!'

§162 Then Maidros alone stood aside, but Fëanor and his sons set fire in the white ships of the Teleri. So in that place which was called Losgar at the outlet of the Firth of Drengist[20] ended in a great burning bright and terrible the fairest vessels that ever sailed the sea.[21] And Fingolfin and his people saw the light afar off red beneath the clouds. This was the first-fruits of the Kinslaying and the Doom of the Noldor.

§163 Then Fingolfin knew that he was betrayed, and left to perish in misery or go back in shame. And his heart was bitter, but desired now as never before to come by some way into Middle-earth, and meet Fëanor again. And he and his host wandered long and wretchedly; but their valour and endurance grew greater with hardship; for they were yet a mighty folk, the elder children undying of Eru Ilúvatar, but new-come from the Blessed Realm, and not yet weary with the weariness of Earth; and the fire of their hearts was young. Therefore led by Fingolfin and his sons, and by Inglor and Galadriel the valiant and fair, they dared to pass into the untrodden North, and finding no other way they endured at last the terror of the Helkaraxë and the cruel hills of ice. Few of the deeds of the Noldor thereafter surpassed that desperate crossing in hardihood or in woe. Many there perished, and it was with a lessened host that Fingolfin set foot at last upon the Northlands of Endar. Little love for Fëanor or his sons had those that then marched behind him, and blew their trumpets in Middle-earth at the first rising of the Moon.

Here the Noldor passed out of Aman and
the Annals of Aman tell of them no more

NOTES

1 'Aulë the Maker' replaced 'Ulmo'.

2 Struck out here, probably at once: '(the Dark Enemy)'.

3 Struck out here (later): 'not a second time would the Black Foe of Arda be dismissed with proud words of scorn.'

4 This passage is a replacement of the original text:

> but Yavanna was dismayed, for now the Light of the Trees had passed utterly into a great Darkness, which though the Valar did not yet understand they perceived that it must come from some aid that Morgoth had called from Without, and they feared that it was lost beyond the End. Therefore all was one, whether Fëanor said ...

5 This passage was emended from the original text, which read thus:

There countless became the hosts of his beasts and his demons; and he brought now into being the fell race of the Orkor, and they grew and multiplied in the bowels of the earth like a plague. These creatures Morgoth made in envy and mockery of the Eldar. Therefore in form ...

6 'bred' is an emendation of 'made'.

7 'children' is an emendation of 'a spawn'.

8 This passage, from 'But indeed a darker tale ...' and including the footnote, was struck out at a later time than the changes given in notes 5–7 and perhaps in revision of the text before the making of the typescript, in which it does not appear. The whole addition by Ælfwine is enclosed within brackets as originally written.

9 The original text was 'Aran Endór, King of Middle-earth.' *Aran Endór* was then corrected to *Tarumbar*; finally the reading 'King of the World' was substituted.

10 The text as originally written read here: 'and never but once only did he come forth from the deeps that he had dug, while his realm lasted.' When my father corrected this to the text printed he added all that follows to the end of the paragraph.

11 In this paragraph the passage from 'ere it was too late' as far as 'many of the Eldar heard then for the first time of the After-comers', and the final sentence 'No other race shall oust us', were later additions.

12 The associations of the Noldorin princes were different as this passage was first written: 'Fingolfin and his sons Fingon and Turgon spoke against Fëanor', and 'of [Finrod's] own sons Inglor alone spoke in like manner, for Angrod and Egnor were with Fingon, and Orodreth stood aside; whereas Galadriel ...' But the changes that give the text printed appear to have been made immediately, since the passage at the end of the paragraph belongs to the original writing of the text.

13 Struck out here: 'and his sons less' (cf. the passage in §160 where Fingon's friendship with Maidros is referred to).

14 *Eä* is so spelt here, and again in §154, but in the last two occurrences in the text it is spelt *Ëa*.

15 Struck out here: 'and Melkor least of all, who is mightiest save one.'

16 The name *Noldolantë* was added in the margin. It does not appear in the typescript.

17 The page beginning here and carrying §§152–4 is much more roughly written than the rest of the manuscript, and my father struck it through and replaced it. It might be thought at first sight that this is the only place where a first draft of AAm survives, but this is not the case. The rough 'draft' page was written on the reverse of that carrying §§149–51, and that is in the same good

clear script as elsewhere (with a number of changes made in the act of composition). It is plain then that the rejected page did not begin as 'rough draft' (and the handwriting bears this out), but degenerated into it; and this instance is, if anything, rather evidence against the idea of a lost first draft of the *Annals of Aman* (see p. 47).

The first text originally began, following QS §71, 'Once again he warned the Noldor to return and seek pardon, or in the end they should return at last only after bitter sorrow and woes unspeakable.' The Doom of the Noldor in the final form was in fact only changed from the draft by a rearrangement of its parts and in many details of phrasing. Two points may be noted. After '... over the mountains' at the end of §152 stood 'Ye shall be free of them and they of you'; and the sentence in §154 beginning 'There long shall ye abide ...' read 'There long shall ye abide, and be not set free until those ye have slain entreat for you.'

18 This sentence replaced the following: 'Waiting then but a little for a north wind that brought a deep mist upon the host he slipped away ...'

19 The last sentence of §159 was a later addition.

20 The passage 'in that place ... the Firth of Drengist' was a later addition.

21 Changed from 'the fairest vessels of the Elder Days'.

Commentary on the fifth section of the Annals of Aman

This section of the *Annals* corresponds in content to QS Chapter 5 *Of the Flight of the Noldor* (V.232–8), and to AV 2 annals 2990–2994 (V.114–17). After the opening paragraphs the narrative of the *Annals* is again closely related in structure to the chapter in QS, and from §125 onwards many phrases are retained from it (more in fact than appears from the text printed, since in some cases my father adopted phrases without change from QS and then altered them). On the other hand, the narrative is greatly expanded in scope.

§§117–24 There now enters a new and subtle articulation in the story, with the assertion of Yavanna that with the holy light regained from the Silmarils she could rekindle the Trees before their roots died, the demand made upon Fëanor, and his refusal – before the news came from Formenos.

§121 Mandos said 'Not the first' because he knew that Finwë had been murdered. See further p. 127, §120.

§122 *Korlairë*: the first occurrence of this name (see p. 127, §122). – A new element in the narrative is that 'Finwë alone had not fled from the horror of the Dark.' In QS (§60) and AV 2 Morgoth

slew many others beside. Where Fëanor's sons were, or where they went (for Fëanor came to the festival alone, §112), is not told (see pp. 293–4).

§123 It is now first said that it was Fëanor who named Melkor *Morgoth* ('the Dark Enemy', note 2 above). In AAm (unlike QS) *Melkor* is always so named until this point, but after this almost invariably *Morgoth*.

§125 *Araman*: QS *Eruman*. The change had appeared previously on the *Ambarkanta* map V (IV.250–1), where it was put in many years after the making of the map.

§126 In QS (§62) no more is said of Ungoliantë's fate than that the Balrogs drove her away 'into the uttermost South, where she long remained'; now appears the story that she dwelt first in Nan Dungorthin, and only afterwards, after spawning there, did she retreat into the South of the world. But the spiders of Nan Dungorthin 'of the fell race of Ungoliantë' are referred to later in QS, in the story of Beren's flight from Dorthonion (see V.299, and the published *Silmarillion* p. 164).

§127 *The origin of the Orcs*. In QS (§62) the idea had already arisen that the Orcs originated in mockery of the Elves, but not yet that the Orcs were in any other way associated with them: they were a 'creation' of Morgoth's own, 'made of stone', and he brought them into being *when he returned to Middle-earth*. As AAm was first written (see notes 5–7 above) this view still held; the word 'made' was still used – though not the words 'made of stone'. But in Ælfwine's note that follows (and which was written continuously with what precedes) they are called 'a spawn of earth corrupted by Morgoth'; and the 'darker tale' told in Eressëa – that the Orcs were in their beginning enslaved and corrupted Elves (Avari) – is certainly the first appearance of this idea, contradicting what precedes, or perhaps rather at this stage presenting an alternative theory. It is ascribed to Pengoloð; and Pengoloð argues to Ælfwine that Melkor could actually *make* nothing that had life, but could only corrupt what was already living. The implication of this second theory would probably, though not necessarily, be that the Orcs came into being much earlier, before the Captivity of Melkor; and that this implication is present is suggested by the footnote reference to the *Annals of Beleriand* – meaning the last version of these Annals, the *Grey Annals*, companion to the *Annals of Aman*: 'it is said that this he did in the Dark ere ever the Quendi were found by Oromë.'

At this point my father went back to an earlier part of AAm (p. 72, §42) and interpolated the passage 'Yet by after-knowledge ...', where the idea of the capture of wandering

Quendi in their earliest days is filled out, though it remains only a supposition of the 'masters of lore'. Perhaps at the same time he emended the present passage, changing 'he brought now into being' to 'thence there now came forth in hosts beyond count', 'made' to 'bred', and 'a spawn of earth' to 'children of earth'. He then (as I conjecture) developed the interpolation at the earlier point much more fully (§§43–5), where the idea becomes less a supposition than a certainty of history: the powerlessness of Melkor to make living things is a known fact ('so say the wise'). Finally, at a later time (see note 8), he cut out the whole passage at the end of §127 beginning 'But indeed a darker tale some yet tell in Eressëa ...' – either because he only then observed that it had been superseded by §§43–5 and was in any case not in the appropriate place, or because he rejected this theory of the origin of the Orcs. See further p. 127, §127.

The word *for* in 'Orcs we may name them; *for* in days of old they were strong and fell as demons. Yet they were not of demon kind' (an observation of Ælfwine's) suggests that *Orcs* is Old English (cf. *orc-nēas* in *Beowulf* line 112), conveniently similar to the Elvish word. This would explain why Ælfwine said, in effect, 'We may call them Orcs, because they were strong and fell as demons, even though they were not in fact *demons*.' In a letter of my father's written on 25 April 1954 (*Letters* no.144) he said that the word *Orc* 'is as far as I am concerned actually derived from Old English *orc* "demon", but only because of its phonetic suitability' (and also: 'Orcs ... are nowhere clearly stated to be of any particular origin. But since they are servants of the Dark Power, and later of Sauron, neither of whom could, or would, produce living things, they must be "corruptions"').

§128 The final reading here 'King of the World' (see note 9) returns to that of QS (§63), which goes back to Q (IV.93). – On the subject of Morgoth's departures from Angband QS has: 'it was never his wont to leave the deep places of his fortress', and there is no mention of his one absence.

§§132–3 The report of Fëanor's speech is greatly extended from that in QS (§§66–7).

§133 *Tauros*: Oromë; cf. QS §8: 'He is a hunter, and he loves all trees; for which reason he is called Aldaron, and by the Gnomes Tauros, the lord of forests'; also the *Etymologies*, stem TÁWAR (V.391): 'N[oldorin] *Tauros* "Forest-Dread", usual N by-name of Oromë (N Araw)'. It is notable that Fëanor should use this name (see p. 146, §8). In the typescript, for no very clear reason, the typist left a blank here, in which my father later pencilled *Oromë*.

§135 As AAm was first written (see note 12 above) the alignments of the Noldorin princes were already changed from the account in QS (§68), since Angrod and Egnor were now opposed to Fëanor – and Galadriel now has a part in the matter, being eager to leave Aman. As rewritten, a more subtle alignment is portrayed: for Fingon now independently urges departure, and Angrod and Egnor move with him. Of Fingolfin's sons Turgon alone now supports his father, but Inglor stands with him; and Orodreth moves into Inglor's place as the only one of his sons to support Finrod.

The close friendship of Turgon with Felagund (Inglor) had appeared already in the earliest *Annals of Beleriand* (IV.296); in a late addition to the AAm typescript (p. 106, §85) they were born in the same Year of the Trees.

The statement that Galadriel, 'youngest of the House of Finwë', 'came into the world west of the Sea, and knew yet nought of the unguarded lands', is strange, because all the progeny of Finwë were born in Aman (AAm §§78, 81–2).

§136 The Noldor were moved by 'the desire of new things and strange countries'; in QS they were 'filled with desire for the Silmarils'.

§137 The march from Tirion was undertaken with too little preparation and in too great haste; cf. AV 2 (annal 2992): 'The great march of the Gnomes was long preparing.'

§139 Only one tenth of the Noldor remained behind in Tirion.

§§140–2 The words of Manwë's messenger are given, and the episode is much expanded. The herald does not say, as in QS (§68), that the Valar forbade the march, but it is now said that Fëanor had exiled himself through the very fact of his oath; and Fëanor in his reply accuses the Valar of sitting idle and making no move against Morgoth.

§143 *Elendë* (Elvenhome, Elfland): see p. 90, §67.

§§145–8 Fëanor himself (not as in QS §70 messengers) went to Olwë at Alqualondë, and their words together are fully recounted. In §147 Fëanor speaks of the building of the Haven by the Noldor, which is mentioned earlier in AAm (§76).

§§149–50 The account in AAm of the battle at Alqualondë and its aftermath follows QS §70 closely and retains much of its phrasing; but in §149 it is now told that those of the second host who joined in the battle mistook its cause.

§150 On the weapons of the Teleri see p. 106, §97. – The song of the Flight of the Gnomes (QS §70) is now called *Noldolantë*, the Fall of the Noldor, 'which Maglor made ere he was lost.'

§§152–4 The Prophecy of the North, now called 'the Prophecy of the North and the Doom of the Noldor', is significantly developed: by the warning that such of the Noldor as may be

slain afterwards shall remain long in Mandos 'yearning for their bodies', and that those who endure in Middle-earth shall grow weary of the world and shall *wane*. In this AAm looks back to AV 2 (annal 2993, V.116; almost the same in AV 1, IV.267):

> A measure of mortality should visit the Noldor, and they should be slain with weapons, and with torments, and with sorrow, and in the long end they should fade upon Middle-earth and wane before the younger race.

I have discussed these passages in IV.278–9. See further pp. 265 ff.

§156 As in AV (both texts), many of Finrod's people returned with him to Valinor; in QS (§72) only 'a few of his household' turned back. A new element in Finrod's motive for return is his kinship with Olwë of Alqualondë, for his wife was Eärwen Olwë's daughter (§85).

§157 *Endar* 'Middle-earth'. The form *Endon* was used earlier in AAm of 'the midmost point' of Middle-earth (§38), where it was changed on the typescript to *Endor* (p. 80). These forms *Endon* and *Endor* had appeared in the *Ambarkanta* and maps (see p. 76, §38). In *The Lord of the Rings* Quenya *Endórë*, Sindarin *Ennor*, means not the midmost point but Middle-earth itself, and in a letter of 1967 (*Letters* no.297, p. 384) my father referred to Q. *Endor*, S. *Ennor* = Middle-earth, with the etymology *en(ed)* 'middle' and *(n)dor* 'land (mass)'; cf. also *Aran Endór* 'King of Middle-earth', note 9 above. But in the present passage the form *Endar* is perfectly clear, as also again in §§158, 163. The typist however in each case, for some reason, typed *Endor*, and my father did not alter it. On the other hand, in the title of the next section in AAm (p. 129) the typist put *Endar* as in the manuscript, and again my father let this stand. In the published *Silmarillion* (p. 89) I printed, hesitantly, the form *Endor*.

This passage concerning the Helkaraxë derives not from QS but from AV 2 (annal 2994, almost the same in AV 1), and it is very notable that it remains in complete congruence with the cosmography of the *Ambarkanta* (see IV.238, 254).

§159 The story that Angrod and Egnor came to Middle-earth in the ships with the Fëanorians is now abandoned, with the loss of the story that they were close friends of the sons of Fëanor, and especially of Celegorn and Curufin (QS §§42, 72–3).

§160–2 Maidros takes no part in the burning of the ships, and remembers Fingon, his former friend. Fëanor's motive in this act is sufficiently explained in the older texts, but in AAm the insane pride and fury that drove him is far more strongly conveyed; he was indeed 'fey'.

§162 The addition (note 20 above) of the name *Losgar* of the place of the burning of the ships is derived from its sole occurrence in the earlier texts, at the beginning of the later *Annals of Beleriand* (AB 2, V.125 and commentary).

§163 On the difference between the final sentence from that in QS ('and came unto Beleriand at the rising of the sun') see V.239, commentary on §73.

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Among the notes and corrections written by my father on the typescript in this section of AAm, not all of which need be recorded, there are several indicating proposed extensions of the narrative.

§120 'I shall die' > 'I shall be slain'; 'first of all the Children of Eru' underlined; and a note in the margin against the words 'Not the first' (at the beginning of §121): 'X This no longer fits even the Eldar of Valinor. Finwë Fëanor's father was first to be slain of the High-elves, Míriel Fëanor's mother the first to die.' It is to be remembered that when AAm was written the history of Míriel had not yet been devised; the entries that state that Míriel 'fell asleep and passed to Mandos' and that Finwë afterwards wedded Indis (p. 101, notes 1 and 4) were later additions (found in the typescript as typed). See further pp. 268–9.

§122 The typist left a blank for *Korlairë*, which my father filled with the form *Korolairë*. Later he underlined this in pencil and wrote *Ezellohar* against it (see p. 106, §113).

§126 *Ered Orgoroth* > *Ered Gorgorath*; *Nan Dungorthin* > *Nan Dungortheb*. See V.298–9.

§127 Against the opening of this paragraph my father wrote: 'The making of this fortress as a guard against a landing from the West should come earlier. See p. 156, §12.

In the typescript the passage concerning the Orcs ran as it stands in the text printed from the manuscript on p. 109 only as far as 'they could be slain or destroyed by the valiant with weapons of war'; the remainder of the paragraph had been struck out in the manuscript (note 8, p. 121), apart from the words 'Quoth Ælfwine' at the end (which the typist did not notice and omitted, ending the paragraph at 'weapons of war' without closing the brackets). Against the first part of the passage my father wrote an X on the typescript and a brief illegible direction of which the first word might be 'cut', with a reference to the passage on the subject in §45. It is not clear what precisely was to be cut (if I read the word correctly), but seeing that he noted on the typescript against the earlier passage (p. 80, §43): 'Alter this. Orcs are not Elvish', it seems likely that the same objection applied here (see further

pp. 408 ff.). – He rectified the typist's error in omitting the words 'Quoth Ælfwine' by cutting out the words '(Orcs we may name them; for', so that the text reads: 'The *Glamhoth*, host of tumult, the Noldor called them. In days of old they were strong and fell as demons ...' This was perhaps done without consulting the manuscript.

§132 In 'the salt thankless Sea' the word *salt* was struck out.

§134 Marginal note against the names of the Sons of Fëanor: 'X Names will be revised.' In the text *Cranthir* > *Caranthir*, *Damrod* and *Díriel* struck out (but no other names substituted), and the *n* of *Celegorn* underlined.

§135 Marginal note against the opening of this paragraph: 'Names and relations now altered.' In the text *Finrod* > *Finarphin* (and subsequently), and *Inglor* > *Finrod* (and subsequently); also *Orodreth* underlined and marked with an X.

§137 Against the sentence 'He [Manwë] would not yet either forbid or hinder Fëanor's purpose' is the marginal note: 'Manwë and the Valar could not – sc. were not permitted to hinder the Noldor except by counsel – *not* by force.'

§149 Marginal note against the passage describing the involvement of the second host in the fighting: 'Finrod and Galadriel (whose husband was of the Teleri) fought *against* Fëanor in defence of Alqualondë.' On this see the very late note (1973) of my father's concerning Galadriel's conduct at the time of the rebellion of the Noldor in *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 231–2: 'In Fëanor's revolt that followed the Darkening of Valinor Galadriel had no part: indeed she with Celeborn fought heroically in defence of Alqualondë against the assault of the Noldor ...'

§162 'Fëanor and his sons set fire in' was changed to 'Fëanor caused fire to be set to'. A marginal note at the end of the paragraph reads: 'Tragedy of the burning of one of Fëanor's [*added:* 2 younger] sons, who had returned to sleep in his ship.' Another note at the same place reads: 'Fëanor's youngest sons were twins'; this is followed by a bracketed word which was struck out, probably '(unlike)'. It was said in QS (§41) that Damrod and Díriel were 'twin brethren alike in mood and face'.

§163 Marginal note against 'Many there perished' (i.e. in the crossing of the Helkaraxë): 'Turgon's wife was lost and he had then only one daughter and no other heir. Turgon was nearly lost himself in attempts to rescue his wife – and he had less love for the Sons of Fëanor than any other.'

Sixth and last section of the Annals of Aman

1495–1500

Of the Moon and the Sun. The Lighting of Endar, and the Hiding of Valinor

§164 It is told that the Valar sat long unmoved upon their thrones in the Ring of Doom, but they were not idle as Fëanor said in the folly of his heart. For the gods may work many things with thought rather than with hands, and without voices in silence they may hold council one with another. Thus they held vigil in the night of Valinor, and their thought passed back beyond Ëa and forth to the End; yet neither power nor wisdom assuaged their grief, and the knowing of evil in the hour of its being. Neither did they mourn more for the death of the Trees than for the marring of Fëanor: of all Melkor's works the most wicked.

§165 For Fëanor was made the mightiest in all parts of body and mind: in valour, in endurance, in beauty, in understanding, in skill, in strength and subtlety alike: of all the Children of Eru, and a bright flame was in him. The works of wonder for the glory of Arda that he might otherwise have wrought only Manwë might in some measure conceive. And the Vanyar who held vigil with the Valar have recorded that when the messengers reported to Manwë the answers of Fëanor to his heralds Manwë wept and bowed his head. But at that last word of Fëanor: that at the least the Noldor should do deeds to live in song for ever: he raised his head, as one that hears a voice afar off, and he said: 'So shall it be! Dear-bought those songs shall be accounted, and yet shall be well-bought. For the price could be no other. Thus, even as Eru spoke to us, shall beauty not before conceived be brought into Ëa, and evil yet be good to have been.'

'And yet remain evil,' quoth Mandos. 'To me shall Fëanor come soon.'

§166 But when at last the Valar learned that the Noldor had indeed passed out of Aman and were come back into Middle-earth, they arose and began to set forth in deeds those counsels they had taken in thought for the redress of the evils of Melkor.

§167 Then Manwë bade Yavanna and Niënna to put forth all their powers of growth and healing; and they put forth all their powers upon the Trees. But the tears of Niënna availed not

to heal their mortal wounds; and for a long while Yavanna sang alone in the shadows. Yet even as hope failed and her song faltered, behold! Telperion bore at last upon a leafless bough one great flower of silver, and Laurelin a single fruit of gold.

§168 These Yavanna took, and then the Trees died, and their lifeless stems stand yet in Valinor, a memorial of vanished joy. But the flower and fruit Yavanna gave to Aulë, and Manwë hallowed them; and Aulë and his folk made vessels to hold them and preserve their radiance, as is said in the *Narsilion*, the Song of the Sun and Moon. These vessels the gods gave to Varda, that they might become lamps of heaven, outshining the ancient stars, being nearer to Arda; and she gave them power to traverse the lower regions of Ilmen, and set them to voyage upon appointed courses above the girdle of the Earth from the West unto the East, and to return.

§169 These things the Valar did, recalling in their twilight the darkness of the lands of Arda; and they resolved now to illumine Middle-earth and with light to hinder the deeds of Morgoth. For they remembered the Quendi, the Avari that had remained by the waters of their awakening, and did not utterly forsake the Noldor in exile; and Manwë knew also that the hour of the coming of Men was drawn nigh.

§170 Indeed it is said that, even as the Valar made war upon Melkor on behalf of the Quendi, so now for that time they forbore on behalf of the Hildi, the Aftercomers, younger children of Eru. For grievous had been the hurts of Middle-earth in the war upon Utumno, and the Valar feared lest even worse should now befall; whereas the Hildi should be mortal, and weaker than the Quendi to withstand fear and tumult. Moreover it was not revealed to Manwë where the beginning of Men should be, north, south, or east. Therefore the Valar sent forth light, but made strong the land of their dwelling.

§171 Isil the Sheen the Vanyar of old named the Moon, flower of Telperion in Valinor; and Anar the Fire-golden, fruit of Laurelin, they named the Sun. But the Noldor named them Rána the wayward, and Vása the consumer; for the Sun was set as a sign for the awakening of Men and the waning of the Elves, but the Moon cherishes their memory.

§172 The maiden whom the Valar chose from among the Maiar to guide the vessel of the Sun was named Arien, and he that steered the island of the Moon was Tilion.* In the days of

* Marginal notes against *Arien* and *Tilion*: 'dægred Æ' and 'hyrned Æ'.

the Trees Arien had tended the golden flowers in the gardens of Vana and refreshed them with the bright dews of Laurelin. Tilion was a young hunter of the company of Oromë, and he had a silver bow. He was a lover of silver, and when he would rest he forsook the woods of Oromë and went unto Lorien and lay adream by the pools of Estë in the flickering beams of Telperion; and he begged to be given the task of tending ever the last Flower of Silver. Arien the maiden was mightier than he, and she was chosen because she had not feared the heats of Laurelin, and was unhurt by them, being from the beginning a spirit of fire, whom nonetheless Melkor had not deceived nor drawn to his service. Fair indeed was Arien to behold, but too bright were her eyes for even the Eldar to look on, and leaving Valinor she forsook the form and raiment which, like the Valar, she had there worn, and she was as a naked flame, terrible in the fullness of her splendour.

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§173 Isil was first wrought and made ready, and first rose into the realm of the stars, and was the elder of the new lights, as was Telperion of the Trees. Then for a while the world had moonlight, and many things stirred and woke that had waited long in the sleep of Yavanna. The servants of Morgoth were amazed, but the dark-elves looked up in delight; and it is told that Fingolfin set foot upon the Northern Lands with the first moon-rise, and the shadows of his host were long and black. Tilion had traversed the heavens seven times, and was thus in the furthest East when the vessel of Arien was made ready. Then Anar arose in glory, and the snow upon the mountains glowed as with fire, and there was heard the sound of many waterfalls; but the servants of Morgoth fled to Angband and cowered in fear, and Fingolfin unfurled his banners.

§174 Now Varda purposed that the two vessels should journey in Ilmen and ever be aloft, but not together: each should pass from Valinor into the East and return, the one issuing from the West as the other turned from the East. Thus the first of the new days were reckoned after the manner of the Trees from the mingling of the lights when Arien and Tilion passed in their courses, above the middle of the Earth. But Tilion was wayward and uncertain in speed, and held not to his appointed path; and he sought to come near to Arien, being drawn by the splendour of her beauty, though the flame of Anar scorched him, and the island of the Moon was darkened.

§175 Because of the waywardness of Tilion, therefore, and yet more because of the prayers of Lorien and Estë, who said that sleep and rest had been banished from the Earth, and the stars were hidden, Varda changed her counsel, and allowed a time wherein the world should still have shadow and half-light. Anar rested, therefore, a while in Valinor, lying upon the cool bosom of the Outer Sea; and Evening, which was the time of the descent and resting of the Sun, was the hour of greatest light and joy in Aman. But soon the Sun was drawn down by the servants of Ulmo, and went then in haste under the Earth, and came so unseen to the East and there mounted the heaven again, lest night should be over-long and evil walk under the Moon. But by Anar the waters of the Outer Sea were made hot and glowed with coloured fire, and Valinor had light for a while after the passing of Arien. Yet as she journeyed under the Earth and drew towards the East the glow faded and Valinor was dim, and the Valar mourned then most for the death of Laurelin. At dawn the shadows of their Mountains of Defence lay heavy on the land of the Valar.

§176 Varda commanded the Moon to journey in like manner, and passing under Earth to arise in the East, but only after the Sun had descended from heaven. But Tilion went with uncertain pace, as yet he goes, and was still drawn towards Arien, as he shall ever be; so that oft both may be seen above the Earth together, or at times it will chance that he comes so nigh that his shadow cuts off her brightness, and there is a darkness amid the day.

§177 Therefore by the coming and going of Anar the Valar reckoned the days thereafter until the Change of the World. For Tilion tarried seldom in Valinor, but more oft would pass swiftly over the westland of Aman, over Arvalin, or Araman, or Valinor, and plunge in the chasm beyond the Outer Sea, pursuing his way alone amid the grots and caverns at the roots of Arda. There he would oft wander long, and late would return.

§178 Still therefore, after the Long Night, the light of Valinor was greater and fairer than upon Middle-earth; for the Sun rested there, and the lights of heaven drew nearer to Earth in that region. But neither the Sun nor the Moon can recall the light that was of old, that came from the Trees ere they were touched by the poison of Ungoliantë. That light lives now in the Silmarils alone, and they are lost.

§179 But Morgoth hated the new lights and was for a while confounded by this unlooked-for stroke of the Valar. Then he assailed Tilion, sending spirits of shadow against him, and there was strife in Ilmen beneath the paths of the stars, and Tilion was the victor: as he ever yet hath been, though still the pursuing darkness overtakes him at whiles. But Arien Morgoth feared with a great fear, and dared not to come nigh her, having indeed no longer the power. For as he grew in malice, and sent forth from himself the evil that he conceived in lies and creatures of wickedness, his power passed into them and was dispersed, and he himself became ever more earth-bound, unwilling to issue from his dark strongholds. With shadow therefore he hid himself and his servants from Arien, the glance of whose eyes they could not long endure, and the lands nigh his dwelling were shrouded in fumes and great clouds.[1]

§180 But seeing the assault upon Tilion the Valar were in doubt, fearing what the malice and cunning of Melkor might yet contrive against them. Being unwilling, as hath been said, yet to make war upon him in Middle-earth, they remembered nonetheless the ruin of Almaren and resolved that the like should not befall Valinor. Therefore at this time they fortified Valinor anew; and they raised up the mountain-walls of the Pelóri to sheer and dreadful heights, east, north, and south. Their outer sides were dark and smooth, without foothold or ledge,[2] and they fell in great precipices with faces hard as glass, and they rose up to towers with crowns of white ice. A sleepless watch was set upon them. No pass led through them – save only at the Kalakiryan[3] wherein still stood forsaken the green hill of Túna. This pass the Valar did not close because of the Eldar that were faithful: for all those of elven-race, even the Vanyar and Ingwë their lord, must breathe at whiles the outer air and the wind that comes over the Sea from the lands of their birth; and the gods would not sunder the Teleri wholly from their kin. Therefore in the Kalakiryan they set strong towers and many sentinels; and at its issue upon the plains of Valmar a host was encamped; for the armouries of the Valar were opened, and the Maiar and the Sons of the Valar were arrayed as for war. Neither bird nor beast nor Elf nor Man, nor any other creature beside that dwelt in Middle-earth, could pass that leaguer.

§181 And in that time also, which songs call *Nurtalë Valinóreva*, the Hiding of Valinor, the Enchanted Isles were set, and all the seas about them were filled with shadows and

bewilderment; and these isles were strung as a net in the Shadowy Seas[4] from north unto south, before Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle, is reached by one sailing west. Hardly might any vessel pass between them: for in the dangerous sounds the waves sighed for ever upon dark rocks shrouded in mist. And in the twilight a great weariness came upon mariners and a loathing of the Sea; but all that ever set foot upon the islands were there entrapped, and slept until the Change of the World. Thus it was that, as Mandos foretold to them in Araman, the Blessed Realm was shut against the Noldor, and of the many messengers that in after-days they sent into the West none came ever to Valinor – save one only: the mightiest mariner of song.

Here with the Hiding of Valinor
end
The Annals of Aman

NOTES

1 This paragraph, from 'Then he assailed Tilion ...', was first written thus:

> Tilion indeed he assailed, sending dark spirits of shadow against him, which still pursue him, though ever yet Tilion has overcome them. But Arien he feared with a great fear and dared not to trouble, and neither he nor any of his creatures could look upon her, nor long endure the glance of her eyes. In shadows he hid their wickedness from her, and sent forth fumes and dark clouds, so that the lands near his dwelling were drear and shrouded in glooms, though far above bright Anar might sail in blue heaven. For as he grew in malice and let issue forth from him the evil that he conceived in lies and creatures of ill-

At this point my father stopped, struck out what he had written, and replaced it with the text printed.

2 As first written this phrase read: 'without ledge or foothold even for birds', corrected immediately to the text given (QS has 'without ledge or foothold for aught save birds').

3 *Kalakiryan* was here so written (and again below); see p. 87, note 7.

4 'the Shadowy Seas' (as in QS) emended from 'the Great Sea'.

Commentary on the sixth and last section of the Annals of Aman

This account of the Making of the Sun and Moon was the last that my father wrote. He was following QS Chapter 8 *Of the Sun and Moon and the Hiding of Valinor* (V.239–43) very closely, but with many

changes and notably many omissions. I indicate here most of the developments, some much more significant than others.

§164 With the silent communion of the Valar among themselves, not in QS, cf. what is said in *The Return of the King* VI.6 'Many Partings' of the speech of Celeborn and Galadriel, Gandalf and Elrond in Eregion:

> If any wanderer had chanced to pass, little would he have seen or heard, and it would have seemed to him only that he saw grey figures, carved in stone, memorials of forgotten things now lost in unpeopled lands. For they did not move or speak with mouth, looking from mind to mind; and only their shining eyes stirred and kindled as their thoughts went to and fro.

Perhaps to be compared also are Michael Ramer's remarks in *The Notion Club Papers*, IX.202.

§165 The praise of Fëanor, and Manwë's thought concerning his words, are not in QS, nor the foretelling of Mandos that Fëanor will soon come to him.

§167 In QS Niënna is not named with Yavanna in the attempt to heal the Trees.

§168 The QS text 'lamps of heaven, outshining the ancient stars; and she gave them power to traverse the region of the stars' is changed to 'lamps of heaven, outshining the ancient stars, *being nearer to Arda*; and she gave them power to traverse *the lower regions* of Ilmen'. AAm here moves in fact closer to the *Ambarkanta*, where it was told (IV.237) that the Sun 'sails from East to West *through the lower Ilmen*'. I have said earlier (p. 63) that 'the testimony seems to be that in these texts [i.e. AAm and the *Ainulindalë*] the *Ambarkanta* world-image survived at least in the conception of the Outer Sea extending to the Walls of the World'; now it is seen that the region of Ilmen, in which the Sun and Moon have their courses, survived also. Is it to be understood that Ilmen was also still the region of the stars? This is not a necessary presumption from the wording of the new text at this point; however, in §173 it is said that 'Isil ... rose *into the realm of the stars*'. In the *Ainulindalë* the problem has been encountered that 'the three regions of the firmament' are retained together with the irreconcilable conception of Arda as set 'in the midst of the innumerable stars' of Ëa: see p. 29.

With 'the girdle of the Earth' (not in QS) cf. AAm §144: 'Túna beneath Taniquetil was set nigh to the girdle of Arda, and there the Great Sea was immeasurably wide'.

§170 It is not said in QS that the Valar forbore to make war upon Morgoth on account of the coming of Men that was at hand,

fearing great destruction and being ignorant of the place where Mankind should arise.

§171 In QS *Isil* and *Úrin* are names given by the Gods to Moon and Sun, and *Rana* and *Anar* the Eldarin names (§75 and commentary). In AAm *Isil* and *Anar* become Vanyarin names, and *Rána* and *Vása* Noldorin; so also in *The Lost Road* (V.41) and *The Notion Club Papers* (IX.306) the 'Eressëan' or 'Avallonian' (i.e. Quenya) names are *Isil* and *Anar*.

§172 One of the Old English glosses by Ælfwine, *hyrned* 'horned' of Tilion, is found already in QS (marginal note to §75); the other word, *dægred*, of Arien, meant 'daybreak, dawn'.

It is not now said that Tilion loved Arien (and for this reason forsook the woods of Oromë and dwelt in the gardens of Lorien), though in §174 Tilion 'sought to come near to Arien, being drawn by the splendour of her beauty'. The description of the fire-spirit Arien, who ceased to clothe herself in any form but became 'as a naked flame', is not in QS; the original story of Urwendi in the *Lost Tales* may be compared (I.187).

§173 'Isil ... rose into the realm of the stars': see under §168 above. The idea of the stars fleeing 'affrighted' from Tilion, who wandered from his path pursuing them, is abandoned (as is also subsequently the mythical explanation of shooting stars – stars that had fled to the roots of the Earth and now flee again from Tilion into the upper air, QS §78).

§§175–8 The account of the motions of the Sun and Moon is put entirely into the past tense, where QS uses the present.

§175 Estë takes the place of Niënna as complaining against the new lights. – The name *Vaiya* is not used of the Outer Sea in AAm.

§177 'Therefore by the coming and going of Anar the Valar reckoned the days thereafter *until the Change of the World*': there is nothing corresponding to this in QS (§78). – The passage in QS (and very similarly in the *Ambarkanta*, IV.237) concerning the coming at times of both Arien and Tilion together above Valinor is abandoned.

In QS Tilion 'plunges into the chasm between the shores of the earth and the Outer Sea', and similarly in the *Ambarkanta* he plunges into the chasm of Ilmen. In AAm, on the other hand, he would 'plunge in the chasm *beyond the Outer Sea*'. As I have said previously (IV.254, second footnote) I am at a loss to explain this, though I retained it in the published *Silmarillion* which here derives from AAm. But in view of the fact that in AAm it is said expressly (§23) that the Outer Sea encircled the Kingdom of Arda, and beyond the Outer Sea were the Walls of the Night, I am now inclined to think that the sentence in AAm was a slip, that whatever my father intended it was not what he wrote. For even if we suppose that

the relations of Ilmen, the Chasm, the Outer Sea, and the Walls were now in some way differently conceived, it remains that Tilion after plunging in the chasm *came to the roots of Arda*: he must therefore still be *within* the Outer Sea, which encompasses Arda.

§178 The idea of the storing by the Valar of the radiance of the Sun in vessels, vats, and pools (QS §79) is omitted in AAm.

The last words of this paragraph, 'and they are lost', are not in QS, but are in fact derived from the *Ainulindalë*: 'the fairest of all gems were the Silmarils, and they are lost', which first appeared in the original *Music of the Ainur* (I.58) and survived through the later texts (V.162, and in this book p. 19, §35).

§§179–80 The prophecy of the rekindling of the Trees is omitted (and this ancient feature finally lost, see IV.20, 49–50), as is the foretelling by Ulmo concerning Men; but there now appears the assault on Tilion by Morgoth, his great fear of Arien, and the account of his loss of power through dispersion among his slaves. The phrase in §179 'though still the pursuing darkness overtakes him at whiles' evidently refers to eclipses of the Moon.

The further fortification of Valinor still of course arises from the fear of the Valar of 'the might and cunning of Morgoth' (QS), but Morgoth's attack on the Moon is now the mainspring of their fear: 'But seeing the assault upon Tilion the Valar were in doubt, fearing what the malice and cunning of Melkor might yet contrive against them.'

§180 The hill of Túna is said to be forsaken; it is not said in the account of Finrod's return (§156) that he ruled thereafter in Tirion, but only (as in QS, §72) that he 'was set to rule the remnant of the Noldor in the Blessed Realm.' In QS §79, however, 'the remnant of the Gnomes dwelt ever in the deep cleft of the mountains.'

'the Maiar and the Sons of the Valar': see p. 59, §4.

§181 The Hiding of Valinor is called *Nurtalë Valinóreva*. – In QS mariners who set foot upon the Enchanted Isles 'are there entrapped and wound in everlasting sleep'; in AAm they 'were there entrapped, and slept until the Change of the World.' With the reference to the Change of the World cf. under §177 above; and with the change from present to past tense cf. under §§175–8.

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My father scribbled a few hasty notes on the typescript, but those that arose from his later rejection of the essentials of the cosmogonic myth are not given here. The following may however be recorded:

§169 The words 'utterly forsake' were underlined, with a marginal

note: 'They *forbade* return and made it impossible for Elves or Men to reach Aman – since that experiment had proved disastrous. But they would not give the Noldor *aid* in fighting Melkor. Manwë however sent Maia spirits in Eagle form to dwell near Thangorodrim and keep watch on all that Melkor did and assist the Noldor in extreme cases. Ulmo went to Beleriand and took a secret but active part in Elvish resistance.' On the Eagles as Maiar see pp. 409–11.

§170 Beside this paragraph (and evidently arising from the words 'it was not revealed to Manwë where the beginning of Men should be') my father noted on the typescript that Manwë told the other Valar that he had been visited by the mind of Eru, and warned that Men might not be taken living from Middle-earth.

§176 Against the last sentence of this paragraph my father wrote: 'What then causes eclipses of the Moon?' See the commentary on §§179–80 above.

PART THREE

THE LATER *QUENTA SILMARILLION*

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(I) THE FIRST PHASE

In this book, as explained in the Foreword, my account of the development of *The Silmarillion* in the years following the completion of *The Lord of the Rings* is restricted to the 'Valinorian' part of the narrative – that is to say, to the part corresponding to the *Annals of Aman*.

As with the *Annals of Valinor (Aman)* (p. 47), my father did not begin revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion* as a new venture on blank sheets, but took up again the original QS manuscript and the typescript (entitled '*Eldanyárë*') derived from it (see V.199–201) and covered them with corrections and expansions. As already seen (p. 3), he noted that the revision had reached the end of the tale of Beren and Lúthien on 10 May 1951. The chapters were very differently treated, some being much more developed than others and running to several further texts.

An amanuensis typescript was then made, providing a reasonably clear and uniform text from the now complicated and difficult materials. This was made by the same person as made the typescript of *Ainulindalë* D (p. 39) and seems to have been paginated continuously on from it. I shall call this typescript **'LQ 1'** (for 'Later Quenta 1', i.e. 'the first continuous text of the later *Quenta Silmarillion*'). It seems virtually certain that it was made in 1951(–2).

LQ 1 was corrected, at different times and to greatly varying extent. A new typescript, in top copy and carbon, was professionally made later, incorporating all the alterations made to LQ 1. This text I shall call **'LQ 2'**. In a letter to Rayner Unwin of 7 December 1957 (*Letters* no.204) my father said:

> I now see quite clearly that I must, as a necessary preliminary to 'remoulding',* get copies made of all copyable material. And I shall put that in hand as soon as possible. But I think the best way of dealing with this (at this stage, in which much of the stuff is in irreplaceable sole copies) is to install a typist in my room in college, and not let any material out of my keeping, until it is multiplied.

* This word refers to a letter from Lord Halsbury, who had said: 'I can quite see that there is a struggle ahead to re-mould it into the requisite form for publication' (cited earlier in my father's letter to Rayner Unwin).

It seems likely that it was soon after this that LQ 2 was made. It is noteworthy that it was typed on the same machine as was used for the typescript of the *Annals of Aman* (also extant in top copy and carbon), and both texts may well belong to the same time – say 1958. LQ 2 (like LQ 1) has naturally no textual value in itself, but it received careful emendation in Chapter 1 *Of the Valar* (thereafter, however, only scattered jottings).

Finally, my father turned to new narrative writing in the Matter of the First Age before the Hiding of Valinor. The first chapter, *Of the Valar*, much altered at this time, became separated off from the *Quenta Silmarillion* proper under the title *Valaquenta*; while the sixth chapter, *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor* (numbered 4 in QS, V.227), and a part of the seventh, *Of the Flight of the Noldor* (numbered 5 in QS), were very greatly enlarged and gave rise to new chapters with these titles:

Of Finwë and Míriel
Of Fëanor and the Unchaining of Melkor
Of the Silmarils and the Unrest of the Noldor
Of the Darkening of Valinor
Of the Rape of the Silmarils
Of the Thieves' Quarrel

This new work exemplifies the 'remoulding' to which my father looked forward in the letter to Rayner Unwin cited above. It represents (together with much other writing of a predominantly speculative nature) a second phase in his later work on *The Silmarillion*. The first phase included the new version of the *Lay of Leithian*, the later *Ainulindalë*, the *Annals of Aman* and the *Grey Annals*, the later *Tale of Tuor*, and the first wave of revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, much of this work left unfinished. The years 1953–5 saw the preparation and publication of *The Lord of the Rings*; and there seems reason to think that it was a good while yet before he turned again to *The Silmarillion*, or at least to its earlier chapters.

In these substantially rewritten chapters of the 'second phase' he was moving strongly into a new conception of the work, a new and much fuller mode of narrative – envisaging, as it appears, a thoroughgoing 're-expansion' from the still fairly condensed form (despite a good deal of enlargement in the 1951 revision) that went back through QS and Q to the 'Sketch of the Mythology' of 1926, which had made a brief summary from the amplitude of *The Book of Lost Tales* (on this evolution see IV.76).

It has been difficult to find a satisfactory method of presentation for the later evolution of *The Silmarillion*. In the first place, the chapters must obviously be treated separately, since the extent of the later development, and the textual history, varies so widely. Equally clearly, a complete documentation of every alteration from start to finish (that

is, detailing the precise sequence of change through successive texts) is out of the question. After much experimentation the plan I have followed is based on this consideration: seeing that a great deal of the development can be ascribed to a relatively short time (the '1951 revision'), it seems best to take LQ 1, marking the end of that stage, as the 'common text'. But while I print LQ 1 in full as it was typed (as far as Chapter 5: Chapters 6–8 are differently treated), I also include in the text the corrections and expansions made to it subsequently, indicated as such. This gives at once a view of the state of the work in both LQ 1, at the end of the 'first phase', and in LQ 2, at the beginning of the 'second phase' some seven years later. Beyond this, the treatment of each chapter varies according to the peculiarities of its history. The late expanded versions of certain chapters belonging to the 'second phase' are treated separately (pp. 199 ff.).

Particular difficulties are encountered in the later work on *The Silmarillion*, in that so much of the typescript material was not made by my father, and he seems often to have corrected these texts without going back to the earlier ones from which they were taken; while when there were both top copy and carbon copy he often kept them in different places (for fear of loss), and one copy is often emended differently from the other, or one is not emended when the other is. Moreover he was liable to emend a text *after* later texts had been derived from it.

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1 OF THE VALAR

In my edition of 'QS' in Volume V of this history the text of the first chapters (1, 2, 3(a), 3(b), 3(c)) is taken from the typescript which my father made from the QS manuscript in (as I have argued, V.200) December 1937–January 1938, and which incorporated certain revisions made to the opening chapters on the manuscript. This text I will refer to as 'the QS typescript'. Both manuscript and typescript were used for the '1951 revision', but it was the latter that was the copy from which LQ 1 was made, there being some fourteen years between them. As already explained, the changes made subsequently to LQ 1 are shown as such in the text.

There is now no title-page to LQ 1 (see p. 200), which begins with Ælfwine's note (with the Old English verses) and the Translator's note in an almost exact copy of the old QS typescript (V.203–4), the only difference being *Pengoloth* for *Pengolod* (at the first occurrence changed to *Pengolodh*, representing voiced 'th'). The page, like that of the QS typescript, is headed *Eldanyarë* (History of the Elves).

The paragraph numbers are those of QS (V.204–7), with '10a' and '10b' used to indicate the passages additional to the text of QS, and belonging to different times, at the end of the chapter.

Here begins the Silmarillion or History of the Silmarils

1. Of the Valar

§1 In the beginning Eru, [*added:* the One,] who in Elvish tongue is named Ilúvatar, made the Ainur of his thought; and they made a great music before him. Of this Music the World was made; for Ilúvatar made visible the song of the Ainur, and they beheld it as a light in the darkness. And many of the mightiest among them became enamoured of its beauty and of its history which they saw beginning and unfolding as in a Vision. Therefore Ilúvatar gave to their vision Being, and set it amid the Void, and the Secret Fire was sent to burn at the heart of the World.

Then those of the Ainur who would entered into the World at the beginning of Time, and behold! it was their task to achieve it and by their labour to fulfill the Vision which they had seen. Long they laboured in the regions of Ëa, which are vast beyond the thought of Elves and Men, until in the time appointed was made Arda, the Kingdom of Earth. Then they put on the raiment of Earth and descended into it and dwelt therein; and they are therein.

§2 These spirits the Elves name the Valar, which is the Powers, and Men have often called them gods. Many lesser spirits of their own kind they brought in their train, both great and small; and some of these Men have confused with the Elves, but wrongfully [*read* wrongly], for they were made before the World, whereas Elves and Men awoke first on Earth, after the coming of the Valar. Yet in the making of Elves and of Men, and in the giving to each of their especial gifts, none of the Valar had any part. Ilúvatar alone was their author; wherefore they are called the Children of Ilúvatar [> Eru].

§3 The chieftains of the Valar were nine. These were the names of the Nine Gods [> gods] in the Elvish tongue as it was spoken in Valinor; though they have other or altered names in the speech of the Gnomes [> Sindar], and their names among Men are manifold: Manwë and Melkor, Ulmo, Aulë, Mandos, Lorien [> Lorion], Tulkas, Ossë, and Oromë.

§4 Manwë and Melkor were brethren in the thought of Ilúvatar / and mightiest of those Ainur who came into the World. But Manwë is the lord of the gods, and prince of the airs and winds, and ruler of the sky. With him dwells as wife Varda

the maker of the stars [> The mightiest of those Ainur who came into the World was Melkor; but Manwë was dearest to the heart of Ilúvatar and understood most clearly his purposes. He was appointed to be, in the fullness of time, the first of all kings: lord of the realm of Arda and ruler of all that dwell therein. And there his delight is in the winds of the world and in all the regions of the air. With him in Arda dwells as spouse Varda kindler of the stars], immortal lady of the heights, whose name is holy. Fionwë and Ilmarë are their son and daughter [*this sentence struck out*]. Next in might and closest in friendship to Manwë is Ulmo, lord of waters. He dwells alone in the Outer Seas, but has the government of all waters, seas, and rivers, fountains and springs, throughout the earth. Subject to him is Ossë, the master of the seas about the lands of Men; and his wife is Uinen the lady of the sea. Her hair lies spread through all the waters under skies.

§5 Aulë has might but little less [> little less] than Ulmo. He is a smith and a master of crafts; and his spouse is Yavanna, the giver of fruits and lover of all things that grow. In majesty she is next to Varda, her sister, among the queens of the Valar. She is fair and tall, and often the Elves name her Palúrien, the Lady of the Wide Earth.

§6 The Fanturi [> Fëanturi] were brethren, and are named Mandos and Lorien [> Lorion]. Yet these are not their right names, and are the names rather of the places of their abiding. For their right names are seldom spoken save in secret: which are Námo and Irmo. Quoth Rúmil. Nurufantur the elder was also called, [> which are Námo and Irmo. Námo, the elder, is] the master of the houses of the dead, and the gatherer of the spirits of the slain. He forgets nothing, and knows all that shall be, save only what Ilúvatar has hidden; but he speaks only at the command of Manwë. He is the doomsman of the Valar. Vairë the weaver is his wife, who weaves all things that have been in time in her storied webs, and the halls of Mandos that ever widen as the ages pass are clothed therewith. Olofantur the younger of these brethren was also named, [> Irmo, the younger of these brethren, is] the master of visions and of dreams. His gardens in the land of the gods are the fairest of all places in the world, and filled with many spirits. Estë the pale is his wife, who walks not by day, but sleeps on an island in the dark lake of Lorien [> Lorion]. Thence her fountains bring refreshment to the folk of Valinor; yet she comes not to the

councils of the Valar, and is not reckoned among their queens.

§7 Strongest of limb, and greatest in deeds of prowess, is Tulkas, who is surnamed Poldórëa the Valiant. He is unclothed in his disport, which is much in wrestling; and he rides no steed, for he can outrun all things that go on feet, and he is tireless. His hair and beard are golden, and his flesh ruddy; his weapons are his hands. He recks little of either past or future, and is of small avail as a counsellor, but a hardy friend. He has great love for Fionwë, son [> Ëonwë, herald] of Manwë. His wife is Nessa, sister of Oromë; she is lissom of limb and fleet of foot, and dances in Valinor upon lawns of never-fading green.

§8 Oromë is a mighty lord, and little less than Tulkas in strength, or in wrath, if he be aroused. He loved the lands of Earth, while they were still dark, and he left them unwillingly and came last to Valinor; and he comes even yet at times east over the mountains. Of old he was often seen upon the hills and plains. He is a hunter, and he loves all trees; for which reason he is called Aldaron, and by the Gnomes [> Sindar] Tauros [> Tauron], the lord of forests. He delights in horses and in hounds, and his horns are loud in the friths and woods that Yavanna planted in Valinor; but he blows them not upon the Middle-earth since the fading of the Elves, whom he loved. Vána is his wife, the ever-young, the queen of flowers, who has the beauty both of heaven and of earth upon her face and in all her works; she is the younger sister of Varda and Palúrien.

§9 But mightier than she is Niënna, Manwë's sister and Melkor's. She dwells alone. Pity is in her heart, and mourning and weeping come to her; shadow is her realm and her throne hidden. For her halls are west of West, nigh to the borders of the World and Darkness [*read* the Darkness]; and she comes seldom to Valmar, the city of the gods, where all is glad. She goes rather to the halls of Mandos, which are nearer and yet more northward; and all those who go to Mandos cry to her. For she is a healer of hurts, and turns pain to medicine and sorrow to wisdom. The windows of her house look outward from the walls of the World.

§10 Last do all name Melkor. But the Gnomes [> Noldor], who suffered most from his evil deeds, will not speak his name, and they call him Morgoth, the black god [> the Black Foe], and Bauglir, the Constrainer. Great might was given to him by Ilúvatar, and he was coëval with Manwë, and part he had of all the powers of the other Valar; but he turned them to evil uses.

He coveted the world and all that was in it, and desired the lordship of Manwë and the realms of all the gods; and pride and jealousy and lust grew ever in his heart, till he became unlike his brethren. Wrath consumed him, and he begot violence and destruction and excess. In ice and fire was his delight. But darkness he used most in all his evil works, and turned it to fear and a name of dread among Elves and Men.

§10a Thus it may be seen that there are nine Valar, and Seven queens of the Valar of no less might; for whereas Melkor and Ulmo dwell alone, so also doth Niënna, while Estë is not numbered among the Rulers. But the Seven Great Ones of the Realm of Arda are Manwë and Melkor, Varda, Ulmo, Yavanna, Aulë, and Niënna; for though Manwë is their chief [> king], in majesty they are peers, surpassing beyond compare all others whether of the Valar and their kin, or of any other order that Ilúvatar has conceived [> caused to be].

§10b [*All the following was added to the typescript in ink:* With the Valar were other spirits whose being also began before the world: these are the *maiar*, of the same order as the Great but of less might and majesty. Among them Ëonwë the herald of Manwë, and Ilmarë handmaid of Varda were the chief. Many others there are who have no names among Elves or Men, for they appear seldom in forms visible. But great and fair was Melian of the people of Yavanna, who [*struck out:* on her behalf] tended once the gardens of Estë, ere she came to Middle-earth. And wise was Olórin, counsellor of Irmo: secret enemy of the secret evils of Melkor, for his bright visions drove away the imaginations of darkness.

Of Melian much is later told; but of Olórin this tale does not speak. In later days he dearly loved the Children of Eru, and took pity on their sorrows. Those who hearkened to him arose from despair; and in their hearts the desire to heal and to renew awoke, and thoughts of fair things that had not yet been but might yet be made for the enrichment of Arda. Nothing he made himself and nothing he possessed, but kindled the hearts of others, and in their delight he was glad.

But not all of the *maiar* were faithful to the Valar; for some were from the beginning drawn to the power of Melkor, and others he corrupted later to his service. Sauron was the name by which the chief of these was afterwards called, but he was not alone.]

★

All the changes shown in the text of LQ 1 given above were taken up into the second complete and continuous typescript LQ 2, made some seven years later (pp. 141–2), which introduced a few errors. It cannot be said when the alterations were made to LQ 1, though most of them look as if they were made at the same time.

The typescript LQ 2 was much more fully and carefully emended in this chapter than in any subsequent one, though in many cases only on one of the two copies. I give here a list of these alterations:*

§1 After 'the Secret Fire was sent to burn at the heart of the World' was added: 'and it was called Eä', with 'Let it be!' in a footnote (struck out on the top copy).

§2 'and some of these Men have confused with the Elves, but wrongfully' > 'these are the *Maiar*, whom Men have often confounded with the Elves, but wrongly' ('wrongfully' was an error on the part of the typist of LQ 1).

§3 On the form *Lorien* with short vowel see p. 56 note 2. The typist did not understand my father's corrections of the name on LQ 1, which were unclear, and typed at the three occurrences (§§3, 6) *Lorien*, *Lorin*, *Lorion*. At the first two my father corrected the name to *Lorinen*, but struck this out, probably at once; his final form on LQ 2 was *Lóriën* (so marked).

§4 'in all the regions of the air.' > '... air; therefore he is surnamed Súlimo.'

The typist of LQ 2 omitted the word 'kindler' after 'Varda', so producing 'Varda of the stars'; my father changed 'stars' to 'Stars', showing that he had not observed the error.

§5 In 'she [Yavanna] is next to Varda, her sister,' the words 'her sister' were struck out (cf. under §8 below).

§6 The opening of the paragraph was again rewritten, to read: 'The Fëanturi were brethren, and are called most often Mandos and Lóriën. Yet these are rightly the names of the places of their abiding; for their true names are Námo and Irmo. Námo, the elder, dwells in Mandos, and is the keeper of the Houses of the Dead'

'(Vairë the weaver is his) wife' > 'spouse'

'His gardens in the land of the gods are the fairest' > 'In Lórien are his gardens in the land of the gods, and they are the fairest'

'(Estë the pale is his) wife' > 'spouse' (top copy only)

'an island in the dark lake of Lorion' > 'an island in the tree-shadowed lake of Lórellin'

*No doubt many of the corrections to LQ 1 as a whole belong to the 'second phase' of revision (p. 142), while LQ 2 and the corrections made to it are constituent elements in that phase; but it is obviously far more convenient and clear to set them all out together in relation to the primary text LQ 1.

§7 'Poldórëa' > 'Astaldo'
'His wife is Nessa' > 'His spouse is Nessa'

§8 The earlier part of this paragraph was substantially altered, but almost all of the new text appears on the carbon copy only:

> He loved the lands of Middle-earth, and he left them unwillingly and came last to Valinor; and oft of old he passed back east over the mountains, and returned with his host to the hills and plains. He is a hunter of monsters and fell beasts, and delights in horses and hounds, and all trees he loves; and Tauron the Sindar called him, the lord of the forests. The Valaróma was the name of his great horn, the sound of which was like the upgoing of the Sun in scarlet, and the sheer lightning cleaving the clouds. Above all the horns of his host it was heard in the woods that Yavanna brought forth in Valinor; for there he would train his folk and his beasts for the pursuit of the evil creatures of Melkor. But the Valaróma is blown no more upon the Middle-earth since the change of the world and the fading of the Elves, whom he loved.

'she [Vána] is the younger sister of Varda and Palúrien' > 'she is the younger sister of Yavanna' (top copy only)

§9 'Niënna, Manwë's sister and Melkor's' > 'sister of Námo' (top copy only)

§10 'Bauglir' > 'Baugron' (top copy only)
'the lordship of Manwë' > 'the kingship of Manwë' (top copy only)

§10b 'With the Valar were other spirits' > 'With the Valar, as has been said, were other spirits' (top copy only)
'these are the *maiar*' > 'the *Maiar*' (top copy only); *maiar* > *Maiar* again at end.

I have shown all these changes in unnecessary detail since they serve to indicate the nature of much of the material constituting 'the later Silmarillion'.

Commentary on Chapter 1, 'Of the Valar'

§1 The new opening of *The Silmarillion* came in with the first phase of the revision, and it is obvious that it followed and was dependent on the new version of the *Ainulindalë*, with its new conception of the Creation of the World:

> Ilúvatar *made visible the song of the Ainur* ... [The Ainur saw the history of the World] *unfolding as in a Vision.* Therefore Ilúvatar *gave to their vision Being ... it was their task to achieve it* and by their labour *to fulfill the Vision which they had seen.*

The first form of the new opening, written on the QS manuscript, had 'Long they laboured in the regions of Aman', using

that name in the sense that it bore in the later *Ainulindalë* texts ('the Halls of Aman', the World); on the QS typescript (see p. 143) *Aman* was emended to *Eä* (which therefore appears in LQ 1).

§2 The name *Maiar*, introduced in the addition made at the end of LQ 1 (§10b) and appearing in this paragraph in LQ 2, is first found in the preliminary drafting for the *Annals of Aman* (*Mairi* > *Maiar*, p. 49 and note 4). See further under §10b below.

§3 The passing change of *Lorien* to *Lorion* is found also in AAm* (the second, abandoned version of the opening of AAm), p. 65, §1.

§4 On the change to LQ 1 whereby Melkor becomes 'the mightiest of those Ainur who came into the World' (and not possessing only powers equal to those of Manwë) see p. 65, §2.

On the loss of the original sentence 'Fionwë and Ilmarë are their son and daughter', heavily inked out on LQ 1, see under §10b below. So also in the final text D of the *Ainulindalë* the reference to Fionwë and Ilmarë as the son and daughter of Manwë and Varda was strongly blacked out (p. 34, §36).

§5 On the striking out on LQ 2 of the statement that Yavanna was the sister of Varda see under §8 below.

§6 In the earliest phase of the revision a marginal note was added against the names Mandos and Lorien, which as entered on the QS typescript read:

> Yet these are not their right names, and are the names rather of the places of their abiding. For their right names are seldom spoken save in secret: which are Núr and Lís. Quoth Rúmil.

(In the *Lost Tales* Mandos is the name of the God, and also the name of his halls; it is also said (I.76) that Vefántur (Mandos) called his halls by his own name, Vê.) *Núr* and *Lís* were then corrected to *Námo* and *Irmo*. The typist of LQ 1 took this up into the body of the text, which was obviously not my father's intention. This typist did the same elsewhere, and my father then restored the passage to its original status as a marginal note; but in this case he left it to stand, getting rid of the words 'Quoth Rúmil' (and of the old name *Nurufantur*; similarly with *Olofantur* subsequently).

At the foot of the page carrying this passage in the carbon copy of LQ 2 he pencilled the following (referring to the names *Námo* and *Irmo*): 'Judgement (of what is) Desire (of what might be or should be)'.

What is said at the end of the paragraph about Estë is found in AAm (p. 49, §3), where it is also told that she was 'the chief of the Maiar'. This was repeated in AAm* (p. 65, §3), where Nessa is added to Estë as 'the highest among the Maiar'.

The change of 'wife' to 'spouse' was made on LQ 2 in the

accounts of Vairë, Estë, and Nessa (§§6–7); in that of Vána (§8) it was merely overlooked, while Varda had become Manwë's 'spouse' in a change made to LQ 1 (§4), and Yavanna was already Aulë's 'spouse' in QS (§5). The same change was made on the typescript of AAm (p. 69), and its significance is seen from the accompanying marginal comment: 'Note that "spouse" meant only an "association". The Valar had no bodies, but could assume shapes.' At this time the passage in AAm concerning the Children of the Valar was removed (see under §10b below).

§8 In AAm (§133, pp. 111, 124) the form was still *Tauros* (in Fëanor's speech on the summit of Túna), and was not corrected.

The name *Valaróma* (appearing in the expanded passage on LQ 2) occurs in AAm (p. 101, §116) and by emendation of *Rombaras* in *Ainulindalë* D (p. 35, §34).

The statement in §5 that Yavanna is the sister of Varda does not appear in QS, but it was merely derived from that in QS §8, that Vana is 'the younger sister of Varda and Palúrien'. This goes back to Q (IV.79, 167), but no further. Varda and Yavanna were still sisters in AAm (p. 49, §3), but the idea was abandoned in corrections to LQ 2.

§9 That Niënna was the sister of Manwë and Melkor ('brethren in the thought of Ilúvatar') goes back to the earliest *Annals of Valinor* (IV.263), and remained in AAm (p. 49, §3; cf. p. 93, §88, where Niënna aided the prayer of Melkor for pardon 'because of her kinship'). With the change in LQ 2 whereby she becomes 'sister of Námo', omitting Irmo his brother, cf. AAm* (p. 65, §3), where she is named only 'Manwë's sister', omitting Melkor.

§10 The name *Baugron* (changed from *Bauglir* in LQ 2) is found nowhere else. It was not adopted in the published *Silmarillion*.

§10a The meaning of the passage is more evident from a table; the names italicised are 'the Seven Great Ones of the Realm of Arda'.

Manwë	*Varda*
Melkor	
Ulmo	
Aulë	*Yavanna*
	Niënna
Mandos	Vairë
Lorien	(Estë)
Tulkas	Nessa
Ossë	Uinen
Oromë	Vána

§10b Fionwë and Ilmarë were removed from §4 as the children of Manwë and Varda, and in §7 Fionwë becomes Ëonwë, 'herald

of Manwë'; here Ilmarë becomes 'handmaid of Varda'. This is an aspect of an important development in the conception of the Powers of Arda, the abandonment of the old and long-rooted idea of 'the Children of the Valar, the Sons of the Valar'. It was still present in AAm (p. 49, §4), where the Valarindi, 'the offspring of the Valar', were 'numbered with' the Maiar (but in AAm* they are distinguished from the Maiar, p. 66, §4). On the typescript text of AAm the conception of the Children of the Valar was struck out (see under §6 above).

Melian is a Maia (as in AAm §40), and she is 'of the people of Yavanna' (in QS §31 'she was akin, before the World was made, unto Yavanna'). And here Olórin (Gandalf), as 'counsellor of Irmo', enters *The Silmarillion*.

In AAm (p. 52, §17) Sauron ('a great craftsman of the household of Aulë') is likewise said to have been the chief of the Maiar who turned to Melkor.

It may be that the (relatively) heavy correction carried out on the LQ 2 text of this chapter was the preliminary to its final, enlarged form called the *Valaquenta* (pp. 199 ff.).

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2 OF VALINOR AND THE TWO TREES

The textual situation in this chapter differs from that in Chapter 1, in that here, after the alterations made to the original pre-*Lord of the Rings* texts (the QS manuscript and derived QS typescript) there followed two typescripts made by my father before LQ 1 was made, and in the first of these the opening of the chapter was greatly changed from its form in QS. I shall not however distinguish the 'layers' in the textual history before the amanuensis typescript LQ 1 was reached, although some particular points are recorded in the commentary.

The further development of this chapter from QS was effectively confined to the 1951 revision, since late rewriting and expansion corresponding to the development of the *Valaquenta* out of Chapter 1 *Of the Valar* was not undertaken in this case. It is conceivable, I think, that (while there is no evidence one way or the other) having remade Chapter 1 as the *Valaquenta* my father postponed the rewriting of Chapter 2 because his views on the treatment of the myth of the Two Trees in the light of the later cosmology were too uncertain.

There follows now the text of LQ 1, with the (very few) subsequent changes made to it shown as such. The paragraph numbers correspond to those in QS (V.208–10).

2. Of Valinor and the Two Trees

§11 Now in the beginning of the Kingdom of Arda Melkor contested with his brother Manwë and the Valar for the

overlordship, and all that they wrought he hindered or marred, if he might. But he fled before the onset of Tulkas, and there was peace. But since Melkor had perverted light to a destroying flame, when he was gone and his fires were subdued the Valar perceived that the Earth was dark, save for the glimmer of the innumerable stars which Varda had made in the ages unrecorded of the labours of Eä. Aulë, therefore, at the prayer of Yavanna, wrought two mighty Lamps [*added:* Illuin and Ormal] for the lighting of Arda; and the Valar set them upon lofty pillars northward and southward in Middle-earth, and in the light of the Lamps they ordered all their realm, and the desire of Yavanna had fruit, and living things came forth and grew abundantly.

In those days the dwelling of the Valar was upon an isle in a great lake in the midst of the Middle-earth that Aulë had built. There the light of the Lamps mingled and growth was swiftest and fairest; and behold! in the blending of Illuin and Ormal there came forth Greenness, and it was new; and Middle-earth rejoiced, and the Valar praised the name of Yavanna. But Melkor hearing of these works, and being filled with wrath and envy, returned secretly to Arda out of the Darkness and gathered his strength in the North, and he marred the labours of Yavanna, so that the growth of Earth was corrupted and many monstrous things were born. Then coming with war against the Valar suddenly, he cast down the Lamps, and night returned, and in the fall of the pillars of Illuin and Ormal the seas arose and many lands were drowned.

§12 In the darkness and the confusion of the seas the Valar could not at that time overcome Melkor; for his strength had increased with his malice, and he had now gathered to his service many other spirits, and many evil things also of his own making. Thus he escaped from the wrath of the Valar, and far in the North he built himself a fortress, and delved great caverns underground, and deemed that he was secure from assault for ever. But the gods removed into the uttermost West and there made their home and fortified it; and they built many mansions in that land upon the borders of the World, which is called Valinor. And Valinor was bounded upon the hither side by the

* [footnote to the text – see page 154] Which is Gársecg: quoth Ælfwine. [This note was mistakenly placed in the text by the typist, and subsequently reinstated as a footnote.]

Great Sea of the West,* and eastward upon its shores the Valar built the Pelóri, the Mountains of Aman, that are highest upon Earth. But on the further side lay the Outer Sea, which encircles the Kingdom of Arda, and is called by the Elves Vaiya. How wide is that sea none know but the gods, and beyond it are the Walls of the World to fence out the Void and the Eldest Darkness.

§13 Now in that guarded land the Valar gathered all light and all fair things; and there are their houses, their gardens, and their towers. In the midst of the plain beyond the Mountains was the City of the Gods [> their city], Valmar the beautiful of many bells. But Manwë and Varda had halls upon the loftiest of the Mountains of Aman, whence they could look out across the Earth even into the furthest East. Taniquetil the Elves name that holy mountain, and Oiolossë Everlasting Whiteness, and Elerína [> Elerrína] Crowned with Stars, and many names beside. But the Gnomes [> Sindar] spoke of it in their later tongue as Amon Uilos.**

§14 In Valinor Yavanna hallowed the mould with mighty song, and Niënna watered it with tears. In that time the gods [> Valar] were gathered together, and they sat silent upon their thrones of council in the Ring of Doom nigh unto the golden gates of Valmar the Blessed; and Yavanna Palúrien sang before them and they watched.

§15 From the earth there came forth two slender shoots; and silence was over all the world in that hour, nor was there any other sound save the slow chanting of Palúrien. Under her song two fair trees uprose and grew. Of all things which the gods [> she] made they have most renown, and about their fate all the tales of the Elder World are woven. The one had leaves of dark green that beneath were as shining silver; and he bore white blossoms like unto a cherry-tree, were it surpassing great and fair; and from each of his countless flowers a dew of silver light was ever falling, but the earth beneath was dappled with

* [footnote to the text – see page 153]

** [footnote to the text] In the language of this island of Men *Heofonsýl* was its name among those few that ever descried it afar off. Yet in error [> So I wrote in error], as the Eldar teach me; for that is rightly the name only of the mountain of Númenor, the Meneltarma, which has foundered for ever: quoth Ælfwine. [This note was also mistakenly placed in the text by the typist. See the commentary on §13.]

the dancing shadows of his fluttering leaves. The other bore leaves of a young green like the new-opened beech; their edges were of glittering gold. Flowers swung upon her branches like clusters of yellow flame, formed each to a glowing horn that spilled a golden rain upon the ground; and from the blossom of that tree there came forth warmth and a great light.

§16 Telperion the one was called in Valinor, and Silpion, and Ninquelótë, and many names in song beside; but the Gnomes name him [> but in the Sindarin tongue he was called] Galathilion. Laurelin was the other [> the other was] called, and Malinalda, and Kulúrien, and many other names; but the Gnomes name her [> but the Sindar named her] Galadlóriel.

§17 In seven hours the glory of each tree waxed to full and waned again to naught; and each awoke once more to life an hour before the other ceased to shine. Thus in Valinor twice every day there came a gentle hour of softer light when both Trees were faint and their gold and silver beams were mingled. Telperion was the elder of the Trees and came first to full stature and to bloom; and that first hour in which he shone alone, the white glimmer of a silver dawn, the gods reckoned not into the tale of hours, but named it the Opening Hour, and counted therefrom the ages of their reign in Valinor. Therefore at the sixth hour of the First Day, and of all the joyous days thereafter until the Darkening, Telperion ceased his time of flower; and at the twelfth hour Laurelin her blossoming. And each day of the gods in Valinor [> Aman] contained twelve hours, and ended with the second mingling of the lights, in which Laurelin was waning but Telperion was waxing.* And the dews of Telperion and the spilth of Laurelin Varda let hoard in great vats, like

* [footnote to the text] Other names of Laurelin among the Noldor [> in the Sindarin tongue] are [> were] *Glewellin* (which is the same as *Laurelin*, song of gold), *Lasgalen* green of leaf, and *Melthinorn* tree of gold; and her image in Gondolin was named *Glingal*. [*Struck out:* Of old among the Noldor] The Elder Tree was named also *Silivros* glimmering [> sparkling] rain, *Celeborn* tree of silver, and *Nimloth* pale blossom. But in after days *Galathilion the Less* was the name of the White Tree of Túna, and his seedling was named *Celeborn* in Eressëa, and *Nimloth* in Númenor, the gift of the Eldar. The image of Telperion that Turgon made in Gondolin was *Belthil*. Quoth Pengolod. [Like the previous ones this footnote was put into the body of the text by the typist of LQ 1, but afterwards reinstated in its proper place.]

[*struck out:* unto] shining lakes, that were to all the land of the Valar as wells of water and of light.

Commentary on Chapter 2, 'Of Valinor and the Two Trees'

The final typescript (LQ 2) of this chapter received very few corrections, and those only on the top copy (such as were made are recorded in the commentary that follows). Thus the LQ 1 text given above, with the corrections shown, is virtually the final text of the chapter.

§§11–12 This chapter underwent little change from the text of QS (V.208–10) apart from the greatly expanded opening – in which most of the new material derives from the later *Ainulindalë*. That the much fuller story in AAm (see p. 60, commentary on §§11–29) was written after the revision of the *Silmarillion* chapter can be seen from various points. Thus the old story that Melkor only began the delving of Utumno *after* the fall of the Lamps is still present (see p. 61, §20). The phrase in LQ §11 concerning the first star-making of Varda was first written in the form '... the ages unrecorded of the labours of the Great in Aman' (for *Aman* > *Eä* see p. 149, §1), which shows it to be earlier than the closely similar phrase in AAm (§24): 'Middle-earth lay in a twilight beneath the stars that Varda had wrought in the ages forgotten of her labours in Ëa' – where it is used in a distinct context, of the darkness *after* the fall of the Lamps.

§12 The footnote to QS §12 giving the name *Utumno* of Melko's original fortress survived at first in the revised version, but was lost from one of the typescripts and not reinstated.

On the final text LQ 2 my father pencilled a hasty footnote after 'deemed that he was secure from assault for ever':

> The chief of his fortresses was at Utumno in the North of Middle-earth; but he made also a fortress and armoury not far from the northwestern shores of the Sea, to resist any assault from Aman. This was called Angband and was commanded by Sauron, lieutenant of Melkor.

In QS (§§62, 105) the story was that Morgoth, when he returned from Valinor, built Angband on the ruins of Utumno; in AAm (§127, p. 109) this may well have been still present, but the statement of QS §62 that 'Morgoth came back to his ancient habitation' is lacking. Now there enters the story that Melkor built both strongholds in the ancient days – and also that Sauron was the commander of Angband; cf. the late note written on the typescript of AAm (p. 127, §127): 'The making of this fortress [Angband] as a guard against a landing from the West should come earlier.'

The original passage in QS concerning Vaiya, the Outer Sea,

beyond which 'the Walls of the World fence out the Void and the Eldest Dark', reflecting the contemporary *Ambarkanta*, survived in the revision almost unchanged, except that it is now said that none but the Valar know how wide is the Outer Sea (in contrast to the *Ambarkanta* and its diagrams). On the great difficulty of interpreting this passage in the light of the later world-image see pp. 62–4.

On LQ 2 my father emended *Vaiya* to *Ekkaia* (whence its occurrence in the published *Silmarillion*). The Outer Sea is given no Elvish name in AAm.

§13 In the first texts of the 1951 revision the sentence 'and in the language of this island of Men *Heofonsýl* was its name among those few that ever descried it afar off' was part of the text (as it was in QS, with *Tindbrenting* for *Heofonsýl*), and the footnote began at 'Yet in error, as the Eldar teach me ...' This seems the natural arrangement. The typist of LQ 1, as often elsewhere, put the footnote into the body of the text; but my father when correcting LQ 1 put the whole passage into a footnote – in contrast to what he did in a similar case in the first chapter (p. 150, §6), where he left the footnote in the text. It certainly seems clear in these cases that he did not refer back to the texts preceding LQ 1 (see p. 143). – The Old English name *Heofonsýl* 'Pillar of Heaven' occurs in *The Notion Club Papers* of the Meneltarma (IX.314).

§14 *Palúrien* > *Kementári* by a pencilled change on LQ 2. This was as it were a casual change, not made in §15 (nor in §5). *Kementári* occurs in the *Valaquenta* (p. 202).

§16 *Telperion* (not *Silpion*) is the primary name in AAm (first appearing in §5, pp. 50, 59); in the *Silmarillion* tradition it became the primary name by emendation to the first typescript text of the 1951 revision.

§17 With the reference (in the footnote on the names of the Two Trees) to *Galathilion the Less*, the White Tree of Túna, cf. AAm §69 (annal 1142, p. 85): 'In this year Yavanna gave to the Noldor the White Tree, Galathilion, image of the Tree Telperion'.

In the last sentence the word 'vats' was changed to 'wells' on LQ 2 (cf. 'mighty vats' in AAm §28, changed on the typescript to 'shining wells' (p. 69); in AAm* 'deep pools' (p. 68)).

On the carbon copy of LQ 2, which otherwise received no emendations, my father added the following note to the word *spilth* in the last sentence:

> meant to indicate that Laurelin is 'founded' on the laburnum. 'jocund spilth of yellow fire' Francis Thompson – who no doubt got the word from Timon of Athens (his vocabulary was largely derived from Elizabethan English)

The reference is to Francis Thompsons's *Sister Songs*, The Proem:

> Mark yonder, how the long laburnum drips
> Its jocund spilth of fire, its honey of wild flame!

Cf. the original description of Laurelin in the *Lost Tales* (I.72): 'all its boughs were hidden by long swaying clusters of gold flowers like a myriad hanging lamps of flame, and light spilled from the tips of these and splashed upon the ground with a sweet noise.' In the earlier versions (from Q through to the first typescript of the 1951 revision) Laurelin was expressly likened to 'those trees Men now call Golden-rain' – that being a name of the laburnum, and the words 'a golden rain' are used in the final form of the passage (§15). – The reference to *Timon of Athens* is to Act II, Scene 2, 'our vaults have wept / With drunken spilth of wine'.

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3 OF THE COMING OF THE ELVES

The textual situation here is similar to that in the previous chapter but more complicated. After very substantial revision carried out on the old pre-*Lord of the Rings* texts there followed a typescript made by my father; but after LQ 1 had been taken from it he made further changes to it (mostly very minor, but a major alteration in §20), which were 'lost', since LQ 2 was a straight copy of LQ 1 and he clearly never compared the texts in detail. This typescript I shall refer to for the purposes of this section as 'Text A'. For some reason it ceases to be a typescript at the words 'counselled the Elves to remove' (near the end of §23), which stand at the foot of a page, and becomes a manuscript on the following page with the words 'into the West'. The manuscript portion is in two forms, the first heavily emended, and the second written out fair.

There follows now the text of LQ 1 (the 'lost' alterations made to Text A are given in the commentary). The system of paragraph-numbering in this chapter, and elsewhere, needs a word of explanation. As generally, I have retained the numbers of QS, introducing 'sub-paragraph numbers' (as §18a) where QS has nothing corresponding. Where the revised text expands a QS paragraph into more than one, or several (as in §§20, 23) only the first is numbered.

3. Of the Coming of the Elves

§18 In all this time, since Melkor overthrew the Lamps, the Middle-earth east of the Mountains was without light. While the Lamps had shone, growth began there which now was checked, because all was again dark. But already the oldest

living things had arisen: in the sea the great weeds, and on the earth the shadow of great trees; and in the valleys of the night-clad hills there were dark creatures old and strong. In those lands and forests Oromë would often hunt; and there too at times Yavanna came, singing sorrowfully; for she was grieved at the darkness of Middle-earth and ill content that it was forsaken. But the other Valar came seldom thither; and in the North Melkor built his strength, and gathered his demons about him. These were the first made of his creatures: their hearts were of fire, but they were cloaked in darkness, and terror went before them; they had whips of flame. Balrogs they were named by the Noldor in later days. And in that dark time Melkor made many other monsters of divers shapes and kinds that long troubled the world; yet the Orcs were not made until he had looked upon the Elves, and he made them in mockery of the Children of Ilúvatar. His realm spread now ever southward over the Middle-earth.

§18a It came to pass that the Valar held council, and Yavanna spoke before them, saying: 'Behold, ye mighty of Arda, the Vision of Eru was brief and soon taken away, so that maybe we cannot guess within a narrow count of days the hour appointed. Yet be sure of this: the hour approaches, and within this age our hope shall be revealed, and the Children shall awake. But it is not in Aman that they shall awaken. Shall we then leave the lands of their dwelling desolate and full of evil? Shall they walk in darkness while we have light? Shall they call Melkor lord while Manwë sits upon the Holy Hill?'

And Tulkas cried aloud: 'Nay! Let us make war swiftly! Have we not rested from strife over-long, and is not our strength now renewed? Shall one alone contest with us for ever?'

But at the bidding of Manwë Mandos spoke and he said: 'In this age the Children shall come indeed, but they come not yet. Moreover it is doom that the First Children should come in the darkness and should look first upon the Stars. Great light shall be for their waning. To Varda ever shall they call at need.'

§19 And Varda said naught, but departing from the council she went to the mountain of Taniquetil and looked forth; and she beheld the darkness and was moved.

Then Varda took the silver dews from the vats of Telperion, and therewith she made new stars and brighter against the coming of the First-born. Wherefore she whose name out of the deeps of time and the labours of Eä was Tintallë, the Kindler,

was called after by the Elves Elentári, the Queen of the Stars. Karnil and Luinil, Nénar and Lumbar, Alkarinquë and Elemmíre she wrought in that time, and other of her works of old she gathered together and set as signs in Heaven that the gods may read: Wilwarin, Telumendil, Soronúmë, and Anarríma; and Menelmakar with his shining belt that forebodes the Last Battle that shall be. And high in the North as a challenge unto Melkor she set the crown of seven mighty stars to swing, the Valakirka, the Sickle of the Gods and sign of doom. Many names have these stars been given; but in the North in the Elder Days Men called them the Burning Briar: quoth Pengolod [> (quoth Pengoloð)].

§20 It is told that even as Varda ended her labours, and they were long, when first Menelmakar strode up the sky and the blue fire of Helluin flickered in the mists above the borders of the world, in that hour the Children of the Earth awoke, the First-born of Ilúvatar. Themselves they named the Quendi, whom we call Elves (quoth Ælfwine); but Oromë named them in their own tongue Eldar, people of the stars, and that name has since been borne by all that followed him upon the westward road. In the beginning they were stronger and greater than they have since become; but not more fair, for though the beauty of the Quendi in the days of their youth was beyond all other beauty that Ilúvatar has caused to be, it has not perished, but lives in the West, and sorrow and wisdom have enriched it.

And Oromë looking upon the Elves was filled with love and wonder, as though they were beings sudden and marvellous and unforetold. For [so] it shall ever be even with the Valar. From without the world, though all things may be forethought in music or foreshown in vision from afar, to those who enter verily into Eä each in its time shall be met at unawares as something new and strange.

Thus it was that Oromë came upon the Quendi by chance in his wandering, while they dwelt yet silent upon [*read* beside] the star-lit mere, Kuiviénen, Water of Awakening, in the East of Middle-earth. For a while he abode with them and aided them in the making of language; for that was their first work of craft upon Earth, and ever most dear to their hearts, and the fair Elvish speech was sweet in the ears of the Valar. Then swiftly Oromë rode back over land and sea to Valinor, filled with the thought of the beauty of the Elves, and he brought the tidings to Valmar. And the gods rejoiced, and yet were amazed at what he

told; but Manwë sat long upon Taniquetil deep in thought, and he sought the counsel of Ilúvatar. And coming then down to Valmar he called a conclave of the Great, and thither came even Ulmo from the Outer Sea.

And Manwë said to the Valar: 'This is the counsel of Ilúvatar in my heart: that we should take up again the mastery of Arda, at whatsoever cost, and deliver the Quendi from the shadows of Melkor.' Then Tulkas was glad; but Aulë was grieved, and it is said that he (and others of the Valar) had before been unwilling to strive with Melkor, foreboding the hurts of the world that must come of that strife.

§21 But now the Valar made ready and came forth from Aman in the strength of war, resolving to assault the fortress of Melkor in the North and make an end. Never did Melkor forget that this war was made on behalf of the Elves and that they were the cause of his downfall. Yet they had no part in those deeds; and little do they know of the riding of the power of the West against the North in the beginning of their days, and of the fire and tumult of the Battle of the Gods. In those days the shape of Middle-earth was changed and broken and the seas were moved. Tulkas it was who at the last wrestled with Melkor and overthrew him, and he was bound with the chain Angainor that Aulë had wrought, and led captive; and the world had peace for a great age. Nonetheless the fortress of Melkor at Utumno had many mighty vaults and caverns hidden with deceit far under earth, and these the Valar did not all discover nor utterly destroy, and many evil things still lingered there; and others were dispersed and fled into the dark and roamed in the waste places of the world, awaiting a more evil hour.

§22 But when the Battle was ended and from the ruin of the North great clouds arose and hid the stars, the Valar drew Melkor back to Valinor bound hand and foot and blindfold, and he was cast into prison in the halls of Mandos, from whence none have ever escaped save by the will of Mandos and Manwë, neither Vala, nor Elf, nor mortal Man. Vast are those halls and strong, and they were built in the north of the land of Aman. There was Melkor doomed to abide for seven [> three] ages long, ere his cause should be tried again, or he should sue for pardon.

§23 Then again the gods were gathered in council and were divided in debate. For some (and of these Ulmo was the chief) held that the Quendi should be left free to walk as they would in

Middle-earth, and with their gifts of skill to order all the lands and heal their hurts. But the most part feared for the Quendi in the dangerous world amid the deceits of the starlit dusk; and they were filled moreover with the love of the beauty of the Elves and desired their fellowship. At the last, therefore, the Valar summoned the Quendi to Valinor, there to be gathered at the knees of the gods in the light of the blessed Trees for ever. And Mandos who had spoken not at all in the debate broke silence and said: 'So it is doomed.' For of this summons came many woes that after befell; yet those who hold that the Valar erred, thinking rather of the bliss of Valinor than of the Earth, and seeking to wrest the will of Ilúvatar to their own pleasure, speak with the tongues [*read* tongue] of Melkor.

Nonetheless the Elves were at first unwilling to hearken to the summons, for they had as yet seen the Valar only in their wrath as they went to war, save Oromë alone, and they were filled with dread. Therefore Oromë was sent again to them, and he chose from among them three ambassadors; and he brought them to Valmar. These were Ingwë and Finwë and Elwë, who after were kings of the Three Kindreds of the Eldar; and coming they were filled with awe by the glory and majesty of the Valar and desired greatly the light and splendour of the Trees. Therefore they returned and counselled the Elves to remove into the West, and the greater part of the people hearkened to their counsel. This they did of their free will, and yet were swayed by the majesty of the gods, ere their own wisdom was full grown. The Elves that obeyed the summons and followed the three kings are called the Eldar, by the name that Oromë gave them; for he was their guide and led them at the last unto Valinor. Yet there were many who preferred the starlight and the wide spaces of the Earth to the rumour of the glory of the Trees, and they remained behind. These are called the Avari, the Unwilling.

§24 The Eldar prepared now a great march from their first homes in the East. When all was made ready, Oromë rode at their head upon Nahar, his white horse shod with gold; and behind him the Eldalië were arrayed in three hosts.

§25 The smallest host and the first to set forth was led by Ingwë, the most high lord of all the Elvish race. He entered into Valinor and sits at the feet of the Powers, and all Elves revere his name; but he has never returned nor looked again upon Middle-earth. The Lindar [> Vanyar] were his folk, fairest of

the Quendi; they are the High Elves, and the beloved of Manwë and Varda, and few Men have spoken with them.

§26 Next came the Noldor, a name of wisdom.* They are the Deep Elves, and the friends of Aulë. Their lord was Finwë, wisest of all the children of the world. His kindred are renowned in song, for they fought and laboured long and grievously in the northern lands of old.

§27 The greatest host came last, and they are named the Teleri, for they tarried on the road, and were not wholly of a mind to pass from the dusk to the light of Valinor. In water they had great delight, and those that came at last to the west shores were enamoured of the Sea. The Sea-elves therefore they became in Valinor, the Soloneldi [> Falmari], for they made music beside the breaking waves. Two lords they had, for their numbers were very great: Elwë Singollo, which signifies Greymantle, and Olwë his brother. The hair of Olwë was long and white, and his eyes were blue; but the hair of Elwë was grey as silver, and his eyes were as stars; he was the tallest of all the Elven-folk.

[§28 The paragraph concerning the people of Dân who left the Great March and turned south was displaced to follow §29; see the Commentary.]

§29 These are the chief peoples of the Eldalië, who passing at length into the uttermost West in the days of the Two Trees are called the Kalaquendi, the Elves of the Light. But others of the Eldar there were who set out indeed upon the Westward March, but became lost upon the long road, or turned aside, or lingered on the shores of Middle-earth. They dwelt by the sea, or wandered in the woods and mountains of the world, yet their hearts were ever turned towards the West. These the Kalaquendi call the Alamanyar [> Úmanyar], since they came never to the Land of Aman and the Blessed Realm. But the Alamanyar [> Úmanyar] and the Avari alike they name the Moriquendi, Elves of the Darkness, for they never beheld the light before the Sun and Moon.

The Alamanyar [> Úmanyar] were for the most part of the

* [footnote to the text] The Gnomes they may be called in our tongue, quoth Ælfwine. (The word that he uses is *Witan*. More is said of this matter in the Tenth Chapter where the tale speaks of the Edain.) [See the commentary on §26.]

race of the Teleri. For the hindmost of that people, repenting of the journey, forsook the host of Olwë, and Dân was their leader; and they turned southward and wandered long and far; and they became a folk apart, unlike their kin, save that they loved water, and dwelt most beside falls and running streams. They had greater lore of living things, tree and herb, bird and beast, than all other Elves. The Nandor they are called. It was Denethor son of Dân who turning again west at last led a part of that people over the mountains into Beleriand ere the rising of the Moon.

§30 Others there were also of the Teleri that remained in Middle-earth. These were the Elves of Beleriand in the west of the Northern lands. They came from the host of Elwë the Grey. He was lost in the woods and many of his folk sought him long in vain; and thus when their kindred departed over Sea they were left behind and went not into the West. Therefore they are called the Sindar, the Grey Elves, but themselves they named Eglath, the Forsaken. Elwë after became their king, mightiest of all the Alamanyar [*correction to* Úmanyar *missed*]. He it was who was called Thingol in the language of Doriath.

[Other names in song and tale are given to these peoples. The Vanyar are the Blessed Elves, and the Spear-elves, the Elves of the Air, the friends of the Gods, the Holy Elves and the Immortal, and the Children of Ingwë; they are the Fair Folk and the White.

The Noldor are the Wise, and the Golden, the Valiant, the Sword-elves, the Elves of the Earth, the Foes of Melkor, the Skilled of Hand, the Jewel-wrights, the Companions of Men, the Followers of Finwë.

The Teleri are the Foam-riders, the Singers of the Shore, the Free, and the Swift, and the Arrow-elves; they are the Elves of the Sea, the Ship-wrights, the Swanherds, the Gatherers of Pearl, the Blue Elves, the people of Olwë. The Nandor are the Host of Dân, the Wood-elves, the Wanderers, the Axe-elves, the Green Elves and the Brown, the Hidden People; and those that came at last to Ossiriand are the Elves of the Seven Rivers, the Singers Unseen, the Kingless, the Weaponless, and the Lost Folk, for they are now no more. The Sindar are the Lemberi, the Lingerers; they are the Friends of Ossë, the Elves of the Twilight, the Silvern, the Enchanters, the Wards of

Melian, the Kindred of Lúthien, the people of Elwë. Quoth Pengoloð.]

Commentary on Chapter 3, 'Of the Coming of the Elves'

LQ 1 is here again, as in the previous chapter, virtually the final text, for the later typescript LQ 2 was scarcely touched, and there was no further enlargement or expansion.

§18 In AAm §30 (p. 70) it is said that Melkor 'wrought' the Balrogs in Utumno during the long darkness after the fall of the Lamps; but in an interpolation to AAm there enters the view that Melkor, after his rebellion, could make nothing that had life of its own (§45, see pp. 74, 78), and in AAm*, the second version of the opening of AAm (p. 79, §30), the Balrogs become the chief of 'the evil spirits that followed him, the Umaiar', whom at that time he *multiplied*. The statement in QS §18 that the Balrogs were 'the first made of his creatures' survived through all the texts of the later revision of the *Quenta*, but in the margin of one of the copies of LQ 2 my father wrote: 'See *Valaquenta* for true account.' This is a reference to the passage which appears in the published *Silmarillion* on p. 31:

> For of the Maiar many were drawn to his splendour in the days of his greatness, and remained in that allegiance down into his darkness; and others he corrupted afterwards to his service with lies and treacherous gifts. Dreadful among these spirits were the Valaraukar, the scourges of fire that in Middle-earth were called the Balrogs, demons of terror.

The actual text of LQ 2 my father emended at this time very hastily to read:

> These were the (*ëalar*) spirits who first adhered to him in the days of his splendour, and became most like him in his corruption: their hearts were of fire, but they were cloaked in darkness, and terror went before them; they had whips of flame. Balrogs they were named by the Noldor in later days. And in that dark time Melkor bred many other monsters of divers shapes and kinds that long troubled the world; and his realm spread now ever southward over the Middle-earth. But the Orks, mockeries and perversions of the Children of Eru, did not appear until after the Awakening of the Elves.

There is a footnote to the word *ëalar* in this passage:

> 'spirit' (not incarnate, which was *fëa*, S[indarin] *fae*). *ëala* 'being'.

On the origin of the Orcs in AAm (and especially with respect to the word 'perversions' in the passage just given) see pp. 78, 123–4. *Orks* was my father's late spelling.

§18a Of Yavanna's words before the Valar, and the words of Tulkas and Mandos, there has been no previous suggestion in the *Quenta* tradition; but cf. AV 2 (V.111, annal 1900): 'Yavanna often reproached the Valar for their neglected stewardship'. This was extended in AAm §§32–3 (p. 71), where most of the elements of the present passage appear, though more briefly expressed.

§19 Here the two star-makings are expressly contrasted, and Varda's names *Tintallë* 'the Kindler' and *Elentári* 'Queen of the Stars' differentiated in their bearing. The second star-making is described also in AAm §§35–6 (p. 71), but far more briefly, and though the 'gathering together of the ancient stars' to form signs in the heavens is mentioned there also, only the constellations *Menelmakar* (Orion) and *Valakirka* are named. That Menelmakar forebodes the Last Battle is said in both sources, but LQ does not name it as a sign of Túrin Turambar.

The name 'Burning Briar' for the Great Bear still survives in the *Quenta* tradition. This observation was made into a footnote in Text A (on which see p. 158), with the addition 'quoth Pengolod', but the typist of LQ 1 put it as usual into the body of the text, where my father left it.

In Text A, in which the names of the great stars and the constellations first entered, *Wilwarin*, *Karnil*, and *Alkarinquë* were typed *Vilvarin*, *Carnil*, and *Alcarinquë* and then altered to the forms in LQ 1. By a later change to Text A *Elentári* > *Elentárië*, not found in LQ 1 and LQ 2. – The name *Elemmíre* has appeared in AAm §114 (pp. 100, 106) as that of the Vanyarin Elf who made the *Aldudénië*.

§20 Although in Text A my father added the words 'quoth Ælfwine' to 'whom we call Elves' (deriving from QS) he retained this in the body of the text, and only on the final typescript LQ 2 wrote a direction that it should be a footnote.

The aberrant idea in QS that the coming of the Elves was not in the Music of the Ainur (see V.217) is now displaced by a much more subtle explanation of Oromë's astonishment. The detailed statement of the place of Kuiviénen in AAm §38 (p. 72) is absent here.

The history of the passage concerning Oromë and the Quendi (from 'For a while he abode with them ...') is curious and complex. In text A as he typed it my father followed QS exactly in saying that Oromë 'taught them the language of the gods, from whence afterwards they made the fair Elvish speech', and that afterwards he returned to Valinor and brought tidings of the Awakening of the Quendi to Valmar. He then altered this to the text found in LQ 1 above (he 'aided them in the making of language; for that was their first work of craft upon Earth ...'),

and at the same time added at the beginning of §20 the words 'in their own tongue' ('but Oromë named them in their own tongue Eldar, people of the stars'). In this form the passage survived into LQ 2 without further change.

On Text A, however, my father struck out the passage beginning 'For a while he abode with them ...' and replaced it with the following on a slip pinned to the typescript:

> Then swiftly he rode back over land and sea to Valinor, filled with the thought of the beauty of the long-awaited, and he brought the tidings to Valmar. And the gods rejoiced, and yet were in doubt amid their mirth, and they debated what counsel it were best now to take to guard the Elves from the shadow of Melkor. At once Oromë returned to Kuiviénen, and he abode there long among the Elves, and aided them in the making of language; for that was their first work of craft upon Earth, and ever the dearest to their hearts, and sweet was the Elven-tongue on the ears of the Valar. But Manwë sat alone upon Taniquetil ...

This further revision makes Oromë return *at once* to Valinor, and *then* come back to Kuiviénen, where he aided the Elves in the making of language. It does not appear in LQ 1 and LQ 2 because, as I have said, this and other alterations were made to Text A after LQ 1 had been taken from it.

In AAm §39 (p. 72) the story is different: there the Quendi 'began to make speech and to give names to all things that they perceived' long before Oromë came upon them (335 Sun Years after the Awakening); and nothing is said of his playing any part in the evolution of Elvish speech.

In the sentence 'while they dwelt yet silent *upon* the star-lit mere' Text A has *beside*; *upon* in LQ 1 (and LQ 2) was clearly an error introduced by the typist (and similarly with the omission of *so* earlier in this paragraph and *tongues* for *tongue* in §23).

§21 On LQ 2 my father changed 'the fortress of Melkor' in the first sentence to 'the fortresses of Melkor', and at the end of the paragraph 'the fortress of Melkor at Utumno' to 'the fortresses of Melkor'. In this case he made the changes on LQ 1 also, but I have not included them in the text printed, since they were very late, and belonged with the changed story of the origin of Angband: see the commentary on Chapter 2, §12 (p. 156).

On Text A 'little do they know of the riding of the power of the West' was changed to 'they know little', but this, like the major change made to §20, was made after LQ 1 had been taken from Text A.

There reappears here for the first time since the *Lost Tales* the story that Aulë made the chain Angainor (elaborately recounted

in *The Chaining of Melko*, I.100–1, where the form was *Angaino*; in *The Tale of Tinúviel*, II.19, there is a reference to 'the chain Angainu that Aulë and Tulkas made').

§22 Changes were also made in this paragraph after LQ 1 had been made: 'from whence' > 'whence', and 'Vast are those halls and strong' > 'Vast and strong are those halls'.

In AAm §52 Melkor was condemned to Mandos for three ages (pp. 80, 88).

§23 That there were differing counsels of the Valar on the Summoning of the Quendi was not even hinted in the *Quenta* tradition till now. In AAm §53 (p. 81) there is mention of a debate, and in §73 (p. 86) it is told that in the council of the Valar Ulmo 'had chiefly spoken against the summons, deeming that it were better for the Quendi to remain in Middle-earth.' The belief that the Valar erred is not here imputed to them as an error 'with good intent' (QS, V.214), and to this extent is harshly repudiated.

The passage concerning the three ambassadors remains virtually unchanged from QS, but in the course of the revision (see under §27 below) there came to be an internal change of reference – when Elwë became Thingol, whereas previously he had been Thingol's brother (see V.217, §23). Probably the sentences 'These were Ingwë and Finwë and Elwë, who after were kings of the Three Kindreds of the Eldar' and 'The Elves that obeyed the summons and followed the three kings' should have been modified when that transformation took place, and when the Third Host came to have two lords.

There is no mention in LQ of the kindreds of Morwë and Nurwë, who refused the summons (AAm §57, p. 81).

Another very minor change was made to Text A after LQ 1 was made: 'And Mandos who had spoken not at all' > 'And Mandos who had not spoken'.

§25 The name *Lindar* was altered to *Vanyar* by a late change made to the final text of the *Ainulindalë* (p. 34, §36); in AAm §58 (p. 82) *Vanyar* appears in the text as written. – By a pencilled change to LQ 2 'High Elves' was changed to 'Fair Elves' (see V.218, §25).

§26 In Text A the opening sentence of this paragraph read: 'Next came the Noldor, a name of wisdom, and the Gnomes they may be called in our tongue', with 'Quoth Ælfwine. (The word that he uses ...' placed in a footnote. The typist of LQ 1 placed all this in the body of the text; but my father directed that it should all go into a footnote, as is done in the text printed. In the Old English versions of the 1930s *Witān* was not used, but *Noldelfe*, *Noldielfe* (see also IV.212). On one copy of LQ 2 my father struck out 'Gnomes' and wrote above 'Enquirers'; this occurs nowhere else.

At the end of the paragraph he added to Text A: 'Dark is their hue and grey are their eyes'; this did not get into the later typescripts. See I.44.

§27 By the end of the revision, represented by LQ 1, the final position had been reached, as in AAm §§58, 74: Elwë Singollo (Greymantle) – who is Elu Thingol King of Doriath – and his brother Olwë, the two lords of the host of the Teleri on the Great March until Elwë was lost. The stages passed through to reach this can be observed in the earlier version of the end of Text A (see p. 158). First came the idea that there were two lords, because the numbers were very great: Elwë and his brother Sindo ('the locks of Sindo were as grey as silver ... but the hair of Elwë was long and white, and he was the tallest of all the Elven-race'). Then *Elwë* was changed to *Solwë*, and *Sindo* to *Elwë*; at this stage, probably, Elwë (the Grey) became one of the three original ambassadors, displacing his brother (now Solwë) in this at the same time as he took his name (and became in his stead 'the tallest of all the Elven-folk').

§28 In the first stage of the 1951 revision, carried out on the original QS typescript, the people of Dân, still from the host of the Noldor, were thus described:

> They are not counted among the Eldar, nor yet among the Avari. The [Nandar >] Nandor who turn back they were called, and akin was the name of their first leader Nano, who in their tongue was called Dân. His son was Denethor, who led them into Beleriand ere the rising of the Moon. The *Danathrim*, Danians, they were named in that land.

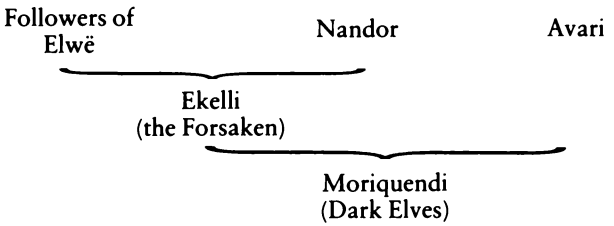
The term *Pereldar* 'Half-eldar' used in QS had now disappeared, and in this passage is clearly the first occurrence of the name *Nandor* (which appears subsequently in AAm §62: see pp. 83, 89).

In the next stage (Text A) the paragraph was removed from its former place and set at the end of §29. At this stage the Nandor, also called the *Laiquendi* or Green-elves, became Telerin Elves from the host of Sindo the Grey, and were placed with the other Teleri (followers of Sindo) who remained behind in Beleriand under the name *Ekelli* (first written *Ecelli*), 'the Forsaken'. See further under §§29–30.

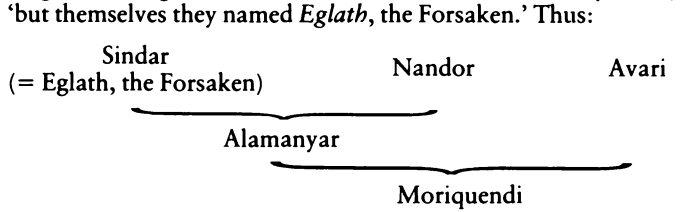
§§29–30 In the first stage of the revision the form *Lembi* 'Lingerers' – the Elves of the Great Journey who 'were lost upon the long road' – became *Lemberi*, classed with the Avari as *Moriquendi*, Dark Elves. The term *Kalaquendi*, Light Elves, also appeared in the account (though found much earlier, together with *Moriquendi*, in the table associated with the *Lhammas*, V.197, and also in the *Etymologies*). At this stage the old subdivision *Ilkorindi* (comprising Lembi and Pereldar or Danas, see the

table given in V.219) is not present, and the place of the Nandor is not defined.

In the next stage (Text A) the term *Lemberi* was not used, and there emerged the short-lived term *Ekelli (Ecelli)* used (like the old *Ilkorindi*) of all the 'lost Eldar', including the Nandor (see under §28); *Ekelli* was the name given to them by the Elves of Valinor, and meant 'the Forsaken, their kin that were left behind'. Thus:



Ekelli was then replaced by *Alamanyar* ('since they came never to the Land of Aman'), and the Nandor became Elves from the host of Olwë; while those who sought in vain for Elwë Singollo (Thingol) are 'therefore' called *Sindar*, the Grey Elves, 'but themselves they named *Eglath*, the Forsaken.' Thus:



It was here, undoubtedly, that the name *Sindar* arose: occurrences earlier in LQ were inserted later, and that in AAm (§74, see p. 91) was later also. With the change of *Alamanyar* to *Úmanyar* on LQ 1 the final form (as shown in the table in the published *Silmarillion*, p. 309) was reached.

Thus some important developments in the narrative emerged in the course of the 1951 revision of the end of this chapter. The original Elwë, who in QS (§30) was Thingol's brother, became Olwë, while the name Elwë was transferred to Thingol – who became one of the three Elvish 'ambassadors' taken by Oromë to Valinor, in the place of his brother; and both Olwë and Elwë were leaders of the Telerin host on the Great March from Kuiviénen. The story that the Eldar of Beleriand (the Sindar) did not pass over the Sea because they were left behind seeking for Elwë Singollo takes up a passage in the *Lhammas* (V.174, cited on p. 90, §71); in QS there was no suggestion that the Elves of

Doriath were specifically those of Thingol's following who would not abandon the search for him.

In AAm the whole matter is treated from a different point of view: there, the events and geography of the Great Journey are a central element, but the complexities of naming and classification are not. It is clear however that AAm was not written until the revision of the *Quenta* tradition concerning the Sundering of the Elves was virtually complete: for in AAm the Nandor are from the host of Olwë (§62), and the followers of Elwë who were left behind called themselves *Eglath*, the Forsaken People (§71).

The passage recounting the names used in poetry for the Elvish peoples, which goes back to QS, and which forms an integral part of Text A, was for some reason omitted from LQ 1; my father wrote it onto the typescript subsequently (with *Vanyar* for *Lindar* of Text A).

Later changes made to Text A altered 'Axe-elves' to 'Staff-elves' as a name of the Nandor, and introduced 'Axe-elves' as a name of the Sindar (following 'the Friends of Ossë'); but these were 'lost' and do not appear in LQ 1 and LQ 2. – The name Lemberi 'Lingerers' (see under §§29–30 above) reappears as one of the by-names of the Sindar; and 'the Green Elves and the Brown' re-emerge from the old *Tale of the Nauglafring* (II.237, etc.).

It remains to notice lastly that on LQ 2 my father changed the title of the chapter to *Of the Coming of the Elves and the Captivity of Melkor*, which was followed in the published *Silmarillion*; and also that on one copy of this typescript, against the first occurrence of *Úmanyar* (§29), he wrote *Alamanyar* in the margin, as if he were considering a return to the earlier name.

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4 OF THINGOL AND MELIAN

Of Thingol and Melian was not a separate chapter in the QS manuscript and the derived QS typescript, although in both there was a sub-heading (and in *The Lost Road*, V.220, I treated it as separate, numbering it 3(b)). The first text of the 1951 revision was a manuscript that continued on from the manuscript ending of 'Text A' of *The Coming of the Elves* (see p. 158), and here my father may have intended it as a separate chapter, although there is no number. From 'Text A', as in the preceding chapter, LQ 1 was taken, and the final text was LQ 2 (in which the chapter is numbered '4').

The first paragraph remained almost unchanged from QS, but the remainder was much expanded.

Of Thingol and Melian

§31 Thus it came to pass that Elu-thingol [> Elwë Singollo] and many of his folk abode in Beleriand and went not to Valinor.

Melian was a *maia*, of the race of the Valar. She dwelt in the gardens of Olofantur, and among all his fair folk there was none more beautiful than she, nor more wise, nor more skilled in songs of enchantment. It is told that the gods would leave their business, and the birds of Valinor their mirth, that the bells of Valmar were silent and the fountains ceased to flow, when at the mingling of the lights Melian sang in Lorien. Nightingales went always with her, and she taught them their song. She loved the deep shadow of great trees; but she was akin, before the world was made, unto Yavanna herself, and on a time she departed from Valinor on a long journey into the Hither Lands, and there she filled the silence of Arda before the dawn with her voice and with the voices of her birds.

§32 Now it came to pass that when their journey was near its end the folk of Elwë rested long and dwelt in Beleriand beyond Gelion; and King Elwë went often through the great woods, for he had friendship with the Noldor who lay to the westward, and with Finwë their lord. And it chanced on a time that he came alone to the starlit wood of Nan Elmoth, and there on a sudden he heard the song of nightingales. Then an enchantment fell upon him, and he stood still; and afar off beyond the voices of the *lómelindi** he heard the voice of Melian, and it filled all his heart with wonder and desire. He forgot then utterly all his folk and all the purposes of his mind, and following the birds under the shadows of the trees he passed deep into Nan Elmoth and was lost. But he came at last to a glade open to the stars, and there Melian stood; and out of the darkness he beheld her with hands outstretched, and the light of Aman was in her face.

No word she spoke; but being filled with love Elwë came to her and took her hand; and straightway a spell was laid on him, so that they stood thus, hand in hand, while long years were measured by the wheeling stars above them; and the trees of Nan Elmoth grew tall and dark ere they spoke any word one to another.

* [footnote to the text] *lómelindi*: 'dusk-singers' = nightingales.

§33 Thus Elwë's folk who sought him found him not, and Olwë took the kingship of the Teleri and departed; but Elwë Singollo came never again across the sea to Valinor; and Melian returned not thither while their realm together lasted; and of her a strain of the [*read:* of the race of the] immortal gods came among both Elves and Men, as hereafter shall be told. In after days Melian and Elwë became Queen and King of Grey Elves, and their hidden halls were in Menegroth, the Thousand Caves, in Doriath; and as Thingol Greymantle he was known in the [*read:* to all in the] tongue of that land. Great power Melian lent to Thingol her spouse, who was in himself great among the Eldar; for he alone of all the Forsaken had seen with his own eyes the Trees in the day of their flowering, and king though he were [> was] of Alamanyar [> Úmanyar], he was not accounted among the Moriquendi, but with the Elves of the Light, mighty upon Middle-earth.

Commentary on Chapter 4, 'Of Thingol and Melian'

§31 The form 'Elu-thingol' here first appeared. – *Olofantur* was corrected to *Lórien* on one copy of LQ 2 (see p. 150, §6).

§32 With the mention of the long sojourn of the Teleri in the lands beyond Gelion cf. AAm §64 (p. 83). The story of Elwë's journey to visit Finwë his friend is told also in AAm (§§64–5); and the phrase 'the trees of Nan Elmoth grew tall and dark' is found in both sources. In AAm Elwë's trance lasted for more than two centuries measured by the Sun (p. 89, §65).

§33 It now becomes explicit, and not merely implied, that Thingol had been to Valinor, as one of the three ambassadors (see pp. 168–9, §§23, 27). – The readings in LQ 1 'a strain of the immortal gods' and 'he was known in the tongue of that land' were clearly mere errors of omission on the part of the typist; the readings proposed are found in my father's manuscript Text A (see p. 158). A late change to Text A made after LQ 1 was copied from it was 'Grey Elves' to 'the Grey Elves'.

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5 OF ELDANOR AND THE PRINCES OF THE ELDALIË

My father did less revision and rewriting of this chapter than on those preceding, and in fact did not himself make a wholly new text: the revision of 1951 was very largely restricted to emendation of the old QS typescript, and it was from this that LQ 1 was taken. In the QS typescript this was not a separate chapter, but a 'sub-chapter' entitled

Of Kôr and Alqualondë (in *The Lost Road* numbered 3(c); V.221–5); after which that typescript was abandoned, and for the remainder of the work there is only the QS manuscript from the pre-*Lord of the Rings* period.

Emendation to the QS typescript was carried out at different times, and three important passages of rewriting (see the commentary on §§40, 43) were 'lost' and not taken up into the later texts.

Of Eldanor and the Princes of the Eldalië

§34 In time the hosts of the Eldalië came to the last western shores of the Hither Lands. In the North these shores, in the ancient days after the battle of the gods, sloped ever westward, until in the northernmost parts of the earth only a narrow sea divided the Outer Land of Aman, upon which Valinor was built, from the Hither Lands; but this narrow sea was filled with grinding ice, because of the violence of the frosts of Melkor. Therefore Oromë did not lead the Eldar into the far North, but brought them to the fair lands about the River Sirion that afterwards were named Beleriand; and from those shores whence first the hosts of the Eldar looked in fear and wonder on the sea there stretched an ocean, wide and dark and deep, between them and the Mountains of Aman.

§35 There they waited and gazed upon the dark waves. But Ulmo came from the Valar; and he uprooted a half-sunken island, which now long had stood alone amid the sea, far from either shore; and with the aid of his servants he moved it, as it were a mighty ship, and anchored it in the bay into which Sirion pours his water.* Thereon he embarked the Lindar [> Vanyar] and the Noldor, for they had already assembled. But the Teleri were behind, being slower and less eager upon the march, and they were delayed also by the loss of Thingol and their fruitless search; and they did not come until Ulmo had departed.

§36 Therefore Ulmo drew the Lindar [> Vanyar] and the Noldor over the sea to the long shores beneath the Mountains of Valinor, and they entered the land of the gods and were welcomed to its bliss. But the Teleri dwelt long by the coasts of

* [footnote to the text] And some have told that the great isle of Balar, that lay of old in that bay, was the eastern horn of the Lonely Isle, that broke asunder and remained behind, when Ulmo removed that land again into the West. Quoth Rúmil. [Placed in the body of the text by the typist of LQ 1 but subsequently reinstated as a footnote.]

the western sea, awaiting Ulmo's return; and they grew to love the sound of the waves, and they made songs filled with the music of water. Ossë heard them, and came thither; and he loved them, delighting in the music of their voices. Sitting upon a rock nigh to the margin of the sea he spoke to them and instructed them. Great therefore was his grief when Ulmo returned at length to bear them away to Valinor. Some he persuaded to remain on the beaches of the Middle-earth, and these were the Elves of the Falas that in after days had dwellings at the havens of Brithombar and Eglorest in Beleriand; but most of the Teleri embarked upon the isle and were drawn far away.

§37 Ossë followed them, and when they were come near to their journey's end, he called to them; and they begged Ulmo to halt for a while, so that they might take leave of their friend and look their last upon the sky of stars. For the light of the Trees that filtered through the passes of the hills filled them with awe. And Ulmo understood well their hearts, and granted their request; and at his bidding Ossë made fast the island and rooted it in the foundations of the sea. Then Ulmo returned to Valinor and made known what had been done, and the Valar for the most part were ill-pleased; but the island could not again be moved without great hurt, or without peril to the Teleri who dwelt thereon; and it was not moved, but stood there alone for many an age. No other land lay near it, and it was called Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle.* There the Teleri long had their home, and Ossë was often among them, and they learned of him strange musics and sea-lore; and he brought to them sea-birds, the gift of Yavanna, for their delight. By this long sojourn of the Teleri apart in the Lonely Isle was caused the sundering of their speech from the language of the Lindar [> Vanyar] and the Noldor.

§38 To these the Valar had given a land and dwelling-places. Even among the radiant flowers of the Tree-lit gardens of the gods they longed still to see the stars at times. Therefore a gap was made in the great walls of the Pelóri, and there in a deep valley that ran down to the sea the Eldar raised a high green hill: Túna it was called. From the West the light of the

* [footnote to the text] *Avallónë* also it was after called, signifying the isle that lies nighest unto the Valar in Valinor. Quoth Ælfwine. [Placed in the body of the text by the typist of LQ 1 but subsequently reinstated as a footnote.]

Trees fell upon it, and its shadow lay ever eastward; and to the East it looked towards the Bay of Elvenhome, and the Lonely Isle, and the Shadowy Seas. Then through the Kalakiryan, the Pass of Light, the radiance of the Blessed Realm streamed forth, kindling the waves with gleams of gold and silver, and it touched the Lonely Isle, and its western shore grew green and fair. There bloomed the first flowers that ever were east of the mountains of the gods.

§39 Upon the crown of Túna, the green hill, the city of the Elves was built, the white walls and terraces of Tirion; and the highest of the towers of that city was the Tower of Ingwë, the Mindon, Mindon Eldaliéva, whose silver lamp shone far out into the mists of the sea. Few are the ships of mortal Men that have seen its slender beam. In Tirion* the Lindar [> Vanyar] and the Noldor dwelt long time in fellowship. And since of all things in Valinor they loved most the White Tree, Yavanna made for them a tree in all things like a lesser image of Telperion, save that it did not give light of its own being; and this tree was planted in the courts beneath the Tower and there flourished, and its seedlings were many in Eldanor. Of which one was after planted in Eressëa, and prospered. Thence came in the fullness of time, as is later told, the White Tree of Númenor.

§40 Manwë and Varda loved most the Lindar [> Vanyar], the High Elves, and holy and immortal were all their deeds and songs. The Noldor were beloved of Aulë, and of Mandos the wise; and great became their knowledge and their skill. Yet ever greater was their thirst for more knowledge, and their desire to make things wonderful and new. They were changeful in speech, for they had great love of words, and sought ever to find names more fit for all things that they knew or imagined. In Valinor they first contrived the fashioning of gems, and they made them in countless myriads of many kinds and hues; and they filled all Elendë with them, and the halls of the gods in Valinor were enriched.

* [footnote to the text] That is the Watchful City. *Eldamar* (that is Elvenhome) it was also called; but the regions where the Elves dwelt, and whence the stars could be seen, were called *Elendë*, or *Eldanor* (that is Elvenland): quoth Ælfwine. [Placed in the body of the text by the typist of LQ 1 but subsequently reinstated as a footnote.]

§41 The Noldor afterwards came back to Middle-earth, and this tale tells mostly of their deeds; therefore the names and kinship of their princes may here be told in that form which these names after had in the tongue of the Gnomes as it was [> the Elves] in Beleriand upon the Middle-earth. Finwë was king of the Noldor. His sons were Fëanor, Fingolfin, and Finrod [> Finarphin]. Of these Fëanor was the mightiest in skill of word and hand, more learned in lore than his brethren; in his heart his spirit burned as flame. Fingolfin was the strongest, the most steadfast, and the most valiant. Finrod [> Finarphin] was the fairest, and the most wise of heart; and afterwards he was a friend of the sons of Olwë, lord of the Teleri, and had to wife Eärwen, the swan-maiden of Alqualondë, Olwë's daughter. The seven sons of Fëanor were Maidros [> Maedhros] the tall; Maglor a musician and a mighty singer, whose voice was heard far over land and sea; Celegorn [> Celegorm] the fair, and Cranthir [> Caranthir] the dark; and Curufin the crafty, who inherited most of his father's skill of hand; and the youngest Damrod and Díriel [> Amrod and Amras], who were twin brothers alike in mood and face. They afterwards were great hunters in the woods of Middle-earth. A hunter also was Celegorn [> Celegorm], who in Valinor was a friend of Oromë and followed oft the great god's horn.

§42 The sons of Fingolfin were Fingon, who was after king of the Gnomes [> Noldor] in the North of the World; and Turgon of Gondolin; and their sister was Isfin [> Írith] the White. [*Added:* She was younger in the years of the Eldar than her brethren; and when she was grown to full stature and beauty she was greater and stronger than woman's wont, and she loved much to ride on horse and to hunt in the forests, and there was often in the company of her kinsmen, the sons of Fëanor; but to none was her heart's love given. She was called the White Lady of the Noldor; for though her hair was dark, she was pale and clear of hue, and she was ever arrayed in silver and white.] The sons of Finrod [> Finarphin] were Inglor [> Finrod] the faithful (who afterwards was named Felagund, Lord of Caves), [*struck out:* and Orodreth,] and Angrod, and Egnor [> Aegnor]. And these four [> three] were as close in friendship with the sons of Fingolfin as though they were all brethren together. A sister they had, Galadriel, the fairest lady of the house of Finwë, and the most valiant. Her hair was lit with gold as though it had caught in a mesh the radiance of Laurelin.

§43 Here must be told how the Teleri came at last to Valinor. For nigh on one hundred of the years of Valinor, which were each as ten of the years of the Sun that were after made, they dwelt in Tol Eressëa. But slowly their hearts were moved, and were drawn towards the light that flowed out over the sea unto their isle; and they were torn between the love of the music of the waves upon their shores, and desire to see again their kindred and to look upon the splendour of the gods. Yet in the end desire of the light was the stronger. Therefore Ulmo taught them the craft of ship-building; and Ossë, submitting to Ulmo, brought them as his farewell gift the strong-winged swans. These they harnessed to their fleet of white ships, and thus they were drawn without the help of the winds to Valinor.

§44 There they dwelt upon the long shores of Elvenhome [> Elvenland], and if they wished they could see the light of the Trees, and could visit the golden streets of Valmar and the crystal stairs of Tirion upon the Green Hill. But most it was their wont to sail in their swift ships upon the waters of the Bay of Elvenhome, or to walk in the waves upon the shore with their long hair gleaming like foam in the light beyond the hill. Many jewels the Noldor gave them, opals and diamonds and pale crystals, which they strewed upon the shores and scattered in the pools. Marvellous were the beaches of Elendë in those days. And many pearls they won for themselves from the sea, and their halls were of pearl, and of pearl were the mansions of Elwë [> Olwë] at the Haven of the Swans, lit with many lamps. For Alqualondë, the Haven of the Swans, was their chief town, and the harbour of their ships; and these were fashioned in the likeness of swans, white, and their beaks were of gold with eyes of gold and jet. The gate of that harbour was an arch of living rock sea-carven, and it lay upon the confines of the Elvenland, north of Kalakiryan, where the light of the stars was bright and clear.

§45 As the ages passed the Lindar [> Vanyar] grew to love the land of the gods and the full light of the Trees, and they forsook the city upon Túna, and dwelt upon the mountain of Manwë, or about the plains and woods of Valinor, and became sundered from the Noldor. But remembrance of the Earth under the Stars remained in the hearts of the Gnomes [> Noldor], and they abode in the Kalakiryan, and in the hills and valleys within sound of the western sea; and though many of them went oft about the land of the gods [> Valar], making far journeys in

search of the secrets of land and water and all living things, [*struck out:* yet their intercourse was more with the Teleri than with the Lindar (> Vanyar); and] the tongues [> peoples] of Túna and of Alqualondë drew together in those days. Finwë was king of Túna and Elwë [> Olwë] of Alqualondë; but Ingwë was ever held the high-king of all the Elves. He dwelt thereafter at the feet of Manwë upon Taniquetil. Fëanor and his sons abode seldom in one place for long. They travelled far and wide upon [*read:* within] the confines of Valinor, going even to the borders of the Dark and the cold shores of the Outer Sea, seeking the unknown. Often they were guests in the halls of Aulë; but Celegorn [> Celegorm] went rather to the house of Oromë, and there he got great knowledge of all birds and beasts, and all their tongues he knew. For all living things that are or have been in the Kingdom of Arda, save only the fell and evil creatures of Melkor, lived then in Valinor; and there also were many other creatures beautiful and strange that have not yet been seen upon the Middle-earth, and perchance never now shall be, since the fashion of the World was changed.

Commentary on Chapter 5, 'Of Eldanor and the Princes of the Eldalië'

§35 The identification of the isle of the Gods' first dwelling with the isle of the Elves' ferrying (see IV.45) was abandoned when the isle of the Gods amid the seas became an isle (Almaren) in a great lake in the midst of Middle-earth. Tol Eressëa has now no significant origin. Cf. AAm §66 (p. 84): 'an island which long had stood alone amidst the Sea, since the tumults of the fall of Illuin'. The old story was still present in a draft narrative associated with *The Drowning of Anadûnê* (IX.402 and note 11).

§36 The form *Eglorest* was retained from QS presumably through oversight and not changed to *Eglarest* as in AAm (§70).

§37 The changed story of the rooting of Tol Eressëa to the bottom of the sea appears also in AAm (§§72–3 and commentary); with 'Ulmo understood well their hearts' cf. LQ §23 (p. 161: Ulmo's belief that the Quendi should be left in Middle-earth).

In Ælfwine's note *Avallónë* appears as a name of Tol Eressëa, not, as in the published *Silmarillion*, of a haven in the isle; cf. the *Akallabêth* (p. 260): 'there is in that land a haven that is named Avallónë, for it is of all cities the nearest to Valinor.' In the third version of *The Fall of Númenor* (IX.332), as here, Tol Eressëa 'was named anew Avallon: for it is hard by Valinor and within

sight of the Blessed Realm'; while on the other hand in the narrative sketches associated with *The Drowning of Anadûnê* the name *'Avallon(de)'* already appears as the name of the eastern haven (IX.399, 403 and note 12).

§38 'The Bay of Elvenhome': in the footnote to §39, as in its forerunner in QS, 'Elvenhome' is the name of the city, translating *Eldamar*, while 'Elvenland' is the name of the regions where the Elves dwelt, translating *Eldanor*; in §44 of this chapter QS 'shores of Elvenhome' was changed in the revision to 'shores of Elvenland', but 'the Bay of Elvenhome' was allowed to stand in §§38, 44. In AAm *Eldamar* is the name of the region: see p. 90, §67.

The form *Kalakiryan*, for earlier *Kalakirya*, arose in the course of the composition of AAm (p. 87 note 7).

On 'the first flowers that ever were east of the mountains of the gods' see p. 60, §15, and the references given there.

§39 *Tirion* upon *Túna*, replacing *Túna* upon *Kôr*, and *Mindon Eldaliéva* replacing *Ingwemindon*, are found also in AAm §§67–8 (pp. 84–5, 90). – On LQ 2 'the Mindon, Mindon Eldaliéva' (the original emendation to the QS typescript, not an error) the repetition of 'Mindon' was bracketed for exclusion.

'In Tirion the Vanyar and the Noldor dwelt long time in fellowship': this is scarcely in accord with AAm (see p. 90, §68). LQ retained also the old phrase in §45: 'As the ages passed the Vanyar grew to love the land of the gods ... and they forsook the city upon Túna'.

The gift of Yavanna to the people of Tirion of an 'image' of Telperion is recorded also in AAm §69 (p. 85), where it is named *Galathilion* and is a gift to the Noldor. In LQ §16 *Galathilion* is the Sindarin name of Telperion, and in the footnote to LQ §17 on the names of the Trees the White Tree of Túna is *Galathilion the Less*. The Trees of Eressëa and Númenor are referred to in that note also, and given the names *Celeborn* and *Nimloth* (both of which were names of Telperion).

§40 'High Elves' > 'Fair Elves' by a late change to LQ 2, as in Chapter 3 (p. 168, §25).

On one copy of LQ 2 my father revised the paragraph thus:

> Manwë and Varda loved most the Vanyar, the High Elves, and all their deeds and songs were holy and immortal. The Noldor were beloved of Aulë, and of Mandos the wise; and their knowledge and skill became great. Yet ever greater grew their thirst for more knowledge, and their desire to make things new and wonderful. They were changeful in speech, for they had great love of words, and were never weary of devising names more fitting for all the things that they knew or imagined.

This is strange, and I cannot really explain it; it seems as if he were experimenting (but casually, and only in this and one other passage) with a stylistic 'reduction', especially in respect of the characteristic 'inversions'. Comparison with the text as it stood (which is that of QS) shows how flat the opening sentences had become.

After LQ 1 had been made my father returned to the original QS typescript, and wrote in a substantial new passage on the subject of the jewels of the Noldor; this was not entered on LQ 1 and so was 'lost', since he never rediscovered it, and the final typescript LQ 2 still retained the old text in which the Noldor 'contrived the fashioning of gems'. The new passage read (following the words 'all things that they knew or imagined.'):

> And in all crafts of hand they delighted also; and their masons built many towers tall and slender, and many halls and houses of marble. Thus it came to pass that, quarrying in the hills after stone, the Noldor first discovered gems, in which the Land of Aman was indeed surpassing rich, and they brought them forth in countless myriads of many kinds and hues; and they carved and fashioned them in shapes of bright beauty, and they filled all Elendë with them, and the halls of the gods in Valinor were enriched.

In fact, a closely similar change (including the phrase 'carved them in many forms of bright beauty') was made to AAm §79 (p. 92 with note 3 and p. 103).

§§41–2 In Appendix F to *The Lord of the Rings* is found in the First Edition (published in October 1955): 'the Lady Galadriel of the royal house of Finrod, father of Felagund'; in the Second Edition (1966) this became 'the Lady Galadriel of the royal house of Finarphin and sister of Finrod Felagund'. Since as late as September 1954 (*Letters* no.150) my father was apologising to Allen and Unwin for not having as yet 'any copy to send in for the Appendices', it is clear that *Finrod* > *Finarphin* and *Inglor* > *Finrod* cannot have been entered on LQ 1 until after this time. On the typescript text of AAm (p. 128, §134) he noted that the names of the Sons of Fëanor 'will be revised', and on the text he changed *Cranthir* to *Caranthir*, underlined the *n* of *Celegorn*, and struck out *Damrod* and *Díriel* without replacing them. LQ 2 has the altered names. I have suggested that the typescripts of AAm and LQ 2 belong to much the same time (perhaps about 1958): see pp. 141–2.

It is characteristic of the textual puzzles that abound in my father's later work on *The Silmarillion* that the regular change of *Lindar* > *Vanyar* was undoubtedly made on LQ 1 in this chapter at the same time as these other changes of name; yet AAm has *Vanyar* as first written. It may be that a good deal of

the correction to LQ 1 was actually carried out a long time after that text was typed.

§41 The marriage of Finrod (= Finarphin) to Eärwen Olwë's daughter is recorded under the Valian Year 1280 in AAm §85 (p. 93). – By a late change to LQ 2 *Maglor* > *Maelor*; *Maelor* occurs in the later *Lay of Leithian*, III.353.

§42 The passage describing the White Lady of the Noldor was added on a slip to the original QS typescript, and this slip is a page from a used engagement calendar dated October 1951. At that stage her name was still *Isfin*. A rejected draft for this rider on the same slip began thus:

> She was younger in the years of the Eldar than her brethren, for she awoke in Valinor [not upon Middle-earth >] after the making of the Silmarils, and even as the first shadow fell upon the Blessed Realm; and when she was grown to full stature...

The words 'She was younger in the years of the Eldar than her brethren, for she awoke in Valinor not upon Middle-earth' are not in accord with AAm, where Fingolfin their father was himself born in Aman (§81).

The rider was not taken up into LQ 1 as typed, which still had the name *Isfin*, as in AAm (see p. 102 notes 8 and 9: the first birth-date for Isfin (1469) makes her born after the making of the Silmarils in 1450, but the second (1362) before). But later *Isfin* was changed to *Írith* on LQ 1 (at the same time as the corrections of *Finrod* to *Finarphin*, etc.), and the same rider was attached on a slip, identical in wording to that attached to the old QS typescript, but with the name *Írith*. This is presumably a case where a 'lost' change was recovered.

In QS Angrod and Egnor were friends of the sons of Fëanor, while Inglor and Orodreth were friends of the sons of Fingolfin, Fingon and Turgon. Now the association of Angrod and Egnor with the Fëanorians (which led to their being allowed passage in the ships at the time of the crossing to Middle-earth, QS §73) was abandoned (as it was also in AAm, §135, pp. 113, 125), and all four of Finarphin's sons become the bosom friends of Fingon and Turgon. 'And these four' was changed to 'And these three' on LQ 1 when Orodreth was finally ejected entirely from the third generation of the Noldorin princes (see III.91, 246, and *Unfinished Tales* p. 255 note 20).

Here Galadriel enters the *Quenta* tradition; for Galadriel in AAm see §§85, 135 and commentary. On one copy of LQ 2 my father noted: 'In High-elvish her name was *Altariellë* "Lady with garland of sunlight", *galata-rīg-elle* = S[indarin] *Galadriel*. It was thus mere accident that her name resembled *galað* (Silvan *galad* "tree").' Cf. the Appendix to *The Silmarillion* p. 360, entry *kal-*.

§43 In this paragraph my father made two narrative changes that (like the passage concerning the jewels of the Noldor referred to under §40 above) were 'lost', since they were made to the QS typescript after LQ 1 had been copied from it. The first concerns the sentence 'For nigh on one hundred of the years of Valinor, which were each as ten of the years of the Sun that were after made' (the text of QS, preserved in LQ 1 and 2); here the following was substituted:

> For well-nigh one hundred of the years of our time (though that be but ten of the Years of the Valar) they dwelt in Tol Eressëa.

The reduction of the time during which the Teleri dwelt apart in Tol Eressëa from 1000 to 100 years of the Sun was clearly made for linguistic reasons. A thousand years would introduce such changes as to make the tongues of the Noldor (a people in any case 'changeful in speech', §40) and the Teleri into different languages, which could not conceivably 'draw together' again (§45). In AAm (§§72, 75) the 'lost' reckoning of only 100 years of the Sun is present.

On one copy of LQ 2 my father emended the original passage anew, and produced: 'They dwelt in Tol Eressëa for nearly one hundred of the years of Valinor (which were each as ten of the later years of the Sun in Middle-earth).' Since this does not alter the sense in any way it must have been made to reduce the archaic element (cf. the passage given under §40 above). Thus the revision made to the QS typescript for reasons of likelihood in linguistic history was forgotten; on the other hand, the change on LQ 1 of 'tongues' to 'peoples' in 'the tongues of Túna and of Alqualondë drew together in those days' was very probably made for the same reason, though resolving the difficulty in a different way.

The second of the 'lost' emendations in this paragraph changed the story that it was Ulmo who taught the Teleri the craft of ship-building:

> Therefore Ulmo, submitting to the will of the Valar, sent unto them Ossë their friend, and he, albeit in grief, taught them the craft of ship-building; and when their ships were built he brought to them as his farewell gift the strong-winged swans.

In AAm §75 Ulmo as teacher was likewise corrected to Ossë (p. 86 and note 8). This shift is an aspect of the changed story of the rooting of Tol Eressëa to the sea-bottom; where in QS Ossë submitted to Ulmo, Ulmo now submits to the will of the Valar.

§44 *Kalakiryan* was corrected on one copy of LQ 2 to *the Calaciryan*, and the same change of spelling in §45. – It is at first sight puzzling that LQ 1 has *Olwë* in §41 but *Elwë* in §§44–5,

but the reason is simply that the correction in the latter two places was missed on the QS typescript.

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6 OF THE SILMARILS AND THE DARKENING OF VALINOR

The textual history of this chapter is entirely different from that of any of the preceding ones. In the first stage of revision, only few and slight changes were made to the QS manuscript (the old QS typescript text having stopped at the end of the previous chapter), and these were taken up into LQ 1. But *after* LQ 1 had been made, my father returned to the old manuscript, and on the verso pages began a new version – rather oddly, paginating it on from the end of the QS typescript, and retaining the chapter number 4. This was clearly an element in the revision of 1951. At first this version is virtually continuous (as far as part way through §50), and if retaining the old text he wrote it out anew; but after this point he made use of the actual QS manuscript text, though emending it and interpolating it very heavily. At '... came into that region that is called Arvalin' (§55) the new work effectively ceases. My father scarcely touched LQ 1: he made a couple of changes on the first page of the typescript, including *Lindar* > *Vanyar*, but then stopped: a later occurrence of *Lindar* was left to stand. Here therefore LQ 1 ceases to be of use, and the text printed is the new text of the chapter written on the QS manuscript: it will be convenient to refer to this simply as 'LQ'.

The new writing was itself emended and interpolated subsequently, in red ink; I give the text in its final form, but in a few cases where the distinction between earlier and later readings is of interest I record the earlier in notes following the text. The title given to the new version was *Of the Silmarilli and the Darkening of Valinor*, but this was changed to (apparently – the intention is not perfectly clear) *Of Fëanor and the Silmarilli, and the Darkening of Valinor*. For the QS version (in which it is numbered Chapter 4) see V.227–31. There is no text of the chapter extant in the LQ 2 series.

§46 From this time, when the Three Kindreds of the Eldar were gathered at last in Valinor, and Melkor was chained, began the Noontide of the Blessed Realm and its fullness of glory and bliss, long in tale of years, but in memory too brief. In those days the Eldar became full-grown in stature of body and of mind, and the Noldor advanced ever in skill and knowledge; and the long years were filled with their joyful labours, in which many new things fair and wonderful were devised.

§46a Then it was that the Noldor first bethought them of letters, and Rúmil of Túna was the name of that lore-master

who first made fitting signs for the recording of speech and song, some for graving upon metal or in stone, others for drawing with brush or with pen.

§46b In that time was born in Eldamar in the house of the king, in Tirion upon the crown of Túna, Fëanor the eldest of the sons of Finwë, and the most beloved. Míriel was the name of his mother. Silver was her hair and dark were her eyes, but her hands were more skilled to fineness than any hands even of the Noldor. By her was the craft of needles devised; and were but one fragment of the broideries of Míriel to be seen in Middle-earth it would be held dearer than a king's realm, for the richness of her devices and the fire of their colours were as manifold and as bright as the glory of leaf and flower and wing in the fields of Yavanna. Therefore she was named Míriel Serende.*

§46c And Fëanor grew swiftly as if a secret fire were kindled within him, and he was tall and fair of face and masterful, and he became of all the Noldor the most subtle of heart and of mind, and the most skilled of hand. He it was that in his youth, bettering the work of Rúmil, made those letters which bear his name, and which ever since the Eldar have used; yet this was the least of his works. For he it was that first of the Noldor discovered how gems greater and brighter than those of the Earth might be made with skill. And the first gems that Fëanor devised were white and colourless, but being set under starlight they would blaze with blue and white fires brighter than Helluin. And other crystals he made, wherein things far away could be seen small but clear, as with the eyes of the Eagles of Manwë. Seldom were the hand and mind of Fëanor at rest.[1]

§47 Now at length the Noontide of Valinor drew to its close. For it came to pass that Melkor, as the Valar decreed, had dwelt for three ages in the duress of Mandos, alone. And when he had suffered that bondage, as the Valar had promised, he was brought again before them in conclave. He looked then upon the bliss and glory of the Valar, and malice was in his heart; he looked upon the fair Children of Ilúvatar that sat at the feet of the gods, and hatred filled him; he looked upon the wealth of bright gems and lusted for them; but he hid his thoughts and postponed his vengeance.

* [footnote to the text] That is Byrde Míriel (the Broideress): quoth Ælfwine.

§48 Before the gates of Valmar Melkor abased himself at the feet of Manwë and sued for pardon, promising that, if he might be made but the least of the free folk of Valinor, he would aid the Valar in all their deeds, and most of all in the healing of the many hurts that he had wrought and now would work no more. And Niënna aided his prayer, but Mandos was silent. Then Manwë granted him pardon; but the Valar would not yet suffer him to depart from their sight and vigilance. He was given, therefore, a humble dwelling within the gates of the city, and put on trial; and he was not permitted to go more than one league from Valmar, save by the leave of Manwë and with a guardian at his side. But fair-seeming were all the words and deeds of Melkor in that time, and both Valar and Eldar had much profit from his aid. Wherefore in a while he was allowed to go freely about the land, and it seemed to Manwë that his evil was cured. For he himself was free from the evil and could not comprehend it, and he knew that in the beginning, in the thought of Eru, Melkor had been even as he. Yet it is said that Ulmo's heart misgave him, and Tulkas clenched his hands whenever he saw Melkor, his foe, go by. For if Tulkas is slow to wrath, slow is he also to forget.

§49 Most fair of all was Melkor to the Eldar, and he aided them in many works, if they would let him. The Vanyar, indeed, the people of Ingwë, held him in suspicion; for Ulmo had warned them, and they heeded his words. But the Noldor took delight in the many things of hidden knowledge that he could reveal to them, and some hearkened to words that it would have been better that they should never have heard.

§49a It has been said indeed that Fëanor learned much of Melkor in secret, but that doubtless is but one of the many lies of Melkor himself, envying the skill of Fëanor and desiring to claim part in his deeds. For certain it is that, snared though he might be (as others) by the lies of Melkor, none of all the Eldalië ever hated Melkor more than Fëanor son of Finwë, who first named him *Morgoth*.

§49b And in that time there was done the deed most renowned of all the works of the Elvenfolk. For Fëanor, being now come to his full might, was filled with a new thought, or maybe some shadow of foreknowledge came to him of the doom that should be; and he pondered how the Light of the Trees, the glory of the Blessed Realm, might be preserved imperishable. Then he began a long and marvellous labour; and

he summoned all his lore, and his power, and his subtle craft, for he purposed now to make things more fair than any of the Eldar had yet made, whose beauty should last beyond the End.

Three jewels he made, and named them *Silmarils*. A living fire burned within them that was blended of the Light of the Two Trees. Of their own radiance they shone, even in the dark of the deepest treasury; yet all lights that fell upon them, however faint, they received and returned again in marvellous hues to which their own inner fire gave a surpassing loveliness. No mortal flesh, nor flesh unclean, nor any thing of evil will could touch them, but it was scorched and withered; neither could they be hurt or broken by any strength in all the kingdom of Arda. These jewels the Elves prized beyond all their works, and Varda hallowed them, and Mandos foretold that the fates of Arda, earth, sea, and air, lay locked within them. And the heart of Fëanor was fast bound to these things that he himself had made.

§50* But the heart of Melkor also desired these fairest of jewels; and from that time with desire the malice of Melkor grew ever greater, though nought of it could be seen in the semblance that he wore, or in the fair form that he assumed after the manner of the Valar his brethren. And when he saw his chances he sowed a seed of lies and hints of evil among all who were open to his converse. Bitterly did the people of the Noldor atone for their folly in the days to come. Coming often among them he would speak ever words of greatest praise, sweet but poisoned honey; for amid all the fair words others were ever subtly woven. Visions he would conjure in their hearts of the mighty realms they might have ruled at their own will, in power and freedom in the East. And then he would whisper, to any that leaned towards him, that the gods had brought the Eldar to Valinor because of their jealousy, fearing that the beauty of the Quendi, and the makers' power that Ilúvatar had bequeathed to them, would grow too great for the Valar to govern, as the Elves waxed and spread over the wide lands of the world.

In those days, moreover, though the Valar knew indeed of the coming of Men that were to be,[2] the Elves knew yet nought of it; for the gods had not revealed it, and the time was not yet near. But Melkor spake to the Elves in secret of Mortal Men,

* The beginning of this paragraph corresponds in content to the end of QS §49.

though he knew little of the truth. Manwë alone knew aught clearly of the mind of Ilúvatar concerning Men, and he has ever been their friend. Yet Melkor whispered that the gods kept the Eldar captive, so that Men coming should defraud them of the kingdoms of Middle-earth; for the weaker and short-lived race the Valar saw would be more easily swayed by them. Small truth was there in this, and little have the Valar ever prevailed to sway the wills or fates of Men, and least of all to good. But many of the Noldor believed, or half-believed, the evil words. [It is told, also, that at this time Melkor would speak to the Eldar of weapons and armour, and of the power that they give to him that is armed to defend his own (as he said). The Eldar had before possessed no weapons, and since the chaining of Melkor the armouries of the gods had been shut. But the Noldor now learned the fashioning of swords of tempered steel, and the making of bows and of arrows and of spears; and they made shields in those days and emblazoned them with devices of silver and gold and gems. Thus it was that the Noldor were armed in the days of their Flight. Thus too, as oft was seen, the evil of Melkor was turned against him; for the swords of the Gnomes did him more hurt than anything under the gods upon this earth. Yet they had little joy of Melkor's teaching; for all the sorrows of the Gnomes they wrought with their own swords, as later shall be seen. Quoth Pengoloð.]

§51 Thus, ere the gods were aware, the peace of Valinor was poisoned. The Noldor began to murmur against the Valar and their kindred; and many became filled with vanity, forgetting all that the gods had given them and taught to them. Fiercest burned the flame in the eager heart of Fëanor, and Melkor laughed in his secrecy; for to that mark above all had his lies been addressed, and Fëanor he most hated, lusting all the while for the Silmarils. Yet never could he come nigh them; for though at great feasts Fëanor would wear them, blazing upon his brow, at other times they were guarded close, locked in the deep hoards of Túna. There were no thieves in Valinor, as yet; but Fëanor loved the Silmarils with a greedy love, and he began to grudge the sight of them to all save to his sire and to his sons.

§52 High princes were Fëanor and Fingolfin, the elder sons of Finwë; but they grew proud and jealous each of his right, and his possessions. And lo! Melkor set new lies abroad, and whispers came to Fëanor that Fingolfin and his sons, Fingon and Turgon, were plotting to usurp the leadership of Finwë and of

the elder house of Fëanor, and to supplant them by leave of the Valar – for the Valar were ill-pleased that the Silmarils lay in Túna, and were not given to their keeping. Of these lies quarrels were born among the proud children of Finwë, and of these quarrels came the end of the high days of Valinor and the evening of its ancient glory; for Fëanor spake words of rebellion against the Valar, crying aloud that he would depart from Valinor back to the world without, and deliver, as he said, the Gnomes from thraldom, if they would follow him. And when Fingolfin sought to restrain him Fëanor drew his sword upon him.[3] For the lies of Melkor, though he knew not clearly their source, had taken root in the pride of his heart.

§53 Then the Valar were wroth and dismayed, and[4] Fëanor was summoned to answer in the Ring of Doom; and there the lies of Melkor were laid bare for all those to see who had the will. By the judgement of the gods Fëanor was banished for twenty years[5] from Túna, since he had disturbed its peace. But with him went Finwë his father, who loved him more than his other sons, and many other Gnomes also. Northward in Valinor, in the hills near to the halls of Mandos, they built a strong place and a treasury at Formenos;[6] and they gathered there a multitude of gems. But Fingolfin ruled the Noldor in Túna; and thus Melkor's words seemed justified (though Fëanor had wrought their fulfilment by his own deeds), and the bitterness that Melkor had sown endured, even though the lies were revealed, and long afterwards it lived still between the sons of Fëanor and Fingolfin.

§54 Straight from the midst of their council the Valar sent Tulkas to lay hands on Melkor and bring him again to judgement, but Melkor hid himself, and none could discover whither he had gone; and the shadows of all standing things seemed to grow longer and darker in that time. It is said that for two years[7] none saw Melkor, until he appeared privily to Fëanor, feigning friendship with cunning argument, and urging him to his former thought of flight. But his cunning overreached his aim; for knowing that the jewels held the heart of Fëanor in thrall, he said at the last: 'Here is a strong place and well guarded, but think not that the Silmarils will lie safe in any treasury within reach of the Valar!'

Then the fires of the heart of Fëanor were kindled, and his eyes blazed, and his sight burned through all the fair-semblance of Melkor to the dark depths of his mind, and perceived there

his fierce lust for the Silmarils. Then hate overcame Fëanor's fear, and he spoke shamefully to Melkor, saying: 'Get thee gone, gangrel! Thou jail-crow of Mandos!' And he shut the doors of his house upon the mightiest of all the dwellers in Eä, as though he were a beggar.

And Melkor departed in shame, for he was himself in peril, and saw not his time yet for revenge; but his heart was black with anger. And Finwë was filled with dread, and sent messengers in haste to the Valar.

§55 Now the gods were sitting in council before their gates, fearing the lengthening of the shadows, when the messenger came from Finwë, but ere Tulkas could set forth others came that brought tidings from Eldanor. For Melkor had fled through the Kalakirya, and from the hill of Túna the Elves saw him pass in wrath as a thunder-cloud. Thus Melkor departed, and for a while the Trees shone again unshadowed, and still Valinor was fair; yet as a cloud far off that looms ever higher, borne upon a slow cold wind, a doubt now marred the mirth of all the dwellers in Aman, dreading they knew not what evil might yet come. And the Valar sought ever for news of Melkor, in vain. But he passed from Eldanor and[8] came into that region that is called Arvalin, which lies south of the Bay of Elendë, and is a narrow land beneath the eastern feet of the Mountains of Aman. There the shadows were deepest and thickest in the World. In that land, secret and unknown, dwelt in spider's form Ungoliantë, weaver of dark webs. It is not told whence she came; from the Outer Darkness, maybe, that lies in Eä beyond the walls of the World. In a ravine she lived, and spun her webs in a cleft of the mountains; for she sucked up light and shining things to spin them forth again in black nets of choking gloom and clinging fog. She hungered ever for more food.

§56 Melkor met Ungoliantë in Arvalin, and with her he plotted his revenge; but she demanded a great and terrible reward, ere she would dare the perils of Valinor and the power of the gods. Then, when Melkor had vowed to give all that she lusted for, she wove a great darkness about her for their protection, and black ropes she span, and cast from rocky peak to peak; and in this way she scaled at last the highest pinnacle of the mountains, far south of Taniquetil. In that region the vigilance of the Valar was less, because the wild woods of Oromë lay in the south of Valinor, and the walls of the mountains looked there eastward upon the untrodden land and

empty seas; and the gods held guard rather against the North where of old Melkor had delved his fortress and deep throne.

For §§57–9 see the end of the commentary on this chapter, p. 193.

NOTES

1 This passage concerning the gems devised by Fëanor (following 'yet this was the least of his works') was a secondary addition (see p. 184). See the commentary on §46c.
2 From this point the virtually continuous newly written text changes to a heavily emended and interpolated treatment of the QS manuscript (p. 184).
3 'drew his sword upon him' was changed from 'menaced him with his sword'.
4 'Then the Valar were wroth and dismayed, and' was a secondary addition.
5 'twenty years' was changed from 'ten years'.
6 'at Formenos' was a secondary addition.
7 'two years' was changed from 'a great while'.
8 From this point the new work on the chapter effectively ceases, and the few differences from QS belong to the earlier layer of emendation that was taken up into LQ 1; but I give the text to the end of §56 in order to take in the majority of these earlier changes.

Commentary on Chapter 6, 'Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor'

A comparison will show that the new writing in LQ stands in close relation to the corresponding part of AAm. New elements in LQ appear also in AAm, such as Fëanor's mother Míriel (§78, p. 92), the devising of letters by Rúmil and Fëanor (§§80, 83), or the placing of the making of the Silmarils after the release of Melkor (p. 104, §92). There are constant similarities of wording and many actual identities of phrase (notably in the encounter of Fëanor with Melkor at Formenos, LQ §54, AAm §102).

Can precedence be established between the two? It is scarcely possible to demonstrate it one way or the other, for individual details tell in both ways. Thus Fëanor's word to Melkor, 'gangrel', was that first written in LQ, whereas in AAm it replaced 'beggarman'; but 'the Valar were wroth and dismayed' is an addition to LQ (note 4), whereas 'the Gods were wroth' in AAm (§99) was not. The change in LQ of 'ten years' to 'twenty years' as the term of Fëanor's banishment from Tirion (note 5) is a change also in AAm (§99 and note 10), and the name Formenos is an addition in both. I think in fact that the two texts were closely contemporary. It will be seen that after the revision in LQ has come to an end AAm continues on (from §105) in the same

larger and more expansive fashion obviously based structurally on the *Quenta* tradition: and it may be therefore that the LQ text petered out because the 'Annals' (scarcely 'Annals' any more) had become my father's preference.

How he conceived the relation between the two at this time seems impossible to say. As I have said (p. 102), 'we see the annal form disappearing as a fully-fledged narrative emerges'; and the AAm narrative, while differing in every sentence from the *Silmarillion* version, is nonetheless very obviously 'the same'. Certainly too similar to it to be regarded as the representation of a separate tradition of learning and memory, or even of the work of a different 'loremaster'. There are only the most minor variations in the two narratives (for example, in LQ the messengers came to Valinor telling that Melkor had fled through the Kalakirya before Tulkas had set out in pursuit (§55), whereas in AAm the messengers came 'ere Oromë and Tulkas had ridden far' (§104)); and there is constant echoing of vocabulary and phrasing. See further on this topic pp. 289–91.

§46b *Byrde Míriel* (in the footnote to the text): cf. AAm §78 (p. 92), where Fëanor's mother (in a replacement entry) is given, rather oddly, the Old English 'surname' *Byrde*, not *Serende*, in the text itself and without reference to Ælfwine.

§46c The passage in AAm §83 (p. 92 and note 5) concerning Fëanor's study of the making of gems by skill was an addition, as was that in the present text (note 1 above); the idea is associated with the change from the devising of gems by the Noldor to their obtaining them from the ground of Aman (see LQ §40 and commentary).

With the mention of the 'crystals ... wherein things far away could be seen small but clear' (not referred to in AAm) cf. Gandalf's words in *The Two Towers* (III.11): 'The *palantíri* came from beyond Westernesse, from Eldamar. The Noldor made them. Fëanor himself, maybe, wrought them, in days so long ago that the time cannot be measured in years.'

§49a Cf. AAm §123 (p. 108): 'Then Fëanor rose up and cursed Melkor, naming him *Morgoth*'. In AAm *Melkor* is used throughout until the time when Fëanor named him Morgoth (p. 123, §123); so also in the revision of QS the use of *Morgoth* before this point in the narrative was changed to *Melkor*.

§49b The passage concerning the Silmarils corresponds in content to the latter part of QS §46; for, as in AAm, the making of the Silmarils now comes after the release of Melkor.

§50 The passage on the arming of the Elves is no longer given as a footnote, and is moved to a different place from that in QS (§49); but it is enclosed within brackets and attributed to Pengoloð. The text is at this point in any case extremely

disordered, since it consists partly of new writing and partly of passages retained from the original QS text. The old note was largely written out afresh, though it was not greatly changed from the earlier form: the chief difference being that whereas it was said in QS that the Elves had previously possessed 'weapons of the chase, spears and bows and arrows' it is now told (as in AAm, p. 96, §97) that they had no weapons before this time. See further p. 281.

§52 On Fëanor's drawing his sword on Fingolfin see p. 104, §98. – It is curious that (despite §46b 'in Tirion upon the crown of Túna') here 'the Silmarils lay *in Túna*', and again in §53 'Fingolfin ruled the Noldor *in Túna*'. The same is found in AAm (p. 90, §67), and much later (see p. 282).

§55 The words 'in Eä', not found in LQ 1, belong with the later work on the QS manuscript as presented in the text given above (see note 8). On the words 'the Outer Darkness ... that lies in Eä beyond the walls of the World' see pp. 62–4.

§§57–9 In the last paragraphs of the chapter, not given in the text (p. 191), changes made to QS were:

§57: *Morgoth* > *Melkor*, and at all subsequent occurrences.

§58: *Tûn* > *Túna*; *the shores of Elvenhome* > *the shores of Eldamar*; *Silpion* > *Telperion*; *protected by fate* omitted; *With his black spear* > *Suddenly with his black spear*; *leaf and branch and root* > *root and leaf and bough*; and at the end of the paragraph (after *she swelled to monstrous form*) was added: *but still she was athirst. She drank therefore also of the vats of Varda, and drained them utterly.*

§59: *their feet* > *the feet of the hunters*; *escaped the hunt* > *escaped them.*

I have noticed earlier (p. 142) that much later (after the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*) my father turned to new narrative writing within the body of the *Quenta Silmarillion*: beginning with Chapter 1, which became the *Valaquenta*, and then jumping to the present chapter, 6. A new story of ramifying implications, that of the death of Fëanor's mother Míriel and Finwë's second marriage to Indis of the Vanyar, had now entered; but this further and final development is here postponed (see pp. 205 ff.).

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7 OF THE FLIGHT OF THE NOLDOR

The textual history of this chapter is relatively simple (for the late rewriting just referred to, which extends some little way into it, see

pp. 292 ff.). The original chapter in QS (V.232–8, where it is numbered 5) was corrected, not very extensively, at the time of the 1951 revision, and as corrected was typed in the amanuensis text LQ 1. This received no corrections at all, but on the later amanuensis typescript LQ 2 my father made a few changes, mostly the regular alteration of names. In this case I do not give the revised text, but record individually the significant changes made to QS. Various small changes of wording are not mentioned, nor are regular name-changes as *Melko* > *Melkor*, *Tûn* > *Túna* or *Tirion*, *Kôr* > *Túna*, *the pass of Kôr* > *the pass of Kalakiryan*, *Elwë* > *Olwë*. In §69 *western land* > *Westland* and *Helkaraksë* > *Helkaraxë* (so spelt in AAm), in §70 *strands of Elvenhome* > *strands of Eldanor*, and in §71 *Eruman* > *Araman* (cf. AAm §125, pp. 108, 123).

§60 At the first three occurrences 'Morgoth' > 'Melkor', and at the end of the paragraph, after 'the violence of Morgoth', was added: 'for such was his name from that day forth among the Gnomes'; thereafter 'Morgoth' was retained. At the foot of the page my father noted: 'In more ancient form *Moringotto*'. It was here that the story entered that Melkor received the name *Morgoth* at this time, though there was no suggestion yet that it was Fëanor who gave it to him. That entered in AAm (§123) and in the contemporary rewriting of Chapter 6 (p. 186, §49a); no doubt at the same time my father struck out on the QS manuscript the addition just given and substituted: 'So Fëanor called him in that hour: the Black Foe, and that name he bore among the Noldor ever after.' *Morgoth* was translated 'the Dark Enemy' in the AAm passage, but for some reason this was rejected (p. 120, note 2).

The sentence in §60 'a thing before unseen that in the gathering night had seemed to be a spider of monstrous form' was changed to 'a thing before unseen for which no word was known, a vast shape of darkness black in the gathering night'; cf. AAm §122. The Valar are to be wholly ignorant of the nature of the aid that Melkor had summoned (cf. AAm §124), and the Darkness (or 'Unlight') of Ungoliantë becomes a central idea of the legend.

§62 The passage concerning the Orcs, from 'he brought into being the race of the Orcs' to the end of the paragraph, was rewritten as follows:

> he brought into being the race of the Orkor,* and they grew and multiplied in the bowels of the earth. These creatures Morgoth made in envy and mockery of the Elves. Therefore in form they were like unto the Children of Ilúvatar, yet foul to look upon; for they were made in hatred, and with hatred

they were filled. Their voices were as the clashing of stones, and they laughed not, save only at torment and cruel deeds. *Glamhoth*, the hosts of tumult, the Noldor called them.

* [footnote to the text] In Gnomish speech this name is *orch* of one, *yrch* of many. *Orcs* we may name them, for in the ancient days they were strong and fell as demons; yet they were of other kind, a spawn of earth corrupted by the power of Morgoth, and they could be slain or destroyed by the valiant: quoth Ælfwine.

This is closely related to AAm §127, as that was first written (see pp. 120–1, notes 5–7, and commentary p. 123), and contains the same conjunction of two apparently different theories, that the Orcs were 'made' by Morgoth and that they were 'a spawn of earth' corrupted by him.

My father then altered the passage by cutting out Ælfwine's footnote to the word *Orkor* but adding a closely similar passage in the body of the text, thus:

Glamhoth, the hosts of tumult, the Noldor called them. Orcs we may name them;* for in ancient days they were strong and fell as demons. Yet they were not of demon-kind, but a spawn of earth corrupted by Morgoth, and they could be slain or destroyed by the valiant with weapons of war.

* [footnote to the text] Quoth Ælfwine.

This rearrangement is puzzling, for Ælfwine's contribution can hardly be limited to the words 'Orcs we may name them' (see p. 124); but perhaps by placing the asterisk at this point my father meant to indicate that all that follows it was added by Ælfwine. On the LQ typescript he changed it again, putting the whole passage from 'Orcs we may name them' into a footnote.

On the QS manuscript he scribbled later, against the first part of the passage, concerning the making of the Orcs: 'Alter this. See *Annals*.' This refers to the change introduced into AAm whereby the Orcs had been bred from captured Quendi many ages before: see the commentary on AAm §127 (p. 123).

§67 'masters of the enchanted light' > 'masters of the unsullied Light'; cf. AAm §133 'lords of the unsullied Light'.

§68 'But of his own sons Inglor alone spake with him [Finrod]; Angrod and Egnor took the part of Fëanor, and Orodreth stood aside' > 'But of his own children Inglor alone spoke in like manner; for Angrod and Egnor and Galadriel were with Fingon, whereas Orodreth stood aside and spoke not.' As AAm was first written the same account of the associations of the Noldorin princes was given, but it was changed immediately: see AAm §135 (pp. 112, 125), and p. 121, note 12.

'and with Fingolfin were Finrod and Inglor' > 'and with Fingolfin were Finrod and his house'

§72 The whole of this paragraph was rewritten as follows:

Then Finrod turned back, being filled with grief, and with bitterness against the house of Fëanor because of his kinship with Olwë of Alqualondë; and many of his people went with him, retracing their steps in sorrow, until they beheld once more the far beam of the Mindon upon Túna, still shining in the night, and so came at last to Valinor again. And they received the pardon of the Valar, and Finrod was set to rule the remnant of the Noldor in the Blessed Realm. But his sons were not with him, for they would not forsake the sons of Fingolfin; and all Fingolfin's folk went forward still, fearing to face the doom of the gods, since not all of them had been guiltless of the kinslaying at Alqualondë. Moreover Fingon and Turgon, though they had no part in that deed, were bold and fiery of heart and loath to abandon any task to which they had put their hands until the bitter end, if bitter it must be. So the main host held on, and all too swiftly the evil that was foretold began its work.

This is almost word for word the same as AAm §156, the only real difference being the mention here that Fingon and Turgon had no part in the kinslaying. That the rewriting of QS preceded the passage in AAm, however, is shown by the fact that *Olwë* is here a later change from *Elwë*.

§73 'and they took with them only such as were faithful to their house, among whom were Angrod and Egnor' was left unchanged, through oversight, and survived into the typescript LQ 2. The association of Angrod and Egnor with the Fëanorians (so that they were given passage to Middle-earth in the ships) had been abandoned in the rewritings of QS §§68, 72 given above.

'a great burning, terrible and bright' > 'a great burning, terrible and bright, at the place that was after called Losgar, at the outlet of the Firth of Drengist'. The same addition was made to AAm (§162, pp. 120, 127, and p. 122 note 20).

'Therefore led by Fingolfin, and Fingon, Turgon, and Inglor' > 'Therefore led by Fingolfin and his sons, and by Inglor and Galadriel the fair and valiant'; this is virtually the text of AAm (§163, p. 120).

'and came unto Beleriand at the rising of the sun' > 'and came unto Middle-earth at the rising of the Moon'; cf. AAm §163 (pp. 120, 127).

Emendations made to one or other of the copies of the typescript LQ 2 give the later names or name-forms of certain of the Noldorin princes,

as in Chapter 5 (pp. 177, 181, §§41–2): *Finrod* > *Finarphin* and *Finarfin*, *Inglor* > *Finrod*, *Egnor* > *Ægnor* (as emended in Chapter 5 spelt *Aegnor*). — In 'his ancient fortress, Utumno in the North' (§62) *Utumno* > *Angband*; this reflects the late story that both Utumno and Angband were built in the ancient days (see p. 156, §12) – and it was of course to the western fortress, Angband, that Melkor returned and which he rebuilt from its ruins.

Against the passage in §68 'The greater part marched behind Fingolfin, who with his sons yielded to the general voice against their wisdom, because they would not desert their people' my father noted on a copy of LQ 2: 'also because of the promise made by Fingolfin (above)'. This refers to a passage in the final rewriting of the previous chapter (p. 287, §58c), where Fingolfin said to Fëanor before Manwë: 'Thou shalt lead and I will follow.' The word 'above' means that the final text was in being and had been incorporated into the LQ 2 typescript.

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8 OF THE SUN AND MOON AND THE HIDING OF VALINOR

The textual situation here is the simplest so far: we have the chapter in QS (V.239–43), and emendations made to QS in 1951, taken up into the typescript LQ 1, which was not emended subsequently. (A few lightly pencilled alterations were not incorporated in LQ 1, either because the typist could not interpret them or because they were entered on the manuscript subsequently.) As with Chapter 6 (p. 184) the later typescript LQ 2 is not extant. The history of this chapter in *The Silmarillion* therefore ends with the few changes made to QS in 1951; there is also the account in AAm §§164–81, which was itself closely derived from QS, with changes and omissions. In this case again I give the significant changes made to QS and not the whole text. Regular changes of name are (§79) *Kalakilya* > *Kalakiryan*, *the mound of Kôr* > *the mound of Túna*.

§74 The passage beginning 'And Manwë bade Yavanna ...' was changed to a form almost identical with AAm §167 (p. 129):

> And Manwë bade Yavanna and Nienna to put forth all their powers of growth and healing; and they put forth all their powers upon the Trees, but the tears of Nienna availed not to heal their mortal wounds; and for a long while Yavanna sang on alone in the shadows. Yet even as hope failed and her song faltered in the dark, lo! Telperion bore at last upon a leafless bough one great flower of silver, and Laurelin a single golden fruit.

§75 The passage giving the names of the Sun and Moon was changed to a form intermediate between QS and AAm §171:

> Isil the Sheen the gods of old named the Moon in Valinor, and Anar Fire-golden they named the Sun; but the Eldar named them also Rána the wayward, the giver of visions, and [Úrin >] Naira, the heart of flame, that awakens and consumes.

Thus *Úrin* > *Anar* (with changed meaning, 'Fire-golden'), as in AAm, but this and *Isil* remain names given by the Gods, not by the Vanyar; *Úrin* was at first changed about with *Anar* and made the Eldarin name of the Sun, but was then replaced by *Naira* (*Vása* in AAm). *Rána* (replacing *Răna*) and *Naira* remain Eldarin names, whereas in AAm *Rána* and *Vása* are Noldorin.

'The maiden chosen from among their own folk by the Valar' > 'The maiden whom the Valar chose from among the Maiar' (agreeing with AAm §172).

Pencilled in the margin against *Arien* (above the original marginal gloss by Ælfwine *hyrned* 'horned' to the name Tilion, V.240, footnote) is the unrecorded Old English word *Dægbore* ('Day-bearer', feminine). In AAm (§172, marginal notes) the Old English words supplied by Ælfwine are *hyrned* and *dægred* (daybreak, dawn).

'the pools lit by the flickering light of Silpion' > 'the pools of Estë in Telperion's flickering beams' (agreeing with AAm §172). *Silpion* > *Telperion* subsequently (see p. 59, §5).

§76 'Răna was first wrought' > 'Isil was first wrought' (as AAm §173).

'Melko' > 'Morgoth', because he is to be known as *Morgoth* from the point in the narrative where he is given that name (p. 194, §60).

§77 'the prayers of Lórien and Nienna' > 'the prayers of Lorien and Estë' (as AAm §175).

'Varda changed her design' > 'Varda changed her counsel' (as AAm §175).

The entire passage beginning at 'is the hour of greatest light' and continuing to §79 'the Valar store the radiance of the Sun in many vessels' was put into the past tense (cf. AAm §§175–8).

§78 *Eruman* > *Aruman* (not *Araman*). Since *Eruman* was changed to *Araman* in the revision made at this time to an earlier page in QS (§71) *Aruman* here is no doubt merely an incomplete alteration.

§79 Rewriting of the passage in QS beginning 'That light lives now only in the Silmarils' removed at last the ancient idea of the 'rekindling' of 'the Elder Sun and Moon, which are the Trees' (for the history of this see II.285–6, IV.20, 49, 98), or at least restricted it to a foretelling of the recovery of the Silmarils; but

the strange prophecy of Ulmo that this would only come to pass through the aid of Men was retained. To none of this is there anything corresponding in AAm. The changed passage reads:

> That light lives now only in the Silmarils; though there shall yet come a time, maybe, when they are found again and their fire released, and the ancient joy and glory return. Ulmo foretold to the Valar . . .'

The sentence (not in AAm, §180) 'the fleet of the Teleri kept the shore' was changed to 'rebuilt with Ossë's aid, the fleet of the Teleri kept the shore'.

§80 'the Bay of Elvenhome' > 'The Bay of Eldanor'.

It seems to me very probable that my father made these changes to QS before he wrote the section on the Sun and Moon in the *Annals of Aman*; in any case they were doubtless closely contemporary.

(II) THE SECOND PHASE

An acute problem of presentation arose in the treatment of the late expanded version of Chapter 6 *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor* (see pp. 142, 184 ff.), in that the first part of the new text was based on and developed in stages from a major independent disquisition concerning the nature of the Eldar. Arising out of an account of their marriage laws and customs, this discussion extends into a lengthy analysis of the meaning of death, immortality and rebirth in respect of the Elves. I found that to give the late narrative text of Chapter 6 immediately following the text of the 'first phase' version, postponing the long and remarkable essay from which it derives, was extremely confusing; while to introduce the essay into the series of 'first phase' chapters made matters worse. For this reason I have divided this part of the book into two sections, and give here separately the late narrative versions of Chapters 1, 6, and a part of 7 together with the essay on the Eldar. To date these writings (and those given in Part Four) with any real precision seems impossible on the evidence that I know of, but such as there is points clearly in most cases to the late 1950s and not much later (for detailed discussion see p. 300).

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THE VALAQUENTA

Of the final, enlarged form of the old Chapter 1, the *Valaquenta* (abbreviated **Vq**), there are two texts, both of them typescripts made by my father (Vq 1 and Vq 2). Vq 1 begins as a copy of LQ 2, but very soon diverges, and with the introduction of much new matter becomes in several parts entirely distinct. Though typewritten it is very much a draft text, confused and (at any rate as it exists now) incomplete. It

was followed, I would think immediately, by the finished text Vq 2.

Vq 1 is headed like the preceding versions, 'QUENTA SILMARILLION. Here begins the *Silmarillion*, or the History of the Silmarils. I. Of the Valar.' Vq 2, on the other hand, is headed 'VALAQUENTA. Here is the Account of the Valar and Maiar according to the Lore of the Eldar.' That the original first chapter of *The Silmarillion* had become a separate entity like the *Ainulindalë* is shown, apart from the new title, by the fact that to the final text (LQ 2) of the next chapter, *Of Valinor and the Two Trees*, a title-page (together with a page carrying the preamble, Ælfwine's note, and the Translator's note) was attached, and the chapter numbered '1'. This title-page is virtually the same as that in the old QS typescript (see V.202), with the heading *'Eldanyárë'* and beneath *'Quenta Silmarillion'*, the division into three parts, and the forms *Pennas Silevril*, *Yénie Valinóren*, *Inias Valannor* (where however the old typescript was changed to *Balannor*), and *Inias Beleriand*. The fact that it was taken from the original *'Eldanyárë'* text suggests that it really belonged to LQ 1 (whose title-page is missing, p. 143). It is true that it was typed at the same time as the rest of LQ 2, but I imagine that (having decided to separate off the *Valaquenta*) my father at this time gave the title-page of LQ 1 to the typist of LQ 2 to copy, after which it was mislaid and lost. It seems odd that he should have done this; at least one might have expected him to change the second element from *The Annals of Valinor* to *The Annals of Aman*. He did indeed make some pencilled emendations to it: *Yénie Valinóren* to *Yénie Valinóreo* (and beneath this *Valinóre Yénie*), and *Inias Valannor* to *Ínias Dor-Rodyn*.

Essentially, Vq 1 was the innovating version, and Vq 2 refined stylistically on the new material, although in any given case it is possible that Vq 1 was as LQ 2 and that Vq 2 introduced the new text; however, I treat this detail as largely immaterial. In what follows I comment on notable features arising from a comparison between the *Valaquenta* and LQ (that is, the corrected text of LQ 1 given on pp. 144–7, referred to by the numbered paragraphs, together with the emendations made to its copy LQ 2 given on pp. 148–9). The text of the *Valaquenta* is found in the published *Silmarillion* (references are to the original hardback edition, 1977). Since a number of editorial changes were made to the text of the *Valaquenta* I notice certain points of substance in which they differ.

§1 The words 'Let it be!' were not included in the Vq texts (see p. 148, §1).

§2 Nearly all of this paragraph concerning the Maiar and the confusion with Elves (as emended in LQ 2) still survived in Vq 1, but was eliminated in Vq 2 (the first part of it reappearing, rewritten, at the beginning of the section 'Of the Maiar'). The end

of the paragraph, concerning the making of the Children of Eru, was eliminated in Vq 2 and does not reappear.

§3 Vq 1 as typed followed LQ exactly in the list of the 'chieftains of the Valar' (with *Lóriën* as in LQ 2 for earlier *Lorien*), but a list of the seven queens (*Valier*) was also given: Varda, Yavanna, Niënna, Vána, Vairë, Nessa, Uinen (agreeing with the table given on p. 151). In Vq 1 the nine 'chieftains' became by emendation seven: Melkor and Ossë were removed (and Oromë's place changed, so that he stands after Aulë); this is the number and order of 'the Lords of the Valar' in Vq 2 and in the published work (p. 25). Also by emendation to Vq 1 the queens lose Uinen but gain Estë, who is placed after Niënna, and Vána is set after Vairë; this again was the final form. These changes, both to Valar and Valier, were made also to the typescript of AAm (p. 69, §§1–2). The names *Vána* and *Niënna* are given thus in Vq 2.

The sentence in LQ 'though they have other or altered names in the speech of the Sindar' was retained in Vq 1 with the addition of 'in Middle-earth', but changed in Vq 2 to 'though they have other names in the speech of the Elves in Middle-earth.'

§4 *(Varda)* The history of the phrase 'With Manwë dwells Varda' (*The Silmarillion* p. 26) is curious. QS §4 has 'With him dwells as wife Varda ...'; by emendation to LQ 1 it became 'With him *in Arda* dwells as spouse Varda ...'; and in Vq it is 'With Manwë *now* dwells as spouse Varda ...' In 1975, when the main work on the text of the published *Silmarillion* was done, being then much less clear than I have since become about certain dates and textual relations (and ignorant of the existence of some texts), I did not see that this 'now' could have any significance, and moreover it contributed to the problem of tense in the *Valaquenta*, which is discussed below; I therefore omitted it. It is however undoubtedly significant. In AAm it is said (p. 49, §3): 'Varda was Manwë's spouse *from the beginning*', in contrast to the later 'union' of Yavanna and Aulë 'in Ëa' (on which see under §5 below). But the typescript text of AAm was emended (p. 69, §3) to 'Varda was Manwë's spouse *from the beginning of Arda*', which shows that some complex conception was present (though never definitively expressed) concerning the time of the 'union' of the great spirits.

In the new, much extended passage concerning Varda, Vq 1 has 'She speaks seldom in words, save to Manwë', where Vq 2 followed by the published text (p. 26) has 'Manwë and Varda are seldom parted, and they remain in Valinor.'

(Ulmo) The long new passage concerning Ulmo entered in Vq 1, which has some interesting differences from the final form: it is said that Ulmo 'had less need of the light of the Trees or of any

resting-place', and that 'his counsels grew ever away from the mind of Manwë (whom nonetheless he obeyed)': cf. the *Ainulindalë* (p. 13, §18), 'Manwë and Ulmo have from the beginning been allied, and in all things have served most faithfully the purpose of Ilúvatar'. In both Vq texts his horns are called *Falarombar*, changed on the Vq 2 typescript to *Ulumúri*; cf. the original name of the horn of Oromë, *Rombaras* (p. 35, §34), and the *Etymologies*, V.384, stem ROM.

(Ossë and Uinen) The passage concerning Ossë and Uinen, much enlarged, now appears in the section 'Of the Maiar', since they have ceased to be numbered among the Valar (see under §3 above).

§5 *(Aulë)* In the words (referring to Melkor and Aulë) 'Both, also, desired to make things of their own that should be new and unthought of by others' (*The Silmarillion* p. 27) there is very probably a reflection of the legend of Aulë's making of the Dwarves.

(Yavanna) Here again, as with Varda (§4 above), I wrongly changed the text concerning Yavanna's union with Aulë. Both Vq texts have 'The spouse of Aulë *in Arda* is Yavanna', and the words 'in Arda' are certainly significant (see V.120).

'Some there are who have seen her standing like a tree under heaven' recalls the later versions of the *Ainulindalë*, where it is Pengoloð himself who declares to Ælfwine that he has so seen her 'long years agone, in the land of the Valar' (p. 15, §25).

The name *Kementári* is found as a correction of *Palúrien* in LQ 2, Chapter 2 (p. 157, §14).

§6 *(Mandos)* The editorial change of 'northward' to 'westward' in 'Námo the elder dwells in Mandos, which is northward in Valinor' in the published text (p. 28) is a regrettable error, which I have explained in I.82. – It may be noted here that in the passage in §9 concerning Niënna the change of 'the halls of Mandos, which are nearer and yet more northward' (found from QS to LQ 2) to 'the halls of Mandos, which are near to her own' is not editorial, but is found in the Vq texts.

§7 *(Tulkas)* The sentence 'He came last to Arda, to aid the Valar in the first battles with Melkor' only entered with Vq 2, but derives from the later *Ainulindalë* (§31).

§8 *(Oromë)* In emendation to one copy only of LQ 2 the name *Aldaron* of Oromë was lost (see p. 149, §8), and it does not appear in either text of Vq. It should not have been reintroduced into the published text (p. 29). The sentence *(ibid.)* 'by the Sindar Tauron' derives from LQ 2 and Vq 1, but was in fact changed in Vq 2 to 'Tauron he is called in Middle-earth'; cf. under §3 above, where 'Sindar' was also removed in Vq 2. The translation of *Tauron* should be 'the Lord of the Forests'.

The name *Nahar* of Oromë's horse first appears in AAm §31 (p. 70). – After the words 'for the pursuit of the evil creatures of Melkor' (*The Silmarillion* p. 29) the Vq texts have 'But the Valaróma is not blown, and Nahar runs no more upon the Middle-earth since the change of the world and the waning of the Elves, whom he loved.' This sentence goes back through the versions to QS (though the Valaróma does not appear in it till LQ 2 and Nahar not till Vq), and I regret its exclusion from *The Silmarillion*.

§9 *(Niënna)* The account of Niënna appears at an earlier point in Vq (following the Fëanturi, to whom she is now 'akin') than it had in previous versions. The words 'sister of the Fëanturi' were changed editorially from Vq 'sister of Námo' (see p. 151, §9).

At the end of the account of the Valar and Valier appears the name and conception of the *Aratar*, the High Ones of Arda, of whom there are eight after the removal of Melkor. This contrasts with the conception of 'the Seven Great Ones of the Realm of Arda' (p. 147, §10a), among whom Melkor is numbered, but not Oromë, nor Mandos.

§§10a, b *Of the Maiar.* The words in the published text (p. 30) concerning Eönwë, 'whose might in arms is surpassed by none in Arda', were an editorial addition, made in order to prepare for his leadership of the hosts of the West at the Great Battle (*The Silmarillion* pp. 251–2). For the end of the Elder Days there is scarcely any material from the period following *The Lord of the Rings*.

(Melian) In LQ 2 Melian was said to be 'of the people of Yavanna'; see p. 147, §10b.

(Olórin) At the end of the account of Olórin is scribbled on the typescript Vq 1: 'He was humble in the Land of the Blessed; and in Middle-earth he sought no renown. His triumph was in the uprising of the fallen, and his joy was in the renewal of hope.' This appears in Vq 2, but my father subsequently placed inverted commas round it. It was wrongly omitted from *The Silmarillion* (p. 31).

Of the Enemies. In this almost entirely new section appears the conception that the Balrogs (*Valaraukar*) were powerful spirits from before the World; so also in AAm* (p. 79, §30) the Balrogs are described as the chief of 'the evil spirits that followed [Melkor], the Úmaiar'. See further p. 165, §18.

The *Valaquenta* texts end thus, and speak of the Marring of Arda, the underlying concern of many of the writings given subsequently in this book:

Here ends *The Valaquenta*. If it has passed from the high and beautiful to darkness and ruin, that was of old the fate of Arda

> Marred; and if any change shall come and the Marring be amended, Manwë and Varda may know; but they have not revealed it, and it is not declared in the dooms of Mandos.

The Second Prophecy of Mandos (V.333) had now therefore definitively disappeared. This passage was used to form a conclusion to the published *Silmarillion* (p. 255).

In my foreword to *The Silmarillion* I wrote that in the *Valaquenta* 'we have to assume that while it contains much that must go back to the earliest days of the Eldar in Valinor, it was remodelled in later times; and thus explain its continual shifting of tense and viewpoint, so that the divine powers seem now present and active in the world, now remote, a vanished order known only to memory.'

The problem of tense in this work is certainly very difficult. Already in Q (IV.78–9) the shifting from past to present tense appears, where Ossë and Uinen and Nienna are described in the present, in contrast to all the others, while Ulmo 'was' next in might to Manwë, but he 'dwells' alone in the Outer Seas. In QS (see V.208) the present tense is used, almost though not exclusively – but 'Tulkas *had* great love for Fionwë' early became '*has*', and 'Oromë *was* a mighty lord' became 'Oromë *is*' in the 1951 revision.

With the additions and alterations made in the course of that revision the variations continue. In LQ §10a, for instance, 'there *are* nine Valar', contrasting with the original passage in §3, 'The chieftains of the Valar *were* nine', which goes back through QS to Q; or in the passage about the Maiar in §10b 'Among them Eönwë ... and Ilmarë ... *were* the chief', but 'Many others there *are*' (altered from '*were*'). The same mixture of present and past is found in AAm* (p. 65, §3).

The situation remains the same in the Vq texts, and in preparing the *Valaquenta* for publication I altered (with misgiving and doubt) some of the tenses. The readings of the published work which were altered from those in Vq are:

> p. 25: 'The Lords of the Valar *are* seven; and the Valier ... *are* seven also'; 'The names of the Lords in due order *are*'; 'the names of the Queens *are*'
>
> p. 26: 'Manwë *is* dearest to Ilúvatar and *understands* most clearly his purposes'; 'he *hated* her, and *feared* her'
>
> p. 27: 'Ulmo *loves* both Elves and Men'
>
> p. 28: 'The Fëanturi ... *are* brethren'
>
> p. 30: 'it *is* otherwise in Aman'; 'Chief among the Maiar ... *are* Ilmarë ... and Eönwë'

In all these cases, except 'he hated her, and feared her' on p. 26, the tense was changed from past to present. The change on p. 28 seems in any case mistaken (cf. p. 26, 'Manwë and Melkor were brethren in the thought of Ilúvatar'); and to make any of them was probably a misjudgement. But the problem is real. A leading consideration in

the preparation of the text was the achievement of coherence and consistency; and a fundamental problem was uncertainty as to the mode by which in my father's later thought the 'Lore of the Eldar' had been transmitted. But I now think that I attached too much importance to the aim of consistency, which may be present when not evident, and was too ready to deal with 'difficulties' simply by eliminating them.

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THE EARLIEST VERSION OF THE STORY OF FINWË AND MÍRIEL

The story of Finwë and Míriel, which would assume an extraordinary importance in my father's later work on *The Silmarillion*, began as a rider in manuscript to the 'first phase' revision of Chapter 6, *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor*; it was inserted after the account of the marvellous skill of Míriel, called *Serende* 'the Broideress', mother of Fëanor, at the end of LQ §46b (p. 185). I shall refer to this rider as '**FM 1**' (i.e. the first text treating of the story of Finwë and Míriel in the *Quenta Silmarillion*).

A curious feature of this text is the presence of marginal dates; and three late insertions to the *Annals of Aman* (p. 101, notes 1 and 4) are closely associated with it. The entry in AAm for the Valian Year 1179 (p. 92) gave the birth of Fëanor in Tirion and his mother's name *Byrde Míriel*. Afterwards my father changed this date to 1169, and at the same time added these new annals:

1170 Míriel falls asleep and passes to Mandar.
1172 Doom of Manwë concerning the espousals of the Eldar.
1185 Finwë weds Indis of the Vanyar.

In the present rider to LQ the dates, which were a good deal changed, are the same, or the same to within a year or two. It is obvious that the insertions to AAm and the rider to LQ are contemporary; and while my father probably only put in the dates in the latter as a guide to his thought (they are absent from the subsequent texts of *Finwë and Míriel*), the fact that he did so seems a testimony to the closeness that the two 'modes' now had for him.

The text FM 1 was subsequently emended in ball-point pen; the changed readings are shown in the text that now follows. It may be noted here that at the first three occurrences of the name my father wrote *Mandar*, changing it before the text was completed to *Mandos*. The inserted entry in AAm for the year 1170, cited above, also has *Mandar*. Thus even this very long-established name, going back to the earliest form of the legends, was still susceptible of change; but it was a passing movement and does not appear again.

Now it is told that in the bearing of her son Míriel was

consumed in spirit and body; and that after his birth she yearned for rest from the labour of living. And she said to Finwë: 'Never again shall I bear a child; for strength that would have nourished the life of many has gone forth into Fëanáro.'* Then Manwë granted the prayer of Míriel. And she went to Lorien, and laid her down to sleep upon a bed of flowers [> beneath a silver tree]; and there her fair body remained unwithered in the keeping of the maidens of Estë. But her spirit passed to rest in the halls of Mandos.

Finwë's grief was great, and he gave to his son all the love that he had for Míriel; for Feänáro was like his mother in voice and countenance. Yet Finwë was not content, and he desired to have more children. He spoke, therefore, [> After some years, therefore, he spoke] to Manwë, saying: 'Lord, behold! I am bereaved; and alone among the Eldar I am without a wife, and must hope for no sons save one, and no daughter. Whereas Ingwë and Olwë beget many children in the bliss of Aman. Must I remain ever so? For I deem that Míriel will not return again ever from the house of Vairë.'

Then Manwë considered the words of Finwë; and after a time he summoned all the counsellors of the Eldar, and in their hearing Mandos spoke this doom: 'This is the law of Ilúvatar for you [> This is the way of life that Ilúvatar hath ordained for you], his children, as you know well: the First-born shall take one spouse only and have no other in this life, while Arda endureth. But this law takes no account [> But herein no account is taken] of Death. This doom is therefore now made, by the right of lawgiving that Ilúvatar committed to Manwë: that if the spirit of a spouse, husband or wife, forsaking the body, shall for any cause pass into the keeping of Mandos, then the living shall be permitted to take another spouse. But this can only be, if the former union be dissolved for ever. Therefore the one that is in the keeping of Mandos must there remain until the end of Arda, and shall not awake again or take bodily form. For none among the Quendi shall have two spouses at one time alive and awake. But since it is not to be thought that the living shall, by his or her will alone, confine the spirit of the other to Mandos, this disunion shall come to pass only by the consent of

* [footnote to the text] Thus she named her son: *Spirit-of-Fire*: and by that name he was known among the Eldar. [*Fëanáro* is so spelt here, but *Feänáro* subsequently.]

both. And after the giving of the consent ten years of the Valar shall pass ere Mandos confirms it. Within that time either party may revoke this consent; but when Mandos has confirmed it, and the living spouse has wedded another, it shall be irrevocable until the end of Arda. This is the doom of Námo in this matter.'

It is said that Míriel answered Mandos saying: 'I came hither to escape from the body, and I do not desire ever to return to it'; and after ten years the doom of disunion was spoken. [*Added:* And Míriel has dwelt ever since in the house of Vairë, and it is her part to record there the histories of the kin of Finwë and all the deeds of the Noldor.] And in the years following [> But when three years more had passed] Finwë took as second spouse Indis of the Vanyar, of the kin [> sister] of Ingwë; and she bore five fair children of whom her two sons are most renowned in the histories of the Noldor. But her eldest child was a daughter, Findis, and she bore also two other daughters: Írimë and Faniel [> Faniel and Írimë].

The wedding of the father was not pleasing to Feänáro; and though the love between them was not lessened, Feänáro had no great love for Indis or her children, and as soon as he might he lived apart from them, being busy from early childhood upon the lore and craft in which he delighted, and he laboured at many tasks, being in all pursuits eager and swift.

There is a direction here to return to LQ (at the beginning of §46c, p. 185) with the words 'For he grew swiftly . . .'

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LAWS AND CUSTOMS AMONG THE ELDAR

As I have explained (p. 199), I have found that the best method of presenting the material is to give at this point the long essay concerning the nature and customs of the Eldar, although of course it cannot be said to be a part of the *Quenta Silmarillion*.

This work is extant in two versions, a completed manuscript ('**A**') and a revision of this in a typescript ('**B**') made by my father that was abandoned when somewhat less than halfway through. The two texts bear different titles, and since both are long I shall use an abbreviated form, *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* (in references later, simply *Laws and Customs*). From the existence of the two versions arises a difficulty of presentation frequently encountered in my father's work. The typescript B, so far as it goes, follows the manuscript A pretty closely for the most part – too closely to justify printing them both in full, even if space allowed. On the other hand there are many points in

which B differs significantly from A. The options are therefore to give A in full with important divergences in B in textual notes, or to give B as far as it goes with A's divergences in notes, and then the remainder from A. Since B is a clearer and improved text I have decided on the latter course.

It is not easy to say from what fictional perspective *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* was composed. There is a reference to the Elves who linger in Middle-earth 'in these after-days' (p. 223); on the other hand the writer speaks as if the customs of the Noldor were present and observable ('Among the Noldor it may be seen that the making of bread is done mostly by women', p. 214) – though this cannot be pressed. It is clear in any case that it is presented as the work, not of one of the Eldar, but of a Man: the observation about the variety of the names borne by the Eldar, 'which ... may to us seem bewildering' (p. 216; found in both texts, in different words) is decisive. Ælfwine is indeed associated with the work, but in an extremely puzzling way. He does not appear at all in A as that was originally written; but among various corrections and alterations made in red ball-point pen (doubtless as a preliminary to the making of the typescript) my father wrote 'Ælfwine's Preamble' in the margin against the opening of the text – without however marking where this 'preamble' ended. In B the first two paragraphs are marked 'Ælfwine's Preamble' and placed within ornate brackets, and this very clearly belongs with the making of the typescript, although it is by no means obvious why the opening should be thus set apart; while later in B (p. 224) there is a long observation, set within similar brackets, that ends with the words 'So spoke Ælfwine' – but this passage is absent in any form from A.

There are no initial drafts or rough writings extant, and if none existed the manuscript text is remarkably clear and orderly, without much correction at the time of composition, though a good deal changed subsequently. It may be that it had been substantially composed, the product of long thought, before it was first written down; at the same time, my impression is that my father had not fully planned its structure when he began. This is suggested by the curious way in which the judgement of Mandos in the case of Finwë and Míriel precedes the actual story of what led to the judgement (pp. 225–6, 236–9); while after the account of Finwë's marriage to Indis there follows the Debate of the Valar, although that was held before 'the Statute of Finwë and Míriel' was promulgated. It is hard to believe that my father can have intended this rather confusing structure, and the view that the work evolved as he wrote seems borne out by the title in A:

> Of the marriage laws and customs of the
> Eldar, their children, and other
> matters touching thereon

At the same time as the words 'Ælfwine's Preamble' and other corrections in red ball-point pen were made to the manuscript (see above) he wrote in bold letters beneath the title: 'The Statute of Finwë and Míriel' – almost as if this was to be the new title of the work as a whole, although the original one was not struck out.

The typescript B has the long title given at the beginning of the text below; the text in this version ends before the story of Finwë and Míriel and the Debate of the Valar is reached. Why my father abandoned it I cannot say; perhaps he was merely interrupted by some external cause, perhaps he was dissatisfied by its form.

But all these questions are very secondary to the import of the work itself: a comprehensive (if sometimes obscure, and tantalising in its obscurity) declaration of his thought at that time on fundamental aspects of the nature of the Quendi, distinguishing them from Men: the power of the incarnate *fëa* (spirit) in relation to the body; the 'consuming' of the body by the *fëa*; the destiny of Elvish spirits, ordained by Eru, 'to dwell in Arda for all the life of Arda'; the meaning of death for such beings, and of existence after death; the nature of Elvish re-birth; and the consequences of the Marring of Arda by Melkor.

There follows now the typescript version B so far as it goes. At the end of the text (pp. 228 ff.) are notes largely limited to the textual relations of the two versions; these are necessarily very selective, and do not record the very many changes of wording in B that modify or improve the expression without altering the sense of the original text in any important way. B itself was scarcely changed after it had been typed; but a pencilled note on the first page reads 'For *hrondo* read *hröa*', and this change was carried out in the greater part of the text. The word used in A for the body was *hrôn*, which became *hrondo* in the course of the writing of the manuscript.

OF THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS AMONG THE ELDAR PERTAINING TO MARRIAGE AND OTHER MATTERS RELATED THERETO: TOGETHER WITH THE STATUTE OF FINWË AND MÍRIEL AND THE DEBATE OF THE VALAR AT ITS MAKING

Ælfwine's Preamble

[The Eldar grew in bodily form slower than Men, but in mind more swiftly. They learned to speak before they were one year old; and in the same time they learned to walk and to dance, for their wills came soon to the mastery of their bodies. Nonetheless there was less difference between the two Kindreds, Elves and Men, in early youth; and a man who watched elf-children at

play might well have believed that they were the children of Men, of some fair and happy people. For in their early days elf-children delighted still in the world about them, and the fire of their spirit had not consumed them, and the burden of memory was still light upon them.[1]

This same watcher might indeed have wondered at the small limbs and stature of these children, judging their age by their skill in words and grace in motion. For at the end of the third year mortal children began to outstrip the Elves, hastening on to a full stature while the Elves lingered in the first spring of childhood. Children of Men might reach their full height while Eldar of the same age were still in body like to mortals of no more than seven years.[2] Not until the fiftieth year did the Eldar attain the stature and shape in which their lives would afterwards endure, and for some a hundred years would pass before they were full-grown.]

The Eldar wedded for the most part in their youth and soon after their fiftieth year. They had few children, but these were very dear to them. Their families, or houses, were held together by love and a deep feeling for kinship in mind and body; and the children needed little governing or teaching.[3] There were seldom more than four children in any house, and the number grew less as ages passed; but even in days of old, while the Eldar were still few and eager to increase their kind, Fëanor was renowned as the father of seven sons, and the histories record none that surpassed him.[4]

The Eldar wedded once only in life, and for love or at the least by free will upon either part. Even when in after days, as the histories reveal, many of the Eldar in Middle-earth became corrupted, and their hearts darkened by the shadow that lies upon Arda, seldom is any tale told of deeds of lust among them.[5]

Marriage, save for rare ill chances or strange fates, was the natural course of life for all the Eldar. It took place in this way. Those who would afterwards become wedded might choose one another early in youth, even as children (and indeed this happened often in days of peace); but unless they desired soon to be married and were of fitting age, the betrothal awaited the judgement of the parents of either party.

In due time the betrothal was announced at a meeting of the two houses concerned,[6] and the betrothed gave silver rings one

to another. According to the laws of the Eldar this betrothal was bound then to stand for one year at least, and it often stood for longer. During this time it could be revoked by a public return of the rings, the rings then being molten and not again used for a betrothal. Such was the law; but the right of revoking was seldom used, for the Eldar do not err lightly in such choice. They are not easily deceived by their own kind; and their spirits being masters of their bodies, they are seldom swayed by the desires of the body only, but are by nature continent and steadfast.

Nonetheless among the Eldar, even in Aman, the desire for marriage was not always fulfilled. Love was not always returned; and more than one might desire one other for spouse. Concerning this, the only cause by which sorrow entered the bliss of Aman, the Valar were in doubt. Some held that it came from the marring of Arda, and from the Shadow under which the Eldar awoke; for thence only (they said) comes grief or disorder. Some held that it came of love itself, and of the freedom of each *fëa*, and was a mystery of the nature of the Children of Eru.

After the betrothal it was the part of the betrothed to appoint the time of their wedding, when at least one year had passed. Then at a feast, again[7] shared by the two houses, the marriage was celebrated. At the end of the feast the betrothed stood forth, and the mother of the bride and the father of the bridegroom joined the hands of the pair and blessed them. For this blessing there was a solemn form, but no mortal has heard it; though the Eldar say that Varda was named in witness by the mother and Manwë by the father; and moreover that the name of Eru was spoken (as was seldom done at any other time). The betrothed then received back one from the other their silver rings (and treasured them); but they gave in exchange slender rings of gold, which were worn upon the index of the right hand.

Among the Noldor also it was a custom that the bride's mother should give to the bridegroom a jewel upon a chain or collar; and the bridegroom's father should give a like gift to the bride. These gifts were sometimes given before the feast. (Thus the gift of Galadriel to Aragorn, since she was in place of Arwen's mother, was in part a bridal gift and earnest of the wedding that was later accomplished.)

But these ceremonies were not rites necessary to marriage; they were only a gracious mode by which the love of the parents

was manifested,[8] and the union was recognized which would join not only the betrothed but their two houses together. It was the act of bodily union that achieved marriage, and after which the indissoluble bond was complete. In happy days and times of peace it was held ungracious and contemptuous of kin to forgo the ceremonies, but it was at all times lawful for any of the Eldar, both being unwed, to marry thus of free consent one to another without ceremony or witness (save blessings exchanged and the naming of the Name); and the union so joined was alike indissoluble. In days of old, in times of trouble, in flight and exile and wandering, such marriages were often made.[9]

As for the begetting and bearing of children: a year passes between the begetting and the birth of an elf-child, so that the days of both are the same or nearly so, and it is the day of begetting that is remembered year by year. For the most part these days come in the Spring. It might be thought that, since the Eldar do not (as Men deem) grow old in body, they may bring forth children at any time in the ages of their lives. But this is not so. For the Eldar do indeed grow older, even if slowly: the limit of their lives is the life of Arda, which though long beyond the reckoning of Men is not endless, and ages also. Moreover their body and spirit are not separated but coherent. As the weight of the years, with all their changes of desire and thought, gathers upon the spirit of the Eldar, so do the impulses and moods of their bodies change. This the Eldar mean when they speak of their spirits consuming them; and they say that ere Arda ends all the Eldalië on earth will have become as spirits invisible to mortal eyes, unless they will to be seen by some among Men into whose minds they may enter directly.[10]

Also the Eldar say that in the begetting, and still more in the bearing of children, greater share and strength of their being, in mind and in body, goes forth than in the making of mortal children. For these reasons it came to pass that the Eldar brought forth few children; and also that their time of generation was in their youth or earlier life, unless strange and hard fates befell them. But at whatever age they married, their children were born within a short space of years after their wedding.* For with regard to generation the power and the will

* Short as the Eldar reckoned time. In mortal count there was often a long interval between the wedding and the first child-birth, and even longer between child and child.

are not among the Eldar distinguishable. Doubtless they would retain for many ages the power of generation, if the will and desire were not satisfied; but with the exercise of the power the desire soon ceases, and the mind turns to other things.[11] The union of love is indeed to them great delight and joy, and the 'days of the children', as they call them, remain in their memory as the most merry in life; but they have many other powers of body and of mind which their nature urges them to fulfil.

Thus, although the wedded remain so for ever, they do not necessarily dwell or house together at all times; for without considering the chances and separations of evil days, wife and husband, albeit united, remain persons individual having each gifts of mind and body that differ. Yet it would seem to any of the Eldar a grievous thing if a wedded pair were sundered during the bearing of a child, or while the first years of its childhood lasted. For which reason the Eldar would beget children only in days of happiness and peace if they could.

In all such things, not concerned with the bringing forth of children, the *neri* and *nissi*[12] (that is, the men and women) of the Eldar are equal – unless it be in this (as they themselves say) that for the *nissi* the making of things new is for the most part shown in the forming of their children, so that invention and change is otherwise mostly brought about by the *neri*. There are, however, no matters which among the Eldar only a *nér* can think or do, or others with which only a *nís* is concerned. There are indeed some differences between the natural inclinations of *neri* and *nissi*, and other differences that have been established by custom (varying in place and in time, and in the several races of the Eldar). For instance, the arts of healing, and all that touches on the care of the body, are among all the Eldar most practised by the *nissi*; whereas it was the elven-men who bore arms at need. And the Eldar deemed that the dealing of death, even when lawful or under necessity, diminished the power of healing, and that the virtue of the *nissi* in this matter was due rather to their abstaining from hunting or war than to any special power that went with their womanhood. Indeed in dire straits or desperate defence, the *nissi* fought valiantly, and there was less difference in strength and speed between elven-men and elven-women that had not borne child than is seen among mortals. On the other hand many elven-men were great healers and skilled in the lore of living bodies, though such men

abstained from hunting, and went not to war until the last need.

As for other matters, we may speak of the customs of the Noldor (of whom most is known in Middle-earth). Among the Noldor it may be seen that the making of bread is done mostly by women; and the making of the *lembas* is by ancient law reserved to them. Yet the cooking and preparing of other food is generally a task and pleasure of men. The *nissi* are more often skilled in the tending of fields and gardens, in playing upon instruments of music, and in the spinning, weaving, fashioning, and adornment of all threads and cloths; and in matters of lore they love most the histories of the Eldar and of the houses of the Noldor; and all matters of kinship and descent are held by them in memory. But the *neri* are more skilled as smiths and wrights, as carvers of wood and stone, and as jewellers. It is they for the most part who compose musics and make the instruments, or devise new ones; they are the chief poets and students of languages and inventors of words. Many of them delight in forestry and in the lore of the wild, seeking the friendship of all things that grow or live there in freedom. But all these things, and other matters of labour and play, or of deeper knowledge concerning being and the life of the World, may at different times be pursued by any among the Noldor, be they *neri* or *nissi*.

OF NAMING

This is the manner in which the naming of children was achieved among the Noldor. Soon after birth the child was named. It was the right of the father to devise this first name,[13] and he it was that announced it to the child's kindred upon either side. It was called, therefore, the father-name, and it stood first, if other names were afterwards added. It remained unaltered,* for it lay not in the choice of the child.

But every child among the Noldor (in which point, maybe, they differed from the other Eldar) had also the right to name himself or herself. Now the first ceremony, the announcement of the father-name, was called the *Essecarmë* or 'Name-making'. Later there was another ceremony called the *Essecilmë* or 'Name-choosing'. This took place at no fixed date after the

* Save for such changes as might befall its spoken form in the passing of the long years; for (as is elsewhere told) even the tongues of the Eldar were subject to change.

Essecarmë, but could not take place before the child was deemed ready and capable of *lámatyávë*, as the Noldor called it: that is, of individual pleasure in the sounds and forms of words. The Noldor were of all the Eldar the swiftest in acquiring word-mastery; but even among them few before at least the seventh year had become fully aware of their own individual *lámatyávë*, or had gained a complete mastery of the inherited language and its structure, so as to express this *tyávë* skilfully within its limits. The *Essecilmë*, therefore, the object of which was the expression of this personal characteristic,* usually took place at or about the end of the tenth year.

In elder times the 'Chosen Name', or second name, was usually freshly devised, and though framed according to the structure of the language of the day, it often had no previous significance. In later ages, when there was a great abundance of names already in existence, it was more often selected from names that were known. But even so some modification of the old name might be made.[14]

Now both these names, the father-name and the chosen name, were 'true names', not nicknames; but the father-name was public, and the chosen name was private, especially when used alone. Private, not secret. The chosen names were regarded by the Noldor as part of their personal property, like (say) their rings, cups, or knives, or other possessions which they could lend, or share with kindred and friends, but which could not be taken without leave. The use of the chosen name, except by members of the same house (parents, sisters, and brothers), was a token of closest intimacy and love, when permitted. It was, therefore, presumptuous or insulting to use it without permission.**[15]

Since, however, the Eldar were by nature immortal within Arda, but were by no means changeless, after a time one might wish for a new name.†[16] He might then devise for himself a new chosen name. But this did not abrogate the former name, which

* This *lámatyávë* was held a mark of individuality, and more important indeed than others, such as stature, colour, and features of face.

** This sentiment had thus nothing to do with 'magic' or with taboos, such as are found among Men.

† The Eldar hold that, apart from ill chances and the destruction of their bodies, they may in the course of their years each exercise and

remained part of the 'full title' of any Noldo: that is the sequence of all the names that had been acquired in the course of life.[17]

These deliberate changes of chosen name were not frequent. There was another source of the variety of names borne by any one of the Eldar, which in the reading of their histories may to us seem bewildering. This was found in the *Anessi*: the given (or added) names. Of these the most important were the so-called 'mother-names'.[18] Mothers often gave to their children special names of their own choosing. The most notable of these were the 'names of insight', *essi tercenyë*, or of 'foresight', *apacenyë*. In the hour of birth, or on some other occasion of moment, the mother might give a name to her child, indicating some dominant feature of its nature as perceived by her, or some foresight of its special fate.[19] These names had authority, and were regarded as true names when solemnly given, and were public not private if placed (as was sometimes done) immediately after the father-name.

All other 'given names' were not true names, and indeed might not be recognized by the person to whom they were applied, unless they were actually adopted or self-given. Names, or nicknames, of this kind might be given by anyone, not necessarily by members of the same house or kin, in memory of some deed, or event, or in token of some marked feature of body or mind. They were seldom included in the 'full title', but when they were, because of their wide use and fame, they were set at the end in some form such as this: 'by some called Telcontar' (that is Strider); or 'sometimes known as Mormacil' (that is Blacksword).

enjoy all the varied talents of their kind, whether of skill or of lore, though in different order and in different degrees. With such changes of 'mind-mood' or *inwisti* their *lámatyáver* might also change. But such changes or progressions were in fact seen most among the *neri*, for the *nissi*, even as they came sooner to maturity, remained then more steadfast and were less desirous of change. [According to the Eldar, the only 'character' of any person that was not subject to change was the difference of sex. For this they held to belong not only to the body *(hrondo)* [> *(hröa)*] but also to the mind *(inno)* [> *(indo)*] equally: that is, to the person as a whole. This person or individual they often called *essë* (that is 'name'), but it was also called *erdë*, or 'singularity'. Those who returned from Mandos, therefore, after the death of their first body, returned always to the same name and to the same sex as formerly.]

The *amilessi tercenyë*, or mother-names of insight, had a high position, and in general use sometimes replaced, both within the family and without, the father-name and chosen name, though the father-name (and the chosen among those of the Eldar that had the custom of the *essecilmë*) remained ever the true or primary name, and a necessary part of any 'full title'. The 'names of insight' were more often given in the early days of the Eldar, and in that time they came more readily into public use, because it was then still the custom for the father-name of a son to be a modification of the father's name (as *Finwë / Curufinwë*) or a patronymic (as *Finwion* 'son of Finwë'). The father-name of a daughter would likewise often be derived from the name of the mother.

Renowned examples of these things are found in the early histories. Thus Finwë, first lord of the Noldor, first named his eldest son *Finwion*;[20] but later when his talent was revealed this was modified to *Curufinwë*.[21] But the name of insight which his mother Míriel gave to him in the hour of birth was *Fëanáro* 'Spirit of Fire';* and by this name he became known to all, and he is so called in all the histories. (It is said that he also took this name as his chosen name, in honour of his mother, whom he never saw.)[22] Elwë, lord of the Teleri, became widely known by the *anessë* or given name *Sindicollo* 'Greycloak', and hence later, in the changed form of the Sindarin tongue, he was called *Elu Thingol*. *Thingol* indeed was the name most used for him by others, though *Elu* or *Elu-thingol* remained his right title in his own realm.

OF DEATH AND THE SEVERANCE OF FËA AND HRONDO [> HRÖA][23]

It must be understood that what has yet been said concerning Eldarin marriage refers to its right course and nature in a world unmarred, or to the manners of those uncorrupted by the Shadow and to days of peace and order. But nothing, as has been said, utterly avoids the Shadow upon Arda or is wholly unmarred, so as to proceed unhindered upon its right courses. In the Elder Days, and in the ages before the Dominion of Men, there were times of great trouble and many griefs and evil

* Though the form *Fëanor* which it took later in the speech of Beleriand is more often used. [> *(later)* Though the form *Fëanor*, which is more often used, was a blend of Q[uenya] *Fëanáro* and S[indarin] *Faenor*.]

chances; and Death[24] afflicted all the Eldar, as it did all other living things in Arda save the Valar only: for the visible form of the Valar proceeds from their own will and with regard to their true being is to be likened rather to the chosen raiment of Elves and Men than to their bodies.

Now the Eldar are immortal within Arda according to their right nature. But if a *fëa* (or spirit) indwells in and coheres with a *hrondo* [> *hröa*] (or bodily form) that is not of its own choice but ordained, and is made of the flesh or substance of Arda itself,[25] then the fortune of this union must be vulnerable by the evils that do hurt to Arda, even if that union be by nature and purpose permanent. For in spite of this union, which is of such a kind that according to unmarred nature no living person incarnate may be without a *fëa*, nor without a *hrondo* [> *hröa*], yet *fëa* and *hrondo* [> *hröa*] are not the same things; and though the *fëa* cannot be broken or disintegrated by any violence from without, the *hrondo* [> *hröa*] can be hurt and may be utterly destroyed.

If then the *hrondo* [> *hröa*] be destroyed, or so hurt that it ceases to have health, sooner or later it 'dies'. That is: it becomes painful for the *fëa* to dwell in it, being neither a help to life and will nor a delight to use, so that the *fëa* departs from it, and its function being at an end its coherence is unloosed, and it returns again to the general *hrón* [> *orma*] of Arda.[26] Then the *fëa* is, as it were, houseless, and it becomes invisible to bodily eyes (though clearly perceptible by direct awareness to other *fëar*).

This destruction of the *hrondo* [> *hröa*], causing death or the unhousing of the *fëa*, was soon experienced by the immortal Eldar, when they awoke in the marred and overshadowed realm of Arda. Indeed in their earlier days death came more readily; for their bodies were then less different[27] from the bodies of Men, and the command of their spirits over their bodies less complete.

This command was, nonetheless, at all times greater than it has ever been among Men. From their beginnings the chief difference between Elves and Men lay in the fate and nature of their spirits. The *fëar* of the Elves were destined to dwell in Arda for all the life of Arda, and the death of the flesh did not abrogate that destiny. Their *fëar* were tenacious therefore of life 'in the raiment of Arda', and far excelled the spirits of Men in power over that 'raiment', even from the first days[28] protecting

their bodies from many ills and assaults (such as disease), and healing them swiftly of injuries, so that they recovered from wounds that would have proved fatal to Men.

As ages passed the dominance of their *fëar* ever increased, 'consuming' their bodies (as has been noted).[29] The end of this process is their 'fading', as Men have called it; for the body becomes at last, as it were, a mere memory held by the *fëa*; and that end has already been achieved in many regions of Middle-earth, so that the Elves are indeed deathless and may not be destroyed or changed.[30] Thus it is that the further we go back in the histories, the more often do we read of the death of the Elves of old; and in the days when the minds of the Eldalië were young and not yet fully awake death among them seemed to differ little from the death of Men.

What then happened to the houseless *fëa*? The answer to this question the Elves did not know by nature. In their beginning (so they report) they believed, or guessed, that they 'entered into Nothing', and ended like other living things that they knew, even as a tree that was felled and burned. Others guessed more darkly that they passed into 'the Realm of Night' and into the power of the 'Lord of Night'.[31] These opinions were plainly derived from the Shadow under which they awoke; and it was to deliver them from this shadow upon their minds, more even than from the dangers of Arda marred, that the Valar desired to bring them to the light of Aman.

It was in Aman that they learned of Manwë that each *fëa* was imperishable within the life of Arda, and that its fate was to inhabit Arda to its end. Those *fëar*, therefore, that in the marring of Arda suffered unnaturally a divorce from their *hrondor* [> *hröar*] remained still in Arda and in Time. But in this state they were open to the direct instruction and command of the Valar. As soon as they were disbodied they were summoned to leave the places of their life and death and go to the 'Halls of Waiting': Mandos, in the realm of the Valar.

If they obeyed this summons different opportunities lay before them.[32] The length of time that they dwelt in Waiting was partly at the will of Námo the Judge, lord of Mandos, partly at their own will. The happiest fortune, they deemed, was after the Waiting to be re-born, for so the evil and grief that they had suffered in the curtailment of their natural course might be redressed.

OF RE-BIRTH AND OTHER DOOMS OF THOSE THAT GO TO MANDOS[33]

Now the Eldar hold that to each elf-child a new *fëa* is given, not akin to the *fëar* of the parents (save in belonging to the same order and nature); and this *fëa* either did not exist before birth, or is the *fëa* of one that is re-born.

The new *fëa*, and therefore in their beginning all *fëar*, they believe to come direct from Eru and from beyond Ëa. Therefore many of them hold that it cannot be asserted that the fate of the Elves is to be confined within Arda for ever and with it to cease. This last opinion they draw from their own thought, for the Valar, having had no part in the devising of the Children of Eru, do not know fully the purposes of Eru concerning them, nor the final ends that he prepares for them.

But they did not reach these opinions at once or without dissent. In their youth, while their knowledge and experience were small and they had not yet received the instruction of the Valar (or had not yet fully understood it), many still held that in the creation of their kind Eru had committed this power to them: to beget children in all ways like to themselves, body and indwelling spirit; and that therefore the *fëa* of a child came from its parents as did its *hrondo*.[34]

Yet always some dissented, saying: 'Indeed a living person may resemble the parents and be perceived as a blending, in various degrees, of these two; but this resemblance is most reasonably related to the *hrondo*. It is strongest and clearest in early youth, while the body is dominant and most like the bodies of its parents.' (This is true of all elf-children.)[35] 'Whereas in all children, though in some it may be more marked and sooner apparent, there is a part of character not to be understood from parentage, to which it may indeed be quite contrary. This difference is most reasonably attributed to the *fëa*, new and not akin to the parents; for it becomes clearer and stronger as life proceeds and the *fëa* increases in mastery.'

Later when the Elves became aware of re-birth this argument was added: 'If the *fëar* of children were normally derived from the parents and akin to them, then re-birth would be unnatural and unjust. For it would deprive the second parents, without consent, of one half of their parentage, intruding into their kin a child half alien.'

Nonetheless, the older opinion was not wholly void. For all

the Eldar, being aware of it in themselves, spoke of the passing of much strength, both of mind and of body, into their children, in bearing and begetting. Therefore they hold that the *fëa*, though unbegotten, draws nourishment from the parents before the birth of the child: directly from the *fëa* of the mother while she bears and nourishes the *hrondo*, and mediately but equally from the father, whose *fëa* is bound in union with the mother's and supports it.

It was for this reason that all parents desired to dwell together during the year of bearing, and regarded separation at that time as a grief and injury, depriving the child of some part of its fathering. 'For,' said they, 'though the union of the *fëar* of the wedded is not broken by distance of place, yet in creatures that live as spirits embodied *fëa* communes with *fëa* in full only when the bodies dwell together.'

A houseless *fëa* that chose or was permitted to return to life re-entered the incarnate world through child-birth. Only thus could it return.* For it is plain that the provision of a bodily house for a *fëa*, and the union of *fëa* with *hrondo*, was committed by Eru to the Children, to be achieved in the act of begetting.

As for this re-birth, it was not an opinion, but known and certain. For the *fëa* re-born became a child indeed, enjoying once more all the wonder and newness of childhood; but slowly, and only after it had acquired a knowledge of the world and mastery of itself, its memory would awake; until, when the re-born elf was full-grown, it recalled all its former life, and then the old life, and the 'waiting', and the new life became one ordered history and identity. This memory would thus hold a double joy of childhood, and also an experience and knowledge greater than the years of its body. In this way the violence or grief that the re-born had suffered was redressed and its being

* Save in rare and strange cases: that is, where the body that the *fëa* had forsaken was whole, and remained still coherent and incorrupt. But this could seldom happen; for death unwilling could occur only when great violence was done to the body; and in death by will, such as at times befell because of utter weariness or great grief, the *fëa* would not desire to return, until the body, deserted by the spirit, was dissolved. This happened swiftly in Middle-earth. In Aman only was there no decay. Thus Míriel was there rehoused in her own body, as is hereafter told.

was enriched. For the Re-born are twice nourished, and twice parented,* and have two memories of the joy of awaking and discovering the world of living and the splendour of Arda. Their life is, therefore, as if a year had two springs and though an untimely frost followed after the first, the second spring and all the summer after were fairer and more blessed.

The Eldar say that more than one re-birth is seldom recorded. But the reasons for this they do not fully know. Maybe, it is so ordered by the will of Eru; while the Re-born (they say) are stronger, having greater mastery of their bodies and being more patient of griefs. But many, doubtless, that have twice died do not wish to return.[36]

Re-birth is not the only fate of the houseless *fëar*. The Shadow upon Arda caused not only misfortune and injury to the body. It could corrupt the mind; and those among the Eldar who were darkened in spirit did unnatural deeds, and were capable of hatred and malice. Not all who died suffered innocently. Moreover, some *fëar* in grief or weariness gave up hope, and turning away from life relinquished their bodies, even though these might have been healed or were indeed unhurt.†[37] Few of these latter desired to be re-born, not at least until they had been long in 'waiting'; some never returned. Of the others, the wrong-doers, many were held long in 'waiting', and some were not permitted to take up their lives again.

For there was, for all the *fëar* of the Dead, a time of Waiting, in which, howsoever they had died, they were corrected, instructed, strengthened, or comforted, according to their needs or deserts. *If they would consent to this.* But the *fëa* in its nakedness is obdurate, and remains long in the bondage of its memory and old purposes (especially if these were evil).

Those who were healed could be re-born, if they desired it:

* In some cases a *fëa* re-born might have the same parents again. For instance, if its first body had died in early youth. But this did not often happen; neither did a *fëa* necessarily re-enter its own former kin, for often a great length of time passed before it wished or was permitted to return.

† Though the griefs might be great and wholly unmerited, and death (or rather the abandonment of life) might be, therefore, understandable and innocent, it was held that the refusal to return to life, after repose in Mandos, was a fault, showing a weakness or lack of courage in the *fëa*.

none are re-born or sent back into life unwilling. The others remained, by desire or command, *fëar* unbodied, and they could only observe the unfolding of the Tale of Arda from afar, having no effect therein. For it was a doom of Mandos that only those who took up life again might operate in Arda, or commune with the *fëar* of the Living, even with those that had once been dear to them.[38]

Concerning the fate of other elves, especially of the Dark-elves who refused the summons to Aman, the Eldar know little. The Re-born report that in Mandos there are many elves, and among them many of the Alamanyar,[39] but that there is in the Halls of Waiting little mingling or communing of kind with kind, or indeed of any one *fëa* with another. For the houseless *fëa* is solitary by nature, and turns only towards those with whom, maybe, it formed strong bonds of love in life.

The *fëa* is single, and in the last impregnable. It cannot be brought to Mandos. It is summoned; and the summons proceeds from just authority, and is imperative; yet it may be refused. Among those who refused the summons (or rather invitation) of the Valar to Aman in the first years of the Elves, refusal of the summons to Mandos and the Halls of Waiting is, the Eldar say, frequent. It was less frequent, however, in ancient days, while Morgoth was in Arda, or his servant Sauron after him; for then the *fëa* unbodied would flee in terror of the Shadow to any refuge – unless it were already committed to the Darkness and passed then into its dominion. In like manner even of the Eldar some who had become corrupted refused the summons, and then had little power to resist the counter-summons of Morgoth.

But it would seem that in these after-days more and more of the Elves, be they of the Eldalië in origin or be they of other kinds, who linger in Middle-earth now refuse the summons of Mandos, and wander houseless in the world,* unwilling to leave it[40] and unable to inhabit it, haunting trees or springs or hidden places that once they knew. Not all of these are kindly or

* For only those who willingly go to Mandos may be re-born. Re-birth is a grace, and comes of the power that Eru committed to the Valar for the ruling of Arda and the redress of its marring. It does not lie in the power of any *fëa* in itself. Only those return whom, after Mandos has spoken the doom of release, Manwë and Varda bless.

unstained by the Shadow. Indeed the refusal of the summons is in itself a sign of taint.

It is therefore a foolish and perilous thing, besides being a wrong deed forbidden justly by the appointed Rulers of Arda, if the Living seek to commune with the Unbodied, though the houseless may desire it, especially the most unworthy among them. For the Unbodied, wandering in the world, are those who at the least have refused the door of life and remain in regret and self-pity. Some are filled with bitterness, grievance, and envy. Some were enslaved by the Dark Lord and do his work still, though he himself is gone. They will not speak truth or wisdom. To call on them is folly. To attempt to master them and to make them servants of one own's will is wickedness. Such practices are of Morgoth; and the necromancers are of the host of Sauron his servant.

Some say that the Houseless desire bodies, though they are not willing to seek them lawfully by submission to the judgement of Mandos. The wicked among them will take bodies, if they can, unlawfully. The peril of communing with them is, therefore, not only the peril of being deluded by fantasies or lies: there is peril also of destruction. For one of the hungry Houseless, if it is admitted to the friendship of the Living, may seek to eject the *fëa* from its body; and in the contest for mastery the body may be gravely injured, even if it be not wrested from its rightful habitant. Or the Houseless may plead for shelter, and if it is admitted, then it will seek to enslave its host and use both his will and his body for its own purposes. It is said that Sauron did these things, and taught his followers how to achieve them.

[Thus it may be seen that those who in latter days hold that the Elves are dangerous to Men and that it is folly or wickedness to seek converse with them do not speak without reason. For how, it may be asked, shall a mortal distinguish the kinds? On the one hand, the Houseless, rebels at least against the Rulers, and maybe even deeper under the Shadow; on the other, the Lingerers, whose bodily forms may no longer be seen by us mortals, or seen only dimly and fitfully. Yet the answer is not in truth difficult. Evil is not one thing among Elves and another among Men. Those who give evil counsel, or speak against the Rulers (or if they dare, against the One), are evil, and should be shunned whether bodied or unbodied. Moreover, the Lingerers

are not houseless, though they may seem to be. They do not desire bodies, neither do they seek shelter, nor strive for mastery over body or mind. Indeed they do not seek converse with Men at all, save maybe rarely, either for the doing of some good, or because they perceive in a Man's spirit some love of things ancient and fair. Then they may reveal to him their forms (through his mind working outwardly, maybe), and he will behold them in their beauty. Of such he may have no fear, though he may feel awe of them. For the Houseless have no forms to reveal, and even if it were within their power (as some Men say) to counterfeit elvish forms, deluding the minds of Men with fantasies, such visions would be marred by the evil of their intent. For the hearts of true Men uprise in joy to behold the true likenesses of the First-born, their elder kindred; and this joy nothing evil can counterfeit. So spoke Ælfwine.][41]

OF THE SEVERANCE OF MARRIAGE

Much has now been said concerning death and re-birth among the Elves. It may be asked: of what effect were these upon their marriage?

Since death and the sundering of spirit and body was one of the griefs of Arda Marred, it came inevitably to pass that death at times came between two that were wedded. Then the Eldar were in doubt, since this was an evil unnatural. Permanent marriage was in accordance with elvish nature, and they never had need of any law to teach this or to enforce it; but if a 'permanent' marriage was in fact broken, as when one of the partners was slain, then they did not know what should be done or thought.

In this matter they turned to Manwë for counsel, and, as is recorded in the case of Finwë, Lord of the Noldor, Manwë delivered his ruling through the mouth of Námo Mandos, the Judge.

'Marriage of the Eldar,' he said, 'is by and for the Living, and for the duration of life. Since the Elves are by nature permanent in life within Arda, so also is their unmarred marriage. But if their life is interrupted or ended, then their marriage must be likewise. Now marriage is chiefly of the body, but it is nonetheless not of the body only but of the spirit and body together, for it begins and endures in the will of the *fëa*. Therefore when one of the partners of a marriage dies the marriage is not yet ended,

but is in abeyance. For those that were joined are now sundered; but their union remains still a union of will.

'How then can a marriage be ended and the union be dissolved? For unless this be done, there can be no second marriage. By the law of the nature of the Elves, the *neri* and the *nissi* being equal, there can be union only of one with one.[42] Plainly an end can be made only by the ending of the will; and this must proceed from the Dead, or be by doom. By the ending of the will, when the Dead are not willing ever to return to life in the body; by doom, when they are not permitted to return. For a union that is for the life of Arda is ended, if it cannot be resumed within the life of Arda.

'We say that the ending of will must proceed from the Dead, for the Living may not for their own purposes compel the Dead to remain thus, nor deny to them re-birth, if they desire it. And it must be clearly understood that this will of the Dead not to return, when it has been solemnly declared and is ratified by Mandos, shall then become a doom: the Dead will not be permitted ever to return to the life of the body.'

The Eldar then asked: 'How shall the will or doom be known?' It was answered: 'Only by recourse to Manwë and by the pronouncement of Námo. In this matter it shall not be lawful for any of the Eldar to judge his own case. For who among the Living can discern the thoughts of the Dead, or presume the dooms of Mandos?'

Upon this pronouncement of Mandos, which is called the 'Doom of Finwë and Míriel'[43] for reasons to be told, there are many commentaries that record the explanation of points arising from its consideration, some given by the Valar, some later reasoned by the Eldar. Of these the more important are here added.

1. It was asked: 'What is meant by the saying that marriage is chiefly of the body, and yet is both of spirit and body?'

It was answered: 'Marriage is chiefly of the body, for it is achieved by bodily union, and its first operation is the begetting of the bodies of children, even though it endures beyond this and has other operations. And the union of bodies in marriage is unique, and no other union resembles it. Whereas the union of *fëar* in marriage differs from other unions of love and friendship not so much in kind as in its closeness and permanence, which are derived partly from the bodies in their union and in their dwelling together.

'Nonetheless marriage concerns also the *fëar*. For the *fëar* of the Elves are of their nature male and female, and not their *hrondor*[44] only. And the beginning of marriage is in the affinity of the *fëar*, and in the love arising therefrom. And this love includes in it, from its first awakening, the desire for marriage, and is therefore like to but not in all ways the same as other motions of love and friendship, even those between Elves of male and female nature who do not have this inclination. It is therefore true to say that, though achieved by and in the body, marriage proceeds from the *fëa* and resides ultimately in its will. For which reason it cannot be ended, as has been declared, while that will remains.'

2. It was asked: 'If the Dead return to the Living, are the sundered spouses still wedded? And how may that be, if marriage is chiefly of the body, whereas the body of one part of the union is destroyed? Must the sundered be again married, if they wish? Or whether they wish it or no?'

It was answered: 'It has been said that marriage resides ultimately in the will of the *fëar*. Also the identity of person resides wholly in the *fëa*,[45] and the re-born is the same person as the one who died. It is the purpose of the grace of re-birth that the unnatural breach in the continuity of life should be re-dressed; and none of the Dead will be permitted to be re-born until and unless they desire to take up their former life and continue it. Indeed they cannot escape it, for the re-born soon recover full memory of all their past.

'If then marriage is not ended while the Dead are in the Halls of Waiting, in hope or purpose to return, but is only in abeyance, how then shall it be ended, when the *fëa* is again in the land of the living?

'But herein there is indeed a difficulty, that reveals to us that death is a thing unnatural. It may be amended, but it cannot, while Arda lasts, be wholly undone or made as if it had not been. What shall come to pass as the Eldar grow older cannot be wholly foreseen. But perceiving their nature, as we now do, we hold that the love of the

Here the typescript version B breaks off, with much of the content of the essay as declared in the title unfulfilled (see p. 209). The text ends at the foot of a page, but I think it virtually certain that this was where my father abandoned it.

NOTES

1 In A the opening paragraph ended: 'the fire of their spirit had not consumed them, nor their minds turned inwards', subsequently changed to the text of B.

2 Added here later in A: 'Yet the Elf-child would have more knowledge and skill.' This was not taken up in B.

3 A: 'They had few children, but these were dear to them beyond all else that they possessed. (Though no Elf would speak of possessing children; he would say: "three children have been added unto me", or "are with me", or "are in my house"; for their families were held together ...' (the brackets being closed at the words 'or teaching').

4 A: '... while the Eldar were still few, and eager to increase their kind, before the weight of years lay on them, there is no record of any number more than seven', with 'seldom' written later above 'no'.

5 For this paragraph A has:

> The Eldar wedded once for all. Many, as the histories reveal, could become estranged from good, for nothing can wholly escape from the evil shadow that lies upon Arda. Some fell into pride, and self-will, and could be guilty of deeds of malice, enmity, greed and jealousy. But among all these evils there is no record of any among the Elves that took another's spouse by force; for this was wholly against their nature, and one so forced would have rejected bodily life and passed to Mandos. Guile or trickery in this matter was scarcely possible (even if it could be thought that any Elf would purpose to use it); for the Eldar can read at once in the eyes and voice of another whether they be wed or unwed.

6 The original reading in A was 'at a [feast >] repast shared by the two "houses" concerned', changed later to 'at a meeting' as in B. See note 7.

7 The word 'again' in 'again shared by the two houses' depends on the original reading in A given in note 6.

8 A: 'and were only a gracious recognition of the change of state'.

9 Added here in A, probably very much later: '[Thus Beren and Tinúviel could lawfully have wedded, but for Beren's oath to Thingol.]'

10 This paragraph ends in A: 'This the Eldar mean when they speak of their spirits consuming them; and they say that ere Arda ends all the Elf-folk will have become spirits no less than those in Mandos, invisible to mortal eyes, unless they will to be seen.' The words 'no less than those in Mandos' stood in B as typed, but were heavily struck out.

11 For the passage in B 'For with regard to generation ...' A has: 'For, whether the Eldar retain their power of generation (as is likely if we speak of days of old when all the Eldalië were young) or in time lose it (as some say those that remain on Earth have now lost it), at all times they lose the desire and will with the exercise of that power.'

12 For *neri* and *nissi* in B (see the *Etymologies* in Vol.V, entries NĒR, NIS) A has *quendor* and *quender*, changed later to *quendur* and *quendir*. For the singulars *nér* and *nís* occurring subsequently A has *quendo* and *quende*, changed to *quendu* and *quendi*. The substance of this passage concerning the difference in characteristic activity among men and women of the Eldar is essentially the same in A, but no reference is made to the Noldor.

13 It is said in A that it was the right of the father, not to 'devise' the first name, but to 'announce' it, and this is followed by a note: 'Though the name was often the mother's choice. But it was held to be the right of the father to devise the name of [the first son >] his sons, if he would, and of the mother to devise the name of [the first daughter >] her daughters. But in any case the father proclaimed the name.' To the words 'This name was thus called the "father-name" or first name' was added later in A: 'It always had a meaning and was made of known words.'

14 At this point there is a footnote in B (deriving closely from A) which was later struck through:

> It will be observed in the histories how seldom the same name recurs for different persons. This is because, both in *Essecarmë* and in *Essecilmë*, there was usually an attempt to mark individuality; and names were regarded as the property of those who first bore them.

15 The footnote here reads thus in A:

> This feeling had nothing to do with 'magic' or taboo. The Eldar did indeed believe in a special relation between a name of a person and his life and individuality; but this concerned both first and second name (alone or together), which they might conceal from enemies.

16 The latter part of the footnote here, which I have enclosed in square brackets, is found typed on a separate page belonging with the B typescript, but with no direction for its insertion (see note 37). It is found however in closely similar words in the A version of the footnote, following 'their *lámatyávë* might also change' (A does not have the conclusion of the note in B, 'But such changes or progressions ...').

In the A version of the note the Elvish word of which 'mind-mood' is a translation was first written *ingil*-[*?weidi*, very uncertain], changed to *inwaldi*, and later to *inwisti*, as in B. In A the Elvish word for the body is *rhōn* (changed later to *hrondo*, the

word used in B), and for the mind *īn*, *indo* (the latter changed later to *inno*, whereas B has *inno* > *indo*).

17 A has a different account here: 'They might then devise a new "Chosen Name", but this replaced the former, and became the Second Name. Identity was preserved by the permanence for all formal and legal purposes of the First Name or father's name.'

18 A has: 'this was the *Anessi*, the given names, or "nick-names"' (with reference to the original meaning of *nick-name*, changed from *(an) eke-name*, meaning an additional or added name).

19 The passage following this in A reads thus:

> Later, when the character and gifts of the child were revealed, as it grew, she might also give a similar name to it (or modify its father-name). But this latter branch of 'mother-names' differed in authority only rather than in kind from general given or nick-names. These were given to persons by anyone (not necessarily even members of their 'house' or kin), in memory of some deed, or event, or some striking peculiarity. Though these names had no authority and were not 'true names', they often became widely known and used, and were sometimes recognized by the persons themselves and their families.
>
> The 'mother-names of insight' had an intermediate position. They had parental authority and the authority of maternal *terken* [*added:* insight], and were often used instead of either father-name or chosen name, or might replace them both – replaced them, that is, in actual usage. The 'true' or primary *Essë* of any person remained the father-name. The 'names of insight', though at no time frequent, were more frequent in the early days of the Eldar . . .

20 In A it is said that 'Finwë originally named his eldest son *Finwë*'.

21 *Curufinwë*: the name has been met in the rejected addition to AAm where appear my father's first thoughts on the story of Fëanor's birth (when his mother was named Indis): see p. 87 note 3.

22 A has here a passage that was omitted in B:

> Finwë then named his second son (by another mother, Indis) also *Finwë*, modifying it later to *Nolofinwë*. But the mother-name which Indis gave to him was *Ingoldo*, signifying that he was partly of both the Ingar (people of Ingwë), her own kin, and of the Noldor. By this name he also became generally known; though after the rule of the Noldor was committed to him by Manwë (in the place of his elder brother and his father) he took the name of *Finwë*, and was in fact usually called *Ingoldo-finwë*. Similarly the third son was *Arafinwë* and also *Ingalaurë* (because he had the golden hair of his mother's kin).

As in the name *Noldor* throughout the later texts, *Nolofinwë* is

written with a tilde over the *N*. – On this passage see further p. 265 note 10.

23 In A there is no subtitle here, but before 'It must be understood . . .' there stands the following:

> In what has been said concerning names it will be noted that for Finwë, first lord of the Noldor, two wives are named: Míriel and Indis; though it was said that the marriage of the Eldar is permanent and indissoluble.

24 After 'and Death' there followed in B 'in its Elvish mode', derived from A; but this was rejected as soon as typed.

25 A: 'and is made also as it were of the *hrōn* (or flesh and substance) of Arda'; cf. *rhōn* 'body', note 16. The word *hrōn* was left unchanged in A here (see note 26); subsequently where B has *hrondo* (> *hröa*) A has *hrōn*, *hrón*, and *hrôn* (> *hrondo*), until later in the text *hrondo* appears in A as first written (note 34).

26 The words 'and it returns again to the general *hrôn* of Arda' were added to the A-text at the same time as other occurrences of *hrôn* were changed to *hrondo* (note 25); thus *hrón* here in B (subsequently > *orma*) represents a distinction between *hrón* (of the 'body' of Arda) and *hrondo*. At a later point in the A manuscript there is the following hastily pencilled note, which was struck through:

> √*s-ron* 'flesh, substance, matter'. Q. *hrōn*, *hrŏm-* 'matter', the substance of Arda, hence *hrondo* 'physical body, "the flesh"'.

27 B as typed had 'little different', as does A, but 'little' was at once changed to 'less'.

28 Where B has 'even from the first days' A has 'even at first'.

29 'as has been noted' (not said in A): the previous references are on pp. 210 ('Ælfwine's Preamble') and 212.

30 In A the first part of this paragraph reads:

> As ages passed their spirits became more dominant, and 'consumed' their bodies – the end of this process (now achieved), they said, was that the body should become as it were a mere memory of the spirit – though it never became changeable like raiment.

31 A: 'Others guessed that they passed into the realm of Dark and the power of the Dark Lord (as they called him).'

32 A: '(The *fëar* of the Eldar, with rare exceptions, at once obeyed that summons.) After that different opportunities lay before them.'

33 There is no subtitle here in A.

34 Here and subsequently *hrondo* (not *hrôn*) appears in the A-text as written (see notes 25 and 44). Purely coincidentally, as it seems, here and subsequently *hrondo* was not changed to *hröa* in B.

35 This bracketed statement derives from an addition made to A:

'This is true of all Elf-children, whatever may be the case with Men, in whom the body is ever more dominant.'

36 This paragraph is absent from A.

37 This footnote is not in the B-text, but is found typed separately on the same page as the passage referred to in note 16, and like that passage without direction for its insertion. It derives fairly closely from a footnote found at this point in A; this however ends: '... was held a fault or weakness, needing correction or cure if that could be achieved.'

38 From 'The others remained' to the end of the paragraph the A-text as first written read thus:

> Others, freed from desire of life and of doing, yet not from operations of the mind in observing or reflexion, might remain as spirits, *fëar* unbodied, and yet be permitted to go forth from Mandos, and to return thither or not, as they would. As ages passed, the numbers of these increased, the Eldar say. With the minds of the Living they can commune, if the Living remember them or open their minds to receive them. This the Eldar call 'communing with the *fëar* (or the Unliving)', and in the latter days it has become easier and more frequent. But they could only observe what passed or was done as the Tale of Arda unfolded. They could

The passage was struck out when this point was reached and replaced by the text that stands here in B. Cf. the subsequent passage (p. 224), found both in A and in B: 'It is therefore a foolish and perilous thing, besides being a wrong deed forbidden justly by the appointed Rulers of Arda, if the Living seek to commune with the Unbodied ...'

39 On *Alamanyar* see pp. 170–1.

40 A sets the opening of this paragraph in the past tense: 'But in after days more and more of the Elves that lingered in Middle-earth refused the summons of Mandos, and wandered houseless in the world, unwilling to leave it ...'

41 This paragraph, attributed to Ælfwine and bracketed in the same way as is the opening 'Preamble', is absent from A, which continues on from 'These things it is said that Sauron did, and taught his chief followers how to achieve them' as follows:

> In this account the lives and customs of the Eldar have been considered mainly in their natural courses in days untroubled, and in accordance with their true nature unmarred. But, as has been said, the Eldar did not escape the Shadow upon Arda, that caused both misfortunes and misdeeds to afflict them.

This was replaced by the sentence beginning 'Now much has been said concerning death and rebirth among the Eldar ...' as in B, but without the subtitle 'Of the Severance of Marriage'.

42 This sentence is absent from A, and so there appear here no

equivalents of the words *neri* and *nissi* in B (see note 12).

43 A has 'the "Statute of Finwë and Míriel"', as in the title of the B-text.

44 A had here *hróni*, changed to *hrondor*: see note 34.

45 From here to the point where it breaks off B diverges altogether from A, and I take up the presentation of the A-text in full from the beginning of this second response.

★

I give now the remainder of the work from the original manuscript A, taking it up shortly before the point where the typescript B breaks off (see note 45 above). Alterations and additions are mostly noted as such.

In A the actual tale of Finwë, Míriel, and Indis reappears (pp. 236–9); it is easily shown that this version followed FM 1 (the rider to LQ chapter 6, *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor*, pp. 205–7), but I think at no long interval: the manuscript style of the two texts is notably similar.

It was answered: It has been said that marriage resides ultimately in the will of the *fëa*. Also the identity of person resides in the *fëa*; and the Dead that return [*struck out:* will] in time recover full memory of the past; what is more, though the body is more than raiment and the change of body [will not be of no effect >] will certainly have effect upon the reborn, the *fëa* is the master, and the reborn will come to resemble their former self so closely that all who knew them before Death will recognize them, soonest and most readily the former spouse. Nonetheless, since marriage is also of the body and one body has perished, they must be married again, if they will. For they will have returned, as it were, to that state in their former life when by the motions of their *fëar* they desired to be married. There will be no question of desiring this or not desiring it. For by the steadfastness of the *fëar* of the Eldar uncorrupted they will desire it; and none of the Dead will be permitted by Mandos to be reborn, until and unless they desire to take up life again in continuity with their past. For it is the purpose of the time in Waiting in Mandos that the unnatural breach in the continuity of the life of the Eldar should be healed, though it cannot be undone or made of no effect in Arda. It follows, therefore, also that the Dead will be reborn in such place and time that the meeting and recognition of the sundered shall surely come to pass, and there shall be no hindrance to their marriage.

Upon this the Eldar comment: 'By this is meant that the Reborn Spouse will not appear among the close kindred of the Living Spouse, and in fact the Reborn appear as a rule amongst their own former kin, unless in the chances of Arda things have so changed that the meeting of the sundered would thus be unlikely. [*Added:* For the first purpose of the *fëa* that seeks rebirth is to find its spouse, and children, if it had these in life.] The Reborn that were unwedded always return to their own kin.' For the marriages of the Eldar do not take place between 'close kin'. This again is a matter in which they needed no law or instruction, but acted by nature, though they gave reasons for it later, declaring that it was due to the nature of bodies and the processes of generation; but also to the nature of *fëar*. 'For,' they said, '*fëar* are also akin, and the motions of love between them, as say between a brother and sister, are not of the same kind as those that make the beginning of marriage.' By 'close kin' for this purpose was meant members of one 'house', especially sisters and brothers. None of the Eldar married those in direct line of descent, nor children of the same parents, nor the sister or brother of either of their parents; nor did they wed 'half-sisters' or 'half-brothers'. Since as has been shown only in the rarest events did the Eldar have second spouses, *half-sister* or *half-brother* had for them a special meaning: they used these terms when both of the parents of one child were related to both of the parents of another, as when two brothers married two sisters of another family, or a sister and a brother of one house married a brother and sister of another: things which often occurred. Otherwise 'first cousins', as we should say, might marry, but seldom did so, or desired to do so, unless one of the parents of each were far-sundered in kin.

Hardly otherwise shall it be when both spouses are slain or die: they will marry again in due time after rebirth, unless they desire to remain together in Mandos.

It was asked: Why must the Dead remain in Mandos for ever, if the *fëa* consents to the ending of its marriage? And what is this Doom of which Mandos speaks?

It was answered: The reasons are to be found in what has been said already. Marriage is for life, and cannot, therefore, be ended, save by the interruption of death without return. While there is hope or purpose of return it is not ended, and the Living cannot therefore marry again. If the Living is permitted to marry again, then by doom Mandos will not permit the Dead to return. For, as has been declared, one reborn is the same person as before death and returns to take up and continue his or her former life. But if the former spouse were re-married, this would not be possible, and great grief and doubt would afflict all three

parties. To speak of the dooms of Mandos: these are of three kinds. He utters the decisions of Manwë, or of the Valar in conclave, which become binding upon all, even the Valar, when they are so declared: for which reason a time passes between the decision and the doom. In similar manner he utters the decisions and purposes of others who are under his jurisdiction, who are the Dead, in grave matters that affect justice and the right order of Arda; and when so spoken these decisions become 'laws' also, though pertaining only to particular persons or cases, and Mandos will not permit them to be revoked or broken: for which reason again a time must pass between decision and doom.* And lastly there are the dooms of Mandos that proceed from Mandos himself, as judge in matters that belong to his office as ordained from the beginning. He is the judge of right and of wrong, and of innocence or guilt (and all the degrees and mingling of these) in the mischances and misdeeds that come to pass in Arda. All those who come to Mandos are judged with regard to innocence or guilt, in the matter of their death and in all other deeds and purposes of their lives in the body; and Mandos appoints to each the manner and the length of their time of Waiting according to this judgement. But his dooms in such matters are not uttered in haste; and even the most guilty are long tested, whether they may be healed or corrected, before any final doom is given (such as never to return again among the Living). Therefore it was said: 'Who among the Living can presume the dooms of Mandos?'

Upon this the Eldar comment: 'Innocence or guilt in the matter of death is spoken of, because to be in any way culpable in incurring this evil (whether by forcing others to slay one in their defence against unjust violence, or by foolhardiness or the making good of rash vaunts, or by slaying oneself or wilfully withdrawing the *fëa* from the body) is held a fault. Or at the least, the withdrawal from life is held a good reason, unless the will of the *fëa* be changed, for the *fëa* to remain among the Dead and not to return. As for guilt in other matters little is known of the dealings of Mandos with the Dead. For several reasons: Because those who have done great evil (who are few) do not return. Because those who have been under the correction of Mandos will not speak of it, and indeed, being healed, remember little of it; for they have returned to their natural courses,

* In the case of a decision never to return to life by a *fëa* of the Dead, the least time of interval appointed by Mandos was ten Valian years. During this period the decision could be revoked.

and the unnatural and perverted is no longer in the continuity of their lives. Because also, as has been said, though all that die are summoned to Mandos, it is within the power of the *fëar* of the Elves to refuse the summons, and doubtless many of the most unhappy, or most corrupted spirits (especially those of the Dark-elves) do refuse, and so come to worse evil, or at best wander unhoused and unhealed, without hope of return. Not so do they escape judgement for ever; for Eru abideth and is over all.

This judgement is known as the 'Statute of Finwë and Míriel', for theirs was the first case, and it was on behalf of Finwë that Manwë's counsel was sought in this matter. Now Finwë, first Lord of the Noldor, had to wife Míriel who was called the *Serindë*, because of her surpassing skill in weaving and sewing, and their love was great for one another. But in the bearing of her first son Míriel was consumed in spirit and body, so that wellnigh all strength seemed to have passed from her. This son was Curufinwë, most renowned of all the Noldor as Feänáro (or Feänor),[1] Spirit-of-fire, the name which Míriel gave to him at birth; he was mighty in body and in all the skills of the body, and supreme among the Eldar in eagerness and strength and subtlety of mind. But Míriel said to Finwë: 'Never again shall I bear child; for strength that would have nourished the life of many has gone forth into Feänáro.'

Then Finwë was greatly grieved, for the Noldor were in the youth of their days and dwelt in the bliss of the Noontide of Aman, but were still few in number, and he desired to bring forth many children into that bliss. He said, therefore: 'Surely there is healing in Aman? Here all weariness can find rest.'

Therefore Finwë sought the counsel of Manwë, and Manwë delivered Míriel to the care of Irmo in Lorien.[2] At their parting (for a little while as he deemed) Finwë was sad, for it seemed a thing unhappy that the mother should depart and miss the beginning at least of the childhood days of her son. 'Unhappy it is indeed,' said Míriel, 'and I would weep if I were not so weary. But hold me blameless in this, and in aught that may come after. Rest now I must. Farewell, dear lord.' No clearer than this did she speak, but in her heart she yearned not only for sleep and rest, but for release from the labour of living. She went then to Lorien and laid her down to sleep beneath a silver tree, but though she seemed to sleep indeed her spirit departed from her body and passed in silence to the halls of Mandos; and the

maidens of Estë tended her fair body so that it remained unwithered, yet she did not return.

Finwë's grief was great, and he went often to the gardens of Lorien and sitting beneath the silver willows beside the body of his wife he called her by her names. But it was of no avail, and he alone in all the Blessed Realm was bereaved and sorrowful. After a while he went to Lorien no more, for it did but increase his grief. All his love he gave to his son; for Fëanáro was like his mother in voice and countenance, and Finwë was to him both father and mother, and there was a double bond of love upon their hearts. Yet Finwë was not content, being young and eager, and desiring to have more children to bring mirth into his house. [He spoke, therefore, to Manwë >] When, therefore, ten years had passed, he spoke to Manwë, saying: 'Lord, behold! I am bereaved and solitary. Alone among the Eldar I have no wife, and must hope for no sons save one, and no daughter. Must I remain ever thus? [For I believe not that Míriel will return again >] For my heart warns me that Míriel will not return again from the house of Vairë while Arda lasts. Is there not healing of grief in Aman?'

Then Manwë took pity upon Finwë, and he considered his plea, and when Mandos had spoken his doom as has been recorded,[3] Manwë called Finwë to him, and said: 'Thou hast heard the doom that has been declared. If Míriel, thy wife, will not return and releases thee, your union[4] is dissolved, and thou hast leave to take another wife.'

It is said that Míriel answered Mandos, saying: 'I came hither to escape from the body, and I do not desire ever to return to it. My life is gone out into Feänáro, my son. This gift I have given to him whom I loved, and I can give no more. Beyond Arda this may be healed, but not within it.'

Then Mandos adjudged her innocent, deeming that she had died under a necessity too great for her to withstand. Therefore her choice was permitted, and she was left in peace; and after ten years the doom of disunion was spoken. [In the year following >] And after three years more Finwë took as second spouse Indis the fair; and she was in all ways unlike Míriel. She was not of the Noldor, but of the Vanyar, [of the kin >] sister of Ingwë; and she was golden-haired, and tall, and exceedingly swift of foot. She laboured not with her hands, but sang and made music, and there was ever light and mirth about her while

the bliss of Aman endured. She loved Finwë dearly, for her heart had turned to him long before, while the people of Ingwë dwelt still with the Noldor in Túna.[5] In those days she had looked upon the Lord of the Noldor, dark-haired and white-browed, eager of face and thoughtful-eyed, and he seemed to her fairest and noblest among the Eldar, and his voice and mastery of words delighted her. Therefore she remained unwedded, when her people departed to Valinor, and she walked often alone in the fields and friths of the Valar, [turning her thought to things that grow untended >] filling them with music. But it came to pass that Ingwë, hearing of the strange grief of Finwë, and desiring to lift up his heart and withdraw him from vain mourning in Lorien, sent messages bidding him to leave Túna for a while and the reminders of his loss, and to come and dwell in the light of the Trees. This message Finwë did not answer, until after the doom of Mandos was spoken; but then deeming that he must seek to build his life anew and that the bidding of Ingwë was wise, he arose and went to the house of Ingwë upon the west of Mount Oiolossë. His coming was unlooked for, but welcome; and when Indis saw Finwë climbing the paths of the mountain (and the light of Laurelin was behind him as a glory) without forethought she sang suddenly in great joy, and her voice went up as the song of a *lirulin* in the sky.[6] And when Finwë heard that song falling from above he looked up and saw Indis in the golden light, and he knew in that moment that she loved him and had long done so. Then his heart turned at last to her, and he believed that this chance, as it seemed, had been granted for the comfort of them both. 'Behold!' he said. 'There is indeed healing of grief in Aman!'

In this way came to pass ere long the wedding of Finwë and Indis, sister of Ingwë. In Indis was proved true indeed the saying that 'the loss of one may be the gain of another.' But this also she found true: 'the house remembers the builder, though others may dwell in it after.' For Finwë loved her well, and was glad, and she bore him children in whom he rejoiced,*[7] yet the shadow of Míriel did not depart from his heart, and Fëanáro had the chief share of his thought. The wedding of his father was not pleasing to Feänáro, and though it did not lessen his

* Five children she bore, three daughters and two sons, in this order: Findis, Nolofinwë, Faniel, Arafinwë, and Írimë. Concerning the naming of the sons we have spoken above.

love for his father, he had little love for Indis or her children, least of all for his half-brethren. As soon as he might (and he was wellnigh fullgrown ere Nolofinwë was born) he left his father's house and lived apart from them, giving all his heart and thought to the pursuit of lore and the practice of crafts. In those unhappy things which afterward came to pass and in which Feanáro was a leader, many saw the effects of this breach in the house of Finwë, judging that if Finwë had endured his loss and been content with the fathering of his mighty son, the courses of Feanáro would have been otherwise, and much sorrow and evil would never have been.

Thus it is that the cases in which remarriage of the Eldar can take place are rare, but rarer still are those who do this, even when it is permissible. For the sorrow and strife in the house of Finwë is graven in the memory of the Eldar.

[It is recorded by the Eldar that the Valar found this matter of Finwë strange, and debated much concerning it. For Finwë they could not accuse of any guilt, and the Statute that had been made for Finwë and Míriel was just and reasonable. Yet it was clear that many evils would have been avoided, [if either Míriel had been less faint, or Finwë more patient >] if it had not been made, or at least had not been used. *This passage was later replaced as follows:*] It is recorded by the Eldar that the Valar debated long the case of Finwë and Míriel, after the Statute was made, but not yet declared. For they perceived that this was a grave matter, and a portent, in that Míriel had died even in Aman, and had brought sorrow to the Blessed Realm, things which they before had believed could not come to pass. Also, though the Statute seemed just, some feared that it would not heal the death of grief, but perpetuate it. And Manwë spoke to the Valar, saying: 'In this matter ye must not forget that you deal with Arda Marred – out of which ye brought the Eldar. Neither must ye forget that in Arda Marred *Justice* is not *Healing*. Healing cometh only by suffering and patience, and maketh no demand, not even for Justice. Justice worketh only within the bonds of things as they are, accepting the marring of Arda, and therefore though Justice is itself good and desireth no further evil, it can but perpetuate the evil that was, and doth not prevent it from the bearing of fruit in sorrow. Thus the Statute was just, but it accepted Death and the severance of Finwë and Míriel, a thing unnatural in Arda Unmarred, and therefore with

reference to Arda Unmarred it was unnatural and fraught with Death. The liberty that it gave was a lower road that, if it led not still downwards, could not again ascend. But Healing must retain ever the thought of Arda Unmarred, and if it cannot ascend, must abide in patience. This is Hope which, I deem, is before all else the virtue most fair in the Children of Eru, [but cannot be commanded to come when needed: patience must often long await it.]'[8]

Then Aulë, friend of the Noldor [*added:* and lover of Fëanor], spake. 'But did this matter indeed arise out of Arda Marred?' he asked. 'For it seemeth to me that it arose from the bearing of Feanáro. Now Finwë and all the Noldor that followed him were never in heart or thought swayed by [Morgoth >] Melkor, the Marrer; how then did this strange thing come to pass, even in Aman the Unshadowed? That the bearing of a child should lay such a weariness upon the mother that she desired life no longer. This child is the greatest in gifts that hath arisen or shall arise among the Eldar. But the Eldar are the first Children of Eru, and belong to him directly. Therefore the greatness of the child must proceed from his will directly, and be intended for the good of the Eldar and of all Arda. What then of the cost of the birth? Must it not be thought that the greatness and the cost come not from Arda, Marred or Unmarred, but from beyond Arda? For this we know to be true, and as the ages pass it shall often be manifest (in small matters and in great) that all the Tale of Arda was not in the Great Theme, and that things shall come to pass in that Tale which cannot be foreseen, for they are new and are not begotten by the past that preceded them.'[9] [*Added:* Thus Aulë spake being unwilling to believe that any taint of the Shadow lay upon Feänor, or upon any of the Noldor. He had been the most eager to summon them to Valinor.][10]

But Ulmo answered: 'Nonetheless Míriel died. [And is not death for the Eldar an evil, that is a thing unnatural in Arda Unmarred, which must proceed therefore from the marring? Or if the death of Míriel doth not so, but cometh from beyond Arda, how shall death that is unnatural and evil be known from that which is a new thing and hath no reason in the past, unless the latter cause neither sorrow nor doubt? But the death of Míriel has brought both into Aman. *This passage was later replaced as follows:*] And death is for the Eldar an evil, that is a thing unnatural in Arda Unmarred, which must proceed therefore from the marring. For if the death of Míriel was otherwise,

and came from beyond Arda (as a new thing having no cause in the past) it would not bring grief or doubt. For Eru is Lord of All, and moveth all the devices of his creatures, even the malice of the Marrer, in his final purposes, but he doth not of his prime motion impose grief upon them. But the death of Míriel has brought sorrow to Aman. / The coming of Feänáro must proceed certainly from the will of Eru; but I hold that the marring of his birth comes of the Shadow, and is a portent of evils to come. For the greatest are the most potent also for evil. Have a care, my brethren, thinking not that the Shadow is gone for ever, though it is beaten down. Doth it not dwell even now in Aman, though you deem the bonds to be unbreakable?' [For Ulmo had dissented >] Thus Ulmo spake, who had dissented from the counsels of the Valar, when they brought Melkor the Marrer to Mandos after his defeat.[11] [*Added:* Also he loved the Elves (and Men afterwards), but otherwise than Aulë, believing that they should be left free, however perilous that might seem. Thus afterwards it was seen, that though he loved Feänor and all the Noldor more coolly, he had more mercy for their errors and misdeeds.]

Then Yavanna spoke, and though she was the spouse of Aulë she leaned rather to Ulmo. 'My lord Aulë errs,' she said, 'in that he speaks of Finwë and Míriel as being free in heart and thought from the Shadow, as if that proved that naught that befell them could come from the Shadow or from the marring of Arda. But even as the Children are not as we (who came from beyond Arda wholly and in all our being) but are both spirit and body, and that body is of Arda and by Arda was nourished: so the Shadow worketh not only upon spirits, but has marred the very *hrón* of Arda, and all Middle-earth is perverted by the evil of Melkor, who has wrought in it as mightily as any one among us here. Therefore none of those who awoke in Middle-earth, and there dwelt before they came hither, have come here wholly free. The failing of the strength of the body of Míriel may then be ascribed, with some reason, to the evil of Arda Marred, and her death be a thing unnatural. And that this should appear in Aman seemeth to me as to Ulmo a sign to be heeded.'[12]

Then Niënna spoke, who came to Valmar seldom, but sat now upon the left hand of Manwë. 'In the use of Justice there must be Pity, which is the consideration of the singleness of each that cometh under Justice. Which of you Valar, in your wisdom, will blame these Children, Finwë and Míriel? For the Children

are both strong and without might. Mandos you hold to be the strongest of all that are in Arda, being the least moved, and therefore you have dared to commit even the Marrer himself to his keeping. Yet I say to you that each *fëa* of the Children is as strong as he; for it hath the strength of its singleness impregnable (which cometh to it from Eru as to us): in its nakedness it is obdurate beyond all power that ye have to move it if it will not. Yet the Children are not mighty: in life they are little, and can effect little; and they are young, and they know Time only. Their minds are as the hands of their babes, little in grasp, and even that grasp is yet unfilled. How shall they perceive the [?end] of deeds, or forgo the desires which arise from their very nature, the indwelling of the spirit in [the] body which is their right condition? Have ye known the weariness of Míriel, or felt the bereavement of Finwë?

'Míriel, I deem, died by necessity of body, in suffering [for] which she was blameless or indeed to be praised, and yet was not given power to resist it: the cost of so great a child-bearing. And herein I think that Aulë perceiveth a part of the truth. The severance of the *fëa* was in Míriel a thing special. Death is indeed death and within the Great Theme cometh from the Marrer and is grievous; but Eru in this death had a purpose of immediate good, and it need not have borne any bitter fruit; whereas Death that comes from the Marrer only is intended for evil, and its healing must await in Hope only, even until the End. But Finwë not understanding death (as how should he?) called Míriel, and she did not return, and he was bereaved, and his natural life and expectation was impaired. Justly he cried: "Is there not healing in Aman?" That cry could not be unheeded, and what could be done we have done. Wherefore should this be grudged?'

But Ulmo answered her saying: 'Nay! Though I do not condemn, yet still I will judge. Herein I perceive not only the direct will of Eru, but fault in his creatures. Not guilt, yet a failing from the highest which is the Hope of which the King hath spoken. And I doubt not that the taking of the higher road, an ascent that though hard was not impossible, was part of that purpose of immediate good of which Niënna speaketh.[13] For the *fëa* of Míriel may have departed by necessity, but it departed in the will not to return. Therein was her fault, for this will was not under compulsion irresistible; it was a failure in hope by the *fëa*, acceptance of the weariness and weakness of the body, as a

thing beyond healing, and which therefore was not healed. But this resolve entailed not only abandoning her own life, but also the desertion of her spouse, and the marring of his. The justification which she urged is insufficient; for by the gift of a child however great, nor indeed by the gift of many children, the union of marriage is not ended, having further purpose. For one thing, Feänáro will be deprived of the mother's part in his nurture. Moreover, if she would return she need bear no more, unless by the renewal of rebirth her weariness were healed.

'Thus Finwë was aggrieved and claimed justice. But when he called her and she did not return, in only a few years he fell into despair. Herein lay his fault, and failing in Hope. But also he founded his claim mainly upon his desire for children, considering his own self and his loss more than the griefs that had befallen his wife: that was a failing in full love.

'The *fëar* of the Eldar, as Niënna hath said, cannot be broken or forced,* and the motion of their will cannot therefore be predicted with certainty. Yet it seemeth to me that there was hope still that after repose in Mandos the *fëa* of Míriel should return of itself to its nature, which is to desire to inhabit a body. This strange event should issue, rather than in dissolving their union, in the use by Finwë of the patience of full love, and the learning of Hope; and in the return of Míriel, wider in mind, and renewed in body. Thus together they might foster their great son with joined love, and his right nurture be assured. But the *fëa* of Míriel hath not been left in peace, and by importuning its will hath been hardened; and in that resolve it must remain without change while Arda lasteth, if the Statute is declared. Thus the impatience of Finwë will close the door of life upon the *fëa* of his spouse. This is the greater fault. For it is more unnatural that one of the Eldar should remain for ever as *fëa* without body than that one should remain alive wedded but bereaved. A trial was imposed upon Finwë (not by Míriel only), and he hath asked for justice, and relief.'

* By this is meant primarily the *fëar* naked and unhoused. Living, the *fëar* can be deluded; and they can be dominated by fear (of one of great power such as Melkor) and so enslaved. But these things are wicked and tyrannous and are done by Melkor alone among the Valar. They beget only hatred and loathing in the enslaved (which is the sign of inmost and ultimate dissent). To no good purpose can such means be used, for they render all purposes evil.

'Nay!' said Vairë suddenly. 'The *fëa* of Míriel is with me. I know it well, for it is small. But it is strong; proud and obdurate. It is of that sort who having said: *this I will do*, make their words a doom irrevocable unto themselves. She will not return to life, or to Finwë, even if he waiteth until the ageing of the world. Of this he is aware, I deem, as his words show. For he did not found his claim on his desire for children only, but he said to the King: *my heart warns me that Míriel will not return while Arda lasts*. Of what sort the knowledge or belief may be that he would thus express, and whence it came to him, I know not. But *fëa* perceiveth *fëa* and knoweth the disposition of the other, in marriage especially, in ways that we cannot fully understand. We cannot probe all the mystery of the nature of the Children. But if we are to speak of Justice, then Finwë's belief must be taken into account; and if, as I judge, it is well-founded, not a fantasy of his own inconstancy, but against his will and desire, we must otherwise assess the faults of these two. When one of the Queens of the Valar, Varda or Yavanna, or even I, departeth for ever from Arda, and leaveth her spouse, will he or nill he,[14] then let that spouse judge Finwë, if he will, remembering that Finwë cannot follow Míriel without doing wrong to his nature, nor without forsaking the duty and bond of his fatherhood.'

When Vairë had spoken, the Valar sat long in silence, until at length Manwë spoke again. 'There is reason and wisdom in all that has been said. Truly, in the matter of the Children we approach mysteries, and the key to their full understanding was not given to us. In part the Children are indeed one, or maybe the chief, of those "new things" of which Aulë hath spoken.* Yet they came into Arda Marred, and were destined to do so, and to endure the Marring, even though they came in their beginning from beyond Eä. For these "new things", manifesting the finger of Ilúvatar, as we say: they may have no past in Arda and be unpredictable before they appear, yet they have thereafter future operations which may be predicted, according to wisdom and knowledge, since they become at once part of Eä, and part of the past of all that followeth. We may say, therefore, that the Elves are destined to know "death" in their mode, being

* Meaning that though they appeared in the Great Theme, they were introduced by Eru himself, not mediated by any of the Ainur; and even so they were not fully revealed to the Ainur.

sent into a world which contains "death", and having a form for which "death" is possible. For though by their prime nature, unmarred, they rightly dwell as spirit and body coherent, yet these are two things, not the same, and their severance (which is "death") is a possibility inherent in their union.

'Aulë and Niënna err, I deem; for what each saith in different words meaneth this much: that Death which cometh from the Marrer may be one thing, and Death as an instrument of Eru be another thing and discernible: the one being of malice, and therefore only evil and inevitably grievous; the other, being of benevolence, intending particular and immediate good, and therefore not evil, and either not grievous or easily and swiftly to be healed. For the evil and the grief of death are in the mere severance and breach of nature, which is alike in both (or death is not their name); and both occur only in Arda Marred, and accord with its processes.

'Therefore I deem that Ulmo is to be followed rather, holding that Eru need not and would not desire as a special instrument of his benevolence a thing that is evil. Wherefore, indeed, should he intrude death as a "new thing" into a world that suffereth it already? Nonetheless, Eru is Lord of All, and will use as instruments of his final purposes, which are good, whatsoever any of his creatures, great or small, do or devise, in his despite or in his service. But we must hold that it is his will that those of the Eldar who serve him should not be cast down by griefs or evils that they encounter in Arda Marred; but should ascend to a strength and wisdom that they would not otherwise have achieved: that the Children of Eru should grow to be daughters and sons.

'For Arda Unmarred hath two aspects or senses. The first is the Unmarred that they discern in the Marred, if their eyes are not dimmed, and yearn for, as we yearn for the Will of Eru: this is the ground upon which Hope is built. The second is the Unmarred that shall be: that is, to speak according to Time in which they have their being, the Arda Healed, which shall be greater and more fair than the first, because of the Marring: this is the Hope that sustaineth. It cometh not only from the yearning for the Will of Ilúvatar the Begetter (which by itself may lead those within Time to no more than regret), but also from trust in Eru the Lord everlasting, that he is good, and that his works shall all end in good. This the Marrer hath denied, and in this denial is the root of evil, and its end is in despair.

'Therefore, notwithstanding the words of Vairë, I abide by

that which I said first. For though she speaketh not without knowledge, she uttereth opinion and not certainty. The Valar have not and must not presume certainty with regard to the wills of the Children. Nor, even were they certain in this one case concerning the *fëa* of Míriel, would that unmake the union of love that once was between her and her spouse, or render void the judgement that constancy to it would in Finwë be a better and fairer course, more in accord with Arda Unmarred, or with the will of Eru in permitting this thing to befall him. The Statute openeth the liberty of a lower road, and accepting death, countenanceth death, and cannot heal it. If that liberty is used, the evil of the death of Míriel will continue to have power, and will bear fruit in sorrow.

'But this matter I now commit to Námo the Judge. Let him speak last!'

Then Námo Mandos spoke, saying: 'All that I have heard I have considered again; though naught pertinent to judgement hath been brought forward that was not already considered in the making of the Statute. Let the Statute stand, for it is just.

'It is our part to rule Arda, and to counsel the Children, or to command them in things committed to our authority. Therefore it is our task to deal with Arda Marred, and to declare what is just within it. We may indeed in counsel point to the higher road, but we cannot compel any free creature to walk upon it. That leadeth to tyranny, which disfigureth good and maketh it seem hateful.

'Healing by final Hope, as Manwë hath spoken of it, is a law which one can give to oneself only; of others justice alone can be demanded. A ruler who discerning justice refuseth to it the sanction of law, demanding abnegation of rights and self-sacrifice, will not drive his subjects to these virtues, virtuous only if free, but by unnaturally making justice unlawful, will drive them rather to rebellion against all law. Not by such means will Arda be healed.

'It is right, therefore, that this just Statute should be proclaimed, and those that use it shall be blameless, whatsoever followeth after. Thus shall the Tale of the Eldar, within the Tale of Arda, be fashioned.

'Hearken now, O Valar! To me foretelling* is granted no less

* By which was meant prophecy concerning things which neither reason upon evidence, nor (for the Valar) knowledge of the Great

than doom, and I will proclaim now to you things both near and far. Behold! Indis the fair shall be made glad and fruitful, who might else have been solitary. For not in death only hath the Shadow entered into Aman with the coming of the Children destined to suffer; there are other sorrows, even if they be less. Long she hath loved Finwë, in patience and without bitterness. Aulë nameth Fëanor the greatest of the Eldar, and in potency that is true. But I say unto you that the children of Indis shall also be great, and the Tale of Arda more glorious because of their coming. And from them shall spring things so fair that no tears shall dim their beauty; in whose being the Valar, and the Kindreds both of Elves and of Men that are to come shall all have part, and in whose deeds they shall rejoice. So that, long hence when all that here is, and seemeth yet fair and impregnable, shall nonetheless have faded and passed away, the Light of Aman shall not wholly cease among the free peoples of Arda until the End.

'When he that shall be called Eärendil setteth foot upon the shores of Aman, ye shall remember my words. In that hour ye will not say that the Statute of Justice hath borne fruit only in death; and the griefs that shall come ye shall weigh in the balance, and they shall not seem too heavy compared with the rising of the light when Valinor groweth dim.'

'So be it!' said Manwë.[15]

Therefore the Statute was proclaimed, and the meeting of Indis and Finwë took place, as has been told.

But after a while Niënna came to Manwë, and she said: 'Lord of Aman, it is now made clear that the death of Míriel was an evil of Arda Marred, for with the coming hither of the Eldar the Shadow hath found an entrance even into Aman. Nonetheless Aman remaineth the Realm of the Valar, wherein thy will is paramount. Though the death of severance may find out the Eldar in thy realm, yet one thing cometh not to it, and shall not:* and that is deforming and decay. Behold then! The body of Míriel lieth unmarred, even as a fair house that awaiteth its mistress, who hath gone upon a journey. In this at least,

Theme, could discover or swiftly perceive. Only rarely and in great matters was Mandos moved to prophecy.

* Yet after the slaying of the Trees it did so while Melkor remained there; and the body of Finwë, slain by Melkor, was withered and passed into dust, even as the Trees themselves had withered.

therefore, her death differeth from death in Middle-earth: that for the houseless *fëa* a fair body is still ready, and rebirth is not the only gate by which it may return to life, if thou wilt grant her leave and give her thy blessing. Moreover the body has lain long now in repose in the peace of Lorien; and must not the rulers of Arda have respect even to bodies and all fair forms? Why should it lie idle and untenanted, when doubtless it would not now afflict the *fëa* with weariness, but rejoice it with hope of doing?'

But this Mandos forbade. 'Nay,' said he, 'if Míriel were rehoused, she would be again among the Living, and Finwë would have two spouses alive in Aman. Thus would the Statute be contravened, and my Doom set at naught. And injury would be done also to Indis, who used the liberty of the Statute, but would now by its breach be deprived, for Finwë would desire to return to his former spouse.'

But Niënna said to Mandos: 'Nay! Let Míriel have the joy of her body and of the use of its skills in which she delighted, and dwell not for ever remembering only her brief life before, and its ending in weariness! Can she not be removed from the Halls of Waiting, and taken into the service of Vairë? If she cometh never thence, nor seeketh to walk among the Living, why shouldst thou hold the Doom set at naught, or fear for griefs that might arise? Pity must have a part in Justice.'

But Mandos was unmoved. And the body of Míriel lay at rest in Lorien, until the escape of Melkor the Marrer and the Darkening of Valinor. In that evil time Finwë was slain by the Marrer himself, and his body was burned as by lightning stroke and was destroyed. Then Míriel and Finwë met again in Mandos, and lo! Míriel was glad of the meeting, and her sadness was lightened; and the will in which she had been set was released.

And when she learned of Finwë all that had befallen since her departure (for she had given no heed to it, nor asked tidings, until then) she was greatly moved; and she said to Finwë in her thought: 'I erred in leaving thee and our son, or at the least in not soon returning after brief repose; for had I done so he might have grown wiser. But the children of Indis shall redress his errors and therefore I am glad that they should have being, and Indis hath my love. How should I bear grudge against one who received what I rejected and cherished what I abandoned. Would that I might set all the Tale of our people and of thee and

thy children in a tapestry of many colours, as a memorial brighter than memory! For though I am cut off now from the world, and I accept that Doom as just, I would still watch and record all that befalls those dear to me, and their offspring also. [*Added:* I feel again the call of my body and its skills.]'

And Finwë said to Vairë: 'Dost thou hear the prayer and desire of Míriel? Why will Mandos refuse this redress of her griefs, that her being may not be void and without avail? Behold! I instead will abide with Mandos for ever, and so make amends. For surely, if I remain unhoused, and forgo life in Arda, then his Doom will be inviolate.'

'So thou may deem,' answered Vairë; 'yet Mandos is stern, and he will not readily permit a vow to be revoked. Also he will consider not only Míriel and thee, but Indis and thy children, whom thou seemest to forget, pitying now Míriel only.'

'Thou art unjust to me in thy thought,' said Finwë. 'It is unlawful to have two wives, but one may love two women, each differently, and without diminishing one love by another. Love of Indis did not drive out love of Míriel; so now pity for Míriel doth not lessen my heart's care for Indis. But Indis parted from me without death. I had not seen her for many years, and when the Marrer smote me I was alone. She hath dear children to comfort her, and her love, I deem, is now most for Ingoldo.[16] His father she may miss; but not the father of Fëanáro! But above all her heart now yearns for the halls of Ingwë and the peace of the Vanyar, far from the strife of the Noldor. Little comfort should I bring her, if I returned; and the lordship of the Noldor hath passed to my sons.'[17]

But when Mandos was approached he said to Finwë: 'It is well that thou desirest not to return, for this I should have forbidden, until the present griefs are long passed. But it is better still that thou hast made this offer, to deprive thyself, of thy free will, and out of pity for another. This is a counsel of healing, out of which good may grow.'

Therefore when Niënna came to him and renewed her prayer for Míriel, he consented, accepting the abnegation of Finwë as her ransom. Then the *fëa* of Míriel was released and came before Manwë and received his blessing; and she went then to Lorien and re-entered her body, and awoke again, as one that cometh out of a deep sleep; and she arose and her body was refreshed. But after she had stood in the twilight of Lorien a long while in thought, remembering her former life, and all the

tidings that she had learned, her heart was still sad, and she had no desire to return to her own people. Therefore she went to the doors of the House of Vairë and prayed to be admitted; and this prayer was granted, although in that House none of the Living dwelt nor have others ever entered it in the body.[18] But Míriel was accepted by Vairë and became her chief handmaid; and all tidings of the Noldor down the years from their beginning were brought to her, and she wove them in webs historial, so fair and skilled that they seemed to live, imperishable, shining with a light of many hues fairer than are known in Middle-earth. This labour Finwë is at times permitted to look upon. And still she is at work, though her name has been changed. For now she is named *Fíriel*,* which to the Eldar signifies 'She that died',[19] and also 'She that sighed'. As fair as the webs of *Fíriel* is praise that is given seldom even to works of the Eldar.

* For before the passing of Míriel the Eldar of Valinor had no word for 'dying' in this manner, though they had words for being destroyed (in body) or being slain. But *fírë* meant to 'expire', as of one sighing or releasing a deep breath; and at the passing of Míriel she had sighed a great sigh, and then lay still; and those who stood by said *fírië*, 'she hath breathed forth'. This word the Eldar afterwards used of the death of Men. But though this sigh they take to be a symbol of release, and the ceasing of the body's life, the Eldar do not confound the breath of the body with the spirit. This they call, as hath been seen, *fëa* or *fairë*, of which the ancient significance seems to be rather 'radiance'. For though the *fëa* in itself is not visible to bodily eyes, it is in light that the Eldar find the most fitting symbol in bodily terms of the indwelling spirit, 'the light of the house' or *cöacalina* as they also name it. And those in whom the *fëa* is strong and untainted, they say, appear even to mortal eyes to shine at times translucent (albeit faintly), as though a lamp burned within.

At the end of the manuscript of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* are several pages of roughly written 'Notes', and I append here a portion of this material.

(i)

This debate of the Valar not wholly feigned. For the Eldar were permitted to attend all conclaves, and many did so (especially those that so deeply concerned them, their fate, and their place in Arda, as did this matter). Reference is made to things that had not at that time happened (is it ..... prophecy?), but that is

partly due to later commentators. For the 'Statute of Finwë and Míriel' was among the documents of lore most deeply studied and pondered. And as has been seen many questions and answers arising were appended.

[?Thus] questions were also asked concerning the fate and death of Men. All [*?read* Also] concerning other 'speaking', and therefore 'reasonable', kinds: Ents, Dwarves, Trolls, Orcs – and the speaking of beasts such as Huan, or the Great Eagles.

Later my father commented against the beginning of this note that the Eldar would not be present at this debate ('certainly not Finwë!'), and that the Valar would have informed the loremasters of the Eldar concerning it.

(ii)

[The] 'Fate of Men' was also later discussed by the Eldar, when they had met Men and knew them. But they had little evidence, and therefore did not know or assert, but 'supposed' or 'guessed'. One such supposition was that Elves and Men will become one people. Another is that some Men, if they desire it, will be permitted to join the Elves in New Arda, or to visit them there – though it will not be the *home* of Men. The most widely held supposition is that the fate of Men is wholly different, and that they will not be concerned with Arda at all.

At the end of this note my father wrote subsequently: 'But see full treatment of this later in *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth*.' This work constitutes Part Four in this book.

(iii)

Fate of 'Immortal' Elves: ? to inhabit New Arda (or Arda Healed). Probably not, in a physical sense. Since what is meant by 'The Tale of Arda' seems to be this. The World and its Time appears to *begin* and *end* simply because it is bounded, neither infinite nor eternal. Its finite 'story' when complete will be, like a work of art, beautiful and good (as a whole), and from outside, sc. not *in* Time or its Time, it can be contemplated with wonder and delight – especially by those who have taken part in its 'Tale'. Only in that sense will Elves (or Men) *inhabit* Arda Complete. But New Arda or Arda Unmarred (Healed) would imply a continuance, beyond the End (or Completion). Of that nothing can be surmised. Unless it be this. Since the Elves (and Men) were made *for* Arda, the satisfaction of their nature will

require Arda (without the malice of the Marrer): therefore *before the Ending* the Marring will be wholly undone or healed (or absorbed into good, beauty, and joy). In that region of Time and Place the Elves will dwell as their home, but not be confined to it. But no blessed spirits from what is still to us the future can intrude into our own periods of Time. For to contemplate the Tale of Arda the Blessed must (in spirit or whole being) leave the Time of Arda. But others use another analogy, saying that there will indeed be a New Arda, rebuilt from the beginning without Malice, and that the Elves will take part in this from the beginning. It will be in Ëa, say they – for they hold that all Creation of any sort must be in Ëa, proceeding from Eru in the same way, and therefore being of the same Order. They do not believe in contemporaneous non-contiguous worlds except as an amusing fantasy of the mind. They are (say they) either altogether unknowable, even as to whether they are or are not, or else if there are any intersections (however rare) they are only provinces of one Ëa.

At the head of the page on which this note stands my father wrote: 'But see *Athrabeth*': see (ii) above.

NOTES

[These notes refer to the part of the text of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* given from the manuscript A, pp. 233 ff.]

1 The spelling *Feänáro* is found also in the first text of the tale, FM 1 (see p. 206, footnote). The name is variously written subsequently in A (*Feänáro*, *Fëanáro*, *Feanáro*).

2 For the form *Lorien* with short vowel see p. 56 note 2 and p. 148, §3.

3 For the doom of Mandos (the 'Statute of Finwë and Míriel') in this work see pp. 225–6. In FM 1 the doom, in its earliest expression, is given at this point in the story (pp. 206–7).

4 *your union*: *your* is plural, and not inconsistent with *thy*, *thee*, *thou* in the same sentence.

5 *in Túna*: see p. 193, §52, and p. 282.

6 My father first wrote 'an *aimenel*' (> *aimenal*), but changed it immediately to 'a *lirulin*', writing 'lark' in the margin.

7 The reference in the footnote here is to the passage in A (omitted in B) which is given in note 22 on p. 230. As in that passage the name *Nolofinwë* is written with a tilde over the *N*. The order of the names of the daughters of Finwë and Indis are as in the

emended text of FM 1, p. 207. See further p. 262 and note 10.

8 The brackets are in the original.

9 Cf. the *Ainulindalë* §13 (p. 11): 'Yet some things there are that [the Ainur] cannot see ...; for to none but himself has Ilúvatar revealed all that he has in store, and in every age there come forth things that are new and have no foretelling, for they do not spring from the past.'

10 It is not told elsewhere that Aulë was the most eager among the Valar that the Elves should be summoned to Valinor. Cf. what is said earlier in *Laws and Customs* (p. 219, found in both texts, but not elsewhere) concerning the motive of the Valar in bringing the Elves to Aman.

11 As with the reference to Aulë mentioned in note 10, it is not told elsewhere that Ulmo dissented from the decision of the Valar to bring Melkor to Mandos. Cf. the passage in the first text of the *Valaquenta*, lost in the final form: '[Ulmo's] counsels grew ever away from the mind of Manwë' (p. 202).

12 At this point there originally followed: 'Then when others had spoken Manwë answered: 'There is reason in all that hath been said ...' Manwë's speech was apparently abandoned after a few lines, and the speeches of Niënna, Ulmo, and Vairë introduced; after which Manwë's speech reappears (p. 244).

13 This sentence ('And I doubt not ...') was subsequently placed in brackets.

14 *nill* is the old negative verb 'will not': thus 'will he or nill he' means 'whether he wills it or wills it not' (surviving as *willy-nilly*).

15 The text stops here, not at the foot of a page. It takes up again on a new sheet, in a rougher script that continues to the end of the work; but my father paginated this further text continuously with the preceding.

16 *Ingoldo:* the mother-name of Fingolfin (p. 230 note 22).

17 In the account of the marriage of Finwë and Indis in the present work (p. 238) there is no mention of this estrangement, or at least separation. In the final work on Chapter 6 of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, however, it is implied that Indis did not depart with Finwë to Formenos, because it is told that Fëanor's wife Nerdanel would not go with him into banishment and 'asked leave to abide with Indis' (p. 279, §53d).

18 On Míriel's entry into the House of Vairë see p. 263 note 9.

19 *Fíriel*: see the *Etymologies* in Vol.V, p. 381, stem PHIR.

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LATER VERSIONS OF THE STORY OF FINWË AND MÍRIEL IN THE *QUENTA SILMARILLION*

The next version of the story was a short typescript derived closely for the most part from that in *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* (pp. 236–9); it is entitled *Of Finwë and Míriel*, and begins: 'Finwë, first lord of the Noldor, had to wife Míriel, who was called the *Serindë* . . .' (cf. p. 236). There is no indication that it was intended to stand in the text of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, but there can scarcely be any question that my father did so intend it; I will refer to it therefore as 'FM 2'.

The most important divergence in FM 2 from the text in *Laws and Customs* is at the words (p. 237): 'Then Manwë took pity upon Finwë, and he considered his plea, and when Mandos had spoken his doom as has been recorded, Manwë called Finwë to him . . .' For the purpose of the inclusion of the story in the narrative of the *Quenta Silmarillion* the judgement of Mandos had obviously to be given at this point (as it had been in the original version, FM 1, p. 206); and in FM 2 the judgement was preceded by a reference to the Debate of the Valar and some indication of the nature of their concern. The word 'Statute' is used here in a wider and a narrower sense: as a name for the record made by the Eldar of all matters relevant to the judgement of Mandos, as well as the title of the actual judgement.

Then Manwë was moved with pity for Finwë, and he considered his plea. But because this seemed to him a great matter and not lightly to be judged, he summoned the Valar in Council. Of the long debate that they held the Elves wrote a record, for their chieftains were permitted to be present.[1] This was called 'The Statute of Finwë and Míriel' and was preserved among the chief of their books of law; for in the debate, before the Statute was at last established by the doom of Námo Mandos, many matters concerning the Eldar, their fate in Arda, their death and re-birth and the nature of their marriage, were examined and judged. And the Valar were greatly concerned to see that all their labour for the guarding of Valinor was of no avail, to keep out evil and the shadow of Melkor, if any thing, living or unliving, was brought thither out of Middle-earth and left free or unguarded; and they perceived at last how great was the power of Melkor in Arda, in the making of which as it was*

* *Arda Hastaina*, or 'Arda Marred', as they named it. For *Arda*, or in full *Arda Alahasta*, the 'Unmarred', they named the thought which they had, each severally, or as a Council under Manwë, of that Arda in which Melkor had no part.

his part was such that all things, save in Aman alone, had an inclination to evil and to perversion from their right forms and courses. Wherefore those whose being began in Arda, and who moreover were by nature a union of spirit and body, drawing the sustenance of the latter from Arda Marred, must ever be, in some degree, liable to grief, to do or to suffer things unnatural; and though dwelling in Aman might be a guard against this evil, it was not a full cure, unless in long ages. And with this thought a shadow passed over the hearts of the Valar, even in the noon-tide of the Blessed Realm, presage of the sorrows which the Children should bring into the world.

Now this was the doom of Námo in this case, and in all cases where a marriage of the Eldar might be sundered by the death of one only of the partners. 'Marriage among the Eldar is by and for the Living . . .'

The doom of Mandos in FM 2 differs from the form in *Laws and Customs* (pp. 225–6) only in detail of expression and not at all in substance, except for some expansion at the very end.

'. . . For it must be clearly understood that, when this will not to return has been solemnly declared and ratified by Mandos, then the living partner may take another spouse lawfully. For it is contrary to the nature of the Eldar to live unwedded, and the Dead may not compel the Living to remain solitary against their will. If therefore the Living take another partner, the will of the Dead shall not be revoked, but shall be a doom of Mandos. For he will permit none of the Eldar to walk alive in the body who has two spouses living also.'

This in brief was the Doom of Mandos, that was after called the *Statute of Finwë and Míriel.* And when Mandos had spoken as the Mouth of Manwë, the Eldar that heard him asked: 'How shall the will or doom be known?'; and it was answered: 'Only by recourse to Manwë and the pronouncement of Mandos. In this matter it shall not be lawful for any of the Eldar to judge his own case. For who among the Living can discover the thoughts of the Dead or presume the judgements of Mandos?'

Then Manwë called Finwë to him . . .

Other divergences from the text of *Laws and Customs* in FM 2 were taken up into the final text (FM 4), which is given in full on pp. 256 ff., and need not be set out here, or if lost from the final text are given in the notes to it.

FM 2 was followed by a further typescript, **'FM 3'**, made on a

different machine (see p. 300). This is expressly a chapter of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, with the title as typed *Of Fëanor and the Darkening of Valinor*, changed later to *Of Finwë and Míriel*. This version was a good deal reduced by omissions, and my father evidently found it unsatisfactory, for he went on to make a further and much more substantial version, **'FM 4'**, with which the textual history of the story of Finwë and Míriel comes to an end.

It is clear that when making FM 3 and FM 4 he had the preceding texts in front of him, and that he selected variously from them as he sought to achieve a satisfactory form. To set out all the detail of this development would take much space but serve little purpose, since very little was in fact omitted from the final, 're-expanded' text FM 4; and I give this text here in full.

FM 4 has a general heading *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor*, with a subtitle *Of Finwë and Míriel* (the typescript then continues with further 'sub-chapters', to which however my father subsequently gave numbers as chapters in their own right: see p. 299). The paragraph numbers provided for reference do not relate to any numbers previously used, since after the opening the text is entirely different; for the 'LQ' (1951) version of the opening of the chapter see pp. 184–5, §§46, 46a–b.

OF THE SILMARILS AND THE DARKENING OF VALINOR

OF FINWË AND MÍRIEL

§1 Now the three kindreds of the Eldar were gathered at last in Valinor, and Melkor was chained. This was the Noontide of the Blessed Realm, the fullness of its glory and bliss, long in tale of years, but in memory too brief. In those days the Eldar became full-grown in stature of body and of mind, and the Noldor advanced ever in skill and knowledge; and the long years were filled with their joyful labours, in which many new things fair and wonderful were devised. It was in this time that the Noldor first made letters, and Rúmil of Túna was the name of the lore-master who first achieved fitting signs for the recording of speech and song, some for graving upon metal or in stone, others for drawing with brush or with pen.

§2 It came to pass that in Eldamar, in the house of the King in Tirion, there was born the eldest of the sons of Finwë, and the most beloved. Kurufinwë was his name, but by his mother he

was called Fëanor,* Spirit of Fire, by which title he is remembered in all the tales of the Noldor.

§3 Míriel was the name of his mother. Her hair was like silver; and she was slender as a white flower in the grass. Soft and sweet was her voice, and she sang as she worked, like rippling water, in music without words. For her hands were more skilled to make things fine and delicate than any other hands even among the Noldor. By her the craft of needles was devised; and if but one fragment of the broideries of Míriel were seen in Middle-earth it would be held dearer than a king's realm; for the richness of her devices and the fire of their colours were as manifold and as bright as the wealth of leaf and flower and wing in the fields of Yavanna. Therefore she was called *Serinde*.†

§4 The love of Finwë and Míriel was great and full of joy, for it began in the Blessed Realm and in days of mirth. But in the bearing of her son she was consumed in spirit and body, so that almost all strength seemed to have passed from her; and when she had named him[2] she said to Finwë: 'Never again shall I bear a child, for strength that would have nourished the life of many has gone forth into Fëanor.'

§5 Finwë was greatly grieved, for the Noldor were in the youth of their days, but were still few in number, and he desired to bring forth many children into the bliss of Aman. He said therefore: 'Surely there is healing in Aman? Here all weariness can find rest.'

§6 But when Míriel still languished, Finwë sought the counsel of Manwë, and Manwë delivered her to the care of Irmo in Lorien.[3] At their parting (for a little while as he thought) Finwë was sad, for it seemed an unhappy chance that the mother should depart and miss the beginning at least of the childhood days of her son.

§7 'Unhappy it is indeed,' said Míriel, 'and I would weep, if I were not so weary. But hold me blameless in this, and in all that may come after. Rest now I must. Farewell, dear lord!'

§8 She spoke no clearer than this at that time, but in her heart she yearned not only for sleep and rest but release from

* [footnote to the text] *Fëanáro* in the form of the speech of those days.

† [footnote to the text] *Míriel Serinde*: that is *Byrde Míriel* (Míriel the Broideress): quoth Ælfwine.

the labour of living. She went then to Lorien and laid her down to sleep beneath a silver tree; but though she seemed to sleep, her spirit indeed departed from her body and passed in silence to the keeping of Mandos, and abode in the house of Vairë.[4] The maidens of Estë tended her fair body so that it remained unwithered, but she did not return.

§9 Finwë lived in sorrow; and he went often to the gardens of Lorien, and sitting beneath the silver willows beside the body of his wife he called her by her names. But it was of no avail, and Finwë alone in all the Blessed Realm was bereaved of joy. After a while he went to Lorien no more, for it increased his grief to see the fair form of Míriel that would not hear his call. All his love he gave now to his son; for Fëanor in childhood was like his mother in voice and countenance, and Finwë was to him both father and mother and there was a double bond of love upon them.

§10 Yet Finwë was not content, being young and eager; and he still desired to have more children to bring mirth into his house. When, therefore, twelve years had passed he went again to Manwë. 'My Lord,' he said, 'behold! I am bereaved. Alone among the Eldar I have no wife, and must hope for no sons save one, and for no daughter. Whereas Ingwë and Olwë beget many children in the bliss of Aman. Must I remain ever so? For my heart warns me that Míriel will not return again ever from the house of Vairë.'

§11 Then Manwë was moved with pity for Finwë; but because this seemed to him a great matter, and the coming of death (albeit of free will) into the Blessed Realm a grave portent not lightly to be judged, he summoned the Valar in Council, and bade the chieftains and loremasters of the Eldar also to be present. Of the long debate of the Valar the Eldar wrote a record. This they called *Namna Finwë Míriello*, the Statute of Finwë and Míriel,[5] and it was preserved among the books of their Law; for in the debate many matters concerning the Eldar, their fate in Arda, and their death and re-birth, were examined and judged. For the Valar were greatly concerned to see that their labour for the guarding of Valinor was unavailing, if any thing, living or unliving, was brought thither out of Middle-earth, and they perceived now more clearly how great was the hurt that Melkor of old had done to the substance of Arda, so that all those who were incarnate and drew the sustenance of their bodies from Arda Marred, must ever be liable to grief, to

do or to suffer things unnatural in Arda Unmarred. And this marring could not now be wholly undone, not even by Melkor repentant; for power had gone forth from him and could not be recalled, but would continue to work according to the will that had set it in motion. And with this thought a shadow passed over the hearts of the Valar, presage of the sorrows which the Children should bring into the world.

§12 But when all was said, Manwë commanded Mandos to speak and announce his judgement. Then Mandos stood upon the Doom-hill and said:

'It is the way of Life that Ilúvatar hath ordained for you, his children, as ye know well, that the life of the Quendi shall not end until the end of Arda; and that they shall take each one spouse only and have no other in their life, while Arda endureth. But herein no account is taken of Death, which cometh from the marring of Arda. This doom is, therefore, now made by the right of lawgiving that Ilúvatar committed to Manwë.

When the spirit of a spouse, husband or wife, shall for any cause pass into the keeping of Mandos, then the living may be permitted lawfully to take another spouse, if the former union be dissolved for ever.

§13 'How shall a marriage be ended for ever? By the will of the Dead, or by the doom of Mandos. By the will of the Dead, if they refuse ever to return to the life of the body; by the doom of Mandos, if he will not permit them to return. For a union that was for the life of Arda is ended, if it cannot be resumed within the life of Arda.

§14 'We say "by the will of the Dead", for it would be unjust that the Living should for their own purposes confine the Dead in Mandos, denying to them all hope of return. It is also unjust that the Dead by refusal of life should compel the Living to remain solitary until the End; and therefore we have declared that in such case the Living may take another spouse. But understand well that if this be done, then the refusal of life by the Dead shall be irrevocable, and they shall never again return to life in the body. For none among the Quendi shall have two spouses at one time awake and alive.

'This is the doom of Námo Mandos in this matter.'

§15 When Mandos had spoken thus, the Eldar who were present asked: 'How then shall the will or the doom be known?'

It was answered: 'Only by recourse to Manwë, and by the pronouncement of Mandos. For who among the Living can discover the will of the Dead, or presume the judgements of Mandos?'

§16 Then Manwë called Finwë to him, and said: 'Thou hast heard the doom that has been declared. If Míriel, thy wife, will not return, your[6] marriage is ended, and thou hast leave to take another wife. But this is permission, not counsel. For the severance cometh from the marring of Arda; and those who accept this permission accept the marring, whereas the bereaved who remain steadfast belong in spirit and will to Arda Unmarred. This is a grave matter upon which the fate of many may depend. Be not in haste!'

§17 Finwë answered: 'I am in no haste, My Lord, and my heart has no desire, save the hope that when this doom is made clear to Míriel, she may yet relent and set a term to my bereavement.'

§18 Vairë with whom Míriel dwelt made known to her the doom,[7] and spoke also of the sorrow of Finwë. But Míriel answered: 'I came hither to escape from the body, and I do not desire ever to return to it. My life has gone out into Fëanor, my son. That gift I have given to him whom I loved. I can give no more. Beyond Arda this may be healed, but not within it.'

§19 Then Vairë said to Mandos: 'The spirit of Míriel hath dwelt with me, and I know it. It is small, but it is strong and obdurate: one of those who having said *this will I do* make their words a law irrevocable unto themselves. Unless constrained, she will not return to life or to Finwë, not though he should wait until the ageing of the world.'[8]

§20 But Mandos said: 'It is not lawful for the Valar to constrain the Dead to return'; and he summoned the spirit of Míriel to appear before him. 'Thy will must rule in this matter, spirit of Míriel, once wife of Finwë,' he said. 'In Mandos thou shalt abide. But take heed! Thou art of the Quendi, and even if thou refuse the body, thou must remain in Arda and within the time of its history. The Eldar are not as the Valar. Their spirits are less strong to stand than thou deemest. Do not wonder, then, if thy will should change in time, and this doom which thou takest upon thyself become grievous to thee. Yea, and to many others!'

§21 But the spirit of Míriel remained silent. Mandos therefore accepted her choice, and she went then to the Halls of

Waiting appointed to the Eldar and was left in peace.*[9] Nonetheless Mandos declared that a space of twelve years should pass between the declaration of the will of the Dead and the pronouncement of the doom of disunion.

§22 During that time Fëanor dwelt in the care of his father. Soon he began to show forth the skills in hand and mind of both Finwë and Míriel. As he grew from childhood he became ever more like Finwë in stature and countenance, but in mood he resembled Míriel rather. His will was strong and determined, and he pursued all his purposes both eagerly and steadfastly. Few ever changed his courses by counsel, none by force.

§23 It came to pass that after three years more Finwë took as second wife Indis the fair. She was in all ways unlike Míriel. She was not of the Noldor but of the Vanyar, being the sister of Ingwë; and she was golden-haired and tall and exceedingly swift of foot. She did not labour with her hands, but made music and wove words into song; and there was ever light and mirth about her while the bliss of Aman lasted.

§24 She loved Finwë dearly; for her heart had turned to him long before, while the Vanyar still dwelt with the Noldor in Túna. In those days she had looked upon the Lord of the Noldor, and he seemed to her fairest and noblest of the Eldar, dark-haired and white of brow, eager of face but with eyes full of thought; and his voice and mastery of words delighted her. Therefore she remained unwedded when her people removed to Valinor, and she walked often alone in the friths and fields of the Valar, filling them with music.

§25 Now Ingwë, hearing of the strange grief of Finwë, and desiring to lift up his heart and withdraw him from vain mourning in Lorien, had sent messages bidding him to leave Túna for a while, and to come and dwell for a season in the full light of the Trees. Finwë thanked him but did not go, while there was yet hope that Míriel would return. But when the doom of Mandos was spoken, it came into his heart that he must seek to build his life anew. 'Maybe, there is healing in the light of Laurelin and hope in the blossom of Telperion,' he said. 'I will take the counsel of Ingwë.'

* [footnote to the text] But it is said that after a time she was permitted to return to the house of Vairë, and there it was her part to record in web and broidery all the histories of the Kin of Finwë and the deeds of the Noldor.

§26 Therefore one day, when Fëanor was far abroad walking in the mountains in the strength of his youth, Finwë arose and went forth from Túna alone, and he passed through the Kalakiryan, and went towards the house of Ingwë upon the west slopes of Oiolossë. His coming was unheralded and unforeseen; and when Indis saw Finwë climbing the paths of the Mountain, and the light of Laurelin was behind him as a glory, without forethought she sang suddenly in great joy, and her voice went up as a song of the *lirulin** in the sky. Then Finwë heard that song falling from above, and he looked up and saw Indis in the golden light, and he knew in that moment that she loved him and had long done so. Then his heart turned at last to her; and he believed that this chance, as it seemed, had been granted for the comfort of them both. 'Behold!' he said. 'There is indeed healing of grief in Aman!'

§27 In one year from their meeting upon the Mountain Finwë, King of the Noldor, wedded Indis, sister of Ingwë; and the Vanyar and Noldor for the most part rejoiced. In Indis was first proved true the saying: The loss of one may be the gain of another; but this saying also she found true: The house remembers the builder, though others may dwell in it after. For Finwë loved her dearly, and was glad again; and she bore him five children whom he loved;†[10] yet the shadow of Míriel did not depart from the house of Finwë, nor from his heart; and of all whom he loved Fëanor had ever the chief share of his thought.

§28 The wedding of the father was not pleasing to Fëanor; and though it did not lessen the love between them, Fëanor had no great love for Indis or her children. As soon as he might he lived apart from them, exploring the land of Aman, or busying himself with the lore and the crafts in which he delighted. In those unhappy things which later came to pass, and in which Fëanor was the leader, many saw the effect of this breach in the house of Finwë, judging that if Finwë had endured his loss and had been content with the fathering of his mighty son, the courses of Fëanor would have been otherwise, and great sorrow and evil might have been prevented. Yet the children of Indis

* [footnote to the text] The lark.

† [footnote to the text] Findis, Fingolfin, Finvain, [Finarphin >] Finarfin and Faniel: three daughters, and two sons (Fingolfin and Finarfin).

were great and glorious, and their children also; and if they had not lived, the history of the Eldar would have been the poorer.[11]

NOTES

1 See Note (i) following *Laws and Customs* and my father's comment on it, pp. 250–1.

2 In FM 2 it is said, following *Laws and Customs* p. 236, that Míriel gave the name Fëanáro to her son 'at birth', and at this point a long footnote is added on the subject of name-giving:

> According to the custom of the Eldar. In addition to their 'true names', which were their father-name and their chosen name, they often received other or 'added names'. Of these the most important were the mother-names. Mothers often gave to their children special names of their own choosing, the most notable of which were 'names of insight'. In the hour of birth, or on some other occasion of moment, a mother might give to her child a name that referred to dominant features of its nature as she perceived it, or that came of foresight and referred to its special fate. Names of this kind might become more widely used than the father-name (which was often only the name of the father repeated or modified); and if the child adopted a mother-name as a 'chosen name', then it became also a 'true name'. Curufinwë took Fëanáro as his chosen name. Fëanor is the form that this name took in the later speech of the Exiled Noldor.

This represents an extreme compression of the section on *Naming* in *Laws and Customs*, pp. 214 ff.

3 *Lorien* was still the form in *Laws and Customs* and in the texts FM 2 and FM 3; in the present text FM 4 my father typed *Lórien*, but then altered it back to *Lorien*.

4 *and abode in the house of Vairë*: these words first appear in the present text; see note 9.

5 On the application of the term 'Statute' here see p. 254.

6 See p. 252, note 4.

7 FM 2 as typed had here, expanding the passage in *Laws and Customs*, p. 237: 'But Mandos summoned Míriel, and made known to her the Doom ...' This was later emended to read: 'Vairë, with whom Míriel dwelt, made known to her the Doom ...'

8 These words of Vairë's are derived from her intervention in the Debate of the Valar in *Laws and Customs*, p. 244.

9 The footnote at this point is derived from *Laws and Customs* (pp. 249–50), although Míriel's entry into the house of Vairë stands there at the end of a long account recording the coming of Finwë to the halls of Mandos, his renunciation of re-birth, and the

re-entry of the *fëa* of Míriel into her body that still lay in Lorien. In FM 2 there is no mention of Míriel after the words 'she went then to the Halls of Waiting appointed to the Eldar and was left in peace.' In FM 3 the text at this point is very compressed, and reads (in place of FM 4 §§18–23, all of which is present in FM 2 apart from the present footnote):

> ... 'I came hither to escape from the body, and I will not return to it'; and after ten years had passed the doom of disunion was spoken. And Míriel has dwelt ever since in the house of Vairë, and it is her part to record there the histories of the Kin of Finwë and all the deeds of the Noldor.
>
> It came to pass that after three more years Finwë took as second wife Indis the Fair ...

These texts are thus altogether inconsistent on the subject of the ultimate fate of Míriel. In particular the references to the House of Vairë are confusing. It was told in AAm (p. 49, §3) that 'Vairë the Weaver dwells with Mandos', and the same is implied in QS §6 (V.205, retained almost unchanged in the *Valaquenta*): 'Vairë the weaver is his wife, who weaves all things that have been in time in her storied webs, and the halls of Mandos ... are clothed therewith.' In *Laws and Customs* (p. 236) the spirit of Míriel departed from her body in Lorien 'and passed in silence *to the halls of Mandos*', and Finwë said to Manwë 'my heart warns me that Míriel will not return again *from the house of Vairë*'; in the debate of the Valar before the proclamation of the 'Statute' Vairë said that 'the *fëa* of Míriel is with me' (p. 244). But afterwards Niënna asked of Mandos that Míriel should be 'removed from the Halls of Waiting, and taken into the service of Vairë' (p. 248); this was refused, and when Finwë was slain their *fëar* encountered each other '*in Mandos*'. Thereafter the *fëa* of Míriel was 'released', and re-united with her body 'she went to the doors of the House of Vairë and prayed to be admitted; and this prayer was granted, although in that House none of the Living dwelt nor have others ever entered it in the body.' Thus within the same text 'the house of Vairë' is both equated with 'the halls of Mandos' and distinguished from them.

In FM 4 (§8) the spirit of Míriel 'passed in silence to the *keeping* of Mandos, and abode *in the house of Vairë*' (see note 4 above); and in §18 'Vairë with whom Míriel dwelt made known to her the doom.' After Míriel's refusal of return 'she went then to the Halls of Waiting appointed to the Eldar and was left in peace' (§21), but (according to the footnote to this paragraph) 'after a time she was permitted to *return* to the house of Vairë.' Thus in this final text it seems certain that Vairë in some sense dwelt apart.

Very curiously, my father subsequently bracketed the footnote and wrote against it 'Omit', commenting beside it: 'Alter this. What happened when Finwë came to Mandos?' Yet he had already answered this question very fully in *Laws and Customs*, where indeed it was the very fact of the coming of Finwë to the halls of Mandos that led to the release of Míriel and her admission to the house of Vairë.

10 In FM 2 the footnote on the names of the children of Indis read thus:

> Three daughters and two sons, in this order: Findis, Nolofinwë, Faniel, Arafinwë, and Írimë. The mother-name of Nolofinwë was Ingoldo, signifying that he came of both the kin of the Ingar and of the Noldor. The mother-name of Arafinwë was Ingalaurë, for he had the golden hair of his mother's people, and that endured in his line afterwards.

This was derived from a passage in the A-text of *Laws and Customs* (p. 230 note 22) which was omitted in B; in that however the daughters were not mentioned. The name *Írimë* (for later *Finvain*) goes back to the original text FM 1 (p. 207). In the note in FM 3 the names are as in FM 4, but those of the sons are spelt *Fingolphin* and *Finarphin*, and this comment is added: 'These names are given in the forms of the later tongue in Middle-earth (save Findis and Faniel who did not leave Valinor).'

In a very late essay (1968 or later; referred to in IV.174) my father said that the mother-name of Finrod Felagund was *Ingoldo*, but he gave to it a wholly different significance. The term *Ingar* ('people of Ingwë') occurring in *Laws and Customs* text A (p. 230 note 22) and here, has not been found before.

11 FM 2 ends differently after 'might have been prevented':

> Thus it is that the cases in which the Eldar can marry again or desire to do so are rare; and rarer still are those who do this even when it is lawful; for the sorrow and strife in the house of Finwë are graven in the memory of the Noldor Elves.

This derives from *Laws and Customs*, p. 239. In FM 3 the conclusion is as in FM 4, but after 'and great sorrow and evil might have been prevented' it continues: 'But this judgement was but a guess. Certain it is that the children of Indis were great and glorious ...' The later ending derives in its thought from the prophecy of Mandos in *Laws and Customs* (p. 247) at the final proclamation of the 'Statute of Finwë and Míriel'.

A note on certain conceptions in the story of Finwë and Míriel

The nature of Elvish 'immortality' and 'death' had been stated very long before in *The Book of Lost Tales* (I.76):

> Thither [i.e. to Mandos] in after days fared the Elves of all the clans who were by illhap slain with weapons or did die of grief for those that were slain – and only so might the Eldar die, and then it was only for a while. There Mandos spake their doom, and there they waited in the darkness, dreaming of their past deeds, until such time as he appointed when they might again be born into their children, and go forth to laugh and sing again.

And in the original *Music of the Ainur* (I.59) it is said of the Elves that 'dying they are reborn in their children, so that their number minishes not, nor grows.'

In the *Quenta* (IV.100, deriving from the 'Sketch of the Mythology', IV.21) the idea of rebirth is qualified:

> Immortal were the Elves, and their wisdom waxed and grew from age to age, and no sickness or pestilence brought them death. But they could be slain with weapons in those days, even by mortal Men, and some waned and wasted with sorrow till they faded from the earth. Slain or fading their spirits went back to the halls of Mandos to wait a thousand years, or the pleasure of Mandos according to their deserts, before they were recalled to free life in Valinor, or were reborn, it is said, into their own children.

In QS the corresponding passage (§85, V.246) was much enlarged:

> Immortal were the Elves, and their wisdom waxed from age to age, and no sickness nor pestilence brought death to them. Yet their bodies were of the stuff of earth and could be destroyed, and in those days they were more like to the bodies of Men, and to the earth, since they had not so long been inhabited by the fire of the spirit, which consumeth them from within in the courses of time. Therefore they could perish in the tumults of the world, and stone and water had power over them, and they could be slain with weapons in those days, even by mortal Men. And outside Valinor they tasted bitter grief, and some wasted and waned with sorrow, until they faded from the earth. Such was the measure of their mortality foretold in the Doom of Mandos spoken in Eruman. But if they were slain or wasted with grief, they died not from the earth, and their spirits went back to the halls of Mandos, and there waited, days or years, even a thousand, according to the will of Mandos and their deserts. Thence they are recalled at length to freedom, either as spirits, taking form according to their own thought, as the lesser folk of the divine race; or else, it is said, they are at times re-born into their own children, and the ancient wisdom of their race does not perish or grow less.

At the end of the *Ainulindalë* it is said (I cite the final text D, p. 37, but the passage goes back almost unchanged to the pre-*Lord of the Rings* version, V.163):

> For the Eldar die not till the world dies, unless they are slain or waste in grief (and to both these seeming deaths they are subject);

> neither does age subdue their strength, unless one grow weary of ten thousand centuries; and dying they are gathered in the halls of Mandos in Valinor, whence often they return and are reborn among their children.

And in the Doom of the Noldor as it appears in AAm (§154, p. 117) it was declared:

> For know now that though Eru appointed unto you to die not in Eä, and no sickness may assail you, yet slain may ye be, and slain ye shall be: by weapon and by torment and by grief; and your houseless spirits shall come then to Mandos. There long shall ye abide and yearn for your bodies and find little pity though all whom ye have slain should entreat for you.

The meaning of this, I feel sure, is: It is contrary indeed to the 'right nature' of the Elves that they should die, but nonetheless death may come to them.

The testimony of all these passages (and others not cited), early and late, is that Elvish 'death' (or 'seeming death', in the words of the *Ainulindalë*) was always a possible fate, deriving from their nature as incarnate beings. But there is a constant threat of ambiguity imposed by the words that must be used. The Elves cannot 'die' in the sense that Men 'die', since Men (by the Gift of Ilúvatar) depart from the 'world' never to return, whereas the Elves cannot depart from it so long as it lasts. In the legend of Beren and Lúthien Mandos offered her a choice: and the doom that she chose was that the destiny decreed by her nature should be changed. 'So it was that *alone of the Eldalië she has died indeed*, and left the world long ago' (*The Silmarillion* p. 187). But the Elves can nonetheless suffer the severance of spirit from body, which is 'death'. Thus it may be said that the essential distinction between the (possible) death of Elves and the (inevitable) death of Men is a difference of *destiny after death*. See V.304; and cf. *Laws and Customs*, p. 218: 'From their beginnings the chief difference between Elves and Men lay in the fate and nature of their spirits. The *fëar* of the Elves were destined to dwell in Arda for all the life of Arda, and the death of the flesh did not abrogate that destiny.'

In a draft for a letter written in October 1958 (see p. 300) my father discussed the meaning of the 'immortality' of the Elves (*Letters* no. 212):

> In this mythical 'prehistory' *immortality*, strictly longevity co-extensive with the life of Arda, was part of the given nature of the Elves; beyond the End nothing was revealed. *Mortality*, that is a short life-span having no relation to the life of Arda, is spoken of as the given nature of Men ...
>
> In the Elvish legends there is record of a strange case of an Elf (Míriel mother of Fëanor) that tried to *die*, which had disastrous results, leading to the 'Fall' of the High-elves. The Elves were not

> subject to disease, but they could be 'slain': that is their bodies could be destroyed, or mutilated so as to be unfit to sustain life. But this did not lead naturally to 'death': they were rehabilitated and reborn and eventually recovered memory of all their past: they remained 'identical'. But Míriel wished to abandon being, and refused rebirth.

'But Míriel wished to *abandon being*': this is a dark saying. There is nothing in any of the accounts to suggest that she desired annihilation, the ending of her existence in any form. In *Laws and Customs* (p. 222) my father wrote that 'some *fëar* in grief or weariness gave up hope, and turning away from life relinquished their bodies, even though these might have been healed or were indeed unhurt. Few of these ... desired to be re-born, not at least until they had been long in "waiting"; some never returned.' This surely accords with what is told of the death of Míriel.

It seems, at any rate, that when my father said here that Míriel 'tried to *die*' he meant that she sought a 'true death': not a 'seeming death', but a departure for ever out of Arda. Yet this could not be: for death in this sense was contrary to 'the given nature of the Elves', appointed by Ilúvatar; and indeed, in *Of Finwë and Míriel* (§20) Mandos spoke to the *fëa* of Míriel, saying: 'In Mandos thou shalt abide. But take heed! Thou art of the Quendi, and even if thou refuse the body, *thou must remain in Arda and within the time of its history*.'

But the 'seeming death' to which the Elves are subject had never yet appeared in Aman in all the long years since the Vanyar and the Noldor came to Eldamar. In the *Annals of Aman*, written before the story of Míriel had arisen, Fëanor spoke before the Valar after the Death of the Trees (§§120–1, p. 107):

> '... Mayhap I can unlock my jewels, but never again shall I make their like; and if they be broken, then broken will be my heart, and I shall die: first of all the Children of Eru.'
>
> 'Not the first,' quoth Mandos, but they understood not his word ...

Mandos knew that Morgoth had murdered Finwë at Formenos, 'and spilled the first blood of the Children of Ilúvatar' (§122).

Against the words of Mandos my father afterwards noted on the AAm typescript (p. 127, §120): 'This no longer fits even the Eldar of Valinor. Finwë Fëanor's father was first to be slain of the High-elves, Míriel Fëanor's mother the first to die', and on the text itself he changed Fëanor's 'I shall die' to 'I shall be slain'. It might seem that a distinction is made here between 'dying' and 'being slain', but I do not think that this is the case. What is meant is simply that Míriel was the first to die, and Finwë was the second to die – but the first to be slain. After the story of Míriel had entered Fëanor could no longer say 'I shall die: first of all the Children of Eru'; my father therefore, wishing to retain the pregnant words of Mandos 'Not the first', altered Fëanor's to 'I shall be slain'.

Much later, this passage in AAm was used again in the new work on the *Quenta Silmarillion* (see p. 293), taking this form:

> '... and I shall be slain, first of all the Children of Eru.'
>
> 'Not the first,' quoth Mandos, but they did not understand his words, thinking that he spoke of Míriel.

The meaning here seems to be that those who heard the words of Mandos (speaking of the murder of Finwë as yet unknown to them) thought that he spoke of Míriel, because she was the only one of the Eldar whom they knew to have died; but since Míriel had not been *slain* 'they did not understand his words'. Even so, it cannot be supposed that Finwë was the first to be slain of the Children of Eru; cf. my father's note on the AAm typescript 'This no longer fits *even* the Eldar of Valinor', and the passage in *Laws and Customs*, p. 218: 'This destruction of the *hröa*, causing death or the unhousing of the *fëa*, was soon experienced by the immortal Eldar, when they awoke in the marred and overshadowed realm of Arda.'

It is made plain in *Laws and Customs* and in the new 'sub-chapter' of the *Quenta Silmarillion* that the primary significance of the death of Míriel is that it was the first appearance of Death in Aman; and the debate was concerned with this *unlooked-for event*, and its implications for the laws that governed the life of deathless Aman. In *Laws and Customs* (p. 241) Yavanna declared that 'the Shadow ... has marred the very *hrón* of Arda, and all Middle-earth is perverted by the evil of Melkor ... Therefore none of those who awoke in Middle-earth, and there dwelt before they came hither, have come here wholly free. The failing of the strength of the body of Míriel may then be ascribed, with some reason, to the evil of Arda Marred, and her death be a thing unnatural.' In FM 2 (p. 254) this thought, represented as a new perception on the part of the Valar, takes this form:

> And the Valar were greatly concerned to see that all their labour for the guarding of Valinor was of no avail, to keep out evil and the shadow of Melkor, if any thing, living or unliving, was brought thither out of Middle-earth and left free or unguarded; and they perceived at last how great was the power of Melkor in Arda, in the making of which as it was his part was such that all things, *save in Aman alone*, had an inclination to evil and to perversion from their right forms and courses. Wherefore those whose being began in Arda, and who moreover were by nature a union of spirit and body, drawing the sustenance of the latter from Arda Marred, must ever be, in some degree, liable to grief, to do or to suffer things unnatural; and though dwelling in Aman might be a guard against this evil, it was not a full cure, unless in long ages.

This was largely retained in the final text FM 4 (p. 258, §11), though without the references to Aman; and Mandos expressly declared that

Death (i.e. of the Firstborn) is a consequence of the Marring of Arda (§12).

In the draft letter of 1958 cited above in reference to the death of Míriel my father continued:

> I suppose a difference between this Myth and what may be perhaps called Christian mythology is this. In the latter the Fall of Man is subsequent to and a consequence (though not a necessary consequence) of the 'Fall of the Angels': a rebellion of created free-will at a higher level than Man; but it is not clearly held (and in many versions is not held at all) that this affected the 'World' in its nature: evil was brought in from outside, by Satan. In this Myth the rebellion of created free-will precedes creation of the World (Eä); Eä has in it, subcreatively introduced, evil, rebellious, discordant elements of its own nature already when the *Let it Be* was spoken. The Fall or corruption, therefore, of all things in it and all inhabitants of it, was a possibility if not inevitable.

In *Of Finwë and Míriel* all this is presented as a new perception, or at least as a greatly sharpened perception, by the Valar; and 'with this thought a shadow passed over the hearts of the Valar, presage of the sorrows which the Children should bring into the world.' One might wonder that it needed the death of Míriel to bring the Powers of Arda to this perception. One might wonder also how it should be that even in Aman none of the Eldar were drowned in the sea or missed their footing in the mountains and fell from a great height. This latter consideration is indeed countered to some degree by what is told of the corporeal nature of the Elves. Their bodies are described as closely analogous to those of mortal Men, but against this is to be set the following passage from *Laws and Customs* (p. 218):

> The *fëar* of the Elves were destined to dwell in Arda for all the life of Arda, and the death of the flesh did not abrogate that destiny. Their *fëar* were tenacious therefore of life 'in the raiment of Arda', and far excelled the spirits of Men in power over that 'raiment', even from the first days protecting their bodies from many ills and assaults (such as disease), and healing them swiftly of injuries, so that they recovered from wounds that would have proved fatal to Men.

This, however, while diminishing the physical vulnerability of the Elves as compared with Men, does not alter the fact that the actual destruction of such bodies by violence is an inherent possibility in the nature of Arda: 'though the *fëa* cannot be broken or disintegrated by any violence from without, the *hröa* can be hurt and may be utterly destroyed' *(ibid.)*. Very explicit are the words of Manwë in his final address to the Valar before the proclamation of the Statute (p. 244):

> [The Elves] came into Arda Marred, and were destined to do so, and to endure the Marring, even though they came in their beginning from beyond Eä. ... We may say, therefore, that the Elves are destined to know 'death' in their mode, being sent into a world

> which contains 'death', and having a form for which 'death' is possible. For though by their prime nature, unmarred, they rightly dwell as spirit and body coherent, yet these are two things, not the same, and their severance (which is 'death') is a possibility inherent in their union.

But it is made plain that while, on the one hand, this possibility of 'death' for the Elves was a consequence of the Marring of Arda by Melkor, on the other hand the death of Míriel so gravely disquieted the Valar because it was the first that had taken place in Aman. Is it to be supposed, then, that until this time the Valar had been deluded, believing falsely that the incarnate Elves, *by the fact of their dwelling in Aman*, were protected from all possibility of the severance of spirit and body, in any of the ways that such severance might come about in Middle-earth – believing indeed that the Marring of Arda and the possibility of death for the incarnate had effect only east of the Great Sea, and only now discovering the falsity of this belief when Míriel died? (See the passage from 'text VII' on p. 400.)

The 'immortality' of the Elves (co-extensive with the 'life' of Arda), their deaths and rebirths, were deep-laid and fundamental elements in my father's conception. At this time he was subjecting these ideas to an elaborate analysis, and extending that analysis to the ideas of 'deathless Aman' and the significance of Melkor in the perversion of Creation as it had been expounded to the Ainur by Ilúvatar in the Beginning. This analysis is, in part, presented as a debate among the Valar themselves, in which they reach new perceptions concerning the nature of Arda; but the theoretical discussion of moral and natural laws is given an immediate dimension from its arising out of the strange story of the griefs of Finwë and Míriel. That story was retained in the published *Silmarillion*, but with no intimation of its implications for the Rulers of Arda and the loremasters of the Elves.

In these writings is seen my father's preoccupation in the years following the publication of *The Lord of the Rings* with the philosophical aspects of the mythology and its systemisation. Of the deliberations of the Gods the sages of the Eldar preserved a record among the books of their law. How far away from these grave Doctors seems the 'hornéd moon' that rode over Ælfwine's ship off the coasts of the Lonely Isle (II.321), as 'the long night of Faërie held on'! Ælfwine is still present as communicator and commentator; but there have been great changes in Elfinesse.

★

OF FËANOR AND THE UNCHAINING OF MELKOR

The previous 'sub-chapter' *Of Finwë and Míriel* has reached only, in terms of the earlier Chapter 6, to the end of §46b (p. 185). For the

next section there are only two late texts, continuing straight on in the typescripts that I have called FM 3 and FM 4 (pp. 255–6): from this point it is convenient to call them '**A**' and '**B**'. A, though a finished text, is in effect a draft for the second typescript (B) that clearly followed it immediately, and need not be further considered beyond noting that it does not contain the new passage about Fëanor's wife, and that the title is *Of Fëanor and the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor*: this text makes no further subdivisions.

In this section my father did not greatly alter (except by the addition concerning Fëanor's wife) the text of LQ, §§46c–48, and the changes can be recorded without giving the whole text again. Very minor differences are not mentioned.

§46c The only difference here from LQ is that Fëanor's hair is said to have been 'raven-dark'. But at the end of the paragraph, after 'Seldom were the hand and mind of Fëanor at rest', the following passage was added:

> While still in early youth Fëanor wedded Nerdanel, a maiden of the Noldor; at which many wondered, for she was not among the fairest of her people. But she was strong, and free of mind, and filled with the desire of knowledge. In her youth she loved to wander far from the dwellings of the Noldor, either beside the long shores of the Sea or in the hills; and thus she and Fëanor had met and were companions in many journeys. Her father, Mahtan, was a great smith, and among those of the Noldor most dear to the heart of Aulë. Of Mahtan Nerdanel learned much of crafts that women of the Noldor seldom used: the making of things of metal and stone. She made images, some of the Valar in their forms visible, and many others of men and women of the Eldar, and these were so like that their friends, if they knew not her art, would speak to them; but many things she wrought also of her own thought in shapes strong and strange but beautiful.
>
> She also was firm of will, but she was slower and more patient than Fëanor, desiring to understand minds rather than to master them. When in company with others she would often sit still listening to their words, and watching their gestures and the movements of their faces. Her mood she bequeathed in part to some of her sons, but not to all. Seven sons she bore to Fëanor, and it is not recorded in the histories of old that any others of the Eldar had so many

children. With her wisdom at first she restrained Fëanor when the fire of his heart burned too hot; but his later deeds grieved her and they became estranged.

Now even while Fëanor and the craftsmen of the Noldor wrought with delight, foreseeing no end to their labours, and while the sons of Indis grew to manhood, the Noontide of Valinor was drawing to its close.

The text then continues as in LQ §47 (p. 185). – The name *Nerdanel* of Fëanor's wife was an emendation: the original name as typed was *Istarnië*.

§47 LQ 'at the feet of the gods' becomes 'at the feet of the Mighty'.

§48 'and most of all in the healing of the many hurts that he had done to the world. His prayer Niënna aided, but the others were silent.'

From LQ 'Wherefore in a while he was allowed to go freely about the land' the text was changed:

Therefore after a time Manwë gave him leave to go freely about the land. The evil that Melkor had wrought of old in wrath and malice was beyond full healing [cf. p. 259, §11], but his aid, if he would truly give it, would do more than aught else to amend the world. For Melkor was in his beginning the greatest of the Powers, and Manwë believed that if he were repentant he would regain in great part his first might and wisdom. On this path he judged that Melkor was now set, and would persevere if he were treated without grudge. Jealousy and rancour Manwë was slow to perceive, for he knew them not in himself; and he did not understand that all love had departed from the mind of Melkor for ever.

Ulmo, it is said, was not deceived; and Tulkas clenched his hands whenever he saw Melkor his foe go by, for if Tulkas is slow to wrath, he is slow also to forget. But they obeyed the ruling of Manwë; for those who will defend authority against rebellion must not themselves rebel.

★

OF THE SILMARILS AND THE UNREST OF THE NOLDOR

This chapter-heading is present only in the second of the two late typescripts (B), and it was there written in subsequently. The first of

the texts (A) was still fairly close to LQ §§49–54; though many changes were introduced they are for the most part of slight if any narrative significance. Here again it was effectively a draft for the second text and need not be further considered. The second text, however, was much altered and expanded in the latter part of the 'sub-chapter'.

§49 Most fair of all was Melkor's countenance to the Eldar, and he aided them in many works, if they would let him. The Vanyar indeed held him in suspicion, for they dwelt in the light of the Trees and were content; and to the Teleri he gave little heed, deeming them of little worth, tools too weak for his designs. But the Noldor took delight in the hidden knowledge that he could reveal to them; and some hearkened to words that it would have been better for them never to have heard.

§49a In after days Melkor indeed declared that Fëanor had learned much art from him in secret; but that was only one of the many lies of Melkor, envying the skill of Fëanor and desiring to claim part in his works. For none of the Eldalië ever hated Melkor more than Fëanor son of Finwë, and though he was snared in the webs of Melkor's malice against the Valar, he held no converse with him in person, and he took no counsel from him. Indeed he sought the counsel of none that dwelt in Aman, great or small, save only and for a little while of Nerdanel the wise, his wife.

§49b In that time, but before Melkor was given his freedom within the land of Aman, those things were wrought that afterwards were the most renowned of all the works of the Elvenfolk. For Fëanor, being now come to his full might, was filled with a new thought, or maybe some shadow of foreboding came to him of the doom that drew near; and he pondered how the Light of the Trees, the glory of the Blessed Realm, might be preserved imperishable. Then he began a long and secret labour, and he summoned all his lore, and his power, and his subtle craft, for the making of jewels more marvellous than any that had yet been devised, whose beauty should last beyond the End.

Three jewels he made, and named them the Silmarils. A living fire burned within them that was blended of the Light of the Two Trees. Of their own radiance they shone, even in the dark of the deepest treasury; yet all lights that fell upon them, however faint, they received and returned again in marvellous hues to which their own inner fire gave a surpassing loveliness. No mortal flesh, nor hands unclean, nor anything of evil will

could touch them, but it was scorched and withered; neither could they be broken by any strength within the Kingdom of Arda. The Silmarils the Eldar prized beyond all other treasures in Aman or upon Earth; and Varda hallowed them, and Mandos foretold that the fates of Arda, earth, sea, and air, lay locked within them. The heart of Fëanor was fast bound to these things that he himself had made.

§50 Then Melkor lusted also for the Silmarils; and from that time inflamed by this desire the malice of his heart grew greater, though naught of it could yet be seen in the semblance that he wore, or in the fair form that he assumed, after the manner of the Valar, his brethren.

Therefore, whenever he saw his chances, he began to sow a seed of falsehood and hints of evil among all who were open to his converse. But he did this with cunning, so that few who heard these lies ever took them from his own lips: they passed from friend to friend, as secrets the knowledge of which proves the teller wise; and in the telling they grew and spread, like weeds running up rank in shady places. Bitterly the people of the Noldor atoned for the folly of their open ears in days to come.

When he saw that many leaned towards him, Melkor would often walk among them, speaking ever words of greatest praise, sweet but poisoned honey; for amid all the fair words others were woven, so subtly that many who heard them believed in recollection that they arose from their own thought. Visions he would conjure up in their hearts of the mighty realms that they could have ruled at their own will in power and freedom in the East; and then whispers went abroad that the Valar had brought the Eldar to Aman because of their jealousy, fearing that the beauty of the Quendi and the makers' power that Ilúvatar had bequeathed to them would grow too great for the Valar to govern, as the Elvenfolk waxed and spread over the wide lands of the world.

In those days, moreover, though the Valar knew indeed of the coming of Men that were to be, the Elves as yet knew naught of it; for Manwë had not revealed it to them, and the time was not yet near. But Melkor spoke to them in secret of Mortal Men, seeing how the silence of the Valar might be twisted to evil. Little he knew yet concerning Men, for engrossed with his own thought in the Music he had paid small heed to the Second Theme of Ilúvatar; but now the whisper went among the Elves

that Manwë held them captive, so that Men might come and supplant them in the dominions of the Middle-earth. For the Valar saw that this weaker and short-lived race would be more easily swayed by them. Alas! little have the Valar ever prevailed to sway the wills of Men; but many of the Noldor believed, or half believed, these evil words.

§51 Thus ere the Valar were aware, the peace of Valinor was poisoned. The Noldor began to murmur against them and all their kindred; and many became filled with vanity, forgetting how much of what they had and knew came to them in gift from the Valar. Fiercest burned the new flame of desire for freedom and wider realms in the eager heart of Fëanor; and Melkor laughed in his secrecy, for to that mark his lies had been addressed, hating Fëanor above all, and lusting ever for the Silmarils. But these he was not suffered to approach. For though at great feasts Fëanor would wear them blazing upon his brow, at other times they were guarded close, locked in the deep chambers of his hoard in Túna. There were no thieves in Valinor as yet; but Fëanor began to love the Silmarils with a greedy love, and grudged the sight of them to all, save to his father or to his sons. Seldom he remembered now that the light with which they were lit was not his own.

§52 High princes were Fëanor and Fingolfin, the elder sons of Finwë, honoured by all in Aman; but now they grew proud and jealous each of his rights and his possessions. And lo! Melkor then set new lies abroad, and whispers came to Fëanor that Fingolfin and his sons were plotting to usurp the leadership of Finwë and of the elder line of Fëanor, and to supplant them by the leave of the Valar: for the Valar were ill pleased that the Silmarils lay in Túna and were not given to their keeping. But to Fingolfin and Finarfin it was said: 'Beware! Small love has the proud son of Míriel ever had for the children of Indis. Now he has become great, and he has his father in his hand. It will not be long before he drives you forth from Túna!'

§52a It is told also that when Melkor saw that these lies were smouldering he began to speak, first to the sons of Fëanor, and at other times to the sons of Indis, concerning weapons and armour, and of the power that they give to him that has them to defend his own (as he said). Now the Quendi had possessed weapons in Middle-earth, but not of their own devising. They had been made by Aulë and sent as gifts by the hand of Oromë, when it became known to the Valar that the Quendi were beset

by prowling evils that had discovered the places of their dwelling beside Cuiviénen; and more were sent later for the defence of the Eldar upon the Great March to the shores of the Sea. But all these were long unused, and lay in hoard as memorials of old days half-forgotten; and since the chaining of Melkor the armouries of the Valar also had been shut.

§52b But now the lords of the Noldor took out their swords and spears and sharpened them, re-strung their bows and filled their quivers with arrows. And they made shields in those days and emblazoned them with devices of silver and gold and gems. These only they wore abroad, and of other weapons they did not speak, for each believed that he alone had received the warning. But when Fëanor got wind of what was being done, he made for himself a secret forge, of which not even Melkor was aware; and there he wrought fell swords of tempered steel for himself and for his seven sons, and tall helms with plumes of red. Bitterly Mahtan rued the day when he had taught to the husband of Nerdanel, his daughter, all the lore of metal work that he learned of Aulë.

§52c Thus with lies and evil whisperings and false counsel Melkor kindled the hearts of the Noldor to strife; and of their quarrels came at length the end of the high days of Valinor and the evening of its ancient glory. For Fëanor now began openly to speak words of rebellion against the Valar, crying aloud that he would depart from Valinor back to the world without, and would deliver the Noldor from thraldom (as he said), if they would follow him.

§52d Then there was great unrest in Túna, and Finwë was troubled, and he summoned all his lords to council. But Fingolfin hastened to his halls and stood before him, saying: 'King and father, wilt thou not restrain the pride of our brother, Curufinwë, who is called the Spirit of Fire, all too truly? By what right does he speak for all our people, as were he king? Thou it was who long ago spoke before the Quendi, bidding them accept the guesting of the Mighty in Aman. Thou it was that led the Noldor upon the long road through the perilous Earth to the light of Eldanor. If this does not now repent thee, two sons at least thou hast to honour thy words!'

§52e But even as he spoke, suddenly Fëanor appeared, and he strode into the chamber tall and threatening. A fire of anger was in his eyes, and he was fully armed: his high helm upon his head, and at his side a mighty sword. 'So it is, even as I guessed,'

he said: 'my half-brother would be before me with my father, in this as in all other matters. He would not wait for the council, where all words would be heard by all, and answered. He would speak against me in secret. This I will not brook!' he cried, turning upon Fingolfin. 'Get thee gone, and take thy due place!' Then as a flash of flame he drew his sword. 'Get thee gone and dare my wrath no longer!'

§52f Then Fingolfin bowed before Finwë, and without word or glance at Fëanor he went from the chamber. But Fëanor followed him, and at the door of the king's house he stayed him. The point of his bright sword he set against Fingolfin's breast. 'See, half-brother!' he said. 'This is sharper than thy tongue. Try but once more to usurp my place and the love of my father, and maybe it will rid the Noldor of a would-be master of thralls.'

§52g These words were heard by many, for the house of Finwë was in the great square beneath the Mindon, and many people were gathered there. But Fingolfin again made no answer, and passing through the throng in silence he went to seek Finarfin his brother.

§52h The unrest of the Noldor was not indeed hidden from the Valar; but its seed had been sown in the dark; and therefore, since Fëanor first spoke openly against the Valar, they deemed that he was the mover of discontent, being eminent in self-will and arrogance, though all the Noldor had become proud. It was, maybe, the nature of the Children that as they grew they should become wilful, and should desire to escape from tutelage, remembering it with little gratitude. Therefore Manwë was grieved, but he watched and said no word. The Valar had brought the Eldar to their land freely, to dwell or to depart; and though they might judge departure to be folly, it would not be lawful to restrain them from it, if wise counsel did not suffice.

§53 But now the deeds of Fëanor could not be passed over, and the Valar were wroth; and dismayed also, perceiving that more was at work than the wilfulness of youth. Therefore Manwë summoned Fëanor to appear before the Valar to answer for all his words and deeds, and he was brought to the gates of Valmar. Thither also were summoned all others who had any part in the matter, or any knowledge thereof, or any grievance of their own to declare.

§53a Then Mandos set Fëanor before him in the Ring of Doom and bade him answer to all that was asked of him. Great must be the power and will of any who would lie to Mandos, or

even refuse his questioning. But Fëanor had no thought of it. He was so besotted with the lies of Melkor that had taken root in his proud heart (though he did not yet clearly perceive their source) that he judged himself justified in all points, and other judgement he scorned.

§53b But when all was said, and all the testimonies were spoken, and words and deeds were brought out of the dark into the light, then at last the root was laid bare: the malice of Melkor was revealed, and his lies and half-lies made plain for all to recognize who had the will to see. Straightway Tulkas was sent from the council to lay hands on Melkor and bring him again to judgement. But Fëanor was not held wholly guiltless in himself. For he had forged secret swords, and had drawn one in anger unjustified, threatening the life of his kinsman.

§53c Therefore Mandos said to him: 'Thou speakest of thraldom. If thraldom it be, thou canst not escape it. For Manwë is King of Arda, and not of Aman only. And this deed was unlawful, whether in Aman or not in Aman. Though more insolent in Aman, for it is a hallowed land. Therefore this doom is now made: for twelve years thou shalt leave Túna where this threat was uttered. In that time take counsel with thyself, and remember who and what thou art. But after that time this matter shall be set in peace and held redressed, if others will release thee.'

§53d Then Fingolfin rose and said: 'I will release my brother.' But Fëanor spoke no word in answer; and when he had stood silent before the Valar for a while, he turned and left the council and departed from Valmar. At once he returned to Túna, and before the term of seven days that was set, he gathered his goods and his treasures and left the city and went far away. With him went his sons, and Finwë his father, who would not be parted from him, in fault or guiltless, and some others also of the Noldor. But Nerdanel would not go with him, and she asked leave to abide with Indis, whom she had ever esteemed, though this had been little to the liking of Fëanor. Northward in Valinor, in the hills near to the halls of Mandos, Fëanor and his sons made a strong place and a treasury at Formenos, and they laid in hoard a multitude of gems, and weapons also: they did not put aside the swords that Fëanor had made. But Fingolfin now ruled the Noldor in Túna; and thus the very words of Melkor seemed to be fulfilled (though it was Fëanor who had by his own deeds brought this thing to pass);

and the bitterness that Melkor had sown endured, even though his lies had been made manifest. Long afterward it lived still between Fëanor and the sons of Indis.

§54 Worse now befell. In vain Tulkas sought for Melkor. For Melkor, knowing that his devices were revealed, hid himself and passed from place to place as a cloud in the hills. And though none could discover whither he had gone, it seemed that the light of Valinor was dimmed, and the shadows of all standing things grew longer and darker in that time. It is said that for two years no one in Valinor saw Melkor again, nor heard any rumour of him, until suddenly he sought out Fëanor. Secretly he came to Formenos, in guise as a traveller that seeks for lodging; and he spoke with Fëanor before his door. Friendship he feigned with cunning argument, urging him to his former thought of flight from the trammels of the Valar.

'Behold the truth of all that I have spoken, and how thou art banished unjustly,' he said. 'But if the heart of Fëanor is still undaunted, as it was in Túna, then I will aid him and bring him far from this narrow land. For am I not Vala also? Yea, and more than those who sit here in pride. I have ever been a friend of the Noldor, knowing their worth: the most skilled and the most valiant of all the folk of Arda.'

Now Fëanor's heart was still bitter at his humiliation before Mandos, and for a moment he paused and looked at Melkor in silence, wondering if indeed he might trust him so far at least as to aid his escape. But Melkor's cunning overreached his aim, and seeing Fëanor hesitate, and knowing that the Silmarils held his heart in thrall, he said at the last: 'Here is a strong place well guarded, but think not that the Silmarils will lie safe in any treasury within the realm of the Valar!'

Then the fires of the heart of Fëanor were kindled, and his eyes blazed; and his sight burned through all the fair-semblance of Melkor to the dark depths of his mind, perceiving there his fierce lust for the Silmarils. Then hate overcame Fëanor's fear, and he spoke shamefully to Melkor, saying: 'Get thee from my gate, gangrel! Thou jail-crow of Mandos!' And he shut the door of his house in the face of the mightiest of all the dwellers in Eä.

Then Melkor departed in shame, for he was himself in peril, and he saw not his time yet for revenge; but his heart was black with anger. And Finwë was filled with great dread, and in haste he sent messengers to Manwë in Valmar.

Commentary

In the first part of this 'sub-chapter' *Of the Silmarils and the Unrest of the Noldor* the story as it was told in LQ (pp. 184 ff.) was scarcely changed even in detail, despite the many changes of wording introduced in this last version – except in the matter of the weapons of the Eldar (§§52a, b). In QS, where the matter first entered (V.228, note by Pengoloð to §49), it was said that 'the Elves had before possessed only weapons of the chase, spears and bows and arrows', but that now, under the influence of Melkor, the Noldor 'learned the fashioning of swords of tempered steel, and the making of mail' and shields. This was rewritten in LQ §50 (p. 188), still as an observation made by Pengoloð, to read that the Elves had originally possessed *no* weapons, and that now they learned the making of all kinds of arms, swords, spears, bows and arrows. Similarly in AAm §97 (p. 96): 'Melkor spoke to the Eldar concerning weapons, which they had not before possessed or known'; but my father afterwards noted on the typescript of AAm (p. 106, §97): 'No! They must have had weapons on the Great Journey.' Feeling a need to explain how the Quendi survived 'amid the deceits of the starlit dusk', and concluding that they must have been armed in Middle-earth, he adopted the (to my mind) somewhat mechanical narrative device introduced here (§52a).

Explanations in such a world may prompt unneeded reflections. The passage of Oromë on his horse Nahar from Aman to Middle-earth is never described, nor (I would say) need it be, nor should it be; the movements of the great Valar (and indeed of the lesser divine, as Melian) are a mystery that we do not seek to penetrate. They are from beyond Arda and do not derive from it. In the (very old) story of the transportation of the three original Elvish 'ambassadors' from Kuiviénen to Valinor we might wonder with more right, perhaps, how they journeyed, for the Elves, whatever their powers, are Children of Earth, and must live and move in the physical world of Arda. My father never said any more about that; and we may suppose, if we will, that they passed over the Grinding Ice, borne upon Nahar.* But that he perceived a need to respond, at a certain level, to speculation of this kind is apparent from this story of Oromë's bringing to the Eldar a great store of weapons made in Valinor – for the store must have been great to be useful in the protection of such a host.

In the latter part of the new version the story is greatly developed, and yet not in such a way as to contradict the earlier versions – which can be read as a synopsis of the latest. It may indeed be that the story

* Cf. the story referred to in the old 'Sketch of the Mythology', that 'Lúthien went even over the Grinding Ice, aided by the power of her divine mother, Melian, to Mandos' halls' (IV.25, 55).

of Fëanor's fierce encounter with Fingolfin in the house of Finwë was present to my father's mind already when he wrote LQ (end of §52), though he did not actually recount it till much later.

It is worth remarking that in writing the new version he also had an eye to AAm; thus in §54 he took up the words of Melkor to Fëanor at Formenos in AAm §101 (p. 97) – though removing the sentence 'And think not that the Silmarils lie safe in any treasury within the realm of the gods' from its place in AAm and using it as it was used in LQ, the sudden clue for Fëanor of Melkor's true intention.

There remain a few isolated points. In both texts of the last version occurs the phrase in §49b: 'The Silmarils the Eldar prized beyond all other treasures *in Aman or upon Earth*'. This usage goes back a long way (see the Index to Vol.IV, entries *Earth* and *World*), unsuitable as it may seem to the world in which Aman was physically approachable across the Sea. But the Earth is Middle-earth: it is not the equivalent of Arda; cf. also §52d: 'Thou it was that led the Noldor upon the long road through the perilous Earth to the light of Eldanor.'

It is also curious that *Túna* is now used at every occurrence, not *Tirion*; see p. 90, §67, and p. 193, §52.

In §50 it is said of Melkor that 'Little he knew yet concerning Men, for engrossed with his own thought in the Music he had paid small heed to the Second Theme of Ilúvatar'. Compare the *Ainulindalë* (both the C and D texts) §13: the Children of Ilúvatar 'came with the Third Theme', and §24: Manwë 'was the chief instrument of the second Theme that Ilúvatar had raised up against the discord of Melkor.' See further p. 358 note 10.

The names *Fingolfin* and *Finarfin* are thus spelt in B, but in A *Fingolphin* and *Finarphin* (see p. 265 note 10). In the Second Edition of *The Lord of the Rings* (1966) *Finarphin* was spelt thus, later changed on my suggestion to *Finarfin* (Appendix F, *Of the Elves*).

★

OF THE DARKENING OF VALINOR

The first of the two late typescripts (A) comes to an end after a few lines of this next 'sub-chapter', in which LQ §55 was followed virtually word for word; and it ends at exactly the same point as does the LQ rewriting of QS (see p. 190 and note 8). For the next part of the narrative, therefore, we have on the one hand the text of QS (§§55–9), with the very few revisions that had been made to it in the revision of 1951, and on the other the much later and very greatly expanded version that follows here, extant throughout almost all its length only in the one typescript B. There is also a single typescript page, intermediate between A and B, which extends a short way further than does A; and much extremely rough working for the

chapter in its late form which is for the most part scarcely legible.

Much of this final version of the story of Melkor and Ungoliantë and the destruction of the Trees stands in such close relationship to AAm that it would be possible, for some sections of the text, to be content with reference to AAm and notes of the differences; nonetheless I give the text in full, for these reasons. First, because despite the closeness to AAm there is also a major transformation of the legend; and second, because the relation between the two traditions, *The Silmarillion* and the *Annals*, here takes a new turn, and this is important for the understanding of the nature of the published *Silmarillion*, and its justification. It would be less easy to follow these interesting developments if part of the text appeared only in notes referring to another text.

§55 Now the Valar were sitting in council before the gates of Valmar, fearing the lengthening of the shadows, when the messengers came from Finwë. At once Oromë and Tulkas sprang up, but even as they set out in pursuit other messengers brought tidings from Eldanor. Melkor had fled through the Kalakiryan, and from the hill of Túna the Elves had seen him pass in wrath as a thunder-cloud. 'Then,' said they, 'he turned northward, and our kinsfolk in Alqualondë report that his Shadow went by their haven towards Araman.'

Thus Melkor departed from Valinor, and for a while the Two Trees shone again unshadowed and the land was filled with light; yet as a cloud far off that looms ever higher, borne upon a slow cold wind, a doubt now marred the joy of all the dwellers in Aman, dreading they knew not what evil that yet might come.

§55a When Manwë heard of the ways that Melkor had taken, it seemed plain to him that Melkor purposed to escape to his old strongholds in the North of Middle-earth, as was indeed his most likely course. Though there was little hope in this, Oromë and Tulkas with many of their folk went with all speed northward, seeking to overtake him if they might; but they found no trace or rumour of him beyond the shores of the Teleri, and in the unpeopled wastes that draw near to the Ice they could hear no tidings even from the birds. Therefore at length they returned, but the watch was redoubled along all the northern fences of Aman.

§55b This indeed Melkor had expected; but he had other things to do before he would return to Middle-earth, and ere the pursuit set out, indeed ere the messengers came to Valmar, he had turned back and in great secrecy passed away far to the

South. For Melkor was yet as one of the Valar, and he could still (though with pain) change his form, or walk unclad, as could his brethren; though that power he was soon to lose for ever.

§55c Thus unseen he came at last to the region that once was called Avathar,* beneath the eastern feet of the Pelóri; a narrow land it had become, eaten away by the Sea, and was long forsaken. There the shadows were deepest and thickest in the world. In Avathar, secret and unknown save to Melkor, dwelt Ungoliantë, and she had taken spider's form, and was a weaver of dark webs. It is not known whence she came, though among the Eldar it was said that in ages long before she had descended from the darkness that lies about Arda, when Melkor first looked down in envy upon the light in the kingdom of Manwë. But she had disowned her Master, desiring to be mistress of her own lust, taking all things to herself to feed her emptiness. To the South she had fled, and so had escaped the assaults of the Valar and the hunters of Oromë, for their vigilance had ever been to the North, and the South was long unheeded. Thence she had crept towards the light of the Blessed Realm; for she hungered for light and hated it.

§55d In a ravine she lived and wove her black webs in a cleft of the mountains. All light she sucked up and spun it forth in dark nets of gloom. But now she was famished, and in great torment; for all living things had fled far away, and her own webs shut out from her all light that could come to her dwelling, whether through passes in the walls of Aman, or from the heavens above. Yet she had no longer the strength or will to depart.

§56 Now Melkor sought for her, and he put on again the form that he had worn as the tyrant of Utumno: a dark Lord, tall and terrible. In that form he remained ever after. And when Ungoliantë saw him coming she was afraid, knowing his hatred for all who tried to escape from him. She shrank into her deepest lair, and tried to shroud herself in new shadow; but such darkness as in her famine she could weave was no defence against the eyes of Melkor, Lord of Utumno and Angband.

§56a 'Come forth!' he said. 'Thrice fool: to leave me first, to dwell here languishing within reach of feasts untold, and now to shun me, Giver of Gifts, thy only hope! Come forth and see! I have brought thee an earnest of greater bounty to follow.' But

* [footnote to the text] The Shadows (in ancient Quenya).

Ungoliantë made no answer, and retreated deeper into the cloven rock. Then Melkor was angered, for he was in haste, having reckoned his times to a nicety. 'Come out!' he cried. 'I have need of thee and will not be denied. Either thou wilt serve me, or I will bury thee here and under black stone thou shalt wither into naught.' Then suddenly he held up in his hands two shining gems. They were green, and in that lightless place they reflected the dreadful light of his eyes, as if some ravening beast had come hunting there. Thus the great Thief set his lure for the lesser.

§56b Slowly Ungoliantë came forth; but as she drew near Melkor withheld the lure. 'Nay, nay,' he said. 'I do not bring thee these Elvish sweets in love or in pity; they are to strengthen thee, when thou hast agreed to do my bidding.' 'What is your bidding, Master?' she said, and her eyes gloated upon the gems.

§56c There in the black shadows, beyond the sight even of Manwë in his highest halls, Melkor with Ungoliantë plotted his revenge. But when Ungoliantë understood his purpose, she was torn between great lust and great fear. She would not dare the perils of Aman, or the power of the dreadful Lords, without a great reward; for she feared the eyes of Manwë and Varda more even than the wrath of Melkor. Therefore Melkor said to her: 'Do as I bid, and if thou art still hungry when we meet again, then, I vow, I will give to thee whatsoever thy lust may demand. Yea, with both hands!' Lightly he made this vow (as he ever did), thinking little of its fulfilment, and he laughed in his heart; for if she achieved his design, he would have no need, he thought, to appease her, or any one else in Arda, great or small.

§56d 'Come then!' he said. 'Here is the earnest!' And he delivered the gems to her, not only the first two but many others that he had stolen in Valinor. Then swiftly Ungoliantë began to grow again and to find new strength. A cloak of darkness she wove about herself: an unlight, in which things seemed to be no more, and which eyes could not pierce, for it was void. Then slowly she wrought her webs: rope by rope from cleft to cleft, from jutting rock to pinnacle of stone, ever climbing upwards, crawling and clinging, until at last she achieved the very summit of Mount Hyarmentir, the highest mountain in that region of the world, far south of great Taniquetil. There the Valar were not vigilant; for west of the Pelóri was an empty land in twilight, until northward one came to the tall fences of the woods of Oromë; and eastward the mountains looked out, save

for forgotten Avathar, only upon the dim waters of the pathless Sea.

§57 But now upon the mountain-top dark Ungoliantë lay. For a while she rested, and with eyes faint from labour she saw the glimmer of the stars in the dome of Varda and the radiance of Valmar far away. Slowly her eyes wakened and took fire, and her lust increased until it overcame her fear. She began in stealth to creep down into the Blessed Realm.

§57a Still in the dark depths Melkor stood, gnawing his mind, between evil hope and doubt; but when he had stood, revolving his chances, as long as his urgency allowed, he turned away and went down to the shore. There he cursed the Sea, saying: 'Slime of Ulmo! I will conquer thee yet, shrivel thee to a stinking ooze. Yea, ere long Ulmo and Ossë shall wither, and Uinen crawl as a mud-worm at my feet!' With that suddenly he passed from Avathar and went to do his will.

§58 [*see* AAm §§109–10] Now it was a time of festival, as Melkor knew well. In Aman all tides and seasons were at the will of the Valar, and there was no winter of death; but even as it was the delight of the Valar to clothe themselves in the forms of the Children of Ilúvatar,* so also they would eat and drink and gather the fruits of Yavanna, and share the bounty of the Earth which under Eru they had made. Therefore Yavanna set times for the flowering and the ripening of all growing things in Valinor: upspringing, blooming, and seed-time. And after the coming of the First-born Children, the Eldar, at these times they made feasts, at which all the dwellers in Aman would assemble in mirth. The greatest of the feasts was at the first gathering of fruits, and this was held upon Taniquetil; for Manwë decreed that at this time all should join in the praise of Eru Ilúvatar, and the peoples of Valinor, Valar, Maiar, and Eldar, poured forth their joy in music and song.

§58a This day had now come once more, and Manwë prepared a feast greater than any that had been held since the entry of the Eldar into Aman. For though the escape of Melkor portended toils and sorrows to come, and indeed none could tell what further hurts would be done to Arda, ere he could be subdued again, at this time Manwë desired to unite all his people once more in joy, healing all that was amiss, and

* [footnote to the text] As is told in the *Ainulindalë*. [The same reference to the *Ainulindalë* (§25) is made in AAm §109.]

strengthening them with the blessing of Eru to hold ever in heart the hope of Arda Unmarred. He bade all come who would, but the Noldor above all; for he hoped that there they would put aside the griefs that lay between their lords, and forget utterly the lies of their Enemy. Therefore he sent a messenger to Formenos, saying: 'Fëanor son of Finwë, come and do not deny my bidding! In my love thou remainest and wilt be honoured in my hall.'

§58b [*see* AAm §111] There came the Vanyar, and there came the Noldor of Túna, and the Maiar were gathered together, and the Valar were arrayed in their beauty and majesty; and they sang before Manwë and Varda in the halls of Taniquetil, or played and danced upon the green slopes of the Mountain that looked west to the Trees. In that day the streets of Valmar were empty, and the stairs of Túna were silent, and all the land lay sleeping in peace. Only the Teleri beyond the mountains still sang upon the shores of the Sea; for they recked little of seasons or times, and gave no thought to the cares of the King of Arda, or to the shadow that had fallen upon Valinor; for it had not touched them, as yet.

§58c [*see* AAm §112] One thing only marred the hope of Manwë. Fëanor came indeed, for he read the message of Manwë as a command; but Finwë would not come and remained in Formenos, and with him were the sons of Fëanor. For said Finwë: 'While the ban lasts upon Fëanor, my son, that he may not go to Túna, I hold myself unkinged, and I will not meet my people.' And Fëanor did not come in raiment of festival, and he wore no ornament, neither silver nor gold nor any gem; and he denied the sight of the Silmarils to the Valar and the Eldar, and left them in Formenos, locked in a chamber of iron.

Nonetheless he met Fingolfin before the throne of Manwë, and was reconciled in word. For Fingolfin held forth his hand, saying: 'As I promised, I do now. I release thee, and remember no grievance.'

Then Fëanor took his hand in silence; but Fingolfin said: 'Half-brother in blood, full brother in heart I will be. Thou shalt lead and I will follow. May no new grief divide us!'

'I hear thee,' said Fëanor. 'So be it!' But they did not know then the full meaning that their words would bear.

§58d [*see* AAm §113] It is told that even as Fëanor and Fingolfin stood before Manwë, there came the Mingling of the Lights, and both Trees were shining, and the silent city of

Valmar was filled with a radiance of silver and gold. And in that very hour Ungoliantë came hastening over the fields of Valinor. Hunger and thirst now drove her. No longer she crept but ran, as the shadow of a black cloud upon the wind fleets over the sun-lit earth. Now she came to the Green Mound of the Corolairë, and her Unlight rose up even to the roots of the Trees. Then with her black beak she pierced their rind, wounded them deep; and their juices gushed forth and she drank them up. But when no more flowed she set her mouth to the wounds, and sucked them dry, and the poison of Death that was in her went into their tissues and withered them, root, branch, and leaf, and they died. And still Ungoliantë thirsted; and she went to the great Wells of Varda and drained them dry. And as she drank, she belched forth vast vapours, and in their midst she swelled to a shape more huge and hideous than even her most lustful dream had hoped ever to achieve. At last, knowing that the time was short, she hastened away, north, to the tryst that Melkor had made with her, and did not mean to keep.

§58e Outside he had lurked, until the failing of the Light announced that Ungoliantë had done her work. Then through the Kalakiryan, now only a dim ravine in walls of shadow, he came striding back, Lord of Utumno, a black shape of hate, visiting the places of his humiliation with revenge. All the land fell swiftly through grey twilight into night as Melkor stood within the Ring of Doom and cursed it; and he defiled the judgement seat of Manwë and threw down the thrones of the Valar.

§58f Then he went on to his second mark, which he had kept secret in his mind; but Ungoliantë was aware of him, and turning swiftly she overtook him on his road. Aghast indeed was Melkor to see her, monstrous, grown to a lust and power that he could not master without aid. He could not contend with her, even if time allowed; and he could not escape. She took him into her Unlight, and they went on together to the one place in the land of the Valar that he would have hidden from her.

§59 [*see* AAm §114] So the great Darkness came upon Valinor. Of the deeds of that time much is told in the *Aldudénië** that Elemmírë of the Vanyar made and is known to all the Eldar. Yet no song or tale could contain all the grief and terror

* [footnote to the text] The Lament for the Two Trees.

that then came upon the Blessed Realm. The Light went out; but the Darkness that followed was more than loss. In that hour the dwellers in Aman knew the Unlight, and it seemed not lack, but a thing with being of its own, that made by malice out of Light had the power to pierce the eye, to enter heart and mind and strangle the very will.

§59a [*see* AAm §115] Varda looked down from the Holy Mountain, and she beheld the Shadow soaring up in sudden towers of gloom. Valmar was blotted out, and all the land foundered in a deep sea of night. Soon Taniquetil stood alone, a last island in a drowned world. All song ceased. There was silence in Valinor, and no sound could be heard, save only from afar there came on the wind through the pass of the mountains the wailing of the Teleri like the cold cry of gulls. For it blew chill from the East in that hour, and the vast shadows of the Sea were rolled against the walls of the shore.

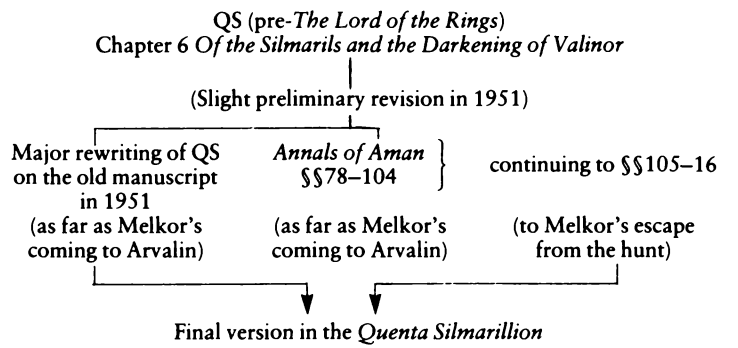
§59b [*see* AAm §116] Then Manwë went up to his high seat upon the mountain-top, and he looked out, and his eyes pierced through the night, until they saw within the dark a Darkness which they could not penetrate, huge but far away, moving now northward with great speed; and he knew that Melkor had come and gone. Then the Valar began their pursuit; and soon the earth shook beneath the horses of the host of Oromë, and the fire that was stricken from the hooves of Nahar was the first light that returned to Valinor. But when the riding of the wrath of the Valar came up with the Cloud of Ungoliantë all were blinded and dismayed, and the host was scattered, and they went this way and that, they knew not whither. In vain Oromë wound his horn, for the Valaróma was choked and gave no sound. Tulkas was as a man caught in a black net at night, and he stood powerless and beat the air in vain. And when the Cloud had passed, it was too late. Melkor had gone whither he would, and his vengeance was achieved.

Commentary

Leaving for a moment the remarkable narrative shift in this 'sub-chapter' *Of the Darkening of Valinor*, the new version introduces many elements lacking in the old story: among the most important being the origin of Ungoliantë; the account of the festival in Valinor, with the 'investing' of the Valar in the form of the Children of Ilúvatar and their partaking of the physical celebration of the harvest; Manwë's purpose to achieve concord among the Noldor; Finwë's

refusal to leave Formenos while Fëanor was banished from Tirion; and the reconciliation of Fëanor with Fingolfin before Manwë's throne. But all these are present in the *Annals of Aman*, and largely in the same words. My father, very obviously, had AAm in front of him; as has been seen (pp. 191–2), LQ and AAm were very close in the earlier part of the now replaced Chapter 6, and while LQ ceases at the point where Melkor goes to Arvalin AAm does not, but continues on (§§105–16) in the same larger fashion, expanding the old story while retaining the structure of the *Quenta* tradition.

Now, however, in this final version of the *Quenta*, my father returned to the *Annals* and used them for the further expansion of the other – increasingly hard to differentiate – 'tradition'. Schematically:



That in the pre-*The Lord of the Rings* period the *Annals of Valinor* and the *Annals of Beleriand* constituted distinct entities, forming with the *Quenta Silmarillion* a tripartite work, is very clear (see IV.284); and a list of the constituent parts of the Matter of Middle-earth associated with the long letter to Milton Waldman (see p. 3) shows that this was still the case, in theory at least, in 1951.

Yet we have seen how close the versions did in fact become in the course of the 1951 revision; and now, in the last phase of his work on the actual narratives, when (as I have suggested, p. 142) my father was envisaging a 're-expansion' of the whole, a new conception of *The Silmarillion*, a new and much fuller mode of narrative, he derived entire passages from the *Annals* with scarcely any significant change. I have said (p. 192) that AAm and the rewriting (LQ) of the first part of Chapter 6, as I think clearly contemporary, are too similar in every aspect, if continually different in actual wording, to be regarded as the product of a separate tradition of learning and memory, or even as the product of two different 'loremasters'; but the relation of this last version of the *Silmarillion* tradition to AAm on which it draws seems to show that my father had now ceased to regard them as different

works. It may be, though I have no other evidence for it, that if he had continued this last version he would have 'cannibalised' the *Annals* wherever he chose to, regarding the latter now as no more than a constituent draft text for the sole work that was to emerge: *The Silmarillion*.

To turn now to the major departure from the old legend – which goes back to the original tale of *The Theft of Melko and the Darkening of Valinor* (I.152–3): *Melkor was not present at the destruction of the Trees*. When Ungoliantë climbs Mount Hyarmentir he stays for a while beside her lair; goes down then to the shores of Avathar and curses the Sea; lurks outside the Pelóri until the great darkness falls; then hastens through the pass to Valmar to desecrate the Ring of Doom. Why was this done? Not, surely, to bring in the casting down by Melkor of the thrones of the Valar – for this could have been achieved without altering the story, or at any rate without altering it so radically. The reason for the change, I think, was that my father found it unacceptable that Melkor should have risked allowing Ungoliantë to come anywhere near the Silmarils. In the new story, Melkor's plan was to wait until she had destroyed the Trees and then go alone in the darkness to Formenos. The tryst 'that Melkor had made with her, and did not mean to keep' (§58d) was not at Formenos – that being 'his second mark, which he had kept secret in his mind' (§58f); that is why it is said that Ungoliantë 'turned swiftly' and overtook him. Then 'they went on together to the one place in the land of the Valar that he would have hidden from her.'

Other features of this text are discussed under individual paragraphs.

§§55, 55b There now appears the story that after Melkor was seen from the hill of Túna passing through the Kalakiryan he turned northwards up the coast into Araman; but this was a feint, and he turned back southwards in secret and came into Avathar to find Ungoliantë. (I suggested (I.157), perhaps too positively, that the germ of this northward movement on the part of Melkor is to be found in the old *Tale* (I.145), where Melko originally 'purposed to get to northward over the passes nigh to Mandos', but thought better of it. There is indeed no trace of the idea in any intervening version; but features apparently long lost do undoubtedly emerge again.)

§55a 'Melkor purposed to escape to *his old strongholds* in the North of Middle-earth': i.e. Utumno and Angband. See p. 156, §12.

§55c Here first appears the name *Avathar*, and the ancient name *Arvalin* at last disappears. In the short intermediate typescript referred to on p. 282 the name is not *Avathar* but *Vastuman* (typed over *Arvalin*). *Vastuman* is not translated.

§56d *Hyarmentir* replaces *Hyarantar* of AAm §107.

§57 'The glimmer of the stars in the dome of Varda': on the Dome of Varda see pp. 385–8.

§58d *Corolairë*: see AAm §122 (pp. 107, 127). – *The Wells of Varda*: see p. 157, §17.

§59 The *Aldudénië* of *Elemmírë* is named also in AAm §114 (*Elemírë*; later *Elemmírë*, p. 106).

Entirely new are the statements that Melkor 'could still (though with pain) change his form, or walk unclad', but that at the time of his meeting with Ungoliantë he appeared as the Dark Lord of Utumno, and never again changed from that appearance afterwards (§§55b, 56). He is now explicitly the Master of Ungoliantë (§§56a, b); cf. AAm §106: 'It may well be that ... she was in the beginning one of those that he had corrupted to his service.' The narrative is greatly expanded by the account of his persuasion of Ungoliantë and his luring of her by gems stolen in Valinor – giving her strength also to dare the deed: for the great spider was weak through famine of light (§55d).

★

THE LATER DEVELOPMENT OF CHAPTER 7

The late typescript B follows straight on from 'Melkor had gone whither he would, and his vengeance was achieved' at the end of the 'sub-chapter' *Of the Darkening of Valinor* (p. 289), with no more than a space, but my father afterwards wrote in a heading [*Of*] *The Rape of the Silmarils*; further on there is a typed heading *Of the Thieves' Quarrel*.

As in the preceding 'sub-chapter', the end of which corresponds to the end of the former Chapter 6 (QS Chapter 4), he again turned to the *Annals of Aman*, and in this case he adopted substantial parts of the older text so closely that the new is almost an exact copy, with only a word or two changed here and there (on the implications of his thus amalgamating the two 'traditions' see pp. 289–91). But he also introduced a new element into the narrative: the attack by Melkor on Formenos reported by Maedros (as his name is here spelt: in a late emendation to LQ Chapter 5 *Maedhros*, p. 177, §41). Only now do the sons of Fëanor play a part in this story: see p. 123, §122.

I do not give the text in the sections where it becomes scarcely distinct from that of AAm. The paragraph numbers here begin a new series, since they cannot be usefully related to those of QS.

OF THE RAPE OF THE SILMARILS

§1 When the Trees should have flowered for yet one more day, but time was blind and unmeasured, the Valar returned to the Ring of Doom. They sat upon the ground, for their thrones

were defiled, and they were in dark raiment of grief. About them was a great concourse of folk, hardly to be seen; for it was night. But the stars of Varda now glimmered overhead, and the air was clean. The winds of Manwë had driven the vapours of death far away and rolled back the shadows of the Sea. Now Yavanna arose and stood upon the Green Mound, but it was bare and black. She laid her hands upon the Trees, but they were dead and dark; and each branch that she touched broke and fell lifeless at her feet. Then the voices of all the host were lifted in lamentation; and it seemed to those that mourned that they had drained to the dregs the cup of woe that Melkor had filled for them. But it was not so.

§§2–3 *For Yavanna spoke before the Valar, saying* ... These paragraphs, in which the demand is made upon Fëanor that the light of the Silmarils be released for the saving of the Trees, are almost identical to AAm §§118–19 (p. 107), with only a very few changes of no significance, as 'Fëanor answered no word': 'Fëanor made no answer'.

§§4–5 *But Fëanor spoke then, and cried bitterly* ... These paragraphs are virtually identical to AAm §§120–1, except at the end of §120 and the beginning of §121. In AAm Fëanor declared that he would be the first to die 'of all the Children of Eru', but on the typescript of AAm, after the emergence of the story of Míriel, my father corrected 'I shall die' to 'I shall be slain', and this change was taken up here. The form of the passage in the new version has been given and discussed on pp. 268–9.

§6 'Thou hast spoken,' said Mandos. Then again there was silence, and thought was stilled. But after a while Niënna arose, and she went up onto the Mound; and she cast back her grey hood, and her eyes shone like stars in the rain, for her tears were poured out, and she washed away the defilements of Ungoliantë. And when she had wept she sang slowly, mourning for the bitterness of the world and all hurts of the Marring of Arda.

§7 But even as she mourned, there was heard the sound of feet hastening in the night. Then through the throng came the sons of Fëanor, flying from the North, and they bore new tidings of evil. Maedros spoke for them. 'Blood and darkness!' he cried. 'Finwë the king is slain, and the Silmarils are gone!'

Then Fëanor fell upon his face and lay as one dead, until the full tale was told.

§8 'My lord,' said Maedros to Manwë, 'it was the day of festival, but the king was heavy with grief at the departure of my

father, a foreboding was on him. He would not go from the house. We were irked by the idleness and silence of the day, and we went riding towards the Green Hills. Our faces were northward, but suddenly we were aware that all was growing dim. The Light was failing. In dread we turned and rode back in haste, seeing great shadows rise up before us. But even as we drew near to Formenos the darkness came upon us; and in the midst was a blackness like a cloud that enveloped the house of Fëanor.

§9 'We heard the sound of great blows struck. Out of the cloud we saw a sudden flame of fire. And then there was one piercing cry. But when we urged on our horses they reared and cast us to the ground, and they fled away wild. We lay upon our faces without strength; for suddenly the cloud came on, and for a while we were blind. But it passed us by and moved away north at great speed. Melkor was there, we do not doubt. But not he alone! Some other power was with him, some huge evil: even as it passed it robbed us of all wit and will.

§10 'Darkness and blood! When we could move again we came to the house. There we found the king slain at the door. His head was crushed as with a great mace of iron. We found no others: all had fled, and he had stood alone, defiant. That is plain; for his sword lay beside him, twisted and untempered as if by lightning-stroke. All the house was broken and ravaged. Naught is left. The treasuries are empty. The chamber of iron is torn apart. The Silmarils are taken!'

§11 [*see* AAm §123] Then suddenly Fëanor rose, and lifting up his hand before Manwë he cursed Melkor, naming him Morgoth, the Black Foe of the world.* And he cursed also the summons of Manwë and the hour in which he came to Taniquetil, thinking in the madness of his grief that had he been at Formenos, his strength would have availed more than to be slain also, as Morgoth had purposed. Then with a cry he ran from the Ring of Doom and fled into the night, distraught; for his father was dearer to him than the Light of Valinor or the peerless works of his hands: and who among sons, of Elves or of Men, have held their fathers of greater worth?

* [footnote to the text] By that name only was he known to the Eldar ever after. (In the ancient form used by Fëanor it was *Moriñgotho*.) [Cf. the note added in LQ to QS §60 (p. 194), where the ancient form is *Moringotto*.]

§12 [*see* AAm §124] After him Maedros and his brethren went in haste, dismayed, for they had not known that he was present when Maedros spoke; and now they feared that he might slay himself. All those who saw Fëanor's anguish grieved for him and forgave all his bitterness. But his loss was not his alone. Yavanna wept even as Niënna, in dread lest the Darkness should now swallow the last rays of the Light of Valinor for ever. For though the Valar did not yet understand fully what had befallen, they perceived that Melkor had called upon some aid that came from beyond Arda.

The Silmarils had passed away, and all one it may seem whether Fëanor had said yea or nay to Yavanna. Yet, had he said yea at the first, and so cleansed his heart ere the dreadful tidings came, his after-deeds would have been other than they proved. But now the doom of the Noldor drew near.

OF THE THIEVES' QUARREL

§13 Meanwhile, it is told, Morgoth escaping from the pursuit of the Valar came to the wastes of Araman. This land lay northward between the Mountains of the Pelóri and the Great Sea, as Avathar lay to the south. But Araman was a wider land, and between the shores and the mountains were long and dreary plains without hindrance to passage, but bleak, and ever colder as the Ice drew nearer.

§14 Through this dim land Morgoth and Ungoliant passed in haste, and so through the great mists of Oiomúrë came to the Helkaraxë, where the strait between Araman and Middle-earth was filled with grinding ice; and they crossed over and came back at last to the North of the Outer World. Together they went on, for Morgoth could not elude Ungoliant, and her cloud was still about him, and all her eyes were upon him. But when they had come to that region that was after called Lammoth, north of the Firth of Drengist, Morgoth grew more hopeful, for they were drawing near to the ruins of Angband where his great western stronghold had been. But Ungoliant perceived his mood and guessed that he would soon try to escape and defraud her, if he could. Therefore she stayed him, and demanded that he should now fulfill his promise.

§15 'Black-heart!' she said (calling him 'Master' no longer). 'I have done your bidding. But I hunger still.'

'What wouldst thou have more?' said Morgoth. 'All the

world for thy belly? I did not vow to give thee that. I am its Lord.'

'Not so much,' said she. 'But there was a great treasury, of which you said naught to me, and would have said naught even now, if I had not watched you. I will have all that. Yea, with both hands you shall give it!'

'Thou hast had the half already,' said Morgoth. For when she was with him (against his will) at the sack of Formenos, he had let her feast awhile upon the gems of Fëanor, so that she should not come to the chamber of iron.

'I hunger,' she said. 'I will have the other half!'

Then perforce Morgoth surrendered to her the gems that he bore with him, one by one and grudgingly; and she devoured them, and their beauty perished from the world. Then her strength was renewed, but her lust unsated.

'With one hand you give,' she said, 'with the left only. Open your right hand!'

§16 In his right hand Morgoth held close the Silmarils that he had taken from the chamber of iron; and though they were locked in a crystal casket, they had begun to burn him, and his hand was clenched in pain. But he would not open it. 'Nay!' he said. 'These things thou shalt not have, nor see. I name them unto myself for ever. Thou hast had already more than thy due. For with my power that I put into thee thy work was accomplished. I need thee no more. Go, filth! Gnaw thy lust in some hole far away, or I will put a fire in thy maw that shall burn thee for ever!'

§17 But Ungoliant was not daunted. She had grown great, and he less by the power that had gone out of him. Now she rose against him, and her cloud closed about him, and she cast upon him a hideous web of clinging thongs to strangle him. Then Morgoth sent forth a terrible cry that echoed in the mountains. Therefore that region was called Lammoth;* for the echoes of his voice dwelt there ever after, so that any who cried aloud in that land awoke them, and all the waste between the hills and the sea was filled with a clamour as of voices in anguish.

§18 But the cry of Morgoth in that hour was the greatest and most dreadful that was ever heard in the northern world: the mountains shook, and the earth trembled, and rocks were

* [footnote to the text] The Great Echo.

riven asunder. Deep in forgotten places that cry was heard. Far beneath the halls of Angband, in vaults to which the Valar in the haste of their assault had not descended, the Balrogs lurked still, awaiting ever the return of their lord. Swiftly they arose, and they passed with winged speed over Hithlum, and they came to Lammoth as a tempest of fire.

§19 Then Ungoliant quailed, and she turned to flight, belching black vapours to cover her; but the Balrogs pursued her with whips of flame into the Mountains of Shadow,* until Morgoth recalled them. Then her webs were shorn asunder, and Morgoth was released, and he returned to Angband.

§20 But Ungoliant went into Beleriand, and there dwelt for a time beneath the Eryd Orgoroth [> Gorgoroth], in the dark valley that was after called Nan Dungortheb† because of the horror that she bred there. But when she had healed her hurts as best she could, and had spawned there a foul brood, she passed away. For there were other evil creatures of spider-form that had dwelt there since the days of the delving of Angband; and she mated with them and devoured them. But whither she went after no tale tells. It is said that she ended long ago, when in her uttermost famine she devoured herself at last.

§21 Thus ended the Thieves' Quarrel; and the fear of Yavanna that the Silmarils would be swallowed up and fall into nothingness did not come to pass. But they remained in the power of Morgoth.

The new version ends here in the typescript; but among the pages of very rough draft material there is the following abandoned passage that continues the narrative for a short distance:

Now Morgoth, having achieved his malice against Valinor, and escaped from bondage, gathered again all his servants that he could find; and through all the North ran the news that he had returned. From near and far, from the ruins of Utumno, and from deep dales and shadows under the mountains and from all dark and hidden places they crept back to him.

Then swiftly they began to delve anew the vast vaults of Angband and to uplift its pillared halls of stone amid smoke and fire, and above them were reared the reeking towers of Thangorodrim.

* [footnote to the text] Eryd Wethrin on the borders of Beleriand.

† [footnote to the text] The Valley of Dreadful Death.

Here the writing was abandoned. After 'Thangorodrim' my father added later: '(The Mountains of Oppression)'. In terms of the pre-*Lord of the Rings* narrative, the new version extends only to halfway through the third paragraph (§62) of the chapter *Of the Flight of the Noldor* in QS (V.233).

Commentary

§10 With 'His head was crushed as with a great mace of iron' compare *Laws and Customs* p. 248, where it is said that the body of Finwë 'was burned as by a lightning stroke and was destroyed.' But the accounts may not be altogether contradictory, for in the present text Maedros speaks of seeing a sudden flame out of the Cloud of Ungoliantë, followed by 'one piercing cry', and of finding Finwë's sword 'twisted and untempered as if by lightning-stroke'.

§14 From this point the name has the form *Ungoliant* (as in *The Lord of the Rings*), not *Ungoliantë* as hitherto. – Here appears the name *Lammoth* (cf. 'the Echoing Mountains of Lammoth' in the later *Tale of Tuor*, *Unfinished Tales* p. 23); see under §17 below.

'the ruins of Angband': cf. the change made to LQ 2, p. 197: 'To his aid there came the Balrogs that lived yet in the deepest places of his ancient fortress, [Utumno >] Angband in the North.'

§15 Ungoliant no longer calls Morgoth 'Master', but she continues to address him as a superior, using 'you', whereas Morgoth calls her 'thou' as previously.

There is here a difference in the narrative. In the earlier sources it had been the compact between them that half of the fee of Ungoliant was the sap of the Trees, and the other half 'a full share in all the jewels they should take' (AAm §125). The story is now that the sap of the Trees was her reward for destroying them; for it had not been any part of Morgoth's intention that she should go to Formenos, and so there could now be no question of 'the other half of her fee' in jewels to be plundered there. The 'half' that Morgoth speaks of now refers to the jewels that Ungoliant devoured at Formenos because he was unable to prevent her; and she attempts to force him to yield up 'the other half', the jewels that Morgoth had acquired there for himself.

'with both hands' refers to Morgoth's words to Ungoliant in Avathar (p. 285, §56c): 'Do as I bid, and if thou art still hungry when we meet again, then, I vow, I will give to thee whatsoever thy lust may demand. Yea, with both hands!'

§17 The great cry of Morgoth when Ungoliant enmeshed him goes

back to Q (IV.93), but only now appears the story of its echo that could always be wakened. On the echoes of Lammoth see *Unfinished Tales* pp. 23, 52.

§19 Here (in the footnote) first appears *Eryd Wethrin* (for earlier *Eredwethion*).

§20 *Ered Orgoroth* was changed to *Ered Gorgorath* on the AAm typescript, and *Nan Dungorthin* to *Nan Dungortheb* (p. 127, §126). 'Valley of Dreadful Death' is the first translation given of the latter name since *Nan Dumgorthin* was rendered 'land of the dark idols' in the old *Tale of Tinúviel* (see II.62–3).

The story that Ungoliant went to Nan Dungorthin and spawned a brood there appears also in AAm (§126, pp. 109, 123); but it said there that she 'returned into the South of the world, where she abides yet for all that the Eldar have heard.'

★

I have treated all this new writing in the typescript B as a series of 'sub-chapters', in view of the general heading at the beginning (p. 256), *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor*; but on a covering page to the typescript my father wrote very hastily:

> This [is] a specimen of the new revised and enlarged (final?) form and so is not entirely consistent with the remainder. It contains:
>
> V Of Finwë and Míriel
> VI Of Fëanor and the Unchaining of Melkor
> VII Of the Silmarils and the Unrest of the Noldor
> VIII The Darkening of Valinor
> IX The Thieves' Quarrel

These chapter numbers were later pencilled in against the sub-headings in the typescript; but the general title *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor* was not removed. *The Rape of the Silmarils* (p. 292) was not included in this list and did not receive a number in the text; maybe it was added after the list was made.

The original Chapter 1 *Of the Valar* had been separated off as the *Valaquenta*, and the original Chapter 2 *Of Valinor and the Two Trees* had become Chapter 1 (see p. 200). Since *Of Finwë and Míriel* is here numbered 5, Chapters 2, 3 and 4 were evidently to be *Of the Coming of the Elves*, *Of Thingol and Melian*, and *Of Eldanor and the Princes of the Eldalië*.

Lastly, it must be mentioned that my father wrote the chapter number 'X' against the title *The Flight of the Noldor* on the LQ 2 typescript (following from 'IX *The Thieves' Quarrel*' in the list given above), and 'XI' against the title of the next extant chapter in the LQ 2 series, *Of Men*. Against the words in the latter (QS §82, V.245) 'At the first rising of the Sun above the earth the younger children of the world awoke' he wrote on LQ 2: 'This depends upon an old version in which

the Sun was first made after the death of the Trees (described in a chapter omitted).' The significance of this will appear in Part Five.

Note on Dating

It is convenient to collect here the evidence, such as it is, bearing on the date of this late rewriting, and the texts associated with it.

I have mentioned that in a letter of December 1957 my father told Rayner Unwin that it was his intention to 'get copies made of all copyable material', with a view to 'remoulding' *The Silmarillion*; and I have suggested that the amanuensis typescript LQ 2 of *The Silmarillion* and that of the *Annals of Aman*, which were made on the same typewriter and probably belong to the same time, may therefore be tentatively ascribed to about 1958 (see pp. 141–2).

If this dating is accepted for the moment, then the annals inserted into the manuscript of AAm concerning the death of Míriel, the 'Doom of Manwë concerning the espousals of the Eldar', and the marriage of Finwë to Indis must have preceded 1958 or belong to that year, since they appear in the typescript of AAm as typed (p. 101 notes 1 and 4, p. 127, §120); while the rider FM 1 to LQ concerning Finwë and Míriel is certainly contemporary with the AAm insertions (p. 205). The story of Finwë and Míriel in the manuscript (A) of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* certainly followed FM 1, but the two texts were probably close in time (p. 233). It is thus notable that in the letter written by my father in October 1958 (see pp. 267, 270) this story and its implications were in the forefront of his mind.

The second text of the story of Finwë and Míriel (FM 2, p. 254) intended for inclusion in *The Silmarillion* very probably preceded the typescript (B) of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar*, since this latter was typed on a new typewriter with a rather distinctive typeface. Also typed on this machine were the *Valaquenta* and the texts of the late rewriting of Chapter 6(–7). The first letter of my father's that I know of to be typed on the new typewriter is dated January 1959.

There is no actual proof of date in any of this, of course, but taken together it points clearly, I think, to the late 1950s as the time when the story of Finwë and Míriel arose and *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* was written. Further evidence is provided by the *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth* (see pp. 304, 360).

PART FOUR

ATHRABETH FINROD AH ANDRETH

ATHRABETH FINROD AH ANDRETH

While this very remarkable and hitherto unknown work, 'The Debate of Finrod and Andreth', is set at a later time in the history of the Elder Days than is otherwise reached in this book, it should clearly be given here on account of its association, both in date and content, with the writings and revisions of the 'Second Phase' of the post-*Lord of the Rings* history of *The Silmarillion*. I have thought it best to let it stand as a separate Part in this book rather than include it with the miscellaneous writings in Part Five, since unlike those it is a major and finished work, and is referred to elsewhere as if it had for my father some 'authority'.

The textual situation, so far as the actual narrative of the 'Debate' is concerned, is simple. There is one manuscript ('**A**'), very similar in style and appearance to that of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar*, and like it clear and fluent – although in this case there are some pages of drafting extant, with clear indications that others existed (see pp. 350 ff.). There are also two amanuensis typescripts, taken independently from the manuscript after all emendation had been made to it. One of these ('**B**'), probably the first to be made, is of slight value: it has many errors, and was looked through very cursorily by my father with scarcely any emendation. The other ('**C**'), extant also in a carbon copy, is a better text though not without errors; this he read more carefully and introduced a number of minor changes, but missed some errors through not checking it against the manuscript. The text printed here is therefore established from the manuscript, taking up emendations made to the typescripts.

Neither of the typescripts of the *Athrabeth* has any title; both begin with the words 'Now it chanced that on a time of spring ...' (p. 307). The manuscript, on the other hand, bears the title *Of Death and the Children of Eru, and the Marring of Men* (with another title or sub-title added later, *The Converse of Finrod and Andreth*), and two pages of introductory text precede the sentence with which the typescripts open. This introduction to the 'Converse' was in fact the continuation of an essay which my father removed and let stand separately: see pp. 424 ff., where this work, entitled *Aman*, is given.

This introductory section was subsequently typed by my father, with a carbon copy, on the new typewriter (see p. 300), and attached to the beginning of the copies of the amanuensis typescript C. It has no title or heading. In typing it he substantially recast it; but the actual

matter of the manuscript version was largely retained, so that only a few differences need be noted (see pp. 305–6).

As to the date of the work: that it was written after the completion of the manuscript of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* is seen from my father's comments on the latter, 'But see full treatment of this later in *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth*' and 'But see *Athrabeth*' (pp. 251–2). It is evident also that it followed the typescript B of *Laws and Customs*, since the word *hröa(r)* is used, a term which only replaced *hrondo(r)* in that typescript by hasty later correction (p. 209). The text and the very elaborate Commentary (typed on the new typewriter) appended to it are preserved in folded newspapers of January 1960; and it is clear from what is written on the newspapers (see p. 329) that the material was complete when they were used for this purpose. It is true of course that January 1960 is not thereby proved to be a *terminus ad quem*, because it could have been indefinitely later that the newspaper was so used; but that, I think, is very unlikely, and I would therefore place the work in 1959. The only evidence that can be set against this is the fact that the small quantity of original draft material is all written on slips made from documents of the year 1955; but if my father had a store of such paper, as is likely enough, this would show no more than that initial work on the *Athrabeth* belongs to that year or later. At the same time it must be allowed to be perfectly possible that he was working on it at intervals over a substantial period of time.

There follows now the introductory text in the typescript version.

Now the Eldar learned that, according to the lore of the Edain, Men believed that their *hröar* were not by right nature short-lived, but had been made so by the malice of Melkor. It was not clear to the Eldar whether Men meant: by the general marring of Arda (which they themselves held to be the cause of the waning of their own *hröar*); or by some special malice against Men as Men that was achieved in the dark ages before the Edain and the Eldar met in Beleriand; or by both. But to the Eldar it seemed that, if the mortality of Men had come by special malice, the nature of Men had been grievously changed from the first design of Eru; and this was a matter of wonder and dread to them, for, if it were indeed so, then the power of Melkor must be (or have been in the beginning) far greater than even the Eldar had understood; whereas the original nature of Men must have been strange indeed and unlike that of any others of the dwellers in Arda.

Concerning these things it is recorded in the ancient lore of the Eldar that once Finrod Felagund and Andreth the Wise-

woman conversed in Beleriand long ago. This tale, which the Eldar call *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth*, is here given in one of the forms that have been preserved.

Finrod (son of Finarfin, son of Finwë) was the wisest of the exiled Noldor, being more concerned than all others with matters of thought (rather than with making or with skill of hand); and he was eager moreover to discover all that he could concerning Mankind. He it was that first met Men in Beleriand and befriended them; and for this reason he was often called by the Eldar *Edennil*, 'the Friend of Men'. His chief love was given to the people of Bëor the Old, for it was these that he had first found in the woods of eastern Beleriand.

Andreth was a woman of the House of Bëor, the sister of Bregor father of Barahir (whose son was Beren One-hand the renowned). She was wise in thought, and learned in the lore of Men and their histories; for which reason the Eldar called her *Saelind*, 'Wise-heart'.

Of the Wise some were women, and they were greatly esteemed among Men, especially for their knowledge of the legends of ancient days. Another Wise-woman was Adanel, sister of Hador Lorindol at one time Lord of the People of Marach, whose lore and traditions, and their language also, were different from those of the People of Bëor. But Adanel was married to a kinsman of Andreth, Belemir of the House of Bëor: he was grandsire of Emeldir, mother of Beren. In her youth Andreth had dwelt long in Belemir's house, and so had learned from Adanel much of the lore of the People of Marach, besides the lore of her own folk.

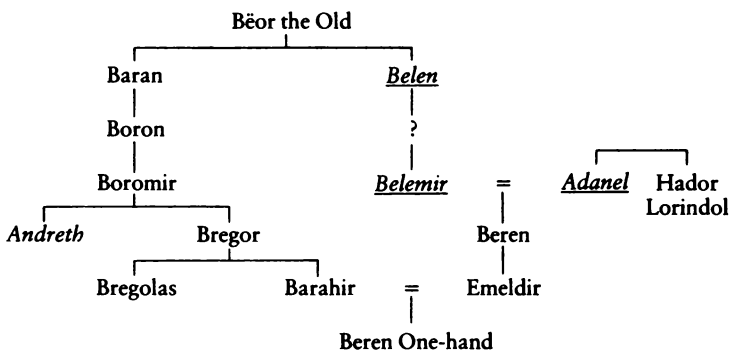
In the days of the peace before Melkor broke the Siege of Angband, Finrod would often visit Andreth, whom he loved in great friendship, for he found her more ready to impart her knowledge to him than were most of the Wise among Men. A shadow seemed to lie upon them, and there was a darkness behind them, of which they were loth to speak even among themselves. And they were in awe of the Eldar and would not easily reveal to them their thought or their legends. Indeed the Wise among Men (who were few) for the most part kept their wisdom secret and handed it on only to those whom they chose.

The chief difference between the manuscript and typescript versions of this introductory piece concerns the expanded genealogy of the

House of Bëor, for here the manuscript gives some additional information concerning Adanel:

Another wise-woman, though of a different House and different tradition, was Adanel sister of Hador. She married Belemir of the House of Bëor, grandson of Belen second son of Bëor the Old, to whom the wisdom of Bëor (for Bëor himself had been one of the wise) was chiefly transmitted. And there had been great love between Belemir and Andreth his younger kinswoman (the daughter of his second cousin Boromir), and she dwelt long in his house, and so learned much of the lore also of the 'people of Marach' and the House of Hador from Adanel.

If to the genealogical references in the published *Silmarillion* (pp. 142, 148, and the Index s.v. *Emeldir*) is added this information from the introduction to the *Athrabeth* the following tree can be derived (the new names are printed in italic):



Most of the genealogical information about the House of Bëor in the published *Silmarillion* is derived of course from post-*Lord of the Rings* work on the text: in QS and the *Annals of Beleriand* (AB 2) Beren's father Barahir was the son of Bëor the Old, and the People of Marach had not emerged.

Other differences in the manuscript version of the introduction are the statements that Andreth 'learned also all that she could hear of the Eldar', and that Finrod was often called by the Eldar '*Atandil* (or *Edennil*)' (see the 'Glossary' to the *Athrabeth*, p. 349).

In the first footnote to the opening of the narrative proper the date of the *Athrabeth* is given as 'about 409 during the Long Peace (260–455)'. In the year 260 Glaurung first emerged from the gates of Angband, and in 455 befell the Dagor Bragollach or Battle of Sudden

Flame, when the Siege of Angband was broken. According to the older chronology (see V.130, 274; still preserved in the *Grey Annals* of c.1951) Finrod Felagund had encountered Bëor in the foothills of the Blue Mountains in the year 400, but the date of that meeting had now been set back by ninety years, to 310 (third footnote to the text).

There follows now 'The Debate of Finrod and Andreth', which as already noted has no title in the typescripts (B and C), and which in the original manuscript (A) runs on continuously without new heading from the introduction.

Now it chanced that on a time of spring* Finrod was for a while a guest in the house of Belemir; and he fell to talking with Andreth the Wise-woman concerning Men and their fates. For at that time Boron, Lord of the folk of Bëor, had but lately died soon after Yule, and Finrod was grieved.

'Sad to me, Andreth,' he said, 'is the swift passing of your people. For now Boron your father's father is gone; and though he was old, you say, as age goes among Men,** yet I had known him too briefly. Little while indeed it seems to me since I first saw† Bëor in the east of this land, yet now he is gone, and his sons, and his son's son also.'

'More than a hundred years it is now,' said Andreth, 'since we came over the Mountains; and Bëor and Baran and Boron each lived beyond his ninetieth year. Our passing was swifter before we found this land.'

'Then are you content here?' said Finrod.

'Content?' said Andreth. 'No heart of Man is content. All passing and dying is a grief to it; but if the withering is less soon then that is some amendment, a little lifting of the Shadow.'

'What mean you by that?' said Finrod.

'Surely you know well!' said Andreth. 'The darkness that is now confined to the North, but once'; and here she paused and her eyes darkled, as if her mind were gone back into black years best forgot. 'But once lay upon all Middle-earth, while ye dwelt in your bliss.'

* [footnote to the text] This would be about 409 during the Long Peace (260–455). At that time Belemir and Adanel were old in the reckoning of Men, being some 70 years of age; but Andreth was in full vigour, being not yet 50 (48). She was unwed, as was not uncommon for Wise-women of Men.

** [footnote to the text] He was 93.

† [footnote to the text] In 310, about 100 years before this.

'It was not concerning the Shadow that I asked,' said Finrod. 'What mean you, I would say, by the lifting of it? Or how is the swift fate of Men concerned with it? Ye also, we hold (being instructed by the Great who know), are Children of Eru, and your fate and nature is from Him.'

'I see,' said Andreth, 'that in this ye of the High-elves do not differ from your lesser kindred whom we have met in the world, though they have never dwelt in the Light. All ye Elves deem that we die swiftly by our true kind. That we are brittle and brief, and ye are strong and lasting. We may be "Children of Eru", as ye say in your lore; but we are children to you also: to be loved a little maybe, and yet creatures of less worth, upon whom ye may look down from the height of your power and your knowledge, with a smile, or with pity, or with a shaking of heads.'

'Alas, you speak near the truth,' said Finrod. 'At least of many of my people; but not of all, and certainly not of me. But consider this well, Andreth, when we name you "Children of Eru" we do not speak lightly; for that name we do not utter ever in jest or without full intent. When we speak so, we speak out of knowledge, not out of mere Elvish lore; and we proclaim that ye are our kin, in a kinship far closer (both of *hröa* and *fëa*) than that which binds together all other creatures of Arda, and ourselves to them.

'Other creatures also in Middle-earth we love in their measure and kind: the beasts and birds who are our friends, the trees, and even the fair flowers that pass more swiftly than Men. Their passing we regret; but believe it to be a part of their nature, as much as are their shapes or their hues.

'But for you, who are our nearer kin, our regret is far greater. Yet, if we consider the briefness of life in all Middle-earth, must we not believe that your brevity is also part of your nature? Do not your own people believe this too? And yet from your words and their bitterness I guess that you think that we err.'

'I think that you err, and all who think likewise,' said Andreth; 'and that that error itself comes of the Shadow. But to speak of Men. Some will say this and some that; but most, thinking little, will ever hold that what is in their brief span in the world has ever been so, and shall so ever remain, whether they like it or no. But there are some that think otherwise; men call them "Wise", but heed them little. For they do not speak with assurance or with one voice, having no sure knowledge

such as ye boast of, but perforce depending upon "lore", from which truth (if it can be found) must be winnowed. And in every winnowing there is chaff with the corn that is chosen, and doubtless some corn with the chaff which is rejected.

'Yet among my people, from Wise unto Wise out of the darkness, comes the voice saying that Men are not now as they were, nor as their true nature was in their beginning. And clearer still is this said by the Wise of the People of Marach, who have preserved in memory a name for Him that ye call Eru, though in my folk He was almost forgotten. So I learn from Adanel. They say plainly that Men are *not* by nature short-lived, but have become so through the malice of the Lord of the Darkness whom they do not name.'

'That I can well believe,' said Finrod: 'that your bodies suffer in some measure the malice of Melkor. For you live in Arda Marred, as do we, and all the matter of Arda was tainted by him, before ye or we came forth and drew our *hröar* and their sustenance therefrom: all save only maybe Aman before he came there.[1] For know, it is not otherwise with the Quendi[2] themselves: their health and stature is diminished. Already those of us who dwell in Middle-earth, and even we who have returned to it, find that the change[3] of their bodies is swifter than in the beginning. And that, I judge, must forebode that they will prove less strong to last than they were designed to be, though this may not be clearly revealed for many long years.

'And likewise with the *hröar* of Men, they are weaker than they should be. Thus it comes to pass that here in the West, to which of old his power scarcely extended, they have more health, as you say.'

'Nay, nay!' said Andreth. 'You do not understand my words. For you are ever in one mind, my lord: the Elves are the Elves, and Men are Men, and though they have a common Enemy, by whom both are injured, still the ordained interval remains between the lords and the humble, the firstcomers high and enduring, the followers lowly and of brief service.

'That is not the voice that the Wise hear out of the darkness and from beyond it. Nay, lord, the Wise among Men say: "We were not made for death, nor born ever to die. Death was imposed upon us." And behold! the fear of it is with us always, and we flee from it for ever as the hart from the hunter. But for myself I deem that we cannot escape within this world, nay, not even if we could come to the Light beyond the Sea, or that

Aman of which ye tell. In that hope we set out and have journeyed through many lives of Men; but the hope was vain. So said the Wise, but that did not stay the march, for as I have said, they are little heeded. And lo! we have fled from the Shadow to the last shores of Middle-earth, to find only that it is here before us!'

Then Finrod was silent; but after a while he said: 'These words are strange and terrible. And you speak with the bitterness of one whose pride has been humiliated, and seeks therefore to wound those to whom she speaks. If all the Wise among Men speak so, then well I can believe that ye have suffered some great hurt. But not by my people, Andreth, nor by any of the Quendi. If we are as we are, and ye are as we find you, that is not by any deed of ours, nor of our desire; and your sorrow does not rejoice us nor feed our pride. One only would say otherwise: that Enemy whom you do not name.

'Beware of the chaff with your corn, Andreth! For it may be deadly: lies of the Enemy that out of envy will breed hate. Not all the voices that come out of the darkness speak truth to those minds that listen for strange news.

'But who did you this hurt? Who imposed death upon you? Melkor, it is plain that you would say, or whatever name you have for him in secret. For you speak of death and his shadow, as if these were one and the same; and as if to escape from the Shadow was to escape also from Death.

'But these two are not the same, Andreth. So I deem, or death would not be found at all in this world which he did not design but Another. Nay, *death* is but the name that we give to something that he has tainted, and it sounds therefore evil; but untainted its name would be good.'[4]

'What do ye know of death? Ye do not fear it, because ye[5] do not know it,' said Andreth.

'We have seen it, and we fear it,' answered Finrod. 'We too may die, Andreth; and we have died. My father's father was cruelly slain, and many have followed him, exiles in the night, in the cruel ice, in the insatiable sea. And in Middle-earth we have died, by fire and by smoke, by venom and the cruel blades of battle. Fëanor is dead, and Fingolphin was trodden under the feet of the Morgoth.[6]

'For what end? To overthrow the Shadow, or if that may not be, to keep it from spreading once more over all Middle-earth –

to defend the Children of Eru, Andreth, all the Children and not the proud Eldar only!'

'I had heard,' said Andreth, 'that it was to regain your treasure that your Enemy had stolen; but maybe the House of Finarphin is not at one with the Sons of Fëanor. Nonetheless for all your valour, I say again: "what know ye of death?" To you it may be in pain, it may be bitter and a loss – but only for a time, a little taken from abundance, unless I have been told untruth. For ye know that in dying you do not leave the world, and that you may return to life.

'Otherwise it is with us: dying we die, and we go out to no return. Death is an uttermost end, a loss irremediable. And it is abominable; for it is also a wrong that is done to us.'

'That difference I perceive,' said Finrod. 'You would say there are two deaths: the one is a harm and a loss but not an end, the other is an end without redress; and the Quendi suffer only the first?'

'Yes, but there is another difference also,' said Andreth. 'One is but a wound in the chances of the world, which the brave, or the strong, or the fortunate, may hope to avoid. The other is death ineluctable; death the hunter who cannot in the end be escaped. Be a Man strong, or swift, or bold; be he wise or a fool; be he evil, or be he in all the deeds of his days just and merciful, let him love the world or loathe it, he must die and must leave it – and become carrion that men are fain to hide or to burn.'

'And being thus pursued, have Men no hope?' said Finrod.

'They have no certainty and no knowledge, only fears, or dreams in the dark,' answered Andreth. 'But hope? Hope, that is another matter, of which even the Wise seldom speak.' Then her voice grew more gentle. 'Yet, Lord Finrod of the House of Finarphin, of the high and puissant Elves, perhaps we may speak of it anon, you and I.'

'Anon we may,' said Finrod, 'but as yet we walk in the shadows of fear. Thus far, then, I perceive that the great difference between Elves and Men is in the speed of the end. In this only. For if you deem that for the Quendi there is no death ineluctable, you err.

'Now none of us know, though the Valar may know, the future of Arda, or how long it is ordained to endure. But it will not endure for ever. It was made by Eru, but He is not in it. The One only has no limits. Arda, and Eä itself, must therefore be

bounded. You see us, the Quendi, still in the first ages of our being, and the end is far off. As maybe among you death may seem to a young man in his strength; save that we have long years of life and thought already behind us. But the end will come. That we all know. And then we must die; we must perish utterly, it seems, for we belong to Arda (in *hröa* and *fëa*).[7] And beyond that what? "The going out to no return," as you say; "the uttermost end, the irremediable loss"?

'Our hunter is slow-footed, but he never loses the trail. Beyond the day when he shall blow the mort,[8] we have no certainty, no knowledge. And no one speaks to us of hope.'

'I did not know this,' said Andreth; 'and yet . . .'

'And yet at least ours is slow-footed, you would say?' said Finrod. 'True. But it is not clear that a foreseen doom long delayed is in all ways a lighter burden than one that comes soon. But if I have understood your words thus far, you do not believe that this difference was designed so in the beginning. You were not at first doomed to swift death.

'Much could be said concerning this belief (be it a true guess or no). But first I would ask: how do ye say that this has come about? By the malice of Melkor I guessed, and you have not denied it. But I see now that you do not speak of the diminishment that all in Arda Marred suffer; but of some special stroke of enmity against your people, against Men as Men. Is that so?'

'It is indeed,' said Andreth.

'Then this is a matter of dread,' said Finrod. 'We know Melkor, the Morgoth, and know him to be mighty. Yea, I have seen him, and I have heard his voice; and I have stood blind in the night that is at the heart of his shadow, whereof you, Andreth, know nought save by hearsay and the memory of your people. But never even in the night have we believed that he could prevail against the Children of Eru. This one he might cozen, or that one he might corrupt; but to change the doom of a whole people of the Children, to rob them of their inheritance: if he could do that in Eru's despite, then greater and more terrible is he by far than we guessed; then all the valour of the Noldor is but presumption and folly – nay, Valinor and the Mountains of the Pelóri are builded on sand.'

'Behold!' said Andreth. 'Did I not say that ye do not know death? Lo! when you are made to face it in thought only, as we know it in deed and in thought all our lives, at once you fall into a despair. We know, if ye do not,[9] that the Nameless is Lord of

this World, and your valour, and ours too, is a folly; or at least it is fruitless.'

'Beware!' said Finrod. 'Beware lest you speak the unspeakable, wittingly or in ignorance, confounding Eru with the Enemy who would fain have you do so. The Lord of this World is not he, but the One who made him, and his Vicegerent is Manwë, the Elder King of Arda who is blessed.

'Nay, Andreth, the mind darkened and distraught; to bow and yet to loathe; to flee and yet not to reject; to love the body and yet scorn it, the carrion-disgust: these things may come from the Morgoth, indeed. But to doom the deathless to death, from father unto son, and yet to leave to them the memory of an inheritance taken away, and the desire for what is lost: could the Morgoth do this? No, I say. And for that reason I said that if your tale is true, then all in Arda is vain, from the pinnacle of Oiolossë to the uttermost abyss. For I do not believe your tale. None could have done this save the One.

'Therefore I say to you, Andreth, what did ye do, ye Men, long ago in the dark? How did ye anger Eru? For otherwise all your tales are but dark dreams devised in a Dark Mind. Will you say what you know or have heard?'

'I will not,' said Andreth. 'We do not speak of this to those of other race. But indeed the Wise are uncertain and speak with contrary voices; for whatever happened long ago, we have fled from it; we have tried to forget, and so long have we tried that now we cannot remember any time when we were not as we are – save only legends of days when death came less swiftly and our span was still far longer, but already there was death.'

'Ye cannot remember?' said Finrod. 'Are there no tales of your days before death, though ye will not tell them to strangers?'

'Maybe,' said Andreth. 'If not among my folk, then among the folk of Adanel, perhaps.' She fell silent, and gazed at the fire.

'Do you think that none know save yourselves?' said Finrod at last. 'Do not the Valar know?'

Andreth looked up and her eyes darkened. 'The Valar?' she said. 'How should I know, or any Man? Your Valar do not trouble us either with care or with instruction. They sent no summons to us.'

'What do you know of them?' said Finrod. 'I have seen them and dwelt among them, and in the presence of Manwë and Varda I have stood in the Light. Speak not of them so, nor of

anything that is high above you. Such words came first out of the Lying Mouth.

'Has it never entered into your thought, Andreth, that out there in ages long past ye may have put yourselves out of their care, and beyond the reach of their help? Or even that ye, the Children of Men, were not a matter that they could govern? For ye were too great. Yea, I mean this, and do not only flatter your pride: too great. Sole masters of yourselves within Arda, under the hand of the One. Beware then how you speak! If ye will not speak to others of your wound or how ye came by it, take heed lest (as unskilled leeches) ye misjudge the hurt, or in pride misplace the blame.

'But let us turn now to other matters, since you will not say more of this. I would consider your first state before the wound. For what you say of that is also to me a wonder, and hard to understand. You say: "we were not made for death, nor born ever to die." What do you mean: that ye were as we are, or otherwise?'

'This lore takes no account of you,' said Andreth, 'for we knew nothing of the Eldar. We considered only dying and not-dying. Of life as long as the world but no longer we had not heard; indeed not until now has it entered my mind.'

'To speak truly,' said Finrod, 'I had thought that this belief of yours, that ye too were not made for death, was but a dream of your pride, bred in envy of the Quendi, to equal or surpass them. Not so, you will say. Yet long ere ye came to this land, ye met other folk of the Quendi, and by some were befriended. Were ye not then already mortal? And did ye never speak with them concerning life and death? Though without any words they would soon discover your mortality, and ere long you would perceive that they did not die.'

'"Not so" I say indeed,' answered Andreth. 'We may have been mortal when first we met the Elves far away, or maybe we were not: our lore does not say, or at least none that I have learned. But already we had our lore, and needed none from the Elves: we knew that in our beginning we had been born *never to die*. And by that, my lord, we meant: *born to life everlasting, without any shadow of any end*.'

'Then have the Wise among you considered how strange is the true nature that they claim for the Atani?' said Finrod.

'Is it so strange?' said Andreth. 'Many of the Wise hold that in their true nature no living things would die.'

'In that the Eldar would say that they err,' said Finrod. 'To us your claim for Men is strange, and indeed hard to accept, for two reasons. You claim, if you fully understand your own words, to have had imperishable bodies, not bounded by the limits of Arda, and yet derived from its matter and sustained by it. And you claim also (though this you may not have perceived) to have had *hröar* and *fëar* that were from the beginning out of harmony. Yet harmony of *hröa* and *fëa* is, we believe, essential to the true nature unmarred of all the Incarnate: the *Mirröanwi*[10] as we call the Children of Eru.'

'The first difficulty I perceive,' said Andreth, 'and to it our Wise have their own answer. The second, as you guess, I do not perceive.'

'Do you not?' said Finrod. 'Then you do not see yourselves clearly. But it may often happen that friends and kinsmen see some things plainly that are hidden from their friend himself.

'Now we Eldar are your kinsmen, and your friends also (if you will believe it), and we have observed you already through three lives of Men with love and concern and much thought. Of this then we are certain without debate, or else all our wisdom is vain: the *fëar* of Men, though close akin indeed to the *fëar* of the Quendi, are yet not the same. For strange as we deem it, we see clearly that the *fëar* of Men are not, as are ours, confined to Arda, nor is Arda their home.

'Can you deny it? Now we Eldar do not deny that ye love Arda and all that is therein (in so far as ye are free from the Shadow) maybe even as greatly as do we. Yet otherwise. Each of our kindreds perceives Arda differently, and appraises its beauties in different mode and degree. How shall I say it? To me the difference seems like that between one who visits a strange country, and abides there a while (but need not), and one who has lived in that land always (and must). To the former all things that he sees are new and strange, and in that degree lovable. To the other all things are familiar, the only things that are, his own, and in that degree precious.'

'If you mean that Men are the guests,' said Andreth.

'You have said the word,' said Finrod: 'that name we have given to you.'

'Lordly as ever,' said Andreth. 'But even if we be but guests in a land where all is your own, my lords, as you say, tell me what other land or things do we know?'

'Nay, tell me!' said Finrod. 'For if you do not know, how can

we? But do you know that the Eldar say of Men that they look at no thing for itself; that if they study it, it is to discover something else; that if they love it, it is only (so it seems) because it reminds them of some other dearer thing? Yet with what is this comparison? Where are these other things?

'We are both, Elves and Men, in Arda and of Arda; and such knowledge as Men have is derived from Arda (or so it would appear). Whence then comes this memory that ye have with you, even before ye begin to learn?

'It is not of other regions in Arda from which ye have journeyed. We also have journeyed from afar. But were you and I to go together to your ancient homes east away I should recognize the things there as part of my home, but I should see in your eyes the same wonder and comparison as I see in the eyes of Men in Beleriand who were born here.'

'You speak strange words, Finrod,' said Andreth, 'which I have not heard before. Yet my heart is stirred as if by some truth that it recognizes even if it does not understand it. But fleeting is that memory, and goes ere it can be grasped; and then we grow blind. And those among us who have known the Eldar, and maybe have loved them, say on our side: "There is no weariness in the eyes of the Elves". And we find that they do not understand the saying that goes among Men: *too often seen is seen no longer*. And they wonder much that in the tongues of Men the same word may mean both "long-known" and "stale".

'We have thought that this was so only because the Elves have lasting life and undiminished vigour. "Grown-up children" we, the guests, sometimes call you, my lord. And yet – and yet, if nothing in Arda for us holds its savour long, and all fair things grow dim, what then? Does it not come from [the] Shadow upon our hearts? Or do you say that it is not so, but this was ever our nature, even before the wound?'

'I say so, indeed,' answered Finrod. 'The Shadow may have darkened your unrest, bringing swifter weariness and soon turning it to disdain, but the unrest was ever there, I believe. And if this is so, then can you not now perceive the disharmony that I spoke of? If indeed your Wisdom had lore like to ours, teaching that the *Mirröanwi* are made of a union of body and mind, of *hröa* and *fëa*, or as we say in picture the House and the Indweller.

'For what is the "death" that you mourn but the severing of

these two? And what is the "deathlessness" that you have lost but that the two should remain united for ever?

'But what then shall we think of the union in Man: of an Indweller, who is but a guest here in Arda and not here at home, with a House that is built of the matter of Arda and must therefore (one would suppose) here remain?

'At least one would not hope for this House a life longer than Arda of which it is part. Yet you claim that the House too was immortal, do you not? I would rather believe that such a *fëa* of its own nature would at some time of its own will have abandoned the house of its sojourn here, even though the sojourn might have been longer than is now permitted. Then "death" would (as I said) have sounded otherwise to you: as a release, or return, nay! as going home! But this you do not believe, it seems?'

'Nay, I do not believe this,' said Andreth. 'For that would be contempt of the body, and is a thought of the Darkness unnatural in any of the Incarnate whose life uncorrupted is a union of mutual love. But the body is not an inn to keep a traveller warm for a night, ere he goes on his way, and then to receive another. It is a house made for one dweller only, indeed not only house but raiment also; and it is not clear to me that we should in this case speak only of the raiment being fitted to the wearer rather than of the wearer being fitted to the raiment.

'I hold then that it is not to be thought that the severance of these two could be according to the true nature of Men. For were it "natural" for the body to be abandoned and die, but "natural" for the *fëa* to live on, then there would indeed be a disharmony in Man, and his parts would not be united by love. His body would be a hindrance at best, or a chain. An imposition indeed, not a gift. But there is one who imposes, and who devises chains, and if such were our nature in the beginning, then we should derive it from him – but that you say should not be spoken.

'Alas! Out in the darkness men do say this nonetheless, but not the Atani as thou knowest, not now. I hold that in this we are as ye are, truly Incarnates, and that we do not live in our right being and its fullness save in a union of love and peace between the House and the Dweller. Wherefore death, which divides them, is a disaster to both.'

'Ever more you amaze my thought, Andreth,' said Finrod. 'For if your claim is true, then lo! a *fëa* which is here but a

traveller is wedded indissolubly to a *hröa* of Arda; to divide them is a grievous hurt, and yet each must fulfil its right nature without tyranny of the other. Then this must surely follow: the *fëa* when it departs must take with it the *hröa*. And what can this mean unless it be that the *fëa* shall have the power to uplift the *hröa*, as its eternal spouse and companion, into an endurance everlasting beyond Eä, and beyond Time? Thus would Arda, or part thereof, be healed not only of the taint of Melkor, but released even from the limits that were set for it in the "Vision of Eru" of which the Valar speak.

'Therefore I say that if this can be believed, then mighty indeed under Eru were Men made in their beginning; and dreadful beyond all other calamities was the change in their state.

'Is it, then, a vision of what was designed to be when Arda was complete – of living things and even of the very lands and seas of Arda made eternal and indestructible, for ever beautiful and new – with which the *fëar* of Men compare what they see here? Or is there somewhere else a world of which all things which we see, all things that either Elves or Men know, are only tokens or reminders?'

'If so it resides in the mind of Eru, I deem,' said Andreth. 'To such questions how can we find the answers, here in the mists of Arda Marred? Otherwise it might have been, had we not been changed; but being as we are, even the Wise among us have given too little thought to Arda itself, or to other things that dwell here. We have thought most of ourselves: of how our *hröar* and *fëar* should have dwelt together for ever in joy, and of the darkness impenetrable that now awaits us.'

'Then not only the High Eldar are forgetful of their kin!' said Finrod. 'But this is strange to me, and even as did your heart when I spoke of your unrest, so now mine leaps up as at the hearing of good news.

'This then, I propound, was the errand of Men, not the followers, but the heirs and fulfillers of all: to heal the Marring of Arda, already foreshadowed before their devising; and to do more, as agents of the magnificence of Eru: to enlarge the Music and surpass the Vision of the World![11]

'For that Arda Healed shall not be Arda Unmarred, but a third thing and a greater, and yet the same.[12] I have conversed with the Valar who were present at the making of the Music ere the being of the World began. And now I wonder: Did they hear the end of the Music? Was there not something in or beyond the

final chords of Eru which, being overwhelmed thereby, they did not perceive?[13]

'Or again, since Eru is for ever free, maybe he made no Music and showed no Vision beyond a certain point. Beyond that point we cannot see or know, until by our own roads we come there, Valar or Eldar or Men.

'As may a master in the telling of tales keep hidden the greatest moment until it comes in due course. It may be guessed at indeed, in some measure, by those of us who have listened with full heart and mind; but so the teller would wish. In no wise is the surprise and wonder of his art thus diminished, for thus we share, as it were, in his authorship. But not so, if all were told us in a preface before we entered in!'

'What then would you say is the supreme moment that Eru has reserved?' Andreth asked.

'Ah, wise lady!' said Finrod. 'I am an Elda, and again I was thinking of my own people. But nay, of all the Children of Eru. I was thinking that by the Second Children we might have been delivered from death. For ever as we spoke of death being a division of the united, I thought in my heart of a death that is not so: but the ending together of both. For that is what lies before us, so far as our reason could see: the completion of Arda and its end, and therefore also of us children of Arda; the end when all the long lives of the Elves shall be wholly in the past.[14]

'And then suddenly I beheld as a vision Arda Remade; and there the Eldar completed but not ended could abide in the present for ever,[15] and there walk, maybe, with the Children of Men, their deliverers, and sing to them such songs as, even in the Bliss beyond bliss, should make the green valleys ring and the everlasting mountain-tops to throb like harps.'

Then Andreth looked under her brows at Finrod: 'And what, when ye were not singing, would ye say to us?' she asked.

Finrod laughed. 'I can only guess,' he said. 'Why, wise lady, I think that we should tell you tales of the Past and of Arda that was Before, of the perils and great deeds and the making of the Silmarils! We were the lordly ones then! But ye, ye would then be at home, looking at all things intently, as your own. Ye would be the lordly ones. "The eyes of Elves are always thinking of something else," ye would say. But ye would know then of what we were reminded: of the days when we first met, and our hands touched in the dark. Beyond the End of the World we shall not change; for in memory is our great talent, as shall be

seen ever more clearly as the ages of this Arda pass: a heavy burden to be, I fear; but in the Days of which we now speak a great wealth.' And then he paused, for he saw that Andreth was weeping silently.

'Alas, lord!' she said. 'What then is to be done now? For we speak as if these things are, or as if they will assuredly be. But Men have been diminished and their power is taken away. We look for no Arda Remade: darkness lies before us, into which we stare in vain. If by our aid your everlasting mansions were to be prepared, they will not be builded now.'

'Have ye then no hope?' said Finrod.

'What is hope?' she said. 'An expectation of good, which though uncertain has some foundation in what is known? Then we have none.'

'That is one thing that Men call "hope",' said Finrod. '*Amdir* we call it, "looking up". But there is another which is founded deeper. *Estel* we call it, that is "trust". It is not defeated by the ways of the world, for it does not come from experience, but from our nature and first being. If we are indeed the *Eruhin*, the Children of the One, then He will not suffer Himself to be deprived of His own, not by any Enemy, not even by ourselves. This is the last foundation of *Estel*, which we keep even when we contemplate the End: of all His designs the issue must be for His Children's joy. *Amdir* you have not, you say. Does no *Estel* at all abide?'

'Maybe,' she said. 'But no! Do you not perceive that it is part of our wound that *Estel* should falter and its foundations be shaken? Are we the Children of the One? Are we not cast off finally? Or were we ever so? Is not the Nameless the Lord of the World?'

'Say it not even in question!' said Finrod.

'It cannot be unsaid,' answered Andreth, 'if you would understand the despair in which we walk. Or in which most Men walk. Among the Atani, as you call us, or the Seekers as we say: those who left the lands of despair and the Men of darkness and journeyed west in vain hope: it is believed that healing may yet be found, or that there is some way of escape. But is this indeed *Estel*? Is it not *Amdir* rather; but without reason: mere flight in a dream from what waking they know: that there is no escape from darkness and death?'

'*Mere flight in a dream* you say,' answered Finrod. 'In dream many desires are revealed; and desire may be the last flicker of

Estel. But you do not mean *dream*, Andreth. You confound *dream* and *waking* with *hope* and *belief*, to make the one more doubtful and the other more sure. Are they asleep when they speak of escape and healing?'

'Asleep or awake, they say nothing clearly,' answered Andreth. 'How or when shall healing come? To what manner of being shall those who see that time be re-made? And what of us who before it go out into darkness unhealed? To such questions only those of the "Old Hope" (as they call themselves) have any guess of an answer.'

'*Those of the Old Hope*?' said Finrod. 'Who are they?'

'A few,' she said; 'but their number has grown since we came to this land, and they see that the Nameless can (as they think) be defied. Yet that is no good reason. To defy him does not undo his work of old. And if the valour of the Eldar fails here, then their despair will be deeper. For it was not on the might of Men, or of any of the peoples of Arda, that the old hope was grounded.'

'What then was this hope, if you know?' Finrod asked.

'They say,' answered Andreth: 'they say that the One will himself enter into Arda, and heal Men and all the Marring from the beginning to the end. This they say also, or they feign, is a rumour that has come down through years uncounted, even from the days of our undoing.'[16]

'They say, they feign?' said Finrod. 'Are you then not one of them?'

'How can I be, lord? All wisdom is against them. Who is the One, whom ye call Eru? If we put aside the Men who serve the Nameless, as do many in Middle-earth, still many Men perceive the world only as a war between Light and Dark equipotent. But you will say: nay, that is Manwë and Melkor; Eru is above them. Is then Eru only the greatest of the Valar, a great god among gods, as most Men will say, even among the Atani: a king who dwells far from his kingdom and leaves lesser princes to do here much as they will? Again you say: nay, Eru is One, alone without peer, and He made Eä, and is beyond it; and the Valar are greater than we, but yet no nearer to His majesty. Is this not so?'

'Yes,' said Finrod. 'We say this, and the Valar we know, and they say the same, all save one. But which, think you, is more likely to lie: those who make themselves humble, or he that exalts himself?'

'I do not doubt,' said Andreth. 'And for that reason the saying of Hope passes my understanding. How could Eru enter into the thing that He has made, and than which He is beyond measure greater? Can the singer enter into his tale or the designer into his picture?'

'He is already in it, as well as outside,' said Finrod. 'But indeed the "in-dwelling" and the "out-living" are not in the same mode.'

'Truly,' said Andreth. 'So may Eru in that mode be present in Eä that proceeded from Him. But they speak of Eru Himself *entering into Arda*, and that is a thing wholly different. How could He the greater do this? Would it not shatter Arda, or indeed all Eä?'

'Ask me not,' said Finrod. 'These things are beyond the compass of the wisdom of the Eldar, or of the Valar maybe. But I doubt that our words may mislead us, and that when you say "greater" you think of the dimensions of Arda, in which the greater vessel may not be contained in the less.

'But such words may not be used of the Measureless. If Eru wished to do this, I do not doubt that He would find a way, though I cannot foresee it. For, as it seems to me, even if He in Himself were to enter in, He must still remain also as He is: the Author without. And yet, Andreth, to speak with humility, I cannot conceive how else this healing could be achieved. Since Eru will surely not suffer Melkor to turn the world to his own will and to triumph in the end. Yet there is no power conceivable greater than Melkor save Eru only. Therefore Eru, if He will not relinquish His work to Melkor, who must else proceed to mastery, then Eru must come in to conquer him.

'More: even if Melkor (or the Morgoth that he has become) could in any way be thrown down or thrust from Arda, still his Shadow would remain, and the evil that he has wrought and sown as a seed would wax and multiply. And if any remedy for this is to be found, ere all is ended, any new light to oppose the shadow, or any medicine for the wounds: then it must, I deem, come from without.'

'Then, lord,' said Andreth, and she looked up in wonder, 'you believe in this Hope?'

'Ask me not yet,' he answered. 'For it is still to me but strange news that comes from afar. No such hope was ever spoken to the Quendi. To you only it was sent. And yet through you we may hear it and lift up our hearts.' He paused a while, and then

looking gravely at Andreth he said: 'Yes, Wise-woman, maybe it was ordained that we Quendi, and ye Atani, ere the world grows old, should meet and bring news one to another, and so we should learn of the Hope from you: ordained, indeed, that thou and I, Andreth, should sit here and speak together, across the gulf that divides our kindreds, so that while the Shadow still broods in the North we should not be wholly afraid.'

'*Across the gulf that divides our kindreds!*' said Andreth. 'Is there no bridge but mere words?' And then she wept again.

'There may be. For some. I do not know,' he said. 'The gulf, maybe, is between our fates rather, for else we are close akin, closer than any other creatures in the world. Yet perilous is it to cross a gulf set by doom; and should any do so, they will not find joy upon the other side, but the griefs of both. So I deem.

'But why dost thou say "mere words"? Do not words overpass the gulf between one life and another? Between thee and me surely more has passed than empty sound? Have we not drawn near at all? But that is, I think, little comfort to thee.'

'I have not asked for comfort,' said Andreth. 'For what do I need it?'

'For the doom of Men that has touched thee as a woman,' said Finrod. 'Dost thou think that I do not know? Is he not my brother dearly loved? Aegnor:[17] *Aikanár*, the Sharp-flame, swift and eager. And not long are the years since you first met, and your hands touched in this darkness. Yet then thou wert a maiden, brave and eager, in the morning upon the high hills of Dorthonion.'[18]

'Say on!' said Andreth. 'Say: who art now but a wise-woman, alone, and age that shall not touch him has already set winter's grey in thy hair! But say not *thou* to me, for so he once did!'[19]

'Alas!' said Finrod. 'That is the bitterness, beloved *adaneth*, woman of Men, is it not? that has run through all your words. If I could speak any comfort, you would deem it lordly from one on my side of the sundering doom. But what can I say, save to remind you of the Hope that you yourself have revealed?'

'I did not say that it was ever my hope,' answered Andreth. 'And even were it so, I would still cry: why should this hurt come here and now? Why should we love you, and why should ye love us (if ye do), and yet set the gulf between?'

'Because we were so made, close kin,' said Finrod. 'But we did not make ourselves, and therefore we, the Eldar, did not set the gulf. Nay, *adaneth*, we are not lordly in this, but pitiful.[20] That

word will displease thee. Yet pity is of two kinds: one is of kinship recognized, and is near to love; the other is of difference of fortune perceived, and is near to pride. I speak of the former.'

'Speak of neither to me!' said Andreth. 'I desire neither. I was young and I looked on his flame, and now I am old and lost. He was young and his flame leaped towards me, but he turned away, and he is young still. Do candles pity moths?'

'Or moths candles, when the wind blows them out?' said Finrod. '*Adaneth*, I tell thee, *Aikanár* the Sharp-flame loved thee. For thy sake now he will never take the hand of any bride of his own kindred, but live alone to the end, remembering the morning in the hills of Dorthonion. But too soon in the North-wind his flame will go out! Foresight is given to the Eldar in many things not far off, though seldom of joy, and I say to thee thou shalt live long in the order of your kind, and he will go forth before thee and he will not wish to return.'

Then Andreth stood up and stretched her hands to the fire. 'Then why did he turn away? Why leave me while I had still a few good years to spend?'

'Alas!' said Finrod. 'I fear the truth will not satisfy thee. The Eldar have one kind, and ye another; and each judges the others by themselves – until they learn, as do few. This is time of war, Andreth, and in such days the Elves do not wed or bear child;[21] but prepare for death – or for flight. Aegnor has no trust (nor have I) in this siege of Angband that it will last long; and then what will become of this land? If his heart ruled, he would have wished to take thee and flee far away, east or south, forsaking his kin, and thine. Love and loyalty hold him to his. What of thee to thine? Thou hast said thyself that there is no escape by flight within the bounds of the world.'

'For one year, one day, of the flame I would have given all: kin, youth, and hope itself: *adaneth* I am,' said Andreth.

'That he knew,' said Finrod; 'and he withdrew and did not grasp what lay to his hand: *elda* he is. For such barters are paid for in anguish that cannot be guessed, until it comes, and in ignorance rather than in courage the Eldar judge that they are made.

'Nay, *adaneth*, if any marriage can be between our kindred and thine, then it shall be for some high purpose of Doom. Brief it will be and hard at the end. Yea, the least cruel fate that could befall would be that death should soon end it.'

'But the end is always cruel – for Men,' said Andreth. 'I

would not have troubled him, when my short youth was spent. I would not have hobbled as a hag after his bright feet, when I could no longer run beside him!'

'Maybe not,' said Finrod. 'So you feel now. But do you think of him? He would not have run before thee. He would have stayed at thy side to uphold thee. Then pity thou wouldst have had in every hour, pity inescapable. He would not have thee so shamed.

'Andreth *adaneth*, the life and love of the Eldar dwells much in memory; and we (if not ye) would rather have a memory that is fair but unfinished than one that goes on to a grievous end. Now he will ever remember thee in the sun of morning, and that last evening by the water of Aeluin in which he saw thy face mirrored with a star caught in thy hair – ever, until the North-wind brings the night of his flame. Yea, and after that, sitting in the House of Mandos in the Halls of Awaiting until the end of Arda.'

'And what shall I remember?' said she. 'And when I go to what halls shall I come? To a darkness in which even the memory of the sharp flame shall be quenched? Even the memory of rejection. That at least.'

Finrod sighed and stood up. 'The Eldar have no healing words for such thoughts, *adaneth*,' he said. 'But would you wish that Elves and Men had never met? Is the light of the flame, which otherwise you would never have seen, of no worth even now? You believe yourself scorned? Put away at least that thought, which comes out of the Darkness, and then our speech together will not have been wholly in vain. Farewell!'

Darkness fell in the room. He took her hand in the light of the fire. 'Whither go you?' she said.

'North away,' he said: 'to the swords, and the siege, and the walls of defence – that yet for a while in Beleriand rivers may run clean, leaves spring, and birds build their nests, ere Night comes.'

'Will he be there, bright and tall, and the wind in his hair? Tell him. Tell him not to be reckless. Not to seek danger beyond need!'

'I will tell him,' said Finrod. 'But I might as well tell thee not to weep. He is a warrior, Andreth, and a spirit of wrath. In every stroke that he deals he sees the Enemy who long ago did thee this hurt.

'But you are not for Arda. Whither you go may you find light. Await us there, my brother – and me.'

NOTES

1 Perhaps to be compared with this is a passage in the Debate of the Valar in *Laws and Customs* (p. 247), where Niënna said to Manwë: 'Though the death of severance may find out the Eldar in thy realm, yet one thing cometh not to it, and shall not: and that is deforming and decay'; to which is added in a footnote: 'Yet after the slaying of the Trees it did so while Melkor remained there; and the body of Finwë, slain by Melkor, was withered and passed into dust, even as the Trees themselves had withered.'

2 Here and at several, but by no means all, subsequent occurrences *Quendi* was emended to *Elves* on the typescript C.

3 *change* was an emendation to the typescript B (only); the manuscript has *growth*.

4 Cf. the words of Pengoloð to Ælfwine at the end of the *Ainulindalë* (p. 37), of the mortality of Men: 'Death is their fate, the gift of Ilúvatar, which as Time wears even the Powers shall envy. But Melkor has cast his shadow upon it, and confounded it with darkness, and brought forth evil out of good, and fear out of hope.'

5 The manuscript has here: 'What do ye know of death? Ye do not fear it, because you do not know it.' The typist of C replaced the first *ye* by *you*; my father let this stand, but corrected the original occurrence of *you* to *ye*. On the opening page of the typescript he noted that *ye* is used for the plural only, and that *you* 'represents the Elvish pronoun of polite address', while *thou*, *thee* 'represent the familiar (or affectionate) pronoun'. This distinction is not always maintained in the manuscript; but in a number of cases *you*, where *ye* might be expected, may be intended, and I have only corrected the forms where error seems certain.

6 This is a strange error. Fingolfin died in 456, the year after the Dagor Bragollach (V.132, repeated in the *Grey Annals*): see p. 306.

7 Cf. *Laws and Customs*, p. 220: 'The new *fëa*, and therefore in their beginning all *fëar*, they [the Eldar] believe to come direct from Eru and from beyond Ëa. Therefore many of them hold that it cannot be asserted that the fate of the Elves is to be confined within Arda for ever and with it to cease.'

8 *mort*: the note sounded on a horn at the death of the quarry.

9 The distinction between *ye* (plural) and *you* (singular) is presumably intended (see note 5).

10 The manuscript has *Mirruyainar*, followed in both typescripts. On B my father emended the name to *Mirroyainar* here but not at the second occurrence (p. 316); on C he changed it to *Mirröanwi*

at both occurrences. See the 'Glossary' to the *Athrabeth*, p. 350.

11 In the margin of the manuscript, repeated in the typescript C, is written against this paragraph: 'In the Music of Eru Men only entered after the discords of Melkor.' Of course this was true of the Elves also. See Author's Note 1 to the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* and note 10 (p. 358).

12 Cf. the words of Manwë at the end of the Debate of the Valar in *Laws and Customs* (p. 245): 'For Arda Unmarred hath two aspects or senses. The first is the Unmarred that they [the Eldar] discern in the Marred ...: this is the ground upon which Hope is built. The second is the Unmarred that shall be: that is, to speak according to Time in which they have their being, the Arda Healed, which shall be greater and more fair than the first, because of the Marring: this is the Hope that sustaineth.'

13 It is said in the *Ainulindalë* (p. 13, §19) that 'the history was incomplete and the circles not full-wrought when the vision was taken away', to which in the final text D (p. 31) was added a footnote, attributed to Pengoloð:

> And some have said that the Vision ceased ere the fulfilment of the Dominion of Men and the fading of the Firstborn; wherefore, though the Music is over all, the Valar have not seen as with sight the Later Ages or the ending of the World.

In the 'lost' typescript AAm* of the opening of the *Annals of Aman* (p. 64) it is said that Nienna could not endure to the end of the Music, and that 'therefore she has not the hope of Manwë' (p. 68).

14 See p. 312 and note 7.

15 On the conception of Arda Complete see note (iii) at the end of *Laws and Customs* (p. 251).

16 It was of course fundamental to the whole conception of the Elder Days that Men awoke in the East at the first Sunrise, and that they had existed for no more than a few hundred years when Finrod Felagund came upon Bëor and his people in the foothills of the Blue Mountains. There have been suggestions earlier in the *Athrabeth* that Andreth was looking much further back in time to the awakening of Men (thus she speaks of 'legends of days when death came less swiftly and our span was still far longer', p. 313); in her words here, 'a rumour that has come down through years uncounted', a profound alteration in the conception seems plain. The chronology of the Years of the Sun is however maintained in the *Athrabeth*, with the dating of the meeting of Finrod and Andreth as 'about 409 during the Long Peace (260–455)' (see p. 306). See further p. 378.

17 Both here and on p. 324 the name was written *Egnor* in the manuscript, subsequently changed to *Aegnor*; cf. p. 177 (§42) and p. 197.

18 Cf. QS §117 (V.264): 'Angrod and Egnor watched Bladorion from the northern slopes of Dorthonion' (during the Siege of Angband), and §129 (V.276): 'Barahir [son of Bëor the Old] dwelt mostly on the north marches with Angrod and Egnor.'

19 The sentence 'But say not *thou* to me, for so he once did' was an addition to the manuscript; Finrod has begun to address Andreth as *thou* from shortly before this point. But from here to the end of the text the usage is very confused, inconsistent in the manuscript and with inconsistent emendation to the typescript (both *thou* to *you* and *you* to *thou*); it seems that my father was in two minds as to which forms Finrod should employ, and I have left the text as it stands.

20 *pitiful*: i.e. filled with pity, compassionate.

21 Cf. *Laws and Customs*, p. 213: 'it would seem to any of the Eldar a grievous thing if a wedded pair were sundered during the bearing of a child, or while the first years of its childhood lasted. For which reason the Eldar would beget children only in days of happiness and peace if they could.'

★

The *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth* perhaps marks the culmination of my father's thought on the relation of Elves and Men, in Finrod's exalted vision of the original design of Eru for Mankind; but his central purpose was to explore fully for the first time the nature of 'the Marring of Men'. In the long account of his work that he wrote for Milton Waldman in 1951 (*Letters* no.131, pp. 147–8) he had said:

> The first fall of Man ... nowhere appears – Men do not come on the stage until all that is long past, and there is only a rumour that for a while they fell under the domination of the Enemy and that some repented.

In the *Athrabeth* Finrod approaches this 'rumour' directly: 'Therefore I say to you, Andreth, *what did ye do, ye Men, long ago in the dark?* How did ye anger Eru? ... Will you say what you know or have heard?' He is met by a blank refusal: '"I will not," said Andreth. "We do not speak of this to those of other race"'; but to Finrod's subsequent question 'Are there no tales of your days before death, though ye will not tell them to strangers?' Andreth replies: 'Maybe. If not among my folk, then among the folk of Adanel, perhaps.' The legend of the Fall of Man preserved among certain of the Edain was (as will be seen shortly) about to enter.

Presenting the fundamental differences of destiny, nature, and experience between Elves and Men in the form of a philosophical debate between Finrod Lord of Nargothrond and Andreth descendant of Bëor the Old, the argument is nonetheless conducted with an increasing intensity, and bitterness on the part of Andreth, the bearing of which (though known to both speakers independently) is only

revealed at the end. But to this passionate work my father appended a long discursive and critical commentary in a very different vein, which follows here.

The newspapers in which the *Athrabeth* and the commentary were preserved (see p. 304) bear the inscription:

Addit. Silmarillion

Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth

Commentary

On one of these wrappers my father added: 'Should be last item in an appendix' (i.e. to *The Silmarillion*).

This commentary he typed himself, in top copy and carbon, with a few subsequent emendations almost identical in both. Following the commentary are numbered notes that bulk much larger than the commentary itself, since some of them constitute short essays. I distinguish these from my own numbered notes to the text (pp. 357ff.) by the words 'Author's Note'.

Very rough drafting for the commentary is extant, and that this followed the making of the amanuensis typescripts of the *Athrabeth* itself is seen from the occurrence in it of the word *Mirröanwi* (see note 10 above).

ATHRABETH FINROD AH ANDRETH

The Debate of Finrod and Andreth

This is not presented as an argument of any cogency for Men in their present situation (or the one in which they believe themselves to be), though it may have some interest for Men who start with similar beliefs or assumptions to those held by the Elvish king Finrod.

It is in fact simply part of the portrayal of the imaginary world of the *Silmarillion*, and an example of the kind of thing that enquiring minds on either side, the Elvish or the Human, must have said to one another after they became acquainted. We see here the attempt of a generous Elvish mind to fathom the relations of Elves and Men, and the part they were designed to play in what he would have called the *Oienkarmë Eruo* (The One's perpetual production), which might be rendered by 'God's management of the Drama'.

There are certain things in this world that have to be accepted

as 'facts'. *The existence of Elves:* that is of a race of beings closely akin to Men, so closely indeed that they must be regarded as physically (or biologically) simply branches of the same race.[1] The Elves appeared on Earth earlier, but not (mythologically or geologically) much earlier;[2] they were 'immortal', and did not 'die' except by accident. Men, when they appeared on the scene (that is, when they met the Elves), were, however, much as they now are: they 'died', even if they escaped all accidents, at about the age of 70 to 80. *The existence of the Valar:* that is of certain angelic Beings (created, but at least as powerful as the 'gods' of human mythologies), the chief of whom still resided in an actual physical part of the Earth. They were the agents and vice-gerents of Eru (God). They had been for nameless ages engaged in a demiurgic labour[3] completing to the design of Eru the structure of the Universe (Eä); but were now concentrated on Earth for the principal Drama of Creation: the war of the *Eruhín* (The Children of God), Elves and Men, against Melkor. Melkor, originally the most powerful of the Valar,[4] had become a rebel, against his brethren and against Eru, and was the prime Spirit of Evil.

With regard to King Finrod, it must be understood that he starts with certain basic beliefs, which he would have said were derived from one or more of these sources: his created nature; angelic instruction; thought; and experience.

1. There exists Eru (The One); that is, One God Creator, who made (or more strictly designed) the World, but is not Himself the World. This world, or Universe, he calls *Eä*, an Elvish word that means 'It is', or 'Let It Be'.

2. There are on Earth 'incarnate' creatures, Elves and Men: these are made of a union of *hröa* and *fëa* (roughly but not exactly equivalent to 'body' and 'soul'). This, he would say, was a *known fact* concerning Elvish nature, and could therefore be deduced for human nature from the close kinship of Elves and Men.

3. *Hröa* and *fëa* he would say are wholly distinct in kind, and not on the 'same plane of derivation from Eru', *(Author's Note 1, p. 336)* but were designed each for the other, to abide in perpetual harmony. The *fëa* is indestructible, a unique identity which cannot be disintegrated or absorbed into any other identity. The *hröa*, however, can be destroyed and dissolved: that is a fact of experience. (In such a case he would describe the *fëa* as 'exiled' or 'houseless'.)

4. The separation of *fëa* and *hröa* is 'unnatural', and proceeds

not from the original design, but from the 'Marring of Arda', which is due to the operations of Melkor.

5. Elvish 'immortality' is bounded within a part of Time (which he would call the History of Arda), and is therefore strictly to be called rather 'serial longevity', the utmost limit of which is the length of the existence of Arda. *(Author's Note 2, p. 337)* A corollary of this is that the Elvish *fëa* is also limited to the Time of Arda, or at least held within it and unable to leave it, while it lasts.

6. From this it would follow in thought, if it were not a fact of Elvish experience, that a 'houseless' Elvish *fëa* must have the power or opportunity to return to incarnate life, if it has the desire or will to do so. (Actually the Elves discovered that their *fëar* had not this power in themselves, but that the opportunity and means were provided by the Valar, by the special permission of Eru for the amendment of the unnatural state of divorce. It was not lawful for the Valar to force a *fëa* to return; but they could impose conditions, and judge whether return should be permitted at all, and if so, in what way or after how long.) *(Author's Note 3, p. 339)*

7. Since Men die, without accident, and whether they will to do so or not, their *fëar* must have a different relation to Time. The Elves believed, though they had no certain information, that the *fëar* of Men, if disembodied, left Time (sooner or later), and never returned. *(Author's Note 4, p. 340)*

The Elves observed that all Men died (a fact confirmed by Men). They therefore deduced that this was 'natural' to Men (sc. was by the design of Eru), and supposed that the brevity of human life was due to this character of the human *fëa*: that it was not designed to stay long in Arda. Whereas their own *fëar*, being designed to remain in Arda to its end, imposed long endurance on their bodies; for they were (as a fact of experience) in far greater control of them. *(Author's Note 5, p. 341)*

Beyond the 'End of Arda' Elvish thought could not penetrate, and they were without any specific instruction. *(Author's Note 6, p. 341)* It seemed clear to them that their *hröar* must then end, and therefore any kind of re-incarnation would be impossible. *(Author's Note 7, p. 342)* All the Elves would then 'die' at the End of Arda. What this would mean they did not know. They said therefore that Men had a shadow behind them, but the Elves had a shadow before them.

Their dilemma was this: the thought of existence as *fëar* only was revolting to them, and they found it hard to believe that it was natural or designed for them, since they were essentially 'dwellers in Arda', and by nature wholly in love with Arda. The alternative: that their *fëar* would also cease to exist at 'the End', seemed even more intolerable. Both absolute annihilation, and cessation of conscious identity, were wholly repugnant to thought and desire. *(Author's Note 8, p. 343)*

Some argued that, although integral and unique (as Eru from whom they directly proceeded), each *fëa*, being created, was finite, and might therefore be also of finite duration. It was not destructible within its appointed term, but when that was reached it ceased to be; or ceased to have any more experience, and 'resided only in the Past'.

But they saw that this did not provide any escape. For, even if an Elvish *fëa* was able 'consciously' to dwell in or contemplate the Past, this would be a condition wholly unsatisfying to its desire. *(Reference to Author's Note 8)* The Elves had (as they said themselves) a 'great talent' for memory, but this tended to regret rather than to joy. Also, however long the History of the Elves might become before it ended, it would be an object of too limited range. To be perpetually 'imprisoned in a tale' (as they said), even if it was a very great tale ending triumphantly, would become a torment.[5] For greater than the talent of memory was the Elvish talent for *making*, and for discovery. The Elvish *fëa* was above all designed to make things in co-operation with its *hröa*.

Therefore in the last resort the Elves were obliged to rest on 'naked *estel*' (as they said): the trust in Eru, that whatever He designed beyond the End would be recognized by each *fëa* as wholly satisfying (at the least). Probably it would contain joys unforeseeable. But they remained in the belief that it would remain in intelligible relation with their present nature and desires, proceed from them, and include them.

For these reasons the Elves were less sympathetic than Men expected to the lack of hope (or *estel*) in Men faced by death. Men were, of course, in general entirely ignorant of the 'Shadow Ahead' which conditioned Elvish thought and feeling, and simply envied Elvish 'immortality'. But the Elves were on their part generally ignorant of the persistent tradition among Men that Men were also by nature immortal.

As is seen in the *Athrabeth*, Finrod is deeply moved and amazed to discover this tradition. He uncovers a concomitant tradition that the change in the condition of Men from their original design was due to a primeval disaster, about which human lore is unclear, or Andreth is at least unwilling to say much. *(Author's Note 9, p. 343)* He remains, nonetheless, in the opinion that the condition of Men before the disaster (or as we might say, of unfallen Man) cannot have been the same as that of the Elves. That is, their 'immortality' cannot have been the longevity within Arda of the Elves; otherwise they would have been simply Elves, and their separate introduction later into the Drama by Eru would have no function. He thinks that the notion of Men that, unchanged, they would not have died (in the sense of leaving Arda) is due to human misrepresentation of their own tradition, and possibly to envious comparison of themselves to the Elves. For one thing, he does not think this fits, as we might say, 'the observable peculiarities of human psychology', as compared with Elvish feelings towards the visible world.

He therefore guesses that it is the fear of death that is the result of the disaster. It is feared because it now is combined with severance of *hröa* and *fëa*. But the *fëar* of Men must have been designed to leave Arda willingly or indeed by desire – maybe after a longer time than the present average human life, but still in a time very short compared with Elvish lives. Then basing his argument on the axiom that severance of *hröa* and *fëa* is unnatural and contrary to design, he comes (or if you like jumps) to the conclusion that the *fëa* of unfallen Man would have taken with it its *hröa* into the new mode of existence (free from Time). In other words, that 'assumption' was the natural end of each human life, though as far as we know it has been the end of the only 'unfallen' member of Mankind.[6] He then has a vision of Men as the agents of the 'unmarring' of Arda, not merely undoing the marring or evil wrought by Melkor, but by producing a third thing, 'Arda Re-made' – for Eru never merely undoes the past, but brings into being something new, richer than the 'first design'. In Arda Re-made Elves and Men will each separately find joy and content, and an interplay of friendship, a bond of which will be the Past.

Andreth says that in that case the disaster to Men was appalling; for this re-making (if indeed it was the proper function of Men) cannot now be achieved. Finrod evidently

remains in the hope that it will be achieved, though he does not say how that could be. He now sees, however, that the power of Melkor was greater than had been understood (even by the Elves, who had actually seen him in incarnate form): if he had been able to change Men, and so destroy the plan.[7]

More strictly speaking, he would say that Melkor had not 'changed' Men, but 'seduced' them (to allegiance to himself) very early in their history, so that Eru had changed their 'fate'. For Melkor could seduce individual minds and wills, but he could not make this heritable, or alter (contrary to the will and design of Eru) the relation of a whole people to Time and Arda. But the power of Melkor over material things was plainly vast. The whole of Arda (and indeed probably many other parts of Eä) had been marred by him. Melkor was not just a local Evil on Earth, nor a Guardian Angel of Earth who had gone wrong: he was the Spirit of Evil, arising even before the making of Eä. His attempt to dominate the structure of Eä, and of Arda in particular, and alter the designs of Eru (which governed all the operations of the faithful Valar), had introduced evil, or a tendency to aberration from the design, into all the physical matter of Arda. It was for this reason, no doubt, that he had been totally successful with Men, but only partially so with Elves (who remained as a people 'unfallen'). His power was wielded over matter, and through it. *(Author's Note 10, p. 344)* But by nature the *fëar* of Men were in much less strong control of their *hröar* than was the case with the Elves. Individual Elves might be seduced to a kind of minor 'Melkorism': desiring to be their own masters in Arda, and to have things their own way, leading in extreme cases to rebellion against the tutelage of the Valar; but not one had ever entered the service or allegiance of Melkor himself, nor ever denied the existence and absolute supremacy of Eru. Some dreadful things of this sort, Finrod guesses, Men must have done, as a whole; but Andreth does not reveal what were Men's traditions on this point. *(Reference to Author's Note 9)*

Finrod, however, sees now that, as things were, no created thing or being in Arda, or in all Eä, was powerful enough to counteract or heal Evil: that is to subdue Melkor (in his present person, reduced though that was) *and* the Evil that he had dissipated and sent out from himself into the very structure of the world.

Only Eru himself could do this. Therefore, since it was un-

thinkable that Eru would abandon the world to the ultimate triumph and domination of Melkor (which could mean its ruin and reduction to chaos), Eru Himself must at some time come to oppose Melkor. But Eru could not enter *wholly* into the world and its history, which is, however great, only a finite Drama. He must as Author always remain 'outside' the Drama, even though that Drama depends on His design and His will for its beginning and continuance, in every detail and moment. Finrod therefore thinks that He will, when He comes, have to be both 'outside' and inside; and so he glimpses the possibility of complexity or of distinctions in the nature of Eru, which nonetheless leaves Him 'The One'. *(Author's Note 11, p. 345)*

Since Finrod had already guessed that the redemptive function was originally specially assigned to Men, he probably proceeded to the expectation that 'the coming of Eru', if it took place, would be specially and primarily concerned with Men: that is to an imaginative guess or vision that Eru would come incarnated in human form. This, however, does not appear in the *Athrabeth*.

The argument is not, of course, presented in the *Athrabeth* in these terms, or in this order, or so precisely. The *Athrabeth* is a conversation, in which many assumptions and steps of thought have to be supplied by the reader. Actually, though it deals with such things as death and the relations of Elves and Men to Time and Arda, and to one another, its real purpose is dramatic: to exhibit the generosity of Finrod's mind, his love and pity for Andreth, and the tragic situations that must arise in the meeting of Elves and Men (in the ages of the youth of the Elves). For as eventually becomes plain, Andreth had in youth fallen in love with Aegnor, Finrod's brother; and though she knew that he returned her love (or could have done so if he had deigned to), he had not declared it, but had left her – and she believed that she was rejected as too lowly for an Elf. Finrod (though she was not aware of this) knew about this situation. For this reason he understood and did not take offence at the bitterness with which she spoke of the Elves, and even of the Valar. He succeeded in the end in making her understand that she was not 'rejected' out of scorn or Elvish lordliness; but that the departure of Aegnor was for motives of 'wisdom', and cost Aegnor great pain: he was an equal victim of the tragedy.

In the event Aegnor perished soon after this conversation,[8]

when Melkor broke the Siege of Angband in the ruinous Battle of Sudden Flame, and the destruction of the Elvish realms in Beleriand was begun. Finrod took refuge in the great southern stronghold of Nargothrond; but not long after sacrificed his life to save Beren One-hand. (It is probable, though nowhere stated, that Andreth herself perished at this time, for all the northern realm, where Finrod and his brothers, and the People of Bëor, dwelt was devastated and conquered by Melkor. But she would then be a very old woman.)[9]

Finrod thus was slain before the two marriages of Elves and Men had taken place, though without his aid the marriage of Beren and Lúthien would not have come to pass. The marriage of Beren certainly fulfilled his prediction that such marriages would only be for some high purpose of Doom, and that the least cruel fate would be that death should soon end them.

Author's Notes on the 'Commentary'

Note 1

Because *ëar* were held to be directly created by Eru, and 'sent into' Eä; whereas Eä was achieved mediately by the Valar.

According to the *Ainulindalë* there were five stages in Creation. a. The creation of the Ainur. b. The communication by Eru of his Design to the Ainur. c. The Great Music, which was as it were a rehearsal, and remained in the stage of thought or imagination. d. The 'Vision' of Eru, which was again only a foreshowing of possibility, and was incomplete. e. The Achievement, which is still going on.

The Eldar held that Eru was and is free at all stages. This freedom was shown in the Music by His introduction, after the arising of the discords of Melkor, of the two new themes, representing the coming of Elves and Men, which were not in His first communication.[10] He may therefore in stage 5 introduce things directly, which were not in the Music and so are not achieved through the Valar. It remains, nonetheless, true in general to regard Eä as achieved through their mediation.

The additions of Eru, however, will not be 'alien'; they will be accommodated to the nature and character of Eä and of those that dwell in it; they may enhance the past and enrich its purpose and significance, but they will contain it and not destroy it.

Thus the 'newness' of the themes of the Children of Eru, Elves

and Men, consisted in the association of *fëar* with, or 'housing' them in, *hröar* belonging to Eä, in such a way that either were incomplete without the others. But the *fëar* were not spirits of a wholly different kind to the Ainur; whereas the bodies were of a kind closely akin to the bodies of living things already in the primary design (even if adapted to their new function, or modified by the indwelling *fëar*).

Note 2

Arda, or 'The Kingdom of Arda' (as being directly under the kingship of Eru's vice-gerent Manwë) is not easy to translate, since neither 'earth' nor 'world' are entirely suitable. Physically Arda was what we should call the Solar System.[11] Presumably the Eldar could have had as much and as accurate information concerning this, its structure, origin, and its relation to the rest of Eä (the Universe) as they could comprehend. Probably those who were interested did acquire this knowledge. Not all the Eldar were interested in everything; most of them concentrated their attention on (or as they said 'were in love with') the Earth.

The traditions here referred to have come down from the Eldar of the First Age, through Elves who never were directly acquainted with the Valar, and through Men who received 'lore' from the Elves, but who had myths and cosmogonic legends, and astronomical guesses, of their own. There is, however, nothing in them that seriously conflicts with present human notions of the Solar System, and its size and position relative to the Universe. It must be remembered, however, that it does not necessarily follow that 'True Information' concerning Arda (such as the ancient Eldar might have received from the Valar) must agree with Men's present theories. Also, the Eldar (and the Valar) were not overwhelmed or even principally impressed by notions of size and distance. Their interest, certainly the interest of the *Silmarillion* and all related matter, may be termed 'dramatic'. Places or worlds were interesting or important because of what happened in them.

It is certainly the case with the Elvish traditions that the principal part of Arda was the Earth (*Imbar* 'The Habitation'),[12] as the scene of the Drama of the war of the Valar and the Children of Eru with Melkor: so that loosely used Arda often seems to mean the Earth: and that from this point of view the function of the Solar System was to make possible the existence of Imbar. With regard to the relation of Arda to Eä, the assertion that the

principal demiurgic Ainur (the Valar), including the originally greatest of all, Melkor, had taken up their 'residence' in Arda,[13] ever since its establishment, also implies that however minute Arda was dramatically the chief point in Eä.

These views are not mathematical or astronomical, or even biological, and so cannot be held necessarily to conflict with the theories of our physical sciences. We cannot say that there 'must' be elsewhere in Eä other solar systems 'like' Arda, still less that, if there are, they or any one of them must contain a parallel to Imbar. We cannot even say that these things are mathematically very 'likely'. But even if the presence elsewhere in Eä of biological 'life' was demonstrable, it would not invalidate the Elvish view that Arda (at least while it endures) is the dramatic centre. The demonstration that there existed elsewhere Incarnates, parallel to the Children of Eru, would of course modify the picture, though not wholly invalidate it. The Elvish answer would probably be: 'Well, that is another Tale. It is not our Tale. Eru can no doubt bring to pass more than one. Not everything is adumbrated in the *Ainulindalë*; or the *Ainulindalë* may have a wider reference than we knew: other dramas, like in kind if different in process and result, may have gone on in Eä, or may yet go on.' But they would certainly add: 'But they are not going on now. The drama of Arda is the present concern of Eä.' Actually it is plainly the view of the Elvish tradition that the Drama of Arda is unique. We cannot at present assert that this is untrue.

The Elves were of course primarily and deeply (more deeply than Men) concerned with Arda, and Imbar in particular. They appear to have held that the physical universe, Eä, had a beginning and would have an end: that it was limited and finite in all dimensions. They certainly held that all things or 'makings', that is constructed (however simply and incipiently) from basic 'matter', which they called *erma*,[14] were impermanent, within Eä. They were therefore much concerned with 'The End of Arda'. They knew themselves to be limited by Arda; but the length of its existence they do not seem to have known. Possibly the Valar did not know. More probably, they were not informed by the will or design of Eru, who appears in the Elvish tradition to demand two things from His Children (of either Kindred): belief in Him, and proceeding from that, hope or trust in Him (called by the Eldar *estel*).

But in any case, whether adumbrated in the Music or not, the

End could be brought about by Eru at any time by intervention, so that it could not be certainly foreseen. (A minor and as it were foreshadowing intervention of this sort was the catastrophe in which Númenor was obliterated, and the physical residence of the Valar in Imbar was ended.) The Elvish conception of the End was in fact *catastrophic*. They did not think that Arda (or at any rate Imbar) would just run down into lifeless inanition. But this conception was not embodied by them in any myth or legend. See Note 7.

Note 3

In Elvish tradition their re-incarnation was a special permission granted by Eru to Manwë, when Manwë directly consulted Him at the time of the debate concerning Finwë and Míriel.[15] (Míriel 'died' in Aman by refusing to live any longer in the body, and so raised the whole question of the unnatural divorce of an Elvish *fëa* and its *hröa*, and of the bereavement of Elves that still lived: Finwë, her husband, was left solitary.) The Valar, or Mandos as the mouthpiece of all commands and in many cases their executor, were given power to summon, with full authority, all houseless *fëar* of Elves to Aman. There they were given the choice to remain houseless, or (if they wished) to be re-housed in the same form and shape as they had had.[16] Normally they must nonetheless remain in Aman.[17] Therefore, if they dwelt in Middle-earth, their bereavement of friends and kin, and the bereavement of these, was not amended. Death was not wholly healed. But as Andreth saw, this certitude concerning their immediate future after death, and the knowledge that at the least they would again if they wished be able as *incarnates* to do and make things and continue their experience of Arda, made death to the Elves a totally different thing from death as it appeared to Men.

They were given a choice, because Eru did not allow their free will to be taken away. Similarly the houseless *fëar* were *summoned*, not brought, to Mandos. They could refuse the summons, but this would imply that they were in some way tainted, or they would not wish to refuse the authority of Mandos: refusal had grave consequences, inevitably proceeding from the rebellion against authority.

They 'normally remained in Aman'. Simply because they were, when rehoused, again in actual physical bodies, and return to Middle-earth was therefore very difficult and perilous.

Also during the period of the Exile of the Noldor the Valar had for the time being cut all communications (by physical means) between Aman and Middle-earth. The Valar could of course have arranged for the transference, if there was sufficiently grave reason. Bereavement of friends and kin was, apparently, not considered a sufficient reason. Probably under instruction of Eru. In any case, as far as the Noldor were concerned, these had, as a people, cut themselves off from mercy; they had left Aman demanding absolute freedom to be their own masters, to carry on their war against Melkor with their own unaided valour, and to face death and its consequences. The only case of a special arrangement recorded in the Histories is that of Beren and Lúthien. Beren was slain soon after their marriage, and Lúthien died of grief. They were both re-housed and sent back to Beleriand; but both became 'mortal' and died later according to the normal human span. The reasons for this, which must have been done by an express permission of Eru, were not fully apparent until later, but were certainly of unique weight. The grief of Lúthien was so great that according to the Eldar it moved the pity of even Mandos the Unmoved. Beren and Lúthien together had achieved the greatest of all the deeds against Melkor: regaining one of the Silmarils. Lúthien was not of the Noldor but daughter of Thingol (of the Teleri), and her mother Melian was 'divine', a *maia* (one of the minor members of the spirit-race of the Valar). Thus from the union of Lúthien and Beren which was made possible by their return, the infusion of a 'divine' and an Elvish strain into Mankind was to be brought about, providing a link between Mankind and the Elder World, after the establishment of the Dominion of Men.

Note 4

Sooner or later: because the Elves believed that the *fëar* of dead Men also went to Mandos (without choice in the matter: their free will with regard to death was taken away). There they waited until they were surrendered to Eru. The truth of this is not asserted. No living Man was allowed to go to Aman. No *fëa* of a dead Man ever returned to life in Middle-earth. To all such statements and decrees there are always some exceptions (because of the 'freedom of Eru'). Eärendil reached Aman, even in the time of the Ban; but he bore the Silmaril recovered by his ancestress Lúthien,[18] and he was 'half-elven': he was not allowed to return to Middle-earth. Beren returned to actual life,

for a short time; but he was not actually seen again by living Men.

The passing 'oversea' to Eressëa (an isle within sight of Aman) was permitted to, and indeed urged upon, all Elves remaining in Middle-earth after the downfall of Morgoth in Angband. This really marked the beginning of the Dominion of Men, though there was (in our view) a long twilight period between the downfall of Morgoth and the final overthrow of Sauron: lasting, that is, through the Second and Third Ages. But at the end of the Second Age came the great Catastrophe (by an intervention of Eru that foreshadowed, as it were, the End of Arda): the annihilation of Númenor, and the 'removal' of Aman from the physical world. The passing 'oversea', therefore, of Mortals after the Catastrophe – which is recorded in *The Lord of the Rings* – is not quite the same thing. It was in any case a special grace. An opportunity for dying according to the original plan for the unfallen: they went to a state in which they could acquire greater knowledge and peace of mind, and being healed of all hurts both of mind and body, could at last surrender themselves: die of free will, and even of desire, in *estel*. A thing which Aragorn achieved without any such aid.

Note 5

They were thus capable of far greater and longer physical exertions (in pursuit of some dominant purpose of their minds) without weariness; they were not subject to diseases; they healed rapidly and completely after injuries that would have proved fatal to Men; and they could endure great physical pain for long periods. Their bodies could not, however, survive vital injuries, or violent assaults upon their structure; nor replace missing members (such as a hand hewn off). On the reverse side: the Elves could die, and did die, by their will; as for example because of great grief or bereavement, or because of the frustration of their dominant desires and purposes. This wilful death was not regarded as wicked, but it was a fault implying some defect or taint in the *fëa*, and those who came to Mandos by this means might be refused further incarnate life.

Note 6

Because the Valar had no information; or because information was withheld. See Note 2 [fifth paragraph].

Note 7

See Note 2. The Elves expected the End of Arda to be catastrophic. They thought that it would be brought about by the dissolution of the structure of Imbar at least, if not of the whole system. The End of Arda is not, of course, the same thing as the end of Eä. About this they held that nothing could be known, except that Eä was ultimately finite. It is noteworthy that the Elves had no myths or legends dealing with the end of the world. The myth that appears at the end of the *Silmarillion* is of Númenórean origin;[19] it is clearly made by Men, though Men acquainted with Elvish tradition. All Elvish traditions are presented as 'histories', or as accounts of what once was.

We are here dealing with Elvish thought at an early period, when the Eldar were still fully 'physical' in bodily form. Much later, when the process (already glimpsed by Finrod) called 'waning' or 'fading' had become more effective, their views of the End of Arda, so far as it affected themselves, must have been modified. But there are few records of any contacts of Elvish and Human thought in such latter days. They eventually became housed, if it can be called that, not in actual visible and tangible *hröar*, but only in the memory of the *fëa* of its bodily form, and its desire for it; and therefore not dependent for mere existence upon the material of Arda.[20] But they appear to have held, and indeed still to hold, that this desire for the *hröa* shows that their later (and present) condition is not natural to them, and they remain in *estel* that Eru will heal it. 'Not natural', whether it is due wholly, as they earlier thought, to the weakening of the *hröa* (derived from the debility introduced by Melkor into the substance of Arda upon which it must feed), or partly to the inevitable working of a dominant *fëa* upon a material *hröa* through many ages. (In the latter case 'natural' can refer only to an ideal state, in which unmarred matter could for ever endure the indwelling of a perfectly adapted *fëa*. It cannot refer to the actual design of Eru, since the Themes of the Children were introduced after the arising of the discords of Melkor. The 'waning' of the Elvish *hröar* must therefore be part of the History of Arda as envisaged by Eru, and the mode in which the Elves were to make way for the Dominion of Men. The Elves find their supersession by Men a mystery, and a cause of grief; for they say that Men, at least so largely governed as they are by the evil of Melkor, have less and less *love* for Arda in itself, and are largely busy in destroying it in the attempt to

dominate it. They still believe that Eru's healing of all the griefs of Arda will come now by or through Men; but the Elves' part in the healing or redemption will be chiefly in the restoration of the *love* of Arda, to which their memory of the Past and understanding of what might have been will contribute. Arda they say will be destroyed by wicked Men (or the wickedness in Men); but healed through the goodness in Men. The wickedness, the domineering lovelessness, the Elves will offset. By the holiness of good men – their direct attachment to Eru, before and above all Eru's works[21] – the Elves may be delivered from the last of their griefs: sadness; the sadness that must come even from the unselfish love of anything less than Eru.)

Note 8

Desire. The Elves insisted that 'desires', especially such fundamental desires as are here dealt with, were to be taken as indications of the true natures of the Incarnates, and of the direction in which their unmarred fulfilment must lie. They distinguished between *desire of the fëa* (perception that something right or necessary is not present, leading to desire or hope for it); *wish*, or *personal wish* (the feeling of the lack of something, the force of which primarily concerns oneself, and which may have little or no reference to the general fitness of things); *illusion*, the refusal to recognize that things are not as they should be, leading to the delusion that they are as one would desire them to be, when they are not so. (The last might now be called 'wishful thinking', legitimately; but this term, the Elves would say, is quite illegitimate when applied to the first. The last can be disproved by reference to facts. The first not so. Unless desirability is held to be *always* delusory, and the sole basis for the hope of amendment. But *desires of the fëa* may often be shown to be reasonable by arguments quite unconnected with personal wish. The fact that they *accord* with 'desire', or even with personal wish, does not invalidate them. Actually the Elves believed that the 'lightening of the heart' or the 'stirring of joy' (to which they often refer), which may accompany the hearing of a proposition or an argument, is not an indication of its falsity but of the recognition by the *fëa* that it is on the path of truth.)

Note 9

It is probable that Andreth was actually unwilling to say more.

Partly by a kind of loyalty that restrained Men from revealing to the Elves all that they knew about the darkness in their past; partly because she felt unable to make up her own mind about the conflicting human traditions. Longer recensions of the *Athrabeth*, evidently edited under Númenórean influence, make her give, under pressure, a more precise answer. Some are very brief, some longer. All agree, however, in making the cause of disaster the acceptance by Men of Melkor as King (or King and God). In one version a complete legend (compressed in time-scale) is given explicitly as a Númenórean tradition, for it makes Andreth say: *This is the Tale that Adanel of the House of Hador told to me.* The Númenóreans were largely, and their non-Elvish traditions mainly, derived from the People of Marach, of whom the House of Hador were the chieftains.[22] The legend bears certain resemblances to the Númenórean traditions concerning the part played by Sauron in the downfall of Númenor. But this does not prove that it is entirely a fiction of post-downfall days. It is no doubt mainly derived from actual lore of the People of Marach, quite independent of the *Athrabeth*. [*Added note:* Nothing is hereby asserted concerning its 'truth', historical or otherwise.] The operations of Sauron naturally and inevitably resembled or repeated those of his master. That a people in possession of such a legend or tradition should have later been deluded by Sauron is sad but, in view of human history generally, not incredible. Indeed if fish had fish-lore and Wise-fish, it is probable that the business of anglers would be very little hindered.[23]

The 'Tale of Adanel' is attached [pp. 345–9].

Note 10

'Matter' is not regarded as evil or opposed to 'Spirit'. Matter was wholly good in origin. It remained a 'creature of Eru' and still largely good, and indeed self-healing, when not interfered with: that is, when the latent evil intruded by Melkor was not deliberately roused and used by evil minds. Melkor had concentrated his attention on 'matter', because spirits could only be dominated completely by fear; and fear was most easily exerted through matter (especially in the case of the Incarnates, whom he most desired to subjugate). For example by fear that material things that were loved might be destroyed, or the fear (in Incarnates) that their bodies might be hurt. (Melkor also used and perverted for his purposes the 'fear of Eru', fully or vaguely

understood. But this was more difficult and perilous and required more cunning. Lesser spirits might be lured by love or admiration of himself and his powers, and so led at last into a posture of rebellion against Eru. Their fear of Him might then be darkened, so that they adhered to Melkor, as a captain and protector, becoming at last too terrified to return to the allegiance of Eru, even after they had discovered Melkor and had begun to hate him.)

Note 11

This is actually already glimpsed in the *Ainulindalë*, in which reference is made to the 'Flame Imperishable'. This appears to mean the Creative activity of Eru (in some sense distinct from or within Him), by which things could be given a 'real' and independent (though derivative and created) existence. The Flame Imperishable is sent out from Eru, to dwell in the heart of the world, and the world then Is, on the same plane as the Ainur, and they can enter into it. But this is not, of course, the same as the re-entry of Eru to defeat Melkor. It refers rather to the mystery of 'authorship', by which the author, while remaining 'outside' and independent of his work, also 'indwells' in it, on its derivative plane, below that of his own being, as the source and guarantee of its being.

[*The 'Tale of Adanel'*]

Then Andreth being urged by Finrod said at last: 'This is the tale that Adanel of the House of Hador told to me:'

Some say the Disaster happened at the beginning of the history of our people, before any had yet died. The Voice had spoken to us, and we had listened. The Voice said: 'Ye are my children. I have sent you to dwell here. In time ye will inherit all this Earth, but first ye must be children and learn. Call on me and I shall hear; for I am watching over you.'

We understood the Voice in our hearts, though we had no words yet. Then the desire for words awoke in us, and we began to make them. But we were few, and the world was wide and strange. Though we greatly desired to understand, learning was difficult, and the making of words was slow.

In that time we called often and the Voice answered. But it seldom answered our questions, saying only: 'First seek to find the answer for yourselves. For ye will have joy in the finding,

and so grow from childhood and become wise. Do not seek to leave childhood before your time.'

But we were in haste, and we desired to order things to our will; and the shapes of many things that we wished to make awoke in our minds. Therefore we spoke less and less to the Voice.

Then one appeared among us, in our own form visible, but greater and more beautiful; and he said that he had come out of pity. 'Ye should not have been left alone and uninstructed,' he said. 'The world is full of marvellous riches which knowledge can unlock. Ye could have food more abundant and more delicious than the poor things that ye now eat. Ye could have dwellings of ease, in which ye could keep light and shut out the night. Ye could be clad even as I.'

Then we looked and lo! he was clad in raiment that shone like silver and gold, and he had a crown on his head, and gems in his hair. 'If ye wish to be like me,' he said, 'I will teach you.' Then we took him as teacher.

He was less swift than we had hoped to teach us how to find, or to make for ourselves, the things that we desired, though he had awakened many desires in our hearts. But if any doubted or were impatient, he would bring and set before us all that we wished for. 'I am the Giver of Gifts,' he said; 'and the gifts shall never fail as long as ye trust me.'

Therefore we revered him, and we were enthralled by him; and we depended upon his gifts, fearing to return to a life without them that now seemed poor and hard. And we believed all that he taught. For we were eager to know about the world and its being: about the beasts and birds, and the plants that grew in the Earth; about our own making; and about the lights of heaven, and the countless stars, and the Dark in which they are set.

All that he taught seemed good, for he had great knowledge. But ever more and more he would speak of the Dark. 'Greatest of all is the Dark,' he said, 'for It has no bounds. I came out of the Dark, but I am Its master. For I have made Light. I made the Sun and the Moon and the countless stars. I will protect you from the Dark, which else would devour you.'

Then we spoke of the Voice. But his face became terrible; for he was angry. 'Fools!' he said. 'That was the Voice of the Dark. It wishes to keep you from me; for It is hungry for you.'

Then he went away, and we did not see him for a long time,

and without his gifts we were poor. And there came a day when suddenly the Sun's light began to fail, until it was blotted out and a great shadow fell on the world; and all the beasts and birds were afraid. Then he came again, walking through the shadow like a bright fire.

We fell upon our faces. 'There are some among you who are still listening to the Voice of the Dark,' he said, 'and therefore It is drawing nearer. Choose now! Ye may have the Dark as Lord, or ye may have Me. But unless ye take Me for Lord and swear to serve Me, I shall depart and leave you; for I have other realms and dwelling places, and I do not need the Earth, nor you.'

Then in fear we spoke as he commanded, saying: 'Thou art the Lord; Thee only we will serve. The Voice we abjure and will not hearken to it again.'

'So be it!' he said. 'Now build Me a house upon a high place, and call it the House of the Lord. Thither I will come when I will. There ye shall call on Me and make your petitions to Me.'

And when we had built a great house, he came and stood before the high seat, and the house was lit as with fire. 'Now,' he said, 'come forth any who still listen to the Voice!'

There were some, but for fear they remained still and said naught. 'Then bow before Me and acknowledge Me!' he said. And all bowed to the ground before him, saying: 'Thou art the One Great, and we are Thine.'

Thereupon he went up as in a great flame and smoke, and we were scorched by the heat. But suddenly he was gone, and it was darker than night; and we fled from the House.

Ever after we went in great dread of the Dark; but he seldom appeared among us again in fair form, and he brought few gifts. If at great need we dared to go to the House and pray to him to help us, we heard his voice, and received his commands. But now he would always command us to do some deed, or to give him some gift, before he would listen to our prayer; and ever the deeds became worse, and the gifts harder to give up.

The first Voice we never heard again, save once. In the stillness of the night It spoke, saying: 'Ye have abjured Me, but ye remain Mine. I gave you life. Now it shall be shortened, and each of you in a little while shall come to Me, to learn who is your Lord: the one ye worship, or I who made him.'

Then our terror of the Dark was increased; for we believed that the Voice was of the Darkness behind the stars. And some of us began to die in horror and anguish, fearing to go out into

the Dark. Then we called on our Master to save us from death, and he did not answer. But when we went to the House and all bowed down there, at last he came, great and majestic, but his face was cruel and proud.

'Now ye are Mine and must do My will,' he said. 'I do not trouble that some of you die and go to appease the hunger of the Dark; for otherwise there would soon be too many of you, crawling like lice on the Earth. But if ye do not do My will, ye will feel My anger, and ye will die sooner, for I will slay you.'

Thereafter we were grievously afflicted, by weariness, and hunger, and sickness; and the Earth and all things in it were turned against us. Fire and Water rebelled against us. The birds and beasts shunned us, or if they were strong they assailed us. Plants gave us poison; and we feared the shadows under trees.

Then we yearned for our life as it was before our Master came; and we hated him, but feared him no less than the Dark. And we did his bidding, and more than his bidding; for anything that we thought would please him, however evil, we did, in the hope that he would lighten our afflictions, and at the least would not slay us.

For most of us this was in vain. But to some he began to show favour: to the strongest and cruellest, and to those who went most often to the House. He gave gifts to them, and knowledge that they kept secret; and they became powerful and proud, and they enslaved us, so that we had no rest from labour amidst our afflictions.

Then there arose some among us who said openly in their despair: 'Now we know at last who lied, and who desired to devour us. Not the first Voice. It is the Master that we have taken who is the Darkness; and he did not come forth from it, as he said, but he dwells in it. We will serve him no longer! He is our Enemy.'

Then in fear lest he should hear them and punish us all, we slew them, if we could; and those that fled we hunted; and if any were caught, our masters, his friends, commanded that they should be taken to the House and there done to death by fire. That pleased him greatly, his friends said; and indeed for a while it seemed that our afflictions were lightened.

But it is told that there were a few that escaped us, and went away into far countries, fleeing from the shadow. Yet they did not escape from the anger of the Voice; for they had built the House and bowed down in it. And they came at last to the

land's end and the shores of the impassable water; and behold! the Enemy was there before them.

Together with the *Athrabeth* papers there is a *Glossary* (as my father termed it), a brief index of names and terms with definitions and some etymological information. This is confined to the *Athrabeth* itself, and so from the nature of the work is not large, but there are a few omissions (as *Athrabeth*, *Andreth*, and names of the People of Bëor). Written in manuscript, it was made after the amanuensis typescripts of the *Athrabeth* had been taken from the manuscript and emended, as the entry *Mirröanwi* shows (see p. 326 note 10). It seems curious that my father should have provided this, since most of the definitions or explanations would be unnecessary to one who had read *The Silmarillion*, and taken with the explanations of fundamental conceptions that appear in the Commentary may suggest that he conceived it as an independent work – although on one of the newspaper wrappers of the *Athrabeth* papers (p. 329) he noted that it should be the last item in an Appendix (to *The Silmarillion*).

Most of the information provided is readily found elsewhere, and I give only a selection of the entries, in whole or in part, with very slight editing for purposes of clarity.

Adaneth Sindarin, 'woman, mortal woman'.

Arda 'kingdom', sc. the 'kingdom of Manwë'. The 'Solar System', or Earth as the *dramatic* centre of this, as the scene of the war of the 'Children of Eru' against Melkor.

Edennil (Quenya *Atandil*) 'devoted to the *Atani*, Men'; name given to Finrod.

[Extracted from entry *Eldar*:] But only part of the Eldar actually reached Aman. A large part of the Third Host (*Lindar* 'Singers', also called *Teleri* 'Those Behind') remained in the West of Middle-earth. These are the *Sindar* 'Grey-elves'. . . . The Elves who were in or who ever had dwelt in Aman were called the High-elves *(Tareldar)*.[24]

fëa 'spirit': the particular 'spirit' belonging to and 'housed' in any one *hröa* of the Incarnates. It corresponds, more or less, to 'soul'; and to 'mind', when any attempt is made to distinguish between mentality, and the mental processes of Incarnates, conditioned and limited by the co-operation of the physical organs of the *hröa*. It was thus in its being (apart from its experience) the impulse and power to think: enquire and reflect, as distinct from the means of acquiring data. It was conscious and self-aware: 'self' however in Incarnates included the *hröa*. The *fëa* was said by the Eldar to retain the impress or memory of the *hröa* and of all the combined experiences of itself and its body. (Quenya *fëa* (dissyllabic) is from older **phăya*. Sindarin *faer*, of the same meaning, corresponds to Quenya *fairë* 'spirit (in general)', as opposed to matter (*erma*) or 'flesh' (*hrávë*).)

Finarphin / Finarfin [the name is given thus in alternative spellings]

hröa See *fëa*. (The Quenya form is derived from older **srawā*. The Sindarin form of *hröa* and *hrávë* (*srāwē*) was *rhaw*: cf. *Mirröanwi*.)

Mandos [extract] (The name *Mandos* (stem *mandost-*) means approximately 'castle of custody': from *mbandō* 'custody, safekeeping', and *osto* 'a strong or fortified building or place'. The Sindarin form of *mbandō*, Quenya *mando*, was *band*, occurring in *Angband* 'Iron-gaol', the name given to Morgoth's dwelling, Quenya *Angamando*.)

Melkor (also Melko) [extract] (*Melkor*, in older form *Melkórë*, probably means 'Mighty-rising', sc. 'uprising of power'; *Melko* simply 'the Mighty One'.)[25]

Mirröanwi Incarnates; those (spirits) 'put into flesh'; cf. *hröa*. (From **mi-srawanwe*.)

Ñoldor The name means 'lore-masters' or those specially devoted to knowledge. (The most ancient form was *ngolodō*, Quenya *noldo*, Sindarin *golodh*: in the transcription *ñ* = the Fëanorian letter for the back nasal, the *ng* of *king*.)[26] The Quenya word *ñólë* meant 'lore, knowledge', but its Sindarin equivalent *gûl*, owing to its frequent use in such combinations as *morgul* (cf. *Minas Morgul* in *The Lord of the Rings*) was only used for evil or perverted knowledge, necromancy, sorcery. This word *gûl* was also used in the language of Mordor.

Valar [extract] (The name) means 'those with power, the Powers'. But it should more strictly be translated 'the Authorities'. The 'power' of the Valar resided in the 'authority' they had from Eru. They had sufficient 'power' for their functions – that is, vast or godlike power over, and knowledge of, the physical structure of the Universe, and understanding of the designs of Eru. But they were forbidden to use *force* upon the Children of Eru. The stem *melk-*[27] (seen in *Melkor*) on the other hand means 'power' as force and strength.

I have referred (p. 303) to the existence of original draft material for the *Athrabeth*. The chief element in this is a small bundle of slips made from Merton College documents of 1955 and written very rapidly in ball-point pen; but it is plain that my father was following an earlier text, no longer extant, which he could not read at all points: words are marked with queries, dots are put in for missing phrases (some of which were filled in doubtfully afterwards), and some sentences do not seems to be correct. This draft, which I will call 'A', corresponds to the section in the final text from Finrod's words 'But what then shall we think of the union in Man' on p. 317 to 'then Eru must come in to conquer him' on p. 322; but the one is in certain respects extraordinarily different from the other. I give here two extracts to illustrate this. The first takes up from Finrod's questions (p. 318) 'Or is there some-

where else a world of which all things which we see, all things that either Elves or Men know, are only tokens or reminders?':

'If so it resides only in the mind of Eru,' said Andreth. 'But to such questions I know no answer. This much only can I say: that among us some hold that our errand here was to heal the Marring of Arda, and by making the *hröa* partake in the life of the *fëa* to put it beyond any marring of Melkor or any other spirit of malice for ever. But that "Arda Healed" (or Remade) shall not be "Arda Unmarred", but a third thing and a greater. And that third thing maybe is in the mind of Eru, and is in his answer. You have spoken to me of the Music and you have conversed with the Valar who were present at its making ere the world began. Did they hear the end of the Music? Or was there not something beyond the final chords of Eru, which (being overwhelmed thereby) the Valar did not hear? Or again maybe, since Eru is for ever free, He made no music and showed no Vision beyond a certain point. Beyond that point (which neither Valar nor Eldar ...) we cannot see or know, until, each by our own roads, we come there.'

'In what did Melkor's malice show itself?'

Darkness lies over that. Saelon (sc. Andreth)[28] has little to answer. 'Some men say that he blasphemed Eru, and denied His existence, or His power, and that our fathers assented, and took Melkor to be a Lord and God; and that thereby our *fëar* denied their own true nature, and so became darkened and weakened almost to the death (if that be possible for *fëar*). And through the weakness of the *fëar* our *hröar* fell into unhealth, and lay open to all evils and disorders of the world. And others say that Eru himself spoke in wrath, saying: "If the Darkness be your God, little here shall you have of Light, but shall leave it soon and come before Me, to learn who lieth: Melkor or I Who made him."'[29]

The second passage corresponds in its placing to that beginning at Andreth's words in the final text (p. 321) 'Asleep or awake, they say nothing clearly':

'... Some say that ... Eru will find a way of healing that will heal both our fathers and ourselves and those that shall follow us. But how that shall come to pass, or to what manner of being this healing will make us, only those of the Hope (as we say) can guess; none can clearly assert.

'But there are among us a few (of whom I am one) who have the Great Hope, as we call it, and believe that His secret has been handed down from the days before our wounding. This is the Great Hope: that Eru will himself enter into Arda and heal Men and all the Marring.'

'But this is a strange thing! Do you claim to have known of Eru before ever we met? What is his name?'

'As it is with you, but different only in form of sound: The One.'

'But still this passes my understanding,' said Finrod. 'For how could Eru enter into the thing that He has made, and than which He is infinitely greater? Can the poet enter his story or the designer enter his picture?'

'He is already in it, and outside it,' said Saelon, 'though not in the same mode.'

'Yea verily,' said Finrod, 'and so is Eru in that mode / sense in Arda. But you speak of Eru *entering* into Arda, which is surely another matter. How could he do so, who is infinitely greater: would it not shatter Arda, or indeed Eä?'

'He could find a way, I doubt not,' said Saelon, 'though indeed I cannot conceive the way. But whatever you think, that is the Great Hope of Men. And I do not see – so to speak with humility – what else could be done; since Eru will surely not suffer Melkor to triumph and abandon His own work. But there is nothing more powerful that is conceivable than Melkor, save Eru only. Therefore Eru, if he will not relinquish his work to Melkor, who is ....., Eru must come in to conquer him.

At this point the draft text A ends. It will be seen in the first of these passages that the large vision of Finrod in the final form of the *Athrabeth* concerning 'Arda Remade', which arises in his mind from the words of Andreth, was originally a belief held by certain of the Atani, and it is Andreth who proposes the idea that this vision was absent from the end of the Music of the Ainur, or was not perceived by them; while in the second passage Andreth names herself as one of those who entertains 'the Great Hope', and to Finrod's incredulity that Eru could enter into Arda she provides those same speculative answers that are given to Finrod in the final text. It is thus apparent that my father's ideas concerning not only the structure and tenor of the 'Converse of Finrod and Andreth' but the very nature of the beliefs of the first Men in Beleriand underwent a major development as he worked on the *Athrabeth*.

An isolated page ('**B**') written, like draft A, on a Merton College document of 1955, carries an interesting passage that was not used in the final version.

'What says the wisdom of Men concerning the nature of the *Mirruyaina*?' said Finrod. 'Or what do you hold, Andreth, who know also much of the teaching of the Eldar?'

'Men say various things, be they Wise or no,' said Andreth. 'Many hold that there is but a single thing: the body, and that we are one of the beasts, though the latest come and the most cunning. But others hold that the body is not all, but contains some other thing. For often we speak of the body as a "house", or as "raiment",

and that implies an indwelling, though of what we speak in uncertainty.[30]

'Among my folk men speak mostly of the "breath" (or the "breath of life"), and they say that if it leaves the house, it may by seeing eyes be seen as a *wraith*, a shadowy image of the living thing that was.'

'That is but a guess,' said Finrod, 'and long ago we said things similar, but we know now that the Indweller is not "breath"[31] (which the *hröa* uses), and that seeing eyes cannot see one that is houseless, but that the living eyes may draw from the *fëa* within an image which the houseless conveys to the housed: the memory of itself.'

'Maybe,' said Andreth. 'But among the people of Marach men speak rather of the "fire", or the "fire on the hearth", from whose burning the house is warmed, and from which arise the heats of the heart, or the smokes of wrath.'

'That is another guess,' said Finrod, 'and holds also some truth, I believe.'

'Doubtless,' said Andreth. 'But those who speak thus, of the "breath" or of the "fire", do not think of it as belonging to Men only, but as the life of all living things. As Men have their houses, but beasts also have their dwellings in holes or in nests, so both have a life within that may grow cold or go forth.'

'Then in what way do Men differ from beasts in such lore?' said Finrod. 'How can they claim ever to have had a life indestructible?'

'The Wise have considered this,' said Andreth. 'And among them are some that speak more after the manner of the Eldar. But they speak rather of three things: the *earth* and the *fire* and the *Dweller*. By which they intend the stuff of which the body is built, which of itself is inert and does not grow or move; and the life which grows and takes to itself increase; and the *Indweller* who dwells there, and is master both of house and of hearth – or once was.'

'And wishes never to leave them – and once need never do so? It was then the Indweller who suffered the wound?' said Finrod.

'Not so,' said Andreth. 'Clearly not so; but Man, the whole: house, life, and master.'

'But the Master must have been the one that was wronged (as you say), or did wrong (as I guess); for the house might suffer for the folly of the Master, but hardly the Master for the misdeeds of the house! But let that be, for you do not desire to speak of it. Do you yourself hold this belief?'

'It is not a belief,' said Andreth. 'For we do not know enough for any certainty concerning *earth* or *growth* or *thought*, and maybe never shall; for if they were designed by the One, then doubtless they will ever hold for us some mystery inscrutable, however much we learn. But it is a guess that is near, I hold.'

Here this text ends. Finally, there is another isolated slip ('C'), again taken from a document dated 1955, as follows:

> Query: Is it not right to make Andreth refuse to discuss any traditions or legends of the 'Fall'? Already it is (if inevitably) too like a parody of Christianity. Any legend of the Fall would make it completely so?
>
> Originally instead of refusal to talk of it Andreth was made (under pressure) to say something of this sort:
>
> It is said that Melkor looked fair in ancient days, and that when he had gained Men's love he blasphemed Eru, denying his existence and claiming that he was the Lord, and Men assented and took him as Lord and God. Thereupon (say some) our spirits having denied their own true nature at once became darkened and weakened; and through this weakness they lost the mastery of their bodies, which fell into unhealth. Others say that Eru Himself spoke in wrath, saying: 'If the Darkness be your god, little shall ye have here of Light [*later* > on earth ye shall have little Light], and shall leave it soon and come before Me to learn who lieth: your god or I who made him.' And these are the most afraid of death.

This is very difficult to interpret. My father's initial question must mean (in view of the following sentences): 'It is surely right to make Andreth refuse ...', implying 'as is now the case, as the text stands'. But he then proceeded to write a passage in which Andreth did not refuse to say something of such traditions, but consented 'under pressure' (I do not know how to interpret the word 'Originally' in 'Originally instead of refusal to talk of it'); and this was evidently where the germ of what would become the 'Tale of Adanel', the legend of the Fall, first appeared. But this sketch of what Andreth said to Finrod about the Fall of Man is very close to, indeed largely the same as, what she said in the draft text A (p. 351); and that draft was itself derived from a previous writing now lost (p. 350). It seems then that that lost writing contained no account of the Fall, and it was presumably to this that my father's question referred: 'Is it not right to make Andreth refuse to discuss any traditions or legends of the "Fall"?'

The remarks with which text C begins are evidence that he was in some way concerned about these new developments, these new directions, in the underlying 'theology' of Arda, or at any rate their so explicit expression. Certainly, if one looks back to earlier writings of his, one must become aware of a significant shift. In the account written for Milton Waldman in 1951 (*Letters* no.131, p. 147) he had said:

> The Doom (or the Gift) of Men is mortality, freedom from the

circles of the world. Since the point of view of the whole cycle is the Elvish, mortality is not explained mythically: it is a mystery of God of which no more is known than that 'what God has purposed for Men is hidden': a grief and an envy to the immortal Elves. ...

In the cosmogony there is a fall: a fall of Angels we should say. Though quite different in form, of course, to that of Christian myth. These tales are 'new', they are not directly derived from other myths and legends, but they must inevitably contain a large measure of ancient wide-spread motives or elements. After all, I believe that legends and myths are largely made of 'truth', and indeed present aspects of it that can only be received in this mode; and long ago certain truths and modes of this kind were discovered and must always reappear. There cannot be any 'story' without a fall – all stories are ultimately about the fall – at least not for human minds as we know them and have them.

So, proceeding, the Elves have a fall, before their 'history' can become storial. (The first fall of Man, for reasons explained, nowhere appears – Men do not come on the stage until all that is long past, and there is only a rumour that for a while they fell under the domination of the Enemy and that some repented.)

'The first fall of Man, *for reasons explained*, nowhere appears.' What were those reasons? My father must have been referring to the beginning of this letter, where he wrote of the Arthurian legend that 'it is involved in, and explicitly contains the Christian religion', and went on:

For reasons which I will not elaborate, that seems to me fatal. Myth and fairy-story must, as all art, reflect and contain in solution elements of moral and religious truth (or error), but not explicit, not in the known form of the primary 'real' world.

Some years before the time of that letter, however, in one of the curious 'Sketches' associated with *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, he had referred briefly to the original Fall of Men, and there it was accompanied by a very strange speculation on God's original design for mankind (IX.401):

Men (the Followers or Second Kindred) came second, but it is guessed that in the first design of God they were destined (after tutelage) to take on the governance of all the Earth, and ultimately to become Valar, to 'enrich Heaven', *Ilúve*. But Evil (incarnate in Melekō) seduced them, and they fell.

A little later in the same text (IX.402) he wrote:

Though all Men had 'fallen', not all remained enslaved. Some repented, rebelled against Melekō, and made friends of the Eldar, and tried to be loyal to God.

There is certainly a belief expressed here (whatever weight was to be attached to it – for by whom was it 'guessed'?) that the Fall introduced

a change incalculably vast in the nature and destiny of Men, a change brought about by the 'Spirit of Evil', Melkor.

But in 1954 he was saying, in the draft of a long letter to Peter Hastings that was not sent (*Letters* no.153):

> ... my *legendarium*, especially the 'Downfall of Númenor' which lies immediately behind *The Lord of the Rings*, is based on my view: that Men are essentially mortal and must not try to become 'immortal' in the flesh.

To this he added a footnote:

> Since 'mortality' is thus represented as a special gift of God to the Second Race of the Children (the *Eruhíni*, the Children of the One God) and not a punishment for a Fall, you may call that 'bad theology'. So it may be, in the primary world, but it is an imagination capable of elucidating truth, and a legitimate basis of legends.

And again, in another letter of 1954, to Father Robert Murray (*Letters* no.156, footnote to p. 205) he wrote:

> But the view of the myth [of the Downfall of Númenor] is that Death – the mere shortness of human life-span – is not a punishment for the Fall, but a biologically (and therefore also spiritually, since body and spirit are integrated) inherent part of Man's nature.

It seems to me therefore that there are problems in the *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth* for the interpretation of my father's thought on these matters; but I am unable to resolve them. It is unfortunate that the questionings with which this slip of paper begins are so elliptically expressed, especially the words 'Already it is (if inevitably) too like a parody of Christianity.' Obviously, he was not referring to the legend of the Fall: he was saying clearly that the introduction of such a legend would make 'it' – presumably, the *Athrabeth* – altogether into 'a parody of Christianity'.

Was he referring then to the astonishing conception in the *Athrabeth* of 'the Great Hope of Men', as it is called in the draft A (p. 352), 'the Old Hope' as it is called in the final text (p. 321), that Eru himself will enter into Arda to oppose the evil of Melkor? In the Commentary (p. 335) this was further defined: 'Finrod ... probably proceeded to the expectation that "the coming of Eru", if it took place, would be specially and primarily concerned with Men: that is to an imaginative guess or vision that Eru would come *incarnated in human form*' – though my father noted that 'This does not appear in the *Athrabeth*'. But this surely is not parody, nor even parallel, but the extension – if only represented as vision, hope, or prophecy – of the 'theology' of Arda into specifically, and of course centrally, Christian belief; and a manifest challenge to my father's view in his letter of 1951 on the necessary limitations of the expression of 'moral and religious truth (or error)' in a 'Secondary World'.

NOTES

1 Cf. my father's draft letter of September 1954 (*Letters* no.153, p. 189): 'Elves and Men are evidently in biological terms one race, or they could not breed and produce fertile offspring – even as a rare event', and the following passage.

2 According to the chronology of the *Annals of Aman* the Elves awoke in the Year of the Trees 1050 (p. 71, §37), 450 of such Years before the rising of the Sun, or something more than 4300 years of our time (for the reckoning see p. 59); see p. 327 note 16.

3 *demiurgic labour*: the creative work of 'demiurges', in the sense of mighty but limited beings subordinate to God.

4 On Melkor as 'originally the most powerful of the Valar' see p. 65, §2. There are a number of references in the late writings to the supremacy of Melkor's power in the beginning, but see especially the essay *Melkor Morgoth* given on pp. 390 ff. It is curious that in his letter to Rhona Beare of October 1958 (*Letters* no.211) my father wrote: 'In the cosmogonic myth Manwë is said to be "brother" of Melkor, that is they were coëval and equipotent in the mind of the Creator.'

5 Cf. Finrod's words in the *Athrabeth*, p. 319: 'Beyond the End of the World we shall not change; for in memory is our great talent, as shall be seen ever more clearly as the ages of this Arda pass: a heavy burden to be, I fear; but in the Days of which we now speak a great wealth.'

6 The reference is to the Virgin Mary. See the footnote (*Letters* p. 286) to the draft continuation of the letter referred to in note 4.

7 This analysis does not adhere strictly to the actual course of the *Athrabeth*, and (as is expressly stated, p. 335) was not intended to do so. Thus it was in fact Finrod who said that 'the disaster to Men was appalling' ('dreadful beyond all other calamities was the change in their state', p. 318); and his recognition that 'the power of Melkor was greater than had been understood' comes much earlier in the debate ('to change the doom of a whole people of the Children, to rob them of their inheritance: if he could do that in Eru's despite, then greater and more terrible is he by far than we guessed', p. 312).

8 'Aegnor perished soon after this conversation': in fact, 46 years later (see note 9).

9 In the *Grey Annals* (and in the published *Silmarillion*) Finrod is clearly represented as ruling his great realm from the stronghold of Nargothrond (founded centuries before) during the Siege of Angband, and at the Battle of Sudden Flame he is said to have been 'hastening from the south' (*The Silmarillion* p. 152). At the end of the *Athrabeth*, on the other hand, he tells Andreth that he is leaving for the North, 'to the swords, and the siege, and the

walls of defence' (p. 325), and in the present passage it is said that he and his brothers and the People of Bëor dwelt in 'the northern realm' and that when the Siege was broken he 'took refuge' in Nargothrond.

The last sentence of the paragraph 'But she would then be a very old woman' was a late addition. Against it my father pencilled 'about 94'; cf. the footnote to the opening sentence of the *Athrabeth*, p. 307: Andreth was 48 years old at the time of the conversation with Finrod, stated to have taken place about the year 409, and thus 'about 94' in 455, the year of the Battle of Sudden Flame.

10 In the *Ainulindalë* (p. 11, §13) it was expressly stated that the Children of Ilúvatar '*came with the Third Theme*, and were not in the theme which Ilúvatar propounded at the beginning'. Of the Second Theme it is said in the *Ainulindalë* (p. 14, §24) that 'Manwë ... was the chief instrument of the Second Theme that Ilúvatar had raised up against the discord of Melkor.'

It is perhaps possible that by 'the two new themes' in the present passage my father was thinking of the introduction of Elves and Men into the Music as allied 'themes' that in the *Ainulindalë* were described as 'the Third Theme', but it seems to me more probable that a different conception of the Music had entered. In this connection, in a passage in the final rewriting and elaboration of QS Chapter 6 (p. 275, §50) it is told that Melkor spoke secretly to the Eldar in Aman concerning Men, although he knew little about them, 'for engrossed with his own thought in the Music he had paid small heed to the Second Theme of Ilúvatar'. If this was not simply an inadvertence, it might support the view that the Second and Third Themes had become those that introduced Elves and Men – although it would surely be in the Second Theme that the Elves entered, and Men in the Third. It may be noted also that in the draft continuation of the letter to Rhona Beare of October 1958 (*Letters* no.212), to which I have several times referred, my father wrote: 'Their "themes" were introduced into the Music by the One, when the discords of Melkor arose'; and there is a further reference to 'the Themes of the Children' in Author's Note 7 (p. 342).

11 Against the opening sentences of Note 2 is written in the margin: '*Arda* means Realm'. With the statement here that 'Physically Arda was what we should call the Solar System', and in the third paragraph of this Note that 'the principal part of Arda was the Earth (*Imbar* "The Habitation")', though 'loosely used Arda often seems to mean the Earth', cf. the list of names associated with the revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion* in 1951 (p. 7): '*Arda* Elvish name of Earth = our world. Also *Kingdom of Arda* = fenced region'. The statements in this Note imply of

course a radical transformation of the cosmological myth, a recrudescence of the abandoned ideas seen in the *Ainulindalë* text C* of the later 1940s (pp. 3–6, 43). Much further writing on this subject will be found in texts given in Part Five (see especially Texts I and II, pp. 370, 375 ff.).

12 The term *Imbar* has not occurred before; but cf. *Ambar* 'the Earth' (IV.235 ff., and the *Etymologies*, V.372, 'Quenya *a-mbar* "oikoumenē", Earth'; also *Ambar-metta* 'the ending of the world' in Aragorn's words at his coronation, *The Return of the King* p. 245).

13 'the principal demiurgic Ainur ... had taken up their "residence" in Arda': cf. the *Ainulindalë* (p. 14, §21): 'Thus it came to pass that of the Holy Ones some abode still with Ilúvatar beyond the confines of the World; but others, and among them many of the greatest and most fair, took the leave of Ilúvatar and descended into it.' – On the word 'demiurgic' see note 3 above.

14 *erma*: in the typescript B of *Laws and Customs* appears the word *orma*, a later pencilled alteration of the word *hrón* ('the general *hrón* [> *orma*] of Arda'), p. 218.

15 This is a reference to a conception not yet met: see the Appendix to this Part, pp. 361 ff.

16 The possibility of return to incarnate life through childbirth is no longer countenanced: see note 15.

17 'Normally they must nonetheless remain in Aman': the reasons for this are explained later in this Note. See further pp. 364–5.

18 Lúthien was not the ancestress of Eärendil, son of Tuor and Idril Celebrindal of Gondolin; she was the grandmother of Elwing, wife of Eärendil.

19 'The myth that appears at the end of the *Silmarillion*': in so far as the reference is to any actual written text, this is the conclusion of QS (V.333, §§31–2), the Prophecy of Mandos.

20 Cf. *Laws and Customs* (typescript text B, p. 219):

> As ages passed the dominance of their *fëar* ever increased, 'consuming' their bodies ... The end of this process is their 'fading' ...; for the body becomes at last, as it were, a mere memory held by the *fëa*; and that end has already been achieved in many regions of Middle-earth, so that the Elves are indeed deathless and may not be destroyed or changed.

21 'before and above all Eru's works'; i.e. 'before and above the *works* of Eru, of whatever kind'.

22 For previous references to the People of Marach see pp. 305–6, 309, 344.

23 Another version of Note 9 is extant, the opening of which reads thus:

> It is probable that Andreth was actually unwilling to say more. She may also have felt unable to make up her mind about the

conflicting human traditions on the point. Longer recensions of the *Athrabeth*, which appear to have been 'edited' under Númenórean influence (the Númenóreans were mainly derived from the People of Marach, who had more specific traditions concerning what we should call the Fall), make her give, under pressure, a more precise answer. Briefly this:

> Some say the disaster happened very early in the history of our people; some say in the first generation. The Voice of the One had spoken to us, some say by a Messenger, some by a Voice only, some that it was by a knowledge in our hearts which we had from the beginning. But we were few and the world seemed very wide; and we wondered much at all that we saw, but we were ignorant, and yet desired greatly to know, and we were in haste to make things, the shapes of which grew in our minds.
>
> Then one came among us, in our own shape, but greater and more beautiful ...

From this point the text differs from the 'Tale of Adanel' (p. 346) only in very minor details of wording; but it stops (not at the foot of a page) at the words 'we would hear his voice, and receive his commands' (the 'Tale of Adanel' p. 347).

This first version was rejected and set aside, and at some later stage my father noted on the typescript: 'The rest of the notes and the conclusion of the legend of Melkor's Deception seems lost. The full copy was sent to Mrs. E. J. Neave (my aunt) in Wales not long before her death. It seems never to have come back. Lost – or destroyed by her hasty executors?' Then afterwards he noted against this that the complete text of the Notes and the legend (the 'Tale of Adanel') had been found. The keeping of his papers in separate places for fear of loss led to such distresses in his later years. – Jane Neave died in 1963; see the *Note on Dating*, p. 300.

24 With the names *Lindar* 'Singers' of the Teleri and *Tareldar* 'High-elves' cf. the Index to *The Silmarillion*, entries *Teleri*, *Eldar*.

25 It is notable that the old form *Melko* is given here as an alternative form.

26 See p. 101 note 2.

27 *melk-*: this stem was first written with two vowels, perhaps *melek-*, but the second vowel seems to have been inked out.

28 *Saelon*: replaced by *Saelind* ('Wise-heart'), p. 305.

29 Cf. the words of the Voice of Eru in the 'Tale of Adanel', p. 347.

30 The meaning is: 'though we speak in uncertainty of what it is that "indwells"'.

31 Cf. the footnote at the end of *Laws and Customs*, p. 250.

APPENDIX

'The Converse of Manwë and Eru' and later conceptions of Elvish reincarnation

The statement at the beginning of Note 3 (p. 339) that 'in Elvish tradition their re-incarnation was a special permission granted by Eru to Manwë, when Manwë directly consulted Him at the time of the debate concerning Finwë and Míriel' seems very strange in the light of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar*, where it was stated very explicitly (p. 221) that 'A houseless *fëa* that chose or was permitted to return to life *re-entered the incarnate world through child-birth. Only thus could it return*' (to which such 'a rare and strange case' as that of Míriel, who was 'rehoused in her own body', is noted as the only exception). In *Laws and Customs* it is a presupposition of the whole matter that Míriel might in the nature of things return from death if she would; thus Ulmo said in the Debate of the Valar that 'the *fëa* of Míriel may have departed by necessity, but it departed *in the will not to return*', and that *'therein was her fault'* (p. 242). It cannot be thought that *Laws and Customs* was written on the basis that rebirth was only 'granted as a special permission' by Eru to Manwë 'at the time of the debate concerning Finwë and Míriel', an idea of which there is no hint or suggestion in that work.

The explanation of this is that after the writing of *Laws and Customs* my father's views concerning the fate of Elves who had died underwent a radical change, and the passage cited from Note 3 to the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* does not in fact refer to 'rebirth' at all.

There exists a text entitled *The Converse of Manwë and Eru*, which followed *Laws and Customs* but preceded the Commentary on the *Athrabeth*. This work (in typescript) was planned as twofold, the first part being the questions of Manwë and the replies of Eru, and the second an elaborate philosophical discussion of the significance and implications; but it was abandoned before it was finished, and a second, more ample version of the 'Converse' was given up after only a couple of pages. I give the first part, the 'Converse', only, in the original shorter recension.

Manwë spoke to Eru, saying: 'Behold! an evil appears in Arda that we did not look for: the First-born Children, whom Thou madest immortal, suffer now severance of spirit and body. Many of the *fëar* of the Elves in Middle-earth are now houseless; and even in Aman there is one. The houseless we summon to Aman, to keep them from the Darkness, and all who hear our voice abide here in waiting. What further is to be done? Is there no means by which their lives may be renewed, to

follow the courses which Thou hast designed? And what of the bereaved who mourn those that have gone?'

Eru answered: 'Let the houseless be re-housed!'

Manwë asked: 'How shall this be done?'

Eru answered: 'Let the body that was destroyed be re-made. Or let the naked *fëa* be re-born as a child.'

Manwë said: 'Is it Thy will that we should attempt these things? For we fear to meddle with Thy Children.'

Eru answered: 'Have I not given to the Valar the rule of Arda, and power over all the substance thereof, to shape it at their will under My will? Ye have not been backward in these things. As for my First-born, have ye not removed great numbers of them to Aman from the Middle-earth in which I set them?'

Manwë answered: 'This we have done, for fear of Melcor, and with good intent, though not without misgiving. But to use our power upon the flesh that Thou hast designed, to house the spirits of Thy Children, this seems a matter beyond our authority, even were it not beyond our skill.'

Eru said: 'I give you authority. The skills ye have already, if ye will take heed. Look and ye will find that each spirit of My Children retaineth in itself the full imprint and memory of its former house; and in its nakedness it is open to you, so that ye may clearly perceive all that is in it. After this imprint ye may make for it again such a house in all particulars as it had ere evil befell it. Thus ye may send it back to the lands of the Living.'

Then Manwë asked further: 'O Ilúvatar, hast Thou not spoken also of re-birth? Is that too within our power and authority?'

Eru answered: 'It shall be within your authority, but it is not in your power. Those whom ye judge fit to be re-born, if they desire it and understand clearly what they incur, ye shall surrender to Me; and I will consider them.'

It will be seen that wholly new dimensions to the question of the return of the Dead to the Living had now entered. My father had come to think that before the death of Míriel there had never been any 're-housing' of the *fëar* of the Dead, and that it was only in response to the appeal of Manwë that Eru decreed such a possibility and the modes by which it might be brought about. One such mode is the rebirth of the *fëa* as a child, but such of the Dead as desire it are to be surrendered to Eru to await His judgement in their case. The other mode is the making, by the Valar, of 'such a house in all particulars as it had ere evil befell it': the reincarnation of the Dead in a *hröa*

identical to that which death had overtaken. The long discussion that follows the 'Converse' is very largely concerned with the ideas of 'identity' and 'equivalence' in relation to this form of reincarnation, represented as a commentary by Eldarin loremasters.

A hastily written manuscript on small slips of paper, entitled 'Reincarnation of Elves', seems to show my father's reflections on the subject between the abandonment of *The Converse of Manwë and Eru* and the Commentary on the *Athrabeth*. In this discussion he referred in rapid and elliptical expression to the difficulties at every level (including practical and psychological) in the idea of the reincarnation of the *fëa* as the newborn child of second parents, who as it grows up recaptures the memory of its previous life: 'the most fatal objection' being that 'it contradicts the fundamental notion that *fëa* and *hröa* were each *fitted* to the other: since *hröar* have a physical descent, the body of rebirth, having different parents, must be different', and this must be a condition of pain to the reborn *fëa*.

He was here abandoning, and for good, the long-rooted conception (see pp. 265–7) of rebirth as the mode by which the Elves might return to incarnate life: from his scrutiny of the mythical idea, questioning its validity in the terms he had adopted, it had come to seem to him a serious flaw in the metaphysic of Elvish existence. But, he said, it was a 'dilemma', for the reincarnation of the Elves 'seems an essential element in the tales'. 'The only solution,' he decided in this discussion, was the idea of the remaking in identical form of the *hröa* of the Dead in the manner declared by Eru in *The Converse of Manwë and Eru*: the *fëa* retains a memory, an imprint, of its *hröa*, its 'former house', so powerful and precise that the reconstruction of an identical body can proceed from it.

The idea of a 'Converse' between Manwë and Eru was not abandoned, and is indeed referred to in 'Reincarnation of Elves' (but the 'Converse' as given above must have been in existence, since in it Eru expressly declares rebirth to be a mode of reincarnation open to the 'houseless' *fëa*, whereas in the present discussion such an idea is firmly rejected and allowed no place in 'the only solution' to the 'dilemma'). The new conception proceeds, in outline, as follows. The Music of the Ainur had contained no prevision of the death of Elves and the existence of their 'houseless' *fëar*, since according to their nature they were to be immortal within the life of Arda. There were many such *fëar* of Elves who had died in Middle-earth gathered in the Halls of Mandos, but it was not until the death of Míriel in Aman that Manwë appealed directly to Eru for counsel. Eru 'accepted and ratified the position' – though making it plain to Manwë that the Valar should have contested Melkor's domination of Middle-earth far earlier, and that they had lacked *estel*: they should have trusted that in a legitimate war Eru would not have permitted Melkor so greatly to damage Arda

that the Children could not come, or could not inhabit it (cf. LQ §20, p. 161: 'And Manwë said to the Valar: "This is the counsel of Ilúvatar in my heart: that we should take up again the mastery of Arda, at whatsoever cost, and deliver the Quendi from the shadows of Melkor." Then Tulkas was glad; but Aulë was grieved, and it is said that he (and others of the Valar) had before been unwilling to strive with Melkor, foreboding the hurts of the world that must come of that strife').

It is then said that 'the *fëar* of the Dead all go to Mandos in Aman: or rather they are now summoned thither by the authority given by Eru. A place is made for them.' This appears to mean that it was only now that Mandos was empowered to summon the spirits of the Dead to Aman; but the following words 'A place is made for them' are hard to understand, since they seem to deny even that the Halls of Waiting existed before Manwë spoke to Eru (despite the statement earlier in 'Reincarnation of Elves' that there were many houseless *fëar* gathered in Mandos before the 'Converse' took place).

The Valar are now given the authority to reincarnate the *fëar* of Elves who have died in *hröar* identical to those they have lost; and the text continues: 'The re-housed *fëa* will normally remain in Aman. Only in very exceptional cases, as Beren and Lúthien, will they be transported back to Middle-earth. ... Hence death in Middle-earth had much of the same sort of sorrow and sunderance for Elves and Men. But, as Andreth saw, the certainty of living again and *doing* things in incarnate form made a vital difference to death as a personal terror' (cf. the *Athrabeth* p. 311).

In what appears to be a second thought my father then asked whether it might not be possible that the 'houseless' *fëa* was itself allowed (being instructed) to rebuild its *hröa* from its memory (and this, as appears from very late writing on the subject of the reincarnation of Glorfindel of Gondolin, became his firm and stable view of the matter). He wrote here: 'Memory by a *fëa* of experience is evidently powerful, vivid, and complete. So the underlying conception is that "matter" will be taken up into "spirit", by becoming part of its *knowledge* – and so rendered timeless and under the spirit's command. As the Elves remaining in Middle-earth slowly "consumed" their bodies – or made them into raiments of memory? The resurrection of the body (at least as far as Elves were concerned) was in a sense incorporeal. But while it could pass physical barriers at will, it could at will oppose a barrier to matter. If you touched a resurrected body you felt it. Or if it willed it could simply elude you – disappear. Its position in space was at will.'

Neither in the passage on the subject of reincarnation in the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* (p. 331, §6) nor in the Note 3 that refers to it (p. 339) is there any mention of rebirth; while the latter

very evidently echoes the words of 'Resurrection of Elves'. Thus it is strongly implied in Note 3, if not expressly stated, that it was only at the time of Manwë's speech with Eru that Mandos was given the power actually to summon the *fëar* of the Dead; and the passage that follows this in the Note is closely similar to what is said in 'Resurrection of Elves':

> They were given the choice to remain houseless, or (if they wished) to be re-housed in the same form and shape as they had had. Normally they must nonetheless remain in Aman. Therefore, if they dwelt in Middle-earth, their bereavement of friends and kin, and the bereavement of these, was not amended. Death was not wholly healed. But as Andreth saw, this certitude concerning their immediate future after death, and the knowledge that at the least they would again if they wished be able as *incarnates* to do and make things and continue their experience of Arda, made death to the Elves a totally different thing from death as it appeared to Men.

An interesting point in respect of the chronology of composition arises from the remark found both in 'Reincarnation of Elves' and in Note 3 to the Commentary that death for Elves and death for Men were very different things 'as Andreth saw'. Thus the *Athrabeth* was in existence when 'Reincarnation of Elves' was written; but the Commentary followed 'Reincarnation'. This seems clear evidence that there was an interval between the writing of the actual Debate of Finrod and Andreth and the writing of the Commentary on it.

One further passage in 'Reincarnation of Elves' should be mentioned. In a sort of aside from the course of his thoughts, moving more rapidly (even) than his pen, my father remarked that 'the exact nature of existence in Aman or Eressëa after their "removal" must be dubious and unexplained', as must the question of 'how "mortals" could go there at all'. On this he observed that Eru had 'long before' committed the Dead of mortals also to Mandos; cf. QS §86 (V.247): 'What befell their spirits after death the Elves know not. Some say that they too go to the halls of Mandos; but their place of waiting there is not that of the Elves; and Mandos under Ilúvatar alone save Manwë knows whither they go after the time of recollection in those silent halls beside the Western Sea.' 'The sojourn of Frodo' (he went on) 'in Eressëa – then on to Mandos? – was only an extended form of this. Frodo would eventually leave the world (desiring to do so). So that the sailing in ship was equivalent to death.'

With this may be contrasted what he wrote at the end of his account of *The Lord of the Rings* in his letter to Milton Waldman of 1951 (a passage omitted in *Letters* but printed in IX.132):

> To Bilbo and Frodo the special grace is granted to go with the Elves they loved – an Arthurian ending, in which it is, of course, not made

explicit whether this is an 'allegory' of death, or a mode of healing and restoration leading to a return.

In his letter to Naomi Mitchison of September 1954 (*Letters* no.154), however, he said:

> ... the mythical idea underlying is that for mortals, since their 'kind' cannot be changed for ever, this is strictly only a temporary reward: a healing and redress of suffering. They cannot abide for ever, and though they cannot return to mortal earth, they can and will 'die' – of free will, and leave the world. (In this setting the return of Arthur would be quite impossible, a vain imagining.)

And much later, in a draft letter of 1963 (*Letters* no.246), he wrote:

> Frodo was sent or allowed to pass over Sea to heal him – if that could be done, *before he died*. He would have eventually to 'pass away': no mortal could, or can, abide for ever on earth, or within Time. So he went both to a purgatory and to a reward, for a while: a period of reflection and peace and a gaining of a truer understanding of his position in littleness and in greatness, spent still in Time amid the natural beauty of 'Arda Unmarred', the Earth unspoiled by evil.

PART FIVE

MYTHS TRANSFORMED

MYTHS TRANSFORMED

In this last section of the book I give a number of late writings of my father's, various in nature but concerned with, broadly speaking, the reinterpretation of central elements in the 'mythology' (or *legendarium* as he called it) to accord with the imperatives of a greatly modified underlying conception. Some of these papers (there are notable exceptions) offer exceptional difficulty: fluidity of ideas, ambiguous and allusive expression, illegible passages. But the greatest problem is that there is very little firm indication of date external or relative: to order them into even an approximate sequence of composition seems impossible (though I believe that virtually all of them come from the years that saw the writing of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar*, the *Athrabeth*, and late revisions of parts of the *Quenta Silmarillion* – the late 1950s, in the aftermath of the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*).

In these writings can be read the record of a prolonged interior debate. Years before this time, the first signs have been seen of emerging ideas that if pursued would cause massive disturbance in *The Silmarillion*: I have shown, as I believe, that when my father first began to revise and rewrite the existing narratives of the Elder Days, before *The Lord of the Rings* was completed, he wrote a version of the *Ainulindalë* that introduced a radical transformation of the astronomical myth, but that for that time he stayed his hand (pp. 3–6, 43). But now, as will be seen in many of the essays and notes that follow, he had come to believe that such a vast upheaval was a necessity, that the cosmos of the old myth was no longer valid; and at the same time he was impelled to try to construct a more secure 'theoretical' or 'systematic' basis for elements in the *legendarium* that were not to be dislodged. With their questionings, their certainties giving way to doubt, their contradictory resolutions, these writings are to be read with a sense of intellectual and imaginative stress in the face of such a dismantling and reconstitution, believed to be an inescapable necessity, but never to be achieved.

The texts, arranged in a very loose 'thematic' sequence, are numbered in Roman numerals. Almost all have received very minor editing (matters of punctuation, insertion of omitted words, and suchlike). Numbered notes (not present in all cases) follow the individual texts.

I

I give first a short statement written on two slips found pinned to one of the typescripts of the *Annals of Aman*, which would date it to 1958 or later (if my general conclusions about dating are correct, p. 300).

This descends from the oldest forms of the mythology – when it was still intended to be no more than another primitive mythology, though more coherent and less 'savage'. It was consequently a 'Flat Earth' cosmogony (much easier to manage anyway): the Matter of Númenor had not been devised.

It is now clear to me that in any case the Mythology must actually be a 'Mannish' affair. (Men are really only interested in Men and in Men's ideas and visions.) The High Eldar living and being tutored by the demiurgic beings must have known, or at least their writers and loremasters must have known, the 'truth' (according to their measure of understanding). What we have in the *Silmarillion* etc. are traditions (especially personalized, and centred upon *actors*, such as Fëanor) handed on by *Men* in Númenor and later in Middle-earth (Arnor and Gondor); but already far back – from the first association of the Dúnedain and Elf-friends with the Eldar in Beleriand – blended and confused with their own Mannish myths and cosmic ideas.

At that point (in reconsideration of the early cosmogonic parts) I was inclined to adhere to the Flat Earth and the astronomically absurd business of the making of the Sun and Moon. But you can make up stories of that kind when you live among people who have the same general background of imagination, when the Sun 'really' rises in the East and goes down in the West, etc. When however (no matter how little most people know or think about astronomy) it is the general belief that we live upon a 'spherical' island in 'Space' you cannot do this any more.

One loses, of course, the dramatic impact of such things as the first 'incarnates' waking in a starlit world – or the coming of the High Elves to Middle-earth and unfurling their banners at the *first* rising of the Moon.

I have given this first, because – though jotted down at great speed – it is an express statement of my father's views at this time, in three major respects. The astronomical myths of the Elder Days cannot be regarded as a record of the traditional beliefs of the Eldar in any pure form, because the High-elves of Aman cannot have been thus

ignorant; and the cosmological elements in *The Silmarillion* are essentially a record of mythological ideas, complex in origin, prevailing among Men.[1] In this note, however, my father appears to have accepted that these ideas do not in themselves necessarily lead to great upheaval in the essential 'world-structure' of *The Silmarillion*, but on the contrary provide a basis for its retention ('At that point ... I was inclined to adhere to the Flat Earth'). The conclusion of this brief statement appears then to be a further and unconnected step: that the cosmological myth of *The Silmarillion* was a 'creative error' on the part of its maker, since it could have no imaginative truth for people who know very well that such an 'astronomy' is delusory.

As he stated it, this may seem to be an argument of the most doubtful nature, raising indeed the question, why is the myth of the Two Trees (which so far as record goes he never showed any intention to abandon) more acceptable than that of the creation of the Sun and the Moon from the last fruit and flower of the Trees as they died? Or indeed, if this is true, how can it be acceptable that the Evening Star is the Silmaril cut by Beren from Morgoth's crown?

It is at any rate clear, for he stated it unambiguously enough, that he had come to believe that the art of the 'Sub-creator' cannot, or should not attempt to, extend to the 'mythical' revelation of a conception of the shape of the Earth and the origin of the lights of heaven that runs counter to the known physical truths of his own days: 'You cannot do this any more'. And this opinion is rendered more complex and difficult of discussion by the rise in importance of the Eldarin 'loremasters' of Aman, whose intellectual attainments and knowledge must preclude any idea that a 'false' astronomy could have prevailed among them. It seems to me that he was devising – from within it – a fearful weapon against his own creation.

In this brief text he wrote scornfully of 'the astronomically absurd business of the making of the Sun and Moon'. I think it possible that it was the actual nature of this myth that led him finally to abandon it. It is in conception beautiful, and not absurd; but it is exceedingly 'primitive'. Of the original 'Tale of the Sun and Moon' in *The Book of Lost Tales* I wrote (I.201):

> As a result of this fullness and intensity of description, the origin of the Sun and Moon in the last fruit and last flower of the Trees has less of mystery than in the succinct and beautiful language of *The Silmarillion*; but also much is said here to emphasize the great size of the 'Fruit of Noon', and the increase in the heat and brilliance of the Sunship after its launching, so that the reflection rises less readily that if the Sun that brilliantly illumines the whole Earth was but one fruit of Laurelin then Valinor must have been painfully bright and hot in the days of the Trees. In the early story the last outpourings of life from the dying Trees are utterly strange and 'enormous', those of Laurelin portentous, even ominous; the Sun is astoundingly

> bright and hot even to the Valar, who are awestruck and disquieted by what has been done (the Gods knew 'that they had done a greater thing than they at first knew'); and the anger and distress of certain of the Valar at the burning light of the Sun enforces the feeling that in the last fruit of Laurelin a terrible and unforeseen power has been released.

As the *Quenta Silmarillion* evolved and changed the myth had been diminished in the scale and energy of its presentation; indeed in the final form of the chapter, and in the *Annals of Aman*, the description of the actual origin of the Sun and Moon is reduced to a few lines.

> Yet even as hope failed and her song faltered, behold! Telperion bore at last upon a leafless bough one great flower of silver, and Laurelin a single fruit of gold.
>
> These Yavanna took, and then the Trees died, and their lifeless stems stand yet in Valinor, a memorial of vanished joy. But the flower and fruit Yavanna gave to Aulë, and Manwë hallowed them; and Aulë and his folk made vessels to hold them and preserve their radiance, as is said in the *Narsilion*, the Song of the Sun and Moon. These vessels the gods gave to Varda, that they might become lamps of heaven, outshining the ancient stars ...

The grave and tranquil words cannot entirely suppress a sense that there emerges here an outcropping, as it were, uneroded, from an older level, more fantastic, more bizarre. As indeed it does: such was the nature of the work, evolved over so many years. But it did not stand in the work as an isolated myth, a now gratuitous element that could be excised; for bound up with it was the myth of the Two Trees ('the Elder Sun and Moon'), giving light through long ages to the land of Valinor, while Middle-earth lay in darkness, illumined only by the stars in the firmament of Arda. In that darkness the Elves awoke, the People of the Stars; and after the death of the Trees the ancient Light was preserved only in the Silmarils. In 1951 my father had written (*Letters* no.131, p. 148):

> There was the Light of Valinor made visible in the Two Trees of Silver and Gold. These were slain by the Enemy out of malice, and Valinor was darkened, though from them, ere they died utterly, were derived the lights of Sun and Moon. (A marked difference here between these legends and most others is that the Sun is not a divine symbol, but a second-best thing, and the 'light of the Sun' (the world under the sun) become terms for a fallen world, and a dislocated imperfect vision.)

But: 'You cannot do this any more.' In the following pages will be seen how, driven by this conviction, he attempted to undo what he had done, but to retain what he might. It is remarkable that he never at this time seems to have felt that what he said in this present note provided a resolution of the problem that he believed to exist:

> What we have in the *Silmarillion* etc. are traditions ... handed on by *Men* in Númenor and later in Middle-earth (Arnor and Gondor); but already far back – from the first association of the Dúnedain and Elf-friends with the Eldar in Beleriand – *blended and confused with their own Mannish myths and cosmic ideas.*

It is tempting to suppose that when my father wrote that 'in reconsideration of the early cosmogonic parts' he was 'inclined to adhere to the Flat Earth and the astronomically absurd business of the making of the Sun and Moon', he was referring to *Ainulindalë* C and the *Annals of Aman*. If this were so, it might account for the developments in *Ainulindalë* C discussed on pp. 27–9, where Arda becomes a small world within the vastness of Eä – but retains the 'Flat Earth' characteristics of Ilu from the *Ambarkanta* and before.

In connection with my father's statement that the legends of *The Silmarillion* were traditions handed on by Men in Númenor and later in the Númenórean kingdoms in Middle-earth, this is a convenient place to give an entirely isolated note carefully typed (but not on his later typewriter) on a small slip and headed 'Memorandum'.

> The three Great Tales must be Númenórean, and derived from matter preserved in Gondor. They were part of the *Atanatárion* (or the Legendarium of the Fathers of Men). ?Sindarin *Nern in Edenedair* (or *In Adanath*).
>
> They are (1) *Narn Beren ion Barahir* also called *Narn e·Dinúviel* (Tale of the Nightingale)
>
> (2) *Narn e·mbar Hador* containing (a) *Narn i·Chîn Húrin* (or *Narn e·'Rach Morgoth* Tale of the Curse of Morgoth); and (b) *Narn en·Êl* (or *Narn e·Dant Gondolin ar Orthad en·Êl*)
>
> Should not these be given as Appendices to the *Silmarillion*?

In the question with which this ends my father was presumably distinguishing between long and short forms of the tales. – Two further notes on this slip, typed at the same time as the above, refer to 'the Tale of Túrin' and suggest that he was working on it at that time.[2] I do not know of any precise evidence to date the great development of the 'Túrin Saga', but it certainly belongs to an earlier period than the writings given in the latter part of this book.

The idea that the legends of the Elder Days derived from Númenórean tradition appears also in the abandoned typescript (AAm*) of the *Annals of Aman* that my father made himself (p. 64).[3] In this text the preamble states:

> Here begin the 'Annals of Aman'. Rúmil made them in the Elder Days, and they were held in memory by the Exiles. Those parts

which we learned and remembered were thus set down in Númenor before the Shadow fell upon it.

NOTES

1 Very similar remarks are made in Note 2 to the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* (p. 337):

> Physically Arda was what we should call the Solar System. Presumably the Eldar could have had as much and as accurate information concerning this, its structure, origin, and its relation to the rest of Eä as they could comprehend.

A little further on in this same Note it is said:

> The traditions here referred to have come down from the Eldar of the First Age, through Elves who never were directly acquainted with the Valar, and through Men who received 'lore' from the Elves, but who had myths and cosmogonic legends, and astronomical guesses, of their own. *There is, however, nothing in them that seriously conflicts with present human notions of the Solar System, and its size and position relative to the Universe.*

The sentence which I have italicised suggests an assured commitment, at the least, to the re-formation of the old cosmology. – For references in the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* to the Númenórean part in the transmission of legends of the Elder Days see pp. 342, 344, 360.

2 These are a proposal that Níniel (Nienor) should 'in her looks and ways' remind Túrin of Lalaeth, his sister who died in childhood (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 147 note 7), and another, marked with a query, that Túrin should think of the words of Saeros, the Elf of Doriath, when he finds Níniel naked in the eaves of the Forest of Brethil (*Unfinished Tales* pp. 80, 122).

On the back of this slip my father wrote (in a furious scribble in ball-point pen):

> The cosmogonic myths are Númenórean, blending Elven-lore with human myth and imagination. A note should say that the Wise of Númenor recorded that the making of stars was not so, nor of Sun and Moon. For Sun and stars were all older than Arda. But the placing of Arda amidst stars and under the [?guard] of the Sun was due to Manwë and Varda before the assault of Melkor.

I take the words 'the Wise of Númenor recorded that the making of stars was not so, nor of Sun and Moon' to mean that the making of the Sun, Moon and stars was not derived from 'Elven-lore'. It is to be noted that *Arda* here means 'the Earth', not 'the Solar System'.

3 I have said (p. 64) that I would be inclined to place AAm* with the

writing of the original manuscript of the *Annals* rather than to some later time, but this is no more than a guess.

II

This is a text of a most problematic nature, a manuscript in ink that falls into two parts which are plainly very closely associated: a discussion, with proposals for the 'regeneration' of the mythology; and an abandoned narrative. Neither has title or heading.

The Making of the Sun and Moon *must* occur long before the coming of the Elves; and *cannot* be made to be after the death of the Two Trees – if that occurred in any connexion with the sojourn of the Noldor in Valinor. The time allowed is too short. Neither could there be woods and flowers &c. on earth, if there had been no light since the overthrow of the Lamps![1]

But how can, nonetheless, the Eldar be called the 'Star-folk'?

Since the Eldar are supposed to be wiser and have truer knowledge of the history and nature of the Earth than Men (or than Wild Elves), *their* legends should have a closer relation to the knowledge now possessed of at least the *form* of the Solar System (= Kingdom of Arda);[2] though it need not, of course, follow any 'scientific' theory of its making or development.

It therefore seems clear that the cosmogonic mythology should represent Arda as it is, more or less: an island in the void 'amidst the innumerable stars'. The Sun should be coeval with Earth, though its relative size need not be considered, while the apparent revolution of the Sun about the Earth will be accepted.*

The Stars, therefore, in general will be other and remoter parts of the Great Tale of Eä, which do not concern the Valar of Arda. Though, even if not explicitly, it will be an underlying assumption that the Kingdom of Arda is of *central* importance, selected amid all the immeasurable vast of Eä as the scene for the main drama of the conflict of Melkor with Ilúvatar, and the Children of Eru. Melkor is the *supreme* spirit of Pride and Revolt, *not* just the chief Vala of the Earth, who has turned to evil.[3]

* [marginal note] It is or would be in any case a 'fact of life' for any intelligence that chose the Earth for a place of life and labour. [There is no indication where this is to go, but nowhere else on the page seems suitable.]

Varda, therefore, as one of the great Valar of Arda, cannot be said to have 'kindled' the stars, as an original subcreative act – not at least the stars in general.[4]

The Story, it seems, should follow such a line as this. The entry of the Valar into Eä at the beginning of Time. The choosing of the Kingdom of Arda as their chief abiding place (? by the highest and noblest of the Ainur,[5] to whom Ilúvatar had intended to commit the care of the *Eruhíni*). Manwë and his companions elude Melkor and begin the ordering of Arda, but Melkor seeks for them and at last finds Arda,[6] and contests the kingship with Manwë.

This period will, roughly, correspond to supposed primeval epochs before Earth became habitable. A time of fire and cataclysm. Melkor disarrayed the Sun so that at periods it was too hot, and at others too cold. Whether this was due to the state of the Sun, or alterations in the orbit of Earth, need not be made precise: both are possible.

But after a battle Melkor is driven out from Earth itself. (The First Battle?) He finds he can only come there in great secrecy. At this time he begins first to turn most to cold and darkness. His first desire (and weapon) had been fire and heat. It was in the wielding of *flame* that Tulkas (? originally Vala of the Sun) defeated him in the First Battle. Melkor therefore comes mostly *at night* and especially to the North in winter. (It was after the First Battle that Varda set *certain stars* as ominous signs for the dwellers in Arda to see.)

The Valar to counteract this make the Moon. Out of earth-stuff or Sun? This is to be a subsidiary light to mitigate night* (as Melkor had made it), and also a 'vessel of watch and ward' to circle the world.[7] But Melkor gathered in the Void spirits of cold &c. and suddenly assailed it, driving out the Vala Tilion.[8] The Moon was thereafter long while steerless and vagrant and called *Rana* (neuter).[9]

[*If* Tulkas came from the Sun, then *Tulkas* was the form this Vala adopted on Earth, being in origin *Auron* (masculine). But the Sun is feminine; and it is better that the Vala should be *Áren*, a maiden whom Melkor endeavoured to make his spouse (or ravished);[10] she went up in a flame of wrath and anguish and

* [marginal note] But not to drive it away. It was necessary to have an alternation, 'because in Eä according to the Tale nothing can endure endlessly without weariness and corruption.'

her spirit was released from Eä, but Melkor was blackened and burned, and his form was thereafter dark, and he took to darkness. (The Sun itself was *Anar* neuter or *Úr*, cf. *Rana*, *Ithil*.)]

The Sun remained a Lonely Fire, polluted by Melkor, but after the death of the Two Trees Tilion returned to the Moon, which remained therefore an enemy of Melkor and his servants and creatures of night – and so beloved of Elves later &c.

After the capture of the Moon Melkor begins to be more bold again. He establishes permanent seats in the North deep underground. From thence proceeds the secret corruption which perverts the labours of the Valar (especially of Aulë and Yavanna).

The Valar grow weary. At length discovering Melkor and where he dwells they seek to drive him out again, but Utumno proves too strong.

Varda has preserved some of the Primeval Light (her original chief concern in the Great Tale). The Two Trees are made. The Valar make their resting place and dwellings in Valinor in the West.

Now one of the objects of the Trees (as later of the Jewels) was the healing of the hurts of Melkor, but this could easily have a *selfish* aspect: the staying of history – not going on with the Tale. This effect it had on the Valar. They became more and more enamoured of Valinor, and went there more often and stayed there longer. Middle-earth was left too little tended, and too little protected against Melkor.

Towards the end of the Days of Bliss, the Valar find the tables turned. They are driven out of Middle-earth by Melkor and his evil spirits and monsters; and can only themselves come there secretly and briefly (Oromë and Yavanna mainly).

This period must be *brief*. Both sides know that the coming of the Children of God is imminent. Melkor desires to dominate them at once with fear and darkness and enslave them. He *darkens the world* [*added in margin:* for 7 years?] cutting off all vision of the sky so far as he can, and though far south (it is said) this was not effective. From the far North (where [they are] dense) to the middle (Endor)[11] great clouds brood. Moon and stars are invisible. Day is only a dim twilight at full. Only light [is] in Valinor.

Varda arises in her might and Manwë of the Winds and strive with the Cloud of Unseeing. But as fast as it is rent Melkor closes the veil again – at least over Middle-earth. Then came the Great Wind of Manwë, and the veil was rent. The stars shine

out clear even in the North (*Valakirka*) and after the long dark seem terribly bright.

It is in the *dark* just before that the Elves awake. The first thing they see in the dark is the stars. But Melkor brings up glooms out of the East, and the stars fade away west. Hence they think from the beginning of light and beauty in the West.

The Coming of Oromë.

The Third Battle and the captivity of Melkor. The Eldar go to Valinor. The clouds slowly disperse after the capture of Melkor though Utumno still belches. It is darkest eastward, furthest from the breath of Manwë.

The March of the Eldar is through great Rains?

Men awake in an Isle amid the floods and therefore welcome the Sun which seems to come out of the East. Only when the world is drier do they leave the Isle and spread abroad.

It is only Men that met Elves and heard the rumours of the West that go that way. For the Elves said: 'If you delight in the Sun, you will walk in the path it goes.'

The coming of Men will therefore be much further back.[12] This will be better; for a bare 400 years is quite inadequate to produce the variety, and the advancement (e.g. of the Edain) at the time of Felagund.[13]

Men must awake while Melkor is still in Arda? – because of their Fall.[14] Therefore in some period during the Great March.

This text ends here. There follows now the associated narrative, identical in appearance to the foregoing discussion (both elements are written in the same rather unusual script).

After the Valar, who before were the Ainur of the Great Song, entered into Eä, those who were the noblest among them and understood most of the mind of Ilúvatar sought amid the immeasurable regions of the Beginning for that place where they should establish the Kingdom of Arda in time to come. And when they had chosen that point and region where it should be, they began the labours that were needed. Others there were, countless to our thought though known each and numbered in the mind of Ilúvatar, whose labour lay elsewhere and in other regions and histories of the Great Tale, amid stars remote and worlds beyond the reach of the furthest thought. But of these others we know nothing and cannot know, though the Valar of Arda, maybe, remember them all.

Chief of the Valar of Arda was he whom the Eldar afterwards

named Manwë, the Blessed: the Elder King, since he was the first of all kings in [Arda >] Eä. Brother to him was Melkor, the Potent, and he had, as has been told, fallen into pride and desire of his own dominion. Therefore the Valar avoided him, and began the building and ordering of Arda without him. For which reason it is said that whereas there is now great evil in Arda and many things therein are at discord, so that the good of one seemeth to be the hurt of another, nonetheless the foundations of this world are good, and it turns by nature to good, healing itself from within by the power that was set there in its making; and evil in Arda would fail and pass away if it were not renewed from without: that is: that comes from wills and being [*sic*] that are other than Arda itself.

And as is known well, the prime among these is Melkor. Measureless as were the regions of Eä, yet in the Beginning, where he could have been Master of all that was done – for there were many of the Ainur of the Song willing to follow him and serve him, if he called – still he was not content. And he sought ever for Arda and Manwë, his brother, begrudging him the kingship, small though it might seem to his desire and his potency; for he knew that to that kingship Ilúvatar designed to give the highest royalty in Eä, and under the rule of that throne to bring forth the Children of God. And in his thought which deceived him, for the liar shall lie unto himself, he believed that over the Children he might hold absolute sway and be unto them sole lord and master, as he could not be to spirits of his own kind, however subservient to himself. For they knew that the One Is, and must assent to Melkor's rebellion of their own choice; whereas he purposed to withhold from the Children this knowledge and be for ever a shadow between them and the light.

As a shadow Melkor did not then conceive himself. For in his beginning he loved and desired light, and the form that he took was exceedingly bright; and he said in his heart: 'On such brightness as I am the Children shall hardly endure to look; therefore to know of aught else or beyond or even to strain their small minds to conceive of it would not be for their good.' But the lesser brightness that stands before the greater becomes a darkness. And Melkor was jealous, therefore, of all other brightnesses, and wished to take all light unto himself. Therefore Ilúvatar, at the entering in of the Valar into Eä, added a theme to the Great Song which was not in it at the first Singing,

and he called one of the Ainur to him. Now this was that Spirit which afterwards became Varda (and taking female form became the spouse of Manwë). To Varda Ilúvatar said: 'I will give unto thee a parting gift. Thou shalt take into Eä a light that is holy, coming new from Me, unsullied by the thought and lust of Melkor, and with thee it shall enter into Eä, and be in Eä, but not of Eä.' Wherefore Varda is the most holy and revered of all the Valar, and those that name the light of Varda name the love of Eä that Eru has, and they are afraid, less only to name the One. Nonetheless this gift of Ilúvatar to the Valar has its own peril, as have all his free gifts: which is in the end no more than to say that they play a part in the Great Tale so that it may be complete; for without peril they would be without power, and the giving would be void.

When therefore at last Melkor discovered the abiding place of Manwë and his friends he went thither in great haste, as a blazing fire. And finding that already great labours had been achieved without his counsel, he was angered, and desired to undo what was done or to alter it according to his own mind.

But this Manwë would not suffer, and there was war therefore in Arda. But as is elsewhere written Melkor was at that time defeated with the aid of Tulkas (who was not among those who began the building of Eä) and driven out again into the Void that lay about Arda. This is named the First Battle; and though Manwë had the victory, great hurt was done to the work of the Valar; and the worst of the deeds of the wrath of Melkor was seen in the Sun. Now the Sun was designed to be the heart of Arda, and the Valar purposed that it should give light to all that Realm, unceasingly and without wearying or diminution, and that from its light the world should receive health and life and growth. Therefore Varda set there the most ardent and beautiful of all those spirits that had entered with her into Eä, and she was named *Ár(i)*,[15] and Varda gave to her keeping a portion of the gift of Ilúvatar so that the Sun should endure and be blessed and give blessing. The Sun, the loremasters tell us, was in that beginning named *Âs* (which is as near as it can be interpreted Warmth, to which are joined Light and Solace), and that the spirit therefore was called *Ázië* (or later *Árië*).

But Melkor, as hath been told, lusted after all light, desiring it jealously for his own. Moreover he soon perceived that in Âs there was a light that had been concealed from him, and which had a power of which he had not thought. Therefore, afire at

once with desire and anger, he went to Âs [*written above:* Asa], and he spoke to Árië, saying: 'I have chosen thee, and thou shalt be my spouse, even as Varda is to Manwë, and together we shall wield all splendour and mastery. Then the kingship of Arda shall be mine in deed as in right, and thou shalt be the partner of my glory.'

But Árië rejected Melkor and rebuked him, saying: 'Speak not of right, which thou hast long forgotten. Neither for thee nor by thee alone was Eä made; and thou shalt not be King of Arda. Beware therefore; for there is in the heart of Ás a light in which thou hast no part, and a fire which will not serve thee. Put not out thy hand to it. For though thy potency may destroy it, it will burn thee and thy brightness will be made dark.'

Melkor did not heed her warning, but cried in his wrath: 'The gift which is withheld I take!' and he ravished Árië, desiring both to abase her and to take into himself her powers. Then the spirit of Árië went up like a flame of anguish and wrath, and departed for ever from Arda;* and the Sun was bereft of the Light of Varda, and was stained by the assault of Melkor. And being for a long while without rule it flamed with excessive heat or grew too cool, so that grievous hurt was done to Arda and the fashioning of the world was marred and delayed, until with long toil the Valar made a new order.† But even as Árië foretold, Melkor was burned and his brightness darkened, and he gave no more light, but light pained him exceedingly and he hated it.

Nonetheless Melkor would not leave Arda in peace; and above all he begrudged to the Valar their dwelling on Earth, and desired to injure their labours there, or bring them to naught, if he could. Therefore he returned to Earth, but for fear of the might of the Valar and of Tulkas more than all he came now in secret. And in his hatred of the Sun he came to the North at night in winter. At first he would depart when the long day of summer came; but after a time, becoming bolder again, and desiring a dwelling place of his own, he began the delving

* [marginal note] Indeed some say that it was released from Eä.

† [marginal note] Also some of the Wise have said that the ordering of Arda, as to the placing and courses of its parts, was disarrayed by Melkor, so that the Earth was at times drawn too near to the Sun, and at others went too far off.

underground of his great fortress in the far North, which was afterwards named *Utumno* (or *Udûn*).

The Valar therefore, when they became aware by the signs of evil that were seen upon Earth that Melkor had stolen back, sought in vain for him, though Tulcas and Oromë went wide over Middle-earth even to the uttermost East. When they perceived that Melkor would now turn darkness and night to his purposes, as he had aforetime sought to wield flame, they were grieved; for it was a part of their design that there should be change and alteration upon Earth, and neither day perpetual nor night without end.* For by Night the Children of Arda should know Day, and perceive and love Light; and yet Night should also in its kind be good and blessed, being a time of repose, and of inward thought; and a vision also of things high and fair that are beyond Arda, but are veiled by the splendour of Anar. But Melkor would make it a time of peril unseen, of fear without form, an uneasy vigil; or a haunted dream, leading through despair to the shadow of Death.

Therefore Manwë took counsel with Varda, and they called Aulë to their aid. And they resolved to alter the fashion of Arda and of Earth, and in their thought they devised Ithil, the Moon. In what way and with what labours they wrought in deed this great device of their thought, who shall say: for which of the Children hath seen the Valar in the uprising of their strength or listened to their counsels in the flower of their youth? Who hath observed their labour as they laboured, who hath seen the newness of the new?

Some say that it was out of Earth[16] itself that Ithil was made, and thus Ambar[17] was diminished; others say that the Moon was made of like things to the Earth and of that which is Eä itself as it was made in the Tale.[18]

Now when the Moon was full-wrought it was set above Ambar, and directed to go ever round and about, bringing a light to dark places from which the Sun had departed. But it was a lesser light, so that moonlight was not the same as sunlight, and there was still change of light upon the Earth; moreover

* [footnote to the text] For it is indeed of the nature of Eä and the Great History that naught may stay unchanged in time, and things which do so, or appear to do so, or endeavour to remain so, become a weariness, and are loved no longer (or are at best unheeded).

there was still also night under the stars, for the Moon and the Sun were at certain times and seasons both absent.

This at least is what came after to be by that doom spoken by Ilúvatar ..... the evil of Melkor should in its own despite bring forth things more fair than the devising of his ..... For some have held that the Moon was at first aflame, but was later made [?strong] and life .....: later but while Arda was unfashioned and still in the turmoils of Melkor.

So much is known to the Wise, that Tilion — [*sic*] and that Melkor was filled with new wrath at the rising of the Moon. Therefore for a while he left Ambar again and went out into the Outer Night, and gathered to him some of those spirits who would answer his call.

A page of rough and disconnected notes obviously preceded this text, but must belong to much the same time: ideas found in the discussion and synopsis preceding the narrative are found also here, such as the 'great darkness of shadow' created by Melkor that blotted out the Sun. In these notes my father was still asking himself whether he should 'keep the old mythological story of the making of the Sun and Moon, or alter the background to a "round earth" version', and observing that in the latter case the Moon would be a work of Melkor's to provide 'a safe retreat' – thus returning to the idea of the origin of the Moon found years before in text C* of the *Ainulindalë* (p. 41, §31). Doubt and lack of certain direction are very strongly conveyed, as he wrestled with the intractable problems posed by the presence of the Sun in the sky under which the Elves awoke, which was lit only by the stars.[19]

There are features in the present text that clearly associate it with the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* (see notes 2 and 3 below), among them the use of the name *Arda* to mean the Solar System; but while the Earth itself is in the Commentary named *Imbar* it has here the older name *Ambar* (see note 17). There can be no doubt, I think, that the present text was the earlier of the two. On the other hand, no more finished or complete presentation of the new conceptions at large, the 'new mythology', is found; and it seems at any rate arguable that while committed in mind to the abandonment of the old myth of the origin of the Sun and Moon my father left in abeyance the formulation and expression of the new. It may be, though I have no evidence on the question one way or the other, that he came to perceive from such experimental writing as this text that the old structure was too comprehensive, too interlocked in all its parts, indeed its roots too deep, to withstand such a devastating surgery.

NOTES

1 In AAm §15 (p. 52) 'there was great growth of trees and herbs, and beasts and birds came forth' in the light of the Lamps: that was the Spring of Arda. But after the destruction of the Lamps Yavanna 'set a sleep upon many fair things that had arisen in the Spring, both tree and herb and beast and bird, so that they should not age but should wait for a time of awakening that yet should be' (§30, p. 70).

2 On the astronomical knowledge to be presumed among the High-elves cf. Note 2 to the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* (p. 337) – where as here *Arda* is equated with the Solar System – and Text I (p. 370).

3 The thought of this paragraph is closely paralleled in Note 2 to the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* (p. 337), and the final sentence is very similar to what is said in the Commentary itself, p. 334 ('Melkor was not just a local Evil on Earth ...').

4 In AAm §24 (p. 54) it is told that after the Fall of the Lamps 'Middle-earth lay in a twilight beneath the stars that Varda had wrought in the ages forgotten of her labours in Ëa', and in §34 (p. 71) Varda looked out from Taniquetil 'and beheld the darkness of the Earth beneath the innumerable stars, faint and far', before she began the making of new and brighter stars; so also in the revised *Quenta Silmarillion* (p. 159, §19): 'Then Varda ... made new stars and brighter against the coming of the First-born. Wherefore she whose name out of the deeps of time and the labours of Eä was Tintallë, the Kindler, was called after by the Elves Elentári, the Queen of the Stars.' But if she can still perhaps be called *Elentári*, she can no longer be called *Tintallë* (see however p. 388 and note 3).

In a late emendation to the final text D of the *Ainulindalë* (p. 34, §36) the words concerning Varda 'she it was who wrought the Stars' were changed to 'she it was who wrought the Great Stars'; and it seems possible that this was done in the light of the ideas presented here.

5 Cf. Note 2 to the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* (p. 337), with note 13 to that passage.

6 This is of course altogether different from the form of the legend in the *Ainulindalë* (p. 14, §23): 'But Melkor, too, was there from the first, and he meddled in all that was done'; while in the text C* (p. 40) Melkor entered Arda before the other Ainur.

7 The legend in *Ainulindalë* C* that Melkor himself made the Moon so that he 'could observe thence all that happened below' (p. 41, §31) had been abandoned (but see p. 383).

8 In AAm (p. 131, §172) and in QS (§75) Tilion was no Vala, but 'a young hunter of the company of Oromë'. In AAm §179

appears the story that Morgoth assailed Tilion, 'sending spirits of shadow against him', but unavailingly.

9 On names of the Sun and Moon see QS §75 and commentary (V.241, 243) and the later revision of the passage (p. 198); also AAm §171 and commentary (pp. 130, 136).

10 In AAm (p. 133, §179) it was told that 'Arien Morgoth feared with a great fear, and dared not to come nigh her'.

11 On the name *Endor* see AAm §38 (pp. 72, 76).

12 See p. 327 note 16.

13 'at the time of Felagund': i.e. at the time when Finrod Felagund encountered Men, first of the High-elves to do so (p. 307).

14 'Men must awake while Melkor is still in Arda?': 'Arda' must be an error for 'Middle-earth' (i.e. before his captivity in Aman).

15 An *s* is pencilled over the *r* of *Ār(i)*.

16 Above *Earth* my father wrote Ambar, then struck it out, and wrote '*Mar* = House'. See the next note.

17 In Note 2 to the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* (p. 337, and see note 12 to that passage) appears *Imbar*, translated 'the Habitation', = Earth, 'the principal part of Arda' (= the Solar System).

18 From this point the manuscript becomes very rough, in places illegible, and soon peters out.

19 In other scribbled notes (written at the same time as text II and constituting a part of that manuscript) my father wrote that Varda gave the holy light received in gift from Ilúvatar (see p. 380) not only to the Sun and to the Two Trees but also to 'the significant Star'. The meaning of this is nowhere explained. Beside it he wrote *Signifer*, and many experimental Elvish names, as *Taengyl, Tengyl, Tannacolli or Tankol, Tainacolli*; also a verbal root *tana* 'show, indicate'; *tanna* 'sign'; and *kolla* 'borne, worn, especially a vestment or cloak', with the note '*Sindikoll-o* is masculinized'.

III

This very brief and hasty statement was found in a small collection of such notes folded in a newspaper of April 1959. It was written on a slip of paper torn from a bill from Merton College dated in June 1955; a similar bill of October 1955 was used for a passage of drafting for the *Athrabeth* (p. 352). I have noticed (p. 304) that the use of such documents of the year 1955 might suggest that the *Athrabeth* was not the work of a single concentrated period, although if my father had prepared a supply of such slips for brief notes or passages of drafting and other purposes the date would be misleading.

What happened in Valinor after the Death of the Trees? Aman was 'unveiled' – it had been covered with a *dome* (made by

Varda) of mist or cloud down through which no sight would pierce nor light. This dome was lit by stars – in imitation of the great Firmament of Eä. This now rendered Valinor dark except for starlight [i.e. after the death of the Trees]. It was removed and Aman was lit by the Sun – its blessing was thus removed. (Melkor's defilement of the Sun must thus precede the Two Trees which had light of Sun and Stars before Melkor [?tainted] it – or the Trees [?could ?would] be lit by light before the [?Turbulence] of Melkor.)

I do not feel altogether certain of the meaning of the extremely elliptical concluding sentence in brackets, but it should perhaps be interpreted thus – as the statement of a problem arising from what has been said. The Dome of Varda must have been contrived after the ravishing of Árië by Melkor, in order to keep out the Sun's polluted light;[1] and Aman was lit beneath the Dome by the Two Trees. But on the other hand, it is an essential idea that the light of the Trees was derived from the Sun before it was 'tainted'. A resolution of this conflict may be found (reading 'could', not 'would', in the last phrase) in the idea that the light of the Trees was an unsullied light preserved by Varda from a time before the assaults of Melkor.

In the initial discussion in text II it is made clear that the Sun had been defiled before the Two Trees came into being: 'Now one of the objects of the Trees ... was the healing of the hurts of Melkor' (p. 377); but it is also said that 'Varda has preserved some of the Primeval Light ... The Two Trees are made.' This appears to be the solution to which my father came in the present text, thus suggesting that it preceded text II. On the other hand, there is no suggestion of the Dome of Varda in text II, and that text gives the impression that my father was beginning a new story, working it out as he went. It is probably vain to try to establish a clear sequence of composition from these papers, since he might return to the same problem and find what appears to be the same resolution at different times.

It is a notable fact that the Dome of Varda appears in my father's final work on the narrative text of the *Quenta Silmarillion* Chapter 6 (p. 286, §57). Where in AAm (p. 98, §108) it was told that Melkor, with Ungoliantë beside him, looked out from the summit of Mount Hyarantar and 'saw afar ... the silver domes of Valmar gleaming in the mingling of the lights of Telperion and Laurelin', in the *Quenta Silmarillion* Ungoliantë (now, in the changed story, lying on the summit alone) 'saw *the glimmer of the stars in the dome of Varda* and the radiance of Valmar far away.' Thus when later in the final rewriting ('The Rape of the Silmarils', p. 293, §1) it is told that above the Valar sitting in the Ring of Doom 'the stars of Varda now

glimmered overhead', it must be the stars of the Dome that were glimmering.[2]

NOTES

1 But in text IV (p. 388) it is said that the Dome of Varda was made 'to keep out any spirits or spies of Melkor'.

2 In the corresponding passage in the *Annals of Aman* (p. 106, §117) it is said: 'the gods sat in shadow, for it was night. But now night only as it may be in some land of the world, when the stars peer fitfully through the wrack of great clouds, and cold fogs drift in from a sullen shore of the sea.' In the published *Silmarillion* the final text ('the stars of Varda now glimmered overhead') was used; this does not indeed introduce any difficulty within the narrative, but I did not at that time perceive the significance of the words.

IV

There is a further statement about the Dome of Varda in a manuscript to which I have several times referred (VI.466; VIII.20; IX.73), an analysis (in intention) of all fragments of other languages found in *The Lord of the Rings*. The passage that I quote here comes from a long note on the song to Elbereth at the end of the chapter 'Many Meetings'. It may be mentioned incidentally that my father noted on the word *menel*: 'the heavens, the apparent dome of the sky. (Probably a Quenya word introduced into Sindarin. It was opposed to *kemen* "the Earth" as an apparent flat floor under *menel*. But these were "pictorial" words, as the lore of the Eldar and the Númenóreans knew much astronomy.)'

The passage concerning the Dome arises from the statement that *Elbereth* has *el-* 'star' prefixed (with the note 'But since *b* is not mutated the name is probably to be referred to **elen-barathi* > *elmbereth*').

The mythological association of Varda with the stars is of twofold origin. In the 'demiurgic period', before the establishment of Arda 'the Realm', while the Valar in general (including an unnamed host of others who never came to Arda)[1] were labouring in the general construction of Eä (the World or Universe), Varda was in Eldarin and Númenórean legend said to have designed and set in their places most of the principal stars; but being (by destiny and desire) the future Queen of Arda, in which her ultimate function lay, especially as the lover and protectress of the Quendi, she was concerned not only with the great Stars in themselves, but also in their relations to Arda,

and their appearance therefrom (and their effect upon the Children to come). Such forms and major patterns, therefore, as we call (for instance) *the Plough*, or *Orion*, were said to be her designs. Thus the *Valacirca* or 'Sickle of the Gods', which was one of the Eldarin names for the Plough, was, it was said, intended later to be a sign of menace and threat of vengeance over the North in which Melkor took up his abode (Varda was the most foresighted of all the Valar, possessing the clearest memory of the Music and Vision in which she had played only a small part as actor or player, but had listened most attentively).[2]

Later, when the Valar took refuge from Melkor, and the imminent ruin of Arda, and built and fortified Valinor in Aman, it was Varda who made the great dome above Valinor, to keep out any spirits or spies of Melkor. It was made as a simulacrum of the true firmament *(Tar-menel)*, and the patterns were therein repeated, but with apparent stars (or 'sparks' : *tinwi*) of greater relative size to the total visible area. So that the lesser firmament of Valinor *(Nur-menel)* was very brilliant.

From this work (chiefly: but also her original demiurgic labours were included) she was called 'Star-kindler'. Note that √*velen* properly referred to the real stars of Eä (but could also naturally be transferred to their *imagines*). The words *tinwë*, *ñillë* (√*tin* 'spark', √*ngil* 'silver glint') and Sindarin *tim*, *gil* referred properly to the Valinorian *imagines*. Hence Quenya *Tintallë* from *tinta* 'cause to sparkle', but also *Elentári* 'Queen of Stars'; Sindarin *Elbereth*, but also *Gilthoniel*.[3]

This note on Elbereth ends with a slightly jumbled and obscure statement to the effect that *Gilthoniel* is derived from the stems √*ngil* and √*thăn / thān* 'kindle, set light to'; *iel* a feminine suffix corresponding to male *-we*.

These remarks on Varda seem to raise further questions. In text II (pp. 375–6) my father declared that 'the cosmogonic mythology should represent Arda as it is, more or less: an island in the void "amidst the innumerable stars"'; that 'the Stars, therefore, in general will be other and remoter parts of the Great Tale of Eä, which do not concern the Valar of Arda'; and that 'Varda, therefore, as one of the great Valar of Arda, cannot be said to have "kindled" the stars, as an original subcreative act – not at least the stars in general.' I have taken this to mean (p. 384 note 4) that the 'star-making' of Varda was to be confined to (at most) the making of the 'Great Stars' before the Awakening of the Elves. In the present text, on the other hand, appears the remarkable conception that the 'demiurgic' work of Varda was the making and disposition of certain 'principal' stars, which

should in ages to come, after the establishment of the Earth, be visible in its skies as figures significant of its history – the 'dramatic centre' of Eä.

While I think it certain that this text comes from the late 1950s, there seems no way in which to date it more precisely either externally or in relation to other writings.

NOTES

1 Cf. text II (p. 378): 'Others there were, countless to our thought ..., whose labour lay elsewhere and in other regions and histories of the Great Tale, amid stars remote and worlds beyond the reach of the furthest thought.'

2 It is a curious point that what is said here of Varda's part in the Music of the Ainur is largely repeated from what is told of Nienna in the 'lost' typescript of the beginning of the *Annals of Aman* (AAm*, p. 68, §26). There it is told of her that she 'took little part' in the Music, but 'listened intent to all that she heard. Therefore she was rich in memory, and farsighted, perceiving how the themes should unfold in the Tale of Arda.'

3 It is interesting to compare what is said here about the names of Varda with what my father said on the subject in a note dated 3 February 1938 (V.200): '*Tintallë* Kindler can stand – but *tinwë* in Quenya only = spark (*tinta-* to kindle). Therefore *Tinwerína* > *Elerína*, *Tinwerontar* > *Elentári*'.

V

This brief comment, entitled 'Sun The Trees Silmarils', is found on a single sheet, together with other more substantial writings similar in appearance, preserved in a folded newspaper of November 1958.

The making of the Sun after the Death of the Trees is not only impossible 'mythology' now – especially since the Valar must be supposed to know the truth about the structure of Eä (and not make mythical guesses like Men) and to have communicated this to the Eldar (and so to Númenóreans!) – it is also impossible chronologically in the Narrative.

The Sun existed as part of the Kingdom of Arda. In so far as there was darkness (and diminishment of growth in Arda consequently) when the Valar removed to Aman it was due to obscurations devised by Melkor: clouds and smokes (a volcanic era!).

The Sun was the immediate source of the light of Arda. The Blessedness of the Trees (as compared with other growing

things later) was that they were kindled and illumined with the light of the Sun and Moon *before these were tainted.* The attack of Melkor on the Sun (and Moon) must therefore be subsequent to the establishment of Valinor, and be Melkor's effort to produce darkness.

Since the Silmarils were kindled from the Trees after the Death of the Trees, this 'light of the Unmarred Sun' remained only in them.

In text III, my father's note on the removal of the Dome of Varda after the death of the Trees, he was confronted by the problem (if my analysis of his meaning is correct, p. 386) that 'Melkor's defilement of the Sun must *precede* the Two Trees', whereas the light of the Trees was derived from the unsullied light of the Sun and Moon. Here he concludes that 'the attack of Melkor on the Sun (and Moon) must be *subsequent to* the establishment of Valinor'.

The word *after* in the concluding sentence is no more than a slip in extremely rapid writing.

VI

This text, entitled *Melkor* with *Morgoth* written beneath, is from the same collection as is text III (found in a newspaper dated April 1959), and was written on four slips made from further copies of the same Merton College documents dated June 1955 as is the draft A of the *Athrabeth* (pp. 350–2). The slip on which text III is written carries also preliminary drafting for the present essay on Melkor.

It is notable that text VI begins with a reference to 'Finrod and Andreth', which was therefore in existence, at least in some form.

Melkor Morgoth

Melkor must be made *far more powerful* in original nature (cf. 'Finrod and Andreth'). The greatest power under Eru (sc. the greatest created power).[1] (He was to make / devise / begin; Manwë (a little less great) was to improve, carry out, complete.)

Later, he must *not* be able to be controlled or 'chained' by all the Valar combined. Note that in the early age of Arda he was alone able to drive the Valar out of Middle-earth into retreat.

The war against Utumno was only undertaken by the Valar with reluctance, and without hope of real victory, but rather as a covering action or diversion, to enable them to get the Quendi out of his sphere of influence. But Melkor had already progressed some way towards becoming 'the Morgoth, a tyrant (or central tyranny and will), + his agents'.[2] Only the *total*

contained the old power of the complete Melkor; so that if 'the Morgoth' could be reached or temporarily separated from his agents he was much more nearly controllable and on a power-level with the Valar. The Valar find that they can deal with his agents (sc. armies, Balrogs, etc.) piecemeal. So that they come at last to Utumno itself and find that 'the Morgoth' has no longer for the moment sufficient 'force' (in any sense) to shield himself from direct personal contact. Manwë at last faces Melkor again, as he has not done since he entered Arda. Both are amazed: Manwë to perceive the *decrease* in Melkor as a *person*; Melkor to perceive this also from his own point of view: he has now less personal force than Manwë, and can no longer daunt him with his gaze.

Either Manwë must tell him so or he must himself suddenly realize (or both) that this has happened: he is 'dispersed'. But the lust to have creatures under him, dominated, has become habitual and necessary to Melkor, so that even if the process was reversible (possibly was by absolute and unfeigned self-abasement and repentance only) he cannot bring himself to do it.* As with all other characters there must be a *trembling moment* when it is in the balance: he nearly repents – and does not, and becomes much wickeder, and more foolish.

Possibly (and he thinks it possible) he could now *at that moment* be humiliated against his own will and 'chained' – if and before his dispersed forces reassemble. So – as soon as he has mentally rejected repentance – he (just like Sauron afterwards on this model) makes a mockery of self-abasement and repentance. From which actually he gets a kind of perverted pleasure as in desecrating something holy – [for the mere contemplating of the possibility of genuine repentance, if that did not come specially then as a direct grace from Eru, was at least one last flicker of his true primeval nature.][3] He *feigns* remorse and repentance. He actually kneels before Manwë and surrenders – in the first instance to avoid being chained by the Chain Angainor, which once upon him he fears would not ever be able to be shaken off. But also suddenly he has the idea of

* [footnote to the text] One of the reasons for his self-weakening is that he has given to his 'creatures', Orcs, Balrogs, etc. *power of recuperation and multiplication.* So that they will gather again without further specific orders. Part of his native creative power has gone out into making an independent evil growth out of his control.

penetrating the vaunted fastness of Valinor, and ruining it. So he offers to become 'the least of the Valar' and servant of them each and all, to help (in advice and skill) in repairing all the evils and hurts he has done. It is this offer which seduces or deludes Manwë – Manwë must be shown to have his own inherent fault (though not sin):* he has become engrossed (partly out of sheer fear of Melkor, partly out of desire to control him) in amendment, healing, re-ordering – even 'keeping the status quo' – to the loss of all creative power and even to weakness in dealing with difficult and perilous situations. Against the advice of some of the Valar (such as Tulkas) he grants Melkor's prayer.

Melkor is taken back to Valinor going last (save for Tulkas† who follows bearing Angainor and clinking it to remind Melkor).

But at the council Melkor is not given immediate freedom. The Valar in assembly will not tolerate this. Melkor is remitted to Mandos (to stay there in 'reclusion' and meditate, and complete his repentance – and also his plans for redress).[4]

Then he begins to doubt the wisdom of his own policy, and would have rejected it all and burst out into flaming rebellion – but he is now absolutely isolated from his agents and in enemy territory. He cannot. Therefore he swallows the bitter pill (but it greatly increases his hate, and he ever afterward accused Manwë of being faithless).

The rest of the story, with Melkor's release, and permission to attend the Council sitting at the feet of Manwë (after the pattern of evil counsellors in later tales, which it could be said derive from this primeval model?), can then proceed more or less as already told.

In this short essay it is seen that in his reflections on the nature of Melkor, the vastness of his primeval power and its 'dispersion', my

* [footnote to the text] Every finite creature must have some weakness: that is some inadequacy to deal with some situations. It is not sinful when not willed, and when the creature does his best (even if it is not what should be done) as he sees it – with the conscious intent of serving Eru.

† [footnote to the text] Tulkas represents the good side of 'violence' in the war against evil. This is an absence of all compromise which will even face apparent evils (such as war) rather than parley; and does not (in any kind of pride) think that any one less than Eru can redress this, or rewrite the tale of Arda.

father had been led to propose certain important alterations in the narrative of the legends as told in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (pp. 161, 186) and in the *Annals of Aman* (pp. 75, 80, 93). In the narrative as it stood, and as it remained,[5] there was no suggestion that Melkor feigned repentance when (no longer able to 'daunt him with his gaze') he faced Manwë in Utumno – already harbouring 'the idea of penetrating the vaunted fastness of Valinor, and ruining it'. On the contrary, 'Tulkas stood forth as the champion of the Valar and wrestled with him and cast him upon his face, and bound him with the chain Angainor'[6] (an ancient element, going back to the richly pictorial and 'primitive' account in the story of 'The Chaining of Melko' in *The Book of Lost Tales*, I.100–4). Moreover, in the present text it was now, defeated at Utumno, that Melkor offered to become 'the least of the Valar', and to aid them in the redress of all the evils that he had brought to pass, whereas in the narratives he did this when he came before the Valar after he had endured the ages of his incarceration in Mandos and sued for pardon. Of Manwë it was said, when Melkor was allowed to go freely about Valinor, that he believed that his evil was cured: 'for he himself was free from the evil and could not comprehend it'. No such flaw or 'inherent fault' in Manwë as is described in this essay was suggested;[7] although it was told that Ulmo, and Tulkas, doubted the wisdom of such clemency (and this too is an element that goes back to *The Book of Lost Tales*: 'Such was the doom of Manwë ... albeit Tulkas and Palúrien thought it merciful to peril' (I.105)).

NOTES

1 Cf. Finrod's words in the *Athrabeth* (p. 322): 'there is no power conceivable greater than Melkor save Eru only'.

2 The earliest reference to the idea of the 'dispersion' of Melkor's original power is found in the *Annals of Aman* §179 (p. 133):

> For as he grew in malice, and sent forth from himself the evil that he conceived in lies and creatures of wickedness, his power passed into them and was dispersed, and he himself became ever more earth-bound, unwilling to issue from his dark strongholds.

Cf. also *Annals* §128 (p. 110). – The expression 'the Morgoth' is used several times by Finrod in the *Athrabeth*.

3 The square brackets were put in after the writing of the passage.

4 'his plans for redress': i.e. redress of the evils he has brought about.

5 The second passage in QS, in which the pardon of Melkor is recounted (p. 186, §48), was changed in the final rewriting of Chapter 6: see p. 273, §48. But though the changed text introduced the ideas that any complete reversal of the evils brought about by Melkor was impossible, and that he was 'in his beginning

the greatest of the Powers', the narrative was not altered in respect of changes envisaged in this essay (see note 7).

6 Alteration to the old story of the encounter at Utumno might have entered if QS Chapter 3 (in which this is recounted) had formed a part of the late rewriting that transformed the old Chapter 6; but see note 7.

7 In the final rewriting of QS Chapter 6 (p. 273, §48) this remained the case (note 5); and the original story was also retained that it was in Valinor after his imprisonment, not at Utumno, that Melkor made his promises of service and reparation. This might suggest that the present essay was written *after* the new work on QS (almost certainly dating from the end of the 1950s, p. 300), supporting the idea that the date of the documents on which the essay was written (1955) is misleading (see p. 385).

VII

This essay is found in two forms. The earlier ('A') is a fairly brief text of four pages in manuscript, titled 'Some notes on the "philosophy" of the *Silmarillion*'; it is rapidly expressed and does not have a clear ending. The second ('B') is a greatly expanded version of twelve pages, also in manuscript, of far more careful expression and beginning in fine script, but breaking off unfinished, indeed in the middle of a sentence. This is titled 'Notes on motives in *the Silmarillion*'.

The relation between the two forms is such that for most of its length there is no need to give any of the text of A, for all of its content is found embedded in B. From the point (p. 401) where the Valar are condemned for the raising of the Pelóri, however, the texts diverge. In B my father introduced a long palliation of the conduct of the Valar, and the essay breaks off before the matter of the concluding section of A was reached (see note 6); this is therefore given at the end of B.

The text of B was subsequently divided and lettered as three distinct sections, here numbered (i), (ii), and (iii).

Notes on motives in the Silmarillion

(i)

Sauron was 'greater', effectively, in the Second Age than Morgoth at the end of the First. Why? Because, though he was far smaller by natural stature, he had not yet fallen so low. Eventually he also squandered his power (of being) in the endeavour to gain control of others. But he was not obliged to expend so much of himself. To gain domination over Arda, Morgoth had let most of his being pass into the *physical* constituents of the Earth – hence all things that were born on

Earth and lived on and by it, beasts or plants or incarnate spirits, were liable to be 'stained'. Morgoth at the time of the War of the Jewels had become permanently 'incarnate': for this reason he was afraid, and waged the war almost entirely by means of devices, or of subordinates and dominated creatures.

Sauron, however, inherited the 'corruption' of Arda, and only spent his (much more limited) power on the Rings; for it was the *creatures* of earth, in their *minds and wills*, that he desired to dominate. In this way Sauron was also wiser than Melkor-Morgoth. Sauron was not a beginner of discord; and he probably knew more of the 'Music' than did Melkor, whose mind had always been filled with his own plans and devices, and gave little attention to other things. The time of Melkor's greatest power, therefore, was in the physical beginnings of the World; a vast demiurgic lust for power and the achievement of his own will and designs, on a great scale. And later after things had become more stable, Melkor was more interested in and capable of dealing with a volcanic eruption, for example, than with (say) a tree. It is indeed probable that he was simply unaware of the minor or more delicate productions of Yavanna: such as small flowers.*

Thus, as 'Morgoth', when Melkor was confronted by the existence of other inhabitants of Arda, with other wills and intelligences, he was enraged by the mere fact of their existence, and his only notion of dealing with them was by physical force, or the fear of it. His sole ultimate object was their destruction. Elves, and still more Men, he despised because of their 'weakness': that is their lack of physical force, or power over 'matter'; but he was also afraid of them. He was aware, at any rate originally when still capable of rational thought, that he could not 'annihilate'** them: that is, destroy their being; but their physical 'life', and incarnate form became increasingly to his mind the only thing that was worth considering.† Or he

* [footnote to the text] If such things were forced upon his attention, he was angry and hated them, as coming from other minds than his own.

** [bracketed note inserted into the text] Melkor could not, of course, 'annihilate' anything of matter, he could only ruin or destroy or corrupt the forms given to matter by other minds in their sub-creative activities.

† [footnote without indication of reference in the text] For this

became so far advanced in Lying that he lied even to himself, and pretended that he could destroy them and rid Arda of them altogether. Hence his endeavour always to break wills and subordinate them to or absorb them into his own will and being, before destroying their bodies. This was sheer nihilism, and negation its one ultimate object: Morgoth would no doubt, if he had been victorious, have ultimately destroyed even his own 'creatures', such as the Orcs, when they had served his sole purpose in using them: the destruction of Elves and Men. Melkor's final impotence and despair lay in this: that whereas the Valar (and in their degree Elves and Men) could still love 'Arda Marred', that is Arda with a Melkor-ingredient, and could still heal this or that hurt, or produce from its very marring, from its state as it was, things beautiful and lovely, Melkor could do nothing with Arda, which was not from his own mind and was interwoven with the work and thoughts of others: even left alone he could only have gone raging on till all was levelled again into a formless chaos. And yet even so he would have been defeated, because it would still have 'existed', independent of his own mind, and a world in potential.

Sauron had never reached this stage of nihilistic madness. He did not object to the existence of the world, so long as he could do what he liked with it. He still had the relics of positive purposes, that descended from the good of the nature in which he began: it had been his virtue (and therefore also the cause of his fall, and of his relapse) that he loved order and co-ordination, and disliked all confusion and wasteful friction. (It was the apparent will and power of Melkor to effect his designs quickly and masterfully that had first attracted Sauron to him.) Sauron had, in fact, been very like Saruman, and so still understood him quickly and could guess what he would be likely to think and do, even without the aid of *palantíri* or of spies; whereas Gandalf eluded and puzzled him. But like all minds of this cast, Sauron's love (originally) or (later) mere understanding of other individual intelligences was correspondingly weaker; and though the only real good in, or rational motive for, all this ordering and planning and organization was the good of all inhabitants of Arda (even admitting Sauron's

reason he himself came to fear 'death' – the destruction of his assumed bodily form – above everything, and sought to avoid any kind of injury to his own form.

right to be their supreme lord), his 'plans', the idea coming from his own isolated mind, became the sole object of his will, and an end, the End, in itself.*

Morgoth had no 'plan': unless destruction and reduction to *nil* of a world in which he had only a *share* can be called a 'plan'. But this is, of course, a simplification of the situation. Sauron had not served Morgoth, even in his last stages, without becoming infected by his lust for destruction, and his hatred of God (which must end in nihilism). Sauron could not, of course, be a 'sincere' atheist. Though one of the minor spirits created before the world, he knew Eru, according to his measure. He probably deluded himself with the notion that the Valar (including Melkor) having failed, Eru had simply abandoned Eä, or at any rate Arda, and would not concern himself with it any more. It would appear that he interpreted the 'change of the world' at the Downfall of Númenor, when Aman was removed from the physical world, in this sense: Valar (and Elves) were removed from effective control, and Men under God's curse and wrath. If he thought about the *Istari*, especially Saruman and Gandalf, he imagined them as emissaries from the Valar, seeking to establish their lost power again and 'colonize' Middle-earth, as a mere effort of defeated imperialists (without knowledge or sanction of Eru). His cynicism, which (sincerely) regarded the motives of Manwë as precisely the same as his own, seemed fully justified in Saruman. Gandalf he did not understand. But certainly he had already become evil, and therefore stupid, enough to imagine that his different behaviour was due simply to weaker intelligence and lack of firm masterful purpose. He was only a rather cleverer Radagast – cleverer, because it is more profitable (more productive of power) to become absorbed in the study of people than of animals.

Sauron was not a 'sincere' atheist, but he preached atheism, because it weakened resistance to himself (and he had ceased to fear God's action in Arda). As was seen in the case of Ar-Pharazôn. But there was seen the effect of Melkor upon Sauron: he spoke of Melkor in Melkor's own terms: as a god, or even as God. This may have been the residue of a state which

* [footnote to the text] But his capability of corrupting other minds, and even engaging their service, was a residue from the fact that his original desire for 'order' had really envisaged the good estate (especially physical well-being) of his 'subjects'.

was in a sense a shadow of good: the ability once in Sauron at least to admire or admit the superiority of a being other than himself. Melkor, and still more Sauron himself afterwards, both profited by this darkened shadow of good and the services of 'worshippers'. But it may be doubted whether even such a shadow of good was still sincerely operative in Sauron by that time. His cunning motive is probably best expressed thus. To wean one of the God-fearing from their allegiance it is best to propound another *unseen* object of allegiance and another hope of benefits; propound to him a Lord who will sanction what he desires and not forbid it. Sauron, apparently a defeated rival for world-power, now a mere hostage, can hardly propound himself; but as the former servant and disciple of Melkor, the worship of Melkor will raise him from hostage to high priest. But though Sauron's whole true motive was the destruction of the Númenóreans, this was a particular matter of revenge upon Ar-Pharazôn, for humiliation. Sauron (unlike Morgoth) would have been content for the Númenóreans to exist, *as his own subjects*, and indeed he used a great many of them that he corrupted to his allegiance.

(ii)

No one, not even one of the Valar, can read the mind of other 'equal beings':* that is one cannot 'see' them or comprehend them fully and directly by simple inspection. One can *deduce* much of their thought, from general comparisons leading to conclusions concerning the nature and tendencies of minds and thought, and from particular knowledge of individuals, and special circumstances. But this is no more reading or inspection of another mind than is deduction concerning the contents of a closed room, or events taken place out of sight. Neither is so-called 'thought-transference' a process of mind-reading: this is but the reception, and interpretation by the receiving mind, of the impact of a thought, or thought-pattern, emanating from another mind, which is no more the mind in full or in itself than is the distant sight of a man running the man himself. Minds can exhibit or reveal themselves to other minds by the action of their

* [marginal note] All rational minds / spirits deriving direct from Eru are 'equal' – in order and status – though not necessarily 'coëval' or of like original power.

own wills (though it is doubtful if, even when willing or desiring this, a mind can actually reveal itself wholly to any other mind). It is thus a temptation to minds of greater power to govern or constrain the will of other, and weaker, minds, so as to induce or force them to reveal themselves. But to force such a revelation, or to induce it by any lying or deception, even for supposedly 'good' purposes (including the 'good' of the person so persuaded or dominated), is absolutely forbidden. To do so is a crime, and the 'good' in the purposes of those who commit this crime swiftly becomes corrupted.

Much could thus 'go on behind Manwë's back': indeed the innermost being of all other minds, great and small, was hidden from him. And with regard to the Enemy, Melkor, in particular, he could not penetrate by distant mind-sight his thought and purposes, since Melkor remained in a fixed and powerful will to withhold his mind: which physically expressed took shape in the darkness and shadows that surrounded him. But Manwë could of course use, and did use, his own great knowledge, his vast experience of things and of persons, his memory of the 'Music', and his own far sight, and the tidings of his messengers.

He, like Melkor, practically never is seen or heard of outside or far away from his own halls and permanent residence. Why is this? For no very profound reason. The Government is always in Whitehall. King Arthur is usually in Camelot or Caerleon, and news and adventures come there and arise there. The 'Elder King' is obviously not going to be finally defeated or destroyed, at least not before some ultimate 'Ragnarök'[1] – which even for us is still in the future, so he can have no real 'adventures'. But, if you keep him *at home*, the issue of any particular event (since it cannot then result in a final 'checkmate') can remain in literary suspense. Even to the final war against Morgoth it is Fionwë son of Manwë who leads out the power of the Valar. When we move out Manwë it will be the last battle, and the end of the World (or of 'Arda Marred') as the Eldar would say.

[Morgoth's staying 'at home' has, as described above, quite a different reason: his fear of being killed or even hurt (the literary motive is not present, for since he is pitted against the Elder King, the issue of any one of his enterprises is always in doubt).]

Melkor 'incarnated' himself (as Morgoth) permanently. He did this so as to control the *hroa*,[2] the 'flesh' or physical matter, of Arda. He attempted to identify himself with it. A vaster, and

more perilous, procedure, though of similar sort to the operations of Sauron with the Rings. Thus, outside the Blessed Realm, all 'matter' was likely to have a 'Melkor ingredient',[3] and those who had bodies, nourished by the *hroa* of Arda, had as it were a tendency, small or great, towards Melkor: they were none of them wholly free of him in their incarnate form, and their bodies had an effect upon their spirits.

But in this way Morgoth lost (or exchanged, or transmuted) the greater part of his original 'angelic' powers, of mind and spirit, while gaining a terrible grip upon the physical world. For this reason he *had* to be fought, mainly by physical force, and enormous material ruin was a probable consequence of any direct combat with him, victorious or otherwise. This is the chief explanation of the constant reluctance of the Valar to come into open battle against Morgoth. Manwë's task and problem was much more difficult than Gandalf's. Sauron's, relatively smaller, power was *concentrated*; Morgoth's vast power was *disseminated*. The whole of 'Middle-earth' was Morgoth's Ring, though temporarily his attention was mainly upon the North-west. Unless swiftly successful, War against him might well end in reducing all Middle-earth to chaos, possibly even all Arda. It is easy to say: 'It was the task and function of the Elder King to govern Arda and make it possible for the Children of Eru to live in it unmolested.' But the dilemma of the Valar was this: Arda could only be liberated by a physical battle; but a probable result of such a battle was the irretrievable ruin of Arda. Moreover, the final eradication of Sauron (as a power directing evil) was achievable by the destruction of the Ring. No such eradication of Morgoth was possible, since this required the complete disintegration of the 'matter' of Arda. Sauron's power was not (for example) in gold as such, but in a particular form or shape made of a particular portion of total gold. Morgoth's power was disseminated throughout Gold, if nowhere absolute (for he did not create Gold) it was nowhere absent. (It was this Morgoth-element in matter, indeed, which was a prerequisite for such 'magic' and other evils as Sauron practised with it and upon it.)

It is quite possible, of course, that certain 'elements' or conditions of matter had attracted Morgoth's special attention (mainly, unless in the remote past, for reasons of his own plans). For example, all gold (in Middle-earth) seems to have had a specially 'evil' trend – but not silver. Water is represented as

being almost entirely free of Morgoth. (This, of course, does not mean that any particular sea, stream, river, well, or even vessel of water could not be poisoned or defiled – as all things could.)

(iii)

The Valar 'fade' and become more impotent, precisely in proportion as the shape and constitution of things becomes more defined and settled. The longer the Past, the more nearly defined the Future, and the less room for important change (untrammelled action, on a physical plane, that is not destructive in purpose). The Past, once 'achieved', has become part of the 'Music in being'. Only Eru may or can alter the 'Music'. The last major effort, of this demiurgic kind, made by the Valar was the lifting up of the range of the Pelóri to a great height. It is possible to view this as, if not an actually bad action, at least as a mistaken one. Ulmo disapproved of it.[4] It had one good, and legitimate, object: the preservation incorrupt of at least a part of Arda. But it seemed to have a selfish or neglectful (or despairing) motive also; for the effort to preserve the Elves incorrupt there had proved a failure if they were to be left free: many had refused to come to the Blessed Realm, many had revolted and left it. Whereas, with regard to Men, Manwë and all the Valar knew quite well that they could not come to Aman at all; and the longevity (co-extensive with the life of Arda) of Valar and Eldar was expressly not permitted to Men. Thus the 'Hiding of Valinor' came near to countering Morgoth's possessiveness by a rival possessiveness, setting up a private domain of light and bliss against one of darkness and domination: a palace and a pleasaunce[5] (well-fenced) against a fortress and a dungeon.[6]

This appearance of selfish *fainéance* in the Valar in the mythology as told is (though I have not explained it or commented on it) I think only an 'appearance', and one which we are apt to accept as the truth, since we are all in some degree affected by the shadow and lies of their Enemy, the Calumniator. It has to be remembered that the 'mythology' is represented as being two stages removed from a true record: it is based first upon Elvish records and lore about the Valar and their own dealings with them; and these have reached us (fragmentarily) only through relics of Númenórean (human) traditions, derived from the Eldar, in the earlier parts, though for later times supplemented by anthropocentric histories and

tales.[7] These, it is true, came down through the 'Faithful' and their descendants in Middle-earth, but could not altogether escape the darkening of the picture due to the hostility of the rebellious Númenóreans to the Valar.

Even so, and on the grounds of the stories as received, it is possible to view the matter otherwise. The closing of Valinor against the rebel Noldor (who left it voluntarily and after warning) was in itself just. But, if we dare to attempt to enter the mind of the Elder King, assigning motives and finding faults, there are things to remember before we deliver a judgement. Manwë was the spirit of greatest wisdom and *prudence* in Arda. He is represented as having had the greatest knowledge of the Music, as a whole, possessed by any one finite mind; and he alone of all persons or minds in that time is represented as having the power of *direct* recourse to and communication with Eru. He must have grasped with great clarity what even we may perceive dimly: that it was the essential mode of the process of 'history' in Arda that evil should constantly arise, and that out of it new good should constantly come. One especial aspect of this is the strange way in which the evils of the Marrer, or his inheritors, are turned into weapons against evil. If we consider the situation after the escape of Morgoth and the reëstablishment of his abode in Middle-earth, we shall see that the heroic Noldor were the best possible weapon with which to keep Morgoth at bay, virtually besieged, and at any rate fully occupied, on the northern fringe of Middle-earth, without provoking him to a frenzy of nihilistic destruction. And in the meanwhile, Men, or the best elements in Mankind, shaking off his shadow, came into contact with a people who had actually seen and experienced the Blessed Realm.

In their association with the warring Eldar Men were raised to their fullest achievable stature, and by the two marriages the transference to them, or infusion into Mankind, of the noblest Elf-strain was accomplished, in readiness for the still distant, but inevitably approaching, days when the Elves would 'fade'.

The last intervention with physical force by the Valar, ending in the breaking of Thangorodrim, may then be viewed as not in fact reluctant or even unduly delayed, but timed with precision. The intervention came before the annihilation of the Eldar and the Edain. Morgoth though locally triumphant had neglected most of Middle-earth during the war; and by it he had in fact been *weakened*: in power and prestige (he had lost and failed to

recover one of the Silmarils), and above all in mind. He had become absorbed in 'kingship', and though a tyrant of ogre-size and monstrous power, this was a vast fall even from his former wickedness of hate, and his terrible nihilism. He had fallen to *like* being a tyrant-king with conquered slaves, and vast obedient armies.[8]

The war was successful, and ruin was limited to the small (if beautiful) region of Beleriand. Morgoth was thus actually *made captive in physical form*,[9] and in that form taken as a mere criminal to Aman and delivered to Námo Mandos as judge – and executioner. He was judged, and eventually taken out of the Blessed Realm and *executed*: that is *killed* like one of the Incarnates. It was then made plain (though it must have been understood beforehand by Manwë and Námo) that, though he had 'disseminated' his power (his evil and possessive and rebellious will) far and wide into the matter of Arda, he had lost direct control of this, and all that 'he', as a surviving remnant of integral being, retained as 'himself' and under control was the terribly shrunken and reduced spirit that inhabited his self-imposed (but now beloved) body. When that body was destroyed he was weak and utterly 'houseless', and for that time at a loss and 'unanchored' as it were. We read that he was then thrust out into the Void.[10] That should mean that he was put outside Time and Space, outside Ëa altogether; but if that were so this would imply a direct intervention of Eru (with or without supplication of the Valar). It may however refer inaccurately* to the extrusion or flight of his spirit from Arda.

In any case, in seeking to absorb or rather to infiltrate himself throughout 'matter', what was then left of him was no longer powerful enough to reclothe itself. (It would now remain *fixed* in the *desire* to do so: there was *no* 'repentance' or possibility of it: Melkor had abandoned for ever all 'spiritual' ambitions, and existed almost solely as a desire to possess and dominate matter, and Arda in particular.) At least it could not *yet* reclothe itself. We need not suppose that Manwë was deluded into supposing that this had been a war to end war, or

* [footnote to the text] Since the minds of Men (and even of the Elves) were inclined to confuse the 'Void', as a conception of the state of Not-being, outside Creation or Ëa, with the conception of vast *spaces* within Ëa, especially those conceived to lie all about the enisled 'Kingdom of Arda' (which we should probably call the Solar System).

even to end Melkor. Melkor was not Sauron. We speak of him being 'weakened, shrunken, reduced'; but this is in comparison with the great Valar. He had been a being of immense potency and life. The Elves certainly held and taught that *fëar* or 'spirits' may grow of their own life (independently of the body), even as they may be hurt and healed, be diminished and renewed.[11] The dark spirit of Melkor's 'remainder' might be expected, therefore, eventually and after long ages to increase again, even (as some held) to draw back into itself some of its formerly dissipated power. It would do this (even if Sauron could not) because of its relative greatness. It did not repent, or turn finally away from its obsession, but retained still relics of wisdom, so that it could still seek its object indirectly, and not merely blindly. It would rest, seek to heal itself, distract itself by other thoughts and desires and devices – but all simply to recover enough strength to return to the attack on the Valar, and to its old obsession. As it grew again it would become, as it were, a dark shadow, brooding on the confines of Arda, and yearning towards it.

Nonetheless the breaking of Thangorodrim and the extrusion of Melkor was the end of 'Morgoth' as such, and for that age (and many ages after). It was thus, also, in a sense the end of Manwë's prime function and task as Elder King, until the End. He had been the Adversary of the Enemy.

It is very reasonable to suppose that Manwë knew that before long (as he saw 'time') the Dominion of Men must begin, and the making of history would then be committed to them: for their struggle with Evil special arrangements had been made! Manwë knew of Sauron, of course. He had commanded Sauron to come before him for judgement, but had left room for repentance and ultimate rehabilitation. Sauron had refused and had fled into hiding. Sauron, however, was a problem that Men had to deal with finally: the first of the many concentrations of Evil into definite power-points that they would have to combat, as it was also the last of those in 'mythological' personalized (but non-human) form.

It may be noted that Sauron's first defeat was achieved by the Númenóreans alone (though Sauron was not in fact overthrown personally: his 'captivity' was voluntary and a trick). In the first overthrow and disembodiment of Sauron in Middle-earth (neglecting the matter of Lúthien)[12]

Here the long version B breaks off, at the foot of a page. I give now

the conclusion of version A from the point where the texts diverge (see p. 394 and note 6), beginning with the sentence corresponding to B (p. 401) 'The last major effort, of this demiurgic kind, made by the Valar . . .'

The last effort of this sort made by the Valar was the raising up of the Pelóri – but this was not a good act: it came near to countering Morgoth in his own way – apart from the element of selfishness in its object of preserving Aman as a blissful region to live in.

The Valar were like architects working with a plan 'passed' by the Government. They became less and less important (structurally!) as the plan was more and more nearly achieved. Even in the First Age we see them after uncounted ages of work near the end of their time of work – not wisdom or counsel. (The wiser they became the less power they had to *do* anything – save by counsel.)

Similarly the Elves faded, having introduced 'art and science'.[13] Men will also 'fade', *if* it proves to be the plan that things shall still go on, when they have completed their function. But even the Elves had the notion that this would not be so: that the end of Men would somehow be bound up with the end of history, or as they called it 'Arda Marred' (*Arda Sahta*), and the achievement of 'Arda Healed' (*Arda Envinyanta*).[14] (They do not seem to have been clear or precise – how should they be! – whether *Arda Envinyanta* was a permanent state of achievement, which could therefore only be enjoyed 'outside Time', as it were: surveying the Tale as an englobed whole; or a state of unmarred bliss within Time and in a 'place' that was in some sense a lineal and historical descent of our world or 'Arda Marred'. They seem often to have meant both. 'Arda Unmarred' did not actually exist, but remained in thought – Arda without Melkor, or rather without the effects of his becoming evil; but is the source from which all ideas of order and perfection are derived. 'Arda Healed' is thus both the completion of the 'Tale of Arda' which has taken up all the deeds of Melkor, but must according to the promise of Ilúvatar be seen to be good; and also a state of redress and bliss beyond the 'circles of the world'.)[15]

Evil is fissiparous. But itself barren. Melkor could not 'beget', or have any spouse (though he attempted to ravish Arien, this was to destroy and 'distain'[16] her, not to beget fiery offspring). Out of the *discords* of the Music – sc. not directly out of either

of the themes,[17] Eru's or Melkor's, but of their dissonance with regard one to another – evil things appeared in Arda, which did not descend from any direct plan or vision of Melkor: they were *not* 'his children'; and therefore, since all evil hates, hated him too. The progeniture of things was corrupted. Hence *Orcs*? Part of the Elf-Man idea gone wrong. Though as for Orcs, the Eldar believed Morgoth had actually 'bred' them by capturing Men (and Elves) early and increasing to the utmost any corrupt tendencies they possessed.

Despite its incomplete state (whether due to the loss of the conclusion of the fully developed form of the essay or to its abandonment, see note 6) this is the most comprehensive account that my father wrote of how, in his later years, he had come to 'interpret' the nature of Evil in his mythology; never elsewhere did he write any such exposition of the nature of Morgoth, of his decline, and of his corruption of Arda, nor draw out the distinction between Morgoth and Sauron: 'the whole of Middle-earth was Morgoth's Ring'.

To place this essay in sequential relation to the other 'philosophical' or 'theological' writings given in this book with any certainty seems scarcely possible, though 'Fionwë son of Manwë' on p. 399 (for 'Ëonwë herald of Manwë') may suggest that it stands relatively early among them (see pp. 151–2). It shows a marked likeness in tone to the many letters of exposition that my father wrote in the later 1950s, and indeed it seems to me very possible that the correspondence which followed the publication of *The Lord of the Rings* played a significant part in the development of his examination of the 'images and events' of the mythology.[18]

NOTES

1 *Ragnarök*: 'the Doom of the Gods' (Old Norse): see IX.286.

2 *hroa*: so written here and at the second occurrence below (and in text A), not as elsewhere always *hröa*, where it means the body of an incarnate being. The word used for 'physical matter' in *Laws and Customs* was *hrón*, later changed to *orma* (p. 218 and note 26); in the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* and in the 'Glossary' of names the word is *erma* (pp. 338, 349).

3 On this sentence see p. 271.

4 Overt condemnation, strongly expressed, of the Valar for the Hiding of Valinor is found in the story of that name in *The Book of Lost Tales* (I.208–9), but disappears in the later versions. Of the old story I noted (I.223) that 'in *The Silmarillion* there is no vestige of the tumultuous council, no suggestion of a disagreement among the Valar, with Manwë, Varda and Ulmo actively

disapproving the work and holding aloof from it', and I commented:

> It is most curious to observe that the action of the Valar here sprang essentially from indolence mixed with fear. Nowhere does my father's early conception of the *fainéant* Gods appear more clearly. He held moreover quite explicitly that their failure to make war upon Melko then and there was a deep error, diminishing themselves, and (as it appears) irreparable. In his later writing the Hiding of Valinor remained indeed, but only as a great fact of mythological antiquity; there is no whisper of its condemnation.

The last words refer to the actual *Silmarillion* narratives. Ulmo's disapproval now reappears, and is a further evidence of his isolation in the counsels of the Valar (see p. 253 note 11); cf. his words to Tuor at Vinyamar (having spoken to him, among other things, of 'the hiding of the Blessed Realm', though what he said is not told): 'Therefore, though in the days of this darkness I seem to oppose the will of my brethren, the Lords of the West, that is my part among them, to which I was appointed ere the making of the World' (*Unfinished Tales* p. 29).

5 *pleasaunce* (= *pleasance*): a 'pleasure-garden'. My father used this word several times in *The Book of Lost Tales* (see I.275, *pleasance*), for example of the gardens of Lórien.

6 At this point my father wrote on the manuscript later: 'See original short form on Fading of Elves (and Men)'. See p. 394. This seems a clear indication that B was not completed, or that if it was its conclusion was early lost.

7 Cf. the statement on this subject in the brief text I, p. 370.

8 Since this discussion is introduced in justification of the Hiding of Valinor, the bearing of the argument seems to be that the history of Middle-earth in the last centuries of the First Age would not have been possible of achievement had Valinor remained open to the return of the Noldor.

9 As, of course, had happened to Melkor long before, after the sack of Utumno.

10 Cf. the conclusion of QS (V.332, §29): 'But Morgoth himself the Gods thrust through the Door of Night into the Timeless Void, beyond the Walls of the World'.

11 The following was added marginally after the page was written:

> If they do not sink below a certain level. Since no *fëa* can be annihilated, reduced to zero or not-existing, it is no[t] clear what is meant. Thus Sauron was *said* to have fallen below the point of ever recovering, though he had previously recovered. What is probably meant is that a 'wicked' spirit becomes fixed in a certain desire or ambition, and if it cannot repent then this desire becomes virtually its whole being. But the desire may be

wholly beyond the weakness it has fallen to, and it will then be unable to withdraw its attention from the unobtainable desire, even to attend to itself. It will then remain for ever in impotent desire or memory of desire.

12 A reference to the legend of the defeat of Sauron by Lúthien and Huan on the isle of Tol-in-Gaurhoth, where Beren was imprisoned (*The Silmarillion* pp. 174–5).

13 Cf. *Letters* no.181 (1956): 'In this mythological world the Elves and Men are in their incarnate forms kindred, but in the relation of their "spirits" to the world in time represent different "experiments", each of which has its own natural trend, and weakness. The Elves represent, as it were, the artistic, aesthetic, and purely scientific aspects of the Humane nature raised to a higher level than is actually seen in Men.'

14 In the text FM 2 of 'Finwë and Míriel' (p. 254, footnote) 'Arda Marred' is *Arda Hastaina. Arda Envinyanta*, at both occurrences, was first written *Arda Vincarna*.

15 With this passage in brackets cf. especially note (iii) at the end of *Laws and Customs* (p. 251); also pp. 245, 254 (footnote), 318.

16 *distain*: an archaic verb meaning 'stain', 'discolour', 'defile'.

17 The Three Themes of Ilúvatar in the Music of the Ainur are here treated as a single theme, in opposition to the discordant 'theme' of Melkor.

18 In a letter of June 1957 (*Letters* no.200) he wrote:

> I am sorry if this all seems dreary and 'pompose'. But so do all attempts to 'explain' the images and events of a mythology. Naturally the stories come first. But it is, I suppose, some test of the consistency of a mythology as such, if it is capable of some sort of rational or rationalized explanation.

VIII

In the last sentence of the original short version of text VII (p. 406) my father wrote that the Eldar believed that Morgoth bred the Orcs 'by capturing Men (and Elves) early' (i.e. in the early days of their existence). This indicates that his views on this subject had changed since the *Annals of Aman*. For the theory of the origin of the Orcs as it stood, in point of written record in the narratives,[1] at this time see AAm §42–5 (pp. 72–4, and commentary p. 78), and §127 (pp. 109–10, and commentary pp. 123–4). In the final form in AAm (p. 74) 'this is held true by the wise of Eressëa':

> all those of the Quendi that came into the hands of Melkor, ere Utumno was broken, were put there in prison, and by slow arts of cruelty and wickedness were corrupted and enslaved. Thus did

> Melkor breed the hideous race of the Orkor in envy and mockery of the Eldar, of whom they were afterwards the bitterest foes. For the Orkor had life and multiplied after the manner of the Children of Ilúvatar; and naught that had life of its own, nor the semblance thereof, could ever Melkor make since his rebellion in the Ainulindalë before the Beginning: so say the wise.

On the typescript of AAm my father noted against the account of the origin of the Orcs: 'Alter this. Orcs are not Elvish' (p. 80).

The present text, entitled 'Orcs', is a short essay (very much a record of 'thinking with the pen') found in the same small collection gathered in a newspaper of 1959 as texts III and VI. Like them it was written on Merton College papers of 1955; and like text VI it makes reference to 'Finrod and Andreth' (see pp. 385, 390).

Orcs

Their nature and origin require more thought. They are not easy to work into the theory and system.

(1) As the case of Aulë and the Dwarves shows, only Eru could make creatures with independent wills, and with reasoning powers. But Orcs seem to have both: they can try to cheat Morgoth / Sauron, rebel against him, or criticize him.

(2) ? Therefore they must be *corruptions* of something pre-existing.

(3) But Men had not yet appeared, when the Orcs already existed. Aulë constructed the Dwarves out of his memory of the Music; but Eru would not sanction the work of Melkor so as to allow the independence of the Orcs. (Not unless Orcs were ultimately remediable, or could be amended and 'saved'?)

It also seems clear (see 'Finrod and Andreth') that though Melkor could utterly corrupt and ruin individuals, it is not possible to contemplate his absolute perversion of a whole people, or group of peoples, and *his making that state heritable.*[2] [*Added later:* This latter must (if a fact) be an act of Eru.]

In that case Elves, as a source, are very unlikely. And are Orcs 'immortal', in the Elvish sense? Or trolls? It seems clearly implied in *The Lord of the Rings* that trolls existed in their own right, but were 'tinkered' with by Melkor.[3]

(4) What of talking beasts and birds with reasoning and speech? These have been rather lightly adopted from less 'serious' mythologies, but play a part which cannot now be excised. They are certainly 'exceptions' and not much used, but

sufficiently to show they are a recognized feature of the world. All other creatures accept them as natural if not common.

But true 'rational' creatures, 'speaking peoples', are all of human / 'humanoid' form. Only the Valar and Maiar are intelligences that can assume forms of Arda at will. Huan and Sorontar could be Maiar – emissaries of Manwë.[4] But unfortunately in *The Lord of the Rings* Gwaehir and Landroval are said to be *descendants* of Sorontar.[5]

In any case is it likely or possible that even the least of the Maiar would become Orcs? Yes: both outside Arda and in it, before the fall of Utumno. Melkor had corrupted many spirits – some great, as Sauron, or less so, as Balrogs. The least could have been primitive (and much more powerful and perilous) Orcs; but by practising when embodied procreation they would (cf. Melian) [become] more and more earthbound, unable to return to spirit-state (even demon-form), until released by death (killing), and they would dwindle in force. When released they would, of course, like Sauron, be 'damned': i.e. reduced to impotence, infinitely recessive: still hating but unable more and more to make it effective physically (or would not a very dwindled dead Orc-state be a poltergeist?).

But again – would Eru provide *fëar* for such creatures? For the Eagles etc. perhaps. But not for Orcs.[6]

It does however seem best to view Melkor's corrupting power as always starting, at least, in the moral or theological level. Any creature that took him for Lord (and especially those who blasphemously called him Father or Creator) became soon corrupted in all parts of its being, the *fëa* dragging down the *hröa* in its descent into Morgothism: hate and destruction. As for Elves being 'immortal': they in fact only had enormously long lives, and were themselves physically 'wearing out', and suffering a slow progressive weakening of their bodies.

In summary: I think it must be assumed that 'talking' is not necessarily the sign of the possession of a 'rational soul' or *fëa*.[7] The Orcs were *beasts* of humanized shape (to mock Men and Elves) deliberately perverted / converted into a more close resemblance to Men. Their 'talking' was really reeling off 'records' set in them by Melkor. Even their rebellious critical words – he knew about them. Melkor taught them *speech* and as they bred they inherited this; and they had just as much independence as have, say, dogs or horses of their human masters. This talking was largely echoic (cf. parrots). In *The*

Lord of the Rings Sauron is said to have *devised a language* for them.[8]

The same sort of thing may be said of Húan and the Eagles: they were taught language by the Valar, and raised to a higher level – but they still had no *fëar*.

But Finrod probably went too far in his assertion that Melkor *could not* wholly corrupt any work of Eru, or that Eru would (necessarily) interfere to abrogate the corruption, or to end the being of His own creatures because they had been corrupted and fallen into evil.[9]

It remains therefore terribly possible there was an Elvish strain in the Orcs.[10] These may then even have been mated with beasts (sterile!) – and later Men. Their life-span would be diminished. And dying they would go to Mandos and be held in prison till the End.

The text as written ends here, but my father subsequently added the following passage. The words with which it opens are a reference to text VI, *Melkor Morgoth* (p. 390).

See 'Melkor'. It will there be seen that the *wills* of Orcs and Balrogs etc. are part of Melkor's power 'dispersed'. Their spirit is one of hate. But hate is non-coöperative (except under direct fear). Hence the rebellions, mutinies, etc. when Morgoth seems far off. Orcs are beasts and Balrogs corrupted Maiar. Also (n.b.) Morgoth not Sauron is the source of Orc-wills. Sauron is just another (if greater) agent. Orcs can rebel against him without losing their own irremediable allegiance to evil (Morgoth). *Aulë* wanted love. But of course had no thought of dispersing his power. Only Eru can give *love and independence*. If a finite sub-creator tries to do this he really wants absolute loving obedience, but it turns into robotic servitude and becomes evil.

NOTES

1 In a long letter to Peter Hastings of September 1954, which was not sent (*Letters* no.153), my father wrote as follows on the question of whether Orcs 'could have "souls" or "spirits"':

> ... since in my myth at any rate I do not conceive of the making of souls or spirits, things of an equal order if not an equal power to the Valar, as a possible 'delegation', I have represented at least the Orcs as pre-existing real beings on whom the Dark Lord has exerted the fullness of his power in remodelling and corrupting them, not making them. ... There might be other

'makings' all the same which were more like puppets filled (only at a distance) with their maker's mind and will, or ant-like operating under direction of a queen-centre.

Earlier in this letter he had quoted Frodo's words to Sam in the chapter 'The Tower of Cirith Ungol': 'The Shadow that bred them can only mock, it cannot make: not real new things of its own. I don't think it gave life to the orcs, it only ruined them and twisted them'; and he went on: 'In the legends of the Elder Days it is suggested that the Diabolus subjugated and corrupted some of the earliest Elves ...' He also said that the Orcs 'are fundamentally a race of "rational incarnate" creatures'.

2 In the *Athrabeth* (p. 312) Finrod declared:

> But never even in the night have we believed that [Melkor] could prevail against the Children of Eru. This one he might cozen, or that one he might corrupt; but to change the doom of a whole people of the Children, to rob them of their inheritance: if he could do that in Eru's despite, then greater and more terrible is he by far than we guessed ...

3 In *The Lord of the Rings* Appendix F (I) it is said of Trolls:

> In their beginning far back in the twilight of the Elder Days, these were creatures of dull and lumpish nature and had no more language than beasts. But Sauron had made use of them, teaching them what little they could learn, and increasing their wits with wickedness.

In the long letter of September 1954 cited in note 1 he wrote of them:

> I am not sure about Trolls. I think they are mere 'counterfeits', and hence (though here I am of course only using elements of old barbarous mythmaking that had no 'aware' metaphysic) they return to mere stone images when not in the dark. But there are other sorts of Trolls beside these rather ridiculous, if brutal, Stone-trolls, for which other origins are suggested. Of course ... when you make Trolls *speak* you are giving them a power, which in our world (probably) connotes the possession of a 'soul'.

4 See p. 138. – At the bottom of the page bearing the brief text V (p. 389) my father jotted down the following, entirely unconnected with the matter of the text:

> Living things in Aman. As the Valar would robe themselves like the Children, many of the Maiar robed themselves like other lesser living things, as trees, flowers, beasts. (Huan.)

5 'There came Gwaihir the Windlord, and Landroval his brother, greatest of all the Eagles of the North, mightiest of the descendants of old Thorondor' ('The Field of Cormallen' in *The Return of the King*).

6 At this point there is a note that begins 'Criticism of (1) (2) (3) above' (i.e. the opening points of this text, p. 409) and then refers obscurely to the 'last battle and fall of Barad-dûr etc.' in *The Lord of the Rings*. In view of what follows my father was presumably thinking of this passage in the chapter 'Mount Doom':

> From all his policies and webs of fear and treachery, from all his stratagems and wars his mind shook free; and throughout his realm a tremor ran, his slaves quailed, and his armies halted, and his captains suddenly steerless, bereft of will, wavered and despaired. For they were forgotten.

The note continues:

> They had little or no *will* when not actually 'attended to' by the mind of Sauron. Does their cheating and rebellion pass that possible to such animals as dogs etc.?

7 Cf. the end of the passage cited from the letter of 1954 in note 3.

8 Appendix F (I): 'It is said that the Black Speech was devised by Sauron in the Dark Years'.

9 See the citation from the *Athrabeth* in note 2. Finrod did not in fact assert the latter part of the opinion here attributed to him.

10 The assertion that 'it remains therefore terribly possible there was an Elvish strain in the Orcs' seems merely to contradict what has been said about their being no more than 'talking beasts' without advancing any new considerations. In the passage added at the end of the text the statement that 'Orcs are beasts' is repeated.

IX

This is another and quite separate note on the origin of the Orcs, written quickly in pencil, and without any indication of date.

This suggests – though it is not explicit – that the 'Orcs' were of Elvish origin. Their origin is more clearly dealt with elsewhere. One point only is certain: Melkor could not 'create' living 'creatures' of independent wills.

He (and all the 'spirits' of the 'First-created', according to their measure) could assume bodily shapes; and he (and they) could dominate the minds of other creatures, including Elves and Men, by force, fear, or deceits, or sheer magnificence.

The Elves from their earliest times invented and used a word or words with a base *(o)rok* to denote anything that caused fear and/or horror. It would originally have been applied to 'phantoms' (spirits assuming visible forms) as well as to any independently existing creatures. Its application (in all Elvish tongues)

specifically to the creatures called *Orks* – so I shall spell it in *The Silmarillion* – was later.

Since Melkor could not 'create' an independent species, but had immense powers of corruption and distortion of those that came into his power, it is probable that these *Orks* had a mixed origin. Most of them plainly (and biologically) were corruptions of Elves (and probably later also of Men). But always among them (as special servants and spies of Melkor, and as leaders) there must have been numerous corrupted minor spirits who assumed similar bodily shapes. (These would exhibit terrifying and demonic characters.)

The Elves would have classed the creatures called 'trolls' (in *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*) as Orcs – in character and origin – but they were larger and slower. It would seem evident that they were corruptions of primitive human types.

At the bottom of the page my father wrote: 'See *The Lord of the Rings* Appendix p. 410'; this is the passage in Appendix F concerning Trolls.

It seems possible that his opening words in this note 'This suggests – though it is not explicit – that the "Orcs" were of Elvish origin' actually refer to the previous text given here, VIII, where he first wrote that 'Elves, as a source, are very unlikely', but later concluded that 'it remains therefore terribly possible there was an Elvish strain in the Orcs'. But if this is so, the following words 'Their origin is more clearly dealt with elsewhere' must refer to something else.

He now expressly asserts the earlier view (see p. 408 and note 1) that the Orcs were in origin corrupted Elves, but observes that 'later' some were probably derived from Men. In saying this (as the last paragraph and the reference to *The Lord of the Rings* Appendix F suggest) he seems to have been thinking of Trolls, and specifically of the *Olog-hai*, the great Trolls who appeared at the end of the Third Age (as stated in Appendix F): 'That Sauron bred them none doubted, though from what stock was not known. Some held that they were not Trolls but giant Orcs; but the Olog-hai were in fashion of body and mind quite unlike even the largest of Orc-kind, whom they far surpassed in size and power.'

The conception that among the Orcs 'there must have been numerous corrupted minor spirits who assumed similar bodily shapes' appears also in text VIII (p. 410): 'Melkor had corrupted many spirits – some great, as Sauron, or less so, as Balrogs. The least could have been primitive (and much more powerful and perilous) Orcs'.

X

I give here a text of an altogether different kind, a very finished essay on the origin of the Orcs. It is necessary to explain something of the relations of this text.

There is a major work, which I hope to publish in *The History of Middle-earth*, entitled *Essekenta Eldarinwa* or *Quendi and Eldar*. It is extant in a good typescript made by my father on his later typewriter, both in top copy and carbon; and it is preceded in both copies by a manuscript page which describes the content of the work:

> Enquiry into the origins of the Elvish names for Elves
> and their varieties clans and divisions: with Appendices
> on their names for the other Incarnates: Men, Dwarves,
> and Orcs; and on their analysis of their own language,
> Quenya: with a note on the 'Language of the Valar'.

With the appendices *Quendi and Eldar* runs to nearly fifty closely typed pages, and being a highly finished and lucid work is of the utmost interest.

To one of the title pages my father subjoined the following:

> To which is added an abbreviation of the *Ósanwe-kenta* or
> 'Communication of Thought' that Pengolodh set at the end
> of his *Lammas* or 'Account of Tongues'

This is a separate work of eight typescript pages, separately paginated, but found together with both copies of *Quendi and Eldar*. In addition, and not referred to on the title-pages, there is a further typescript of four pages (also found with both copies of *Quendi and Eldar*) entitled *Orcs*; and this is the text given here.

All three elements are identical in general appearance, but *Orcs* stands apart from the others, having no linguistic bearing; and in view of this I have thought it legitimate to abstract it and print it in this book together with the other discussions of the origin of the Orcs given as texts VIII and IX.

As to the date of this complex, one of the copies is preserved in a folded newspaper of March 1960. On this my father wrote: '"Quendi and Eldar" with Appendices'; beneath is a brief list of the Appendices, the items all written at the same time, which includes both *Ósanwe* and *Origin of Orcs* (the same is true of the cover of the other copy of the *Quendi and Eldar* complex). All the material was thus in being when the newspaper was used for this purpose, and although, as in other similar cases, this does not provide a perfectly certain *terminus ad quem*, there seems no reason to doubt that it belongs to 1959–60 (cf. p. 304).

Appendix C to *Quendi and Eldar*, 'Elvish Names for the Orcs', is primarily concerned with etymology, but it opens with the following passage:

It is not here the place to debate the question of the origin of the Orcs. They were bred by Melkor, and their breeding was the most wicked and lamentable of his works in Arda, but not the most terrible. For clearly they were meant in his malice to be a mockery of the Children of Ilúvatar, wholly subservient to his will, and nursed in an unappeasable hatred of Elves and Men.

The Orcs of the later wars, after the escape of Melkor-Morgoth and his return to Middle-earth, were neither spirits nor phantoms, but living creatures, capable of speech and of some crafts and organization, or at least capable of learning such things from higher creatures or from their Master. They bred and multiplied rapidly whenever left undisturbed. It is unlikely, as a consideration of the ultimate origin of this race would make clearer, that the Quendi had met any Orcs of this kind, before their finding by Oromë and the separation of Eldar and Avari.

But it is known that Melkor had become aware of the Quendi before the Valar began their war against him, and the joy of the Elves in Middle-earth had already been darkened by shadows of fear. Dreadful shapes had begun to haunt the borders of their dwellings, and some of their people vanished into the darkness and were heard of no more. Some of these things may have been phantoms and delusions; but some were, no doubt, shapes taken by the servants of Melkor, mocking and degrading the very forms of the Children. For Melkor had in his service great numbers of the Maiar, who had the power, as had their Master, of taking visible and tangible shape in Arda.

No doubt my father was led from his words here 'It is unlikely, as a consideration of the ultimate origin of this race would make clearer, that the Quendi had met any Orcs of this kind, before their finding by Oromë' to write that 'consideration' which follows here. It will be seen that one passage of this initial statement was re-used.

Orcs

The origin of the Orcs is a matter of debate. Some have called them the *Melkorohíni*, the Children of Melkor; but the wiser say: nay, the slaves of Melkor, but not his children; for Melkor had no children.[1] Nonetheless, it was by the malice of Melkor that the Orcs arose, and plainly they were meant by him to be a mockery of the Children of Eru, being bred to be wholly subservient to his will and filled with unappeasable hatred of Elves and Men.

Now the Orcs of the later wars, after the escape of Melkor-Morgoth and his return to Middle-earth, were not 'spirits', nor phantoms, but living creatures, capable of speech and some crafts and organization; or at least capable of learning these things from higher creatures and from their Master. They bred and multiplied rapidly, whenever left undisturbed. So far as can be gleaned from the legends that have come down to us from our earliest days,[2] it would seem that the Quendi had never yet encountered any Orcs of this kind before the coming of Oromë to Cuivienen.

Those who believe that the Orcs were bred from some kind of Men, captured and perverted by Melkor, assert that it was impossible for the Quendi to have known of Orcs before the Separation and the departure of the Eldar. For though the time of the awakening of Men is not known, even the calculations of the loremasters that place it earliest do not assign it a date long before the Great March began,[3] certainly not long enough before it to allow for the corruption of Men into Orcs. On the other hand, it is plain that soon after his return Morgoth had at his command a great number of these creatures, with whom he ere long began to attack the Elves. There was still less time between his return and these first assaults for the breeding of Orcs and for the transfer of their hosts westward.

This view of the origin of the Orcs thus meets with difficulties of chronology. But though Men may take comfort in this, the theory remains nonetheless the most probable. It accords with all that is known of Melkor, and of the nature and behaviour of Orcs – and of Men. Melkor was impotent to produce any living thing, but skilled in the corruption of things that did not proceed from himself, if he could dominate them. But if he had indeed attempted to make creatures of his own in imitation or mockery of the Incarnates, he would, like Aulë, only have succeeded in producing puppets: his creatures would have acted only while the attention of his will was upon them, and they would have shown no reluctance to execute any command of his, even if it were to destroy themselves.

But the Orcs were not of this kind. They were certainly dominated by their Master, but his dominion was by fear, and they were aware of this fear and hated him. They were indeed so corrupted that they were pitiless, and there was no cruelty or wickedness that they would not commit; but this was the corruption of independent wills, and they took pleasure in their

deeds. They were capable of acting on their own, doing evil deeds unbidden for their own sport; or if Morgoth and his agents were far away, they might neglect his commands. They sometimes fought [> They hated one another and often fought] among themselves, to the detriment of Morgoth's plans.

Moreover, the Orcs continued to live and breed and to carry on their business of ravaging and plundering after Morgoth was overthrown. They had other characteristics of the Incarnates also. They had languages of their own, and spoke among themselves in various tongues according to differences of breed that were discernible among them. They needed food and drink, and rest, though many were by training as tough as Dwarves in enduring hardship. They could be slain, and they were subject to disease; but apart from these ills they died and were not immortal, even according to the manner of the Quendi; indeed they appear to have been by nature short-lived compared with the span of Men of higher race, such as the Edain.

This last point was not well understood in the Elder Days. For Morgoth had many servants, the oldest and most potent of whom were immortal, belonging indeed in their beginning to the Maiar; and these evil spirits like their Master could take on visible forms. Those whose business it was to direct the Orcs often took Orkish shapes, though they were greater and more terrible.[4] Thus it was that the histories speak of Great Orcs or Orc-captains who were not slain, and who reappeared in battle through years far longer than the span of the lives of Men.*[5]

Finally, there is a cogent point, though horrible to relate. It became clear in time that undoubted Men could under the domination of Morgoth or his agents in a few generations be reduced almost to the Orc-level of mind and habits; and then they would or could be made to mate with Orcs, producing new breeds, often larger and more cunning. There is no doubt that long afterwards, in the Third Age, Saruman rediscovered this, or learned of it in lore, and in his lust for mastery committed this, his wickedest deed: the interbreeding of Orcs and Men,

* [footnote to the text] *Boldog*, for instance, is a name that occurs many times in the tales of the War. But it is possible that *Boldog* was not a personal name, and either a title, or else the name of a kind of creature: the Orc-formed Maiar, only less formidable than the Balrogs.

producing both Men-orcs large and cunning, and Orc-men treacherous and vile.

But even before this wickedness of Morgoth was suspected the Wise in the Elder Days taught always that the Orcs were not 'made' by Melkor, and therefore were not in their origin evil. They might have become irredeemable (at least by Elves and Men), but they remained within the Law. That is, that though of necessity, being the fingers of the hand of Morgoth, they must be fought with the utmost severity, they must not be dealt with in their own terms of cruelty and treachery. Captives must not be tormented, not even to discover information for the defence of the homes of Elves and Men. If any Orcs surrendered and asked for mercy, they must be granted it, even at a cost.* This was the teaching of the Wise, though in the horror of the War it was not always heeded.

It is true, of course, that Morgoth held the Orcs in dire thraldom; for in their corruption they had lost almost all possibility of resisting the domination of his will. So great indeed did its pressure upon them become ere Angband fell that, if he turned his thought towards them, they were conscious of his 'eye' wherever they might be; and when Morgoth was at last removed from Arda the Orcs that survived in the West were scattered, leaderless and almost witless, and were for a long time without control or purpose.

This servitude to a central will that reduced the Orcs almost to an ant-like life was seen even more plainly in the Second and Third Ages under the tyranny of Sauron, Morgoth's chief lieutenant. Sauron indeed achieved even greater control over his Orcs than Morgoth had done. He was, of course, operating on a smaller scale, and he had no enemies so great and so fell as were the Noldor in their might in the Elder Days. But he had also inherited from those days difficulties, such as the diversity of the Orcs in breed and language, and the feuds among them; while in many places in Middle-earth, after the fall of Thangorodrim and during the concealment of Sauron, the Orcs recovering from their helplessness had set up petty realms of their own and

* [footnote to the text] Few Orcs ever did so in the Elder Days, and at no time would any Orc treat with any Elf. For one thing Morgoth had achieved was to convince the Orcs beyond refutation that the Elves were crueller than themselves, taking captives only for 'amusement', or to eat them (as the Orcs would do at need).

had become accustomed to independence. Nonetheless Sauron in time managed to unite them all in unreasoning hatred of the Elves and of Men who associated with them; while the Orcs of his own trained armies were so completely under his will that they would sacrifice themselves without hesitation at his command.* And he proved even more skilful than his Master also in the corruption of Men who were beyond the reach of the Wise, and in reducing them to a vassalage, in which they would march with the Orcs, and vie with them in cruelty and destruction.

It is thus probably to Sauron that we may look for a solution of the problem of chronology. Though of immensely smaller native power than his Master, he remained less corrupt, cooler and more capable of calculation. At least in the Elder Days, and before he was bereft of his lord and fell into the folly of imitating him, and endeavouring to become himself supreme Lord of Middle-earth. While Morgoth still stood, Sauron did not seek his own supremacy, but worked and schemed for another, desiring the triumph of Melkor, whom in the beginning he had adored. He thus was often able to achieve things, first conceived by Melkor, which his master did not or could not complete in the furious haste of his malice.

We may assume, then, that the idea of breeding the Orcs came from Melkor, not at first maybe so much for the provision of servants or the infantry of his wars of destruction, as for the defilement of the Children and the blasphemous mockery of the designs of Eru. The details of the accomplishment of this wickedness were, however, left mainly to the subtleties of Sauron. In that case the conception in mind of the Orcs may go far back into the night of Melkor's thought, though the beginning of their actual breeding must await the awakening of Men.

When Melkor was made captive, Sauron escaped and lay hid in Middle-earth; and it can in this way be understood how the breeding of the Orcs (no doubt already begun) went on with increasing speed during the age when the Noldor dwelt in Aman; so that when they returned to Middle-earth they found it already infested with this plague, to the torment of all that dwelt

* [footnote to the text] But there remained one flaw in his control, inevitable. In the kingdom of hate and fear, the strongest thing is hate. All his Orcs hated one another, and must be kept ever at war with some 'enemy' to prevent them from slaying one another.

there, Elves or Men or Dwarves. It was Sauron, also, who secretly repaired Angband for the help of his Master when he returned;[6] and there the dark places underground were already manned with hosts of the Orcs before Melkor came back at last, as Morgoth the Black Enemy, and sent them forth to bring ruin upon all that was fair. And though Angband has fallen and Morgoth is removed, still they come forth from the lightless places in the darkness of their hearts, and the earth is withered under their pitiless feet.

This then, as it may appear, was my father's final view of the question: Orcs were bred from Men, and if 'the conception in mind of the Orcs may go far back into the night of Melkor's thought' it was Sauron who, during the ages of Melkor's captivity in Aman, brought into being the black armies that were available to his Master when he returned.

But, as always, it is not quite so simple. Accompanying one copy of the typescript of this essay are some pages in manuscript for which my father used the blank reverse sides of papers provided by the publishers dated 10 November 1969. These pages carry two notes on the 'Orcs' essay: one, discussing the spelling of the word *orc*, is given on p. 422; the other is a note arising from something in the essay which is not indicated, but which is obviously the passage on p. 417 discussing the puppet-like nature inevitable in creatures brought into being by one of the great Powers themselves: the note was intended to stand in relation to the words 'But the Orcs were not of this kind'.

The *orks*, it is true, sometimes appear to have been reduced to a condition very similar, though there remains actually a profound difference. Those *orks* who dwelt long under the immediate attention of his will – as garrisons of his strongholds or elements of armies trained for special purposes in his war-designs – would act like herds, obeying instantly, as if with one will, his commands even if ordered to sacrifice their lives in his service. And as was seen when Morgoth was at last overthrown and cast out, those *orks* that had been so absorbed scattered helplessly, without purpose either to flee or to fight, and soon died or slew themselves.

Other originally independent creatures, and Men among them (but neither Elves nor Dwarves), could also be reduced to a like condition. But 'puppets', with no independent life or will, would simply cease to move or do anything at all when the will of their maker was brought to nothing. In any case the number of *orks* that were thus 'absorbed' was always only a small part

of their total. To hold them in absolute servitude required a great expense of will. Morgoth though in origin possessed of vast power was finite; and it was this expenditure upon the *orks*, and still more upon the other far more formidable creatures in his service, that in the event so dissipated his powers of mind that Morgoth's overthrow became possible. Thus the greater part of the *orks*, though under his orders and the dark shadow of their fear of him, were only intermittently objects of his immediate thought and concern, and while that was removed they relapsed into independence and became conscious of their hatred of him and his tyranny. Then they might neglect his orders, or engage in

Here the text breaks off. But the curious thing is that rough drafting for the second paragraph of this note (written on the same paper bearing the same date) begins thus:

But Men could (and can still) be reduced to such a condition. 'Puppets' would simply cease to move or 'live' at all, when not set in motion by the direct will of their maker. In any case, though the number of orks at the height of Morgoth's power, and *still after his return from captivity*, seems to have been very great, those who were 'absorbed' were always a small part of the total.

The words that I have italicised deny an essential conception of the essay.

The other note reads thus:

Orcs

This spelling was taken from Old English. The word seemed, in itself, very suitable to the creatures that I had in mind. But the Old English *orc* in meaning – so far as that is known – is not suitable.[7] Also the spelling of what, in the later more organized linguistic situation, must have been a Common Speech form of a word or group of similar words should be *ork*. If only because of spelling difficulties in modern English: an adjective *orc* + *ish* becomes necessary, and *orcish* will not do.[8] In any future publication I shall use *ork*.

In text IX (the brief writing in which my father declared the theory of Elvish origin to be certain) he spelt the word *Orks*, and said 'so I shall spell it in *The Silmarillion*'. In the present essay, obviously later than text IX, it is spelt *Orcs*; but now, in 1969 or later, he asserted again that it must be *Orks*.

NOTES

1 See text VII, p. 406. – On one copy of the text my father pencilled against this sentence the names *Erusēni, Melkorsēni.*

2 'legends that have come down to us from our earliest days': this purports then to be an Elvish writing. Sauron is spoken of subsequently as a being of the past ('This servitude to a central will ... was seen even more plainly in the Second and Third Ages under the tyranny of Sauron', p. 419); but in the last sentence of the essay the Orcs are a plague that still afflicts the world.

3 The time of the Awakening of Men is now placed far back; cf. text II (p. 378): 'The March of the Eldar is through great Rains? Men awake in an Isle amid the floods'; 'The coming of Men will therefore be much further back'; 'Men must awake while Melkor is still in [Middle-earth] – because of their Fall. Therefore in some period during the Great March' (see p. 385 note 14). In the chronology of the *Annals of Aman* and the *Grey Annals* the Great March began in the Year of the Trees 1105 (p. 82), and the foremost companies of the Eldar came to the shores of the Great Sea in 1125; Men awoke in Hildórien in the year of the first rising of the Sun, which was the Year of the Trees 1500. Thus if the Awakening of Men is placed even very late in the period of the Great March of the Eldar it will be set back by more than 3500 Years of the Sun. See further p. 430 note 5.

4 Cf. text IX, p. 414: 'But always among them [Orcs] (as special servants and spies of Melkor, and as leaders) there must have been numerous corrupted minor spirits who assumed similar bodily shapes'; also text VIII, p. 410.

5 The footnote at this point, stating that '*Boldog*, for instance, is a name that occurs many times in the tales of the War', and was perhaps not a personal name, is curious. *Boldog* appears several times in the *Lay of Leithian* as the name of the Orc-captain who led a raid into Doriath (references in the Index to *The Lays of Beleriand*); he reappears in the *Quenta* (IV.113), but is not mentioned thereafter. I do not know of any other reference to an Orc named *Boldog*.

6 On the later story that Angband was built by Melkor in the ancient days and that it was commanded by Sauron see p. 156, §12. There has been no reference to the repairing of Angband against Morgoth's return, and cf. the last narrative development in the *Quenta Silmarillion* of the story of his return (p. 295, §14): Morgoth and Ungoliant 'were drawing near to the ruins of Angband where his great western stronghold had been.'

7 See p. 124.

8 '*orcish* will not do': because it would be pronounced 'orsish'. The

Orkish language was so spelt in *The Lord of the Rings* from the First Edition.

XI

This concluding text, entitled *Aman*, is a clear manuscript written with little hesitation or correction. I had regarded it as an independent essay, and in doubt where best to place it had left it to the end; but when this book had been fully completed and prepared for publication I realised that it stands in fact in very close relationship to the manuscript of *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth*.

That manuscript opens with an introductory section (given in the typescript version that my father subsequently made, pp. 304–5), beginning with the statement that some Men believed that their *hröar* were not by nature short-lived, but had become so by the malice of Melkor. I had not observed the significance of some lines at the head of this first page of the *Athrabeth*, which my father had struck through: these lines begin with the words 'the *hröa*, and it would live on, a witless body, not even a beast but a monster', and end '... Death itself, in either agony or horror, would with Men enter into Aman itself.' Now this passage is virtually identical to the conclusion of the present text, the last page of which begins at precisely the same point.

It is clear, therefore, that *Aman* originally led into the *Athrabeth*, but that my father removed it to stand alone and copied out the concluding passage on a separate sheet. At the same time, presumably, he gave the remainder (the *Athrabeth* and its introduction) the titles *Of Death and the Children of Eru, and the Marring of Men* and *The Converse of Finrod and Andreth*.[1]

It might have been preferable to place *Aman* with the *Athrabeth* in Part Four; but I thought it unnecessary at such a late stage to embark on a major upheaval of the structure of the book, and so left it to stand separately here.

Aman

In Aman things were far otherwise than in Middle-earth. But they resembled the mode of Elvish life, just as the Elves more nearly resemble the Valar and Maiar than do Men.

In Aman the length of the unit of 'year' was the same as it was for the Quendi. But for a different reason. In Aman this length was assigned by the Valar for their own purposes, and was related to that process which may be called the 'Ageing of Arda'. For Aman was within Arda and therefore within the Time of Arda (which was not eternal, whether Unmarred or Marred). Therefore Arda and all things in it must age, however

slowly, as it proceeds from beginning to end. This ageing could be perceived by the Valar in about that length of time (proportionate to the whole of Arda's appointed span) which they called a Year; but not in a less period.[2]

But as for the Valar themselves, and the Maiar also in their degree: they could live at any speed of thought or motion which they chose or desired.*[3]

* They could move backward or forward in thought, and return again so swiftly that to those who were in their presence they did not appear to have moved. All that was past they could fully perceive; but being now in Time the future they could only perceive or explore in so far as its design was made clear to them in the Music, or as each one of them was specially concerned with this or that part of Eru's design, being His agent or Subcreator. In this way of perception they could foresee none of the acts of the Children, Elves and Men, in whose conceiving and introduction into Ea none of the Valar had played any part at all; concerning the Children they could only deduce likelihood, in the same way as can the Children themselves, though from a far greater knowledge of facts and the contributory events of the past, and with far greater intelligence and wisdom. Yet there always remained an uncertainty with regard to the words and deeds of Elves and Men in Time not yet unfolded.

The unit, or Valian Year, was thus not in Aman related to the natural rates of 'growth' of any person or thing that dwelt there. Time in Aman was actual time, not merely a mode of perception. As, say, 100 years went by in Middle-earth as part of Arda, so 100 years passed in Aman, which was also a part of Arda. It was, however, the fact that the Elvish speed of 'growth' accorded with the unit of Valian time† that made it possible for the Valar to bring the Eldar to dwell in Aman. In one Valian

† Not by the design of the Valar, though doubtless not by chance. That is, it may be that Eru in designing the natures of Elves and Men and their relations one to another and to the Valar ordained that the 'growth' of the Elves should accord with the Valian perception of the progress or ageing of Arda, so that the Elves should be able to cohabit with the Valar and Maiar. Since the Children appeared in the Music, and also in the Vision, the Valar knew something or indeed much of the ordained natures of Elves and Men before they came into existence. They knew certainly that Elves should be 'immortal' or of very long life, and Men of brief life. But it was probably only during the sojourn of Oromë among the fathers of the Quendi that the Valar discovered

precisely what was the mode of their lives with regard to the lapse of Time.

year the Eldar dwelling there grew and developed in much the same way as mortals did in one year upon Middle-earth. In recording the events in Aman, therefore, we may as did the Eldar themselves use the Valian unit,[4] though we must not forget that within any such 'year' the Eldar enjoyed an immense series of delights and achievements which even the most gifted of Men could not accomplish in twelve times twelve mortal years.[5] Nonetheless the Eldar 'aged' at the same speed in Aman as they had done in their beginning upon Middle-earth.

But the Eldar were not *native* to Aman, which had not been, by the Valar, designed for them. In Aman, before their coming, there had dwelt only the Valar and their lesser kindred the Maiar. But for their delight and use there were in Aman also a great multitude of creatures, without *fëar*, of many kinds: animals or moving creatures, and plants that are steadfast. There, it is believed, were the counterparts of all the creatures that are or have been on Earth,[6] and others also that were made for Aman only. And each kind had, as on Earth, its own nature and natural speed of growth.

But since Aman was made for the Valar, that they might have peace and delight therein, all those creatures that were thither transplanted or were trained or bred or brought into being for the purpose of inhabitation in Aman were given a speed of growth such that one year of the life natural to their kinds on Earth should in Aman be one Valian Year.

For the Eldar this was a source of joy. For in Aman the world appeared to them as it does to Men on Earth, but without the shadow of death soon to come. Whereas on Earth to them all things in comparison with themselves were fleeting, swift to change and die or pass away, in Aman they endured and did not so soon cheat love with their mortality. On Earth while an elf-child did but grow to be a man or a woman, in some 3000 years, forests would rise and fall, and all the face of the land would change, while birds and flowers innumerable would be born and die in *löar* upon *löar* under the wheeling Sun.

But beside all this Aman is called also the Blessed Realm, and in this was found its blessedness: in health and joy. For in Aman no creatures suffered any sickness or disorder of their natures; nor was there any decay or ageing more swift than the slow

ageing of Arda itself. So that all things coming at last to fullness of form and virtue remained in that state, blissfully, ageing and wearying of their life and being no swifter than the Valar themselves. And this blessing also was granted to the Eldar.

On earth the Quendi suffered no sickness, and the health of their bodies was supported by the might of the longeval *fëar*. But their bodies, being of the stuff of Arda, were nonetheless not so enduring as their spirits; for the longevity of the Quendi was derived primarily from their *fëar*, whose nature or 'doom' was to abide in Arda until its end. Therefore, after the vitality of the *hröa* was expended in achieving full growth, it began to weaken or grow weary. Very slowly indeed, but to all the Quendi perceptibly. For a while it would be fortified and maintained by its indwelling *fëa*, and then its vitality would begin to ebb, and its desire for physical life and joy in it would pass ever more swiftly away. Then an Elf would begin (as they say now, for these things did not fully appear in the Elder Days) to 'fade', until the *fëa* as it were consumed the *hröa* until it remained only in the love and memory of the spirit that had inhabited it.

But in Aman, since its blessing descended upon the *hröar* of the Eldar, as upon all other bodies, the *hröar* aged only apace with the *fëar*, and the Eldar that remained in the Blessed Realm endured in full maturity and in undimmed power of body and spirit conjoined for ages beyond our mortal comprehension.

Aman and Mortal Men[7]

If it is thus in Aman, or was ere the Change of the World, and therein the Eldar had health and lasting joy, what shall we say of Men? No Man has ever set foot in Aman, or at least none has ever returned thence; for the Valar forbade it. Why so? To the Númenóreans they said that they did so because Eru had forbidden them to admit Men to the Blessed Realm; and they declared also that Men would not there be blessed (as they imagined) but accursed, and would 'wither even as a moth in a flame too bright'.

Beyond these words we can but go in guess. Yet we may consider the matter so. The Valar were not only by Eru forbidden the attempt, they *could not* alter the nature, or 'doom' of Eru, of any of the Children, in which was included the speed of their growth (relative to the whole life of Arda) and the length of their life-span. Even the Eldar in that respect remained unchanged.

Let us suppose then that the Valar had also admitted to Aman some of the Atani, and (so that we may consider a whole life of a Man in such a state) that 'mortal' children were there born, as were children of the Eldar. Then, even though in Aman, a mortal child would still grow to maturity in some twenty years of the Sun, and the natural span of its life, the period of the cohesion of *hröa* and *fëa*, would be no more than, say, 100 years. Not much more, even though his body would suffer no sickness or disorder in Aman, where no such evils existed. (Unless Men brought these evils with them – as why should they not? Even the Eldar brought to the Blessed Realm some taint of the Shadow upon Arda in which they came into being.)

But in Aman such a creature would be a fleeting thing, the most swift-passing of all beasts. For his whole life would last little more than one half-year, and while all other living creatures would seem to him hardly to change, but to remain steadfast in life and joy with hope of endless years undimmed, he would rise and pass – even as upon Earth the grass may rise in spring and wither ere the winter. Then he would become filled with envy, deeming himself a victim of injustice, being denied the graces given to all other things. He would not value what he had, but feeling that he was among the least and most despised of all creatures, he would grow soon to contemn his manhood, and hate those more richly endowed. He would not escape the fear and sorrow of his swift mortality that is his lot upon Earth, in Arda Marred, but would be burdened by it unbearably to the loss of all delight.

But if any should ask: why could not in Aman the blessing of longevity be granted to him, as it was to the Eldar? This must be answered. Because this would bring joy to the Eldar, their nature being different from that of Men. The nature of an Elvish *fëa* was to endure the world to the end, and an Elvish *hröa* was also longeval by nature; so that an Elvish *fëa* finding that its *hröa* endured with it, supporting its indwelling and remaining unwearied in bodily delight, would have increased and more lasting joy [*sic*]. Some indeed of the Eldar doubt that any special grace or blessing was accorded to them, other than admittance to Aman. For they hold that the failure of their *hröar* to endure in vitality unwearied as long as their *fëar* – a process which was not observed until the later ages – is due to the Marring of Arda, and comes of the Shadow, and of the taint of Melkor that touches all the matter (or *hröa*)[8] of Arda, if not indeed of all Ëa.

So that all that happened in Aman was that this weakness of the Elvish *hröar* did not develop in the health of Aman and the Light of the Trees.

But let us suppose that the 'blessing of Aman' was also accorded to Men.* What then? Would a great good be done to them? Their bodies would still come swiftly to full growth. In the seventh part of a year a Man could be born and become full-grown, as swiftly as in Aman a bird would hatch and fly from the nest. But then it would not wither or age but would endure in vigour and in the delight of bodily living. But what of that Man's *fëa*? Its nature and 'doom' could not be changed, neither by the health of Aman nor by the will of Manwë himself. Yet it is (as the Eldar hold) its nature and doom under the will of Eru that it should *not* endure Arda for long, but should depart and go elsewhither, returning maybe direct to Eru for another fate or purpose that is beyond the knowledge or guess of the Eldar.

Very soon then the *fëa* and *hröa* of a Man in Aman would not be united and at peace, but would be opposed, to the great pain of both. The *hröa* being in full vigour and joy of life would cling to the *fëa*, lest its departure should bring death; and against death it would revolt as would a great beast in full life either flee from the hunter or turn savagely upon him. But the *fëa* would be as it were in prison, becoming ever more weary of all the delights of the *hröa*, until they were loathsome to it, longing ever more and more to be gone, until even those matters for its thought that it received through the *hröa* and its senses became meaningless. The Man would not be blessed, but accursed; and he would curse the Valar and Aman and all the things of Arda. And he would not willingly leave Aman, for that would mean rapid death, and he would have to be thrust forth with violence. But if he remained in Aman,[9] what should he come to, ere Arda were at last fulfilled and he found release? Either his *fëa* would be wholly dominated by the *hröa*, and he would become more like a beast, though one tormented within. Or else, if his *fëa* were strong, it would leave the *hröa*. Then one of two things would happen: either this would be accomplished only in hate,

* Or (as some Men hold) that their *hröar* are *not* by nature short-lived, but have become so through the malice of Melkor over and above the general marring of Arda, and that this hurt could be healed and undone in Aman.

by violence, and the *hröa*, in full life, would be rent and die in sudden agony; or else the *fëa* would in loathing and without pity desert the *hröa*, and it would live on, a witless body, not even a beast but a monster, a very work of Melkor in the midst of Aman, which the Valar themselves would fain destroy.

Now these things are but matters of thought, and might-have-beens; for Eru and the Valar under Him have not permitted Men as they are[10] to dwell in Aman. Yet at least it may be seen that Men in Aman would not escape the dread of death, but would have it in greater degree and for long ages. And moreover, it seems probable that death itself, either in agony or horror, would with Men enter into Aman itself.

At this point *Aman* as originally written (see p. 424) continued with the words 'Now some Men hold that their *hröar* are not indeed by nature short-lived ...', which became the beginning of the introductory passage to the *Athrabeth* (see p. 304).

NOTES

1 The number III and a further title *The Marring of Men* (the other titles remaining) was given to the second part, while *Aman* was numbered II. No writing numbered I is found.

2 It will be seen that, as a consequence of the transformation of the 'cosmogonic myth', a wholly new conception of the 'Valian Year' had entered. The elaborate computation of Time in the *Annals of Aman* (see pp. 49–51, 59–60) was based on the 'cycle' of the Two Trees that had ceased to exist in relation to the diurnal movement of the Sun that had come into being – there was a 'new reckoning'. But the 'Valian Year' is now, as it appears, a 'unit of perception' of the passage of the Time of Arda, derived from the capacity of the Valar to perceive at such intervals the process of the ageing of Arda from its beginning to its end. See note 5.

3 My father wrote the following passage ('They could move backward or forward in thought ...') in the body of the manuscript at this point, but in a small italic script, and I have preserved this form in the text printed; similarly with the following passage that interrupts the main text at the words 'the unit of Valian time'.

4 'we may ... use the Valian unit': in other words, presumably, the old structure of dates in the chronicle of Aman may be retained, although the meaning of those dates in terms of Middle-earth will be radically different. See note 5.

5 There is now a vast discrepancy between Valian Years and 'mortal years'; cf. also 'his whole life would last little more than

one half-year' (p. 428), 'In the seventh part of a year a Man could be born and become full-grown' (p. 429). In notes not given in this book, in which my father was calculating on this basis the time of the Awakening of Men, he expressly stated that 144 Sun Years = 1 Valian Year (in this connection see Appendix D to *The Lord of the Rings*: 'It seems clear that the Eldar in Middle-earth ... reckoned in long periods, and the Quenya word *yén* ... really means 144 of our years'). Placing the event 'after or about the time of the sack of Utumno, Valian Year 1100' (see pp. 75, 80), a gigantic lapse of time could now be conceived between the 'arising' of Men and their first appearance in Beleriand.

6 For this use of 'Earth' in opposition to 'Aman', very frequent in this essay, see p. 282.

7 The sub-heading *Aman and Mortal Men* was a later addition.

8 With this use of the word *hröa* cf. text VII, p. 399: 'the *hroa*, the "flesh" or physical matter, of Arda'.

9 This passage, from 'And he would not willingly leave Aman ...', was a later addition. As the text was written, it continued on from 'all the things of Arda' to 'And what should he come to ...'

10 The words 'as they are' were a later addition of the same time as those referred to in notes 7 and 9.

APPENDIX

SYNOPSIS OF THE TEXTS

This list is intended as no more than a very concise statement of the manuscripts and typescripts referred to in this book (other than those in Part Five).

Ainulindalë

B Manuscript, dating from the 1930s, given in V.155 ff.

C* Author's typescript, introducing radical changes in the cosmology, in existence by 1948; see pp. 3–7, 39 ff.

C Rewriting of B, using the old manuscript (see pp. 3, 7); given in full pp. 8 ff.

D Fine manuscript, the last version of the *Ainulindalë*, developed from C; given in part pp. 29 ff.

Annals of Valinor

AV 1 'The Earliest Annals of Valinor', given in IV.262 ff.

AV 2 'The Later Annals of Valinor', given in V.109 ff.

– For the rewriting of the opening of AV 2 preceding the *Annals of Aman* see p. 47.

Annals of Aman

AAm Manuscript, dating from the early 1950s, given in full pp. 48 ff; divided editorially into six sections followed by notes and commentary.

AAm* Author's typescript of the opening of AAm, with many departures from the manuscript (pp. 64–8, 79–80).

AAm typescript Amanuensis typescript, dating from about 1958 (see pp. 141–2, 300). Annotations and alterations made to this are given at the end of the commentaries on each section of AAm.

Quenta Silmarillion

Q 'The Quenta' *(Qenta Noldorinwa)*, dating from 1930, given in IV.76 ff.

QS *Quenta Silmarillion*, fine manuscript abandoned at the end of 1937, given in V.199 ff.

QS typescript Author's typescript; new text (entitled *Eldanyárë*) of the opening chapters, dating from December 1937–January 1938 (see p. 143).

LQ 1 'Later Quenta 1', amanuensis typescript of revised QS, made in 1951(–2); see p. 141.

LQ 2 'Later Quenta 2', amanuensis typescript incorporating all alterations made to LQ 1, made about 1958; see pp. 141–2.

LQ For the uses of this abbreviation see pp. 184, 200.

Laws and Customs among the Eldar

A Manuscript, given in full in its latter part (pp. 233 ff.), from the point where the typescript B breaks off (see pp. 207–8).

B Author's typescript, unfinished, given in full pp. 209 ff.

Late recasting and development of parts of The Silmarillion

Vq 1 Author's typescript developed from LQ 2 Chapter 1 'Of the Valar' (see pp. 199–200).

Vq 2 Author's typescript following Vq 1, entitled *Valaquenta* (pp. 200 ff.).

FM 1 Manuscript rider to QS; the first text treating the story of Finwë and Míriel (pp. 205 ff.).

FM 2 Author's typescript, second text of the story of Finwë and Míriel in the *Silmarillion* narrative (pp. 254–5 ff.).

FM 3 Author's typescript, superseded by FM 4; see pp. 255–6.

FM 4 Author's typescript, final text of the story of Finwë and Míriel; given in full pp. 256 ff.

A Author's typescript (continuation of FM 3), superseded by B; see pp. 271–2, 282.

B Author's typescript (continuation of FM 4), the last, and extensively developed, text of the remainder of the original Chapter 6 and the beginning of Chapter 7 (pp. 272 ff.).

Athrabeth

A Manuscript, given (with author's typescript version of the introductory section) in full pp. 304 ff.

B, C Amanuensis typescripts (see p. 303).

Commentary Author's typescript of the Commentary on the *Athrabeth*, with extensive notes; given in full pp. 329 ff.

INDEX

In this book certain names appear very frequently indeed throughout – in the most extreme cases, *Valar* and *Melkor*, the number of references is well over half the number of pages in the book. Such great blocks of numbers must be of doubtful utility, but I have in fact included all references in the index, apart from the occasional use as in previous volumes of the word *passim* to cover a long run of references from which only a single page is missing here and there. In some cases, as in *Melkor*, *Elves*, I have in addition listed references to certain central and recurrent topics. On pp. 470–1 will be found an appendix to the index in which I have collected separately the large number of words (many of them specialised terms) in the Elvish languages that occur in the book.

Names occurring in the titles of chapters and other headings are not normally indexed, nor are the names of the recipients of letters; and individual 'Lost Tales' are not given separate entries.

Star-names

The names of the stars and constellations that appear on p. 160 are mostly left unidentified in the index, despite much that has been written on the subject since the publication of *The Silmarillion*; and this is a convenient place to refer to a matter that I neglected to mention in the text of the book. This concerns an isolated manuscript page preserved with the texts of *The Lord of the Rings* at Marquette University; and I am very grateful to Mr Charles B. Elston of Marquette for his help on this question.

One side of this page carries primary drafting for a passage in Chapter 3 (*Of the Coming of the Elves*) of the *Quenta Silmarillion* (§§18a–19), and the other a second draft for the same passage, which though very roughly written almost reaches the text printed on pp. 159–60. I have noticed (p. 158) that in the case of Chapter 3 my father himself made a new text, intervening between the revision carried out on the old pre-*Lord of the Rings* texts and the amanuensis typescript LQ 1; it was in that version of the chapter ('Text A') that the new material in §§18a–19 entered (see p. 166, §19). The place of the Marquette page is thus very clearly defined; as drafting for the passage in Text A it belongs to the 1951 revision of *The Silmarillion*.

In the second, all but final, draft my father is seen in the act of devising the names of the constellations, with various experimental forms before those that appear in the final text were reached; but he

set down the names of the stars without any hesitation, thus: *Karnil*, *Luinil*, *Nénar*, *Lumbar*, *Alkarinque*, *Elemmire*. Above *Karnil* he wrote 'M', above *Lumbar* 'S', above *Alkarinque* 'Jup', and above *Elemmire* again 'M'. No letter stands above *Luinil*, but above *Nénar* there is an 'N' which was struck out (Mr Elston informs me that this 'N' is perfectly clear in the original and that no other interpretation is possible).

Now if *Alkarinque* is Jupiter, then a great red star named *Karnil* and marked with 'M' must be Mars (cf. Michael Ramer's name *Karan* for Mars, IX.220) – which in turn leads to the identification of *Lumbar* ('S') with Saturn, and *Elemmire* ('M') with Mercury. In an article by Jorge Quiñonez and Ned Raggett, *Nólë i Meneldilo, Lore of the Astronomer*, published in the periodical *Vinyar Tengwar* no.12 (July 1990), the authors concluded that my father originally intended *Nénar* ('N') for the planet Neptune, but transferred the identification to *Luinil*, *Nénar* thus becoming Uranus. The six names, therefore, are the Elvish names of the planets other than Venus (*Eärendil*); and this conclusion appears to be no mere ingenious deduction but to derive from my father's own clear indications.

Nonetheless, I find it so extraordinary as to be altogether incredible. It is to be remembered that the six names appear in the context of the making by Varda of 'new stars *and brighter* against the coming of the First-born': they must be the names of very conspicuous objects in the heavens of Arda. That Mars and Jupiter, if not Saturn, should appear among them would seem inevitable, seeing that in my father's astronomical myth the planets were never distinguished from the 'fixed stars'; but how is it to be thought that *Nénar* and *Luinil*, self-evidently the names of great lights in the region of Ilmen, should refer to Uranus and Neptune, faint and minute among 'the innumerable stars', the one barely visible to the naked eye, and the other not at all? Reference in this connection to the extraordinary powers of sight possessed by the Elves is beside the point: because from the astronomical myth as presented in the *Annals of Aman* and in the first post-*Lord of the Rings* revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion* the entire conceptual basis of the astronomy by which the remote planets of the Solar System were discoverable must of very nature be absent. But what then is to be said of the letter 'N' written above the name *Nénar*?

It seems to me quite possible that the six names existed before the writing of the draft page now at Marquette, even if they were never written down, and further, that some of them did not possess specific identifications with our names – though *Karnil* was surely always Mars, and *Alkarinque* no doubt Jupiter. On this hypothesis, I could well imagine (it would not be uncharacteristic) that as he reflected on these names my father amused himself by extending the list to include all the planets (with the exception of the Evening Star – and Pluto!), and whimsically, as one might say, with a sense both of appropriate-

ness (associating the stem *nen-* 'water' with the sea-god) and essential inappropriateness, wrote in the N of Neptune above *Nénar*.

This is not of course offered as a formal and precise proposal in explanation of this extremely puzzling fact, but it does seem to me that something on these lines is very much more probable than that he seriously intended the name *Nénar* to signify the planet Neptune.

Adanel Sister of Hador Lórindol; a 'Wise-woman'. 305–7, 309, 313, 328, 344–5; *Tale of Adanel* 344–9, 354, 360

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Aegnor Son of Finarfin (=Finrod (1)). 177, 323–4, (325–6), 327, 335, 357; *Ægnor* 197; earlier form *Egnor* 113, 121, 125–6, 177, 182, 195–7, 327–8. See *Aikanár*.

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Aeluin Tarn Aeluin, lake on Dorthonion. 325

Aftercomers Men. 111–12, 121, 130. See *Followers*, *Hildi*.

Aikanár 'Sharp-flame', Aegnor son of Finarfin. 323–4

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Aldaron Name of Oromë. 124, 146, 202. See *Tauron*.

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Alkarinquë The planet Jupiter. 160, 166; *Alcarinquë* 166. See pp. 434–5.

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Arien The Sun-maiden. 130–4, 136–7, 198, 385, 405. Other, late names: *Áren* 376, *Ár(i)* 380, 385, *Ázië* 380, *Árië* 380–1, 386; Old English names *Dægred* 130, 136, *Dægbore* 198

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Volume 10

CHRISTOPHER TOLKIEN

In *Morgoth's Ring*, the first of two companion volumes, Christopher Tolkien describes and documents the later history of *The Silmarillion*, from the time when his father turned again to 'the Matter of the Elder Days' after *The Lord of the Rings* was at last achieved. The text of the Annals of Aman, the 'Blessed Land' in the far West, is given in full; while in writings hitherto unknown is seen the nature of the problems that J.R.R. Tolkien explored in his later years, as new and radical ideas, portending upheaval in the old narratives, emerged at the heart of the mythology, and as the destinies of Men and Elves, mortals and immortals, became of central significance, together with a vastly enlarged perception of the evil of Melkor, the Shadow upon Arda.

The second part of this history of the later *Silmarillion* is concerned with developments in the legends of Beleriand after the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*.

Cover illustration by John Howe

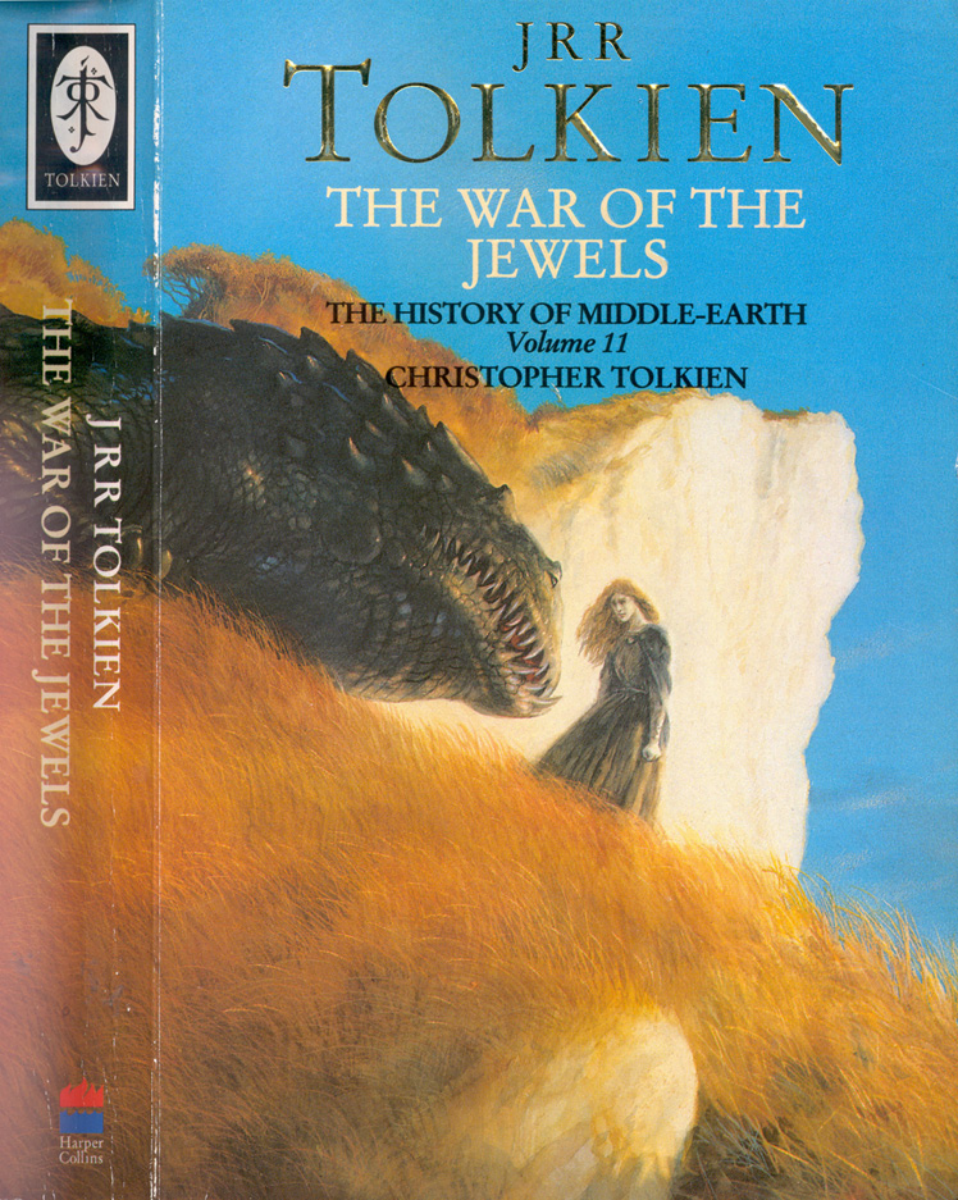
FICTION/FANTASY

ISBN 0-261-10300-8

UK £9.99
AUS $19.95*
CAN $18.95

*recommended price

9 780261 103009 00999>


TOLKIEN
JRR
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THE WAR OF THE JEWELS
THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE-EARTH
Volume 11
CHRISTOPHER TOLKIEN
JRR TOLKIEN
THE WAR OF THE JEWELS
Harper Collins

THE WAR OF THE JEWELS

In volumes 10 and 11 of *The History of Middle-earth* Christopher Tolkien recounts from the original texts the evolution of his father's work on *The Silmarillion*, the legendary history of the Elder Days or First Age, from the completion of *The Lord of the Rings* in 1949 until his death. In Volume 10, *Morgoth's Ring*, the narrative was taken only so far as the natural dividing-point in the whole, when Morgoth destroyed the Trees of Light and fled from Valinor bearing the stolen Silmarils. In *The War of the Jewels* the story returns to Middle-earth, and the ruinous conflict of the High Elves and the Men who were their allies with the power of the Dark Lord. With the publication in this book of all J.R.R. Tolkien's later narrative writing concerned with the last centuries of the First Age, the long history of *The Silmarillion*, from its beginnings in *The Book of Lost Tales*, is completed; and the enigmatic state of the work at his death can be understood.

A chief element in *The War of the Jewels* is a major story of Middle-earth now published for the first time, a continuation of the great 'saga' of Túrin Turambar and his sister Niënor, the children of Húrin the Steadfast: this is the tale of the disaster that overtook the forest people of Brethil when Húrin came among them after his release from long years of captivity in Angband, the fortress of Morgoth. The uncompleted text of the *Grey Annals*, the primary record of the War of the Jewels, is given in full; the geography of Beleriand is studied in detail, with redrawings of the final state of the map; and a long essay on the names and relations of all the peoples shows more clearly then any writing published hitherto the closeness of the connection between language and history in Tolkien's world, and provides much new information, including some knowledge of the language of the divine powers, the Valar.

THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE-EARTH

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II
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THE LAYS OF BELERIAND

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J.R.R. TOLKIEN

THE WAR OF THE JEWELS

The Later Silmarillion
Part Two
The Legends of Beleriand

Edited by Christopher Tolkien

HarperCollins*Publishers*

HarperCollins*Publishers*
77–85 Fulham Palace Road,
Hammersmith, London W6 8JB

This paperback edition 1995
9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

First published in Great Britain by
HarperCollins*Publishers* 1994

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and Christopher Reuel Tolkien,
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ISBN 0 261 10324 5

Set in Sabon

Printed in Great Britain by
HarperCollinsManufacturing Glasgow

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FOREWORD

The War of the Jewels is a companion to and continuation of *Morgoth's Ring*, Volume 10 in *The History of Middle-earth*. As I explained in that book, the two together contain virtually all of my father's narrative writing on the subject of the Elder Days in the years after *The Lord of the Rings*, but the division into two is made 'transversely': between the first part of 'The Silmarillion' ('the Legends of Aman') and the second ('the Legends of Beleriand'). I use the term 'Silmarillion', of course, in a very wide sense: this though potentially confusing is imposed by the extremely complex relationship of the different 'works' – especially but not only that of the *Quenta Silmarillion* and the *Annals*; and my father himself employed the name in this way. The division of the whole corpus into two parts is indeed a natural one: the Great Sea divides them. The title of this second part, *The War of the Jewels*, is an expression that my father often used of the last six centuries of the First Age: the history of Beleriand after the return of Morgoth to Middle-earth and the coming of the Noldor, until its end.

In the foreword to *Morgoth's Ring* I emphasised the distinction between the first period of writing that followed in the early 1950s the actual completion of *The Lord of the Rings*, and the later work that followed its publication; in this book also, therefore, two distinct 'phases' are documented.

The number of new works that my father embarked upon in that first 'phase', highly creative but all too brief, is astonishing. There were the new *Lay of Leithian*, of which all that he wrote before he abandoned it was published in *The Lays of Beleriand*; the *Annals of Aman* and new versions of the *Ainulindalë*; the *Grey Annals*, abandoned at the end of the tale of Túrin; the new *Tale of Tuor and the Fall of Gondolin* (published in *Unfinished Tales*), abandoned before Tuor actually entered the city; and all the new tale of Túrin and Niënor from Túrin's return to Dor-lómin to their deaths in Brethil (see p. 144 in this book). There were also an abandoned prose saga of Beren and Lúthien (see V.295); the story of Maeglin; and an extensive revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, the central work of the last period

before *The Lord of the Rings*, interrupted near the beginning of the tale of Túrin in 1937 and never concluded.

I expressed the view in the foreword to *Morgoth's Ring* that 'despair of publication, at least in the form that he regarded as essential' (i.e. the conjunction of *The Silmarillion* and *The Lord of the Rings* in a single work) was the fundamental cause of the collapse of this new endeavour; and that this break destroyed all prospect that what may be called 'the older Silmarillion' would ever be completed. In *Morgoth's Ring* I have documented the massive upheaval, in the years that followed, in his conception of the old myths: an upheaval that never issued in new and secure form. But we come now to the last epoch of the Elder Days, when the scene shifts to Middle-earth and the mythical element recedes: the High-elves return across the Great Sea to make war upon Morgoth, Dwarves and Men come over the mountains into Beleriand, and bound up with this history of the movement of peoples, of the policies of kingdoms, of momentous battles and ruinous defeats, are the heroic tales of Beren One-hand and Túrin Turambar. Yet in *The War of the Jewels* the record is completed of all my father's further work on that history in the years following the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*; and even with all the labour that went into the elaboration of parts of 'the Saga of Túrin' it is obvious that this bears no comparison with his aims or indeed his achievements in the early 1950s.

In Part Two of this book it will be seen that in this later phase of his work the *Quenta Silmarillion* underwent scarcely any further significant rewriting or addition, other than the introduction of the new chapter *Of the Coming of Men into the West* with the radically altered earlier history of the Edain in Beleriand; and that (the most remarkable fact in the whole history of *The Silmarillion*) the last chapters (the tale of Húrin and the dragon-gold of Nargothrond, the Necklace of the Dwarves, the ruin of Doriath, the fall of Gondolin, the Kinslayings) remained in the form of the *Quenta Noldorinwa* of 1930 and were never touched again. Only some meagre hints are found in later writings.

For this there can be no simple explanation, but it seems to me that an important element was the centrality that my father accorded to the story of Húrin and Morwen and their children, Túrin Turambar and Niënor Níniel. This became for him, I believe, the dominant and absorbing story of the end of the

Elder Days, in which complexity of motive and character, trapped in the mysterious workings of Morgoth's curse, sets it altogether apart. He never finally achieved important passages of Túrin's life; but he extended the 'great saga' (as he justly called it) into 'the Wanderings of Húrin', following the old story that Húrin was released by Morgoth from his imprisonment in Angband after the deaths of his children, and went first to the ruined halls of Nargothrond. The dominance of the underlying theme led to a new story, a new dimension to the ruin that Húrin's release would bring: his catastrophic entry into the land of the People of Haleth, the Forest of Brethil. There were no antecedents whatsoever to this tale; but antecedents to the manner of its telling are found in parts of the prose 'saga' of the Children of Húrin (*Narn i Chîn Húrin*, given in *Unfinished Tales*), of which 'Húrin in Brethil' is a further extension. That 'saga' went back to the foundations in *The Book of Lost Tales*, but its great elaboration belongs largely to the period after the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*; and in its later development there entered an immediacy in the telling and a fullness in the recording of event and dialogue that must be described as a new narrative impulse: in relation to the mode of the 'Quenta', it is as if the focus of the glass by which the remote ages were viewed had been sharply changed.

But with Húrin's grim and even it may seem sardonic departure from the ruin of Brethil and dying Manthor this impulse ceased – as it appears. Húrin never came back to Nargothrond and Doriath; and we are denied an account, in this mode of story-telling, of what should be the culminating moment of the saga after the deaths of his children and his wife – his confrontation of Thingol and Melian in the Thousand Caves.

It might be, then, that my father had no inclination to return to the *Quenta Silmarillion*, and its characteristic mode, until he had told on an ample scale, and with the same immediacy as that of his sojourn in Brethil, the full tale of Húrin's tragic and destructive 'wanderings' – and their aftermath also: for it is to be remembered that his bringing of the treasure of Nargothrond to Doriath would lead to the slaying of Thingol by the Dwarves, the sack of Menegroth, and all the train of events that issued in the attack of the Fëanorians on Dior Thingol's heir in Doriath and, at the last, the destruction of the Havens of Sirion. If my father had done this, then out of it might have come, I suppose, new chapters of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, and a return to that

quality in the older writing that I attempted to describe in my foreword to *The Book of Lost Tales*: 'The compendious or epitomising form and manner of *The Silmarillion*, with its suggestion of ages of poetry and "lore" behind it, strongly evokes a sense of "untold tales", even in the telling of them ... There is no narrative urgency, the pressure and fear of the immediate and unknown event. We do not actually see the Silmarils as we see the Ring.'

But this is entirely speculative, because none of it came about: neither the 'great saga' nor the *Quenta Silmarillion* were concluded. Freely as my father often wrote of his work, he never so much as hinted at his larger intentions for the structure of the whole. I think that it must be said that we are left, finally, in the dark.

'The Silmarillion', again in the widest sense, is very evidently a literary entity of a singular nature. I would say that it can only be defined in terms of its history; and that history is with this book largely completed ('largely', because I have not entered further into the complexities of the tale of Túrin in those parts that my father left in confusion and uncertainty, as explained in *Unfinished Tales*, p. 6). It is indeed the only 'completion' possible, because it was always 'in progress'; the published work is not in any way a completion, but a construction devised out of the existing materials. Those materials are now made available, save only in a few details and in the matter of 'Túrin' just mentioned; and with them a criticism of the 'constructed' *Silmarillion* becomes possible. I shall not enter into that question; although it will be apparent in this book that there are aspects of the work that I view with regret.

In *The War of the Jewels* I have included, as Part Four, a long essay of a very different nature: *Quendi and Eldar*. While there was no possibility of making *The History of Middle-earth* a history of the languages as well, I have not wished to eschew them altogether even when not essential to the narrative (as Adunaic is in *The Notion Club Papers*); I have wished to give at least some indication at different stages of the presence of this vital and evolving element, especially in regard to the meaning of names – thus the appendices to *The Book of Lost Tales* and the *Etymologies* in *The Lost Road*. *Quendi and Eldar* illustrates perhaps more than any other writing of my father's the significance of names, and of linguistic change affecting names, in

his histories. It gives also an account of many things found nowhere else, such as the gesture-language of the Dwarves, and all that will ever be known, I believe, of Valarin, the language of the Valar.

I take this opportunity to give the correct text of a passage in *Morgoth's Ring*. Through an error that entered at a late stage and was not observed a line was dropped and a line repeated in note 16 on page 327; the text should read:

> There have been suggestions earlier in the *Athrabeth* that Andreth was looking much further back in time to the awakening of Men (thus she speaks of 'legends of days when death came less swiftly and our span was still far longer', p. 313); in her words here, 'a rumour that has come down through years uncounted', a profound alteration in the conception seems plain.

I have received a communication from Mr Patrick Wynne concerning Volume IX, *Sauron Defeated*, which I would like to record here. He has pointed out that several of the names in Michael Ramer's account of his experiences to the Notion Club are 'not just Hungarian in style but actual Hungarian words' (Ramer was born and spent his early childhood in Hungary, and he refers to the influence of Magyar on his 'linguistic taste', *Sauron Defeated* pp. 159, 201). Thus the world of the story that he wrote and read to the Club was first named *Gyönyörü* (*ibid.* p. 214, note 28), which means 'lovely'. His name for the planet Saturn was first given as *Gyürüchill* (p. 221, note 60), derived from Hungarian *gyürü* 'ring' and *csillag* 'star' (where *cs* is pronounced as English *ch* in *church*); *Gyürüchill* was then changed to *Shomorú*, probably from Hungarian *szomorú* 'sad' (though that is pronounced *'somorú'*), and if so, an allusion to the astrological belief in the cold and gloomy temperament of those born under the influence of that planet. Subsequently these names were replaced by others (*Emberü*, and *Eneköl* for Saturn) that cannot be so explained.

In this connection, Mr Carl F. Hostetter has observed that the Elvish star-name *Lumbar* ascribed to Saturn (whether or not my father always so intended it, see *Morgoth's Ring* pp. 434–5) can be explained in the same way as Ramer's *Shomorú*, in view of the Quenya word *lumbë*, 'gloom, shadow', recorded in the Elvish Etymologies (*The Lost Road and Other Writings*, p. 170).

Mr Hostetter has also pointed out that the name *Byrde* given to Finwë's first wife Míriel in the *Annals of Aman* (*Morgoth's Ring*, pp. 92, 185) is not, as I said (p. 103), an Old English word meaning 'broideress', for that is not found in Old English. The name actually depends on an argument advanced (on very good evidence) by my father that the word *byrde* 'broideress' must in fact have existed in the old language, and that it survived in the Middle English *burde* 'lady, damsel', its original specific sense faded and forgotten. His discussion is found in his article *Some Contributions to Middle-English Lexicography* (*The Review of English Studies* I.2, April 1925).

I am very grateful to Dr Judith Priestman for her generous help in providing me with copies of texts and maps in the Bodleian Library. The accuracy of the intricate text of this book has been much improved by the labour of Mr Charles Noad, unstintedly given and greatly appreciated. He has read the first proof with extreme care and with critical understanding, and has made many improvements; among these is an interpretation of the way in which the narrow path, followed by Túrin and afterwards by Brandir the Lame, went down through the woods above the Taeglin to Cabed-en-Aras: an interpretation that justifies expressions of my father's that I had taken to be merely erroneous (pp. 157, 159).

There remain a number of writings of my father's, other than those that are expressly philological, that I think should be included in this *History of Middle-earth*, and I hope to be able to publish a further volume in two years' time.

PART ONE

THE GREY ANNALS

THE GREY ANNALS

The history of the *Annals of Beleriand* began about 1930, when my father wrote the earliest version (**'AB 1'**) together with that of the *Annals of Valinor* (**'AV 1'**). These were printed in Vol.IV, *The Shaping of Middle-earth*; I remarked there that 'the *Annals* began, perhaps, in parallel with the *Quenta* as a convenient way of driving abreast, and keeping track of, the different elements in the ever more complex narrative web.' Second versions of both sets of *Annals* were composed later in the 1930s, as part of a group of texts comprising also the *Lhammas* or Account of Tongues, a new version of the *Ainulindalë*, and the central work of that time: a new version of 'The Silmarillion' proper, the unfinished *Quenta Silmarillion* (**'QS'**). These second versions, together with the other texts of that period, were printed in Vol.V, *The Lost Road and Other Writings*, under the titles *The Later Annals of Valinor* (**'AV 2'**) and *The Later Annals of Beleriand* (**'AB 2'**).

When my father turned again, in 1950–1, to the Matter of the Elder Days after the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*, he began new work on the *Annals* by taking up the AV 2 and AB 2 manuscripts from some 15 years earlier and using them as vehicles for revision and new writing. In the case of AV 2, correction of the old text was limited to the opening annals, and the beginnings of a new version written on the blank verso pages of this manuscript likewise petered out very quickly, so that there was no need to take much account of this preliminary work (X.47). In AB 2, on the other hand, the preparatory stages were much more extensive and substantial.

In the first place, revision of the original AB 2 text continues much further – although in practice this can be largely passed over, since the content of the revision appears in subsequent texts. (In some cases, as noted in V.124, it is not easy to separate 'early' (pre-*Lord of the Rings*) revisions and additions from 'late' (those of the early 1950s).) In the second place, the beginning of a new and much fuller version of the *Annals of Beleriand* on the blank verso pages of AB 2 extends for a considerable distance (13 manuscript pages) – and the first part of this is written in such a careful script, before it begins to degenerate, that it may be thought that my father did not at first intend it as a draft. This is entitled 'The Annals of Beleriand', and could on that account be referred to as 'AB 3', but I shall in fact call it **'GA 1'** (see below).

The final text is a good clear manuscript bearing the title 'The Annals of Beleriand or the Grey Annals'. I have chosen to call this work the *Grey Annals*, abbreviated **'GA'**, in order to mark its

distinctive nature in relation to the earlier forms of the Annals of Beleriand and its close association with the *Annals of Aman* ('**AAm**'), which also bears a title different from that of its predecessors. The abandoned first version just mentioned is then more suitably called 'GA 1' than 'AB 3', since for most of its length it was followed very closely in the final text, and is to be regarded as a slightly earlier variant: it will be necessary to refer to it, and to cite passages from it, but there is no need to give it in full. Where it is necessary to distinguish the final text from the aborted version I shall call the former '**GA 2**'.

There is some evidence that the *Grey Annals* followed the *Annals of Aman* (in its primary form), but the two works were, I feel certain, closely associated in time of composition. For the structure of the history of Beleriand the *Grey Annals* constitutes the primary text, and although much of the latter part of the work was used in the published *Silmarillion* with little change I give it in full. This is really essential on practical grounds, but is also in keeping with my intention in this 'History', in which I have traced the development of the Matter of the Elder Days from its beginning to its end within the compass of my father's actual writings: from this point of view the published work is not its end, and I do not treat his later writing primarily in relation to what was used, or how it was used, in '*The Silmarillion*'. – It is a most unhappy fact that he abandoned the *Grey Annals* at the death of Túrin – although, as will be seen subsequently (pp. 251 ff.), he added elements of a continuation at some later time.

I have not, as I did in the case of the *Annals of Aman*, divided the *Grey Annals* into sections, and the commentary, referenced to the numbered paragraphs, follows the end of the text (p. 103). Subsequent changes to the manuscript, which in places were heavy, are indicated as such.

At the top of the first page of the old AB 2 text, no doubt before he began work on the enormously enlarged new version, my father scribbled these notes: 'Make these the Sindarin Annals of Doriath and leave out most of the ...' (there are here two words that probably read 'Nold[orin] stuff'); and 'Put in notes about Denethor, Thingol, etc. from AV'.

Two other elements in the complex of papers constituting the *Grey Annals* remain to be mentioned. There are a number of disconnected rough pages bearing the words 'Old material of Grey Annals' (see p. 29); and there is an amanuensis typescript in top copy and carbon that clearly belongs with that of the *Annals of Aman*, which I tentatively dated to 1958 (X.47).

THE ANNALS OF BELERIAND OR THE GREY ANNALS

§1 These are the Annals of Beleriand as they were made by the Sindar, the Grey Elves of Doriath and the Havens, and enlarged from the records and memories of the remnant of the Noldor of Nargothrond and Gondolin at the Mouths of Sirion, whence they were brought back into the West.

§2 Beleriand is the name of the country that lay upon either side of the great river Sirion ere the Elder Days were ended. This name it bears in the oldest records that survive, and it is here retained in that form, though now it is called Belerian. The name signifies in the language of that land: the country of Balar. For this name the Sindar gave to Ossë, who came often to those coasts, and there befriended them. At first, therefore, this name was given to the land of the shores, on either side of Sirion's mouths, that face the Isle of Balar, but it spread until it included all the ancient coast of the North-west of Middle-earth south of the Firth of Drengist and all the inner land south of Hithlum up to the feet of Eryd Luin (the Blue Mountains). But south of the mouths of Sirion it had no sure boundaries; for there were pathless forests in those days between the unpeopled shores and the lower waters of Gelion.

VY 1050

§3 Hither, it is said, at this time came Melian the Maia from Valinor, when Varda made the great stars. In this same time the Quendi awoke by Kuiviénen, as is told in the Chronicle of Aman.

1080

§4 About this time the spies of Melkor discovered the Quendi and afflicted them.

1085

§5 In this year Oromë found the Quendi, and befriended them.

1090

§6 At this time the Valar came hither from Aman for their assault upon Melkor, whose stronghold was in the North

beyond Eryd Engrin (the Iron Mountains). In these regions, therefore, were fought the first battles of the Powers of the West and the North, and all this land was much broken, and it took then that shape which it had until the coming of Fionwë. For the Great Sea broke in upon the coasts and made a deep gulf to the southward, and many lesser bays were made between the Great Gulf and Helkaraxë far in the North, where Middle-earth and Aman came nigh together. Of these bays the Bay of Balar was the chief; and into it the mighty river Sirion flowed down from the new-raised highlands northwards: Dorthonion and the mountains about Hithlum. At first these lands upon either side of Sirion were ruinous and desolate because of the War of the Powers, but soon growth began there, while most of Middle-earth slept in the Sleep of Yavanna, because the Valar of the Blessed Realm had set foot there; and there were young woods under the bright stars. These Melian the Maia fostered; and she dwelt most in the glades of Nan Elmoth beside the River Celon. There also dwelt her nightingales.

1102–5

§7 Ingwë, Finwë, and Elwë were brought to Valinor by Oromë as ambassadors of the Quendi; and they looked upon the Light of the Trees and yearned for it. Returning they counselled the Eldar to go to the Land of Aman, at the summons of the Valar.

1115

§8 Even as the Valar had come first to Beleriand as they went eastward, so later Oromë leading the hosts of the Eldar westwards towards Aman brought them to the shores of Beleriand. For there the Great Sea was less wide and yet free from the perils of the ice that lay further north. In this year of the Valar, therefore, the foremost companies of the Vanyar and Noldor passed through the vale of Sirion and came to the sea-coast between Drengist and the Bay of Balar. But because of their fear of the Sea, which they had before neither seen nor imagined, the Eldar drew back into the woods and highlands. And Oromë departed and went to Valinor and left them there for a time.

1128

§9 In this year the Teleri, who had lingered on the road,

came also at last over Eryd Luin into northern Beleriand. There they halted and dwelt a while between the River Gelion and Eryd Luin. At that time many of the Noldor dwelt westward of the Teleri, in those regions where afterwards stood the forests of Neldoreth and Region. Finwë was their lord, and with him Elwë lord of the Teleri had great friendship; and Elwë was wont often to visit Finwë in the dwellings of the Noldor.

1130

§10 In this year King Elwë Singollo of the Teleri was lost in the wilderness. As he journeyed home from a meeting with Finwë, he passed by Nan Elmoth, and he heard the nightingales of Melian the Maia, and followed them deep into the glades. There he saw Melian standing beneath the stars, and a white mist was about her, but the Light of Aman was in her face. Thus began the love of Elwë Greymantle and Melian of Valinor. Hand in hand they stood silent in the woods, while the wheeling stars measured many years, and the young trees of Nan Elmoth grew tall and dark. Long his people sought for Elwë in vain.

1132

§11 Now Ulmo, at the command of the Valar, came to the shores of Beleriand and summoned the Eldar to meet him; and he spoke to them, and made music upon his conches, and changed the fear of all who heard him into a great desire for the Sea. Then Ulmo and Ossë took an island, which stood far out in the Sea, and they moved it, and brought it, as it were a mighty ship, into the Bay of Balar; and the Vanyar and Noldor embarked thereon, and were drawn over Sea, until they came at last to the Land of Aman. But a part of that island which was deep-grounded in the shoals off the mouths of Sirion was broken away and remained; and this was the Isle of Balar to which afterward Ossë often came.

§12 For the Teleri had not embarked, but remained behind. Many indeed were dwelling at that time afar off in eastern Beleriand and heard the summons of Ulmo too late; and many others searched still for Elwë their king, and were not willing to depart without him. But when the Teleri learned that their kinsfolk, the Vanyar and the Noldor, were gone, the most part hastened to the shore and dwelt thereafter nigh the mouths of Sirion, in longing for their friends that had left them. And they took Olwë, Elwë's brother, for their lord. Then Ossë and Uinen

came to them, and dwelt in the Isle of Balar, and became the friends of the Teleri and taught them all manner of sea-lore and sea-music.

1149–50

§13 In this year Ulmo returned to Beleriand. To this he was most moved by the prayers of the Noldor and of Finwë their king, who grieved at their sundering from the Teleri, and besought Ulmo to bring Elwë and his people to Aman, if they would come. And all those who followed Olwë were now willing to depart; but Ossë was sad at heart. For he went seldom to the shores of Aman, and loved the Teleri, and he was ill-pleased that their fair voices should be heard no longer by the strands of Middle-earth, which were his domain.

§14 Ossë therefore persuaded many to remain in Beleriand, and when King Olwë and his host were embarked upon the isle and passed over the Sea they abode still by the shore; and Ossë returned to them, and continued in friendship with them. And he taught to them the craft of shipbuilding and of sailing; and they became a folk of mariners, the first in Middle-earth, and had fair havens at Eglarest and Brithombar; but some dwelt still upon the Isle of Balar. Cirdan the Shipwright was the lord of this people, and all that shoreland between Drengist and Balar that he ruled was called the Falas. But among the Teleri were none yet so hardy of heart, and of their ships none so swift and strong that they might dare the deeps of the Great Sea or behold even from afar the Blessed Realm and the Light of the Trees of Valinor. Wherefore those that remained behind were called Moriquendi, Elves of the Dark.

1150

§15 The friends and kinsfolk of Elwë also remained; but they would fain have departed to Valinor and the Light of the Trees (which Elwë indeed had seen), if Ulmo and Olwë had been willing to tarry yet longer while they sought still for Elwë. But when Ulmo had tarried a full Year (and a Year of the Valar is in length well nigh as are ten of the years that now are) he departed, and the friends of Elwë were left behind. Therefore they called themselves the Eglath, the Forsaken People; and though they dwelt in the woods and hills rather than by the Sea, which filled them with sorrow, their inmost hearts yearned ever Westward.

1152

§16 At this time, it is told, Elwë Singollo awoke from his long trance. And he came forth from Nan Elmoth with Melian, and they dwelt thereafter in the woods in the midst of the land; and though Elwë had greatly desired to see again the light of the Trees, in the face of Melian the fair he beheld the Light of Aman as in an unclouded mirror, and in that light he was content. Then his folk gathered about him in joy; and they were amazed, for fair and noble as he had been, now he appeared as it were a lord of the Maiar, tallest of all the Children of Ilúvatar, his hair as grey silver, and his eyes like unto stars. King of the Eglath he became, and Melian was his Queen, wiser than any daughter of Middle-earth.

1200

§17 It is not known to any among Elves or Men when Lúthien, only child of Elwë and Melian, came into the World, fairest of all the Children of Ilúvatar that were or shall be. But it is held that it was at the end of the first age of the Chaining of Melkor, when all the Earth had great peace and the glory of Valinor was at its noon, and though Middle-earth for the most [part] lay in the Sleep of Yavanna, in Beleriand under the power of Melian there was life and joy and the bright stars shone like silver fires. In the Forest of Neldoreth it is said that she was born and cradled under the stars of heaven, and the white flowers of *niphredil* came forth to greet her, as stars from the earth.

1200–50

§18 In this time the power of Elwë and Melian reached over all Beleriand. Elu Thingol he was called in the tongue of his people, King Greymantle, and all the Elves of Beleriand from the mariners of Cirdan to the wandering huntsmen of the Blue Mountains took him for lord. And they are called, therefore, the Sindar, the Grey Elves of starlit Berleriand. And albeit they were Moriquendi, under the lordship of Thingol and the teaching of Melian they became the fairest and the most wise and skilful of all the Elves of Middle-earth.

1250

§19 In this year the Norn-folk came first over the mountains into Beleriand. This people the Noldor after named the Naugrim, whom some Men call Dwarves. Their most ancient

dwellings were far to the East, but they had delved for themselves great halls and mansions, after the manner of their kind, on the east-side of Eryd Luin, north and south of Mount Dolmed, in those places which the Eldar named Belegost and Nogrod (but they Gabilgathol and Tumunzahar). Thence they now came forth and made themselves known to the Elves; and the Elves were amazed, for they had deemed themselves to be the only living things in Middle-earth that spoke with words or wrought with hands; and that all others were beasts and birds only.

§20 Nonetheless they could understand no word of the tongue of the Naugrim, which to their ears was cumbrous and unlovely; and few ever of the Eldar have achieved the mastery of it. But the Dwarves were swift to learn (after a fashion), and indeed were more willing to learn the Elven-tongue than to teach to aliens their own; and soon there was much parley between the peoples. Ever cool was their friendship, though much profit they had one of the other. But at that time those griefs that lay between them had not yet come to pass, and they were welcomed by King Thingol.

§21 How the Dwarves came into the world the Eldar know not for certain, though the loremasters have elsewhere recorded the tales of the Naugrim themselves (such as they would reveal) concerning their beginning. They say that Aulë the Maker, whom they call Mahal, brought them into being; and however that may be, certain it is that they were great smiths and masons, though of old there was little beauty in their works. Iron and copper they loved to work more than silver or gold, and stone more than wood.

1300

Of the building of Menegroth

§22 Now Melian had after the manner of the Maiar, the people of Valinor, much foresight. And when two of the ages of the Chaining of Melkor had passed, she counselled Thingol that the Peace of Arda would not last for ever; and he therefore bethought him how he should make for himself a kingly dwelling, and a place that should be strong, if evil were to awake again in Middle-earth. He called therefore upon the Enfeng, the Longbeards of Belegost, whom he had befriended, and sought their aid and counsel. And they gave it willingly, for they were unwearied in those days, and eager for new works.

And though the Dwarves ever demanded a price for all that they did, whether with delight or with toil, at this time they held themselves paid. For Melian taught them much wisdom, which they were eager to get; whereas Thingol rewarded them with many fair pearls. These Cirdan gave to him, for they were got in great number in the shallow waters about the Isle of Balar; but the Naugrim had not before seen their like, and they held them dear. And one there was great as a dove's egg, and its sheen was as the starlight upon the foam of the sea; Nimphelos it was named, and the chieftain of the Enfeng prized it above a mountain of wealth.

§23 Therefore the Naugrim laboured long and gladly for Thingol, and devised for him mansions after the fashion of their folk, delved deep in the earth. Where the River Esgalduin flowed down, dividing Neldoreth from Region, there was in the midst of the forest a rocky hill, and the river ran at its feet. There they made the gates of the halls of Thingol, and they built a bridge of stone over the river, by which alone the gates could be entered. But beyond the gates wide passages ran down to high halls and chambers far below that were hewn in the living stone, so many and so great that that dwelling was named Menegroth, the Thousand Caves.

§24 But the Elves also had part in that labour, and Elves and Dwarves together, each with their own skills, there wrought out the visions of Melian, images of the wonder and beauty of Valinor beyond the Sea. The pillars of Menegroth were hewn in the likeness of the beeches of Oromë, stock, bough, and leaf, and they were lit with lanterns of gold. The nightingales sang there as in the gardens of Lorien; and there were fountains of silver, and basins of marble, and floors of many-coloured stones. Carven figures of beasts and of birds there ran upon the walls, or climbed upon the pillars, or peered among the branches entwined with many flowers. And as the years passed Melian and her maidens filled the halls with webs of many hues, wherein could be read the deeds of the Valar, and many things that had befallen in Arda since its beginning, and shadows of things that were yet to be. That was the fairest dwelling of any king that hath ever been east of the Sea.

1300–50

§25 After the building of Menegroth was achieved, there was peace in the realm of Thingol. The Naugrim would come

ever and anon over the mountains and visit Menegroth and go in traffick about the land, though they went seldom to the Falas, for they hated the sound of the Sea and feared to look on it; but otherwise there came to Beleriand no rumour or tidings of the world without. But it came to pass that the Dwarves were troubled, and they spoke to King Thingol, saying that the Valar had not rooted out utterly the evils of the North, and now the remnant, having long multiplied in the dark, were coming forth once more and roaming far and wide. 'There are fell beasts,' said they, 'in the land east of the mountains, and the dark-elves that dwell there, your ancient kindred, are flying from the plains to the hills.'

1330

§26 And ere long (in the year 1330 according to the annals that were made in Doriath) the evil creatures came even to Beleriand, over passes in the mountains, or up from the south through the dark forests. Wolves there were, or creatures that walked in wolf-shapes, and other fell beings of shadow.

§27 Among these were the Orkor indeed, who after wrought ruin in Beleriand; but they were yet few and wary and did but smell out the ways of the land, awaiting the return of their Lord. Whence they came, or what they were, the Elves knew not then, deeming them to be Avari, maybe, that had become evil and savage in the wild. In which they guessed all too near, it is said.

§28 Therefore Thingol bethought [him] of arms, which before his folk had not needed, and these at first the Naugrim smithied for him. For they were greatly skilled in such work, though none among them surpassed the craftsmen of Nogrod, of whom Telchar the Smith was the greatest in renown. A warlike race of old were all the Naugrim, and they would fight fiercely with whomsoever aggrieved them: folk of Melkor, or Eldar, or Avari, or wild beasts, or not seldom with their own kin, Dwarves of other mansions and lordships. Their smith-craft indeed the Sindar soon learned of them; yet in the tempering of steel alone of all crafts the Dwarves were never outmatched even by the Noldor, and in the making of mail of linked rings (which the Enfeng first contrived) their work had no rival.

§29 At this time therefore the Sindar were well armed, and

they drove off all creatures of evil, and had peace again; but Thingol's armouries were stored with axes (the chief weapons of the Naugrim, and of the Sindar), and with spears and swords, and tall helms, and long coats of bright mail: for the hauberks of the Enfeng were so fashioned that they rusted not and shone ever as were they new-burnished. This proved well for Thingol in the time that was to come.

1350

The coming of Denethor

§30 Now as is elsewhere recounted, one Dân of the host of Olwë forsook the march of the Eldar at that time when the Teleri were halted by the shores of the Great River upon the borders of the westlands of Middle-earth. And he led away a numerous people and went south down the river, and of the wanderings of that people, the Nandor, little is now known. Some, it is said, dwelt age-long in the woods of the Vale of the Great River, some came at last to the mouths of Anduin, and there dwelt by the Sea, and others passing by the White Mountains came north again and entered the wilderness of Eriador between Eryd Luin and the far Mountains of Mist. Now these were a woodland folk and had no weapons of metal, and the coming of the fell beasts of the North affrayed them sorely, as the Naugrim reported. Therefore Denethor, the son of Dân, hearing rumour of the might of Thingol and his majesty, and of the peace of his realm, gathered such host of his scattered folk as he could and led them over the mountains into Beleriand. There they were welcomed by Thingol, as kin long lost that return, and they dwelt in Ossiriand in the south of his kingdom. For it was a great country, and yet little peopled; and it was so named, the Land of Seven Rivers, because it lay between the mighty stream of Gelion and the mountains, from which there flowed into Gelion the swift rivers: Ascar, Thalos, Legolin, Brilthor, Duilwen, and Adurant. In that region the forests in after days were tall and green, and the people of Denethor there dwelt warily and seldom seen, because of their raiment of the colour of leaves; and they were called therefore the Green-elves.

§31 Of the long years of peace that followed after the coming of Denethor there is little tale; for though in this time Dairon the minstrel, it is said, who was the chief loremaster of

the kingdom of Thingol, devised his Runes,* [*added later in margin:* Cirth] they were little used by the Sindar for the keeping of records, until the days of the War, and much that was held in memory has perished in the ruin of Doriath. Yet verily of bliss and glad life there is little to be said, ere it endeth; as works fair and wonderful, while still they endure for eyes to see, are their own record, and only when they are in peril or broken for ever do they pass into song. In Beleriand in those days the Elves walked, and the rivers flowed, and the stars shone, and the night-flowers gave forth their scents; and the beauty of Melian was as the noon, and the beauty of Lúthien was as the dawn in spring. In Beleriand King Thingol upon his throne was as the sons of the Valar, whose power is at rest, whose joy is as an air that they breathe in all their days, whose thought flows in a tide untroubled from the heights to the deeps. In Beleriand still at whiles rode Oromë the great, passing like a wind over the mountains, and the sound of his horn came down the leagues of the starlight, and the Elves feared him for the splendour of his countenance and the great noise of the onrush of Nahar; but when the Valaróma echoed in the hills, they knew well that all evil things were fled far away.

1495

§32 It came to pass at last that the end of Bliss was at hand, and the noontide of Valinor was drawing to its twilight. For as is known to all, being written elsewhere in lore and sung in many songs, Melkor slew the Trees of the Valar with the aid of Ungoliantë, and escaped and came back to the north of Middle-earth. And hereafter he shall be known by that name that Fëanor gave him, the Dark Foe, Morgoth the Accursed.

§33 Far to the North befell the strife of Morgoth and Ungoliantë; but the great cry of Morgoth echoed through Beleriand, and all its folk shrank for fear; for though few knew what it foreboded, they heard then the herald of death.

§34 Soon after, indeed, Ungoliantë fled from the North and came into the realm of King Thingol, and a terror of darkness

* These, it is said, he contrived first ere the building of Menegroth, and after bettered them. The Naugrim, indeed, that came to Thingol learned the Runes of Dairon, and were well-pleased with the device, esteeming Dairon's skill higher than did the Sindar, his own folk; and by the Naugrim they [*later* > the Cirth] were taken east over the mountains and passed into the knowledge of many peoples.

was about her. But by the power of Melian she was stayed, and entered not into Neldoreth, but abode long while under the shadow of the precipices in which Dorthonion fell southward. Therefore they became known as Eryd Orgoroth, the Mountains of Terror, and none dared go thither, or pass nigh to them; for even after Ungoliantë herself departed and went whither she would back into the forgotten South of the world, her foul offspring dwelt there in form as spiders and wove there their hideous webs. There light and life were strangled, and there all waters were poisoned.

§35 Morgoth, however, came not himself to Beleriand, but went to the Iron Mountains, and there with the aid of his servants that came forth to meet him he delved anew his vast vaults and dungeons. These the Noldor after named Angband: the Iron Prison; and above their gates Morgoth reared the vast and threefold peaks of Thangorodrim, and a great reek of dark smoke was ever wreathed about them.

1497

§36 In this year Morgoth made his first assault upon Beleriand, which lay south of Angband. Indeed it is said that the gates of Morgoth were but one hundred and fifty leagues distant from the bridge of Menegroth; far and yet all too near.

§37 Now the Orcs that had multiplied in the bowels of the earth grew strong and fell, and their dark lord filled them with a lust of ruin and death; and they issued from Angband's gates under the clouds that Morgoth sent forth, and passed silently into the highlands of the north. Thence on a sudden a great army came to Beleriand and assailed King Thingol. Now in his wide realm many Elves wandered free in the wild or dwelt at peace in small kindreds of quiet folk far sundered. Only about Menegroth in the midst of the land, and along the Falas in the country of the mariners were there numerous peoples; but the Orcs came down upon either side of Menegroth, and from camps in the east between Celon and Gelion, and west in the plains between Sirion and Narog, they plundered far and wide; and Thingol was cut off from Cirdan at Eglarest.

§38 Therefore he called upon Denethor, and the Elves came in force from Region over Aros and from Ossiriand, and fought the first battle in the Wars of Beleriand. And the eastern host of the Orcs was taken between the armies of the Eldar, north of the Andram and midway between Aros and Gelion, and there they

were utterly defeated, and those that fled north from the great slaughter were waylaid by the axes of the Naugrim that issued from Mount Dolmed: few indeed returned to Angband.

§39 But the victory of the Elves was dearbought. For the Elves of Ossiriand were light-armed, and no match for the Orcs, who were shod with iron and iron-shielded and bore great spears with broad blades. And Denethor was cut off and surrounded upon the hill of Amon Ereb; and there he fell and all his nearest kin about him, ere the host of Thingol could come to his aid. Bitterly though his fall was avenged, when Thingol came upon the rear of the Orcs and slew them aheaps, the Green-elves lamented him ever after and took no king again. After the battle some returned to Ossiriand, and their tidings filled the remnant of their folk with great fear, so that thereafter they came never forth in open war, but kept themselves by wariness and secrecy. And many went north and entered the guarded realm of Thingol and were merged with his folk.

§40 And when Thingol came again to Menegroth he learned that the Orc-host in the west was victorious and had driven Cirdan to the rim of the Sea. Therefore he withdrew all his folk that his summons could reach within the fastness of Neldoreth and Region, and Melian put forth her power and fenced all that dominion round about with an unseen wall of shadow and bewilderment: the Girdle of Melian, that none thereafter could pass against her will or the will of King Thingol (unless one should come with a power greater than that of Melian the Maia). Therefore this inner land which was long named Eglador was after called Doriath, the guarded kingdom, Land of the Girdle. Within it there was yet a watchful peace; but without there was peril and great fear, and the servants of Morgoth roamed at will, save in the walled havens of the Falas.

Of the Coming of the Noldor

§41 But new tidings were at hand, which none in Middle-earth had foreseen, neither Morgoth in his pits nor Melian in Menegroth; for no news came out of Aman, whether by messenger, or by spirit, or by vision in dream, after the death of the Trees and the hiding of Valinor. In this same year of the Valar (but some seven years after in the later reckoning of time) Fëanor came over Sea in the white ships of the Teleri, and landed in the Firth of Drengist, and there burned the ships at Losgar.

§42 Now the flames of that burning were seen not only by Fingolfin, whom Fëanor had deserted, but also by the Orcs and the watchers of Morgoth. No tale hath told what Morgoth thought in his heart at the tidings that Fëanor his bitterest foe had brought a host out of the West. Maybe he feared him little, for he had not yet had proof of the swords of the Noldor, and soon it was seen that he purposed to drive them back into the Sea.

§43 Drengist is a long firth which pierces the Echoing Hills of Eryd Lómin that are the west-fence of the great country of Hithlum. Thus the host of Fëanor passed from the shores into the inner regions of Hithlum, and marching about the northern end of the Mountains of Mithrim they encamped in that part which was named Mithrim and lay about the great lake amid the mountains that bore the same name.

§44 But the host of Melkor, orcs and werewolves, came through the passes of Eryd-wethrin and assailed Fëanor on a sudden, ere his camp was fullwrought or put in defence. There now on the grey fields of Mithrim was fought the second battle of the Wars of Beleriand, and the first meeting of the might of Morgoth with the valour of the Noldor. *Dagor-nuin-Giliath* it is named, the Battle under the Stars, for the Moon had not yet risen. In that battle, albeit outnumbered and taken at unawares, the Noldor were swiftly victorious. Strong and fair were they yet, for the light of Aman was not yet dimmed in their eyes; swift they were, and deadly in wrath, and long and terrible were their swords. The Orcs fled before them, and they were driven forth from Mithrim with great slaughter, and hunted over that great plain that lay north of Dorthonion, and was then called Ardgalen. There the armies that had passed south into the vales of Sirion and had beleagured Cirdan came up to their succour, and were caught in their ruin. For Celegorn Fëanor's son, having news of them, waylaid them with a part of the Elven-host, and coming down upon them out of the hills nigh Eithel Sirion drove them into the Fen of Serech. Evil indeed were the tidings that came at last unto Angband, and Morgoth was dismayed. Ten days that battle endured, and from it returned of all the hosts that he had prepared for the conquest of the kingdoms of the Eldar no more than a handful of leaves.

§45 Yet cause he had for great joy, though it was hidden from him for a while. For the heart of Fëanor, in his wrath against the Enemy, blazed like a fire, and he would not halt, but

pressed on behind the remnant of the Orcs, thinking, it is said, so to come at Morgoth himself. And he laughed aloud as he wielded his sword, and rejoiced that he had dared the wrath of the Valar and the evils of the road that he might see that hour of his vengeance. He knew naught of Angband or the great strength of defence that Morgoth had so swiftly prepared; but had he known, it would not have deterred him, for fey he was, consumed by the flame of his own wrath. Thus it was that he drew far ahead of the van of his host, and seeing this the servants of Morgoth turned to bay, and there issued from Angband Balrogs to aid them. There upon the confines of Dor Daedeloth, the land of Morgoth, Fëanor was surrounded, with few friends about him. Soon he stood alone; but long he fought on, and laughed undismayed, though he was wrapped in fire and wounded with many wounds. But at the last Gothmog,* Lord of the Balrogs, smote him to the ground, and there he would have perished, but Maidros and three other of his sons in that moment came up with force to his aid, and the Balrogs fled back to Angband.

§46 Then his sons raised up their father and bore him back towards Mithrim. But as they drew near to Eithel Sirion and were upon the upward path to the pass over the mountains, Fëanor bade them halt. For his wounds were mortal, and he knew that his hour was come. And looking out from the slopes of Eryd-wethrin with his last sight he beheld afar the peaks of Thangorodrim, mightiest of the towers of Middle-earth, and knew with the foreknowledge of death that no power of the Noldor would ever overthrow them; but he cursed the name of Morgoth, and laid it upon his sons to hold to their oath, and to avenge their father. Then he died; but he had neither burial nor tomb, for so fiery was his spirit that, as it passed, his body fell to ash and was borne away like a smoke, and his likeness has never again appeared in Arda, neither has his spirit left the realm of Mandos. Thus ended the mightiest of the Noldor, of whose deeds came both their greatest renown and their most grievous woe.

§47 Tidings of these great deeds came to Menegroth and to Eglarest, and the Grey-elves were filled with wonder and with hope, for they looked to have great help in their defence against

* [*Marginal note:*] whom Ecthelion afterward slew in Gondolin.

Morgoth from their mighty kindred that thus returned unlooked-for from the West in their very hour of need, believing indeed at first that they came as emissaries of the Valar to deliver their brethren from evil. Now the Grey-elves were of Telerian race, and Thingol was the brother of Olwë at Alqualondë, but naught yet was known of the kinslaying, nor of the manner of the exile of the Noldor, and of the oath of Fëanor. Yet though they had not heard of the Curse of Mandos, it was soon at work in Beleriand. For it entered into the heart of King Thingol to regret the days of peace when he was the high lord of all the land and its peoples. Wide were the countries of Beleriand and many empty and wild, and yet he welcomed not with full heart the coming of so many princes in might out of the West, eager for new realms.

§48 Thus there was from the first a coolness between him and the sons of Fëanor, whereas the closest friendship was needed, if Morgoth were to be withstood; for the [House >] sons of Fëanor were ever unwilling to accept the overlordship of Thingol, and would ask for no leave where they might dwell or might pass. When, therefore, ere long (by treachery and ill will, as later is told) the full tale of the deeds in Valinor became known in Beleriand, there was rather enmity than alliance between Doriath and the House of Fëanor; and this bitterness Morgoth eagerly inflamed by all means that he could find. But that evil lay as yet in the days to come, and the first meeting of the Sindar and the Noldor was eager and glad, though parley was at first not easy between them, for in their long severance the tongue of the Kalaquendi in Valinor and the Moriquendi in Beleriand had drawn far apart.

Excursus on the languages of Beleriand

I interrupt the text here since the complex variant material that follows in the two manuscripts cannot well be accommodated in the commentary.

In place of GA 2 §48 just given, GA 1 (making no reference to the active hostility that developed between Thingol and the Fëanorians) has only the following (after the words 'eager for new realms'):

> Moreover in their long severance the tongues of the Sindar and the Noldor had drawn apart, and at first parley was not easy between them.

This is followed by a long 'excursus' (marked on the manuscript as an intrusion into the main text) on the development and relations of

Noldorin and Sindarin in Beleriand, the end of which is also the end of GA 1. This discussion reappears, rewritten, in GA 2, and then this revised form was itself substantially altered. It seems desirable to give all the versions of this passage, of central importance in the linguistic history of Middle-earth. The numbered notes to this section are found on p. 28.

The original version in GA 1 reads as follows.

It was indeed at the landing of Fëanor three hundred and sixty-five long years of the Valar[1] since the Noldor had passed over the Sea and left the Teleri behind them. Now that time was in length well nigh as three thousand and five hundred years of the Sun. In such an age the tongues of mortal Men that were far sundered would indeed change out of knowledge, unless it were as written records of song and wisdom. But in Valinor in the days of the Trees change was little to be perceived, save that which came of will and design, while in Middle-earth under the Sleep of Yavanna it was slow also, though before the Rising of the Moon all things had been stirred from slumber in Beleriand, as has before been told.[2] Therefore, whereas the tongue of the Noldor had altered little from the ancient tongue of the Eldar upon the march – and its altering had for the most part come in the making of new words (for things old and new) and in the softening and harmonizing of the sounds and patterns of the Quendian tongue to forms that seemed to the Noldor more beautiful – the language of the Sindar had changed much, even in unheeded growth as a tree may imperceptibly change its shape: as much maybe as an unwritten mortal tongue might change in five hundred years or more.[3] It was already ere the Rising of the Sun a speech greatly different to the ear from the Noldorin, and after that Rising all change was swift, for a while in the second Spring of Arda very swift indeed. To the ear, we say, because though Dairon the minstrel and loremaster of Menegroth had devised his Runes already by V.Y. 1300 (and after greatly bettered them), it was not the custom of the Sindar to write down their songs or records, and the Runes of Dairon (save in Menegroth) were used chiefly for names and brief inscriptions cut upon wood, stone, or metal. (The Naugrim[4] learned the Runes of Dairon from Menegroth, being well-pleased with the device and esteeming Dairon higher than [did] his own folk; and by the Naugrim they were brought east over the Mountains.)[5]

Soon, however, it came to pass that the Noldor in daily use

took on the Sindarin tongue, and this tongue enriched by words and devices from Noldorin became the tongue of all the Eldar in Beleriand (save in the country of the Green[-elves]) and the language of all the Eldar, either in Middle-earth, or that (as shall be told) went back from exile into the West and dwelt and dwell now upon Eressëa. In Valinor the ancient Elven-speech is maintained, and the Noldor never forsook it; but it became for them no longer a cradle-tongue, a mother-tongue, but a learned language of lore, and of high song and noble and solemn use. Few of the Sindar learned it, save in so far as they became, outside Doriath, merged in one people with Noldor and followed their princes; as indeed ere long happened indeed except for few scattered companies of Sindar in mountainous woods, and except also for the lordship of Cirdan, and the guarded kingdom of Thingol.

Now this change of tongue among the Noldor took place for many divers reasons. First, that though the Sindar were not numerous they far outnumbered the hosts of Fëanor and Fingolfin, such as in the end survived their dreadful journeys and reached Beleriand. Secondly and no less: that the Noldor having forsaken Aman themselves began to be subject to change undesigned while they were yet upon the march, and at the Rising of the Sun this change became swift – and the change in their daily tongue was such that, whether by reason of the like clime and soil and the like fortunes, whether by intercourse and mingling of blood, it changed in the same ways as did the Sindarin, and the two tongues grew towards one another. Thus it came that words taken from Noldorin into Telerin entered not in the true forms of High Speech but as it were altered and fitted to the character of the tongue of Beleriand. Thirdly: because after the death of Fëanor the overlordship of the Exiles (as shall be recounted) passed to Fingolfin, and he being of other mood than Fëanor acknowledged the high-kingship of Thingol and Menegroth, being indeed greatly in awe of that king, mightiest of the Eldar save Fëanor only, and of Melian no less. But though Elu-Thingol, great in memory, could recall the tongue of the Eldar as it had been ere riding from Finwë's camp he heard the birds of Nan Elmoth, in Doriath the Sindarin tongue alone was spoken, and all must learn it who would have dealings with the king.

It is said that it was after the Third Battle Dagor Aglareb[6] that the Noldor first began far and wide to take the Sindarin as they

settled and established realms in Beleriand; though maybe the Noldorin survived (especially in Gondolin) until Dagor Arnediad[7] or until the Fall of Gondolin – survived, that is, in the spoken form that it had in Beleriand as different both from the Quenya (or Ancient Noldorin) and from the Sindarin: for the Quenya never perished and is known and used still by all such as crossed the Sea ere the Trees were slain.

This is the first general linguistic statement since the *Lhammas*, written long before, and there have been major shifts from the earlier theory. The third version of the *Lhammas*, '*Lammasethen*', the latest and shortest of the three, gives a clear statement of what is more diffusely expressed in the longer versions, and I cite a part of it (from V.193–4):

> Now ancient Noldorin, as first used, and written in the days of Fëanor in Tûn, remained spoken by the Noldor that did not leave Valinor at its darkening, and it abides still there, not greatly changed, and not greatly different from Lindarin. It is called *Kornoldorin*, or *Finrodian* because Finrod and many of his folk returned to Valinor and did not go to Beleriand. But most of the Noldor went to Beleriand, and in the 400 years of their wars with Morgoth their tongue changed greatly. For three reasons: because it was not in Valinor; because there was war and confusion, and much death among the Noldor, so that their tongue was subject to vicissitudes similar to those of mortal Men; and because in all the world, but especially in Middle-earth, change and growth was very great in the first years of the Sun. Also in Beleriand the tongue and dialects of the Telerian Ilkorins was current, and their king Thingol was very mighty; and Noldorin in Beleriand took much from Beleriandic especially of Doriath. Most of the names and places in that land were given in Doriathrin form. Noldorin returned, after the overthrow of Morgoth, into the West, and lives still in Tol-eressëa, where it changes now little; and this tongue is derived mainly from the tongue of Gondolin, whence came Eärendel; but it has much of Beleriandic, for Elwing his wife was daughter of Dior, Thingol's heir; and it has somewhat of Ossiriand, for Dior was son of Beren who lived long in Ossiriand.

There was also the book-tongue, 'Elf-Latin', Quenya, concerning which the *Lammasethen* gives a different account from that in the other versions (see V.195). The 'Elf-Latin', it is said (V.172), was brought to Middle-earth by the Noldor, it came to be used by all the Ilkorindi, 'and all Elves know it, even such as linger still in the Hither Lands'.

Thus in the *Lhammas* account we are concerned essentially with three tongues in Beleriand after the Return of the Noldor:

Quenya, the high language and book-tongue, brought from Valinor by the Noldor;

Noldorin, the language of the Noldor in Kôr, greatly changed in Beleriand and much influenced by the Ilkorin speech especially that of Doriath. (It is said in the *Lhammas*, V.174, that the Noldorin tongue of Kôr, *Korolambë* or *Kornoldorin*, was itself much changed from ancient times through the peculiar inventiveness of the Noldor.)

Beleriandic, the Ilkorin tongue of Beleriand, which had become in long ages very different from the tongues of Valinor.

The Noldorin speech of Gondolin was the language that survived in Tol Eressëa after the end of the Elder Days, though influenced by other speech, especially the Ilkorin of Doriath during the sojourn at Sirion's Mouths (see V.177–8).

In GA 1 we have still the conception that the language of the Noldor in Valinor was changed by Noldorin inventiveness, though it is emphasized that it had altered little 'from the ancient tongue of the Eldar upon the march'; and the profound difference between the Noldorin of the new-come Exiles out of Valinor and the ancient Telerian tongue of Beleriand (now called Sindarin) likewise remains – indeed it is the remark that at first communication between Noldor and Sindar was not easy that leads to this excursus. But in GA 1 it is said that, while the Sindarin tongue was 'enriched by words and devices from Noldorin', *Sindarin nevertheless became the language of all the Eldar of Middle-earth and was the language of Tol Eressëa after the Return*; while Noldorin of Valinor became a 'learned' tongue – equivalent in status to the 'Elf-Latin' or Quenya of the *Lhammas*, but learned by few among the Sindar; and indeed the 'Ancient Noldorin' is equated with Quenya (p. 22, at the end of the text). Among the reasons given for this development is that spoken Noldorin in Beleriand and Sindarin 'grew towards' each other, and it is made clear in the last paragraph of the text that there was at the end of the Elder Days a profound difference between the spoken Noldorin of Beleriand, where it survived, and 'Ancient Noldorin' or Quenya.

The statement that Fingolfin as 'overlord' of the Exiles 'acknowledged the high-kingship of Thingol and Menegroth', being 'greatly in awe of that king', is notable (cf. QS §121: 'and mighty though the Kings of the Noldor were in those days ... the name of Thingol was held in awe among them'). This is indeed one of the reasons given for the adoption of Sindarin by the Noldor in Beleriand – for in Thingol's domain only Sindarin might be used; but it is clear that as yet the idea of an actual ban on the use of the Noldorin speech among the Sindar had not arisen.

At the end of this linguistic passage in GA 1 my father wrote in rapid pencil:

Alter this. Let Sindar and Noldoi speak much the same tongue owing (a) to changelessness in Valinor (b) to slow change in Middle-earth (c) to long memories of the Elves. But there were of course differences – new words in Noldorin and Sindarin. In both cases more by invention than involuntary. But after Rising of Sun change was sudden and swift – and the Noldor brought a special curse of changefulness with them (designed to cut them off from converse with Valinor?). The two tongues there changed and grew alike. Generally in Beleriand a Noldorized (slightly) Sindarin was spoken. In Doriath less Noldorin if any. [?Ossiriand] to be like Beleriandic.

The difference here from the primary text lies in a denial of any very significant difference between the language of Beleriand and the language of the incoming Noldor, with the subsequent history (as it appears, from the brief and hasty words) being rather one of the coalescence of the languages than of the abandonment of Noldorin.

The excursus on languages in GA 2, written in a much smaller script than that of the main body of the text, reads as follows.

It was indeed at the landing of Fëanor three hundred and sixty-five long years of the Valar since the Noldor had passed over the Sea and left the Sindar behind. Now that time was in length well nigh as three thousand and five hundred years of the Sun. In such an age the tongues of Men that were far sundered would indeed change out of knowledge, save such as were written down in records of song and wisdom. But in Valinor in the days of the Trees change was little to be perceived, save that which came of will and design, while in Middle-earth under the Sleep of Yavanna the change of growth was slow also. Nonetheless in Beleriand the Sleep before the coming of the Sun had been stirred (as elsewhere is told) and the language of the Sindar had in the long years changed much, even in unheeded growth, as a tree may imperceptibly change its shape: as much, maybe, as an unwritten tongue of the later days woud change in five hundred years or more. Whereas the Noldorin tongue, albeit still far nearer in most ways to the ancient common speech of the Eldar, had been altered by will (to forms that seemed to those in Aman more sweet upon the tongue or in the ear) and by the invention of many new words unknown to the Sindar. But speech between the two kindreds became easy and free in this wise. First that after the Rising of the Sun the change of all things in Arda was sudden and swift, and in the days of the Wars both the tongue of the Noldor and that of the Sindar changed greatly: moreover, whether by reason of the like clime,

and soil, and the like fortunes, whether by intercourse and the mingling of the peoples, the two tongues changed in similar ways and drew together again. Secondly because in time it came to pass that most of the Noldor indeed forsook their own tongue in daily use and took the tongue of Beleriand instead, though they enriched it with many words of their own. Only in Gondolin, which was early peopled (by Noldor alone)[8] and cut off from intercourse with others, did the Noldorin tongue endure unto the end of the city; whereas in Doriath only was the Sindarin tongue maintained untouched by the Noldorin and less changed than the language of those without. Now this change in the speech of the Noldor came about in this wise. First: though the Sindar were not numerous they much outnumbered the hosts of Fëanor and Fingolfin, such as survived their dreadful journey. Secondly: because of the mingling of the peoples, whereby in all the countries save only in Doriath though the princes of the Noldor were the kings their followers were largely Sindarin by race. Thirdly: because after the death of Fëanor the overlordship of the Exiles passed to Fingolfin (save among the followers of Fëanor's sons), and he acknowledged the high-kingship of Thingol, being indeed in awe of that king, mightiest of the Eldar save Fëanor, and of Melian no less. But Thingol, because of the grievance of the Teleri against the Noldor, would not speak the Noldorin tongue and forbade his subjects to do so. Moreover it came to pass that the Noldor, having of their own will forsaken Aman in rebellion, became subject to change undesigned in a measure beyond even that of the Sindar, and their own tongue in daily use swiftly became unlike the high tongue of Valinor. But the Noldor, being loremasters, retained that high tongue in lore, and ceased not to use it for noble purposes and to teach it to their children. Therefore the form of their speech in daily use came to be held as debased, and the Noldor would use either the High Tongue as a learned language, or else in daily business and in all matters that concerned all the Eldar of Beleriand in general they would use rather the tongue of that land. It is said that it was after the Third Battle, Dagor Aglareb, that the Noldor first began far and wide to take the Sindarin tongue, as they settled and established their realms in Beleriand.

This restructuring and partial rewriting of the text does not change very substantially the ideas expressed in the earlier form of it: my father did not take up his pencilled note of projected alterations given

on p. 24. The passage concerning Dairon and the Runes is omitted, but that had been introduced earlier in GA 2 (§31). It is now emphasized that the Sindarin of Doriath was to some degree archaic, and 'untouched' by Noldorin: this is not stated in GA 1, though it is said there that 'in Doriath the Sindarin tongue alone was spoken'. The acknowledgement by Fingolfin of Thingol's 'high-kingship' is retained (with the reservation 'save among the followers of Fëanor's sons'), but there now appears the ban on the Noldorin tongue imposed by Thingol on his subjects when he learned of the Kinslaying at Alqualondë as one of the reasons for the abandonment of their own tongue by the Noldor. Noldorin is now said to have changed even more rapidly in Middle-earth after the Rising of the Sun than Sindarin, and this is associated with their rebellion in Aman (cf. the words in the pencilled comments at the end of the GA 1 text, p. 24: 'the Noldor brought a special curse of changefulness with them'); while the opinion coming to be held among the Noldor themselves that their spoken tongue was debased provides a further explanation of its abandonment.

My father then (probably after no long interval) rejected the whole of this second text after the words 'and by the invention of many new words unknown to the Sindar' (p. 24) and replaced it as follows:

But it came to pass ere long that the Exiles took up the tongue of Beleriand, as the language of daily use, and their ancient tongue was retained only as a high speech and a language of lore, especially in the houses of the Noldorin lords and among the wise. Now this change of speech was made for many reasons. First, the Noldor were fewer in number than the Sindar, and, save in Doriath [*struck our later:* and Gondolin],[9] the peoples soon became much mingled. Secondly, the Noldor learned the Sindarin tongue far more readily than the Sindar could learn the ancient speech; moreover, after the kinslaying became known, Thingol would hold no parley with any that spake in the tongue of the slayers at Alqualondë, and he forbade his folk to do so. Thus it was that the common speech of Beleriand after the Third Battle, Dagor Aglareb, was the speech of the Grey-elves, albeit somewhat enriched by words and devices drawn from Noldorin (save in Doriath where the language remained purer and less changed by time). [*Struck out later:* Only in Gondolin did the tongue of the Noldor remain in daily use until the end of that city; for it was early peopled by Turgon with Noldor only, from the North-west of the land, and was long hidden and cut off from all converse with others.[10] *The following replacement passage was written in the margin:*]

but the Noldor preserved ever the High-speech of the West as a language of lore, and in that language they would still give names to mighty men or to places of renown. / But all the days of the Wars of Beleriand, [wellnigh >] more than six hundred years, were times of great change, not only because of the labours and troubles of those years, but because in the first years of the Sun and the second Spring of Arda the growth and change of all living things was sudden and swift. Far other at the end of the Wars were [both the Sindarin and Noldorin tongues *later* >] the tongues of Beleriand[11] than they were at the landing of Fëanor, and only the High Speech being learned anew from letters remained unaltered. But these histories were made after the Last Battle and the end of the Elder Days, and therefore they were made in the tongue of the remnant of the Elves as it then was, ere it passed again into the West, and the names of those that they record and of the places that are remembered have for the most part that form which they had in the spoken speech at the last.

> Here ends that part which was drawn mainly from the Grey Annals, and there follows matter drawn in brief from the *Quenta Noldorinwa*, and mingled with the traditions of Doriath.[12]

In this revised version, nothing is said about Sindarin and Noldorin 'drawing together' again, and there is no suggestion that the later tongue of the Noldor came to be regarded as 'debased'; spoken Noldorin endured (as the passage was originally written) in the wholly Noldorin city of Gondolin until its fall. The whole conception becomes in fact far simpler: the Noldor retained their own tongue as a High Speech, but Sindarin became their language of daily use (and this was because of the numerical inferiority of the Noldor and the mingling of the peoples outside Doriath, the difficulty that the Sindar found in acquiring the High Speech, and the ban imposed by Thingol). Sindarin received 'loanwords' from Noldorin, but not in Doriath, where the language remained somewhat archaic. By later changes to the text (see notes 8–11) the idea that Noldorin remained in daily use in Gondolin was abandoned.

It is interesting to read, at the end of this last version, that 'these histories' were made '*after* the Last Battle and the end of the Elder Days, and therefore they were made in the tongue of the remnant of the Elves as it then was, *ere* it passed again into the West.'

NOTES

1 365 years of the Valar: 1132–1497 (see GA §11).

2 On the awakening of Beleriand from the Sleep of Yavanna see §§6, 17, and the commentary on §§6, 10.

3 A rough draft of this passage is extant, and this has here:

> Therefore whereas the tongue of the Noldor had changed for the most part only in the making of new words (for things new and old), and in the wilful altering of the ancient tongue of the Quendi to forms and patterns that seemed to the Eldar more beautiful – in which Vanyar, Noldor, and Teleri differed and drew apart – the tongue of the Sindar had changed as living things change by growth – yet only so as in the later world might pass in 400 years.

4 Earlier in GA 1 the form is *Nauglath*: see the commentary on §19.

5 On this passage concerning the Runes of Dairon see §31 and commentary.

6 *Dagor Aglareb*, the Glorious Battle, was formerly the Second Battle (see commentary on §§36 ff.).

7 *Dagor Arnediad*: the Battle of Unnumbered Tears (*Nírnaith Arnediad*).

8 This represents my father's original view that there were no Grey-elves among the people of Gondolin; see note 9.

9 The removal of the words 'and Gondolin' shows the entry of the later conception (see note 8) that many Sindar dwelling in Nivrost at the coming of the Noldor took Turgon to be their lord, and that there were in fact more Elves of Sindarin origin than of Noldorin in the people of Gondolin; see §§107, 113 and commentary.

10 This passage was removed at the same time and for the same reason as the words 'and Gondolin' earlier in this revised text (note 9).

11 The change of 'both the Sindarin and Noldorin tongues' to 'the tongues of Beleriand' was made later than the changes referred to in notes 9 and 10, but presumably for the same reason, since the reference was to the spoken Noldorin of Gondolin. The plural 'tongues' in the revised wording is rather puzzling; perhaps my father was thinking of the speech of the Green-elves of Ossiriand, or possibly he meant the varieties (dialects) of Sindarin.

12 The term *Quenta Noldorinwa* appears in the title of Q (IV.77). I cannot say what conception my father had formed of the historical tradition when he wrote these concluding words.

As I have said, the manuscript GA 1 does not continue after the end of the discussion of the languages, but for the next section of GA 2 there is a text on loose pages which may be regarded as a continuation of GA 1. It constitutes part of the material labelled 'Old material of Grey Annals' referred to on p. 4. This text runs from the (second) beginning of the annal 1497 ('Now Morgoth being dismayed ...') to the end of annal YS 20 (and for the annals 6 and 7 there is a very rough preliminary draft as well). To this text the GA 2 manuscript is very close indeed, and is scarcely more than a fine copy of it with changes of wording here and there; a few interesting points of difference are noticed in the commentary.

I return now to the text of GA 2, which need not now be distinguished by a number.

1497

§49 Now Morgoth being dismayed by the rout of his armies and the unlooked-for valour of the Noldor, and desiring time for new designs, sent emissaries to Maidros, and feigned that he was willing to treat with him. And Maidros feigned that he for his part was also willing, and either purposed evil to the other. Therefore against covenant each came with great force to the parley, but Morgoth with the more, and Maidros was defeated and taken captive.

§50 Then Morgoth held Maidros as a hostage, and swore only to release him, if the Noldor would march away, either to Valinor, or else far from Beleriand into the South of the world; and if they would not do this, then he would put Maidros to torment. But the other sons of Fëanor knew that Morgoth would betray them, and would not release Maidros, whatsoever they might do; and they were constrained also by their oath, and might not for any cause forsake the war against their Enemy.

1498

§51 Therefore Morgoth took Maidros, and setting a band of hellwrought steel about his right wrist hung him thereby above a precipice upon the west-tower of Thangorodrim, where none could reach him. But his brethren drew back and fortified a great camp in Hithlum.

1500

§52 In this time Fingolfin and those that followed him crossed the grinding ice of Helkaraxë, and so came at last with

great woe and loss into the North of Endar; and their hearts were filled with bitterness. And even as they set foot upon Middle-earth, the ages of the Stars were ended, and the time of the Sun and Moon was begun, as is told in the Chronicle of Aman.

YS 1

§53 Here the Moon and the Sun, wrought by the Valar after the death of the Trees, rose new in the heaven. First the Moon came forth, and even as it rose above the darkness in the West Fingolfin let blow his silver trumpets, and began his march into Middle-earth; and the shadows of his host went long and black before them.

§54 The Elves of Middle-earth looked up with hope and delight at this new thing; but the servants of Morgoth were amazed; and Morgoth sent spirits of darkness to assail Tilion, the guardian of the moon, and there was strife in heaven. But soon after there came the first Dawn of the Sun, and it was like a great fire upon the towers of the Pelóri, and the clouds of Middle-earth were kindled, and all the mists of the world smoked and glowed like gold. Then Fingolfin unfurled his blue and silver banners, and flowers awoke from the Sleep of Yavanna and sprang up beneath the feet of his host.

§55 Then indeed Morgoth was dismayed, and he descended into the uttermost depths of Angband, and withdrew his servants, sending forth great reek and dark cloud to hide his land from the light of the Daystar. Therefore Fingolfin marched from the North unopposed through the fastness of the realm of Morgoth, and he passed over Dor-Daedeloth, and his foes hid beneath the earth; but the Elves smote upon the gates of Angband, and the challenge of their trumpets shook the towers of Thangorodrim. And Maidros heard them amid his torment and cried aloud, but his voice was lost in the echoes of the stone.

§56 From this time are reckoned the Years of the Sun. Swifter and briefer are they than the long Years of the Trees in Valinor. Lo! in that time the growth and the changing and ageing of all things was hastened exceedingly; and all living things spread and multiplied in the Second Spring of Arda, and the Eldar increased, and Beleriand grew green and fair.

§57 At the first Sunrise, it is said, Men, the younger children of Ilúvatar, awoke in Hildórien in the midmost regions of the

world. The Atani they were named; but the Eldar called them also the Hildi, the Followers. Into the tale of Beleriand they came ere the end.

2

§58 Now Fingolfin, being of other temper than Fëanor, and wary of the wiles of Morgoth, after sounding his challenge withdrew from Dor-Daedeloth and turned towards Mithrim, for he had heard tidings that there he should find the sons of Fëanor, and he desired also to have the shield of the mountains, while his folk rested and grew strong; for he had seen the strength of Angband and deemed not that it would fall to the sound of trumpets only. Therefore coming at length to Hithlum he made his first camp and dwelling by the north-shore of Lake Mithrim.

§59 But no love was there in the hearts of Fingolfin and his folk for the people of Fëanor; and though Fingolfin learned that Fëanor was dead, he held his sons the accomplices of their father, and there was peril of war between the two hosts. Grievous as were their losses upon the road, the people of Fingolfin and Inglor son of Finrod were still more numerous than the followers of Fëanor; wherefore they withdrew before Fingolfin and removed their dwelling to the south-shore, and the Lake lay between the peoples.

§60 Many indeed of Fëanor's folk repented them sorely of the deed at Losgar, and were astounded at the valour which had brought the friends that they abandoned over the Ice of the North, and they would have welcomed them humbly had they dared for shame. Thus because of the curse that lay on them the Noldor achieved nothing, while Morgoth was dismayed and his servants still cowed by the sudden light. And Morgoth let make vast smokes and vapours in the pits of Angband, and they came forth from the reeking tops of the Iron Mountains, and the east wind bore them over Hithlum and darkened the new sun, and they fell, coiling about field and hollow, and lying upon the waters of Mithrim, drear and poisonous.

5

§61 Here Fingon the Valiant resolved to heal the feud that divided the Noldor, ere their Enemy should be ready for war; for the earth trembled in the north-lands with the thunder of the forges of Morgoth. Moreover the thought of his ancient

friendship with Maiðros stung his heart with grief (though he knew not yet that Maidros had not forgotten him at the burning of the ships). Therefore he dared a deed which is justly renowned among the feats of the princes of the Noldor: alone, and without the counsel of any, he set forth in search of Maidros; and aided by the very darkness that Morgoth had made he came unseen into the fastness of his foes. In the *Quenta* it is told how at the last he found Maidros, by singing a song of Valinor alone in the dark mountains, and was aided by Thorondor the Eagle, who bore him aloft unto Maidros; but the bond of steel he could in no wise release and must sever the hand that it held. Thus he rescued his friend of old from torment, and their love was renewed; and the hatred between the houses of Fingolfin and Fëanor was assuaged. Thereafter Maidros wielded his sword in his left hand.

6

§62 Now the Noldor, being again united, set a watch upon the borders of Dor-Daedeloth, and held their main force in the north of the land, but they sent forth messengers far and wide to explore the countries of Beleriand and to treat with the folk that dwelt there.

§63 Beyond the Girdle of Melian those of Finrod's house were suffered to pass, for they could claim close kinship with King Thingol himself (their mother Ëarwen being his brother's daughter). Now Angrod was the first of the Exiles to come to Menegroth, as messenger of Inglor, and he spoke long with the King, telling him of the deeds of the Noldor in the north, and their numbers, and the ordering of their force; but being true and wisehearted and deeming all griefs now forgiven, he spoke naught of the deeds of Fëanor save his valiant death.

§64 And King Thingol hearkened, and he said to Angrod ere he went: 'Thus thou shalt speak for me to those that sent thee. In Hithlum indeed the Noldor have leave to do as they will, and in Dor Thonion they may dwell, and in the countries east of Doriath even to the feet of the mountains of Eryd Luin there is room and to spare. But elsewhere there are many of my folk, and I would not have them restrained of their freedoms, still less ousted from their homes. Beware therefore how ye princes of the West bear yourselves, for I am the Lord of Beleriand and all who seek to dwell there shall hear my word.

Into Doriath none shall come to abide there, but only such as I call as guests, or who seek me in great need.'

7

§65 Now the Noldor held council in Mithrim to ponder all such matters, and to resolve how they should deal in friendship with the Grey-elves, and yet best gather force and dispose it for the war upon Morgoth. For that cause they had come to Middle-earth; yet to many the northlands seemed chill and the south countries fairer, and they desired greatly new homes where their folk might increase in peace far from the camps of war in the highlands.

§66 To this council came Angrod out of Doriath bearing the words of King Thingol, and their welcome seemed cold to the Noldor. The sons of Fëanor indeed were wroth thereat; and Maidros laughed, saying: 'He is a king that can hold his own, or else his title is vain. Thingol does but grant us lands where his power does not run. Indeed Doriath only would be his realm this day, but for the coming of the Noldor. Therefore in Doriath let him reign, and be glad that he hath the sons of Finwë for neighbours, not the Orcs of Morgoth that we found. Elsewhere it shall go as seems good to us.'

§67 But Cranthir, who loved not the sons of Finrod, and was the harshest of the brethren and the most quick to anger, cried aloud: 'Yea more! Let not the sons of Finrod run hither and thither with their tales to this Dark-elf in his caves! Who made them our spokesmen to deal with him? And though they be come indeed to Beleriand, let them not so swiftly forget that their father was a lord of the Noldor, though their mother was of other kin.'

§68 Then Angrod was exceedingly wroth and went forth from the council. Maidros indeed rebuked Cranthir; but the greater part of the Noldor, of both followings, hearing his words were troubled in heart, fearing the fell spirit of the sons of Fëanor that, it seemed, would ever be like to burst forth in rash word or violence.

§69 Therefore when the council came to the choosing of one to be the overlord of the Exiles and the head of all their princes, the choice of all save few fell on Fingolfin. And even as the choice was made known, all those that heard it recalled the words of Mandos that the House of Fëanor should be called the Dispossessed for ever. None the less ill for that did the sons of

Fëanor take this choice, save Maidros only, though it touched him the nearest. But he restrained his brethen, saying to Fingolfin: 'If there lay no grievance between us, lord, still the choice would come rightly to thee, the eldest here of the house of Finwë, and not the least wise.'

§70 But the sons of Fëanor departed then from the council, and soon after they left Mithrim and went eastward to the countries wide and wild between Himring and Lake Helevorn under Mount Rerir. That region was named thereafter the March of Maidros; for there was little defence there of hill or river against assault from the North; and there Maidros and his brethren kept watch, gathering all such folk as would come to them, and they had little dealings with their kinsfolk westward, save at need.

§71 It is said, indeed, that Maidros himself devised this plan, to lessen the chances of strife, and because he was very willing that the chief peril of assault (as it seemed) should fall upon himself; and he remained for his part in friendship with the houses of Fingolfin and Finrod, and would come among them at whiles for common counsel. Yet he also was bound by the Oath, though it slept now for a time.

20

§72 In this year Fingolfin, King of the Noldor, called a great council and made a high feast, that was long after remembered as Mereth Aderthad, the Feast of Reuniting. And it was held nigh the fair pools of Ivrin (whence the swift Narog arose), for there the lands were green and fair at the feet of the mountains that shielded them from the North. Thither came many of the chieftains and people of Fingolfin and Inglor; and of the sons of Fëanor Maidros and Maglor with warriors of the March; and there they were joined by Cirdan and many folk of the Havens, and great concourse of the Grey-elves from woods and fields far and near, and even from Ossiriand there came some of the Nandor on behalf of their folk. But Thingol came not himself from Doriath, and sent but two messengers, Dairon and Mablung, bringing his greetings. At Mereth Aderthad many counsels were taken in good will, and oaths were sworn of league and friendship, and there was much mirth and good hope; and indeed there followed after a fair time of peace, of growth and blossoming, and all the land was glad, though still the Shadow brooded in the North.

§73 (At this feast it is recorded that the tongue of the Grey-elves was most spoken even by the Noldor, for whereas the Noldor readily learned the speech of the land, the Sindar were slow to master the tongue of Aman.)

50

§74 Here after long peace, as Inglor and Turgon journeyed together, and lay by night near the Twilight Meres, Ulmo laid a deep sleep upon them and troubled them in dreams. And thereafter each sought separately for places of strength and refuge in the land, lest Morgoth should burst from Angband as their dreams foreboded. [*Added later:* But Turgon found not what he sought, and returned to Nivrost.]

52

§75 In this year Inglor and his sister Galaðriel were long the guests of Thingol their kinsman. And Inglor was filled with wonder at the beauty and strength of Menegroth, and he desired greatly to make for himself a strong place in like manner. Therefore he opened his heart to Thingol, telling him of his dreams; and Thingol spoke to him of the caves under the High Faroth on the west-bank of Narog, and when he departed gave him guides to lead him to that place of which few yet knew. Thus Inglor came to the Caverns of Narog and began there to establish deep halls and armouries, after the manner of Menegroth; and that stronghold was called Nargothrond. Wherefore the Noldor named him Felagund, Lord of Caves, and that name he bore until his end. But Galaðriel did not depart [*added later:* from Doriath], and remained long with Melian, for there was much love between them.

53

§76 [Turgon journeying alone, by the favour of Ulmo *later* >] In this year Ulmo appeared to Turgon upon the shores of Nivrost, and at his bidding went forth alone, and by the favour of Ulmo he / discovered that hidden vale amid the encircling mountains where afterwards Gondolin was built. Of this he spoke to none yet, but began secretly to devise the plan of a city after the manner of Tirion upon Túna, for which his heart now yearned in exile.

60
The Third Battle

§77 Here Morgoth, believing the report of his spies that the lords of the Eldar were wandering abroad with little thought of war, made trial of the strength and watchfulness of his enemies. Once more, with little warning, his might was stirred, and suddenly there were earthquakes in the North, and fires came from fissures in the earth, and the Iron Mountains vomited flame; and an army of Orcs thrust down the Vale of Sirion and attempted to pierce to the heart of Beleriand. But Fingolfin and Maidros were not sleeping, and gathering swiftly great force of both Noldor and Sindar they destroyed all the scattered bands of the Orcs that had stolen into the land; but the main host they repelled, and drove out onto the fields of Ardgalen, and there surrounded it and destroyed it, to the least and last, within sight of Angband. This was the Third Battle of the Wars, and was called *Dagor Aglareb*, the Glorious Battle.

§78 A victory it was, and yet a warning; and the chieftains took heed of it, and thereafter drew closer their leaguer, and strengthened and ordered their watch, setting the Siege of Angband, which lasted wellnigh four hundred years. And Fingolfin boasted that (save by treason among themselves) Morgoth could never again burst from the leaguer of the Eldar. Yet neither could the Noldor take Angband nor regain the Silmarils. And war never wholly ceased in all that time of the Siege; for Morgoth was secretly forging new weapons, and ever and anon he would make trial of his enemies. Moreover, he was not encircled upon the uttermost north; and though the ice and snow restrained his enemies from keeping watch in the frozen wilderness, it hindered not his spies and messengers from secret going and coming.

The following passage as the text was originally written began thus: 'At this time also Morgoth began a new evil. He bade his servants to take alive any of the Eldar ...' This was replaced by the long rider (written on a separate page) that follows here (§§79–81), returning to the original text at 'He now bade the Orkor to take alive any of the Eldar', the second sentence of §81.

§79 Nor himself, an he would go. Indeed we learn now in Eressëa from the Valar, through our kin that dwell still in Aman, that after Dagor-nuin-Giliath Melkor was so long in assailing the Eldar with strength for he himself had departed from

Angband, for the last time. Even as before at the awakening of the Quendi, his spies were watchful, and tidings soon came to him of the arising of Men. This seemed to him so great a matter that secretly under shadow he went forth into Middle-earth, leaving the command of the War to Sauron his lieutenant. Of his dealings with Men the Eldar knew naught at that time, and know little now, for neither the Valar nor Men have spoken to them clearly of these things.

§80 But that some darkness lay upon the hearts of Men (as the shadow of the kinslaying and the doom of Mandos lay upon the Noldor) the Eldar perceived clearly even in the fair folk of the Elf-friends that they first knew. To corrupt or destroy whatsoever arose new and fair was ever the chief desire of Morgoth; but as regards the Eldar, doubtless he had this purpose also in his errand: by fear and lies to make Men their foes, and bring them up out of the East against Beleriand. But this design was slow to ripen, and was never wholly achieved, for Men (it is said) were at first very few in number, whereas Morgoth grew afraid of the tidings of the growing power and union of the Eldar and came back to Angband, leaving behind at that time but few servants, and those of less might and cunning.

§81 Certain it is that at this time (which was the time of his return, if the aforesaid account be true, as we must believe) Morgoth began a new evil, desiring above all to sow fear and disunion among the Eldar in Beleriand. He now bade the Orkor to take alive any of the Eldar that they could and bring them bound to Angband. For it was his intent to use their lore and skill under duress for his own ends; moreover he took pleasure in tormenting them, and would besides by pain wring from them at times tidings of the deeds and counsels of his enemies. Some indeed he so daunted by the terror of his eyes that they needed no chains more, but walked ever in fear of him, doing his will wherever they might be. These he would unbind and let return to work treason among their own kin. In this way also was the curse of Mandos fulfilled, for after a while the Elves grew afraid of those who claimed to have escaped from thraldom, and often those hapless whom the Orcs ensnared, even if they broke from the toils would but wander homeless and friendless thereafter, becoming outlaws in the woods.

§82 And though it was long ere all these evils began to appear, it is said that even after the victory of the Third Battle

some of the Eldar (either caught by robber bands in the woods, or over rash in pursuit of the foe) were thus seized and taken to Morgoth. And thus he learned much of all that had befallen since the rebellion of Fëanor, and rejoiced seeing therein the seed of many dissensions among his foes. But thus also it became known to the Eldar that the Silmarils yet lived, and were set in the Iron Crown that Morgoth wore upon his dark throne. For the Noldor were a mighty race yet, and few of them could he so daunt that they would do his will, but escaping they became oft his deadliest foes.

§83 In the *Quenta Noldorinwa* it is recounted in what manner after Dagor Aglareb the lords of the Noldor and Sindar ordered the land, during the Siege of Angband. Here it suffices to say that [*added:* westernmost at first Turgon abode in Nivrost south of Drengist between Eryd Lómin and the Sea; but] Fingolfin and Fingon held Hithlum and had their abode and chief fortress at Eithel Sirion; and they had horsemen also that rode upon the fields of Ardgalen, for from few their horses had increased swiftly, and the grass of Ardgalen was yet rich and green. Of those horses many of the sires came from Valinor, and were given to Fingolfin by Maidros in atonement of his losses, for they had been carried by ship to Losgar.

§84 The sons of Finrod held the land from Hithlum unto the eastern end of Dorthonion. Inglor and Orodreth held the pass of Sirion, but Angrod and Egnor held the north slopes of Dorthonion as far as Aglon where began the March of Maidros aforesaid.

§85 Behind this leaguer from the Sea to Eryd Luin the wide countries of Beleriand, west and east of Sirion, were held in this wise. Though Fingolfin of Hithlum was overlord of all the Noldor, Inglor, well-beloved of all Elves, became indeed the greatest prince in the land. For King Felagund he was in Nargothrond, whereas his brothers Angrod and Egnor were lords of Dorthonion and his vassals; and he had also a fort and place of battle in the north, in the wide pass between Eredwethrin and Dorthonion through which Sirion flowed south. There stood an isle amid the river, and upon it Inglor built a mighty watchtower: Minnas-tirith: and there, when Nargothrond was made, he set Orodreth as warden. But upon either side of Narog all the folk of either race that dwelt in the lands took him for their lord, as far south as the Mouths of Sirion, and from

Nenning in the West to the borders of Doriath eastward. But in Eglarest, and west of Nenning to the Sea, Cirdan the Shipwright was lord, yet ever he was close in friendship with Nargothrond.

§86 Doriath in the midst of the land was the realm of King Thingol; and east the wide countries south of the March of Maidros, even to the borders of Ossiriand were held to be the domain of the sons of Fëanor. But few dwelt there save hunters and Grey-elves wandering, and there Damrod and Díriel abode and came seldom northward while the Siege lasted. Thither other of the Elven-lords would ride at whiles, even from afar, to hunt in the green-woods; but none ever passed east over Eryd Luin or looked upon Eriador, save the Green-elves only, who had kindred that dwelt yet in the further lands. Thus little news and late came to Beleriand of what passed in the regions of the East.

60–445

§87 For the most part the time of the Siege of Angband was a time of gladness, and the earth had peace under the new light, while the swords of the Noldor restrained the malice of Morgoth, and his thought being bent on their ruin he gave the less heed to aught else in Middle-earth. In this time therefore Men waxed and multiplied, [and they had converse with the Dark-elves of the Eastlands >] and among them were some that had converse with the Elves of Middle-earth, / and learned much of them. [From them it is said that they took the first beginnings of the many tongues of Men. Thus they heard rumour of the Blessed Realms [*sic*] of the West and of the Powers that dwelt there, and many of the Fathers of Men, the *Atanatári*, in their wanderings moved ever westward. *This passage was rewritten to read:*] From them it is said that they took the first beginnings of the western tongues of Men; and from them also they heard rumour of the Blessed Realms of the West and of the Powers of Light that dwelt there. Therefore many of the Fathers of Men, the *Atanatári*, in their wanderings moved ever westward, fleeing from the darkness that had ensnared them. For these Elf-friends were Men that had repented and rebelled against the Dark Power, and were cruelly hunted and oppressed by those that worshipped it, and its servants.

64

§88 Now the unquiet that Ulmo set in his heart returned to Turgon in Nivrost, and he gathered therefore his folk together, even to a third part of the Noldor of Fingolfin's people (nor were any of the Sindar among them), and with their wives and their goods they departed secretly along the south of Ered-wethrin, and few knew whither they were gone. But Turgon came to Gondolin, and there his folk pressed on with the building of the city that he had devised in his heart; and they set a guard upon it that none might come upon it from without. [*This annal was later changed to read:*]

§89 Now the unquiet that Ulmo set in his heart returned to Turgon in Nivrost, and he gathered therefore many of his most skilled folk together and led them secretly to Gondolin, and there they began the building of the strong city that Turgon had devised in his heart; and they set a guard upon it that none might come upon their work from without.

65

§90 Here with the aid of the Noldor (whose skill far surpassed that of the Sindar) Brithombar and Eglarest were walled about with great walls, and fair towns were raised within, and harbours with quays and piers of stone. And the Tower of Ingildon was set up upon the cape west of Eglarest to watch the Sea; though needlessly, as it proved. For at no time ever did Morgoth essay to build ships or to make war by sea. Water all his servants shunned, and to the Sea none would willing go nigh, save in dire need.

66

§91 Now Galaðriel Finrod's daughter, as hath been told, dwelt with Melian, and was dear to her. And at times they would speak together of Valinor and the bliss of old; but beyond the dark hour of the death of the Trees Galaðriel would not go, but fell ever silent.

§92 And on a time Melian said: 'There is some woe that lies upon thee and thy kin. That I can see in thee, but all else is hidden from me; for by no vision or thought can I perceive aught that passed or passes in the West: a shadow lies over all the Land of Aman, and reaches far out over the Sea. [Wilt thou not >] Why wilt thou not tell me more?'

'For that woe is past,' answered Galaðriel; 'and I would take what joy is here left untroubled by memory. And maybe there is woe enough yet to come, though still hope may seem bright.'

§93 Then Melian looked in her eyes, and said: 'I believe not that the Noldor came forth as messengers of the Valar, as was said at first: not though they came in the very hour of our need. For lo! they speak never of the Valar, nor have their high lords brought any message to Thingol, whether from Manwë, or Ulmo, or even from Olwë the king's brother and his own folk that went over the Sea. For what cause, Galaðriel, were the high people of the Noldor driven forth as exiles from Aman? Or what evil lies on the sons of Fëanor that they are so haughty and fell? Do I not strike near the truth?'

§94 'Near, lady,' answered Galadriel, 'save that we were not driven forth, but came of our own will, and against that of the Valar. And through great peril and in despite of the Valar for this purpose we came: to take vengeance upon Morgoth, [or >] and regain what he stole.' Then Galaðriel spoke to Melian of the Silmarils, and of the slaying of King Finwë. But still she said no word of the Oath, nor of the Kinslaying, nor of the burning of the ships.

§95 But Melian, who looked still in her eyes as she spoke, said: 'Now much thou tellest me, and yet more I perceive. A darkness thou wouldst cast still over the long road from Tirion, but I see evil there, which Thingol should learn for his guidance.'

'Maybe,' said Galaðriel, 'but not of me.'

§96 And Melian spoke then no more of these matters with Galaðriel; but she told to King Thingol all that she had heard of the Silmarils. 'This is a great matter,' said she, 'a greater indeed than the Noldor themselves understand. For lo! the Light of Aman and the fate of Arda lie now locked in these things, the work of Fëanor, who is gone. They shall not be recovered, I foretell, by any power of the Eldar; and the world shall be broken in battles that are to come, ere they are wrested from Morgoth. See now! Fëanor they have slain (and many another I guess); but first of all the deaths they have brought and yet shall bring was Finwë thy friend. Morgoth slew him, ere he fled from Aman.'

§97 Then Thingol was silent a while with grief and foreboding; but at length he said: 'Now at last I understand the coming of the Noldor out of the West, at which I wondered

much before. Not to our aid came they (save by chance); for those that remain upon Middle-earth the Valar will leave to their own devices, until the uttermost need. For vengeance and redress of their loss the Noldor came. Yet all the more sure shall they be as allies against Morgoth, with whom it is not now to be thought that they shall ever make treaty.'

§98 But Melian said: 'Truly for these causes they came; but for others also. Beware of the sons of Fëanor! The shadow of the wrath of the Gods lies upon them; and they have done evil, I perceive, both in Aman and to their own kin. A grief but lulled to sleep lies between the princes of the Noldor.'

§99 And Thingol said: 'What is that to me? Of Fëanor I have heard but report, which maketh him great indeed. Of his sons I hear little to my pleasure; yet they are likely to prove the deadliest foes of our foe.'

'Their words and their counsels shall have two edges,' said Melian; and afterward they spake no more of this matter.

67

§100 It was not long ere whispered tales began to pass among the Sindar concerning the deeds of the Noldor ere they came to Beleriand. Whence they came is now clear (though it was not so then), and as may well be thought, the evil truth was enhanced and poisoned with lies. Morgoth chose the Sindar for this first assault of his malice, because they knew him not, and were yet unwary and trustful of words. Therefore Cirdan, hearing these dark tales, was troubled. Wise he was, and perceived swiftly that, true or false, these tales were put about at this time with malice; but the malice he deemed was that of the princes of the Noldor because of the jealousy of their houses. Therefore he sent messengers to Thingol to tell all that he had heard.

§101 And it chanced that at that time the sons of Finrod were again the guests of Thingol, for they wished to see their sister Galaðriel. Then Thingol, being greatly moved, spake in ire to Inglor, saying: 'Ill hast thou done to me, kinsman, to conceal so great matters from me. For behold! I have learned of all the evil deeds of the Noldor.'

§102 But Inglor answered: 'What ill have I done thee, lord? Or what evil deed have the Noldor done in all thy realm to grieve thee? Neither against thy kingship nor against any of thy folk have they thought evil or done evil.'

§103 'I marvel at thee, son of Eärwen,' said Thingol, 'that thou wouldst come to the board of thy kinsman thus redhanded from the slaying of thy mother's kin, and yet say nought in defence, nor yet seek any pardon!'

§104 And Inglor was sorely troubled, but he was silent, for he could not defend himself, save by bringing charges against the other princes of the Noldor; and this he was loath to do before Thingol. But in Angrod's heart the memory of the words of Cranthir welled up again with bitterness, and he cried: 'Lord, I know not what lies thou hast heard, nor whence. But we come not redhanded. Guiltless we came forth, save maybe of folly, to listen to the words of fell Fëanor, and become as folk besotted with wine, and as briefly. No evil did we do on our road, but suffered ourselves great wrong. And forgave it. For which we are named tale-bearers to thee and treasonable to the Noldor. Untruly as thou knowest, for we have of our loyalty been silent before thee, and thus earned thy anger. But now these charges are not longer to be borne, and the truth thou shalt know.' Then he spake bitterly against the sons of Fëanor, telling of the blood at Alqualondë, and the doom of Mandos, and the burning of the ships at Losgar. 'Wherefore should we that endured the Grinding Ice bear the names of kinslayers and traitors?' he cried.

§105 'Yet the shadow of Mandos lies on you also,' said Melian. But Thingol was long silent ere he spoke. 'Go now!' he said. 'For my heart is hot within me. Later ye may return, if you will. For I will not shut my doors for ever against you my kin, that were ensnared in an evil that ye did not aid. With Fingolfin and his folk also I will keep friendship, for they have bitterly atoned for such ill as they did. And in our hatred of the Power that wrought all this woe our griefs shall be lost.

§106 'But hear this! Never again in my ears shall be heard the tongue of those who slew my folk in Alqualondë! Nor in all my realm shall that tongue be openly spoken, while my power endureth. All the Sindar shall hear my command that they shall neither speak with the tongue of the Noldor nor answer to it. And all such as use it shall be held slayers of kin and betrayers of kin unrepentant.'

§107 Then the sons of Finrod departed from Menegroth with heavy hearts, perceiving how the words of Mandos would ever be made true, and that none of the Noldor that followed after Fëanor could escape from the shadow that lay upon his

house. And it came to pass even as Thingol had spoken; for the Sindar heard his word and thereafter throughout Beleriand they refused the tongue of the Noldor, and shunned those that spoke it aloud; but the Exiles took the Sindarin tongue in all their daily uses, [save only in Gondolin where Noldor dwelt unmingled, but that was yet hidden. >] and the High Speech of the West was spoken only by the lords of the Noldor among themselves, yet it lived ever as a language of lore wherever any of that folk dwelt.

102

§108 About this time it is recorded that Nargothrond was full-wrought, and Finrod's sons were gathered there to a feast and Galadriel came from Doriath and dwelt there a while. Now King Inglor Felagund had no wife, and Galadriel asked him why this was; but foresight came upon Felagund as she spoke, and he said: 'An oath I too shall swear, and must be free to fulfill it and go into darkness. Nor shall anything of all my realm endure that a son should inherit.'

§109 But it is said that not until that hour had such cold thoughts ruled him; for indeed she whom he had loved was Amárië of the Vanyar, and she was not permitted to go with him into exile.

116

§110 In this year according to the records of that city Gondolin was full-wrought, in fifty years after the coming of Turgon from Nivrost. But no tidings of this came over the mountains, nor were any of Turgon's kin bidden to a feast. [*This annal was later struck out and replaced by the following rider, §§111–13:*]

§111 In this year Gondolin was full-wrought, after fifty [*added:* and 2] years of secret toil. Now therefore Turgon prepared to depart from Nivrost, and leave his fair halls in Vinyamar beneath Mount Taras; and then [for the last time Ulmo himself came to him >] Ulmo came to him a second time / and said: 'Now thou shalt go at last to Gondolin, Turgon; and I will set my power in the Vale of Sirion, so that none shall mark thy going, nor shall any find there the hidden entrance to thy land against thy will. Longest of all the realms of the Eldalië shall Gondolin stand against Melkor. But love it not too well, and remember that the true hope of the Noldor lieth in the West and cometh from the Sea.'

§112 And Ulmo warned Turgon that he also lay under the Doom of Mandos, which Ulmo had no power to remove. 'Thus it may come to pass,' he said, 'that the curse of the Noldor shall find thee too ere the end, and treason shall awake within thy walls. Then shall they be in peril of fire. But if this peril draweth nigh, then even from Nivrost one shall come to warn thee, and from him beyond ruin and fire hope shall be born for Elves and Men. Leave, therefore, in this house arms and a sword, that in years to come he may find them, and thus shalt thou know him and be not deceived.' And Ulmo showed to Turgon of what kind and stature should be the mail and helm and sword that he left behind.

§113 Then Ulmo returned to the Sea; and Turgon sent forth all his folk (even to a third part of the Noldor of Fingolfin's House, and a yet greater host of the Sindar), and they passed away, company by company, secretly, under the shadows of Eryd Wethion, and came unseen with their wives and goods to Gondolin, and none knew whither they were gone. And last of all Turgon arose and went with his lords and household silently through the hills and passed the gates in the mountains, and they were shut. But Nivrost was empty of folk and so remained until the ruin of Beleriand.

150

§114 The people of Cranthir Fëanor's son dwelt beyond the upper waters of Gelion, about Lake Helevorn under the shadow of the Blue Mountains. At this time it is said that they first climbed into the mountains and looked eastward, and wide and wild it seemed to them was Middle-earth. Thus it was that Cranthir's folk first came upon the Naugrim, who after the onslaught of Morgoth and the coming of the Noldor had ceased their traffick into Beleriand. Now, though either people loved skill and was eager to learn, there was little love between the Noldor and the Dwarves. For the Dwarves were secret and quick to resentment, whereas Cranthir was haughty and scarce concealed his scorn for the unloveliness of the Naugrim, and his folk followed their lord. Nonetheless, since both peoples feared and hated Morgoth they made alliance, and had of it great profit. For the Naugrim learned many secrets of craft in those days, so that the smiths and masons of Nogrod and Belegost became renowned among their kin; but the Noldor got great wealth of iron, and their armouries became filled with store of

weapons and harness of war. Moreover thereafter, until the power of Maidros was overthrown, all the traffick of the dwarf-mines passed first through the hands of Cranthir, and thus he won great riches.

155

§115 Here after long quiet Morgoth endeavoured to take Fingolfin at unawares (for he knew of the vigilance of Maidros); and he sent forth an army into the white north, and it turned then west and again south and came by the coasts to the firth of Drengist, and so would enter into the heart of the realm of Hithlum. But it was espied in time and taken in a trap among the hills at the head of the firth, and the most of the Orcs were driven into the sea. This was not reckoned among the great battles, and was but the most dangerous of the many trials and thrusts that Angband would make ever and anon against the leaguer. Thereafter there was peace for many years, and no open assault; for Morgoth perceived now that the Orcs unaided were no match for the Noldor, save in such numbers as he could not yet muster. Therefore he sought in his heart for new counsel, and he bethought him of dragons.

260

§116 Here Glaurung, the first of the *Urulóki*, the fire-drakes of the North, came forth from Angband's gate by night. He was yet young and scarce half-grown (for long and slow is the life of those worms), but the Elves fled before him to Erydwethrin and to Dorthonion in dismay; and he defiled the fields of Ardgalen. Then Fingon, prince of Hithlum, rode against him with archers upon horseback, and hemmed him round with a ring of swift riders. And Glaurung in turn was dismayed, for he could not endure their darts, being not yet come to his full armoury; and he fled back to hell, and came not forth again for many years. But Morgoth was ill pleased that Glaurung had disclosed himself over soon; and after his defeat there was the long peace of wellnigh two hundred years. In that time there was naught but affrays on the north-marches, and all Beleriand prospered and grew rich, and the Noldor built many towers and fair dwellings and made many things of beauty, and many poesies and histories and books of lore. And in many parts of the land the Noldor and Sindar became welded into one folk and spoke the same tongue; though ever this difference

remained between them, that the Noldor of purer race had the greater power of mind and body, being both the mightier warriors and sages, and they built with stone, and loved rather the hill-slopes and open lands. Whereas the Sindar had the fairer voices and were more skilled in music (save only Maglor son of Fëanor), and loved the woods and riversides, and some still would wander far and wide without settled abode, and they sang as they went.

[*Isfin and Ëol*]

At this point in the manuscript my father inserted an annal entry for the year 316 concerning Isfin and Ëol, replacing the annal that stood in the manuscript under 471, which was struck out. He wrote the new annal on the back of a page from an engagement calendar for November 1951; and on the same page he added two further annals on the same subject, for the years 320 and 400. It is clearest and most convenient to give all four annals (i.e. the original one for 471 and the three later ones) together here.

§117 [*Rejected annal for the year 471*] In this year Isfin the White, sister of Turgon, wearying of the city, and desiring to look again upon Fingon her brother, went from Gondolin against the will and counsel of Turgon; and she strayed into Brethil and was lost in the dark forest. There Ëol, the Dark-elf, who abode in the forest, found her and took her to wife. In the depths of the wood he lived and shunned the sun, desiring only the starlight of old; for so he had dwelt since the first finding of Beleriand, and took no part in all the deeds of his kin.

316

§118 Here Isfin the White, sister of Turgon, wearying of the city, went from Gondolin against the [will >] wish of Turgon. And she went not to Fingon, as he bade, but sought the ways to the East, to the land of Celegorm and his brethren, her friends of old in Valinor. But she strayed from her escort in the shadows of Nan Dungorthin, and went on alone; and she came at last to Nan Elmoth. There she came into the enchantments of Ëol the Dark-elf, who abode in the wood and shunned the sun, desiring only the starlight of old. And Ëol took her to wife, and she abode with him, and no tidings of her came to any of her kin; for Ëol suffered her not to stray far, nor to fare abroad save in the dark or the twilight.

320

§119 Here Isfin the White bore a son in Nan Elmoth to Ëol the Dark-elf; and she would name him (?) Fingol [*added:* dur], but Ëol named him Glindûr [*later* > Maeglin]; for that was the name of the metal of Ëol, which he himself devised, and it was dark, supple, and yet strong; and even so was his son.

400

§120 Here Isfin and her son Glindûr [*later* > Maeglin] fled from Ëol the Dark-elf in Nan Elmoth, and came to Gondolin, and they were received with joy by Turgon, who had deemed his sister dead or lost beyond finding. But Ëol, following them with stealth, found the Hidden Way, and was brought by the Guard to Turgon. Turgon received him well, but he was wroth and filled with hatred of the Noldor, and spoke evilly, and demanded to depart with his son. And when that was denied to him he sought to slay Glindûr [*not emended*] with a poisoned dart, but Isfin sprang before her son, and was wounded, and died in that day. Therefore Ëol was doomed to death, and cast from the high walls of Gondolin; and he cursed his son as he died, foreboding that he should die a like death. But Glindûr [*later* > Maeglin] abode in Gondolin and became great among its lords.

370

§121 Here Bëor, eldest of the Fathers of Men of the West, was born east of the mountains.

388

§122 Here Haleth the Hunter was born in Eriador.

390

§123 Here also in Eriador was born Hador the Golden-haired, whose house was after the most renowned of all the kindreds of the Elf-friends.

400

§124 Here King Inglor Felagund went a-hunting in the eastern woods, as is told in the *Quenta*, and he passed into Ossiriand, and there came upon Bëor and his men, that were new-come over the mountains. Bëor became a vassal of

Felagund, and went back with him into the west-country, and dwelt with him until his death. There was great love between them. In eastern Beleriand was born Bregolas son of Bëor.

402

§125 Here there was fighting on the north-marches, more bitter than there had been since the routing of Glaurung; for the Orcs attempted to pierce the pass of Aglon. There Maidros and Maglor were aided by the sons of Finrod, and Bëor was with them, the first of Men to draw sword in behalf of the Eldar. In this year Barahir son of Bëor was born, who after dwelt in Dorthonion.

413

§126 Hundor son of Haleth was born.

417

§127 Galion the Tall, son of Hador, was born [beneath the shadows of Eryd Lindon >] in Eriador.

419

§128 Gundor son of Hador was born beneath the shadows of Eryd Lindon.

420

§129 In this year Haleth the Hunter came into Beleriand out of Eriador. Soon after came also Hador the Goldenhaired with great companies of Men. Haleth remained in Sirion's vale, and his folk wandered much in hunting, owning allegiance to no prince; but their dwellings were deep in the forest of Brethil between Taiglin and Sirion, where none before had dwelt because of the greatness and darkness of the trees. Hador hearing that there was room and need of folk in Hithlum, and being come of a northland people, became a vassal of Fingolfin; and he strengthened greatly the armies of the king, and he was given wide lands in Hithlum in the country of Dor-Lómin. There was ever great love between the Eldar and the house of Hador, and the folk of Hador were the first of Men to forsake their own tongue and speak the elven-tongue of Beleriand.

§130 It is said that in these matters none save Inglor took counsel with King Thingol. And he was ill pleased, for that reason and because he was troubled with dreams concerning the

coming of Men, ere ever the first tidings of them were heard. Therefore he commanded that Men should take no lands to dwell in save in the north, in Hithlum and Dorthonion, and that the princes whom they served should be answerable for all that they did. And he said: 'Into Doriath shall no Man come while my realm lasts, not even those of the house of Bëor who serve Inglor the beloved.'

§131 Melian said naught to him at that time, but she said after to Galadriel: 'Now the world runs on swiftly to great tidings. And lo! one of Men, even of Bëor's house, shall indeed come, and the Girdle of Melian shall not restrain him, for doom greater than my power shall send him; and the songs that shall spring from that coming shall endure when all Middle-earth is changed.'

422

§132 Here at the prayer of Inglor Thingol granted to Haleth's people to live in Brethil; for they were in good friendship with the woodland Elves.

§133 In this time, the strength of Men being added to the Noldor, their hope rose high, and Morgoth was more straitly enclosed; for the folk of Hador, being hardy to endure cold and long wandering, feared not at times to go far into the North and keep watch on any movements of the Enemy. Now Fingolfin began to ponder an assault upon Angband; for he knew that they lived in danger while Morgoth was free to labour in his deep mines, devising what evils none could foretell ere he should reveal them. But because the land was grown so fair most of the Eldar were content with matters as they were and slow to begin an assault in which many must surely perish, were it in victory or defeat. Therefore his designs were delayed and came in the end to naught.

§134 The Men of the Three Houses now grew and multiplied; and they learned wisdom and craft and fair speech of the Eldar, and became more like to them than any other race have been, yet they were gladly subject to the Elf-lords and loyal; and there was as yet no grief between the two kindreds.

§135 The men of Bëor were dark or brown of hair, but fair of face, with grey eyes; of shapely form, having courage and endurance, yet they were no greater in stature than the Eldar of that day. For the Noldor indeed were tall as are in the latter days men of great might and majesty. But the people of Hador were

of yet greater strength and stature, mighty among the Children of Eru, ready in mind, bold and steadfast. Yellowhaired they were for the most part and blue-eyed* and their women were tall and fair. Like unto them were the woodmen of Haleth, yet somewhat broader and less high.

423

§136 Hador's folk entered Dorlómin. [*This annal was a late pencilled addition.*]

[425 >] 424

§137 Baragund son of Bregolas son of Bëor was born in Dorthonion.

428

§138 Belegund his brother was born.

432

§139 Beren son of Barahir son of Bëor was born in Dorthonion, who was after named *Erchamion* the One-handed and *Camlost* the Emptyhanded. His mother was Emeldir the Manhearted.

436

§140 Hundor son of Haleth wedded Glorwendil daughter of Hador.

441

§141 Húrin the Steadfast son of Galion son of Hador was born in Hithlum. In the same year was born Handir son of Hundor.

[445 >] 443

§142 Morwen Eleðwen, the Elf-sheen, was born, daughter of Baragund. She was the fairest of all mortal maidens of the Elder Days.

444

§143 Huor brother of Húrin was born.

* Not so was Túrin, but his mother was of Bëor's house.

450

§144 Rían daughter of Belegund, mother of Tuor the Blessed, was born. In this year Bëor the Old, father of Men, died of [old age >] age. The Eldar saw then for the first time [the death of weariness, without wound or sickness; *by late pencilled change* >] the swift waning of the life of Men and the coming of death without wound or grief; and they wondered at the fate of Men, grieving greatly at the short span that was allotted to them. Bregolas then ruled the people of Bëor.

455

§145 *The Fell Year.* Here came an end of peace and mirth. In the winter, at the year's beginning, Morgoth unloosed at last his long-gathered strength, and he sought now to break with one great blow the leaguer of Angband, and to overthrow the Noldor and destroy Beleriand utterly. The Battle began suddenly on the night of mid-winter, and fell first and most heavily upon the sons of Finrod. This is named the *Dagor Bragollach*, the Battle of Sudden Flame. Rivers of fire ran down from Thangorodrim, and Glaurung, Father of Dragons, came forth in his full might. The green plains of Ardgalen were burned up and became a drear desert without growing thing; and thereafter they were called *Anfauglith*, the Gasping Dust.

§146 In the assault upon the defences of Dorthonion Angrod and Egnor, sons of Finrod, fell, and with them Bregolas was slain and a great part of the warriors of Bëor's folk. But Barahir his brother was in the fighting further westward nigh the passes of Sirion. There King Inglor Felagund, hastening from the south, was defeated and was surrounded with small company in the Fen of Serech. But Barahir came thither with the doughtiest of his men, and broke the leaguer of the Orcs and saved the Elven-king. Then Inglor gave to Barahir his ring, an heirloom of his house, in token of the oath that he swore unto Barahir to render whatsoever service was asked in hour of need to him or to any of his kin. Then Inglor went south to Nargothrond, but Barahir returned to Dorthonion to save what he could of the people of Bëor.

§147 Fingolfin and Fingon had marched indeed from Hithlum to the aid of the sons of Finrod, but they were driven back to the mountains with grievous loss. Hador, now aged [*later* > old *and* '65' *added*], fell defending his lord at Eithel

Sirion, and with him fell Gundor his [*added later:* younger] son, pierced with many arrows. Then Galion the Tall took the lordship of the House of Hador.

§148 Against the March of Maidros there came also a great army and the sons of Fëanor were overwhelmed. Maidros and Maglor held out valiantly upon the Hill of Himring, and Morgoth could not yet take the great fortress that they had there built; but the Orcs broke through upon either side, through Aglon and between Gelion and Celon, and they ravaged far into East Beleriand driving the Eldar before them, and Cranthir and Damrod and Díriel fled into the south. Celegorn and Curufin held strong forces behind Aglon, and many horsed archers, but they were overthrown, and Celegorn and Curufin hardly escaped, and passed westward along the north borders of Doriath with such mounted following as they could save, and came thus at length to the vale of Sirion.

§149 Turgon was not in that battle, nor Haleth, nor any but few of Haleth's men. [*The following passage, to the end of §150, was struck out later:* It is said that in the autumn before the Sudden Flame, Húrin son of Galion was dwelling as fosterson (as the custom was among the northern men) with Haleth, and Handir and Húrin, being of like age, went much together; and hunting in Sirion's vale they found [by chance or fate *later* >] by fate or the will of Ulmo / the hidden entrance into the valley of Tumladin where stood Gondolin the guarded city. There they were taken by the watch and brought before Turgon, and looked upon the city of which none that dwelt outside yet knew aught, save Thorondor King of Eagles. But Turgon welcomed them, for [messages and dreams sent by Ulmo, Lord of Waters, up the streams of Sirion had warned him that a time of grief approached in which he would have need of the help of Men. >] Ulmo, Lord of Waters, had warned him to look kindly upon the folk of the House of Hador, from whom great help should come to him at need.

§150 It is said that Turgon had great liking for the boy Húrin, and wished to keep him in Gondolin; but Thorondor brought dread tidings of the great battle, and Handir and Húrin wished to depart to share the troubles of their folk. Therefore Turgon let them go, but they swore to him oaths of secrecy and never revealed Gondolin; yet at this time Húrin learned something of the counsels of Turgon, though he kept them hidden in his heart.]

§151 When [*later* > But when] Turgon learned of the breaking of the leaguer of Angband, he sent secret messengers to the mouths of Sirion and to the Isle of Balar and there they [*the following passage was struck out and replaced at the time of writing:* built many swift ships. Thence many set sail upon Turgon's errand, seeking for Valinor, to ask for pardon and for aid of the Valar, but none came ever to the West and few returned.

§152 Now it seemed to Fingolfin, King of the Noldor, that he beheld the utter ruin of his people, and the defeat beyond redress of all their houses, and he was filled with wrath and despair. Then he rode forth alone to the gates of Angband] endeavoured to build ships that might sail into the uttermost West on Turgon's errand, seeking for Valinor, there to ask for pardon and the aid of the Valar. But the Noldor had not the art of shipbuilding, and all the craft that they built foundered or were driven back by the winds. But Turgon ever maintained a secret refuge upon the Isle of Balar, and the building of ships was never wholly abandoned.

§153 [*Original date here* 456 *struck out at the time of writing*] Morgoth learning now of the defeat of the sons of Finrod, and the scattering of the people of Fëanor, hemmed Fingolfin in Hithlum and sent a great force to attack the westward pass into the vales of Sirion; and Sauron his lieutenant (who in Beleriand was named *Gorsodh*) led that assault, and his hosts broke through and besieged the fortress of Inglor, Minnas-tirith upon Tolsirion. And this they took after bitter fighting, and Orodreth the brother of Inglor who held it was driven out. There he would have been slain, but Celegorn and Curufin came up with their riders, and such other force as they could gather, and they fought fiercely, and stemmed the tide for a while; and thus Orodreth escaped and came to Nargothrond. Thither also at last before the might of Sauron fled Celegorn and Curufin with small following; and they were harboured in Nargothrond gratefully, and the griefs that lay between the houses of Finrod and Fëanor were for that time forgotten.

§154 But Sauron took Minnas-tirith and made it into a watch-tower for Morgoth, and filled it with evil; for he was a sorcerer and a master of phantoms and terror. And the fair isle of Tolsirion became accursed and was called *Tol-in-Gaurhoth*, Isle of Werewolves; for Sauron fed many of these evil things.

§155 Now Fingolfin, King of the Noldor, beheld (as him seemed) the utter ruin of his people, and the defeat beyond redress of all their houses, and he was filled with wrath and despair. Therefore he did on his silver arms, and took his white helm, and his sword Ringil, and his blue shield set with a star of crystal, and mounting upon Rochallor his great steed he rode forth alone and none might restrain him. And he passed over the Anfauglith like a wind amid the dust, and all that beheld his onset fled in amaze, deeming that Oromë himself was come, for a great madness of ire was upon him, so that his eyes shone like the eyes of the Valar. Thus he came alone to Angband's gate and smote upon it once again, and sounding a challenge upon his silver horn he called Morgoth himself to come forth to combat, crying: 'Come forth, thou coward king, to fight with thine own hand! Den-dweller, wielder of thralls, liar and lurker, foe of Gods and Elves, come! For I would see thy craven face.'

§156 Then Morgoth came. For he could not refuse such a challenge before the face of his captains. But Fingolfin withstood him, though he towered above the Elven-king like a storm above a lonely tree, and his vast black shield unblazoned overshadowed the star of Fingolfin like a thundercloud. Morgoth fought with a great hammer, Grond, that he wielded as a mace, and Fingolfin fought with Ringil. Swift was Fingolfin, and avoiding the strokes of Grond, so that Morgoth smote only the ground (and at each blow a great pit was made), he wounded Morgoth seven times with his sword; and the cries of Morgoth echoed in the north-lands. But wearied at last Fingolfin fell, beaten to the earth by the hammer of Angband, and Morgoth set his foot upon his neck and crushed him.

§157 In his last throe Fingolfin pinned the foot of his Enemy to the earth with Ringil, and the black blood gushed forth and filled the pits of Grond. Morgoth went ever halt thereafter. Now lifting the body of the fallen king he would break it and cast it to his wolves, but Thorondor coming suddenly assailed him and marred his face, and snatching away the corse of Fingolfin bore it aloft to the mountains far away and laid it in a high place north of the valley of Gondolin; there the eagles piled a great cairn of stones. There was lamentation in Gondolin when Thorondor brought the tidings, for [the people of the hidden city were all *later* >] many of the people of the

hidden city were / Noldor of Fingolfin's house. Now Rochallor had stayed beside the king until the end, but the wolves of Angband assailed him, and he escaped from them because of his great swiftness, and ran at last to Hithlum, and broke his heart and died. Then in great sorrow Fingon took the lordship of the house of Fingolfin and the kingdom of the Noldor. [*Late pencilled addition:* But his young son (?Findor) [*sic*] Gilgalad he sent to the Havens.]

§158 Now Morgoth's power overshadowed the north-lands, but [*struck out:* still] Barahir would not retreat and defended still the remant of his land and folk in Dorthonion. But Morgoth hunted down all that there remained of Elves or Men, and he sent Sauron against them; and all the forest of the northward slopes of that land was turned into a region of dread and dark enchantment, so that it was after called *Taur-nu-Fuin*, the Forest under Nightshade.

§159 At last so desperate was the case of Barahir that Emeldir the Manhearted his wife (whose mind was rather to fight beside her son and husband than to flee) gathered together all the women and children that were still left, and gave arms to those that would bear them, and led them into the mountains that lay behind, and so by perilous paths, until they came with loss and misery at last to Brethil. And some were there received into Haleth's folk, and some passed on to Dorlómin and the people of Galion Hador's son. (Among these were Morwen Eledhwen daughter of Baragund, and Rían daughter of Belegund.) But none ever again saw the menfolk that they had left. For these were slain one by one, or fled, until at last only Barahir and Beren his son, and Baragund and Belegund sons of Bregolas, were left, and with them [eight >] nine desperate men whose names were long remembered in song: Dagnir and Ragnor, Raðhruin and Dairuin and Gildor, Urthel and Arthad and Hathaldir, and Gorlim Unhappy. Outlaws without hope they became, for their dwellings were destroyed, and their wives and children slain or taken or fled with Emeldir. No help came to them and they were hunted as wild beasts.

458

§160 Here Haleth and his men fought with the Orcs that came down Sirion. In this battle they had help out of Doriath (for they dwelt upon its west-march), and Beleg the Bowman

chief of the march-wards of Thingol brought great strength of the Eglath armed with axes into Brethil; and issuing from the deeps of the forest they took an Orc-legion at unawares and destroyed it. Thus for a while the black tide out of the North was stemmed in that region and the Orcs did not dare to cross the Taiglin for many years after.

At this point my father inserted into the manuscript an extensive rider, replacing the rejected passage in annal 455 (§§149–50). This rider was written on the backs of two sheets from the engagement calendar for 1951 (see p. 47), covering weeks in August–September and December of that year.

§161 It is said that at this time Húrin and Huor, the sons of Galion, were dwelling with Haleth [*added later:* their kinsman] as fostersons (as the custom then was among northern Men); and they went both to battle with the Orcs, even Huor, for he would not be restrained, though he was but thirteen years in age. And being with a company that was cut off from the rest, they were pursued to the ford of Brithiach; and there they would have been taken or slain, but for the power of Ulmo, which was still strong in Sirion. Therefore a mist arose from the river and hid them from their enemies, and they escaped into Dimbar, and wandered in the hills beneath the sheer walls of the Crisaegrim. There Thorondor espied them, and sent two Eagles that took them and bore them up and brought them beyond the mountains to the secret vale of Tumladen and the hidden city of Gondolin, which no man else had yet seen.

§162 Then they were led before King Turgon, and he welcomed them, for Ulmo had counselled him to deal kindly with the House of Hador, whence great help should come to him at need. And Húrin and Huor dwelt as his guests for well nigh a year; and it is said that at this time Húrin learned something of the counsels and purposes of Turgon. For Turgon had great liking for Húrin, and for Huor his brother, and spoke much with them; and he wished to keep them in Gondolin, out of love and not for his law only. Now it was the law of the king that no stranger who found the way in, or looked on the guarded realm, should ever depart again until such time as the king should [come forth from hiding >] open the leaguer and the hidden people should come forth.

§163 But Húrin and Huor desired to return to their own kin, and share in the wars and griefs that now beset them. And

Húrin said to Turgon: 'Lord, we are but mortal men, and unlike the Eldar. They may endure long years, awaiting battle with their enemies in some far distant day. But for us time is short, and our hope and strength soon withereth. Moreover we found not the road hither, and indeed we know not surely where this city standeth; for we were brought in fear and wonder by the high ways of the air, and in mercy our eyes were veiled.'

§164 Then Turgon yielded to their prayer, and said: 'By the way that ye came ye have leave to depart, if Thorondor is willing. I grieve at this parting, yet in a little while, as the Eldar account it, we may meet again.'

§165 But it is said that [Glindûr *later* >] Maeglin, the king's sister-son, grieved not at all at their going, [save only *later* >] though he begrudged it/ that in this the king showed them favour, for he loved not the kindred of Men; and he said: 'Your grace is greater than ye know, and the law is become less stern than aforetime, or else no choice would be given you but to abide here to your life's end.'

§166 'The king's grace is great indeed,' answered Húrin; 'but if we have not thy trust then oaths we will take.' And the brethren swore never to reveal the counsels of Turgon and to keep secret all that they had seen in his realm. Then they took their leave, and the Eagles coming bore them away and set them down in Dor Lómin; and their kinsfolk rejoiced to see them, for messages from Brethil had reported that they were slain or taken by the Orcs. But though they told that they had dwelt a while in honour in the halls of King Turgon, to none, kin or stranger, would they ever speak of the manner of his land, or its ordering, or where upon earth it might be found. Nonetheless the strange fortune of the sons of Galion, and their friendship with Turgon, became known far and wide, and reached the ears of the servants of Morgoth.

The rider ends here, and I return to the original text of the *Annals*.

460

§167 The forest of Dorthonion rose southward into mountainous moors. There lay a lake, Tarn-aeluin, in the east of those highlands, and wild heaths were about it, and all that land was pathless and untamed; for even in the days of the Long Peace none had dwelt there. But the waters of Tarn-aeluin were held in reverence; for they were clear and blue by day and by night were

a mirror for the stars. Melian herself, it was said, had hallowed that water in days of old. Thither Barahir and his outlaws withdrew, and there made their lair, and Morgoth could not discover it. But the rumour of the deeds of Barahir and his twelve men went far and wide, and enheartened those that were under the thraldom of Morgoth; and he therefore commanded Sauron to find and destroy the rebels speedily. Elsewhere in the *Quenta* and the *Lay of Leithian* is much told of this, and how Sauron ensnared Gorlim by a phantom of his wife Eilinel, and tormented him and cozened him, so that he betrayed the hidings of Barahir. Thus at last the outlaws were surrounded and all slain, save Beren son of Barahir. For Barahir his father had sent him on a perilous errand to spy upon the ways of the Enemy, and he was far afield when the lair was taken, and returned only to find the bodies of the slain.

§168 Then Beren pursued the Orcs that had slain his father, and coming upon their camp, at Rivil's Well above Serech, he entered it and slew the captain even as he boasted that he was the slayer of Barahir; and he snatched from him the hand of Barahir that had been cut off as a token for Sauron. Thus he regained the Ring of Felagund that his father had worn.

§169 Thereafter escaping from the Orcs Beren dwelt still in those lands as a solitary outlaw for four years, and did such deeds of single-handed daring that Morgoth put a price on his head no less than upon the head of Fingon King of the Noldor.

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§170 Here Morgoth renewed his assaults, seeking to advance further into Beleriand and secure his hold southwards. For great though his victory had been in the Bragollach, and he had done grievous damage then and in the year after to his enemies, yet his own loss had been no less. And now the Eldar had recovered from their first dismay and were slowly regaining what they had lost. Dorthonion he now held and had established Sauron in the pass of Sirion; but in the east he had been foiled. Himring stood firm. The army that had driven into East Beleriand had been broken by Thingol on the borders of Doriath, and part had fled away south never to return to him, part retreating north had been stricken by a sortie of Maidros, while those that ventured near the mountains were hunted by the Dwarves. And still upon his flank Hithlum stood firm.

§171 He resolved, therefore, now to send force against

Hithlum; for in the eastward war he hoped ere long to have new help unforeseen by the Eldar. The assault upon Hithlum was bitter, but it was repelled from the passes of Erydwethrin. There, however, in the siege of the fortress of Eithel Sirion Galion was slain, for he held it on behalf of King Fingon. Húrin his son was but then new come to manhood, but he was mighty in heart and strength, and he defeated the Orcs and drove them with loss from the walls into the sands of Anfauglith. Thereafter he ruled the House of Hador. [*Added subsequently:*] Of less stature was he than his father (or his son after him), but tireless and enduring in body; lithe and swift he was, after the manner of his mother's kin, the daughter of Haleth.

§172 But King Fingon with most of the Noldor was hard put to it to hold back the army of Angband that came down from the north. Battle was joined upon the very plains of Hithlum, and Fingon was outnumbered; but timely help came from Cirdan. His ships in great strength sailed into Drengist and there landed a force that came up in the hour of need upon the west flank of the enemy. Then the Eldar had the victory and the Orcs broke and fled, pursued by the horsed archers even to the Iron Mountains.

463

§173 In this year new tidings came to Beleriand: the Swarthy Men came out of Eriador, and passing north about the Eryd Luin entered into Lothlann. Their coming was not wholly unlooked-for, since the Dwarves had warned Maidros that hosts of Men out of the further East were journeying towards Beleriand. They were short and broad, long and strong in the arm, and grew much hair on face and breast; their locks were dark as were their eyes, and their skins were sallow or swart. But they were not all of one kind, in looks or in temper, or in tongue. Some were not uncomely and were fair to deal with; some were grim and ill-favoured and of little trust. Their houses were many, and there was little love among them. They had small liking for the Elves, and for the most part loved rather the Naugrim of the mountains; but they were abashed by the lords of the Noldor, whose like they had not before encountered.

§174 But Maidros, knowing the weakness of the Noldor and the Elf-friends, whereas the pits of Angband seemed to hold store inexhaustible and ever renewed, made alliance with these new-come Men, and gave them dwellings both in Lothlann

north of the March, and in the lands south of it. Now the two chieftains

From this point there are two parallel versions of the text (the remainder of the annal concerning the Swarthy Men and the story of Beren and Lúthien); on the manuscript a secretary wrote 'Version I' (the first and much shorter version) and 'Version II' (much longer), and similarly on the typescript of the *Grey Annals*, where both forms are given. There can be no doubt at all that Version II was written second (even though it has the earlier form *Borthandos* while Version I has the later *Borthand*), for Version I is integral with the whole text of the *Annals*, whereas Version II ends before the bottom of a page. I give first the whole text of Version I, continuing from the point in the annal for 463 on the Swarthy Men where the text was broken off above.

that had the greatest followings and authority were named Bór and Ulfang. The sons of Bór were Borlas and Boromir and Borthand, and they followed Maidros and were faithful. The sons of Ulfang the swart were Ulfast and Ulwarth and Uldor the Accursed; and they followed Cranthir and swore allegiance to him and were faithless.*

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§175 In the beginning of this year Beren was pressed so hard that at last he was forced to flee from Dorthonion. In time of winter and snow, therefore, he forsook the land and grave of his father and climbed into the Eryd Orgorath, and thence found a way down into Nan Dungorthin, and so came by paths that no Man nor Elf else dared to tread to the Girdle of Melian. And he passed through, even as Melian had foretold, for a great doom lay on him. In this year, in the spring, Húrin Galion's son of the House of Hador wedded Morwen Elfsheen daughter of Baragund of the House of Bëor [*this sentence was later marked for transposition to the beginning of the annal*]. [*Later insertion:*] In this year Túrin son of Húrin was born in Dorlómin.

§176 In this year at the mid-summer Beren son of Barahir met Lúthien Thingol's daughter in the forest of Neldoreth, and

* It was after thought that the people of Ulfang were already secretly in the service of Morgoth ere they came to Beleriand. Not so the people of Bór, who were worthy folk and tillers of the earth. Of them, it is said, came the most ancient of the Men that dwelt in the north of Eriador in the Second Age and [*? read* in] after-days.

because of her great beauty and his love a spell of dumbness was laid on him, and he wandered long in the woods of Doriath.

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§177 In this year at the first spring Beren was released from his spell, and spoke to Lúthien, calling her *Tinúviel*, the Nightingale. Thus began the love of Beren the most renowned and Lúthien the most fair of which the *Lay of Leithian* was made.

§178 Beren was brought before King Thingol, who scorned him, and desiring to send him to death, said to him in mockery that he must bring a Silmaril from the crown of Morgoth as the bride-price of Lúthien. But Beren took the quest upon himself and departed, and came to Nargothrond and sought the aid of King Felagund. Then Felagund perceived that his oath had returned to bring him to death, but he was willing to lend to Beren all the aid of his kingdom, vain though it must prove.

§179 [Celegorm >] Celegorn and Curufin however hindered the quest, for their Oath was roused from slumber, and they swore that even should the quest be achieved they would slay any that kept the Silmaril or gave it to any hands but their own. And because of their fell words great fear fell on the folk of Nargothrond, and they withheld their aid from the king.

§180 King Inglor Felagund and Beren set forth, with ten companions only, and went northward; but they were waylaid by Sauron and cast into a pit in Tol-in-Gaurhoth. There they were devoured one by one by wolves; but Felagund fought the wolf that was sent to devour Beren, and slew it, and was slain. Thus perished from Middle-earth the fairest of the children of Finwë, and returned never again; but dwells now in Valinor with Amárië.

§181 Lúthien desired to follow Beren, but was held captive by her father, until she escaped and passed into the wild. There she was found by Celegorn and Curufin, and taken to Nargothrond. And evil entered into the hearts of the brethren, and they designed to seize the kingship of Nargothrond, and wed Lúthien to Celegorn and compel Thingol to alliance, and so make the sons of Fëanor the greatest House of the Noldor again.

§182 But Lúthien escaped them and came to Sauron's isle and with the aid of Húan the Hound of Valinor overthrew the werewolves and Sauron himself, and rescued Beren. And when

these tidings were heard in Nargothrond Orodreth took the crown of Felagund and drove forth Celegorn and Curufin. And they riding east in haste found Beren and Lúthien near the borders of Doriath, and would seize Lúthien. But they were foiled, and rode away; yet Beren was sorely wounded.

§183 When Beren was healed he led Lúthien to her own land and there left her sleeping and went forth alone on his quest, but Lúthien following overtook him upon the borders of the Anfauglith.

[*Added:*] In the winter of this year, Túrin son of Húrin was born with omens of sorrow. [*Written against this later:* Place in 464]

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§184 In disguise Beren and Lúthien came to Angband, and Lúthien cast Carcharoth the Wolf-warden of the gate into a slumber; and they descended to Morgoth's throne. There Lúthien laid her spell even upon Morgoth, so that he fell asleep against his will, and the Iron Crown rolled from his head.

§185 Lúthien and Beren bearing a Silmaril were waylaid at the gate by Carcharoth, and Carcharoth bit off the hand of Beren that held the jewel, and being filled with madness fled away. Then Thorondor and his eagles lifted up Beren and Lúthien, and bore them away and set them within the borders of Doriath. Long Lúthien fought with death, until Beren was again healed. And in the spring of the year she led him back to Menegroth. And when Thingol heard all that had befallen them, his mood was softened, for he was filled with wonder at the love of Lúthien and Beren, and perceived that their doom might not be withstood by any power of the world. For thus was it appointed that the two kindreds, the elder and the younger children of Eru, should be joined. Then Beren took the hand of Lúthien before the throne of her father.

§186 But soon after Carcharoth by the power of the Silmaril burst into Doriath, and the Wolf-hunt of Carcharoth was made. In that hunt were King Thingol, and Beren of the One Hand, and Beleg and Mablung and Húan the Hound of Valinor. And Carcharoth hurt Beren to the death, but Húan slew him and then died. From the belly of the Wolf Mablung cut the Jewel and Beren took it and gave it to Thingol, and said 'Now the Quest is achieved', and afterwards spoke no more. But ere he died Lúthien bade him farewell before the gates of

Menegroth, and said to him: 'Await me beyond the Western Sea.'

Thus ended the Quest of the Silmaril.

As has been seen (p. 61), 'Version II' takes up at a point in annal 463 concerning the Swarthy Men, following the words 'Now the two chieftains'; my father copied out the end of that annal simply because it stood at the head of the page on which the story of Beren and Lúthien began, as originally written. He inevitably introduced some differences, however, and I give the second text in full.

(Conclusion of annal 463 in Version II)

[Now the two chieftains] that had the greatest followings and authority were named Bór and Ulfang. The sons of Bór were Borlas and Boromir and Borthandos, and they were goodly men, and they followed Maidros and Maglor and were faithful. The sons of Ulfang the Swart were Ulfast and Ulwarth and Uldor the Accursed; and they followed Cranthir and swore allegiance to him, and were faithless. (It was after thought that the people of Ulfang were already secretly in the service of Morgoth ere they came to Beleriand.)*

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§187 In the beginning of this year Beren was pressed so hard that at last, [in the winter >] soon after the mid-winter, he was forced to choose between flight and capture. He forsook then Dorthonion and passed into the Eryd Orgorath and found a way down into Nan Dungorthin, and so came by paths that neither Man nor Elf else ever dared to tread to the Girdle of Doriath. And he passed through, even as Melian had foretold to Galadriel; for a great doom lay on him.

In this year in the spring Húrin of the House of Hador wedded Morwen Elfsheen of the people of Bëor [*this sentence was later marked for transposition to the beginning of the annal, as in §175*].

§188 In this year at the midsummer Beren son of Barahir met Lúthien Thingol's daughter in the forest of Neldoreth, and becoming enamoured of her wandered long in the woods of Doriath, for a spell of dumbness was upon him. [*Later insertion, as in §175:*] Túrin son of Húrin was born in Dor Lómin.

* Of the people of Bór, it is said, came the most ancient of the Men that dwelt in the north of Eriador afterwards in the Second Age.

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§189 In this year at the first spring Beren was released from his spell and spoke to Lúthien, calling her *Tinúviel*, the Nightingale (for he knew not her name yet, nor who she was). Thus began the love of Beren the blessed and Lúthien the most fair, of which the *Lay of Leithian* was made. Their meetings were espied by Dairon the minstrel (who also loved Lúthien) and were bewrayed to King Thingol. Then Thingol was wroth indeed, but Lúthien brought Beren to Menegroth, and Beren showed to him the ring of Inglor his kinsman. But Thingol spoke in anger scorning mortal Men, saying that the service of Beren's father to another prince gave the son no claim to walk in Doriath, still less to lift his eyes to Lúthien. Then Beren being stung by his scorn swore that by no power of spell, wall or weapon should he be withheld from his love; and Thingol would have cast him into prison or put him to death, if he had not sworn to Lúthien that no harm should come to Beren. But, as doom would, a thought came into his heart, and he answered in mockery: 'If thou fearest neither spell, wall nor weapons, as thou saist, then go fetch me a Silmaril from the crown of Morgoth. Then we will give jewel for jewel, but thou shalt win the fairer: Lúthien of the First-born and of the Gods.' And those who heard knew that he would save his oath, and yet send Beren to his death.

§190 But Beren looked in the eyes of Melian, who spake not, and he took upon himself the Quest of the Silmaril, and went forth from Menegroth alone.

§191 Now Beren went west to Nargothrond, and sought out King Felagund. And when Felagund heard of the quest he knew that the oath he had sworn was come upon him for his death (as long before he had said to Galadriel). But he kept his oath, and would have mustered all his host for the service of Beren, vain though all his strength must be in such a venture.

§192 But Celegorn and Curufin were in Nargothrond (as was before told), and the quest roused from sleep the Oath of Fëanor. And the brethren spoke against Felagund, and with their words set such a fear in the hearts of the people of Nargothrond that they would not obey their king, neither for many years after would they go to any open war.

§193 Then [Finrod >] Inglor cast off his crown and made ready to go forth alone with Beren, but ten of his most faithful

knights stood beside him, and Edrahil, their chief, lifted the crown and bade the king give it in keeping to Orodreth his brother. But Celegorn said: 'Know this: thy going is vain; for could ye achieve this quest it would avail nothing. Neither thee nor this Man should we suffer to keep or to give a Silmaril of Fëanor. Against thee would come all the brethren to slay thee rather. And should Thingol gain it, then we would burn Doriath or die in the attempt. For we have sworn our Oath.'

§194 'I also have sworn an oath,' said Felagund, 'and I seek no release from it. Save thine own, until thou knowest more. But this I will say to you, [son of Fëanor >] Celegorn the fell, by the sight that is given me in this hour, that neither thou nor any son of Fëanor shall regain the Silmarils ever unto world's end. And this that we now seek shall come indeed, but never to your hands. Nay, your oath shall devour you, and deliver to other keeping the bride-price of Lúthien.'

§195 Thus King Felagund and Beren and their companions went forth, and waylaying a company of Orcs beyond the Taiglin they passed towards [Tolsirion >] Tol-in-Gaurhoth, disguised as soldiers of Morgoth. There they were questioned and laid bare by Sauron, and cast into a pit.

§196 Now Lúthien resolved in heart to follow Beren, but seeking the counsel of Dairon (who was of old her friend) she was again bewrayed to Thingol, and he in dismay set her in a prison high in the trees. But she escaped by arts of enchantment upon a rope of her own hair and passed into the wild. There she was found by Celegorn and Curufin, as they were a-hunting, and taken to Nargothrond, and there closely kept. For Celegorn being enamoured of her beauty resolved to wed her, and compel King Thingol's assent.

§197 But Lúthien with the aid of Húan, the hound of Valinor, who followed Celegorn but was won to the love of Lúthien, escaped from Nargothrond and came to Tol-in-Gaurhoth.

§198 There in the pits of Sauron one by one the twelve companions were slain and devoured by werewolves, until at last only Beren and Felagund remained. But none had betrayed them, and Sauron could not learn the errand upon which they went. He left the Elven-king to the last, for he knew who he was, and deemed that he was the mover in whatever venture was devised. But when the wolf came to Beren, Felagund with his last strength broke his bonds, and wrestled naked-handed with the wolf and slew it, and was slain.

§199 Thus perished Inglor Felagund son of Finrod, fairest and most beloved of the children of Finwë, and returned never again to Middle-earth. But it is said that released soon from Mandos, he went to Valinor and there dwells with Amárië.

§200 Beren sank down now into a darkness of sorrow and despair. In that hour Lúthien and Húan came to the bridge that led to Sauron's isle, and Lúthien sang a song of Doriath. Then Beren awoke from his darkness; and the towers of Sauron trembled, and he sent forth Draugluin the greatest of his werewolves. But Húan slew Draugluin, and when Sauron himself came forth in wolf-hame he overthrew him. Thus Sauron was constrained to yield up Tol-sirion, ere bereft of his bodily form he passed away as a black shadow into Taur-nu-Fuin.

§201 Thus Lúthien rescued Beren, and set free many hapless prisoners of Sauron. These prisoners Húan led back to Nargothrond, for his loyalty constrained him to return to Celegorn, his master. But when the tidings came to Nargothrond of the death of Felagund, and the great deeds of the Elf-maid, then Celegorn and Curufin were hated, and Orodreth took the crown of Nargothrond, and drove them forth; and they fled eastward to Himring.

§202 Lúthien and Beren wandered in the wild together in brief joy; and Beren led Lúthien back towards Doriath. Thus by ill chance Celegorn and Curufin came upon them as they rode to the north-borders with Húan. There Celegorn would ride Beren down, and Curufin seized Lúthien; but Beren overthrew Curufin, and took his horse and his knife, and was saved from death at the hands of Celegorn by Húan; who in that hour forsook his master and served Lúthien. Then Celegorn and Curufin rode away upon one horse, and Curufin shooting back smote Beren with an arrow and he fell.

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§203 Lúthien and Húan guarded Beren in the woods, and Lúthien brought him back at last from the edge of death. But when he was healed, and they had passed into Doriath, Beren remembering his oath and proud words to Thingol, was unwilling to return to Menegroth, neither would he lead Lúthien upon his hopeless quest. Therefore in great grief he left her as she slept in a glade, and committing her to the care of Húan, rode away north upon his horse that he took from

Curufin. And since Tol-in-Gaurhoth was now destroyed he came at last to the north-slopes of Taur-nu-Fuin and looked across the Anfauglith to Thangorodrim and despaired.

§204 There he sent away his horse, and bade farewell to life and to the love of Lúthien, and prepared to go forth alone to death. But Lúthien was borne swiftly after him by Húan, and she came upon him in that hour, and would not be parted from him. Then with the aid of Húan and her arts, Lúthien disguised Beren as a wolf in the hame of Draugluin, and herself as the vampire Thuringwethil, and they passed over Anfauglith and came to Angband, but Húan abode in the woods.

§205 At Angband's gate Lúthien cast down the warden of the gate, Carcharoth mightiest of all wolves, into a deep slumber, and Beren and Lúthien came into the dreadful realm of Morgoth, and descended even into his uttermost hall and came before his throne. There Beren slunk in wolf-form beneath the very chair of Morgoth, but the disguise of Lúthien did not deceive Morgoth and she was revealed to him. Yet she eluded his foul grasp, and even as he watched her dancing, held as in a spell by her beauty, she set a deep slumber upon all the hall, and at last Morgoth himself was overcome and fell from his seat into a blind sleep, but the Iron Crown rolled from his head.

§206 Then Lúthien roused Beren and stripping off the wolf-hame he took the dwarf-knife of Curufin and cut from Morgoth's crown a Silmaril. But desiring suddenly to go beyond doom and rescue all the jewels he was betrayed by the knife which snapped, and a splinter smote Morgoth and disturbed his sleep.

§207 Then Beren and Lúthien fled, but at the gates they found Carcharoth once more awake, and he leaped upon Lúthien; and before she could use any art Beren sprang before and would daunt the wolf with the hand that held the Silmaril. But Carcharoth seized the hand and bit it off, and straightway the Silmaril burned him, and madness seized him and he fled away; but his howls roused all the sleepers in Angband. Then Lúthien knelt by Beren, as he lay in a swoon as it were of death, and all their quest seemed in ruin. But even as she drew forth the venom from Beren's wound with her lips, Thorondor came with Lhandroval and Gwaihir, his mightiest vassals, and they lifted up Lúthien and Beren and bore them south, high over Gondolin, and set them down on the borders of Doriath.

§208 There Húan found them and again they tended Beren

and won him from death, and as spring grew fair they passed into Doriath and came to Menegroth. Glad was their welcome in Doriath, for a spell of shadow and silence had lain upon all the land since Lúthien fled; and Dairon seeking her in sorrow had wandered far away and was lost.

§209 Thus once more Lúthien led Beren to the throne of her father, and he marvelled at him, but was not appeased; and he said to Beren: 'Didst thou not say that thou wouldst not return to me save with a jewel from the crown of Morgoth?' And Beren answered: 'Even now a Silmaril is in my hand.' And Thingol said: 'Show it to me!' But Beren said: 'That I cannot do; for my hand is not here.' And he held up his right arm; and from that hour he named himself *Camlost*.

§210 Then Thingol's mood was softened, for it seemed to him that this Man was unlike all others, and among the great in Arda, whereas the love of Lúthien was of a strength greater than all the kingdoms of West or East. And Beren took Lúthien's hand and laid it upon his breast before the throne of her father, and thus they were betrothed.

But now Carcharoth by the power of the Silmaril burst into Doriath.

Here Version II breaks off abruptly, and not at the foot of a page. The page on which Version I ends, with the words 'Thus ended the Quest of the Silmaril' (p. 64), continues with the annal for 467.

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§211 In this year at the first breaking of Spring Lúthien Tinúviel laid her body as a white flower on the grass and her spirit fled from Middle-earth, and she went unto Mandos, as it saith in the *Lay*. But a winter as it were the hoar age of mortal Men came upon Thingol.

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§212 In this time Maidros began those counsels for the raising of the fortunes of the Eldar that are called the Union of Maidros. For new hope ran through the land, because of the deeds of Beren and Lúthien, and it seemed to many that Morgoth was not unconquerable, and that fear only gave him his power. Yet still the Oath of Fëanor lived and hindered all good, and not least the evil that Celegorn and Curufin had done because of it. Thus Thingol would lend no aid to any son of

Fëanor; and small help came from Nargothrond: there the Noldor trusted rather to defend their hidden stronghold by secrecy and stealth. But Maidros had the help of the Naugrim, both in armed force and in great store of weapons; and he gathered together again all his brethren and all the folk that would follow them; and the men of Bór and of Ulfang were marshalled and trained for war, and given fair arms, and they summoned yet more of their kinsfolk out of the East. And in Hithlum Fingon, ever the friend of Maidros, prepared for war, taking counsel with Himring. To Gondolin also the tidings came to the hidden king, Turgon, and in secret also he prepared for great battle. And Haleth gathered his folk in Brethil, and they whetted their axes; but he died of age ere the war came, and Hundor his son ruled his people.

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§213 In the spring of this year Maidros made the first trial of his strength though his plans were not yet full-wrought. In which he erred, not concealing his stroke until it could be made suddenly with all strength, as Morgoth had done. For the Orcs indeed were driven out of Beleriand once more, and even Dorthonion was freed for a while, so that the frontiers of the Noldor were again as they were before the Bragollach, save that the Anfauglith was now a desert possessed by neither side. But Morgoth being warned of the uprising of the Eldar and the Elf-friends took counsel against them, and he sent forth many spies and workers of treason among them, as he was the better able now to do, for the faithless men of his secret allegiance were yet deep in the secrets of Fëanor's sons.

§214 In this year, it hath been [thought >] said, Beren and Lúthien returned to the world, for a while. For Lúthien had won this doom from Manwë that Beren might return to live again, and she with him; but only so that she too thereafter should be mortal as he, and should soon die indeed and lose the world and depart from the numbers of the Eldalië for ever. This doom she chose. And they appeared again unlooked for in Doriath, and those that saw them were both glad and fearful. But Lúthien went to Menegroth and healed the winter of Thingol with the touch of her hand; yet Melian looked in her eyes and read the doom that was written there, and turned away: for she knew that a parting beyond the end of the World had come between

them, and no grief of loss hath been heavier than the grief of the heart of Melian Maia in that hour (unless only it were the grief of Elrond and Arwen). But Lúthien and Beren passed then out of the knowledge of Elves and Men, and dwelt a while alone by the green waters of Ossiriand in that land which the Eldar named therefore *Gwerth-i-guinar*, the land of the Dead that Live. Thereafter Beren son of Barahir spoke not again with any mortal Man.

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§215 In this year was the birth of Dior Aranel the Beautiful in Gwerth-i-Guinar, who was after known as Dior Thingol's heir, father of the Halfelven.

The annal that follows now in GA, for 471, concerning Isfin and Ëol, was struck out; the revised version of the story appears on a rider inserted at an earlier point, under the year 316 (see §§117–18, where the rejected annal for 471 has been given). A new annal for 471 was added later in pencil:

471

§216 In this year Huor wedded Rían daughter of Belegund.

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§217 *This is the Year of Lamentation.* At last Maidros resolved to assault Angband from east and from west. With the main host that he gathered, of Elves and Men and Dwarves, he purposed to march with banners displayed in open force from the east over Anfauglith. But when he had drawn forth, as he hoped, the armies of Morgoth in answer, then at a signal Fingon should issue from the passes of Hithlum with all his strength. Thus they thought to take the might of Morgoth as between anvil and hammer, and so break it to pieces.

§218 [Huor son of Galion wedded Rían daughter of Belegund upon the eve of battle, and marched with Húrin his brother in the army of Fingon. *Changed in pencil to read:*] Huor son of Galion wedded Rían daughter of Belegund in the first days of spring. But when he had been but two months wed, the summons came for the mustering of the hosts, and Húrin marched away with his brother in the army of Fingon.

§219 Here at midsummer was fought the Fifth Battle *Nírnaeth Arnediad*, Unnumbered Tears, upon the sands of the Anfauglith before the passes of Sirion. [*Struck out later:* The

place of the chief slaughter was long marked by a great hill in which the slain were heaped, both Elves and Men: *Hauð-na-Dengin*, upon which alone in all Anfauglith the grass grew green.]

§220 In this battle Elves and Men were utterly defeated and the ruin of the Noldor was achieved. For Maidros was hindered at his setting out by the guile of Uldor the Accursed: first he gave false warning of an attack from Angband; then he must tarry for not all his men were willing to march. And the army in the West awaited the signal, and it came not, and they grew impatient, and there were whispers of treason among them.

§221 Now the army of the West contained the host of Hithlum, both Elves and Men, and to it was added both folk of the Falas, and a great company from Nargothrond [and many of the woodmen out of Brethil. *This was struck out and the following substituted:*] And many of the woodmen came also with Hundor of Brethil; and with him marched Mablung of Doriath with a small force of Grey-elves, some with axes, some with bows; for Mablung was unwilling to have no part in these great deeds, and Thingol gave leave to him to go, so long as he served not the sons of Fëanor. Therefore Mablung joined him to the host of Fingolfin [*read:* Fingon] and Húrin. / And lo! to the joy and wonder of all there was a sounding of great trumpets, and there marched up to war a host unlooked for. This was the army of Turgon that issued from Gondolin, ten thousand strong, with bright mail and long swords; and they were stationed southwards guarding the passes of Sirion.

§222 Then Morgoth, who knew much of what was done, chose his hour, and trusting in his servants to hold back Maidros and prevent the union of his foes, he sent forth a force seeming great (and yet but part of all that he had made ready) and marched them on Hithlum. Then hot of heart Fingon wished to assail them upon the plain, thinking he had the greater strength; but Húrin spoke against this, bidding him await the signal of Maidros, and let rather the Orcs break themselves against his strength arrayed in the hills.

§223 But the Captain of Morgoth in the West had been commanded to draw forth Fingon into open battle swiftly, by whatsoever means he could. Therefore when his van had come even to the inflowing of Rivil into Sirion and still none came forth to withstand him, he halted, and sent forth riders with tokens of parley; and they rode up close to the lines of their

enemies upon the west-shore of Sirion at the feet of the mountains.

§224 Now they led with them Gelmir son of Guilin, a lord of Nargothrond, whom they had taken in the Bragollach and had blinded; and they showed him forth, crying: 'We have many more such at home, but ye must make haste, if ye would find them. For we shall slay them when we return, even so.' And they hewed off Gelmir's hands and feet, and his head last, within sight of the Elves.

§225 But by ill chance across the water stood Gwindor Guilin's son, and he indeed against the will of Orodreth had marched to the war with all the strength that he could muster because of his grief for his brother. Therefore his wrath [*struck out:* could no longer be restrained, but] was kindled to a flame, and the men of Nargothrond sprang over the stream and slew the riders, and drove then on against the main host. And seeing this all the host of the West was set on fire, and Fingon sounded his trumpets and leaped forth from the hills in sudden onslaught; and many also of the army of Gondolin joined in the battle ere Turgon could restrain them.

§226 And behold! the light of the drawing of the swords of the Noldor was like a fire in a field of reeds; and so fell was their onset that almost the designs of Morgoth went astray. Ere the army that he had sent westward could be strengthened, it was swept away; [and assailed from west and south it was hewn down as it stood, and the greatest slaughter of the Orcs was then made that yet had been achieved. >] and the banners of Fingolfin [*? read* Fingon] passed over Anfauglith and were raised before the walls of Angband. / Gwindor son of Guilin and the folk of Nargothrond were in the forefront of that battle, and they burst through the outer gates and slew the Orcs [even in the very tunnels of Morgoth >] within the very fortress of Morgoth, and he trembled upon his deep throne, hearing them beat upon his doors.

§227 But at the last Gwindor was taken and his men slain; for none had followed them, and no help came. By other secret doors in the mountains of Thangorodrim Morgoth had let forth his main host that was held in waiting, and Fingon was beaten back with great loss from the walls.

§228 Then in the plain of Anfauglith, on the [third >] fourth day of the war, began the *Nírnaeth Arnediad*, for no song can contain all its grief. The host of Fingon retreated over the

sands of the desert, and there fell Hundor son of Haleth [*struck out:* in the rearguard] and most of the men of Brethil. But as night fell, and they were still far from [Ered-wethion >] Eryd-wethrin, the Orcs surrounded the army of Fingon, and they fought until day, pressed ever closer. Even so, all was not yet lost. In the morning were heard the horns of Turgon who brought up now his main host to the rescue [*struck out:* unlooked-for by the Orcs]; and the Noldor of Gondolin were strong and clad in mail, and they broke [the leaguer, and once again the might of Angband was defeated. >] through the ranks of the Orcs, and Turgon hewed his way to the side of Fingon, his brother. And it is said that the meeting of Turgon with Húrin who stood by his king was glad in the midst of the battle./

§229 And in that very day, at the third hour of morning, lo! at last the trumpets of Maidros were heard coming up from the east; and the banners of the sons of Fëanor assailed the enemy in the rear. It has been said that even then the Eldar might have won the day, had all their hosts proved faithful; for the Orcs wavered, and their onslaught was stayed, and already some were turning to flight.

§230 But even as the vanguard of Maidros came upon the Orcs, Morgoth loosed his last strength, and Angband was emptied. There came wolves, and wolfriders, and there came Balrogs a thousand, and there came worms and drakes, and Glaurung, Father of Dragons. And the strength and terror of the Great Worm were now grown great indeed, and Elves and Men withered before him; and he came between the hosts of Maidros and Fingon and swept them apart.

§231 Yet neither by wolf, balrog, nor dragon would Morgoth have achieved his end, but for the treachery of Men. In this hour the plots of Ulfang were revealed; for many of the Easterlings turned and fled, their hearts being filled with lies and fear; but the sons of Ulfang went over suddenly to the side of Morgoth and drove in upon the rear of the sons of Fëanor. And in the confusion that they wrought they came near to the standard of Maidros. They reaped not the reward that Morgoth promised them, for Maglor slew Uldor the Accursed, the leader in treason, and Bór and his sons slew Ulfast and Ulwarth ere they themselves were slain. But new strength of evil men came up that Uldor had summoned and kept hidden in the eastern hills, and the host of Maidros being assailed now on three sides, by the Orcs, and the beasts, and by the Swarthy Men, was

dispersed and fled this way and that. Yet fate saved the sons of Fëanor, and though all were wounded, none were slain, for they drew together and gathering a remnant of Noldor and of the Naugrim about them they hewed a way out of the battle and escaped towards Mount Dolmed.

§232 Last of all the eastern force to stand firm were the Enfeng of [Nogrod >] Belegost, and thus won renown. Now the Naugrim withstood fire more hardily than either Elves or Men, and it was the custom moreover of the Enfeng to wear great masks [*struck out:* or vizors] in battle hideous to look upon, which stood them in good stead against the drakes. And but for them Glaurung and his brood would have withered all that was left of the Noldor. But the Naugrim made a circle about him when he assailed them, and even his mighty armour was not full proof against the blows of their great axes; and when in his rage he turned and struck down Azaghâl of Belegost and crawled over him, with his last stroke Azaghâl drove a knife into his belly and so wounded him that he fled the field and the beasts of Angband in dismay followed after him. Had Azaghâl but borne a sword great woe would have been spared to the Noldor that after befell [*added:*] but his knife went not deep enough. / But then the Enfeng raised up the body of Azaghâl and bore it away; and with slow steps they walked behind, singing a dirge in their deep voices, as it were a funeral pomp in their own country, and gave no heed more to their foes; and indeed none dared to stay them.

§233 But now in the western battle Fingon was surrounded by a tide of foes thrice greater than all that was left to him [*struck out:* and the Balrogs came against him]. There at last fell the King of the Noldor, and flame sprang from his helm when it was cloven. He was overborne by the Balrogs and beaten to the earth and his banners blue and silver were trodden into dust.

§234 The day was lost, but still Húrin and Huor with the men of Hador stood firm, and the Orcs could not yet win the passes of Sirion. Thus was the treachery of Uldor redressed; and the last stand of Húrin and Huor is the deed of war most renowned among the Eldar that the Fathers of Men wrought in their behalf. For Húrin spoke to Turgon saying: 'Go now, lord, while time is! For last art thou of the House of Fingolfin, and in thee lives the last hope of the Noldor. While Gondolin stands, strong and guarded, Morgoth shall still know fear in his heart.'

'Yet not long now can Gondolin be hidden, and being discovered it must fall,' said Turgon.

§235 'Yet [a while it must stand,' said Húrin; 'for out of Gondolin >] if it stands but a little while,' said [Húrin >] Huor, 'then out of [Gondolin *later* >] thy house / shall come the hope of Elves and Men. This I say to thee, lord, with the eyes of death; though here we part for ever, and I shall never look on thy white walls, from thee and me shall a new star arise. Farewell!'

§236 [*Struck out:* Then Turgon withdrew and all the Noldor of Gondolin went back down Sirion and vanished into the hills. But all the remnant of the host of the west gathered about the brethren and held the pass behind them.]

§237 [*Added subsequently:*] And [Glindûr *later* >] Maeglin, Turgon's sister-son, who stood by heard these words and marked them well, [*struck out later:* and looked closely at Huor,] but said naught.

§238 Then Turgon accepted the valiant words of the brethren, and summoning all that remained of the folk of Gondolin, and such of Fingon's host as could be gathered, he [withdrew >] fought his way southward,/ and escaped down Sirion, and vanished into the mountains and was hidden from the eyes of Morgoth. For Húrin and Huor held the pass behind him, so that no foe could follow him, and drew the remnant of the mighty men of Hithlum about them.

§239 Slowly they withdrew, until they came behind the Fen of Serech, and had the young stream of Sirion before them, and then they stood and gave way no more, for they were in the narrow gorge of the pass. Then all the host of Morgoth swarmed against them, and they bridged the stream with the dead, and encircled the remnant of Hithlum as a gathering tide about a rock.

§240 Huor fell pierced with a venomed arrow in the eye, and all the valiant men of Hador were slain about him in a heap, and the Orcs hewed their heads and piled them as a mound of gold; for the sun was shining on the [fourth >] sixth and last / day of the battle and their yellow locks shone amid the blood. Last of all Húrin stood alone. Then he cast aside his shield and wielded his axe two-handed; and it is sung that in that last stand he himself slew an hundred of the Orcs. But they took him alive at last, by the command of Morgoth, who thought thus to do him more evil than by death. Therefore his

servants grappled him with their hands, which clung still to him though he hewed off their arms; and ever their numbers were renewed until at the last he fell buried beneath them. Then binding him they dragged him to Angband with mockery. Thus ended the *Nírnaeth Arnediad*, and the sun sank red over Hithlum, and there came a great storm on the winds of the West.

§241 Great indeed now was the triumph of Morgoth; and his design was accomplished in a manner after his own heart; for Men took the lives of Men, and betrayed the Eldar, and fear and hatred were aroused among those that should have been united against him. From that day indeed began the estrangement of Elves from Men, save only from those of the Three Houses of Bëor, Hador, and Haleth, and their children.

§242 The March of Maidros was no more. The fell sons of Fëanor were broken and wandered far away in the woods as leaves before the wind. The Gorge of Aglon was filled with Orcs, and the Hill of Himring was garrisoned by soldiers of Angband; the pass of Sirion was pierced and Tol-sirion retaken and its dread towers rebuilt. All the gates of Beleriand were in the power of Morgoth. The realm of Fingon was no more [*struck out:* for few ever of the host of Hithlum, Elves or Men, came ever back over the mountains to their land]. To Hithlum came back never one of Fingon's host, nor any of the Men of Hador, nor any tidings of the battle and the fate of their lords.

§243 Doriath indeed remained, and Nargothrond was hidden, and Cirdan held the Havens; but Morgoth gave small heed to them as yet, either for he knew little of them, or because their hour was not yet come in the deep purposes of his malice. But one thought troubled him deeply, and marred his triumph; Turgon had escaped the net, whom he most desired to take. For Turgon came of the great house of Fingolfin, and was now by right King of all the Noldor, [*struck out:* and from of old he hated him, scarce less than Fëanor, and feared him more. For never in Valinor would Turgon greet him, being a friend of Ulmo and of Tulkas; and moreover, ere yet darkness overwhelmed him and the blindness of malice, he looked upon Turgon and knew that from him should come, in some time that doom held, the end of all hope.] and Morgoth feared and hated most the house of Fingolfin, because they had scorned him in Valinor, and had the friendship of Ulmo, and because of the wounds that Fingolfin gave him in battle. Moreover of old his

eye had lighted on Turgon, and a dark shadow fell on his heart, foreboding that, in some time that lay yet hidden in doom, from Turgon ruin should come to him.

§244 Therefore Húrin was brought before Morgoth, and defied him; and he was chained and set in torment. But Morgoth who would ever work first with lies and treachery, if they might avail, came to him where he lay in pain, and offered him freedom, and power and wealth as one of his great captains, if he would take service in his armies and lead a host against Turgon, or even if he would but reveal where that king had his stronghold. For he had learned that Húrin knew the secret counsels of Turgon. But again Húrin the Steadfast mocked him.

§245 Then Morgoth restrained his wrath and spoke of Húrin's wife and son now helpless in Hithlum [*written above later:* Dorlómin], and at his mercy to do what he would with them.

§246 'They know not the secrets of Turgon,' said Húrin. 'But an they did, thou shouldst not come at Turgon so; for they are of the houses of Hador and Bëor, and we sell not our troth for any price of profit or pain.'

§247 Then Morgoth cursed Húrin and Morwen and their offspring and set a doom upon them of sorrow and darkness; and taking Húrin from prison he set him in a chair of stone upon a high place of Thangorodrim. There he could see afar the land of Hithlum westward and the lands of Beleriand southward. There Morgoth standing beside him cursed him again, and set his power upon him so that he could not stray from that place, nor die, unless Morgoth released him.

§248 'Sit now there!' said Morgoth. 'Look upon the lands where the uttermost woe shall come upon those whom thou hast delivered unto me. Yea, verily! Doubt not the power of Melkor, Master of the fates of Arda! And with my eyes shalt thou see it, [*struck out:* and nought shall be hidden from thee, and all that befalls those thou holdest dear shall swiftly be told to thee] and with my ears shalt thou hear all tidings, and nought shall be hidden from thee!'

§249 And even so it came to pass; but it is not said that Húrin asked ever of Morgoth either mercy or death, for himself or for any of his kin.

§250 Now the Orcs in token of the great triumph of

Angband gathered with great labour all the bodies of their enemies that were slain, and all their harness and weapons, and they piled them, Elves and Men, in a great hill in the midst of the Anfauglith. [Hauð-na-D(engin) > Hauð-i-Nengin *later* >] Hauð-ina-Nengin was the name of that mound, and it was like unto a hill. But thither alone in all the desert the grass came, and grew again long and green, and thereafter no Orc dared tread upon the earth beneath which the swords of the Noldor crumbled into rust.

§251 Rían wife of Huor hearing no tidings of her lord went forth into the wild, and there gave birth to Tuor her son; and he was taken to foster by [the Dark-elves *later* >] Annael of the Grey-elves of Mithrim. But Rían went to [Hauð-i-Nengin *later* > Hauð-na-nDengin >] Hauð-in-nDengin and laid her there and died. And in Brethil Glorwendil, Hador's daughter, died of grief. But Morwen wife of Húrin abode in Hithlum, for she was with child.

§252 Morgoth now broke his pledges to the Easterlings that had served him, and denied to them the rich lands of Beleriand which they coveted, and he sent away these evil folk into Hithlum, and there commanded them to dwell. And little though they now loved their new king, yet they despised the remnant of the folk of Hador (the aged and the women and the children for the most part), and they oppressed them, and took their lands and goods, and wedded their women by force, and enslaved their children. And those of the Grey-elves that had dwelt there fled into the mountains, or were taken to the mines of the North and laboured there as thralls.

§253 Therefore Morwen unwilling that Túrin her son, being then seven years old, should become a slave, sent him forth with two aged servants, and bade them find if they could a way to Doriath, and there beg fostering for the son of Húrin, and kinsman of Beren (for her father was his cousin).

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§254 In the [*added:*] first/beginning of this year was born to Morwen Elfsheen a maid-child, daughter of Húrin; and she was named Niënor, which is Mourning. And at about this time Túrin came through great perils to Doriath and was there received by Thingol, who took him to his own fostering, as he

were king's son, in memory of Húrin. For Thingol's mood was now changed towards the houses of the Elf-friends.

§255 In this year Morgoth having rested his strength, and given heed to his own hurts and great losses, renewed the assault upon Beleriand, which now lay open to him; and the orcs and wolves passed far into the lands, even as far as the borders of Ossiriand upon one side, and Nan Tathren upon the other, and none were safe in field or wild.

§256 Many now fled to the Havens and took refuge behind Cirdan's walls, and the mariner folk passed up and down the coast and harried the enemy with swift landings. Therefore the first assault of Morgoth was against Cirdan; and ere the winter was come he sent great strength over Hithlum and Nivrost, and they came down the Rivers Brithon and Nenning, and ravaged all the Falas, and besieged the walls of Brithombar and Eglarest. Smiths and miners and masters of fire they brought with them, and set up great engines, and though they were stoutly resisted they broke the walls at last. Then the Havens were laid in ruin, and the Tower of Ingildon cast down, and all Cirdan's folk slain or enthralled, save those that went aboard and escaped by sea [*added:*] and some few that fled north to Mithrim.

§257 Then Cirdan took his remnant by ship, and they sailed to the Isle of Balar, [*struck out:* and mingled with Turgon's outpost there,] and made a refuge for all that could come thither. For they kept also a foothold at the mouths of Sirion, and there many light swift ships lay hid in the creeks and waters where the reeds were dense as a forest. [And seven ships at Turgon's asking Cirdan sent out into the West, but they never returned. >] And when Turgon heard of this he sent again his messengers to Sirion's Mouths, and besought the aid of Cirdan the Shipwright. And at his bidding Cirdan let build seven swift ships, and they sailed out into the West, and were never heard of again – save one and the last. Now the captain of this ship was Voronwë, and he toiled in the sea for many years, until returning at last in despair his ship foundered in a great storm within sight of land, and he alone survived, for Ulmo saved him from the wrath of Ossë, and the waves bore him up and cast him ashore in Nivrost./

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§258 Túrin waxed fair and strong and wise in Doriath, but was marked with sorrow. In this his sixteenth year he went forth

to battle on the marches of Doriath, and became the companion in arms of Beleg the Bowman. [*Later pencilled addition:*] Túrin donned the Dragon-helm of Galion.

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§259 Here Túrin was a guest at Menegroth in honour for his deeds of valour. But he came from the wild, and was unkempt and his gear and garments were wayworn. And Orgof taunted him, and the people of Hithlum, and in his wrath he smote Orgof with a cup and slew him at the king's board. Then fearing the anger of Thingol he fled, and became an outlaw in the woods, and gathered a desperate band, of Elves and of Men [*struck out:* beyond the Girdle of Melian].

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§260 Here Túrin's band captured Beleg and bound him; but Túrin returning released him, and they renewed their friendship. And Túrin learned of the king's pardon, but would not go back to Menegroth, and remained upon the marches. And since no foe yet could pass the Girdle of Melian, and he desired only to take vengeance on the Orcs, he made a lair in the woods between Sirion and Mindeb in the country of Dimbar.

The following passage was rewritten several times and it is not possible to be perfectly certain of the detail of development at each stage. As first written it seems to have read:

§261 Here Tuor son of Huor, being now fifteen years of age, came to Hithlum seeking his kin, but they were no more, for Morwen and Niënor had been carried away to Mithrim and none remembered them.

This seems to have been cancelled as soon as written, and a second form probably reads thus:

§262 Here Tuor son of Huor, being now fifteen years of age, came to Hithlum seeking his kin, but he found them not. For though the Elves that fostered him knew indeed their names, they knew not where they dwelt of old, or dwelt now in the change of the land. But Morwen and Niënor alone remained, and they dwelt still in Dor Lómin; therefore Tuor searched in Hithlum in vain, and the Easterlings seized him and enslaved him. But he escaped and became an outlaw in the wild lands about Lake Mithrim.

In the final form of the passage the date 488 was added:

488

§263 Here Tuor son of Huor, being now sixteen years of age, seeking to escape from Dorlómin, was made captive and enslaved by Lorgan chief of the Easterlings; and he endured thraldom for [seven years *immediately* >] three years, ere he escaped and became an outlaw in the hills of Mithrim.

[*Struck out:* 488]

§264 Here Haldir Orodreth's son of Nargothrond was trapped and hung on a tree by Orcs. Thereafter the Elves of Nargothrond were yet more wary and secret, and would not suffer even Elves to stray in their lands.

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§265 In this year Gwindor Guilin's son escaped from Angband. Blodren Ban's son was an Easterling, and being taken by Morgoth, and tormented because he was one of the faithful that withstood Uldor, entered the service of Morgoth and was released, and sent in search of Túrin. And he entered the hidden company in Dimbar, and served Túrin manfully for two years. But seeing now his chance he betrayed the refuge of Beleg and Túrin to the Orcs, as his errand was. Thus it was surrounded and taken, and Túrin was captured alive and carried towards Angband; but Beleg was left for dead among the slain. Blodren was slain by a chance arrow in the dark. [*Pencilled against this annal:* What happened to the Dragon-helm?]

§266 Beleg was found by Thingol's messengers, and taken to Menegroth and healed by Melian. At once he set forth in search of Túrin [*pencilled in margin:* bearing the Dragon-helm that Túrin had left in Menegroth]. He came upon Gwindor bewildered in Taur-na-Fuin (where Sauron now dwelt) and together they pursued the captors of Túrin. From an orc-camp on the edge of the desert they rescued him as he slept in drugged sleep, and carried him to a hidden dell. But Beleg as he laboured to unloose Túrin's fetters pricked his foot, and he was roused, and dreaming that he was surrounded by Orcs that would torment him, seized Beleg's sword and slew him ere he knew him. Gwindor buried Beleg, and led Túrin away, for a dumb madness of grief was on him.

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§267 Through great perils Gwindor led Túrin towards Nargothrond, and they came to the pools of Ivrin, and there Túrin wept and was healed of his madness. Gwindor and Túrin came at last to Nargothrond, and were admitted; for Finduilas daughter of Orodreth, to whom Gwindor had been betrothed, alone of his people knew him again after the torments of Angband.

490–5

§268 During this time Túrin dwelt in Nargothrond, and became great in counsel and renown. The Noldor took Beleg's sword which Túrin had kept, and re-forged it, and it was made into a black sword with edges as of fire. Now Túrin [*added:*] had begged Gwindor to conceal his right name, for the horror he had of his slaying of Beleg and dread lest it were learned in Doriath; and he / had given out his name as *Iarwaeth* [*struck out:* the blood-stained], but now it was changed to *Mormegil* the Blacksword, because of the rumour of his deeds with that weapon in vengeance for Beleg; but the sword itself he named *Gurthang* Iron of Death. Then the heart of Finduilas was turned from Gwindor (who because of his pains in Angband was half crippled) and her love was given to Túrin; and Túrin loved her, but spoke not, being loyal to Gwindor. [*Added:*] Then Finduilas being torn in heart became sorrowful; and she grew wan and silent. / But Gwindor seeing what had befallen was bitter at heart, and cursed Morgoth, who could thus pursue his enemies with woe, whithersoever they might run. 'And now at last,' he said, 'I believe the tale of Angband that Morgoth hath cursed Húrin and all his kin.'

§269 And he spoke on a time to Finduilas, saying: 'Daughter of the House of Finrod, let no grief lie between us, for, though Morgoth hath laid my life in ruin, thee still I love. But go thou whither love leads thee! Yet beware! Not meet is it that the Elder Children should stoop to the Younger. Neither will fate suffer it, save once or twice only for some high cause of doom. But this Man is not Beren. A doom indeed lies on him, as seeing eyes may well read in him, but a dark doom. Enter not into it! And if thou wilt, then thy love shall betray thee to bitterness and death. For behold! this is not *Iarwaeth* nor *Mormegil*, but Túrin son of Húrin.'

§270 And Gwindor told how Húrin's torment and curse was known to all in Angband; and said: 'Doubt not the power of Morgoth Bauglir! Is it not written in me?' But Finduilas was silent.

§271 And later in like manner Gwindor spoke to Túrin; but Túrin answered: 'In love I hold thee for rescue and safe-keeping. And even were it not so, still I would do thee no hurt willingly, who hast suffered such great wrongs. Finduilas indeed I love, but fear not! Shall the accursed wed, and give as morrowgift his curse to one that he loves? Nay, not even to one of his own people. But now thou hast done ill to me, friend, to bewray my right name, and call my doom upon me, from which I had thought to lie hidden.'

§272 But when it became known to Orodreth [and the folk of Nargothrond that Iarwaeth was indeed the son of Húrin, then greater became his honour among them, and they would do >] that Iarwaeth was indeed the son of Húrin, he gave him great honour, and did / all that he counselled. And he being troubled by this new grief (for ever the love of Finduilas that he would not take grew greater) found solace only in war. And in that time the folk of Nargothrond forsook their secrecy, their war of ambush and hunting, and went openly to battle; and they [*struck out:* allied themselves with Handir of Brethil, and] built a bridge over the Narog from the great doors of Felagund for the swifter passage of their arms. And they drove the Orcs and beasts of Angband out of all the land between Narog and Sirion eastward, and westward to the Nenning and the borders of the desolate Falas. Thus Nargothrond was revealed to the wrath and malice of Morgoth, but still at Túrin's prayer his true name was not spoken, and rumour spoke only of Mormegil of Nargothrond.

The following entry, for the year 492, was struck out later. Its replacement, an inserted annal for the year 400, has been given earlier (§120).

§273 [*Rejected annal for the year 492*] Here Meglin son of Ëol was sent by his mother Isfin to Gondolin, and Turgon rejoiced to hear tidings of his sister whom he had deemed lost, and he received Meglin with honour as his sister-son. But it is said that Meglin, having been nurtured in the shadows of Brethil, was never wholly at ease in the light of Gondolin.

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§274 In this time, when because of the deeds of Mormegil of Nargothrond the power of Morgoth was stemmed west of Sirion, Morwen and Niënor fled at last from Dor Lómin and came to Doriath, seeking tidings of Túrin. But they found him gone, and in Doriath no tidings had been heard of his name, since the Orcs took him, five years before. [*Added:*] Morwen and Niënor remained as guests of Thingol, and were treated with honour, but they were filled with sorrow, and yearned ever for tidings of Túrin. /

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§275 Here [*added:*] Handir of Brethil was slain in the spring in fighting with Orcs that invaded his land. The Orcs gathered in the passes of Sirion. Late in the year having thus mustered great strength / Morgoth assailed Nargothrond. Glaurung the Urulókë passed [into Hithlum and there did great evil, and he came thence out of Dorlómin over the Erydwethrin >] over Anfauglith, and came thence into the north vales of Sirion and there did great evil, and he came thence under the shadows of the Erydwethrin / with a great army of Orcs in his train, and he defiled the Eithil Ivrin. Then he passed into the realm of Nargothrond, burning the Talath Dirnen, the Guarded Plain, between Narog and Sirion. Then Orodreth and Túrin [*struck out:* and Handir of Brethil*; added later:*] and Gwindor / went up against him, but they were defeated upon the field of Tum-halad; and Orodreth was slain [*struck out:* and Handir. *Added later:*] and Gwindor. [*Pencilled in margin:* Túrin in the battle wore the Dragon-helm.] Túrin bore Gwindor out of the rout, and escaping to a wood there laid him on the grass.

§276 And Gwindor said, 'Let bearing pay for bearing! But hapless was mine, and vain is thine. For now my body is marred, and I must leave Middle-earth; and though I love thee, son of Húrin, yet I rue the day I took thee from the Orcs. But for thy prowess, still I should have love and life, and Nargothrond should stand. Now if you love me, leave me! Haste thee to Nargothrond and save Finduilas. And this last I say to thee: she alone stands between thee and thy doom. If thou fail her, it shall not fail to find thee. Farewell!'

§277 Therefore Túrin sped now back to Nargothrond, mustering such of the rout as he met on the way. [*Added:*] And

the leaves fell from the trees in a great wind as they went, for the autumn was passing to a dire winter. And one; Ornil, said: 'Even so fall the people of Nargothrond, but for them there shall come no Spring.' And Túrin hastened, / but Glaurung and his army were there before him (because of his succouring of Gwindor), and they came suddenly, ere those that were left on guard were aware of the defeat. In that day the bridge that Túrin let build over Narog proved an evil; for it was great and mightily made and could not swiftly be destroyed, and thus the enemy came readily over the deep river, and Glaurung came in full fire against the Doors of Felagund, and overthrew them, and passed within.

§278 And even as Túrin came up the ghastly sack of Nargothrond was wellnigh achieved. The Orcs had slain or driven off all that remained in arms, and they were even then ransacking all the great halls and chambers, plundering and destroying; but those of the women and maidens that were not burned or slain they had herded on the terrace before the doors, as slaves to be taken to Angband. Upon this ruin and woe Túrin came, and none could withstand him; or would not, though he struck down all before him, and passed over the bridge, and hewed his way towards the captives.

§279 And now he stood alone, for the few that had followed him had fled into hiding. But behold! in that moment Glaurung the fell issued from the gaping Doors of Felagund, and lay behind, between Túrin and the bridge. Then suddenly he spoke by the evil spirit that was in him, saying: 'Hail, son of Húrin. Well met!'

§280 Then Túrin sprang about, and strode against him, and fire was in his eyes, and the edges of Gurthang shone as with flame. But Glaurung withheld his blast, and opened wide his serpent-eyes and gazed upon Túrin. And without fear Túrin looked in those eyes as he raised up his sword, and lo! straightway he fell under the dreadful spell of the dragon, and was as one turned to stone. Thus long they stood unmoving, silent before the great Doors of Felagund. Then Glaurung spoke again, taunting Túrin. [*Pencilled against this paragraph:* For while he wore the Dragon-helm of Galion he was proof against the glance of Glaurung. Then the Worm perceiving this (*sic*)]

§281 'Evil have been all thy ways, son of Húrin,' said he. 'Thankless fosterling, outlaw, slayer of thy friend, thief of love, usurper of Nargothrond, captain foolhardy, and deserter of thy

kin. [*Struck out:* How long wilt thou live to bring ruin upon all that love thee?] As thralls thy mother and sister live in Dorlómin, in misery and want. Thou art arrayed as a prince, but they go in rags. For thee they yearn, but thou reckest not of that. Glad may thy father be to learn that he hath such a son, as learn he shall.' And Túrin being under the spell of Glaurung, harkened to his words, and saw himself as in a mirror misshapen by malice, and loathed that which he saw. And while he was yet held by the eyes of Glaurung in torment of mind, and could not stir, at a sign from the dragon the Orcs drove away the herded captives, and they passed nigh to Túrin and went over the bridge. And behold! among them was Finduilas, and she held out her arms to Túrin, and called him by name. But not until her cries and the wailing of the captives was lost upon the northward road did Glaurung release Túrin, and he might not even stop his ears against that voice that haunted him after.

§282 Then suddenly Glaurung withdrew his glance, and waited; and Túrin stirred slowly as one waking from a hideous dream. Then coming to himself with a loud cry he sprang upon the dragon. But Glaurung laughed, saying: 'If thou wilt be slain, I will slay thee gladly. But small help will that be to Morwen and Niënor. No heed didst thou give to the cries of the Elf-woman. Wilt thou deny also the bond of thy blood?'

§283 But Túrin drawing back his sword stabbed at his eyes; and Glaurung coiling back swiftly towered above him, and said: 'Nay! At least thou art valiant. Beyond all whom I have met. And they lie who say that we of our part do not honour the valour of foes. Behold! I offer thee freedom. Go to thy kin, if thou canst. Get thee gone! And if Elf or Man be left to make tale of these days, then surely in scorn they will name thee, if thou spurnest this gift.'

§284 Then Túrin, being yet bemused by the eyes of the dragon, as were he treating with a foe that could know pity, believed the words of Glaurung, and turning away sped over the bridge. But as he went Glaurung spake behind him, saying in a fell voice: 'Haste thee now, son of Húrin, to Dorlómin! Or maybe the Orcs shall come before thee, once again. And if thou tarry for Finduilas, then never shalt thou see Morwen or Niënor again; and they will curse thee.' [*Pencilled in margin:* Glaurung taunts him with the Dragon-helm.]

§285 But Túrin passed away on the northward road, and Glaurung laughed once more, for he had accomplished the

errand of his Master. Then he turned to his own pleasure, and sent forth his blast, and burned all about him. But all the Orcs that were busy in the sack he routed forth, and drove them away, and denied them their plunder even to the least thing of worth. The bridge then he broke down and cast into the foam of Narog, and being thus secure, he gathered all the hoard and riches of Felagund and heaped them, and lay then upon them in the innermost hall, and rested a while.

§286 Now Túrin hastened along the ways to the North, through the lands now desolate, between Narog and Taiglin, [*added:*] and the Fell Winter came down to meet him; for that year snow fell ere autumn was passed, and spring came late and cold. / Ever it seemed to him as he went that he heard the cries of Finduilas, calling his name by wood and by hill, and great was his anguish; but his heart being hot with the lies of Glaurung, and seeing ever in his mind the Orcs burning the house of Húrin or putting Morwen and Niënor to torment, he held on his way, turning never aside.

There follows here a section of the text where the original writing was heavily emended, after which the greater part of the section was struck out and replaced. I give first the form as originally written. For the antecedents of the *Grey Annals* (other than the entries concerning Tuor) from this point to the end of the tale of Túrin (§349) see the commentary on §§287 ff.

§287 At last worn and hungry by long days of journey, as the sad autumn drew on he came to the pools of Ivrin, where before he had been healed. But they were broken and defiled, and he could not drink there again. An ill token it seemed to him.

§288 Thus he came through the passes into Dorlómin, and even as winter fell with snow from the North, he found again the land of his childhood. Bare was it and bleak. And Morwen was gone. Empty stood her house, broken and cold. It was more than a year since she departed to Doriath. Brodda the Easterling (who had wedded Morwen's kinswoman Airin) had plundered her house, and taken all that was left of her goods. Then Túrin's eyes were opened, and the spell of Glaurung was broken, and he knew the lies wherewith he had been cheated. And in his anguish and his wrath for the evils that his mother had suffered he slew Brodda in his own hall, and fled then out into the winter, a hunted man.

§289 Tidings came soon to Thingol in Doriath of the fall of Nargothrond; and [it was revealed now that Mormegil was indeed Túrin son of Húrin >] fear walked on the borders of the Hidden Kingdom.

§290 In this same year Tuor son of Huor was led by the sendings of Ulmo to a secret way that led from Mithrim, by a channel of water running under earth, and so came to the deep cleft at the head of Drengist, and passed out of the knowledge of the spies of Morgoth. Then journeying alone warily down the coasts he came through the Falas and the ruined Havens and so reached at the year's end the Mouths of Sirion. [*Added and then struck out:* In the spring of this year also Handir of Brethil was slain in fighting with the Orcs that ventured into Brethil.]

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§291 Too late now Túrin sought for Finduilas, roaming the woods under the shadow of Eryd Wethion, wild and wary as a beast; and he waylaid all the roads that went north to the pass of Sirion. Too late. For all trails had grown old, or had perished in the winter. But thus it was that Túrin passing southwards down Taiglin came upon some of the folk of Haleth that dwelt still in the forest of Brethil. They were dwindled now by war to a small people, and dwelt for the most part secretly within a stockade upon the Amon Obel deep in the forest. Ephel Brandir was that place named; for Brandir son of Handir was now their lord since [Handir had not returned from the stricken field of Tum-halad. >] since Handir his father had been slain. And Brandir was no man of war, being lame by a misadventure in childhood; and he was gentle moreover in mood, loving wood rather than metal, and the knowledge of all things that grow in the earth rather than other lore.

At this point the rejected section of the narrative, beginning at §287, ends. The text that replaced it belongs to the time of the writing of the manuscript.

§292 At last worn by haste and the long road (for [eighty >] forty leagues had he journeyed without rest) he came with the first ice of winter to the pools of Ivrin, where before he had been healed. But they were now but a frozen mire, and he could not drink there again.

§293 Thus he came hardly by the passes of Dorlómin,

through bitter snows from the North, and found again the land of his childhood. Bare was it and bleak. And Morwen was gone. Empty stood her house, broken and cold, and no living thing now dwelt nigh.

§294 It so befell that Túrin came then to the hall of Brodda the Incomer, and learned of an old servant of Húrin that Brodda had taken to wife by force Airin Húrin's kinswoman, and had oppressed Morwen; and therefore in the year before she had fled with Niënor, none but Airin knew whither.

§295 Then Túrin strode to Brodda's table, and with threats learned from Airin that Morwen went to Doriath to seek her son. For said Airin: 'The lands were freed then from evil by the Blacksword of the South, who now hath fallen, they say.'

§296 Then Túrin's eyes were opened, and the last shreds of Glaurung's spell left him, and for anguish, and wrath at the lies that had deluded him, and hatred of the oppressors of Morwen, a black rage seized him, and he slew Brodda in his hall, and other Easterlings that were his guests, and then he fled out into the winter, a hunted man.

§297 But he was aided by some that remained of Hador's people and knew the ways of the wild, and with them he escaped through the falling snow and came to an outlaws' refuge in the southern mountains of Dorlómin. Thence Túrin passed again from the land of his childhood, and returned to Sirion's vale. His heart was bitter, for to Dorlómin he had brought only greater woe upon the remnant of his people, and they were glad of his going; and this comfort alone he had: that by the prowess of the Blacksword the ways to Doriath had been laid open to Morwen. And he said in his heart: 'Then those deeds wrought not evil to all! And where else might I have better bestowed my dear kin, even if I had come sooner? For if the Girdle of Melian is broken, then last hope is ended. Nay, it is better as it hath turned out. For behold! a shadow I cast wheresoever I come. Let Melian keep them! But I will leave them in peace unshadowed for a while.'

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§298 Here Tuor son of Huor met Bronwë of the Noldor at the mouths of Sirion; and they began a journey northward along the great river. But as they dwelt in Nan Tathrin, and delayed because of the peace and beauty of that country in the spring, Ulmo himself came up Sirion and appeared to Tuor, and

the yearning for the Great Sea was ever after in his heart. But now at Ulmo's command he went up Sirion, and by the power that Ulmo set upon them Tuor and Bronwë found the guarded entrance to Gondolin. There Tuor was brought before King Turgon, and spake the words that Ulmo had set in his mouth, bidding him depart and abandon the fair and mighty city that he had built, and go down to the Sea. But Turgon would not listen to this counsel; and [Meglin *later* >] Glindûr his sister-son spoke against Tuor. But Tuor was held in honour in Gondolin, for his kindred's sake.

This annal was much emended and added to (and the date changed to 495), and then (since the text was now in a very confused state) struck out as far as 'bidding him depart' and replaced by the following version on a detached slip:

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§299 Now Tuor Huor's son had lived as an outlaw in the caves of Androth above Mithrim for four years, and he had done great hurt to the Easterlings, and Lorgan set a price upon his head. But Ulmo, who had chosen him as the instrument of his designs, caused him to go by secret ways out of the land of Dorlómin, so that his going was hidden from all the servants of Morgoth; and he came to Nivrost. But there, becoming enamoured of the Sea, he tarried long; and in the autumn of the year Ulmo himself appeared to Tuor, and bade him to depart, and go to the hidden city of Turgon. And he sent to him Voronwë, last of the mariners of Turgon, to guide him; and Voronwë led Tuor eastward along the eaves of Eryd Wethion to Ivrin. (And there they saw Túrin pass, but spoke not with him.) And at the last by the power that Ulmo set upon them they came to the guarded gate of Gondolin. There Tuor was brought before the king, and spoke the counsel of Ulmo, bidding Turgon [*the following is the text already given in §298*] depart and abandon the fair and mighty city that he had built, and go down to the Sea. But Turgon would not listen to this counsel; and [Meglin *later* >] Glindûr his sister-son spoke against Tuor. But Tuor was held in honour in Gondolin, for his kindred's sake.

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§300 Now Túrin coming down from Eryd Wethion sought for Finduilas in vain, roaming the woods under the shadow of the mountains, wild and wary as a beast; and he waylaid all the

roads that went north to the passes of Sirion. Too late. For all the trails had grown old, or were washed away by the winter. But thus it was that, passing southwards down Taiglin, Túrin came upon some of the Men of Brethil, and delivered them from Orcs that had entrapped them. For the Orcs fled from Gurthang.

§301 He named himself Wildman of the Woods, and they besought him to come and dwell with them; but he said that he had an errand yet unachieved: to seek Finduilas Orodreth's daughter. Then Dorlas, leader of the woodmen, told the grievous tidings of her death. For the woodmen at the Crossings of Taiglin had waylaid the orc-host that led the captives of Nargothrond, hoping to rescue them; but the Orcs had at once cruelly slain their prisoners, and Finduilas they pinned to a tree with a spear. So she died, saying at the last: 'Tell the Mormegil that Finduilas is here.' Therefore they had laid her in a mound near that place, and named it *Hauð-en-Ellas*.

§302 Túrin bade them lead him thither, and there he fell down into a darkness of grief, and was near to death. Then Dorlas by his black sword, the fame whereof had come even into the deeps of Brethil, and by his quest of the king's daughter, knew that this Wildman was indeed the Mormegil of Nargothrond [*added:*] (whom rumour said was the son of Húrin of Dorlómin). The woodmen therefore lifted him up, and bore him away to their homes. These were set in a stockade upon a high place in the forest, Ephel Brandir upon Amon Obel; for the folk of Haleth were now dwindled by war to a small people, and Brandir son of Handir who ruled them was a man of gentle mood, and lame also from childhood, and he trusted rather in secrecy than in deeds of war to save them from the power of the North.

§303 Therefore he feared the tidings that Dorlas brought, and when he beheld the face of Túrin as he lay on the bier a cloud of foreboding lay on his heart. Nonetheless being moved by his woe, he took him into his own house and tended him; for he had skill in healing. And with the beginning of spring Túrin cast off his darkness, and grew hale again; and he arose, and he thought that he would remain in Brethil, hidden, and put his shadow behind him, forsaking the past. He took therefore a new name, *Turambar*, and besought the woodmen to forget that he was a stranger among them or ever bore any other name. Nonetheless he would not wholly leave deeds of war, for he

could not endure that the Orcs should come to the Crossings of Taiglin or draw nigh Hauð-en-Ellas, and he made that a place of dread for them so that they shunned it. But he laid his black sword by, and used rather the bow.

§304 Now new tidings came to Doriath concerning Nargothrond, for some that had escaped from the defeat and the sack, and had survived the fell winter in the wild, came at last to Thingol, seeking refuge. But their tales were at variance, some saying that Nargothrond was empty, others that Glaurung abode there; some saying that all the lords and captains were slain, others that, nay, the Mormegil had returned to Nargothrond and there was made a prisoner under the spell of the dragon. But all declared that it was known to many in Nargothrond ere the end that the Mormegil was none other than Túrin Húrin's son. [*Pencilled addition:* And when she heard of the Dragon-helm Morwen knew this was true.]

§305 Then Morwen was distraught, and refusing the counsel of Melian, she rode forth alone into the wild to seek her son, or some true tidings of him. Thingol, therefore, sent Mablung after her, with many hardy march-wards, and some riders, to guard her, and to learn what news they might; but Niënor joined this company secretly in disguise, for she hoped that when Morwen saw that her daughter would go with her into peril, if she went on, then she would be willing to return to Doriath and leave the seeking of tidings to Mablung. But Morwen, being fey, would not be persuaded, and Mablung perforce led the ladies with him; and they passed out over the wide plain and came to Amon Ethir, a league before the bridge of Nargothrond. There Mablung set a guard of riders about Morwen and her daughter, and forbade them go further. But he, seeing from the hill no sign of any enemy, went down with his scouts to the Narog, as stealthily as they could go.

§306 But Glaurung was aware of all that they did, and he came forth in heat of wrath, and lay into the river; and a vast vapour and foul reek went up, in which Mablung and his company were blinded and lost. Then Glaurung passed east over Narog.

§307 Seeing the onset of Glaurung the guards upon Amon Ethir sought to lead the ladies away, and fly with them with all speed back eastwards; but the wind bore the blank mists upon them, and their horses were maddened by the dragon-stench,

and were ungovernable, and ran this way and that, so that some were dashed against trees and slain, and others were borne far away. Thus the ladies were lost, and of Morwen indeed no sure tidings came ever to Doriath after. But Niënor, being thrown by her steed yet unhurt, groped her way back to Amon Ethir, there to await Mablung, and came thus above the reek into the sunlight. [Thus she came alone face to face with Glaurung himself, who had climbed up from the other side. >] And looking west she looked straight into the eyes of Glaurung, whose head lay upon the hill-top.

§308 Her will strove with him for a while, but he put forth his power, and having learned who she was (as indeed he guessed full well) he constrained her to gaze into his eyes, and laid a spell of utter darkness and forgetfulness, so that she could remember nothing that had ever befallen her, nor her own name, nor the name of any other thing; and for many days indeed she could neither hear, nor see, nor stir by her own will. Then Glaurung left her standing alone upon Amon Ethir, and he went back to Nargothrond.

§309 Now Mablung, who greatly daring had explored the halls of Felagund when Glaurung left them, fled from them at the approach of the dragon, and returned to Amon Ethir. The sun sank and night fell as he climbed the hill, and to his dismay he found none there, save Niënor standing alone under the stars as an image of stone. No word she spoke or heard, but would follow, if he took up her hand. Therefore in great grief he led her away, though it seemed to him vain; for they were both like to perish, succourless, in the wild.

§310 But they were found by three of Mablung's companions, and slowly they journeyed northward and eastward to the fences of Doriath where, nigh to the inflowing of Esgalduin, there was the secret gate by which those of its folk that returned from without were wont to enter. Slowly the strength of Niënor returned as they drew nearer to Doriath and further from Glaurung, but as yet she could not speak or hear, and walked blindly as she was led.

§311 But even as they drew near the fences at last she closed her wild staring eyes, and would sleep; and they laid her down and she slept; and they rested also, for they were utterly outworn. Being thus less heedful than was wise, they were there assailed by an Orc-band, such as now roamed often as nigh the fences of Doriath as they dared. But Niënor in that hour

recovered hearing and sight, and being awakened by the cries of the Orcs, sprang up in terror as a wild thing, and fled ere they could come to her.

§312 Then the Orcs gave chase, and the Elves after; but though they overtook the Orcs indeed and slew them ere they could harm her, Niënor escaped them. For she fled as in a madness of fear, swifter than a deer, and tore off all her raiment as she ran, until she was naked [*bracketed later:*] but for a short kirtle. And she passed out of their sight, running northward, and though they sought her long they found her not, nor any trace of her. And at last Mablung in despair returned to Menegroth and told all his tidings. [*Added:* Greatly grieved were Thingol and Melian; but Mablung went forth and for three years sought in vain for tidings of Morwen and Niënor.]

§313 But Niënor ran on into the woods, until she was spent, and then fell and slept, and awoke; and behold it was a bright morning, and she rejoiced in light as it were a new thing, and all things else that she saw seemed new and strange, for she had no names for them. Nothing did she remember save a darkness that lay behind her, and a shadow of fear; therefore warily she went as a hunted beast, and became famished, for she had no food and knew not how to seek it. But coming at last to the Crossings of Taiglin she went over, seeking the shelter of the great trees of Brethil, for she was afraid, and it seemed to her that the darkness was overtaking her again from which she had fled.

§314 But it was a great storm of thunder that came up from the South, and in terror she cast herself down by the mound, Hauð-en-Ellas [*pencilled in margin:* Elleth], stopping her ears from the thunder, but the rain smote her and drenched her, and she lay like a wild beast that is dying.

§315 There Turambar found her, as he came to the Crossings of Taiglin, having heard a rumour of Orcs that roamed near. And seeing in a flare of lightning the body of a slain maiden (as it seemed) lying upon the mound of Finduilas, he was stricken [suddenly with fear >] to the heart. But the woodmen lifted her up, and Turambar cast his cloak about her, and they took her to a lodge nearby, and bathed her and warmed her and gave her food. And as soon as she looked upon Turambar she was comforted; for it seemed to her that she had found something at last that she long sought in her darkness; and she laid her hand in his and would not be parted from him.

§316 But when he asked her concerning her name and her kin and her misadventure, then she became troubled as a child that perceives that something is demanded but cannot understand what it be. And she burst into tears. Therefore Turambar said: 'Be not troubled! Doubtless thy tale is too sad yet to tell. It shall wait. But a name thou must have, and I will call thee *Níniel* (tear-maiden).' And at that name she shook her head, but said *Níniel*. That was the first word she spoke after her darkness, and it remained her name among the woodmen ever after.

§317 The next day they bore her towards Ephel Brandir, but at the falls of Celebros a great shuddering came upon her (wherefore afterwards that place was called Nen Girith), and ere she came to the home of the woodmen she was sick of a fever. She lay long in her sickness, but was healed by the skill of Brandir and the care of the leech-women of Brethil; and the women taught her language as to an infant. Ere autumn came she was hale again, and could speak, but remembered nothing before she was found by Turambar. Brandir loved her dearly, but all her heart was given to Turambar. All that year since the coming of Níniel there was peace in Brethil, and the Orcs did not trouble the woodmen.

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§318 Turambar still remained at peace and went not to war. His heart turned to Níniel, and he asked her in marriage; but for that time she delayed in spite of her love. For Brandir foreboded he knew not what, and sought to restrain her, rather for her sake than his own or rivalry with Turambar; and he revealed to her that Turambar was Túrin son of Húrin, and though she knew not the name a shadow fell on her heart. This Turambar learned and was ill pleased with Brandir.

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§319 In the spring of this year Turambar asked Níniel again, and vowed that he would now wed her, or go back to war in the wild. And Níniel took him with joy, and they were wedded at the mid-summer, and the Woodmen of Brethil made a great feast. But ere the end of the year Glaurung sent Orcs of his dominion against Brethil; and Turambar sat at home deedless, for he had promised Níniel that he would go to battle only if their home was assailed. But the woodmen were worsted, and Dorlas upbraided him that he would not aid the folk that he

had taken for his own. Then Turambar arose and brought forth again his black sword, and he gathered a great force of the Men of Brethil, and they defeated the Orcs utterly. But Glaurung heard tidings that the Black Sword was in Brethil, and he pondered what he had heard, devising new evil.

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§320 Níniel conceived in the spring of this year, and became wan and sad. At the same time there came to Ephel Brandir the first rumours that Glaurung had issued from Nargothrond. And Turambar sent out scouts far afield, for he now ordered things as he would, and few gave heed to Brandir.

§321 And as it drew near to summer Glaurung came to the borders of Brethil, and lay near the west-shore of Taiglin, and then there was great fear among the wood-folk, for it was now plain that the Great Worm would assail them and ravage their land, and not pass by, returning to Angband, as they had hoped. They sought therefore the counsel of Turambar. And he counselled them that it was vain to go against the Worm with all their force. Only by cunning and good fortune could they defeat him. He offered therefore himself to seek Glaurung on the borders of the land, and bade the rest of the people to remain at Ephel Brandir, but to prepare for flight. For if Glaurung had the victory, he would come first to the woodmen's homes to destroy them, and they could not hope to withstand him; but if they then scattered far and wide, then many might escape, for Glaurung would not take up his dwelling in Brethil and would return soon to Nargothrond.

§322 Then Turambar asked for companions willing to aid him in his peril, and Dorlas stood forth, but no others. Then Dorlas upbraided the people, and spoke scorn of Brandir who could not play the part of the heir of Haleth; and Brandir was shamed before his people, and was bitter at heart. But Torbarth [*pencilled above:* Gwerin] kinsman of Brandir asked his leave to go in his stead. Then Turambar said farewell to Níniel and she was filled with fear and foreboding, and their parting was sorrowful; but Turambar set out with his two companions and went to Nen Girith.

§323 Then Níniel being unable to endure her fear, and unwilling to wait in the Ephel tidings of Turambar's fortune, set forth after him, and a great company went with her. At this Brandir was filled more than ever before with dread, [*struck*

out: but she heeded not his counsels] and he sought to dissuade her and the folk that would go with her from this rashness, but they heeded him not. Therefore he renounced his lordship, and all love for the people that had scorned him, and having naught left but his love for Níniel, he girt himself with a sword, and went after her; but being lame he fell far behind.

§324 Now Turambar came to Nen Girith at sundown and there learned that Glaurung lay on the brink of the high shores of the Taiglin, and was like to move when night fell. Then he called those tidings good; for the Worm lay at [Cabad-en-Aras >] Cabed-en-Aras, where the river ran in a deep and narrow gorge that a hunted deer might o'erleap, and Turambar deemed that he would seek no further, but would attempt to pass over the gorge. Therefore he purposed to creep down at dusk, and descend into the ravine under night, and cross over the wild water, and then climb up the further cliff (which was less sheer) and so come at the Worm beneath his guard.

§325 This counsel he then took, but the heart of Dorlas failed when they came to the races of Taiglin in the dark, and he dared not attempt the perilous crossing, but drew back and lurked in the woods burdened with shame. Turambar and Torbarth, nonetheless, crossed over in safety, for the loud roaring of the water drowned all other sounds, and Glaurung slept. But ere the middle-night the Worm roused, and with a great noise and blast cast his forward part across the chasm and began to draw his bulk after. Turambar and Torbarth were well-night overcome by the heat and the stench, as they sought in haste for a way up to come at Glaurung; and Torbarth was slain by a great stone that, dislodged from on high by the passage of the dragon, smote him upon the head and cast him into the River. So ended the last of the right kin of Haleth, and not the least valiant.

§326 Then Turambar summoned all his will and courage and climbed the cliff alone, and he thrust Gurthang into the soft belly of the Worm, even up to the hilts. But when Glaurung felt his death-pang he screamed, and in his dreadful throe he heaved up his bulk and hurled himself across the chasm, and there lay lashing and coiling in his agony. And he set all in a blaze about him, and beat all to ruin, until at last his fires died, and he lay still.

§327 Now Gurthang had been wrested from Turambar's

hand in the throe of Glaurung, and clave to the belly of the Worm. Turambar, therefore, crossed the water once more, desiring to recover his sword, and look on his foe. And he found him stretched at his length, and rolled upon one side; and the hilts of Gurthang stood in his belly. Then Turambar seized the hilts and set his foot upon the belly, and cried in mockery of the Worm and his words at Nargothrond: 'Hail, Worm of Morgoth! Well met again! Die now and the darkness have thee! Thus is Túrin son of Húrin avenged.'

§328 Then he wrenched out the sword, but a spout of black blood followed it, and fell on his hand, and the venom burned it. And thereupon Glaurung opened his eyes and looked upon Turambar with such malice, that it smote him as a blow; and by that stroke and the anguish of the venom he fell into a dark swoon, and lay as one dead, and his sword was beneath him.

§329 The yells of Glaurung rang in the woods and came to the folk that waited at Nen Girith; and when those that looked forth heard the scream of the Worm and saw from afar the ruin and burning that he made, they deemed that he had triumphed and was destroying those that assailed him. And Níniel sat and shuddered beside the falling water, and at the voice of Glaurung her darkness crept upon her again, so that she could not stir from that place of her own will.

§330 Even so Brandir found her, for he came to Nen Girith at last, limping wearily. And when he heard that the Worm had crossed the river and had beaten down his foes his heart yearned towards Níniel in pity. Yet he thought also: 'Turambar is dead, but Níniel lives. Now maybe she will come with me and I will lead her away and so we shall escape the Worm together.'

§331 After a while therefore he stood by Níniel and said: 'Come! It is time to go. If thou wilt, I will lead thee.' And he took her hand, and she arose silently, and followed him; and in the darkness none saw them go.

§332 But as they went down the path toward the Crossings the moon arose, and cast a grey light on the land, and Níniel said: 'Is this the way?' And Brandir answered that he knew no way, save to flee as they might from the Worm, and escape into the wild. But Níniel said: 'The Black Sword was my beloved and my husband. To seek him only do I go. What else couldst thou think?' And she sped on before him. Then she came towards the Crossings of Taiglin and beheld Hauð-en-Ellas in the white

moonlight, and great dread came on her. Then with a cry she turned away, casting off her cloak, and fled southward along the river, and her white raiment shone in the moon.

§333 Thus Brandir saw her from the hill-side and turned to cross her path, but was still behind her, when she came to the ruin of Glaurung nigh the brink of [Cabad-en-Aras >] Cabed-en-Aras. There she saw the Worm lying, but heeded him not, for a man lay beside him; and she ran to Turambar and called his name in vain. Then, finding his hand that was burned, she laved it with tears and bound it about with a strip of her raiment, and kissed him and cried on him again to awake. Thereat Glaurung stirred for the last time ere he died, and he spoke with his last breath saying: 'Hail, Niënor daughter of Húrin. This is thy brother! Have joy of your meeting, and know him: Túrin son of Húrin, treacherous to foes, faithless to friends, and [a] curse unto his kin. And to thee worst of all, as now thou shalt feel!'

§334 Then Glaurung died, and the veil of his malice was taken from her, and she remembered all her life; and she sat as one stunned with horror and anguish. Then Brandir who had heard all, standing stricken upon the edge of the ruin, hastened towards her; but she leapt up and ran like a hunted deer, and came to [Cabad-en-Aras >] Cabed-en-Aras, and there cast herself over the brink, and was lost in the wild water.

§335 Then Brandir came and looked down into Cabad-en-Aras, and turned away in horror, and though he no longer desired life, he could not seek death in that roaring water. And thereafter no man looked ever again upon Cabad-en-Aras, nor would any beast or bird come there, nor any tree grow; and it was named Cabad Naeramarth, the Leap of Dreadful Doom.

§336 But Brandir now made his way back to Nen Girith, to bring tidings to the people; and he met Dorlas in the woods, and slew him (the first blood that ever he had spilled and the last). And he came to Nen Girith, and men cried to him: 'Hast thou seen her? Lo! Níniel is gone.'

§337 And he answered saying: 'Yea, Níniel is gone for ever. The Worm is dead, and Turambar is dead: and those tidings are good.' And folk murmured at these words, saying that he was crazed. But Brandir said: 'Hear me to the end! Níniel the beloved is also dead. She cast herself into the Taiglin desiring life no more. For she learned that she was none other than Niënor daughter of Húrin, ere her forgetfulness came upon her, and that Turambar was her brother, Túrin son of Húrin.'

§338 But even as he had ceased and the people wept, Túrin himself came before them. For when the Worm died, his swoon left him, and he fell into a deep sleep of weariness. But the cold of the night troubled him, and the hilts of Gurthang drove into his side, and he awoke. Then he saw that one had tended his hand, and he wondered much that he was left nonetheless to lie upon the cold ground; and he called and hearing no answer, he went in search of aid, for he was weary and sick.

§339 But when the people saw him they drew back in fear thinking that it was his unquiet spirit; and he said: 'Nay, be glad; for the Worm is dead, and I live. But wherefore have ye scorned my counsel, and come into peril? And where is Níniel? For her I would see. And surely ye did not bring her from her home?'

§340 Then Brandir told him that it was so and Níniel was dead. But the wife of Dorlas cried out: 'Nay, lord, he is crazed. For he came here saying that thou wert dead, and called it good tidings. But thou livest.'

§341 Then Turambar was wroth, and believed that all that Brandir said or did was done in malice towards himself and Níniel, begrudging their love; and he spoke evilly to Brandir, naming him Club-foot. Then Brandir reported all that he heard, and named Níniel Niënor daughter of Húrin, and cried out upon Turambar with the last words of Glaurung, that he was a curse unto his kin and to all that harboured him.

§342 Then Turambar fell into a fury, and charged Brandir with leading Níniel to her death, and publishing with delight the lies of Glaurung (if he devised them not himself indeed), and he cursed Brandir and slew him, and fled from the people into the woods. But after a while his madness left him, and he came to Hauð-en-Ellas and there sat and pondered all his deeds. And he cried upon Finduilas to bring him counsel; for he knew not whether he would do now more ill to go to Doriath to seek his kin, or to forsake them for ever and seek death in battle.

§343 And even as he sat there Mablung with a company of Grey-elves came over the Crossings of Taiglin, and he knew Túrin and hailed him, and was glad to find him living. For he had learned of the coming forth of Glaurung and that his path led to Brethil, and at the same time he had heard report that the Black Sword of Nargothrond now abode there. Therefore he came to give warning to Túrin and help if need be. But Túrin said: 'Too late thou comest. The Worm is dead.'

§344 Then they marvelled, and gave him great praise, but he cared nothing for it, and said: 'This only I ask: give me news of my kin, for in Dorlómin I learned that they had gone to the Hidden Kingdom.'

§345 Then Mablung was dismayed, but needs must tell to Túrin how Morwen was lost, and Niënor cast into a spell of dumb forgetfulness, and how she escaped them upon the borders of Doriath and fled northward. Then at last Túrin knew that doom had overtaken him, and that he had slain Brandir unjustly, so that the words of Glaurung were fulfilled in him. And he laughed as one fey, crying: 'This is a bitter jest indeed!' But he bade Mablung go, and return to Doriath, with curses upon it. 'And a curse too on thy errand!' he said. 'This only was wanting. Now comes the night!'

§346 Then he fled from them like the wind, and they were amazed, wondering what madness had seized him; and they followed after him. But Túrin far out-ran them, and came to Cabad-en-Aras, and heard the roaring of the water, and saw that all the leaves fell sere from the trees, as though winter had come. Then he cursed the place and named it Cabad Naera-marth, and he drew forth his sword, that now alone remained to him of all his possessions, and he said: 'Hail Gurthang! No lord or loyalty dost thou know, save the hand that wieldeth thee. From no blood wilt thou shrink. Wilt thou therefore take Túrin Turambar, wilt thou slay me swiftly?'

§347 And from the blade rang a cold voice in answer: 'Yea, I will drink thy blood gladly, that so I may forget the blood of Beleg my master, and the blood of Brandir slain unjustly. I will slay thee swiftly.'

§348 Then Túrin set the hilts upon the ground, and cast himself upon the point of Gurthang, and the black blade took his life. But Mablung and the Elves came and looked on the shape of the Worm lying dead, and upon the body of Túrin, and they were grieved; and when men of Brethil came thither, and they learned the reasons of Túrin's madness and death, they were aghast; and Mablung said bitterly: 'Lo! I also have been meshed in the doom of the Children of Húrin, and thus with my tidings have slain one that I loved.'

§349 Then they lifted up Túrin and found that Gurthang had broken asunder. But Elves and Men gathered then great store of wood and made a mighty burning, and the Worm was consumed to ashes. But Túrin they laid in a high mound where

he had fallen, and the shards of Gurthang were laid beside him. And when all was done, the Elves sang a lament for the Children of Húrin, and a great grey stone was set upon the mound, and thereon was carven in the Runes of Doriath:

Here the manuscript comes to an end, at the foot of a page, and the typescript also. Later, and probably a good while later, since the writing is in ball-point pen, my father added in the margin of the manuscript:

TURIN TURAMBAR DAGNIR
GLAURUNGA

and beneath they wrote also:

NIENOR NINIEL

But she was not there, nor was it ever known whither the cold waters of Taiglin had taken her. [Thus endeth the *Narn i Chîn Húrin*: which is the longest of all the lays of Beleriand, and was made by Men.]

It always seemed to me strange that my father should have abandoned the *Grey Annals* where he did, without at least writing the inscription that was carved on the stone; yet the facts that the amanuensis typescript ended at this point also, and that he added in the inscription in rough script on the manuscript at some later time, seemed proof positive that this was the case. Ultimately I discovered the explanation, which for reasons that will be seen I postpone to the beginning of Part Three (p. 251).

COMMENTARY

In this commentary the following abbreviations are used:

AV *Annals of Valinor* (see p. 3)
AAm *Annals of Aman* (text with numbered paragraphs in Vol.X)
AB *Annals of Beleriand* (see p. 3). I use the revised dating of the annals in AB 2 (see V.124).
GA *Grey Annals* (**GA 1** abandoned opening, **GA 2** the final text when distinguished from GA 1: see pp. 3–4)
Q *The Quenta* (text in Vol.IV)
QS *Quenta Silmarillion* (text with numbered paragraphs in Vol.V)
NE The last part of the *Narn i Chîn Húrin*, given in *Unfinished Tales* (pp. 104–46), and referenced to the pages in that book; see pp. 144–5.

§1 This opening paragraph is absent from the abandoned version GA 1. Cf. the direction scribbled on the old AB 2 manuscript (p. 4)

to 'make these the Sindarin Annals of Doriath'. For the beginning of the Annals in GA 1 see under §2 below.

§2 This is a much more definite statement of the development of the geographical concept of 'Beleriand' than that found in GA 1, where the Annals begin thus:

> The name Beleriand is drawn from the tongue of the Sindar, the Grey-elves that long dwelt in that country; and it signifies the land of Balar. For this name the Sindar gave to Ossë, who came much to those coasts, and there befriended them. In ancient days, ere the War of Utumno, it was but the northern shoreland of the long west-coast of Middle-earth, lying south of Eryd Engrin (the Iron Mountains) and between the Great Sea and Eryd Luin (the Blue Mountains).

This is in any case not easy to understand, since Beleriand 'in the ancient days' is defined as 'but' the northern shoreland of the west-coast of Middle-earth, yet extending south of the Iron Mountains and from the Great Sea to the Blue Mountains, an area in fact much greater than that described in GA 2 as its later extension of meaning. The latter agrees with the statement on the subject in QS §108, where 'Beleriand was bounded upon the North by Nivrost and Hithlum and Dorthonion'.

A possible explanation of the opening passage of GA 1 may be found, however, by reference to the *Ambarkanta* map IV (IV.249), where it will be seen that 'Beleriand' could well be described as 'but the northern shoreland of the long west-coast of Middle-earth, lying south of the Iron Mountains and between the Great Sea and the Blue Mountains'. The meaning of the opening of GA 1 may be, therefore, not that this geographical description was the original reference of the name 'Beleriand', but that before the War of Utumno (when Melkor was chained) Beleriand was 'but the northern shoreland of the long west-coast of Middle-earth', whereas in the ruin of that war there was formed the Great Gulf to the southward (referred to in GA §6, both texts; see *Ambarkanta* map V, IV.251), after which Beleriand could not be so described.

In the List of Names of the 1930s (V.404) 'Beleriand' was said as in GA 2 to have been originally the 'land about southern Sirion'; but is there said to have been 'named by the Elves of the Havens from Cape *Balar*, and Bay of *Balar* into which Sirion flowed'. In the *Etymologies* (V.350, stem BAL) *Beleriand* was likewise derived from (the isle of) *Balar*, and *Balar* in turn 'probably from **bálāre*, and so called because here Ossë visited the waiting Teleri.' At that time Ossë was a *Bala* (*Vala*).

On the later form *Belerian* see my father's note on Sindarin *Rochand* > *Rochan (Rohan)* in *Unfinished Tales* p. 318 (note 49 to *Cirion and Eorl*).

§3 Cf. the entry added to the annal for Valian Year 1050 in AAm

§40 (X.72, 77), concerning Melian's departure from Valinor. In the preceding annal 1000–1050 in AAm it is told that Varda 'made stars newer and brighter'.

§§3–5 The second sentence of the annal 1050 and the annals 1080 and 1085 were added to the manuscript subsequently. It is curious that there was no mention of the Awakening of the Elves in GA 1 nor in GA 2 as written; but among the rough draft pages referred to on p. 4 there is in fact a substantial passage beginning: 'In this same time the Quendi awoke by the waters of Kuiviénen: of which more is said in the Chronicles of Aman.' The text that follows in this draft is very close – much of it indeed virtually identical – to the long passage interpolated into AAm (§§43–5) on the fear of Oromë among the Quendi, the ensnaring of them by the servants of Melkor, and the breeding of the Orcs from those captured. There are no differences of substance between this text and the passage in AAm; and it is obvious that the latter followed, and was based on, the former, originally intended for inclusion in the *Grey Annals*.

In AAm the same dates are given for the Awakening of the Elves (1050) and for their discovery by Oromë (1085); no date is given in AAm for their discovery by Melkor, but it is said (AAm §43) that this was 'some years ere the coming of Oromë'.

§6 In GA 1 the sentence 'it took then that shape which it had until the coming of Fionwë' reads '... which it had until the Change of the World', using that expression not to refer to the World Made Round at the Drowning of Númenor but to the destruction of Beleriand in the final overthrow of Morgoth, at the end of the Elder Days.

The Great Gulf (shown and thus named on the *Ambarkanta* map V, IV.251) was referred to in QS §108: 'Beyond the river Gelion the land narrowed suddenly, for the Great Sea ran into a mighty gulf reaching almost to the feet of Eredlindon ...' See under §2 above.

Unique to the *Grey Annals* is the statement that because the Valar had set foot in the lands about Sirion, when they came from Aman for the assault on Utumno, growth soon began there again 'while most of Middle-earth slept in the Sleep of Yavanna', and that Melian fostered the 'young woods under the bright stars'. See further under §10 below.

§7 This annal was a later addition to the manuscript; the date was first written 1102, then changed to 1102–5. AAm (§§54–6) has entries concerning the three ambassadors, their going in 1102 and their return to Kuiviénen in 1104.

§8 In AAm the dates were so often changed and became so confused that in rendering the text I gave only the final ones (see X.47–8); but in this part of AAm all the dates were in fact originally 100 Valian Years later – thus 1115, the year in which the Eldar reached the Anduin (X.82) was an emendation of 1215. Already in GA 1 the

dates are in the 1100s as first written, showing that it followed AAm, if at no long interval. But it is curious that in GA (both texts) the coming of the Vanyar and Noldor to the Great Sea is placed in 1115; in AAm the march began in 1105, the Anduin was reached in 1115, and the Sea in 1125.

§10 This annal has close relations not only with that in AAm for the same year (§65) but also with the passage in the 'Silmarillion' tradition (X.172, §32).

With 'the young trees of Nan Elmoth' cf. the change made on one of the typescripts of AAm (X.91) of 'the trees of Nan Elmoth' to 'the sapling trees of Nan Elmoth', though this was made years later. The 'young trees' are no doubt to be connected with the phrase in GA §9 'where *afterwards stood* the forests of Neldoreth and Region'; and it seems clear that the trees were all young because, as is said in GA §6, 'the lands upon either side of Sirion were ruinous and desolate because of the War of the Powers, but soon growth began there, while most of Middle-earth slept in the Sleep of Yavanna, because the Valar of the Blessed Realm had set foot there; and there were young woods under the bright stars.'

The conception that there were trees in a world illumined only by starlight was a datum of the mythology (though years after the writing of the *Grey Annals* my father rejected it: 'Neither could there be woods and flowers &c. on earth, if there had been no light since the overthrow of the Lamps!', X.375); on the other hand, there appears in AAm (§30) the story, not present in the 'Silmarillion' tradition, that Yavanna 'set a sleep upon many fair things that had arisen in the Spring [i.e. before the fall of the Lamps], both tree and herb and beast and bird, so that they should not age but should wait for a time of awakening that yet should be.' In the other tradition (X.158, §18) 'While the Lamps had shone, growth began there which now was checked, because all was again dark. But already the oldest living things had arisen: in the sea the great weeds, and on the earth the shadow of great trees ... In those lands and forests Oromë would often hunt ...'

How these conceptions relate to each other is far from clear on the basis of these texts; but now, in the *Grey Annals* (§6), the peculiar nature of Beleriand is asserted, in that there alone growth began again under the stars on account of the passage of the Valar from Aman, and (§17) 'though Middle-earth for the most part lay in the Sleep of Yavanna, in Beleriand under the power of Melian there was life and joy and the bright stars shone like silver fires.'

§§11–12 This annal 1132 is very close to that in AAm (§66), largely identical in structure and near in phraseology; the only important feature in which it differs is the reference to the legend that a part of the island that became Tol Eressëa was broken off and became the

Isle of Balar. This story appears in a footnote to the next of QS §35 (V.221, X.174).

§§13–15 The annals 1149–50 and 1150 are again close to those in AAm (§§70–1), and were I think based on them (it may be noted that in GA 1, of which GA 2 is here for the most part scarcely more than a fair copy, my father first wrote in §15 'The friends and kinsfolk of Elwë also were unwilling to depart', as in AAm, but changed the last words in the act of writing to 'also remained').

§14 The whole extent of the coastal region from the Firth of Drengist south to Cape Balar is here named the Falas (cf. QS §109: 'the country of the Falas (or Coast), south of Nivrost'), and thus Cirdan is made the ruler of the shorelands of Nivrost (later Nevrast).

The last part of the annal 1149–50, concerning the fact that the Elves of the Havens did not cross the Great Sea (though there was no ban on their attempting to do so), is not in GA 1. It is indeed an answer to a question that has not emerged in any previous writing – though it becomes implicit from the first emergence of the sailing-elves of the Havens (Elves persuaded by Ossë to remain on the shores of Middle-earth are first mentioned in Q, IV.87).

§16 The annal 1152 is closely related to that in AAm (§74). The question arises why, if these Annals were the work of the Sindar (see §1), should they have such obvious affinity to those of Aman? Perhaps it should be supposed that both sets of Annals, as received, derive from the editorial work of Pengoloð in Tol Eressëa.

§17 There is nothing corresponding to the interesting annal 1200 in AAm. On the reference to the Sleep of Yavanna and the life and joy in Beleriand see under §10 above. Melian's power and presence in Beleriand is now given a greater significance. – Here *niphredil* appears from *The Lord of the Rings*.

§18 The idea of the 'higher culture' of the Dark-elves of Beleriand (the Sindar) goes back to the very early 'Sketch of the Mythology' (IV.21): 'Only in the realm of Doriath, whose queen was of divine race, did the Ilkorins equal the Koreldar'; this phrase with a slight modification survived through Q (IV.100) into QS (§85).

§19 Cf. the passage inserted into annal 1250 in AAm (§84), a Beleriandic interpolation by Pengoloð, against which my father later noted: 'Transfer to A[nnals of] B[eleriand]' (X.102, note 7). That passage (very greatly expanded here in GA) begins:

> In this time also, it is said among the Sindar, the Nauglath [*written above:* Naugrim] whom we also name the Nornwaith (the Dwarves) came over the mountains into Beleriand and became known to the Elves.

The present annal in GA 1 begins: 'In this year, it is recorded among the Sindar, the Nauglath came first over the mountains into

Beleriand. This people the Noldor after named the Norn-folk ...' In GA 2 the words 'it is recorded among the Sindar' are absent, and *Naugrim* replaces *Nauglath*.

In QS §124 the Dwarvish names of the cities in Eryd Luin were Gabilgathol (Belegost, the Great Fortress) and Khazaddûm (Nogrod, the Dwarfmine); Tumunzahar now first appears (also in QS revised, p. 206, §7).

§20 For statements in the *Lhammas* and in QS on the languages of the Dwarves see V.178–9, 273. – The concluding sentences of this paragraph ('Ever cool was their friendship ...') are very close to what is said in AAm (§84).

§21 This cautious and sceptical view of the story of the origin of the Dwarves – ascribing it entirely to the Dwarves themselves – seems to contrast with earlier texts, where it is said to be derived from 'the wise in Valinor' (V.129, 273). – The name *Mahal* of Aulë has not appeared before.

§22 *Enfeng, the Longbeards of Belegost.* In the old *Tale of the Nauglafring* the *Indrafangs* or Longbeards were the Dwarves of Belegost, while Dwarves of Nogrod were the *Nauglath* (see II.247). In Q the Indrafangs had become those of Nogrod (IV.104), and this reappears in QS (§124): 'those who dwelt in Nogrod they [the Gnomes] called Enfeng, the Longbeards, because their beards swept the floor before their feet.' In the passage in AAm (§84) the Longbeards, as here, are again the Dwarves of Belegost. – The conclusion of this paragraph is wholly different in GA 1:

> For Melian taught them much wisdom (which also they were eager to get), and she gave to them also the great jewel which alone she had brought out of Valinor, work of Fëanor, [*struck out but then ticked as if to stand:* for he gave many such to the folk of Lórien.] A white gem it was that gathered the starlight and sent it forth in blue fires; and the Enfeng prized it above a mountain of wealth.

This was an idea that did not fit the chronology, for Melian left Valinor in 1050, the year of the Awakening of the Elves, as stated both in AAm (see X.77) and GA (Fëanor was born more than a hundred Valian years later, AAm §78); and in GA 2 the story of the great pearl Nimphelos was substituted.

§§23–4 Thingol's early association with the Dwarves is mentioned in QS §122 (from their cities in the Blue Mountains the Dwarves 'journeyed often into Beleriand, and were admitted at times even into Doriath'), but the aid of the Longbeards of Belegost in the building of Menegroth did not appear until the interpolation in AAm (§84). That brief mention is here greatly expanded into a description of the Thousand Caves; cf. the *Lay of Leithian* (III.188–9, lines 980–1008), and for the earliest conception – before

the rise of Thingol to his later wealth and majesty – see II.63, 128–9, 245–6.

§§25–9 In GA 1 the whole passage given here in the annals 1300–50 and 1330 is placed under 1320: the actual event in 1320 was the speaking of the Dwarves to Thingol concerning their fears ('In this year, however, the Dwarves were troubled . . .', where GA 2 has 'But it came to pass that the Dwarves were troubled . . .'), and it was 'not long thereafter' that 'evil creatures came even to Beleriand'. In a note to the year 1320 on the typescript of AAm (X.106, §85) my father added: 'The Orcs first appear in Beleriand'; in GA 2 (§26) the event is dated ten Valian Years later, in 1330.

§25 The Dwarves' hatred and fear of the Sea has not been mentioned before.

§26 GA 1 has 'over passes in the mountains, or up from the south where their heights fell away': probably referring to the region of the Great Gulf (*Ambarkanta* map V, IV.251).

§27 This paragraph was an addition to GA 1, though not long after the primary text was made. This is the later conception, introduced into AAm (see X.123, §127), according to which the Orcs existed before ever Oromë came upon the Elves, being indeed bred by Morgoth from captured Elves; the older tradition, that Morgoth brought the Orcs into being when he returned to Middle-earth from Valinor, survived unchanged in the final form of the *Quenta Silmarillion* (see X.194, §62). See further under §29 below.

§28 Telchar of Nogrod is not named here in GA 1. He goes back a long way in the history, appearing first in the second version of the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III.115), and in Q (IV.118) – where he is of Belegost, not Nogrod.

§29 Axes were 'the chief weapons of the Naugrim, and of the Sindar': cf. the name 'Axe-elves' of the Sindar, X.171. – Of the appearance of Orcs and other evil beings in Eriador and even in Beleriand long before (some 165 Valian Years) the return of Melkor to Middle-earth, and of the arming of the Sindar by the Dwarves, there has been no previous suggestion (see under §27 above).

§30 The coming of Denethor to Beleriand is more briefly recorded in an annal interpolated into AAm (§86) under the same date, 1350 – an interpolation by Pengoloð which (like that referred to under §19 above) was marked later for transfer to the *Annals of Beleriand*. With the mention of the halting of the Teleri on the shores of the Great River cf. the fuller account in AAm, annal 1115 (§§60–1). In GA 1 the name *Nandor* is interpreted, 'the Turners-back': this expression is found also in a note to one of the texts of the *Lhammas*, V.188.

It has not (of course) been said before that the coming of Denethor over the Blue Mountains was brought about by the

emergence of 'the fell beasts of the North'. The later history and divisions of the Nandor are now much more fully described: those who 'dwelt age-long' in the woods of the Vale of Anduin (the Elves of Lothlórien and Mirkwood, see *Unfinished Tales* p. 256), and those who went down Anduin, of whom some dwelt by the Sea, while others passed by the White Mountains (the first mention of Ered Nimrais in the writings concerned with the Elder Days) and entered Eriador. These last were the people of Denethor (of whom it is said in AAm that 'after long wanderings they came up into Beleriand from the South', see §86 and commentary, X.93, 104).

The words 'in after days' in 'In that region the forests in after days were tall and green' are perhaps significant: the association of green with the Elves of Ossiriand emerged after the rising of the Sun. See further under §44 below.

§31 The passage corresponding to this in GA 1 is very much briefer:

> Of the long years of peace that followed after the coming of Denethor there is no tale, save only that Oromë would come at whiles to the land, or pass over the mountains, and the sound of his horn came over the leagues of the starlight...

(concluding as in GA 2). But the passage in GA 2 concerning Dairon and his runes is largely derived from a later passage in GA 1 (absent in GA 2), for which see p. 20.

The word *Cirth* first appears here, though as a later addition to the manuscript (perhaps at the time when my father was preparing Appendix E to *The Lord of the Rings*). It is said in the footnote to the paragraph that Dairon contrived his runes 'ere the building of Menegroth' (begun in 1300, according to GA); so also in GA 1 'Dairon ... had devised his Runes already by V.Y.1300'. An annal added to the typescript of AAm (X.106, §85) has '1300 Daeron, loremaster of Thingol, contrives the Runes.' For an earlier view of the origin of the Runes of Dairon (an invention of 'the Danian Elves of Ossiriand', elaborated in Doriath) see *The Treason of Isengard* pp. 453–5; there the name 'Alphabet of Dairon' is ascribed simply to the fact of 'the preservation in this script of some fragments of the songs of Dairon, the ill-fated minstrel of King Thingol of Doriath, in the works on the ancient Beleriandic languages by Pengolod the Wise of Gondolin'. See also my father's later statement concerning the Alphabet of Daeron at the beginning of Appendix E (II) to *The Lord of the Rings*.

§33 On the great cry of Morgoth see X.109, 296. Where GA 2 has 'few knew what it foreboded' GA 1 has 'few (save Melian and Thingol) knew what it foreboded'.

§34 So also in AAm (§126) and in the late *Quenta Silmarillion* text 'Of the Thieves' Quarrel' (X.297) Ungoliantë after her rout by the Balrogs went down into Beleriand and dwelt in Nan Dungorthin (Nan Dungortheb); but it is not said in those texts that the power of

Melian prevented her entry into the Forest of Neldoreth. In both it is said that that valley was so named because of the horror that she bred there, but the statement here that the Mountains of Terror came to be so called after that time is not found elsewhere. That Ungoliantë departed into the South of the world is said also in AAm, but in 'Of the Thieves' Quarrel' (X.297) 'whither she went after no tale tells'.

§35 The stage of development in the tradition of Morgoth's fortress is that of QS and AAm, in which Angband was built on the ruins of Utumno (see X.156, §12). – In GA 1 the name *Thangorodrim* is translated 'the Tyrannous Towers'; cf. the later translation 'the Mountains of Oppression' (X.298).

§§36 ff. This is the first full account of 'the First Battle of Beleriand' (a term previously applied to the Battle-under-Stars, which now becomes the Second Battle). In the pre-*Lord of the Rings* texts the first assault of the Orcs on Beleriand had been briefly described; thus in the second version (AV 2) of the *Annals of Valinor* it was said (V.114):

> Thingol with his ally Denithor of Ossiriand for a long while held back the Orcs from the South. But at length Denithor son of Dan was slain, and Thingol made his deep mansions in Menegroth, the Thousand Caves, and Melian wove magic of the Valar about the land of Doriath; and most of the Elves of Beleriand withdrew within its protection, save some that lingered about the western havens, Brithombar and Eglorest beside the Great Sea, and the Green-elves of Ossiriand who dwelt still behind the rivers of the East...

In QS §115 the account ran thus:

> Of old the lord of Ossiriand was Denethor, friend of Thingol; but he was slain in battle when he marched to the aid of Thingol against Melko, in the days when the Orcs were first made and broke the starlit peace of Beleriand. Thereafter Doriath was fenced with enchantment, and many of the folk of Denethor removed to Doriath and mingled with the Elves of Thingol; but those that remained in Ossiriand had no king, and lived in the protection of their rivers.

§36 Between Menegroth and Thangorodrim on the second Silmarillion map (as drawn: not in my reproduction, V.409) the length is 14 cm, and the scale is stated to be 50 miles to 3·2 cm. (the length of the sides of the squares); the distance was therefore 218·75 miles, or just under 73 leagues (for my father's later interpretation of the scale in inches, not centimetres, see p. 332, but the difference has no significance here). The distance given here of 150 leagues (450 miles) from Menegroth to Angband's gate, more than doubling that shown on the second map, seems to imply a great extension of the northern plain. The geography of the far North is discussed in

V.270–2; but since it is impossible to say how my father came to conceive it I discreetly omitted all indication of the Iron Mountains and Thangorodrim from the map drawn for the published *Silmarillion*.

§38 GA 1 has here:

> Therefore he called on Denethor [*struck out:* and on the Enfengs] and the First Battle was fought in the Wars of Beleriand. And the Orcs in the east were routed and slain aheaps, and as they fled before the Elves they were waylaid by the axes of the Enfengs that issued from Mount Dolmed: few returned to the North.

In GA 2 'Region over Aros' refers to that part of the Forest of Region between the rivers Aros and Celon (see p. 183, square F 10). The implication of the sentence seems clearly to be that these Elves owed allegiance to Denethor; and this does not seem to be consistent with what is said in §39, that after the First Battle many of the Green-elves of Ossiriand 'went north and entered the guarded realm of Thingol and were merged with his folk'. Against this sentence in the typescript of GA my father wrote in the margin 'Orgol' and 'of the Guest-elves in Arthórien', marking these with carets to indicate that something should be said of them. In *Unfinished Tales*, p. 77, occurs the following passage:

> Saeros ... was of the Nandor, being one of those who took refuge in Doriath after the fall of their lord Denethor upon Amon Ereb, in the first battle of Beleriand. These Elves dwelt for the most part in Arthórien, between Aros and Celon in the east of Doriath, wandering at times over Celon into the wild lands beyond; and they were no friends to the Edain since their passage through Ossiriand and settlement in Estolad.

This was largely derived from an isolated note, very rapidly written and not at all points intelligible, among the *Narn* papers, but somewhat reduced. It is remarked in this note that 'the Nandor had turned away, never seen the Sea or even Ossë, and had become virtually Avari. They had also picked up various Avari before they came back west to Ossiriand.' Of those Nandor who took refuge in Doriath after the fall of Denethor it is said: 'In the event they did not mingle happily with the Teleri of Doriath, and so dwelt mostly in the small land Eglamar, Arthórien under their own chief. Some of them were "darkhearted", though this did not necessarily appear, except under strain or provocation.' 'The chief of the "Guest-elves", as they were called, was given a permanent place in Thingol's council'; and Saeros (in this note called in fact *Orgoph* or *Orgol*) was 'the son of the chief of the Guest-elves, and had been for a long time resident in Menegroth'.

I think it very probable that my father wrote 'Orgol' and 'of the Guest-elves in Arthórien' on the typescript of GA as the same time as he wrote this note.

Arthórien was entered on the second map (p. 183, square F 10). The application of the name *Eglamar* to Arthórien in this note is puzzling (see p. 189, §57).

The intervention of the Dwarves has not been referred to previously.

§40 The words 'unless one should come with a power greater than that of Melian the Maia' replaced at the time of writing 'unless haply some power greater than theirs should assail them'. – *Eglador*: my father pencilled this name under *Doriath* on the second map (see p. 186, §14).

§41 At the end of this paragraph the *Annals of Aman* cease to record the events in the *Grey Annals*, and comparison is with QS (V.248 ff.), together with the conclusion of AV 2 (V.117 ff.) and with AB 2 (V.125 ff.). In this commentary I do not generally refer to later developments in the *Quenta Silmarillion* tradition.

§44 For *Eryd-wethrin, the valour of the Noldor*, and *Dagor-nuin-Giliath* GA 1 has *Erydwethion, the valour of the Gnomes*, and *Dagor-nui-Ngiliath* (as in QS §88, marginal note).

This is the first occurrence of *Ardgalen* in the texts as here presented, replacing *Bladorion* as the original name of the great northern plain before its devastation. It is notable that *Ardgalen* 'the green region' is expressly stated to have been the name at this time before the rising of the Sun; cf. the change made long before to the passage in Q describing the Battle-under-Stars (when the battle was fought on the plain itself, not in Mithrim): 'yet young and green (it stretched to the feet of the tall mountains)' > 'yet dark beneath the stars' (IV.101, 103).

The Orc-hosts that passed southwards down the Vale of Sirion are not of course mentioned in previous accounts of the Battle-under-Stars. The attack on the Noldor in Mithrim is now taken up into a larger assault out of Angband, and the victory of the Noldor brought into relation with the newly-developed conception of the beleaguered Sindar.

In the account of the destruction of the western Orc-host by Celegorn is the first appearance of the Fen of Serech: this was first named in an addition to the second map the Fen of Rivil, subsequently changed to the Fen of Serech (p. 181, §3). Rivil was the stream that rising at Rivil's Well on Dorthonion made the fen at its inflowing into Sirion.

§45 In AV 2 (V.117) and QS (§88) the Balrogs were in the rearguard of Morgoth's host, and it was they who turned to bay. – Of the rescue of Fëanor GA 1 (following QS) has only: 'But his sons coming up with force rescued their father, and bore him back to Mithrim' (see under §46).

§46 The story of Fëanor's dying sight of Thangorodrim and his cursing of the name of Morgoth first appeared in Q (IV.101), where

the Battle-under-Stars was fought on the plain of Bladorion (Ardgalen). In AV 1 and AV 2 (IV.268, V.117) the battle was fought in Mithrim, and Fëanor was mortally wounded when he advanced too far upon the plain, but he was brought back to Mithrim and died there; his sight of Thangorodrim and curse upon Morgoth do not appear. In QS (§88) my father combined the accounts: Fëanor died in Mithrim, but it is also told that he 'saw afar the peaks of Thangorodrim' as he died, and 'cursed the name of Morgoth thrice'; GA 1 follows this story (see under §45 above). It must have been the consideration that from Mithrim Thangorodrim was not visible on account of the heights of Eryd-wethrin that led to the story in GA 2 that Fëanor caused his sons to halt as they began the climb above Eithel Sirion, and that he died in that place.

§47 The initial misapprehension among the Grey-elves concerning the return of the Noldor is a wholly new element in the narrative, as is also the cold view taken by Thingol, seeing in it a threat to his own dominion. In the old versions his coolness does not appear until his refusal to attend the Feast of Reuniting (Mereth Aderthad) in the year 20 of the Sun, and arises rather from his insight into what the future might bring: 'Thingol came not himself, and he would not open his kingdom, nor remove its girdle of enchantment; for wise with the wisdom of Melian he trusted not that the restraint of Morgoth would last for ever' (QS §99, and very similarly in AB 2, V.126).

§49 The date 1497 is repeated from §36. – The Balrogs that constituted the force that Morgoth sent to the parley in QS (§89 and commentary) have disappeared.

§52 As in AAm §§157–8, 163 the form *Endar* ('Middle-earth') is clear, but here as there the typist put *Endor* (see X.126, §157).

§53 The paragraph opens in the manuscript with a large pointing hand.

§§54–5 In this passage, while there are echoes of the earlier texts, the writing is largely new, and there are new elements, notably the cry of Maidros on Thangorodrim.

§54 The story of Morgoth's assault on Tilion is told in AAm §179, where however it took place after both Sun and Moon were launched into the heavens. It is told in AAm that 'Tilion was the victor: as he ever yet hath been, though still the pursuing darkness overtakes him at whiles', evidently a reference to the eclipses of the Moon.

§57 On the placing of Hildórien see AV 2 (V.120, note 13) and QS §82 and commentary; also pp. 173–4. On the name *Atani* see X.7, 39.

§§58–60 While this annal for the second year of the Sun is obviously closely related to and in large part derived from QS §§92–3, it contains new elements, as the more explicit portrayal of Fingolfin's

anger against the Fëanorians, and also the repentance of many of the latter for the burning of the ships at Losgar.

§61 The reference to the *Quenta* is to the much fuller account of the rescue of Maidros in QS §§94–7. In AAm (§160) it is told that Maidros was 'on a time a friend of Fingon ere Morgoth's lies came between', and (§162) that he alone stood aside at the burning of the ships. – The spelling *Maiðros*: at earlier occurrences in GA the name is spelt *Maidros*, and *Maidros* appears again in the following line; while in the draft text referred to on p. 29 the form is mostly *Maiðros* (cf. the later form *Maedhros*, X.177, adopted in the published *Silmarillion*, beside *Maedros* X.293, 295).

§§63–4 The content of this passage is largely new; there has been no previous mention of the coming of Angrod to Thingol and his silence about many matters in respect of the Return of the Noldor. The actual nature of Thingol's claim to overlordship, whereby he 'gave leave' to the princes of the Noldor to dwell in certain regions, is now specified (the acceptance by Fingolfin of Thingol's claim is referred to in the earlier forms of the linguistic excursus in GA, pp. 21, 25; cf. also the anticipatory words in §48, 'the sons of Fëanor were ever unwilling to accept the overlordship of Thingol, and would ask for no leave where they might dwell or might pass'). – The Telerin connection of the Third House of the Noldor through the marriage of Finrod (> Finarfin) to Eärwen Olwë's daughter appears in AAm §§85, 156, and see X.177.

§§65–71 The content of the annal for the year 7 is largely new, save that in QS (§98) there is told of the waiving of the high-kingship of the Noldor by Maidros, and the secret disavowal of this among some at least of his brothers ('to this his brethen did not all in their hearts agree'). In GA there is no mention of what is told in QS, that 'Maidros begged forgiveness for the desertion in Eruman, and gave back the goods of Fingolfin that had been borne away in the ships' (but see §83 and commentary); on the other hand we learn here of the scornful rejection of Thingol's claim by the Fëanorians (with no mention of Fingolfin's acceptance of it, see under §§63–4 above), of Cranthir's harsh disposition and his insulting speech at the council, of the *choosing* of Fingolfin as overlord of the Noldor, of the opinion that Maidros was behind the swift departure of the Fëanorians into the eastern lands (in order to lessen the chances of strife and to bear the brunt of the likeliest assault), and of his remaining in friendship with the other houses of the Noldor, despite the isolation of the Fëanorians.

§67 Curiously, the draft text has here and in §68 *Caranthir* (the later form), while the final text reverts to *Cranthir*. In the very rough initial draft for the annals 6 and 7 (see p. 29) the son of Fëanor who was 'the harshest and the most quick to anger' was Curufin, changed to Caranthir. On Caranthir's scornful reference to Thingol

as 'this Dark-elf' see my note in the Index to the published *Silmarillion*, entry *Dark Elves*. – In the draft text Caranthir says 'let them not so quickly forget that they were Noldor!'

§72 In AB 2 (V.126) and QS (§99) Mereth Aderthad was held in Nan Tathren, the Land of Willows. GA is more specific concerning those who were present than are the earlier texts: Maidros and Maglor; Cirdan; and Dairon and Mablung as the only two representatives from Doriath (on Thingol's aloofness see §47 and commentary).

§73 That the Noldor learned Sindarin far more readily than the Sindar learned Noldorin has been stated already in the final form of the linguistic excursus, p. 26. It is stated in all three versions of the excursus that it was after Dagor Aglareb (in the year 60) that Sindarin became the common speech of Beleriand.

§74 In AB 2 (V.126) Turgon discovered the hidden vale of Gondolin in the same year (50) as Inglor Felagund discovered Nargothrond – the year of their dreams.

§75 This is the first mention (as the texts are presented) of Galadriel in Middle-earth in the Elder Days. The spelling *Galaðriel* is noteworthy, implying the association of her name with *galadh* 'tree' (*galað*): see X.182 and *Unfinished Tales* p. 267.

In AB 2 (V.126) and QS (§101) there is no suggestion that Inglor Felagund was aided by Thingol to his discovery of the caves where he established Nargothrond. In QS 'the High Faroth' are named, at a later point in the narrative, *Taur-na-Faroth* (see QS §112 and commentary). The great highlands west of Narog were originally called the Hills of the Hunters or the Hunters' Wold; see III.88, IV.225, and the *Etymologies* in V.387, stem SPAR.

The passage beginning 'Thus Inglor came to the Caverns of Narog' as far as 'that name he bore until his end' was an addition to the manuscript, but seems certainly to have been made at the time of the original writing. In view of the close relationship of this annal to the later development of the story in the QS tradition, where a very similar passage is found, I think that my father merely left it out inadvertently and at once noticed the omission (see pp. 177–8, §101).

§76 It is said in QS (§116) only that Gondolin was 'like unto Tûn of Valinor'. This idea perhaps goes far back: see II.208.

§77 *Dagor Aglareb*, the Glorious Battle, was originally the Second Battle in the Wars of Beleriand (see p. 21 and note 6).

§78 The Siege of Angband 'lasted wellnigh four hundred years': from 60 to 455 (see V.257–8).

§§79–81 This inserted passage, which returns to the original text near the beginning of §81, concerns Morgoth's departure from Angband and his attempt to corrupt the first Men in the East, and is of great interest. While in QS (§63) it was said of Morgoth that 'it was never his wont to leave the deep places of his fortress', in AAm

(§128, X.110) 'never but once only, while his realm lasted, did he depart for a while secretly from his domain in the North'; but it is not said or hinted for what purpose he went. (It is worth noting that a rough draft for the present rider in GA is found on the same page as a draft for the expansion of the passage in AAm, on which see X.121 note 10.)

The insertion is carefully written in the same style as the main text, and seems likely to belong to much the same time. It is notable that the reverse of the page used for it carries drafting for the final form of the insertion in AAm (§§43–5) concerning the ensnaring of the Quendi by the servants of Melkor in the lands about Kuiviénen (cf. the words in §79, 'Even as before at the awakening of the Quendi, his spies were watchful'). See further under §87 below.

§79 'Nor himself, an he would go': i.e., nor did the ice and snow hinder Morgoth himself, if he wished to go. – 'Indeed we learn now in Eressëa': cf. the end of the final version of the 'linguistic excursus' (p. 27): 'these histories were made after the Last Battle and the end of the Elder Days', and also the opening paragraph of the *Grey Annals* (p. 5).

§83 The reference to the *Quenta Noldorinwa* (see p. 27 and note 12) is to Chapter 9 'Of Beleriand and its Realms' in QS (V.258).

In QS §116 it is mentioned that 'many of the sires' of the horses of Fingolfin and Fingon came from Valinor. The horses are here said to have been '*given to* Fingolfin by Maidros *in atonement of* his losses, for they had been carried by ship to Losgar'. In an earlier passage in GA (see the commentary on §§65–71) the reference in QS §98 to the *return* of Fingolfin's goods that had been carried away in the ships is absent.

§85 *Eredwethrin*: earlier in GA the form is *Erydwethrin* (also *Eryd Lómin*, *Eryd Luin*); cf. under §113 below. – This is the first occurrence of the river-name *Nenning* for earlier *Eglor* (at whose mouth was the haven of Eglorest), named in AB 2 (V.128, 139) and on the second map (V.408). On the map my father later struck out *Eglor* and wrote in two names, *Eglahir* and *Nenning*, leaving both to stand (p. 187, §22).

In QS (§109) it is said that the Dark-elves of Brithombar and Eglorest 'took Felagund, lord of Nargothrond, to be their king'; see the commentary on this passage, V.267. My father seems to have been uncertain of the status of Cirdan: in a late change to the text of AB 2 (the passage given in V.146, note 13) he wrote that 'in the Havens the folk of the Falas were ruled by Cirdan of the Grey-elves; but he was ever close in friendship with Felagund and his folk' (agreeing with what is said here in GA), but he at once substituted: 'And in the west Cirdan the Shipwright who ruled the mariners of the Falas took Inglor also for overlord, and they were ever close in friendship.'

§87 The words '[Morgoth's] thought being bent on their ruin he gave the less heed to aught else in Middle-earth' seem hardly to agree with the inserted passage concerning Morgoth's departure from Angband (§§79–80). It may be suggested, however, that that passage is precisely concerned with the period *before* the attack on Beleriand in the year 60 (*Dagor Aglareb*) – which was postponed so long because of Morgoth's operations in the East, whence he returned in alarm at 'the growing power and union of the Eldar' (§80).

By alteration to the original passage in this annal concerning the beginning of the languages of Men a Dark-elvish origin is ascribed only to the 'western tongues'. I think that this represents a clarification rather than the entry of a new conception. It was said already in *Lhammas B* (V.179, §10):

> The languages of Men were from their beginning diverse and various; yet they were for the most part derived remotely from the language of the Valar. For the Dark-elves, various folk of the Lembi, befriended wandering Men in sundry times and places in the most ancient days, and taught them such things as they knew. But other Men learned also wholly or in part of the Orcs and of the Dwarves; while in the West ere they came into Beleriand the fair houses of the eldest Men learned of the Danas, or Green-elves.

The very interesting addition at the end of the annal belongs with the insertion about Morgoth's departure into the East. There it is said (§80): 'But that some darkness lay upon the hearts of Men ... the Eldar perceived clearly even in the fair folk of the Elf-friends that they first knew'; but the present passage is the first definite statement that Men in their beginning fell to the worship of Morgoth, and that the Elf-friends, repentant, fled west to escape persecution. In the long account of his works written for Milton Waldman in 1951, and so very probably belonging to the same period, my father had said: 'The first fall of Man ... nowhere appears – Men do not come on the stage until all that is long past, and there is only a rumour that for a while they fell under the domination of the Enemy and that some repented' (*Letters* no.131, pp. 147–8; see X.354–5).

§89 The new story in the revised form of the annal for 64, that Turgon at this time led only a part of his people – those skilled in such work – to Tumladen in order that they should begin the building of Gondolin, is extended further in a greatly expanded version of the annal for 116: see §§111–13.

§90 *The Tower of Ingildon*: this replaces the old name Tower of Tindobel (Tindabel), which survived in QS (§120) and AB 2 (V.129); see p. 197, §120. It is not said in GA as it was in QS that Inglor was the builder of the tower; this is perhaps to be connected with what is said in §85, that Cirdan was lord of the lands 'west of Nenning to the Sea'.

§§91–107 The entire content of the annals for 66 and 67 is new. Highly 'un-annalistic' in manner, with its long and superbly sustained discourse, this narrative is developed from the earlier passage in GA (§48) – or perhaps rather, reveals what my father had in mind when he wrote it:

> When, therefore, ere long (by treachery and ill will, as later is told) the full tale of the deeds in Valinor became known in Beleriand, there was rather enmity than alliance between Doriath and the House of Fëanor; and this bitterness Morgoth eagerly inflamed by all means that he could find.

A complete text of these annals is extant in a preliminary draft, but the form in GA followed this draft closely and the development was almost entirely stylistic. A few of the differences are worth noting:

§93 After 'not though they came in the very hour of our need' my father added to the draft text: 'The new lights of heaven are the sending of the Valar, not the Noldor, mighty though they be', and this was not taken up in GA.

§95 Draft text: '... over the long road from the Kalakiryan'. – After '"Maybe," said Galaðriel, "but not of me"' the draft continues:

> and being perplexed and recalling suddenly with anger the words of Caranthir she said ere she could set a guard on her tongue: 'For already the children of Finrod are charged with talebearing and treason to their kindred. Yet we at least were guiltless, and suffered evil ourselves.' And Melian spoke no more of these things with Galaðriel.

This passage was bracketed, and later in the draft the bitterness of the memory of Cranthir's words of sixty years before appears in Angrod's mouth, as in GA (§104). The draft has *Caranthir* in the first passage, *Cranthir* in the second; see under §67 above.

§105 In the draft Thingol says: 'for my heart is hot as the fire of Losgar'.

§107 After 'the words of Mandos would ever be made true' the draft has: 'and the curse that Fëanor drew upon him would darken all that was done after.'

On the spelling *Galaðriel* see under §75 above. In §94 appears *Galadriel*; the draft text begins with *Galaðriel* but then changes to *Galadriel*. This distinction is however probably artificial, since it is merely a question of the insertion or omission of the cross-line on the *d*, written in both cases in a single movement (a reversed 6).

§107 The revision at the end of the annal for 67 depends on the later story that the population of Gondolin was by no means exclusively Noldorin, and is similar to those made to the final version of the 'linguistic excursus' (see p. 26 and notes 9 and 10), a consequence of the rejection of the old conception that in Gondolin, and in Gondolin only, which was peopled by Noldor and cut off from

intercourse with all others, the Noldorin tongue survived in daily use; see §113 and commentary.

§§108–9 The content of this annal, extended from the opening sentence recording the completion of Nargothrond (AB 2, V.129), is also entirely new. For the earlier story that Felagund did have a wife, and that their son was Gilgalad, see pp. 242–3.

§110 According to the chronology of the *Grey Annals* Turgon left Nivrost in the year 64 (§88), and thus the figure here of fifty years is an error for fifty-two. The error was repeated, but corrected, at the beginning of the revised annal for 116. Possibly my father had reverted in a momentary forgetfulness to the original dating, when the years were 52 and 102 (V.127, 129). See the commentary on §111.

§111 The change in the opening sentence of the new annal for 116 depends on the revised annal for 64 (§89), whereby Turgon did not definitively leave Vinyamar in that year but began the building of Gondolin. The erroneous fifty years, corrected to fifty-two, since the start of the work was presumably merely picked up from the rejected annal (see under §110).

§§111–12 Entirely new is the appearance of Ulmo to Turgon at Vinyamar on the eve of his departure, his warning, his prophecy, and his instruction to Turgon to leave arms in his house for one to find in later days (cf. II.208, where I suggested that the germ of this was already present in the original tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* – 'Thy coming was set in our books of wisdom'). But Ulmo's foretelling that Gondolin should stand longest against Morgoth goes back through Q (IV.136–7) to the *Sketch of the Mythology* (IV.34).

§113 The later story that there were many Sindar among Turgon's people has led to various changes already met in the text of GA: see the commentary on §107. – The reversion to the old form *wethion* in *Eryd Wethion* is curious (see commentary on §44).

At the foot of the page carrying the revised annal for 116 is the following rapidly pencilled note:

> Set this rather in the *Silmarillion* and substitute a short notice:
> 'In this year as is said in the *Quenta* Gondolin was fully wrought, and Turgon arose and went thither with all his people, and Nivrost was emptied of folk and so remained. But the march of Turgon was hidden by the power of Ulmo, and none even of his kin in Hithlum knew whither he had gone.

Against this my father wrote 'Neglect this'; but since a new chapter was inserted into the *Quenta Silmarillion* which was largely based on the present rider (see pp. 198–9) this was presumably an instruction that was itself neglected.

§114 The date of this annal was first written 154, which was the revised date of the meeting of Cranthir's people with the Dwarves in

the Blue Mountains in AB 2 (V.129, and cf. QS §125). The passage describing the relations of Cranthir's folk with the Dwarves is new. It was stated in AB 2 (V.129–30) that the old Dwarf-road into Beleriand had become disused since the return of the Noldor, and in a late rewriting of that passage (precursor of the present annal) it is said:

> But after the coming of the Noldor the Dwarves came seldom any more by their old roads into Beleriand (until the power of Maidros fell in the Fourth Battle [i.e. the Dagor Bragollach in 455]), and all their traffic passed through the hands of Cranthir, and thus he won great riches.

The meaning is therefore that after the meeting of Cranthir's people with the Dwarves their renewed commerce with the Elves passed for three hundred years over the mountains much further north, into the northern parts of Thargelion about Lake Helevorn.

§115 The route of the Orc-army that departed from Angband 'into the white north' remains unchanged from AB 2 (V.130); cf. the account in QS §103, and my discussion of the geography in V.270–1.

§116 *Glaurung* here appears for earlier *Glómund*, together with *Urulóki* 'fire-serpents': cf. the original tale of *Turambar and the Foalókë* in *The Book of Lost Tales* (and 'this *lókë* (for so do the Eldar name the worms of Melko)', II.85).

In QS §104 it was not said that Morgoth was 'ill pleased' that the dragon 'had disclosed himself over soon', but on the contrary that Glómund issued from Angband 'by the command of Morgoth; for he was unwilling, being yet young and but half-grown.'

The content of the latter part of the annal has no antecedent in the old versions. I take the words 'the Noldor of purer race' to mean those Noldor who had no or little intermingling of Dark-elven character, with perhaps the implication that they were more faithful to their ancient nature as it had evolved in Aman.

§§117–20 The story, or rather the existence of a story, about Isfin and Eöl goes back to the beginning, and I shall briefly rehearse here what can be learnt of it before this time.

In the original tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* (II.165, 168) Isfin appears as Turgon's sister, and there is a reference to the 'tale of Isfin and Eöl', which 'may not here be told'. Meglin was their son.

In the fragmentary poem *The Lay of the Fall of Gondolin* Fingolfin's wife and daughter (Isfin) were seeking for him when Isfin was captured by Eöl 'in Doriath's forest'; and Isfin sent Meglin her son to Gondolin (III.146).

In the *Sketch of the Mythology* (IV.34–5) Isfin was lost in Taur-na-Fuin after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears and entrapped by Eöl; Isfin sent Meglin to Gondolin (which at that stage was not founded until after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears).

In Q (IV.136), similarly, Isfin was lost in Taur-na-Fuin after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, and captured by Eöl; in addition, it is said that 'he was of gloomy mood, and had deserted the hosts ere the battle'. It is subsequently said (IV.140) that Isfin and Meglin came together to Gondolin at a time when Eöl was lost in Taur-na-Fuin.

In AB 1 (IV.301), in the year 171 (the year before the Battle of Unnumbered Tears), it is told that Isfin strayed out of Gondolin and was taken to wife by Eöl. [An error in the printed text of AB 1 here may be mentioned: 'Isfin daughter of Turgon' for 'Isfin sister of Turgon'.] In 192 'Meglin comes to Gondolin and is received by Turgon as his sister's child', without mention of Isfin. This was repeated in AB 2 (V.136, 139), with changed dates (271, 292, later > 471, 492), but now it is expressly stated that Meglin was sent to Gondolin by Isfin, and that he went alone (thus reverting to the story in the *Sketch of the Mythology*).

QS has no mention of the story.

§117 In GA as originally written the loss of Isfin is still placed in the year (471) before the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, but the motive is introduced that she left Gondolin in weariness of the city and wishing to see her brother Fingon; and she was lost in Brethil and entrapped by Eöl, who had lived there 'since the first finding of Beleriand' – which must mean that he withdrew into secrecy and solitude when the Elves of the Great March first entered Beleriand. The implication of the last words, 'took no part in all the deeds of his kin', is not explained.

§118 In the replacement annal 316 something more is suggested of Eöl's nature, and the element enters that disregarding Turgon's bidding Isfin went eastwards from Gondolin, seeking 'the land of Celegorm and his brethren, her friends of old in Valinor'. A description of Isfin on a page from an engagement calendar dated October 1951 (and so belonging to the same time as the new annals in GA discussed here) was attached to the account of the princes of the Noldor in QS (see X.177, 182), and in this account it is said that in Valinor Isfin 'loved much to ride on horse and to hunt in the forests, and there was often in the company of her kinsmen, the sons of Fëanor'. It is further told in the new annal for 316 that she became separated from her escort in Nan Dungorthin and came to Nan Elmoth, where Eöl's dwelling is now placed. She now leaves Gondolin long before the Battle of Unnumbered Tears.

§119 The name *Fingol* is not in fact written with a capital, but is preceded by an altered letter that I cannot interpret (it might possibly be intended as an O). As the annal was written *Glindûr* (replacing the primitive and long-enduring name *Meglin*) was primarily the name of the metal devised by Eöl, and with the later change of *Glindûr* to *Maeglin* this remained true of the name *Maeglin*.

§120 The story now reverts to that told in Q (IV.140): Isfin and Glindûr (Maeglin) came together to Gondolin; and the essential features of the final drama now appear. The original text (see pp. 316 ff.) of the fully told story of Isfin and Eöl and their son (Chapter 16 in the published *Silmarillion*, *Of Maeglin*) belongs to this period, and indeed it was already in existence when these new annals were written: they are a very condensed résumé. (For the rejected annal of which this is a replacement see §273 and commentary.)

§121 The date of Bëor's birth remains unchanged from that in AB 2 (as revised: 170 > 370, V.130), as do the dates of the following annals.

§122–3 The statements in the annals for 388 and 390 that Haleth and Hador were born in Eriador were not made in AB 2.

§124 The reference to the *Quenta* is to QS §§126 ff. – Against the first sentence of this annal my father afterwards pencilled an X, with a scribbled note: 'This is too late. It should be the date of the invitation of the [?Sires] of Men to come west'. This was struck through, apart from the first four words: these are the first indication of major changes in the chronology that would enter at a later time.

§125 This annal is substantially extended from that in AB 2, where no more was said than 'there was war on the East Marches, and Bëor was there with Felagund'.

§127 *Galion* replaces *Gumlin* of QS §127 (and AB 2 as early revised, V.146 note 20: originally in this text the names of the sons of Hador were in the reverse positions, Gundor being the elder). Later, the name *Galion* was replaced by *Galdor*. The change to 'in Eriador' was probably made for this reason: Hador entered Beleriand in 420; thus Galion was born while his father was somewhere in Eriador, in 417, but by the time of Gundor's birth in 419 Hador was already in the eastern foothills of the Blue Mountains (§128).

§129 The first paragraph of the annal for 420 is close to that in AB 2 (V.130–1), with some additions: that Brethil had never before been inhabited on account of the density of the forest, that Hador was the more ready to settle in Hithlum 'being come of a northland people', and that his lands in Hithlum were 'in the country of Dor-Lómin'. In the margin against this last my father later scribbled: '[427 >] 423 Hador's folk come to Dor-lómin', but struck this out; see §136 and commentary. The old view that the people of Hador abandoned their own language in Hithlum is retained (see V.149, annal 220).

§§130–2 The content of the latter part of the annal for 420 and the opening of that for 422 is wholly new: Thingol's dreams concerning Men before they appeared, his ban on their settlement save in the North and on the entry of any Man (even of Béor's house) into Doriath, Melian's prophecy to Galadriel, and Thingol's permission

to the people of Haleth to dwell in Brethil, despite his hostility to Men in general and his edict against their taking land so far south.

§133 This passage follows closely the annal in AB 2 (V.131), but with the interesting addition that the people of Hador would go far into the cold North to keep watch.

§135 With the notable sentence (not in AB 2) 'For the Noldor indeed were tall as are in the latter days men of great might and majesty' cf. the collected references to the relative stature of Men and Elves in the oldest writings, II.326. In the early texts it was said more than once that the first Men were smaller than their descendants, while the Elves were taller, and thus the two races were almost of a size; but the present passage is not clear in this respect.

As the last sentence but one of the paragraph was originally written it read: 'Yellowhaired they were and blue-eyed (not so was Túrin but his mother was of Bëor's house) and their women were tall and fair.' The words 'for the most part' were added; they had appeared in a closely similar passage in QS chapter 10 (V.276, §130).

§136 That Hador's folk were given lands in Dor-lómin was mentioned in the annal for 420, to which my father added afterwards, but then struck out, '[427 >] 423 Hador's folk come to Dor-lómin' (commentary on §129). The implication is presumably that for a few years they dwelt in some other part of Beleriand.

§139 Beren's mother Emeldir 'Manhearted' is not named in the earlier texts.

§142 In AB 2 the birth of Morwen was in 445. When the date was changed in GA to 443 the entry was moved.

§144 Tuor has not previously been given the title of 'the Blessed'.

§§145–7 In AB 2 (V.131–2) the Battle of Sudden Fire, recorded in the annal for 455, 'began suddenly on a night of mid-winter'; but the passage beginning 'Fingolfin and Fingon marched to the aid of Felagund' has a new date, 456. I suggested (V.150) that this was because the Battle of Sudden Fire began at midwinter of the year 455, i.e. at the end of the year. In GA, on the other hand, it is expressly stated (§145) that the assault out of Angband came 'at the year's beginning', 'on the night of mid-winter'; thus the new year began at the mark of mid-winter, and the battle was dated the first day of the year 455. See commentary on §147.

§145 There are here the first appearances of the names *Dagor Bragollach* (for *Dagor Vreged-úr* in QS, earlier *Dagor Húr-Breged* in AB 2) and *Anfauglith* (for *Dor-na-Fauglith*).

§147 In QS (V.282, §140) Hador, who was born in 390, is said to have been 'sixty and six years of age' at his death, not as here 65 (see commentary on §§145–7).

§§149–50 This passage, later struck from the manuscript apart from

the opening sentence of §149, remained very close to that in AB 2 (V.132) with some influence in its structure from the story as told in QS (V.288), except in one important particular: Húrin's companion was not, as in AB 2 and QS, Haleth the Hunter himself, but Haleth's grandson Handir, born in the same year as Húrin. – The story of Húrin in Gondolin reappears in GA in a long rider to the annal 458 (§§161–6).

§§151–2 As this passage concerning Turgon's messengers was first written it followed closely that in AB 2 (V.132–3, and cf. the version in QS, V.288); as revised it introduces the ideas of the inability of the Noldor to build seaworthy ships, and of Turgon's nonetheless keeping a secret outpost and place of shipbuilding on the Isle of Balar thereafter.

§153 In the earlier accounts (AB 2 in V.132–3 with notes 25 and 29, and QS §141 and commentary) the story of how Celegorn and Curufin came to Nargothrond after their defeat in the east was shifting and obscure, but there was at any rate no suggestion that they played any part in the defence of Minnas-tirith on Tolsirion. My father made a note at this time on the AB 2 manuscript, suggesting a possible turn in the story: Celegorn and Curufin were driven west and helped manfully in the siege of Minnas-tirith, saving Orodreth's life: and so when Minnas-tirith was taken Orodreth could not help but harbour them in Nargothrond. He struck this out; but the story was now reintroduced and developed in the *Grey Annals*.

The date of the capture of Minnas-tirith was changed in the *Grey Annals*. In AB 2 the date was 457 (following the fall of Fingolfin in 456); so also in QS §143 'For nearly two years the Gnomes still defended the west pass ... and Minnastirith withstood the Orcs', and it was 'after the fall of Fingolfin' that Sauron came against Tolsirion. In GA the present passage, describing the assault on the Pass of Sirion, was first dated 456, but the date was struck out, so that these events fall within the Fell Year, 455; and the fall of Fingolfin follows (still dated 456).

§154 The later form *Tol-in-Gaurhoth* (for earlier *Tol-na-Gaurhoth*) now appears.

§§155–7 The story of Fingolfin's death in AB 2 (V.133) had been compressed into a few lines. Introducing a much extended account into the new *Annals*, my father drew largely upon the story as it had been told in QS (§§144–7 and commentary), with some regard also to Canto XII of the *Lay of Leithian* (on which the QS version was largely based). In content the differences are mostly small, but there enters here the great ride of Fingolfin across Anfauglith on his horse Rochallor, and the horse's flight from Angband and death in Hithlum. In AB 2 (as in AB 1 and Q) it was Thorondor who built

Fingolfin's cairn, whereas in QS it was Turgon (see the commentary on QS §147); now in the *Grey Annals* the building of the cairn is ascribed to 'the eagles'.

§157 The change of 'the people of the hidden city were all Noldor' to 'many of the people ... were Noldor' depends on the development whereby there were many Elves of Sindarin origin in Gondolin: see commentary on §107 and references given there.

In the late addition at the end of this paragraph (present in the GA typescript) appears the parentage of Gilgalad as adopted in the published *Silmarillion*; see further pp. 242–3.

§158 The form *Taur-nu-Fuin* (for earlier *Taur-na-Fuin*) now appears.

§159 In AB 2 (V.133), and in a closely similar passage in QS (§139), it was said that the wives of Baragund and Belegund were from Hithlum, and that when the Battle of Sudden Fire began their daughters Morwen and Rían were sojourning there among their kinsfolk – hence they were the only survivors. This story is now superseded and rejected: Emeldir Beren's mother led the surviving women and children of Bëor's people away over the mountains in the aftermath of the battle, and it was thus that Morwen and Rían came to Dor-lómin (by way of Brethil). It is not made clear whether their mothers were still women of Hithlum.

In AB 2 the full list of Barahir's band was not given, with a suggestion that only certain names were remembered, but it appears in QS (§139). The only name that differs in GA is *Arthad* for *Arthod*. *Radhruin* of QS is here written *Raðhruin* (*Radruin* by emendation of *Radros* in AB 2, V.147 note 31), but this may not be significant.

§160 This paragraph derives from the annal for 458 in AB 2 (V.133). In the story as told in QS (§152) Beleg came to the aid of Haleth 'with many archers'; cf. GA §29, 'Thingol's armouries were stored with axes (the chief weapons of the Naugrim, and of the Sindar)', and the name 'Axe-elves' of the Sindar (transferred from the Nandor), X.171. On the name *Eglath* ('The Forsaken') see X.85, 164, 170.

§161 Huor now at last appears as Húrin's companion in Gondolin, replacing Handir grandson of Haleth in the earlier, rejected passage in GA (§149).

Haleth was the kinsman of Húrin and Huor (as noticed in a late addition to the manuscript) through the marriage in 436 (§140) of Haleth's son Hundor to Glorwendil, daughter of Hador and sister of their father Galion. But the genealogy was further developed in the annal for 462 (see §171 and commentary) by the marriage of Galion to Haleth's daughter, so that Haleth was the grandfather of Húrin and Huor; and it seems very probable that this was the reason for the addition of the words 'their kinsman' here.

The story now becomes decisively different from the old version in AB 2 and QS, and still present in GA as originally written (§149); for Húrin and his companion (now his brother Huor) were not hunting in the Vale of Sirion before the Battle of Sudden Flame, but the fact of the fostering of Húrin (and now of his brother also) among the people of Haleth is brought into association with the defeat of the Orcs in 458 by the men of Brethil, aided by Elves out of Doriath, three years after the battle. There enters now also the story that Húrin and Huor were taken to Gondolin by the Eagles. – On the ford of Brithiach see p. 228, §28.

§§162–6 The story now reaches virtually its final form, with the major innovation of Maeglin's hostility to the young men but also of their being permitted to leave Gondolin despite the king's ban, here first stated in its full rigour, on departure from the city of any stranger who came there; and this permission was granted because of their ignorance of how it might be found. (The riders on the story of Isfin and Ëol, §§118–20, were written at the same time as the present one.)

§165 On the change of *Glindûr* to *Maeglin* see §119 and commentary.

§166 On the carbon copy of the typescript of GA my father wrote against the words 'But though they told that they had dwelt a while in honour in the halls of King Turgon': 'They did not reveal Turgon's name.' See p. 169.

§170 'The army that had driven into East Beleriand' must refer to the invasions of the year 455: cf. AB 2, annal 456; QS §142; and again in GA §148, in all of which the phrase 'far into East Beleriand' occurs. In AB 2, in the renewed assaults of the year 462 (V.134), 'the invasion of the Orcs encompassed Doriath, both west down Sirion, and east through the passes beyond Himling.' Of this there is no mention here in GA (nor in QS, §156); but there has also been no mention before the present passage of Thingol's victory after the Dagor Bragollach or indeed of the subsequent total destruction (as it appears) of the eastern invading force.

§171 The statement that 'in the eastward war [Morgoth] hoped ere long to have new help unforeseen by the Eldar' is a premonitory reference to the coming of the Swarthy Men; cf. QS §150, where, immediately before their entry into Beleriand, it is said that Morgoth 'sent his messengers east over the mountains', and that 'some were already secretly under the dominion of Morgoth, and came at his call'. In GA (§174, footnote) it is said that 'it was after thought that the people of Ulfang were already secretly in the service of Morgoth ere they came to Beleriand.' See further §§79–81 and commentary.

Of the assault on Hithlum no more was said in AB 2 (V.134) than that 'Morgoth went against Hithlum, but was driven back as yet'; in

QS (§156) it was Fingon, not Húrin, who 'drove [the Orcs] in the end with heavy slaughter from the land, and pursued them far across the sands of Fauglith.'

At the end of the paragraph, by later addition, is the first reference to the short stature of Húrin, and also to the 'double marriage' of Hador's son Galion and daughter Glorwendil to Haleth's daughter (unnamed) and son Hundor. It seems likely that this extension of the genealogy arose here, and was the basis of the addition of 'their kinsman' to the annal for 458 discussed in the commentary on §161.

§172 In QS (§156) there seems only to have been an assault on Hithlum from the east, from Fauglith, for it is said that 'the Orcs won many of the passes, and some came even into Mithrim'. In the present annal it seems that Galion and his son Húrin defeated the attack from the east, while Fingon attempted to defend Hithlum from the north (the intervention of Cirdan is of course entirely new). On the puzzling question of the geographical configuration of the north of Hithlum see V.270–1 (and cf. what is said in GA of the route of the attack out of Angband in the year 155, §115 and commentary). The present passage does not clarify the matter, though the statement that the horsed archers of the Eldar pursued the Orcs 'even to the Iron Mountains' possibly suggests that Hithlum was to some degree open to the north. This would indeed be very surprising, since it would make Hithlum by far the most vulnerable of the territories of the Eldar, and Morgoth would have had little need to attempt to break through the vast natural defence of the Shadowy Mountains. But this is the merest speculation, and I know of no other evidence bearing on the matter.

§§173–4 New elements in this account of the Easterlings (cf. AB 2, V.134, and QS §151) are the explicit statement that they did not enter Beleriand over the Blue Mountains but passed to the north of them; the warning of the Dwarves to Maidros concerning their westward movement; the diversity of their tongues and their mutual hostility; their dwellings in Lothlann and south of the March of Maidros (in QS it is said only that they 'abode long in East Beleriand', §152). The form *Lothlann* appears for earlier *Lothland*; *Lothlann (Lhothlann)* is found in the *Etymologies* (stems LAD, LUS, V.367, 370).

§174 On the first sentence of the footnote to this paragraph see the commentary on §171. With the following remarks in the footnote concerning the descendants of the people of Bór in Eriador in the Second Age cf. QS chapter 16, §15 (V.310–11): 'From that day [Nírnaith Arnediad] the hearts of the Elves were estranged from Men, save only from those of the Three Houses, the peoples of Hador, and Bëor, and Haleth; for the sons of Bór, Boromir, Borlas, and Borthandos, who alone among the Easterlings proved true at

need, all perished in that battle, and they left no heirs.' This suggests that the people of Bór ceased to be of any account after 472; but it is perhaps to be presumed in any case that these Men of Eriador were a branch of that people who never entered Beleriand.

§§175–210 I have described in V.295 how, after *The Lord of the Rings* was finished, my father began (on the blank verso pages of the manuscript of AB 2) a prose 'saga' of Beren and Lúthien, conceived on a large scale and closely following the revised *Lay of Leithian*; but this went no further than Dairon's betrayal to Thingol of Beren's presence in Doriath. Unless this work belongs to a time after the abandonment of the *Grey Annals*, which seems to me very improbable, the two versions of the tale that appear here in the *Annals* are the last of the many that my father wrote (for a full account of the complex history of the QS versions and drafts see V.292 ff.).

It will be seen that Version I is a précis of the narrative with no new elements, or elements inconsistent with the 'received tradition', apart from the reference to Amárië (see commentary on §180). Version II, if at the outset conceived on a fairly ample scale, again soon becomes another précis, though much fuller than Version I, and a great deal that is told in the completed QS text ('QS II', see V.292–3) is either not present or is treated much more cursorily: thus for example, nothing is said in GA of Húan's understanding of speech or speaking three times before his death, nor of his doom (*The Silmarillion* pp. 172–3), and much else that there is no need to detail here. But the structure of the two narratives remains very close.

It is curious to observe that the relation of the two versions in GA is the reverse of that between the two versions that my father made for the *Quenta Silmarillion*. The fuller form of the latter ('QS I') was very clearly an integral element in the QS manuscript as it proceeded, but he abandoned it and replaced it by the shorter form QS II because (as I have said, V.292) 'he saw that it was going to be too long, overbalancing the whole work. He had taken more than 4000 words to reach the departure of Beren and Felagund from Nargothrond'. In the case of the *Grey Annals*, on the other hand, it was the shorter form (Version I) that was integral to the text as written, while the fuller form (Version II) was intended to supplant it (though it was not finished).

For passages in the published *Silmarillion* derived from the *Grey Annals* see V.298–301.

§175 *Eryd Orgorath*: on the typescript of AAm *Ered Orgoroth* was changed to *Ered Gorgorath* (X.127, §126).

'And he passed through, even as Melian had foretold': see the words of Melian to Galadriel, §131.

In AB 2 (V.135) Húrin wedded Morwen in 464, as in GA, but Túrin was born in the winter of 465 'with sad omens'. This insertion

in GA makes Túrin's birth in the year of his parents' marriage. See further the commentary on §183.

§178 The word 'bride-price' of the Silmaril demanded by Thingol had been used by Aragorn when he told the story on Weathertop.

§179 *Celegorm* was the original form, appearing in the *Lost Tales* (II.241). The name became *Celegorn* in the course of the writing of QS (V.226, 289), and this remained the form in AAm and GA; later it reverted to *Celegorm* (X.177, 179). The change of *m* to *n* here was made at the time of or very soon after the writing of this passage, and *Celegorm* was probably no more than a slip.

§180 With '[Felagund] dwells now in Valinor with Amárië' cf. QS I (V.300): 'But Inglor walks with Finrod his father among his kinsfolk in the light of the Blessed Realm, and it is not written that he has ever returned to Middle-earth.' In Version II (§199) it is said that 'released soon from Mandos, he went to Valinor and there dwells with Amárië.' It has been told in the annal for 102 (§109) that 'she whom [Felagund] had loved was Amárië of the Vanyar, and she was not permitted to go with him into exile.'

§183 Túrin's birth ('with sad omens') was likewise given in the year 465 in AB 2. The present entry was only inserted later, I think, because my father had inadvertently omitted it while concentrating on the story of Beren and Lúthien. Following the direction here 'Place in 464' a pencilled addition was made to the annal for that year in both versions (see §175 and commentary, §188).

§185 It appears from the penultimate sentence of this paragraph that the joining of the Two Kindreds is ascribed to the purpose of Eru. This is not in QS (I) (see *The Silmarillion* p. 184), nor in Version II of the story in the *Grey Annals* (§210).

§187 With the revised reading 'soon after the mid-winter' cf. the commentary on §§145–7.

§189 '[Thingol] answered in mockery': his tone is indeed less sombre and more briefly contemptuous than in QS (I) (*The Silmarillion* p. 167). In the *Lay of Leithian* (III.192, lines 1132–3) Thingol's warriors 'laughed loud and long' at his demand that Beren should fetch him a Silmaril; see my remarks on this, III.196.

§190 The detail of the glance passing between Melian and Beren at this juncture is not found in the other versions.

§191 The words 'as long before he had said to Galadriel' refer to Felagund's prophetic words in Nargothrond recorded in the annal for 102 (§108).

§193 The naming of Inglor 'Finrod' was perhaps no more than a slip without significance; but in view of the occurrence of 'Finrod Inglor the Fair' in a text associated with drafting for Aragorn's story on Weathertop (VI.187–8) it seems possible that my father had considered the shifting of the names (whereby Inglor became Finrod and Finrod his father became Finarfin) long before their appearance

in print in the Second Edition of *The Lord of the Rings*.

§§193–4 In the long version QS (I), which ends at this point, when Felagund gave the crown of Nargothrond to his brother Orodreth 'Celegorm and Curufin said nothing, but they smiled and went from the halls' (*The Silmarillion* p. 170). The words of Celegorn and Felagund that follow here are a new element in the story.

The foresight of Felagund is undoubtedly intended to be a true foresight (like all such foresight, though it may be ambiguous). If full weight is given to the precise words used by Felagund, then it may be said that the conclusion of QS (V.331), where it is told that Maidros and Maglor did each regain a Silmaril for a brief time, is not contradicted.

§198 In QS (*The Silmarillion* p. 174) it is not said that Sauron 'left the Elven-king to the last, for he knew who he was', but only that he 'purposed to keep Felagund to the last, for he perceived that he was a Gnome of great might and wisdom.' See the *Lay of Leithian*, lines 2216–17 and 2581–2609 (III.231, 249).

§201 It is not told in other versions that Húan led the prisoners of Tolsirion back to Nargothrond; in QS it is said only that 'thither now returned many Elves that had been prisoners in the isle of Sauron' (*The Silmarillion* p. 176).

§203 The new year is placed at a slightly later point in the narrative in Version I, §184. In AB 2 all the latter part of the story of Beren and Lúthien, from their entry into Angband, was placed under the annal for the year 465 (V.135).

§204 The absence of any mention of the story that Húan and Lúthien turned aside to Tol-in-Gaurhoth on their way north, and clad in the wolfcoat of Draugluin and the batskin of Thuringwethil came upon Beren at the edge of Anfauglith (*The Silmarillion* pp. 178–9), is clearly due simply to compression. It was not said in QS (*ibid.* p. 179) that 'Húan abode in the woods' when Beren and Lúthien left him on their journey to Angband.

§207 It is not made clear in QS (*The Silmarillion* pp. 181–2) that it was the howls of Carcharoth that aroused the sleepers in Angband. – On the names Gwaihir and Lhandroval, which appear here in QS but not in the published *Silmarillion* (p. 182), see V.301 and IX.45.

§211 This annal is very close to a passage in QS (*The Silmarillion* p. 186).

§§212 ff. The text of QS is no longer the fine manuscript that was interrupted when it was sent to the publishers in November 1937, but the intermediate texts that my father wrote while it was away. These have been described in V.293–4: a rough but legible manuscript 'QS(C)' that completed the story of Beren and Lúthien, and extending through the whole of QS Chapter 16 *Of the Fourth Battle: Nírnaith Arnediad* was abandoned near the beginning of Chapter 17 (the story of Túrin); and a second manuscript 'QS(D)'

which took up in the middle of Chapter 16 and extended somewhat further into Chapter 17, at which point the *Quenta Silmarillion* in that phase came to an end as a continuous narrative. From the beginning of Chapter 16 I began a new series of paragraph-numbers from §1 (V.306).

§212 In this annal (468) my father followed that in AB 2 (465–70, V.135) closely, and thus an important element in the 'Silmarillion' tradition is absent: the arrogant demand of the Fëanorians upon Thingol for the surrender of the Silmaril, followed by the violent menaces of Celegorn and Curufin against him, as the prime cause of his refusal to aid Maidros (see QS §6, and the passage in Q from which that derives, IV.116–17). In AB 2 Thingol's refusal is ascribed to 'the deeds of Celegorm and Curufin', and this is followed in GA. Again, the story in QS §7, absent in AB 2, that only a half of Haleth's people came forth from Brethil on account of 'the treacherous shaft of Curufin that wounded Beren', is not found in GA.

Notably, it is said in GA that Maidros had the help of the Dwarves 'in armed force' as well as in weapons of war; this was not said in AB 2 and was expressly denied in QS, where the Dwarves were represented as cynically engaged in the profitable enterprise of 'making mail and sword and spear for many armies' (see QS §3 and commentary).

§213 The annal in AB 2 from which this paragraph derives is dated 468. The present annal is much more explicit about the unwisdom of Maidros in revealing his power untimely than were the earlier accounts. – In QS (§3) it is said that at this time 'the Orcs were driven out of the northward regions of Beleriand', to which it is now added in GA that 'even Dorthonion was freed for a while'.

§214 The span of the second lives of Beren and Lúthien was said in the QS drafts to have been long, but the final text has 'whether the second span of his life was brief or long is not known to Elves or Men' (see V.305–6 on the development of the passage concerning the return of Beren and Lúthien and its form in the published *Silmarillion*). It seems possible that '[Lúthien] should *soon* die indeed' in the present text does not imply a short mortal span, but a mortal span in contrast to that of the Eldar.

The final text of QS says that Beren and Lúthien 'took up again their mortal form in Doriath', but the account here of their return to Thingol and Melian in Menegroth is entirely new (as also, of course, is the reference to Elrond and Arwen).

The land of the Dead that Live is named in QS(B) *Gwerth-i-Cuina* and in the final text of QS *Gyrth-i-Guinar* (V.305).

§215 In AB 2 the latter part of the legend of Beren and Lúthien, from their entry into Angband to their return from the dead, was placed under the year 465, whereas in GA it appears under 466, and the

death of Lúthien in 467 (§211). The birth of Dior (whose name *Aranel* now appears) is here moved forward three years from the date in AB 2, 467.

§216 The wedding of Huor and Rían was given in AB 2 in the annal for 472, and was said to have taken place 'upon the eve of battle'. See §218 and commentary.

§§217 ff. In the very long account of the Nírnaeth Arnediad that follows my father made use both of the 'Silmarillion' and of the 'Annals' tradition, i.e. QS Chapter 16 and the account in AB 2. The QS chapter was itself largely derived from an interweaving of Q and AB 2 (see V.313). – A later version of the story of the battle, closely based on that in GA but with radical alterations, is given in Note 2 at the end of this commentary (pp. 165 ff.).

§218 This passage was not removed when the record of Huor's marriage to Rían was entered under 471 (§216); the typescript of GA, however, has only the later 471 entry.

§219 The Nírnaeth Arnediad, formerly the fourth battle in the wars of Beleriand, now becomes the fifth battle: see commentary on §§36 ff. The time of the year was not stated in the earlier accounts.

The placing of the passage on the subject of the Hill of Slain follows AB 2 (V.136); rejected here, it was replaced by another at the end of the story of the Nírnaeth Arnediad in GA (§250): cf. QS §19. On the name *Hauð-na-Dengin* see V.314, §19; also GA §§250–1.

§220 The actual nature of Uldor's machinations was not stated in the earlier accounts.

§221 'a great company from Nargothrond': earlier in GA (§212) it is said that 'small help came from Nargothrond' (cf. QS §5: 'only a small company'). – The addition concerning Mablung's presence, not in AB 2, comes from QS (§6), deriving from Q (IV.117); but in those texts Beleg ('who obeyed no man', 'who could not be restrained') came also to the battle. Thingol's qualified permission to Mablung is new in GA; in the *Quenta* tradition such permission was given by Orodreth to the company from Nargothrond. – The succession of Hundor on the death of his father, Haleth the Hunter, is recorded in the annal for 468 (§212). (Much later, when the genealogy of the People of Haleth was transformed, *Hundor* was replaced by '*Haldir* and *Hundar*'; on this see p. 236.)

On the unsatisfactory account of Turgon's emergence from Gondolin in QS, amalgamating the inconsistent stories in Q and AB 2, see V.313–15. In the *Grey Annals* the confusion is resolved. Turgon came up from Gondolin *before* battle was joined (in the AB story he and his host only came down from Taur-na-Fuin as Fingon's host withdrew southwards towards the Pass of Sirion, V.136–7), but only shortly before, and was stationed in the south guarding the Pass of Sirion.

§222 The story of the opening of the battle as told here differs from that in QS §10 (following Q), where Fingon and Turgon becoming impatient at the delay of Maidros sent their heralds into the plain of Fauglith to sound their trumpets in challenge to Morgoth.

§§224–5 There now appears the final link in this element of the narrative: the captured herald (see commentary on §222) slaughtered in provocation on the plain of Fauglith (QS §11) disappears and is replaced by Gelmir of Nargothrond, Gwindor's brother, who had been taken prisoner in the Battle of Sudden Flame. It was Gwindor's grief for his brother that had brought him from Nargothrond against the will of Orodreth the king, and his rage at the sight of Gelmir's murder was the cause of the fatal charge of the host of Hithlum. I have described the evolution of the story in IV.180.

§226 In §221 'the host of Fingolfin' is obviously a slip of the pen, for 'the host of Fingon', and so probably 'the banners of Fingolfin' here also: QS (§12) has 'the banners of Fingon'.

§228 'in the rearguard', struck out in GA, is found both in AB 2 and in QS (§13). – It is not said either in AB 2 or in QS that the host of Hithlum was surrounded, only that the enemy came between them and Erydwethion, so that Fingon was forced to retreat towards the Pass of Sirion.

It seems clear that Turgon emerged from the Pass only a brief time before the coming of the decoy force out of Angband; therefore he had not yet actually encountered Húrin.

§230 The Balrogs were still at this time conceived to exist in large numbers; cf. AAm §50 (X.75): '[Melkor] sent forth on a sudden a host of Balrogs' – at which point my father noted on the typescript of AAm: 'There should not be supposed more than say 3 or at most 7 ever existed' (X.80).

§231 In AB 2 and in QS (§15) it was Cranthir, not Maglor, who slew Uldor the Accursed. It is not said in those texts that 'new strength of evil men came up that Uldor had summoned and kept hidden in the eastern hills', nor, of course, that the Fëanorians, fleeing towards Mount Dolmed, took with them a remnant of the Naugrim, for it was only with the *Grey Annals* that the Dwarves took part in the battle (commentary on §212).

§232 Earlier in GA (§22) the *Enfeng* are the Dwarves of Belegost, but there was a period (Q, QS) when they were those of Nogrod (see commentary on §22); this no doubt explains *Nogrod* here, which was struck out and replaced by *Belegost* as soon as written. – The entire paragraph, and all its detail, is original in GA.

§233 In QS (§17) the banners of Fingon were white. In the account in GA of the fall of Fingolfin (§155) his shield was blue set with a star of crystal, and his arms silver; this is found also in the QS version (§144).

§§234–5 The speeches between Turgon, Húrin, and Huor are

entirely new. In §235 one might expect Huor to have said: 'I shall never look on thy white walls *again*' (as he does in the published *Silmarillion*, p. 194), since he had been to Gondolin, fourteen years before; but see p. 169.

§§235–6 Virtually all the changes in these paragraphs were made at the time of the writing of the manuscript.

§237 The name *Glindûr* has appeared in other passages introduced into the primary text: §§119–20, 165.

§240 Original details in GA are the striking of Huor's eye by the venomed arrow, and the piling of the dead men of Hador's house 'as a mound of gold'.

§241 This paragraph is derived from passages in QS (§§15–16) that occur at an earlier point in the narrative; but there is no mention in GA of the sons of Bór (see commentary on §174).

§242 The statement here that 'Tol-sirion [was] retaken and its dread towers rebuilt', not previously made, is clearly in plain contradiction of what was said in QS (V.300): 'They buried the body of Felagund upon the hill-top of his own isle, and it was clean again, and ever after remained inviolate; for Sauron came never back thither.' In the published *Silmarillion* this passage in QS was changed.

§243 'Cirdan held the Havens' is of course an addition to the passage in QS (§20) which is here being closely followed. – The references to Morgoth's peculiar fear of Turgon, and to Ulmo's friendship towards the house of Fingolfin, who scorned Morgoth in Valinor, have no antecedents in earlier texts. It can be seen from the rejected lines (rough and with many changes in the manuscript) that my father was to some extent working out the thought as he wrote. The words 'from Turgon ruin should come to him' are a reference to Eärendil and his embassage to Valinor.

§§244–9 The encounter of Húrin with Morgoth as told in GA is based on and for the most part follows closely the story in QS (§§21–3), but with some expansions: Morgoth's words concerning Húrin's wife and son now helpless in Hithlum, Húrin's sight of Hithlum and Beleriand far off from his stone seat on Thangorodrim. See further p. 169.

§251 It is at this point in the narrative that the draft manuscripts QS(C) and QS(D), having concluded the 'Nírnaith' chapter with the setting of Húrin on Thangorodrim, give a new heading, in QS(C) 'Of Túrin the Hapless' and in QS(D) 'Of Túrin Turamarth or Túrin the Hapless'. This, which was to be the next chapter (17) in QS, begins with the birth of Tuor and the death of Rían on the Hill of Slain (to which the *Grey Annals* likewise now turn); but QS(C) goes only so far as Túrin's departure from Menegroth to go out to fight on the marches of Doriath wearing the Dragon-helm, and QS(D) continues beyond this point only to Túrin's self-imposed outlawry after the slaying of Orgof (GA §259).

The fostering of Tuor by Dark-elves was recorded both in AB 2 (V.137) and in QS (§24); rejected in GA, there appears instead the first mention of Annael and the Grey-elves of Mithrim (see commentary on §252). Glorwendil's death of grief for her husband Hundor son of Haleth is referred to in the course of the narrative of the Nírnaith Arnediad in QS (§13).

§252 In both AB 2 (V.138) and in QS (§19) it was recorded that 'the Elves of Hithlum' were enslaved in the mines of Morgoth at this time, such of them as did not escape into the wild, and one would naturally assume that this referred to Noldorin Elves of Fingolfin's people – although the very reference to Tuor's fostering by 'Dark-elves' shows that there were other Elves in Hithlum, and 'Grey-elves' may be simply a later term for the Dark-elves of Beleriand owning allegiance to Thingol. In his message to the new-come Noldor by the mouth of Angrod (GA §64) Thingol did not indeed suggest that there were any of his people (Grey-elves) in Hithlum: among the regions where the Noldor might dwell he named Hithlum, adding that 'elsewhere there are many of my folk, and I would not have them restrained of their freedoms, still less ousted from their homes.'

§253 At the end of this paragraph my father pencilled: '(September–Dec.)'; this clearly refers to the months of Túrin's journey from Hithlum to Doriath in the latter part of 472 (the Battle of Unnumbered Tears was fought at midsummer of that year, §219). According to the earlier dating (§183) he was born in the winter of 465; this was changed (§§175, 188) to 464, but without indication of the time of the year. If he were born in the winter of 464, he would still have been seven years old in the autumn of 472.

§256 The whole content of this paragraph is new to the history. In the sentence 'Smiths and miners and masters of fire' the published *Silmarillion* (p. 196), which derives from this passage, has 'makers of fire': this was a misreading of the manuscript.

§257 It was said earlier in GA (§§151–2) that after the Dagor Bragollach Turgon sent Elves of Gondolin to the mouths of Sirion and to the Isle of Balar to attempt shipbuilding (it is perhaps a question, why did he not approach Cirdan at that time?), and that he 'ever maintained a secret refuge upon the Isle of Balar'. But the phrase in the present passage 'and mingled with Turgon's outpost there' was struck out, and the subsequent 'when Turgon heard of this he sent again his messengers to Sirion's Mouths' suggests of itself that the idea of a permanent outpost from Gondolin on Balar had been abandoned.

Here, in an alteration to the text, Voronwë's story is extended back, and he appears in a new rôle as captain of the last of the seven ships sent out into the Western Ocean by Cirdan (it is not said that he was an Elf of Gondolin). In earlier texts he has of course played

no such part. In Q (IV.141) Tuor at the mouths of Sirion met Bronweg (> Bronwë) who had been of old of the people of Turgon and had escaped from Angband. With §§256–7 cf. the story of Tuor in *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 34–5 and note 13.

§258 If Túrin were born in the winter of 464 (see commentary on §253) he would have been in his seventeenth year in 481; it seems therefore that the older date (465) for his birth is retained. The *Annals*, very cursory, do not mention the occasion of Túrin's going to war (the ceasing of all tidings out of Hithlum).

The scribbled note 'Túrin donned the Dragon-helm of Galion' is not in the typescript of GA. The Dragon-helm goes back to the old *Lay of the Children of Húrin*, and was described in Q (IV.118), in the context of Húrin's not having worn it at the Battle of Unnumbered Tears; in the *Lay* (not in Q) Túrin's taking it to war at this time is mentioned (III.16, line 377: 'then Húrin's son took the helm of his sire').

§259 It is here that QS came to an end as a continuous narrative (see V.321, 323).

§260 The first two sentences of this annal are derived from Q (IV.123) and AB 2 (V.138); but those texts do not give the place of Túrin's lair, here said to be in Dimbar.

§261 The first part of this follows AB 2 (on Tuor's 'coming to Hithlum' see V.151), but the statement that Morwen and Niënor 'had been carried away to Mithrim' seems altogether aberrant.

§263 The final form of the annal concerning Tuor, with the date changed to 488 and his age changed to sixteen, and the appearance of Lorgan chief of the Easterlings, is probably derived from the story in *Of Tuor and his Coming to Gondolin* (*Unfinished Tales* pp. 18–19): in the manuscript of that work the date 488 was inserted against the paragraph beginning 'Therefore Annael led his small people ...' (p. 18), and Tuor's age was changed from fifteen to sixteen in the same sentence. On the other hand that text has 'after three years of thraldom' (p. 19) as it was written, whereas in GA 'three' is a change from 'seven'.

§264 This is the original annal for 488. When the preceding passage on Tuor was given the date 488 the entry concerning Haldir of Nargothrond became a continuation of that year. The event was referred to in the *Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III.75, lines 2137–8), where Orodreth's son was named *Halmir*; *Halmir* in AB 2 was changed to *Haldir* (V.138 and note 38), which is the form in the *Etymologies* (explained as meaning 'hidden hero', stem SKAL[1], V.386).

§265 In Q Blodrin was a Gnome, with the later addition that he was a Fëanorian (IV.123 and note 5); the story told here that he was one of the faithful Easterlings who became a traitor after his capture by Morgoth is a new development. In Q his evil nature was ascribed to

his having 'lived long with the Dwarves', and this was derived from the *Lay* (III.32). – On the pencilled query concerning the Dragon-helm see §266.

§266 In Q Thingol's messengers arrived on the scene because they had been sent to summon Túrin and Beleg to a feast (IV.123). – The attempt to develop the subsequent history of the Dragon-helm and weave it into the existing story was inherently very difficult. Here, the questions arise at once: (1) Why was the Dragon-helm in Menegroth? This may be answered by supposing that when Túrin came to Menegroth for the feast at which he slew Orgof (§259) he brought the Helm with him from Dimbar, and after the slaying he fled from the Thousand Caves without it; on this assumption, the Helm remained in Doriath during the following years (484–9). But (2) if this is granted, why should Beleg now carry it off into the wilds on what must have seemed an almost certainly vain search for Túrin, who had been captured by Orcs and haled off to Angband? In my father's later work on the Túrin legend he concluded finally that Túrin left the Dragon-helm in Dimbar when he went to Menegroth for the fatal feast, and that (in the later much more complex story) Beleg brought it from there when he came to Amon Rûdh in the winter snow: hence in the (extremely artificial) passage in the published *Silmarillion*, p. 204, 'he brought out of Dimbar the Dragon-helm of Dor-lómin'.

§267 In the *Lay*, likewise, it was Finduilas who asserted against the disbelief and suspicion in Nargothrond that it was indeed Flinding (Gwindor) who had returned (III.69–71).

§268 In this passage a new element enters the story: Túrin's assumption of a riddling name, *Iarwaeth* (cf. the later *Agarwaen* 'Bloodstained', *The Silmarillion* p. 210), and his asking Gwindor to conceal his true name 'for the horror he had of his slaying of Beleg and dread lest it were learned in Doriath'; and here also appears the final form of the name of the re-forged sword, *Gurthang* 'Iron of Death' for earlier *Gurtholfin* > *Gurtholf* (V.139 and note 39) 'Wand of Death' (*Gurthang* is a change on the manuscript from a rejected name that cannot be read: the second syllable is *tholf* but the first is not *Gur*, and the meaning given is probably 'Wand of Death'). The form *Mormegil* appears in the earliest *Annals* (AB 1), emended to *Mormael* (IV.304 and note 52); Q had *Mormaglir* and AB 2 *Mormael*.

§§269–72 The greater part of this narrative appears for the first time in the *Grey Annals*: Gwindor's revelation to Finduilas of Túrin's identity, his warning to her, and his assertion that all in Angband knew of the curse upon Húrin; Túrin's assurance to Gwindor concerning Finduilas and his displeasure with him for what he had done; the honour done to Túrin by Orodreth when he learned who he was and the king's acceptance of his counsels; Túrin's unhappy

love for Finduilas leading him to seek escape from his trouble in warfare.

§271 *morrowgift*: the gift of the husband to the wife on the morning ('morrow') after the wedding.

§272 The alliance of the Elves of Nargothrond with Handir of Brethil goes back to the earliest *Annals* (IV.305); I do not know why this element in the story was removed. See further the commentary on §300. – The bridge over Narog is not said here to have been built on Túrin's counsel, but this appears subsequently (§277).

§273 This rejected annal for 492 adheres to the old story that Meglin was sent by Isfin to Gondolin (although the later story that Isfin and Meglin came together to Gondolin appeared long before in Q: see §120 and commentary), and there is no trace of the story of Ëol's pursuit, the death of Isfin from Ëol's dart aimed at Maeglin, and Ëol's execution and dying curse on his son.

§275 The somewhat later insertion at the beginning of the annal replaces the subsequent statement in this paragraph that Handir was slain in the battle of Tum-halad, which derives from AB 2 (V.139).

The removal of Glaurung's passage through Hithlum on his way to Nargothrond (recorded in AB 2) is a great improvement to the probabilities of the narrative. – *Eithil Ivrin*: formerly *Ivrineithel* (V.139), 'Ivrin's Well', source of the Narog. This is the first reference to the defiling of Ivrin by Glaurung.

The site of the battle is not made clear. In Q it was 'upon the Guarded Plain, north of Nargothrond' (IV.126), and in AB 2 (V.139) 'between Narog and Taiglin'. In later work on the *Narn* my father wrote in one of a series of narrative-outlines:

> They contact the Orc-host which is greater than they knew (in spite of Túrin's boasted scouts). Also none but Túrin could withstand the approach of Glaurung. They were driven back and pressed by the Orcs into the Field of Tumhalad between Ginglith and Narog and there penned. There all the pride and host of Nargothrond withered away. Orodreth was slain in the forefront of battle, and Gwindor wounded to death. Then Túrin came to him and all fled him, and he lifted Gwindor and bore him out of battle and [*several words illegible*] he swam the Narog and bore Gwindor to [?a wood] of trees. But Glaurung went down east of Narog and hastened [?on ?in] to Nargothrond with a great number of Orcs.

This is, I believe, the only statement that the site of the battle was between Ginglith and Narog; but my father pencilled in the name *Tumhalad* between those rivers, towards their confluence, on the map (p. 182, square E 5). In GA Túrin's escape with Gwindor 'to a wood' is mentioned, but not his swimming of the Narog. This is a curious detail: presumably he swam the Narog to escape from the

battle, and then went down the east bank of the river to the Bridge of Nargothrond.

But it is hard to know what to make of this late conception of the site of Tumhalad. It would seem that my father now conceived Glaurung and the Orc-host to have come south from Ivrin on the west side of Narog; but the text states that they 'went down east of Narog' to Nargothrond, and therefore they also must have crossed the river – by swimming, as Túrin had done? In the published *Silmarillion* (pp. 212–13) I was probably mistaken to follow this very hastily written and puzzling text, and on the map accompanying the book to mark the site of Tumhalad in accordance with it. But in any case I feel sure that the original site, in the plain east of Narog, was still present in GA.

With regard to the pencilled note 'Túrin in the battle wore the Dragon-helm', the Helm was last mentioned in these marginal notes on the subject when Beleg carried it with him from Menegroth on the journey in search of Túrin which led to his death (see §266 and commentary). My father must have supposed therefore that Gwindor and Túrin carried it with them to Nargothrond. This raises the obvious difficulty that the Helm would at once have revealed the identity of Túrin; but in *Unfinished Tales* (pp. 154–5) I have referred to an isolated piece of writing among the *Narn* material which 'tells that in Nargothrond Túrin would not wear the Helm again "lest it reveal him", but that he wore it when he went to the Battle of Tumhalad.' The passage in question reads:

> Beleg searching the orc-camp [in Taur-nu-Fuin] finds the dragon-helm – or was it set on Túrin's head in mockery by the Orcs that tormented him? Thus it was borne away to Nargothrond; but Túrin would not wear it again, lest it reveal him, until the Battle of Dalath Dirnen.

(*Dalath Dirnen*, the Guarded Plain, was the earlier form; the name was so spelt when entered on the map, but changed subsequently as in the texts to *Talath Dirnen* (p. 186, §17).)

§276 Against the first line of this paragraph my father wrote a date: 'Oct.13'; against the first line of §278 he wrote 'Oct.25'; and against the first line of §288 he wrote 'Nov.1'. These very uncharacteristic additions must refer to the actual days of his writing, in (as I presume) 1951.

In AB 2 all that is said here is that 'Gwindor died, and refused the succour of Túrin.' The same was said in Q (IV.126), and also that he died reproaching Túrin: as I noted (IV.184), 'the impression is given that the reproaches of Flinding (Gwindor) as he died were on account of Finduilas. There is indeed no suggestion here that Túrin's policy of open war was opposed in Nargothrond'. Here in GA appears the motive that Gwindor held his death and the ruin of Nargothrond against Túrin – or more accurately, reappears, since it

is clearly present in the old *Tale of Turambar* (II.83–4). Gwindor's words in GA concerning Túrin and Finduilas are altogether different from those given to him in Q, and there now appears the idea of the supreme importance to Túrin of his choice concerning Finduilas: but this is again a reappearance, from the *Tale*, where his choice is explicitly condemned (II.87).

§277 It is a new element in the narrative that it was Túrin's rescue of Gwindor that allowed Glaurung and his host to reach Nargothrond before he did.

This is a convenient place to describe a text whose relation to the *Grey Annals* is very curious. The text itself has been given in *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 159–62: the story of the coming of the Noldorin Elves Gelmir and Arminas to Nargothrond to warn Orodreth of its peril, and their harsh reception by Túrin. There is both a manuscript (based on a very rough draft outline written on a slip) and a typescript, with carbon copy, made by my father on the typewriter that he seems to have used first about the end of 1958 (see X.300). The manuscript has no title or heading, but begins (as also does the rough draft and the typescript) with the date '495'. The top copy of the typescript has a heading added in manuscript: 'Insertion for the longer form of the *Narn*', while the carbon copy has the heading, also added in manuscript, 'Insertion to *Grey Annals*', but this was changed to the reading of the top copy.

The curious thing is that while the manuscript has no 'annalistic' quality apart from the date 495, the typescript begins with the annalistic word 'Here' (a usage derived from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*):

> Here Morgoth assailed Nargothrond. Túrin now commanded all the forces of Nargothrond, and ruled all matters of war. In the spring there came two Elves, and they named themselves Gelmir and Arminas ...

Moreover, while the manuscript extends no further than the text printed in *Unfinished Tales*, ending with the words 'For so much at least of the words of Ulmo were read aright', the typescript does not end there but continues:

> Here Handir of Brethil was slain in the spring, soon after the departure of the messengers. For the Orcs invaded his land, seeking to secure the crossings of Taiglin for their further advance; and Handir gave them battle, but the Men of Brethil were worsted and were driven back into their woods. The Orcs did not pursue them, for they had achieved their purpose for that time; and they continued to muster their strength in the passes of Sirion.
>
> Late in the year, having [*struck out:* gathered his strength and] completed his design, Morgoth at last loosed his assault upon Nargothrond. Glaurung the Urulókë passed over the Anfauglith,

[§277]

> and came thence into the north vales of Sirion, and there did great evil; and he came at length under the shadow of Eryd Wethian [*sic*], leading the great army of the Orcs in his train ...

The text then continues, almost exactly as in the *Grey Annals* §§275–6, concluding with Gwindor's words at the end of §276: 'If thou fail her, it shall not fail to find thee. Farewell!' The only significant difference from the text in the *Annals* is the statement that at the battle of Tum-halad 'Túrin put on the Dragon-helm of Hador'; this however had been said in a marginal note to GA §275.

This is very puzzling. So far as the content of the original manuscript of 'Gelmir and Arminas' is concerned, there seems nothing against the supposition that my father wrote it as an insertion to the *Grey Annals*, and indeed in appearance and style of script it could derive from the time when he was working on them, before the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*. The puzzle lies in my father's motive for making, years later, a typescript of the text and *adding to it* material taken directly from the *Grey Annals*, specifically reinforcing the place of 'Gelmir and Arminas' in the annalistic context – together with his uncertainty, shown in the headings to the carbon copy, as to what its place actually was to be. Subsequently, indeed, he bracketed on the typescript the date and opening words '495 Here Morgoth assailed Nargothrond', and struck out the words 'Here' and 'in the spring' at the beginning of the passage cited above, thus removing the obviously annalistic features; but the conclusion seems inescapable that when he made the typescript he could still conceive of the *Annals* as an ingredient in the recorded tradition of the Elder Days. (A curious relation is seen between a continuation of the *Annals* made after the main manuscript had been interrupted and the opening of the late work *The Wanderings of Hurin*: see pp. 251–4, 258–60.)

It should be mentioned that certain names in the text of 'Gelmir and Arminas' as printed in *Unfinished Tales* were editorial alterations made for the sake of consistency: in both manuscript and typescript Gelmir refers to Orodreth as 'Finrod's son', changed to 'Finarfin's son'; *Iarwaeth* was changed to *Agarwaen* (the later name found in the *Narn* papers); and *Eledhwen* was retained from the manuscript (*Eleðwen*) for the typescript *Eðelwen* (the form used in *The Wanderings of Húrin*).

§§278–85 This passage describing the fateful encounter of Túrin and Glaurung very greatly develops the bare narrative in Q (IV.126–7), but for the most part it is not at odds in essentials with the old version, and in places echoes it. On the other hand there is an important difference in the central motive. In Q (IV.126) the dragon offered him his freedom either 'to rescue his "stolen love" Finduilas, or to do his duty and go to the rescue of his mother and

sister ... But he must swear to abandon one or the other. Then Túrin in anguish and in doubt forsook Finduilas against his heart ...' In the story in the *Grey Annals*, on the other hand, Túrin had no choice: his will was under Glaurung's when Finduilas was taken away, and he was physically incapable of movement. The Dragon does indeed say at the end: 'And if thou tarry for Finduilas, then never shalt thou see Morwen or Niënor again; and they will curse thee'; but this is a warning, not the offering of a choice. In all this Glaurung appears as a torturer, with complete power over his victim so long as he chooses to exert it, morally superior and superior in knowledge, his pitiless corruption able to assume an air almost of benevolence, of knowing what is best: 'Then Túrin ... as were he treating with a foe that could know pity, believed the words of Glaurung'.

§280 The further pencilled note here on the subject of the Dragon-helm, observing that while Túrin wore it he was proof against Glaurung's eyes, can be somewhat amplified. I have given at the end of the commentary on §275 a note on the recovery of the Dragon-helm when Túrin was rescued from the Orcs in Taur-nu-Fuin, whence it came to Nargothrond. That note continues with an account of the meeting of Túrin with Glaurung before the Doors of Felagund (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 155). Here it is said that Glaurung desired to rid Túrin of the aid and protection of the Dragon-helm, and taunted him, saying that he had not the courage to look him in the face.

> And indeed so great was the terror of the Dragon that Túrin dared not look straight upon his eye, but had kept the visor of his helmet down, shielding his face, and in his parley had looked no higher than Glaurung's feet. But being thus taunted, in pride and rashness he thrust up the visor and looked Glaurung in the eye.

At the head of the page my father noted that something should be said about the visor, 'how it protected the eyes from all darts (and from dragon-eyes)'.

This text, or rather the idea that it contains, is obviously behind the note in GA, and the last words of that note 'Then the Worm perceiving this' would no doubt have introduced some phrase to the effect that Glaurung taunted Túrin with cowardice in order to get him to remove it (cf. the note in the margin at §284 – which is scarcely in the right place). A further statement on the subject of the visor of the Helm is found in the *Narn* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 75, an expansion of the passage in QS Chapter 17, V.319): 'It had a visor (after the manner of those that the Dwarves used in their forges for the shielding of their eyes), and the face of one that wore it struck fear into the hearts of all beholders, but was itself guarded from dart and fire.' It is said here that the Helm was originally made for Azaghâl Lord of Belegost, and the history of how it came to Húrin is told.

In the published *Silmarillion* (p. 210) I adopted a passage from another text in the vast assemblage of the *Narn* papers, telling how Túrin found in the armouries of Nargothrond 'a dwarf-mask all gilded', and wore it into battle. It seems probable that this story arose at a stage when my father was treating the Dragon-helm as lost and out of the story (from the end of Dor-Cúarthol, the Land of Bow and Helm, when Túrin was taken by the Orcs), and I extended Túrin's wearing of it to the battle of Tumhalad (p. 212).

§§287 ff. From the Battle of Tumhalad to the end of the tale of Túrin the text of the *Grey Annals* was virtually the sole source of the latter part of Chapter 21 'Of Túrin Turambar' in the published *Silmarillion* (pp. 213–26). There now enters an element in the history, however, of which I was unaware, or more accurately misinterpreted, when I prepared the text of the *Narn* for publication in *Unfinished Tales*, and which must be made clear. At that time I was under the impression that the last part of the *Narn* (from the beginning of the section entitled *The Return of Túrin to Dor-lómin* to the end, *Unfinished Tales* pp. 104–46) was a relatively late text, belonging with all the other *Narn* material that (in terms of the narrative) precedes it; and I assumed that the story in the *Grey Annals* (to which the last part of the *Narn* is obviously closely related, despite its much greater length) preceded it by some years – that it was in fact an *elaboration* of the story in the *Annals*.

This view is wholly erroneous, and was due to my failure to study sufficiently closely the material (preserved in a different place) that preceded the final text of the story in the *Narn*. In fact, it soon becomes plain (as will be seen in the commentary that follows) that the long narrative in the *Grey Annals* was *based directly on* the final text of that in the *Narn*, and was a *reduction* of that text, congruent with it at virtually all points. The manuscript of this latter is very similar in appearance and style of script to that of the *Annals of Aman* and the *Grey Annals*, and undoubtedly belongs to the same period (presumptively 1951). Thus the massive development and enhancement of the final tragedy in Brethil is yet another major work of the prolific time that followed the completion of *The Lord of the Rings* (see *Morgoth's Ring*, pp. vii and 3).

The manuscript was headed (later) 'The Children of Húrin: last part', and at the top of the first page my father wrote 'Part of the "Children of Húrin" told in full scale'. I shall devote a good deal of the following commentary to showing how, in more important instances, my father developed the narrative in the *Narn*. It is to be remembered that the last version he had written was the very compressed story in the *Quenta* (Q) of 1930 (IV.127–30), behind which lay 'the earliest Silmarillion' or 'Sketch of the Mythology' (IV.30–1), and behind that the old *Tale of Turambar and the Foalókë* (II.88–112).

I shall not make a detailed comparison of the new narrative with the older forms, nor of the last part of the *Narn* with the *Grey Annals*. Since it is obviously out of the question to reprint the last part of the *Narn* in this book, I must refer to the text in *Unfinished Tales*, which is very close to the final form of the text in the manuscript, but introduces some unimportant changes in wording; the use of 'you' for 'thou' and 'thee' of the original; and some later forms of names. In order to avoid ambiguity I shall identify the last part of the *Narn* by the letters 'NE' (i.e. 'End of the *Narn*'); thus 'NE p. 132' is to be understood as meaning the text of the *Narn* in *Unfinished Tales* on p. 132. Where necessary I distinguish the actual manuscript, or manuscripts, from the printed text. There is also a later amanuensis typescript of NE.

§290 The addition concerning the death of Handir of Brethil, rejected here, reappears at the beginning of the annal for 495 (§275).

§291 The names *Amon Obel* and *Ephel Brandir* now first appear; they were marked in on the second map (see the redrawing on p. 182, square E 7). On the emendation concerning Handir of Brethil see §275 and commentary.

§292 The opening of NE (p. 104) is almost the same as that of the rewritten section in GA, rather than its original form (§287). This is to be explained, I think, on the supposition that my father was working (here at any rate) on the two versions at the same time. – In both texts 'eighty leagues' was changed to 'forty leagues'; the distance on the second map from Nargothrond to Ivrin measured in a straight line is 8 cm. or 41·6 leagues (see V.412).

§293 Against *Dorlómin* my father wrote in the margin the Quenya form *Lóminórë*, but he did not strike out *Dorlómin*.

§294 It is made clear in the later text from which the section *The Departure of Túrin* in the *Narn* is derived that Brodda forcibly wedded Húrin's kinswoman Aerin (later form for Airin) before Túrin left Dor-lómin (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 69); in GA Túrin only learns of it now, on his return, and this was certainly the case also in NE. Airin now becomes Húrin's kinswoman, not Morwen's, as she was in Q and QS, and still in the rejected form (§288) of the present passage.

It is seen from NE (p. 106) that the story of Túrin's childhood friendship with the lame Sador Labadal was already in being, although it had not yet been written (the parts of the *Narn* narrative preceding NE being unquestionably later); in GA there is no suggestion of this story, but I think it certain that this is due merely to the extreme condensation of the narrative here: the long conversation in NE between Túrin and Sador, and Sador's 'recognition', before ever Túrin entered Brodda's hall, is reduced to a few lines in the *Annals*. In that conversation and subsequently the text of

NE uses 'thou' and 'thee' throughout, but afterwards my father sometimes changed them to 'you' and sometimes not. It seems possible that where the changes were made it was because the speakers were using the 'polite plural' (as Sador to Túrin when he found out who he was); but in the published text I adopted 'you' throughout. – Where in NE (p. 105) Sador speaks of 'Húrin Galdor's son' the manuscript has 'Húrin Galion's son', *Galion* being still at that time the name of Húrin's father.

§§295–7 The whole episode in NE (pp. 106–9) following Túrin's entry into Brodda's hall, a massive development of the bare words of Q (IV.127 and note 9), is again greatly reduced in these paragraphs, and much is omitted: thus there is no mention of the general fighting, of Airin's firing of the hall, or of Asgon, the man of Dor-lómin (who will reappear).

§298 This annal concerning Tuor, dated 496, follows on from the entry about his departure from Mithrim at the end of the annal for 495 in the rejected section of the manuscript (§290). It is based on that in AB 2 (V.140), and adheres still to the old story that Tuor met Bronwë (Voronwë) at the mouths of Sirion; thus it was written before the addition was made to §257 whereby Voronwë became the sole survivor of the seven ships sent into the West and was cast ashore in Nivrost (see the commentary on that paragraph).

§299 Tuor was born in 472 (§251), was enslaved by Lorgan in 488 when he was sixteen years old and endured thraldom for three years, thus until 491 (§263), and in 495 had lived as an outlaw in the hills of Mithrim for four years.

This annal replaces both the preceding entries concerning Tuor (§§290, 298). Here the very old story of Tuor's going down to the mouths of Sirion is at last abandoned, and Ulmo appears to Tuor in Nivrost; Voronwë, cast ashore in Nivrost, now leads Tuor eastwards to Gondolin along the southern faces of the Shadowy Mountains. Here also appears the story that they saw Túrin at Ivrin on his journey northward from Nargothrond, and it may well be that this accounts for the change of date from 496 to 495; but the coming of Tuor to Turgon's ancient dwelling of Vinyamar and finding the arms left there long before at Ulmo's counsel is not referred to.

For the bidding of Ulmo to Turgon in Q, where it appears in two versions, see IV.142, 146–7, and my remarks IV.193–4. In GA there is no suggestion of Ulmo's counsel that Turgon should prepare for a great war against Morgoth and that Tuor should be his agent in the bringing of new nations of Men out of the East to his banners.

Elsewhere in GA the change is always *Glindûr* > *Maeglin*; *Meglin* > *Glindûr* here depends on the time of writing, for while my father was working on the *Annals* the series went *Meglin* > *Glindûr* > *Maeglin*.

§300 The manuscript has no date here, but it is clear that there should be (it is obviously 496 later in the annal, where 'with the beginning of spring Túrin cast off his darkness', §303); in the rejected version of the text the date 496 is given at this point (§291), and in the manuscript of NE also. The omission is due to the (second) rejected entry concerning Tuor (§298) having been dated 496.

The spelling *Taiglin* is found in NE also; *Teiglin* in both the published texts is an editorial alteration to a later form (see pp. 228, 309–10).

The story of Túrin's rescue of the men of Brethil from an attack by Orcs, derived from the lively account of the incident in NE (p. 110), is a new element in the narrative. It is to be noted, however, that as NE was first written there was no mention of it; the original text tells simply that when Túrin fell in with some of the folk of Haleth in Brethil

> ... the men that saw Túrin welcomed him, and even thus as a wild wanderer they knew him for the Mormegil, the great captain of Nargothrond, and the friend of Handir; and they marvelled that he had escaped, since they had heard that none had come out alive from the fortress of Felagund. Therefore they bade him come and rest among them for a while.

Following this is a brief preliminary passage in which Túrin's rescue of the men of Brethil from the Orc-attack is introduced, and finally the full account of the incident as it stands in NE. It is thus clearly seen that this story arose in the course of the writing of NE, as also did the motive that the woodmen *deduced* that the stranger was the Mormegil after Túrin had fallen into his swoon of grief. Both these elements are present in the GA version. This is one of many unquestionable evidences that the last part of the *Narn* preceded the *Grey Annals*.

It is also said in the rejected passage of NE that when Túrin told the woodmen of his quest for Finduilas

> ... they looked on him with grief and pity. 'Seek no more!' said one. 'For behold! the few of our men that escaped from Tum-halad brought us warning of an Orc-host that came from Nargothrond towards the crossings of Taiglin, marching slowly because of the number of their captives. ...'

In the final text the statement that the woodmen fought at Tumhalad disappears (and Dorlas says of their ambush of the Orc-host from Nargothrond 'we thought to deal our small stroke in the war', NE p. 111). This is to be related to the information in GA which was struck out, that the Elves of Nargothrond 'allied themselves with Handir' (§272 and commentary), and that Handir was slain at Tumhalad (§275 and commentary).

§§301–3 The narrative (condensed from that of NE, pp. 109–12)

greatly expands that of Q (IV.127): new elements are 'Wildman of the Woods', Dorlas, and the Hauð-en-Ellas where Finduilas was laid near the Crossings of Taiglin, which have not been named before; Dorlas' realisation that the stranger must be the Mormegil, rumoured to be Túrin son of Húrin (in Q there is no indication that the woodmen knew who he was until the end); Brandir's foreboding when he saw Túrin on the bier, and his healing of Túrin; Túrin's setting aside of the black sword. The old story in Q (IV.129) that Túrin became lord of the woodmen is now abandoned: Brandir, as will be seen later in the narrative (§323, NE p. 132), remained the titular ruler (and in NE, p. 129, at the council held before Túrin's setting out for the encounter with Glaurung, he 'sat indeed in the high-seat of the lord of the assembly, but unheeded').

§301 *Hauð-en-Ellas*: the later form *-Elleth* was pencilled in on both the NE and GA manuscripts, and *Haudh-en-Elleth* is found in a plot-sequence among the later *Narn* papers (p. 256); this was adopted in both NE and *The Silmarillion*. The translation 'Mound of the Elf-maid', not in GA, was introduced into *The Silmarillion* from NE (p. 112), and comparison of the texts will show a number of other instances, not recorded here, of this conflation.

§302 Against the name *Ephel Brandir* in NE (p. 110) my father wrote faintly on the amanuensis typescript that was made from the manuscript: *Obel Halad* and '.... of the chieftain'; the illegible word might be 'Tower', but looks more like 'Town'. 'Town of the Chieftain' is quite possibly the correct interpretation, if *town* is used in the ancient sense of 'enclosed dwelling-place' (see II.292, and my remarks on the name *Tavrobel* in V.412). On *Obel Halad* see pp. 258, 263.

§303 In GA Brandir's foreboding concerning Turambar came upon him after he had heard 'the tidings that Dorlas brought', and therefore knew who it was that lay on the bier; whereas in NE (p. 111) his foreboding is more prophetic and less 'rational' (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 111 and note 21). In NE Turambar 'laid his black sword by' in response to Brandir's warning (p. 112), but this is lost in GA.

§305 The new narrative is here further developed from Q (IV.128), where 'Thingol yielded so far to the tears and entreaties of Morwen that he sent forth a company of Elves toward Nargothrond to explore the truth. With them rode Morwen ...'; now she rides forth alone and the Elves are sent after her. Niënor's motive in joining the Elvish riders in disguise is now more complex; and Mablung, entirely absent from the story in Q (and AB 2), enters the narrative.

There is a very great reduction in GA of the elaborate story told in NE (pp. 112–16), but the narrative structure is the same (the flight of Morwen followed by the company led by Mablung). In NE

Thingol already had the idea of sending out a party to Nargothrond, independently of Morwen's wish to go.

In Q it seems certain that Niënor's presence was never revealed to the company, including Morwen (see my remarks, IV.185). The discovery of her at the passage of the Twilit Meres is not mentioned in GA, but that she was at some point revealed is implied by the words 'But Morwen ... would not be persuaded' (i.e. by the presence of Niënor); and Niënor was set with Morwen on the Hill of Spies. The condensation in the *Annals* of the story in NE here produces some obscurity, and in the passage in *The Silmarillion* (p. 217) corresponding to this paragraph I made use of both versions (and also Q), although at the time I misunderstood the relations between them.

The reference in NE (p. 114) to the hidden ferries at the Twilit Meres, not mentioned before, is lost in GA. In NE the sentence 'for by that way messengers would pass to and fro between Thingol and his kin in Nargothrond' continues in the manuscript 'ere the victory of Morgoth' (i.e. at Tumhalad), and these last words were changed to 'ere the death of Felagund'. This was omitted in the published text, in view of the later reference (*Unfinished Tales* p. 153) to the close relations of Orodreth with Menegroth: 'In all things [Orodreth] followed Thingol, with whom he exchanged messengers by secret ways'.

There appears here (in both versions) the Elvish name *Amon Ethir* of the Hill of Spies (the Spyhill, NE), and also (in NE only) its origin, which has never been given before: 'a mound as great as a hill that long ago Felagund had caused to be raised with great labour in the plain before his Doors'. In both versions it is a league from Nargothrond; in Q (IV.128) it was 'to the east of the Guarded Plain', but Morwen could see from its top the issuing of Glaurung. On the first map (following p. 220 in Vol.IV) it seems to be a long way east, or north-east, of Nargothrond (though 'Hill of Spies' is named on the map it is not perfectly clear where it is, IV.225); on the second map it is not named, but if it is the eminence marked on square F 6 (p. 182) it was likewise a long way from Nargothrond (about 15 leagues).

§306 'But Glaurung was aware of all that they did': where NE (p. 117) says of Glaurung that his eyes 'outreached the far sight of the Elves' a rejected form of the passage has the notable statement: 'Indeed further reached the sight of his fell eyes than even the eyes of the Elves (which thrice surpass those of Men).' Also, where it is said in NE that Glaurung 'went swiftly, for he was a mighty Worm, and yet lithe', there followed in the manuscript, but placed in brackets later, 'and he could go as speedily as a man could run, and tire not in a hundred leagues.'

§307 'Thus the ladies were lost, and of Morwen indeed no sure tidings came ever to Doriath after': so also in NE at a later point (p. 121): 'Neither then nor after did any certain news of her fate come to Doriath or to Dor-lómin', but against this my father wrote an X in the margin of the typescript. In NE the passage (p. 118) describing how one of the Elf-riders saw her as she disappeared into the mists crying *Niënor* replaced the following:

> After a while Morwen passed suddenly out of the mists, and near at hand there were two of the elf-riders; and whether she would or no her horse bore her with them swiftly away towards Doriath. And the riders comforted her, saying: 'You must go in our keeping. But others will guard your daughter. It is vain to tarry. Fear not! For she was mounted, and there is no horse but will make best speed away from the dragon-stench. We shall meet her in Doriath.'

This is another example of the precedence of NE as first written over GA; for this rejected text was apparently following the old story of Q (IV.128), that Morwen returned to Doriath. – In Q Niënor, whose presence was never revealed (see commentary on §305), did not go to the Hill of Spies with Morwen, but met with the Dragon on the banks of the Narog.

In the passage in NE (p. 118) describing the eyes of Glaurung when Niënor came face to face with him on the hill-top, the words 'they were terrible, being filled with the fell spirit of Morgoth, his master' contain an editorial alteration: the manuscript reads 'the fell spirit of Morgoth, who made him' (cf. IV.128). My father underlined the last three words in pencil, and faintly and barely legibly at the foot of the page he noted: 'Glaurung must be a demon [??contained in worm form].' On the emergence at this time of the view that Melkor could make nothing that had life of its own see X.74, 78.

§§309–12 There is a further great development in this passage (condensed from NE, pp. 119–21), following the enspelling of Niënor. There enters now Mablung's exploration of the deserted halls of Nargothrond; his discovery of Niënor on Amon Ethir in the early night; the meeting with the three other Elves of Mablung's company; the secret entrance into Doriath near the inflowing of Esgalduin; the attack by Orcs as they slept, and the slaying of the Orcs by Mablung and his companions; the flight of Niënor naked; and Mablung's return to Doriath and subsequent three-year-long search for Morwen and Niënor. In Q there is none of this; and it was Turambar with a party of the woodmen who slew the Orcs that pursued Niënor (IV.128–9).

§310 Where GA has 'the secret gate' into Doriath near the inflowing of Esgalduin into Sirion, NE (p. 120) has 'the guarded bridge'. A bridge is indeed more to be expected than a gate, for the West-

march of Doriath, *Nivrim*, was within the Girdle of Melian (V.261–2).

§312 Similarly in the manuscript of NE, after 'until she went naked' (p. 121), the words 'but for the short elven-kirtle above the knee that she had worn in her disguise' were bracketed for exclusion.

§317 *The falls of Celebros.* In NE the passage beginning 'In the morning they bore Níniel towards Ephel Brandir' (pp. 122–3) replaced an earlier text, as follows:

> In the morning they bore Níniel towards Ephel Brandir. Now there was a fair place on the way, a green sward amid white birches. There a stream leaping down from Amon Obel to find its way to the Taiglin went over a lip of worn stone, and fell into a rocky bowl far below, and all the air was filled with a soft spray, in which the sun would gleam with many colours. Therefore the woodmen called those falls *Celebros*, and loved to rest there a while.

The name *Celebros* first appeared in Q, 'the Falls of Silver-bowl' > 'the Falls of Celebros, Foam-silver', and the falls were in the Taiglin (see IV.129 and note 14). In GA the falls are still called *Celebros*, as in the passage just cited from NE from which it derives, but as in that passage my father would obviously have now placed them in the tributary stream falling down from Amon Obel towards the Taiglin.

In the NE manuscript, however, the passage was rewritten, and it is the rewritten text that stands in *Unfinished Tales* pp. 122–3: 'In the morning they bore Níniel towards Ephel Brandir, and the road went steeply upward towards Amon Obel until it came to a place where it must cross the tumbling stream of Celebros', &c. Thus *Celebros* becomes the name of the tributary stream, and in the continuation of this rewritten passage the falls themselves become *Dimrost*, the Rainy Stair. This change was not entered on the text of GA, but was incorporated in *The Silmarillion* (p. 220).

On the curious matter of the use in both versions of the name *Nen Girith* 'Shuddering Water' as if it were due to the fact of Níniel's fit of shuddering when she first came there, rather than to the prophetic nature of that shuddering whose meaning was not seen until she and Turambar were dead, see IV.186–7, where I discussed it fully.

§318 In Q (IV.129) it was said here that Brandir yielded the rule of the woodmen to Turambar (see commentary on §§301–3), and that 'he was ever true to Turambar; yet bitter was his soul when he might not win the love of Níniel.' This is not said in GA (or NE); but on the other hand there was nothing in Q about Níniel's delaying of the marriage, nor of Brandir's seeking to restrain her on account of his forebodings, nor yet of Brandir's revealing to her who Turambar

was – indeed in Q, as I have mentioned (commentary on §§301–3), there is no indication that the woodmen knew his identity.

In NE, following the story in Q, the first draft of the passage begins: 'Turambar asked her in marriage, and she went to him gladly, and at the midsummer they were wed, and the woodmen made a great feast for them' (see NE pp. 124–5). In a second stage Brandir counselled Níniel to wait, but did not tell her that Turambar was Túrin son of Húrin: that entered with a further revision to the manuscript. GA has this final form. In NE (p. 125), however, Turambar's displeasure with Brandir was at his counsel of delay: in GA it was (apparently) at Brandir's revelation to Níniel of his identity. – The motive of Níniel's delaying of the marriage goes back to the *Tale* (II.102): 'she delayed him, saying nor yea nor no, yet herself she knew not why'.

§§322–5 Following the words in NE (p. 129) 'the tale of the scouts that had seen [Glaurung] had gone about and grown in the telling' the text as originally written continued:

> Then Brandir who stood [before his house in the open place of Ephel Brandir >] nigh spoke before them and said: 'I would fain come with thee, Captain Black Sword, but thou wouldst scorn me. Rightly. But

This was changed immediately to the text printed, with Dorlas' crying scorn on Brandir, who sat 'unheeded', 'in the high-seat of the lord of the assembly'.

Up to this point, drafting for the manuscript of NE consists of little more than scribbled slips. From here on, however, there are in effect two manuscripts: one (which I shall refer to as 'the draft manuscript') being the continuation of the original, which became so chaotic with rewriting that my father subsequently copied it out fair. The draft manuscript in this part of the narrative has much interest as showing my father's development of the story from the form it had reached in Q (IV.129–30).

The words given in NE to Brandir's kinsman Hunthor (Torbarth in GA) were given first to Brandir, speaking in self-defence:

> 'Thou speakest unjustly, Dorlas. How can it be said that my counsels were vain, when they were never taken? And I say to thee that Glaurung comes now to us, as to Nargothrond before, because our deeds have bewrayed us to him, as I feared. But the son of Handir asketh none to take his place at need. I am here and will gladly go. The less loss of a cripple unwedded than of many others. Will not some stand by me, who have also less care to leave behind?'
>
> Then five men came and stood by him. And Turambar said: 'That is enough. These five I will take. But, lord, I do not scorn thee, and any who do so are fools. But see! We must go in great haste ...'

[§§322-5]

This follows, in structure, the story in Q, where 'six of his boldest men begged to come with him'. In the draft manuscript 'Turambar with Dorlas and their five companions took horse and rode away in haste to Celebros'; and when later Turambar crossed the Taiglin (NE p. 133), 'in the deep dark he counted his following. They were four. "Albarth fell," said Dorlas, "and Taiglin took him beyond aid. The other two, I deem, were daunted, and skulk now yonder."' Albarth, who here first appears, seems to have been first written *Albard*.

The draft manuscript continues:

> Then after a rest they that remained climbed, foot by foot, up the steep slope before them, till they came nigh the brink. There so foul grew the reek that their heads reeled, and they clung to the trees as best they could. The night was now passing, but there was a flicker above them as of smouldering fires, and a noise of some great beast sleeping; but if he stirred the earth quivered.
>
> Dawn came slowly; and its glimmer came to Turambar as he strove with dark dreams of dread in which all his will had been given only to clinging and holding, while a great tide of blackness had sucked and gnawed at his limbs. And he woke and looked about in the wan light, and saw that only Dorlas remained by him.
>
> 'Seven wounds I hoped to give him,' he thought. 'Well, if it be two only, then they must go deep.'
>
> But when day came indeed all passed as Turambar had hoped. For suddenly Glaurung bestirred himself, and drew himself slowly to the chasm's edge; and he did not turn aside, but prepared to spring over with his clawed forelegs and then draw his bulk after. Great was the horror of his coming, for he began the passage not right above Turambar, but many paces to the northward, and from under they could see his hideous head and gaping jaws as he peered over the brink. Then he let fly a blast, and the trees before him withered, and rocks fell into the river, and with that he cast himself forward and grappled the further bank and began to heave himself over the narrow chasm.
>
> Now there was need of great haste, for though Turambar and Dorlas had escaped from the blast since they lay not right in Glaurung's path, they could not now come at him, and soon all the device of Turambar was in point to fail utterly. Heedless now of all else he clambered down, and Dorlas followed him. Then swiftly he came beneath the Worm; but there so deadly was the heat and the stench that he tottered and was almost blinded. And Dorlas because of the reek, or being daunted at last, clung to a tree by the water, and would not move fell and lay as in a swoon [*sic; the sentence changed to:*] But Dorlas was overcome, and his

[§§322-5]

will daunted at last, and he stumbled and fell and was engulfed in the water.

Then Turambar said aloud: 'Now thou art alone at the end, Master of Doom. Fail now or conquer!' And he summoned to him all his will, and all his hatred of the Worm and his Master, and climbed up, as one finding strength and skill beyond his measure; and lo! now the midmost parts of the dragon came above him ...

I repeat here my remarks in IV.186:

In the *Tale* (II.106) the band of seven clambered up the far side of the ravine in the evening and stayed there all night; at dawn of the second day, when the dragon moved to cross, Turambar saw that he had now only three companions, and when they had to climb back down to the stream-bed to come up under Glórund's belly these three had not the courage to go up again. Turambar slew the dragon by daylight ... In Q the six all deserted Turambar during the first night ... but he spent the whole of the following day clinging to the cliff; Glómund moved to pass over the ravine on the *second* night (my father clearly wished to make the dragon-slaying take place in darkness, but achieved this at first by extending the time Turambar spent in the gorge).

Curiously enough, in the text just given my father reverted, so far as the time-scale is concerned, to the story in the *Tale*, where Turambar spent the whole night in the ravine and the dragon moved to cross at the beginning of the next day (see further the commentary on §§329–32).

In the condensed account in Q nothing is said of the need to move along the river and then to climb up again to come under the dragon's belly ('The next evening ... Glómund began the passage of the ravine, and his huge form *passed over Turambar's head*'); and here also it seems certain that my father went back to the *Tale*, where this is described in a way very similar to that in the draft manuscript of NE. In the *Tale* as in this draft there is no suggestion that the men had taken into account the possibility that the dragon might not cross at the point they had chosen (and therefore, in the final version, after attempting to climb they returned – as it must be assumed: it is not expressly stated – to the bottom of the ravine and waited); in both, they climbed up the far side of the gorge and clung beneath its brink, whence they had to climb down again to the water when the dragon moved. Dorlas' failure 'because of the reek' when he and Turambar came, in the riverbed, beneath the dragon corresponds to the failure of the three men in the *Tale*, who 'durst not climb the bank again' because 'the heat was so great and so vile the stench' (II.107).

[§§322–5]

The behaviour of Turambar's companions in the different versions can be set out thus:

The Tale

Three deserted during the night
The three others climbed down with Turambar to get beneath the dragon, but dared not climb up again

The Quenta

All six deserted during the (first) night (nothing is said of the need to change position)

Draft manuscript of NE

Two feared to cross the river and one (Albarth) was drowned in the crossing
Two more fled away during the night
The last (Dorlas) climbed down with Turambar to get beneath the dragon, but dared not climb up again

The revised and final story (NE pp. 133–4) is far better (and of course the version in GA, though very brief, is in agreement with it). By this time the passage in which Brandir defends himself against Dorlas (p. 152) had been emended to the final form (NE p. 129), except that Albarth (at first simply one of the five volunteers, but named because he fell and was drowned in the river) had become the kinsman of Brandir who rebukes Dorlas. There are now only two companions of Turambar, and the hard and boastful warrior Dorlas becomes the coward, while Albarth is the brave man who stays beside Turambar until he is struck by a falling stone. The development is a characteristic complex:

Brandir defends himself against Dorlas' scorn	Albarth defends Brandir against Dorlas' scorn
Turambar takes six companions	Turambar takes Dorlas and Albarth only as companions
One of these, Albarth, is drowned in the crossing; four flee; only Dorlas remains by Turambar	Dorlas flees Albarth remains by Turambar
Dorlas is drowned in the river	Albarth is drowned in the river

A curious detail in the final form of the story is worth remarking. In the new account, it occurs to Turambar that they are wasting their strength in climbing up the far side of the gorge *before* the dragon moves. It is not said that they descended from whatever point they had reached when he came to this realisation, and the passage concerning his dream 'in which all his will was given to

[§§322-5]
clinging' reappears from the earlier version (p. 153). But in the new story there was no need for them to cling: they could have, and surely would have, descended to the bottom and waited there. In fact, it is clear that this is what they did: it is said (NE p. 134) that when Glaurung moved to cross the ravine they were not standing right in his path, and Turambar at once 'clambered along the water-edge'. Thus the revised story still carries an unneeded trait from the earlier.

A draft slip, not fully legible, shows my father working out the new story:

> Let Túrin slay dragon at nightfall. He reaches Nen Girith as sun is going down. He warns them that Glaurung will move in *dark*. He outlines his plan. They go down to Taiglin but there the heart fails his men, and they say: 'Lord, forgive us, but our hearts are not great enough for the venture. For [*illegible words*] the thought of those we have left.'
>
> 'What of me?' said Turambar. He dismissed them with scorn.
>
> He goes on with Dorlas and Albarth.

This is an intermediate stage: there are other 'volunteers' beside Dorlas and Albarth, but they beg off before the crossing of the river. These others were abandoned.

This may seem much ado about a single episode, but it seems to me to illustrate in miniature the complex and subtle movement that is found in the history of the legends at large. It was, also, an episode of great importance: there are few 'monsters' to rival Glaurung, and my father strove to perfect the tale of how Túrin earned the title of *Dagnir Glaurunga*.

It remains to mention that in the final manuscript of NE *Albarth* was changed to *Torbarth*, the name in GA; but at all occurrences in NE of *Torbarth* it was changed later to *Hunthor*. In GA this further alteration was not made (it was of course adopted in *The Silmarillion*), but at the first occurrence only (§322) of *Torbarth* in GA my father pencilled above it *Gwerin*: on this name see further pp. 163–5.

§323 In the *Narn* (p. 132) it is told that Níniel and the people with her came to Nen Girith 'just at nightfall', but in the draft manuscript they reached the falls 'at the first breath of morning' (see commentary on §§329–32). In the draft manuscript, also, Brandir did not limp slowly after the others on his crutch, but 'took the small ambling horse that was trained to bear him, and he rode westward after Níniel and her companions. And many that saw him go had pity, for in truth he was well beloved by many.'

§324 As in GA, *Cabad-en-Aras* was corrected throughout, except where omitted by oversight, to *Cabed-en-Aras* on the final text of NE. The draft manuscript had *Mengas Dûr*, changed to *Cabad-en-*

Aras at the time of writing. In NE (p. 130) Turambar says of the ravine that over it, 'as you tell, a deer once leaped from the huntsmen of Haleth', and later (p. 140) Brandir says that Níniel 'leaped from the brink of the Deer's Leap'.

In NE (p. 130), when Turambar came to Nen Girith at sunset, he looked out over the falls, and seeing the spires of smoke rising by the banks of the Taiglin he said to his companions that this was good news, because he had feared that Glaurung would change his course and come to the Crossings, 'and so to the old road in the lowland'. I take this to be the old south road to Nargothrond, coming down from the Pass of Sirion and running through the western eaves of Brethil on its way to the Crossings; but the draft manuscript has here 'and so along the old road to Bar Haleth', against which my father wrote later: 'into deep Brethil'. *Bar Haleth* was written in above *Tavrobel* (struck out) on the map (see p. 186, §19). Beyond the fact that 'Tavrobel' was in the extreme east of Brethil it is not possible to be sure of its site. *Bar Haleth* was in turn crossed out. It seems certain therefore that this was a transient name for Ephel Brandir, which was marked in subsequently in the centre of Brethil; and 'the old road' in the draft manuscript distinct from that referred to in the final text.

§325 In NE it is told (p. 131) that from Nen Girith Turambar and his companions took the path to the Crossings, but 'before they came so far, they turned southward by a narrow track', and moved through the woods above the Taiglin towards Cabed-en-Aras. Mr Charles Noad has suggested that my sketch-map in *Unfinished Tales*, p. 149, should be modified, and the track shown to turn again *westward* to reach the Taiglin: thus 'The first stars glimmered in the East *behind* them'. See further p. 159, §333.

'So ended the last of the right kin of Haleth': 'right kin' must mean 'direct line'. But Torbarth was not the last, for Brandir, son of Handir son of Hundor son of Haleth, still lived.

§§329–32 The narrative of these paragraphs as first written in NE had many differences from the final text (pp. 135–7, beginning 'Now the screams of Glaurung came to the people at Nen Girith ...'), and I give the earlier text (which exists in two drafts); for the time-scale see commentary on §§322–5.

> Now when the screams of Glaurung came to the folk at Nen Girith they were filled with terror; and the watchers beheld from afar the great breaking and burning that the Worm made in his throes, and deemed that he was trampling and destroying all those that had assailed him. Then those that had been most eager to come and see strange deeds were most eager to go, ere Glaurung should discover them. All therefore fled, either wild into the woods, or back towards Ephel Brandir.

[§§329–32]

But when Níniel heard the voice of the Worm, her heart died within her, and a shadow of her darkness fell on her, and she sat still, shuddering by Nen Girith.

The morning passed, and still she did not stir from the spot. So it was that Brandir found her. For he came at last to the bridge, spent and weary, having limped all the long way alone on his crutch; and it was seven leagues from Ephel Brandir. Fear had urged him on. For he met with some of those that fled back, and heard all that they had to tell. 'The Black Sword is surely dead, and all with him,' they said. But when he found that Níniel was not with them, and that they had left her behind in their terror, he cursed them and pressed on to Nen Girith, thinking to defend her or comfort her.

But now that he saw her still living, he found naught to say, and had neither counsel nor comfort, and stood silent looking on her misery with pity.

Time wore on, and the sun began to wester, and there came neither sound nor tidings. Brandir looking out could see no longer any smoke by the Taiglin. And suddenly he thought in his heart: 'Beyond doubt he is slain. But Níniel lives.' And he looked at her and his heart yearned towards her, and then he was aware that it was cold in that high place; and he went and cast his cloak about her, but she said naught to him. And he stood yet a while, and he could hear no sound but the voices of the trees and the birds and the water, and he thought: 'Surely the Worm is gone, and has passed into Brethil. He will overtake the hapless folk on the way.' But he pitied them no more: fools that had flouted his counsel. Nor his people waiting in Ephel Brandir: he had forsaken them. Thither Glaurung surely would go fast, and he would have time to lead Níniel away and escape. Whither he scarce knew, for he had never strayed beyond Brethil [*first draft only:* and though he knew of the Hidden Kingdom he knew little more than that its king loved not Men, and few were ever admitted]. But time was fleeting, and soon evening would come.

Then he went again to Níniel's side, and said: 'It groweth late, Níniel. What wouldst thou do?'

'I know not,' said she. 'For I am adread. But could I overcome my shuddering, I would arise and go, and seek my lord; though I fear that he is dead.'

Then Brandir knew not what to answer; and he said: 'All is strange. Who shall read the signs? But if he lives, would he not go to Ephel Brandir, where he left thee? And the bridge of Nen Girith doth not lie on the only road, or the straightest, thither from the place of battle.'

[§§329–32]

Then Níniel was roused at last, and she stood up, crying: 'Towards tidings I came hither, and yet all tidings I miss! Hath some spell been laid on me that I linger here?' And she began to hasten down the path from the bridge. But Brandir called to her: 'Níniel! Go not alone. I will go with thee. Thou knowest not what thou may find. A healer thou mayest need. But if the dragon lies there, then beware! For the creatures of Morgoth die hard, and are dangerous in death.'

But she heeded him not and went now as though her blood burned her, which before had been cold. And though he followed as he could, because of his lameness she passed away until she was out of his sight. Then Brandir cursed his fate and his weakness, but still he held on.

Night fell and all the woods were still; and the moon rose away beyond Amon Obel, and the glades became pale. And Níniel ran on; but as she came down from the upland towards the river it seemed to her that she remembered the place, and feared it.

Thus Níniel passed the whole of the day at Nen Girith (in this earlier version she and the people with her had come there 'at the first breath of morning', commentary on §323, and Glaurung was slain in the morning); when Brandir perceived that it was cold and cast his cloak about her it was the second evening, whereas in the final story it was the night of Glaurung's death (and no long time can elapse between his death, Brandir's coming to Nen Girith, and Níniel's running down to Cabed-en-Aras). A further important divergence, among many other differences of detail, is that in the earlier all the people fled from Nen Girith, leaving Níniel alone. But from this point the draft manuscript and the final manuscript become closely similar.

§332 In NE (p. 136), as also at the end of the earlier version given in the commentary on §§329–32, 'the moon rose beyond Amon Obel'. The sketch-map in *Unfinished Tales* (p. 149) is not well oriented: as is seen from revisions made to the second map (and so reproduced on my map to the published *Silmarillion*), Amon Obel was almost due east of the Crossings of Taiglin.

§333 There are two points of detail to be mentioned in the text of NE corresponding to this paragraph. The words concerning the track that Brandir took to head off Níniel, 'went steeply down southward to the river' (p. 137), were an editorial change from the reading of the manuscript, which has 'went steeply down westward'. The change was made because it is expressly said here that it was the path that Turambar and his companions had taken earlier: cf. p. 131 'they turned southward by a narrow track'; but Mr Noad's clearly correct suggestion (see p. 157, §325) makes this

emendation unnecessary. Secondly, in the words of Glaurung to Níniel at his death (p. 138) 'We meet again ere the end', 'ere the end' is a simple error for 'ere we end'.

§334 '[She] ran like a hunted deer, and came to Cabed-en-Aras': the name Cabed-en-Aras referred to the actual ravine in the Taiglin, and (as I suggested in *Unfinished Tales* p. 150, note 27) it may be supposed that the death-leap of Glaurung had carried him a good distance beyond the further cliff, so that Níniel had some way to run to the ravine. The wording of NE is clearer: 'Swiftly she came to the brink of Cabed-en-Aras'.

§335 *Cabad Naeramarth*: in an earlier form of this passage in NE (p. 138) the name was *Cabad Amarth* 'Leap of Doom'. In §§335, 346 *Cabad* was not corrected.

§§336–7 In Q there was no mention of Brandir's bringing the tidings to the waiting people. This was due to Q's compression, for it appears in the *Tale* (II.110); and his words in GA (deriving from NE) 'and those tidings are good' echo those in the *Tale*: 'and that is well; aye very well': in both, those who heard him thought that he was mad.

§§339–42 Q was here exceedingly compressed, saying only: 'he asked for Níniel, but none dared tell him, save Brandir. And Brandir distraught with grief reproached him; wherefore Túrin slew him ...' The complex scene in NE and GA goes back in a very general way to the *Tale* (II.111); there also Turambar calls Tamar (Brandir) 'Club-foot', and it is this (as it appears) that leads him to tell all that he knows, which in turn incites Turambar to murder him, believing him to be lying out of malice.

§§346–7 In the *Tale* and Q the voice from the sword does not speak of Beleg or of Brandir. In NE as first written Turambar himself named them in his address to the sword: 'From no blood wilt thou shrink. Not from Beleg slain in madness, not from Brandir slain unjustly. That was a wicked deed, thou black sword. Do now a better and take Túrin Turambar! Wilt thou slay me swiftly?' And the voice from the blade replied: 'Thy blood will I gladly drink. For it is of the best, and sweeter will it seem than any that thou hast given me. Swift will I slay thee!' – echoing the words of Gurtholfin in the *Tale*, II.112; cf. also Q, IV.130.

§349 The sword was not broken in the *Tale* or in Q. – At the top of the manuscript page my father wrote hastily in pencil: 'Túrin should slay himself on Finduilas' tomb' (cf. *Unfinished Tales* p. 150, note 28).

The conclusion of NE (p. 146) in the manuscript actually reads: 'Thus endeth the tale of the Children of Húrin [*added:*] as it was told in the *Glaer nia* [*later* > *Narn i*] *Chîn Húrin*, the longest of all the lays of Beleriand.' The conclusion added afterwards to GA is

thus almost exactly the same as that in NE, which does not however have the words 'and was made by Men'; with this cf. X.373.

NOTE 1

Variant forms at the end of the tale of the Children of Húrin

There are, first, some rough draft texts that sketch out ideas for the dénouement of the tragedy; there can be no doubt that they were all abandoned in favour of the actual ending in NE and GA. One of them, beginning as in NE p. 143 immediately after the slaying of Brandir, reads as follows:

> now cursing Middle-earth and all the life of Men, now calling upon Níniel. But when at last the madness left him, he walked still in the wild bent and haggard, and pondered all his life in his thought, and ever Níniel's image was before him. And now with opened eye he saw her, remembering his father: there in woman's form was his voice and his face and the bend of his brows, and his hair like to gold, even as Túrin had the dark hair and the grey eyes, the [?pale cheek] and [*illegible words*] of Morwen his mother of the House of Bëor. Doubt could not be. But how had it chanced? Where then was Morwen? Had they never reached the H[idden] K[ingdom]? How had they met Glaurung? But no, he dared never seek Morwen.

I believe that this was a soon abandoned idea that Túrin could come, through his own reflections, to a recognition that what Brandir had said was true. It was displaced by the story of the coming of Mablung to the Crossings of Taiglin and meeting Túrin there.

In two related passages my father entertained the idea that Túrin met Morwen before his end. The first is very brief:

> And as he sat like a beggar-man near the Crossings of Taiglin, an old woman came by bowed on a stick; ragged she was and forlorn and her grey hair blew wild in the wind. But she gave him good-day, saying: 'And good day it is, master, for the sun is warm, and then hunger gnaws less. These are evil days for our likes: for I see by your bearing that, as I and so many, you have seen prouder days. In the summer we can drag on our lives, but who dare look beyond winter?'
>
> 'Whither go you, lady?' he said, 'for so methinks you were once wont to be called.'
>
> 'Nowhither,' she answered. 'I have long since ceased to seek what I missed. Now I took for naught but what will keep me over night to the next grey dawn. Tell me, whither goes this green road? Do any still dwell in the deep forest? And are they as fell as wanderers' tales tell?'

'What say they?' he asked.

This is followed on the manuscript page by 'now cursing Middle-earth and all the life of Men' &c., leading into a draft of the final version, where Mablung appears at the Crossings.

The second of these passages is longer, but only barely legible and in places altogether illegible. It begins in the same way as that just given, but Morwen's second speech ends at 'I look for naught beyond what will keep me through the cold night to next dawn.' Then Túrin speaks:

> 'I seek not either,' said he. 'For what I had is now lost utterly and is gone from Middle-earth for ever. But what would you seek?'
>
> 'What would an old woman seek,' said she, 'out in the wild, but her children, even if all say they be dead. I sought for a son once, but he went long ago. Then I sought for my daughter, but 'tis five years since she was lost in the wild. Five years is a long time for one young and fair – if the Worm did not get her, the Orcs have [*illegible*], or the [?cold heedless] wild.'
>
> Then suddenly T[úrin]'s heart stood still. 'What like was your daughter, lady? Or what maybe was her name?'

The old woman told him that her daughter was tall, with golden hair and blue eyes, fleet-footed, a lover of all things that grow;

> '... Yet a little she leaped in her words, as her sire did also. Niënor daughter of Húrin she would have named herself, an you asked her. But maybe it would mean naught. For the name of Húrin was great [*illegible words*] All the realms [*illegible words*] are beaten down and mean folk or evil are lords. Yet you are of the older folk, I deem. I see by thy face that the old name meant somewhat to thee still.'
>
> Túrin stared at her as a man that sees a ghost. 'Yea,' said he at last slowly. 'The name of Húrin of Hithlum and Morwen Baragund's daughter was known to me.

Of the remainder I can only read snatches:

> and Morwen and her daughter went to the Hidden Kingdom [*illegible*] they say in Hithlum.' The old woman laughed bitterly. 'And what else did they say? That first Túrin went there and was used by the king in his border wars and lost, but came to Nargothrond and that Morwen went to seek him there with tardy aid of Thingol, but [*illegible words*] by the great drake Glaurung. [*illegible words*] Then she wept [*illegible words*]

This is clearly the beginning of another narrative route whereby Túrin might learn the truth, likewise abandoned before it was developed. – A pencilled note shows the entry of the 'Mablung-intervention':

> Mablung searches and brings tidings to Thingol of Glaurung setting forth. This coincides with rumour (among orcs and wanderers) that the Black Sword has reappeared in Brethil. Mablung comes to Brethil (without orders from Thingol?) to warn Túrin and bring news of Niënor and Morwen.

Morwen should go back to Thingol and then depart as a beggar in the wild.

Lastly, and very remarkable, there is the following synopsis of the end of the story, written carefully on a slip, apparently over the same or similar text set down very roughly in pencil:

Turambar sets out. Asks for two companions. Dorlas volunteers, and speaks scorn of Brandir. Gwerin kinsman of Brandir volunteers. Brandir is embittered. Turambar bids Níniel stay at home.

When T[urambar] has gone Níniel insists on following. Brandir forbids but she takes no heed. Brandir appears to the Men of Brethil, but they will not obey him – they beg Níniel to remain, but as she will not, they will not restrain her by force. The wives of Dorlas and Gwerin go with her. Brandir follows after them.

The slaying of the Dragon may be told more or less as already done. But when Níniel reaches Nen Girith shuddering again takes her, and she can go no further. The wives also are not willing to go on – for they meet the scouts at Nen Girith and learn how near the Worm is ..... [*sic*]

When Túrin draws his sword out of Glaurung's belly, Glaurung's blood burns his sword hand; *also* Glaurung speaks to him, and says that Níniel is his sister. Túrin falls into a swoon of pain and horror.

The Dragon dies. Suddenly Níniel recovers her memory and all her past life is revealed to her. She sits aghast. Brandir sees her anguish, but believes that it is due to belief that Túrin has been slain – the dreadful cries of Glaurung have been heard at Nen Girith. Níniel gets up to flee, and Brandir thinking that she will really go in search of Túrin (while Glaurung is abroad) restrains her, saying *Wait!*

She turns to him, crying that this was ever his counsel, and to her sorrow she did not take it. But he may give that counsel once too often!

As indeed it proved. For at that moment Túrin appears. When the Dragon died his swoon also departed, but the anguish of the venom on his hand remained. He came, therefore, to Nen Girith for help, believing the scouts there. (It is Túrin that slays Dorlas on the way?)

As Turambar appears, Níniel gives a wail, crying: 'Túrin son of Húrin! Too late have we met. The dark days are gone. But night comes after!' 'How know you that name?' 'Brandir told me, and behold! I am Niënor. Therefore we must part.' And with that, ere any could hold her, she leapt over the fall of Nen Girith, and so ended, crying 'Water, water, wash me clean! Wash me of my life!'

Then the anguish of Túrin was terrible to see; and a mad fury took him, and he cursed Middle-earth and all the life of Men. And stooping over the falls, he cried in vain *Níniel, Níniel.* And he turned

in wrath upon all those that were there, against his command; and all fled away from him, save only Brandir, who for ruth and horror could not move. But Túrin turned to him and said: 'Behold thy work, limping evil! Had Níniel remained, as I left her, and hadst thou not told my name, she might have been restrained from death. I could have gone away and left her, and she might have mourned for Turambar only.'

But Brandir cursed him, saying that their wedding could not have been hid; and that it was Túrin who wrought all this grief. 'And me thou hast shorn of all that I had, and would have – for thou art reckless and greedy!'

Then Túrin slew Brandir in his wrath. And repenting, he slew himself (using same words to the sword).

Mablung comes with news, and is heart-stricken. The Elves help the Halethrim to build a mound or memorial for the Children of Húrin – but N[íniel] was not there, and her body could not be found: mayhap Celebros bore it to Taiglin and Taiglin to the Sea.

A further simplification would be to make Brandir willing to go with Níniel, to guard her – for he thought Túrin would die.

This last sentence presumably refers to Brandir's attempt to stop Níniel from following Turambar from Ephel Brandir.

It seems impossible actually to demonstrate at what point in the evolution of the legend this was written, but that it is anyway as late as the rewritten, final form of the last part of the *Narn* is clear from such a detail as that *Celebros* is the name of the stream (see commentary on §317). I think that it belongs with the other passages given in this Note, in that it represents another, though far more drastic, attempt to reach the dénouement of Túrin's 'recognition' – this time from Niënor herself, who has learned the truth through no intermediary, but simply from the removal of the spell on her memory by the Dragon's death. But Mablung appears, though now after Túrin's death, and so I suspect that it is the latest of these attempts, and may very probably have *succeeded* the final form of the text. *Gwerin* as the name of Brandir's kinsman (Albarth, Torbarth, Hunthor) has appeared once before, pencilled over the first occurrence of Torbarth in GA (§322).

That my father should even have contemplated, to the extent of roughing out a synopsis, breaking so violently the superb interlocking narrative structure represented by the final text of the last part of the *Narn* is extraordinary and hard to fathom. Did he feel that it had become too evidently a 'structure', too complex in those interlocking movements, reports, forebodings, chances? The concluding note ('A *further simplification* would be ...') may support this. But it seems to me most probable that he was primarily concerned with the coming of Mablung (or indeed Morwen) as a *deus ex machina* at that very

moment, bearer of the irrefutable proof, which he felt to be a serious weakness.

However this may be, the result is, I think, and granting that it is only represented by a rapid synopsis written in a certain way, far weaker; and since, apart perhaps from the pencilled name *Gwerin* in the *Grey Annals*, there is no other trace of it, it may be that he thought likewise.

NOTE 2

A further account of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears

The text of Chapter 20 in the published *Silmarillion* was primarily derived from the story in the *Grey Annals*, but elements were introduced from the old Chapter 16 in QS (V.307–13), and also from a third text. This is a typescript made by my father, and to all appearance made *ab initio* on his typewriter; it was explicitly intended as a component in the long prose Tale of the Children of Húrin (the *Narn*), but he had the manuscript of the *Grey Annals* in front of him, and for much of its length the new version remained so close to the *Annals* text that it can be regarded as scarcely more than a variant, although unquestionably much later. For this reason, and also because some of its divergent (additional) features had in any case been incorporated in the *Silmarillion* chapter, I excluded it from the *Narn* in *Unfinished Tales* (see pp. 65–6 and note 2 in that book), except for its end. There is however a major divergence in the *Narn* account which altogether contradicts the previous versions, and this is a convenient place to record it, together with some other details.

The text opens as follows (the typescript was a good deal corrected in ink, I think almost certainly very soon after it had been made, and I adopt these corrections silently except in certain cases).

Many songs are yet sung, and many tales are yet told by the Elves of the Nirnaeth Arnoediad, the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, in which Fingon fell and the flower of the Eldar withered. If all were now retold a man's life would not suffice for the hearing. Here then shall be recounted only those deeds which bear upon the fate of the House of Hador and the children of Húrin the Steadfast.

Having gathered at length all the strength that he could Maedros appointed a day, the morning of Midsummer. On that day the trumpets of the Eldar greeted the rising of the Sun, and in the east was raised the standard of the Sons of Fëanor; and in the west the standard of Fingon, King of the Noldor.

Then Fingon looked out from the walls of Eithel Sirion, and

his host was arrayed in the valleys and woods upon the east borders of Eryd-wethion, well hid from the eyes of the Enemy; but he knew that it was very great. For there all the Noldor of Hithlum were assembled, and to them were gathered many Elves of the Falas and [*struck out at once:* a great company] of Nargothrond; and he had great strength of Men. Upon the right were stationed the host of Dor-lómin and all the valour of Húrin and Huor his brother, and to them had come Hundar of Brethil, their kinsman, with many men of the woods.

Then Fingon looked east and his elven-sight saw far off a dust and the glint of steel like stars in a mist, and he knew that Maedros had set forth; and he rejoiced. Then he looked towards Thangorodrim, and behold! there was a dark cloud about it and a black smoke went up; and he knew that the wrath of Morgoth was kindled and that their challenge would be accepted, and a shadow fell upon his heart. But at that moment a cry went up, passing on the wind from the south from vale to vale, and Elves and Men lifted up their voices in wonder and joy. For unsummoned and unlooked-for Turgon had opened the leaguer of Gondolin, and was come with an army, ten thousand strong, with bright mail and long swords and spears like a forest. Then when Fingon heard afar the great trumpet of Turgon, the shadow passed and his heart was uplifted, and he shouted aloud: *Utulie'n aurë! Aiya Eldalië ar Atanatarni, utulie'n aurë!* (The day has come! Lo, people of the Eldar and Fathers of Men, the day has come!) And all those who heard his great voice echo in the hills answered crying: *Auta i lómë!* (The night is passing!)

It was not long before the great battle was joined. For Morgoth knew much of what was done and designed by his foes and had laid his plans against the hour of their assault. Already a great force out of Angband was drawing near to Hithlum, while another and greater went to meet Maedros to prevent the union of the powers of the kings. And those that came against Fingon were clad all in dun raiment and showed no naked steel, and thus were already far over the sands before their approach became known.

Then the heart of Fingon [> the hearts of the Noldor] grew hot, and he [> their captains] wished to assail their foes on the plain; but Húrin [> Fingon] spoke against this.

'Beware of the guile of Morgoth, lords!' he said. 'Ever his strength is more than it seems, and his purpose other than he reveals. Do not reveal your own strength, but let the enemy

spend his first in assault on the hills. At least until the signal of Maedros is seen.' For it was the design of the kings that Maedros should march openly over the Anfauglith with all his strength, of Elves and of Men and of Dwarves; and when he had drawn forth, as he hoped, the main armies of Morgoth in answer, then Fingon should come on from the west, and so the might of Morgoth should be taken as between hammer and anvil and be broken to pieces; and the signal for this was to be the firing of a great beacon in Dorthonion.

But the Captain of Morgoth in the west had been commanded to draw out Fingon from his hills by whatever means he could.

It is most remarkable that in this *Narn* version there is no reference whatever to the hindering of Maedros by the guile of Uldor the Accursed; while on the other hand there is here the entirely new statement that a second and greater force left Angband to intercept Maedros and 'prevent the union of the powers of the kings' (contrast GA §222, where it is said that Morgoth 'trusted in his servants to hold back Maidros and prevent the union of his foes' – referring of course to the machinations of Uldor). Later in this narrative, the passage corresponding to the opening of GA §228 reads:

Then in the plain of Anfauglith, on the fourth day of the war, there began the Nirnaeth Arnoediad, all the sorrow of which no tale can contain. Of all that befell in the eastward battle: of the routing of Glaurung the Drake by the Naugrim of Belegost; of the treachery of the Easterlings and the overthrow of the host of Maedros and the flight of the Sons of Fëanor, no more is here said. In the west the host of Fingon retreated over the sands ...

Here 'the eastward battle' is spoken of as if it were altogether separate from the fighting in the west: there is no suggestion here that the host of Maedros finally came up and fell upon the rear of the enemy (GA §229). Finally, where in GA the meeting of Turgon and Húrin in the midst of the battle is followed (§229) by the coming of the host of Maidros, the *Narn* version reads:

And it is said that the meeting of Turgon with Húrin who stood beside Fingon was glad in the midst of battle. For a while then the hosts of Angband were driven back, and Fingon again began his retreat. But having routed Maedros in the east Morgoth had now great forces to spare, and before Fingon and Turgon could come to the shelter of the hills they were assailed by a tide of foes thrice greater than all the force that was left to them.

With these last words the *Narn* version returns to the GA text at §233. Thus my father, for whatever reason, had expunged the entire element of 'the machinations of Uldor' in delaying Maedros, and radically altered the course of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears by introducing the defeat and rout of the eastern host before any junction of the forces was achieved.

In *The Silmarillion* I preserved (inevitably) the story as told in the *Grey Annals*, but incorporated certain elements from the *Narn*, as may be seen from a comparison of the opening of the latter (pp. 165–6) with *The Silmarillion* pp. 190–1: the cloud and smoke over Thangorodrim, the great cry of Fingon, the 'dun raiment' of the force from Angband that came towards Hithlum. Some other minor points in this passage may be mentioned. The 'great company from Nargothrond' (see §221 and commentary) is corrected (p. 166); and the name of the leader of the men of Brethil, in GA Hundor son of Haleth the Hunter, is changed to Hundar: later in the text his father is said to be Halmir – an aspect of the extremely complex refashioning of the genealogies of the Edain which need not be entered into here (see pp. 236–8).

In GA (§222), following QS (§11), it was Fingon who was all for attacking at once the force from Angband on the plain, and Húrin who opposed it; this was followed in the *Narn*, but then corrected to make it Fingon who opposed the rashness of his captains. The change was perhaps made for probability's sake: such prudence and experience of Morgoth should lie rather with Fingon King of the Noldor than with Húrin, a Man of no more than thirty-one years. – Húrin (> Fingon) urged that the western host should wait in its positions 'at least until the signal of Maedros is seen'. In GA (§217) the occasion of the signal of Maidros to Fingon (not particularised as a beacon in Dorthonion) was to be the moment when the march of Maidros in open force over Anfauglith had incited the host of Morgoth to come forth from Angband; and owing to Uldor the Accursed the signal did not come. In the *Narn* Fingon with his far sight had actually seen that Maedros had set out, and it is also told that great force was on its way from Angband to meet him; but it is not said that the beacon was fired.

Other features of the story as told in *The Silmarillion* that are not found in GA are derived from the *Narn*. In the latter there is a more detailed account of the confrontation between the two hosts, and the riders of Morgoth come to the walls of the fortress at Eithel Sirion (here called *Barad Eithel*): thus whereas in GA Gwindor saw the slaughter of his brother Gelmir 'across the water', in the *Narn* he was 'at that point in the outposts'. The account of the western battle is very close indeed to that in GA, but the death of Fingon is differently and more fully told (see *The Silmarillion* p. 193): with the coming of Gothmog 'high-captain of Angband' Fingon was cut off from Húrin and Turgon, who were driven towards the Fen of Serech. The speeches

of Turgon, Húrin, and Huor were scarcely changed from their form in GA (§§234–5), but the needed change in Huor's words to 'I shall never look on thy white walls *again*' was made (see the commentary on §§234–5). Lastly, in the *Narn* it is said that Húrin 'seized the axe of an Orc-captain and wielded it two-handed', and again Gothmog appears (see *The Silmarillion* p. 195).

In the account of the Mound of the Slain the *Narn* version names it *Haudh-en-Ndengin*, subsequently changed to *Haudh-en-Nirnaeth*.

The *Narn* text concludes with a remarkable elaboration of the confrontation of Húrin and Morgoth on the basis of GA §§244–8 (itself an elaboration of QS §§21–3); this was the only part of the text included in *Unfinished Tales* (pp. 66–8). As the speeches were typed they were set entirely in the second person singular, 'thou wert', 'knowest thou', etc.; but my father went through it changing every 'thou' and 'thee' to 'you', and the equivalent verb-forms – and changing 'Knowest thou' to 'Do you know' rather than 'Know you' (also 'puissant' to 'mighty'). In this form, of course, the text was printed in *Unfinished Tales*.

NOTE 3

A further account of the coming of Húrin and Huor to Gondolin

As in the case of the story of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears described in Note 2 above, there is also a version of that of Húrin and Huor in Gondolin found as a component of the *Narn*. This is even more closely based on the story in the *Grey Annals* §§161–6: while there are many small variations in the precise wording, virtually none are of any moment in respect of the narrative, until the end is reached, where a significant difference appears. This story was excluded from the *Narn* in *Unfinished Tales*, but its existence noted: p. 146, note 1. Before the end the only point worth mentioning is that Maeglin's words (GA §165) are here much fiercer: 'The king's grace to you is greater than ye know; and some might wonder wherefore the strict law is abated for two knave-children of Men. It would be safer if they had no choice but to abide here as our servants to their life's end.'

According to the story in GA, Húrin and Huor told when they returned to Dor-lómin that 'they had dwelt a while in honour in the halls of King Turgon', even though they would say nothing else. Against this my father noted on the GA typescript (p. 127, §166): 'They did not reveal Turgon's name'; and in the *Narn* version they refused altogether to declare even to their father where they had been. This version was adopted in the published *Silmarillion* (p. 159), with only a change at the end. Here the *Narn* text has:

> Then Galion [> Galdor] questioned them no more; but he and many others guessed at the truth. For both the oath of silence and the Eagles pointed to Turgon, men thought.

The conclusion of the passage in *The Silmarillion* ('and in time the strange fortune of Húrin and Huor reached the ears of the servants of Morgoth') was taken from the GA version.

On these two (otherwise so closely similar) texts of the story see further p. 314.

PART TWO

THE LATER *QUENTA SILMARILLION*

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In Part Two I shall trace the development of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, in the years following the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*, from the point reached in Vol.X, p. 199; but the history now becomes (for the most part) decidedly simpler: much of the development can be conveyed by recording individually all the significant changes made to QS, and there is no need to divide it into two 'phases', as was done in Vol.X. The basic textual series is QS (so far as it went before its abandonment); the early amanuensis typescript **'LQ 1'** of 1951, for which see X.141–3; and the late amanuensis typescript **'LQ 2'** of about 1958, for which see X.141-2, 300.

In this latter part of the history the chapter-numbers become rather confusing, but I think that it would be more confusing to have none, and therefore I continue the numbering used in Vol.X, where the last chapter treated, *Of the Sun and Moon and the Hiding of Valinor*, was given the number 8.

9 OF MEN

This chapter was numbered 7 in the QS manuscript (for the text see V.245–7, §§81–7). The difference is simply due to the fact that the three 'sub-chapters' in QS numbered in Vol.V 3(a), 3(b), and 3(c) were in Vol.X called 3, 4, and 5 (see X.299). Few changes were made to the QS manuscript in later revision, and those that were made were incorporated in LQ 1. That typescript received no alterations, and is of textual value in only a few respects; the typist of LQ 2 did not use it, but worked directly from the old manuscript.

§81 'The Valar sat now behind the mountains and feasted' > 'Thus the Valar sat now behind their mountains in peace'.

§82 The placing of Hildórien 'in the uttermost East of Middle-earth that lies beside the eastern sea' was changed to: 'in the midmost parts of Middle-earth beyond the Great River and the Inner Sea, in regions which neither the Eldar nor the Avari have known'.

Many phrases have been used of the site of Hildórien. In the 'Annals' tradition it was 'in the East of the world' (IV.269, V.118, 125), but this was changed on the manuscript of AV 2 to 'in the midmost regions of the world' (V.120, note 13). In the *Quenta* it was 'in the East of East' (IV.99), and in QS, as cited above, 'in the uttermost East of Middle-earth': in my commentary on QS (V.248) I suggested that this last was not in contradiction with the changed

reading of AV 2: 'Hildórien was in the furthest east of *Middle-earth*, but it was in the middle regions of the world; see *Ambarkanta* map IV, on which Hildórien is marked (IV.249).'

In the texts of the post-*Lord of the Rings* period there is the statement in the *Grey Annals* (GA) §57 that it was 'in the midmost regions of the world', as in the emended reading of AV 2; and there is the new phrase in the revision of QS, 'in *the midmost parts of Middle-earth* beyond the Great River and the Inner Sea' (with loss of the mention in the original text of 'the eastern sea'). This last shows unambiguously that a change had taken place, but it is very hard to say what it was. It cannot be made to agree with the old *Ambarkanta* maps: one might indeed doubt that those maps carried much validity for the eastern regions by this time, and wonder whether by 'the Inner Sea' my father was referring to 'the Inland Sea of Rhûn' (see *The Treason of Isengard* pp. 307, 333) – but on the other hand, in the *Annals of Aman* (X.72, 82) from this same period the Great Journey of the Elves from Kuiviénen ('a bay in the Inland Sea of Helkar') is described in terms that suggest that the old conception was still fully present. Can the Sea of Rhûn be identified with the Sea of Helkar, vastly shrunken? – Nor is it easy to understand how Hildórien 'in the midmost parts of Middle-earth' could be 'in regions which neither the Eldar nor the Avari have known'.

In LQ 2 most of the revised passage is absent, and the text reads simply: 'in the land of Hildórien in the midmost parts of Middle-earth; for measured time had come upon Earth ...' If this is significant, it must depend on a verbal direction from my father. On the other hand, the revision was written on the manuscript in two parts: 'in the midmost parts' in the margin and the remainder on another part of the page, where it would be possible to miss it; and I think this much the likeliest explanation.

§83 The opening of the footnote (V.245) was changed from 'The Eldar called them Hildi' to 'Atani they were called in Valinor, but the Eldar called them also Hildi'; and 'the birth of the Hildi' was changed to 'the arising of the Hildi'. For *Atani* see GA §57 and commentary. As frequently before, the typist of LQ 1 placed the footnote in the body of the text, where my father left it to stand; but it reappears as a footnote to LQ 2 – a first indication that the typescript was taken from the QS manuscript.

After 'those fathers of Men' (in which the *f* should not have been capitalised) was added 'the *Atanatardi*'. Here LQ 1 has *Atanatarni*, which was not corrected; while LQ 2 – based not on LQ 1 but on the manuscript – has *Atanatardi*. But the form *Atanatarni* occurs in the *Narn* text given in Note 2 to Part One: there Fingon before the beginning of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears cries *Aiya Eldalië ar Atanatarni* (p. 166). In GA §87, in a different passage, the form is

Atanatári (which was adopted in *The Silmarillion*); cf. also *Atanatárion*, X.373.

§85 The sentence 'Only in the realm of Doriath, whose queen Melian was of divine race, did the Ilkorins come near to match the Elves of Kôr' was changed to: 'whose queen Melian was of the kindred of the [gods >] Valar, did the [Ekelli >] Sindar come near to match the [Elves of Túna >] Kalaquendi of the Blessed Realm.' On the term *Ekelli* 'the Forsaken' and its replacement by *Sindar* see X.169–70.

Eruman > *Araman* (cf. X.123, 194).

'the ancient wisdom of their race' > '... of their folk'.

§86 'What befell their spirits after death' > 'What may befall ...'

'beside the Western Sea' > 'beside the Outer Sea' (see V.248, §86).

§87 'vanished from the earth' > 'vanished from the Middle-earth'.

★

To one or other copies of the LQ 2 typescript my father made a few changes. The chapter, typed without a number, was now numbered 'XI'. 'Gnomes' was changed to 'Noldor' at each occurrence, and in the first sentence of §85 'Dark-elves' to 'Sindar'. Against §82 he wrote: 'This depends upon an old version in which the Sun was first made after the death of the Trees (described in a chapter omitted).' I have already noticed this in X.299–300, and explained why he numbered the present chapter 'XI'. He also bracketed in pencil three passages in the account of the mortality of the Elves in §85: 'Yet their bodies were of the stuff of earth ... consumeth them from within in the courses of time'; 'days or years, even a thousand'; 'and their deserts'.

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10 OF THE SIEGE OF ANGBAND

This chapter was numbered 8 in the QS manuscript, and the text is given in V.248–55, §§88–104. As in the preceding chapter, all post-*Lord of the Rings* revision was carried out on the QS manuscript: that is to say, no further revisions were made to the typescript LQ 1; and here again the late typescript LQ 2 was derived from the manuscript, not from LQ 1. In this chapter, on the other hand, by no means all the revisions made to the manuscript are found in LQ 1; and in the account that follows I notice all such cases. I do not notice the changes *Eruman* > *Araman*; *Tûn* > *Túna*; *Gnomes* > *Noldor*; *Thorndor* > *Thorondor*; *Bladorion* > *Ard-galen* (see p. 113, §44).

§88 The opening passage of the chapter in QS was rewritten on a slip attached to the manuscript – this slip being the reverse of a letter to my father dated 14 November 1951: but it was not incorporated into LQ 1. The introduction of this rider led the typist of LQ 2 to

ignore the fact that a new chapter begins at this point, and to type *Of the Siege of Angband* as all of a piece with *Of Men*; subsequently my father inserted a new heading *Of the Siege of Angband* with the number 'XII' (on which see p. 175). The new opening reads:

> As was before told Fëanor and his sons came first of the Exiles to Middle-earth, and they landed in the waste of Lammoth upon the outer shores of the Firth of Drengist. Now that region was so named, for it lay between the Sea and the walls of the echoing mountains of the Eryd Lómin. And even as the Noldor set foot upon the strand their cries were taken up into the hills and multiplied, so that a great clamour as of countless mighty voices filled all the coasts of the North; and it is said that the noise of the burning of the ships at Losgar went down the winds of the Sea as a tumult of great wrath, and far away all that heard that sound were filled with wonder.
>
> Under the cold stars before the rising of the Moon Fëanor and his folk marched eastward, and they passed the Eryd Lómin, and came into the great land of Hithlum, and crossing the country of Dor-lómin they came at length to the long lake of Mithrim, and upon its north-shore they made their first camp in that region which was called by the like name.
>
> There a host of the Orcs, aroused by the tumult of Lammoth, and the light of the burning at Losgar, came down upon them; and beside the waters of Mithrim was fought the first battle upon Middle-earth ...

This is the story of Lammoth told (at about this same time) in the later *Tale of Tuor* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 23):

> Tuor was now come to the Echoing Mountains of Lammoth about the Firth of Drengist. There once long ago Fëanor had landed from the sea, and the voices of his host were swelled to a mighty clamour upon the coasts of the North ere the rising of the Moon.

On the much later and apparently distinct story that Lammoth was so called because the echoes of Morgoth's cry were awakened by 'any who cried aloud in that land' see X.296, §17 and commentary, and *Unfinished Tales* p. 52. Both 'traditions' were incorporated in the published *Silmarillion*, pp. 80–1, 106.

At the end of this paragraph my father pencilled on the manuscript: 'He [Fëanor] gives the green stone to Maidros', but then noted that this was not in fact to be inserted; see under §97 below.

§90 'and they were unwilling to depart, whatever he might do' > '... whatever he might do, being held by their oath.' This addition is not present in LQ 1; while the typist of LQ 2, unable to read the first word, put 'They held by their oath', and this was allowed to stand. Cf. GA §50.

§91 'the Sun rose flaming in the West' > 'the Sun rose flaming above the shadows' (not in LQ 1).

'and good was made of evil, as happens still' removed.

§93 'the bright airs of those earliest of mornings' > 'the bright airs in the first mornings of the world.'

§94 A subheading was pencilled in the margin at the beginning of this paragraph: *Of Fingon and Maeðros* (apparently first written *Maidros*: see p. 115, §61). Not found in LQ 1, this was incorporated in LQ 2.

In the second sentence 'most renowned' > 'most honoured' (not in LQ 1).

To the words 'for the thought of his torment troubled his heart' was added (not in LQ 1): 'and long before, in the bliss of Valinor, ere Melkor was unchained, or lies came between them, he had been close in friendship with Maedros.' Cf. GA §61 and commentary (p. 115).

§95 'for the banished Gnomes!' > 'for the Noldor in their need!'

§97 A new page in the QS manuscript begins with the opening of this paragraph, and at the top of the page my father pencilled: 'The Green Stone of Fëanor given by Maidros to Fingon.' This can hardly be other than a reference to the *Elessar* that came in the end to Aragorn; cf. the note given under §88 above referring to Fëanor's gift at his death of the Green Stone to Maidros. It is clear, I think, that my father was at this time pondering the previous history of the *Elessar*, which had emerged in *The Lord of the Rings*; for his later ideas on its origin see *Unfinished Tales* pp. 248–52.

§98 '(Therefore the house of Fëanor were called the Dispossessed,) because of the doom of the Gods which gave the kingdom of Tûn [*later* > Túna] to Fingolfin, and because of the loss of the Silmarils' was changed (but the change is not present in LQ 1) to: '... (as Mandos foretold) because the overlordship passed from it, the elder, to the house of Fingolfin, both in Elendë and in Beleriand, and because also of the loss of the Silmarils.'

With the words 'as Mandos foretold' cf. AAm §153 (X.117); and on the content of the paragraph see p. 115, commentary on GA §§65–71.

§99 At the end of the paragraph, after 'he [Thingol] trusted not that the restraint of Morgoth would last for ever', was added: 'neither would he ever wholly forget the deeds at Alqualondë, because of his ancient kinship with [Elwë >] Olwë lord of the Teleri.' On the change of *Elwë* to *Olwë* see X.169–70.

§100 'in unexplored country' > 'in untrodden lands'.

§101 This passage on the finding of Nargothrond and Gondolin was expanded in three stages. The first alteration to QS replaced the sentence 'But Turgon went alone into hidden places' thus:

> Yet Galadriel his sister went never to Nargothrond, for she remained long in Doriath and received the love of Melian, and abode with her and there learned great lore and wisdom. But the heart of Turgon remembered rather the white city of Tirion upon its hill, and its tower and tree, and he journeyed alone into hidden places...

Subsequently the whole of QS §101 was struck through and replaced by the following rider on a separate sheet. This was taken up into the first typescript LQ 1, but in a somewhat different form from the rider to the manuscript, which was followed in LQ 2 and is given here.

> And it came to pass that Inglor and Galaðriel were on a time the guests of Thingol and Melian; for there was friendship between the lord of Doriath and the House of Finrod that were his kin, and the princes of that house alone were suffered to pass the girdle of Melian. Then Inglor was filled with wonder at the strength and majesty of Menegroth, with its treasuries and armouries and its many-pillared halls of stone; and it came into his heart that he would build wide halls behind everguarded gates in some deep and secret place beneath the hills. And he opened his heart to Thingol, and when he departed Thingol gave him guides, and they led him westward over Sirion. Thus it was that Inglor found the deep gorge of the River Narog, and the caves in its steep further shore; and he delved there a stronghold and armouries after the fashion of the mansions of Menegroth. And he called that place Nargothrond, and made there his home with many of his folk; and the Gnomes of the North, at first in jest, called him on this account Felagund, or 'lord of caverns', and that name he bore thereafter until his end. Yet Galaðriel his sister dwelt never in Nargothrond, but remained in Doriath and received the love of Melian, and abode with her, and there learned great lore and wisdom concerning Middle-earth.

The statement that 'Galaðriel dwelt never in Nargothrond' is at variance with what is said in GA §108 (p. 44), that in the year 102, when Nargothrond was completed, 'Galadriel came from Doriath and dwelt there a while'. – To this point the two forms of the rider differ only in a few details of wording, but here they diverge. The second form, in LQ 2, continues:

> Now Turgon remembered rather the City set upon a Hill, Tirion the fair with its Tower and Tree, and he found not what he sought, and returned to Nivrost, and sat at peace in Vinyamar by the shore. There after three years Ulmo himself appeared to him, and bade him go forth again alone to the Vale of Sirion; and Turgon went forth and by the guidance of Ulmo

> he discovered the hidden vale of Tumladen in the encircling mountains, in the midst of which there was a hill of stone. Of this he spoke to none as yet, but returned to Nivrost, and there began in his secret counsels to devise the plan of a fair city [*struck out:* a memorial of Tirion upon Túna for which his heart still yearned in exile, and though he pondered much in thought he]

For this concluding passage LQ 1 returns to the first rewriting given at the beginning of this discussion of QS §101, 'But the heart of Turgon remembered rather the white city of Tirion upon its hill ...' The explanation of the differences in the two versions must be that a first form of the rider (which has not survived) was taken up into LQ 1, and that subsequently a second version was inserted into the QS manuscript in its place, and so used in LQ 2.

This replacement text for QS §101 is closely related to GA §§75–6 (p. 35); and since on its reverse side is a rejected draft for the replacement annal for the year 116 in GA (§§111–13, pp. 44–5), also concerned with Gondolin, it is clear that my father was working on the story of the origins of Nargothrond and Gondolin in both the *Silmarillion* and the *Annals* at the same time. See further pp. 198 ff.

§102 At the beginning of this paragraph a sub-heading *Of Dagor Aglareb* was pencilled on the manuscript, but this was not taken up in either typescript.

'the Blue Mountains' > 'Eredluin, the blue mountains'

'the second great battle' > 'the third great battle': see p. 116, §77.

★

A few corrections were made to one or the other, or to both, of the copies of LQ 2. In addition to those listed below, *Inglor* was changed to *Finrod*, and *Finrod* to *Finarphin* or *Finarfin*, throughout.

§92 *Túna* > *Tirion*

§98 '(the feud) was healed' > 'was assuaged'

§99 'Dark-elves of Telerian race' > 'Dark-elves, the Sindar of Telerian race'.

§100 At the beginning of this paragraph my father inserted a new chapter number and title: XIII *The Founding of Nargothrond and Gondolin*; and the next chapter, *Of Beleriand and its Realms*, was given in LQ 2 the number XIV.

Nivrost > *Nevrast* (and subsequently); the first appearance of the later form of the name (its appearance in the later *Tale of Tuor* was by editorial change).

§101 Against the name *Felagund* my father wrote this note: 'This was in fact a Dwarfish name; for Nargothrond was first made by Dwarves as is later recounted.' An important constituent text

among the *Narn* papers is a 'plot-outline' that begins with Túrin's flight from Doriath and moves towards pure narrative in a long account of Túrin's relations with Finduilas and Gwindor in Nargothrond (which with some editorial development was given in *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 155–9). In this text the following is said of Mîm the Petty-dwarf:

> Mîm gets a certain curious liking for Túrin, increased when he learns that Túrin has had trouble with Elves, whom he detests. He says Elves have caused the end of his race, and taken all their mansions, especially Nargothrond (*Nulukhizidûn*).

Above this Dwarvish name my father wrote *Nulukkhizdîn* (this name was used, misspelt, in *The Silmarillion*, p. 230).

§104 *Glómund* > *Glaurung*. At the head of the page in QS my father wrote '*Glaurung* for *Glómund*', but the LQ typescript, as typed, has *Glómund* – whereas *Glaurung* appears already in the *Grey Annals* as written.

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11 OF BELERIAND AND ITS REALMS

In Volume V (p. 407) I wrote as follows about the second *Silmarillion* map:

> The second map of Middle-earth west of the Blue Mountains in the Elder Days was also the last. My father never made another; and over many years this one became covered all over with alterations and additions of names and features, not a few of them so hastily or faintly pencilled as to be more or less obscure. ...
>
> The original element in the map can however be readily perceived from the fine and careful pen (all subsequent change was roughly done); and I give here on four successive pages a reproduction of the map *as it was originally drawn and lettered*. ...
>
> The map is on four sheets, originally pasted together but now separate, in which the map-squares do not entirely coincide with the sheets. In my reproductions I have followed the squares rather than the original sheets. I have numbered the squares horizontally right across the map from 1 to 15, and lettered them vertically from A to M, so that each square has a different combination of letter and figure for subsequent reference. I hope later to give an account of all changes made to the map afterwards, using these redrawings as a basis.

This I will now do, before turning to the changes made to the chapter *Of Beleriand and its Realms*. On the following pages are reproduced the same four redrawings as were given in V.408–11, but with the subsequent alterations and additions introduced (those cases where I cannot interpret at all faint pencillings are simply ignored). Corrections to names (as *Nan Tathrin* > *Nan Tathren*, *Nan Dungorthin* > *Nan Dungortheb*, *Rathlorion* > *Rathloriel*) are replaced, not shown

as corrections. It is to be remembered that, as I have said, all later changes were roughly done, some of them mere scribbled indications, and also that they were made at many different times, in pencil, coloured pencil, blue, black and red ink, and red, green and blue ball-point pen; so that the appearance of the actual map is very different from these redrawings. I have however retained the placing of the new lettering in almost all cases as accurately as possible.

There follows here a list, square by square, of features and names where some explanation or reference seems desirable; but this is by no means an exhaustive inventory of all later alterations and additions, many of which require no comment.

1 *North-western section (p. 182)*

(1) A 4–5 The mountain-chain is a mere zigzag line pencilled in a single movement, as also are the mountains on A 7 (extending east to the peaks encircling Thangorodrim on section 2, A 8).

(2) B 4 to C 4 The name *Dor-Lómen* was almost illegibly scribbled in; it seems to imply an extension of Dor-Lómen northwards.

(3) B 7 to C 7 The name beginning *Fen* is continued on Section 2, B 8 *of Rivil*, changed to *of Serech* (see p. 113, commentary on GA §44). An arrow, not inserted on the redrawing, points to three dots above the inflowing of Rivil as marking the Fen.

(4) C 1 I can cast no light on the name *Ened* of the island in the ocean.

(5) C 3 It seems probable that the name *Falasquil* referred to the small round bay, blacked in, on the southern shore of the great bay leading into the Firth of Drengist. On the remarkable reappearance of this ancient name see p. 344.

(6) C 4 The clearly-marked gap in the stream flowing into the Firth of Drengist represents its passage underground; with the name *Annon Gelyð* cf. *Annon-in-Gelydh* (the Gate of the Noldor) in the later *Tale of Tuor*, *Unfinished Tales* p. 18. The ravine of *Cirith Ninniach* is described in the same work (*ibid.* p. 23). The upper course of the stream is very faintly pencilled and uncertain, but it seems clear that it rises in the Mountains of Mithrim (*ibid.* p. 20).

(7) C 6 For the peak shaded in and marked *Amon Darthir*, with *Morwen* beside it, see *Unfinished Tales*, where it is told (p. 68) that the stream Nen Lalaith 'came down from a spring under the shadow of Amon Darthir', and (p. 58) that it 'came singing out of the hills past the walls of [Húrin's] house'.

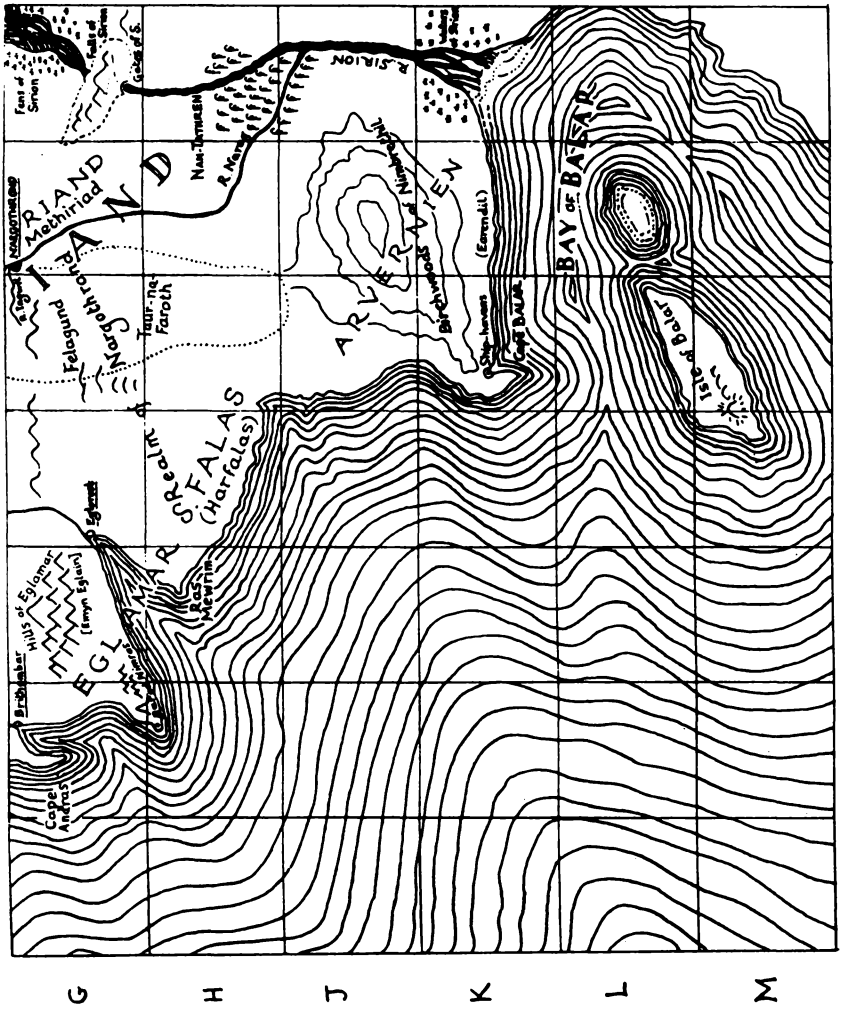
(8) C 6 to D 7 For the river *Lithir* see p. 261.

(9) C 7 For the stream (Rivil) that flows into Sirion see Section 2, C 8.

(10) D 2–4 Both *Nevrast* and the *Marshes of Nevrast* were first

Sheet 1 North-west

Sheet 2 North-east



Sheet 3 South-west

Sheet 4 South-east

written *Nivrost* (see p. 179, §100). On Lake Linaewen and the marshes see p. 192 and *Unfinished Tales* p. 25.

(11) D 6 For the river *Glithui* see *Unfinished Tales* p. 38 and note 16, and p. 68. In the first of these passages (the later *Tale of Tuor*) the name is *Glithui* as on the map, but in the second (the *Narn*) it is equally clearly *Gilthui*. For *Malduin* see *Unfinished Tales* p. 38 and *The Silmarillion* p. 205.

(12) D 7 The line of dots extending east from the Brithiach was struck out as shown; see Section 2, §38. For the ford of Brithiach see p. 228, §28.

(13) D 7 *Dim* is the first part of the name *Dimbard*: see Section 2, D 8.

(14) E 4 to F 4 *anciently Eglador*: *Eglador* was the original name of Doriath, 'land of the Elves' (see the *Etymologies*, V.356, stem ELED), and is so entered on the map (Section 2, F 9). For its later sense, 'land of the *Eglain*, the Forsaken People, the Sindar' see p. 189, §57; and here *Eglador* is used with a much wider reference: the western parts of Beleriand (see pp. 379–80). This is perhaps to be related to the statement in *The Tale of Years* (pp. 343–4), 'The foremost of the Eldar reach the coastlands of Middle-earth and that country which was after named Eglador' – to which however is added the puzzling phrase 'Thereof Beleriand was the larger part'.

(15) E 4 to D 5 *Woods of Núath*: see the later *Tale of Tuor* in *Unfinished Tales*, p. 36 and note 14.

(16) E 5 The name *Tumhalad* appears to be written twice, above and below the two short parallel lines shown. See pp. 139–40, commentary on GA §275.

(17) E 5–6 *Talath Dirnen* was first written *Dalath Dirnen*; see p. 228, §28.

(18) E 6 to F 6 South of the Crossings of Taiglin it is difficult to be sure, among various incomplete dotted lines, what was the course of the road to Nargothrond, but my father seems subsequently to have entered it as a straight line of short dashes as shown.

(19) E 6–7 From Ephel Brandir various lines, which I cannot certainly interpret and have not marked on the map, run west towards the Crossings of Taiglin. Possibly one line marks the road to the Crossings and another the course of Celebros. – *Tavrobel* on the map as originally lettered was struck out and replaced by *Bar Haleth* (also struck out), but no precise site is indicated. For *Bar Haleth* see p. 157, commentary on GA §324.

(20) E 7 *Folk of Haleth* clearly belongs to the first making of the map and should have been entered on the redrawing (V.408).

(21) F 2 The name *Forfalas* ('North Falas') seems not to occur

elsewhere; similarly with *Harfalas* ('South Falas'), Section 3, H 4.

(22) F 4 The original name *R.Eglor* was struck out and replaced by *Eglahir*. Later the name *Nenning* was written in, but *Eglahir* was not struck out. See p. 117, commentary on GA §85.

(23) F 5 For the dotted line on this square see §59 below.

(24) F 6 The word 'or' refers to the name *Methiriad*, Section 3, G 6.

(25) F 6 For the change of date from 195 to 495 see V.139, 407.

(26) F 6–7 *Moors of the Neweglu*: among the *Narn* papers there are many texts concerned with the story of Mîm, and in these are found an extraordinary array of names for the Petty-dwarves: *Neweg*, *Neweglîn*; *Niwennog*; *Naug-neben*, *Neben-naug*; *Nebinnog*, *Nibennog*, *Nibinnogrim*, *Nibin-noeg*; *Nognith*. The name on the map, *Neweglu*, does not occur in the *Narn* papers.

(27) F 7 The name of an isolated hill *Carabel* stands at the point where *Amon Rûdh* (the abode of Mîm) is shown on my map accompanying *The Silmarillion*. The name of the hill was changed many times: *Amon Garabel* > *Carabel*; *Amon Carab* (translated 'Hill of the Hat'); *Amon Narðol* and *Nardol* (cf. the beacon-hill *Nardol* in Anórien); *Amon Rhûg* 'the Bald Hill'; and *Amon Rûdh* of the same meaning.

(28) F 7 For *Nivrim* see QS §110 (V.261).

2 *North-eastern section (p. 183)*

(29) B 8 *(Fen) of Serech*: see Section 1, §3.

(30) B 12 to A 13 'read (71) *Dor-na-Daerachas*': the number 71 oddly but certainly refers to the year 1971; the addition is very late, since it does not appear on the photocopy of the map used by my father c.1970 (see p. 330 and note 1, also p. 191, after §74).

(31) B 12–13 *Lothland*: see p. 128, commentary on GA §§173–4.

(32) C 9 The mountain named *Foen*: in a philological fragment of uncertain date it is stated that Dorthonion 'was called also *Taur-na-Foen*, the Forest of the Foen, for that was the name (which signifies "Long Sight") of the high mountain in the midst of that region.'

(33) C 9–10 *Drûn*: cf. the later form of the *Lay of Leithian*, III.344, line 520: 'ambush in Ladros, fire in Drûn' (see commentary, III. 350).

(34) C 10–11 For mentions of *Ladros* see p. 224 and §33 above; also *Unfinished Tales* p. 70, where Túrin is named 'heir of Dor-lómin and Ladros'.

(35) C 11 On the left side of the square my father wrote *Orodreth*, subsequently striking it out. This placing of Orodreth's

territory goes back to the old story that of the sons of Finrod (Finarfin) on Dorthonion 'easternmost dwelt Orodreth, nighest to his friends the sons of Fëanor' (AB 1, IV.330).

(36) C 12 *Maeðros* was corrected from *Maiðros*, so also on D 12; in the original *Marches of Maidros* the name was corrected to *Maedros*.

(37) D 8 *bard* is the second element of *Dimbard* (see Section 1, D 7). The name is certainly written thus, with final *-d*, but elsewhere the form is always *Dimbar*.

(38) D 8–9, E 9–10 The line of dots marked *List Melian* was struck out for some distance east of the Brithiach, as shown (see Section 1, D 7), and its discontinuous extension between Esgalduin and Aros was put in later and more roughly. On the significance of these dotted lines see p. 333, and for the name *List Melian* (the Girdle of Melian) see pp. 223, 228.

(39) D 9 *Eryd Orgorath* seems to be written so, and above it apparently *Gorgorath*, but the forms are very hard to make out.

(40) D 9 *Goroth*[ ]*ess*: the illegible letter in this otherwise totally unknown name (which was struck through) might be *r*.

(41) D 9 For the bridge of Esgalduin marked on the published map (and named *Iant Iaur*) in the position equivalent to the S.E. corner of D 9 see pp. 332–3.

(42) D 10 For *Dor Dínen* see pp. 194, 333.

(43) D 10 The *Ford* over Aros can be shown to be a very late addition to the map: see p. 338, note 6.

(44) D 11 *Pass of Aglon(d*: for the forms *Aglon* and *Aglond* see p. 338, note 3.

(45) D 14 *Mt. Rerir*: in QS §114 (V.263) it is said that Greater Gelion came from Mount Rerir (the first occurrence of the name); about it were 'many lesser heights' (§118), and on its western slopes was built a Noldorin fortress (§142). The map was made before the emergence of Mount Rerir, and my father contented himself with writing the name against the not specially conspicuous mountain near the end of the line marking Greater Gelion.

(46) E 8 to D 8 The name *R. Mindeb* was written on the map at its making but was inadvertently omitted from my redrawing (V.409).

(47) E 11 *Himlad*: on the meaning of the name, and the reason for it, see p. 332 and note 4.

(48) E 11 *Gladuial*: I have not found this name anywhere else.

(49) E 11 *Raðrim*: the line directing the name to the wooded land between Aros and Celon is faintly pencilled on the map. *Raðrim* does not occur in any narrative text, but is found in

the *Etymologies* (V.382–3, stems RAD and RĪ): '*Radhrim* Eastmarch (part of Doriath)'.

(50) E 12–13, F 13 The words 'north road of Dwarves' are very faint and blurred, but this seems to be the only possible interpretation. On the extremely puzzling question of the Dwarf-roads in East Beleriand see pp. 334–6.

(51) E 12 A word faintly pencilled across the upper part of this square could be interpreted as 'Marshes'.

(52) F 9 *Eglador* pencilled under *Doriath*: see §14 above.

(53) F 10 *Arthórien*: see pp. 112–13, commentary on GA §38; and the next entry.

(54) F 10 *Garthúrian* (which could also be read as *Garthúrien*): in the text cited at §32 above it is said that 'the Noldor often used the name *Arthúrien* for Doriath, though this is but an alteration of the Sindarin *Garthúrian* "hidden realm".'

(55) F 11 *Estoland*: the form is clear, but at all other occurrences of the name it is *Estolad*.

3 *South-western section (p. 184)*

(56) G 2 *Cape Andras* is referred to in *Quendi and Eldar*, p. 379. Cf. *Andrast* 'Long Cape' in the extreme west of Gondor (Index to *Unfinished Tales*).

(57) G 3 to H 3 The names *Eglamar* (as applied here) and *Emyn Eglain* (or *Hills of Eglamar*) are not found in any narrative text. *Eglamar* is one of the oldest names in my father's *legendarium*: together with *Eldamar* of the same meaning, 'Elf-home', it referred to the land of the Elves in Valinor, *Egla* being 'the Gnome name of the Eldar who dwelt in Kôr' (see I.251, II.338; also the *Etymologies*, V.356, stem ELED). The old names *Eglamar*, *Eglador*, *Eglorest* (> *Eglarest*), not abandoned, were afterwards related to the name by which the Sindar called themselves, *Eglath* 'the Forsaken People' (see X.85, 164). In *Quendi and Eldar* (p. 365) the etymology of *Eglain*, *Egladhrim* is given – though it is not the only one that my father advanced; and later in that essay (pp. 379–80) it is explained why these names were found in the Falas among the people of Círdan. (I cannot account for the application of the name *Eglamar* to Arthórien, the small land in the S.E. of Doriath between Aros and Celon, in the note cited on p. 112, commentary on GA §38.)

(58) G 4 The name *Eglorest* of the map as originally made was not emended to the later form *Eglarest*.

(59) G 5–6, H 5–6 The extent of the *Taur-na-Faroth* (or *High Faroth*) is marked out by the dotted line (extending somewhat north of Nargothrond on Section 1, F 5) as a very large region,

somewhat in the shape of a footprint: cf. the representation of the Hills of the Hunters on the first *Silmarillion* map (Vol.IV, between pp. 220 and 221). The dots outlining the more southerly part were cancelled, and rough lines (not represented in the redrawing) across G 5 (from left-centre to bottom-right) suggest a reduction in the extent of the highlands. See further §65 below.

(60) G 5 The name *Ingwil* was not corrected to the later form *Ringwil* (see p. 197, §112).

(61) G 6 I have not found the name *Methiriad* of 'Mid-Beleriand' elsewhere.

(62) H 2 *Barad Nimras* replaced *Tower of Tindabel* (jumping the intervening name *Ingildon*): see p. 197, §120.

(63) H 3 The coastline south-west of Eglarest was extended into a small cape named *Ras Mewrim*, a name not found elsewhere; in *Quendi and Eldar* (pp. 379–80) it is named *Bar-in-Mŷl* 'Home of the Gulls'.

(64) H 4 *Harfalas*: see §21 above.

(65) J 5–7, K 5–6 I have mentioned under §59 above that the dotted line marking the extent of the Taur-na-Faroth was later cancelled in its southern part; but the high country of *Arvernien* (clearly added to the map after the dotted line) is shown extending by a narrow neck to join the southern extremity of the Taur-na-Faroth as originally indicated: i.e., there is a great range of hills extending from near the southern coast, through this 'neck', to a little north of Nargothrond.

(66) K 5–6 The name *Earendil* on K 6, though separated, very probably belongs with *Ship-havens* on K 5. Cf. the beginning of Bilbo's song at Rivendell:

> Eärendil was a mariner
> that tarried in Arvernien;
> he built a boat of timber felled
> in Nimbrethil to journey in ...

4 *South-eastern section (p. 185)*

(67) G 8–9, H 8–11 The *Andram* is marked only as a faint pencilled line of small curves, more vague and unclear than in my redrawing.

(68) G 11–13 A vaguely marked line of dashes (not represented on the redrawing) runs westward from just above *Sarn Athrad* on G 13: this perhaps indicates the course of the Dwarf-road after the passage of Gelion. This line bends gently north-west across G 12 and leaves G 11 at the top left corner, possibly reappearing on Section 2, F 10, where (if this is correct) it reached Aros just below the inflow of Celon. See p. 334.

(69) G 14 The correction of *Rathlorion* to *Rathloriel* was an early

change (V.407). A name beneath, hastily pencilled, is very probably *Rathmalad* (cf. the name *Rathmallen* of this river in *The Tale of Years*, p. 353).

(70) H 11–12 *Rhamdal*: this spelling is found in QS §142 (beside *Ramdal* in §113, adopted in *The Silmarillion*) and in the *Etymologies*, V.390, stem TAL; cf. *ibid.* V.382, stem RAMBĀ, 'Noldorin *rhamb*, *rham*'.

(71) K 10–11 The scribbled named *South Beleriand* was struck out.

(72) K 9–11, L 9–11 For the name *Taur-im-Duinath* of the great forested region between Gelion and Sirion in the published *Silmarillion* and map see p. 193, §108.

(73) L 14–15 *Tol Galen*: the divided course of the river Adurant (whence its name, according to the *Etymologies*, V.349, stem AT(AT)) enclosing the isle of Tol Galen is shown in two forms. The less extensive division was drawn in ink (it seems that the oblong shape itself represents the island, in which case the area between it and the two streams is perhaps to be taken as very low-lying land or marsh); the much larger division, in which the northern stream leaves the other much further to the east and rejoins it much further to the west, was entered in pencil, together with the name. The name *Tol Galen* was written a third time (again in pencil) across the upper part of square M 14.

(74) L 14–15 The mountains on these squares, extending northward onto K 15, were pencilled in very rapidly, and those to the north of Tol Galen were possibly cancelled.

On line M at the foot of the map are these pencilled notes (again with the number 71, see p. 187, §30): 'These river-names need revision to etymologizable words. *Celon* should go. *Gelion* should be *Duin Dhaer*.' On these changes see pp. 336–7 and note 10.

★

I turn now to the development of the chapter *Of Beleriand and its Realms*. The great majority of the changes made to the text of QS (Chapter 9, V.258–66, §§105–21) are found in the early typescript LQ 1, but some are not, and appear only in LQ 2: these cases are noticed in the account that follows. I do not record the changes *Melko* > *Melkor*, *Helkaraksë* > *Helkaraxë*, *Bladorion* > *Ard-galen*, *Eglorest* > *Eglarest*.

§105 After the words 'in the ancient days' at the end of the first sentence the following footnote was added to QS. As usual, the typist of LQ 1 took up the footnote into the text, but it appears as a footnote in LQ 2, whose typist was again working directly from the manuscript.

These matters, which are not in the *Pennas* of Pengolod, I have added and taken from the *Dorgannas Iaur* (the account of the shapes of the lands of old that Torhir Ifant made and is kept in Eressëa), that those who will may understand more clearly, maybe, what is later said of their princes and their wars: quoth Ælfwine.

On the *Pennas* of Pengolod see V.201–4.

'These Melko built in the elder days' > 'These Melkor had built in ages past'

§106 *Hísilóme* was written in the margin of the manuscript against *Hithlum* in the text (the latter not struck out). This is not in LQ 1, but LQ 2 has 'Hithlum (Hísilómë)' in the text.

Eredlómin > *the Eryd Lammad*. This form (not in LQ 1) has not occurred before, and is not (I believe) found elsewhere: in §105 *Eredlómin* was left unchanged.

'And Nivrost was a pleasant land watered by the wet winds from the sea, and sheltered from the North, whereas the rest of Hithlum was open to the cold winds' was struck out and replaced by the following (which does not appear in LQ 1):

> And Nivrost was by some held to belong rather to Beleriand than to Hithlum, for it was a milder land, watered by the wet winds from the Sea and sheltered from the North and East, whereas Hithlum was open to cold north-winds. But it was a hollow land, surrounded by mountains and great coast-cliffs higher than the plains behind, and no river flowed thence. Wherefore there was a great mere amidmost, and it had no certain shores, being encircled by wide marshes. Linaewen was the name of that mere, because of the multitude of birds that dwelt there, of such as love tall reeds and shallow pools. Now at the coming of the Noldor many of the Grey-elves (akin to those of the Falas) lived still in Nivrost, nigh to the coasts, and especially about Mount Taras in the south-west; for to that place Ulmo and Ossë had been wont to come in days of old. All that folk took Turgon for their lord, and so it came to pass that in Nivrost the mingling of Noldor and Sindar began sooner than elsewhere; and Turgon dwelt long in those halls that he named Vinyamar, under Mount Taras beside the Sea. There it was that Ulmo afterwards appeared to him.

This passage introduced a number of new elements: the topography of Nivrost (the high coast-cliffs are represented on the second map as originally drawn, p. 182), and Lake Linaewen (which appears also in the later *Tale of Tuor*, *Unfinished Tales* p. 25, with the same description of Nivrost as a 'hollow land'); the coming of Ulmo and Ossë to Mount Taras in the ancient days; and the conception that Sindarin Elves dwelt in Nivrost near the coast and especially about Mount Taras, and that they took Turgon to be their lord at the

coming of the Noldor to Middle-earth. The later story that there were many Grey-elves among Turgon's people appears in the rewritten annal for the year 116 in GA (see §§107, 113 and the commentary on those passages).

The footnote in the QS manuscript 'Ilkorin name' to the sentence 'the great highland that the Gnomes first named Dorthonion' was struck out, and in the text 'Gnomes' was changed to 'Dark-elves'.

The extent of Dorthonion from west to east was changed from 'a hundred leagues' to 'sixty leagues'; on this change, made to bring the distance into harmony with the second map, see V.272.

§107 The length of Sirion from the Pass to the Delta was changed from 'one hundred and twenty-one leagues' to 'one hundred and thirty-one leagues'. The former measurement (see V.272) was the length of Sirion in a straight line from the northern opening of the Pass to the Delta; the new measurement is from Eithel Sirion to the Delta.

§108 A footnote was added to the first occurrence of *Eredlindon*:

> Which signifieth the Mountains of Ossiriand; for the Gnomes [LQ 2 Noldor] called that land Lindon, the region of music, and they first saw these mountains from Ossiriand. But their right name was Eredluin the Blue Mountains, or Luindirien the Blue Towers.

This note, which may go back to a time near to the writing of QS, has been given and discussed in V.267, §108. The last five words were struck out on the manuscript and do not appear in LQ 1, the typist of which put the footnote into the body of the text and garbled the whole passage, which however remained uncorrected. The words 'quoth Ælfwine' were added to the manuscript at the end of the footnote, but appear only in LQ 2.

'a tangled forest' > 'Taur-im-Duinath, a tangled forest' (of the land between Sirion and Gelion south of the Andram; see under §113 below). On the second map this region is named *Taur i Melegyrn or Taur na Chardhîn* (see p. 185).

'while that land lasted' > 'while their realm lasted'

§109 The extent of West Beleriand between Sirion and the Sea was changed from 'seventy leagues' to 'ninety-nine leagues', another change harmonising the distance with the second map (see V.272).

In 'the realm of Nargothrond, between Sirion and Narog' 'Sirion' was changed to 'Taiglin'.

§110 From the words 'first the empty lands' at the beginning of the paragraph all that followed in QS as far as 'Next southward lay the kingdom of Doriath' was struck out and replaced by the following on an attached rider:

> first between Sirion and Mindeb the empty land of Dimbar under the peaks of the Crissaegrim, abode of eagles, south of Gondolin

(though that was for long unknown); then between Mindeb and the upper waters of Esgalduin the no-land of Nan Dungorthin. And that region was filled with fear, for upon its one side the power of Melian fenced the north-march of Doriath, but upon the other side the sheer precipices of Ered Orgoroth [> Orgorath], mountains of terror, fell down from high Dorthonion. Thither Ungoliantë had fled from the whips of the Balrogs, and had dwelt there a while, filling the hideous ravines with her deadly gloom, and there still, when she had passed away, her foul broods lurked and wove their evil nets; and the thin waters that spilled from Ered Orgoroth [> Orgorath] were all defiled, and perilous to drink, for the hearts of those that tasted them were filled with shadows of madness and despair. All living things shunned that land, and the Noldor would pass through Nan Dungorthin only at great need, by paths nigh to the borders of Doriath, and furthest from the haunted hills.

But if one fared that way he came eastward across Esgalduin and Aros (and Dor Dínen the silent land between) to the North Marches of Beleriand, where the sons of Fëanor dwelt. But southward lay the kingdom of Doriath ...

On the name *Crissaegrim* (which occurs, in the spelling *Crisaegrim*, in GA §161) see V.290, §147. In this passage is the first appearance of *Dor Dínen* 'the Silent Land' (added to the map p. 183, square D 10). The story that Ungoliantë dwelt in Nan Dungorthin when she fled from the Balrogs appears in the *Annals of Aman* (X.109, 123; cf. also X.297, §20).

'where he turned westward' (with reference to the river Esgalduin) > 'where it turned westward'.

§111 The marginal note to the name Thargelion 'or Radhrost' was changed to 'Radhrost in the tongue of Doriath.'

'This region the Elves of Doriath named Umboth Muilin, the Twilight Meres, for there were many mists' > 'This region the Noldor named Aelinuial and the Dark-elves Umboth Muilin, the Twilight Meres, for they were wrapped in mists', and the footnote giving the Gnomish names Hithliniath and Aelin-uial was struck out (thus LQ 1). Later emendation removed the words 'and the Dark-elves Umboth Muilin' (thus LQ 2).

§112 The opening word 'For' was changed to 'Now'; and in the following sentence 'Umboth Muilin' was changed to 'Aelin-uial'.

The passage beginning 'Yet all the lower plain of Sirion' was changed to read thus: 'Yet all the lower fields of Sirion were divided from the upper fields by this sudden fall, which to one looking from the south northward appeared as an endless chain of hills'. In the following sentence 'Narog came south through a deep gorge' > 'Narog came through these hills in a deep gorge'. (There is an error

in the text of this sentence as printed (V.262): 'on its west bank rose' should read 'on its west bank the land rose'.)

§113 The last sentence of the paragraph (and the beginning of §114) was rewritten to read:

> But until that time all the wide woods south of the Andram and between Sirion and Gelion were little known. Taur-im-Duinath, the forest between the two rivers, the Gnomes [LQ 2 Noldor] called that region, but few ever ventured in that wild land; and east of it lay the far green country of Ossiriand ...

On *Taur-im-Duinath* see under §108 above.

§114 At the name *Adurant* there is a footnote to the text in QS, which like that in §108 may belong to a relatively early time (see my remarks in the commentary, V.268):

> And at a point nearly midway in its course the stream of Adurant divided and joined again, enclosing a fair island; and this was called Tolgalen, the Green Isle. There Beren and Lúthien dwelt after their return.

§115 The opening sentence of the paragraph was rewritten thus: 'There dwelt the Nandor, the Elves of the Host of Dân, who in the beginning were of Telerian race, but forsook their lord Thingol upon the march from Cuiviénen ...' On the first appearance of the name *Nandor*, a people originally from the host of the Noldor, see X.169, §28.

'Of old the lord of Ossiriand was Denethor': 'son of Dân' added after 'Denethor'. In the same sentence 'Melko' > 'Morgoth'.

It is notable that the phrase 'in the days when the Orcs were first made' was never altered.

At the end of the paragraph was added: 'For which reason the Noldor named that land Lindon', with a footnote '[The Country of Music >] The Land of Song' (see under §108 above); and '(Here endeth the matter taken from the *Dorgannas*)', on which see under §105 above.

§116 The whole of the latter part of this paragraph, from after the words 'But Turgon the wise, second son of Fingolfin, held Nivrost', was struck out and the following substituted (which does not appear in LQ 1):

> (But Turgon the wise ... held Nivrost), and there he ruled a numerous folk, both Noldor and Sindar, for one hundred years and sixteen, until he departed in secret to a hidden kingdom, as afterwards is told.'

This passage belongs with the long replacement in §106 given above, which likewise does not appear in LQ 1.

§117 'But Angrod and Egnor watched Bladorion' > 'His younger brethren Angrod and Egnor watched the fields of Ard-galen'

§120 *Tindobel* (see V.270, commentary on QS §§119–20) > *Ingildon* (cf. GA §90 and commentary, p. 118).

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These are all the changes (save for a very few of no significance) made to the QS manuscript. A number of further changes were made to the top copy of the late typescript LQ 2 (the carbon copy was not touched).

The chapter-number 'XIV' was inserted (see p. 179, §100); and at the head of the first page my father wrote: 'This is a geographical and political insertion and may be omitted. It requires a map, of which I have not had time to make a copy.' This sounds as if he were preparing the LQ 2 typescript for someone to see it (cf. his words against §82 in the chapter 'Of Men' in LQ 2: 'This depends upon an old version in which the Sun was first made after the death of the Trees (described in a chapter omitted)', p. 175); in which case the words here 'and may be omitted' were much more probably advice to the presumed reader than a statement of intention about the inclusion of the chapter in *The Silmarillion*.

§105 *Ered-engrin* > *Eryd Engrin*

'(Utumno) ... at the western end' > 'at the midmost'. This shift of Utumno eastwards is implied in the hasty note pencilled on the LQ 2 text of Chapter 2, *Of Valinor and the Two Trees*, in which the story entered that Angband also was built in the ancient days, 'not far from the northwestern shores of the Sea' (see X.156, §12, and the addition made to this paragraph, given below).

Eredwethion > *Erydwethrin* (and subsequently).

Eredlómin > *Erydlómin*. In LQ 2 §106 the name of the Echoing Mountains is *Eryd Lammad*, following the change made to the QS manuscript there (p. 192) but not here; and *Eryd Lammad* was allowed to stand.

The passage 'Behind their walls Melkor coming back into Middle-earth made the endless dungeons of Angband, the hells of iron, where of old Utumno had been. But he made a great tunnel under them ...' was emended on LQ 2 to read:

> Behind their walls Melkor had made also a fortress (after called Angband) as a defence against the West, if any assault should come from Valinor. This was in the command of Sauron. It was captured by the Valar, and Sauron fled into hiding; but being in haste to overthrow Melkor in his great citadel of Utumno, the Valar did not wholly destroy Angband nor search out all its deep places; and thither Sauron returned and many other creatures of Melkor, and there they waited in hope for the return of their Master. Therefore when he came back into Middle-earth Melkor took up his abode in the endless dungeons of Angband, the hells of iron; and he made a great tunnel under them ...

§106 *Nivrost* > *Nevrast* (and subsequently; see p. 179, §100). The footnote to the first occurrence of *Nivrost* 'Which is West Vale in the tongue of Doriath' was struck out and replaced by the following:

> Which is 'Hither Shore' in the Sindarin tongue, and was given at first to all the coast-lands south of Drengist, but was later limited to the land whose shores lay between Drengist and Mount Taras.

§108 To the name *Taur-im-Duinath* (a later addition to QS, p. 193) a footnote was added: 'Forest between the Rivers (sc. Sirion and Gelion)'. This interpretation occurs in fact in a rewriting of the QS text at a later point: p. 195, §113.

§110 At the two occurrences of *Nan Dungorthin* in the long replacement passage in this paragraph given on p. 193–4 the later form *Nan Dungortheb* was substituted.

§111 *Damrod and Díriel* > *Amrod and Amras*, and in §118; cf. X.177.

The revised footnote against the name *Thargelion*, 'Radhrost in the tongue of Doriath' (p. 194), was struck out and not replaced (see under §118 below).

Cranthir > *Caranthir*, and in §118; cf. X.177, 181.

§112 *Taur-na-Faroth* > *Taur-en-Faroth* at both occurrences.

Ingwil (the torrent joining Narog at Nargothrond) > *Ringwil*.

Inglor > *Finrod* (and subsequently).

§117 *Finrod* > *Finarfin*

§118 At the end of the paragraph *Dor Granthir* > *Dor Caranthir*; in the footnote the same change was made, and *Radhrost* was replaced by *Talath Rhúnen*, the translation 'the East Vale' remaining. See under §111 above.

§119 'But Inglor was king of Nargothrond and overlord of the Dark-elves of the western havens; and with his aid Brithombar and Eglorest were rebuilt' was rewritten thus:

> But Finrod was king of Nargothrond and over-lord of all the Dark-elves of Beleriand between Sirion and the Sea, save only in the Falas. There dwelt still those of the Sindar who still loved ships and the Sea, and they had great havens at Brithombar and Eglarest. Their lord was Círdan the Shipbuilder. There was friendship and alliance between Finrod and Círdan, and with the aid of the Noldor Brithombar and Eglarest were rebuilt ...

Finrod (Inglor) now loses the overlordship of the Elves of the Falas, with the emergence of Círdan, but my father failed to correct the earlier passage in QS (§109) telling that 'the Dark-elves of the havens ... took Felagund, lord of Nargothrond, to be their king.' The statement here in §119 agrees with what is said in GA §85 (see also the commentary, p. 117).

§120 In the opening sentence of this paragraph the old name *Tindobel* had been changed to *Ingildon* (p. 196); it was now

changed to *Nimras* (cf. *Barad Nimras*, the replacement of *Tower of Tindabel* on the second ma ˋ, p. 190, §62.

Some of the changes made to LQ 2 were made also to the much earlier typescript LQ 1: *Ringwil* (§112), *Talath Rhúnen* (§118), *Nimras* (§120). In addition, *Dor Granthir* was corrected to *Dor Cranthir* (§118), and the passage concerning the lordship of the Falas (§119) was inserted, but still with the name *Inglor*: thus these changes were not made at the same time as those in LQ 2, which has *Dor Caranthir* and *Finrod*.

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12 OF TURGON AND THE BUILDING OF GONDOLIN

This short chapter on three manuscript pages, with this title but without chapter-number, was inserted into the QS manuscript following *Of Beleriand and its Realms*.

At an earlier point in the manuscript (§101 in the chapter *Of the Siege of Angband*) a long rider was introduced on the subject of the foundation of Nargothrond by Inglor and the discovery of Gondolin by Turgon: see pp. 177–9. As I have explained there, this rider is extant in two partially distinct forms, the first in the early LQ 1 typescript series, and the second on a sheet inserted into the QS manuscript (whence it appears in the late typescript LQ 2). Without question the new chapter (which does not appear in the LQ 1 series) was written at the same time as the revised form of this rider to §101, and it is to this that the opening words of the new chapter ('It hath been told how by the guidance of Ulmo . . .') refer. (I have also noticed, p. 179, that on the reverse of this rider is a rejected draft for the replacement text of the year 116 in the *Grey Annals*, §§111–13; on this see below, at the end of the third paragraph of the text.)

There is no need to give *Of Turgon and the Building of Gondolin* in full, because, as will be seen shortly, a substantial part of it has been given already.

Of Turgon and the Building of Gondolin

It hath been told how by the guidance of Ulmo Turgon of Nivrost discovered the hidden vale of Tum-laden; and that (as was after known) lay east of the upper waters of Sirion, in a ring of mountains tall and sheer, and no living thing came there save the eagles of Thorondor. But there was a deep way under the mountains delved in the darkness of the world by waters that flowed out to join the stream of Sirion; and this Turgon found and so came to the green plain amid the mountains, and saw the island-hill that stood there of hard smooth stone; for the vale had been a great lake in ancient days. Then Turgon knew that

he had found the place of his desire, and resolved there to build a fair city, a memorial of Tirion upon Túna, for which his heart still yearned in exile. But he returned to Nivrost, and remained there in peace, though he pondered ever in his thought how he should accomplish his design.

The conclusion of this paragraph had already been used, but abandoned before it was completed, at the end of the rider to QS §101, p. 179.

Therefore, after the Dagor Aglareb, the unquiet that Ulmo set in his heart returned to him, and he summoned many of the hardiest and most skilled of his people and led them secretly to the hidden vale, and there they began the building of the city that Turgon had devised in his heart; and they set a watch all about it that none might come upon their work from without, and the power of Ulmo that ran in Sirion protected them.

In this second paragraph my father was following and all but simply copying the revised annal for the year 64 in GA (§89); 'the hidden vale' was substituted for 'Gondolin' of GA because Turgon was now not to name his city until it was completed.

Now Turgon dwelt still for the most part in Nivrost, but it came to pass that at last the City was full-wrought, after two and fifty years of labour; and Turgon appointed its name, and it was called Gondolin [*in margin:* the Hidden Rock]. Then Turgon prepared to depart from Nivrost and leave his fair halls beside the Sea; and there Ulmo came to him once again and spake with him.

From this point the new *Silmarillion* chapter follows almost word for word the replacement text of the annal for 116 in GA (§§111–13): the words of Ulmo to Turgon, and the departure from Vinyamar to Gondolin. The reason for this is simple: as I have noticed in the commentary on GA §113 (p. 120), my father wrote against the revised annal for 116: 'Set this rather in the *Silmarillion* and substitute a short notice' (the proposed 'short notice' is given *ibid.*).

The text of the new chapter leaves that in the *Grey Annals* at the words 'passed the gates in the mountains and they were shut behind him'; the concluding words of GA §113 ('But Nivrost was empty of folk and so remained until the ruin of Beleriand') were not repeated here, but were brought in subsequently.

And through many long years none passed inward thereafter (save Húrin and Handir only sent by Ulmo); and the host of

Turgon came never forth again until the Year of Lamentation [*struck out, probably at the time of writing:* and the ruin of the Noldor], after three hundred and fifty years and more. But behind the circle of the mountains the folk of Turgon grew and throve, and they put forth their skill in labour unceasing, so that Gondolin upon Amon Gwareth became fair indeed and meet to compare even with Elven Tirion beyond the Sea. High and white were its walls, and smooth were its stairs, and tall and strong was the Tower of the King. There shining fountains played, and in the courts of Turgon stood images of the Trees of old, which Turgon himself wrought with elven-craft; and the Tree which he made of gold was named Glingal, and the Tree whose flowers he made of silver was named Belthil, and the light which sprang from them filled all the ways of the city. But fairer than all the wonders of Gondolin was Idril Turgon's daughter, she that was called Celebrindal the Silver-foot for the whiteness of her unshod feet, but her hair was as the gold of Laurelin ere the coming of Melkor. Thus Turgon lived long in bliss greater than any that hath been east of the Sea; but Nivrost was desolate, and remained empty of living folk until the ruin of Beleriand; and elsewhere the shadow of Morgoth stretched out its fingers from the North.

The opening sentence of this concluding section, with the reference to the entry of Húrin and Handir of Brethil into Gondolin, shows that it belongs with the original form of that story in the *Grey Annals* (§§149–50, and see the commentary, pp. 124–5); the later story that it was Húrin and his brother Huor appears in the long rider GA §§161–6.

This is the only account, brief as it is, of the actual city of Gondolin that my father wrote after that in Q (IV.139–40) – although there are also the notes that follow the abandoned text of the later *Tale of Tuor* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 56, note 31). That the Trees of Gondolin were images made by Turgon was stated in a footnote to Chapter 2 *Of Valinor and the Two Trees* in QS (see V.210–11; X.155), and this is repeated here – but with the addition that 'the light which sprang from them filled all the ways of the city'.

There is only one other text of the new chapter, the LQ 2 typescript, in which it is numbered 'XV' (see p. 196). To this my father made some corrections: *Nivrost* > *Nevrast* as in the preceding chapters; *Eryd Wethion* > *Eryd Wethrin*; *Handir* > *Huor* (see above); and *Amon Gwareth* > *Amon Gwared*. The marginal note rendering *Gondolin* as 'the Hidden Rock' was placed in a footnote in LQ 2, which my father then extended as follows:

> Or so its name was afterwards known and interpreted; but its ancient form and meaning are in doubt. It is said that the name was given first in Quenya (for that language was spoken in Turgon's house), and was *Ondolindë*, the Rock of the Music of Water, for there were fountains upon the hill. But the people (who spoke only the Sindarin tongue) altered this name to *Gondolin* and interpreted [it] to mean Hidden Rock: *Gond dolen* in their own speech.

With the interpretation of Quenya *Ondolindë* as 'Rock of the Music of Water' cf. the early translation of *Gondolin* as 'Stone of Song' in the name-list to the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* (II.216); and with the interpretation 'Hidden Rock' cf. the *Etymologies* in Vol.V, p. 355, stem DUL, where *Gondolin(n)* is said to contain three elements: 'heart of hidden rock'.

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13 CONCERNING THE DWARVES

The reason for this title will be seen at the end of the chapter (pp. 213–14). To the original Chapter 10 *Of Men and Dwarfs* in the QS manuscript (V.272–6, §§122–31) only a few changes were made before a radical revision overtook it.

§122 'whom the Dark-elves named Naug-rim' > 'whom they named the Naug-rim', i.e. this became a Noldorin name for the Dwarves given to them by Cranthir's people.

§123 The marginal note 'quoth Pengolod' against the bracketed passage concerning the origin and nature of the Dwarves was struck out (see V.277–8, §123).

§124 'Nogrod, the Dwarfmine': above 'Dwarfmine' is pencilled 'Dwarrowdelf', and in the margin again 'Dwarrowdelf Nogrod was afar off in the East in the Mountains of Mist; and Belegost was in Eredlindon south of Beleriand.' At the head of the page, with a direction for insertion in the text after 'Belegost, the Great Fortress' the following is written very rapidly:

> Greatest of these was Khazaddûm that was after called in the days of its darkness Moria, and it was far off in the east in the Mountains of Mist; but Gabilgathol was on [the] east side of Eredlindon and within reach of the Elves.

In the text of QS as written *Nogrod* (which goes back to the old *Tale of the Nauglafring*) is a translation of *Khazaddûm*, and the meaning is 'Dwarfmine'; both Nogrod and Belegost (Gabilgathol) are specifically stated (QS §122) to have been 'in the mountains east of Thargelion', and were so placed in additions to the second map. In *The Lord of the Rings* Khazad-dûm is Moria, and Nogrod and Belegost are 'ancient cities in the Blue Mountains' (Appendix A, III). The notes in the margin of QS just given must represent an idea that

was not adopted, whereby Belegost remained in Eredlindon, but *Nogrod / Khazad-dûm was removed to the Misty Mountains, and Nogrod became the ancient Elvish name of Moria.*

The statement in the first of these notes that 'Belegost was in Eredlindon *south of Beleriand*' is surprising: it seems to represent a reversion to the older conception of the place of the Dwarf-cities: see the Eastward Extension of the first *Silmarillion* map, IV.231, where the dwarf-road after crossing the Blue Mountains below Mount Dolmed turns south and goes off the map in the south-east corner, with the direction 'Southward in East feet of Blue Mountains are Belegost and Nogrod.'

§126 Against the words in the first sentence of the paragraph 'when some four hundred years were gone since the Gnomes came to Beleriand' my father noted: 'This must be removed to 300', changed to '310'. See p. 226, §1.

§127 'They were the first of Men that wandering west' > 'They were the first of Men that after many lives of wandering westward'

Gumlin > *Galion* (see p. 123, §127).

§128 The footnote was changed to read:

> It is recorded that this name was *Vidri* in the ancient speech of these Men, which is now forgotten; for afterwards in Beleriand they forsook their own speech for the tongue of the Gnomes. Quoth Pengolod.

In the sentence following the place of the footnote 'whom we call the Gnomes' was changed to '(whom we here call the Gnomes)'.

§129 'the lordship of Gumlin was in Hithlum' > 'the lordship of Galion was in Dorlómen'

Throughout the text the form *Dwarfs* (see V.277, §122) was changed to *Dwarves*.

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The next step was the striking out of the entire text of Chapter 10 from the beginning as far as 'Hador the Goldenhaired' at the end of §125, and the substitution of a new and much enlarged form, carefully written and inserted into the QS manuscript. This has a few subsequent emendations (almost all made at the same time in red ink), and these are shown in the text that now follows. One of these emendations concerns the title itself. As the revised version was first written the title was *Of Dwarves and Men*, with a subtitle *Concerning the Dwarves* (but no subtitle where the section on Men begins). The title was struck out, and replaced by *Of the Naugrim and the Edain*; the subtitle *Concerning the Dwarves* was retained; and a new subtitle *Of the Edain* was inserted at the appropriate place.

In order not to interrupt the numbering of the QS text in Vol.V, for reference in the commentary that follows the text I number the para-

graphs of the revised version from §1. – It will be seen that the opening paragraph repeats almost exactly that of QS (§122), but loses the original concluding sentence: 'For though the Dwarfs did not serve Morgoth, yet they were in some things more like to his people than to the Elves.'

Of the Naugrim and the Edain

Concerning the Dwarves

§1 Now in time the building of Nargothrond was completed, and Gondolin had been raised in secret; but in the days of the Siege of Angband the Gnomes had yet small need of hiding-places, and they ranged far and wide between the Western Sea and the Blue Mountains. And it is said that they climbed Eredlindon and looked eastward in wonder, for the lands of Middle-earth seemed wild and wide; but few ever passed over the mountains while Angband lasted. In those days the folk of Cranthir first came upon the Dwarves, whom they [> the Dark-elves] named the Naugrim; for the chief dwellings of that race were then in the mountains east of Thargelion, the land of Cranthir, and were digged deep in the eastern slopes of Eredlindon. Thence they journeyed often into Beleriand, and were admitted even into Doriath. There was at that time no enmity between Elves and Dwarves, but nonetheless no great love.

*Here are the words of Pengolod concerning the Naugrim**

§2 The Naugrim are not of Elf-kind, nor of Man-kind, nor yet of Melkor's breeding; and the Noldor in Middle-earth knew not whence they came, holding that they were alien to the Children, albeit in many ways like unto them. But in Valinor the wise have learned that the Dwarves were made in secret by Aulë, while Earth was yet dark; for he desired the coming of the Children of Ilúvatar, that he might have learners to whom he could teach his crafts and lore, and he was unwilling to await the fulfilment of the designs of Ilúvatar. Wherefore, though the Dwarves are like the Orcs in this: that they came of the wilfulness of one of the Valar, they are not evil; for they were not made out of malice in mockery of the Children, but came of the desire of Aulë's heart to make things of his own after the

* All that follows in the section 'Concerning the Dwarves' is written in a much smaller script than that of the opening paragraph.

pattern of the designs of Ilúvatar. And since they came in the days of the power of Melkor, Aulë made them strong to endure. Therefore they are stone-hard, stubborn, fast in friendship and in enmity, and they suffer toil and hunger and hurt of body more hardily than all other speaking-folk. And they live long, far beyond the span of Men, and yet not for ever. Aforetime the Noldor held that dying they returned unto the earth and the stone of which they were made; yet that is not their own belief. For they say that Aulë cares for them and gathers them in Mandos in halls set apart for them, and there they wait, not in idleness but in the practice of crafts and the learning of yet deeper lore. And Aulë, they say, declared to their Fathers of old that Ilúvatar had accepted from him the work of his desire, and that Ilúvatar will hallow them and give them a place among the Children in the End. Then their part shall be to serve Aulë and to aid him in the re-making of Arda after the Last Battle.

§3 Now these Fathers, they say, were seven in number, and they alone return (in the manner of the Quendi) to live again in their own kin and to bear once more their ancient names. Of these Durin was the most renowned in after ages, father of that Dwarf-kin most friendly to the Elves whose mansions were at Khazad-dûm.

§4 In the darkness of Arda already the Naugrim wrought great works, for they had, even from the first days of their Fathers, marvellous skill with metals and with stone, though their works had little beauty until they had met the Noldor and learned somewhat of their arts. And they gave their friendship more readily to the Noldor than to any others of Elves or Men, because of their love and reverence for Aulë; and the gems of the Gnomes they praised above all other wealth. But in that ancient time the Dwarves still wrought iron and copper rather than silver and gold; and the making of weapons and gear of war was their chief smith-craft. They it was that first devised mail of linked rings, and in the making of byrnies and of hauberks none among Elves or Men have proved their equals. Thus they aided the Eldar greatly in their war with the Orcs of Morgoth; though the Noldor believed that some of that folk would not have been loath to smithy also for Morgoth, had he been in need of their work or open to their trade. For buying and selling and exchange were their delight, and the winning of wealth thereby; and this they gathered rather to hoard than to use, save in further trading.

§5 The Naugrim were ever, as they still remain, short and squat in stature; they were deep-breasted, strong in the arm, and stout in the leg, and their beards were long. Indeed this strangeness they have that no Man nor Elf has ever seen a beardless Dwarf – unless he were shaven in mockery, and would then be more like to die of shame than of many other hurts that to us would seem more deadly. For the Naugrim have beards from the beginning of their lives, male and female alike; nor indeed can their womenkind be discerned by those of other race, be it in feature or in gait or in voice, nor in any wise save this: that they go not to war, and seldom save at direst need issue from their deep bowers and halls. It is said, also, that their womenkind are few, and that save their kings and chieftains few Dwarves ever wed; wherefore their race multiplied slowly, and now is dwindling.

§6 The father-tongue of the Dwarves Aulë himself devised for them, and their languages have thus no kinship with those of the Quendi. The Dwarves do not gladly teach their tongue to those of alien race; and in use they have made it harsh and intricate, so that of those few whom they have received in full friendship fewer still have learned it well. But they themselves learn swiftly other tongues, and in converse they use as they may the speech of Elves and Men with whom they deal. Yet in secret they use their own speech only, and that (it is said) is slow to change; so that even their realms and houses that have been long and far sundered may to this day well understand one another. In ancient days the Naugrim dwelt in many mountains of Middle-earth, and there they met ~~m~~ortal Men (they say) long ere the Eldar knew them; whence it comes that of the tongues of the Easterlings many show kinship with Dwarf-speech rather than with the speeches of the Elves.*

§7 In their own tongue the Dwarves name themselves Khuzûd [> Khazâd]; and the Dark-elves called them / the Naugrim [> Naug], the stunted. Which name the exiled Noldor also used [> likewise took for them], but called them also the Nyrn [*struck out:* of like meaning], and the Gonnhirrim masters of stone; and those who dwelt in Belegost they called the Ennfeng or Longbeards, for their beards swept the floor before their feet. The chief cities of the Khuzûd [> Khazâd] in the west of Middle-earth in those days were at Khazaddûm, and at

* [Marginal note] Thus the *Lammas*.

Gabilgathol and Tumunzahar, which are interpreted in the Gnomish tongue Nornhabar the Dwarrowdelf, and Belegost Mickleburg, and Nogrod the Hollowbold. Greatest of all the mansions of the Naugrim was Khazaddûm, that was after called in the days of its darkness Moria, but it was far off in the Mountains of Mist beyond the wide leagues of Eriador; whereas Belegost and Nogrod were upon the east side of Eredlindon and nigh to the lands of the Eldar. Yet few of the Elves, save Meglin of Gondolin, went ever thither; and the Dwarves trafficked into Beleriand, and made a great road that passed under the shoulders of Mount Dolmed and followed thence the course of Ascar, crossing Gelion at Sarn-athrad. There battle later befell; but as yet the Dwarves troubled the Elves little, while the power of the Gnomes lasted.

§8 *Here end the words that Pengolod spoke to me concerning the Dwarves*, which are not part of the *Pennas* as it was written, but come from other books of lore, from the *Lammas*, the *Dorgannas*, and the *Quentalë Ardanómion*: quoth Ælfwine.

Of the Edain

§9 It is reckoned that the first meeting of the Noldor and the Naugrim befell in the land of Cranthir Fëanor's son about that time when Fingolfin destroyed the Orcs at Drengist, one hundred and fifty-five years after the crossing of the Ice, and one hundred and five before the first coming of Glómund the dragon. After his defeat there was long peace, and it lasted for wellnigh two hundred years of the sun. During this time the fathers of the Houses of the Men of the West, the Atani [> Edain], the Elf-friends of old, were born in the land of Eriador east of the mountains: Bëor the Vassal, Haleth the Hunter, and Hador the Goldenhaired.

Here the revised part of QS Chapter 10 ends. It will be seen that while it was composed with the original QS text before him and with the actual retention of some of it, my father now introduced many new conceptions concerning the Dwarves. The long-enduring 'hostile' view has at last virtually vanished, with the loss of the sentence at the end of the first paragraph (see p. 203) – although in the original QS text the likeness of Orcs and Dwarves was subsequently (§123) spoken of only in terms of the analogous origin of the two races, each deriving from one of the Valar acting independently, and this remains in the revision. We learn now that:

– the Dwarves live far longer than Men (§2);

- they themselves believe that Aulë gathers them after their death into halls in Mandos set apart, and that after the Last Battle they will aid Aulë in the remaking of Arda (§2);
- there were Seven Fathers of the Dwarves, who are reincarnated in their own kin (after the manner of the Elves), bearing their ancient names (§3);
- Durin was the father of the Dwarf-kindred of Khazad-dûm, most friendly to the Elves (§3);
- the Dwarves were better disposed to the Noldor than to any others among Elves or Men on account of their reverence of Aulë (§4);
- the Dwarves are bearded from birth, both male and female (§5);
- Dwarf-women cannot be distinguished from the men by those of other race (§5);
- Dwarf-women are very few, and never go to war, nor leave their deep homes save at the greatest need (§5);
- few Dwarves ever wed (§5);
- the Dwarf-speech changes only very slowly, so that sundering of houses and realms does not greatly impair understanding between them (§6);
- Dwarves met Men in Middle-earth long before the Eldar met them, and hence there is kinship between Dwarf-speech and the languages of the Easterling Men (§6).

This revised version was of course a part of the 1951 revision. There are notable likenesses to what is said in the Appendices to *The Lord of the Rings* concerning the Dwarves: thus in Appendix A, III *(Durin's Folk)* there are references to the fewness of Dwarf-women, who remain hidden in their dwellings, to the indistinguishability of Dwarf-women from Dwarf-men to people of other races, and to the rarity of marriage (III.360); and in Appendix F (III.410) the slow changing of their tongue is described.

There follows now a commentary on particular points.

§1 The change made to the original QS text (p. 201, §122) of 'whom the Dark-elves named Naug-rim' to 'whom they [the Noldor] named the Naug-rim' was now reversed, by a subsequent emendation (later, in §7, the attribution of the name to the Dark-elves appears in the text as written).

§2 'And since they came in the days of the power of Melkor': i.e., before the awakening of the Elves, the Battle of the Gods, and the captivity of Melkor in Mandos.

§3 It is here that Durin of Khazad-dûm, 'most renowned' of the Seven Fathers of the Dwarves, enters *The Silmarillion*. It is not said here that Durin's people were the Longbeards; but his association with the Longbeards goes back in fact to *The Hobbit*, where at the end of the chapter *A Short Rest* Thorin says (in the text as originally published): 'He was the father of the fathers of *one of the two races of dwarves, the Longbeards*, and my grandfather's ancestor.' In the

Tale of the Nauglafring there were the two peoples, the Dwarves of Nogrod and the Dwarves of Belegost, and the latter were the Indrafangs or Longbeards; in the *Quenta* the same was true (or at least, no other peoples were mentioned), although the Longbeards had become the Dwarves of Nogrod (IV.104), and this remained the case in QS (§124).

In the present text two things are said on the subject. Durin was 'the father of that Dwarf-kin ... whose mansions were at Khazad-dûm' (§3); but (reverting to the *Tale of the Nauglafring*) the Longbeards were the Dwarves of Belegost (§7) – and this is said also both in the *Annals of Aman* and in the *Grey Annals* (see p. 108, §22). I am not altogether certain how to interpret this; but the simplest solution is to suppose that when my father wrote these texts he had forgotten Thorin's mention of Durin as the ancestor of the Longbeards in *The Hobbit* (or, less probably, that he consciously disregarded it), and the following considerations support it.

At the beginning of the section *Durin's Folk* in Appendix A (III) to *The Lord of the Rings* the reading of the First Edition was: 'Durin is the name that the Dwarves use for the eldest of the Seven Fathers of all their race', without mention of the Longbeards. Years later, on his copy of the second edition of *The Hobbit*, my father noted: 'Not so in *Silmarillion* nor see [*sic*] LR III p. 352' – this being a reference to the passage just cited from Appendix A in the First Edition: what was 'not so' was Thorin's reference to 'one of the two races of dwarves', become obsolete since the emergence of the conception of the Seven Fathers. At the same time he wrote on this copy many tentative phrases to replace Thorin's original words, such as 'the eldest of the Seven Fathers of the Dwarves', 'the father of the fathers of the eldest line of the Dwarf-kings, the Longbeards', before arriving at the final form as subsequently published, 'He was the father of the fathers of the eldest race of Dwarves, the Longbeards, and my first ancestor: I am his heir.' It was obviously consideration of Thorin's words in *The Hobbit* and the need for their correction that led him to alter the text of Appendix A, which in the Second Edition (1966) reads: 'Durin is the name that the Dwarves used for the eldest of the Seven Fathers of their race, *and the ancestor of all the kings of the Longbeards*', with the addition of a footnote reference to the passage in *The Hobbit*, now published in its corrected form.

Thus, circuitously, the Longbeards finally entered *The Lord of the Rings*, as the Dwarves of Khazad-dûm; but the texts of *The Silmarillion* and the *Annals* were never changed, and the Longbeards remained the Dwarves of Belegost.

§6 The marginal note 'Thus the *Lammas*' apparently refers specifically to the statement in the text concerning the kinship of languages of the Easterlings with Dwarf-speech. Cf. V.179 (*Lham-*

mas §9): 'the languages of Men are derived in part from them' (the tongues of the Dwarves); this was repeated in the footnote to QS §123, from which the present paragraph was developed, and which also has a marginal note 'So, the *Lhammas*'.

§7 The names and places of the Dwarf-cities now achieve almost their final form, and I recapitulate here the complex development:

QS original form, §124 (V.274)
Khazad-dûm = *Nogrod* = *Dwarfmine* (in the Blue Mountains)
Gabilgathol = *Belegost* = *Great Fortress*

QS original form emended, p. 201
Khazad-dûm = *Nogrod* = *Dwarrowdelf*, later *Moria*
Gabilgathol = *Belegost* = *Great Fortress*

QS revised version, §7
Tumunzahar = *Nogrod* = *Hollowbold* (in the Blue Mountains)
Gabilgathol = *Belegost* = *Mickleburg*
Khazad-dûm = *Nornhabar* = *Dwarrowdelf*, later *Moria*

The Dwarvish name *Tumunzahar* of Nogrod appears in GA §19, but this is the first occurrence of the Elvish name *Nornhabar*.

Of the names of the Dwarves themselves, there first occur here *Gonnhirrim* masters of stone, and *Nyrn* (cf. *Nornwaith* in AAm, X.93, *Norn-folk* in GA §19, and the name *Nornhabar* of Khazad-dûm). *Naugrim* is now said to mean 'stunted', and *Nyrn* is 'of like meaning', though this statement was struck out; in the original text (§124) *Neweg* = 'stunted'. In addition, *Khuzûd* was subsequently changed to *Khazâd*, and *Naugrim* to *Naug*. I give here a summary of the development of these confusing names and forms:

Tale of the Nauglafring	*Nauglath*
Q	*Nauglir*
AB 1 (IV.311)	*Nauglar* (also in the List of Names, V.405: Dark-elvish name, adopted by the Gnomes)
QS (original form)	*Naugrim* (Dark-elvish name > (p. 201) Gnomish name) *Neweg* 'stunted' (Gnomish name)
QS (revised version)	*Naugrim* (> *Naug*) 'stunted' (Gnomish name > Dark-elvish name, adopted by the Gnomes) *Nyrn* (Gnomish name, 'stunted' – but this meaning rejected)
AAm	*Nauglath* > *Naugrim* *Nornwaith* (later rejected, X.106, §84)
GA	*Naugrim* *Norn-folk* (§19)

An important element in this revised section remains to be mentioned: at this stage the myth of the creation of the Dwarves lacked the element of the Fathers being laid to sleep, by the command of Ilúvatar, after their first arising. This is apparent from the text as it stands; and the entry of this element will be seen in a moment.

The next text was the typescript of the LQ 1 series, which followed the manuscript text exactly (but the changes of *Khuzûd* > *Khazâd* and *Naugrim* > *Naug* in §7 do not appear, nor in LQ 2), and after the first paragraph of the section *Of the Edain* (§9), where the revised version ends, followed the original text of QS, with the very few alterations that were made to it and which have been given on pp. 201–2.

The opening of 'the words of Pengolod [> Pengoloð] concerning the Naugrim' (§2) were struck out, long afterwards, on LQ 1, as far as 'the desire of Aulë's heart to make things of his own after the pattern of the designs of Ilúvatar.' Associated with the QS manuscript at this point are two pages headed 'Of Aulë and the Dwarves', enclosed in a paper wrapper bearing the words 'Amended Legend of Origin of Dwarves'; this begins as a good manuscript but breaks up into confusion and variant forms. A new text was written out fair in a late script of my father's, without title, and attached to LQ 1 as a replacement for the passage struck out; it begins thus, differing little from the rejected form:

> The Naugrim are not of the Elf-kind, nor of Man-kind, nor yet of Melkor's breeding; and the Noldor, when they met them in Middle-earth, knew not whence they came, holding that they were alien to the Children, although in many ways they resembled them. But here in Valinor we have learned that in their beginning the Dwarves were made by Aulë, while Earth was still dark; for Aulë desired the coming of the Children so greatly, to have learners to whom he could teach his lore and his crafts, that he was unwilling to await the fulfilment of the designs of Ilúvatar.

The remainder of the text will be found in the published *Silmarillion*, Chapter 2 *Of Aulë and Yavanna*, pp. 43–4, to its end at 'Then Aulë took the Seven Fathers of the Dwarves, and laid them to rest in far-sundered places; and he returned to Valinor, and waited while the long years lengthened.' There are a number of insignificant editorial alterations in the published text, and among them one point should be mentioned: my father was uncertain whether to use 'thou' or 'you' in the converse of Aulë with Ilúvatar (in one case he changed 'you may' to 'thou mayst' and then reverted to 'you may'). In the end he decided on 'you', whereas the published text has 'thou' throughout.

At the end of the insertion the chapter continues with 'Since they came in the days of the power of Melkor ...' (p. 204), but concomitantly with the introduction of the new form of the legend, in

which the Fathers of the Dwarves were laid to sleep until after the awakening of the Elves and the imprisonment of Melkor, this was changed on LQ 1 to 'Since they were to come ...' The only other significant alteration made to LQ 1 was in the opening sentence of §3, which was changed to read: 'Now these Seven Fathers, they say, return to live again and to bear once more their ancient names.' It might be expected that my father would have made some change to the opening sentence of §4 after the entry of the new form of the legend, but he was evidently content with an internal shift of meaning: 'even from the first days of their Fathers' is to be understood as 'even from the first days of their Fathers when they awoke from their sleep'.

The earlier of the two texts of the inserted passage shows my father much exercised about the details of the making of the first Dwarves. Thus there are the following tentative and roughly-written passages:

(a) But it is said that to each Dwarf Ilúvatar added a mate of female kind, yet because he would not amend the work of Aulë, and Aulë had yet made only things of male form, therefore the women of the Dwarves resemble their men more than all other [?speaking] races.

(b) He wrought in secret in a hall under the mountains in Middle-earth. There he made first one Dwarf, the eldest of all, and after he made six others, the fathers of their race; and then he began to make others again, like to them but of female kind to be their mates. But he wearied, and when he [had] made six more he rested, and he returned to the seven fathers and he looked at them, and they looked at him, and whatever motion was in his thought that motion they performed. And Aulë was not pleased, but he began to teach them the language that he had designed for them, hoping thus to instruct them.

But Ilúvatar knew all that was done, and in the very hour that the Eldest Dwarf first spoke with tongue, Ilúvatar spoke to Aulë; and Aulë

(c) Aulë made one, and then six, and he began to make mates for them of female form, and he made six, and then he wearied. Thus he buried six pairs, but one (Durin) the eldest he laid alone.

(d) And Aulë took the Seven Dwarves and laid them to rest under stone in far-sundered places, and beside each [of] them he laid a mate as the Voice bade him, and then he returned to Valinor.

(e) Then Aulë took the Seven Dwarves and laid them to rest under stone in far-sundered places, and beside each he laid his mate, save only beside the Eldest, and he lay alone. And Aulë returned to Valinor and waited long as best he might. But it is

not known when Durin or his brethren first awoke, though some think that it was at the time of the departure of the Eldar over sea.

With passage *(b)* cf. the essay on Orcs in Vol.X, p. 417:

> But if [Melkor] had indeed attempted to make creatures of his own in imitation or mockery of the Incarnates, he would, like Aulë, only have succeeded in producing puppets: his creatures would have acted only while the attention of his will was upon them, and they would have shown no reluctance to execute any command of his, even if it were to destroy themselves.

In the final text, as printed in *The Silmarillion*, my father evidently abandoned the question of the origin of the female Dwarves, finding it intractable and the solutions unsatisfactory. Moreover in the finished form the element of the Eldest (Durin) being distinct from the others, and without mate, finds no place.

There is another version of the legend in the draft continuation (not sent) of a letter to Miss Rhona Beare dated 14 October 1958 (*The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien* no.212); and here appears the idea of the one and the six, and the six mates of the six, making thirteen in all. I reprint the passage here, since it may not be readily available.

> Aulë, for instance, one of the Great, in a sense 'fell'; for he so desired to see the Children, that he became impatient and tried to anticipate the will of the Creator. Being the greatest of all craftsmen he tried to *make* children according to his imperfect knowledge of their kind. When he had made thirteen,* God spoke to him in anger, but not without pity: for Aulë had done this thing *not* out of evil desire to have slaves and subjects of his own, but out of impatient love, desiring children to talk to and teach, sharing with them the praise of Ilúvatar and his great love of the *materials* of which the world is made.
>
> The One rebuked Aulë, saying that he had tried to usurp the Creator's power; but he could not give independent *life* to his makings. He had only one life, his own derived from the One, and could at most only distribute it. 'Behold' said the One: 'these creatures of thine have only thy will, and thy movement. Though you have devised a language for them, they can only report to thee thine own thought. This is a mockery of me.'
>
> Then Aulë in grief and repentance humbled himself and asked for pardon. And he said: 'I will destroy these images of my presumption, and wait upon thy will.' And he took a great hammer, raising it to smite the eldest of his images; but it flinched and cowered from him. And as he withheld his stroke, astonished, he heard the laughter of Ilúvatar.

* One, the eldest, alone, and six more with six mates.

'Do you wonder at this?' he said. 'Behold! thy creatures now live, free from thy will! For I have seen thy humility, and taken pity on your impatience. Thy making I have taken up into my design.'

This is the Elvish legend of the making of the Dwarves; but the Elves report that Ilúvatar said thus also: 'Nonetheless I will not suffer my design to be forestalled: thy children shall not awake before mine own.' And he commanded Aulë to lay the fathers of the Dwarves severally in deep places, each with his mate, save Dúrin the eldest who had none. There they should sleep long, until Ilúvatar bade them awake. Nonetheless there has been for the most part little love between the Dwarves and the children of Ilúvatar. And of the fate that Ilúvatar has set upon the children of Aulë beyond the Circles of the world Elves and men know nothing, and if Dwarves know they do not speak of it.

It seems to me virtually certain that all this work on the later legend of Aulë and the Dwarves derives from the same time, and it is obvious that this letter belongs with the first or draft text from which extracts are given on pp. 211–12, preceding the final text attached to LQ 1 and printed in *The Silmarillion*. That text was incorporated in LQ 2 as typed, and for that typescript I have proposed (on wholly distinct grounds) 1958 as the approximate date (see X.141–2, 300). This, I think, fits well enough with the date of the letter (October 1958). It seems likely that my father revised the existing *Silmarillion* materials *pari passu* with the making of the typescript LQ 2, carried out under his guidance.

As already noticed (see p. 210), the original QS text (lightly emended) in the second part of the chapter, that concerned with the Edain, was followed in the early typescript LQ 1. At a later time the whole of the section on the Edain was struck through both on the QS manuscript (with the direction 'Substitute new form') and on LQ 1 (with the direction 'Cancel'). This new form was a typescript, made by my father himself, with the title *Of the Coming of Men into the West and the Meeting of the Edain and the Eldar*. In the LQ 2 series the section on the Dwarves, now much altered and expanded from its original form, was made into a separate chapter, on which my father inserted the number 'XVI' (following 'XV' *Of Turgon and the Building of Gondolin*, p. 200), retaining as title the original subtitle *Concerning the Dwarves* (p. 202). The new text of the second part, *Of the Coming of Men into the West*, then followed in LQ 2 as a further chapter and was given the number 'XVII'. I have followed this arrangement.

The complex textual evolution of the original chapter in QS can be displayed thus (the dates have been made definite except in one case).

QS ch.10 *Of Men and Dwarfs* (1937)

↓

QS ch.10 New title *Of the Naugrim and the Edain*: section on the Dwarves rewritten; section on the Edain retained (1951)

↓

Typescript LQ 1 (1951)

↓

Insertion of new legend of Aulë and the Dwarves (1958) → Typescript LQ 2 (1958): ch.XVI *Concerning the Dwarves* (no section on the Edain)

Wholly new text on the Edain: *Of the Coming of Men into the West* (date uncertain: 1958?) → Typescript LQ 2 (1958): ch.XVII

★

It remains only to notice the changes made to LQ 2 *Concerning the Dwarves*. The chief of these is a further revision of the names of the Dwarves (see the table on p. 209). In §1 (p. 203) 'whom the Dark-elves named the Naugrim' was struck out, and at every occurrence the name *Naugrim* was replaced by *Dwarves* (except in the heading to §2, where it was no doubt retained inadvertently). In §7 the opening passage now read, both in LQ 1 and in LQ 2:

> In their own tongue the Dwarves name themselves Khuzûd; but the Dark-elves called them Naugrim, the stunted. Which name the exiled Noldor likewise took for them, but called them also the Nyrn ...

(The changes of *Khuzûd* to *Khazâd* and *Naugrim* to *Naug* made on the manuscript did not appear in the typescripts as typed, see pp. 205, 210.) The passage was rewritten on LQ 2 thus:

> In their own tongue the Dwarves name themselves Khazâd; but the Grey-elves called them the Nyrn, the hard. This name the exiled Noldor likewise took for them, but called them also the Naugrim, the stunted folk ...

Other changes were: in §1, in the sentence 'few ever passed over

the mountains', 'few' > 'none'; also *Cranthir* > *Caranthir*. In §7, in the sentence concerning Nornhabar, Belegost, and Nogrod, which were said to be interpretations 'in the Gnomish tongue' of the Dwarvish names, 'Gnomish' > 'Elvish'.

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14 OF THE COMING OF MEN INTO THE WEST

The introduction of what very soon became an entirely new chapter – a massive extension of and departure from the 'traditional' history of the Edain – has been briefly described on p. 213. It emerges in a typescript (with carbon copy) made by my father: of antecedent draft material there is now no trace, but it seems to me very improbable that the text reached this form *ab initio*. It has in fact two titles: that typed as heading to the text is *Of the Coming of Men into the West and the Meeting of the Edain and the Eldar*, but on a separate title-page in manuscript it is called *Of the Coming of the Edain & their Houses and Lordships in Beleriand*.

The text was emended in ink on both copies almost identically; these changes were made, I feel sure, at much the same time as the original typing, and in the text that follows I adopt the emendations, but notice some of the original readings in the commentary. The separate title-page with the different title may belong with these, but I use here the other, in a shortened form *Of the Coming of Men into the West*, as was done in the published *Silmarillion*. The chapter (as emended) was incorporated in the typescript series LQ 2, as already mentioned, and subsequently given the number 'XVII'; perhaps (as with the new legend of Aulë and the Dwarves, see p. 213) it belongs to the period when the LQ typescript was being made (see p. 227, §13, and p. 229).

The text is found in the published *Silmarillion*, Chapter 17, but I have thought it best in this case to give the original in full. To show the editorial alterations and insertions in the published text takes much space, and it is difficult to make them clear, while the chapter is an essential companion to *The Wanderings of Húrin* in Part Three.

Of the Coming of Men into the West and the Meeting of the Edain and the Eldar

§1 Now it came to pass, when three hundred years and ten were gone since the Noldor came to Beleriand, in the days of the Long Peace, that Felagund journeyed east of Sirion and went hunting with Maglor and Maedros, sons of Fëanor. But he wearied of the chase and passed on alone towards the Mountains of Ered-lindon that he saw shining afar; and taking the

Dwarf-road he crossed Gelion at the ford of Sarn-athrad, and turning south over the upper streams of Ascar, he came into the north of Ossiriand.

§2 In a valley among the foothills of the Mountains, below the springs of Thalos, he saw lights in the evening, and far off he heard the sound of song. At this he wondered much, for the Green-elves of that land lit no fires, and they did not sing by night. At first he feared that a raid of Orcs had passed the leaguer of the North, but as he drew near he perceived that this was not so. For the singers used a tongue that he had not heard before, neither that of Dwarves nor of Orcs, and their voices were fair, though untutored in music.

§3 Then Felagund, standing silent in the night-shadow of the trees, looked down into the camp, and there he beheld a strange folk. They were tall, and strong, and comely, though rude and scantily clad; but their camp was well-ordered, and they had tents and lodges of boughs about the great fire in the midst; and there were fair women and children among them.

§4 Now these were a part of the kindred and following of Bëor the Old, as he was afterwards called, a chieftain among Men. After many lives of wandering out of the East he had led them at last over the Mountains, the first of the race of Men to enter Beleriand; and they sang because they were glad, and believed that they had escaped from all perils and had come to a land without fear.

§5 Long Felagund watched them, and love for them stirred in his heart; but he remained hidden in the trees until they had all fallen asleep. Then he went among the sleeping people, and sat beside their dying fire where none kept watch; and he took up a rude harp which Bëor had laid aside, and he played music upon it such as the ears of Men had not heard; for they had as yet no teachers in the art, save only the Dark-elves in the wild lands.

§6 Now men awoke and listened to Felagund as he harped and sang, and each thought that he was in some fair dream, until he saw that his fellows were awake also beside him; but they did not speak or stir while Felegund still played, because of the beauty of the music and the wonder of the song. Wisdom was in the words of the Elven-king, and the hearts grew wiser that hearkened to him; for the things of which he sang, of the making of Arda, and the bliss of Aman beyond the shadows of the Sea, came as clear visions before their eyes, and his Elvish

speech was interpreted in each mind according to its measure.

§7 Thus it was that Men called King Felagund, whom they first met of all the Eldar, Wisdom, and after him they named his people The Wise.* Indeed they believed at first that Felagund was one of the gods, of whom they had heard rumour that they dwelt far in the West; and this was (some say) the chief cause of their journey. But Felagund dwelt among them and taught them true lore; and they loved him and took him for their lord, and were ever after loyal to the House of Finrod.**

§8 Now the Eldar were beyond all other peoples skilled in tongues; and Felagund discovered also that he could read in the minds of Men such thoughts as they wished to reveal in speech, so that their words were easily interpreted.† It was not long therefore before he could converse with Bëor; and while he dwelt with him they spoke much together. But when Felagund questioned Bëor concerning the arising of Men and their journeys, Bëor would say little; and indeed he knew little, for the fathers of his people had told few tales of their past and a silence had fallen upon their memory.

§9 'A darkness lies behind us,' Bëor said; 'and we have turned our backs on it, and we do not desire to return thither even in thought. Westwards our hearts have been turned, and we believe that there we shall find Light.'

§10 But Felagund learned from Bëor that there were many other Men of like mind who were also journeying westward. 'Others of my own kin have crossed the Mountains,' he said, 'and they are wandering not far away; and the Haladin, a people that speak the same tongue as we, are still in the valleys on the eastern slopes, awaiting tidings before they venture

* *Nóm* and [*Nómil* >] *Nómin* in the ancient language of this people (which afterwards was forgotten); for Bëor and his folk later learned the language of the Eldar and forsook their own, though they retained many names that came down to them [out of the past >] from their fathers.

** Thus Bëor got his name; for it signified Vassal in their tongue, and each of their chieftains after him bore this name as a title until the time of Bregolas and Barahir.

† It is said also that these Men had long had dealings with the Dark-elves of Middle-earth, and from them had learned much of their speech; and since all the languages of the Quendi were of one origin, the language of Bëor and his folk resembled the Elven-tongues in many words and devices.

further. There are also Men of a different speech, with whom we have had dealings at times. They were before us in the westward march, but we passed them; for they are a numerous people, and yet keep together and move slowly, being all ruled by one chieftain whom they call Marach.'

§11 Now the Nandor, the Green-elves of Ossiriand, were troubled by the coming of Men, and when they heard that a lord of the Eldar from over the Sea was among them they sent messengers to Felagund. 'Lord,' they said, 'if you have power over these new-comers, bid them to return by the ways that they came, or else to go forward. For we desire no strangers in this land to break the peace in which we live. And these folk are hewers of trees and hunters of beasts; therefore we are their unfriends, and if they will not depart we shall afflict them in all ways that we can.'

§12 Then by the advice of Felagund Bëor gathered all the wandering families and kindreds of his folk, and they removed over Gelion and took up their abode in the lands of Diriol, upon the east-banks of the Celon near to the borders of Doriath. But when after a year had passed Felagund wished to return to his own country, Bëor begged leave to come with him; and he remained in the service of the king while his life lasted. In this way he got his name Bëor, whereas his name before had been Balan; for Bëor signified Servant in the ancient tongue of his people. The rule of his folk he committed to his elder son Baran, and he did not return again to Estolad.*

Of the Kindreds and Houses of the Edain

§13 Soon after the departure of Felagund the other Men of whom Bëor had spoken came also into Beleriand. First came the Haladin; but meeting the unfriendship of the Nandor they turned north and dwelt in Radhrost, in the country of Caranthir son of Fëanor; and there for a time they had peace, though the people of Caranthir paid little heed to them. The next year, however, Marach led his people over the Mountains; and they were a tall and warlike folk, and they marched in ordered companies; and the Green-elves hid themselves and did not waylay them. And Marach hearing that the people of Bëor were dwelling in a green and fertile land, came down the Dwarf-road

* The Encampment. This was the name ever after of the land east of Celon and south of Nan Elmoth.

and settled his people in the country to the south and east of the dwellings of Baran son of Bëor. There was great friendship between the peoples, though they were sundered in speech, until they both learned the Sindarin tongue.

§14 Felagund himself often returned to visit Men; and many other Elves out of the westlands, both Noldor and Sindar, journeyed to Estolad, being eager to see the Edain, whose coming had long been foretold.* And Fingolfin, King of all the Noldor, sent messengers of welcome to them. Then many young and eager men of the Edain went away and took service with the kings and lords of the Eldar. Among these was Malach son of Marach, and he dwelt in Hithlum for fourteen years; and he learned the Elven-tongue and was given the name of Aradan.

§15 The Edain did not long dwell content in Estolad, for many still desired to go westwards; but they did not know the way: before them lay the fences of Doriath, and southward lay Sirion and its impassable fens. Therefore the kings of the three houses of the Noldor, seeing hope of strength in the sons of Men, sent word that any of the Edain that wished might remove and come to dwell among their people. In this way the migration of the Edain began: at first little by little, but later in families and kindreds, they arose and left Estolad, until after some fifty years many thousands had entered the lands of the kings.

§16 Most of these took the long road northwards, under the guidance of the Elves, until the ways became well known to them. The people of Bëor came to Dorthonion and dwelt in lands ruled by the House of Finrod. The people of Aradan (for Marach remained in Estolad until his death) for the most part went on westwards; and some came to Hithlum, but Magor son of Aradan and the greater number of his folk passed down Sirion into Beleriand and dwelt in the vales on the southern slopes of the Ered-wethion. A few only of either people went to Maedros and the lands about the Hill of Himring.

* *Atani* was the name given to Men in Valinor, in the lore that told of their coming; according to the Eldar it signified 'Second', for the kindred of Men was the second of the Children of Ilúvatar. *Edain* was the form of the name in Beleriand, and there it was used only of the three kindreds of the first Elf-friends. Men of other kind were called *Hravani* (or *Rhevain*), the 'Wild'. But all Men the Elves called *Hildi* [> *Hildor*], the Followers, or *Firyar*, the Mortals (in Sindarin *Echil* and *Firiath*).

§17 Many, however, remained in Estolad; and there was still a mingled people of Men living there long years after, until in the ruin of Beleriand they were overwhelmed or fled back into the East. For beside the old who deemed that their wandering days were over there were not a few who desired to go their own ways and feared the Eldar and the light of their eyes; and dissensions awoke among the Edain, in which the shadow of Morgoth may be discerned, for it cannot be doubted that he knew of the coming of Men and of their growing friendship with the Elves.

§18 The leaders of discontent were Bereg of the House of Bëor and Amlach one of the grandsons of Marach; and they said openly: 'We took long roads, desiring to escape the perils of Middle-earth and the dark things that dwell there; for we heard that there was Light in the West. But now we learn that the Light is beyond the Sea. Thither we cannot come where the gods dwell in bliss. Save one. For the Lord of the Dark is here before us, and the Eldar, wise but fell, who make endless war upon him. In the North he dwells, they say; and there is the pain and death from which we fled. We will not go that way.'

§19 Then a council and assembly of Men was called, and great numbers came together. And the Elf-friends answered Bereg, saying: 'Truly from the Dark King come all the evils from which we fled; but he seeks dominion over all Middle-earth, and whither now shall we turn and he will not pursue us? Unless he be vanquished here, or at least held in leaguer. Only by the valour of the Eldar is he restrained, and maybe it was for this purpose, to aid them at need, that we were brought into this land.'

§20 To this Bereg answered: 'Let the Eldar look to it! Our lives are short enough.' But there arose one who seemed to all to be Amlach son of Imlach, speaking fell words that shook the hearts of all that heard him: 'All this is but Elvish lore, tales to beguile new-comers that are unwary. The Sea has no shore. There is no Light in the West. You have followed a fool-fire of the Elves to the end of the world! Which of you has seen the least of the gods? Who has beheld the Dark King in the North? Those who seek the dominion of Middle-earth are the Eldar. Greedy for wealth they have delved in the Earth for its secrets and have stirred to wrath the things that dwell beneath it, as they ever have done and ever shall. Let the Orcs have the realm that is theirs, and we will have ours. There is room in the world, if the Eldar will let us be!'

§21 Then those that listened sat for a while astounded, and a shadow of fear fell on their hearts; and they resolved to depart far from the lands of the Eldar. But later Amlach returned among them and denied that he had been present at their debate or had spoken such words as they reported; and there was doubt and bewilderment among Men. Then the Elf-friends said: 'You will now believe this at least: there is indeed a dark Lord and his spies and emissaries are among us; for he fears us and the strength that we may give to his foes.'

§22 But some still answered: 'He hates us, rather, and ever the more the longer we dwell here, meddling in his quarrel with the kings of the Eldar, to no gain of ours.' Many therefore of those that yet remained in Estolad made ready to depart; and Bereg led a thousand of the people of Bëor away southwards and they passed out of the songs of those days. But Amlach repented, saying: 'I now have a quarrel of my own with this Master of Lies which will last to my life's end'; and he went away north and entered the service of Maedros. But those of his people who were of like mind with Bereg chose a new leader and went back over the Mountains into Eriador and are forgotten.

§23 During this time the Haladin remained in Radhrost and were content. But Morgoth, seeing that by lies and deceits he could not yet wholly estrange Elves and Men, was filled with wrath and endeavoured to do Men what hurt he could. Therefore he sent out an orc-raid and passing east it escaped the leaguer and came in stealth back over the Mountains by the passes of the Dwarf-road and fell upon the Haladin in the southern woods of the land of Caranthir.

§24 Now the Haladin did not live under the rule of lords or many together, but each homestead was set apart and governed its own affairs, and they were slow to unite. But there was among them a man named Haldad who was masterful and fearless; and he gathered all the brave men that he could find, and retreated to the angle of land between Ascar and Gelion, and in the utmost corner he built a stockade across from water to water; and behind it they led all the women and children that they could save. There they were besieged, until they were short of food.

§25 Now Haldad had twin children: Haleth his daughter and Haldar his son; and both were valiant in the defence, for

Haleth was a woman of great heart and strength. But at last Haldad was slain in a sortie against the Orcs; and Haldar, who rushed out to save his father's body from their butchery, was hewn down beside him. Then Haleth held the folk together, though they were without hope; and some cast themselves in the rivers and were drowned. Seven days later, as the Orcs made their last assault and had already broken through the stockade, there came suddenly a music of trumpets, and Caranthir with his host came down from the north and drove the Orcs into the rivers.

§26 Then Caranthir looked kindly upon Men and did Haleth great honour, and he offered her recompense for her father and brother. And seeing, over late, what valour there was in the Edain, he said to her: 'If you will remove and dwell further north, there you shall have the friendship and protection of the Eldar and free lands of your own.'

§27 But Haleth was proud, and unwilling to be guided or ruled, and most of the Haladin were of like mood. Therefore she thanked Caranthir, but answered: 'My mind is now set, lord, to leave the shadow of the Mountains and go west whither others of our kin have gone.' When therefore the Haladin had gathered all that they could find alive of their folk who had fled wild into the woods before the Orcs, and had gleaned what remained of their goods in their burned homesteads, they took Haleth for their chief; and she led them at last to Estolad, and there they dwelt for a time.

§28 But they remained a people apart, and were ever after known to Elves and Men as the People of Haleth. Haleth remained their chief while her days lasted, but she did not wed, and the headship afterwards passed to Hardan son of Haldar her brother. Soon, however, Haleth desired to move westward again; and though most of her people were against this counsel, she led them forth once more; and they went without help or guidance of the Eldar, and passing over Celon and Aros they journeyed in the perilous land between the Mountains of Terror and the Girdle of Melian. That land was not yet so evil as it after became, but it was no road for mortal Men to take without aid, and Haleth only brought her folk through it with hardship and loss, constraining them to go forward by the strength of her will. At last they crossed over the Brithiach, and many bitterly repented their journey; but there was now no returning. Therefore in new lands they went back to their old life as best

they could; and they dwelt in free homesteads in the woods of the Dalath Dirnen beyond Teiglin, and some wandered far into the realm of Nargothrond. But there were many who loved the Lady Haleth and wished to go whither she would and dwell under her rule; and these she led into the Forest of Brethil. Thither in the evil days that followed many of her scattered folk returned.

§29 Now Brethil was claimed as part of his realm by King Thingol, though it was not within the List Melian, and he would have denied it to Haleth; but Felagund, who had the friendship of Thingol, when he heard of all that had befallen the people of Haleth, obtained this grace for her: that she should dwell free in Brethil upon condition only that her folk should guard the Crossings of Teiglin against all enemies of the Eldar, and allow no Orcs to enter their woods. To which Haleth answered: 'Where are Haldad my father, and Haldar my brother? If the king fears a friendship between Haleth and those who devoured her kin, then the thoughts of the Eldar are strange to Men.' And Haleth dwelt in Brethil until she died; and her people raised a green mound over her in the heights of the Forest: Tûr Daretha, the Ladybarrow, Haudh-en-Arwen in the Sindarin tongue.

§30 In this way it came to pass that the Edain dwelt in the lands of the Eldar, some here, some there, some wandering, some settled in kindreds or small peoples. Nearly all learned soon the Grey-elven tongue, both as a common speech among themselves and because many were eager to learn the lore of the Elves. But after a time the Elf-kings, seeing that it was not good for Elves and Men to dwell mingled together without order, and that Men needed lords of their own kind, set regions apart where Men could lead their own lives, and appointed chieftains to hold these lands freely. No conditions were laid upon them, save to hold Morgoth as their foe and to have no dealings with him or his. They were the allies of the Eldar in war, but marched under their own leaders. Yet many of the Edain had delight in the friendship of the Elves and dwelt among them for so long as they had leave; and their young men often took service for a time in the hosts of the Kings.

§31 Now Hador Glorindol, son of Hathol, son of Magor, son of Malach Aradan entered the household of Fingolfin in youth, and was loved by the king. Fingolfin therefore gave to him the lordship of Dor-lómin, and into that land he gathered

most of the people of his kin and became the mightiest of the chieftains of the Edain. In his house only the elven-tongue was spoken, though their own speech was not forgotten by his people.* But in Dorthonion the lordship of the people of Bëor and the country of Ladros was given to Boromir, son of Boron who was the grandson of Bëor the Old.

§32 The sons of Hador were Galdor and Gundor; and the sons of Galdor were Húrin and Huor; and the son of Húrin was Túrin the bane of Glaurung; and the son of Huor was Tuor, father of Eärendil the Blessed. And the son of Boromir was Bregor, whose sons were Bregolas and Barahir; and the daughters of the sons of Bregolas were Morwen the mother of Túrin, and Rían the mother of Tuor; but the son of Barahir was Beren One-hand who won the love of Lúthien Thingol's daughter and returned from the Dead; from them came Elwing the wife of Eärendil and all the Kings of Númenor after.

§33 All these were caught in the net of the Doom of the Noldor; and they did great deeds which the Eldar remember still among the histories of the Kings of old. And in those days the strength of Men was added to the power of the Noldor, and hope was renewed; and the people of the three houses of Men throve and multiplied. Greatest was the House of Hador Golden-head, peer of Elven-lords. Many of his people were like him, golden-haired and blue-eyed; they were tall and strong, quick to wrath and laughter, fierce in battle, generous to friend and to foe, swift in resolve, fast in loyalty, joyous in heart, the children of Ilúvatar in the youth of Mankind. But the people of the House of Bëor were dark or brown of hair; their eyes were grey and keen and their faces fair and shapely. Lithe and lean in body they were long-enduring in hardship. Of all Men they were most like the Noldor and most loved by them; for they were eager of mind, cunning-handed, swift in understanding, long in memory; and they were moved sooner to pity than to mirth, for the sorrow of Middle-earth was in their hearts. Like to them were the woodland folk of Haleth; but they were shorter and broader, sterner and less swift. They were less eager for lore, and used few words; for they did not love great concourse of men, and many among them delighted in solitude, wandering free in the greenwoods while the wonder of the

* From this speech came the common tongue of Númenor.

world was new upon them. But in the lands of the West their time was brief and their days unhappy.

§34 The years of the Edain were lengthened, according to the reckoning of Men, after their coming to Beleriand; but at last Bëor the Old died, when he had lived three and ninety years, for four and forty of which he had served King Felagund. And when he lay dead, of no wound or sickness, but stricken by age, the Eldar saw for the first time the death of weariness which they knew not in themselves, and they grieved for the swift loss of their friends. But Bëor at the last had relinquished his life willingly and passed in peace; and the Eldar wondered much at the strange fate of Men, for in all their lore there was no account of it and its end was hidden from them. Nonetheless the Edain of old, being of races eager and young, learned swiftly of the Eldar all such art and knowledge as they could receive, and their sons increased in wisdom and skill, until they far surpassed all others of Mankind, who dwelt still east of the Mountains and had not seen the Eldar and the faces that had beheld the Light.

★

I record here the few changes that were made to the LQ 2 typescript of the new chapter.

§1 *Felagund* > *Finrod Felagund*
§4 'had come to a land' > 'had come at last to a land'
§7 The second footnote was struck out (as it was also on the original typescript).
§12 *Diriol* > *Diriel* > *Amras*
§13 *Radhrost* > *Thargelion*, and again in §23.
§28 *Dalath Dirnen* > *Talath Dirnen*
§29 *List Melian*: 'Girdle of' written over the word *List* (which was not struck out).
§31 *Glorindol* > *Glórindol*
§33 'the wonder of the world' > 'the wonder of the lands of the Eldar'
'But in the lands of the West' > 'But in the realms of the West'

In addition, certain changes were made in pencil to the carbon copy only of the original typescript, and these were not taken up into LQ 2, nor were they added to it. They are as follows:

§16 'Magor son of Aradan' > 'Hador son of Aradan'
§29 *List Melian* > *Lest Melian*
Tûr Daretha > *Tûr Haretha*
§31 'Now Hador Glorindol, son of Hathol, son of Magor, son of

Malach Aradan' was emended to read thus (the emendation was incorrectly made, but my father's intention is plain): 'Now Magor Dagorlind, son of Hathol, son of Hador Glorindal, son of Malach Aradan'

§32 'The sons of Hador' > 'The sons of Magor'

On the reversal of the places of Magor and Hador in the genealogy see p. 235.

Commentary

§1 'three hundred years and ten': the words 'and ten' were an addition. The original chapter in QS had 'four hundred', against which my father noted (p. 202, §126): 'This must be removed to 300', altering the date to '310'. This radical shift, putting back by ninety years the date of Felagund's meeting with Bëor (and so extending the lines of the rulers of the Edain in Beleriand by several generations), has been encountered in the opening of the *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth* (X.307 and third footnote).

§4 'Bëor the Old': the words 'the Old' were an addition, and 'as he was afterwards called' refer to 'Bëor' simply (see the second footnote to §7). – With 'After many lives of wandering out of the East' cf. the change made to the original QS chapter, p. 202, §127.

§7 The opening sentence of this paragraph as typed read:

> Thus it was that Men called King Felagund, whom they first met of all the Eldar, *Sômar* that is Wisdom, and after him they named his people *Samûri* (that is the Wise).

As typed, the footnote was added to the word 'Wisdom', and read:

> In the ancient language of the Edain (from which afterwards came the Númenórean tongue); but Bëor and his House later learned the language of the Eldar and forsook their own.

See V.275 (footnote) and p. 202, §128. – In 'the House of Finrod' *Finrod* = *Finarfin*. The footnote at this point in the text as typed read:

> Thus Bëor got his name; for it signifies Vassal in the tongue of the Edain. But after Bëor all the children of his House bore Elvish names.

The revised footnote as given in the text printed was later struck out in pencil. See §12 in the text.

§9 The paragraph beginning 'But it was said afterwards ...' in the published *Silmarillion* between §9 and §10 of the original text was derived from the *Grey Annals*, §§79–80 (pp. 36–7).

§10 The reversal in the published *Silmarillion* of what is said in the original text (and cf. X.305) concerning the affinities of the languages of the Edain (so that the Haladin become 'sundered in speech' from the People of Bëor, and the tongue of the People of Marach becomes 'more like to ours') is based on late and very express statements of my father's. – In the present passage are the first occurrences of the names *Haladin* and *Marach*.

§12 The form *Diriol* seems not to occur elsewhere (see p. 225, §12). – Above the word 'Servant' my father pencilled 'Vassal', but then struck it through. – The region of *Estolad* was entered on the second map, but in the form *Estoland* (p. 189, §55).

§13 The heading *Of the Kindreds and Houses of the Edain* was an addition to the manuscript. Against the opening words 'Soon after the departure of Felagund' the date 311 was typed; 312 against the coming of the Haladin; and 313 against the coming of Marach and his people.

Radhrost: Dark-elvish name of Thargelion. See p. 225, §13.

Caranthir: the name as typed (twice) was *Cranthir*, emended to *Caranthir*, but later in the text (§23 and subsequently) *Caranthir* was the form as typed. This is an indication that the emendation of the text followed soon after its typing (p. 215), and may give support to the suggestion *(ibid.)* that *Of the Coming of Men into the West* belongs to the period when the LQ 2 typescript series was being made, since the change of *Cranthir* > *Caranthir* occurs as an emendation in *Of Beleriand and its Realms* in the LQ 2 series (p. 197, §111).

On the statement that the peoples of Bëor and Marach were 'sundered in speech', omitted in the published text, see under §10 above.

§14 After the words 'dwelt in Hithlum' there followed in the typescript 'in the household of Fingolfin', which was struck out.

§15 Against the words 'some fifty years' the date 330–380 is typed in the margin.

§16 'the House of Finrod': see under §7 above. – The paragraph beginning 'It is said that in all these matters ...' in the published *Silmarillion* was derived from the *Grey Annals*, §§130–1 (pp. 49–50).

§18 With the speech of Bereg and Amlach compare the words of Andreth to Felagund in the *Athrabeth*, X.309–10.

§19 Against the first sentence of the paragraph the date 369 was added.

§20 After 'new-comers that are unwary' the text as typed read before emendation:

> Which of you has seen the Light or the least of the gods? Who has beheld the Dark King in the North? The Sea has no shore. There is no Light in the West, for we stand now in the West of the world.

§23 The form *Caranthir* appears here in the typescript as typed: see under §13 above. In the carbon copy a stroke was drawn through the *n* of *Caranthir*, sc. *Carathir*, and the same was done at the first occurrence of the name (§13) in the top copy.

§24 The siege of the Haladin behind their stockade is dated 375, typed in the margin.

§25 It is here that the Lady Haleth enters the history; Haleth the Hunter, Father of Men, who first appeared long before in the

Quenta as the son of Hador (when the 'Hadorian' and 'Halethian' houses were one and the same, see IV.104, 175), has now disappeared.

§27 Against the last sentence, referring to the sojourn of the Haladin in Estolad, the date 376–390 is typed in the margin.

§28 *Hardan* son of *Haldar*: the substitution of *Haldan* for *Hardan* in the published text was derived from a late change to a genealogical table of the Haladin (see p. 238).

Brithiach: the Ford of Brithiach over Sirion north of the Forest of Brethil had first appeared in the later *Tale of Tuor* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 41), and again in GA §161; see the map on p. 182, square D 7. – Against the sentence 'At last they crossed over the Brithiach' is the date 391.

Dalath Dirnen: the Guarded Plain east of Narog. The name first appears in the tale of Beren and Lúthien in QS (V.299), and was marked in on the second map, where it was subsequently changed to *Talath Dirnen* (p. 186, §17), as also on the LQ 2 typescript of the present text (p. 225, §28).

Teiglin: this was the form of the name adopted in the published *Silmarillion*; see pp. 309–10, at end of note 55.

§29 In the *Grey Annals* §132 (p. 50) the story had entered (under the year 422) that 'at the prayer of Inglor [Felagund] Thingol granted to Haleth's people to live in Brethil; for they were in good friendship with the woodland Elves' (Haleth here is of course Haleth the Hunter, who had entered Beleriand two years before).

List Melian, the Girdle of Melian: this name was entered on the second map (p. 183, D 8–9), and changed to *Lest Melian* on the carbon copy of the original typescript of the chapter (p. 225, §29).

Tûr Daretha: for the form *Tûr Haretha* in the published text see p. 225, §29. – The date of the death of the Lady Haleth is given in the margin: 420.

§31 In the newly devised history, Marach having displaced Hador Goldenhead as the leader of the people in the journey out of Eriador, Hador now appears as the descendant of Marach in the fourth generation; but the House of Hador retained its name (see IV.175).

This is the first occurrence of the name *Glorindol*; but the later form *Lorindol* (adopted in the published *Silmarillion*) has been met with in the *Athrabeth* (X.305), and see pp. 233–5.

Marginal dates give Hador's years in Fingolfin's household as 405–415, and the granting to him of the lordship of Dor-lómin as 416.

The concluding sentence of the paragraph as typed read:

> But in Dorthonion the lordship of the people of Bëor was given to Bregor son of Boromir ...

The date of this gift, as typed in the margin, was 410. – 'The country

of Ladros', in the emended version, was marked on the second map in the north-east of Dorthonion: p. 187, §34.

§32 For the remainder of its length *Of the Coming of Men into the West* returns to follow, with much rewriting and expansion, the form of the original chapter in QS. – *Galdor* first occurs here (otherwise than in later corrections), replacing *Galion* which itself replaced *Gumlin* (p. 123, §127).

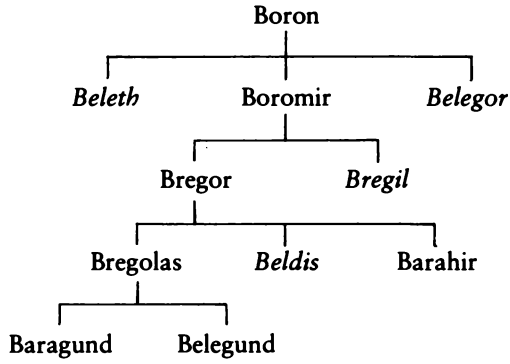
The new genealogies of the Edain

My father's decision that the coming of the Edain over the Blue Mountains into Beleriand took place nearly a century earlier than he had supposed led to a massive overhauling of the chronology and the genealogies.

(i) The House of Bëor

From the new chapter it is seen that in the case of the Bëorians the original 'Father', Bëor the Old, remained, but four new generations were introduced between him and Bregolas and Barahir, who until now had been his sons. These generations are represented by Baran, Boron, Boromir, and Bregor (who becomes the father of Bregolas and Barahir), descendants in the direct line of Bëor the Old – though it is not actually stated that Boron was Baran's son, only that he was Bëor's grandson (§31). In the *Grey Annals* (§121) Bëor was born in the year 370, his encounter with Felagund took place in 400, the year in which his elder son Bregolas was born (§124), and he died in 450. In the new history he met Felagund in 310, departed with him in 311 (commentary on §13), and remained in his service for forty-four years until his death at the age of 93 (§34); from which his dates can be seen to be 262–355. His true name was *Balan* (§12); and it is stated in the second footnote to §7 that each of the chieftains of this people bore the name *Bëor* ('Vassal') as a title until the time of Bregolas and Barahir – though this note was afterwards struck out (commentary on §7). Boromir his great-grandson received the lordship of Dorthonion and Ladros in 410 (§31 and commentary).

There are two genealogical tables of the House of Bëor that relate closely to the new chapter and almost certainly belong to the same period (this is strongly suggested by the fact that a group of Elvish genealogies, closely resembling in form those of the Edain, is accompanied by notes dated December 1959). The two tables were obviously made at the same time. The first ('Bëor table I') was written neatly and clearly; it differs from the second in many of the dates and in its presentation of the descendants of Boron (grandson of Bëor the Old), thus:



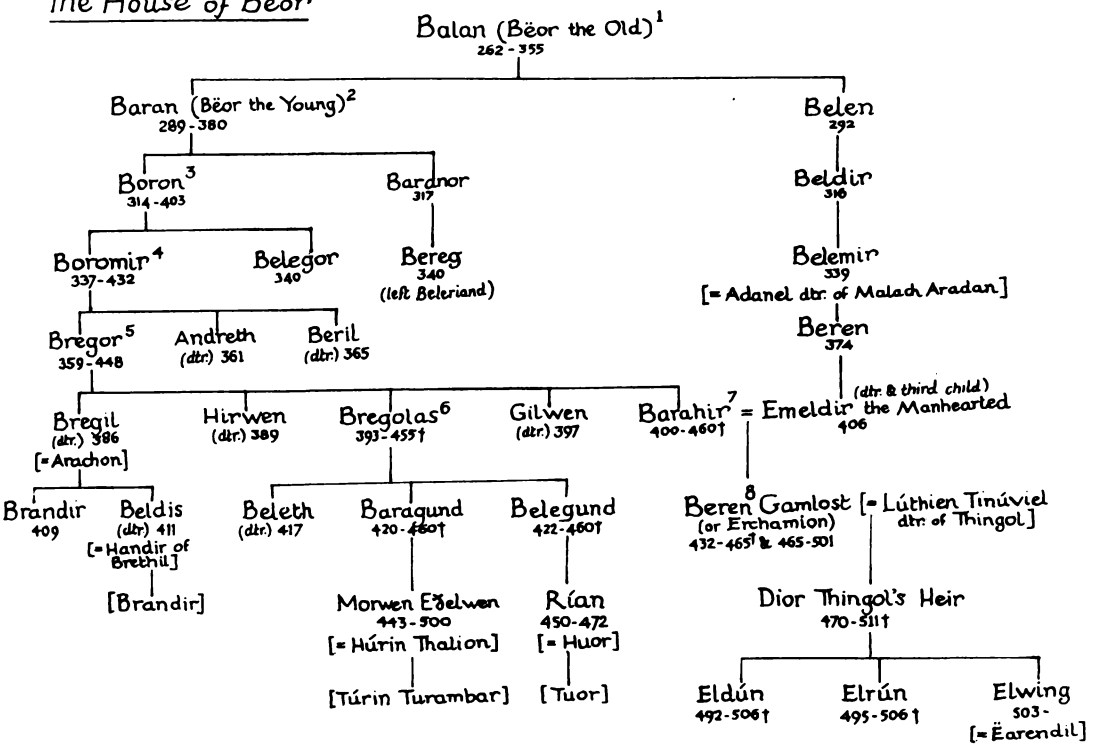
Names in italics show members of the House of Bëor who have not appeared before; of these Beleth, Bregil, and Beldis are marked on the table as daughters. Subsequent alterations, carried out in complex stages, brought the genealogy to the fuller form that it has in 'Bëor table II'; of these changes the most notable is the replacement of Boromir's daughter Bregil (who is moved down a generation) by *Andreth*, the first appearance of the name. The only other point to notice in table I is that Morwen was named *Eledhwen* (with *Eðelwen*, as in table II, added above).

Bëor table II took up all the changes made to I, and I have redrawn it on p. 231 in the form in which it was first made. The numerals added to certain of the names indicate the rulers of the House in their order.

It is seen from this genealogy that Boron was indeed the son of Baran ('Bëor the Young'); and that Bereg the dissident (§18), in the text said only to be 'of the House of Bëor', was the son of Baranor son of Baran, and thus a great-grandson of Bëor the Old. It is seen also that the further extension of the House of Bëor that appears in the *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth* (X.305–6) was now present, with Andreth the sister of Bregor, and Belen the second son of Bëor the Old, father of Beldir (not previously named), father of Belemir the husband of Adanel. (Adanel is here said to be the daughter of Malach Aradan, son of Marach, whereas in the *Athrabeth* she is the sister of Hador Lorindol: on this see p. 235.)

A few changes were made subsequently, at different times, to Bëor table II, as follows:

- *(Bar Bëora)* added after 'The House of Bëor';
- Boron's dates changed to 315–408, and Boromir's birth to 338;
- the name *Saelin* pencilled beside *Andreth*, and also 'A[ndreth] the Wise';
- a remote descent from Beleth, sister of Baragund and Belegund, indicated, leading to *Erendis of Númenor*;


The House of Bëor
Balan (Bëor the Old)[1]
262 - 355
Baran (Bëor the Young)[2]
289 - 380
Belen
292
Boron[3]
314 - 403
Bardnor
317
Beldir
316
Boromir[4]
337 - 432
Belegor
340
Bereg
340
(left Beleriand)
Belemir
339
[= Adanel dtr. of Malach Aradan]
Bregor[5]
359 - 448
Andreth
(dtr.) 361
Beril
(dtr.) 365
Beren
374
(dtr. & third child)
Bregil
(dtr.) 386
[= Arachon]
Hirwen
(dtr.) 389
Bregolas[6]
393 - 455†
Gilwen
(dtr.) 397
Barahir[7] = Emeldir the Manhearted
400 - 460†
406
Brandir
409
Beldis
(dtr.) 411
[= Handir of Brethil]
Beleth
(dtr.) 417
Baragund
420 - 460†
Belegund
422 - 460†
Beren[8] Gamlost [= Lúthien Tinúviel
(or Erchamion)
dtr. of Thingol]
432 - 465† & 465 - 501
[Brandir]
Morwen Eğelwen
443 - 500
[= Húrin Thalion]
Rían
450 - 472
[= Huor]
Dior Thingol's Heir
470 - 511†
[Túrin Turambar]
[Tuor]
Eldún
492 - 506†
Elrún
495 - 506†
Elwing
503 -
[= Ëarendil]

– a daughter *Hiril*, sister of Beren One-hand, given to Barahir and Emeldir.

On the name *Saelin* beside *Andreth* see p. 233. With the descent of Erendis of Númenor from Beleth daughter of Bregolas cf. *Aldarion and Erendis* in *Unfinished Tales*, p. 177, where it is said of Beregar the father of Erendis that he 'came of the House of Bëor': in my note on this (p. 214, note 10) I referred to her descent as given in the present genealogical table, but gave her ancestor's name wrongly as 'Bereth'.

Some of the later dates in the table differ from those in other sources. The first death of Beren is placed under 466 in the texts of *The Tale of Years*: 465 is a reversion to the date in AB 2 (see p. 131, §203). The second death of Beren, in the table dated 501, was placed in AB 2 in 503, while in *The Tale of Years* it is given as 505, then reverting to 503 (pp. 346, 348). In GA Bregolas was born in 400, Barahir in 402, Baragund in 424, and Belegund in 428 (these were the original dates going back to the earliest *Annals of Beleriand*, allowing for the extension by one and then by two centuries in subsequent versions; see the genealogical table in IV.315).

On the much changed date of the Second Kinslaying (here given as 511), in which Dior Thingol's heir was slain in fighting with the Fëanorians and his young sons Eldún and Elrún were taken and abandoned to starve in the forest, see *The Tale of Years*, pp. 345 ff.; it is plainly a mere inadvertence that in the same table the date of their death is given as 506, five years before that of Dior. In (later) sources Eldún and Elrún are twin brothers, born in the year 500 (see p. 257 and note 16 on p. 300; p. 349).

(ii) The House of Hador

In the old history of the Edain, now rejected, Hador the Goldenhaired, third of 'the Fathers of the Men of the West', was born in Eriador in 390, and came over the Blue Mountains into Beleriand in 420. Unlike the development in the House of Bëor, however, Hador (Glorindol, §31) retained his chronological place in the history (as will be seen shortly, his original birth-date remained the same), and his sons Galdor (< Galion < Gumlin) and Gundor; but with the much earlier date of 'the Coming of Men into the West' he was moved downwards in the genealogy, to become the ruler of the people in the fourth generation from Marach, under whose leadership they had entered Beleriand in 313 (commentary on §13). His father was Hathol, son of Magor, son of Malach, son of Marach (§31).

As with the House of Bëor, there are here also two genealogical tables closely related to the new conception. The earlier of these ('Hador table I') was made on my father's old typewriter using his 'midget type' (VIII.233). It was a good deal altered by revision of dates, and by additions, but these latter chiefly concern the extension of the genealogy to include the descendants of Húrin and Huor, with

whom the table ended in the form as typed: the structure of the descent from the ancestor was far less changed than in the case of Bëor table I, and indeed the only addition here was the incorporation of Amlach, one of the leaders of discontent in Estolad, who is said in the text of the chapter (§18) to have been 'one of the grandsons of Marach'. Changes were also made to the names of the Haladin who appear in the genealogy.

A fair copy in manuscript ('Hador table II'), identical in appearance to the tables of the House of Bëor, followed, no doubt immediately, and this I have redrawn on p. 234, in the form in which it was made (i.e. omitting subsequent alterations). I notice here some points arising from these tables.

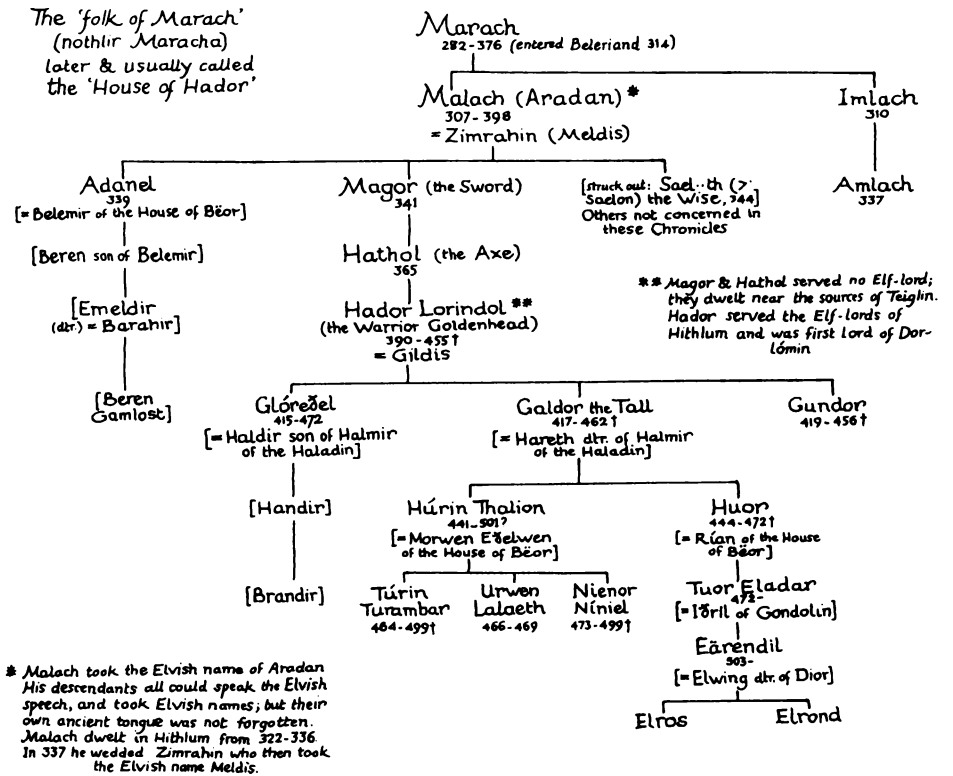
The date of Marach's entry into Beleriand differs by one year (314 for 313) from that given in the chapter (commentary on §13); table I had 315 altered to 314. In table I Marach's son Imlach, father of Amlach, is named *Imrach*.

In agreement with the genealogical tables of the House of Bëor, Adanel wife of Belemir is the daughter of Malach Aradan; in Hador table I it was said that Adanel 'wedded Belemir of the House of Bëor, and he joined the people of Aradan', the last words being struck out. It is also said in table I that Beren (I) was the fifth child of Adanel and Belemir; and that Emeldir was the third child of Beren.

In Hador table I there is the statement that 'the other children of Aradan' (i.e. beside Adanel and Magor) 'are not named in the Chronicles'. In table II a third child of Malach Aradan was named, however: 'Sael..th the Wise 344', together with the mention of 'others not concerned in these Chronicles'; *Sael..th* was first changed to *Saelon*, and then the name and the birth-date were struck out, so that the middle letters of the first name cannot be read. This was probably done at the time of the making of the table. *Saelon* appears in draft material for the *Athrabeth* (X.351–2) as the name of Andreth, replaced in the finished text (X.305) by *Saelind* ('the Eldar called her *Saelind*, "Wise-heart"'). In this sister of Magor and Adanel is seen, very probably, the first hint of the *Athrabeth*; subsequently, when my father perceived that the wise-women came of different houses of the Edain, with different 'lore and traditions' (X.305), he wrote *Saelin* and *Andreth the Wise* against the name *Andreth* in Bëor table II (p. 230). It seems a possibility that Adanel and Andreth were already present in the genealogies before their significance as 'wise-women' emerged.

In Hador table I Hador was named *Glorindol*, as in the text of the chapter (§31), emended to *Lorindol*, the form in table II. – I do not know why Gundor's death should be dated (in both I and II) a year later (456) than that of his father Hador. All the sources state that they both died at Eithel Sirion.

The 'double marriage' of Hador's daughter and elder son, named Glorwendil and Galion, to the son (Hundor) and daughter (unnamed)


The 'folk of Marach'
(nothlir Maracha)
later & usually called
the 'House of Hador'
Marach
282-376 (entered Beleriand 314)
Malach (Aradan) *
307-398
= Zimrahin (Meldis)
Imlach
310
Adanel
339
[= Belemir of the House of Bëor]
Magor (the Sword)
341
[struck out: Sael··th (?Saelon) the Wise, 744]
Others not concerned in these Chronicles
Amlach
337
[Beren son of Belemir]
Hathol (the Axe)
365
[Emeldir
(dtr.) = Barahir]
Hador Lorindol **
(the Warrior Goldenhead)
390-455†
= Gildis
** Magor & Hathol served no Elf-lord; they dwelt near the sources of Teiglin. Hador served the Elf-lords of Hithlum and was first Lord of Dor-lómin
[Beren
Gamlost]
Glóreðel
415-472
[= Haldir son of Halmir
of the Haladin]
Galdor the Tall
417-462†
[= Hareth dtr. of Halmir
of the Haladin]
Gundor
419-456†
[Handir]
Húrin Thalion
441-501?
[= Morwen Eðelwen
of the House of Bëor]
Huor
444-472†
[= Rían of the House
of Bëor]
[Brandir]
Túrin
Turambar
464-499†
Urwen
Lalaeth
466-469
Nienor
Níniel
473-499†
Tuor
472-
Eladar
[= Idril of Gondolin]
Eärendil
503-
[= Elwing dtr. of Dior]
Elros
Elrond
* Malach took the Elvish name of Aradan
His descendants all could speak the Elvish
speech, and took Elvish names; but their
own ancient tongue was not forgotten.
Malach dwelt in Hithlum from 322-336.
In 337 he wedded Zimrahin who then took
the Elvish name Meldis.

of Haleth the Hunter had already emerged in the *Grey Annals* (see the commentary on §§161, 171, pp. 126, 128). Now named Glóreðel and Galdor, the double marriage remains, but with the entire reconstitution of the People of Haleth the chronological place of Haleth the Hunter had been taken by *Halmir*: it is now his son *Haldir* and his daughter *Hareth* who marry Glóreðel and Galdor.*

The date of Húrin's death is given as '500?' in table I ('501?' in table II).

Tuor's name *Eladar* is translated 'Starfather' in table I, and in addition he is named *Ulmondil*; the form *Irildë* was added after *Idril* (so spelt): see II.343 and V.366–7 (stem KYELEP); and to Eärendil was added 'whose name was foretold by Ulmo'.

For *Urwen Lalaeth* see *Unfinished Tales* pp. 57–9.

In hasty pencillings on Hador table II the note saying that Magor and Hathol served no Elf-lord but dwelt near the sources of Teiglin, and that Hador was the first lord of Dor-lomin, was struck out; while at the same time *Hador Lorindol first lord of Dorlómin* was written above *Magor (the Sword)*, and *Magor Dagorlind the Sword singer in battle* above *Hador Lorindol*. This reversal has been seen already in emendations made to the carbon copy only of the text of the chapter (pp. 225–6, §§16, 31–2 – where my father changed *Glorindol*, not to *Lorindol*, but to *Glorindal*). That this was not an ephemeral change is seen from the *Athrabeth*, where Adanel is the sister of Hador Lorindol, not of Magor.

I do not know of any statement elsewhere that bears on this change, but the words 'first lord of Dorlómin' that (so to speak) accompanied Hador's movement back by half a century are evidently significant, suggesting that my father had in mind to place Fingolfin's gift of the lordship of Dorlómin much earlier: he had said both in the text of the chapter and in the genealogical table that Malach (whose son was now Hador Lorindol) passed fourteen years in Hithlum. This change would not of itself entail the reversal of the names Magor and Hador; but the House of Hador was a name so embedded in the tradition that my father would not lose it even when Hador was no longer the first ruler in Beleriand, while on the other hand the importance and illustriousness of that house was closely associated with the lordship of Dorlómin – in other words, the name must accompany the first lordship. But it seems that he never wrote anything further on the matter, nor made any other alterations to the existing texts in the light of it.

The only other change made to Hador table II (it was made also to table I) was the writing of the name *Ardamir* above Eärendil.

* In table I the son of Halmir was still *Hundor*, and his daughter was *Hiriel*. *Hiriel* was changed to *Hareth*; and *Hundor* was changed to *Hundar* before reaching *Haldir*. See pp. 236–7.

(iii) The Haladin

This house of the Edain underwent the greatest change, since in this case the original 'Father' Haleth the Hunter disappeared, and of the Haladin (a name that first occurs in this new chapter, §10) it is said (§24) that they 'did not live under the rule of lords or many together'. The name *Haleth* now becomes that of the formidable Lady Haleth, daughter of Haldad, who had become the leader when the Haladin were attacked by Orcs in Thargelion. In the genealogical table of the House of Hador *Halmir* occupies the place in the history formerly taken by Haleth the Hunter, and it was his son and daughter who married the son and daughter of Hador Goldenhead.

A genealogical table of the Haladin exists in a single copy (preceded by rough workings in which the names were moved about in a bewildering fashion), this table being a companion, obviously made at the same time, to those of the Houses of Bëor and Hador. I give it on p. 237 as it was first made. As in the table of the Bëorians, the numerals against certain of the names refer to the leaders of the Haladin in sequence.

A particularly confusing element in the transformation of 'the People of Haleth' (who are confusing enough in any event) lies in the offspring of Halmir.

(1) In GA §212 (p. 70) it was told, in the annal for 468, that at the time of the Union of Maidros Haleth the Hunter 'gathered his folk in Brethil, and they whetted their axes; but he died of age ere the war came, and Hundor his son ruled his people' (in *The Silmarillion*, Chapter 20, p. 189, I retained this, substituting Halmir for Haleth the Hunter and Haldir for Hundor).

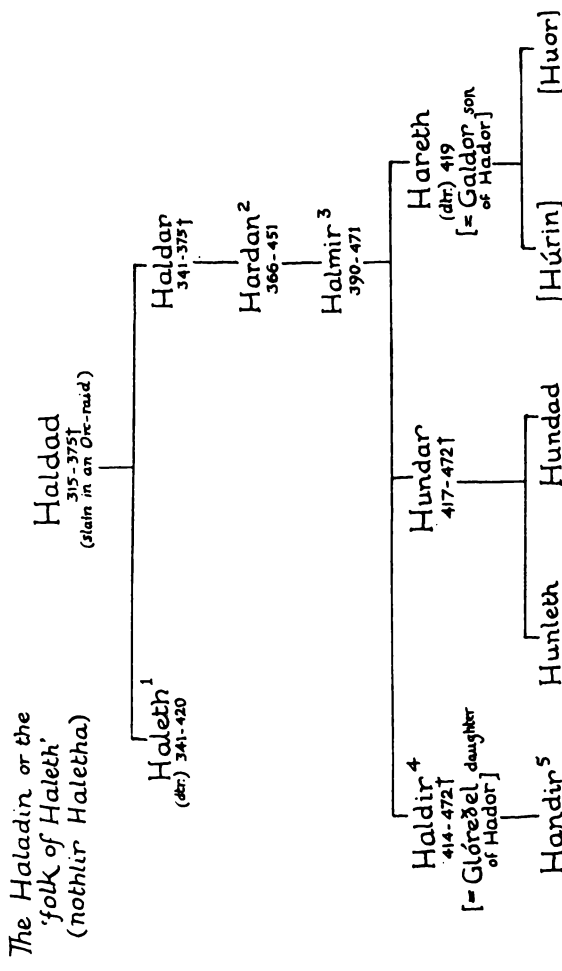
(2) I have noticed (p. 235, footnote) that in 'Hador table I' Halmir's son was still *Hundor*; and that this was changed to *Hundar* (found also in one of the constituent texts of the *Narn* as the name of the son) before reaching the final form *Haldir*.

(3) In the *Narn* version of the story of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears the leader of the men of Brethil is *Hundar* (pp. 166, 168).

(4) In a late alteration to the GA version of the story (see p. 133, commentary on §221) the sentence 'many of the woodmen came also with Hundor of Brethil' was changed to 'came also with Haldir and Hundar'.

(6) In the genealogical table of the Haladin both *Haldir*, son of Halmir and leader of the Haladin after his father's death, and his brother *Hundar*, are shown as having been slain in the Nirnaeth in the year 472.

It is seen therefore that when *Hundar* son of Halmir became *Haldir*, the name *Hundar* was not lost but was given to a brother of Haldir; and both went to the battle and both were slain. This is expressly stated in *The Wanderings of Húrin* (p. 281 and note 37); and indeed the line of Hundar is of great importance in that tale.


The Haladin or the 'folk of Haleth' (nothlir Haletha)
Haldad
315-375†
(slain in an Orc-raid)
Haleth[1]
(dtr.) 341-420
Haldar
341-375†
Hardan[2]
366-451
Halmir[3]
390-471
Haldir[4]
414-472†
[= Glóredel daughter of Hador]
Brandir the Lame[6]
465-499†
(named after his mother's brother)
Handir[5]
441-495†
[= Beldis of the House of Bëor]
Hunleth
(dtr.) 443
Hundar
417-472†
Hundad
447
Hunthor
468-499†
Hareth
(dtr.) 419
[= Galdor son of Hador]
Harathor[7]
471
[Húrin]
[Huor]

Handir, son of Haldir, retained his name from far back; but the original story of his death in the battle of Tumhalad in 495 had been changed: he was slain in Brethil earlier in that year by 'Orcs that invaded his land' (GA §275). On his marriage with Beldis of the House of Bëor see p. 268.

Hunthor was Túrin's companion in the attack on Glaurung, killed by a falling stone (*Unfinished Tales*, p. 134); called *Torbarth* in GA (see p. 156).

Most of the later changes made to this table relate closely to the story of *The Wanderings of Húrin*, and these I neglect here. Of other alterations, one has been mentioned already (commentary on §28, p. 228): *Hardan* son of Haldar (twin brother of the Lady Haleth) was changed to *Haldan*, and this name was adopted in the published *Silmarillion*; but also pencilled against *Hardan* (either before or after the change to *Haldan*) is the name *Harathor* (the name repeated in his descendant, the seventh leader of the Haladin, four generations later). – The birth-dates of Hundar and Hareth were changed to 418 and 420; and Hundar's daughter *Hunleth* was an addition, though probably of the time of the making of the table.

Pencilled on a corner of the page is: '*Hal-* in old language of this people = head, chief. *bar* = man. *Halbar* = chieftain'; at the same time my father wrote '*b*' against the name *Haldar* (Haleth's brother) and perhaps very faintly struck out the '*d*' of this name: sc. *Halbar*. On this see p. 309.

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15 OF THE RUIN OF BELERIAND AND THE FALL OF FINGOLFIN

We come now to Chapter 11 in QS, given in V.279–89. The text was not much emended on the manuscript, and I give such changes as were made in the form of notes referenced to the numbered paragraphs in Vol.V.

§134 *Bladorion* > *Ard-galen* and subsequently.

'fires of many colours, and the fume stank upon the air' > 'fires of many poisonous hues, and the fume thereof stank upon the air'

Dor-na-Fauglith > *Dor-no-Fauglith*

Dagor Vreged-úr > *Dagor Bragollach*

'the Battle of Sudden Fire' > 'the Battle of Sudden Flame' (and subsequently)

§137 'In that battle King Inglor Felagund was cut off from his folk and surrounded by the Orcs, and he would have been slain ...' > 'surrounded by the Orcs in the Fen of Serech betwixt Mithrim and Dorthonion, and there he would have been slain'. The *Fen of Rivil*, changed to *Fen of Serech*, was added to the second map (p. 181, §3), and the latter name occurs several times in GA.

§138 'fled now from Dorthonion' > 'fled away from Dorthonion'
'it was after called by the Gnomes Taur-na-Fuin, which is Mirkwood, and Deldúwath, Deadly Nightshade' > 'it was after called by the Dark-elves Taur-na-Fuin, which is Mirkwood, but by the Gnomes Deldúwath, Deadly Nightshade'

§141 'Celegorn and Curufin ... sought harbour with their friend Orodreth' > '... sought harbour with Inglor and Orodreth'. See V.289, §141.

§142 'or the wild of South Beleriand' > 'nor to Taur-im-Duinath and the wilds of the south'. On *Taur-im-Duinath* see p. 193, §108, and p. 195, §113.

§143 'Sauron was the chief servant of the evil Vala, whom he had suborned to his service in Valinor from among the people of the gods. He was become a wizard of dreadful power, master of necromancy, foul in wisdom' > 'Now Sauron, whom the Noldor call Gorthú, was the chief servant of Morgoth. In Valinor he had dwelt among the people of the gods, but there Morgoth had drawn him to evil and to his service. He was become now a sorcerer of dreadful power, master of shadows and of ghosts, foul in wisdom'. On this passage, and the name *Gorthú*, see V.333, 338, and the commentary on QS §143 (V.290).

In the footnote to this paragraph *Tol-na-Gaurhoth* > *Tol-in-Gaurhoth* (cf. GA §154 and commentary, pp. 54, 125).

§144 In 'for though his might is greatest of all things in this world, alone of the Valar he knows fear' the words 'is' and 'knows' were changed to 'was' and 'knew'.

§147 'for sorrow; but the tale of it is remembered, for Thorondor, king of eagles, brought the tidings to Gondolin, and to Hithlum. For Morgoth' > 'for their sorrow is too deep. Yet the tale of it is remembered still, for Thorondor, king of eagles, brought the tidings to Gondolin, and to Hithlum afar off. Lo! Morgoth'

Gochressiel > *Crisaegrim* (see V.290, §147).

§149 'And most the Gnomes feared' > 'And ever the Gnomes feared most'

§151 'Dwarfs' > 'Dwarves'

All these changes were taken up into the early typescript LQ 1 (in which the footnotes to §§143, 156 were as usual incorporated in the text, and so remained). LQ 1 received no emendation from my father, not even the correction of misspelt names and other errors. These errors reappear in the late typescript of the LQ 2 series, showing that in this case the typist did not work from the manuscript. To the text in LQ 2 my father gave the chapter-number 'XVIII' (see p. 215), and made the following emendations.

§134 *Dor-no-Fauglith* (changed from *Dor-na-Fauglith* on the manuscript, as noted above) > *Dor-nu-Fauglith*; a translation of the

name added in a footnote 'That is Land under Choking Ash'; and 'in the Noldorin tongue' (where LQ 1 had 'in the Gnomish tongue') > 'in the Sindarin tongue'.

Eredwethion > *Eredwethrin* (and subsequently)

§135 *Glómund* > *Glaurung* (and subsequently). See p. 180, §104.

§137 *Finrod* > *Finarfin* (this change was missed in §144).

'Bregolas, son of Bëor [the typescript has *Breor*, a mere error going back to LQ 1], who was lord of that house of men after his father's death' > 'Bregolas, son of Bregor ... after Boromir his father's death'. This accommodates the text to the new genealogy that came in with the new chapter *Of the Coming of Men into the West*. That was extant in the LQ 2 series, but for the present chapter my father gave the typist the old LQ 1 text to copy.

Inglor > *Finrod* (and subsequently)

'Barahir son of Bëor' > 'Barahir son of Bregor'

§138 *Taur-na-Fuin* > *Taur-nu-Fuin* (cf. GA §158 and commentary, pp. 56, 126).

§139 The name *Arthod* of one of the companions of Barahir had been misspelt *Arthrod* by the typist of LQ 1, and this error surviving into LQ 2 was not observed by my father. In GA (§159, p. 56) the name is *Arthad*, which was adopted in the published *Silmarillion*.

§140 *Gumlin* > *Galdor* and subsequently (see p. 229, §32); the intervening name *Galion*, appearing in GA (§127), was here jumped.

§141 'sought harbour with Inglor and Orodreth' (see p. 239, §141) > 'sought harbour with Finrod and Orodreth'

§142 *Cranthir* > *Caranthir*

Damrod and Díriel > *Amrod and Amras*

§143 'Now Sauron, whom the Noldor call Gorthú' (see p. 239, §143) > 'Now Sauron, whom the Sindar call Gorthaur'

'In Valinor he had dwelt among the people of the Valar, but there Morgoth had drawn him to evil and to his service' (see p. 239, §143; LQ 1 has 'gods'): this was struck out.

§147 In 'Morgoth goes ever halt of one foot since that day, and the pain of his wounds cannot be healed; and in his face is the scar that Thorondor made' the words 'goes', 'since', 'cannot', and 'is' were changed to 'went', 'after', 'could not', and 'was'. Cf. p. 239, §144.

§151 *Borlas and Boromir and Borthandos* > *Borlad and Borlach and Borthand*. In GA, in a passage extant in two versions, appear both *Borthandos* and *Borthand* (pp. 61, 64), the other names remaining as in QS. Here *Borlad* replaces *Borlas* and *Borlach* replaces *Boromir*, which latter had become the name of the fourth ruler of the People of Bëor.

§152 'Yet Haleth and his men' > 'Yet the People of Haleth'

Haleth > *Halmir* (and subsequently); at the first occurrence >

'Halmir Lord of the Haladin'. For *Halmir* see p. 236 and the genealogical table of the Haladin on p. 237.

§153 Since no alteration to this passage in QS had ever been made, at this late date the LQ 2 typescript still retained the old story that it was Haleth the Hunter and his fosterson Húrin who, hunting in the vale of Sirion in the autumn of the year of the Battle of Sudden Flame (455), came upon the entrance into Gondolin. That story had already been altered in the *Grey Annals* (§149), in that Húrin's companion had become Haleth's grandson Handir, and in a long rider inserted into the *Annals* (§§161–6, and see the commentary, pp. 126–7) it had been much further changed: Húrin's companion was now his brother Huor, and it was their presence (as fostersons of Haleth) among the Men of Brethil in the battle against the Orcs three years later (458) that led to their coming to Gondolin. The only alterations that my father made to the passage in LQ 2, however, were the replacement of *Gumlin* by *Galdor* and *Haleth* by *Halmir* – thus retaining the long since rejected story while substituting the new names that had entered with the chapter *Of the Coming of Men into the West*. This was obviously not his intention (probably he altered the names rapidly throughout the chapter without considering the content in this paragraph), and indeed he marked the passage in the margin with an X and noted against it 'This is incorrect story. See Annals and tale of Túrin'. This treatment may have been due to haste, or disinclination to deal with the text at that time; but it possibly implies uncertainty as to how he should relate the content of the *Quenta Silmarillion* at this point to the same material appearing in closely similar form both in the *Grey Annals* and in the *Narn*: see pp. 165 ff. In the published work the old text of QS §153 was replaced by that of GA §§161–6 (with a different ending: see p. 169).

Two alterations made hastily to the QS manuscript are not found in the typescripts. The first of these concerns the opening of §133: 'But when the sons of the sons of the Fathers of Men were but newly come to manhood'; this referred to the second generation after Bëor, Hador, and Haleth according to the old genealogies, i.e. Baragund, Belegund, Beren; Húrin, Huor; Handir of Brethil. When correcting the LQ 2 text my father had not observed the need to correct this in the light of the revised history of the Edain in Beleriand, and when he did recognise it he made the change only on the QS manuscript, thus:

> But when the fifth generation of Men after Bëor and Marach were not yet come to full manhood

Even so, the change is not quite as is to be expected; for in the fifth generation after Bëor and Marach were Bregolas, Barahir; Gundor, Galdor. There is of course no question that the men referred to are not these, but their sons – and even so the new reading 'not yet come

to full manhood' is hardly suitable to Baragund and Belegund, who according to the changed dates in the genealogical table (pp. 231–2) were at this time 35 and 33 years old. At any rate it seems clear that 'fifth' was an error for 'sixth'.

The other alteration made to QS only, and obviously made much earlier than that just given, was an addition to the end of §137, after the words 'he [Felagund] gave to Barahir his ring'.

> But fearing now that all strong places were doomed to fall at last before the might of Morgoth, he sent away his wife Meril to her own folk in Eglorest, and with her went their son, yet an elvenchild, and *Gilgalad* Starlight he was called for the brightness of his eye.

Felagund's wife Meril has not been named before, nor any child of his; and this is the first appearance of Gil-galad from *The Lord of the Rings*. Another note on the subject is found in the QS manuscript near the opening of the 'short' (i.e. condensed) version of the tale of Beren and Lúthien (see V.293), pencilled rapidly at the foot of a page but clearly referring to the statement in the text that Felagund gave the crown of Nargothrond to Orodreth before his departure with Beren (*The Silmarillion* p. 170):

> But foreseeing evil he commanded Orodreth to send away his son Gilgalad, and wife.

This was struck out; and somewhat further on in the tale of Beren and Lúthien in the same version is a third hasty note, without direction for insertion but evidently referring to the passage in which Orodreth expelled Celegorn and Curufin from Nargothrond (*The Silmarillion* p. 176):

> But the Lady wife of Inglor forsook the folk of Nargothrond and went with her son Gilgalad to the Havens of the Falas.

A blank space is here left for the name of Felagund's wife. In each of these mentions, taking them in sequence, her departure is displaced to a later point; but of course they need not have been written in that sequence (although the third presumably replaced the second, which was struck out). On the other hand it seems very unlikely that the three additions do not belong together, though there seems to be no way of discovering with certainty when they were written. – It may also be noticed that a later correction to the old AB 2 manuscript changed the sentence in the concluding annal (V.144) 'But Elrond the Half-elfin remained, and ruled in the West of the world' to 'But Elrond the Half-elven remained with Gilgalad son of Inglor Felagund who ruled in the West of the world.'

In this connection must be mentioned the passage in the *Grey Annals* §§108–9 (p. 44), where it is expressly stated that 'King Inglor Felagund had no wife', and that when Galadriel came to Nargothrond for the feast celebrating its completion in the year 102 she asked him why:

> ... but foresight came upon Felagund as she spoke, and he said:

'An oath I too shall swear and must be free to fulfill it and go into darkness. Nor shall anything of all my realm endure that a son should inherit.'

But it is said that not until that hour had such cold thoughts ruled him; for indeed she whom he had loved was Amárië of the Vanyar, and she was not permitted to go with him into exile.

Amárië appears again in GA, in both versions of the retelling of the story of Beren and Lúthien (§§180, 199), where it is said that Felagund dwells in Valinor with Amárië.

Later evidence makes it certain that the notes on the QS manuscript represent a rejected idea for the incorporation of Gil-galad into the traditions of the Elder Days; and the passage just cited from the *Grey Annals* is to be taken as showing that it had been abandoned. That Gil-galad was the son of Fingon (*The Silmarillion* p. 154) derives from the late note pencilled on the manuscript of GA (§157), stating that when Fingon became King of the Noldor on the death of Fingolfin 'his young son (?Findor) [*sic*] Gilgalad he sent to the Havens.' But this, adopted after much hesitation, was not in fact by any means the last of my father's speculations on this question.

THE LAST CHAPTERS OF THE *QUENTA SILMARILLION*

Of the next chapters in QS (12–15), the tale of Beren and Lúthien, there is almost nothing to add to my account in V.292 ff. A typescript in the LQ 1 series was made, but my father only glanced through it cursorily, correcting a few errors in the typing and missing a major one; from this it was copied in the LQ 2 series, which again he looked at in a cursory and uncomparative fashion: such old names as *Inglor* and *Finrod* were not changed to *Finrod* and *Finarfin*. The only change that he made to the LQ 2 text was at the very beginning (V.296), where against 'Noldor' he wrote in the margin 'Númenor', i.e. 'which is the longest save one of the songs of [the Noldor >] Númenor concerning the world of old.' With this cf. X.373.

The textual history of the following chapters (16 and 17) of the *Quenta Silmarillion* has been fully described in Vol.V (see especially pp. 293–4), and need not be repeated here. To Chapter 16, the story of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, no further changes to the text as given in V.306–13 had been made (apart from those mentioned in V.313, §1) when the LQ 1 typescript was taken from it, and this my father did not correct or change at any point. Years later, the LQ 2 typescript was simply a copy of LQ 1, perpetuating its errors, and similarly neglected. Thus the confused account of Turgon's emergence from Gondolin, discussed in V.314–15, which had been resolved in the

story as told in the *Grey Annals* (see p. 133, §221), remained in this text without so much as a comment in the margin.

With Chapter 17, the beginning of the story of Túrin (V.316–21), my father abandoned, in December 1937, the writing of the continuous *Quenta Silmarillion*. He had made no changes to the chapter when the last typescript of the LQ 1 series was taken from it, and this text he never touched. In this case he did indeed return later to the manuscript, making many additions and corrections (and rejecting the whole of the latter part of the chapter, V.319–21, §34–40); but this is best regarded as an aspect of the vast, unfinished work on the 'Saga of Túrin' that engaged him during the 1950s, from which no brief retelling suitable in scale to the *Quenta Silmarillion* ever emerged. LQ 2 was again a simple copy of LQ 1, by that time altogether obsolete.

Chapter 17 ended with Túrin's flight from Menegroth after the slaying of Orgof and his gathering of a band of outlaws beyond the borders of Doriath: 'their hands were turned against all who came in their path, Elves, Men, or Orcs' (V.321). The antecedent of this passage is found in Q *(Quenta Noldorinwa)*, IV.123; and from this point, in terms of the *Silmarillion* narrative strictly or narrowly defined, there is nothing later than Q (written, or the greater part of it, in 1930) for the rest of the tale of Túrin, and for all the story of the return of Húrin, the Nauglamír, the death of Thingol, the destruction of Doriath, the fall of Gondolin, and the attack on Sirion's Haven, until we come to the rewriting of the conclusion of Q which my father carried out in 1937.

This is not to suggest for a moment, of course, that he had lost interest in the later tales: 'Túrin' is the most obvious contradiction to that, while the later *Tale of Tuor* was undoubtedly intended to lead to a richly detailed account of the Fall of Gondolin, and *The Wanderings of Húrin* was not to end with his departure from Brethil, but to lead into the tale of the Necklace of the Dwarves. But the *Quenta Silmarillion* was at an end. I have said of the *Quenta Noldorinwa* (Q) in IV.76:

> The title ['This is the brief History of the Noldoli or Gnomes, drawn from the Book of Lost Tales'] makes it very plain that while Q was written in a finished manner, my father saw it as a compendium, a 'brief history' that was 'drawn from' a much longer work; and this aspect remained an important element in his conception of 'The Silmarillion' properly so called. I do not know whether this idea did indeed arise from the fact that the starting point of the second phase of the mythological narrative was a condensed synopsis (S) [the *Sketch of the Mythology*]; but it seems likely enough, from the step by step continuity that leads from S through Q to the version that was interrupted towards its end in 1937.

In these versions my father was drawing on (while also of course continually developing and extending) long works that already existed in prose and verse, and in the *Quenta Silmarillion* he perfected that characteristic tone, melodious, grave, elegiac, burdened with a sense of loss and distance in time, which resides partly, as I believe, in the literary fact that he was drawing down into a brief compendious history what he could also see in far more detailed, immediate, and dramatic form. With the completion of the great 'intrusion' and departure of *The Lord of the Rings*, it seems that he returned to the Elder Days with a desire to take up again the far more ample scale with which he had begun long before, in *The Book of Lost Tales*. The completion of the *Quenta Silmarillion* remained an aim; but the 'great tales', vastly developed from their original forms, from which its later chapters should be derived were never achieved.

It remains only to record the later history of the final element in QS, the rewritten conclusion of the *Quenta Noldorinwa*, which was given in V.323 ff. with such emendations as I judged to have been made very early and before the abandonment of work on QS at the end of 1937.

It is curious to find that a final typescript in the LQ 2 series of 1958(?) was made, in which the text of Q was copied from the words 'Húrin gathered therefore a few outlaws of the woods unto him, and they came to Nargothrond' (IV.132) to the end. It has no title, and apart from some corrections made to it by my father has no independent value: its interest lies only in the fact of its existence. The reason why it begins at this place in the narrative is, I think, clear (though not why it begins at precisely this point). At the time when my father decided to 'get copies made of all copyable material' (December 1957, see X.141–2) he provided the typist not only with the *Quenta Silmarillion* papers but also with (among other manuscripts) the *Grey Annals*. Thus the story of Túrin, in that form, was (or would be) secure in two typescript copies. But from the death of Túrin, if anything of the concluding parts of *The Silmarillion* was to be copied in this way, it had to be the text of Q: for there was nothing later (except the rewritten version of the conclusion). Yet in this text we are of course in quite early writing: for a single example among many, Q has (IV.139) 'For Turgon deemed, when first they came into that vale after the dreadful battle ...' – an explicit reference to the now long-discarded story of the foundation of Gondolin after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears; and so this appears in the late typescript. That was of course a mere *pis-aller*, an insurance against the possibility of a catastrophe, but its existence underlines, and must have underlined for my father, the essential and far-reaching work that still awaited him, but which he would never achieve.

The typist of LQ 2 was given the manuscript (see V.323) of the 1937 rewriting of the conclusion of Q, beginning 'And they looked upon the

Lonely Isle and there they tarried not'. Some of the later, roughly made emendations (see V.324) had already been made to the manuscript, but others had not. Up to the point where the rewritten text begins my father understandably paid no attention at all to the typescript, but the concluding portion he corrected cursorily – it is clear that he did not have the actual manuscript by him to refer to. These corrections are mostly no more than regular changes of name, but he made one or two independent alterations as well, and these are recorded in the notes that follow.

The corrections to the manuscript, carried out as it appears in two stages (before and after the making of the typescript), are mostly fairly minor, and a few so slight as not to be worth recording. I refer to the numbered paragraphs in V.324–34.

Changes of name or forms of name were: *Airandir* > *Aerandir* (§1); *Tûn* > *Tirion* (§3 and subsequently); *Kôr* > *Túna* (§4); *Lindar* > *Vanyar* (§§6, 26); *Vingelot* > *Vingilot* (§11, but not at the other occurrences); *Gumlin* > *Galion* (§16); *Gorthû* > *Gorthaur* (§30, see p. 240, §143); *Palúrien* > *Kementári* (§32); *Eriol* > *Ereol* (§33).

Fionwë was changed to *Eönwë* throughout, and 'son of Manwë' to 'herald of Manwë' in §5 (but in §6 'Fionwë son of Manwë' > 'Eönwë to whom Manwë gave his sword'); 'the sons of the Valar' became 'the host of the Valar' in §6, but 'the Children of the Valar' in §18, 'the sons of the Gods' in §20, and 'the sons of the Valar' in §§29, 32, were not corrected (see also under §15 below).

Other changes were:

§6 'Ingwiel son of Ingwë was their chief': observing the apparent error, in that Ingwiel appears to be named the leader of the Noldor (see V.334, §6), my father changed this to 'Finarphin son of Finwë': see IV.196, second footnote. In the typescript he let the passage stand, but changed *Ingwiel* to *Ingwion* (and also 'Light-elves' to 'Fair-elves', see X.168, 180).

§9 'Manwë' > 'Manwë the Elder King'

§12 'she let build for her' > 'there was built for her'

§13 'they took it for a sign of hope' > 'they took it for a sign, and they called it Gil-Orrain, the Star of high hope', with *Gil-Orrain* subsequently changed to *Gil-Amdir* (see X.320). The typescript had the revised reading, with *Gil-Orrain*, which my father emended to *Gil-Estel*; on the carbon copy he wrote *Orestel* above *Orrain*.

§15 'the Light-elves of Valinor' > 'the Light-elves in Valinor'
'the sons of the Gods were young and fair and terrible' > 'the host of the Gods were arrayed in forms of Valinor'

§16 'the most part of the sons of Men' > 'a great part of the sons of Men'

§17 'was like a great roar of thunder, and a tempest of fire' > 'was with a great thunder, and lightning, and a tempest of fire'

§18 'and in his fall the towers of Thangorodrim were thrown down'

> 'and he fell upon the towers of Thangorodrim and they were broken and thrown down'

'the chain Angainor, which long had been prepared' > 'the chain Angainor, which he had worn aforetime'

§20 'But Maidros would not harken, and he prepared ... to attempt in despair the fulfilment of his oath' > 'But Maidros and Maglor would not harken ...', with change of 'he' to 'they' and 'his' to 'their'.

§26 'and especially upon the great isles' > 'and upon the great isles'

§30 'and bears dark fruit even to these latest days' > 'and will bear dark fruit even unto the latest days'

'Sauron ... who served Morgoth even in Valinor and came with him' > '... who served Morgoth long ago and came with him into the world' (cf. the removal of the passage on this subject from the chapter *Of the Ruin of Beleriand*, p. 240, §143).

§31 'Túrin Turambar ... coming from the halls of Mandos' > 'Túrin Turambar ... returning from the Doom of Men at the ending of the world'. In the margin of the manuscript my father wrote 'and Beren Camlost' without direction for its insertion.

§32 'and she will break them [the Silmarils] and with their fire rekindle the Two Trees': this was emended on the carbon copy of the typescript only to: 'and he [Fëanor] will break them and with their fire Yavanna will rekindle the Two Trees'

Approximately against the last two sentences of the paragraph (from 'In that light the Gods will grow young again ...') my father put a large X in the margin of the manuscript.

Among these later changes were also the subheadings (*Of the Great Battle and the War of Wrath* at §15, *Of the Last End of the Oath of Fëanor and his Sons* at §20, and *Of the Passing of the Elves* at §26) which were noticed in the commentary on this text, V.336; I neglected however to mention there the introduction of a further subheading, *The Second Prophecy of Mandos*, at §31.

I said of this text in V.324: 'The very fact that the end of "The Silmarillion" still took this form when *The Lord of the Rings* was begun is sufficiently remarkable'. It seems much more remarkable, and not easy to interpret, that my father was treating it as a text requiring only minor and particular revision at this much later time. But his mode of emendation could sometimes be decidedly perfunctory, suggesting not a close, comparative consideration of an earlier text so much as a series of descents on particular points that struck his attention; and it may be that such later emendations as he made in this case are to be regarded rather in that light than as implying any sort of final approval of the content. But this text was peculiar in its inception, jumping forward from the beginning of the story of Túrin to the middle of a sentence much further on in the *Quenta*, and its later history does not diminish its somewhat mysterious nature.

PART THREE

THE WANDERINGS OF HÚRIN

AND OTHER WRITINGS NOT FORMING PART OF THE *QUENTA SILMARILLION*

I
THE WANDERINGS OF HÚRIN

In *The Wanderings of Húrin* ('**WH**') it is not convenient to use the device of numbered paragraphs, and commentary (pp. 298 ff.) is here related to numbered notes in the text.

The earliest account of Húrin after his release by Morgoth is found in the *Tale of Turambar* (II.112–15, 135–6), leading to that in the *Sketch of the Mythology* (IV.32) and in Q (IV.132); see also AB 1 and AB 2 (IV.306, V.141). It is not necessary to say anything about these here, since in none of them is there any suggestion that Húrin returned to Hithlum (or went to Brethil) before he came to Nargothrond.

I have described (p. 103) how the manuscript of the *Grey Annals* (GA) ends with strange abruptness at the foot of a page, and said that 'it always seemed to me strange that my father should have abandoned the *Grey Annals* where he did, without at least writing the inscription that was carved on the stone'. At some later time (see *ibid.*) he entered roughly on the manuscript the inscription on the stone, and the words of conclusion to the tale, derived from the last part of the *Narn* (NE).

The explanation of this was simple, when I discovered, misplaced among miscellaneous papers, manuscript pages that are very obviously the continuation of the *Grey Annals* (the first of these pages is indeed numbered continuously with the last page of the main manuscript); this continuation, it is plain, was already lost in my father's lifetime. The original conclusion was in fact exactly as in the addition made to GA when he presumed the original ending lost, except that the title of the work was then *Glaer nia Chîn Húrin*, as in NE (p. 160, §349). Subsequently my father had added the words 'and was made by Men', as in the conclusion added to GA (p. 103), and later again he changed the title to *Narn i Chîn Húrin*, as he did also in NE.

In the scarcely changing script of the main manuscript this 'lost' text stopped here, but was then continued on the same page in a different ink and script, with the date 500 twice written against this further entry and each time struck out.

It is said by some that Morwen on a time came in her witless wandering to that stone and read it, and died afterwards, though haply she did not understand the tale that it told, and in that was less tormented than Húrin. For all that Morgoth knew of the working of his curse Húrin knew also; but lies and malice

were mingled with the truth, and he that sees through the eyes of Morgoth, willing or unwilling, sees all things crooked. [*Written in the margin later:* Some fate of Morwen must be devised. Did Morwen and Húrin meet again?][1]

At this point the ink and to a slight degree the style of the script change again. The following narrative is the first account of Húrin's release since the *Quenta* of 1930.

500

Especially Morgoth endeavoured to cast an evil light upon all that Thingol and Melian had done (for he hated and feared them most); and when at last he deemed the time ripe, in the year after the death of his children, he released Húrin from bondage and let him go whither he would. He feigned that in this he was moved by generosity to a defeated enemy, but in truth his purpose was that Húrin should further his malice. And little though Húrin trusted aught that Morgoth said or did, he went forth in grief, embittered by the lies of the Dark Lord.

Twenty-eight years Húrin was captive in Angband, and at his release was in his sixtieth year,[2] but great strength was in him still, in spite of the weight of his grief, for it suited the purpose of Morgoth that this should be so. He was sent under guard as far as the east-marches of Hithlum, and there he was let go free.

None that had known him [in] youth could mistake him still, though he had grown grim to look on: his hair and beard were white and long, but there was a fell light in his eyes. He walked unbowed, and yet carried a great black staff; but he was girt with his sword. Great wonder and dread fell on the land when it was noised in Hithlum that the Lord Húrin had returned. The Easterlings were dismayed, fearing that their Master would prove faithless again and give back the land to the Westrons, and that they would be enslaved in their turn. For watchmen had reported that Húrin came out of Angband.

'There was a great riding,' they said, 'of the black soldiers of Thangorodrim over the Anfauglith, and with them came this man, as one that was held in honour.'

Therefore the chieftains of the Easterlings dared not lay hands on Húrin, and let him walk at will. In which they were wise; for the remnant of his own people shunned him, because of his coming from Angband, as one in league and honour with Morgoth; and indeed all escaped captives were held in suspicion

of spying and treachery in those days, as has been told. Thus freedom only increased the bitterness of Húrin's heart; for even had he so wished, he could not have roused any rebellion against the new lords of the land. All the following that he gathered was a small company of the homeless men and outlaws that lurked in the hills; but they had done no great deed against the Incomers since the passing of Túrin, some five years before.

Of Túrin's deeds in Brodda's hall Húrin now learned from the outlaws the true tale; and he looked on Asgon[3] and his men, and he said: 'Men are changed here. In thraldom they have found thrall hearts. I desire no longer any lordship among them, nor elsewhere in Middle-earth. I will leave this land and wander alone, unless any of you will go with me, to meet what we may. For I have no purpose now, unless I find chance to avenge the wrongs of my son.'

Asgorn[4] and six other desperate men were willing to go with him; and Húrin led them to the halls of Lorgan, who still called himself the Lord of Hithlum. Lorgan heard of their coming and was afraid, and he gathered other chieftains and their men in his house for defence. But Húrin coming to the gates looked on the Eastrons[5] in scorn.

'Fear not!' he said. 'I should have needed no companions, if I had come to fight with you. I am come only to take leave of the lord of the land. I have no liking for it any more, since you have defiled it. Hold it while you may, until your Master recalls you to the slave-tasks that fit you better.'

Then Lorgan was not ill-pleased to think that he would so soon and easily be rid of the fear of Húrin, without crossing the will of Angband; and he came forward.

'As you will, friend,' he said. 'I have done you no ill, and have let you be, and of this I hope you will bring a true tale, if you come again to the Master.'

Húrin eyed him in wrath. 'Friend me not, thrall and churl!' he said. 'And believe not the lies that I have heard: that I have ever entered into the service of the Enemy. Of the Edain am I and so remain, and there shall be no friendship between mine and yours for ever.'

Then hearing that Húrin had not after all the favour of Morgoth, or forswore it, many of Lorgan's men drew their swords to put an end to him. But Lorgan restrained them; for he was wary, and more cunning and wicked than the others, and quicker therefore to guess at the purposes of the Master.

'Go then, greybeard, to evil fortune,' he said. 'For that is your doom. Folly and violence and self-hurt are all the deeds of your kin. Fare you ill!'

'*Tôl acharn!*' said Húrin. 'Vengeance comes. I am not the last of the Edain, whether I fare ill or well.' And with that he departed, and left the land of Hithlum.

501

Of the wanderings of Húrin there is no tale told, until he came at last late in this year to Nargothrond. It is said that he had then gathered to him other fugitives and masterless men in the wild, and came south with a following of a hundred or more. But why it was that he went to Nargothrond is uncertain, save that so his doom and the fate of the Jewels led him. Some have said that

At this point the 'lost continuation' of the *Grey Annals* stops, at the foot of a page; but a further page is found, written in a wholly different script (a rapid italic that my father used quite frequently in the period after the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*), that clearly joins to the abandoned sentence 'Some have said that'. Together with the first extension of the Annals, that concerning Morwen (pp. 251–2), and then the narrative recounting Húrin's return to Hithlum, this page is a further and final link in the series of additions that were made at intervals whose length cannot be determined.

[Some have said that] maybe he knew not that Glaurung was dead, and hoped in his heart distraught to take vengeance on this evil thing – for Morgoth would conceal the death of Glaurung, if he could, both because the loss was a grief to him and a hurt to his pride, and because (from Húrin especially) he would conceal all that was most valiant or successful of Túrin's deeds. Yet this can scarce be so,[6] since the death of Glaurung was so bound up with the death of his children and revelation of their evil case; while the rumour of the assault of Glaurung upon Brethil went far and wide. Certainly Morgoth fenced men in Hithlum, as he was able, and little news came to them of events in other lands; but so soon as Húrin passed southward or met any wanderers in the wild he would hear tidings of the battle in the ravine of Taiglin.

More likely is it that he was drawn thither to discover news of Túrin; to Brethil he would not yet come, nor to Doriath.

He went first seeking a way into Gondolin, and the friendship of Turgon (which indeed would have been great); but he found

it not. His doom was unwilling (for Morgoth's curse was ever upon him still); and moreover since the Nírnaeth Turgon had expended every art upon the hiding of his realm. It was then that Húrin finding

Here the text stops abruptly; but on the same page and clearly at the same time my father wrote the following:

Húrin goes to seek Gondolin. Fails. Passes by Brethil, and his anguish is increased. They will not admit him – saying that the Halethrim do not wish any more to become enmeshed in the shadow of his kin. But ∧ [?new] Lord[7] gives the dragon-helm to Húrin. His heart is hot against Thingol. He passes it [Doriath] by and goes on to Nargothrond. Why? To seek news, plunder, – he had been an admirer of Felagund.

News of the fall of Nargothrond came to sons of Fëanor, and dismayed Maeðros, but did not all displease Celeg[orn] and Curufin. But when the news of the dragon's fall was heard, then many wondered concerning its hoard and who was the master? Some Orc-lord, men thought. But the Dwarves of [*sic*] How did Mîm find it? He must come of a different race.[8]

These two pieces, especially the latter, are plainly a record of emerging ideas. In the first there is what is probably the earliest reference to the story that Húrin sought but failed to find the entrance to Gondolin. In the second appears a new articulation in the unwritten history of the Dragon-helm, together with other new detail (Húrin's admiration of Felagund, and the effect of the news of the fall of Nargothrond on the sons of Fëanor); and there is seen the first adumbration of a story of Húrin's adventures in Brethil before he went to Nargothrond.

Before coming to the fully achieved story of Húrin in Brethil there remains one further text to consider. When my father was engaged on his later work on the *Narn i Chîn Húrin* he made several plot-synopses arranged in annalistic form. Much of that material is not relevant here, since it is primarily concerned with the evolving story of Túrin; but one of them, which begins with the birth of Túrin, continues beyond his death and gives some account, though very brief, of Húrin after his release by Morgoth.

I give here the conclusion of this text (certainly somewhat later than any of the writings given thus far in Part Three), taking it up a little before the death of Túrin, since there are many interesting details in the annals for 490–9 bearing on the accounts given in NE and GA. The text was written legibly but very rapidly.

490–5

Túrin becomes a great captain in Nargothrond under the name of *Iarwaeth*, and is called *Mormegil* 'Black Sword'. [*Altered later to read:* Túrin becomes a great captain in Nargothrond. He only tells that he was lord of Cúarthol, and gives out his name as *Thuringud* the Hidden Foe; but is called *Mormegil* 'Black Sword'.

Gwindor reveals his true name to Finduilas, and Túrin is angry.[9]

494

Morgoth stirs up the Eastrons to greater hatred of Elves and Edain, and sends Orcs to aid them and impel them. Lorgan hearing of Niënor's beauty is eager to take her by force. Morwen and Niënor flee the land and come to Doriath. They seek news of Túrin.[10]

495

Tuor escapes from Hithlum by Cirith Ninniach and comes to Nivrost. He meets Gelmir and Arminas. Ulmo visits him on the shores by Mount Taras, and sends Voronwë to him. Tuor and Voronwë go to seek Gondolin which they reach in winter. Winter of 495–6 is the Fell Winter with ice and snow from November to March (5 months).

Gelmir and Arminas come to Nargothrond and bring warning of forces mustering in Narrow Land and under Erydwethian [*sic*]. They are rejected by Túrin.

Handir of Brethil slain in battle with the Orcs at the Crossings of Taeglin [*sic*]. His son Brandir the lame is chosen Chieftain, though many would have preferred his cousins Hunthor or Hardang.

Túrin and Orodreth defeated in Battle of Tum-halad by the dread of Glaurung. Gwindor also slain. Glaurung ravages Nargothrond, and cozens Túrin.

Túrin breaks his word to Gwindor to endeavour to save Finduilas, who is carried off. Instead under the spell of Glaurung he goes to Dorlómin to seek Morwen and Niënor.

Finduilas is slain by the Orcs near Crossings of Taeglin and buried by Men of Brethil in Haudh-en-Elleth.

Tuor sees Túrin near ravaged place of Eithil Ivrin but does not know who he is.

Glaurung takes possession of Nargothrond.[11]

496

Early in year Túrin comes to Dorlómin. He slays Brodda in his hall. Death of Sador. Túrin flies with Asgon and other outlawed Edain to the Mountains, and then leaves Dorlómin by himself. He comes at last to Brethil and learns of the fate of Finduilas.

Morwen and Niënor come to Nargothrond, but their escort (under Mablung) is scattered, and Morwen is lost in the wild, but Niënor is bewitched by Glaurung, and loses her memory, and runs into the wild.

Niënor comes to Brethil, and is called *Níniel*.[12]

496–

Under the name of *Turambar* Túrin becomes chief warrior of Brethil, and men give no heed to Brandir. Brandir falls in love with Níniel, but she loves Turambar.

497

Dior Halfelven weds Lindis of Ossiriand.[13]

498

Túrin weds Níniel (autumn).[14]

499

Glaurung assails Brethil. Túrin goes against him with Hunthor and Dorlas. Dorlas' heart fails and he leaves them. Hunthor is slain by a falling stone. Túrin slays Glaurung. Glaurung ere death reveals to Túrin and Niënor who they are. Túrin slays Brandir. Niënor casts herself into Taeglin. [*The following are separate additions to the text:*] Túrin slays Brandir and takes his own life. / Men of Brethil erect the *Talbor* or St[anding] Stone to their memory. / Mîm comes to Nargothrond and takes possession of the treasure.[15]

500

Elrún and Eldún twin sons of Dior are born.

Morgoth releases Húrin. Húrin goes to Hithlum.[16]

501

Húrin leaves Hithlum and with Asgon and six men goes down into the Narrow Land.

Húrin leaves his companions and seeks in vain an entrance to

Gondolin, but Morgoth's spies thus learn in what region it stands.

Húrin comes to the Stone and there finds Morwen, who dies. Húrin is put in prison by Hardang Chief of Brethil, but is aided by Manthor his kinsman (cousin of Hardang). In uprising Hardang and Manthor are slain and Obel Halad is burned. Húrin finds Asgon again and gathers other men and goes towards Nargothrond.[17]

502

Tuor weds Idril daughter of Turgon.

Húrin comes to Nargothrond and slays Mîm the petty-dwarf. He and his men carry off the treasure of Glaurung and bring it to Doriath. Húrin is admitted in pity.[18]

Here this plot-synopsis ends, at the foot of a manuscript page. I come now to the substantial complex of writing leading to a final text which my father ultimately entitled *The Wanderings of Húrin* (earlier *Of the Fate of Húrin and Morwen*). The final title seems not to be entirely apposite to the content of the work, which is wholly concerned with the story of Húrin in Brethil; it may have been intended to have a larger scope, to include the further story of Húrin told on the same scale, which was never written (see p. 310, note 57, and also the other title given below).

There is, first, a draft manuscript and associated rough workings (often of an extreme roughness). Many pages of the draft material are the backs of University documents dated 1954, others are documents from 1957. Secondly, there is a typescript made by my father on his later typewriter (see X.300), much emended in manuscript and with some substantial passages rejected and replaced by new material in typescript; and lastly an amanuensis typescript of virtually no independent value. The work can be placed with fair certainty towards the end of the 1950s.

My father's typescript, as typed, bore no title, but he wrote in ink on the top copy:

Of the Fate of Húrin and Morwen
Link to the Necklace of the Dwarves, 'Sigil Elu-naeth'
Necklace of the Woe of Thingol

The text opens thus:

So ended the tale of Túrin the hapless; and it has ever been held one of the worst of the deeds of Morgoth among Men in the ancient world. It is said by some that on a time Morwen came in her witless wandering to the graven stone, and knowing that her children were dead, though she understood not in what

way their tale had ended, she sat beside the stone awaiting death; and there Húrin found her at last, as is after told.

Less happy than hers was the lot of Húrin.

This passage derives, in its first sentence, from Q (IV.131), and then from the first continuation of the *Grey Annals* (pp. 251–2), with the addition that Húrin found Morwen beside the stone (cf. p. 258, annal 501). The passage was struck from the typescript and replaced by the following, written on a document dating from 1957:

So ended the tale of Túrin the Hapless, the worst of the works of Morgoth among Men in the ancient world. But Morgoth did not sleep nor rest from evil, and this was not the end of his dealings with the House of Hador, against which his malice was unsated, though Húrin was under his Eye, and Morwen wandered distraught in the wild.

Unhappy was the lot of Húrin.

At the head of this my father subsequently wrote *The Wanderings of Húrin*, and the final amanuensis typescript was given this title also (see p. 258). The typescript continues, from 'Less happy than hers was the lot of Húrin':

For all that Morgoth knew of the working of his malice Húrin knew also; but lies were mingled with the truth, and aught that was good was hidden or distorted. He that sees through the eyes of Morgoth, willing or unwilling, sees all things crooked.

It was Morgoth's special endeavour to cast an evil light upon all that Thingol and Melian had done, for he feared and hated them most; and when, therefore, he deemed the time ripe, in the year after the death of Túrin he released Húrin from bondage, bidding him go whither he would.

He feigned that in this he was moved by pity for an enemy utterly defeated, marvelling at his endurance. 'Such steadfastness,' he said, 'should have been shown in a better cause, and would have been otherwise rewarded. But I have no longer any use for you, Húrin, in the waning of your little life.' And he lied, for his purpose was that Húrin should still further his malice against Elves and Men, ere he died.

Then little though Húrin trusted aught that Morgoth said or did, knowing that he was without pity, he took his freedom and went forth in grief, embittered by the deceits of the Dark Lord. Twenty-eight years Húrin was captive in Angband ...

In this passage my father was following, with some expansion, the continuation of the *Grey Annals* (p. 252); from this point he followed it almost without alteration as far as 'And with that he departed, and left the land of Hithlum' (p. 254).[19] There are thus two closely similar, and for most of their length all but identical, texts of this short narrative, which may be called 'Húrin in Hithlum'; but the first of them is the continuation of the *Annals*, and the second is the opening of a wholly new story of Húrin in Brethil – causing a postponement of the story of 'Húrin in Nargothrond', which in the event was never reached. Seeing then that the second text of 'Húrin in Hithlum' has an entirely distinct function, there is clearly no question of regarding the story of Húrin in Brethil as a further extension of the *Annals*. As will be seen, my father was very evidently no longer writing annals of Beleriand: that work was now abandoned – or possibly, in his intention, left in abeyance, until the new story had been completed on the scale that he found congenial.

I now give the further text of *The Wanderings of Húrin* (following from the words 'And with that he departed, and left the land of Hithlum'). The work is of peculiar complexity in this, that when my father was well advanced in the story he came to a clearer understanding (as he might have said) of the situation in Brethil at the time of Húrin's advent; and these new conceptions overtook it before it was completed in a primary form. In other words, the story grew and changed as he wrote, but in this case he did not abandon it and start again at the beginning: he returned to earlier parts of the story and reconstructed them. For the most part the text as actually typed could stand, but required continual emendation in respect of names and other details. It is not easy to find a perfectly satisfactory and readily comprehensible way of presenting this, but after much experimentation I concluded that the best method is to give as the text the final form achieved in the typescript, but to interrupt it (pp. 265 ff.) at the point where the new conceptions first appear and give an account of the development. Two passages are concerned: the revised form of the first is marked by single asterisks on pp. 262–3, and of the second by double asterisks on pp. 264–5.

It is said that the hunters of Lorgan dogged his footsteps and did not leave his trail until he and his companions went up into the mountains. When Húrin stood again in the high places he descried far away amid the clouds the peaks of the Crisaegrim, and he remembered Turgon; and his heart desired to come again to the Hidden Realm, if he could, for there at least he would be remembered with honour. He had heard naught of the things that had come to pass in Gondolin, and knew not that Turgon now hardened his heart against wisdom and pity, and allowed

no one either to enter or to go forth for any cause whatsoever.[20] Therefore, unaware that all ways were shut beyond hope, he resolved to turn his steps towards the Crisaegrim; but he said nothing of his purpose to his companions, for he was still bound by his oath to reveal to no one that he knew even in what region Turgon abode.

Nonetheless he had need of help; for he had never lived in the wild, whereas the outlaws were long inured to the hard life of hunters and gatherers, and they brought with them such food as they could, though the Fell Winter had much diminished their store. Therefore Húrin said to them: 'We must leave this land now; for Lorgan will leave me in peace no longer. Let us go down into the vales of Sirion, where Spring has come at last!'

Then Asgon [21] guided them to one of the ancient passes that led east out of Mithrim, and they went down from the sources of the Lithir, until they came to the falls where it raced into Sirion at the southern end of the Narrow Land.[22] Now they went with great wariness; for Húrin put little trust in the 'freedom' that Morgoth had granted him. And rightly: for Morgoth had news of all his movements, and though for a while he was hidden in the mountains, his coming down was soon espied. Thereafter he was followed and watched, yet with such cunning that he seldom got wind of it. All the creatures of Morgoth avoided his sight, and he was never waylaid or molested.[23]

They journeyed southward on the west side of Sirion, and Húrin debated with himself how to part from his companions, at least for so long that he could seek for an entrance to Gondolin without betraying his word. At length they came to the Brithiach; and there Asgon said to Húrin: 'Whither shall we go now, lord? Beyond this ford the ways east are too perilous for mortal men, if tales be true.'

'Then let us go to Brethil, which is nigh at hand,' said Húrin. 'I have an errand there. In that land my son died.'

So that night they took shelter in a grove of trees, first outliers of the Forest of Brethil on its northern border only a short way south of the Brithiach. Húrin lay a little apart from the others; and next day before it was light he arose while they slumbered deep in weariness, and he left them and crossed the ford and came into Dimbar.

When the men awoke he was already gone far, and there was a thick morning mist about the river. As time passed and he did

not return nor answer any call they began to fear that he had been taken by some beast or prowling enemy. 'We have become heedless of late,' said Asgon. 'The land is quiet, too quiet, but there are eyes under leaves and ears behind stones.'

They followed his trail when the mist lifted; but it led to the ford and there failed, and they were at a loss. 'If he has left us, let us return to our own land,' said Ragnir.[24] He was the youngest of the company, and remembered little of the days before the Nirnaeth. 'The old man's wits are wild. He speaks with strange voices to shadows in his sleep.'

'Little wonder if it were so,' said Asgon. 'But who else could stand as straight as he, after such woe? Nay, he is our right lord, do as he may, and I have sworn to follow him.'

'Even east over the ford?' said the others.

'Nay, there is small hope in that way,' said Asgon, 'and I do not think that Húrin will go far upon it. All we know of his purpose was to go soon to Brethil, and that he has an errand there. We are on the very border. Let us seek him there.'

'By whose leave?' said Ragnir. 'Men there do not love strangers.'

'Good men dwell there,' said Asgon, 'and the [Master >] Lord of Brethil is kin to our old lords.'[25] Nonetheless the others were doubtful, for no tidings had come out of Brethil for some years. 'It may be ruled by Orcs for all we know,' they said.

'We shall soon find what way things go,' said Asgon. 'Orcs are little worse than Eastrons, I guess. If outlaws we must remain, I would rather lurk in the fair woods than in the cold hills.'

Asgon, therefore, turned and went back towards Brethil; and the others followed him, for he had a stout heart and men said that he was born with good luck. Before that day ended they had come deep into the forest, and their coming was marked; for the Haladin were more wary than ever and kept close watch on their borders. In the [middle of the night >] grey of the morning, as all but one of the incomers were asleep, their camp was surrounded, and their watchman was held and gagged as soon as he cried out.

Then Asgon leapt up, and called to his men that they should draw no weapon. 'See now,' he cried, 'we come in peace! Edain we are out of [Mithrim > Hithlum >] Dorlómin.'

*'That may be so,' said the march-wardens. 'But the morn is dim. Our captain will judge you better when light is more.'

Then being many times outnumbered Asgon and his men were made prisoners, and their weapons were taken and their hands bound. Thus they were brought to Ebor their captain; and he asked their names and whence they came.

'So you are Edain of the North,' he said. 'Your speech bears you out, and your gear. You look for friendship, maybe. But alas! evil things have befallen us here, and we live in fear. Manthor my lord, Master of the North-march, is not here, and I must therefore obey the commands of the Halad, the Chieftain of Brethil. To him you must be sent at once without further question. There may you speed well!'

So Ebor spoke in courtesy, but he did not hope over much. For the new Chieftain was now Hardang son of Hundad. At the death of Brandir childless he had been made Halad, being of the Haladin, the kin of Haleth, from which all chieftains were chosen. He had not loved Túrin, and he had no love now at all for the House of Hador, in whose blood he had no part. Neither had he much friendship with Manthor, who was also of the Haladin.

To Hardang Asgon and his men were led by devious ways, and they were blindfolded. Thus at length they came to the hall of the Chieftains in Obel Halad;[26] and their eyes were uncovered, and the guards led them in. Hardang sat in his great chair, and he looked unkindly upon them.

'From Dorlómin you come, I am told,' he said. 'But why you come I know not.* Little good has come to Brethil out of that land; and I look for none now: it is a fief of Angband. Cold welcome you will find here, creeping in thus to spy out our ways!'

Asgon restrained his anger, but answered stoutly: 'We did not come in stealth, lord. We have as great craft in woods as your folk, and we should not so easily have been taken, if we had known any cause for fear. We are Edain, and we do not serve Angband but hold to the House of Hador. We believed that the Men of Brethil were of like sort and friendly to all faithful men.'

'To those of proved faith,' said Hardang. 'To be Edain is not enough alone. And as for the House of Hador it is held in little love here. Why should the folk of that House come here now?'

To that Asgon made no answer; for from the unfriendship of the [Master >] Chieftain he thought it best not to speak yet of Húrin.

'I see that you will not speak of all that you know,' said Hardang. 'So be it. I must judge as I see; but I will be just. This is my judgement. Here Túrin son of Húrin dwelt for a time, and he delivered the land from the Serpent of Angband. For this I give you your lives. **But he scorned Brandir, right Chieftain of Brethil, and he slew him without justice or pity. Therefore I will not harbour you here. You shall be thrust forth, whence you entered. Go now, and if you return it will be to death!'

'Then shall we not receive our weapons again?' said Asgon. 'Will you cast us back into the wild without bow or steel to perish among the beasts?'

'No man of Hithlum shall ever again bear weapon in Brethil,' said Hardang. 'Not by my leave. Lead them hence.'

But as they were haled from the hall Asgon cried: 'This is the justice of Eastrons not of Edain! We were not here with Túrin, either in good deed or evil. Húrin we serve. He lives still. Lurking in your wood do you not remember the Nirnaeth? Will you then dishonour him also in your spite, if he comes?'

'If Húrin comes, do you say?' said Hardang. 'When Morgoth sleeps, maybe!'

'Nay,' said Asgon. 'He has returned. With him we came to your borders. He has an errand here, he said. He will come!'

'Then I shall be here to meet him,' said Hardang. 'But you will not. Now go!' He spoke as in scorn, but his face whitened in sudden fear that some strange thing had happened boding yet worse to come. Then a great dread of the shadow of the House of Hador fell upon him, so that his heart grew dark. For he was not a man of great spirit, such as were Hunthor and Manthor, descendants of Hiril.

Asgon and his company were blindfolded again, lest they should espy out the pathways of Brethil, and they were led back to the North-march. Ebor was ill pleased when he heard of what had passed in Obel Halad, and he spoke to them more courteously.

'Alas!' he said, 'you must needs go forth again. But see! I return to you your gear and weapons. For so would my lord Manthor do, at the least. I would he were here! But he is the doughtiest man now among us; and by Hardang's command is Captain of the guards at the Crossings of Taiglin. There we have most fear of assault, and most fighting. Well, this much I will do in his stead; but I beg you, do not enter Brethil again, for if you do, we may feel constrained to obey the word of Hardang that

has now gone out to all the marches: to slay you at sight.'

Then Asgon thanked him, and Ebor led them to the eaves of Brethil, and there wished them good speed.

'Well, thy luck has held,' said Ragnir, 'for at least we are not slain, though we came nigh it. Now what shall we do?'

'I desire still to find my lord Húrin,' said Asgon, 'and my heart tells me that he will come to Brethil yet.'

'Whither we cannot return,' said Ragnir, 'unless we seek a death swifter than hunger.'

'If he comes, he will come, I guess, by the north-march, between Sirion and [Taiglin >] Taeglin,' said Asgon. 'Let us go down towards the Crossings of [Taiglin >] Taeglin. There it is more likely that we may hear news.'

'Or bow-strings,' said Ragnir. Nonetheless they took Asgon's counsel, and went away westward, keeping such watch as they could from afar upon the dark eaves of Brethil.

But Ebor was troubled, and sent swiftly to Manthor reporting the coming of Asgon and his strange words concerning Húrin. But of this matter rumour now ran through all Brethil. And Hardang sat in Obel Halad in doubt, and took counsel with his friends.**

In the foregoing text two passages are replacements in the typescript of shorter passages that were rejected. The first of these, marked by asterisks at its beginning and end, runs from '"That may be so," said the march-wardens' on p. 262 to '"But why you come I know not"' on p. 263. The rejected passage read as follows:

> 'Maybe,' answered the captain of the guards; 'but the morn is dim. Others shall judge you in a better light.'
>
> Then, being many times outnumbered, Asgorn and his men were made prisoners, and their weapons were taken and their hands bound; and in this way they were brought at last before the new Master of the Haladin.
>
> He was Harathor, brother of that Hunthor who perished in the ravine of Taeglin. By the childless death of Brandir he had inherited the lordship descending from Haldad. He had no love for the house of Hador, and no part in their blood; and he said to Asgorn, when the captives stood before him: 'From [Hithlum >] Dorlómin you come, I am told, and your speech bears it out. But why you come I know not.

For reference in the following pages I shall call this passage A 1 and its replacement A 2.

The second replacement passage, marked by two asterisks at

beginning and end, runs from 'But he scorned Brandir' on p. 264 to 'And Hardang sat in Obel Halad in doubt, and took counsel with his friends' on p. 265. Here the rejected passage read:

> '... But he scorned Brandir, right Master of Brethil, and he slew him without justice or pity. For this I will take your freedom. You shall be held in bonds; and I shall not relent until good reason is shown me.'
>
> Then he ordered them to be taken and shut in a cave and there to be guarded day and night. But as they were led away Asgorn cried: 'This is the justice of Eastrons not of Edain! We were not here with Túrin, either in good deed or evil. Húrin we serve, who still lives. Maybe lurking in your little wood you do not remember the Nirnaeth or his great deeds. Will you slay him to ease your griefs, if he comes?'
>
> 'If Húrin comes, do you say?' said Harathor. 'When Morgoth sleeps, maybe.'
>
> 'Nay,' said Asgorn. 'He has returned, and we came with him to your borders. He has an errand here, he said. He will come!'
>
> 'Then we will await him. And you shall too,' said Harathor, smiling grimly. But afterwards his heart misgave him, fearing that Asgorn spoke the truth and that some strange thing had happened, boding worse to follow. For he dreaded the shadow of the House of Hador, lest it should overwhelm his lesser folk, and he was not a man of great heart such as Hunthor his brother [*later* > such as the descendants of Haldir and Hiril his sister].

The rejected text then moved straight on to 'Now Húrin, coming into Dimbar' on p. 271. The passage just given I will call B 1 and its replacement B 2.

Among the draft manuscript papers is found the following text, which I will call 'C': in this my father reflected on the development of the story. Written very rapidly and roughly, with many abbreviations which I have expanded, it *preceded*, and was the basis for, the two replacement passages A 2 and B 2.

> The Wanderings of Húrin.
>
> ? Where is to come in the revelation that Asgorn and company are in jail. They do not seem to fit, yet their coming to Brethil is needed to 'cast the shadow' by arousing fear and hatred in the heart of Harathor.
>
> I suggest that the two jailings [i.e. that of Asgorn and his men and that of Húrin, told later] are too repetitive; and also Harathor is too fierce all at once. His doom is that because of the killing of Glaurung their lives are spared; but because of the killing of Brandir they are to be *thrust out*: he will have none of the House of Hador.
>
> Asgorn says this is cruel treatment. He demands return of their

weapons, 'or how else are they to live in the wild?' But Harathor says no man of Dorlómin shall bear a weapon in Brethil. Asgorn as they are led off asks if he will treat Húrin in like orkish manner. 'We will wait and see,' said Harathor.

[*This paragraph was struck out as soon as written:* [Manthor, captain >] The captain / of the Taiglin-guard returns their weapons, and bids them a fairly courteous farewell; but warns them that 'state of war' has been declared (which gives the Master / Warden right to issue orders to all under duty-rota) and that if they cross again into Brethil he or any other captain or watchman will shoot them. They go off but lurk in watch of the crossings, but miss Húrin, who entered out of Dimbar. Húrin should *not* enter by Taiglin-crossing, *nor* be found by Hauð-en-Elleth. (This has no significance in his case, and overworks the Hauð.)]

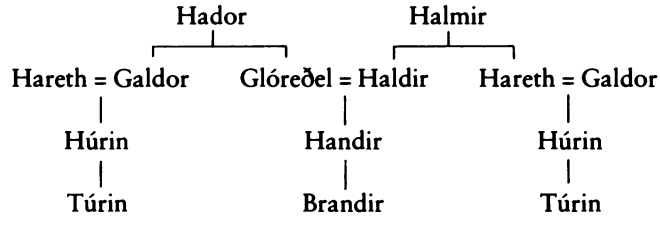
Asgorn and company are blindfolded as they are brought to Obel Halad and are put out *by the same way* as they entered (so as to learn no more of the ways of Brethil). They therefore lurk near the eaves in that region, and so miss Húrin who crossed the Brithiach and went to the Crossings of Taiglin.

The region nigh Brithiach and along Sirion for some way was the land of Manthor (brother of Hunthor who fell in the ravine). But Manthor, as one of the chief warriors and of the kin of the Haladin, was in command of the chief forces kept near the Crossings of Taiglin. (Manthor was not liked by Harathor, for many had wished to elect him Warden – it being ... law to do so. And maybe Manthor too desired the Wardenship.) The captain of the guards near Brithiach was Enthor [> was therefore a chief henchman, called Ebor, of Manthor's (appointed by him)] younger brother of Hunthor and Manthor. So Manthor heard soon of what had happened: for all this family had been supporters and admirers of Túrin, and were proud of their *kinship* with the House of Hador. So Enthor [> Ebor] sent messengers to Manthor to tell him that Húrin might come, escaping from Angband.

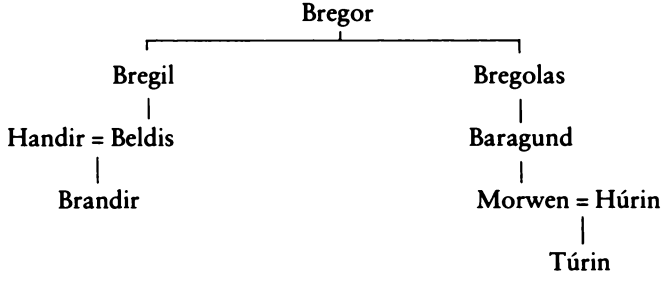
In the last part of the *Narn* (NE) the emergence of Hunthor (< Torbarth) can be followed, from his origin in Albarth, at first simply one of those who volunteered to accompany Túrin to the attack on Glaurung and named only because he fell and was drowned at Cabed-en-Aras. In the first of these rejected passages (A 1, p. 265) the new lord of Brethil after the death of Brandir is Harathor, 'brother of that Hunthor who perished in the ravine of Taeglin'; and it is expressly said of him that 'he had no love for the house of Hador *and no part in their blood*'. These words, repeated in the revision A 2 (p. 263), are of great importance in the story.

An essential element in the older history of the People of Haleth was the intermingling of the line of their lords with that of the House of

Hador which came about through the 'double marriage' of Hador's son Galion with the daughter (unnamed) of Haleth the Hunter, and of his daughter Glorwendil with Haleth's son Hundor (GA §171 and commentary). This double marriage was preserved in the later transformed history of the Edain, when the genealogical place of Haleth the Hunter had been taken by Halmir (p. 236); the resulting relationships can be displayed thus:



But the complexity was further increased by the introduction of another connection with the House of Bëor in the marriage of Beldis to Handir of Brethil (see the tables on pp. 231, 237):



Thus Túrin was the second cousin of Brandir on the 'Hadorian' side, and he was also his second cousin on the Haladin side; while in the 'Bëorian' line he was Brandir's second cousin once removed – a genealogical situation to delight the heart of Hamfast Gamgee. Pointing out these relationships in an isolated note of this time, my father observed that 'Túrin would be more readily accepted by the Haladin when his true name and lineage were known or guessed', since he was akin to their lords in these ways. Harathor, on the other hand, 'had no love for the house of Hador and no part in their blood' (although he also was Túrin's second cousin, his great-aunt Hareth being Túrin's grandmother).

The genealogical table of the Haladin (p. 237) belongs to this stage: Harathor is shown as the seventh lord of the Haladin, succeeding

Brandir, and as the brother of Hunthor: they are the sons of Hundad, son of Hundar who died in the Nírnaeth.

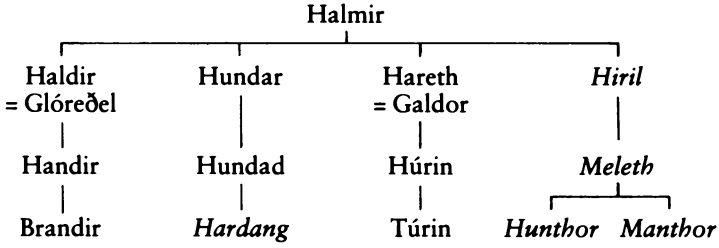
The hostility of the new lord to the House of Hador was an essential idea in the story of Húrin in Brethil from the beginning; but in the last paragraph of the discussion C (p. 267) we see the emergence of a family within the larger clan who, on the contrary, took pride in their kinship with the House of Hador, and were thus divided in spirit from the new lord.

In C the significance of Hunthor is moved a stage further: he becomes the dead brother of Manthor (and must therefore, as will be seen in a moment, cease to be the brother of Harathor). Manthor had indeed already entered the story in the original drafting of WH, but he did not make his appearance until the discovery of Húrin beside the Hauð-en-Elleth (p. 275 in the final version), as captain of the guard in those parts; now in C he becomes a kinsman of Húrin, and an upholder of the values and virtues of the Edain. How his kinship with the House of Hador was introduced is seen from the correction made to the ending of the rejected passage B 1 (p. 266): '[Harathor] was not a man of great heart such as Hunthor his brother' > '... such as the descendants of Haldir and Hiril his sister'.* *Hiril* here enters the line of the People of Haleth, and the family tree is extended by a fourth child of Halmir: Haldir, Hundar, Hareth, and Hiril. In the replacement B 2 (p. 264) the phrase becomes 'he was not a man of great spirit, such as were Hunthor and Manthor, descendants of Hiril'. (That Manthor's mother was the daughter of Hiril is stated later in the text of WH, p. 289.)

In C Harathor was still so named, but he must have been on the point of receiving a new name, and must have already received a new lineage, separating him from those with 'Hadorian' sympathies, Hunthor and Manthor. The new name, *Hardang*, appears in the replacement text A 2 (p. 263) – and the occurrence of this name in the plot-sequence from the *Narn* papers shows incidentally that that text was written when my father's work on *The Wanderings of Húrin* was far advanced, if not completed. It is said there (p. 256) that when Brandir the Lame was chosen to be the Chieftain of Brethil 'many would have preferred his cousins Hunthor or Hardang', and (p. 258) that Manthor was a kinsman of Húrin and a cousin of Hardang.

This new 'family within the larger clan' was entered in roughly made alterations to the table of the Haladin (p. 237), of which I give the essentials in compressed form:

* Before Hiril was introduced as a second daughter of Halmir, his daughter Hareth was first named *Hiriel* (p. 235, footnote).



Hardang's birthdate is given as 470, Hunthor's as 467, and Manthor's as 469.

It also appears from C (p. 267) that a new conception of the social organisation of the Men of Brethil had entered, and with it a new meaning of the name *Haladin*: Manthor is said to be 'one of the chief warriors and of the kin of the Haladin', and that 'many had wished to elect him Warden'. In this connection, an isolated note (written on the reverse of that on the relationships of Túrin referred to on p. 268) states:

> The title of the chieftains of Brethil should be not *lord* nor *Master*. They were elected from the family of Haldad – called the *Haladin*, that is 'wardens'. For *hal(a)* = in the old tongue of Bëor's house and Haldad's 'watch, guard'. *Halad* was a warden. (*Haldad* = watch-dog.)

These new conceptions appear in the revision A 2 (p. 263), where Hardang is said to have been made *Halad*, 'being of the Haladin, the kin of Haleth, from which all chieftains were chosen'. It is also said, following the discussion in C, that Hardang was no friend to Manthor, 'who was also of the Haladin'. In contrast, in the first form of the passage (p. 265) Harathor is called 'the new Master of the Haladin', where *Haladin* clearly still means the whole people.

In the last paragraph of C (p. 267) a younger brother of Hunthor and Manthor appears, Enthor, 'captain of the guards near Brithiach' (in the additions made to the genealogical table of the Haladin this name *Enthor* was given to Hiril's husband, not otherwise named; and Meleth's husband is apparently named *Agathor*). The removal of the name Enthor in this sentence and substitution of 'a chief henchman, called Ebor, of Manthor's (appointed by him)' suggests that my father intended to cut out the words 'younger brother of Hunthor and Manthor', but omitted to do so; this is supported by the fact that Ebor, when he appears in the revision A 2 (p. 263), refers to 'Manthor my lord, Master of the North-march', who was not there. Manthor was not there because, as stated in C, he was 'in command of the chief forces kept near the Crossings of Taiglin'; Asgon and his companions entered Brethil from the north, near the Brithiach,

and they left by the same way, meeting Ebor again and retrieving their weapons.

The only obscure point concerns the failure of Asgon's party to encounter Húrin on his return. My father was in two minds about this. The rejected fourth paragraph in C (p. 267) shows him (having decided that Asgorn and his men were not imprisoned) taking the view that they were ejected from Brethil near the Crossings: it is 'the captain of the Taiglin-guard' who restores their weapons; and they remain lurking in that neighbourhood. Thus they missed Húrin, 'who entered out of Dimbar' (i.e. came into Brethil from the north after crossing the Brithiach, as Asgorn had done). Húrin, he wrote, must *not* enter Brethil at the Crossings and be found lying beside the Hauð-en-Elleth (as the story was already in the draft manuscript).

But he at once, and understandably, thought better of this, and (in the fifth paragraph) retained the existing story that Húrin was found by the guards near the Crossings; he said now that Asgorn and his men were put out of Brethil in the same region as they entered, and that they lurked 'near the eaves in that region' – hence their failure to meet with Húrin. But in the replacement passage B 2 (p. 265) he has them decide not to stay near the north eaves of the forest, and they go down towards the Crossings.

I return now to the text, left at the end of the second passage of rewriting (B 2) on p. 265. It must be borne in mind that the typescript from this point belongs to the stage *before* the important alterations in the narrative entered in the two replacement passages discussed above. Thus for a long way 'the Master of Brethil' remains Harathor; the term *Halad* was not yet devised, and his dwelling was not yet named *Obel Halad*. Rather than rewrite the existing text after the new conceptions had arisen, my father found it sufficient to correct it. These corrections are very numerous but for the most part repetitive and systematic (as 'Master' to 'Halad' or 'Chieftain'), and to record each case in the text would make it unreadable. I have therefore ignored the rejected names and titles (this applies also to the short passage on pp. 263–4 between the two rewritten sections: here *Hardang* is in fact a correction on the typescript of *Harathor*).

Now Húrin, coming into Dimbar, summoned his strength and went on alone towards the dark feet of the Echoriad.[27] All the land was cold and desolate; and when at last it rose steeply before him and he could see no way to go further, he halted and looked about him in little hope. He stood now at the foot of a great fall of stones beneath a sheer rock-wall, and he did not know that this was all that was now left to see of the old Way of Escape: the Dry River was blocked and the arched gate was buried.[28]

Then Húrin looked up to the grey sky, thinking that by fortune he might once more descry the Eagles, as he had done long ago in his youth.[29] But he saw only the shadows blown from the East, and clouds swirling about the inaccessible peaks; and wind hissed over the stones. But the watch of the Great Eagles was now redoubled, and they marked Húrin well, far below, forlorn in the failing light. And straightaway Sorontar himself, since the tidings seemed great, brought word to Turgon.

But Turgon said: 'Nay! This is past belief! Unless Morgoth sleeps. Ye were mistaken.'

'Nay, not so,' answered Sorontar. 'If the Eagles of Manwë were wont to err thus, Lord, your hiding would have been in vain.'

'Then your words bode ill,' said Turgon; 'for they can mean only that even Húrin Thalion hath surrendered to the will of Morgoth. My heart is shut.' But when he had dismissed Sorontar, Turgon sat long in thought, and he was troubled, remembering the deeds of Húrin. And he opened his heart, and he sent to the Eagles to seek for Húrin, and to bring him, if they could, to Gondolin. But it was too late, and they saw him never again in light or in shadow.

For Húrin stood at last in despair before the stern silence of the Echoriad, and the westering sun, piercing the clouds, stained his white hair with red. Then he cried aloud in the wilderness, heedless of any ears, and he cursed the pitiless land: 'hard as the hearts of Elves and Men'. And he stood at last upon a great stone, and spreading wide his arms, looking towards Gondolin, he called in a great voice: 'Turgon, Turgon! Remember the Fen of Serech!' And again: 'Turgon! Húrin calls you. O Turgon, will you not hear in your hidden halls?'

But there was no answer, and all that he heard was wind in the dry grasses. 'Even so they hissed in Serech at the sunset,' he said. And as he spoke the sun went behind the Mountains of Shadow, and a darkness fell about him, and the wind ceased, and there was silence in the waste.

Yet there were ears that had heard the words that Húrin spoke, and eyes that marked well his gestures; and report of all came soon to the Dark Throne in the North. Then Morgoth smiled, and knew now clearly in what region Turgon dwelt, though because of the Eagles no spy of his could yet come within sight of the land behind the encircling mountains. This

was the first evil that the freedom of Húrin achieved.[30]

As darkness fell Húrin stumbled from the stone, and fell, as one aswoon, into a deep sleep of grief. But in his sleep he heard the voice of Morwen lamenting, and often she spoke his name; and it seemed to him that her voice came out of Brethil. Therefore, when he awoke with the coming of day, he arose and returned; and he came back to the ford, and as one led by an unseen hand [he passed along the river Taeglin, until ere evening of the third day he reached the place >] he went along the eaves of Brethil, until he came in four days' journey to the Taeglin, and all his scanty food was then spent, and he was famished. But he went on like the shadow of a man driven by a dark wind, and he came to the Crossings by night, and there he passed over into Brethil.

The night-sentinels saw him, but they were filled with dread, so that they did not dare to move or cry out; for they thought that they saw a ghost out of some old battle-mound that walked with darkness about it. And for many days after men feared to be near the Crossings at night, save in great company and with fire kindled.

But Húrin passed on, and at evening of the sixth day he came at last to the place / of the burning of Glaurung, and saw the tall stone standing near the brink of Cabed Naeramarth.

But Húrin did not look at the stone, for he knew what was written there, and his eyes had seen that he was not alone. Sitting in the shadow of the stone there was a figure bent over its knees. Some homeless wanderer broken with age it seemed, too wayworn to heed his coming; but its rags were the remnants of a woman's garb. At length as Húrin stood there silent she cast back her tattered hood and lifted up her face slowly, haggard and hungry as a long-hunted wolf. Grey she was, sharp-nosed with broken teeth, and with a lean hand she clawed at the cloak upon her breast. But suddenly her eyes looked into his, and then Húrin knew her; for though they were wild now and full of fear, a light still gleamed in them hard to endure: the elven-light that long ago had earned her her name, Eðelwen, proudest of mortal women in the days of old.

'Eðelwen! Eðelwen!' Húrin cried; and she rose and stumbled forward, and he caught her in his arms.

'You come at last,' she said. 'I have waited too long.'

'It was a dark road. I have come as I could,' he answered.

'But you are late,' she said, 'too late. They are lost.'

'I know,' he said. 'But thou art not.'

'Almost,' she said. 'I am spent utterly. I shall go with the sun. They are lost.' She clutched at his cloak. 'Little time is left,' she said. 'If you know, tell me! How did she find him?'

But Húrin did not answer, and he sat beside the stone with Morwen in his arms; and they did not speak again. The sun went down, and Morwen sighed and clasped his hand and was still; and Húrin knew that she had died.

So passed Morwen the proud and fair; and Húrin looked down at her in the twilight, and it seemed that the lines of grief and cruel hardship were smoothed away. Cold and pale and stern was her face. 'She was not conquered,' he said; and he closed her eyes, and sat on unmoving beside her as night drew down. The waters of Cabed Naeramarth roared on, but he heard no sound and saw nothing, and he felt nothing, for his heart was stone within him, and he thought that he would sit there until he too died.

Then there came a chill wind and drove sharp rain in his face; and suddenly he was roused, and out of a black deep anger rose in him like a smoke, mastering reason, so that all his desire was to seek vengeance for his wrongs, and for the wrongs of his kin, accusing in his anguish all those who ever had had dealings with them.

He arose and lifted Morwen up; and suddenly he knew that it was beyond his strength to bear her. He was hungry and old, and weary as winter. Slowly he laid her down again beside the standing stone. 'Lie there a little longer, Eðelwen,' he said, 'until I return. Not even a wolf would do you more hurt. But the folk of this hard land shall rue the day that you died here!'

Then Húrin stumbled away, and he came back towards the ford of Taeglin; and there he fell beside the Hauð-en-Elleth, and a darkness overcame him, and he lay as one drowned in sleep. In the morning, before the light had recalled him to full waking, he was found by the guards that Hardang had commanded to keep special watch in that place.

It was a man named Sagroth who first saw him, and he looked at him in wonder and was afraid, for he thought he knew who this old man was. 'Come!' he cried to others that followed. 'Look here! It must be Húrin. The incomers spoke truly. He has come!'

'Trust you to find trouble, as ever, Sagroth!' said Forhend.

'The Halad will not be pleased with such findings. What is to be done? Maybe Hardang would be better pleased to hear that we had stopped the trouble at his borders and thrust it out.'

'Thrust it out?' said Avranc. He was Dorlas' son,[31] a young man short and dark, but strong, well-liked by Hardang, as his father had been. 'Thrust it out? Of what good would that be? It would come again! It can walk – all the way from Angband, if it is what you guess. See! He looks grim and has a sword, but he sleeps deep. Need he wake to more woe? [*Added:*] If you would please the Chieftain, Forhend, he would end here.'

Such was the shadow that now fell upon the hearts of men, as the power of Morgoth spread, and fear walked far and wide; but not all hearts were yet darkened. 'Shame upon you!' cried Manthor the captain, who coming behind had heard what they said. 'And upon you most, Avranc, young though you are! At least you have heard of the deeds of Húrin of Hithlum, or did you hold them only fireside fables? What is to be done, indeed! So, slay him in his sleep is your counsel. Out of hell comes the thought!'

'And so does he,' answered Avranc. 'If indeed he is Húrin. Who knows?'

'It can soon be known,' said Manthor; and coming to Húrin as he lay he knelt and raised his hand and kissed it. 'Awake!' he cried. 'Help is near. And if you are Húrin, there is no help that I would think enough.'

'And no help that he will not repay with evil,' said Avranc. 'He comes from Angband, I say.'

'What he may do is unknown,' said Manthor. 'What he has done we know, and our debt is unpaid.' Then he called again in a loud voice: 'Hail Húrin Thalion! Hail, Captain of Men!'

Thereupon Húrin opened his eyes, remembering evil words that he had heard in the drowse before waking, and he saw men about him with weapons in hand. He stood up stiffly, fumbling at his sword; and he glared upon them in anger and scorn. 'Curs!' he cried. 'Would you slay an old man sleeping? You look like Men, but you are Orcs under the skin, I guess. Come then! Slay me awake, if you dare. But it will not please your black Master, I think. I am Húrin Galdor's son, a name that Orcs at least will remember.'

'Nay, nay,' said Manthor. 'Dream not. We are Men. But these are evil days of doubt, and we are hard pressed. It is perilous here. Will you not come with us? At least we can find you food and rest.'

'Rest?' said Húrin. 'You cannot find me that. But food I will take in my need.'

Then Manthor gave him a little bread and meat and water; but they seemed to choke him, and he spat them forth. 'How far is it to the house of your lord?' he asked. 'Until I have seen him the food that you denied to my beloved will not go down my throat.'

'He raves and he scorns us,' muttered Avranc. 'What did I say?' But Manthor looked on him with pity, though he did not understand his words. 'It is a long road for the weary, lord,' he said; 'and the house of Hardang Halad is hidden from strangers.'

'Then lead me thither!' said Húrin. 'I will go as I can. I have an errand to that house.'

Soon they set forth. Of his strong company Manthor left most to their duty; but he himself went with Húrin, and with him he took Forhend. Húrin walked as he could, but after a time he began to stumble and fall; and yet he always rose again and struggled on, and he would not allow them to support him. In this way at last with many halts they came to the hall of Hardang in Obel Halad deep in the forest; and he knew of their coming, for Avranc, unbidden, had run ahead and brought the tidings before them; and he did not fail to report the wild words of Húrin at his waking and his spitting forth of their food.

So it was that they found the hall well guarded, with many men in the [fenced courtyard >] outer garth, and men at the doors. At the gate of the [court >] garth the captain of the guards stayed them. 'Deliver the prisoner to me!' he said.

'Prisoner!' said Manthor. 'I have no prisoner, but a man you should honour.'

'The Halad's words, not mine,' said the captain. 'But you may come too. He has words for you also.'

Then they led Húrin before the Chieftain; and Hardang did not greet him, but sat in his great chair and eyed Húrin up and down. But Húrin returned his gaze, and held himself as stiffly as he could, though he leaned on his staff. So he stood a while in silence, until at last he sank to the ground. 'Lo!' he said. 'I see that there are so few chairs in Brethil that a guest must sit on the floor.'

'Guest?' said Hardang. 'Not one bidden by me. But bring the old carl a stool. If he will not disdain it, though he spits on our food.'

Manthor was grieved at the discourtesy; and hearing one laugh in the shadow behind the great chair he looked and saw that it was Avranc, and his face darkened in wrath.

'Your pardon, lord,' he said to Húrin. 'There is misunderstanding here.' Then turning to Hardang he drew himself up. 'Has my company a new captain then, my Halad?' he said. 'For otherwise I do not understand how one who has left his duty and broken my command should stand here unrebuked. He has brought news before me, I see; but it seems he forgot the name of the guest, or Húrin Thalion would not have been left to stand.'

'The name was told to me,' answered Hardang, 'and his fell words also which bear it out. Such are the House of Hador. But it is the part of a stranger to name himself first in my house, and I waited to hear him. Also to hear his errand hither – since he says that he has one. But as for your duty, such matters are not dealt with before strangers.'

Then he turned towards Húrin, who sat meanwhile bent on the low stool; his eyes were closed, and he seemed to take no heed of what was said. 'Well, Húrin of Hithlum,' said Hardang, 'what of your errand? Is it a matter of haste? Or will you not perhaps take thought and rest and speak of it later more at your ease? Meanwhile we may find you some food less distasteful.' Hardang's tone was now more gentle, and he rose as he spoke; for he was a wary man, and [*struck out:* in his heart not over sure of his seat in the Master's chair; and] he had marked the displeasure on the faces of others beside Manthor.

Then suddenly Húrin rose to his feet. 'Well, Master Reed of the Bog,' he said. 'So you bend with each breath, do you? Beware lest mine blow you flat. Go take thought to stiffen you, ere I call on you again! Scorner of grey hairs, food-niggard, starver of wanderers. This stool fits you better.' With that he cast the stool at Hardang, so that it smote him on the forehead; and then he turned to walk from the hall.

Some of the men gave way, whether in pity or in fear of his wrath; but Avranc ran before him. 'Not so swift, carl Húrin!' he cried. 'At least I no longer doubt your name. You bring your manners from Angband. But we do not love orc-deeds in hall. You have assaulted the Chieftain in his chair, and a prisoner you now shall be, whatever your name.'

'I thank you, Captain Avranc,' said Hardang, who sat still in his chair, while some staunched the blood that flowed from his

brow. 'Now let the old madman be put in bonds and kept close. I will judge him later.'

Then they put thongs about Húrin's arms, and a halter about his neck, and led him away; and he made no more resistance, for the wrath had run off him, and he walked as one in a dream with eyes closed. But Manthor, though Avranc scowled at him, put his arm about the old man's shoulder and steered him so that he should not stumble.

But when Húrin was shut in a cave [*struck out:* nigh to the one in which Asgorn and his men were still imprisoned] and Manthor could do no more to help him, he returned to the hall. There he found Avranc in speech with Hardang, and though they fell silent at his coming, he caught the last words that Avranc spoke, and it seemed to him that Avranc urged that Húrin should be put to death straightway.

'So, Captain Avranc,' he said, 'things go well for you today! I have seen you at like sports before: goading an old badger and having him killed when he bites. Not so swift, Captain Avranc! Nor you, Hardang Halad. This is no matter for lordly dealing out of hand. The coming of Húrin, and his welcome here, concerns all the folk, and they shall hear all that is said, before any judgement is given.'

'You have leave to go,' said Hardang. 'Return to your duty on the marches, until Captain Avranc comes to take command.'

'Nay, lord,' said Manthor, 'I have no duty. I am out of your service from today. I left Sagroth[32] in charge, a woodsman somewhat older and wiser than one you name. In due time I will return to my own marches.*[33] But now I will summon the folk.'

As he went to the door Avranc seized his bow to shoot Manthor down, but Hardang restrained him. 'Not yet,' he said. But Manthor was unaware of this (though some in the hall had marked it), and he went out, and sent all he could find that were

* For Manthor was a descendant of Haldad, and he had a little land of his own on the east march of Brethil beside Sirion where it runs through Dimbar. But all the folk of Brethil were freemen, holding their homesteads and more or less land about them of their right. Their Master was chosen from the descendants of Haldad, out of reverence for the deeds of Haleth and Haldar; and though as yet the mastership had been given, as if it were a lordship or kingdom, to the eldest of the eldest line, the folk had the right to set anyone aside or to remove him, for grave cause. And some knew well enough that Harathor had tried to have Brandir the Lame passed over in his own favour.

willing to go as messengers to bring together all the masters of homesteads and any others that could be spared. [*Struck out:* It was the custom of the Haladin[34] that in all matters other than war the wives were also summoned to counsel and had equal voices with the husbands.]

Now rumour ran wild through the woods, and the tales grew in the telling; and some said this, and some that, and the most spoke in praise of the Halad and set forth Húrin in the likeness of some fell Orc-chieftain; for Avranc was also busy with messengers. Soon there was a great concourse of folk, and the small town [35] about the Hall of the Chieftains was swelled with tents and booths.[36] But all the men bore arms, for fear lest a sudden alarm should come from the marches.

When he had sent out his messengers Manthor went to Húrin's prison, and the guards would not let him enter. 'Come!' said Manthor. 'You know well that it is our good custom that any prisoner should have a friend that may come to him and see how he fares and give him counsel.'

'The friend is chosen by the prisoner,' the guards answered; 'but this wild man has no friends.'

'He has one,' said Manthor, 'and I ask leave to offer myself to his choice.'

'The Halad forbids us to admit any save the guards,' they said. But Manthor who was wise in the laws and customs of his people replied: 'No doubt. But in this he has no right. Why is the incomer in bondage? We do not bind old men and wanderers because they speak ill words when distraught. This one is imprisoned because of his assault upon Hardang, and Hardang cannot judge his own cause, but must bring his grievance to the judgement of the Folk [*struck out:* and some other must sit in the chair at the hearing]. Meanwhile he cannot deny to the prisoner all counsel and help. If he were wise he would see that he does not in this way advance his own cause. But maybe another mouth spoke for him?'

'True,' they said. 'Avranc brought the order.'

'Then forget it,' said Manthor. 'For Avranc was under other orders, to remain on his duty on the marches. Choose then between a young runagate, and the laws of the Folk.'

Then the guards let him in to the cave; for Manthor was well esteemed in Brethil, and men did not like the [masters >] chieftains who tried to overrule the folk. Manthor found Húrin

sitting on a bench. There were fetters on his ankles, but his hands were unbound; and there was some food before him untasted. He did not look up.

'Hail, lord!' said Manthor. 'Things have not gone as they should, nor as I would have ordered them. But now you have need of a friend.'

'I have no friend, and wish for none in this land,' said Húrin.

'One stands before you,' answered Manthor. 'Do not scorn me. For now, alas! the matter between you and Hardang Halad must be brought to the judgement of the Folk, and it would be well, as our law allows, to have a friend to counsel you and plead your case.'

'I will not plead, and I need no counsel,' said Húrin.

'You need this counsel at least,' said Manthor. 'Master your wrath for the time, and take some food, so that you may have strength before your enemies. I do not know what is your errand here, but it will speed better, if you are not starved. Do not slay yourself while there is hope!'

'Slay myself?' cried Húrin, and he staggered up and leant against the wall, and his eyes were red. 'Shall I be dragged before a rabble of wood-men with fetters upon me to hear what death they will give me? I will slay myself first, if my hands are left free.' Then suddenly, swift as an old trapped beast, he sprang forward, and before Manthor could avoid him he snatched a knife from his belt. Then he sank down on the bench.

'You could have had the knife as a gift,' said Manthor, 'though we do not deem self-slaughter a noble deed in those who have not lost their reason. Hide the knife and keep it for some better use! But have a care, for it is a fell blade, from a forge of the Dwarves. Now, lord, will you not take me for your friend? Say no word; but if you will now eat with me, I will take that for yea.'

Then Húrin looked at him and the wrath left his eyes; and together they drank and ate in silence. And when all was finished, Húrin said: 'By your voice you have overcome me. Never since the Day of Dread have I heard any man's voice so fair. Alas! alas! it calls to my mind the voices in my father's house, long ago when the shadow seemed far away.'

'That may well be,' said Manthor. 'Hiril my foremother was sister of thy mother, Hareth.'

'Then thou art both kin and friend,' said Húrin.

'But not I alone,' said Manthor. 'We are few and have little

wealth, but we too are Edain, and bound by many ties to your people. Your name has long been held in honour here; but no news of your deeds would have reached us, if Haldir and Hundar had not marched to the Nirnaeth. There they fell, but [seven >] three of their company returned, for they were succoured by Mablung of Doriath and healed of their wounds.[37] The days have gone dark since then, and many hearts are overshadowed, but not all.'

'Yet the voice of your Chieftain comes from the shadows,' said Húrin, 'and your Folk obey him, even in deeds of dishonour and cruelty.'

'Grief darkens your eyes, lord, dare I say it. But lest this should prove true, let us take counsel together. For I see peril of evil ahead, both to thee and to my folk, though maybe wisdom may avert it. Of one thing I must warn thee, though it may not please thee. Hardang is a lesser man than his fathers, but I saw no evil in him till he heard of thy coming. Thou bringest a shadow with thee, Húrin Thalion, in which lesser shadows grow darker.'

'Dark words from a friend!' said Húrin. 'Long I lived in the Shadow, but I endured it and did not yield. If there is any darkness upon me, it is only that grief beyond grief has robbed me of light. But in the Shadow I have no part.'

'Nevertheless, I say to thee,' said Manthor, 'that it follows behind thee. I know not how thou hast won freedom; but the thought of Morgoth has not forgotten thee. Beware.'

'Do not dote, dotard, you would say,' answered Húrin. 'I will take this much from you, for your fair voice and our kinship, but no more! Let us speak of other things, or cease.'

Then Manthor was patient, and stayed long with Húrin, until the evening brought darkness into the cave; and they ate once more together. Then Manthor commanded that a light should be brought to Húrin; and he took his leave until the morrow, and went to his booth with a heavy heart.

The next day it was proclaimed that the Folkmoot for Judgement should be held on the morning following, for already five hundred of the headmen had come in, and that was by custom deemed the least number which might count as a full meeting of the Folk. Manthor went early to find Húrin; but the guards had been changed. Three men of Hardang's own household now stood at the door, and they were unfriendly.

'The prisoner is asleep,' their leader said. 'And that is well; it may settle his wits.'

'But I am his appointed friend, as was declared yesterday,' said Manthor.

'A friend would leave him in peace, while he may have it. To what good would you wake him?'

'Why should my coming wake him, more easily than the feet of a jailer?' said Manthor. 'I wish to see how he sleeps.'

'Do you think all men lie but yourself?'

'Nay, nay; but I think that some would fain forget our laws when they do not suit their purpose,' answered Manthor. Nonetheless it seemed to him that he would do little good to Húrin's case if he debated further, and he went away. So it was that many things remained unspoken between them until too late. For when he returned day was waning. No hindrance was now offered to his entry, and he found Húrin lying on a pallet; [*added:*] and he noted with anger that he now had fetters also upon his wrists with a short chain between them.

'A friend delayed is hope denied,' said Húrin. 'I have waited long for thee, but now I am heavy with sleep and my eyes are dimmed.'

'I came at mid-morning,' said Manthor, 'but they said that thou wert sleeping then.'

'Drowsing, drowsing in wanhope,' said Húrin; 'but thy voice might have recalled me. I have been so since I broke my fast. That counsel of thine at least I have taken, my friend; but food doth me ill rather than good. Now I must sleep. But come in the morning!'

Manthor wondered darkly at this. He could not see Húrin's face, for there was little light left, but bending down he listened to his breathing. Then with a grim face he stood up and took up under his cloak such food as remained, and went out.

'Well, how did you find the wild man?' said the chief guard.

'Bemused with sleep,' answered Manthor. 'He must be wakeful tomorrow. Rouse him early. Bring food for two, for I will come and break fast with him.'[38]

The next day, long before the set time at mid-morn, the Moot began to assemble. Almost a thousand had now come, for the most part the older men [*struck out:* and women],[39] since the watch on the marches must still be maintained. Soon all the Moot-ring was filled. This was shaped as a great crescent, with

seven tiers of turf-banks rising up from a smooth floor delved back into the hillside. A high fence was set all about it, and the only entry was by a heavy gate in the stockade that closed the open end of the crescent. In the middle of the lowest tier of seats was set [*added:*] the Angbor or Doom-rock, / a great flat stone upon which the Halad[40] would sit. Those who were brought to judgement stood before the stone and faced the assembly.

There was a great babel of voices; but at a horn-call silence fell, and the Halad entered, and he had many men of his household with him. The gate was closed behind him, and he paced slowly to the Stone. Then he stood facing the assembly and hallowed the Moot according to custom. First he named Manwë and Mandos, after the manner which the Edain had learned from the Eldar, and then, speaking the old tongue of the Folk which was now out of daily use, he declared that the Moot was duly set, being the three hundred and first Moot of Brethil, called to give judgement in a grave matter.

When as custom was all the assembly cried in the same tongue 'We are ready', he took his seat upon the [stone >] Angbor, and called in the speech of Beleriand[41] to men that stood by: 'Sound the horn! Let the prisoner be brought before us!'[42]

The horn sounded twice, but for some time no one entered, and the sound of angry voices could be heard outside the fence. At length the gate was thrust open, and six men came in bearing Húrin between them.

'I am brought by violence and misuse,' he cried. 'I will not walk slave-fettered to any Moot upon earth, not though Elven-kings should sit there. And while I am bound thus I deny all authority and justice to your dooms.' But the men set him on the ground before the Stone and held him there by force.

Now it was the custom of the Moot that, when any man was brought before it, the Halad should be the accuser, and should first in brief recite the misdeed with which he was charged. Whereupon it was his right, by himself or by the mouth of his friend, to deny the charge, or to offer a defence for what he had done. And when these things had been said, if any point was in doubt or was denied by either side, then witnesses were summoned.

Hardang,[43] therefore, now stood up and turning to the assembly he began to recite the charge. 'This prisoner,' he said, 'whom you see before you, names himself Húrin Galdor's son,

once of Dorlómin, but long in Angband whence he came hither. Be that as it may.'[44]

But hereupon Manthor arose and came before the Stone. 'By your leave, my lord Halad and Folk!' he cried. 'As friend to the prisoner I claim the right to ask: Is the charge against him any matter that touches the Halad in person? Or has the Halad any grievance against him?'

'Grievance?' cried Hardang, and anger clouded his wits so that he did not see Manthor's trend. 'Grievance indeed! This is not a new fashion in headgear for the Moot. I come here with wounds new-dressed.'

'Alas!' said Manthor. 'But if that is so, I claim that the matter cannot be dealt with in this way. In our law no man may recite an offence against himself; nor may he sit in the seat of judgement while that charge is heard. Is not this the law?'

'It is the law,' the assembly answered.

'Then,' said Manthor, 'before this charge is heard some other than Hardang son of Hundad must be appointed to the Stone.'

Thereupon many names were cried, but most voices and the loudest called upon Manthor. 'Nay,' said he, 'I am engaged to one part and cannot be judge. Moreover it is the Halad's right in such a case to name the one who should take his place, as doubtless he knows well.'

'I thank you,' said Hardang, 'though I need no self-chosen lawman to teach me.' Then he looked about him, as if considering whom he should name. But he was in a black anger and all wisdom failed him. If he had named any of the headmen there present, things might have gone otherwise. But in an evil moment he chose, and to all men's wonder he cried: 'Avranc Dorlas' son! It seems that the Halad needs a friend also today, when lawmen are so pert. I summon you to the Stone.'

Silence fell. But when Hardang stepped down and Avranc came to the Stone there was a loud murmuring like the rumour of a coming storm. Avranc was a young man, not long wedded, and his youth was taken ill by all the elder headmen that sat there. [For he was not loved for himself. >] And he was not loved for himself; for though he was bold, he was scornful, as was Dorlas his father before him. / And dark tales were [*struck out:* still] whispered concerning Dorlas [*struck out:* his father, who had been Hardang's close friend];[45] for though naught was known for certain, he was found slain far from the battle with

Glaurung, and the reddened sword that lay by him had been the sword of Brandir.[46]

But Avranc took no heed of the murmur, and bore himself airily, as if it were a light matter soon to be dealt with.

'Well,' he said, 'if that is settled, let us waste no more time! The matter is clear enough.' Then standing up he continued the recital. 'This prisoner, this wild man,' he said, 'comes from Angband, as you have heard. He was found within our borders. Not by chance, for as he himself declared, he has an errand here. What that may be he has not revealed, but it cannot be one of good will. He hates this folk. As soon as he saw us he reviled us. We gave him food and he spat on it. I have seen Orcs do so, if any were fools enough to show them mercy. From Angband he comes, it is clear, whatever his name be. But worse followed after. By his own asking he was brought before the Halad of Brethil – by this man who now calls himself his friend; but when he came into hall he would not name himself. And when the Halad asked him what was his errand and bade him rest first and speak of it later, if it pleased him, he began to rave, reviling the Halad, and suddenly he cast a stool in his face and did him great hurt. It is well for all that he had nothing more deadly to hand, or the Halad would have been slain. As was plainly the prisoner's intent, and it lessens his guilt very little that the worst did not happen, for which the penalty is death. But even so, the Halad sat in the great chair in his hall: to revile him there was an evil deed, and to assault him an outrage.

'This then is the charge against the prisoner: that he came here with evil intent against us, and against the Halad of Brethil in special (at the bidding of Angband one may guess); that gaining the presence of the Halad he reviled him, and then sought to slay him in his chair. The penalty is under the doom of the Moot, but it could justly be death.'

Then it seemed to some that Avranc spoke justly, and to all that he had spoken with skill. For a while no one raised a voice upon either side. Then Avranc, not hiding his smile, rose again and said: 'The prisoner may now answer the charge if he will, but let him be brief and not rave!'

But Húrin did not speak, though he strained against those that held him. 'Prisoner, will you not speak?' said Avranc, and still Húrin gave no answer. 'So be it,' said Avranc. 'If he will not speak, not even to deny the charge, then there is no more to do.

The charge is made good, and the one that is appointed to the Stone must propound to the Moot a penalty that seems just.'

But now Manthor stood up and said: 'First he should at least be asked why he will not speak. And to that question reply may be made by his friend.'

'The question is put,' said Avranc with a shrug. 'If you know the answer give it.'

'Because he is fettered [*added:* hand and foot],'[47] said Manthor. 'Never before have we dragged to the Moot in fetters a man yet uncondemned. Still less one of the Edain whose name deserves honour, whatsoever may have happened since. Yes, "uncondemned" I say; for the accuser has left much unsaid that this Moot must hear before judgement is given.'

'But this is foolishness,' said Avranc. 'Adan or no, and whatever his name, the prisoner is ungovernable and malicious. The bonds are a needed precaution. Those who come near him must be protected from his violence.'

'If you wish to beget violence,' answered Manthor, 'what surer way than openly to dishonour a proud man, old in years of great grief. And here is one now weakened by hunger and long journeying, unarmed among a host. I would ask the folk here assembled: do you deem such caution worthy of the free men of Brethil, or would you rather that we used the courtesy of old?'

'The fetters were put on the prisoner by the order of the Halad,' said Avranc. 'In this he used his right for the restraint of violence in his hall. Therefore this order cannot be gainsaid save by the full assembly.'

Then there went up a great shout 'Release him, release him! Húrin Thalion! Release Húrin Thalion!' Not all joined in this cry, yet there were no voices heard on the other side.

'Nay, nay!' said Avranc. 'Shouting will not avail. In such a case there must be a vote in due form.'

Now by custom in matters grave or doubtful the votes of the Moot were cast with pebbles, and all who entered bore with them each two pebbles, a black and a white for *nay* and for *yea*. But the gathering and counting would take much time, and meanwhile Manthor saw that with each moment the mood of Húrin grew worse.

'There is another way more simple,' he said. 'There is no danger here to justify the bonds, and so think all who have used

their voice. The Halad is in the Moot-ring, and he can remit his own order, if he will.'

'He will,' said Hardang, for it seemed to him that the mood of the assembly was restive, and he hoped by this stroke to regain its favour. 'Let the prisoner be released, and stand up before you!'

Then the fetters were struck off Húrin's hands and feet. Straightway he stood up, and turning away from Avranc he faced the assembly. 'I am here,' he said. 'I will answer my name. I am Húrin Thalion son of Galdor Orchal,[48] Lord of Dorlómin and once a high-captain in the host of Fingon King of the North-realm. Let no man dare to deny it! That should be enough. I will not plead before you. Do as you will! Neither will I bandy words with the upstart whom you permit to sit in the high seat. Let him lie as he will! [*Struck out:* But if my friend wishes to speak and to set forth the truth of what has chanced, let him do so. Listen who will!]

'In the name of the Lords of the West, what manner of folk are you, or to what have you become? While the ruin of Darkness is all about you will you sit here in patience and hear this runagate guard ask for a doom of death upon me – because I broke the head of an insolent young man, whether in a chair or out of it? He should have learned how to treat his elders before you made him your Chieftain forsooth.

'Death? 'Fore Manwë, if I had not endured torment for twenty years and eight, if I were as at the Nirnaeth, you would not dare to sit here to face me. But I am not dangerous any longer, I hear. So you are brave. I can stand up unbound to be baited. I am broken in war and made tame. Tame! Be not too sure!' He lifted up his arms and knotted his hands.

But here Manthor laid a restraining hand on his shoulder, and spoke earnestly in his ear. 'My lord, you mistake them. Most are your friends, or would be. But there are proud freemen here too. Let me now speak to them!'

Hardang and Avranc said naught, but smiled one to another, for Húrin's speech, they thought, did his part no good. But Manthor cried: 'Let the Lord Húrin be given a seat while I speak. His wrath you will understand better, and maybe forgive, when you have heard me.

'Hear me now, Folk of Brethil. My friend does not deny the main charge, but he claims that he was misused and provoked beyond bearing. My masters [*struck out:* and good wives],[49] I

was captain of the march-wardens that found this man asleep by the Hauð-en-Elleth. Or asleep he seemed, but he lay rather in weariness on the brink of awaking, and as he lay he heard, as I fear, words that were spoken.

'There was a man called Avranc Dorlas' son, I remember, as one of my company, and he should be there still, for such were my orders. As I came behind I heard this Avranc give counsel to the man who had first found Húrin and guessed at his name. Folk of Brethil, I heard him speak thus. "It would be better to slay the old man asleep and prevent further trouble. And so the Halad would be pleased," said he.

'Now maybe you will wonder less that when I called him to full waking and he found men with weapons all about him, he spoke bitter words to us. One at least of us deserved them. Yet as for despising our food: he took it from my hands, and he did not spit upon it. He spat it forth, for it choked him. Have you never, my masters, seen a man half-starved who could not swallow food in haste though he needed it? And this man was in great grief also and full of anger.

'Nay, he did not disdain our food. Though well he might, if he had known the devices to which some who dwell here have fallen! Hear me now and believe me, if you may, for witness can be brought. In his prison the Lord Húrin ate with me, for I used him with courtesy. That was two days ago. But yesterday he was drowsed and could not speak clearly, nor take counsel with me against the trial today.'

'Little wonder in that!' cried Hardang.

Manthor paused and looked at Hardang. 'Little wonder indeed, my lord Halad,' he said; 'for his food had been drugged.'

Then Hardang in wrath cried out: 'Must the drowsy dreams of this dotard be recited to our weariness?'

'I speak of no dreams,' answered Manthor. 'Witness will follow. But since against custom I am challenged while I speak, I will answer now. I took away from the prison food of which Húrin had eaten some. Before witnesses I gave it to a hound, and he lies still asleep as if dead. Maybe the Halad of Brethil did not contrive this himself, but one who is eager to please him. But with what lawful purpose? To restrain him from violence, forsooth, when he was already fettered and in prison? There is malice abroad among us, Folk of Brethil, and I look to the assembly to amend it!'

At this there was great stir and murmur in the Moot-ring; and when Avranc stood up calling for silence, the clamour grew greater. At last when the assembly had quieted a little Manthor said: 'May I now continue, for there is more to be said?'

'Proceed!' said Avranc. 'But let your wind be shortened. And I must warn you all, my masters, to hear this man warily. His good faith cannot be trusted. The prisoner and he are close akin.'

These words were unwise, for Manthor answered at once: 'It is so indeed. The mother of Húrin was Hareth daughter of Halmir, once Halad of Brethil, and Hiril her sister was the mother of my mother. But this lineage does not prove me a liar. More, if Húrin of Dorlómin be akin to me, he is kinsman of all the House of Haleth. Yea, and of all this Folk. Yet he is treated as an outlaw, a robber, a wild man without honour!

'Let us proceed then to the chief charge, which the accuser has said may bear the penalty of death. You see before you the broken head, though it seems to sit firm on its shoulders and can use its tongue. It was hurt by the cast of a small wooden stool. A wicked deed, you will say. And far worse when done to the Halad of Brethil in his great chair.

'But my masters, ill deeds may be provoked. Let any one of you in thought set himself in the place of Hardang son of Hundad. Well, here comes Húrin, Lord of Dorlómin, your kinsman, before you: head of a great House, a man whose deeds are sung by Elves and Men. But he is now grown old, dispossessed, grief-laden, travel-worn. He asks to see you. There you sit at ease in your chair. You do not rise. You do not speak to him. But you eye him up and down as he stands, until he sinks to the floor. Then of your pity and courtesy you cry: "Bring the old carl a stool!"

'O shame and wonder! He flings it at your head. O shame and wonder rather I say that you so dishonour your chair, that you so dishonour your hall, that you so dishonour the Folk of Brethil!

'My masters, I freely admit that it would have been better, if the Lord Húrin had shown patience, marvellous patience. Why did he not wait to see what further slights he must endure? Yet as I stood in hall and saw all this I wondered, and I still wonder and I ask you to tell me: How do you like such manners in this man that we have made Halad of Brethil?'

Great uproar arose at this question, until Manthor held up his hand, and suddenly all was still again. But under cover of the noise Hardang had drawn near to Avranc to speak with him, and surprised by the silence they spoke too loud, so that Manthor and others also heard Hardang say: 'I would I had not hindered thy shooting!'[50] And Avranc answered: 'I will seek a time yet.'

But Manthor proceeded. 'I am answered. Such manners do not please you, I see. Then what would you have done with the caster of the stool? Bound him, put a halter on his neck, shut him in a cave, fettered him, drugged his food, and at last dragged him hither and called for his death? Or would you set him free? Or would you, maybe, ask pardon, or command this Halad to do so?'

Thereupon there was even greater uproar, and men stood up on the turfbanks, clashing their arms, and crying: 'Free! Free! Set him free!' And many voices were heard also shouting: 'Away with this Halad! Put him in the caves!'

Many of the older men who sat in the lowest tier ran forward and knelt before Húrin to ask his pardon; and one offered him a staff, and another gave him a fair cloak and a great belt of silver. And when Húrin was so clad, and had a staff in hand, he went to the [*added:* Angbor] Stone and stood up on it, in no wise as a suppliant, but in mien as a king; and facing the assembly he cried in a great voice: 'I thank you, Masters of Brethil here present, who have released me from dishonour. There is then justice still in your land, though it has slept and been slow to awake. But now I have a charge to bring in my turn.

'What is my errand here, it is asked? What think you? Did not Túrin my son, and Nienor my daughter, die in this land? Alas! from afar I have learned much of the griefs that have here come to pass. Is it then a wonder that a father should seek the graves of his children? More wonder it is, meseems, that none here have yet ever spoken their names to me.

'Are ye ashamed that ye let Túrin my son die for you? That two only dared go with him to face the terror of the Worm? That none dared go down to succour him when the battle was over, though the worst evils might thus have been stayed?

'Ashamed ye may be. But this is not my charge. I do not ask that any in this land should match the son of Húrin in valour. But if I forgive those griefs, shall I forgive this? Hear me, Men of Brethil! There lies by the Standing Stone that you raised an old

beggar-woman. Long she sat in your land, without fire, without food, without pity. Now she is dead. Dead. She was Morwen my wife. Morwen Eðelwen, the lady elven-fair who bore Túrin the slayer of Glaurung. She is dead.

'If ye, who have some ruth, cry to me that you are guiltless, then I ask who bears the guilt? By whose command was she thrust out to starve at your doors like an outcast dog?

'Did your Chieftain contrive this? So I believe. For would he not have dealt with me in like manner, if he could? Such are his gifts: dishonour, starvation, poison. Have you no part in this? Will you not work all his will? Then how long, Masters of Brethil, will you endure him? How long will you suffer this man called Hardang to sit in your chair?'

Now Hardang was aghast at this turn, and his face went white with fear and amazement. But before he could speak, Húrin pointed a long hand at him. 'See!' he cried. 'There he stands with a sneer on his mouth! Does he deem himself safe? For I am robbed of my sword; and I am old and weary, he thinks. Nay, too often has he called me a wild man. He shall see one! Only hands, hands, are needed to wring his throat full of lies.'

With that Húrin left the Stone and strode towards Hardang; but he gave back before him, calling his household-men about him; and they drew off towards the gate. Thus it appeared to many that Hardang admitted his guilt, and they drew their weapons, and came down from the banks, crying out upon him.[51]

Now there was peril of battle within the hallowed Ring. For others joined themselves to Hardang, some without love for him or his deeds, who nonetheless held to their loyalty and would at least defend him from violence, until he could answer before the Moot.

Manthor stood between the two parties and cried to them to hold their hands and shed no blood in the Moot-ring; but the spark that he had himself kindled now burst to flame beyond his quenching, and a press of men thrust him aside. 'Away with this Halad!' they shouted. 'Away with Hardang, take him to the caves! Down with Hardang! Up Manthor! We will have Manthor!' And they fell upon the men that barred the way to the gate, so that Hardang might have time to escape.

But Manthor went back to Húrin, who now stood alone by

the Stone. 'Alas, lord,' he said, 'I feared that this day held great peril for us all. There is little I can do, but still I must try to avert the worst evil. They will soon break out, and I must follow. Will you come with me?'

Many fell at the gate on either side ere it was taken. There Avranc fought bravely, and was the last to retreat. Then as he turned to flee suddenly he drew his bow and shot at Manthor as he stood by the Stone. But the arrow missed in his haste and hit on the Stone, striking fire beside Manthor as it broke. 'Next time nearer!' cried Avranc as he fled after Hardang.

Then the rebels burst out of the Ring and hotly pursued Hardang's men to the Obel Halad, some half mile away. But before they could come there Hardang had gained the hall and shut it against them; and there he was now besieged. The Hall of the Chieftains stood in a garth with a round earthwall all about it rising from a dry outer dyke. In the wall there was only one gate, from which a stone-path led to the great doors. The assailants drove through the gate and swiftly surrounded all the hall; and all was quiet for a while.

But Manthor and Húrin came to the gate; and Manthor would have a parley, but men said: 'Of what use are words? Rats will not come out while dogs are abroad.' And some cried: 'Our kin have been slain, and we will avenge them!'

'Well then,' said Manthor, 'allow me at least to do what I can!'

'Do so!' they said. 'But go not too near, or you may receive a sharp answer.'

Therefore Manthor stood by the gate and lifted up his great voice, crying out to both sides that they should cease from this kin-slaying. And to those within he promised that all should go free who came forth without weapons, even Hardang, if he would give his word to stand before the Moot the next day. 'And no man shall bring any weapon thither,' he said.

But while he spoke there came a shot from a window, and an arrow went by the ear of Manthor and stood deep in the gate-post. Then the voice of Avranc was heard crying: 'Third time shall thrive best!'

Now the anger of those without burst forth again, and many rushed to the great doors and tried to break them down; but there was a sortie, and many were slain or hurt, and others also in the garth were wounded by shots from the windows. So the

assailants being now in mad wrath brought kindlings and great store of wood and set it by the gate; and they shouted to those within: 'See! the sun is setting. We give you till nightfall. If you do not come forth ere then, we will burn the hall and you in it!' Then they all withdrew from the garth out of bowshot, but they made a ring of men all round the outer dyke.

The sun set, and none came from the hall. And when it was dark the assailants came back into the garth bearing the wood, and they piled it against the walls of the hall. Then some bearing flaming pine-torches ran across the garth to put fire in the faggots. One was shot to his death, but others reached the piles and soon they began to blaze.

Manthor stood aghast at the ruin of the hall and the wicked deed of the burning of men. 'Out of the dark days of our past it comes,' he said, 'before we turned our faces west. A shadow is upon us.' And he felt one lay a hand on his shoulder, and he turned and saw Húrin who stood behind him, with a grim face watching the kindling of the fires; and Húrin laughed.

'A strange folk are ye,' he said. 'Now cold, now hot. First wrath, then ruth. Under your chieftain's feet or at his throat. Down with Hardang! Up with Manthor! Wilt thou go up?'

'The Folk must choose,' said Manthor. 'And Hardang still lives.'

'Not for long, I hope,' said Húrin.

Now the fires grew hot and soon the Hall of the Haladin was aflame in many places. The men within threw out upon the faggots earth and water, such as they had, and great smoke went up. Then some sought to escape under its cover, but few got through the ring of men; most were taken, or slain if they fought.

There was a small door at the rear of the hall with a jutting porch that came nearer to the garth-wall than the great doors in front; and the wall at the back was lower, because the hall was built on a slope of the hillside. At last when the roof-beams were on fire, Hardang and Avranc crept out of the rear-door, and they reached the top of the wall and stole down into the dyke, and they were not marked until they tried to climb out. But then with shouts men ran upon them, though they did not know who they were. Avranc flung himself at the feet of one that would seize him, so that he was thrown to the ground, and Avranc sprang up and away and escaped in the mirk. But another cast a

spear at Hardang's back as he ran, and he fell with a great wound.

When it was seen who he was, men lifted him up and laid him before Manthor. 'Set him not before me,' said Manthor, 'but before the one he misused. I have no grudge against him.'

'Have you not?' said Hardang. 'Then you must be sure of my death. I think that you have always begrudged that the Folk chose me to the chair and not you.'

'Think what you will!' said Manthor and he turned away. Then Hardang was aware of Húrin who was behind. And Húrin stood looking down on Hardang, a dark form in the gloom, but the light of the fire was on his face, and there Hardang saw no pity.

'You are a mightier man than I, Húrin of Hithlum,' he said. 'I had such fear of your shadow that all wisdom and largesse forsook me. But now I do not think that any wisdom or mercy would have saved me from you, for you have none. You came to destroy me, and you at least have not denied it. But your last lie against me I cast back upon you ere I die. Never' — but with that blood gushed from his mouth, and he fell back, and said no more.

Then Manthor said: 'Alas! He should not have died thus. Such evil as he wrought did not merit this end.'

'Why not?' said Húrin. 'He spoke hate from a foul mouth to the last. What lie have I spoken against him?'

Manthor sighed. 'No lie wittingly maybe,' he said. 'But the last charge that you brought was false, I deem; and he had no chance to deny it. I would that you had spoken to me of it before the Moot!'

Húrin clenched his hands. 'It is not false!' he cried. 'She lies where I said. Morwen! She is dead!'

'Alas! lord, where she died I do not doubt. But of this I judge that Hardang knew no more than I till you spoke. Tell me, lord: did she ever walk further in this land?'

'I know not. I found her as I said. She is dead.'

'But, lord, if she came no further, but finding the Stone there sat in grief and despair by the grave of her son, as I can believe, then . . .'

'What then?' said Húrin.

'Then, Húrin Hadorion, out of the darkness of your woe know this! My lord, so great a grief, and so great a horror of the things that there came to pass is upon us that no man and no

woman since the setting up of the Stone has ever again gone nigh to that place. Nay! the Lord Oromë himself might sit by that stone with all his hunt about him, and we should not know. Not unless he blew his great horn, and even that summons we should refuse!'

'But if Mandos the Just spake, would you not hear him?' said Húrin. 'Now some shall go thither, if you have any ruth! Or would you let her lie there till her bones are white? Will that cleanse your land?'

'Nay, nay!' said Manthor. 'I will find some men of great heart and some women of mercy, and you shall lead us thither, and we will do as you bid. But it is a long road to wend, and this day is now old in evil. A new day is needed.'

The next day, when the news that Hardang was dead went abroad, a great throng of people sought for Manthor, crying that he must be Chieftain. But he said: 'Nay, this must be laid before the full Moot. That cannot be yet; for the Ring is unhallowed, and there are other things more pressing to do. First I have an errand. I must go to the Field of the Worm and the Stone of the Hapless, where Morwen their mother lies untended. Will any come with me?'

Then ruth smote the hearts of those that heard him; and though some drew back in fear, many were willing to go, but among these there were more women than men.

Therefore at length they set off in silence on the path that led down along the falling torrent of Celebros. Wellnigh eight leagues was that road, and darkness fell ere they came to Nen Girith,[52] and there they passed the night as they could. And the next morning they went on down the steep way to the Field of Burning, and they found the body of Morwen at the foot of the Standing Stone. Then they looked upon her in pity and wonder; for it seemed to them that they beheld a great queen whose dignity neither age nor beggary nor all the woe of the world had taken from her.

Then they desired to do her honour in death; and some said: 'This is a dark place. Let us lift her up, and bring the Lady Morwen to the Garth of the Graves and lay her among the House of Haleth with whom she had kinship.'

But Húrin said: 'Nay, Niënor is not here, but it is fitter that she should lie here near her son than with any strangers. So she would have chosen.' Therefore they made a grave for Morwen

above Cabed Naeramarth on the west side of the Stone; and when the earth was laid upon her they carved on the Stone: *Here lies also Morwen Eðelwen*, while some sang in the old tongue the laments that long ago had been made for those of their people who had fallen on the March far beyond the Mountains.

And while they sang there came a grey rain and all that desolate place was heavy with grief, and the roaring of the river was like the mourning of many voices. And when all was ended they turned away, and Húrin went bowed on his staff. But it is said that after that day fear left that place, though sorrow remained, and it was ever leafless and bare. But until the end of Beleriand women of Brethil would come with flowers in spring and berries in autumn and sing there a while of the Grey Lady who sought in vain for her son. And a seer and harp-player of Brethil, Glirhuin, made a song saying the Stone of the Hapless should not be defiled by Morgoth nor ever thrown down, not though the Sea should drown all the land. As after indeed befell, and still the Tol Morwen stands alone in the water beyond the new coasts that were made in the days of the wrath of the Valar. But Húrin does not lie there, for his doom drove him on, and the Shadow still followed him.

Now when the company had come back to Nen Girith they halted; and Húrin looked back, out across Taeglin towards the westering sun that came through the clouds; and he was loth to return into the Forest. But Manthor looked eastward and was troubled, for there was a red glow in the sky there also.[53]

'Lord,' he said, 'tarry here if you will, and any others who are weary. But I am the last of the Haladin and I fear that the fire which we kindled is not yet quenched. I must go back swiftly, lest the madness of men bring all Brethil to ruin.'

But even as he said this an arrow came from the trees, and he stumbled and sank to the ground. Then men ran to seek for the bowman; and they saw a man running like a deer up the path towards the Obel, and they could not overtake him; but they saw that it was Avranc.

Now Manthor sat gasping with his back to a tree. 'It is a poor archer that will miss his mark at the third aim,' he said.

Húrin leaned on his staff and looked down at Manthor. 'But thou hast missed thy mark, kinsman,' he said. 'Thou hast been a valiant friend, and yet I think thou wert so hot in the cause for

thyself also. Manthor would have sat more worthily in the chair of the Chieftains.'

'Thou hast a hard eye, Húrin, to pierce all hearts but thine own,' said Manthor. 'Yea, thy darkness touched me also. Now alas! the Haladin are ended; for this wound is to the death. Was not this your true errand, Man of the North: to bring ruin upon us to weigh against thine own? The House of Hador has conquered us, and four now have fallen under its shadow: Brandir, and Hunthor, and Hardang, and Manthor. Is that not enough? Wilt thou not go and leave this land ere it dies?'

'I will,' said Húrin. 'But if the well of my tears were not utterly dried up, I would weep for thee, Manthor; for thou hast saved me from dishonour, and thou hadst love for my son.'

'Then, lord, use in peace the little more life that I have won for thee,' said Manthor. 'Do not bring your shadow upon others!'

'Why, must I not still walk in the world?' said Húrin. 'I will go on till the shadow overtakes me. Farewell!'

Thus Húrin parted from Manthor. When men came to tend his wound they found that it was grave, for the arrow had gone deep into his side; and they wished to bear Manthor back as swiftly as they could to the Obel to have the care of skilled leeches. 'Too late,' said Manthor, and he plucked out the arrow, and gave a great cry, and was still. Thus ended the House of Haleth, and lesser men ruled in Brethil in the time that was left.

But Húrin stood silent, and when the company departed, bearing away the body of Manthor, he did not turn. He looked ever west till the sun fell into dark cloud and the light failed; and then he went down alone towards the Hauð-en-Elleth.

Both my father's typescript and the amanuensis typescript end here, and this is clearly the designed conclusion of 'Húrin in Brethil'; but in draft manuscript material there are some suggestions (very slight) as to the course of the narrative immediately beyond this point.[54] There are also a few other brief writings and notes of interest.[55]

My father never returned to follow the further wanderings of Húrin.[56] We come here to the furthest point in the narrative of the Elder Days that he reached in his work on *The Silmarillion* (in the widest sense) after the Second War and the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*. There are bits of information about the succeeding parts – not much – but no further new or revised narrative; and the promise held out in his words (p. 258) 'Link to the Necklace of the Dwarves, *Sigil Elu-naeth*, Necklace of the Woe of Thingol' was never fulfilled. It

is as if we come to the brink of a great cliff, and look down from highlands raised in some later age onto an ancient plain far below. For the story of the Nauglamîr and the destruction of Doriath, the fall of Gondolin, the attack on the Havens, we must return through more than a quarter of a century to the *Quenta Noldorinwa* (Q), or beyond. The huge abruptness of the divide is still more emphasised by the nature of this last story of the Elder Days, the Shadow that fell upon Brethil.[57] In its portrayal of the life of Brethil into which Húrin came for its ruin, the intricacies of law and lineage, the history of ambition and conflicting sentiment within the ruling clan, it stands apart. In the published *Silmarillion* I excluded it, apart from using Húrin's vain attempt to reach Gondolin and his finding of Morwen dying beside the Standing Stone. Morwen's grave is made by Húrin alone; and having made it, 'he passed southwards down the ancient road that led to Nargothrond'.

To have included it, as it seemed to me, would have entailed a huge reduction, indeed an entire re-telling of a kind that I did not wish to undertake; and since the story is intricate I was afraid that this would produce a dense tangle of narrative statement with all the subtlety gone, and above all that it would diminish the fearful figure of the old man, the great hero, Thalion the Steadfast, furthering still the purposes of Morgoth, as he was doomed to do. But it seems to me now, many years later, to have been an excessive tampering with my father's actual thought and intention: thus raising the question, whether the attempt to make a 'unified' *Silmarillion* should have been embarked on.

NOTES

1 With the beginning of this passage cf. Q (IV.131): 'Some have said that Morwen, wandering woefully from Thingol's halls, when she found Nienor not there on her return, came on a time to that stone and read it, and there died.' – For the abandoned idea that it was Túrin who met Morwen in her wandering see pp. 161–2.

2 Húrin was born in 441 (GA §141). – At this point the first side of the 'lost manuscript' ends. The text on the reverse was struck through and replaced by a new text on a new sheet, all but identical in content but finely written – suggestive of confidence in this further extension of the *Grey Annals*.

3 Asgon reappears here, without introduction, from NE (*Unfinished Tales* p. 109), one of the men who fled with Túrin from Brodda's hall; in the condensed account in GA (§297) he was not named.

4 The spellings *Asgorn* here, but *Asgon* in the preceding paragraph (see note 3), are clear. See note 21.

5 The term *Eastron* has not been used before.

6 'Yet this can scarce be so': i.e., ignorance of Glaurung's death can scarcely be the reason for Húrin's going to Nargothrond.

7 The space marked by a caret evidently awaited the name of the new Lord of Brethil.

8 'He must come of a different race': is this the first reference to the Petty-dwarves?

9 *(Annal 490–5)* The name *Iarwaeth* has appeared in GA §268 (see also p. 142, commentary on §277, at end), but *Thuringud* 'the Hidden Foe' is found nowhere else: cf. Finduilas' name for Túrin, *Thurin* 'the Secret', *Unfinished Tales* pp. 157, 159).

10 *(Annal 494)* The statements that Morgoth stirred up the Eastrons (see note 5) to greater hatred of the Elves and Edain, and that Lorgan sought to take Niënor by force, are entirely new. In GA (§274) it is clear that Morwen and Niënor left Dor-lómin because the lands had become more safe.

11 *(Annal 495) Cirith Ninniach*, the final name of the Rainbow Cleft, is found in the later *Tale of Tuor* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 23), where also the meeting of Tuor with Gelmir and Arminas is recounted (pp. 21–2); the name was added to the map (p. 182, square C 4). On the story of their coming to Nargothrond and its relation to the *Grey Annals* see pp. 141–2, commentary on §277. It may be mentioned here that in another 'plot-synopsis' concerning Túrin my father referred to the two Elves by the names Faramir and Arminas, adding in a note: 'Faramir and Arminas were later Eärendil's companions on voyage'.

The 'Narrow Land' is the Pass of Sirion. The form *Eryd-wethian* occurs in the typescript text of 'Gelmir and Arminas' (p. 142).

'[Handir's] son Brandir the lame is chosen Chieftain, though many would have preferred his cousins Hunthor or Hardang': there has been no previous suggestion of a disagreement over the succession to Brandir; judging by the outspokenness of the people of Brethil as recorded in NE, they would surely have used it against Brandir if they had known of it. – The name *Hunthor* replaced *Torbarth* as that of the 'kinsman of Brandir', who died at Cabed-en-Aras, in NE (this change was not made in GA: see p. 156). He appears in the genealogical table of the Haladin (p. 237), but his descent had by this time been changed: for this, and for Hardang, another cousin, see pp. 268–70.

The defeat of Tum-halad has not previously been attributed to 'the dread of Glaurung', nor has it been said that Túrin gave his word to Gwindor that he would endeavour to save Finduilas.

On the form *Haudh-en-Elleth* see p. 148, §301.

The story that Tuor and Voronwë saw Túrin journeying northward at Eithil Ivrin has appeared in an inserted annal entry in GA (§299), but no more was said there than that 'they saw

Túrin pass, but spoke not with him'. For the fullest account see the later *Tale of Tuor*, *Unfinished Tales* pp. 37–8.

12 *(Annal 496)* The death of Sador in the fighting in Brodda's hall is told in NE (*Unfinished Tales* p. 108), where also Asgon of Dor-lómin first appears (p. 109).

13 *(Annal 497)* Lindis of Ossiriand: no mention has been made before of the wife of Dior Thingol's heir. See further *The Tale of Years*, pp. 349–51.

14 *(Annal 498)* In GA (§319) Túrin and Níniel were married 'at the mid-summer' of 498, and she conceived in the spring of 499.

15 *(Annal 499)* Of course Glaurung did not reveal to Túrin 'who he was': he did not need to. But this is without significance: it was a short-hand when writing very fast (in the same annal my father wrote 'Nargothrond' for 'Brethil' and 'Tuor' for 'Túrin'), and means that it was through the words of Glaurung that Túrin and Niënor came to know that they were brother and sister.

The name *Talbor* of the memorial stone raised at Cabed-en-Aras has not been given before.

For previous mentions of Mîm and the treasure of Nargothrond, and his death at the hand of Húrin, see the *Tale of Turambar*, II.113–14; the *Sketch of the Mythology*, IV.32; the *Annals of Beleriand* (AB 1 and AB 2), IV.306 and V.141; and Q, IV.132 and commentary IV.187–8.

16 *(Annal 500)* The names *Elrún* and *Eldún* of the sons of Dior appear in emendations made to Q (IV.135) and AB 2 (V.142 and note 42), replacing *Elboron* and *Elbereth*. It has not been said that they were twin brothers (in the *Genealogies* associated with AB 1, of which some extracts were given in V.403, their birth-dates were three years apart, 192 and 195, – later 492, 495: these latter are found in the genealogical table of the House of Bëor, p. 231).

In AB 2 (following AB 1) Húrin was released by Morgoth in the year 499 (IV.306, V.141), and 'he departed and sought for Morwen'; in the continuation of GA (p. 252) the year was 500, as here.

17 *(Annal 501)* In AB 2 (following AB 1) Húrin and his companions (described simply as 'men'; in Q, IV.132, as 'a few outlaws of the woods') came to Nargothrond in 500 (see note 16), whereas in this text, after his visit to Brethil, he sets out for Nargothrond in 501 and comes there in 502. The earlier sources do not say that he found Morwen (cf. the note written against the first continuation of GA, p. 252: 'Some fate of Morwen must be devised. Did Morwen and Húrin meet again?'), nor do they know of his attempting to return to Gondolin (see the end of the continuation of GA, pp. 254–5, where this is first referred to, though without mention of the discovery by Morgoth's spies of the region where Gondolin lay).

The story of Húrin in Brethil was now in existence and probably in its final form (see p. 269). – A first mention of Obel Halad, replacing Ephel Brandir, is found in a note pencilled on the typescript of NE (p. 148, §302).

18 *(Annal 502)* In AB 2 Tuor wedded Idril in 499 (V.141); the date in *The Tale of Years* is (with some hesitation) 502 (pp. 346 ff.). On the bringing of the treasure of Nargothrond to Doriath see IV.188.

19 Only the following points in the WH version need be noted. After the words (p. 252) 'it suited the purpose of Morgoth that this should be so' my father added to the typescript later: 'and the needs of his body had been well served to this end'; and 'unless I find chance to avenge the wrongs of my children' (where GA has 'the wrongs of my son', p. 253) was changed to 'unless I find chance to hear more news of my kin, or to avenge their wrongs, if I may.' Where the GA continuation has *Asgon* and then *Asgorn* (note 4), WH has *Asgorn*, corrected to *Asgon*, and further on in the narrative *Asgon* as typed (see note 21). *Eastrons* of GA is here *Easterlings*. On the amanuensis typescript Húrin's words *Tôl acharn* were corrected to *Tûl acharn*.

20 The passage recounting Húrin's ignorance of what had happened in Gondolin to his crossing the Brithiach into Dimbar was a good deal changed at the time of typing, though for the most part this was a matter of rearrangement. Here the text as first typed read:

> He knew not the things that had come to pass there, since Tuor brought thither the message of Ulmo, as is yet to be told; and now Turgon, refusing the counsel of the Lord of Waters, allowed none to enter or to go forth for any cause whatsoever, hardening his heart against pity and wisdom.

Tuor had reached Gondolin in 495 (GA §299).

21 *Asgon* was an emendation of the name as typed, *Asgorn*. This was a regular change, until the form *Asgon* appears in the text as typed: I print *Asgon* throughout, except in passages that were rejected before the name was changed.

22 Here the text as first typed read:

> Húrin came down from the sources of the Lithir, which fell tumbling into Sirion and was held to be the south bounds of the Narrow Land. There Sirion was already too wide and deep to cross, and too perilous for any but the young and hardiest to swim; so Húrin and his men journeyed on, seeking the fords of the Brithiach.

The name *Lithir* was written against a river already shown on the original form of the second map: p. 182, squares C 6 to D 7.

23 At this point there followed in the draft manuscript and in the typescript as first typed: 'and though this seemed to him to bode evil rather than good, after a time he grew less heedful.'

24 The name *Ragnir* is found also as that of a blind servant of Morwen's in Dor-lómin (*Unfinished Tales* p. 71). In a rejected phrase in the draft manuscript this companion of Asgon's is called 'Ragnir the tracker'.

25 Asgon supposed that the Lord of Brethil was still Brandir the Lame. Cf. what is said of Brandir's successor Hardang a little further on: 'he had no love now at all for the House of Hador, in whose blood he had no part.'

26 On *Obel Halad* see note 17.

27 *Echoriad*: the Encircling Mountains about Gondolin. The form *Echoriath* in the published *Silmarillion* derives from the later *Tale of Tuor*; but *Echoriad* here is much later.

28 The old story in the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* (II.189) that those of the fugitives from the sack of Gondolin who fled to the Way of Escape were destroyed by a dragon lying in wait at its outer issue, a story that survived into Q (IV.144), had been abandoned, and was excluded from *The Silmarillion* on the basis of the present passage: see II.213, second footnote, and IV.194.

29 Cf. GA §161 (p. 57), of the escape of Húrin and Huor into Dimbar forty-three years before this time: they 'wandered in the hills beneath the sheer walls of the Crisaegrim. There Thorondor espied them, and sent two Eagles that took them and bore them up...'

30 At this point in the draft manuscript my father wrote:

> Later when captured and Maeglin wished to buy his release with treachery, Morgoth must answer laughing, saying: Stale news will buy nothing. I know this already, I am not easily blinded! So Maeglin was obliged to offer more – to undermine resistance in Gondolin.

Almost exactly the same note is found on the slip giving information about the new meaning of the name *Haladin* (p. 270); but here, after the words 'undermine resistance in Gondolin', my father continued: 'and to compass the death of Tuor and Eärendel if he could. If he did he would be allowed to retain Idril (said Morgoth).'

Thus the story in Q was changed (IV.143):

> [Meglin] purchased his life and freedom by revealing unto Morgoth the place of Gondolin and the ways whereby it might be found and assailed. Great indeed was the joy of Morgoth...

Both the present passage in WH (telling that Morgoth learned from Húrin's wandering 'in what region Turgon dwelt') and that from Q were used in the published *Silmarillion* (pp. 228, 242), 'the *very* place of Gondolin' for 'the place of Gondolin' being an editorial addition.

31 There was a series of alterations to the names of the men of Manthor's company near the Crossings of Taeglin (and some

speeches were reassigned among the speakers). In the draft manuscript the names were *Sagroth*; *Forhend* son of Dorlas; and his friend *Farang*. In the typescript as typed they were *Sagroth*; *Forhend*; and his friend *Farang* son of Dorlas. The son of Dorlas is the one who plays an important part in the story. By emendation to the typescript the statement that Farang was the friend of Forhend was removed, and – further on in the narrative – the name *Farang* became *Faranc*; then, near the end of WH, it became *Avranc*, and this name was substituted throughout the text from his first appearance. I print throughout the final formulation only.

32 *Sagroth* was here emended to *Galhir*, but later *Sagroth* was reinstated. Galhir was perhaps intended to be another member of Manthor's company, rather than a replacement of the name *Sagroth*.

33 The footnote at this point was typed at the same time as the text. The statement concerning Manthor's domain in the east of Brethil preceded that in the text C (p. 267): 'The region nigh Brithiach and along Sirion for some way was the land of Manthor'. Haldar was the son of Haldad, founder of the line, and twin brother of the Lady Haleth (p. 221, §25). With the last sentence cf. the plot-synopsis, p. 256: 'Brandir the lame is chosen Chieftain, though many would have preferred his cousins Hunthor or Hardang.' The whole footnote was struck through (before the emendation of *Harathor* to *Hardang*).

34 The term *Haladin* is used here, in a sentence that was rejected rather than corrected, in the original sense of the whole 'People of Haleth'.

35 With the use of the word *town* cf. p. 148, §302.

36 The word *booth* is used in the old sense of 'a temporary dwelling covered with boughs of trees or other slight materials' (O.E.D.). My father may well have had in mind the Norse word *búð*, used in the Sagas especially of the temporary dwellings at the Icelandic parliament, and regularly rendered 'booth' in translations.

37 It is said also in the *Narn* plot-synopsis, of which a part is given on pp. 256–8, but at an earlier point (the year 472), that Haldir and Hundar were slain in the Nírnaeth, and that 'three only of their men were left alive, but Mablung of Doriath healed their wounds and brought them back.' See further pp. 236–7.

38 The draft manuscript has here:

> 'He must be wakeful tomorrow. It may be that better food is needed. Take care, or maybe the guards will have to stand before the Folk also.'
>
> 'What do you mean by that?' said the leader.
>
> 'Unriddle it as you will,' said Manthor.

39 'and women' derives from the draft manuscript. Cf. the passage

struck out on p. 279, concerning the summoning of wives to counsel according to the customs of Brethil.

40 Here and often subsequently *Halad* is an emendation of *Warden*; see the statement cited on p. 270, where *Halad*, plural *Haladin*, is translated 'warden(s)'. I give *Halad* in all these cases and do not record the changes.

41 There seems not to have been any specific reference previously to the passing out of common use of the old speech of the People of Haleth (where the draft manuscript has 'the old tongue of the Haladin', and also 'Moot of the Haladin'), and its replacement by 'the speech of Beleriand'.

42 The draft manuscript has here a passage depending on the story, still in being, of the captivity of Asgorn (Asgon) and his men (cf. the rejected sentence in the typescript, p. 278: Húrin was shut in a cave 'nigh to the one in which Asgorn and his men were still imprisoned'):

> 'Let the first prisoners be brought before us!' Then Asgorn and his companions were led in, with their hands bound behind them.
>
> At that there was much murmuring; and [an old man >] Manthor stood up. 'By your leave, Master and Folk,' he said. 'I would ask: why are these men in bonds?'

There is then a note: 'Harathor should conceal the fact that Asgorn &c. are still in durance, and Manthor should reveal why.' Here the text stops, and begins on a new page with a draft for the changed story as found in the typescript text.

43 At this point the name *Hardang*, for *Harathor*, appears in the text as typed.

44 The draft manuscript has 'Be that as it may —', i.e. Hardang's sentence was interrupted by Manthor.

45 An addition to the draft manuscript says: 'He [Dorlas] had also been Harathor's friend, and a scorner of Brandir while Harathor desired to oust him.' That Dorlas had been a friend of Hardang (Harathor) has been mentioned earlier, at the first appearance of Dorlas' son Avranc (p. 275): 'well-liked by Hardang, as his father had been.'

46 In the story of Dorlas' death in the last part of the *Narn* (NE) as told in the manuscript, Brandir retained his sword. It is said subsequently in that text that 'Brandir, seeing his death in Túrin's face, drew his small sword and stood in defence'; and Túrin 'lifted up Gurthang and struck down Brandir's sword, and smote him to death.' By changes made to the much later amanuensis typescript of NE the story was altered to that given in *Unfinished Tales*: Brandir cast down his sword after the slaying of Dorlas (p. 139), facing Túrin 'he stood still and did not quail, though he had no weapon but his crutch', and the words 'struck down

Brandir's sword' were removed (p. 143). It seems to me unlikely that my father would have made these changes, whereby Túrin's murder of Brandir becomes even worse, in order to make Dorlas' reputation seem more murky in the rumours current in Brethil: I believe that he made them precisely because he wished so to represent Túrin in his encounter with Brandir – in which case, of course, the changes to the NE typescript had already been made when the present passage was written. Subsequently it was bracketed, from 'And dark tales were whispered concerning Dorlas', presumably implying doubt about its inclusion; and the matter is not referred to again.

47 'hand and foot': an addition had been made earlier (p. 282) concerning the further fettering of Húrin on his wrists.

48 *Galdor Orchal*: 'Galdor the Tall'. The 'title' has not previously appeared in Elvish form.

49 With the rejected words 'and good wives' cf. note 39.

50 'I would I had not hindered thy shooting': see p. 278.

51 The story of the events in the Moot-ring was told in the draft manuscript (written in ink over a pencilled text) in fairly close accord with the final form to the point where Húrin cries out on Harathor (as is still the name): 'Only hands, hands, are needed to wring such a throat full of lies'. Then follows:

> With that, in a fury, Húrin sprang off the Stone and made for Harathor. But Harathor fled before him, calling on his household men to gather round him; and at the gate he turned, crying: 'It is a lie that he speaks, Men of Brethil. He raves as ever. I knew naught of this till now!' In this he spoke the truth; but too late. In their wrath few of the assembly believed him.

(In the original pencilled text Harathor said more in his defence, using the argument given in the final form to Manthor (pp. 294–5): 'None of the Folk go ever to that stone, for the place is accursed. Not till now have I or any man or woman of the Folk heard tale of her coming to the stone.') At this point in the superimposed text in ink my father stopped, and wrote: 'Do not allow Harathor to defend himself. He flies in fear – and so seems to most of the Folk to acknowledge his guilt.'

From here onwards the draft manuscript becomes chaotic. The pencilled text, in part illegible, continues, interspersed here and there with later passages written in ink, to the end of the story, but the 'layers' are so confused that a coherent development can scarcely be deduced. It seems, however, that at this stage the story of the siege and burning of the Hall of the Chieftains had not entered. The rout of Harathor and his supporters from the Moot-ring seems to have been followed at once by Manthor's reproaches to Húrin – a defence of the conduct of the Men of Brethil towards Túrin, and a denial that Harathor could have

known anything of the coming of Morwen, which in turn leads at once to the expedition to Cabed Naeramarth and the burial of Morwen. In his words to Húrin Manthor declares himself to be now 'the last of the Haladin', but there seems to be no indication of the fate of Harathor. See further note 53.

A new draft text, very roughly written but coherent, takes up at the opening of Húrin's speech to the assembly (p. 290): this was the text from which the final form was closely derived.

52 In NE (*Unfinished Tales* p. 136) it was 'five leagues at the least' from Ephel Brandir to Nen Girith; in an earlier draft of that passage it was seven leagues (commentary on GA §§329–32, p. 158).

53 The end of the original draft manuscript (see note 51) is partly illegible, but after the burial of Morwen 'they return and see red fire. The Obel is burning as the rebels assault the ... But as they make their way an arrow comes out of the wood and Manthor falls.' This suggests that the burning of the Hall of the Chieftains originally followed the burial of Morwen, and that when that burning became a central event in the story the red glow in the sky seen from Nen Girith was retained as the sign of a further eruption of rioting on the following day. This is supported by the conclusion of the second draft manuscript, given in note 54 (at end); but the matter is very uncertain.

54 The end of the original draft manuscript (see notes 51, 53) after the death of Manthor, pencilled over by my father to make it clearer but with a gap where there is a word, or words, that he could not interpret, reads thus:

> A few men fearing the end of Brethil and desiring to flee further from Morgoth – having no homes or lands of their own – are willing to go with Húrin. They depart – and fall in [*sic*] But now Húrin seems to pick up strength and youth – vengeance seems to have heartened him, and he [ ] and walks now strongly. They pass into the woods and gather the last fugitives of the wood-men (the kin of the folk of Brethil).
>
> Asgorn they choose for captain, but he treats Húrin as lord, and does as he will[s]. Whither shall we go? They must [?know] a place of refuge. They go towards Nargothrond.

Another, isolated page gives this version of the end:

> For a while he stood there grim and silent. But Manthor looked back and saw red light far away. 'I must return,' he said. The party begins to go back wearily towards Obel Halad.
>
> An arrow slays Manthor. – The voice of Faranc [*see note 31*] cries: 'Third time thriven. At least you shall not sit in the Chair you coveted.' They give chase but he escapes in the dark.

The Moot Ring has been 'unhallowed'. The confederation breaks up. Men go each to their own homesteads. Húrin must depart. He gathers a few men who despair now of defending Brethil from the growing strength of Morgoth [and] wish to fly south. At the Taiglin crossing they fall in with Asgon, who has heard rumour of the wild deeds in Brethil, and of Húrin's coming, and are now venturing back into the land to seek him. Asgon greets him – and is glad that Harathor has been punished. Angered that no one had told Húrin of their coming.

They go on and gather fugitive 'wood-men'. They elect Asgon captain but he ever defers to Húrin. Whither to go? Húrin elects to go to Nargothrond. Why?

The references to 'wood-men' ('kin of the folk of Brethil') in these passages are no doubt to the men who dwelt in the woodland south of the Taeglin, described in the *Narn* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 85, and thereafter called 'the Woodmen'):

There before the Nirnaeth many Men had dwelt in scattered homesteads; they were of Haleth's folk for the most part, but owned no lord, and they lived both by hunting and by husbandry, keeping swine in the mast-lands, and tilling clearings in the forest which were fenced from the wild. But most were now destroyed, or had fled into Brethil, and all that region lay under the fear of Orcs, and of outlaws.

These hasty sketches of Húrin's immediate movements after leaving Brethil agree with what is said in the plot-synopsis (p. 258): 'Húrin finds Asgon again and gathers other men and goes towards Nargothrond'. The question 'Why?' of his decision to go there reappears from the final addition to the end of the *Grey Annals* (p. 255), which probably did not long precede the writing of *The Wanderings of Húrin*.

The second draft manuscript (see note 51, at end) continues on from the point where the typescript text ends, though with a line drawn across the page beneath the words 'he went down alone towards the Hauð-en-Elleth'. I give this partly illegible conclusion from the death of Manthor.

... and plucked out the arrow, and gave a great cry, and lay still.

Then they wept, and they took him up, and prepared to bear him back, and they took no more heed of Húrin. But he stood silent, and turned soon away; the sun was gone down into cloud and the light failed, and he went down alone towards the Hauð-en-Elleth.

[Thus befell the ruin of Brethil. For >] Now it is said that / those who ... with Hardang were not all caught, and others

came in hearing the news, and there was fighting in the Obel, and a great burning, until all was well nigh destroyed [*see note 53*]. But when the madness [*written above:* wrath] of men had cooled they made peace, and some said: 'What hath bewitched us? Surely Húrin begot all this evil, and Hardang and Avranc were more wise. They would have kept him out if they could.' So they chose Avranc to be their chief, since none of the House of Haleth were left, but [?? he wielded no] such authority and reverence as the Chieftains before, and the Folk of Brethil fell back again to be more like their kinsmen in the [?open] woods – each minding his own houselands and little ... and their ... was loosened.

But some misliked this and would not serve under Avranc and made ready to depart, and they joined Húrin.

55 The following brief writing on the subject of Manthor is another 'discussion' like the text 'C' (pp. 266–7) and no doubt belongs to much the same time. Here as there the name is *Harathor*, but I suggested (p. 269) that he must have been on the point of receiving a new name, and on the same page as the present passage appear the workings leading to the name *Hardang*.

The page begins with a draft for the last words of Húrin and Manthor at Nen Girith, closely similar to the ending both in the second draft manuscript (on which see note 51, at end) and in the final typescript (pp. 296–7). I believe that the present form was the first, and that my father set it down experimentally, as it were, and then proceeded to explain and justify it, as follows (the many contractions of words and names are expanded):

I think it would be good to make Manthor a less merely 'good' character. For so his extremely zealous and cunning espousal of Húrin's cause would better be explained. Certainly he has a great natural concern for 'courtesy' – sc. civilized behaviour *and* mercy, and he would have been angry at the treatment of Húrin whoever he was. But (a) he was *proud* of his kinship with the House of Hador; (b) he had desired the Wardenship – and many had wanted to elect him. He was of the senior line, but by a daughter (Hiril). But though so far descent had been by eldest son, it had been laid down by Haleth (and Haldar her brother) that daughters and their descendants were to be eligible for election. The descendants of Hundar: Hundad, Harathor had not been men of mark or gallantry.

So plainly Manthor was also using the coming of Húrin to further his ambition – or rather, the shadow of Húrin fell on him, and awoke the ambition (dormant). Note: Manthor never raises the matter of Húrin's *errand*, or (as was fairly plain) that Húrin came with ill-will, especially towards the rulers of Brethil and the 'anti-Túrin' party.

Mention should be made in the tale of Túrin (dwelling in Brethil and death) – à propos of Hunthor? – of Manthor and the friendship of his branch for Túrin and reverence for the House of Hador.

There was some ill-feeling between the branches: on the one side akin to the House of Hador (via Glóreðel and via Hareth and Hiril) and [on the other] the line of Hundar.

This enlarges and defines some of the things said in the last paragraph of the discussion in the text 'C' (p. 267), where the friendship for Túrin among the descendants of Hiril, and pride in their kinship with the House of Hador, were referred to, and the idea that Manthor 'desired the Wardenship' referred to as a possibility.

An isolated slip, headed *Names*, has the following notes:

The *Haladin* name of people directly descended from Haldar Haleth's brother (by male or female line), a family or *'nothlir'* from which the Chieftains or *Halbars* of Brethil were chosen by the Folk.
For *halad* sg. 'chieftain' ..... *halbar*.
The Chieftain after Brandir was *Hardang*.
His evil-counsellor friend to be *Daruin*.
Dorlas > *Darlas*
Dar = mastery, lordship
bor = stone. The Stone in the Ring was the *halabor*. The Standing Stone was the *Talbor*.

The word *halbar* 'chieftain', to be substituted for *halad*, appears in a note pencilled on the genealogical table of the Haladin, where also the name *Haldar* was apparently altered to *Halbar*: see p. 238. The name *Talbor* of the Standing Stone appears also in an addition to the *Narn* plot-synopsis (p. 257), but the stone in the Moot-ring is named *Angbor* 'Doom-rock' in additions to the typescript text of WH (see p. 283). These new names, and *Darlas* for *Dorlas*, *Daruin* for *Avranc*, must represent a further group of substitutions subsequent to the final text of WH, although it is odd in that case that *Hardang* should be included.

Following these notes on the same slip of paper are notes on the name *Taeglin*; these were struck out, but virtually the same notes in more finished form are found on another slip:

Taeglin(d) better *Taeglind*
**taika* (√*taya* mark, line, limit > *tayak*) *mære*, boundary, limit, boundary line.
linde 'singer / singing', name (or element in names) of many rivers of quick course that make a rippling sound.

mære is an Old English word of the same meaning. – It seems that

the form chosen for the published *Silmarillion* should have been *Taeglin* rather than *Teiglin* (see p. 228, §28).

56 Some interesting remarks of my father's concerning *The Wanderings of Húrin* are found on the back of one of the slips on which Professor Clyde Kilby wrote comments and criticisms of the work:

> The criticisms seem to me largely mistaken – no doubt because this is a fragment of a great saga, e.g. Thingol and Melian are mentioned as objects of Morgoth's malice, because Húrin's next exploit will be to bring ruin to Doriath. The outlaws are not a 'device', but already accounted for – and play a part in the story of Túrin when he came to Dor Lómin. Húrin does pick them up again and they are the nucleus of the force with which he goes to Nargothrond and slays Mîm and seizes the gold of the dragon.
>
> As for 'too little action,' 'too much speech', I have re-read this quite impersonally after many years when I had practically forgotten it – the speeches are bitter and pungent and in themselves exciting. I thought the whole business from the entry of Húrin not only moving but very exciting.

The reference to Thingol and Melian arose from Professor Kilby's taking exception to their only being mentioned in one place (p. 259). The response that his remarks (written, I believe, in 1966) elicited is particularly interesting in that they show that the story of Húrin's seizing the treasure of Nargothrond was still fully in being, although my father never even approached it again. Very striking is his phrase, 'Húrin's next exploit will be to bring ruin to Doriath'.

57 On the amanuensis typescript my father pencilled, beneath *The Wanderings of Húrin*: 'I *The Shadow Falls on Brethil*'. At the beginning of his discussion of the story in text C (p. 266) he said of Asgorn and his men that 'their coming to Brethil is needed to "cast the shadow" by arousing fear and hatred in the heart of Harathor.' It may be therefore that the subheading *The Shadow Falls on Brethil* was intended to refer only to the first part of the story of Húrin in Brethil. On the other hand, he introduced no other sub-headings into the body of the text, and it seems equally possible that he meant this as the title of the whole story, 'II' to be the next stage of Húrin's 'wanderings', *Húrin in Nargothrond*.

II
ÆLFWINE AND DÍRHAVAL

In *Unfinished Tales* (p. 146) I referred to the existence of an 'introductory note' to the *Narn i Chîn Húrin*, found in different forms, and I gave a very condensed and selective account of the content. The two versions are in fact more distinct than this suggests, and here I print them both in full. One of them is a clear manuscript written with almost no hesitations or alterations (whether at the time or later): this, which I will call '**A**', clearly preceded the other, and I give it first. The numbered notes will be found on p. 315.

Túrin Turumarth[1]

Here begins that tale which Ælfwine made from the *Húrinien*: which is the longest of all the lays of Beleriand now held in memory in Eressëa. But it is said there that, though made in Elvish speech and using much Elvish lore (especially of Doriath), this lay was the work of a Mannish poet, Dírhavel, who lived at the Havens in the days of Ëarendel and there gathered all the tidings and lore that he could of the House of Hador, whether among Men or Elves, remnants and fugitives of Dorlómin, of Nargothrond, or of Doriath. From Mablung he learned much; and by fortune also he found a man named Andvír, and he was very old, but was the son of that Andróg who was in the outlaw-band of Túrin, and alone survived the battle on the summit of Amon Rûdh.[2] Otherwise all that time between the flight of Túrin from Doriath and his coming to Nargothrond, and Túrin's deeds in those days, would have remained hidden, save the little that was remembered among the people of Nargothrond concerning such matters as Gwindor or Túrin ever revealed. In this way also the matter of Mîm and his later dealings with Húrin were made clear. This lay was all that Dírhavel ever made, but it was prized by the Elves and remembered by them. Dírhavel they say perished in the last raid of the sons of Fëanor upon the Havens. His lay was composed in that mode of verse which was called *Minlamad thent / estent*.[3] Though this verse was not wholly unlike the verse known to Ælfwine, he translated the lay into prose (including in it, or

adding in the margins as seemed fit to him, matter from the Elvish commentaries that he had heard or seen); for he was not himself skilled in the making of verse, and the transference of this long tale from Elvish into English was difficult enough. Indeed even as it was made, with the help of the Elves as it would seem from his notes and additions, in places his account is obscure.

This version into 'modern' English, that is forms of English intelligible to living users of the English tongue (who have some knowledge of letters, and are not limited to the language of daily use from mouth to mouth) does not attempt to imitate the idiom of Ælfwine, nor that of the Elvish which often shows through especially in the dialogue. But since it is even to Elves now 'a tale of long ago', and depicts high and ancient persons and their speech (such as Thingol and Melian), there is in Ælfwine's version, and clearly was in Dírhavel's day, much archaic language, of words and usage, and the older and nobler Elves do not speak in the same style as Men, or in quite the same language as that of the main narrative; there are therefore here retained similar elements. It is for this reason that, for example, Thingol's speech is not that of our present day: for indeed the speech of Doriath, whether of the king or others, was even in the days of Túrin more antique than that used elsewhere. One thing (as Mîm observed) of which Túrin never rid himself, despite his grievance against Doriath, was the speech he had acquired during his fostering. Though a Man, he spoke like an Elf of the Hidden Kingdom,[4] which is as though a Man should now appear, whose speech and schooling until manhood had been that of some secluded country where the English had remained nearer that of the court of Elizabeth I than of Elizabeth II.

The second text ('**B**') is very much briefer, and was composed on the typewriter which my father used for several of the *Narn* texts, and other writings such as the chapter *Of the Coming of Men into the West*.

Many songs are yet sung and many tales are yet told by the Elves in the Lonely Isle of the Nirnaeth Arnoediad, the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, in which Fingon fell and the flower of the Eldar withered. But here I will tell as I may a Tale of Men that Dírhaval[5] of the Havens made in the days of Eärendel long ago.

Narn i Chîn Húrin he called it, the Tale* of the Children of Húrin, which is the longest of all the lays that are now remembered in Eressëa, though it was made by a man.

For such was Dírhaval. He came of the House of Hador, it is said, and the glory and sorrow of that House was nearest to his heart. Dwelling at the Havens of Sirion, he gathered there all the tidings and lore that he could; for in the last days of Beleriand there came thither remnants out of all the countries, both Men and Elves: from Hithlum and Dor-lómin, from Nargothrond and Doriath, from Gondolin and the realms of the Sons of Fëanor in the east.

This lay was all that Dírhaval ever made, but it was prized by the Eldar, for Dírhaval used the Grey-elven tongue, in which he had great skill. He used that mode of Elvish verse which is called [*long space left in typescript*] which was of old proper to the *narn*; but though this verse mode is not unlike the verse of the English, I have rendered it in prose, judging my skill too small to be at once *scop* and *walhstod*.[6] Even so my task has been hard enough, and without the help of the Elves could not have been completed. I have not added to Dírhaval's tale, nor omitted from it anything that he told; neither have I changed the order of his history. But on matters that seemed of interest, or that were become dark with the passing of the years, I have made notes, whether within the tale or upon its margins, according to such lore as I found in Eressëa.

That A preceded B, at whatever interval (but I do not think that it was long), is seen, among other considerations, from the use of the old name 'the *Húrinien*' in the opening sentence of A (whereas in B it is called *Narn i Chîn Húrin*). This name had appeared years before in QS Chapter 17, *Of Túrin Turamarth or Túrin the Hapless*: 'that lay which is called *iChúrinien*, the Children of Húrin, and is the longest of all the lays that speak of those days' (V.317). (For *Húrinien* beside *iChúrinien*, and my reason for substituting *Hîn* for *Chîn* in *Unfinished Tales*, see V.322.)

It is possible to state with certainty at what period these pieces were written. I said in *Unfinished Tales* (p. 150): 'From the point in the story where Túrin and his men established themselves in the ancient dwelling of the Petty-dwarves on Amon Rûdh there is no completed narrative on the same detailed plan [as in the preceding parts], until the *Narn* takes up again with Túrin's journey northwards after the fall

* [*footnote to the text*] *narn* among the Elves signifies a tale that is told in verse to be spoken and not sung.

of Nargothrond': from the existing materials I formed a brief narrative in *The Silmarillion*, Chapter 21, and gave some further citations from the texts in *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 150–4. Now the story of Túrin and Beleg in Mîm's hidden dwelling on Amon Rûdh and the short-lived 'Land of Bow and Helm', Dor-Cúarthol, belongs (like all the rest of the huge extension of this part of the 'Túrins Saga') to the period after the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*; and the mention in text A of the man Andvír, 'the son of that Andróg who was in the outlaw-band of Túrin, and alone survived the battle on the summit of Amon Rûdh' (see note 2) shows that this story was fully in being (so far as it ever went) when A was written – indeed it seems likely enough that A belongs to the time when my father was working on it.

It is therefore very notable that at this relatively late date he was propounding such a view of the 'transmission' of the *Narn i Chîn Húrin* (in contrast to the statement cited in X.373, that 'the three Great Tales must be Númenórean, and derived from matter preserved in Gondor': the second of the 'Great Tales' being the *Narn i Chîn Húrin*). Striking also is the information (in both texts) that the verse-form of Dírhaval's lay bore some likeness to the verse known to Ælfwine (meaning of course the Anglo-Saxon alliterative verse), but that because Ælfwine was no *scop* (see note 6) he translated it into (Anglo-Saxon) prose. I do not know of any other statement bearing on this. It is tempting to suspect some sort of oblique reference here to my father's abandoned alliterative *Lay of the Children of Húrin* of the 1920s, but this may be delusory.

The second version B, in which the introductory note becomes a preface by Ælfwine himself, rather than an 'editorial' recounting of what Ælfwine did, was clipped to and clearly belonged with a twelve-page typescript composed *ab initio* by my father and bearing the title 'Here begins the tale of the Children of Húrin, *Narn i Chîn Húrin*, which Dírhaval wrought.' This text provides the opening of the *Narn* in *Unfinished Tales* (pp. 57–8), and continues into the story of Húrin and Huor in Gondolin (omitted in *Unfinished Tales*) which was based very closely indeed on the version in the *Grey Annals* and is described on pp. 169–70 (then follows the story of Túrin's sister Lalaeth and of his friendship with Sador Labadal, ending with the riding away of Húrin to the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, which is given in *Unfinished Tales* pp. 58–65). It is very difficult to interpret, in the story of the visit to Gondolin, the close similarity or (often) actual identity of wording in Dírhaval's lay with that of the version in the *Grey Annals*. The same question arises, despite a central difference in the narrative, in the case of the *Narn* version of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears and that in the *Annals* (see pp. 165 ff.). The *Narn* text is not linked, as is the Gondolin story, to the name of Dírhaval; but it is a curious fact that it begins (p. 165) 'Many songs are yet sung, and many tales are yet told by the

Elves of the Nirnaeth Arnoediad, the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, in which Fingon fell and the flower of the Eldar withered' – for this is identical to the opening of Ælfwine's preface (text B, p. 312), except that the latter has 'are yet told by the Elves *in the Lonely Isle*'.

NOTES

1 In the old *Tale of Turambar* the Gnomish form of *Turambar* was *Turumart*, and in Q *Turumarth*, where however it was changed to *Turamarth*, as it was also in QS (V.321). *Turumarth* here must represent a reversion to the original form.

2 Andvír son of Andróg appears nowhere else. It is expressly stated in a plot-outline of this part of the *Narn* that Andróg died in the battle on the summit of Amon Rûdh (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 154). The wording here is plain, and can hardly be taken to mean that it was Andvír (also a member of the outlaw-band) who alone survived.

3 The name of the verse is clearly *Minlamad thent / estent*: *Minlamed* in *Unfinished Tales* p. 146 is erroneous.

4 Cf. the 'linguistic excursus' in the *Grey Annals*, p. 26, where there is a reference to the speech of the Grey-elves becoming the common tongue of Beleriand and being affected by words and devices drawn from Noldorin – 'save in Doriath where the language remained purer and less changed by time'.

5 The name is perfectly clearly *Dírhavel* in A, but is typed *Dírhaval* in B, which being the later should have been adopted in *Unfinished Tales*.

6 Against *scop* my father noted: 'O.English = poet', and against *walhstod* 'O.English = interpreter' (on the carbon copy 'interpreter / translator').

III
MAEGLIN

The tale of Isfin and Eöl and their son Meglin (in the earliest form of his name) had long roots, and I have set out its earlier history in concise form on pp. 121–2, §§117–20. As the text of the *Grey Annals* was first written the form of the story in AB 2 was repeated: Isfin left Gondolin in the year before the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, and twenty-one years later Meglin was sent alone to Gondolin (GA original annals 471 and 492, pp. 47, 84). It was at that stage that a full tale of Meglin and how he came to Gondolin was first written.

This was a clear manuscript of 12 sides, fairly heavily emended both at the time of writing and later; it belongs in style very evidently with the *Annals of Aman*, the *Grey Annals*, the later *Tale of Tuor*, and the text which I have called the *End of the Narn* ('NE', see p. 145), and can be firmly dated to the same time (1951). It was on the basis of this work that revised annals concerning the story were introduced into GA (years 316, 320, and 400, pp. 47–8), as noticed earlier (p. 123); these were written on a page from an engagement calendar for November 1951 (p. 47).

An amanuensis typescript with carbon copy was made many years later, as appears from the fact that it was typed on my father's last typewriter. This typescript took up almost all of the emendations made to the manuscript. For the present purpose I shall call the manuscript of 1951 '**A**' and the late typescript '**B**', distinguishing where necessary the top copy as '**B(i)**' and the carbon as '**B(ii)**'.

The B text was corrected and annotated in ball-point pen, and so also was the carbon copy – but not in the same ways; the original manuscript A also received some late emendations, which do not appear in B as typed. Moreover, a great deal of late writing in manuscript from the same time was inserted into B(i), with other similar material, overlapping in content, found elsewhere; for this my father used scrap paper supplied to him by Allen and Unwin, and two of these sheets are publication notes issued on 19 January 1970 – thus this material is very late indeed, and it is of outstanding difficulty.

Although the typescript B was also very late, as evidenced by the typewriter used, details of names show that the manuscript A had actually reached many years earlier the form from which it was typed; it seems very probable that my father had it typed in order to provide a copy on which substantial further change and annotation could be carried out c.1970. Only those few changes to A made in ball-point

pen and not taken up into B belong to the final period of work on the story.

To set out in detail the evolution of all this material would take a very great deal of space, and for much of its length involve the simple repetition of Chapter 16 *Of Maeglin* in the published *Silmarillion*. In this case, therefore, I shall use that chapter as the text for reference, and concentrate chiefly on the very late work, which has many notable features that of their nature could have no place in the published book. I shall refer in this account to the paragraphs in *The Silmarillion*, numbering them for convenience of internal reference, and giving the opening words of each for ease of identification. It should be noted here that the *Silmarillion* text takes up emendations from both the top copy (B(i)) and carbon (B(ii)) of the typescript, and that in cases (which are numerous) where they differ in the rewriting of original passages the published text is often an amalgam of both.

The Title

The manuscript A as written had no title; later my father pencilled on it *Of Meglin*, changing this to *Of Isfin and Glindûr*. The typescript B has the title (as typed) *Of Maeglin*, with the subtitle *Sister-son of Turgon, King of Gondolin*. At the head of the first page of B(i) my father wrote that the text is 'An enlarged version of the coming of Maeglin to Gondolin, to be inserted in FG in its place', and noted also that 'FG = Fall of Gondolin'. This can only be a reference to the abandoned *Tale of Tuor* (entitled *Of Tuor and the Fall of Gondolin*, but retitled *Of Tuor and his Coming to Gondolin* for inclusion in *Unfinished Tales*), which belongs to the same period as the manuscript A. Thus at this very late date my father was still holding to the hope of an entirely rewritten story of the Fall of Gondolin, of which so little had actually been done (and those parts some twenty years before). The only evidence that he at any time considered the story of Maeglin as a possible component in the *Quenta Silmarillion* is the word *Silmarillion* with a query pencilled against the opening paragraphs of the manuscript; and this was struck out.

§1 *Aredhel Ar-Feiniel, the White Lady of the Noldor...*

Here, and throughout B(i), *Isfin* was changed to *Areðel*; and in the margin against the first occurrence my father wrote:

> This name is derived from the oldest (1916) version of FG. It is now quite unacceptable in form, unsuitable to the position and character of Turgon's sister, and also meaningless.

Presumably he meant that since no etymology of *Isfin* was feasible it was on that account unsuitable to be the name of Turgon's sister (cf. II.344, where the original explanation of the name as 'snow-locks' or 'exceeding-cunning' is given, and the present note is referred to). Also written in the margin is '? *Rodwen* = High Virgin Noble' and

'*Rodwen Los* in Golodh..' (last letters illegible; the word 'Virgin' is also not perfectly clear).

At the top of the first page of the carbon B(ii) the notes on the name are different. Here my father wrote: 'Name *Isfin* must be changed throughout to *Feiniel* (= White Lady)'. Against this he wrote an X, and 'Change *Isfin* to *Aredhel* (Noble-elf)'. Whereas in B(i), as I have noted, *Isfin* was changed to *Areðel* throughout, in B(ii) *Isfin* was merely circled, except in two cases where it was replaced by *Feiniel*, and in one case where it was replaced by *Ar-Feiniel*. My father was correcting the top copy and the carbon independently but at (more or less) the same time, very probably because he had the one in one place and the other in another. In the published *Silmarillion* I combined them as *Aredhel Ar-Feiniel*, although there is no warrant for this; they were evidently competing names, and the notes at the head of the carbon copy cited above suggest that *Areðel (Aredhel)* was his final choice.

The name *Nivrost* was changed on both copies of B to *Nevrost* (not *Nevrast*, the usual later form).

In the manuscript A it was said of Isfin that she longed to 'hunt' in the forests, emended to 'walk' and thus appearing in B. With this cf. the rider inserted into the passage in QS concerning the princes of the Noldor, where it is told that in Valinor Isfin 'loved much to ride on horse and to hunt in the forests, and there was often in the company of her kinsmen, the sons of Fëanor'. Subsequently *Isfin* in this passage was changed to *Írith* (see X.177, 182); this name is found in *Quendi and Eldar* (see p. 409 and note 34).

The published text uses 'you' forms throughout. In A 'thou' forms were used throughout, but in the passage (§5) in which the march-wardens of Doriath address Isfin the 'thou' forms were altered to the 'polite' plural. *Noldor* was changed to *Ñoldor* throughout B(i).

In A, the text begins with the date 316.

§4 *And Turgon appointed three lords of his household ...*

On B(i) only, my father pencilled with reference to these opening words the names *Glorfindel*, *Egalmoth*, and *Ecthelion*, and also 'On etymologies of *Egalmoth* and *Ecthelion* see note'. This note is written on the same typescript page and its reverse, but is very hard to read:

> These names are also derived from primitive FG, but are well-sounding and have been in print. They are late popular forms of archaic *Ægamloth*, *Ægthelion*. Note *amloth* is said (where?) to be probably not S[indarin]. Q **ambalotse* 'uprising-flower' – referring to the flower or floreate device used as a crest fixed to point of a tall ... helmet. Name therefore = pointed helm-crest.
>
> *Ecthelion* must be similarly from *Aegthelion*. Latter element is a derivative of √*stel* 'remain firm'. The form with prefix *'sundóma'*, *estel*, was used in Q and S for 'hope' – sc. a temper of mind, steady,

fixed in purpose, and difficult to dissuade and unlikely to fall into despair or abandon its purpose. The unprefixed *stel-* gave [? S verb] *thel* 'intend, mean, purpose, resolve, will'. So Q ? *þelma* 'a fixed idea, ..., will.'

The illegible word in 'a tall ... helmet' might possibly be 'archaic'. The word *sundóma* is an important term in the analysis of Quendian phonological structure. Very briefly indeed, the Quendian consonantal 'base' or *sundo* was characterised by a 'determinant vowel' or *sundóma*: thus the *sundo* KAT has a medial *sundóma* 'A', and TALAT has the *sundóma* repeated. In derivative forms the *sundóma* might be placed before the first consonant, e.g. ATALAT; thus *estel* beside *stel* in this note.

On the words 'These names ... have been in print' (referring to the Ruling Stewards of Gondor named Egalmoth and Ecthelion) see II.211–12 and footnote, where the present note is referred to; for my remark there that my father 'subsequently decided against naming Aredhel's escort' see p. 328.

§5 *But when she came to the Ford of Brithiach ...*

'his kinsfolk of the house of Finarfin': B still has *Finrod* here, and the change to *Finarfin* was made on B(ii) only.

In A and B the march-wardens said to Isfin: 'The speediest way is by the East Road from Brithiach through eastern Brethil, and so along the north-march of this Kingdom, until you pass Esgalduin and Aros, and so come to the woods behind the Hill of Himring.' In B(ii) only, 'Esgalduin and Aros' was changed to 'the Bridge of Esgalduin and the Ford of Aros'.

In the published text 'the lands that lie behind the Hill of Himring' seems to be a mere error for 'the woods ...' which was not observed.

§6 *Then Aredhel turned back ...*

A and B have 'the Eryd Gorgoroth', but on B(ii), and also on A at the same time, this was changed to 'the haunted valleys of the Gorgorath'; similarly A and B 'Dungorthin' > 'Nan Dungortheb' on A and B(ii).

The original form of this paragraph was not changed on B(i), but was rewritten on B(ii). This rewriting did not significantly change the sense, but added that the companions of 'Feiniel' (see under §1 above) 'had no choice but to follow her, for they were not permitted to restrain her by force', and that when they returned to Gondolin 'Turgon said to them: "At least I should be glad that three whom I trust and love were not led to death by the wilfulness of one."' These additions were not included in the published text.

§7 *But Aredhel, having sought in vain for her companions ...*

Where the published text has 'she held on her way' the original text, preserved in B(i), has 'she held to the East Road'; in B(ii) this was emended to 'At last she found the East Road again'. In B(ii) the name

Celon was at both occurrences in the paragraph circled for correction, and at the second the name *Limhir* was written above (see p. 337).

Of Isfin's coming to the land of Himlad (a name which first occurs in this story) the original text of A and B read:

> ... at that time they [Celegorm and Curufin] were from home, riding with Cranthir, east in Thargelion. But the folk of Celegorm welcomed her, and did all that she asked; and for a while she had great joy in the freedom of the woods. And ever she would ride further abroad, often alone, save it were for hounds that she led, seeking for new paths ...

This was rewritten on B(i) to the form it has in the published text. In a first stage of the rewriting the phrase 'save it were for hounds that she led' was bracketed with the note: 'Omit unless the presence of dogs is afterwards of importance'; in the second stage it was omitted. Against the *o* of *Thargelion* my father wrote *a* (sc. *Thargelian*), with a query. In B(ii) the rewriting was different, retaining more of the original text, including the reference to hounds; *Thargelion* was changed here also to *Thargelian*, without a query (on the latter form see pp. 336–7).

§8 *In that wood in ages past ...*

On B(i) my father wrote the following note in the margin of the typescript against the first occurrence in the story of the name Eöl, which he bracketed:

> Another name from prim[itive] FG – meaningless then and now. But it was not intended to have any meaning in Q[uenya] or S[indarin]. For Eöl was said to be a 'Dark Elf', a term then applied to any Elves who had not been willing to leave Middle-earth – and were then (before the history and geography had been organized) imagined as wandering about, and often ill-disposed towards the 'Light-Elves'. But it was also sometimes applied to Elves captured by Morgoth and enslaved and then released to do mischief among the Elves. I think this latter idea should be taken up. It would explain much about Eöl and his smithcraft. (I think the name might stay. It isn't really absolutely necessary that names should be significant.)

In the old tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* Eöl was not in fact called 'the Dark Elf', although in the soon abandoned *Lay of the Fall of Gondolin* (III.146) he is called 'dark Eöl', and it is said that 'the Dark Elves were his kindred that wander without home'. In the *Sketch of the Mythology* (IV.34) he was called 'the Dark Elf Eöl', and so also in the *Quenta* (IV.136); in AB 1 (IV.301) he is 'Eöl a Dark-elf', and in AB 2 (V.136) 'Eöl the Dark-elf' – so also in all the entries in GA. I do not think that 'Dark-elves' had ever been used in the sense referred to in this note, that of 'darkened Elves', Elves ensnared and corrupted by Morgoth. The words 'I think this latter idea should be taken up. It would explain much about Eöl and his smithcraft' were the basis for an abandoned sketch of Eöl's history given below.

The original text had 'Of old he was of the kin of Thingol, but he loved him not, and when the Girdle of Melian was set about the Forest of Region he fled thence to Nan Elmoth.' In a passage of the 'Túrins Saga' which was excluded in *Unfinished Tales* (p. 96 and note 12) because it had been used in *The Silmarillion* (pp. 201–2), it is told that Eöl gave the sword Anglachel which he had made 'to Thingol as fee, which he begrudged, for leave to dwell in Nan Elmoth'.

Against the words 'but he loved him not' my father wrote in the margin of the carbon copy, B(ii): 'Because Thingol was friendly with the Noldor before they left Middle-earth' (cf. X.172). On B(i) he emended the words 'he loved him not' to 'he was ill at ease in Doriath', and on an inserted page he roughed out a new story about Eöl. This is in two versions, which are however largely identical. The first reads:

> but he was restless and ill at ease in Doriath, and when the Girdle of Melian was set about the Forest of Region where he dwelt he departed. It is thought (though no clear tale was known) that he was captured by orks and taken to Thangorodrim, and there became enslaved; but owing to his skills (which in that place were turned much to smithcraft and metalwork) he received some favour, and was freer than most slaves to move about, and so eventually he escaped and sought hiding in Nan Elmoth (maybe not without the knowledge of Morgoth, who used such 'escaped' slaves to work mischief among the Elves).

The second version begins:

> and when he heard that Melian would put a Girdle about Doriath that none could pass ..... without the leave of the king or of Melian herself, he left the Forest of Region where he had dwelt and sought for a place to dwell. But since he did not love the Noldor he found it hard to find a place where he would be unmolested. It was believed afterwards (though no certain tale was known) that in his wandering he was captured [*&c. as in the first version*]

This is possibly compatible with the story that Eöl gave Anglachel to Thingol as fee to dwell in Nan Elmoth. It would be interesting to know why my father wished thus to change Eöl's history – or rather, why he wished to attribute Eöl's skill in metals to a time of slavery in Angband; but in any event he thought better of it, for in a scribbled note beside the two versions of the story he said that this would not do, being too repetitive of the later history of Maeglin, and that Eöl's skill was derived from the Dwarves.

§9 *Now the traffic of the Dwarves ...*

The opening of this paragraph read as follows in A:

> Now the traffic of the Dwarves followed two roads, the northern of which, going towards Himring, passed nigh Nan Elmoth, and there Eöl would meet the Enfeng and hold converse with them. And, as their friendship grew, he would at times go and dwell as a guest in the deep mansions of Belegost.

The only emendation to A was the replacement of the old term *Enfeng* (Longbeards, the Dwarves of Belegost, see pp. 108, 207–8) by *Anfangrim*, here first appearing. In B(ii) 'the deep mansions of Belegost' was changed to '... of Nogrod or Belegost'; adopting this in the published text I altered in consequence *Anfangrim* 'Longbeards' to the general term *Naugrim*.

In the following passage A had originally:

> There he learned much of metalwork, and came to great skill therein; and he devised a metal hard and thin and yet pliable, and it was black and shining like jet. *Rodeöl*, the metal of Eöl, he named it, and he was clad therein, and so escaped many wounds.

The name of the metal was changed many times. First *Rodeöl* was altered to *Glindûr*, then to *Targlîn* and *Morlîn*; then (apparently) back to *Glindûr*, and finally to *Maeglin*, the form in B.

The idea that the name of Eöl's son was derived from that of the metal is found in the revised annal for 320 in GA (p. 48): 'Ëol named him Glindûr, for that was the name of the metal of Ëol'; subsequently *Glindûr* was changed to *Maeglin* both as the name of the metal and as the name of the son (as also in A: see under §10 below).

The passage was left as it stood in B(i), but at the head of the first page of B(ii) my father wrote: 'The metal must *not* have same name as Maeglin'; and he emended the text to the form that it has in the published *Silmarillion*, with the name of the metal *galvorn*. (Following 'whenever he went abroad' the words 'and so escaped many wounds' were omitted in *The Silmarillion*, apparently through inadvertence.)

To the passage 'But Eöl ... was no Dwarf, but a tall Elf of a high kin of the Teleri' my father wrote on the manuscript A (only) a note beginning with the words 'Not in revision' – which probably means that what follows is not in the corrections made to the copies of the typescript ('the revision'). In this note my father was copying a very faint and illegible form of it on the same page, and trying to interpret his own writing; I give it exactly as it stands:

> Eöl should not be one of Thingol's kin, but one of the Teleri who refused to cross the Hithaeglir. But [later] he and a few others of like mood, averse to concourse of people, ... [had] crossed the [Mts] long ago and come to Beleriand.

Against this note he wrote 'but the relationship to Thingol would have point', and the date 1971.

Aredhel Ar-Feiniel: B(ii) has here *Ar-Feiniel* (emended from *Isfin*); see p. 318.

§10 *It is not said that Aredhel was wholly unwilling ...*

In the margin of the manuscript at the mention of the birth of Eöl's son my father wrote later the date 320 (cf. p. 48, §119). The sentence in A as originally written read:

> After some years Isfin bore to Eöl a son in the shadows of Nan

Elmoth, and he was named Meglin by his father, for he was dark and supple, as the metal of Eöl.

The fact that the metal was originally named *Rodeöl* in A (see under §9 above) but the son *Meglin* (the original name) seems to suggest that the idea that the son was named from the metal only arose after the initial writing of the manuscript, despite the words 'for he was dark and supple, as the metal of Eöl'. The changing forms of the son's name in A were *Meglin* > *Targlîn* > *Morlîn* > *Glindûr* and finally *Maeglin*.

The sentence in this form (with the name *Maeglin*, as of the metal also) was preserved in B(i); but in B(ii), the text on which my father declared that the same name must not be used both of Eöl's son and Eöl's metal and changed that of the latter to *galvorn*, he altered it to the form in the published text, in which Aredhel secretly gave her son the Noldorin name *Lómion* 'Child of the Twilight', and Eöl named him *Maeglin* (interpreted 'Sharp Glance', see p. 337) when he was twelve years old.

§12 *Yet it is said that Maeglin loved his mother better ...*

'Turgon ... had no heir; for Elenwë his wife perished in the crossing of the Helcaraxë': here A has 'Turgon ... had no heir: for his wife, Alairë, was of the Vanyar and would not forsake Valinor'. On the page of jottings that concludes the abandoned later *Tale of Tuor* (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 56) a note which I did not include says that 'Alairë remained in Aman'. That this was the case because she was a Vanya is reminiscent of the story of Amárië, beloved of Felagund, who was a Vanya, 'and was not permitted to go with him into exile' (p. 44, §109). The typescript B as typed has *Alairë*, but on both A and B(ii), not on B(i), my father corrected (presumptively in 1970) the name to *Anairë*. The substitution of *Elenwë* in *The Silmarillion* was based on the Elvish genealogies of 1959 (see pp. 229, 350), where *Anairë* (defined as a Vanya 'who remained in Túna') was later corrected to '*Elenwë* who perished in the Ice'; on the same table at the same time *Anairë* was entered as the wife of Fingolfin, with the note that she 'remained in Aman'.

In a note added to the typescript of the *Annals of Aman* (X.128, §163) my father said that in the crossing of the Helkaraxë 'Turgon's wife was lost and he had then only one daughter and no other heir. Turgon was nearly lost himself in attempts to rescue his wife – and he had less love for the Sons of Fëanor than any other'; but Turgon's wife is not named.

§13 *In the telling of these tales ...*

Golodhrim: A had *Noldor*, changed immediately to *Goloðrim* (*Golodhrim* B).

In this paragraph, and in §14, the name of Eöl's son (see under §§9, 10 above) passed through these forms in A: *Morleg* (which has not occurred before) > *Morlîn* > *Glindûr* > *Maeglin*.

§§14 ff. *It came to pass that at the midsummer . . .*

Against the opening sentence in A my father later wrote the date 400 (cf. p. 48, §120). The original text, preserved unchanged in both copies of B, read here:

> And it came to pass that the Dwarves bade Eöl to a feast in Nogrod, and he rode away. Then Maeglin went to his mother and said: 'Lady, let us depart while there is time! What hope is there in the wood for thee or for me? Here we are held in bondage, and no profit more shall I find in this place. For I have learned all that my father or the [Nornwaith >] Naugrim have to teach, or will reveal to me; and I would not for ever dwell in the dark woods with few servants, and those skilled only in smith-craft. Shall we not go to Gondolin? Be thou my guide, and I will be thy guard.'
>
> Then Isfin was glad, and looked with pride upon her son. 'That indeed I will do, and swiftly,' she said; 'and no fear shall I have upon the road with a guard so valiant.'
>
> Therefore they arose and departed in haste, as secretly as they might. But Eöl returned, ere his time, and found them gone; and so great was his wrath that he followed after them, even by the light of day.

(For *Nornwaith*, replaced by *Naugrim*, see p. 209.) At this point there are two earlier versions of the text in A, both struck through. The first reads:

> But Morleg had also mistrusted his father, and he took cunning counsel, and so he went not at once by the East Road, but rode first to Celegorm and found him in the hills south of Himring. And of Celegorm he got horses surpassing swift, and the promise of other aid. Then Morleg and Isfin passed over Aros and Esgalduin far to the north where they spilled from the highlands of Dorthonion, and turned then southward, and came to the East Road far to the west. But Celegorm and Curufin waylaid the East Road and its ford over Aros, and denied it to Eöl, and though he escaped from them in the darkness he was long delayed.

The next version reads:

> For his servants reported to him that they had fled to the fords of the East Road over Aros and Esgalduin. But they were two days ahead, and had taken the swiftest of his horses, and hard though he pursued them, he came never in sight of them, until they passed over the Brithiach and abandoned their horses. But there by ill fate he saw them even as they took the secret path, which lay in the course of the Dry River; and he followed them with great stealth, step by step, and came upon them even in the darkness of the great vault where the Guards of the Way kept watch unceasing. Thus he was taken, even as they, by the Guards

It is interesting to see the intervention of Celegorm and Curufin in the story here, removed at once but reappearing many years later.

On the page carrying these rejected passages there follow very rapidly pencilled notes outlining the further course of the story:

> After they entered he entered. Taken by guards. Claims to be Isfin's husband. Words to Turgon. Isfin acknowledges it. Turgon treats Eöl with honour. Eöl draws a bow and shoots at Morleg in the King's hall, saying that his own son shall not be filched. But Isfin sets herself in way and is wounded. While Eöl is in prison Isfin dies of venom. Eöl condemned to death. Taken to the precipice of Caragdar. Morleg stands by coldly. They hurl him over the precipice and all save Idril approve.

After the rejection of the passages given above my father wrote a final version, beginning again at 'even by the light of day' on p. 324:

> even by the light of day; for his servants reported to him that they had ridden to the East Road and the ford over Aros. But they were two days ahead, and hard though he pursued them, and had the swiftest steed, he came never in sight of them, until they [came under the shadows of the Crisaegrim, and sought for the secret path >] reached the Brithiach, and abandoned their horses.

The text then continues as in *The Silmarillion* §23 (paragraph beginning *Then Eöl rode off in haste* ...).

The final text of A was preserved in the typescript B, and in neither the top copy nor the carbon did my father change it (except for 'a feast' > 'a midsummer feast' in the latter). From here onwards, in fact, there were no further emendations or annotations made to the carbon copy B(ii), and this text no longer concerns us. But in B(i) my father inserted into the typescript a long text on separate pages; and this appears to be the last piece of substantial *narrative* that he wrote on the Matter of the Elder Days – it cannot be earlier than 1970 (see p. 316). It begins at the words 'It came to pass that at the midsummer', and continues through the flight of Maeglin and Aredhel, Eöl's pursuit, and the intervention of Curufin: *The Silmarillion* pp. 134–6, §§14–23, where it joins the original A text at 'until they reached the Brithiach, and abandoned their horses'.

As has been seen (p. 317) this story of Maeglin was not written to stand as an element in the *Quenta Silmarillion*; and the detail of the narrative in this very late interpolation was somewhat reduced in the published text, chiefly by the removal of all the precise timing and numbering of days and a return to the manner of the original simpler and more remote narrative. The chief omissions and consequent alterations are as follows.

§14 *and he rode away.* Original text: 'and he rode away, though he thought it likely that in his absence Maeglin might seek to visit the sons of Fëanor in spite of his counsels, and he secretly ordered his servants to keep close watch on his wife and son.'

Therefore he said to Aredhel: 'Therefore when Eöl had been gone some days Maeglin went to his mother and said:'

§§15–16 *and telling the servants of Eöl that they went to seek the sons of Fëanor* ...: 'Therefore that night as secretly as they could they made provision for a journey, and they rode away at daybreak to the north-eaves of Nan Elmoth. There as they crossed the slender stream of Celon they spied a watchman, and Maeglin cried to him: "Tell your master that we go to visit our kin in Aglon." Then they rode on over the Himlad to the Fords of Aros, and then westward along the Fences of Doriath. But they had tarried overlong. For on the first night of the three days feast, as he slept, a dark shadow of ill foreboding visited Eöl, and in the morning he forsook Nogrod without ceremony and rode homeward with all speed. Thus he returned some days earlier than Maeglin had expected, coming to Nan Elmoth at nightfall of the day after their flight. There he learned from his watchman that they had ridden north less than two days before and had passed into the Himlad, on their way to Aglon.

'Then so great was Eöl's anger that he resolved to follow them at once; so staying only to take a fresh horse, the swiftest that he had, he rode away that night. But as he entered the Himlad he mastered his wrath ...'

Against *Celon* is written *? Limhir* (see under §7 above).

§16 *Curufin moreover was of perilous mood; but the scouts of Aglon had marked the riding of Maeglin and Aredhel* ...: 'Curufin was a man of perilous mood. So far they had left him [Eöl] free to go his ways, but could if they wished confine him within the bounds of Nan Elmoth and cut him off from his friendship with Dwarves, of which Curufin was jealous. Things proved little better than he feared; for the scouts of Aglon ...'

And before Eöl had ridden far ...: 'So ere Eöl had ridden half the way over Himlad he was waylaid by well-armed horsemen, who forced him to go with them to their lord Curufin. They reached his camp about noon; and he greeted Eöl with little courtesy.'

§19 *It is not two days since they passed over the Arossiach* ...: 'Nearly two days ago they were seen to pass the Fords of Aros, and to ride swiftly westward.' For the name *Arossiach* introduced into the published text see p. 338, note 2.

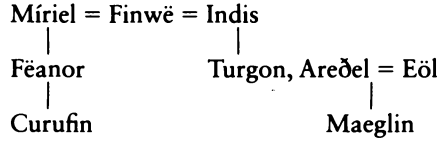
§22 *to find a kinsman thus kindly at need*: 'to find one's nephew so kindly at need.' On this alteration see §23 below.

By the laws of the Eldar I may not slay you at this time: here there is a footnote in the original: 'Because the Eldar (which included the Sindar) were forbidden to slay one another in revenge for any grievance however great. Also at this time Eöl had ridden towards Aglon with no ill intent, and it was not unjust that he should seek news of Areðel and Maeglin.'

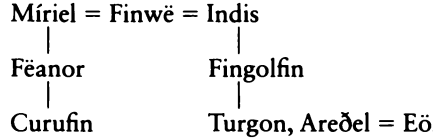
§23 *for he perceived now that Maeglin and Aredhel were fleeing to Gondolin*: 'For he saw now that he had been cheated, and that his wife and son were fleeing to Gondolin, and he had been delayed, so that it

was now more than two days since they crossed the Fords.'

This narrative is followed by various notes. One of these is a genealogical table:



To this is added: 'So Curufin was half-nephew of Turgon and Areðel. Eöl was uncle by marriage of Curufin, but that was denied as a "forced marriage".' This genealogy is the basis for Eöl's words cited under §22 above, 'to find one's nephew so kindly at need'; but it is of course entirely wrong. The correct genealogy is:



Curufin was not Eöl's nephew (through Areðel), but his cousin (by marriage). It is a strange error, one might say unprecedented, since it is not a mere casual slip.

On another page is the following long, rapidly written, and remarkably elaborate discussion of the motives of Celegorm and Curufin.

> The meeting between Eöl and Curufin (if not too long an interruption) is good, since it shows (as is desirable) Curufin, too often the villain (especially in the Tale of Tinúviel), in a better and more honourable light – though still one of dangerous mood and contemptuous speech. Curufin of course knew well of Eöl's hatred of the Noldor, and especially of Fëanor and his sons, as 'usurpers' (though in this case unjust, since the lands occupied by the 5 sons had not been peopled before by the Sindar). Also he knew of Eöl's friendship with the Dwarves of Nogrod (indeed Eöl could not have journeyed alone across E. Beleriand to Nogrod unless allowed by the 5 sons), among whom he had tried with some success to stir up unfriendliness to the Noldor. Which was a grievance to the 5 sons, who had, before Eöl's coming to Nan Elmoth, had much profit from the help of the Dwarves. Curufin also knew that Eöl's wife was of the Noldor, indeed he had long known who she was, and now shrewdly guessed that she was [?seeking] to escape from her husband at last. Curufin could have slain Eöl (as he greatly wished!) and no one beyond the few men with him at his camp (who would never have betrayed him) would ever have heard of it – or much mourned it. In Elmoth it would simply be learned that Eöl had ridden in pursuit of Areðel and never come back, and there were

perils enough upon the road to account for that. But this would have been in Eldarin law and sentiment *murder*; Eöl came alone, on no errand of mischief at that time, but in distress. Also [he] had answered Curufin's contempt and insults soberly or indeed with courtesy (whether it were ironic or not). Also and more cogently he was one of the Eldar, and not so far as was known under any shadow of Morgoth – unless that vague one which afflicted many others of the Sindar (? due to whispers inspired by Morgoth) – jealousy of the Noldor. Which was dangerous (whatever the faults of their rebellion) since if Morgoth had not been followed by the Exiles, it seems clear that all the Sindar would soon have been destroyed or enslaved.

An important point not made clear is Curufin and Celegorm's earlier action in the matter of Areðel. She had actually stayed with them, and made no secret of who she was – indeed they knew her well from of old. Why did they not send word to Gondolin? Her escort though valiant chiefs would seem to have been so bewildered and daunted by the horrors of the valleys west of Esgalduin that they had never reached the Bridge of Esgalduin or come near to Aglond. This makes it necessary, I think, *not* to name the most eminent and bravest chieftains (Glorfindel, Egalmoth, and Ecthelion) as her escort. The answer then to the above question is this: the perils of Dungorthin etc. were universally dreaded by the Eldar, and not least by the sons of Fëanor, to him [*read* whom] refuge southward into Doriath was utterly closed. It had, of course, been expressly forbidden by Turgon that Areðel should go that way. Only her wilfulness had done this. Her escort plainly endured to the utmost of their strength the perils in their search, and so doubtless in fact aided her escape, by drawing to themselves the chief attention of the evil creatures. Now there had [been] since Gondolin was 'closed' no communication at all between the sons of Fëanor and Turgon. It was known of course that any of these sons (or any fully accredited messengers) bearing tidings of Areðel would at once have been admitted. But Areðel had evidently told Curufin (and later Celegorm of whom she was most fond) enough of herself, to understand that she had escaped from Gondolin by her own will and was glad to dwell [with] them and be free. Now they could only get word to Gondolin by facing evil perils, which only her rescue from misery would have seemed to them sufficient reason. Moreover while she was happy and at ease they delayed – believing that even if Turgon was informed he would only have demanded her return (since his permission to her to depart was void after her disobedience). But before they had made up their minds she was again lost, and it was a long time before they knew or even guessed what had become of her. This they did eventually when Areðel again began to visit the borders of Nan Elmoth, or stray beyond them. For

they held a constant watch on Nan Elmoth, mistrusting the doings and goings of Eöl, and their scouts espied her at times riding in the sunlight by the wood-eaves. But now it seemed too late [to] them; and they all [*? read* they thought that all] they would get for any peril would be the rebuke or wrath of Turgon. And this [they] wished in no way to receive. For they were now under a shadow of fear, and beginning to prepare for war again ere the strength of Thangorodrim became insuperable.

In this piece there are major difficulties, and also some minor points to mention. (1) It is said that Curufin 'knew of Eöl's friendship with the Dwarves of Nogrod': in the narrative Eöl's visits were to Belegost, changed on B(ii) to 'Nogrod or Belegost' (see under §9 above), but already in A the feast to which he had gone at the time of the flight of his wife and son was held at Nogrod (§14). Elsewhere among these late 'Maeglin' writings it is said of Eöl: 'Lately he had visited Nogrod often; he had become very friendly with the Dwarves of Nogrod, since those of Belegost to the north had become friends of Caranthir son of Fëanor.' (2) The pass is here named *Aglond*, though in the interpolated narrative itself it is named *Aglon*; see p. 338, note 3. (3) For the naming of Aredhel's escort, here rejected, see under §4 above. (4) The reference to *Dungorthin* rather than *Dungortheb* is a casual reversion to the old and long-enduring name.

(5) The *five* sons of Fëanor are three times mentioned, but I cannot explain this. It does not seem credible that the Seven Sons of Fëanor, so deeply rooted and so constantly recurring in the tradition, should become five by a mere slip of forgetfulness, as in the omission of Fingolfin from the genealogy (p. 327). By this time the story had entered that one of the twin brothers Damrod and Díriel, later Amrod and Amras, the youngest of Fëanor's sons, died in the burning of the ships of the Teleri at Losgar, because he 'had returned to sleep in his ship': this was stated in a pencilled note on the typescript of the *Annals of Aman* (X.128, §162), although no consequential alteration to any text was ever made. Possibly my father had come to believe that both Amrod and Amras died in the burning ship.

(6) Lastly, the concluding sentence of the discussion, concerning the preparation for war by Celegorm and Curufin, is surprising. The Siege of Angband ended very suddenly at midwinter of the year 455. Between the rout of Glaurung in 260 and the Battle of Sudden Flame there was (in the words of the *Grey Annals*, p. 46) 'the long peace of wellnigh two hundred years. In that time there was naught but affrays on the north-marches ...' It is true that in 402 (p. 49) there was 'fighting on the north-marches, more bitter than there had been since the routing of Glaurung; for the Orcs attempted to pierce the pass of Aglon'; while in 422 (p. 50) Fingolfin 'began to ponder an assault upon Angband', which came to nothing, because 'most of the Eldar

were content with matters as they were and slow to begin an assault in which many must surely perish'. But Maeglin and Aredhel fled to Gondolin from Nan Elmoth in 400. There has nowhere been any indication that the sons of Fëanor were beginning to prepare for war 55 years before the Dagor Bragollach, with which the Siege of Angband ended.

For the remainder of the narrative there are very few alterations to the top copy B(i) of the typescript, and I notice only the following:
§35 *It was appointed that Eöl should be brought ...*: at the end of the paragraph my father added:

> For the Eldar never used any poison, not even against their most cruel enemies, beast, ork, or man; and they were filled with shame and horror that Eöl should have meditated this evil deed.

From this point also the published text follows the original very closely, and the small amount of editorial alteration in no way affects the narrative.

I have mentioned (p. 316) that in addition to the very late emendations and annotations, recorded above, made to the text of *Maeglin* there is also much further material from the same time. These writings are primarily concerned with the geography, times, and distances of the journeys on horseback, but they are complicated and confused, often repeating themselves with slight differences of calculation, and in part virtually illegible. They contain however many curious details about the geography and the ways taken by travellers in those regions.

To set out this material in ordered form, treating it page by page and attempting to trace the development in sequence, is not possible, and if it were possible unnecessary. My father himself noted: 'These calculations of times in Eöl's journeys though interesting (and sufficient to establish their possibility) are not really necessary in the narrative – which seems credible as it stands even when faced by a map.' What follows is a discussion with some citation of what can be learned (and still more, of what can not be learned) of the roads in East Beleriand. The numbered notes are found on pp. 338–9.

Associated with this material are rather pale photocopies of the North-east and South-east sections of the map. These photocopies were taken when the map had received almost all the alterations that were ever made to it;[1] and my father used the copies, not the original, to indicate features arising from his reconsideration and development of the story of Maeglin c.1970. Since the tracks are far more readily understood visually than by description, the redrawing of the North-east section (p. 183) is reproduced again on p. 331 with the alterations shown; the markings on the South-east section are few and easily understood from a description, and for these reference is made to the redrawing on p. 185.

My father had stated in a note on the back of the original 'second

Sheet 2 North-east (with additions)

map' (see V.272) that the scale is 50 miles to 3·2 cm, which is the length of the sides of the squares. On the back of one of these photocopies, however, he wrote: 'The centimetre reckoning on the original map is unnecessary, clumsy, and inaccurate. Actually 2 squares of 1·25 [inches] each = 100 miles. ... The scale is therefore 40 miles to an inch. 50 miles to 1·25 inches = one square.' Although he did not precisely say so here, it looks to me as if he made the original grid on the basis of inches, but subsequently interpreted it as if it were in centimetres.

The East Road. In the original text of *Maeglin* (p. 319, §5) the march-wardens of Doriath said to Isfin that 'the speediest way is by the East Road from Brithiach through eastern Brethil, and so along the north-march of this Kingdom, until you pass Esgalduin and Aros, and so come to the woods behind the Hill of Himring', which was not altered when the corrections were made to the text long afterwards, except by changing 'Esgalduin and Aros' to 'the Bridge of Esgalduin and the Ford of Aros' on one copy. In §6, she 'sought' the 'road' between the Mountains of Terror and the north fences of Doriath, and in §7 'she held to the East Road, and crossed Esgalduin and Aros', changed on one copy to 'At last she found the East Road again ...' In one of the rejected passages in the manuscript A given under §§14 ff on p. 324 it is said that 'Morleg [Maeglin] went not at once by the East Road, but rode first to Celegorm', while in the second rejected passage *(ibid.)* '[Eöl's] servants reported to him that they had fled to the fords of the East Road over Aros and Esgalduin'; in the third form (p. 325) 'his servants reported to him that they had ridden to the East Road and the ford over Aros.'

From all these passages it is clear that when he wrote the original text of *Maeglin* in 1951 my father conceived of an East–West road running from the ford of Brithiach between the Mountains of Terror and the northern borders of Doriath, and across the rivers Esgalduin and Aros; and the fact that the first of these passages was allowed to stand in both typescripts seems to show that he still retained this conception in 1970. The only difference seems to be the introduction of a bridge, rather than a ford, over Esgalduin. That this was certainly the case is seen from the following passage:

> Eöl's house (in the middle of Elmoth) was about 15 miles from the northmost point of the wood beside Celon. From that point it was about 65 miles N.W. to the Ford of Aros.[2] At that time Curufin was dwelling at the S.E. corner of the Pass of Aglond[3] about 45 miles N.E. from the Ford of Aros. The Himlad (cool-plain) behind Aglond and Himring, between the northern courses of the Rivers Aros and Celon, he claimed as his land.[4] He and his people naturally kept watch on the Ford of Aros; but they did not prevent the few hardy travellers (Elves or Dwarves) that used the road West – East past the

north fences of Doriath. (Beyond the Ford was an entirely uninhabited region between the mountains north [*? read* in the north,] Esgalduin and Aros and Doriath: not even birds came there. It was thus called *Dor Dhínen* the 'Silent Land'.)[5]

Beyond the Aros (some 25 miles) lay the more formidable obstacle of the Esgalduin in which no fordable point was to be found. In the 'peaceful days' before the return of Morgoth and Ungoliant, when Doriath's north borders were the mountains of Fuin (not yet evil), the West – East road passed over the Esgalduin by a bridge outside the later fence of Melian. This stone-bridge, the *Esgaliant* or *Iant Iaur* (old bridge) was still in existence, and watched by the wardens of Doriath, but its use by Eldar was not hindered. It was necessary therefore to fugitives crossing Aros to turn S.W. to the bridge: From there they would keep as close as they could to the Fences of Doriath (if Thingol and Melian were not hostile to them). At the time of this story, though many evils lurked in the Mountains the chief peril lay in passing Nan Dungortheb from which clouds and darkness would creep down almost to the Fences.

Turning to the photocopy of the map, Eöl's house was marked in Nan Elmoth as shown in my redrawing (p. 331). A line in green ball-point pen connects his house to a point on the northern border of the wood beside the river; and from here a green dotted line (represented as a line of dashes in the redrawing) runs across the Himlad to the 'Fords of Aros', marked in red ball-point pen.[6] The green dots then run S.W. to the bridge over Esgalduin, this being labelled 'Bridge' simply (*Esgaliant* or *Iant Iaur* in the text just cited).[7] Beyond the Iant Iaur the green dots continue S.W. for a short way and then stop: they are not shown in relation to the *List Melian* (the Girdle of Melian).

It is stated in a note on the photocopy map that this green line marks the 'track of Maeglin and his mother, fleeing to Gondolin'. In the light of the text just cited, it is also the line of the East–West road from the Ford of Aros to the Iant Iaur; but otherwise the course of the road is not represented. The dotted line along the edge of Neldoreth is named on the map *List Melian*, and does not mark a road. Westward this line was indeed extended beyond Mindeb to the Brithiach, but these dots were struck out (p. 188, §38); eastwards it was extended between Esgalduin and Aros, and then between Aros and Celon, and this seems to represent the continuation of the *List Melian*.

On account of these obscurities I excluded from the text of the chapter *Of Maeglin* in *The Silmarillion* the references to the 'East Road' and rephrased the passages; but on the map accompanying the book I marked in its course. This seems now to have been the wrong thing to do in both cases: for there certainly was an East Road, but its course is unclear and its destination unknown. Beyond Aros going east

there is no indication of where it went: it is said in the passage cited above that it and the bridge by which it passed over Esgalduin were ancient works deriving from the 'peaceful days' before the return of Morgoth: it was not a road made by the Noldor for communication between the western realms and the Fëanorians. There is also no justification for marking it as turning S.E. after the Fords of Aros. Beyond Esgalduin going west it is said in this passage that travellers 'would keep as close as they could to the Fences of Doriath', which does not sound like the following of a beaten road.

The Dwarf-roads. Equally obscure is the question of the Dwarf-roads in Eastern Beleriand. In the earliest *Annals of Beleriand* (AB 1, IV.332) it was said that 'the Dwarves had of old a road into the West that came up along Eredlindon to the East and passed westward in the passes south of Mount Dolm and down the course of the River Ascar and over Gelion at the ford Sarn Athrad and so to Aros.' This agrees exactly with the (revised) course of the road on the 'Eastward Extension' of the first *Silmarillion* map (see IV.231, 336). It is seen from the central (original) part of the first map that it crossed Celon and Aros west of Nan Elmoth (which of course did not at that time yet exist) and so ran in a W.S.W. direction to the Thousand Caves (between pp. 220 and 221 in Vol.IV). But the course of the ancient route of the Dwarves after the passage of Sarn Athrad was never marked in on the second map – unless the vague line described in the notes on the map, p. 190, §68, is correctly interpreted as the Dwarf-road. If that is so, then its course had been changed to cross Aros much further to the south, and then to run northwards through the Forest of Region to Menegroth. But better evidence is provided in the late *Quenta Silmarillion* chapter *Of the Coming of Men into the West*, pp. 218–19, where it is said that 'Marach ... came down the Dwarf-road and settled his people in the country to the south and east of the dwellings of Baran son of Bëor': this was Estolad, 'the name ever after of the land east of Celon and south of Nan Elmoth'. On the disuse of the old Dwarf-road(s) into Beleriand after the coming of the Noldor see p. 121, commentary on GA §114.

It was said already in the original text of *Maeglin* (p. 321, §9) that 'the traffic of the Dwarves followed two roads, the northern of which, going towards Himring, passed nigh Nan Elmoth'. This was not altered in the late work on *Maeglin*; and on the primary map (already present when the photocopy was made) a line of faintly pencilled dots marked 'north road of Dwarves' (see p. 189, §50) runs E.S.E. from near Nan Elmoth, crosses Gelion some way south of the confluence of its arms, and then turns southward, running more or less parallel to the river. There is no trace of its course west or north of Nan Elmoth, and it is impossible to be sure whether any further continuation southwards or eastwards is marked beyond the point where it ends in my redrawing (p. 183).

The *Maeglin* papers do not resolve the course of this 'north road of the Dwarves', because (although all obviously belong to the same time) they evidently represent different conceptions.

(i) Writing of Eöl's journey to Nogrod, my father said:

> From Elmoth to Gelion the land was, north of the Andram and the Falls below the last Ford over Gelion[8] (just above the inflow of the River Ascar from the Mountains), mostly rolling plain, with large regions of big trees without thickets. There were several beaten tracks made originally by Dwarves from Belegost and Nogrod, the best (most used and widest) being from the Little Ford past the north of Elmoth and to the Ford of Aros, it crossed the Bridge of Esgalduin but went no further for, if the Dwarves wished to visit Menegroth

This text then becomes altogether illegible. At the mention of 'the last Ford over Gelion' he added a note that the name *Sarn Athrad* of this ford must be changed to *Harathrad* 'South Ford', 'in contrast to the much used northern ford where the river was not yet very swift or deep, nearly due east of Eöl's house (72 miles distant)'; and against *Harathrad* here he wrote *Athrad Daer* ('the Great Ford').[9]

The implication seems to be that Eöl crossed Gelion at the northern ford, but this is not actually stated. There are two alterations to the photocopies of the map that relate to what is said here. One is the marking of a crossing over Gelion on square E 13 (p. 331), just above the point where the dotted line 'north road of Dwarves' crosses the river on the primary map, but without any track leading to this crossing. The other is at the ford of Sarn Athrad on the South-east section (p. 185), where on the photocopy my father wrote the name anew over the existing name, circled it, and wrote beside it *Harathrad*.

Beyond this nothing can be said of the north road of the Dwarves, and there is no indication in map or text of where, or indeed whether, it joined the 'south road'. It is indeed very puzzling that this northerly road, which in the text of *Maeglin* is said to have gone 'towards Himring' (as is to be expected: leading to territories of the Sons of Fëanor), is in the citation (i) just given said to pass the Ford of Aros and the Bridge of Esgalduin: for these crossings were on the East Road to the Brithiach (pp. 332–3). And apart from this, why should this road turn westward, and why should it go no further than the Bridge of Esgalduin?

(ii) On another page my father said that the journey from Eöl's house to Nan Elmoth in the direction of Nogrod was

> through wilds (but not generally in difficult country for horses) without any made roads, but along a beaten track made by Dwarvish traders to the Sarn Athrad (the last point where the River

> Gelion could be crossed) meeting the Dwarf-road up to and through the high pass in the mountains leading to Nogrod.

Here there is no mention of the northern ford, or indeed of the northern road; and it seems to be implied that Eöl would necessarily cross at Sarn Athrad (still so called, not Harathrad); moreover it is said that Eöl riding from Nan Elmoth to Nogrod took 'a beaten track made by Dwarvish traders' to Sarn Athrad that *met* the Dwarf-road up to the high pass.

In addition to the green dotted line entered on the photocopy of the map and stated to be the track of Maeglin and Aredhel fleeing from Nan Elmoth (p. 333), lines of red dots (represented on my redrawing as lines of closely-spaced dots) run from Nan Elmoth to the Ford of Aros, and also south-east from Nan Elmoth (p. 331). On the South-east section in the photocopy (see the redrawing of the primary map on p. 185) this red dotted line continues straight on across square G 13 to Sarn Athrad, and then coincides with the Dwarf-road up into the mountains, already present on the primary map. There is no note on the photocopy to explain what these lines represent, but there can be no doubt that they mark the journeys of Eöl (even though the dots continue all the way to the Ford of Aros, whereas he was arrested in his pursuit of Maeglin and Aredhel by the riders of Curufin 'ere he had ridden half the way over Himlad', p. 326, §16). Thus the line running from Nan Elmoth to Sarn Athrad clearly corresponds to what is said in citation (ii).

The absence of any really clear and full statement – indeed the suggestion that my father's ideas on the subject had not reached any stability, and the extreme doubtfulness of some of the markings on the map, led me to omit the course of the Dwarf-roads on the published map.

Apart from the matter of roads, there are some notes on names in these papers that show my father's dissatisfaction with old names already seen in the cases of *Isfin* and *Eöl* (pp. 317, 320): here those in question are *Gelion* and *Celon* (cf. his note on the primary map, p. 191, where he said that 'these river-names need revision to etymologizable words').[10] In notes in different places he proposed (in sequence) *Gelduin*, *Gevilon*, *Gevelon*, and also *Duin Daer* (cf. *Duin Dhaer* in the note on the primary map just referred to); *Gevelon* is derived from Dwarvish *Gabilān* 'great river'. On the back of one of the photocopies of the map he wrote:

> The land east of it [the river] is Thorewil*a*n [the *a* is underlined]. The Dwarvish name was also often translated *Duin Daer*. The name *Gabilān* was by the Dwarves given only to the River south of the Falls where (after the junction of the River with the Asgar coming from the Mountains) it became swift and was steadily increased in volume by the inflow of five more tributaries.

The name *Thargelion* on the primary map was changed to *Thargelian* (with the *a* underlined: p. 331): the latter form has appeared in emendations to the typescripts of *Maeglin* (p. 320). The form *Asgar* appeared in the 1930s (beside *Ascar*), see IV.209; cf. the *Etymologies*, V.386, stem SKAR: 'N[oldorin] *asgar*, *ascar* violent, rushing, impetuous'.

The substitution of the name *Limhir* for *Celon* has appeared as a proposal in one of the typescripts of *Maeglin* (p. 320), and among the 'geographical' papers is the following note:

> Celon is too hackneyed a river-name. *Limhîr* (the clear / sparkling river) – repeated in L.R. as were not unnaturally other names from Beleriand – is more suitable for the river, a tributary of the Aros and a clear *slender* stream coming down from the Hill of Himring.

The name *Limhîr* does not occur in *The Lord of the Rings*, unless my father was referring to the Limlight, of which he said in *Guide to the Names in The Lord of the Rings* (*A Tolkien Compass*, ed. Lobdell, p. 188): 'The spelling *-light* indicates that this is a Common Speech name; but leave the obscured element *lim-* unchanged and translate *-light*: the adjective *light* here means "bright, clear".'

Lastly, it remains to mention the etymology of *Maeglin* found among these papers.

> *mik* pierce: **mikrā* sharp-pointed (Q *miχa*, S **megr*): 'strong adjective' *maikā* sharp, penetrating, going deep in – often in transferred sense (as Q *hendumaika* sharp-eye, S *maegheneb* > *maecheneb*).
>
> *glim* gleam, glint (usually of fine slender but bright shafts of light). Particularly applied to light of eyes; not Q. S *glintha-* glance (at), *glînn*.
>
> From these two is derived the name *Maeglin*, since Maeglin had, even more than his father, very bright eyes, and was both physically very keen-sighted and mentally very penetrant, and quick to interpret the looks and gestures of people, and perceive their thoughts and purposes. The name was only given to him in boyhood, when these characteristics were recognized. His father till then was contented to call him *Iôn*, son. (His mother secretly gave him a N. Quenya name *Lómion* 'son of twilight'; and taught Maeglin the Quenya tongue, though Eöl had forbidden it.)

This development of the story of Maeglin from the form in which he had written it twenty years before seems to have been the last concentrated work that my father did on the actual narratives of the Elder Days. Why he should have turned to this legend in particular I do not know; but one sees, in his minute consideration of the possibilities of the story, from the motives of the actors to the detail of the terrain, of roads, of the speed and endurance of riders, how the focus of his vision of the old tales had changed.

NOTES

1 The words 'read (71) *Dor-na-Daerachas*' were added to the primary map later: see p. 187, §30, and note 6 below.

2 In another passage among these papers the Ford(s) of Aros are called *Arossiach*; this name was adopted on the map accompanying *The Silmarillion* and introduced into the text.

3 The text has 'at the S.W. corner', but this was a slip of the pen. It is stated elsewhere in these papers that the dwelling of Curufin and Celegorm was on a low hill at the S.E. corner of the Pass of Aglond, and on the photocopy map *Curufin* is marked with a circle on the most westerly of the lower heights about the Hill of Himring (p. 331, square D 11). – The form *Aglond* occurs in the discussion of the motives of Celegorm and Curufin (p. 328), beside *Aglon* in the interpolated narrative of Eöl's encounter with Curufin. On the map the name is written *Aglon(d*, which I retained on my redrawing (V.409) of the map as first made and lettered, in the belief that the variant *lond* was an original element. Although it looks to be so, it may be that the *(d* was added much later.

4 My father noted here: 'In spite of what Eöl said, it had in fact not been inhabited by Sindar before the coming of the Noldor'; and also that the name 'cool-plain' derived from the fact that 'it was higher in its middle part and felt often the chill northern airs through Aglon. It had no trees except in its southern part near the rivers.' In another place it is said that 'Himlad rose to a swelling highland at its centre (some 300 feet high at its flat top)'.

5 For the first mention of Dor Dínen (so spelt, as also on the map, not Dor Dhínen) see p. 194.

6 The primary map had no crossing marked on the Aros when the photocopy was made. The word *Ford* was put in after, or at the same time as, *Fords of Aros* was entered on the photocopy.

7 The name *Iant Iaur* was adopted from this text in *The Silmarillion*, both on the map and in a mention of 'the stone bridge of Iant Iaur' in Chapter 14, *Of Beleriand and its Realms*, p. 121 (for the original passage see p. 194).

8 The falls in Gelion below Sarn Athrad have not been referred to before, and indeed in QS Chapter 9 *Of Beleriand and its Realms* (V.262–3, §113; *The Silmarillion* p. 122) their existence is denied: 'Gelion had neither fall nor rapids throughout his course'.

9 On another page the following names are proposed as replacements for *Sarn Athrad*: '*Athrad i-Nogoth* [> *Negyth*] or *Athrad Dhaer*, "Ford of the Dwarves" or "Great Ford"'.

10 The fact that the note on the primary map (p. 191) saying that the names *Celon* and *Gelion* need to be changed bears (like the

addition of *Dor-na-Daerachas*, p. 187, §30) the number '71', clearly meaning the year 1971, suggests that all the late work on *Maeglin* belongs to that year. My father died two years later.

IV
OF THE ENTS AND THE EAGLES

This brief text belongs to the late, or last, period of my father's work, and must be dated at the earliest to 1958–9, but may well be later than that. The original draft is extant, a manuscript on two sides of a single sheet, written at great speed with very little correction in a script that is just legible. It is titled *Anaxartamel.*

This was followed by a text made on my father's later typewriter (see X.300) that expanded the first draft, but from which scarcely anything of any significance in that draft was excluded. It bears no title. In the published *Silmarillion* it was used to form the second part of Chapter 2 *Of Aulë and Yavanna*, pp. 44–6, beginning at the words 'Now when Aulë laboured in the making of the Dwarves . . .' This was of course a purely editorial combination.

The published text followed the typescript with very little deviation, except in the matter of 'thou' and 'you' forms, about which my father was initially uncertain, as he was also in the text concerning Aulë and the Dwarves which forms the first part of the chapter in the published *Silmarillion* (see p. 210). In the manuscript draft he used 'you' throughout; in the typescript he used both 'you' and 'thy, hast' in the opening paragraphs, but then 'you, your' exclusively, subsequently correcting the inconsistencies. As in the first part of the chapter 'thou, thee, thy' forms were adopted in the published work.

There are two amanuensis typescripts, independent of each other, taken from the typescript after all corrections had been made. They have no textual value, except that on one of them my father pencilled the title *Of the Ents and the Eagles*, and on the other the title *Anaxartaron Onyalië.*

NOTES

In these notes, which are largely confined to differences of reading, the original draft is called A, the typescript B, and the published text S.

When Yavanna went to Manwë (p. 45) 'she did not betray the counsel of Aulë': the meaning of this is that Yavanna did not reveal anything to Manwë of the making of the Dwarves; in the first part of the chapter (p. 43) 'fearing that the other Valar might blame his work, he wrought in secret', and the intervention of Ilúvatar (who 'knew what was done') was directly to Aulë. The word *betray* in S is an editorial alteration of *bewray* in A and B.

'But the *kelvar* can flee or defend themselves, whereas the *olvar* that

grow cannot' (p. 45): in B there is a marginal note against *kelvar*, 'animals, all living things that move', which was omitted in S. In A these words were not used, but a blank space was left where *kelvar* stands in B. Immediately following this, A has: 'Long in the growing, swift in the felling, and unless they pay toll with fruit upon the bough little mourned at the ending, as even among the Valar I have seen'; in B the last phrase became 'as I have seen even among the Maiar in Middle-earth', but this was at once rejected. The final text of the passage is as in S.

In Yavanna's following words beginning 'I lifted up the branches of great trees ...' B has 'and some sang to Eru amid the wind and the rain and the glitter of the Sun'; the last words were omitted in S on account of the implication that the Sun existed from the beginning of Arda.

In the passage describing Manwë's experience of the renewal of the Vision of the Ainur (p. 46; entirely lacking in A) the text of B as typed read: 'but it was not now remote, for he was himself in the midst, and yet he saw that all was upheld by the hand of Eru and that too was within', subsequently changed to the reading of S (in which *Eru* > *Ilúvatar*).

In the words of Eru recounted by Manwë to Yavanna on Ezellohar the sentence 'For a time: while the Firstborn are in their power, and while the Secondborn are young' was bracketed for exclusion in B, but was retained in S.

In Manwë's last speech, 'In the mountains the Eagles shall house, and hear the voices of those who call upon us' was first written in B: '... and hear the voices of those who call upon me, and of those who gainsay me.'

At the end of a draft letter dated September 1963, of which a passage is cited on p. 353, my father added in a very rough note (given in *Letters* p. 335):

> No one knew whence they (Ents) came or first appeared. The High Elves said that the Valar did not mention them in the 'Music'. But some (Galadriel) were [of the] opinion that when Yavanna discovered the mercy of Eru to Aulë in the matter of the Dwarves, she besought Eru (through Manwë) asking him to give life to things made of living things not stone, and that the Ents were either souls sent to inhabit trees, or else that slowly took the likeness of trees owing to their inborn love of trees.

With the words 'the Ents were either souls sent to inhabit trees' cf. the words of Eru in the text (p. 46): 'When the Children awake, then the thought of Yavanna will awake also, and it will summon spirits from afar, and they will go among the *kelvar* and the *olvar*, and some will dwell therein ...' It seems likely enough that the note on the draft letter and the writing of *Anaxartaron Onyalië* belong to much the same time.

V
THE TALE OF YEARS

The Tale of Years was an evolving work that accompanied successive stages in the development of the *Annals*. I have given it no place hitherto in *The History of Middle-earth* (but see X.49), because its value to the narrative of the Elder Days is very small until towards the end of the later (post-*Lord of the Rings*) version, when it becomes a document of importance; but here some very brief account of it must be given.

The earliest form is a manuscript with this title that sets out in very concise form the major events of the Elder Days. The dates throughout are in all but perfect accord with those given in the pre-*Lord of the Rings* texts 'The Later Annals of Valinor' and 'The Later Annals of Beleriand' (AV 2 and AB 2). Since this *Tale of Years* was obviously written as an accompaniment to and at the same time as those versions of the *Annals*, adding nothing to them, I did not include it in Volume V.

Much later a new version of *The Tale of Years* was made, and this alone will concern us here. It very clearly belongs with the major work on the *Annals* carried out in 1951(–2), issuing in the last versions, the *Annals of Aman* and the *Grey Annals*. My father subsequently made a typescript text of it, but this obviously belongs to the same period.

The manuscript of this version as originally written was a very good clear text, but it was heavily corrected, interpolated, and rewritten in many stages; and since it was my father's working chronology during that period the dates, more especially in the first or Valinórean part, were changed so often, with bewildering movements back and forth, as to make the evolution of the chronology extremely difficult to understand. The important point, so far as the Valinórean part is concerned, is that the dates in the manuscript of *The Tale of Years* as originally written were essentially the same as those in the *Annals of Aman* as originally written; while modification to that chronology went together step by step in the two texts. In the case of AAm I noted (X.47–8) that with so many alterations to the dates it was impracticable to do more than give the final chronology, and in the case of *The Tale of Years* the evolution is even more complex. In the result, the latter work is of very little independent value in this part; there are however a small number of matters that should be recorded.

In the manuscript as it was originally written the Elder Days began with the Awakening of the Elves: 'Here begin the Elder Days, or the First Age of the Children of Ilúvatar'; but 'the Elder Days' was struck

out and does not appear in the typescript. Further on in *The Tale of Years* there is recorded a difference in application of the term 'Elder Days' in respect of their ending (a difference not, to my knowledge, found elsewhere): after the entry for V.Y.1500 'Fingolfin and Inglor cross the Straits of Ice' (this being the date in the *Grey Annals*, p. 29) it is said in the manuscript:

> Here end the Elder Days with the new reckoning of time, according to some. But most lore-masters give that name also to the years of the war with Morgoth until his overthrow and casting forth.
>
> So far did Quennar Onótimo compile this count and compute the years.
>
> Here follows the continuation which Pengoloð made in Eressëa.

In the typescript text this was retained, but with this difference: 'Here end the Elder Days, with the new reckoning of Time, according to the Lore-masters of Valinor. But the Lore-masters of the Noldor give that name also to the years of the war with Morgoth ...'

Quennar Onótimo appears in the *Annals of Aman* (see X.49), where he is cited as the source for the passage on the reckoning of time. This passage was marked for transference to *The Tale of Years*, and appears in manuscript pages (one of which is reproduced as the frontispiece to Vol.X, *Morgoth's Ring*) of a new opening of the work written in forms so splendid that it is not surprising that it did not proceed very far.

The authorship of the *Annals* underwent many changes. In the earliest *Annals of Valinor* (AV 1, IV.263) Pengolod is named as the author, and also of the *Annals of Beleriand* (AB 1), but the conception soon entered that Rúmil was the author of the first part of AV and that the work was only completed by Pengolod: in AV 2 Rúmil's part ends with the return to Valinor of those Noldor, led by Finrod (Finarfin), who did not continue the northward journey after the Doom of Mandos (see V.116, 123). In the first form of the opening of the *Annals of Aman* (X.48) it is said that they 'were written by Quennar i Onótimo, who learned much, and borrowed much also, from Rúmil; but they were enlarged by Pengoloð'. In the second version of the opening, however, Rúmil alone is named: 'Here begin the Annals of Aman, which Rúmil made'. In the fine manuscript pages of the opening of *The Tale of Years* referred to above there is no ascription of authorship (apart from the naming of Quennar Onótimo as the author of the passage on the reckoning of time).

A few points of content in this part remain to be mentioned. In the entry for 1125 (cf. X.83) the manuscript reads: 'The foremost of the Eldar reach Beleriand. They are filled with a great fear of the Sea and for long refuse to go further. Oromë departs to Valinor to seek counsel.' This was not emended, but in the typescript this entry appears in its place: 'The foremost of the Eldar reach the coastlands of Middle-earth and that country which was after named Eglador.

Thereof Beleriand was the larger part.' This is apparently to be related to one of the entries *Eglador* added to the map: see p. 186, §14; but the concluding phrase is mysterious.

In this connection, the entry for the year 1150 reads thus in the manuscript: 'The Teleri of Olwë's host at length also depart over Sea. The friends of Elwë remain behind: these are the Eglath, the Forsaken, or the Sindar (the Grey-elves).' The form *Eglath* is found in the annal for this year in AAm (X.85); but on the manuscript of *The Tale of Years* it was emended subsequently to *Eglim*, while in the typescript the form is *Eglir*: it seems that neither of these occur elsewhere (see pp. 365, 379).

Lastly, the entry for 1497 begins with the words 'Morgoth from a new stronghold at Angband assails the Grey-elves of Beleriand.' At this stage the story was still that Angband was built on the ruins of Utumno (see GA §35 and commentary, pp. 15, 111). My father pencilled on the typescript (referring to the interval since Morgoth's return from Valinor in 1495): 'Too small a time for Morgoth to build Angband', and also 'Time too small, should be 10 at least or 20 Valian Years'. This would have required substantial modification of the chronology; and it seems conceivable that this consideration was a factor in the emergence of the later story that Utumno and Angband were distinct fortresses in different regions, both built by Morgoth in ancient days (X.156, §12).

Of the latter or Beleriandic part of *The Tale of Years* there is little to say until the last entries are reached. The chronology agrees closely with that of the *Grey Annals*, including the revised stories of the origins of Gondolin and of Eöl, and the brief entries (agreeing with GA in such names as *Galion* for *Galdor* and *Glindûr* for *Maeglin*) add nothing to the major text. There is in fact only one point that need be noticed: in the entry for 495 my father added to the manuscript 'Tuor leaves Dorlómin, dwells a year at Falasquil.' The last five words were subsequently struck out. *Falasquil* was the name of the cove in the sea-coast where Tuor dwelt for a while in the tale of *The Fall of Gondolin* (II.152); and it was written also onto the map (see p. 181, §5). It seems quite likely that both these additions were made at the time when my father was writing the later *Tale of Tuor*, and had been rereading the old tale (as he clearly did, II.203); but *Falasquil* does not appear in the later *Tuor*.

Subsequent very cursory emendation of the typescript brought in the radically changed legend of the Coming of the Edain, revision of names to later forms, and additions to the story of Túrin.

But from the point where the *Grey Annals* were abandoned *The Tale of Years* becomes a major source for the end of the Elder Days, and indeed in almost all respects the only source deriving from the time following the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*, woefully

inadequate as it is. As the manuscript was originally made (in which condition I will distinguish it as '**A**') the entries from 500 to the end, very brief, followed the first (pre-*Lord of the Rings*) version of *The Tale of Years* (see p. 342) closely: my father clearly had that in front of him, and did no more than make a fair copy with fuller entries, introducing virtually no new matter or dates not found in AB 2 (V.141–4). It will make things clearer, however, to give the text of the entries for those years as they were first written.

500 Birth of Ëarendil in Gondolin.
501 Making of the Naugla-mír. Thingol quarrels with the Dwarves.
502 The Dwarves invade Doriath. Thingol is slain and his realm ended. Melian returns to Valinor. Beren destroys the Dwarf-host at Rath-lóriel.
506 The Second Kin-slaying.
507 The Fall of Gondolin. Death of King Turgon.
508 The gathering of the remnants of the Elves at the Mouths of Sirion is begun.
524 Tuor and Idril depart over Sea.
525 The voyages of Ëarendil begun.
529 The Third and Last Kin-slaying.
533 Ëarendil comes to Valinor.
540 The last free Elves and remnants of the Fathers of Men are driven out of Beleriand and take refuge in the Isle of Balar.
547 The host of the Valar comes up out of the West. Fionwë son of Manwë lands in Beleriand with great power.
550–597 The last war of the Elder Days, and the Great Battle, is begun. In this war Beleriand is broken and destroyed. Morgoth is at last utterly overcome, and Angband is unroofed and unmade. Morgoth is bound, and the last two Silmarils are regained.
597 Maidros and Maglor, last surviving sons of Fëanor, seize the Silmarils. Maidros perishes. The Silmarils are lost in fire and sea.
600 The Elves and the Fathers of Men depart from Middle-earth and pass over Sea.

Here ends the First Age of the Children of Ilúvatar.

The only points of any significance in which this differs from what was said in AB 2 or the original version of *The Tale of Years* that accompanied it are the additions in the entry 540 of the statement that when 'the last free Elves' took refuge in the Isle of Balar they were accompanied by 'remnants of the Fathers of Men', and in the entry 600 that the Fathers of Men departed from Middle-earth with the Elves and passed over the Sea.

In the next stage, which I will call 'B', many corrections and interpolations and alterations of date were made to A; I give here the text in this form, so far as is necessary.

501 Return of Húrin.

502 After seven years' service Tuor weds Idril of Gondolin.
Making of the Naugla-mír. Thingol quarrels with the Dwarves.

503 Birth of Ëarendil in Gondolin.
The Dwarves invade Doriath. Thingol is slain and his realm ended. Melian takes Nauglamír to Beren and Lúthien and then returns to Valinor. Celegorm and Curufin destroy the Dwarf-host at Sarn-athrad in Rath-lóriel; and are wroth to find the Silmaril not there. Dior goes to Doriath.

505 (Spring) Second death of Beren, and Lúthien dies also. Dior Thingol's heir wears Silmaril [*struck out:* and returns to Doriath].

509 (Spring) Second Kinslaying. Last warning of Ulmo to Gondolin.

510 The fall of Gondolin at Midsummer. Death of King Turgon.

511 The gathering of the remnants of the Elves at the Mouths of Sirion is begun.

In the remaining entries some of the dates were altered but very few changes were made to the content; the text of A need not therefore be repeated.

533 The date of Ëarendil's coming to Valinor was changed several times, apparently > 536 > 540 > 542.

547 The coming of the host of the Valar was moved to 545.

550–597 The dates of 'the last war of the Elder Days' were changed to 545–587, and after the last words of the original entry the following was added: 'Ancalagon is cast down by Ëarendil and all save two of the Dragons are destroyed.'

597 This entry was changed to 587.

600 This final entry was changed to 590, and the following was added to it: 'Morgoth is thrust from Arda into the Outer Dark.'

'Here ends the First Age of the Children of Ilúvatar' was changed to: 'Here end the Elder Days with the passing of Melkor, according to the reckoning of most lore-masters; here ends also the First Age . . .'

The hastily made alterations and additions to the entry 503 (502 in A) introduced major new turns into the story as it had been told in all the versions: the tale of *The Nauglafring* (II.238), the *Sketch of the Mythology* (IV.33), the *Quenta* (IV.134), and AB 2 (V.141). There it was Beren, after his return from the dead, who with his host of Elves

ambushed the Dwarves at Sarn-athrad, and took from them the Nauglamír in which was set the Silmaril; now it becomes Celegorm and Curufin who fought the battle at Sarn-athrad – but the Silmaril was not there, because Melian had taken it from Menegroth to Beren and Lúthien in Ossiriand. In the old tale, Gwendelin (Melian), coming to the Land of the Dead that Live after the battle, was wrathful when she saw Lúthien wearing the Necklace of the Dwarves, since it was made of accursed gold, and the Silmaril itself was unhallowed from its having been set in Morgoth's crown; while in the *Sketch* (probably) and in the *Quenta* (explicitly) it was Melian who told Beren of the approach of the Dwarves coming from Doriath and enabled the ambush to be prepared (her warning afterwards, when the Necklace of the Dwarves had been recovered, against the Silmaril being retained).

The entrance of Celegorm and Curufin into the story seems to have arisen in the act of emending the text; for my father first added to the original entry ('Beren destroys the Dwarf-host at Rath-lóriel') the words 'and is wounded in battle', referring to Beren (cf. the *Tale*, II.237: 'Beren got many hurts'). He then at once changed 'Beren destroys' to 'Celegorm and Curufin destroy' and 'is wounded in battle' to 'are wroth to find the Silmaril not there'.

In the original entry in A '*at* Rath-lóriel' was just a slip for 'in'; but the replacement 'at Sarn-athrad in Rath-lóriel' is strange, for Sarn-athrad was not a ford over that river (Ascar) but over Gelion, and so remained in the latest writing, though the name was changed (see p. 335).

In 505, the striking out of Dior's return to Doriath preceded its inclusion under 503. There has never been any mention of a further warning of Ulmo (509) since the coming of Tuor to Gondolin. On the addition in 545–587 concerning Ancalagon see V.329, §18; and with the reference to the end of the Elder Days 'according to the reckoning of most lore-masters' cf. p. 343.

The third stage was the striking out of the whole manuscript from the year 400 almost to the end, and its replacement by a new version ('C'), which I give here for the same period, from the return of Húrin from Angband: this is a clear text with some later changes to the dates (changes which largely return the dates to those in B).

501 Return of Húrin from captivity. He goes to Nargothrond and seizes the treasure of Glaurung.

502 Making of the Nauglamír. Thingol quarrels with the Dwarves.

503 The Dwarves of Belegost and Nogrod invade Doriath. Thingol is slain, and his realm ended. The Dwarves carry off the Dragon-gold, but Melian escaped and carried off the Nauglamír and the Silmaril, and brought it to Beren and Lúthien. Then she returned to Valinor; but Lúthien wore the

Silmaril. Now Curufin and Celegorm hearing of the sack of Menegroth ambushed the Dwarves at the fords of Ascar and defeated them; but the Dwarves cast the gold into the river, which was after named Rathlóriel. Great was the chagrin of the Sons of Fëanor to discover that the Silmaril was not with the Dwarves; but they dared not assail Lúthien.

Dior goes to Doriath and endeavours to reestablish the realm.

504 [> 502] Tuor wedded Idril Celebrindal Turgon's daughter of Gondolin.

505 [> 503] Birth of Earendil Half-elven in Gondolin (Spring). Here a messenger brought the Silmaril by night to Dior in Doriath, and he wore it; and by its power Doriath revived for a while. But it is believed that in this year Lúthien and Beren passed away, for they were never heard of again on earth: mayhap the Silmaril hastened their end, for the flame of the beauty of Lúthien as she wore it was too bright for mortal lands.

511 [> 509] The Second Kinslaying. The Sons of Fëanor assail[ed] Dior, and he was slain; slain also were Celegorm and Curufin and Cranthir. Eldún and Elrún sons of Dior were left in the woods to starve. Elwing escaped and came with the Silmaril to the Mouths of Sirion. Ulmo sends a last warning to Gondolin, which now alone is left; but Turgon will have no alliance with any after the kinslaying of Doriath. Maeglin Eöl's son, sister-son of Turgon, was taken in the hills, and betrayed Gondolin to Morgoth.

512 [> 510] The Fall of Gondolin. Death of King Turgon.

513 [> 511] Tuor and Idril bring Earendil and the remnant of Gondolin to the Mouths of Sirion.

527 [> 530] Earendil weds Elwing. Unquiet of Ulmo comes upon Tuor. Tuor and Idril depart over Sea, and are heard of no more on earth.

528 [> 530 > 534] Voyages of Earendil begin.

[*Added entry:*] 528 [> 532] Elros and Elrond twin sons of Earendil born.

532 [> 534 > 538] The Third and Last Kinslaying. The Havens of Sirion destroyed and Elros and Elrond sons of Earendel taken captive, but are fostered with care by Maidros. Elwing carries away the Silmaril, and comes to Earendel [> Earendil] in the likeness of a bird.

536 [> 540 > 542] Earendil comes to Valinor.

Here the replacement text C comes to an end. In the entries 400–499 in C (not given here) this text is so close in every date and detail of narrative to the *Grey Annals* as to be scarcely an independent

document; and *The Tale of Years* was beginning to turn in on itself, so to speak, and to become 'Annals' again. In the entries given above, where we reach narrative not treated in GA and where AB 2 is otherwise the latest source, it is much to be regretted that my father did not allow this tendency even fuller scope, and did not extend into a more substantial narrative of Celegorm and Curufin at Sarn Athrad, the revival of Doriath, and the Second Kinslaying.

I add a few notes on particular points.

503 The ford at which the Dwarves were ambushed, not now itself named, is still over Ascar, not Gelion (see p. 347). The statement that the Dwarves 'cast the gold into the river' is at variance with the story told in the *Sketch* and the *Quenta* (where this was done by Beren and the Green-elves), and was perhaps a conscious return to the tale of *The Nauglafring* (II.237), in which the gold fell into the river with the bodies of the Dwarves who bore it, or else was cast into the water by Dwarves seeking to reach the banks.

505 With the changed dating of this entry the whole narrative of the invasion of Doriath, the battle at the ford, the coming of Dior to Doriath, the deaths of Beren and Lúthien, and the bringing of the Silmaril to Dior, is comprised within the single year 503. – The brief revival of Doriath under Dior has not before been associated with the Silmaril; cf. what is said of its presence at the Havens of Sirion (pp. 351, 354). On the probable association of the Silmaril with the deaths of Beren and Lúthien (though of an entirely different nature from that suggested here) see IV.63, 190.

511 On the fate of Dior's sons cf. AB 2 (V.142), where it is told that they 'were taken captive by the evil men of Maidros' following, and they were left to starve in the woods; but Maidros lamented the cruel deed, and sought unavailingly for them.' – It seems possible that 'Turgon will have no alliance with any' was intended to be 'no alliance with any son of Fëanor'; cf. the *Quenta* (IV.140): 'Tidings Turgon heard of Thorndor concerning the slaying of Dior, Thingol's heir, and thereafter he shut his ear to word of the woes without; and he vowed to march never at the side of any son of Fëanor.'

528 (added entry) On the statement that Elros and Elrond were twins see V.152. It is stated in *The Line of Elros* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 218) that Elros was born 58 years before the Second Age began: this agrees with the changed date here (532) and the end of the First Age in 590 (p. 346).

Finally, we come to stage 'D', the typescript of *The Tale of Years*; but before turning to the entries beginning with the return of Húrin there are two pencilled entries on the typescript at a slightly earlier point which must be noticed:

497 Dior weds of the Green-elves > Dior weds Nimloth.
500 Birth of the twin sons of Dior, Elrún and Eldún.

In connection with the first of these, there is an isolated note (it was written in fact on the back of the single page concerning the Dragon-helm of Dorlómin referred to on pp. 140, 143):

> Dior born (in Tol Galen?) c.470. He appears in Doriath after its ruin, and is welcomed by Melian with his wife Elulin of Ossiriand.

On this note see p. 353, year 504. The fourth letter of *Elulin* is not perfectly certain. – In addition, the name of Dior's wife is also given as *Lindis*: see pp. 351, 353.

The name *Nimloth* was adopted in the published *Silmarillion* (see p. 234, where she is said to be 'kinswoman of Celeborn') on account of its appearance in the series of Elvish genealogies which can be dated to December 1959 (p. 229). This table gives the descendants of Elwë (Thingol) and of his younger brother Elmo, of whom it is said that he was 'beloved of Elwë with whom he remained.' On one side of the table (descent from Elwë) the wife of Dior Eluchil (Thingol's heir) is Nimloth 'sister of Celeborn'. Similarly on the other side, Elmo's son is Galaðon, and Galaðon has two sons, Galathil and Celeborn 'prince of Doriath', and a daughter Nimloth, wife of Dior Eluchil. But on the same table Nimloth wife of Dior also appears as the daughter of Galathil (thus in the first case she was the second cousin of Dior, and in the latter the third cousin of Elwing). It is clear from rough pencillings on this page that my father was uncertain about this, and it looks as if Nimloth as niece of Celeborn was his second thought. I referred to this genealogy in *Unfinished Tales*, p. 233, but did not mention the alternative placing of Nimloth as Celeborn's sister.

On the second of these late additions to the typescript, the birth of Eldún and Elrún in the year 500, see pp. 257 and 300, note 16.

I give now the text of the typescript of *The Tale of Years* in its concluding entries. At the end the typescript becomes manuscript, and it is convenient to distinguish the two parts as **'D 1'** and **'D 2'**.

501 Húrin is released from captivity. He goes to Nargothrond and seizes the treasure of Glaurung. He takes the treasure to Menegroth and casts it at the feet of Thingol.

502 The Nauglamír is wrought of the treasure of Glaurung, and the Silmaril is hung thereon. Thingol quarrels with the Dwarves who had wrought for him the Necklace.

503 The Dwarves of Belegost and Nogrod invade Doriath. King Elu Thingol is slain and his realm ended. Melian escapes and carries away the Nauglamír and the Silmaril, and brings them to Beren and Lúthien. She then forsook Middle-earth and returned to Valinor.

Curufin and Celegorm, hearing of the sack of Menegroth, ambushed the Dwarves at the Fords of Ascar as they sought to carry off the Dragon-gold to the mountains. The Dwarves

were defeated with great loss, but they cast the gold into the river, which was therefore after named Rathlóriel. Great was the anger of the sons of Fëanor to discover that the Silmaril was not with the Dwarves; but they dared not to assail Lúthien. Dior goes to Doriath and endeavours to recover the realm of Thingol.

In this year, or according to others in the year before, Tuor wedded Idril Celebrindal Turgon's daughter of Gondolin; and in the spring of the year after was born in Gondolin Eärendil Halfelven. [*This paragraph was struck out later with the words* Must be placed in 502.]

In the autumn of this year a messenger brought by night the Silmaril to Dior in Doriath.

Here the typewritten text D 1 ends abruptly near the head of a page, but is continued in very rough manuscript for some distance (D 2), though not so far as the end of version C (which itself did not go by any means so far as B).

503 Elwing the White daughter of Dior born in Ossiriand.

504 Dior returns to Doriath, and with the power of the Silmaril restores it; but Melian departed to Valinor. Dior now publicly wore the Nauglamír and the Jewel.

505 The sons of Fëanor hearing news of the Silmaril that it is in Doriath hold council. Maidros restrains his brethren, but a message is sent to Dior demanding the Jewel. Dior returns no answer.

506 Celegorn inflames the brethren, and they prepare an assault on Doriath. They come up at unawares in winter.

506–507 At Yule Dior fought the sons of Fëanor on the east marches of Doriath, and was slain. There fell also Celegorn (by Dior's hand) and Curufin and Cranthir. The cruel servants of Celegorn seize Dior's sons (Elrún and Eldún) and leave them to starve in the forest. (Nothing certain is known of their fate, but some say that the birds succoured them, and led them to Ossir.) [*In margin:* Maidros repenting seeks unavailingly for the children of Dior.] The Lady Lindis escaped with Elwing, and came hardly to Ossir, with the Necklace and the Jewel. Thence hearing the rumour she fled to the Havens of Sirion.

509 Maeglin captured by spies of Melkor (Sauron?).

510 Midsummer. Assault and sack of Gondolin, owing to treachery of Maeglin who revealed where it lay.

511 Exiles of Gondolin (Tuor, Idril and Eärendil &c.) reach Sirion, which now prospers in the power of the Silmaril.

512 Sons of Fëanor learn of the uprising of the New Havens, and that the Silmaril is there, but Maidros forswears his oath.

525 The Unquiet of Ulmo came upon Tuor and he built a ship *Ëarámë*, and departed into the West with Idril (and Voronwë?) and is heard of in no tale since. Eärendil wedded Elwing and became Lord of the men of the Havens.

527 Torment fell upon Maidros and his brethren (Maglor, Damrod and Diriel) because of their unfulfilled oath.

Here the text ends, halfway down the last page. A commentary on it follows.

501 In the original story of Húrin's coming to Menegroth in the *Tale of Turambar* (II.114–15) he with his 'band' or 'host' of 'wild Elves' brought the treasure of Nargothrond in a huge assemblage of sacks and boxes, and they 'cast down that treasury at the king's feet.' So also in the *Sketch of the Mythology* (IV.32) 'Húrin casts the gold at Thingol's feet', without however any indication of how the gold was brought to Doriath; but in the *Quenta* (IV.132) 'Húrin went unto Thingol and sought his aid, and the folk of Thingol bore the treasure to the Thousand Caves' (on the unsatisfactory nature of this version see IV.188). In AB 2 (V.141) 'Húrin brought the gold to Thingol.' See further p. 258.

503 Against 'The Dwarves of Belegost and Nogrod invade Doriath' my father pencilled an X and the single word 'cannot': i.e., the Dwarves *could not* pass the Girdle of Melian. In the old sources the protective magic was defeated by the device of a treacherous Elf (in the *Tale*) or Elves (in the *Sketch* and the *Quenta*); but since the *Quenta* the question had never again come to the surface. In this connection there is a page of rough notes, such as my father often made when meditating on a story at large, concerned with the 'Túrins Saga' (such as 'An account of Beleg and his bow must be put in at the point where Túrin first meets him', and 'Túrin must be *faithless* to Gwindor – for his character is throughout that of a man of good will, kind and loyal, who is carried away by emotion, especially wrath ...'); and among these and written at the same time, though entirely unconnected, is the following:

> Doriath cannot be entered by a hostile army! Somehow it must be contrived that Thingol is lured outside or induced to go to war beyond his borders and is there slain by the Dwarves. Then Melian departs, and the girdle being removed Doriath is ravaged by the Dwarves.

The word 'cannot' may well have been written against the entry for 503 in *The Tale of Years* at the same time as this.

The story that it was Celegorm and Curufin who ambushed the Dwarves at 'the Fords of Ascar' is repeated without change from the previous version C (p. 348). There is a passing reference to a similar story (for in this case it was Caranthir, not Celegorm and Curufin) in the post-*Lord of the Rings* text *Concerning Galadriel and Celeborn*. This was published in *Unfinished Tales* in a 'retold', somewhat

selective form for the purposes of that section of the book; and in the passage (p. 235) saying that Celeborn had no love for any Dwarves, and never forgave them for their part in the destruction of Doriath ('passing over Morgoth's part in this (by angering of Húrin), and Thingol's own faults'), my father proposed rather than stated that only the Dwarves of Nogrod took part in the assault, and that they were 'almost entirely destroyed by Caranthir'.

This was not, however, his final view, as it appears. In a letter of 1963 (*Letters* no.247, p. 334) he wrote that he could 'foresee' one event in the Elder Days in which the Ents took a part:

> It was in Ossiriand ... that Beren and Lúthien dwelt for a while after Beren's return from the Dead. Beren did not show himself among mortals again, except once. He intercepted a dwarf-army that had descended from the mountains, sacked the realm of Doriath and slain King Thingol, Lúthien's father, carrying off a great booty, including Thingol's necklace upon which hung the Silmaril. There was a battle about a ford across one of the Seven Rivers of Ossir, and the Silmaril was recovered ... It seems clear that Beren, who had no army, received the aid of the Ents – and that would not make for love between Ents and Dwarves.

In this it is also notable that the old story that the Dwarves took the Nauglamír from Menegroth reappears (see pp. 346–7).

Beneath the *-lóriel* of *Rathlóriel* my father wrote in pencil: *lórion* (*Rathlórion* was the original form of this river-name), but he struck this out and then wrote *mallen*, sc. *Rathmallen* (cf. *Rathmalad* (?) on the map, p. 191, §69).

504 Dior's return to Doriath has been given already under 503 in D 1, the typescript part of the text. – In the B and C versions (pp. 346–7) Melian brought the Silmaril to Beren and Lúthien in Ossiriand and then departed to Valinor, and this is said also in D 1 (p. 350). The present entry in D 2, a year later, repeats that Melian went to Valinor, and the suggestion is that she was in Doriath when Dior came; cf. the note cited on p. 350: 'Dior ... appears in Doriath after its ruin, and is welcomed by Melian'. This seems clearly to have been the story in AB 1 (IV.307) and AB 2 (V.141–2). But it is impossible to be certain of anything with such compressed entries.

506–507 *Ossir*: Ossiriand. – On Maidros' unavailing search for Elrún and Eldún see p. 349, year 511.

The Lady Lindis: Lindis appears elsewhere as the name of Dior's wife (see p. 257). The sentence 'Thence hearing the rumour she fled to the Havens of Sirion' presumably means that Lindis heard the rumour that the survivors of Gondolin had reached the Havens (an event recorded in this text under the year 511).

510 The story that the site of Gondolin was revealed to Morgoth by Maeglin was later changed: see pp. 272–3 and note 30.

511 Cf. the *Quenta* (IV.152): 'for them seemed that in that jewel lay the gift of bliss and healing that had come upon their houses and their ships'; also AB 2 (V.143).

512 That Maidros 'forswore his oath' was stated in AB 2 (V.142); in this and the following entries my father was following that text very closely (indeed D 2 is based upon it throughout).

525 The suggestion that Voronwë was the companion of Tuor and Idril on their voyage into the West is notable. He (Bronweg / Voronwë) was originally Eärendil's fellow-mariner (IV.38, 150). Cf. Tuor's words to him in the later *Tale of Tuor* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 33): 'far from the Shadow your long road shall lead you, and your hope shall return to the Sea.'

It would be interesting to know when this manuscript conclusion D 2 was written. It looks as if it belongs with some of the alterations and additions made to the typescript in earlier entries, particularly those pertaining to the story of Túrin, and in these there are suggestions that they derive from the period of my father's work on the *Narn*. But this is very uncertain; and if it is so, it is the more remarkable that he should have based these entries so closely on the old pre-*Lord of the Rings* annals.

★

A note on Chapter 22 Of the Ruin of Doriath in the published Silmarillion

Apart from a few matters of detail in texts and notes that have not been published, all that my father ever wrote on the subject of the ruin of Doriath has now been set out: from the original story told in the *Tale of Turambar* (II.113–15) and the *Tale of the Nauglafring* (II.221 ff.), through the *Sketch of the Mythology* (IV.32–3, with commentary 61–3) and the *Quenta* (IV.132–4, with commentary 187–91), together with what little can be gleaned from *The Tale of Years* and a very few later references (see especially pp. 352–3). If these materials are compared with the story told in *The Silmarillion* it is seen at once that this latter is fundamentally changed, to a form for which in certain essential features there is no authority whatever in my father's own writings.

There were very evident problems with the old story. Had he ever turned to it again, my father would undoubtedly have found some solution other than that in the *Quenta* to the question, How was the treasure of Nargothrond brought to Doriath? There, the curse that Mîm laid upon the gold at his death 'came upon the possessors in this wise. Each one of Húrin's company died or was slain in quarrels upon the road; but Húrin went unto Thingol and sought his aid, and the

folk of Thingol bore the treasure to the Thousand Caves.' As I said in IV.188, 'it ruins the gesture, if Húrin must get the king himself to send for the gold with which he is *then* to be humiliated'. It seems to me most likely (but this is mere speculation) that my father would have reintroduced the outlaws from the old *Tales* (II.113–15, 222–3) as the bearers of the treasure (though not the fierce battle between them and the Elves of the Thousand Caves): in the scrappy writings at the end of *The Wanderings of Húrin* Asgon and his companions reappear after the disaster in Brethil and go with Húrin to Nargothrond (pp. 306–7).

How he would have treated Thingol's behaviour towards the Dwarves is impossible to say. That story was only once told fully, in the *Tale of the Nauglafring*, in which the conduct of Tinwelint (precursor of Thingol) was wholly at variance with the later conception of the king (see II.245–6). In the *Sketch* no more is said of the matter than that the Dwarves were 'driven away without payment', while in the *Quenta* 'Thingol ... scanted his promised reward for their labour; and bitter words grew between them, and there was battle in Thingol's halls'. There seems to be no clue or hint in later writing (in *The Tale of Years* the same bare phrase is used in all the versions: 'Thingol quarrels with the Dwarves'), unless one is seen in the words quoted from *Concerning Galadriel and Celeborn* on p. 353: Celeborn in his view of the destruction of Doriath ignored Morgoth's part in it 'and Thingol's own faults'.

In *The Tale of Years* my father seems not to have considered the problem of the passage of the Dwarvish host into Doriath despite the Girdle of Melian, but in writing the word 'cannot' against the D version (p. 352) he showed that he regarded the story he had outlined as impossible, for that reason. In another place he sketched a possible solution *(ibid.)*: 'Somehow it must be contrived that Thingol is lured outside or induced to go to war beyond his borders and is there slain by the Dwarves. Then Melian departs, and the girdle being removed Doriath is ravaged by the Dwarves.'

In the story that appears in *The Silmarillion* the outlaws who went with Húrin to Nargothrond were removed, as also was the curse of Mîm; and the only treasure that Húrin took from Nargothrond was the Nauglamîr – which was here supposed to have been made by Dwarves for Finrod Felagund, and to have been the most prized by him of all the hoard of Nargothrond. Húrin was represented as being at last freed from the delusions inspired by Morgoth in his encounter with Melian in Menegroth. The Dwarves who set the Silmaril in the Nauglamîr were already in Menegroth engaged on other works, and it was they who slew Thingol; at that time Melian's power was withdrawn from Neldoreth and Region, and she vanished out of Middle-earth, leaving Doriath unprotected. The ambush and destruction of the Dwarves at Sarn Athrad was given again to Beren and the Green

Elves (following my father's letter of 1963 quoted on p. 353, where however he said that 'Beren had no army'), and from the same source the Ents, 'Shepherds of the Trees', were introduced.

This story was not lightly or easily conceived, but was the outcome of long experimentation among alternative conceptions. In this work Guy Kay took a major part, and the chapter that I finally wrote owes much to my discussions with him. It is, and was, obvious that a step was being taken of a different order from any other 'manipulation' of my father's own writing in the course of the book: even in the case of the story of The Fall of Gondolin, to which my father had never returned, something could be contrived without introducing radical changes in the narrative. It seemed at that time that there were elements inherent in the story of the Ruin of Doriath as it stood that were radically incompatible with 'The Silmarillion' as projected, and that there was here an inescapable choice: either to abandon that conception, or else to alter the story. I think now that this was a mistaken view, and that the undoubted difficulties could have been, and should have been, surmounted without so far overstepping the bounds of the editorial function.

PART FOUR

QUENDI AND ELDAR

QUENDI AND ELDAR

The title *Quendi and Eldar* clearly belongs properly to the long essay that is printed here, though my father used it also to include two other much briefer works, obviously written at much the same time; one of these, on the origin of the Orcs, was published in *Morgoth's Ring* (see X.415, where a more detailed account is given). *Quendi and Eldar* is extant in a typescript with carbon copy that can be fairly certainly dated to the years 1959–60 *(ibid.)*; and both copies are preceded by a manuscript page that in addition to the following preamble gives a parallel title *Essekenta Eldarinwa.*

> Enquiry into the origins of the Elvish names for Elves and their varieties clans and divisions: with Appendices on their names for the other Incarnates: Men, Dwarves, and Orcs; and on their analysis of their own language, Quenya: with a note on the 'Language of the Valar'.

My father corrected the two copies carefully and in precisely the same ways (except for a few later pencilled alterations). The text printed here follows the original very closely, apart from very minor changes made for consistency or clarity, the omission of a passage of extremely complex phonology, and a reorganisation of the text in respect of the notes. As often elsewhere in his later writings, my father interrupted his main text with notes, some of them long; and these I have numbered and collected at the end, distinguishing them from my own numbered notes by referring to them in the body of the text as *Note 1*, *Note 2*, &c., with a reference to the page on which they are found. Also, and more drastically, I have omitted one substantial section from Appendix D (see p. 396). This was done primarily for reasons of space, but the passage in question is a somewhat abstract account of the phonological theories of earlier linguistic Loremasters and the contributions of Fëanor, relying rather allusively on phonological data that are taken for granted: it stands apart from the content of the work at large (and entered, I suspect, from the movement of my father's train of thought rather than as a planned element in the whole).

Also for reasons of space my commentary is kept to a severe minimum. Abbreviations used are PQ (Primitive Quendian), CE (Common Eldarin), CT (Common Telerin), Q (Quenya), T (Telerin), Ñ (Ñoldorin), S (Sindarin), V (Valarin).

QUENDI AND ELDAR

Origin and Meanings of the Elvish words referring to *Elves* and their varieties. With Appendices on their names for other Incarnates.

A. The principal linguistic elements concerned.

1. *KWENE
   (a) PQ ***kwene*** 'person' (m. or f.). CE ***kwēn*** (***-kwen***), pl. ***kwenī***, 'person' (m. or f.), 'one', '(some)body'; pl. 'persons', '(some) people'.
   (b) PQ and CE ***kwende***, pl. ***kwendī***. This form was made from ***kwene*** by primitive fortification of the median *n* > *nd*. It was probably at first only used in the plural, in the sense 'people, the people as a whole', sc. embracing all the three original clans.
   (c) ***kwendjā*** adj. 'belonging to the ***kwendī***, to the people as a whole'.
2. *ELE According to Elvish legend this was a primitive exclamation, 'lo!' 'behold!' made by the Elves when they first saw the stars. Hence:
   (a) CE ***el***, ***ele***, ***el-ā***, 'lo!' 'look!' 'see!'
   (b) CE ***ēl***, pl. ***eli***, ***ēli***, 'star'.
   (c) CE ***elen***, pl. ***elenī***, 'star', with 'extended base'.
   (d) CE ***eldā***, an adjectival formation 'connected or concerned with the stars', used as a description of the ***kwendī***. According to legend this name, and the next, were due to the Vala Oromë. They were thus probably at first only used in the plural, meaning 'star-folk'.
   (e) CE ***elenā***, an adjectival form made from the extended stem ***elen***, of the same meaning and use as ***eldā***.
3. *DELE
   (a) A verbal base ***dele***, also with suffix ***del-ja***, 'walk, go, proceed, travel'.
   (b) ***edelō***, an agental formation of primitive pattern: 'one who goes, traveller, migrant'. A name made at the time of the Separation for those who decided to follow Oromë.
   (c) ***awa-delo***, ***awā-delo***, ?***wā-delō***. Old compounds with the element ***awa*** 'away' (see below). A name made in Beleriand for those who finally departed from Middle-earth.

4. *HEKE Probably not in origin a verbal base, but an adverbial element 'aside, apart, separate'.
   (a) PQ **heke* 'apart, not including'.
   (b) PQ and CE verbal derivative, transitive: **hek-tā* 'set aside, cast out, forsake'.
   (c) PQ **hekla* 'any thing (or person) put aside from, or left out from, its normal company'. Also in personal form **heklō* 'a waif or outcast'; adjectival forms **heklā* and **hekelā*.

The element *AWA, appearing in 3(c) above, referred to movement away, viewed from the point of view of the thing, person, or place left. As a prefix it had probably already developed in CE the form **au-*. The form **awā* was originally an independent adverbial form, but appears to have been also used as a prefix (as an intensive form of **awa-*, **au-*). The form **wā-* was probably originally used as a verbal stem, and possibly also in composition with verbal stems.

In the Eldarin languages this stem made contact in form with other elements, distinct in origin and in sense. *ABA 'refuse', 'say nay (in refusal or denial)': this is the source of the CE **abar*, pl. **abarī* 'a refuser', one who declined to follow Oromë. *WO in forms **wō* and **wo-* (the latter only as a prefix): this was a dual adverb 'together', referring to the junction of two things, or groups, in a pair or whole. The plural equivalent was **jō*, **jōm*, and as a prefix **jo*, **jom*. *HO in forms **hō* and **ho*: this was an adverb 'from, coming from', the point of view being outside the thing referred to.

The principal derivatives in form (their use is discussed below) of the CE words given above were as follows:

*KWEN

QUENYA 1(a) *quēn*, pl. *queni*; unstressed, as a pronoun or final element in a compound, *quen*.

1(b) *Quendi*. The sg. *quende* (not much used) was made in Quenya from *Quendi*, on the model of other nouns in *-e*, the majority of which formed their plurals in *-i*. There were also two old compounds: *Kalaquendi* 'Light-elves' and *Moriquendi* 'Dark-elves'.

1(c) *Quendya*, which remained in the Vanyarin dialect, but in Ñoldorin became *Quenya*. This was only used with reference to language.

TELERIN 1(a) *pen* as a pronoun, and *-pen* in a few old compounds.

1(b) *Pendi*, plural only. Also in the compounds *Calapendi* and *Moripendi*.

1(c) Not found.

SINDARIN 1(a) *pen*, usually mutated *ben*, as a pronoun. Also *-ben*, *-phen* in a few old compounds.

1(b) Not found. The compounds *Calben* (pl. *Celbin*) and *Morben* (pl. *Moerbin*, *Morbin*) must certainly have descended from the same source as those mentioned above, but their final element was evidently altered to agree with the compounds of **kwen*. The unaltered derivatives would have been **Calbend*, **Moerbend*; but though final *-nd* eventually became *-n* in Sindarin, this change had not occurred in the early records, and no cases of *-bend* are found. In addition, the form *Morben* (without affection[1] of the *o*) shows either an alteration to **mora-* for *mori-*, after **kala-*, or more probably substitution of S *morn-* from **mornā*, the usual S adjectival form.

1(c) Not found.

*EL

QUENYA 2(a) *ela!* imperative exclamation, directing sight to an actually visible object.

2(b) *ēl*, pl. *ēli*, 'star' (poetic word).

2(c) *elen*, pl. *eleni* (occasionally in verse *eldi*), 'star'. The normal word for a star of the actual firmament. The pl. form *eleni*, without syncope, is re-formed after the singular.

2(d) *Elda* only used as a noun, chiefly in the pl. *Eldar*. See also (Quenya) 3(b) below.

2(e) *Elda* as above. As an adjective referring to stars the form used was *elenya*.

TELERIN 2(a) *ela!* as in Quenya.

2(b) *ēl*, pl. *ēli*. The ordinary word for 'star'.

2(c) *elen*, pl. *elni*. An archaic or poetic variant of the preceding.

2(d) *Ella*. An occasional variant of *Ello*, which was the normal form of the word. This shows contact with the products of **edelō*: see further under (Telerin) 3.

2(e) Not found. The form would have been **Elna*.

SINDARIN 2(a) *elo!* An exclamation of wonder, admiration, delight.

2(b) Not found.

2(c) *êl*, pl. *elin*, class-plural *elenath*. An archaic word for 'star', little used except in verse, apart from the form *elenath* 'all the host of the stars of heaven'.

2(d) *Ell-*, only used in the m. and f. forms *Ellon*, *Elleth*, elf-man, elf-woman; the class-plural *El(d)rim*; and final *-el*, pl. *-il*, in some old compounds: see (Sindarin) 3(b).

2(e) *Elen*, pl. *Elin*, with class-plural *Eledhrim*, Elf, Elves. *dhr* is < *n-r* in secondary contact. On usage see further below.

*DEL

QUENYA 3(a) *lelya-* 'go, proceed (in any direction), travel'; past tense *lende*. This form is due to the early change in Q of initial *d* > *l*. The change was regular in both Vanyarin and Ñoldorin dialects of Quenya. It occurs occasionally also in Telerin languages, though this may be due rather to *d/l* variation in PQ, for which there is some evidence. A notable example being *de/le* as pronominal elements in the 2nd person.

In Q **del-* seems to have become **led*, by dissimilation. The past form clearly shows **led*, while *lelya* may also be derived from **ledja*, since *dj* became *ly* medially in Quenya.

3(b) *Eldo*. An archaic variant of *Elda*, with which it coalesced in form and sense. *Eldo* cannot however be directly descended from **edelō*. Its form is probably due to a change **edelo* > *eledo*, following the change in the verb. The change of initial *d* > *l* was early and may have preceded syncope, and the loss of feeling for the etymological connexions of the word, which finally resulted in the blending of the products of 2 and 3. Unchanged **edelō* would by syncope have given **eðlo* > **ello* (which is not found). See, however, under Sindarin for reasons for supposing that there may have been a variant form **edlō* (with loss of *sundóma*):[2] this could have produced a Quenya form **eldo*, since transposition of *dl* in primary contact to the favoured sequence *ld* not infrequently occurred in the pre-record period of Quenya.

3(c) *Aurel* < **aw(a)delo*. *Oärel* < **awādelo*. In the Vanyarin dialect *Auzel* and *Oäzel*. *Oärel (Oäzel)* were the forms commonly used in Q. The plurals took the forms *-eldi*. This shows that the ending *-el* was associated with the noun *Elda*. This was facilitated by a normal development in Q morphology: a word of such a form independently as **eldā*, when used as the final element in a compound of early date,

was shortened to **elda*, pl. **eldī* > **eld*, **eldī* > historic Q *-el*, *-eldi*. In addition *öar* was in actual use in Q as an adverbial form derived from *AWA (see below): a fact which also accounts for the selection of *öarel*, *öazel*.

TELERIN 3(a) *delia* 'go, proceed'. Past tense *delle*.

3(b) *Ello*. The usual form, preferred to *Ella*, from which, however, it did not differ in sense. Both **edelō* and **edlō* regularly became *ello* in Telerin.

3(c) *Audel*, pl. *Audelli*. This shows the same association with *-el*, the shortened form in composition of *ella*, *ello*, as that seen in Q.

SINDARIN 3(a) Not found.

3(b) *Edhel*, pl. *Edhil*. The most used word in Sindarin; but only normally used in these forms. As noted above under (Sindarin) 2(d) the m. and f. forms were *Ellon*, *Elleth*; and there was also a class-plural *Eldrim*, *Elrim* (*ll-r* in secondary contact > *ldr*, later again simplified). As suggested under (Quenya) 3(b), there may have been a variant **edlō*, which would regularly give *ell-* in Sindarin. Since this shorter form would be most likely to appear in compounds and extended forms, it would account for the limitation of Sindarin *ell-* to such forms as *Ellon*, *Elleth*, *Eldrim*. It would also account for the blending of the products of stems 2 *El* and 3 *Del* in Sindarin, as well as in Quenya. The form *-el*, pl. *-il* also occurs in some old compounds (especially personal names), where it may be due also to a blending of **elda* and **edlo*. In later compounds *-edhel* is used.

3(c) *Ódhel*, pl. *Ódhil*; beside later more usual *Gódhel*, *Gódhil*. Also a class-plural *Ódhellim*, *Gódhellim*. *Ódhel* is from **aw(a)delo*, and the exact equivalent of Q *Aurel*, T *Audel*. *Gódhel* could be derived from **wādelo*: S initial **wā-* > *gwǭ* > *go*. But since it appears later than *Ódhel*, and after this term had become specially applied to the Exiled Ñoldor, it seems most probable that it took *g-* from the old clan-name *Golodh*, pl. *Goelydh*, which it practically replaced. *Golodh* was the S equivalent of Q *Ñoldo*, both from PQ **ñgolodō*.

*HEK

QUENYA 4(a) *heka!* imperative exclamation 'be gone! stand aside!'. Normally only addressed to persons. It often appears in the forms *hekat* sg. and *hekal* pl. with reduced pronominal affixes of the 2nd person. Also *hequa* (? from **hek-wā*)

adverb and preposition 'leaving aside, not counting, excluding, except'.

4(b) *hehta-*, past tense *hehtane*, 'put aside, leave out, exclude, abandon, forsake'.

4(c) *hekil* and *hekilo* m., *hekile* f.: 'one lost or forsaken by friends, waif, outcast, outlaw'. Also *Hekel*, pl. *Hekeldi*, re-formed to match *Oärel*, especially applied to the Eldar left in Beleriand. Hence *Hekelmar* and *Hekeldamar*, the name in the language of the loremasters of Aman for Beleriand. It was thought of as a long shoreland beside the Sea (cf. *Eglamar* under Sindarin below).

TELERIN 4(a) *heca!* For Q *hequa* the T form is *heco* (? < **hek* + *au*).

4(b) *hecta-* 'reject, abandon'.

4(c) *hecul*, *heculo*. Also with special reference to those left in Beleriand, *Hecello*; *Heculbar* or *Hecellubar*, Beleriand.

SINDARIN PQ *h-* only survived in the dialects of Aman. It disappeared without trace in Sindarin. **hek* therefore appears as **ek*, identical in form with PQ **eke* 'sharp point'.

4(a) *ego!* 'be off!' This is from **hek(e) ā*: *ā* the imperative particle, being originally independent and variable in place, survived in S as $\bar{o} > o$, though this now always followed the verb stem and had become an inflexion.

4(b) *eitha-*. This is in the main a derivative of PQ **ek-tā*, and means 'prick with a sharp point', 'stab'; but the sense 'treat with scorn, insult' (often with reference to rejection or dismissal) may show the effect of blending with PQ **hek-ta*. To say to anyone *ego!* was indeed the gravest *eithad*.

4(c) *Eglan*, mostly used in the plural *Eglain*, *Egladhrim*. The name that the Sindar gave to themselves ('the Forsaken') as distinguished from the Elves who left Middle-earth. *Eglan* is < an extended adjectival form **heklanā*. The older shorter form (**hekla* or **heklā*) survives in a few place-names, such as *Eglamar* (cf. *Hekelmar*, etc.), *Eglarest*. These are shown to be old from their formation, with the genitival element preceding: **ekla-mbar*, **ekla-rista*.

*AWA

QUENYA *au-* as a verbal prefix: < either **au* or **awa*; as in *au-kiri-* 'cut off'. The point of view was in origin 'away from the speaker or the place of his thought', and this distinction is usually preserved in Q. Thus *aukiri* meant 'cut off, so that a

portion is lost or no longer available', but *hókiri* (see below) meant 'cut off a required portion, so as to have it or use it'.

öa, *öar*. Adverbs: < **awā*; the form *öar* shows addition of the ending *-d* (prehistoric *-da*) indicating motion to or towards a point. The form *awā* appears originally to have been used either of rest or motion, and *öa* can still be so used in Q. This adverbial *öa*, *öar* was occasionally used as a prefix in compounds of later formation. Though, as has been shown, in *Oäreldi*, the most commonly used, the *r* is in fact of different origin.

The verb *auta-* 'go away, leave (the point of the speaker's thought)' had an old 'strong' past tense *anwe*, only found in archaic language. The most frequently used past and perfect were *vāne*, *avānie*, made from the stem **wā*; together with a past participle form *vanwa*. This last was an old formation (which is also found in Sindarin), and was the most frequently used part of the verb. It developed the meanings 'gone, lost, no longer to be had, vanished, departed, dead, past and over'. With it the forms *vāne* and *avānie* were specially associated in use and meaning. In the more purely physical sense 'went away (to another place)' the regular forms (for a *-ta* verb of this class) *öante*, *öantie* were used. The form perfect *avānie* is regularly developed from **a-wāniiē*, made in the prehistoric period from the older perfect form of this type **awāwiiē*, with intrusion of *n* from the past (the forms of past and perfect became progressively more closely associated in Quenya). The accent remained on the *wā*, since the augment or reduplication in verbal forms was never accented even in the retraction period of Quenya (hence no form **öanie* developed: contrast *öante* < **áwa-n-tē*). The form *vānie* appearing in verse has no augment: probably a phonetic development after a preceding vowel; but such forms are not uncommon in verse.

SINDARIN The only normal derivative is the preposition *o*, the usual word for 'from, of'. None of the forms of the element **awa* are found as a prefix in S, probably because they became like or the same as the products of **wō*, **wo* (see next). The form *Ódhel* is isolated (see above, Sindarin 3(c)). As the mutations following the preposition *o* show, it must prehistorically have ended in *-t* or *-d*. Possibly, therefore, it comes from **aud*, with *d* of the same origin as that seen in Q *öar* (see above). Some have thought that it received the

addition *-t* (at a period when **au* had already become *ǫ́* > *o*) by association with **et* 'out, out of'. The latter retains its consonant in the form *ed* before vowels, but loses it before consonants, though *es*, *ef*, *eth* are often found before *s*, *f*, *th*. *o*, however, is normally *o* in all positions, though *od* appears occasionally before vowels, especially before *o-*. The influence of **et* > *ed* is therefore probably only a late one, and does not account for the mutations.

TELERIN The Telerin forms are closely similar to those of Quenya in form and meaning, though the development **áua* > *öa* does not occur, and *v* remains *w* in sound. Thus we have prefix *au-*, adverb *au* or *avad*; verb *auta-* with past participle *vanua*, and associated past and perfect *vāne* and *avānie*; and in physical senses *vante*, *avantie*.

*WO

QUENYA This does not remain in Q as an independent word. It is however a frequent prefix in the form *ó-* (usually reduced to *o-* when unstressed), used in words describing the meeting, junction, or union of two things or persons, or of two groups thought of as units. Thus: *o-mentie* (meeting or junction of the directions of two people) as in the familiar greeting between two people, or two companies each going on a path that crosses that of the other: *Elen síla lúmenna omentielvo!*[3] 'A star shines upon the hour of the meeting of our ways.' *(Note 1, p. 407)*

This prefix was normally unstressed in verbs or derivatives of verbs; or generally when the next following syllable was long. When stressed it had the form *ó-*, as in *ónoni* 'twins', beside the adj. *onóna* 'twin-born', also used as a noun 'one of a pair of twins'.

TELERIN use does not materially differ; but in form the *w-* (lost in Quenya before *ō*) is retained: prefix *vō*, *vo-*. *(Note 1, p. 407)*

SINDARIN In the prefix *gwa-*, *go-* 'together, co-, com-'. The dual limitation was no longer made; and *go-* had the senses both of **wo* and **jo*. **jo*, **jom-* disappeared as a living prefix. *gwa-* occurred only in a few S dissyllables, where it was stressed, or in their recognizable derivatives: e.g. *gwanūn* 'a pair of twins', *gwanunig* one of such a pair. These were mostly of ancient formation, and so retained their dual significance. *gwa-* is regularly developed from **wo* > **wa* >

gwa, when stressed in prehistoric Sindarin. *go-* is from **wo* > *gwo* > *go*, when primitively unstressed; and also from *gwa-* > *go-*, when it became again unstressed. Since PQ **wā* (one of the forms of *AWA) would also have produced *gō-*, *go-*, or *gwa-* if primitively shortened (e.g. before two consonants), while **au* would have produced *o-*, the same as the frequent initially mutated form of *go-* 'together', the prefixal forms of *AWA were lost in Sindarin.

*HO

QUENYA This was evidently an ancient adverbial element, occurring principally as a proclitic or enclitic: proclitic, as a prefix to verb stems; and enclitic, as attached to noun stems (the usual place for the simpler 'prepositional' elements in PQ). Hence Quenya *hō-* (usually so, even when it had become unstressed), as a verb prefix. It meant 'away, from, from among', but the point of view was outside the thing, place, or group in thought, whereas in the derivatives of *AWA the point in thought was the place or thing left. Thus Q *hókiri-* 'cut off', so as to have or use a required portion; whereas *aukiri-* meant 'cut off' and get rid of or lose a portion. *hótuli-* 'come away', so as to leave a place or group and join another in the thought or place of the speaker; whereas *au* could not be used with the stem *tul-* 'come'.

As a noun enclitic **-hō* became *-ō*, since medial *h* was very early lost without trace in CE. This was the source of the most used 'genitive' inflexion of Quenya. Properly it was used partitively, or to describe the source or origin, not as a 'possessive', or adjectivally to describe qualities; but naturally this 'derivative genitive' (as English *of*) could be used in many circumstances that might have possessive or adjectival implications, though 'possession' was indicated by the adjectival suffix *-va*, or (especially in general descriptions) by a 'loose compound'. Thus 'Orome's horn' was *róma Oroméva* (if it remained in his possession); *Orome róma* would mean 'an Orome horn', sc. one of Orome's horns (if he had more than one); but *róma Oromëo* meant 'a horn coming from Orome', e.g. as a gift, in circumstances where the recipient, showing the gift with pride, might say 'this is Orome's horn'. If he said 'this *was* Orome's horn', he would say *Oroméva*. Similarly *lambe Eldaron* would not be used for 'the language of the Eldar' (unless conceivably in a case where the whole language

was adopted by another people), which is expressed either by *Elda-lambe* or *lambe Eldaiva*. *(Note 2, p. 407)*

There remained naturally many cases where either possessive-adjectival or partitive-derivative genitives might be used, and the tendency to prefer the latter, or to use them in place of the former, increased. Thus *alkar Oromëo* or *alkar Oroméva* could be used for 'the splendour of Oromë', though the latter was proper in a description of Oromë as he permanently was, and the former of his splendour as seen at the moment (proceeding from him) or at some point in a narrative. 'The Kings of the Eldar' might be either *i arani Eldaron* or *i arani Eldaive*, though the former would mean if accurately used 'those among the Eldar who were kings' and the latter 'those (kings) in a particular assembly who were Elvish'. In such expressions as 'Elwe, King of the Sindar (people), or Doriath (country)' the derivative form was usual: *Elwe, Aran Sindaron*, or *Aran Lestanórëo*.

TELERIN The Telerin use of the prefix *ho-* was as in Quenya. The inflexion was *-o*, as in Quenya, but it did not receive *-n* addition in the plural. It was more widely used than in pure Quenya, sc. in most cases where English would employ the inflexion *-s*, or *of*; though the possessive, especially when it concerned a single person or possessor, was expressed without inflexion: either with the possessor placed first (the older usage), or (possibly under the influence of the genitival or adjectival expressions which were placed second) following the possessed. In the latter case, the appropriate possessive suffix ('his, hers, its, their') was usually appended to the noun. So *Olue cava*; or *cava Olue*, usually *cavaria Olue* (sc. 'the house of him, Olwe'); = 'Olwe's house'. The last form was also used in Quenya with proper names, as *köarya Olwe*. Both languages also used the adjectival possessive suffixes in a curious way, attaching them to adjectives attributed to proper names (or names of personal functions, like 'king'): as *Varda Aratarya*, 'Varda the Lofty, Varda in her sublimity'. This was most usual in the vocative: as in *Meletyalda*, or fuller *Aran Meletyalda* (literally 'your mighty' or 'king your mighty'), more or less equivalents of 'Your Majesty'. Cf. Aragorn's farewell: *Arwen vanimalda, namárie!*[4]

SINDARIN Since initial *h-* disappeared in Sindarin **hō* would have become *ū* and so, clashing with the negative *ū*, naturally

did not survive. **ho* as a proclitic might have given *o*; but it does not occur as a verbal prefix, although it possibly contributed to the Sindarin preposition *o* (see under **Awa*, Sindarin) which is used in either 'direction', from or to the point of view of the speaker. Since all final vowels disappeared in Sindarin, it cannot be determined whether or not this language had in the primitive period developed inflexional *-ō*. Its presence in Telerin of Aman makes its former presence in Sindarin probable. The placing of the genitive noun second in normal Sindarin is also probably derived from inflexional forms. Compounds of which the first element was 'genitival' were evidently in the older period still normal, as is seen in many place- and personal names (such as *Egla-mar*), and was still in more limited use later, especially where the first element was or was regarded as an adjective (as *Mordor* 'Land of Darkness' or 'Dark Land'). But genitival sequences with the possessor or qualifier second in the later period also became fixed compounds: as *Dóriath*, for *Dôr Iâth* 'Land of the Fence'.

*ABA

Though this became a verbal stem, it is probably derived from a primitive negative element, or exclamation, such as *BA 'no!' It did not, however, deny facts, but always expressed concern or will; that is, it expressed *refusal* to do what others might wish or urge, or *prohibition* of some action by others. As a verbal stem it developed the form **aba-* (with connecting vowel *a* in the aorist); as a particle or prefix the forms **aba*, **bā*, and **abā*.

QUENYA In Quenya the verb *ava-* was little used in ordinary language, and revealed that it was not in origin a 'strong' or basic verbal stem by having the 'weak' past form *avane*. In ordinary use it was replaced by the compound *vā-quet* (*váquetin*, *váquenten*) 'to say no', sc. 'to say I will not', or 'do not', 'to refuse' or 'to forbid'.

As a prefix the form used was usually *ava-*, the force of which can be observed in *avaquétima* 'not to be said, that must not be said', *avanyárima* 'not to be told or related', as contrasted with *úquétima* 'unspeakable', that is, 'impossible to say, put into words, or unpronounceable', *únyárima* 'impossible to recount', sc. because all the facts are not known, or the tale is too long. Compare also *Avamanyar* 'those who did

not go to Aman, because they would not' (an equivalent of *Avari*) with *Úamanyar* 'those who did not in the event reach Aman' (an equivalent of *Hekeldi*).

As a particle (the form of this stem most used in ordinary language) the Quenya form was usually *vá!* This was an exclamation or particle expressing the will or wish of the speaker, meaning according to context 'I will not' or 'Do not!' Note that it was not used, even in the first person, in a statement about the speaker's future action, depending on foresight, or a judgement of the force of circumstances. It could sometimes, as seen in *váquet-* (above), be used as a verbal prefix.

A longer form *áva* or *avá* (stressed on the last syllable), which shows combination with the imperative particle **ā*, was commonly used as a negative imperative 'Don't!', either used alone or with an uninflected verbal stem, as *áva kare!* 'Don't do it!' Both *vá* and *áva* sometimes received verbal pronominal affixes of the first singular and first plural exclusive: as *ávan*, *ván*, *ványe* 'I won't', *avamme*, *vamme* 'we won't'.

An old derivative of **aba-* as a quasi-verbal stem was **abaro* > CE **abar*. This was an old agental formation, as seen also in *Teler*, pl. *Teleri*, made with the suffix *-rŏ*, added to *ómataina*.[5] (Other forms of this suffix were *-rō* added to stem, with or without *n*-infixion; and *-rdŏ* > *rd*.) **abar* thus meant 'recusant, one who refuses to act as advised or commanded'. It was specially applied to (or first made to describe?) the section of the Elves who refused to join in the Westward March: Q *Avar*, pl. *Avari*.

TELERIN The Telerin use was closely similar to that of Quenya. The forms were the same, except that Telerin preserved CE *b* distinct from *v* or *w*: hence the prefix was *aba-* (*abapétima* 'not to be said'); the particle *bá*; the exclamation *abá*. The verbal form, however, was in normal use: *aban* 'I refuse, I will not'. In a negative command only the uninflected *abá* was used: *abá care* 'don't do it!'

SINDARIN In Sindarin the following forms are found. *baw!* imperious negative: 'No, no! Don't!' *avo* negative adverb with verbs, as *avo garo!* 'don't do it'; sometimes used as a prefix: *avgaro* (< **aba-kar ā*). This could be personalized in the form *avon* 'I won't', *avam* 'we won't': these were of

course not in fact derived from *avo*, which contained the imperative *-o* < **ā*, but from the verb stem **aba*, with inflexions assimilated to the tense stems in *-ā*; but no other parts of the verb survived in use, except the noun *avad* 'refusal, reluctance'. Derived direct from *baw! (*bā)* was the verb *boda-* 'ban, prohibit' *(*bā-ta)*.

(With the uses of this stem, primary meaning 'refuse, be unwilling', to form negative imperatives, cf. Latin *nōlī, nōlīte*.)

B. Meanings and use of the various terms applied to the Elves and their varieties in Quenya, Telerin, and Sindarin.

Quenya

1. *quén*, pl. *queni*, person, individual, man or woman. Chiefly used in the unstressed form *quen*. Mostly found in the singular: 'one, somebody'; in the pl. 'people, they'. Also combined with other elements, as in *aiquen* 'if anybody, whoever', *ilquen* 'everybody'. In a number of old compounds *-quen*, pl. *queni* was combined with noun or adjective stems to denote habitual occupations or functions, or to describe those having some notable (permanent) quality: as *-man* in English (but without distinction of sex) in *horseman, seaman, workman, nobleman*, etc. Q *roquen* 'horseman, rider'; *(Note 3, p. 407) kiryaquen* 'shipman, sailor'; *arquen* 'a noble'. These words belong to everyday speech, and have no special reference to Elves. They were freely applied to other Incarnates, such as Men or Dwarves, when the Eldar became acquainted with them.

2. *Quendi* Elves, of any kind, including the Avari. The sg. *Quende* was naturally less frequently used. As has been seen, the word was made when the Elves as yet knew of no other 'people' than themselves. The sense 'the Elvish people, as a whole', or in the sg. 'an Elf and not some other similar creature', developed first in Aman, where the Elves lived among or in contact with the Valar and Maiar. During the Exile when the Ñoldor became re-associated with their Elvish kin, the Sindar, but met other non-Elvish people, such as Orcs, Dwarves, and Men, it became an even more useful term. But in fact it had ceased in Aman to be a word of everyday use, and remained thereafter mainly used in the special language of 'Lore': histories or tales of old days, or learned writings on peoples and

languages. In ordinary language the Elves of Aman called themselves *Eldar* (or in Telerin *Elloi*): see below.

There also existed two old compounds containing **kwendī*: **kala-kwendī* and **mori-kwendī*, the Light-folk and the Dark-folk. These terms appear to go back to the period before the Separation, or rather to the time of the debate among the Quendi concerning the invitation of the Valar. They were evidently made by the party favourable to Oromë, and referred originally to those who desired the Light of Valinor (where the ambassadors of the Elves reported that there was no darkness), and those who did not wish for a place in which there was no night. But already before the final separation **mori-kwendī* may have referred to the glooms and the clouds dimming the sun and the stars during the War of the Valar and Melkor,[6] so that the term from the beginning had a tinge of scorn, implying that such folk were not averse to the shadows of Melkor upon Middle-earth.

The lineal descendants of these terms survived only in the languages of Aman. The Quenya forms were *Kalaquendi* and *Moriquendi*. The *Kalaquendi* in Quenya applied only to the Elves who actually lived or had lived in Aman; and the *Moriquendi* was applied to all others, whether they had come on the March or not. The latter were regarded as greatly inferior to the *Kalaquendi*, who had experienced the Light of Valinor, and had also acquired far greater knowledge and powers by their association with the Valar and Maiar.

In the period of Exile the Ñoldor modified their use of these terms, which was offensive to the Sindar. *Kalaquendi* went out of use, except in written Ñoldorin lore. *Moriquendi* was now applied to all other Elves, except the Ñoldor and Sindar, that is to Avari or to any kind of Elves that at the time of the coming of the Ñoldor had not long dwelt in Beleriand and were not subjects of Elwë. It was never applied, however, to any but Elvish peoples. The old distinction, when made, was represented by the new terms *Amanyar* 'those of Aman', and *Úamanyar* or *Úmanyar* 'those not of Aman', beside the longer forms *Amaneldi* and *Úmaneldi*.

3. *Quendya*, in the Ñoldorin dialect *Quenya*. This word remained in ordinary use, but it was only used as a noun 'the Quendian language'. *(Note 4, p. 407)* This use of *Quendya* must have arisen in Aman, while *Quendi* still remained in general use. Historically, and in the more accurate use of the

linguistic Loremasters, *Quenya* included the dialect of the Teleri, which though divergent (in some points from days before settlement in Aman, such as **kw* > *p*), remained generally intelligible to the Vanyar and Ñoldor. But in ordinary use it was applied only to the dialects of the Vanyar and Ñoldor, the differences between which only appeared later, and remained, up to the period just before the Exile, of minor importance.

In the use of the Exiles *Quenya* naturally came to mean the language of the Ñoldor, developed in Aman, as distinct from other tongues, whether Elvish or not. But the Ñoldor did not forget its connexion with the old word *Quendi*, and still regarded the name as implying 'Elvish', that is the chief Elvish tongue, the noblest, and the one most nearly preserving the ancient character of Elvish speech. For a note on the Elvish words for 'language', especially among the Ñoldorin Loremasters, see Appendix D (p. 391).

4. *Elda* and *Eldo*. The original distinction between these forms as meaning 'one of the Star-folk, or Elves in general', and one of the 'Marchers', became obscured by the close approach of the forms. The form *Eldo* went out of use, and *Elda* remained the chief word for 'Elf' in Quenya. But it was not in accurate use held to include the Avari (when they were remembered or considered); i.e. it took on the sense of *Eldo*. It may, however, have been partly due to its older sense that in popular use it was the word ordinarily employed for any Elf, that is, as an equivalent of the *Quende* of the Loremasters. When one of the Elves of Aman spoke of the *Eldalie*, 'the Elven-folk', he meant vaguely all the race of Elves, though he was probably not thinking of the Avari.

For, of course, the special kinship of the *Amanyar* with those left in Beleriand (or *Hekeldamar*) was remembered, especially by the Teleri. When it was necessary to distinguish these two branches of the *Eldar* (or properly *Eldor*), those who had come to Aman were called the *Oäzeldi*, Ñ *Oäreldi*, for which another form (less used) was *Auzeldi*, Ñ *Aureldi*; those who had remained behind were the *Hekeldi*. These terms naturally belonged rather to history than everyday speech, and in the period of the Exile they fell out of use, being unsuitable to the situation in Beleriand. The Exiles still claimed to be *Amanyar*, but in practice this term usually now meant those Elves remaining in Aman, while the Exiles called themselves *Etyañgoldi* 'Exiled Ñoldor', or simply (since the great majority of their clan had

come into exile) *Ñoldor*. All the subjects of Elwë they called *Sindar* or 'Grey-elves'.

Telerin

1. The derivatives of *KWEN were more sparingly represented in the Telerin dialects, of Aman or Beleriand. This was in part due to the Common Telerin change of *kw* > *p*, *(Note 5, p. 407)* which caused **pen* < **kwen* to clash with the PQ stem *PEN 'lack, be without', and also with some of the derivatives of *PED 'slope, slant down' (e.g. **pendā* 'sloping'). Also the Teleri felt themselves to be a separate people, as compared with the Vanyar and Ñoldor, whom taken together they outnumbered. This sentiment began before the Separation, and increased on the March and in Beleriand. In consequence they did not feel strongly the need for a general word embracing all Elves, until they came in contact with other non-Elvish Incarnates.

As a pronoun enclitic (e.g. in *aipen*, Q *aiquen*; *ilpen*, Q *ilquen*) **kwen* survived in Telerin; but few of the compounds with *pen* 'man' remained in ordinary use, except *arpen* 'noble (man)', and the derived adjective *arpenia*.

Pendi, the dialectal equivalent of Q *Quendi*, survived only as a learned word of the historians, used with reference to ancient days before the Separation; the adjective **Pendia* (the equivalent of *Quendya*) had fallen out of use. *(Note 6, p. 408)* The Teleri had little interest in linguistic lore, which they left to the Ñoldor. They did not regard their language as a 'dialect' of Quenya, but called it *Lindārin* or *Lindalambe*. Quenya they called *Goldōrin* or *Goldolambe*; for they had few contacts with the Vanyar.

The old compounds in Telerin form *Calapendi* and *Moripendi* survived in historical use; but since the Teleri in Aman remained more conscious of their kinship with the Elves left in Beleriand, while *Calapendi* was used, as *Kalaquendi* in Quenya, to refer only to the Elves of Aman, *Moripendi* was not applied to the Elves of Telerin origin who had not reached Aman.

2. *Ello* and *Ella*. The history of the meanings of these words was almost identical with that of the corresponding *Elda* and *Eldo* in Quenya. In Telerin the *-o* form became preferred, so that generally T *Ello* was the equivalent of Q *Elda*. But *Ella* remained in use in quasi-adjectival function (e.g. as the first element in loose or genitival compounds): thus the equivalent of Q *Eldalie* was in T *Ellālie*.

In contrast to the *Elloi* left in Beleriand those in Aman were in histories called *Audel*, pl. *Audelli*. Those in Beleriand were the *Hecelloi* of *Heculbar* (or *Hecellubar*).

Sindarin

1. Derivatives of *KWEN were limited to the sense: pronominal 'one, somebody, anybody', and to a few old compounds that survived. PQ **kwende*, **kwendī* disappeared altogether. The reasons for this were partly the linguistic changes already cited; and partly the circumstances in which the Sindar lived, until the return of the Ñoldor, and the coming of Men. The linguistic changes made the words unsuitable for survival; the circumstances removed all practical need for the term. The old unity of the Elves had been broken at the Separation. The Elves of Beleriand were isolated, without contact with any other people, Elvish or of other kind; and they were all of one clan and language: Telerin (or Lindarin). Their own language was the only one that they ever heard; and they needed no word to distinguish it, nor to distinguish themselves.

As a pronoun, usually enclitic, the form *pen*, mutated *ben*, survived. A few compounds survived, such as *rochben* 'rider' (m. or f.), *orodben* 'a mountaineer' or 'one living in the mountains', *arphen* 'a noble'. Their plurals were made by *i*-affection, originally carried through the word: as *roechbin*, *oerydbin*, *erphin*, but the normal form of the first element was often restored when the nature of the composition remained evident: as *rochbin*, but always *erphin*. These words had no special association with Elves.

Associated with these compounds were the two old words *Calben (Celbin)* and *Morben (Moerbin)*. On the formal relation of these to Quenya *Kalaquendi* and *Moriquendi* see p. 362. They had no reference to Elves, except by accident of circumstance. *Celbin* retained what was, as has been said, probably its original meaning: all Elves other than thè Avari; and it included the Sindar. It was in fact the equivalent (when one was needed) of the Quenya *Eldar*, Telerin *Elloi*. But it referred to Elves only because no other people qualified for the title. *Moerbin* was similarly an equivalent for Avari; but that it did not mean only 'Dark-*elves*' is seen by its ready application to other Incarnates, when they later became known. By the Sindar anyone dwelling outside Beleriand, or entering their realm from outside, was called a *Morben*. The first people of this kind to be met were

the *Nandor*, who entered East Beleriand over the passes of the Mountains before the return of Morgoth; soon after his return came the first invasions of his Orcs from the North.[7] Somewhat later the Sindar became aware of Avari, who had crept in small and secret groups into Beleriand from the South. Later came the Men of the Three Houses, who were friendly; and later still Men of other kinds. All these were at first acquaintance called *Moerbin.* *(Note 7, p. 408)* But when the Nandor were recognized as kinsfolk of Lindarin origin and speech (as was still recognizable), they were received into the class of *Celbin.* The Men of the Three Houses were also soon removed from the class of *Moerbin.* *(Note 8, p. 408)* They were given their own name, *Edain*, and were seldom actually called *Celbin*, but they were recognized as belonging to this class, which became practically equivalent to 'peoples in alliance in the War against Morgoth'. The Avari thus remained the chief examples of *Moerbin.* Any individual Avar who joined with or was admitted among the Sindar (it rarely happened) became a *Calben*; but the Avari in general remained secretive, hostile to the Eldar, and untrustworthy; and they dwelt in hidden places in the deeper woods, or in caves. *(Note 9, p. 408)* *Moerbin* as applied to them is usually translated 'Dark-elves', partly because *Moriquendi* in the Quenya of the Exiled Ñoldor usually referred to them. But that no special reference to Elves was intended by the Sindarin word is shown by the fact that *Moerbin* was at once applied to the new bands of Men (Easterlings) that appeared before the Battle of the Nírnaeth. *(Note 9, p. 408)* If in Sindarin an Avar, as distinct from other kinds of *Morben*, was intended, he was called *Mornedhel.*

2. *Edhel,* pl. *Edhil.* In spite of its ultimate derivation (see p. 360) this was the general word for 'Elf, Elves'. In the earlier days it naturally referred only to the Eldarin Sindar, for no other kind was ever seen; but later it was freely applied to Elves of any kind that entered Beleriand. It was however only used in these two forms.

The masculine and feminine forms were *Ellon* m. and *Elleth* f. and the class-plural was *Eldrim*, later *Elrim*, when this was not replaced by the more commonly used *Eledhrim* (see below). The form without the m. and f. suffixes was not in use, and survived only in some old compounds, especially personal names, in the form *el*, pl. *il*, as a final element.

The form *Elen*, pl. *Elin* was only used in histories or the

works of the Loremasters, as a word to include all Elves (Eldar and Avari). But the class-plural *Eledhrim* was the usual word for 'all the Elvish race', whenever such an expression was needed.

All these words and forms, whatever their etymologies (see above), were applicable to any kind of Elf. In fact *Edhel* was properly applied only to Eldar; *Ell-* may have a mixed origin; and *Elen* was an ancient general word. *(Note 10, p. 410)*

3. The Sindar had no general name for themselves as distinct from other varieties of Elf, until other kinds entered Beleriand. The descendant of the old clan name **Lindāi* (Q *Lindar*) had fallen out of normal use, being no longer needed in a situation were all the *Edhil* were of the same kind, and people were more aware of the growing differences in speech and other matters between those sections of the Elves that lived in widely sundered parts of a large and mostly pathless land. They were thus in ordinary speech all *Edhil*, but some belonged to one region and some to another: they were *Falathrim* from the sea-board of West Beleriand, or *Iathrim* from Doriath (the land of the Fence, or *iath*), or *Mithrim* who had gone north from Beleriand and inhabited the regions about the great lake that afterwards bore their name. *(Note 11, p. 410)*

The old clan-name **Lindāi* survived in the compound *Glinnel*, pl. *Glinnil*, a word only known in historical lore, and the equivalent of Quenya *Teleri* or *Lindar*; see the Notes on the Clan-names below. All the Sindarin subjects of King Elu-Thingol, as distinguished from the incoming Ñoldor, were sometimes later called the *Eluwaith*. *Dúnedhil* 'West-elves' (the reference being to the West of Middle-earth) was a term made to match *Dúnedain* 'West-men' (applied only to the Men of the Three Houses). But with the growing amalgamation, outside Doriath, of the Ñoldor and Sindar into one people using the Sindarin tongue as their daily speech, this soon became applied to both Ñoldor and Sindar.

While the Ñoldor were still distinct, and whenever it was desired to recall their difference of origin, they were usually called *Ódhil* (sg. *Ódhel*). This as has been seen was originally a name for all the Elves that left Beleriand for Aman. These were also called by the Sindar *Gwanwen*, pl. *Gwenwin* (or *Gwanwel*, *Gwenwil*) 'the departed': cf. Q *vanwa*. This term, which could not suitably be applied to those who had come back, remained the usual Sindarin name for the Elves that remained in Aman.

Ódhil thus became specially the name of the Exiled Ñoldor.

In this sense the form *Gódhel*, pl. *Gódhil* soon replaced the older form. It seems to have been due to the influence of the clan-name *Golodh*, pl. *Goelydh*; or rather to a deliberate blending of the two words. The old clan-name had not fallen out of memory (for the Ñoldor and the Sindar owing to the great friendship of Finwe and Elwe were closely associated during their sojourn in Beleriand before the Departure) and it had in consequence a genuine Sindarin form (< CE **ñgolodō*). But the form *Golodh* seems to have been phonetically unpleasing to the Ñoldor. The name was, moreover, chiefly used by those who wished to mark the difference between the Ñoldor and the Sindar, and to ignore the dwelling of the Ñoldor in Aman which might give them a claim to superiority. This was especially the case in Doriath, where King Thingol was hostile to the Ñoldorin chieftains, Fëanor and his sons, and Fingolfin, because of their assault upon the Teleri in Aman, the people of his brother Olwe. The Ñoldor, therefore, when using Sindarin, never applied this name *(Golodh)* to themselves, and it fell out of use among those friendly to them.

4. *Eglan*, pl. *Eglain*, *Egladrim*. This name, 'the Forsaken', was, as has been said, given by the Sindar to themselves. But it was not in Beleriand a name for all the Elves who remained there, as were the related names, *Hekeldi*, *Hecelloi*, in Aman. It applied only to those who wished to depart, and waited long in vain for the return of Ulmo, taking up their abode on or near the coasts. There they became skilled in the building and management of ships. Círdan was their lord.

Círdan's folk were made up both of numbers of the following of Olwe, who straying or lingering came to the shores too late, and also of many of the following of Elwe, who abandoned the search for him and did not wish to be separated for ever from their kin and friends. This folk remained in the desire of Aman for long years, and they were among the most friendly to the Exiles.

They continued to call themselves the *Eglain*, and the regions where they dwelt *Eglamar* and *Eglador*. The latter name fell out of general use. It had originally been applied to all western Beleriand between Mount Taras and the Bay of Balar, its eastern boundary being roughly along the River Narog. *Eglamar*, however, remained the name of the 'Home of the Eglain': the sea-board from Cape Andras to the headland of Bar-in-Mŷl

('Home of the Gulls'),[8] which included the ship-havens of Círdan at Brithonbar[9] and at the head of the firth of Eglarest.

The *Eglain* became a people somewhat apart from the inland Elves, and at the time of the coming of the Exiles their language was in many ways different. *(Note 12, p. 411)* But they acknowledged the high-kingship of Thingol, and Círdan never took the title of king.[10]

*Abarī

This name, evidently made by the Eldar at the time of the Separation, is found in histories in the Quenya form *Avari*, and the Telerin form *Abari*. It was still used by the historians of the Exiled Ñoldor, though it hardly differed from *Moriquendi*, which (see above) was no longer used by the Exiles to include Elves of Eldarin origin. The plural *Evair* was known to Sindarin loremasters, but was no longer in use. Such Avari as came into Beleriand were, as has been said, called *Morben*, or *Mornedhel*.

C. The Clan-names, with notes on other names for divisions of the Eldar.

In Quenya form the names of the three great Clans were *Vanyar*, *Ñoldor*, and *Lindar*. The oldest of these names was *Lindar*, which certainly goes back to days before the Separation. The other two probably arose in the same period, if somewhat later: their original forms may thus be given in PQ as **wanjā*, **ñgolodō*, and *lindā / glindā*. *(Note 13, p. 411)*

According to the legend, preserved in almost identical form among both the Elves of Aman and the Sindar, the Three Clans were in the beginning derived from the three Elf-fathers: *Imin*, *Tata*, and *Enel* (sc. One, Two, Three), and those whom each chose to join his following. So they had at first simply the names *Minyar* 'Firsts', *Tatyar* 'Seconds', and *Nelyar* 'Thirds'. These numbered, out of the original 144 Elves that first awoke, 14, 56, and 74; and these proportions were approximately maintained until the Separation.[11]

It is said that of the small clan of the *Minyar* none became Avari. The *Tatyar* were evenly divided. The *Nelyar* were most reluctant to leave their lakeside homes; but they were very cohesive, and very conscious of the separate unity of their Clan (as they continued to be), so that when it became clear that their chieftains Elwe and Olwe were resolved to depart and would have a large following, many of those among them who had at

first joined the Avari went over to the Eldar rather than be separated from their kin. The Ñoldor indeed asserted that most of the *'Teleri'* were at heart *Avari*, and that only the *Eglain* really regretted being left in Beleriand.

According to the Ñoldorin historians the proportions, out of 144, that when the March began became Avari or Eldar were approximately so:

Minyar 14: *Avari* 0 *Eldar* 14
Tatyar 56: *Avari* 28 *Eldar* 28
Nelyar 74: *Avari* 28 *Eldar* 46 > *Amanyar Teleri* 20; *Sindar and Nandor* 26

In the result the Ñoldor were the largest clan of Elves in Aman; while the Elves that remained in Middle-earth (the *Moriquendi* in the Quenya of Aman) outnumbered the Amanyar in the proportion of 82 to 62.[12]

How far the descriptive Clan-names, **wanjā*, **ñgolodō*, and **lindā* were preserved among the Avari is not now known; but the existence of the old clans was remembered, and a special kinship between those of the same original clan, whether they had gone away or remained, was still recognized. The first Avari that the Eldar met again in Beleriand seem to have claimed to be Tatyar, who acknowledged their kinship with the Exiles, though there is no record of their using the name *Ñoldo* in any recognizable Avarin form. They were actually unfriendly to the Ñoldor, and jealous of their more exalted kin, whom they accused of arrogance.

This ill-feeling descended in part from the bitterness of the Debate before the March of the Eldar began, and was no doubt later increased by the machinations of Morgoth; but it also throws some light upon the temperament of the Ñoldor in general, and of Fëanor in particular. Indeed the Teleri on their side asserted that most of the Ñoldor in Aman itself were in heart Avari, and returned to Middle-earth when they discovered their mistake; they needed room to quarrel in. For in contrast the Lindarin elements in the western Avari were friendly to the Eldar, and willing to learn from them; and so close was the feeling of kinship between the remnants of the Sindar, the Nandor, and the Lindarin Avari, that later in Eriador and the Vale of Anduin they often became merged together.

Lindar (Teleri)[13]

These were, as has been seen, much the largest of the ancient

clans. The name, later appearing in Quenya form as *Lindar* (Telerin *Lindai*), is already referred to in the legend of 'The Awakening of the Quendi', which says of the Nelyar that 'they sang before they could speak with words'. The name **Lindā* is therefore clearly a derivative of the primitive stem *LIN (showing reinforcement of the medial N and adjectival *-ā*). This stem was possibly one of the contributions of the Nelyar to Primitive Quendian, for it reflects their predilections and associations, and produces more derivatives in Lindarin tongues than in others. Its primary reference was to melodious or pleasing sound, but it also refers (especially in Lindarin) to water, the motions of which were always by the Lindar associated with vocal (Elvish) sound. The reinforcements, either medial *lind-* or initial *glin-*, *glind-*, were however almost solely used of musical, especially vocal, sounds produced with intent to please. It is thus to the love of the Nelyar for song, for vocal music with or without the use of articulate words, that the name *Lindar* originally referred; though they also loved water, and before the Separation never moved far from the lake and waterfall[14] of Cuivién, and those that moved into the West became enamoured of the Sea. *(Note 14, p. 411)*

In Quenya, that is, in the language of the Vanyar and Ñoldor, those of this clan that joined in the March were called the *Teleri*. This name was applied in particular to those that came at last and latest to Aman; but it was also later applied to the Sindar. The name *Lindar* was not forgotten, but in Ñoldorin lore it was chiefly used to describe the whole clan, including the Avari among them. *Teleri* meant 'those at the end of the line, the hindmost', and was evidently a nickname arising during the March, when the Teleri, the least eager to depart, often lagged far behind. *(Note 15, p. 411)*

Vanyar

This name was probably given to the First Clan by the Ñoldor. They accepted it, but continued to call themselves most often by their old numerical name *Minyar* (since the whole of this clan had joined the Eldar and reached Aman). The name referred to the hair of the Minyar, which was in nearly all members of the clan yellow or deep golden. This was regarded as a beautiful feature by the Ñoldor (who loved gold), though they were themselves mostly dark-haired. Owing to intermarriage the golden hair of the Vanyar sometimes later appeared among

the Ñoldor: notably in the case of Finarfin, and in his children Finrod and Galadriel, in whom it came from King Finwë's second wife, Indis of the Vanyar.

Vanyar thus comes from an adjectival derivative **wanjā* from the stem *WAN. Its primary sense seems to have been very similar to English (modern) use of 'fair' with reference to hair and complexion; though its actual development was the reverse of the English: it meant 'pale, light-coloured, not brown or dark', and its implication of beauty was secondary. In English the meaning 'beautiful' is primary. From the same stem was derived the name given in Quenya to the Valie *Vána* wife of Orome.

Since the Lindar had little contact with the Vanyar either on the March or later in Aman, this name was not much used by them for the First Clan. The Amanyar Teleri had the form *Vaniai* (no doubt taken from the Ñoldor), but the name appears to have been forgotten in Beleriand, where the First Clan (in lore and history only) were called *Miniel*, pl. *Mínil*.

Ñoldor

This name was probably older than *Vanyar*, and may have been made before the March. It was given to the Second Clan by the others. It was accepted, and was used as their regular and proper name by all the Eldarin members of the clan throughout their later history.

The name meant 'the Wise', that is those who have great knowledge and understanding. The Ñoldor indeed early showed the greatest talents of all the Elves both for intellectual pursuits and for technical skills.

The variant forms of the name: Q *Ñoldo*, T *Goldo*, S *Golodh (Ngolodh)*, indicate a PQ original **ñgolodō*. This is a derivative of the stem *NGOL 'knowledge, wisdom, lore'. This is seen in Q *ñóle* 'long study (of any subject)', *iñgole* 'lore', *ingolmo* 'loremaster'. In T *góle*, *engole* had the same senses as in Q but were used most often of the special 'lore' possessed by the Ñoldor. In S the word *gûl* (equivalent of Q *ñóle*) had less laudatory associations, being used mostly of secret knowledge, especially such as possessed by artificers who made wonderful things; and the word became further darkened by its frequent use in the compound *morgul* 'black arts', applied to the delusory or perilous arts and knowledge derived from Morgoth. Those indeed among the Sindar who were unfriendly to the

Ñoldor attributed their supremacy in the arts and lore to their learning from Melkor-Morgoth. This was a falsehood, coming itself ultimately from Morgoth; though it was not without any foundation (as the lies of Morgoth seldom were). But the great gifts of the Ñoldor did not come from the teaching of Melkor. Fëanor the greatest of them all never had any dealings with Melkor in Aman, and was his greatest foe.

Sindar

Less commonly the form *Sindel*, pl. *Sindeldi*, is also met in Exilic Quenya. This was the name given by the Exiled Ñoldor (see Note 11) to the second largest of the divisions of the Eldar. *(Note 16, p. 412)* It was applied to all the Elves of Telerin origin that the Ñoldor found in Beleriand, though it later excluded the Nandor, except those who were the direct subjects of Elwe, or had become merged with his people. The name meant 'the Grey', or 'the Grey-elves', and was derived from *THIN, PQ **thindi* 'grey, pale or silvery grey', Q *pinde*, Ñ dialect *sinde*.

On the origin of this name see Note 11. The Loremasters also supposed that reference was made to the hair of the Sindar. Elwe himself had indeed long and beautiful hair of silver hue, but this does not seem to have been a common feature of the Sindar, though it was found among them occasionally, especially in the nearer or remoter kin of Elwe (as in the case of Círdan).[15] In general the Sindar appear to have very closely resembled the Exiles, being dark-haired, strong and tall, but lithe. Indeed they could hardly be told apart except by their eyes; for the eyes of all the Elves that had dwelt in Aman impressed those of Middle-earth by their piercing brightness. For which reason the Sindar often called them *Lachend*, pl. *Lechind* 'flame-eyed'.

Nandor

This name must have been made at the time, in the latter days of the March, when certain groups of the Teleri gave up the March; and it was especially applied to the large following of Lenwe, *(Note 17, p. 412)* who refused to cross the Hithaeglir.[16] The name was often interpreted as 'Those who go back'; but in fact none of the Nandor appear to have returned, or to have rejoined the Avari. Many remained and settled in lands that they had reached, especially beside the River Anduin; some turned aside and wandered southwards. *(Note 18, p. 412)* There was, however, as was later seen, a slow drift westward of the Moriquendi during the captivity of Melkor, and eventually

groups of the Nandor, coming through the Gap between the Hithaeglir and Eryd Nimrais, spread widely in Eriador. Some of these finally entered Beleriand, not long before the return of Morgoth.[17] These were under the leadership of Denethor, son of Denweg (see Note 17), who became an ally of Elwe in the first battles with the creatures of Morgoth. The old name *Nandor* was however only remembered by the Ñoldorin historians in Aman; and they knew nothing of the later history of this folk, recalling only that the leader of the defection before the crossing of the dread Hithaeglir was named Lenwe (i.e. Denweg). The Sindarin loremasters remembered the Nandor as *Danwaith*, or by confusion with the name of their leader *Denwaith*.

This name they at first applied to the Nandor that came into Eastern Beleriand; but this people still called themselves by the old clan-name **Lindai*, which had at that time taken the form *Lindi* in their tongue. The country in which most of them eventually settled, as a small independent folk, they called *Lindon* (< **Lindānā*): this was the country at the western feet of the Blue Mountains (Eryd Luin), watered by the tributaries of the great River Gelion, and previously named by the Sindar *Ossiriand*, the Land of Seven Rivers. The Sindar quickly recognized the *Lindi* as kinsfolk of Lindarin origin (S *Glinnil*), using a tongue that in spite of great differences was still perceived to be akin to their own; and they adopted the names *Lindi* and *Lindon*, giving them the forms *Lindil* (sg. *Lindel*) or *Lindedhil*, and *Lindon* or *Dor Lindon*. In Exilic Quenya the forms used (derived from the Sindar or direct from the Nandor) were *Lindi* and *Lindon* (or *Lindóne*). The Exiled Ñoldor also usually referred to the Eryd Luin as *Eryd Lindon*, since the highest parts of that range made the eastern borders of the country of Lindon.

These names were however later replaced among the Sindar by the name 'Green-elves', at least as far as the inhabitants of Ossiriand were concerned; for they withdrew themselves and took as little part in the strife with Morgoth as they could. This name, S *Laegel*, pl. *Laegil*, class-plural *Laegrim* or *Laegel(d)-rim*, was given both because of the greenness of the land of Lindon, and because the *Laegrim* clothed themselves in green as an aid to secrecy. This term the Ñoldor translated into Quenya *Laiquendi*; but it was not much used.

Appendix A. Elvish names for Men.

The first Elves that Men met in the world were Avari, some of whom were friendly to them, but the most avoided them or were hostile (according to the tales of Men). What names Men and Elves gave to one another in those remote days, of which little was remembered when the Loremasters in Beleriand made the acquaintance of the After-born, there is now no record. By the Dúnedain the Elves were called *Nimîr* (the Beautiful).[18]

The Eldar did not meet Men of any kind or race until the Ñoldor had long returned to Beleriand and were at war with Morgoth. The Sindar did not even know of their existence, until the coming of the Nandor; and these brought only rumour of a strange people (whom they had not themselves seen) wandering in the lands of the East beyond the Hithaeglir. From these uncertain tales the Sindar concluded that the 'strange people' were either some diminished race of the Avari, or else related to Orcs, creatures of Melkor, bred in mockery of the true Quendi. But the Ñoldor had already heard of Men in Aman. Their knowledge came in the first place from Melkor and was perverted by his malice, but before the Exile those who would listen had learned more of the truth from the Valar, and they knew that the newcomers were akin to themselves, being also Children of Ilúvatar, though differing in gifts and fate. Therefore the Ñoldor made names for the Second Race of the Children, calling them the *Atani* 'the Second Folk'. Other names that they devised were *Apanónar* 'the After-born', and *Hildor* 'the Followers'.

In Beleriand *Atan*, pl. *Atani*, was the name most used at first. But since for a long time the only Men known to the Ñoldor and Sindar were those of the Three Houses of the Elf-friends, this name became specially associated with them, so that it was seldom in ordinary speech applied to other kinds of Men that came later to Beleriand, or that were reported to be dwelling beyond the Mountains. The Elf-friends *(Note 19, p. 412)* were sometimes called by the Loremasters *Núnatani* (S *Dúnedain*), 'Western Men', a term made to match *Dúnedhil*, which was a name for all the Elves of Beleriand, allied in the War (see p. 378). The original reference was to the West of Middle-earth, but the name *Núnatani*, *Dúnedain* was later applied solely to the Númenóreans, descendants of the *Atani*, who removed to the far western isle of *Númenóre*.

Apanónar 'the After-born' was a word of lore, not used in daily speech. A general term for Men of all kinds and races, as distinct from Elves, was only devised after their mortality and brief life-span became known to the Elves by experience. They were then called *Firyar* 'Mortals', or *Fírimar* of similar sense (literally 'those apt to die'). *(Note 20, p. 412)* These words were derived from the stem *PHIRI 'exhale, expire, breathe out', which had no original connexion with death.[19] Of death, as suffered by Men, the Elves knew nothing until they came into close association with the *Atani*; but there were cases in which an Elf, overcome by a great sorrow or weariness, had resigned life in the body. The chief of these, the departure of Míriel wife of King Finwe, was a matter of deep concern to all the Ñoldor, and it was told of her that her last act, as she gave up her life in the body and went to the keeping of Mandos, was a deep sigh of weariness.

These Quenya names were later adapted to the forms of Sindarin speech: *Atan* > *Adan*, pl. *Edain*; *Firya* > *Feir*, pl. *Fîr* (with *Firion* m.sg., *Firieth* f.sg.), class-plural *Firiath*; *Fírima* > *Fíreb*, pl. *Fírib*, class-plural *Firebrim*. These forms, which cannot for historical reasons have been inherited from CE, but are those which the words if inherited would have taken, show that they were adapted by people with considerable knowledge of both tongues and understanding of their relations to one another; that is, they were probably first made by the Ñoldor for use in Sindarin, when they had adopted this language for daily use in Beleriand. *Fíreb* as compared with *Fírima* shows the use of a different suffix, *(Note 21, p. 412)* since the S equivalent of Q *-ima* (**-ef*) was not current. *Apanónar* was rendered by *Abonnen*, pl. *Eboennin*, using a different participial formation from the stem *ONO 'beget, give birth to'. *Hildor*, since the stem *KHILI 'follow' was not current in Sindarin, was rendered by *Aphadon*, pl. *Ephedyn*, class-plural *Aphadrim*, from S *aphad-* 'follow' < **ap-pata* 'walk behind, on a track or path'.

Appendix B. Elvish names for the Dwarves.

The Sindar had long known the Dwarves, and had entered into peaceful relations with them, though of trade and exchange of skills rather than of true friendship, before the coming of the Exiles. The name (in the plural) that the Dwarves gave to themselves was *Khazād*, and this the Sindar rendered as they

might in the terms of their own speech, giving it the form **chaðǭd* > **chaðaud* > *Hadhod. (Note 22, p. 412) Hadhod, Hadhodrim* was the name which they continued to use in actual intercourse with the Dwarves; but among themselves they referred to the Dwarves usually as the *Naugrim* 'the Stunted Folk'. The adjective *naug* 'dwarf(ed), stunted', however, was not used by itself for one of the *Khazād*. The word used was *Nogoth*, pl. *Noegyth*, class-plural *Nogothrim* (as an occasional equivalent of *Naugrim*). *(Note 23, p. 413)* They also often referred to the Dwarves as a race by the name *Dornhoth* 'the Thrawn Folk', because of their stubborn mood as well as bodily toughness.

The Exiles heard of the Dwarves first from the Sindar, and when using the Sindarin tongue naturally adopted the already established names. But later in Eastern Beleriand the Ñoldor came into independent relations with the Dwarves of Eryd Lindon, and they adapted the name *Khazād* anew for use in Quenya, giving it the form *Kasar*, pl. *Kasari* or *Kasāri. (Note 24, p. 413)* This was the word most commonly used in Quenya for the Dwarves, the partitive plural being *Kasalli*, and the race-name *Kasallie*. But the Sindarin names were also adapted or imitated, a Dwarf being called *Nauko* or *Norno* (the whole people *Naukalie* or *Nornalie*). *Norno* was the more friendly term. *(Note 25, p. 413)*

The Petty-dwarves. See also Note 7. The Eldar did not at first recognize these as Incarnates, for they seldom caught sight of them in clear light. They only became aware of their existence indeed when they attacked the Eldar by stealth at night, or if they caught them alone in wild places. The Eldar therefore thought that they were a kind of cunning two-legged animals living in caves, and they called them *Levain tad-dail*, or simply *Tad-dail*, and they hunted them. But after the Eldar had made the acquaintance of the Naugrim, the *Tad-dail* were recognized as a variety of Dwarves and were left alone. There were then few of them surviving, and they were very wary, and too fearful to attack any Elf, unless their hiding-places were approached too nearly. The Sindar gave them the names *Nogotheg* 'Dwarflet', or *Nogoth niben* 'Petty Dwarf'.[20]

The great Dwarves despised the Petty-dwarves, who were (it is said) the descendants of Dwarves who had left or been driven out from the Communities, being deformed or undersized, or slothful and rebellious. But they still acknowledged their

kinship and resented any injuries done to them. Indeed it was one of their grievances against the Eldar that they had hunted and slain their lesser kin, who had settled in Beleriand before the Elves came there. This grievance was set aside, when treaties were made between the Dwarves and the Sindar, in consideration of the plea that the Petty-dwarves had never declared themselves to the Eldar, nor presented any claims to land or habitations, but had at once attacked the newcomers in darkness and ambush. But the grievance still smouldered, as was later seen in the case of Mîm, the only Petty-dwarf who played a memorable part in the Annals of Beleriand.

The Ñoldor, for use in Quenya, translated these Sindarin names for the Petty-dwarves by *Attalyar* 'Bipeds', and *Pikinaukor* or *Pitya-naukor*.

The chief dwellings of the Dwarves that became known to the Sindar (though few ever visited them) were upon the east side of the Eryd Luin. They were called in the Dwarf-tongue *Gabilgathol* and *Tumunzahar*. The greatest of all the mansions of the Dwarves, *Khazad-dûm*, beneath the Hithaeglir far to the east, was known to the Eldar only by name and rumour derived from the western Dwarves.

These names the Sindar did not attempt to adapt, but translated according to their sense, as *Belegost* 'Mickleburg'; *Novrod*, later *Nogrod*, meaning originally 'Hollowbold'; and *Hadhodrond* 'Dwarrowvault'.[21] *(Note 26, p. 414)* These names the Ñoldor naturally used in speaking or writing Sindarin, but for use in Quenya they translated the names anew as *Túrosto*, *Návarot*, and *Casarrondo*.

Appendix C. Elvish names for the Orcs.

The opening paragraphs of this Appendix have been given in *Morgoth's Ring* p. 416 and are not repeated here. The words that now follow, 'these shapes and the terror that they inspired', refer to the 'dreadful shapes' that haunted the dwellings of the Elves in the land of their awakening.

For these shapes and the terror that they inspired the element chiefly used in the ancient tongue of the Elves appears to have been *RUKU. In all the Eldarin tongues (and, it is said, in the Avarin also) there are many derivatives of this stem, having such ancient forms as: *ruk-*, *rauk-*, *uruk-*, *urk(u)*, *runk-*, *rukut/s*, besides the strengthened stem *gruk-*, and the elaborated *guruk-*,

ñguruk. (Note 27, p. 415) Already in PQ that word must have been formed which had in CE the form **rauku* or **raukō*. This was applied to the larger and more terrible of the enemy shapes. But ancient were also the forms *uruk*, *urku/ō*, and the adjectival *urkā* 'horrible'. *(Note 28, p. 415)*

In Quenya we meet the noun *urko*, pl. *urqui*, deriving as the plural form shows from **urku* or **uruku*. In Sindarin is found the corresponding *urug*; but there is in frequent use the form *orch*, which must be derived from **urkō* or the adjectival **urkā*.

In the lore of the Blessed Realm the Q *urko* naturally seldom occurs, except in tales of the ancient days and the March, and then is vague in meaning, referring to anything that caused fear to the Elves, any dubious shape or shadow, or prowling creature. In Sindarin *urug* has a similar use. It might indeed be translated 'bogey'. But the form *orch* seems at once to have been applied to the Orcs, as soon as they appeared; and *Orch*, pl. *Yrch*, class-plural *Orchoth* remained the regular name for these creatures in Sindarin afterwards. The kinship, though not precise equivalence, of S *orch* to Q *urko*, *urqui* was recognized, and in Exilic Quenya *urko* was commonly used to translate S *orch*, though a form showing the influence of Sindarin, *orko*, pl. *orkor* and *orqui*, is also often found.

These names, derived by various routes from the Elvish tongues, from Quenya, Sindarin, Nandorin, and no doubt Avarin dialects, went far and wide, and seem to have been the source of the names for the Orcs in most of the languages of the Elder Days and the early ages of which there is any record. The form in Adunaic *urku*, *urkhu* may be direct from Quenya or Sindarin; and this form underlies the words for Orc in the languages of Men of the North-West in the Second and Third Ages. The Orcs themselves adopted it, for the fact that it referred to terror and detestation delighted them. The word *uruk* that occurs in the Black Speech, devised (it is said) by Sauron to serve as a lingua franca for his subjects, was probably borrowed by him from the Elvish tongues of earlier times. It referred, however, specially to the trained and disciplined Orcs of the regiments of Mordor. Lesser breeds seem to have been called *snaga*.[22]

The Dwarves claimed to have met and fought the Orcs long before the Eldar in Beleriand were aware of them. It was indeed their obvious detestation of the Orcs, and their willingness to

assist in any war against them, that convinced the Eldar that the Dwarves were no creatures of Morgoth. Nonetheless the Dwarvish name for Orcs, *Rukhs*, pl. *Rakhās*, seems to show affinity to the Elvish names, and was possibly ultimately derived from Avarin.

The Eldar had many other names for the Orcs, but most of these were 'kennings', descriptive terms of occasional use. One was, however, in frequent use in Sindarin: more often than *Orchoth* the general name for Orcs as a race that appears in the Annals was *Glamhoth*. *Glam* meant 'din, uproar, the confused yelling and bellowing of beasts', so that *Glamhoth* in origin meant more or less 'the Yelling-horde', with reference to the horrible clamour of the Orcs in battle or when in pursuit – they could be stealthy enough at need. But *Glamhoth* became so firmly associated with Orcs that *Glam* alone could be used of any body of Orcs, and a singular form was made from it, *glamog*. (Compare the name of the sword *Glamdring*.)

Note. The word used in translation of Q *urko*, S *orch*, is Orc. But that is because of the similarity of the ancient English word *orc*, 'evil spirit or bogey', to the Elvish words. There is possibly no connexion between them. The English word is now generally supposed to be derived from Latin *Orcus*.

The word for Orc in the now forgotten tongue of the Druedain in the realm of Gondor is recorded as being (? in the plural) *gorgûn*. This is possibly derived ultimately from the Elvish words.

Appendix D.
Kwen, *Quenya*, and the Elvish (especially Ñoldorin) words for 'Language'.

The Ñoldorin Loremasters state often that the meaning of *Quendi* was 'speakers', 'those who form words with voices' – *i karir quettar ómainen*. Since they were in possession of traditions coming down from ancient days before the Separation, this statement cannot be disregarded; though the development of sense set out above may also stand as correct.

It might be objected that in fact no stem *KWEN clearly referring to speech or vocal sound is found in any known Elvish tongue. The nearest in form is the stem *KWET 'speak, utter words, say'. But in dealing with this ancient word we must go back to the beginnings of Elvish speech, before the later

organisation of its basic structure, with its preference (especially in stems of verbal significance) for the pattern X-X(-), with a fixed medial consonant, as e.g. in stems already exemplified above, such as **Dele*, **Heke*, **Tele*, **Kala*, **Kiri*, **Nuku*, **Ruku*, etc. A large number of monosyllabic stems (with only an initial consonant or consonant group) still appear in the Eldarin tongues; and many of the dissyllabic stems must have been made by elaboration of these, just as, at a later stage again, the so-called **kalat-* stems were extended from the disyllabic forms: **kala* > **kalat(a)*.

If we assume, then, that the oldest form of this stem referring to vocal speech was *KWE, of which *KWENE and *KWETE were elaborations, we shall find a striking parallel in the forms of *KWA. This stem evidently referred to 'completion'. As such it survives as an element in many of the Eldarin words for 'whole, total, all', etc. But it also appears in the form *KWAN, and cannot well be separated from the verb stem *KWATA, Q *quat-* 'fill'. The assumption also helps to explain a curious and evidently archaic form that survives only in the languages of Aman: **ekwē*, Q *eque*, T *epe*. It has no tense forms and usually receives no pronominal affixes, *(Note 29, p. 415)* being mostly used only before either a proper name (sg. or pl.) or a full independent pronoun, in the senses *say / says* or *said*. A quotation then follows, either direct, or less usually indirect after a 'that'-conjunction.

In this **ekwē* we have plainly a last survivor of the primitive *KWE. It is again paralleled by a similar formation (though of different function) from *KWA: **akwā*. This survives in Quenya only as *aqua* 'fully, completely, altogether, wholly'. *(Note 30, p. 415)* Compare the use of *-kwā* in the formation of adjectives from nouns, such as *-ful* in English, except that the sense has been less weakened, and remains closer to the original meaning of the stem: 'completely'. *(Note 31, p. 415)*

In Quenya the form *eques*, originally meaning 'said he, said someone' (see Note 29) was also used as a noun *eques*, with the analogical plural *equessi*, 'a saying, dictum, a quotation from someone's uttered words', hence also 'a saying, a current or proverbial dictum'.

We may therefore accept the etymology of **kwene*, **kwēn* that would make its original meaning 'speaking, speaker, one using vocal language'. It would indeed be natural for the Elves, requiring a word for one of their own kind as distinguished

from other creatures then known, to select the use of speech as a chief characteristic. But once formed the word must have taken the meaning 'person', without specific reference to this talent of the Incarnates. Thus **nere*, **nēr* 'a male person, a man' was derived from *NERE referring to physical strength and valour, but it was possible to speak of a weak or cowardly *nēr*; or indeed to speak of a dumb or silent *kwēn*.

It might therefore still be doubted that in the derivative **kwendī* the notion of speaking was any longer effectively present. The statement of the Loremasters cannot, however, be dismissed; while it must be remembered that the Elves were always more deeply concerned with language than were other races. Up to the time at least of the Separation, then, **Kwendī* must still have implied 'we, the speaking people'; it may indeed have primarily applied to concourses for discussion, or for listening to speeches and recitations. But when the Elves came to know of other creatures of similar forms, and other Incarnates who used vocal language, and the name **Kwendī*, *Quendi* was used to distinguish themselves from these other kinds, the linguistic sense must have been no longer present in ordinary language.

With regard to the word *Quenya*: an account is given above of the way in which this word became used first in Aman for Elvish speech, *(Note 32, p. 416)* and then for the dialects of the Eldar in Aman, and later for the language of the Vanyar and Ñoldor, and finally in Middle-earth for the ancient tongue of the Ñoldor preserved as a language of ritual and lore. This is historically correct, whatever may be the ultimate etymology of *Quenya* before the Eldar came to Aman. The view taken above (p. 360) is that it is derived from an adjective **kwendjā* formed upon the stem **kwende* (of which **kwendi* was the plural), meaning 'belonging to the Quendi or Elves'.

Pengolodh the Loremaster of Eressëa says, in his *Lammas* or Account of Tongues, that *Quenya* meant properly 'language, speech', and was the oldest word for this meaning. This is not a statement based on tradition, but an opinion of Pengolodh; and he appears to mean only that *Quendya*, *Quenya* is actually never recorded except as the name of a language, and that language was the only one known to exist when this word was first made.

In any case it is clear that *Quenya* was always in fact

particular in its reference; for when the Ñoldorin Loremasters came to consider linguistic matters, and required words for speech or vocal language in general, as a mode of expression or communication, and for different aspects of speech, they made no use of the element **kwen*, *quen* or its derivatives.

The usual word, in non-technical use, for 'language' was **lambē*, Q and T *lambe*, S *lam*. This was undoubtedly related to the word for the physical tongue: **lambā*, Q and T *lamba*, S *lam*. It meant 'tongue-movement, (way of) using the tongue'. *(Note 33, p. 416)* This use of a word indicating the tongue and its movements for articulate language no doubt arose, even in a period when all known speakers spoke substantially the same language, from elementary observation of the important part played by the tongue in articulate speaking, and from noticing the peculiarities of individuals, and the soon-developing minor differences in the language of groups and clans.

Lambe thus meant primarily 'a way of talking', within a common generally intelligible system, and was nearer to our 'dialect' than to 'language'; but later when the Eldar became aware of other tongues, not intelligible without study, *lambe* naturally became applied to the separate languages of any people or region. The Loremasters, therefore, did not use *lambe* as a term for language or speech in general. Their terms were derived from the stem *TEÑ 'indicate, signify', from which was formed the already well-known word **tenwe* > Q *tengwe* 'indication, sign, token'. From this they made the word *tengwesta* 'a system or code of signs'. Every 'language' was one such system. A *lambe* was a *tengwesta* built of sounds *(hloni)*. For the sense Language, as a whole, the peculiar art of the Incarnates of which each *tengwesta* was a particular product, they used the abstract formation *tengwestie*.

Now *TEÑ had no special reference to sound. Ultimately it meant 'to point at', and so to indicate a thing, or convey a thought, by some gesture, or by any sign that would be understood. This was appreciated by the Loremasters, who wished for a word free from any limitations with regard to the kind of signs or *tengwi* used. They could thus include under *tengwesta* any group of signs, including visible gestures, used and recognized by a community.

They knew of such systems of gesture. The Eldar possessed a fairly elaborate system, *(Note 34, p. 416)* containing a large number of conventional gesture-signs, some of which were as

'arbitrary' as those of phonetic systems. That is, they had no more obvious connexion with self-explanatory gestures (such as pointing in a desired direction) than had the majority of vocal elements or combinations with 'echoic' or imitative words (such as **māmā*, Q *máma* 'sheep', or **k(a)wāk*, Q *quáko* 'crow').

The Dwarves indeed, as later became known, had a far more elaborate and organized system. They possessed in fact a secondary *tengwesta* of gestures, concurrent with their spoken language, which they began to learn almost as soon as they began learning to speak. It should be said rather that they possessed a number of such gesture-codes; for unlike their spoken language, which remained astonishingly uniform and unchanged both in time and in locality, their gesture-codes varied greatly from community to community. And they were differently employed. Not for communication at a distance, for the Dwarves were short-sighted, but for secrecy and the exclusion of strangers.

The component sign-elements of any such code were often so slight and so swift that they could hardly be detected, still less interpreted by uninitiated onlookers. As the Eldar eventually discovered in their dealings with the Naugrim, they could speak with their voices but at the same time by 'gesture' convey to their own folk modifications of what was being said. Or they could stand silent considering some proposition, and yet confer among themselves meanwhile.

This 'gesture-language', or as they called it *iglishmêk*, the Dwarves were no more eager to teach than their own tongue. But they understood and respected the disinterested desire for knowledge, and some of the later Ñoldorin loremasters were allowed to learn enough of both their *lambe (aglâb)* and their *iglishmêk* to understand their systems.

Though a *lambe* was thus theoretically simply a *tengwesta* that happened to employ phonetic signs, *hloníti tengwi*, the early loremasters held that it was the superior form, capable of producing a system incalculably more subtle, precise and extensive than any *hwerme* or gesture-code. When unqualified, therefore, *tengwesta* meant a spoken language. But in technical use it meant more than *lambe*. The study of a language included not only *lambe*, the way of speaking (that is what we should call its phonetics and phonology), but also its morphology, grammar, and vocabulary.

The section omitted from Appendix D (see p. 359) begins here. The remainder of the text, which now follows, was all included in this Appendix.

Before he turned to other matters Fëanor completed his alphabetic system, and here also he introduced a change in terms that was afterwards followed. He called the written representation of a spoken *tengwe* (according to his definition)[23] a *tengwa*. A 'letter' or any individual significant mark had previously been called a *sarat*, from *SAR 'score, incise' > 'write'.[24] The Fëanorian letters were always called *tengwar* in Quenya, though *sarati* remained the name for the Rúmilian letters. Since, however, in the mode of spelling commonly used the full signs were consonantal, in ordinary non-technical use *tengwar* became equivalent to 'consonants', and the vowel-signs were called *ómatehtar*. When the Fëanorian letters were brought to Beleriand and applied (first by the Ñoldor) to Sindarin, *tengwa* was rendered by its recognized Sindarin equivalent *têw*, pl. *tîw*. The letters of the native S alphabet were called *certh*, pl. *cirth*. The word in Exilic Quenya *certa*, pl. *certar* was an accommodated loan from Sindarin; there was no such word in older Quenya. The Sindarin *certh* is probably from **kirtē* 'cutting', a verbal derivative of a type not used in Quenya, the form of which would in any case have been **kirte*, if inherited.

Though Fëanor after the days of his first youth took no more active part in linguistic lore and enquiry, he is credited by tradition with the foundation of a school of *Lambengolmor* or 'Loremasters of Tongues' to carry on this work. This continued in existence among the Ñoldor, even through the rigours and disasters of the Flight from Aman and the Wars in Beleriand, and it survived indeed to return to Eressëa.

Of the School the most eminent member after the founder was, or still is, Pengolodh,[25] an Elf of mixed Sindarin and Ñoldorin ancestry, born in Nevrast, who lived in Gondolin from its foundation. He wrote both in Sindarin and in Quenya. He was one of the survivors of the destruction of Gondolin, from which he rescued a few ancient writings, and some of his own copies, compilations, and commentaries. It is due to this, and to his prodigious memory, that much of the knowledge of the Elder Days was preserved.

All that has here been said concerning the Elvish names and their origins, and concerning the views of the older loremasters,

is derived directly or indirectly from Pengolodh. For before the overthrow of Morgoth and the ruin of Beleriand, he collected much material among the survivors of the wars at Sirion's Mouth concerning languages and gesture-systems with which, owing to the isolation of Gondolin, he had not before had any direct acquaintance. Pengolodh is said to have remained in Middle-earth until far on into the Second Age for the furtherance of his enquiries, and for a while to have dwelt among the Dwarves of Casarrondo (Khazad-dûm). But when the shadow of Sauron fell upon Eriador, he left Middle-earth, the last of the *Lambengolmor*, and sailed to Eressëa, where maybe he still abides.

Note on the 'Language of the Valar'

Little is said in Ñoldorin lore, such as has been preserved, concerning the 'language of the Valar and Maiar'; though it has been supposed above that the application of *Quenya* to the speech of the Elves in Aman was due to the contrast between the tongue of the Valar and the tongue of the Elves, which they had before supposed to be the only language in the world. Considering the interest of the Ñoldor in all matters concerning speech this is strange. Pengolodh indeed comments upon it and offers explanations. What he says in the beginning of his *Lammas* is here summarized; for his comment contains all that is now known of the matter.

'Even if we had no knowledge of it,' he says, 'we could not reasonably doubt that the Valar had a *lambe* of their own. We know that all members of their order were incarnated by their own desire, and that most of them chose to take forms like those of the Children of Eru, as they name us. In such forms they would take on all the characters of the Incarnates that were due to the co-operation of *hröa* with indwelling *fëa*, for otherwise the assumption of these forms would have been needless, and they arrayed themselves in this manner long before they had any cause to appear before us visibly. Since, then, the making of a *lambe* is the chief character of an Incarnate, the Valar, having arrayed them in this manner, would inevitably during their long sojourn in Arda have made a *lambe* for themselves.

'But without argument we know that they did so; for there are references to the *Lambe Valarinwa* in old lore and histories, though these are few and scattered. Most of these references appear to be derived, by tradition of mouth, from "the Sayings

of Rúmil" *(I Equessi Rúmilo)*, the ancient sage of Tirion, concerning the early days of the Eldar in Aman and their first dealings with the Valar. Only part of these *Equessi*[26] were preserved in the memory of the *Lambengolmor* during the dark years of the Flight and the Exile. All that I can find or remember I have here put together.'

The information that Pengolodh then gives is here set out more briefly. His preliminary points are these. Few of the Eldar ever learned to speak Valarin, even haltingly; among the people as a whole only a small number of words or names became widely known. Fëanor indeed, before the growth of his discontent, is said to have learned more of this tongue than any others before his time, and his knowledge must at any rate have far surpassed the little that is now recorded; but what he knew he kept to himself, and he refused to transmit it even to the *Lambengolmor* because of his quarrel with the Valar.

Our knowledge *(Note 35, p. 416)* is therefore now limited (1) to statements of the 'ancients' that certain words in Quenya were actually derived from Valarin; (2) to the occasional citation of words and names purporting to be Valarin (neither adopted in Quenya nor adapted to it), though undoubtedly recorded with only approximate accuracy, since no signs or letters not already known in the Elvish alphabets are employed; (3) to statements that certain names (especially those of the Valar or of places in Valinor) were translations of the Valarin forms. In cases (1) and (3) the actual Valarin words are not always indicated.

With regard to group (1) Pengolodh cites a 'Saying' of Rúmil: 'The Eldar took few words from the Valar, for they were rich in words and ready in invention at need. But though the honour which they gave to the Valar might have caused them to take words from their speech, whether needed or not, few words of Valarin could be fitted to Elvish speech without great change or diminution. For the tongues and voices of the Valar are great and stern, and yet also swift and subtle in movement, making sounds that we find hard to counterfeit; and their words are mostly long and rapid, like the glitter of swords, like the rush of leaves in a great wind or the fall of stones in the mountains.'

Pengolodh comments: 'Plainly the effect of Valarin upon Elvish ears was not pleasing.' It was, he adds, as may be seen or guessed from what survives, filled with many consonants unfamiliar to the Eldar and alien to the system of their speech.[27]

The examples that Pengolodh gives are as follows.

(1) (a) words

Ainu 'one of the "order" of the Valar and Maiar, made before Eä'. Valarin *ayanūz*. It was from this *ainu* that in Quenya was made the adjective *aina* 'holy', since according to Quenya derivation *ainu* appeared to be a personal form of such an adjective.

aman 'blessed, free from evil'. Chiefly used as the name of the land in which the Valar dwelt. V form not given; said to mean 'at peace, in accord (with Eru)'. See *Manwe*.

aþar, Ñ *asar* 'fixed time, festival'. V *aþāra* 'appointed'.

axan 'law, rule, commandment'. V *akašān*, said to mean 'He says', referring to Eru.

indil 'a lily, or other large single flower'. V *iniðil*.

mahalma 'throne'. V *maχallām* (adapted to Quenya), properly one of the seats of the Valar in the *Máhanaxar* or 'Doom Ring'. The element *māχan*, said to mean 'authority, authoritative decision', was also used in the form *Máhan*, one of the eight chiefs of the Valar, usually translated as *Aratar*.

miruvóre, *miruvor* 'a special wine or cordial'. V *mirubhōzē-*; said to be the beginning of a longer word, containing the element *mirub-* 'wine'.[28]

telluma 'dome', especially the 'Dome of Varda' over Valinor; but also applied to the domes of the mansion of Manwe and Varda upon Taniquetil. V *delgūmā*, altered by association with Q *telume*. See Note 15.

Pengolodh also cites the colour-words, which he says may be found in ancient verse, though they are used only by the Vanyar, 'who, as Rúmil reports, adopted many more words than did the Ñoldor':

ezel, *ezella* 'green'. See *Ezellohar*.

nasar 'red'; *ulban* 'blue'. V forms not given.

tulka 'yellow'. See *Tulkas*.

(b) names

Aule V *Aʒūlēz* (meaning not given).

Manwe Reduction and alteration to fit Quenya, in which words of this shape, ending in *-we*, were frequent in personal names. V *Mānawenūz* 'Blessed One, One (closest) in accord with Eru'. Oldest Q forms *Mánwen*, *Mánwe*.

Tulkas V *Tulukhastāz*; said to contain V elements *tuluk-ha(n)* 'yellow', and *(a)šata-* 'hair of head': 'the golden-haired'.

Osse, *Orome* On these two names, the only ones that became known to the Eldar before they reached Aman, see note below.

Ulmo Like *Manwe*, a reduction and alteration to fit Quenya, in which the ending *-mo* often appeared in names or titles, sometimes with an agental significance: *Ulmo* was interpreted as 'the Pourer' < *UL 'pour out'. The V form is given as *Ul(l)ubōz*, containing the element *ul(l)u* 'water'.

Osse and Orome. Orome was the first of the Valar that any of the Eldar saw. Osse they met in Beleriand, and he remained long upon the coasts, and became well known to the Sindar (especially to the Eglain). Both these names therefore have Sindarin forms. To *Osse* corresponds S *Yssion* or *Gaerys*; to *Orome* the S *Araw*. The V forms are given as *Oš(o)šai* (said to mean 'spuming, foaming'); and *Arǭmēz*.

The first name was evidently adopted in the form *Ossai*, which became naturally Q *Osse*. In S *Ossai* would become *ossī* > *ussi* > *yssi* to which the ending (of male names) *-on* was added; or else the adjective **gairā* 'awful, fearful' was prefixed, producing *Gaerys*. The latter was more often used by the inland Teleri. **gairā* is from **gay-* 'astound, make aghast', which was also used in the oldest Eldarin word for the Sea: **gayār*, Q *ëar*, S *gaear*.

Arǭmēz evidently, as was pointed out by Fëanor, contained the open *a*-like ǭ (which did as a matter of later observation occur frequently in Valarin). This was treated as was the Eldarin ǭ, so that the Sindarin development was > **arāmē* > *arǭmæ* > *araum(a)* > *arauṁ*, *arauv* > *araw*. (In North Sindarin or Mithrim, where the diphthongization of ō and the opening of intervocalic *m* did not occur, the form produced was *Arum*; cf. the North Sindarin transformation of the Exilic Ñoldorin name *Hísilóme* > *Hithlum*.) The Quenya form with *Orome* for **Arome* < **Arōmē*, may show assimilation of the initial *o* to the following ō before the retraction of the normal Q accent to the first syllable; but Pengolodh says that it was due to the association of the name with the native Q **rom*, used of the sound of trumps or horns, seen in the Q name for the great horn of Orome, the *Vala-róma* (also in Q *romba* 'horn, trumpet', S *rom*).

'The Eldar,' he says, 'now take the name to signify "horn-blowing" or "horn-blower"; but to the Valar it had no such meaning. Now the names that we have for the Valar or the

Maiar, whether adapted from the Valarin or translated, are not right names but titles, referring to some function or character of the person; for though the Valar have right names, they do not reveal them. Save only in the case of Orome. For it is said in the histories of the most ancient days of the Quendi that, when Orome appeared among them, and at length some dared to approach him, they asked him his name, and he answered: *Orome*. Then they asked him what that signified, and again he answered: *Orome. To me only is it given; for I am Orome.* Yet the titles that he bore were many and glorious; but he withheld them at that time, that the Quendi should not be afraid.'

Nahar, the name of Orome's horse. 'Otherwise it was,' says Pengolodh, 'with the steed upon which the Lord Orome rode. When the Quendi asked his name, and if that bore any meaning, Orome answered: "*Nahar*, and he is called from the sound of his voice, when he is eager to run".' But the V form that is recorded by Rúmil was *næχærra*.

Ezellohar (also translated as *Koron Oiolaire*, *Korollaire*), the Green Mound upon which grew the Two Trees. V *Ezellōχār*.

Máhanaxar, the 'Doom-ring' in which were set the thrones of the Valar whereon they sat in council (see *mahalma* above, p. 399). Reduced and altered from V *māχananaškād*. Also translated as *Rithil-Anamo*.

(2) Valarin words and names, recorded but not adopted.

(a) words

uruš, *rušur* 'fire'.
ithīr 'light'.
ul(l)u 'water'.
šebeth 'air'.

(b) names

Arda: V *Aþāraphelūn* (said to mean 'appointed dwelling'). Arda Unmarred: *Aþāraphelūn Amanaišāl*; Arda Marred: *Aþāraphelūn Dušamanūðān*.

Telperion: V *Ibrīniðilpathānezel*.

Laurelin: V *Tulukhedelgorūs*.

Ithil 'moon': V *Phanaikelūth*. Said to mean 'bright mirror'.

Anar 'Sun': V *Aþāraigas*. Said to mean 'appointed heat'.

At the end of this short list Pengolodh cites another *eques* of Rúmil, which might seem contrary to that already quoted above: 'Let none be surprised who endeavour to learn some-

what of the tongue of the Lords of the West, as have I, if they find therein many words or parts of words that resemble our own words for the same or similar meanings. For even as they took our form for love of us, so in that form their voices would be likely to light upon similar *tengwi*.'

Upon this Pengolodh comments: 'He knew not of Men or of Dwarves. But we who have dwelt among Men know that (strange though that seems to some) the Valar love them no less. And for my part I perceive a likeness no less, or indeed greater, between the Valarin and the tongues of Men, notably the language of the Dúnedain and of the Children of Marach (sc. Adunaic). Also in general manner it resembles the tongues of the Kasāri; though this is not to be wondered at, if the tradition that they have is true that Aule devised for them their tongue in its beginning, and therefore it changes little, whereas the *iglishmēk* which they made for themselves is changeable.'

(3) [Cf. p. 398: 'statements that certain names (especially those of the Valar or of places in Valinor) were translations of the Valarin forms']

Arda Q *arda* (< **gardā*, S *gardh*) meant any more or less bounded or defined place, a region. Its use as a proper name for the World was due to V *Aþāraphelūn*.

Aratar 'the Supreme', was a version of the V *māχanāz*, pl. *māχanumāz* 'Authorities', also adapted as *Máhan*, pl. *Máhani*.

Eä 'All Creation', meaning 'it is', or 'let it be'. Valarin not recorded.

Ambar 'the Earth', meaning 'habitation'. Though the Eldar often used *Arda* in much the same sense, the proper meaning of *Ambar* was the Earth only, as the place where the Aratar had taken up their dwelling, and the Incarnate were destined to appear.[29]

Eru 'the One'. *Ilúvatar* was, however, a name made by the Eldar (when they had learned of Eru from the Valar), which they used more often than *Eru*, reserved for the most solemn occasions. It was made from *ilúve* 'allness, the all', an equivalent of *Eä*, and *atar* 'father'.

Varda 'the Sublime'. V form not given.

Melkor 'He who arises in Might', oldest Q form **mbelekōro*. V form not given.

Námo 'Judge'; usually called by the Eldar *Mandos*, the place of his dwelling.

Irmo 'Desirer'; usually called by the name of his dwelling *Lórien*.

Este 'Repose'. (*SED: CE **esdē* > **ezdē*, Q *Este*, T *Ēde* (as names only); S *îdh* 'rest, repose'.)

Vala 'has power' (sc. over the matter of Eä), 'a Power'; pl. *Valar*, 'they have power, the Powers'. Since these words are from the point of Q structure verbal in origin, they were probably versions of V words of verbal meaning. Cf. *axan* (p. 399), *Eä*; and also Q *eques*.

Atan, pl. *Atani* 'Men', meaning 'the Second, those coming next'. The Valar called them in full 'the Second Children of Eru', but the Quendi were 'the first Children of Eru'. From these terms the Q *Minnónar* 'First-born' and *Apanónar* 'After-born' were imitated; but Q *Eruhin*, pl. *Eruhíni* 'Children of Eru', or 'Elves and Men', is a translation of the Valarin expression 'Children of Eru' (of which the actual Valarin form is not recorded, probably because the V equivalent of *Eru* is nowhere revealed). Besides the form *-hin*, *-híni* only used in composition after a parental name, Q has *hína* 'child', and *hina* only used in the vocative addressing a (young) child, especially in *hinya* (< *hinanya*) 'my child'. S has *hên*, pl. *hîn*, mostly used as a prefix in patronymics or metronymics: as *Hîn Húrin* 'The Children of Húrin'. These words are derivatives of stem **khin*: *khīnā* (in composition *khīna* > Q *-hin*), and *khinā*.

Kalakiryan 'the Cleft of Light', the pass in the Pelóri not far from the north side of Taniquetil through which the Light of the Trees in Valinor flowed out to the shores of Aman.

Taniquetil, the highest of the mountains of the Pelóri, upon which were the mansions of Manwe and Varda. The name was properly only that of the topmost peak, meaning High-Snow-Peak. The whole mountain was most often called by the Eldar *(Oron) Oiolosse*, '(Mount) Everwhite' or 'Eversnow'. There were many names for this mountain in Quenya. A variant or close equivalent of *Taniquetil* was *Arfanyaras(se)*. The Sindarin forms of the names were made by the Ñoldor, for the Sindar knew nothing of the land of Aman except by report of the Exiles: e.g. *Amon-Uilos* and *Ras-Arphain*.

Pelóri 'the fencing, or defensive Heights'. The mountains of Aman, ranging in a crescent from North to South, close to the western shores.

On this list Pengolodh comments: 'These are all that I can find

in old lore or remember to have read or heard. But the list is plainly incomplete. Many of the names once known and used, whether they be now found in the surviving histories or passed over, must have belonged to the first or the last group. Among those that are still remembered I note *Avathar*, the name of the dim and narrow land between the southern Pelóri and the Sea in which Ungoliante housed. This is not Elvish. There are also the names *Nessa*, the spouse of Tulkas, and *Uinen* the spouse of Osse. These too are not Elvish, so far as can now be seen; and since the names *Tulkas* and *Osse* come from Valarin, the names of their spouses may also represent titles in the Valarin tongue, or such part of them as the Eldar could adapt. I say "so far as can now be seen", for there is no certainty in this matter without record. It is clear that some, or indeed many, of these adoptions and translations were made in very early days, when the language of the Eldar was otherwise than it became before the Exile. In the long years, owing to the restlessness and inventiveness of the Eldar (and of the Ñoldor in particular), words have been set aside and new words made; but the names of the enduring have endured, as memorials of the speech of the past. There is also this to consider. When words of Elvish tongue had been used to make the names of things and persons high and admirable, they seem to have been felt no longer suitable to apply to lesser things, and so passed from the daily speech.

'Thus we see that *vala* is no longer used of any power or authority less than that of the Valar themselves. One may say *Ā vala Manwe!* "may Manwe order it!"; or *Valar valuvar* "the will of the Valar will be done"; but we do not say this of any lesser name. In like manner *Este* or *Ēde* is the name only of the spouse of Lórien, whereas the form that that word has in Sindarin *(îdh)* means "rest", such as even a tired hound may find before a fire.' *(Note 36, p. 416)*

The reasons that Pengolodh gives or surmises for the scanty knowledge of Valarin preserved in Ñoldorin lore are here summarized. Some have already been alluded to.

Though Valarin had many more sounds than Eldarin, some alien to the Eldarin style and system, this only imposed any real difficulty upon the borrowing of words and their adaptation to Eldarin. To learn Valarin was probably not beyond the powers of the Eldar, if they had felt the need or desire to do so;

references to the difficulty of Valarin are mainly due to the fact that for most of the Eldar learning it was an ungrateful and profitless task.

For the Eldar had no need to learn the language of Valinor for the purposes of communication; and they had no desire either to abandon or to alter their own tongue, which they loved and of which they were proud. Only those among them, therefore, who had special linguistic curiosity desired to learn Valarin for its own sake. Such 'loremasters' did not always record their knowledge, and many of the records that were made have been lost. Fëanor, who probably knew more of the matter than any of the younger generations born in Aman, deliberately withheld his knowledge.

It was probably only in the very early days that the Eldar heard Valarin much spoken, or had opportunity for learning it, unless by special individual effort. The Teleri had little immediate contact with the Valar and Maiar after their settlement on the shores. The Ñoldor became more and more engrossed with their own pursuits. Only the Vanyar remained in constant association with the Valar. And in any case the Valar appear quickly to have adopted Quenya.

All the orders of Eru's creatures have each some special talent, which higher orders may admire. It was the special talent of the Incarnate, who lived by *necessary* union of *hröa* and *fëa*, to make language. The Quendi, first and chief of the Incarnate, had (or so they held) the greatest talent for the making of *lambe*. The Valar and Maiar admired and took delight in the Eldarin *lambe*, as they did in many other of the skilled and delicate works of the Eldar.

The Valar, therefore, learned Quenya by their own choice, for pleasure as well as for communication; and it seems clear that they preferred that the Eldar should make new words of their own style, or should translate the meanings of names into fair Eldarin forms, rather than [that] they should retain the Valarin words or adapt them to Quenya (a process that in most cases did justice to neither tongue).

Soon after the coming of the Vanyar and Noldor the Valar ceased to speak in their own tongue in the presence of the Eldar, save rarely: as for instance in the great Councils, at which the Eldar were sometimes present. Indeed, it is said that often the Valar and Maiar might be heard speaking Quenya among themselves.

In any case, to speak of the early days of the settlement at Tirion, it was far easier and swifter for the Valar to learn Quenya than to teach the Eldar Valarin. For in a sense no *lambe* was 'alien' to the Self-incarnate. Even when using bodily forms they had less need of any *tengwesta* than had the Incarnate; and they had made a *lambe* for the pleasure of exercising the powers and skills of the bodily form, and (more remotely) for the better understanding of the minds of the Incarnate when they should appear, rather than for any need that they felt among themselves. For the Valar and Maiar could transmit and receive thought directly (by the will of both parties) according to their right nature;[30] and though the use of bodily form (albeit assumed and not imposed) in a measure made this mode of communication less swift and precise, they retained this faculty in a degree far surpassing that seen among any of the Incarnate.

At this point Pengolodh does not further discuss this matter of the transmission and reception of thought, and its limitations in any order of creatures. But he cites, as an example of the speed with which by its aid a *tengwesta* may be learned by a higher order, the story of the Finding of the Edain. According to this the Ñoldorin king, Finrod, quickly learned the tongue of the folk of Bëor whom he discovered in Ossiriand, for he understood in large measure what they meant while they spoke. 'Now Finrod,' he says, 'was renowned among the Eldar for this power which he had, because of the warmth of his heart and his desire to understand others; yet his power was no greater than that of the least of the Maiar.'[31]

Pengolodh concludes as follows. 'In the histories the Valar are always presented as speaking Quenya in all circumstances. *(Note 37, p. 417)* But this cannot proceed from translation by the Eldar, few of whose historians knew Valarin. The translation must have been made by the Valar or Maiar themselves. Indeed those histories or legends that deal with times before the awaking of the Quendi, or with the uttermost past, or with things that the Eldar could not have known, must have been presented from the first in Quenya by the Valar or the Maiar when they instructed the Eldar. Moreover this translation must have concerned more than the mere words of language. If we consider the First History, which is called the *Ainulindalë*: this must have come from the Aratar themselves (for the most part indeed from Manwe, it is believed). Though it was plainly put

into its present form by Eldar, and was already in that form when it was recorded by Rúmil, it must nonetheless have been from the first presented to us not only in the words of Quenya, but also according to our modes of thought and our imagination of the visible world, in symbols that were intelligible to us. And these things the Valar understood because they had learned our tongue.'

Author's Notes to Quendi and Eldar

Note 1 (p. 367; referred to in two passages)
Distinguish *yomenie* 'meeting, gathering' (of three or more coming from different directions). The Telerin form was: *ēl sīla lūmena vomentienguo.*

Note 2 (p. 369)
It was a later development in Quenya, after the elements *-ō* and *-vā* had become inflexions, applicable to all nouns, to pluralize *-o* by the addition of the plural sign *-n*, when added to a plural stem (as by natural function it could be): as *lasseo* 'of a leaf', *lassio* > *lassion* 'of leaves'. Similarly with *-va*; but this was and remained an adjective, and had the plural form *-ve* in plural attribution (archaic Q *-vai*); it could not, however, indicate plurality of source, originally, and the Q distinction *Eldava* 'Elf's' and *Eldaiva* 'Elves'' was a Q innovation.

Note 3 (p. 372)
roquen is < **roko-kwēn* with Quenya syncope, **roko* being an older simpler form of the stem, found in some compounds and compound names, though the normal form of the independent word 'horse' had the fortified form *rokko*. These compounds being old were accented as unitary words and the main stress came on the syllable preceding *-quen*: *kirya:quen*, *kirya:queni.*

Note 4 (p. 373)
That is, elliptically for *Quenya lambe*, as *English* for *English language*. When historians needed a general adjective 'Quendian, belonging to the Elves as a whole', they made the new adjective *Quenderin* (on the model of *Eldarin*, *Ñoldorin*, etc.); but this remained a learned word.

Note 5 (p. 375)
This change took place far back in Elvish linguistic history; possibly before the Separation. It is in any case common to the Telerin of Aman, Sindarin, and Nandorin.

Note 6 (p. 375)
The Ñoldorin Loremasters record that *Pendi* was used by the Teleri only of the earliest days, because they felt that it meant 'the lacking, the poor' (*PEN), with reference to the indigence and ignorance of the primitive Elves.

Note 7 (p. 377)
The Dwarves were in a special position. They claimed to have known Beleriand before even the Eldar first came there; and there do appear to have been small groups dwelling furtively in the highlands west of Sirion from a very early date: they attacked and waylaid the Elves by stealth, and the Elves did not at first recognize them as Incarnates, but thought them to be some kind of cunning animal, and hunted them. By their own account they were fugitives, driven into the wilderness by their own kin further east, and later they were called the *Noegyth Nibin*[32] or Petty-dwarves, for they had become smaller than the norm of their kind, and filled with hate for all other creatures. When the Elves met the powerful Dwarves of Nogrod and Belegost, in the eastern side of the Mountains, they recognized them as Incarnates, for they had skill in many crafts, and learned the Elvish speech readily for purposes of traffic. At first the Elves were in doubt concerning them, believing them to be related to Orcs and creatures of Morgoth; but when they found that, though proud and unfriendly, they could be trusted to keep any treaties that they made, and did not molest those who left them in peace, they traded with them and let them come and go as they would. They no longer classed them as *Moerbin*, but neither did they ever reckon them as *Celbin*, calling them the *Dornhoth* ('the thrawn folk') or the *Naugrim* ('the stunted people'). [See further on the Petty-dwarves pp. 388–9.]

Note 8 (p. 377)
Though *Morben* might still be applied to them by any who remained hostile to Men (as were the people of Doriath for the most part); but this was intended to be insulting.

Note 9 (p. 377; referred to in two passages)
The implication that as opposed to *Celbin* the *Moerbin* were allies of Morgoth, or at least of dubious loyalty, was, however, untrue with regard to the Avari. No Elf of any kind ever sided with Morgoth of free will, though under torture or the stress of great fear, or deluded by lies, they might obey his commands: but this applied also to *Celbin*. The 'Dark-elves', however, often

were hostile, and even treacherous, in their dealings with the Sindar and Ñoldor; and if they fought, as they did when themselves assailed by the Orcs, they never took any open part in the War on the side of the *Celbin*. They were, it seems, filled with an inherited bitterness against the Eldar, whom they regarded as deserters of their kin, and in Beleriand this feeling was increased by envy (especially of the *Amanyar*), and by resentment of their lordliness. The belief of the *Celbin* that, at the least, they were weaker in resistance to the pressures or lies of Morgoth, if this grievance was concerned, may have been justified; but the only case recorded in the histories is that of Maeglin, the son of Eöl. Eöl was a *Mornedhel*, and is said to have belonged to the Second Clan (whose representatives among the Eldar were the Ñoldor).[33] He dwelt in East Beleriand not far from the borders of Doriath. He had great smith-craft, especially in the making of swords, in which work he surpassed even the Ñoldor of Aman; and many therefore believed that he used the *morgul*, the black arts taught by Morgoth. The Ñoldor themselves had indeed learned much from Morgoth in the days of his captivity in Valinor; but it is more likely that Eöl was acquainted with the Dwarves, for in many places the Avari became closer in friendship with that people than the Amanyar or the Sindar. Eöl found Írith,[34] the sister of King Turgon, astray in the wild near his dwelling, and he took her to wife by force: a very wicked deed in the eyes of the Eldar. His son Maeglin was later admitted to Gondolin, and given honour as the king's sisterson; but in the end he betrayed Gondolin to Morgoth. Maeglin was indeed an Elf of evil temper and dark mind, and he had a lust and grudge of his own to satisfy; but even so he did what he did only after torment and under a cloud of fear. Some of the Nandor, who were allowed to be *Celbin*, were not any better. Saeros, a counsellor of King Thingol, who belonged to a small clan of Nandor living in eastern Doriath, was chiefly responsible for the driving into outlawry of Túrin son of Húrin. Túrin's mother was named *Morwen* 'dark maiden', because of her dark hair, and it was one of Saeros' worst insults to call her *Morben*. For that Túrin smote him in the king's hall.[35]

This resentment on the part of the Avari is illustrated by the history of PQ **kwendī*. This word, as has been shown, did not survive in the Telerin languages of Middle-earth, and was almost forgotten even in the Telerin of Aman. But the Lore-masters of later days, when more friendly relations had been

established with Avari of various kinds in Eriador and the Vale of Anduin, record that it was frequently to be found in Avarin dialects. These were numerous, and often as widely sundered from one another as they were from the Eldarin forms of Elvish speech; but wherever the descendants of **kwendī* were found, they meant not 'Elves in general', but were the names that the Avari gave to themselves. They had evidently continued to call themselves **kwendī*, 'the People', regarding those who went away as deserters – though according to Eldarin tradition the numbers of the Eldar at the time of the Separation were in the approximate proportion of 3:2, as compared with the Avari (see p. 381). The Avarin forms cited by the Loremasters were: *kindi*, *cuind*, *hwenti*, *windan*, *kinn-lai*, *penni*. The last is interesting as showing the change *kw* > *p*. This might be independent of the Common Telerin change; but it suggests that it had already occurred among the Lindar before the Separation. The form *penni* is cited as coming from the 'Wood-elven' speech of the Vale of Anduin, and these Elves were among the most friendly to the fugitives from Beleriand, and held themselves akin to the remnants of the Sindar.

Note 10 (p. 378)

It is not surprising that the Edain, when they learned Sindarin, and to a certain extent Quenya also, found it difficult to discern whether words and names containing the element *el* referred to the stars or to the Elves. This is seen in the name *Elendil*, which became a favourite name among the Edain, but was meant to bear the sense 'Elf-friend'. Properly in Quenya it meant 'a lover or student of the stars', and was applied to those devoted to astronomical lore. 'Elf-friend' would have been more correctly represented by *Quen(den)dil* or *Eldandil*.

Note 11 (p. 378)

Lake Mithrim, meaning originally 'Lake of the Mithrim'. *Mithrim* was a name given to them by the southern-dwellers, because of the cooler climate and greyer skies, and the mists of the North. It was probably because the Ñoldor first came into contact with this northerly branch that they gave in Quenya the name *Sindar* or *Sindeldi* 'Grey-elves' to all the Telerin inhabitants of the Westlands who spoke the Sindarin language.[36] Though this name was also later held to refer to Elwe's name *Thingol (Sindikollo)* 'Grey-cloak', since he was acknowledged as high-king of all the land and its peoples. It is said also that the

folk of the North were clad much in grey, especially after the return of Morgoth when secrecy became needed; and the Mithrim had an art of weaving a grey cloth that made its wearers almost invisible in shadowy places or in a stony land. This art was later used even in the southern lands as the dangers of the War increased.

Note 12 (p. 380)
The language of Mithrim was also a marked dialect; but none of the dialects of Sindarin differed widely enough to interfere with intercourse. Their divergences were no greater than those that had arisen between the Quenya as spoken by the Vanyar, and as spoken by the Ñoldor at the time of the Exile.

Note 13 (p. 380)
For the late PQ *gl-* as an initial variation of *l-* see General Phonology.[37] Though this Clan-name has **glind-* in Sindarin, the *g-* does not appear in Amanya Telerin, nor in Nandorin, so that in this case it may be an addition in Sindarin, which favoured and much increased initial groups of this kind.

Note 14 (p. 382)
For this reason the most frequently used of the 'titles' or secondary names of the Lindar was *Nendili* 'Water-lovers'.

Note 15 (p. 382)
A simple agental formation (like **abaro* > **abar* from *ABA) from the stem *TELE, the primary sense of which appears to have been 'close, end, come at the end': hence in Q *telda* 'last, final'; *tele-* intransitive verb 'finish, end', or 'be the last thing or person in a series or sequence of events'; *telya* transitive verb 'finish, wind up, conclude'; *telma* 'a conclusion, anything used to finish off a work or affair'. This was possibly distinct from **tel-u* 'roof in, put the crown on a building', seen in Q *telume* 'roof, canopy'. (This was probably one of the earliest Quendian words for the heavens, the firmament, before the increase of their knowledge, and the invention of the Eldarin word *Menel*. Cf. *Telumehtar* 'warrior of the sky', an older name for *Menelmakil*, Orion.) The word *telluma* 'dome, cupola' is an alteration of *telume* under the influence of Valarin *delgūmā*: see p. 399. But **telu* may be simply a differentiated form of *TELE, since the roof was the final work of a building; cf. *telma*, which was often applied to the last item in a structure, such as a coping-stone, or a topmost pinnacle.

Note 16 (p. 384)
See above, p. 381. The proportion, per 144, of the Eldar remaining in Middle-earth was reckoned at 26, of which about 8 were Nandor.

Note 17 (p. 384)
Lenwe is the form in which his name was remembered in Ñoldorin histories. His name was probably **Denwego*, Nandorin *Denweg*. His son was the Nandorin chieftain *Denethor*. These names probably meant 'lithe-and-active' and 'lithe-and-lank', from **dene-* 'thin and strong, pliant, lithe', and **thara-* 'tall (or long) and slender'.

Note 18 (p. 384)
The name *Nandor* was a derivative of the element **dan*, **ndan-* indicating the reversal of an action, so as to undo or nullify its effect, as in 'undo, go back (the same way), unsay, give back (the same gift: not another in return)'. The original word **ndandō*, therefore, probably only implied 'one who goes back on his word or decision'.

Note 19 (p. 386)
In Q *Eldameldor*, S *Elvellyn*. That is, 'Elf-lovers'. The words *Quendili*, *Eldandili* (see Note 10), though not excluding affection and personal loyalties, would have implied also deep concern with all lore relative to the Elves, which was not necessarily included in the words *meldor*, *mellyn* 'lovers, friends'.

Note 20 (p. 387)
That is, to die by nature, of age or weariness, and inevitably, not only (as the Elves) of some grievous hurt or sorrow.

Note 21 (p. 387)
S *-eb* is from **ikwā*, CT **-ipā*, probably related to the Q *-inqua*. Cf. S *aglareb* 'glorious', Q *alkarinqua*. Both are probably related to the element **kwa*, **kwa-ta* seen in Eldarin words for 'full'.

Note 22 (p. 388)
S *ch* was only an approximation; the Dwarvish *kh* was in fact a strong aspirate, not a spirant. Similarly at the time of the borrowing Sindarin did not possess either the sound *z* or long *ā*. This does not mean that the Elves could not imitate or acquire sounds alien to their native speech. All the Elves had great skill in language, and far surpassed Men in this matter. The Ñoldor

were the chief linguists of the Elves, but their superiority was shown not so much in the acquisition of new tongues as in their love of language, their inventiveness, and their concern with the lore of language, and the history and relations of different tongues. In adopting a word for use in their own tongue (which they loved) Elves fitted it to their own style for aesthetic reasons.

Note 23 (p. 388)

These words are derived from the stem *NUKU 'dwarf, stunted, not reaching full growth or achievement, failing of some mark or standard', seen in **nuktā-*, Q *nuhta-* 'stunt, prevent from coming to completion, stop short, not allow to continue', S *nuitha-* of similar senses. An adjectival formation was **naukā*, from which were derived S *naug*, Q *nauka*, especially applied to things that though in themselves full-grown were smaller or shorter than their kind, and were hard, twisted or ill-shapen. *Nogoth* is probably from some such form as **nukotto/a* 'a stunted or ill-shapen thing (or person)'.

Note 24 (p. 388)

The Q *h* had become too weak to represent aspirate *kh* which was therefore rendered by *k*. Final *d* had become *r*, and this change was recognized in the adaptation. Medial *z* < *s* had become *r* in the Noldorin dialect of Q except when an adjacent syllable, or (as here) the same syllable, already contained an *r*.

Note 25 (p. 388)

Norno is a personalized form of the adjective *norna* 'stiff, tough', the Q equivalent of S *dorn*. Both are from the stem *DORO 'dried up, hard, unyielding'. With the frequent initial enrichment *d* > *nd* this appears in PQ **ndorē* 'the hard, dry land as opposed to water or bog > land in general as opposed to sea; a land (a particular region with more or less defined bounds)'. Hence S *dôr* (*-ndor* > *-nor*, *-nnor*) 'land'. In Q this word became confused or blended with the distinct **nōrē* from the stem *ONO (see p. 387), 'family, tribe or group having a common ancestry, the land or region in which they dwelt'. Thus Q *nóre* was generally used for 'land' associated with a particular people, and the old **ndorē* survived only in name-compounds: as *Valinóre* < **Valinōrē* 'the people and land of the Valar', beside *Valinor*, *Valandor*. A particular land or region was in Q *arda*; 'land' as opposed to water or sea was *nór* (< **ndōro*) as opposed to *eär*. The Q forms *norna*, *Norno* may also contain *nd-*, though S *dorn* does not; but this is probably

one of the cases in which Q initial *d* became *n*-, not *l*-, by assimilation to an *n* occurring later in the word.

Note 26 (p. 389)

Novrod was the oldest form, and appears in the earlier annals, beside the variant *Grodnof*. These contain the CE elements **nābā* 'hollow', and *(g)rotā* 'excavation, underground dwelling'. *Novrod* retains the older Eldarin (and the Dwarvish) order with the adjectival element first. At the time of its making **nāba-grota* had no doubt already reached its archaic S form **nǭv-ȝrot* > *novrod*. *Grodnof* has the same elements in the later more usual Sindarin order. The form *Nogrod* which later became usual is due to the substitution of *Nog*-, taken as a form of *Naug* 'dwarf' (with the usual change of *au* > *o*), after the element *Nov*- had become obscure. The adjective **nābā* > *nǭv*, *nǭf* only remained current in the Northern dialect, where the name *Novrod* originated. In the other dialects *nǭv*, as a stressed independent word, proceeded to *nauv* > *naw* (with the usual loss of final *v* after *au*, *u*), and this word ceased to be used in current speech. *Novrod* in earlier annals is sometimes found glossed *Bar-goll* 'hollow dwelling', using the more current adjective *coll* < **kuldā*.

Hadhodrond uses the adapted form *Hadhod* = *Khazād*. The element *rond* is not related to *grod*, *-rod*. The latter is from **groto* 'dig, excavate, tunnel'. S *rond*, Q *rondo* are from **rono* 'arch over, roof in'. This could be applied both to natural and to artificial structures, but its view was always from below and from the inside. (Contrast the derivatives of **tel*, **telu* mentioned in Note 15.) CE **rondō* meant 'a vaulted or arched roof, as seen from below (and usually not visible from outside)', or 'a (large) hall or chamber so roofed'. It was still often applied pictorially to the heavens after the Elves had obtained much greater knowledge of 'Star-lore'. Cf. the name *Elrond* 'Star-dome' (*Elros* meant 'Star-glitter'). Cf. also S *othrond* applied to an underground stronghold, made or enlarged by excavation, containing one or more of such great vaulted halls. *othrond* is < S *ost*+*rond*. CE **ostō*, Q *osto*, S *ost*, is derived from **soto* 'shelter, protect, defend', and was applied to any fortress or stronghold made or strengthened by art. The most famous example, after the great dwelling of Elwe at Menegroth, was *Nargothrond* < *Narog-ost-rond* ('the great underground burg and halls upon the River Narog'), which was made by Finrod,

or completed and enlarged by him from the more primitive dwellings made by the Petty-dwarves.

Though distinct in origin the derivatives of **groto* and **rono* naturally came into contact, since they were not dissimilar in shape, and a **rondō* was usually made by excavation. Thus S *groth* < **grottā* (an intensified form of *grod* < **grotā*) 'a large excavation' might well apply to a *rond*. *Menegroth* means 'the Thousand Caves or Delvings', but it contained one great *rond* and many minor ones.

Note 27 (p. 390)

**(ñ)guruk* is due to a combination of **(g)ruk* with *NGUR 'horror', seen in S *gorth*, *gorthob* 'horror, horrible', and (reduplicated) *gorgor* 'extreme horror'.

Note 28 (p. 390)

Some other derivatives are in Quenya: *rukin* 'I feel fear or horror' (constructed with 'from' of the object feared); *ruhta-* 'terrify'; *rúkima* 'terrible'; *rauko* and *arauko* < **grauk-*) 'a powerful, hostile, and terrible creature', especially in the compound *Valarauko* 'Demon of Might', applied later to the more powerful and terrible of the Maia servants of Morgoth. In Sindarin appear, for instance, *raug* and *graug*, and the compound *Balrog* (equivalents of Q *rauko*, etc.); *groga-* 'feel terror'; *gruitha* 'terrify'; *gorog* (< **guruk*) 'horror'.

Note 29 (p. 392)

Affixes appear in *equen* 'said I', *eques* 'said he / she', used in reporting a dialogue.

Note 30 (p. 392)

**ekwē* was probably a primitive past tense, marked as such by the 'augment' or reduplicated base-vowel, and the long stem-vowel. Past tenses of this form were usual in Sindarin 'strong' or primary verbs: as **akāra* 'made, did' > S *agor*. **akwā*, however, was probably not verbal, but an extension or intensification of **kwā*, used adverbially.

Note 31 (p. 392)

In Eldarin languages this is usually found in the forms *-ikwā* or *-ukwā*, or with nasal infixion *-iñkwā*, *-uñkwā*. The vowels *i*, *u* were probably derived from the terminations of nouns or other stems to which *kwā* was added, but the dissyllabic suffixal forms had become quite independent of this origin. The forms using *u* were mainly applied to things heavy, clumsy, ugly or bad.

Note 32 (p. 393)
Little is said in Ñoldorin lore concerning the language of the Valar and Maiar; but on this point a note is added at the end of this Appendix (pp. 397 ff.).

Note 33 (p. 394)
lamba is derived from *LABA 'move the tongue, lick', and may be referred to **lab-mā* (with a suffix frequent in the names of implements): the group *bm* > *mb* in CE and possibly earlier. *lambe* is probably from **lab-mē*, denoting the action of *LABA, or the use of the **lambā*. (Cf. *JULU 'drink', **julmā*, Q *yulma*, S *ylf* 'drinking-vessel'; **julmē*, Q *yulme*, 'drinking, carousal'.) These words have no original connexion with *LAMA which refers to sounds, especially to vocal sounds, but was applied only to those that were confused or inarticulate. It was generally used to describe the various cries of beasts. Hence the word **laman(a)*, **lamān*, Q *laman*, pl. *lamni* or *lamani*; S *lavan*, pl. *levain*, 'animal', usually only applied to four-footed beasts, and never to reptiles or birds. (This may be compared with **kwene* 'user of articulate speech'.) The Sindarin *glam* < *glamb / glamm* (p. 391) is an elaboration of *LAM.

Note 34 (p. 394)
In genuine independent use mainly employed between persons out of earshot: the Elves had astonishingly acute eyesight at a distance. These 'signals' were really distinct from the gestures (especially those of the hands) made as concomitants to speech and additions to tone-changes for the conveyance of feeling, though some of the gestures in both systems were similar. The Elves made considerable use of the concomitant gestures, especially in oration or recitation.

Note 35 (p. 398)
By which Pengolodh meant the knowledge available in Middle-earth. The *Lammas* was composed in Eriador.

Note 36 (p. 404)
Other later Loremasters conjectured that *Nessa* was in fact Elvish in form (though archaic, on Pengolodh's own principle), being < **neresā*, a feminine adjectival formation from *NER, meaning 'she that has manlike valour or strength'. They also would remove *Taniquetil* from the group of 'translations'. *Arfanyarasse*, they say, is the translation: 'high (i.e. noble, revered) – shining white – peak', but *Taniquetil* is an adaptation, though one that has probably greatly altered the original

in the attempt to give the name some kind of Eldarin significance: ? high white point. As they say, *ta-* does not mean 'lofty' in Eldarin, though it may remind one of *tára* 'tall, high' (*TAR); *nique* does not refer to snow, but to cold; and Q *tilde*, *-til* is not a mountain peak, but a fine sharp point (mostly used of small and slender things). For *nique* cf. Q *niku-* 'be chill, cold (of weather)'; *nique* 'it is cold, it freezes'; *ninque* 'chill, pallid', *nixe* 'frost', *niquis*, *niquesse* 'frost-patterns' (the latter by association with *quesse* 'feather').

Most significant, they cite from an ancient legend of the Flight the tale that as the mists of Araman wrapped the distant mountains of Valinor from the sight of the Ñoldor, Fëanor raised his hands in token of rejection and cried: 'I go. Neither in light or shadow will I look upon you again, *Dahanigwishtil-gūn.*' So it was recorded, though the writers of the histories no longer knew what he meant. For which reason the strange word may have been ill transmitted. But even so it still bears some likeness to *Taniquetil*, though it can no longer be analysed. (In a few versions, say the Loremasters, it is written *dāhan-igwiš-telgūn.*) They also cite *Fionwe* [read *Eönwe*?] (the herald of Manwe) as another name for which no Elvish etymology is known.

Note 37 (p. 406)

Usually in a formal and elevated style. Often, when there were differences, rather according to the Vanyarin manner than the Ñoldorin, for the Vanyar were most in their company; though the Ñoldorin writers have sometimes substituted their own forms.

Editorial Notes

1 'affection': mutation (of the vowel *o* caused by the following *i* in *Mori(quendi)*).
2 *sundóma*: see p. 319.
3 *omentielvo*: this was typed *omentielmo*, subsequently changed to *omentielvo*. The same change was made in the Second Edition of *The Fellowship of the Ring* (p. 90).
4 *The Fellowship of the Ring* p. 367 (at the end of the chapter *Lothlórien*); First Edition *vanimalda*, Second Edition *vanimelda*.
5 The term *ómataina* or 'vocalic extension' is used of the addition to the 'base' of a final vowel identical to the *sundóma* (p. 319).
6 'The glooms and the clouds dimming the sun and the stars': an explicit reference, it seems, to some form of the changed astronomical myth adumbrated in Text II of the section 'Myths

Transformed' in *Morgoth's Ring*. In that text my father raised the question 'how can the Eldar be called the "Star-folk"?' if the Sun is 'coeval with the Earth' (X.375); and proposed a complex story (X.377–8) in which the darkening of the world by Melkor, who brought up vast glooms to shut out all vision of the heavens, is a chief element. See further pp. 423–4.

7 'The first people of this kind to be met were the Nandor': this strangely contradicts the history recorded in the *Annals* (GA §19, p. 9; also AAm §84, X.93), according to which the Dwarves first entered Beleriand in Valian Year 1250, and the building of Menegroth was achieved before the coming of Denethor, leader of the Nandor, in 1350 (pp. 11–13). The following statement here that the first invasions of the Orcs followed Morgoth's return is an equally striking contradiction of the *Annals*: according to GA §27 Orcs entered Beleriand in 1330 (cf. also X.106, §85): 'Whence they came, or what they were, the Elves knew not then, deeming them to be Avari, maybe, that had become evil and savage in the wild.'

8 'from Cape Andras to the headland of Bar-in-Mŷl': *Cape Andras* was entered on the map (p. 184, square G 2), but the headland to the south (itself an extension of the coastline as originally drawn) is there called *Ras Mewrim* (p. 190, §63). The name in the present text was typed *Bar-in-Gwael*; the translation 'Home of the Gulls' was added at the same time as the change to *Bar-in-Mŷl* (by a later pencilled change on one copy *-in-* > *-i-*).

9 *Brithonbar*, not *Brithombar*, is the form typed, and not corrected.

10 With this passage on the subject of the Eglain cf. p. 189, §57, and pp. 343–4. The concluding sentence 'But they acknowledged the high-kingship of Thingol, and Círdan never took the title of king' differs from the *Annals*, where Círdan either acknowledged Felagund of Nargothrond as overlord, or else was (as it seems) an independent Lord of the Falas 'yet ever close in friendship with Nargothrond' (GA §85, and commentary p. 117).

11 For the legend of *Imin*, *Tata*, and *Enel* see pp. 420 ff.

12 The story found in the *Annals of Aman* of the kindreds of Morwë and Nurwë, who refused the summons of the Valar and became the Avari (X.81–2, 88, 168), had been abandoned.

13 The name *Lindar* 'Singers' of the Teleri has appeared in the 'Glossary' to the *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth* (X.349); it was for long the name of the First Kindred, the later Vanyar.

14 On the waterfall of Cuiviénen see p. 424.

15 In other late writing Círdan is said to have been of the kin of Elwë, but I have not found any statement of the nature of the kinship.

16 *Lenwë* has replaced the long-standing name *Dân* of Denethor's

father; from this text it was adopted in *The Silmarillion*.

17 The statement that the Nandor entered Beleriand 'not long before the return of Morgoth' is another remarkable contradiction of the *Annals* (cf. note 7 above). Earlier (p. 377) it is said that they came 'before the return of Morgoth', which no doubt implies the same. But in GA §31 there is a marvellous evocation of 'the long years of peace that followed after the coming of Denethor', and they were indeed long: from 1350 to 1495, 145 Valian Years, or 1389 Years of the Sun. I am at a loss to explain these profound changes in the embedded history.

18 On the Adunaic word *Nimir* 'Elf' see *The Drowning of Anadûnê* (Vol.IX, Index II, p. 473).

19 *Fírimar*: the old form was *Fírimor* (QS §83, V.245, footnote). An account of the development of meaning in the verb *fírë* is given in connection with *Fíriel*, the later name of Míriel, in X.250.

20 The name *Nogoth niben* was adopted in *The Silmarillion* (in the plural, *Noegyth nibin*: see Note 7 to the present text, p. 408); the word *nogoth* of the Dwarves has not occurred before (see note 32 below). For other names and name-forms of the Petty-dwarves see p. 187, §26.

21 In the revision of the QS chapter on the Dwarves the Sindarin name of Khazad-dûm was *Nornhabar*, translated 'Dwarrowdelf' (p. 206). 'Dwarrowdelf' is found also in *The Fellowship of the Ring*; in the present text the Sindarin name was typed *Hadhodrûd* and translated 'Dwarrowmine', but the change to *Hadhodrond* 'Dwarrowvault' was made immediately. *Hadhodrond* was adopted in *The Silmarillion*.

22 Cf. Appendix F to *The Lord of the Rings*, p. 409: 'The lesser kinds were called, especially by the Uruk-hai, *snaga* "slave".'

23 Fëanor held that, in spite of the usual mode of spelling, vowels were each independent *tengwi* or word-building elements.

24 On one copy only a later pencilled correction changed *SAR to *SYAR.

25 At the head of the page is a pencilled note on one copy only: 'Change *Pengolodh* to *Thingódhel*'.

26 For the word *equessi* see p. 392. Both in that passage and in the present one the word was typed *Equeri* and then corrected.

27 For the old conception in the *Lhammas* of the 1930s, according to which the origin of all Elvish speech was in the language of the Valar (communicated to the Elves by Oromë), see V.168, 192–3.

28 In *The Road Goes Ever On*, p. 61, the name *miruvórë* (occurring in *Namárië*) is said to be of Valarin origin.

29 Cf. Note 2 on the Commentary on the *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth* (X.337), where it is said that 'Physically Arda was what we should call the Solar System', and that in Elvish traditions 'the principal part of Arda was the Earth (*Imbar* "the Habitation") ...

so that loosely used Arda often seems to mean the Earth'. For *Ambar* see the references given in X.359, note 12.

30 Cf. AAm §164 (X.129): 'without voices in silence [the gods] may hold council one with another', and the passage cited from *The Return of the King* in my note on that passage (X.135).

31 Cf. the late QS chapter *Of the Coming of Men into the West*, p. 217: 'Felagund discovered ... that he could read in the minds of Men such thoughts as they wished to reveal in speech, so that their words were easily interpreted.'

32 *Noegyth Nibin* was a correction of the name typed, *Nibinn..g*, probably *Nibinnoeg* (see p. 187, §26). The notes being interspersed in the text, this note was written before the passage on p. 388 was reached.

33 It is curious that – as in the original text of *Maeglin*, where he was 'of the kin of Thingol' – in my father's very late work on the story Eöl becomes again 'one of the Eldar' (p. 328), though consumed with hatred of the Noldor; whereas here he is a *Mornedhel* (one of the Avari), and moreover of the aboriginal Second Clan.

34 The name *Írith* is found as a correction (made after the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*) of the old name *Isfin* in QS §42 (X.177). When my father worked on the *Maeglin* story c.1970 he appears to have forgotten *Írith*, for his notes at that time express dissatisfaction with the 'meaningless' name *Isfin* as if it had never been replaced (pp. 317–18).

35 Saeros' insulting of Túrin by calling his mother Morwen *Morben* was a development in the story (see QS §39, V.321, and *Unfinished Tales* p. 80) that could only arise, of course, with the emergence of the words *Calben* and *Morben*.

36 Neither the interpretation of *Mithrim* as the name of a people (for the old etymology see V.383–4, stem RINGI) nor this explanation of the name *Sindar* have been met before.

37 'General Phonology': my father was not here referring to any specific, completed work.

APPENDIX

The legend of the Awaking of the Quendi (Cuivienyarna)

It is said in *Quendi and Eldar*, p. 380:

> According to the legend, preserved in almost identical form among both the Elves of Aman and the Sindar, the Three Clans were in the beginning derived from the three Elf-fathers: *Imin*, *Tata*, and *Enel* (sc. One, Two, Three), and those whom each chose to join his following. So they had at first simply the names *Minyar* 'Firsts', *Tatyar* 'Seconds', and *Nelyar* 'Thirds'. These numbered, out of the

original 144 Elves that first awoke, 14, 56, and 74; and these proportions were approximately maintained until the Separation.

A form of this legend is found in a single typescript with carbon copy. On one copy my father wrote (and similarly but more briefly on the other): 'Actually written (in style and simple notions) to be a surviving Elvish "fairytale" or child's tale, mingled with counting-lore'. Corrections to either copy are taken up in the text that follows.

While their first bodies were being made from the 'flesh of Arda' the Quendi slept 'in the womb of the Earth', beneath the green sward, and awoke when they were full-grown. But the First Elves (also called the Unbegotten, or the Eru-begotten) did not all wake together. Eru had so ordained that each should lie beside his or her 'destined spouse'. But three Elves awoke first of all, and they were elf-men, for elf-men are more strong in body and more eager and adventurous in strange places. These three Elf-fathers are named in the ancient tales *Imin*, *Tata*, and *Enel*. They awoke in that order, but with little time between each; and from them, say the Eldar, the words for one, two, and three were made: the oldest of all numerals.*

Imin, Tata and Enel awoke before their spouses, and the first thing that they saw was the stars, for they woke in the early twilight before dawn. And the next thing they saw was their destined spouses lying asleep on the green sward beside them. Then they were so enamoured of their beauty that their desire for speech was immediately quickened and they began to 'think of words' to speak and sing in. And being impatient they could not wait but woke up their spouses. Thus, the Eldar say, the first thing that each elf-woman saw was her spouse, and her love for him was her first love; and her love and reverence for the wonders of Arda came later.

Now after a time, when they had dwelt together a little, and had devised many words, Imin and Iminyë, Tata and Tatië, Enel and Enelyë walked together, and left the green dell of their waking, and they came soon to another larger dell and found there six pairs of Quendi, and the stars were again shining in the morrow-dim and the elf-men were just waking.

Then Imin claimed to be the eldest and to have the right of

* [footnote to the text] The Eldarin words referred to are *Min*, *Atta* (or *Tata*), *Nel*. The reverse is probably historical. The Three had no names until they had developed language, and were given (or took) names after they had devised numerals (or at least the first twelve).

first choice; and he said: 'I choose these twelve to be my companions.' And the elf-men woke their spouses, and when the eighteen Elves had dwelt together a little and had learned many words and devised more, they walked on together, and soon in another even deeper and wider hollow they found nine pairs of Quendi, and the elf-men had just waked in the starlight.

Then Tata claimed the right of second choice, and he said: 'I choose these eighteen to be my companions.' Then again the elf-men woke their spouses, and they dwelt and spoke together, and devised many new sounds and longer words; and then the thirty-six walked abroad together, until they came to a grove of birches by a stream, and there they found twelve pairs of Quendi, and the elf-men likewise were just standing up, and looking at the stars through the birch boughs.

Then Enel claimed the right of third choice, and he said: 'I choose these twenty-four to be my companions.' Again the elf-men woke their spouses; and for many days the sixty Elves dwelt by the stream, and soon they began to make verse and song to the music of the water.

At length they all set out together again. But Imin noticed that each time they had found more Quendi than before, and he thought to himself: 'I have only twelve companions (although I am the eldest); I will take a later choice.' Soon they came to a sweet-smelling firwood on a hill-side, and there they found eighteen pairs of Quendi, and all were still sleeping. It was still night and clouds were in the sky. But before dawn a wind came, and roused the elf-men, and they woke and were amazed at the stars; for all the clouds were blown away and the stars were bright from east to west. And for a long time the eighteen new Quendi took no heed of the others, but looked at the lights of Menel. But when at last they turned their eyes back to earth they beheld their spouses and woke them to look at the stars, crying to them *elen, elen!* And so the stars got their name.

Now Imin said: 'I will not choose again yet'; and Tata, therefore, chose these thirty-six to be his companions; and they were tall and dark-haired and strong like fir-trees, and from them most of the Ñoldor later were sprung.

And the ninety-six Quendi now spoke together, and the newly-waked devised many new and beautiful words, and many cunning artifices of speech; and they laughed, and danced upon the hill-side, until at last they desired to find more companions. Then they all set out again together, until they came to a lake

dark in the twilight; and there was a great cliff about it upon the east-side, and a waterfall came down from the height, and the stars glittered on the foam. But the elf-men were already bathing in the waterfall, and they had waked their spouses. There were twenty-four pairs; but as yet they had no formed speech, though they sang sweetly and their voices echoed in the stone, mingling with the rush of the falls.

But again Imin withheld his choice, thinking 'next time it will be a great company'. Therefore Enel said: 'I have the choice, and I choose these forty-eight to be my companions.' And the hundred and forty-four Quendi dwelt long together by the lake, until they all became of one mind and speech, and were glad.

At length Imin said: 'It is time now that we should go on and seek more companions.' But most of the others were content. So Imin and Iminyë and their twelve companions set out, and they walked long by day and by twilight in the country about the lake, near which all the Quendi had awakened – for which reason it is called Cuiviénen. But they never found any more companions, for the tale of the First Elves was complete.

And so it was that the Quendi ever after reckoned in twelves, and that 144 was for long their highest number, so that in none of their later tongues was there any common name for a greater number. And so also it came about that the 'Companions of Imin' or the Eldest Company (of whom came the Vanyar) were nonetheless only fourteen in all, and the smallest company; and the 'Companions of Tata' (of whom came the Ñoldor) were fifty-six in all; but the 'Companions of Enel' although the Youngest Company were the largest; from them came the Teleri (or Lindar), and they were in the beginning seventy-four in all.

Now the Quendi loved all of Arda that they had yet seen, and green things that grew and the sun of summer were their delight; but nonetheless they were ever moved most in heart by the Stars, and the hours of twilight in clear weather, at 'morrow-dim' and at 'even-dim', were the times of their greatest joy. For in those hours in the spring of the year they had first awakened to life in Arda. But the Lindar, above all the other Quendi, from their beginning were most in love with water, and sang before they could speak.

It seems that my father had resolved (at least for the purpose of this 'fairy-tale') the problem of the name 'Star-folk' of the Elves (see p. 417, note 6) in a beautifully simple way: the first Elves awoke in the

late night under skies of unclouded stars, and the stars were their earliest memory.

In *Quendi and Eldar* (p. 382) my father wrote of 'the lake and waterfall of Cuiviénen', and this is explained in the *Cuivienyarna*: 'they came to a lake dark in the twilight; and there was a great cliff about it upon the east-side, and a waterfall came down from the height, and the stars glittered on the foam.' Through so many years he was returning to Gilfanon's Tale in *The Book of Lost Tales* (I.232):

> Now the places about Koivië-néni the Waters of Awakening are rugged and full of mighty rocks, and the stream that feeds that water falls therein down a deep cleft ... a pale and slender thread, but the issue of the dark lake was beneath the earth into many endless caverns falling ever more deeply into the bosom of the world.

INDEX

Elements in this book have greatly taxed my limited powers as an index-maker: notably, the reconstitution of the genealogy of the ruling house of the people of Brethil, introducing extremely complex movements of closely similar names, but also in such matters as the Dwarf-cities or the terms in different languages for 'Eldar', 'Elves'. I have found it often impossible within a short space to give an adequate indication of the bearings and relations of names, and my brief explanatory identifications cannot in such cases be pressed.

Whereas in the texts themselves I have very largely followed my father's very variable usage in respect of capitalisation, hyphenation, separation of elements, or placing of a diaeresis (*Ëarendil*, *Eärendil*), in the index I employ constant forms (and such devices as the combination of *Eryd-* and *Ered-* in the names of mountain-ranges in a single entry). For 'voiced *th*' I use '*dh*' (*Aredhel*) rather than '*ð*' (*Areðel*).

Names appearing in the genealogical tables of the houses of the Edain are included, as also are those on the maps (pp. 182–5), these latter being indicated by asterisks; but names on the map repeated on p. 331 are not, unless additional or altered.

In the entries relating to Part Four (*Quendi and Eldar*) names of languages, as *Quenya*, *Sindarin*, or *Common Eldarin*, include the many instances where abbreviations are used in the text. No Valarin names are recorded in the index, and only exceptionally the 'deduced' or 'unrecorded' name-forms marked in the text by asterisks.

Names occurring in the titles or sub-titles of chapters, etc. are only exceptionally included.

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Isfin Called *the White*; original name of Turgon's sister. 47–8, 71, 84, 121–3, 127, 139, 316–20, 322, 324–5, 332, 336, 420. On the name see 317–18; and see *Írith, Aredhel, Feiniel, Rodwen.*
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Kalakiryan 'The Cleft of Light'. 119, 403
Kalaquendi 'Light-elves', Elves of Aman. 19, 175, 361, 373, 375–6; Telerin *Calapendi* 362, 375. See *Calben.*
Kasari Quenya name of the Dwarves (derived from *Khazâd*); singular *Kasar.* 388, 402; *Kasallië* 388. Cf. *Casarrondo.*
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kelvar Animals, living things that move. 340–1. See *olvar.*
Kementári Name of Yavanna. 246. (Replaced *Palúrien.*)
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Levain tad-dail 'Two-legged animals' (see 416), original Sindarin name of the Petty-dwarves. 388; *Tad-dail* 388
Lhammas See *Lammas*.
Lhandroval The eagle, vassal of Thorondor. 68, 131
Light, (The) (and ~ *of Aman*, *of the Trees*, *in the West*, etc.) 6–9, 17, 39, 41, 217, 220, 225, 227, 373, 403
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Linaewen, Lake In Nivrost (Nevrast). *182, 186, 192
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Lindar The 'Third Clan' (formerly the name of the 'First Clan', the Vanyar, 246, 418). 378, 380–3, 410–11, 418, 423; meaning of the

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Lithir, River Tributary of Sirion north of Brethil. 181, *182, 261, 301

Little Ford (over Gelion) See *Northern Ford*.

Lóminórë 145. See *Dor-lómin*.

Lómion 'Child (Son) of Twilight', name given to Maeglin by his mother. 323, 337

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Lórien (also *Lorien*) The abode of the Vala Irmo, but used also as his name. 11, 108, 403–4. See *Irmo*.

Lorindol Name of Hador, 'Goldenhead'. 228, 230, 233–5. See *Glorindol*.

Losgar The place of the burning of the ships of the Teleri. 16, 31, 38, 43, 115, 117, 119, 176, 329

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Lothlann Great plain east of Dorthonion. 60, 128; *Lhothlann* 128; *Lothland* 128, *183, 187

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Luindirien 'The Blue Towers'. 193. See *Blue Mountains*.

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Magor Son of Malach Aradan, son of Marach; 'the Sword' (234–5). 219, 223, 225–6, 232–5; called *Dagorlind* 'Singer in battle' 226, 235. For the changed place of Magor in the genealogy see 225–6, 235.

Mahal Dwarvish name of Aulë. 10, 108

Máhanaxar The Doom-ring of the Valar. 399, 401. See *Rithil-Anamo.*

Máhani The chiefs of the Valar, the Aratar; singular *Máhan.* 399, 402

Maiar (and singular *Maia*) 5–7, 9–10, 16, 71, 113, 341, 372–3, 399, 401, 405–6; *Maia* as adjective 415; *language of the Valar and Maiar* 397, 416

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Manthor A lord of the Haladin, brother of Hunthor; 'Master of the Northmarch' of Brethil (263). 258, 263–5, 267, 269–70, 275–82, 284, 286–97, 302–9

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Meldis Elvish name of Zimrahin wife of Malach Aradan. 234

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Minnas-tirith The fortress on Tol Sirion. 38, 54, 125
Minnónar 'The First-born', Elves. 403
Minyar Elves of the First Clan (Vanyar). 380–2, 420. See *Imin.*
Míriel First wife of Finwë, mother of Fëanor. 327, 387, 419
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Nahar Oromë's horse. 14, 401 (etymology).

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Námo 'Judge', true name of the Vala Mandos. 402

Nandor The people of Lenwë (Dân) who abandoned the Great March; the Green-elves of Ossiriand. 13, 34, 109–10, 112, 126, 195, 218, 377, 381, 384–6, 409, 412, 418–19; origin of the name 109, 412. See *Danwaith*.

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Nan Elmoth 6–7, 9, 21, 47–8, 106, 122, *183, 218, 321–3, 326–30, 333–6; *Elmoth* 327, 332, 335. See *Gladuial*.

Nan Tathren The Land of Willows. 80, 116, 180, *184; earlier *Nan Tathrin* 90, 180

Nardol (1) Beacon-hill in Anórien. 187. (2) *Nardol* and *Amon Narðol*, see *Amon Rûdh*.

Nargothrond 5, 35, 38–9, 44, 52, 54, 62–3, 65–7, 70, 72–3, 77, 82–6, 89, 92–4, 97, 99, 101, 116–17, 120, 125, 129–31, 133–4, 137–47, 149–50, 152, 157, 162, 166, 168, 177–80, *184, 186, 189–90, 197–8, 203, 223, 242, 245, 251, 254–8, 260, 298–301, 306–7, 310–11, 313–14, 347, 350, 352, 354–5, 414 (etymology), 418; *Realm of Nargothrond* 85, *182, *184, 193. See *Nulukkhizdîn*.

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Nauglath, Nauglar, Nauglir See *Naugrim.*
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Neben-naug, Nebinnog See *Nibinnoeg.*
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Neldoreth The northern forest of Doriath. 7, 9, 11, 15–16, 61, 64, 106, 111, *183, 333, 355
Nelyar Elves of the Third Clan (Lindar). 380–2, 420. See *Enel.*
Nendili 'Water-lovers', the Lindar. 411
Nen Girith 'Shuddering Water', name given to the falls in the stream Celebros. 96–100, 151, 156–9, 163, 295–6, 306–7. See *Dimrost.*
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Nimbrethil Birchwoods in Arvernien. *184, 190
Nimîr The Elves (Adunaic). 386; singular *Nimir* 419
Nimloth Wife of Dior. 349–50. See *Elulin, Lindis.* (*Nimloth* was a name of Telperion, and the name of the White Tree of Númenor.)

Nimphelos A great pearl given by Thingol to the Lord of Belegost. 10, 108
Nimras See *Barad Nimras.*
Níniel 'Tear-maiden', name of Niënor. 96–101, 103, 151–2, 156–61, 163–4, 234, 257, 300
niphredil A white flower in Doriath. 9, 107
Nírnaeth Arnoediad (including references to *the Nírnaeth* used alone, and spellings *Nírnaith* and *Arnediad*; the element *Nír-* often without accent) 28, 71, 73, 77, 128, 133, 136, 165, 167, 236, 255, 262, 264, 266, 269, 281, 287, 303, 307, 312, 315, 377; *Dagor Arnediad* 22, 28; and cf. *Haudh-en-Nirnaeth* 169. See *Battle of Unnumbered Tears.*
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Nogrod 'Hollowbold', city of the Dwarves in the Blue Mountains (for the different applications and relations of the name see 201–2, 209). 10, 12, 45, 75, 108–9, 134, *185, 201–2, 206, 208–9, 215, 322, 324, 326–7, 329, 335–6, 347, 350, 352–3, 389, 408, 414 (etymology). See *Tumunzahar*; *Návarot*; *Novrod*, *Grodnof*, *Bar-goll*; *Hollowbold.*
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Nómin 'The Wise', name given to the Noldor in the language of Bëor's people (rejected form *Nómil*). 217. See *Samûri.*
Norn-folk The Dwarves. 9, 107, 209. See *Norno*, *Nornwaith.*
Nornhabar 'Dwarrowdelf', city of the Dwarves in the Misty Moun-

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Nurwë Leader of a kindred of the Avari. 418
Nyrn 'The hard', the Dwarves. 205, 209, 214. See *Norno*, *Norn-folk*.

Oäreldi, *Oäzeldi* Elves who left Middle-earth for Aman (= *Aureldi*, *Auzeldi*); singular *Oärel*, *Oäzel*. 363–6, 374
Obel Halad The fortified place in which stood the Hall of the Chieftains of Brethil. 148, 258, 263–7, 271, 276, 292, 301–2, 306; *the Obel* 296–7, 306, 308. See *Brethil*, *Halad*.
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Old English See *English*; *Anglo-Saxon*.
olvar Living things that grow in the earth. 340–1. See *kelvar*.
Olwë Brother of Elwë (Thingol), lord of Alqualondë. 7–8, 13, 19, (32), 41, 115, 177, 344, 369, 379–80. See *Elwë* (1).
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THE BOOK OF LOST TALES PART I
J. R. R. Tolkien

Edited by Christopher Tolkien

The Book of Lost Tales stands at the beginning of the entire conception of Middle-earth and Valinor for the *Tales* were the first form of the myths and legends that came to be called *The Silmarillion*. Embedded in English legend and English association, they are set in the narrative frame of a great westward voyage over the Ocean by a mariner named Eriol (or Ælfwine) to Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle, where Elves dwelt; from them he learned their true history, the *Lost Tales of Elfinesse*. In the *Tales* are found the earliest accounts and original ideas of Gods and Elves, Dwarves, Balrogs, and Orcs; of the Silmarils and the Two Trees of Valinor; of Nargothrond and Gondolin; of the geography and cosmography of the invented world.

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J. R. R. Tolkien

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Volume 11

CHRISTOPHER TOLKIEN

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FICTION/FANTASY

ISBN 0-261-10324-5

UK £9.99
AUS $22.95*
CAN $18.95

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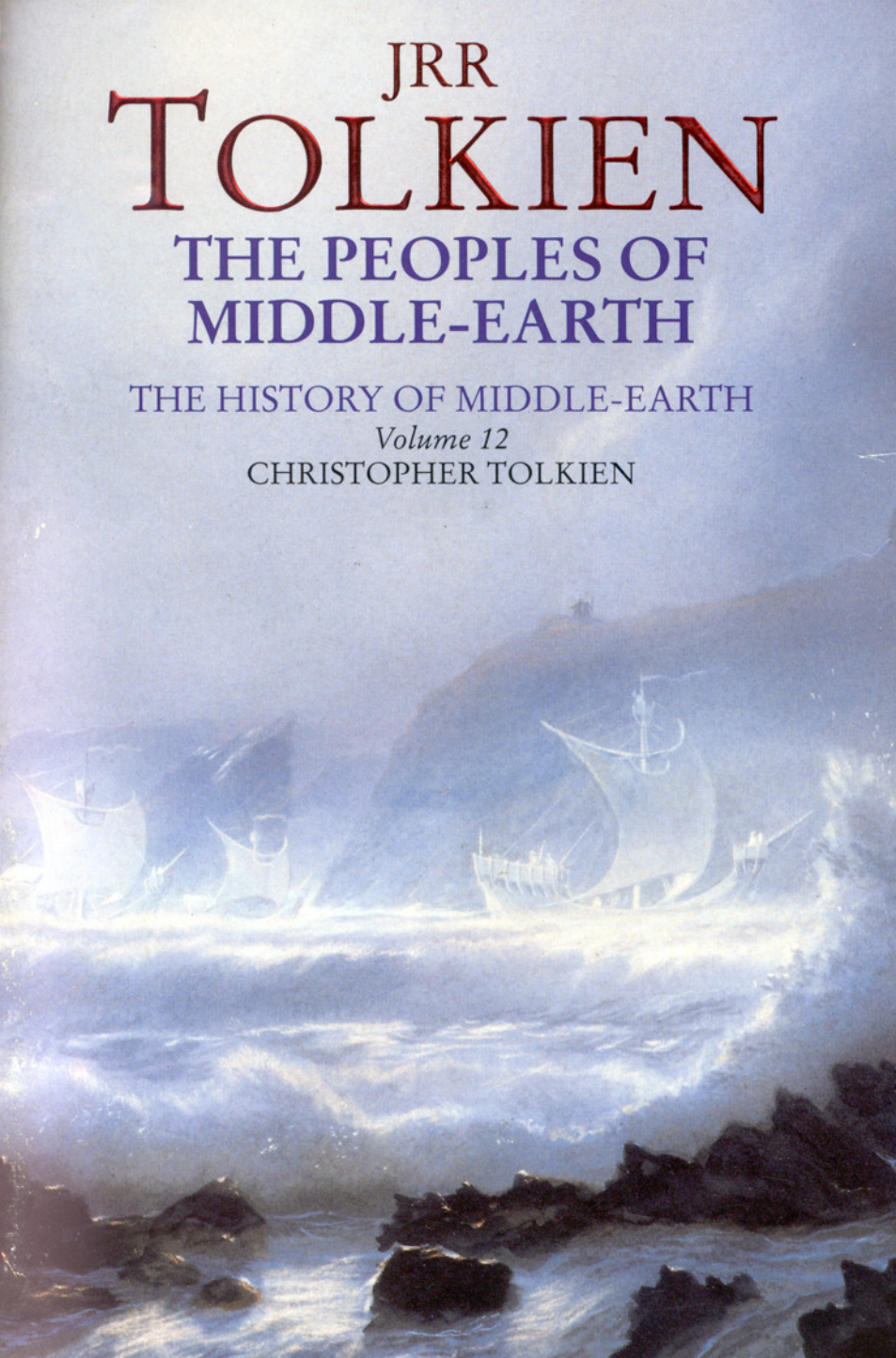
THE PEOPLES OF MIDDLE-EARTH

THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE-EARTH

Volume 12

CHRISTOPHER TOLKIEN



THE PEOPLES OF MIDDLE-EARTH

Vangweth Pengolod

the Answer of Pengolod

to Aelfwine who asked him how came it that the tongues of the Elves changed and were sundered

Now you question me, Ælfwine, concerning the tongues of the Elves, saying that you wonder much to discover that they are many, akin indeed and yet unalike; for seeing that they die not and their memories reach back into ages long past, you understand not why all the race of the Quendi have not maintained the language that they had of old in common still one and the same in all their kindreds. But behold! Ælfwine, within Eä all things change, even the Valar; for in Eä we perceive the unfolding of a History in the unfolding: as a man may read a great book, and when it is full-read it is rounded and complete in his mind, according to his measure. Then at last he perceives that some fair thing that long endured: as some mountain or river of renown, some realm or some great city; or else some mighty being, as a king, or maker, or a woman of beauty and majesty, or even one, maybe of the Lords of the West: that each of these is, if at all, all that is said of them from the beginning even to the end. From the spring in the mountains to the mouths of the sea, all is Sirion; and from its first upwelling even to its passing away when the land was broken in the great battle, that also is Sirion, and nothing less. Though we, who are set to behold the great History, reading line by line, may speak of the river changing as it flows and grows broad, or dying as it is spilled or devoured by the sea. Yea, even from his first coming into Eä from the side of Ilúvatar, and from the young lord of

When J.R.R. Tolkien laid aside *The Silmarillion* in 1937 the extension of the original 'mythology' into later Ages of the world had scarcely emerged, if it had emerged at all; as he himself recorded, he knew nothing of the peoples and history of these Ages until he 'met them on the way': 'The Mines of Moria had been a mere name; and of Lothlórien no word had reached my mortal ears until I came there. Fangorn Forest was an unforeseen adventure. I had never heard of the House of Eorl nor of the Stewards of Gondor. Saruman had never been revealed to me.'

It was in the Appendices to *The Lord of the Rings* that there emerged a comprehensive historical structure and chronology of the Second and Third Ages, embracing all the diverse strands that came together in the War of the Ring. The difficulty bordering on despair that he found in providing these Appendices, leading to delay in the publication of *The Return of the King*, is well known; but in *The Peoples of Middle-earth* Christopher Tolkien shows that the work had in fact been achieved years before, in essays and records differing greatly from the published forms. In these early texts is seen the evolution of the chronology of the later Ages, the Calendars, the Hobbit genealogies (with those of families that were printed but not published), and the Westron language or Common Speech (from which many words and names are recorded that were afterwards lost).

Following the account of the Appendices a number of other writings by J.R.R. Tolkien are included in this book, chiefly deriving from his last years, when new insights and new constructions still freely arose as he pondered the history that he had created.

This final volume of *The History of Middle-earth* concludes with two soon-abandoned stories, both unique in the setting of time or place: *The New Shadow* in Gondor of the Fourth Age, and the tale of *Tal-elmar*, in which the coming of the dreaded Númenórean ships is seen through the eyes of men of Middle-earth in the Dark Years.

THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE-EARTH

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THE WAR OF THE JEWELS

XII
THE PEOPLES OF MIDDLE-EARTH

J.R.R. TOLKIEN

THE PEOPLES OF MIDDLE-EARTH

Edited by Christopher Tolkien

HarperCollins*Publishers*

HarperCollins*Publishers*
77–85 Fulham Palace Road,
Hammersmith, London W6 8JB

This paperback edition 1997
9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

First published in Great Britain by
HarperCollins*Publishers* 1996

Copyright © HarperCollins*Publishers* 1996

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ISBN 0 261 10348 2

Set in Sabon

Printed and bound in Great Britain by
Caledonian International Book Manufacturing Ltd, Glasgow

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To Baillie Tolkien

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FOREWORD

In my Foreword to *Sauron Defeated* I wrote that I would not attempt a study of the Appendices to *The Lord of the Rings* 'at this time'. That was an ambiguous remark, for I rather doubted that I would ever make the attempt; but I justified its postponement, at least, on the ground that 'my father soon turned again, when *The Lord of the Rings* was finished, to the myths and legends of the Elder Days', and so devoted the following volumes to the later history of 'The Silmarillion'. My intentions for the twelfth book were uncertain; but after the publication of *The War of the Jewels* I came to think that since (contrary to my original conception) I had included in *The History of Middle-earth* a lengthy account of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* it would be a strange omission to say nothing whatever of the Appendices, in which the historical structure of the Second and Third Ages, based on a firm chronology, actually emerged.

Thus I embarked on the study of the history of these works, of which I had little precise knowledge. As with the narrative texts of *The Lord of the Rings*, those of the Appendices (and of the Prologue) became divided, in some cases in a bewildering fashion, at the time of the sale of the papers to Marquette University; but I received most generous help, prompt and meticulous, from Charles Elston, the Archivist of the Memorial Library at Marquette, which enabled me to determine the textual relations. It was only now that I came to understand that texts of supplementary essays to *The Lord of the Rings* had reached a remarkably finished form, though in many respects far different from the published Appendices, at a much earlier date than I had supposed: in the period (as I judge) immediately following my father's writing of the last chapter of *The Lord of the Rings* in 1948. There is indeed a total absence in these texts of indications of external date; but it can be seen from many points that when they were written the narrative was not yet in final form, and equally clearly that they in fact preceded my father's return to the First Age at the beginning of the 1950s, as described in the Foreword to *The War of the Jewels*. A major upheaval in the historical-linguistic structure was still to come:

the abandonment of their own tongue by the Noldor returning out of the West and their adoption of the Sindarin of Middle-earth.

In my account I have of course concentrated on these early forms, which belong so evidently, in manner and air, with the narrative itself. I have little doubt that my father had long contemplated such a supplement and accompaniment to *The Lord of the Rings*, regarding it as an essential element in the whole; and I have found it impossible to show in any satisfactory way how he conceived it at that time without setting out the early texts in full, although this naturally entails the recital, especially in the case of the history of Arnor and Gondor, of much that is known from its survival in the published versions of the Appendices. I have excluded the Appendix E ('Writing and Spelling'), but I have included the Prologue; and I have introduced into this part of the book an account of the origin and development of the *Akallabêth*, since the evolution of the chronological structure of the Second Age was closely related to my father's original formalised computation of the dates of the Númenórean kings.

Following this part I have given three essays written during his last years; and also some brief writings that appear to derive from the last years of his life, primarily concerned with or arising from the question whether Glorfindel of Rivendell and Glorfindel of Gondolin were one and the same. These late writings are notable for the many wholly new elements that entered the 'legendarium'; and also for the number of departures from earlier work on the Matter of the Elder Days. It may be suggested that whereas my father set great store by consistency at all points with *The Lord of the Rings* and the Appendices, so little concerning the First Age had appeared in print that he was under far less constraint. I am inclined to think, however, that the primary explanation of these differences lies rather in his writing largely from memory. The histories of the First Age would always remain in a somewhat fluid state so long as they were not fixed in published work; and he certainly did not have all the relevant manuscripts clearly arranged and set out before him. But it remains in any case an open question, whether (to give a single example) in the essay *Of Dwarves and Men* he had definitively rejected the greatly elaborated account of the houses of the Edain that had entered the *Quenta Silmarillion* in about 1958, or whether it had passed from his mind.

The book concludes with two pieces further illustrating the instruction that Ælfwine of England received from Pengoloð the Wise in Tol Eressëa, and the abandoned beginnings of two remarkable stories, *The New Shadow* and *Tal-elmar*.

With the picture of such clarity in the tale of Tal-elmar of the great ships of the Númenóreans drawing into the coast, and the fear among men of Middle-earth of the terrible 'Go-hilleg', this 'History' ends. It is a long time since I began the work of ordering and elucidating the vast collection of papers in which my father's conception of Arda, Aman, and Middle-earth was contained, making, not long after his death, some first transcriptions from *The Book of Lost Tales*, of which I knew virtually nothing, as a step towards the understanding of the origins of 'The Silmarillion'. I had little notion then of what lay before me, of all the unknown works crammed in disorder in that formidable array of battered box-files. Nearly a quarter of a century later the story, as I have been able to tell it, is at last concluded.

This is not to say that I have given an account of everything that my father wrote, even leaving aside the great body of his work on the languages of the Elves. My father's very late writings have been selectively presented, and much further detail, especially concerning names and the etymology of names, can be found in texts such as those that I excerpted in *Unfinished Tales*, notably in the part of that book entitled 'The History of Galadriel and Celeborn'. Other omissions have arisen almost one might say from inadvertence as the work and its publication proceeded.

It began indeed as an entirely 'private' study, without thought or purpose of publication: an exhaustive investigation and analysis of all the materials concerned with what came to be called the Elder Days, from the earliest beginnings, omitting no detail of name-form or textual variation. From that original work derives the respect for the precise wording of the texts, and the insistence that no stone (especially stones bearing names) be left unturned, that characterises, perhaps excessively, *The History of Middle-earth*. *Unfinished Tales*, on the other hand, was conceived entirely independently and in an essentially different mode, at a time when I had no notion of the publication of a massive and continuous history; and this constitutes an evident weakness in my presentation of the whole corpus, which could not be remedied. When Rayner Unwin, to whom I am greatly indebted, undertook the uncertain venture

of publishing my work on the history of 'The Silmarillion' (in form necessarily much altered) I had no intention of entering into the history of the Later Ages: the inclusion of *The Lost Road*, *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, *The Notion Club Papers*, and above all the history of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*, extending the work far beyond my original design, was entirely unforeseen.

Thus it came about that the later volumes were written and published under much greater pressure of time and with less idea of the overall structure than the earlier. Attempting to make each book an independent entity in some degree, within the constraints of length, I was often uncertain of what it would or could contain until it was done; and this lack of prevision led to some misjudgements of 'scale' – the degree of fulness or conciseness that would ultimately prove appropriate to the whole. Thus, for example, I should have returned at the end of my account of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* to give some description, at least, of the later developments in the chapters *The Shadow of the Past* and *The Council of Elrond*, and the evolution in relation to these of the work *Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age*. However, all the stories and all the histories have now been told, and the 'legendarium' of the Elder Days has been very fully mined.

Since the ceaseless 'making' of his world extended from my father's youth into his old age, *The History of Middle-earth* is in some sense also a record of his life, a form of biography, if of a very unusual kind. He had travelled a long road. He bequeathed to me a massive legacy of writings that made possible the tracing of that road, in as I hope its true sequence, and the unearthing of the deep foundations that led ultimately to the true end of his great history, when the white ship departed from the Grey Havens.

> In the twilight of autumn it sailed out of Mithlond, until the seas of the Bent World fell away beneath it, and the winds of the round sky troubled it no more, and borne upon the high airs above the mists of the world it passed into the ancient West, and an end was come for the Eldar of story and of song.

It has been an absorbing and inspiring task, from the splendours of the *Ainulindalë* or the tragedy of the Children of Húrin down to the smallest detail of changing expression and shifting names. It has also of its nature been very laborious, and with times of

doubt, when confidence faltered; and I owe a great deal to all those who have supported the work with generous encouragement in letters and reviews. Most of all do I owe to my wife Baillie, to whom I dedicate this last volume: but the dedication may stand for the whole. Without her understanding and encouragement over the years, making mutual the weight of such a long and demanding work, it would never have been achieved.

Note on the text

As a general rule I have preserved my father's often varying usage in the spelling of names (as e.g. *Baraddur* beside *Barad-dûr*), but in certain cases I have given a standard form (as *Adûnaic* where *Adunaic* is sometimes written, and *Gil-galad* rather than *Gilgalad*). In his late texts he seldom used the diaeresis (as in *Finwë*), but (in intention at least) always employed *N̈* to represent initial *ng* sounded as in English *sing* (thus *N̈oldor*); in this book I have extended the diaeresis throughout (other than in Old English names, as *Ælfwine*), but restricted *N̈* to the texts in which it occurs.

References to *The History of Middle-earth* are given as in previous volumes in Roman numerals (thus VI.314). For the necessarily abundant references to the published Appendices I have used the letters RK (*The Return of the King*), the page-numbers being those of the three-volume hardback edition; and occasionally FR and TT for *The Fellowship of the Ring* and *The Two Towers*.

To the removal of error (especially in the citation of texts) from *The Peoples of Middle-earth*, which was completed under great pressure of time, Mr Charles Noad has contributed more perhaps than to any of the previous volumes which he has read independently in proof; and with the conclusion of the work I must express again my gratitude to him for his meticulous, informed, and extraordinarily generous labour. I wish also to record my appreciation of the great skill and care which Mr Norman Tilley of Nene Phototypesetters has again brought to this particularly demanding text – including the 'invisible mending' of errors in my manuscript tables.

Mr Noad has also made a number of suggestions for the improvement of the text by clarification and additional reference which where possible I have adopted. There remain some points which would have required too much rewriting, or too much movement of text, to introduce, and two of these may be mentioned here.

One concerns the translation of the curse of the Orc from the Dark Tower given on p. 83. When writing this passage I had forgotten that Mr Carl Hostetter, editor of the periodical *Vinyar Tengwar*, had pointed out in the issue (no. 26) for November 1992 that there is

a translation of the words in a note to one of the typescripts of Appendix E (he being unaware of the existence of the certainly earlier version that I have printed); and I had also overlooked the fact that a third version is found among notes on words and phrases 'in alien speech' in *The Lord of the Rings*. All three differ significantly (*bagronk*, for example, being rendered both as 'cesspool' and as 'torture (chamber)'); from which it seems clear that my father was at this time devising interpretations of the words, whatever he may have intended them to mean when he first wrote them.

I should also have noticed that the statement in the early texts of Appendix D (The Calendars), pp. 124, 131, that the Red Book 'ends before the Lithe of 1436' refers to the Epilogue to *The Lord of the Rings*, in which Samwise, after reading aloud from the Book over many months, finally reached its end on an evening late in March of that year (IX.120–1).

Lastly, after the proofs of this book had been revised I received a letter from Mr Christopher Gilson in which he referred to a brief but remarkable text associated with Appendix A that he had seen at Marquette. This was a curious chance, for he had no knowledge of the book beyond the fact that it contained some account of the Appendices; while although I had received a copy of the text from Marquette I had passed it over without observing its significance. Preserved with other difficult and disjointed notes, it is very roughly written on a slip of paper torn from a rejected manuscript. That manuscript can be identified as the close predecessor of the Appendix A text concerning the choice of the Half-elven which I have given on pp. 256–7. The writing on the verso reads:

> and his father gave him the name Aragorn, a name used in the House of the Chieftains. But Ivorwen at his naming stood by, and said 'Kingly Valour' (for so that name is interpreted): 'that he shall have, but I see on his breast a green stone, and from that his true name shall come and his chief renown: for he shall be a healer and a renewer.'

Above this is written: 'and they did not know what she meant, for there was no green stone to be seen by other eyes' (followed by illegible words); and beneath it: 'for the green Elfstone was given to him by Galadriel'. A large X is also written, but it is not clear whether this relates to the whole page or only to a part of it.

Mr Gilson observes that this text, clearly to be associated with work on the Tale of Aragorn and Arwen (see p. 263), seems to be the only place where the name *Aragorn* is translated; and he mentions my father's letter of 17 December 1972 to Mr Richard Jeffery (*Letters* no. 347), who had asked whether *Aragorn* could mean 'tree-king'. In his reply my father said that it 'cannot contain a "tree" word', and that '"Tree-King" would have no special fitness for him'. He continued:

The names in the line of Arthedain are peculiar in several ways; and several, though Sindarin in form, are not readily interpretable. But it would need more historical records and linguistic records of Sindarin than exist (sc. than I have found time or need to invent!) to explain them.

PART ONE

THE PROLOGUE AND APPENDICES TO THE LORD OF THE RINGS

I
THE PROLOGUE

It is remarkable that this celebrated account of Hobbits goes so far back in the history of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*: its earliest form, entitled *Foreword: Concerning Hobbits*, dates from the period 1938–9, and it was printed in *The Return of the Shadow* (VI.310–14). This was a good 'fair copy' manuscript, for which there is no preparatory work extant; but I noticed in my very brief account of it that my father took up a passage concerning Hobbit architecture from the chapter *A Short Cut to Mushrooms* (see VI.92, 294–5).

Comparison with the published *Prologue* to *The Lord of the Rings* will show that while much of that original version survived, there was a great deal still to come: the entire account of the history of the Hobbits (FR pp. 11–15) in section 1 of the *Prologue*, the whole of section 2, *Concerning Pipe-weed*, and the whole of section 3, *Of the Ordering of the Shire*, apart from the opening paragraph; while corresponding to section 4, *Of the Finding of the Ring*, there was no more than a brief reference to the story of Bilbo and Gollum (VI.314).

In order to avoid confusion with another and wholly distinct 'Foreword', given in the next chapter, I shall use the letter P in reference to the texts that ultimately led to the published *Prologue*, although the title *Foreword: Concerning Hobbits* was used in the earlier versions. The original text given in *The Return of the Shadow* I shall call therefore **P 1**.

My father made a typescript of this, **P 2**, and judging from the typewriter used I think it probable that it belonged to much the same time as P 1 – at any rate, to a fairly early period in the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*. In my text of P 1 in *The Return of the Shadow* I ignored the changes made to the manuscript unless they seemed certainly to belong to the time of writing (VI.310), but all such changes were taken up into P 2, so that it was probably not necessary to make the distinction. The changes were not numerous and mostly minor,[1] but the whole of the conclusion of P 1, following the words 'his most mysterious treasure: a magic ring' (VI.314), was struck out and replaced by a much longer passage, in which my father recounted the actual story of Bilbo and Gollum, and slightly altered the final paragraph. This new conclusion I give here. A part of the story as told here survived into the published *Prologue*, but at this stage there was no suggestion of any other version than that in *The Hobbit*, until the

chapter *Riddles in the Dark* was altered in the edition of 1951. With all these changes incorporated, the typescript P 2 was a precise copy of the original version (see note 7).

This ring was brought back by Bilbo from his memorable journey. He found it by what seemed like luck. He was lost for a while in the tunnels of the goblins under the Misty Mountains, and there he put his hand on it in the dark.

Trying to find his way out, he went on down to the roots of the mountains and came to a full stop. At the bottom of the tunnel was a cold lake far from the light. On an island of rock in the water lived Gollum. He was a loathsome little creature: he paddled a small boat with his large flat feet, and peered with pale luminous eyes, catching blind fish with his long fingers and eating them raw. He ate any living thing, even goblin, if he could catch and strangle it without a fight; and he would have eaten Bilbo, if Bilbo had not had in his hand an elvish knife to serve him as a sword. Gollum challenged the hobbit to a Riddle-game: if he asked a riddle that Bilbo could not guess, then he would eat him; but if Bilbo floored him, then he promised to give him a splendid gift. Since he was lost in the dark, and could not go on or back, Bilbo was obliged to accept the challenge; and in the end he won the game (as much by luck as by wits). It then turned out that Gollum had intended to give Bilbo a magic ring that made the wearer invisible. He said he had got it as a birthday present long ago; but when he looked for it in his hiding-place on the island, the ring had disappeared. Not even Gollum (a mean and malevolent creature) dared cheat at the Riddle-game, after a fair challenge, so in recompense for the missing ring he reluctantly agreed to Bilbo's demand that he should show him the way out of the labyrinth of tunnels. In this way the hobbit escaped and rejoined his companions: thirteen dwarves and the wizard Gandalf. Of course he had quickly guessed that Gollum's ring had somehow been dropped in the tunnels and that he himself had found it; but he had the sense to say nothing to Gollum. He used the ring several times later in his adventures, but nearly always to help other people. The ring had other powers besides that of making its wearer invisible. But these were not discovered, or even suspected, until long after Bilbo had returned home and settled down again. Consequently they are not spoken of in the story of his journey. This tale is chiefly concerned with the ring, its powers and history.

Bilbo, it is told, following his own account and the ending he

himself devised for his memoirs (before he had written most of them), 'remained very happy to the end of his days, and those were extraordinarily long.' They were. How long, and why so long, will here be discovered. Bilbo returned to his home at Bag-End on June 22nd in his fifty-second year, having been away since April 30th[2] in the year before, and nothing very notable occurred in the Shire for another sixty years, when Mr. Baggins began to make preparations for the celebration of his hundred and eleventh birthday. At which point the tale of the Ring begins.

Years later my father took up the typescript P 2 again. He made a number of minor alterations in wording, replaced the opening paragraph, and rewrote a part of the story of Bilbo and Gollum (improving the presentation of the events, and elaborating a little Bilbo's escape from the tunnels); these need not be recorded. But he also introduced a lengthy new passage, following the words (VI.313) 'but that was not so true of other families, like the Bagginses or the Boffins' (FR p. 18). This begins 'The Hobbits of the Shire had hardly any "government" ...', and is the origin of most of section 3 (*Of the Ordering of the Shire*) in the published *Prologue*, extending as far as 'the first sign that everything was not quite as it should be, and always used to be' (cf. FR p. 19).

Much of the new passage survived into the final form, but there are some interesting differences. In the third paragraph of the section (as it stands in FR) the new text in P 2 reads:

There was, of course, the ancient tradition in their part of the world that there had once been a King at Fornost away north of the Shire (Northworthy the hobbits called it),[3] who had marked out the boundaries of the Shire and given it to the Hobbits; and they in turn had acknowledged his lordship. But there had been no King for many ages, and even the ruins of Northworthy were covered with grass ...

The name *Northworthy* (for later *Norbury*) is not found in the *Lord of the Rings* papers, where the earlier 'vernacular' names are the *Northburg*, *Northbury*. See p. 225, annal c.1600.

The fourth paragraph of the section reads thus in the P 2 text:

It is true that the Took family had once a certain eminence, quite apart from the fact that they were (and remained) numerous, wealthy, peculiar, and of great social importance. The head of the family had formerly borne the title of The Shirking. But that title was no longer in use in Bilbo's time: it had been killed by the endless and inevitable jokes that had been made about it,

in defiance of its obvious etymology. The habit went on, however, of referring to the head of the family as The Took, and of adding (if required) a number: as Isengrim the First.

Shirking is of course a reduction of *Shire-king* with shortening (and in this case subsequent alteration) of the vowel, in the same way as *Shirriff* is derived from *Shire-reeve*; but this was a joke that my father decided to remove – perhaps because the choice of the word 'king' by the Hobbits seemed improbable (cf. p. 232 and note 25, and Appendix A (I, iii), RK p. 323).[4]

The new passage in P 2 does not give the time of the year of the Free Fair on the White Downs ('at the Lithe, that is at Midsummer', FR p. 19), and nothing is said of the letter-writing proclivities of Hobbits. To the mention of the name 'Bounders' my father added '(as they were called unofficially)'; the word 'unofficially' he subsequently removed, thus in this case retaining the joke but not drawing attention to it.

It seems to me all but certain that this new element in the text is to be associated with the emergence of the Shirriffs in the chapter *The Scouring of the Shire* – where the office is shown to have been long established 'before any of this began', as the Shirriff Robin Smallburrow said to Sam (RK p. 281). The fact that the term 'Thain' had not yet emerged does not contradict this, for that came in very late (see IX.99, 101, 103). I have concluded (IX.12–13) that Book Six of *The Lord of the Rings* was written in 1948.

At the end of this passage on the ordering of the Shire, which as already noted (p. 5) ends with the words 'the first sign that everything was not quite as it should be, and always used to be', the addition to P 2 continues (with a later pencilled heading 'Tobacco'):[5]

> There is one thing more about these hobbits of old that must be mentioned: they smoked tobacco through pipes of clay or wood. A great deal of mystery surrounds the origin of this peculiar custom ...

From this point the remainder of section 2 in the final form of the *Prologue* was achieved in P 2 with only a very few minor differences: 'Old Toby' of Longbottom was Tobias (not Tobold) Hornblower (on which see p. 69), and the date of his first growing of the pipe-weed was 1050 (not 1070), in the time of Isengrim the First (not the Second); the third of the Longbottom varieties was 'Hornpipe Twist' (not 'Southern Star'); and it is not said of *sweet galenas* that the Men of Gondor 'esteem it only for the fragrance of its flowers'. There is also a footnote to the words 'about the year 1050 in Shire-reckoning':

> That is about 400 years before the events recorded in this book. Dates in the Shire were all reckoned from the legendary crossing of the Brandywine River by the brothers Marco and Cavallo.

Later changed to Marcho and Blanco, these names do not appear in the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings*: they are found only in the

further long extension to the *Prologue* concerning Hobbit-history (FR p. 13) and in the introductory note to Appendix C, *Family Trees* (RK p. 379).

For the history of the passage on pipe-weed, which began as a lecture on the subject delivered by Merry to Théoden at the ruined gates of Isengard, see VIII.36–9. After much development my father marked it 'Put into Foreword' (VIII.38 and note 36).[6] – On Isengrim Took the First and the date 1050 see VIII.45, note 37. When this addition to P 2 was written the old genealogical tree of the Tooks (given and discussed in VI.316–18), found on the back of a page from the 'Third Phase' manuscript of *A Long-expected Party*, was still in being.[7]

As has been seen (p. 4), in P 2 as revised the story of Bilbo and Gollum was still that of the original edition of *The Hobbit*, in which Gollum fully intended to give Bilbo the Ring if he lost the riddle-contest (see VI.86). The curious story of how the rewritten narrative in the chapter *Riddles in the Dark* came to be published in the edition of 1951 is sufficiently indicated in *Letters* nos.111, 128–9. In September 1947 my father sent to Sir Stanley Unwin what he called a 'specimen' of such a rewriting, not intending it for publication, but seeking only Sir Stanley's comments on the idea. Believing that it had been rejected, he was greatly shocked and surprised when nearly three years later, in July 1950, he received the proofs of a new edition with the rewriting incorporated. But he accepted the *fait accompli*. Beyond remarking that the full correspondence makes it very clear how, and how naturally, the misunderstandings on both sides that led to this result arose, there is no need to say any more about it here: for the present purpose its significance lies in the conclusion that the revision of P 2 cannot have been carried out after July 1950. In fact, I believe it to belong to 1948 (see pp. 14–15).

From the revised and extended text P 2, now in need of a successor, my father made a new typescript (P 3). This was again an uncharacteristically exact copy. It received a good deal of correction, in the earlier part only, but these corrections were restricted to minor alterations of wording and a few other details, such as the change of 'Northworthy' to 'Norbury' and of the date of Bilbo's departure with Gandalf and the Dwarves to April 28th (note 2). From this in turn an amanuensis typescript was made (P 4), but this my father barely touched. These texts both bore the original title, *Foreword, Concerning Hobbits*.

The next stage was a very rough manuscript, P 5, without title (but with *Concerning Hobbits* added later), and without either the section on pipe-weed or that on the story of Bilbo and Gollum, which while constantly moving the detail of expression further towards the final form held still to the original structure, and retained such features as the Shirking.[8] To convey the way in which the text was developed

(with minute attention to tone, precision of meaning, and the fall of sentences) in successive stages I give this single brief example.

P 1 (VI.311)

> And yet plainly they must be relatives of ours: nearer to us than elves are, or even dwarves. For one thing, they spoke a very similar language (or languages), and liked or disliked much the same things as we used to. What exactly the relationship is would be difficult to say. To answer that question one would have to re-discover a great deal of the now wholly lost history and legends of the Earliest Days; and that is not likely to happen, for only the Elves preserve any traditions about the Earliest Days, and their traditions are mostly about themselves – not unnaturally: the Elves were much the most important people of those times.

P 2 (as revised)

> And yet plainly they must be relatives of ours: nearer to us than Elves are, or even Dwarves. For one thing, they spoke a very similar language (or languages), and liked and disliked much the same things as we used to. What exactly the relationship is would be difficult to say. To answer that question one would have to rediscover much that is now lost and forgotten for ever. Only the Elves now preserve traditions of the Elder Days, and even their traditions are incomplete, being concerned chiefly with Elves.

P 5

> Yet plainly they are relatives of ours: far nearer to us than are Elves, or even Dwarves. They spoke the languages of Men, and they liked and disliked much the same things as we once did. What exactly our relationship was in the beginning can, however, no longer be told. The answer to that question lies in the Elder Days that are now lost and forgotten for ever. Only the Elves preserve still any traditions of that vanished time, but these are concerned mostly with their own affairs.

To the manuscript P 5, however, my father added, at the time of writing, much new material. One of these passages was that concerning the martial qualities of the Hobbits, or lack of them, the existence of arms in the Shire (and here the word *mathom* first appears in the texts of the *Prologue*), and the 'curious toughness' of Hobbit character. This was already fairly close to the published form (FR pp. 14–15), and its most notable omission is the absence of the reference to the Battle of Greenfields; the text reads here:

> The Hobbits were not warlike, though at times they had been obliged to fight to maintain themselves in a hard and wild world. But at this period there was no living memory of any serious assault on the borders of the Shire. Even the weathers were milder ...

The original text of the chapter *The Scouring of the Shire* had no reference to the Battle of Greenfields: 'So ended the fierce battle of Bywater, the only battle ever fought in the Shire' (IX.93). In the second text (IX.101) my father repeated this, but altered it as he wrote to 'the last battle fought in the Shire, and the only battle since the Greenfields, 1137, away up in the North Farthing'. It seems a good guess that (as with the passage concerning the Shirriffs, p. 6) the appearance of the Battle of Greenfields in the *Prologue* soon after this (see below) is to be associated with the writing of *The Scouring of the Shire*.

It is convenient here, before turning to the rest of the new material that came in with the manuscript P 5, to notice a text written on two small slips and attached to the amanuensis typescript P 4. This is the origin of the passage concerning the founding of the Shire in the published *Prologue* (FR pp. 13–14), but it is worth giving in full.

In the Year 1 (according to the reckoning of Shire-folk) and in the month of Luyde[9] (as they used to say) the brothers Marco and Cavallo, having obtained formal permission from the king Argeleb II in the waning city of Fornost, crossed the wide brown river Baranduin. They crossed by the great stone bridge that had been built in the days of the power of the realm of Arthedain; for they had no boats. After their own manner and language they later changed the name to Brandywine. All that was demanded of the 'Little People' was (1) to keep the laws of Arthedain; (2) to keep the Bridge (and all other bridges) in repair; (3) to allow the king to hunt still in the woods and moors thrice a year. For the country had once been a royal park and hunting ground.

After the crossing the L[ittle] P[eople] settled down and almost disappeared from history. They took some part as allies of the king in the wars of Angmar (sending bowmen to battle), but after the disappearance of the realm and of Angmar they lived mostly at peace. Their last battle was against Orcs (Greenfields S.R. 1347?). For the land into which they had come, though now long deserted, had been richly tilled in days of yore, and there the kings had once had many farms, cornlands, vineyards, and woods. This land they called the Shire [*struck out:* (as distinct from the Old Home at Bree)], which in their language meant an ordered district of government and business – the business of growing food and eating it and living in comparative peace and content. This name Shire served to distinguish it from the wilder lands eastward, which became more and more desolate, all the way back to the dreadful Mountains over which (according to their own tales) their people had long

ago wandered westward; also from the smaller country, the Oldhome at Bree, where they first settled – but not by themselves: for Bree they shared with the Bree-men. Now these folk (of whom the brothers Marco and Cavallo were in their day the largest and boldest) were of a kind concerning which the records of ancient days have little to say – except of course their own records and legends. They called themselves *Hobbits*. Most other peoples called them *Halflings* (or words of similar meaning in various languages), when they knew of them or heard rumour of them. For they existed now only in the Shire, Bree, and [?lonely] here and there were a few wild Hobbits in Eriador. And it is said that there were still a few 'wild hobbits' in the eaves of Mirkwood west and east of the Forest. *Hobbit* appears to be a 'corruption' or shortening of older *holbytla* 'hole dweller'.[10] This was the name by which they were known (to legend) in Rohan, whose people still spoke a tongue very like the most ancient form of the Hobbit language. Both peoples originally came from the lands of the upper Anduin.[11]

The date '1347?' of the Battle of Greenfields[12] suggests that it was here that that event re-entered from *The Hobbit* (see IX.119); later my father changed it here to 1147, while in *The Scouring of the Shire* it was first given as 1137 (IX.101 and note 31).

Returning briefly to the manuscript P 5, I have not yet mentioned that in this text, as originally written, the old passage in P 1 concerning the Hobbits of the Marish ('the hobbit-breed was not quite pure', 'no pure-bred hobbit had a beard', VI.312), still preserved in the revision of P 2, was now altered:

The Hobbits of that quarter, the Eastfarthing, were rather large and heavy-legged; and they wore dwarf-boots in muddy weather. But they were Stoors in the most of their blood, as was shown by the down that some grew on their chins. However, the matter of these breeds and the Shire-lore about them we must leave aside for the moment.

In the published *Prologue* this passage (apart of course from the last sentence) comes after the account of the 'three breeds' (FR p. 12), in which the Stoors had been introduced. But a further new passage was added on a separate page of the P 5 manuscript, corresponding to that in FR pp. 11–13 from 'Of their original home the Hobbits in Bilbo's time preserved no knowledge' to '... such as the Tooks and the Masters of Buckland'; and the account here of the Harfoots, Stoors and Fallohides was derived with little change from the earliest version of Appendix F, in which (p. 55, note 10) the idea of the 'three breeds' is seen in its actual emergence. The text in P 5 is all but identical to

that in the final form, lacking only the statement that many of the Stoors 'long dwelt between Tharbad and the borders of Dunland before they moved north again', and still placing the Stoors before the Harfoots (see *ibid.*).

The word *smial(s)* first occurs, in the texts of the *Prologue*, in P 5. Its first occurrence in the texts of *The Lord of the Rings* is in *The Scouring of the Shire*: see IX.87 and note 16 (where I omitted to mention that in Pippin's reference to 'the Great Place of the Tooks away back in the Smials at Tuckborough' in the chapter *Treebeard* (TT p. 64) the words 'the Smials at' were a late addition to the typescript of the chapter).

A further manuscript, P 6, brought the *Prologue* very close to the form that it had in the First Edition of *The Lord of the Rings*.[13] This was a clear and fluently written text bearing the title *Prologue: Concerning Hobbits*; and here entered the last 'missing passage', FR pp. 13–14, from 'In the westlands of Eriador ...' to 'They were, in fact, sheltered, but they had ceased to remember it.'

The text of P 6 differed still from the published form in a number of ways, mostly very minor (see note 14). The text was not yet divided into four numbered sections, though the final ordering and succession of the parts was now reached; and the concluding section, on the finding of the Ring, was still the original story (see p. 7): this was derived, with some rewriting, from the text of P 2, but with a notable addition. After the reference to Gollum's saying that he had got the Ring as a birthday present long ago there follows:

Bilbo might indeed have wondered how that could be, and still more why Gollum should be willing to give such a treasure away, if his case had been less desperate, and if in fact Gollum had ever given him the present. He did not, for when he returned to his island to fetch it the Ring was not to be found.

This part then concludes much as in P 2, with the addition of a passage about Bilbo's secrecy concerning the Ring, and his disposal of Sting and the coat of mail; ending 'And the years passed, while he wrote in his leisurely fashion the story of his journey.'

In P 6 the 'Shirking' had disappeared, and in its place stood at first the title 'Elder', though this was replaced by 'Thane' before the manuscript was completed, and the spelling 'Thain' was substituted later (see p. 6). In this text the Battle of Greenfields, with the date S.R. 1147, appears.[14]

The manuscript ends with a passage, subsequently struck out, that was preserved with little material change as the conclusion of the Foreword to the First Edition of 1954. This begins with the remarks about the map of the Shire (now with the addition 'besides other maps of wider and more distant countries') and the 'abridged family-trees' that go back to P 1 (VI.313–14), but then continues:

There is also an index of names [*struck out:* with explanations] and strange words; and a table of days and dates. For those who are curious and like such lore some account is given in an appendix of the languages, the alphabets, and the calendars that were used in the Westlands in the Third Age of Middle-earth. But such lore is not necessary, and those who do not need it, or desire it, may neglect it, and even the names they may pronounce as they will. Some care has been given to the translation of their spelling from the original alphabets, and some notes on the sounds that are intended are offered. But not all are interested in such matters, and many who are not may still find the account of these great and valiant deeds worth the reading. It was in that hope that this long labour was undertaken; for it has required several years to translate, select, and arrange the matter of the Red Book of Westmarch in the form in which it is now presented to Men of a later Age, one no less darkling and ominous than were the great years 1418 and 1419 of the Shire long ago.[15]

This text was followed by a typescript copy (P 7). To this my father made the corrections and additions that brought the *Prologue* to its final form (many being made to its exemplar P 6 as well); and it was on this typescript that he rejected the original tale of Bilbo's encounter with Gollum and introduced the 'true tale' (FR pp. 20–2). The story is told here on appended pages in exactly its form in the published *Prologue*, ending with Gollum's cry '*Thief, thief! Baggins! We hates it for ever!*'

From this point, however, there are two texts. In one of these the original story, now become Bilbo's untrue version, is not mentioned at all, and the text moves at once from Gollum's cry of hatred to 'Of Bilbo's later adventures little more need be said here'. But my father was in doubt, whether or not to say anything in the *Prologue* about Bilbo's doctored accounts of the events; for at the point where the actual story ends ('*We hates it for ever!*') he subsequently added in this text a direction to a 'Note' on a separate sheet, which was apparently written quite independently. In this 'Note' (which was the origin of the passage concerning the two versions in FR p. 22) the satisfying explanation of the difference in the story as told in the two editions of *The Hobbit* is probably seen at its emergence. He began: 'This is not the story as Bilbo first told it to his companions and to Gandalf, or indeed as he *first* set it down in his book' (my italics), but struck out the words following 'Gandalf'; he then went on to say that though Bilbo set down the false story in his memoirs, and 'so it probably appeared in the original Red Book', nonetheless 'many copies contain the true account (alone or as an alternative), derived, no doubt, from notes

made by Frodo or Samwise, both of whom knew the truth.'

On this page he noted (later): 'Alternative, if the only reference to this is made in Chapter II (second fair copy).' This is a reference to the final typescript of the chapter *The Shadow of the Past*, that went to the printers. The explanation of this apparently very obscure comment is as follows. On the text preceding the one to which he referred, that is to say the penultimate typescript, he had introduced a long rider[16] after Gandalf's words (FR p. 66) 'I put the fear of fire on him, and wrung the true story out of him, bit by bit, with much snivelling and snarling.' In this rider Gandalf continued:

'... I already suspected much of it. Indeed I already suspected something that I am sure has never occurred to you: Bilbo's story was not true.'

'What do you mean?' cried Frodo. 'I can't believe it.'

'Well, this is Gollum's account. Bilbo's reward for winning was merely to be shown a way out of the tunnels. There was no question of a present, least of all of giving away his "precious". Gollum confesses that he went back to his island to get it, simply so as to kill Bilbo in safety, for he was hungry and angry. But as Bilbo had already picked up the ring, he escaped, and the last Gollum knew of him was when he crept up behind and jumped over him in the dark. That is much more like Gollum!'

'But it is quite unlike Bilbo, not to tell the true tale,' said Frodo. 'And what was the point of it?'

'Unlike Bilbo, yes. But unlike Bilbo with the ring? No, I am afraid not. You see, half-unknown to himself he was trying to strengthen his claim to be its rightful owner: it was a present, a prize he had won. Much like Gollum and his "birthday-present". The two were more alike than you will admit. And both their tales were improbable and hobbitlike. My dear Frodo, Elven-rings are never given away as presents, or prizes: *never*. You are a hobbit yourself or you would have doubted the tale, as I did at once.

'But as I have told you, I found it impossible to question Bilbo on the point without making him very angry. So I let it be, for our friendship's sake. His touchiness was proof enough for me. I guessed then that the ring had an unwholesome power over its keeper that set to work quickly. Yes, even on Bilbo the desire for ownership had gripped at once, and went on growing. But fortunately it stayed at that, and he took little other harm. For he got the ring blamelessly. He did not steal it; he found it, and it was quite impossible to give it back: Gollum would have killed him at once. He paid for it, you might say, with mercy, and gave

Gollum his life at great risk. And so in the end he got rid of the thing, just in time.

'But as for Gollum: he will never again be free of the desire for it, I fear. When I last saw him, he was still filled with it, whining that he was tricked and ill-used. [But when he had at last told me his history ...

In the following (final) typescript of the chapter the rider is not present; but my father added a note at this point 'Take in rider' – and then struck it out. It was clearly at this time that he wrote the note referred to above, 'Alternative, if the only reference to this is made in Chapter II': he meant, if no more was to be said of the matter in Chapter II than Gandalf's words 'I put the fear of fire on him, and wrung the true story out of him, bit by bit, with much snivelling and snarling' – i.e., *without* the rider just given. If that rider was to be rejected, then a passage on the subject must be given in the *Prologue*. This was ultimately his decision; and the second of the two texts appended to P 6 is exactly as it stands in the published *Prologue*, p. 22: 'Now it is a curious fact that this is not the story as Bilbo first told it to his companions ...'[17]

The *Note on the Shire Records* entered in the Second Edition. In one of his copies of the First Edition my father noted: 'Here should be inserted Note on the Shire Records'; but he wrote against this later: 'I have decided against this. It belongs to Preface to *The Silmarillion*.' With this compare my remarks in the Foreword to *The Book of Lost Tales Part One*, pp. 5–6.

I have given this rather long account of the history of the *Prologue*, because it is one of the best-known of my father's writings, the primary source for knowledge of the Hobbits, on which he expended much thought and care; and also because it seems of special interest to see how it evolved in relation to the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings*. I will here briefly recapitulate some elements that seem to me to emerge from this history.

While it is not strictly demonstrable, I think it extremely likely that my father returned after many years to the original form of the *Prologue* (or *Foreword* as he still called it) about the time, or soon after it, when he was writing the long first draft that went from *Many Partings* through *Homeward Bound* and *The Scouring of the Shire* to *The Grey Havens*, that is to say in the summer of 1948 (IX.12–13, 108). I have pointed to a number of indications that this was so. On the one hand, we see the appearance, at successive stages in the writing of the *Prologue*, of the Shirriffs in the revision of the old P 2 text (p. 6); of the word *smial* in P 5 (p. 11); of the Battle of Greenfields in P 6 (see pp. 9–11); of the title of Thane (Thain) in the same text (p. 11). On the other hand, all these first appear in *The Scouring of the*

Shire – and in two cases, the Battle of Greenfields and the title of Thain, they were absent from the original draft of that chapter. I believe that my father's return to the Shire at the end of *The Lord of the Rings* provided the impulse for his renewed work on the *Prologue* and its subsequent extension by stages. Moreover it is seen from the history of this text how much of the account of Hobbits and their origins actually emerged *after* the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings* was completed – most notably, perhaps, the idea of their division into Harfoots, Stoors, and Fallohides, which entered from the earliest version of the appendix on languages (p. 10). Some of these new elements were then introduced into the existing narrative, such as *smials* into the chapter *Treebeard* (p. 11), or Stoors into the chapter *The Shadow of the Past* (p. 66, §20).

Successive stages in the development of the *Prologue* were accompanied, of course, by development in the Appendices, as is seen from references to the languages and to dates, and from such points as the naming of Argeleb II as the king who granted possession of the Shire to the Hobbits (p. 9, and see p. 209). But the latest stage of the *Prologue* discussed here, the manuscript P 6 and its typescript copy P 7, which in all other respects closely approached the final form, still had the old story of the finding of the Ring, and can therefore be dated, at the latest, to before July 1950.

NOTES

1 *The Hobbit* was now said to have been 'based on [Bilbo's] own much longer memoirs'; 'Earliest Days' was changed to 'Elder Days', and 'Folco Took' (by way of 'Faramond Took' and 'Peregrin Boffin', see VII.31–2) to 'Peregrin Took'; 'the one really populous town of their Shire, Michel-Delving' became 'the only town of their Shire, the county-town, Michel-Delving'; and the boots of the hobbits of the Marish became 'dwarf-boots'. The Hobbits' antipathy to vessels and water, and to swimming in it, was the only actual addition.

In a letter to Sir Stanley Unwin of 21 September 1947 (*Letters* no.111) my father said that he was sending 'the preliminary chapter or Foreword to the whole: "Concerning Hobbits", which acts as a link to the earlier book and at the same time answers questions that have been asked.' From the date, this must have been a copy of the original version, as corrected.

2 The date April 30th was corrected to April 28th on the text P 3 (p. 7).

3 *Northworthy*: the Old English *worð*, *worðig* were common elements in place-names, with the same general meaning as *tūn* (*-ton*), an enclosed dwelling-place.

4 The fiction of 'translation' from the 'true' Hobbit language (the

Common Speech) was inimical to puns in any case, good though this one was.

5 The extension to P 2 on the ordering of the Shire was a typescript, but that on pipe-weed was a manuscript written on slips. My father inserted them into P 2 as a unit, but they clearly originated separately: see note 6.

6 In his letter to me of 6 May 1944 (cited in VIII.45, note 36) my father said that 'if [Faramir] goes on much more a lot of him will have to be removed to the appendices – where already some fascinating material on the hobbit Tobacco industry and the Languages of the West have gone.' I remarked (VIII.162) that Faramir's exposition of linguistic history 'survived into subsequent typescripts, and was only removed at a later time; thus the excluded material on "the Languages of the West" was not the account given by Faramir.' It is indeed difficult to say what it was. On the other hand, the 'pipe-weed' passage was removed from the chapter *The Road to Isengard* before the first completed manuscript was written (VIII.39). It is in fact quite possible that the account of 'pipe-weed' in the long addition to P 2 does go back so early, seeing that it was certainly written quite independently of the first part of the addition, on the ordering of the Shire (see note 5).

7 Similarly the statement in P 1 (VI.311) that Bandobras Took, the Bullroarer, was the son of Isengrim the First was retained in P 2 as revised: in the published genealogical tree he became the grandson of Isengrim II. – A curious exception to my statement (p. 4) that P 2 as typed was a precise copy of the original version is found in the name *Bandobras*, which in P 2 became *Barnabas*; but this was probably a mere slip. It was corrected back to *Bandobras* in the revision.

8 In P 5 the name *Lithe* entered as my father wrote, changing 'at Midsummer' to 'at the Lithe (that is Midsummer)'.

9 The name *Luyde* for the month of March is found once elsewhere, a comparative calendar of Hobbit and modern dates written on the back of a page of the earliest text of the Appendix on Calendars (see p. 136, note 3). Above *Luyde* here my father wrote a name beginning *Re* which is certainly not as it stands *Rethe*, the later Hobbit name of March, but must be taken as an ill-written form of that name.

10 On *holbytla* translated 'hole dweller' see p. 49, §48 and commentary (p. 69).

11 This is to be associated with the early version of Appendix F, §§22–3 (p. 38): '... before their crossing of the Mountains the Hobbits spoke the same language as Men in the higher vales of the Anduin ... Now that language was nearly the same as the language of the ancestors of the Rohirrim'.

12 The second figure of the date 1347 is slightly uncertain, but it looks much more like a '3' than a '1'.

13 The significant changes made in the Second Edition (1966) were few. On FR p. 14, where the later text has 'There for a thousand years they were little troubled by wars ...' to '... the Hobbits had again become accustomed to plenty', the First Edition had simply 'And thenceforward for a thousand years they lived in almost unbroken peace' (thus without the mention of the Dark Plague, the Long Winter, and the Days of Dearth). At the beginning of the next paragraph the reading of the Second Edition, 'Forty leagues it stretched from the Far Downs to the Brandywine Bridge, and fifty from the northern moors to the marshes in the south', was substituted for 'Fifty leagues it stretched from the Westmarch under the Tower Hills to the Brandywine Bridge, and nearly fifty from the northern moors ...'. My father noted that the word 'nearly' was (wrongly) omitted in the text of the Second Edition, 'so this must be accepted'.

On FR p. 16, in 'Three Elf-towers of immemorial age were still to be seen on the Tower Hills', the words 'on the Tower Hills' were an addition, and in a following sentence 'upon a green mound' was changed from 'upon a green hill'. At the end of this first section of the *Prologue* (FR p. 17) the sentence 'Hobbits delighted in such things ...' was in the First Edition put in the present tense throughout.

Lastly, in the first paragraph of the third section, FR p. 18, the sentence 'Outside the Farthings were the East and West Marches: the Buckland; and the Westmarch added to the Shire in S.R. 1462' was an addition.

14 A few further differences in P 6 from the published text may be recorded. In the paragraph concerning the script and language of the Hobbits (FR p. 13) P 6 had: 'And if ever Hobbits had a language of their own (which is debated) then in those days they forgot it and spoke ever after the Common Speech, the Westron as it was named', this being changed to the reading of FR, 'And in those days also they forgot whatever languages they had used before, and spoke ever after the Common Speech ...' And at the end of the paragraph the sentence 'Yet they kept a few words of their own, as well as their own names of months and days, and a great store of personal names out of the past' is lacking. Cf. the original version of Appendix F, pp. 37–8, §§21–3.

The founders of the Shire were still Marco and Cavallo (pp. 6, 9; later changed to Marcho and Blanco); and the second of the conditions imposed on the Hobbits of the Shire (cf. the text given on p. 9) was 'to foster the land' (changed later to 'speed the king's messengers'). The first grower of pipe-weed in the Shire was still Tobias Hornblower, and still in the time of Isengrim the First

(p. 6); the date was apparently first written 1050 as before, but changed to 1020. Later Isengrim the Second and the date 1070 were substituted, but Tobias remained. The footnote to this passage (p. 6) was retained, but 'about 400 years' was later altered to 'nearly 350'. The third of the Longbottom brands now became 'Hornpipe Cake', but was changed back to 'Hornpipe Twist'.

15 In the Foreword as published this concluding paragraph began:

> Much information, necessary and unnecessary, will be found in the Prologue. To complete it some maps are given, including one of the Shire that has been approved as reasonably correct by those Hobbits that still concern themselves with ancient history. At the end of the third volume will be found also some abridged family-trees ...

When P 6 was written, of course, the idea that *The Lord of the Rings* should be issued as a work in three volumes was not remotely envisaged. The published Foreword retained the reference to 'an index of names and strange words with some explanations', although in the event it was not provided.

16 I did not carry my account of the history of *The Shadow of the Past* so far as this: see VII.28–9.

17 In this connection it is interesting to see what my father said in his letter to Sir Stanley Unwin of 10 September 1950 (*Letters* no.129):

> I have now on my hands two printed versions of a crucial incident. Either the first must be regarded as washed out, a mere miswriting that ought never to have seen the light; or the story as a whole must take into account the existence of two versions and use it. The former was my original simpleminded intention, though it is a bit awkward (since the Hobbit is fairly widely known in its older form) if the literary pretence of historicity and dependence on record is to be maintained. The second can be done convincingly (I think), but not briefly explained in a note.

The last words refer to the note required for the new edition of *The Hobbit* explaining the difference in the narrative in *Riddles in the Dark*. Four days later he wrote again (*Letters* no.130):

> I have decided to accept the existence of both versions of Chapter Five, so far as the sequel goes – though I have no time at the moment to rewrite that at the required points.

II

THE APPENDIX ON LANGUAGES

Beside the *Foreword: Concerning Hobbits*, whose development, clear and coherent, into the *Prologue* has been described in the last chapter, there is another text of a prefatory or introductory nature; and it is not easy to see how my father designed it to relate to the *Foreword: Concerning Hobbits*. Indeed, except in one point, they have nothing in common; for this further text (which has no title) is scarcely concerned with Hobbits at all. For a reason that will soon be apparent I give it here in full.

It was typed on small scrap paper, and very obviously set down by my father very rapidly *ab initio* without any previous drafting, following his thoughts as they came: sentences were abandoned before complete and replaced by new phrasing, and so on. He corrected it here and there in pencil, either then or later, these corrections being very largely minor improvements or necessary 'editorial' clarifications of the very rough text; in most cases I have incorporated these (not all are legible). I have added paragraph numbers for subsequent reference. Notes to this section will be found on page 26.

§1 This tale is drawn from the memoirs of Bilbo and Frodo Baggins, preserved for the most part in the Great Red Book of Samwise. It has been written during many years for those who were interested in the account of the great Adventure of Bilbo, and especially for my friends, the Inklings (in whose veins, I suspect, a good deal of hobbit blood still runs), and for my sons and daughter.

§2 But since my children and others of their age, who first heard of the finding of the Ring, have grown older with the years, this tale speaks more clearly of those darker things which lurked only on the borders of the other tale, but which have troubled the world in all its history.

§3 To the Inklings I dedicate this book, since they have already endured it with patience – my only reason for supposing that they have a hobbit-strain in their venerable ancestry: otherwise it would be hard to account for their interest in the history and geography of those long-past days, between the end of the Dominion of the Elves and the beginning of the

Dominion of Men, when for a brief time the Hobbits played a supreme part in the movements of the world.

§4 For the Inklings I add this note, since they are men of lore, and curious in such matters. It is said that Hobbits spoke a language, or languages, very similar to ours. But that must not be misunderstood. Their language was like ours in manner and spirit; but if the face of the world has changed greatly since those days, so also has every detail of speech, and even the letters and scripts then used have long been forgotten, and new ones invented.[1]

§5 No doubt for the historians and philologists it would have been desirable to preserve the original tongues; and certainly something of the idiom and the humour of the hobbits is lost in translation, even into a language as similar in mood as is our own. But the study of the languages of those days requires time and labour, which no one but myself would, I think, be prepared to give to it. So I have except for a few phrases and inscriptions transferred the whole linguistic setting into the tongues of our own time.

§6 The Common Speech of the West in those days I have represented by English. This noble tongue had spread in the course of time from the kingdoms of Fornost and Gondor, and the hobbits preserved no memory of any other speech; but they used it in their own manner, in their daily affairs very much as we use English; though they had always at command a richer and more formal language when occasion required, or when they had dealings with other people. This more formal and archaic style was still the normal use in the realm of Gondor (as they discovered) and among the great in the world outside the Shire.

§7 But there were other languages in the lands. There were the tongues of the Elves. Three are here met with. The most ancient of all, the High-Elven, which they used in secret as their own common speech and as the language of lore and song. The Noldorin, which may be called Gnomish, the language of the Exiles from Elvenhome in the Far West, to which tongue belong most of the names in this history that have been preserved without translation. And the language of the woodland Elves, the Elves of Middle-earth. All these tongues were related, but those spoken in Middle-earth, whether by Exiles or by Elves that had remained here from the beginning, were much changed.[2] Only in Gondor was the Elvish speech known commonly to Men.

§8 There were also the languages of Men, when they did not speak the Common Tongue. Now those languages of Men that are here met with were related to the Common Speech; for the Men of the North and West were akin in the beginning to the Men of Westernesse that came back over the Sea; and the Common Speech was indeed made by the blending of the speech of Men of Middle-earth with the tongues of the kings from over the Sea.[3] But in the North old forms survived. The speech of the Men of Dale, therefore, to show its relationship has been cast in a Northern form related distantly to the English which has been taken to represent the Common Speech. While the speech of the Men of Rohan, who came out of the North, and still among themselves used their ancestral language (though all their greater folk spoke also the Common Speech after the manner of their allies in Gondor), I have represented by ancient English, such as it was a thousand years ago, or as far back from us about as was the day of Eorl the Young from Théoden of Rohan.[4]

§9 The orcs and goblins had languages of their own, as hideous as all things that they made or used; and since some remnant of good will, and true thought and perception, is required to keep even a base language alive and useful even for base purposes, their tongues were endlessly diversified in form, as they were deadly monotonous in purport, fluent only in the expression of abuse, of hatred and fear. For which reason they and their kind used (and still use) the languages of nobler creatures in such intercourse as they must have between tribe and tribe.[5]

§10 The dwarves are a different case. They are a hard thrawn folk for the most part, secretive, acquisitive, laborious, retentive of the memory of injuries (and of benefits), lovers of stone, of metals, of gems, of things that grow and take shape under the hands of craft rather than of things that live by their own life. But they are not and were not ever among the workers of wilful evil in the world nor servants of the Enemy, whatever the tales of Men may later have said of them; for Men have lusted after the works of their hands, and there has been enmity between the races. But it is according to the nature of the Dwarves that travelling, and labouring, and trading about the world they should use ever openly the languages of the Men among whom they dwell; and yet in secret (a secret which unlike the Elves they are unwilling to unlock even to those whom they

know are friends and desire learning not power) they use a strange slow-changing tongue.[6] Little is known about it. So it is that here such Dwarves as appear have names of the same Northern kind as the Men of Dale that dwelt round about, and speak the Common Speech, now in this manner now in that; and only in a few names do we get any glimpse of their hidden tongue.

§11 And as for the scripts, something must be said of them, since in this history there are both inscriptions and old books, such as the torn remnants of the Book of Mazarbul,[7] that must be read. Enough of them will appear in this book to allow, maybe, the skilled in such matters to decipher both runes and running hands. But others may wish for a clearer key. For them the Elvish Script (in its more formal shape, as it was used in Gondor for the Common Speech) is set out in full; though its various modifications used in writing other tongues, especially the High-Elven or the Noldorin, must here be passed over. Another script plays a part both in the previous account and the present one: the Runes. These also, as most other things of the kind, were also an Elvish invention. But whereas the flowing scripts (of two kinds, the alphabet of Rúmil and the alphabet of Fëanor, only the later of which concerns this tale) were developed in Elvenhome far from Middle-earth, the Runes, or *cirth*, were devised by the Elves of the woods; and from that origin derive their peculiar character, similar to the Runes of the North in our days, though their detail is different and it is very doubtful if there is any lineal connexion between the two alphabets. The Elvish *cirth* are in any case more elaborate and numerous and systematic. The Dwarves devised no letters and though they used such writing as they found current for necessary purposes, they wrote few books, except brief chronicles (which they kept secret). In the North in those regions from which the Dwarves of this tale came they used the *cirth*, or Runes. Following the general lines of translation, to which these records have been submitted, as the names of the North have been given the forms of Northern tongues in our own time, so the Runes were represented by the runes of ancient England. But since the scripts and runes of that account interested many of its readers, older and younger, and many enquiries concerning them have been made, in this book it has been thought better to give any runic inscriptions or writings that occur in their truer form, and to add at the end a table of the *cirth*, with their names, according to the usage

of Dale, among both Dwarves and Men. A list of the names that occur is also given, and where they are taken from the ancient records the language to which they belong is stated and their meaning, or the meaning of their component parts, is added.

§12 The word Gnomish is used above; and it would be an apt name, since whatever Paracelsus may have thought (if indeed he invented the word), to the learned it suggests knowledge. And their own true name in High-Elven is Noldor, Those that Know; for of the Three Kindreds of the Elves in the beginning, ever the Noldor were distinguished both by their knowledge of things that are and were in this world, and by the desire to know yet more. Yet they were not in fact in any way like to the gnomes of our learned theory, and still less to the gnomes of popular fancy in which they have been confused with dwarves and goblins, and other small creatures of the earth. They belonged to a race high and beautiful, the Elder Children of the World, who now are gone. Tall they were, fairskinned and grey-eyed, though their locks were dark, and their voices knew more melodies than any mortal speech that now is heard. Valiant they were and their history was lamentable, and though a little of it was woven with the fates of the Fathers of Men in the Elder Days, their fate is not our fate, and their lives and the lives of Men cross seldom.[8]

§13 It will be noted also that in this book, as before, Dwarves are spoken of, although dictionaries tell us that the plural of *dwarf* is *dwarfs*. It should, of course, be *dwarrows*; meaning that, if each, singular and plural, had gone its own natural way down the years, unaffected by forgetfulness, as *Man* and *Men* have, then *dwarf* and *dwarrows* we should have said as surely as we say *goose* and *geese*. But we do not talk about *dwarf* as often as we talk of *man*, or even *goose*, and memories are not good enough among men to keep hold of a special plural for a race now relegated (such is their fate and the fall of their great pride) to folktales, where at least some shadow of the truth is preserved, or at last to nonsense tales where they have become mere figures of fun who do not wash their hands. But here something of their old character and power (if already diminished) is still glimpsed; these are the Nauglir[9] of old, in whose hearts still smouldered the ancient fires and the embers of their grudge against the Elves; and to mark this *dwarves* is used, in defiance of correctness and the dictionaries – although actually it is derived from no more learned source than child-

hood habit. I always had a love of the plurals that did not go according to the simplest rule: *loaves*, and *elves*, and *wolves*, and *leaves*; and *wreaths* and *houses* (which I should have liked better spelt *wreathes* and *houzes*); and I persist in *hooves* and *rooves* according to ancient authority. I said therefore *dwarves* however I might see it spelt, feeling that the good folk were a little dignified so; for I never believed the sillier things about them that were presented to my notice. I wish I had known of *dwarrows* in those days. I should have liked it better still. I have enshrined it now at any rate in my translation of the name of Moria in the Common Speech, which meant The Dwarf-delving, and that I have rendered by The Dwarrow-delf. But Moria itself is an Elvish name of Gnomish kind, and given without love, for the true Gnomes, though they might here and there in the bitter wars against the Enemy and his orc-servants make great fortresses beneath the Earth, were not dwellers in caves or tunnels of choice, but lovers of the green earth and of the lights of heaven; and Moria in their tongue means the Black Chasm. But the Dwarves themselves, and this name at any rate was never secret, called it simply *Khazad-dûm*, the Mansion of the Khazad, for such is their own name for their own race, and has been so, since their birth in the deeps of time.[10]

The opening remarks of this text certainly suggest that the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings* had been completed; and this in turn suggests that it was not far removed in time from the renewed work on the *Foreword: Concerning Hobbits* (i.e. the *Prologue*). Though it is not much more than a guess, I incline to think that when my father began it he intended it as a personal and dedicatory 'preface', entirely distinct in nature from the account of the Hobbits, which was a prologue expressly relating to the narrative; but that involuntarily he was soon swept into writing about those matters of languages and scripts that he felt needed some introduction and explanation at least as much as did the Hobbits. The result was, clearly, a combination wholly unsuitable to his purpose, and he put it aside. I would also guess that it was the writing of this text that gave rise to the idea of a special Appendix on languages and scripts (ultimately divided into two); and this is why I place it at the beginning of this account of the evolution of what came to be 'Appendix F', *The Languages and Peoples of the Third Age*. Since I shall number the texts of this Appendix from 'F 1', it is convenient to call this anomalous 'Foreword' F*.

My father did not lose sight of this text, however, and later used elements from it, both in Appendix F[11] and in the *Foreword* that accompanied the First Edition of *The Fellowship of the Ring*,

published in 1954. Since copies of the First Edition may not be easy to come by, I print the greater part of it again here (for the concluding section see p. 12 with note 15).

This tale, which has grown to be almost a history of the great War of the Ring, is drawn for the most part from the memoirs of the renowned Hobbits, Bilbo and Frodo, as they are preserved in the Red Book of Westmarch. This chief monument of Hobbit-lore is so called because it was compiled, repeatedly copied, and enlarged and handed down in the family of the Fairbairns of Westmarch, descended from that Master Samwise of whom this tale has much to say.

I have supplemented the account of the Red Book, in places, with information derived from the surviving records of Gondor, notably the Book of the Kings; but in general, though I have omitted much, I have in this tale adhered more closely to the actual words and narrative of my original than in the previous selection from the Red Book, *The Hobbit*. That was drawn from the early chapters, composed originally by Bilbo himself. If 'composed' is a just word. Bilbo was not assiduous, nor an orderly narrator, and his account is involved and discursive, and sometimes confused: faults that still appear in the Red Book, since the copiers were pious and careful, and altered very little.

The tale has been put into its present form in response to the many requests that I have received for further information about the history of the Third Age, and about Hobbits in particular. But since my children and others of their age, who first heard of the finding of the Ring, have grown older with the years, this book speaks more plainly of those darker things which lurked only on the borders of the earlier tale, but which have troubled Middle-earth in all its history. It is, in fact, not a book written for children at all; though many children will, of course, be interested in it, or parts of it, as they still are in the histories and legends of other times (especially in those not specially written for them).

I dedicate the book to all admirers of Bilbo, but especially to my sons and my daughter, and to my friends the Inklings. To the Inklings, because they have already listened to it with a patience, and indeed with an interest, that almost leads me to suspect that they have hobbit-blood in their venerable ancestry. To my sons and my daughter for the same reason, and also because they have all helped me in the labours of composition. If 'composition' is a just word, and these pages do not deserve all that I have said about Bilbo's work.

For if the labour has been long (more than fourteen years), it has been neither orderly nor continuous. But I have not had Bilbo's leisure. Indeed much of that time has contained for me no leisure at

all, and more than once for a whole year the dust has gathered on my unfinished pages. I only say this to explain to those who have waited for this book why they have had to wait so long. I have no reason to complain. I am surprised and delighted to find from numerous letters that so many people, both in England and across the Water, share my interest in this almost forgotten history; but it is not yet universally recognized as an important branch of study. It has indeed no obvious practical use, and those who go in for it can hardly expect to be assisted.

Much information, necessary and unnecessary, will be found in the Prologue. ...

In the Second Edition of 1966 this Foreword was rejected in its entirety. On one of his copies of the First Edition my father wrote beside it: 'This Foreword I should wish very much in any case to cancel. Confusing (as it does) real personal matters with the "machinery" of the Tale is a serious mistake.'[12]

NOTES

1 On this passage see note 11.

2 On my father's conception at this time of the use in Middle-earth in the Third Age of Noldorin on the one hand, and of 'the language of the woodland Elves' on the other, see p. 36, §18, and commentary (pp. 65–6).

3 On this passage concerning the origin of the Common Speech see p. 63, §9.

4 In Appendix A (RK pp. 349–50) the length of time between the birth-dates of Eorl the Young and Théoden was 463 years.

5 My father was asserting, I think, that a language so base and narrow in thought and expression cannot remain a common tongue of widespread use; for from its very inadequacy it cannot resist change of form, and must become a mass of closed jargons, incomprehensible even to others of the same kind.

6 This passage concerning the Dwarves, absent in the original version of Appendix F, reappeared subsequently (p. 75), and was retained, a good deal altered, in the final form of that Appendix (RK p. 410).

7 My father deeply regretted that in the event his 'facsimiles' of the torn and burned pages from the Book of Mazarbul were not reproduced in *The Lord of the Rings* (see *Letters* nos.137, 139–40; but also pp. 298–9 in this book). They were finally published in *Pictures by J. R. R. Tolkien*, 1979.

8 This is where the passage that concludes Appendix F in the published form first arose. See further pp. 76–7.

9 *Nauglir*: curiously, my father here returned to the form found in

the *Quenta* of 1930, rather than using *Naugrim*, found in the *Quenta Silmarillion* and later (see V.273, 277; XI.209). As with those referred to in notes 6 and 8, this passage, absent in the original version of Appendix F, was reinstated and appears with little change in the published form (where the name is *Naugrim*).

10 Years later my father called this text a 'fragment' (see note 12). It ends at the foot of a page, the last words typed being 'since their birth', with 'in the deeps of time' added in pencil.

11 For passages from F* that reappeared in the course of the development see notes 6, 8 and 9. In this connection there is a curious and puzzling point arising from F*. In this text my father showed his intention to say something in the published work about the fiction of translation: that he had converted the 'true' languages of Men (and Hobbits) in the Third Age of Middle-earth, wholly alien to us, into an analogical structure composed of English in modern and ancestral form, and Norse (§§5–6, 8). Introducing this subject, he wrote (§4): 'It is said that Hobbits spoke a language, or languages, very similar to ours. But that must not be misunderstood. Their language was like ours in manner and spirit; but if the face of the world has changed greatly since those days, so also has every detail of speech ...'

One might wonder for a moment who said this of Hobbits, and why my father should introduce it only to warn against taking it literally; but it was of course he himself who said it, in the original version P 1 of the *Foreword: Concerning Hobbits* (VI.311, cited on p. 8): 'And yet plainly they must be relatives of ours ... For one thing, they spoke a very similar language (or languages), and liked or disliked much the same things as we used to.' This was repeated years later in the revision of the second text P 2 (see the comparative passages given on p. 8), but here the qualifying statement, warning against misunderstanding, is not present.

I cannot explain why my father should have made this cross-reference to the *Foreword: Concerning Hobbits*, in order to point out that it is misleading, nor why he should have retained it – without this caveat – in his revision of P 2. What makes it still odder is that, whereas in the first versions of Appendix F (in which the 'theory and practice' of the translation of the true languages was greatly elaborated) the remark is absent, it reappears in the third version (F 3, p. 73), and here in a form almost identical to that in F*: it is given as a citation, 'It has been said that "the Hobbits spoke a language, or languages, very similar to ours"', and this is followed by the same qualification: 'But this must not be misunderstood. Their language was like ours in manner and tone ...' As a final curiosity, by the time the third version of Appendix F was written the remark had been removed from

the *Prologue* (see the citation from the text P 5 on p. 8), and replaced by 'They spoke the languages of Men, and they liked and disliked much the same things as we once did', though still, as in the published *Prologue*, in the context of this being a sign of the close original relationship of Hobbits and Men.

12 Many years after the writing of F* my father noted on the typescript: 'Fragment of an original Foreword afterwards divided into Foreword and Prologue'. This was misleading, because F* played no part in the *Prologue*, but did contribute to the Foreword of the First Edition and to Appendix F.

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The history of Appendix F, whose final title was *The Languages and Peoples of the Third Age* (while the discussion of alphabets and scripts, originally joined to that of the languages, became Appendix E, *Writing and Spelling*), undoubtedly began with the abortive but not unproductive text F*, but the first version of that Appendix is best taken to be constituted by two closely related manuscripts, since these were written as elaborate essays to stand independently of any 'Foreword'.

Long afterwards my father wrote (p. 299) that 'the actual Common Speech was sketched in structure and phonetic elements, and a number of words invented'; and in this work he is seen developing the true forms in the Westron tongue to underlie the translated (or substituted) names, especially of Hobbits. A great deal of this material was subsequently lost from the Appendix. This original version is also of great interest in documenting his conception of the languages of Middle-earth and their interrelations at the time when the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings* had recently been completed; and also in showing how substantially that conception was still to be developed before the publication of *The Lord of the Rings* in 1954–5.

To date this version precisely seems scarcely possible, but at least it can certainly be placed before the summer of 1950, and I think that it may well be earlier than that.[1]

The earlier of the two texts, which I will refer to as F 1, is a fairly rough and much emended, but entirely legible, manuscript entitled *Notes on the Languages at the end of the Third Age*. A second manuscript, F 2, succeeded it, as I think, very soon if not immediately, with the title *The Languages at the end of the Third Age*. Writing with great care and clarity, my father followed F 1 pretty closely: very often changing the expression or making additions, but for the most part in minor ways, and seldom departing from the previous text even in the succession of the sentences. The two texts are far too close to justify giving them both, and I print therefore F 2, recording in the primarily textual notes on pp. 54 ff. the relatively few cases where different readings in F 1 seem of some significance or interest (but in the section on

Hobbit names, where there was much development in F 2, all differences between the two texts are detailed).

F 2 was substantially corrected and added to (more especially in the earlier part of the essay), and some pages were rewritten. These alterations are not all of a kind, some being made with care and others more roughly, and I have found it extremely difficult to determine, in relative terms, when certain of them were made: the more especially since the development after F 2 was not a steady progression, my father evidently feeling that a different treatment of the subject was required. Some corrections undoubtedly belong to a time when the text as a whole had been supplanted. I have therefore included in the text that follows all alterations made to the manuscript, and in most cases I have shown them as such, though in order to reduce the clutter I have in some cases introduced them silently, when they do no more than improve the text (largely to increase its clarity) without in any way altering its purport.

In general I treat F 2 as the representative text of the original version, and only distinguish F 1 when necessary. The paragraph-numbers are of course added editorially. A commentary follows the notes on pp. 61 ff.

The Languages at the end of the Third Age

§1 I have written this note on the languages concerned in this book not only because this part of the lore of those days is of special interest to myself, but because I find that many would welcome some information of this kind. I have had many enquiries concerning such matters from readers of the earlier selections from the Red Book.*

§2 We have in these histories to deal with both Elvish and Mannish[2] tongues. The long history of Elvish speech I will not treat; but since three [> two] varieties of it are glimpsed in this book a little may be said about it.

§3 According to Elvish historians the Elven-folk, by themselves called the *Quendi*, and Elven-speech were originally one. The primary division was into *Eldar* and *Avari*. The Avari were those Elves who remained content with Middle-earth [*struck out:*] and refused the summons of the Powers; but they and their

* *The Hobbit*, drawn from the earlier chapters of the Red Book, those mainly composed by Bilbo and dealing only with the discovery of the Ring.

many secret tongues do not concern this book. The Eldar were those who set out and marched to the western shores of the Old World. Most of them then passed over the Sea and came to that land in the Ancient West which they called Valinor, a name that means the Land of the Powers or Rulers of the World. But some of the Eldar [*added:* of the kindred of the Teleri] remained behind in the north-west of Middle-earth, and these were called the *Lembi* or 'Lingerers'. It is with Eldarin tongues, Valinórean or Lemberin [> Telerian] that these tales are concerned.

§4 In Valinor, from the language of that Elvish kindred known as the Lindar, was made a High-Elven speech that, after the Elves had devised letters, was used not only for lore and formal writing, but also for high converse and for intercourse among Elves of different kindreds. This, which is indeed an 'Elven-latin' as it were, unchanging in time and place, the Elves themselves called *Quenya*: that is simply 'Elvish'.

§5 Now after long ages of peace it came to pass, as is related in the *Quenta Noldorion*, that the Noldor, who were of all the kindreds of the Eldar the most skilled in crafts and lore, departed as exiles from Valinor and returned to Middle-earth, seeking the Great Jewels, the *Silmarilli*, which Fëanor chief of all their craftsmen had made. Their language, Noldorin, that at first differed little from the Lindarin or Quenya, became on their return to Middle-earth subject to the change which even things devised by the Elves here suffer, and in the passing of time it grew wholly unlike to the Quenya of Valinor, which tongue the exiles nonetheless retained always in memory as a language of lore and song and courtesy.*

§6 According to the Elves Men shared, though in a lesser degree, many of the powers of the Elves, and they were capable of devising languages of a sort for themselves, as indeed they have done, it seems, in many remote lands. But in fact Men did not in all regions go through the slow and painful process of invention. In the North and West of the Old World they learned language direct and fully made from Elves who befriended them in their infancy and early wanderings; and the tongues of Men

* On the other hand the Noldorin and Lemberin tongues, that had long been sundered, being now spoken by peoples dwelling side by side, drew closer together; and though they remained wholly distinct they became similar in sound and style.

which are, however remotely, of this origin the Quendi have at all times found the more pleasant to their own ears. Yet soon even these western tongues of Men became estranged from the speech of Elves, being changed by process of time, or by Men's own inventions and additions, or by other influences, notably that of the Dwarves from whom long ago some Men learned much, especially of delving, building, and smithying.

§7 Now the Men who first came westward out of the heart of Middle-earth to lands near the shores of the Sea were called by the Elves Atani,[3] [*added:* or in Noldorin the Edain,] the Fathers of Men, and there was great friendship between the two races. For when the Fathers of Men came over the mountains they met for the first time the Eldar, or High-elves; and the Eldar were at that time engaged in a ceaseless war with the Dark Lord of that Age, one greater far than Sauron, who was but one of his minions. In that war three houses of the Fathers of Men aided the Elves, especially the Noldor, and lived among them and fought beside them; and the people [> lords] of these houses learned the Noldorin speech [*struck out:*] and forsook their own tongue.[4]

§8 When at last that war was ended, most of the exiled Noldor returned over the Sea to Valinor or to the land of Eressëa that lies / within sight of it [> near]. Then the people of the Three Houses of Men were permitted as a reward to pass also over the Sea, if they would, and to dwell in an isle set apart for them. The name of that great isle was Númenor, which in Quenya signifies Westernesse. Most of the Fathers of Men departed and dwelt in Númenor and there became great and powerful; and they were fair of face and tall, and masters of craft and lore only less than the Eldar, and the span of their lives was thrice that of men in Middle-earth, though they remained mortal nonetheless, and were not permitted to set foot upon the shores of the deathless land of Valinor. They were called Kings of Men, the Númenóreans, or in Noldorin the Dúnedein [> Dúnedain].[5]

§9 The language of the Dúnedain was thus the Elvish Noldorin, though their high lords and men of wisdom knew also the Quenya, [> Thus in Númenor two languages were used: the Númenórean (or Adûnaic), and the Elvish Noldorin, which all the lords of that people knew and spoke, for they had many dealings with the Elves in the days ere their fall. But their men of wisdom learned also the Quenya, and could read the

books of Elven lore;] and in that high tongue they gave names to many places of fame or reverence, and to men of royalty and great renown.* After the Downfall of Númenor (which was contrived by Sauron) Elendil and the fugitives from the West fled eastwards. But in the west-lands of Middle-earth, where they established their exiled realms, they found a common tongue in use along the coast-lands from the Mouths of Anduin to the icy Bay of Forochel in the North. This tongue was in Noldorin called *Falathren* or 'Shore-language', but by its users was called *Yandūnë* [> *Andūnar* > *Adúnar*] (that is Westron) or *Sōval Phārë* (that is Common Speech).[6]

§10 This Common Speech was [*struck out:*] in the beginning / a Mannish language, and was indeed only a later form of the native tongue of the Fathers of Men themselves before those of the Three Houses passed over the Sea. It was thus closely akin to other languages of Men that [> Other languages of Men, derived also from the tongues of the Edain or closely akin to them] were still spoken further inland, especially in the northern regions of the west-lands or about the upper waters of the Anduin. Its spread [> The spread of the Westron] had been at first due largely to the Dúnedain themselves; for in the Dark Years they had often visited again the shores of Middle-earth, and in the days of their great voyages before the Downfall they had made many fortresses and havens for the help of their ships. One of the greatest of these had been at Pelargir above the Mouths of Anduin, and it is said that it was the language of that region (which was afterwards called Gondor) that was the foundation of the Common Speech. But Sauron, who could turn all things devised by Elves or Men to his own evil purposes, had also favoured the spread of this Common Speech, for it was useful to him in the governing of his vast lordship in the Dark Years.

§11 Beside the Common or Westron Speech, and other kindred tongues of Men, there remained also in the days of Elendil the languages of the Eldar. Strange though it may seem,

* Of Quenya form, for instance, are the names *Elendil*, *Anárion*, *Isildur*, and all the royal names of Gondor, including *Elessar*; also the names of the kings of the Northern Line as far as the tenth, *Eärendil*. [*Added:* The names of other lords of the Dúnedain such as *Arathorn*, *Aragorn*, *Boromir*, *Denethor* are for the most part Noldorin; but *Imrahil* and *Adrahil* are Númenórean (Adûnaic) names.]

seeing that the Dúnedain had dwelt for long years apart in Númenor, the people of Elendil could still readily converse with the Eldar that spoke Noldorin. The reasons for this are various. First, the Númenóreans had never become wholly sundered from the Noldor; for while those who had returned into the West often came to Númenor in friendship, the Númenóreans, as has been said, often visited Middle-earth and had at times aided the Elves that remained there in their strife with Sauron.[7] Again, the change and decay of things, though not wholly removed, was yet much delayed in the land of the Dúnedain in the days of its blessedness; and the like may be said of the Eldar.[8]

[*This paragraph was rewritten thus:* Beside the Common or Westron Speech, and other kindred tongues of Men, there remained also in the days of Elendil the languages of the Eldar; for many still dwelt in Eriador. With those that spoke Noldorin the people of Elendil could still readily converse. For friendship had long endured between the Númenóreans and the Noldor, and the folk of Eressëa had often visited Númenor, while the Númenóreans had sailed often to Middle-earth and had at times aided the Elves in their strife with Sauron.]

§12 Moreover, those were the days of the Three Rings. Now, as is elsewhere told, these rings were hidden, and the Eldar did not use them for the making of any new thing while Sauron still reigned and wore the Ruling Ring; yet their chief virtue was ever secretly at work, and that virtue was to defend the Eldar who abode in Middle-earth [*added:* and all things pertaining to them] from change and withering and weariness. So it was that in all the long time from the forging of the Rings to their ending, when the Third Age was over, the Eldar even upon Middle-earth changed no more in a thousand years than do Men in ten; and their language likewise.

§13 Now the people of Elendil were not many, for only a few great ships had escaped the Downfall or survived the tumult of the Seas. They found, it is true, many dwellers upon the west-shores who came of their own blood, wholly or in part, being descended from mariners and from wardens of forts and havens that had been set there in days gone by; yet all told the Dúnedain were now only a small folk in the midst of strangers. They used, therefore, the Westron speech in all their dealings with other men, and in the governing of the realms of which they had become the rulers; and this Common Speech became now enlarged, and much enriched with words drawn from the

language of the Dúnedain, which was, as has been said, a form of the Elvish Noldorin [> and much enriched with words drawn from the Adûnaic language of the Dúnedain, and from the Noldorin]. But among themselves the kings and high lords, and indeed all those of Númenórean blood in any degree, for long used the Noldorin speech; and in that tongue they gave names to men and to places throughout the realms of the heirs of Elendil.

§14 In this way it had come about that at the time when the events recorded in this book began it might be said that nearly all speaking-folk of any race west of the east-eaves of Mirkwood spoke after some fashion this Common Speech; while Men who dwelt in Eriador, the wide land between the Misty Mountains and Ered Lindon, or in the coast-lands south of the White Mountains, used the Westron only and had long forgotten their own tongues. So it was with the folk of Gondor (other than the lords) and of the Anfalas and beyond; and with the Bree-folk / and the Dunlendings [> in the North]. East of the Misty Mountains, even far to the north, the Common Speech was known; though there, as in Esgaroth [> as beside the Long Lake] or in Dale, or among the Beornings and the Woodmen of the west-eaves of Mirkwood, Men also retained their own tongues in daily use. The Eorlings, or the Rohirrim as they were called in Gondor, still used their own northern tongue, yet all but their humbler folk spoke also the Common Speech after the manner of Gondor; for the Riders of Rohan had come out of Éothéod near the sources of Anduin only some five hundred years before the days here spoken of.

[*The conclusion of this paragraph was rewritten thus:* The Eorlings, or the Rohirrim as they were called in Gondor, still used their own northern tongue; for the Riders of Rohan had come out of Éothéod near the sources of Anduin only some five hundred years before the days here spoken of. Yet all but their humbler folk spoke also the Common Speech after the manner of Gondor. In the Dunland also the Dunlendings, a dwindling people, remnant of those who had dwelt in western Rohan before the coming of the Rohirrim, still clung to their own speech. This was wholly unlike the Westron, and was descended, as it seems, from some other Mannish tongue, not akin to that of the Atani, Fathers of Men. A similar and kindred language was probably once spoken in Bree: see (the footnote to §25).]

§15 More remarkable it may be thought that the Common Speech had also been learned by other races, Dwarves, Orcs, and even Trolls. The case of the Dwarves can, however, be easily understood. At this time they had no longer in the west-lands any great cities or delvings where many lived together. For the most part they were scattered, living in small groups among other folk, often wandering, seldom staying long in any place, until, as is told in the beginning of the Red Book, their old halls under the Lonely Mountain were regained and the Dragon was slain. They had therefore of necessity long used the Common Speech in their dealings with other folk, even with Elves.* Not that Dwarves were ever eager to teach their own tongue to others. They were a secretive people, and they kept their own speech to themselves, using it only when no strangers were near. Indeed they even gave themselves 'outer' names, either in the Westron or in the languages of Men among whom they dwelt, but had also 'inner' and secret names in their own tongue which they did not reveal. So it was that the northern Dwarves, the people of Thorin and Dáin, had names drawn from the northern language of the Men of Dale, and their secret names are not known to us. For that reason little is known of Dwarf-speech at this period, save for a few names of mines and meres and mountains.

§16 The Orcs had a language of their own, devised for them by the Dark Lord of old, but it was so full of harsh and hideous sounds and vile words that other mouths found it difficult to compass, and few indeed were willing to make the attempt. And these creatures, being filled with all malice and hatred, so that they did not love even their own kind, had soon diversified their barbarous and unwritten speech into as many jargons as there were groups or settlements of Orcs. Thus they were driven to use the language of their enemies even in conversing with other Orcs of different breed or distant dwellings. In the Misty Mountains, and in other lingering Orc-holds in the far North-west, they had indeed abandoned their native tongue and used the Common Speech, though in such a fashion as to make it scarcely less unlovely than the Orkish.

§17 Trolls, in their beginning creatures of lumpish and brutal nature, had nothing that could be called true language

*For there was an ancient enmity between Dwarf and Elf and neither would learn the other's tongue.

of their own; but the evil Power had at various times made use of them, teaching them what little they could learn, and even crossing their breed with that of the larger Orcs. Trolls thus took such language as they could from the Orcs, and in the west-lands the Trolls of the hills and mountains spoke a debased form of the Common Westron speech.

§18 Elves, it may be thought, had no need of other languages than their own. They did not, indeed, like the Dwarves hide their own language, and they were willing to teach the Elven-tongues to any who desired or were able to learn them. But these were few, apart from the lords of Númenórean descent. The Elves, therefore, who remained in the west-lands used the Common Speech in their dealings with Men or other speaking-folk; but they used it in an older and more gracious form, that of the lords of the Dúnedain rather than that of the Shire. Among themselves they spoke and sang in Elven-tongues, and throughout Eriador from Lindon to Imladrist [> Imladris] they used the Noldorin speech; for in those lands, especially in Rivendell and at the Grey Havens, but also elsewhere in other secret places, there were still many of the exiled Noldor abiding or wandering in the wild. Beyond the Misty Mountains there were still Eldar who used the Lemberin [> Telerian] tongue. Such were the people of the elf-kingdom in Northern Mirkwood, whence came Legolas. Lemberin [> Telerian] was the native tongue also of Celeborn and the Elves of the hidden land of Lórien. There the Common Speech was known only to a few, for that people strayed seldom from their borders.*

§19 The Elvish names that appear in this book are mainly of Noldorin form; but some are Lemberin [> Telerian], of which the chief are [*added: Thranduil,*] *Legolas*, *Lórien*, *Caras Galadon*, *Nimrodel*, *Amroth*; and also the names of the House of Dol Amroth: *Finduilas*, [*added: Adrahil,*] and *Imrahil*. The exiled Eldar still preserved in memory, as has been said, the High-elven Quenya; and it was from Noldorin visitants to the Shire that Bilbo (and from him Frodo) learned a little of that ancient speech. In Quenya is the polite greeting that Frodo addressed to Gildor (in Chapter III). The farewell song of Galadriel in Lórien (in Chapter) [*sic*] is also in Quenya. Tree-

* But the lady of that land, Galadriel, was of Noldorin race, and in her household that language was also spoken.

beard knew this tongue as the noblest of the 'hasty' languages, and frequently used it. His address to Galadriel and Celeborn is in Quenya; so are most of the words and names that he uses which are not in the Common Speech.[9]

§20 To speak last of Hobbits. According to accounts compiled in the Shire, the Hobbits, though in origin one race, became divided in remote antiquity into three somewhat different breeds: Stoors, Harfoots, and Fallohides, which have already been described. [*Struck out:*] No tradition, however, remains of any difference of speech between these three kinds.[10]

§21 Since Hobbits were a people more nearly akin to Men than any other of the speaking-folk of the ancient world, it might be supposed that they would possess a language of their own, different from the languages of Men but not unlike them. Yet of this there is no evidence in any record or tradition. Admittedly none of the legends of the Hobbits refer to times earlier than some centuries after the beginning of the Third Age, while their actual records did not begin until after the western Hobbits had settled down, somewhere about Third Age 1300; but it remains remarkable that all such traditions assume that the only language spoken by Hobbits of any kind was the Westron or Common Speech. They had, of course, many words and usages peculiar to themselves, but the same could be said of any other folk that used the Common Speech as a native tongue.

[*The latter part of this paragraph, following* any record or tradition, *was rewritten thus:* They had, of course, many words and usages peculiar to themselves, but the same could be said of any other folk that used the Westron as a native tongue. It is true that none of the legends of Hobbits refer to times earlier than some centuries after the beginning of the Third Age, while their actual records did not begin until after the western Hobbits had settled down, somewhere about Third Age 1300, and had then long adopted the Common Speech. Yet it remains remarkable that in all such traditions, if any tongue other than the Common Speech is mentioned, it is assumed that Hobbits spoke the language of Men among whom, or near whom, they dwelt.]

§22 Among Hobbits [*added:* now] there are two opinions. Some hold that originally they had a language peculiar to themselves. Others assert that from the beginning they spoke a Mannish tongue [> Mannish tongues], being in fact a branch of the race of Men. But in any case it is agreed that after migration to Eriador they soon adopted the Westron under the influence of

the Dúnedain of the North-kingdom. The first opinion is now favoured by Hobbits [> is favoured by many Hobbits], because of their growing distaste for Men;* but there is in fact no trace to be discovered of any special Hobbit-language in antiquity. The second opinion is clearly the right one, and is held by those of most linguistic learning. Investigation not only of surviving Hobbit-lore but of the far more considerable records of Gondor supports it. All such enquiries show that before their crossing of the Mountains the Hobbits spoke the same language as Men in the higher vales of the Anduin, roughly between the Carrock and the Gladden Fields.†[11]

§23 Now that language was nearly the same as the language of the ancestors of the Rohirrim; and it was also allied, as has been said above, both to the languages of Men further north and east (as in Dale and Esgaroth), and to those further south from which the Westron itself was derived. It is thus possible to understand the rapidity with which evidently the Hobbits adopted the Common Speech as soon as they crossed into Eriador, where it had long been current. In this way, too, is explained the occurrence among the western and settled Hobbits of many peculiar words not found in the Common Speech but found in the tongues of Rohan and of Dale.‡[12]

* Supported, as it appears to them to be, by the fact that among themselves they speak now a private language, though this is probably only a descendant, the last to survive, of the old Common Speech.

† [*The following footnote was added:* Though the Stoors, especially the southern branch that long dwelt in the valley of the Loudwater, by Tharbad and on the borders of Dunland, appear to have acquired a language akin to Dunlandish, before they came north and adopted in their turn the Common Speech.]

‡ In Gandalf's view the people of 'Gollum' or Smeagol were of hobbit-kind. If so, their habits and dwelling-places mark them as Stoors. Yet it is plain that they spoke [> as Stoors; though they appear to have used] the Common Speech. Most probably they were a family or small clan that, owing to some quarrel or some sudden 'homesickness', turned back east and came down into Wilderland again beside the River Gladden. There are many references in Hobbit legend to families or small groups going off on their own 'into the wild', or returning 'home'. For eastern Eriador was less friendly and fertile than Wilderland and many of the tales speak of the hard times endured by the early emigrants. It may be noted, however, that the names *Deagol* and *Smeagol* [> *Déagol* and *Sméagol*] are both words belonging to the Mannish languages of the upper Anduin.

§24 An example of this is provided by the name *Stoor* itself. It seems originally to have meant 'big', and though no such word is found in the Common Speech, it is usual in the language of Dale. The curious Hobbit-word *mathom*, which has been mentioned, is clearly the same as the word *máthum* used in Rohan for a 'treasure' or a 'rich gift'. The horn given at parting to Meriadoc by the Lady Éowyn was precisely a *máthum*. Again, *smile* or *smial*, in Hobbit-language the word for an inhabited hole, especially one deep-dug and with a long, narrow, and often hidden entrance, seems related to the word *smygel* in Rohan meaning 'a burrow', and more remotely to the name *Smeagol* [> *Sméagol*] (cited [in the footnote to §23]), and to *Smaug* the name in [> among men of] the North for the Dragon of the Lonely Mountain.[13] But most remarkable of all are the Hobbit month-names, concerning which see the note on Calendar and Dates.[14]

§25 The Hobbits in the west-lands of Eriador became much mingled together, and eventually they began to settle down. Some of their lesser and earlier settlements had long disappeared and been forgotten in Bilbo's time; but one of the earliest to become important still endured, if much reduced in size. This was at Bree, and in the country round about. Long before the settlement at Bree Hobbits had adopted the Common Speech, and all the names of places that they gave were in that language; while the older names, of Elvish or forgotten Mannish origin,* they often translated (as *Fornost* to *Norbury*), or twisted into a familiar shape (as Elvish *Baranduin* 'brown river' to *Brandywine*).

[*The end of this paragraph was rewritten thus:* ... (as *Fornost* to *Norbury*). The Elvish names of hills and rivers often endured changed only to fit better into Hobbit speech. But the Brandywine is an exception. Its older name was the *Malvern*, derived from its Noldorin name *Malevarn*, but the new name appears in the earliest records. Both names refer to the river's colour, often in flood a golden brown, which is indeed the meaning of the

*The Men of Bree, who claimed, no doubt justly, to have dwelt in those regions from time out of mind, long before the coming of Elendil, had of course also adopted the Common Speech, but there were names in those parts that pointed to an older Mannish tongue, / only remotely connected if at all [> unconnected] with the language of the Fathers of Men, or Westron. *Bree* is said in that tongue to have signified 'hill', and *Chet* (as in *Chetwood*, *Archet*) 'forest'.

Elvish name. *This was further changed to read:* ... Of this the Brandywine is an example. Its Elvish name was the *Baranduin* 'brown river'. Both names refer to the river's colour, often in flood a golden brown, but the Hobbit name is historically only a picturesque alteration of the Noldorin name.]

§26 As soon as they had settled down the Hobbits took to letters. These they learned, with many other matters, from the Dúnedain; for the North-kingdom had not yet come to an end in Eriador at that time. The letters used by the Dúnedain, and learned and adopted by the Hobbits, were those of the Noldorin or Fëanorian alphabet (see below).[15] It was soon after their learning of letters, about Third Age 1300, that Hobbits began to set down and collect the considerable store of tales and legends and oral annals and genealogies that they already possessed. The lore-loving Fallohides played a chief part in this. The original documents had, of course, in Bilbo's time long been worn out or lost, but many of them had been much copied. When the Shire was colonized, about Third Age 1600, it is said that the leading families among the migrants took with them most of the writings then in existence.

§27 In the Shire, which proved a rich and comfortable country, the old lore was largely neglected; but there were always some Hobbits who studied it and kept it in memory; and copying and compilation, and even fictitious elaboration, still went on. In Bilbo's time there were in the book-hoards many manuscripts of lore more than 500 years old. The oldest known book, The Great Writ of Tuckborough, popularly called Yellowskin, was supposed to be nearly a thousand years old. It dealt in annalistic form with the deeds of Took notables from the foundation of the Shire, though its earliest hand belonged to a period at least four centuries later.

§28 In this way it came about that the Hobbits of the Shire, especially in the great families, such as Took, Oldbuck (later Brandybuck), and Bolger, developed the habit, strange and yet not unparallelled in our times, of giving names to their children derived not from their daily language nor from fresh invention, but from books and legends. These to the Hobbits high-sounding names were often in somewhat comic contrast with the more homely family names. Hobbits were, of course, fully aware of this contrast and amused by it.

[*The following passage was an addition:* The sections that follow are written mainly for those of linguistic curiosity.

Others may neglect them. For these histories are intelligible, if it is assumed that the Common Speech of the time was English, and that if any language of Men appears which is related to the Common Speech, though not the same, it will be represented by languages of our world that are related to English: as for example the archaic language of Rohan is represented by ancient English, or the related tongues of the far North (as in Dale) by names of a Norse character.

But this was not, of course, historically the case. None of the languages of the period were related discernibly to any now known or spoken. The substitution of English (or forms of speech related to modern English) for the Common Speech (and kindred tongues) of the day has involved a process of translation, not only of narrative and dialogue but also of nomenclature, which is described below, for the benefit of those interested in such matters.]

On Translation[16]

§29 The linguistic situation sketched above, simple* though it is compared with that observable in many European countries in our times, presents several problems to a translator who wishes to present a picture of Hobbit life and lore in those distant days; especially if he is more concerned to represent, as closely as he can, in terms now intelligible the actual feeling and associations of words and names than to preserve a mere phonetic accuracy.

§30 The Elven-tongues I have left untouched. I have in my selection and arrangement of matter from the once famous and much copied Red Book reduced the citations of these languages, apart from the unavoidable names of places and persons, to a minimum, keeping only enough to give some indication of their sound and style. That has not been altogether easy, since I have been obliged to transliterate the words and names from the rich and elegant Fëanorian alphabet, specially devised for them, into our own less adequate letters, and yet present forms that while reasonably close to the phonetic intentions of the originals are

*We are in fact in this book only primarily concerned with the Elvish Noldorin and the Mannish 'Common Speech' (with some local variations), while the Quenya or 'Elf-latin' and the archaic tongue of the Rohirrim and the Elvish Lemberin make an occasional appearance.

not (I hope) too strange or uncouth to modern eyes.*[17]

§31 My treatment of the Common Speech (and of languages connected with it) has, however, been quite different. It has been drastic, but I hope defensible. I have turned the Common Speech and all related things into the nearest English equivalents. First of all, the narrative and dialogue I have naturally been obliged to translate as closely as possible. The differences between the use of this speech in different places and by persons of higher and lower degree, e.g. by Frodo and by Sam, in the Shire and in Gondor, or among the Elves, I have tried to represent by variations in English of approximately the same kind. In the result these differences have, I fear, been somewhat obscured. The divergence of the vocabulary, idiom, and pronunciation in the free and easy talk of the Shire from the daily language of Gondor was really greater than is here represented, or could be represented without using a phonetic spelling for the Shire and an archaic diction for Gondor that would have puzzled or infuriated modern readers. The speech of Orcs was actually more filthy and degraded than I have shown it. If I had tried to use an 'English' more near to the reality it would have been intolerably disgusting and to many readers hardly intelligible.

§32 It will be observed that Hobbits such as Frodo, and other persons such as Aragorn and Gandalf, do not always use quite the same style throughout. This is intentional. Hobbits of birth and reading often knew much of higher and older forms of the Common Tongue than those of their colloquial Shire-usage, and they were in any case quick to observe and adopt a more archaic mode when conversing with Elves, or Men of high lineage. It was natural for much-travelled persons, especially for those who like Aragorn were often at pains to conceal their origin and business, to speak more or less according to the manner of the people among whom they found themselves.

Note

§33 I will here draw attention to a feature of the languages dealt with that has presented some difficulty. All these languages, Mannish and Elvish, had, or originally had, no distinction between the singular and plural of the second

*A note on my spelling and its intended values will be found below.

person pronouns; but they had a marked distinction between the *familiar* forms and the *courteous*.

§34 This distinction was fully maintained in all Elvish tongues, and also in the older and more elevated forms of the Common Speech, notably in the daily usage of Gondor. In Gondor the courteous forms were used by men to all women, irrespective of rank, other than their lovers, wives, sisters, and children. To their parents children used the courteous forms throughout their lives, as soon as they had learned to speak correctly. Among grown men the courteous form was used more sparingly, chiefly to those of superior rank and office, and then mainly on official or formal occasions, unless the superior was also of greater age. Old people were often addressed with the courteous form by much younger men or women, irrespective of all other considerations.

§35 It was one of the most notable features of Shire-speech that the courteous form had in Bilbo's time disappeared from the daily use, though its forms were not wholly forgotten: a reversal of the case of *thou* and *you* in English. It lingered still among the more rustic Hobbits, but then, curiously enough, only as an endearment. It was thus used both by and to parents and between dear friends.

§36 Most of these points cannot be represented in English; but it may be remembered by readers that this is one of the features referred to when people of Gondor speak of the strangeness of hobbit-language. Pippin, for instance, used the familiar form throughout his first interview with the Lord Denethor. This may have amused the aged Steward, but it must have astonished the servants that overheard him. No doubt this free use of the familiar form was one of the things that helped to spread the popular rumour in the City that Pippin was a person of very high rank in his own country.

§37 Only in a few places where it seemed specially important have I attempted to represent such distinctions in translation, though this cannot be done systematically. Thus *thou* and *thee* and *thy* have occasionally been used (as unusual and archaic in English) to represent a ceremonious use of the courteous form, as in the formal words spoken at the coronation of Aragorn. On the other hand the sudden use of *thou*, *thee* in the dialogue of Faramir and Éowyn is meant to represent (there being no other means of doing this in English) a significant change from the courteous to the familiar. The *thee* used by Sam

Gamgee to Rose at the end of the book is intentional, but corresponds there to his actual use of the old-fashioned courteous form as a sign of affection.

§38 Passing from the translation of narrative and dialogue to *names* I found yet greater difficulties. For it seemed to me that to preserve all names, Elvish and Westron alike, in their original forms would obscure an essential feature of the times, as observed by the ears and eyes of Hobbits, through whom for the most part we are ourselves observing them: the contrast between a wide-spread language, as ordinary and diurnal to the people of that day as is English now to English-speakers, and the remains of far older more reverend and more secret tongues. All names, if merely transliterated, would seem to modern readers equally strange and remote.

§39 For instance, if I had left unaltered not only the Elvish name *Imladrist* [> *Imladris*] but also the Westron name *Carbandur*, both would have appeared alien. But the contrast between *Imladrist* [> *Imladris*] and *Rivendell*, a translation of *Carbandur*[18] and like it having a plain meaning in everyday language, represents far more truly the actual feeling of the day, especially among Hobbits. To refer to Rivendell as Imladrist [> Imladris] was to Men and Hobbits as if one now was to speak of Winchester as Camelot. Save that the identity was certain, while in Rivendell there still dwelt a lord of renown older than Arthur would be, were he still living in Winchester today.

§40 To translate the names in the Common Speech into English in this way has the advantage also that it often, as in the case of Rivendell, provides the key to the meaning of the Elvish name as well; for the one was frequently a direct translation of the other. This is not, however, always so. Some place-names have no meaning now discernible and derive, no doubt, from still older and forgotten days. In some cases the names had different meanings in different tongues. Thus the C.S. *Dwarrowdelf**[19] was a translation of the Dwarvish name *Khazad-dûm*,

*That is 'Dwarves' mine'. I have translated the actual C.S. *Phūru-nargian* as *Dwarrowdelf*, since in Bilbo's time the word *phūru* (related to *phur-* 'to delve') was obsolete in ordinary speech, and *nargian* contained a derivative form of *narac* 'dwarf' that had long disappeared from use. *Dwarrow* is what the ancient English genitive plural *dwerga* 'of dwarves' would have become had it survived in use or in a place-name.

whereas the Elvish name *Moria* (older *Mornyā*) meant 'black pit'.

§41 The nomenclature of the Hobbits themselves and of the places in which they lived has, nonetheless, presented some obstacles to the satisfactory carrying out of this process of translation. Their place-names, being (in the Shire especially) almost all originally of C.S. form, have proved least difficult. I have converted them into as nearly similar English terms as I could find, using the elements found in English place-names that seemed suitable both in sense and in period: that is in being still current (like *hill*), or slightly altered or reduced from current words (like *ton* beside *town*), or no longer found outside place-names (like *wich*, *bold*, *bottle*). *The Shire* seems to me very adequately to translate the Hobbit *Sūza-t*, since this word was now only used by them with reference to their country, though originally it had meant 'a sphere of occupation (as of the land claimed by a family or clan), of office, or business'. In Gondor the word *sūza* was still applied to the divisions of the realm, such as Anórien, Ithilien, Lebennin, for which in Noldorin the word *lhann* was used. Similarly *farthing* has been used for the four divisions of the Shire, because the Hobbit word *tharni* was an old word for 'quarter' seldom used in ordinary language, where the word for 'quarter' was *tharantīn* 'fourth part'. In Gondor *tharni* was used for a silver coin, the fourth part of the *castar* (in Noldorin the *canath* or fourth part of the *mirian*).[20]

§42 The personal names of the Hobbits were, however, much more awkward to manage on this system. Rightly or wrongly, I have attempted to translate these also into English terms, or to substitute equivalents, wherever possible. Many of the family names have more or less obvious meanings in the Common Speech: such as *Goodenough*, *Bracegirdle*, *Proudfoot*, *Burrows*, and the like, and these can fairly be treated in the same way as the place-names.* In these cases translation will not, I think, be quarrelled with, and may even be allowed to be necessary. For if his name clearly meant to contemporaries 'horn-blower', it is truer to the facts to call a character Hornblower than *Raspūta*,[21] which though the actual Hobbit

* Some family-names, but fewer than in England, for the use of such names outside a few 'great families' was of more recent development, were actually place-names or derived from them. *Gamgee* is one (see below).

sound-form is now meaningless. But, of course, if a large part of the names are thus anglicized the rest must be made to fit; for a mixture of English and alien names would give a wholly false impression. It is thus with the less clearly interpretable names that difficulties arise. Some are border-line cases, such as *Baggins* itself, which because of its importance I have dealt with below more fully. Some defy translation, since they were to the Hobbits themselves just 'names', of forgotten origin and meaning. *Tūc*,[22] for instance, the name of the most eminent of the 'great families' of the Shire. According to their own tradition *tūca* was an old word meaning 'daring',[23] but this appears to be a wholly unfounded guess; and I have in this case been content with anglicization of the form to *Took*.

§43 More debatable, perhaps, has been my procedure with the many curious names that Shire-hobbits, as observed above, gave to their children. Here I long hesitated between leaving them alone, and finding equivalents for them. I have in the end compromised. I have left some unaltered. These are the not uncommon names which even to Hobbits had no 'meaning' or derivation or connexion with books or legends: names such as *Bilbo*, *Bungo*, *Bingo*, *Polo*, *Porro*, *Ponto*. Hobbits readily coined such names, and I do not think that the impression made by them in their day differed much from their effect today.*[24] But it would have given a very false impression of Hobbitry to the modern reader, if these personal names had in general been simply transliterated. All would then have today sounded equally outlandish, whereas to Hobbits personal names had many gradations of association and suggestion. Some derived from early history and ancient Hobbit-legend; some from stories about Elves and Men and even about dwarves and giants. Some were rare, others familiar; some comic in tone, others romantic or elevated; some were of high and some of lower social standing.

§44 It seemed to me that, once embarked on translation, even of dialogue, names of this sort would be best represented by drawing on the similar wealth of names that we find or could find in our own traditions, in Celtic, Frankish, Latin and Greek and other sources.

§45 This method entails, of course, far-reaching alteration

* In fact they ended as a rule in *a (Bunga)* not *o*, since an ending *a* was as a rule masculine. I have changed the *a* to *o*.

of the actual phonetic forms of such given-names; but I do not feel it more illegitimate than altering *Raspūta* to *Hornblower*, or indeed than translating the dialogue of the Red Book into English, whereby naturally its true sound is changed and many of its verbal points are obscured. I have, in any case, done the 'translation' with some care. The fondness of families for runs of similar names, or of fathers for giving to their sons names that either alliterated with their own or had a similar ending, has been duly represented.* The choice of equivalents has been directed partly by meaning (where this is discernible in the original names), partly by general tone, and partly by length and phonetic style. The heroic and romantic names, of Fallohide legend according to the Hobbits, specially but not solely affected by Tooks, have been represented by names of a Germanic or Frankish cast. 'Classical' names or ones of similar form on the other hand represent usually names derived by Hobbits from tales of ancient times and far kingdoms of Men.†[25]

§46 Hobbits very frequently gave their daughters flower-names. But even these are not so simple to deal with as might be expected. Where the flower is certainly to be identified I have naturally translated the name into English (or botanical Latin). But not all the wild flowers of the Shire, and certainly not all the flowers cultivated in its gardens can be identified with flowers that are now familiar. In cases of doubt I have done the best that I could. For instance: I have translated *Hamanullas*[26] by *Lobelia*, because although I do not know precisely what flower is intended, *hamanullas* appears to have been usually small and blue and cultivated in gardens, and the word seems to have been a gardener's rather than a popular name.

§47 For the benefit of the curious in such matters I add here a few notes in supplement of what has been said above to illustrate my procedure.

* The curious alternation between initial H and initial I in the names of the Old Took's many children represents an actual alternation between S and E.

† Thus the perhaps to us rather ridiculous subnames or titles of the Brandybucks adopted by the heads of the family, *Astyanax*, *Aureus*, *Magnificus*, were originally half-jesting and were in fact drawn from traditions about the Kings at Norbury. [This note was later struck out.]

Family names

Took Hobbit *Tūc*, as noted above.[27]

Baggins H. *Labingi*. It is by no means certain that this name is really connected with C.S. *labin* 'a bag'; but it was believed to be so, and one may compare *Labin-nec* 'Bag End' as the name of the residence of Bungo Baggins *(Bunga Labingi)*. I have accordingly rendered the name *Labingi* by *Baggins*, which gives, I think, a very close equivalent in readily appreciable modern terms.

Brandybuck Earlier *Oldbuck*. These are direct translations of H. *Assargamba* [> *Brandugamba*] and *Zaragamba*.[28] [*Added: Zaragamba* is translated by sense, but since *Zaragamba* (Old-buck) was altered to *Brandugamba* by adoption of the first half of the river-name *(Branduhim)* I have used for it *Brandybuck*. For the treatment of the river-name *Branduhim* see (the note at the end of the text, §58).]

Bolger Merely an anglicized form of H. *Bolgra*. By chance in C.S. *ƀolg-* has much the same significance as our 'bulge', so that if *Bolger* suggests to a modern reader a certain fatness and rotundity, so did *Bolgra* in its own time and place.

Boffin Anglicized from H. *Bophan*. This was said (by members of the family) to mean 'one who laughs loud'. I thought at first, therefore, of rendering it by *Loffin*; but since, as in the case of *Took*, the family tradition is a mere guess, while in C.S. *Bophan* had in fact no suggestion of laughter, I have remained content with a slight anglicization.[29]

Gamgee H. *Galbassi*. A difficult name. According to family tradition (in this case reliable) duly set out by Sam Gamgee at the end of the Red Book, this name was really derived from a place-name: *Galb(b)as*. That name I have closely rendered by Gamwich (to be pronounced *Gammidge*), comparing *galb-* = *Gam* with C.S. *galap*, *galab-* = 'game'; and the ending *bas* in place-names with our *-wick*, *-wich*. *Galbassi* may thus be fairly represented by *Gammidgee*. In adopting the spelling *Gamgee* I have been led astray by Sam Gamgee's connexion with the family of Cotton into a jest which though Hobbit-like enough does not really reside in the suggestions of the names *Galbassi* and *Lothran* to people of the Shire.[30]

Cotton H. *Lothran*. A not uncommon village name in the Shire, corresponding closely to our *Cotton (cot-tūn)*, being

derived from C.S. *hlotho* 'a two-roomed dwelling', and *rān* 'a village, a small group of dwellings on a hill-side'. But in this case the name may be an alteration of *hloth-ram(a)*, 'cot-man, cottager'. *Lothram*, which I have rendered *Cotman*, was the name of Farmer Cotton's grandfather. It is notable that, though the resemblance is not so complete as between our *Cotton* and the noun *cotton*, in C.S. the words *luthur*, *luthran* meant 'down, fluff'. But unfortunately no such suggestions are associated with *Galbas*, and the village of that name was known only locally for rope-making, and no tissues were produced there of any fibre softer than hemp.

§48 *Hobbit*

Hobbit This, I confess, is my own invention; but not one devised at random. This is its origin. It is, for one thing, not wholly unlike the actual word in the Shire, which was *cūbuc* (plural *cūbugin*).* But this *cūbuc* was not a word of general use in the Common Speech and required an equivalent that though natural enough in an English context did not actually occur in standard English. Some Hobbit-historians have held that *cūbuc* was an ancient native word, perhaps the last survivor of their own forgotten language. I believe, however, that this is not the case. The word is, I think, a local reduction of an early C.S. name given to Hobbits, or adopted by them in self-description, when they came into contact with Men. It appears to be derived from an obsolete *cūbug* 'hole-dweller', which elsewhere fell out of use. In support of this I would point to the fact that Meriadoc himself actually records that the King of Rohan used the word *cūgbagu* 'hole-dweller' for *cūbuc* or 'Hobbit'. Now the Rohirrim spoke a language that was in effect an archaic form of the Common Speech.† The

*For another, I must admit that its faint suggestion of *rabbit* appealed to me. Not that hobbits at all resembled rabbits, unless it be in burrowing. Still, a jest is a jest as all *cūbugin* will allow, and after all it does so happen that the coney (well-known in the Shire if not in ancient England) was called *tapuc*, a name recalling *cūbuc*, if not so clearly as *hobbit* recalls *rabbit*. [This note was later struck out.]

†More accurately: the tongue of the Mark of Rohan was derived from a northern speech which, belonging at first to the Middle Anduin, had later moved north to the upper waters of that river,

continued on page 50

primitive form represented by Rohan *cūg-bagu* would in the later C.S. have acquired the form *cūbug(u)*, and so Hobbit *cūbuc*.[31] Since, as is explained below, I have represented C.S. by modern English and have therefore turned the language of Rohan into archaic English terms also, I have converted the archaic *cūgbagu* of Rohan into an ancient English *hol-bytla* 'hole-dweller'. Of this *hol-bytla* (with the common loss of *l* in English between *a*, *o*, *u*, and *b*, *m*, *v*) my fictitious *hobbit* would be a not impossible local 'corruption'.

§49 *Personal names*

Bilbo The actual H. name was *Bilba*, as explained above.[32]

Frodo On the other hand the H. name was *Maura*.[33] This was not a common name in the Shire, but I think it probably once had a meaning, even if that had long been forgotten. No word *maur-* can be found in the contemporary C.S., but again recourse to comparison with the language of Rohan is enlightening. In that language there was an adjective *maur-*, no longer current at this time, but familiar in verse or higher styles of speech; it meant 'wise, experienced'. I have, therefore, rendered *Maura* by *Frodo*, an old Germanic name, that appears to contain the word *frōd* which in ancient English corresponded closely in meaning to Rohan *maur*.

Meriadoc (Merry) The real name was *Chilimanzar* [> *Cilimanzar*], a high-sounding and legendary name. I have chosen Meriadoc for the following reasons. Buckland in many ways occupied a position with regard to the Shire such as Wales does to England; and it is not wholly inappropriate, therefore, to represent its many very peculiar names by names of a Celtic or specifically Welsh character. Among such names I chose *Meriadoc*, mainly because it gives naturally a shortening 'Merry'; for the abbreviation of *Chilimanzar* [> *Cilimanzar*] by which this character was usually known was *Chilic* [> *Cilic*], a C.S. word meaning exactly 'gay or merry'.[34]

before coming south in the days of Eorl. It was thus nearly akin to the language of the lower Anduin, the basis of the C.S., but isolated in the North it had changed far less and had remained little mingled with alien words.

Peregrin (Pippin) The H. name was *Razanul* [> *Razanur*]. This was the name of a legendary traveller, and probably contains the C.S. elements *raza* 'stranger', *razan* 'foreign'. I therefore chose *Peregrin* to represent it, though it does not fit quite so well. Of *Peregrin*, *Pippin* is I suppose a not impossible 'pet-form'; but it is not so close to its original, as is *Razal* [> *Razar*] (a kind of small red apple) by which abbreviation *Razanul Tūca* [> *Razanur Tūc*] was almost inevitably known to his contemporaries.[35]

Sam His real name was *Ban*, short for *Banzīr*. In C.S. *ba-*, *ban-* occurred in many words with the meaning 'half-, almost', while *zīr(a)* meant 'wise'. I have therefore translated his name by ancient English *samwīs* of similar sense. This was convenient, since *Samwise* will yield an abbreviation *Sam*. Now *Ban* was a common short name in the Shire, but was usually then derived from the more elevated name *Bannātha*, as *Sam* is with us usually shortened from *Samuel*.[36]

The following passage (§§50–1) is a note (a part of the manuscript as originally written) to the name *Samuel*, but in appearance is a part of the main text, and is most conveniently given so.

§50 It will be observed that I have not [> rarely] used Scriptural names or names of Hebraic origin to represent Hobbit-names. There is nothing in Hobbit lore or history that corresponds [*added:* closely] to this element in our names. *Bildad*, a name occurring among the Bolgers, is an accidental resemblance; it is a genuine Hobbit name which I have left unaltered. Other abbreviations like *Tom* and *Mat* I have also often left unchanged. Many such monosyllables were current in the Shire, but were the shortenings of genuine Hobbit names. For instance *Tom* of *Tomacca*, *Tomburān*; *Mat* of *Mattalic*; *Bill (Bil)* of *Bildad (Bildat)*, *Bilcuzal*, or any of the numerous names ending in *-bil*, *-mil*, as *Arambil*. Farmer Cotton's full name was in fact *Tomacca Lothran*.[37] [*Added: Tobias* (Hornblower) is an exception. I have used this name because the resemblance of the real Hobbit-name *Tōbi* was so close, and it seemed inevitable to translate *Zāra-tōbi* by 'Old Toby'; no other name could be found to fit so well. *This was changed to: Tobias* (Hornblower) is not an exception. *Tobias* was his real name, though accented *Tóbias*. I have retained this name because the resemblance of the real Hobbit-name was so close, &c.]

§51 *Barnabas* is [*added:* not] an exception. Barnabas

Butterbur was a Man of Bree, not a hobbit. I gave him this name for various reasons. First of all a personal one. On an old grey stone in a quiet churchyard in southern England I once saw in large letters the name *Barnabas Butter*. That was long ago and before I had seen the Red Book, but the name came back to me when the character of the stout innkeeper of Bree was presented to me in Frodo's record. The more so because his name, in agreement with the generally botanical type of name favoured in Bree, was actually *Butterburr*, or in the C.S. *Zilbarāpha* [> *Zilbirāpha*]. *Barnabas* has unfortunately only a very slight phonetic similarity to the real first-name of the innkeeper: *Barabatta* (or *Batti*). This was the nickname of the landlord of 'The Pony' which he had borne so long that if he ever had another given-name it had been forgotten: it means 'quick-talker or babbler'. Still, in converting *Batti Zilbarāpha* [> *Zilbirāpha*] into *Barney Butterbur* I do not think I have been unjust.[38]

§52 A final consequence of the conversion of the Common Speech, and of all names formed in that language, into English terms has already been referred to above. It entailed translation of the related languages of Rohan and the North into terms that would correspond linguistically, as closely as possible, to the ancient situation.

§53 In the records of the Red Book there are in several places allusions to the fact that Hobbits hearing the tongue of the Riders of Rohan felt that it was akin to their own, and recognized some of the words used, though they could not understand the language as a whole. Since I had, necessarily, converted the C.S. of the Hobbits into English, it seemed to me that it would be absurd then to leave the related language of Rohan in its wholly alien form. Now the tongue of the Rohirrim was not only related to the C.S., but it had remained in a much more archaic state, and it was, even in its newer southern home, much less mingled with alien (Noldorin and Quenya) words; I therefore substituted for it a form of language resembling Old English, since this tongue, that was removed from its ancestral home to another, closely corresponds in its relation to modern English (especially in its freedom from accretions of French and Latin origin) with the relations of the tongues of the Shire and the Mark.

§54 This translation was not difficult, since the Rohirrim in fact used a very similar type of nomenclature to that of our own

ancestors. I have usually considered the sense of their names rather than the form; except that I have chosen names in Old English of the same length, where possible, and have only used compound names, such as *Fréawine*, *Éomer*, *Éowyn*, *Hasufel*, *Halifirien*, when the originals were also compounded. The element *éo-*, which so often appears (not unnaturally, being an old word meaning 'horse', among a people devoted to horses), represents an element *loho-*, *lō-* of the same sense. Thus *Éothéod*, 'Horse-folk' or 'Horse-land', translates *Lohtūr*. *Théoden*, as are many of the other royal names, is an old word for 'king', corresponding to Rohan *tūrac-*.[39]

§55 *Note.* In a few cases I have, not quite consistently, modified the words and names of the Mark, making them more like modern English, especially in spelling. Examples of this process in varying degrees are: *Dunharrow* (= *Dūn-harug* 'hill-sanctuary'), *Starkhorn*, *Entwash*, *Helm's Deep*, *Combe* (= *Cumb*); *Halifirien* (= *Hálig-firgen* 'holy-mountain'); *Fenmarch* for *Fenmerce*; *Shadowfax* for *Scadufax*. In a similar way in 'The Hobbit' *Oakenshield* was anglicized from *Eikinskialdi*. The name *Rohan* itself is of Noldorin origin, a translation of the native *Lōgrad* (sc. *Éo-marc* 'the Horse-mark' or 'Borderland of the Horsemen'). Its strictly correct form was *Rochann*, but the form *Rohan* represents the actual pronunciation of Gondor, in which medial *ch* was colloquially weakened to *h*.

§56 This translation had a disadvantage which I did not foresee. The 'linguistic notes' on the origin of peculiar Hobbit words had also to be 'translated'. I have already alluded to the translation of the actual relation of Rohan *cūgbagu* and Shire *cūbuc* into an imagined one of *holbytla* and *hobbit*. Other examples are these (cf. [§24]): *Stoor* in relation to a Northern word meaning 'big' (cf. Scandinavian *stór-* 'big') is a translation of actual Hobbit *tung*[40] in relation to a similar word in Dale. Supposed Hobbit *mathom* in relation to Rohan (that is Old English) *māthum* is a translation of actual Hobbit *cast* (older *castu*) compared with Rohan *castu*.

§57 Similarly, Rohan *smygel*, actually an Old English word for a burrow, related to a Northern stem *smug / sméag (smaug)*,[41] here represents the genuine Rohan *trahan* related to Hobbit *trān*. From *smygel* I have derived an imaginary modern *smile* (or *smial*) having a similar relation to the older form. *Sméagol* and *Déagol* are thus Old English equivalents for actual

Trahand and *Nahand* 'apt to creep into a hole' and 'apt to hide, secretive' respectively. (*Smaug*, the Dragon's name, is a representation in similar terms, in this case of a more Scandinavian character, of the Dale name *Trāgu*, which was probably related to the *trah-* stem in the Mark and Shire.)

§58 *Note.* In cases where 'folk-etymology' has operated to alter older (Elvish) names into the appearance of names in the C.S. special difficulty may be met, since it is unlikely that suitable words will be found in modern English that will at once translate the C.S. name and yet also have some similarity in sound to the Elvish name. The chief example is that of the River *Baranduin*, the ancient boundary eastward of the Shire. This is an Elvish name composed of *baran* 'golden-brown' and *duin* '(large) river'. But it was by the Hobbits picturesquely perverted into *Branduhim*, signifying in their tongue 'foaming beer' (*brand(u)* 'foam'; *hīm(a)* 'beer'). I have imitated this by calling the river the *Brandywine*, similar in sound and a very possible 'corruption' of *Baranduin*, although the sense is not very closely similar. (There is, in fact, no evidence for the distillation of brandy in the Shire.)

§59 For the same reasons the Northern, or rather North-easterly, 'outer' names of the Dwarves taken from the Mannish languages of that region have been all given a Scandinavian style: they are indeed all genuine Norse dwarf-names.[42]

NOTES

1 The idea of the three kinds of Hobbit, Harfoots, Stoors, and Fallohides, arose in the first of the two texts (F 1), and was then transferred (before the second text F 2 was written) to the *Prologue* (see note 10 below, and p. 10). But the text of the latter (P 5) in which it appeared gave only the old story of Bilbo and Gollum, and thus must have been earlier than July 1950: see p. 7.

2 F 1 as written had 'Human', subsequently changed to 'Mannish'; this term occurs later in F 1 as first written. See the commentary on §2.

3 *Atani*: in F 1 as written no Elvish name appears here, but *Atanatári* was added in the margin, then changed to *Atanni* (so spelt).

4 As originally written, F 1 had: 'In that war the Fathers of Men aided the Elves, and lived with them and fought beside them; and their chieftains learned the Noldorin speech, and some indeed forsook their own tongue, even in the daily use of their own

houses.' This was changed to: 'In that war three houses of the Fathers of Men aided the Elves, and lived with them and fought beside them; and the people of these houses learned the Noldorin speech, and forsook their own tongue.' On this see the commentary on §7.

The final reading in F 2, 'the lords of these houses learned the Noldorin speech', belongs with the changes made in §9 and §13 introducing Adûnaic, which were made after the third version of the text had been written, or was at any rate in progress (see pp. 74–5).

5 Throughout F 2 the name was written *Dúnedein*, subsequently corrected at all occurrences to *Dúnedain* (the spelling in F 1). This is not further indicated in the text printed, where I have spelt the name in the usual form.

6 At first F 1 read here: 'This tongue was in Noldorin called *Falathren* "Shore-language", but by its speakers Westnish or the Common Speech.' The name *Westnish* was used throughout F 1, changed everywhere to *Westron* (see the commentary on §9). The present sentence was altered to read: '... but by its speakers *Undūna* (that is Westron) or *Sōval Phārë* the Common Speech.'

7 F 1 has: 'First: the Númenóreans had not been wholly sundered from the Eldar that remained in Middle-earth, and there had been much coming and going between Númenor and the westlands.'

8 After 'in the days of its blessedness' F 1 has: 'and there the language of the Kings of Men had changed little and slowly. And the like may be said of the Eldar.'

9 For the passage in F 2 concerning Treebeard F 1 has: 'As was natural in one so ancient Treebeard also knew this tongue, and such words and names as he is here recorded to have used, other than those in the Common Speech, are Quenya.'

10 F 1 is here altogether different. Following the words 'To speak last of Hobbits' it continues:

> These were a people who, as has been said, were more nearly akin to Men than any other of the speaking-peoples of the ancient world. Their language must then be supposed to have been of similar kind and origin to the language of Men. But, owing to the absence of all records among the Hobbits before their settlement in the West, the remoter history of Hobbit-language is difficult and obscure. [*This passage was struck out.*]
>
> Among the Hobbits of the Shire, though a love of learning was far from general (unless it be of genealogical lore), there were always some few, especially in the greater families, who were lore-masters, and gathered information concerning older times and distant lands, either from their own traditions, or from Elves and Men and Dwarves. According to the accounts thus compiled in the Shire, Hobbits, though originally one

race, became divided in remote antiquity into three somewhat different kinds: Stoors, Harfoots, and Fallohides.

Here there follows in F 1 an account of the three kinds that is already very close to that in the *Prologue* (FR pp. 12–13); and it is clear that it was here that the conception of the three Hobbit-kinds first entered (see the commentary on §20). It is notable that while the actual wording of F 1 was little changed subsequently, the Stoors were at first placed before the Harfoots, and a part of the description of the Harfoots was at first applied to the Stoors and vice versa.

The Stoors were broader, heavier in build, and had less hair on their feet and more on their chins, and preferred flat lands and riversides. [*Added:* Their feet and hands were large.] The Harfoots were browner of skin, smaller and shorter, and they were beardless and bootless; they preferred highlands and hillsides. [*Added:* Their hands and feet were neat and nimble.] The Fallohides were fairer of skin and often of hair, and were taller than the others; they were lovers of trees and woodlands. [*Added:* All Hobbits were 'good shots' with stone, sling or bow, but the Fallohides were the surest on the mark.]

The Stoors [> Harfoots] had much to do with Dwarves in ancient times, and long lived in the foothills of the Misty Mountains. They moved westward early, and crossed the Mountains and roamed over the land of Eriador beyond, as far as Weathertop or further, while the others were still in Wilderland. [*Struck out:* The Harfoots lingered long by the Great River, and were friendly with Men. They came westward after the Stoors.] They were probably the most normal and representative variety of Hobbits and were certainly the most numerous. They were the most inclined to settle, and the most addicted to living in holes and tunnels. [*Added:* The Stoors lingered by the banks of the Great River, and were friendly with Men. They came westward after the Harfoots, owing to the great increase of Men in Anduin Vale according to the[ir] tales, and followed the course of the Bruinen (or Loudwater) southwards.] The Fallohides were the least numerous, a northerly branch. ...

The text F 1 then proceeds in almost the same words as in the *Prologue*, as far as 'they were often found as leaders or chieftains among clans of Stoors or Harfoots' (FR p. 13). At this point there is a footnote:

Thus it is said to have been clans of a still markedly Stoorish strain that first moved on west again from Bree and colonized the Shire, attracted originally to the riverbanks of the Baranduin. In Bilbo's time the inhabitants of the Marish in the East

Farthing, and also of Buckland, still showed Stoorish characteristics. Yet even there the chief families, notably the Brandybucks, had a strong Fallohidish strain in their make-up.

(On this see the commentary on §20.)

Before F 2 was written the account of the Harfoots, Stoors, and Fallohides was removed to stand in the *Prologue*, where at its first appearance it had almost word for word its form in the published work (see p. 10).

From this point F 1 continues as the basis for the F 2 version from §§21 ff.

11 For this paragraph F 1 reads as follows:

> More recent enquiries have failed, it is true, to find any trace of a special Hobbit language, but they do suggest that Westnish [> Westron] was not in fact the oldest language spoken by this people. The very earliest glimpses of Hobbits to be caught, either in their own legends or those of their neighbours, show them rather to have at that time spoken the language of Men in the higher vale of Anduin, roughly between the Carrock and the Gladden Fields.

The footnote here in F 1 corresponds in subject to that in F 2 at the end of §23, and reads:

> If Gandalf's theory is correct the people of Gollum must have been a late-lingering group of Stoors in the neighbourhood of the Gladden. And it may be that the memories of Smeagol provide one of the earliest glimpses of Hobbitry that we have. It may be noted therefore that *Deagol* and *Smeagol* are both words in the languages of Anduin-vale.

12 The footnote here in F 1 (see note 11) reads:

> Of course, since the Common Speech was itself derived from a related speech, it may sometimes have happened that the Hobbits preserved in use a word that had once been more widely current in Westnish [> Westron].

13 F 1 has here: 'and to the name of the Dragon *Smaug* (if that is a name given to him by the northern men of Dale, as seems likely).'

14 F 1 does not have the reference to the Hobbit month-names, but introduces a paragraph that was not taken up here in F 2 (cf. §28, which appears also in F 1).

> Hobbits therefore appear from their linguistic history to have had in early times a special aptitude for adopting language from their neighbours, and in no other point is this better illustrated than in their giving of names. They had of course many names of their own invention – usually short and often comic in sound (to us and to Hobbits) – but from very

early times they had also in traditional use a wealth of other names drawn not from the language of daily use but from their legends and histories and fictitious tales which dealt by no means solely with their own heroes and adventures, but with Elves and Men and Dwarves and even giants.

15 This is a reference to the conclusion of the text, which is omitted in this book (see note 42).

16 The heading *On Translation* is absent in F 1.

17 For the reference of the footnote at this point see note 15. In F 1 the footnote reads: 'A note on the spelling and intended pronunciation of the Elvish words and names will be found at the beginning of the Index.'

18 In a draft of this passage in F 1 the Westron name of Imladris was *Karbandul*.

19 The footnote to the name *Dwarrowdelf* differs somewhat in F 1. The Common Speech name of Moria was *Kubalnarga* (changed to *Kubalnargia*), translated as *Dwarrowdelf* 'since in Bilbo's time the word *kubal* (related to *kubu* "delve") was obsolete in ordinary speech, and *narga* [> *nargia*] contained a plural [> derivative] form of *narag* "dwarf" that had long disappeared from use. *Dwarrows* is what our older *dwergas* would have become if the singular *dwarf* from older *dwerh* had not replaced it, long ago.' Subsequently the C.S. name was changed in F 1 to *Satun-nargia*, and finally to *Phurun-nargia* (with corresponding changes of *kubal*, *kubu* to *phurūn*, *phur-*).

20 The whole of the discussion in §41 of the name *Sūza* of the Shire and the reason for the use of 'Farthing' is lacking in F 1; but after the reference to English *wich*, *bold*, *bottle* there is a footnote which was not taken up in F 2:

> In one case I have coined a word: *smial* (or *smile* if you prefer it so). The Hobbits used a peculiar word of their own, *gluva* [*written later nearby:* Rohan *glōba*], for 'an inhabited hole'. I would have left it unchanged but it would have looked outlandish in an English context. Accordingly I have used *smial*, since the ancient English *smygel* 'a hole to creep in' would, had it survived or been adopted by latterday Hobbits, have now had some such form.

21 In F 1 the Hobbit name for 'Hornblower' was *Rhaspûtal*, changed to *Raspûta* as in F 2.

22 In F 1 my father first wrote *Tûk* but emended it to *Tûca*; in F 2 he wrote *Tūca*, but then erased the final *-a*.

23 In F 1 the adjective *tûca* was described as 'a Fallohide word meaning "great"', corrected to the reading of F 2.

24 The footnote at this point concerning the masculine ending *-a* is absent in F 1.

25 The footnote concerning the 'to us rather ridiculous subnames or titles' of the heads of the Brandybuck clan is absent in F 1. See the commentary on §45.

26 *Hamanullas:* in F 1 the name was *Amanullith*, subsequently changed to *Hamanulli*.

27 In F 1 the name was *Tûk*, later corrected to *Tūca*, as previously (see note 22).

28 The names in F 1 were *Shûran-kaphir* and *Zarkaphir*, changed to *Assargamba* and *Zaragamba* as in F 2.

29 F 1 has the same note, but in addition it is said that *Bophan* was 'of Harfoot origin', and also that 'to Hobbits in general *Bophan* was as devoid of meaning as *Boffin* today.'

30 In F 1 the account of *Gamgee* was the same, but the underlying names were different: the Hobbit name was *Charbushi*, derived from the place-name *Charb(b)ash*; the Common Speech word meaning 'game' was *charab*; and the place-name ending was *-bash*, *-bas*. These forms were then corrected to those in F 2. *Charbash* appears again in the note on *Cotton* in F 1.

31 In F 1 the Shire word for 'Hobbit' was *kubud* and the obsolete Common Speech word from which it was derived was *kubud(u)r* 'hole-dweller'; Théoden's word was *kugbadru*. These forms were then changed: the Shire word became *cubut* (plural *cubudil*), derived from obsolete C.S. *cubadul*, and Théoden's word *cugbadul*.

In F 2 *cūbuc* and the associated words and forms were all first written *cu-*, changed to *cū-*. The Common Speech and Rohan forms were a good deal altered in the text and I have given only those finally adopted: thus the plural of *cūbuc* was first *cūbuga* and then *cūbugen*, the obsolete C.S. word was *cūbugl(a)*, and the Rohan word was *cūgbagul* (again in §56).

32 In F 1 it is said that '*Bilbo* is the actual Hobbit name': see note 24.

33 In F 1 the name was written *Maurō* before being changed to *Maura*.

34 The note in F 1 on the true name of Meriadoc is the same, but with the spellings *Khilimanzar*, *Khilik*.

35 The note on *Peregrin (Pippin)* read in F 1, before emendation:

> The Hobbit name is *Rabanul*. This is not a name of C.S. form; it is said to be [Fallohide >] a Harfoot name; but since it is also said to mean 'traveller', and was in any case the name of a legendary rover and wanderer, I have chosen *Peregrin* to represent it. Of *Peregrin*, *Pippin* is I suppose a not impossible pet-form, though it is not so close to *Peregrin* as *Rubul* is to *Rubanul*. But *rubul* is in C.S. the name of a kind of small apple.

36 The original discussion of the name *Sam* in F 2 was rejected and

replaced. I give the second form, since it scarcely differs from the first except in clarity. In F 1 the same statement was made, but the linguistic elements were different. His real name was *Bolnōth*; the common Shire-name (*Ban* in F 2) was *Bol*, held to be an abbreviation of *Bolagar*; the prefix meaning 'half-, almost' was *bol-*; and the word in the Common Speech meaning 'wise' (*zīr(a)* in F 2) was *nōth*. These were changed to the forms in F 2, but with *Bannātho* for *Bannātha* (see note 24).

37 For *Tomacca* F 1 has *Tōmak* (and *k* for *c* in other names in this passage, as throughout), and for *Arambil* has *Shambil*; Farmer Cotton's full name is *Tomakli Lothron*, changed subsequently to *Tomacci*.

38 In F 1 Butterbur's real name was *Barabush Zilibraph*, the first name meaning (like *Barabatta* in F 2) 'quick-talker, babbler', shortened to *Barabli*, and the second a compound of *zilib* 'butter' and *raph(a)* a 'burr'. This latter was changed to *Zilbarāpha*, the form first written in F 2. At the end of the note F 1 has: 'the nick-name which the landlord of "The Pony" had so long borne that Frodo had never heard his true given-name'.

With the discussion of *Butterbur* the text F 1 ends, but my father added the following in pencil later:

> A final note on the other languages. Now since the language of Rohann and of Dale were akin, that of Rohann closely akin in origin to the Common Speech, it seemed plain that having converted all C.S. into English the more northerly (archaic and less blended) tongues must be represented in the same way. The language of Men in Dale has thus been given (so far as its *names* show) a Norse cast; and since as has been said the Dwarves adapt their names and speech to those of Men among whom they live, all the Dwarves of the North have names of this Northern type (in fact the actual names of Dwarves in Norse). The Rohirrim are therefore appropriately represented by speaking a tongue resembling ancient English. It will thus be noted that for the archaic Rohan *cugbadul* in relation to Hobbit *cubut* [see note 31] I have ..... [?ancient] English *holbytla* in relation to *hobbit*.

From here to the end of the text (so far as it is given here, see note 42) F 2 exists in two forms, both consisting of two sides of a single manuscript page: the second form is a fair copy of the first, and follows it very closely, with for the most part only very minor alterations of wording. I give here the second version, with a couple of differences of form recorded in the following notes.

39 In the first form of the F 2 text the real word in Rohan corresponding to Théoden is *tūran*, where the second form has *tūrac-*.

40 The first form had *tunga* where the second has *tung*.

41 These are forms of the same prehistoric stem, with differing vowels (*sméag* being the ancient English form, *smaug* the Scandinavian, while *smygel* is an English development of the stem *smug*).

42 The remaining eight pages of the F 2 manuscript are taken up with an account of pronunciation, with sections on consonants, vowels, and accent, which was subsequently removed to become (in much developed form) the first part of Appendix E. I give here only the brief preface to this account.

> In transliterating words and names from the ancient languages that appear in the Red Book I have attempted to use modern letters in a way as agreeable to modern English eyes as could be combined with reasonable accuracy. Also I have used them as far as possible with the same value in all the languages concerned. Fortunately the languages of the Westlands of the period were fairly euphonious (by European standards) and simple in phonetic structure, and no very rare or difficult sounds appear to have occurred in them.
>
> Hobbit names, as has been explained, have all been converted into English forms and equivalents and can be pronounced accordingly. Thus *Celador Bolger* has *c* as in *cellar*, and *g* as in *bulge*. But in the alien languages the following points may be observed by those who are interested in such matters.

Noldorin appears, of course, for *Sindarin* throughout (see the commentary on §§5, 18). For Celador Bolger, who does not appear in *The Lord of the Rings*, see pp. 94, 96.

COMMENTARY

§2 So far as I have been able to discover, my father never used the adjective 'Mannish', whether of language or tradition, before its occurrence in this work. The change of 'Human' to 'Mannish' in F 1 (see note 2 above) therefore marks the entry of this term.

§3 The use of the term *Lembi* 'Lingerers', for those of the Eldar who 'remained behind in the north-west of Middle-earth', is a clear indication of date, substantiating the conclusion already reached that this earliest version of Appendix F was at any rate written before the middle of 1950 (see p. 28 and note 1). In the long and extremely complex history of the classification of the divisions of the Elvish peoples and their names, this represents the stage reached in the *Quenta Silmarillion* §29 (V.215), where by a change that can be dated to November 1937 the old term *Lembi* 'Lingerers' became the name for those of the Eldar who were 'lost upon the long road' and never crossed the Great Sea (V.215, 219). Thus while this earliest

version of Appendix F certainly belongs to the time when the end of the actual narrative of *The Lord of the Rings* had been reached, it equally clearly preceded the new work on the legends of the First Age which included (as well as the *Annals of Aman*, the *Grey Annals*, and many other works) the revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion*: for in that revision the term *Lembi* was first changed to *Lemberi* and then removed, and the name *Sindar* emerged (for a detailed account see X.163–4, 169–71). As noted in X.91, the name *Sindar* does not occur in *The Lord of the Rings* apart from the Appendices.

§4 The name *Lindar* had been replaced by *Vanyar* when the *Annals of Aman* and the *Grey Annals* were written.

The statement here concerning Quenya, the 'Elven-latin' originally deriving from the language of the Lindar, echoes that in the *Lhammas* or 'Account of Tongues' of the 1930s (see V.172; 193, 195). It may be noted that the expression 'Elven-latin' survived in the published form of Appendix F (RK p. 406): '[Quenya] was no longer a birth-tongue, but had become, as it were, an "Elven-latin" ...'.

§5 The name *Quenta Noldorion*, for *Quenta Silmarillion*, seems to be unique in this place (where it occurs in both texts). – Nothing is said in this work of the adoption of Sindarin (or as it is called here, Lemberin) by the Exiled Noldor: this fundamental development (which first appears in the earliest version of the 'linguistic excursus' in the *Grey Annals*, XI.20–1) had not yet emerged (see further under §18 below). But the idea found in the earlier forms of that 'excursus' (XI.21, 25, 27) that the two languages, Noldorin and Sindarin, changed in similar ways and 'drew together' appears in the footnote to §5.

§7 In the list of *Alterations in last revision 1951* (see X.7), often referred to, occurs '*Atani* N[oldorin] *Edain* = Western Men or Fathers of Men'. It is possible that the form in F 1, *Atanni*, replacing *Atanatári* (note 3 above), was the earliest occurrence of the name.

In the sentence 'In that war three houses of the Fathers of Men aided the Elves ...' the word 'the' is not casually absent before 'three houses': cf. §10, 'the native tongue of the Fathers of Men themselves before those of the Three Houses passed over the Sea.'

The statement concerning the loss of the original language of the Atani shows a curious uncertainty (see note 4 above): from the original version in F 1, 'their chieftains learned the Noldorin speech, and some indeed forsook their own tongue', revised to the form in F 2 'the people of these houses learned the Noldorin speech, and forsook their own tongue', which was then altered to 'the lords of these houses learned the Noldorin speech'. That my father should have entertained at all at this time the idea that the original language of

the Atani (of the Three Houses) was wholly lost is remarkable. In this connection it is interesting to compare what he wrote in drafting for the chapter *Faramir* (later *The Window on the West*), which can be dated precisely to May 1944 (VIII.144). Here, in a passage concerning the Common Speech which was only removed from the chapter at a late stage (see VIII.162), Faramir had said: 'Some there are of Gondor who have dealings with the Elves ... One great advantage we have: we speak an elvish speech, or one so near akin that we can in part understand them and they us.' At this Sam exclaimed: 'But you speak the ordinary language! Same as us, though a bit old-fashioned like, if you'll pardon my saying it.' Then Faramir replied (VIII.159–60):

> 'Of course we do. For that is our own tongue which we perhaps preserve better than you do far in the North. The Common Tongue, as some call it, is derived from the Númenóreans, being but a form changed by time of that speech which the Fathers of the Three Houses [*struck out:* Hador and Haleth and Beor] spoke of old. This language it is that has spread through the western world amongst all folk and creatures that use words, to some only a second tongue for use in intercourse with strangers, to some the only tongue they know. But this is not an Elvish speech in my meaning. All speech of men in this world is Elvish in descent; but only if one go back to the beginnings. What I meant was so: [the lords >] many men of the Three Houses long ago gave up man-speech and spoke the tongue of their friends the Noldor or Gnomes: a high-elvish tongue [*struck out:* akin to but changed from the Ancient Elvish of Elvenhome]. And always the lords of Númenor knew that tongue and used it among themselves. And so still do we among ourselves ...

See further under §9 below.

§9 It is an extraordinary feature of this account that there is no suggestion that the Númenóreans retained their own Mannish language, and it is indeed expressly stated here that 'The language of the Dúnedain was thus the Elvish Noldorin'. This is the explanation of the statement discussed under §7 that the Men of the Three Houses learned Noldorin and abandoned their ancestral tongue (as has been mentioned already in note 4 above, the emendation to F 2, whereby it was reduced to 'the *lords* of these houses learned the Noldorin speech', was made at the same time as the rough alterations of the text here and in §13 whereby Adûnaic was introduced as the language of Númenor).

I am altogether at a loss to account for this, in view of Faramir's disquisition to Sam cited under §7. Moreover, in the anomalous 'Foreword' that I have called F* my father had said (p. 21, §8): 'Now those languages of Men that are here met with were related

to the Common Speech; for the Men of the North and West were akin in the beginning to the Men of Westernesse that came back over the Sea; and the Common Speech was indeed made by the blending of the speech of Men of Middle-earth with the tongues of the kings from over the Sea.' This is not very clearly expressed, but the implication seems clear that the Númenórean language that entered into the Common Speech was a Mannish and not an Elvish tongue. One seems to be driven to the explanation that my father when writing the present account had actually shifted away from his view that the Mannish language of the Three Houses was the common speech of Númenor; yet what does that imply of all his work on Adûnaic and *The Drowning of Anadûnê* in 1946?

In the footnote to §9 the tenth king of the Northern Line is named *Eärendil*, not as in Appendix A (RK pp. 318, 320) *Eärendur*; see p. 189.

It was undoubtedly here that the name *Westron* arose (apparently devised by my father on the analogy of the old form *southron*, itself an alteration of *southern*); the F 1 text as originally written had *Westnish* throughout (note 6 above). *Westron* occurs only once in the actual narrative of *The Lord of the Rings*, in the chapter *Lothlórien*, where Legolas says 'this is how it runs in the Westron Speech' (FR p. 353), and this was a late change from 'the Common Speech', made to the typescript following the fair copy manuscript: see VII.223 and 235 with note 48.

§10 In Faramir's account (see under §7) the Common Speech was expressly said to be 'derived from the Númenóreans': changed by time, it was nonetheless directly descended from 'that speech which the Fathers of the Three Houses spoke of old'. In fact, in corrections made to the completed manuscript of that chapter, the conception was changed to the extent that Faramir now says: 'The Common Tongue, as some call it, is derived from the Númenóreans; for the Númenóreans coming to the shores of these lands took the rude tongue of the men that they here found and whom they ruled, and they enriched it, and it spread hence through the Western world'; and he also says that 'in intercourse with other folk we use the Common Speech which we made for that purpose' (VIII.162). Of this I said (*ibid.*): 'Here the idea that the Common Speech was derived from "that speech which the Fathers of the Three Houses spoke of old" is denied'; but by 'the rude tongue of the men that they here found' Faramir may have meant language that in the course of millennia had become greatly altered and impoverished, not that it bore no ancestral kinship to that of the Númenóreans.

In Appendix F as published the section *Of Men* (RK p. 406) begins: 'The *Westron* was a Mannish speech, though enriched and softened under Elvish influence. It was in origin the language of those whom the Eldar called the *Atani* or *Edain*, "Fathers of

Men" ...' And further on in this section my father wrote of the great Númenórean haven of Pelargir: 'There Adûnaic was spoken, and mingled with many words of the languages of lesser men it became a Common Speech that spread thence along the coasts ...'

All these conceptions differ somewhat among themselves, but as is often the case when comparing varying texts of my father's one may feel unsure whether the differences do not lie more in differing emphasis than in real contradiction. In the present text, however, it is perfectly clear that the Common Speech was in origin one form of the skein of Mannish speech that extended from the North (Dale, Esgaroth, and the old lands of the Rohirrim) southward down the vales of Anduin (see §23); that this particular form was centred on the Númenórean haven of Pelargir (§10); and that it was for this reason much influenced by the Númenórean language – *but that language was the Elvish Noldorin* as it had evolved in Númenor.

§14 The statement (before revision) that the Dunlendings had forgotten their own tongue and used only the Westron conflicts with the passage in the chapter *Helm's Deep*, where the Men of Dunland cried out against the Rohirrim in their ancient speech, interpreted to Aragorn and Éomer by Gamling the Old (see VIII.21). In the revised form of the paragraph the Dunland tongue is said to have been 'wholly unlike the Westron, and was descended, as it seems, from some other Mannish tongue, not akin to that of the Atani, Fathers of Men'; cf. Appendix F (RK p. 407): 'Wholly alien was the speech of the Wild Men of Drúadan Forest. Alien, too, or only remotely akin, was the language of the Dunlendings.' In an earlier form of Faramir's exposition cited under §7 he said that there was a 'remote kinship' between the Common Speech and 'the tongues of Rohan and of Dale and of Westfold and Dunland and other places', VIII.159.

§16 'The Orcs had a language of their own, devised for them by the Dark Lord of old': in view of what is said in §7, 'the Eldar were at that time engaged in a ceaseless war with the Dark Lord of that Age, one greater far than Sauron', this may seem to refer to Morgoth; but cf. Appendix F (RK p. 409), 'It is said that the Black Speech was devised by Sauron in the Dark Years'.

§18 The entire conception of the relations of the Elvish languages in Middle-earth at the end of the Third Age as presented here was of course fundamentally altered by the emergence of the idea that the Exiled Noldor of the First Age adopted Sindarin, the (Telerian) language of the Eldar who remained in Middle-earth. Thus the language of the Elves dwelling west of the Misty Mountains is here Noldorin (see under §5 above), while the Lemberin (i.e. Sindarin) of Middle-earth is found among the Elves of Northern Mirkwood and Lórien. At the beginning of §19 names such as *Lórien*, *Caras Galadon*, *Amroth*, *Nimrodel* are cited as examples of Lemberin;

whereas in Appendix F (RK p. 405, footnote) they are cited as 'probably of Silvan origin', in contrast to Sindarin, the language spoken in Lórien at the end of the Third Age. – With the present passage cf. that in the text F*, p. 20, §7.

§20 It has been seen (note 10 above) that it was in the text F 1 that the threefold division of the Hobbits into Harfoots, Stoors, and Fallohides entered, whence it was removed, before F 2 was written, to stand in the *Prologue*. In the actual narrative of *The Lord of the Rings* there is no reference to Harfoots or Fallohides, but the Stoors are named once, in the chapter *The Shadow of the Past*, where Gandalf spoke of Gollum's family. The introduction of the name was made at a very late stage in the evolution of the chapter, when the passage read (cf. the oldest version of the text, VI.78): 'I guess they were of hobbit-kind; or akin to the fathers of the fathers of the hobbits, though they loved the River, and often swam in it, or made little boats of reeds'; this was altered to the final text (FR p. 62) by omitting the word 'or' in 'or akin', and by changing 'hobbits' to 'Stoors' and 'though they loved' to 'for they loved'.

§22 My father was writing of Hobbits as if they were still to be found, as he did in the published *Prologue* ('Hobbits are an unobtrusive but very ancient people, more numerous formerly than they are today', &c., though altering present tense to past tense in one passage in the Second Edition, p. 17, note 13). Here indeed he attributed at least to some of them a lively interest in linguistic history.

§§22–3 In the footnotes to these paragraphs the more complex history of the Stoors can be seen evolving. In the footnote in F 1 (note 11 above) corresponding to that to §23 in F 2, concerning Gandalf's opinion about Gollum's origin, it is said that his people 'must have been a late-lingering group of Stoors in the neighbourhood of the Gladden' (i.e. after the Stoors as a whole had crossed the Misty Mountains into Eriador). In the footnote in F 2 (belonging with the writing of the manuscript) my father suggested rather that they were 'a family or small clan' of Stoors who had gone back east over the Mountains, a return to Wilderland that (he said) was evidenced in Hobbit legends, on account of the hard life and hard lands that they found in eastern Eriador.

Later, there entered the story that many Stoors remained in the lands between Tharbad and the borders of Dunland: this was an addition to the *Prologue* (FR p. 12) made when the text was close to its final form (cf. p. 11), and no doubt the footnote to §22 was added at the same time.

In Appendix A (RK p. 321) the return to Wilderland by some of the Stoors is directly associated with the invasion of Arnor by Angmar in Third Age 1409:

It was at this time that the Stoors that had dwelt in the Angle

(between Hoarwell and Loudwater) fled west and south, because of the wars, and the dread of Angmar, and because the land and clime of Eriador, especially in the east, worsened and became unfriendly. Some returned to Wilderland, and dwelt beside the Gladden, becoming a riverside people of fishers.

These Stoors of the Angle who returned to Wilderland are distinguished from those who dwelt further south and acquired a speech similar to that of the people of Dunland: see the section *Of Hobbits* in Appendix F, RK p. 408 and footnote.

§25 The name Brandywine emerged very early in the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* (VI.29–30 and note 5), but the Elvish name first appeared in the narrative in work on the chapter *Flight to the Ford* (VII.61; FR p. 222), where Glorfindel, in a rejected draft, spoke of 'the Branduin (which you have turned into Brandywine)' (the word 'have' was erroneously omitted in the text printed). In F 1, and again at first in F 2, my father repeated this: 'older names, of Elvish or forgotten Mannish origin, they often translated ... or twisted into a familiar shape (as Elvish *Baranduin* "brown river" to *Brandywine*).' But in revision to F 2 he rejected this explanation, saying that the Elvish name of the river was in fact *Malevarn* ('golden-brown'), transformed in the Hobbits' speech to *Malvern*, but that this was then replaced by *Brandywine* – this being exceptional, since it bore no relation in form to the Elvish name. This idea he also rejected, and in the final form of §25 went back to the original explanation of *Brandywine*, that it was a characteristic Hobbit alteration of Elvish *Baranduin*.

In the passage of *Flight to the Ford* referred to above the name of the river appears in the manuscript as *Branduin*, changed to *Baranduin*, and then to *Malevarn* (VII.66, note 36). It is surprising at first sight to see that *Malevarn* survived into the final typescript of the chapter, that sent to the printer, where my father corrected it to *Baranduin*; but the explanation is evidently that this typescript had been made a long time before. Glorfindel's use of *Baranduin* or *Malevarn* is in fact the only occurrence of the Elvish name of the river in the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings*.

§27 In Appendix D (RK p. 389) Yellowskin is called 'the Yearbook of Tuckborough'.

§37 It is often impossible to be sure of my father's intention in the usage of 'thou, thee' and 'you' forms of address: when writing rapidly he was very inconsistent, and in more careful manuscripts he often wavered in his decision on this insoluble question (if the distinction is to be represented at all). In the case of the chapter *The Steward and the King*, referred to here, the first manuscript (see IX.54) is a very rapidly written draft from which no conclusion can be drawn; while in the second manuscript, a good clear text, he decided while in the course of writing the dialogue between Faramir

and Éowyn against showing the distinction at all. The 'sudden change' to which he referred here (but in F 1 he wrote only of 'the intrusion of *thou, thee* into the dialogue') is possibly to be seen in their first meeting in the garden of the Houses of Healing, where Faramir says (RK p. 238): 'Then, Éowyn of Rohan, I say to you that you are beautiful', but at the end of his speech changes to the 'familiar' form, 'But thou and I have both passed under the wings of the Shadow' (whereas Éowyn continues to use 'you'). In the following meetings, in this text, Faramir uses the 'familiar' forms, but Éowyn does not do so until the last ('Dost thou not know?', RK p. 242); and soon after this point my father went back over what he had written and changed every 'thou' and 'thee' to 'you'. In the third manuscript (preceding the final typescript) there is no trace of the 'familiar' form.

I record these details because they are significant of the (relative) date of the present text, showing very clearly that when he wrote this earliest form of what would become Appendix F he had not yet completed the second manuscript of this chapter.

'The *thee* used by Sam Gamgee to Rose at the end of the book' refers to the end of the *Epilogue* (IX.118): 'I did not think I should ever see thee again'. At this stage only the first version of the *Epilogue* was in being (though these words are used in both versions): see IX.129, 132.

On a loose page associated with my father's later work on this Appendix my father wrote very rapidly:

> Where *thou, thee, thy* appears it is used mainly to mark a use of the familiar form where that was not usual. For instance its use by Denethor in his last madness to Gandalf, and by the Messenger of Sauron, was in both cases intended to be contemptuous. But elsewhere it is occasionally used to indicate a deliberate change to a form of affection or endearment.

The passages referred to are RK pp. 128–30 and p. 165; in Denethor's speeches to Gandalf there are some occurrences of 'you' that were not corrected.

§39 For Westron *Carbandur* (F 1 at first *Karbandul*, note 18) Appendix F has *Karningul* (RK p. 412).

§41 With the Noldorin word *lhann*, said here to be the equivalent of Westron *sūza* as used in Gondor for the divisions of the realm, cf. the *Etymologies*, V.367, stem LAD, where Noldorin *lhand, lhann* 'wide' is cited, and also the region *Lhothland, Lhothlann*, east of Dorthonion (see XI.60, 128).

§42 The Westron name *Raspūta* 'Hornblower' is only recorded here (F 1 *Rhaspûtal*, note 21 above). Since it is said (§13) that the Common Speech was 'much enriched with words drawn from the language of the Dúnedain, which was ... a form of the Elvish Noldorin', it is perhaps worth noting that the stem RAS in the

Etymologies (V.383) yields Quenya *rassë*, Noldorin *rhaes* 'horn', with citation of *Caradras*. – In Appendix F (RK p. 413) the name *Tûk* is said to be an old name 'of forgotten meaning'.

§43 For the name *Porro*, not found in *The Lord of the Rings*, see pp. 87–8, 92.

§45 The 'classical' titles of the heads of the Brandybuck family given in the second footnote to this paragraph do not appear in *The Lord of the Rings*, but see pp. 102–3. Cf. Appendix F (RK p. 413): 'Names of classical origin have rarely been used; for the nearest equivalents to Latin and Greek in Shire-lore were the Elvish tongues, and these the Hobbits seldom used in nomenclature. Few of them at any time knew the "languages of the kings", as they called them.'

§46 Apart from the opening sentence nothing of this paragraph remained in Appendix F, and Lobelia Sackville-Baggins' true name *Hamanullas* was lost.

§47 Much information is given here on Hobbit family-names that was subsequently lost, notably the true Westron name of *Baggins* and its supposed etymology; other names (*Brandybuck*, *Cotton*, *Gamgee*), discussed in the notes that conclude Appendix F, differ in details of the forms. On the name *Gamgee* see the references in the index to *Letters*, and especially the letter to Naomi Mitchison of 25 April 1954 (no.144, near the end), which is closely related to what is said here and in Appendix F.

§48 In the note at the end of Appendix F it is said that the word for 'Hobbit' in use in the Shire was *kuduk*, and that Théoden used the form *kûd-dûkan* 'hole-dweller' when he met Merry and Pippin at Isengard, which in the narrative (TT p. 163) is 'translated' by *Holbytla(n)*, though no rendering of this given. In the present passage, both in F 1 (see note 31) and in F 2, the meaning 'hole-dweller' is given for *holbytla* and for the real Westron and Rohan words (cf. also p. 10). In view of the etymology of *bytla (bylta)*, for which see VII.424, VIII.44, one would expect 'hole-builder', but this only occurs in fact at an earlier point in Appendix F (RK p. 408): the word *hobbit* seems to be 'a worn-down form of a word preserved more fully in Rohan: *holbytla* "hole-builder" ' (see further p. 83, note 7).

My father's remarks in the footnote to this paragraph on his association of the words 'hobbit' and 'rabbit' are notable.

§49 In Appendix F (RK p. 414) Meriadoc's true name was *Kalimac*, shortened *Kali*; but nothing is said of the true names of Frodo or Peregrin.

§50 In the chapter *The Road to Isengard* the originator of pipe-weed in the Shire was first named Elias Tobiasson, and then Tobias Smygrave, before Tobias Hornblower emerged (VIII.36–7). Tobias remained to a late stage in the development of the chapter before he was renamed Tobold, though it is seen from the present text that my

father for a time retained Tobias while asserting that the name (pronounced *Tóbias*) was not in fact a 'translation' of Hebraic origin at all.

Bildad (Bolger) is not found in *The Lord of the Rings* (but see pp. 94, 96); while the abbreviated names *Tom* and *Mat* are differently explained in Appendix F.

§51 As with Tobias Hornblower, my father retained Barnabas Butterbur, despite what he had written in §50, but accounted for it on the grounds that Butterbur was not a Hobbit but a Man of Bree. In Appendix F all discussion of the name of the landlord of *The Prancing Pony* was lost. The change of *Barnabas* to *Barliman* was made in very late revisions to the text of *The Lord of the Rings* (cf. IX.78).

§58 These remarks on the history of the Hobbits' name of the *Baranduin* (see also §§25, 47) were further altered in the final note at the end of Appendix F.

This is the most detailed account that my father wrote of his elaborate and distinctive fiction of translation, of transposition and substitution. One may wonder when or by what stages it emerged; but I think that this is probably unknowable: the evidences are very slight, and in such matters he left none of those discussions, records of internal debate, that sometimes greatly assisted in the understanding of the development of the narrative. It seems to me in any case most probable that the idea evolved gradually, as the history, linguistic and other, was consolidated and became increasingly coherent.

Central to the 'fiction of authenticity' is of course the Common Speech. I concluded that this was first named in the *Lord of the Rings* papers in the chapter *Lothlórien* (dating from the beginning of the 1940s): see VII.223, 239. In the second of these passages my father wrote that the speech of the wood-elves of Lórien was 'not that of the western elves which was in those days used as a common speech among many folk'. In a note of the same period (VII.277) he said that 'Since Aragorn is a *man* and the common speech (especially of mortals) is represented by English, then he must not have an Elvish name'; and in another note (VII.424), one of a collection of jottings on a page that bears the date 9 February 1942 (at which time he was working on the opening chapters of what became *The Two Towers*) he wrote:

> Language of Shire = modern English
> Language of Dale = Norse (used by Dwarves of that region)
> Language of Rohan = Old English
> 'Modern English' is *lingua franca* spoken by all people (except a few secluded folk like Lórien) – but little and ill by orcs.

In this, 'Language of Dale = Norse (used by Dwarves of that region)' shows plainly that a major obstacle, perhaps the chief obstacle, to a coherent 'authentication' had by this time been resolved. When my

father wrote *The Hobbit* he had of course no notion that the Old Norse names of the Dwarves required any explanation, within the terms of the story: those were their names, and that was all there was to it. As he said in a letter of December 1937, cited in the Foreword to *The Return of the Shadow* (p. 7): 'I don't much approve of *The Hobbit* myself, preferring my own mythology (which is just touched on) with its consistent nomenclature ... and organized history, to this rabble of Eddaic-named dwarves out of Völuspá ...' But now this inescapable Norse element had to be accounted for; and from that 'rabble of Eddaic-named dwarves out of Völuspá' the conception emerged that the Dwarves had 'outer names' derived from the tongues of Men with whom they had dealings, concealing their true names which they kept altogether secret. And this was very evidently an important component in the theory of the 'transposition of languages': for the Dwarves had *Norse* names because they lived among Men who *were represented* in *The Lord of the Rings* as speaking Norse. It may not be too far-fetched, I think, to suppose that (together with the idea of the Common Speech) those Dwarf-names in *The Hobbit* provided the starting-point for the whole structure of the Mannish languages in Middle-earth, as expounded in the present text.

My father asserted (§53) that he had represented the tongue of the Rohirrim as Old English because their real language stood in a relation to the Common Speech somewhat analogous to that of Old English and Modern English. This is perhaps difficult to accept: one may feel that the impulse that produced the Riders of Rohan and the Golden Hall was more profound, and that my father's statement should be viewed as an aspect of 'the fiction of authenticity'; for the idea of 'translation' had a further fictional dimension in its presentation as a conception established from the outset – which in the case of the Dwarf-names (and the Hobbit-names) it was most assuredly not.

On the other hand, he knew very soon that the Rohirrim were originally Men of the North: in a note made at the time when his work on the chapter *The Riders of Rohan* was scarcely begun (VII.390) he wrote:

> Rohiroth are relations of Woodmen and Beornings, old Men of the North. But they speak Gnomish – tongue of Númenor and Ondor, as well as [?common] tongue.

Taken with 'Language of Rohan = Old English' among the equations in the note cited above, from about the same time, it may be better not to force the distinction, but to say rather that the emergent 'transpositional' idea (Modern English – Old English – Old Norse) may well have played a part in my father's vision of Rohan.

In the present text it can be seen that as he penetrated more deeply into the logic of the theory he came up against complexities that were difficult to manage. For example, it seems clear that when he wrote in

§25 that the Hobbits had 'twisted into a familiar shape' the Elvish name *Baranduin*, making out of it *Brandywine*, he had not taken into account the fact that the Hobbits would have had no such word as 'Brandywine' (whether or not they knew of brandy, §58). This realisation led to his avowal in §56: 'This translation had a disadvantage which I did not foresee. The "linguistic notes" on the origin of peculiar Hobbit words had also to be "translated"'; and in §58 he is seen ingeniously introducing the necessary 'third term' into the history of *Brandywine*: the 'picturesque perversion' of the river-name *Baranduin* by the Hobbits was to their real word *Branduhim*, which meant in their Westron 'foaming beer'. He could still say that *Brandywine* was 'a very possible "corruption" of *Baranduin*', because *Baranduin* being an Elvish name was not translated; thus *Brandywine* must both 'imitate' the Hobbit word *Branduhim*, and at the same time stand in Modern English as a corruption of *Baranduin*.

It will be seen shortly that in the text of this Appendix next following my father moved sharply away from F 2, and removed almost all exemplification of true Westron names. It may be that at that stage he had come to think that the subtleties demanded by so close an examination of the 'theory' were unsuitable to the purpose; on the other hand it seems possible that mere considerations of length were the cause.

Note on an unpublished letter

A long letter of my father's was sent for sale at auction on 4 May 1995 at Sotheby's in London. This letter he wrote on 3 August 1943, during the long pause in the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* (between the end of Book Three and the beginning of Book Four) that lasted from about the end of 1942 to the beginning of April 1944 (VIII.77–8). It was addressed to two girls named Leila Keene and Pat Kirke, and was largely concerned to answer their questions about the runes in *The Hobbit*; but in the present connection it contains an interesting passage on the Common Speech. My father made some brief remarks on the problem of the representation of the languages actually spoken in those days, and continued:

> In some ways it was not too difficult. In Bilbo's time there *was* a language very widely used all over the West (the Western parts of the Great Lands of those days). It was a sort of lingua-franca, made up of all sorts of languages, but the Elvish language (of the North West) for the most part. It was called the Western language or Common Speech; and in Bilbo's time had already passed eastward over the Misty Mountains and reached Lake Town, and Beorn, and even Smaug (dragons were ready linguists in all ages). ...
>
> If hobbits ever had any special language of their own, they had given it up. They spoke the Common Speech only and every

day (unless they learned other languages, which was very seldom).

The most notable point in this is the description of the composition of the Common Speech: 'a sort of lingua-franca, made up of all sorts of languages, but the Elvish language (of the North West) for the most part.' Allowance should perhaps be made for the nature of the letter (my father was not, obviously, writing a precise statement); but it certainly seems that as late as 1943, when half of *The Lord of the Rings* had been written, he had as yet no conception of the origin of the Common Speech in a form of Mannish language of the west of Middle-earth, and that Faramir's account of the matter (see p. 63), written nine months later, had not emerged. It may be that what he said in this letter ('the Elvish language (of the North West) for the most part') is to be associated with what he had written in the chapter *Lothlórien*, where he said (VII.239) that the language of 'the western elves' 'was in those days used as a common speech among many folk.'

He also referred in this letter to the adoption by the Dwarves of the Lonely Mountain of the language of the Men of Dale, in which they gave themselves names, keeping their true names in their own tongue entirely secret (see p. 71).

★

For the notes to this concluding section of the chapter see pp. 82 ff.

The third text ('F 3') was a typescript with the title *The Languages of the Third Age*, above which my father wrote 'Appendix I'. No other of the many texts that followed has any mention of its being an 'Appendix'.

This text F 3 represents in some degree a new departure. The first part of the work (that preceding the discussion of 'Translation') was reduced to not much more than a third of its length in F 2, and while my father had F 2 in front of him he turned also to the curious 'Foreword' F* that I have given on pp. 19 ff., and made a good deal of use of it, as has been mentioned already.

At this stage he had not changed his view that the Exiled Noldor retained their own language in Beleriand (see p. 62, §5), and the 'Telerian' speech (which in F 2 was originally called 'Lemberin') is confined to a few names. Thus the conception in F 2, §18, was in essentials preserved, although there entered here the more complex account of the Elvish peoples of Mirkwood and Lórien:

There were also Elves of other kind. The East-elves that being content with Middle-earth remained there, and remain even now; and the Teleri, kinsfolk of the High Elves who never went westward, but lingered on the shores of Middle-earth until the return of the Noldor.[1] In the Third Age few of the Teleri were left, and they for the most part dwelt as lords among the East-elves in woodland realms far from the Sea, which nonetheless

they longed for in their hearts. Of this kind were the Elves of Mirkwood, and of Lórien; but Galadriel was a lady of the Noldor. In this book there are several names of Telerian form,[2] but little else appears of their language.

The extremely puzzling feature of the original version, that the language of the Númenóreans was Noldorin (for the Edain in Beleriand learned that tongue and abandoned their own) was at first retained in F 3; and thus the account of the Common Speech remained unchanged, becoming if anything more explicit (cf. F 2, §§9–10, 13):

The language of the Dúnedain in Númenor was thus the Elvish, or Gnomish speech ... After the Downfall of Númenor, which was brought about by Sauron, and the ending of the Second Age, Elendil and the survivors of Westernesse fled back eastward to Middle-earth. On the western shores in the days of their power the Númenóreans had maintained many forts and havens for the help of their ships in their great voyages; and the chief of these had been at Pelargir at the mouths of the Anduin in the land that was after called Gondor. *There the language of the Edain that had not passed over Sea was spoken*, and thence it spread along the coastlands, as a common speech of all who had dealings with Westernesse and opposed the power of Sauron. Now the people of Elendil were not many, for only a few great ships had escaped the Downfall. There were, it is true, many dwellers upon the west-shores who came in part of the blood of Westernesse, being descended from mariners and wardens of forts set there in the Dark Years; yet all told the Dúnedain were only a small people in the midst of lesser Men. They used therefore this Common Speech in all their dealings with other folk and in the government of the wide realms of which they became the rulers, and it was enriched with many words drawn from the tongues of the Elves and the Númenórean lords. Thus it was that the Common Speech spread far and wide in the days of the Kings, even among their enemies, and it became used more and more by the Númenóreans themselves; so that at the time of this history the Elvish speech was spoken by only a [*added:* small] part of the people of Minas Tirith, the city of Gondor, and outside that city only by the lords and princes of fiefs.

The account of the origin and spread of the Common Speech as it appears in Appendix F (RK p. 407) had, in point of actual wording, been quite largely attained – and yet still with the fundamental differ-

ence, that the Númenóreans themselves spoke an Elvish tongue, and Adûnaic does not exist.

Probably while this text was still in the making, my father retyped a portion of it, and it was only now that Adûnaic entered, or re-entered, the linguistic history. Making similar changes at the same time to the previous text F 2 (see p. 54, note 4), he wrote now that it was the lords of the Edain who learned the Noldorin tongue, and that 'in Númenor two speeches were used: the Númenórean (or Adûnaic); and the Elvish or Gnomish tongue of the Noldor, which all the lords of that people knew and spoke'. In the passage just given he altered the words that I italicised to: 'There [at Pelargir] the Adûnaic, the Mannish language of the Edain, was spoken, and thence it spread along the coastlands...', the remainder of the passage being left unchanged. No further light is cast on this matter in the texts of 'Appendix F', and it remains to me inexplicable.

There is not a great deal more that need be said about the part of the text F 3 that deals with the languages. For the language of Orcs and Trolls my father followed F 2, §§16–17, but for that of the Dwarves he turned to F* (p. 21, §10), and repeated closely what he had said there. But at that point, still following this text (§11), he turned now to the subject of alphabets ('Of the alphabets of the Third Age something also must be said, since in this history there are both inscriptions and old writings ...'), and repeated what he had said in F* as far as 'the Runes, or *cirth*, were devised by the Elves of the woods'. Here he left the earlier text and continued as follows (the forerunner of the passage in Appendix E, RK pp. 395, 397):

... the Runes, or *Cirth* as they were called, were first devised by the Danians (far kin of the Noldor) in the woods of Beleriand, and were in the beginning used mainly for incising names and brief memorials upon wood, stone, or metal. From that beginning they derive their peculiar character, closely similar in many of their signs to the Runes of the North in our own times. But their detail, arrangement, and uses were different, and there is, it seems, no connexion of descent between the Runes and the Cirth. Many things were forgotten and found again in the ages of Middle-earth, and so it will be, doubtless, hereafter.

The Cirth in their older and simpler form spread far and wide, even into the East, and they became known to many races of Men, and developed many varieties and uses. One form of the old Cirth was used among Men of whom we have already spoken, the Rohirrim and their more northerly kindred in the vale of Anduin and in Dale. But the richest and most well-ordered alphabet of Cirth was called the Alphabet of Dairon, since in Elvish tradition it was said to have been arranged and

enlarged from the older Cirth by Dairon, the minstrel of King Thingol in Doriath. This was preserved in use in Hollin and Moria, and there mostly by the Dwarves. For after the coming of the Noldor the Fëanorian script replaced the Cirth among the Elves and the Edain.

In this book we meet only the Short Cirth of Dale and the Mark; and the Long Cirth of Moria, as they were called at this time; for though the Dwarves, as with their speech, used in their dealings with other folk such scripts as were current among them, among themselves and in their secret memorials they still used the ancient Alphabet of Dairon. A table is given setting out the Short Cirth of Dale and the Mark; and the Long Cirth of Moria in the form and arrangement applied to the Common Speech. [*The following was subsequently struck out:* A list is also given of all the strange words and the names of persons and places that appear in the tale, in which it is shown from what language they are derived, and what is their meaning (where that is known);] and also the English Runes in the forms that were used for the translation of the Cirth in *The Hobbit.*

The first devising of the Runes by 'the Danians (far kin of the Noldor) in the woods of Beleriand' (where F* has 'the Elves of the woods') is found also in the two texts given in VII.453–5, where the origin is attributed to 'the Danian elves of Ossiriand (who were ultimately of Noldorin race)'. The old view that the Danas or Danians (Nandor) came from the host of the Noldor on the Great March was changed in the course of the revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, when they became Teleri from the host of Olwë (X.169–70; cf. the use of the old term *Lembi* in F 2, p. 61, §3).

The final section of F 3, *On Translation*, presents a very greatly reduced form of that in the original version, and loses virtually all of the exemplification and discussion of the 'true' names from which the 'translation' was made: the sole Westron names that survived were *Carbandur* (Rivendell) and *Phuru-nargian* (Moria). The new text had indeed the structure and much of the actual wording of Appendix F, but it was a good deal briefer; and the published text represents a re-expansion, in which some of the old material had been reinstated, if in altered form.[3] But since no new material was introduced in F 3, there is no need to give more account of this part of it.

The text ends with a return to the conclusion of F*, pp. 23–4, §§12–13:

In conclusion I will add a note on two important modern words used in translation. The name *Gnomes* is sometimes used for the Noldor, and *Gnomish* for Noldorin. This has been done,

because whatever Paracelsus may have thought (if indeed he invented the name), to some *Gnome* will still suggest Knowledge. Now the High-elven name of this folk, Noldor, signifies Those who Know; for of the Three Kindreds of the Elves from their beginning the Noldor were ever distinguished both by their knowledge of things that are and were in this world and by their desire to know more. Yet they were not in any way like to the gnomes of learned theory, or of literary and popular fancy. They belonged to a race high and beautiful, the Elder Children of the world, who now are gone. Tall they were, fair-skinned and grey-eyed, though their locks were dark, save in the golden house of Finrod; and their voices knew more melodies than any mortal speech that now is heard. Valiant they were, but their history was grievous; and though it was in far-off days woven a little with the fates of the Fathers, their fate is not that of Men. Their dominion passed long ago, and they dwell now beyond the circles of the world, and do not return.

The naming of 'the golden house of Finrod' (later Finarfin) seems to have been the first mention of this character that marked out the third son of Finwë, and his children.

In a later (in fact the penultimate) text of the section *On Translation* my father still retained this passage, even though by that time he had decided against using *Gnome*, *Gnomish* at all in *The Lord of the Rings* (as being 'too misleading'), and introduced it with the words 'I have sometimes (not in this book) used Gnomes for *Noldor*, and Gnomish for *Noldorin*'. Perhaps because the passage now seemed otiose, in the final text he still retained a part of it but changed its application: the word to be justified was now *Elves*, used to translate *Quendi* and *Eldar*. In my discussion of this in I.43–4 I pointed out that the words 'They were tall, fair of skin and grey-eyed, though their locks were dark, save in the golden house of Finrod [Finarfin]' were originally written of the Noldor only, and not of all the Eldar, and I objected that 'the Vanyar had golden hair, and it was from Finarfin's Vanyarin mother Indis that he, and Finrod Felagund and Galadriel his children, had their golden hair', finding in the final use of this passage an 'extraordinary perversion of meaning'. But my father carefully remodelled the passage in order to apply it to the Eldar as a whole, and it does indeed seem 'extraordinary' that he should have failed to observe this point. It seems possible that when he re-used the passage in this way the conception of the golden hair of the Vanyar had not yet arisen.[4]

Despite the great contraction in F 3 of the original version, my father repeated the long last paragraph of F* concerning *dwarves* and *dwarrows* (pp. 23–4, §13) almost in its entirety, omitting only his remarks on his liking for irregular plurals, and introducing the

Westron name *Phurunargian* of Moria. With the words 'and has been so since their birth in the deeps of time' this text ends.

The next typescript, **F 4**, still called *The Languages of the Third Age* but changed to *The Languages and Peoples of the Third Age*, followed the major revision of 1951. My father's long experimentation with the structure and expression of this Appendix now issued in his most lucid account of the Elvish languages, in which the terms *Sindar* and *Sindarin* at last appeared, and the acquisition of the Grey-elven tongue by the exiled Noldor.

Besides this Common Speech there were, however, many other tongues still spoken in the West-lands. Noblest of these were the languages of the Western Elves (Eldar) of which two are met: the High-elven (Quenya) and the Grey-elven (Sindarin).

The Quenya was no longer a daily speech but a learned tongue, descended from ages past, though it was still used in courtesies, or for high matters of lore and song, by the High Elves, the Noldor whose language it had been in Eldamar beyond the Sea. But when the Noldor were exiled and returned to Middle-earth, seeking the Great Jewels which the Dark Power of the North had seized, they took for daily use the language of the lands in which they dwelt. Those were in the North-west, in the country of Beleriand, where Thingol Grey-cloak was king of the Sindar or Grey-elves.

The Sindar were also in origin Eldar, and kindred of the Noldor, yet they had never passed the Sea, but had lingered on the shores of Middle-earth. There their speech had changed much with the changefulness of mortal lands in the long Twilight, and it had become far estranged from the high and ancient Quenya. But it was a fair tongue still, well fitted to the forests, the hills, and the shores where it had taken shape.

In the fall of the Dark Power and the end of the First Age most of Beleriand was overwhelmed by the waters, or burned with fire. Then a great part of its folk went west over Sea, never to return. Yet many still lingered in Middle-earth, and the Grey-elven tongue in those days spread eastward; for some of the elven-peoples of Beleriand crossed the mountains of Lune (Ered Luin), and wherever they came they were received as kings and lords, because of their greater wisdom and majesty. These were for the most part Sindar; for the Exiles (such few as remained), highest and fairest of all speaking-peoples, held still to Lindon, the remnant of Beleriand west of the Ered Luin. There Gil-galad was their lord, until the Second Age drew to its end.

Nonetheless to Rivendell (Imladris) there went with Master Elrond many Noldorin lords; and in Hollin (Eregion) others of the Noldor established a realm near to the West-gate of Moria, and there forged the Rings of Power. Galadriel, too, was of the royal house of Finrod of the Noldor; though Celeborn, her spouse of Lórien, was a Grey-elf, and most of their people were of a woodland race.

For there were other Elves of various kind in the world; and many were Eastern Elves that had hearkened to no summons to the Sea, but being content with Middle-earth remained there, and remained long after, fading in fastnesses of the woods and hills, as Men usurped the lands. Of that kind were the Elves of Greenwood the Great; yet among them also were many lords of Sindarin race. Such were Thranduil and Legolas his son. In his realm and in Lórien both the Sindarin and the woodland tongues were heard; but of the latter nothing appears in this book, and of the many Elvish names of persons or of places that are used most are of Grey-elven form.

From the assured and perspicuous writing alone one might think that this belonged to the time of the *Grey Annals* and the *Annals of Aman*. But it was by no means the last in the series of texts that finally issued in the published form of Appendix F.

Of F 4 there are only a few other points to mention. The origin of the Common Speech is here formulated in these words:

There [at Pelargir] Adûnaic was spoken, to which language the tongues of Men that dwelt round about were closely akin, so that already a common speech had grown up in that region and had spread thence along the coasts among all those that had dealings with Westernesse.

After typing the text my father added this sentence:

> Of the speech of Men of the East and allies of Sauron all that appears is *múmak*, a name of the great elephant of the Harad.

A carbon copy of F 4 is extant, and here my father in a similar addition named beside *múmak* also *Variag* and *Khand* (RK pp. 121, 123, 329).

Lastly, it was in F 4 that there entered the passage concerning the new race of Trolls that appeared at the end of the Third Age. Here the name was first *Horg-hai*, but changed as my father typed the text to *Olg-hai* (*Olog-hai* in RK, p. 410). The account of them did not differ from the final form except in the statement of their origin:

That Sauron bred them none doubted, though from what stock was not known. Some held that they were a cross-breed

between trolls and the larger Orcs; others that they were indeed not trolls at all but giant Orcs. Yet there was no kinship from the beginning between the stone-trolls and the Orcs that they might breed together;[5] while the Olg-hai were in fashion of mind and body quite unlike even the largest of Orc-kind ...

With this text and its successors the section *On Translation* was typed and preserved separately, and it is not possible to relate these precisely to the texts of the first section. Of these latter there are four after F 4, textually complex and not all complete, and for the purposes of this account it is not necessary to describe them.[6] Even if my father had not said so very plainly himself in his letters, it would be very evident from these drafts that the writing of an account that would satisfy him was exceedingly tasking and frustrating, largely (I believe) because he found the constraint of space profoundly uncongenial. In March 1955 (*Letters* no.160) he wrote to Rayner Unwin: 'I now wish that no appendices had been promised! For I think their appearance in truncated and compressed form will satisfy nobody'; and in the same letter he said:

> In any case the 'background' matter is very intricate, useless unless exact, and compression within the limits available leaves it unsatisfactory. It needs great concentration (and leisure), and being completely interlocked cannot be dealt with piecemeal. I have found that out, since I let part of it go.

Even the final typescript of Appendix F was not a fair copy, but carried many emendations.

Two texts of the second section of Appendix F, *On Translation*, are extant, following the reduced version in F 3 (p. 76) and preceding the final typescript. They were evidently made at a late stage in the evolution of this appendix; and it was in the first of these, which may conveniently be called 'A', that my father reinstated a part of the detailed discussion of names in the original version that had been discarded in F 3. At this stage he very largely retained the name-forms found in F 2, in his discussion of *Baggins*, *Gamgee*, *Cotton*, *Brandywine*, *Brandybuck*; the word *hobbit*; the origin of Hobbit-names such as *Tom*, *Bill*, *Mat*; *Meriadoc*, *Samwise*. There are however some differences and additions,[7] notably in his account of the curious names found in Buckland (cf. RK pp. 413–14):

These I have often left unaltered, for if queer now, they were queer in their own day. Some I have given a Celtic cast, notably *Meriadoc* and *Gorhendad*. There is some reason for this. Many of the actual Buckland (and Bree) names had something of that style: such as *Marroc*, *Madoc*, *Seredic*; and they often ended in

ac, *ic*, *oc*. Also the relation of, say, Welsh or British to English was somewhat similar to that of the older language of the Stoors and Bree-men to the Westron.

Thus Bree, Combe, Archet, and Chetwood are modelled on British relics in English place-names, chosen by sense: *bree* 'hill', *chet* 'wood'. Similarly *Gorhendad* represents a name *Ogforgad* which according to Stoor-tradition had once meant 'great-grandfather or ancestor'. While *Meriadoc* was chosen to fit the fact that this character's shortened name meant 'jolly, gay' in Westron *kili*, though it was actually an abbreviation of *Kilimanac* [> *kali*, *Kalamanac*].

The text A lacks the discussion (RK pp. 414–15) of the words *mathom* and *smial* and the names *Sméagol* and *Déagol*, and ends, at the bottom of a page, with this passage:

The yet more northerly tongue of Dale is here seen only in the names of the Dwarves that came from that region, and so used the language of Men there, and took their 'outer' names in that language. The Dwarvish names in this book and in *The Hobbit* are in fact all genuine Norse dwarf-names; though the title *Oakenshield* is a translation.

Thus the concluding passage in F 3 (see pp. 76–7) concerning the use of the word *Gnomes* and of the plural *Dwarves* is absent, but whether because my father had rejected it, or because the end of the A typescript is lost, is impossible to say.

In the second of these texts *On Translation*, which I will call 'B', he retained all this reinstated material from A, changing some of the name-forms,[8] and even extended it, going back to the original version F 2 again for a passage exemplifying his treatment of the true names in the language of the Mark. Here reappears material derived from F 2 §§54–5 concerning the real native name of Rohan *Lôgrad*, the translation of *Lohtûr* by *Éothéod* and of *tûrak* 'king' by Théoden; and this is followed by the discussion of *mathom*, *smial*, *Sméagol* and *Déagol* – the only portion of this passage retained in the final form of Appendix F.

In B my father followed the passage given above from A ('The yet more northerly language of Dale ...') with a statement on the different treatment of the 'true' Runes in *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* that derives from that in F* (p. 22, §11):

In keeping with the general method of translation here outlined, as applied to the Common Speech and other languages akin to it, in *The Hobbit* the *Cirth* were turned into Runes, into forms and values, that is, practically the same as those once used in

England. But since the *Cirth* were actually of Elvish origin, and little used for writing the Common Speech (save by Dwarves), while many readers of *The Hobbit* found the matter of scripts of interest, in this larger history it seemed better to present the *Cirth* as well as the Fëanorian letters in their proper shapes and use. Though naturally an adaptation by the translator of these alphabets to fit modern English has had to replace their actual application to the Westron tongue, which was very different from ours.

This is followed by the conclusion concerning *Gnomes* and *Dwarves* which is lacking in A.

In the final typescript, that sent to the printer, many changes entered that were not, as was almost invariably my father's practice when proceeding from one draft to the next, anticipated by corrections made to the preceding text: they seem in fact to have entered as he typed.[9] There is no suggestion in text B, for instance, of the footnote to RK p. 414 warning against an assumption, based on the linguistic transposition, 'that the Rohirrim closely resembled the ancient English otherwise'; nor of the removal from the body of the text of the detailed discussion of the word *hobbit* and the names *Gamgee* and *Brandywine* to a note at its end;[10] nor yet of the alteration of the passage (discussed on p. 77) concerning the word *Gnomes* so that it should apply to the word *Elves*, and the placing of it at the end of the text instead of preceding the discussion of *Dwarves*. Nothing could show more clearly the extreme pressure my father was under when, after so much labour, he at last sent Appendix F to the publishers. It seems to me more than likely that had circumstances been otherwise the form of that appendix would have been markedly different.

NOTES

1 The apparent implication here that *Teleri* was the name exclusively of those of the Eldar who remained in Middle-earth was certainly unintentional.

2 A footnote at this point reads: 'Such as *Thranduil* and *Legolas* from Mirkwood; *Lórien*, *Galadriel*, *Caras Galadon*, *Nimrodel*, *Amroth* and others from Loth-lórien.'

3 For an account of this reinstatement of material from F 2 see pp. 80–1, with notes 7 and 8.

4 It must be admitted, however, that the statement in the chapter *Of Maeglin* in *The Silmarillion* (p. 136) that Idril Celebrindal 'was golden as the Vanyar, her mother's kindred' appears already in the original text (1951; see XI.316); and of course even if the re-use of the passage did precede the appearance of the idea of the 'golden Vanyar', it needed correction subsequently.

5 With this cf. the passage in F 2 concerning Trolls (p. 36, §17): 'the evil Power had at various times made use of them, teaching them what little they could learn, and even crossing their breed with that of the larger Orcs.'

6 There is scarcely anything in the last texts that calls for special notice, but it should be recorded that in the penultimate draft my father revealed the meaning of the sentence in the Black Speech uttered by one of the Orcs who was guarding Pippin in the chapter *The Uruk-hai* (TT p. 48): *Uglúk u bagronk sha pushdug Saruman-glob búbhosh skai.* At the end of the section *Orcs and the Black Speech* (RK p. 410) this text reads:

> ... while the curse of the Mordor-orc in Chapter 3 of Book Three is in the more debased form used by the soldiers of the Dark Tower, of whom Grishnákh was the captain. *Uglúk to the cesspool, sha! the dungfilth; the great Saruman-fool, skai!*

7 Where F 2 in the discussion of *Baggins* (p. 48) had Westron *labin* 'bag', and *Labin-nec* 'Bag End', the text A has *laban, Laban-nec.* For the origin of 'hobbit' my father retained the form *cubuc* and Théoden's archaic *cûgbagu* (p. 49), noting that it meant '"hole-dweller" (or "hole-builder")': see p. 69. He also gave here for the first time the Westron name for 'hobbits', *nathramin*, though later in the text the form *banathin* appears; and he provided the true name of Hamfast Gamgee:

> The Gaffer's name on the other hand was *Ranadab*, meaning 'settled, living in a fixed abode or group of hobbit-holes', and hence often 'stay-at-home', the opposite of 'wanderer'. Since this closely corresponds with ancient English *hamfæst*, I have translated it as *Hamfast.* The shortenings [*Sam* and *Ham*] at any rate rhyme, as did *Ban* and *Ran* in the Shire. Moreover neither *Banzîra* nor *Ranadab* were any longer current in the Shire as ordinary words and survived only as names, originally given no doubt as (not entirely complimentary) nicknames, but used traditionally in certain families without much more recognition than is the case today with, say, Roy or Francis.

8 For *Laban-nec* 'Bag End' in A the second text B has *Laban-neg.* The 'hobbit' word became *kubug*, and the Rohan form *kûgbagul*, changed on the typescript to *cuduc* and *kûddûka.* The true name of Gorhendad Oldbuck became *Ogmandab*, and that of Meriadoc *Kalimanac*, altered to *Kalimanoc* (*Kalimac* in RK); that of Hamfast Gamgee became *Ranagad* (*Ranugad* in RK), and of Sam *Banzîra.* The Westron word for 'hobbit' became *banakil*, as in RK; but *Branduhîm* 'foaming beer' as the Hobbits' perversion of *Baranduin* remained (see note 10), as did *Carbandur* for Imladris (with *Karningul*, as in RK, pencilled against it).

9 It is clear that there was no intermediate text.
10 The introduction of the Hobbits' original name for the river, *Branda-nîn* 'border-water' or 'Marchbourn', transformed into *Bralda-hîm* 'heady ale', was only made in this last typescript.

III
THE FAMILY TREES

This chapter is an account of the evolution of the genealogical tables given in Appendix C to *The Lord of the Rings*; and since such a development can obviously be followed far more easily and rapidly by successive stages of the tables themselves than by any account in words, I present it here largely by redrawings of the original family trees. My father followed his usual course of emending each one (most of them being carefully, even beautifully, made) more or less roughly in preparation for its successor; I have therefore in my redrawings excluded subsequent alterations, when the distinction can be clearly made.

Baggins of Hobbiton

The first four genealogical tables of the Baggins family, to which I give the references **BA 1** to **BA 4**, are found on pp. 89–92.

BA 1 (p. 89)

This is the earliest tree of the family of Baggins of Hobbiton (by which I mean the earliest fully formed and carefully presented table, excluding such hasty genealogies as that referred to in VI.222). It was very carefully made, but was much used and corrected later, and is now a very battered document. The number of members of the Baggins family shown is still far fewer than in the published table; and the presence of *Folco Took* (with *Faramond* pencilled beside it) suggests that it belongs to the period that I have called 'the Third Phase' in the writing of the earlier chapters of *The Fellowship of the Ring*, before the emergence of Peregrin Took (see VII.31–2). It may be related therefore to the original text of the *Prologue* (see p. 3 and note 1), and to the original tree of the Took family given in VI.317. As in that table, the ages of those present at the Farewell Party are given, but not extended as a system of relative dating for all members of the family including those long dead; and dates are also given according to the Shire Reckoning (which appeared quite early, in the autumn of 1939, see VII.9).

It will be seen that virtually all the dates in BA 1 differ from those for the corresponding persons in the published form, though seldom by much.

A good deal of this genealogy was present already in the first stages

of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*, but I will not return here to the early history of the Baggins family tree, since it has been fully recounted in *The Return of the Shadow* and all the names indexed. It may be noted, however, that the maiden name of Miranda Burrows, who was described (VI.283) as the 'overshadowed wife' of Cosimo Sackville-Baggins, was never given in the narrative texts before she disappeared (VI.324); and that Flambard Took, son of the Old Took, and his wife Rosa Baggins had appeared in the original Took family tree given in VI.317.

BA 2 (p. 90)

This table was a rough working version, taking up changes marked on BA 1, and with further alterations and additions entering in the course of its making. It was immediately followed by an even hastier version without dates, hardly differing from BA 2, but introducing one or two further changes that appear in BA 3 (and changing Miranda Burrows to Miranda Noakes and then to Miranda Sandyman). I have given no number to this text, regarding it simply as an extension of BA 2.

As my father first made this table Bingo Baggins was moved down to become the youngest of the three sons of Mungo, but remained the husband of Maxima Proudfoot. While it was in progress, however, a daughter Linda Baggins was introduced above him, and she took over the Proudfoot connection, becoming the wife of Marco Proudfoot and the mother of Odo Proudfoot; while Bingo, now the youngest of a family of five, as he remained, became the husband of Fatima Chubb.

Olo Proudfoot was first named Rollo; and Rosa Baggins' husband Flambard Took becomes Hildigrim Took (the final name: see the Took genealogy T 3 on p. 110). The names Ponto, Largo, Longo, Fosco, Dora, replacing Longo, Tango, Largo, Togo, Semolina respectively, remained into the final form of the genealogy. It may also be noted that Drogo's birth-date was changed to make him a year younger than his sister Dora, though his place in the tree was not altered; it will be seen that in BA 3 he is again made older than her by a year.

BA 3 (p. 91)

The third Baggins family tree is one of a series of carefully made tables, and being the first carries an explanatory head-note, as follows:

> The dates in these Trees are given according to the 'Shire-reckoning', in the traditional Hobbit manner, calculated from the crossing of the Baranduin (Brandywine River), Year 1, by the brothers Marco and Cavallo. The persons mentioned in these tables are only a selection from many names. All are either concerned with the events recounted in the memoirs of Bilbo and Frodo; or are mentioned in them; or are persons present at the Farewell Party, or the direct ancestors of the guests on that occasion. The names of these guests (such of the 144 as room has been found for) are marked *.

Bilbo Baggins, born 1290, went on his famous journey 1341–2. At the age of 111 he gave his Farewell Party in 1401. Frodo Baggins sold Bag End in 1418 and returned at the end of 1419. He left the Shire in 1421. Meriadoc Brandybuck succeeded to Brandy Hall and the headship of the family in 1432. Peregrin became The Took (and Seventeenth Shirking) in 1434. The memoirs (and additions by Samwise Gamgee) close in 1436.

The mention here of Peregrin becoming the seventeenth Shirking relates this table at once to the texts of the *Prologue* (see pp. 5–7, 11) composed after the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings* had been completed, and suggests that the family trees followed something of the same succession as is found in the Prologue texts. – I have not included in my redrawing the stars indicating presence at the Farewell Party, for my father only put them in later and incompletely.

On the family name Gaukroger (subsequently lost), appearing in Togo Baggins' wife Selina Gaukroger, see VI.236 and note 10; and on Belisarius Bolger see note 3.

BA 4 (p. 92)

The fourth tree is the first text of another set of genealogies, and seems to belong to much the same time as BA 3. This also is finely written, with an introductory note that is virtually the same as that in the published form (RK p. 379), apart from the preservation of the names Marco and Cavallo, but then continues with the second paragraph (giving dates) of that to BA 3, and includes the reference to Peregrin's becoming the 'Seventeenth Shirking'.

This version retains the dates of BA 3 (not repeated in the redrawing), and differs from it chiefly in the addition of descendants from Bingo and Ponto Baggins; also by the loss of Togo Baggins and his wife Selina Gaukroger and their replacement by a second daughter of Inigo and Belinda, Laura, and her husband Togo Gaukroger.

The new names Polo, Porro are referred to in both texts of the original version of the Appendix on Languages (see p. 46, §43), showing that that work followed or accompanied this stage in the development of the family trees.

The starred names, indicating presence at the Farewell Party, are as in the published table, with the omission of Cosimo Sackville-Baggins and Dora Baggins: this was perhaps inadvertent, but neither name is starred in BA 3.

Sweeping changes to the existing names were entered subsequently on BA 4. In the introductory note Marco and Cavallo were changed to Marcho and Blanco (see pp. 6, 17), and 'Seventeenth Shirking' to 'Twentieth Thane' (see under BA 3). In the family tree the following changes were made, listed by generations:

Inigo Baggins > Balbo Baggins

Belinda Boffin > Berylla Boffin

Regina Grubb > Laura Grubb
Ansegar Bolger > Fastolph Bolger
Maxima Bunce > Mimosa Bunce
Cornelia Hornblower > Tanta Hornblower
Laura Baggins > Lily Baggins
Togo Gaukroger > Togo Goodbody

Bertha Baggins > Belba Baggins
Rudigor Bolger > Rudigar Bolger
Magnus Proudfoot > Bodo Proudfoot
Fatima Chubb > Chica Chubb
Robinia Bolger > Ruby Bolger

Conrad Bolger > Wilibald Bolger

Cosimo Sackville-Baggins > Lotho Sackville-Baggins
Gerda Chubb-Baggins > Poppy Chubb-Baggins
Arnor Bolger > Filibert Bolger
Porro Baggins > Porto Baggins
Crassus Burrows > Milo Burrows
Duenna Baggins > Daisy Baggins
Guido Boffin > Griffo Boffin

Flavus, Crispus, Rhoda, Fulvus Burrows > Mosco, Moro, Myrtle, Minto Burrows

In addition, the wife of Posco Baggins was introduced, named (as in the final form) Gilly Brownlock; and Ponto Baggins' daughter Angelica appeared.

On the removal of the Latin names of Peony Baggins' husband and their offspring see p. 47, §45, and commentary (p. 69).

The nomenclature and structure of the Baggins genealogy as published was now present, except in this respect. In the final form Frodo's aunt Dora again becomes older than her brother Drogo (see under BA 2 above), and her husband Wilibald Bolger (see the list just given) is removed; while Posco Baggins has a sister Prisca, born in 1306, and she gains Wilibald as her husband.

In subsequent manuscripts (of which there were five, making nine all told, not including incomplete drafts) these changes entered, and in one of them the word 'spinster' was written against Dora Baggins.

Bolger of Budgeford

It is a curious fact that the genealogical tables of the families of Bolger of Budgeford and Boffin of the Yale were already in print when they were rejected from Appendix C, but I have not been able to find any evidence bearing on the reason for their rejection. In a letter from the publishers of 20 May 1955 my father was told: 'We have dropped Bolger and Boffin from Appendix C', and on 24 May Rayner Unwin

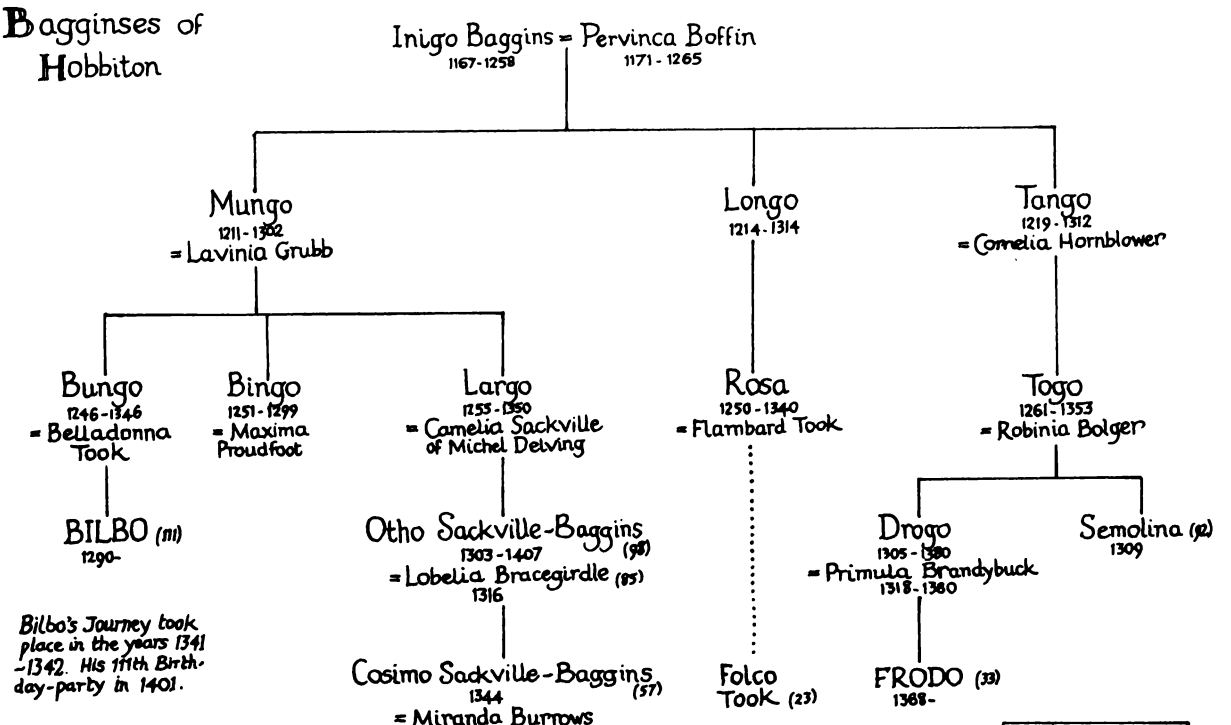

Bagginses of Hobbiton
Inigo Baggins = Pervinca Boffin
1167-1258
1171-1265
Mungo
1211-1302
= Lavinia Grubb
Longo
1214-1314
Tango
1219-1312
= Cornelia Hornblower
Bungo
1246-1346
= Belladonna Took
Bingo
1251-1299
= Maxima Proudfoot
Largo
1255-1350
= Camelia Sackville of Michel Delving
Rosa
1250-1340
= Flambard Took
Togo
1261-1353
= Robinia Bolger
BILBO (111)
1290-
Otho Sackville-Baggins (98)
1303-1407
= Lobelia Bracegirdle (85)
1316
Drogo
1305-1380
= Primula Brandybuck
1318-1360
Semolina (92)
1309
Bilbo's Journey took place in the years 1341-1342. His 111th Birthday-party in 1401.
Cosimo Sackville-Baggins (57)
1344
= Miranda Burrows
Folco Took (23)
FRODO (33)
1368-

Table BA 1

Bagginses of Hobbiton

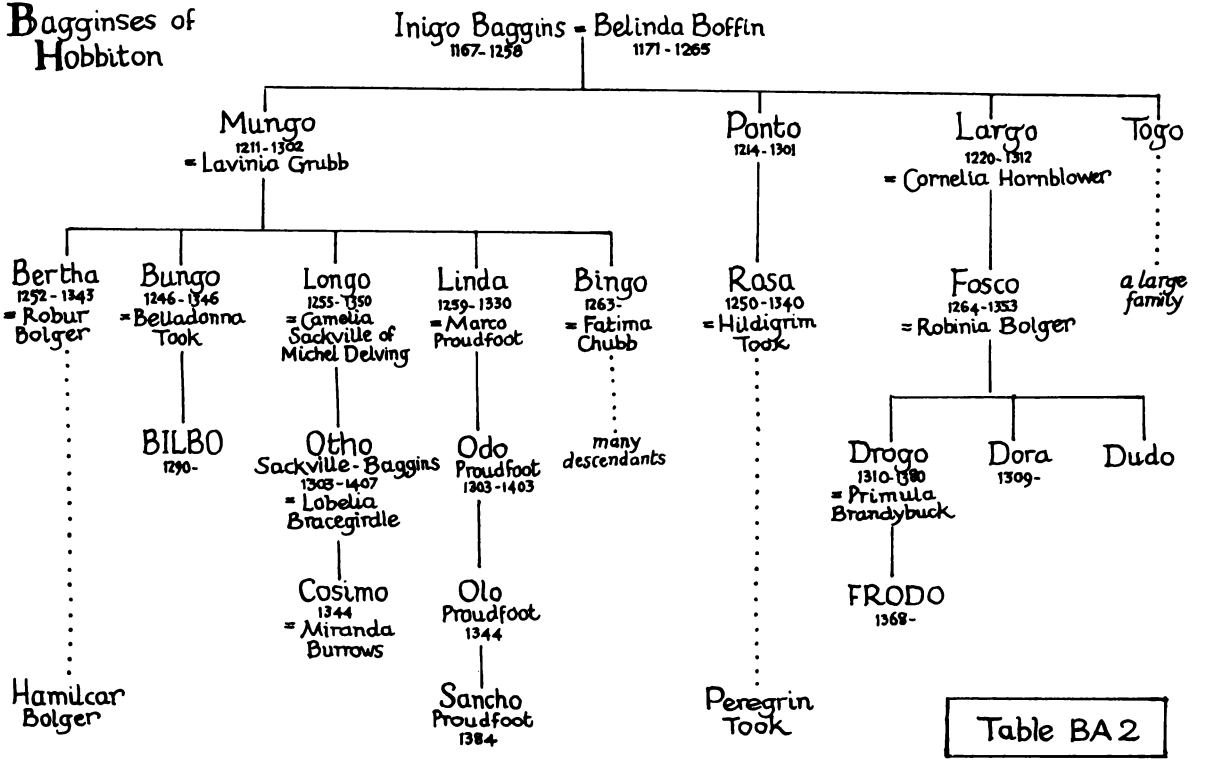


Table BA 2

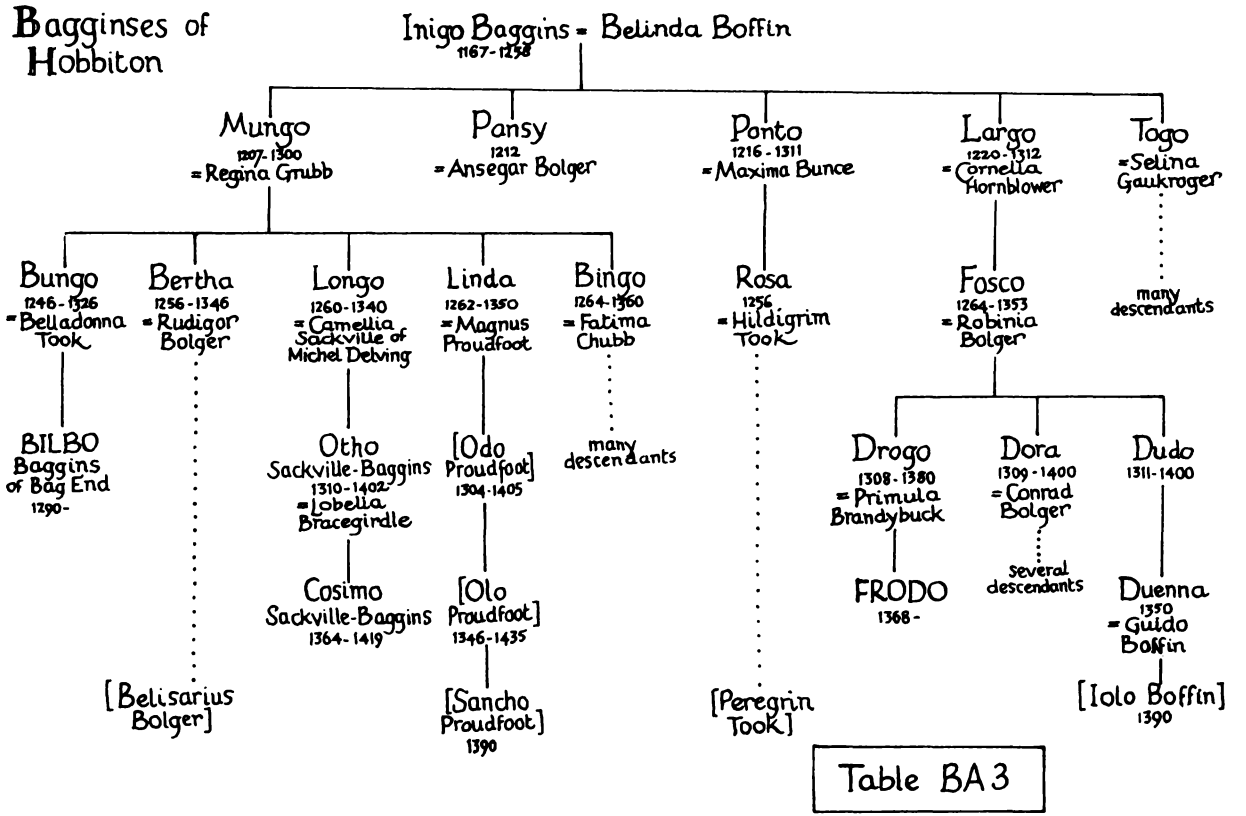

Bagginses of Hobbiton
Inigo Baggins = Belinda Boffin
1167-1258
Mungo
1207-1300
= Regina Grubb
Pansy
1212
= Ansegar Bolger
Ponto
1216-1311
= Maxima Bunce
Largo
1220-1312
= Cornelia Hornblower
Togo
= Selina Gaukroger
Bungo
1246-1326
= Belladonna Took
Bertha
1256-1346
= Rudigor Bolger
Longo
1260-1340
= Camellia Sackville of Michel Delving
Linda
1262-1350
= Magnus Proudfoot
Bingo
1264-1360
= Fatima Chubb
Rosa
1256
= Hildigrim Took
Fosco
1264-1353
= Robinia Bolger
many descendants
BILBO
Baggins of Bag End
1290-
[Belisarius Bolger]
Otho
Sackville-Baggins
1310-1402
= Lobelia Bracegirdle
[Odo Proudfoot]
1304-1405
many descendants
Drogo
1308-1380
= Primula Brandybuck
Dora
1309-1400
= Conrad Bolger
Dudo
1311-1400
Cosimo
Sackville-Baggins
1364-1419
[Olo Proudfoot]
1346-1435
FRODO
1368-
several descendants
Duenna
1350
= Guido Boffin
[Sancho Proudfoot]
1390
[Peregrin Took]
[Iolo Boffin]
1390

Table BA 3

Bagginses of Hobbiton

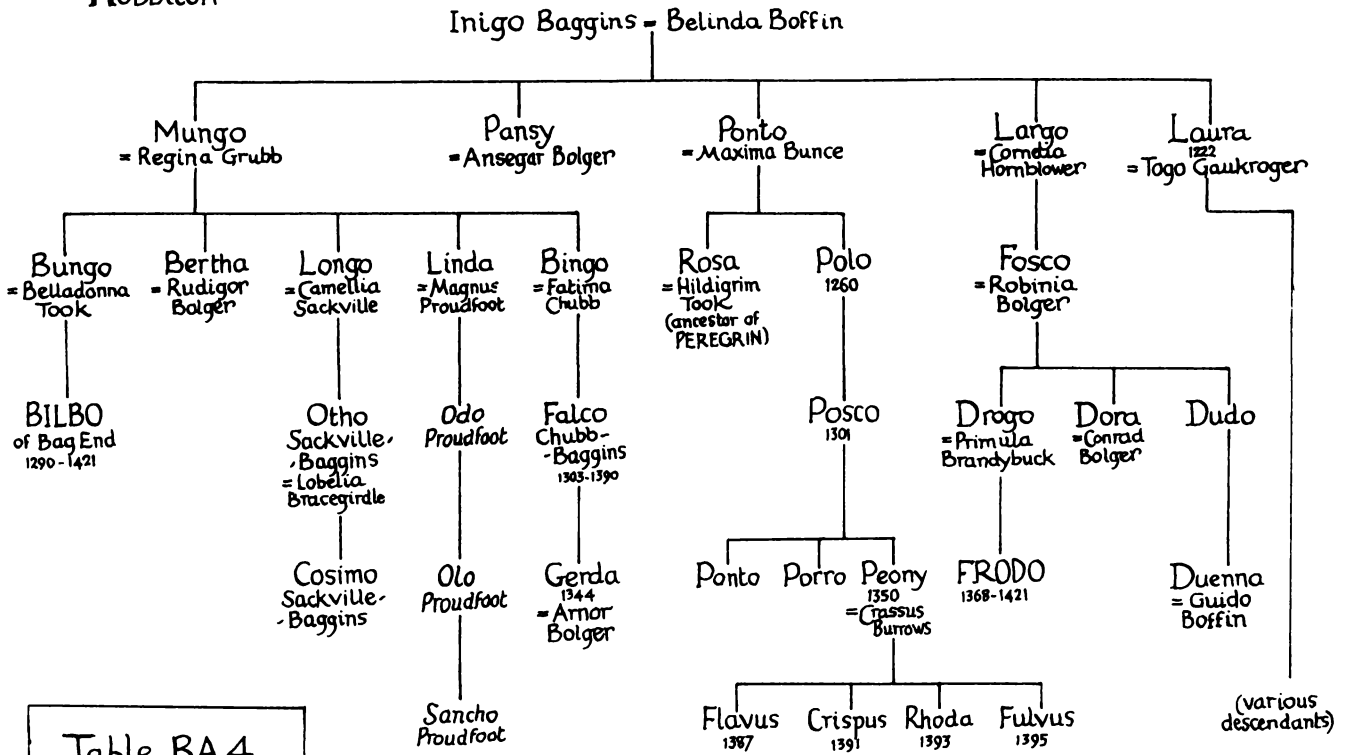


Table BA 4

wrote: 'I have deleted the two family trees and the redundant note that introduced them' (no copy of either tree has any note specifically relating to them). These remarks might suggest that it was my father who proposed their omission, though no trace can now be found of any such request; but it is hard to see why he should have done so. That he was pressed for space, and greatly oppressed by that necessity, is certain, but it seems strange (if this is the explanation) that he should have been so limited as to abandon these genealogies in order to obtain a couple of pages elsewhere in the Appendices.

I refer to the versions of the Bolger genealogy by the letters BG, and the three that I have redrawn, BG 1, BG 2,and BG 4, will be found on pp. 95–7.

BG 1 (p. 95)

This earliest form of the Bolger family tree is entitled *Bolgers of Woodhall*. On my father's original map of the Shire, reproduced as frontispiece to *The Return of the Shadow*, the Bolger territory is marked as lying north of the Woody End and south of the East Road (i.e. west of the Brandywine Bridge).

The very brief table is found, together with genealogies of the Tooks and Brandybucks, on the page that carries the original Baggins family tree BA 1, and was very plainly made at the same time, at an early stage in the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* (see pp. 85, 89); but these early Bolgers, Scudamor, Cedivar, Savanna, Sagramor, are not found in those texts. Robinia Bolger in the fourth generation appears also in BA 1 as the wife of Togo Baggins; but her brother Robur is seen to have existed independently before he was introduced into the Baggins family in BA 2 (p. 90) as the husband of Bertha Baggins, Bilbo's aunt, who first emerged in that version. Rollo Bolger is that friend of Bilbo's to whom he bequeathed his feather-bed (VI.247). Olo and Odo appear in the Took genealogy given in VI.317; for my attempt to expound briefly the history of 'Odo Bolger' see VII.31–2.

BG 2 (p. 96)

The second version of the Bolger genealogy[1] is one of the group of which the Baggins table BA 3 (p. 91) is the first, carrying the explanatory head-note. The title is now changed to *Bolgers of Budgeford*. In the chapter *A Conspiracy Unmasked* (FR p. 118) Fredegar's family is said to come 'from Budgeford in Bridgefields' (the only occurrence of these names in the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings*).[2]

Apart from Odovacar, Rudigor (later Rudigar), and Fredegar (applied to a different person), none of the actual names of members of the Bolger family in this genealogy appear in the family-trees in RK, but some recur in other tables made at the same time: thus in the Baggins table BA 3 are found Ansegar (husband of Pansy Baggins),

Robinia (wife of Fosco Baggins), Conrad (husband of Dora Baggins), and Belisarius (replacing Hamilcar).[3]

Two of the names subsequently rejected are mentioned in the text F 2 of the Appendix on Languages: Celador Bolger (p. 61, note 42), and Bildad Bolger. Bildad is mentioned in F 2 (p. 51, §50) in the context of my father's not using scriptural names to 'translate' Hobbit names: it was 'a genuine Hobbit name', he explained, that bore a merely accidental resemblance to the Biblical Bildad (one of the friends of Job).

The name *Miranda* (Gaukroger) reappears after the disappearance of Miranda Burrows, wife of Cosimo Sackville-Baggins (p. 86). Robur Bolger (see under BG 1) has been replaced, as in BA 3, by Rudigor, but Robur remains as the name of Rudigor's younger brother.

BG 3

This table corresponds to BA 4 of the Baggins clan, but it repeats BG 2 exactly except in the addition of Robur's descendants, and in the change of the name *Gundobad* to *Gundahad*. I have not redrawn it, therefore, but give here the added element:

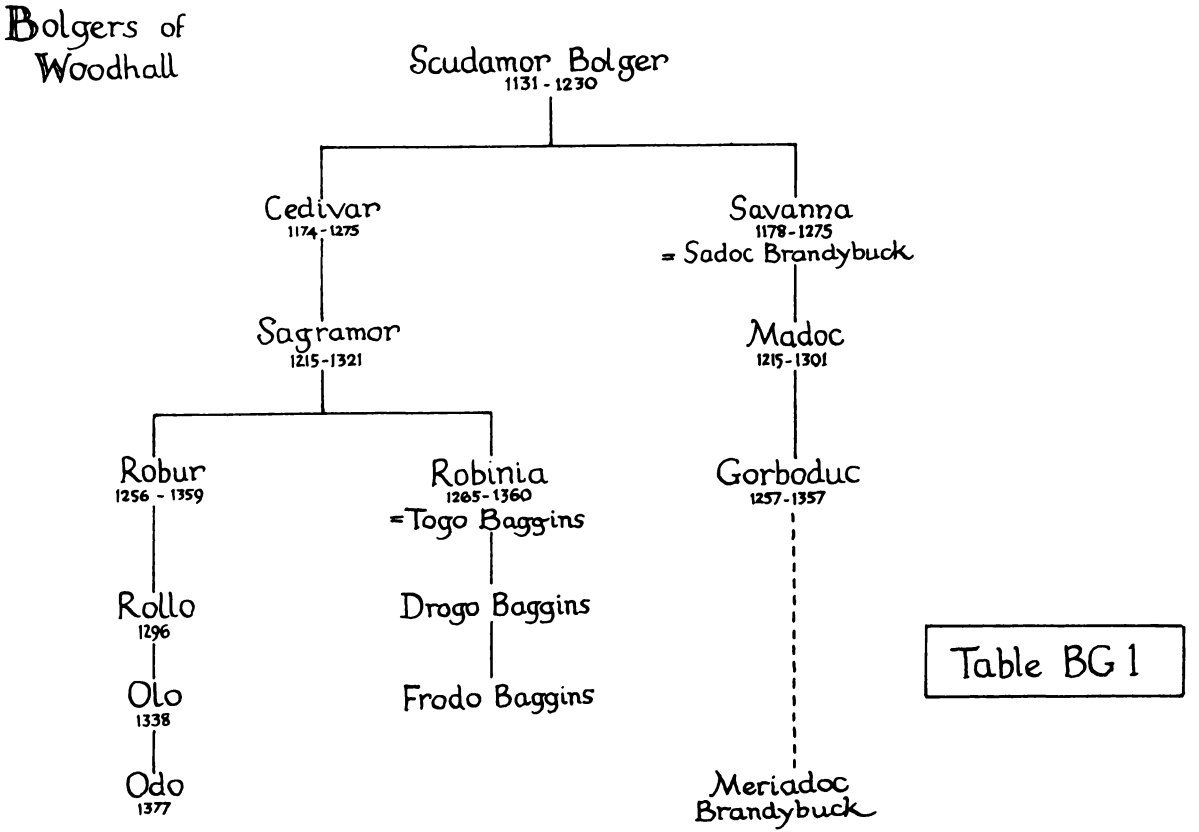
Robur = Amelia Hornblower
|
Omar = Alma Boffin
|
Arnor = Gerda Chubb-Baggins

Arnor and his wife Gerda Chubb-Baggins appear in BA 4. – The birthdates of these Bolgers are the same as those of their replacements in BG 4: Robur (Rudibert) 1260, Omar (Adalbert) 1301, Arnor (Filibert) 1342.

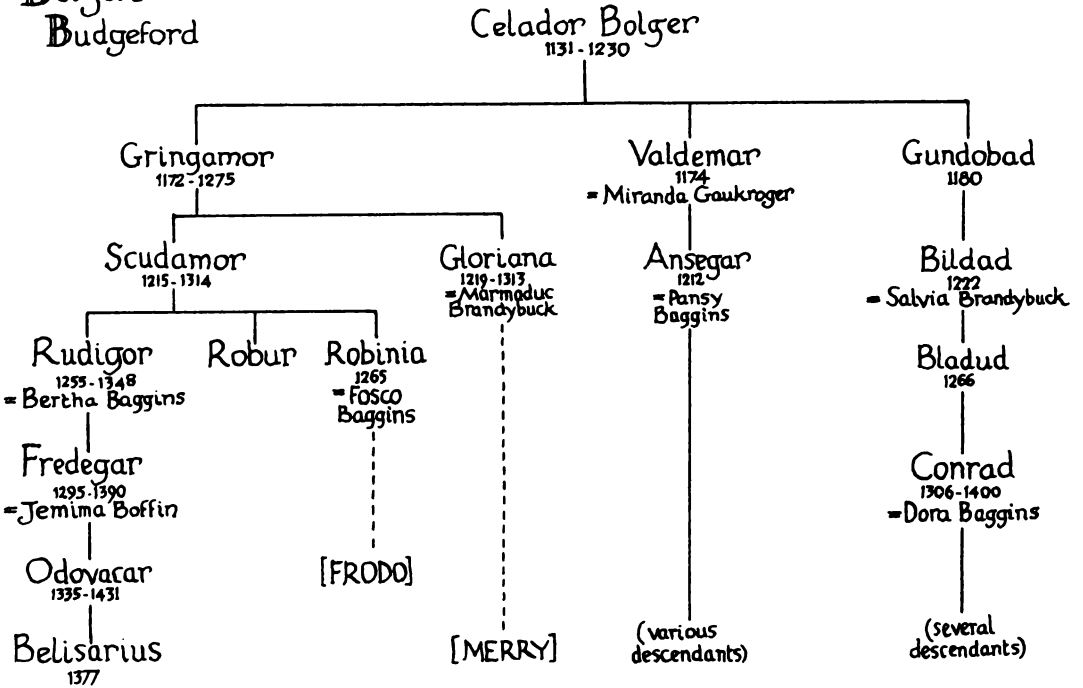
BG 4 (p. 97)

On the Baggins table BA 4 my father made many changes to the existing names, and in so doing brought the Baggins genealogy close to its final form. On the accompanying Bolger table BG 3 he did the same, but even more extensively, so that of the existing names none were left save Gundahad, Rudigar (altered from Rudigor), Odovacar (see VII.20), and Fredegar (who becomes the former Fredegar's grandson), and the Bolger clan have uniformly 'translated' names of Germanic origin. At the same time three children of Wilibald Bolger (formerly Conrad) were added; and the Hobbit family names Diggle and Lightfoot (not found in *The Lord of the Rings*) appear.[4]

Of those who do not appear in the published genealogies the following are marked as guests at the Farewell Party: Wilimar, Heribald, and Nora, and also their mother Prisca Baggins (see p. 88), who is not so marked in the Baggins tree. She was 95; but Frodo's still more ancient aunt Dora was present at the age of ninety-nine.


Bolgers of Woodhall
Scudamor Bolger
1131 - 1230
Cedivar
1174 - 1275
Savanna
1178 - 1275
= Sadoc Brandybuck
Sagramor
1215 - 1321
Madoc
1215 - 1301
Robur
1256 - 1359
Robinia
1265 - 1360
= Togo Baggins
Gorboduc
1257 - 1357
Rollo
1296
Drogo Baggins
Olo
1338
Frodo Baggins
Odo
1377
Meriadoc
Brandybuck
Table BG 1

Bolgers of Budgeford



Bolger of Budgeford

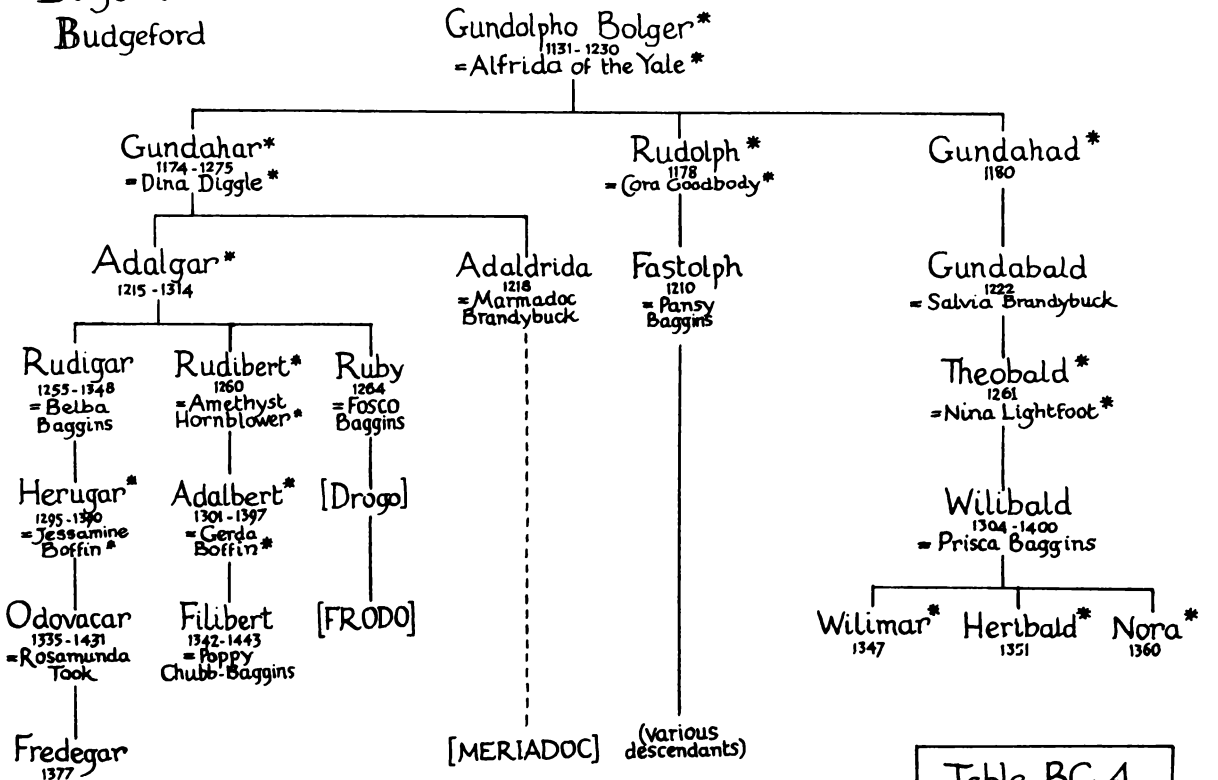


Table BG 4

In this case, since there is no family tree of the Bolgers in *The Lord of the Rings*, I have redrawn the last of the manuscript tables, in which the alterations made to BG 3 were set out fair; and it was in this form that the genealogy was printed.[5] In this redrawing the names with asterisks are those that do not appear in the genealogies of other families in *The Lord of the Rings*.

Boffin of the Yale

In *The Lord of the Rings* no 'homeland' of the Boffins is named, and in the First Edition there was no mention of the Yale; but on the original map of the Shire (frontispiece to Vol.VI) the name *Boffins* is written to the north of Hobbiton Hill,[6] and Boffins are clearly associated in early texts with the village of Northope in that region, 'only a mile or two behind the Hill' (VI.319, 385). Northope was subsequently renamed Overhill, and 'Mr. Boffin at Overhill' remained into FR (p. 53).

But on the first Shire-map the name Northope was corrected, not to Overhill but to The Yale, although that name does not appear in the texts; and this must be the reference in the genealogical trees, which retained 'Boffin of the Yale' into the printed form. Much later the name was added to the Shire map in the Second Edition in a different place, south of Whitfurrows and west of Stock, and a reference was inserted into the text (FR p. 86), 'the lowlands of the Yale' (see VI.387, note 10); but the Boffin genealogy had been abandoned before the publication of the First Edition (p. 88).

I refer to the Boffin family trees by the letters BF, and those that I have redrawn, BF 2 and BF 4, are found on pp. 100–1.

BF 1

There is no Boffin genealogy accompanying the very early tables of the Baggins and Bolger families. The earliest form consists of two closely similar, extremely rough drafts on the same pages as the two versions of BA 2 (see p. 86): so rough and so much corrected that I have not attempted to redraw either of them. They were in any case very largely repeated in the following version.

BF 2 (p. 100)

This genealogy is extant in two forms, differing only in that the first of them sets out the earliest generations separately, and begins the main table with Otto the Fat, whereas in the second form the elements are combined: for these purposes they can be treated as one. This table belongs with BA 3 (p. 91) and BG 2 (p. 96).

Hugo Boffin, whose wife was Donnamira Took, and their son Jago go back to the Took genealogy given in VI.317; Guido and his wife Duenna Baggins, with their son Iolo, are found in the Baggins table BA 3; and Jemima Boffin wife of Fredegar Bolger in the Bolger table

BG 2. Hugo Bracegirdle, who does not appear in the published genealogies, is named in FR (p. 46) as the recipient of a book-case belonging to Bilbo.

Lobelia Sackville-Baggins' dates make her 92 at her death: at the beginning of the chapter *The Grey Havens* (RK p. 301) the text had 'she was after all quite ninety years old', changed on the late typescripts to 'more than a hundred'; and on the following version of the Boffin genealogy her dates were altered to 1318–1420.

The subsequent development of the Boffin genealogy exactly parallels that of the Bolgers, and I treat them in the same way.

BF 3

This is written on the same page as BG 3, and as in that table the previous version was followed exactly, but with the corresponding addition (see p. 94) introducing Alma Boffin, the wife of Omar Bolger. This table is not redrawn. As in the case of BG 3 (and also of the accompanying Baggins table BA 4) a great many of the names were changed on the manuscript of BF 3, and new Boffins were introduced in the second generation.

BF 4 (p. 101)

As with the Bolger genealogy, I give here the final manuscript of the Boffin table (written on the same page as BG 4), the form from which it was printed, in which the changed names and additions made on BF 3 appear in a fair copy; and here also the starred names indicate those that are not found in the genealogies of other families in *The Lord of the Rings*. Folco Boffin, who is not present in any of these, was a friend of Frodo's (FR pp. 51, 76–7, and see VII.30–2); for Hugo Bracegirdle see under BF 2 above.

Of those who do not appear in the published genealogies the following are marked as being present at the Farewell Party: Vigo, Folco, Tosto, Bruno Bracegirdle, Hugo Bracegirdle, and the 'various descendants' of Rollo Boffin and Druda Burrows.

Brandybuck of Buckland

The Brandybuck genealogies are referred to by the letters **BR**; for the redrawn versions BR 1 and BR 4 see pp. 104–5.

BR 1 (p. 104)

This earliest version of the Brandybuck family tree is written below the earliest of the Baggins clan (BA 1), with those of the Bolgers (BG 1) and the Tooks (not the earliest) on the reverse.

Many of the names found here are found also in the Took genealogy given in VI.317: Gorboduc Brandybuck and his wife Mirabella Took, and their six children (see VI.318) Roderic, Alaric, Bellissima, Theodoric, Athanaric, and Primula; also Caradoc, Merry's father, and

Boffins of The Yale

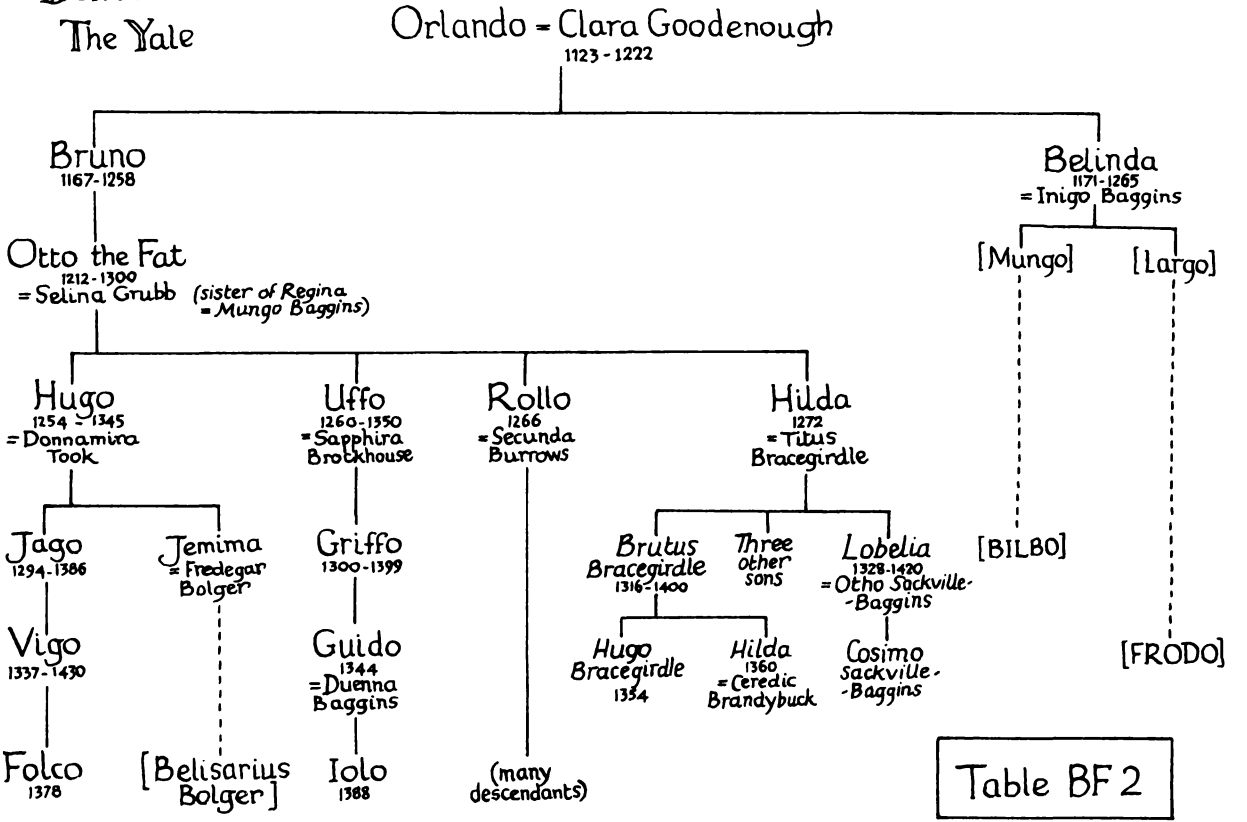
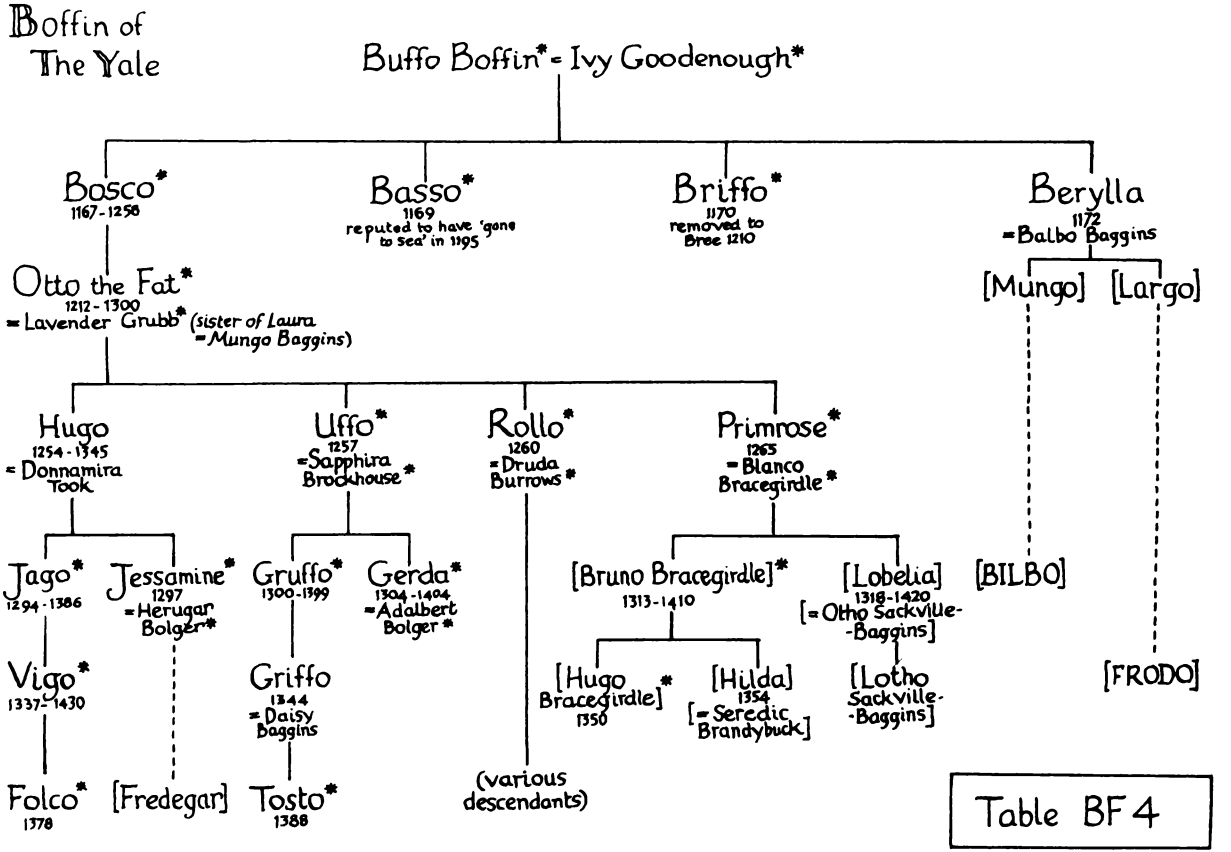


Table BF 2


Boffin of The Yale
Buffo Boffin* = Ivy Goodenough*
Bosco* 1167-1258
Basso* 1169 reputed to have 'gone to sea' in 1195
Briffo* 1170 removed to Bree 1210
Berylla 1172 = Balbo Baggins
[Mungo]
[Largo]
Otto the Fat* 1212-1300 = Lavender Grubb* (sister of Laura = Mungo Baggins)
Hugo 1254-1345 = Donnamira Took
Uffo* 1257 = Sapphira Brockhouse*
Rollo* 1260 = Druda Burrows*
Primrose* 1265 = Blanco Bracegirdle*
Jago* 1294-1386
Jessamine* 1297 = Herugar Bolger*
Gruffo* 1300-1399
Gerda* 1304-1404 = Adalbert Bolger*
[Bruno Bracegirdle]* 1313-1410
[Lobelia] 1318-1420 [= Otho Sackville-Baggins]
[BILBO]
Vigo* 1337-1430
Griffo 1344 = Daisy Baggins
[Hugo Bracegirdle]* 1350
[Hilda] 1354 [= Seredic Brandybuck]
[Lotho Sackville-Baggins]
[FRODO]
Folco* 1378
[Fredegar]
Tosto* 1388
(various descendants)
Table BF 4

his wife Yolanda Took (cf. VI.100, 251). Merry's cousin Lamorac appears in early texts of *The Lord of the Rings*,[7] where the name replaced Bercilak (VI.273) who in the genealogy is his father. Of Madoc (Gorboduc's father) and the descendants of his second son Habaccuc there is no trace in those texts, except for Melissa (afterwards replaced by Melilot, see pp. 105–6, who made herself conspicuous at the Farewell Party, VI.38, 101).

BR 2

This is an extremely rough table, written in ink over pencil on the reverse of the page carrying the rough Baggins and Bolger tables BA 2 and BF 1: here my father is seen devising a much changed genealogy of the Brandybucks. I have not redrawn it, since its names and structure largely survived into the fair copy BR 4, and it needs only to be recorded that it was here that Gorhendad Brandybuck the 'founder' first appeared, but with the dates 1134–1236, and not yet as the remote ancestor Gorhendad Oldbuck of four centuries before; while his son is Marmaduc, not as subsequently his grandson, and Madoc, Sadoc, and Marroc are the sons of Marmaduc. 'Old Rory' is called Cadwalader; and all the Latin titles (see BR 4) were already present.

BR 3

This was another rough draft, scarcely differing from BR 2 except in the reversal of Madoc and Marmaduc and in the addition of their wives: Madoc's wife is Savanna Hogpen, and Marmaduc's Sultana Bolger. In the original Bolger table (BG 1, p. 95) Savanna Bolger was the wife of Sadoc Brandybuck, while in BG 2 the wife of Marmaduc was Gloriana Bolger. Corrections to the text altered the name of 'Old Rory' from Cadwalader to Sagramor (taken over from Sagramor Bolger in BG 1), and of his wife from Matilda Drinkwater to Matilda Goold.

BR 4 (p. 105)

This carefully made version is one of the series that includes (Baggins) BA 3 (p. 91), (Bolger) BG 2 (p. 96), and (Boffin) BF 2 (p. 100). Additions were made subsequently to BR 4, but in this case it is convenient to treat them as part of the table as first written (see below).

In this new version of the Brandybuck tree, comprised in BR 2–4, my father's enjoyment of the incongruity of Hobbit customs of name-giving culminated in such marriages as that of Madoc Superbus with Savanna Hogpen, and in the grandiose epithets of the heads of the clan, with Meriadoc taking his title Porphyrogenitus from imperial Byzantium, 'born in the purple (chamber)'. In the text F 2 of the Appendix on Languages my father wrote (p. 47, §45): '"Classical" names ... represent usually names derived by Hobbits from tales of ancient times and far kingdoms of Men', and added in a footnote:

'Thus the perhaps to us rather ridiculous subnames or titles of the Brandybucks adopted by the heads of the family, *Astyanax*, *Aureus*, *Magnificus*, were originally half-jesting and were in fact drawn from traditions about the Kings at Norbury.' Afterwards he struck out this note and rejected classical names (see p. 69, §45).

The following additions, included in the redrawing, were made to the table after it had been completed. Sadoc Brandybuck, at first said to have had 'many descendants', is given 'Two sons' and a daughter Salvia, the wife of Bildad Bolger (see BG 2, p. 96); Basilissa Brandybuck becomes the wife of Fulvus Burrows; their son Crassus Burrows is added, who on account of his marriage to Peony Baggins has appeared in BA 4 (p. 92), together with their four children; and Hilda Bracegirdle enters as the wife of Ceredic Brandybuck, with their three children. As the table was made Marmaduc's wife was still Sultana Bolger, but she was changed to Gloriana as in BG 2.

BR 5

Following the general pattern, BR 5 was recopied from BR 4 almost as it stood: the only change made was that Gorhendad was now actually named Gorhendad Oldbuck, retaining the note 'Built Brandy Hall and changed the family name to Brandybuck' (retaining also the dates 1134–1236); and then subsequently a great many of the names were altered on the manuscript.

Gorhendad Oldbuck was replaced by Gormadoc 'Deepdelver', and his wife Malva Headstrong was introduced. 'Gorhendad Oldbuck of the Marish', however, is Gormadoc's father, and his dates are 1090–1191. At this time all the Latin or Greek titles of the heads of the Brandybuck clan were replaced by English names, as in the final genealogy. Other changes were (following the generations):

Savanna Hogpen > Hanna Goldworthy

Marmaduc > Marmadoc
Gloriana Bolger > Adaldrida Bolger (see BG 4)
Bildad Bolger > Gundabald Bolger (see BG 4)

Gorboduc > Gormanac > Gorbadoc
Orgulus > Orgulas

Sagramor > Rorimac
Matilda Goold > Menegilda Goold
Bellissima > Amaranth
Carados > Saradas
Basilissa > Asphodel
Fulvus Burrows > Rufus Burrows
Priamus > Dinodas
Columbus > Gorgulas > Gorbulas

Caradoc > Saradoc

Brandybucks of Buckland

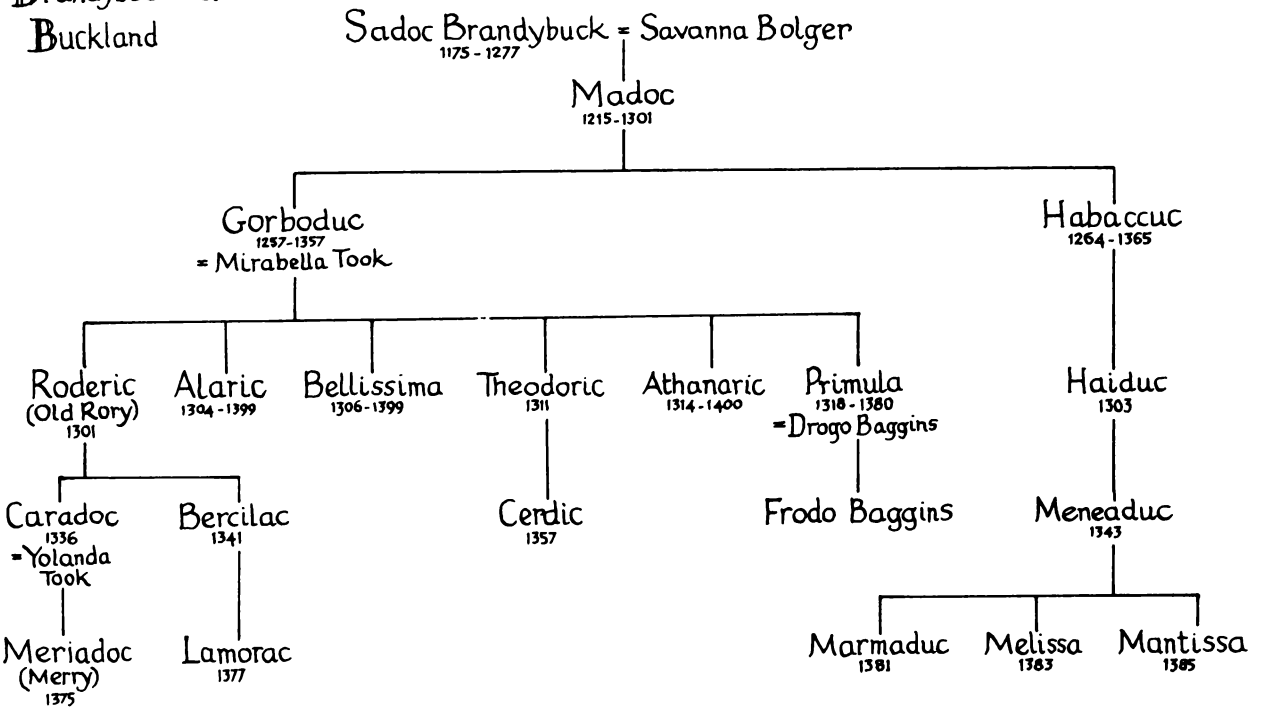
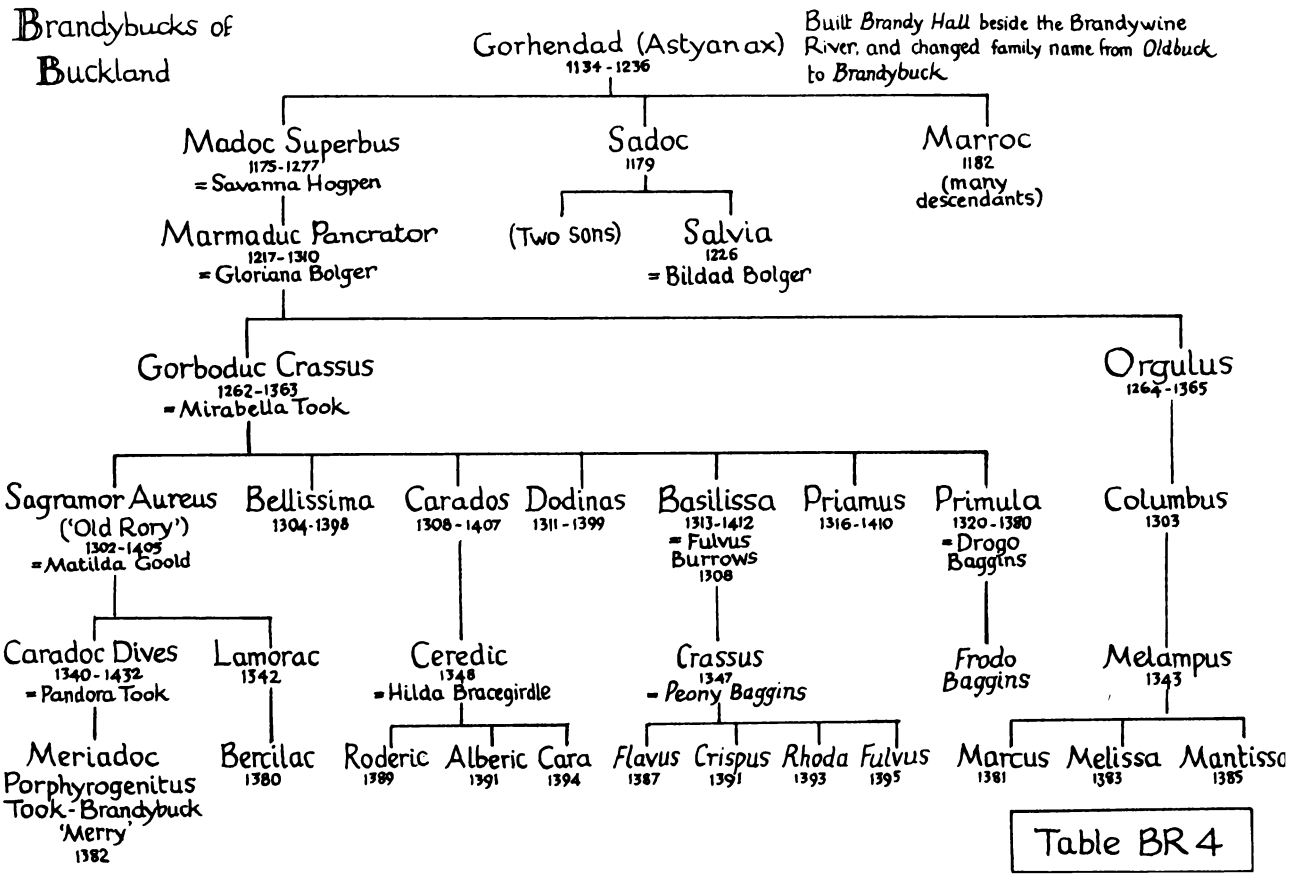


Table BR 1


Brandybucks of Buckland
Gorhendad (Astyanax)
1134 - 1236
Built Brandy Hall beside the Brandywine River, and changed family name from Oldbuck to Brandybuck
Madoc Superbus
1175-1277
= Savarna Hogpen
Sadoc
1179
Marroc
1182
(many descendants)
Marmaduc Pancrator
1217-1310
= Gloriana Bolger
(Two sons)
Salvia
1226
= Bildad Bolger
Gorboduc Crassus
1262-1363
= Mirabella Took
Orgulus
1264-1365
Sagramor Aureus
('Old Rory')
1302-1405
= Matilda Goold
Bellissima
1304-1398
Carados
1308-1407
Dodinas
1311-1399
Basilissa
1313-1412
= Fulvus Burrows
1308
Priamus
1316-1410
Primula
1320-1380
= Drogo Baggins
Columbus
1303
Caradoc Dives
1340-1432
= Pandora Took
Lamorac
1342
Ceredic
1348
= Hilda Bracegirdle
Crassus
1347
= Peony Baggins
Frodo Baggins
Melampus
1343
Meriadoc Porphyrogenitus Took-Brandybuck
'Merry'
1382
Bercilac
1380
Roderic
1389
Alberic
1391
Cara
1394
Flavus
1387
Crispus
1391
Rhoda
1393
Fulvus
1395
Marcus
1381
Melissa
1383
Mantisso
1385
Table BR 4

Pandora Took > Esmeralda Took
Lamorac > Merimac
Ceredic > Seredic
Crassus Burrows > Milo Burrows (see p. 88)
Melampus > Marmadas

Bercilac > Berilac
Roderic > Doderic
Alberic > Ilberic
Cara > Celandine
Marcus > Merimas
Melissa > Mentha
Mantissa > Melilot

The names of the children of Milo Burrows and Peony Baggins, Flavus, Crispus, Rhoda, and Fulvus, were struck out but not replaced, since they appear in the Baggins genealogy (see p. 88 and RK p. 380).

Only in these respects does BR 5 as corrected differ from the final form (RK p. 382): Gorhendad Oldbuck is the father, not the remote ancestor of Gormadoc Brandybuck; and Merry is still named Meriadoc Took-Brandybuck. Subsequently my father altered the note on Gorhendad to begin 'c.740 began the building of *Brandy Hall*', but left in his dates as 1090–1191, which survived into the proof, as did Meriadoc Took-Brandybuck, when they were deleted.

Took of Great Smials

The final genealogy of the Tooks was achieved without the great upheaval of names that took place in those of the Baggins, Bolger, Boffin and Brandybuck families. I give the letter T to the versions, T 1 being the very early form printed in VI.317; the redrawn versions T 2, T 3, and T 4 appear on pp. 109–11.

T 2 (p. 109)

This version is found on the page that carries also the first genealogies of the Baggins, Bolger, and Brandybuck families, BA 1, BG 1, and BR 1. It is very closely related to T 1, and indeed differs from it chiefly in giving the dates according to the years of the Shire Reckoning, rather than the ages of the persons relative to the Farewell Party. If the age of each person given in T 1 is subtracted from the year of the Farewell Party, the birth-dates in T 2 agree in nearly every case.[8] The only other changes are the reversal of the order of Isambard and Flambard, sons of the Old Took;[9] the addition of Vigo's son Uffo, and of Uffo's son Prospero (see VI.38); and the change of Odo Took-Bolger to Odo Bolger.

T 3 (p. 110)

The development of this version is best understood by comparison

with T 2; but it may be noted that Isembard (for earlier Isambard) has been restored to the second place among the sons of the Old Took, while Flambard, husband of Rosa Baggins, is renamed Hildigrim (a change seen also in the Baggins tables BA 1 and 2). Fosco becomes Sigismond, and rather oddly both Hildigrim and Sigismond have a son named Hildibrand (formerly Faramond and Vigo): the Hildibrand son of Hildigrim was replaced subsequently on the manuscript by Adalgrim, as he remained. Among the many changes in the third and fourth generations from the Old Took may be noted the arrival of Peregrin son of Paladin (see VII.35), while Odo Bolger becomes Hamilcar; the replacement of Merry's mother Yolanda by Pandora (cf. the Brandybuck tables BR 1 and 4); and the appearance of Odovacar Bolger (cf. BG 2).[10]

T 4 (p. 111)

At this stage (corresponding to BA 3, BG 2, BF 2, and BR 4) my father made a series of four tables all closely similar – differing scarcely at all, in fact, except in the names of the children of the Old Took, who were increased in number without thereby altering the subsequent generations as they now existed. I have redrawn the fourth of these, calling it T 4, but note below the differences in the three preceding versions.

In all four copies the first ancestor recorded in the tree is now Isengrim II, with the title 'Seventh Shirking' (in the first copy 'Shireking or Shirking'), on which see p. 87. Isengrim eldest son of the Old Took, now Isengrim III, retained through three copies the dates given to him in T 3, 1232–1282, remarkably short-lived among all the centenarians, with the note added 'no children'. In all the copies the holders of the title Shirking are underlined, as the Thains are starred in the final form (RK p. 381).

A daughter named Gloriana, following Isengrim III, was introduced in the first copy, but was changed at once to Hildigunda (see below), either because Gloriana Bolger (BG 2, BR 4) already existed or because the name Gloriana was at once transferred to her. Hildigunda had a brief life, her dates on the first copy being 1235–1255; on subsequent copies no dates were given, but she is said to have 'died young'. On the third copy her name was changed to Hildigard, as it remained.

Between Hildigunda / Hildigard and Hildigrim, a son of the Old Took named Isumbras IV (the remote ancestor being now Isumbras III) was introduced, himself the father and grandfather of subsequent Shirkings. Since Isengrim III had no descendants, on the death of the unmarried Ferumbras III the headship of the family passed to the descendants of the third son of the Old Took, Hildigrim, and thus Pippin's father Paladin became the Shirking. It seems probable that the alterations to this part of the genealogy were made in order to achieve this.[11]

After Hildigrim there enters Isembold, with no descendants indicated; and after Isembold there was in the first copy Hildigunda, changed to Hildifuns when Hildigunda replaced Gloriana (see above). On the third copy Hildifuns became Hildifons: he lived to the ripe age of 102 (see below), again with no descendants shown.

Isembard was moved down to become the seventh child of the Old Took; while Sigismond (the fourth child in T 3) changes place with his son Hildibrand. Finally, a twelfth child entered on the third copy: Isengar, about whom nothing is said.

Pippin's son Faramir I and his wife Goldilocks, daughter of Samwise, entered on the fourth copy (T 4).

The version T 4 received a number of changes of name, though far fewer than in the preceding families, and some added notes; the title was changed to 'Tooks of Great Smials'.

Isengrim II (seventh Shirking) > Isengrim II (tenth Thain of the Took line)
Bandobras: (many descendants) > (many descendants, including the Northtooks of Long Cleeve)
Isembold: [*added:*] (many descendants)
Hildifons 1244–1346 > Hildifons 1244– (went off and never returned)
Gorboduc Brandybuck > Gormanac Brandybuck (see below)
Isengar: [*added:*] said to have 'gone to sea' in his youth
Paladin II > Pharamond II (see below)
Pandora > Esmeralda (see p. 101)
Caradoc Brandybuck > Saradoc Brandybuck (see p. 103)
Diamanda > Rosamunda (see BG 4)
Prima > Pearl
Pamphila > Pimpernel
Belisarius Bolger > Fredegar Bolger
Faramond > Ferdibrand

In addition, Pippin's mother Eglantine Banks was introduced, and his wife Diamond of Long Cleeve; and 'several [> three] daughters' were given to Adelard Took.

In subsequent manuscript versions the points in which the genealogy still differed from the final form were corrected: thus Pippin's father reverted from Pharamond II to Paladin II; Gormanac Brandybuck became Gorbadoc, as also in the Brandybuck genealogy (p. 103); and Folco Boffin was omitted, perhaps because of the difficulty of fitting him in (he appeared in any case in the Boffin genealogy).

The Longfather-tree of Master Samwise

There is no very early genealogy of the Gamgees and Cottons, and the first version to appear belongs with the group beginning with the Baggins table BA 3: it is indeed written on the same page as BG 2 of

Took family

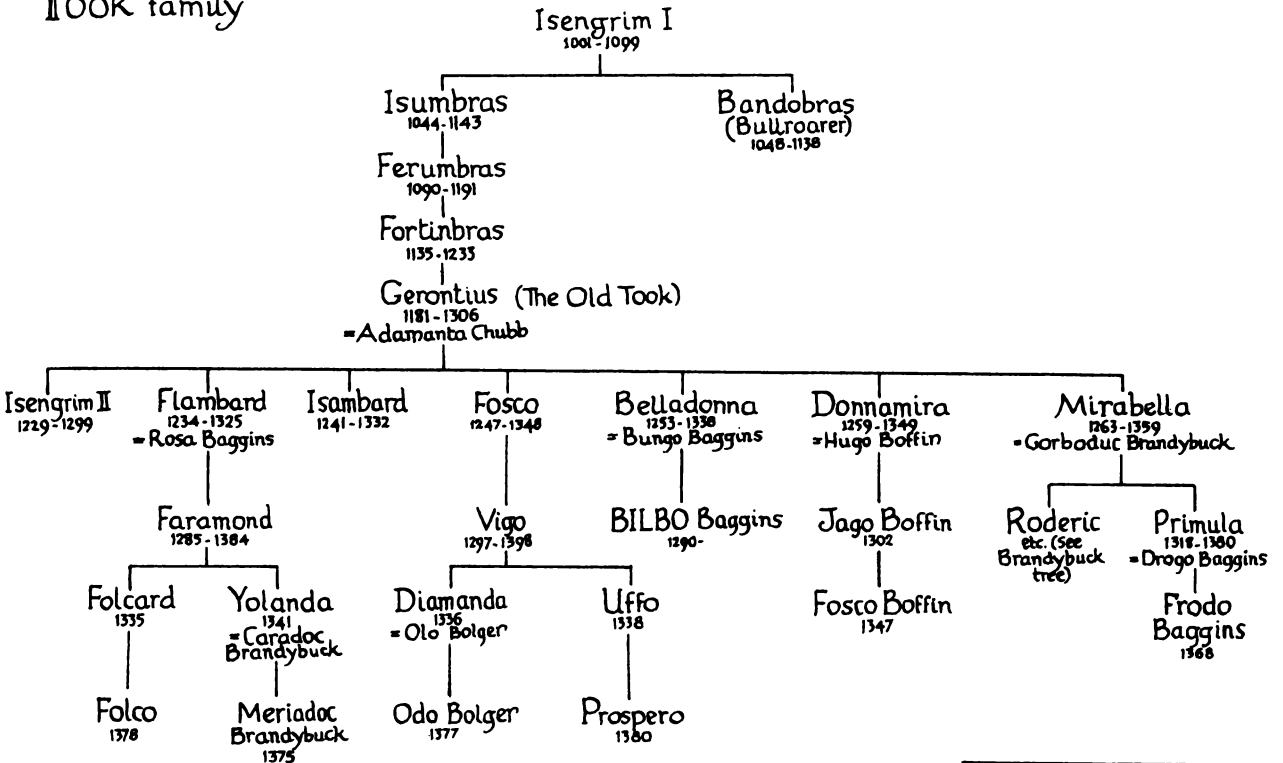
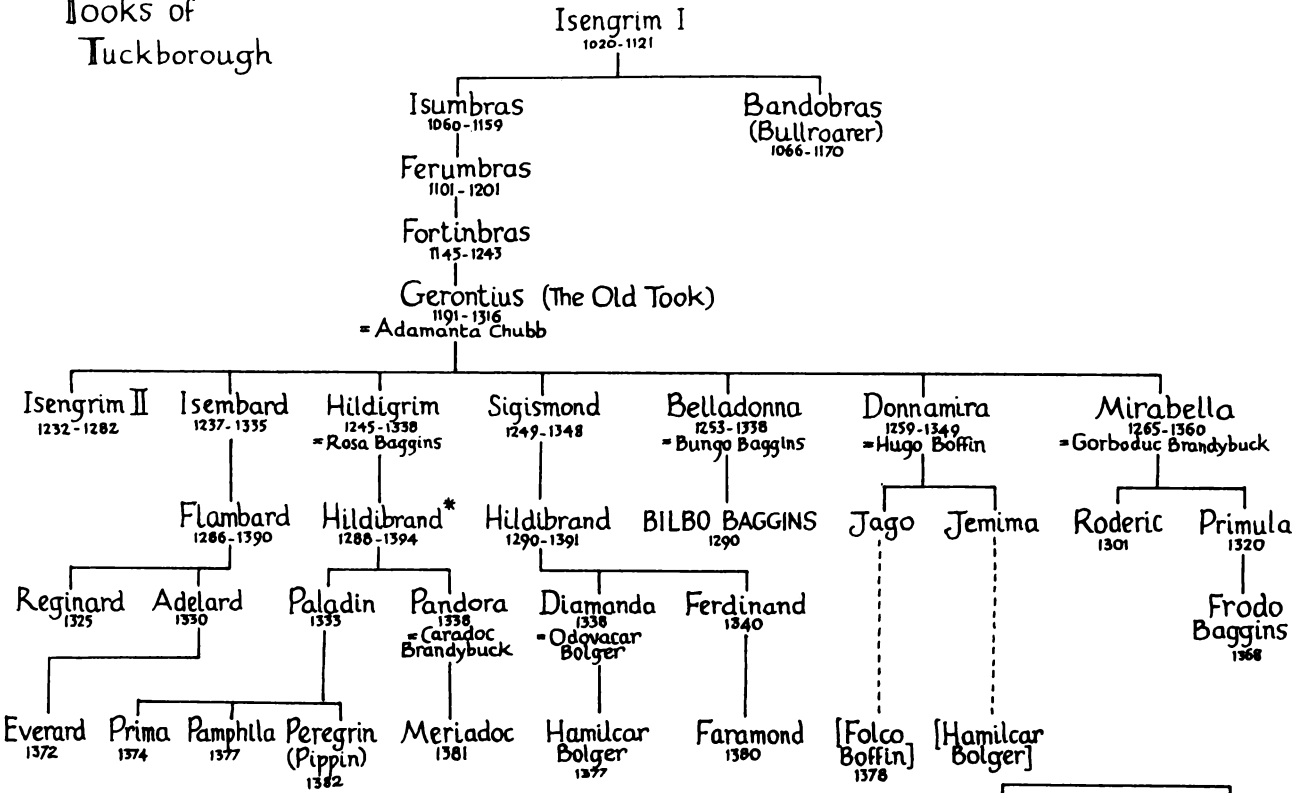


Table T2

Tooks of Tuckborough



* *Hildibrand son of Hildigrim changed subsequently to Adalgrim*

Table T3

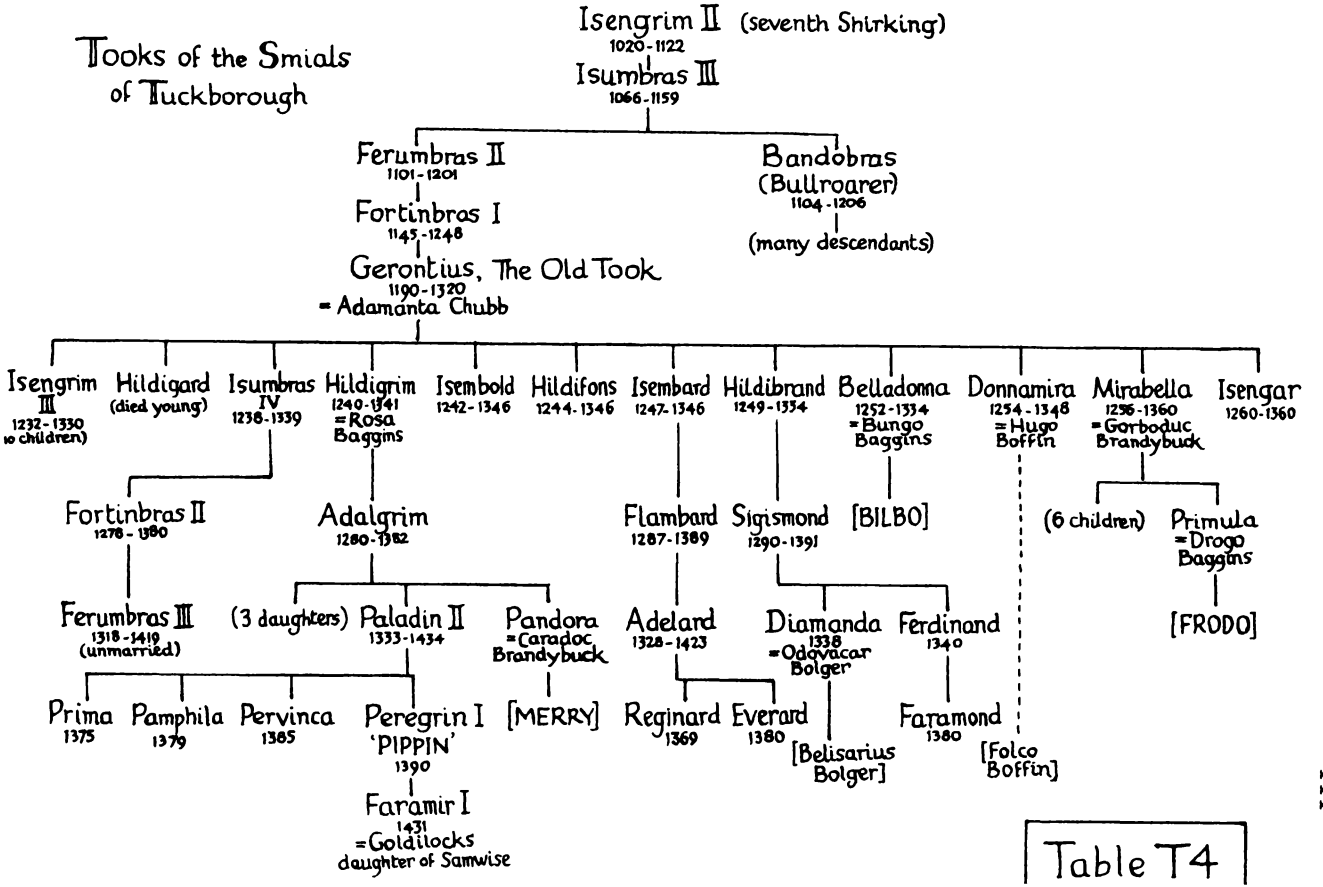

Tooks of the Smials of Tuckborough
Isengrim II (seventh Shirking)
1020-1122
Isumbras III
1066-1159
Ferumbras II
1101-1201
Bandobras (Bullroarer)
1104-1206
(many descendants)
Fortinbras I
1145-1248
Gerontius, The Old Took
1190-1320
= Adamanta Chubb
Isengrim III
1232-1330
10 children)
Hildigard
(died young)
Isumbras IV
1238-1339
Hildigrim
1240-1341
= Rosa Baggins
Isembold
1242-1346
Hildifons
1244-1346
Isembard
1247-1346
Hildibrand
1249-1334
Belladonna
1252-1334
= Bungo Baggins
Donnamira
1254-1348
= Hugo Boffin
Mirabella
1256-1360
= Gorboduc Brandybuck
Isengar
1260-1360
Fortinbras II
1278-1380
Adalgrim
1280-1382
Flambard
1287-1389
Sigismond
1290-1391
[BILBO]
(6 children)
Primula
= Drogo Baggins
Ferumbras III
1318-1419
(unmarried)
(3 daughters)
Paladin II
1333-1434
Pandora
= Caradoc Brandybuck
Adelard
1328-1423
Diamanda
1338
= Odovacar Bolger
Ferdinand
1340
[FRODO]
Prima
1375
Pamphila
1379
Pervinca
1385
Peregrin I
'PIPPIN'
1390
[MERRY]
Reginard
1369
Everard
1380
[Belisarius Bolger]
Faramond
1380
[Folco Boffin]
Faramir I
1431
= Goldilocks
daughter of Samwise

Table T4

the Bolgers. The tables have different titles, and I letter them S, those that I have redrawn being found on pp. 114–16.

S 1 (p. 114)

This consists of two brief tables set out side by side without interconnection: the only link between the two families being the marriage of Sam Gamgee with Rose Cotton. It is notable that their children are only eight in number, ending with Daisy born in 1436. In the first version of the *Epilogue* to *The Lord of the Rings*, which takes place in that year, Daisy was the youngest, in her cradle (IX.114). In the second version (IX.122) this was repeated, but corrected to say that it was Primrose, the ninth child, who was in the cradle.

S 2 (p. 115)

I include under this reference two closely related tables both with the same title (the first form, not redrawn, differs from the second only in these points: Wiseman Gamwich is absent, and Hamfast of Gamwich, who 'moved to Tighfield', is the father of Hob Gammidge the Roper; Ham Gamgee's sister May is absent; and neither the husband of Elanor nor the husband of Goldilocks is shown). The second form, like S 1, is part of the series beginning with the Baggins table BA 3.

In these texts the Cotton family is again written out separately from the Gamgees, but Sam's sister Marigold is now the wife of Rose Cotton's brother Tom ('Young Tom', RK p. 286). It will be seen that at this stage the third family, beginning with Holman 'the greenhanded' of Hobbiton (as he is named in the final form), had not yet entered the genealogy; and that Sam and Rose had fourteen children, not as later thirteen, the youngest being Lily (born when her parents were very advanced in years, according to the dates given!). Lily survived into the first proof, when she was deleted.

Later correction to S 2 replaced Goodwill Whitfoot (Elanor's husband) by Fastred Fairbairn (in the final form Fastred of Greenholm), and rejected the Whitfoots of the White Downs, adding this hasty note: 'They removed to a new country beyond the Far Downs, the Westmarch between Far Downs and Tower Hills. From them are come the Fairbairns of the Towers, Wardens of Westmarch.' The sentence in the *Prologue* (FR p. 18) 'Outside the Farthings were the East and West Marches: the Buckland; and the Westmarch added to the Shire in S.R.1462' was added in the Second Edition (see p. 17).

S 3 (p. 116)

This version, untitled, was written on the reverse of the 'Note' concerning the two versions of Bilbo's story about his meeting with Gollum (see p. 12).

Here the 'greenhanded' strain entered the genealogy, but the generations, in relation to the Gamgees and the Cottons, would sub-

sequently be displaced 'upwards': see under S 4. This version has no note on the Fairbairns.

S 4

In this finely made tree, entitled 'Genealogy of Master Samwise, showing the rise of the family of Gardner of the Hill', the final form was reached in all but a few points. The moving up of the 'Greenhands' by a generation now entered: Hending 'greenhand' of Hobbiton remained, but was now born in 1210; his children likewise have birth-dates earlier by some forty years; and Hending's daughters Rowan and Rose now marry, not Hobson Gamgee and Wilcome Cotton, but their fathers, Hob Gammidge and Cotman.

At first sight my father's alteration of names in the family trees, as here, with its baffling movement of Holmans and Halfreds, may seem incomprehensibly finicky, but in some cases the reasons can be clearly seen, and this is in fact a good example. In S 3 Ham Gamgee is said to have 'taken up as a gardener with his uncle Holman': this is Holman Greenhand the gardener, brother of his mother Rowan – and he is 'old Holman' who looked after the garden at Bag End before Ham Gamgee took on the job (FR p. 30). But with the displacement of the 'Greenhand' generations that entered in S 4 Holman Greenhand would become Ham Gamgee's great-uncle (brother of his grandmother Rowan), and so too old. It was for this reason that my father changed Holman Greenhand of S 3, born in 1292, to Halfred Greenhand (born in 1251), and gave him a son named Holman, born in 1292, described in the final genealogy as Ham Gamgee's 'Cousin Holman': he was Ham Gamgee's first cousin once removed.

In S 4 Hending's third son (Grossman in S 3) is Holman: the names of father and son were subsequently reversed. Ham Gamgee's brother Holman of Overhill remained (later Halfred of Overhill); and Wilcome Cotton becomes Holman Cotton, as in the final form, but his nickname is 'Long Holm', not 'Long Hom'. This name *Holman* is to be taken, I think, in the sense 'hole-dweller'.

Elanor's husband remains in S 4 Fastred Fairbairn, and Frodo's son, Samwise Gardner in S 3, reverts to Samlad Gardner as in S 2: this was corrected to the final name, Holfast. The dates of birth of the children of Sam Gamgee and Rose Cotton remain as they were in S 3; thus Primrose, the ninth child, was born in 1439 (see under S 1 above).

In all other respects S 4 was as the final genealogy, including the note on the Fairbairns; and it was on this manuscript that the last corrections were made (the birth-date of Sam and Rose's last child, Lily, becoming 1444).

S 4 was followed by a beautifully drawn tree, from which the genealogy in *The Lord of the Rings* was printed, and here the final title entered. As already noticed, it was on the first proof that Lily was removed.

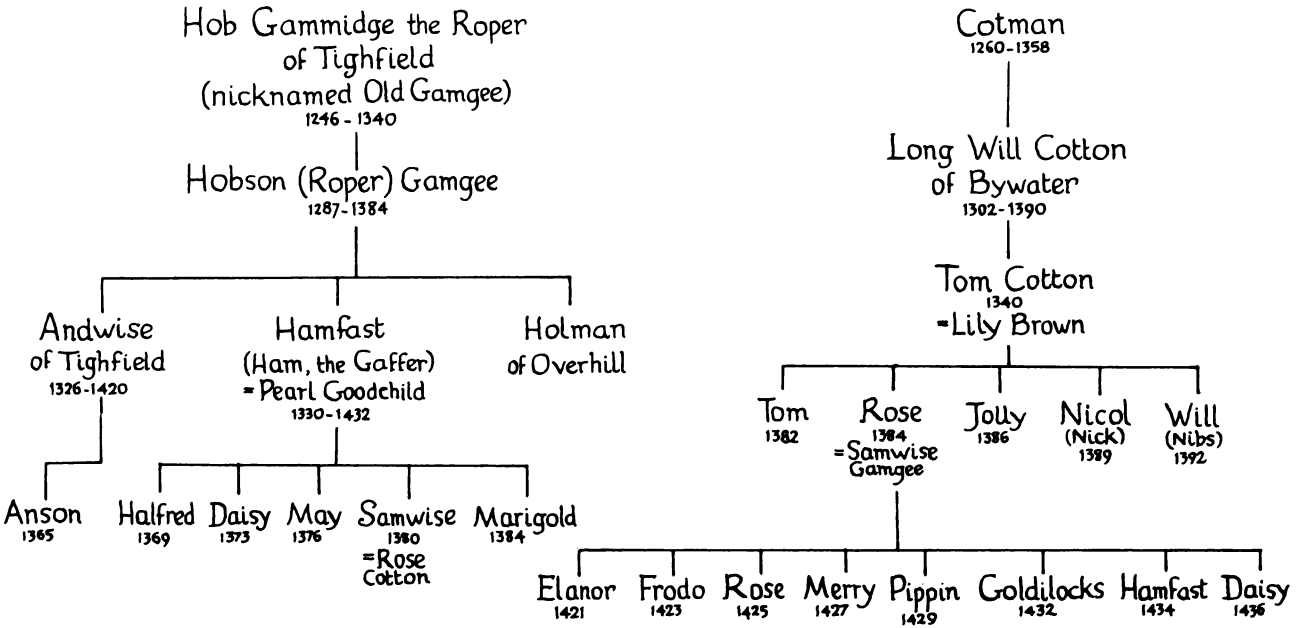

Hob Gammidge the Roper
of Tighfield
(nicknamed Old Gamgee)
1246 - 1340
Hobson (Roper) Gamgee
1287-1384
Andwise
of Tighfield
1326-1420
Hamfast
(Ham, the Gaffer)
= Pearl Goodchild
1330-1432
Holman
of Overhill
Anson
1365
Halfred
1369
Daisy
1373
May
1376
Samwise
1380
= Rose
Cotton
Marigold
1384
Cotman
1260-1358
Long Will Cotton
of Bywater
1302-1390
Tom Cotton
1340
= Lily Brown
Tom
1382
Rose
1384
= Samwise
Gamgee
Jolly
1386
Nicol
(Nick)
1389
Will
(Nibs)
1392
Elanor
1421
Frodo
1423
Rose
1425
Merry
1427
Pippin
1429
Goldilocks
1432
Hamfast
1434
Daisy
1436

Table S1

Rise of the Family of Gardners of the Hill

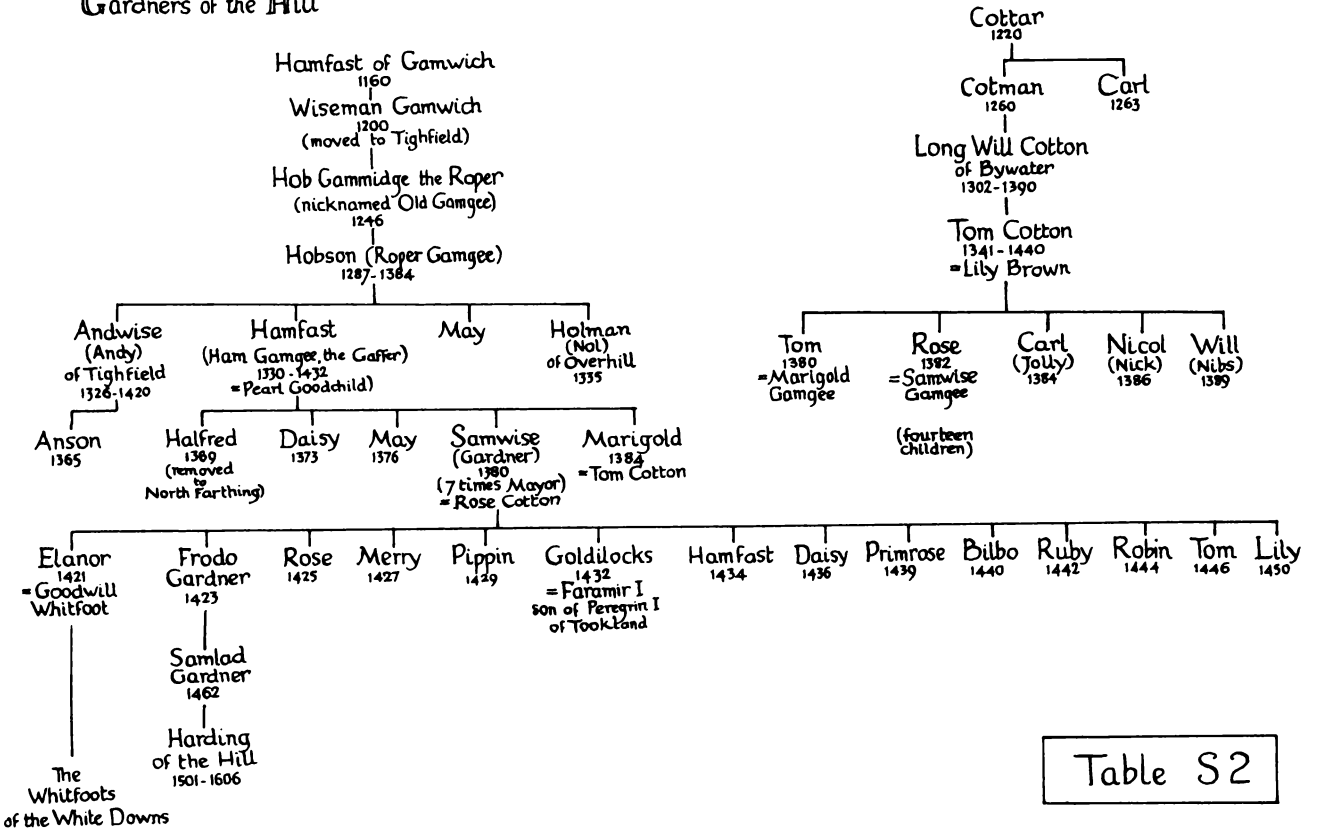


Table S2

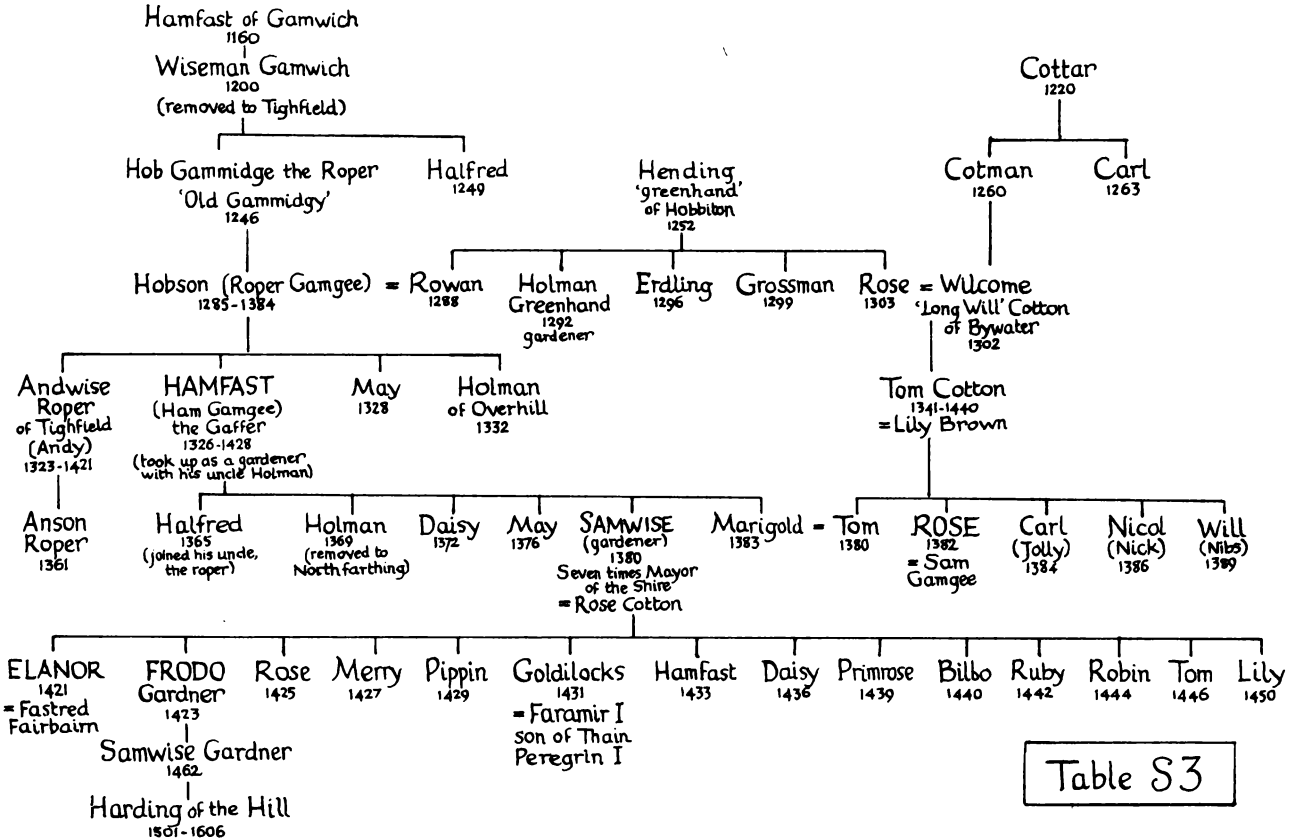

Hamfast of Gamwich
1160
Wiseman Gamwich
1200
(removed to Tighfield)
Hob Gammidge the Roper
'Old Gammidgy'
1246
Halfred
1249
Hending
'greenhand'
of Hobbiton
1252
Cottar
1220
Cotman
1260
Carl
1263
Hobson (Roper Gamgee)
1285-1384
= Rowan
1288
Holman
Greenhand
1292
gardener
Erdling
1296
Grossman
1299
Rose
1303
= Wilcome
'Long Will' Cotton
of Bywater
1302
Andwise
Roper
of Tighfield
(Andy)
1323-1421
HAMFAST
(Ham Gamgee)
the Gaffer
1326-1428
(took up as a gardener
with his uncle Holman)
May
1328
Holman
of Overhill
1332
Tom Cotton
1341-1440
= Lily Brown
Anson
Roper
1361
Halfred
1365
(joined his uncle,
the roper)
Holman
1369
(removed to
Northfarthing)
Daisy
1372
May
1376
SAMWISE
(gardener)
1380
Seven times Mayor
of the Shire
= Rose Cotton
Marigold
1383
= Tom
1380
ROSE
1382
= Sam
Gamgee
Carl
(Jolly)
1384
Nicol
(Nick)
1386
Will
(Nibs)
1389
ELANOR
1421
= Fastred
Fairbairn
FRODO
Gardner
1423
Rose
1425
Merry
1427
Pippin
1429
Goldilocks
1431
= Faramir I
son of Thain
Peregrin I
Hamfast
1433
Daisy
1436
Primrose
1439
Bilbo
1440
Ruby
1442
Robin
1444
Tom
1446
Lily
1450
Samwise Gardner
1462
Harding of the Hill
1501-1606

Table S3

NOTES

1 This manuscript of the Bolger family was the latest that remained in my father's possession, and he had of course no copies of the texts that went to Marquette. Years later he wrote on BG 2: 'Doesn't fit genealogies published. Fredegar should be born about 1385–8. Put in Estella 1387'. On one of his copies of the First Edition he added to the genealogy of the Tooks (Fredegar's mother being Rosamunda Took) 'Estella' as the sister of Fredegar and her birth-date 1385; and to the Brandybuck genealogy he added to Meriadoc '= Estella Bolger 1385', noting beside this that he had told a correspondent in 1965 that 'I believe he married a sister of Fredegar Bolger of the Bolgers of Budgeford'. These corrections, for a reason unknown to me, were not incorporated in the Allen and Unwin Second Edition, but they did occur in a later impression of the Ballantine edition of 1966, and hence Estella Bolger and her marriage to Merry Brandybuck are entered in *The Complete Guide to Middle-earth* by Robert Foster.

These additions to the family trees were made at the instance of Douglas A. Anderson in the Houghton Mifflin edition of 1987, to which he contributed a note on the history of the text. Estella Bolger and her marriage to Meriadoc have finally entered the British 'tradition' in the re-set edition published by HarperCollins in 1994 (see Douglas Anderson's 'Note on the Text' in this edition, p. xii).

2 My statement in VII.39, note 19, that Bridgefields does not appear on the original map of the Shire is erroneous: it is pencilled on that map (and can be seen in the reproduction, frontispiece to Vol.VI) beside the name Bolger, a region just south-west of the Brandywine Bridge. As noted in VII.39, on my large map of the Shire made in 1943 my father pencilled in the name Budgeford, this being the crossing of the Water by the road (entered on the map at the same time) from Whitfurrows on the East Road to Scary. At the same time he wrote in Bridgefields in a new position, north-west of the Brandywine Bridge and north of the East Road, as it appears on the published map of the Shire.

3 In late typescripts of the chapters in which Fredegar Bolger appears in *The Lord of the Rings* the name *Belisarius* (with the nickname *Belly*, which no doubt accounts for the choice) replaced the earlier *Hamilcar*, and was then itself replaced by *Fredegar*.

4 Jemima Boffin of BG 2 was first renamed *Jasmine*, which was replaced by the form *Jessamine*; and so also in the Boffin genealogy.

5 On one of the proofs my father corrected Fredegar's birth-date from 1377 to 1380, but the genealogy was omitted from the book

before this was introduced; in the Took table, however, the date was changed. See note 1.

6 This was in fact an alteration (VI.298 and note 1): originally my father marked the Boffins north-west of the Woody End, and the Bolgers north of Hobbiton, subsequently changing them about; cf. VI.298, 'as far west as Woodhall (which was reckoned to be in the Boffin-country)'.

7 In VI.273, 275 I printed the name as *Lanorac*, which was a misreading of the difficult manuscript.

8 In VI.316 I noted that some of the figures in T 1 were changed on the manuscript, and gave a list of them; but I said that these were 'the earlier ones', whereas they are in fact the corrected figures. See note 9.

9 In T 1 the birth-dates of Isambard and Flambard were 170 and 165 years before the Farewell Party, but these were changed (see note 8) to 160 and 167 (in T 2 1241 and 1234); hence the reversal of the positions of the brothers in T 2.

10 On T 2 Uffo Took and his son Prospero were corrected to Adelard and Everard (see VI.247, 315), Uffo becoming a Boffin name (see BF 2). It will thus be seen that they have been removed from the descent of the fourth son (Fosco > Sigismond) and given to that of the second son Isembard (formerly without any descendants named), whose son Flambard takes over the former name of Hildigrim.

11 Farmer Cotton's reference to Pippin's father as the Thain ('You see, your dad, Mr. Peregrin, he's never had no truck with this Lotho, not from the beginning: said that if anyone was going to play the chief at this time of day, it would be the right Thain of the Shire and no upstart ...') was a late addition to the text of the chapter *The Scouring of the Shire* (RK p. 289); for the original form of the passage see IX.99.

IV
THE CALENDARS

The earliest text of what became Appendix D to *The Lord of the Rings* is a brief, rough manuscript without title, which I will call **D 1**. In style and appearance it suggests association with the first of the two closely related manuscripts of the Appendix on Languages, F 1 (see p. 28), and that this is the case is shown by a reference in the text to 'the note on Languages p. 11'. This in fact refers to the second version, F 2, which was thus already in existence (see p. 136, note 2). D 1 was followed, clearly at no long interval, by a fair copy, **D 2**, exactly parallel to the manuscripts F 1 and F 2 of the Appendix on Languages; and thus the order of composition was F 1, F 2; D 1, D 2. I have no doubt at all that all four texts belong to the same time, which was certainly before the summer of 1950 (see p. 28 and note 1), and probably earlier: in fact, an envelope associated with D 1 is postmarked August 1949.

In this case, since the texts are far briefer than F 1 and F 2, and since the second manuscript D 2 was substantially altered from its predecessor, I give them both. These earliest versions of the Appendix on Calendars show, as do those of the Appendix on Languages, how far the conception still was, when *The Lord of the Rings* had been completed, from the published form. There follows here the text of the manuscript D 1.

In the Shire the Calendar was not arranged as ours is; though the year seems to have been of the same length, for long ago as those times are now, reckoned in years and men's lives, they were not (I suppose) far back in the age of Middle-earth. According to the Hobbits themselves they had no 'week' when they were a wandering people, and though they had months, reckoned by the moon, their keeping of dates and time was not particularly accurate. In Eriador (or the West-lands) when they settled down they adopted the reckoning of the Dúnedain, which was of Elvish origin. But the Hobbits of the Shire after a while altered things to suit their own convenience better. 'Shire-reckoning' was eventually adopted also in Bree.

It is difficult to discover from old records precise details about those things which everybody knows and takes for granted, nor

am I skilled in such abstruse matters. But in that part of Middle-earth at that time it seems that the Eldar (who had, as Sam said, more time at their disposal) reckoned in centuries. Now they had observed – I do not know how, but the Eldar have many powers, and had observed many centuries – that a century contains, as near as no matter for practical purposes, 36524 days. They therefore divided it into 100 years (or sun-rounds) of 366 days, and dealt with the inaccuracy, not as we do by inserting at intervals an additional day to make up for the deficit, but by ejecting a few days at stated times to reduce the surplus. Every *four* years they would have used *three* days too many, if they had done nothing to correct it.

Normally they divided their year of 366 days into twelve months, six of 31 and six of 30 days. They alternated from January to June 31, 30; from July to December 30, 31. It will be observed that their months thus had the same lengths as ours, except for February, 30, and July, 30. Every *eighth* year they got rid of their excess of 6 days by reducing all months to 30 days; and these years were called ['Equal-month Years' or 'Thirty-day Years' >] 'Sixty-week Years' or 'Short Years'.

The Elvish week had only *six* days; so normal years had 61 weeks, and every eighth year had 60 weeks. The first day of the year always began on the first day of the week. In the Short (eighth) Years every month began on the first day of the week. In the normal years they progressed thus: 1, 2, 2, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 6, 6.[1]

The Eldar still at the end of a century would have had 36525 days, not 35624; so once a century they left out the last day of the last month (reducing December to 30 days). The week-day went with it: there was no sixth day of the week in the last week of the century.

The Dúnedain altered these arrangements. They favoured the number 7, and also found a seven-day week more convenient. They also preferred a system by which all the months had the same lengths and did not vary at intervals. [*Struck out later:* They had 12 months (not 13) so that the year could be divided into two exact halves.]

In Gondor, therefore, and in most regions where the Common Speech was used, the year had 365 days; there were 12 months of 30 days each; and 52 weeks of 7 days each. But the method of dealing with the extra 5 days differed in different countries.

In Gondor, between June 30 and July 1 they placed a kind of short month of 5 days, which were called *The Summer Days*, and were a time of holiday. The middle day of the Summer Days (the third) was called Midyear's Day and was a festival. Every fourth year there were 6 Summer Days, and the Midyear festival was two days long (celebrated on the third and fourth days). In the last or hundredth year of a century the additional Summer Day was omitted, bringing the total to 36524.

In the Shire (and eventually in Bree where Shire-reckoning was finally adopted) there were 3 Summer Days, called in the Shire *The Lithe* or *The Lithedays*; and 2 *Yule Days*, the last of the Old Year and the first of the New.* Every fourth year there were 4 Lithedays [*added:* except in the last year of a century]. The Lithedays and the Yuledays were the chief holidays and times of feasting. The additional Litheday, called *Overlithe*, was a day of special feasting and merrymaking. *Yule* was in full the last week of the old year and the first of the new, or in Shire-reckoning (since December had only 30 days) December 24 to January 7 inclusive; but the two middle days of the period, *Old Year's Day* or *Yearsend* (December 30) and *New Year's Day* or *Yearsday* (January 1), were the great Yuledays, or Yule proper.

The Hobbits introduced one notable innovation (the Shire-reform). They found the shifting of the weekday name in relation to dates from year to year untidy and inconvenient. So in the time of Isengrim II they arranged that the odd day, which put the succession out, should have no weekday name. So Midyear's Day (the second and middle day of the Lithe) had no weekday name, and neither had Overlithe (which followed it in every fourth year). After this reform the year always began on the first day of the week and ended on the last day of the week; and the same date in one year always had the same weekday name in all other years. In consequence of which Hobbits never troubled to put weekdays on their letters. They found this very

* The reckoning of the year's beginning had varied much in various times and places. The beginning after Yule (originally intended to be at the Winter Solstice) was used in the North Kingdom and eventually adopted by Hobbits. The wild Hobbits were said to have begun their year with the New Moon nearest to the beginning of Spring. The settled Hobbits for a time began their year after Harvest, roughly October 1st. This habit long endured in Bree. In Gondor after the downfall of Baraddur a new era was begun with that day reckoned as the first day of its first year.

convenient in the Shire, but of course, if they travelled further than Bree, where the reform was adopted, they found it rather confusing.

It will be observed if one glances at a Hobbit (perpetual) Calendar that the only day on which no month began was a -Friday. It was thus a jesting idiom in the Shire to speak of 'on Friday the first' when referring to a day that did not exist, or to a day on which impossible events like the flying of pigs or (in the Shire) the walking of trees might be expected to occur. In full the expression was 'Friday the first of Summerfilth', for there was no such month.

In the above notes I have used our modern month and week-day names, though of course neither the Eldar nor the Dúnedain nor the Hobbits actually did so. But dates are both important and easily confused, so that I thought a translation into our familiar names essential. These may very properly be allowed to represent the usual names in Gondor and in the Common Speech. But in fact, the Hobbits of the Shire and of Bree adhered to old-fashioned month-names, which they seem to have picked up in antiquity from the Men of the Anduin-vale; at any rate very similar names were found in Dale and in Rohan (see the note on Languages p. 11).[2] The original meanings of these had been as a rule long forgotten and they had become in consequence worn down in form, *-math* for instance at the end of four of them is a reduction of *month*. There was some variation in the names. Several of the Bree-names differed from those of the Shire, and in one or two cases the East-farthingers agreed with Bree.

	Shire	*Bree*
January	Afteryule	Frery (also East Farthing)
February	Solmath[a]	Solmath[a]
March	Rethe[3]	Rethe
April	Astron	Chithing (also East Farthing)
May	Thrimilch[b]	Thrimidge
June	Forelithe	Lithe
	The Lithe or Lithedays	The Summer Days
July	Afterlithe	Mede
August	Wedmath	Wedmath
September	Halimath	Harvest(math) (also East Farthing)
October	Winterfilth	[Wintermath >] Wintring

November	Blotmath[c]	Blooting
December	Foreyule	Yulemath

(a) Pronounced *So'math*. (b) Pronounced *Thrimidge* and also written *Thrimich*, *Thrimidge*, the latter being already most usual in Bilbo's time. (c) Often pronounced *Blommath*. There were often jests in Bree about 'Winterfilth in the Shire', after the Breefolk had altered their name to *Wintring*; but the name had probably meant 'filling, completion' and may have derived from the time when the year ended and began in October after Harvest. Winter was indeed (as still with us) often used for 'year' in reckoning age.[4]

The Hobbit week was taken from the Dúnedain and the names were translations of the names given by the Dúnedain following the Eldar. The six-day week of the Eldar had days dedicated to the Stars, Sun, Moon, the Two Trees of Valinor, the Sky, and the Valar or Rulers, in that order, the last day being the chief or high day.

The Dúnedain kept the dedications and order, but altered the fourth day to Tree-day with reference to the Eldest Tree of which a descendant grew in Númenor, and desiring a seven day week and being great mariners they inserted a Sea-day after the Sky-day.

The Hobbits took over this arrangement, but the meanings of the days were soon forgotten and the names reduced in form. The 'translation' was made more than a thousand years before Bilbo's time. In the oldest known records of the Shire, in the earlier parts of the Great Writ of Tuckborough,[5] the names appeared in the following archaic forms.

1.	*Sterrendei*	that is	Stars' day
2.	*Sunnendei*		Sun's day
3.	*Monendei*		Moon's day
4.	*Treowesdei*		Tree's day
5.	*Heovenesdei*		Heaven's (Sky's) day
6.	*Meresdei*		Sea's day
7.	*Hihdei*		High day

But in the language of the date of the Red Book these names had become written: *Sterday* (or *Stirday*), *Sunday*, *Munday*, *Trewsday*, *Hevensday*, *Mersday*, *Hiday*; and *Hevensday* was universally pronounced *Hensdy* and often written *He'nsday*. The spelling *Stirday* (usual in the Red Book) was due to the fact that,

the old meaning being forgotten, *Stirday*, which began the week again, after the holiday of *Hiday*, was popularly supposed to be connected with *Stirring*.

Since the Hobbit-names are accidentally somewhat like our own, and two are identical (in spoken form)[6] I thought it would be inconvenient to translate them according to their *order*. I have therefore translated them according to their *sound*. But it must be remembered that the associations in the Shire were different. Translated the week runs: Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday. But Saturday was the first day of the week, and Friday the last. In associations Saturday was more like our Monday and Friday like our Sunday.

The month names I have, as explained above, translated. But for fear of getting into confusion I have left Bilbo's and Frodo's *dates* unchanged: that is, I have kept the Hobbit lengths of month. This only closely concerns this book at the turn of the years 1418–19. It must then be remembered by those who wish to follow the various movements of the characters that while December 1418 and January 1419 have (because of the addition of a Yule-day to each) the same length as ours, February has 30, so that e.g. March 25 would be March 27 in our reckoning.

The Leapday or Overlithe does not concern the Red Book, as it did not occur in any of the important years for the story of the Ring. It occurred in the year before Bilbo went to the Lonely Mountain, 1340; it had been missed in 1400 being the end of a century (just before Bilbo's Farewell Party in 1401), and so had not occurred from 1396 until 1404. The only years dealt with in the Red Book in which it occurred were 1420, the famous Harvest, and 1436. But though no doubt the feasting at Overlithe in 1420 was tremendous it is not mentioned specially.[7] The Book ends before the Lithe of 1436.

It will be seen that the account of the Eldarin calendar in Middle-earth given in D1 bears no relation to that in the published text. Moreover, while the Shire Calendar as described in D 1 was preserved without change, it is much more closely based on the Númenórean system than in Appendix D. In D 1 both calendars had a year of 12 months of 30 days each, and the only difference in that of the Shire was the distribution of the five Summer Days of Gondor into two Yuledays and three Summer Days or Lithedays (the leap-year day of Overlithe or fourth Litheday corresponding to the sixth Summer Day in Gondor). In Appendix D, on the other hand, the Númenórean calendar had ten

months of 30 days and two of 31 (making 362), with the three 'extra days' being *yestarë* (the beginning of the year), *löendë* (the mid-day), and *mettarë* (the ending of the year).

In writing of the names of the months and days of the week my father used the word 'translation'. He was referring, of course, to the substitution of e.g. *Thursday* for *Mersday* or *March* for *Rethe*. But it is to be remembered that *Mersday*, *Rethe*, etc. were themselves feigned to be 'translations' of the true Hobbit names. We do not know what the 'real' translation of the Númenórean name *Oraearon* (RK p. 388) was; the theory is that my father devised a translation of the Hobbit name, which he knew, in archaic English form, *Meresdei* later *Mersday*, and then substituted *Thursday* in the narrative. The rhyming of 'Trewsday, Hensday, Mersday, Hiday' with our 'Tuesday, Wednesday (Wensday), Thursday, Friday' he naturally called an accidental likeness; but it was an astonishing coincidence! I am much inclined to think that the Hobbit calendar was the original conception, and that the names of the days were in fact devised precisely in order to provide this 'accidental likeness'. If this is so, then of course the earlier history of the names of the week (going back to the six-day week of the Eldar) was a further evolution in this extraordinarily ingenious and attractive conception. It is notable, I think, that the Elvish names do not appear until the text D 2 (where the Sindarin names are called, as is to be expected, Noldorin).

This second text now follows (with certain omissions, which are noted). It is a very carefully written manuscript, bearing the title *The Calendar*. I believe it to have been written soon after D 1.

The Calendar

The Calendar in the Shire differed in several features from ours. The year seems to have been of the same length, for long ago as those times are now, reckoned in years and lives of men, they were not, I suppose, very remote according to the memory of the Earth. It is recorded by the Hobbits that they had no 'week' when they were still a wandering people, and though they had 'months', governed more or less by the Moon, their keeping of dates and calculations of time were vague and inaccurate. In the west-lands of Eriador, when they had begun to settle down, they adopted the reckoning of the Dúnedain of the North-kingdom, which was ultimately of Elvish origin; but the Hobbits of the Shire introduced several minor alterations. This calendar, or 'Shire-reckoning' as it was called, was eventually adopted also in Bree, except for the Shire-usage of counting as Year 1 the year of the foundation or colonization of the Shire.

It is often difficult to discover from old tales and traditions

precise information about those things which people knew well and took for granted in their own day, like the names of letters, or of the days of the week, or the names and lengths of months. I have done as well as I could, and have looked into some of the surviving works on chronology. Owing to their general interest in genealogy, and to the [*added:* later] interest of the learned among them in ancient history, the Shire-hobbits seem to have concerned themselves a good deal with dates; and they even drew up complicated tables showing the relations of their own system with others. I am not learned or skilled in these abstruse matters, and may have made many mistakes; but at any rate the chronology of the crucial years (Shire-reckoning 1418, 1419) is so carefully set out in the Red Book that there cannot be much doubt about days and times at this point.

It seems clear that the Eldar, who had, as Samwise remarks, more time at their disposal, reckoned in centuries, and the Quenya word *yén*, often translated 'year', really means a hundred of our years, sometimes called *quantië̈n* or 'full year'. Now they observed – I do not know how or when: but the Eldar have many powers, and they had observed many centuries – that the century or *quantië̈n* contained, exactly or exactly enough for practical purposes, 36524 days. They therefore divided it into 100 *coranári** (sun-rounds or years) of 366 days. This would have given them 36600 days, or 76 too many; and they dealt with the inaccuracy, not as we do by inserting at intervals an additional day to make up for a deficit, but by ejecting a few days at stated times to reduce the surplus. Every *four* years they would have had (very nearly) *three* days too many, if they had done nothing to correct this. Their method of correction may seem complicated to us, but they favoured the numbers six and twelve, and they were chiefly concerned to make things work out properly at the end of their 'full year' or century.

Normally they divided their *coranar* of 366 days into twelve months, six of 31 days and six of 30 days. The lengths alternated from January† to June 31, 30; and from July to December 30, 31. It will be observed that their months thus had the same lengths as ours, except for February, 30 (usual in all the calendars of this period), and July, 30. Every *eighth* year they

* Also called in less astronomical contexts *loa* 'time of growth', sc. of plants, etc.

† The month-names are here translated to avoid confusion.

got rid of the excess of 6 days by reducing all the months to 30 days and thus having a year (or *coranar*) of only 360 days. These years they called 'Short Years' or 'Sixty-week Years'.

The Eldarin week had only *six* days, so normal years had 61 weeks, and every eighth year had 60 weeks. The first day of the *coranar* always began on the first day of the week. In the Short Years every month also began with the first day.

These eight-year cycles ran on regularly until the end of the 96th year of the *quantië̈n* or century. There then remained four more years to deal with, and 1460 days were required to complete the full tale of 36524. Four years of 365 days would have done this, but that would not have fitted the Elves' six-day week. Their actual arrangement, rounding off the *quantië̈n* neatly, was this: at the end of the century they had a half-cycle of *three* long years of 366 days (total 1098), and *one* short year (the last of the century) of 360: making 1458 and exactly completing the weeks. The two more days still required[8] were added at the end and the beginning of the *quantië̈n*; they had no week-day name nor month, but only their names: *Quantarië* Day of Completion, Oldyear's Day, and *Vinyarië* Newyear's Day; they were times of festival. Thus the year 1 of the Eldarin century had 367 days; Years 8, 16, 24, 32, 40, 48, 56, 64, 72, 80, 88, 96 had 360 days; Year 100 had 361; and the remainder had 366. It is thus impossible to translate an Eldarin date into our terms without a possible error of some days, unless one knows at what point in an Eldarin century a given year stands, and whether that century did in fact begin on what we should call January 1.*

* I believe that the Elves observe the Sun and stars closely, and make occasional corrections. Their *quantiéni* are arranged, I am told, to begin as nearly as possible with the first sunset after the Winter Solstice. The Eldarin 'day' or *arë* was reckoned not from midnight, but from the moment of the disappearance of the sun below the horizon as observed from the shores of the sea. Among other peoples the reckoning of the year's beginning had varied much at different times, though it was usually at mid-winter, or at a date taken as the beginning of Spring, and occasionally after Harvest. The beginning after Yule (taken as at or near the Winter Solstice) was used by the Dúnedain in the North-kingdom, and eventually was adopted by the Hobbits. The Wild Hobbits were said to have begun their year with the New Moon nearest the beginning of Spring. The settled Hobbits for some time began their year after Harvest, or after the introduction of regular fixed months on October the first. A trace of this was left in the keeping of October 1 as a minor festival in the Shire and Bree.

The Dúnedain altered these arrangements. Being mortal if long-lived the actual 'sunround' or year was their natural unit. They required therefore a system in which months had the same length from year to year. Also they much favoured the number seven. The following was the system used in Númenor, and after the Downfall in the North-kingdom, and also in Gondor until the end of the line of Kings: it is called, therefore, King's Reckoning.

The year had 365 days; there were 12 months, normally of 30 days each; but the months on either side of the mid-year and the year's-end had 31 (in our terms January, June, July, December). The 183rd day or Midyear Day belonged to no month. Every *fourth* year, except in the last year of a century, there were two Midyear Days. From this system the Shire-reckoning, described below, was derived.

But in Gondor later, in the time of the Stewards, the length of the months was equalized. Each month had 30 days, but between June 30 and July 1 were inserted 5 days, called the Summer Days. These were usually a time of holiday. The middle or third of these days, the 183rd of the year, was called Midyear Day and was a festival. As before, it was doubled in every *fourth* year (except the hundredth year of a century). This was called the Steward's Reckoning, and was usual in nearly all countries where the Common Speech was used (except among Elves, who used it only in their dealings with Men).

The Hobbits, however, remained conservative, and continued to use a form of King's Reckoning adapted to fit their own customs. Their months were all equal and had 30 days, but they had *three* Summer Days, called in the Shire the Lithe or the Lithedays between June and July; and *two* Yuledays, the last of the old year and the first of the new year. So that in effect January, June, July, December still had 31 days, but the Lithedays and Yuledays were not counted in the month (January 1st was the second and not the first day of the year). Every *fourth* year, except in the last year of the century,* there were *four* Lithedays. The Lithedays and the Yuledays were the chief holi-

* Earlier it had been the *first year* of the century, for it so happened that Hobbits adopted King's Reckoning in the last year of a Dúnedain century, probably Third Age 1300, which became the first year of their reckoning. But as Shire Reckoning 1 was found to correspond to King's Reckoning 1601 things were later adjusted to fit in with King's Reckoning.

days and times of feasting. The additional Litheday added after Midyear Day (and so the 184th day of the longer years) was called Overlithe and was a day of special merrymaking. In full 'Yuletide' was fourteen days long, the last week of the old and the first of the new year (from December 25 to January 6 inclusive), but the two middle days of the period, *Yearsend* or Oldyear's Day, and *Yearsday* or Newyear's Day were the great Yuledays.

The Hobbits introduced one small but notable innovation, the 'Shire-reform'. ...

The text continues without significant change from that of D 1 (p. 121), with the same page-reference to the text F 2 of the Appendix on Languages (see note 2), and without the Quenya names of the months which are given in Appendix D (RK p. 388). In the list of Hobbit month-names *Yulemath* (as well as *Harvest(math)*) is now included as being current in the East Farthing as well as in Bree, and the Shire-name of May becomes *Thrimidge*, as in Bree, with the note 'formerly written *Thrimich* and archaically *Thrimilch*'. The explanation of the name *Winterfilth* is altered, 'the name had probably originally meant the *filling* or *completion* of winter, or rather of the year leading up to the entry of winter', the precise meaning of which is obscure to me (see note 4).

Following the list of month-names and the notes on them the text D 2 continues:

I have not ventured to use these actual unfamiliar names in the course of the narrative; but it must be understood that the reference is always to the Shire Calendar, even where 'Shire-reckoning' is not specified, as it sometimes is. Thus the points essential to the turn of the years S.R.1418, 1419 are that October 1418 has only 30 days; while January 1st is the second day of 1419, and February 1419 has 30 days. In consequence Bilbo's birthday September 22nd being the 99th and not the 100th day from the year-end corresponds to our September 23rd; February 1st corresponds to our February 1st, but 29, 30 to our March 1, 2; and the date of the downfall of Baraddur and Sauron, S.R. March 25, corresponds to our March 27th.

The Hobbit week was taken from the Dúnedain, and the names were translations of the names given to the week-days in the old North-kingdom, those in turn deriving from the Eldar. These names were at that time almost universal among users of the Common Speech, though there were some local variations.

The six-day week of the Eldar had days dedicated to, or

named after, the Stars, the Sun, the Moon, the Two Trees,* the Heavens, and the Valar or Powers, in this order, the last day being the chief or high day of the week. Their Quenya names were: *Elenya*, *Anarya*, *Isilya*, *Aldarya*, *Menelya*, *Valarya* (or *Tárinar*). The Noldorin names were [*Argiliath* >] *Argilion*, *Aranor*, *Arithil*, [*Argelaid* >] *Argaladath*, *Arvenel* (*-fenel*, *-mhenel*), *Arvelain* (or *Ardórin*).[9]

The Dúnedain kept the dedications and order, but altered the fourth day to *Argalad* 'Tree-day' with reference to the Elder Tree only, of which the White Tree that grew in the King's Court in Númenor was a descendant. Also, desiring a seventh day, and being the greatest of mariners, they inserted a 'sea-day' *Aroeren* (Quenya *Earenya*) after the Heavens' day.

The Hobbits took over this arrangement ...

The text then follows that of D 1 (p. 123) almost exactly in the account of the names of the days of the week in the Hobbit calendar, but the Red Book spellings of *Sterrendei* and *Hihdei* are given as *Starday* and *Hiday (or Highday)*. *Starday* was then changed to *Sterday*, with the note: 'The spelling *Stirday*, sometimes found in the Red Book, was due to the forgetting of the meaning of the name. *Sterday*, which began the week, was popularly supposed to be connected with "stirring" after the holiday of *Highday*.'

D 2 then concludes thus:

I have translated these names also into our familiar names, and in deciding which name to equate with which modern name I have observed not the Hobbit order (beginning with *Sterday*), but the meanings. Thus since *Sunday* and *Munday* are practically identical with our *Sunday* and *Monday* and have the same 'dedications' in the same order, I have equated these and taken the rest in the same order as they stand in the Shire list: thus Hobbit 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 have been translated by our 7, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. It must be remembered, however, that the associations of the weekday names will thus be different: Saturday, for instance, will correspond closely in Hobbit-custom with our Monday, while Friday will correspond as closely as anything in the Shire did with Sunday.

The Overlithe or Leapday does not concern the Red Book since it did not occur in any of the important years in the story

*The Two Trees of Valinor, Silpion of silver (the Elder), and Laurelin of gold (the Younger), which gave light to the Blessed Realm.

of the Great Ring. It occurred in the year before Bilbo went to the Lonely Mountain, namely in 1340; it had been missed out in 1400,* the year before his Farewell Party (1401), and so had not occurred from 1396 to 1404. The only years dealt with in the Red Book in which it occurred were 1420, the famous Harvest, and 1436. No doubt the merrymaking of Overlithe in 1420 was as marvellous as everything else in that marvellous year, but it is not mentioned specially by Master Samwise. He had many other things to think about, and his brief account of them has not been enlarged upon. The book ends before the Lithe of 1436.

On the assumption, which I feel sure is correct, that D 2 belongs to very much the same time as D 1, my father quickly became dissatisfied with his first account of the antecedents of the Hobbit calendar (which itself remained virtually unchanged throughout). In the Eldarin calendar he now introduced the words *yén* and *quantië*n, both meaning a hundred of our years (*coranári* 'sun-rounds'), but retained the essential structure described in D 1 of 366 days to the year, divided into six months alternating between 30 and 31 days, with a reduction of all months to 30 days in every eighth year, these being called 'Short Years'. On the other hand, he altered the Eldarin treatment of the last four years of the century: whereas in D 1 (p. 120) a day was simply rejected at the very end of the century, in D 2 two were added, one at the beginning and one at the end of the century (see note 8).

The Númenórean calendar was more radically changed. In D 1 there were 12 months of 30 days each in a year of 365 days, with a period of 5 days (standing outside the months) called 'the Summer Days' between June 30 and July 1, the third of these being called 'Midyear's Day'. Every fourth year was a leap-year with six 'Summer Days' including two 'Midyear's Days'. From this calendar that of the Hobbits was derived, with the 5 'extra' days dispersed into 3 'Summer Days' ('Lithedays') and 2 'Yuledays', the leap-year day being 'Overlithe'.

In D 2, on the other hand, the Númenórean calendar had 8 months of 30 days and 4 months of 31 (January, June, July, December), requiring only one 'extra' day, Midyear Day, standing outside the months, this (as in D 1) being doubled every fourth year. This was called 'King's

*The determination of the centuries was ultimately taken from the reckoning of the Dúnedain. For though 'Shire-reckoning' only began with the settlement of the Shire, it was found that this had occurred in year 1601 of the Third Age according to King's Reckoning. To convert S.R. years into T.A. years one therefore adds 1600. Bree-years began 300 years earlier than Shire-years.

Reckoning'. Despite this alteration of the Númenórean calendar the Hobbit calendar (unchanged from D 1) is still, rather curiously, derived from it: for my father explained (p. 128) that they did 'in effect' retain the four 31-day months in the two Yuledays (January, December) and two Lithedays (June, July, on either side of Midyear's Day), although these in the Hobbit calendar were not counted in the months.

A further innovation in D 2 is the later revision of the calendar in Gondor, 'in the time of the Stewards', when the months were all reduced to 30 days, with 5 inserted 'Summer Days'. This was called 'Steward's Reckoning', and was widely adopted – but not by the Hobbits. 'Steward's Reckoning' is of course a reversion to the original Númenórean calendar in D 1 – which was the source of that of the Hobbits.

In Appendix D the conservative nature of the Hobbit calendar was retained, being a form of the King's Reckoning rather than of the reformed Steward's Reckoning, but these were again altered. The precise relations can best be understood from the actual texts, but the following is an attempt to summarise the essential differences.

D 1 *Númenórean*: all months of 30 days, 5 'Summer Days' outside the months. Hobbit calendar derived from this, with 2 Yuledays and 3 Lithedays outside the months.

D 2 *Númenórean 'King's Reckoning'*: 4 months of 31 days, Midyear Day outside the months. Hobbit calendar derived from this.
Númenórean 'Steward's Reckoning': all months of 30 days, 5 'Summer Days' outside the months. Not adopted by Hobbits.

Appendix D *Númenórean 'Kings' Reckoning'*: 2 months of 31 days, with 3 days outside the months (*yestarë*, *loëndë*, *mettarë* at the beginning, middle, and end of the year). Hobbit calendar (still as in D 1, D 2) derived from this.
Númenórean 'Stewards' Reckoning': introduced by Mardil: all months of 30 days, with 2 further days outside the months (*tuilérë*, *yáviérë*, at end of March and September) added. Not adopted by Hobbits.

In D 2 there is no reference to the introduction of a new calendar in Third Age 3019 (S.R.1419), the year of the fall of Barad-dûr and the coronation of King Elessar, beginning on March 25 (RK p. 390); but in D 1 there is such a reference (p. 121, footnote) to a new reckoning, the year beginning, however, in the autumn: 'The settled Hobbits for a time began their year after Harvest, roughly October 1st. ... In Gondor after the downfall of Baraddur a new era was begun with that day reckoned as the first day of its first year.'

My father wrote two statements at this time on the subject of the new reckoning, differently arranged but virtually identical in content: I give the second version, which is somewhat clearer.

New Era

Gondor Calendar of the Fourth Age. After the downfall of Sauron and the return of the King, a new calendar was devised in Gondor and adopted throughout the realm and in all the westlands. This was calculated to begin on the day of the fall of Barad-dûr. That took place in Third Age 3019 (Shire-reckoning 1419), on March 25th according to Shire-reckoning, King's reckoning, and the Elvish calendars (March 27th in our calendar, and March 26th in Steward's reckoning).[10]

In honour of the Halflings (Hobbits) their week-day Sunday (for 25 March) was taken for the first week-day of the first year of the New Era, and so became also the first day of every week. Also the 'Shire-reform' was adopted, by which Midyear's Day had no weekday name, so that weekday names remained fixed in relation to dates, and each year began on a Sunday *(Anarya)* and ended on a Saturday *(Elenya)*.

The calendar of months and seasons was also entirely reformed. The year now began with *Spring* (25 March old style). It was divided into *five* seasons: two long (three months), and three short (two months): *Spring* (April, May); *Summer* (June, July, August); *Autumn* or *Harvest* (September, October); *Winter* (November, December, January); *Stirring* (February, March).*

Each month was 30 days long. There were thus 5 days (or in Leap-years 6) outside the months. These were: 2 'Spring-days' before April 1st, which began the new year, and were festivals.† 'Midyear's Day' fell between September and October and became now a harvest festival. In Leap-years this Day was doubled. The year ended with 2 'Stirring-days' after March 30: these days were days of preparation for the New Year and of commemoration of the dead and fallen.

Dates were usually given in official documents by the Seasons, but the old month-names (Common-speech, Noldorin or Quenya) remained in private and popular use, though their

* When the year was divided into two halves, Winter was held to run from October to Year's end, and Summer from Year's beginning to the end of September.

† The first Spring-Day and the first day of the Year was especially the commemoration of the fall of Sauron, since it corresponded to 25 March in earlier reckoning.

New Era

						Shire Reckoning	Steward's Reckoning
						March	
Entarë	Year's beginning: Tuilëar Springdays	1		1		25	26
		2		2		26	27
Víressë	First Spring (April)	1	Tuilë Spring	3	Lairë or Úriën : Summer	27	28
						April	
Lótessë	Second Spring (May)	1		33		27	28
						May	
		30		62		26	27
Nárië	First Summer (June)	1		1		27	28
						June	
Cermië	Second Summer (July)	1	Lairë Summer	31		27	28
						July	
Úrimë	Third Summer (August)	1		61		24	23
						Aug.	
		30		90		23	22
Yavannië	First Autumn (Sept.)	1		1		24	23
						Sept.	
Arendiën	Midyear's Day	1		31		24	23
Narquelië	Second Autumn (Oct.)	1	Quellë Autumn	32	Hrívë or Fíriën : Winter	25	24
						Oct.	
		30		61		24	23
Hísimë	First Winter (November)	1		1		25	24
						Nov.	
Ringarë	Second Winter (December)	1	Hrívë Winter	31		25	24
						Dec.	
Narvinyë	Third Winter (January)	1		61		25	24
						Jan.	
		30		90		22	23
Nendessë	First Stirring (Feb.)	1		1		23	24
						Feb.	
Súlimë	Second Stirring (March)	1		31		23	24
						March	
		30	Coirë Stirring	60		22	23
	Coirëar Stirringdays	1		61		23	24
Mettarë	Year's-end	2		62		24	25

Every fourth year save the last in the *Quantië*n or Century there were two *Arendiéni*.

incidence was somewhat altered: they began and ended earlier in the year than in older calendars.

On the reverse of the page carrying the first of these accounts of the calendar of the New Era is a table made at the same time; this was struck out and replaced by another, identical in all essentials, and this latter I have redrawn (p. 134). In this table the first column of figures refers to actual dates (with the five days standing outside the months numbered 1 and 1, 2); thus the five figures given for *Tuilë* (Spring), 1, 2, 1, 1, 30, refer respectively to the two *Tuilëar* (Springdays), 1 (*Entarë*) and 2; the first day of *Víressë* (April 1); the first day of *Lótessë* (May 1); and the last day of *Lótessë* (May 30). The second column of figures is the *cumulative* total of days in each season corresponding to those in the first column: thus 1 *Lótessë* is the 33rd day of the year (2 *Tuilëar*, *Víressë* 30 days, *Lótessë* 1, = 33).

In Appendix D this elegantly balanced structure had been abandoned and replaced by a different system, somewhat obscurely recounted. But it seems extremely probable that it was here, in this original account of the calendar of the New Era, that the Quenya names of the months first entered. It will be seen that the names given in Appendix D are all present except that of February, *Nénimë*, which is here *Nendessë*; while the opening day of the year is *Entarë* (on the first form of the table written *Entalë* and then changed) for later *Yestarë*, and Midyear's Day is *Arendiën* for later *Loëndë*. The changed names were written onto the table later, probably much later.

On the back of the second table, and clearly intended to be continuous with it, is the following.

Alternative names.[11]
Autumn: *Endien* (Midyear).

April: *Ertuilë*	October: *Lasselanta (Nóquellë)*
May: *Nótuilë*	November: *Errívë*
June: *Ellairë*	December: *Norrívë*
July: *Nólairë*	January: *Meterrívë*
August: *Metelairë*	February: *Ercoirë*
September: *Erquellë*	March: *Nócoirë*

The Noldorin month names and seasons corresponding were:
Spring: *Ethuil*: April *Gwirith*. May *Lothron*.
Summer: *Loer*: June *Nórui*. July *Cerfeth*. August *Úrui*
Autumn: *Firith*: September *Ifonneth*. October *Narbeleth*.
Winter: *Rhíw*: November *Hithui*. December *Girithron*. January *Nerwinien*.
Stirring: *Echuir*: February *Nenneth*. March *Gwaeron*.
Occasional variants: Autumn: [*Dant*, *Dantilais* >] *Dannas*,

Lasbelin. June: *Ebloer*. July: *Cadloer*. December: *Ephriw*. January: *Cathriw*.

The old *Year beginning* corresponded to N[ew] E[ra] January 8, the 68th day of Winter, and 281st day of the year.
The old *Midyear* corresponded to N.E. July 6, the 36th day of Summer, and 98th day of the year.
The old *Year's-end* corresponded to N.E. January 7, the 67th day of Winter, and 280th day of the year.
The Shire *Lithedays* = N.E. July 5, 6, 7
The old Gondor *Summerdays* = N.E. July 4–8 inclusive.

Here the Noldorin (Sindarin) names first appear, and are the same as those given in Appendix D, with two exceptions: *Nerwinien* for *Narwain* (January) and *Nenneth* for *Nínui* (February). *Narwain* and *Ninui* were written in much later, together with the following changes: *Metelairë*, *Meterrívë* > *Mettelairë*, *Metterrívë*; *Cerfeth* > *Cerveth*; *Ifonneth* > *Ivanneth*; *Loer* > *Laer*, *Ebloer* > *Eblaer*, *Cadloer* > *Cadlaer*.

Together with many other tables of comparative reckoning, some beautifully made, this effectively completes all the calendar material that I can certainly identify as belonging to this primary phase of my father's work on the subject. It is remarkable that (amid abundant but very rough and difficult notes) there is no further text until the typescript (itself rough and a good deal emended) from which the text of Appendix D was printed.[12] It seems very unlikely that any intervening text should have been lost, and I am inclined to think that my father was still developing and refining his theory of the Calendars when the need to submit his text to the publishers became imperative and urgent. Of the final form I believe that what I said of Appendix F, that 'had circumstances been otherwise the form of that appendix would have been markedly different' (p. 82), can be repeated of Appendix D with greater force.[13]

NOTES

1 I have added the final 6, absent in the manuscript.
2 As noted on p. 119 this is a reference to the manuscript F 2 of the Appendix on Languages, pp. 38–9, §§23–4. The sentence at the end of §24, 'But most remarkable of all are the Hobbit month-names, concerning which see the note on Calendar and Dates', was an addition, but one made with care near to the time of writing of F 2 – no doubt when my father reached this point in D 1.
3 *Rethe* was not the original name. On the back of this page of the manuscript is a comparative table, struck through, of Hobbit

dates and modern dates by month and day; and the third month is here *Luyde*, not *Rethe*. *Luyde* occurs also in one of the *Prologue* texts (see p. 9), but I have not found it anywhere else; nor have I found any other names preceding those in the list given here, which survived without change.

4 *Winterfylleth* was the Old English name of October. Its meaning was discussed by Bede (died 735), who explained the name by reference to the ancient English division of the year into two parts of six months each, Summer and Winter: *Winterfylleth* was so called because it was the first month of Winter, but *fylleth*, Bede supposed, referred to the full moon of October, marking the beginning of that period of the year. My father's interpretation of the name in D 1, 'the filling (completion) of the year', 'winter' being used in the sense 'year', is at variance both with Bede and apparently with that in the published text (RK p. 388, footnote), 'the filling or completion of the year *before Winter*'. In either case it must be supposed that the 'true' words underlying translated 'filth' and 'Winterfilth' could make the same pun!

On the former beginning of the Hobbit year after Harvest see p. 121, footnote.

5 The Great Writ of Tuckborough (later the Yearbook of Tuckborough) is mentioned also in the Appendix on Languages, p. 40, §27.

6 The words '(in spoken form)' refer to the spelling *Munday*. In the published text the sentence reads: 'In the language of the time of the War of the Ring these had become *Sterday*, *Sunday*, *Monday* ...', instead of 'had become written', thus avoiding the question of *Munday*, *Monday*: the latter being a mere peculiarity of English spelling, as in many other words with the vowel of *but*, as *monk*, *son*, etc. *Sunday* was once often spelt *Sonday*. – So also *Hiday* of D 1 is given the modern spelling *Highday* in the published text. But in the list of archaic (Old English) forms it should not be *Highdei* but *Hihdei*, as in D 1.

7 Contrast Appendix D (RK p. 384): 'the merrymaking in that year [1420] is said to have been the greatest in memory or record.'

8 The different computation in D 1 (p. 120), whereby the Eldarin calendar would have 36525 days in a century (leading to the removal of the last day of a century) was reached thus: the last four years of a century were computed as half of an eight-year cycle, that is 2922 (seven long years and one short year) divided by two, 1461. Added to the total (35064) of the days in 96 years this made 36525. In D 2 the last four years are not half of an eight-year cycle but three full years and one short year, that is 35064 + 1458 in a century, total 36522 (leading to the addition of the two extra days outside the structure of weeks and months, *Quantárië* and *Vinyárië*).

9 I have found no further list of the Elvish names of the days of the week, nor any mention of individual names, before the third (and final) text, from which Appendix D was printed (see p. 136). There, the Quenya names of the fourth and sixth days, *Aldarya* and *Valarya*, were still in that form (but *Tárion* had replaced *Tárinar*); my father emended them very clearly, on both copies of the typescript, to *Aldauya* and *Valanya*. On the proof of the first of these was printed *Aldanya*, and he emended this to *Aldúya*, as it appears in Appendix D.

On the use of 'Noldorin' for 'Sindarin' see the Appendix on Languages, especially p. 36, §18, and commentary, pp. 65–6. These month-names next reappear in the final typescript, already changed to *Orgilion*, *Oranor*, *Orithil*, *Orgaladhad*, *Ormenel*, *Orebelain* (or *Rodyn*); and similarly with the name of the 'Sea-day' added by the Númenóreans, changed from *Aroeren* to *Oraearon*.

10 In the Eldarin calendar (p. 126), in the long (normal) years, January had 31 days and February 30; thus March 25th was the 86th day of the year. In the Gondorian King's Reckoning (p. 131) the same was true. In the Shire Reckoning Yuleday preceded January 1, but both January and February had 30 days, so that March 25 was again the 86th day of the year.

In the Gondorian Steward's Reckoning (p. 132), on the other hand, the count is simply 30 days in January and 30 days in February, so that March 25 is the 85th day of the year; while in our calendar 31 + 28 + 25 makes March 25 the 84th day.

11 Some of these alternative names are included in the first form of the table, with the difference that *Errívë* and *Norívë* (so spelt) are alternatives respectively for *Ringarë* (December) and *Narvinyë* (January).

12 It is a curious point that this typescript begins with the *printed* 'Shire Calendar for use in all years' exactly as it appears in Appendix D (RK p. 384): my father's typescript begins below it ('Every year began on the first day of the week ...'), and the same is true of the carbon copy. Presumably this calendar was printed first and separately and copies were sent to my father, who used them in this way.

The manuscript calendar from which this was printed is extant, and it is interesting to see that on the left-hand side there is a column headed 'Weekday' with the names of the days of the week set out against each of the three transverse groups of months, thus for example in the second month *Solmath*:

Stirday	–	5	12	19	26
Sunday	–	6	13	20	27
Munday	–	7	14	21	28
Trewsday	1	8	15	22	29

and so on. This column of the days of the week would have made the calendar easier to understand; but on the manuscript it is struck through, by whom is not clear. I can see no reason for this but that of space on the page, which one would think could have been quite easily accommodated. – This manuscript table undoubtedly goes back to the original phase of my father's work on the calendars, described in this chapter.

13 Among various alterations made by my father on the proof, it may be noted that the text of Appendix D as first printed ended thus: 'Some said that it was old Sam Gardner's birthday, some that it was the day on which the Golden Tree first flowered in 1420, and some that it was the Elves' New Year. The last was (more or less) true, so all may have been.'

V

THE HISTORY OF THE AKALLABÊTH

The development of Appendix B, *The Tale of Years*, was naturally associated with and dependent on that of Appendix A, which as published bears the title *Annals of the Kings and Rulers*. But more unexpectedly, the Tale of Years of the Second Age was closely associated with the evolution of the history of Númenor and of the *Akallabêth*. In the presentation of the early forms of these Appendices I have found after trial and error that the best course is to divide the Tale of Years into two parts, the Second and the Third Ages, and to treat them separately; and also, to introduce at this point an account of the *Akallabêth*, followed by the Tale of Years of the Second Age in Chapter VI.

In the *History of Middle-earth* I have given no indication of how this work, a primary narrative of the Second Age, developed to the form given in the published *Silmarillion*, or when it first came into being. The early history of the legend, closely related to the abandoned story *The Lost Road*, was studied in Volume V, where the two original narratives of *The Fall of Númenor*, which I called FN I and FN II, were printed (V.13 ff.). In *Sauron Defeated* (IX.331 ff.) I gave a third version, FN III, which I have ascribed to a fairly early stage in the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*. The massive development of the legend in the work called *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, closely associated with *The Notion Club Papers* and the emergence of the Adûnaic language, was studied in *Sauron Defeated*, where I ascribed it to the first half of 1946 (IX.147, 389–90): this dating was subsequently confirmed by the observation of John Rateliff that W. H. Lewis recorded in his diary that my father read the work to the Inklings in August 1946 (Foreword to *Morgoth's Ring*, X.x).

In my commentary on *The Drowning of Anadûnê* I indicated and discussed at many points its relationship to the *Akallabêth*, but for the text of the latter I made use only of the final form, as printed in *The Silmarillion*, pp. 259 ff. Since the writing of the *Akallabêth* evidently post-dated the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* I postponed discussion of its history, but I found no room for it in the very long books *Morgoth's Ring* and *The War of the Jewels*.

I did, however, in *Sauron Defeated* make an extraordinary misstatement on the subject of the *Akallabêth*, which must be repaired.

When discussing (IX.406) my father's late note on *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, in which he referred it to 'Mannish tradition', I said:

> The handwriting and the use of a ball-point pen suggest a relatively late date, and were there no other evidence I would guess it to be some time in the 1960s. But it is certain that what appears to have been the final phase of my father's work on Númenor (*A Description of Númenor, Aldarion and Erendis*) dates from the mid-1960s (*Unfinished Tales* pp. 7–8);[1] and it may be that the *Akallabêth* derives from that period also.

This last remark is patent nonsense. The great extension of the line of the Númenórean kings, which entered in the course of the development of the *Akallabêth*, was present in Appendix A (and a mere glance through the texts of the work is sufficient to show, simply from their appearance, that they could not conceivably date from so late a time). How I came to write this I do not know, nor how it escaped all subsequent checking and revision. I perhaps meant to say that my father's note on *The Drowning of Anadûnê* may have derived from the same period as *Aldarion and Erendis*.

When I wrote *Sauron Defeated* I was nonetheless not at all clear about the time of the original writing of the *Akallabêth*, and I assumed without sufficient study of the texts that it was later than it proves to be.

The textual history is relatively brief and simple in itself. The earliest text, which I will call **A**, is a clear manuscript of 23 pages; a good deal of this text is extant also in pages that were rejected and written out again, but virtually nothing of any significance entered in the rewriting, and the two layers of this manuscript need not be given different letters.

My father then corrected A, fairly extensively in the earlier part, very little in the story of the Downfall, and made a second text, a typescript, which I will call **B**. He followed the corrected manuscript with an uncharacteristic fidelity, introducing only a very few changes as he typed. It cannot be demonstrated, but I think it virtually certain, that the series A, A corrected, B, belong to the same time; and there is usually no need to distinguish the stages of this 'first phase', which can be conveniently referred to as **AB**.

After some considerable interval, as I judge, he returned to the typescript B and emended it. This left the greater part of the text untouched, but introduced a vast extension into Númenórean history: primarily by the insertion of a long rider in manuscript, but also by transpositions of text, alteration of names, and the rewriting of certain passages.

The third and final text (**C**) was an amanuensis typescript (in top copy and carbon) taken from B when all alterations had been made to it. It seems to me very probable that this was made at the same time

(?1958) as the typescripts of the *Annals of Aman*, the *Grey Annals*, and the text LQ 2 of the *Quenta Silmarillion* (see X.300, XI.4). To this typescript my father made only a very few and as it were casual corrections.

The alterations (including the long inserted rider) made to B constitute a 'second phase'; and this is the final form of the *Akallabêth* (apart from the few corrections to C just mentioned). There are thus only two original texts, the manuscript A and the typescript B, but the corrections and extensions made to B represent a significantly different 'layer' in the history of the work. To make this plain I will call the typescript B *as subsequently altered* B 2.

While the development of the *Akallabêth* is of much interest in particular features, a very great deal of the text never underwent any significant change; and as I noted in IX.376, something like three-fifths of the precise wording of the second text of *The Drowning of Anadûnê* (which was printed in full in that book) survived in the *Akallabêth*. Moreover the final form of the *Akallabêth*, if with some editorial alteration, is available in *The Silmarillion*. In order to avoid an enormous amount of simple repetition, therefore, I use the *Silmarillion* text, which I will refer to as SA ('Silmarillion-Akallabêth'), as the basis from which to work back, so to speak, rather than working forward from A. To do this I have numbered the paragraphs in SA throughout, and refer to them by these numbers, together with the opening words to aid in their identification.

The *Silmarillion* text was of course that of B 2 (with the corrections made in C), but as I have said a number of editorial changes were made, for various reasons, but mostly in the quest (somewhat excessively pursued, as I now think) for coherence and consistency with other writings. Unless these changes were trivial they are noticed in the account that follows.

I do not here go into the relations of the *Akallabêth* to its sources (*The Drowning of Anadûnê*, and to a more minor degree the third version of *The Fall of Númenor*, FN III), since these are fully available in *Sauron Defeated*, where also the most crucial developments were extensively discussed.

The original title in the manuscript A was *The Fall of Númenor*, which was corrected to *The Downfall of Númenor* and so remained: none of the texts bears the title *Akallabêth*, but my father referred to the work by that name (cf. p. 255).

§§1–2 The original opening of A was almost a simple copy of the opening of FN III (IX.331–2): 'In the Great Battle when Fionwë son of Manwë overthrew Morgoth', etc.; but this was at once rejected, though appearing in revised form in SA §3, and a new opening substituted, which constitutes, with some editorial changes, that in SA (§§1–2). The authentic text begins: 'Of Men, Ælfwine, it is said

by the Eldar that they came into the world in the time of the Shadow of Morgoth ...', and in SA I removed the address to Ælfwine.[2] The *Akallabêth* was conceived as a tale told by Pengoloð the Wise (as it must be supposed, though he is not named) in Tol Eressëa to Ælfwine of England, as becomes again very explicit (in the original) at the end; and no change was made in this respect in the 'second phase' B 2, nor on the final amanuensis typescript C.[3]

In §1 I also altered the sentence 'and the Noldor named them the Edain' to 'The Edain these were named in the Sindarin tongue'; on this change see under §9 below.

In §2, Eärendil's ship was named *Vingilot* in AB, but this was changed to the otherwise unrecorded *Eälótë* in B 2; in SA I reverted to *Vingilot*. The name *Rothinzil* is derived from *The Drowning of Anadûnê*.[4]

§3 *In the Great Battle* ... The opening of this paragraph in AB read:

> In the Great Battle when at last Fionwë son of Manwë overthrew Morgoth and Thangorodrim was broken, the Edain fought for the Valar, whereas other kindreds of Men fought for Morgoth.

This was changed in B 2 to read:

> In the Great Battle when at last Eönwë herald of Manwë overthrew Morgoth and Thangorodrim was broken, the Edain alone of the kindreds of Men fought for the Valar, whereas many others fought for Morgoth.

In SA the reference to Eönwë was removed; and similarly later in the paragraph 'refusing alike the summons of [Fionwë >] Eönwë and of Morgoth' was changed to 'refusing alike the summons of the Valar and of Morgoth'. The reason for this lay in the treatment of the last chapter of the *Quenta Silmarillion* in the published work. The only narrative of the Great Battle at the end of the First Age (V.326 ff.) derived from the time when the Children of the Valar were an important conception, and Fionwë son of Manwë was the leader and commanding authority in the final war against Morgoth and his overthrow; but the abandonment of that conception, and the change in the 'status' of Fionwë / Eönwë to that of Manwë's herald led to doubt whether my father, had he ever returned to a real retelling of the story of the end of the Elder Days (see XI.245–7), would have retained Eönwë in so mighty and elemental a rôle. His part was in consequence somewhat diminished by omissions and ambiguous wording (as may be seen by comparing the text in Vol.V with that of the published *Silmarillion*; cf. also the editorial addition made to the *Valaquenta*, X.203). There is however no evidence for this supposition, and I now believe it to have been a mistaken treatment of the original text, and so also here in the *Akallabêth*.[5]

§4 *But Manwë put forth Morgoth* ... In this paragraph my father was still closely following FN III (IX.332), but at the end, after 'Andor, the Land of Gift' he turned to *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, which was thereafter the primary source, though with some interweaving of passages from FN III. In FN III the passage concerning Morgoth, originally written in the present tense, was corrected to the past tense, and this was followed in A; but it is curious that in B my father reverted in one of the phrases to the present: 'and he *cannot* himself return again into the World, present and visible, while the Lords of the West *are* still enthroned.' This was retained in SA.

After the words 'life more enduring than any others of mortal race have possessed' I omitted in SA the following sentence in the original: 'Thrice that of Men of Middle-earth was the span of their years, and to the descendants of [Húrin the Steadfast >] Hador the Fair even longer years were granted, as later is told.' This omission, scarcely necessary, was made on account of divergent statements on the subject (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 224, note 1). The erroneous reference to Húrin, surviving from FN III (see IX.332 and note 1), was only corrected in B 2.

In the original manuscript A the words of FN III concerning Eressëa were retained: 'and that land was named anew Avallon; for it is hard by Valinor and within sight of the shores of the Blessed Realm.' This was corrected to the text that appears in SA ('and there is in that land a haven that is named Avallónë ...'). On this see further under §12 below.

§5 *Then the Edain set sail* ... The original opening of this paragraph, not subsequently changed, was:

> Then the Edain gathered all the ships, great and small, that they had built with the help of the Elves, and those that were willing to depart took their wives and their children and all such wealth as they possessed, and they set sail upon the deep waters, following the Star.

I cannot now say with certainty why this passage (derived from *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, IX.360, §12) was omitted from SA: possibly on account of a passage in the 'Description of Númenor', not included in the extracts given in *Unfinished Tales*, in which the ships of the migration are described as Elvish:

> The legends of the foundation of Númenor often speak as if all the Edain that accepted the Gift set sail at one time and in one fleet. But this is only due to the brevity of the narrative. In more detailed histories it is related (as might be deduced from the events and the numbers concerned) that after the first expedition, led by Elros, many other ships, alone or in small fleets, came west bearing others of the Edain, either those who were at first reluc-

tant to dare the Great Sea but could not endure to be parted from those who had gone, or some who were far scattered and could not be assembled to go with the first sailing.

Since the boats that were used were of Elvish model, fleet but small, and each steered by one of the Eldar deputed by Círdan, it would have taken a great navy to transport all the people and goods that were eventually brought from Middle-earth to Númenor. The legends make no guess at the numbers, and the histories say little. The fleet of Elros is said to have contained many ships (according to some a hundred and fifty vessels, to others two or three hundred) and to have brought 'thousands' of the men, women, and children of the Edain: probably between five thousand or at the most ten thousand. But the whole process of migration appears in fact to have occupied at least fifty years, possibly longer, and finally ended only when Círdan (no doubt instructed by the Valar) would provide no more ships or guides.

In this paragraph is the first appearance of the name *Elenna* ('Star-wards') of Númenor.

§6 *This was the beginning of that people* ... In the first sentence the words 'that people that in the Grey-elven speech are called the Dúnedain' were an editorial alteration from 'that people that the Noldor call the Dúnedain'.[6] Cf. the similar change made in §1, and see under §9.

§7 *Of old the chief city and haven* ... Following the words 'it was called Andúnië because it faced the sunset' A had originally the following passage:

> But the high place of the King was at Númenos in the heart of the land, and there was the tower and citadel that was built by Elros son of Eärendil, whom the Valar appointed to be the first king of the Dúnedain.

Númenos survived from FN III (IX.333) and earlier (see V.25, §2). This was replaced in B by the passage in SA: 'But in the midst of the land was a mountain tall and steep, and it was named the Meneltarma,' etc. The name of the city was given here, however, as *Arminalêth* (the name in *The Drowning of Anadûnê*), with a note: 'This is the Númenórean name, for by that name it was chiefly known, *Tar Kalimos* in the Eldarin tongue.' In B 2 the name was changed here (and at the subsequent occurrences) from *Arminalêth* to *Armenelos*, and the note changed to read: '*Arminalêth* was the form of the name in the Númenórean tongue; but it was called by its Eldarin name *Armenelos* until the coming of the Shadow.' Thus the statement in Index II to *Sauron Defeated* (IX.460) that *Arminalêth* was 'replaced by *Armenelos*' is incorrect: *Armenelos* was a *substitution* in the *Akallabêth* because my father was now asserting that this was the name by which the city was known through long

ages, but its Adûnaic form remained *Arminalêth*. It was *Tar Kalimos* that was replaced by *Armenelos*. – This note was omitted in SA.

§8 *Now Elros and Elrond his brother ...* The words in SA 'were descended from the Three Houses of the Edain' were an editorial change from 'were descended from the lines of both Hador and Bëor'. – Near the end of the paragraph, the span of years granted to Elros was said (in all texts) to have been 'seven times that of the Men of Middle-earth', but on one copy of C my father changed 'seven' to 'three' and placed an X against the statement that Elros lived for five hundred years. The reading 'many times' in SA was an editorial substitution.

§9 *Thus the years passed ...* In the sentence 'For though this people used still their own speech, their kings and lords knew and spoke also the Elven tongue, which they had learned in the days of their alliance' AB had 'the Noldorin tongue'. Similarly in §§1, 6 it was said that *Edain*, *Dúnedain* were Noldorin names, but only in the present case did my father change (in B 2) 'Noldorin' to 'Elven'. Thus the old conception that the Noldor in Beleriand retained their own tongue was still present, as it was also in the original forms of the Appendices on Languages and Calendars (see p. 138, note 9). This at once shows a relatively early date for the *Akallabêth*; and as noted earlier the adoption of Sindarin by the Exiled Noldor had already emerged in the *Grey Annals* (p. 62, §5).

The continuation of the same sentence originally read 'and they remained in great friendship with the Eldar, whether of Avallon or of the westlands of Middle-earth', but this was changed to the text in SA, 'and thus they held converse still with the Eldar, whether of Eressëa', etc. The same removal of the word 'friendship' of the relations between the Eldar and the Númenóreans is found also in §§12, 29.

§§10, 11 *For the Dúnedain became mighty ...*, *But the Lords of Valinor ...* There were no editorial alterations made to these paragraphs, which go back with no change of any significance to the earliest text.

§12 *For in those days Valinor still remained ...* In A the name of the Mountain of Númenor was *Menelmindon*; in FN III it was *Menelmin* (IX.335), and *Menelmindo*, *Menelminda* occur in *The Notion Club Papers*. But *Meneltarma* is found already in A at a later point in the narrative.

In A as originally written the name *Avallon* was still the new name of the isle of Eressëa, but in the rewriting of that passage (see under §4) it was corrected to *Avallónë*, now the name of the haven of the Eldar in Eressëa. In the present paragraph A had: 'But the wise among them knew that this distant land was not indeed Valinor, the Blessed Realm, but was Avallónë, the Isle of the Eldar,

easternmost of the Undying Lands'; *Avallónë* was here the form first written, and thus my father moved from *Avallon* to *Avallónë* while writing the manuscript, without however changing the significance of the name (but see under §75). The text was then altered, to embody the new conception, but only by changing 'Isle' to 'Haven', to which in SA I added 'upon Eressëa' to make the meaning clear. (Much of the present passage derives fairly closely from *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, IX.361, §16: on the extremely difficult question of the meaning of *Avallôni* in that work see IX.379–80, 385–6.)

In the passage describing the coming of the Eldar to Númenor AB had:

> And thence at times the Firstborn still would come to Númenor in oarless boats, or as birds flying, for the friendship that was between the peoples.

The text of SA here is that of B 2, and here again (see §9 above) the 'friendship' of the Eldar and the Númenóreans was removed.

The conclusion of the paragraph provides further clear evidence of the early date of the *Akallabêth*. This passage began as an addition to A (following the words 'for the friendship that was between the peoples' cited above) as follows, with the changes made to it shown:

> And they brought to Númenor many gifts: birds of song, and flowers of sweet fragrance and herbs of great virtue. And a seedling they brought of the White Tree [Nimloth the Fair >] Galathilion that grew in the [courts of Avallónë >] midst of Eressëa, and was in his turn a seedling of the Eldest Tree, [Galathilion the light of Valinor >] Telperion of many names, the light of Valinor. And the tree grew and blossomed in the courts of the King in [Númenos >] Ar-minalêth; Nimloth the fair it was named, and the night-shadows departed when Nimloth was in flower.

The history of the names of the White Trees is complex, for several reasons: the names were applied to the Two Trees of Valinor and re-used as names for the later trees; the later trees (of Tirion (Túna), Eressëa, Númenor) entered at different times; and there was shifting in their applications. It is simplest to consider first the statements deriving from the major period of work on the Elder Days between the completion and the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*.

In the *Annals of Aman* (X.85, §69) Yavanna gave to the Noldor of Túna (Tirion) 'Galathilion, image of the Tree Telperion'. In the revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion* from the same period (X.176, §39) it is said of this tree that 'Yavanna made for them a tree in all things like a lesser image of Telperion, save that it did not give light of its own being'; its name is not given. It is also said in the same

version of the *Quenta Silmarillion* (X.155) that *Galathilion*, a name of Telperion, was given also to the White Tree of Túna, which was known as 'Galathilion the Less'; and that 'his seedling was named *Celeborn* in Eressëa, and *Nimloth* in Númenor, the gift of the Eldar.'

As my father first wrote this addition to A he named the Tree of Eressëa *Nimloth*, saying that it was 'a seedling of the Eldest Tree, Galathilion the light of Valinor'; he thus omitted the Tree of Túna (Galathilion the Less). He immediately changed the name of the Tree of Eressëa to *Galathilion*, a seedling of Telperion, and gave the name *Nimloth* to the Tree of Númenor. (This shows incidentally that the addition preceded the writing of the account of the fate of the Tree of Númenor later in A, for there the name was *Nimloth* from the first.)

The passage as emended reappears without any further change in the second text, the typescript B. But on this text my father struck it out and rewrote it thus (B 2):

> And a seedling they brought of the White Tree that grew in the midst of Eressëa, and was in its turn a seedling of the Tree of Túna, Galathilion, that Yavanna gave to the Eldar in the Land of the Gods to be a memorial of Telperion, Light of Valinor. And the tree grew and blossomed in the courts of the King in Ar-Minalêth [> Ar-Menelos]; Nimloth the Fair it was named, and flowered in the evening and the shadows of night it filled with its fragrance.

Here, in this 'second phase' of the *Akallabêth*, with the introduction of the Tree of Túna (Galathilion), the gift of Yavanna, the same succession is found as in the *Annals of Aman* and the contemporary revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion*: Telperion of Valinor; Galathilion of Túna; [Celeborn] of Eressëa; Nimloth of Númenor. The conclusion is thus inescapable that the first phase (AB) of the *Alkallabêth* was earlier than those works (the *Annals of Aman*, etc.) that can be dated with sufficient accuracy to 1951.

In SA the passage was slightly rewritten, introducing the name *Celeborn* of the Tree of Eressëa (X.155) and (unnecessarily) the word 'image' of the Tree of Túna from the *Annals of Aman* (X.85).

In this connection it is interesting to compare the passage in *The Return of the King* (p. 250, at the end of the chapter *The Steward and the King*) where the finding of the sapling tree on Mount Mindolluin is recounted. Gandalf's words are:

> Verily this is a sapling of the line of Nimloth the fair; and that was a seedling of Galathilion, and that a fruit of Telperion of many names, Eldest of Trees.

It will be seen that this agrees with the emended form of the passage in the first phase (AB) of the *Akallabêth*: for Galathilion (as the parent of Nimloth) is here the Tree of Eressëa, there is no mention of the Tree of Túna, and Galathilion is a 'fruit' of Telperion (not an

'image', or a 'memorial'). The conclusion must be that this passage was not revised when the Tree of Túna entered the history.[7]

§13 *Thus it was that because of the Ban of the Valar* ... The development of the opening passage concerning the great voyage is curious. In *The Drowning of Anadûnê* (IX.362, §17) it was said that the mariners of Númenor sailed 'from the darkness of the North to the heats of the South, and beyond the South to the Nether Darkness. And the Eruhîn [Númenóreans] came often to the shores of the Great Lands, and they took pity on the forsaken world of Middle-earth.' In the *Akallabêth*, after the words 'to the Nether Darkness', my father introduced a passage from FN III (IX.334):

> They ranged from Eressëa in the West to the shores of Middle-earth, and came even into the inner seas; and they sailed about the North and the South and glimpsed from their high prows the Gates of Morning in the East.

This goes back to the earliest texts of *The Fall of Númenor* (V.14, 20, 25). But when incorporating it into the *Akallabêth* he changed this to 'and they came even into the inner seas, and sailed about Middle-earth and glimpsed from their high prows the Gates of Morning in the East' – returning to *The Drowning of Anadûnê* with 'And the Dunedain came often to the shores of the Great Lands' (with 'often' > 'at times' in B 2).

This is the text in SA. It seems altogether impossible to say what geographical conception of the East of the World lies behind this passage.

In SA, after the words 'the Númenóreans taught them many things', the following passage (likewise derived from *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, *ibid.*) was omitted:

> Language they taught them, for the tongues of the Men of Middle-earth, save in the old lands of the Edain, were fallen into brutishness, and they cried like harsh birds, or snarled like savage beasts.

§14 *Then the Men of Middle-earth were comforted* ... to §17 *And some there were who said* ... (SA pp. 263–4). No changes entered the text in B 2, but two editorial changes were made in §17: for 'the bliss of the Great' and 'the people of Earth' I substituted 'the bliss of the Powers' and 'the people of Arda'.

§18 *The Eldar reported these words* ... A has: 'and he sent messengers to the Dúnedain, who spoke earnestly to the King, Tar-Atanamir'. My father was closely following *The Drowning of Anadûnê* in this paragraph (IX.364, §23), but in that work the king was Ar-Pharazôn: Tar Atanamir here first appears.[8] See further under §§24–5.

§19 *'The Doom of the World,' they said* ... to §23 *Then the Messengers said* ... Scarcely any changes, and none that need be

recorded, entered the text in B 2 in this part of the *Akallabêth*; there were however some minor editorial alterations made in SA. In §21 there is in the original a complex interchange between 'thou' and 'you' in the reply of the Messengers, according as they are addressing the King or referring to the people as a whole, for example: 'thou and thy people are not of the Firstborn, but are mortal Men as Ilúvatar made you', or 'And you, thou sayest, are punished for the rebellion of Men'. In SA 'you' was employed throughout. In §23 'within the girdle of the Earth' was changed to 'within the Circles of the World', and 'The love of this Earth' to 'The love of Arda'.

§§24, 25 *These things took place ..., Then Tar-Ancalimon ...* These two paragraphs have to be considered together. AB §24 opened:

> These things took place in the days of Tar-Atanamir, and he was the seventh of those kings that succeeded Elros upon the throne of Númenor; and that realm had then endured for more than two thousand years ...

And AB §25 opened:

> Then [Kiryatan > Ar-Kiryatan >] Tar-Kiryatan the Shipbuilder, son of Atanamir, became King, and he was of like mind ...

It would be clear in any case from these new names that a development had taken place, or was taking place, in the history of the royal house of Númenor from that in *The Drowning of Anadûnê*; but in fact there is an extremely interesting isolated page in which my father set forth the new conception, and it is most convenient to give this page here.

Second Age

Elros		died	S.A. 460	
King	1	„	c. 682	
	2	„	c. 903	
	3	„	c. 1125	
	4	„	c. 1347	
	5	„	c. 1568	
	6	„	c. 1790	[*added:*] In his day the Númenóreans aided Gil-glad in the defeat of Sauron
	7	„	c. 2061	

In his time the Shadow first fell on Númenor. His name was *Tar-Atanamir*. To him came messages from the Valar, which he rejected. [*Added:*] He clung to life for an extra 50 years.

	8	died	S.A. c. 2233

In his time first began the division of the folk between the

King's folk and the *Nimruzîrim*[9] *(Elendilli)* or Elf-friends. The King's folk and Royal House cease to learn or use Elvish speech and are more usually known by their Númenórean names. This king was *Tar-Kiryatan* (Shipwright) or in Númenórean *Ar-Balkumagān*. Settlements of *dominion* in Middle-earth begin.

9 died S.A. c. 2454

Estrangement of Elf-friends and King's Men deepens. The King makes the Elf-friends dwell in East, and their chief place becomes Rómenna. Many depart to settle on shores of N.W. of Middle-earth. The King's folk as a rule go further south.

10 died S.A. c. 2676
11 „ c. 2897
12 „ c. 3118

Power but not bliss of Númenor reaches zenith.

13 and last *Tarkalion* or *Arpharazôn*. Challenges Sauron and lands at Umbar 3125

Downfall of Númenor 3319

General aspects of this text are discussed later (pp.171–2 and note 4). There can be no doubt that it is a scheme that my father had beside him when writing the original manuscript A of the *Akallabêth*. For the moment, it can be observed that, as in A, Atanamir (to whom the Messengers came) was the father of Kiryatan; and that when my father wrote in A that Atanamir 'was the seventh of those kings that succeeded Elros' he meant this precisely: for in the 'Scheme' (as I will refer to it) he is numbered 7, and Kiryatan is numbered 8, while Elros has no number.

In B 2 the openings of these two paragraphs, §§24–5, were changed to the text given in SA: 'These things took place in the days of Tar-Kiryatan the Shipbuilder, and of Tar-Atanamir his son ...', and 'Then Tar-Ankalimon, son of Atanamir, became King ...' In this 'second phase' not only was the order of Atanamir and Kiryatan reversed, but (although it was still to him that the Messengers came) Atanamir becomes the thirteenth king (the original words in A, 'of those kings *that succeeded Elros*' being now removed: in *The Line of Elros* in *Unfinished Tales* (p. 221) Kiryatan was the twelfth and Atanamir the thirteenth, with Elros counted as the first). The second phase (B 2) of the *Akallabêth* thus represents, or rather rests on, a further large development of the Númenórean history from that seen in the first phase, or AB.

At the end of §25 there is a paragraph in AB which was omitted in its entirety in B 2 (i.e. it was struck out on the B typescript):

The Elendili dwelt mostly near the west coasts of the land; but as

the shadow deepened in men's hearts, the estrangement between the two parties grew greater, and the king commanded them to remove and dwell in the east of the island, far from the haven of Andúnië, to which the Eldar had been wont to come; and thereafter the Eldar visited them only seldom and in secret. The chief dwelling of the Elf-friends in the later days was thus about the harbour of Rómenna; and thence many set sail and returned to Middle-earth, where they might speak with the Elves in the Kingdom of Gil-galad. For they still taught to their children the Eldarin tongues, whereas among the King's Men these tongues fell into disuse, and even the heirs of Eärendil became known to their people by names in the Númenórean tongue. And the kings desired to put an end to all friendship between their people and the Eldar (whom they called now the Spies of the Valar), hoping to keep their deeds and their counsels hidden from the Lords of the West. But all was known to Manwë that they did, and the Valar were wroth with the Kings of Númenor and gave them counsel no more.

For the explanation of this omission see p. 155. B 2 now continues with SA §26.

§26 *Thus the bliss of Westernesse became diminished* ... At the end of this paragraph AB has 'after the days of [Ar-Kiryatan >] Tar-Kiryatan' (Kiryatan being then the son of Atanamir); in B 2 this became 'after the days of Tar-Ankalimon' (who has already appeared in §25 as the son of Atanamir).

There is extant some original drafting for the passage concerning the mounting obsession with death among the Númenóreans, including the following passage that was not taken up in A:

> And some taught that there was a land of shades filled with the wraiths of the things that they had known and loved upon the mortal earth, and that in shadow the dead should come there bearing with them the shadows of their possessions.

§27 *Thus it came to pass* ... This paragraph in SA goes back without change to the earliest text.

§28 *In all this the Elf-friends had small part* ... The end of this paragraph, from 'lending them aid against Saurón', was altered in SA; the authentic text reads:

> But the King's Men sailed far away to the south, and though the kingdoms and strongholds they made have left many rumours in the legends of Men, the Eldar know naught of them. Only Pelargir they remember, for there was the haven of the Elf-friends above the mouths of Anduin the Great.

Pengoloð implied, no doubt, that after the great division arose among the Númenóreans the Elves of Eressëa were cut off from any

knowledge of the imperial enterprises of the King's Men in the further south of Middle-earth. But with the removal of Pengoloð and Ælfwine from the published text, the *Akallabêth* lost its anchorage in expressly Eldarin lore; and this led me (with as I now think an excess of vigilance) to alter the end of the paragraph. – This was the first appearance of Pelargir in the narratives of Númenor.

§29 *In this Age, as is elsewhere told ...* In AB the second sentence of this paragraph ran: 'It was indeed in the days of Atanamir in Númenor that in Mordor the Tower of Barad-dûr was full-wrought, and thereafter Sauron began to strive for the dominion of Middle-earth ...' In B 2 this was altered to the text of SA, 'Already in the days of Tar-Minastir, the eleventh King of Númenor, he had fortified the land of Mordor and had built there the Tower of Barad-dûr ...' The appearance here of Tar-Minastir the eleventh king is of course a further element in the enlarged history already encountered in §§24–6. So also in this paragraph the text of AB 'nor did he forget the aid that they [the Númenóreans] had rendered to Gil-galad of old' was changed in B 2 to 'the aid that Tar-Minastir had rendered ...'

In the sentence 'And Sauron hated the Númenóreans, because of the deeds of their fathers and their ancient alliance with the Elves' the word 'alliance' was an early change from the original word 'friendship'; see under §9 above.

The words in SA 'in that time when the One Ring was forged and there was war between Sauron and the Elves in Eriador' were an editorial addition.

§30 *Yet Sauron was ever guileful ...* This paragraph goes back to A unaltered, except for the early change of 'great lords of Númenor' to 'great lords of Númenórean race'. – The name *Úlairi* of the Ring-wraiths seems to mark a period in my father's work: it is found also in a text of the Tale of Years (p. 175); in *The Heirs of Elendil* (Chapter VII); and in *Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age* (published in *The Silmarillion*).

At the end of the paragraph my father wrote on the typescript C, to follow 'he began to assail the strong places of the Númenóreans upon the shores of the sea': 'but Umbar he could not yet take'. See §41 below.

After SA §30 there is a second passage in AB (see p. 151) that was excluded in B 2:

> In those days there arose and took the throne of the Sea-kings the great Tar-Calion, whom men called Ar-Pharazôn the Golden, the mightiest and the proudest of all his line. And twelve kings had ruled the Númenóreans between Elros and Ar-Pharazôn, and slept now in their deep tombs under the mount of the Meneltarma, lying upon beds of gold. Great and glorious was Ar-Pharazôn, sitting upon his carven throne in the city of

Ar-minalêth in the noon-tide of his realm; and to him came the masters of ships and men returning out of the East, and they spoke of Sauron, how he named himself the Great, and purposed to become master of all Middle-earth, and to destroy even Númenor, if that might be.

Then great was the anger of Ar-Pharazôn hearing these tidings, and he sat long in thought, and his mood darkened. And he determined without the counsel of the Valar, or the aid of any wisdom but his own, that he would demand the allegiance and homage of this lord; for in his pride he deemed that no king should ever arise so mighty as to vie with the Heir of Eärendil.

Ar-Pharazôn is here named the fourteenth king, since 'twelve kings had ruled the Númenóreans *between* Elros and Ar-Pharazôn'; and this agrees with *The Drowning of Anadûnê*[10] and also with the Scheme on p. 151, where Ar-Pharazôn is numbered 13 and Elros is not counted.

At this point (i.e. following the conclusion of SA §30) there is a direction on the typescript B to take in a rider, this being a finely-written manuscript of four sides.

§31 *In those days the Shadow grew deeper ...* to §40 *Great was the anger ...* This passage in SA (pp. 267–70) follows almost exactly the text of the rider just referred to. Here there entered the narrative of Númenor the story of the reigns of Ar-Adûnakhôr and Ar-Gimilzôr; of the Lords of Andúnië, who were of the Line of Elros; of the sons of Ar-Gimilzôr, Inziladûn and Gimilkhâd, and their conflict; of the unhappy reign of Inziladûn (Tar-Palantir); and of the forced marriage of his daughter Míriel (Ar-Zimraphel), the rightful Queen, to Pharazôn son of Gimilkhâd, who seized the sceptre for himself.

The few significant points in which the text of the rider was changed in SA are as follows.

In §31 I altered 'the twentieth king' (Ar-Adûnakhôr) and 'the twenty-third king' (Ar-Gimilzôr) to 'nineteenth' and 'twenty-second', and in §38 I altered 'four and twenty Kings and Queens had ruled the Númenóreans' before Ar-Pharazôn to 'three and twenty'. My reason for making these (incorrect) changes (an omission in the list of the rulers of Númenor given in Appendix A (I, i)) has been fully explained in *Unfinished Tales* p. 226, note 11.

In §33 I omitted two notes (belonging to the same time as the manuscript and forming part of it) concerning the Lords of Andúnië. The first of these refers to the words 'for they were of the line of Elros' and reads: 'And they took names in Quenya, as did no other house save the kings'; the second refers to the following words, 'being descended from Silmarien, daughter of Tar-Elendil the fourth king':

And in their line the sceptre would indeed have descended had the

law been in his day as it was later made. For when Tar-Ankalimë became the first ruling Queen, being the only child of Tar-Aldarion the Sixth King, the law was made that the oldest child of the King whether man or woman should receive the sceptre and the kingly authority; but Silmarien was older than her brother Meneldur who succeeded Tar-Elendil.

On this see *Unfinished Tales* p. 208, where the different formulations of the new law brought in by Tar-Aldarion are discussed. The law is stated here in the same words as in Appendix A (I, i), i.e. simple primogeniture irrespective of sex (rather than inheritance of the throne by a daughter only if the Ruler had no son).[11]

In §37 the Adûnaic name of Tar-Míriel is not *Ar-Zimraphel* in the long rider, but *Ar-Zimrahil*, and this is the form in all the sources: in *The Drowning of Anadûnê* (IX.373, §48), in *Akallabêth* AB (see §78 below), in *The Line of Elros* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 224), and in *Aldarion and Erendis* (*ibid.* p. 190). *Ar-Zimraphel* actually occurs in one place only, a change made by my father in the present paragraph on the amanuensis typescript C. This I adopted in SA, and the change to *Ar-Zimraphel* was also made silently to the passages in *The Line of Elros* and *Aldarion and Erendis*.

Under §§24–5 and 30 above I have given two passages in AB that were struck out when the long rider was introduced. The first of these, following SA §25 and beginning 'The Elendili dwelt mostly near the west coasts ...' (p. 151) was largely re-used in the rider (SA §32, *Now the Elendili dwelt mostly in the western regions ...*), but the forced removal of the Elf-friends to the east of Númenor was now carried out by Ar-Gimilzôr, whereas in AB the king who commanded it is not named. The second omitted passage, following SA §30 and beginning 'In those days there arose and took the throne of the Sea-kings the great Tar-Calion' (p. 153), was postponed to the end of the rider, where it reappears in revised form (SA §§38–40, p. 270). At the words in §40 'so mighty as to vie with the Heir of Eärendil' the rider ends, and the AB or 'first phase' text takes up again with 'Therefore he began in that time to smithy great hoard of weapons ...'.[12]

Several pages were placed with the rider, written on the same paper, in which my father is seen devising a different story of the marriage of Pharazôn and Míriel. For this see pp. 159 ff.

§41 *And men saw his sails coming up out of the sunset ...* In the first sentence the words 'gleaming with red and gold' (of the sails of the ships of Ar-Pharazôn) should read 'gleaming with red gold' (a phrase that goes back to *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, IX.389, §28).

In the second sentence I altered the original text 'Umbar, where there was a mighty haven that no hand had wrought' to 'Umbar, where was the mighty haven of the Númenóreans that no hand had wrought', in view of Appendix B, Second Age 2280: 'Umbar is made

into a great fortress of Númenór' (nearly a thousand years before the coming of Ar-Pharazôn). For the same reason I changed the original text in the following sentence, from 'Empty and silent under the sickle moon was the land when the King of the Sea set foot upon the shore' to 'Empty and silent were all the lands about when the King of the Sea marched upon Middle-earth'. (It is probable that when my father wrote this he did not yet suppose that Umbar was a Númenórean fortress and harbour at the time of Ar-Pharazôn's landing.)

§§42 ff. In the remainder of the *Akallabêth* the text of the original manuscript A underwent very little change indeed at any subsequent stage; there is thus no further need to comment on the text paragraph by paragraph. Only occasional editorial alteration was made in SA, and in the rest of this account it can be understood that except as stated the published work follows the original exactly, or at most with very slight modification not worth recording.[13]

§44 *Yet such was the cunning of his mind* ... (p. 271). The text of AB reads 'all the councillors, save Valandil only, began to fawn upon him'. In B 2 my father changed *Valandil* to *Amandil* here and at all subsequent occurrences. Since Amandil had not been mentioned in the text previously I added the words 'lord of Andúnië' in SA. – It is curious that the naming of Elendil's father *Valandil* was a reversion to *The Lost Road* (V.60, 69). In the course of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* the name was variously and fleetingly applied to a brother of Elendil, to a son of Elendil, and to Elendil himself (VI.169, 175; VII.121, 123–4).

§53 *Nonetheless for long it seemed to the Númenóreans* ... (p. 274). In the last sentence 'the kindly kings of the ancient days' is an editorial change from 'the kindly kings of the Elder Days'.

§57 *'The days are dark, and there is no hope for Men* ... (p. 275). The text has 'there is no hope in Men', and the reading in SA appears to be a mere error, since there is no reason for the change. In the speeches of Amandil and Elendil that follow my father evidently intended a distinction between 'thou' from father to son and 'you' from son to father, but his usage was not consistent. In SA I substituted 'you' throughout.

§73 *Then Ar-Pharazôn hardened his heart* ... (p. 278). The name of the great ship of Ar-Pharazôn is *Aglarrâma* in AB (as in *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, IX.372, §44), changed in B 2 to *Alkarondas*.

§75 *But the fleets of Ar-Pharazôn* ... (p. 278). In the original text (at all stages) this paragraph begins:

> But who among Men, Ælfwine, can tell the tale of their fate? For neither ship nor man of all that host returned ever to the lands of the living; and the world was changed in that time, and in Middle-

earth the memory of all that went before is dim and unsure. But among the Eldar word has been preserved of the deeds and things that were; and the wisest in lore among them tell this tale, Ælfwine, that I tell now to thee. And they say that the fleets of Ar-Pharazôn came up out of the deeps of the Sea and encompassed Avallónë and all the Isle of Eressëa ...

Since this last phrase is found already in A it is clear that the changed meaning of *Avallónë* (signifying the eastern haven in Eressëa, not the Isle itself) had entered during the writing of A (see under §12 above).

In SA 'Taniquetil' is an editorial change from 'the Mountain of Aman', and 'the light of Ilúvatar' from 'the light of God'.

§76 *Then Manwë upon the Mountain* ... In the first sentence 'their government of Arda' was a change in SA from 'their government of the Earth'.

§77 *But the land of Aman* ... Two changes were made here in SA. The original text has 'were taken away and removed from the circles of the world beyond the reach of Men for ever', and 'there is not now within the circles of the world any place abiding ...'.

§78 *In an hour unlooked for by Men* ... AB has 'Ar-Zimrahil', changed in B 2 to 'Tar-Míriel'; see note 12.

§80 *Nine ships there were* ... All the texts have 'Twelve ships there were: six for Elendil, and for Isildur four, and for Anárion two', but on the amanuensis typescript C my father changed the numbers to 'nine: four, three, two', noting in the margin: 'Nine, unless the rhyme in LR is altered to *Four times three*.' The reference is to the song that Gandalf sang as he rode on Shadowfax with Pippin across Rohan on their way to Minas Tirith (*The Two Towers* p. 202):

Tall ships and tall kings
Three times three,
What brought they from the foundered land
Over the flowing sea?

§81 *Elendil and his sons* ... The opening of this paragraph was altered in SA to remove a reference to Ælfwine: 'And here ends the tale, Ælfwine, to speak of Elendil and his sons, who later founded kingdoms in Middle-earth ...'.

§83 *But these things come not into the tale* ... B had 'the Drowning of Anadûnê', corrected to 'the Drowning of Númenor' (a reversion to the reading of A). At the end of the paragraph AB had 'spoke of Akallabêth that was whelmed in the waves, the Downfallen, Atalantë in the Eldarin tongue', with *Akallabêth* changed to *Mar-nu-Falmar* in B 2. The removal of *Akallabêth* (restored in SA) belongs with the general replacement of Adûnaic by Elvish names: see under §78 above, and note 12. – On one of the copies of the typescript C my father wrote this note on the name *Atalantë*:

The Adûnaic or Númenórean name of the same meaning was *Akallabêth*, √KALAB. By a curious coincidence (not consciously prepared) before this tale was written a base √TALAT 'collapse, fall in ruin' had already been invented, and from that base *atalantë* 'it has fallen down' was a correct formation according to grammatical rules devised before Númenor had been thought of. The resemblance to *Atlantis* is thus by chance (as we say).

Against this note is written '71', which must mean '1971' (see XI.187, 191). With this statement on the subject cf. Lowdham's remarks in *The Notion Club Papers*, IX.249; my father's letter of July 1964 cited in V.8 (footnote); and the *Etymologies*, V.390, stem TALÁT.

§§84–6 The concluding section of the *Akallabêth*, beginning in SA *Among the Exiles many believed ...*' (pp. 281–2), was headed in A *Epilogue*; this was omitted in B. There is a full discussion of this section in relation to *The Drowning of Anadûnê* in IX.391–6.

§84 *Among the Exiles many believed ...* The original text, not changed from A, reads:

> But if thou wouldst know, Ælfwine, ere thou goest, why it is that men of the seed of Eärendil, or any such as thou to whom some part, however small, of their blood is descended, should still venture upon the Sea, seeking for that which cannot be found, this much I will say to thee.
>
> The summit of the Meneltarma, the Pillar of Heaven, in the midst of the land, had been a hallowed place, and even in the days of Sauron none had defiled it. Therefore among the Exiles many believed that it was not drowned for ever, but rose again above the waves, a lonely island lost in the great waters, unless haply a mariner should come upon it. And some there were that after sought for it, because it was said among lore-masters that the far-sighted men of old could see from the Meneltarma a glimmer of the Deathless Land.

§86 *Thus in after days ...* The sentence 'until it came to Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle' was a change in SA from the original 'until it came to Eressëa where are the Eldar immortal'. Immediately following, 'where the Valar still dwell and watch the unfolding of the story of the world' was an early change from the reading of A, 'where the Valar still dwell but watch only and meddle no longer in the world abandoned to Men'.

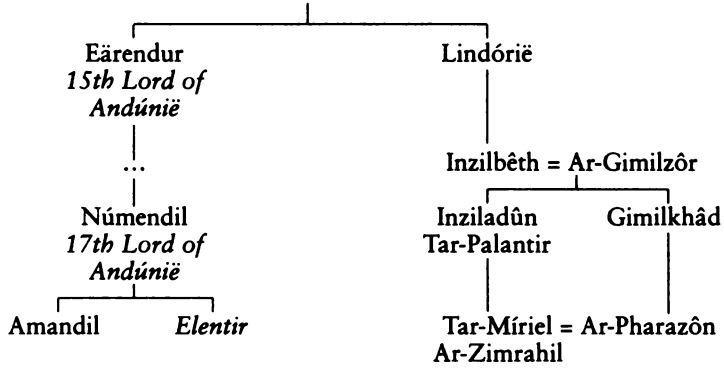
In the last sentence 'and so had come to the lamplit quays of Avallónë' was an editorial change from 'and so had come to Avallónë and to Eressëa' ('to Eressëa and to Avallónë' A). For the 'lamplit quays of Avallónë' see V.334.

After the conclusion of the *Akallabêth* in SA the following lines were omitted:

And whether all these tales be feigned, or whether some at least be true, and by them the Valar still keep alight among Men a memory beyond the darkness of Middle-earth, thou knowest now, Ælfwine, in thyself. Yet haply none shall believe thee.

Note on the marriage of Míriel and Pharazôn

My father did much work on this story, but it is not easy to see how it is to be related to the paragraph (SA §37, *And it came to pass that Tar-Palantir grew weary* ...) in the long rider inserted into the typescript B, which is exactly repeated in SA except for the change of *Ar-Zimrahil* to *Ar-Zimraphel* (p. 155). It will in any case be clearer if the genealogy is set out (cf. *The Line of Elros* in *Unfinished Tales*, p. 223).



The significance of Amandil's brother Elentir will be seen in the texts given here: so far as I am aware he appears nowhere else. These texts were written on the same paper as the long rider and were inserted with it into the typescript B.

(a)

This is a very rough manuscript written in such haste that it has proved extraordinarily difficult to decipher. The text that follows is uncertain in many points, but these do not affect the narrative and I have largely dispensed with brackets and queries; it does not convey at all the appearance of the original.

He [Ar-Pharazôn] was a man of great beauty and strength/stature after the image of the first kings, and indeed in his youth was not unlike the Edain of old in mind also, though he had strength of will rather than of wisdom as after appeared, when he was corrupted by the counsels of his father and the acclaim of the people. In his earlier days he had a close friendship with Amandil who was afterwards Lord of Andunië,[14] and he had loved the people of the House of

Valandil with whom he had kinship (through Inzilbêth his father's mother). With them he was often a guest, and there came Zimrahil his cousin, daughter of Inziladûn who was later King Tar-Palantir. Elentir the brother of Amandil loved her, but when first she saw Pharazôn her eyes and her heart were turned to him, for his beauty, and for his wealth also.

But he went away[15] and she remained unwed. And now it came to pass that her father Tar-Palantir grew weary of grief and died, and as he had no son the sceptre came to her, in the name of Tar-Míriel, by right and the laws of the Númenóreans. But Pharazôn [?arose] and came to her, and she was glad, and forsook the allegiance of her father for the time, being enamoured of Pharazôn. And in this they broke the laws of Númenor that forbade marriage even in the royal house between those more nearly akin than cousins in the second degree. But they were too powerful for any to gainsay them. And when they were wedded she yielded the sceptre to Pharazôn, and he sat upon the throne of Elros in the name of Ar-Pharazôn the Golden, but she retained also her title as hers by right, and was called Ar-Zimrahil.[16]

The Elendili alone were not subservient to him, or dared to speak against his wishes, and it became well-known to all in that time that Amandil the Lord of Andúnië was head of their party though not openly declared. Therefore Ar-Pharazôn persecuted the Faithful, stripping them of any wealth that they had, and he deprived the heirs of Valandil of their lordship. Andúnië he took then and made it a chief haven for the king's ship-building, and Amandil who was now the Lord he commanded to move and dwell also in Rómenna. Yet he did not otherwise molest him [?at this time], nor dismiss him from the Council of the Sceptre, because he remembered still in his heart their friendship of old; and Amandil was well beloved also by many who were not of the Elendili.

And now when he deemed himself [?firm] upon the throne and beyond all gainsaying he sat in A[rmenelos] in the glory of his power, and he found it too little to appease his [?lust], and amid all his splendour he brooded darkly upon war.

There are a number of phrases in this text that are identical or almost so to those found in the long rider ('Tar-Palantir grew weary of grief and died', 'by right and the laws of the Númenóreans', 'those more nearly akin than cousins in the second degree', 'he brooded darkly upon war', SA §§37, 39). It would be natural to suppose that these phrases made their first appearance in this text, which was dashed down on the page, and that they were repeated in the rider, which was a manuscript written with great care; and in that case it would have to be concluded that my father discarded this story of the love of Amandil's brother Elentir for Zimrahil, and of her turning away from

him and from the Elf-friends and glad acceptance of Pharazôn, before writing the final version. But I doubt that this was the case.

(b)

A second page is in handwriting even more obscure, and I have not been able to make out the whole of it after repeated attempts.

In his boyhood he had a close friendship with Amandil son of Númendil Lord of Andúnië, who being one of the chief councillors of the Sceptre dwelt often in Armenelos.

Cut out friendship. Ar-Pharazôn's policy to Amandil was due to his wife?

Now Zimrahil, whom her father called Míriel, only daughter of Tar-Palantir, was a woman of great beauty, smaller [?in ... stature] than were most women of that land, with bright eyes, and she had great skill in ... She was older than Ar-Pharazôn by one year,[17] but seemed younger, and his eyes and heart were turned to her; but the laws of Númenor lay between, beside the displeasure of her father whom Gimilkhâd opposed in all ways that he could. For in Númenor cousins in the first degree did not marry even in the royal house. And moreover Zimrahil was betrothed to Elentir Amandil's [?older] brother and heir of Númendil.[18]

From a distance,[19] for Gimilkhâd and his son were not welcome in the house of the king.

In the remainder of the text there are a number of whole sentences, clearly essential to the briefly sketched narrative, in which I can decipher virtually nothing.

Now it came into his heart that he would ..... Pharazôn was not disposed to admit hindrance to his desires, and he asked leave therefore of Amandil to be a guest in his house, learning ..... Zimrahil was at the time in Andúnië. Gimilkhâd was little pleased with this, for the Lords of Andúnië were his chief opponents. But Pharazôn [?laughed] saying he would do as he would, and .....

And Amandil and Pharazôn rode in Andúnië and Elentir and Zimrahil saw them afar as they [?stood] ..... for Elentir loved his brother. But when Zimrahil saw Pharazôn in the splendour of his young manhood come riding [?in] ..... Suddenly Zimrahil's heart turned towards him. And when Pharazôn was greeted upon the steps of the house their eyes met ..... and were abashed.

I take this to be a further movement in the story struggling to emerge, in which my father was considering a different treatment of Pharazôn's intrusion into the relationship of Míriel and Elentir (who are now said to be betrothed); but the sketch is so rapid, and so much is indecipherable, that the actual course of the story is obscure.

(c)

A brief, clearly written text is the third of these papers associated with the rider inserted into the text of the *Akallabêth*.

> For Pharazôn son of Gimilkhâd had become even more restless and eager for wealth and power than his father. He was a man of great beauty and stature, in the likeness of the first kings of men; and indeed in his youth he was not unlike the Edain of old in mind also, though he had courage and strength of will rather than of wisdom, as after appeared, when he was corrupted by the counsels of his father, and the acclaim of the people. In his earlier days he had a close friendship with Amandil son of Númendil, Lord of Andúnië, and he loved the people of that House, with whom he himself had kinship (through Inzilbêth his father's mother). With them he was often a guest, and there also his cousin, daughter of Inziladûn, was often to be found. For Elentir Amandil's brother loved her, and she had turned her heart to him, and it was known that soon they would be betrothed.

In this my father was closely following the opening of text *(a)*, but the last sentence of the text, before it was abandoned, turns away, with the mention of the approaching betrothal of Elentir and Zimrahil, and was perhaps about to take a different course.

(d)

Finally, my father wrote the following passage in the margin of the inserted rider against §37, though without indication of its placing: most probably at the end of the paragraph ('... and the name of his queen he changed to Ar-Zimrahil').

> And he persecuted the Faithful, and deprived the Lords of Andúnië of their lordship, since they had aided Tar-Palantir and supported his daughter. Andúnië he took then and made it the chief harbour of the king's ships, and Amandil the Lord he commanded to dwell in Rómenna. Yet he did not otherwise molest him, nor dismiss him yet from his Council. For in the days of his youth (ere his father corrupted him) Amandil had been his dear friend.

This is very closely related to the end of text *(a)*, p. 160, 'Therefore Ar-Pharazôn persecuted the Faithful ...'; on the other hand, it seems clear from the words 'and supported his daughter' that the story of Zimrahil's love for Pharazôn is not present.

It is not perfectly clear to me how the textual puzzle presented by these writings is to be resolved, but I am inclined to think that, contrary to appearance, the texts *(a)*, *(b)*, and *(c)* in fact followed the writing of the long rider to the *Akallabêth*, and that they represent the emergence of a doubt in my father's mind whether the marriage of Pharazôn and Zimrahil was indeed 'against her will', and the sketch-

ing of a new story on the subject. The close agreement of phrases in *(a)* with those in the rider (see pp. 160–1) must then be interpreted as simple repetition of what was already present there, rather than as drafting for it. Finally, on this view, he abandoned the new story, and returned to that already present in §37. Amandil's brother Elentir was lost, at any rate in the recorded tradition.

It may be noted that the youthful friendship of Pharazôn and Amandil is referred to in SA §47 (*Then Ar-Pharazôn the King turned back* ..., p. 272), and this indeed goes back to the original manuscript of the *Akallabêth*: 'In the days of their youth together Valandil [> Amandil] had been dear to Ar-Pharazôn, and though he was of the Elf-friends he remained in his council until the coming of Sauron.'

NOTES

1 I think now that such slight evidence as there is points rather to about 1960 as the date of these works.

2 In §1 I altered the original 'yet they came at last to the lands that look upon the Sea. These are indeed that folk *of whom thou hast heard* that came into Beleriand in the days of the war of the Noldor and Morgoth' in order to remove the italicised words (the alteration of the last sentence to 'entered Beleriand in the days of the War of the Jewels' was a very late change, one of the very few that my father made to the typescript C). In §2, similarly, I changed 'and *thou hast heard* how at the last' to 'and in the *Lay of Eärendil* it is told how at the last'.

3 *The Line of Elros* ends with the words (*Unfinished Tales* p. 224): 'Of the deeds of Ar-Pharazôn, of his glory and his folly, more is told in the tale of the Downfall of Númenor, *which Elendil wrote*, and which was preserved in Gondor.'

4 In A my father added a footnote here, omitted in B: '*Rothinzil* is a name in the Númenórean tongue, and it has the same meaning as *Vingilot*, which is Foamflower.'

5 It is true that in the opening sentence of the Tale of Years my father substituted in the final typescript 'The *First Age* ended with the Great Battle, in which the Host of Valinor broke Thangorodrim and overthrew Morgoth', replacing a reference to 'Fionwë and the sons of the Valar' of preceding versions (see pp. 172–3); but he may not have removed the name Fionwë (Eönwë) for the same reason as I did in the *Akallabêth*.

6 The manuscript A had 'called', which became 'call' in B.

7 Cf. Elrond's words in *The Council of Elrond* (FR p. 257): 'There in the courts of the King [in Minas Anor] grew a white tree, from the seed of that tree which Isildur brought over the deep waters, and the seed of that tree before came from Eressëa, and before

that out of the Uttermost West in the Day before days when the world was young.'

8 'Tar-Atanamir' was struck out in A and does not appear in B, but this seems to have been due only to my father's wish to postpone the naming of the king to §24.

9 *Nimruzîrim*: *Nimruzîr* is the name of Elendil in *The Drowning of Anadûnê*.

10 In *The Drowning of Anadûnê* (IX.363, §20) 'seven kings had ruled ... between Indilzar [Elros] and Ar-Pharazôn', but 'seven' was changed to 'twelve' (IX.381).

11 Other footnotes (on the inscription of the Quenya name *Herunúmen* of Ar-Adûnakhor in the Scroll of Kings, §31, and on the explanation of the name Tar-Palantir, §35, with which cf. *The Line of Elros* in *Unfinished Tales* p. 223) were incorporated into the body of the text in SA. At the end of §35 I extended the words of the original text 'the ancient tower of King Minastir upon Oromet' to '... upon the hill of Oromet nigh to Andúnië', this being taken from *The Line of Elros*, p. 220; and in §37 after 'Míriel' I added the words 'in the Elven-tongue'.

12 Before the second of these passages was struck out (and so before the insertion of the rider) my father went through it and all the remainder of the typescript B and replaced *Ar-Pharazôn* by *Tar-Kalion* (in the rejected passage, p. 153, he cut out the words 'whom men called Ar-Pharazôn', thus leaving 'Tar-Calion the Golden'). His intention, presumably, was to use Elvish names exclusively; nonetheless, in the inserted rider he named the king *Ar-Pharazôn*. The typist of C therefore moved from one name to the other; and seeing this my father began on C to change *Tar-Kalion* back to *Ar-Pharazôn*, but soon wearied of it. In SA I adopted *Ar-Pharazôn*.

13 Throughout this concluding part of the *Akallabêth* I substituted the name Ar-Pharazôn for Tar-Kalion, as explained in note 12. *Arminalêth* was changed to *Armenelos* on B, and this was taken up in SA.

14 The following is written in the margin here: '3rd in line from Eärendur and 18th from Valandil the First Lord of Andúnië'.

15 Above 'he went away' is written '[?Pharazôn] went to the wars'; cf. SA §36 (*Now Gimilkhâd died ...*): 'He [Pharazôn] had fared often abroad, as a leader in the wars that the Númenóreans made then in the coastlands of Middle-earth'.

16 At this point in the manuscript stands the following: 'And his love therefore of the Lords of Andúnië turned to hate, since they alone were powerful or wise enough to restrain him and give counsel against his desires.' A second version following this was struck out, and no doubt my father intended the rejection of the first also.

17 In *The Line of Elros* Ar-Pharazôn was born in 3118, and Tar-Míriel in 3117 (*Unfinished Tales* p. 224).

18 The word I have given as 'older' is scarcely interpretable at all as it stands, but 'older' or 'elder' seems inevitable, since Elentir is called the heir of Númendil, Lord of Andúnië, apparently displacing Amandil.

19 'From a distance' presumably refers back to the words 'his eyes and heart were turned to her'.

VI

THE TALE OF YEARS OF THE SECOND AGE

The chronology of the Second Age can be traced back to its origin in two small half-sheets of paper. That these are not only the first written record of such a chronology, but represent the actual moment of its establishment, seems certain from the obviously experimental nature of the calculations. I will refer to the various texts of the Tale of Years by the letter T, and call the first of these pages, given below, T(a) to indicate its primary nature. The rejected figures, being overwritten, are in some cases hard to make out, but I believe this to be a substantially correct representation of the text as it was first written; following it, I give the subsequent changes.

Time Scheme

'Ages' last *about* 3000 years.

The 'Black Years' or the age between the Great Battle and defeat of Morgoth, and the Fall of Númenor and the overthrow of Sauron lasted about 3500.

Thus:

Great Battle	
Judgement of Fionwë and establishment of Númenor	10
Reign of Elros	410
11 other kings averaging 240 each	2640
Last 13th king	220
	3280

Elendil (very long-lived) was [*many rejected figures*] 200 years old at Fall of Númenor, and Isildur 100. The new realms lasted

100 years before Sauron opened war.	100
The gathering of Alliance 3 years, the Siege 7	10
	3390

The Third Age was 'drawing to its end' in Frodo's time. So that *Loss of Ring* was about 3000 years ago. For 500 years Sauron remained quiet and then began slowly to grow in Mirkwood – that stirred events and wakened the Ring to come back.

So Smeagol and Deagol's finding occurred about 600 years after

Isildur's death. Gollum therefore had the Ring near[ly] 2400 years.

Average life of a Númenórean 210 years (3 × 70)
Average life of royal house 350 years (5 × 70)
A King of Númenor usually acceded when about 100–120 and ruled about 250 years.

These dates seem to have been changed in this order. First, the duration of the new realms before Sauron assailed them was changed from 100 to 110 years, giving a total of 3400 (and at the beginning of the text the figure of 'about 3500' for the length of the Black Years, i.e. the Second Age, was changed to 'about 3400', and not subsequently altered). Then the establishment of Númenor was changed from 10 to 50, giving the date 3320 for the Fall of Númenor, and a total of 3440 years in the Second Age.

Sauron's 'remaining quiet' (in the Third Age) was changed from 500 to 1000 years, the finding of the Ring in the Anduin from 600 to 1100 years after Isildur's death, and Gollum's possession of it from 2400 to 1900 years.

A pencilled note, very probably of the same time, on this page reads: 'In character Aragorn was a hardened man of say 45. He was actually 90, and would live at least another 50 (probably 70) years. Aragorn was a Númenórean of pure blood but the span had dwindled to double life.'

The second of these two primary pages, unquestionably written at the same time as the first (as is shown by the paper used), is headed 'The Second Age and the Black Years', and gives dates from 'B.Y.' 0 (the end of the Great Battle) to the loss of the One Ring and the end of the Second Age, the date of which (3440 in T(a)) now becomes 3441, which was never changed. This page, being the earliest version of an actual 'Tale of Years', I will call T 1. In its earlier part T 1 was so much corrected and reworked as my father proceeded that it is scarcely possible to analyse the successive stages of its endlessly changed chronology; but in a subsequent text he followed the final form of T 1 so closely that it can be given in its place. The chief point to notice in it is the entry 'Foundation of Tarkilion', which was changed (probably at once) to 'Foundation of Artheden (Dunhirion) and Gondor'. The name *Dunhirion* is also found, but not so far as I know elsewhere, in a late text of the chapter *The Council of Elrond*, where it was corrected to *Annúminas*; while *Tarkilion* is found in the original manuscript of *Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age*, likewise corrected to *Annúminas*, and likewise apparently not found elsewhere. *Artheden* is clearly the first appearance of Arthedain, though not with its later significance.

The page T 1 (in its final form) was followed so closely by the next

text that it seems probable that no long interval had elapsed. This is a clearly written manuscript on two sides of a single sheet; I will refer to it as T 2. A few changes were made to it in red ink, but they were made after the subsequent version had been written (since the same changes were made to that, also in red ink), and I do not notice them here.

Of the Tale of Years in the latter ages

The 'First Age'[1] ended with the Great Battle and the departure of the Elves and Fathers of Men, and the foundation of Númenor.

The 'Second Age' ended with the overthrow of Sauron, and the Loss of the One Ring.

The 'Third Age' is drawing to its end in the tales of the Shire and of the Hobbits.

Each 'Age' last[ed] somewhat more or less than 3000 years; so that the Loss of the Ring was about 3000 years before Frodo's time. Deagol finds it about 1100 years after Isildur's death. 'Gollum' therefore had the Ring for about 1900 years.

The Second Age or the Black Years reckoned from the overthrow of Morgoth

	End of the Great Battle.
10	Foundation of the Havens, and the kingdom of Lindon.
50	Foundation of Númenor.
460	Death of Elros, Ëarendel's son, first king of Númenor.
500	Reawakening[2] of Sauron in Middle-earth.
700	First ships of the Númenóreans return to Middle-earth. Others come at times, but seldom, and they do not stay.
750	Foundation of Imladrist[3] (Rivendell) and Eregion (Hollin).
900–	Sauron begins in secret to build the fortress of Barad-dûr in Mordor, and makes the forges of Orodruin.
1200–1500	The Rings of Power are made in Eregion.
1550	War of the Elves and Sauron. The 'Days of Flight' begin, or the Black Years properly so called.
1600	Gil-galad defends Lindon; and Imladris is besieged but holds out. Eregion is laid waste.
1700	The great voyages of the Númenóreans begin. They come in many ships to Lindon, and they aid Gil-galad and Elrond.
1900	Barad-dûr is completed.

2000–3000 Sauron's dominion slowly extends over all Middle-earth, but it is withheld from the North-West, and all along the West-shores, even far southwards, the Númenóreans have fortresses and outposts.

3118 Tar-kalion the young king, the thirteenth of his line, ascends the throne of Númenor. He resolves to challenge Sauron the Great, and begins an armament (3120).

3125 Tar-kalion sets sail to Middle-earth. Sauron is obliged to yield and is taken to Númenor.

3319 Downfall of Númenor. Elendil, Anárion and Isildur fly to Middle-earth. Foundation of Arthedain (with the city Annúminas) in the North; and of Gondor (with the city Osgiliath) in the South.

3320 Sauron returns to Mordor.

3430–3 Sauron at last being ready makes war in Gondor. The Last Alliance is formed.

3433 [> 3434] Battle of Dagorlad. Siege of Barad-dûr begun.

3441 Sauron overthrown. Ring taken and lost. End of the Second Age.

The following are the only differences in the chronology of T 2 from its forerunner. In T 1 Sauron's departure to Númenor is given a separate entry under the year 3128; and (while T 1 already has the final date 3319 for the Downfall, where T(a) had 3320) the flight of Elendil and his sons is placed, most strangely, a year later, in 3320.

It will be seen that the dates of events in the Second Age are for the most part at variance with those in Appendix B, in many cases very widely so (thus Imladris was founded at the same time as Eregion, in 750, but in Appendix B not until 1697, in the War of the Elves and Sauron, when Eregion was laid waste). The most extreme of these differences refers in fact to the Third Age, in the headnote to the text, where the statement in T(a) that Déagol found the Ring in about Third Age 1100 and therefore Gollum possessed it for some 1900 years (p. 167) is repeated: in Appendix B Déagol finds the Ring in T.A.2463, by which reckoning Gollum had it for 478 years, until Bilbo found it in 2941.

There are a number of points of agreement between T 2 (under which I include here the closely similar T 1) and the 'Scheme' of the Númenórean kings accompanying the original manuscript A of the *Akallabêth*, given on pp. 150–1. In both, the death of Elros is placed in the year 460 (not as later in 442); in T 2 the coming of the Númenóreans to the aid of Gil-galad in Lindon is dated 1700, while in the 'Scheme' this is said to have occurred in the days of the unnamed sixth king (after Elros), who died in 1790; in T 2 the accession of Tar-kalion is placed in 3118, and in the 'Scheme' his father, the unnamed

twelfth king (after Elros) died in that year; and in both the date of Tarkalion's landing in Middle-earth is 3125. A further point of agreement between both, and also with the manuscript A of the *Akallabêth*, concerns the completion of Barad-dûr: in T 2 this is dated 1900; in *Akallabêth* A (see p. 153, §29) it is said to have occurred in the days of Atanamir; and in the 'Scheme' Atanamir is said to have died in 2061, his father having died in 1790.

Two other points in this earliest version (or strictly versions) of the Tale of Years of the Second Age remain to be mentioned. The loss of the One Ring is expressly placed in the last year of the Second Age, 3441; whereas in Appendix B the headnote states that that Age 'ended with the first overthrow of Sauron ... and the *taking* of the One Ring' (cf. also the last words of section I (i) of Appendix A, RK p. 318), while the planting of the White Tree in Minas Anor, the handing over of the South Kingdom to Meneldil, and the death of Isildur are placed in the year 2 of the Third Age. Secondly, in the entry for 3319 Anárion is placed before Isildur, and it will be seen shortly that this does indeed mean that Anárion was the elder of Elendil's sons (cf. the text FN III in IX.335: 'his sons Anárion and Isildur'). In *Akallabêth* A and subsequently Isildur had four ships and Anárion two (p. 157, §80), from which it seems clear that the reversal of this had already taken place. On the other hand, in an early version of the chapter *The Council of Elrond* Isildur was expressly stated to be the elder (VII.126).

Found with T 2 and to all appearance belonging to the same time is another page in which my father restated in the same or closely similar terms a part of his notes on Númenor and the aftermath of the Downfall in T(a), pp. 166–7. This page I will call **T(b)**. Corrections to it were made at the same time as those to T 2, and are not noticed here.

Average life of a Númenórean before the fall was about 210 years (3×70). Average life of the royal house of the line of Ëarendel was about 350 years (5×70). A king of Númenor usually came to the throne when about 120 years old and reigned 200 years or more.

50	Númenor founded
410	years Elros reigned
2640	11 other kings (averaging 240 each)
220	Last king (Tarkalion)
3320	

Elendil was very long-lived (being of Ëarendel's line). He was about 200 years old at the time of the Fall of Númenor and Anárion 110, Isildur 100. The new realms of Arnor and Gondor lasted about 110 years before Sauron made his first attacks on them. The gathering of the Last Alliance, the march, battle

and siege, lasted about 11 years. (121)
3320 + 121, 3441.

The remainder of this page and its verso are taken up with the earliest version of the Tale of Years of the Third Age, obviously written continuously from T(b) just given; for this see p. 225.

These initial computations of the chronology of the Second Age are remarkable in themselves and perplexing in the detail of their interrelations.

The text T(a), self-evidently the starting-point, made 3320 the date of the Downfall. After a lapse of 110 years Sauron opened war on the new kingdoms (3430), and a further ten passed before his overthrow in 3440, the last year of the Second Age.

In T 1, written at the same time as, but after, T(a), the Downfall is placed in 3319 (no reason for the change being evident), but the flight of Elendil and his sons is incomprehensibly placed in the following year, 3320 (p. 169). Again after 110 years Sauron attacked Gondor (3430), but now *eleven* years passed before his overthrow in 3441.

In T 2, which is little more than a fair copy of T 1, the founding of the kingdoms in Middle-earth is placed in the year of the Downfall, which is now 111 years before Sauron's attack in 3430; as in T 1, eleven years passed before the overthrow of Sauron in 3441.

Finally, the extremely puzzling text T(b) goes back to T(a) in placing the Downfall in 3320, and 110 years passed before the war began in 3430; but the total of 3441 is reached as in T 1 and T 2 by the lapse of eleven years before the overthrow. T(b) is apparently a companion page to T 2, and must be later than the other texts, since the Northern Kingdom is here called Arnor, not Arthedain, and this change only entered after a further text of the Tale of Years had been written.

If we now turn to the *Akallabêth* 'Scheme' (pp. 150–1) it will be seen that the date 3319 of the Downfall is reached by an entirely different route. In the 'Scheme' the intervals between the death-dates of the kings are in every case either 221 or 222 years, except for those between the unnamed sixth king and Atanamir, the seventh, which was 50 years longer (271 years), and between Atanamir and his son Kiryatan which was 50 years shorter (172 years). If all these intervals are added together they reach a total of 2658 years; and if to this is added the year of the death of Elros (460) and the length of the reign of Tar-kalion (201 years) we reach 3319, the date of the Downfall.[4] In the 'Scheme' Tar-kalion is numbered '13', but he is expressly the thirteenth king *excluding* Elros, as he is also in *Akallabêth* A and *The Drowning of Anadûnê* as revised (see p. 154 and note 10), so that there were fourteen kings of Númenor in all.

In the texts T(a) and T(b), on the other hand, 'eleven other kings' ruled between Elros and Tar-kalion, making thirteen in all; and the average length of their reigns being here 240 years, the total is 2640.

When to this is added 460 and Tar-kalion's reign of 220 years the total is 3320.

A final element is the fact that in T 1, the companion page to T(a), Tar-kalion ascended the throne in 3118 and reigned for 201 years, just as in the 'Scheme'.

Every explanation of this extraordinary textual puzzle seems to founder. It is not in itself perhaps a matter of great significance, though one certainly gets the impression that there is more to the date 3319 (and possibly also to 3441) than the evidence reveals. It is clear, at any rate, that all these texts, the original manuscript of the *Akallabêth* and its associated 'Scheme', the computations in the texts T(a) and T(b), and the initial version of the Tale of Years, arose at the same time, before the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings* was in final form; while the evidence suggests that it was these computations of the Númenórean kings, formulaic as they were, that provided the chronological 'vehicle' of the Second Age, established at that time. It can be seen from the text T 1 that the Númenórean history provided the fixed element, while the dating of events in Middle-earth before the Downfall were at first of an extreme fluidity (the making of the Rings of Power, for instance, was moved from 1000–1200 to 1200–1500, and the War of the Elves and Sauron from 1200 to 1550).

The third text of the Tale of Years, which I will call T 3, is (so far as the Second Age is concerned) little more than a copy of T 2, with a number of entries somewhat expanded, and one sole additional entry: '3440 Anárion is slain'; no dates were altered. Anárion and Isildur still appear in that order, and the North Kingdom is still named Arthedain, though both were subsequently corrected. The statement in the opening passage of T 2 concerning the length of the Ages and the finding of the Ring by Déagol was omitted, and in its place the following was introduced:

> The *Fourth Age* ushered in the Dominion of Men and the decline of all the other 'speaking-folk' of the Westlands.

Following the usual pattern, a number of additions, some of them substantial, were made to the manuscript T 3, but virtually all of them were taken up into the following version, the greatly expanded T 4, whose entries for the Second Age are given here. This is a good clear manuscript with few subsequent alterations in this part of the text; those which were made before the following text was taken from it are noticed if significant.

The Tale of Years
in the
Latter Ages

The *First Age* was the longest. It ended with the Great Battle in which Fionwë and the sons of the Valar broke Thangorodrim

and overthrew Morgoth.[5] Then most of the exiled Elves returned into the West and dwelt in Eressëa that was afterwards named Avallon, being within sight of Valinor.[6] The Atani or Edain, Fathers of Men, sailed also over Sea and founded the realm of Númenor or Westernesse, on a great isle, westmost of all mortal lands.

The *Second Age* ended with the first overthrow of Sauron and the loss of the One Ring.

The *Third Age* came to its end in the War of the Ring, and the destruction of the Dark Tower of Sauron, who was finally defeated.

The *Fourth Age* ushered in the Dominion of Men and the decline of all other 'speaking folk' of the Westlands.
[*Added:* The first three ages are now by some called *The Elder Days*, but of old and ere the Third Age was ended that name was given only to the First Age and the world before the casting forth of Morgoth.][7]

The Second Age

These were the *Dark Years* of Middle-earth, but the high tide of Númenor. Of events in Middle-earth scant record is preserved even among the Elves, and their dates here given are only approximate.

10 Foundation of the Grey Havens, and the Kingdom of Lindon. This was ruled by Gil-galad son of Felagund,[8] chief of all the Noldor who did not yet depart to Avallon.

50 Foundation of Númenor. [*Added:* About the same time the works of Moria were begun by Durin the Dwarf and his folk from the ruins of the ancient dwarf-cities in the Blue Mountains. *This was struck out and replaced by:* About this time many dwarves fleeing from the ruins of the dwarf-cities in the Blue Mountains came to Moria, and its power and the splendour of its works were greatly increased.][9]

460 Death of Elros Eärendil's son, first King of Númenor.

500 Sauron, servant of Morgoth, begins to stir again in Middle-earth.

700 First ships of the Númenóreans return to Middle-earth. At first they came only seldom, and the Númenóreans did not stay long in any place.

750 Foundation of Imladris (or Rivendell) and of Eregion (or Hollin) as dwellings of the Noldor or High Elves. Remnants of the Telerian Elves (of Doriath in ancient Beleriand) establish realms in the woodlands far eastward, but most of these peoples are Avari or East-elves. The chief of these were Thranduil who ruled in the north of Greenwood the Great beyond Anduin, but Lórien was fairer and had the greater power; for Celeborn had to wife the Lady Galadriel of the Noldor, sister of Gil-galad [> sister of Felagund Gil-galad's sire].[10]

900 Sauron in secret begins the building of the fortress, Barad-dûr, in Mordor, and makes there the forges of Orodruin, the Mountain of Fire. But he professes great friendship with the Eldar, and especially with those of Eregion, who were great in smith-craft.

1200–1500 The Rings of Power are forged in Eregion; but the Ruling Ring is forged by Sauron in Orodruin.

1550 War of the Elves and Sauron begins. The 'Days of Flight' begin, or the 'Dark Years' properly so called, being the time of the dominion of Sauron. Eregion is laid waste. The Naugrim (or Dwarves) close the gates of Moria. Many of the remaining Noldor depart west over Sea.

1700 The great voyages of the Númenóreans begin. Gil-galad defends Lindon and the Grey Havens. Imladris is besieged but holds out under the command of Elrond Eärendil's son. The Númenóreans come with many ships to Lindon and they aid Gil-galad and Elrond. Sauron retreats from Eriador (west of the Misty Mountains).

1900 Barad-dûr is completed with the power of the Ruling Ring.

c.2000 The Shadow falls on Númenor. The Númenóreans begin to murmur against the Valar, who will not permit them to sail west from their land; and they become jealous of the immortality of the Eldar. [*Added:* (c.2250).] A division appears among the Númenóreans between the Elf-friends, the smaller party, and the King's Folk. The latter become slowly estranged from the Valar and the Eldar, and abandon the use of the Elven tongues; the kings take names of Númenórean form. The Elf-friends, dwelling most in the east of Númenor,[11] remain

loyal to the kings except in the matter of rebellion against the decrees of the Valar.

2000–3000 The Númenóreans now make permanent dwellings on the shores of Middle-earth, seeking wealth and dominion; they build many havens and fortresses. The Elf-friends go chiefly to the North-west, but their strongest place is at Pelargir above the Mouths of Anduin. The King's Folk establish lordships in Umbar[12] and Harad and in many other places on the coasts of the Great Lands.

During the same time Sauron extends his dominion slowly over the great part of Middle-earth; but his power reaches out eastward, since he is withheld from the coasts by the Númenóreans. He nurses his hatred for them, but cannot yet challenge them openly. Towards the end of this time the *Úlairi*, the Ringwraiths, servants of Sauron and slaves of the Nine Rings first appear.

3118 Tar-kalion, calling himself Ar-Pharazôn the Golden, thirteenth king of the line of Eärendil, ascends the throne of Númenor. He resolves to challenge Sauron the Great, and builds an armament.

3125 Ar-Pharazôn sets sail for Middle-earth. The might and splendour of the Númenóreans fills the servants of Sauron with fear. Ar-Pharazôn lands at Umbar, and in pursuance of his own secret design Sauron humbles himself and submits. Sauron is taken as a hostage to Númenor.

3140–3310 Sauron slowly gains the confidence of Ar-Pharazôn, until he dominates his counsels. He urges Ar-Pharazôn to make war on the Lords of the West to gain everlasting life.

Most of the Númenóreans fall under the sway of Sauron, and they persecute the Elf-friends; and they become tyrants over men in Middle-earth.

3310 Ar-Pharazôn feeling the approach of death at last takes the counsel of Sauron and prepares a vast fleet for an assault upon Avallon and Valinor. Valandil [> Amandil][13] the faithful breaks the ban of the Valar and sails west, hoping to repeat the embassy of Eärendil, and obtain the help of the Lords of the West. He is never heard of again. His son Elendil, as his father had bidden, makes ready ships on the east coast of Númenor, prepar-

ing for flight with all the faithful that he can gather.

3319 The great fleet of Ar-Pharazôn sets sail into the West and encompassing Avallon assails the shores of Valinor. Númenor is destroyed, and swallowed up by the sea. The world is broken and Valinor separated from the lands of the living.

Elendil and his sons Isildur and Anárion escape and fly east with nine great ships[14] to Middle-earth. They bring with them the Seven Stones or *Palantíri*, gifts of the Eldar of Avallon, and Isildur brings also a seedling of the White Tree of Avallon.

3320 Foundation of the realm of Arnor in the north of the Westlands, with the city Annúminas; and of Gondor about the waters of Anduin in the south, with the city Osgiliath. The Stones are divided: Elendil retains three in the North-kingdom, at Annúminas, and on Amon Súl, and in the tower of Emyn Beraid (the Tower Hills).[15] His sons take four, and set them at Minas Ithil, at Minas Anor, at Osgiliath, and at Orthanc.

In the same year Sauron returns to Middle-earth, and being at first filled with fear by the power and wrath of the Lords of the West he hides himself in Mordor and is quiet.

3430–3 [> 3429–30] Sauron, being at last ready again, makes war upon Gondor. Orodruin bursts into smoke and flame, and Men of Gondor seeing the sign re-name it Amon Amarth, Mount Doom.[16] Sauron comes forth and assails Minas Ithil, and destroys the White Tree that Isildur planted there. Isildur takes a seedling of the Tree and escapes by ship down Anduin with his wife and sons. He sails to Elendil in the North. The Last Alliance is formed between Gil-galad Elven-king and Elendil and his sons. They march east to Imladris summoning all folk to their aid.

3434 The Host of the Alliance crosses the Misty Mountains and marches south. They encounter the host of Sauron upon Dagorlad north of the gates of Mordor, and they are victorious. Sauron takes refuge in Barad-dûr.

3434– Siege of Barad-dûr begins and lasts seven years.

3440 Anárion is slain in Gorgoroth.

3441 Sauron comes forth, and wrestles with Elendil and Gil-galad. They overthrow him but are themselves slain.

> The One Ring is taken from the hand of Sauron by Isildur as the weregild of his father, and he will not permit it to be destroyed. He plants the seedling of the White Tree in Minas Anor in memory of his brother Anárion, but he will not himself [*added:* long] dwell there. He delivers the South-kingdom to Meneldil son of Anárion and marches north up the vale of Anduin, purposing to take up the realm of Elendil. He is slain by Orcs near the Gladden fields and the Ring is lost in the River.[17] The Ringwraiths fall into darkness and silence. The Second Age ends.[18]

In this fourth text of the Tale of Years the pattern of dating seen in T 1, T 2, with its great differences from the final form in Appendix B, is preserved. Thus Rivendell was still founded far earlier, in 750; Barad-dûr was begun in 900 and its building still took a thousand years; the making of the Rings of Power in Eregion, and the War of the Elves and Sauron, are dated as they were, extending over far greater periods of time. The work was becoming a condensed history rather than a list of dates; but scarcely any new dates were introduced.

In new material in the entry for c.2000 the sentence 'The Shadow falls on Númenor' is clearly related to the *Akallabêth* 'Scheme' (p. 150), where it is noted of the reign of Tar-Atanamir (c.1790–c.2061) that 'In his time the Shadow first fell on Númenor'. The fullness of the entries concerning the reign of Ar-Pharazôn reinforces the view that my father made these early versions of the Tale of Years when he was writing the *Akallabêth*, as do a number of particular features, such as the sentence concerning the Great Battle in the headnote to T 4 (see note 5) and the occurrence of the name *Úlairi* of the Ringwraiths in the entry for 2000–3000 (see p. 153, §30). The fact that *Avallon* was still the name of Eressëa (and not that of the haven) shows beyond doubt that the *Akallabêth* was still at the stage of the earliest manuscript (see note 6).

I think it extremely probable that this text T 4 (of which the part pertaining to the Third Age is very much longer) belongs in time with the texts F 2 and D 2 of the Appendices on Languages and on Calendars, and with the third text of *The Heirs of Elendil*, given in the next chapter. But external evidence of date seems to be entirely lacking.

From T 4 an amanuensis typescript T 5 was made, carefully following the original. At some stage my father subjected one of the copies to very heavy correction, but his chief (though not the only) purpose in doing so seems to have been to abbreviate it by the omission of phrases. By this time the 'second phase' of the *Akallabêth* (see p. 154, §31) had entered, and the last years of Númenor were altered on the typescript (cf. p. 175):

3118 Birth of Ar-Pharazôn.
3255 Ar-Pharazôn the Golden, twenty-fifth king of the line of Elros, seizes the sceptre of Númenor. He resolves to challenge Sauron the Great, and builds an armament.
3261 Ar-Pharazôn sets sail for Middle-earth. The might of the Númenóreans fills the servants of Sauron with fear. Ar-Pharazôn lands at Umbar, and Sauron humbles himself and submits. Sauron is taken as a hostage to Númenor.
3262–3310 Sauron slowly gains the confidence of Ar-Pharazôn ...

The opening dates of the Second Age were also changed: Year 1, Foundation of the Grey Havens; 32 Foundation of Númenor; 442 Death of Elros; 600 First ships of the Númenóreans return to Middle-earth. Other changes were the replacement of *Úlairi* by *Nazgûl* in the entry for 2000–3000 (changed to 2200–3000), and the removal of *Avallon* at all occurrences, either by altering it to *Eressëa* or by the omission of any name.

The evident reason for the revision of the typescript (in respect of the abbreviation of the text) is discussed later (see p. 246). The next stage in the development was an attempt to reduce the Tale of Years much more drastically. This is represented by a confused collection of typescript pages (from which a good deal of the Third Age is missing) made very evidently under stress: the deadline for the publication of *The Return of the King* was fast approaching, and the situation was indeed afflicting. Not only must the record of events be further pruned and curtailed, but fundamental features of the chronology of the Second Age were not yet established; and this work must be done against time.

I give in illustration a portion of the first version of the Second Age chronology comprised in this material. My father was typing very rapidly, faster than he could manage, and there are very many errors, which I have of course corrected; I have also introduced divisions to indicate successive shifts in the dating, though there is no suggestion of these in the typescript, where the rejected passages are not even struck through. Thus the text that follows has a very much more ordered appearance than does the original.

900 Sauron secretly begins the building of Barad-dûr. He makes the forges of the Mountain of Fire.
1200 Sauron seeks the friendship of the Elves, especially those of Eregion, who are great in smith-craft.
1200–1500 The Rings of Power are forged in Eregion; but the Ruling Ring is forged by Sauron in Mordor.
1550 The war of Sauron and the Elves begins. The 'Dark Years' follow, the time of the dominion of Sauron. Many of the remaining Eldar depart west over Sea. The great voyages of the Númenóreans begin.

1600 Eregion is laid waste. The gates of Moria are shut. The forces of Sauron overrun Eriador. Imladris is besieged, but holds out under the command of Elrond Eärendil's son, sent from Lindon. The forces of Sauron overrun Eriador. Gil-galad defends Lindon and the Grey Havens.

1603 A Númenórean navy comes to the Grey Havens. The Númenóreans aid Gil-galad, and Sauron's forces are driven out of Eriador and Sauron retreats from Eriador. The Westlands have peace for some while.

From the time of the defeat in Eriador Sauron does not molest the Westlands for many years, but plots in secret. He slowly extends his dominion eastward, since he is withheld from the coasts by the Númenóreans. He nurses his hatred for them, but cannot yet challenge them openly.

1700 Barad-dûr is completed with the power of the Ruling Ring.

1200 Sauron seeks the friendship of the Elves (in hope to subject them). He is still fair to look on, and the Elves become enamoured of the knowledge he can impart.

1300 The Elves begin the forging of the Rings of Power. It is said that this took many long years. S[auron] secretly makes the forges [*sic*]

1500 The Three Great Rings are made by Celebrimbor of the Silver Grasp (*celebrin* 'silver', *paur* 'the fist or closed hand'). The Ruling Ring is made secretly by Sauron in Mordor.

1000 Sauron begins the building of Barad-dûr in Mordor.

1200 Sauron courts the friendship of the Elves, hoping to get them, the chief obstacle to his dominion, into his power. Gil-galad refuses to treat with him. But Sauron is still fair to look on and the Elves of Eregion are won over by their desire of skill and knowledge.

1500 The Elves of Eregion under the guidance of Sauron begin the forging of the Rings of Power. This takes many long years. Sauron secretly forges the One Ring in Orodruin.

1690 The Three Rings are completed. Celebrimbor becomes aware of the designs of Sauron. Barad-dûr is completed with the power of [*sic*]

1695 The War of the Elves and Sauron begins. Many of the remaining Eldar depart west over Sea.

1696 Elrond Eärendil's son is sent to Eregion by Gil-galad.

1697 Eregion is laid waste. The gates of Moria are shut. Elrond retreats with the remnant of the Eldar to Imladris.

1600 The great voyages of the Númenóreans begin. The ships are welcomed by Gil-galad and Círdan.

1699 Imladris is besieged but holds out under the command of Elrond. Sauron overruns Eriador. Gil-galad defends Lindon

and the Grey Havens.
1700 A great navy of the Númenóreans comes to the Grey Havens.

Here this text seems to have been abandoned and replaced by another and more coherent version, with entries further reduced and dates following the latest formulations in the text just given. These dates from 1500 to 1700 were then corrected on the typescript, being reduced (advanced) by a hundred years, and so moving them away from those in Appendix B, as seen in the following table (in which I give only brief indications of the actual entries).

	Appendix B
1500 [> 1400] (Forging of the Three Rings begun)	c.1500
1600 [> 1500] (Forging of the One Ring)	c.1600
1690 [> 1590] (Three Rings completed)	c.1590
1690 [> 1590] (Barad-dûr completed)	c.1600
1695 [> 1595] (War of Elves and Sauron begins)	1693
1697 [> 1597] (Eregion laid waste)	1697
1699 [> 1599] (Sauron overruns Eriador)	1699
1700 [> 1600] (Coming of Númenórean navy)	1700

At this stage Imladris was still founded in the year 750. The correction of all the entries from 1500 to 1700 was subsequently abandoned; the dates before correction were now those of the final chronology or very close to them, with the exception of the completion of Barad-dûr and the completion of the Three Rings. In this text, by either dating, the Three Rings were not achieved for a further ninety years after the forging of the One Ring, whereas in the final chronology (by adopting in this one case the revised date, 1590) the One Ring was made ten years after the Three.

This second text then continues:

1869 Tar-Ciryatan, twelfth king of Númenor, receives the sceptre. The first shadow falls on Númenor. The Kings become greedy of wealth and power.

2060–2251 Reign of Tar-Atanamir the Great, thirteenth King of Númenor.[19] The shadow deepens. The King's ships exact heavy tribute from Men on the coasts of Middle-earth. The Númenóreans become jealous of the immortality of the Eldar; and the King speaks openly against [the] command of the Valar that they should not sail west from their land.

2250–3000 During this time the power and splendour of the Númenóreans continues to increase; and they build many fortresses on the west shores of Middle-earth. Sauron extends his power eastward, being withheld from the coasts, and nurses his hatred of Númenor. But the Númenóreans become divided against

Here the entry breaks off, and is immediately followed by a long

account (more than 2000 words) of the Númenóreans, of their origin, their division, the coming of Sauron, and the Downfall.

I believe that this strange development can be explained in this way. At that time, as things stood, *The Lord of the Rings* would be published without any account, however brief, of the story of Númenor. In the manuscript T 4 my father had written (pp. 174–6) what I have called 'a condensed history rather than a list of dates'; for it is to be remembered that in the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings*, despite all the many mentions of the names Númenor and Westernesse, he had told nothing of its history, and of the Downfall no more than Faramir's words in Minas Tirith, when he told Éowyn that he was thinking 'of the land of Westernesse that foundered, and of the great dark wave climbing over the green lands and above the hills'. He must now attempt to contract even what he had written in T 4, and as a comparison of the last entries in the present text just given with those in T 4 (pp. 174–5) shows, he was not succeeding. The reduction into a mere chronological scheme of a large history that could not be understood by a recital of events was a task profoundly uncongenial to him. He despaired of it, and broke off in mid-sentence.

It may well have been at that point, having typed the words 'But the Númenóreans become divided against', that he decided that *The Lord of the Rings* must contain some account of the story of Westernesse, separate from the Tale of Years, and set it down there and then, beginning with the words 'As a reward for their sufferings in the cause against Morgoth, the Valar, the Guardians of the World, granted to the Edain a land to dwell in, removed from the dangers of Middle-earth.' Removed from the Tale of Years, it found a place in Appendix A, *Annals of the Kings and Rulers*, RK pp. 315–18.[20]

There are in fact two typescripts of this text, both composed *ab initio* on the typewriter; the second of these my father described in a pencilled note as a 'variant' of the first, and it was this that he used, with many minor alterations of wording and some omissions, in Appendix A. Neither version has the list of the Kings and Queens of Númenor (RK p. 315), and both have a more detailed account of the rebellion against Tar-Palantir and the marriage of Míriel his daughter to Pharazôn (said in both texts to have been 'by force'), which was omitted in Appendix A. Both versions, also, have an account of Sauron's policy in his attack on the coastal fortresses and harbours of the Númenóreans which was likewise omitted, and is not found in the *Akallabêth*. I cite here two passages from the first version of the text.

Proudest of all the Kings was Ar-Pharazôn the Golden, and no less than the kingship of all the world was his desire. But still he retained enough wisdom to fear the Lords of the West, and turned therefore his thoughts to Middle-earth. Now Sauron knowing of the dissension in Númenor thought how he might

use it to achieve his revenge. He began therefore to assail the havens and forts of the Númenóreans, and invaded the coastlands under their dominion. As he foresaw this aroused the great wrath of the King, who resolved to challenge Sauron the Great for the lordship of Middle-earth. For five years Ar-Pharazôn prepared, and at last he himself set sail with a great navy and armament, the greatest that had yet appeared in the world.

If Sauron had thought thus to decoy the King to Middle-earth and there destroy him, his hope deceived him. And Ar-Pharazôn landed at Umbar, and so great was the splendour and might of the Númenóreans at the noon of their glory that at the rumour of them alone all men flocked to their summons and did obeisance; and Sauron's own servants fled away. The land of Mordor he had indeed fortified and made so strong that he need fear no assault upon it; but he was in doubt now, and even the Barad-dûr seemed no longer secure.

Sauron therefore changed his design, and had recourse to guile. He humbled himself, and came himself on foot before Ar-Pharazôn, and did him homage and craved pardon for his offences. And Ar-Pharazôn spared his life; but took from him all his titles, and made him prisoner, and carried him at length back to Númenor to be hostage for the submission and faith of all who had before owed him allegiance.

'This is a hard doom,' said Sauron, 'but great kings must have their will', and he submitted as one under compulsion, concealing his delight; for things had fallen out according to his design.

Now Sauron had great wisdom and knowledge, and could find words of seeming reason for the persuasion of all but the most wary; and he could still assume a fair countenance when he wished. He was brought as a prisoner to Númenor in 3261, but he had not been there five years before he had the King's ear and was deep in his counsel.

'Great kings must have their will': this was the burden of all his advice; and whatever the King desired he said was his right, and devised plans whereby he might gain it.

Then darkness came upon the minds of the Númenóreans, and they held the Guardians in hatred, and openly denied the One who is above all; and they turned to the worship of the Dark, and of Morgoth the Lord of the Darkness. They made a great temple in the land and there did evil; for they tormented the remnant of the faithful, and there slew them or burned

them. And the like they did in Middle-earth, and filled the west coasts with tales of dread, so that men cried 'Has then Sauron become King of Númenor?'

So great was his power over the hearts of the most of that people that maybe had he wished he could have taken the sceptre; but all that he wished was to bring Númenor to ruin. Therefore he said to the King: 'One thing only now you lack to make you the greatest King in the world, the undying life that is withheld from you in fear and jealousy by the lying Powers in the West. But great kings take what is their right.' And Ar-Pharazôn pondered these words, but for long fear held him back.

But at last even Ar-Pharazôn the Golden, King of kings, having lived one hundred and ninety-two years,[21] felt the waning of his life and feared the approach of death and the going out into the darkness that he had worshipped. Therefore he began to prepare a vast armament for the assault upon Valinor, that should surpass the one with which he had come to Umbar even as a great galleon of Númenor surpassed a fisherman's boat.

There follows a brief account of the expulsion of those of doubtful loyalty from the western coasts of Númenor, the voyage of Amandil into the West,[22] the sailing of the Great Armament, and the cataclysm of the Downfall. At the end of this, following the words 'But Elendil and his sons escaped with nine ships, and were borne on the wings of a great storm and cast up on the shores of Middle-earth', is a notable statement of the destruction caused by the drowning of Númenor:

These were much changed in the tumult of the winds and seas that followed the Downfall; for in some places the sea rode in upon the land, and in others it piled up new coasts. Thus while Lindon suffered great loss, the Bay of Belfalas was much filled at the east and south, so that Pelargir which had been only a few miles from the sea was left far inland, and Anduin carved a new path by many mouths to the Bay. But the Isle of Tolfalas was almost destroyed, and was left at last like a barren and lonely mountain in the water not far from the issue of the River.

No such statement is found elsewhere.[23] In the *Akallabêth* (*The Silmarillion* p. 280), in a passage taken virtually without change from *The Drowning of Anadûnê* (IX.374, §52), there is no reference to any named region or river.[24]

There is no further text of the Tale of Years extant before the

typescript from which Appendix B was printed. Of this it may be noted that in the preamble to the entries for the Second Age the reference to *mithril* reads:

> This they did because they learned that *mithril* had been discovered in Moria. It had been believed before that this could only be got in the Ered Luin; but no more could now be found there in the old dwarf-mines.

My father struck out the second sentence on the proof.

NOTES

1 Against this opening statement concerning the Three Ages my father later scribbled 'These Ages are called the Elder Days'. On this see p. 173 and note 7.

2 T 1 has the more natural 'Arising of Sauron'.

3 *Imladrist* was corrected at once to *Imladris*. In T 1 the form is *Imladris*, as also in T 2 in the entry for 1600, so that this was a mere casual reversion to the earlier form.

4 It is plain that in the 'Scheme' the death-date of one king indicates also the accession of the next, and thus the interval between two death-dates is the length of the reign of the king: for example, the fourth king died in 1347, and the fifth in 1568, and thus the fifth king reigned for 221 years.

It certainly seems most natural to suppose that the 'Scheme' was precisely that, and that the representation of the reigns as all of the same length (differing only by one year) was a mere formula of convenience for working out the chronology as a whole. But Atanamir reigned for 50 years longer than any other, and his son for 50 years less; and this obviously relates to the passage in the *Akallabêth* (SA §24, going back to the original manuscript):

> And Atanamir lived to a great age, clinging to his life beyond the end of all joy; and he was the first of the Númenóreans to do this, refusing to depart until he was witless and unmanned, and denying to his son the kingship at the height of his days.

The much greater age of Atanamir must imply that all the other kings died by act of their own will long before the end of their physical span, and thus allowed their sons a period of rule equivalent to their own. It would be mistaken to press this early and experimental text too closely on the matter, but it certainly suggests a difference from the developed conception in *The Line of Elros*, where it is said (*Unfinished Tales* p. 218) that it was the custom 'until the days of Tar-Atanamir that the King should yield the sceptre to his successor before he died'; there were thus a number of years (recorded in the entries of *The Line of Elros*)

between the king's surrender of the sceptre and his death.

5 With this sentence cf. the original version of the *Akallabêth*, p. 143, §3.

6 It is notable that here and subsequently *Avallon* is still the name of the whole Isle of Eressëa, as it was in the original manuscript A of the *Akallabêth*, although the later form *Avallónë* and the later meaning (the Haven) entered before that manuscript was completed (see p. 146, §12).

7 Cf. the preamble to the Tale of Years in Appendix B: 'In the Fourth Age the earlier ages were often called the *Elder Days*; but that name was properly given only to the days before the casting out of Morgoth.' In the *Akallabêth* 'the Elder Days' was apparently used of the earlier part of the Second Age (p. 156, §53).

8 For other references to the abandoned idea that Gil-galad was the son of Felagund see XI.242–3, and pp. 349–50.

9 It looks as if the added passage concerning the Dwarves was rejected and replaced immediately. It is strange that my father should have written first that Durin founded Moria at the beginning of the Second Age, with 'his folk' coming from the ruins of Nogrod and Belegost.

10 With this entry compare the headnote to the Second Age in Appendix B. – The words 'the Lady Galadriel of the Noldor, sister of Gil-galad' were not, as might be thought, a slip, but record a stage in her entry into the legends of the First Age. In one of the earliest texts of the work *Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age* my father wrote of Galadriel: 'A Queen she was and lady of the woodland elves, yet she was herself of the Noldor and had come from Beleriand in the days of the Exile.' To this he added subsequently: 'For it is said by some that she was a handmaid of Melian the Immortal in the realm of Doriath'; but striking this out at once he substituted: 'For it is said by some that she was a daughter of Felagund the Fair and escaped from Nargothrond in the day of its destruction.' In the following text this was changed to read: 'And some have said that she was the daughter of Felagund the Fair and fled from Nargothrond before its fall, and passed over the Mountains into Eriador ere the coming of Fionwë'; this in turn was altered to: 'For she was the daughter of Felagund the Fair and the elder sister of Gil-galad, though seldom had they met, for ere Nargothrond was made or Felagund was driven from Dorthonion, she passed east over the mountains and forsook Beleriand, and first of all the Noldor came to the inner lands; and too late she heard the summons of Fionwë.' – In the *Annals of Aman* and the *Grey Annals* she had become, as she remained, the sister of Felagund.

11 In the *Akallabêth* the Elendili dwelt mostly in the west of Númenor, and were forced to remove into the east (p. 152); but

the statement here that they dwelt mainly in the east may be due simply to compression.

12 This is the first reference to the establishment of a Númenórean settlement at Umbar before the landing of Ar-Pharazôn (see p. 156, §41).

13 On the name *Valandil* for *Amandil* (as in the first version of the *Akallabêth*) see p. 156, §44.

14 It is curious that all the texts of the *Akallabêth* have twelve ships, and only on the late amanuensis typescript did my father change the number to nine (see p. 157, §80); whereas in the present text T 4, certainly no later than the earliest text of the *Akallabêth*, the number is nine as first written.

15 The statement in this entry concerning the division of the *palantíri* appeared first in additions to the preceding text T 3; and there they are called *Gwahaedir*, while the Tower Hills are called *Emyn Gwahaedir*, replaced by *Emyn Hen Dúnadan*, and then again by *Emyn Beraid*. This last name does not appear in the actual narrative of *The Lord of the Rings*.

16 This was probably the first appearance of *Amon Amarth*, which only occurs in Appendix A (I, i, at end, RK p. 317).

17 All the material in these last entries first appears as rough and complex marginal additions to the manuscript T 3, but at this point there is an addition in T 3 which my father did not take up, perhaps because he missed it:

> The shards of the Sword of Elendil are brought to Valandil Isildur's heir at Imladris. He becomes king of the North Kingdom of Arnor, and dwells at Fornost.

The name Valandil of Isildur's heir thus does not appear in T 4; but the entry for 3310 was not added to T 3, and thus Valandil as the name of Elendil's father does not appear in that text.

18 On the ending of the Second Age with the death of Isildur and the loss of the One Ring in the Anduin see p. 170.

19 In Appendix B the entry for S.A.2251 begins 'Tar-Atanamir takes the sceptre. Rebellion and division of the Númenóreans begins.' In *Unfinished Tales* (p. 226, note 10) I discussed this, concluding that the entry was certainly an error, although at that time I was apparently unaware of the present text, or at any rate did not consult it; I suggested that the correct reading should be: '2251 Death of Tar-Atanamir. Tar-Ancalimon takes the sceptre. Rebellion and division of the Númenóreans begins.' No further text is extant before the final typescript from which Appendix B was printed, and it cannot be said how the error arose, moving from '2060–2251 Reign of Tar-Atanamir' to '2251 Tar-Atanamir takes the sceptre'.

20 I have found nothing in the correspondence of that time touching

on Appendix A, and I cannot answer the question how it was possible, if the Tale of Years had to be so contracted for reasons of space, to include a further long section in that Appendix at that stage.

21 'having lived one hundred and ninety-two years': from 3118 to 3310. In the text T 4 3118 was the year of his accession, corrected in the later revision of the typescript T 5 (p. 178) to the year of his birth.

22 The date of Amandil's voyage is given in this text, 3316; it was added also in the revision of the typescript T 5, entry 3310.

23 This appears to be the sole reference in any text to Tolfalas, apart from a mention of its capture by Men of the South in an outline made in the course of the writing of *The Two Towers* (VII.435). The isle and its name appeared already on the First Map of Middle-earth (VII.298, 308), but on all maps its extent appears much greater than in the description of it here.

24 On the extremely difficult question of the relation between the destruction caused in Middle-earth in the Great Battle at the end of the First Age, and that caused by the Drowning of Númenor, see V.22–3, 32–3, 153–4.

VII
THE HEIRS OF ELENDIL

While the development of the Appendices as a whole, and the *Prologue*, was to some degree an interconnected work, the Tale of Years was of its nature (since chronology became a paramount concern of my father's) closely interwoven with the evolution of the history of Númenor and the Númenórean kingdoms in Middle-earth, as has been seen already in the relation of the Tale of Years of the Second Age to the development of the *Akallabêth*. For the history and chronology of the Realms in Exile the primary document is a substantial work entitled *The Heirs of Elendil*.

The textual history of this is not easy to fathom. It is divided into two parts, the Northern Line (the Kings and the Chieftains) and the Southern Line (the Kings and the Stewards). The oldest manuscript, which I will call **A**, is headed *The Heirs of Elendil The Southern Line of Gondor*; it is clearly if rapidly written for the most part, but in the concluding section recounting the names and dates of the Stewards of Gondor becomes very rough and is obviously in the first stage of composition.

The second manuscript, **B**, has both the Northern and the Southern Lines, in that order; but though my father fastened the two sections together, they are distinct in appearance. I believe that the second part began as a fair copy of A, but quickly developed and expanded into a much fuller (and increasingly rough) text. To this he added the Northern Line. This section in B seems to be in the first stage of composition (a rejected page shows the names of the later kings and chieftains in the process of emergence) – and there is no trace of any earlier work on the Northern Line, a companion text to A. On the other hand there are clear indications that the Northern Line and its history did already exist when A was set down.

Heavily emended, the composite text B paved the way for a fine manuscript, **C**; this in turn was much emended in the Northern Line, less so in the remainder, and an amanuensis typescript **D** was made (much later) from the corrected text (see p. 190).

There is as usual no hint or trace of external dating for any of this work on *The Heirs of Elendil*, and the most that can be done is to try to relate it to other texts. The relative date of B is shown by the fact that the North Kingdom was still called *Arthedain* and that Anárion was still the elder son of Elendil, for this was also the case in the third

text of the Tale of Years, T 3 (p. 172). The name of the tenth king of the Northern Line is in B *Eärendil*, which is found in the early texts F 1, F 2 of the Appendix on Languages as that of the tenth king (p. 32, footnote to §9). In the fourth text T 4 of the Tale of Years the name of the realm is *Arnor*, Isildur is the elder son, and King Eärendur enters.

There can be no doubt therefore that all the fundamental structure and chronology of the Realms in Exile reached written form in the first phase of the work on what would become the Appendices (cf. p. 177). That the final text C, and many at least of the corrections and additions made to it, belongs to the same time is equally clear. One might suppose this to be the case on general grounds: from the care and calm that are evident in the fine manuscript as it was originally made, in contrast to the latter ragged and chaotic work on the Appendices, and from the fact that corrections to the preceding text B were made (according to my father's constant practice) in preparation for this further version. But the occurrence on the first page of C of the names *Valandil* of Elendil's father and of *Avallon* for *Eressëa* (the latter remaining uncorrected) shows that it belongs to the time when the original text of the *Akallabêth* still stood and T 4 of the Tale of Years had not yet been revised, for both of these have *Valandil* (pp. 156, 175) and *Avallon* (p. 173 and note 6). To this may be added the use of 'Noldorin' for 'Sindarin'.

Work on *The Heirs of Elendil* gave rise to alterations in the text of *The Lord of the Rings*. A good example of this is found in the passage of the chapter *A Knife in the Dark* (FR p. 197) where Strider speaks of the history of Weathertop. As this passage stood at the end of work on the chapter (scarcely differing from the original text, VI.169) he said:

> There is no barrow on Weathertop, nor on any of these hills. The Men of the West did not live here. I do not know who made this path, nor how long ago, but it was made to provide a road that could be defended, from the north to the foot of Weathertop; some say that Gil-galad and Elendil made a fort and a strong place here in the ancient days, when they marched into the East.

This was altered and expanded, in a late typescript, to the passage in FR, where Strider's account of the great tower of Amon Sûl that was burned and broken derives from the addition made to the entry for Arveleg I (eighteenth king of the Northern Line) in *Heirs of Elendil* B, reappearing in the final text C (see pp. 194, 209). But the addition made to C in the entry for Argeleb I, seventeenth king, 'Argeleb fortifies the Weather Hills', belongs with the alteration of Strider's words about the path, which now became:

> The Men of the West did not live here; though in their latter days they defended the hills for a while against the evil that came out of Angmar. This path was made to serve the forts along the walls.

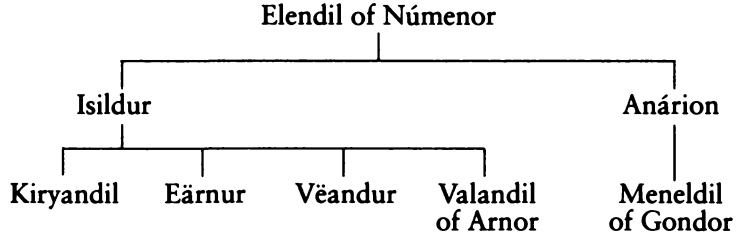
The date of the making of the typescript D, however, is very much later. It is a good text, in top copy and carbon, made by an experienced typist, which fact alone would strongly suggest that it comes from the time after the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*; but in addition it was made on the same machine as that used for the *Annals of Aman*, the *Grey Annals*, the text LQ 2 of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, and the *Akallabêth*, about 1958 (see pp. 141–2). It is remarkable (seeing that all the essential material of C had been taken up into Appendix A, if presented there in a totally different form) that my father should have selected this text as one of those to be copied 'as a necessary preliminary to "remoulding" [of *The Silmarillion*]', as he said in his letter to Rayner Unwin of December 1957 (X.141). He did indeed make use of it later still, writing on the folded newspaper that contains the texts of *The Heirs of Elendil* 'Partly revised August 1965' – i.e. in preparation for the Second Edition of *The Lord of the Rings* published in 1966: from this time comes a long insertion in typescript greatly expanding the account of the events leading to the Kin-strife in Gondor, which in somewhat contracted form was introduced into Appendix A in the Second Edition (see further p. 259).

It has been difficult to find a satisfactory way of presenting this complex material, especially in view of the lack of correspondence in the texts of the Northern and Southern Lines (B–C; A–B–C). As with the two texts F 1 and F 2 of the Appendix on Languages, it has seemed best to give first the full text of C, with the corrections and expansions noted as such (though without any attempt to distinguish the relative times of their making), and to indicate significant differences in B in the Commentary following the text. In addition, I give an account of the brief manuscript A of the Southern Line at the beginning of the Commentary on that part of the work (p. 211).

As I have already mentioned, there is no writing extant before the manuscript A. It will be seen, however, that the names of the southern kings and their dates were already very largely fixed in A as first written down, and that (although the historical notes are very scanty and brief by comparison with the final form) such matters as the Kin-strife and the claim of Arvedui (last king in the North) to the southern crown were fully if not very substantially present; it may be supposed therefore that initial notes and lists have not survived (see also p. 216, under *Ondohir*). It is generally impossible to say how much of the matter that entered at each successive stage had newly arisen, and how much was present but at first, when the scope of the work was not yet fully realised, held in abeyance. But there is reason to think (see p. 213) that a firm if undeveloped structure of the history of the Realms in Exile had arisen a good while before the first texts of *The Heirs of Elendil* were composed. There are cases in text B where the actual working out of the history can be clearly seen, but always within that structure.

The Heirs of Elendil

Summary of the Annals in the 'Book of the Kings' and the 'Roll of Stewards of Gondor'. The dates are corrected to the reckoning of the Ages according to the Eldar, as also used in Arnor. In Gondor the dates were reckoned from the foundation of Osgiliath, Second Age 3320. Twenty-one years thus have to be added to the year-numbers here given to find the dates of the first Gondor era.



Year

Second Age

3119 Elendil born in Númenor. His father was Valandil [> Amandil] chief of the party of the Elf-friends.

3209 Isildur, elder son of Elendil, born in Númenor.

3219 Anárion, second son of Elendil, born in Númenor.

3299 Kiryandil, son of Isildur, born in Númenor.

3318 Meneldil, son of Anárion, born. He was the last man to be born in Númenor.

3319 Downfall of Númenor.

3320 Establishment of the Númenórean 'realms in exile' in the west of Middle-earth: Arnor in the north of the westlands (with chief city at Annúminas) by Elendil; Gondor in the south (with chief city at Osgiliath) by his sons. Isildur planted a seedling of the White Tree of Avallon, gift of the Eldar, in Minas Ithil. The *Palantíri*, or Seven Stones of Sight, were divided, and set up in towers: three in Arnor, at Annúminas, and at Amon Sûl, and upon the Emyn Beraid looking towards the Sea; four in the realm of Gondor, at Osgiliath, at Minas Ithil, at Minas Anor, and at Orthanc in Angrenost (Isengard).

3339 Ëarnur, second son of Isildur, born in Gondor.

3379 Vëandur, third son of Isildur, born in Minas Ithil.

3429 Sauron attacks Gondor from the neighbouring land of Mordor. He destroys Minas Ithil and burns the White

Tree. Isildur escapes by ship down Anduin, and sails north from Anduin's Mouths to Elendil in Arnor, with his wife and sons; he bears with him a seedling of the White Tree, grown from its first fruit in Middle-earth. Anárion holds out in Osgiliath.

3430 The last Alliance is begun. Elendil and Isildur obtain the help of Gil-galad and Elrond and gather great forces. They march east to Imladris. Valandil son of Isildur born in Imladris.

3434 The Battle of Dagorlad. Gil-galad and Elendil are victorious. The Siege of Barad-dûr is begun.

3440 Anárion is slain before Barad-dûr.

3441 Fall of Barad-dûr and overthrow of Sauron. Elendil and Gil-galad are slain. Isildur delivers Gondor to Meneldil son of Anárion. He plants the White Tree again in Minas Anor in memory of his brother, and marches up Anduin, intending to return to Arnor.

Isildur and his three elder sons are slain by Orcs in the Gladden Fields. His fourth son Valandil succeeds to Arnor, but being a child remains for a time with Elrond at Imladris.

The Second Age ends and the Third Age begins

Here follows the roll of the Kings of the Northern Line, and after the ending of the kings the names of the chieftains of the Dúnedain of the North who maintained throughout this Age the line of Valandil son of Isildur unbroken.

In the tenth year of the Third Age Valandil being come to manhood took up the kingship of Arnor and dwelt at Annúminas by Lake Nenuial.

The Heirs of Elendil

The Northern Line of Arnor: the Isildurioni

1	Elendil	born S.A.3119	lived 322 years	†slain 3441 or T.A.1
2	Isildur	3209	232	†slain 3441 or T.A.1
3	Valandil	3430	260	died T.A.249
4	Eldakar	T.A. 87	252	339
5	Arantar	185	250	435
6	Tarkil	280	235	515
7	Tarondor	372	230	602

8	Valandur	462	190	†slain	652
9	Elendur	552	225	died	777
10	Eärendur	640	221		861

After Eärendur the Northern Kingdom of Arnor was broken up. The sons of the king established smaller independent kingdoms. The direct line of the eldest son ruled the realm of Arthedain in the north-west; their city was Fornost. Annúminas became deserted owing to the dwindling of the people. The chief of the lesser realms were [Cardolan east of the Baranduin; and Rhudaur north of the Bruinen. Arthedain still claimed the overlordship, but this was disputed. >] Cardolan south of the Great Road and east of the Baranduin; and Rhudaur north of the Great Road between the Weather Hills and the Bruinen. There was often strife between the kingdoms; the chief matter of debate was the possession of the Weather Hills and the land westward thence towards Bree. For both Rhudaur and Cardolan desired to control Amon Sûl (which stood upon their borders), because of the Tower built there by Elendil, in which was kept the chief *palantir* of the North. / From this time on the official names of the kings were no longer given, after the manner of Númenor, in High-elven or 'Quenya' form; but the kings of Arthedain used Elvish names of Noldorin form and still maintained their friendship with the Eldar of Lindon and Imladris.

11	Amlaith of Fornost	born 726	lived 220 years	died	946
12	Beleg	811	218		1029
13	Mallor	895	215		1110

In his time an evil shadow fell upon Greenwood the Great, and it became known as Mirkwood. The Sorcerer of Dol Guldur (later known to be Sauron returned) begins to work evil. The Periannath cross the Mountains and come into Arnor.

14	Celepharn	born 979	lived 212 years	died	1191
15	Celebrindol [> Celebrindor]	1062	210		1272
16	Malvegil	1144	205		1349

In the days of Malvegil Orcs again became a menace, and invaded the lands of Arnor. The Úlairi or Ringwraiths began to stir again. The chief of the Úlairi comes north and establishes himself as a king of evil men in Angmar in the far north regions. The Witch-king makes war on the realms of the Dúnedain, which are disunited. The lesser realms resist the claim of the King at Fornost to be overlord of all the former lands of Arnor. In token of this claim all the kings of Arthedain, and the chieftains after them, take names with the prefix *aran*, *ar(a)* signifying 'high king'. [*Added:* The purpose of the Witch-king is to destroy

Arnor, for there is more hope of success in the North (where the realm is disunited) than in the South while Gondor remains strong. At this time no descendants of Isildur remain in Rhudaur or Cardolan; therefore the kings of Arthedain again claim overlordship in all Arnor. The claim is rejected by Rhudaur, in which power has been seized by men in secret league with Angmar.] [*Struck out:* The kings of Arthedain also claim to be guardians of the *palantir* of Amon Sûl, though this is outside their territory, standing on the borders of Cardolan and Rhudaur between whom also it is a matter of bitter dispute.]

17 Argeleb I born 1226 lived 130 years †slain 1356
[He was slain in battle with Cardolan in the strife of the *palantir* of Amon Sûl. >] Argeleb fortifies the Weather Hills. He was slain in battle with Rhudaur (with secret aid of Angmar); the enemy tries to seize the *palantir* of Amon Sûl.

18 Arveleg I born 1309 lived 100 years †slain 1409
The Witch-king of Angmar taking advantage of war among [the Númenóreans or Dúnedain >] the Dúnedain comes down out of the North. He overruns Cardolan and Rhudaur. [Cardolan is ravaged and destroyed and becomes desolate. The Tower of Amon Sûl is razed and the *palantir* is broken. Evil spirits come and take up their abode in the mounds of the hills of Cardolan. In Rhudaur an evil folk, workers of sorcery, subjects of Angmar, slay the remnants of the Dúnedain and build dark forts in the hills. But the Dúnedain of Fornost, in spite of the death of their king, hold out, and repel the forces of Angmar with the help of Cirdan of Lindon. >] Cardolan is ravaged; the Tower of Amon Sûl is razed and the *palantir* is removed to Fornost. In Rhudaur an evil folk ... [*as above*] build dark forts in the hills, while the remaining Dúnedain of Cardolan hold out in the Barrow Downs and the Forest; the Dúnedain of Arthedain repel the forces of Angmar from Fornost with the help of Cirdan of Lindon.

19 Araphor born 1391 lived 198 years died 1589

20 Argeleb II 1473 197 1670
In his day the people of the old lands of Arnor become further diminished by the coming of the plague out of the south and east, which also devastated Gondor. [The plague does not pass beyond the Baranduin. >] The plague lessens in deadliness as it goes north; but Cardolan becomes desolate. Evil spirits come out of Angmar and take up their abode in the mounds of Tyrn Goerthaid. / It was Argeleb II who granted the land west of the Baranduin to the Periannath; they crossed the river and entered the land in 1601.

21 Arvegil born 1553 lived 190 years died 1743

22 Arveleg II 1633 180 1813

23 Araval 1711 180 1891

With the help of Lindon and Imladris he won a victory over Angmar in 1851, and sought to reoccupy Cardolan, but the evil wights terrify all who seek to dwell near.

24 Araphant born 1789 lived 175 years died 1964

Angmar recovers and makes war on the Dúnedain. Araphant seeks to renew ancient alliance and kinship with Gondor. In 1940 his heir Arvedui wedded Fíriel daughter of King Ondohir [> Ondonir] of Gondor. But Gondor is engaged in the long Wars of the Wainriders, and sends little help. Ondohir [> Ondonir] and his sons fell in battle in 1944, and Arvedui claimed the crown of Gondor, on behalf of Fíriel and himself as representing 'the elder line of Isildur', since no close male claimant to the throne in Gondor could at first be found. The claim was rejected by Gondor, but Arvedui and his descendants continued to consider themselves as the true heirs of Anárion as well as of Isildur.

25 Arvedui

born 1864 lived 110 years †drowned 1974 [> 1975]

He was the last king at Fornost. In [*added:* the winter of] 1974 the Witch-king destroyed Fornost, laid Arthedain waste, and scattered the remnants of the Dúnedain. Arvedui escaped from Fornost and fled north, taking the *palantíri* of Annúminas and Emyn Beraid. He attempted to go by ship from Forochel to Gondor but was wrecked and the Stones were lost. The sons of Arvedui took refuge with Cirdan of Lune. The following year Elrond and Cirdan, with some belated help from Gondor, sent by sea, defeated the forces of Angmar. The Witch-king was overthrown by Elrond, and his realm brought to an end. The northern lands though desolate were now made somewhat more wholesome again. But it was found later that the Witch-king had fled away secretly southwards, and had entered Minas Ithil (now called Minas Morgul) and become Lord of the Ringwraiths.

The remnants of the Dúnedain of the North become rangers and errants, living largely in hiding, but waging ceaseless war on all evil things that still are abroad in the land. The sons of their chieftains are usually fostered in Imladris by Elrond, to whose keeping are given the chief remaining heirlooms of their house, especially the shards of Elendil's sword, Narsil.

End of the North Kingdom

Here follows the roll of the Chieftains of the Dúnedain
of Eriador, heirs of Isildur
Little is preserved of the tale of their wanderings and deeds,
until the end of the Third Age.

The Chieftains of the Dúnedain

26 (and 24th heir of Isildur)

	1	Aranarth	born 1938	lived 168 years	died 2106
27	2	Arahail	2012	165	2177
28	3	Aranuir	2084	163	2247
29	4	Aravir	2156	163	2319
30	5	Aragorn I	2227	100	†slain 2327

Aragorn was slain by wolves which infested eastern Eriador.

31	6	Araglas	born 2296	lived 159 years	died 2455
32	7	Arahad I	2365	158	2523
33	8	Aragost	2431	157	2588
34	9	Aravorn	2497	157	2654
35	10	Arahad II	2563	156	2719
36	11	Arassuil	2628	156	2784

In his time there was much war with Orcs that infesting the Misty Mountains harried Eriador. The chief battles were in 2745–8. In 2747 the Periannath (Halflings) defeated a westerly ranging force of the invaders that came down from the north into their land west of Baranduin.

37	12	Arathorn I	born 2693	lived 155 years	died 2848
38	13	Argonui	2757	155	2912
39	14	Arador	2820	110	†slain 2930

He was slain by trolls in the mountains north of Imladris.

40 15 Arathorn II born 2873 lived 60 years †slain 2933

He wedded Gilrain daughter of Dirhael, a descendant also, but by a younger branch, of Arathorn I. He was slain by an orc-arrow when hunting Orcs in the company of Elladan and Elrohir, the sons of Elrond. He wedded in 2929. His infant son (aged 2 at his father's death) was fostered and brought up at Imladris.

41 16 Aragorn II born 2931 lived 190 years died 3121
or the Fourth Age 100

Aragorn became King of Arnor and Gondor in the name of *Elessar*. He played a great part in the War of the Ring in which at last Sauron and the power of Mordor was destroyed. He wedded Arwen Undómiel daughter of Elrond and restored the majesty and blood of the Númenóreans. The Third Age ended with the departure of Elrond in 3022 [> 3021]; and the descendants of Elessar through Arwen became also heirs of the elf-realms of the westlands.

The Heirs of Elendil

The Southern Line of Gondor: the Anárioni

1 Elendil
born S.A.3119 lived 322 years †slain 3441 = T.A.1

2 Anárion 3219 221 †slain 3440

3 Meneldil 3318 280 died T.A.158
[*added:* 4th child]

4 Kemendur 3399 279 238

5 Eärendil T.A. 48 276 324

6 Anardil 136 275 411

7 Ostohir [> Ostonir]
222 270 492
He rebuilt and enlarged Minas Anor, where afterwards the kings dwelt always in summer rather than at Osgiliath.

8 Rómendakil I born 310 lived [231] years †slain 541
His original name was *Tarostar*. In his father's time wild men out of the East first assailed Gondor. Tarostar defeated them and drove them out, and took the name *Rómendakil*, East-slayer. He was, however, later slain in battle with fresh hordes of Easterlings.

9 Turambar born 397 lived 270 years died 667
He avenged his father, and conquered much territory eastwards.

10 Atanatar I born 480 lived 268 years died 748

11 Siriondil 570 260 830

12 Falastur 654 259 913
He was first called *Tarannon*. He took the name *Falastur*, on coming to the throne, to commemorate his victories that had extended the sway of Gondor far along the shore-lands on either side of the Mouths of Anduin. He was the first childless king. He was succeeded by the son of his brother Tarkiryan.

13 Eärnil I born 736 lived 200 years
†drowned 936
He began the building of a great navy, and repaired the ancient havens of Pelargir [*added:* and seized and fortified Umbar, 933]. He was lost with many ships and men in a great storm off Umbar.

14 Kiryandil born 820 lived 195 years †slain 1015
He continued to increase the fleets of Gondor; but he fell in a battle with the Men of Harad [who contested the designs of Gondor to occupy Umbar and there make a great fort and haven. >] They contested the designs of Gondor to occupy the coast-lands beyond R. Harnen; they therefore tried to take Umbar, where Gondor maintained a great fort and haven.

15 Hyarmendakil I
born 899 lived 250 years died 1149

At first called *Kiryahir*, he avenged his father, defeated the kings of Harad, and made them acknowledge the overlordship of Gondor, 1050. Gondor occupied all the land south of the Mouths of Anduin up to [Umbar and the borders of Near Harad; >] the River (Poros >) Harnen and the borders of Near Harad; and also all the coast-lands as far as Umbar. / Umbar became a great fortress and haven of fleets. After his victory Kiryahir took the name of Hyarmendakil 'South-slayer'. He reigned 134 years, the longest of all save Tarondor (twenty-seventh king).

16 Atanatar II born 977 lived 249 years died 1226
Surnamed *Alkarin*, the Glorious. In his time, owing to the vigour of the 'Ship-kings', the line from Falastur onwards, Gondor reached the height of its power. This extended in direct rule as far north as Celebrant and the south-eaves of Mirkwood, east to the Sea of [Rúnaer >] Rhúnaer, and south to Umbar, and westward to the River Gwathlo or Greyflood. In addition many other regions were tributary: the Men of Anduin Vale as far as its sources, and the folk of Harad in the South. But Atanatar in fact did nothing to increase this power, and lived mostly in splendour and ease. The waning of Gondor began before he died, and the watch on the borders was neglected.

17 Narmakil I born 1049 lived 245 years died 1294
The second childless king. He was succeeded by his younger brother.

18 Kalmakil born 1058 lived 246 years died 1304

19 Rómendakil II 1126 240 1366

20 Valakar 1194 238 1432
In his time there broke out the disastrous civil war called the Kin-strife. After the death of Atanatar the Glorious the Northmen of Mirkwood and the Upper Anduin, who had increased much in the peace brought by the power of Gondor, became powerful. Though these people were ultimately related in speech and blood to the Atani (and so to the Númenóreans), and were usually friendly, they now became restless. Rómendakil was forced to withdraw his northern border east of Anduin to the Emyn Muil. He there built the Gates of Argonath with images of Isildur and Anárion beyond which no stranger was allowed to come south without leave. But Rómendakil being at this time much troubled by assaults of Easterlings sought to attach the Northmen more closely to his allegiance. He took many into his service and gave them high rank. His son Valakar dwelt long among them in the house of [*added:* Vidugavia] the King of Rhovannion. Rómendakil permitted him to wed the king's daughter. The marriage of the heir to a woman of an alien people

and without any Númenórean blood had never occurred before, and caused great displeasure. Before Valakar died there was already open rebellion in the southern fiefs. Various claimants to the crown appeared, descendants of Atanatar II. The most favoured especially by the fleet, and ship-folk of the southern shores, was the Captain of the Ships, Kastamir [great-grandson >] grandson of Kalmakil's second son Kalimehtar.

21(a) Eldakar born 1255 deposed 1437
When Valakar died his son, who had the alien name of *Vinitharya*, took the name *Eldakar*, and succeeded. At first he held Osgiliath, and Minas Anor, but he was driven out and deposed by Kastamir, and fled to the north. In this war Osgiliath suffered much damage, and the tower of the *palantir* was destroyed and the *palantir* lost.

22 Kastamir born 1259 seized throne 1437 †slain 1447
After ten years Eldakar defeated Kastamir with the help of his mother's kin. Kastamir was slain [*added:* by Eldakar in battle in Lebennin, at Ethraid Erui], but his sons and many of his kin and party fled to Umbar, and long held it as an independent realm at war with Gondor.

21(b) Eldakar
regained the kingdom 1447 lived 235 years died 1490
After Eldakar's return the blood of the kingly house and kindred became more mixed, for many Northmen settled in Gondor, and became great in the land, and high officers in its armies. But the friendship with the Northmen, which continued as part of the policy of the kings, proved of great service in later wars.

23 Aldamir born 1330 lived 210 years †slain 1540
He was the second son and third child of Eldakar. His elder brother Ornendil was slain in the wars of the Kin-strife (1446). Aldamir fell in battle with the rebelling kings of Harad allied with the rebels of Umbar.

24 Vinyarion born 1391 lived 230 years died 1621
He later (1551) took the name *Hyarmendakil II*, after a great victory over Harad in vengeance for his father.

25 Minardil born 1454 lived 180 years †slain 1634
The rebels of Umbar had never ceased to make war on Gondor since the death of Kastamir, attacking its ships and raiding its coast at every opportunity. They had however become much mixed in blood through admission of Men of Harad, and only their chieftains, descendants of Kastamir, were of Númenórean race. Learning through spies that Minardil was at Pelargir, suspecting no peril since the crushing of Harad and Umbar by his father, Angomaitë and Sangahyanda, leaders of the Corsairs of Umbar, great-grandsons of Kastamir, made a raid up Anduin,

slew the king, ravaged Pelargir and the coasts, and escaped with great booty.

26 Telemnar born 1516 lived 120 years died 1636
Telemnar immediately began to fit out a fleet for the reduction of Umbar. But a deadly plague or sickness, coming with dark winds out of the East, fell on the land. Great numbers of the folk of Gondor, especially those that dwelt in Osgiliath, and other cities and towns, took sick and died. The White Tree of Minas Anor withered and died. Telemnar and all his children perished. The crown was taken by his nephew.

27 Tarondor born 1577 lived 221 years died 1798
He was the eldest son of Minastan, second son of Minardil. He removed the king's house permanently to Minas Anor, and there replanted a seedling of the White Tree in the citadel. During the plague in Osgiliath those folk that survived fled from the city to the western dales or into the woods of Ithilien, and few were willing to return. Osgiliath became largely deserted and partly ruinous. Tarondor had the longest reign of all the Kings of Gondor (162 years), but was unable to do more than attempt to re-establish life and order within his borders. Owing to the fewness of his people the watch on Mordor was neglected and the fortresses guarding the passes became emptied.

28 Telumehtar born 1632 lived 218 years died 1850
He took the title *Umbardakil* after the storming and destruction of the haven and stronghold of the Corsairs of Umbar (1810). But this was later reoccupied and rebuilt in the troublous times that later befell Gondor.

29 Narmakil II born 1684 lived 172 years †slain 1856
In his time it is said that the Úlairi or Ringwraiths re-entered Mordor, owing to the ceasing of the vigilance, and there they secretly prepared in the darkness for the return of their Dark Lord. Men out of the East appeared of a new sort, stronger, better armed, journeying in huge wains, and fighting in chariots. Stirred up maybe by Sauron they made a great assault on Gondor, and continued to be a great peril for very many years. Narmakil was slain in battle with their host beyond Anduin, north-east of the Morannon.

30 Kalimehtar born 1736 lived 200 years died 1936
He continued the War of the Wainriders, and in 1899 won a great victory over them on Dagorlad, which checked their attacks for some time. He built the White Tower in Minas Anor to house the *palantir*.

31 Ondohir
[> Ondonir] born 1787 lived 157 years †slain 1944

War continued with the Wainriders. In 1940 Ondohir [> Ondonir] gave the hand of his daughter Fíriel (born 1896), his third child, to Arvedui heir of Araphant, King of the North-kingdom; but he was unable to send any help to the north against the evil realm of Angmar, because of his own peril. In 1944 Ondohir [> Ondonir] and both his sons Faramir and Artamir fell in battle against an alliance of the Wainriders and the Haradrim. The king and his sons fell in battle in the north and the enemy poured into Ithilien. But in the meantime Eärnil Captain of the southern army won a victory in South Ithilien, destroyed the army of Harad, and hastening north succoured the retreating remnants of the northern army, and drove the Wainriders off. In the great rout that followed most of the enemy were driven into the Dead Marshes.

On the death of Ondohir [> Ondonir] and his sons Arvedui of the North claimed the crown of Gondor as the 'direct descendant of Elendil', and as husband of Fíriel. The claim was rejected by Gondor. At length Eärnil the victorious Captain received the crown (in 1945), since he was of the royal house.

32 Eärnil II born 1883 lived 160 years died 2043

He was son of Siriondil, son of Kalimmakil, son of Narmakil II. In his time the North-kingdom came to an end with the overthrow and death of Arvedui, claimant to both crowns. He sent [some help north by sea >] his son Eärnur north with a fleet, and so aided in the destruction of the realm of Angmar. But, though not revealed until later, the Witch-king fled south and joined the other Ringwraiths in Mordor, becoming their Lord. When they were ready the Úlairi suddenly issued from Mordor over the pass of Kirith Ungol. They took Minas Ithil, and were never again expelled from it during that Age. It became a place of great fear, and was renamed Minas Morgul. Few people were willing any longer to dwell in Ithilien, but this was still held and garrisoned by Gondor. At this time probably the *palantír* of Minas Ithil was captured and so came to the hands of Sauron.

33 and last of the Third Age

Eärnur born 1928 lived 122 years †slain 2050

He renamed Minas Anor Minas Tirith, as the city on guard against the evil of Minas Morgul. On the death of his father the Lord of the Ringwraiths challenged Eärnur to single combat to make good his claim to the throne. Mardil the Steward restrained him.

The challenge was repeated with taunts in 2050, seven years later, and against the counsel of Mardil Eärnur accepted. He rode with a small escort of knights to Minas Morgul, but neither he nor his company were ever heard of again. It was thought that

the faithless enemy had merely decoyed him to the gates and then trapped him and either slain him or kept him in torment as a prisoner.

Since his death was not certain Mardil the Good Steward ruled Gondor in his name for many years. In any case no male descendants of the royal line, among those whose blood was little mixed, could be found.

For a long time before Mardil's day the Stewardship had usually been held by a member of his family (the *Hurinionath*, descended from Húrin, Steward to King Minardil). It now became hereditary like a kingship; but each new Steward took office with the formula: 'to hold rule and rod in the King's name and until the King's return'. Though this soon became a mere formality and the Stewards exercised all the power of kings, it was believed by many in Gondor that a king would return, and the Stewards never sat on the ancient throne nor used the royal standard and emblems. The banner of the Stewards was plain white. The royal standard was sable with a silver tree in blossom beneath seven stars.

34 Elessar born 2931 lived 190 years died 3121
or the Fourth Age 100

After a lapse of 969 years Aragorn, son of Arathorn, 16th chieftain of the Dúnedain of the North, and 41st heir of Elendil in the direct line through Isildur, being also in the direct line a descendant of Fíriel daughter of Ondohir [> Ondonir] of Gondor, claimed the crown of Gondor and of Arnor, after the defeat of Sauron, the destruction of Mordor, and the dissolution of the Ringwraiths. He was crowned in the name of *Elessar* at Minas Tirith in 3019. A new era and calendar was then begun, beginning with 25 March (old reckoning) as the first day. He restored Gondor and repeopled it, but retained Minas Tirith as the chief city. He wedded Arwen Undómiel, daughter of Elrond, brother of Elros first King of Númenor, and so restored the majesty and high lineage of the royal house, but their life-span was not restored and continued to wane until it became as that of other men.

The Third Age ended according to the reckoning of the Eldar in 3021 and the same year Elrond departed. In 3022 the Fourth Age started and the Elder Days and their Twilight were over.

The son of Elessar and Arwen was Eldarion, first king of the Fourth Age, whose realm was great and long-enduring, but this roll does not contain the names of the Fourth Age.

Here follows the roll of the Stewards of Gondor
that ruled the realm and city between the going of Eärnur

and the coming of Elessar

The Ruling Stewards of Gondor

The names of these rulers are here added; for though the *Hurinionath* were not in the direct line of descent from Elendil, they were ultimately of royal origin, and had in any case kept their blood more pure than most other families in the later ages.

They were descended, father to son, from Húrin, Steward to King Minardil, who had laboured greatly for the ordering of the realm in the disastrous days of the plague, when King Telemnar died within two years of the slaying of King Minardil by the Corsairs. From that time on the kings usually chose their steward from this family, though a son did not necessarily succeed a father. But in fact it had descended from father to son since Pelendur, Steward to King Ondohir, and after the ending of the kings it became hereditary, though if a Steward left no son, the office might pass in the female line, that is to his sister-son, or to his father's sister-son.

The choice was made according to their worth among the near kin by the Council of Gondor. But the Council had no power of choice if there was a son living.

The Stewards belonged to a family of the ancient Elf-friends who used (beside the Common Speech) the Noldorin tongue after the fashion of Gondor.* Their official names (after Mardil) were in that tongue and drawn mostly from the ancient legends of the Noldor and their dealings with the Edain.

All the time of the Stewards was one of slow dwindling and waning both of the power and numbers of the Men of Gondor, and of the lore and skill of Númenor among them. Also the life-span of those even of the purer blood steadily decreased. They were never free from war or the threat of war with the evil that dwelt in Minas Morgul and watched them. They counted it glory and success to hold that threat at bay. Osgiliath became a ruin, a city of shadows, often taken and re-taken in petty battles. For a while, during the 300 years peace, after the

* Since this had long ceased to be a 'cradle-tongue' in Gondor, but was learned in early youth (by those claiming Númenórean descent) from loremasters, and used by them as a mark of rank, it had changed very little since the Downfall; and though the Men of Gondor altered a little some of the sounds, they could still understand the Eldar and be understood by them. In the later days, however, they saw them seldom.

formation of the White Council, Ithilien was reoccupied and a hardy folk dwelt there, tending its fair woods and fields, but after the days of Denethor I (2435–77) most of them fled west again. But it is true that but for Minas Tirith the power of Mordor would much sooner have grown great and would have spread over Anduin into the westlands. After the days of Eärnur the White Tree waned and seldom flowered. It slowly aged and withered and bore no fruit, so far as men knew.

Pelendur born 1879 lived 119 years died 1998
He was steward to King Ondohir and advised the rejection of the claim of Arvedui, and supported the claim of Eärnil who became king in 1945. He remained steward under Eärnil, and was succeeded by his son.

Vorondil born 1919 lived 110 years died 2029
He was succeeded by his son. [*Added:* Vorondil was a great hunter and he made a great horn out of the horn of the wild oxen of Araw, which then still roamed near the Sea of Rhûn.]

1 Mardil Voronwë ('steadfast')
born 1960 lived 120 years died 2080
He became steward to King Eärnil in his later days, and then to King Eärnur. After the disappearance of Eärnur he ruled the realm for thirty years from 2050, and is reckoned the first of the line of *Ruling Stewards* of Gondor.

2	Eradan	born 1999	lived 117 years	died 2116
3	Herion	2037	111	2148
4	Belegorn	2074	130	2204
5	Húrin I	2124	120	2244
6	Túrin I	2165	113	2278

He was the third child of Húrin. He was wedded twice and had several children (a thing already rare and remarkable among the nobles of Gondor); but only the last, a child born in his old age, was a son.

7 Hador born 2245 lived 150 years died 2395
The last recorded Man of Gondor to reach such an age. After this time the life-span of those of Númenórean blood waned more rapidly.

8	Barahir	born 2290	lived 122 years	died 2412
9	Dior	2328	107	2435

He was childless and was succeeded by the son of his sister Rían.

10 Denethor I born 2375 lived 102 years died 2477
Great troubles arose in his day. The Morgul-lords having bred in secret a fell race of black Orcs in Mordor assail Ithilien and overrun it. They capture Osgiliath and destroy its renowned bridge.

Boromir son of Denethor in 2475 defeated the host of Morgul and recovered Ithilien for a while.

11 Boromir
born 2410 lived [89 >] 79 years died [2499 >] 2489
He was third child of Denethor. His life was shortened by the poisoned wounds he received in the Morgul-war.

12 Cirion born 2449 lived 118 years died 2567
In his time there came a great assault from the North-east. Wild men out of the East crossed Anduin north of the Emyn Muil and joining with Orcs out of the Misty Mountains overran the realm (now sparsely populated) north of the White Mountains, pouring into the wold and plain of Calenardon. Eorl the Young out of Éothéod brings great help of horsemen and the great victory of the Field of Celebrant (2510) is won. Eorl's people settle in Calenardon, which is after called Rohan, a free folk but in perpetual alliance with the Stewards of Gondor. (According to some Eorl was a descendant of the Northmen that were allied with the royal house in the days of Eldakar.) [*Added:* Eorl was slain in battle in the 'Wold of Rohan' (as it was later called), 2545.]

13	Hallas	born 2480	lived 125 years	died 2605
14	Húrin II	2515	113	2628
15	Belecthor I	2545	110	2655
16	Orodreth	2576	109	2685
17	Ecthelion I	2600	98	2698

He repaired and rebuilt the White Tower in Minas Tirith, which was afterwards often called Ecthelion's Tower. He had no children and was followed by Egalmoth, grandson of Morwen sister of Orodreth.

18 Egalmoth born 2626 lived 117 years died 2743
In this time there was renewed war with the Orcs.

19 Beren born 2655 lived 108 years died 2763
In his time [there was a renewed attack on Gondor by the pirates of Umbar. >] there was a great attack on Gondor (2758) by three fleets of the pirates of Umbar. All the coasts were invaded. / Gondor received no help from Rohan, and could send no help thither. Rohan was invaded from the North-east, and also from the West (by rebelling Dunlendings). The Long Winter 2758–9. Rohan lies for five months under snow. [*Added:* Saruman comes to Orthanc.]

20 Beregond born 2700 lived 111 years died 2811
In his time the War of the Dwarves and Orcs in the Misty Mountains occurred [(2766–9) >] (2793–9). Many Orcs flying south are slain and they are prevented from establishing themselves in the White Mountains.

21 Belecthor II born 2752 lived 120 years died 2872

Only child, late-born, of Beregond. The last of his line to pass the age of 100 years. At his death the White Tree finally dies in the citadel, but is left standing 'until the King come'. No seedling can be found.

22 Thorondir born 2782 lived 100 years died 2882

23 Túrin II 2815 99 2914

In his time [folk finally fled >] many more folk removed west over Anduin from Ithilien, which became wild and infested by Mordor-orcs. But Gondor makes and keeps up secret strongholds there, especially in North Ithilien. The ancient refuge of Henneth Annûn is rebuilt and hidden. The isle of Cair Andros in Anduin is fortified. The Men of Harad are stirred up by the servants of Sauron to attack Gondor. In 2885 Túrin fought a battle with the Haradrim in South Ithilien and defeated them with aid from Rohan; but the sons of King Folcwine of Rohan, Folcred and Fastred, fell in this battle. Túrin paid Folcwine a rich weregild of gold.

24 Turgon born 2855 lived 98 years died 2953

In the last year of his rule Sauron declared himself again, and re-entered Mordor, long prepared for him. Barad-dûr rose again. Mount Doom long dormant bursts into smoke and flame. [*Added:* Saruman takes possession of Orthanc, and fortifies it.]

25 Ecthelion II born 2886 lived 98 years died 2984

He is visited by Mithrandir (Gandalf) to whom he is friendly. Aragorn of the North serves as a soldier in his forces. He strengthens Pelargir again, and refortifies Cair Andros.

26 Denethor II

born 2930 lived 89 years †slew himself 3019

He was first son and third child of Ecthelion and more learned in lore than any Steward for many generations. He was very tall and in appearance looked like an ancient Númenórean. He wedded late (for his time) in 2976 Finduilas daughter of Prince Adrahil of Dol Amroth, a noble house of southern Gondor of Númenórean blood, reputed also to have Elven-blood from ancient days: the Elven-folk of Amroth of Lórien dwelt in the region of Dol Amroth before they sailed over sea. His elder son Boromir (2978) was slain by orcs near Rauros in 3019. His younger son Faramir (2983) became the last Ruling Steward. His wife Finduilas died untimely in 2987.

In his time the peril of Gondor steadily grew, and he awaited always the great assault of Sauron that he knew was preparing. It is said that he dared to use the *palantír* of the White Tower, which none since the kings had looked in, and so saw much of the mind of Sauron (who had the Stone of Ithil), but was aged prematurely by this combat, and fell into despair.

The attack began in the summer of 3018. The Ringwraiths issued once more from Minas Morgul in visible form. The sons of Denethor resisted them but were defeated by the Black Captain, and retreated over Anduin; but they still held West Osgiliath.

Boromir departed to Imladris soon after on a mission to seek the counsel of Elrond. He was slain as he returned. Minas Tirith was besieged in March 3019, and Denethor burned himself on a pyre in the Tomb of the Stewards.

27 Faramir born 2983 lived 120 years died 3103
= Fourth Age 82

He succeeded by right on the death of his father, but in the same year surrendered rod and rule to the King Elessar, and so was the last Ruling Steward. He retained the title of Steward, and became Prince of the restored land of Ithilien, dwelling in the Hills of Emyn Arnen beside Anduin. He wedded in 3020 Éowyn sister of King Éomer of Rohan.

So ends the tale of
the Ruling
Stewards of Gondor

The manuscript C of *The Heirs of Elendil* ends here, but clipped to it is a genealogy of the line of Dol Amroth: for this see p. 220.

Commentary

As I have explained (p. 188), the manuscript B is for the Northern Line the earliest text, and the commentary to this part is largely a record of significant differences from the text printed (C). Corrections to B are not as a rule noticed if they merely bring it to the form in C (in substance: usually not in the precise expression), nor are additions to B as first written necessarily noticed as such.

References to the historical accounts following the names and dates of the kings and rulers are made simply by the name, with the page-reference to the C text. A notable feature of *The Heirs of Elendil* is the record of the birthdates of the rulers, which were excluded from Appendix A; other dates are in all cases the same as those in Appendix A unless the contrary is noted.

The preamble concerning dates in C (p. 191) is absent from B, which begins with the genealogy. This differs from that in C in showing Anárion as the elder son of Elendil, and in naming 'Valandil of Arthedain': thus B belongs with the early texts of the Tale of Years, as already noted (pp. 188–9).

Only Isildur's youngest son, Valandil, is named in *The Lord of the Rings*. In the very late work *The Disaster of the Gladden Fields* the

three elder are named Elendur, Aratan, and Ciryon (*Unfinished Tales* p. 271 and note 11); on one of the copies of the typescript D (p. 190) my father pencilled a note remarking on this, and saying that the names found in 'Gladdenfields' were to be accepted.

In the chronological outline that follows in B as in C, the birth-date of Anárion is 3209 and of Isildur 3219; Meneldil was born in 3299, and it was Kiryandil son of Isildur who was the last man to be born in Númenor (3318). Arthedain appears for Arnor in 3320; the birth-dates of Eärnur and Vëandur are 3349 and 3389; and Valandil was born in Annúminas, not Imladris.

In both texts Isildur died in 3441 (which in the list of the Northern kings that follows is made equivalent to Third Age 1), the same year as the overthrow of Sauron (see pp. 170, 177).

Following the words 'The Second Age ends and the Third Begins' B continues at once with the naming of the kings of the Northern Line (without the name *Isildurioni*). The list of these kings up to the disintegration of the North Kingdom was the same in B as in C with the sole difference (apart from the different date of Isildur's birth, 3219) that the tenth king Eärendur is named Eärendil in B: on this see p. 189.

Valandil (p. 192) In B there was a note here: 'Removed to Fornost and Annúminas was deserted'; this was struck out, and 'Annúminas became deserted' added to the note following King Eärendil.

Eärendur (p. 193) The note in B begins 'After Eärendil the Northern Kingdom of Arthedain disintegrated', and the north-western kingdom ruled by Amlaith is referred to by the name of the city of its kings: 'Fornost still claimed the overlordship, but this was disputed.' The other realms are thus described in B: 'Cardolan (where later were Bree and the Barrowdowns) and Rhudaur north of the R. Bruinen (where later were the Trollshaws).'

Mallor (p. 193) In B the corresponding note follows Beleg the twelfth king: 'In his reign Sauron took shape again in Mirkwood and evil things began again to multiply.'

Celebrindor (p. 193) The name of the fifteenth king in B as first written was *Celem...gil*, perhaps *Celemenegil*; this was struck out and replaced by *Celebrindol*, as in C before correction to *Celebrindor*.

Malvegil (p. 193) The note in B is, as generally, briefer but has all the essentials of that in C; here it is said that 'Fornost is at war with the lesser kingdoms, the chief dispute being about the *palantir* of Amon Sûl'. The conclusion of the note in C, concerning this, was rejected when the disputed claim to Amon Sûl was introduced much earlier, at the disintegration of Arnor after the death of Eärendur. – On the name *Úlairi* see p. 153.

The kings from Argeleb I to Arvedui (pp. 194–5) An earlier form of the page in B that begins with the last sentence of the note following

Malvegil, the taking of the prefix *aran, ar(a)* by the kings at Fornost, is extant, and here the names of these kings are seen evolving. The original names were as follows (it is curious that despite the words at the head of the page the first three kings do not have the prefix *Ar*):

17 Celebrindol (> Argeleb I)
18 Beleg II (> Arveleg I)
19 Malvegil II (> Araphor)
20 Arveleg (> Argeleb II)
21 Arvegil
22 Argeleb (> Arveleg II)
23 Arvallen (> Araval)
24 Araphant
25 Arvedui

But the dates of these kings underwent no change. The original name of the seventeenth king, Celebrindol, was given to the fifteenth, originally Celemenegil (?), as noted above.

Argeleb I (p. 194) On the rejected page of B the note following this king states only: 'slain in battle 1356. Angmar is repulsed but turns upon the lesser kingdoms.' The replacement page has: 'Slain in battle with subkingdoms of Cardolan and Rhudaur'. Neither text refers to the *palantir* of Amon Sûl. On the mention in the altered text in C of Argeleb's fortifying of the Weather Hills see p. 189.

Arveleg I (p. 194) The rejected page of B has no note here; in the replacement page it reads:

> Angmar taking advantage of war among the Númenóreans comes down and overruns Cardolan and Rhudaur. These realms become subject to the Sorcerer-king and full of evil things, especially Cardolan. But Fornost in spite of death of King Arveleg holds out with aid from Lindon and Imladrist.

An addition concerning the *palantir* of Amon Sûl was made to this:

> The tower of the *palantir* on Amon Sûl is destroyed, but no one knows what became of the Stone. Maybe it was taken by the Witch-king.

This addition was probably made in revision of the original statement in C that the *palantir* was broken.

Argeleb II (p. 194) In B there was no note here and so no mention of the plague, but the following was added in: 'He gave "the Shire" to the Hobbits.' This is stated in an addition to an early text of the *Prologue* (p. 9): 'In the Year 1 ... the brothers Marco and Cavallo, having obtained formal permission from the king Argeleb II in the waning city of Fornost, crossed the wide brown river Baranduin.'

Araval (p. 195) The statement in B reads: 'With help of Lindon and Imladrist Araval wins great victory over Angmar, and drives the evil wights north. He reoccupies Cardolan.' In the rejected page of B this victory is ascribed to the next king, Araphant, who 'drives back the

Sorcerer-king and in 1900 destroys Cardolan.' There is no reference to the victory of Araval in the history of the North Kingdom in Appendix A.

Araphant (p. 195) More briefly, B has here:

> Angmar recovers, and makes war again. Araphant seeks alliance with Gondor and weds his son Arvedui to daughter of King Ondohir of Gondor; so that his descendants come also from the southern line of Anárion. But Gondor is waning and fallen on evil days, and sends little help.

The original note to Araphant has been given under Araval, but an addition to this mentions the marriage of Araphant's son Arvedui to Ondohir's daughter, and here she is named: *Ilmarë* (see further pp. 215–16, *Ondohir*). The change of *Ondohir* to *Ondonir* in C was made also at all occurrences of the name in the Southern Line, and also that of the seventh king of Gondor, *Ostohir*, was altered to *Ostonir*. These changed names appear in the late typescript D, where my father let them stand; but *Ostohir*, *Ondohir* reappear in Appendix A. In the Second Edition he changed them to *Ostoher*, *Ondoher* (and also the original name of Hyarmendacil I, *Ciryahir* (*Kiryahir*), which was altered to *Ciryaher*). In an isolated note on these changes he said that *Ondohir* was a hybrid name: in pure Quenya it should be *Ondoher* (Q. *heru*, *hēr-* 'lord'), and *-hir* seems to be due to the influence of Sindarin *hīr* 'lord', and also that of other names ending in *-ir*, especially *-mir*, *-vir*.

Arvedui (p. 195) The statement in B here lacks very little that is told in C, although as my father first wrote it there was no mention of Arvedui's fate: his death is given as 'slain 1974'. In a subsequent addition the same is said of his flight by ship and drowning as in C, and the loss of the *palantíri* in the shipwreck is mentioned, but they are not identified: they are called simply 'the two that remain'. In this text that of Amon Sûl was lost when the tower was destroyed ('Maybe it was taken by the Witch-king', p. 209, *Arveleg I*). So also in C the *palantíri* taken by Arvedui are those of Annúminas and Emyn Beraid, for in that text the Stone of Amon Sûl was said to have been broken (p. 194, *Arveleg I*). C was emended to say that it was saved and removed to Fornost (*ibid.*): this was the final version of the history, with the Stones lost in the sea becoming those of Annúminas and Amon Sûl, while that of Emyn Beraid, which had a special character, remained in the North (see RK p. 322, footnote, and *Unfinished Tales* p. 413, note 16). But the C text was not emended in the present passage.

Of the tale told in Appendix A of Arvedui's sojourn among the Lossoth, the Snowmen of Forochel, there is here no trace.

The Chieftains of the Dúnedain (p. 195) The rejected page of B carries the names of the Chieftains, and some of these as first written were corrected on the manuscript, thus:

27 Araha[n]til (sixth letter illegible) > Arahail
28 Aranuil > Aranuir
31 Arallas > Araglas
33 Arandost > Aragost
35 Arangar > Arahad II
36 Arasuil > Arassuil
39 Arv[or]eg (fifth and sixth letters uncertain) > Arador

The dates were also different from the final chronology, save for those of Aranarth and Aragorn II, in both versions of B; they were corrected on the replacement page of B to those of C. The original dates were:

Arahail	2011–2176	Aravorn	2490–2647
Aranuir	2083–2246	Arahad II	2555–2711
Aravir	2154–2316	Arassuil	2619–2775
Aragorn I	2224–2324	Arathorn I	2683–2838
Araglas	2292–2451	Argonui	2746–2901
Arahad I	2359–2517	Arador	2808–2912
Aragost	2425–2583	Arathorn II	2870–2933

These changes of date were carefully made, in several cases in more than one stage; in the result the length of the lives of the Chieftains remained the same, except in the cases of Aravir, Aragost, Arador, and Arathorn II.

Aragorn I (p. 196) In the rejected page of B he was 'lost in wilderness while hunting'; in the replacement page he was 'lost in the wilderness; probably slain by orcs [> wolves].'

Arassuil (p. 196) The victory of the Hobbits in 2747 was the Battle of Greenfields.

Arador (p. 196) Arador's death is referred to at the beginning of the tale of Aragorn and Arwen in Appendix A, as also is that of Arathorn II (RK pp. 337–8).

Aragorn II (p. 196) B has here: 'Became King Elessar of Gondor and Arthedain, aided in the overthrow of Sauron with which Third Age ended in 3019. He wedded Arwen Undómiel, daughter of Elrond. His descendants became thus heirs of the Númenórean realms, and of Lúthien and the Elf-kingdoms of the West.' The statement in C that 'The Third Age ended with the departure of Elrond in 3022' was presumably a mere slip, since the date of Aragorn's death is given immediately above as 3121 = Fourth Age 100, which assumes the beginning of that Age in 3022. Later in C, when Aragorn appears at the end of the roll of the kings of the Southern Line (p. 202), the departure of Elrond is given as 3021, the Fourth Age is said to have begun in 3022, and 3121 is again equated with Fourth Age 100.

The Southern Line of Gondor

The earliest extant list of the rulers of Gondor is the manuscript A briefly described on p. 188. This has precisely the same form as the

two later texts of *The Heirs of Elendil*, with the dates of birth and death (and the manner of death) of each king, and the length of his life. There is only one difference of name in A, that of the fourteenth king (p. 197), who was first called *Kiryahir* but subsequently renamed *Kiryandil* (at the same time *Kiryahir* entered as the original name of Hyamendakil I). There are only two differences in the succession, the first being in that following the sixteenth king Atanatar II (p. 198), which in A as first written went:

16 Atanatar II 977–1226
17 Alkarin 1049–1294
18 Narmakil I

It was evidently at this point that my father stopped, moved 'Alkarin' to stand beside Atanatar II with the words 'also named', and changed Narmakil I from 18 to 17, entering as his dates those previously given to 'Alkarin'. The next king, Kalmakil, was then entered as 18. I have no doubt whatever that this was a mere slip, *Alkarin* being an honorific name; and this is significant, for it shows that my father was copying from an existing text, or existing notes. There is no trace now of anything of the sort, and it must be concluded that the written origin of the history of the rulers of Gondor is lost.

The other difference in the succession occurs after the thirtieth king Kalimehtar (p. 200), where A has:

31 Ostohir II 1787–1985, lived 198 years
32 Ondohir 1837–1944 (slain), lived 107 years

Eärnil II and Eärnur the last king are numbered 33 and 34. The death of Ostohir II is thus placed 41 years *after* that of his successor Ondohir. How this peculiar anomaly arose can only be surmised: the likeliest explanation is that there were variant and contradictory conceptions in the text that my father was using, and that he failed to observe it. It was not corrected in A, and indeed the same succession survived into B, with Eärnur numbered the thirty-fourth king. When he did observe it he resolved it by simply striking out Ostohir II and giving his birth-date of 1787 to Ondohir, so that he lived for 157 and not 107 years.

A also differed from the final chronology in the dates of the kings from Anárion to Anardil (see p. 197), which were:

Anárion S.A.3209–3440
Meneldil S.A.3299–T.A.139
Kemendur S.A.3389–T.A.228
Eärendil T.A.40–316
Anardil T.A.132–407

The dates of these five kings remained in B as they were in A, but were then corrected to those found in C; after correction the life-span of each king remained the same as before, with the exception of Anárion, since he became the younger son of Elendil while the date of his death was fixed. All other dates in A were retained into the final chronology.

The notes in A were brief and scanty until Valakar the twentieth king (and those to Rómendakil I and Hyarmendakil I were subsequent additions):

7 Ostohir I Rebuilt and enlarged Minas Anor.
8 Rómendakil I At this time Easterlings assailed kingdom.
13 Eärnil I Began rebuilding the neglected navy. Lost at sea in a storm.
15 Hyarmendakil I Defeated Harad and made them subject.
16 Atanatar II In his day Gondor reached its widest extent owing to the vigour of the 'line of Eärnil'. But he loved life of ease and began to neglect the guards in the East. Waning of Gondor began.

There are also some notes on the nature of the succession: Falastur had no son, and his successor Eärnil I was the son of Falastur's brother Tarkiryan; Narmakil I had no children, and his successor Kalmakil was his brother.

It seems plain that a firm structure at least in outline had already arisen: that my father had in his mind a clear picture of the chronology, the major events, the triumphs and vicissitudes of the history of Gondor, whether or not it was committed to writing now lost.

From Valakar the notes in the A text as written become more frequent and some of them much fuller, a pattern still reflected in the entries in the greatly expanded C text. Some of these entries are given in the commentary on the Southern Line in C that now follows.

Ostohir (p. 197) In all three texts Ostohir is the first of that name, but the figure I was struck out in C: see p. 212. On the change of the name to *Ostonir* see p. 210, *Araphant*.

Rómendakil I (p. 197) In Appendix A *Rómendakil* is translated 'East-victor', but in texts B and C 'East-slayer'; so also in the case of *Hyarmendakil*, translated 'South-slayer' in B and C.

Falastur (p. 197) This king's former name *Tarannon* first appears in C, though the reason for *Falastur* is recorded in B.

Kiryandil (p. 197) B has only 'Continued to increase fleets, but fell in a sea-battle against the Kings of Harad'. The alterations to C under Eärnil I and Kiryandil bring the history to its form in Appendix A, where it was Eärnil who captured Umbar.

Valakar (p. 198) As the first extant account of the Kin-strife in Gondor I give here the entry in A, where the whole history of the civil war is placed in the note following Valakar:

In 1432 broke out the Kin-strife. Valakar had wedded as wife a daughter of the King of Rhovannion, not of Dúnedain blood. The succession of his son Eldakar was contested by other descendants of Kalmakil and Rómendakil II. In the end Eldakar was driven into exile and Kastamir, great-grandson of Kalmakil's second son

> Kalimehtar, became king. But Eldakar drove him out again, and after that time the blood of the kingly house became more mixed, for Eldakar had the assistance of the Northmen of the Upper Anduin his mother's kin, and they were favoured by the kingly house afterwards, and many of them served in the armies of Gondor and became great in the land.

Thus nothing was told of the political and military circumstances that led to the marriage of Valakar to the daughter of the (as yet unnamed) King of Rhovannion. In B something is said of this:

> Since the days of Atanatar II the Northmen of Mirkwood and upper Anduin had been increasing greatly in numbers and power, and in Rómendakil's time hardly acknowledged the overlordship of Gondor. Rómendakil having enough to do with Easterlings sought to attach the Northmen more closely to their allegiance, and arranged that his son Valakar should wed the daughter of the King of Róvannion (Wilderland).

B then follows A in placing the whole history of the Kin-strife in the note following Valakar, and makes only the additional statements that such a marriage was unheard of, and that Valakar's son bore before his accession the alien name *Vinthanarya*. In both texts it is said that Kastamir was slain by Eldakar in 1447, but there is no mention in either of the flight to Umbar by his defeated adherents and the arising there of an independent pirate realm (see below under *Minardil*).

Aldamir (p. 199) In A it is said that 'his elder son Ornendil was slain with him in battle with rebels of Harad'; B is the same as C, making Ornendil the brother of Aldamir who had been slain in the Kin-strife, but without the reference to 'the rebels of Umbar' (see under *Minardil*).

Vinyarion (p. 199) The victory of Vinyarion in Harad in vengeance for his father, mentioned in almost the same words in all three texts, is not referred to in the account in Appendix A, and thus the reason for his taking the name Hyarmendakil II is not given; but the event is recorded in the Tale of Years, Third Age 1551.

Minardil (p. 199) In A the story of the founding of the hostile lordship of the Corsairs of Umbar by the followers of Kastamir does not appear and had probably not yet arisen: this is suggested by the fact that in B it first enters long after the event in the note on Minardil:

> The sons of Kastamir and others of his kin, having fled from Gondor in 1447, set up a small kingdom in Umbar, and there made a fortified haven. They never ceased to make war upon Gondor, attacking its ships and coasts when they had opportunity. But they married women of the Harad and had in three generations lost most of their Númenórean blood; but they did not forget their feud with the house of Eldakar.

The entry in B then continues with the account (much fuller than that

in Appendix A) of the slaying of Minardil at Pelargir, which was repeated almost exactly in C.

The names *Angomaitë* and *Sangahyanda* were changed to *Angamaitë* and *Sangahyando* in the Second Edition.

Telemnar, Tarondor, Telumehtar (p. 200) In B the text of these entries closely approached those in C; but most of the entry concerning Tarondor, including the account of the desertion of Osgiliath and the removal of the king's house to Minas Anor, was a later addition.

Narmakil II (p. 200) The note in A read: 'Battle with the Ringwraiths who seized Mordor. Osgiliath ceases to be the chief seat of the kings'. In B this was somewhat developed:

> At this time the Úlairi (or Ringwraiths) who had seized Mordor long before began to assail Ithilien. Narmakil was slain by the Sorcerer-king. Osgiliath ceased to be the seat of the kings.

This was roughly rewritten to read:

> In his time it is said that the Úlairi (or Ringwraiths) arose again and re-entered Mordor secretly. There they prepared in the darkness for the return of their Dark Lord. Men out of the East, a fierce people riding in great wains, came against Gondor, doubtless stirred up by Sauron and Úlairi. Narmakil slain in battle.

This was the first appearance of the Wainriders.

Kalimehtar (p. 200) The note in A recorded only that Kalimehtar 'built the White Tower of Minas Anor and removed his court thither'. B repeated this, and continued: 'Minas Anor becomes called Minas Tirith, since Minas Ithil is lost and becomes a stronghold of the Úlairi, and is called Minas Morgul.' This was struck out immediately, and the fall of Minas Ithil postponed to the time of King Ondohir; subsequently the entry was replaced by the following:

> Built the White Tower of Minas Anor. Continued war against the Wainriders, and defeated them before the Morannon.

The building of the White Tower by Kalimehtar is not referred to in Appendix A, but is recorded in the Tale of Years, Third Age 1900. – For Ostohir II who followed Kalimehtar in A and (before correction) in B see p. 212.

Ondohir (pp. 200–1) A has here a more substantial entry, though very largely concerned with the claim of Arvedui:

> His sons Faramir and Artamir were both slain in the war with Mordor. Minas Ithil fell and became Minas Morgul. In 1940 his daughter (third child), born 1896, wedded Arvedui (son of Araphant) last king of the North. Arvedui in 1944 claimed the Southern crown, but this was refused. There was a time without a king and the steward Pelendur governed. The claim of Arvedui lapsed with his death in battle in 1974, but though too weak ever to press their claim the descendants of Arvedui and Fíriel daughter of Ondohir, chieftains of the Dúnedain of the North, continued to

claim the Southern crown; though in fact it passed after an interregnum to Eärnil II, a descendant (great-grandson) of Narmakil II's second son Kalimmakil.

The omission in the note of the death of Ondohir was a mere oversight in rapid writing: he is marked as 'slain' in 1944. Ondohir's daughter is here named *Fíriel*, as in B and C; the name *Ilmarë* in the rejected page of B in the section on the Northern Line (p. 210, *Araphant*) can then only be explained as a passing change of name. The fact that the Northern kings Araphant and Arvedui are named in A (and the date of Arvedui's death given) shows that work on the history of the Northern Line existed before the writing of B, the earliest extant text for that part (see p. 188).

In B the entry for Ondohir, as first written, began thus:

War continued with the Úlairi. Minas Ithil fell and became a stronghold of the enemy, and was renamed Minas Morgul. Minas Anor became Minas Tirith.

This followed the original entry in B under Narmakil II, in which the assault of the Úlairi on Ithilien was recorded (before the entry into the history of the Wainriders). The fall of Minas Ithil and the renaming of the two cities was now moved on from its placing in the reign of Kalimehtar (and thus returns to the text of A, given above).

The opening of B was subsequently struck out, apart from the first sentence, which was corrected to 'War continued with the Wainriders', as in C. The rest of the original entry in B records the fall of Ondohir and his sons 'in battle in Ithilien' (which as written referred to battle with the Ringwraiths, but which was subsequently extended to read 'in battle in Ithilien against an alliance of the Wainriders and the Harad that assailed eastern Gondor from north and south'), and then recounts the claim of Arvedui, closely following A. The statements in A that 'there was a time without a king' when the Steward Pelendur governed, and that the crown passed to Eärnil after an 'interregnum', were retained but then struck out (see below under *Eärnil II*). There is thus no mention in B of the great victory of Eärnil in South Ithilien followed by his rout of the Wainriders, which led to his accession as king.

On the correction of *Ondohir* to *Ondonir* see p. 210, *Araphant*.

Eärnil II (p. 201) In A it is said only that he was 'son of Kiryandil son of Siriondil son of Kalimmakil son of Narmakil II', and that he came to the throne in 1960 (thus after an interregnum of sixteen years). This was repeated without change in B, and allowed to stand, although my father had rejected the references to an interregnum, when Pelendur governed, in the entry for Ondohir. Kiryandil was later removed, and Siriondil became the father of Eärnil. In all three texts Kalimmakil was the son of Narmakil II, but in Appendix A (RK p. 330) the son of Arciryas the brother of Narmakil.

Nothing further is said of Eärnil in B as originally written, but in an addition the flight of the Sorcerer-king out of the North is recorded

(though without any mention of the great fleet from Gondor under Eärnil's son Eärnur which in large part brought about the destruction of Angmar), and the fall of Minas Ithil moves to its final place in the history:

> In his time the Sorcerer-king of Angmar, chief of the Úlairi, fled from the North and came to Mordor, and built up a new power. Under his leadership the Úlairi took Minas Ithil, and made it their city and stronghold, from which they were never expelled. S. Ithilien abandoned by Gondor, but a garrison holds the bridges of Osgiliath. Minas Ithil becomes called Minas Morgul, and Minas Anor is renamed Minas Tirith.

In C, as in Appendix A (RK p. 332), the renaming of Minas Anor took place in the time of Eärnur. – A further, later addition in B notes: 'The Nazgûl seize the Ithil-stone'.

Eärnur (p. 201) This final note in A reads:

> The last king. He went to war with Minas Ithil and Mordor and never returned; nor was his body ever recovered. Some said he was carried off alive by the evil king. He left no children. No male descendants of clear title (or nearly pure blood) of Elendil could be discovered. Mardil the Steward, grandson of Pelendur, governed nominally 'until the King's return', and this became an habitual formula. There had been a tendency (but no rule) for the Stewardship to be hereditary or at least chosen from one family. It now became hereditary like a kingship.

Here the A text of the Southern Line ends. In B this note was repeated without change of substance, but continues after the words 'hereditary like a kingship':

> But the Stewards no longer took official names of Quenya form, and their names were all of Noldorin origin, that tongue still being used by the noble houses of Gondor.
>
> After the time of Eärnur the White Tree never [> seldom] again bore fruit, and ever its blossom grew less as it slowly died [> aged].

It is clear that the story of the challenge to Eärnur by the Lord of the Ringwraiths had not emerged. Later, the opening of the passage in B was rejected and the following substituted:

> He accepted the challenge [*added:* to fight for the *palantír* of Ithil?] of the Lord of the Úlairi and rode over the bridge of Osgiliath [> to the gates of Morgul] to meet him in single combat, but was betrayed and taken, and was never again seen by men.

The two challenges to Eärnur, and the restraint on the king exercised by Mardil the Steward, did not appear until the text C.

Elessar (p. 202) The text in B is very close to its form in C, but lacks the reference to the continued waning of the life-span of the royal house. After the words 'and so restored the majesty and high blood of the royal house' B concludes:

> Here ends the Red Book. But it was foretold that Eldarion the son of Elessar should rule a great realm, and it should endure for a hundred generations of men; and from him should come the kings of many realms in after days.

I have said (p. 190) that 'it is generally impossible to say how much of the matter that entered at each successive stage had newly arisen, and how much was present but at first ... held in abeyance.' Nonetheless, from this (inevitably complex) account of the development of the history of the kings of Gondor recorded in increasing detail through the texts, new elements can be seen emerging and becoming established, as the founding of the corsair-kingdom of Umbar, the invasions of the Wainriders, or the sending of the fleet from Gondor to assail Angmar.

The Stewards of Gondor

The earliest text recording the names and dates of the Stewards of Gondor is constituted by two pages attached to the manuscript A of the Southern Line. These pages were obviously written on continuously from the preceding section, but the text becomes very rapid and rough in its latter part and ends in a scrawl of confused dates.

For the C-text of the Stewards see pp. 202 ff. The B-text is headed: 'Appendix. The Stewards of Gondor', with a brief preamble:

> These may be added, for though not in the direct line, the *Hurinionath*, the family to which Pelendur and Mardil belonged, were of Númenórean blood hardly less pure than that of the kings, and undoubtedly had some share in the actual blood of Elendil and Anárion.

To this was added later:

> During all the days of the Stewards there was unceasing war between Minas Morgul and Minas Anor. Osgiliath was often taken and retaken. In North Ithilien a hardy folk still dwelt as borderers and defenders, but slowly they dwindled and departed west over the River.

The notes in B as originally written were few, and those mostly concerned (as in A) with individual Stewards as their lives and life-spans affected the nature of the succession. References to other events were in nearly all cases subsequent additions.

Pelendur B has here, almost exactly following A: 'Became Steward 1940; ruled the realm during the interregnum 1944–1960, when he surrendered authority to Eärnil II.' On this see *Eärnil II*, p. 216. That Pelendur did become briefly the ruler of Gondor is not stated in C (as it is in Appendix A, RK p. 319), but that there was an interregnum for a year is implied by the revised dating (Ondohir slain in 1944, Eärnil's accession in 1945).

Vorondil There is no note on Vorondil in A and B. With the addition

in C cf. the chapter *Minas Tirith*, RK p. 27, where it is not said (though no doubt implied) that Vorondil was the actual maker of the horn last borne by Boromir: 'since Vorondil father of Mardil hunted the wild kine of Araw in the far fields of Rhûn' (on this passage see VIII.281 and note 14).

Mardil Voronwë A has a note here, which was not repeated in B, 'After his time the names are usually Noldorin not Quenya. Few are left who know Quenya.' Cf. Appendix A (RK p. 319): 'His successors ceased to use High-elven names.'

Belegorn In A the name of the fourth Ruling Steward was *Bardhan*, later changed to *Belgorn*; *Belegorn* in B.

Túrin I The same note is present in all three texts.

Hador In A the name of the seventh Ruling Steward was *Cirion*, and *Hador* that of the twelfth; this was retained in B, but the names were later reversed. A has simply 'lived to great age 150'; B is as C, but the note ends 'the life-span of the nobles is waning steadily.'

Dior In A and B the same is said as in C, but Dior's sister (Rían in C) is not named.

Denethor I The note in A reads: 'Great troubles arose. Enemy destroyed Osgiliath. Boromir son (third child) of the Steward defeats them, and for a time recovers Ithilien.' B repeated this, but the text was altered to read: 'Enemy overran all Ithilien and destroyed the bridges of Osgiliath.'

Boromir A has: 'Death hastened by wounds got in the war'; B: 'His life was shortened by wounds received from the poisoned weapons of Morgul.'

Cirion In neither A nor B was there a note following Cirion (first written *Hador*), but the following was added in B: 'War with Orcs and Easterlings. Battle of Celebrant' (with the date 2510 put in subsequently), and also:

> Sauron stirs up mischief, and there is a great attack on Gondor. Orcs pour out of the Mountains and of Mirkwood and join with Easterlings. Hador [> Cirion] gets help from the North. Eorl the Young wins the victory of the Field of Celebrant and is given Calenardon or Rohan.

Since the mentions of the Field of Celebrant in the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings* were all late additions (see e.g. IX.72, note 16) it may be that the story was evolving at the time of the writing of *The Heirs of Elendil*.

Ecthelion I A's note here makes Egalmoth, successor of the childless Ecthelion, the grandson of Morwen sister of Belecthor I. This introduces a generation too many, and was obviously due to the mention of Egalmoth under his predecessor Ecthelion – a testimony to the

rapidity with which my father sketched out the dates and relations of the later Stewards in this earliest text. In B Morwen becomes the sister of Orodreth, Ecthelion's father.

Egalmoth In B a note was added (repeated in C): 'Orc-wars break out'. This is referred to in the Tale of Years in Appendix B: '2740 Orcs renew their invasions of Eriador.' A later pencilled note in B says 'Dwarf and Orc war in Misty Mountains' (see under *Beregond* below).

Beren There was no note in B, but these were added: 'Long winter 2758', and 'In his reign there is an attack on Gondor by [Pirates >] Corsairs of Umbar [2758 >] 2757'.

Beregond In A and B his name was *Baragond*, with the note that he was the third child of Beren. A pencilled note in B repeats the notice of the War of the Dwarves and the Orcs from the entry under Egalmoth, with the date '2766–'.

The Stewards from Belecthor II to Ecthelion II By this point A has become no more than a working-out of dates; and the brief notes in B can be collected together. That to Belecthor II is the same as in C but without mention of the death of the White Tree; that to Túrin II is 'Bilbo was born in the Shire during his rule'; and that to Turgon is 'Aragorn born in Eriador during his rule'. Very rough and hasty additions were made later in preparation for the much fuller notes in C.

The statement in C under Ecthelion II that 'Aragorn of the North serves as a soldier in his forces' is the first mention of Aragorn's years of service in disguise in Rohan and Gondor.

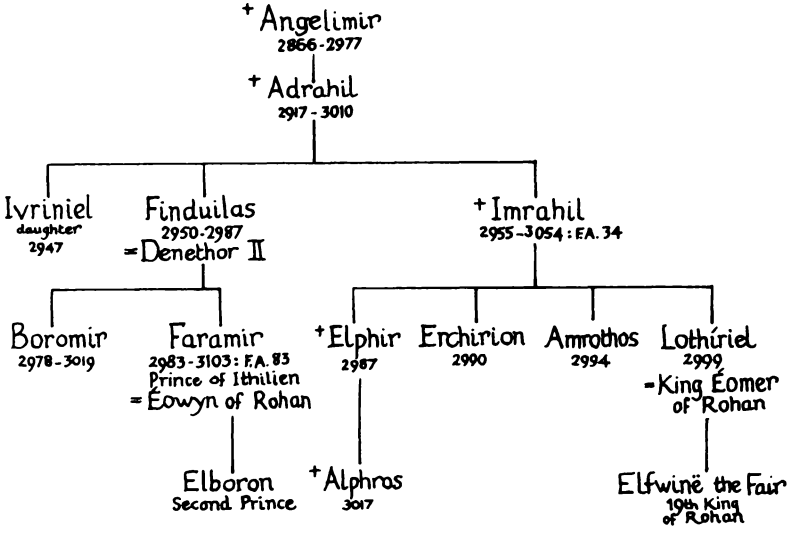
Denethor II B has only a statement of dates and relationships, including that of Denethor's marriage to Finduilas daughter of Adrahil of Dol Amroth: this is seen in A (where the father of Finduilas is named *Agrahil*) at the moment of its emergence.

Faramir The note in B is the same in substance as that in C, but adds that as the Prince of Ithilien he 'dwelt in a fair new house in the Hills of Emyn Arnen, whose gardens devised by the Elf Legolas were renowned.'

The Line of Dol Amroth

Arising from the reference to Denethor's marriage to Finduilas, at the foot of the last page of the B manuscript my father began working out the genealogy of the descendants of Adrahil of Dol Amroth; and a carefully made table beginning with Angelimir the twentieth prince was attached by my father to the manuscript C of *The Heirs of Elendil*. This I have redrawn on p. 221 (the Princes are marked with crosses as in the original). Beneath the table is a note on the origins of the house of Dol Amroth, telling that Galador the first lord was the son of Imrazôr the Númenórean, who dwelt in Belfalas, and Mith-

Here is the line of
Dol Amroth from the
time of
Angelimir
the twentieth prince



In the tradition of his house *Angelimir* was the twentieth in unbroken descent from *Galador* first Lord of Dol Amroth (c. T.A. 2004-2129). According to the same traditions *Galador* was the son of *Imrazôr* the Númenórean who dwelt in *Belfalas*, and the Elven-lady *Mithrellas*. She was one of the companions of *Nimrodel*, among many of the Elves of *Lórien* that fled to the coast about T.A. 1980, when evil arose in Moria; and *Nimrodel* and her maidens strayed in the wooded hills, and were lost. But in this tale it is said that *Imrazôr* harboured *Mithrellas*, and took her to wife. But when she had borne him a son, *Galador*, and a daughter, *Gilmith*, she slipped away by night, and he saw her no more. But though *Mithrellas* was of the lesser silvan race (and not of the High Elves or the Grey) it was ever held that the house and kin of the Lords of Dol Amroth were noble by blood, as they were fair in face and mind.

rellas one of the companions of Nimrodel. This note is printed in *Unfinished Tales*, p. 248, with the unaccountable error of *Angelimar* for *Angelimir* (an editorial mistake, since it occurs twice in the text and again in the index).

The page obviously belongs with the writing of C to which it is attached, since on the reverse are the first entries for the Southern Line in exactly the same form as they appear in the text, but abandoned, as it appears, simply because of an error in the writing out of the dates in what was designed to be a fine manuscript.

Another briefer account of the origin of the Line of Dol Amroth is found on a page attached by my father to the (as I believe, contemporary) manuscript T 4 of the Tale of Years, followed by a list of the dates of the Princes, those from the second to the eighteenth without names. This, however, is much later; for there is another form of the same list written on the back of a college document from the earlier part of 1954, and this is plainly the earlier of the two (see p. 223).

The House of Dol Amroth

Amroth brother of Celeborn flies from northern Lórien when the Balrog drives out the Dwarves about 1980 T.A.

Mithrellas, one of the companions of Nimrodel, is lost in the woods of Belfalas, and is harboured by Imrazôr the Númenórean [*added in margin:* Imrazôr 1950–2076], who takes her to wife (according to the legends and traditions of Dol Amroth); though after a few years she vanishes, whether to wander in the woods or seek the havens. The son of the union of Mithrellas and Imrazôr received the elven-name of Galador; from him the lords of Dol Amroth traced their descent. After the ending of the kings they became virtually independent princes, ruling over Belfalas, but they were at all times loyal to the Steward as representing the ancient crown.

1	Galador	2004–2129	(125)
2	...	2060–2203	(143)
3	...	2120–2254	(134)
4	...	2172–2299	(127)
5	...	2225–2348	(123)
6	...	2274–2400	(126)
7	...	2324–2458	(134)
8	...	2373–2498	(125)
9	...	2418–2540	(122)
10	...	2463–2582	(119)
11	...	2505–2623	(118)
12	...	2546–2660	(114)
13	...	2588–2701	(113)
14	...	2627–2733	(106)
15	...	2671–†2746	(75) slain by Corsairs of Umbar

16	...	2709–†2799	([90]) slain in battle
17	...	2746–2859	(113)
18	...	2785–2899	(114)
19	Aglahad	2827–2932	(105)
20	Angelimir	2866–2977	(111)
21	Adrahil	2917–3010	(93)
22	Imrahil	2955–3054	(99)
23	Elphir	2987–(3087 =) F.A.57	(100)
24	Alphros	3017–(3115 =) F.A.95	(98)

In contrast to this carefully written page, the other form of this list (that written on the back of the document of 1954) has a scrawled note at its head, the same as that in the text just given but extending only to the words 'harboured by Imrazôr the Númenórean, who weds her'; and the dates are written in pencil, with some corrections. Imrazôr is numbered 1, so that Angelimir is the twenty-first prince; but this was corrected. The life-span of the sixteenth prince was given as 91 years instead of 90, and my father followed this in the second text; and where the second text has 'slain in battle' the first has 'Battle with Orcs'.

The statement here that Amroth was the brother of Celeborn appears to be unique (for other accounts of him see *The History of Galadriel and Celeborn* in *Unfinished Tales*: but all the material concerning Amroth collected there comes from after, much of it long after, the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*). On both forms of the present text the words were struck out, and on the second my father pencilled 'was a Sinda from Beleriand'. With the time of Amroth's flight from Lórien cf. the entry for 1981 in Appendix B: 'The Dwarves flee from Moria. Many of the Silvan Elves of Lórien flee south. Amroth and Nimrodel are lost'; also *Unfinished Tales* pp. 240, 245.

No events are recorded elsewhere in the years 2746 and 2799 that cast light on the deaths in battle of the fifteenth and sixteenth Princes of Dol Amroth.

The dates of the deaths of Prince Imrahil and of Faramir Prince of Ithilien in the genealogy redrawn on p. 221 (3054 = Fourth Age 34, and 3103 = F.A.83) place the beginning of the Fourth Age in 3021; similarly in the list of the princes given above the dates of the deaths of Elphir and Alphros, 3087 and 3115, and equated with F.A.67 and 95. In text C of *The Heirs of Elendil* the Fourth Age began in 3022, and in text B the Third Age ended in 3019 (see pp. 196, 211).

The Princes Aglahad, Angelimir, Elphir, and Alphros are only recorded in these texts, as also are other members of the line of Dol Amroth in the genealogical table, Ivriniel, Erchirion, and Amrothos. Faramir's son Elboron likewise only appears in this genealogy. In him an old name reappears: Elboron and Elbereth were the original names of the young sons of Dior Thingol's Heir who were murdered by the

followers of Maidros (IV.307, V.142). Later the sons of Elrond were named Elboron and Elbereth, before they became Elladan and Elrohir (VIII.297, 301, 370).

The further development of Appendix A is postponed to Chapter IX.

VIII

THE TALE OF YEARS OF THE THIRD AGE

The earliest text of the Tale of Years of the Third Age is a brief manuscript apparently closely associated with the very early form of that of the Second Age which I have called T 2 (see pp. 168–70); and although they are separate texts and not continuous it is convenient to refer to this likewise as T 2.

Though subsequently covered with somewhat haphazard accretions, for the most part obviously associated with work on the chronology of the Realms in Exile, it is possible to extricate with fair certainty the text of T 2 as originally set down, and I give it in this form here.

Of the History of the Third Age
little is known

0 If we reckon from the death of Isildur.

Years of Third Age

1000– Sauron wakes again, and enters Mirkwood. Establishes a stronghold at Dol Dûgul[1] and slowly grows.

c.1100 Deagol finds the One Ring and is slain by Smeagol.[2] Smeagol becomes Gollum.

c.1105 Gollum enters eaves of Misty Mountains.

c.1300 The people of Smeagol grow and begin to multiply. They cross the Misty Mountains and journey westward. They become Hobbits.[3] Orcs begin to reappear.

c.1500 Hobbits settle at Bree.

c.1600 (S.R.1)[4] Marco and Cavallo cross the Baranduin (Brandywine) and are given 'the Shire' to live in by the king at Northworthy[5] (Fornost). 'Shire-reckoning' begins.

c.1900 Last 'king at Northworthy'. The Dúnedain or Rangers (last of the Númenóreans in the North) wander in the wild; but the heirs of the kings live at Imladris (Rivendell) with Elrond.

c.2000 The line of the Kings of Gondor becomes extinct with death of Eärnur.[6] The Line of the Stewards begins with Mardil the Good Steward.

c.2500 Elrond who had never before been wed, wedded Celebrían daughter of Galadriel of Lórien.[7] His children were Elrohir and Elladan and a daughter Finduilas[8] in whom the likeness of Lúthien reappeared. These children are of men's stature but Elven-blood.[9]
c.2600 Celebrían is slain by Orcs on the road over the Mountains to visit Galadriel.
c.2620 Isengrim Took the First establishes the Took family in the Shire.
c.2890 Bilbo born.
2910 Aragorn son of Arathorn heir of Isildur born.
2940 Bilbo goes on his adventures.
2950 Sauron re-enters Mordor.
3001 Bilbo's Farewell Party.
3018 Frodo sets out.

Whatever may have been the reasons for the selection of these particular events, it is striking that there are no entries referring to the history of Arnor and Gondor except those to the last king in the North and to the last king in the South (Eärnur), with the beginning of the line of Stewards; and the dates of these entries show that this text preceded the earliest extant forms of *The Heirs of Elendil.*

The next version was the manuscript T 3 (see p. 172), which in the part of it treating the Second Age, as I have said, was 'little more than a copy of T 2, with a number of entries expanded'. This is not at all the case, however, with the Third Age. It was here that my father introduced a comprehensive and coherent chronology of the Age, and set his course, in this work that he called 'the Tale of Years', in a direction remarkably unlike its ultimate appearance in Appendix B to *The Lord of the Rings*. That it was closely associated with *The Heirs of Elendil* is very plain. The manuscript was covered with alterations, expansions and additions, and became a working draft for the major text T 4 which I have no doubt soon followed it.

As will be seen subsequently, T 4 was and remained for a long time the form of the Tale of Years that my father thought appropriate, and was indeed proposed to the publishers in 1954. I shall here pass over the text T 3, though with some reference to it in the notes at the end of the chapter, and give that of T 4 in its entirety.

This is a very clear manuscript with a notable lack of hesitation or second thoughts. That it was intended to be a final and publishable text is shown also by the fact that, when my father came to the conclusion that the establishment of the White Council was placed four hundred years too early, he rejected two pages and wrote two new ones in such a way that they fitted precisely into the original text. I give it here as it was written, say in the years 1949–50 (as I believe), but

with the text of the substituted pages, since it seems probable that they were written before the manuscript was completed, or at any rate soon after. It was a good deal altered later, chiefly with respect to certain matters: the migrations of the Stoors; the machinations of Saruman; and the movements of Gollum. I have not included any revisions in the text, but give an account of them at the end of the chapter (p. 250).

The opening statement concerning the Four Ages, and the entries for the Second Age, have been given on pp. 172–7.

The Third Age

These were the Fading Years. Of this Age in its beginnings little is now known, save for the traditions of the realm of Gondor. For a thousand years and more the Eldar in Middle-earth, protected by the Three Rings, were content and at peace, while Sauron slept; but they attempted no great deeds, and made no new things of wonder, living mostly in memory of the past. In all this time the things of old were slowly fading, and new things were stirring, though few observed the signs.

The Dwarves became ever more secretive, and hid themselves in deep places, guarding their hoards from their chief enemies, the dragons and the Orcs. One by one their ancient treasuries were plundered, and they became a wandering and dwindling people. In Moria the Dwarves of the race of Durin long held out, but this people once numerous steadily waned, until their vast mansions became dark and empty.

The might and lore and the life-span of the Númenóreans (or Dúnedain as they were called by the Elves) also waned as the years passed and their blood became mingled with that of lesser Men.[10] More swift was the waning in the North-kingdom, for the lands of Eriador, as that region was now called, became colder and less friendly to Men in that time. There the Dúnedain became ever less. After the days of Eärendur[11] of Arnor the North-kingdom became divided into petty realms, and the Heirs of Isildur of the direct line ruled only over Arthedain in the far North-west. In Gondor the power of the kings of Anárion's line endured longer, and their sway extended over many lands of Men; but there was little coming and going between the realms except in times of need.

1 Ohtar Isildur's esquire escapes with two other men only from the slaughter of the Gladden Fields.[12] He brings the shards of Elendil's sword, Narsil, which Isildur had saved, and delivers it to Valandil Isildur's son

in Imladris. Valandil was a child, fourth son of Isildur. His brothers perished with their father.

10 Valandil Isildur's son becomes King of Arnor and dwells at Annúminas.

420–30 Ostohir King of Gondor rebuilds and enlarges Minas Anor.

490 First invasion of Gondor by Easterlings.

500 Tarostar defeats the Easterlings and takes the name of Rómendakil, East-slayer.

541 Rómendakil slain in battle with a second invasion of Easterlings, who are driven out by his son Turambar.

861 Death of Eärendur last and tenth king of Arnor. The North-kingdom becomes divided among Eärendur's sons. The direct line of the eldest son, Amlaith of Fornost, rules the realm of Arthedain. Annúminas is deserted. The other realms were Cardolan (where later was Bree and the Barrowdowns) and Rhudaur, north of the River Baranduin. From this time the official names of the kings at Fornost were no longer given in High-elven form, but in Noldorin. Amlaith and his descendants maintained friendship with the Eldar, especially with Cirdan at the Havens.[13]

c.1000 About this time the *Istari*, that is the Wise Men or wizards, appeared in the westlands of Middle-earth. It was not known whence they came (unless to Cirdan and Elrond). But afterwards, when it was revealed that the shadow of Sauron had first begun to take new shape at this same time, it was said by many that they came out of the Far West, and were messengers sent to contest the power of Sauron, if he should arise again, and to move all good folk and kindly creatures to resist him.

The Wizards appeared nonetheless in the likeness of Men, and resembled Men in most things, save that they were never young and aged but slowly, and had many powers of mind and hand. For long they journeyed far and wide among Elves and Men and all speaking-folk, and held converse also with beasts and birds. They did not reveal their true names, but used those that the peoples of Middle-earth gave to them, and they were many. The chief of this order were the two whom the Eldar called Mithrandir and Curunír, but Men in the North named Gandalf and Saruman. Of them Mith-

randir was closest in counsel with the Eldar and with Elrond; he wandered far in the North and West and never made for himself any lasting abode. But Curunír journeyed often far into the East, and when he returned he dwelt at Orthanc in the Ring of Isengard.[14]

About this time also the *Periannath*, of whom there are no earlier accounts among Elves or Men, are first mentioned in ancient tales. These were a strange small people, called by Men[15] Halflings, but by themselves (later in the west of Eriador) Hobbits. They are thought to have long dwelt in Greenwood the Great or near its western eaves, and in the vale of the upper Anduin. But at this time they began to move westward over the Misty Mountains into Eriador. It is said that they moved from their earlier dwellings because Men increased much at that time; and because a shadow fell on Greenwood, and it became darkened, and was called Mirkwood, for an evil spirit stirred there.[16] The Harfoots were the first clan of Hobbits to enter Eriador.[17]

c.1100 It becomes known to the Wise (being the chieftains of the Eldar and the Istari) that an evil power had arisen in Mirkwood and had established a stronghold on the hill of Dol Guldur in the southern forest. But it was still some time before they knew for certain that this was the shadow of Sauron himself and that he was awake again.

c.1150 The Fallohides, a clan of the Periannath, crossed into Eriador and came down from the North along the River Hoarwell. About the same time the Stoors, another clan, came over the Redhorn Pass and moved south towards Dunland.[18]

c.1200 Under Atanatar the Glorious Gondor reaches the height of its power, and its sway extends from the Greyflood in the West to the Sea of Rhúnaer in the East, and from the south-eaves of Mirkwood in the North to the land of the Haradrim in the South. The Haradrim acknowledge the overlordship of Gondor for many years.

c.1300 The western Periannath, now for the most part mingled together, move westward from the region of Amon Sûl (Weathertop), and begin to make small settlements among the remnants of the peoples of the

old North-kingdom. Their chief settlement was on and about the Hill of Bree.

c.1350 Evil things begin to multiply again. Orcs increase rapidly and delve in the Misty Mountains, and attack the Dwarves. The Ringwraiths stir once more. The chief of these, the wielders of the Nine Rings, becomes the Witch-king of the realm of Angmar in the North beyond Arnor, and makes war on the remnants of the Dúnedain.

1356 Argeleb king at Fornost is slain in battle with the realms of Cardolan and Rhudaur, which resist his claim to overlordship.

c.1400 About this time, owing to dissensions and to the unfriendliness of the lands and clime of eastern Eriador, some of the Stoors return to Wilderland and dwell beside the R. Gladden that flows into Anduin. They become a riverside people, fishers and users of small boats. Others of the Stoors move north and west and join with the Harfoots and Fallohides.

1409 The Witch-king of Angmar taking advantage of the civil war among the Dúnedain comes out of the North and overwhelms the petty realms of Cardolan and Rhudaur and destroys the remnants of the Númenóreans that dwelt there. Cardolan is forsaken. The deserted mounds of Cardolan become filled with deadly spirits; but in Rhudaur for long there dwelt an evil people out of the North, much given to sorcery. The Men of Bree and the Periannath of the same region maintain their independence.

In this year 1409 King Arveleg I of Fornost was slain in battle by the Witch-king, but the Heirs of Isildur still hold out at Fornost with aid from Lindon. Arveleg is succeeded by Araphor.

In this war the Palantir of Amon Sûl was destroyed. Help did not come from the South-kingdom for their peace also was troubled by dissensions. King Valakar took to wife the daughter of an alien king of the Northmen of Anduin, with whom Gondor had sought alliance and aid in their war with the Easterlings. No king or heir to the throne of Gondor had before done such a thing.

1432 War of the Kin-strife breaks out in Gondor. Valakar dies and the succession of his son, half of alien blood, is con-

tested by other descendants of Atanatar the Glorious. The war lasts till 1447. Kastamir who had driven out Valakar's son Eldakar was ejected by Eldakar and slain. The sons of Kastamir flee from Gondor and set up a pirate fortress at Umbar, and remain at war with the king.

1601 (S.R.1)[19] A host of Periannath migrates from Bree westward, and crosses the R. Baranduin (Brandywine). The land beyond, between the Baranduin and Emyn Beraid, had been a demesne of the Kings of Arnor, where they had both chases and rich farms; but they were now untended and falling into wilderness. The king Argeleb II therefore allowed the Periannath to settle there, for they were good husbandmen.[20] They became his subjects in name but were virtually independent and ruled by their own chieftains. Their numbers were swelled by Stoors that came up from southern Eriador and entered the land from the south and dwelt mostly near to the Baranduin. This land the Periannath or Halflings called 'The Shire'. Shire-reckoning begins with the crossing of the Baranduin in this year.

1634 The Corsairs of Umbar slew King Minardil and ravaged Pelargir. They were led by Angomaitë and Sangahyanda grandsons of Kastamir.[21]

1636 A great plague comes out of the East, and devastates Gondor. King Telemnar and all his children died. The White Tree of Isildur in Minas Anor withered and died. The power of Gondor dwindles.

1640 King Tarondor removed the king's house to Minas Anor. He planted there again a seedling of the White Tree. Osgiliath becomes deserted owing to the fewness of the people, and begins to fall into ruin. The watch on Mordor is relaxed, and the fortresses at the passes become empty.

The plague spreads north and west, and wide regions of Eriador become desolate. But the virulence of the plague decreases as it passes west and the Periannath in the Shire suffer little loss.[22]

c.1700 Mordor being now left unguarded evil things enter in again and take up their abode there secretly. Communication between the North and South kingdoms ceases for a long while.

1850 Assault of the Wainriders out of the East upon Gondor. War lasts for many years.

1900 Kalimehtar of Gondor builds the White Tower in Minas Anor.

1940 Messengers pass between the two kingdoms, since both are in peril: the South from the Wainriders of the East, and the North from renewed attacks of Angmar. Arvedui heir of Araphant of Arthedain weds Fíriel, the daughter of King Ondohir of Gondor.

1944 Ondohir with both his sons, Faramir and Artamir, slain in battle against a great alliance of the Wainriders and the Men of Harad. Arvedui of the North claims the southern crown, both on his wife's behalf and on his own as representing 'the elder line of Isildur'. The claim is refused by Gondor and lapses with the death of Arvedui; but all his descendants, though too weak to press their claim, continue to maintain that they are also by rights kings of Gondor, being descended both from Isildur and Anárion (through Fíriel).

1960 Pelendur the king's steward for a time ruled Gondor, but after a while Eärnil, descendant of a previous king, receives the crown.[23]

1974 End of the North-kingdom. The Witch-king destroys Fornost, lays the land waste, and scatters the remnants of the Dúnedain. Arvedui flies north taking the Palantíri (the two that remain). He attempts to escape by ship to Gondor from Forochel, but is lost at sea, and the Stones disappear. His sons take refuge with Cirdan.[24]

1975 Cirdan of Lune and Elrond, with belated help sent by sea from King Eärnil, defeat Angmar. The Witch-king is overthrown and his realm destroyed. He flies south and comes at last to Mordor.

1976 Aranarth son of Arvedui takes refuge with Elrond at Imladris. He abandons the title of 'king', since he now has no people, but the chieftains of the Dúnedain descended from him continue to bear names with the royal prefix *Ar*, *Ara*. The Periannath sent archers to the Battle of Fornost, but after the end of the kingdom they claim the Shire as their own. They elect a Thain to take the place of the king.[25] According to their tradition the first independent Shire-thain was one Bucca of the Marish, from whom later the Oldbuck family claimed

descent. The beginning of his office dated from S.R.379.

1980–2000 The Witch-king gathers the other eight Ringwraiths to him and they issue from Mordor, and folk flee from Ithilien in terror. The Úlairi captured Minas Ithil and made it their stronghold, from which they were not again expelled while the Third Age lasted. The Palantir of Minas Ithil is captured. Minas Ithil is re-named Minas Morgul (Tower of Sorcery), and Minas Anor is called Minas Tirith (the Tower of Guard).

About this time also other evil things were roused. A terror of the Elder Days, a Balrog of Thangorodrim, appeared in Moria. Some say that the Dwarves delving too deep in their search for *mithril* or true-silver disturbed this evil creature from its sleep far under the world. The remnants of Durin's folk are slain by the Balrog or driven out of Moria. Many of them wandered into the far North, as far as the Grey Mountains or the Iron Hills.

c.2000 Curunír (Saruman), returning out of the East, takes up his abode in the Tower of Orthanc in the Ring of Isengard.[26] This had been an ancient stronghold of Gondor, guarding their north-west frontier, but the northern parts of the realm were now largely empty and King Eärnil was glad to have the aid of Curunír against the Ringwraiths, and gave Isengard to him for his own.

About this time it is thought that Déagol the Stoor found the Ring in Anduin near the Gladden Fields where Isildur was slain as he swam. Déagol was murdered by his friend Sméagol, who took the Ring.

c.2010? Sméagol, now called Gollum, is cast out by his own people, and hides in the Misty Mountains. He vanishes out of all knowledge taking the Ring with him.[27]

2043 Death of King Eärnil. His son Eärnur (the Last King of Gondor in that Age) comes to the throne. The Lord of the Ringwraiths challenged him to battle.

2050 Against the counsel of Mardil his Steward King Eärnur accepts the renewed challenge of the Lord of Morgul to single combat. He rides to the gates of Minas Morgul, but he was betrayed and taken and never again seen by mortal men. Eärnur left no children. No male descendants (of clear title or nearly pure blood) of Anárion could be discovered. Mardil the good Steward governed

the realm, nominally 'until the King's return'. For a long time previously the stewardship had usually been held by a member of the same family (one of nearly pure Númenórean descent). It now became hereditary in that family like a kingship. But each Steward took office with the formula 'to hold the rule and rod until the King's return'; and they did not take official names of Quenya or High-elven form. Their names were mostly of Noldorin kind, that tongue being still used by those descended from the Elf-friends of Númenor.

After the disappearance of Eärnur and the ending of the kings the White Tree seldom again bore fruit, and each year its blossom grew less as it slowly aged.

2060 The fear of the Ringwraiths, or Úlairi, spreads far and wide. The Elves deem that the Power in Dol Guldur is one of these; but in the hearts of Elrond and Gandalf the fear grows that the darkness in Mirkwood should prove to be the shadow of Sauron himself awakening.[28]

2063 Gandalf goes alone to Dol Guldur in secret, to discover the truth concerning the Sorcerer. But the Sorcerer is aware of him; and being not yet grown to great power, he fears the eyes of Gandalf, and the strength of the Wise, and he deserts Dol Guldur and hides in the East again for a while.

Here begins a time that is called the Watchful Peace. For there was a long quiet, but no certainty. During that time the Ringwraiths never again appeared in visible shape beyond the walls of Minas Morgul; but the Wise were in doubt what should yet come to pass, and Gandalf made great journeys to discover the plans and devices of their enemies.

2300 Elrond, who had remained unwed through all his long years, now took to wife Celebrían, daughter of Galadriel and Celeborn of Lórien. His children were the twin brethren, Elladan and Elrohir, and Arwen Undómiel, the fairest of all the maidens of the Third Age, in whom the likeness of Lúthien her foremother returned to Middle-earth. These children were three parts of Elven-race, but the doom spoken at their birth was that they should live even as the Elves so long as their father remained in Middle-earth; but if he departed they should have then the choice either to pass over the

Sea with him, or to become mortal, if they remained behind.

2340 Isumbras I, head of the Took family in the Shire, becomes thirteenth Thain, the first of the Took line.[29] After his day the office became hereditary in the family of the Tooks of the Great Smials. About this time the Oldbucks occupied the Buckland, east of the River Brandywine and on the edge of the Old Forest.

2349 Birth of Elladan and Elrohir, sons of Elrond, in Imladris.[30]

2349 Birth of Arwen Undómiel.

2460 After a space of nearly four hundred years the Watchful Peace ends, and the powers of evil move again. The Sorcerer returns to Dol Guldur with increased strength, and gathers all evil things under his rule.

2463 The White Council is formed to unite and direct the forces of the West, in resistance to the shadow. Curunír (or Saruman the White) is chosen to be the head of the Council, since he has studied all the arts and ways of Sauron and his servants most deeply. Galadriel of Lórien wishes Gandalf to be made chief, but he refuses. Saruman begins his study of the Rings of Power and their uses and history.

2475 The attack upon Gondor is begun again with new vigour, in the days of Denethor I, son of Dior,[31] the tenth Steward. His son Boromir defeats the enemy before East Osgiliath, but Osgiliath is finally ruined in this war, and the ancient and marvellous stone-bridge is broken. The Men of Gondor still maintain their hold upon Ithilien, but little by little its people desert it and pass west over Anduin to the valleys of the White Mountains.

2480 onwards Orcs again multiply in secret and occupy many deep places (especially those anciently made by the Dwarves) in the Misty Mountains. They do this so stealthily that none are aware of it, until they have great forces hidden and are ready to bar all the passes from Eriador into Anduin's vales, according to the plan of their master in Dol Guldur. Orcs and Trolls occupy parts of the now empty Mines of Moria.

2509 Celebrían, wife of Elrond, journeys to Lórien to visit Galadriel, her mother; but she is taken by Orcs in the passes of the mountains. She is rescued by Elrond and

his sons, but after fear and torment she is no longer willing to remain in Middle-earth, and she departs to the Grey Havens and sails over Sea.[32]

2510 A great host of Orcs, with Easterlings as allies, assail the northern borders of Gondor, and occupy a great part of Calenardon. Gondor sends for help. Eorl the Young leads his people, the Éothéod or Rohirrim, out of the North from the sources of Anduin, and rides to the help of Cirion, Steward of Gondor. With his aid the great victory of the Field of Celebrant is won. Elladan and Elrohir rode also in that battle. From that time forth the brethren never cease from war with the Orcs because of Celebrían. Eorl and his people are given the plains of Calenardon to dwell in, and that land is now called *Rochann* (Rohan). There the Rohirrim live as free men under their own kings, but in perpetual alliance with Minas Tirith.

2569 The Golden Hall of Meduseld is built by Brego son of Eorl.

2570 Baldor son of Brego takes a rash vow to enter the Forbidden Door in Dunharrow, and is never seen again.

2590 Thrór the Dwarf (of Dúrin's race) founds the realm of Erebor (the Lonely Mountain), and becomes 'King under the Mountain'.[33] He lives in friendship with the Men of Dale, who are nearly akin to the Rohirrim.

2620 Isengrim II, tenth Thain of the Took-line, born in the Shire.

2698 Ecthelion I, Steward of Gondor, repairs and rebuilds the White Tower of Minas Tirith, afterwards often called the Tower of Ecthelion.[34]

2740– Wars with the Orcs break out again.

2747 Orcs passing far to the north raid down into Eriador. A large force invades the Shire. Bandobras Took, second son of Isumbras III, defeats them at the Battle of the Greenfields in the Northfarthing and slays the Orc-chief Golfimbul. This was the last battle in which Hobbits (Periannath) were engaged until the end of the Third Age.

2757 Rohan is overrun by Orcs and Easterlings. At the same time Gondor is attacked by the Corsairs of Umbar.

2758–9 The Long Winter. Helm of Rohan takes refuge from his enemies in Helm's Deep in the White Mountains.

2763 New line of kings in Rohan is begun with Fréaláf Hildeson (sister-son of Helm). The second row of King's Mounds is begun.

2765 Smaug the Dragon descends on Erebor and destroys the realm of Thrór the Dwarf, and lays waste the town and lordship of Dale. Thrór and his son Thráin escape with a few only of their people.

2766 Thrór the Dwarf, descendant of Durin, being now homeless and robbed of his treasure, ventures into Moria, but is slain by an Orc in the dark. Thráin and Thorin escape. In vengeance for Thrór and in hope of re-establishing a kingdom the scattered Dwarves of Durin's race gather together out of the North and make war on the Orcs of the Misty Mountains. The War of the Dwarves and Orcs was long and terrible and fought largely in the dark in deep places.

2769 The War of Orcs and Dwarves comes to an end in a great battle before the East-gate of Moria: the Battle of the Dimrill Dale (Nanduhirion). The Orcs were almost annihilated, and Moria is once more emptied, but the Dwarves also lost very heavily and were too few at the end to reoccupy Moria or face the hidden terror. Dáin returns to the Iron Hills; but Thráin and Thorin become wanderers.[35]

2790 Birth of Gerontius Took: later the fourteenth Thain,[36] and known as 'the Old Took' because of his great age (he lived to be 130 years old).

2850 Gandalf visits Dol Guldur again to discover the purposes of the Sorcerer. He finds there Thráin the Dwarf son of Thrór and receives from him the secret key of Erebor. Thráin had come thither seeking for one of the Seven Rings; but he dies in Dol Guldur.[37] Gandalf discovers beyond doubt that the Sorcerer is none other than Sauron himself, and that he is gathering again all the Rings of Power, and seeking to learn the fate of the One, and the dwelling of Isildur's Heirs.

2851 Gandalf urges the White Council to assail Dol Guldur, but he is overruled by Saruman. For Saruman has begun to lust for power and desires himself to discover the One Ring. He thinks that it will come to light again, seeking its Master, if Sauron is let be for a while. He does not reveal his thought to the Council, but feigns that his

studies have led him to believe that the Ring has been rolled down Anduin and into the deeps of the Sea. But Saruman himself keeps a watch upon Anduin and the Gladden Fields and he fortifies Isengard.

2872 Belecthor II, twenty-first Steward of Gondor, dies.[38] The White Tree dies in the court of Minas Tirith. No seedling can be found. The dead tree is left standing in the court under the White Tower.

c.2880 Ithilien becomes desolate and untilled and the remnant of its people remove west over Anduin to Lossarnach and Lebennin. But the Men of Minas Tirith still hold Ithilien as a border country and patrol it; they keep forces in the ruins of Osgiliath and in secret places in Ithilien.[39]

2885 In the days of Túrin II, twenty-third Steward, the Haradrim attack Gondor and ravage South Ithilien. The Rohirrim send help. Folcred and Fastred sons of King Folcwine of Rohan fall in battle in the service of Gondor.

2891 Bilbo born in the Shire (his mother was a daughter of the Old Took).

2911 The Fell Winter. White Wolves invade the Shire over the frozen Brandywine River. About this time Saruman discovers that Sauron's servants are also searching the Great River near the Gladden Fields. He knows then that Sauron has learned the manner of Isildur's end (maybe from Orcs), and he is afraid. He withdraws to Isengard and fortifies it, but he says nothing to the Council.

2920 Death of Gerontius Took at age of 130.

2929 Arathorn, son of Arador chieftain of the Dúnedain, weds Gilrain daughter of Dirhoel [> Dirhael].

2930 Arador slain by Trolls.

2931 Aragorn son of Arathorn born.

2933 Arathorn II chief of the Dúnedain slain by Orcs when riding with Elladan and Elrohir. His infant son Aragorn is fostered by Elrond. Elrond keeps the heirlooms of his father, but his ancestry is kept secret, since the Wise know that Sauron is seeking for the Heir of Isildur.

2940 Thorin Oakenshield the Dwarf, son of Thráin, son of Thrór of Erebor visits Bilbo in the Shire in the company of Gandalf. Bilbo sets out for Dale with Gandalf and the

Dwarves. Bilbo meets Sméagol-Gollum and becomes possessed of the Ring; but it is not guessed what Ring this is.

Meeting of the White Council. Saruman, since he now wishes to prevent the Sorcerer from searching the River, agrees to an attack on Dol Guldur. The Sorcerer is driven out of Mirkwood. The Forest for a time becomes wholesome again. But the Sorcerer flies east, and returns in secret.

Battle of the Five Armies fought in Dale. Thranduil of Mirkwood, the Men of Esgaroth, and the Dwarves, with the help of the Eagles of the Misty Mountains, defeat a great host of Orcs. Bard of Esgaroth slays Smaug the Dragon. Thorin Oakenshield dies of wounds. Dáin of the Iron Hills re-enters Erebor and becomes 'King under the Mountain'.

2941 Bilbo returns to the Shire with a share of the treasure of Smaug, and the Ring.

2948 Théoden son of Thengel king of the Rohirrim is born in Rohan.

2953 Aragorn returns from errantry in the company of Elladan and Elrohir. Elrond reveals to him his ancestry and destiny and delivers to him the Shards of Narsil, the Sword of Elendil. Elrond foretells that in his time either the last remnant of Númenor shall pass away, or the kingdoms of Arnor and Gondor shall be united and renewed. He bids Aragorn prepare for a hard life of war and wandering.

Arwen Undómiel had now long dwelt with Galadriel in Lórien, but she desired to see her father again, and her brethren, Elladan and Elrohir, brought her to Imladris. On the day in which his ancestry was revealed to him Aragorn met her at unawares walking under the trees in Rivendell, and so began to love her. Elrond is grieved, for he foresees the choice that will lie before her; and says that at least Aragorn must wait until he has fulfilled his task. He reveals that as one of the pure blood of Númenor, born to a high purpose, Aragorn will have a long life-span. Aragorn says farewell to Rivendell and goes out into the world.

At this time Sauron, having gathered fresh power, declares himself and his true name again, and he

re-enters Mordor which the Ringwraiths have prepared for him, and rebuilds Barad-dûr. This had never been wholly destroyed, and its foundations were unmoved; for they were made by the Power of the One Ring. But Mithrandir (Gandalf) journeys far and wide to counter the plans of Sauron and prepare Elves and Men for war against the Lord of Barad-dûr.

2954 Orodruin (Mount Doom), long dormant, bursts into smoke and flame again, and fear falls on Minas Tirith.

2956 Aragorn meets Gandalf, and their great friendship begins. Aragorn undertakes great journeys, even far into the East and deep into the South, exploring the purposes of Sauron and all his movements. As an unknown warrior he fights in the service of Gondor and of Rohan. Because of his high race, the noblest among mortal men, his fostering by Elrond, and his learning from Mithrandir, and his many deeds and journeys he becomes the most hardy of Men, both Elven-wise and skilled in craft and lore.

2980 Aragorn returning on a time to Rivendell from perils on the borders of Mordor passes through Lórien, and there again meets Arwen Undómiel. He is now a mighty man and she returns his love. They plight their troth on the hill of Cerin Amroth in Lórien. Théoden becomes King of Rohan.

2984 Denethor II becomes the twenty-sixth Steward of Gondor on the death of his father Ecthelion II. He married (late) Finduilas daughter of Adrahil, Prince of Dol Amroth. His elder son Boromir was born in 2978. His younger son Faramir was born in 2983. His wife Finduilas died untimely in 2987.

2989 In the spring of this year Balin the Dwarf with Óin and Ori and other folk of Erebor went south and entered Moria.

2993 Éomer Éomundsson born in Rohan. His mother was Théodwyn youngest sister of Théoden.

2996 Éowyn sister of Éomer born.

c.3000 onwards The Shadow of Mordor creeps over the lands, and the hearts of all the folk in the Westlands are darkened. About this time it is thought that Saruman dared to use the Palantir of Orthanc, but was ensnared thus by Sauron who had possession of the Stone of

Minas Ithil (captured long before by the Úlairi). Saruman becomes a full traitor to the Council and his friends; but still schemes to acquire power for himself, and searches all the more eagerly for the One Ring. His thought turns towards Bilbo and the Shire, and he spies on that land.

3001 Bilbo gives a farewell feast and banquet in Hobbiton and vanishes from the Shire. He goes, after some journeying and a visit to Erebor, back in secret to Rivendell, and there is given a home by Elrond. Gandalf at last also suspects the nature of the Ring of Gollum, which Bilbo has handed on to his kinsman and heir, Frodo.

3002 Gandalf begins to explore the history of Bilbo's Ring, and with the aid of Aragorn searches for news of Gollum.

3004 Gandalf visits the Shire again, and continues to do so at intervals, to observe Frodo, for some years.

3009 Last visit of Gandalf to Frodo before the end. The hunt for Gollum begins. Aragorn goes to the confines of Mordor.

3016 Elrond sends for Arwen and she returns to Rivendell; for the Misty Mountains and all lands east of them are becoming full of peril and threat of war.

3018 Gandalf visits Frodo and reveals the true nature of the Ring that he possesses. Frodo decides to fly from the Shire to Rivendell, but will wait till the autumn, or until Gandalf returns. Saruman the traitor decoys Gandalf and takes him prisoner in Isengard (shortly after midsummer). The Ringwraiths appear again. At midsummer Sauron makes war on Gondor. The Witch-king appears again in person as the Black Captain of the hosts of Mordor. The sons of Denethor hold off the attack. Words in a dream bid Denethor to seek for counsel in Imladris where Isildur's Bane shall be revealed and strength greater than that of Morgul shall be found. Boromir sets out for Imladris from Minas Tirith.

Gandalf is aware of the coming of the Ringwraiths, but being imprisoned in Orthanc cannot send warning or help to Frodo.

Frodo leaves the Shire in autumn, but barely escapes the Ringwraiths that in the shape of Black Riders have come north to hunt for the Ring. Assisted by Aragorn

he and his companions reach Rivendell at the end of October. At the same time Boromir arrives there, and also messengers from Erebor (Glóin and his son Gimli) and from Thranduil of Mirkwood (his son Legolas). Gandalf escapes from Isengard and reaches Rivendell.

A great council is held in the House of Elrond. It is resolved to attempt the destruction of the Ring by sending it to the fire of Orodruin in Sauron's despite. Frodo the Halfling accepts the perilous office of Ringbearer.

At the end of the year the Company of the Ring ('The Nine Walkers') leave Rivendell.

3019 The War of the Ring begins, between Sauron and his creatures, and their allies in the East and South (among all Men that hate the name of Gondor), and the peoples of the Westlands. Saruman plays a treacherous part and attacks Rohan. Théodred son of Théoden is slain in war with Saruman. Boromir son of Denethor is slain by Orcs near the Falls of Rauros. Minas Tirith is besieged by great forces led by the Black Captain, and is partly burnt. Denethor slays himself in despair. The Rohirrim by a great ride break the siege, but Théoden is slain by the Witch-king. The Battle of the Pelennor Fields followed, of which the full tale is told elsewhere. The greatest deed of that day was the deed of Éowyn Éomund's daughter. She for love of the King rode in disguise with the Rohirrim and was with him when he fell. By her hand the Black Captain, the Lord of the Ringwraiths, the Witch-king of Angmar, was destroyed.

Even so the battle would have been lost but for the coming of Aragorn. In the hour of need he sailed up Anduin from the south, in the fleet which he captured from the Corsairs of Umbar, bringing new strength; and he unfurled the banner of the kings.

After taking counsel the Host of the West marches to the Black Gate of Mordor. There it is trapped and surrounded by the forces of Sauron. But in that hour Frodo the Halfling with his faithful servant reached Mount Doom through perils beyond hope and cast the Ring into the Fire. Then Sauron was unmade and his power passed away like a cloud and the Dark Tower fell in utter ruin. This is that Frodo who was long remembered in the songs of Men as Frodo of the Nine Fingers, and

renowned as one of the greatest heroes of Gondor; but though often later this was forgotten he was not a Man of Gondor but a Halfling of the Shire.

The Host of the West enters Mordor and destroys all the Orc-holds. All Men that had allied themselves with Sauron were slain or subjugated.

In the early summer Aragorn was crowned King of Gondor in Minas Tirith taking the name of Elessar (the Elfstone). He became thus King both of Arnor and Gondor, and overlord of the ancient allies of Mordor to whom he now granted mercy and peace. He found a seedling of the White Tree and planted it.

At midsummer Arwen came with Elrond and Galadriel and her brethren, and she was wedded with Aragorn Elessar, and made the choice of Lúthien.

In Gondor a new era and a new calendar was made, to begin with the day of the fall of Barad-dûr, March 25, 3019. But the Third Age is not held to have ended on that day, but with the going of the Three Rings. For after the destruction of the Ruling Ring the Three Rings of the Eldar lost their virtue. Then Elrond prepared at last to depart from Middle-earth and follow Celebrían.

3021 In the autumn of this year Elrond, Galadriel, and Mithrandir, the guardians of the Three Rings, rode westward through the Shire to the Grey Havens. With them went, it is said, the Halflings Bilbo and Frodo, the Ringbearers. Círdan had made ready a ship for them, and they set sail at evening and passed into the uttermost West. With their passing ended the Third Age, the twilight between the Elder Days and the Afterworld which then began.

Here ends the main matter of the Red Book. But more is to be learned both from notes and additions in later hands in the Red Book (less trustworthy than the earlier parts which are said to have been derived from the Halflings that were actual witnesses of the deeds); and from the Annals of the House of Elessar, of which parts of a Halfling translation (made it is said by the Tooks) are preserved.

So much may here be noted. The reign of King Aragorn was long and glorious. In his time Minas Tirith was rebuilt and made stronger and fairer than before; for the king had the

assistance of the stone-wrights of Erebor. Gimli Glóin's son of Erebor had been his companion and had fought in all the battles of the War of the Ring, and when peace was made he brought part of the dwarf-folk and they dwelt in the White Mountains and wrought great and wonderful works in Gondor. And the Dwarves also forged anew great gates of *mithril* and steel to replace those broken in the siege. Legolas Thranduil's son had also been one of the king's companions and he brought Elves out of Greenwood (to which name Mirkwood now returned) and they dwelt in Ithilien, and it became the fairest region in all the Westlands. But after King Elessar died Legolas followed at last the yearning of his heart and sailed over Sea. It is said in the Red Book that he took Gimli Glóin's son with him because of their great friendship, such as had never else been seen between Elf and Dwarf. But this is scarcely to be believed: that a dwarf should be willing to leave Middle-earth for any love, or that the Elves should admit him to Avallon if he would go, or that the Lords of the West should permit it. In the Red Book it is said that he went also out of desire to see again the Lady Galadriel whose beauty he revered; and that she being mighty among the Eldar obtained this grace for him. More cannot be said of this strange matter.

It is said also that in 3020 Éowyn Éomund's daughter wedded Faramir, last Steward of Gondor and first Prince of Ithilien, in the king's house of Rohan. Éomer her brother received the kingship upon the field of battle from Théoden ere he died. In 3022 (or Fourth Age 1) he wedded Lothíriel daughter of Imrahil of Dol Amroth, and his reign over Rohan was long and blessed, and he was known as Éomer Éadig.

King Elessar and Queen Arwen reigned long and in great blessedness; but at the last the weariness came upon the King, and then, while still in vigour of mind and body, he laid himself down after the manner of the ancient kings of Númenor, and died, in the hundred and second year of his reign and the hundred and ninetieth year of his life.

Then Arwen departed and dwelt alone and widowed in the fading woods of Loth-lórien; and it came to pass for her as Elrond foretold that she would not leave the world until she had lost all for which she made her choice. But at last she laid herself to rest on the hill of Cerin Amroth, and there was her green grave until the shape of the world was changed.

Of Eldarion son of Elessar it was foretold that he should rule

a great realm, and that it should endure for a hundred generations of Men after him, that is until a new age brought in again new things; and from him should come the kings of many realms in long days after. But if this foretelling spoke truly, none now can say, for Gondor and Arnor are no more; and even the chronicles of the House of Elessar and all their deeds and glory are lost.

The account of the history of the Realms in Exile in *The Heirs of Elendil*, where it is set out in the framework of the succession of the kings and rulers, necessarily overlaps with that in the Tale of Years, where it forms part of a general chronology of the Westlands. It would therefore be interesting to know whether my father wrote the latter before or after the final (unrevised) manuscript C of *The Heirs of Elendil*; but the evidence on this question is strangely conflicting. On the one hand, the entry in T 4 for the year 1960 seems to establish that it preceded C, where the interregnum after the death of King Ondohir was only of one year and Eärnil II came to the throne in 1945, and the correction to the text (see note 23) was plainly made after the manuscript was completed. There are other pointers to the same conclusion; thus the passage under 2050 concerning the Stewards was taken straight from the B text of *The Heirs of Elendil* (see p. 217). On the other hand, there are a number of features in T 4 that seem to show that my father had C in front of him: as for example the statement under 1409 that the *palantir* of Amon Sûl was destroyed, where C (before correction) had 'the *palantir* is broken', but B (in an addition) had 'no one knows what became of the Stone' (pp. 194, 209); or again the two challenges made by the Lord of the Ringwraiths to Eärnur, in 2043 and 2050, which very clearly first entered *The Heirs of Elendil* in C (pp. 201, 217). Close similarities of wording are found between entries in T 4 and both B and C.

One might suppose that the writing of T 4 and the writing of C proceeded together; but the two manuscripts are at once very distinct in style, and very homogeneous throughout their length. Each gives the impression that it was written from start to finish connectedly. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that T 3 and T 4 belong to very much the same time as *The Heirs of Elendil*.

My father may not have precisely intended such near-repetition between the two works as occurs, but it is possible to regard it as the necessary consequence of his design at that time. This long Tale of Years, ample in expression, seems to me to show that he wished, having at long last brought the story to its end, to provide for the reader a clear and accessible (still in the manner of the story) 'conspectus' of all the diverse threads and histories that came together in the War of the Ring: of the Hobbits, the Wizards, the Dúnedain of the North, the rulers of Gondor, the Rohirrim, the Ringwraiths, the Dark

Lord; the High-elves of Rivendell and Lindon also, the Dwarves of Erebor and Moria, and further back the lost world of Númenor. This account (a chronology, but with a narrative view and tone) was to be read at the end of the book, a Tale of Years in which the story of the Fellowship and the quest of the Ringbearer could be seen, when all was over, as the culmination of a great and many-rooted historical process – for which chronology was a prime necessity. And so also, at the end of this Tale of Years, he moved 'outside the frame' of the story, and looked further on to the later lives of Gimli and Legolas, of Faramir and Éowyn and Éomer, the reign and the deaths of Elessar and Arwen, and the realm of their son Eldarion in 'the Afterworld'.

I have mentioned when discussing the Tale of Years of the Second Age (p. 177) that an amanuensis typescript in two copies (T 5) – very intelligently and professionally done – was made from the manuscript T 4; and that one of them was emended in a most radical fashion by my father, chiefly if by no means exclusively in order to abbreviate the text by the omission of phrases that could be regarded as not strictly necessary. This cutting out of phrases ceases altogether towards the end, at the beginning of the entry for 3019.

There is no certain evidence to show when the typescript was made, but I think that it was a long while after the writing of the manuscript. The question is in any case not of much importance, for what is certain is that the typescript was sent to the publishers in 1954; in a letter of 22 October in that year Rayner Unwin said:

> The Tale of Years which I am returning herewith was interesting, but as you, I think, agree, probably too long for the appendices as it stands. I suggest that considerable reduction be made in the accounts of events already told in The Lord of the Rings, and a somewhat more staccato style be adopted (make less of a narrative of the events of the Third Age).

It was of course the typescript in its unrevised form that he had sent: the revision (in so far as it entailed abbreviation) was obviously undertaken in response to Rayner Unwin's criticism.

If my interpretation of my father's intention for the Tale of Years is at all near the truth, it may be supposed that he carried out this work of shortening with reluctance; certainly, in the result, the amount lost from the original text was not proportionately very great, the long concluding passage was not touched, and the rounded, 'narrative' manner was little diminished. But after this time there is no external evidence that I know of to indicate whether there was further discussion of the matter – whether, for instance, my father was given a more express limitation with regard to length. There is indeed nothing actually to show that the subsequent far more drastic compression was not his own idea. But there is also nothing to bridge the gap before the next text, a typescript (from which the entries before 1900 are

missing, and which breaks off in the middle of that for 2941) already in full 'staccato' mode, and approaching (after a good deal of correction) closely the text in Appendix B. After this the only further extant text is the typescript from which Appendix B was printed.

NOTES

1 On the name *Dol Dûgul* for later *Dol Guldur* see VIII.122. In the manuscripts of *The Lord of the Rings* it is always spelt *Dol Dúghul* (replacing original *Dol Dúgol*).
2 On the date of Déagol's finding the One Ring see pp. 166–7.
3 'They become Hobbits': cf. the passage in *The Shadow of the Past*, later revised, cited on p. 66, §20.
4 From this point all the dates are given also in the years of the Shire Reckoning, but I do not include these in the text. Here 1600 is made S.R.1, but in all the following annals the final figure of the year corresponds in both reckonings, as '2940 (S.R.1340)', as if S.R.1 = 1601. The correction to 1601 was not made until the third text, T 4.
5 On *Northworthy* see p. 5 and note 3.
6 King Eärnur is named in the text of *The Lord of the Rings*, in the chapter *The Window on the West* (TT p. 278), where it was a late change from *Elessar* (VIII.153).
7 In Appendix B Elrond wedded Celebrían 2400 years before, in Third Age 100 (changed to 109 in the Second Edition).
8 Finduilas, earlier name of Arwen: see VIII.370, etc.
9 This was changed later to 'three parts Elven-blood'.
10 To this point the text was retained in abbreviated form in the preamble to the annals of the Third Age in Appendix B.
11 Eärendur: T 3 has here Eärendil (see p. 189).
12 In this text Isildur's death had been recorded under Second Age 3441 (p. 177).
13 In T 3 there are no entries at all before the coming of the Istari c.1000, but my father noted on that manuscript that more should be said here of Gondor and Arnor.
14 This entry concerning the Istari was preserved with some alteration in the preamble to the annals of the Third Age in Appendix B.
15 T 3 had here '(of whose kindred they were maybe a branch)', which was struck out.
16 With this passage concerning the region in which the Hobbits anciently dwelt and the reasons for their westward migration cf. the *Prologue*, FR p. 12.
17 T 3 has here: 'The families of the Harfoots, the most numerous of the Periannath (though this people were ever small in number),

crossed the Misty Mountains and came into eastern Eriador. The Fallowhides, another and smaller clan, moved north along the eaves of the Forest, for the shadow was deeper in its southern parts. The Stoors tarried still beside the River.'

18 In T 3 the same is said concerning the 'Fallowhides', but the Stoors 'came over the Redhorn Pass into the desolate land of Hollin'.

19 On the date 1601 see note 4. Subsequent entries for some distance are given also in Shire-reckoning, but I have not included these dates in the text printed.

20 With this passage cf. the *Prologue* text given on p. 9. The entry in T 3 here begins: 'Owing to an increase in their numbers, which became too great for the small Bree-land, many of the Periannath crossed the R. Baranduin'; the text is then as in T 4, but without the reference to the Stoors.

21 In both the B and C texts of *The Heirs of Elendil* Angomaitë and Sangahyanda were the great-grandsons of Kastamir (so also in Appendix A, RK p. 328).

22 T 3 ends the entry for 1640 'The Periannath were little harmed, for they mingled little with other folk.'

23 This entry belongs to the stage in the history of Gondor when there was an interregnum of sixteen years before Eärnil II came to the throne, during which time Pelendur the Steward ruled the realm (see p. 216). It was later corrected to read: '1945 Eärnil, descendant of a previous king, receives the crown of Gondor.'

24 In T 3 it is said that Arvedui was slain by the Witch-king; this apparently agrees with the original form of the B text of *The Heirs of Elendil* (p. 210).

25 T 3 has here: 'but after the end of the kingdom they claim "The Shire" as their own land, and elect a "Shire-king" from among their own chieftains.' On the name *Shireking* or *Shirking* see pp. 5–6, 87, 107. It seems to have been in this entry in T 3 that Bucca of the Marish first emerged.

26 This record of Saruman's coming to Orthanc is far earlier than in the additions made to text C of *The Heirs of Elendil*, where (pp. 205–6) 'Saruman comes to Orthanc' during the rule of the Steward Beren (2743–63), and in that of the Steward Turgon (2914–53) 'Saruman takes possession of Orthanc, and fortifies it'. In Appendix B 'Saruman takes up his abode in Isengard' in 2759.

27 These two entries concerning the finding of the Ring and Gollum's disappearance in the Misty Mountains are nine hundred years later than in the earliest text (p. 225).

28 With the entry for 2060 the substituted pages (see pp. 226–7) begin. The original entry for this year began:

The White Council is formed to unite and direct the resistance

to the growing forces of evil, which the Wise perceive are all being governed and guided in a plan of hatred for the Eldar and the remnants of Númenor. The Council believe that Sauron has returned. Curunír, or Saruman the White, is chosen to be head of the White Council ...

The original text was then the same as that in the entry that replaced it under the year 2463.

29 The opening of this entry in T 3 seems to have been written first: 'Isumbras I, head of the rising Took family, becomes first Shire-king (Shirking) of the Took-line', then changed immediately to 'becomes seventeenth [> thirteenth] Shire-king and first of the Took-line.'

30 The dates of the births of Elladan and Elrohir, and of Arwen, are given thus as two separate entries for the same year 2349 in the replacement text, with Arwen's birth subsequently changed to 2359. In the rejected version her birth was placed in 2400. Concomitantly with the far earlier date introduced much later for the wedding of Elrond and Celebrían (see note 7), in Appendix B Elladan and Elrohir were born in 139 (changed to 130 in the Second Edition) and Arwen in 241.

31 In *The Heirs of Elendil* Denethor I was the son not of Dior the ninth Steward but of Dior's sister (called in the C text Rían): pp. 204, 219. – The rejected text having placed the forming of the White Council four hundred years earlier, under 2060 (note 28), at this point it moved directly from the end of the Watchful Peace and the return of Sauron to Dol Guldur in 2460 to the attack on Gondor in the days of Denethor I. The postponement of the establishment of the White Council was the primary reason for the rejection and replacement of the two pages in the original manuscript, and the entries following 2463 were copied with little change into the new text to the point where it rejoins the old, near the end of the entry for 2510.

32 As in the earliest text (p. 226), T 3 states that Celebrían was slain by the Orcs.

33 'Thrór ... founds the realm of Erebor': the history of Thrór's ancestors had not yet emerged.

34 The year 2698 was the date of the death of Ecthelion I in the texts of *The Heirs of Elendil*.

35 The War of the Dwarves and Orcs entered the history at this time. In very difficult scribbled notes at the end of T 3 my father asked himself: 'When were the Dwarf and Goblin wars? When did Moria become finally desolate?' He noted that since the wars were referred to by Thorin in *The Hobbit* they 'must have been recent', and suggested that there was 'an attempt to enter Moria in Thráin's time', perhaps 'an expedition from Erebor to Moria'. 'But the appearance of the Balrog and the desolation of Moria

must be more ancient, possibly as far back as c.1980–2000'. He then wrote:

> 'After fall of Erebor Thrór tried to visit Moria and was killed by a goblin. The dwarves assembled a force and fought Orcs on east side of Moria and did great slaughter, but could not enter Moria because of "the terror". Dáin returns to the Iron Hills, but Thorin and Thráin wander about.'

Entries were then added to the text of T 3 which were taken up into T 4. At this time the story was that Thráin and Thorin accompanied Thrór, but made their escape. – Much later the dates of the war were changed from 2766–9 to 2793–9.

36 'the fourteenth Thain': that is, of the Took line.

37 The statement here that Thráin had come to Dol Guldur seeking for one of the Seven Rings is strange, for the story that he received Thrór's ring and that it was taken from him in the dungeons of Sauron goes back to the earliest text of *The Council of Elrond* (VI.398, 403). It seems to be a lapse without more significance; see further p. 252.

38 The date of the death of the Steward Belecthor II in all three texts of *The Heirs of Elendil* is 2872. The date 2852 in the later typescripts of the Tale of Years and in Appendix B is evidently a casual error.

39 In text C of *The Heirs of Elendil* (p. 206) the final desolation of Ithilien, where however Gondor keeps hidden strongholds, is placed in the time of the Steward Túrin II (2882–2914). In Appendix B the corresponding entry is given under 2901.

Note on changes made to the manuscript T 4 of the Tale of Years

(i) The Stoors

c.1150 The original entry was covered by a pasted slip that cannot be removed, but the underlying text as printed (p. 229) can be read with fair certainty. The replacement differs only in the statement concerning the Stoors: after coming into Eriador by the Redhorn Pass 'some then moved south towards Dunland; others dwelt for a long time in the angle between the Loudwater and the Hoarwell.'

c.1400 This entry was struck out and replaced by another under the year 1600, but the date was then changed to 1550. This was almost the same as the rejected form, but for 'some of the Stoors return to Wilderland' has 'the northern Stoors leave the Angle and return to Wilderland'.

On the evolution of the early history of the Stoors see pp. 66–7, §§22–3.

(ii) Saruman

c.2000 The far earlier coming of Saruman to Isengard (see note 26) was allowed to stand, but the reference to his becoming the head of the White Council in 2060 (note 28) was removed with the displacement of its forming to four hundred years later (2463). See p. 262, note 5.

2851 Saruman next appears in this entry, which was changed to read:

> He does not reveal his thought to the Council, but sets a watch upon Anduin and the Gladden Fields, where he himself secretly searches for the One Ring.

The words of the original text 'and he fortifies Isengard' were presumably struck out while the manuscript was in progress, since they reappear under 2911 (where they were again removed).

2911 The last sentence in the original text was altered to 'He redoubles the search for the Ring, but he says nothing to the Council.'

2940 This entry was not changed.

2953 The conclusion of this long entry, after the words 'the Power of the One Ring', was expanded thus:

> The White Council meets and debates concerning the Rings, fearing especially that Sauron may find the One. Saruman feigns that he has discovered that it passed down Anduin to the Sea. He then withdraws to Isengard and fortifies it, and consorts no more with members of the Council. But Mithrandir (Gandalf) journeys far and wide ...

The new text then returns to the original. (Saruman's pretence that he knew that the Ring had gone down Anduin to the Sea had been cut out of the entry for 2851, and the reference to his fortifying Isengard from that for 2911.)

c.3000 The last sentence of the original text was replaced thus:

> His spies bring him rumours of Sméagol-Gollum and his ring, and of Bilbo of the Shire. He is angry that Gandalf should have concealed this matter from him; and he spies upon Gandalf, and upon the Shire.

(iii) Gollum

c.2000 and c.2010 These entries concerning the finding of the Ring and Gollum's disappearance were struck out and replaced by additions under 2463 and 2470 (the dates in Appendix B). Many other additions were made concerning Gollum, but these are closely similar to those in Appendix B. There is no mention of his 'becoming acquainted with Shelob' under 2980, but an addition to the original entry for 3001 says 'About this time Gollum was captured and taken to Mordor and there held in prison.'

(iv) The return of Sauron to Mordor

In the original text of T 4 it was said in the entry for 2953 that Sauron declared himself and his true name, re-entered Mordor prepared for him by the Ringwraiths, and rebuilt Barad-dûr. In the revision, an addition was made to 2941: 'The Sorcerer returns in secret to Mordor which the Ringwraiths have prepared for him'; and at the same time the entry for 2953 was altered to read: 'At this time Sauron, having gathered fresh power, openly declares himself and his true name again, and claims Lordship over the West. He rebuilds Barad-dûr ...'

The corresponding dates in Appendix B are 2942 and 2951.

(v) The Dwarves

The statement under 2850 that Thráin went to Dol Guldur seeking one of the Seven Rings (see note 37) was replaced thus: 'Thráin was the possessor of the last of the Seven Rings of Power to survive destruction or recapture; but the ring was taken from him in Dol Guldur with torment, and he died there.' At the same time a new entry was added for the year 2840: 'Thráin the Dwarf goes wandering and is captured by the Sorcerer (about 2845?)'.

The entry for 2590 recording the founding of the realm of Erebor was changed to read: 'In the Far North dragons multiply again. Thrór ... comes south and re-establishes the realm of Erebor ...' At the same time, at the end of the entry, this addition was made: 'He was the great-great-grandson of Thráin I Náin's son' (which does not agree with the genealogical table in Appendix A, RK p. 361: see pp. 276–7).

For the correction of the entry for 1960 (the accession of Eärnil II to the throne of Gondor after a long interregnum) see note 23.

All the revisions of T 4 given above were taken up into the typescript T 5 as it was first made.

IX

THE MAKING OF APPENDIX A

(I) THE REALMS IN EXILE

As with the major manuscript T 4 of the Tale of Years given in the last chapter, I believe that years passed after the making of the manuscript C of *The Heirs of Elendil* (pp. 191 ff.) before my father took up the matter again, with a view to its radical alteration, when *The Lord of the Rings* was assured of publication. His later work on this, almost entirely in typescript, is extremely difficult to explain.

The earliest text, which I will call I, of the later period is a very rough typescript which begins thus:

The Heirs of Elendil

There is no space here to set out the lines of the kings and lords of Arnor and Gondor, even in such brief form as they appear in the Red Book. For the compiling of these annals the Hobbits must have drawn both on the books of lore in Rivendell, and on records made available to them by King Elessar, such as the 'Book of the Kings' of Gondor, and the 'House of the Stewards'; for until the days of the War of the Ring they had known little of such matters, and afterwards were chiefly interested in them in so far as they concerned Elessar, or helped in the correction of the dating of their own annals.

The line of Arnor, the Heirs of Isildur. After Elendil and Isildur there were eight high kings in Arnor, ending with Eärendur. The realm of Arnor then became divided, and the kings ceased to take names in High-elven form. But the line was maintained by Amlaith son of Eärendur, who ruled at Fornost.

After Amlaith there were thirteen kings[1] at Fornost, of whom the last was Arvedui, the twenty-fifth of the line. When he was lost at sea, the kingship came to an end in the North, and Fornost was deserted; but the line was continued by the Lords of the Dúnedain, who were fostered by Elrond.

Of these the first was Aranarth son of Arvedui, and after him there followed fifteen chieftains, ending with Aragorn II, who became king again both of Arnor and Gondor.

It was the token and the marvel of the Northern line that, though their power departed and their people dwindled to few, through all the many generations the succession was unbroken from father to son. Also, though the length of the lives of the Dúnedain grew ever less in Middle-earth, and their waning was swifter in the North, while the kings lasted in Gondor, afterwards it was otherwise; and many of the chieftains of the North lived still to twice the age of the oldest of other Men. Aragorn indeed lived to be one hundred and ninety years of age, longer than any of his line since Arvegil son of King Argeleb II; but in Aragorn the dignity of the kings of old was renewed, and he received in some measure their former gifts.

In his opening words 'There is no space here to set out the lines of the kings and lords of Arnor and Gondor' my father was surely thinking of *The Heirs of Elendil* in the elaborate form it had reached in the manuscript C. Merely to set out the names and dates of the rulers would take little enough space, yet that would serve little purpose in itself. It seems plain that he either knew or feared that he would be under severe constraint in the telling of the history of the Realms in Exile; but it seems extraordinary that he should have felt impelled to reduce the history of Arnor and the later petty realms almost to vanishing point.

After the passage given above, however, he continued with *The line of Gondor, the Heirs of Anárion*, and here he adopted another course: to give 'excerpts' from the history of Gondor. He began with a passage that remained with little change as the opening paragraph of the section *Gondor and the Heirs of Anárion* in Appendix A (I, iv); but then passed at once to 'the first great evil' that came upon Gondor, the civil war of the Kin-strife, thus omitting the first fourteen centuries of its history. This was quite briefly told, and was followed by a short account of 'the second and greatest evil', the plague that came in the reign of Telemnar; and that by 'the third evil', the invasion of the Wainriders. He had recounted the marriage of Arvedui, last king in the North, to the daughter of King Ondohir, and the great victory of Eärnil in 1944, when he abandoned the text.

One might suppose that he perceived that, in so short a space as he had determined was necessary, this would not work. The 'excerpts' could not stand in isolation without further explanation. At the end of this text he had written that the northern kingdom could send no aid to Gondor 'for Angmar renewed its attack upon Arthedain': yet neither Angmar nor Arthedain had been mentioned. What was required (one might think) was a brief précis of the whole history of the two kingdoms; but as will be seen in a moment, this was not at all what he had in mind.

It is notable that at this stage he said very little about the sources for the history; and it seems probable that his conception of them was still very undeveloped.

In a second text, II, still with the same title, he substantially expanded the opening passage:

Until the War of the Ring the people of the Shire had little knowledge of the history of the Westlands beyond the traditions of their own wanderings; but afterwards all that concerned the King Elessar became of deep interest to them, while in the Buckland the tales of Rohan were no less esteemed. Thus the Red Book from its beginning contained many annals, genealogies, and traditions of the realms of the South, drawn through Bilbo from the books of lore in Rivendell, or through Frodo and Peregrin from the King himself, and from the records of Gondor that he opened to them: such as 'The Book of the Kings and Stewards' (now lost), and the *Akallabêth*, that is 'The Downfall of Númenor'.[2] To this matter other notes and tales were added at a later date by other hands, after the passing of Elessar.

There is no space here to set out this matter, even in the brief forms in which it usually appears in the Book; but some excerpts are given that may serve to illustrate the story of the War of the Ring, or to fill up some of the gaps in the account.

My father now expressly referred to 'excerpts' from the Red Book. He retained from text I the very brief statement concerning the Northern Line; and in the section on the Southern Line he did as he had done in I, omitting all the history of Gondor before the Kin-strife. But when he came to the story of the civil war he expanded it to ten times its length in I. One may wonder what his intention now was in respect of the shape and length of this Appendix; but I doubt whether he was thinking of such questions when he wrote it. The historian of Gondor reasserted himself, and he told the story as he wished to tell it.

The remarkable thing is that this text was the immediate forerunner of the story of the Kin-strife as it was published in Appendix A (in the First Edition: in the Second Edition the events leading to it were altered and expanded, see p. 258).[3] And at the words 'Eldakar ... was king for fifty-eight years, of which ten were spent in exile' (RK p. 328) text II was abandoned in its turn.[4]

In a third text, III, my father retained the actual first page of II, carrying the opening remarks on the sources and the scanty statement on the Northern Line. For the Southern Line he entered, as before, immediately into the history of the Kin-strife, and brought the text virtually word for word to its form in Appendix A in the First Edition. Then, having recounted the plague and the invasion of the Wainriders

without much enlarging what was said in text I, he wrote a very full account of the claim of Arvedui on the southern crown: and this was for most of its length word for word the text in Appendix A, beginning 'On the death of Ondohir and his sons ...' (RK p. 329), with the record of the exchanges between Arvedui and the Council of Gondor, and the appearance of Malbeth the Seer who named him Arvedui at his birth. The only difference is the absence of the reference to the Steward Pelendur, who in the Appendix A text is said to have 'played the chief part' in the rejection of the claim.

He then went on, in a passage that was again retained in Appendix A (RK pp. 330–1), to describe the message of Eärnil to Arvedui, the fleet sent into the North under Eärnur, and the destruction of Arthedain by Angmar. The story of the defeat of the Witch-king (RK pp. 331–2) had not yet been written; and with a brief reference to the overthrow of Angmar my father continued with 'It was thus in the reign of King Eärnil, as later became clear, that the Witch-king escaping from the North came to Mordor ...' With the account of the character of Eärnur (RK p. 332) text III ends.[5]

By now it can be seen how the long account of the Realms in Exile in Appendix A came into being. Strange as it seems, the evidence of the texts described above can lead only to this conclusion: that what began as an attempt (for whatever reason) to reduce the rich material of *The Heirs of Elendil* in a more than drastic fashion developed by steps into a long and finely written historical essay taking up some twenty printed pages. What considerations made this acceptable in relation to the requirements of brevity, in the absence of any evidence external to the texts themselves I am entirely unable to explain.

There are three versions of a brief text, which I will call IV for it certainly followed III, in which the opening section of Appendix A (I *The Númenórean Kings*. (i) *Númenor*), RK pp. 313 ff., is seen emerging. The opening paragraph 'Fëanor was the greatest of the Eldar in arts and lore ...', very briefly recounting the history of the Silmarils, the rebellion of Fëanor, and the war against Morgoth, was not present in the First Edition, where, as here in IV, the section opened with the words 'There were only three unions of the High Elves and Men ...'; but at this stage my father had not yet introduced the brief history of Númenor (RK pp. 315 ff., beginning 'As a reward for their sufferings in the cause against Morgoth ...'), which arose from his attempt to curtail and compress the Tale of Years of the Second Age (see pp. 180–1), and the passage concerning the Choice of Elros and Elrond, here called *i·Pheredhil*, differed from that published.

At the end of the First Age an irrevocable choice was given to the Half-elven, to which kindred they would belong. Elros

chose to be of Mankind, and was granted a great life-span; and he became the first King of Númenor. His descendants were long-lived but mortal. Later when they became powerful they begrudged the choice of their forefather, desiring the immortality within the life of the world that was the fate of the Elves. In this way began their rebellion which, under the evil teaching of Sauron, brought about the Downfall of Númenor and the ruin of the ancient world.

Elrond chose to be of Elvenkind, and became a master of wisdom. To him therefore was granted the same grace as to those of the High Elves that still lingered in Middle-earth: that when weary at last of the mortal lands they could take ship from the Grey Havens and pass into the Uttermost West, notwithstanding the change of the world. But to the children of Elrond a choice was also appointed: to pass with him from the circles of the world; or if they wedded with one of Mankind, to become mortal and die in Middle-earth. For Elrond, therefore, all chances of the War of the Ring were fraught with sorrow.

Elros was the first king of Númenor, and was afterwards known by the royal name of Tar-Minyatur.

The fourth king of Númenor was Tar-Elendil. From his daughter Silmarien came the line of the Lords of Andúnië, of whom Amandil the Faithful was the last.

Elendil the Tall was the son of Amandil. He was the leader of the remnant of the Faithful who escaped from the Downfall with the Nine Ships, and established realms in exile in the North-west of Middle-earth. His sons were Isildur and Anárion.

Then follows in IV the lists of the kings, chieftains, and stewards of the Realms in Exile much as they are given in Appendix A (RK pp. 318–19). The references to Númenor in the passage just given were of course removed when the much longer account was introduced.

The Choice of the Children of Elrond as stated here differs notably from that in the final form, in the express statement that they would choose mortality if they chose to wed a mortal. In the text T 4 of the Tale of Years (p. 234, entry for the year 2300), as also in T 3, the choice is (as here in Appendix A): 'if [Elrond] departed they should have then the choice either to pass over the Sea with him, or to become mortal, if they remained behind.'[6]

After the abandoned text III, in which the account of the Northern Line was still confined to half a page, there is scarcely any rejected, preliminary material before the final typescript from which section I (iii) of Appendix A was printed, *Eriador, Arnor, and the Heirs of Isildur*. On the evidence of the extant texts this final typescript was the

very one in which my father first set down the history of the North Kingdom in continuous narrative form. The story of Arvedui and the Lossoth, the Snowmen of Forochel, RK pp. 321–2, 'wrote itself' in precisely the form in which it was printed. But this is scarcely credible (see p. 279).

At the end of the story of the Lossoth, however, my father is seen in rejected pages taking a course that he decided against. At the end of the penultimate paragraph of this section (concerning the journeys of King Elessar to Annúminas and the Brandywine Bridge, RK p. 324) he continued: 'Arador was the grandfather of the king', and typed out part of a new text of the story of Aragorn and Arwen, which after some distance was abandoned. On this matter see the next section of this chapter, pp. 268 ff.

The next section of Appendix A, I (iv), *Gondor and the Heirs of Anárion*, is a fearful complex of typescript pages. Though it is possible to unravel the textual history up to a point,[7] it defies presentation, which is in any case unnecessary. The whole complex clearly belongs to one time. It was now that new elements entered the history, notably the story of the overthrow of the Witch-king of Angmar (RK pp. 331–2), and the account of the service of Aragorn under the name Thorongil with the Steward Ecthelion II (only referred to in a brief sentence in *The Heirs of Elendil*, p. 206), and of his relations with Denethor (RK pp. 335–6).

Note on the expansion of the tale of the Kin-strife in the Second Edition

In the First Edition of *The Lord of the Rings* the account of the Kin-strife (or more accurately of the events leading to it) was much briefer than that in the Second Edition, and read as follows (RK pp. 325–6 in both editions):[8]

> Nonetheless it was not until the days of Rómendacil II that the first great evil came upon Gondor: the civil war of the Kin-strife, in which great loss and ruin was caused and never fully repaired.
>
> 'The Northmen increased greatly in the peace brought by the power of Gondor. The kings showed them favour, since they were the nearest in kin of lesser Men to the Dúnedain (being for the most part descendants of those peoples from whom the Edain of old had come); and they gave them wide lands beyond Anduin south of Greenwood the Great, to be a defence against men of the East. For in the past the attacks of the Easterlings had come mostly over the plain between the Inland Sea and the Ash Mountains.
>
> 'In the days of Rómendacil II their attacks began again, though at first with little force; but it was learned by the King that the Northmen did not always remain true to Gondor, and some would join forces with the Easterlings, either out of greed for spoil, or in the furtherance of feuds among their princes.

'Rómendacil therefore fortified the west shore of Anduin as far as the inflow of the Limlight, and forbade any stranger to pass down the River beyond the Emyn Muil. He it was that built the pillars of the Argonath at the entrance to Nen Hithoel. But since he needed men, and desired to strengthen the bond between Gondor and the Northmen, he took many of them into his service and gave to some high rank in his armies.

'In return he sent his son Valacar to dwell for a while with Vidugavia, who called himself the King of Rhovanion, and was indeed the most powerful of their princes, though his own realm lay between Greenwood and the River Running. There Valacar was wedded to Vidugavia's daughter, and so caused later the evil war of the Kin-strife.

'For the high men of Gondor already looked askance at the Northmen among them ...

From here the text of the Second Edition returns to that of the First, but there was a further alteration in the next paragraph, where the First Edition had: 'To the lineage of his father he added the fearless spirit of the Northmen. When the confederates led by descendants of the kings rose against him ...', inserting the sentence 'He was handsome and valiant, and showed no sign of ageing more swiftly than his father.'

As I have mentioned earlier (p. 190), in 1965, the year before the publication of the Second Edition, my father wrote a new version of this account; this he inserted into the late typescript copy D of *The Heirs of Elendil*. It is remarkable that though this new text was incorporated, in more concise form, into Appendix A, he actually wrote it as an addition to the text of *The Heirs of Elendil*, to be placed beneath the nineteenth king Rómendakil II, whose entry (see p. 198) he emended, on the typescript D, thus (the dates refer to birth, life-span, and death):

19	Rómendakil II	1126	240	1366
	(Minalkar)	(Lieutenant of the King 1240, King 1304)		

In the text of the First Edition there was no reference to the name Rómendacil as having been taken by Calmacil's son after his victory over the Easterlings in 1248, and indeed there was no mention of the victory. In the Second Edition, in the list of the Kings of Gondor (RK p. 318), the original text 'Calmacil 1304, Rómendacil II 1366, Valacar' was altered to 'Calmacil 1304, Minalcar (regent 1240–1304), crowned as Rómendacil II 1304, died 1366, Valacar'.

There is no need to give the whole of the new version, since the substance of it was largely retained in the revised text of Appendix A, but there are some portions of it that may be recorded. As originally composed, it opened:

Narmakil[9] and Kalmakil were like their father Atanatar lovers of

ease; but Minalkar elder son of Kalmakil was a man of great force after the manner of his great-grandsire Hyarmendakil, whom he revered. Already at the end of Atanatar's reign his voice was listened to in the councils of the realm; and in 1240 Narmakil, wishing to be relieved of cares of state, gave him the new office and title of *Karma-kundo* 'Helm-guardian', that is in terms of Gondor Crown-lieutenant or Regent. Thereafter he was virtually king, though he acted in the names of Narmakil and Kalmakil, save in matters of war and defence over which he had complete authority. His reign is thus usually dated from 1240, though he was not crowned in the name of Rómendakil until 1304 after the death of his father. The Northmen increased greatly in the peace brought by the power of Gondor. ...

In the long version there is a footnote to the name *Vinitharya*: 'This, it is said, bore much the same meaning as *Rómendakil*.' After the birth of Vinitharya this version continues:

Rómendakil gave his consent to the marriage. He could not forbid it or refuse to recognize it without earning the enmity of Vidugavia. Indeed all the Northmen would have been angered, and those in his service would have been no longer to be trusted. He therefore waited in patience until 1260, and then he recalled Valakar, saying that it was now time that he took part in the councils of the realm and the command of its armies. Valakar returned to Gondor with his wife and children; and with them came a household of noble men and women of the North. They were welcomed, and at that time all seemed well. Nonetheless in this marriage lay the seeds of the first great evil that befell Gondor: the civil war of the Kin-strife, which brought loss and ruin upon the realm that was never fully repaired.

Valakar gave to his son the name Eldakar, for public use in Gondor; and his wife bore herself wisely and endeared herself to all those who knew her. She learned well the speech and manners of Gondor, and was willing to be called by the name Galadwen, a rendering of her Northern name into the Sindarin tongue. She was a fair and noble lady of high courage, which she imparted to her children; but though she lived to a great age, as such was reckoned among her people, she died in 1344 [*in one copy* > 1332]. Then the heart of Rómendakil grew heavy, foreboding the troubles that were to come. He had now long been crowned king, and the end of his reign and life were drawing nearer. Already men were looking forward to the accession of Valakar when Eldakar would become heir to the crown. The high men of Gondor had long looked askance at the Northmen among them, who had borne themselves more proudly since the coming of Vidumavi. Already among the Dúnedain murmurs were heard that it was a thing unheard of before

that the heir to the crown, or any son of the King should wed one of lesser race, and short-lived; it was to be feared that her descendants would prove the same and fall from the majesty of the Kings of Men.

20 Valakar 1194 238 crowned 1366 1432

Valakar was a vigorous king, and his son Eldakar was a man of great stature, handsome and valiant, and showed no sign of ageing more swiftly than his father. Nonetheless the disaffection steadily grew during his reign; and when he grew old there was already open rebellion in the southern provinces. There were gathered many of those who declared that they would never accept as king a man half of foreign race, born in an alien country. 'Vinitharya is his right name,' they said. 'Let him go back to the land where it belongs!'

NOTES

1 'thirteen kings' is an error for 'fourteen kings'.

2 This was almost exactly retained as the opening to Appendix A in the First Edition, as far as the reference to the *Akallabêth*, but *The Book of the Kings and Stewards* was separated into two works, which were not said to be lost. (The old opening to Appendix A was replaced in the Second Edition by an entirely new text, and the *Note on the Shire Records* was added at the end of the Prologue.) The published text then continued:

> From Gimli no doubt is derived the information concerning the Dwarves of Moria, for he remained much attached to both Peregrin and Meriadoc. But through Meriadoc alone, it seems, were derived the tales of the House of Eorl; for he went back to Rohan many times, and learned the language of the Mark, it is said. For this matter the authority of Holdwine is often cited, but that appears to have been the name which Meriadoc himself was given in Rohan. Some of the notes and tales, however, were plainly added by other hands at later dates, after the passing of King Elessar.
>
> Much of this lore appears as notes to the main narrative, in which case it has usually been included in it; but the additional material is very extensive, even though it is often set out in brief and annalistic form. Only a selection from it is here presented, again greatly reduced, but with the same object as the original compilers appear to have had: to illustrate the story of the War of the Ring and its origins and fill up some of the gaps in the main account.

The absence in the present text of the references to Gimli and Meriadoc as sources possibly suggests that my father had not yet decided to include sections on Rohan and the Dwarves in this

Appendix (although brief texts entitled *The House of Eorl* and *Of Durin's Race* were in existence).

3 This version lacked the account (RK pp. 327–8) of the great white pillar above the haven of Umbar set up in memorial of the landing of Ar-Pharazôn in the Second Age. The name of the King of Rhovanion was Vinitharya; this was corrected on the typescript to Vidugavia, and the name Vinitharya made that of Eldakar in his youth.

4 At the top of the page on which this account begins my father wrote, then or later, 'Hobbit-annal of the Kin-strife'.

5 After the words 'Many of the people that still remained in Ithilien deserted it' text III continues 'It was at this time that King Eärnil gave Isengard to Saruman.' This agrees with the statement in the text T 4 of the Tale of Years in the entry c.2000: see p. 233 and note 26, and p. 251.

6 In the two earlier versions of text IV the conclusion of the passage was extended, that of the first reading:

> Therefore to Elrond all chances of the War of the Ring would bring grief: to fly with his kin from ruin and the conquering Shadow, or to be separated from Arwen for ever. For either Aragorn would perish (and he loved him no less than his sons); or he would wed Arwen his daughter when he had regained his inheritance, according to the condition that Elrond himself had made when first their love was revealed. (See III.252, 256).

7 My father's almost exclusive use of a typewriter at this time greatly increases the difficulty of elucidating the textual history. His natural method of composition in manuscript was inhibited; and he constantly retyped portions of pages without numbering them.

8 The quotation marks indicated 'actual extracts from the longer annals and tales that are found in the Red Book'.

9 My father reverted to the use of *k* instead of *c* in this text.

(II) THE TALE OF ARAGORN AND ARWEN

Of the texts of *Aragorn and Arwen* the earliest in succession is also very plainly the first actual setting down of the tale. It was not 'a part of the tale', as it came to be called in Appendix A, and was indeed quite differently conceived. It is a rough, much corrected manuscript, which I will call **A**, and a portion of it is in typescript (not separate, but taking up from manuscript and returning to it on the same pages). Unless this peculiarity itself suggests that it belongs with the late work on the Appendices, there seems to be no clear and certain evidence of its relative date; but its peculiar subsequent history may indicate that

it had been in existence for some time when my father was working on the narrative of the Realms in Exile described in the preceding section.

The manuscript, which bears the title *Of Aragorn and Arwen Undómiel*, begins thus.

In the latter days of the last age [> Ere the Elder Days were ended],[1] before the War of the Ring, there was a man named Dirhael [> Dirhoel], and his wife was Evorwen [> Ivorwen] daughter of Gilbarad, and they dwelt in a hidden fastness in the wilds of Eriador; for they were of the ancient people of the Dúnedain, that of old were kings of men, but were now fallen on darkened days. Dirhael [> Dirhoel] and his wife were of high lineage, being of the blood of Isildur though not of the right line of the Heirs. They were both foresighted in many things. Their daughter was Gilrain, a fair maid, fearless and strong as were all the women of that kin. She was sought in marriage by Arathorn, the son of Arador who was the Chieftain of the Dúnedain of the North.

Arathorn was a stern man of full years; for the Heirs of Isildur, being men of long life (even to eight score years and more) who journeyed much and went often into great perils, were not accustomed to wed until they had laboured long in the world. But Gilrain was younger than the age at which women of the Dúnedain were wont at that time to take husbands; and she did not yet desire to be a wife, and sought the counsel of her parents. Then Dírhael said: 'Arathorn is a mighty man, and he will be Lord of the Dúnedain sooner than men look for, yet soon again he will be lord no longer; for I forebode that he will be short-lived.' But Evorwen said: 'That may well be, yet if these two wed, their child shall be great among the great in this age of the world, and he shall bring the Dúnedain out of the shadows.'

Therefore Gilrain consented and was wedded to Arathorn; and it came to pass that after one year Arador was taken by trolls and slain in the Coldfells, and Arathorn became Lord of the Dúnedain; and again after one year his wife bore a son and he was named Aragorn. And Aragorn being now the son of the Heir of Isildur went with his mother and dwelt in the House of Elrond in Imladris, for such was the custom in that day, and Elrond had in his keeping the heirlooms of the Dúnedain, chief of which were the shards of the sword of Elendil who came to Middle-earth out of Númenor at its downfall. In his boyhood Arathorn also had been fostered in that house, and he was a

friend of Elladan and Elrohir, the sons of Elrond, and often he went a-hunting with them. Now the sons of Elrond did not hunt wild beasts, but they pursued the Orcs wherever they might find them; and this they did because of Celebrían their mother, daughter of Galadriel.

On a time long ago, as she passed over the Mountains to visit her mother in the Land of Lórien, Orcs waylaid the road, and she was taken captive by them and tormented; and though she was rescued by Elrond and his sons, and brought home and tended, and her hurts of body were healed, she lay under a great cloud of fear and she loved Middle-earth no longer; so that at the last Elrond granted her prayer, and she passed to the Grey Havens and went into the West, never to return.

Thus it befell that when Aragorn was only two years of age Arathorn went riding with the sons of Elrond and fought with Orcs that had made an inroad into Eriador, and he was slain, for an orc-arrow pierced his eye; and so he proved indeed short-lived for one of his race, being no more than sixty winters when he fell.

But the child Aragorn became thus untimely Chieftain of the Dúnedain, and he was nurtured in the House of Elrond, and there he was loved by all, and Elrond was a father to him. Straight and tall he grew with grey eyes both keen and grave, and he was hardy and valiant and strong of wit, and eager to learn all lore of Elves and Men.

And when he was still but a youth, yet strong withal, he went abroad with Elladan and Elrohir and learned much of hunting and of war, and many secrets of the wild. But he knew naught of his own ancestry, for his mother did not speak to him of these things, nor any else in that House; and it was at the bidding of Elrond that these matters were kept secret. For there was at that time a Shadow in the East that crept over many lands, and filled the Wise with foreboding, since they had discovered that this was indeed the shadow of Sauron, the Dark Lord that had returned to Middle-earth again, and that he desired to find the One Ring that Isildur took, and sought to learn if any heir of Isildur yet lived upon earth; and the spies of Sauron were many.

But at length, when Aragorn was twenty years of age, it chanced that he returned to Imladris ...

I leave the original manuscript here, for this is sufficient to show the nature of its relation to the published text: the latter being marked by a general reduction, compression of what was retained and omission

of allusive passages, notably the story of Celebrían.[2] But as will be seen, the reason for this was not, or was not primarily, the result of a critical view taken by my father of the telling of the tale, but of the use to which he later thought of putting it.

From this point the final version offers no contradiction to the original text, and in fact remains closer to it than in the part that I have cited,[3] until the plighting of troth by Aragorn and Arwen on the hill of Kerin Amroth (RK p. 341); soon after this, however, it diverges altogether.

And there upon that hill they looked east to the shadow and west to the twilight, and they plighted their troth and were glad. Yet many years still lay between them.[4]

For when Elrond learned the choice of his daughter he did not forbid it; but he said to Aragorn: 'Not until you are come to your full stature shall you wed with Arwen Undómiel, and she shall not be the bride of any less than a king of both Gondor and Arnor.'

But the days darkened in Middle-earth, as the power of Sauron grew, and in Mordor the Dark Tower of Barad-dûr rose ever taller and stronger. And though Aragorn and Arwen at times met briefly again their days were sundered. For the time drew on now to the War of the Ring at the end of that age of the world ...

There follows now a long passage (more than 500 words, with a part of it rejected and replaced by a new version) in which the history of the war is given in summary: telling of Mithrandir and the Halflings, the doubts of the Wise, the Ringwraiths, the Company of the Ring, and the quest of the Ringbearer; and then more expressly of Aragorn, of the Paths of the Dead, the Pelennor Fields, the battle before the Morannon, and his crowning at the gates of Minas Tirith. At the end of this the tale moves quickly to its conclusion.

And when all this was done Elrond came forth from Imladris and Galadriel from Lórien, and they brought with them Arwen Undómiel Evenstar of her people. And she made the choice of Lúthien, to become mortal and abide in Middle-earth, and she was wedded to Aragorn Arathornsson, King of Gondor and Arnor, and she was Queen and Lady of Elves and Men.

Thus ended the Third Age. Yet it is said that bitterest of all the sorrows of that age was the parting of Arwen and Elrond. For they were sundered by the Sea and by a doom beyond the end of the world. For when the Great Ring was unmade the Three Rings of the Elves failed also, and Elrond was weary of Middle-

earth at last and departed seeking Celebrían, and returned never again. But Arwen became a mortal woman, and yet even so it was not her lot to die until she had lost all that she gained. For though she lived with Aragorn for five score years after and great was their glory together, yet at the last he said farewell and laid him down and died ere old age unmanned him. But she went from the city and from her children, and passed away to the land of Lothlórien, and dwelt there alone under the fading trees: for Galadriel also was gone and Lórien was withering. And then at last, it is said, she laid herself to rest upon Kerin Amroth; and there was her green grave, until all the world was changed, and all the days of her life utterly forgotten by men that came after, and elanor and nifredil bloomed no more east of the Sea.[5]

This earliest manuscript was followed by a fair copy of it in typescript ('B'), in which only a few and minor changes were introduced.[6] But the whole of the latter part of it, from the beginning of the account of the War of the Ring and its origins, was struck out, and my father clipped to the typescript new pages, in which he extended that account to nearly twice its original length. Most of this new version was then again rewritten, at even greater length, and attached as a rider to the typescript. It was now much less of a résumé than it was at first, and its purpose in the work as a whole is clearly seen. 'It was the part of Aragorn,' my father wrote, 'as Elrond foresaw, to be the chief Captain of the West, and by his wisdom yet more than his valour to redress the past and the folly of his forefather Isildur.' I cite a part of it from this final form.

Thus the War of the Ring began; and the shards of the sword of Elendil were forged anew, and Aragorn Arathorn's son arose and fulfilled his part, and his valour and wisdom were revealed to Men. Songs were made after in Gondor and Arnor concerning his deeds in that time which long were remembered, but are not here full-told. It was not his task to bear the burden of the Ring, but to be a leader in those battles by which the Eye of Sauron was turned far from his own land and from the secret peril which crept upon him in the dark. Indeed, it is said that Sauron believed that the Lord Aragorn, heir of Isildur, had found the Ring and had taken it to himself, even as his forefather had done, and arose now to challenge the tyrant of Mordor and set himself in his place.

But it was not so, and in this most did Aragorn reveal his strength; for though the Ring came indeed within his grasp, he

took it not, and refused to wield its evil power, but surrendered it to the judgement of Elrond and to the Bearer whom he appointed. For it was the hard counsel of Elrond that though their need might seem desperate and the time overlate, nonetheless the Ring should even now be taken in secret, if it might be, to the land of their Enemy and there cast into the fire of Mount Doom in Mordor where it was made. Aragorn guided the Ringbearer on the long and perilous journey from Imladris in the North, until he was lost in the wild hills and passed beyond the help of his friends. Then Aragorn turned to war and the defence of the City of Gondor, Minas Tirith upon Anduin, the last bulwark of the westlands against the armies of Sauron.

In all this time, while the world darkened and Aragorn was abroad in labour and danger, Arwen abode in Imladris; and there from afar she watched over him in thought, and in hope under the Shadow she wrought for him a great and royal standard, such as only one might display who claimed the lordship of the Númenóreans and the inheritance of Elendil and Isildur. And this she sent to him by the hands of his kinsfolk, the last of the Dúnedain of the North; and they came upon Aragorn on the plain of Rohan, after the battles in which Saruman the traitor was overcome and Isengard destroyed, and they delivered to Aragorn the standard of Arwen and her message; for she bade him look to the peril from the sea, and to take the Paths of the Dead. Now this was a way beneath the White Mountains of Gondor that no man dared to tread, because of the fell wraiths of the Forgotten Men that guarded it. But Aragorn dared to take that way with the Grey Company of the North, and he passed through, and so came about by the shores of the sea, unlooked-for by foe or by friend. Thus he captured the ships of the Enemy, and came up out of the deep by the waters of Anduin to the succour of Gondor in the hour of its despair; for the city of Minas Tirith was encircled by the armies of Mordor and was perishing in flame. Then was fought and won beyond hope the great battle of the Fields of Pelennor, and the Lord of the Black Riders was destroyed; but Aragorn unfurled the standard of Arwen, and in that day men first hailed Aragorn as king.

At the end of this account of Aragorn's commanding significance in the War of the Ring, the revised ending of the story in the typescript B concludes with his farewell to Arwen at his death almost exactly as it stands in Appendix A.[7] The original manuscript pages in which my

father first set down this inspired passage are preserved. He wrote them so fast that without the later text scarcely a word would be interpretable.

The revised text in B ends with the words 'Here endeth the tale of the Elder Days'. My father altered this in manuscript to 'Here endeth the Tale, and with the passing of the Evenstar all is said of the Elder Days.'

Briefly to recapitulate, the typescript B as originally made had been scarcely more than a clear text of the original rough manuscript A. The latter part of it was rewritten and expanded (Aragorn's part in the War of the Ring, his dying words with Arwen) and incorporated into the typescript. My father then made a further typescript ('C'), which was a fair copy of the text as it now stood in B, much of it indeed scarcely necessary. At this stage, therefore, none of the compression and small stylistic changes that distinguish the original manuscript from the final form in Appendix A had yet entered. It still began 'Ere the Elder Days were ended', still included the story of Celebrían, and of course the major element of Aragorn's part in the War of the Ring; in relation to the final version all it lacked was Aragorn's parting from his mother Gilrain (RK p. 342).

It is hard to say how my father saw *Aragorn and Arwen* at that time, when he clearly felt that it was in finished form, or where it should stand. He took great pains with the story of Aragorn which was afterwards lost. He ended it with great finality: 'Here endeth the Tale, and with the passing of the Evenstar all is said of the Elder Days.' Can it have been his intention that it should stand as the final element of *The Lord of the Rings*?

The subsequent history is very curious. I have mentioned (p. 258) that when writing the narrative of the North Kingdom he experimented with the introduction of the story of Aragorn and Arwen. This was to follow the account of how, when King Elessar came to the North, Hobbits from the Shire would visit him in his house in Annúminas (RK p. 324); and it enters on the typescript page with extraordinary abruptness (even allowing for the device of supposed extracts from written sources to account for such transitions):

> ... and some ride away with him and dwell in his house as long as they have a mind. Master Samwise the Mayor and Thain Peregrin have been there many times.
>
> Arador was the grandfather of the King. ...

It may seem that my father did not know what to do with the story, or perhaps rather, did not know what it might be possible to do with it. But it was here, strangely enough, that the abbreviation and compression and stylistic 'reduction' that distinguishes the final form of *Aragorn and Arwen* from the original version first entered. The text in these abandoned pages of 'The Realms in Exile' is (if not quite at all

points) that of the story in Appendix A.[8] It extended only to the words 'She shall not be the bride of any Man less than the King of both Gondor and Arnor' (RK p. 342); but in manuscript notes accompanying it my father sketched out a reduction of the story of Aragorn's part in the War of the Ring to a few lines: for this element in the original story was obviously wholly incompatible with such a placing of it – which would seem in any case unsuitable and unsatisfactory. He obviously thought so too. But it is interesting to see that in the final typescript from which the story as it stands in Appendix A was printed the page on which it begins still carries at the top the words 'Master Samwise the Mayor and Thain Peregrin have been there many times', struck out and replaced by 'Here follows a part of the Tale of Aragorn and Arwen'. 'A part', presumably, because so much had gone.

A few changes were made to this last typescript of the tale, among them the substitution of *Estel* for *Amin* (see note 8) at all occurrences, and the introduction of the departure of Gilraen from Rivendell (RK p. 342) and her parting with Aragorn, with the words *Onen i-Estel Edain, ú-chebin estel anim.*

Thus the original design of the tale of Aragorn and Arwen had been lost; but the actual reason for this was the abandoned experiment of inserting it into the history of the North Kingdom. I can say no more of this strange matter.

NOTES

1 So also Aragorn declared to Arwen on his deathbed that he was 'the latest King of the Elder Days' (RK p. 343), and at the end of text B of the primary version 'with the passing of the Evenstar all is said of the Elder Days' (p. 268). See p. 173 and note 7.

2 On the other hand, while the concealment of Aragorn's ancestry from him in his youth was present in the original form of the tale, the giving to him of another name (*Estel* in the final version, see note 8) was not.

3 The distinction between 'thou' and 'you' was clearly made in the original manuscript, though sometimes blurred inadvertently, and it was retained and made precise in the text that followed it: thus Aragorn uses 'you' to Elrond, and to Arwen at their first meeting, whereas Elrond and Arwen address him with 'thou, thee'.

4 Thus their words together on Kerin Amroth, concerning the Shadow and the Twilight, were not yet present; see note 6.

5 The last sentences are put in the present tense in the published text. But when my father wrote *Aragorn and Arwen* he did not conceive it as a citation from an ancient source, and did not place it all within quotation marks.

6 To this text were added in a rider the words of Aragorn and Arwen on Kerin Amroth (see note 4); but after Arwen's words the passage

ended: 'For very great was her love for her father; but not yet did Aragorn understand the fullness of her words.'

7 There were a few differences from the final form. When Arwen spoke of 'the gift of Eru Ilúvatar' which is bitter to receive, Aragorn answered: 'Bitter in truth. But let us not be overthrown at the final test, who fought the Shadow of old. In sorrow we must go, for sorrow is appointed to us; and indeed by sorrow we do but say that that which is ended is good. But let us not go in despair.' He named himself 'the latest King of the Elder Days' (see note 1), but when he was dead 'long there he lay, an image of the splendour of the Kings of Men in glory undimmed, before the passing of the Elder Days and the change of the world': this was altered on the typescript to 'before the breaking of the world'. And at the moment of his death Arwen did not cry 'Estel, Estel!', for the name given to him in his youth had not yet arisen (see notes 2 and 8).

8 It was in this text that Aragorn's name in Rivendell entered, but here it was *Amin*, not *Estel*, though likewise translated 'Hope'. Here Aragorn's mother's name became *Gilraen* for earlier *Gilrain*, and Ivorwen's father Gilbarad disappeared.

(III) THE HOUSE OF EORL

The history of Appendix A II, *The House of Eorl*, has no perplexities. From the early period of my father's work on the Appendices there are three brief texts, which I will refer to as I, II, and III, probably written in close succession, and with the third he had evidently achieved a satisfactory formulation of all that he wished to say of the rulers of the Mark. As I judge, he then put it aside for a long time.

It seems that the names of the Kings of the Mark were first set down on paper in the course of the writing of the chapter *The Last Debate*: when Gimli in his story of the Paths of the Dead (at that time placed at this point in the narrative) spoke of the mailclad skeleton by the closed door and Aragorn's words 'Here lies Baldor son of Brego', my father interrupted the story with the list of names, to which he added dates in the Shire-reckoning (see VIII.408). I concluded that it was only the dates of Fengel, Thengel, and Théoden that belong with the writing of the manuscript; but it is a striking fact that already at that time the dates of those kings were not greatly different from those in Appendix A (RK p. 350). Particularly noteworthy is that of the birth of Théoden, S.R.1328 = 2928. In text I it remains 2928 (in both I and II the dates were all still given in Shire-reckoning, but it is more convenient to convert them); so also in II, but corrected to 2948 (the final date). In the draft manuscript T 3 of the Tale of Years it was 2928, but in T 4 (p. 239) it was 2948. This is sufficient to show that these early

texts of *The House of Eorl* were contemporary with those texts of the Tale of Years.

In the first two texts my father was chiefly concerned with the elaboration of the chronology in detail, and they consist only of the names of the kings and their dates,[1] with notes added to a few of them. In I, which was written very rapidly on a small sheet, under Eorl the Field of Celebrant and the gift of Rohan are mentioned, and it is said that he began the building of Meduseld and died in battle against Easterlings in the Wold in 2545; of Brego that he drove them out in 2546, completed Meduseld, and died of grief for his son Baldor in 2570; of Aldor the Old that 'he first established Dunharrow as a refuge-fort'. In the note on Helm, however, is seen the first appearance of the tale told in Appendix A, very hastily written and still undeveloped:

> In his day there was an invasion from west of Dunlanders and of S. Gondor by pirates and by Easterlings and Orcs. In 2758 in the Long Winter they took refuge in Helm's Deep.[2] Both his sons Háma and Haeleth were killed (lost in snow). At his death there was in the kingdom an upstart king Wulf not of Eorl's line [who] with help of Dunlanders tried to seize throne. Eventually Fréalaf son of Hild his sister and nearest heir was victorious and became king. A new line of mounds was started to symbolize break in direct line.

There are no notes on the Kings of the Second Line save Fengel, of whom it is recorded that he was the youngest son of Folcwine, for his elder brothers, named here Folcwalda and Folcred, were 'killed in battle in service of Gondor against Harad'. The final note in I states that Éomer was the son of Théoden's sister Théodwyn (who does not appear in the narrative), and that 'he wedded Morwen daughter of Húrin of Gondor'. This is Húrin of the Keys, who was in command of Minas Tirith when the host of the West rode to the Black Gate (RK p. 237); I do not think that there is any other reference to the marriage of Éomer with his daughter, who was corrected on the text to Lothíriel daughter of Prince Imrahil.

The second text II was a fair copy of I, with scarcely any change in content other than in detail of dates. Where in I it was said only that Eorl was 'born in the North', in II he was 'born in Irenland in the North'. This name was struck out and replaced by *Éothéod*, and this is very probably where that name first appeared (it is found also in both texts of the original 'Appendix on Languages', p. 34, §14). It was now further said of Éomer that he 'became a great king and extended his realm west of the Gap of Rohan to the regions between Isen and Greyflood, including Dunland.'[3]

The last text (III) of this period was a finely written manuscript which begins with a brief account of the origin of the Rohirrim in the Men of Éothéod and their southward migration.

The House of Eorl

Eorl the Young was lord of the Men of Éothéod. This land lay near the sources of the Anduin, between the upper ranges of the Misty Mountains and the northernmost parts of Mirkwood. Thither the Éothéod had removed some hundreds of years before from lands further south in the vale of Anduin. They were originally close kin of the Beornings and the men of the west-eaves of the forest; but they loved best the plains and wide fields, and they delighted in horses and in all feats of horsemanship. In the days of Garman father of Eorl they had grown to a numerous people somewhat straitened in the land of their home.

In the two thousand five hundred and tenth year of the Third Age a great peril threatened the land of Gondor in the South and wild men out of the East assailed its northern borders, allying themselves with Orcs of the mountains. The invaders overran and occupied Calenardon, the great plains in the north of the realm. The Steward of Gondor sent north for help, for there had ever been friendship between the men of Anduin's vale and the people of Gondor. Hearing of the need of Gondor from afar Eorl set out with a great host of riders; and it was chiefly by his valour and the valour of the horsemen of Éothéod that victory was obtained. In the great battle of the Field of Celebrant the Easterlings and Orcs were utterly defeated and the horsemen of Eorl pursued them over the plains of Calenardon until not one remained.

Cirion Steward of Gondor in reward gave Calenardon to Eorl and his people, and they sent north for their wives and their children and their goods, and they settled in that land. They named it anew the Mark of the Riders, and themselves they called the Eorlingas; but in Gondor the land was called Rohan, and the people the Rohirrim (that is the Horse-lords). Thus Eorl became the first King of the Mark, and he chose for his dwelling a green hill before the feet of the White Mountains that fenced in that land at the south.

This is the origin of the opening, greatly expanded, of *The House of Eorl* in Appendix A (RK pp. 344–5). In the remainder of the text, the line of the Kings of the Mark, there was very little further development: the story of Helm Hammerhand remained in substance exactly as it was, and nothing further was said of any of the kings except Thengel, Théoden, and Éomer. Of Thengel it is recorded that he

married late, and had three daughters and one son, but his long sojourn in Gondor (and the character of his father Fengel that led to it) had not emerged. The death of Éomund chief Marshal of the Mark in an Orc-raid in 3002 is recorded, with the note that 'Orcs at this time began often to raid eastern Rohan and steal horses', and the fostering of his children Éomer and Éowyn in the house of Théoden. The note on Théoden that entered in III was retained almost unchanged in Appendix A.[4]

A long note was now appended to Éomer, with the same passage as is found in Appendix A (RK p. 351, footnote) concerning Éowyn, 'Lady of the Shieldarm', and the reference to Meriadoc's name Holdwine given to him by Éomer; and the statement of the extent of his realm appearing in II (p. 271) was rewritten: 'In Éomer's time the realm was extended west beyond the Gap of Rohan as far as the Greyflood and the sea-shores between that river and the Isen, and north to the borders of Lórien, and his men and horses multiplied exceedingly.'

There is no other writing extant before the final typescript of *The House of Eorl* from which the text in Appendix A was printed, save for a single typescript page. This is the first page of the text, beginning 'Eorl was the lord of the Men of Éothéod', and my father wrote it with the old version III, given above, before him; but he expanded it almost to the form that it has in Appendix A.[5] It includes, however, the following passage (struck out on the typescript) after the words 'the Riders hunted them over the plains of Calenardhon':

> In the forefront of the charge they saw two great horsemen, clad in grey, unlike all the others, and the Orcs fled before them; but when the battle was won they could not be found, and none knew whence they came or whither they went. But in Rivendell it was recorded that these were the sons of Elrond, Elladan and Elrohir.[6]

There is also the curious point that where in Appendix A it is said that 'Cirion ... gave Calenardhon between Anduin and Isen to Eorl and his people' this text had (before correction) 'Cirion ... gave Calenardhon, and Dor Haeron between Entwash and Isen, to Eorl and his people'. I do not know of any other occurrence of this name, or of any other suggestion that the name Calenardhon applied only to the region east of the Entwash.

The father of Eorl was still named Garman, as in the old version III (p. 272), and that name appeared in the final text, where it was emended to Léod.

It is, once again, possible and indeed probable that this page survived for some reason from a complete or more complete draft, which has been lost; for if no text has been lost it would have to be concluded that my father composed *ab initio* on the typewriter the

whole narrative of *The House of Eorl*, with the stories of Léod and the horse Felaróf, and of Helm Hammerhand, exactly as it stands in Appendix A.

NOTES

1 As far as Folcwine the fourteenth king the dates were already in I almost the same as those in Appendix A, though in many cases differing by a year; it was only with the last kings that there was much movement in the dates.

2 Cf. the entry in the text T 4 of the Tale of Years, entry 2758–9 (p. 236): 'Helm of Rohan takes refuge from his enemies in Helm's Deep in the White Mountains'; and also the note to the Steward Beren in *The Heirs of Elendil*, p. 205.

3 In text II Helm's son Haeleth became Haleth; and the eleventh king Léof was replaced probably at the time of writing by Brytta (on this see IX.68 and note 11). The sons of Folcwine (Folcwalda and Folcred in I) were not named in II, but my father changed Fengel to Fastred; he then added in the names of Folcwine's sons as Folcred and Fastred and changed that of the king to Felanath, before finally reverting to Fengel. In the manuscript T 4 of the Tale of Years (p. 238, year 2885) the death of Folcwine's sons 'in the service of Gondor' is recorded, and there their names are Folcred and Fastred.

4 The note on Théoden in III ends with the statement that his only child and son was Théodred 'whose mother Elfhild of Eastfold died in childbirth', and a record of Théodred's death in battle against Saruman. Théoden's name *Ednew* ('Renewed') is here given in the Old English form *Edníwe*; and Minas Tirith is called *Mundberg* (although text II has *Mundburg*: on which see VII.449, note 7, and VIII.356, note 9).

5 In the First Edition there were no notes, in the list of the Kings of the Mark, to the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth kings, Brytta, Walda, and Folca.

6 Cf. p. 236, annal 2510.

(IV) DURIN'S FOLK

My father's original text of what would become the section *Durin's Folk* in Appendix A is extant: a brief, clear manuscript written on scrap paper entitled *Of Durin's Line*, accompanied by a genealogy forming a part of the text. It was corrected in a few points, and one substantial passage was added; these changes were made, I think, at or soon after the writing of the manuscript. I give this text in full, with the changes shown where they are of any significance.

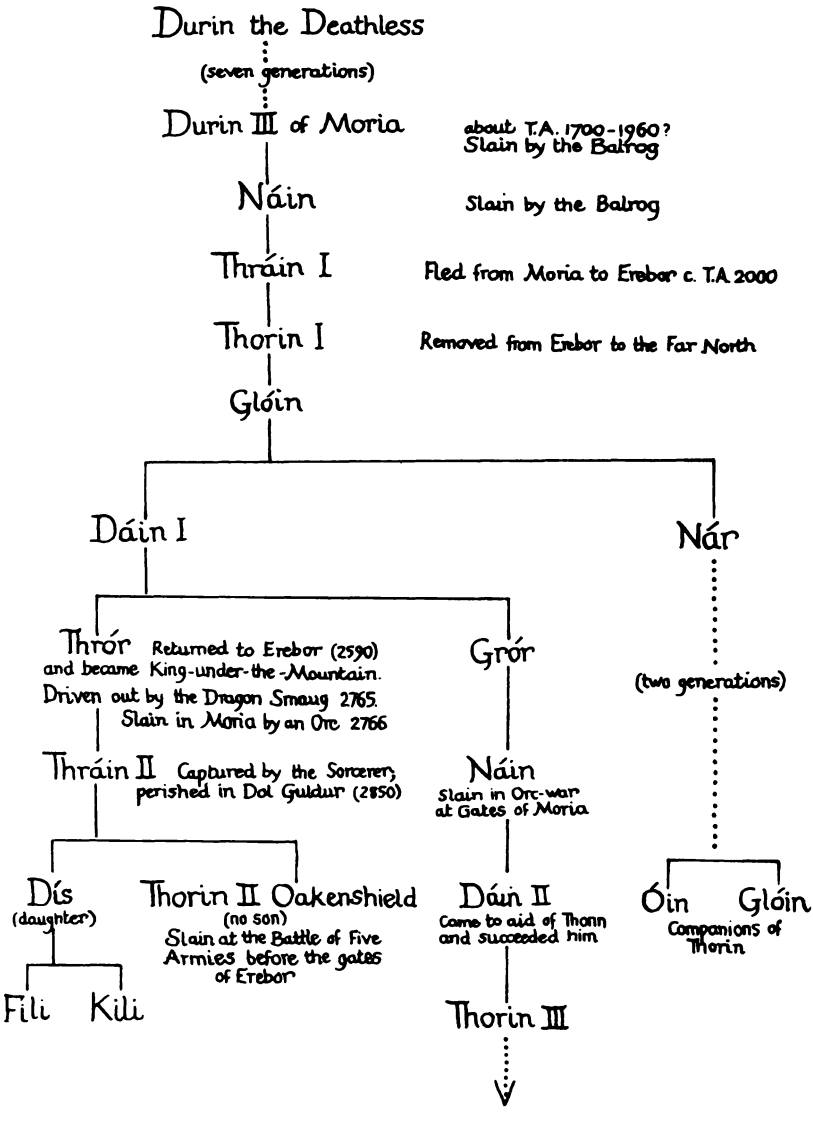
Durin was the name of one of the fathers of all the race of the Dwarves. In the deeps of time and the beginning of that people he came to Azanulbizar, the Dimrill Dale, and in the caves above Kibil-nâla [> Kheled-zâram],[1] the Mirrormere, in the east of the Misty Mountains, he made his dwelling, where after were the Mines of Moria renowned in song. There long he dwelt: so long that he was known far and wide as Durin the Deathless. Yet he died indeed at the last ere the Elder Days were ended, and his tomb was in Moria; but his line never failed, from father to son, and ever and anon [> thrice][2] there was born an heir to that house so like unto his Forefather that he received the name of Durin, being held indeed by the Dwarves to be the Deathless that returned. It was after the end of the First Age that the great power and wealth of Moria began, for it was enriched by many folk and much lore and craft, when the ancient cities of Nogrod and Belegost were ruined in the change of the western world and the breaking of Morgoth. And it came to pass that / at the height of the glory of Moria [> in the midst of the Third Age, while the wealth of Moria was still undiminished] Durin was the name of its king, being the second since the Forefather that had borne that title. And the Dwarves delved deep in his days, seeking ever for *mithril*, the metal beyond price that was found in those mines alone, beneath Barazinbar, the mighty Redhorn Mountain. But they roused thus from sleep a thing of terror that had lain hidden at the foundations of the world, and that was a Balrog of Morgoth. And Durin was slain by the Balrog, and after him Náin his son was slain, and the glory of Moria passed, and its people were destroyed or fled far away. For the most part they passed into the North; but Thráin Náin's son, the king by inheritance, came to Erebor, the Lonely Mountain, nigh to the eastern eaves of Mirkwood, and established his realm for a while.

But Glóin his grandson [> Thorin his son] removed and abandoned Erebor, and passed into the far North where the most of his kin now dwelt. But it came to pass that dragons arose and multiplied in the North, and made war upon the Dwarves, and plundered their works and wealth; and many of the Dwarves fled again southward and eastward. Then Thrór Dáin's son, the great-great-grandson of Thráin, returned to Erebor and became King-under-the-Mountain, and prospered exceedingly, having the friendship of all that dwelt near, whether Elves or Men or the birds and beasts of the land.

But Smaug the Golden heard rumour of his treasure and came upon him at unawares, and he descended upon the Mountain in flame, and destroyed all that region, and he entered the deep halls of the Dwarves and lay there long upon a bed of gold. / And it is elsewhere told how the Dwarves were avenged, [> From the sack and the burning Thrór escaped, and being now homeless he returned to Moria, but there was slain in the dark by an Orc. Thráin his son and Thorin his grandson gathered then the scattered folk of Durin's race and made war on the Orcs of the Misty Mountains in revenge for Thrór. They were victorious but their people were so diminished that they could not and dared not re-enter Moria. Dáin their kinsman went away to the Iron Hills, but Thráin and Thorin became wanderers. Thráin, it is said, was the possessor of the last of the Seven Rings of the Dwarf-lords of old, but he was captured by the Sorcerer and taken to Dol Guldur, and there perished in torment. Elsewhere is told of the wanderings of Thorin Oakenshield, last of the direct line of Durin,[3] in search of revenge and the restoration of his fortune; and how by the help of Gandalf the Grey he was indeed avenged at last,][4] and Smaug was slain, and after the Battle of Five Armies the kingship under the Mountain was restored. Yet Thorin Oakenshield, grandson of Thrór, was slain in that battle, and the right line was broken, and the crown passed to Dáin, a kinsman of Thorin. And the line of Dáin and the wealth and renown of the kingship endured in Erebor until the world grew old, and the days of the Dwarves were ended.

In this text and its accompanying genealogical table (which I have here redrawn) it is seen that an important advance had been made from the text T 4 of the Tale of Years, where it was told under the year 2590 that Thrór 'founded the realm of Erebor' (p. 236): as I said in a note on that entry, 'the history of Thrór's ancestors had not yet emerged'.[5] Here that history is present, but not yet precisely in the final form; for the names of 'the kings of Durin's folk' in the genealogical table here run Thorin I : Glóin : Dáin I, whereas in that in Appendix A they are Thorin I : Glóin : Óin : Náin II : Dáin I; thus in the present text Thrór is called 'the great-great-grandson of Thráin [I]'. While the history was at this stage the corrections and additions were made to T 4: see p. 252, *The Dwarves*.

Various names found in the later genealogy are absent here, Thrór's brother Frór and Thorin Oakenshield's brother Frerin; most notably, the brother of Dáin I is not Borin but Nár (and of his descendants only Óin and Glóin are shown). Nár was the name of the sole companion


Durin the Deathless
(seven generations)
Durin III of Moria
about T.A. 1700-1960?
Slain by the Balrog
Náin
Slain by the Balrog
Thráin I
Fled from Moria to Erebor c. T.A. 2000
Thorin I
Removed from Erebor to the Far North
Glóin
Dáin I
Nár
Thrór
Returned to Erebor (2590) and became King-under-the-Mountain.
Driven out by the Dragon Smaug 2765.
Slain in Moria by an Orc 2766
Grór
(two generations)
Thráin II
Captured by the Sorcerer; perished in Dol Guldur (2850)
Náin
Slain in Orc-war at Gates of Moria
Dís
(daughter)
Thorin II Oakenshield
(no son)
Slain at the Battle of Five Armies before the gates of Erebor
Dáin II
Came to aid of Thorin and succeeded him
Óin
Glóin
Companions of Thorin
Fili
Kili
Thorin III

of Thrór on his ill-fated journey to Moria (RK pp. 354–5), who brought to Thráin the news of his father's slaying by Azog; he is called 'old', but there is no suggestion that he was Thrór's uncle. Since *Nár* is an Old Norse dwarf-name (occurring in the Völuspá), and since there is no evidence that the story of Thrór's death (apart of course from the fact of his having been killed in Moria by an Orc) had yet emerged, it seems unlikely that there was any connection between the two. – It will also be seen that while Thorin III appears, Durin the Last does not.

This text was followed by a second version, a well-written and scarcely corrected manuscript with the title *Of Durin's Race*, very similar in appearance to text III of *The House of Eorl* (p. 272) and probably contemporary with it. So closely did my father preserve the original text (as emended and expanded) that I think that it must have followed at once, or at any rate after no long interval.

The passage added to the first version was slightly filled out and improved, but the only difference worth noticing here lies in the sentences following the words 'made war on the Orcs of the Misty Mountains in revenge for Thrór', which now read: 'Long and deadly was that war, and it was fought for the most part in dark places beneath the earth; and at the last the Dwarves had the victory, and in the Battle before the Gate of Moria ten thousand Orcs were slain. But the Dwarves suffered also grievous loss and his folk were now so diminished that Thráin dared not to enter Moria, and his people were dispersed again.' The only really significant difference from the first version, however, lies in the final sentence, which became:

> And the line of Dáin prospered, and the wealth and renown of the kingship was renewed, until there arose again for the last time an heir of that House that bore the name of Durin, and he returned to Moria; and there was light again in deep places, and the ringing of hammers and the harping of harps, until the world grew old and the Dwarves failed and the days of Durin's race were ended.

Thus it was here that 'Durin the Last' emerged, and it is said of him that he returned from Erebor to Moria and re-established it (as is said in the accompanying genealogical table). To this my father never referred again; as Robert Foster noted in *The Complete Guide to Middle-earth*, 'There is no mention of a recolonization of Khazad-dûm in the Fourth Age, despite the death of the Balrog.' It is impossible to discover whether my father did in fact reject this idea, or whether it simply became 'lost' in the haste with which the Appendices were finally prepared for publication. The fact that he made no reference to 'Durin VII and Last', though he appears in the genealogy in Appendix A, is possibly a pointer to the latter supposition.

There are two copies of the genealogical table accompanying the second version, but they are essentially the same: my father made the second one simply because he had not left enough space in the first and the names on the right-hand side had to be cramped (as with the other 'finished' manuscripts of that time he clearly intended this to be in publishable form as it stood, or at any rate to be in a form from which a perfectly accurate typescript could be made). In these tables he did little more than copy the preceding version (p. 277), but there are certain differences. He retained 'seven generations' between Durin the Deathless and Durin III of Moria, but carefully erased 'seven' and replaced it by 'twelve' (later pencilling 'many'). The name Nár of the brother of Dáin I was replaced by Borin, and where the original table only marks 'two generations' between Nár and Óin and Glóin this is now filled out as in the final table, with Fundin the father of Balin and Dwalin and Gróin the father of Óin and Glóin; but a space is left blank for Borin's son Farin. The notes and dates in the original table remain the same, with no additions that need be recorded, save 'Balin returned to Moria and there perished (2994)', and the same note concerning Ori, Nori, Dori, Bifur, Bofur, and Bombur as appears in the final genealogy. Thorin III is now called 'Stonehelm', and 'Durin the Last' is shown as his son, 'who re-established the Realm of Moria'; beneath his name is a dotted arrow (as beneath Thorin III in the original table) indicating unnamed descendants.

There is no other writing on this subject from the early period of work on the Appendices. But unlike the textual situation in the case of the Northern Line of the Realms in Exile and of *The House of Eorl*, in which the final typescripts have virtually no antecedents (see pp. 257–8, 273–4), a substantial part of *Durin's Folk* is extant in a draft typescript leading directly to that sent to the printer. My father did indeed achieve in that draft a form that required little further work, but it was achieved through much rewriting as he typed.[6] This underlines, I think, the extreme improbability that those other texts came into being at once in a form that required scarcely any further change; and therefore supports the conclusion that a good deal of the late drafting in typescript has been lost.

But in this case, at any rate, the loss of the draft typescript would have done little more than distort the textual development in some details; it would have deprived this history only of the Dwarvish name *Zigilnâd* of the Silverlode (cf. *Zirak-zigil* 'Silvertine', VII.174–5, note 22) – in itself surprising, in view of *Kibil-nâla* in *The Lord of the Rings* (see note 1).

The draft typescript, however, became rough manuscript, though still closely approaching the final form (RK pp. 356–7), with the story of the great burning of the dead at the end of the Battle of Azanulbizar, and the departure of Thráin and Thorin Oakenshield to Dunland and

afterwards to a new home in exile in the Blue Mountains, where they prospered, though forced to work with iron. This section ends, as in the published text, 'But, as Thrór had said, the Ring needed gold to breed gold, and of that or any other precious metal they had little or none.' My father drew a line here, as if the text were completed; but the mention of the Ring of Thráin led him to say something further about it. From this point the manuscript becomes rougher, and as it proceeded he wrote so fast that it is only barely legible and with much difficulty; and from this point also the published text soon departs from it altogether.

This Ring was the last of the Seven. It may well be that this was known to Sauron, and that the singular misfortunes of his House were due to that. For the days were passed when it would bring profit, but demanded payment rather, and its possession brought only the hate of Sauron. For the Dwarves had proved hard to tame. They were too tough, being made of a purpose to resist such onslaughts of evil will and power, and though they could be slain or broken they could not be made into shadows or slaves of any other will; and for like reason their lives were little affected, to live either longer or shorter because of the Ring.[7] The more did Sauron hate them. Nonetheless each possessor kept his ring as a secret unless he surrendered it; and though those about him doubtless guessed it, none knew for certain that Thráin had the Ring.

Partly by the very power of the Ring therefore Thráin after some years became restless and discontented. He could not put the thought of gold and gems out of his mind. Therefore at last when he could bear it no longer his heart turned again to Erebor and he resolved to return. He said little to Thorin of what was in his heart. But with Balin and Dwalin and a few others he arose and said farewell and departed (2841).

Little indeed is known of what happened to him afterwards. It would seem (from afterknowledge) that no sooner was he abroad with few companions (and certainly after he came at length back into Rhovanion) he was hunted by the emissaries of Sauron. Wolves pursued him, orcs waylaid him, evil birds shadowed his path, and the more he tried to go north the more he was driven back. One dark night, south of Gladden and the eaves of Mirkwood, he vanished out of their camp, and after long search in vain his companions gave up hope (and returned to Thorin). Only long after was it known that he had been taken alive and brought to the pits of Dol Guldur (2845). There he

was tormented and the Ring taken from him; and there at last (2850) he died.[8]

So it would seem that Moria had ended and the line of Durin. After the sack of Erebor Thorin Oakenshield was but 24 (and not yet war-worthy according to Dwarf-custom); but he was 53 at Nanduhirion, and there fought in the van of the assault. But as has been told the first assault was thrown back, and Thráin and Thorin were driven for refuge in a thicket that grew in the valley not far from Kheledzâram before the great burning. There Frerin Thráin's son fell and Fundin his cousin and many others, and both Thráin and Thorin were wounded. Thorin's shield was cloven and he cast it away, and hewing with an axe a branch of an oak tree he held it in his left hand to ward off the strokes of his foes or to wield as a club. Thus he got his name, or also because in memory of this he bore ever after at his back a shield made of oak wood without colour or device, and vowed to do so until he was hailed again as king.[9]

When Thráin went away Thorin was 95, a great dwarf of proud bearing and full manhood. Maybe because rid of the Ring, Thorin long remained in Ered Luin, labouring and journeying and gathering such wealth as he could, until his people had fair houses in the hills, and were not [? ill content], though in their songs they spoke ever of the Lonely Mountain and the wealth and bliss of the Great Hall and the light of the Arkenstone. But the years lengthened, and the embers of his heart began to grow hot as Thorin brooded on the wrongs of his house and people. Remembering too that Thrór had lain upon him the vengeance due to Smaug.

But Erebor was far away and his people only few; and he had little hope that Dáin Ironfoot would help in any attempt upon the dragon. For Thorin thought ever after the manner of his kingly forefathers, counting forces and weapons and the chances of war, as his hammer fell on the red iron in his forge.

It was at this point that Mithrandir entered the story of the House of Durin. He had before troubled himself little with Dwarves. He was a friend to those of good will, and liked well the exiles of Durin's Folk that dwelt in the west. But on a time it happened that Mithrandir was passing west through Eriador (journeying to see Cirdan, maybe, or to visit the Shire which he had not entered for some years) when he fell in with Thorin Oakenshield going the same way, and they spoke much together on the road, and at Bree where they rested.

In the morning Mithrandir said to Thorin: 'I have thought much in the night. Now if that seems good to you I will come home with you for a while and we will talk further in greater privacy.' From this meeting there came many events of great moment in the matter of the War of the Ring. Indeed it led to the finding of the Ring and to the involvement of the Shire-folk and the means whereby the Ring was at last destroyed. Wherefore many have supposed that all this Mithrandir purposed and foresaw. But we believe that is not so. For Frodo wrote this passage in the first copy of the Red Book, which because of its length was not included in the tale of the War: Those were glad days when after the crowning we dwelt in the fair house in Minas Tirith with Gandalf ...

I have given the text thus far in order to make clearer than I did, or indeed was able to do, in the section *The Quest of Erebor* in *Unfinished Tales* how my father originally introduced the story of Gandalf and Thorin, and the taking of Bilbo on the journey to the Lonely Mountain, into the appendix on *Durin's Folk*. At that time I was unaware of this text, and have only recently put it together from its dismembered parts, not having realised what they were. I assumed that the manuscript which I called A in *Unfinished Tales* was the original text; but the story that follows from the point where I have left it above was my father's first expression of the idea, and A was a (moderately) fair copy, much rewritten if not essentially changed.[10]

He did a great deal of work on this story before 'it had to go', as he said years later (*Unfinished Tales* p. 11). From the manuscript A he developed the typescript B (of which long extracts were given in *Unfinished Tales*), and B was clearly designed to fit into the text of *Durin's Folk* as it existed by then (see *Unfinished Tales* pp. 327–8).[11] I shall not follow here the evolution in expression and structure through the texts, but I give two notes that belong with the original manuscript, the first of which shows my father's initial thoughts on the story before he wrote it.

From 2842 onwards Thorin lives in exile, but a good many of Durin's Folk gather to him in Ered Luin. They are reduced to poverty (since mines are poor) and travel about as metal-workers. Thorin begins to think of vengeance on Smaug and recovery of his wealth, but he can only envisage this in terms of war – a gathering of all his people and an attempt to slay Smaug. But it is difficult to do. The Iron Hills are a long way away and elsewhere Durin's Folk are widely scattered.

Gandalf now takes a hand. (Since his action led ultimately to

the finding of the Ring, and the successful part played by the Hobbits in its destruction, many suppose that all this was in his conscious purpose. Probably not. He himself would say he was 'directed', or that he was 'meant' to take this course, or was 'chosen'.[12] Gandalf was incarnate, in [?real] flesh, and therefore his vision was obscured: he had for the most part (at any rate before his 'death') to act as ordinary people on reason, and principles of right and wrong.) His immediate conscious purposes were probably various. Largely strategic. He knows it is Sauron in Dol Guldur.[13] Knowing the situation in Gondor he may very well have feared the reoccupation of Mordor (but not yet). At present he is concerned with Lórien and Rivendell – Sauron will certainly proceed to war. The presence of Smaug and the depression of Men in the North makes an attack that way toward Angmar and against Rivendell likely. Also he knew and approved of Durin's Folk. Also he was very fond of the Shire-folk and appreciated ..... Bilbo. He wished the Shire-folk to be 'educated'[14] before evil days came, and chose Bilbo (unattached) as an instrument.

In the second passage he was revolving questions arising from Gandalf's finding of Thráin dying in Dol Guldur.

'Your plan is grandiose and belongs to an earlier day. If you wish to regain your wealth or any part of it, you will have to go yourself – with a small band of your most faithful kinsfolk and following.' [*Struck out:* He then reveals to Thorin that] Why did he not then (or much earlier) reveal to Thorin that he had met Thráin in Dol Guldur? Two answers. He had not met him [Thorin] and did not even know where he was. From 2850 on his chief concern had been with Dol Guldur (Saruman) and the Council. He had not been west for a long time (*Hobbit* pp. 13–14. The Old Took died in 2920, so Gandalf had not in 2942 been in the Shire for 22 years and then probably only briefly).[15] He was probably unaware who the Dwarf was in Dol Guldur, since the 7th Ring would be no clue (Dwarves kept the possession of Rings very secret), and Thráin did not know his own name (*Hobbit* p. 35). It was probably only from Thorin's conversation that he guessed – and produced the evidence characteristically at a suitable chance.

In the earliest version of the story (and also in the second text A) Gandalf made no mention of his finding Thráin in Dol Guldur until the very end of the text, in response to a question from Merry about

the map and the key; and my father clearly introduced it when the problem discussed in this note presented itself.

'But about that map and key,' said Merry. 'They proved useful, but you never said anything to Thorin about this beforehand. Why, you must have kept them by your own account 100 years without a word!'

'I did,' said Gandalf, 'very nearly. 91 to be exact. But I assure you I could have done little else. Thráin did not know his own name when I found him; and I certainly did not know his. By what toughness of resistance he had kept the key and map hidden in his torments I don't know. Maybe having got the Ring Sauron troubled no further, but left him to rave and die. But of course the map told me the key had something to do with Erebor. But it was far from my concerns at the time. And for long after I was concerned with other matters, with Saruman and his strange reluctance to disturb Sauron in Dol Goldur. It was not until my meeting with Thorin and conversation that I suddenly guessed who the dying Dwarf must have been. Well, well, after that I kept the things back to the last moment. They just turned the scale, and began to make Thorin accept the idea.'[16]

Among other material for *Durin's Folk* are many versions of the genealogical table, beginning with one associated with the draft typescript in which the original form (see pp. 276–8) was still retained, with only five generations between Durin VI (formerly Durin III) and Thrór. The addition of (the first) Óin and Náin II arose when my father formulated a specific pattern of aging and life-span on a page headed 'Notes on Chronology of Durin's Line', from which I cite some extracts, very slightly edited for clarity.

Dwarves of different 'breeds' vary in their longevity. Durin's race were originally long-lived (especially those named Durin), but like most other peoples they had become less so during the Third Age. Their average age (unless they met a violent death) was about 250 years, which they seldom fell far short of, but could occasionally far exceed (up to 300).[17] A Dwarf of 300 was about as rare and aged as a Man of 100.

Dwarves remained young – e.g. regarded as too tender for really hard work or for fighting – until they were 30 or nearly that (Dáin II was very young in 2799 (32) and his slaying of Azog was a great feat). After that they hardened and took on the appearance of age (by human standards) very quickly. By forty all Dwarves looked much alike in age, until they reached what

they regarded as old age, about 240. They then began to age and wrinkle and go white quickly (baldness being unknown among them), unless they were going to be long-lived, in which case the process was delayed. Almost the only physical disorder they suffered from (they were singularly immune from diseases such as affected Men, and Halflings) was corpulence. If in prosperous circumstances, many grew very fat at or before 200, and could not do much (save eat) afterwards. Otherwise 'old age' lasted not much more than ten years, and from say 40 or a little before to near 240 (two hundred years) the capacity for toil (and for fighting) of most Dwarves was equally great.

This is followed by the information attributed to Gimli concerning the Dwarf-women, which was preserved in Appendix A (RK p. 360). There is no difference in substance in the present text, except for the statements that they are never forced to wed against their will (which 'would of course be impossible'), and that they have beards. This latter is said also in the 1951 revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion* (XI.205, §5).

It is then said that Dwarves marry late, seldom before they are ninety or more,[18] that they have few children (so many as four being rare), and continues:

To these they are devoted, often rather fiercely: that is, they may treat them with apparent harshness (especially in the desire to ensure that they shall grow up tough, hardy, unyielding), but they defend them with all their power, and resent injuries to them even more than to themselves. The same is true of the attitude of children to parents. For an injury to a father a Dwarf may spend a life-time in achieving revenge. Since the 'kings' or heads of lines are regarded as 'parents' of the whole group, it will be understood how it was that the whole of Durin's Race gathered and marshalled itself to avenge Thrór.

Finally, there is a note on the absence of record concerning the women of the Dwarves:

They are seldom named in genealogies. They join their husbands' families. But if a son is seen to be 110 or so years younger than his father, this usually indicates an elder daughter. Thorin's sister Dís is named simply because of the gallant death of her sons Fili and Kili in defence of Thorin II. The sentiment of affection for sister's children was strong among all peoples of the Third Age, but less so among Dwarves than Men or Elves among whom it was strongest.

The concluding passage in Appendix A, concerning Gimli and Legolas, was derived from the old text of the Tale of Years (p. 244), which had now of course been abandoned.

NOTES

1 Since *Kheled-zâram* and *Kibil-nâla* as the Dwarvish names of Mirrormere and Silverlode entered early in the history of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* (see VII.167, 174), it seems clear that the naming of Mirrormere *Kibil-nâla* here was a slip without significance, and is unlikely to have any connection with the curious appearance of the name *Zigilnâd* for Silverlode in the draft typescript of *Durin's Folk* (p. 279).

2 'thrice': the Durin who was slain by the Balrog in Moria is named in the accompanying genealogical table 'Durin III'.

3 Thorin Oakenshield was not the 'last of the direct line of Durin'; no doubt my father meant that he was the last in the unbroken descent of the kings from father to son (cf. 'the right line was broken' a few lines below).

4 This addition was roughly written in the margins, with a number of corrections, and the passage from 'They were victorious ...' to 'Dáin their kinsman went away to the Iron Hills' is put in the present tense.

5 The extension of the line beyond Thrór appears to have had its starting-point in my father's explanation of the words on Thrór's Map in *The Hobbit* ('Here of old was Thrain King under the Mountain') as referring not to Thráin son of Thrór but to a remote ancestor also named Thráin: see VII.160.

6 My father's method of composition at this time was to continue typing, without rejecting anything, as the sentences developed. A characteristic if extreme case is seen in Dáin's words to Thráin at the end of the Battle of Azanulbizar:

> Only I have passed seen looked through the Shadow of the Gate. Beyond the Shadow it waits for you still. The world must change and some other power than ours must come, Durin's Bane before Some other power must come than ours must come, before Khazad-dûm Durin's folk walk again in

By crossing out unwanted words and putting directions on the typescript he produced the passage that stands in Appendix A (RK p. 356).

7 In a draft for this passage my father wrote at this point the following, which was not repeated: 'The Ring-wearer became rich especially in gold: that is his dealings brought him wealth according to what he traded in: if in lead, lead, if in silver, silver, if in gems, then gems more abundant and of greater size and worth.'

8 This is where the story of how Thráin came to Dol Guldur was first told.

9 The deaths of Frerin and Fundin, and the retreat to the wood where Thorin cut the oak-bough from which he got his name (RK p. 355 and footnote), had not been mentioned in the draft typescript in the account of the Battle of Azanulbizar. The story that Thorin carried an unpainted shield of oak wood disappeared.

10 The tone and total effect of the original version, as my father dashed it down, is rather different from that of the subsequent texts, where the expression becomes a little more reserved. To give a single example, when Thorin (later Glóin) sneered at 'those absurd little rustics down in the Shire' (cf. *Unfinished Tales* p. 333), Gandalf riposted: 'You don't know much about those folk, Thorin. If you think them all that simple because they pay you whatever you ask for your bits of iron and don't bargain hard like some Men, you're mistaken. Now I know one that I think is just the fellow for you. Honest, sensible, and very far from rash – and brave.'

11 A begins with the words 'In the morning Thorin said to Mithrandir ...', and continues as in the third version B (*Unfinished Tales* p. 328): here it was Thorin who invited Gandalf to his home in the Blue Mountains, whereas in the earliest text (p. 282) it was Gandalf who proposed it. I do not know why A should have begun at this point.

12 There is here a direction to 'see LR I 65/71' (read '70'), which was thus already in print.

13 From this was derived a passage in the earliest version of the story:

> 'Well then, I was I suppose "chosen". But as far as I was aware, I had my reasons for what I did. Don't be abashed if I say that the chief in my mind was unconcerned with you: it was, well "strategic". When I met Thorin at Bree I had long known that Sauron was arisen again in Dol Guldur, and every day I expected him to declare himself.'

14 'Educated' is the word that Gandalf used in the original version of the passage given from the text B in *Unfinished Tales* p. 331.

> 'In 2941 I already saw that the Westlands were in for another very bad time sooner or later. Of quite a different sort. And I would like the Shire-folk to survive it, if possible. But to do that I thought they would want something a bit more than they had had before. What shall I say – the clannish sort of stocky, sturdy family feeling was not quite enough. They were become a bit parochial, forgetting their own stories, forgetting their own beginnings, forgetting what little they had known about the greatness and peril of the world – or of the allies they had

in it. It was not buried deep, but it was getting buried: memory of the high and noble and beautiful. In short, they needed education! I daresay he was "chosen", and I was chosen to choose him, but I picked on Bilbo as an instrument. You can't educate a whole people at once!'

15 The reference is to Gandalf's first appearance in *The Hobbit*: 'He had not been down that way under The Hill for ages and ages, not since his friend the Old Took died, in fact, and the hobbits had almost forgotten what he looked like.' – On the date of 'The Quest of Erebor' given here, 2942, see the Note below.

16 It was not until text B of *The Quest of Erebor* that Gandalf's account of his finding Thráin in Dol Guldur was moved back in the story (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 324), though still in that version Gandalf returned to it again at the end (*ibid.* p. 336).

17 It will be found in the genealogical table that the life-span of all the 'kings of Durin's Folk' from Thráin I to Náin II varied only between 247 and 256 years, and no Dwarf in the table exceeded that, save Borin (261) and Dwalin, who lived to the vast age of 340 (the date of his death appears in all the later texts of the table, although the first to give dates seems – it is hard to make out the figures – to make him 251 years old at his death).

18 In the genealogical table all the 'kings of Durin's Folk' from Náin I to Thorin Oakenshield were born either 101 or 102 (in one case 100) years after their fathers.

Note on the date of the Quest of Erebor

Among the papers associated with the original manuscript of the story my father set down some notes headed 'Dates already fixed in *printed* narrative are these:'

> Bilbo born 2891 (1291). He was visited in 2942 by Thorin II, since that autumn he was 51 (*Lord of the Rings* Chapter I): therefore Battle of Five Armies was in same year, and Thorin II died then.
>
> Thráin must have 'gone off' (to seek Erebor) in 2842 ('a hundred years ago', *Hobbit* p. 35). (It is thus assumed that after wandering he was caught in 2845 and died in dungeons 2850.)
>
> Dáin II is said (LR I p. 241) 'to have passed his 250th year' in 3018. He was then, say, 251, therefore he was born in 2767 [the date given in the genealogy, RK p. 361].

My father had given the date of Bilbo's birth in 2891 in the Tale of Years (p. 238), and he here referred to it as a date 'fixed in printed narrative' (*The Fellowship of the Ring* was published in July 1954, and *The Two Towers* in November). But without Volume III the date is fixed in the following way: Frodo left Bag End in September 3018 (Gandalf's letter that he finally received at Bree was dated 'Midyear's Day, Shire Year, 1418'), and he left on his fiftieth birthday (FR p. 74),

which was seventeen years after Bilbo's farewell party (when Frodo was 33); the date of the party was therefore 3001. But that was Bilbo's 111th birthday; and therefore he was born in — 2890. It seems only possible to explain this as a simple miscalculation on my father's part which he never checked, – or rather never checked until now, for in another note among these papers he went through the evidence and arrived at the date 2890 for Bilbo's birth, and therefore 2941 for Thorin's visit to him at Bag End. This new date had been reached by the time that the earliest version of *The Quest of Erebor* was written.

PART TWO

LATE WRITINGS

LATE WRITINGS

It is a great convenience in this so largely dateless history that my father received from Allen and Unwin a quantity of their waste paper whose blank sides he used for much of his late writing; for this paper consisted of publication notes, and many of the pages bear dates: some from 1967, the great majority from 1968, and some from 1970. These dates provide, of course, only a *terminus a quo*: in the case, for instance, of a long essay on the names of the rivers and beacon-hills of Gondor (extensively drawn on in *Unfinished Tales*) pages dated 1967 were used, but the work can be shown on other and entirely certain grounds to have been written after June 1969. This was the period of *The Disaster of the Gladden Fields*, *Cirion and Eorl*, and *The Battles of the Fords of Isen*, which I published in *Unfinished Tales*.

It was also a time when my father was moved to write extensively, in a more generalised view, of the languages and peoples of the Third Age and their interrelations, closely interwoven with discussion of the etymology of names. Of this material I made a good deal of use in the section *The History of Galadriel and Celeborn* (and elsewhere) in *Unfinished Tales*; but I had, of course, to relate it to the structure and content of that book, and the only way to do so, in view of the extremely diffuse and digressive nature of my father's writing, was by the extraction of relevant passages. In this book I give two of the most substantial of these 'essays', from neither of which did I take much in *Unfinished Tales*.

The first of these, *Of Men and Dwarves*, arose, as my father said, 'from consideration of the Book of Mazarbul' (that is, of his representations of the burnt and damaged leaves, which were not in fact published until after his death) and the inscription on the tomb of Balin in Moria, but led far beyond its original point of departure. From this essay I have excluded the two passages that were used in *Unfinished Tales*, the account of the Drúedain, and that of the meeting of the Númenórean mariners with the Men of Eriador in the year 600 of the Second Age (see pp. 309, 314). The second, which I have called *The Shibboleth of Fëanor*, is of a very different nature, as will be seen, and from this only a passage on Galadriel was used in *Unfinished Tales*; I have included also a long excursus on the names of the descendants of Finwë, King of the Ñoldor, which was my father's final, or at any rate last, statement on many of the great names of

Elvish legend, and which I used in the published *Silmarillion*. I have also given a third text, which I have called *The Problem of Ros*; and following these are some of his last writings, probably in the last year of his life (p. 377).

A word must be said of these 'historical-philological' essays. Apart from the very last, just referred to, they were composed on a typewriter. These texts are, very clearly, entirely *ab initio*; they are not developments and refinements of earlier versions, and they were not themselves subsequently developed and refined. The ideas, the new narrative departures, historical formulations, and etymological constructions, here first appear in written form (which is not to say, of course, that they were not long in the preparing), and in that form, essentially, they remain. The texts are never obviously concluded, and often end in chaotic and illegible or unintelligible notes and jottings. Some of the writing was decidedly experimental: a notable example is the text that I have called *The Problem of Ros*, on which my father wrote 'Most of this fails', on account of a statement which had appeared in print, but which he had overlooked (see p. 371). As in that case, almost all of this work was etymological in its inspiration, which to a large extent accounts for its extremely discursive nature; for in no study does one thing lead to another more rapidly than in etymology, which also of its nature leads out of itself in the attempt to find explanations beyond the purely linguistic evolution of forms. In the essay on the river-names of Gondor that of the Gwathló led to an account of the vast destruction of the great forests of Minhiriath and Enedwaith by the Númenórean naval builders in the Second Age, and its consequences (*Unfinished Tales* pp. 261–3); from the name *Gilrain* in the same essay arose the recounting of the legend of Amroth and Nimrodel (*ibid.* pp. 240–3).

In the three texts given here will be found many things that are wholly 'new', such as the long sojourn of the People of Bëor and the People of Hador on opposite sides of the great inland Sea of Rhûn in the course of their long migration into the West, or the sombre legend of the twin sons of Fëanor. There will also be found many things that run counter to what had been said in earlier writings. I have not attempted in my notes to make an analysis of every real or apparent departure of this kind, or to adduce a mass of reference from earlier phases of the History; but I have drawn attention to the clearest and most striking of the discrepancies. At this time my father continued and intensified his practice of interposing notes into the body of the text as they arose, and they are abundant and often substantial. In the texts that follow they are numbered in the same series as the editorial notes and are collected at the end of each, the editorial notes being distinguished by placing them in square brackets.

X

OF DWARVES AND MEN

This long essay has no title, but on a covering page my father wrote:

> An extensive commentary and history of the interrelation of the languages in *The Silmarillion* and *The Lord of the Rings*, arising from consideration of the Book of Mazarbul, but attempting to clarify and where necessary to correct or explain the references to such matters scattered in *The Lord of the Rings*, especially in Appendix F and in Faramir's talk in LR II.

'Faramir's talk' is a reference to the conclusion of the chapter *The Window on the West* in *The Two Towers*. To a rough synopsis of the essay he gave the title *Dwarves and Men*, which I have adopted.

The text was begun in manuscript, but after three and a half pages becomes typescript for the remainder of its length (28 pages in all). It was written on printed papers supplied by Allen and Unwin, of which the latest date is September 1969. A portion of the work was printed in *Unfinished Tales*, Part Four, Section 1, *The Drúedain*, but otherwise little use of it was made in that book. Unhappily the first page of the text is lost (and was already missing when I received my father's papers), and takes up in the middle of a sentence in a passage discussing knowledge of the Common Speech.

In relation to the first part of the essay, which is concerned with the Longbeard Dwarves, I have thought that it would be useful to print first what is said concerning the language of the Dwarves in the two chief antecedent sources. The following is found in the chapter on the Dwarves in the *Quenta Silmarillion* as revised and enlarged in 1951 (XI.205, §6):

> The father-tongue of the Dwarves Aulë himself devised for them, and their languages have thus no kinship with those of the Quendi. The Dwarves do not gladly teach their tongue to those of alien race; and in use they have made it harsh and intricate, so that of those few whom they have received in full friendship fewer still have learned it well. But they themselves learn swiftly other tongues, and in converse they use as they may the speech of Elves and Men with whom they deal. Yet in secret they use their own speech only, and that (it is said) is slow to change; so that even their realms and houses that have been long and far sundered may to this day well understand one another. In ancient days the Naugrim dwelt in many mountains

of Middle-earth, and there they met mortal Men (they say) long ere the Eldar knew them; whence it comes that of the tongues of the Easterlings many show kinship with Dwarf-speech rather than with the speeches of the Elves.

The second passage is from Appendix F, *Dwarves* (with which cf. the original version, p. 35, §15).

But in the Third Age close friendship still was found in many places between Men and Dwarves; and it was according to the nature of the Dwarves that, travelling and labouring and trading about the lands, as they did after the destruction of their ancient mansions, they should use the languages of men among whom they dwelt. Yet in secret (a secret which, unlike the Elves, they did not willingly unlock, even to their friends) they used their own strange tongue, changed little by the years; for it had become a tongue of lore rather than a cradle-speech, and they tended it and guarded it as a treasure of the past. Few of other race have succeeded in learning it. In this history it appears only in such place-names as Gimli revealed to his companions; and in the battle-cry which he uttered in the siege of the Hornburg. That at least was not secret, and had been heard on many a field since the world was young. *Baruk Khazâd! Khazâd ai-mênu!* 'Axes of the Dwarves! The Dwarves are upon you!'

Gimli's own name, however, and the names of all his kin, are of Northern (Mannish) origin. Their own secret and 'inner' names, their true names, the Dwarves have never revealed to any one of alien race. Not even on their tombs do they inscribe them.

Here follows the text of the essay which I have called *Of Dwarves and Men*.

... only in talking to others of different race and tongue, the divergence could be great, and intercommunication imperfect.[1] But this was not always the case: it depended on the history of the peoples concerned and their relations to the Númenórean kingdoms. For instance, among the Rohirrim there can have been very few who did not understand the Common Speech, and most must have been able to speak it fairly well. The royal house, and no doubt many other families, spoke (and wrote) it correctly and familiarly. It was in fact King Théoden's native language: he was born in Gondor, and his father Thengel had used the Common Speech in his own home even after his return to Rohan.[2] The Eldar used it with the care and skill that they applied to all linguistic matters, and being longeval and retentive in memory they tended indeed, especially when speaking formally or on important matters, to use a somewhat archaic language.[3]

The Dwarves were in many ways a special case. They had an ancient language of their own which they prized highly; and even when, as among the Longbeard Dwarves of the West, it had ceased to be their native tongue and had become a 'book-language', it was carefully preserved and taught to all their children at an early age. It thus served as a *lingua franca* between all Dwarves of all kinds; but it was also a written language used in all important histories and lore, and in recording any matters not intended to be read by other people. This Khuzdul (as they called it), partly because of their native secretiveness, and partly because of its inherent difficulty,[4] was seldom learned by those of other race.

The Dwarves were not, however, skilled linguists – in most matters they were unadaptable – and spoke with a marked 'dwarvish' accent. Also they had never invented any form of alphabetic writing.[5] They quickly, however, recognized the usefulness of the Elvish systems, when they at last became sufficiently friendly with any of the Eldar to learn them. This occurred mainly in the close association of Eregion and Moria in the Second Age. Now in Eregion not only the Fëanorian Script, which had long become a mode of writing generally used (with various adaptations) among all 'lettered' peoples in contact with the Númenórean settlements,[6] but also the ancient 'runic' alphabet of Daeron elaborated [> used] by the Sindar was known and used. This was, no doubt, due to the influence of Celebrimbor, a Sinda who claimed descent from Daeron.[7] Nonetheless even in Eregion the Runes were mainly a 'matter of lore' and were seldom used for informal matters. They, however, caught the fancy of the Dwarves; for while the Dwarves still lived in populous mansions of their own, such as Moria in particular, and went on journeys only to visit their own kin, they had little intercourse with other peoples except immediate neighbours, and needed writing very little; though they were fond of inscriptions, of all kinds, cut in stone. For such purposes the Runes were convenient, being originally devised for them.

The Longbeard Dwarves therefore adopted the Runes, and modified them for their own uses (especially the expression of Khuzdul); and they adhered to them even far into the Third Age, when they were forgotten by others except the loremasters of Elves and Men. Indeed it was generally supposed by the unlearned that they had been invented by the Dwarves, and they were widely known as 'dwarf-letters'.[8]

Here we are concerned only with the Common Speech. Now

the Common Speech, when written at all, had from its beginning been expressed in the Fëanorian Script.[9] Only occasionally and in inscriptions not written with pen or brush did some of the Elves of Sindarin descent use the Runes of Daeron, and their spelling was then dependent on the already established usages of the Fëanorian Script. The Dwarves had originally learned the Common Speech by ear as best they could, and had no occasion to write it; but in the Third Age they had been obliged in the course of trade and other dealings with Men and Elves to learn to read the Common Speech as written, and many had found it convenient to learn to write it according to the then general customs of the West. But this they only did in dealings with other peoples. For their own purposes they (as has been said) preferred the Runes and adhered to them.

Therefore in such documents as the Book of Mazarbul – not 'secret' but intended primarily for Dwarves, and probably intended later to provide material for chronicles[10] – they used the Runes. But the spelling was mixed and irregular. In general and by intention it was a transcription of the current spelling of the Common Speech into Runic terms; but this was often 'incorrect', owing to haste and the imperfect knowledge of the Dwarves; and it was also mingled with numerous cases of words spelt phonetically (according to the pronunciation of the Dwarves) – for instance, letters that had in the colloquial pronunciation of the late Third Age ceased to have any function were sometimes omitted.[11]

In preparing an example of the Book of Mazarbul, and making three torn and partly illegible pages,[12] I followed the general principle followed throughout: the Common Speech was to be represented as English of today, literary or colloquial as the case demanded. Consequently the text was cast into English spelt as at present, but modified as it might be by writers in haste whose familiarity with the written form was imperfect, and who were also (on the first and third pages) transliterating the English into a different alphabet – one that did not for instance employ any letter in more than one distinct value, so that the distribution of English *k*, *c* — *c*, *s* was reduced to *k* — *s*; while the use of the letters for *s* and *z* was variable since English uses *s* frequently as = *z*. In addition, since documents of this kind nearly always show uses of letters or shapes that are peculiar and rarely or never found elsewhere, a few such features are also introduced: as the signs for the English

vowel pairs *ea*, *oa*, *ou* (irrespective of their sounds).

This is all very well, and perhaps gives some idea of the kind of text Gandalf was trying to read in great haste in the Chamber of Mazarbul. It also accords with the general treatment of the languages in *The Lord of the Rings*: only the actual words and names of the period that are in Elvish languages are preserved in what is supposed to have been their real form.[13] Also, this treatment was imposed by the fact that, though the actual Common Speech was sketched in structure and phonetic elements, and a number of words invented, it was quite impossible to translate even such short extracts into its real contemporary form, if they were visibly represented. But it is of course in fact an erroneous extension of the general linguistic treatment. It is one thing to represent all the dialogue of the story in varying forms of English: this must be supposed to be done by 'translation' – from memory of unrecorded sounds, or from documents lost or not printed, whether this is stated or not, whenever it is done in any narrative dealing with past times or foreign lands. But it is quite another thing to provide *visible* facsimiles or representations of writings or carvings supposed to be of the date of the events in the narrative.[14]

The true parallel in such a case is the glimpse of Quenya given in Galadriel's Farewell – either in a transcription into our alphabet (to make the style of the language more easily appreciated) or in the contemporary script (as in *The Road Goes Ever On*) – followed by a translation. Since, as noted, the provision of a contemporary text in the actual Common Speech was not possible, the only proper procedure was to provide a translation into English of the legible words of the pages hastily examined by Gandalf.[15] This was done in the text; and short of a construction of the actual Common Speech sufficient to allow the text to be in its contemporary form, all that can legitimately be done.

A special difficulty is presented by the inscription on Balin's tomb. This is effective in its place: giving an idea of the style of the Runes when incised with more care for a solemn purpose, and providing a glimpse of a strange tongue; though all that is really necessary for the tale is the six lines on I.334[16] (with the translation of the inscription in bigger and bolder lettering). The actual representation of the inscription has however landed in some absurdities.[17]

The use in the inscription of the older and more 'correct'

values and shapes of the *Angerthas*, and not the later 'usage of Erebor', is not absurd (though possibly an unnecessary elaboration); it is in accord with the history of the Runes as sketched in the Appendix E. The older Runes would be used for such a purpose, since they were used in Moria before the flight of the Dwarves, and would appear in other inscriptions of like kind – and Balin was claiming to be the descendant and successor of the former Lords of Moria. The use of the Dwarf-tongue (Khuzdul) is possible in so short an inscription, since this tongue has been sketched in some detail of structure, if with a very small vocabulary. But the names *Balin* and *Fundin* are in such a context absurd. The Dwarves, as is stated in III.411,[18] had names in their own language; these they only used among themselves (on solemn occasions) and kept strictly secret from other peoples, and therefore never spelt them out in writing or inscriptions meant for or likely to be seen by strangers. In times or places where they had dealings, in trade or friendship, with their neighbours, they adopted 'outer names' for convenience.[19] These names were in form generally suited to the structure of the Common Speech [> the structure of the language from which they were derived]. Very frequently they had recognizable meanings in that language, or were names current in it; sometimes they were names [> current in it, being names] used by neighbouring Men among whom they dwelt, and were derived from the local Mannish language in which they might have a still known meaning, though this was not often the case [*this phrase struck out*].[20] Whether the adopted names that had meanings were selected because these meanings had some relation to their secret 'inner' names cannot be determined. The adopted names could be and sometimes were changed – usually in consequence of some event, such as the migration of either the Dwarves or their friends that separated them.

The case of the Dwarves of Moria was an example of adoption of names from Mannish languages of the North, not from the Common Speech.[21] It might have been better in that case to have given them in their actual forms. But in carrying out the theory (necessary for the lessening of the load of invention of names in different styles of language), that names derived from the Mannish tongues and dialects of the West historically related to the Common Speech should be represented by names found (or made of elements found in) languages related to English, the Dwarvish names were taken from Norse: since the

Mannish language from which they were adopted was closely related to the more southerly language from which was derived the language of Rohan (represented as Old English, because of its greater archaism in form as compared with those elements in the Common Speech derived from the languages of the same kinship). In consequence such names as *Balin*, etc. would not have appeared in any contemporary inscription using actual Khuzdul.[22]

Relations of the Longbeard Dwarves and Men[23]

In the Dwarvish traditions of the Third Age the names of the places where each of the Seven Ancestors had 'awakened' were remembered; but only two of them were known to Elves and Men of the West: the most westerly, the awakening place of the ancestors of the Firebeards and the Broadbeams; and that of the ancestor of the Longbeards,[24] the eldest in making and awakening. The first had been in the north of the Ered Lindon, the great eastern wall of Beleriand, of which the Blue Mountains of the Second and later ages were the remnant; the second had been Mount Gundabad (in origin a Khuzdul name), which was therefore revered by the Dwarves, and its occupation in the Third Age by the Orks of Sauron was one of the chief reasons for their great hatred of the Orks.[25] The other two places were eastward, at distances as great or greater than that between the Blue Mountains and Gundabad: the arising of the Ironfists and Stiffbeards, and that of the Blacklocks and Stonefoots. Though these four points were far sundered the Dwarves of different kindreds were in communication, and in the early ages often held assemblies of delegates at Mount Gundabad. In times of great need even the most distant would send help to any of their people; as was the case in the great War against the Orks (Third Age 2793 to 2799). Though they were loth to migrate and make permanent dwellings or 'mansions' far from their original homes, except under great pressure from enemies or after some catastrophe such as the ruin of Beleriand, they were great and hardy travellers and skilled road-makers; also, all the kindreds shared a common language.[26]

But in far distant days the Dwarves were secretive [*struck out:* – and none more so than the Longbeards –] and had few dealings with the Elves. In the West at the end of the First Age the dealings of the Dwarves of the Ered Lindon with King Thingol ended in disaster and the ruin of Doriath, the memory

of which still poisoned the relations of Elves and Dwarves in after ages. At that time the migrations of Men from the East and South had brought advance-guards into Beleriand; but they were not in great numbers, though further east in Eriador and Rhovanion (especially in the northern parts) their kindred must already have occupied much of the land. There dealings between Men and the Longbeards must soon have begun. For the Longbeards, though the proudest of the seven kindreds, were also the wisest and the most farseeing. Men held them in awe and were eager to learn from them; and the Longbeards were very willing to use Men for their own purposes. Thus there grew up in those regions the economy, later characteristic of the dealings of Dwarves and Men (including Hobbits): Men became the chief providers of food, as herdsmen, shepherds, and land-tillers, which the Dwarves exchanged for work as builders, roadmakers, miners, and the makers of things of craft, from useful tools to weapons and arms and many other things of great cost and skill. To the great profit of the Dwarves. Not only to be reckoned in hours of labour, though in early times the Dwarves must have obtained goods that were the product of greater and longer toil than the things or services that they gave in exchange – before Men became wiser and developed skills of their own. The chief advantage to them was their freedom to proceed unhindered with their own work and to refine their arts, especially in metallurgy, to the marvellous skill which these reached before the decline and dwindling of the Khazâd.

This system developed slowly, and it was long before the Longbeards felt any need to learn the language of their neighbours, still less to adopt names by which they could be known individually to 'outsiders'. This process began not in barter and trade, but in war; for the Longbeards had spread southward down the Vales of Anduin and had made their chief 'mansion' and stronghold at Moria; and also eastward to the Iron Hills, where the mines were their chief source of iron-ore. They regarded the Iron Hills, the Ered Mithrin, and the east dales of the Misty Mountains as their own land. But they were under attack from the Orks of Morgoth. During the War of the Jewels and the Siege of Angband, when Morgoth needed all his strength, these attacks ceased; but when Morgoth fell and Angband was destroyed hosts of the Orks fled eastwards seeking homes. They were now masterless and without any general leadership, but they were well-armed and very numerous, cruel,

savage, and reckless in assault. In the battles that followed the Dwarves were outnumbered, and though they were the most redoubtable warriors of all the Speaking Peoples they were glad to make alliance with Men.[27]

The Men with whom they were thus associated were for the most part akin in race and language with the tall and mostly fair-haired people of the 'House of Hador', the most renowned and numerous of the Edain, who were allied with the Eldar in the War of the Jewels. These Men, it seems, had come westward until faced by the Great Greenwood, and then had divided: some reaching the Anduin and passing thence northward up the Vales; some passing between the north-eaves of the Wood and the Ered Mithrin. Only a small part of this people, already very numerous and divided into many tribes, had then passed on into Eriador and so come at last to Beleriand. They were brave and loyal folk, truehearted, haters of Morgoth and his servants; and at first had regarded the Dwarves askance, fearing that they were under the Shadow (as they said).[28] But they were glad of the alliance, for they were more vulnerable to the attacks of the Orks: they dwelt largely in scattered homesteads and villages, and if they drew together into small townships they were poorly defended, at best by dikes and wooden fences. Also they were lightly armed, chiefly with bows, for they had little metal and the few smiths among them had no great skill. These things the Dwarves amended in return for one great service that Men could offer. They were tamers of beasts and had learned the mastery of horses, and many were skilled and fearless riders.[29] These would often ride far afield as scouts and keep watch on movements of their enemies; and if the Orks dared to assemble in the open for some great raid, they would gather great force of horsed archers to surround them and destroy them. In these ways the Alliance of Dwarves and Men in the North came early in the Second Age to command great strength, swift in attack and valiant and well-protected in defence, and there grew up in that region between Dwarves and Men respect and esteem, and sometimes warm friendship.

It was at that time, when the Dwarves were associated with Men both in war and in the ordering of the lands that they had secured,[30] that the Longbeards adopted the speech of Men for communication with them. They were not unwilling to teach their own tongue to Men with whom they had special friendship, but Men found it difficult and were slow to learn more

than isolated words, many of which they adapted and took into their own language. But on one point the Longbeards were as rigidly secretive as all other Dwarves. For reasons which neither Elves nor Men ever fully understood they would not reveal any personal names to people of other kin,[31] nor later when they had acquired the arts of writing allow them ever to be carved or written. They therefore took names by which they could be known to their allies in Mannish forms.[32] This custom endured among the Longbeards into the Fourth Age and beyond the view of these histories. It would appear that when speaking to Men with whom they had close friendship, and would speak together of the histories and memories of their peoples, they also gave similar names to Dwarves remembered in their annals long before the meeting of Dwarves and Men. But of these ancient times only one name was in the Third Age preserved: *Durin*, the name they gave to the prime ancestor of the Longbeards and by which he was known to Elves and Men. (It appears to have been simply a word for 'king' in the language of the Men of the North of the Second Age.)[33] The names of the Longbeards otherwise are not known in lists going back before the ruin of Moria (Khazad-dûm), Third Age 1980; but they are all of the same kind, sc. in a long 'dead' Mannish language.

This can only be explained by supposing that these names from the early Second Age had been adopted by the Dwarves, and preserved with as little change as their own language, and continued to be given (and often repeated) for something like four thousand years or more since the Alliance was destroyed by the power of Sauron! In this way they soon became to later Men specially Dwarvish names;[34] and the Longbeards acquired a vocabulary of traditional names peculiar to themselves, while still keeping their true 'inner' names completely secret.

Very great changes came to pass as the Second Age proceeded. The first ships of the Númenóreans appeared off the coasts of Middle-earth about Second Age 600, but no rumour of this portent reached the distant North. At the same time, however, Sauron came out of hiding and revealed himself in fair form. For long he paid little heed to Dwarves or Men and endeavoured to win the friendship and trust of the Eldar. But slowly he reverted again to the allegiance of Morgoth and began to seek power by force, marshalling again and directing the Orks and other evil things of the First Age, and secretly building his great fortress in the mountain-girt land in the South that

was afterwards known as Mordor. The Second Age had reached only the middle of its course (c. Second Age 1695) when he invaded Eriador and destroyed Eregion, a small realm established by the Eldar migrating from the ruin of Beleriand that had formed an alliance also with the Longbeards of Moria. This marked the end of the Alliance of the Longbeards with Men of the North. For though Moria remained impregnable for many centuries, the Orks reinforced and commanded by servants of Sauron invaded the mountains again. Gundabad was re-taken, the Ered Mithrin infested and the communication between Moria and the Iron Hills for a time cut off. The Men of the Alliance were involved in war not only with Orks but with alien Men of evil sort. For Sauron had acquired dominion over many savage tribes in the East (of old corrupted by Morgoth), and he now urged them to seek land and booty in the West. When the storm passed,[35] the Men of the old Alliance were diminished and scattered, and those that lingered on in their old regions were impoverished, and lived mostly in caves or in the borders of the Forest.

The Elvish loremasters held that in the matter of language the changes in speech (as in all the ways of their lives) of the Speaking Peoples were far slower in the Elder Days than they later became. The tongue of the Eldar changed mainly by design; that of the Dwarves resisted change by their own will; the many languages of Men changed heedlessly in the swift passing of their generations. All things changed in Arda, even in the Blessed Realm of the Valar; but there the change was so slow that it could not be observed (save maybe by the Valar) in great ages of time. The change in the language of the Eldar would thus have been halted in Valinor;[36] but in their early days the Eldar continued to enlarge and refine their language, and to change it, even in structure and sounds. Such change, however, to remain uniform required that the speakers should remain in communication. Thus it came about that the languages of the Eldar that remained in Middle-earth diverged from the language of the High Eldar of Valinor so greatly that neither could be understood by speakers of the other; for they had been separated for a great age of time, during which even the Sindarin, the best preserved of those in Middle-earth, had been subject to the heedless changes of passing years, changes which the Teleri were far less concerned to restrain or to direct by design than the Ñoldor.

II

The Atani and their Languages[37]

Men entered Beleriand late in the First Age. Those with whom we are here concerned and of whose languages some records later were preserved belonged mostly to three peoples, differing in speech and in race, but known in common to the Eldar as the *Atani* (Sindarin *Edain*).[38] These *Atani* were the vanguard of far larger hosts of the same kinds moving westwards. When the First Age ended and Beleriand was destroyed, and most of the Atani who survived had passed over sea to Númenor, their laggard kindred were either in Eriador, some settled, some still wandering, or else had never passed the Misty Mountains and were scattered in the lands between the Iron Hills and the Sea of Rhûn eastward and the Great Forest, in the borders of which, northward and eastward, many were already settled.

The Atani and their kin were the descendants of peoples who in the Dark Ages had resisted Morgoth or had renounced him, and had wandered ever westward from their homes far away in the East seeking the Great Sea, of which distant rumour had reached them. They did not know that Morgoth himself had left Middle-earth;[39] for they were ever at war with the vile things that he had bred, and especially with Men who had made him their God and believed that they could render him no more pleasing service than to destroy the 'renegades' with every kind of cruelty. It was in the North of Middle-earth, it would seem, that the 'renegades' survived in sufficient numbers to maintain their independence as brave and hardy peoples; but of their past they preserved only legends, and their oral histories reached no further back than a few generations of Men.

When their vanguards at last reached Beleriand and the Western Shores they were dismayed. For they could go no further, but they had not found peace, only lands engaged in war with Morgoth himself, who had fled back to Middle-earth. 'Through ages forgotten,' they said, 'we have wandered, seeking to escape from the Dominions of the Dark Lord and his Shadow, only to find him here before us.'[40] But being people both brave and desperate they at once became allies of the Eldar, and they were instructed by them and became ennobled and advanced in knowledge and in arts. In the final years of the War of the Jewels they provided many of the most valiant warriors and captains in the armies of the Elvish kings.

The Atani were three peoples, independent in organisation and leadership, each of which differed in speech and also in form and bodily features from the others – though all of them showed traces of mingling in the past with Men of other kinds. These peoples the Eldar named the Folk of Bëor, the Folk of Hador, and the Folk of Haleth, after the names of the chieftains who commanded them when they first came to Beleriand.[41] The Folk of Bëor were the first Men to enter Beleriand – they were met in the dales of East Beleriand by King Finrod the Friend of Men, for they had found a way over the Mountains. They were a small people, having no more, it is said, than two thousand full-grown men; and they were poor and ill-equipped, but they were inured to hardship and toilsome journeys carrying great loads, for they had no beasts of burden. Not long after the first of the three hosts of the Folk of Hador came up from southward, and two others of much the same strength followed before the fall of the year. They were a more numerous people; each host was as great as all the Folk of Bëor, and they were better armed and equipped; also they possessed many horses, and some asses and small flocks of sheep and goats. They had crossed Eriador and reached the eastern feet of the Mountains (Ered Lindon) a year or more ahead of all others, but had not attempted to find any passes, and had turned away seeking a road round the Mountains, which, as their horsed scouts reported, grew ever lower as they went southwards. Some years later, when the other folk were settled, the third folk of the Atani entered Beleriand.[42] They were probably more numerous than the Folk of Bëor, but no certain count of them was ever made; for they came secretly in small parties and hid in the woods of Ossiriand where the Elves showed them no friendship. Moreover they had strife among themselves, and Morgoth, now aware of the coming of hostile Men into Beleriand, sent his servants to afflict them. Those who eventually moved westward and entered into friendship and alliance with the Eldar were called the Folk of Haleth, for Haleth was the name of their chieftainess who led them to the woods north of Doriath where they were permitted to dwell.

The Folk of Hador were ever the greatest in numbers of the Atani, and in renown (save only Beren son of Barahir descendant of Bëor). For the most part they were tall people, with flaxen or golden hair and blue-grey eyes, but there were not a few among them that had dark hair, though all were fair-skinned.[43]

Nonetheless they were akin to the Folk of Bëor, as was shown by their speech. It needed no lore of tongues to perceive that their languages were closely related, for although they could understand one another only with difficulty they had very many words in common. The Elvish loremasters[44] were of opinion that both languages were descended from one that had diverged (owing to some division of the people who had spoken it) in the course of, maybe, a thousand years of the slower change in the First Age.[45] Though the time might well have been less, and change quickened by a mingling of peoples; for the language of Hador was apparently less changed and more uniform in style, whereas the language of Bëor contained many elements that were alien in character. This contrast in speech was probably connected with the observable physical differences between the two peoples. There were fair-haired men and women among the Folk of Bëor, but most of them had brown hair (going usually with brown eyes), and many were less fair in skin, some indeed being swarthy. Men as tall as the Folk of Hador were rare among them, and most were broader and more heavy in build.[46] In association with the Eldar, especially with the followers of King Finrod, they became as enhanced in arts and manners as the Folk of Hador, but if these surpassed them in swiftness of mind and body, in daring and noble generosity,[47] the Folk of Bëor were more steadfast in endurance of hardship and sorrow, slow to tears or to laughter; their fortitude needed no hope to sustain it. But these differences of body and mind became less marked as their short generations passed, for the two peoples became much mingled by intermarriage and by the disasters of the War.[48]

The Folk of Haleth were strangers to the other Atani, speaking an alien language; and though later united with them in alliance with the Eldar, they remained a people apart. Among themselves they adhered to their own language, and though of necessity they learned Sindarin for communication with the Eldar and the other Atani, many spoke it haltingly, and some of those who seldom went beyond the borders of their own woods did not use it at all.[49] They did not willingly adopt new things or customs, and retained many practices that seemed strange to the Eldar and the other Atani, with whom they had few dealings except in war. Nonetheless they were esteemed as loyal allies and redoubtable warriors, though the companies that they sent to battle beyond their borders were small. For they were and

remained to their end a small people, chiefly concerned to protect their own woodlands, and they excelled in forest warfare. Indeed for long even those Orks specially trained for this dared not set foot near their borders. One of the strange practices spoken of was that many of their warriors were women, though few of these went abroad to fight in the great battles. This custom was evidently ancient;[50] for their chieftainess Haleth had been a renowned amazon with a picked bodyguard of women.

At this point a heading is pencilled on the typescript: III *The Drúedain (Púkel-men)*; after this there are no further divisions with sub-titles inserted. Together with the concluding paragraph of section II printed above, the account of the Drúedain that now follows is given in *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 377–82, concluding with the story called *The Faithful Stone*; and there is no need to repeat this here.[51] At the end of the story is a passage contrasting Drûgs and Hobbits, which since it was given in curtailed form in *Unfinished Tales* (p. 382) is printed here in full; the present text then continues to the end, or rather abandonment, of the essay.

This long account of the Drúedain has been given, because it throws some light on the Wild Men still surviving at the time of the War of the Ring in the eastern end of the White Mountains, and on Merry's recognition of them as living forms of the carved Púkel-men of Dun Harrow. The presence of members of the same race among the Edain in Beleriand thus makes another backward link between *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Silmarillion*, and allows the introduction of characters somewhat similar to the Hobbits of *The Lord of the Rings* into some of the legends of the First Age (e.g. the old retainer (Sadog) of Húrin in the legend of Túrin).[52]

The Drûgs or Púkel-men are not however to be confused with or thought of as a mere variant on the hobbit theme. They were quite different in physical shape and appearance. Their average height (four feet) was only reached by exceptional hobbits; they were of heavier and stronger build; and their facial features were unlovely (judged by general human standards). Physically they shared the hairlessness of the lower face; but while the head-hair of the hobbits was abundant (but close and curly), the Drûgs had only sparse and lank hair on their heads and none at all on their legs and feet. In character and temperament they were at times merry and gay, like hobbits, but they had a

grimmer side to their nature and could be sardonic and ruthless; and they had or were credited with strange or magical powers. (The tales, such as 'The Faithful Stone', that speak of their transferring part of their 'powers' to their artefacts, remind one in miniature of Sauron's transference of power to the foundation of the Barad-dûr and to the Ruling Ring.)[53] Also the Drûgs were a frugal folk, and ate sparingly even in times of peace and plenty, and drank nothing but water. In some ways they resembled rather the Dwarves: in build and stature and endurance (though not in hair); in their skill in carving stone; in the grim side of their character; and in 'strange powers'. Though the 'magic' skills with which the Dwarves were credited were quite different; also the Dwarves were much grimmer; and they were long-lived, whereas the Drûgs were short-lived compared with other kinds of Men.

The Drûgs that are met in the tales of the First Age – cohabiting with the Folk of Haleth, who were a woodland people – were content to live in tents or shelters lightly built round the trunks of large trees, for they were a hardy race. In their former homes, according to their own tales, they had used caves in the mountains, but mainly as store-houses only occupied as dwellings and sleeping-places in severe weather. They had similar refuges in Beleriand to which all but the most hardy retreated in times of storm and bitter weather; but these places were guarded and not even their closest friends among the Folk of Haleth were welcomed there.

Hobbits on the other hand were in nearly all respects normal Men, but of very short stature. They were called 'halflings'; but this refers to the normal height of men of Númenórean descent and of the Eldar (especially those of Ñoldorin descent), which appears to have been about seven of our feet.[54] Their height at the periods concerned was usually more than three feet for men, though very few ever exceeded three foot six; women seldom exceeded three feet. They were not as numerous or variable as ordinary Men, but evidently more numerous and adaptable to different modes of life and habitat than the Drûgs, and when they are first encountered in the histories already showed divergences in colouring, stature, and build, and in their ways of life and preferences for different types of country to dwell in (see the Prologue to *The Lord of the Rings*, p. 12). In their unrecorded past they must have been a primitive, indeed 'savage' people,[55] but when we meet them they had (in varying degrees) acquired

many arts and customs by contact with Men, and to a less extent with Dwarves and Elves. With Men of normal stature they recognized their close kinship, whereas Dwarves or Elves, whether friendly or hostile, were aliens, with whom their relations were uneasy and clouded by fear.[56] Bilbo's statement (*The Lord of the Rings* I.162)[57] that the cohabitation of Big Folk and Little Folk in one settlement at Bree was peculiar and nowhere else to be found was probably true in his time (the end of the Third Age);[58] but it would seem that actually Hobbits had liked to live with or near to Big Folk of friendly kind, who with their greater strength protected them from many dangers and enemies and other hostile Men, and received in exchange many services. For it is remarkable that the western Hobbits preserved no trace or memory of any language of their own. The language they spoke when they entered Eriador was evidently adopted from the Men of the Vales of Anduin (related to the Atani, / in particular to those of the House of Bëor [> of the Houses of Hador and of Bëor]); and after their adoption of the Common Speech they retained many words of that origin. This indicates a close association with Big Folk; though the rapid adoption of the Common Speech in Eriador[59] shows Hobbits to have been specially adaptable in this respect. As does also the divergence of the Stoors, who had associated with Men of different sort before they came to the Shire.

The vague tradition preserved by the Hobbits of the Shire was that they had dwelt once in lands by a Great River, but long ago had left them, and found their way through or round high mountains, when they no longer felt at ease in their homes because of the multiplication of the Big Folk and of a shadow of fear that had fallen on the Forest. This evidently reflects the troubles of Gondor in the earlier part of the Third Age. The increase in Men was not the normal increase of those with whom they had lived in friendship, but the steady increase of invaders from the East, further south held in check by Gondor, but in the North beyond the bounds of the Kingdom harassing the older 'Atanic' inhabitants, and even in places occupying the Forest and coming through it into the Anduin valley. But the shadow of which the tradition spoke was not solely due to human invasion. Plainly the Hobbits had sensed, even before the Wizards and the Eldar had become fully aware of it, the awakening of Sauron and his occupation of Dol Guldur.[60]

On the relations of the different kinds of Men in Eriador and Rhovanion to the Atani and other Men met in the legends of the First Age and the War of the Jewels see *The Lord of the Rings* II.286–7 [in the chapter *The Window on the West*]. There Faramir gives a brief account of the contemporary classification in Gondor of Men into three kinds: High Men, or Númenóreans (of more or less pure descent); Middle Men; and Men of Darkness. The Men of Darkness was a general term applied to all those who were hostile to the Kingdoms, and who were (or appeared in Gondor to be) moved by something more than human greed for conquest and plunder, a fanatical hatred of the High Men and their allies as enemies of their gods. The term took no account of differences of race or culture or language. With regard to Middle Men Faramir spoke mainly of the Rohirrim, the only people of this sort well-known in Gondor in his time, and attributed to them actual direct descent from the Folk of Hador in the First Age. This was a general belief in Gondor at that time,[61] and was held to explain (to the comfort of Númenórean pride) the surrender of so large a part of the Kingdom to the people of Eorl.

The term Middle Men, however, was of ancient origin. It was devised in the Second Age by the Númenóreans when they began to establish havens and settlements on the western shores of Middle-earth. It arose among the settlers in the North (between Pelargir and the Gulf of Lune), in the time of Ar-Adûnakhôr; for the settlers in this region had refused to join in the rebellion against the Valar, and were strengthened by many exiles of the Faithful who fled from persecution by him and the later Kings of Númenor. It was therefore modelled on the classification by the Atani of the Elves: the High Elves (or Elves of Light) were the Ñoldor who returned in exile out of the Far West; the Middle Elves were the Sindar, who though near kin of the High Elves had remained in Middle-earth and never seen the light of Aman; and the Dark Elves were those who had never journeyed to the Western Shores and did not desire to see Aman. This was not the same as the classifications made by the Elves, which are not here concerned, except to note that 'Dark Elves' or 'Elves of Darkness' was used by them, but in no way implied any evil, or subordination to Morgoth; it referred only to ignorance of the 'light of Aman' and included the Sindar. Those who had never made the journey to the West Shores were called 'the Refusers' (*Avari*). It is doubtful if any of the Avari ever reached

Beleriand[62] or were actually known to the Númenóreans.

In the days of the earlier settlements of Númenor there were many Men of different kinds in Eriador and Rhovanion; but for the most part they dwelt far from the coasts. The regions of Forlindon and Harlindon were inhabited by Elves and were the chief part of Gil-galad's kingdom, which extended, north of the Gulf of Lune, to include the lands east of the Blue Mountains and west of the River Lune as far as the inflow of the Little Lune.[63] (Beyond that was Dwarf territory.)[64] South of the Lune it had no clear bounds, but the Tower Hills (as they were later called) were maintained as an outpost.[65] The Minhiriath and the western half of Enedhwaith between the Greyflood and the Isen were still covered with dense forest.[66] The shores of the Bay of Belfalas were still mainly desolate, except for a haven and small settlement of Elves at the mouth of the confluence of Morthond and Ringló.[67] But it was long before the Númenórean settlers about the Mouths of Anduin ventured north of their great haven at Pelargir and made contact with Men who dwelt in the valleys on either side of the White Mountains. Their term Middle Men was thus originally applied to Men of Eriador, the most westerly of Mankind in the Second Age and known to the Elves of Gil-galad's realm.[68] At that time there were many men in Eriador, mainly, it would seem, in origin kin of the Folk of Bëor, though some were kin of the Folk of Hador. They dwelt about Lake Evendim, in the North Downs and the Weather Hills, and in the lands between as far as the Brandywine, west of which they often wandered though they did not dwell there. They were friendly with the Elves, though they held them in awe and close friendships between them were rare. Also they feared the Sea and would not look upon it. (No doubt rumours of its terror and the destruction of the Land beyond the Mountains (Beleriand) had reached them, and some of their ancestors may indeed have been fugitives from the Atani who did not leave Middle-earth but fled eastward.)

Thus it came about that the Númenórean term Middle Men was confused in its application. Its chief test was friendliness towards the West (to Elves and to Númenóreans), but it was actually applied usually only to Men whose stature and looks were similar to those of the Númenóreans, although this most important distinction of 'friendliness' was not historically confined to peoples of one racial kind. It was a mark of all kinds of Men who were descendants of those who had abjured the

Shadow of Morgoth and his servants and wandered westward to escape it – and certainly included both the races of small stature, Drûgs and Hobbits. Also it must be said that 'unfriendliness' to Númenóreans and their allies was not always due to the Shadow, but in later days to the actions of the Númenóreans themselves. Thus many of the forest-dwellers of the shorelands south of the Ered Luin, especially in Minhiriath, were as later historians recognized the kin of the Folk of Haleth; but they became bitter enemies of the Númenóreans, because of their ruthless treatment and their devastation of the forests,[69] and this hatred remained unappeased in their descendants, causing them to join with any enemies of Númenor. In the Third Age their survivors were the people known in Rohan as the Dunlendings.

There was also the matter of language. It was six hundred years after the departure of the survivors of the Atani oversea to Númenor that a ship came first to Middle-earth again out of the West and passed up the Gulf of Lune.[70]

> The story that follows, recounting the meeting of the Númenórean mariners with twelve Men of Eriador on the Tower Hills, their mutual recognition of an ancient kinship, and their discovery that their languages though profoundly changed were of common origin, has been given in *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 213–14.[71] Following the conclusion of that extract (ending with the words 'they found that they shared very many words still clearly recognizable, and others that could be understood with attention, and they were able to converse haltingly about simple matters') the essay continues as follows.

Thus it came about that a kinship in language, even if this was only recognizable after close acquaintance, was felt by the Númenóreans to be one of the marks of 'Middle-men'.[72]

The loremasters of later days held that the languages of Men in Middle-earth, at any rate those of the 'unshadowed' Men, had changed less swiftly before the end of the Second Age and the change of the world in the Downfall of Númenor. Whereas in Númenor owing to the longevity of the Atani it had changed far more slowly still. At the first meeting of the Shipmen and the Men of western Eriador it was only six hundred years since the Atani went oversea, and the Adûnaic that they spoke can hardly have changed at all; but it was a thousand years or more since the Atani who reached Beleriand had parted from their kin. Yet even now in a more changeful world languages that have been separated for fifteen hundred years and longer may

be recognized as akin by those unlearned in the history of tongues.

As the long years passed the situation changed. The ancient Adûnaic of Númenor became worn down by time – and by neglect. For owing to the disastrous history of Númenor it was no longer held in honour by the 'Faithful' who controlled all the Shorelands from Lune to Pelargir. For the Elvish tongues were proscribed by the rebel Kings, and Adûnaic alone was permitted to be used, and many of the ancient books in Quenya or in Sindarin were destroyed. The Faithful, therefore, used Sindarin, and in that tongue devised all names of places that they gave anew in Middle-earth.[73] Adûnaic was abandoned to unheeded change and corruption as the language of daily life, and the only tongue of the unlettered. All men of high lineage and all those who were taught to read and write used Sindarin, even as a daily tongue among themselves. In some families, it is said, Sindarin became the native tongue, and the vulgar tongue of Adûnaic origin was only learned casually as it was needed.[74] The Sindarin was not however taught to aliens, both because it was held a mark of Númenórean descent and because it proved difficult to acquire – far more so than the 'vulgar tongue'. Thus it came about that as the Númenórean settlements increased in power and extent and made contact with Men of Middle-earth (many of whom came under Númenórean rule and swelled their population) the 'vulgar tongue' began to spread far and wide as a *lingua franca* among peoples of many different kinds. This process began in the end of the Second Age, but became of general importance mainly after the Downfall and the establishment of the 'Realms in Exile' in Arnor and Gondor. These kingdoms penetrated far into Middle-earth, and their kings were recognized beyond their borders as overlords. Thus in the North and West all the lands between the Ered Luin and the Greyflood and Hoarwell[75] became regions of Númenórean influence in which the 'vulgar tongue' became widely current. In the South and East Mordor remained impenetrable; but though the extent of Gondor was thus impeded it was more populous and powerful than Arnor. The bounds of the ancient kingdom contained all those lands marked in maps of the end of the Third Age as Gondor, Anórien, Ithilien, South Ithilien, and Rohan (formerly called Calenardhon) west of the Entwash.[76] On its extension at the height of its power, between the reigns of Hyarmendacil I and Rómendacil II (Third Age 1015 to 1366)

see *The Lord of the Rings* Appendix A p.325.[77] The wide lands between Anduin and the Sea of Rhûn were however never effectively settled or occupied, and the only true north boundary of the Kingdom east of Anduin was formed by the Emyn Muil and the marshes south and east of them. Númenórean influence however went far beyond even these extended bounds, passing up the Vales of Anduin to its sources, and reaching the lands east of the Forest, between the River Celon[78] (Running) and the River Carnen (Redwater).

Within the original bounds of the Kingdoms the 'vulgar speech' soon became the current speech, and eventually the native language of nearly all the inhabitants of whatever origin, and incomers who were allowed to settle within the bounds adopted it. Its speakers generally called it Westron (actually *Adûni*, and in Sindarin *Annúnaid*). But it spread far beyond the bounds of the Kingdoms – at first in dealings with 'the peoples of the Kingdoms', and later as a 'Common Speech' convenient for intercourse between peoples who retained numerous tongues of their own. Thus Elves and Dwarves used it in dealings with one another and with Men.

The text ends here abruptly (without a full stop after the last word, though this may not be significant), halfway down a page.

NOTES

1 A notable case is that of the conversation between Ghân chieftain of the Wild Men and Théoden. Probably few if any of the Wild Men other than Ghân used the Common Speech at all, and he had only a limited vocabulary of words used according to the habits of his native speech.

2 The Kings and their descendants after Thengel also knew the Sindarin tongue – the language of nobles in Gondor. [Cf. Appendix A (II), in the list of the Kings of the Mark, on Thengel's sojourn in Gondor. It is said there that after his return to Rohan 'the speech of Gondor was used in his house, and not all men thought that good.']

3 The effect on contemporary speakers of the Common Speech of Gondor being comparable to that which we should feel if a foreigner, both learned and a skilled linguist, were when being courteous or dealing with high matters to use fluently an English of say about 1600 A.D., but adapted to our present pronunciation.

4 Structurally and grammatically it differed widely from all other

languages of the West at that time; though it had some features in common with Adûnaic, the ancient 'native' language of Númenor. This gave rise to the theory (a probable one) that in the unrecorded past some of the languages of Men – including the language of the dominant element in the Atani from which Adûnaic was derived – had been influenced by Khuzdul.

5 They had, it is said, a complex pictographic or ideographic writing or carving of their own. But this they kept resolutely secret.

6 Including their enemies such as Sauron, and his higher servants who were in fact partly of Númenórean origin.

7 [Like Gil-galad, Celebrimbor was a figure first appearing in *The Lord of the Rings* whose origin my father changed again and again. The earliest statement on the subject is found in the post-*Lord of the Rings* text *Concerning Galadriel and Celeborn*, where it is said (cf. *Unfinished Tales* p. 235):

> Galadriel and Celeborn had in their company a Noldorin craftsman called Celebrimbor. He was of Noldorin origin, and one of the survivors of Gondolin, where he had been one of Turgon's greatest artificers – but he had thus acquired some taint of pride and an almost 'dwarvish' obsession with crafts.

He reappears as a jewel-smith of Gondolin in the text *The Elessar* (see *Unfinished Tales* pp. 248 ff.); but against the passage in *Concerning Galadriel and Celeborn* just cited my father noted that it would be better to 'make him a descendant of Fëanor'. Thus in the Second Edition (1966) of *The Lord of the Rings*, at the end of the prefatory remarks to the Tale of Years of the Second Age, he added the sentence: 'Celebrimbor was lord of Eregion and the greatest of their craftsmen; he was descended from Fëanor.'

On one of his copies of *The Return of the King* he underlined the name *Fëanor* in this sentence, and wrote the following two notes on the opposite page (the opening of the first of these means, I think: 'What then was his parentage? He must have been descended from one of Fëanor's sons, about whose progeny nothing has been told').

> How could he be? Fëanor's only descendants were his seven sons, six of whom reached Beleriand. So far nothing has been said of their wives and children. It seems probable that *Celebrinbaur* (silverfisted, > *Celebrimbor*) was son of Curufin, but though inheriting his skills he was an Elf of wholly different temper (his mother had refused to take part in the rebellion of Fëanor and remained in Aman with the people of Finarphin). During their dwelling in Nargothrond as refugees he had grown to love Finrod and ^ his wife, and was aghast

at the behaviour of his father and would not go with him. He later became a great friend of Celeborn and Galadriel.

The second note reads:

Maedros the eldest appears to have been unwedded, also the two youngest (twins, of whom one was by evil mischance burned with the ships); Celegorm also, since he plotted to take Lúthien as his wife. But Curufin, dearest to his father and chief inheritor of his father's skills, was wedded, and had a son who came with him into exile, though his wife (unnamed) did not. Others who were wedded were Maelor, Caranthir.

On the form *Maelor* for *Maglor* see X.182, §41. The reference in the first of these notes to the wife of Finrod Felagund is notable, since long before, in the *Grey Annals*, the story had emerged that Felagund had no wife, and that 'she whom he had loved was Amárië of the Vanyar, and she was not permitted to go with him into exile'. That story had in fact been abandoned, or forgotten, but it would return: see the note on Gil-galad, p. 350.

These notes on Celebrimbor son of Curufin were the basis of the passages introduced editorially in the published *Silmarillion*, p. 176 (see V.300–1), and in *Of the Rings of Power*, *ibid.* p. 286. But in late writing (1968 or later) on the subject of Eldarin words for 'hand' my father said this:

Common Eldarin had a base KWAR 'press together, squeeze, wring'. A derivative was **kwāra* : Quenya *quár*, Telerin *pār*, Sindarin *paur*. This may be translated 'fist', though its chief use was in reference to the tightly closed hand as in using an implement or a craft-tool rather than to the 'fist' as used in punching. Cf. the name *Celebrin-baur* > *Celebrimbor*. This was a Sindarized form of Telerin *Telperimpar* (Quenya *Tyelpinquar*). It was a frequent name among the Teleri, who in addition to navigation and ship-building were also renowned as silversmiths. The famous Celebrimbor, heroic defender of Eregion in the Second Age war against Sauron, was a Teler, one of the three Teleri who accompanied Celeborn into exile. He was a great silver-smith, and went to Eregion attracted by the rumours of the marvellous metal found in Moria, Moria-silver, to which he gave the name *mithril*. In the working of this he became a rival of the Dwarves, or rather an equal, for there was great friendship between the Dwarves of Moria and Celebrimbor, and they shared their skills and craft-secrets. In the same way *Tegilbor* was used for one skilled in calligraphy (*tegil* was a Sindarized form of Quenya *tekil* 'pen', not known to the Sindar until the coming of the Noldor).

When my father wrote this he ignored the addition to Appendix B in the Second Edition, stating that Celebrimbor 'was

descended from Fëanor'; no doubt he had forgotten that that theory had appeared in print, for had he remembered it he would undoubtedly have felt bound by it. – On the statement that Celebrimbor was 'one of the three Teleri who accompanied Celeborn into exile' see *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 231–3.

Yet here in the present essay, from much the same time as that on Eldarin words for 'hand' just cited, a radically different account of Celebrimbor's origin is given: 'a Sinda who claimed descent from Daeron'.]

8 They did not, however, appear in the inscriptions on the West Gate of Moria. The Dwarves said that it was in courtesy to the Elves that the Fëanorian letters were used on that gate, since it opened into their country and was chiefly used by them. But the East Gates, which perished in the war against the Orks, had opened upon the wide world, and were less friendly. They had borne Runic inscriptions in several tongues: spells of prohibition and exclusion in Khuzdul, and commands that all should depart who had not the leave of the Lord of Moria written in Quenya, Sindarin, the Common Speech, the languages of Rohan and of Dale and Dunland.

[In the margin against the paragraph in the text at this point my father pencilled:

> N.B. It is actually said by Elrond in *The Hobbit* that the Runes were *invented* by the Dwarves and written with silver pens. Elrond was half-elven and a master of lore and history. So either we must tolerate this discrepancy or modify the history of the Runes, making the actual *Angerthas Moria* largely an affair of Dwarvish invention.

In notes associated with this essay he is seen pondering the latter course, considering the possibility that it was in fact the Longbeard Dwarves who were the original begetters of the Runes; and that it was from them that Daeron derived the idea, but since the first Runes were not well organised (and differed from one mansion of the Dwarves to another) he ordered them in a logical system.

But of course in Appendix E (II) he had stated very explicitly the origin of the Runes: 'The Cirth were devised first in Beleriand by the Sindar'. It was Daeron of Doriath who developed the 'richest and most ordered form' of the Cirth, the Alphabet of Daeron, and its use in Eregion led to its adoption by the Dwarves of Moria, whence its name *Angerthas Moria*. Thus the inconsistency, if inconsistency there was, could scarcely be removed; but in fact there was none. It was the 'moon-runes' that Elrond declared (at the end of the chapter *A Short Rest*) to have been invented by the Dwarves and written by them with silver pens, not the Runes as an alphabetic form – as my father at length

noted with relief. I mention all this as an illustration of his intense concern to avoid discrepancy and inconsistency, even though in this case his anxiety was unfounded. – For an earlier account of the origin of the Runes see VII.452–5.]

9 [At this point the text in manuscript ends, and the typescript takes up.]

10 As things went ill in Moria and hope even of escaping with their lives faded the last pages of the Book can only have been written in the hope that the Book might be later found by friends, and inform them of the fate of Balin and his rash expedition to Moria – as indeed happened.

11 Cases were the reduction of double (long) consonants to single ones medially between vowels, or the alteration of consonants in certain combinations. Both are exemplified in the Third Age colloquial *tunas* 'guard', i.e. a body of men acting as guards. This was a derivative of the stem TUD 'watch, guard' + *nas* 'people': an organized group or gathering of people for some function. But *tudnas*, though it was often retained in 'correct' spelling, had been changed to *tunnas* and usually was so spelt: *tunas* which occurred in the first line of the preserved three pages was 'incorrect' and represented the colloquial. (Incidentally this *nas* is probably an example of the numerous loanwords from Elvish that were found in Adûnaic already and were increased in the Common Speech of the Kingdoms. It is probably < Quenya *nossë* or Sindarin *nos*, 'kindred, family'. The short *o* of Elvish became *a* in such borrowed words.)

12 [The three pages were reproduced in *Pictures by J. R. R. Tolkien*, 1979, no.23 (second edition, 1992, no.24).]

13 Exceptions are a few words in a debased form of the Black Speech; a few place-names or personal names (not interpreted); the warcry of the Dwarves. Also a few place-names supposed to be of forgotten origin or meaning; and one or two personal names of the same kind (see Appendix F, p. 407).

14 The sherd of Amenartas was in Greek (provided by Andrew Lang) of the period from which it was supposed to have survived, not in English spelt as well as might be in Greek letters. [For the sherd of Amenartas see H. Rider Haggard, *She*, chapter 3.]

15 The first song of Galadriel is treated in this way: it is given only in translation (as is all the rest of her speech in dialogue). Because in this case a verse translation was attempted, to represent as far as possible the metrical devices of the original – a considered composition no doubt made long before the coming of Frodo and independent of the arrival in Lórien of the One Ring. Whereas the Farewell was addressed direct to Frodo, and was an extempore outpouring in free rhythmic style, reflecting the overwhelming increase in her regret and longing, and her personal despair

after she had survived the terrible temptation. It was translated accurately. The rendering of the older song must be presumed to have been much freer to enable metrical features to be represented. (In the event it proved that it was Galadriel's abnegation of pride and trust in her own powers, and her absolute refusal of any unlawful enhancement of them, that provided the ship to bear her back to her home.) [Cf. the passage in a letter from my father of 1967 cited in *Unfinished Tales*, p. 229; *Letters* no.297, at end.]

16 [This refers to the last six lines (which include the interpretation of the inscription on the tomb) of the chapter *A Journey in the Dark*, beginning '"These are Daeron's Runes, such as were used of old in Moria," said Gandalf', which in the three-volume hardback edition of *The Lord of the Rings* alone appear on that page.]

17 Possibly observed by the more linguistically and historically minded; though I have received no comments on them.

18 [This refers to the end of Appendix F, I ('Gimli's own name ...'), cited above, p. 296.]

19 In later times, when their own Khuzdûl had become only a learned language, and the Dwarves had adopted the Common Speech or a local language of Men, they naturally used these 'outer' names also for all colloquial purposes. [*Khuzdûl* is in this case spelt with a circumflex accent on the second vowel.]

20 [At the same time as the alterations shown were made to the text of this passage my father wrote in the margin: 'But see on this below – they were derived from a long lost Mannish language in the North.' See pp. 303–4, and note 23 below.]

21 The references (in Appendix A [beginning of III, *Durin's Folk*]) to the legends of the origin of the Dwarves of the kin known as Longbeards (Khuzdul *Sigin-tarâg*, translated by Quenya *Andafangar*, Sindarin *Anfangrim*) and their renowned later 'mansions' in Khazad-dûm (Moria) are too brief to make the linguistic situation clear. The 'deeps of time' do not refer (of course) to geological time – of which only the Eldar had legends, derived and transmuted from such information as their loremasters had received from the Valar. They refer to legends of the Ages of Awakening and the arising of the Speaking Peoples: first the Elves, second the Dwarves (as they claimed), and third Men. Unlike Elves and Men the Dwarves appear in the legends to have arisen in the North of Middle-earth. [This note continued as follows, but the continuation was subsequently struck out.] The most westerly point, the place of the birth or awakening of the ancestor of the Longbeards, was in the traditions of the Third Age a valley in the Ered Mithrin. But this was in far distant days. It was long before the migrations of Men from the East reached the North-western regions. And it was long again before the

Dwarves – of whom the Longbeards appear to have been the most secretive and least concerned to have dealings with Elves or Men – still felt any need to learn any languages of their neighbours, still less to take names by which they could be known to 'outsiders'.

22 [My father's point was that *Balin* and *Fundin* are actual Old Norse names used as 'translations' for the purpose of *The Lord of the Rings*. What he should have done in a visual representation of the tomb-inscription was to use, not of course their 'inner' names in Khuzdul, but their *real* 'outer' names which in the text of *The Lord of the Rings* are represented by *Balin* and *Fundin*.]

23 [It seems that it was when my father reached this point in the essay that he made the alterations to the text on p. 300 with the marginal observation given in note 20, and struck out the latter part of note 21.]

24 He alone had no companions; cf. 'he slept alone' (III.352). [The reference is to the beginning of Appendix A, III. The passage in the text is difficult to interpret. My father refers here to four places of awakening of the Seven Ancestors of the Dwarves: those of 'the ancestors of the Firebeards and the Broadbeams', 'the ancestor of the Longbeards', 'the Ironfists and Stiffbeards', and 'the Blacklocks and Stonefoots'. (None of these names of the other six kindreds of the Dwarves has ever been given before. Since the ancestors of the Firebeards and the Broadbeams awoke in the Ered Lindon, these kindreds must be presumed to be the Dwarves of Nogrod and Belegost.) It seems that he was here referring to Durin's having 'slept alone' in contrast to the other kindreds, whose Fathers were laid to sleep in pairs. If this is so, it is a different conception from that cited in XI.213, where Ilúvatar 'commanded Aulë to lay the fathers of the Dwarves severally in deep places, each with his mate, save Durin the eldest who had none.' On the subject of the 'mates' of the Fathers of the Dwarves see XI.211–13. – In the margin of the typescript my father wrote later (against the present note): 'He wandered widely after awakening: his people were Dwarves that joined him from other kindreds west and east'; and at the head of the page he suggested that the legend of the Making of the Dwarves should be altered (indeed very radically altered) to a form in which other Dwarves were laid to sleep near to the Fathers.]

25 [In the rejected conclusion of note 21 the place of the awakening of the ancestor of the Longbeards was 'a valley in the Ered Mithrin' (the Grey Mountains in the far North). There has of course been no previous reference to this ancient significance of Mount Gundabad. That mountain originally appeared in the chapter *The Clouds Burst* in *The Hobbit*, where it is told that the

Goblins 'marched and gathered by hill and valley, going ever by tunnel or under dark, until around and beneath the great mountain Gundabad of the North, where was their capital, a vast host was assembled'; and it is shown on the map of Wilderland in *The Hobbit* as a great isolated mass at the northern end of the Misty Mountains where the Grey Mountains drew towards them. In *The Lord of the Rings*, Appendix A (III), Gundabad appears in the account of the War of the Dwarves and Orcs late in the Third Age, where the Dwarves 'assailed and sacked one by one all the strongholds of the Orcs that they could [find] from Gundabad to the Gladden' (the word 'find' was erroneously dropped in the Second Edition).]

26 According to their legends their begetter, Aulë the Vala, had made this for them and had taught it to the Seven Fathers before they were laid to sleep until the time for their awakening should come. After their awakening this language (as all languages and all other things in Arda) changed in time, and divergently in the mansions that were far-sundered. But the change was so slow and the divergence so small that even in the Third Age converse between all Dwarves in their own tongue was easy. As they said, the change in Khuzdul as compared with the tongue of the Elves, and still more with those of Men, was 'like the weathering of hard rock compared with the melting of snow.'

27 The Dwarves multiplied slowly; but Men in prosperity and peace more swiftly than even the Elves.

28 For they had met some far to the East who were of evil mind. [This was a later pencilled note. On the previous page of the typescript my father wrote at the same time, without indication of its reference to the text but perhaps arising from the mention (p. 301) of the awakening of the eastern kindreds of the Dwarves: 'Alas, it seems probable that (as Men did later) the Dwarves of the far eastern mansions (and some of the nearer ones?) came under the Shadow of Morgoth and turned to evil.']

29 No Dwarf would ever mount a horse willingly, nor did any ever harbour animals, not even dogs.

30 For a time. The Númenóreans had not yet appeared on the shores of Middle-earth, and the foundations of the Barad-dûr had not yet been built. It was a brief period in the dark annals of the Second Age, yet for many lives of Men the Longbeards controlled the Ered Mithrin, Erebor, and the Iron Hills, and all the east side of the Misty Mountains as far as the confines of Lórien; while the Men of the North dwelt in all the adjacent lands as far south as the Great Dwarf Road that cut through the Forest (the Old Forest Road was its ruinous remains in the Third Age) and then went North-east to the Iron Hills. [As with so much else in this account, the origin of the Old Forest Road in 'the Great Dwarf

Road', which after traversing Greenwood the Great led to the Iron Hills, has never been met before.]

31 Only the personal names of individuals. The name of their race, and the names of their families, and of their mansions, they did not conceal.

32 Either actual Mannish names current among the Northern Men, or names made in the same ways out of elements in the Mannish tongue, or names of no meaning that were simply made of the sounds used by Men put together in ways natural to their speech.

33 [My father might seem to write here as if *Durin* was the 'real' Mannish name of the Father of the Longbeards; but of course it is a name derived from Old Norse, and thus a 'translation'.]

34 Somewhat similar to the way in which the 'runes' of Elvish origin were widely regarded by Men in the Third Age as a Dwarvish mode of writing.

35 Sauron was defeated by the Númenóreans and driven back into Mordor, and for long troubled the West no more, while secretly extending his dominions eastward.

36 Though such changes and divergence as had already occurred before they left Middle-earth would have endured – such as the divergence of the speech of the Teleri from that of the Ñoldor.

37 [This and the subsequent section-heading, together with their numbers, were pencilled in later. The title of section I is lost with the loss of the first page of the essay.]

38 The name is said to have been derived from *atan* 'man, human being as distinct from creatures', a word used by that kindred which the Eldar first encountered in Beleriand. This was borrowed and adapted to Quenya and Sindarin; but later when Men of other kinds became known to the Eldar it became limited to Men of the Three Peoples who had become allies of the Eldar in Beleriand.

[A typewritten draft for the page of the essay on which this second section begins is preserved (though without the section-heading or number, see note 37): in this draft the present note begins in the same way, but diverges after the words 'adapted to Quenya and Sindarin' thus:

> It was however associated by the Eldar with their own word *atar (adar)* 'father' and often translated 'Fathers of Men', though this title, in full *atanatar*, properly belonged only to the leaders and chieftains of the peoples at the time of their entry into Beleriand. In Sindarin *adan* was still often used for 'man', especially in names of races with a preceding prefix, as in *Dún-adan*, plural *Dúnedain*, 'Men of the West', Númenóreans; *Drû-edain* 'Wild-men'.

The statement here that *Atani* was derived from a word in the

Bëorian language, *atan* 'man', contradicts what was said in the chapter *Of the Coming of Men into the West* that was added to the *Quenta Silmarillion*, XI.219, footnote: '*Atani* was the name given to Men in Valinor, in the lore that told of their coming; according to the Eldar it signified "Second", for the kindred of Men was the second of the Children of Ilúvatar'; cf. *Quendi and Eldar*, XI.386, where essentially the same is said (the devising of the name *Atani* is there ascribed to the Ñoldor in Valinor).]

39 [This refers to Morgoth's captivity in Aman. See X.423, note 3.]

40 [Cf. the words of Andreth, X.310, and of Bereg and Amlach, XI.220, §18).]

41 [Haleth was not the name of the chieftain who commanded the Folk of Haleth when they first came to Beleriand: see XI.221–2 and the genealogical tree, XI.237. But this is probably not significant, in view of what is said at the end of the paragraph: these people 'were called the Folk of Haleth, for Haleth was the name of their chieftainess who led them to the woods north of Doriath where they were permitted to dwell.' On the other hand, the statement that Hador was the name of the chieftain who led the Folk of Hador into Beleriand seems to ignore that greatly enlarged and altered history that had entered in the chapter *Of the Coming of Men into the West* (cf. note 38), according to which it was Marach who led that people over the Mountains, and Hador himself, though he gave his name to the people, was a descendant of Marach in the fourth generation (see XI.218–19 and the genealogical tree, XI.234). In that work the division of the Folk of Hador into three hosts, referred to a little later in the present paragraph, does not appear – indeed it was said (XI.218, §10) that Bëor told Felagund that 'they are a numerous people, and yet keep together and move slowly, being all ruled by one chieftain whom they call Marach.']

42 [In other accounts the Folk of Haleth were the second kindred of the Edain to enter Beleriand, not the last; thus in QS §127 (V.275), when Haleth was still Haleth the Hunter and had not been transformed into the Lady Haleth, 'After Bëor came Haleth father of Hundor, and again somewhat later came Hador the Goldenhaired', and in *Of the Coming of Men into the West* §13 (XI.218) 'First came the Haladin ... The next year, however, Marach led his people over the Mountains'. In that text (§10) Bëor told Felagund that the people of Marach 'were before us in the westward march, but we passed them', and there is no suggestion of the story told here that they reached Eredlindon first of all the Edain, but that 'seeking a road round the Mountains' they 'came up from southward' into Beleriand. – Of internal strife among the Folk of Haleth, referred to a few lines later in this paragraph, there has been no previous mention.]

43 No doubt this was due to mingling with Men of other kind in the past; and it was noted that the dark hair ran in families that had more skill and interest in crafts and lore.

44 With a knowledge of the language of the Folk of Bëor that was later lost, save for a few names of persons and places, and some words or phrases preserved in legends. One of the common words was *atan*. [With the last sentence cf. note 38.]

45 [With this is perhaps to be compared what my father wrote elsewhere at this time (p. 373, note 13) concerning the long period during which the 'Bëorians' and the 'Hadorians' became separated in the course of their westward migration and dwelt on opposite sides of a great inland sea.]

46 Beren the Renowned had hair of a golden brown and grey eyes; he was taller than most of his kin, but he was broad-shouldered and very strong in his limbs.

47 The Eldar said, and recalled in the songs they still sang in later days, that they could not easily be distinguished from the Eldar – not while their youth lasted, the swift fading of which was to the Eldar a grief and a mystery.

48 [With this account of the Folk of Bëor and the Folk of Hador may be compared the description that my father wrote many years before in the *Quenta Silmarillion*, V.276, §130.]

49 [On the alteration of the relationship between the three languages of the Atani, whereby that of the Folk of Haleth replaced that of the Folk of Hador as the tongue isolated from the others, see p. 368 and note 4.]

50 Not due to their special situation in Beleriand, and maybe rather a cause of their small numbers than its result. They increased in numbers far more slowly than the other Atani, hardly more than was sufficient to replace the wastage of war; yet many of their women (who were fewer than the men) remained unwed.

51 [Apart from some slight and largely unnecessary modifications to the original text (in no case altering the sense) there are a few points to mention about that printed in *Unfinished Tales*. (1) The spelling *Ork(s)* was changed to *Orc(s)*, and that of the river *Taiglin* to *Teiglin* (see XI.228, 309–10). (2) A passage about the liking of the Drûgs for edible fungus was omitted in view of my father's pencilled note beside it: 'Delete all this about funguses. Too like Hobbits' (a reference of course to Frodo and Farmer Maggot's mushrooms). This followed the account of the knowledge of the Drûgs concerning plants, and reads:

> To the astonishment of Elves and other Men they ate funguses with pleasure, many of which looked to others ugly and dangerous; some kinds which they specially liked they caused to grow near their dwellings. The Eldar did not eat these things. The Folk of Haleth, taught by the Drúedain, made

some use of them at need; and if they were guests they ate what was provided in courtesy, and without fear. The other Atani eschewed them, save in great hunger when astray in the wild, for few among them had the knowledge to distinguish the wholesome from the bad, and the less wise called them ork-plants and supposed them to have been cursed and blighted by Morgoth.]

52 [See *Unfinished Tales*, p. 386, note 8. Elsewhere Húrin's serving-man is named *Sador*, not *Sadog*.]

53 [This sentence is cited in *Unfinished Tales*, p. 387, note 11.]

54 See the discussion of lineal measurements and their equation with our measures in the legend of *The Disaster of the Gladden Fields*. [This discussion (which, with the work itself, belongs to the very late period – 1968 or later) is found in *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 285 ff., where a note on the stature of Hobbits is also given.]

55 In the original sense of 'savage'; they were by nature of gentle disposition, neither cruel nor vindictive.

56 Of different kinds: Dwarves they found of uncertain temper and dangerous if displeased; Elves they viewed with awe, and avoided. Even in the Shire in the Third Age, where Elves were more often to be met than in other regions where Hobbits dwelt or had dwelt, most of the Shire-folk would have no dealings with them. 'They wander in Middle-earth,' they said, 'but their minds and hearts are not there.'

57 ['Nowhere else in the world was this peculiar (but excellent) arrangement to be found': opening of the chapter *At the Sign of the Prancing Pony*. This observation is here attributed to Bilbo as the ultimate author of the Red Book of Westmarch.]

58 Indeed it is probable that only at Bree and in the Shire did any communities of Hobbits survive at that time west of the Misty Mountains. Nothing is known of the situation in lands further east, from which the Hobbits must have migrated in unrecorded ages.

59 When they entered Eriador (early in the second century of the Third Age) Men were still numerous there, both Númenóreans and other Men related to the Atani, beside remnants of Men of evil kinds, hostile to the Kings. But the Common Speech (of Númenórean origin) was in general use there, even after the decay of the North Kingdom. In Bilbo's time great areas of Eriador were empty of Men. The desolation had begun in the Great Plague (soon after the Hobbits' occupation of the Shire), and was hastened by the final fall and disappearance of the North Kingdom. In the Plague it would seem that the only Hobbit communities to survive were those in the far North-west at Bree and in the Shire. [The opening sentence of this note, placing the entry of the Hobbits into Eriador 'early in the second century of the

Third Age', is plainly a casual error: presumably my father intended 'millennium' for 'century' (in Appendix B the date of the coming of the Harfoots is given under Third Age 1050, and that of the Fallohides and the Stoors under 1150).]

60 The invasions were no doubt also in great part due to Sauron; for the 'Easterlings' were mostly Men of cruel and evil kind, descendants of those who had served and worshipped Sauron before his overthrow at the end of the Second Age.

61 Though the native traditions of the Rohirrim preserved no memories of the ancient war in Beleriand, they accepted the belief, which did much to strengthen their friendship with Gondor and their unbroken loyalty to the Oath of Eorl and Cirion. [In relation to this note and to the passage in the text to which it refers my father wrote in the margin of the typescript:

> It may have been actually true of those Men in Middle-earth whom the returning Númenóreans first met (see below); but other Men of the North resembling them in features and temper can only have been akin as descending from peoples of which the Atani had been the vanguard.]

62 [In *Quendi and Eldar* (XI.377) there is a reference to Avari 'who had crept in small and secret groups into Beleriand from the South', and to rare cases of an Avar 'who joined with or was admitted among the Sindar'; while in that essay Eöl of Nan Elmoth was an Avar (XI.409 and note 33).]

63 [The Little Lune was first marked on the third and last of my father's general maps of the West of Middle-earth (that on which my original map published with *The Lord of the Rings* was closely based), but this appears to be the first time that it has been named.]

64 [With this statement that the region beyond the inflow of the Little Lune was 'Dwarf territory' cf. Appendix A (I, iii), where it is told that Arvedui, the last king of Arthedain, 'hid in the tunnels of the old dwarf-mines near the far end of the Mountains'.]

65 Gil-galad's people were mainly Ñoldorin; though in the Second Age the Elves of Harlindon were mainly Sindarin, and the region was a fief under the rule of Celeborn. [In the prefatory note to the annals of the Second Age in Appendix B it is said: 'In Lindon south of the Lune dwelt for a time Celeborn, kinsman of Thingol'; see *Unfinished Tales* p. 233 and note 2, where the present note is referred to.]

66 [See *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 262–3 (extract from a late essay on the names of the rivers and beacon-hills of Gondor). – The name was typed *Enedwaith* with the *h* added subsequently, but later in this essay (note 76) the form typed is *Enedhwaith*; so also in that on river-names just mentioned, although in the extracts given in

Unfinished Tales I printed *Enedwaith* for agreement with published texts.]

67 This according to the traditions of Dol Amroth had been established by seafaring Sindar from the west havens of Beleriand who fled in three small ships when the power of Morgoth overwhelmed the Eldar and the Atani; but it was later increased by adventurers of the Silvan Elves seeking for the Sea who came down the Anduin. The Silvan Elves were Middle Elves according to the Númenórean classification, though unknown to the Atani until later days: for they were like the Sindar Teleri, but were laggards in the hindmost companies who had never crossed the Misty Mountains and established small realms on either side of the Vales of Anduin. (Of these Lórien and the realm of Thranduil in Mirkwood were survivors in the Third Age.) But they were never wholly free of an unquiet and a yearning for the Sea which at times drove some of them to wander from their homes. [On this haven (Edhellond) see *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 246–7 and note 18 on p. 255.]

68 The first sailings of the Númenóreans to Middle-earth were to the lands of Gil-galad, with whom their great mariner Aldarion made an alliance.

69 As the power of Númenor became more and more occupied with great navies, for which their own land could not supply sufficient timber without ruin, their felling of trees and transportation of wood to their shipyards in Númenor or on the coast of Middle-earth (especially at Lond Daer, the Great Harbour at the mouth of the Greyflood) became reckless. [See *Unfinished Tales*, p. 262, on the tree-felling of the Númenóreans in Minhiriath and Enedhwaith. Of the kinship of the forest-dwellers of those regions with the People of Haleth there is no suggestion elsewhere (see also note 72 below). With the following sentence in the text, 'In the Third Age their survivors were the people known in Rohan as the Dunlendings' cf. *Unfinished Tales*, p. 263: 'From Enedwaith they [the native people fleeing from the Númenóreans] took refuge in the eastern mountains where afterwards was Dunland'.]

70 [This was the voyage of Vëantur the Númenórean, grandfather of Aldarion the Mariner: see *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 171, 174–5.]

71 [At the words in the text printed in *Unfinished Tales* 'as if addressing friends and kinsmen after a long parting' there is a note in the essay which I did not include:

> The Atani had learned the Sindarin tongue in Beleriand and most of them, especially the high men and the learned, had spoken it familiarly, even among themselves: but always as a learned language, taught in early childhood; their native

language remained the Adûnaic, the Mannish tongue of the Folk of Hador (except in some districts of the west of the Isle where the rustic folk used a Bëorian dialect). Thus the Sindarin they used had remained unchanged through many lives of Men.

With this cf. *Unfinished Tales*, p. 215 note 19. I do not know how the mention here of 'a Bëorian dialect' surviving in the west of Númenor is to be related to the total loss of the language of the Folk of Bëor referred to in note 44; see also p. 368 and note 5.]

72 This may have been one of the reasons why the Númenóreans failed to recognize the Forest-folk of Minhiriath as 'kinsmen', and confused them with Men of the Shadow; for as has been noted the native language of the Folk of Haleth was not related to the language of the Folks of Hador and Bëor.

73 And those that they adopted from older inhabitants they usually altered to fit the Sindarin style. Their names of persons also were nearly all of Sindarin form, save a few which had descended from the legends of the Atani in the First Age.

74 It thus became naturally somewhat corrupted from the true Sindarin of the Elves, but this was hindered by the fact that Sindarin was held in high esteem and was taught in the schools, according to forms and grammatical structure of ancient days.

75 The Elf-realm became diminished in the wars against Sauron, and by the establishment of Imladris, and it no longer extended east of the Ered Luin.

76 The Enedhwaith (or Central Wilderness) was shared by the North and South Kingdoms, but was never settled by Númenóreans owing to the hostility of the Gwathuirim (Dunlendings), except in the fortified town and haven about the great bridge over the Greyflood at Tharbad. [The name *Gwathuirim* of the Dunlendings has not occurred before.]

77 [It was said in Appendix A (I, iv) that at the height of its power the realm of Gondor 'extended north to Celebrant', and a long note in the essay at this point, beginning 'But for "Celebrant" read "Field of Celebrant"', is an exposition of the significance of the latter name (*Parth Celebrant*). This note is given in *Unfinished Tales*, p. 260.]

78 [The River Running is named *Celduin* in Appendix A, III (RK p. 353). *Celon* was the river that in the First Age rose in the Hill of Himring and flowed past Nan Elmoth to join the Aros; and since *Celduin* as the name of the River Running appears in the very late text *Cirion and Eorl* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 289) *Celon* here is presumably no more than a casual confusion of the names.]

XI

THE SHIBBOLETH OF FËANOR

With an excursus on the name of
the descendants of Finwë

In all my father's last writings linguistic history was closely intertwined with the history of persons and of peoples, and much that he recounted can be seen to have arisen in the search for explanations of linguistic facts or anomalies. The most remarkable example of this is the following essay, arising from his consideration of a problem of historical phonology, which records how the difference in pronunciation of a single consonantal element in Quenya played a significant part in the strife of the Noldorin princes in Valinor. It has no title, but I have called it *The Shibboleth of Fëanor*, since my father himself used that word in the course of the essay (p. 336).

Like *Of Dwarves and Men*, it was written (composed in typescript throughout) on paper supplied by Allen and Unwin, in this case mostly copies of a publication note of February 1968; and as in that essay there are very many notes interpolated into the body of the text in the process of composition. Appended to it is a lengthy excursus (half as long again as the essay from which it arose) on the names of Finwë's descendants, and this I give also; but from both *The Shibboleth of Fëanor* proper and from this excursus I have excluded a number of notes, some of them lengthy, of a technical phonological nature. The work was not finished, for my father did not reach, as was his intention, discussion of the names of the Sons of Fëanor; but such draft material as there is for this part is given at the end of the text. All numbered notes, both my father's and mine, are collected on pp. 356 ff.

This work was scarcely used in *Unfinished Tales* except for a passage concerning Galadriel, which is here repeated in its original context; but elements were used in the published *Silmarillion*.

The Shibboleth of Fëanor

The case of the Quenya change of þ to s[1]

The history of the Eldar is now fixed and the adoption of Sindarin by the Exiled Ñoldor cannot be altered. Since Sindarin made great use of *þ*, the change *þ* > *s* must have occurred in Ñoldorin Quenya in Valinor before the rebellion and exile of the Ñoldor, though not necessarily long before it (in Valinorian

reckoning of time). The change cannot therefore be explained as a development (that is a sound-substitution of *s* for an unfamiliar *þ*) in Quenya of the Third Age: either due to the Elves themselves, since they were familiar with *þ*; or to such people as the Númenórean scholars in Gondor, since *þ* occurred in the Common Speech, and also in the Sindarin which was still used as a spoken language among the upper classes, especially in Minas Tirith.

The use by Galadriel, as reported in *The Lord of the Rings*, must therefore be normal. It is not however an obstacle to the use of *þ* in representing the classical book-Quenya, pre-Exilic or post-Exilic, in grammars, dictionaries or transcripts. It is in fact desirable, since the older *þ* was always kept distinct in writing from original *s*. This in Exilic conditions, which made necessary the writing down anew from memory of many of the pre-Exilic works of lore and song,[2] implies a continuing memory of the sound *þ*, and the places in which it had previously occurred; also probably a dislike of the change to *s* in the colloquial Quenya on the part of the scholars. It is in any case impossible to believe that any of the Ñoldor ever became unfamiliar with the sound *þ* as such. In Valinor they dwelt between the Vanyar (Ingwi) and the Teleri (Lindar),[3] with whom they were in communication and sometimes intermarried. The Vanyar spoke virtually the same language (Quenya) and retained *þ* in daily use; the Teleri spoke a closely related language still largely intelligible to the Ñoldor,[4] and it also used *þ*. The Ñoldor were, even compared with other Eldar, talented linguists, and if *þ* did not occur in the language that they learned in childhood – which could only be the case with the youngest generations of those who set out from Aman – they would have had no difficulty in acquiring it.

The change *þ* > *s* must therefore have been a conscious and deliberate change agreed to and accepted by a majority of the Ñoldor, however initiated, after the separation of their dwellings from the Vanyar. It must have occurred after the birth of Míriel, but (probably) before the birth of Fëanor. The special connexion of these two persons with the change and its later history needs some consideration.

The change was a general one, based primarily on phonetic 'taste' and theory, but it had not yet become universal. It was attacked by the loremasters,[5] who pointed out that the damage this merging would do in confusing stems and their derivatives

that had been distinct in sound and sense had not yet been sufficiently considered. The chief of the linguistic loremasters at that time was Fëanor. He insisted that *þ* was the true pronunciation for all who cared for or fully understood their language. But in addition to linguistic taste and wisdom he had other motives. He was the eldest of Finwë's sons and the only child of his first wife Míriel. She was a Ñoldorin Elda of slender and graceful form, and of gentle disposition, though as was later discovered in matters far more grave, she could show an ultimate obstinacy that counsel or command would only make more obdurate. She had a beautiful voice and a delicate and clear enunciation, though she spoke swiftly and took pride in this skill. Her chief talent, however, was a marvellous dexterity of hand. This she employed in embroidery, which though achieved in what even the Eldar thought a speed of haste was finer and more intricate than any that had before been seen. She was therefore called *Þerindë* (Needlewoman) – a name which she had indeed already been given as a 'mother-name'.[6] She adhered to the pronunciation *þ* (it had still been usual in her childhood), and she desired that all her kin should adhere to it also, at the least in the pronunciation of her name.

Fëanor loved his mother dearly, though except in obstinacy their characters were widely different. He was not gentle. He was proud and hot-tempered, and opposition to his will he met not with the quiet steadfastness of his mother but with fierce resentment. He was restless in mind and body, though like Míriel he could become wholly absorbed in works of the finest skill of hand; but he left many things unfinished. Fëanáro was his mother-name, which Míriel gave him in recognition of his impetuous character (it meant 'spirit of fire'). While she lived she did much with gentle counsel to soften and restrain him.[7] Her death was a lasting grief to Fëanor, and both directly and by its further consequences a main cause of his later disastrous influence on the history of the Ñoldor.

The death of Míriel Þerindë – death of an 'immortal' Elda in the deathless land of Aman – was a matter of grave anxiety to the Valar, the first presage of the Shadow that was to fall on Valinor. The matter of Finwë and Míriel and the judgement that the Valar after long debate finally delivered upon it is elsewhere told.[8] Only those points that may explain the conduct of Fëanor are here recalled. Míriel's death was of free will: she forsook her body and her *fëa* went to the Halls of Waiting, while her body

lay as if asleep in a garden. She said that she was weary in body and spirit and desired peace. The cause of her weariness she believed to be the bearing of Fëanor, great in mind and body beyond the measure of the Eldar. Her weariness she had endured until he was full grown, but she could endure it no longer.

The Valar and all the Eldar were grieved by the sorrow of Finwë, but not dismayed: all things could be healed in Aman, and when they were rested her *fëa* and its body could be reunited and return to the joy of life in the Blessed Realm. But Míriel was reluctant, and to all the pleas of her husband and her kin that were reported to her, and to the solemn counsels of the Valar, she would say no more than 'not yet'. Each time that she was approached she became more fixed in her determination, until at last she would listen no more, saying only: 'I desire peace. Leave me in peace here! I will not return. That is my will.'

So the Valar were faced by the one thing that they could neither change nor heal: the free will of one of the Children of Eru, which it was unlawful for them to coerce – and in such a case useless, since force could not achieve its purpose. And after some years they were faced by another grave perplexity. When it became clear at last that Míriel would never of her own will return to life in the body within any span of time that could give him hope, Finwë's sorrow became embittered. He forsook his long vigils by her sleeping body and sought to take up his own life again; but he wandered far and wide in loneliness and found no joy in anything that he did.

There was a fair lady of the Vanyar, Indis of the House of Ingwë. She had loved Finwë in her heart, ever since the days when the Vanyar and the Ñoldor lived close together. In one of his wanderings Finwë met her again upon the inner slopes of Oiolossë, the Mountain of Manwë and Varda; and her face was lit by the golden light of Laurelin that was shining in the plain of Ezellohar below.[9] In that hour Finwë perceived in her eyes the love that had before been hidden from him. So it came to pass that Finwë and Indis desired to be wedded, and Finwë sought the counsel of the Valar.

The long debate that they held on the matter may be passed over briefly. They were obliged to choose between two courses: condemning Finwë to bereavement of a wife for ever, or allowing one of the Eldar to take a second wife. The former seemed

a cruel injustice, and contrary to the nature of the Eldar. The second they had thought unlawful, and some still held to that opinion.[10] The end of the Debate was that the marriage of Finwë and Indis was sanctioned. It was judged that Finwë's bereavement was unjust, and by persisting in her refusal to return Míriel had forfeited all rights that she had in the case; for either she was now capable of accepting the healing of her body by the Valar, or else her *fëa* was mortally sick and beyond their power, and she was indeed 'dead', no longer capable of becoming again a living member of the kindred of the Eldar.

'So she must remain until the end of the world. For from the moment that Finwë and Indis are joined in marriage all future change and choice will be taken from her and she will never again be permitted to take bodily shape. Her present body will swiftly wither and pass away, and the Valar will not restore it. For none of the Eldar may have two wives both alive in the world.' These were the words of Manwë, and an answer to the doubts that some had felt. For it was known to all the Valar that they alone had the power to heal or restore the body for the re-housing of a *fëa* that should in the later chances of the world be deprived; but that to Manwë also was given the right to refuse the return of the *fëa*.

During the time of his sorrow Finwë had little comfort from Fëanor. For a while he also had kept vigil by his mother's body, but soon he became wholly absorbed again in his own works and devices. When the matter of Finwë and Indis arose he was disturbed, and filled with anger and resentment; though it is not recorded that he attended the Debate or paid heed to the reasons given for the judgement, or to its terms except in one point: that Míriel was condemned to remain for ever discarnate, so that he could never again visit her or speak with her, unless he himself should die.[11] This grieved him, and he grudged the happiness of Finwë and Indis, and was unfriendly to their children, even before they were born.

How this ill will grew and festered in the years that followed is the main matter of the first part of *The Silmarillion*: the Darkening of Valinor. Into the strife and confusion of loyalties in that time this seemingly trivial matter, the change of *þ* to *s*, was caught up to its embitterment, and to lasting detriment to the Quenya tongue. Had peace been maintained there can be no doubt that the advice of Fëanor, with which all the other lore-masters privately or openly agreed, would have prevailed. But

an opinion in which he was certainly right was rejected because of the follies and evil deeds into which he was later led. He made it a personal matter: he and his sons adhered to *þ*, and they demanded that all those who were sincere in their support should do the same. Therefore those who resented his arrogance, and still more those whose support later turned to hatred, rejected his shibboleth.

Indis was a Vanya, and it might be thought that she would in this point at least have pleased Fëanor, since the Vanyar adhered to *þ*. Nonetheless Indis adopted *s*. Not as Fëanor believed in belittlement of Míriel, but in loyalty to Finwë. For after the rejection of his prayers by Míriel Finwë accepted the change (which had now become almost universal among his people), although in deference to Míriel he had adhered to *þ* while she lived. Therefore Indis said: 'I have joined the people of the Ñoldor, and I will speak as they do.' So it came about that to Fëanor the rejection of *þ* became a symbol of the rejection of Míriel, and of himself, her son, as the chief of the Ñoldor next to Finwë. This, as his pride grew and his mood darkened, he thought was a 'plot' of the Valar, inspired by fear of his powers, to oust him and give the leadership of the Ñoldor to those more servile. So Fëanor would call himself 'Son of the *Þerindë*', and when his sons in their childhood asked why their kin in the house of Finwë used *s* for *þ* he answered: 'Take no heed! We speak as is right, and as King Finwë himself did before he was led astray. We are his heirs by right and the elder house. Let them *sá-sí*, if they can speak no better.'

There can thus be no doubt that the majority of the Exiles used *s* for *þ* in their daily speech; for in the event (after Morgoth had contrived the murder of Finwë) Fëanor was deprived of the leadership, and the greater part of the Ñoldor who forsook Valinor marched under the command of Fingolfin, the eldest son of Indis. Fingolfin was his father's son, tall, dark, and proud, as were most of the Ñoldor, and in the end in spite of the enmity between him and Fëanor he joined with full will in the rebellion and the exile, though he continued to claim the kingship of all the Ñoldor.

The case of Galadriel and her brother Finrod is somewhat different.[12] They were the children of Finarfin, Indis' second son. He was of his mother's kind in mind and body, having the golden hair of the Vanyar, their noble and gentle temper, and their love of the Valar. As well as he could he kept aloof from

the strife of his brothers and their estrangement from the Valar, and he often sought peace among the Teleri, whose language he learned. He wedded Eärwen, the daughter of King Olwë, and his children were thus the kin of King Elwë Þindikollo[13] (in Sindarin Elu Thingol) of Doriath in Beleriand, for he was the brother of Olwë; and this kinship influenced their decision to join in the Exile, and proved of great importance later in Beleriand. Finrod was like his father in his fair face and golden hair, and also in noble and generous heart, though he had the high courage of the Ñoldor and in his youth their eagerness and unrest; and he had also from his Telerin mother a love of the sea and dreams of far lands that he had never seen. Galadriel was the greatest of the Ñoldor, except Fëanor maybe, though she was wiser than he, and her wisdom increased with the long years.

Her mother-name was Nerwen 'man-maiden', and she grew to be tall beyond the measure even of the women of the Ñoldor; she was strong of body, mind, and will, a match for both the loremasters and the athletes of the Eldar in the days of their youth. Even among the Eldar she was accounted beautiful, and her hair was held a marvel unmatched. It was golden like the hair of her father and her foremother Indis, but richer and more radiant, for its gold was touched by some memory of the star-like silver of her mother; and the Eldar said that the light of the Two Trees, Laurelin and Telperion, had been snared in her tresses. Many thought that this saying first gave to Fëanor the thought of imprisoning and blending the light of the Trees that later took shape in his hands as the Silmarils. For Fëanor beheld the hair of Galadriel with wonder and delight. He begged three times for a tress, but Galadriel would not give him even one hair. These two kinsfolk, the greatest of the Eldar of Valinor,[14] were unfriends for ever.

Galadriel was born in the bliss of Valinor, but it was not long, in the reckoning of the Blessed Realm, before that was dimmed; and thereafter she had no peace within. For in that testing time amid the strife of the Ñoldor she was drawn this way and that. She was proud, strong, and self-willed, as were all the descendants of Finwë save Finarfin; and like her brother Finrod, of all her kin the nearest to her heart, she had dreams of far lands and dominions that might be her own to order as she would without tutelage. Yet deeper still there dwelt in her the noble and generous spirit (*órë*) of the Vanyar, and a reverence for the Valar

that she could not forget. From her earliest years she had a marvellous gift of insight into the minds of others, but judged them with mercy and understanding, and she withheld her good will from none save only Fëanor. In him she perceived a darkness that she hated and feared, though she did not perceive that the shadow of the same evil had fallen upon the minds of all the Ñoldor, and upon her own.

So it came to pass that when the light of Valinor failed, for ever as the Ñoldor thought, she joined the rebellion against the Valar who commanded them to stay; and once she had set foot upon that road of exile, she would not relent, but rejected the last message of the Valar, and came under the Doom of Mandos. Even after the merciless assault upon the Teleri and the rape of their ships, though she fought fiercely against Fëanor in defence of her mother's kin, she did not turn back. Her pride was unwilling to return, a defeated suppliant for pardon; but now she burned with desire to follow Fëanor with her anger to whatever lands he might come, and to thwart him in all ways that she could. Pride still moved her when, at the end of the Elder Days after the final overthrow of Morgoth, she refused the pardon of the Valar for all who had fought against him, and remained in Middle-earth. It was not until two long ages more had passed, when at last all that she had desired in her youth came to her hand, the Ring of Power and the dominion of Middle-earth of which she had dreamed, that her wisdom was full grown and she rejected it, and passing the last test departed from Middle-earth for ever.

The change to *s* had become general among the Ñoldor long before the birth of Galadriel and no doubt was familiar to her. Her father Finarfin, however, loved the Vanyar (his mother's people) and the Teleri, and in his house *þ* was used, Finarfin being moved by Fëanor neither one way or the other but doing as he wished. It is clear nonetheless that opposition to Fëanor soon became a dominant motive with Galadriel, while her pride did not take the form of wishing to be different from her own people. So while she knew well the history of their tongue and all the reasons of the loremasters, she certainly used *s* in her own daily speech. Her Lament – spoken before she knew of the pardon (and indeed honour) that the Valar gave her – harks back to the days of her youth in Valinor and to the darkness of the years of Exile while the Blessed Realm was closed to all the

Ñoldor in Middle-earth. Whatever she may have done later, when Fëanor and all his sons had perished, and Quenya was a language of lore known and used only by the dwindling remnant of the High Elves (of Ñoldorin descent), she would in this song certainly have used *s*.

The *s* was certainly used in Beleriand by nearly all the Ñoldor.[15] And it was in this form (though with knowledge of its history and the difference in spelling) that Quenya was handed on to the loremasters of the Atani, so that in Middle-earth it lingered on among the learned, and a source of high and noble names in Rivendell and in Gondor into the Fourth Age.

The essay is followed by three 'notes'. Note 1 is a substantial development of the words in the essay (p. 332) 'The change was ... based primarily on phonetic "taste" and theory', which is here omitted. Note 2, given below, is an account of Elvish name-giving that differs in some important respects from the earlier and far more complex account in *Laws and Customs among the Eldar*, X.214–17. Note 3 is the long account of the names of Finwë's descendants.

Note on Mother-names

The Eldar in Valinor had as a rule two names, or *essi*. The first-given was the father-name, received at birth. It usually recalled the father's name, resembling it in sense or form; sometimes it was simply the father's name, to which some distinguishing prefix in the case of a son might be added later when the child was full-grown. The mother-name was given later, often some years later, by the mother; but sometimes it was given soon after birth. For the mothers of the Eldar were gifted with deep insight into their children's characters and abilities, and many had also the gift of prophetic foresight.

In addition any of the Eldar might acquire an *epessë* ('after-name'), not necessarily given by their own kin, a nickname – mostly given as a title of admiration or honour. Later some among the exiles gave themselves names, as disguises or in reference to their own deeds and personal history: such names were called *kilmessi* 'self-names' (literally names of personal choice).[16]

The 'true names' remained the first two, but in later song and history any of the four might become the name generally used and recognized. The true names were not however forgotten by the scribes and loremasters or the poets, and they might often be introduced without comment. To this difficulty – as it

proved to those who in later days tried to use and adapt Elvish traditions of the First Age as a background to the legends of their own heroes of that time and their descendants[17] – was added the alteration of the Quenya names of the Ñoldor, after their settlement in Beleriand and adoption of the Sindarin tongue.

The names of Finwë's descendants

Few of the oldest names of the Eldar are recorded, except those of the four leaders of the hosts on the Great Journey: *Ingwë* of the Vanyar; *Finwë* of the Ñoldor; and the brothers *Elwë* and *Olwë* of the Teleri. It is not certain that these names had any 'meaning', that is any intentional reference to or connexion with other stems already existing in primitive Eldarin; in any case they must have been formed far back in the history of Elvish speech. They consist each of a stem (*ing-*, *fin-*, *el-*, *ol-*) followed by a 'suffix' *-wë*. The suffix appears frequently in other Quenya names of the First Age, such as *Voronwë*, generally but not exclusively masculine.[18] This the loremasters explained as being not in origin a suffix, though it survived in Quenya only as a final element in names, but an old word for 'person', derivative of a stem EWE. This took as a second element in a compound the form *wē*; but as an independent word *ewē*, preserved in Telerin as *evë* 'a person, somebody (unnamed)'. In Old Quenya it survived in the form *eo* (< *ew* + the pronominal suffix *-ǒ* 'a person, somebody'), later replaced by *námo*; also in the Old Quenya adjective *wéra*, Quenya *véra* 'personal, private, own'.

The first elements were often later explained as related to Quenya *inga* 'top, highest point' used adjectivally as a prefix, as in *ingaran* 'high-king', *ingor* 'summit of a mountain'; to Common Eldarin PHIN 'hair', as in Quenya *finë* 'a hair', *findë* 'hair, especially of the head', *finda* 'having hair, -haired'; and to the stem *el*, *elen* 'star'. Of these the most probable is the relation to *inga*; for the Vanyar were regarded, and regarded themselves, as the leaders and principal kindred of the Eldar, as they were the eldest; and they called themselves the *Ingwer* – in fact their king's proper title was *Ingwë Ingweron* 'chief of the chieftains'. The others are doubtful. All the Eldar had beautiful hair (and were especially attracted by hair of exceptional loveliness), but the Ñoldor were not specially remarkable in this respect, and there is no reference to Finwë as having had hair of exceptional

length, abundance, or beauty beyond the measure of his people.[19] There is nothing known to connect Elwë more closely with the stars than all the other Eldar; and the name seems invented to go as a pair with Olwë, for which no 'meaning' was suggested. OL as a simple stem seems not to have occurred in Eldarin, though it appears in certain 'extended' stems, such as *olos/r* 'dream', *olob* 'branch' (Quenya *olba*); neither of which seems to be old enough, even if suitable in sense, to have any connexion with the name of the Ciriáran (mariner king) of the Teleri of Valinor.[20]

It must be realized that the names of the Eldar were not necessarily 'meaningful', though composed to fit the style and structure of their spoken languages; and that even when made or partly made of stems with a meaning these were not necessarily combined according to the normal modes of composition observed in ordinary words. Also that when the Eldar arrived in Aman and settled there they had already a long history behind them, and had developed customs to which they adhered, and also their languages had been elaborated and changed and were very different from their primitive speech as it was before the coming of Oromë. But since they were immortal or more properly said 'indefinitely longeval' many of the oldest Eldar had names devised long before, which had been unchanged except in the accommodation of their sounds to the changes observed in their language as compared with Primitive Eldarin.

This accommodation was mainly of the 'unheeded' kind: that is, personal names being used in daily speech followed the changes in that speech – though these were recognized and observed. The changes from the Quenya names of the Ñoldor to Sindarin forms when they settled in Beleriand in Middle-earth were on the other hand artificial and deliberate. They were made by the Ñoldor themselves. This was done because of the sensitiveness of the Eldar to languages and their styles. They felt it absurd and distasteful to call living persons who spoke Sindarin in daily life by names in quite a different linguistic mode.[21]

The Ñoldor of course fully understood the style and mode of Sindarin, though their learning of this difficult language was swift; but they did not necessarily understand the detail of its relation to Quenya. At first, except in the few words which the great changes in the Sindarin form of Telerin in Middle-earth had left unaltered or plainly similar, none of them understood

or were yet interested in the linguistic history. It was at this early period that the translation of most of their Quenya names took place. In consequence these translations, though fitted entirely to Sindarin in form and style, were often inaccurate: that is, they did not always precisely correspond in sense; nor were the equated elements always actually the nearest Sindarin forms of the Quenya elements – sometimes they were not historically related at all, though they were more or less similar in sound.

It was, however, certainly the contact with Sindarin and the enlargement of their experience of linguistic change (especially the much swifter and more uncontrolled shifts observable in Middle-earth) that stimulated the studies of the linguistic loremasters, and it was in Beleriand that theories concerning Primitive Eldarin and the interrelation of its known descendants were developed. In this Fëanor played little part, except in so far as his own work and theories before the Exile had laid the foundations upon which his successors built. He himself perished too early in the war against Morgoth, largely because of his recklessness, to do more than note the differences between the dialects of North Sindarin (which was the only one he had time to learn) and the Western.[22]

The learning of the loremasters was available to all who were interested; but as the hopeless war dragged on, and after its earlier and deceptive successes passed through defeats and disasters to utter ruin of the Elvish realms, fewer and fewer of the Eldar had opportunity for 'lore' of any kind. An account of the years of the Siege of Angband in chronicle form would seem to leave neither place nor time for any of the arts of peace; but the years were long, and in fact there were intervals as long as many lives of Men and secure places long defended in which the High Eldar in exile laboured to recover what they could of the beauty and wisdom of their former home. All peace and all strongholds were at last destroyed by Morgoth; but if any wonder how any lore and treasure was preserved from ruin, it may be answered: of the treasure little was preserved, and the loss of things of beauty great and small is incalculable; but the lore of the Eldar did not depend on perishable records, being stored in the vast houses of their minds.[23] When the Eldar made records in written form, even those that to us would seem voluminous, they did only summarise, as it were, for the use of others whose lore was maybe in other fields of knowledge,[24]

matters which were kept for ever undimmed in intricate detail in their minds.

Here are some of the chief names of Finwë and his descendants.

1. *Finwë* for whom no other names are recorded except his title *Ñoldóran* 'King of the Ñoldor'. His first wife was *Míriel* (first name) *Þerindë* (mother-name). The names of her kin are not recorded. Her names were not translated. His second wife was *Indis*, which means 'great or valiant woman'. No other names are recorded. She is said to have been the daughter of King Ingwë's sister.

2. The only child of Míriel was afterwards usually called *Fëanor*. His first name was *Finwë (minya)*, afterwards enlarged when his talents developed to *Kurufinwë*. His mother-name was in Quenya, as given by Míriel, *Fëanáro* 'spirit of fire'. *Fëanor* is the form nearly always used in histories and legends, but is as it stands only half Sindarized: the genuine Sindarin form was *Faenor*; the form *Fëanor* (the *ë* is only a device of transcription, not needed in the original) probably arose through scribal confusion, especially in documents written in Quenya, in which *ea* was frequent but *ae* did not normally occur.[25]

3. Finwë had four children by Indis: a daughter *Findis*, a son, a daughter *Írimë*, and a son.[26] *Findis* was made by combining the names of her parents. Little is said of her in *The Silmarillion*. She did not go into exile, but went with her mother after the slaying of Finwë and they abode among the Vanyar in grief until such time as it seemed good to Manwë to restore Finwë to life.[27] His second daughter was named *Írien*[28] and her mother-name was *Lalwendë* (laughing maiden). By this name, or in shortened form *Lalwen*, she was generally known. She went into exile with her brother Fingolfin, who was most dear to her of all her kin; but her name was not changed, since *Lalwen* fitted the style of Sindarin well enough.[29]

To his sons Finwë gave his own name as he had done to Fëanor. This maybe was done to assert their claim to be his legitimate sons, equal in that respect to his eldest child *Kurufinwë Fayanáro*, but there was no intention of arousing discord among the brothers, since nothing in the judgement of the Valar in any way impaired Fëanor's position and rights as his eldest son. Nothing indeed was ever done to impair them, except by Fëanor himself; and in spite of all that later happened his

eldest son remained nearest to Finwë's heart.

As with Fëanor, Finwë later added prefixes to their name: the elder he called *Ñolofinwë*, and the younger *Arafinwë*. *Ñolo* was the stem of words referring to wisdom,[30] and *Ara*, *ar-* a prefixed form of the stem *Ara-* 'noble'. Fëanor felt aggrieved both by the use of his father's name for his two younger brothers, and again by the prefixes that were added; for his pride was growing and clouding his reason: he thought himself not only the greatest master of *Kurwë* (which was true) but also of *Ñolmë* (which was not true, save in matters of language), and certainly the noblest of the children of Finwë (which might have proved true, if he had not become the proudest and most arrogant).

The Ñoldor in exile as a rule chose one only of their names to be given a Sindarin shape; this was the name, usually, which each preferred (for various reasons), though the ease of 'translation' and its fitting into Sindarin style was also considered.

On *Fëanor*, *Faenor* see above. *Ñolofinwë* (one of the first to be changed) was given the form *Fingolfin*, that is *Finwë Ñolofinwë* was given a Sindarin style in sounds, and combined in one name. A most unusual procedure, and not imitated in any other name.[31] It was not a translation. The element Quenya *ñolo-* was merely given its equivalent Sindarin form *gol*. *Finwë* was simply reduced to *fin* in both places; thus was produced a name very much in Sindarin style but without meaning in that language. (If *Finwë* had been treated as a word of this form would have been, had it occurred anciently in Sindarin, it would have been *Finu* – but in the Northern dialect *Fim*, as in *Curufim*.)[32] Fingolfin had prefixed the name Finwë to Ñolofinwë before the Exiles reached Middle-earth. This was in pursuance of his claim to be the chieftain of all the Ñoldor after the death of Finwë, and so enraged Fëanor[33] that it was no doubt one of the reasons for his treachery in abandoning Fingolfin and stealing away with all the ships. The prefixion in the case of Finarfin was made by Finrod only after the death of Fingolfin in single combat with Morgoth. The Ñoldor then became divided into separate kingships under Fingon son of Fingolfin, Turgon his younger brother, Maedros son of Fëanor, and Finrod son of Arfin; and the following of Finrod had become the greatest.

4. The children of Fingolfin. Fingolfin's wife *Anairë* refused to leave Aman, largely because of her friendship with Eärwen wife of Arafinwë (though she was a Ñoldo and not one of the Teleri).

But all her children went with their father: *Findekáno*, *Turukáno*, *Arakáno*, and *Írissë* his daughter and third child; she was under the protection of Turukáno who loved her dearly, and of *Elenwë* his wife.[34] Findekáno had no wife or child;[35] neither had Arakáno.

These names were probably father-names, though *Arakáno* had been the mother-name of Fingolfin. *Káno* meant in Quenya 'commander', usually as the title of a lesser chief, especially one acting as the deputy of one higher in rank.[36] The Sindarizing of these names as *Fingon* and *Turgon* shows knowledge of the sound-changes distinguishing Sindarin from Telerin, but disregards meaning. If these names had actually been ancient Sindarin names they would at the time of the coming of the Exiles have taken the forms *Fingon* and *Turgon*, but they would not have had their Quenya meanings, if interpretable at all. Possibly they would have conveyed 'Hair-shout' and 'Master-shout' [see note 36]. But this did not matter much since old Sindarin names had by that time frequently become obscured by sound-changes and were taken as names and not analysed. With regard to *Findekáno* / *Fingon* it may be noted that the first element was certainly Quenya *findë* 'hair' – a tress or plait of hair[37] (cf. *findessë* a head of hair, a person's hair as a whole), but this is not conclusive proof that the name *Finwë* was or was thought to be derived from this stem. It would have been sufficient for Fingolfin to give to his eldest son a name beginning with *fin-* as an 'echo' of the ancestral name, and if this was also specially applicable it would have been approved as a good invention. In the case of Fingon it was suitable; he wore his long dark hair in great plaits braided with gold.

Arakáno was the tallest of the brothers and the most impetuous, but his name was never changed to Sindarin form, for he perished in the first battle of Fingolfin's host with the Orks, the Battle of the Lammoth (but the Sindarin form *Argon* was often later given as a name by Ñoldor and Sindar in memory of his valour).[38]

Írissë who went ever with the people of Turgon was called *Íreth*,[39] by substitution of Sindarin *-eth* (< *-ittā*) frequent in feminine names for Quenya *-issë*. Elenwë her mother had no Sindarin name, for she never reached Beleriand. She perished in the crossing of the Ice; and Turgon was thereafter unappeasable in his enmity for Fëanor and his sons. He had himself come near to death in the bitter waters when he attempted to save her and

his daughter *Itaril*, whom the breaking of treacherous ice had cast into the cruel sea. Itaril he saved;[40] but the body of Elenwë was covered in fallen ice.

Itaril, or in longer form *Itarillë*, was the only child in the third generation from Finwë to go with the exiles, save only Arothir son of Angrod brother of Finrod.[41] Both have renown in the legends of the *Silmarillion*; but Itaril had a great destiny, for she was the mother of Ardamir Eärendil. Her name in Sindarin form was *Idril*, but this also was only an alteration of form, for neither of the Quenya stems that the name contains were found in Sindarin.[42]

5. The children of Finarfin. These were named: *Findaráto Ingoldo*; *Angaráto*; *Aikanáro*; and *Nerwendë Artanis*, surnamed *Alatáriel*. The wife of *Angaráto* was named *Eldalótë*, and his son *Artaher*. The most renowned of these were the first and the fourth (the only daughter), and only of these two are the mother-names remembered. The names of Sindarin form by which they were usually called in later song and legend were *Finrod*, *Angrod* (with wife *Eðellos* and son *Arothir*), *Aegnor*, and *Galadriel*.

The names *Findaráto* and *Angaráto* were Telerin in form (for Finarfin spoke the language of his wife's people); and they proved easy to render into Sindarin in form and sense, because of the close relationship of the Telerin of Aman to the language of their kin, the Sindar of Beleriand, in spite of the great changes that it had undergone in Middle-earth. (*Artafindë* and *Artanga* would have been their more natural Quenya forms, *arta-* the equivalent of *aráta-* preceding, as in *Artanis* and *Artaher.*)[43] The order of the elements in compounds, especially personal names, remained fairly free in all three Eldarin languages; but Quenya preferred the (older) order in which adjectival stems preceded, while in Telerin and Sindarin the adjectival elements often were placed second, especially in later-formed names, according to the usual placing of adjectives in the ordinary speech of those languages. In names however that ended in old words referring to status, rank, profession, race or kindred and so on the adjectival element still in Sindarin, following ancient models, might be placed first. Quenya *Artaher* (stem *artahēr-*) 'noble lord' was correctly Sindarized as *Arothir*.

Eðellos translated *Eldalótë* according to sense: 'Elven-flower'. *Angaráto* became naturally *Angrod*. It is probable that both brothers first received the name *Aráto*, later differentiated.

The *Find-* in *Findaráto* referred to hair, but in this case to the golden hair of this family derived from Indis. The *Ang-* in *Angaráto* was from Common Eldarin *angā* 'iron' (Quenya, Telerin *anga*, Sindarin *ang*). Angrod early developed hands of great strength and received the *epessë Angamaitë* 'iron-handed', so that *ang-* was used by Finarfin as a differentiating prefix.

Aikanáro was called by his father *Ambaráto*. The Sindarin form of this would have been *Amrod*; but to distinguish this from *Angrod*, and also because he preferred it, he used his mother-name[44] (which was however given in Quenya and not Telerin form). *Aika-nār-* meant 'fell fire'. It was in part a 'prophetic' name; for he was renowned as one of the most valiant of the warriors, greatly feared by the Orks: in wrath or battle the light of his eyes was like flame, though otherwise he was a generous and noble spirit. But in early youth the fiery light could be observed; while his hair was notable: golden like his brothers and sister, but strong and stiff, rising upon his head like flames. The Sindarin form *Aegnor* that he adopted was however not true Sindarin. There was no Sindarin adjective corresponding to Quenya *aika* 'fell, terrible, dire', though *aeg* would have been its form if it had occurred.[45]

Galadriel was chosen by Artanis ('noble woman') to be her Sindarin name; for it was the most beautiful of her names, and, though as an *epessë*, had been given to her by her lover, Teleporno of the Teleri, whom she wedded later in Beleriand.[46] As he gave it in Telerin form it was *Alatāriel(lë)*. The Quenyarized form appears as *Altariel*, though its true form would have been *Ñaltariel*. It was euphoniously and correctly rendered in Sindarin *Galadriel*. The name was derived from the Common Eldarin stem ÑAL 'shine by reflection'; **ñalatā* 'radiance, glittering reflection' (from jewels, glass or polished metals, or water) > Quenya *ñalta*, Telerin *alata*, Sindarin *galad*, + the Common Eldarin stem RIG 'twine, wreathe', **rīgā* 'wreath, garland'; Quenya, Telerin *ría*, Sindarin *rî*, Quenya, Telerin *riellë*, *-ríel* 'a maiden crowned with a festival garland'. The whole, = 'maiden crowned with a garland of bright radiance', was given in reference to Galadriel's hair. *Galad* occurs also in the *epessë* of Ereinion ('scion of kings') by which he was chiefly remembered in legend, *Gil-galad* 'star of radiance': he was the last king of the Eldar in Middle-earth, and the last male descendant of Finwë[47] except Elrond the Half-elven. The *epessë* was given to him because his helm and mail, and his shield overlaid with

silver and set with a device of white stars, shone from afar like a star in sunlight or moonlight and could be seen by Elvish eyes at a great distance if he stood upon a height.

There were other descendants of Finwë remembered in legend who may be noted here, though their names were given in Sindarin or in Quenya at later times when Sindarin was the daily language of the Ñoldor, and they do not offer the problems of translation or more formal adjustment which are presented by the Quenya names given before the Exile.

Itarildë (Idril)[48] daughter of Turgon was the mother of Eärendil; but his father was a Man of the Atani, of the House of Hador: Tuor son of Huor.[49] Eärendil was thus the second of the Pereldar (Half-elven),[50] the elder being Dior, son of Beren and Lúthien Tinúviel daughter of King Elu Thingol. His names were, however, given in Quenya; for Turgon after his foundation of the secret city of Gondolin had re-established Quenya as the daily speech of his household. Eärendil had this name as father-name, and as mother-name he was called *Ardamírë*. In this case both names were 'prophetic'. Tuor in his long journey by the west shores of Beleriand, after his escape from captivity, had been visited by the great Vala Ulmo in person, and Ulmo had directed him to seek for Gondolin, foretelling that if he found it he would there beget a son ever afterwards renowned as a mariner.[51] Improbable as this seemed to Tuor, since neither the Atani nor the Ñoldor had any love of the sea or of ships, he named his son in Quenya 'sea-lover'. More purely prophetic was the name *Ardamírë* 'Jewel of the World'; for Itarildë could not foresee in her waking mind the strange fate that brought at last the Silmaril into the possession of Eärendil, and enabled his ship to pass through all the shadows and perils by which Aman was at that time defended from any approach from Middle-earth. These names were not given Sindarin forms in legend,[52] though Sindarin writers sometimes explained that they meant *mír n'Arðon* and *Seron Aearon*. By the marriage of Eärendil to Elwing daughter of Dior son of Beren the lines of the Pereldar (Pereðil) were united. Elros and Elrond were the sons of Eärendil. Elros became the first king of Númenor (with the Quenya title *Tar-Minyatur*, 'high first-ruler'). Elrond was received into the company and life-span of the Eldar, and became esquire and banner-bearer of Ereinion Gil-galad. When in later days he wedded Celebrían, daughter of Galadriel and Celeborn, the two lines of descent from Finwë, from Fingol-

fin and Finarfin, were united and continued in Arwen their daughter.[53]

The names *Elros* and *Elrond*, the last of the descendants of Finwë born in the Elder Days, were formed to recall the name of their mother *Elwing*. The meaning of *wing* is uncertain, since it occurs in no other personal name, nor in the records of either Sindarin or Quenya. Some of the loremasters, remembering that after their return to a second life Beren and Lúthien dwelt in Ossiriand,[54] and that there Dior dwelt after the fall of Doriath among the Green Elves of that forest country, have supposed that *wing* is a word of the tongue of the Green Elves; but little was preserved of that tongue after the destruction of Beleriand, and the interpretation of *wing* as meaning 'foam, spume, spindrift' as of water blown by the wind, or falling steeply over rocks, is but a likely guess. It is supported, however, by the fact that Ossiriand was a land cloven by seven rivers (as its name signifies), and that these fell steeply and very swift from the Mountains of Ered Lindon. Beside one great waterfall, called in Sindarin *Lanthir Lamath* ('waterfall of echoing voices'), Dior had his house. Moreover the name *Elros* (in Quenya form *Elerossë*) means 'star foam', sc. starlit foam.[55]

The numbered notes to the preceding text are given on pp. 356 ff., but the following editorial notes on Gil-galad and Felagund are most conveniently placed here.

The parentage of Gil-galad

My father originally supposed that Gil-galad was the son of Felagund King of Nargothrond. This is probably first found in a revision to the text FN II of *The Fall of Númenor* (V.33); but it remained his belief until after the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*, as is seen from the major early text of the Tale of Years (p. 173), and from *Of the Rings of Power*, where in the published text (*The Silmarillion* p. 286) *Fingon* is an editorial alteration of *Felagund*. In additions of uncertain date made to the *Quenta Silmarillion* (XI.242) it is told that Felagund sent away his wife and his son Gil-galad from Nargothrond to the Havens of the Falas for their safety. It is to be noted also that in the text of the Tale of Years just referred to not only was Gil-galad the son of Felagund but Galadriel was Gil-galad's sister (and so Felagund's daughter): see pp. 174 and 185 note 10.

It emerged, however, in the *Grey Annals* of 1951 (XI.44, §108) that Felagund had no wife, for the Vanya Amárië whom he loved had not been permitted to leave Aman.

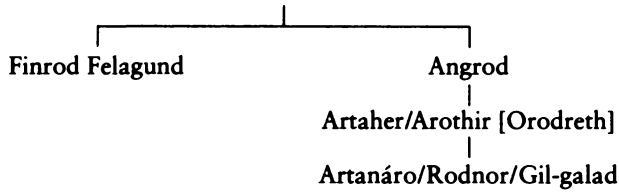
Here something must be said of Orodreth, son of Finarfin and

brother of Felagund, who became the second King of Nargothrond (for intimations of the decline in importance of Orodreth in earlier phases of the *legendarium* see III.91, 246, V.239; also *Unfinished Tales* p. 255 note 20). In the genealogical tables of the descendants of Finwë, which can be dated to 1959 but which my father was still using and altering when he wrote the excursus to *The Shibboleth of Fëanor* (see note 26), the curious history of Orodreth can be traced. Put as concisely as possible, Finrod (Felagund) was first given a son named *Artanáro Rhodothir* (so contradicting the story in the *Grey Annals* that he had no wife) the second King of Nargothrond, and father of Finduilas. Thus 'Orodreth' was now moved down a generation, becoming Finrod's son rather than his brother. In the next stage my father (recalling, apparently, the story in the *Grey Annals*) noted that Finrod 'had no child (he left his wife in Aman)', and moved Artanáro Rhodothir to become, still in the same generation, the son of Finrod's brother Angrod (who with Aegnor held the heights of Dorthonion and was slain in the Battle of Sudden Flame).

The name of Angrod's son (still retaining the identity of 'Orodreth') was then changed from *Artanáro* to *Artaresto*. In an isolated note found with the genealogies, scribbled at great speed but nonetheless dated, August 1965, my father suggested that the best solution to the problem of Gil-galad's parentage was to find him in 'the son of Orodreth', who is here given the Quenya name of *Artaresto*, and continued:

> Finrod left his wife in Valinor and had no children in exile. Angrod's son was Artaresto, who was beloved by Finrod and escaped when Angrod was slain, and dwelt with Finrod. Finrod made him his 'steward' and he succeeded him in Nargothrond. His Sindarin name was *Rodreth* (altered to *Orodreth* because of his love of the mountains .. .. His children were Finduilas and Artanáro = Rodnor later called Gil-galad. (Their mother was a Sindarin lady of the North. She called her son Gil-galad.) Rodnor Gil-galad escaped and eventually came to Sirion's Mouth and was King of the Ñoldor there.

The words that I cannot read contain apparently a preposition and a proper name, and this latter could be *Faroth* (the High Faroth west of the river Narog). – In the last of the genealogical tables *Artanáro (Rodnor) called Gil-galad* appears, with the note that 'he escaped and dwelt at Sirion's Mouth'. The only further change was the rejection of the name *Artaresto* and its replacement by *Artaher*, Sindarin *Arothir*; and thus in the excursus (note 23) Arothir [Orodreth] is named as Finrod's 'kinsman and steward', and (note 47) Gil-galad is 'the son of Arothir, nephew of Finrod'. The final genealogy was:



Since Finduilas remained without correction in the last of the genealogies as the daughter of Arothir, she became the sister of Gil-galad.

There can be no doubt that this was my father's last word on the subject; but nothing of this late and radically altered conception ever touched the existing narratives, and it was obviously impossible to introduce it into the published *Silmarillion*. It would nonetheless have been very much better to have left Gil-galad's parentage obscure.

I should mention also that in the published text of *Aldarion and Erendis* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 199) the letter of Gil-galad to Tar-Meneldur opens 'Ereinion Gil-galad son of Fingon', but the original has 'Finellach Gil-galad of the House of Finarfin' (where *Finellach* was changed from *Finhenlach*, and that from *Finlachen*). For the name *Ereinion* see p. 347 and note 47. So also in the text of *A Description of the Island of Númenor* (*Unfinished Tales* p. 168) I printed 'King Gil-galad of Lindon' where the original has 'King Finellach Gil-galad of Lindon'; I retained however the words 'his kinswoman Galadriel', since Fingon and Galadriel were first cousins. There is no trace among the many notes and suggestions written onto the genealogical tables of a proposed descent of Gil-galad from Finarfin; but in any case *Aldarion and Erendis* and the closely related *Description of Númenor* preceded by some time (I would now be inclined to date them to about 1960) the making of Gil-galad into the grandson of Angrod, with the name Artanáro Rodnor, which first appears as a new decision in the note of August 1965 given above. Much closer analysis of the admittedly extremely complex material than I had made twenty years ago makes it clear that Gil-galad as the son of Fingon (see XI.56, 243) was an ephemeral idea.

The Dwarvish origin of the name Felagund

Among the notes accompanying the Elvish genealogies and dated December 1959 (see note 26) the following should be recorded. I have mentioned (XI.179) that against the name *Felagund* in the chapter *Of the Siege of Angband* in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (where it was said that 'the Gnomes of the North, at first in jest, called him ... Felagund, or "lord of caverns" ') my father noted on the late typescript: 'This was in fact a Dwarfish name; for Nargothrond was first made by Dwarves as is later recounted.' The statement in the 1959 notes is as follows:

The name *Felagund* was of Dwarvish origin. Finrod had help of Dwarves in extending the underground fortress of Nargothrond. It is supposed originally to have been a hall of the Petty-dwarves (*Nibinnogs*), but the Great Dwarves despised these, and had no compunction in ousting them – hence Mîm's special hatred for the Elves – especially for great reward. Finrod had brought more treasure out of Túna than any of the other princes.

Felagund: Dwarvish √*felek* hew rock, *felak* a tool like a broad-bladed chisel, or small axe-head without haft, for cutting stone; to use this tool. √*gunud* equivalent of Eldarin *s-rot*:[56] *gundu* underground hall. *felakgundu, felaggundu* 'cave-hewer'. This name was given because of Finrod's skill in lighter stone-carving. He cut many of the adornments of the pillars and walls in Nargothrond. He was proud of the name. But it was often by others Eldarized into *Felagon*, as if it had the same ending (**-kānō*) as in *Fingon, Turgon*; and the first element was associated with Sindarin *fael* 'fair-minded, just, generous', Quenya *faila* (? from √*phaya* 'spirit', adjectival formation meaning 'having a good *fëa*, or a dominant *fëa*').

This note is the basis of the brief statement in the index to the published *Silmarillion*, entry *Felagund*.

The names of the Sons of Fëanor with the legend of the fate of Amrod

My father did not fulfil his intention to give in the 'excursus' an account of the names of the Sons of Fëanor (see note 32), but some pages of initial drafting are extant. The text begins legibly in ink, but at the end of the list of 'mother-names' changes to ball-point pen, and the legend of Amrod and Amras would be too illegible to reproduce had not my father gone over it and glossed the worst parts more clearly. There are many experimental etymological notes on the Eldarin words referring to red colour and copper, and on the names of the twin brothers, which are here omitted. In the first list I have added the Sindarin names for clarity.

(1) [Maedros] *Nelyafinwë* 'Finwë third' in succession.[57] *(Nelyo)*

(2) [Maglor] *Kanafinwë* 'strong-voiced or ?commanding'. *(Káno)*[58]

(3) [Celegorm] *Turkafinwë* 'strong, powerful (in body)'. *(Turko)*

(4) [Curufin] *Kurufinwë* Fëanor's own name; given to this, his favourite son, because he alone showed in some degree the same temper and talents. He also resembled Fëanor very much in face. *(Kurvo)*

(5) [Caranthir] *Morifinwë* 'dark' – he was black-haired as his grandfather. *(Moryo)*
(6) [Amrod] *Pityafinwë* 'Little Finwë'. *(Pityo)*[59]
(7) [Amras] *Telufinwë* 'Last Finwë'. *(Telvo)*[60]

Their 'mother-names' are recorded (though never used in narrative) as:

(1) *Maitimo* 'well-shaped one': he was of beautiful bodily form. But he, and the youngest, inherited the rare red-brown hair of Nerdanel's kin. Her father had the *epessë* of *rusco* 'fox'. So Maitimo had as an *epessë* given by his brothers and other kin *Russandol* 'copper-top'.[61]
(2) *Makalaurë* Of uncertain meaning. Usually interpreted (and said to have been a 'prophetic' mother-name) as 'forging gold'. If so, probably a poetic reference to his skill in harping, the sound of which was 'golden' (*laurë* was a word for golden light or colour, never used for the metal).
(3) *Tyelkormo* 'hasty-riser'. Quenya *tyelka* 'hasty'. Possibly in reference to his quick temper, and his habit of leaping up when suddenly angered.
(4) *Atarinkë* 'little father' – referring to his physical likeness to Fëanor, later found to be also seen in his mind.
(5) *Carnistir* 'red-face' – he was dark (brown) haired, but had the ruddy complexion of his mother.
(6) *Ambarto*[62]
(7) *Ambarussa*

These two names of [the] twins *(i·Wenyn)* were evidently meant to begin similarly. *Ambarussa* 'top-russet' must have referred to hair: the first and last of Nerdanel's children had the reddish hair of her kin. Around the name Ambarto [> Umbarto] – which one might expect to begin with an element of the same sense as (7) – much legend and discussion gathered. The most authentic seems to be thus:

The two twins were both red-haired. Nerdanel gave them both the name *Ambarussa* – for they were much alike and remained so while they lived. When Fëanor begged that their names should at least be different Nerdanel looked strange, and after a while said: 'Then let one be called [*Ambarto* >] *Umbarto*, but which, time will decide.'

Fëanor was disturbed by this ominous name ('Fated'), and changed it to *Ambarto* – or in some versions thought

Nerdanel had said *Ambarto*, using the same first element as in *Ambarussa* (sc. *amba* + Quenya *arta* 'exalted, lofty'). But Nerdanel said: '*Umbarto* I spoke; yet do as you wish. It will make no difference.'

Later, as Fëanor became more and more fell and violent, and rebelled against the Valar, Nerdanel, after long endeavouring to change his mood, became estranged. (Her kin were devoted to Aulë, who counselled her father to take no part in the rebellion. 'It will in the end only lead Fëanor and all your children to death.') She retired to her father's house; but when it became clear that Fëanor and his sons would leave Valinor for ever, she came to him before the host started on its northward march, and begged that Fëanor should leave her the two youngest, the twins, or one at least of them. He replied: 'Were you a true wife, as you had been till cozened by Aulë, you would keep all of them, for you would come with us. If you desert me, you desert also all of our children. For they are determined to go with their father.' Then Nerdanel was angry and she answered: 'You will not keep all of them. One at least will never set foot on Middle-earth.' 'Take your evil omens to the Valar who will delight in them,' said Fëanor. 'I defy them'. So they parted.

Now it is told how Fëanor stole the ships of the Teleri, and breaking faith with Fingolfin and with those faithful to him sailed away in them to Middle-earth, leaving the rest of his host to make their way on foot with great travail and loss. The ships were anchored off the shore, in the Firth of Drengist, and all the host of Fëanor went on land and camped there.

In the night Fëanor, filled with malice, aroused Curufin, and with him and a few of those most close to Fëanor in obedience he went to the ships and set them all aflame; and the dark sky was red as with a terrible dawn. All the camp was roused, and Fëanor returning said: 'Now at least I am certain that no faint-heart or traitor among you will be able to take back even one ship to the succour of Fingolfin and his folk.' But all save few were dismayed, because there were many things still aboard that they had not yet brought ashore, and the ships would have been useful for further journeying. They were still far north and had purposed to sail southward to some better haven.

In the morning the host was mustered, but of Fëanor's seven sons only six were to be found. Then Ambarussa (6) went pale with fear. 'Did you not then rouse Ambarussa my brother (whom you called Ambarto)?' he said. 'He would not come

ashore to sleep (he said) in discomfort.' But it is thought (and no doubt Fëanor guessed this also) that it was in the mind of Ambarto to sail his ship back [?afterwards] and rejoin Nerdanel; for he had been much [?shocked][63] by the deed of his father.[64]

'That ship I destroyed first,' said Fëanor (hiding his own dismay). 'Then rightly you gave the name to the youngest of your children,' said Ambarussa, 'and *Umbarto* "the Fated" was its true form. Fell and fey are you become.' And after that no one dared speak again to Fëanor of this matter.[65]

For the mention, in a note on the typescript of the *Annals of Aman*, of the story of the death of one of the twin-brothers in the burning of the ships at Losgar see X.128, §162; and for the account of Nerdanel and her estrangement from Fëanor in late rewriting of the *Quenta Silmarillion* see X.272–3, 279.

The material concerning the names of the twin brothers is confused and confusing, clearly because it was only as my father worked on them that the strange and sinister story emerged. It seems to me very probable that when he gave the mother-names *(6) Ambarto* and *(7) Ambarussa* it had not yet arisen, nor yet when he began the note that follows the list of the mother-names, saying that 'the first and last of Nerdanel's children had the reddish hair of her kin' – that is Maedros with his nickname *Russandol* and the younger of the twins *Ambarussa* (Amras).

The story first emerged, I think, with the words 'The most authentic seems to be thus: The two twins were both red-haired. Nerdanel gave them both the name *Ambarussa* ...' It was then, no doubt, that my father changed the name *Ambarto* to *Umbarto* in the list and reversed the names of the twin brothers (see note 62), so that *Ambarussa* becomes the elder of the two and *Ambarto/Umbarto* the youngest of Fëanor's children, as he is in the legend told here.

At the head of the first page of this text concerning the names of the Sons of Fëanor my father wrote, when the story was now in being:

> All the sons save Curufin preferred their mother-names and were ever afterwards remembered by them. The twins called each other *Ambarussa*. The name *Ambarto/Umbarto* was used by [?no one]. The twins remained alike, but the elder grew darker in hair, and was more dear to his father. After childhood they [?were not to be] confused. ...

Thus in the legend 'Ambarussa (6)' asked Fëanor whether he had not roused 'Ambarussa my brother' before setting fire to the ships.

NOTES

1 [This heading is derived from the opening sentence of the essay, which is in fact 'The case of *þ* > *s* is more difficult.' I have not been able to discover the reference of this. The typescript is extant as a separate whole, paginated consecutively from A to T.]

2 Few of these can have been carried from Valinor, and fewer still can have survived the journey to Middle-earth; but the memory of the loremasters was prodigious and accurate.

3 [The term *Ingwi* seems not to have been used since the *Lhammas* of the 1930s, where '*Ingwelindar* or *Ingwi*' appears as the name of the house and people of Ingwë, chief among the First Kindred of the Elves (then called the *Lindar*), V.171. For the much later application of the term *Lindar* see XI.381–2.]

4 Without special study. But many of the Ñoldor could speak Telerin and *vice versa*. There were in fact some borrowings from one to another; of which the most notable was the general use of the Telerin form *telpë* 'silver' for pure Quenya *tyelpë*. [For the substitution of *telpë* see *Unfinished Tales* p. 266.]

5 They continued to deplore it, and were able to insist later that the distinction between older *þ* and *s* should at least always be preserved in writing.

6 [See the Note on Mother-names at the end of the essay, p. 339. It is not stated elsewhere that *Serindë* was Míriel's 'mother-name'.]

7 [It had been said several times in the later *Quenta Silmarillion* texts that *Fëanáro* was a 'name of insight' given to him by Míriel at his birth; moreover in the story of Míriel when it first appeared her spirit passed to Mandos soon after Fëanor was born, and it is expressly said in *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* that he never saw his mother (X.217). The story has now been altogether changed in this aspect: Míriel named him with this name 'in recognition of his impetuous character'; 'while she lived she did much with gentle counsel to soften and restrain him'; and subsequently 'her weariness she had endured until he was full grown, but she could endure it no longer'. After Míriel's 'death' or departure 'for a while he also had kept vigil by his mother's body, but soon he became wholly absorbed again in his own works and devices' (p. 335).]

8 [A full account of other texts bearing on this matter is given in X.205–7, 225–7, 233–71. These texts are substantially earlier than the present essay (see X.300), which is by no means entirely congruent with them.]

9 [Elsewhere *Ezellohar* is the name not of the plain but of the Green Mound on which grew the Two Trees (X.69, etc.); while in *Quendi and Eldar* (XI.399, 401) *Korollairë* is said to be a translation of the Valarin name *Ezellohar*, of which the first element

ezel, ezella meant 'green'. But perhaps by 'the plain of Ezellohar' my father meant 'the plain in which stood the mound of Ezellohar'.]

10 Doubting that the test of a few years could show that the will of any one of the Children was fixed immovably; and foreboding that breaking the law would have evil consequences.

11 Death by free will, such as Míriel's, was beyond his thought. Death by violence he thought impossible in Aman; though as is recorded in *The Silmarillion* this proved otherwise.

12 [With a necessary change in the opening sentence, the following passage, as far as 'and passing the last test departed from Middle-earth for ever' on p. 338, was printed in *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 229–31 – since it is of great importance in the history of Galadriel – but with no indication of its context: it seems desirable therefore to give it again here.]

13 [Elwë's name *Þindikollo* (elsewhere *Sindikollo, Sindicollo*) was omitted from the text in *Unfinished Tales*.]

14 Who together with the greatest of all the Eldar, Lúthien Tinúviel, daughter of Elu Thingol, are the chief matter of the legends and histories of the Elves.

15 It is not even certain that all Fëanor's sons continued to use *þ* after his death and the healing of the feud by the renowned deed of Fingon son of Fingolfin in rescuing Maedhros [> Maedros] from the torments of Morgoth.

16 [The wholly different account of 'Chosen Names' in *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* (X.214–15) appears to have been abandoned.]

17 As is seen in *The Silmarillion*. This is not an Eldarin title or work. It is a compilation, probably made in Númenor, which includes (in prose) the four great tales or lays of the heroes of the Atani, of which 'The Children of Húrin' was probably composed already in Beleriand in the First Age, but necessarily is preceded by an account of Fëanor and his making of the Silmarils. All however are 'Mannish' works. [With this cf. X.373 and p. 390, note 17 in this book.]

18 Notably in *Manwë*, the Quenya name of the 'Elder King', the chief of the Valar. This is said to have been of the same age as the names *Ingwë*, etc., and to contain the Valarin element *aman, man* 'blessed, holy' learned from Oromë, and of course unconnected with the Eldarin interrogative element *ma, man*. [See XI.399.]

19 He had black hair, but brilliant grey-blue eyes.

20 Connexion with Telerin *vola* 'a roller, long wave', which was sometimes made by the Teleri themselves, was not a serious 'etymology' but a kind of pun; for the king's name was not normally *Volwë* (Common Eldarin **wolwē*) but Olwë in Telerin as in Quenya, and *w* was not lost before *o* in Telerin as it was

in Quenya. Also the connexion of the Teleri with sea-faring developed long after the naming of Olwë.

21 It was otherwise in written histories (which were by the Ñoldor in any case mostly composed in Quenya). Also the names of 'foreign persons' who did not dwell in Beleriand and were seldom mentioned in daily speech were usually left unaltered. Thus the names of the Valar which they had devised in Valinor were not as a rule changed, whether they fitted Sindarin style or not. The Sindar knew little of the Valar and had no names for any of them, save Oromë (whom all the Eldar had seen and known); and Manwë and Varda of whose eminence they had been instructed by Oromë; and the Great Enemy whom the Ñoldor called Melkor. For Oromë a name had been made in Primitive Eldarin (recalling the sound of his great horn) of which *Oromë* was the Quenya form, though in Sindarin it had become *Araw*, and by the Sindar he was later more often called *(Aran) Tauron* 'the (king) forester'. Manwë and Varda they knew only by the names 'Elder King' and 'Star-queen': *Aran Einior* and *Elbereth*. Melkor they called *Morgoth* 'the Black Enemy', refusing to use the Sindarin form of *Melkor*: *Belegûr* 'he that arises in might', save (but rarely) in a deliberately altered form *Belegurth* 'Great Death'. These names *Tauron*, *Aran Einior*, *Elbereth*, and *Morgoth* the Ñoldor adopted and used when speaking Sindarin.

[For the association of the name *Oromë* with that of his great horn see XI.400–1. – The names *Belegûr*, *Belegurth* have been mentioned in the index to the published *Silmarillion*, which here derives from the present note. Very many years before, the name *Belegor* is found as an ephemeral name of Morgoth in *The Lay of the Children of Húrin* (III.21, note 22).]

22 His sons were too occupied in war and feuds to pay attention to such matters, save Maglor who was a poet, and Curufin, his fourth and favourite son to whom he gave his own name; but Curufin was most interested in the alien language of the Dwarves, being the only one of the Ñoldor to win their friendship. It was from him that the loremasters obtained such knowledge as they could of the Khuzdûl.

23 Nor were the 'loremasters' a separate guild of gentle scribes, soon burned by the Orks of Angband upon pyres of books. They were mostly even as Fëanor, the greatest, kings, princes and warriors, such as the valiant captains of Gondolin, or Finrod of Nargothrond and Rodothir [> Arothir] his kinsman and steward. [For Arothir see the note on the parentage of Gil-galad, pp. 349–51.]

24 And as some insurance against their own death. For books were made only in strong places at a time when death in battle was likely to befall any of the Eldar, but it was not yet believed that

Morgoth could ever capture or destroy their fortresses.

25 [In an addition to the *Annals of Aman* Fëanor's first name is given as 'Minyon First-begotten' (X.87); in *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* his first name was *Finwë*, in the second version *Finwion* (X.217 and note 20). For previous references to *Kurufinwë* see the index to Vol.X (*Curufinwë*); and with the mention here of the form *Faenor* cf. X.217, footnote.]

26 [In *The War of the Jewels* I referred to a set of Elvish genealogies with a clear resemblance to those of the Edain given in that book: see XI.229, where I noted that the former are followed by notes expressly relating to them and dated December 1959. These genealogies are almost exclusively concerned with the descendants of Finwë, and are set out in four separate tables, all apparently belonging to much the same time, and showing the same sort of development in stages as is seen in those of the houses of the Edain. At least eight years and probably more divide them from the present 'excursus', whose date is fixed as not earlier than February 1968; but my father clearly had them in front of him when he wrote this, and alterations made to the latest of the four agree with statements made in it. In all these tables there are still three daughters of Finwë and Indis: *Findis*, *Faniel*, and *Írimë* (see X.207, 238, and also X.262, where *Finvain* appears for *Írimë*), and no correction was made. In the excursus *Faniel* has disappeared, and the younger daughter appears both as *Írimë* and *Írien* (see note 28).]

27 If he ever did so. Little has been ever heard in Middle-earth of Aman after the departure of the Ñoldor. Those who returned thither have never come back, since the change of the world. To Númenor in its first days they went often, but small part of the lore and histories of Númenor survived its Downfall. [With the words in the text at this point concerning Indis cf. *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* (X.249 and note 17), where Finwë in Mandos said to Vairë: 'But Indis parted from me without death. I had not seen her for many years, and when the Marrer smote me I was alone. ... Little comfort should I bring her, if I returned.']

28 [It is strange that my father should give the name of the second daughter of Finwë as both *Írimë* and *Írien* within the space of a few lines. Possibly he intended *Írien* at the first occurrence but inadvertently wrote *Írimë*, the name found in all the genealogies (note 26).]

29 But the true equivalent in Sindarin was *Glaðwen* (Common Eldarin stem *g-lada-* > Quenya *lala-*, Telerin *glada*, Sindarin *glað-*).

30 'Wisdom' – but not in the sense 'sagacity, sound judgement (founded on experience and sufficient knowledge)'; 'Knowledge'

would be nearer, or 'Philosophy' in its older applications which included Science. *Ñolmë* was thus distinct from *Kurwë* 'technical skill and invention', though not necessarily practised by distinct persons. The stem appeared in Quenya (in which it was most used) in forms developed from Common Eldarin *ñgol-*, *ñgōlo-*, with or without syllabic *ñ*: as in **Ñgolodō* > Quenya *Ñoldo* (Telerin *golodo*, Sindarin *goloð*) – the Ñoldor had been from the earliest times most eminent in and concerned with this kind of 'wisdom'; *ñolmë* a department of wisdom (science etc.); *Ingolë (ñgōlē)* Science/Philosophy as a whole; *ñolmo* a wise person; *ingólemo* one with very great knowledge, a 'wizard'. This last word was however archaic and applied only to great sages of the Eldar in Valinor (such as Rúmil). The wizards of the Third Age – emissaries from the Valar – were called *Istari* 'those who know'.

The form *Ingoldo* may be noted: it is a form of *Ñoldo* with syllabic *ñ*, and being in full and more dignified form is more or less equivalent to '*the* Ñoldo, one eminent in the kindred'. It was the mother-name of Arafinwë [Finarfin], and like the name *Arakáno* 'high chieftain' that Indis gave to Nolofinwë [Fingolfin] was held to be 'prophetic'. Eärwen gave this name [Ingoldo] to her eldest child Artafindë (Finrod), and by it he was usually called by his brothers and sister who esteemed him and loved him. It was never Sindarized (the form would have been *Angoloð*). The name spread from his kin to many others who held him in honour, especially to Men (the Atani) of whom he was the greatest friend among the Eldar. Thus later it became frequent as a given name in Númenor, and continued to be so in Gondor, though reduced in the Common Speech to *Ingold*. One such Ingold appears in *The Lord of the Rings* as the commander of the guard of the North Gate into the Pelennor of Gondor.

[In earlier texts (see X.265 note 10) the name *Ingoldo* was the mother-name of Ñolofinwë (Fingolfin), 'signifying that he came of both the kin of the Ingar and of the Ñoldor'; while the mother-name of Arafinwë (Finarfin) was *Ingalaurë* 'for he had the golden hair of his mother's people'. Apart from the first one, the genealogical tables give Fingolfin and Finarfin the mother-names *Arakáno* and *Ingoldo* as here.]

31 Except for *Finarfin* as the name of his younger brother. This was also the only name of a Ñoldo who did not come into exile to receive a Sindarin form. This was because Arafinwë's children had a special position among the exiles, especially in relation to King Thingol of Doriath, their kinsman, and were often referred to collectively by the Sindar as 'the children of Finarfin' or the *Nothrim* [> *Nost*] *Finarfin*, 'the house/family of Finarfin'.

32 [In the text at this point there is a reference forward to discussion of the names of the Sons of Fëanor, but this was not reached

in the typescript before it was abandoned; see pp. 352 ff.]

33 As he said with some justice: 'My brother's claim rests only upon a decree of the Valar; but of what force is that for those who have rejected them and seek to escape from their prison-land?' But Fingolfin answered: 'I have not rejected the Valar, nor their authority in all matters where it is just for them to use it. But if the Eldar were given free choice to leave Middle-earth and go to Aman, and accepted it because of the loveliness and bliss of that land, their free choice to leave it and return to Middle-earth, when it has become dark and desecrated, cannot be taken away. Moreover I have an errand in Middle-earth, the avenging of the blood of my father upon Morgoth, whom the Valar let loose among us. Fëanor seeks first his stolen treasures.'

[It is said in the text at this point that Fingolfin claimed to be 'the chieftain of all the Ñoldor after the death of Finwë', and the same was said in the essay proper (p. 336). All the texts agree that after the banishment of Fëanor from Tirion, and the departure of Finwë with him to Formenos, Fingolfin ruled the Ñoldor in Tirion; and it was said in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (see IV.95, V.235) that afterwards, when the Flight of the Ñoldor began, those of Tirion 'would not now renounce the kingship of Fingolfin'. On the other hand, in the final story of the events leading to the Flight, when Fëanor and Fingolfin had become half-brothers, they were reconciled 'in word' before the throne of Manwë at the fateful festival; and in that reconciliation Fingolfin said to Fëanor: 'Thou shalt lead and I will follow' (see X.197, 287).]

34 [On *Anairë* wife of Fingolfin and *Elenwë* wife of Turgon see XI.323, §12; and on *Arakáno*, Sindarin *Argon*, see note 38.]

35 [In all the genealogical tables Fingon's Quenya name is *Finicáno* except in the last, in which it is *Findicáno* (altered to *Findecáno*). In all the tables he is marked as having a wife, though she is not named; in the first, two children are named, *Ernis* and *Finbor*, *Ernis* subsequently becoming *Erien*, but in the final table they were struck out, with the note that Fingon 'had no child or wife'.]

36 It was a derivative of Common Eldarin KAN 'cry, call aloud', which developed divergent meanings (like 'call' in English or the Germanic stem *hait-*) depending on the purposes for which a loud voice would be used: e.g. to take an oath, make a vow or promise; to announce important news, or messages and orders; to issue orders and commands in person; to 'call for' – to name a thing or person desired, to summons; to call a person by name, to name. Not all of these were found in any one of the later languages (Quenya, Telerin, Sindarin). In Quenya the sense *command* had become the usual one: to issue orders in person, whether by

derived authority or one's own; when applied to things it meant *demand*. In archaic language the older and simplest agental form **kānō* > *káno* still had the sense 'crier, or herald', and *kanwa* 'an announcement' as well as 'an order' – later *terkáno* (one *through* whom orders or announcements are made) was used for 'herald'. In Telerin *cāno* meant 'herald', and the verb *can-* was mostly used in the sense 'cry aloud, call', but also 'to summons or name a person'. In Sindarin *can-* was used for 'cry out, shout, call', with implications supplied by the context; it never meant either 'order' or 'name'; *caun* (**kānā*) meant 'outcry, clamour', often in plural form *conath* when referring to many voices, and often applied to lamentation (though not as English 'cry' to weeping tears): cf. *naergon* 'woeful lament'.

37 Common Eldarin **phini-* a single hair, **phindē* a tress; Sindarin *fîn*; *find*, *finn-*.

38 When the onset of the Orks caught the host at unawares as they marched southwards and the ranks of the Eldar were giving way, he sprang forward and hewed a path through the foes, daunted by his stature and the terrible light of his eyes, till he came to the Ork-captain and felled him. Then though he himself was surrounded and slain, the Orks were dismayed, and the Ñoldor pursued them with slaughter.

[The third son of Fingolfin, Arakáno (Argon), emerged in the course of the making of the genealogies. A pencilled note on the last of the four tables says that he fell in the fighting at Alqualondë; this was struck out, and my father noted that a preferable story was that he perished in the Ice. It is curious that this third son, of whom there had never before been any mention, entered (as it seems) without a story, and the manner of his death was twice changed before the remarkable appearance here of 'the first battle of Fingolfin's host with the Orks, the Battle of the Lammoth', in which he fell. In the account in the *Grey Annals* (XI.30) Fingolfin, after the passage of the Helkaraxë, 'marched from the North unopposed through the fastness of the realm of Morgoth, and he passed over Dor-Daedeloth, and his foes hid beneath the earth'; whereas in the present note his host was attacked in Lammoth 'at unawares as they marched southwards' (see the map, XI.182).]

39 [All the genealogical tables give the name of Fingolfin's daughter as *Írissë (Írith)*; in the last of them *Írith* was changed to *Íreth*, the form found here, but later still both names were struck out and replaced by *(Ar)Feiniel* 'White Lady' (on this see XI.317–18, and 409 with note 34).

There is a strange confusion in this paragraph. Above, my father said that Írissë was 'under the protection of' Turukáno (Turgon) her brother and his wife Elenwë; but here Írissë is the

daughter of Elenwë who perished in the Ice. This cannot be rectified by the substitution of the correct name (*Anairë* for *Elenwë*, or *Itaril* for *Írissë*, *Íreth*), because he was expressly writing of Elenwë and expressly writing of Írissë.]

40 [Turgon's saving of his daughter Idril Celebrindal from death in the Helkaraxë has not been referred to before.]

41 [Arothir has been named earlier (note 23) as the 'kinsman and steward' of Finrod; see also note 47.]

42 (1) *it* in *itila* 'twinkling, glinting', and *íta* 'a flash', *ita-* verb 'to sparkle'. (2) *ril-* 'brilliant light': cf. *silmaril(lë)*, the name given by Fëanor to his three Jewels. The first was especially applied to the bright lights of the eyes, which were a mark of all the High Eldar who had ever dwelt in Valinor, and at times in later ages reappeared in their descendants among mortal men, whether from Itaril or Lúthien.

43 **arat-* was an extended form of the stem *ara-* 'noble'. The derivative *arātā* was much used as an adjective in Telerin and Sindarin (Telerin *arāta*, Sindarin *arod*). In Quenya it had become specialized, and mainly used in *Aratar* 'the Exalted', the Nine of the chief Valar. It was however still used in noble names.

44 [On p. 346 my father said that of the children of Finarfin the mother-names were remembered only in the cases of Finrod (*Ingoldo*) and Galadriel (*Nerwendë*); he omitted to mention *Aikanáro*.]

45 Quenya *aika* was derived from a Common Eldarin stem GAYA 'awe, dread'; but the adjectival form **gayakā* from which *aika* descended was not preserved in Telerin or Sindarin. Other derivatives were **gāyā* 'terror, great fear': Telerin *gāia*, Sindarin *goe*, Quenya *áya*. Adjectives formed on this, Telerin *gāialā*, Sindarin *goeol*, replaced Quenya *aika*. In a name of this sort in Sindarin the noun would most naturally have been used, producing *goenaur* > *Goenor*. Also **Gayar-* 'the Terrifier', the name made for the Sea, the vast and terrifying Great Sea of the West, when the Eldar first came to its shores: Quenya *Eär*, *Eären*, Telerin *gaiar*; Sindarin *gaear*, *gae(a)ron*, *Belegaer*. This word is also found in the Quenya name *Eärendil*, the mariner (sea-lover); see p. 348.

The stem acquired in Quenya a specially high and noble sense – except in *eär*, though that was also majestic in its vastness and power; and *aika*, though that was seldom applied to evil things. Thus Quenya *áya* meant rather 'awe' than 'fear', profound reverence and sense of one's own littleness in the presence of things or persons majestic and powerful. The adjective *aira* was the nearest equivalent to 'holy'; and the noun *airë* to 'sanctity'. *Airë* was used by the Eldar as a title of address to the Valar and the greater Máyar. Varda would be addressed as *Airë Tári*. (Cf. Galadriel's Lament, where it is said that the stars trembled at

the sound of the holy queen's voice: the prose or normal form of which would have been *tintilar lirinen ómaryo Airë-tário*.) This change, though possible to have occurred (as it has in our 'awe') without extraneous influence, was said by the loremasters to have been partly due to the influence of the Valarin language, in which *ayanu-* was the name of the Spirits of Eru's first creation. [With the last sentence of this note cf. XI.399.]

46 [On the remarkable change whereby Celeborn (Teleporno) became a Telerin Elf of Aman see *Unfinished Tales* pp. 231–3, where the present passage is cited. The etymology of *Galadriel* that follows in the text was used for the account of the name in the Appendix to *The Silmarillion*, entry *kal-*.]

47 He was the son of Arothir, nephew of Finrod. [See the note on the parentage of Gil-galad, pp. 349 ff. – From this work was derived Gil-galad's name *Ereinion* introduced into *The Silmarillion*.]

48 [Earlier (p. 346) the name is *Itarillë*; *Itarildë* appears in the first three genealogical tables, but the fourth has *Itarillë*.]

49 These names were given in the language of that kindred of the Atani (Edain) – but adapted to Sindarin – from which in the main the Adûnaic or native Atanic language of Númenor was descended. Their explanation is not here attempted.

50 [The term *Pereldar* 'Half-eldar' was originally used of the Nandor or Danas (see V.200, 215), but it is here used as is the Sindarin form *Peredhil* in Appendix A (I, i) of Elrond and Elros; cf. *i·Pheredhil* p. 256, *Pereðil* p. 348.]

51 [In the account of Ulmo's words to Tuor on the coast at Vinyamar in the later *Tale of Tuor* the Vala did indeed allude prophetically to Eärendil, but in a manner far more veiled and mysterious: 'But it is not for thy valour only that I send thee, but to bring into the world a hope beyond thy sight, and a light that shall pierce the darkness' (*Unfinished Tales* p. 30).]

52 Forms affected by Sindarin in manuscripts, such as *Aerendil*, *Aerennel*, etc. were casual and accidental.

53 When Aragorn, descended in long line from Elros, wedded Arwen in the third union of Men and Elves, the lines of all the Three Kings of the High Elves (Eldar), Ingwë, Finwë, and Olwë and Elwë were united and alone preserved in Middle-earth. Since Lúthien was the noblest, and the most fair and beautiful, of all the Children of Eru remembered in ancient story, the descendants of that union were called 'the children of Lúthien'. The world has grown old in long years since then, but it may be that their line has not yet ended. (Lúthien was through her mother, Melian, descended also from the Máyar, the people of the Valar, whose being began before the world was made. Melian alone of all those spirits assumed a bodily form, not only as a raiment but as a permanent habitation in form and powers like to the bodies of

the Elves. This she did for love of Elwë; and it was permitted, no doubt because this union had already been foreseen in the beginning of things, and was woven into the *Amarth* of the world, when Eru first conceived the being of his children, Elves and Men, as is told (after the manner and according to the understanding of his children) in that myth that is named The Music of the Ainur.)

[As is said in the text at this point Arwen was descended from Finwë both in the line of Fingolfin (through Elrond) and in the line of Finarfin (through Celebrían); but she was also descended from Elwë (Thingol) through Elrond's mother Elwing, and through Galadriel's mother Eärwen from Olwë of Alqualondë. She was not directly descended from Ingwë, but her fore-mother Indis was (in earlier texts) the sister of Ingwë (X.261–2, etc.), or (in the present work, p. 343) the daughter of his sister. It is hard to know what my father had in mind when he wrote the opening of this note.]

54 Until they died the death of mortal Men, according to the decree of the Valar, and left this world for ever.

55 [Here the typescript stops, not at the foot of a page; and at this point my father wrote:

> Alter this to: *Wing*. This word, which the loremasters explained as meaning 'foam, spindrift', only actually occurs in two names of the Eärendil legend: *Elwing* the name of his wife, and (in Quenya form) *Vingilótë* (translated in Adûnaic as *Rothinzil*) 'Foam-flower', the name of Eärendil's ship. The word is not otherwise known in Quenya or Sindarin – nor in Telerin despite its large vocabulary of sea-words. There was a tradition that the word came from the language of the Green Elves of Ossiriand.]

56 [Elsewhere in these notes the stem *rot*, *s-rot* is given the meaning 'delve underground, excavate, tunnel', whence Quenya *hróta* 'dwelling underground, artificial cave or rockhewn hall', *rotto* 'a small grot or tunnel'.]

57 ['Finwë third': his grandfather was *Finwë*, and his father *Kurufinwë*, first named *Finwë* also (p. 343).]

58 [*Káno:* see note 36.]

59 [The *P* of *Pityafinwë*, but not of the short form *Pityo*, was changed to *N*.]

60 [*Pityafinwë* and *Telufinwë* are bracketed with the words 'Twins *Gwenyn*'.]

61 [On a separate page written at the same time is a note on the father of Nerdanel (Fëanor's wife);

> Nerdanel's father was an 'Aulendil' [> 'Aulendur'], and became a great smith. He loved copper, and set it above gold.

His name was [*space; pencilled later* Sarmo?], but he was most widely known as *Urundil* 'copper-lover'. He usually wore a band of copper about his head. His hair was not as dark or black as was that of most of the Ñoldor, but brown, and had glints of coppery-red in it. Of Nerdanel's seven children the oldest, and the twins (a very rare thing among the Eldar) had hair of this kind. The eldest also wore a copper circlet.

A note is appended to *Aulendur*:

'Servant of Aulë': sc. one who was devoted to that Vala. It was applied especially to those persons, or families, among the Ñoldor who actually entered Aulë's service, and who in return received instruction from him.

A second note on this page comments on the name *Urundil*:

√RUN 'red, glowing', most often applied to things like embers, hence adjective *runya*, Sindarin *ruin* '"fiery" red'. The Eldar had words for some metals, because under Oromë's instruction they had devised weapons against Morgoth's servants especially on the March, but the only ones that appear in all Eldarin languages were iron, copper, gold and silver (ANGA, URUN, MALAT, KYELEP).

Earlier Nerdanel's father, the great smith, had been named *Mahtan* (see X.272, 277), and he was so called in the published *Silmarillion*. For earlier statements concerning the arming of the Eldar on the Great Journey see X.276–7, 281.]

62 [*Ambarto* was changed to *Umbarto*, and the positions of Umbarto and Ambarussa were reversed: see p. 355.]

63 ['shocked' was an uncertain interpretation on my father's part of the illegible word.]

64 [The deed of his father: the treacherous taking of all the Telerian ships for the passage of the Fëanorians to Middle-earth.]

65 [The text ends with brief notes on the 'Sindarizing' of the Quenya names of the Sons of Fëanor, but these are too rapid, elliptical, and illegible to be reproduced. It may be mentioned, however, that Sindarin *Maedros* is explained as containing elements of Nelyafinwë's mother-name *Maitimo* (Common Eldarin *magit-* 'shapely', Sindarin *maed*) and of his *epessë Russandol* (Common Eldarin *russā*, Sindarin *ross*); and also that the Sindarin form of *Ambarussa* (numbered 6, i.e. the elder twin) is here *Amros*, not *Amras*.]

XII

THE PROBLEM OF *ROS*

In his last years my father attached the utmost importance to finding explanations, in historical linguistic terms, of names that went far back in the 'legendarium' (see for example his discussion of the very old names *Isfin* and *Eöl* in XI.317–18, 320), and if such names had appeared in print he felt bound by them, and went to great pains to devise etymologies that were consonant with the now minutely refined historical development of Quenya and Sindarin. Most taxing of all was the case of the name *Elros*, and others associated with it either in form or through connection in the legends; but, equally characteristically, his writings on this matter contain many observations of interest beyond the detail of phonological history: for the linguistic history and the 'legendarium' became less and less separable.

In the long excursus on the names of the descendants of Finwë given in the last chapter he had said (p. 349) that *Elros* and *Elrond* were 'formed to recall the name of their mother *Elwing*', and he had noted that the element *wing* occurs only in that name and in the name of Eärendil's ship *Vingilótë* (p. 365, note 55): he referred to a speculation of loremasters that *wing* was a word of the tongue of the Green-elves of Ossiriand, whose meaning was guessed with some probability to be 'foam, spindrift'. The name *Elros* he stated there without hesitation to mean 'star(lit) foam', in Quenya form *Elerossë* (but earlier, in *Quendi and Eldar* (XI.414), he had said that the meaning was 'star-glitter', while *Elrond* meant 'star-dome', as still in the present essay).

But this was not the last of his speculations on the matter, and there are several typewritten texts that return to the problem (all of them belonging to the same period, 1968 or later, as *The Shibboleth of Fëanor*, but certainly following that work). The most notable of these I give in full. It has no title, but begins with a statement defining the content:

> The best solution of the difficulty presented by the name *Elros*, fixed by mention in *The Lord of the Rings*, and the names of the sons of Fëanor: *Maedros*, the eldest, and *Amros*, now proposed as the name of both the twins (sixth and seventh) – to which a story is attached that it is desirable to retain.

This is a reference to the very rough manuscript text (appended to the list of father-names and mother-names of the Sons of Fëanor) in which

the extraordinary story of the twin brothers is told (pp. 353–5); for the form *Amros* (not *Amras*) see p. 366, note 65.

The typescript was made very rapidly (with the usual number of interspersed notes, among them two of great interest), and it has required some editing, of a very minor kind, for the sake of clarity.

The one *-ros* was supposed (at its adoption) in *Elros* to contain a Sindarin stem **ross-* from base ROS 'spray, spindrift' (as scattered by a wind from a fountain, waterfall, or breaking waves).[1] The other is supposed to be a colour word, referring to the red, red-brown hair of the first, sixth, and seventh sons of Fëanor, descending to them from their maternal grandfather, father of Nerdanel, Fëanor's wife, a great craftsman, devoted to the Vala Aulë.

It is difficult to accept these two homophonic elements – of unconnected, indeed unconnectable, meanings – as used in Sindarin, or Sindarized names.[2] It is also unfortunate that the first appears too reminiscent of Latin *rōs* ['dew'] or Greek *drosos*, and the latter too close to well-known modern European 'red' words: as Latin *russus*, Italian *rosso*, English *russet*, *rust*, etc. However, the Elvish languages are inevitably full of such reminiscences, so that this is the lesser difficulty.

Proposed solution. Associate the name *Elros* with that of his mother *Elwing*: both contain final elements that are isolated in the legendary nomenclature (see note on *wing* in the discussion of the Sindarizing of the Ñoldorin heroic names).[3] But instead of deriving them from the Nandorin (or Green-elvish) of Ossiriand, it would be an improvement to derive them from the Mannish tongues: the language of Beren father of Dior; both **ros* and **wing* could thus be removed from Eldarin. The Adûnaic of Númenor was mainly derived from that of the most powerful and numerous people of 'the House of Hador'. This was related to the speech of Bëor's people who first entered Beleriand (probably about as nearly as Ñoldorin Quenya to Telerin of Valinor): communication between the two peoples was possible but imperfect, mainly because of phonetic changes in the Bëorian dialect. The language of the Folk of Haleth, so far as it was later known, appears to have been unrelated (unless in remote origin) and unintelligible to the other two peoples.[4]

The folk of Bëor continued to speak their own tongue among themselves with fair purity, though many Sindarin words were borrowed and adapted by them.[5] This was of course the native tongue of Beren, lineal descendant of Bëor the Old. He

spoke Sindarin after a fashion (probably derived from North Sindarin); but his halting and dialectal use of it offended the ears of King Thingol.[6] But it was told in the legend of Beren and Lúthien that Lúthien learned Beren's native tongue during their long journeys together and ever after used it in their speech together. Not long before they came at last back to the borders of Doriath he asked her why she did so, since her own tongue was richer and more beautiful. Then she became silent and her eyes seemed to look far away before she answered: 'Why? Because I must forsake thee, or else forsake my own people and become one of the children of Men. Since I will never forsake thee, I must learn the speech of thy kin, and mine.' Dior their son, it is said, spoke both tongues: his father's, and his mother's, the Sindarin of Doriath. For he said: 'I am the first of the *Pereðil* (Half-elven); but I am also the heir of King Elwë, the *Eluchíl*.'[7]

He gave to his elder son the name *Eluréd*, that is said to have the same significance, but ended in the Bëorian word *rêda* 'heir'; to his second son he gave the name *Elurín*,[8] but his daughter the name *Elwing*. For she was born on a clear night of stars, the light of which glittered in the spray of the waterfall by which his house was built.[9] The word *wing* was Bëorian, meaning fine rain or the spray from fountains and waterfalls blown by a wind; but he joined this to Elvish *el-* 'star' rather than to the Bëorian,[10] because it was more beautiful, and also went with the names of her brothers: the name *Elwë* (Sindarin *Elu*) was believed to be and probably was derived from *el* 'star'.[11]

Eluréd and Elurín, before they came to manhood, were both slain by the sons of Fëanor,[12] in the last and most abominable deed brought about by the curse that the impious oath of Fëanor laid upon them. But Elwing was saved and fled with the Silmaril to the havens of the surviving Eldar at the Mouths of Sirion. There she later wedded Eärendil, and so joined the two Half-elven lines. Her sons she named *Elros* and *Elrond*; and after the manner of her brothers the first ended in a Bëorian word, and the second in an Elvish. *Elros* was indeed close in meaning to her own name: it contained the Bëorian word for 'foam' and the white crest of waves:[13] *rôs*. Its older form [was] *roth (róþ)*. This was used in Adûnaic songs and legends concerning the coming of the Atani to Númenor in a translation of the name of Eärendil's ship. This they called *Rothinzil*.[14] Also in Númenor their first king was usually given the name *Elroth*. The word *wing(a)* was not known in Adûnaic. It was maybe an

invention of the Lesser Folk,[15] for in their steep shores there had been waterfalls, whereas in the wooded land of the Greater Folk that went down in gentle slopes there had been none.

In this way also may be explained the name that Eärendil gave to his ship in which he at last succeeded in passing over the Great Sea. He himself called it *Wingalótë*, which like his own names were Quenya in form; for Quenya was his childhood's speech, since in the house of his mother's father, Turukáno (Turgon), King of Gondolin, that speech was in daily use.[16] But *Vinga-* was not a Quenya word: it was a Quenyarized form of the Bëorian *wing* that appeared in *Elwing* the name of his spouse. The form given to this name in Sindarin was *Gwingloth*, but as said above it was in the Adûnaic of Númenor translated as *Rothinzil*.

In the havens of refuge, when Morgoth's conquest was all but complete, there were several tongues to be heard. Not only the Sindarin, which was chiefly used, but also its Northern dialect; and among the Men of the Atani some still used their Mannish speeches; and of all these Eärendil had some knowledge. It is said that before Manwë he spoke the errand of Elves and Men first in Sindarin, since that might represent all those of the suppliants who had survived the war with Morgoth; but he repeated it in Quenya, since that was the language of the Ñoldor, who alone were under the ban of the Valar; and he added a prayer in the Mannish tongues of Hador and Bëor,[17] pleading that they were not under the ban, and had aided the Eldar only in their war against Morgoth, the enemy of the Valar. For the Atani had not rebelled against the Valar; they had rejected Morgoth and fled Westward seeking the Valar as the representatives of the One. This plea Manwë accepted, and one voice alone spoke aloud the doubt that was in the hearts of all the Valar. Mandos said: 'Nonetheless they are descendants of Men, who rejected the One himself. That is an evil seed that may grow again. For even if we under Eru have the power to return to Middle-earth and cast out Morgoth from the Kingdom of Arda, we cannot destroy all the evil that he has sown, nor seek out all his servants – unless we ravaged the whole of the Kingdom and made an end of all life therein; and that we may not do.'

The names *Elros* and *Elrond* that Elwing gave to her sons were held prophetic, as many mother-names among the Eldar.[18]

For after the Last Battle and the overthrow of Morgoth, when the Valar gave to Elros and Elrond a choice to belong either to the kin of the Eldar or to the kin of Men, it was Elros who voyaged over sea to Númenor following the star of Eärendil; whereas Elrond remained among the Elves and carried on the lineage of King Elwë.[19] Now *Elrond* was a word for the firmament, the starry dome as it appeared like a roof to Arda; and it was given by Elwing in memory of the great Hall of the Throne of Elwë in the midst of his stronghold of Menegroth that was called the *Menelrond*,[20] because by the arts and aid of Melian its high arched roof had been adorned with silver and gems set in the order and figures of the stars in the great Dome of Valmar[21] in Aman, whence Melian came.

But alas! This explanation fell foul of a small fact that my father had missed; and it was fatal. He noted on the text that 'most of this fails', because of the name *Cair Andros* (a Sindarin name, as were virtually all the place-names of Gondor), the island in the Anduin north of Minas Tirith, of which it had been said in Appendix A (RK p. 335, footnote) that it 'means "Ship of Long-foam"; for the isle was shaped like a great ship, with a high prow pointing north, against which the white foam of Anduin broke on sharp rocks.' So he was forced to accept that the element *-ros* in *Elros* must be the same as that in *Cair Andros*, the word must be Eldarin, not Atanic (Bëorian), and there could be no historical relationship between it and the Númenórean Adûnaic *Rothinzil*.[22]

Evidently following this is another note, from which it emerges that he still held to the view that the word *wing* ('spray, spindrift') was of Bëorian origin; and while noting that the name Wingalótë [> Wingelótë] of Eärendil's ship had not appeared in print, he observed that it 'must be retained, since it is connected with the name *Elwing*, and is in intention formed to resemble and "explain" the name of Wade's ship Guingelot.'[23] On *Guingelot* and *Wingelot* see my discussion in III.142–4 (in which I overlooked this remarkable statement). Concerning *wing* he said again that Eärendil named his ship in Quenya form, since that language had been his childhood speech, and that he intended its meaning to be 'Foam-flower'; but he adopted the element *wing* from the name of Elwing his wife. That name was given to her by her father Dior, who knew the Bëorian tongue (cf. p. 369).[24]

NOTES

1 [Cf. the *Etymologies*, V.384, stem ROS[1], 'distil, drip': Quenya *rossë* 'fine rain, dew', Noldorin *rhoss* 'rain', seen also in *Celebros*

'Silver-rain' (when *Celebros* was the name of the waterfall rather than the stream, XI.151).]

2 [Added in the margin: 'Though *Maedros* is now so long established that it would be difficult to alter'. In a later note, however, my father declared that he would change *Maedros* to *Maedron*.]

3 [See p. 365, note 55.]

4 This was the reason, in addition to their admiration of the Eldar, why the chieftains, elders, and wise men and women of the Atani learned Sindarin. The Halethian language was already failing before Túrin's time, and finally perished after Húrin in his wrath destroyed the small land and people. [Cf. *Of Dwarves and Men*, pp. 307–8 and note 49. In the chapter *Of the Coming of Men into the West* added to the *Quenta Silmarillion* Felagund learned from Bëor that the Haladin (the Folk of Haleth) 'speak the same tongue as we', whereas the People of Marach (the 'Hadorians') were 'of a different speech' (XI.218, §10). This was changed in the published *Silmarillion*: see XI.226. – With what is said here of the decline of the 'Halethian' language cf. *The Wanderings of Húrin* (XI.283 and note 41): 'the old tongue of the Folk which was now out of daily use'.]

5 Not necessarily confined to names of things that had not before [been] known. In the nomenclature of later generations assimilation to the Eldarin modes, and the use of some elements frequent in Eldarin names, can be observed. [It has been stated many times that the 'Bëorians' forsook their own language in Beleriand: see V.275 (footnote), XI.202, 217 (first footnote), 226; *Unfinished Tales* p. 215, note 19.]

6 He [Thingol] had small love for the Northern Sindar who had in regions near to Angband come under the dominion of Morgoth, and were accused of sometimes entering his service and providing him with spies. The Sindarin used by the Sons of Fëanor also was of the Northern dialect; and they were hated in Doriath.

7 [*Eluchíl* (Thingol's Heir): see XI.350.]

8 'Remembrance of Elu': containing Sindarin *rîn* from Common Eldarin *rēnē* < base REN 'recall, have in mind'. [These names *Eluréd* and *Elurín* replace *Eldún* and *Elrún* (originally *Elboron* and *Elbereth*); and the story that Dior's sons were twins had been abandoned (see XI.300, 349–50). From this passage and note were derived the names in the published *Silmarillion* and the statements in the index concerning them.]

9 [Cf. *The Shibboleth of Fëanor*, p. 349: 'Beside one great waterfall, called in Sindarin *Lanthir Lamath* ("waterfall of echoing voices"), Dior had his house.' From these passages the reference in the published *Silmarillion* (p. 235) was derived.]

10 Which is not recorded, but was probably similar to the Adûnaic *azar*. [In *The Notion Club Papers*, IX.305, the Adûnaic name of

Eärendil, *Azrubêl*, was said to be 'made of *azar* "sea" and the stem *bel-* (*azra*, IX.431).]

11 [This opinion is referred to in *The Shibboleth of Fëanor* (pp. 340–1), but regarded as improbable.]

12 [The original story was that Dior's sons 'were slain by the evil men of Maidros' host' (see IV.307). Subsequently they were 'taken captive by the evil men of Maidros' following, and they were left to starve in the woods' (V.142); in a version of the Tale of Years the perpetrators were 'the cruel servants of Celegorn' (XI.351).]

13 The Atani had never seen the Great Sea before they came at last to Beleriand; but according to their own legends and histories the Folk of Hador had long dwelt during their westward migration by the shores of a sea too wide to see across; it had no tides, but was visited by great storms. It was not until they had developed a craft of boat-building that the people afterwards known as the Folk of Hador discovered that a part of their host from whom they had become separated had reached the same sea before them, and dwelt at the feet of the high hills to the south-west, whereas they [the Folk of Hador] lived in the north-east, in the woods that there came near to the shores. They were thus some two hundred miles apart, going by water; and they did not often meet and exchange tidings. Their tongues had already diverged, with the swiftness of the speeches of Men in the 'Unwritten Days', and continued to do so; though they remained friends of acknowledged kinship, bound by their hatred and fear of the Dark Lord (Morgoth), against whom they had rebelled. Nonetheless they did not know that the Lesser Folk had fled from the threat of the Servants of the Dark and gone on westward, while they had lain hidden in their woods, and so under their leader Bëor reached Beleriand at last many years before they did.

[There has of course never been any previous trace or hint of this story of the long sojourn of the 'Bëorians' and the 'Hadorians' ('the People of Marach', a name not mentioned in this essay, see p. 325, note 41) by the shores of a great inland sea. In this account of their dwellings my father first wrote 'south-east' and 'north-west', changing them at once; and the particularity of this suggests that he had a specific geographical image in mind. This must surely be the Sea of Rhûn, where (features going back to the First Map to *The Lord of the Rings*, VII.305) there are hills on the south-western side and a forest coming down to the north-eastern shores; moreover the distance of two hundred miles across the sea agrees with the map. – It is said here that the 'Bëorians' reached Beleriand 'many years' before the 'Hadorians'. According to the later *Quenta Silmarillion* chapter *Of the Coming of Men into the West* Felagund met Bëor in Ossiriand in

310, and the People of Marach came over the Blue Mountains in 313 (XI.218, §13 and commentary). In *Of Dwarves and Men* (p. 307) 'the first of the three hosts of the Folk of Hador' came into Beleriand 'not long after' the Folk of Bëor, having in fact reached the eastern foothills of the Ered Lindon first of all the kindreds of the Edain. In that text there is mention of an opinion that a long period of separation between the two peoples would account for the divergence of their languages from an original common tongue (p. 308 and note 45).]

14 [The name *Rothinzil* 'Flower of the Foam' appeared in *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, IX.360 (*Rôthinzil*).]

15 ['The Lesser Folk': the People of Bëor. This sentence refers to the content of note 13.]

16 Though for most of its people it had become a language of books, and as the other Ñoldor they used Sindarin in daily speech. In this way there arose several blended forms, belonging strictly to neither language. Indeed, the name of the great city of Turgon by which it was best known in legend, *Gondolin(d)*, is an example. It was given by Turgon in Quenya *Ondolindë*, but generally its people turned it towards Sindarin, in which Eldarin **gon*, **gondo* 'stone, rock' had retained the *g-* lost in Quenya. [See XI.201.]

17 The language of the Folk of Haleth was not used, for they had perished and would not rise again. Nor would their tongue be heard again, unless the prophecy of Andreth the Wise-woman should prove true, that Túrin in the Last Battle should return from the Dead, and before he left the Circles of the World for ever should challenge the Great Dragon of Morgoth, Ancalagon the Black, and deal him the death-stroke.

[This remarkable saying has long roots, extending back to the prophecy at the end of the old *Tale of Turambar* (II.115–16), where it was told that the Gods of Death (Fui and Vefántur) would not open their doors to Túrin and Nienóri, that Úrin and Mavwin (Húrin and Morwen) went to Mandos, and that their prayers

> came even to Manwë, and the Gods had mercy on their unhappy fate, so that those twain Túrin and Nienóri entered into Fôs'Almir, the bath of flame, even as Urwendi and her maidens had done in ages past before the first rising of the Sun, and so were all their sorrows and stains washed away, and they dwelt as shining Valar among the blessed ones, and now the love of that brother and sister is very fair; but Turambar indeed shall stand beside Fionwë in the Great Wrack, and Melko and his drakes shall curse the sword of Mormakil.

In the *Sketch of the Mythology* or 'earliest Silmarillion' of the

1920s the prophecy with which it ends (IV.40) declares that when Morgoth returns, and 'the last battle of all' is fought,

> Fionwë will fight Morgoth on the plain of Valinor, and the spirit of Túrin shall be beside him; it shall be Túrin who with his black sword will slay Morgoth, and thus the children of Húrin shall be avenged.

The development of this in the *Quenta* (IV.165) tells that in the day of the last battle, on the fields of Valinor,

> Tulkas shall strive with Melko, and on his right shall stand Fionwë and on his left Túrin Turambar, son of Húrin, Conqueror of Fate; and it shall be the black sword of Túrin that deals unto Melko his death and final end; and so shall the children of Húrin and all Men be avenged.

And the final passage of the *Quenta*, concerning the prophecy of the recovery of the Two Trees, ends with the words (*ibid.*):

> But of Men in that day the prophecy speaks not, save of Túrin only, and him it names among the Gods.

These passages reappear in the revised conclusion of the *Quenta* that belongs with the *Quenta Silmarillion* of 1937 (see V.323–4, 333), with two changes: Túrin in the Last Battle is said to be 'coming from the halls of Mandos', and in the final sentence concerning the prophecy 'no Man it names, save Túrin only, and to him a place is given among the sons of the Valar.' In the cursory corrections that my father made much later to this conclusion (see XI.245–7) he changed 'Túrin ... coming from the halls of Mandos' to 'Túrin ... returning from the Doom of Men at the ending of the world', and against the concluding passage (including the reference to Túrin as 'a son of the Valar') he placed a large X.

Another reference is found in the *Annals of Aman* (X.71, 76), where it is said of the constellation Menelmakar (Orion) that it 'was a sign of Túrin Turambar, who should come into the world, and a foreshowing of the Last Battle that shall be at the end of Days.'

In this last reappearance of the mysterious and fluctuating idea the prophecy is put into the mouth of Andreth, the Wise-woman of the House of Bëor: Túrin will 'return from the Dead' before his final departure, and his last deed within the Circles of the World will be the slaying of the Great Dragon, Ancalagon the Black. Andreth prophesies of the Last Battle at the end of the Elder Days (the sense in which the term 'Last Battle' is used shortly afterwards in this text, p. 371); but in all the early texts (the *Quenta*, IV.160; the *Annals of Beleriand*, IV.309, V.144; the *Quenta Silmarillion*, V.329) it was Eärendil who destroyed Ancalagon.]

18 They had no other names that are recorded; for Eärendil was nearly always at sea in many fruitless voyages, and both his sons were born in his absence.

19 And also that of Turgon; though he preferred that of Elwë, who was not under the ban that was laid on the Exiles.

20 *Menelrond*: 'heaven-dome'.

21 [On the Dome of Varda above Valinor see X.385–8.]

22 [Another note among these papers derives the Adûnaic word *roth* (as in *Rothinzil*) from a stem RUTH, 'not originally connected to foam. Its basic sense was "scar, score, furrow", and yielded words for plough and ploughing; when applied to boats it referred to their track on water, especially to the curling water at the prow (*obroth* "fore-cutting", whereas the wake was called *nadroth* "hind-track", or the smooth *roth*).']

23 [He also said here that though *Rothinzil* had not appeared in print he wished to retain it.]

24 [This 'Bëorian' explanation of *wing* seems to have been abandoned also, since in what seems to be the latest among these discussions my father said that both elements in *Elwing* were Sindarin: he proposed an etymology whereby Quenya *wingë*, Sindarin *gwing* 'appears to be related' to the Quenya verb *winta* 'scatter, blow about' (both transitive and intransitive), comparing Quenya *lassewinta* as a variant of *lasselanta*, 'leaf-fall, autumn'.]

XIII

LAST WRITINGS

Of Glorfindel, Círdan,
and other matters

There is a small collection of very late manuscripts, preserved together, closely similar in appearance, and all written on the blank sides of publication notices issued by Allen and Unwin. Most of these are copies of the same notice dated 19 January 1970 (used also by my father for his late work on the story of Maeglin, XI.316), but one of these writings was stated by him to be developed from a reply to a correspondent sent on 9 December 1972, and another is dated by him 20 November 1972. I think it very probable that the whole collection belongs to that time, the last year of his life: he died on the second of September, 1973, at the age of eighty-one. There are clear evidences of confusion (as he said at one point, 'my memory is no longer retentive'); but there are elements in them that are of much interest and should be recorded.

Though writing in manuscript he retained his practice of interspersing notes into the body of the text, distinguishing them by a different (italic) script. All the numbered notes, authorial and editorial, are collected at the end of the chapter.

GLORFINDEL

In the summer of 1938, when my father was pondering *The Council of Elrond* in *The Lord of the Rings*, he wrote: 'Glorfindel tells of his ancestry in Gondolin' (VI.214). More than thirty years later he took up the question of whether Glorfindel of Gondolin and Glorfindel of Rivendell were indeed one and the same, and this issued in two discussions, together with other brief or fragmentary writings closely associated with them. I will refer to these as '*Glorfindel I*' and '*Glorfindel II*'. The first page of *Glorfindel I* is missing, and the second page begins with the words 'as guards or assistants.' Then follows:

An Elf who had once known Middle-earth and had fought in the long wars against Melkor would be an eminently suitable companion for Gandalf. We could then reasonably suppose that Glorfindel (possibly as one of a small party,[1] more probably as a sole companion) landed with Gandalf–Olórin about Third Age 1000. This supposition would indeed explain the air of special power and sanctity that surrounds Glorfindel – note

how the Witch-king flies from him, although all others (such as King Eärnur) however brave could not induce their horses to face him (Appendix A (I, iv), RK p. 331). For according to accounts (quite independent of this case) elsewhere given of Elvish nature, and their relations with the Valar, when Glorfindel was slain his spirit would then go to Mandos and be judged, and then would remain in the Halls of Waiting until Manwë granted him release. The Elves were destined to be by nature 'immortal', within the unknown limits of the life of the Earth as a habitable realm, and their disembodiment was a grievous thing. It was the duty, therefore, of the Valar to restore them, if they were slain, to incarnate life, if they desired it – unless for some grave (and rare) reason: such as deeds of great evil, or any works of malice of which they remained obdurately unrepentant. When they were re-embodied they could remain in Valinor, or return to Middle-earth if their home had been there. We can therefore reasonably suppose that Glorfindel, after the purging or forgiveness of his part in the rebellion of the Ñoldor, was released from Mandos and became himself again, but remained in the Blessed Realm – for Gondolin was destroyed and all or most of his kin had perished. We can thus understand why he seems so powerful a figure and almost 'angelic'. For he had returned to the primitive innocence of the First-born, and had then lived among those Elves who had never rebelled, and in the companionship of the Maiar[2] for ages: from the last years of the First Age, through the Second Age, to the end of the first millennium of the Third Age: before he returned to Middle-earth.[3] It is indeed probable that he had in Valinor already become a friend and follower of Olórin. Even in the brief glimpses of him given in *The Lord of the Rings* he appears as specially concerned for Gandalf, and was one (the most powerful, it would seem) of those sent out from Rivendell when the disquieting news reached Elrond that Gandalf had never reappeared to guide or protect the Ring-bearer.

The second essay, *Glorfindel II*, is a text of five manuscript pages which undoubtedly followed the first at no long interval; but a slip of paper on which my father hastily set down some thoughts on the matter presumably came between them, since he said here that while Glorfindel might have come with Gandalf, 'it seems far more likely that he was sent in the crisis of the Second Age, when Sauron invaded Eriador, to assist Elrond, and that though not (yet) mentioned in the annals recording Sauron's defeat he played a notable and heroic part

in the war.' At the end of this note he wrote the words 'Númenórean ship', presumably indicating how Glorfindel might have crossed the Great Sea.

This name is in fact derived from the earliest work on the mythology: *The Fall of Gondolin*, composed in 1916–17, in which the Elvish language that ultimately became that of the type called Sindarin was in a primitive and unorganized form, and its relation with the High-elven type (itself very primitive) was still haphazard. It was intended to mean 'Golden-tressed',[4] and was the name given to the heroic 'Gnome' (Ñoldo), a chieftain of Gondolin, who in the pass of Cristhorn ('Eagle-cleft') fought with a Balrog [> Demon], whom he slew at the cost of his own life.

Its use in *The Lord of the Rings* is one of the cases of the somewhat random use of the names found in the older legends, now referred to as *The Silmarillion*, which escaped reconsideration in the final published form of *The Lord of the Rings*. This is unfortunate, since the name is now difficult to fit into Sindarin, and cannot possibly be Quenyarin. Also in the now organized mythology, difficulty is presented by the things recorded of Glorfindel in *The Lord of the Rings*, if Glorfindel of Gondolin is supposed to be the same person as Glorfindel of Rivendell.

As for the former: he was slain in the Fall of Gondolin at the end of the First Age, and if a chieftain of that city must have been a Ñoldo, one of the Elf-lords in the host of King Turukáno (Turgon); at any rate when *The Fall of Gondolin* was written he was certainly thought to be so. But the Ñoldor in Beleriand were exiles from Valinor, having rebelled against the authority of Manwë supreme head of the Valar, and Turgon was one of the most determined and unrepentant supporters of Fëanor's rebellion.[5] There is no escape from this. Gondolin is in *The Silmarillion* said to have been built and occupied by a people of almost entirely Ñoldorin origin.[6] It might be possible, though inconsistent, to suppose that Glorfindel was a prince of Sindarin origin who had joined the host of Turgon, but this would entirely contradict what is said of Glorfindel in Rivendell in *The Lord of the Rings*: most notably in *The Fellowship of the Ring*, p. 235, where he is said to have been one of the 'lords of the Eldar from beyond the furthest seas ... who have dwelt in the Blessed Realm.' The Sindar had never left Middle-earth.

This difficulty, far more serious than the linguistic one, may

be considered first. At any rate what at first sight may seem the simplest solution must be abandoned: sc. that we have merely a reduplication of names, and that Glorfindel of Gondolin and Glorfindel of Rivendell were different persons. This repetition of so striking a name, though possible, would not be credible.[7] No other major character in the Elvish legends as reported in *The Silmarillion* and *The Lord of the Rings* has a name borne by another Elvish person of importance. Also it may be found that acceptance of the identity of Glorfindel of old and of the Third Age will actually explain what is said of him and improve the story.

When Glorfindel of Gondolin was slain his spirit would according to the laws established by the One be obliged at once to return to the land of the Valar. Then he would go to Mandos and be judged, and would then remain in the 'Halls of Waiting' until Manwë granted him release. Elves were destined to be 'immortal', that is not to die within the unknown limits decreed by the One, which at the most could be until the end of the life of the Earth as a habitable realm. Their death – by any injury to their bodies so severe that it could not be healed – and the disembodiment of their spirits was an 'unnatural' and grievous matter. It was therefore the duty of the Valar, by command of the One, to restore them to incarnate life, if they desired it. But this 'restoration' could be delayed[8] by Manwë, if the *fëa* while alive had done evil deeds and refused to repent of them, or still harboured any malice against any other person among the living.

Now Glorfindel of Gondolin was one of the exiled Ñoldor, rebels against the authority of Manwë, and they were all under a ban imposed by him: they could not return in bodily form to the Blessed Realm. Manwë, however, was not bound by his own ordinances, and being still the supreme ruler of the Kingdom of Arda could set them aside, when he saw fit. From what is said of Glorfindel in *The Silmarillion* and *The Lord of the Rings* it is evident that he was an Elda of high and noble spirit: and it can be assumed that, though he left Valinor in the host of Turgon, and so incurred the ban, he did so reluctantly because of kinship with Turgon and allegiance to him, and had no part in the kinslaying of Alqualondë.[9]

More important: Glorfindel had sacrificed his life in defending the fugitives from the wreck of Gondolin against a Demon out of Thangorodrim,[10] and so enabling Tuor and Idril daugh-

ter of Turgon and their child Eärendil to escape, and seek refuge at the Mouths of Sirion. Though he cannot have known the importance of this (and would have defended them even had they been fugitives of any rank), this deed was of vital importance to the designs of the Valar.[11] It is therefore entirely in keeping with the general design of *The Silmarillion* to describe the subsequent history of Glorfindel thus. After his purging of any guilt that he had incurred in the rebellion, he was released from Mandos, and Manwë restored him.[12] He then became again a living incarnate person, but was permitted to dwell in the Blessed Realm; for he had regained the primitive innocence and grace of the Eldar. For long years he remained in Valinor, in reunion with the Eldar who had not rebelled, and in the companionship of the Maiar. To these he had now become almost an equal, for though he was an incarnate (to whom a bodily form not made or chosen by himself was necessary) his spiritual power had been greatly enhanced by his self-sacrifice. At some time, probably early in his sojourn in Valinor, he became a follower, and a friend, of Olórin (Gandalf), who as is said in *The Silmarillion* had an especial love and concern for the Children of Eru.[13] That Olórin, as was possible for one of the Maiar, had already visited Middle-earth and had become acquainted not only with the Sindarin Elves and others deeper in Middle-earth, but also with Men, is likely, but nothing is [> has yet been] said of this.

Glorfindel remained in the Blessed Realm, no doubt at first by his own choice: Gondolin was destroyed, and all his kin had perished, and were still in the Halls of Waiting unapproachable by the living. But his long sojourn during the last years of the First Age, and at least far into the Second Age, no doubt was also in accord with the wishes and designs of Manwë.

When did Glorfindel return to Middle-earth? This must probably have occurred *before* the end of the Second Age, and the 'Change of the World' and the Drowning of Númenor, after which no living embodied creature, 'humane' or of lesser kinds, could return from the Blessed Realm which had been 'removed from the Circles of the World'. This was according to a general ordinance proceeding from Eru Himself; and though, until the end of the Third Age, when Eru decreed that the Dominion of Men must begin, Manwë could be supposed to have received the permission of Eru to make an exception in his case, and to have devised some means for the transportation of Glorfindel

to Middle-earth, this is improbable and would make Glorfindel of greater power and importance than seems fitting.

We may then best suppose that Glorfindel returned during the Second Age, before the 'shadow' fell on Númenor, and while the Númenóreans were welcomed by the Eldar as powerful allies. His return must have been for the purpose of strengthening Gil-galad and Elrond, when the growing evil of the intentions of Sauron were at last perceived by them. It might, therefore, have been as early as Second Age 1200, when Sauron came in person to Lindon, and attempted to deceive Gil-galad, but was rejected and dismissed.[14] But it may have been, perhaps more probably, as late as c.1600, the Year of Dread, when Barad-dûr was completed and the One Ring forged, and Celebrimbor at last became aware of the trap into which he had fallen. For in 1200, though he was filled with anxiety, Gil-galad still felt strong and able to treat Sauron with contempt.[15] Also at that time his Númenórean allies were beginning to make strong permanent havens for their great ships, and also many of them had actually begun to dwell there permanently. In 1600 it became clear to all the leaders of Elves and Men (and Dwarves) that war was inevitable against Sauron, now unmasked as a new Dark Lord. They therefore began to prepare for his assault; and no doubt urgent messages and prayers asking for help were received in Númenor (and in Valinor).[16]

The text ends here, with no indication that it was unfinished, although the 'linguistic difficulty' referred to on p. 379 was not taken up.

Written at the same time as the 'Glorfindel' texts is a discussion of the question of Elvish reincarnation. It is in two versions, one a very rough draft (partly written in fact on the manuscript of *Glorfindel I*) for the other. This text is not included here,[17] except in its concluding part, which concerns the Dwarves' belief in the rebirth or reappearance of their Fathers, most notably Durin. I give this passage in the form that it has in the original draft. It was written at a speed (with punctuation omitted, and variant forms of phrases jostling one another) that the printed form that follows does not at all convey; but it is a record of emerging thought on a matter concerning which very little is to be found in all my father's writings.

It is possible that this false notion[18] was in some ways connected with the various strange ideas which both Elves and Men had concerning the Dwarves, which were indeed largely derived by them from the Dwarves themselves. For the Dwarves

asserted that the spirits of the Seven Fathers of their races were from time to time reborn in their kindreds. This was notably the case in the race of the Longbeards whose ultimate forefather was called Durin, a name which was taken at intervals by one of his descendants, but by no others but those in a direct line of descent from Durin I. Durin I, eldest of the Fathers, 'awoke' far back in the First Age (it is supposed, soon after the awakening of Men), but in the Second Age several other Durins had appeared as Kings of the Longbeards (Anfangrim). In the Third Age Durin VI was slain by a Balrog in 1980. It was prophesied (by the Dwarves), when Dáin Ironfoot took the kingship in Third Age 2941 (after the Battle of Five Armies), that in his direct line there would one day appear a Durin VII – but he would be the last.[19] Of these Durins the Dwarves reported that they retained memory of their former lives as Kings, as real, and yet naturally as incomplete, as if they had been consecutive years of life in one person.[20]

How this could come to pass the Elves did not know; nor would the Dwarves tell them much more of the matter.[21] But the Elves of Valinor knew of a strange tale of Dwarvish origins, which the Ñoldor brought to Middle-earth, and asserted that they had learned it from Aulë himself. This will be found among the many minor matters included in notes or appendices to *The Silmarillion*, and is not here told in full. For the present point it is sufficient to recall that the immediate author of the Dwarvish race was the Valà Aulë.[22]

Here there is a brief version of the legend of the Making of the Dwarves, which I omit; my father wrote on the text: 'Not a place for telling the story of Aulë and the Dwarves.'[23] The conclusion then follows:

The Dwarves add that at that time Aulë gained them also this privilege that distinguished them from Elves and Men: that the spirit of each of the Fathers (such as Durin) should, at the end of the long span of life allotted to Dwarves, fall asleep, but then lie in a tomb of his own body,[24] at rest, and there its weariness and any hurts that had befallen it should be amended. Then after long years he should arise and take up his kingship again.[25]

The second version is very much briefer, and on the question of the 'rebirth' of the Fathers says only: '... the reappearance, at long intervals, of the person of one of the Dwarf-fathers, in the lines of their kings – e.g. especially Durin – is not when examined probably one of

rebirth, but of the preservation of the *body* of a former King Durin (say) to which at intervals his spirit would return. But the relations of the Dwarves to the Valar and especially to the Vala Aulë are (as it seems) quite different from those of Elves and Men.'

THE FIVE WIZARDS

Another brief discussion, headed 'Note on the landing of the Five Wizards and their functions and operations', arose from my father's consideration of the matter of Glorfindel, as is seen from the opening words: 'Was in fact Glorfindel one of them?' He observed that he was 'evidently never supposed to be when *The Lord of the Rings* was written', adding that there is no possibility that some of them were Eldar 'of the highest order of power', rather than Maiar. The text then continues with the passage given in *Unfinished Tales*, p. 394, beginning 'We must assume that they were all Maiar ...'; but after the words with which that citation ends ('... chosen by the Valar with this in mind') there stands only 'Saruman the most powerful', and then it breaks off, unfinished. Beside these last words is a pencilled note: 'Radagast a name of Mannish (Anduin vale) origin – but not now clearly interpretable' (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 390 and note 4).

On the reverse of the page are some notes which I described in *Unfinished Tales* as uninterpretable, but which with longer scrutiny I have been largely able to make out. One of them reads as follows:

No names are recorded for the two wizards. They were never seen or known in lands west of Mordor. The wizards did not come at the same time. Possibly Saruman, Gandalf, Radagast did, but more likely Saruman the chief (and already over mindful of this) came first and alone. Probably Gandalf and Radagast came together, though this has not yet been said. ... (what is most probable) ... Glorfindel also met Gandalf at the Havens. The other two are only known to (have) exist(ed) [*sic*] by Saruman, Gandalf, and Radagast, and Saruman in his wrath mentioning five was letting out a piece of private information.

The reference of the last sentence is to Saruman's violent retort to Gandalf at the door of Orthanc, in which he spoke of 'the rods of the Five Wizards' (*The Two Towers* p. 188). Another note is even rougher and more difficult:

The 'other two' came much earlier, at the same time probably as Glorfindel, when matters became very dangerous in the Second Age.[26] Glorfindel was sent to aid Elrond and was (though not yet said) pre-eminent in the war in Eriador.[27] But the other two Istari were sent for a different purpose. Morinehtar and

Rómestámo.[28] Darkness-slayer and East-helper. Their task was to circumvent Sauron: to bring help to the few tribes of Men that had rebelled from Melkor-worship, to stir up rebellion ... and after his first fall to search out his hiding (in which they failed) and to cause [?dissension and disarray] among the dark East ... They must have had very great influence on the history of the Second Age and Third Age in weakening and disarraying the forces of East ... who would both in the Second Age and Third Age otherwise have ... outnumbered the West.

At the words in the citation from this text in *Unfinished Tales* (p. 394) 'Of the other two nothing is said in published work save the reference to the Five Wizards in the altercation between Gandalf and Saruman' my father wrote: 'A note made on their names and functions seems now lost, but except for the names their general history and effect on the history of the Third Age is clear.' Conceivably he was thinking of the sketched-out narrative of the choosing of the Istari at a council of the Valar (*Unfinished Tales* p. 393), in which the Two Wizards (or 'the Blue Wizards', *Ithryn Luin*) were named Alatar and Pallando.

CÍRDAN

This brief manuscript is also associated with the discussion of Glorfindel: rough drafting for it is found on the verso of one of the pages of the text *Glorfindel II*.

This is the Sindarin for 'Shipwright',[29] and describes his later functions in the history of the First Three Ages; but his 'proper' name, sc. his original name among the Teleri, to whom he belonged, is never used.[30] He is said in the Annals of the Third Age (c.1000) to have seen further and deeper into the future than anyone else in Middle-earth.[31] This does not include the Istari (who came from Valinor), but must include even Elrond, Galadriel, and Celeborn.

Círdan was a Telerin Elf, one of the highest of those who were not transported to Valinor but became known as the Sindar, the Grey-elves;[32] he was akin to Olwë, one of the two kings of the Teleri, and lord of those who departed over the Great Sea. He was thus also akin to Elwë,[33] Olwë's elder brother, acknowledged as high-king of all the Teleri in Beleriand, even after he withdrew to the guarded realm of Doriath. But Círdan and his people remained in many ways distinct from the rest of the Sindar. They retained the old name Teleri (in later Sindarin[34] form *Telir*, or *Telerrim*) and remained in many ways a separate

folk, speaking even in later days a more archaic language.[35] The Ñoldor called them the *Falmari*, 'wave-folk', and the other Sindar *Falathrim* 'people of the foaming shore'.[36]

It was during the long waiting of the Teleri for the return of the floating isle, upon which the Vanyar and Ñoldor had been transported over the Great Sea, that Círdan had turned his thoughts and skill to the making of ships, for he and all the other Teleri became impatient. Nonetheless it is said that for love of his kin and allegiance Círdan was the leader of those who sought longest for Elwë when he was lost and did not come to the shores to depart from Middle-earth. Thus he forfeited the fulfilment of his greatest desire: to see the Blessed Realm and find again there Olwë and his own nearest kin. Alas, he did not reach the shores until nearly all the Teleri of Olwë's following had departed.

Then, it is said, he stood forlorn looking out to sea, and it was night, but far away he could see a glimmer of light upon Eressëa ere it vanished into the West. Then he cried aloud: 'I will follow that light, alone if none will come with me, for the ship that I have been building is now almost ready.' But even as he said this he received in his heart a message, which he knew to come from the Valar, though in his mind it was remembered as a voice speaking in his own tongue. And the voice warned him not to attempt this peril; for his strength and skill would not be able to build any ship able to dare the winds and waves of the Great Sea for many long years yet. 'Abide now that time, for when it comes then will your work be of utmost worth, and it will be remembered in song for many ages after.' 'I obey,' Círdan answered, and then it seemed to him that he saw (in a vision maybe) a shape like a white boat, shining above him, that sailed west through the air, and as it dwindled in the distance it looked like a star of so great a brilliance that it cast a shadow of Círdan upon the strand where he stood.

As we now perceive, this was a foretelling of the ship[37] which after apprenticeship to Círdan, and ever with his advice and help, Eärendil built, and in which at last he reached the shores of Valinor. From that night onwards Círdan received a foresight touching all matters of importance, beyond the measure of all other Elves upon Middle-earth.

This text is remarkable in that on the one hand nothing is said of the history and importance of Círdan as it appears elsewhere, while on the

other hand almost everything that is told here is unique. In the *Grey Annals* it was said (XI.8, §14):

> Ossë therefore persuaded many to remain in Beleriand, and when King Olwë and his host were embarked upon the isle and passed over the Sea they abode still by the shore; and Ossë returned to them, and continued in friendship with them. And he taught to them the craft of shipbuilding and of sailing; and they became a folk of mariners, the first in Middle-earth ...

But of Ossë there is now no mention; shipbuilding on the coasts of Beleriand is said to have begun in the long years during which the Teleri awaited Ulmo's return, and is indeed spoken of (see note 29) as the further evolution of a craft already developed among the Teleri during the Great Journey.

Other features of this account that appear nowhere else (in addition of course to the story of Círdan's desire to cross the Sea to Valinor, and his vision of the white ship passing westward through the night above him) are that the Teleri delayed long on the shores of the Sea of Rhûn on the Great Journey (note 29; cf. p. 373, note 13); that Círdan was the leader of those who sought for Elwë Thingol, his kinsman; and that Eärendil was 'apprenticed' to Círdan, who aided him in the building of Vingilot.

NOTES

1 It may be noted that *Galdor* is another name of similar sort and period of origin, but he appears as a messenger from Círdan and is called Galdor of the Havens. *Galdor* also appeared in *The Fall of Gondolin*, but the name is of a more simple and usual form [than *Glorfindel*] and might be repeated. But unless he is said in *The Fall of Gondolin* to have been slain, he can reasonably be supposed to be the same person, one of the Ñoldor who escaped from the siege and destruction, but fled west to the Havens, and not southwards to the mouths of Sirion, as did most of the remnant of the people of Gondolin together with Tuor, Idril, and Eärendil. He is represented in *The Council of Elrond* as less powerful and much less wise than Glorfindel; and so evidently had not returned to Valinor, and been purged, and reincarnated.

[See note 3. – The words 'the name [Galdor] is of a more simple and usual form [than Glorfindel] and might be repeated' show that on the lost first page my father had discussed (as he would do in the following text) the possibility that there were two distinct persons named Glorfindel, and had concluded that it was too improbable to be entertained. – 'But unless he is said in *The Fall of Gondolin* to have been slain': my father would probably have been hard put to it to lay his hand on *The Fall of Gondolin*,

and without consulting it he could not say for certain what had been Galdor's fate (this, I take it, is his meaning). In fact, Galdor was not slain, but led the fugitives over the pass of Cristhorn while Glorfindel came up at the rear (II.191–2), and in the 'Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin*' (II.215) it is said that he went to Sirion's mouth, and that 'he dwelleth yet in Tol Eressëa'. He was the lord of the people of the Tree in Gondolin, and of him it was said in the old tale that he 'was held the most valiant of all the Gondothlim save Turgon alone' (II.173).]

2 That angelic order to which Gandalf originally belonged: lesser in power and authority than the Valar, but of the same nature: members of the first order of created rational beings, who if they appeared in visible forms ('humane' or of other kind) were self-incarnated, or given their forms by the Valar [*added later:* and who could move/travel simply by an act of will when not arrayed in a body – which they could assume when they reached the places that ... *(illegible)*.]

3 Galdor in contrast, even in the brief glimpses we have in the Council, is seen clearly as an inferior person, and much less wise. He, whether he appears in *The Silmarillion* or not, must be either (as his name suggests) a Sindarin Elf who had never left Middle-earth and seen the Blessed Realm, or one of the Ñoldor who had been exiled for rebellion, and had also remained in Middle-earth, and had not, or not yet, accepted the pardon of the Valar and returned to the home prepared for them in the West, in reward for their valour against Melkor. [The view of Galdor expressed in this note and in note 1 seems hardly justified by the report of his contributions to the Council of Elrond; and if he were indeed Galdor of Gondolin he had had long ages in which to acquire wisdom in the hard world of Middle-earth. But there is no reason to suppose that when my father wrote the chapter *The Council of Elrond* he associated Galdor of the Havens with Galdor of Gondolin.]

4 [For the original etymology of *Glorfindel*, and the etymological connections of the elements of the name, see II.341.]

5 [In the *Annals of Aman* (X.112, §135) it is told that following the Oath of the Fëanorians 'Fingolfin, and his son Turgon, therefore spoke against Fëanor, and fierce words awoke'; but later (X.118, §156), when it is told that even after the utterance of the Prophecy of the North 'all Fingolfin's folk went forward still', it is said that 'Fingon and Turgon were bold and fiery of heart and loath to abandon any task to which they had put their hands until the bitter end, if bitter it must be.']

6 [The original conception that Gondolin was peopled entirely by Ñoldor was changed in many alterations to the text of the *Grey*

Annals (see the Index to *The War of the Jewels*, entry *Gondolin*, references under 'population'): it is stated indeed (XI.45, §113) that when Turgon sent all his people forth from Nivrost to Gondolin they constituted 'a third part of the Noldor of Fingolfin's House, and *a yet greater host of the Sindar*'. The statement here that Gondolin was 'occupied by a people of almost entirely Ñoldorin origin' obviously runs entirely counter to that conception.]

7 [In the margin of the page my father asked subsequently: 'Why not?' The question seems to be answered, however, in the following sentence of the text – where the emphasis is of course on the word 'Elvish': 'no other major character in the *Elvish* legends ... has a name borne by another *Elvish* person of importance.' It would indeed have been open to him to change the name of Glorfindel of Gondolin, who had appeared in no published writing, but he did not mention this possibility.]

8 Or in gravest cases (such as that of Fëanor) withheld and referred to the One.

9 Though he [Glorfindel] is not yet named in the unrevised part of *The Silmarillion* treating of this matter, it is recorded that many of the Noldor of Turgon's following were in fact grieved by the decision of their king, and dreaded that evil would soon result from it. In the Third Host, that of Finarfin, so many were of this mind that when Finarfin heard the final doom of Mandos and repented, the greater part of that host returned to Valinor. Yet Finrod son of Finarfin, noblest of all the Ñoldor in the tales of Beleriand, also went away, for Turgon had been elected supreme lord of the Ñoldorin hosts.

[In the *Annals of Aman* (X.113, §138) there was no suggestion that Finrod (= Finarfin) led a separate 'Third Host': 'Thus at the last the Noldor set forth divided in two hosts. Fëanor and his following were in the van; but the greater host came behind under Fingolfin'; and the same was said in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.235, §68, not changed later). But this note carries an extreme departure from the tradition, in the entire omission of Fingolfin. This has in fact been encountered before, in my father's very late work – of this same period – on the story of Maeglin, where relationships are distorted on account of a defective genealogy making Turgon the son of Finwë (XI.327); but here, in a central story of *The Silmarillion*, Turgon is called 'king', and 'supreme lord of the Ñoldorin hosts', and Fingolfin disappears. Of course it is not to be thought that my father actually intended such a catastrophic disruption of the narrative structure as this would bring about; and it is reassuring to see that in a reference elsewhere in these papers Fingolfin reappears.]

10 [In the margin, and written at the same time as the text, my father noted: 'The duel of Glorfindel and the Demon may need revision.']

11 This is one of the main matters of *The Silmarillion* and need not here be explained. But in that part of *The Silmarillion* as so far composed it should not be left to appear that Ulmo, chiefly concerned in the coming of Tuor to Gondolin, in any way acted contrary to the Ban, against Manwë or without his knowledge. [My father perhaps had in mind Ulmo's words to Tuor on the shore at Vinyamar, *Unfinished Tales* p. 29.]

12 This implies that Glorfindel was natively an Elda of great bodily and spiritual stature, a noble character, and that his guilt had been small: sc. that he owed allegiance to Turgon and loved his own kindred, and these were his only reasons for remaining with them, although he was grieved by their obstinacy, and feared the doom of Mandos.

13 [Cf. the *Valaquenta* (*The Silmarillion*, p. 31): 'In later days he was the friend of all the Children of Ilúvatar, and took pity on their sorrows ...']

14 No doubt because Gil-galad had by then discovered that Sauron was busy in Eregion, but had secretly begun the making of a stronghold in Mordor. (Maybe already an Elvish name for that region, because of its volcano Orodruin and its eruptions – which were not made by Sauron but were a relic of the devastating works of Melkor in the long First Age.) [See note 15.]

15 [This passage concerning Gil-galad and Sauron in the year 1200 of the Second Age, with the express statement that 'Sauron came in person to Lindon', seems to conflict with what is said in *Of the Rings of Power* (*The Silmarillion* p. 287), that 'Only to Lindon he did not come, for Gil-galad and Elrond doubted him and his fair-seeming', and would not admit him to the land.]

16 For the Valar were open to the hearing of the prayers of those in Middle-earth, as ever before, save only that in the dark days of the Ban they would listen to one prayer only from the Ñoldor: a repentant prayer pleading for pardon.

17 [My father here discussed again the idea that Elvish reincarnation might be achieved by 'rebirth' as a child, and rejected it as emphatically as he had done in the discussion called 'Reincarnation of Elves', X.363–4; here as there the physical and psychological difficulties were addressed. He wrote here that the idea 'must be abandoned, or at least noted as a false notion, e.g. probably of Mannish origin, since nearly all the matter of *The Silmarillion* is contained in myths and legends that have passed through Men's hands and minds, and are (in many points) plainly influenced by contact and confusion with the myths, theories, and legends of Men' (cf. p. 357, note 17).

My discussion of this matter in X.364 must be corrected. I said there that the idea that the 'houseless' *fëa* was enabled to rebuild its *hröa* from its memory became my father's 'firm and stable view of the matter', 'as appears from very late writing on the subject of the reincarnation of Glorfindel of Gondolin'. This is erroneous. This last discussion of Elvish reincarnation refers only to the 'restoration' or 'reconstitution' of the former body by the Valar, and makes no mention of the idea that it could be achieved by the 'houseless *fëa*' operating of itself.]

18 [The 'false notion' is that of Elvish rebirth as a child: see note 17.]

19 ['Durin VII & Last' is shown in the genealogical table in Appendix A, III as a descendant of Dáin Ironfoot. Nothing is said of him in that Appendix; but see p. 278 in this book.]

20 Yet it is said that their memories were clearer and fuller of the far-off days.

21 That the Elves ever came to know so much (though only at a time when the vigour of both their races was declining) is thought to be due to the strange and unique friendship which arose between Gimli and Legolas. Indeed most of the references to Dwarvish history in Elvish records are marked with 'so said Legolas'.

22 Who was sometimes called *Návatar*, and the Dwarves *Aulëonnar* 'children of Aulë'.

23 [This brief version ends with these remarkable words: 'But Eru did not give them the immortality of the Elves, but lives longer than Men. "They shall be the third children and more like Men, the second." ']

24 The flesh of Dwarves is reported to have been far slower to decay or become corrupted than that of Men. (Elvish bodies robbed of their spirit quickly disintegrated and vanished.)

25 [A note at the end of the text without indication for its insertion reads:] What effect would this have on the succession? Probably this 'return' would only occur when by some chance or other the reigning king had no son. The Dwarves were very unprolific and this no doubt happened fairly often.

26 [These notes go with the text *Glorfindel II*, when my father had determined that Glorfindel came to Middle-earth in the Second Age, probably about the year 1600 (p. 382).]

27 [With this reference to Glorfindel's part in the war in Eriador cf. the note cited on pp. 378–9.]

28 [Elsewhere on this page this name is written *Róme(n)star*.]

29 Before ever they came to Beleriand the Teleri had developed a craft of boat-making; first as rafts, and soon as light boats with paddles made in imitation of the water-birds upon the lakes near their first homes, and later on the Great Journey in crossing rivers, or especially during their long tarrying on the shores of the 'Sea of Rhûn', where their ships became larger and stronger. But

in all this work Círdan had ever been the foremost and most inventive and skilful. [On the significance of the Sea of Rhûn in the context of the Great Journey see XI.173–4.]

30 Pengoloð alone mentions a tradition among the Sindar of Doriath that it was in archaic form *Nōwē*, the original meaning of which was uncertain, as was that of Olwë. [On the meaning of *Olwë* see p. 341 and note 20.]

31 [Cf. Appendix B (head-note to the Third Age): 'For Círdan saw further and deeper than any other in Middle-earth' (said in the context of his surrender of Narya, the Ring of Fire, to Mithrandir). The statement here that this is said 'in the Annals of the Third Age (c.1000)' is puzzling, but is presumably to be related to the words in the same passage of Appendix B 'When maybe a thousand years had passed ... the *Istari* or Wizards appeared in Middle-earth.']

32 A Quenya name given by the exiled Ñoldor, and primarily applied to the folk of Doriath, people of Elwë Grey-cloak.

33 [That Círdan was a kinsman of Elwë is mentioned in *Quendi and Eldar* (XI.384 and note 15).]

34 This is used as a general term for the Telerian dialect of Eldarin as it became in the changes of long years in Beleriand, though it was not entirely uniform in its development.

35 [Cf. *Quendi and Eldar*, XI.380: 'The *Eglain* became a people somewhat apart from the inland Elves, and at the time of the coming of the Exiles their language was in many ways different.' (The *Eglain* are the people of Círdan.)]

36 [For *Falathrim* see *Quendi and Eldar*, XI.378; and with *Falmari* cf. X.163, §27: 'The Sea-elves therefore they became in Valinor, the Falmari, for they made music beside the breaking waves.']

37 *Vingilótë*, 'Sprayflower'. [Beside 'Spray' my father subsequently wrote 'Foam', and noted also: '*wingë*, Sindarin *gwing*, is properly a flying spume or spindrift blown off wavetops': see p. 376, note 24.]

PART THREE

TEACHINGS OF PENGOLOĐ

XIV

DANGWETH PENGOLOÐ

This work, example and record of the instruction of Ælfwine the Mariner by Pengoloð the Wise of Gondolin, exists in two forms: the first ('A') a good clear text with (apart from one major exception, see note 6) very few changes made either in the act of writing or subsequently, and the second ('B') a superb illuminated manuscript of which the first page is reproduced as the frontispiece of this book. This latter, together with the brief text *Of Lembas*, was enclosed in a newspaper of 5 January 1960, on which my father wrote: 'Two items from the lore of Pengoloð', and also '*Danbeth* to question. How/Why did Elvish language change? Origin of *Lembas*.' On a cardboard folder enclosing the newspaper he wrote: 'Pengoloð items. §*Manen lambë Quendion ahyanë* How did the language of Elves change? §*Mana i·coimas Eldaron* What is the "*coimas*" of the Eldar?'

Above the *gw* of *Dangweth* on the illuminated manuscript he lightly pencilled *b*; but on an isolated scrap of paper found with the two texts are some jottings of which the following are clear: 'Keep *Dangweth* "answer" separate from *-beth* = *peth* "word"'; '√*gweth* "report, give account of, inform of things unknown or wished to be known"'; and '*Ndangwetha* S[indarin] *Dangweth*'.

The *Dangweth Pengoloð* cannot be earlier than 1951, while from the date of the newspaper (on which the two texts are referred to) it cannot be later than the end of 1959. I would be inclined to place it earlier rather than later in the decade; possibly the second manuscript B is to be associated with the fine manuscript pages of the Tale of Years of the First Age (see X.49), one of which is reproduced as the frontispiece to *Morgoth's Ring*.

Version B follows A very closely indeed for the most part (which is probably an indication of their closeness in time): a scattering of very minor changes (small shifts in word-order and occasional alterations in vocabulary), with a very few more significant differences (see the notes at the end of the text). That it was a work of importance to my father is evident from his writing it again in a manuscript of such elegance; and an aspect of his thought here, in respect of the conscious introduction of change by the Eldar on the basis of an understanding of the phonological structure of their language in its entirety, would reappear years later in *The Shibboleth of Fëanor* (see p. 332 and note 3 to the present essay).

The text that follows is of course that of Version B, with alteration of a few points of punctuation for greater clarity.

Dangweth Pengoloð
the
Answer
of
Pengolod
to Aelfwine who asked him how came
it that the tongues of the Elves changed
and were sundered

Now you question me, Ælfwine, concerning the tongues of the Elves, saying that you wonder much to discover that they are many, akin indeed and yet unalike; for seeing that they die not and their memories reach back into ages long past, you understand not why all the race of the Quendi have not maintained the language that they had of old in common still one and the same in all their kindreds. But behold! Ælfwine, within Eä all things change, even the Valar; for in Eä we perceive the unfolding of a History in the unfolding: as a man may read a great book, and when it is full-read it is rounded and complete in his mind, according to his measure. Then at last he perceives that some fair thing that long endured: as some mountain or river of renown, some realm, or some great city; or else some mighty being, as a king, or maker, or a woman of beauty and majesty, or even one, maybe, of the Lords of the West: that each of these is, if at all, all that is said of them from the beginning even to the end. From the spring in the mountains to the mouths of the sea, all is Sirion; and from its first upwelling even to its passing away when the land was broken in the great battle, that also is Sirion, and nothing less. Though we, who are set to behold the great History, reading line by line, may speak of the river changing as it flows and grows broad, or dying as it is spilled or devoured by the sea. Yea, even from his first coming into Eä from the side of Ilúvatar, and from the young lord of the Valar in the white wrath of his battle with Melkor unto the silent king of years uncounted that sits upon the vanished heights of Oiolosse and watches but speaks no more: all that is he whom we call Manwë.

Now, verily, a great tree may outlive many a Man, and may remember the seed from which it came ere all the Men that now walk the earth were yet unborn, but the rind upon which you

lay your hand, and the leaves which overshadow you, are not as that seed was, nor as the dry wood shall be that decays into the mould or passes in flame. And other trees there are that stand about, each different in growth and in shape, according to the chances of their lives, though all be akin, offspring of one yet older tree and sprung therefore from a single seed of long ago.[1] Immortal, within Eä, are the Eldar, but since even as Men they dwell in forms that come of Eä, they are no more changeless than the great trees, neither in the forms that they inhabit, nor in the things that they desire or achieve by means of those forms. Wherefore should they not then change in speech, of which one part is made with tongues and received by ears?

It hath been said by some among our loremasters that, as for Men, their elders teach to their children their speech and then soon depart, so that their voices are heard no more, and the children have no reminder of the tongue of their youth, save their own cloudy memories: wherefore in each brief generation of Men change may be swift and unrestrained. But this matter seemeth to me less simple. Weak indeed may be the memories of Men, but I say to you, Ælfwine, that even were your memory of your own being as clear as that of the wisest of the Eldar, still within the short span of your life your speech would change, and were you to live on with the life of the Elves it would change more, until looking back you would perceive that in your youth you spake an alien tongue.

For Men change both their old words for new, and their former manner of speaking for another manner, in their own lifetimes, and not only in the first learning of speech; and this change comes above all from the very changefulness of Eä; or if you will, from the nature of speech, which is fully living only when it is born, but when the union of the thought and the sound is fallen into old custom, and the two are no longer perceived apart, then already the word is dying and joyless,[2] the sound awaiting some new thought, and the thought eager for some new-patterned raiment of sound.

But to the changefulness of Eä, to weariness of the unchanged, to the renewing of the union: to these three, which are one, the Eldar also are subject in their degree. In this, however, they differ from Men, that they are ever more aware of the words that they speak. As a silversmith may remain more aware than others of the tools and vessels that he uses daily at his table, or a weaver of the texture of his garments. Yet this makes

rather for change among the Eldar than for steadfastness; for the Eldar being skilled and eager in art will readily make things new, both for delight to look on, or to hear, or to feel, or for daily use: be it in vessels or raiment or in speech.

A man may indeed change his spoon or his cup at his will, and need ask none to advise him or to follow his choice. It is other indeed with words or the modes and devices of speech. Let him bethink him of a new word, be it to his heart howsoever fresh and fair, it will avail him little in converse, until other men are of like mind or will receive his invention. But among the Eldar there are many quick ears and subtle minds to hear and appraise such inventions, and though many be the patterns and devices so made that prove in the end only pleasing to a few, or to one alone, many others are welcomed and pass swiftly from mouth to mouth, with laughter or delight or with solemn thought – as maybe a new jest or new-found saying of wisdom will pass among men of brighter wit. For to the Eldar the making of speech is the oldest of the arts and the most beloved.

Wherefore, Ælfwine, I say to you: whereas the change that goes long unperceived, as the growth of a tree, was indeed slow of old in Aman ere the Rising of the Moon, and even in Middle-earth under the Sleep of Yavanna slower far than it is now among Men, yet among the Eldar this steadfastness was offset by the changes that come of will and design: many of which indeed differ little in outward seeming from those of unwitting growth. Thus the Eldar would alter the sounds of their speech at whiles to other sounds that seemed to them more pleasant, or were at the least unstaled. But this they would not do at haphazard. For the Eldar know their tongue, not word by word only, but as a whole: they know even as they speak not only of what sounds is that word woven which they are uttering, but of what sounds and sound-patterns is their whole speech at one time composed.*[3] Therefore none among the Eldar would change the sounds of some one word alone, but would rather change some one sound throughout the structure of his speech; nor would he bring into one word only some sound or union of sounds that had not before been present, but would replace

*And these are for the most part few in number, for the Eldar being skilled in craft are not wasteful nor prodigal to small purpose, admiring in a tongue rather the skilled and harmonious use of a few well-balanced sounds than profusion ill-ordered.

some former sound by the new sound in all words that contained it – or if not in all, then in a number selected according to their shapes and other elements, as he is guided by some new pattern that he has in mind. Even as a weaver might change a thread from red to blue, either throughout his web, or in such parts thereof as were suitable to the new pattern, but not randomly here and there nor only in one corner.[4]

And lo! Ælfwine, these changes differ little from like changes that come in the speeches of Men with the passing of time. Now as for the Eldar we know that such things were done of old by choice, full-wittingly, and the names of those who made new words or first moved great changes are yet often remembered. For which reason the Eldar do not believe that in truth the changes in the tongues of Men are wholly unwitting; for how so, say they, comes the order and harmony that oft is seen in such changes? or the skill both in the devices that are replaced and the new that follow them? And some answer that the minds of Men are half asleep: by which they mean not that the part whereof Men are unaware and can give no account slumbers, but the other part. Others perceiving that in nothing do Men, and namely those of the West,[5] so nearly resemble the Eldar as in speech, answer that the teaching which Men had of the Elves in their youth works on still as a seed in the dark. But in all this maybe they err, Ælfwine, for despite all their lore least of all things do they know the minds of Men or understand them.[6]

And to speak of memory, Ælfwine: with regard to the Elves – for I know not how it is with Men – that which we call the *coirëa quenya*, the living speech, is the language wherethrough we think and imagine; for it is to our thought as the body to our spirit, growing and changing together in all the days of our being.[7] Into that language therefore we render at once whatsoever we recall out of the past that we heard or said ourselves. If a Man remembers some thing that he said in childhood, doth he recall the accents of childhood that he used in that moment long ago? I know not. But certainly we of the Quendi do not so. We may know indeed how children not yet accomplished in speech, and how the 'fullspoken', as we say, spake at times long ago, but that is a thing apart from the images of life-memory, and is a matter of lore. For we have much lore concerning the languages of old, whether stored in the mind or in writings; but we hear not ourselves speak again in the past save with the language that clothes our thought in the present. Verily, it may chance that in

the past we spake with strangers in an alien tongue, and remember what was then said, but not the tongue that was used. Out of the past indeed we may recall the sounds of an alien speech as we may other sounds: the song of birds or the murmur of water; but that is but in some cry or brief phrase. For if the speech were long or the matter subtle then we clothe it in the living language of our present thought, and if we would now relate it as it was spoken, we must render it anew, as it were a book, into that other tongue – if it is preserved still in learned lore. And even so, it is the alien voices that we hear using words in our memory, seldom ourselves – or to speak of myself, never. It is true indeed that the Eldar readily learn to use other tongues skilfully, and are slow to forget any that they have learned, but these remain as they were learned, as were they written in the unchanging pages of a book;[*8] whereas the *coirëa quenya*, the language of thought, grows and lives within, and each new stage overlies those that went before, as the acorn and the sapling are hidden in the tree.

Wherefore, Ælfwine, if thou wilt consider well all that I have said to thee at this time, not only what is plainly expressed, but also what is therein to be discovered by thought, thou wilt now understand that, albeit more wittingly, albeit more slowly, the tongues of the Quendi change in a manner like to the changes of mortal tongues. And that if one of the Eldar survives maybe the chances of fifty thousand of your years, then the speech of his childhood will be sundered from the speech of his present, as maybe the speech of some city or kingdom of Men will be sundered in the days of its majesty from the tongue of those that founded it of old.

In this last point also our kindreds are alike. Greater as is the skill of the Quendi to mould things to their will and delight, and to overcome the chances of Eä, yet they are not as the Valar, and with regard to the might of the World and its fate, they are but weak and small. Therefore to them also severance is severance, and friends and kin far away are far away. Not even the Seeing

* Save only in the strange event of the learning by one whole people of an alien speech, that thereafter they take into living and daily use, which will then change and grow with them, but their own former tongue pass away or become but a matter of lore. This has happened only once in the history of the Eldalië, when the Exiles took up the speech of Beleriand, the Sindarin tongue, and the Noldorin was preserved among them as a language of lore.

Stones of the craftsmen of old could wholly unite those that were sundered, and they and the masters that could make them were few. Therefore change, witting or unwitting, was not even long ages ago shared, nor did it proceed alike save among those that met often and had converse in labour and in mirth. Thus, swifter or slower, yet ever inescapably, the far-sundered kindreds of the Quendi were sundered also in speech: the Avari from the Eldar; and the Teleri from the other Eldar; and the Sindar, who abode in Middle-earth, from the Teleri that came at last unto Aman; and the Exiles of the Noldor from those that remained in the land of the Valar. And so still it goes in Middle-earth.

Yet long since, Ælfwine, the fashion of the World was changed; and we that dwell now in the Ancient West are removed from the circles of the World, and in memory is the greater part of our being: so that now we preserve rather than make anew. Wherefore, though even in Aman – beyond the circles of Arda, yet still with Eä – change goes ever on, until the End, be it slow beyond perceiving save in ages of time, nonetheless here at last in Eressëa our tongues are steadfast; and here over a wide sea of years we speak now still little otherwise than we did – and those also that perished – in the wars of Beleriand, when the Sun was young.

Sin Quente Quendingoldo
Elendilenna

NOTES

1 The end of this sentence, from 'offspring of one yet older tree', is not found in version A.

2 'dying or dead' A.

3 In the note to *The Shibboleth of Fëanor* which I have omitted (p. 339) my father wrote:

> The Eldar had an instinctive grasp of the structure and sound-system of their speech as a whole, and this was increased by instruction; for in a sense all Eldarin languages were 'invented' languages, art-forms, not only inherited but also material engaging the active interest of their users and challenging awarely their own taste and inventiveness. This aspect was evidently still prominent in Valinor; though in Middle-earth it had waned, and the development of Sindarin had become, long before the arrival of the Ñoldorin exiles, mainly the product of unheeded change like the tongues of Men.

4 Version A has here a footnote omitted in B:
Thus it was that when the name *Banyai* of old was changed to *Vanyar* this was done only because the sound *b* was changed to *v* throughout the language (save in certain sequences) – and this change, it is recorded, began among the Vanyar; whereas for the showing of many the new device of *r* was brought in and used in all words of a certain shape – and this, it is said, was begun among the Noldor.

5 *namely* is used here in the original but long lost sense of the word, 'especially, above all'. The phrase is absent in A, which reads simply: 'Or some answer that the teaching ...'

6 Here version A, as originally written, moves at once to the concluding paragraphs of the *Dangweth*, from 'But in this point at least our kindreds are alike ...' (p. 400) to its ending in the words 'we speak now still little otherwise than they did who fought in Beleriand when the Sun was young.' These paragraphs were struck out, and all the intervening matter (from 'And to speak of memory, Ælfwine ...') introduced, before they were reached again, somewhat changed in expression but not in content, and now virtually identical to the form in version B.

7 This sentence, from 'for it is to our thought ...', is absent in A.

8 The footnote here is absent in A.

XV

OF LEMBAS

For the association of this brief work, extant in a single manuscript, with the *Dangweth Pengoloð* see p. 395. It is a finely written text of two pages, in style like that of the fine manuscript of the *Dangweth* which it accompanies, but not of the same quality, and on thin paper. My father introduced some illumination at its beginning in red ball-point pen, and with the same pen wrote at the head of the first page, above the title *Of Lembas*: *'Mana i·coimas in·Eldaron?' maquente Elendil* (the same question as appears on the cardboard folder enclosing the two texts, p. 395). At the same time he added quotation marks at the beginning and end of the text, showing that it is the answer of Pengoloð to Ælfwine's question, 'What is the *coimas* of the Eldar?' It seems possible that these additions in ball-point pen were added later, to make the text into a companion piece to the *Dangweth*; but there is in any case no evidence for date, beyond the limits of 1951 and 1959 (p. 395).

Of Lembas

'This food the Eldar alone knew how to make. It was made for the comfort of those who had need to go upon a long journey in the wild, or of the hurt whose life was in peril. Only these were permitted to use it. The Eldar did not give it to Men, save only to a few whom they loved, if they were in great need.*

The Eldar say that they first received this food from the Valar in the beginning of their days in the Great Journey. For it was made of a kind of corn which Yavanna brought forth in the fields of Aman, and some she sent to them by the hand of Oromë for their succour upon the long march.

* This was not done out of greed or jealousy, although at no time in Middle-earth was there great store of this food; but because the Eldar had been commanded to keep this gift in their own power, and not to make it common to the dwellers in mortal lands. For it is said that, if mortals eat often of this bread, they become weary of their mortality, desiring to abide among the Elves, and longing for the fields of Aman, to which they cannot come.

Since it came from Yavanna, the queen, or the highest among the elven-women of any people, great or small, had the keeping and gift of the *lembas*, for which reason she was called *massánie* or *besain*: the Lady, or breadgiver.[1]

Now this corn had in it the strong life of Aman, which it could impart to those who had the need and right to use the bread. If it was sown at any season, save in frost, it soon sprouted and grew swiftly, though it did not thrive in the shadow of plants of Middle-earth and would not endure winds that came out of the North while Morgoth dwelt there. Else it needed only a little sunlight to ripen; for it took swiftly and multiplied all the vigour of any light that fell on it.

The Eldar grew it in guarded lands and sunlit glades; and they gathered its great golden ears, each one, by hand, and set no blade of metal to it. The white haulm was drawn from the earth in like manner, and woven into corn-leeps[2] for the storing of the grain: no worm or gnawing beast would touch that gleaming straw, and rot and mould and other evils of Middle-earth did not assail it.

From the ear to the wafer none were permitted to handle this grain, save those elven-women who were called *Yavannildi* (or by the Sindar the *Ivonwin*),[3] the maidens of Yavanna; and the art of the making of the *lembas*, which they learned of the Valar, was a secret among them, and so ever has remained.'

Lembas is the Sindarin name, and comes from the older form *lenn-mbass* 'journey-bread'. In Quenya it was most often named *coimas* which is 'life-bread'.[4]

Quente Quengoldo.

NOTES

1 In the story of Túrin it is said of Melian's gift of *lembas* to Beleg the Bowman (*The Silmarillion* p. 202) that it was 'wrapped in leaves of silver, and the threads that bound it were sealed at the knots with the seal of the Queen, a wafer of white wax shaped as a single flower of Telperion; for according to the customs of the Eldalië the keeping and giving of *lembas* belonged to the Queen alone. In nothing did Melian show greater favour to Túrin than in this gift; for the Eldar had never before allowed Men to use this waybread, and seldom did so again.'

With '*massánie* or *besain*' cf. the entry in the *Etymologies*, V.372, stem MBAS 'knead': Quenya *masta*, Noldorin *bast*, 'bread'; also the words *lembas*, *coimas*, explained at the end of the present

text as 'journey-bread' and 'life-bread'. Above the *ain* of *besain* is faintly pencilled *oneth*. sc. *besoneth*.

In using the word *Lady* here my father no doubt had an eye to its origin in Old English *hlǣf-dīġe*, of which the first element is *hlāf* (modern English *loaf*) with changed vowel, and the second a derivative of the stem *dīg-* 'knead' (to which *dough* is ultimately related); cf. *lord* from *hlāf-weard* 'bread-keeper'.

2 *haulm*: the stalks of cultivated plants left when the ears or pods have been gathered; *corn-leeps*: *leep (leap)* is an old dialect word for a basket (Old English *lēap*).

3 *Ivonwin*: the Noldorin (i.e. later Sindarin) form *Ivann* for *Yavanna* appears in the *Etymologies*, V.399, stem YAB 'fruit'.

4 This was written at the same time as the rest of the manuscript, but set in as printed, and was excluded from the quotation marks added later to the body of the text. The words *Quente Quengoldo* ('Thus spoke Pengoloð') also belong to the time of writing.

PART FOUR

UNFINISHED TALES

XVI
THE NEW SHADOW

This story, or fragment of a story, is now published for the first time, though its existence has long been known.[1] The textual history is not complicated, but there is a surprising amount of it.

There is, first, a collection of material in manuscript, beginning with two sides of a page carrying the original opening of the story: this goes no further than the recollection of the young man (here called Egalmoth)[2] of the rebuke and lecture that he received from Borlas[3] when caught by him stealing apples from his orchard as a boy. There is then a text, which I will call '**A**', written in rapid but clear script, and this extends as far as the story ever went (here also the young man's name is Egalmoth). This was followed by a typescript in top copy and carbon '**B**', which follows A pretty closely and ends at the same point: there are a great many small changes in expression, but nothing that alters the narrative in even minor ways (the young man, however, now bears the name Arthael). There is also an amanuensis typescript derived from B, without independent value.[4]

Finally, there is another typescript, '**C**', also with carbon copy, which extends only to the point in the story where the young man – here named Saelon[5] – leaves Borlas in his garden 'searching back in his mind to discover how this strange and alarming conversation had begun' (p. 416). This text C treats B much as B treats A: altering the expression (fairly radically in places), but in no way altering the story, or giving to it new bearings.

It seems strange that my father should have made no less than three versions, each showing very careful attention to improvement of the text in detail, when the story had proceeded for so short a distance. The evidence of the typewriters used suggests, however, that C was made very substantially later. The machine on which B was typed was the one he used in the 1950s before the acquisition of that referred to in X.300, while the italic script of A could with some probability be ascribed to that time; but the typewriter used for C was his last.[6]

In his *Biography* (p. 228) Humphrey Carpenter stated that in 1965 my father 'found a typescript of "The New Shadow", a sequel to *The Lord of the Rings* which he had begun a long time ago but had abandoned after a few pages. ... He sat up till four a.m. reading it and thinking about it.' I do not know the source of this statement; but further evidence is provided by a used envelope, postmarked

8 January 1968, on the back of which my father scribbled a passage concerning Borlas, developing further the account of his circumstances at the time of the opening of the story (see note 14). This is certain evidence that he was still concerned with *The New Shadow* as late as 1968; and since the passage roughed out here would follow on from the point reached in the typescript C (see note 14) it seems very likely that C dates from that time.

Such as the evidence is, then, the original work (represented by the manuscript A and the typescript B) derives from the 1950s. In a letter of 13 May 1964 (*Letters* no.256) he wrote:

> I did begin a story placed about 100 years after the Downfall [of Sauron], but it proved both sinister and depressing. Since we are dealing with *Men* it is inevitable that we should be concerned with the most regrettable feature of their nature: their quick satiety with good. So that the people of Gondor in times of peace, justice and prosperity, would become discontented and restless – while the dynasts descended from Aragorn would become just kings and governors – like Denethor or worse. I found that even so early there was an outcrop of revolutionary plots, about a centre of secret Satanistic religion; while Gondorian boys were playing at being Orcs and going round doing damage. I could have written a 'thriller' about the plot and its discovery and overthrow – but it would be just that. Not worth doing.

From the evidence given above, however, it is seen that his interest in the story was subsequently reawakened, and even reached the point of making a new (though incomplete) version of what he had written of it years before. But in 1972, fifteen months before his death, he wrote to his friend Douglas Carter (*Letters* no.338):

> I have written nothing beyond the first few years of the Fourth Age. (Except the beginning of a tale supposed to refer to the end of the reign of Eldarion about 100 years after the death of Aragorn. Then I of course discovered that the King's Peace would contain no tales worth recounting; and his wars would have little interest after the overthrow of Sauron; but that almost certainly a restlessness would appear about then, owing to the (it seems) inevitable boredom of Men with the good: there would be secret societies practising dark cults, and 'orc-cults' among adolescents.)

To form the text that now follows I print C so far as it goes, with the sinister young man given the name Saelon; and from that point I give the text of B, changing the name from Arthael in B to Saelon.

THE NEW SHADOW

This tale begins in the days of Eldarion, son of that Elessar of

whom the histories have much to tell. One hundred and five years had passed since the fall of the Dark Tower,[7] and the story of that time was little heeded now by most of the people of Gondor, though a few were still living who could remember the War of the Ring as a shadow upon their early childhood. One of these was old Borlas of Pen-arduin. He was the younger son of Beregond, the first Captain of the Guard of Prince Faramir, who had removed with his lord from the City to the Emyn Arnen.[8]

'Deep indeed run the roots of Evil,' said Borlas, 'and the black sap is strong in them. That tree will never be slain. Let men hew it as often as they may, it will thrust up shoots again as soon as they turn aside. Not even at the Feast of Felling should the axe be hung up on the wall!'

'Plainly you think you are speaking wise words,' said Saelon. 'I guess that by the gloom in your voice, and by the nodding of your head. But what is this all about? Your life seems fair enough still, for an aged man that does not now go far abroad. Where have you found a shoot of your dark tree growing? In your own garden?'

Borlas looked up, and as he glanced keenly at Saelon he wondered suddenly if this young man, usually gay and often half mocking, had more in his mind than appeared in his face. Borlas had not intended to open his heart to him, but being burdened in thought he had spoken aloud, more to himself than his companion. Saelon did not return his glance. He was humming softly, while he trimmed a whistle of green willow with a sharp nail-knife.

The two were sitting in an arbour near the steep eastern shore of Anduin where it flowed about the feet of the hills of Arnen. They were indeed in Borlas's garden and his small grey-stone house could be seen through the trees above them on the hill-slope facing west. Borlas looked at the river, and at the trees in their June leaves, and then far off to the towers of the City under the glow of late afternoon. 'No, not in my garden,' he said thoughtfully.

'Then why are you so troubled?' asked Saelon. 'If a man has a fair garden with strong walls, then he has as much as any man can govern for his own pleasure.' He paused. 'As long as he keeps the strength of life in him,' he added. 'When that fails, why trouble about any lesser ill? For then he must soon leave his garden at last, and others must look to the weeds.'

Borlas sighed, but he did not answer, and Saelon went on: 'But there are of course some who will not be content, and to their life's end they trouble their hearts about their neighbours, and the City, and the Realm, and all the wide world. You are one of them, Master Borlas, and have ever been so, since I first knew you as a boy that you caught in your orchard. Even then you were not content to let ill alone: to deter me with a beating, or to strengthen your fences. No. You were grieved and wanted to improve me. You had me into your house and talked to me.

'I remember it well. "Orcs' work," you said many times. "Stealing good fruit, well, I suppose that is no worse than boys' work, if they are hungry, or their fathers are too easy. But pulling down unripe apples to break or cast away! That is Orcs' work. How did you come to do such a thing, lad?"

'*Orcs' work!* I was angered by that, Master Borlas, and too proud to answer, though it was in my heart to say in child's words: "If it was wrong for a boy to steal an apple to eat, then it is wrong to steal one to play with. But not more wrong. Don't speak to me of Orcs' work, or I may show you some!"

'It was a mistake, Master Borlas. For I had heard tales of the Orcs and their doings, but I had not been interested till then. You turned my mind to them. I grew out of petty thefts (my father was not too easy), but I did not forget the Orcs. I began to feel hatred and think of the sweetness of revenge. We played at Orcs, I and my friends, and sometimes I thought: "Shall I gather my band and go and cut down his trees? Then he will think that the Orcs have really returned." But that was a long time ago,' Saelon ended with a smile.

Borlas was startled. He was now receiving confidences, not giving them. And there was something disquieting in the young man's tone, something that made him wonder whether deep down, as deep as the roots of the dark trees, the childish resentment did not still linger. Yes, even in the heart of Saelon, the friend of his own son, and the young man who had in the last few years shown him much kindness in his loneliness.[9] At any rate he resolved to say no more of his own thoughts to him.

'Alas!' he said, 'we all make mistakes. I do not claim wisdom, young man, except maybe the little that one may glean with the passing of the years. From which I know well enough the sad truth that those who mean well may do more harm than those who let things be. I am sorry now for what I said, if it roused hate in your heart. Though I still think that it was just:

untimely maybe, and yet true. Surely even a boy must understand that fruit is fruit, and does not reach its full being until it is ripe; so that to misuse it unripe is to do worse than just to rob the man that has tended it: it robs the world, hinders a good thing from fulfilment. Those who do so join forces with all that is amiss, with the blights and the cankers and the ill winds. And that was the way of Orcs.'

'And is the way of Men too,' said Saelon. 'No! I do not mean of wild men only, or those who grew "under the Shadow", as they say. I mean all Men. I would not misuse green fruit now, but only because I have no longer any use for unripe apples, not for your lofty reasons, Master Borlas. Indeed I think your reasons as unsound as an apple that has been too long in store. To trees all Men are Orcs. Do Men consider the fulfilment of the life-story of a tree before they cut it down? For whatever purpose: to have its room for tilth, to use its flesh as timber or as fuel, or merely to open the view? If trees were the judges, would they set Men above Orcs, or indeed above the cankers and blights? What more right, they might ask, have Men to feed on their juices than blights?'

'A man,' said Borlas, 'who tends a tree and guards it from blights and many other enemies does not act like an Orc or a canker. If he eats its fruit, he does it no injury. It produces fruit more abundantly than it needs for its own purpose: the continuing of its kind.'

'Let him eat the fruit then, or play with it,' said Saelon. 'But I spoke of slaying: hewing and burning; and by what right men do such things to trees.'

'You did not. You spoke of the judgement of trees in these matters. But trees are not judges. The children of the One are the masters. My judgement as one of them you know already. The evils of the world were not at first in the great Theme, but entered with the discords of Melkor. Men did not come with these discords; they entered afterwards as a new thing direct from Eru, the One, and therefore they are called His children, and all that was in the Theme they have, for their own good, the right to use – rightly, without pride or wantonness, but with reverence.[10]

'If the smallest child of a woodman feels the cold of winter, the proudest tree is not wronged, if it is bidden to surrender its flesh to warm the child with fire. But the child must not mar the tree in play or spite, rip its bark or break its branches. And

the good husbandman will use first, if he can, dead wood or an old tree; he will not fell a young tree and leave it to rot, for no better reason than his pleasure in axe-play. That is orkish.

'But it is even as I said: the roots of Evil lie deep, and from far off comes the poison that works in us, so that many do these things – at times, and become then indeed like the servants of Melkor. But the Orcs did these things at all times; they did harm with delight to all things that could suffer it, and they were restrained only by lack of power, not by either prudence or mercy. But we have spoken enough of this.'

'Why!' said Saelon. 'We have hardly begun. It was not of your orchard, nor your apples, nor of me, that you were thinking when you spoke of the re-arising of the dark tree. What you were thinking of, Master Borlas, I can guess nonetheless. I have eyes and ears, and other senses, Master.' His voice sank low and could scarcely be heard above the murmur of a sudden chill wind in the leaves, as the sun sank behind Mindolluin. 'You have heard then the name?' With hardly more than breath he formed it. 'Of Herumor?'[11]

Borlas looked at him with amazement and fear. His mouth made tremulous motions of speech, but no sound came from it.

'I see that you have,' said Saelon. 'And you seem astonished to learn that I have heard it also. But you are not more astonished than I was to see that this name has reached you. For, as I say, I have keen eyes and ears, but yours are now dim even for daily use, and the matter has been kept as secret as cunning could contrive.'

'Whose cunning?' said Borlas, suddenly and fiercely. The sight of his eyes might be dim, but they blazed now with anger.

'Why, those who have heard the call of the name, of course,' answered Saelon unperturbed. 'They are not many yet, to set against all the people of Gondor, but the number is growing. Not all are content since the Great King died, and fewer now are afraid.'

'So I have guessed,' said Borlas, 'and it is that thought that chills the warmth of summer in my heart. For a man may have a garden with strong walls, Saelon, and yet find no peace or content there. There are some enemies that such walls will not keep out; for his garden is only part of a guarded realm after all. It is to the walls of the realm that he must look for his real defence. But what is the call? What would they do?' he cried, laying his hand on the young man's knee.

'I will ask you a question first before I answer yours,' said Saelon; and now he looked searchingly at the old man. 'How have you, who sit here in the Emyn Arnen and seldom go now even to the City – how have you heard the whispers of this name?'

Borlas looked down on the ground and clasped his hands between his knees. For some time he did not answer. At last he looked up again; his face had hardened and his eyes were more wary. 'I will not answer that, Saelon,' he said. 'Not until I have asked you yet another question. First tell me,' he said slowly, 'are you one of those who have listened to the call?'

A strange smile flickered about the young man's mouth. 'Attack is the best defence,' he answered, 'or so the Captains tell us; but when both sides use this counsel there is a clash of battle. So I will counter you. I will not answer you, Master Borlas, until you tell me: are you one of those who have listened, or no?'

'How can you think it?' cried Borlas.

'And how can *you* think it?' asked Saelon.

'As for me,' said Borlas, 'do not all my words give you the answer?'

'But as for me, you would say,' said Saelon, 'my words might make me doubtful? Because I defended a small boy who threw unripe apples at his playmates from the name of Orc? Or because I spoke of the suffering of trees at the hands of men? Master Borlas, it is unwise to judge a man's heart from words spoken in an argument without respect for your opinions. They may be meant to disturb you. Pert maybe, but possibly better than a mere echo.[12] I do not doubt that many of those we spoke of would use words as solemn as yours, and speak reverently of the Great Theme and such things – in your presence. Well, who shall answer first?'

'The younger it would have been in the courtesy of old,' said Borlas; 'or between men counted as equals, the one who was first asked. You are both.'

Saelon smiled. 'Very well,' he said. 'Let me see: the first question that you asked unanswered was: *what is the call, what would they do?* Can you find no answer in the past for all your age and lore? I am young and less learned. Still, if you really wish to know, I could perhaps make the whispers clearer to you.'

He stood up. The sun had set behind the mountains; shadows were deepening. The western wall of Borlas's house on the hill-

side was yellow in the afterglow, but the river below was dark. He looked up at the sky, and then away down the Anduin. 'It is a fair evening still,' he said, 'but the wind has shifted eastward. There will be clouds over the moon tonight.'

'Well, what of it?' said Borlas, shivering a little as the air chilled. 'Unless you mean only to warn an old man to hasten indoors and keep his bones from aching.' He rose and turned to the path towards his house, thinking that the young man meant to say no more; but Saelon stepped up beside him and laid a hand on his arm.

'I warn you rather to clothe yourself warmly after nightfall,' he said. 'That is, if you wish to learn more; for if you do, you will come with me on a journey tonight. I will meet you at your eastern gate behind your house; or at least I shall pass that way as soon as it is full dark, and you shall come or not as you will. I shall be clad in black, and anyone who goes with me must be clad alike. Farewell now, Master Borlas! Take counsel with yourself while the light lasts.'

With that Saelon bowed and turned away, going along another path that ran near the edge of the steep shore, away northward to the house of his father.[13] He disappeared round a bend while his last words were still echoing in Borlas's ears.

For some while after Saelon had gone Borlas stood still, covering his eyes and resting his brow against the cool bark of a tree beside the path. As he stood he searched back in his mind to discover how this strange and alarming conversation had begun. What he would do after nightfall he did not yet consider.

He had not been in good spirits since the spring, though well enough in body for his age, which burdened him less than his loneliness.[14] Since his son, Berelach,[15] had gone away again in April – he was in the Ships, and now lived mostly near Pelargir where his duty was – Saelon had been most attentive, whenever he was at home. He went much about the lands of late. Borlas was not sure of his business, though he understood that, among other interests, he dealt in timber. He brought news from all over the kingdom to his old friend. Or to his friend's old father; for Berelach had been his constant companion at one time, though they seemed seldom to meet nowadays.

'Yes, that was it,' Borlas said to himself. 'I spoke to Saelon of Pelargir, quoting Berelach. There has been some small disquiet down at the Ethir: a few shipmen have disappeared, and also a

small vessel of the Fleet. Nothing much, according to Berelach.

'"Peace makes things slack," he said, I remember, in the voice of an under-officer. "Well, they went off on some ploy of their own, I suppose – friends in one of the western havens, perhaps – without leave and without a pilot, and they were drowned. It serves them right. We get too few real sailors these days. Fish are more profitable. But at least all know that the west coasts are not safe for the unskilled."

'That was all. But I spoke of it to Saelon, and asked if he had heard anything of it away south. "Yes," he said, "I did. Few were satisfied with the official view. The men were not unskilled; they were sons of fishermen. And there have been no storms off the coasts for a long time."'

As he heard Saelon say this, suddenly Borlas had remembered the other rumours, the rumours that Othrondir[16] had spoken of. It was he who had used the word 'canker'. And then half to himself Borlas had spoken aloud about the Dark Tree.

He uncovered his eyes and fondled the shapely trunk of the tree that he had leaned on, looking up at its shadowy leaves against the clear fading sky. A star glinted through the branches. Softly he spoke again, as if to the tree.

'Well, what is to be done now? Clearly Saelon is in it. But is it clear? There was the sound of mockery in his words, and scorn of the ordered life of Men. He would not answer a straight question. The black clothes! And yet – why invite me to go with him? Not to convert old Borlas! Useless. Useless to try: no one would hope to win over a man who remembered the Evil of old, however far off. Useless if one succeeded: old Borlas is of no use any longer as a tool for any hand. Saelon might be trying to play the spy, seeking to find out what lies behind the whispers. Black might be a disguise, or an aid to stealth by night. But again, what could I do to help on any secret or dangerous errand? I should be better out of the way.'

With that a cold thought touched Borlas's heart. Put out of the way – was that it? He was to be lured to some place where he could disappear, like the Shipmen? The invitation to go with Saelon had been given only after he had been startled into revealing that he knew of the whispers – had even heard the name. And he had declared his hostility.

This thought decided Borlas, and he knew that he was resolved now to stand robed in black at the gate in the first dark of night. He was challenged, and he would accept. He smote his

palm against the tree. 'I am not a dotard yet, Neldor,' he said; 'but death is not so far off that I shall lose many good years, if I lose the throw.'

He straightened his back and lifted his head, and walked away up the path, slowly but steadily. The thought crossed his mind even as he stepped over the threshold: 'Perhaps I have been preserved so long for this purpose: that one should still live, hale in mind, who remembers what went before the Great Peace. Scent has a long memory. I think I could still smell the old Evil, and know it for what it is.'

The door under the porch was open; but the house behind was darkling. There seemed none of the accustomed sounds of evening, only a soft silence, a dead silence. He entered, wondering a little. He called, but there was no answer. He halted in the narrow passage that ran through the house, and it seemed that he was wrapped in a blackness: not a glimmer of twilight of the world outside remained there. Suddenly he smelt it, or so it seemed, though it came as it were from within outwards to the sense: he smelt the old Evil and knew it for what it was.

Here, both in A and B, *The New Shadow* ends, and it will never be known what Borlas found in his dark and silent house, nor what part Saelon was playing and what his intentions were. There would be no tales worth the telling in the days of the King's Peace, my father said; and he disparaged the story that he had begun: 'I could have written a "thriller" about the plot and its discovery and overthrow – but it would be just that. Not worth doing.' It would nonetheless have been a very remarkable 'thriller', and one may well view its early abandonment with regret. But it may be that his reason for abandoning it was not only this – or perhaps rather that in saying this he was expressing a deeper conviction: that the vast structure of story, in many forms, that he had raised came to its true end in the Downfall of Sauron. As he wrote (*Morgoth's Ring* p. 404): 'Sauron was a problem that Men had to deal with finally: the first of the many concentrations of Evil into definite power-points that they would have to combat, *as it was also the last of those in "mythological" personalized (but non-human) form.*'

NOTES

1 It has also been read publicly, by myself (Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, 18 August 1992). At that time, not having studied the papers with sufficient care, I was under the impression that text B was the latest, and it was this that I read – the young man's name being therefore Arthael.

2 In the original draft of the opening of the story (preceding A) the name was first written *Almoth*, but changed immediately to Egalmoth. The original *Egalmoth* was the lord of the people of the Heavenly Arch in Gondolin; it was also the name of the eighteenth Ruling Steward of Gondor.

3 *Borlas* was the name of the eldest son of Bór the Easterling, later changed to *Borlad* (XI.240); he was slain in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, faithful to the Eldar.

4 The first page of this was typed on the machine that my father first used about the end of 1958 (X.300), and the remainder on the previous one (that used for text B).

5 The name *Saelon* is found in drafting for the *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth* as a name of the wise-woman Andreth of the Edain, who debated with Finrod; in the final text this became *Saelind*, translated 'Wise-heart' (X.305, 351–2).

6 This is the machine on which the very late 'historical-etymological' essays were typed, and which I use to this day.

7 A puzzling question is raised by this dating, concerning the historical period in which the story is set. In the opening paragraph the original draft (preceding A) has:

> It was in the days of Eldarion, son of that Elessar of whom ancient histories have much to tell, that this strange thing occurred. It was indeed less than one hundred and twenty years since the fall of the Dark Tower ...

The first complete text, the manuscript A, has: 'Nearly one hundred and ten years had passed since the fall of the Dark Tower', and this is repeated in B. My father typed the opening page of the late text C in two closely similar forms, and in the first of these he retained the reading of A and B, but in the second (printed here) he wrote 'One hundred and five years'. In the letter of 1964 cited on p. 410 he said 'about 100 years after the Downfall', and in that of 1972 (*ibid.*) 'about 100 years after the death of Aragorn'. We thus have, in chronological order of their appearance, the following dates after the fall of the Dark Tower:

> less than 120 years (original opening of the story);
> nearly 110 years (A and B);
> about 100 years (letter of 1964);
> nearly 110 years (first copy of the opening page of C, c.1968);
> 105 years (second copy of the opening page of C).

The fall of the Dark Tower took place in the year 3019 of the Third Age, and that Age was held to have been concluded at the end of 3021; thus the dates from the fall of the Tower (in the same order, and making them for brevity definite rather than approximate) are Fourth Age 118, 108, 98, 108, 103. Thus every date given in the texts (and that in the letter of 1964) places the story *before* the death of Aragorn – which took place in Fourth Age

120 = Shire Reckoning 1541 (Appendix B, at end); yet every one of the texts refers it to the days of his son Eldarion.

The solution of this must lie in the fact that in the First Edition of *The Lord of the Rings* (*ibid.*) Aragorn's death was placed twenty years earlier, in Shire Reckoning 1521, i.e. Fourth Age 100. The date given in the letter of 1964 ('about 100 years after the Downfall') is indeed too early even according to the dating of the First Edition, but that is readily explained as being a rough approximation appropriate in the context. More puzzling are the dates given in the two versions of the first page of the late text C, which do not agree with the date of Aragorn's death in the Second Edition (1966). The first of these ('nearly 110 years') can be explained as merely taking up the reading of text B, which my father was following; but in the second version he evidently gave thought to the date, for he changed it to '105 years': that is, Fourth Age 103. I am at a loss to explain this.

In the letter of 1972 he gave a much later date, placing the story in about Fourth Age 220 (and giving to Eldarion a reign of at least 100 years).

8 See *The Return of the King* (chapter *The Steward and the King*), p. 247.

9 Both A and B have 'sons' for 'son', and they do not have the words 'in his loneliness'. With the latter difference cf. the last sentence of the C text and its difference from B (note 14).

10 This passage in the argument was expressed rather differently in B (which was following A almost exactly):

> 'A man,' said Borlas, 'who tends a tree and guards it from blights, and eats its fruit – which it produces more abundantly than its mere life-need; not that eating the fruit need destroy the seed – does not act like a canker, nor like an Orc.
>
> 'But as for the cankers, I wonder. They live, it might be said, and yet their life is death. I do not believe that they were part of the Music of the Ainur, unless in the discords of Melkor. And so with Orcs.'
>
> 'And what of Men?' said Arthael.
>
> 'Why do you ask?' said Borlas. 'You know, surely, what is taught? They were not at first in the Great Music, but they did not enter with the discords of Melkor: they came from Ilúvatar himself, and therefore they are called the Children of God. And all that is in the Music they have a right to use – rightly: which is with reverence, not with pride or wantonness.'

11 The name *Herumor* is found in *Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age* (*The Silmarillion* p. 293) as that of a renegade Númenórean who became powerful among the Haradrim in the time before the war of the Last Alliance.

12 B (exactly repeating A) has here: 'No, Master Borlas, in such a matter one cannot judge words by the shape they are spoken in.'

13 A has here 'his father Duilin'. This, like Egalmoth, is another name from the story of Gondolin: Duilin was the leader of the people of the Swallow, who fell from the battlements when 'smitten by a fiery bolt of the Balrogs' (II.178). It was also the original name of the father of Flinding, later Gwindor, of Nargothrond (II.79, etc.): Duilin > Fuilin > Guilin.

14 At this point C comes to an end, at the foot of a page. B has here: 'He had not been in good health since the spring; old age was gaining upon him' (see note 9). From here onwards, as noted earlier, I follow text B, changing the name Arthael to Saelon. – The passage written on an envelope postmarked 8 January 1968, referred to on pp. 409–10, would follow from this point in C; it reads (the last phrases being very difficult to make out):

> For he lived now with only two old servants, retired from the Prince's guard, in which he himself had once held office. Long ago his daughter had married and now lived in distant parts of the realm, and then ten years ago his wife had died. Time had softened his grief, while Berelach [his son] was still near home. He was his youngest child and only son, and was in the King's ships; for several years he had been stationed at the Harlond within easy reach by water, and spent much time with his father. But it was three years now since he had been given a high command, and was often long at sea, and when on land duty still held him at Pelargir far away. His visits had been few and brief. Saelon, who formerly came only when Berelach [? ... been his old friend] was with Borlas, but had been most attentive when he was in Emyn Arnen. Always in to talk or bring news, or [?run] any service he could

For the site of 'the quays and landings of the Harlond' see *The Return of the King* (chapter *Minas Tirith*), p. 22.

15 Borlas is described at the beginning of the story as the younger son of Beregond, and he was thus the brother of Bergil son of Beregond who was Pippin's companion in Minas Tirith. In A Borlas gave the name *Bergil* to his own son (preceded by *Berthil*).

16 For *Othrondir* A has *Othrondor*.

XVII
TAL-ELMAR

The tale of Tal-Elmar, so far as it went, is preserved in a folded paper, bearing dates in 1968, on which my father wrote the following hasty note:

> Tal-Elmar
>
> Beginnings of a tale that sees the Númenóreans from the point of view of the Wild Men. It was begun without much consideration of geography (or the situation as envisaged in The Lord of the Rings). But either it must remain as a separate tale only vaguely linked with the developed Lord of the Rings history, or – and I think so – it must recount the coming of the Númenóreans (Elf-friends) *before the Downfall*, and represent their choice of permanent havens. So the geography must be made to fit that of the mouths of Anduin and the Langstrand.

But that was written thirteen years after he had abandoned the story, and there is no sign that he returned to it in his last years. Brief as it is, and (as it seems) uncertain of direction, such a departure from all other narrative themes within the compass of Middle-earth will form perhaps a fitting conclusion to this History.

The text is in two parts. The first is a typescript of six sides that breaks off in the middle of a sentence (p. 432); but the first part of this is extant also in a rejected page, part typescript and part manuscript (see note 5). Beyond this point the entire story is in the first stage of composition. The second part is a manuscript on which my father wrote 'Continuation of Tal-Elmar' and the date January 1955; there is no indication of how long a time elapsed between the two parts, but I believe that the typescript belongs also to the 1950s. It is remarkable that he should have been working on it during the time of extreme pressure between the publication of *The Two Towers* and that of *The Return of the King*. This manuscript takes up the story from the point where it was left in the typescript, but does not complete the unfinished sentence; it becomes progressively more difficult, and in one section is at the very limit of legibility, with some words uninterpretable. Towards the end the narrative breaks up into experimental passages and questionings. With a few exceptions I do not record corrections to the text and give only the later reading; and in one or two cases I have altered inconsistent uses of 'thou' and 'you'.

In the days of the Dark Kings, when a man could still walk dry-shod from the Rising of the Sun to the Sea of its setting, there lived in the fenced town of his people in the green hills of Agar an old man, by name Hazad Longbeard.[1] Two prides he had: in the number of his sons (seventeen in all), and in the length of his beard (five feet without stretching); but his joy in his beard was the greater. For it remained with him, and was soft, and ruly to his hand, whereas his sons for the most part were gone from him, and those that remained, or came ever nigh, were neither gentle nor ruly. They were indeed much as Hazad himself had been in the days of his youth: broad, swarthy, short, tough, harsh-tongued, heavy-handed, and quick to violence.

Save one only, and he was the youngest. Tal-elmar Hazad his father named him. He was yet but eighteen years of age, and lived with his father, and the two of his brothers next elder. He was tall, and white-skinned, and there was a light in his grey eyes that would flash to fire, if he were wroth; and though that happened seldom, and never without great cause, it was a thing to remember and be ware of. Those who had seen that fire called him Flint-eye, and respected him, whether they loved him or no. For Tal-elmar might seem, among that swart sturdy folk, slender-built and lacking in the strength of leg and neck that they praised, but a man that strove with him soon found him strong beyond guess, and sudden and swift, hard to grapple and harder to elude.

A fair voice he had, which made even the rough tongue of that people more sweet to hear, but he spoke not over much; and he would stand often aloof, when others were chattering, with a look on his face that men read rightly as pride, yet it was not the pride of a master, but rather the pride of one of alien race, whom fate has cast away among an ignoble people, and there bound him in servitude. For indeed Tal-elmar laboured hard and at menial tasks, being but the youngest son of an old man, who had little wealth left save his beard and a repute for wisdom. But strange to say (in that town) he served his father willingly, and loved him, more than all his brothers in one, and more than was the wont of any sons in that land. Indeed it was most often on his father's behalf that the flint-flash was seen in his eyes.

For Tal-elmar had a strange belief (whence it came was a wonder) that the old should be treated kindly and with courtesy, and should be suffered to live out their life-days in such ease as

they could. 'If ye must gainsay them,' he said, 'let it be done with respect; for they have seen many years, and many times, maybe, have they faced the evils which we come to untried. And grudge not their food and their room, for they have laboured longer than have ye, and do but receive now, belatedly, part of the payment that is due to them.' Such plain folly had no effect on the manners of his people, but it was law in his house; and it was now two years since either of his brothers had dared to break it.[2]

Hazad loved this youngest son dearly, in return for his love, yet even more for another cause which he kept in his heart: that his face and his voice reminded him of another that he long had missed. For Hazad also had been the youngest son of his mother, and she died in his boyhood; and she was not of their people. Such was the tale that he had overheard, not openly spoken indeed, for it was held no credit to the house: she came of the strange folk, hateful and proud, of which there was rumour in the west-lands, coming out of the East, it was said. Fair, tall, and flint-eyed they were, with bright weapons made by demons in the fiery hills. Slowly they were thrusting towards the shores of the Sea, driving before them the ancient dwellers in the lands.

Not without resistance. There were wars on the east-marches, and since the older folk were yet numerous, the in-comers would at times suffer great loss and be flung back. Indeed little had been heard of them in the Hills of Agar, far to the west, for more than a man's life, since that great battle of which songs were yet sung. In the valley of Ishmalog it had been fought, the wise in lore told, and there a great host of the Fell folk had been ambushed in a narrow place and slaughtered in heaps. And in that day many captives were taken; for this had been no affray on the borders, or fight with advance guards: a whole people of the Fell Folk had been on the move, with their wains and their cattle and their women.

Now Buldar, father of Hazad, had been in the army of the North King[3] that went to the muster of Ishmalog,[4] and he brought back from the war as booty a wound, and a sword, and a woman. And she was fortunate; for the fate of the captives was short and cruel, but Buldar took her as his wife. For she was beautiful, and having looked on her he desired no woman of his own folk. He was a man of wealth and power in those days, and did as he would, scorning the scorn of his neighbours. But when

his wife, Elmar, had learned at length enough of the speech of her new kin, she said to Buldar on a day: 'I have much to thank thee for, lord; but think not ever to get my love so. For thou hast torn me from my own people, and from him that I loved and from the child that I bore him. For them ever shall I yearn and grieve, and give love to none else. Never again shall I be glad, while I am held captive among a strange folk that I deem base and unlovely.'

'So be it,' said Buldar. 'But it is not to be thought that I should let thee go free. For thou art precious in my sight. And consider well: vain is it to seek to escape from me. Long is the way to the remnant of thy folk, if any still live; and thou wouldst not go far from the Hills of Agar ere thou met death, or a life far worse than shall be thine in my house. Base and unlovely thou namest us. Truly, maybe. Yet true is it also that thy folk are cruel, and lawless, and the friends of demons. Thieves are they. For our lands are ours from of old, which they would wrest from us with their bitter blades. White skins and bright eyes are no warrant for such deeds.'

'Are they not?' said she. 'Then neither are thick legs and wide shoulders. Or by what means did ye gain these lands that ye boast of? Are there not, as I hear men say, wild folk in the caves of the mountains, who once roamed here free, ere ye swart folk came hither and hunted them like wolves? But I spoke not of rights, but of sorrow and love. If here I must dwell, then dwell I must, as one whose body is in this place at thy will, but my thought far elsewhere. And this vengeance I will have, that while my body is kept here in exile, the lot of all this folk shall worsen, and thine most; but when my body goes to the alien earth, and my thought is free of it, then in thy kin one shall arise who is mine alone. And with his arising shall come the end of thy people and the downfall of your king.'

Thereafter Elmar said no more on this matter; and she was indeed a woman of few words while her life lasted, save only to her children. To them she spoke much when none were by, and she sang to them many songs in a strange fair tongue; but they heeded her not, or soon forgot. Save only Hazad, the youngest; and though he was, as were all her children, unlike her in body, he was nearer to her in heart. The songs and the strange tongue he too forgot, when he grew up, but his mother he never forgot; and he took a wife late, for no woman of his own folk seemed desirable to him that knew what beauty in a woman might be.[5]

Not that many were his for the wooing, for, even as Elmar had spoken, the people of Agar had waned with the years, what with ill weathers and with pests, and most of all were Buldar and his sons afflicted; and they had become poor, and other kindreds had taken their power from them. But Hazad knew naught of the foreboding of his mother, and in her memory loved Tal-elmar, and had so named him at birth.

And it chanced on a morning of spring that when his other sons went out to labour Hazad kept Tal-elmar at his side, and they walked forth together and sat upon the green hill-top above the town of their people; and they looked out south and west to where they could see far away the great bight of the Sea that drove in on the land, and it was shimmering like grey glass. And the eyes of Hazad were growing dim with age, but Tal-elmar's were keen, and he saw as he thought three strange birds upon the water, white in the sun, and they were drifting with the west wind towards the land; and he wondered that they sat upon the sea and did not fly.

'I see three strange birds upon the water, father,' he said. 'They are unlike any that I have seen before.'

'Keen may be thine eyes in youth, my son,' said Hazad, 'but birds on the water thou canst not see. Three leagues away are the nearest shores of the Sea from where we sit. The sun dazzles thee, or some dream is on thee.'

'Nay, the sun is behind me,' said Tal-elmar. 'I see what I see. And if they be not birds, what are they? Very great must they be, greater than the Swans of Gorbelgod,[6] of which legends tell. And lo! I see now another that comes behind, but less clearly, for its wings are black.'

Then Hazad was troubled. 'A dream is on thee, as I said, my son,' he answered; 'but an ill dream. Is not life here hard enough, that when spring is come and winter is over at last thou must bring a vision out of the black past?'

'Thou forgettest, father,' said Tal-elmar, 'that I am thy youngest son, and whereas thou has taught much lore to the dull ears of my brethren, to me thou hast given less of thy store. I know nothing of what is in thy mind.'

'Dost thou not?' said Hazad, striking his brow as he stared out towards the Sea. 'Yes, mayhap it is a long while since I spoke of it; it is but the shadow of a dream in the back of my thought. Three folk we hold as enemies. The wild men of the mountains and the woods; but these only those who stray alone need fear.

The Fell Folk of the East; but they are yet far away, and they are my mother's people, though, I doubt not, they would not honour the kinship, if they came here with their swords. And the High Men of the Sea. These indeed we may dread as Death. For Death they worship and slay men cruelly in honour of the Dark. Out of the Sea they came, and if they ever had any land of their own, ere they came to the west-shores, we know not where it may be. Black tales come to us out of the coast-lands, north and south, where they have now long time established their dark fortresses and their tombs. But hither they have not come since my father's days, and then only to raid and catch men and depart. Now this was the manner of their coming. They came in boats, but not such as some of our folk use that dwell nigh the great rivers or the lakes, for ferrying or fishing. Greater than great houses are the ships of the Go-hilleg, and they bear store of men and goods, and yet are wafted by the winds; for the Sea-men spread great cloths like wings to catch the airs, and bind them to tall poles like trees of the forest. Thus they will come to the shore, where there is shelter, or as nigh as they may; and then they will send forth smaller boats laden with goods, and strange things both beautiful and useful such as our folk covet. These they will sell to us for small price, or give as gifts, feigning friendship, and pity for our need; and they will dwell a while, and spy out the land and the numbers of the folk, and then go. And if they do not return, men should be thankful. For if they come again it is in other guise. In greater numbers they come then: two ships or more together, stuffed with men and not goods, and ever one of the accursed ships hath black wings. For that is the Ship of the Dark, and in it they bear away evil booty, captives packed like beasts, the fairest women and children, or young men unblemished, and that is their end. Some say that they are eaten for meat; and others that they are slain with torment on the black stones in the worship of the Dark. Both maybe are true. The foul wings of the Sea-men have not been seen in these waters for many a year; but remembering the shadow of fear in the past I cried out, and cry again: is not our life hard enough without the vision of a black wing upon the shining sea?'

'Hard enough, indeed,' said Tal-elmar, 'yet not so hard that I would leave it yet. Come! If what you tell is good sooth we should run to the town and warn men, and make ready for flight or for defence.'

'I come,' said Hazad. 'But be not astonished, if men laugh at me for a dotard. They believe little that has not happened in their own days. And have a care, dear son! I am in little danger, save to starve in a town empty of all but the crazed and the aged. But thee the Dark Ship would take among the first. Put thyself not forward in any rash counsel of battle.'

'We will see,' answered Tal-elmar. 'But thou art my chief care in this town, where I have and give little love. I will not willingly part from thy side. Yet this is the town of my folk, and our home, and those who can are bound to defend it, I deem.'

So Hazad and his son went down the hill-side, and it was noon; and in the town were few people, but crones and children, for all the able-bodied were abroad in the fields, busy with the hard toil of spring. There was no watch, for the Hills of Agar were far from hostile borders where the power of the Fourth King[7] ended. The town-master sat by the door of his house in the sun, dozing or idly watching the small birds that gathered scraps of food from the dry beaten mud of the open place in the midst of the houses.

'Hail! Master of Agar!' said Hazad, and bowed low; but the master, a fat man with eyes like a lizard, blinked at him, and did not return his greeting.

'Sit hail, Master! And long may you sit so!' said Tal-elmar, and there was a glint in his eye. 'We should not disturb your thought, or your sleep, but there are tidings that, maybe, you should heed. There is no watch kept, but we chanced to be on the hill-top, and we saw the sea far off, and there – birds of ill omen on the water.'

'Ships of the Go-hilleg,' said Hazad, 'with great wind-cloths. Three white – and one black.'

The master yawned. 'As for thee, blear-eyed carl,' he said, 'thou couldst not tell the sea itself from a cloud. And as for this idle lad, what knows he of boats or wind-cloths, or all the rest, save from thy crazed teaching? Go to the travelling knappers[8] with thy crone-tales of Go-hilleg, and trouble me not with such folly. I have other matters of more weight to ponder.'

Hazad swallowed his wrath, for the Master was powerful and loved him not; but Tal-elmar's anger was cold. 'The thoughts of one so great must needs be weighty,' said he softly, 'yet I know not what thought of more weight could break his repose than the care of his own carcase. He will be a master without people, or a bag of bones on the hillside, if he scorns the

wisdom of Hazad son of Buldar. Blear eyes may see more than those lidded with sleep.'

The fat face of Mogru the Master grew dark, and his eyes were blood-shot with rage. He hated Tal-elmar, yet never before had the youth given him cause, save that he showed no fear in his presence. Now he should pay for that and his new-found insolence. Mogru clapped his hands, but even as he did so he remembered that there were none within call that would dare to grapple with the youth, nay, not three together; and at the same time he caught the glint of Tal-elmar's eye. He blanched, and the words that he had been about to speak, 'Slave's son and your brat', died on his lips. 'Hazad uBuldar, Tal-elmar uHazad, of this town, speak not so with the master of your folk,' he said. 'A watch is set, though ye who have not the ruling of the town in hand may know it not. I would wait till I have word from the watchers, whom I trust, that anything ill-boding has been seen. But if ye be anxious, then go summon the men from the fields.'

Tal-elmar observed him closely as he spoke and he read his thought clearly. 'Now I must hope that my father errs not,' he said in his heart, 'for less peril will battle bring me than the hate of Mogru from this day forth. A watch! Yea, but only to spy on the goings and comings of the townsfolk. And the moment I go forth to the field, a runner will go to fetch his servants and club-bearers. An ill turn have I done to my father in this hour. Well! He who begins with the hoe should wield it to the row's end.' He spoke therefore still in wrath and scorn. 'Go you to the knappers yourself,' he said, 'for you are wont to use these sly folk, and heed their tales when they suit you. But my father you shall not mock while I stand by. It may well be that we are in peril. Therefore you shall come now with us to the hill-top, and look with your own eyes. And if you see there aught to warrant it, you shall summon the men to the Moot-hill. I will be your messenger.'

And Mogru also through the slits of his eyelids watched the face of Tal-elmar as he spoke, and guessed that he was in no danger of violence if he gave way for this time. But his heart was filled with venom; and it irked him also not a little to toil up the hill. Slowly he rose.

'I will come,' he said. 'But if my time and toil be wasted, I shall not forgive it. Aid my steps, young man; for my servants are in the fields.' And he took the arm of Tal-elmar and leaned heavily upon him.

'My father is the elder,' said Tal-elmar; 'and the way is but short. Let the Master lead, and we will follow. Here is your staff!' And he released himself from the grasp of Mogru, and gave him his staff which stood by the door of his house; and taking the arm of his father he waited until the Master set out. Sidelong and black was the glance of the lizard-eye, but the gleam of the eye of Tal-elmar that it caught stung like a goad. It was long since the fat legs of Mogru had made such speed from house to gate; and longer since they had heaved his belly up the slippery hill-sward beyond the dike. He was blown, and panting like an old dog, when they came to the top.

Then again Tal-elmar looked out; but the high and distant sea was now empty, and he stood silent. Mogru wiped the sweat from his eyes and followed his gaze.

'For what reason, I ask, have ye forced the Master of the town from his house, and brought him hither?' he snarled. 'The sea lies where it lay, and empty. What mean ye?'

'Have patience and look closer,' said Tal-elmar. Away to the west highlands blocked the view of all but the distant sea; but rising to the broad cap of the Golden Hill they fell suddenly away, and in a deep cleft a glimpse could be seen of the great inlet and the waters near its north shore. 'Time has passed since we were here before, and the wind is strong,' said Tal-elmar. 'They have come nearer.' He pointed. 'There you will see their wings, or their wind-cloths, call them what you will. But what is your counsel? And was it not a matter that the Master should see with his own eyes?'

Mogru stared, and he panted, now with fear as much as for the labour of walking uphill, for bluster as he might he had heard many dark tales of the Go-hilleg from old women in his youth. But his heart was cunning, and black with anger. Sidelong he looked first at Hazad, and then at his son; and he licked his lips, but he let not his smile be seen.

'You begged to be my messenger,' he said, 'and so shalt thou be. Go now swiftly and summon the men to the Moot-hill! But that will not end thy errand,' he added, as Tal-elmar made ready to run. 'Straight from the fields thou shalt go with all speed to the Strand. For there the ships, if ships they be, will halt, most likely, and set men ashore. Tidings thou must win there, and spy out well what is afoot. Come not back at all, unless it is with news that will help our counsels. Go and spare thyself not! I command thee. It is time of peril to the town.'

Hazad seemed about to speak in protest; but he bowed his head, and said naught, knowing it vain. Tal-elmar stood one moment, eyeing Mogru, as one might a snake in the path. But he saw well that the Master's cunning had been greater than his. He had made his own trap, and Mogru had used it. He had declared a time of peril to the town, and he had the right to command any service. It was death to disobey him. And even if Tal-elmar had not named himself as messenger (desiring to prevent any secret word being passed to servants of the Master), all would say that the choice was just. A scout should be sent, and who better than a strong bold youth, swift on his feet? But there was malice, black malice, in the errand nonetheless. The defender of Hazad would be gone. There was no hope in his brothers: strong louts, but with no heart for defiance, save of their old father. And it was likely enough that he would not return. The peril was great.

Once more Tal-elmar looked at the Master, and then at his father, and then his glance passed to Mogru's staff. The flint-flash was in his eyes, and in his heart the desire to kill. Mogru saw it and quailed.

'Go, go!' he shouted. 'I have commanded thee. Thou art quicker to cry wolf than to start on the hunt. Go at once!'

'Go, my son!' said Hazad. 'Do not defy the Master. Not where he has the right. For then thou defiest all the town, beyond thy power. And were I the Master, I would choose thee, dear though thou be; for thou hast more heart and luck than any of this folk. But come again, and let not the Dark Ship have thee. Be not over-bold! For better would be ill tidings brought by thee living than the Sea-men without herald.'

Tal-elmar bowed and made the sign of submission, to his father and not to the Master, and strode away two paces. And then he turned. 'Listen, Mogru, whom a base folk in their folly have named their master,' he cried. 'Maybe I shall return, against thy hope. My father I leave in thy care. If I come, be it with word of peace, or with a foe on my heel, then thy mastership will be at an end, and thy life also, if I find that he has suffered any evil or dishonour that thou couldst prevent. Thy knife-men and club-bearers will not help thee. I will wring thy fat neck with my bare hands, if needs be; or I will hunt thee through the wilds to the black pools.' Then a new thought struck him, and he strode back to the Master, and laid hands on his staff.

Mogru cringed, and flung up a fat arm, as if to ward off a blow. 'Thou art mad today,' he croaked. 'Do me no violence, or thou wilt pay for it with death. Heardest thou not the words of thy father?'

'I heard, and I obey,' said Tal-elmar. 'But first errand is to the men, and there is need now of haste. Little honour have I among them, for they know well thy scorn of us. What heed will they pay, if the Slave's bastards, as thou namest us when I am not by, comes[9] crying the summons to the Moot-hill in thy name without token. Thy staff will serve. It is well known. Nay, I will not beat thee with it yet!'

With that he wrested the staff from Mogru's hand and sped down the hill, his heart yet too hot with wrath to take thought for what lay before him. But when he had declared the summons to the startled men in the acres on the south slopes and had flung down the staff among them, bidding them hasten, he ran to the hill's foot, and out over the long grass-meads, and so came to the first thin straggle of the woods. Dark they lay before him in the valley between Agar and the downs by the shore.

It was still morning, and more than an hour ere the noon, but when he came under the trees he halted and took thought, and knew that he was shaken with fear. Seldom had he wandered far from the hills of his home, and never alone, nor deep into the wood. For all his folk dreaded the forest[10]

Here the typescript text breaks off, not at the foot of a page, and the manuscript 'Continuation of Tal-Elmar' (as the name is now written) begins (see p. 422).

It was swift for the eye to travel to the shore, but slow for feet; and the distance was greater than it seemed. The wood was dark and unwholesome, for there were stagnant waters between the hills of Agar and the hills of the shoreland; and many snakes lived there. It was silent too, for though it was spring few birds built there or even alighted as they sped on to the cleaner land by the sea. There dwelt in the wood also dark spirits that hated men, or so ran the tales of the people. Of snake and swamp and wood-demon Tal-Elmar thought as he stood within the shadow; but it needed short thought to come to the conclusion that all three were less peril than to return, with lying excuse or with none, to the town and its master.

So, helped a little perhaps by his pride, he went on. And the thought came to him under the shadow as he sought for a way

through swamp and thicket: What do I know, or any of my people, even my father, of these Go-hilleg of the winged boats? It might well be that I who am a stranger in my own people should find them more pleasing than Mogru and all others like him.

With this thought growing in him, so that at length he felt rather as a man who goes to greet friends and kinsmen than as one who creeps out to spy on dangerous foes, he passed unhurt through the shadow-wood, and came to the shore-hills, and began to climb. One hill he chose, because bushes clambered up its slope and it was crowned with a dense knot of low trees. To this cover he came, and creeping to the further brink he looked down. It had taken him long, for his way had been slow, and now the sun had fallen from noon and was going down away on his right towards the Sea. He was hungry, but this he hardly heeded, for he was used to hunger, and could endure toil day-long without eating when he must. The hill was low, but ran down steeply to the water. Before its feet were green lands ending in gravels, beyond which the waters of the estuary gleamed in the westering sun. Out in the midst of the stream beyond the shoals three great ships – though Tal-Elmar had no such word in his language to name them with – were lying motionless. They were anchored and the sails down. Of the fourth, the black ship, there was no sign. But on the green near the shingles there were tents, and small boats drawn up near. Tall men were standing or walking among them. Away on the 'big boats' Tal-Elmar could see [?others] on watch; every now and then he caught a flash as some weapon or arms moved in the sun. He trembled, for the tales of the 'blades' of the Cruel Men were familiar to his childhood.

Tal-Elmar looked long, and slowly it came to him how hopeless was his mission. He might look until daylight failed, but he could not count accurately enough for any use the number of men there were; nor could he discover their purpose or their plans. Even if he had either the courage or the fortune to come past their guards he could do nothing useful, for he would not understand a word of their language.

He remembered suddenly – another of Mogru's schemes to be rid of him, as he now saw, though at the time he had thought it an honour – how only a year ago, when the waning town of Agar was threatened by marauders from the village of Udul far inland,[11] all men feared that an assault would come, for Agar

was a drier, healthier, and more defensible site (or so its townsmen believed). Then Tal-Elmar had been chosen to go and spy out the land of Udul, as 'being young, bold, and better versed in the country round'. So said Mogru, truly enough, for the townsfolk of Agar were timid and seldom went far afield, never daring to be caught by dark outside their homes. Whereas Tal-Elmar often, if he had chance and no labour called (or if it did, sometimes), would walk far afield, and though (being so taught from babyhood) he feared the dark, he had more than once been benighted far from the town, and was even known to go out to the watch-hill alone under the stars.

But to creep into the unfriendly fields of Udul by night was another and far worse thing. Yet he had dared to do it. And he had come so close to one of the huts of watchmen that he could hear the men inside speaking – in vain. He could not understand the purport of their speech. The tones seemed mournful and full of fear[12] (as men's voices were at night in the world as he knew it), and a few words he seemed to recognize, but not enough for understanding. And yet the Udul-folk were their near neighbours – indeed though Tal-Elmar and his people had forgotten it, as they had forgotten so much, their near kin, part of the same people in past and better years. What hope then was there that he would recognize any single word, or even interpret rightly the tones, of the tongue of men alien from his own since the beginning of the world? Alien from his own? My own? But they are not my people. Only my father. And again he had that strange feeling, coming from where he knew not to this young lad, born and bred in a decaying half-savage people: the feeling that he was not going to meet aliens but kinsmen from afar and friends.

And yet he was also a boy of his village. He was afraid, and it was long before he moved. At last he looked up. The sun on his right was now going down. Between two tree-stems he caught a glimpse of the sea, as the great round fire, red with the light sea-mist, sank level with his eye, and the water was kindled to fiery gold.

He had seen the sun sink into the sea before, yet never before had he seen it so. He knew in a flash (as if it came from that fire itself) that he had seen it so, [? he was called,][13] that it meant something more than the approach of the 'King's time', the dark.[14] He rose and as if led or driven walked openly down the hill and across the long sward to the shingles and the tents.

Could he have seen himself he would have been struck with wonder no less than those who saw him now from the shore. His naked skin – for he wore only a loin-cloth, and little cloak of ... fur cast back and caught by a thong to his shoulder – glowed golden in the [? sunset] light, his fair hair too was kindled, and his step was light and free.

'Look!' cried one of the watchmen to his companion. 'Do you see what I see? Is it not one of the Eldar of the woods that comes to speak with us?'

'I see indeed,' said the other, 'but if not some phantom from the edge of the [? coming] dark [? in this land accursed] it cannot be one of the Fair. We are far to the south, and none dwell here. Would indeed we were [? north away near to (the) Havens].'

'Who knows all the ways of the Eldar?' said the watchman. 'Silence now! He approaches. Let him speak first.'

So they stood still, and made no sign as Tal-Elmar drew near. When he was some twenty paces away his fear returned, and he halted, letting his arms fall before him and opening his palms outwards to the strangers in a gesture which all men could understand.

Then, as they did not move, nor put hand to any weapon so far as he could see, he took courage again and spoke, saying: 'Hail, Men of the sea and the wings! Why do you come here? Is it in peace? I am Tal-Elmar uHazad of the folk of Agar. Who are you?'

His voice was clear and fair, but the language that he used was but a form of the half-savage language of the Men of the Dark, as the Shipmen called them. The watchman stirred. 'Elda!' he said. 'The Eldar do not use such a tongue.' He called aloud, and at once men tumbled out of the tents. He himself drew forth a sword, while his companion put arrow to bowstring. Before Tal-Elmar had time even to feel terror, still less to turn and run – happily, for he knew nothing of bows and would have fallen long before he was out of bowshot – he was surrounded by armed men. They seized him, but not with harsh handling, when they found he was weaponless and submissive, and led him to a tent where sat one in authority.

Tal-Elmar feels the language to be *known* and only veiled from him.

The captain says Tal-Elmar must be of Númenórean race, or of the people akin to them. He must be kindly treated. He

guesses that he had been made captive as a babe, or born of captives. 'He is trying to escape to us,' he says.

'A pity he remembers nothing of the language.' 'He will learn.' 'Maybe, but after a long time. If he spoke it now, he could tell us much that would speed our errand and lessen our peril.'

They make Tal-Elmar at last understand their desire to know how many men dwell near; are they friendly, are they like he is?

The object of the Númenóreans is to occupy this land, and in alliance with the 'Cruels' of the North to drive out the Dark People and make a settlement to threaten the King. (Or is this while Sauron is absent in Númenor?)

The place is on estuary of Isen? or Morthond.

Tal-Elmar could count and understand high numbers, though his language was defective.

Or does he understand Númenórean? [*Added subsequently:* Eldarin – these were Elf-friends.] He said when he heard the men speak to one another: 'This is strange for you speak the language of my long dreams. Yet surely now I stand in my own land and do not sleep?' Then they were astonished and said: 'Why did you not speak so to us before? You spoke like the people of the Dark who are our enemies, being servants of our Enemy.' And Tal-Elmar answered: 'Because this tongue has only returned to my mind hearing you speak it; and because how should I have known that you would understand the language of my dreams? You are not like those who spoke in my dreams. Nay, a little like; but they were brighter and more beautiful.'

Then the men were still more astonished, and said: 'It seems that you have spoken with the Eldar, whether awake or in vision.'

'Who are the Eldar?' said Tal-Elmar. 'That name I did not hear in my dream.'

'If you come with us you may perhaps see them.'

Then suddenly fear and the memory of old tales came upon Tal-Elmar again, and he quailed. 'What would you do to me?' he cried. 'Would you lure me to the black-winged boat and give me to the Dark?'

'You or your kin at least belong already to the Dark,' they answered. 'But why do you speak so of the black sails? The black sails are to us a sign of honour, for they are the fair night before the coming of the Enemy, and upon the black are set the

silver stars of Elbereth. The black sails of our captain have passed further up the water.'

Still Tal-Elmar was afraid because he was not yet able to imagine black as anything but the symbol of the night of fear. But he looked as boldly as he could and answered: 'Not all my kind. We fear the Dark, but we do not love it nor serve it. At least so do some of us. So does my father. And him I love. I would not be torn from him not even to see the Eldar.'

'Alas!' they said. 'Your time of dwelling in these hills is come to an end. Here the men of the West have resolved to make their homes, and the folk of the dark must depart – or be slain.'

Tal-Elmar offers himself as a hostage.

There is no more. At the foot of the page my father wrote 'Tal-Elmar' twice, and his own name twice; and also 'Tal-Elmar in Rhovannion', 'Wilderland', 'Anduin the Great River', 'Sea of Rhûn', and 'Ettenmoors'.

NOTES

1 In the rejected version of the opening section of the text the story begins: 'In the days of the Great Kings when a man could still walk dryshod from Rome to York (not that those cities were yet built or thought of) there lived in the town of his people in the hills of Agar an old man, by name *Tal-argan* Longbeard', and Tal-argan remained the name without correction in the rejected page. The second version retained 'the Great Kings', the change to 'the Dark Kings' being made later on.

2 This paragraph was later placed within square brackets.

3 Both versions had 'the Fourth King', changed on the second to 'the North King' at the same time as 'the Great Kings' was changed to 'the Dark Kings' (note 1).

4 In the rejected version the father of Tal-argan (Hazad) was named *Tal-Bulda*, and the place of the battle was the valley of *Rishmalog*.

5 At this point the rejected first page ends, and the text becomes primary composition. A pencilled note at the head of the replacement page proposes that Buldar father of Hazad should be cut out, and that it should be Hazad himself who wedded the foreign woman Elmar (who is unnamed in the rejected version).

6 The name typed was *Dur nor-Belgoth*, corrected to *Gorbelgod*.

7 'the Fourth King' was not corrected here: see note 3.

8 *knappers*: a 'knapper' was one who broke stones or flints. This word replaced 'tinkers', here and at its occurrence a little later.

9 I have left the text here as it stands.

10 A marginal note here says that Tal-elmar had 'no weapon but a casting-stone in a pouch'.

11 The text as written had 'far inland, and all men feared', corrected to 'far inland. All men feared'. I have altered the text to provide a complete sentence, but my father (who was here writing at great speed) doubtless did not intend this, and would have rewritten the passage had he ever returned to it.

12 In the margin my father wrote that the village of Udul was dying of a pestilence, and the marauders were in fact seeking food in desperation.

13 The conclusion of the text is in places in excruciatingly difficult handwriting, and the words I have given as 'he was called' are doubtful: but I can see no other interpretation of them.

14 Against the words on p. 434 'never daring to be caught by dark outside their homes' my father wrote: 'Dark is "the time of the King".' As is seen from a passage on p. 436, the King is Sauron.

INDEX

The very great number of names occurring in this book, and the frequency of reference in many cases, would require an index much larger than those of the previous volumes if the same pattern were followed; and I have therefore reduced it by omitting three categories of names. Each of these is concentrated in a small part of the book, and in the case of the second and third it seems to me that, even apart from considerations of overall length, the utility of detailing alphabetically such complex material is very doubtful.

(1) *Hobbit names*. The number of names of individual Hobbits, including all the recorded changes, is so large (about 370) that I have restricted the references to the entry *Hobbit-families*. Here all the family-names are listed, with references to every page (including all the geneaological tables) where the name of the family, or of any member of the family, occurs. Exceptions to this are Bilbo and Frodo Baggins, Sam Gamgee, Meriadoc Brandybuck, and Peregrin Took, who are entered separately in the index on account of the large number of references to them.

(2) *The Calendars*. All page-references for the names of the *months* and the *days of the week* in the different languages are collected under those entries. Under *Calendars* are listed the entries in the index concerning the matter of Chapter IV, and references to the Elvish names and terms are given under *Calendars* and *Seasons*.

(3) *The Common Speech*. References are given under *Common Speech* and *Hobbit families* to all pages where 'true' names (supposed to underlie the 'translated' names) appear, these being only exceptionally included in the index.

The entries *Second Age*, *Third Age*, *Fourth Age* and *Shire-reckoning* do not include simple references to dates. Some names spelt with initial C in *The Lord of the Rings* will be found under *K*: *Calimehtar*, *Calimmacil*, *Calmacil*, *Castamir*, *Cemendur*, *Cirith Ungol*, *Ciryaher (Ciryahir)*, *Ciryandil*.

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In *Morgoth's Ring*, the first of two companion volumes, Christopher Tolkien describes and documents the later history of *The Silmarillion*, from the time when his father turned again to 'the Matter of the Elder Days' after *The Lord of the Rings* was at last achieved. The text of the Annals of Aman, the 'Blessed Land' in the far West, is given in full; while in writings hitherto unknown is seen the nature of the problems that J R R Tolkien explored in his later years, as new and radical ideas, portending upheaval in the old narratives, emerged at the heart of the mythology, and as the destinies of Men and Elves, mortals and immortals, became of central significance, together with a vastly enlarged perception of the evil of Melkor, the Shadow upon Arda.

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Volume 12

CHRISTOPHER TOLKIEN

When J.R.R. Tolkien laid aside *The Silmarillion* in 1937 the extension of the original 'mythology' into later Ages of the world had scarcely begun. It was in the Appendices to *The Lord of the Rings* that there emerged a comprehensive historical structure and chronology of the Second and Third Ages, embracing all the diverse strands that came together in the War of the Ring. The difficulty that he found in providing these Appendices, leading to delay in the publication of *The Return of the King*, is well known; but in *The Peoples of Middle-earth* Christopher Tolkien shows that early forms of these works already existed years before, in essays and records differing greatly from the published forms. He traces the evolution of the Calendars, the Hobbit genealogies, the Westron language or Common Speech (from which many words and names are recorded that were afterwards lost), and the chronological structure of the later Ages.

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Illustration byJohn Howe

ISBN 0-261-10348-2

UK £9.99*

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